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Appendix

The 100,000th License Issued for Business Radio Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a resident of the district I represent has received the 100,000th license in the Business Radio Service and is in Washington today with his wife for appropriate honors. I refer to Mr. Horace W. Hooie, of Rogersville, Ala.

Just a few weeks ago Mr. Hooie became the 100,000th licensee in the Business Radio Service. This means that he is now able to bring the benefits of two-way radio communication to the people that his company, the Hooie Plumbing Co., serves. No longer will a person who calls in for some plumbing work to be done have to wait until the truck comes back to the office in order to be dispatched to his job. Through the use of his two-way radio, Mr. Hooie can now get that message about the new job directly to his truck, wherever it may be, and just as soon as the job it is on is finished, the truck can go on to the next job without making the time-consuming trip back to the office.

This is going to be a great boon to the people in the Rogersville area.

It is also a tribute to Mr. Hooie's acumen as a businessman because the use of two-way radio communication is going to lower his cost of doing business. By being able to be in constant contact with a truck, he will be able to make one truck do the work of two trucks because he will be able to cut down on expensive and unproductive travel time and on the time that the truck is not actually out on a job.

Alabama is a forward-looking State. It is made up of forward-looking businessmen like Mr. Hooie, and I am determined to do everything in my power to help this type of progress. We must not let anything hinder the increased benefits which the growing use of two-way radio communication is bringing to the people of this country.

We must make room for this type of development. The FCC has described this as one of its thorniest problems, because the rapid growth in the use of two-way radio communication has caused a congestion which is bringing this form of communication almost to a standstill in many places and the applications for new transmitters are pouring in a an estimated rate of about 20,000 per month.

We cannot let this type of communication suffer or its advantages be denied to the people of this country. If some form of relief is needed so that forward-looking businessmen will be able to make the greatest possible use of their two-way radios, then the necessary relief must be found. I shall certainly do my best to see that no Federal Government agency is responsible for any delay in finding such a solution.

Again I congratulate Mr. Hooie, in the name of the people of Alabama and the people I represent here in the Congress, on being the 100,000th licensee in the Business Radio Service and on the contribution he will be making to the welfare of the people he serves through use of two-way radio communication.

I do not want to let this occasion pass without also taking the opportunity to congratulate NABER, the National Association of Business and Educational Radio, on the fine work which it has been doing on behalf of two-way radio users throughout this country under the direction of Mr. Val J. Williams, the executive director of NABER. At hearings held by the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives last year, the testimony NABER presented dramatically and vividly showed the need for additional frequency spectrum for two-way radio users. A fine member of that committee who is an outstanding Member of this Congress and of committees on which I serve, Representative JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, has recalled these hearings on a number of occasions and has forcefully and effectively stated the need of the small businessmen of this country who are two-way radio users for relief in the form of additional frequency spectrum in order that they can better serve their customers who are the people of this country.

NABER has also worked effectively with the FCC and with other radio user organizations toward the solution of this difficult and important problem and I am delighted that this forward looking, active, and productive organization exists to take such an effective role in the work toward this goal.

Women's Wear Daily Pays Tribute to Judge Sarah Hughes, of Dallas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Judge Sarah T. Hughes, of Dallas, Tex., is the first woman ever appointed to be U.S. district judge in any State of the Union, where such appointment required the approval of the U.S. Senate. It was my privilege, as the then senior Senator from Texas, to recommend to the late President John F. Kennedy, in 1961, the appointment of Judge Sarah Hughes.

I have known Judge Hughes since she was a member of the Legislature of Texas more than 35 years ago. She is a brilliant person, and was brilliant as a legislator. At the time of her appointment by Gov. James V. Allred as State district judge in Texas, she was the first women ever to be appointed to serve a full and regular appointment as State district judge in the State of Texas, was the first woman ever to be elected district judge in Texas, and was reelected each 4 years in Dallas County until her appointment by President Kennedy to the district bench of the United States.

Gov. James V. Allred was one of our youngest Governors in the history of Texas, just as President Kennedy was the youngest elected President. Each put his trust in Judge Sarah T. Hughes as a district judge, first State, then Federal, and she has more than fulfilled the trust.

Women's Wear Daily, in the issue of Tuesday, September 19, 1967, pays a fine tribute to Judge Hughes in a well-written article by Hildred Barber, of Dallas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this tribute to Judge Hughes, entitled "The Distaff Bench," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DISTAFF BENCH

(By Hildred Barber)

(NOTE.—Precedent and tradition, like glass, once shattered are often swept up and discarded. President Johnson's recent appointment of a Negro to the United States Supreme Court broke precedent . . . and by flying in the face of tradition he may well have strenghtened the much-talked-of nomination of a woman to the High Bench.)

There was once an unchivalrous rumor that Judge Sarah T. Hughes was too old for an appointment to the Federal bench, That was at the time President Kennedy submitted her nomination to Congress which then proceeded to vote her confirmation in October 1961.

Today she swims daily, rides a bicycle three mornings a week, takes a Spanish lesson from 8 to 9 a.m. and looks forward to her 72d birthday next year (Aug. 2).

She looks back with relish on a free-swinging bumper sticker campaign in 1960 when she wore the red, white and blue Kennedy-Johnson uniform and was photographed by a local newspaper in a spontaneous dance step at an outdoor speech in Dallas by Lyndon Johnson.

The 1960 election was her political valedictory (as a Federal judge, politicking is out). But of that race she says, "I never enjoyed anything more . . . it made me feel years younger."

As one of the few women in the Federal judiciary—and the only woman to administer the oath of office to a U.S. President, Judge Hughes is an inevitable candidate whenever speculation arises that President Johnson may appoint a woman to the Supreme Court.

Her reply to queries about such a possibility is characteristic of her directness and candor: Yes, she's heard of it through the newspapers, but it's gone no further than that.

Would she like to sit on the Supreme Court? "Of course. It's every lawyer's dream. But. . . " She smiles and ends the sentence with a shrug.

Judge Hughes is a woman whose life is full . . . regardless of whether such nebulous dreams are ever realized.

This summer she was a committee chairman at the recent world conference in Geneva on world peace through law.

Her Spanish lessons began some months before a trip in 1960 to Buenos Aires for the commission on status of women.

Other activities have ranged from serving as vice-chairman of the UNESCO national commission to trustee of Goucher and Bishop Colleges.

"I believe in people. Poverty is at the root of much crime and if people had opportunities such as I have had, many of our problems would be solved."

For this reason, criminal law has long had a strong appeal for Judge Hughes. She sees a growing hope that corrective institutions can help with rehabilitation. The work-release program of Federal prisons and some of the outlooks in State prisons can help the person who has been convicted . . to make his return to society easier, give him a different point of view, different ethical standards.

"I think the great hope for people who have been convicted is the opportunity to go to school, take college work, vocational training, join clubs . . . all sorts of things to make them part of the community when they return."

Constitutionally, Judge Hughes is strongly in favor of preserving the rights of the individual.

"I think the Constitution should be so interpreted. It's not a rigid document and should be interpreted in the perspective of today."

Men Cannot Be Free if They Live in Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have long been opposed to the use of the electronic gadgetry made available to us by modern science to pry into the affairs of our people.

The use of eavesdropping devices should not be permitted to either public or private agencies.

The following editorial, from the September 28, 1967, edition of the Washington Post, puts the question squarely so that all concerned must understand that we are choosing between the claims of freedom and the claims of safety. There is no question in my mind but that the claims of freedom must come first.

The editorial follows:

SNOOPING

The Judicial Conference of the United States has voted to endorse legislation that would permit Federal and state investigators to tap telephones and eavesdrop electronically under court order. With the highest respect for the authority of the Conference, we offer an opposition to its view. The social costs of such intrusion into privacy would, in our judgment, heavily outweigh the gains to law enforcement.

The Conference gave its approval to pending eavesdropping legislation with the proviso that it be amended to meet the restrictions laid down in last June's Supreme Court decision in the *Berger* case. In that case, the Court struck down as constitutionally invalid a New York statute authorizing eavesdropping under court order because it failed to meet the Fourth Amendment requirement of a reasonable search—that is, that it particularly describe "the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

The truth is, we think, that this requirement cannot be met by any court order authorizing eavesdropping. As Mr. Justice Black observed in a dissenting opinion in the *Berger* case, the Court's decision "makes constitutional eavesdropping improbable."

It is a fallacy to suppose that a court order can circumscribe or control eavesdropping in the way that a warrant can limit an ordinary search. When a telephone is tapped or a room is bugged, the privacy of everyone using the telephone or the room is invaded, whether or not he is under suspicion of criminal conduct. The conversation of anyone calling the telephone or entering the room is recorded, whether or not it is related to a crime under investigation. Intimacies of every sort—social, business, conjugal—may thus be divulged to the eavesdroppers.

More serious, perhaps, than the eavesdropping itself is the pall which fear of it may put upon normal conversation. The most law-abiding men and women have things to say to each other which they want to say in confidence. Any official intrusion into such privacy is, as Lord Camden put it two centuries ago, "subversive of all the comforts of society." People who fear that government agents may be covertly listening to all that they say are not free people. They speak under constraint. And where this fear is endemic, freedom of communication is a casualty.

The community must choose, as is so often the case, between the claims of freedom and the claims of safety. Acknowledging that bugging and tapping may give the police some assistance in combatting organized crime—or may at any rate make it necessary for criminals to be extremely circumspect in communicating with each other—the question is whether the inhibition on lawful conversation is worth the cost. The choice is between facilitating the work of the police and facilitating free communication. Men cannot be free if they live in fear of official surveillance. "It is more than desirable, it is necessary, that criminals be detected and prosecuted as vigorously as possible. It is more necessary," as President Roosevelt put it, "that citizens of a democracy be protected in their rights of privacy from unwarranted snooping."

Lincolniana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, recently, at the Library of Congress, there was a coming together of Lincolniana. The personal papers of Chief Justice Cartter, and the shorthand notes and transcriptions of James Tanner were turned over to the Library to be added to Lincoln memorabilia.

I ask unanimous consent that an information bulletin of the Library of Congress which provides a concise explanation of these papers be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"COINCIDENCES SPONTANEOUSLY OCCUR"—PLUTARCH

(By David C. Mearns)

In a bedroom in the Petersen house on Washington's Tenth Street on the starless night of April 14–15, 1865, the President of the United States was dying. In the parlor of the house, drumhead interrogations were being conducted, presided over by David Kellogg Cartter, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Summoned from his home next door to record in Pitman shorthand the testimony of the witnesses was James Tanner, then employed in the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department. Corporal Tanner had been a casualty of Second Bull Run; both his legs had been amputated; he got about on wooden pegs. By dawn, Corporal Tanner had completed the transcription of his notes. The evidence clearly showed that John Wilkes Booth had murdered Abraham Lincoln. So much for the stark backdrop; the 21-year-old corporal had found a small but indelible place in history. His wraith would again encounter David Cartter—this time in the Library of Congress. On Wednesday morning, August 9, 1967, Mrs. Job Barnard of Alexandria, Virginia, gave the Library a strongbox containing the personal papers of Chief Justice Cartter. In the afternoon of the same day, the Librarian of Congress received from the hands of Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, acting in behalf of the Union League of Philadelphia, a handsomely bound photofacsimile of the stenographic notes and transcriptions written by James Tanner in the Peterson house more than a century ago. The originals were presented to the League by their author in 1917.

Airport in the Lake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as I have indicated on many occasion in the past, my congressional district in Chicago is immediately adjacent to O'Hare International Airport, the world's largest and busiest airport.

The people of my district must endure some of the most earsplitting noise in the world as the huge jets takeoff and land around the clock every day, including Sundays.

The past several years I have repeatedly called for the construction of an airport in Lake Michigan to defray some of the worst effects of this air traffic and noise to the people of my district and the people of Chicago as a whole. With the advent of the supersonic transports, we are going to be faced with a monumental problem in this Nation.

Scores of scientific studies have proved conclusively that excessive decibels of sound can kill and maim; can bring about complete transformations in personality and can cause severe emotional disorders.

We live in an age characterized by the profusion of noises of all kinds on every hand. There must be more attention paid to preventing the very real dangers connected with sound from damaging our lives.

An airport in Lake Michigan—an airport in the ocean, as proposed by the city of Los Angeles—will help us begin to cope with a crisis in community living that is already reaching the intolerable level.

I am happy to say there are strong indications such a program is being advocated by farsighted realists throughout America. Recently station WLS in Chicago added its own support to this proposal and I believe this editorial should be placed in the RECORD today.

With our expanding technology, we must not fail to remember our very real debt to the society which has permitted such technology to flourish.

The Chicago Daily News also has spoken out forcefully for improvements in the present operation of Midway and O'Hare fields. It has also strongly supported plans to build an airport in Lake Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, I call these editorials to the attention of my colleagues today, hoping they will find them as interesting and thought-provoking as we in Chicago have found them:

AIRPORT IN THE LAKE

It is difficult in some parts of the metropolitan area to carry on a normal conversation because of the noise from over-flying aircraft. This is especially true in the western and northern suburbs on O'Hare flight patterns.

The noise is going to get worse as airliners get bigger. One way to rid Chicago of some of this ear-splitting din would be to build the proposed airport in the lake. Planes could fairly well limit their approaches and take off patterns to flying over the lake instead of over populated areas.

There are many other reasons for the airport in the lake, but WLS believes this is one of the most important. We have enough noise now in Chicago. Any noise we can tune out of our environment the better our community will be.

HANDLING THE AIR TRAFFIC

A two-stage program to expand Chicago's commercial air traffic facilities is moving ahead. Mayor Daley announced simultaneously last week the prospective broadened use of Midway Airport and the completion of a new engineering study attesting the feasibility of putting a third airport on reclaimed lake-bottom land.

The prospective use of Midway by 10 airlines in addition to United is good news indeed, and well justifies the mayor's plan to spend $9,000,000 over two years to improve hangars and runways. The advent of the short-takeoff planes has proved the wisdom of what seemed a daring decision to resume Midway operations when United made it a few years ago.

But the relief afforded cluttered O'Hare Airport by these diversions will provide only a fraction of the whole answer.

The finding by the Harza Engineering Co.—that a diked airport on the lake bottom 5½ miles east of Meigs Field, together with bridge-tunnel-causeway access to the mainland, can be built for $250,000,000 or a bit more—moves the city nearer the long-range solution.

That is approximately the estimated cost of duplicating O'Hare on land. While construction of runways and buildings on the lake site would run the cost considerably higher, a part of those costs would be borne by the airlines in any event, so that the entire project begins to come into sight.

When the convenience factor is counted in—including the fact that the thunderous noise of the ever-larger jets would be mainly lost in the lake approaches—the lake airport sounds more and more like Chicago's answer to the jet age.

East Chicago Sun Cites "Forgotten Americans" Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, John Dreesen, publisher of the East Chicago Sun, writes a column in that weekly under the title "Globe Trotter." In a recent issue he paid some attention to a number of bills I have introduced and which I have called "forgotten American" legislation—legislation for the ordinary, hardworking, unspectacular normal citizen.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Dreesen's editorial statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GLOBE TROTTER

(By John Dreesen)

Indiana's senator Vance Hartke wants the following matter brought to the attention of the people on behalf of the forgotten Americans:

"More of my Senate colleagues agree with me that the forgotten Americans are those who work hard year after year to meet their bills and pay their taxes, giving generously of their time to civic, school and church activities. They are generally of middle class income, of all races and creeds. They have no lobbyist and neither do they demonstrate. In the twilight of their lives, their 'riches' generally are grandchildren born of sons and daughters like themselves.

"Their distinguishing characteristics is that they want to earn their own way in life, neither asking nor receiving any special advantage. You, the reader, know who they are on your street and in your community; perhaps you are one of these 'Forgotten Americans.'

"The antiquated 'earnings test' of our Social Security laws actually militates against people of retirement age who want to keep on earning what they can so that they will not be a burden upon younger family members. As food prices and local taxes increase, they are often hardpressed to keep their homes—and humiliated to learn that they must ask help from sons and daughters caught in the same cost-of-living bind.

"I would appreciate it if you would review with me some of the legislation I have introduced or sponsored which would recognize the very real needs of 'Our Forgotten Americans.' The hard work behind these Senate bills may never capture headlines, but if you agree that they are worthwhile, please let me know by filling out the coupon. Our Forgotten Americans Legislation includes:

"S. 1615, to provide $1,000 income tax exemption per dependent, from the current $600 established in 1947. Before World War II, with living costs much lower, the exemption was $750. (Senator Hartke).

"S. 1165, to end the earnings limitation for Social Security so that beneficiaries may continue to support themselves as long as they are able. Under the law, Social Security checks are cutback if the beneficiary earns as little as $1,500 per year. (Senator Hartke).

"S. 835, to provide income tax deduction for tuition and fees of college education. (Senator Ribicoff, Hartke and others).

"S. 1635, to safeguard employee pension funds against default or company failure, much as bank deposits are protected by federal insurance. (Senator Hartke).

"S. 917, for safe streets and crime control. (Senators McClellan, Hartke and others).

"S. 1736, work-study cooperative education, to enable college students so desiring to alternate between classroom and private employment. Helps student earn his way, while allowing two students per place in classes. (Senators Hartke, Kuchel and others).

"Senator VANCE HARTKE,
"U.S. Senate,
"Washington, D.C.:

"You have my support for "Our Forgotten Americans" legislation. I have this added suggestions: ------------------------------
"--------------------------------------
"--------------------------------------
"Name ------------------------------
"Street/route ------------------------
"Post office ------------------ Zip -----

Why We Fight in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the Clarksville, Tenn., Leaf-Chronicle, carried a letter from Maj. Tracy Jackson in South Vietnam to Mrs. Jackson. Since that time Major Jackson returned to the United States and was awarded the Bronze Star in appropriate ceremonies at Fort Bragg on July 18.

Major Jackson, in his superb letter, advances the best argument I have seen for our opposing Communist aggression and terror in South Vietnam. I commend Major Jackson's letter to my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the Nation.

OFFICER WRITES WHY HE IS FIGHTING IN VIETNAM

Major Tracy Jackson of Clarksville has expressed his views about the conflict in Vietnam in a letter to his wife. He is stationed in Saigon.

After thanking his wife and others for Christmas gifts and letters, he wrote that he received a card which was in "poor taste." The card prepared by the Committee on Conscience on Vietnam of the Fellowship of Reconciliation read:

"They are our brothers whom we kill. More indeed than our brothers, they are ourselves and our children. We call on all to build with us a truly human society on earth."

The letter continues:

"Excellent advise for those people who are out to dominate the world—no matter at what price and at the cost of any lives who get in their way. Whatever possesses people to believe that if only the U.S. would just forget about Communism and the things the Chinese say in public that everything will be all right. Don't worry—just forget that the Viet Cong are killing off the Catholics and Buddhists, then maybe they will start a little revolution in the Philippines, and after that just a 'small' one in Hawaii and then—but we are subjected to the blind longings of some safe and sound committee made up of people from '40 nations' (the card says). The fellowship needs the proceeds from the sale of cards to 'further its worldwide work for peace.'

"What the hell do they do, write poems hoping to calm the Chinese? I recall your letter and the words are so right. Its a sad thing that the world is in such bad shape, but it is, and someone must try to put it right. The poem is right—we are killing our brothers. But I am doing that so my Chinese 'brothers' won't some day kill my family.

"The public, some of them at least, do not have the faintest idea what, the world is really like. It isn't going to get better by ignoring the things that make it bad. I am so glad that the poem was signed 'leaders from 40 countries.' That reminds me of the preacher who talks about sin every Sunday and runs away with a 16-year-old girl from the choir on Monday.

"Men are not basically good—they are sinners as our Christ has said—but I know of no other way to keep Christ alive than by living myself and proclaiming His creed—for if all the Christians were killed, surely the world would die with them. People must never forget that Communism is atheistic—they deny the existence of God, and I feel I must fight the spread of such ideas. The best way to do that is to kill other humans. As bad as that may be, I do not think it is as bad as letting the rest of the world die as subjects of a Godless society.

"I must apologize for such a terrible letter to you. I should be assuring you and saying loving things and sweet things—but tonight I can't do it. I apologize a thousand times, but I am very depressed thinking that such insidious things are going on in our country which attack the very ideals on which our nation was founded. How does one expect a Godless man to believe it is wrong to kill another man? Who is against killing? Only those people who believe in God and the teaching of Christ who said: Love thy neighbor as thyself.

"If there is no God, then man is just a chance of nature, no better than a baboon or a fish, and don't we kill fish and animals? Why then would a Godless man consider another man any more than a fish? The truth of the matter is that he doesn't. The only reason Communists don't go around slaughtering each other is because it is against their civil law and because workers must be kept around to serve the state. Not because a man can hope to find eternal peace some day, but just because some irrational philosopher once said that man was being exploited by capitalism and should fight against everything that the capitalist believed in, which of course included belief in God. What rubbish. To fight Godlessness, one must know the enemy and he is not hard to figure out if you do a little thinking.

"The formula to world domination by Communism is very simple: make men believe they are oppressed by capitalists and kings, destroy their religion by persecution or just ignoring it (not so easy) destroy the old system of government (sometimes easy, sometimes hard) set up a ruling committee of workers and thinkers (easy to do after the other things) then the committee is free to do anything it wants to do with the masses.

"Since there is no God in that society, men have nowhere to turn for mercy or strength (except to the state). Since the committee which rules is made up of just people like everyone else, then what they do is always right, even to murdering people who do not like the committee. Of course the Communists say that once men get away from the outmoded belief in God and are free to work for the state (at a job the state picks, of course) then there will be peace and everyone will love each other. Why don't the Red Guards love the old Chinese Communists? Why don't the Russians love the Chinese? Why? Because man is basically a sinner and must have God and Christ to believe in to live in peace. Never in history has a nation lived long without God—and when the time comes that such a thing happens—hell has arrived on earth.

"As Christians we must preserve the faith and spread the gospel, but we can't do that when we are all dead. We here are fighting to make sure you at home are not faced with a choice of dying or believing in a Godless society. That is no choice. And I apologize again, but we cannot do that when we are all dead. We are here fighting to make sure you at home are not faced with a choice of dying or believing in a Godless society. That is no choice. And I apologize again but I cannot keep silent about such things. I believe I am right and I intend to show millions of people that I am right, even to the extent of killing thousands just to be able to talk to the rest. God will surely send me to hell for my sins against His word, but I will go gladly if I know my efforts allowed others to gain heaven. Christianity must not die, because the world will surely die with it. I will not wish that on my children and their childrens children.

"Though this does not sound like it, it is truly a love letter. Even though some people do not believe it and think it corny, I believe the words of Christ—no greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for a friend. My friend is you and all the other good people I know. I believe in what I am doing and I am strong because you believe in it too. You are my reason for life, and I live with that thought constantly. But I am not so weak a man that I would retreat from facing death for what I believe. In that is my love for you—to provide for your safety and peace as I best know how.

"Forever,

"TRACY."

Big Bill, but Worth It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD J. IRWIN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD for the interest of my colleagues a note on the money our Nation is spending this year on education. The expenditures by all levels of education across the country will total more than $52 billion. This is a lot of money; in fact, it represents almost 7 percent of the gross national product.

But, when one considers that this affects more than 30 percent of the U.S. population and it is an investment in the capacities and the future earning power of the American people, one realizes that it is a most worthwhile expenditure. The following is an editorial from the Bridgeport Post on this big bill that is worth it:

BIG BILL, BUT WORTH IT

The nation's education bill for the coming year also will set a record—more than $52 billion.

Approximately 60,000,000 persons—more than 30 per cent of the U.S. population—will be occupied as pupils, teachers or administrators. This is solid evidence of the strong growing commitment of the American people to education.

"The nation is investing a larger share of its resources on its schools, and young people are staying in school longer," notes U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Undersecretary Wilbur J. Cohen.

Higher education will show the largest percentage enrollment increase. About 6,500,000 students are likely to enroll in colleges and universities this fall, up 8.3 per cent from 6,000,000 last year.

A decline in births since 1961 is beginning to slow the pace of elementary school enrollments. Office of Education projections indicate that the full impact of the lower birth rate may not be felt until the early 1970's, when small yearly reductions may occur in the number of grade school children.

To finance the educational enterprise from kindergarten through graduate school, expenditures for the 1967–68 school year are likely to represent almost seven per cent of the gross national product. It is a heavy investment but it will help increase our national productivity by enabling Americans to more fully realize their capacities.

American Slovaks Celebrate Noted Anniversary in Rome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, a historical event took place in Rome from September 14 to 17, 1967, which has a great historical significance. The 11th centenary of the arrival of SS. Cyril and Methodius in the Eternal City, which started a new epoch in the history of the Christian world, was observed here.

I am happy that an American bishop of my district, His Excellency, Most Reverend Andrew G. Grutka, first ordinary of Gary, Ind., diocese played such an important role in this historical anniversary, which, according to Mr. John C. Sciranka, associate editor of Good Shepherd, wrote a new chapter in the history of American Slovak Catholicism.

The historical event is described briefly in the following report in The Falcon, official organ of the Slovak Catholic Sokol:

Six Cardinals and four Slovak bishops took part in the historical ceremonies observing eleventh centenary of the arrival of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Rome in a four-day celebration from September 14 to 17, 1967.

Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, dean of College of Cardinals pontificated and Amleto Cardinal Cicognani, Secretary of Papal State preached. Present was Cardinal Ottiviani at the Slovak Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius on September 15, feast of Mother of Sorrows, Patroness of Slovakia.

Cardinal Confalonieri pontificated and preached at the basilica Santa Maria Maggiore, where eleven hundred years ago Pope Hadrian II, blessed the Sacred Books, translated into Slovak by SS. Cyril and Methodius and approved the Slavonic Liturgy.

And on Sunday, September 17, Gabriel Cardinal Garonne, was chief concelebrant of the mass of thanksgiving at the St. Clement's basilica, where St. Cyril is buried. Jozef Cardinal Beran, archbishop of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, now residing in Rome was also present. Bishop Andrew G. Grutka, protector of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America and spiritual leader of the pilgrimage took part in all the ceremonies and preached on September 15th. Bishop Grutka presented to Cardinal Cicognani Latin-Slovak Missal for

Pope Paul VI, who due to illness was unable to be present at this historical ceremony. Present at the ceremonies besides Bishop Grutka were also, Bishop Nicholas T. Elko, Byzantine Eparch of Pittsburgh, Pa., now residing in Rome; Bishop Michael Rusnak, the first Slovak Byzantine Bishop in Canada and Bishop Paul Hnilica, S.J., residing in Rome.

The American Slovak prelates were concelebrants at mass and assisted the mentioned Princes of the Church at these historical ceremonies which were given wide publicity.

Representatives of many Slavonic nations were present. The Slovak Institute in Rome, headed by Msgr. Stefan Nahalka, its Director and Msgr. Joseph Tomko, prepared an elaborate program for this historical observance. Slovak pilgrims from the United States were in the largest number. Slovak pilgrims also came from Yugoslavia, Austria, France, Canada and other countries.

Canon Joseph S. Altany, Supreme President of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America and other Supreme Officers with Rt. Rev. Abbot Jerome Koval, O.S.B. of Cleveland, Ohio, took part in the historical ceremonies.

What is the Slovak Catholic Federation of America and why are the SS. Cyril and Methodius revered by the Slovaks and the Slavonic people in general?

These two questions are briefly answered by Mr. John C. Sciranka, American Slovak journalist of Passaic, N.J., whose many articles were published in the Record, and who is the national press director of the federation and associate editor of Good Shepherd, as follows:

The Slovak Catholic Federation of America is a well known Catholic Action organization founded on February 22, 1911, at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., by Father Murgas, noted priest-scientist. It received blessing from such great Americans as James Cardinal Gibbons and many members of American hierarchy. The by-laws of the Federation were endorsed by John Cardinal Bonzano, then apostolic delegate in the United States.

The Federation was incorporated in the County of Luzerne, State of Pennsylvania, on December 30, 1912. The purpose of the Federation is to promote the works of piety, education and charity among the American Slovaks. It has aided in the erection of schools of higher learning in America. Its most recent monument is the erection of the Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Rome for the training of priests for future work in Slovakia, now under Communism.

The Federation also donated two statues of SS. Cyril and Methodius to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., and holds pilgrimages during the month of July in their honor. Their feast is observed on July 7.

What St. Boniface is to the Germans, St. Augustine to the English and St. Patrick to the Irish, that is what SS. Cyril and Methodius are to the Slovaks and the Slavs, numbering some 350 million.

They were born in Thessalonica, Greece in the 9th century and came to what is now Moravia and Slovakia in 863 A.D., at the invitation of Slovak Ruler Rastislav from Byzantium, sent by Emperor Michael III.

They translated the Bible and Scriptures into the old Slavonic language and after many obstacles had them approved and blessed in Rome by Pope Hadrian II. Thus the old tradition was broken that the Sacred Liturgy could be celebrated only in Greek, Hebrew and Latin. In this blessed age, when we Americans have the privilege to have our Liturgy in English and all other ethnic tongues, we give praise to these two great Apostles, whose Millenium was observed in 1863 by 80 million people and whose Eleventh Centenary in in 1963 was exalted by Pope John XXIII of blessed memory and Pope Paul VI.

St. Cyril died in Rome and was buried in the basilica of St. Clement, which is the titular church of His Eminence Lawrence J. Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore, Maryland, and under the care of Irish Dominican Fathers. SS. Cyril and Methodius found the relics of St. Clement near Russia and brought them first to Slovakia and then to Rome in 867 A.D., or 11 centuries ago, which was commemorated at this historical pilgrimage now.

Textile Trade Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of last week, I introduced a bill as a companion measure to H.R. 11578, introduced by the Honorable Wilbur Mills, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. This bill is known as the Textile Trade Act of 1967.

The bill has the support of both the cotton and the woolen industries as near catastrophe faces both of these basic industries.

While the Sixth Congressional District does not produce any cotton, we do produce a large amount of wool from our farm flocks, and we feed hundreds of thousands of lambs annually. The present wool price, hanging at less than 50 percent of parity, only partially tells the story of the price problems that our producers face.

Most of these lack-of-income problems can be laid at the door of unbridled imports. It is unconscionable that we are asking our farmers to permit and live with higher guaranteed labor costs, higher feed costs, and higher fixed costs all around, and then still ask them to compete equitably with the world with their level of production costs.

I am enclosing a table of the hourly wage rates paid to weavers of some of these countries whose exports are coming into the United States. This table is compiled by the U.S. Department of Commerce, and I believe shows the great unbalance that exists:

Country	*Hourly wage rate*
United States	$2.02
West Germany	.96
Belgium	.80
France	.63
Italy	.55
Spain	.44
Portugal	.19
Netherlands	.75
Colombia	.21
Mexico	.55
Japan	.39
Hong Kong	.29
Singapore	.17
Taiwan	.14

Mr. Speaker, this bill would authorize the President to carry out the intent of the textile program of 1961, which really has never been fully implemented.

I am informed that the woolen textile imports in 1966 into the United States displaced or cost us the loss of 20 million man-days of domestic labor.

In view of the conditions cited above, plus the fact that the conditions generally agreed to by the U.S. representatives at the Kennedy round tariff conference at Geneva, whereby wool and woolen textiles face additional tariff reductions, I believe that the passage of this bill to be urgent.

Too Little, Too Late?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the September 21, 1967, issue of the Cedar Rapids Gazette, contained an editorial relative to my proposal for growth and progress in higher education known as the Iowa plan. A revision of this proposal will be introduced in the House this week. I commend the reading of the Gazette editorial to my colleagues in the House:

Too Little, Too Late?

Iowa Rep. Fred Schwengel has souped up his bill for a tax credit to ease the burden of financing a college education. The new version would provide at least $2,000 in tax credit for every young person who goes to an accredited school of higher learning—an increase of $400 over the tax credits provided in Schwengel's original bill. This is an adjustment to the fact that college costs have been going up steadily since the congressman first got interested in such legislation, and no end to the rise is yet in sight.

Revision of his original bill is logical enqugh, although there has been little indication that congress is about to approve the bill in its earlier form—or, indeed, any of a number of other proposals for lightening the financial load on college students and their parents. There has been considerable lip service to the idea from time to time, but no action worth mentioning. We hope that perseverence by men like Rep. Schwengel will be rewarded by tangible results soon.

Perhaps one reason results have not been achieved so far is that even the most liberal of the college-cost relief bills have not inspired much clamorous public support because the help they propose seems relatively small when compared with the total cost of going to college. That cost—which now ranges from $8,000 to $15,000 or more per student over a four-year period, and is still going up—would stagger many parents even if the government should offer to pay as much as $2,000 of it.

In some ways, moreover, it is most frustrating to parents who put a high value on college education for their children—particularly those in the middle-income range who have college backgrounds themselves.

Scholarships are available to many good students whose parents are in the low-income brackets, but they are much less readily available to good students whose parents are better off financially. A great many with incomes high enough to exclude them from scholarship aid have other obligations which make even an $8,000 college outlay difficult to swing. Also the opportunities for a student's earning by part-time work anything like enough to pay his way through college are far fever than they once were.

Barring some more satisfactory way of financing the cost of attending college than has been proposed up to date, it appears likely that the steady increase in that cost will choke off the rising tide of students sooner or later.

The Case for General Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, a great many people are seeking to place the blame for aircraft accidents upon general aviation or those flying private aircraft. After each unfortunate accident, one sometimes hears that general aviation should be barred from big city airports and heavily restricted.

Recently, one of my constituents sent me a letter in defense of general aviation which I believe presents some interesting points that should be considered by all persons interested in this controversy and in aircraft safety. Portions of the letter follow:

1. Presently, in this country aircraft classified as general aviation, which includes business aircraft as well as private aircraft represents 98% of all of the aircraft in the country.

2. 75% of all of the air traffic handled at over 300 airports with control towers (including such large airports as Kennedy and O'Hare) are general aviation aircraft.

3. Commercial airlines presently serve only 6% of the country's civil airports, whereas, general aviation aircraft serve theoretically 100% of the country's civil airports.

4. General aviation aircraft, including the small private planes flown by persons such as myself, have more sophisticated electronic equipment by many times than all of the airplanes combined, and the general aviation pilot, whether he be flying business aircraft or private aircraft, must fly by the same rules and regulations set forth by the FAA.

5. At the present date, general aviation aircraft outnumber airline aircraft at a ratio of 55 to 1; thus, the record of approximately 1000 fatalities for general aviation in 1966 does not look too bad compared with the airlines fatalities of 272 during the same period of time, particularly when such accidents often occur through crop-dusting operations, rescue missions, etc., and are chalked up against general aviation.

As a private pilot, I am increasingly concerned over the attitudes of some of our law makers, and some of our excitable citizens who seem to wish to regulate general aviation operations out of a number of our major city terminals, and in fact, recommendations have been made that would prohibit general aviation from using controlled airways. I took upon these recommendations in a comparative manner to regulations which would bar the private automobile from U.S. or State highways in order that mail trucks and private buses would have the exclusive use of the highways.

Another area of concern on my part is the attitude on the part of some officials, including some associated with the FAA, that many of the services provided general aviation should be paid for *directly* by the pilots involved, via a fee system. I foresee in any situations in this direction pitfalls of bureaucracy. Could you imagine minor officials and their employees setting up systems for collection of fees for the use of radio navigation signals, tower communications, etc. I cannot image calling a control tower, and checking with them as to whether they had 2 miles visibility or 1 mile visibility, and then receiving a billing for this communication one month later of perhaps 50¢. Believe me, Charlie, people are talking about possibilities as stupid as what I have mentioned.

That America Stay Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following editorial, which appeared in yesterday's Indianapolis Star, makes a lot of sense:

THAT AMERICA STAY FREE

There are fresh reports that the "Minutemen" are drilling in preparation to take some action—we don't know what—in case they decide the country has been sold out to Communism.

In Philadelphia the district attorney says he has uncovered a bizarre plot, laid at the door of members of the Revolutionary Action Movement, to assassinate various officials from himself to President Johnson and to carry out wholesale poisoning of firemen and policemen in the uproar of a riot.

The two stories deal with opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, but they have elements in common. Right-wing militants fear successful subversion or a breakdown of law and order, and advocate readiness to take the law into their own hands. Left-wing revolutionaries want to bring about a breakdown of law and order, in the hope that they will be able to seize power.

The goals on one side are defensive, on the other side aggressively offensive. But both philosophies, in their separate ways, strike at the American principle of government of law. Both point toward anarchy.

There's a great temptation to snap that revolutionaries and anarchists of all stripes should be rounded up and put in jail, and then things would be more peaceful. But in a land of freedom it's not that simple.

If an actual srious conspiracy to commit murder or to start a riot can be proved in Philadelphia, the conspirators can be jailed. But this means more than just talking about assassination or poisoning or rioting. It means a plan at least apparently workable and evidence of actual intent to carry it out.

Under the law as it is interpreted, it is not sedition even to speak of overthrowing the government. The rule of law, laid down by the Supreme Court, is that there must be a "clear and present danger" that a seditious plot actually will bet set in motion.

It may seem that by such rules and principles a free nation deliberately sets in its own path very formidable obstacles to its own self-preservation. This may be because the men who drafted this nation's set of basic precepts knew what it was like to live under tyrannical oppression in which a man's liberty or even his life might be jeopardized by giving voice to beliefs unacceptable to the ruling powers.

They wanted a nation free from that kind of oppression.

And so we have a nation in which it is not a crime to speak out against the government, against those in power, against the laws, or the courts or the whole system. It is not a crime to urge that it all be overturned. It is only when vituperance of opinion is transmuted into violence of action that the line into an area of criminality is crossed.

That line between freedom of expression and criminal incitement is very hard to define. The principles of freedom require that the hand of the police power of government be withheld until it is clear beyond reasonable doubt that the line has been crossed.

And so it is that there are persons moving about the country today unhampered by the law as they give vent to rantings which sound very much like sedition. They are disgusting and infuriating, and sometimes a bit frightening.

Yet even though it is the very freedom which protects them against which they rant, the law cannot be used to shut them up without destroying the freedom of all of us.

The defense of freedom does indeed labor under severe self-imposed handicaps. Yet freedom somehow survives. She survives because she is surrounded by men and women who love her.

America has remained free because America is peopled by lovers of freedom. If this ever ceases to be so then freedom in America will perish in any case. As long as it remains so the rabble-rousers of anarchy are, in the end, shouting futilely into the wind.

To Build a Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend to the attention of this House the recent decision of America's leading insurance companies to invest $1 billion in real estate located in high-risk ghettos throughout the Nation. My views on this outstanding example of Americanism at work are reflected in an editorial from the Baltimore News-American of September 21, and I include it in the RECORD of the proceedings of this House:

TO BUILD A FUTURE

Creative patriotism is one description that could properly be applied to the decision by America's leading life insurance companies to invest $1 billion in ghetto real estate. The decision reflects both an unselfish concern for the nation's welfare and the boldness of imagination for which our business leaders are world famous.

In a day when astronomical sums are discussed in Washington like so many peanuts, $1 billion may not seem like a lot of money. Yet it is approximately one-sixteenth of the total amount set aside annually for all investments by the insurance companies. And it is money the companies could invest more profitably elsewhere if profit were their motivation.

The sole motivation of the companies is to help improve the quality of life in our slum-infested cities, thus helping eradicate the root causes of crime and civil disorder. They know they can make only a small dent toward solving the enormous problem by themselves. But they know also that by setting a bold example for other large pools of private capital, they have accomplished a long-needed breakthrough.

Other private groups can be expected now to follow the trail blazed by the insurance companies in establishing a creative partnership with the federal government to help meet the urban crisis. In fact, only a day after the companies announced their program, the 40-million-member National Council of Churches committed a minimum of 10 per-

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cent of its capital funds to high-risk, low-return investments in city slums and urged others to do the same.

Cleaning up the nation's slums is a job that will take many years and many, many billions of dollars. But it is a job that can and must be done to build a healthy future for the nation, and it is a job the government cannot and should not be expected to do unaided. In their act of creative patriotism, the nation's major life insurance companies have shown the way.

Tide May Be Turning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I take the opportunity today to call to the attention of the American people and to the Members of this House a situation that has pervaded this distinguished body over the years until today the voice of Congress has become but a cry in the wilderness. The will of the people has been supplanted by the will of an administration. But Mr. Speaker, I believe that the signs of strain and stress are beginning to show through the maze, the voice of the people is starting to be heard, and this Congress is commencing to regain the responsibilities for its rightful duties.

The following excerpts may serve to emphasize this point and let us hope that we shall be deserving of the people's trust.

Mr. Allan C. Brownfeld, writing in the September 28, 1967, issue of the "Roll Call," observes:

> Power is the essence of politics. Where power lies, is where decisions are made, funds distributed, programs initiated, and important directions set forth. Political men devote their lives to gaining power, and give it up only when compelled to do so either by the force of events or the appearance of an even more persuasive seeker after that same commodity.
>
> To prevent any one man, or group of men, from dominating the United States by acquisition of such power the Constitution made it clear that power was to be diffused and divided. The Founding Fathers did not want to substitute an all powerful executive or all powerful legislature for a despotic king. Thus, the legislature was given certain functions, and the executive was given others.

The Constitution is explicit in its intent of the division of powers, where in article I, section 1 it states:

> All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Among those powers enumerated in section 8 are the power to lay and collect taxes, regulate commerce with foreign nations, coin money and regulate the value thereof, declare war, and to raise and support armies. In addition, Congress has the exclusive powers to make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces, provide for calling the militia to execute the laws, and others.

Of particular note in section 8, Congress is entrusted with the power "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or officer thereof."

Then in article II, section 1, "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." In section 3 it is pointed out that "He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; (and) he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

As a further measure to insure the balance of power, the President may veto any legislation passed by Congress, but Congress may override this veto by a two-thirds vote of both Houses. The judicial branch, of course, acts to compliment the balance among the three branches.

Mr. Brownfeld continues in his observation that:

> It was a carefully devised system, and as long as the various poles of power remained divided, it worked well. During the course of history we have had weak presidents and strong ones. Andrew Jackson assumed more authority, William Henry Harrison less. Still, the Congress maintained effective control over the areas within its jurisdiction, at least most of the time. In the long run, Congress' will was done.
>
> Today Congress' will is not done. The Congress passes a law, set forths a policy goal, appropriates a sum of money, and is then effectively ignored by the executive and the bureaucracy, which has become a most effective and virtually autonomous fourth branch of government. The Congress is, in fact, scorned by both the executive and the bureaucracy.

To cite the rather effective "management" of Congress and usurpation of Congress legislative initiative by the President, Congress enacted almost two-thirds of the more than 1,000 measures proposed by the administration during its first 3 years in the White House through calendar year 1966. The majority of these not only created new spending authority, but paved the way for programs that Congress will most certainly be asked and influenced to expand by countless billions of dollars annually.

The challenge to Congress could not be more plainly stated than in Mr. Brownfeld's words that:

> If the will of Congress is ignored, this means simply that the will of the people, for whom the Congress speaks, is being effectively thwarted. This is, in no sense, the kind of representative government set forth in the Constitution.

Of course, Congress itself shares in the responsibility for the creation of this situation. As stated by Prof. Hans Morganthau, commenting in particular on the role of Congress in relation to the President in foreign affairs:

> In former times I tried to admonish a number of Presidents to use their enormous power against an obstructionist Congress in order to put American foreign policy on the right course. Today it is necessary to admonish a subservient Congress to make use of its power of criticism, delay, and if necessary even obstruction, in order to prevent pernicious tendencies in American foreign policy to come to fruition. But the Congress today is subservient, to an unprecedented degree, to the power of the Executive.—From Conference Papers, "The Role of the Public in the Formation of American Foreign Policy," University of Illinois, December 3–4, 1965, page 32.

It appears, Mr. Speaker, that the tide may be turning in view of recent actions by this body, and it may just be due to the fact that the voice of the people is making itself heard.

St. Stanislaus Scene of Weeklong Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of last week the 18th general convention of the Polish National Union was opened in the city of Scranton by the Most Reverend Leon Grochowski, prime bishop.

The convening of this meeting is indeed a momentous occasion in the history of the Polish National Union, and is equally momentous in the history of the city of Scranton, where the Polish National Union was formed by the late Prime Bishop Huder in 1908. It has become, since then, a fraternal organization extending all across these United States.

I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that you and my other colleagues here in the Congress would wish to join me in extending our compliments to His Excellency, Bishop Grochowski, and to all the members of the Polish National Union gathered in Scranton. I am equally certain you would wish to commend their wisdom in having this 18th convention in my own 10th Congressional District, where hospitality is an ancient and honored way of life among the people.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will append here an article from the Scranton Times which discusses the 18th convention:

BISHOP CELEBRATES MASS—ST. STANISLAUS SCENE OF WEEK-LONG SESSION

> St. Stanislaus Polish National Cathedral, 535 E. Locust St., was the scene this morning for the official opening of the 18th general convention of the Polish National Union of America. A solemn pontificial mass offered by the Most Rev. Leon Grochowski, prime bishop.
>
> Union members from various parts of the country gathered outside the Cathedral for the start of the convention.
>
> The Rt. Rev. Francis Rowinski, bishop of the Western Diocese, scheduled to present the sermon, was unable to attend since he had to officiate at funeral services for the Rt. Rev. Francis Bonczak, who was the oldest bishop in the union, in Milwaukee, Wis.
>
> Bishop Grochowski, of Scranton, substituted for Bishop Rowinski and gave the sermon in Polish. Bishop Lesniak delivered the sermons in English.
>
> Following the mass, an entourage visited the Bishop Hodur Memorial in the Minooka

section to place a wreath on the resting place of the organizer of the PNU, the Most Rev. Francis Hodur.

A luncheon was served in the school auditorium by the women of the PNU from District 1, with Mrs. Lottie Makowski as chairman of the luncheon committee.

The convention opened at 2:30 p.m. in the newly dedicated St. Stanislaus Youth Center, 530 Elm St.

Convention sessions will continue on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Jermyn Motor Inn, starting at 9 a.m. each day.

Marion Ciepak, a noted writer and orator from Fall River, Mass., was among the principal speakers for the opening session.

The PNU was founded in Scranton by the date Prime Bishop Hodur in 1908 and is now a nationwide fraternal organization.

On Tuesday a concert of the United Choirs will be heard at 8 p.m. in the Youth Center Building with a dance to follow.

Congressman Daniels Hails Freedoms Foundation Winner, George Toripow, of Kearny, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, last week winners of a special contest sponsored by the Freedoms Foundation, of Valley Forge, Pa., were taken as guests of that organization on a trip to historic sites connected with the establishment of this Nation.

Two members of the student-faculty group were residents of the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey, Mrs. Grace Kelaher, a member of the teaching staff of the Kearny, N.J., school system and a very outstanding eighth grade student at the Lincoln School in Kearny named George Toripow, who lives at 51 Johnston Avenue in Kearny. George, by the way, is a young man who was born in Poland and was selected as a result of both his academic background, leadership, and citizenship. Clearly, he is an example for all young people to emulate.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great source of regret that the press of business here in the House prevented me from being able to have lunch with this fine teacher and this very exemplary young man. However, my legislative assistant, who was with them, reported to me that they were recipients of every courtesy from several Members of the other body, notably the beloved senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], with whom Mrs. Kelaher and George had lunch, the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough], the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], as well as the chaplain of the Senate, the Reverend Doctor Frederick Brown Harris. To all of these fine men I would like to extend my personal thanks.

Mr. Speaker, Freedoms Foundation deserves the thanks of this House for this very fine program and, speaking for my constituents involved, I can report that it was a great success.

Let's Have the Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a complaint has been filed in the U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, by Mr. Sherman H. Skolnick, who seeks to compel Commissioner James B. Parsons and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to make public what has become known as the Blakey report.

The complaint states among other things that a 63-page report prepared by Mr. G. Robert Blakey, associate professor of the Notre Dame School of Law, dealing in part with alleged corruption of members of the judiciary in Chicago, Ill., has been suppressed by Commissioner Parsons and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

Mr. Speaker, for far too long have there been reports of corruption in the Federal and State courts of Illinois and Oklahoma to name but two specific areas of the country. It is high time that the truth be made known, and it is incredible that any allegations of corruption or tainted justice, made by any responsible citizen, should be suppressed and withheld from the public.

However, Mr. Speaker, for many long months have I tried repeatedly to obtain through the House Judiciary Committee a thorough investigation of the charges and countercharges made against each other by three Federal judges in Oklahoma. Only the committee can explain why it has failed to act to establish respect for and integrity in the Federal courts of Oklahoma and elsewhere.

I submit for printing in the Congressional Record, together with my remarks, a verbatim copy of the complaint as filed by Mr. Skolnick in the U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois:

Sherman H. Skolnick, Plaintiff, v. Commissioner James Benton Parsons, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Defandants

(Civil action No. 67C1623, filed Sept. 22, 1967, in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division)

COMPLAINTS

The plaintiff, Sherman H. Skolnick, complaining of the defendants, Commissioner James Benton Parsons, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, alleges as follows:

1. That this Court has original jurisdiction of this action under Title 28, United States Code, Section 1361.

2. That plaintiff resides in Chicago, Illinois, and is a citizen and taxpayer of the United States.

3. That defendant Commissioner James Benton Parsons resides within the Northern District of Illinois, and is and has been a Commissioner of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, said Commission, hereinafter called President's Commission.

That the President's Commission was established on July 23, 1965, through Executive Order 11236.

4. That plaintiff is and has been a party-litigant in several controversies in the state and federal courts in Chicago, Illinois, and in Illinois.

5. That this action is brought by plaintiff on behalf of himself and on behalf of all other litigants and citizens similarly situated.

6. That according to a published report in the September 8, 1967, issue of Life Magazine, page 103, a national magazine of wide circulation, a 63-page report was submitted to defendants by G. Robert Blakey, Associate Professor, Notre Dame Law School, Notre Dame, Indiana; said 63-page report hereinafter referred to as Blakey report.

That according to the September 8, 1967, article in Life Magazine, the President's Commission suppressed the Blakey report dealing, among other things, with corruption of members of the judiciary in Chicago, Illinois. Plaintiff states on information and belief that defendant Commissioner Parsons participated in suppressing the Blakey report for reasons as more fully hereinafter set forth.

7. That defendants, Commissioner Parsons and the President's Commission, owed a duty to this plaintiff and other persons similarly situated, as follows:

(a) owed a duty not to shield and protect, and to continue to shield and protect, purportedly corrupt members of the judiciary in Chicago, and shield and protect other such venal and corrupt office-holders, by suppressing the Blakey report, or participating in suppressing it, under color of a public agency and at the taxpayers' expense.

(b) owed a duty not to suppress, or participate or participating in suppressing a report, and continuing so to do, said report gathered, made, or used, or to be used, at public expense.

(c) owed a duty not to participate, and continue to participate, under color of legal authority of a public agency, in assisting, aiding, and abetting, those members of the judiciary in Chicago who are depriving, will continue to deprive, and have deprived, plaintiffs and others similarly situated, of equal justice under law.

Plaintiffs, and others similarly situated, have a right to justice without being obliged to pay for the same, through bribery, blackmail, influence-peddling, deposits in banks in which judges are also directors, large stockholders, or officers, or such other corrupt and similar means.

(d) owed a duty not to suppress data of, or in, a public agency and preventing, blocking, or sabotaging disclosure of such data; and preventing plaintiff and others similarly situated of having the benefit and use of such data to assist themselves in defending their persons, properties, and reputations from damage or destruction at the hands of those purportedly corrupt members of the judiciary in Chicago. And owed a duty not to engage in blocking, preventing, or sabotaging disclosure of such data, thereby preventing plaintiff and other similarly situated to assist themselves in obtaining equal justice under law in the Chicago courts without having to resort to paying for justice.

That plaintiff and others similarly situated have a right to such data as in the Blakey report in order to defend their persons, properties, and reputations against damage and destruction by those members of the Chicago judiciary who are crooked and are linked with organized crime.

8. That defendants Commissioner Parsons who is also a federal district judge in Chicago and President's Commission, by participating and continuing to participate in suppressing the Blakey report, have directly or otherwise, been blocking, suppressing, or withholding, the following:

(a) That the Chief Judge of the United States District Court, in Chicago, Illinois, William J. Campbell, has been a director of a hoodlum-front organization called the Albert

Parvin Foundation, and that Albert Parvin, the founder of said foundation, has a criminal record in Chicago, Illinois. Further, that Judge Campbell, just prior to the formation of said foundation, entered a questionable damage verdict in a sidewalk accident case that accrued to the benefit of one of Albert Parvin's relatives, Bernice Parvin.

(b) That Federal Seventh Circuit Judge F. Ryan Duffy, and other federal judges have refused to investigate a well-documented fraud upon the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in the case of North Star Ice Equipment Company vs. Akshun Manufacturing Company, No. 13443 in said Court, said case being a patent infringement suit.

That the circumstances and events involved in, or related to, said fraud upon the court show that there has been a malign influence upon said judges, and that the judgment and decision obtained by North Star were obtaind by fraud upon the court including manipulation of court records and a certain controlling Exhibit 21.

Further, that Seventh Circuit Judges F. Ryan Duffy and John S. Hastings coerced and intimidated Akshun's attorneys, Patrick H. Hume, of the law firm of Byron, Hume, Groen & Clement, in a secret conference in said judges' office, so that Akshun's attorney, and Akshun's successor, V & S's attorney, the said Hume et al., pursuant to said coercion, suddenly withdrew. Thereby, Akshun and V & S were left without counsel without notice. As a consequence, Akshun became financially impaired.

Moreover, the patent case-law precedent set in the North Star case has operated to the damage of other patent cases as follows:

Related cases in which the fraudulently obtained North Star decision becomes controlling prior law:

Akshun Mfg. Co., Inc. & V & S Ice Machine Co., Inc., vs. Carvier Corporation, No. 57 C 1065, U.S. District Court, Chicago, Illinois;

Akshun Mfg. Co., Inc. v. Burge Ice Machine Co., No. 57 C 1856, in U.S. District Court, Chicago, Illinois;

Akshun Mfg. Co., Inc., and V & S Ice Machine Co., Inc. vs. North Star Ice Equipment Co.; James C. Wood; Lyle Branchflower; Allen L. Truer; and Loren Hovland; No. 65 C 1219, U.S. District Court, Chicago, Illinois; U.S. District Judge Parsons refused to investigate the fraud upon the court.

The North Star fraud upon the court was continued into another federal circuit and was used three times to commit fraud upon the Supreme Court of the United States.

The unrelated cases in which the fraudulently obtained North Star decision becomes controlling prior law:

Taylor-Reed Corp. vs. Mennen Food Products, 324 F. 2d 108 (1963).

Ernst Johan Jens Hendriksen and W. A. Sheaffer Pen Co. vs. Cory Corp., 327 F. 2d 409 (1964).

Paper Mate Mfg. Co. and The Paper Mate Co. vs. W. A. Sheaffer Pen Co., No. 3–624–D U.S. District Court, S.D. Iowa, Davenport Division (1965).

In the Seventh Federal Judicial Circuit, there have been other frauds upon the court in patent cases.

(c) That a certain attorney, named Harry G. Fins, in May, 1966, in the presence of three state court judges and other persons, when confronted by Sherman H. Skolnick, did not deny that he, Fins, had been a so-called court "bagman" and had corrupted and obstructed the due administration of justice in more than thirteen lawsuits including three lawsuits of Sherman H. Skolnick. Among the three said lawsuits were two adjudicated by Seventh Circuit Judge Win G. Knoch.

That prior to that, in 1964, the said Fins together with a state court judge, named Hallett, sought to silence Skolnick, a paraplegic invalid, by admittedly without jurisdiction seeking to falsely arrest and falsely detain Skolnick on a day when the court was closed for Primary Election. Skolnick brought a federal court false arrest-false detention damage suit against Fins and Hallett, said suit being assigned to Chicago District Court Judge P. Sam Perry who dismissed the suit in secret, without notice or hearing, and before the defendants had made their appearances and before the time had expired for defendants to answer or otherwise plead. Skolnick was deprived of the statuory right of appeal by Judge Perry participating in falsifying the record on appeal, thus depriving Skolnick of an appeal on the true record.

Seventh Circuit Judges F. Ryan Duffy, Elmer J. Schnackenberg, and Latham Castle, in 1965, wrote an appeal "Opinion" of their court shielding and protecting Harry G. Fins by making statements in said "Opinion" directly opposite the record on appeal and containing statements that were fictitious and imaginary. Said judges refused to do anything about the falsification of the record on appeal.

(d) That three of the Seventh Circuit Federal Judges, in the U.S. Court of Appeals, are also or have been officers or directors of banks and have, without disqualifying themselves, heard more than 22 cases in which banks ,were parties. State Court judge Mel F. Abrahamson, who was also President of the Naperville (Ill.) National Bank, issued an injunction resulting in the closing of a bank in the nearby town of Westmont, Illinois. The Chairman of the Board and also a director of the Naperville National Bank has been and is Seventh Circuit Judge Win G. Knoch.

That the group benefitting by the closing of the bank in Westmont, Illinos, has been represented by the aforementioned Harry G. Fins. That Judge Knoch has made several questionable decisions in his court accruing to the benefit of the Crest Finance Company and their attorney Harry G. Fins.

(e) That there have been at least two federal suits in Illinois involving bribery and perjury, and the federal judges did not investigate the facts and afforded the aggrieved persons no remedy. Liddell vs. Smith, No. 14778, in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit; and Sarelas vs. Sheehan, No. 15046, in said court. A third suit, involving prejury and obstruction of justice, is Sarelas vs. Sheehan, No. 14234, in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

(f) That there has been an apparent custom, practice, and usage in Illinois for certain judges to come to testify on behalf of persons being prosecuted for obstruction of justice, perjury, and jury tampering. Seven judges came to testify for Echeles in U.S. vs. Julius Echeles, an attorney on trial for procuring perjury for a client on trial in a narcotics case. In a federal jury tampering case, two federal district judges in Chicago, Judges Michael L. Igoe and J. Sam Perry, came to testify for an attorney named Gorman on trial together with two hoodlums, resulting in all three going free, 1962.

(g) That there have been numerous so-called written "Opinions" of the court issued, published, and circulated by judges, with such "Opinions" containing entirely fictitious and imaginary matters and statements directly opposite the record in the court. Among such cases being Bernhard Rosee vs. Board of Trade et al., No. 63 C 1348, with written "Opinion" by Chicago federal District Judge Hubert L. Will; and the written "Opinion" of Judge Will in Skolnick vs. Edward V. Hanrahan, No. 67 C 205, in the U.S. District Court, Chicago, Illinois. Also, in the Illinois Supreme Court, Macdonald vs. La Salle National Bank, No. 34258, 11 Ill. 2d 122, with "Opinion" by Judge Harry B. Hershey who was also a director of a bank and director and vice-president of a savings and loan association.

(h) The certain officers of the Chicago Bar Association, including Walter H. Moses, Paul B. Youle, Charles E. Herzog, John F. McBride, Morris L. Simon, and Lester Asher, have sought and seek to protect and shield Judge Perry from impeachment or other such removal; and aid, abet, shield and protect, Harry G. Fins, aforementioned.

(i) That the said Chicago Bar Association officers have also sought and seek to protect and shield, among others, the following:

John C. Gekas, who has persistently sought to obtain fraudulently and falsely begotten judgment against Peter S. Sarelas by perjurious affidavits; by a falsified and altered deposition document; by the bribery of a certain Thomas J. Sheehan to issue and circulate a certain false document many months after the disposition of a certain case, said issuance being without jurisdiction, without judicial proceedings, and entirely without authority.

Spiros D. Soter, professedly a doctor, who was arrested July 12, 1965, after he allegedly sold a police informant what detectives said was a quantity of narcotics. Soter was arrested after police said they had information that drug addicts from throughout the city were visiting his 15th floor offices at 55 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois. Soter is one of Gekas' collaborators, and was a party-litigant in a certain lawsuit for whose benefit the aforementioned Harry G. Fins corrupted and obstructed the due administration of justice.

George W. Alexander, a collaborator of Gekas, and who participated in the bribery of Sheehan aforementioned.

That Circuit Court of Cook County Judge Louis Kizas is involved with Gekas and some of Gekas' collaborators; and said judge, for the benefit of Gekas and collaborators, allowed, permitted, and condoned a fraud upon his court in case No. 64 CH 2834, involved in said fraud being also United Pacific Insurance Company and First Mutual Savings Association of Chicago.

(j) That while a certain case was pending before Circuit Court of Cook County Judge Daniel A. Covelli, an attorney for one of the parties in the case sent or delivered to Judge Covelli a secret three-page letter containing statements designed to poison the judge's mind against the opposite party in the case. Judge Covelli allowed, permitted, and condoned the action of said attorney.

On the back of page two of said letter was a greenish spot appearing to have been caused by rubbing against U.S. currency, the ink of which never dries completely. Thereafter, by coincidence, the letter fell into the hands of a person who took the letter to dozens of document experts, heads of chemical analysis laboratories, and ink experts. Almost every one of them, upon examining the letter and noticing the judicial officer involved, and the spot on back of page two, flatly refused to ever testify voluntarily as to their findings and that they would deny ever seeing and examining said letter. One prominent document expert called late at night the person who had left the letter with him to be examined, and said the letter must be picked up and removed from the expert's office forthwith; that he feared a terrible scandal or commotion, and did not wish to be involved; and that he would deny ever knowing about or seeing the said three-page letter.

(k) That Milton W. Lewis and LeRoy Sohn, owners of Milroy Realty Company, Markham, Illinois, together with their salesman, Jerry Pace, were on trial in the federal district court in Chicago. They were charged with conspiring to falsify assets and debts of certain buyers of property and submitting false credit information to the Veterans Administration.

Two judges came to testify for the benefit of Sohn—Circuit Court of Cook County Judge John J. Lupe and Ilinois Supreme Court Justice Thomas E. Kluczynski, who is also a director of the Archer National Bank in Chicago. Sohn has also been a receiver in the Circuit Court of Cook County and has done most of his work for Judge Daniel A. Covelli.

9. That defendants Commissioner Parsons

and the President's Commission, have sought to suppress, and continue to suppress, the hereinbefore mentioned matters, and numerous similar matters involving corrupt court situations, as well as suppressing, and continuing to suppress the Blakey report, in order to shield and protect certain judicial colleagues of defendant Commissioner Parsons and certain other office-holders in Chicago.

That among those judicial colleagues of defendant Commissioner Parsons are those members of the Chicago judiciary and other Chicago office-holders who are crooked and linked to organized crime.

10. That plaintiff offers, in support of the aforementioned matters, to submit evidence and testimony, and subpoena witnesses.

11. Plaintiff states that nothing so diminishes democracy as secrecy. That to remedy the foregoing situation, and for the foregoing reasons, plaintiff, on behalf of himself and on behalf of all other persons similarly situated, asks this Court to enter an Order in the nature of mandamus, compelling the defendants Commisisoner James Benton Parsons and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, to release to the plaintiff or his agent, the said Blakey report or a copy thereof, or to compel the defendants to give plaintiff or his agent access to the said Blakey report, or to compel the defendants to make disclosure of the said Blakey report to plaintiff or his agent. And that plaintiff have such other and further relief as may be just and meet.

SHERMAN H. SKOLNICK, *Plaintiff.*

Results of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take note of the cooperation of the residents of my district in responding to my annual questionnaire. This year over 35,000 replies were received. I want to thank all those who have participated in their Government this way, and to report here the results of the questionnaire for the first session of the 90th Congress:

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No answer
1. Do you support U.S. military activity in Vietnam?	74.7	21.9	3.4
2. Would you favor prohibiting wiretapping and bugging in all cases except national security?	57.4	39.2	3.4
3. Do you favor the current war on poverty?	23.0	73.4	3.6
4. Should the United States increase trade with Communist countries?	23.6	71.6	4.8
5. Do you support foreign aid?	28.2	61.6	10.2
6. Would you support a program to improve health, education, and housing for migrant farmworkers?	74.0	21.4	4.6
7. Are you in favor of increasing social security taxes to provide increased social security benefits?	54.5	42.5	3.0
8. Do you favor "open housing" legislation?	18.0	73.0	9.0
9. Would you favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit Federal control of school curriculum and teacher qualifications?	73.9	24.4	1.7

Future of a Proud Past

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the National Guard has received unjust criticism by the news media and certain individuals, I would like to call attention to the remarks made by the Honorable Norman S. Paul, Under Secretary of the Air Force.

His address on the Air National Guard's role and accomplishments to the 89th General Conference of the National Guard Association of the United States gives clear-cut evidence of the capability and importance of the Air National Guard.

I present his remarks here:

THE FUTURE OF A PROUD PAST

Twenty years ago today the first Secretary of the Air Force took his oath of office. We've come a long way in two decades. And sharing fully in Air Force progress and mission success is the Air National Guard. The roots of the Air Guard are set in much older ground; but certainly as long as there's been a separate Air Force we've depended upon a strong Guard.

The Air Guard has a proud past. You—the Guardsmen who have carried that proud past into the present—have every prospect for a bright future.

I want to talk about that future, but first I want to thank you for what you are doing today for the Air Force and, more important, for the United States.

The present role of the Guard is just as important to the security of the country as when Guard units mobilized in the Korean War and the 1961 Berlin Crisis. Make no mistake about that. The Air National Guard, along with the Air Force Reserve, constitutes a strategic reserve which increases the President's freedom to direct U.S. foreign policy. Without such a reserve, the ability of the U.S. to meet any additional crisis would be greatly restricted. And our freedom to conduct combat operations in Vietnam would by now be correspondingly curtailed. We would be curtailed simply by the knowledge that, without a combat-ready reserve, a fast-developing commitment elsewhere could strain our resources.

You are that reserve. At this moment in history, wtih much of our active force in Southeast Asia, the fact that you are combat-ready provides a strong deterrent. Our operational testing of Guard units shows you to be ready. That testing is as stringent for Guard as for regular units. C–1 is C–1, in a Guard "Beef Broth" fighter squadron or in one of the Tactical Air Command's fighter squadrons.

Of course, the Air National Guard is also making direct contributions to the active force. During the peak of the buildup in Vietnam, the Military Airlift Command and its commercial contract carriers were saturated wtih priority cargo. The Air Force asked the Air National Guard to help out—and help they did. From December 1965 through this June the Guard flew about 75 special flights per month to Southeast Asia. These were in addition to 110–120 monthly training flights outside the United States, which also moved a large amount of cargo. In all, from December 1965 through June 1967, the Air National Guard carried 25,000 tons of cargo and 24,000 passengers in support of Southeast Asia.

Once the primary buildup in Vietnam had been completed—last spring—the Military Airlift Command and regular contract carriers were again able to handle the airlift load without special Guard flights. National Guard airlift squadrons have returned to their role of providing forces in reserve to meet other contingencies. However, in its readiness training flights the Guard continues to provide airlift, as a by-product, to Southeast Asia and elsewhere. This by-product, if it were reimbursable, would cost the Military Airlift Command about $15.5 million in fiscal year 1968.

In the last year a great deal of publicity has been focused on Guard airlift units. However, other Air Guard outfits also have done a superb job, and we in the Air Force certainly recognize it. Guard fighter interceptors fly a large portion of our air defense missions; they stand 24 hour-a-day runway alert. Tactical reconnaissance and tactical fighters assigned to the Air National Guard have permitted U.S. ground forces to conduct realistic joint training exercises far separated from Vietnam. Air Commando, air refueling, and aeromedical evacuation units add to the overall versatility of the Guard.

These operational outfits are good. Many of them compare favorably with regular Air Force units. Their people possess great talent and experience.

A few in the active force may wince when a Guard outfit shoots high score at William Tell, the U.S. Air Force worldwide fighter interceptor weapons meet. The 146th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, from the Pennsylvania Air National Guard, did just that in 1963. A few others may blush when a Guard C–97 unit, without being activated, surges from a programmed utilization rate of 1.5 hours per aircraft per day to 4 hours and then to more than 6 hours. The 164th Military Airlift Group of the Tennessee Air National Guard did just that in May of last year as part of a Guard test.

This August, six F–100s from Colorado's 140th Tactical Fighter Group, a "Beef Broth" outfit, provided the 1st Armored Division with day *and night* close air support. They were scheduled for 72 sorties and they successfully accomplished 72. You just can't do any better than that.

These successes may indeed cause some wincing and blushing in certain circles. Like most Air Force people, however, I'm just very thankful to have that sort of capability immediately available when it's needed.

And Guard *support* units continue daily to provide valuable service. Last winter when the Air Force needed help in dismantling communications and electronic equipment located in France, the Guard volunteered. Four hundred men from the Guard's Ground Electronics and Engineering Installations Agency volunteered to do the job. For many this meant giving up Christmas with families; for some it mean being away from home almost three months. But the job was important and it got done.

Both in tactical and support units the outstanding job done by the enlisted men of the Guard gets too little attention. These skilled airmen are the muscle and bone of the Guard. They get little pay for long hours and long commuting distances. Their motivation is certainly not wealth; I'm convinced it's duty to their community and country. Since none are here today, I would appreciate it if you would convey my recognition of the role they play—and my special thanks.

I now want to offer some views on the future of the Air National Guard. Let me be explicit about my main point. It is this. The Air Guard has a bright future, but it must be willing to make some substitutions in its missions. We will not be able indefinitely to add on missions; in some cases we'll have to substitute or we're likely to lose a lot of highly skilled, highly motivated Guardsmen. Inevitably somebody's ox—or oxen—will get gored. But if the long-range planning is done right and unit discipline remains high, the wounds will be superficial at worst.

I know a lot of you are every bit as aware of this need as I am. The Guard has done a good job of examining its own prospects for the future. And some of the studies done by the National Guard Association have been highly beneficial. I appreciate them, because they have caused the regular Air Force to reexamine the worth of Air Reserve Forces.

One of our most encouraging results is the RAND Air Reserve Forces Study. A year ago the Air Staff asked the RAND Corporation to look at possible future roles and missions of the Air Reserve Forces—both the Air National Guard and the Air Force Reserve. The time period of interest was 1968–1976, but the primary emphasis fell on the mid-70s.

One of the best features of the RAND study, I think, is its objectivity. It avoids the problem of quick fixes and current political attitudes by vaulting into the mid-70s. Quite rightly, RAND doesn't tell us how to get to 1968 or 1969. *That* we have no business delegating. But RAND tells us a good deal about the sort of things we might find in 1975—if we are sensible (and lucky) in 1968 and 1969.

This RAND study, which you will look at in more detail, is more of a concept paper and collection of useful data than a recommendation for immediate program changes. The Air Staff is currently reviewing its implications. I doubt if it will lead directly to force structure change in 1968, but its long-term influence may be considerable.

RAND points out that we must look at alternative force mixes of regulars and reserves. In one sense all units are competitive. Squadrons in the same wing—regular or reserve—compete with each other, and the wing is the better for it. In this sense I see nothing wrong with comparable Guard and regular units being competitive. But essentially the Air Reserve Forces and the regular force ought to be and are complementary. In planning the future of each, we should estimate as best we can the overall job to be done—the contingencies to be met. Then, in doing the whole job, we should ask if there are tasks which can be done as efficiently by reserves as by regulars.

As you have perhaps surmised, the most effective mix depends on your assumptions about the contingencies we'll face. For example, those assumptions determine the speed with which a given force must close with an enemy. Generally, reserve forces, with their lower peacetime operating costs, tend to become more attractive as permissible response times increase. For extremely rapid response—and for frequent use—regular forces tend to be better choices.

I suspect the next few years will see a great deal of analysis of force mixes designed to meet a *range* of assumptions about contingencies.

The results are likely to lead to some experimentation within Guard units. This, I submit, is preferable to the loss of skilled Guard personnel by default. I am well aware, for example, that the associate unit concept—under which a reserve unit works with a regular unit—would not get rave reviews from each of you in this room. In fact, before coming over here, someone on my staff told me to not even mention it. I don't go along with such an ostrich technique. The concept may be good or bad, but we won't really know if we don't discuss it and try it. I mention this concept not because I have a vested interest in it—I don't—but because it's exactly the *sort* of thing the regular and reserve forces must thrash out. We must consider such programs if we're to keep our reserve talent in locations where it's not feasible to maintain separate reserve airframes. This is where the ox I mentioned before gets gored. The question immediately arises, "Why not the such and such wing instead of ours?" Or, "If we let them try this scheme out in Podunk isn't it just a matter of time before we get the same thing shoved down our throats here?" Not necessarily.

We've all heard a lot about the successes which Israeli reservists had both in 1956 and last June. I know the differences between their situation and ours are great. But I ask you, in considering the associate unit concept, if the similarities aren't great, too. The Israeli reservists went to regular units; manning was completely integrated; regular and reservist shared the same equipment. Perhaps, at *some* of our bases and for *some* of our missions a similar procedure would be practical.

In short, I suspect that we'll gain from trying, at least for the short term future, a greater variety in Guard missions. Mission priorities will shift considerably, but the need to retain Guard *skills* will remain high.

A willingness to take on an unprecedented variety of missions will test and determine the future of the Air National Guard. To *substitute* the new and untried for the familiar but obsolescent will demand courage, technical skill, individual and unit discipline, and superior planning. In my association with you, I have found these to be qualities in which the Air National Guard abounds.

Jerome J. Keating Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an editorial by Jerome J. Keating, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, which appeared in the Postal Record of October 1967. Among other things, the editorial points out the cruel and unfair treatment given the postal workers by many segments of the Nation's press:

A Long Road

In the House of Representatives, we are just closing out a long, tortuous pay campaign. Hearings started in April; the campaign to secure Level 5 for letter carriers began a year ago, and has been continuous and constant. The Committee started its hearings in April and reported out a bill in the latter part of September. The bill still has to pass the House of Representatives, hearings must be held in the Senate and action must be taken on the Senate floor before it goes to the President.

The bitterness of the campaign came about because of resistance to the coupling of the pay increases with the postage rate increases. Many newspapers have carried on a continuous campaign—not particularly against the rate increases—but against the pay bill. The real objective of the press is to defeat second-class mail increases, or at least limit them. There have been many scurrilous articles attacking the Members of the Committee and attacking the postal organizations. The National Association of Letter Carriers and the United Federation of Postal Clerks have borne the brunt of the criticism. There have been attempts made to get the unions at each others' throats.

The Administration has campaigned vigorously for the rate increases and against an adequate pay increase. They have pushed for the bill exactly as recommended by President Lyndon B. Johnson. After many amendments were accepted or rejected, the Udall bill, which is a compromise between the President's program and that sought by the NALC and other postal employees, has been approved by the Committee. While it is true that this does put the letter carriers in Level 5, it is an ersatz Level 5 providing somewhat less salary than is presently provided for in Level 5. The need for a true Level 5 for letter carriers has not been met. If we are to operate under a Comparability Act such as the one passed in 1962, it is necessary that the true worth of the work of the letter carrier be considered and a solid pay base be established.

A TOUGH CAMPAIGN

The current pay campaign has been a most difficult one. The newspaper opposition has been extremely severe. Stirred undoubtedly by the proposed increase in second-class rates, newspapers in the Nation's Capital have been bitter about the proper pay adjustments for postal employees.

For many years now the Washington press with one exception has opposed postal employee increases vigorously. That is their right and privilege, of course, but we do believe that they should stick to the facts in the matter.

The *Washington Post* in an editorial on September 21, made the following comment:

". . . Since then the postal workers' lobby has waged a furious battle to divert the increased revenue into their own pockets. How well they have succeeded is indicated by the estimate that all but $32 million of the $885 million rate increase will be needed to cover the proposed 6 per cent postal salary increase."

Actually, the amount estimated that will be raised by the postage rate increase is $884 million. The cost of the postal pay bill is NOT over $800 million—it is $332.4 million. The balance of the cost of the pay bill is chargeable to the Federal employees. We see no particular reason why the postage rate bill should be expected to pay the salaries of the employees in the Departments of Defense, Commerce, Labor and other Departments and agencies of Government.

Count No. 2 against the bill, according to the *Post* is that the salary increase is written into the rate bill in the hope of thwarting a Presidential veto. This is not the first time that rates and salaries have been tied together in one bill. On a previous occasion, Congress tied rate increases, salary increases and retirement annuity improvements in a single bill.

The third mark against the bill, according to the *Post*, is that it singles out postal workers for special favoritism. This charge has been made in the past but, actually, a study of the pay scales does not indicate that there is any truth in it. The average and median pay of all employees under the Classification Act is GS–7. The average and median pay of all employees under the Postal Field Service Schedule is Level 4. The Post Office Field Service has "Key Positions" where pay is set by Congress and cannot be changed administratively. Under the Classification Act, reclassification can take place at any time and, as a result, the Classification Schedule has far more people in the higher grades. Ninety per cent of all of those under the Postal Pay Act are in Level 5 or below; 90 per cent of those under the Classification Act are in GS–13 or below.

It is interesting to observe that the people who work in the Post Office Department in Washington, D.C., are under the Classification Act—their average and median pay is in GS–9.

The terrific opposition to our pay raise this year undoubtedly came about because of the opposition by the press and others to the postage rate increases. We have not or did not take a position on postal rates. Traditionally we never have. According to the Cost Ascertainment figures of the Post Office Department, second-class mail pays only 21 per cent of the cost of handling. Obviously the newspapers, in labeling the postal employee organizations "selfish" are actually primarily concerned with their own selfish interests.

The bill as reported out by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service does not meet the needs of the letter carriers and those in the lower pay levels. Naturally those employees in the higher levels will get larger increases; for example, the increase granted under this bill to those currently in Level 19, step 7, will be $2,885. The increase itself is over 50 per cent of the yearly salary the employee in Level 4 step 1 is currently receiving. Obviously, we expect larger increases for those getting higher salaries; however, the major problem as far as we are concerned is to secure a decent base salary that will attract competent people to the postal service. The greatest problem in the postal service today is securing competent personnel in the lower pay groups. The elevation of those in Level 4 to Level 5 was a sound personnel recommendation. The Udall bill that was reported out in the House Committee does elevate those in Level 4 to a designation of Level 5, but it is a synthetic elevation. Level 4 itself was a synthetic creation—it was a compromise level created when the Postal Classification Act was passed in 1955.

Under the Udall bill, every level in the entire Postal Field Service will be raised by one, which means that the relative position of all the levels remains exactly the same. The point of linkage between the Postal Field Services Schedule and the Classification Schedule will remain exactly the same. None of the problems that we have with comparability are solved in the slightest by the provisions of the Udall bill. Our big problem is advancement to a level that will give proper consideration to the level of responsibility, the difficulty of the job, and the intelligence that is required to perform it properly. Even with the passage of the Udall bill, we will still need advancement to a higher level. If the Udall bill does become law, the campaign then will be advancement to Level 6.

Federal Firearms Control Is Needed Also

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been urging legislation to control the sale and distribution of firearms, particularly through the mails. In the 90th Congress my bill is H.R. 5463, which is pending before the Committee on Ways and Means.

The following editorial concerning this vital matter was broadcast over station WABC in New York on September 3, 4, and 5, 1967:

LOCAL GUN LAWS WON'T WORK UNLESS CONGRESS PASSES FEDERAL CONTROLS, TOO

In New York the law says pistol owners must be licensed. With riots and snipers in mind, the City Council is thinking about extending the law to cover rifles and shotguns as well. New Jersey already has a similar law—the toughest in the country—and since it went into effect about 750 permits have been denied—to criminals, drug addicts, mental cases and so on. In many ways New Jersey has a model firearms law, but listen to what Governor Hughes says about it:

". . . . . We've got to have a national gun control law. We should have had it four years ago . . . A Lee Harvey Oswald or any narcotics addict or mentally unbalanced juvenile who wants to kill his mother and father—any one of these people can simply send an application and buy a gun through the mails."

WABC believes New York needs a stricter gun control law. But so does the whole country.

Tax-Paid Unit in Jam on "Peacenik" Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Indiana, Congressman RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH, in his capacity as a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, has objected to Federal grants being awarded persons making overseas trips and using the occasion to denounce the United States.

A summary of one such incident was reported on September 24, 1967, by the Chicago Tribune. The article follows:

TAX-PAID UNIT IN JAM ON "PEACENIK" AID

(By William Kling)

WASHINGTON, September 23.—The taxpayer-financed National Science Foundation is using some extra-fancy footwork over a proposed $247,900 federal research grant for a California professor closely allied with next month's "peacenik" march on the Pentagon.

Planned for Oct. 21, the march by the communist-linked Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam is aimed at disrupting operations of the defense department.

But the march is only part of the dilemma in which N.S.F., beset with internal leaks of information to Congress and the press, finds itself after two years of underwriting the professor's research.

TEACHES AT BERKELEY

The professor is Stephen Smale, 37, a mathematics professor and researcher at the University of California at Berkeley. He is regarded as one of the world's foremost authorities on topology, the study of properties that remain constant when geometric forms, regardless of size or shape, are bent, stretched, or otherwise transformed.

But Smale also is a former member of communist-front youth organizations; a onetime faculty adviser for a pro-Castro group; a sponsor, along with identified Communists, of leftwing "peace" organizations, including the one that will march on the Pentagon; and a prime mover for anti-Viet Nam war demonstrations.

The two-year grant to be administered by Smale, would support continued research on global geometrics by a Berkeley team.

SIMMERS SINCE JUNE

Controversy over the proposed grant has simmered since June when it first was brought to public attention by Rep. Richard L. Roudebush [R., Ind.], who tried to block the original $91,500 grant to Smale two years ago because of the professor's activities as faculty adviser to a Fair Play for Cuba committee on the Berkeley campus.

Last week the controversy boiled over, bringing to the surface some of the steps N.S.F. is taking to guard against possible charges that Smale's academic freedom and his right to freely express opposition to United States policy in Viet Nam war are being trampled.

On Sept. 14, Reuters, the British news service, carried a dispatch from California reporting that N.S.F. had rejected the grant. Science magazine published an article the next day containing an Aug. 31 letter from Dr. William E. Wright, the N.S.F. division director of mathematical and physical sciences, to Dean Sanford S. Elberg at Berkeley.

QUOTE ELBERG LETTER

"We have come to the conclusion," Wright wrote, "that, in light of Prof. Smale's performance in the administration of the present grant, we cannot tender a new grant to the university based on the proposal in its present form.

"This does not reflect any adverse decision on the part of the foundation concerning the intrinsic merit of the research proposed. Rather it reflects a decision by the foundation that the proposed administrative arrangements are unacceptable."

Wright added that the university could resubmit the proposal in two packages, one seeking funds for its mathematics department and the other for Smale's personal research needs.

"One of the new proposals should confine itself strictly to the needs of Prof. Smale in the pursuit of his own research interests without involving N.S.F. support of other faculty members," Wright wrote.

Last June, Roudebush, ranking Republican on the House space and astronautics committee, with jurisdiction over N.S.F., wrote a letter to Dr. Leland J. Haworth, N.S.F. director, demanding that the proposed grant be disapproved.

PAYS FARE TO MOSCOW

The basis of the congressman's demand was Smale's use of public funds from the original N.S.F. grant to travel to Moscow in August, 1966, to attend the International Congress of Mathematicians and to accept the Fields award, a top prize for mathematicians.

But Smale, contrary to a standing recommendation of the National Academy of Sciences that scientists not use professional forums to air their personal opinions on public issues, called a press conference to denounce United States intervention in the Viet Nam war.

Smale's Moscow visit came in the middle of a European tour in which he received $2,773 a month in salary and a $1,000 ticket for round-trip jet transportation from N.S.F. grant funds.

An N.S.F. spokesman denied that the foundation's action on the Smale grant is prompted by statements the professor made at his Moscow press conference.

ADMITS IT'S DISPLEASED

The spokesman confirmed reports that N.S.F. is displeased with Smale's administration of the original $91,500 grant.

Specifically, the N.S.F. has found that Smale returned to the United States from Europe aboard a foreign-flag ship, The France, in violation of regulations that American carriers are to be used by grantees when available.

In addition, N.S.F. discovered that Smale spent eight months last year at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton university without formally notifying the foundation; that he failed to inform the National Academy of Sciences, underwriter of part of his expenses for the Moscow trip, that he also was using N.S.F. funds; and that lengthy summer European tours in 1965 and 1966 had been pieced together from "bits and scraps of time" at various institutions with N.S.F. support.

Smale, responding to the N.S.F. charges and action, said the foundation "has dishonored itself." It appears unlikely he will resubmit a separate application for N.S.F. research funds for his own work.

"Submitting a proposal on just my own research would be giving in to unprincipled political intervention on the administration of research funds," he said. "If I were to do this, other science administrators and scientists receiving federal research funds would find it more difficult to disassociate themselves from [President] Johnson's brutal Viet Nam policy."

According to documents in the possession of the House un-American activities, Smale was a member of the now defunct Labor Youth league while he was a graduate student at the University of Michigan from 1951 to 1953. The league had been cited as a communist front by the subversive activities control board.

JOINS YOUNG PROGRESSIVES

He was also active in the Young Progressives and the Michigan Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, local branch of another communist organization, committee records show.

While at Michigan, Smale was placed on probation for refusing to answer questions during a university investigation of communist activity on the campus, according to the House committee.

In Praise of Lyndon Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on September 21, 1967, my esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WRIGHT], delivered a short but meaningful speech in the House of Representatives.

The speech can be found on page H12267 of the RECORD dated September 21.

Excerpts from Mr. WRIGHT's speech were printed in the New York Times of Sunday, October 1.

In this time of stress in regard to our foreign policy in Vietnam and in this time of vague and ambiguous criticism of our policy in Vietnam, it is refreshing to have a calm and clear analysis of the unfair and sometimes vicious criticism from the extreme right leveled against the President.

In my opinion, Mr. WRIGHT's analysis answers the critics in a most appropriate manner.

Under unanimous consent I insert herewith in the Appendix of the RECORD the newspaper article entitled "Another Opinion: In Praise of Lyndon Johnson":

ANOTHER OPINION: IN PRAISE OF LYNDON JOHNSON

(The following are excerpts from a speech in the House of Representatives last week by Congressman Jim Wright, Democrat of Texas.)

"Today I want to say a few kind words for the President of the United States—both for the awesome office which has been so aptly described as the world's most 'splendid misery,' and for the extraordinarily hard-working human being who occupies that office.

"Alexander Hamilton once warned of the paramount importance in a republic to guard not only against the government's oppression of its people, but also against the people's abuse of their leaders.

"Just as our elected leadership was never to become lordly and officious, neither was it to be cowering, servile and obsequious. The nation's highest public office was not intended to become a public footmat. And the sacred right to criticize was not a license to villify.

"History shows that, as a people, we have often taken Hamilton's advice rather badly. It seems, in fact, that our strongest and best Presidents are precisely those for whom we have reserved our bitterest hostility and our rankest abuse. . . .

"Now the hounds of the hunt are baying again. The pack is in full cry. Our quadrennial silly season of organistic overstatement is approaching, and like some weird masochistic cult we find among us those who would turn upon our leader and devour him. . . .

"Let me make it clear that I am not speaking of those people who criticize American policy responsibly and constructively. I am not talking of those who honestly and honorably disagree with the President on matters of opinion.

"I am speaking of those who are forever assailing the President's motives, those who trade on fear and traffic in hatred. I am speaking of those who wallow in the gutter of personal abuse. I am speaking of those who superciliously set themselves above the President and sneer at his works, mistrust his words, belittle his deeds and question his honor.

"I am speaking of some urbane sophisticates who think they have discovered a safe and clever way to abuse the President's personal integrity by inventing a term they call a "credibility gap" and chattering about it incessantly in the hope that they thus can create a climate of disbelief between the American public and its elected leadership.

"I am speaking of those who gleefully try to embarrass our President internationally by thwarting fulfillment of his international commitments, in the making of which he acted under the Constitution for all of us.

"BEST TRAINED

"Never has a man come to the Presidency better grounded by experience in the intricacies of our Government than Lyndon B. Johnson. Never has a man devoted himself more dutifully to the office or at greater sacrifice of his personal repose. Never has a President worked longer hours or been more deeply dedicated to the fulfillment of his promises. And never has a President kept more of his promises to the people.

"For more than a generation, every American President has spoken hopefully of medical care for the aged, of equalizing educational opportunity, of fairer treatment for the minorities and of preserving our natural heritage. It remained for Lyndon Johnson to transform those dreams into realities.

"And for these efforts, he is rewarded with abuse.

"The white supremacists abuse him for doing more for civil rights than any President in history; and the black power militants castigate him for not having done the impossible, immediately.

"The reactionaries flay him for producing the greatest volume of social legislation in history; and the so-called "New Left" ridicules him for preserving and honoring the very institutions and processes of our constitutional system which he is sworn to defend.

"FROM ALL SIDES

"The bloodthirsty hawks scorn him for not having completely devastated North Vietnam and risked the outbreak of World War III; while the timid doves abuse him for not having cravenly abandoned an ally in its mortal struggle for freedom.

"One extreme flails at the President for spending too much on Vietnam and too little on domestic programs; and another attacks him for devoting too much to domestic spending and too little to Vietnam. Surely they cannot both be right. Each is too eager to criticize and too reluctant to analyze.

"Any President—and certainly this President—deserves better than this. The very least we owe to any President is a modicum of understanding and an assumption of his good faith. At the very least, our propensities for partisanship and personal abuse should stop at the water's edge. In the counsels of the world, he is our spokesman. If we cannot uphold him, surely we should not undermine him.

"There are, in all of this, two saving graces: while Americans historically have mercilessly abused our strongest and greatest Presidents throughout their terms in office, we seldom fail to reelect them.

"And those whom partisan contemporaries most bitterly vilify, history most firmly vindicates.

"And so it will be, my friends, with Lyndon Baines Johnson."

From a Clown's Mouth: a Musical Bid for Ratings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure to read a story about someone from your hometown who has made good in his chosen profession. My hometown of Sylacauga, Ala., is justly proud of a young man named Jim Nabors, who is probably better known to millions of American television viewers as Gomer Pyle.

Recently, Jim was here in Washington filming a number of programs, and I had the pleasure of having dinner with him. The fame and fortune that has come to Jim since he went to Hollywood has not changed him one bit.

This story about Jim Nabors in a recent issue of the National Observer is most interesting, and I include it in the RECORD:

GOMER PYLE, BARITONE: FROM A CLOWN'S MOUTH, A MUSICAL BID FOR RATINGS

(By Daniel Greene)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The character in dress blues loafing at one end of the stage hadn't modeled for any Marine Corps recruitment posters, that was certain. He shoulders sagged, and his girth was more conspicuous than his chest. He wore his belt so high that most of him appeared to be legs. His big, dimpled jaw suggested a bowl of butterscotch pudding. Loping, he swung his long arms like a scarecrow in a windstorm.

At a command, the uniformed hayseed straigthened up and moved hesitantly, all rigidity, toward stage center. His expression of wide-eyed idiocy was too much for the TV crew recording the event; they broke up. Unsmiling, the instigator of their guffaws planted his big feet, stretched his frame to its full 6 feet, 2 inches, and opened his mouth. Nobody laughed after that. For the next several minutes, the only voice in Constitution Hall here was a rich, full-throated baritone booming *The Impossible Dream* with the forcefulness of an opera soloist. Incredibly, it was the same voice that a moment earlier had been drawling hominy-grits flapdoodle with the nasal accent of a rusty fiddle.

GOMER'S CONCERT DEBUT

Hearing that big, smooth voice coming out of Gomer Pyle is an extraordinary experience. It's an experience that fans of *Gomer Pyle—USMC* will be able to share on Oct. 6, when the Leatherneck bumpkin sings seriously for the first time on the CBS–TV situation comedy. The following week's episode will start a four-part story about Gomer's winning a trip to Washington, D.C., to perform in a Navy Relief show, and climaxing with the scene filmed at Constitution Hall in the Nov. 3 episode. To film segments for three of the episodes, the *Gomer Pyle* company recently packed up and flew here for a week of shooting—the first time it had gone on location outside California.

This will be Pfc. Pyle's concert debut, but not his real-life alter ego's. Jim Nabors, the show's multitalented star, has sung and danced as a guest performer on TV variety series (most recently in the premiere of the *Carol Burnett Show*) and as a star in two musical-comedy specials.

In these appearances, though, he was an easygoing Southern boy named Jim Nabors—not an easygoing Southern boy named Gomer Pyle. There are noticeable if not glaring differences between the two. Both drawl as though they never stepped foot outside Sylacauga, Ala., (Jim's home town), but Gomer's twangy whine and rustic colloquialisms are much more extreme than Mr. Nabor's. Though both are as friendly as an ol' hound-dog, Mr. Nabors is not, of course, the clodhopper that Gomer is. A 35-year-old graduate of the University of Alabama, Jim can look almost sophisticated when he gets dolled up in a tuxedo—until he opens up with that lopsided yokel grin.

Jim and CBS have tried to keep the two identities separate. *Gomer Pyle—USMC* was such a consistently high scorer in national viewership ratings that nobody wanted to tamper with its formula or its star. Gomer Pyle had come to typify a specific type of American—the clumsy, ingenuous innocent who manages to win out regularly over the adroit opportunists in spite of all his ineptness. Too much exposure of Mr. Nabors' other talent, CBS feared, might confuse Gomer's fans and dilute his carefully development image. You're supposed to laugh at and feel sorry for a Gomer Pyle—not admire one.

Midway through the series' first season, Mr. Nabors explained why Gomer's resonant baritone wasn't likely to be heard on the show. "It wouldn't be in character," he said. "The audience wouldn't be prepared for it. Besides, if the Marine Corps ever discovered that Gomer could sing, they'd probably transfer him to Special Services. Can you imagine how miserable Gomer would be without Sergeant Carter?"

FRESHEN UP THE PRODUCT

But after three years of working with the same characters and format, any TV producer gets a yen to freshen up his product. This urge is especially strong when his series begins to slip in the ratings, which *Gomer Pyle* did last season after two years as one of the two of three highest rated series on television. So, for novelty, Gomer was allowed to sing this season. The effects of this decision won't be known for a while, but the show's cast and crew seem guardedly optimistic, is not supremely confident that it will help things.

"When Gomer was going through boot camp and getting settled in the Marine Corps, his singing voice had no bearing on the situations," notes stocky, gravel voiced Frank Sutton, who interrupted a career of playings killers and psychotics to become irascible, know-it-all Sergeant Carter: "Now that the show is well established, we have more freedom to move away from strictly military situations and make use of his singing. We'll just have to wait and see if the contrast is too startling for the audience."

Nobody is really very worried, however, because Jim Nabors has been startling audiences with the contrast between his manner and his singing voice for some time. He has always had the Alabama accent, of course, but he vows he has never studied singing and, in fact, never even sang seriously before his TV deput except in his high-school glee club.

After he became a TV film cutter in Los Angeles, he started performing in public for free. He spent his evenings in a Santa Monica bistro called the Horn, juxtaposing operatic arias with yokel foolishness. Letting loose with *Vesti la giubba* in a stentorian voice, he'd abruptly revert to his singsong twang to explain that what he was singing about was "some clown fella who wore a painted smile but warn't happy a bit . . ." Bill Dana, who was then writing for *The Steve Allen Show,* caught the act one night and invited Mr. Nabors to appear on the program.

Some months later, Andy Griffith went to see the same routine and signed its perpetrator to appear in an episode on his half-hour situation comedy. Jim played a guileless gas station attendant named Gomer Pyle; the portrayal was so funny that the character was made a continuing member of the cast. In 1964, the company producing *The Andy Griffith Show* transplanted Gomer Pyle from the town of Mayberry to Marine Corps boot camp and molded a series around him.

Pfc. Gomer Pyle is a far cry from the Leatherneck stereotype John Wayne helped forge. But the Corps doesn't seem to mind. While the show was in Washington, the Marines chauffeured its stars and production executives around in official limousines, provided noncoms as extras, and put the Marine Corps Band at the program's disposal for the Constitution Hall scene.

"The Marine Corps loves us," Mr. Nabors remarked during a lull in shooting. "Recruiters tell us the show helps them. Don't ask me why, but that's what they say."

Neither Gomer nor Jim has changed much since they first donned Marine khakis. They're still bachelors; they haven't even tried to get rid of their accents; and humility remains a salient part of their nature. "Singing is one of my greatest pleasures in life," confides Mr. Nabors. "I'd rather sing than anything else—even act. But I'd never presume to sing real opera, because I'm not equipped for it."

And like Gomer, Mr. Nabors has no illusions about himself: "I know my limitations. I'm not the leading man type. Somebody asked me if I thought I was a good actor. I said, 'Gee, I don't know; I've only played one role.' "

Howard Miller—Outstanding American of Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of Chicago's finest citizens, a man known to virtually everyone in our great midwest metropolis, received an award from the Polish Legion of American Veterans on September 23. He was cited as the Outstanding American of the Year.

The recipient of this richly deserved honor is Howard Miller—Chicago's foremost commentator. He broadcasts from station WIND and Chicagoans of all ages listen to him regularly.

Howard Miller is one of the finest Americans I know. He cares about this country of ours as few men care—for he backs up his words with deeds and with personal acts of good citizenship every day of his life.

His generosity to others, his warmth and feeling for those who have endured much in their quest for the great benefits of democracy which many take for granted are well known to the people of Chicago.

Attending the dinner for Howard Miller on September 23 were Governor Kerner and prominent Illinoisians from all walks of life. Mr. Miller is a great man in an age that desperately needs men of courage and wisdom and patience and understanding.

Howard Miller's lifetime is an example to any concerned American who asks himself what he, personally, can do to make this world of ours a better place to live in. I am proud to call him my friend.

Mr. Speaker, following is a brief news clipping describing the award ceremony in Chicago on September 23:

STATE PLAV NAMES HOWARD MILLER "OUTSTANDING AMERICAN OF YEAR"

The Illinois Polish Legion of American Veterans, Department of Illinois, has named Howard Miller, radio personality, as its "Outstanding American of the Year."

The plan annually presents an Americanism citation to one outstanding citizen of the State of Illinois for his or her contribution and personal activities and promotions of Americanism and the American way of life.

According to the citation, Miller distinguished himself through his educational programs broadcast by the Chicago radio station WIND.

The presentation of the citation will take place at the PLAV state headquarters at 3024 N. Laramie, Chicago, during the Past Commanders and Past Presidents banquet on Saturday, September 23, at 6:30 p.m. Alfred W. Grajek, the presentation officer, will preside.

Distinguished guests who will be in attendance to honor Miller are: Governor Otto Kerner; Congressman Daniel Rostenkowski; Congressman Edward J. Derwinski; Joseph Pudlo Jr., National Commander, PLAV.

Evelyn Rozanski, national president, Ladies PLAV Auxiliary; Frank Kapera, PLAV state commander; Lottie Walenga, state president, PLAV; Mary Przybylo, president, Illinois Gold Star Mothers; Arthur Muller, commander, VFW; Edward Akin, Illinois Veterans Commission.

Heading the banquet committee and arrangements are Thomas Zuwala and Mrs. Dorothy Krylowicz. Toastmaster for the occasion will be Henry Gurga. Frank Kapera is State commander.

After the banquet there will be a military ball.

Tariff Cuts May Be Painful for Some State Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Robert D. Byrnes, of the Hartford Courant, has analyzed closely the way he believes recent tariff reductions may affect Connecticut manufacturers and has published his results. I offer the second article of his series of three for the RECORD.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Sept. 14, 1967]

TARIFF CUTS MAY BE PAINFUL FOR SOME STATE INDUSTRIES

(By Robert D. Byrnes)

WASHINGTON.—Those who sail out of Noank for swordfish and those who work for United Aircraft on self-propelled railroad vehicles are among thousands of Connecticut workers who may feel some effect of the United States tariff cuts agreed to in the Kenedy Round negotiations at Geneva. So are thousands of other workers in most of the major Connecticut industries, including some, such as the ball bearings industry, that have claimed injury in the past from present tariff rates on imports. The new tariff rates are generally half of the present rates and are effective in five steps starting next January 1.

Both swordfish and self-propelled railroad vehicles are among imports from which the tariff will be removed entirely when the Kennedy Round is fully effective. The swordfish tariff is now 1 cent a pound for fresh or chilled fish ond 0.75c a pound for frozen. On self-propelled railroad vehicles the tariff is now 11.5 per cent of the value. Imported swordfish in 1965 was valued at $3,780,000. Self propelled rail vehicles imported in 1965 were valued at $1,000. The Commerce Department says there were 104 persons engaged in commercial fisheries in Connecticut in 1966, but does not give employment figures on self-propelled rail vehicles.

The Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations has issued here two volumes listing the changes that have been agreed to at Geneva on some 6,000 separate tariff rates now imposed by the United States. In most cases the existing tariff is cut by 50 per cent.

LOCKS CHANGE

There are but a few cases where there is one tariff schedule and one tariff rate for a generally defined product. For locks and padlocks, for example, the OTN report shows changes in 12 different tariffs. There are separate categories depending on width, and whether of cylinder or pin tumbler types, or none of these types. In each category the tariff rate is a combination of levy by both number and value of imports. The most common import, $232,000 worth in 1965, is a padlock not more than 1.5 inches wide. The tariff on these is 12 cents a dozen plus 8 per cent of the value. The cut is to 6 cents a dozen plus 4 per cent of the value.

In a few cases, including coconut and chocolate as raw material for candy, and brush bristles, and perhaps some of the steel and other metals for fabrication, the tariff cuts would appear to benefit Connecticut industry which is largely engaged in fabrication of products from raw materials procured outside the state.

The steel and textile industries nationally have led the chorus of protests against the rate reductions. Both are factors in the Connecticut economy. So is the chemical industry which is critical of the agreed to cuts and strongly opposed removal, by repeal of American Selling Price, of extra protection.

The listing of tariff cuts by schedules shows scores of Connecticut products that are open to more competition from foreign goods if the lowered tariffs are passed along so they are reflected in the retail sales prices. Among such products are:

Bricks (to go on free list), Christmas ornaments, copper wire, tubes, metal screening, thumb tacks, staples, wood screws, bolts and nuts, locks and padlocks, hinges, pliers, files, saws, slicers, knives, silver tableware, scissors (to go on free list), needles, hand tools, flexible tubing, non-electric bells, automobile springs, steam turbines, fuel injection pumps, refrigerators, machine tools, postage franking machines, adding machines, glass working machinery, anti-friction bearings, electric hand tools, telephonic apparatus, dictating machines, parachutes, spectrometers, revolution counters, hearing aids, clocks, pianos, mattresses, firearms, cartridges, button blanks, common pins, safety pins, slide fasteners, blasting fuzes, pencils, automobile tires and vacuum bottles.

In many cases, the product on which the tariff has been cut is just one of the items manufactured by a company. In some hearings, the Tariff Commission, or some members of it, have taken the position that even if foreign competition takes over the domestic market on one item, the company has enough other profitable products so it won't be seriously hurt. The diversification of many companies also prevents compilation of other than approximate totals of the number of Connecticut jobs that may be under fire from increased imports. Checking Commerce Department figures on employment by industry against the tariff schedules indicates that 30,000 jobs is a conservative figure.

BALL BEARINGS

One industry where tariff schedules and employment figures seem to come close to matching is ball and roller bearings manufacture. The Commerce Department lists 24 firms in Connecticut in this industry. They had, in March, 1966, 16,552 employees and a first quarter payroll that year of $30,614,000. The Anti-Friction Bearing Manufacturers Assn., a national trade organization, lists 39 members, of which 10 are in Connecticut, including Abbott Ball Co., and Hartford Steel Ball, Hartford; Fafnir Bearing and Superior Steel Ball, New Britain; New Departure, Bristol, and Torrington Co., Torrington.

The tariff has been 3.4 cents a pound, plus 15 per cent of the value. It has been cut 50 per cent, to 1.7 cents a pound plus 7.5 per cent ad valorem. Imports in 1965, mostly from Japan and West Germany, were valued at $30,660,000, an increase from $22,495,000 in 1964, according to the OTN report.

While every tariff rate produces its own arguments, the ball bearings case seems to be a very special one. Several years ago, in the face of mounting competition, even under the higher tariff rates, the industry applied for special relief as an essential part of the national defense and asked that imports be curbed by either higher tariffs or imposition on quotas in order to preserve the defense base. While this petition was under consideration, the Vietnam War started. The boom in the business seemed to establish the defense connection and the petition of special protection was withdrawn on the understanding that it can be resubmitted, if desired, at some time in the future.

There are other Connecticut industries whose production is being increased by the war and where jobs are not threatened now by more foreign competition in the domestic market. When the war production ends, at least some will find imports have staked out a larger part of the domestic market. The basic theory of freer trade by lower tariffs is that all countries gain. Thus, more imports sold in the United States means more dollars in other countries to buy goods made in the United States. This means there will be more jobs in the United States in making goods to be sold abroad.

The third article in this series will discuss the gains claimed for United States exports under the Kennedy Round.

Nuclear Compact—A Model of Federal-State Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Nat Welch, Federal representative to the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, in Atlanta, Ga., delivered a very timely and excellent address to the Nuclear Energy and Space Committee of the Southern Governor's Conference at Asheville, N.C., on September 11.

We are proud of the distinguished and outstanding service of Mr. Welch. He is one of our country's most outstanding authorities on the peaceful development of nuclear energy. I commend to the attention of my colleagues and to individuals throughout the Nation who are interested in the future of nuclear energy the timely address of Mr. Welch which follows:

THE SOUTHERN INTERSTATE NUCLEAR COMPACT—A SUCCESS STORY IN FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS, BY NATHANIEL WELCH, FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SOUTHERN INTERSTATE NUCLEAR BOARD

Governor Godwin, Governor Agnew, Governor Smith, Members of the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board and friends.

It is my pleasure to report that the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board has effective working relations with several Federal agencies, especially the Atomic Energy Commission with whom we do business on an almost day-to-day basis.

The most recent Annual Report of the Atomic Energy Commission has this to say about SINB: "The value of interstate compacts for regional development in the atomic energy field has been well demonstrated by activities of the 5-year-old Southern Interstate Nuclear Board. Steps were also taken by two State Governors' Conferences to form a 13-State Midwest Nuclear Compact, and a 15-State and Territory Western Interstate Agreement."

I have chosen to highlight SINB's role with AEC. In addition, SINB has completed or has on the drawing boards cooperative programs with the Department of Commerce, U.S. Office of Education, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, National Science Foundation, and the Public Health Service.

Two successful projects recently completed by SINB are:

(1) *Radiological Health Program Guide* under contract with the Public Health Service and; (2) *International Traffic of Radioactive Materials* with an AEC grant. This particular study is now considered as an authoritative document in the nuclear transportation field.

It took a great deal of foresight on the part of the Southern Governors in the late fifties to establish the Southern Interstate Nuclear Compact. Several of our Board Members here today, Dr. J. R. Maxfield of Texas, Dr. Lawrence R. Quarles from Virginia, and John Breckinridge from Kentucky, made important contributions in getting the Compact established. During the early sixties, SINB was engaged in important activities but it was difficult to show tangible results. It is only natural for pragmatic state officials and hard-nosed taxpayers to now ask the question: "When is the payoff coming?" I am pleased to report that the payoff is clearly in sight.

SINB and AEC initiated at Oak Ridge in the summer of 1965 a series of six briefings for Southern leaders to apprise them of new developments in the nuclear field. The "Nuclear Power Briefing for Utility Executive" in January of 1966 was one of the most important projects ever undertaken by SINB.

Governor Smith, Philip Sporn of American Electric Power Company gave one of the principal addresses. D. M. Kammert, President of Monongahela Power Company was an important attendee.

Governor Agnew, three executives of Baltimore Gas and Electric Company participated. They were: C. E. Utermohle, W. J. Witte, and J. W. Gore, Jr.

The secret of the Oak Ridge meeting lay in the fact that we were able to bring together high officials of the Atomic Energy Commission and key utility executives who had the authority to recommend multi-million dollar expansions for their companies.

In the last two years, Southern utilities have announced plans to build sixteen nuclear reactors with a capacity of over 13,000,000 kilowatts for a total investment of one billion, six hundred forty-five million dollars.

The Decatur Alabama Daily has commented editorially: "Many men and organizations were responsible for this important progress, but certainly the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board has played a key role in this impressive nuclear power development in the South."

Since the SINB Oak Ridge Conference, Virginia Electric and Power Company has announced a $200 million project. Governor Godwin, as you know, these two nuclear reactors will be built on the James River near Norfolk.

Just three weeks ago, Arkansas Power and Light announced a $140 million power reactor to be built near Russellville, Arkansas in the immediate future. This project will create: (1) $16 million in construction contracts; (2) a peak of 500 construction jobs during the building of the facility; and (3) $14 million for local contracts and materials. I would like to make a special point, gentlemen, that this project will produce $1,590,000 in state and local taxes.

Since the Oak Ridge Conference, Duke Power Company has announced plans for a huge project to be built near Clemson, South Carolina which will represent an eventual investment of $700,000,000. The project will feature three giant nuclear reactors of 834,000 kilowatts each. One of these reactors will generate almost as much electricity as the combined capacity of all 30 hydroelectric dams on the Duke system. This will be the largest single nuclear generating private utility complex in the world when completed.

Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn in his statement to the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board at Walhalla, South Carolina two weeks ago stated: "When Keowee-Toxaway is completed, Duke will pay annually to the Counties of Pickens and Oconee and to the State of South Carolina approximately $20 million in taxes. This revenue will provide better schools, roads and hospitals." Congressman Dorn added: "As a taxpaying industry, Keowee-Toxaway, when completed, will pay to the Federal government $24 million annually at the present rate."

The Oak Ridge Power meeting was followed by the SINB-AEC Conference on "Nuclear Power Fuel Reprocessing" at Augusta last May with a recordbreaking attendance.

To further stimulate the nuclear industry, the SINB staff and I were at the AEC Savannah River Plant last Thursday to confer with their officials and to plan our next conference on "The Environment and the Sitting of Nuclear Plants" for March, 1968. The meeting will be for state industrial development directors, state health officials, and leaders of the nuclear industry.

In the latter part of next year, we expect to have a conference in Oklahoma City on "Uranium Ore to Fabricated Fuel."

The principal credit for the success of the Southern Interstate Nuclear Compart, in my opinion, should go to:

First, the strong and continuing support of the Southern Governors, particularly the Nuclear Energy and Space Committee;

Secondly, Bob Gifford, who in 1960 became the first Executive Director. His visible resources on arrival were a filing cabinet and several "IOU's" from states. His able leadership has brought SINB from a blueprint to a success story; and

Thirdly, our effective and able Board of 28 distinguished Southerners who serve without pay.

In these complicated times, it is mandatory for the Federal government and the states to work together more cooperatively. The record will show that the Southern Interstate Nuclear Compact is playing a creative role in advancing this desired objective.

Brothers Decorated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Alan L. Caldwell and Sp5c. Terry Caldwell, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Leo J. Caldwell, of Catonsville, Md., have both been decorated for service in Vietnam. Alan, pilot of a C-130 transport plane, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for rescuing a civil engineering team from a Vietcong-held position. Terry, who served with a 1st Infantry Division intelligence unit, was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for "meritorious achievement" in operations against the Vietcong. I commend these young men on their courage and congratulate their parents for having two outstanding sons.

Another Look at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, on August 7, 1967, I brought to the attention of the House of Representatives a recent article in Barron's Weekly, which raised certain questions about the conciliation agreement reached between the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. At that time, I was concerned about the impact of this agreement on labor-management relations at the shipyard and on equality of treatment of employees without regard to race, religion, or national origin. The serious strike which took place at Newport News seemed to cast a shadow over this agreement.

A letter has just been brought to my attention which casts an entirely different light on the matter. Mr. Willoughby Abner, special assistant to the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, has written:

> At no time during the joint sessions conducted by Federal mediators was the subject of race referred to directly or indirectly as a causal factor in this dispute.

Mr. Abner's letter makes clear that racial unrest or racial discrimination was not relevant to the labor dispute at Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to inform my colleagues that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was blameless in the unfortunate developments at Newport News. I would like to place in the RECORD a copy of the letter and attachment submitted by Mr. Willoughby Abner which makes this fact abundantly clear:

FEDERAL MEDIATION
AND CONCILIATION SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., August 11, 1967.

Mr. CHRIS ROGGERSON,
Conciliator, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROGGERSON: Following your telephone call of August 9, 1967, I contacted the Director of FMCS Region 2 and the Commissioners of our Service who mediated the dispute between the Peninsula Shipbuilders' Association (Union) and the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company which was settled on July 14, 1967.

The facts as reported to me are as follows:

1. At no time during the joint sessions conducted by Federal mediators was the subject of race referred to directly or indirectly as a casual factor in this dispute. In fact, there was no mention of racial discrimination or racial unrest during these joint sessions.

2. At no time during any of the separate meetings held by mediators with representatives of the Company was the subject of racial discrimination or racial unrest discussed or ever referred to.

3. At no time during any of the separate meetings held by the mediators with representatives of the Union was the subject of racial discrimination or racial unrest discussed or ever referred to.

4. At no time during the course of the mediation of this dispute did the Federal mediators involved sense or detect racial unrest or racial discrimination as a factor in the dispute.

As you know, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, through its policies, regulations and practices, strictly protects the confidences of the parties revealed during the course of the mediation of a dispute. It is possible to give you the above information in this particular case only because it involves subject matter which simply was not dealt with at the bargaining table or in separate meetings conducted by Federal mediators.

Sincerely,

WILLOUGHBY ABNER,
Special Assistant to the Director.

P.S.—Enclosed is a copy of the Settlement Agreement reached by the parties in this dispute.

AGREEMENT, JULY 14, 1967

1. In view of the P.S.A. statement that a "concerted refusal to work overtime" by employees of the Transportation Department did not take place, and the P.S.A. statement that it did not condone, support or give leadership to any such "concerted refusal to work overtime," the Company will remove from the personnel records of Deese, Little and Evans the disciplinary action taken against them and will pay them for time lost as a result of the Company's disciplinary action. Deese, Little and Evans will be paid for the two (2) days disciplinary time off after this agreement is signed. The Company and the P.S.A. agree that a "concerted refusal to work overtime" by employees is a violation of Article XII of the existing contract between the parties.

The Company and the P.S.A. agree that the settlement herein set forth disposes of all administrative, legal and contractual obligations of the parties relating to the Company's disciplinary action against Deese, Little and Evans.

2. Employees who participated in the strike will not be disciplined or retaliated against by the Company for such participation.

The Company and the Union deplore and condemn those engaged in acts of violence during the strike.

3. The Company agrees that the "incentive problem" shall be given a thorough and objective study and affirmative action shall be taken where the Vice President and General Manager and the Personnel Manager find such action is justified.

4. The Company agrees that where there are "rate ceilings" in classifications there shall be a thorough and objective study and affirmative action shall be taken where the Vice President and General Manager and the Personnel Manager find such action is justified.

PENINSULA SHIPBUILDERS' ASSOCIATION,
L. W. GAULEY, *President.*
NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.,
C. W. MYERS, *Personnel Manager.*

Appendix

Sesquicentennial of Death of Thaddeus Kosciuszko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, October 15, 1967, marks the sesquicentennial of the death of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who is remembered in America and Poland as a national hero and patriot.

As a student in his native land, he was recognized for his innate ability and intellectual brilliance. Like the founding fathers of our American political heritage, he was nurtured on the classical ideals of individual freedom and national independence.

He had the ardent character of a patriot, a stalwart courage, an eagerness to accept responsibility, and a stubborn refusal to submit to defeat.

Polish-Americans are justly proud of the memory of Thaddeus Kosciuszko. All Americans owe honor to the memory of this man whose life was dedicated, with complete unselfishness and unswerving courage, to the cause of liberty for all men.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko led a full and meaningful life, of which the written account reads much like a story of adventure. A most colorful, exciting, and historically accurate biography in brief has been prepared by the Polish-American Congress. In commemoration of the death, 150 years ago, of this great patriot, I ask unanimous consent that the biographical paper be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO

In this first post-millennial year, Poles in Poland and abroad will mark the 150th anniversary of the death of Thaddeus Kosciuszko who passed away in Switzerland on Otcober 15, 1817 after rendering illustrious and enduring service to his native land and the American Revolution. Thomas Jefferson paid eloquent tribute to Kosciuszko's greatness when he described him as "the purest spirit of liberty".

Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Poland's great patriot and national leader and America's Revolutionary War general and aide to Washington, was born February 12, 1746, at Siechnowicze, Poland. He passed his early childhood on his father's estate, then attended the school of the Piarist Fathers, in Lubieszow, from where he went to the Warsaw Cadet School, to graduate with highest honors. The King of Poland, impressed with Kosciuszko's natural ability for engineering and proven brilliance, sent him to France to pursue further studies.

After seven years in the leading French military schools, he was commissioned a captain in charge of Krakow's fortifications. But under the conditions prevailing in Poland shortly after the First Partition, 1772, there was little opportunity for his talents; a commission in the reduced army was to be had only by purchase, and Kosciuszko was without funds.

Observing no chance to serve his country, Kosciuszko again left Poland, pledging his share of the parental estate, as security for the loan which enabled him to journey to Paris. Here the news of the outbreak of hostilities in America kindled his imagination, and he determined to go to the aid of America—a Polish knight in the cause of liberty.

KOSCIUSZKO IN AMERICA

In the summer of 1776, Kosciuszko arrived in America at his own initiative and at his own expense. Pending the decision of the Board of War upon his application, he found employment at Philadelphia, in the construction of fortifications against the expected attack by the Delaware. This gained him his commission from Congress, October 18, 1776, as an engineer in the Continental service with pay of sixty dollars a month, and the rank of colonel. In the spring fo 1777, he joined the Northern Army, where his ability as an engineer was of invaluable use in the campaign against Burgoyne. His fortification at Van Schaick and elsewhere, his able judgment in the choice of battlegrounds, contributed much to the skiliful retreats and the firm stands of the Continental Army before Burgoyne's rash advance. He was ordered by General Gates to erect the fortification in the defense of Saratoga, and his task was accomplished with great brilliancy and speed.

With justified pride Poles regard the role played by their national hero in the victory at Saratoga, a victory which won for America not only a campaign but France's recognition of her independence.

FORTIFIED WEST POINT

For long the question of the defense of the Hudson had been of paramount importance; the brief respite gained by the defeat of Burgoyne rendered this a favorable moment to render it impregnable. West Point was chosen for its commanding position, and its fortification was finally conferred, over the head of the French engineer, Radiere, upon the Pole. "Mr. Kosciuszko," wrote McDougall now in command of the Northern Army, to Washington, "is esteemed to have more practice than Colonel Radiere, and his manner of treating the people is more acceptable than that of the latter." Little is now left of the fortifications, but the monument erected to his memory at West Point by American Youth will remain a grateful tribute forever. That America today can regard West Point with pride is, in large measure, due to Kosciuszko who first suggested for a national military school the spot where it now stands.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

In the summer of 1780, General Gates requested Washington to transfer Kosciuszko to the South, where the army was now under his command. But before the Pole was able to reach him, his old friend had been defeated at Camden and deprived of his command. General Nathaniel Greene—after Washington the finest general in the Continental service—had been appointed his successor. While awaiting Greene's arrival, Kosciuszko spent some time in Virginia among the planters. There he saw the Negroes at close quarters and was brought face to face with the Negroes in slavery. It was then that, with his keen susceptibility to every form of human suffering, he acquired that profound sympathy for the American Negro which seventeen years later was to dictate his parting testament to the New World.

Kosciuszko was present through the whole campaign of the Carolinas and was regarded with strong affection and admiration by General Greene. True to his ideals at the battle of Eutaw Springs, he restrained a carnage which outraged his feelings, and he is said personally to have saved the lives of fifty Englishmen. When the campaign changed to one of guerrilla warfare, he fought as a soldier, not as an engineer. At length Charleston fell. And on December 14, 1782, the American army entered the town in a triumphal procession, in which Kosciuszko rode with his fellow-officers, greeted by the populace with flowers and cries of "Welcome."

Peace soon followed.

Kosciuszko had fought for six years in the American Army. Nathaniel Greene best sums up what the Pole had done for America and what he had been to his brother-soldiers. "Colonel Kosciuszko belonged"—wrote Greene—"to the number of my most useful and dearest comrades in arms. I can liken to nothing his zeal in the public service, and in the solution of important problems, nothing could have been more helpful than his judgment, vigilance and diligence. He was fearless of every danger. He never manifested desires or claims to himself, and never let opportunity pass of calling attention to and recommending the merits of others." Congress, in 1783, belatedly conferred upon Kosciuszko the rank of Brigadier-General with an acknowledgment of its "high sense of his long, faithful, and meritorious service."

KOSCIUSZKO RETURNS TO POLAND

In the fall of 1784 Kosciuszko reached his native country. A great wave of effort—a nation's magnificent effort to save herself by internal reform, which culminated in the democratic Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791—was sweeping at that time over Poland.

After the second partition, in 1792, a further wave of patriotic ardour swept over Poland. General Thaadeus Kosciuszko, the hero of the American War of Independence, hastened to Krakow, summoned the people to arms, proclaiming new decrees in favor of the peasants. Hosts of peasants armed with scythes answered Kosciuszko's call. On April 29, 1794, Kosciuszko attacked the Russians at Raclawice. Ill disciplined and poorly equipped, the peasants took by assault batteries of Russian field guns and routed the enemy. After this battle Kosciuszko wore a "Sukmana," a coat of homespun cloth such as the peasants wore.

Infuriated, Catherine of Russia sent a large army to fight Kosciuszko, and at Maciejowice in the south of Poland the two forces met on the 10th of October. Kosciuszko dashed into the thickest of the fight. Three horses were killed under him, and bleeding from many wounds he was taken prisoner. With him fell the independence of Poland, and as the poet, Campbell, says "Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell." Kosciuszko was cast into a dungeon in Petersburg, and only after Catherine's death her successor Paul I liberated the Polish hero.

KOSCIUSZKO REVISITS AMERICA

On the 19th of December, 1796, Kosciuszko left St. Petersburg with his friend and fellow-prisoner Juljan Ursyn Niemcewicz and a fellow officer, Libiszewski, who offered to serve the maimed Kosciuszko on his trip to America. By way of Stockholm, Gothenburg, London and finally Bristol, Kosciuszko and his party sailed for Philadelphia on June 18, 1797.

For two months the ship carrying Kosciuszko and his companions tossed on the Atlantic, on one occasion near shipwreck. They reached their destination on August 18, 1797.

Yellow fever prevailed at Philadelphia at this time, so Kosciuszko with his poet-friend Niemcewicz, journeyed on to New Brunswick, the home of General Anthony Walton White. Later he proceeded to New York, where he was the guest of General Gates at Rose Hill, where he remained until September 29, 1797. Before leaving New York, he received from Congress a grant of five hundred acres in recognition of his military services. This property was located on the extreme western border of the United States military lands, on the east side of the Scioto River, in Perry Township, Franklin County, Ohio, the site of the present City of Columbus.

After a short visit in Elizabethtown, he returned to the home of General White in New Brunswick where he remained until November 28. Kosciuszko, whose convalescense was slow, spent nearly all his time reclining on a sofa, sketching and painting in water color and India ink. From General White's home Kosciuszko repaired to Philadelphia and took residence on 2nd Street. Bevies of visitors and admirers again surrounded him, and Kosciuszko drew into great intimacy with Thomas Jefferson, at this time Secretary of State. Jefferson wrote to Gates: "I see Kosciuszko often. He is the purest son of liberty among you all that I have ever known, the kind of liberty which extends to all, not only to the rich." On January 23, 1798, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue to Kosciuszko a certificate of indebtedness of $12,260.54 with interest at six per cent, from January 7, 1793 to December 31, 1797. The final settlement of the account was made by a payment amounting to $15,227.87.

Some time in March, 1798, a packet of letters from Europe was handed to Kosciuszko. His emotion on reading the contents was so strong that, despite his crippled condition, he sprang from his couch and stepped without a helping hand to the middle of the room. "I must return at once to Europe," he said with no explanation. Jefferson procured his passport to France under the name of Thomas Kanberg and with only Jefferson's knowledge, with no word either to Niemcewicz or to his servant, Stanislaus, for both of whom he left a roll of money in his cupboard, he sailed for France. Before embarking at Baltimore he gave Jefferson his power of attorney and wrote out the will in which, more than half a century before the Civil War, the Polish Patriot advanced the cause of emancipation:

KOSCIUSZKO'S WILL

"I, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, being just in my departure from America, do hereby declare and direct that should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States thereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes from among his own as any others and giving them liberty in my name in giving them an education in trades and otherwise, and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality which may make them good neighbors, good fathers or mothers, husbands or wives and in their duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country and of the good order of society and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful, and I make the said Thomas Jefferson my executor of this.

"T. KOSCIUSZKO.

"5th day of May, 1798."

There was difficulty in putting this testament into effect as Jefferson was of advanced age at the time of Kosciuszko's death. It was never carried out; but in 1826 the legacy went to found the Colored School at Newark, the first educational institute for Negroes in the United States and which bore Kosciuszko's name.

BACK IN EUROPE

By the end of June or early in July, 1798, Kosciuszko reached Paris. His arrival centered upon him the gaze of the whole world. Sympathy with himself and the Polish cause he heard expressed upon all sides. At the news of his return the Polish Legions awakened to renewed life. He negotiated at length with the Government of France for France's help in the restoration of Polish independence. This was promised him many times, but his cautious request for guarantees was never complied with. When Napoleon was proclaimed First Consul, Kosciuszko, mistrusting him, commenced to withdraw from relations with him or his officials. After the disastrous expedition of the Polish Legions to San Domingo, Kosciuszko severed all relations with him.

Napoleon, in 1806, from Berlin, now summoned Kosciuszko to assume the leadership of the revolting Poles. But the former Polish Commander-in-Chief had little faith in the fortune of the Emperor and none in his promises. He declined to obey the call, and remained in Paris.

In May, 1815, Russia, Austria and Prussia signed an agreement for a new partition of Poland. An autonomous Kingdom of Poland was, it is true, to be formed, with the Tsar as King, but it would be but a small part of the true Poland. Kosciuszko refused all offers of office and honor in the newly partitioned Poland. He felt that his very presence even, would lend sanction to the New Partition. He chose therefore a voluntary exile. Not desiring to live in a Bourbon France, he settled in Switzerland with his devoted friends the Zeltners in Soleure.

LAST DAYS AND RESTING PLACE

Here, in serene communion with nature, among eternal mountains, in unceasing meditation upon the future of Poland, he spent the last two years of his life. And here, on the sad autumn evening of October 15, 1817, far from his Motherland, though close in spirit, among strangers, with not a Polish face nor a Polish word to gladden his heart, Kosciuszko died. Even in his loneliness he was faithful to Poland—her purest soul and the greatest of Poles. And his greatness was greatest in that it was not his own personal greatness merely; it was the greatness of Poland.

Kosciuszko's body now rests in the Wawel Cathedral in Krakow, where lie Poland's kings and her most honored dead; but his heart is in the Polish conquerors. To his memory, three years after his death, the nation raised a monument perhaps unique of it's kind. Outside of Krakow towers the Kosciuszko Hill, fashioned by the hands of Polish men, women and children, bringing earth from the battle-fields where Kosciuszko had fought. The act is typical. To this day the name of Thaddeus Kosciuszko lives in the hearts of the Polish people, not only as the object of their profound and passionate love, but as the symbol of their dearest national aspirations. His pictures, his relics, are venerated as with the devotion paid to a patron saint. Legend and music have gathered about his name.

Statement in Honor of the German-American People on the Occasion of German-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, 284 years ago, the good ship *Concord* docked at Philadelphia, disembarking the first German settlers in America. It was a major event in our national history, ushering in the force and the spirit of a people who have served our country's cause to remarkable effect.

The primary German contribution to America is in the form of human resources constituting about one-fifth the total white population of the United States today. Another major contribution has been an enduring belief in the democratic process. The German Quakers of Germantown, Pa., immortalized themselves by formally protesting the existence of Negro slavery in America, in 1788. Another deed of imperishable fame was the position adopted by Peter Zenger, a German immigrant and a printer and publisher, who gambled everything in the process of establishing the great American freedom of the press, in 1735. Eight years later another German printer, Christopher Saur, published the complete Lutheran Bible in the German language. It was the first Bible printed in a European language in the American Colonies. Another eminent German printer and publisher was Henry Miller, subsequently the printer of Congress, who announced the signing of the Declaration of Independence, in the form of a news release, a day ahead of all other newspapers in America.

Technological improvement in this country also has been tied to German immigration. The industrial history of 19th century America reveals the German presence in the forefront. German technical schools produced an extraordinary number of talented students who fled the country following the abortive revolution of 1848, and settled in America. Of these, perhaps the best known were engineers. John A. Roebling, a German immigrant, built the first great suspension bridge over the Niagara River, and then built the Brooklyn Bridge. Charles C. Schneider, also German, built the first successful cantilever railroad bridge of any considerable size. Gustav Lindenthal was the architect of the Hell Gate bridge, spanning the Hudson. The great tunnel under Virginia City, Nev., was constructed by Adolf Sutro. Among electrical engineers, the outstanding German-Americans were George P. Steinmetz and George Westinghouse.

When American undergraduate colleges began expanding into universities, toward the close of the 19th century, the German university served as a model.

And three of the major churches in America were founded by Germans: The Lutheran, the German Reformed, and the United Brethren.

The names of outstanding Americans of German birth spread out across almost three centuries of American history. Those in the limelight of history and those in the obscurity of the masses of immigrants integrated themselves into the rhythm of the new country and did their share to help it in the struggle for national preeminence.

Today, all America salutes Americans of German heritage. They are, indeed, outstanding contributors to our national way of life.

Stupidity at State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Stupidity at State," which was published in the Daily Progress of Charlottesville, Va., on September 27, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Stupidity at State

The matter of whether Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith will be able to speak at the University of Virginia has been an on-again, off-again affair but latest information is that he will be unable to come to Charlottesville.

The U.S. State Department, in a monumental amount of nonsense, has declared that Mr. Smith's current Rhodesian passport cannot be honored as it was issued since Rhodesia proclaimed its independence.

If he visits this country, says Foggy Bottom, he must have a British-issued passport. As long as this bit of absurdity remains in force it is doubtful if the University will be able to have Mr. Smith for a visit. It is not known whether Britain would issue a passport and we are not likely ever to know since Mr. Smith will hardly ask for one, under present conditions.

It is not known either whether State's action was taken as a snide obeisance to our British friends or to prevent Mr. Smith from airing his side of the story from within our shores. What matters is that an unfortunate blow has been dealt to the University's highly commendable programs of bringing outstanding speakers to the Grounds during the school year, permitting students and the public to get first hand information from those representing all sides of many questions. Mr. Smith would have been a prize plum indeed.

Hope for Mr. Smith's appearance should not be lost, however. There must be a possibility that someone high in the State Department will recognize the utter stupidity of the position on Mr. Smith and rescind the passport restrictions.

We hope that the Student Legal Forum at the University, which started the negotiations to bring Mr. Smith here, will launch an effort to bring light to the State Department, whose position at this stage can only be called disgraceful.

Evins Bill To Strengthen Smalltown America Gets Small Business Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee, Representative Joe L. Evins, chairman of the House Small Business Committee, introduced a bill, H.R. 9060, designed to create employment opportunities in smaller cities throughout the country. The bill provides a tax incentive—a reward—to induce private industry to establish new plants in smaller communities. The result, therefore, would not only help revive the lagging economy of some of our smaller towns but would also alleviate the oppressive problems confronting the large metropolitan cities.

Recently, the National Federation of Independent Business, an organization enjoying a membership of approximately 250,000 small business concerns, asked their members if they favored enactment of this bill. A good substantial majority expressed approval.

The National Federation of Independent Business released a press statement at the time this vote was announced, and under unanimous consent I insert this press release in the Appendix of the Record as follows:

Press Release, National Federation of Independent Business, Inc.

While big city mayors, perhaps understandingly so, and big city-oriented sociologists clamor for billions in Federal funds to solve every problem from rat extermination to jobs for idle teenagers, Congressman Joe Evins, Tennessee, Chairman of the House Small Business Committee proposes a no-cost solution based on furnishing private enterprise incentives.

It is this latter approach that the nation's independent business proprietors support. In a nationwide poll just concluded by the National Federation of Independent Business, the vote in favor of the Evins' proposal is a majority of 63 per cent, with 29 per cent opposed, and 8 per cent undecided.

The heavily endorsed Evins bill, which has since been duplicated by similar bills introduced by other mmbers of the House Business Committee would encourage the economic development of rural and sub-metropolitan America by offering special tax incentives to new business enterprise.

After long study of the problem, the House Small Business Committee concluded that not only the present problem, but also a continually growing problem of the big cities is the migrations into these congested centers from the outlying areas by people who are unable to find employment in their home areas. The result being that the cities are overloaded with unskilled and semi-skilled unemployed futilely seeking work in metropolitan areas that are becoming more and more technologically sophisticated.

The bill would give an additional 7 percent tax credit on the cost of machinery and equipment for enterprises which open up in areas declared to be short of jobs, provided that such enterprises employ at least 20 persons, of whom at least half shall be from the area of location.

To prevent an established firm from taking advantage of this incentive, the bill also provides that the incentives shall not be available to any enterprise that diminishes its operations, or reduces employment in an already established location. In other words, the gain in new jobs must be a net gain.

Special tax provisions over a five-year period are also provided for the cost of plant and real estate and also tax allowances for training workers.

No appropriation of tax money is called for in the bill. Capital investment needed to provide jobs and reverse the migration to the big cities would be provided by private enterprise assured of partial tax forgiveness during the critical early years of getting an enterprise off to a sound start.

Although there has long been recognition that the national industry and commerce is too heavily concentrated in the big metropolitan areas, this is the first time that a no-cost solution to the problem of decentralizing the economic structure has been advanced.

Federation researchers are also inclined to believe that with a proper understanding, the measure will pick up support from farmers growing increasingly bitter over their returns in ratio to the prices consumers pay for their products.

They point out that as the costs of transportation and transportation labor increases, the costs of food distribution steadily climb, raising not only prices to the consumer, but also cutting down the farmers' share of the food dollar. More equitable distribution of job opportunities bringing people closer to the sources of food supply will shorten the distances from farm to consumer, and thus make reductions possible in the overall costs of food distribution.

House-Senate Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, we approach a most critical period in our legislative process, that of House-Senate conferences, which will consider appropriations bills vitally affecting the urban health and growth of this land.

I include in the Record an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of September 22, reflecting the sober concern with which the deliberations of that conference committee will be viewed throughout the land:

To House-Senate Conference

There is no doubt that the Johnson Administration won a substantial victory in the Senate with votes of approval for an appropriations bill that includes funds for the model cities and rent supplement programs. However, supporters of these proposals should not celebrate prematurely.

It is, at this point, a conditional and an incomplete victory.

The appropriations bill now goes to a joint House-Senate conference committee—where hard bargaining is in prospect, along with some horse-trading, perhaps.

Insofar as the model cities program is concerned, the Administration asked for

$662,000,000. The House approved $237,000,000 and the Senate raised this to $537,000,000. A simple exercise in arithmetic will show that the Administration would get less than 6 percent of its request if the House and Senate split their difference down the middle, which is what very often happens in joint conference committees.

The Senate voted the full $40,000,000 asked by the Administration for rent supplements but the House voted no funds at all for this program. If a midway compromise point is reached in conference committee, the Administration would get only half of what it sought.

It is widely believed that the Administration habitually asks Congress for more than it expects to get—and more than is needed to fulfill program commitments. When viewed in this perspective, the Administration's chances of coming out rather well in the model cities and rent supplement proposals may not be so bad.

There is this to consider, though. The rent supplement scheme is the more controversial of the two programs. Opponents may try to kill the rent supplement plan in conference committee by agreeing, in return, to support a substantial appropriation for model cities.

Roosevelt-Kennedy Memorial Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, in an address at Medford, Oreg., last Saturday, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman helped Oregonians commemorate two great Democratic Presidents—Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

During this time of domestic crisis and foreign trial, it is well for us to recall some of the major achievements of the past 6 years. Secretary Freeman has not only done this, but has repeated the pledge of the Democratic Party to work to resolve the problems of rural America.

I commend the Secretary's remarks to my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN AT A ROOSEVELT-KENNEDY MEMORIAL DINNER IN MEDFORD, OREG., 8 P.M., SEPTEMBER 30, 1967

Tonight we meet to honor the memory and the accomplishments of two great Democratic Presidents—Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

But it is not my purpose to eulogize the man who taught us that all we had to fear was fear itself and the man who inspired this country to get moving again.

Their deeds do not need eulogy. They are inscribed in the annals for all time to come.

I grew up in Franklin Rosevelt's time and he was my hero. I served in John Kennedy's Administration. And he was my hero, too. My memories, my respect, my deep affection for both will never die.

Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy shared many attributes, and not the least of these was their deep concern for a continuity of responsibility, a concern that progress be a steady procession, unmarked by backward steps.

So tonight I want to address myself to the matter of continued responsibility and steady progress, for this is what I think the two men we honor tonight would want me to talk about. Their attention, too, was focused on the present and the future . . . and only rarely on the past.

Now I am told that there are some Republicans in the audience this evening. I trust they will not be too uncomfortable. My purpose will not be to embarrass them . . . but it *will* be to convert them. The Democratic party, you know, keep a candle in the window for all reprentent wanderers.

This year marks the 175th year of the founding of the Democratic party, and perhaps it is in order, tonight, to say a few words about our party—about how it began—about how and upon what it grew.

It began as the Republican party, as most of you know, but in those days the word Republican carried a different connotation than it does today. Specifically, the party called itself Republican to distinguish itself from the Monarchist party.

Later it became the Democratic-Republican party, but as if this incongruity were too much to bear, it divested itself of both hyphen and Republican in the 1830's and became the Democratic party.

From that time to now, the Democratic party has been distinguished by two characteristics, both of them described by Thomas Jefferson in this statement:

"No maxim," Jefferson said, "can be laid down as being wise and expedient for all times and circumstances. The maxim to be applied to a concrete case must depend on the circumstances which shall then govern."

Was everything, then, changeable?

"Yes," said Jefferson, "everything except the inherent, unalienable rights of man."

A pragmatism dedicated to respecting and best serving the unalienable rights of man . . . this is the philosophy and the modus operandi of the Democratic party. And this is the secret of its historical success.

In a phrase, the Democratic party has been, is, and will continue to be the party of concern, compassion, courage . . . and continuity. The party of Yesterday. The party of Today. The party of Tomorrow.

It is my purpose tonight to inspire you to go out and tell the story of how the Administration of Lyndon Baines Johnson has kept faith with the people—and enhanced the great traditions of the party of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

We've got the oldest and the greatest political party of all time. We represent a party that in the past seven years has written a record of accomplishment and progress unmatched in the annals of government in any country of the world.

And we have a President who will go down in history as one of the most courageous, humanitarian, imaginative and resourceful leaders this nation has ever known.

And yet, with all this going for us, there are too darned many Democrats going around these days wearing a hangdog look and an apologetic air!

Well, I'm here tonight to tell them to wipe it off! To stand tall and walk proud—because they've got every right to stand tall and walk proud.

Let me tell you right now that whatever political troubles the Democratic party is experiencing *are in large part a direct—and ironic—result of the successes we've had in building the foundations of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society on John Kennedy's New Frontier.*

Why? Because so much has been done, so much progress has been made in so short a time that perhaps the people of this country have come to expect too much too soon.

A rising tide of expectations—a tide drawn by the moon and the sun of seven years of prosperity and performance—has not yet washed ashore the *full* realization of those expectations.

But worst of all, we're letting the opposition use the resulting frustrations to their own advantage. We're letting them smokescreen the very real, dramatic, record-setting progress that *has* been made since 1960 and detract attention from their own record of obstructionism and negativism. And it's gone on long enough!

Let me ask my fellow Democrats some questions:

Are you ashamed of the greatest seven years of economic and social advance this nation has ever seen?

Are you ashamed of a gross national product 50 percent greater than it was in 1960?

Are you ashamed of the 7½ million new jobs created in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations?

Are you ashamed of a three percent *drop* in the unemployment rate?

Are you ashamed that personal income has jumped $180 billion, that you and your fellow citizens have $40 billion more to spend today than you had last year at this time?

Are you ashamed that corporate profits, *after taxes,* have doubled in the last seven years?

Are you ashamed that net per farm income jumped 70 percent from the beginning of 1961 to the close of 1966?

Are you ashamed that there is 25 percent less poverty in this country today than there was in 1960?

Are you ashamed that more progress, in less time, has been made in ending discrimination and righting the wrongs of two centuries than in any other era in history?

Are you ashamed of the record advance in aid to education?

Are you ashamed of Medicare, and what it has done to lighten the worries of our elderly?

Are you ashamed of the efforts this Administration is making to restore sociological health to our cities and economic vigor to our countryside?

Are you ashamed of the landmark legislation of the past seven years: Voting Rights, Elementary and Secondary Education, Higher Education, Peace Corps, Nuclear Test Ban, Alliance for Progress, Model Cities, Rent Supplements, Minimum Wage, establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Transportation, a host of anti-poverty measures, the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, Food for Freedom?

Are you ashamed that while 90 percent of the Republicans in Congress were voting *against* increased funds for education, building programs to reduce unemployment, finding ways to combat sickness, poverty and ignorance . . . 90 percent of the Democrats in Congress were voting *for* these measures?

Are you ashamed that your party put that legislation on the books and that that legislation was directly responsible for the remarkable progress of the past seven years?

Of course you aren't.

But you hear grumbling. And you hear complaints. And you hear criticism. And it disturbs you.

Don't let it. Remember, because our party and our Administration have done so much in such an incredibly short time, people have come to expect even more.

And they should!

This nation was built on the groundswell of rising expectations . . . and so was the Democratic party.

I am proud that our party—like the Man of LaMancha—fights unbeatable foes and tries to right unrightable wrongs and dreams impossible dreams . . . for humanity's victory lies not in realizing *all* that is expected, *it lies in the trying.*

Let them call us Quixotic dreamers. The dreamers get more done than those who merely sleep!

Robert Browning said it:

". . . a man's reach should exceed his grasp.

Or what's a heaven for?"

The earthly heaven we seek will always lie beyond our grasp . . . *but the extent to which we exert ourselves to reach the unattainable will determine the possible.*

We have not made all the progress we wanted to make in the last seven years. We've made mistakes. We've goofed on occasion. *But we tried. And we continue to try.*

And while we try, the opposition contents itself by denouncing and decrying, delaying and destroying, carping and criticizing, and nullifying and nay-saying.

And in few places is this more evident than in agriculture.

Let me preface my remarks by emphasizing as strongly as I can that we have not been able to solve all of agriculture's problems. Perhaps they never will be completely solved.

And let me say for the record that I am not satisfied, nor is the President satisfied, with our progress—remarkable though it has been in the last seven years.

How could we say we're satisfied as long as farmers still earn only two-thirds what city people earn, are still caught in the painful crunch of the cost-price squeeze?

Moreover, after a record income year in 1966 farmers have seen prices soften this year in the face of temporary oversupplies. I'll have more to say about that in a minute.

But these blemishes and disappointments cannot, and should not, obscure the record of advances made since 1961, nor dull the hope that further progress can be made.

Let's examine the record of just what has happened since the Democratic party regained the White House in 1960.

In the dreary eight years that preceded this happy event, farm income dropped 17 percent; grain surpluses piled up into mountains, crushing farm prices and flattening taxpayers' wallets; and the Commodity Credit Corporation investment in farm commodities rose to more than $8 billion.

In 1960 we had 2 billion bushels of corn in storage, enough grain sorghum to last a year and a half, and enough wheat to meet domestic needs for more than two years. We had so much surplus we were running out of storage space . . . and the farm outlook was as bleak as it could be.

But then, in 1961, things started to happen. Early that year an emergency feed grain bill set up a voluntary program that provided acreage reduction and price support for corn and grain sorghum. This program authorized payments to farmers for diverting feed grain acreage to soil conserving uses.

This was the first of the recovery measures. Had it not come when it did, feed grain stocks would have grown another 300 to 400 million bushels within the year.

But it was passed, and it was passed by Democratic votes . . . and it set the stage for four more gruelling fights to put four more great farm acts on the books: the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, the Voluntary Feed Grains Bill of 1963, the Wheat-Cotton Bill of 1964, and—finally—the great Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 . . . great because it gave us the wheat, cotton, wool and feed grains commodity programs, milk quotas and acreage retirement provisions so necessary to round the corner from gloom to promise.

Now . . . what's happened since?

First of all, those mountains of surplus are gone. No more do they plague farmers *and* taxpayers. The CCC investment in commodities is now below $3.4 billion, the lowest level since 1953 and less than half the more than $8 billion peak. Feed grains and wheat—which once made up over 65 percent of the investment total—are now less than 30 percent.

And—Republican charges of "grain-dumping" notwithstanding—these surpluses of the Fifties were worked off *without* depressing farm prices.

While this was happening, farm income was climbing steadily. By 1966, net farm income had climbed 40 percent *and stood at the second highest mark in history. And gross farm income and net per farm income set all time records last year . . . the latter climbing 70 percent in six years.*

Now statistics are cold consolation for those who have not shared in this upward income thrust. I know that. But to measure economic progress we have to deal with numbers and averages. They're the only tools we have.

At the same time, I am deeply concerned—and the President is deeply concerned—about those areas, those States—including your own—where farm income progress has not kept pace with the national advance. An impersonal set of statistics is one thing. A living, breathing, suffering farm family is another. No one is more aware of this than the President.

But we have made progress, and there's no denying it. And there's no denying that the legislation put on the books by Democrats was the legislation that enabled us to get rid of surpluses, strengthen prices, increase income and set farm export records. In the last fiscal year, farm exports climbed to $6.7 billion, 44 percent higher than the 1960 level. This fiscal year we'll hit $6.8 billion, despite less tonnage in some commodities and tougher competition abroad. We now have over 90 percent of the world soybean trade, almost half the world feed grain trade, and about 37 percent of the world wheat trade. And our dollar sales overseas are going up with each passing year.

That's the record of progress in agriculture since 1960. And here's how the opposition contributed to that record. Of the possible 1,576 Republican votes for the five great farm bills that produced this progress, House Republicans voted *No* 1,494 times! And Senate Republicans voted *No* by a margin of better than 2 to 1.

And the nay-sayers are still at it.

They're footdragging on two new concepts for continued farm progress and playing footsie with a measure that promises farm disaster.

After the bumper income year in 1966, this year we've had a little setback. That old bugaboo of overproduction has resulted in temporary supply gluts that have pushed prices down.

When the effort is to bring production in on a supply target, slight weather variations can mean a difference of millions of bushels in the total crop. This year excellent growing conditions in many areas have resulted in bumper crops. We expect a feed grain crop 12 percent above last year, a wheat crop 14 percent bigger than a year ago, and a billion bushel soybean crop for the first time.

This temporary glut—not a surplus—will require restraint on the part of farmers on the quantities of a commodity they move into the market at one time.

There are a number of things to help them avoid panic selling for too-low prices. The price-support program helps in the holding process. With a reseal program for onfarm and warehouse storage, farmers can hold on to their products and make the market work *for* them, rather than *against* them. Price supports and payments strengthen their holding power, and direct and diversionary payments make it possible for them to compete in world markets and, at the same time, maintain their income.

And just two weeks ago the President authorized me to open negotiations with a number of countries for the additional sale of our wheat and feed grains. These commodities will be sold under the Public Law 480 plan, and foreign countries will use their own currency to buy our grains.

This will mean the sale of hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat and feed grains and vegetable oil, and is certain to have a healthy effect on farm prices.

But . . . we need still another tool to keep prices strong in the face of temporary oversupplies. We need a strategic reserve bill of the kind that Congressman Graham Purcell has introduced. Not only would this bill permit the storing of a strategic reserve of grain to insure against a critical drawdown in an emergency or a bad crop year—*it would also bolster farm prices.*

But despite the obvious need for such legislation, the Republicans in Congress are trying to hamstring this bill with attempts to attach impossibly restrictive provisions to it.

I am appealing to farmers everywhere to tell their Congressmen how much they want—and need—the Purcell Bill.

Such a bill, coupled with the current commodity programs, would do much to stabilize the prices of the basic commodities. But, there still remains the problem of balancing supply and demand in those non-storable commodities not covered by programs. And 60 percent of our farmers' cash receipts come from the sale of those non-program commodities. In these commodities, the farmer is at the mercy of the market. There simply isn't very much—under present law—that the government can do.

What else can be done, then? Well, for the past six months I've been engaged in a continuing dialogue with farmers and farm leaders about an idea whose time has come—farmer bargaining—as one means to strengthen the farmers' muscle in the market place.

Interest and consensus are building rapidly. The idea is catching hold everywhere, and now we're considering possible legislation to give the farmer legal sanction to bargain effectively. Without this sanction, farm bargaining power remains just a phrase.

The approach could take several forms. One could be a National Farm Bargaining Board. Under this, producers could request the board to call elections and certify bargaining agents for farmers to negotiate with buyers. Another could be the broadening of the present system of marketing orders to include new commodities and new concepts.

Under either system, producers would thus have at least some power to determine their own prices.

But despite the excitement and the enthusiasm this concept is spurring in farm circles, *I have yet to hear one Republican leader—in or out of the Congress—utter a single word of support for it.*

But this, again, shouldn't surprise us. Farm bargaining is a positive idea . . . and Republicans instinctively gravitate toward the negative . . . just as they appear to be doing now in the case of a bill introduced by Tom Curtis, a powerful city Republican Congressman from Missouri.

The Curtis Bill is called a farm bill. In truth, it ought to be called a banker's bill.

I say this because the Curtis Bill would change the crop loan program by authorizing only private lending agencies to make recourse loans. The non-recourse CCC commodity loan program has long been one of the cornerstones of the farm programs. In the last 10 years, farmers have put a total of 3,916 million bushels of corn, 1,603 million bushels of grain sorghum, and 2,698 million bushels of wheat under non-recourse CCC loans. These non-recourse loans permitted a farmer to avoid dumping his crops on the market at harvest time. He could use the loan as a price support with the knowledge that should the market price fall below the loan level, he could deliver the crop in full satisfaction of the loan and not be subject to any legal deficiency judgment.

But the Curtis Bill would require the farmer to repay the loan on or before the maturity date, plus interest. The bill does provide for purchases by lending agencies, true, but how many private lending agencies have facilities for storage or are likely to want to pay the costs for commercial storage? And how many banks charters authorize such action?

Let no farmer delude himself about the real purpose of this bill. It has the support of the Farm Bureau . . . and the tacit approval of the Republican party. And this is exactly what Farm Bureau President Charles Shuman said about it:

"We are supporting a bill (the Curtis Bill) in the Congress which would eliminate the feed grain and the wheat control and subsidy plan immediately."

Could it be any clearer than that? And how long do you suppose cotton, tobacco, peanut, and rice programs would last once the wheat and feed grain programs were eliminated?

I hope our farmers realize how this would hurt them. Our studies and our consultations with agricultural economists in a number of land-grant colleges indicate *that in the absence of these programs net farm income might well fall by a third . . . or some $5 billion below the 1966 level of $16.4 billion!*

With these programs, wheat receipts have climbed $500 million over what they were in 1960, and feed grain receipts have soared $2.1 billion.

The Curtis Bill has been introduced. I think it's time for Republicans to stand up and be counted. Are they *for* this bill? Do they *want* to get rid of farm programs? Do they *want* to plunge agriculture back into the depths of the Dismal Fifties?

If that's what they want, let them say it. We'll stand on our record . . . not just for the past seven years, but for the past 57 years!

That record will show, my friends, that every single time since 1910 that a Democrat has succeeded a Republican in the White House farm prices and farm income have gone up. And every single time that a Republican has succeeded a Democrat in the White House farm prices and farm income have gone down!

And now, in closing, let me examine another phase of progress in rural America, a record of rural areas development that has also been written under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

It is fast becoming apparent to millions of Americans that unless we restore across-the-board vitality to rural America we'll never stem the tide of migration to the big cities.

With each passing year, more than half a million Americans move from the countryside to the city . . . a move which simultaneously drains human resources from rural America and jams more bodies into big cities already all but overcome by the problem of too many people for too little space.

There seems little doubt that much of the social unrest of the cities is brought on by human friction—congestion and frustration—and that this congestion and frustration is being compounded by the continuing influx of rural migrants.

The challenge, then, is to restore economic vitality to the towns and the small and medium size cities in order to create enough opportunity to keep people there . . . and out of the big cities.

Industrial, recreation and service industries will come to rural America, if we work at it, and they will provide the economic backbone for jobs, new tax income, new business, and the social benefits that people want and need.

These things just don't find their way to a community. They can't be bestowed by a benevolent government. They don't just happen. They are the product of dynamic local leadership, working with determined local citizens, and using every tool—public and private—that is adaptable to the task.

In the past few months I have visited a number of states to see, first hand, how this partnership of people with their governments is working with respect to creating a rural renaissance. I can report to you that it's working well in many places and not very well in others. But the tide is running our way. There is positive and dynamic action in enough places—including your own state—to convince me that rural America is stirring once again.

People who fled jobless to the big cities a few years ago are actually returning to the countryside, because this is where they want to live, and this is where they can get jobs again.

I won't try to tick off all the things the Johnson Administration is trying to do to bring about this revitalization of the countryside, but I will tell you what the Department of Agriculture alone is doing to bring the facilities, preserve and enhance the resources, that rural America must have to enjoy parity of opportunity and the amenities of life.

This fiscal year we will make 1,500 water system loans, 320 sewer system loans, 600 water and sewer planning grants, add another 100,000 rural telephones and provide electricity for another 150,000 rural Americans.

We will help rural Americans obtain 4,000 moderate cost houses, build or repair 47,089 low to moderate cost houses, 12,274 farm labor housing units and 2,230 rental units.

We'll make 243 more recreation association loans and we'll add another 13 Resource Conservation and Development Districts to the 21 we already have. We'll add 11 more new constructions for flood prevention and add hundreds of additional Watershed Protection projects. There are 68 project plans completed, 702 under construction and a total of 817 approved for operation.

This past fiscal year we added 219 new recreational sites, bringing the total to 9,500, and we reforested 116,468 acres and improved 194,906 acres of timber land.

For Oregonians, with their understandable preoccupation with forest lands, other natural resources, and outdoor recreation, these latter statistics should have particular significance.

As ardent conservationists, Oregonians should know, too, that under President Johnson the Congress has passed more conservation measures than any other Congress in history . . . including Highway Beautification, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the Water Pollution Control Act, the Clean Air Act Amendment, the Small Watershed Program under Public Law 566, and authorization for Resource Conservation and Development.

Laws aren't everything, of course. The laws of the 1900's and the 1930's would not have succeeded without the wise administration of two great Presidents—both named Roosevelt.

Today, another great conservationist President is in the White House and his First Lady is the nation's leading advocate of natural beauty. Like the two Roosevelts, Lyndon Johnson is focusing national attention on conservation because he believes in it . . . and because he understands it.

And . . . like Franklin Roosevelt and John Fitzgerald Kennedy . . . this great President believes in the people because he understands the people.

He gives a brave heart to their aspirations . . . he gives a sad heart to their frustrations . . . he gives a glad heart to their Great Expectations.

For he, too, dreams the Impossible Dream . . . to wine the Possible Dream for the people.

Thank you.

Billion in Insurance Aid Didn't Turn L. B. J.'s Head

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's patient, continuing effort to involve "the inventive genius of private industry" in the task of rehabilitating the cities' slums is paying dividends. The major insurance companies are coming into the field with a fund of $1 billion to be invested in decent housing for the poor. The Newark Sunday News, of September 17, discussed these developments in an article entitled "Billion in Insurance Aid Didn't Turn L. B. J.'s Head." I think it will interest the Members of the House, and I include the article in the RECORD:

BILLION IN INSURANCE AID DIDN'T TURN L. B. J.'S HEAD

(By William May)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson seems to be operating these days under the Satchel Paige adage: "Never look back, somebody may be gaining on you."

In the face of criticism that shows no signs of abating, Johnson is pushing ahead with the same foreign and domestic policies he espoused at the start of his first full term in the White House.

Some of the President's supporters are getting worried about the stepped-up bombing raids of the port of Haiphong in North Vietnam. There were printed reports that the targets were hit over the objections of Defense Secretary McNamara.

The implication was that Johnson had given in to the congressional hawks and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in escalating the war in Vietnam.

But the White House maintains that U.S. policy towards Vietnam is unchanged and that the President is holding a middle course between those who want a major step-up in the bombing and those who want to pull out of Vietnam.

The Johnson position is that the heavier bombing of the enemy's chief port is another turn of the screw in the effort to convince the North Vietnamese to negotiate a settlement of the fighting. The President's argument is that South Vietnam now has a democratically elected government that can represent its people at any bargaining table.

L. B. J.'S WAY

On the domestic front, the President is insisting as stubbornly as ever that Congress should put aside ideas for any federal crash programs to help the big cities and concentrate on the legislative package he presented in January.

Johnson has been bitterly criticized by liberals and civil rights groups who say he failed to react to the "sense of urgency" in the country following the riots in Newark, Detroit and other cities.

Such criticism does not seem to have bothered him. But he undoubtedly has been very much aware of the attention given to the newly formed Urban Coalition, a group of 1,200 business, labor, religious, civil rights and local government leaders. The coalition, meeting in Washington last month, called for a broad and comprehensive program to relieve the explosive pressures in the city's slum areas.

As part of its program, the Urban Coalition recommended the development of some means "by which major private investment may be attracted to deteriorating neighborhoods."

Last week the President staged a White House meeting at which just such a program was announced. The insurance companies, with the Prudential and the Metropolitan Life taking the biggest roles, announced they have earmarked $1 billion to help finance housing in slum areas.

Johnson was not stealing a page from the Urban Coalition's book. As Gilbert Fitzhugh, board chairman of Metropolitan, told reporters at a briefing following the meeting between Johnson and a group of insurance executives, the industry has been talking since last January about a larger role in the rehabilitation of the core cities.

ANOTHER PLEA

And it was in May, before the riots, that a special committee on urban problems was created in the insurance industry and came up with the investment program.

The Administration played a legitimate part in the program since Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert Weaver worked with its proponents in ironing out details. Weaver was able to point to changes in federal laws which allowed government backing from the type of loans the insurance companies had in mind.

So Johnson was able to invite the insurance executives to Washington where the White House became the background for the announcement.

But even while he was congratulating the insurance men on their "historic contribution," Johnson was again making the point that his domestic legislation must be the basis for any broad program to rescue the cities.

"This Administration is already deeply committed to a program of action for the cities," he said. "Right now, we have programs pending totaling nearly $7 billion to help America's cities.

"The first priority for all of us who are concerned is to support these programs; to see that they are enacted and funded and properly administered. Beyond that there is much to do, but if we are ever going to travel the whole distance we must take these first legislative steps."

Congressman Jack Edwards Comments in a Letter to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JACK EDWARDS, representing the First Congressional District of Alabama, is this week sending a letter to his constituents highlighting and commenting on several current and important legislative issues. I think the letter will be of interest to the Members and I include the text of his letter at this point in my remarks:

NEWSLETTER OF CONGRESSMAN JACK EDWARDS, OF ALABAMA

ON THE BRIGHT SIDE

With so many troublesome issues facing the country at home and abroad it often seems difficult to point to any news that is optimistic and hopeful. But there have been some developments on the bright side in these past few weeks.

1. The Congressional demand for cuts in federal spending is making headway. The House Ways and Means Committee is holding back action on LBJ's tax increase bill, asking some solid assurance from the President that he will make substantial cuts in non-essential spending. While Mr. Johnson has refused so far to make these specific assurances, some form of spending reduction may be forthcoming. Never before in the past seven years has the matter of deficit spending and irresponsible fiscal management been so clear in the minds of Americans.

2. Both House and Senate have approved a proposal similar to mine, providing for studies and recommendations on ways to limit the distribution of pornographic materials. The final version now being worked out gives special attention to the need to protect children from the effects of the growing and lucrative pornography racket.

3. On Sept. 11 the House of Representatives approved a bill providing benefits to local law enforcement officers (or their families) who are killed or injured while on duty apprehending persons in connection with violations of federal law. This is the least the federal government should do for policemen whose work is being made more difficult because of decisions made in Washington.

4. The Organization of American States has asked all nations to stop trading with Cuba until Castro halts aggression against other countries. This is the major result of Venezuela's call for OAS action following last May's Cuban infiltration of guerrillas onto a Venezuelan beach. While I have no illusions that this new move will solve the Communist Cuba problem, the OAS action was stronger than some had predicted.

IT'S FAIR TIME AGAIN

Again this year there will be a Jack Edwards booth at the Greater Gulf States Fair in Mobile from October 16th to 21st. I hope you will be able to come by.

BULLETINS AVAILABLE

I can send you, at no charge, booklets providing useful information on many aspects of home, garden, and farm care. Write me for a list of booklets available.

NEW DELAYS IN MARITIME POLICY

With U.S. Merchant Marine strength going steadily down hill over the past few years there has been rising concern in Congress, in maritime labor and industry. Despite assurances going back several years the Johnson Administration has failed to provide a working policy and program for rebuilding the U.S. merchant fleet. Positive suggestions put forth by many in Congress, including myself, have gone unheeded while U.S. shipping capability falls further and further behind.

Early last month, after Congressional leaders implored LBJ for action, it seemed that a real program was finally about to be presented. But none has been. And now, even if the Administration does announce proposals, it is too late for any real forward progress to be made until next year.

FAIRNESS IN FEDERAL TAX COLLECTION

You may recall that last January I introduced a proposal to set up a small claims tax court. The idea was to give help to the taxpayer who becomes involved in a dispute with the Internal Revenue Service over a tax claim of less than $2500. The way it is now, when the taxpayer defends his position as fully as he can, and the IRS still says he owes more taxes, his only recouse is long and costly court action even if he is in the right. My bill would give him a chance to defend himself before an impartial third party—the small claims tax court—at minimum cost.

Unfortunately, there is no sign that the Edwards bill will be given consideration in Congress very soon. And yet reports of unfair and even illegal activity of federal tax agents continue. Nearly every Congressman receives complaints from taxpayers. The *Reader's Digest* magazine published an article in August detailing several cases.

Tax payments are such a big expense item for all of us that the public must be assured of legality and fairness in tax collections. The charges and countercharges must be heard if confidence in government is to be retained. For this purpose I have made a formal request for Congress to hold public hearings on the issue. I made the request of the chairman of the subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs of which I am a member. With all sides in the controversy presenting their cases, it should then be possible for us to enact legislation protecting the rights of taxpayers. Unfortunately, my request has just been turned down. But I shall keep trying.

CRIME

The crime rate across the nation is rising at a fast pace. Americans in rural areas and in the biggest cities are fearful, and are asking for remedies.

President Johnson has made some proposals to combat street crime. But they would have given Washington too much control over local law enforcement agencies, opening the way to more Federal "guidelines." The House has voted to channel Federal help through state governments instead, and this is a much better approach.

The other kind of crime is organized crime. Unlike street crime, organized crime crosses state lines. Narcotics traffic, numbers games, vice, and loan sharking require federal as well as local government attention.

Yet, where organized crime is concerned, LBJ has done very little, even though his own National Crime Commission has made recommendations for corrective action.

It is a fact that the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Department of Justice is far less active now in efforts against organized crime than it was in 1964. Its work should be intensified.

Growing crime, and the conditions which bring it about, require serious attention.

POSTAL RATES

Just as the overall federal budget deficit is growing so fast, the Post Office operating deficit is also on the rise. To help meet rising costs an increase in postage rates is likely to be approved this year.

As planned now, the first class mail rate would go from 5¢ to 6¢; the air mail rate from 8¢ to 10¢. Second class rates would go up about 21 percent, and third class rates about 32 percent.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN SUBSIDY

A committee in the Senate has approved new legislation which would subsidize election campaign expenses for Presidential and Senatorial candidates. Though intended to reduce the influence of big political contributors, the proposal seems unlikely to do that job, and raises many new problems.

Under the plan a Presidential candidate could tap the Treasury for $14 million. The subsidy to Senate candidates would vary from state to state. In Alabama it would be about $250,000 per candidate. The total cost in 1968 could be $54 million, not counting minor party candidates. The cost would be sure to rise later.

This bill would certainly create more mischief than it would eliminate. It should not be enacted into law and I intend to vigorously oppose it.

Soviet Russia on the High Seas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the most sobering facts of today's world, from the non-Communist standpoint, is the growing strength of the Soviet Union on the sealanes of the world.

From time to time in the past years several of us serving on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House have called attention to this substantial increase in Russian sea strength and have emphasized that this strength means not only naval military strength but merchant shipping capacity as well.

In the Soviet vocabulary, navy strength and merchant shipping strength go hand in hand as closely as bread and butter. They are both vital parts of the Soviet concept of control of the world's oceans, and this is one of the major objectives of the Soviet Union.

Until a few years ago U.S. superiority in merchant shipping strength was an assumption anyone could hold with confidence. Today that superiority is being severely challenged.

In the same manner, U.S. naval control of the Mediterranean was a safe assumption until recently. That assumption, also, is being challenged.

The Soviet naval strength in the Mediterranean was discussed in a newspaper item appearing in the Evening Star of Washington October 2. I insert it at this point in my remarks:

THE RED NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

(By Richard Wilson)

STUTTGART, GERMANY.—As it is told here at the new U.S. military headquarters in Europe, the Soviet Union is asserting a very strong military presence in the Mediterranean. High military sources say that on some days Soviet naval operation equal those of the U.S. when measured in terms of ships operating.

Furthermore, the American military intelligence assessment is that Russia has by now come very close to replacing the equipment lost by the Arabs in Israel's lightning war. This does not square with the impression in Washington that it will be at least two years before the Arabs can be able to take on the Israelis again.

Stuttgart is the new American military headquarters in Europe post-De Gaulle, a unified command like that in Honolulu under Admiral Ulysses S. G. Sharp. An Air Force four-star general, David A. Burchinal, is in command in Stuttgart as deputy to the NATO commander, Lyman L. Lemnitzer whose headquarters is in Brussels.

What stands out strongly is that if the American presence were withdrawn, or very greatly reduced, NATO would be finished as a working military alliance. A force reduction process is now under way which would cut American forces, now numbering about 323,000, by 30,000.

This prospective cut is somewhat illusory. The 30,000 troops may be sent back to Ft. Riley, Kan., or wherever, but they will still be under Burchinal's command. Their equipment and some noncoms and lower grade officers will remain here, and in an era of quick military transportation the troops can be shifted back to Germany and be ready to fight in 10 or 12 days.

In the mood of Europe today the American presence, nevertheless, does not seem to be very real. It is not great enough in itself to shield Western Europe from an attack from the East. Other nations, even West Germany, are pulling away from alliance commitments to satisfy the increasing demands for social benefits. Guns are giving way to butter here.

An alliance which consists mainly of a military accord between the United States and a West German government which is talking about reducing its commitments leaves much to be desired.

Yet the fact remains that the Soviet Union is expanding its areas of influence and improving its relations with France, West Germany and other Western European nations. This creates the present euphoric mood of Europe and permits the Soviet military expansion on the Southern flank in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Watched from Stuttgart this development seems ominous, particularly when paired with the sentiment in the United States represented by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield for the beginning of what might be a total U.S. withdrawal from Europe.

As in the case of Vietnam, there is a wide gulf between what the military desires and considers to be in the national interest and the growth of new isolationism in the United States. NATO Ambassador Harlan Cleveland has tried to awaken Washington to the need for refocusing attention on Europe. But the preoccupation in Vietnam works against that.

A kind of despair can be noted in official quarters here over improving the situation. It can easily be believed, as some officials fear, that with the unifying effect of the U.S. presence gone or sharply diminished Europe could fall back into the pre-1914 nationalism which led to two catastrophic world wars.

The United States may be the only Western nation left which is thinking in terms of global military power. With their empires gone, the Western European nations have turned inward and seem willing to let the rest of the world drift wherever it will, and regarding the American effort at world stabilization with boredom or distaste. Voices which defend American policy are growing faint. The future of the NATO alliance is not very bright, and Russia is the main benefactor of its dimming.

A Sad Milestone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the resignation of the Most Reverend Mark K. Carroll as bishop of the Wichita, Kans., Catholic diocese has been announced by Pope Paul VI. The announcement has caused much regret and sadness among men and women of all faiths in Wichita and throughout Kansas.

Bishop Carroll has been a respected and beloved spiritual leader since his designation as bishop of the Wichita diocese over 20 years ago. He has been a guiding force in behalf of brotherhood and tolerance. In 1951 he became the first priest in the United States to receive the national citation from the National Council of Christians and Jews for promoting amity and understanding among all elements of our pluralistic society.

Bishop Carroll's resignation comes at this time because of advanced age and poor health.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wichita, Kans., Beacon, which extends a deserving tribute to Bishop Carroll.

The editorial follows:

A SAD MILESTONE

The hippies who advocate "dropping out" as a protest to the inequities of society should take a look at Bishop Mark K. Carroll.

Bishop Carroll resigned this week as bishop of the Wichita Catholic Diocese. Though he has not been active recently, his resignation is a sad milestone for Wichita.

Why should a city care about one elderly gentleman, whose religious faith is not that of a majority of the residents?

It is because Bishop Carroll, when he saw inequities, never dropped out. He lit in and did what he could.

He was especially interested in promoting brotherhood. In 1951 he was the first priest in the United States to receive the national citation from the National Council of Christians and Jews for "promoting amity and understanding among all elements of our pluralistic society."

Some think the racial hatreds displayed today are the worst possible. They should have been around in the United States of the youth of 70-year-old Bishop Carroll. Then, it was respectable to despise people of other races, and it was considered almost obligatory to distrust people of different religious faiths. Men like Bishop Carroll did not drop out in despair at this display of ugly spirit by the society of their day. They worked, patiently and against opposition, to bring people together and help them to understand and trust one another. Without the work of people like this, the nation today might really be torn apart with intergroup hatreds.

This was not the only contribution Bishop Carroll made to Wichita in his 20 years here as bishop. He was active, as long as health permitted, in many civic endeavors. And his good work in strengthening his own church also strengthened the moral and spiritual fiber of the city.

Bishop Carroll has devoted a great many years to improving society. Perhaps he is a little discouraged as he looks around and sees the wrongs that still prevail. But he, and others, can take heart from considering what that society might have been without his efforts.

No man can make society perfect. But he can do what he can to make it better.

A Congressman's Work Is Never Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the following is an article by Mr. Wesley G. Pippert, who is a veteran of 12 years with United Press International. He has just been assigned to the UPI Washington bureau after spending the past year on Capitol Hill under a congressional fellowship and working in the office of Senator CHARLES H. PERCY, Republican of Illinois, for 4 months. It is an extremely informative article by a fellow who had a chance to look from the inside out and writes about what he saw.

CONGRESS CREATION, NOT A CREATOR, OF AMERICAN LIFE

(By Wesley G. Pippert)

WASHINGTON.—The surprising thing about the year I spent inside Congress was that there were no surprises.

I found no conspiracies, no secrets being hidden from the American people.

Congressmen and senators are people, even as you and I. Only they generally work a good deal harder than most of us.

As a congressional fellow of the American Political Science Association, I spent four months in the office of Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill.

Interspersed were countless seminars with lobbyists, political science professors, newsmen and columnists, second level administration officials, and other faces.

Nothing they said startled me. It wasn't that they lacked insight or information; rather, there isn't much startling to say about Congress.

MEET PEOPLE'S DEMANDS

Congress is more a creation than a creator of American life, more a mirror than a torch. The American people demand more of their congressmen and senators these days. These demands have made Congress the overtaxed, overburdened institution it has become.

Example: Every congressman has at least one "caseworker." Most senators have a casework staff. These staff members do nothing but handle—"babysit," if you will—problems sent in by the folk back home.

A lonely wife asks her congressman's help in getting her husband home from Vietnam (the congressman is always careful to insure the serviceman himself has made the same request). Sometimes the serviceman is quite content where he is. An aged couple writes because they have not been receiving their Social Security check.

All this takes staff. And time.

Casework is not to be downgraded or minimized. Sometimes frustrated citizens whose bread basket is at stake run into the morass of the bureaucracy. They have no place to turn but to their congressman. He becomes their "court of last resort."

MAIL BIG BUSINESS

The letters a congressman gets are a major problem.

After an appearancse on a national television show during which he was supposed to discuss housing, Percy was questioned at length about Vietnam. The result was up to 2,500 leters a day. It takes quite a secretarial staff merely to open and sort this much mail. Then, every letter must be answered and filed, complete with a carbon copy of the reply.

After reading a few thousand constituent letters, I am not cynical about such letter writing. But I am suspicious.

For instance, Percy and Udall get the same kind of mail. Udall, a liberal Democrat, is from a district (Tucson) with many conservative Republicans. Percy, a Republican, defeated Sen. Paul Douglas, a patron saint to the liberals since coming to Washington.

Both Udall and Percy get letters of the most vitriolic, abusive, caustic sort from extremists who resort to accusations, impugning of motives, and name-calling ("traitor," "stupid," "sell-out to the Communists," etc.).

After Percy voted for the consular treaty resolution, he made the mistake of saying publicly that he got 6,000 or 7,000 letters opposing the resolution and only 40 in favor. Then he got another 6,000 or 7,000 letters demanding why he did not vote "the dictates of the people."

His office then had to explain this did not mean necessarily that a majority of all people opposed the resolution, but only that a majority of those people who took the trouble to write opposed the resolution.

Good replies—that is, letters of substance—take time to research, dictate, type, mail and file. The time which goes into all this often must be subtracted from the time spent researching and examining legislation.

Most congressmen and senators work hard. For four months I went to Udall's office each morning between 8:30 and 9 and stayed until 5:30 or 6. Inevitably Udall had been there an hour or two before me, and only once did he leave the office before I did—and that was a day after he had been up the whole night traveling. Udall never eats lunch.

Percy made long trips every weekend—speaking in Hartford, Conn.; Berkeley, Calif.; Dallas, Tex.; Cleveland, Ohio; and New York. He frequently sandwiched in trips to Chicago during the week.

EARLY RETURN

One Monday morning at 2 a.m., I bumped into the senator and his wife in the baggage room at National Airport after a weekend trip to Nebraska for a speech. At 8 o'clock the same morning Percy was on hand for his weekly staff meeting. He could not have had more than four or five hours sleep.

PAY, HOURS BAD

Why would anyone want to go through the rat race of being a congressman?

The pay isn't that good, the hours are horrible, there are few days off, and the work load is staggering. Congressmen are permitted no secrets, private or public. Most congressmen have files easily accessible to any intern or volunteer as well as any staff member.

One answer is the satisfaction and dedication many find in public service. And even the most humble and sensitive person responds to the sort of deferential treatment congressmen are accorded almost everywhere they go. They get to like the prestige that goes with the job. I would, too.

On Seeing the Best in People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 17, it was my good fortune to be present and hear a most forthright and meaningful sermon by Dr. Menter P. German at the Del Ray Baptist Church, Alexandria, Va. Dr. German is serving this church as interim pastor.

The subject of the message was "On Seeing the Best in People." It was presented skillfully and with dedication. The Del Ray Baptist Church is my church "away from home."

Dr. German is a native of Virginia. He received his AB degree from the University of Richmond and his bachelor of sacred theology degree from Yale University Divinity School. He received an honorary degree of doctor of divinity from the University of Richmond. He served with distinction and honor as minister of the Bethany Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., for a period of more than 30 years. He was former president of the District of Columbia Baptist Ministerial Association, and for several years was a member of the foreign mission board of the Southern Baptist Convention. At this time he is serving as president of the board of directors of the Washington City Bible Society.

The philosophy expressed in this great message "On Seeing the Best in People" is sound and illuminating. It is a real pleasure to insert this inspiring and thought-provoking message:

ON SEEING THE BEST IN PEOPLE

(A sermon by Dr. Menter P. German, September 17, 1967, Del Ray Baptist Church, Alexandria, Va.)

John 1: 43—"The day following Jesus would go forth in Galilee, and findeth Phillip, and saith unto him Follow me."

Jesus has been called, and rightly so, the most radiant personality that the world has ever known. At every turn of the way he met people on whose faces were the marks of failure, sin and disgrace. Not only had society condemned these people, but the church had washed their hands of them. They were not concerned about the riff-raff, the people to whom Jesus had a strange fascination. For as these unfortunate people met him, they found in his face a light they had never seen on land or sea. They found in him one who seemed to understand them, to share in their problems to know something about their difficulties.

And so, if you would look for the secret of how Jesus was able to get into the lives of these unfortunate people, I am sure you will find it was in the fact that he was able to see beyond what they were to what they were capable of becoming.

As someone has said, "In the midst of sinners, Jesus went on dreaming of saints, and because he thought of them as saints, many of them who had fallen below the standards of moral respectability, rose up and followed him."

Indeed, as you turn the pages of the gospel stories, on almost every page you discover someone who had fallen below the standards of moral respectability, who were living in sin and disgrace, who when they met the Master, they walked out of their old selves into a new life. Yonder is a tax collector. There is no doubt that this man was a miser, had sold himself for the mere getting of gain. Perhaps he had collected a lot of worldly goods, but Matthew was not happy and he wanted a new life. But society had disownd him. They wouldn't have anything to do with him. But one day Jesus happened to find him, and as Matthew looked into the eyes of the Master, he seemed to say, "Here is somebody who understands me," and Jesus said to Matthew, "Come follow me,". Matthew rose up and followed him.

Or again, here is a woman of the street. There is no doubt that she was a woman of loose living. She had thrown her life away, but one day she met Jesus, and Jesus met her, and she rose up and followed him.

Or again, here is a miser climbing a sycamore tree. There is do doubt about Zaccheus' position—who he was and what he was. But when he met Jesus, he was thoroughly converted, and even if he had taken anything falsely, as he said in his own confession, he wanted to restore it fourfold.

And so we might go on and on with Jesus meeting the unfortunate, the derelicts, and as they met him they walked out of their old selves into a new life.

You see this approach as it was followed in the calling of Nathaniel. As Jesus met him, he saw the best in him. Listen to the story:

Phillip had already become a disciple, and then he went out to find Nathaniel; and what is it he says to him? "We have found him of whom Moses and the prophets did write—Jesus of Nazareth." Now strange as it may seem, Nathaniel was bitter against anything that came out of Nazareth. So when Phillip announced that Jesus was from Nazareth, there was a barrier set up in this prejudiced mind, and Nathaniel exclaimed, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Phillip said, "Come and see." (Now friends, that is always the best way to enlist anybody. Don't try to argue them into Christianity, rather just say to them, "Come and see for yourself.") So when he invited him to come and see for himself Nathaniel stubbornly and reluctantly came.

As Jesus saw him coming, He said "Behold an Israelite in whom there is no guile." Nathaniel answered, "Whence saw thee me?" and Jesus said, "Why, I saw you under the fig tree in your hour of devotion." and Nathaniel was immediately converted, and he said, "My Lord and my Master." And Jesus said, "Because you have believed, greater things than these shall you see, for you shall see the heavens opened and the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of God."

That is a simple story, and yet it can be reproduced in our own lives. What is its secret, if we but follow our Master in His fine virtue. Notice three approaches Jesus used.

First, He saw the best in Nathaniel. Second, he saw Nathaniel at his best, and third, he promised Nathaniel better things to come. Let us look at these three things as Jesus wins this arrogant Jew into his discipleship.

First of all, he saw the best in Nathaniel. Suppose he had started at the other side. Suppose when he saw Nathaniel coming to him, he had said, "Now there you come, a narrow-minded cabin-cribbed conceited Israelite! If you would become a Christian you must get rid of those prejudices. You hate people, and therefore you can't follow me." Now there is where *we* usually begin, by seeing the worst in people—rather than the best, by telling them how downright sinful they are rather than how good they can be. Jesus never did that. Jesus always saw the best in people. Why do we have to see the worst in people? All of us know John 3:16 "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." How many of us know John 3:17 "For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through Him might be saved." The world was already condemned. People were already convinced that they were sinners; what they wanted was something that would lift them up, some voice, some power to help them to become the kind of men and women they wanted to be. The 17th verse tells us that He sent His Son not to condemn, but to save.

And so I say that Jesus did not begin by pointing out to him that he was a narrow-minded cabin-cribbed Israelite who was looked upon his fellow man with disdain, rather He began by pointing out to Nathaniel that he was a potentially good man, by seeing the best in him.

This is a virtue that we all want to practice. All through my ministry I have tried to preach this gospel, because I think it is the most redemptive gospel one can proclaim. The secret of Billy Graham's success is that he proclaims a positive gospel, seeing the best in people. And it always works.

I remember some years ago he was here in Washington, and he was holding a breakfast down at one of the hotels, and there were some people in the audience who objected to an article that had appeared in one of our local newspapers. They suggested that a number of us should write letters of disapproval of such an article. After much discussion, and a vote was about to be taken, Billy Graham arose and said, "I wish you would forget that. This paper has given us very good coverage, and has said a lot of wonderful things about our campaign. How many of you here would like to join me in sending a letter of commendation to this paper telling how much we appreciate what they have done for our campaign?" Well, don't you see the two angles?

How would you get the best done, by complimenting them—seeing the best in people or by condemning them? You know which one works—seeing the best.

In the city of Boston, many years ago, a young Harvard student who had lost his faith, and in his own words, had come to the end of a shabby rope. He went to see one of the great ministers of all time, Philips Brooks, and when he went in and sat down to talk with him, he poured out a life of shame and disgrace. Then he said, "Dr. Brooks I don't know why I have come to talk with you about this, I am really not too much interested in religion, but somehow I just wanted to talk with you." After listening to what this young man had to say Philips Brooks replied, "My dear young man, there is something fine in you or you would never have come to see me, a preacher. There are plenty of other people to whom you could have gone. Why have you come to tell me about it? I know there is something good in you, and I just know that you are going to find yourself." You are not surprised that this young man went out from Philip Brooks' meeting that day a changed man. That he became one of the great preachers and educators of our generation, and hundreds and thousands of people were inspired by his voice. What had happened was that he had gone in to see a person who didn't condemn him—but who saw beyond the veneer of that loose living, one who wanted to rise and to be a better person. It is a story of Nathaniel all over again. Jesus was able to enlist Nathaniel, not because he called him narrow-minded, cabin-cribbed, arrogant Israelite, but rather because he saw the best in him.

In the second place, not only did he see the best that was in Nathaniel, but he saw him *at his best*. Now this is worth pointing out. He saw not only the best in Nathaniel, but he saw him at his best. When did he see him? Where did he see him? "Nathaniel, I saw thee under the fig tree." Now, not only had he said to him "An Israelite in whom there is no guile," which was the highest possible compliment he could pay him, but he also said, "before Philip called you, I saw you under the fig tree at your moments of devotion to God." Here he was at his best. So are we. There is a hymn we sometimes sing that should be changed. "Lord help me to live from day to day in such a self-forgetful way that even when I kneel to pray, my thoughts shall be for others." Well, if there is ever a time when our thoughts are for others, it is at the hour of prayer. Can you possibly think of a person having better thoughts, higher inspirations, than that moment when they kneel in prayer and talk to their God. Jesus saw him not in his worst moment, but in his best moment. He saw him at the hour of prayer. Well, I want you to judge me at my best, please. Oh, if we could just judge people at their best.

Now, that doesn't mean that we have to be blind to the ugly spots, to the sins of the world and the faults of people. Some people might say, "There is the preacher going off on a tangent, saying that everybody is good." They are not, at least not all the time. Many things that are happening are far from being good. Somebody says you can believe in people and do your best for them, and they will still turn against you and stab you in the back. To be sure there are renegades and turncoats who will stab you in the back.

And so I say, that Jesus saw the best in Nathaniel, an Israelite in whom there is no guile. He saw him at his best when he was under the fig tree. At the moment of his devotion and his prayer. Let us try to follow his example and see the best in people and see them at their best. It will have a tremendous redemptive power in the proclaiming of our Lord's gospel.

Then there is one more thing that should be mentioned. Not only did he see the best in Nathaniel—and that was redemptive in itself—not only did he see him at his best in the hour of his devotion, but he promised him the best. And so Jesus says, "greater things than these shall you see." The reference there may have been to Jacob's ladder. Well, take that as you may, what he was saying to Nathaniel was "You are going to have brighter days than these." Nathaniel becomes a disciple.

Now, we are not told much about Nathaniel. But just to be among the 12 was a profound honor for him. He did see greater things than these.

You see, had Jesus started at the other end, Nathaniel might have been a lost soul, but he began by seeing the best in him—seeing him at his best and by promising him the best.

Friends, there is a lot of good in the world if we only have eyes to see, ears to hear, hearts to understand and a willingness to follow our Master in this fine virtue.

May we close with an illustration, a story that came to me many years ago. To me it is one of the striking illustrations of Nathaniel all over again.

In Southbridge, Massachusetts was a boy named Bill Marcy. He was a bad boy. There is no doubt about the fact that Bill Marcy was a bad boy. He had been kicked around from pillar to post in every school, and there was not a single teacher in the public schools that could handle him. His father and his mother said he was so unruly that they could not control him, The neighbors said that he had committed so many things that they could not trust him. And the authorities had handed him over from one teacher to another and from one school to another, and the last school had recommended that he be sent to the reformatory as an incorrigible boy.

Then there came to Southbridge, Massachusetts a young teacher by the name of Salem Towne. Now Towne was a big athletic young fellow, and the first thing he said when he came to the school, was, "I understand that you have a bad boy here in the school," and they said, "Well, he is incorrigible. He has already been dismissed." Salem Towne said. "Would you mind if I had a chance at him?" They said, "There is no use trying Bill Marcy, he is too bad. He has licked every teacher that has come to the school." Towne said, "Will you do me the favor of letting me try?" They replied, "Well take it, but there isn't much chance." Well he did, and the fierce young lion came at Salem Towne, and Salem Towne had the chair and the whip in his hand, and they really had a fracas. At the end of the fracas the young boy looked up into the face of his teacher and said, "You know, Teacher, there is something about you that I like," and the teacher said, "Bill, there is something about you that I like. Let's shake hands." And they shook hands. And the Teacher and the boy lived together. They played ball together, they went on hunting trips together, they were together all the time. They worked together in the school—and Bill Marcy and Salem Towne became almost like brothers. Although there was a difference in their age, there couldn't have been a closer relationship between the two men—the bad boy and the teacher who was willing to give him another trial.

Shift the scene half a century later. The governor of Massachusetts is giving a reception in honor of the Honorable William L. Marcy, the bad boy. At the reception, Salem Towne and Bill Marcy met each other, and clasped each other's hand most profusely, and the governor said, "I din't know you two men knew each other." And then Bill Marcy, the man who was receiving the honors, and the distinction said, "Know each other! Why this is the man who made me. This is the man who believed in me even when my father and mother said I was no good, and the teachers said I was no good, and the community said I was no good. This man came and put his arm around me and said, "Bill Marcy you have got something good in you."

William L. Marcy, three times U.S. Senator, and governor of the state of New York—

with the highest mountain in the state of New York named in honor of him—William L. Marcy, the boy who was headed for the reformatory as no good, and yet somebody gets hold of him and says, "Bill, I believe in you, Bill I see you at your best. You are not satisfied with the way you are today. Bill, you will have greater things than these if you will only come and follow me."

Now, I do not know what religion Salem Towne belonged, but I would strongly surmise that he was a disciple of Jesus Christ. I believe that he thought here is a method which will transform when everything else fails. And beloved friends, you and I and everyone else as we try to proclaim our gospel—if we see that in trying to bring out the best in people and letting them feel that they are still somebody, souls that are lost in sin will rise again. "Down in the human heart crushed by the temptor, feelings lie buried that grace can restore, Touched by a loving heart, awakened by kindness, chords that are broken can vibrate once more."

If we only do our best and try to see the best, and to see that people have a greater future by the work of the Holy Spirit, miracles can take place.

Food for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, recently the national American Legion met in convention in Boston, Mass. Several events took place worthy of attention, not the least of which was the election as national commander of William Galbraith, a constituent of the First District in Nebraska which I represent.

At this convention, the foreign relations committee of the American Legion introduced a resolution regarding the food-for-peace program. The resolution was duly adopted by the convention in assembly and offers broad support and redirection of the existing program.

For the benefits of this body, I insert Resolution 583, adopted by the 49th Annual National Convention of the American Legion, in the Record:

RESOLUTION 583

(Adopted by the 49th Annual National Convention of the American Legion, Boston, Mass., August 29, 30, 31, 1967)

Whereas, U.S. food aid for foreign nations has for years distributed American surpluses; and

Whereas, this policy has led to the depletion of our surpluses, and invasion of our food reserves; and

Whereas, this policy has tended to produce a dependency on the United States in food-short lands, rather than self-sufficiency; and

Whereas, the most expert forecasts of future world food needs foresee increased hunger and undernourishment in many lands that cannot be relieved by any giveaway programs of the major food-producing nations; and

Whereas, in 1966, the Congress and the Administration, in the so-called "Food for Peace Act," restated U.S. food-aid policy to place emphasis on aid that would assist food-short lands to provide more of their own food; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by The American Legion in National Convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, August 29, 30, 31, 1967, That The American Legion approves and supports the broad stated purposes of the so-called "Food for Peace Act" and urges on the Congress and the President such enabling legislation and appropriations, as may be consistent with public policy, that would effectively redirect the U.S. food aid program to the end that:

(1) Self-sufficiency shall replace dependency in the now food-short lands of the free world; and

(2) Our direct food gifts, and sales amounting to gifts, will be reserved for emergency situations.

Comes the Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, throughout the years the entire citizenship of the United States has appreciated the wonderful accomplishments of the Post Office Department.

I remember as a young boy watching the various trains arrive and depart from along the railroads in our congressional district, and seeing the prompt way that the personnel of the railroad post office dispatch the mail from hour to hour through the year.

There appeared in the Dyersburg State Gazette, Dyersburg, Tenn., which is an outstanding daily newspaper in our congressional district, an editorial which speaks for itself.

This editorial was so outstanding that I felt it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

The editorial follows:

[From the Dyersburg State Gazette, Sept. 22, 1967]

COMES THE END

It probably will be of little concern to the younger generations, but many will regret the passing of the railway postoffice and the clerks who manned them.

Railway mail post offices have disappeared from the pasenger trains of the Illinois Central Railroad system along the routes which served Dyersburg. The final runs were made several days ago.

In the future mail dispatched from the Dyersburg postoffice and that received here will be by "closed pouch" and will be hauled in the railroad's baggage cars, to remain closed from the time it is placed on the train here until it reaches its destination to go to the regular postoffices or is to be transferred from Illinois Central trains to other railroads.

The clerks who stood on their feet and distributed mail as it is done in regular postoffices as the railroad postoffices rolled and swayed across the country now will fade from the picture except in very rare instances.

To those who met trains at scattered depots across the country, a recreation few indulge in any more, it seemed that the railway postal clerks led fascinating lives. Youngsters of past eras envied them as they rolled back the doors, unloaded bags of mail and parcel post boxes and loaded on those leaving the home base. Many later became railway mail clerks. Others were inclined.

Often the clerks had a few seconds to visit with those who placed mail in their hands, what the weather was like to the north or south, or what conditions they expected to reach at the end of their "runs" one way or the other.

Some railways postoffices in late years received only that depot-mailed material which was handed to them, a salesman who had completed the day's report too late to dispatch it through the postoffice or someone who had forgotten to post a letter until train time.

Other clerks unlocked mail boxes at the depots, one for southbound and one for northbound, or westbound and east bound, to remove mail which had been posted before the railway postoffice's arrival. They wore sidearms in most instances and walked with a swagger that stressed their importance to the government's service. They may have picked up a scattering of letters with ordinary messages inside, but they handled them with the same care and guarded them as faithfully as they would have gold shipments from Fort Knox—and to many a sender they were just as important.

Progress and modernization of the mail service has brought the end to another colorful era—but perhaps someone may say there must be an end to all things.

Death of Author Carson McCullers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, a resident of my district, Mrs. Carson McCullers, who has been regarded as foremost among contemporary writers of the English language, died last week in Nyack, N.Y.

Although I live about 2 miles from Mrs. McCullers' home and passed it many times a day when I was driving into town, it was never my privilege to meet Mrs. McCullers. Perhaps this fact accents a little the close isolation in which she lived.

In fact, Mrs. McCullers was regarded by many in our area with the prideful awe reserved for famous and historical figures who have flourished in the neighborhood long ago.

Not knowing Mrs. McCullers personally, I submit for the Record an article about her from the Washington Post. I am not discriminating enough to know just which one of the tributes and obituaries about Mrs. McCullers most closely typify her qualities. It seems, however, that the one appended, which is written by Mr. Phil Casey, is factual and appropriate. Accordingly, I offer it below for the Record, as follows:

AUTHOR CARSON MCCULLERS DEAD; DRAMATIZED HUMAN LONELINESS

(By Phil Casey)

Carson McCullers, a sensitive, serious and talented writer who explored and dramatized the fact of human loneliness in her novels and plays, died yesterday in Nyack, N.Y., after a long illness. She was 50.

Mrs. McCullers, a widow since 1953, had been in a coma for 47 days at Nyack General Hospital. She suffered a stroke—her fourth—

last Aug. 15 at her old Victorian house in Nyack and lapsed into the coma from which she never recovered.

Fame came early to Mrs. McCullers, and so did pain and a host of misfortunes. She was only 23 when her first novel, "The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter," met literary acclaim in 1940. This early success was followed quickly by another book that was praised for its literary merit, "Reflections in a Golden Eye."

And while life went well for a while and she mingled and lived with some of the most distinguished writers, artists and composers of the period, the good times didn't last long. She suffered three strokes before she was 30 and was partially paralyzed, a semi-invalid. It became an agony for her to type.

And then in 1953, her husband of 16 years, J. Reeves McCullers, committed suicide. Mrs. McCullers, never prolific, nevertheless continued to write. Though confined to a wheelchair and in pain, she was working on a collection of short stories and a personal journal when she was stricken last month.

Though critics were divided at times on her total achievement, there was no wrangle about her prose. Mrs. McCullers wrote beautifully, with insight, perception and love for each sentence and part of the whole. Good writers cheered her prose, sensitivity and devotion to her art.

Born Carson Smith in Columbus, Ga., she had hopes of becoming a concert pianist. She went to New York City when she was 17, planning to study music at Juilliard.

And the hard luck that was to plague her from then on struck immediately. She lost her tuition money on the subway. She started writing, but didn't get much done, she said later, because New York was such a wonderland and she was "overwhelmed by the snow."

Back home, she had written a play, and said of this effort later: "My idol was Eugene O'Neill, and this first masterpiece was thick with incest, lunacy and murder. The first scene was laid in a graveyard and the last over a catafalque . . . My father, who was startled and rather dubiously proud, bought me a typewriter."

After her fast and loudly-acclaimed literary start—two novels published about a year apart, illness slowed her down. It was five years before her third novel, but this one, "Member of the Wedding," published in 1946 and later an extremely successful and prize-winning play adapted by her, won her a larger audience than she had ever had.

It was a departure of sorts, for though it dealt with the agonies of adolescence and bittersweet sadness of growing up, it was infiltrated everywhere by humor, tenderness and compassion. And, as with all her work, it was shot through with truth.

Also much acclaimed were her last two books, "The Ballad of the Sad Cafe" and "Clock Without Hands," the latter published six years ago.

That year, 1961, she was interviewed by a Newsweek reporter, who found her tall and lean, "almost fleshless," with her paralyzed left arm in a cast. She walked with a cane, painfully.

She lived with a maid and constant companion in the big, white, Southern gothic, Victorian house and took in roomers sometimes to supplement her erratic income. At one time, she was landlady to a teacher, a policeman and a young married couple. And she had famous visitors—Edward Albee, Tennessee Williams, Truman Capote, Julie Harris, and others.

Despite all the hard luck and pain that plagued her most of her life, Mrs. McCullers had humor in herself as well as in her books. She was tall and spare with a face more interesting than pretty, and when someone said she looked like a cross between Garbo and Slim Summerville, she said that sounded all right.

And as for her calling as a writer, she quoted a friend: "I'd rather be a writer than a pinhead in the circus. Their work is harder and has fewer rewards."

Lt. Gen. Edward J. Stackpole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, central Pennsylvania has just lost one of its leading citizens in the passing last Sunday of Lt. Gen. Edward J. Stackpole. General Stackpole and his family have been a positive civic influence in the central Pennsylvania area for many years. His altruistic and helpful community activities have left their mark, particularly on Harrisburg, and its citizens will long remember the many hours of unselfish dedication which General Stackpole gave to the citizens of his area.

General Stackpole will also be remembered for his accomplishments in the literary field, which were many, and for his distinguished military service in World Wars I and II in the United States and overseas. He was a former commander of the Pennsylvania National Guard, to which he devoted more than 30 years of service.

A list of many of General Stackpole's accomplishments in a recent edition of "The Patriot" attest to this gentleman's broad area of community contributions:

GEN. E. J. STACKPOLE DIES AT AGE OF 73

Lt. Gen. Edward J. Stackpole, 73, Harrisburg publisher and former commanding officer of the Pennsylvania National Guard, died early Sunday at Harrisburg Hospital. He had been ill for several months.

He lived in Clarks Valley, Dauphin RD 1.

Gen. Stackpole, brother of Albert H. Stackpole, with whom he was associated in the Telegraph Press publishing company, retired as commander of the National Guard in 1947. He was associated with the state Guard throughout World Wars I and II and completed the task of reorganizing the unit during former Gov. Edward Martin's term in 1945.

He was graduated from Yale University in 1915, earning a bachelor of arts degree. He also received the Yale Medal for his literary efforts at the university.

Gen. Stackpole, who wrote several books on the Civil War, received an honorary doctor of literature degree from Gettysburg College on June 4, 1961.

Gen. Stackpole was chairman of the boards of the Telegraph Press, WHP Inc., and the Stackpole Publishing Co. He was president of the Harrisburg Hotel Corp.; a vice president of Harrisburg Hospital; member of the board of directors of the Harrisburg National Bank & Trust Co., and member of the Development Committee of Yale University.

He also was a director of the Military Service Publishing Co., the Historical Times Inc., Harness Horse Inc., the Harrisburg Public Library, and the Americans for Competitive Enterprises System (ACES).

More than 30 years were spent by Gen. Stackpole in the Pennsylvania National Guard, nine years of which were in Federal service. He served as a company commander of the 110th Infantry, 28th Division, in France in 1918 during which he was wounded three times.

Recovering from his wounds at Walter Reed Hospital, he reentered the Guard service and for a number of years was commanding officer of the 104th Calvary, leaving it later to command the 52nd Cavalry Brigade and ultimately the 22nd Cavalry Division. Upon reorganization of the troops in 1940, he requested a reduction in rank to go on active duty with the 28th Division as a brigade commander.

At the completion of the maneuver period in 1941, the 28th Division was triangularized, and Gen. Stackpole was reassigned and sent to Panama as commanding general of the Panama Security Command in the Canal Zone. He returned to the states in 1943 for assignment as chairman, Seventh Section, War Department Manpower Board Office of the Chief of Staff, stationed at Omaha, Nebr.

He held the Distinguished Service Cross awarded in World War I, and the Purple Heart with two clusters. He also received the Legion of Merit and the Pennsylvania Distinguished Service Medal, in addition to campaign ribbons for service in both wars in the United States and overseas.

In addition to his brother, he is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Meade D. Detweiler, whose husband is president of WHP Radio and Television Inc.; a sister, Mrs. John C. Herman, and three grandchildren, David, Frances and Esther Mary Detweiler, all of Clarks Valley.

Services will be held Tuesday at 2 p.m. in Market Square Presbyterian Church, of which Gen. Stackpole was a member. The Rev. John D. Tate, his pastor, will officiate. There will be no viewing.

Tax Increase and Effort To Reduce Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of the Indiana Business Review, there appeared a thought-provoking article by two members of the staff of the Indiana University Graduate School of Business, Lawrence E. Kreider and Richard D. Hays. As we consider the related questions of a possible Federal tax increase and our efforts to reduce governmental expenditures, this article is particularly timely, I include it herewith:

THE NATION

(By Lawrence E. Kreider and
Richard D. Hays)

Increased inflation threatens from four directions for the remainder of 1967 and 1968. A most unusual combination of emerging price pressures exists, and if they all become full-fledged forces at the same time, the U.S. price structure may well be put to its most critical test in many years.

RENEWAL OF DEMAND-PULL

The first of these underlying pressures is the anticipated renewal of demand-pull. The slowdown during the first and second quarters of 1967 is expected by many to return to the exuberance of 1966. The list of demand expectations is long. It includes heavy defense outlays, continuation of sharp increases in nondefense government spending, recovery in housing, rising furniture and household appliance sales, strength in autos, return to normal inventory growth, and some increase from an already high level of business fixed investments.

Each of these was advancing at a strong rate—some doubtless at an unsustainable rate—prior to mid-1966. Prices rose sharply, reflecting this demand-pull. From January, 1965 to May, 1966, the wholesale price index increased at an annual rate of 3.5 per cent, the consumer price index 2.5 per cent, and the average of all components of GNP about 2.7 per cent.

COST-PUSH

During this period, wage cost-push was not the primary cause of inflation. Wages paid in manufacturing were increasing at nearly the same rate as productivity. However, this was soon to change, leading to what is now anticipated as the second underlying or emerging price pressure—cost-push.

To an uncomfortable degree, cost pressures already are being imposed on the economy. Wages paid in manufacturing increased to levels of 4 per cent or more above a year earlier by the third and fourth quarters of 1966 and the first quarter of 1967. These were the sharpest rises in more than seven years and were significantly higher than increases in output per man-hour.

Underlying wage-price pressures are even greater than the 4 per cent annual rise suggests. Wage rate settlement increases averaged about 5 per cent in the first quarter of 1967, compared with a year earlier, and closer to 5.5 per cent by the second quarter. The latter figure was nearly double the average rate of productivity increase. Reflecting high settlements, unit labor costs of nonfinancial corporations shot up at a 10 per cent annual rate in the first quarter of this year. Doubtless, this was a major factor in the sharp decline in corporate profits.

Historically, when wages increased significantly faster than output per man-hour, profits declined and prices rose sharply after a brief time lag. The 1955–58 period was the most recent prolonged experience. Wages paid in manufacturing increased at an average annual rate of 4.7 per cent from the first quarter of 1955 to the first quarter of 1958, and prices accelerated to an average annual rate of nearly 3 per cent during the June 1955 to June 1958 period. Unlike the 1965–66 price experience, the 1955–58 inflation did not primarily reflect demand-pull. Although demand may have placed some pressure on prices in the 1955–58 period, it was relatively moderate since the economy did not operate at full capacity for more than a few months.

Assuming wage rate settlements and average wages paid continue to rise through 1967 and into 1968 faster than output per man-hour, the cost-push price situation will bear an uncomfortably close similarity to the 1955–58 years, and, unfortunately, it appears as though cost-push pressures will be stacked on top of demand-pull.

FISCAL POLICY

Fiscal policy is adding high-octane fuel to inflationary fires. It is unrealistic to assume that a $15–20 billion deficit can be financed in a noninflationary way.

In like manner, it unfortunately appears unrealistic to assume that either defense or nondefense spending will be curtailed significantly. Even if the war in Vietnam were terminated, it is generally assumed that expenditures in the Far East would remain high; and the Administration has not shown a determination to reduce nondefense spending. In fact, from fiscal 1965 (the fiscal year immediately preceding stepped-up U.S. involvement in Vietnam) to fiscal 1967, those departments most closely associated with the Great Society program (Health, Education and Welfare; Labor; and Housing and Urban Development) increased expenditures 103 per cent, compared with 40 per cent for Defense, and accounted for $7.4 billion of the $30.2 billion total rise in federal expenditures.

With federal expenditures continuing to increase, the deficit—even with a 6–8 per cent tax rise—will not be financed in an entirely noninflationary manner. To tap the money market for quantities necessary to achieve noninflationary financing of a $15–20 billion deficit would cause an extremely large and abrupt allocation of resources away from the private economy toward government.

Perhaps fiscal and monetary policy compromises neither wholly consistent with price stability nor optimum resource use will be followed, with part of the deficit financed at the expense of private investment and production, and part financed in a more directly inflationary manner. (It should be added that even if the Fed follows easy money policies and the Administration practices inflationary deficit financing, some additional resources will be diverted toward government from private sectors, particularly if the economy operates at full capacity. The government simply has the power to exercise first claim on resources for defense—or nondefense—purposes by the power to tax.)

FEDERAL RESERVE POLICY

In significant degree, price increases will depend on the extent to which the Federal Reserve System accommodates inflationary decisions made by others.

Theoretically, monetary authorities could take steps in the months ahead to offset price pressures from demand-pull, cost-push, and large fiscal deficits: the Fed could follow policies that would simply increase the money supply, say, 4 per cent per year. However, after (1) business decides collectively to expand beyond capacity, (2) labor-management negotiators accept high wage rate settlements, (3) government decides to raise defense and nondefense spending to extremely high levels, and (4) government decides to finance large expenditures in an inflationary manner, it is unrealistic to assume the Fed can fully or largely offset related price pressures without the most unbearable consequences to the economy. Once such a powerful quartet of events is set in motion, the most acceptable alternatives are eliminated.

Given inflationary price pressures at near full employment as described above, monetary policies that would maintain absolutely stable prices would also trigger the following chain of events:

Interest rates initially would rise to unheard-of levels, and only the most select would have access to the money market.

Wage rate increases beyond productivity improvement would be absorbed largely through lower corporate profits, real capital accumulation would decline, and the source of the real welfare of the nation would drop drastically.

The private sector of the economy would be cut back sharply as the government enjoyed priority in obtaining limited funds.

This combination would be too much to pay for price stability. The harsh truth is that once inflationary wage and fiscal decisions have been made—inappropriate though they may be—the business community, the public in general, and the government itself will not tolerate conditions than inherent in price stability. Imagine, for example, the howls from the housing industry, the public, and the halls of Congress if mortgage funds and housing were depressed more than last year in an effort to eliminate inflation.

This leads inescapably to the conclusion that the only acceptable place to prevent inflation is at the business level where sustained growth decisions can be made, at the wage bargaining table, and in the offices that influence government spending. Expecting the Federal Reserve System to correct for price pressure decisions already made is like closing the proverbial door after the horse is stolen—the horse might be found but only at considerable cost and after serious damage is done.

CONCLUSION

Demand-pull, cost-push, inflationary fiscal policies, and inherent limitations of monetary policy are leading into what could become the most serious post-World War II inflationary situation. This is the first time in nearly a quarter-century that these four inflationary factors have coincided in the magnitude now apparent.

Monetary policy and economic balance will increasingly be put to the test. It is doubtful that potential preventive measures—such as moderation in wage rate settlements, slowdowns or deferrals of nondefense government expenditures, or noninflationary deficit financing—will be taken to the extent needed. Hopefully, moderation in private investments will help forestall serious imbalances, which normally have preceded recessions.

Crime 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the paramount problems facing our Nation today is that of crime. Exclusive of mail regarding personal problems, a great bulk of the correspondence received in my office expresses alarm regarding criminal offenses in every city, town, and hamlet. People throughout the United States are properly appalled and gravely concerned at the high increase in major and minor criminal offenses in every State in the Union. This is a problem which lurks at every corner and hangs over every home. It affects every American.

Sometime ago, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, again spoke out on this issue—because in fact, it is a problem which has become a national issue. I am sure everyone will agree that there is no more capable or knowledgeable authority on this subject than Mr. Hoover. Practically his entire adult life has been dedicated to the mission of the FBI. Quite often the general public misinterprets the role of the FBI in these matters. The FBI is charged solely with investigative responsibilities and is not in any way responsible for the prosecutive action. Admiration for the effectiveness of the FBI is shared by the law-abiding citizen as well as the criminal. Frequently, captured lawbreakers have commented "I knew the game was up when I heard the FBI was after me."

It is my opinion that the watchwords of the FBI "Fidelity, Bravery, and Integrity" best describe the function of and the service rendered by that factfinding agency. In order that my colleagues and our constituents might profit from the remarks by Mr. Hoover, I include his article at the conclusion of these comments in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CRIME 1967

(By John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice)

In medieval times, men worked the fields by day. When night came, they retreated behind fortified walls. Their incentive was fear. Thieves and cutthroats stalked the King's highway. Marauding bands of armed robbers preyed on the countryside. Footpads lurked in dark alleys. Fear, like a despotic tyrant, took the traveller off the road and emptied the streets at dark.

The same tyrant, long in retreat, is again rising to power. When darkness falls, the citizens of many of our towns and cities desert the streets and retire behind locks, bars, and chains. Crime in 1967 is rapidly returning fear to its old position of power.

The facts cannot be ignored. An appraisal of the current statistics will convince the open-minded that the crime situation is bad and that year by year it grows worse.

The current Uniform Crime Reports reveal that serious crime in the United States increased 11 percent in 1966 when compared with 1965. All Crime Index offenses showed substantial increases in volume. Crimes of violence were up 11 percent with a 9 percent increase in murder, 10 percent in aggravated assault, 10 percent in forcible rape, and 14 percent in robbery. Crimes against property in the same period also rose 11 percent as a group. Individually, burglary rose 9 percent while larceny $50 and over in value and auto theft were each up 12 percent.

The sharpest change in the volume of crime was noted in the group of cities of less than 10,000 inhabitants with a rise of 14 percent. Cities with populations in excess of 100,000 suffered an average increase of 10 percent. Crime in rural areas rose 7 percent and in the suburbs 13 percent.

In view of the foregoing, I doubt that there will be any question relative to the increase in volume of crime. I am equally convinced there will be even less question relative to the cost of crime. In monetary terms alone the cost can only be guessed at, but it is massive.

The imagined riches of a Monte-Cristo become picayune when one thinks in terms of the real treasure which, on a regular basis, is being poured into the insatiable maw of crime. Think for a moment in terms of direct losses. During the year 1965, the last year for which statistics are fully compiled, thieves grossed more than $30 million from robbery alone. Burglars got away with items valued at nearly $284 million, and, in terms of losses, larcency ranged in the vicinity of $211 million. The estimated value of unrecovered automobiles stolen during 1965 reached well over $60 million.

But the foregoing figures are only a fraction of the true cost of crime. Add to their sum the vast amounts expended annually to recruit, support, train, and equip our law enforcement agencies. Add to that sum also the cost occasioned by the steadily developing need for enlarged plant security forces. Industrial concerns located in high crime areas are finding it necessary to hire guards to protect their employees and the automobiles in which they come to work. Such concerns, in effect, are having to support the cost of developing their own police forces.

Even this does not begin to encompass the cost of crime. Think in terms of the sums invested in alarm systems and the fortunes spent for insurance and protective devices. Above all, think of the unbelievable kings' ransoms which flow into the coffers of the underworld through gambling, prostitution, loan sharking, the sale of narcotics, and other illegal activities.

Theft on the immense scale of that perpetrated by organized crime is not always visible to the average businessman. But the immediacy of another type of crime problem is spectacularly apparent to the businessman in his own bailiwick. Banking executives and employees, for example, often encounter the harsh impact of crime. In the course of the fiscal year 1966, there were 1,705 violations of the Federal Bank Robbery and Incidental Crimes Statute. During the first eight months of the current fiscal year, an increase of 305 such violations was noted over the same period in the fiscal year 1966.

Banking establishments are by no means the sole victims. The sharp thrust of today's crime is apparent in the open letter of a large busines firm which was carried on a full page of the daily paper. Expressing the concern of executives and their fears for their employees, the letter set forth the number of branch store of the organization which had been victims of robberies and burglaries over a brief expanse of time. It was a shocking score sheet and the sum of the loses was equally astonishing. Similarly, the shock of current crime was unforgettably brought home to executives and employees of another business organization. In the space of one year this chain reportedly closed nine of its branch stores in one general area because those stores were the victims of repeated armed robberies.

This is crime in 1967. But it is only one small portion of it. No attempt has been made to encompass the total picture or to speak for the massive body of brutalized and murdered victims whose rights appear to be in eclipse in the face of concern for those who have victimized them.

I shall make no attempt to go into the many and varied causes of crime or to again list the factors which influence the making of a criminal. It goes without saying that measures are being taken to alleviate the causes and to rehabilitate the criminal. There is no question but that we must continue to increase our efforts in this area. Meanwhile, we are confronted with the problem of crime here and now—the daily beatings, rapes, robberies, burglaries, and murders—and angry Americans are beginning to demand answers to the problem. They want a halt to the surge of criminal violence which is inundating these United States. These angry citizens—many of them victims of crime themselves—demand justice. They do not believe that the ends of justice are being served when, on the basis of legal technicalities, individuals who are obviously guilty of brutal crimes, are freed to prowl the streets and prey on new victims. These citizens question the misguided leniencies and abuse of probation and parole which bring about the same unhappy result. They are becoming increasingly impatient with the questionable procedures which have the effect of lacing law enforcement into a strait jacket while releasing the criminal from virtually all former restraints. They are convinced that crime in the streets can be reduced by the common sense expedient of removing the criminal from the streets. They want to make certain that the criminal repeater is kept under some kind of effective control. In short, they are beginning to demand realistic deterrents to crime.

The foregoing may be an oversimplification of a complex problem. It is, however, part of the growing demand that a more equitable balance be achieved in the treatment accorded the victim of a criminal act in comparison with the treatment accorded the perpetrator of a crime.

Within recent decades, law enforcement has made magnificent strides in bringing modern methods to bear in its own areas of detection and apprehension. The recent inauguration of the National Crime Information Center—a computerized index to crime and criminals which provides instant information to the law enforcement officer on the street—is an indication of the tremendous progress being made along these lines. In my opinion, law enforcement in general has been discharging its task effectively, but detection and apprehension simply head the series of steps essential to the curtailment of crime. Any breakdown in any phase of the prosecutive effort, or elsewhere along the line, can render even the most superb police work practically useless.

Crime in 1967 does not offer its challenge solely to law enforcement. It offers a challenge to the sound common sense of civil authorities, clergymen, educators, individual citizens, civic groups, and business organizations.

We are in need of a real crusade against an arrogant army of criminals, many of whose members are emboldened by the conviction that they can get away with anything.

We need leaders for such a crusade—farsighted, clearheaded, selfless individuals who believe that the scales of justice must be kept in true balance and who are willing to expend time and effort in promoting effective action to that end.

Crime has thrown a gauntlet in the face of America. Unless we meet the immediate challenge, we may one day come face to face with the fact that we have left rule of our streets to criminals—and to America's children a demeaning legacy of fear.

Port of Oakland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the very distinguished Senator from Alaska, the Honorable E. L. BARTLETT, chairman of the Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, addressed the Intermodal Transportation Symposium at Oakland, Calif., on September 14, 1967, in connection with the 40th anniversary of the inception of the Port of Oakland. Senator BARTLETT is most knowledgeable in the affairs of our merchant marine and particularly in the phase of its operations treated in his remarks on that occasion.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD the following speech of Senator E. L. BARTLETT:

REMARKS OF SENATOR E. L. BARTLETT, CHAIRMAN, MERCHANT MARINE SUBCOMMITTEE, SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, INTERMODAL TRANSPORTATION SYMPOSIUM, SEPTEMBER 14, 1967, OAKLAND, CALIF.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Honored guests at head table, ladies and gentlemen.

Let me be candid.

I come before this symposium with mixed emotions.

My emotions are mixed not because I am hesitant to address this group or because I have doubts about the value of intermodal transportation systems. To the contrary, I believe that tying all modes of transportation into one system is the most exciting concept to come down the turnpike, the ways or landing strip in decades. Rather, my concern is that this concept will not be allowed to become all it is capable of becoming. However, I hasten to add the proper use of containers is not the sole mixer of my emotions in the transportation picture. I will briefly outline the sources of my discontent.

Last year Congress authorized the creation of a Department of Transportation. On the basis of time lapsing between the proposal and the passage of the act, the Transportation Department set a record for becoming a cabinet-level organization. Such haste on the part of Congress, a body not always know for moving swiftly, would seem to indicate that the nation's lawmakers felt strongly about the need to bring some order to our transportation system, to develop a balanced system which would move people and goods quickly, efficiently and on that mode of transportation best suited to a particular trip. I am sure everyone in this room applauds, as I do, the philosophy behind the new department.

However, that philosophy can become policy only if the Department of Transportation has the backing within the executive branch to make changes in bureaucratically-set agencies, to make decisions for the good of the entire nation and not just for the benefit of a particular department.

If, indeed, the Secretary of Transportation does not enjoy the standing within the executive branch that many of us envisioned, it won't be the first time the Executive Department has ignored congressional intent.

As a matter of fact, if any of the administrations since 1936 had implemented the Merchant Marine Act of that year, this country would not be losing its position as a great maritime power.

I recently completed rather extensive hearing on the present state and future of the United States Merchant Marine. There was unanimous agreement that our old fleet was getting older fast and that if something were not done soon, the United States, for all intents and purposes, would cease to be strong in its maritime power at a time when the Soviet Union, among other nations, cognizant of the value of sea power, had launched programs designed to make it the ruler of seas, militarily and commercially.

Believing that necessity is the mother of invention, I was hopeful, but not very, that such widespread concern would lead to development of widespread support for a new maritime policy. Apparently, necessity is not the mother of unanimity, for, as everyone in the room knows, each segment of the maritime industry put forth different proposals for meeting this great national need. The diversity was and is so great that our Secretary of Transportation has yet to come up with a public policy on this question.

Further, we witnessed a distressing happening in which the Department of Defense, in pushing for a pet project of its own, not only overstated the strength of our reserve fleet, but expressed no interest in the relation between the merchant marine and our national security other than in our fleet's rather uncertain ability to supply troops around the world.

In addition to hearings on the merchant marine, I also recently concluded an investigation into standardization of containers. As I indicated previously, I believe development of the container conception can revolutionize the transportation industry. I know from first-hand knowledge in Alaska that the use of containers can cut costs. I was, therefore, dismayed to learn that an industry already stifled by over regulation was about to embark on a policy with government support which might well stifle development of a new and promising concept. This "stifling" would, in effect, discriminate against ship owners who did not choose to go along with industry-set standards. The stifling would mean rigid use of certain size containers which might prove to be less satisfactory than other sizes, thus leaving our merchant marine or transportation industry in a very uncompetitive position.

I have no objections to private industry setting standards, but I do object and object strongly when a government agency acts to impose those standards on everyone. I object strongly to such actions: particularly when there is no economic justification for the standards.

Particularly when use on the open market—remember free enterprise?—is the best way to determine the best standards;

Particularly when two firms which pioneered the concept and made an "unsubsidized" go of it would be penalized;

Particularly when the standards would not work as advertised—for example 20-foot containers must be specially strengthened when coupled, and uncoupled 20-foot containers cannot fit into 40-foot container cells.

And particularly when it is easier for cranes to adjust from 20-foot to 24-foot containers and from 30 to 35-foot containers than from 20-foot to 40-footers, the two sizes which are the most popular among the standards.

It must also be noted that two-thirds of the containers in the world are 24 feet or 35 feet long, neither of which is "standard."

So these are the causes of my mixed emotions. On this hand, we have a Department of Transportation, on the other, it is not yet clear that the new department has sufficient muscle within the executive branch to do the job which must be done.

On the one hand, all are agreed our merchant marine is sinking fast, but no one agrees on how best to keep it afloat.

An intermodal transportation system holds gerat promise for the future, but there is a move afoot to tie that future to the present.

In each case, hope is balanced by concern, good reason for mixing something for the emotions.

Now I am certain, or at least I hope, that you do not think I flew to Oakland just to unburden my emotions in a group therapy session. No, if you will pardon the expression in an "emotion" ladened speech, there is a method to my madness.

I have no intention of extolling the virtues of intermodal transportation system to this audience. If you didn't appreciate the value of the concept, you probably would not be here. If you happened to wander in uninitiated in the fine art of containerization, I suspect the views of a legislator would have little impact in convincing you that containers are the wave of the future.

Rather, for the next few minutes I want to return to the mixers of my emotions to outline briefly the role that this legislator believes legislation can play in helping to develop a modern, efficient and competitive transportation industry.

Frankly, I am not sure what else Congress can do about giving the Department of Transportation added muscle. Perhaps it is only a matter of time before all the organizations now lumped together in the new department accept their new status in life. Congress can help by appropriating adequate funds and I think, judging from the haste in which Congress approved the new department, Capitol Hill will supply the needed capital.

Turning to our merchant marine, there is something Congress can do, and that is to establish a merchant marine program, with or without proposals from the administration. Of course, if Congress does take the initiative in enacting a program, there still remains the question of whether the administration will implement a program with which it does not agree. However, I can report that chances have brightened in recent weeks that a new maritime policy will be placed before Congress during the 90th Congress. I have discussed the question of a new merchant marine program with many persons in and out of Washington, and that includes the man in the White House. While these discussions have not brought concrete results, they are the basis for my somewhat optimistic statement of "brightening changes."

Let me emphasize though, that whatever the chances, I believe in face of the conditions of our merchant marine, it is incumbent upon the national legislature to propose and enact a program whether or not the administration acts. This legislator is one among several who intends to put forth such a program with or without administration support, though, of course, I would much prefer that we have assurances that the program will be implemented.

Certainly Congress does have a key role to play in efforts to revitalize our merchant marine.

Similarly, it will be up to Congress to decide the final resting place for the Federal Maritime Administration, and I use the phrase "resting place" with some malice of forethought. It is quite clear that a "wrong" decision on relocating the Federal Maritime Administration could make my phrase only all too accurate. There are those who believe that the administration would be subordinated to the needs of other agencies if it were moved to the Department of Transportation; and there are those who argue that an independent administration would lack the necessary muscle when it sought appropriations from Congress.

While I am not about to predict the outcome of the debate, I will venture a guess on what will be the determining factor in settling the question. If the administration proposes or supports an adequate merchant marine program, many persons will be convinced that the Federal Maritime Administration will receive a fair shake in the Department of Transportation. If the administration turns thumbs down on all meaningful maritime proposals, many persons will fear for the future of the Maritime Administration if it is turned over to a department which cannot or will not take a lead or even support efforts to build up an important segment of its responsibility.

I would like at this point to express a hope—a hope that all those persons who agree that our merchant fleet is sinking will agree to put a substantive program ahead of politics if and when a program is forthcoming.

And now I come to containers and what legislators can do to help this idea develop as it should. As you no doubt surmised, I do not intend to stand idly by while the federal government uses its power incorrectly, in my judgment, to stifle a concept that, left to flourish in the open market, will benefit the transportation industry and those the industry serves.

However, Congress must do more than that if containerization is to live up to its promise.

There are numerous problems to be solved before the full effect of containerization can be felt. Some of the problems are mechanical and some are what might be classified generally as regulatory. It is in the latter area that Congress can and must act.

There is the problem of regulations requiring custom officials to open and inspect containers en route, thereby negating in part the value of containers in reducing handling costs and pilferage.

There is the problem of adopting the various liability regulations now applied to different modes of transportation to the concept of containers moving unopened over land and sea and in the air.

And finally, there is the most important problem of establishing through bills of lading providing through routes and rates.

Unless these problems are solved the mechanical benefits of containerization will not be translated into economic incentives and savings which will encourage widespread use of containers.

Inasmuch as these rules are man-made, there should be no reason why man cannot find ways to change these rules to fit this new development.

I say that mindful of the difficulties already alluded to in getting changes in man-made rules governing the merchant marine.

However, I think that Congress will be receptive to proposals to alter our rate-setting environment to permit full use of this new technology.

As in the case of our merchant marine, there is need for haste in developing a new rate-setting environment. Containerization is coming faster than anyone imagined, or for that matter, hoped. The rush is on to get in on the ground floor of containerization, or perhaps I should say, the rush is on to catch up with those few firms which already are on the ground floor.

Let me briefly review some of the efforts now underway in the Department of Transportation to facilitate intermodal transportation.

In order to make maximum use of through shipments, especially with containers, cargo must be documented at the originating point so that it can be moved via various modes of transportation without the expense of redocumentation for each mode.

Efforts to develop such documentation in the United States parallel work that is underway in the Economic Commission for Europe. A Working Party on the Standardization and Simplification of External Trade Documents of the Committee on the Development of Trade is working toward through documentation for the European countries. The United States is a member of the Economic Commission for Europe and is participating with the European countries to align the United States' documentation for cargo with that of the European nations. This effort will be expanded to the Far East, African, and Latin American countries who have recently requested the Technical Adviser of ECE to help them standardize their through documentation projects. The objective of these programs is to develop an international bill of lading.

The United States is working with other members of the United Nations through the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization to standardize entry and clearance documents. The Senate has ratified the two maritime conventions—the Convention of Mar Del Plata and the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization Convention—proscribing a minimum number of documents that will be required to enter and clear vessels at any of the member country ports. The documents required will be: a general declaration (to enter and clear the vessel); a cargo declaration; ship's stores declaration; crew's certificates declaration; crew list; passenger list; universal postal convention document for mail, and maritime declaration of health.

Work is underway to design the forms and determine what items will be contained on those forms to cover the above items. When these forms are put into effect, the paperwork and procedures for entering and clearing vessels will be greatly simplified and standardized.

Legislative changes to permit through documentation, simplified and standardized entry and clearance procedures and documents will require changes in existing laws.

Legislative changes will be required to permit development of through rates and rates. A number of proposals, ranging from creation of super regulatory agency to establishment of joint boards involving the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Maritime Commission, and the Civil Aeronautics Boards, to development of a new type of freight forwarder, have been made in the past.

Obviously, any such major change in our present rate-setting environment requires considerable study and experimentation. It may well be that the pressure of the container revolution will not permit us to wait for such major changes. At present, none of the three regulatory agencies, with certain exceptions, accept rate filings for routes which extend beyond their areas of authority. Perhaps the best approach at this moment would be enactment of permissive legislation to allow the regulatory boards to accept through-route, single-rate filings. If this approach were taken, then those members of the transportation industry which want to take full advantage of containerization would be allowed to do so, subject to rate approvals from the proper regulatory bodies.

Clearly the days ahead will require close cooperation between private industry and government if we are to be successful in making the legal adjustment necessitated by the container revolution. Regardless of what proposals eventually come forth, the various segments of the transportation industry must be prepared to face the fact that in their dealings with the regulatory agencies, business will not be done "as usual."

A few minutes ago, I expressed the hope that if and when a maritime program is proposed all interested parties will value the establishment of a sound merchant marine program more than making political points. In the same spirit, I hope that when changes in our rate structures are proposed, all interested parties will submerge any narrow interest to the greater good of making the containerization revolution as successful as possible.

And now, I want to thank you for this opportunity to discuss my "emotional" state. I suppose the persons who suffer most from the malady of mixed emotions are those who find themselves unable to do anything about what is bothering them. As I review my remarks to you, I find that happily I am not in such a predicament. For you in the business end of transportation and for me in the legislative end, this is indeed an exciting era. The problems are not insoluable, and by solving them we will help make the world a better place in which to live. No man, mixed emotions or not, can ask for a better opportunity than that.

Briefing at Langley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY L. PETTIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, this month marks the 50th anniversary of the Langley Research Center at Hampton, Va., and I had the high privilege of representing the House Committee on Science and Astronautics yesterday at a briefing on the accomplishments at the Langley Research Center.

I stand today to express the gratitude which citizens of this Nation hold for Langley and its continuing vital role in developing U.S. preeminence, in both the air age and the space age.

In 1917, the Langley Center began its illustrious function as a key installation of the former National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the NACA. Langley was the first national laboratory established to conduct basic research in the science of aeronautics, and, for 41 years, was a facility of the NACA. In 1958, Langley became a bulwark of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration when NASA was formed.

As a former airline pilot, I have personally observed the fruits of the Langley harvest of research while piloting their aircraft.

In Langley's 50 years of service to the Nation, the speed of airplanes has increased from less than 100 miles per hour to more than 4,000 miles per hour. Langley's accomplishments in aeronautics have been vital to this progress.

The first of these Langley milestones was the development in the late twenties of the cowling for radial air-colled engines, a streamlining effect credited with increasing airplane speeds of that period from 12 to 15 percent. The development of World War II aircraft began at Langley in the thirties. In the forties, Langley conceived of research airplanes leading to history-making aeronautical advancement at supersonic and hypersonic speeds, and in the fifties, the design, development, and practical application of the world's first transonic wind tunnels. Langley's discovery and verification of revolutionary design concepts concerning aircraft configuration after World War II became the key to practical supersonic flight.

Today, Langley's aeronautical research includes investigations of current and future concepts such as hypersonic flight vehicles and their propulsion systems; supersonic aircraft of advanced design, such as the SST and military vehicles; helicopters; VTOL/STOL aircraft, which combine vertical or short takeoff and landing capability with the performance and handling qualities of a conventional airplane in cruising flight; and the development and practical application of pioneering aircraft design concepts such as the variable sweepwing.

Langley was the birthplace of Project Mercury, the first U.S. manned space flight project. Some of Langley's other milestones in space—both past and present—include research in support of the successful Gemini program and the current Apollo; the invention of automatically erectable spacecraft which made possible the successful Explorer and Echo-type satellites; the development of the versatile Scout, the first all-solid fueled launch vehicle to place a satellite in orbit; the management of Lunar Orbiter, Project Fire, and other major space flight efforts; and analytical, laboratory, and flight investigations which are providing basic information useful in future projects concerned with the exploration of the planets.

In addition to Lunar Orbiter, the Langley Center is supporting Apollo through the use of unique simulators and specialized laboratories, which are making it possible for Langley scientists and research pilots, working with NASA astronauts, to duplicate some of the conditions of space and to develop techniques for such events as lunar landing, walking on the moon, extravehicular activity, rendezvous and docking in lunar orbit, reentry, and earthlanding.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and a professional rated pilot, it was an inspiration to see these facilities in use and to meet the dedicated Langley team who are working to assure that Langley's proud record of the past 50 years is but prolog of greater achievements in the future.

Let Us Win the War and Get Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEL CLAWSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, this morning's mail contained a letter from a resident of the 23d District of California, Mr. Dudley H. Peterson, which, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues. Most of us do not have Mr. Peterson's tragic personal involvement in the conflict in Vietnam. But if the mail received in my office is a true indication of public sentiment, Mr. Peterson speaks for a large body of U.S. opinion.

The letter follows:

HUNTINGTON PARK, CALIF.,
October 3, 1967.

Representative DEL CLAWSON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

REPRESENTATIVE CLAWSON: I am writing this letter for my dead son Lieutenant Dennis W. Peterson, U.S.N., a command helicopter pilot, who was killed in North Vietnam July 19, 1967.

It is written with hope and a prayer that he did not die in vain.

Dennis didn't understand the war and in so doing didn't believe in it. Do you? He thought the war was serving no useful purpose—only an endless waste of men and supplies.

Last year after he returned from his first tour of duty in Vietnam he said, "Dad, we're not really trying to win this war. Bombers take off on bombing missions with only a half load of bombs. The most important targets are not bombed—secondary targets are used, yet our men are still sacrificed. If we wanted to stop the war, all that would be necessary would be the mining of the harbors of Hanoi and Haiphong. Every day we see Russian ships enter the ports loaded to the gunnels with war supplies and leave riding high and dry, yet we can't do a single thing to stop them. Boy, it sure is a lousy way to fight a war!"

Why is it that our memories are so short? During the late thirties Germany could have been stopped, but no, the cry went out that the U.S. should not provoke a war. We kept on sending steel to Japan even though we knew she was expanding her fleet of warships at our expense.

Now the cry is the same, only louder, "Don't make Red China mad. Be careful, don't antagonize Communist Russia. Don't provoke a full scale war." Believe me, there is no such thing as a small war. The boys who are wounded are affected for life—the boys are killed are gone forever—wasted and sacrificed. Only our best men qualify for duty.

The big trouble with the United States and its people is that they want to be the "good" guys. They don't want to hurt anyone's feelings.

Actually the attitude stems from the home—Mother and Father want junior to love them and in so doing do not demand respect. No doubt more ground is lost when discipline is not administered. Gifts and bribes are common. "Be a good boy and Mother will buy you a new toy." Respect for authority is lost. The disrespect that is shown to our teachers and our policemen is all too common and the daily newspapers bear this out. Authority is held in contempt, thus respect for law and order are lost.

The nation is no better trying to buy goodwill and respect by giving relief and welfare to the rest of the world. Trying to buy respect through gifts has failed. People make up nations and consequently lose self respect when they accept charity or relief.

The United States is not respected by the other nations of the world. This disrespect is mainly due to the fact the U.S. vacillates rather than taking a firm stand on world issues. As an example, take communism. How is it possible to be involved in athletic contests and cultural exchanges on one front, business and trade on another, and still fight a war on another? Two brothers, one an athlete and the other a soldier, may both win medals, however, the soldier must die to win his. Like Dennis said, "What a lousy way to fight a war."

Did my son die in vain? I feel I might be able to justify his death if he had died believing that he was fighting a useful war—one with an objective and purpose. How am I going to explain this sacrifice to his children ten or fiteen years from now?

The best men we have are being killed and wounded every day. Can this be justified in any sense of the word? How many more good men will be killed before it is stopped? Believe me, I know grief. I've lost the finest son that any man ever had. I grieve now for all fathers who will lose their sons if the conflict is allowed to continue.

Now, now is the time to do something to bring this war to a climax. I demand that my government do everything in its power to bring this horrible war to a successful conclusion as quickly as possible. Let's win the war and get out. Bring our boys home.

Sincerely,
DUDLEY H. PETERSON.

Allied Against the Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, recently, some 348 insurance companies promised to channel $1 billion into rebuilding ghetto areas.

The Nation's slums desperately need this kind of constructive help, and we joined with the President of the United States in commending private industry for this most progressive step.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin has recently carried one of the more perceptive comments on this courageous new venture.

I should like to call it to the attention of this body:

[From the Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 14, 1967]

ALLIED AGAINST THE SLUMS

A remarkable dovetailing of the private and public sector in trying to remedy the problem of the slums was announced Wednesday at the White House with disclosure that insurance companies will pool $1 billion for investment in new dwellings in poverty areas.

These are high risk areas, of the sort in which private investors are not generally interested. But the sad events of the past summer focused new attention on housing needs, and arrangements which the White House says had been in the planning stage for many months did finally come to fruition.

President Johnson, speaking glowingly of the insurance men's agreement as an "historic contribution," was flanked by some impressive conferees—Governor Rockefeller of New York, and brother David of the Chase Manhattan Bank; Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, board chairman of Metropolitan Life; other governors, cabinet officials, mayors.

The exact mechanics of the financing will have to be spelled out with more clarity later. Under recent legislation, it is now possible for investments in slum areas to get FHA backing; which reduces but does not remove the risk to investors. How many housing units can be constructed will depend on how the fund is utilized—as many as 80,000. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Robert C. Weaver, among those present, had already announced fluidity in his department's plans to give highest priority to housing.

The striking thing is that 348 insurance firms have pooled some of their resources with the government, at some cost in profits, to attack a problem which the new wastelands of Detroit and Newark testify cannot be put aside.

New Jersey Rabbinical Council Support President Johnson in Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. HOWARD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the rabbinical council of New Jersey has passed a resolution commending President Johnson for his unceasing search for a just peace in the Middle East.

The council, which represents orthodox rabbis from throughout New Jersey, noted that the Johnson administration supported the view that "the quest for peace with the Arab nations must be carried on through direct negotiations rather than through any intermediary power with the exception of the United Nations."

I agree. If the nations of the Middle East cannot talk peace together now, they will never live in peace in the years ahead.

Under unanimous consent I include an article in the Newark Evening News citing the council's support of President Johnson's Middle East policy in the RECORD:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, Sept. 27, 1967]

L. B. J. COMMENDED—CITED FOR SUPPORT OF ISRAELIS

LONG BRANCH.—A resolution commending the Johnson administration for its support of the Israeli government's quest for peace with the Arab states was passed yesterday at a meeting of the rabbinical council of New Jersey.

The resolution noted the administration's favor of the Israeli stand "in that the quest for peace with the Arab nations be carried on through direct negotiations rather than through any intermediary power with the exception of the United Nations."

The resolution reflected statements made by Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban that Israel is prepared to negotiate and will seek a permanent peace.

ASSURANCES LAUDED

"We laud the assurances of the Johnson administration and U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg that America supports the Israeli view," the resolution said.

Another resolution passed by the council, which repreented 30 orthodox rabbis from throughout the state, called for steps to alleviate the plight of Jews in Arab countries. It asked refugee organizations to concern themselves as much with the Jews in Arab lands as with Arabs in Jewish territory.

A third resolution accepted by the council deplored the "continuing persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, where violent anti-Semitism is making itself more manifest." It called for continued appeals to the Soviets to relieve such "oppression and safeguard the religious and cultural rights of Jews living there."

DRAWN BY RABBI SEGAL

The resolutions were drawn by Rabbi Zev Segal of Newark, honorary president of the state council.

In addition to the resolutions, Rabbi Morris A. Schmidman of Asbury Park was reelected council president.

A report also was made to the council by Rabbis Schmidman. Segal and Pesach Z. Levovitz, of Lakewood, president of the American Rabbinical Council, on a study mission to Israel where they conferred with religious and government leaders.

National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, October 1 marked the observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, 1967. The employment of the physically handicapped is good business as well as a means of extending a helping hand to those persons who are willing and eager to become a productive part of the economy. At this time, I insert in the RECORD the proclamation of President Lyndon B. Johnson, designating National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week:

NATIONAL EMPLOY THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED WEEK, 1967

(A proclamation by the President of the United States)

Millions of American families know, firsthand, the painful and frustrating limitations of physical disability.

Those handicaps, cruel as they are, need not be totally disabling. Our society should not be deprived of the skills and talents of disabled men and women. Many of those men and women have a remarkable capacity for achievement despite their disability.

It is part of America's promise that every citizen should have the opportunity to escape from perpetual dependence, make the most of his capacities, and take a full part in community life.

Government and private organizations have long worked to reduce the consequences of disability. Research, health conservation programs, and medical and rehabilitation facilities have all combined to lessen the residual damage of disease and injury.

The Federal Government is assisting States and communities in training the handicapped for jobs in a continually changing job market. It offers leadership to business and industry to increase the range of job opportunities for the handicapped. It encourages voluntary organizations to create the necessary climate of acceptance for the full admission of the handicapped into the mainstream of everyday life.

Yet pockets of prejudice still exist, particularly against certain categories of the more severely disabled.

We must continue to educate our citizens—employers and workers, healthy and handicapped—about the benefits of developing and using every person's skills.

Now, therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, in consonance with the joint resolution of Congress approved August 11, 1945 (59 Stat. 530), designating the first full week of October of each year as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, do hereby call upon the people of our Nation to observe the week beginning October 1, 1967, for such purpose.

During this 20th anniversary year of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, I urge all public and private organizations and all citizens to renew their dedication to this volunteer effort to further job opportunities for the handicapped. Let us work together for their meaningful participation in the world of work, and in a life of dignity.

I urge all the Governors of States, mayors of cities, and other public officials, as well as leaders of industry, educational and religious groups, labor, civic, veterans', agricultural, women's, scientific, professional, and fraternal organizations, and all other interested organizations and individuals, including the handicapped themselves, to participate in this observance.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of August in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-second.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

Tariff Concessions Affect Over $16 Billion in Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, concluding the analysis published by Robert D. Byrnes, of the Hartford Courant, I offer the third and last article in the series for the RECORD:

[From the Hartford Courant, Sept. 15, 1967]

TARIFF CONCESSIONS AFFECT OVER $16 BILLION IN TRADE

(By Robert D. Byrnes)

(Last of a series)

WASHINGTON.—The office of Trade Negotiations, in the one report it has made public on concessions by other countries to the United States in the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations at Geneva says the actions of other countries in the bargaining affect about $8.1 billion of imports they have been getting from the United States. The United States lowered tariffs on about $8 billion worth of imports.

There is one important technicality in the announcements. The United States agreed to reductions in tariffs levied on imports. The "concessions" made by the other parties to the agreements include approximately $1 billion worth of United States exports on which the other countries agreed to "bind" their present tariffs. "Binding" is an agreement that the tariff that is bound will not be increased by the country that imposes it, but it does not lower existing tariffs and so does not lower whatever barrier may exist against United States exports.

It has been the practice of United States negotiators in the earlier tariff-cutting rounds, as well as those in the Kennedy Round, to count points for themselves for these agreements to bind duties on the theory that it protects against discrimination against exports from the United States in the future, even though it gives no new advantage now.

In contrast with the two volumes from the OTN listing each of the changes made by the United States in some 6,000 tariff schedules on imports into the United States, the one volume so far issued on concessions to the United States makes no pretense of completeness. For 20 countries, and the European Economic Community, the OTN lists what it calls "Selected concessions of interest to the United States."

STATE PRODUCTS AFFECTED

Because the lists of concessions are admittedly incomplete, it is not possible for the OTN publication to detail all the potential new export markets for products with significant production in Connecticut. From the list of "selected concessions" the following may be of importance to Connecticut:

European Economic Community—Parts for aircraft engines, cut from 10 per cent to 5 per cent; small turbo-jet engines, 12 per cent to 6 per cent, larger turbo-jet engines and parts, 10 per cent to 5 per cent; accounting machines, 11 per cent to 5.5 per cent; electronic tubes, 15 per cent to 7.5 per cent; helicopters, 10 per cent to 5 per cent.

Canada—Wire, including cable, 20 per cent to 17.5 per cent on some and to 15 per cent on some; brass and copper nails, etc., and manufactures of of copper, 20 per cent to 17.5 per cent; ball and roller bearings, 17.5 per cent to 15 per cent; tires and tubes of rubber, 22.5 per cent to 17.5 per cent.

Japan—Nuts, bolds, screws, rivets, etc., 15 per cent to 7.5 per cent; ball, roller or needle bearings or parts, 25 per cent to 12.5 per cent; insulated electric wire and cable, from present 18 to 25 per cent to 15 per cent.

United Kingdom—Electric typewriters, 16 per cent to 7.5 per cent.

Austria—Metal-working machine tools, 25 per cent to 20 per cent; hearing aids, 13 per cents to 7 per cent.

Finland—Metal-working machine tools, 15 per cent to 7.5 per cent; hand tools, pneumatic which non-electric motors, 15 per cent to 7.5 per cent.

Norway—Electric typewriters, 10 per cent to 5 per cent.

Sweden—Hand tools, pneumatic or with non-electric motor, 10 per cent to 5 per cent; calculating, accounting and similar machines, 10 per cent to 5 per cent.

Switzerland—Tires and tubes, 20 Swiss francs per 100 kilograms to 16 Swiss francs; corsets, brassieres, etc., of manmade textiles, from 1,200 to 600 Swiss francs per 100 kg.; hand tools with self-contained electric motor, 70 to 40 francs per kg.

Greece—Hand tools, 60 per cent to 35 per cent.

New Zealand—Hand tools, 17.5 per cent to 8.75 per cent; milling machines, 20 per cent to 10 per cent.

Israel—Aircraft engines, free to bound free; ball, roller and needle bearings and parts, 30 per cent to 25 per cent.

Yugoslavia—Engines for aircraft for passenger transport, free to bound free.

ANTI-DUMPING PACT

The OTN document makes only brief mention of non-tariff trade barriers, but lists as a gain for the United States the adoption of an anti-dumping code that will follow closely that in force in the United States. In broad terms, anti-dumping legislation seeks to bar "dumping" by one country of products to sell at less than the production costs.

There are various ways other than the ad valorem or unit price tariffs by which countries, including the United States, regulate imports for various reasons. These include quotas that limit the imports of a product to a specified quantity, differentials in favor of domestic producers, such as the Buy American Act, border taxes on imports to compensate for internal taxes, government licensing, and government controls of currency and foreign exchange. The OTN report said several countries "specified actions" on various non-tariff controls.

Federal Savings Institutions Bill Is the Result of Sustained Effort and a Willingness to Cooperate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Bank Supervision and Insurance of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which I have the honor to chair, recommended H.R. 13118 to the full committee on September 26.

This bill, the proposed Federal Savings Institutions Act, is the result of long weeks of work by the subcommittee in public hearings and in executive meetings. The best efforts of representatives of the savings and loan industry, the mutual savings banks industry, the Home Loan Bank Board, and the Treasury Department went into H.R. 13118, as well as that of staff members.

Some of the elements of this cooperation are given in the following column from the September 27, 1967, edition of the American Banker, which I commend to the attention of our colleagues:

ABA MEETING DELEGATES CONCERNED OVER FEDERAL CHARTER MEASURE

(By L. A. Livingston)

A coup!

That was the reaction to the meeting Nat S. Rogers, president of the Deposit Guaranty National Bank of Jackson, Miss., put over in Atlanta during March.

He was then president of the savings division of the American Bankers Association. Someone dreamed up a wild, unprecedented idea.

Would it be possible to bring together in open debate the champions of the three competing types of savings institutions—commercial banks, savings banks and savings and loan associations? Mr. Rogers was willing to try.

Dr. Charles E. Walker, executive vice president of the ABA, readily agreed. He'd be the commercial bank representative on the proposed panel.

But what about Norman Strunk, executive vice president of the United States Savings & Loan League, and Dr. Grover Ensley, executive vice president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks?

Would they be willing to cross words with one another and Dr. Walker on the same platform? They would!

And so they all got together. Dr. Ensley and Mr. Strunk particularly—with an after result that became a central and disturbing topic this week in New York at the 93d annual convention of the ABA.

The savings banks and the S&Ls—once arch rivals—have joined in a common cause. They're sponsoring Congressional legislation for a new type of mutual savings institution—a Federal savings association.

A savings bank would be able to call itself a Federal savings bank under a Federal savings association charter. And, in five years, a savings and loan association would be able to do the same if it converted to the new Federal charter.

Why should this bother commercial bankers?

Because they have a semi-monopoly on the term "bank." In 32 states, in which savings banks are not chartered, commercial banks, alone, can call themselves banks. In the 18 states in which savings banks operate, commercial banks and savings banks are "banks," but, S&Ls, technically, are not. They can't use the word.

Today, technically, a person who puts money in an S&L is not a depositor. He's a shareholder—a co-owner with all the other persons who put money in it. But, practically, there is no difference between money in an S&L or in a savings bank or the savings department of a commercial bank. Most such "deposits" are Federally insured.

Many persons feel safer with money in a "bank." So commercial banks want to retain their semi-monopoly on the word. But Mr. Strunk and Dr. Ensley have agreed to bury that fiction.

They want a new Federal law to permit S&Ls and savings banks to operate under a common Federal charter, enlarging the scope of each.

Savings banks are now restricted in branching. They must comply with state banking laws. Under the proposed bill, they will have the same latitude as S&Ls, which in some states is greater than that of commercial or savings banks.

S&Ls will obtain wider investment latitude. They are now confined largely to mortgages on one-to-four family residences close to their base of operations. Like savings banks, they will be able to purchase mortgages on commercial and apartment buildings and on residences farther from the home office; also they'll be permitted to invest in corporate bonds.

In addition, Federal savings associations would be able to get into the consumer credit business—loans on cars, appliances, etc.

Thus, commercial bankers would face intensified competition. And they fear that the new savings associations will try to invade their checking-account province. Hence, the concern at ABA's annual convention.

The commercial bankers applauded when Comptroller of the Currency William B. Camp said:

"If we are to respect our traditional reliance on private initiative and freely competitive markets, banks should be entirely free to compete in the performance of any financial function which does not impair their solvency or liquidity. Indeed, they should be encouraged to do so as the institutions best equipped to serve their communities in this respect."

If savings bankers and S&L men had been there, they'd have applauded, too—Mr. Strunk and Dr. Ensley, the loudest!

Viet Mishap Is Fatal to GI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp5c. Charles A. Jamack, a career soldier from Maryland, recently died of injuries received in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of Specialist Jamack and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

VIET MISHAP IS FATAL TO GI—CHARLES JAMACK DIES IN HOSPITAL IN JAPAN

EDGEWOOD, MD.—Spec. 5 Charles A. Jamack, a career soldier, died Thursday in a hospital in Japan of injuries received in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Specialist Jamack, assigned to the 137th Engineer Company, was welding a tractor September 24 when an explosion occurred, according to his family in Edgewood.

Born in Edgewood, he enlisted in the United States Marine Corps before graduating from Old Post High School. He served with the Marines in Korea for fourteen months.

After his discharge, he worked as a mechanic at Bethlehem Steel for two years before enlisting in the Army in 1959.

WROTE OF VIETNAM

An instructor at the Aberdeen Proving Ground for one year, Specalist Jamack was transferred to San Francisco last July 24 for duty in Vietnam. He was a specialist in engineering, helicopter mechanics, and welding.

Two weeks ago Specialist Jamack wrote his wife and five children that Vietnam was hot, the rainy season had set in, and he "couldn't keep things dry." His stepfather said that Specialist Jamack never complained about United States involvement in Vietnam or about his life there.

He is survived by his wife, the former Elizabeth Tucker; three sons, Michael, 9, Peter, 7, and Charles, Jr., 4; two daughters, Darlene, 13, and Karen 11, all of Edgewood; his mother, Mrs. Harry F. Taylor, of Kingsville, Md.; a brother, Robert Jamack, of Denver, Colo.; three sisters, Mrs. Marie Schotte, of Cincinnati, Mrs. Mary Etta Heckner, of Baltimore, Mrs. Margaret Clawson, of Rockville, Md., and a half sister, Miss Sue Ann Taylor, of Kingsville.

L. B. J.'s Ombudsman for the Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the severe problems of our cities have disturbed all of us, and stimulated quite a few Members to introduce legislation designed to strengthen the rural areas and thus slow the migration to the cities. Two men who have thought deeply and spoken intelligently on the need for improving rural life are Secretary of Agriculture Freeman and Vice President HUMPHREY.

This week's issue of Life magazine contains a column by Hugh Sidey which explores the Vice President's ideas on how we can give our urban citizens a greater sense of identity and community, and our rural people more opportunity and excitement.

Because of the interest of so many Members in this subject, I insert the column in the RECORD:

L. B. J.'s OMBUNDSMAN FOR THE CITIES

Hubert Humphrey has become the Administration's ombudsman for the American cities. He, as the President's designated liaison man, has talked with every single U.S. mayor in a city of 25,000 or more. He heads the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, has roamed the riot-scorched sections of Los Angeles, Detroit and Cleveland and meets constantly with big-city businessmen. Because he passes on what he sees and hears directly to the President, the Vice President's logbook on city problems is the most pertinent in the government.

After a bitter summer, Humphrey's doctrine for the future does not accept the inevitability of unmanageable urban sprawl nor does it rest totally on the panaceas of more money for more welfare and housing and schools. Humphrey wants to arrest the tide: he wants the great urban "monoliths" to become "mosaics," units of society that are manageable and meaningful to the people who live there.

It is hardly necessary to point out the power that the Vice President does not wield and all the things that he cannot do. But thoughtful people all across the country are now talking along the lines that Humphrey has drawn, and his feelings are taking on added significance.

He alone among the top people of this administration has lived—in almost perfect profile—the evolution of our society over the last 50 years. Reared in a tiny town, Doland, S.D., he went on to a small city, Huron, and then to Minneapolis. There he mastered municipal politics and became mayor, sensing then the emerging problems of megalopolis. He next encompassed a state, winning a Senate seat, and from there climbed to the Vice Presidency. Humphrey is a remarkable combination of bumpkin and sophisticate, intellectual and whittler. From each of his five diverse worlds he has extracted valuable experience.

He would preserve the sense of identity that he had in Doland, where people knew him and he knew people. "The greatest single problem we have is that we have developed an impersonal society," the Vice President declares. It is a tragedy to him that a person can now be born, grow to adulthood, get married, rear a family, die and never once have his name mentioned in a newspaper. To the degree to which such a man is ignored by his community, he in turn ignores his community responsibilities.

When Humphrey talks of breaking urban monoliths down into mosaics, he is not talking about dividing a city physically. He proposes to set up governmental units within the city, each with its own character and identity and each of manageable size, anywhere from 25,000 to 250,000 in population. Civic institutions would be designed to fit that character. Each part of this urban pattern would have its own hospitals, its own school system. The police should live there and be known, should promote good works as well as punish bad deeds. "A police station should not be a place only to store tear gas," Humphrey says.

Humphrey has traveled the streets of many of the worst areas of urban rot, and when he comes away he can only shake his head and mutter, "It's no wonder some people are part animal. They have to be to survive." He supports the efforts now being launched to treat the city ills but urges governors, mayors, anybody who will listen to think beyond that. "We must begin upgrading the life in the non-metropolitan areas to keep the people from moving to the cities and increasing the problem," he says. His theory is closely related to keeping them down on the farm, but he hates that corny phrase, so he has devised "non-metropolitan area," which sounds better and, besides, is more accurate because there are not many folks left on the farms. To achieve this he suggests a spreading of industry, an improvement in communication and mobility, an equalizing of social benefits. The young people who leave the rural areas go for many reasons, but chief among them is their feeling that if they stay, the world passes them by. Every night, says the Vice President, their TV set reminds them they are left behind. But, "if there is an IBM plant or a Xerox branch in their town, then they can honestly say they are with the gang." Towns of 10,000 and 15,000 can hang on to their young when an electronics plant becomes the town symbol and not "the old broken-down rocking chair on the porch." From close study of statistics Humphrey has concluded that when a cluster of poor people discover that city welfare is better than what they have in the country, word spreads like news of a gold strike. There must be a balance of such benefits so that the low-income groups do not flow to a few clogged centers.

What it all spells for the Vice President is a freedom—"freedom of choice." Too many people now in rural areas long for city civilization, and too many city dwellers are miserable because they have had to abandon family ties and space and air. The prophet of Minnesota's Farmer-Labor party preaches a little basic heresy. He thinks that a lot of individual farm life out on the windswept prairies is not what the romantics claim—it is too lonely for satisfactory existence. New social structures, new ideas of community living in the agricultural area should get top priority—and for hard-headed reasons. The Vice President estimated that $1 million spent in a rural area to upgrade the life there now could save $20 million that would have to be spent later to solve urban complications.

New Approach Gives New Hope for the Jobless

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it is well known by now that the key to solving the problem of poverty in the central cities and in our rural poverty pockets is to find jobs for the jobless and to train those who are not equipped to find jobs. Accordingly, the announcement yesterday by President Johnson of a new pilot program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help solve the job problem will be welcomed by everyone concerned about the state of health of this country. If anyone wondered about the seriousness of purpose of the President and the speed with which this new program would be launched, those doubts must have disappeared today when Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge and Secretary of Labor Wirtz held a joint news conference to set forth in detail the proposals made yesterday by the President. Present at the news conference today was Mr. William E. Zisch, a highly respected business executive in the aerospace industry, who will serve as Secretary Trowbridge's Special Representative to get this program moving with all speed. Through Mr. Zisch, the businessman will have a single point of contact in the Federal Government. This pilot program has many aspects, but there is a common theme—deep involvement by private enterprise in the creation of job opportunities. I am particularly pleased to learn that San Antonio is one of the five cities where initial contacts have been made by Secretary Trowbridge. A Federal team will be going to San Antonio to take a look at prospective new uses for surplus Federal property and facilities, new uses which would aid in the creation of jobs and the training of potential workers. I can assure the President and Secretary Trowbridge that this Federal initiative will be matched with equal enthusiasm and cooperation by the people of San Antonio. In my view, this program is an example of creative federalism and business responsibility at their finest. I unhesitatingly predict fruitful results from the steps that have been taken yesterday and today.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

To: The Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Administrator of General Services Administration, Director of Office of Economic Opportunity, and Administrator of Small Business Administration.

We are launching today a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for thousands of America's hard-core unemployed.

The heart of this new effort is to reach the forgotten and the neglected—those citizens handicapped by poor health, hampered by inadequate education, hindered by years of discrimination and by-passed by conventional training programs.

To succeed in this venture will take more than promises or good intentions. It will require—on an unprecedented scale—the concerted action and involvement of the private sector, working closely with the Federal Government.

As we embark on this new course, let us be clear about what is involved: our purpose is not to hand out but to help up, to help provide every American the opportunity for a good job at a good wage.

Our goal is to replace the waste and failure of unemployment with the productivity of meaningful work.

We call upon private industry to join us in tackling one of America's most urgent domestic problems. I have no doubt that the private sector will respond. For we have witnessed in the past few months a remarkable series of events which attests to the dedication of American business in meeting the needs of the society in which it flourishes:

On September 12, 1967, the insurance companies in this country agreed to commit $1 billion of their funds for investments in city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job creating enterprises. Some of these resources are already financing promising housing projects and insurance company executives and officials of this Administratin are working together to develop other projects.

A project has been launched to use surplus Federal lands to meet the housing needs of our cities in which the efforts of private developers will be the most important single element.

A Committee, headed by Edgar F. Kaiser and composed of distinguished industrialists, banker, labor leaders and specialists in urban affairs is examining every possible means of encouraging the development of a large-scale efficient construction and rehabilitation industry to reclaim the corroded core of the American city.

Upon the recommendation of the Kaiser Committee we have begun the "Turnkey Plus" project to encourage private industry not only to develop and build, but also to *manage* public housing.

In this effort, we will again attempt to bring the great resources of the private sector to bear on a critical national problem. Through the great talents and energies of private industry, with full support from the Federal Government, we hope to:

Bring new job training opportunities in existing plants to the hard core unemployed.

Create new jobs and new training opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged in plants which will be established in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.

Encourage new enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to provide jobs and job training opportunities for the disadvantaged.

To initiate this effort, the resources of the Department of Commerce, Defense, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration will be combined to provide maximum assistance and to minimize the added cost of these in private industry willing to assume responsibility for providing training and work opportunities for the seriously disadvantaged.

Initially, nearly $40 million from a wide variety of existing programs will be made available, as will millions of dollars worth of surplus Federal property and excess Federal equipment.

We will offer to private industry:

A full spectrum of aid to assist them in recruiting, counselling, training, and providing health and other needed services to the disadvantaged.

Aid which will enable them to experiment with new ways to overcome the transportation barriers now separating men and women from jobs.

Surplus Federal land, technical assistance and funds to facilitate the construction of new plants in or near areas of concentrated unemployment.

Excess Federal equipment to enable them to train more disadvantaged people.

Assistance to joint enterprises combining the resources of big and small businesses to bring jobs and training opportunities to the disadvantaged.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor to direct this test program and insure that all available Federal resources are utilized. The Secretary of Commerce will designate a full-time Special Representative as the single point of contact for private employers participating in this project. The Special Representative will provide employers with one-stop service for the entire Federal Government and will make whatever arrangements are appropriate with the various Federal agencies for all forms of Federal assistance.

The Secretary of Labor will designate a full-time officer in the Manpower Administration to work with the Special Representative of the Secretary of Commerce in connection with the training and employment elements of these projects.

I have also asked the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Administrators of the General Services Administration and the Small Business Administration to assist the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor in this test program and to assign a single official in their agencies who will coordinate their efforts in support of this program.

Provision will be made for continuing liaison with local projects and for careful research and evaluation to crystallize field experience into guidelines for future action.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce to invite corporations throughout the country to join this new effort to bring meaningful employment to disadvantaged citizens both in existing plants and, where feasible, in new locations near areas of concentrated unemployment.

I have directed each Department and Agency of this Government to give top priority to all phases of this important effort.

The Real Danger in the Middle East: Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Chinese Communists are now moving into the Middle East and picking up the promises abrogated by the refusal of the Soviet Union to engage in actual hostilities against Israel. Whether China will ever really come to the aid of the Arabs in any renewed warfare is, of course, unknown.

Certainly, however, the leaders of the shaky Arab governments would be well advised to avoid the enticing words of Peking and investigate what has happened to other governments who fell for Chinese propaganda.

The following editorial from the September 15, 1967, edition of the Jewish Press recalls some of those governments and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The Chinese Communists have completed an alliance with the Arabs at a recent meeting in Peking.

Mao has lulled the extremist Arabs into his camp. He has further pledged to join them in destroying Israel.

But this was to be expected. China's involvement all over the world is no secret.

Russia trusts China as far as she can throw her! Red China has an unblemished record of double and triple crossing everyone she has ever dealt with including Russia.

Prince Nordom Sihanouk of Cambodia followed the demands of the Red Chinese to the letter. He kicked out the Americans, spurned U.S. aid, opened his ports to the Viet Cong, and gave comfort and supplies to the Chinese guerrillas. He was a perfect host to Red China because he felt he would obtain an immunity from Communist invasion.

HE GUESSED WRONG

But he guessed wrong! Today the communists are tightening their strangle hold on Cambodia. They have been successful in forcing out Cambodia's Prime Minister and other anti-communist leaders and as a result Cambodia is now at Red China's mercy.

The case of India's Nehru isn't much different. Nehru did everything to curry favor with Peking. When his work was completed the Communists thanked him with an invasion in 1962.

How about Indonesia's ousted President Sukarno who just about sold out his country to become a communist puppet. He too, felt he was graining an immunity from communist invasion. But little did Sukarno know, that recently discovered communist documents show he was slated for execution as soon as Mao took over.

OTHER NATIONS BETRAYED

What happened in Laos when Prince Souvanna Phouma tried to keep neutral? He saw the communist menace and sought an immunity by innocently recognizing the procommunist forces in his government. He got a jolt when the communists stepped up their drive to take over Laos.

The case of Burma is no different. Burma had attempted to placate the Communists and threw out Americans, trying to win favor with Peking. So what happened? Burma has now become the chief target of radio Peking and radio Hanoi as an "imperialist" nation. Her days as a republic appear numbered!

The Buddhists, too, made a deal with the Communists to obtain immunity. Yet, thousands of Buddhists have been tortured and murdered in Tibet.

That is the history of the Red Chinese reliability.

ARABS TURN TO MAO

Now it is the Arabs turn. The extremist Arab groups are holding conferences with Mao's Peking government. As usual, Mao has given "his word" to the Arabs that he will not rest until Israel is annihilated.

Interpreting this effort in terms of past experiences we must assume that Red China will be taking over a major part of the Middle East, without firing a shot.

Russia is seriously concerned because she knows the present Arab regimes are weak and can topple at the drop of a hat. In fact, Russia has slowed down her delivery of supplies to Nasser in recent weeks for that very reason.

Russia recognizes the Red Chinese danger in the Middle East. But does the United States?

Israel is the only country able to sustain a non-communist government in the Middle East and should be given all-out aid immediately! Instead, our State Department is conjuring up ways to impede Israel at evey turn.

We appeal to President Johnson to recognize the real danger in the Middle East, Red China.

Israel needs economic aid, and military help. If war flares again in the Middle East, Israel will really be the Free World's first line of defense against communism.

Railway Labor Urges Tax Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on August 16, 1967, I suggested nine tax loopholes which, if closed, would provide additional revenue to the Treasury of at least $4 billion a year—roughly equal to the $4.3 of additional revenue to be raised by the President's proposed 10 percent surcharge on individual taxpayers.

In the month and a half since, I have heard from a number of individuals and organizations who favor tax reform to reduce the inequities in our present tax system. The following statement by the Railway Labor Executives' Association is indicative of the widespread interest in tax reform:

STATEMENT BY THE RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION

With the federal budget deficit for the present fiscal year now estimated as high as $29 billion, largely due to the war in Vietnam, it is clear that the government needs additional revenues. However, we do not believe that the moderate-income group who now are experiencing a difficult time making both ends meet should be forced to bear an additional tax burden.

Instead of adding to the tax burdens of most working people and other moderate-income families, the government should begin now to tax the tens of billions of dollars that escape the income tax system entirely each year through tax loopholes used by the big corporations and the wealthy.

These loopholes—and especially the "capital gains" tax gimmick—explain why in 1965, the latest year for which figures are available, 22 of the 646 taxpayers reporting an income of $1 million or more paid no income tax whatever. The remaining 624 of these immensely rich Americans paid less than 30 per cent of their income in taxes, even though the tax rate for all taxable income over $100,000 is 70 per cent.

These loopholes—and especially the "depletion allowance" gimmick—explain why in 1965 the 20 largest oil companies paid corporation income taxes at a rate of 6.3 per cent, instead of the standard rate for large corporations of 48 per cent.

Nearly eight years ago, Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, wrote (in Life magazine for November 23, 1959): "If we kept the $600 personal exemption but taxed *all* other income, we could reduce the individual income tax rates by about 40 per cent and still raise just as much money." Instead Mills pointed out, "we have a tax system riddled with preferential benefits."

In the years since 1959, Congress has done virtually nothing to close the loopholes and tax the untaxed incomes. In fact, the latest tax action by Congress was restoration of the "investment credit" tax advatage to the corporations on an even more favorable basis than before—at a cost to the Treasury of $2 billion a year. Meeting the burdens of the Vietnam war—both human and financial—should be based on equality of sacrifice. Instead, these burdens have fallen most heavily on the nation's working people and other moderate-income families.

These are the families whose sons and brothers fight the war.

These are the families who see the cost of living, month by month, bite ever more deeply into their modest incomes.

These are the families who see corporation profits after taxes rise by 75 per cent between 1960 and the first half of 1967, while the average worker's take-home pay after taxes rises only 24 per cent in the same period.

These are the families who in many cases face another increase in Social Security payments next year, and who must pay the constantly rising state and local taxes.

These are the families—in the case of railroad workers—who see the President and Congress using the Vietnam war as an excuse to outlaw their right to strike, so as to hold down their wages.

These are the families who see the government doing absolutely nothing about the latest round of price increases by the big corporations on steel, chemicals, tires, aluminum, vinyl flooring, shoe materials, building materials, trucks and textiles.

Nearly a year ago, on September 14, 1966, the Railway Labor Executives' Association called on the President and Congress to strike at inflation by ending the big tax loopholes and inequities, by imposing a special anti-inflation tax on the corporations that fail to hold the price line, and by other measures.

Such a program is even more urgent today than a year ago. Rep. Henry Reuss has proposed a modest attack on the "capital gains" tax gimmick, the "depletion allowance" gimmick and seven other tax loopholes—which would raise $4 billion a year for the Treasury, or nearly as much as the President's proposed 10 per cent surcharge on individual incomes.

This, in our view, is the right approach. New taxes needed for the Vietnam war should be collected primarily by taxing the income that now goes untaxed or undertaxed—not by increasing taxes on millions of American working families.

Ways to Vietnam Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 14, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. I should like to commend to the attention of my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD the following splendid editorial which appears in today's New York Times:

WAYS TO VIETNAM PEACE

The appeals of a half-dozen foreign ministers at the General Assembly for a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam reflect a general consensus in the world organization that President Johnson came close to recognizing in his latest statement on the subject.

Not all countries are prepared to criticize American policy publicly, of course. But in the corridors, among the closest allies of the United States—and even among countries which support American objectives and policy in Vietnam—there is overwhelming agreement that the bombing is a failure, that it blocks effective probing for peace and that a cessation without a time limit would be in the American and world interest.

There is strong reason to believe that an opening of negotiations would follow an unconditional—or indefinite—cessation of the bombing in three or four weeks. Whether Hanoi's statement that talks "could" follow means the same as Moscow's assertion that talks "would" take place is a question that most other countries believe has been adequately answered by the whole Communist bloc. If talks did not begin after several weeks' bombing suspension, the United States would be in a strong position in world opinion to step up the war.

The appeal of Foreign Minister Malik of Indonesia is of particular interest because of the effort repeatedly made by Washington to claim that American intervention in Vietnam saved Indonesia from Communism. Mr. Malik, one of those who really did the saving, obviously feels Indonesia's interest and those of Asia as a whole would be best served by a political accommodation in Vietnam, rather than continuation of the war.

The peace plan put forward by Canada is of importance because of Canadian contact with Hanoi as a member of the International Control Commission set up in Vietnam by the Geneva accords. External Affairs Secretary Martin has been advancing his four-stage solution since April without any criticism by Hanoi. Several ingenious elements in it make it worthy of a favorable American response.

While Mr. Martin described a halt in the bombing as the "first priority," he included in the first tage of his plan an important gesture of North Vietnamese de-escalation, yet the one that would be easiest for Hanoi to make—a cease-fire or pull-back from the demilitarized zone.

The remaining stages—which would first freeze forces, then achieve a cease-fire and finally lead to the withdrawal of all external forces from South Vietnam—would obviously hve to be accompanied by negotiation of a political settlement. But the advance commitment to withdraw American and North Vietnamese forces in this sequence is what might make successful negotiations possible.

There are many paths toward peace in Vietnam. But most important is the first step toward the conference table. A halt in the bombing is the essential prerequisite.

Veterans' Story Superbly Told

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee, I have had occasion to observe closely the operation of the Veterans' Administration for almost 20 years.

The story of the American veteran reaches from the neglected days following the war for independence to the founding of a great Federal agency in 1930 specifically to meet the needs of veterans.

Mr. Speaker, that story has now been told in a monumental effort by Robinson E. Adkins, who has been part of the Veterans' Administration since its earliest days. His work, entitled "Medical Care of Veterans," reveals the trials, errors and dedicated service of the men and women associated with the Veterans' Administration. In his book, Mr. Adkins vividly describes the valuable contributions the Veterans hospitals have made to medical science.

In a recent issue of the Jersey Journal of Jersey City, N.J., this superb book was reviewed by our distinguished former colleague Alfred Sieminski. Mr. Sieminski, a Member of this House for 8 years, looks at this new book with a knowledgeable and critical eye.

I commend this excellent history of the American veteran, and the splendid review by Mr. Sieminski which follows, to the attention of the Members of the House and to the people of our country:

ADKINS GREAT IN MEDICAL CARE STORY

"Medical Care of Veterans," by Robinson E. Adkins, U.S. Government Printing Office, 411 pp., paper, $1.25.

(*The following is a guest review compiled by Alfred Sieminski, former U.S. congressman from the 13th district, based on material supplied by Dr. H. Blacker Weinberg, of Washington, D.C., and Muriel McKenna, of Arlington, Va.*)

"To care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans"—those compassionate words from Lincoln's second inaugural address are proudly announced on a blue plaque to anyone passing or entering the Veterans Administration building in Washington, D.C. It is the mission of the agency.

Robinson E. Adkins, the main compiler of this study of the medical care of veterans, has been part of that mission since the earliest days of the agency.

This publication documents the medical care of veterans from the earliest days of our country to the founding of the V.A. in 1930. It reviews the history of the Department of Medicine and Surgery from its beginning to its present operation under William J. Driver, administrator, and Dr. H. Martin Engle, chief medical director.

The establishment of the Veterans Administration enabled the veteran to have a single point of contact. He could turn to any office or hospital within the V.A. for any benefit to which he was entitled.

This is a far cry from early days in England when a veteran, in appreciation, was allowed to apply at city hall for a license to beg.

The impact of World War II called for added hospitals, many of which provided facilities for highly specialized diagnosis and treatment. These hospitals were located near large urban areas and medical school centers.

This assisted in staffing V.A. hospitals with consulting and attending physicians of established reputation and those interested in furthering their medical experiences. A massive resident training program in all specialties was instituted. Scientific medical research incorporating recent advances in chemistry, physics and engineering became a component of V.A. medicine.

A few are: The study of drugs for control of infection and mental disorder; surgery for artificial heart valves and kidney transplants; techniques for computerized medicine; radioisotopes; heart-lung chamber; heart pacemaker; and artificially controlled limbs in rehabilitative medicine.

The V.A. population of 26 million is steadily aging, and research in geriatric medicine in specialized hospitals is a marked contribution in this field.

Throughout the book there is lavish evidence of the sympathetic cooperation with the V.A. by the people and the Congress of the United States in their many appropriations for improving veterans' medical care.

All U.S. Presidents have shown their deep concern for the welfare of the veteran. (A veteran is anyone who has honorably served on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States for 90 days or more).

The House Veterans Affairs Committee, chaired by Olin E. Teague, is to be commended for its encouragement of this endeavor.

This publication is truly a monumental effort, revealing with authentic documentation, the internal controversies and shades of opinion among the leadership of the V.A., who through trial and error and dedicated public service, steered the V.A. to its present pinnacle of achievement in the medical field.

Vietnam Combat Victim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Frank M. Streeks, Jr., a marine from Maryland, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

PRIVATE FIRST CLASS STREEKS, IN VIETNAM COMBAT

A 20-year-old marine from Silver Spring, Md., was killed by enemy artillery fire in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Pfc. Frank M. Streeks, Jr., was fatally wounded in the legs and neck when his defensive position came under artillery attack last Friday in Quang Tri province, near the Demilitarized Zone.

He was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank M. Streeks, of 1710 Brisbane street, Silver Spring. Mrs. Streeks said last night her son never complained during the six months he served in Vietnam.

Private Streeks enlisted in the Marine Corps in June, 1966, after a year of studies at Montgomery Junior College. He was a graduate of Northwood High School in Silver Spring.

Besides his parents, Private Streeks is survived by a sister, Sandra, 17, who is a student at Northwood High School, and a brother, Michael, 23, a student at the University of Maryland.

Tribute to Private Ike Lowery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, during the devastating flood which followed in the wake of hurricane Beulah recently, tragedy was averted in San Antonio, Tex., through the courageous and selfless action of Pvt. Ike Lowery, who lives in my district near Bristol, Tenn.

Pvt. Lowery, who is stationed at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., risked his own life to save two little girls from drowning, and it is with great pleasure that I make available to my colleagues and the readers of the Record the following editorial from the Bristol, Tenn.-Va., Herald-Courier, which expresses so well the tremendous pride we can all have in this fine young soldier:

THANKS, PRIVATE LOWERY

Bristol can be proud and the nation can be grateful for such people as Pvt. Ike Lowery, who lives in Holston Valley.

San Antonio, Texas, and, especially, the parents of two young Texas girls, will be eternally grateful. The two girls, Doris Felan, 12, and Delores Vela, 10, owe their lives to the quick thinking and courageous action of Pvt. Lowery.

The Bristol, Tennessee native is stationed at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. Last Friday, he risked his life to rescue the two girls who had been swept into a flood-swollen underpass at a railroad crossing in San Antonio.

Because Pvt. Lowery didn't hesitate when he heard the screams of the two girls, he was able to climb down beneath the underpass and grab the two girls before they were swept away by the surging waters caused by hurricane Beulah.

Pvt. Lowery, like most of us, never practiced to become a hero. But because he does have respect for his country and his fellowman, he obviously didn't have to think about what to do when he saw the two girls were in trouble.

In this age of rabble-rousing dissenters, when it's fashionable to be "against" rather than "for," the fact that Pvt. Lowery is wearing his country's uniform is some measure of heroism in itself.

But Pvt. Lowery, because he obviously believes that even with its faults, this country is the greatest on earth, had no qualms about fulfilling his obligation to maintain its democracy.

By the same token, because the qualities of respect for life, for this land and for God, have apparently been so adequately instilled in Pvt. Lowery, he plunged into the water to save the girls.

And, in so doing, he provided a dramatic rebuttal to those who argue, "I don't want to get involved." Because he did get "involved" those two girls are alive when, otherwise, they probably would have drowned.

Pvt Lowery, through his actions, said that because we are citizens of this land we are involved and there is no shame in helping others in trouble.

We are proud of Pvt. Lowery. We have no fears about what any of our people will do in times of emergency but we do feel a special pride when one of our own does something so fine.

We know Mr. and Mrs. Felan and Mr. and Mrs. Vela understand what we mean about Pvt. Lowery. But in a much more profound and personal way.

Full Representation for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, residents of Washington were heartened last week by the House Judiciary Committee's preliminary endorsement of a resolution giving the District of Columbia's inhabitants as much representation on Capitol Hill as citizens of the States now enjoy.

To me this action, although subject to a final committee vote, suggests that House support for full District of Columbia representation may be far greater than many observers have believed. While the proposed constitutional amendment may be modified on its path through the legislative mills, I am encouraged by this indication that the House committee does not intend to close any doors which might prevent the District's citizens from sending to the Hill two Senators and as many Representatives as they are entitled to by population.

Certainly, by setting its sights on the ultimate goal, the Judiciary Committee has advanced the day when we shall correct a constitutional oversight which has persisted far too long.

I insert in the Record at this point the following editorial on the subject, from the Washington Post of October 1:

EQUALITY FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The vote of the House Judiciary Committee to give the District of Columbia full representation in Congress is truly an exciting turn of events. In effect the Committee tossed out the lukewarm Administration proposal of one Representative for D.C. and authority for Congress to grant an additional seat in the House and possibly two seats in the Senate. Although the voice vote came in executive session and the language of the proposed amendment to the Constitution has not yet been given final form, the Committee's action is a notable victory for this partly disfranchised community.

Apparently the Committee felt that, since it is dealing with an amendment to the Constitution, halfway measures are out of place. The Constitution should not say that all the people of the states are entitled to full representation in the House, and the people of the District to half representation. As this newspaper has pointed out on many occasions, that would be an unsound deviation from principle which ought not to be written into the fundamental law on grounds of expediency.

The principle which the Committee has endorsed is that the people living in the Nation's Capital should have as much voice in the making of national policy as people living in the states. This would not convert the District into a state. Congress would continue to exert legislative control over it, subject to the right of home rule, when and if granted. The amendment would merely make an exception to the rule that only states may be represented in the Senate—an exception in the interests of justice and equal representation.

Incidentally, the Committee should also make clear that a grant of full representation in Congress would also carry with it full representation in the presidential electoral system. We regret a misleading statement in our recent editorial on this subject to the effect that the Twenty-third Amendment did not whittle down the rights of District residents "by half." It did, however, limit the District's electoral votes to the number assigned to the least populous state (three) instead of granting equality with states of similar population, which would have given us four electors. This should be corrected in the interests of equality.

No doubt some will fear that the courageous Judiciary Commite move for full representation will lead to no action at all. Such a risk is always present. Some shrewd political observers seem confident, however, that the House will accept the Committee's broadened resolution. If so, it will go to the Senate with enormous prestige behind it. If the Senate should then insist on striking out the provision for District Senators, the principle of full representation in the House would remain. In any event, the Judiciary Committee is to be warmly commended for voting to go as far as it can with the sound principle of full representation for D.C. intact.

National Standards for Rat Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, 1967, I had the privilege of addressing the Urban Renewal Directors Association of Long Island. At that meeting I proposed local action to combat the spread of rats from increased demolition activities.

We are tearing down more buildings than ever before in the United States for urban renewal and for other purposes, but as we do, we are contributing to the proliferation of the rat problem. Rats tend to flock to and breed in rotting buildings, and once demolition activities begin, they are dispersed to other surrounding structures.

To coordinate and strengthen our efforts to control the rat problem, I am suggesting a new approach calling for both national and local action.

At the national level, I am suggesting the issuance of regulations on all new and pending urban renewal projects and other Federal programs involving demolition of buildings, requiring a certificate from an exterminator before Federal funds for demolition of structures are released.

This requirement could be embodied in Federal regulations, as a provision in urban renewal contracts and as a condition to the certification of workable programs for local governmental units.

At the local level, I am suggesting that in every incorporated village, town, city, or county having jurisdiction for the issuance of certificates to demolish structures, a new ordinance be adopted requiring a certification that an exterminator has visited the property before demolition takes place.

These suggestions are not in conflict with local, State, or Federal programs to fight the war against rats. They represent an effort to strengthen all of our allies in the war against rats and to fortify our laws so as to prevent a spreading of the rat problem.

Recently the village of Bellmore, in my district, experienced a rat problem which proved to the people of that village that rats were not a big city problem alone.

If we adopt national standards requiring that an exterminator be called in prior to the release of Federal funds in urban renewal demolition work, a significant contribution can be made in coordinating the battle against rats. I am today making such a proposal to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Robert Weaver, in an effort to have such a requirement included in national guidelines issued by that agency.

At the same time, I will urge local officials in my congressional district to enact local ordinances requiring an exterminator's certificate prior to the issuance of any permit for demolition. I urge my colleagues to contact their State legislators and local governments to recommend similar action by every local governmental unit in the United States.

On July 20, 1967, the House of Representatives refused to consider the proposed Federal rat control bill by a vote of 207 to 176. I voted with the minority because I supported Federal assistance to local governments in the fight against rats.

At that time there were many who laughed and joked about the proposed assistance for rat control but it soon became quite clear that the House of Representatives had made a mistake. That error was corrected on September 20, 1967, when the House, by a vote of 227 to 173, attached to the partnership for health bill an amendment adding $40 million for rat control projects. The funds will be made available under this amendment to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for grants to public and private agencies for special projects.

I was on leave of absence because of illness when this vote was taken, but all who know me know exactly where I stand on this legislation. I would have voted "aye."

Mr. Speaker, it is not enough to appropriate funds for grants to aid local governments control of rats—we must do more. Administrative steps at the Federal and local level are needed to prevent the spread of rats, and it is for that reason that I propose national standards for federally financed housing projects and local ordinances to protect the public against rat proliferation in connection with demolition work.

I urge my colleagues to support these steps, and urge the same procedures in their respective districts, to assure a coordinated and effective effort in the fight to control rats.

Dr. Harry Cohen: A Great Surgeon and an Outstanding Jew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of New York's, and indeed this country's, outstanding practitioners of the art of medical surgery is Dr. Harry Cohen.

An article in the August 1967 edition of the Synagogue Light published by the Wall Street Synagogue, gives the details of his long and illustrious career. It is with pleasure that I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

The article follows:

A GREAT SURGEON AND OUTSTANDING JEW

(By Stanley Garten)

Samuel and Betty Cohen immigrated from Lvov (Lemberg) now belonging to Poland, to the United States in 1885. They settled on the lower East Side of New York. Their son, Harry, was three months old when the family came here. He was one of seven children. One room of their small flat on Ludlow Street was used by Samuel Cohen to manufacture caps.

Harry attended P. S. 95, in the vicinity of his home, DeWitt Clinton High School and was graduated from Cornell University Medical College in 1907. He received a scholarship. His allowance for lunch and supper was 25 cents.

His brother, Max, became a dentist. His brother, Joseph, also became a doctor. Both of them are now retired. Max is in Suffern, N.Y. Joseph lives in North Palm Beach.

Despite the limited number of Jews who in those days were admitted to Cornell Medical College, Harry maintained very friendly relations with his non-Jewish fellow students and later with his professional colleagues.

At the height of his professional career, he was one of the busiest surgeons in Columbus Hospital, a Catholic institution. As the result of his urging, this hospital appointed a rabbi to its staff to visit Jewish patients every Friday and provided matzohs to those patients on Pesach, as well as special diet meals for those observant in Kashruth.

Dr. Harry Cohen was influenced to specialize in surgery because, as he said, the surgeon has full responsibility for his judgment and actions, whereas, the general practitioner often consulted with other doctors in treating patients, thus relinquishing part of his responsibility.

He served his internship at Beth Israel Hospital from 1907 to 1910. From 1910 to 1915 he pursued instruction in surgery taking post-graduate courses.

For long periods he was attending surgeon at Manhattan General Hospital and People's Hospital. At Columbus Hospital he was first an associate surgeon and latter consulting surgeon. He was attending surgeon at Wickersham Hospital and associate surgeon at Beth Israel Hospital.

A surgeon's life was in some respects more rigorous sixty years ago when Dr. Harry Cohen began his practice than it is now. Each physician was required to conduct his own laboratory tests.

His first office was at 64 East 3rd St., in the heart of the community where he was raised. Among his early patients was the composer of "Hatikvah", the poet Imber. Another was Max Gordon, the playwright.

His office was moved first to 221 Second Ave. and then to 45 Gramercy Park, at which latter location he practiced for 35 years. His services were in great demand. He used to perform 6 or 7 operations in a day.

His interest in medicine extended beyond the United States, particularly to Israel. For many years, he was the chairman of the American Physicians Fellowship of the Jerusalem Academy of Medicine. Three years ago this Academy established a lectureship in surgery in Dr. Cohen's name. When the name of this institution was changed from Batei Harofeh to its present title, a change recommended by Dr. Cohen, a room was erected in this Academy's new building to house Dr. Cohen's papers and he was named the father of this Academy.

He helped found the first medical school on Mt. Scopus forty years ago during a trip to what then was Palestine.

Throughout his career, Dr. Cohen frequently appeared as a lecturer at various groups and associations other than those dealing with medical matters. He spoke on a variety of subjects of historical and social interest.

He was Chairman of the Speakers Club of New York, president of three medical societies, medical director of Mecca Temple of the Shriners, and coeditor of "Jews in the World of Science." Three Popes presented him with medals for his humanitarian work.

On many of his missions he was received by heads of states, princes and monarchs of many countries. The walls of his study are covered with autographed photographs of these dignitaries. One of them is that of former Pres. Harry S. Truman. On December 30th, 1965, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, on the last day of his administration, presented Dr. Cohen with a tablet bearing the Great Seal of the City of New York and the inscription: "Presented to Dr. Harry Cohen by Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York."

Dr. Cohen was formerly president of the National Business and Professional Council and consultant for a number of years to the New York Selective Service. He is one of the oldest Fellows of the American College of Surgeons. He is Chairman of the Committee on Science and Medicine of the forthcoming Encyclopedia Judaica.

It was typical that Dr. Cohen was the person in the United States who bought Bond Number 1 of the first issue of State of Israel Bonds. He has a letter from Manuel Posy, dated May 6, 1953, in which, after referring to his purchase, Mr. Posy says, "Your inspired act of showing full faith in Israel even before the bond issue was officially launched exemplifies to Jews throughout our country the spirit through which Israel is being built."

Prof. Albert Einstein wrote Dr. Cohen on December 13, 1945, commending Dr. Cohen for his vigorous protest addressed to the American Council for Judaism, the anti-Zonist organization.

In 1921 he married Flora Levy. They have two sons, Robert H., a doctor and Michael S., a lawyer.

Three years ago Dr. Cohen retired from practice due to an illness, but he is still vigorous and active, and says that his activity has helped him retain his youthful vigor.

His credo is: "To be true to G-d, to my patients and to myself." He says he has tried to live according to the precepts taught him by his father, who was one of the founders of Lemberg Synagogue on East 2nd St., which he helped build. Included in his father's teachings were: "If you don't tell a lie, you never have to remember what you said", and "If you make a promise, keep it."

The list of honors Dr. Cohen has received is long. Besides those already mentioned here, these include: Hon. Pres. of "Who's Who in World Jewry" (1965 Ed); Editor in Chief of "American Jews"; Hon. Pres. of the Third International Congress of Physicians and Dentists, held in Mexico City; Life Fellow, N.Y. Academy of Medicine, as well as of American Medical Association, American College of Surgeons, N.Y. State Medical Society and N.Y. County Medical Society; Fellow of International College of Surgeons; a founder of Albert Einstein Medical College. He is also the author of a number of books. He was one of the founders of the N.Y. Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

Many changes have occurred in medicine since Dr. Harry Cohen began the practice of his profession a half-century ago, but the basic standards of character, devotion and service which he has exemplified are just as important today as they ever were. Loyalty to his people, to his profession, to culture, to public service and, above, all to his faith, have been the outstanding qualities of Dr. Harry Cohen's life. The Jewish community of New York is proud to number him as one of its outstanding members.

Decentralized Programs for Political Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House to a worthwhile pamphlet entitled "Role of Local Governmental and Voluntary Orgazations in Country Development." The author of this document is Dana D. Reynolds, of the U.S. Agency for International Development, who is also chairman of the Political Development Committee of the Washington chapter of the Society for International Development.

Mr. Reynolds' pamphlet is a compilation of ideas about building local institutions in the emerging nations, based on the contributions of some 30 representatives of U.S. and international governmental and private organizations. Among the main subjects covered are "Role of Local Institutions in Development"; "Strategy for Developing Local Institutions"; "Build Local Government on Ethnic Lines"; "Economic Foundation for Local Institutions"; "Outside Assistance: Policy, Technical, Financial"; and "How Approach a Country."

The pamphlet goes into the creation of—

First. Models for local development programs.

Second. Financial devices to enable communities to pay for more of their own institutions and services.

Third. Advisory committees, school boards, civic organizations and other local groups to give people more voice in their own affairs.

Fourth. Rural-urban centers—or market towns—between small villages and big cities, where industries and other facilities can be developed to accommodate the hundreds of thousands of people migrating from farms and villages.

As an author of title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966—and a member of Mr. Reynolds' committee—I hope that the Agency for International Development will examine each of its projects and country programs in light of the criteria contained in this pamphlet. And I hope AID will use these criteria to help strengthen local governmental and nongovernmental institutions.

Both in our own country and abroad, Mr. Speaker, and especially in the underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, there is an urgent need to bring government into a closer, more effective relationship with the people who are governed. There is inadequate communication between the top and the bottom. Too often we Americans tend to respond to the needs of the emerging nations without a clear understanding of the importance of decentralization in our own national development.

The basic challenge is to motivate these nations to solve their own problems. Thus a relevant starting point is decentralization—of planning, development, financing, and administration of such fundamental programs as schools, roads, health facilities, and agricultural projects. Many countries would welcome practical support from the United States as they seek to encourage local structures for their development programs. The United States should see that our technicians understand the importance of local institutions.

Mr. Reynolds' pamphlet should be a valuable contribution to future consideration of the U.S. role in political development. Andrew E. Rice, executive secretary of the Society for International Development, summarizes the situation quite well in his foreword:

> Since the increased participation of a developing country's citizens is critical to the success of the development effort, the strengthening of local governments and voluntary organizations, whose activities closely affect the day-to-day living of most people, should have high priority in any development program.
>
> This draft paper is a product of individual and group discussions conducted by the SID Washington Chapter's Committee on Political Development with American development professionals. As such, it reflects, essentially, the American viewpoint.
>
> Because of this limitation, the paper is solely intended to be the starting point for a continuing dialogue on the role to be assigned to local institutions in the development process. The Society's chapters, particularly those outside the United States, are invited to discuss the ideas expressed in this paper and to comment on them. I am certain that we can all learn from one another's experience in this important area of development activity.

Board of Trade in Pittsburgh Ghetto Averts Violence, Upgrades Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the violence in many of our Nation's cities this summer has prompted questions as to why some Negro ghettos explode while others express their unrest in nonviolent, constructive ways.

My home city of Pittsburgh has not experienced violence in its ghettos, and the reasons for this good fortune may be instructive.

First, the city has a longstanding tradition of communication and cooperation between the municipal authorities and all its citizens. This tradition makes it possible to settle grievances before they become explosive.

Second, the mayor's committee on human resources has organized one of the Nation's best antipoverty programs, including a community action program that openly encourages residents of the city's eight target neighborhoods to bring their complaints to officials who can do something about them.

Third, an active board of trade is at work in the city's largest ghetto, the Hill district. The bi-racial board is devoted to bettering its own business prospects by bettering the community upon which its members depend for their livelihood.

Before the Hill District Board of Trade was organized 2 years ago, the feeling of the area's residents toward the merchants and businessmen with whom they dealt was hostile. The stores were, for the most part, dingy and unattractive. The streets were dirty and poorly lighted. Parking was next to impossible for customers.

In 2 years, largely through their own efforts, the board of trade merchants have won the respect and confidence of community, and have greatly upgraded the bsuiness area of the Hill district. New street lights have been installed; parking meters along the streets make short-term space available for customers; new store-fronts and interiors are under construction. Apathy and resignation have given way to enthusiasm for the future.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert at this point in the Record, an article from the Hill District Board of Trade's monthly shopping guide which describes the board's purposes and activities. I urge my colleagues to read the article closely, for it shows what can be done to revitalize both the business areas and the spirits of our Nation's urban ghettos. The article follows:

Hill Board Works To Hold Trade

At a time when a tiny fraction of burners and looters are avowedly bent on driving all white merchants from Negro communities, the Hill District Board of Trade, an interracial federation of businessmen in Pittsburgh's main central city ghetto is expressly stepping up its progam of encouraging both white and Negro merchants, or those from any race for that matter, to remain in, expand their businesses and build the Hill District.

So convinced are the completely-integrated roster of officers an board members of the Hill District Board of Trade that true peace on either the home community level or the international level is dependent completely on complete understanding and tolerance between all races that the group has agreed to underwrite two major community enterprises even as the fires of rioting burn elsewhere.

The Hill District Board of Trade from now on is going to sponsor the annual Fourth of July celebrations and take over the Uptown Little League sports programs.

This was voted overwhelmingly by the Hill District Board of Trade which also stressed further intensification of its membership drive to enroll every business man and woman operating in the Hill to join and build the community into the most ideal local area in the nation.

Said John H. Adams, general director and organizer for the Hill District Board of Trade at the meeting: "We feel that the Little League program is as important as Head Start in building character among our youth.

Members of the Hill District Board of Trade proudly display bright, shiny red, white and blue decal as an ornament and symbol of membership adorning the entrance to their establishments.

"This is our 'Me, Too—Soul Brother' emblem in the Hill District," said Adams, "and it indicates that the owner of a particular business is generally interested in the souls and bodies, the hour-by-hour general welfare and future of the resident citizenry of the Hill."

Officers of the Hill District Board of Trade, as well as its board of directors, are interracial.

They are: William Pryor, president of Pryor Furs; Morris Gordon, first vice president, of Gordon's shoes; John H. Adams, second vice president, of the John H. Adams Agency; Leonard L. Edelson, secretary; of the Hill Pharmacy; and Alex Lee, treasurer, of Lee's Florists.

On the Board of Directors are Herbert Bean, of Bean's Gulf Gas Station; Oliver Boyd of Boyd's Barber Shop; Horace Turner of Turner's Record Shop; Abe Kronzek of Craft Distributing Co.; Allen Skirboll, of Diamond's Five and Ten; Miss Mary Ferguson, of Ferguson's Restaurant; and John W. Hicks, of Hick's Superette.

The membership ensigns, it is hoped, will presage a revitalization of pride, interest, interracial cooperation in both merchants and the community.

Organized on the presumption that only through an expressed interest and financing of community advancement by the merchants, too many of whom in the past have taken everything out and put little back, can the Hill District be renewed of itself, the Board of Trade has set itself to do many tasks not heretofore being done in the Negro community.

In recent years, to some extent as the result of rioting in Negro communities and the burning and looting of white-owned establishments in the same communities, a national effort has been begun to have whites and Negroes join together in Boards of Trades in these communities, so that the problems of the central cities' businesses and their customers can be worked out as neighbors.

Only in the Negro community has the white power structure put the community into the hands of a few politicians.

Under the new program, instead of the absentee white business and property owners, and to some extent the moved-to-the-suburbs Negro middle class, taking everything out, putting little back, the white businessman and the Negro absentee help to handle problems of the community. Through the Board of Trade, he becomes a friend and partner in running the community.

The newly-formed group has lined up the following objectives for themselves, as merchants and business people who are interested in Hill District progress.

The group will provide a voice at City Hall—a strong voice, with back-up support, to make the City leaders listen to its views, needs and demands.

They will stimulate the theme of keeping business in the Hill by appealing to various groups for support, including churches and civic organizations.

The group will sponsor advertising campaigns, old fashioned days, street fairs, holiday and store decorations and other promotions to get the message to the residents.

In addition, the new group will provide a voice in the City's future plans by working with the Urban Redevelopment Authority, City Planners and local community groups. They will hold luncheons, make speaking engagements and conduct person-to-person drives.

As a result, they will build confidence and be able to attack common problems with a unified approach.

Mr. John H. Adams, general director and organizer for the Hill District Board of Trade is a staff member of the Business and Job Development Corporation; a non-profit corporation established in July of 1963, to work toward the economic growth and development of the Pittsburgh area with special emphasis on economically depressed, minority group areas and to implement a program of job development through the creation of job opportunities by establishing and expanding small business. Business and Job Development Corporation is dedicated to helping The Hill District Board of Trade become one of the finest Boards of Trades in the Country.

Mr. Adams further stated to the members of the business community, "In these days of turmoil and civil strife; to know that we have been spared some of the troubles and destruction that some other Cities business communities have had inflicted upon them is indeed something that we can be thankful for. Therefore as business people we must take steps to see that our business community is spared. A direct means of communication to the people in our community is the best means of stopping idle rumors. Don't labor under the illusion that just because your store is located in a Negro Community or on the periphery of that community these people must trade with you—nothing could be further from the truth. We must all stick together to put into effect a communique like our new monthly shopping guide to let the people of the Hill District know that we want and appreciate their business.

"Having once been your Alderman and a member of this community all of my life, I am convinced that the Hill District Business Community can acheve the goals that are outlined. For though the body of a community may be composed of buildings and streets, automobiles and businesses—its soul is always composed of people, and in the end it is these people who will determine the worth of their community. If we are, therefore, united in the conviction that the soul of this community is healthy and strong—it is indeed proper that we begin now to create a body equal in strength and equal in quality.

"You have chosen the Hill District as the place to go into business. It is your civic duty, as well as the sensible thing to do, to help make this district conducive to good business and a better place for people to shop and live."

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Appendix

Research Activities Impact on Spacecraft of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on August 29, 1967, Dr. Albert J. Kelley, dean, College of Business Administration and Graduate School of Business Administration of Boston College, delivered a "paper" at the meeting of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics on the subject of "Space Program Issues of the Seventies."

Dr. Kelley is eminently qualified to discuss any of the aspects which come under which is generally referred to as "Center Space."

As Dr. Kelley has well pointed out in his "paper" that unless we move with speed with some kind of a material plan for space activities, we are in danger of losing many of the gains which we have worked so hard to obtain.

In my remarks, I include the full contents of the remarks made by Dr. Kelley at the meeting hereinbefore mentioned:

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES IMPACT ON SPACECRAFT OF THE FUTURE, BY DR. ALBERT J. KELLEY, DEAN, COLLEGE AND GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, BOSTON COLLEGE, CHESTNUT HILL, MASS., AT AIAA SPACE PROGRAM ISSUES OF THE SEVENTIES MEETING, AUGUST 29, 1967, SEATTLE, WASH.

Vastly increased national support of space research in the 1960's has led to rapid technological advances in industrial, government and university laboratories. The impetus to research which has been provided by the space program has resulted in undoubtedly the greatest research base in history associated with a peaceful venture.

Our research in the 1960's has been keyed largely to the 1970's. Because of the development lead times involved, first generation spacecraft in the 1960's has been largely dependent on technology originally developed for other purposes, particularly military missile systems. Second generation spacecraft operating in the 1970's, will be able to realize the full potential of research in the current decade, keyed specifically to space applications and the space environment.

Federal expenditures in the 1960's for advanced research and technology have, through last fiscal year, already reached a total greater than $3 billion dollars and are on a current expenditure rate of more than $600 million dollars per year, with the result that we can expect that the government will have spent a total of more than $4 billion before this decade is over. Since this is research financial support keyed primarily to the 1970's, the research accomplished and the research base established in the 1960's give us the possibility of realizing exceptional gains in the 1970's.

The most significant element or trend resulting from our research in the 1960's will be long life and reliability. We already have performance available for short-term flights of many of the missions which we would hope to undertake in the next decade. By and large, the 1970's offer the opportunity to consolidate our research gains and to make progress by exploiting the utilization and economic potential of space.

We should see significant payoff from our research in materials, space power, and biotechnology, all working towards goals of long life and reliability for self-contained systems operating in the space environment.

The early phase of our space exploration might be termed the "rocket" phase since development was concentrated largely on boosters and rockets to obtain the payloads which were needed. However, once those payloads become available, they will consist largely of electronics equipment.

Our new boosters which will be coming on line in the 1970's, particularly Saturn V, will be able to boost large payloads made up of measuring instruments, data processors, and communications devices. We might say then that the 1970's could be characterized as the "electronics" phase of space exploration. It has already been predicted that we can expect our expenditures for electronics, currently approximately 50% of our total space expenditures, to rise to 60% in the 1970's.

Probably the greatest research impact from the 1960's has resulted from what might be called "operations" but which can be classified as "research" in the truest sense. That is the ability to *rendezvous*. After several flights in the Gemini program, we take rendezvousing quite casually, but let us remember that just a few years ago, many people thought rendezvous in space would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. It was shown that a well-trained astronaut can accomplish rendezvous in a fairly straightforward manner. Rendezvous in space must be classified as the most important research element performed in the 1960's because of the impact it will have on all our future planning and missions. It will make possible such concepts as manned space stations with ferry shuttles, the capability to repair vehicles in space and, of course, holds important military implications for the future.

In the technology area, there are two important concepts which have attained striking significance in the 1960's and which will change the shape of the whole future of space exploration.

The first of these is Microelectronics. In the space business, we entered with deliberate speed and as a result of several studies, into microelectronics. Space exploration vehicles up until now and probably sometime to come have been largely custom-tailored, with no long production runs which lent themselves readily to early microelectronics production techniques. With the maturing of microelectronics developments during the past few years, the way is clear now for significant and heavy introduction of microelectronics into space vehicles, with obvious advantages of weight, space and power. But one of the most important, if not the most important aspect of microelectronics, is its potential increase in reliability for spacecraft of the future.

A second important technology having an effect on the future is Information Processing which employs components so simple, yet systems so complex, at the heart of which is the digital computer.

Microelectronics and Information Processing (and its hand-maiden, the digital computer), are, as a matter of fact, quite interdependent. Microelectronics is making possible size and performance which will allow us to profitably use and expolit the digital computer. On the other hand, 75% of microelectronics circuits produced to date, have gone into computers, so the interdependence between the two is economic as well as technical.

Each of these technologies is quite dependent on the other and without them full exploitation of all our other technologies is not possible. For example, in the field of guidance and control, strap-down systems will be realized because of the computer which comprises the heart of the system and keeps track of which way is up.

The trend toward hybrid guidance will have as its core the computer to sort diverse inputs from on-board inertial guidance systems, star-trackers, ground-based systems and terminal guidance elements.

Modern control concepts have had a large gap between theory and use. We are now beginning to put the large body of theory into practice with the aid of the digital computer which can work directly on complex mathematics on-line in a flight control system.

Large amounts of data, particularly from large payloads, in near space will have to be handled, sorted, switched and manipulated by information processors. Planetary exploration is already being assisted by improved information handling techniques. For example, picture enhancement by computer has already been demonstrated on some of our Mariner TV signals.

The entire field of bio-medical instrumentation is being revolutionized by microelectronics, which has already greatly affected instrument size, together with computer analysis of data such as differential analysis of EKG plots and X-rays.

New information processing concepts are leading to a new class of space instruments which will be small, many of which will have direct digital readout, and many of which will have an integrated data processing capability for pre-digestion of data on-board the spacecraft either in the instrument itself, or by means of a master multiprocessor.

Even our power systems will be affected by digital techniques of sampling and switching which will lead to better utilization and distribution of power on-board a spacecraft a very important and precious commodity in a self-contained environment. Space power research itself, is yielding excellent results which bode well for the 1970's. If we are to operate large predominantly electronic payloads in our future spacecraft, large power supplies will be needed for long term flight.

In the area of manned flight, high speed flight within or without the atmosphere will be possible only with computers. For computers can handle the detailed complex calculations which are not within the reaction time of the pilot or crew. We will see a trend toward a more central data processing with the human acting as the systems manager. Many in-flight failures will require corrective action within the reaction time of the human crew. With the aid of automatic information processing and central computers, we will be able to display to the pilot not only the failure mode but, at the same time, the corrective action taken by the computer.

Probably the greatest impact resulting from improved information processing techniques and large scale use of digital computers will be on overall systems concepts. The computer has already had a significant impact on systems and this impact will increase in even greater proportions in the future. In the past, systems engineers have largely come from the guidance and control disciplines since they had elements and nerve fibers of their systems in all parts of a flight vehicle. Now, all these tentacles coverage at the central computer which itself is able to inject some element of intelligence or at least logic. In the future, systems engineers will undoubtedy emerge to a significant degree from the computer disciplines since they will have access to and some control over all information on-board the spacecraft.

Therefore, it is important that those in or with aspirations for systems business, whether they be engineer, manager or organization must understand the usage, capabilities and potentialities of information handling tools available now, or just over the horizon.

Great momentum in the area of space research has been built up throughout this country and we must do all possible to preserve it. During this current decade, there has been a major strengthening of the university, government and industrial research base. We have seen strengthening of old-line NASA research centers and establishment of a new one. In fact, the impetus given to research of all kinds throughout this country, the uplifting of scientific achievement, the spark and imagination provided our youth, may prove to be the greatest impact of the space program in the 1960's.

For the most part space research has been accomplished by industry in close partnership with the government not only by direct contact but in terms of free exchange of information, plans and prospects. Appropriate guidance of industry concerning future plans is not only a proper governmental function in our technostructured society system but also results in a leverage factor against privately funded research. Companies investing their own research funds or orienting to future business provide a large research and technical base over and above what the government itself is funding. This leverage factor can be equal to or greater than federal support. For example, the microelectronics and digital computer industries have had the largest proportionate share of their business and interest oriented outside of space. Yet tremendous leverage for the benefit of the space program and the industry itself has been exerted by definitive requirements and close working rapport between industry and government.

However, government and particularly company-sponsored research must have goals to provide fertile ground for research seed. Industrial concerns must continue to see where we as a country are going in space so they can see their own relationship to national plans. Research planning has taken on increased significance particulalry for technically based companies, since it may determine their corporate direction for several years ahead. We must insure that industry interest is maintained and that space research will continue to be included in corporate plans by letting industry know what our national plans are.

If we are to realize the research promises of the 1960's, if we are to maintain the spark and momentum as we move into the 1970's, clear direction for our space program is called for in terms of goals and objectives. While recent concern has been centered on possible loss of Saturn V production, on the loss of thousands of workers per year from the space program, the loss of enthusiasm for space research and technology on the part of our scientists and engineers is of equal or greater concern. Together with the danger of loss of enthusiasm, is the coupled danger, perhaps even worse, of inheriting the second technical team while the first team moves off to greater and more rewarding challenges.

It is understandable that in these times of great national and international uncertainties we may not be ready to make any long-term schedule commitments. However, national long range priorities and objectives for the 70's will keep our research viable and focus our national efforts.

Advanced research for space has been treated well thus far in the Executive Department of the government and in Congress. Certainly industry and universities have in the past been responsive. But already the questions are being asked—what's the research for?—what specific plans do we have to achieve a payoff from our various research tasks and projects?—to what uses do we intend to put our research accomplishments?

In this day and age, there are many competing pressures, Viet Nam, urban unrest, coupled with a possible tax increase. Our national space effort must have well-defined future goals if it is to compete in this fiscal environment. These do not have to be once-in-a-lifetime goals such as a man-on-the-moon, but can and probably should be goals which will display substantial benefits to the American public. Space flight is mature enough at this point to withstand the scrutiny of economic analysis and cost effectiveness. In fact, I believe it would stand up well under these criteria. If we set forward well-defined goals and plans, we have a good possibility of continuing to maintain a strong national space program. If not, then we stand a chance of losing by default much of our gains to date, but even more important of not realizing our potential payoffs in the 70's.

In view of recent actions relative to this fiscal year's budget the time may have come to conduct a broadly-based review of our national space goals and objectives, resulting in five and preferably ten year plans and projections, with specific national priorities for the 70's. This review should include all public and quasi-public agencies involved or soon to be involved in space activities. For example, the growth of Department of Defense space activities has become a significant factor, currently funded at approximately $2 billion dollars a year. At this current rate it is possible that in the 1970's the Department of Defense will be the most heavily funded and active national agency in space.

Our country was launched on a large scale basis into space by the Space Act of 1958, a masterful piece of legislation which has withstood the test of time. Our national space program under this Act was started under conditions and assumptions which existed at that time. Because of long lead times, our space program has quite naturally maintained much of the same character since. However, a different world environment exists now, with markedly different internal and external pressures. Even quasi-legal questions concerning the relationship of private to public space endeavors are being raised by Congress in connection with federal research on direct broadcast satellites.

So the time has come for us to take a hard look at where we are going as we move into the 1970's. As a result of this look we should, as much as security permits, make known to the researcher, the technical planner, the corporate executive, the Congressman, and the general public our R&D objectives and performance requirements for the 1970's, possibly not associated with specific schedules but at least aligned by priority.

The word priority is one which, hopefully, will come into greater fashion in space research planning over the several years ahead. Without clearcut priorities we are forced to strike with the blunt instead of the sharp edge of the research blade. We are forced to cover as many bets as possible with the danger that we cover none of them well. We diffuse our research efforts so that less than optimum return on investment is often the result.

To achieve anywhere near the full impact possible from our research in the 1960's, direction is needed.

(1) It is needed to obtain a payoff from past and current research by channeling it into proper development paths for use in the 70's.

(2) It is needed to focus research planning and research project selection underway now in both government and industry if we are to keep up national enthusiasm and keep the first teams at work.

Our research impact from the 60's will be determined partly by the research which we have already accomplished to date. It's good and it's there. But the key to its impact for the 70's lies in how we exploit it and what focus we give it in the remaining years of this decade.

Tenth Anniversary of Leadership by Bishop John J. Russell, of the Diocese of Richmond, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, this month, Bishop John J. Russell, for whom I have admiration and affection, will mark his 10th year as the teacher and leader of the 260,000 Catholics in the diocese of Richmond.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the September issue of the Virginia Record which describes the impressive record of progress and growth of the diocese of Richmond under the leadership of Bishop Russell.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Bishop John J. Russell, A.M., S.T.D., LL.D, vigorous, white-haired head of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Richmond, enters this September upon his tenth year in that post. And in December he will be seventy years of age, a fact hard to grasp, for he looks younger by about a decade.

When I called on Bishop Russell at the Chancery, across Floyd Avenue from the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, he greeted me with characteristic warmth. His office, with tasteful decor, is on the second floor where he sits at a polished desk in front of well-filled bookshelves.

Bishop Russell looks every inch a Prince of the Church. He is not only patrician in appearance but gregarious and outgoing, with a twinkle in his clear gray eyes, and an exceptional sense of humor. The humor is not infrequently turned on himself.

He tells, for example, of the time when, as a young priest in his native Baltimore, he was instrumental in launching a series of street corner preaching services.

"We would stop at a corner, set up our little stand, and have a prayer," said the Bishop. "A few people would gather 'round, and then we'd begin preaching. Just as we would be getting well into that, and thinking that we had gotten the interest of the group, a bus would come along and our audience would all jump aboard. I'm afraid we converted very few."

Bishop Russell is aware that he has been described in the press as a descendant of Lord Baltimore, of the famous Roman Catholic Calvert family of Maryland, pioneers in the cause of religious freedom. The Bishop says this is incorrect, and that he is no relation of the Calverts, although his forebears did come to Maryland in the 1660's, where they took part in the work of the Lords Baltimore.

The Bishop's family in this century has been extremely prominent in the American Church. His uncle, the late William T. Russell, was Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston, S.C., for ten years (1917–1927), a post which he himself occupied a generation later for eight years, immediately prior to his coming to Richmond nine years ago. His brother is the Rt. Rev. Msgr. W. Joyce Russell of St. Catherine Labouré Church, Washington, D.C. His father, the late John W. Russell, was a prominent layman in Baltimore. He has two sisters, Miss Mary J. Russell and Mrs. Charles E. Kimmel, both of Baltimore.

In the Diocese of Richmond—which includes most of Virginia and eight West Virginia counties—Bishop Russell is carrying on in the great tradition of an early occupant of that office, Bishop James Gibbons, later Cardinal Gibbons. As the young Bishop of North Carolina, in the years immediately following the Civil War, James Gibbons created a fine and cordial relationship between the few Catholics in North Carolina and the large body of Protestants. He was invited to preach to his communicants in courthouses, Masonic Lodge rooms and Protestant churches. When Bishop Gibbons was transferred to the Richmond Diocese in 1872, where he remained five years, he maintained the same sort of friendly communication with the Protestant community.

Such is the approach of Bishop Russell, in more modern times and under quite different circumstances. In addition to the fact that he is normally a man, concerned for the total community, companionable and civic-minded, the influence upon him of the late Pope John XXIII has been profound.

The Ecumenical Movement which Pope John set in motion, and which has had such enormous impact around the world, has served greatly to motivate not only all Catholics but many Protestants, as well. Pope John's example of promoting interfaith cordiality and understanding, combined with the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States, and President Kennedy's record in office, have had the effect of eliminating many of the frictions and misunderstandings that formerly kept Catholics and Protestants apart. It is gratifying to be able to predict that there can never be another presidential election in this country such as occurred in 1928. In that contest, the candidacy of Gov. Alfred E. Smith of New York provoked such outbursts of intolerance as had seldom, if ever, been seen before in the United States.

Bishop Russell is greatly admired in the Protestant community. This is the result, in part of his charming personality, but also of his desire that Catholics participate in community affairs to the maximum degree. For instance, he sees no reason why there should be a Catholic organization of war veterans. "Catholic veterans should join such organizations as the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars," says the Bishop, "and not have separate organizations of their own."

He makes it a point to accept invitations to address Protestant and Jewish groups throughout his diocese. This represents something of a new departure for Bishops of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond, as Bishop Russell himself recognizes. When addressing the Men's Club of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Richmond he said on the point: "Ten years ago, I would not have been invited to address your club, and if I had been invited, I would not have accepted."

In 1963, Bishop Russell, in an unprecedented move, entertained a group of Protestant clergymen in Alexandria who were members of the Protestant-Catholic dialogue groups in that area, as well as Protestant clergymen from Virginia who had attended a retreat for Catholics and Protestants at Woodstock, Md., the previous summer.

In other words, a well nigh complete transformation in Catholic-Protestant relationships has taken place, thanks largely to Pope John and the Ecumenical Movement.

Bishop Russell frequently stresses the importance of interfaith understanding. Speaking at Centenary Methodist Church, Richmond, for example, he emphasized that Catholics and Protestants have many beliefs in common.

"We should bear in mind how numerous these are," the Bishop told his audience, "and seek to draw more closely together. Of course, there are some points on which we are still in disagreement. Consider our belief in the infallibility of the Pope. That's your problem. We like it, you know!"

A further example of the growing degree of cooperation is seen in the enthusiastic participation of Catholic prelates and laymen in the affairs of the Virginia Branch of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Twenty years ago, there was hardly any Catholic participation in NCCJ activities, but this has increased to the point where the Catholics are bulwarks of the organization. In recent years, the Richmond Branch of NCCJ has given an annual Brotherhood Awards to an outstanding member of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths. Bishop Russell was the Catholic who received this accolade in 1964 for "a lifetime of devotion to the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God."

On that occasion he not only made appropriately serious remarks in accepting the scroll, but he also told an amusing story in which he described his barber cutting his thinning hair and provided him, therefore, with certain "fringe benefits."

Bishop Russell is not only an inspiring religious leader but an effective administrator who could have made a conspicuous successs in business, had he decided upon a business career.

"He has a great business head," says an associate.

The record of progress and growth for the Diocese of Richmond during the past nine years, since Bishop Russell succeeded his life-long friend, the late Bishop Peter L. Ireton, is impressive.

For one thing, the Catholic population has reached about 260,000, or approximately double the figure of ten years before. Richmond's first Catholic Hospital, St. Mary's, was dedicated last year, with a potential capacity of 300 beds. St. John Vianney, a minor seminary, was opened in 1960 on an 85-acre tract in Goochland County.

Nineteen new parishes have been added since 1958, as well as about twenty new churches, fifteen convents and four hospital additions, plus two new secondary schools in Alexandria and one in Middleburg. Furthermore, parish-oriented high schools have been consolidated into regional high schools and the Diocesan School Board has been reorganized. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which provides religious education for children not enrolled in the diocesan school system, has jumped its enrollment from 9,000 in 1959 to over 36,000 today. Newman Clubs provide Catholic Centers for 5,400 Catholic students enrolled in thirty-one colleges in the diocese. A full-time campus center is maintained at the University of Virginia, and each college has a priest-director, while Mission Helpers and Trinitarian Sisters assist in the work.

Similar progress was made by the Diocese of Charleston under Bishop Russell's leadership. Total population of the diocese almost doubled in eight years, the number of priests jumped from 102 to 121 and the number of Sisters from 230 to 348. It was announced in 1956 that during the previous six years, churches, schools and other structures had been erected at an average of one building a month.

But Bishop Russell is far from being a mere dynamic automaton who leads his parishioners in the putting together of bricks and mortar. He is a man of great human sympathy and compassion, whose primary concern is for the spiritual welfare of his flock. Of course, he is also anxious to promote their material and physical well being.

An associate tells of accompanying him on an automobile trip, and of seeing a wreck on the side of the road. The Bishop directed that his car stop at once. He jumped out and rushed across the highway to the wreck, to see if anyone had been badly hurt, and if he could help.

The Bishop is a most unassuming man, who is not at all impressed with his own importance. For instance, instead of sending a priest to bring him a cup of coffee to his car, he will go himself into a restaurant and sit down at the counter with ordinary citizens. Such characteristics endear him to members of all faiths.

His sense of humor and lack of ostentation are such that he can take it in stride when something untoward happens during a religious ceremony. On one important ceremonial occasion, he was engaged in blessing his parents, and he learned over and put his arms around his mother. This was simply to show his affection, and also to give Mrs. Russell a feeling of security, since she had cataracts and could not see well. But as the Bishop leaned over, his mitre fell off. This shocked some of the dignitaries present, but it didn't bother Bishop Russell. He reached over and picked up his mitre, put it back on his head, and proceeded with the service.

Where interracial relationships and legislation for the relief of colored citizens are concerned, Bishop Russell is unreservedly liberal in his views. He has repeatedly urged upon Congress the passage of bills to correct existing inequities. For instance, he declared in 1964 that "millions of Americans from all parts of the nation consider the passage of a strong, just, civil rights bill as a moral obligation."

In a letter read at all masses in the Richmond Diocese, the Bishop noted that Catholics "cannot fail to recognize the right of Negro people to secure proper housing, equal opportunity for work, full participation in educational facilities, both public and private, and the right to equal accommodation both on public property and within those enterprises licensed and protected by the state for the service of the general public."

Early this year, he joined Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore and fifteen other Catholic clergymen in asking for United States Supreme Court to outlaw state bans on intermarriage. The position of the group was that marriage is a fundamental act of Protestantism, orthodox Christianity and Judaism, which may not be legally restricted by the state without a showing that it endangers society."

Now that the Supreme Court has ruled unanimously in accordance with the petition of Bishop Russell and his associates, he explains that he certainly does not wish to encourage interracial marriages, "any more than I would encourage people of different religions to 'marry.' " But he believes "in the inherent right of a person to marry another person who happens to be a member of a different race."

Bishop Russell's experience in earlier days as director of Catholic Charities for the Archdiocese of Washington gave him an insight into the problems of the poor. He made an outstanding record in that office, and has always been concerned for the underprivileged and the dispossessed.

On his first official visit to the State Penitentiary in Richmond, the Bishop's down-to-earth personality attracted the attention of the inmates.

"If you have any trouble with the chaplain, just give me a call," he jokingly told one of the prisoners.

Just before going into the service which he conducted for Catholics and others who might wish to attend, he turned to Superintendent W. F. Smyth and said thoughtfully:

"After all, in here are just the sinners who've been caught. The rest of us are still outside."

Bishop Russell has visited Rome some ten times, including attendance at all four sessions of the Ecumenical Council. He was ordained in the Holy City in 1923 by his uncle, the late Bishop William T. Russell.

As a result of his numerous stays in Rome, he speaks Italian fairly well, and he conversed with Pope John XXIII in that language on one of his trips. While the Bishop contends that his Italian is not too good, he says it was approximately on a par with Pope John's English.

Latin is, naturally, one of Bishop Russell's major languages. He has also studied Greek and Hebrew.

He feels, however, that the ecumenical decision to offer the Mass in English rather than Latin was a great forward step, and one calculated to bring the service much closer to the people. Similarly the decision to have the priest face the congregation, instead of following the ancient custom of turning his back, tends to achieve the same result. With the clergy conducting the services in audible and comprehensible English, instead of largely inaudible and incomprehensible Latin, it is believed that priests and people will be brought into much closer *rapport*. The reform will go into effect as soon as adequate translations of the Cannon of the Mass from the Latin can be readied.

Another far-reaching achievement of the Ecumenical Council was the worldwide effect which it had in drawing members of all faiths more closely together. Speaking on this point Bishop Russell said on one occasion, after his return to this country:

"The document on Christian Unity recommends meetings in which experts of different faiths can explain their beliefs. It recognizes that Catholics must be concerned with the welfare of their Christian brethren by joint participation in all good works."

He added that the Catholic Church now has a renewed awareness of its common heritage with "our Jewish brothers"—a faith in "one true, all-holy and personal God."

"If Christianity is a tree," said the Bishop, "it has its roots in Judaism."

Bishop Russell was one of the speakers at the Ecumenical Council in Rome in 1963. His address came during a discussion of a chapter in *De Ecclesia* which deals with the concept that all in the Church should strive for holiness in their personal lives. However, he emphasized the desirability of stressing the "essential sanctity" of the Church before examining the personal conduct of its members. He concluded with the customary Latin word *Dixi*, meaning "I have spoken."

Discussing this word on his return to Richmond, the Bishop told newsmen, "It sounds like Dixie, but I didn't let out a rebel yell."

Asked to compare and contrast Popes John XXIII, and Paul VI, Bishop Russell spoke in great admiration of both men.

"Pope John was especially outgoing and approachable," said the Bishop. "He was more responsible than any other individual for the successful worldwide ecumenical movement."

Describing his audience with this greatly beloved Pope, Bishop Russell said:

"He spoke simply and informally and could engage in small talk, but he was no lightweight. You might say that the Holy Father was down-to-earth. He was easy to talk with and had a constant twinkle in his eye."

Asked about Pope Paul VI, Bishop Russell again expressed great admiration, especially for the Holy Father's intellectual qualities.

"He is perhaps not so outgoing as Pope John" said the Bishop, although, he is cordial to everyone. He is especially accomplished as a linguist. Pope Paul is doing a great work in promoting the ideals and objectives of the Church."

One of his major purposes is to promote and extend ecumenism, and thereby to increase interfaith cordiality. Bishop Russell is hopeful that this trend can be made more and more meaningful throughout the world.

He mentioned the presence at the various sessions of the Ecumenical Council in Rome of scores of Protestant leaders from this and other countries, who were given much better seats in St. Peter's than most of the Catholic dignitaries, and expressed their gratitude for courtesies and assistance afforded them. Among these Protestant leaders was the Rev. John Newton Thomas, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, who derived great pleasure and profit from attending one of the sessions.

Bishop Russell made special reference to the impressive spirit of unity between Pope Paul and Greek Orthodox Patriarch Athenagoras I. The two dignitaries issued a joint statement of regret for offenses done by their respective churches to each other over the centuries.

Bishop Russell is frank in discussing such subjects as birth control, abortion and sterilization. Quite naturally he is governed in these matters by the official position of his Church.

He says that if the medical men and other scientists can come up with a pill which makes the rhythm method of family planning more efficient, he sees no objection. This would simply be a more reliable way of using a method which already has the official approval of the Church. However, he does not look with favor on the prevention of conception by chemical or mechanical means.

Abortion he describes flatly as "murder," and he is opposed to its legalization under all circumstances.

As for sterilization, he does not feel that anybody has a right to have, or to perform, such an operation unless it is essential to health. Otherwise it is "completely unacceptable, as thwarting God's purpose."

Bishop Russell describes sterilization laws as permitting "the multilation of human beings, the taking of those who were created in God's image, and treating them like brutes, like cattle, to save money."

The Bishop is a strong believer in religious liberty, i.e. he feels that no one should be coerced into accepting a given religion, or forced to worship in a manner which he does not approve.

"No state or government has the right to keep people from practicing their religion, as long as they do not hurt anyone else," he declares. Such sentiments are in harmony with the views of the Calverts of Maryland, with whom the Bishop's forebears worked in the seventeenth century.

As the speaker at the annual Roman Catholic Red Mass in Washington, D.C., on January 26, 1964, Bishop Russell expressed sentiments similar to the above. President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Chief Justice Earl Warren and other top government officials and diplomats heard the Bishop say on that occasion:

"From the days of our founding fathers in all our legal institutions our law has been committed to fostering religion as the source and fountainhead of public morality . . .

"There is here no question of union of Church and State. Thank God, our Constitution forbids the state setting up or favoring any particular form of religion. But that separation of Church and State, which we all cherish in our country, never meant the divorce of government from religion or the separation of law from morality . . .

"But now, in our day, there has emerged a new philosophy of conduct begetting a lowering of moral standards. There is today in America a widespread belief in the nation at large that the government should be neutral concerning religion or non-religion—should be neutral and indifferent to the presence or absence of faith in the hearts of the people . . . Let us hope that the progress of this purely pragmatic and opportunistic philosophy will be checked and that there will be a renewal in the minds reflected in the conduct of our people, of an abiding appreciation of those unchanging moral values taught by all religions as the common duties of children of the same Eternal Father."

Bishop Russell is kept busy directing the affairs of his large diocese. When he was in Charleston, he relaxed in a small cottage on Sullivan's Island, a few miles offshore from the city. Here in Richmond he has a cottage at St. John Vianney in Goochland County. He exercises by swimming and by walking. He is a powerful and fast walker, and much younger men have a hard time keeping up with him. His most frequent route is from his office in the Chancery, or his residence just behind the Cathedral, down into the business district and back.

For the Bishop, another form of relaxation is painting. He inclines toward portraits, and tends to minimize his ability, but he has definite talent. He is aghast at some of the ultramodern forms of art, and is quite unable to find anything beautiful in what he terms "meaningless blobs that don't look like anything," or in burlap bags, smashed cellos or pendant metal coat hangers. He is equally aghast at the unwashed and slovenly artists who perpetrate such excrescences, and who seem to delight in living and working in dirt, surrounded by empty beer cans.

Bishop Russell is essentially a modest man who never takes himself too seriously. For example, when he returned from one of the Ecumenical sessions in Rome, he telephoned to Richmond from New York to ask that somebody meet him at the airport. There was no question that he would be met. Plans already had been completed to have some two hundred and fifty persons on hand, including cheerleaders from St. Patrick's Central High School, who greeted him with glad shouts, and the Cathedral Boys' Choir, who serenaded him from the edge of the runway.

Bishop Russell's modesty also is shown in his simple mode of dress and life. There is nothing ostentatious about his episcopal residence or its furnishings. His dress is equally unpretentious, and he is sparing in his use of jewelry. In late years, indeed, the ring he has worn most of the time is the inexpensive one given by Pope Paul to him and to each of the 2,500 other Catholic prelates who attended the Ecumenical Councils.

As Bishop John Joyce Russell enters this month upon his tenth year as the inspiring pastor, teacher and guide for 260,000 Catholics in the Diocese of Richmond, their admiration and their affection are his in full measure. He also occupies a special place in the hearts of members of other faiths in this state and region, for few leaders of any denomination have so endeared themselves to non-Catholics.

In truth, it may be said for Bishop Russell, in the Words of Holy Scripture:

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.

We Are Winning in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following frontline report from Vietnam by Joseph Alsop appeared in the Washington Post this morning. I commend it to the attention of every American and to some of my colleagues in the Congress:

Vast Gains in Vietnam War Evident in Last Few Months

(By Joseph Alsop)

Bongson, Binhdinh Province, South Vietnam.—There is one great advantage in being an intermittent reporter of this ugly war. You see the contrasts between then and now. And here in the richest of all Vietnam's coastal provinces, the chosen domain of the magnificent First Air Cavalry Division, this contrast between then and now is all but incredible.

"Stalemate" is a favorite word, much parroted by the people at home who are so articulate about this war without knowing anything about it. In order to learn what kind of stalemate we have in Vietnam, these people might well join the Air Cavalry's favorite enemy, the 3d North Vietnamese Division, which once held all of Binhdinh in an iron grip.

This 3d Division used to be a mixed outfit, with one South Vietnamese regiment, the 2d V.C., and two regiments of other regulars, the 8th and the 22d. It was a superb fighting outfit, too.

I remember vividly when the Air Cavalry first swooped down on Bongson in early 1966 for the masher operation. In those days, beyond the barbed wire surrounding the Bongson district chief's headquarters, the whole countryside belonged to the enemy. And the 3d North Vietnamese Division was so supremely confident that it had its divisional and regimental headquarters cosily installed in towns and villages on Binhdinh's open rice plains. Why not, indeed? For in 1965, they had successfully attacked Binhdinh's capital city, Quinhon.

In those days, our troops could not venture two kilometers out of Bongson town without running into a battalion—or regiment-size fight. The enemy suffered very heavily, but then the Air Cavalry were called away for other missions, the 3d North Vietnamese Division refitted, filled the gaps in its ranks, and resumed its way over most of Binhdinh—although now the headquarters were prudently removed to remote mountain fastnesses, far from the crucial rice plains.

I was here again a year ago, when the Air Cavalry had come to stay. Then plans were already afoot for Operation Irving, to be conducted jointly with the grim, methodical South Koreans.

This was in fact one of the two turning point battles of the war to date—to be compared only with the great battle in the Iadrang Valley. Characteristically, one of the greatest newspapers in America patronizingly reported that the enemy main body had never been engaged, but in fact all three regiments of the 3d North Vietnamese Division were torn to shreds, and the way was thus opened for the resumption of government control over the whole southern half of Binhdinh.

After Irving, the chase of the 3d Division was relentlessly continued. Hence, when I again came here six months ago, the 2d V.C. Regiment and the 22d North Vietnamese Regiment had fled north, into what was then the Marine area of operations, to replace and refit in relative peace and quiet.

Captured documents indicated that the 18th North Vietnamese Regiment would have fled as well, if the Binhdinh Communist Party committee had not protested bitterly that at least one unit of the 3d Division must stay behind to show the flag. The unfortunate 18th Regiment could not show the flag very boldly, however, since its entire strength was then no more than 600 men.

In May and early June, the 18th received numerous infiltrator-replacements from the north. It was ordered into battle and in 3 summer engagements—one with South Vietnamese troops—its three battalions were again torn to shreds. A captured document shows that in August one of the 18th's battalions was at one third strength, with only 192 men.

Meanwhile, in their places of refuge, the 2d V.C. Regiment was transformed, for want of southern recruits, into a basically North Vietnamese regiment by some hundreds of replacements from North Vietnam. The 22d was also fleshed out. But the refit of both regiments was sadly incomplete, probably because of the successive destruction by the Navy coast watch of two North Vietnamese trawlers, each carrying arms for two full regiments.

Thus a recent high-ranking deserter described one battalion of the 2d V.C. Regiment as armed with an 80-millimeter mortar with eight rounds of ammunition, two 57-millimeter recoilless rifles with six to eight rounds per gun, nine B-40 rocket launchers with three rounds per launcher, and hardly enough small arms ammunition to maintain a fight for an hour.

As these words are written, what is left of the 18th Regiment is in the iron claws of the South Koreans in the Phucat Massif. The plight of one battalion of the 22d Regiment, trapped in the Anlao Valley by the Air Cavalry, has already been described.

The other units of the 3d Division are now lurking in the mountains, not operating in battalion or even company strength, merely sending foraging parties down into the plain to seek food—for all are very hungry and some are on one third rations. And the hunt continues.

One must admire this famous 3d North Vietnamese Division for its resiliency and courage. But it has been like a spring that loses some resiliency each time it is pushed back. And the wonderfully persistent Koreans and the men of the Air Cavalry are unanimously convinced, for the first time, that the spring can be broken for good and all by continuing the hunt for a few months more.

Quality and Morale of the Career Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, many of us have been concerned about the quality and morale of the career Foreign Service. Recently the senior career officer of the Service, Deputy Under Secretary of State, Foy Kohler, gave an address that recognizes a hopeful new spirit in the Foreign Service, particularly among activist younger officers. It is my hope that Ambassador Kohler's observations that the Foreign Service's younger officers have a desire "to lead and participate in the future" will contribute to the needed strengthening of the Foreign Service. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Speech by Hon. Foy D. Kohler, Deputy Under Secretary of State, Before the American Foreign Service Association, September 28, 1967

I am, of course, flattered to have been asked to undertake a second term as President of your Association. I think the next several years will be important ones for the Association, and am pleased to have been elected to serve with a group of officers whose professional reputations are excellent and who have already demonstrated something of the energies and imagination they will bring to the conduct of the Association's affairs.

When members of the group told me in early July of their "activist" plans, my reaction was that it was about time someone cared enough about the Association to make a run for office. It has seemed to me for some years past now that an ingredient too frequently absent from the affairs of both the Association and the Foreign Service Officer corps was a sense of passion, of caring deeply about matters of importance and daring to do something about them. Dr. Argyris informs us that passion is not regarded as a virtue among Type A's: if such is the case, perhaps we are beginning to learn from the Type B's.

I am also pleased by an attitude I think I detect among the members of the new Board of Directors—and perhaps more generally among the younger members of the three principal foreign services. I refer to an inclination to look the world straight in the eye, take its measure without flinching or equivocation and to respond to its challenges. There is something *more* than a response involved, though: it appears to be a predisposition to lead, to participate in the shaping of the future. This is an attitude that has not been much with us since the end of World War II, when the Foreign Service Officer corps last participated actively and positively in shaping its own future. At that time the Association, through its Board of Directors, played a major role in developing and promoting the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

In the wake of World War I, Paul Valery wrote that "We hope vaguely; we dread precisely." For many years now, I think the Association and the Foreign Service Officer corps, at least, have had very precise ideas about what they dreaded—and most of all we have given the appearance of dreading change. I believe the time has come, however, when we must face up to our problems and spell our hopes out as clearly and simply as we have spelled out our fears. The portents of change are many: the actions and statements of the Congress this past summer suggest a predisposition to consider new ways to conduct foreign affairs; rumblings in the Bureau of the Budget, the Civil Service Commission and elsewhere in the Executive Branch suggest unhappiness with the manner in which the foreign affairs community is now organized; and, finally, the continuing debate in the pages of the "Foreign Service Journal" and the dialogue junior officers have opened in the past year with their seniors suggest an inclination to consider new ways of doing tasks which are sometimes old and sometimes new.

I think, then, that we owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the retiring Board of Directors for having had the foresight to establish a Planning Committee whose only charge was to look into the future and suggest possible changes in the Association's course. The Planning Committee's report was submitted to the retiring Board, which has had it printed in the September issue of the "Foreign Service Journal" together with a request that the membership make known its reactions. I think we also owe a debt of gratitude to the retiring Board for having enlarged and widened the membership of the Career Principles Committee. While it has not yet submitted an interim report on its work this year, I am told that it has been wrestling for some months with the kinds of problems on which the Association may have to take reasoned positions in the near future if the portents of change should be borne out. I have in mind such questions as: how best to organize the agencies of foreign affairs to facilitate the conduct of our foreign policies; are present personnel systems adequate?; and so on.

I shall leave these last questions for subsequent discussion—although they raise issues which the membership must begin to discuss intelligently and urgently. Instead, I shall focus this noon on the narrower question of the activities the Association might undertake in the coming months. I do so in an attempt to further the dialogue begun with the publication of the Planning Committee report, and in order to invite your participation in debate.

While we are waiting for your opinions, I will say that the incoming officers and Board of Directors strongly endorse the general goals set out in the Planning Committee report, which recommended that: ". . . the Association must concentrate in the years immediately ahead on the essential tasks of becoming an organization with a serious intellectual base and an active—even combative—concern for the people at the heart of foreign affairs, regardless of their agency affiliation." The Report went on to suggest that: "Should it succeed in these tasks, the Association may attract to active membership the many who now stand aloof from the Association and may also elicit greater understanding and support from those in American society who have a special interest in the conduct of foreign affairs."

While our time today precludes a discussion of all of the specific recommendations made by the Planning Committee, I do think you will be interested in the progress the incoming Board has made with respect to some of them. I chose the following examples both because they suggest the directions in which the Board hopes to work and because the progress in each case highlights the somewhat surprising extent to which others may be willing to support us in new departures.

The Planning Committee recommended that the Association undertake to become "the seed-bed of new ideas and insights in foreign affairs." To this end it suggested an extensive—and potentially quite expensive—series of seminars and colloquia which would bring together officers of the foreign services, academics, professionals and businessmen to consider new approaches to old problems—in effect, to examine the unconventional wisdom, to borrow Professor Galbraith's phrase, and in general, to provide a forum for the examination of the substance and techniques of foreign affairs with particular emphasis on the new and untried. To dramatize this attempt to break new ground, the Planning Committee recommended a series of substantial cash awards. The Board has altered one of these recommendations: instead of offering pre-doctoral fellowships to graduate students, it now proposes to make it possible for members of the Association to take leave without pay to undertake critical or creative contributions to the literature and thought of foreign affairs.

I think the Board hopes that the result will be more contributions such as Bill Eagleton's book on the Kurdish Republic of 1946, Isaiah Frank's thoughts about the Common Market, and Fisher Howe's contemplation of the computer. We hope to make it possible for five to ten members of the Association to withdraw temporarily from active duty for this purpose every year. It seems to us that this will fill an obvious void in present training programs, which are very much job-related, and which don't often afford the participant the opportunity to make a more basic contribution either to his own thoughts or to the sum of human knowledge.

Obviously, these proposals will involve very heavy expenses and a much heavier administrative burden for the Association—burdens which we are not now prepared to meet. Our very rough preliminary estimate is that they will require a capitalization of several millions of dollars, or the equivalent in recurring annual gifts of operating income. Based on very preliminary contacts with a few potential institutional donors, the new Board believes there will be enthusiastic support for this kind of program. In addition, it is a very distinct pleasure to announce that Governor Harriman, our most senior and distinguished career diplomat, has assigned to the Association the sum of $5,000 that he received as an honorarium from *Look* Magazine for his contribution to the current issue commemorating the Russian Revolution. The funds are a first step toward capitalizing an award recommended by the Planning Committee: that is, an award of $1,000 to be given each year to an outstanding junior officer serving in the foreign affairs community.

I should note that the new Board has had interested reactions in several quarters—including one of the most prestigious Eastern universities—to the possibility that the Association and other organizations might cosponsor the kinds of seminars that the Planning Committee had in mind. The Board will be moving rapidly in the coming weeks to develop the kinds of detailed proposals with which it can solicit firm support. We would welcome your suggestions of possible seminar topics or of the criteria for these awards and fellowships.

Turning for the moment from problems of the mind, I may say to you that I am greatly taken by the Planning Committee's recommendation that the Association have a "combative concern for the people at the heart of foreign affairs, regardless of their agency affiliation." We have made a good start in this direction during the past year: as you know, the Association testified before the Congress in behalf of the principle of comparability in pay; we have actively supported a proposal that employees of the Agency for International Development be brought under the Foreign Service retirement fund; and we are now actively supporting a bill before the Congress which would give employees of the United States Information Agency career status.

These, however, are what I would call *reactive* positions, taken in the wake of a decision already make. I would hope that the Association could do more. I think, for example, that the Planning Committee recommendation that the Association develop positions on matters of welfare and communicate them regularly to members and committees of Congress is a good one. I would hope, too, that the Association might develop the kind of independence and vigor which would suggest to the agencies involved that it would be politic to consult with the Association before undertaking major changes in administration and personnel policies.

In addition, I am delighted that the Planning Committee recommended that the Association undertake the role of advocate for those in the foreign services who have professional problems. I hope that the standing Committee on Welfare will play this role actively, and that the membership will come to recognize this mechanism as useful. My own experience suggests to me that the errors a large organization commits with regard to its employees are more frequently errors of omission than of commission, of style rather than substance. Hence, I hope that the agencies in foreign affairs will regard the advocate as being in their interests, too.

Throughout the Planning Committee report you will note a concern that the Association develop the kind of independence which would enable it to act effectively in behalf of its membership. I understand that it was in this spirit that the report suggested exploration of the extent to which some formal ties with, for example, the National Federation of Professional Organizations or the American Federation of Government Employees might be desirable and useful. The new Board has already begun exploratory talks with these two organizations, and with others, and has tentatively concluded that it is very much in the Association's interest to cooperate with these similar organizations and that we can do so actively without undertaking more formal ties.

I am concerned, as I know the new Board of Directors is concerned, that increased interest in the welfare of the membership not degenerate into the kind of "What's in it for me?" attitude which so clearly characterizes the postal unions. For basically, the first concern of our Association must always be the definition and maintenance of the highest standards of professional capabilities and performance, the promotion of high morale among our members and the demonstration of an unquestionable dedication to the national interest.

Toward these ends, the Association can serve as a goad to the agencies in foreign affairs in the largest and most constructive sense. We should be prepared to offer new ideas and new techniques to replace what we regard as inadequate or outmoded: we should be in a position—as the Association frequently has not in the past—to offer the useful and creative alternative. The bureaucracy has few visions: it should be our task as an Association to have those visions and to communicate them to our agencies for implementation. I might just add in this connection that the new Board intends to make active use of the editorial pages of the "Foreign Service Journal."

Finally, I think that we should consider a few problems of organization.

Not least of these, and by all odds the most pressing, is the question of what your new Board is to do with the recently-purchased building. Most of you who responded to the original questionnaire seeking your views as to the facilities you would like to see in the new building expressed interest in some type of club. Most of you will have now received a second questionnaire which asks you to commit yourself to membership by late October. The new Board's problem, quite frankly, is that a club is expensive both to equip and to operate. I would be surprised if the costs of setting up the club came to less than $150,000. Since it is clear that we cannot expect to amortize these costs from operating revenues, we need your commitment of support if we are to proceed. Without it, the new Board may simply have to decide against any type of social facility.

Two other serious and sensitive problems are also before us. One, to which the new Board is committed by its campaign statements, is reform of the present election process to insure more direct elections and—hopefully—more consistently active leadership. The other problem is that of membership. The trend in the Association over the past several years has been to broaden the membership base beyond the Foreign Service Officer corps to include foreign service officers from AID and USIA. The basic question now before us, I think, is whether we wish to broaden the category of active membership still further to include all of those government employees participating in the conduct of foreign affairs, or whether we wish to retain the distinction between those who serve abroad and those who serve at home.

This is a complicated question and one which, quite obviously, has implications considerably beyond the narrow problem of membership in the Association. Our response to this question will suggest quite strongly our *present* attitude toward the kinds of integration of the domestic and foreign services which began with the Rogers Act and continued with the Hays Bill. My own view, and that of the Board of Directors, is that the distinctions between the kinds of skills and personal qualities required at home and abroad are disappearing with breathtaking speed, and that differences of appellation and administration based on this kind of distinction are increasingly artificial and irrelevant. I hope that you will consider this problem very carefully; and I hope, too, that the Career Principles Committee will soon be in a position to share with us the results of its own deliberations on this matter.

In any event, both the problem of electoral reform and changes in membership categories—if any—will require amendment of the by-laws. The new Board is now thinking tentatively of holding a second general business meeting in the Winter, both so that we can inform you of our progress and so that we can submit to your judgment various amendments to the by-laws. Since both questions—that of elections and that of membership—are likely to be complicated and controversial, I hope that you will give them careful thought in the intervening months. Your ideas on both subjects would be welcomed by the Board.

In conclusion, I would like to say again how impressed I am both with the quality of the spadework done by the retiring Board and with the willingness and ability of the new Board to move ahead with energy and imagination to face the problems of the future. If, indeed, the winds of change are blowing in Washington, then I think the Association may be in a fair way to put forward our thoughts and advance our interests; in the process, I hope, however, that we shall also keep in mind the public interest. This, after all, is what our oaths of office are all about!

FCC Ruling Sets Bad Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, recently the Federal Communications Commission ruled that radio and television stations broadcasting cigarette advertisements must provide free time to opponents of smoking. This ruling has been characterized as an extension of the "fairness doctrine" in broadcasting and now provides an unpredictable precedent for advertisers using air time.

I believe it is important that Members of both bodies be aware of this new FCC order and that the people have an opportunity to debate the pros and cons of this complex issue. The impact of the ruling is not yet clear, but it appears to have the potential of dramatically altering the content of public broadcasting—and not necessarily for the better.

Many broadcasters have expressed concern over the ramifications of the Commission's order. Does it mean that anti-soft-drink groups concerned about the possibility of harm to teeth from soft drinks are to be given free TV time to express their views? This far-reaching FCC action may well come to affect the daily lives of every citizen of the country, and I hope that full public debate will be stimulated through widespread awareness of the ruling—debate which can uncover whatever dangers may be hidden in such a ruling.

To encourage this open discussion, I am inserting the following thoughtful editorial comment from the Flint Journal of June 8, 1967:

On Cigarettes: FCC Ruling Sets Bad Precedent

Perhaps, someday, radio and television stations will be required to grant free air time to Ralph Nader, the auto safety enthusiast, to rebut commercials showing shiny new automobiles.

This isn't as unlikely as it sounds. The precedent has been set.

The Federal Communications Commission has ruled that TV and radio stations must provide free time for the other side of the cigarette-smoking issue—the health-hazard side.

This came about largely because a lawyer decided that commercials showing healthy young people enjoying a smoke were not fair to the public. He filed a complaint with the FCC for "roughly approximate" time.

The FCC did not specify how much time stations must grant anti-smoking programs, but left it to the "good faith and reasonable judgment" of individual broadcasters.

The FCC ruling could be argued on that point alone, because it puts stations in an extremely difficult position of deciding how much and when, and wondering if they will be hauled before the commission. It sounds downright unworkable.

But the whole concept bothers us more. It is still quite legal to manufacture, vend and smoke cigarettes. Until it is made otherwise, such a ruling by the FCC can be regarded as discriminatory and unfair.

We agree that in the long run smoking can be detrimental to health. But we believe it is up to each individual to decide whether to give up smoking.

And we suspect that even if the FCC's new ruling is observed faithfully it will prove to be a rather futile educational tool. It is difficult to imagine a program on the evils of smoking achieving a very high viewer rating—except, perhaps, among those already convinced.

Mutual Fund Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "The Case for Realistic Compensation in the Mutual Fund Industry" be printed in the Appendix of the Record. This view of the mutual fund industry was prepared by Walter M. Fischer, executive vice president of Steadman Security Corp., whose president and board chairman, Mr. Charles W. Steadman, testified on these matters before the Committee on Banking and Currency on August 15, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Case for Realistic Compensation in the Mutual Fund Industry

(By Walter M. Fischer, executive vice president, Steadman Security Corp.)

While comparisons at best are odious, they are frequently necessary, and in the case at point we must compare mutual funds with another "necessity" highly successful because techniques coupled with the benefits and security it has given the public. Life insurance is more than 100 years old and generally considered a "necessity" by the vast majority of the public. The concept of life insurance is simple—it guarantees the economic security (dollars) should the head of the household die too soon—before he could accumulate this economic security from his income—and one has but to look at the annual sales and increase of life insurance in force to know the need has been acknowledged by the public. Yet over 400,000 life insurance agents in the U.S. will attest "life insurance must be sold—it is not bought."

To the life insurance industry our nation has a debt of gratitude. Without it we would be faced with higher taxes to provide greater assistance to survivors. This remarkable accomplishment, it must be noted however, has been achieved without Federal regulations to impede its progress in serving mankind.

A century ago the most acute problem was economic survival of families bereft of the wage earner. This problem exists today, but to at lesser degree—for man is living longer—and of equal importance is the problem of providing for oneself after the earning years. Just as life insurance provided for dying too soon—so, mutual funds have provided a means to accumulate, compound earnings and appreciate the value of dollars set aside during earning years.

PROBLEM RECOGNITION

The public recognizes its problems—they acknowledge the need for investment—the growth of net assets invested in all areas including mutual funds bears witness to this fact. But, let no one think for one moment that investments are bought—they must be sold and sold and resold! This herculean task of bringing the message to the public, this profession of understanding and explaining the ways and means of providing, protecting and possibly enhancing dollars for a person's financial future is the lot of less than 10% of all the life insurance agents in the U.S. today. Yet who will say that for the good of the public provisions for living too long are any less important than provisions for dying too soon? Was Social Security intended to be a complete retirement program or a supplement to what a man was capable of creating for himself? If we accept the idea of helping oneself then mutual funds must be sold—and if they must be sold salesman must be employed and they too must earn a living!

In a book just written by Perrin Stryker entitled "The Incomparable Salesmen," he reports that of the 40,000 insurance agents in the U.S. today, less than 6,000—less than 2%—have qualified for the Million Dollar Round Table, an association of agents selling a $1,000,000 or more of face amount life insurance. An agent selling $1,000,000 of life insurance will collect an average of approximately $25,000 to $35,000 of premiums and will earn approximately $20,000 or more first year commission. A mutual fund salesman selling—that means collecting $1,000,000—in fund investments—under the present commission charges—will earn about $25,000 and there are no renewals—next year he must sell and collect another $1,000,000 to earn his $25,000. Percentage-wise the ratio of $25,000 earners in the mutual fund industry is probably as low as it is in the insurance industry.

ECONOMIC IMPOSSIBILITY

Thus, if the commissions charged the public for investing in a mutual fund were lowered it would become economically impossible for men of the caliber employed today, to make this business their profession. Then, who would deliver the message to the public; who would service the client forevermore; who would counsel; how would the public come to invest in mutual funds for their future objectives, goals and security? Would they buy voluntarily? Sales volume of agency life insurance companies as opposed to the results of direct mail life insurance companies (supposedly lower rates than those charged by agency companies) proves otherwise. Purchases of mutual funds with no sales commissions prove otherwise. As a matter of fact everything proves otherwise!

And what if mutual funds were not sold? A recent survey of the aged conducted by the Social Security Administration revealed that more than 50% of the people 65 and older had incomes of less than $1,300 per year and that more than 50% have assets of less than $1,000 other than an owned home. Yet all mortality tables tell us it's two to one we'll be alive at 65 and if we are, we have better than 15 years of life remaining.

Someone must be paid to deliver the message or our Government will be compelled to support greater numbers of people every year with greater amounts of dollars to each person each year.

Thus far we have considered only the financial impact to sales people were the sales charges and commissions to be reduced. Let us examine now what benefits might accrue to the investor were the charges to be reduced from 8½% to 5%—3½% differential.

LIQUIDATION VALUE

Arthur Weisenberger in Charts & Statistics 1967 indicates that of 37 funds classified as Growth, the average, total liquidating value of a $10,000 investment made Jan. 1, 1957, would have been $24,097 on Dec. 31, 1966. This includes all dividends reinvested and capital gains accepted in additional shares. Through the same period and with dividends reinvested and capital gains accepted in additional shares 30 funds categorized as Growth and Income indicate a $10,000 investment made Jan. 1, 1967, had an average liquidating value on Dec. 31, 1966, of $21,534. These results include the present day sales charges.

Had the sales charges been 3½% less or $350 more invested, the Growth fund shareholders' average result would have been approximately $920 greater; instead of having $24,097 from the original $10,000, the investor would have been worth approximately $25,018. The shareholders of the Growth & Income funds would have had approximately $822 more; instead of $21,534, the investor would have had approximately $22,357! Is this, then the criterion that makes a mutual fund a poor investment at 8½%, but an excellent one at 5%?

This, however, is not really the question, for it would take 16 years at 6% compounded for $10,000 to be worth $25,400. It certainly is questionable as to whether or not this average shareholder was unhappy with the $24,097 result but overjoyed by the $25,018 result.

The real question is whether or not this average shareholder would ever have been exposed to the opportunity and advantages of this form of investment if a salesman had not been adequately compensated for the years spent in learning his profession. Would the average shareholder have been more pleased using the road of least resistance—$10,000 compounding at 4½% interest for 10 years would be worth $15,553.

The real question, therefore, remains—will the man buy or must he be sold? Since every comparable situation indicates he must be sold, men of high caliber, ethics and intelligence must be employed and they must be adequately compensated. The company has but one source of revenue from which to compensate that man, pay all expenses of offices, materials, clerical help, etc.—the sales charge. Reduce that commission and you do not kill the professional financial planner—he will find another field. Instead you may kill the person who benefited the most—Mr. Average American. His loss, if not exposed would have been $8,544—the difference between the fund and 4½%.

Beautification Bill Receives Strong Editorial Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Monday's New York Times presents a very persuasive argument supporting S. 1467, which is the Highway Beautification Programs Act. It has just received a favorable report by the House Public Works Committee.

We need this legislation to follow the accomplishments of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, or else much will be lost which was achieved under that legislation.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial entitled "Shadow on the Highway" published in the New York Times for October 2, 1967, in the RECORD:

SHADOW ON THE HIGHWAY

Ugliness casts a growing shadow over the American highway. The flashing neon signs, the automobile graveyards and the endless billboards take the joy out of driving and turn motor trips into a chore and a challenge.

The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 was an effort to lighten the shadow of ugliness, to provide Federal funds to plant trees and screen junkyards from view, to provide more rest areas, to do more roadside landscaping and, most important, to remove some of the billboards.

The junk industry has responded in good spirit to the law, after some initial grumbling. The billboard industry is another story. Only five states have entered into agreements with the Federal Government to establish regulations for billboards. The complaint has been that the Federal Bureau of Public Roads set forth criteria that were far too restrictive.

Significantly, however, the great majority of states have proposed no alternative standards of their own. Instead, they have been content to let Congressional pressure wear down the Federal regulators.

Secretary of Transportation Boyd made sweeping concessions on every disputed issue last June, but now the insistence is that these concessions be spelled out in the law. Its protests to the contrary notwithstanding, the outdoor advertising industry obviously wants the Federal program quietly to die.

The program will do just that unless the House approves a Senate-passed bill to authorize an additional $85 million to pay for it. The bill cleared the House Public Works committee by the narrow margin of 18-to-14 when Representative Fallon of Maryland, the committee chairman, and Representative Kluczynski of Illinois, the subcommittee chairman, came to its rescue. They will need the support of colleagues in both parties in the House if the nation is to reduce the lengthening shadow of blight over its highways.

Reassertion of Congressional Role in Development and Determination of Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, on last August 21, the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], testifying before the Committee on Foreign Relations, made a significant and helpful contribution upon the difficult question now being considered by the committee—the reassertion of the congressional role in the development and determination of foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent that his testimony be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, I know that it will be read widely.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CHARLES H. PERCY, REPUBLICAN, OF ILLINOIS, AT THE HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE U.S. SENATE, AUGUST 21, 1967, ON SENATE RESOLUTION 151

Mr. President, the initiative of the Foreign Relations Committee to reassert the constitutional role of the Congress in the determination of foreign policy is an important one. The Committee hearings on Senate Resolution 151 deserve the attention of all thoughtful Americans because the security of the nation is directly involved.

Clearly the Congress cannot play its constitutional role in the determination of foreign policy so long as the Executive Branch fails to inform the Congress of major international agreements, promises, compacts, covenants, doctrines, obligations and understandings. The basic problem is that only the Executive Branch knows the details of these American commitments. As a result, the Congress may learn of an important national obligation only after the Administration has incurred it, and only *if* the Administration tells Congress about it. Even then, steps may already have been taken in pursuance of such a commitment; frequently, the Administration is merely presenting the Congress with a *fait accompli* to be ratified by resolution.

If the Congress is to play its constitutional role, it must have access to the actual facts of national commitments or, more realistically, to what the President conceives are our national commitments.

I propose that the President, on an annual basis, itemize for the Congress—or at least for the Senate—our national commitments as he sees them, detailing the nature of each commitment, its limitations and the justification for it in terms of national interest.

This procedure would serve three important purposes:

1. It would require the President to distinguish between commitments of economic assistance and military commitments including armed intervention, thus clarifying the policy of his administration and leading to a more rational response consistent with policy when an emergency arises.

2. It would enable the Congress, and par-

ticularly the Senate, to express itself on the validity of commitments before they are extended and especially before any of them are implemented by force. Thus Congress would be able to play the advisory role in foreign affairs for which the members have a constitutional responsibility and for which they were in part elected.

3. It would give the people more influence in the shaping of policies which involve their very lives and the expenditures of huge amounts of their tax dollars. This is especially appropriate today when Americans fight in Vietnam and the defense budget consumes half of all federal spending.

The American people, through their representatives, have a right to know whether our men will be committed to combat in defense of a Congo, from an insurgency of left or right; or whether our tax dollars, through supporting assistance, will be transferred to the treasury of an Iran if that government should approach bankruptcy.

The Senate has a right to know when such commitments are being made. "Advise and consent" are meaningless *after* troops are dispatched overseas or after monies are transferred to a foreign treasury.

It is my convinction that no President should engage his people—without the prior knowledge of their representatives—in foreign undertakings which may take their lives and treasure.

Some will say that it is impractical, for security reasons, to have the President report to the Congress on our national commitments. They will allege that disclosure of certain commitments would tip our hand to potential enemies, and could upset some allies. If this is the case, disclosure of commitments could be revealed in executive session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Relations Committee and treated for security purposes as classified information.

Were the President to report on our national commitments as he sees them, then the appropriate committees of the Congress would be in a position to ascertain the true nature of a commitment. The President would be less likely then to follow a vague, open-ended, limitless commitment such as has been pursued in Vietnam. Each commitment would be clarified and we would know its anticipated limits. For example, we know that the Administration is committed to defend South Vietnam, but we don't know whether the President conceives that there is a limit to the commitment. Without a precise statement of his conception of the commitment, and his justification for it, we cannot know what price in lives and money corresponds to the level of our national interest in supporting the Saigon government.

At a time when many believe that the Congress has abdicated its role in foreign policy, I suggest that the Congress cannot perform this constitutional function without a clear and current exposition by the President of his understanding of our national commitments in the foreign field. I respectfully request that this suggestion be studied and improved with a view to implementation in the interest of our country.

A Grim Vietnam Winter Looming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "A Grim Vietnam Winter Looming," written by Peter Arnett, Associate Press correspondent at Con Thien, Vietnam.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A GRIM VIETNAM WINTER LOOMING

(By Peter Arnett)

CON THIEN, VIETNAM.—It looks like a grim winter for U.S. Marines based on this and other outposts in the northern region of South Vietnam—an area where the Marines so far this year have lost about 2,500 dead and more than 20,000 wounded.

For the first time in the Vietnam war, U.S. enemy casualties may be approaching a 1–1 ratio in this area. Many of the enemy casualties are in territory the Marines can't enter, and so are not subject to tally, but a senior Marine says, "We believe he is suffering at least as many of us, and maybe more."

This 1st Corps area has had "a pretty unpleasant summer," as one senior U.S. official puts it. Con Thien, a primitive outpost guarding possible invasion routes to South Vietnam, has become the war's lightning rod, drawing savage bombardment from hidden guns in the enemy's sanctuary in Communist North Vietnam, across the Ben-Hai River border.

Close to North Vietnam, Con Thien is an easy target for the North's Communists. Senior Marines make little attempt to hide their concern that a need to repel Red thrusts at the demilitarized zone will destroy a concept of battling the Communists elsewhere in the big 1st Corps region. Marine officers say that painstakingly acquired advantages in key areas already have been eroded because of a need to meet Communists pressure on the demilitarized zone dividing the two Vietnams.

"In the broadest sense," a senior Marine explained, "the enemy purpose is to draw U.S. forces away from the main thrust of the war-destruction of the Communist guerrilla infrastrusture, and road and village security. In this he has succeeded. Midsummer last year we had two battalions up at the DMZ. Now we have most of a division. By having to meet the threat at the DMZ we are draining our strength from key population areas."

Flood Committee Views Beulah Damage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguished Members of this House has returned with his committee this week after hearings and examination of the severe flood damages in south Texas following Hurricane Beulah.

I refer to Hon. Robert E. Jones, of Alabama, chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee. Even though we sit on opposite sides of the aisle, I quickly came to recognize the knowledge of Congressman Jones in the field of flood control and water resources.

His concern and usefulness to the Nation in his work to alleviate natural disasters was pointed out in a well-written editorial in the Huntsville, Ala., Times.

I should like to call it to the attention of this body:

DEEP IN THE SOUTH OF TEXAS

Anytime we get around one of these weather buffs, we usually try to get in our own meteorological two-bits about the only time we saw it rain frogs. It did—so help us, it did. And, after this week, skeptics will be better prepared to believe us. For this which we once saw happen was in the Harlingen area—that Rio Grande section of Texas which this week is deep in water.

We were headed toward the border and Reynosa, and somewhere along that stream known as the Arroyo Colorado—but no, we shall not bother you with the story, and anyway we should like to save it if we ever decide to publish our *International Cyclopedia of Frog-Rains.*

Instead we hurry on to report that North Alabama's own Rep. Bob Jones, who has had considerable experience in the problems of national disasters, has himself been a pretty big frog in the puddle which remained along the Rio Grande after the extensive and continuing flooding following Hurricane Beulah.

And we don't want the congressman's services there lost sight of in view of the LBJ tour of the region yesterday. We're serious—Bob Jones, as chairman of the House Flood Control Committee, has spent the week there, conducting hearings and examinations, and any special relief legislation to aid the stricken area will be strongly influenced by Jones and his committee.

Bob Jones once more is demonstrating his concern and his considerable usefulness to his nation as well as to his district and state.

If it's water and rivers and floods you want to know about, Bob Jones is the man to see. If it's frog-rains, Bob probably can fill you in on that, too. He'd be your best bet—particularly because we don't see any hope of us getting our own cyclopedia to the printer anyway soon.

Social Security: 30th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday, September 29, the Gary, Ind., Social Security Office celebrated the 30th anniversary of its opening on September 30, 1937.

Howard Jennings, Director of the Social Security Administration at Gary, is to be commended for his efficient work in successfully administering the operations of one of the largest social security branch offices in the Middle West.

Orland C. Zajicek, assistant regional representative, in the Chicago Social Security Office, was present for the occasion along with other officials, businessmen, and citizens of the Calumet region.

In 1937, when this great program of the Federal Government was initiated, the industrial Calumet region of Indiana was just recovering from the greatest depression in our Nation's history. Steel mills, factories, and businesses of all kinds that survived that depression were just beginning to successfully operate again. Thousands of our citizens were gradually being reemployed and the dark depression days of the early 1930's were becoming a memory. The enactment of the nationwide social security program under Franklin D. Roosevelt and a Democratic Congress in the middle 1930's was the greatest sparkplug to start our

Nation back on the road to the economy enjoyed in later years.

Excerpts from my remarks made on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the opening of the Gary Social Security Office in 1937 follow:

In 1937 when the Gary office opened, it serviced both Lake and Porter Counties and there was but a small staff on hand to carry on the work for the people of this area. At that time the duties principally consisted of issuing account number cards to workers in commerce and industry, the only ones then covered by Social Security. Workers then could look forward to monthly benefits for themselves when they reached the age of 65. Two years later, in 1939, the law was expanded to provide benefits for dependents and survivors. Later, Social Security coverage over the years has been extended to farm workers, domestic workers and self-employed people. Over 90% of our population now has Social Security protection.

Originally, the program was intended for the benefit of older people, but now it includes benefits for young dependents of disabled or deceased workers and disability benefits for younger workers. At the present time, Lake, Porter and Newton County area receive monthly Social Security checks totalling over 55 million dollars a year.

Starting last year, Congress added the Medicare Program to our cash benefit program, and in 1966, over 92% of our Senior Citizens have signed up for the Medicare Program. Approximately 23 million men, women and children—one out of nine Americans—are receiving Social Security benefits every month. About 86 million earners will pay Social Security contributions this year. 95 out of every 100 children could get benefits if the provider or head of the family should die. Approximately 9 out of 10 people past 65 years of age are either getting benefits now or will get them when their husbands retire and about 87 out of 100 people, age 25 to 64, have disability insurance protection.

In this session of Congress, I am happy to say, that I cast my vote in support of legislation extending a substantial increase in Social Security benefits. The Bill was passed by the House last month and calls for an across-the-board increase of at least 12½% for every beneficiary on the rolls. In certain cases, some beneficiaries will be eligible for more than 12½%.

Older people remember the panic, the destitution, the unemployment, the bread lines of the early 1930's. We can vividly recall the absence of income protection for families against the hazards of old age, death, disability or illness. Older folks can appreciate how recently the poor farm and the orphans' home represented society's organized way of meeting the problems of dependency.

Today, 30 years later, we have a strong, comprehensive and national system of Social Security or Social Insurance which has changed the face of America in one generation. Today, the retired aged, widows, orphans, the totally disabled and the unemployed, have an orderly system for providing income security and protection.

Future historians will look at the social and economic development in the last 30 years and no doubt conclude that Social Security is our most successful effort to assure the peace, prosperity and domestic tranquility of our society.

As you know so well, Social Insurance is designed to prevent poverty rather than relieve it after it occurs. The right to benefits grows out of work. The individual earns protection as he earns his living. Because it is insurance against earnings loss and is paid without regard to savings and resources. Today people can and do build upon their basic Social Security to achieve a higher standard of living. In other words, this method is designed to work in partnership with voluntary insurance, individual savings and private pension plans.

Celebrating this anniversary and the publicity therefrom, will inform many of our younger folks of the struggles that their parents and grandparents had in former years when their wages or work income terminated. The American youth should certainly appreciate the successful battles which have been won through intense struggles to make life more comfortable for them in their future pioneer days.

Uniform Emergency Phone Number

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, several months ago I introduced a resolution—House Concurrent Resolution 361—urging the adoption nationwide of a single emergency phone number for the police, and a single emergency fire-reporting number. Each child and adult could memorize these two vital numbers and thus have them ready at hand whenever and wherever emergencies might arise.

Both before and since submitting the resolution I have conducted a great deal of research on this matter, contacting 40 police and fire chiefs, the President's Crime Commission, officials of A.T. & T., and many more. On September 17 an article of mine was published in Parade magazine describing the results of this investigation.

I continue to receive letters from groups and individuals, public and private, offering their comments and suggestions. Most of them are most enthusiastic in their support. I should like to include here in the RECORD some copies of this correspondence, as follows:

GOVERNOR'S CITIZENS COMMITTEE
ON DELINQUENCY AND CRIME,
September 28, 1967.

Congressman J. EDWARD ROUSH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROUSH: I am enclosing a copy of an editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch. I am very much interested in your bill and would appreciate a copy of it.

As the editorial indicates, the problem of adequate police protection is one of the items under study by Governor Hearnes' Committee of which I am Co-Chairman. The problem of the Universal Number is now under intensive study by our Committee and we have received generous assistance from the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company. Should you so desire I am inviting you to share our thinking in this matter. The technical problem is a very real one and we have a preliminary report from the Telephone Company. Mr. R. R. Shockley, Vice-President of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, 100 N. 12th, is the representative responsible for helping our Committee. You may wish to write to him or to me regarding this whole matter.

Let me know if I can be of any assistance to you.

Respectfully,

ISAAC GURMAN,
Cochairman.

HOW TO CALL THE POLICE

Congressman J. Edward Roush's bill for the establishment nationally of universal emergency telephone numbers for police and fire reports deserves support. The needs of our highly mobile population are ill served by the marked lack of uniformity in emergency numbers from place to place. This is particularly so in the great metropolitan areas where the police and fire functions are highly fragmented. In the St. Louis area there are more than 70 individual police departments on the Missouri side of the river alone, and they are reached by dozens of different telephone numbers.

In England, where telephone service is government-operated, one number—999—serves all local police agencies in the whole country, which is what Mr. Roush has in mind for the United States. Isaac Gurman, director emeritus of the St. Louis Bureau of Men, has long advocated a universal number here. He is co-chairman with Lt. Gov. Eagleton of Gov. Hearnes's Citizens Committee on Delinquency and Crime which is expected to reaffirm that particular need.

The British also permit free use of pay telephones for emergency calls. Several affiliates of A.T. & T. such as Southern New England Telephone Co. are running pilot programs along that line. A universal police telephone number for the whole country would be in the public interest. But as a starter we would settle for one covering the metropolitan area here.

The Real Facts About Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I doubt very much whether any American wants peace in Vietnam any more than does President Johnson.

Yet the fact is that the President is being attacked in a way that would make it appear that he relishes his role as Commander in Chief in a bloody and costly war.

This is grossly unfair, Mr. Speaker, and does great disservice not only to the President, but to all those millions of Americans who share his belief that what we are doing in Vietnam is right.

I will now document the numerous efforts made by the President to try to get Hanoi to the conference table. I will show how the administration has proved its sincerity in wanting a quick, honorable and peaceful solution to the conflict.

And I will also show that all of these efforts have been rebuffed by an enemy that has not demonstrated the slightest interest in ending this war.

This record is beyond dispute. And it deserves reflection by those who, too often, seem to ignore the real facts about the Vietnamese war.

America is engaged in two wars over Vietnam. One is ranging 10,000 miles away in the hills and rice paddies of that war-torn country. The other is being waged here at home—a political war fought for narrow partisan purposes.

In Vietnam, the Communist aggressors believe that victory will be theirs. Their thinking is not based on any conviction that their troops are better than ours, or that our men lack the will to fight. In fact, Hanoi knows the opposite is true.

No, their conviction is based on events 10,000 miles away from them. They read our speeches, study our criticisms of the administration and conclude that President Johnson will never be able to hold out against such pressure.

I doubt whether Ho Chi Minh is a profound student of American politics. I doubt whether he understands that much of the Republican attacks against the President are the result of a rapidly approaching election year.

I doubt whether he has considered the fact that many of these vocal Republicans committed themselves to defending freedom in Vietnam by voting for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

And I doubt, Mr. Speaker, whether Ho Chi Minh realizes that, to date, not one of the President's critics has offered a single reasonable alternative to our present Vietnam policies.

This Nation has always detested war. And may this attitude never change. But we have also had the very commendable habit of closing ranks behind our Commander in Chief in matters dealing with war and peace.

This is what we used to call bipartisan support of foreign policy. It used to be said in some far-off, obviously forgotten time that politics stops at the water's edge.

Mr. Speaker, I wonder what the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg would say about some of the statements being made these days by his Republican colleagues?

I am certain he would be incredulous at the blatant appeals of some of his fellow Republicans to turn the American people against their President during a time of war.

He would be dismayed to see some Republicans attempt to capitalize on the American people's natural abhorrence of war. And he would be saddened by the hypocrisy of some members of his party who claim to support our presence in Vietnam, but who attack every move the President makes to insure the security of our forces there.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is that few, if any, of the President's critics have called for the withdrawal of our forces in Vietnam.

Why have they refrained from taking such a position? The answer is obvious, Mr. Speaker: They know that the overwhelming majority of the American people supports our commitment to help the South Vietnamese preserve their freedom and independence.

Our people know—indeed, the lessons of history have taught us—the high price paid by those who appease aggressors or who fail to live up to their commitments in the world.

The result, Mr. Speaker, is inevitable—the appetite of the aggressor is increased dangerously and war, far from being avoided, is made more certain.

If these Republicans are sincere in seeking a way to end the struggle, let them communicate their views to Hanoi.

If they want to stop the bombing in the north, Ho Chi Minh is the man to tell about it.

The onus for peace rests squarely with Hanoi.

Ho Chi Minh knows that American planes will stop bombing his homeland the moment he agrees to reciprocal deescalation.

Ho Chi Minh knows that peace talks could begin tomorrow if only he would agree to sit down with our side.

Those who call upon President Johnson to end the bombing and ignore the responsibilities Hanoi must assume to similarly deescalate—do a grave disservice to those fighting to defend freedom in South Vietnam.

North Vietnam is the enemy's heartland. It is the center for military support and supplies. Why should North Vietnam be spared from air attack? Why should the enemy be free to move his men and supplies into the South? Why should North Vietnam's transportation routes, industrial plans, and assembling points be spared destruction?

Why should the enemy be given a carte blanche invitation to remain strong and effective behind the lines?

War is immoral, Mr. Speaker.

But the United States and its Vietnamese allies did not start this war. Hanoi did. And it is not immoral to carry this fight to the enemy.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, it would be immoral to jeopardize the brave men fighting for freedom in the South, but halting the bombing in the North—without any guarantees from Hanoi.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson does not relish our involvement in this war.

We did not seek this mission. But as the leading democracy in the world, this mission became ours because others in the world believe that we value our freedom enough to help the weak defend theirs from the strong.

The President wants peace in Vietnam perhaps more than anyone else in the world.

He has, on five separate occasions, halted the bombing of the north to show our country's sincerity in wanting peace talks.

He has communicated directly with Ho Chi Minh and supported more than 30 proposals for negotiations.

Let be briefly document our attempts to find peace in Vietnam:

Laos Conference, July 23, 1962.

U.N. Security Council invitation to Hanoi, August 7, 1964.

Seventeen nonalined nations' appeal, April 1, 1965.

President Johnson's speech at Johns Hopkins University, April 7, 1965.

Indian Government's proposal, April 1965.

U.N. Secretary General U Thant's peace efforts, April 1965.

Suspension of bombing, May 12 to 17, 1965.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' initiative, June 1965.

Davies mission, July 1965.

President's letter to U Thant, July 28, 1965.

Ambassador Goldberg's letter to President of Security Council, July 30, 1965.

Indian Yugoslav proposal, August 1965.

United Kingdom 12-nation appeal, December 1965.

Cambodian proposal for ICC expansion, December 1965.

Pope Paul VI's appeal, December 19, 1965.

Concentrated peace effort, December 1965 to January 1966.

Ronning mission, June 1966.

Asian Conference initiative, August 6 1965.

U.N. Secretary-General's proposal, August 31, 1966.

Ambassador Goldberg's General Assembly address, September 22, 1966.

British six-point plan, October 6, 1966.

Manila Communique, October 25, 1966.

Ambassador Goldberg's letter to U Thant, December 19, 1966.

British proposal for cessation of hostilities, December 30, 1966.

Tet—Lunar New Year—truce, February 8 to 13, 1967.

President Johnson's letter to Ho Chi Minh, February 8, 15, 1967.

Continuous bilateral contacts with Communist states.

Bombing pauses: First, May 12 to 17, 1965—5 days, 20 hours; second, December 24, 1965, to January 30, 1966—36 days, 15 hours; third, December 23 to 25, 1966—2 days; fourth, December 30, 1966, to January 1, 1967—2 days; and fifth, February 8 to 13, 1967—5 days, 18 hours.

All of the President's efforts have, to date, been rejected by Hanoi. And while not everyone agrees with out Vietnam policy, there can be no reasonable dispute over the fact that the President continues to press for a peaceful settlement.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson will continue to remain firm against Communist aggression, while doing everything he can to find an honorable peace.

The American people know and understand this. And they will continue to support the American policy in Vietnam.

The Kee Report: Underseas Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report."

The subject discussed in this report is "Underseas Research," and what the United States is doing in this new field of deep sea exploration. The report follows:

UNDERSEAS RESEARCH

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

The American people have always had a lively interest in exploration. This is natural in a nation which owes its beginning and subsequent growth to the bold explorations of hardy pioneers.

When men succeeded in reaching the North and South Poles early in this century, there was a widespread belief that the exciting age of exploration had just about come to its end. Then, about a decade go, the first man-made objects began rushing through outer space and the public sensed that mankind was about to realize the age-old dream of conquering the heavens. As a symbol of the future, this nation is hoping to land a man on the moon within a few years.

However, the notion that the age of exploration on this planet has ended is a serious error. The truth is that an entirely new phase in adventure is just beginning. This is the exploration of deep sea bottoms which cover nearly three-quarters of the globe. While this undersea pioneering may be less spectacular than the conquest of outer space, the men of science believe that eventually it may prove just as important in terms of human benefit.

The ocean floors are an immense storehouse of minerals which are essential to industry, and some of which are already in short supply. In addition, there are unlimited quantities of edible fish which could be developed into the world's greatest source of inexpensive food.

But to enter the game of oceanography entails careful preparation in many different fields, and the Federal Government is working out a broad program for developing its marine resources. One of the first needs is for a remapping of the nation's long coastlines. This work is already underway along the Pacific shoreline, and next year, it will begin in the Gulf of Mexico.

Perhaps the greatest need is for trained personnel in a branch of activity which is almost new. While there have been a few preliminary efforts to reach the deepest sections of the ocean floor, this kind of work must be expanded on a vast scale to meet the needs of the new science.

The immediate need is for scientists, engineers and technicians who have been trained in the science of Oceanography and who are willing to make their careers in this work. The government has offered inducements to those college students who specialize in marine subjects.

The public is aware that drilling for oil has been going on in our coastal waters and in other parts of the world for some years. It is less well known that oil is only a part of the marine storehouse—that the ocean floors are literally a treasure chest of the most precious substances including gold, silver and pearls.

Efforts are now underway to develop fish protein into a useable source of food. If successful, this could be shipped in quantities to those countries threatened by famine. In addition, there are many varieties of fish which live at great depths and which are fit for human consumption. If this new food source can be tapped at reasonable cost, the world's supply of inexpensive food will be greatly expanded.

The science of Oceanography is in its infancy. Within the next decade, it should begin making sizeable contributions to the national economy.

Thank you for listening.

Speech by Representative John M. Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, my friend and colleague, John M. Murphy, of New York, recently addressed the Pulaski Memorial Committee of Richmond County, N.Y., at a dinner commemorating Casimir Pulaski, the Polish-American hero of our Revolutionary War. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the text of Mr. Murphy's speech:

Remarks by Hon. John M. Murphy Before the Pulaski Memorial Committee of Richmond County, September 24, 1967

We assemble this evening to commemorate the achievements of Casimir Pulaski, the courageous Polish freedom fighter who gave his life so that America might be a free nation.

Pulaski was born in Poland in 1748, the son of a Polish Count. By the time he was twenty he had already participated in numerous battles in an attempt to free Poland from the domination of Czarist Russia. In 1772 he was forced to flee Poland to avoid capture by his enemies, but he continued his effort to free Poland by attempting to organize troops in Turkey to fight the Russians. Failing in this endeavor he went to Paris, where he met Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, recognizing Pulaski's talent for leadership and willingness to fight for freedom, advanced him the money to travel to this country and gave him a letter of introduction to George Washington.

When he arrived, Washington recommended to the Continental Congress that Pulaski be given the authority to organize the cavalry. This authority was granted, and Pulaski has been known ever since as the Father of our Cavalry. But he was not content to be so far away from the heat of battle. Carrying the rank of Brigadier General, he organized his own independent corps of cavalry and light infantry which became known as Pulaski's Legion.

As the head of this fighting unit he distinguished himself in many important battles of our War of Independence. He fought with Washington at Brandywine and Germantown, and joined with General Anthony Wayne to scout for supplies for the famishing troops at Valley Forge. He was sent to the southern front, arriving just in time to save Charleston, S.C., and later, in command of French and American cavalry at the siege of Savannah, he led a full cavalry charge into an opening in the enemy's works. In this battle he was mortally wounded, and he died two days later on the American brig Wasp, at the age of 31.

Pulaski had been here only two years at the time of his death, but his name and deeds will be forever etched on the pages of American history. He will be remembered, of course, for his daring on the field of battle; he once remarked in a letter to General Washington that: "The chief thing for which I ask is to be near the enemy. . . ."

But he will be remembered even more for his dedication and love for the cause of freedom. I think his own words best describe the intensity of his devotion:

"I came here to sacrifice everything for the independence of America. I wish to live in a free country and before I settle down here I wish to fight for that country's freedom."

Pulaski Day, therefore, is more than a day to praise one man's accomplishments, however much those accomplishments are worthy of our praise. It is a time to rededicate ourselves to the principle of freedom for which his name has become synonymous. We who are free must remember that today over one-third of the earth's population is under communst domination; we who are free must remember that freedom is not a gift, it must be earned, and having been earned, it must be protected. We must also remember that we have the obligation to assist any nation whose freedom is threatened, because our own freedom is at stake whenever one nation seeks to dominate another.

It is our willingness to make the sacrifice and pay the price to defend freedom which has preserved our nation in the past; it is our resolve to continue to do so which will determine whether the world of tomorrow will be free. We would do well, therefore, to emulate the example set by the man for whom this celebration is held, and to whom we owe so much. Casimir Pulaski may be dead, but his dedicated service to the cause of freedom will be remembered forever.

Joseph Alsop Reports Favorably on Vietnam Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I do not know why some elements of the American press are presenting to the public the dismal picture of our progress in Vietnam which we see every morning in some newspapers, and every evening on many television stations. In view of this barrage of pessimism, it is no wonder that many American people have difficulty in knowing just where we stand.

Sometimes, however, a clear picture of the significant progress we are making in Vietnam emerges through the pessimism. This morning's Washington Post has one of these clear pictures in Joseph Alsop's column from Bindinh Province, in South Vietnam.

Mr. Alsop's column is pointed directly at, as he puts it, "people at home who are so articulate about this war without knowing anything about it." Mr. Alsop describes the progress the 1st Air Cavalry Division has made in this rich province during the last year. And this progress has been made against crack North Vietnamese regular troops.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have this column by Mr. Alsop appear in the Record so that all of us can read this accurate account of success. Perhaps this will help to put the Vietnam picture into focus:

Vast Gains in Vietnam War Evident in Last Few Months

Bongson, Binhdinh Province, South Vietnam.—There is one great advantage in being an intermittent reporter of this ugly war. You see the contrasts between then and now. And here in the richest of all Vietnam's coastal provinces, the chosen domain of the magnificent First Air Cavalry Division, this contrast between then and now is all but incredible.

"Stalemate" is a favorite word, much parroted by the people at home who are so articulate about this war without knowing anything about it. In order to learn what kind of stalemate we have in Vietnam, these people might well join the Air Cavalry's favorite enemy, the 3d North Vietnamese Division, which once held all of Binhdinh in an iron grip.

This 3d Division used to be a mixed outfit, with one South Vietnamese regiment, the 2d V.C., and two regiments of other regulars, the 8th and the 22d, it was a superb fighting outfit, too.

I remember vividly when the Air Cavalry first swooped down on Bongson in early 1966 for the masher operation. In those days, beyond the barbed wire surrounding the Bongson district chief's headquarters, the whole countryside belonged to the enemy. And the 3d North Vietnamese Division was so supremely confident that it had its divisional and regimental headquarters cosily installed in towns and villages on Binhdinh's open rice plains. Why not, indeed? For in 1965, they had successfully attacked Binhdinh's capital city, Quinhon.

In those days, our troops could not venture two kilometers out of Bongson town without running into a battalion—or regiment-size fight. The enemy suffered very heavily, but then the Air Cavalry were called away for other missions, the 3d North Vietnamese Division refitted, filled the gaps in its ranks, and resumed its way over most of Binhdinh—although now the headquarters were prudently removed to remote mountain fastnesses, far from the crucial rice plains.

I was here again a year ago, when the Air Cavalry had come to stay. Then plans were already afoot for Operation Irving, to be conducted jointly with the grim, methodical South Koreans.

This was in fact one of the two turning point battles of the war to date—to be compared only with the great baattle in the Iadrang Valley. Characteristically, one of the greatest newspapers in America patronizingly reported that the enemy main body had never been engaged, but in fact all three regiments of the 3d North Vietnamese Division were torn to shreds, and the way was thus opened for the resumption of government control over the whole southern half of Binhdinh.

After Irving, the chase of the 3d Division was relentlessly continued. Hence, when I again came here six months ago, the 2d V.C. Regiment and the 22d North Vietnamese Regiment had fled north, into what was then the Marine area of operations, to replace and refit in relative peace and quiet.

Captured documents indicated that the 18th North Vietnamese Regiment would have fled as well, if the Binhdinh Communist Party committee had not protested bitterly that at least one unit of the 3d Division must stay behind to show the flag. The unfortunate 18th Regiment could not show the flag very boldly, however, since its entire strength was then no more than 600 men.

In May and early June, the 18th received numerous infiltrator-replacements from the north. It was ordered into battle and in three summer engagements—one with South Vietnamese troops—its three battalions were again torn to shreds. A captured document shows that in August one of the 18th's battalions was at one third strength, with only 192 men.

Meanwhile, in their places of refuge, the 2d V.C. Regiment was transformed, for want of southern recruits, into a basically North Vietnamese regiment by some hundreds of replacements from North Vietnam. The 22d was also fleshed out. But the refit of both regiments was sadly incomplete, probably because of the successive destruction by the Navy coast watch of two North Vietnamese trawlers, each carrying arms for two full regiments.

Thus a recent high-ranking deserter described one battalion of the 2d V.C. Regiment as armed with an 80-millimeter mortar with eight rounds of ammunition, two 57-millimeter recoilless rifles with six to eight rounds per gun, nine B-40 rocket launchers with three rounds per launcher, and hardly enough small arms ammunition to maintain a fight for an hour.

As these words are written, what is left of the 18th Regiment is in the iron claws of the South Koreans in the Phucat Massif. The plight of one battalion of the 22d Regiment, trapped in the Anlao Valley by the Air Cavalry, has already been described.

The other units of the 3d Division are now lurking in the mountains, not operating in battalion or even company strength, merely sending foraging parties down into the plain to seek food—for all are very hungry and some are on one third rations. And the hunt continues.

One must admire this famous 3d North Vietnamese Division for its resiliency and courage. But it has been like a spring that loses some resiliency each time it is pushed back. And the wonderfully persistent Koreans and the men of the Air Cavalry are unanimously convinced, for the first time, that the spring can be broken for good and all by continuing the hunt for a few months more.

The Violent Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this summer which is just leaving us has been one of almost unparalleled violence in our Nation's cities. Whole sections of some urban centers have been laid waste by fires and explosions.

It seems quite clear that a large measure of responsibility for these events must be laid at the door of the leaders of the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Intuitive comment on this group and its leaders is contained in an editorial broadcast by station WMAL, here in Washington, during the week of August 20, 1967, and in an editorial published in the American Examiner of August 31, 1967.

Nathan Ziprin's column, from the American Examiner of August 31, 1967, provides further insight. I commend these articles to the attention of our colleagues:

EDITORIAL BROADCAST BY WMAL DURING WEEK OF AUGUST 20, 1967

Events of the summer demand a look at the record, to see if the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee deserves "non-violent" in its title.

SNCC's chairman, H. Rap Brown, has traveled the country, openly urging burning and pillage and telling Negroes to obtain guns with which to shoot "honkies". Today, Brown awaits extradition proceedings in Virginia, on grounds of inciting the riot in Cambridge, Maryland. He is also in trouble with Federal authorities, charged with taking a gun across state lines while under indictment.

Last week, SNCC published a vicious attack on Jews. SNCC printing presses have been spewing forth violent hate-sheets all summer, deriding and undermining virtually every stable element of society.

We go along with Governor Claude Kirk of Florida. When asked recently if he considered Brown a communist, the Governor said not necessarily. But he added quickly, "When you see something that walks like a duck, quacks like a duck and looks like a duck—chances are that's a duck!"

[From the American Examiner, Aug. 31, 1967]

WHAT MOTIVATES SNCC?

The action of SNCC in adopting Moscow's Nazi-like Big Lie about Israel and the Jewish people is not as mysterious as may appear at first glance. It should be said that the leaders of SNCC are not so stupid as to believe the pro-Arab anti-Semitic falsehoods they preach. They are simply using the Big Lie as a stick with which to hit those who have tried to help their cause most. This is psychologically what motivates the poor and underprivileged who are the beneficiaries of the more affluent and culturally more advanced. This is a universal symptom. We see it displayed by underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, Middle East and Latin America toward the rich "Uncle Sam."

Once such a psychological trend starts it is not always easy to keep it within reasonable bounds. In the case of SNCC the situation has been specially aggravated by the overpowering desire of its extremist leaders to have their cake and eat it. They want the privilege of abusing the Jews and to continue to receive financial support from Jews.

The truth is that SNCC, by its own confession, has lost so much of its income because of its anti-Jewish policy that it is currently in bad straits. Furious because many Jews have withheld their checks, SNCC leaders have decided in desperation to line up with the Communist and the Arabs, hoping that the withdrawn Jewish contributions will be replaced by checks from the well-heeled lunatic fringe in this country whose stock in trade is hate and racism.

We doubt if this vicious ploy will work. If it does, we wonder if its manipulators will find it possible to sleep well.

[From the American Examiner, Aug. 31, 1967]

A DIFFERENT SLANT ON SNCC

(By Nathan Ziprin)

Shortly after the story broke of SNCC's foray into the dung of anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism, I discussed the disturbing development with Jack Siegel, whose been "Squeege," published two years ago, dealt with black-white relationships and Jewish attitudes toward Negroes.

Since his reaction was close to mine and his semantics quite unique, I am seizing on the opportunity to giving his formulations as I jotted them down rapidly.

Enough has already been said on both sides of the SNCC attack on Jews. Probably nothing in the way of further substantive arguments will reveal any deeper meanings. It is clear cut. Who knows anti-Semitism better than we? What is more likely is that the SNCC activists, whether or not they represent a majority or a minority, have blown their mind with something they think will work like magic. They did not have to become acidheads to cop out from the nitty-gritty of their own struggle. Somebody on their Executive thought this attack on Jews would be like out of sight, that it would turn their people on and give them an easier rumble.

Probably, they figured that's where it's at, and that to attack the Jews would bring them support from some of their white counterparts, racists of the extreme right, and perhaps divert reaction from them toward another minority.

We do not know in what pad or crib this tactic was so ill-conceived or whether it was done for like Arab bread. In any event, it doesn't matter. What does, is that it was done. We could say it was the result of Acapulco gold which made them freak out like this and that, sooner or later, they would be taking off a high. But that would be useless speculation. The fact is, we Jews are faced with the problem.

We cannot cop out on this. The Negroes are here and came long before we did. The fact that we did not bring them here is irrelevant. So we must shove past the uptight blast SNCC released and ourselves get to the nitty-gritty of the problem. Which is, somehow, not to condone what is wrong and what is evil in their statement, but the contrary, to seek a bridge to the Negro people as a whole. We must not forget that Hitler was mocked at first, and held in contempt. Neither response was effective. If we fail to find the bridge, it is quite possible the SNCC leadership will take most of the Negro people with them on this odd and wicked freak-out.

Bell Marking 25th Year of Jet-Age Pioneering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the Niagara frontier area of western New York State we have many industries of which we can be proud. One of these is the Bell Aerosystems Co., formerly known as the Bell Aircraft Corp., located in Wheatfield, which is less than 20 miles from my district in Buffalo.

Many firsts in the history of manned flight are credited to this pioneering and forward-looking organization. Among the most prominent, Bell produced the first American jetplane, the first plane to break the sound barrier, and the first practical tricycle landing gear.

Bell invented the air cushion landing gear, the rocket belt, the flying pogo stick, and the flying platform. It built the first licensed commercial helicopter and the first deflected-thrust vertical takeoff airplane.

This giant in the world of aviation can also take credit for the first reaction control systems for spacecraft used in the Mercury program, and the Bell Agena engine which is said to be history's most reliable booster in space flight.

With justifiable pride and admiration for Bell's outstanding achievements, we salute all those who genius, foresight, and daring courage have made these remarkable accomplishments possible.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article written by Mr. Paul Wieland, which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., on September 30, 1967:

BELL MARKING 25TH YEAR OF JET-AGE PIONEERING

(By Paul Wieland)

Tomorrow will be 25 years to the day that Bob Stanley flew the first American jet plane at 25 to 100 feet, after pulling back on the stick slightly on a desolate California dry lake bed takeoff.

And two weeks from today will be the 20th anniversary of the afternoon Air Corps Capt. Chuck Yeager pushed an American rocket plane through the ominous sound barrier, after dropping from the belly grip of a B-29.

The XP-59A—America's first jet—and the X-1, the world's first supersonic plane, were built by the Bell Aircraft Corp., now Bell Aerosystems Co.

Both aircraft were conceived during World War II—the XP-59A when U.S. military leadership learned of German efforts in the jet field—and the X-1 in 1943, when American scientists felt there was a place in the future for a high-speed research aircraft.

To put the cart before the horse, the X-1 evolved from proposals for a high-speed jet turbine plane by Robert A. Wolf of the Bell engineering staff.

The proposal took the form of a drawing in 1944, but little happened until the old Army Air Corps heard of a 6000-pound thrust rocket engine then under development.

The 6000-pound engine never became a part of the X-1, as it wasn't available in time. But Bell was given a contract to build three planes in late 1944. For the next 18 months, the Air Force and the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NASA's predecessor) worked over the plane proposal with Bell. It would now be supersonic.

Bell had been in all the way, advising and consulting until the day the engineering team could work away from the drawing board.

During the 18 months, it was decided to build a craft which was generally shaped like the nose of a 50-caliber bullet, had four 1500-pound thrust rocket engines and would be a flying laboratory."

Joseph A. Cannon, now product manager for Air Cushion Vehicles at Bell, told what happened next:

"We had been getting rumors about a strange aircraft being built at Bell's plant here during 1945 while I was at Bell's B-29 plant in Atlanta.

"I was finally sent north and saw the X-1 for the first time. The air frame was completed late in the year and at Christmas-time the plane was shipped down to Orlando, Fla.

"Jack Woolams, a Bell test pilot, took it for unpowered test glides. Ballast was put in to make up for lack of engine weight. In April the engines were installed, and it was in December that the first powered flights were taken.

"Jack Woolams was killed in a racing accident, and Slick Goodlin followed as the principal Bell test pilot. In the fall of '46 I met Chuck Yeager and he spent the next few months familiarizing himself with the plane."

The thin-winged X-1 was flown on subsonic (Mach. 8, or eight-tenths the speed of sound) tests through 1947. Later Cannon would fly it and be burned seriously in a ground explosion and fire of another model X-1.

During 1947 though, Cannon often piloted the B-29 which carried the X-1 strapped to its belly and let it go for flight. The X-1 could actually take off by itself, but since it could only carry fuel for 2½ minutes of full-powered flight, it was considered senseless to do anything but ferry it up in the sky using another plane.

On Oct. 14, 1947, Capt. Yeager was slated to pilot the X-1, and Air Force Maj. Robert Cardenas, the B-29. The flight was over Muroc Dry Lake in California, an installation now known as Edwards Air Force Base.

Two F-80 jet fighters served as chase planes as Maj. Cardenas took the big bomber up to 7,000 feet. Capt. Yeager climbed down a ladder from the bomber and squeezed into the X-1 cockpit.

Around him were thick-walled tanks of liquid oxygen and alcohol, the rocket fuel which was forced into the engine by a 4,500-pound per inch nitrogen pressure load.

He checked instruments, tried the controls and adjusted his oxygen face mask. At 21,000 feet, Maj. Cardenas announced over Capt. Yeager's radio earphones he was turning downwind.

The B-29 moved into a flat power glide at 240 miles per hour, the minimum flying speed of the X-1. After a countdown, Capt. Yeager dropped the X-1 away from the mother ship.

He turned on the nitrogen pressure and fired the liquid oxygen-alcohol mix in the first rocket chamber. The X-1 drove forward and downward. "It's like having something by the tail and daring not to let go," he said afterward. The other engines fired in succession.

Sometime in the next 150 seconds the X-1 broke the sound barrier (662 miles per hour above 35,000 feet, and a higher 760.9 miles per hour at sea level). His official speed was listed at 670, but may have been faster.

The plane ran out of fuel and he glided to a landing on the dry lake. The feared first clash with the sound barrier was easily won.

Later the first X-1 would go much faster and set a world altitude record of 73,000 feet. A total of six X-1s were finally built, all under a patent issued to Robert J. Woods, chief design engineer, and assigned to the Bell Aircraft Corp.

Bell had become the natural company to build a supersonic plane because of an event five years and 13 days earlier than Capt. Yeager's record-setter.

On Oct. 1, 1942, after keeping "one of the best kept secrets of the war," and an intensive unprecedented year-long effort, the first American jet fighter was flown by Bell chief test pilot Bob Stanley.

A man now instrumental in Bell's Lunar Landing Training Vehicle (which uses a 4200-pound thrust General Electric jet engine) was project engineer for the first jet plane.

Edgar P. Rhodes, who has been with Bell since a year after the company's beginnings, tells the story of the XP-59A this way:

"On Sept. 8, 1941, Larry (the late Lawrence D.) Bell called six of us into his office and said he was about to tell us the biggest secret of the war. We were to design and build an airplane that 'had no propeller.'

"GE was to build the engines which would be 'Chinese copies' of the Whittle English engine. Larry told us 'if I had it my way this is so secret none of you would even go home from work from this point on.'

"We only had a rough sketch on a piece of paper of the engine to start with, and some of the dimensions of that were as much as 4 inches off we found out later.

"For two weeks we studied many different ways to arrange engines and finally decided on a side-by-side setup. We wrote specifications, made a one-twentieth scale clay model, and by Oct. 3, 1941, Bell was awarded a contract to build a plane.

"Much of the design work was done in the old Pierce-Arrow plant at Elmwood and Great Arrow, but we needed a different spot in which to build. So we arranged to take over a building at Main and Rodney which the Ford Motor Co. owned (Now a Trico Corp. plant).

"We moved in there in late October and brought along as tight security as was possible. Windows on the second floor, where the center jet portion of the plane was to be fabricated, were welded shut and painted over. Guards had special orders on identifying employes and once Larry Bell couldn't get into his own plant because his identification wasn't in order.

"Though parts of the plane were not taken from any of our stock items for fighter planes, etc., we sent out routine orders to other Bell plants for manufacture of much of the plane."

At one plant Bell workers in another plant were manufacturing what they thought was a heater duct for what would have been the world's largest airplane. Eighteen inches in diameter, it was the exhaust pipe for the XP-59A.

The title of plane even was misleading. "XP-59A" was the designation of a twin-tail fighter which Bell had designed the year before, but had decided not to build. The number was given to the jet craft to confuse identification.

Actual plane production began on Jan. 9, 1942, and the aircraft was put together inside the plant in August. It was taken apart again, and after breaking down part of a wall to get a large section out, it was shipped under heavy and constant guard by rail to Muroc.

"GE sent along technicians who had long listening tubes which they would place on the engine bearing assembly much like a doctor's stethoscope," said Mr. Rhodes. "The engine was continually kept turning by forced air so the delicate bearings inside wouldn't be damaged by the railroad ride."

A Bell team had preceded the shipment to Muroc and taken over a section of the facility. Even the cooking was done by Bell personnel, who were soon joined by GE and Army Air Corps representatives.

The plane was reassembled and the engine run on Sept. 26. On Sept. 30 several taxi runs were tried by pilot Stanley with Larry Bell on hand. On Oct. 1, in the early afternoon, Stanley edged the plane into the air four times, never exceeding a height of 100 feet, keeping his landing gear down at all times. "We cheered," said Rhodes. "It was a great sight." The plane had flown only a seemingly paltry 130 miles per hour.

The next day, Oct. 2, 1942, had been the official target date for an XP–59A flight. So pilot Stanley, and Air Corps Col. Lawrence G. Craige took it up for a total of four flights.

The jet got as high as 6000 and 10,000 feet that day, was up as long as 30 minutes, and flew at a top of less than 300 mph.

"The GE engines weren't developing the expected 1640 pounds of thrust," said Mr. Rhodes. "They were only pushing 800 pounds. So after that first day, we installed a new, and more powerful pair."

The XP–59A and several others that followed were flown for the next 15 months, yet the word America had a jet never leaked out. One pilot who saw the propellerless plane over Muroc thought he was drunk.

Finally on Jan. 7, 1944, the jet's existence was announced to a surprised world. Though 66 of the P–59's were finally built, and the name Airacomet attached by an employe vote in 1943, the jet never flew as a combat fighter in World War II, the original intention of its planners.

It was, however, the parent and prime mover for the American jet aircraft—both commercial and military. It was the shape of things to come.

Sea-Based Antiballistic Missiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, an anti-ballistic-missile system based in the United States itself costing untold billions does not appeal to me as the best we can do to prevent destruction of our cities and military installations.

Mr. Speaker, I still believe that the best defense is an offense. Command of the skies, space, and the seas is the way to keep war and destruction from the shores of our homeland.

A mobile offense-defense thousands of miles from the shores of our country is worthy of immediate consideration.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following article which appeared in the September issue of Navy magazine, by Charles F. Duchein, president of the Navy League of the United States:

SABMIS: SEA-BASED PROTECTOR OF UNITED STATES

(By Charles F. Duchein, national president, Navy League of the United States)

SABMIS may sound like a hero of Greek mythology, but it's a new naval term that stands for a "sea-based anti-ballistic missile intercept system." It marks the start of a new naval strategic defense role. Its concept is to force potential enemies to spread their missile pattern and to provide for the preservation of the nation in a nuclear age through a defense in depth.

Upon returning to Washington after my trip to Viet Nam, I learned that our policymakers were giving the SABMIS concept priority consideration. I believe an up-to-date look at SABMIS would, therefore, be of interest.

The SABMIS plan is to place anti-ballistic missiles aboard surface ships and to deploy them off the Soviet and Chinese coasts, relatively close to Communist missile-launching positions.

By intercepting enemy missiles shortly after they are fired, the defense problem would be simplified and the blunting of a nuclear attack against the United States made manageable. There is another compelling reason to intercept quickly. The Soviets are known to be able to produce a multiple warheaded missile which breaks open at some point near the end of its trajectory and sends its several warheads against individual targets. By early interception, a single SABMIS can destroy all of the warheads at once.

The SABMIS ships, as contributors to continental defense, would be built to complement the proposed fixed NIKE–X land sites inside the continental U.S. Though final plans for the construction of these ships are not yet firm, naval strategists are counting on this mobile system to do for defense what Polaris has done for the offense.

Several months ago, the Navy took a historic step in adjusting its organization to the strategic realities of the 20th Century. At the instigation of the then Secretary of the Navy, Paul H. Nitze, the directorate of Strategic Offensive and Defensive Systems was set up in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations under Rear Admiral George H. Miller, a recognized maritime strategist. SABMIS is the first tangible result of the reorganization. The rapidity with which this concept is taking hold is a tribute to the organizational wisdom and strategic discernment of Mr. Nitze, now Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Underlying all military strategies is the primary provision for the protection and preservation of a nation. This was the starting point for the naval strategists who conceived SABMIS. In moving seaward to solve this perplexing problem, the land deficiency of the United States as compared to the Soviet Union was a major consideration. Since the Soviets possess 2½ times more land mass than the U.S., we are, megaton for megaton, at a damage-inflicting disadvantage by a factor of 2.5.

By placing anti-missile defense forces at sea, nuclear fire is drawn away from the industrail and population concentrations of our cities. By the same action, the survivability of the defense systems is enhanced. Military systems, rather than civilian populations, are the primary targets enemy planners must destroy to insure their own country's survival. Consequently, much of their strike effort would have to be directed to SABMIS ships and Polaris submarines in launching a pre-planned nuclear attack against the United States. The result would be a lesser number of nuclear warheads directed at the United States. The fallout, as well as the blasts, would be at sea, away from our cities.

SABMIS is not being marketed as a defense panacea, but the problem of intercepting an ICBM early in its trajectory is much easier for a sea-based system to solve than for the land-based Nike-X.

Few new strategic systems have gained such early interest and excitement. Industrial firms see much promise in it. They have moved quickly to offer the Navy their program and production know-how. The State Department is interested in SABMIS. Official there welcome its anti-nuclear proliferation feature. Our allies could come under the protective umbrella of the mobile SABMIS ships and their need for nuclear defense armament would be eliminated.

With the deployment of SABMIS, opportunities for the naval contribution to the vitality of our national strategy would be tremendously enhanced. Therefore, as a matter of policy, I am placing SABMIS in a top priority in the Navy League's maritime education program relating to the national strength at sea. With all the purpose and prestige of the League backing up the Navy-industry team, I am confident that SABMIS will be on schedule and, on that day, we will have taken a long step towards the preservation of this maritime nation.

Police-National Guard Riot Control Training Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at a time when our entire Nation is concerned about civil disorders and riots which have struck community after community this summer, an innovative step in preparing to combat such disorders has been taken in my own congressional district.

Police Chief Gerald M. Monahan, of Allentown, Pa., in cooperation with Col. William S. Greer, commander of headquarters and headquarters battery, 213th Artillery Group, Pennsylvania National Guard, have just completed a joint police-National Guard riot control training program.

It is believed this represented the first effort in Pennsylvania to coordinate police and National Guard training in riot control.

Chief Monahan has shown distinctive leadership in the training and administration of the Allentown Police Department. This unique training program is but one of his many accomplishments.

An 8-hour field exercise concluded the 32-hour joint training program. I insert at this point in the RECORD two articles published in local newspapers which elaborate further on this training exercise:

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1967]

RIOT CONTROL EXERCISE HELD BY POLICE, GUARD

Allentown police and a local National Guard unit yesterday morning participated in a riot control field exercise at the Police Academy in Lehigh Parkway.

Police Chief Gerald M. Monahan and Col. William S. Greer, commander of Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 213th Artillery Group, PNG, directed the program.

MAYOR ON HAND

Observers included Mayor Ray B. Bracy; Lt. Col. Irving S. Robinson, U.S. Army adviser to the PNG units; officers of the Allentown Auxiliary Police, the Lehigh County sheriff's uniformed deputies, and Lehigh County Civil Defense.

Yesterday's eight-hour activity culminated 32 hours of riot control training for the National Guard units. It was ordered last month by the U.S. Department of the Army.

Col. Greer said last night that to the best of his knowledge it is the only training in Pennsylvania where the PNG and local police organization joined forces to train for possible civil disturbance.

Morning hours yesterday were used for

the study of the use and effects of riot control agents. The use of gas was particularly emphasized.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, Sept. 25, 1967]

Completing Scheduled Course: Police, Guard Hold Riot Training

A field exercise on riot control was conducted yesterday by the Allentown Police Department with Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 213th Artillery Group, Pennsylvania National Guard, at the Police Academy on Lehigh Parkway.

The exercise was directed by Police Chief Gerald M. Monahan and Col. William S. Greer, commander of the 213th.

Observers included Mayor Ray B. Bracy, Lt. Col. Irving S. Robinson, U.S. Army adviser to the PNG units; officers of the Allentown Auxiliary Police, the Lehigh County sheriff's uniformed deputies, and Lehigh County Civil Defense.

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Morning hours yesterday were used for the study of the use and effects of riot control agents. The use of gas was particularly emphasized.

A "Marketable Skill" for Every American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week, President Johnson announced a $40 million program to recruit private industry in a new job-creating effort. As I understand it, the administration proposes a broad range of aid to companies willing to train and hire the hard-core jobless citizens in our Nation today, including paying the full extra cost of qualifying such people for jobs.

Since the announcement of this program, there has been considerable indication that industry is willing and anxious to cooperate in solving one of the most vexing problems of our times—that on the one hand, too many people are without jobs because they lack the education and skills with which to obtain employment, and on the other, industry and business are in desperate need of trained, skilled people to fill available jobs.

Mr. Speaker, the President's announcement of this new program makes it particularly timely to call to the attention to my colleagues the longstanding cooperation and active participation of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in developing and improving vocational education in this country. I think it is particularly important to bring this to the attention of my colleagues in view of the reported statement of the Secretary of Labor that—

> On-the-job training which companies can provide promises a better job-placement score than "institutional" training such as vocational schools.

Mr. Speaker, the General Education Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, held extensive hearings earlier this year on legislation to amend and expand the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Repeated testimony before our subcommittee made it very clear that where business, labor, and industry, often working with State and local chambers of commerce, took an active interest and actively worked with the school system in the development of vocational education programs to meet the manpower needs of that community or State, the employment problems of both the individual and the business community were, by and large, resolved to the mutual benefit of all.

Since our hearings earlier this year, we have found the chamber taking an increasingly active role in urging improvement and expansion of vocational education throughout the country, and making an all-out effort to encourage their own members to take such an interest at the State and local level and to work with the school systems to help develop programs to meet their local manpower needs.

There is no question that the new program announced by the President on Monday is needed, particularly in the high-density population, urban areas. But, if in adopting emergency "crash" programs to meet the immediate problem, we lose sight of the long-range problem and the long-range manpower needs of our economy, and fail to move in an orderly fashion to meet these needs, I believe that in the final analysis we will be doing both our young people and our country a great disservice.

In my judgment, vastly improving and expanding vocational education throughout America, so that every youngster who graduates from high school will have a marketable skill, and so that industry will have the manpower resource it needs, is one of the most important tasks facing this Congress.

If our vocational education system is properly developed and given the emphasis demanded by our changing times, we can eventually phase out many of the emergency, stop-gap programs we have on the books today.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the September volume of Here's the Issue, published by the legislative department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, entitled "Vocational Education."

The article follows:

Vocational Education

The establishment and funding of programs to train people for jobs has become a major occupation of Congress.

Now pending is H.R. 7380 (Pucinski, D-Ill.) and other legislation that would make substantial changes in the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and boost the authorized appropriations for grants to the States for such education to $400 million per year from its present $225 million.

At the same time, major Congressional and public attention is focused on the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, manpower development and training programs, higher education, elementary and secondary education and a multitude of other programs.

Vocational education it sometimes seems is regarded as the step-child at the family reunion.

On August 14, Floyd D. Johnson, President of the American Vocational Association, told the Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"It seems to me that there is today at the Federal level an imbalance in expenditures for various levels and types of educational programs.

"For higher education, Federal expenditures are $4.5 billion.

"For elementary and secondary education, $3.2 billion.

"For occupational training of various types, including Office of Economic Opportunity programs, MDTA, $1.8 billion.

"Of the $1.8 billion, only $280 million is authorized for vocational training in high schools, area vocational schools, community and junior colleges and technical institutes."

The amount of Federal money, of course, is not an accurate reflection of the size of various programs, because far more local and State than Federal funds go into vocational education.

At the same time, the "imbalance" raises serious questions.

LOGICAL MECHANISM

For the past 50 years, vocational education has been an institution in our public schools.

Logically, it would seem, this institution would be the key mechanism in our efforts to train people for productive work. Instead, a multitude of "crash-type" programs have mush-roomed.

Why?

In a statement submitted to the House General Subcommittee on Education, Robert F. Jacobsen, Staff Associate, Human Resources Development Group, of the National Chamber, said:

"The new programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Labor Department and elsewhere have literally taken the public's eye off the ball. These quick 'band-aid' treatments for current manpower and social problems have been distracting.

"They have kept community leaders so busy that they have neglected the review which would have resulted in planning and organizing programs designed to reach longer-range goals, including activities designed to increase the readiness of our labor force to adapt to changes in job requirements and opportunities."

There can be little doubt that the political appeal of dramatically-proposed and dramatically-announced new programs is a substantial factor.

But the underlying problem is deeper, involving the attitudes not only of politicians, but of educators, school boards, the public generally—and the business community.

Many professional educators regard elementary and secondary education primarily from the standpoint of its ability to prepare students for college. Under this viewpoint—also shared by some parents—vocational education is a low-status form of public education.

As a result, vocational education sometimes receives a low priority in the battle for public funds. *Pennsylvania Business*, the official publication of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, in a report on vocational education in that State summarized a common problem:

"As, of 1963, the record of achievement was not very good.

"Pressures by public school teachers for higher salaries, plus a need for a vast building program to meet the large overall public school enrollment expansion in the 1950's, required a massive increase in school expenditures. Public school expenditures in Pennsylvania increased from $352 million in the 1949–50 school year to $971 million in 1962–63. Vocational education needs were largely by-passed because of lack of funds.

"Vocational education per pupil costs are higher than most other types of education. Much of the training has to be closely supervised and a large capital expenditure is needed for machinery and equipment.

"This partially explains why vocational education enrollment between 1950 and 1963 (including part-time and evening extension education) increased only from 92,685 to 108,161 while total public secondary school enrollment increased from 595,600 to 903,650. Vocational education was losing ground as a part of the over-all education program of the public schools."

EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURE

A major turning point in vocational education came in 1963—although the Federal Government's participation in vocational education goes back some 50 years to the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act.

This Act reflects the economy of the times, and the programs that resulted from it emphasized agriculture, home economics training, and a few of the trades.

Over the years, other Acts have expanded the program.

In 1946, the George-Barden Act provided that funds could also be used for education in the retailing and service industries, and, 10 years later, the fisheries trades were made eligible.

Also in 1956, practical nurse training was specified as eligible for aid, and the National Defense Education Act amended the George-Barden Act so as to permit the training of highly-skilled technicians.

Two broad criticisms of vocational training were most frequently voiced.

One was that vocational training was essentially a hobby-type operation—the building of bird houses in woodcraft shops.

Another—and more telling—criticism was that even the more intensive courses were "preparing today's youth for yesterday's jobs."

For example, the Office of Education reported that, of the States which in 1961–1962 were using Federal funds to help support vocational courses in high school:

Only nine were offering training for office-machine repairmen; only six, for appliance repairmen; only four, for dental technicians; only three, for hospital aides; only two, for nurses aides.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 gave the program new dimensions.

Instead of emphasis on enumerated specific occupations, such as agriculture, definitions were broadened so as to permit training to be tailored to the occupational needs of today.

Moreover, as Lowell A. Burkett, Executive Director of the American Vocational Association, has pointed out the 1963 Act greatly broadened the scope of vocational training so as "to serve the needs of people, rather than the needs of the various educational areas":

"For example, the purpose of the 1963 Act was to serve the needs of those in high school, those in post-high school programs, those adults who need training and upgrading and also the disadvantaged people, who for some reason or other, are not entering the labor market and for whom we must do something."

NEW PROGRAMS

The 1963 Act, moreover, authorized two new types of programs.

One is the Work-Study program, which enables a student to continue his education while holding down a part-time job at the school or some public agency.

Work-study is a variation of the cooperative part-time training concept under which many young people go to school one-half day and work the other half.

Both of these programs offer the advantage of work-experience, job-related guidance, and academic training.

Says Representative Pucinski:

"Here was one of the real significant breakthroughs. American industry became a partner in the educational process of young Americans. In the work-study program, youngsters would work part of the time, study part of the time, and earn some money along the way. . . .

"I'm sure the number of young Americans who have avoided becoming 'drop-outs', delinquents and a lot of other things is large."

The second major innovation was the authorization of Residential Vocational Skill Centers—which are somewhat different from the area vocational schools that provide technical training for students in a sizable geographic area.

Although Congress has not as yet authorized funds for the Residential Vocational Skill Centers, there is bi-partisan support for the program.

Representative Pucinski declares:

"I think that we have to give the States some lead time to set up these Vocational Skill Centers, perhaps two or three years.

"But . . . if . . . the States will set up good effective Vocational Skill Centers, both residential and non-residential, we can phase out the Job Corps in two or three years; simply because I think the Vocational Skill Centers can offer a youngster a good deal more. They can also give them a basic education. It's important to teach a youngster English, history, reading, math, and all the other things, along with a skill in his vocational interest."

Both the work-study program and the Vocational Skill Centers faced a major threat this year, when the Administration urged that the programs be turned over to its War on Poverty program and placed in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps.

The threat was at least temporarily blocked when the House Appropriations Committee refused to go along with the shift.

PROPOSED EXPANSION

Everyone agrees that the Vocational Education Act of 1963 provided a broad foundation for vocational education. But the results so far have been spotty. Some communities and States have initiated action that has produced significant improvements, but most observers agree that the full potential of the Act is still to be realized.

The Vocational Education Improvement Act of 1967, which its author, Representative Pucinski says "may well be the 'sleeper' of the 90th Congress" is pending, with Committee action expected in late September.

In addition to boosting the maximum authorized annual Federal aid for vocational education from $225 million to $400 million, the Act would include:

$30 million annual authorization for work-study programs to help youth find part-time jobs while going to school.

$10 million in annual matching funds to help States establish residential vocational schools to attract past school "dropouts" to schools where they can live and undergo vocational training.

$20 million in fiscal 1969, $30 million for fiscal year 1970 and $35 million for the next three years for teacher training, including fellowships for teachers, educators, researchers and administrators.

In a recent *What's the Issue* radio interview, Rep. Pucinski developed the purposes of the legislation:

"This legislation is designed to try, with the help of American industry, to bring our vocational education programs into step with modern-day needs . . .

"The whole purpose of this legislation is to train youngsters in the crafts and trade skills so that they will be able to step into meaningful employment when they graduate from high school . . .

"One amendment is to provide some $30 million for development of new programs to meet the changing technology of American industry, to bring in new techniques and upgrade the whole status of vocational education.

"Another part of this amendment is to permit schools to enter into contracts with private industry and bring private industry more closely into the vocational education picture . . .

"Another amendment seeks to develop on a larger scale the so-called Vocational Skill Center for youngsters who do not plan to go on to college or for those who will go to college but want to get a basic education for engineering or some scientific courses . . .

"The educators of America seem to have been more obsessed with college education and developing professors for universities. As a result, our Vocational Education teaching staffs have been somewhat neglected . . .

"We also hope to provide local communities with Federal aid for brick and mortar to build and to construct facilities for training youngsters in their vocational pursuits."

THE NEEDED INGREDIENT

Although the Federal Government can provide some stimulus, particularly by more effective leadership and emphasis on vocational education in the U.S. Office of Education, experience has clearly demonstrated that the over-all value and calibre of vocational education in any community is in direct proportion to the interest of the business community in the program.

Both experience and research indicate that cooperative effort and continuous communication between educators and the business community is essential if vocational education is to achieve its full potential.

Too often, this cooperation is missing—either because the business community is unconcerned or the educators fear that someone else will be "trying to run their schools."

The 1963 Vocational Education Act recognized this problem, and emphasized the role of a National Advisory Committee on Vocational Education as well as similar committees at the State and local levels. Such committees have long been in existence, but have not always been too effective.

Essentially, the role of these advisory committees is: interpret job opportunities, especially important now when there is such rapid change in technology; help build curriculums; review the adequacy of training facilities and equipment; and select, aid and recognize qualified instructors.

Collectively, however, these duties add up to one purpose: To insure that vocational training is preparing people for *today's jobs*—and *more specifically that they are being trained for today's jobs in their communities.*

When vocational education is geared to the needs of the community it becomes an effective force in economic and social improvements, an essential part of total community development.

The first Technical Institute constructed in the State following enactment of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 was at Kenosha, Wisconsin. Now, the theme of Kenosha's appeal in an industrial development folder prepared by Kenosha's business leaders is: "Kenosha, Wisconsin—the city that educates for Industry."

Says Ernest Mitchell, Chairman of the National Chamber's Human Resources Development Committee:

"We have found this to be true: When industry wants to come into a new area they go to the vocational school and ask, 'Do you have the people we want in our industry?' If they don't have them, vocational schools say, 'We will train them for you.'

"Such relationships have been highly successful. Private industry has made use of vocational schools to man their plants with properly trained employees, and they go into States that have high quality vocational training programs."

In fact, business support of vocational education can take a variety of forms.

Weirton, West Virginia: Thomas E. Millsop, Honorary Chairman of the National Steel Corporation, Weirton, West Virginia, has declared:

"Contrasting with Federal job training programs that are entirely governmental administered, the Trade and Industrial School stands as a symbol of what can be accomplished in vocational education by cooperative action between private industry, professional educators, and Federal, State and municipal governments."

The school is conducted through the cooperation of Weirton Steel, the Hancock County Board of Education, and the West Virginia Department of Trade, Vocational and Industrial Education.

The Advisory Committee is appointed by the County Board of Education.

The curriculum includes technical training for jobs that are in demand by local industry, with more and more emphasis being placed on electronics and electricity.

The school is open to both adults and juniors and seniors in high school.

An adult attending the Trade and Industrial School may choose a class schedule that rivals one of a branch college pupil.

The training runs from September to May, with three-hour sessions held one night each week, unless shop periods are required; in this case, sessions last five hours. Technical courses cover 100 hours of instruction; shop courses, 144 hours.

Participating students from the two high schools attend classes during the day. An average of 120 junior and senior boys from each school receive training in courses, such as electricity, auto mechanics, machine shop and welding. To receive vocational course diplomas, they must have 480 hours per year or a total of 960 hours to graduate.

Kansas: A different type of business support came in Kansas where the State Chamber of Commerce at a budget hearing in 1966 urged the restoration of cuts that had been proposed in State funds for vocational education.

In explaining their reasons for requesting a larger State appropriation for vocational schools, the business leaders reported:

Their motivation stems from a shortage of skilled labor.

Their research shows that 30% to 50% of the employees in Kansas industries received training in a vocational-technical school.

Their interest goes beyond the training of youth to include training those whose jobs are being changed by technological developments.

Their belief that vocational training serves towns of all sizes.

Their recognition that unless the overall supply of skilled labor is increased there will be additional turnover of employees and the development of damaging tensions within communities and industries.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: In 1965, the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce initiated a five-year study of the availability of jobs and skills in the Pittsburgh area.

The primary purpose of the survey is to draw a comparison of the skills demanded by the region's employers and the skills provided by the schools—a comparison which will enable educators to develop appropriate occupation-vocational-technical training programs.

The hope is that, given the facts on the supply and demand for specific skills, educators and business can work together to bring the two into better balance.

Dallas, Texas: In Dallas, business support for vocational education comes from a Chamber Committee on Employment-Oriented Education. Not only does the Committee work continuously at promoting "employment-oriented education", and in presenting facts on employment opportunities in the area to students it became involved in the very beginning of recent projects, as evidenced by this report from the Manager, Education Department:

"The 17 curriculum advisory committees organized to work with the school officials in preparing for the construction of the $15 million scientific technical/vocational high school in Dallas . . . have made their reports . . . their first assignment was to make recommendations on equipment to be used in the instruction of curriculum clusters. Each report recommends facilities and equipment business leaders feel to be essential to the effective teaching of their occupations. This information was passed on to the architects working on the new central high school."

COUNSELING

In addition to working on courses and equipment to insure that they offer the type of training that will equip students to do specific jobs that are in demand, business has an opportunity to work either directly or indirectly with students themselves in the broad area of vocational counseling.

There are not enough qualified vocational counselors, just as there are not enough competent vocational teachers. The least that should be done is to provide opportunities for guidance counselors and vocational educators to discuss with local employers the job requirements that are open to local youth.

Last year, for example, the chamber in Union Township, New Jersey, provided a summer scholarship for the faculty member who coordinates a local part-time cooperative training program. The scholarship enabled the participant to spend six weeks touring plants and offices, observing operations, talking to both employers and employees.

The program was so successful that both the New Jersey State Board of Education and the Federal Department of Education would like to see similar Guidance-Counselor-Business Familiarization programs used throughout the State and Nation.

Says Representative Pucinski:

"By 1970, this country is going to have 9½ million young people taking Vocational Education. One out of every two children attending high school will be in some form of Vocational Education."

A program of this size, of course, can be justified only by its success in developing *marketable skills*. Experience has shown that the Federal government can stimulate such programs, but that Federal legislation and Federal dollars alone cannot provide such skills.

They can be developed only in local and area schools, *locally directed and supervised* and operating with the *continuous cooperation of business and educators.*

Southern Idaho Loses a Good Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. McCLURE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, Bill Knox, one of the outstanding citizens in my district, passed away recently. As an indication of the respect in which he was held by the people of his community, I include at this point in the RECORD a eulogy published in the September 14, 1967, edition of the Kuna, Idaho, Herald:

SOUTHERN IDAHO LOSES A GOOD CITIZEN

Kunans were shocked by the death last week of William W. (Bill) Knox of Glenns Ferry. As president of the Glenns Ferry Bank (now Idaho State Bank) which in 1962 established its Melba-Kuna Branch at Kuna, Bill had become a familiar figure not only in the village but throughout the area. The following tribute, from the newsletter of the Idaho Cattle Feeders Association, Inc., and republished in the Idaho Statesman, conveys the feelings of many throughout Southern Idaho, who had come to know him:

"BILL KNOX

"A tired heart played out on a busy man yesterday. You might say that he died in the saddle for he was talking on the phone when his time ran out. Bill was a different sort of banker and a true Idaho character. He was real. The home office of his bank was decorated with Charlie Russell paintings and Navajo rugs, an epic portrayal of the true loves of his life. With his boots, Levis and checkered shirts he was a gregarious cowhand on his ranch, at rodeos, attending cattle sales and in his bank. Bill never sat still, his active mind never afforded his heart this pleasure. When you met his penetrating eyes you were instantly aware of the fact that they were wired to a broad intellect, a mental computer that asked probing questions and gave direct answers.

"It was always refreshing to stop by the bank in Glenns Ferry and find Bill in his office. In between telephone interruptions and colorful adjectives not found in a grammar text book we would manage a fast interchange of interesting ideas. These thought-provoking visits will be missed.

"We send our respects to Mary and her children. There are two sides to every coin and on the other side of Bill Knox was a devoted husband and father."

Riots and Mobs: Our Great Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln delivered a memorable address January 27, 1838.

It would be well for every student and parent in America to read this great address, so timely today.

The following are excerpts from that address by Abraham Lincoln:

> At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never! . . .
>
> At what point is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. . . .
>
> I hope I am over wary. But if I am not, there is, even now, something of ill-omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law and order which pervades the country, the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts, and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community. That it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit, it

would be a violation of truth and an insult to our intelligence to deny.

Accounts of outrages committed by mobs form the every-day news of the times. They have pervaded the country from New England to Louisiana. They are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former nor the burning sands of the latter. Whatever, then, their cause may be, it is common to the whole country.

The innocent, those who have ever set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty, fall victims to the ravages of mob law. And thus it goes on, step by step, till all the walls erected for the defense of the persons and property of individuals are trodden down and disregarded.

But all this even is not the full extent of the evil. By such examples, by instances of the perpetrators of such acts going unpunished, the lawless in spirit are encouraged to become lawless in practice. And having been used to no restrant but dread of punishment, they thus become obsolutely unrestrained.

Having ever regarded Government as their deadliest bane, they make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations and pray for nothing so much as its total annihilation. While, on the other hand, good men—men who love tranquility, who desire to abide by the laws and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in the defense of their country—seeing their property destroyed, their families insulted, and their lives endangered, their persons injured, and seeing nothing in prospect that forbodes a change for the better, become tired of and disgusted with a Government that offers them no protection, and are not much adverse to a change in which they imagine they have nothing to lose.

Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocratic spirit, which all must admit is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the people. Whenever this effect shall be produced among us, whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure and with impunity—depend on it, this Government cannot last.

I know the American People are much attached to their Government. I know they would suffer much for its sake. I know they would endure evils long and patiently before they would ever think of exchanging it for another. Yet, notwithstanding all this, if the laws be continually despised and disregarded, if their rights to be secure in their persons and property are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of their affections from the Government is the natural consequence, and to that, sooner or later, it must come.

Here, then, is one point at which danger may be expected. The question recurs, "How shall we fortify against it?" The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of 1776 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws, let every Amercan pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor.

Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the character of his own and his children's liberty.

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the brave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

While ever a state of feeling such as this shall universally or even generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort and fruitless every attempt to subvert our national freedom.

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, nor that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that, although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still while they continue in force, for the sake of example, they should be religiously observed. There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

William Garcia: Devotion to Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, there is, in my opinion, nothing so commendable as a selfless demeanor, especially so, when one sees such a demeanor reflected in a selfless devotion to youth.

From time to time, I am made aware of individuals residing within the District which I have the privilege of representing, who display more than an ordinary concern and devotion to their fellow men. Such a person is a young man by the name of Bill Garcia.

Public recognition of this young man's service to the community will be given later on this month in Los Angeles. Many public dignitaries, community citizens, and youngsters who look to Mr. Garcia for leadership and direction, will be on hand to extend a hand in thanks to him. I will be there to present Bill with an American flag that has been flown over the Capitol of our Nation.

Symbolic in my presentation to Bill Garcia is the belief that the qualities he continues to display, are in the true tradition of the American belief in helping out one's neighbors, with no expectation of reciprocity. Helping someone, giving of one's time freely, because it is the right and proper thing to do—this is what this young man has evidenced.

To represent individuals of the caliber of Bill Garcia is indeed a honor and privilege. Biographical data follows:

WILLIAM GARCIA: DEVOTION TO YOUTH

Mr. William Garcia was born in Los Angeles and attended Clifford Street Elementary, King Junior High, and Belmont High Schools. He attended the University of Southern California for one year and then transferred to the University of California at Los Angeles where he graduated in June 1967. He is a chemistry major and he is now working on his Masters Degree prior to becoming a science teacher.*

For the past three years he has been the after school playground director at Elysian Heights Elementary School. This is a paid position for the Los Angeles City Schools from three to five p.m. Monday through Friday.

He is also a volunteer worker for Hollywood YMCA and his Gra-Y "Cougar" teams have lost but *one* game in three years! They compete with other "Y" teams in football, basketball, track, and baseball. Interest is so high there are now two teams—Varsity and Junior Varsity. The ages of the children on the teams are from 8–13. In addition to winning first place, these teams often win the Sportsmanship trophy which is a real prize because it is given to the team with the best spirit and most sportsmanlike qualities. They practise after the playground is closed. Mr. Garcia transports the teams to Marshall High School on Saturdays for games starting at 9:00 A.M. Parents assist in transportation but often he makes many trips in order to get all the boys to the game site. For two years they have played in the Sports Arena during basketball season.

He has received no extra pay for this effort. In addition he takes the boys camping, on trips, and to many professional and UCLA games. Often he pays the entire cost himself. He is not wealthy but is so devoted to serving youth and starting children on the right path that he is willing to sacrifice worldly goods for himself in order to provide for these children.

I think this is an outstanding achievement, and feel Mr. Garcia should receive recognition for his work with youth. He is a real asset to the community by preventing juvenile delinquency, developing interest in sports and giving recognition and a sense of worth to many children. Through the years he has worked with several hundred children instilling in them pride, love of nature, outdoors, interest in all sports, responsibility for actions, self-discipline, the importance of teamwork and cooperation. It is not often you will find a young man who will spend every free moment with a group of children and never receive pay for his work.

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* As a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve he will serve two years in the United States Navy upon completion of his Masters Degree at UCLA. Then he will enter the teaching profession.

Sgt. Manuel E. Mesa, Jr.: An American Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, from the time of the American Revolution, newcomers to our Nation have been in the forefront of those who have fought and died to uphold the ideal of individual liberty and political freedom. Often it was their firsthand experience of tyranny in their native lands which strengthened these immigrants' love for their new home and the ideals which this country represents.

Today the United States is again fighting for freedom, this time in the remote jungles of Vietnam. And today too, new immigrants to this country are doing their share to protect our heritage. In the forefront of these newcomers who are volunteering to serve in Vietnam are the refugees from Cuba, Hungary, and other Communist countries. More than anyone else they know what it is like to live under Communist domination and tyranny.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House of Representatives the gallant action of one of these young refugees, Sgt. Manuel E. Mesa, Jr. At the age of 15 Sergeant Mesa fled communism in his native Cuba and at the age of 21 he died in the service of the United States fighting Communist aggression in Vietnam.

On September 14, 1967, the Coral Gables Times printed a most eloquent account of Sergeant Mesa's heroic service to his new homeland:

GABLES HIGH GRAD KILLED STORMING VIET BUNKER

A 21-year-old Cuban refugee, rejected by the Marines because of asthma, has been awarded the nation's third highest military award posthumously for bravery in Vietnam.

The Silver Star, awarded to Sgt. Manuel E. Mesa, Jr., was given to his parents in a special ceremony read in Spanish in the Military Building on the University of Florida campus Tuesday.

Sgt. Mesa was killed April 27, 1967, as he moved in on a Viet Cong machine gun bunker that had several men in his unit pinned down. In an attempt to toss a hand grenade into the bunker, he was mortally wounded.

In an emotion-filled ceremony attended by Mr. and Mrs. Mesa and their two daughters, Isabel, 17, and Sara Maria, 10, Maj. Russell W. Ramsey, University Army ROTC instructor, read the citation which earned the Cuban-born Mesa the nation's third highest military award.

A 1965 graduate of Coral Gables High School, Mesa came to Miami in 1960 at 15 with his sisters, sent by their parents after Fidel Castro confiscated the Mesa's dairy farm and turned the country into a virtual Communist jail. The Mesas followed them a year later.

Following graduation and the unsuccessful attempt to enlist in the Marines, Mesa was drafted into the Army. ROTC officials said Mesa had "volunteered" to be put in I–A.

Mesa hated the Communists because of what they did in Cuba, according to Albert N. Cazes, an Army comrade, who returned from Vietnam and rushed to the award presentation here even before going to New York to see his parents.

Although Mesa felt if Vietnam was the only opportunity to fight Communism, he would go and fight. "He would have preferred to fight Castro," Cazes noted.

Col. Arlo W. Mitchell, commanding officer of the University's Army ROTC Department, presented both the Silver Star and a Purple Heart Medal to the soldier's parents.

In the Silver Star citation, it was noted that Sgt. Mesa was serving as a team leader during a search and destroy operation near Tan Nuit when his unit suddenly came under intense enemy fire.

The platoon suffered immediate casualties and its left bank was pinned down by the machine gun fire of a reinforced Viet Cong bunker. Sgt. Mesa left his position, ran through intense enemy fire and "heroically began to crawl toward the enemy bunker, intent on neutralizing the threat to his comrades.

"Without regard to Viet Cong bullets striking the ground around him, he fearlessly continued his efforts," the citation read, "until he was mortally wounded less than 15 meters from his objective."

Mesa, Sr., a resident of Gainesville for nearly two years, lives at 2611 NE 11th Ter. He is a laboratory technician with the University's Department of Animal Science in the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences. Another son is a Catholic priest in Venezuela.

President Johnson Praised by Washington Post for Griswold Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, in appointing Dean Erwin Griswold as Solicitor General of the United States, President Johnson has maintained his tradition of appointing men of the highest caliber and integrity—regardless of political affiliation—to serve in his administration.

A registered Republican, Mr. Griswold has been dean of the Harvard Law School for over 20 years. He carries into his new post a broad background of legal experience as teacher, writer, scholar, and practitioner, along with a distinguished record of public service to his country.

As the Nation's chief attorney, it will be his special privilege to speak for the United States before the Supreme Court. In the words of the Washington Post, I am confident he will "speak for the country with dignity, a breadth of experience in the law and a large measure of commonsense."

I join the Washington Post in applauding the President's appointment—which does honor to an eminent legal giant, to the entire bar, and to the Nation.

Under unanimous consent I include the Washington Post editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 3, 1967]

HIGHEST LEGAL OFFICE

The Solicitor General of the United States has traditionally been one of the country's great men of the bar. This is highly appropriate because his special task is to speak for the United States in the Supreme Court. Though the office is widely considered the highest honor than can come to a lawyer within his profession, short of appointment to the bench, it is a working position demanding a high degree of judgment and discretion as well as learning in the law.

Four men who won distinction in the office were later promoted to the Supreme Court—William Howard Taft, who became President as well as Chief Justice; Stanley F. Reed, Robert H. Jackson and Thurgood Marshall. Two eminent Solicitors General later served in the United States Courts of Appeals—Simon Sobeloff and Charles Fahy. Several others who have held the office are known as eminent leaders of the bar, including John W. Davis, Frederick W. Lehmann, Charles Evans Hughes Jr. and Archibald Cox.

The new Solicitor General-to-be, Erwin N. Griswold, fits comfortably into this tradition. Though he is best known as dean of the Harvard Law School, he is no stranger to public service. Indeed, he spent five years in the Solicitor General's office as a young lawyer and in more recent years has been an outspoken and vigorous member of the Commission on Civil Rights.

An expert in tax law, Mr. Griswold once proposed the creation of a tax appeals court to ease the burden of the appellate courts and the Supreme Court in this highly specialized area of the law. He has not hesitated to criticize the Supreme Court when he has felt that it has wandered into tangential spheres. As Solicitor General, he may be expected to speak for the country with dignity, a breadth of experience in the law and a large measure of common sense.

Teacher's Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 25, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD to the following editorial which appeared in the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle and which I feel is most appropriate for the times:

TEACHER'S PRAYER

This is the autumn of discontent for school teachers in many parts of the nation.

With the fall term well under way, there are still scattered reports of strikes and threats of strikes.

Teacher grievances center mostly around pay, but some complain of poor facilities and working conditions. Others are concerned over the increasing difficulty of maintaining classroom discipline.

Nevertheless teachers, by and large, still keep the interests of their pupils uppermost in their minds. In this connection, the Christian Herald offers a "Teacher's Prayer" which expresses very eloquently the ideals of the profession:

May I never dull the wonder in a child's eyes, nor destroy his faith. May I never stultify his curiosity with too-ready words of authority, nor thwart his groping for truth with the too-pat answers of cynical maturity.

May I demand of my pupils only those things which I demand of myself. Asking courtesy, I will be courteous in turn; if I bespeak their attention, then I, too, will give attention, and interest. May I never poke and pry; rather, let me help each child to preserve the dignity and security of his personal world.

It shall be my aim to behave in such a way that no child who would follow in my footsteps will find the way questionable or devious. The human product in which I deal is malleable; make the form of my standards firm to strengthen its molding.

May I forever strive to know much about that of which I speak; let my words be simple, my approach direct. May I teach not to enhance my own glory and prestige but to insure that each pupil carries away from class a new thought, a new way of looking at an old one, a desire to think longer and look further. May the facts I present to him never be left lifeless in the classroom. Rather, let me remember that "if the pupil has not learned, the teacher has not.

It is my hope that each child will feel more at home in the society in which he moves, more sure of himself, a bit prouder of his environment and his responsibility in shaping it—his home, his community, his country.

Let no student leave my class without a working knowledge of the facts presented there. If he has learned to reason a little more clearly, to accept responsibility a little more fully, then I have not failed. But I will not be discouraged when failure comes.

May all members of my classes henceforth approach the new with anticipation, the old with discernment, life with eagerness, and all knowledge with the expectation of achievement. To this end I will teach. For teaching is a privilege, not a duty; a profession, not a livelihood. A lesser ethic than this betrays both the profession and the privilege of which I speak.

The Space Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Harry Schwartz, of the New York Times editorial board, has often demonstrated his perception of fundamental issues in relation to the Nation's space program. In the New York Times of October 2, 1967, Mr. Schwartz again asked pertinent questions. He spoke of the benefits, direct and indirect, from the space efforts of both the United States and the Soviet Union. He also cited the enormous combined cost "probably approaching $50 billion."

After listing various benefits that have been derived from both countries' space programs, Mr. Schwartz said:

> Impressive as these and other gains have been, however, the question remains: Was it really necessary to spend so many tens of billions of dollars in so short a period? What lends special poignancy to this question is the evident fact that much of the Soviet and American effort was pure duplication.

In seeking an answer to his own question, Mr. Schwartz reminds us:

> In his inaugural address before the first man had orbited this planet, President Kennedy addressed the Soviet Union and declared: "Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars."

Mr. Schwartz expresses his optimism by concluding:

> The probability is high that the economic and technical problems ahead will force the space race to stop at the moon, with cooperation replacing rivalry as the engine of man's drive to the planets. Will this speculation become reality?

I commend the following article to the attention of my colleagues:

Ten Years of Soviet-American Space Rivalry

(By Harry Schwartz)

It must be difficult for younger Americans to understand why their elders got so excited when Sputnik 1 went into orbit ten years ago next Wednesday. By today's standards that 184-pound metal ball, capable of little more than just beeping the fact of its existence, is practically a toy.

What has evaporated in the last decade of course, is the national smugness and sense of superiority to the Soviet Union that ruled here before Oct. 4, 1957. Sputnik 1 was so shattering to millions of Americans because, for the first time, it called into question their automatic assumptions about the total superiority of the United States and about the "inevitability" of American victory in the cold war.

Today the atmosphere is quite different. The United States has accomplished more than enough in space to assure itself and the world that there is no danger of a Soviet monopoly in the cosmos. And the Soviet propaganda line of the late nineteen-fifties and early nineteen-sixties—that the Kremlin's spectacular space feats "proved" the superiority of socialism over capitalism—is relegated to the archives.

But the cost to both countries of their ten years of space rivalry has been enormous. In monetary terms, their total spending on space is probably approaching $50 billion. And behind that figure is the reality that both nations have invested in this area substantial proportions of their best and scarcest scientific and engineering talent. Little wonder both show rising interest in alternative uses for these resources.

SCIENTIFIC DIVIDENDS

There have, of course, been some important dividends from this huge investment Astronomy has been revolutionized and has become for the first time in its history an experimental science. There have been large gains in knowledge of the space surrounding this planet, the moon, Mars and Venus. Biology and medicine, too, have benefited from the chance to study men and other organisms under conditions of weightlessness, while many fields of technology have moved ahead to meet the demand for more powerful rockets, more sophisticated electronics and the like.

The economic benefits of the space age are still comparatively small. But the beginnings already made in satellite communications, weather observation and navigational aids promise big future returns.

Militarily, a new dimension has been added to intelligence activities by the availability of spy satellites—both Soviet and American—which keep the entire surface of the earth under surveillance. President Eisenhower's old "open skies" proposal has been realized without the political and other dangers that became evident in May, 1960, when a United States U–2 was shot down.

Diplomatically, space has become a subject on which the United States and the Soviet Union have found it easier to reach agreement than they have on terrestrial problems. The pacts banning the orbiting of nuclear weapons and the Space Treaty internationalizing the cosmos are outstanding among the still sparse fruits of long efforts to reach a Soviet-American *détente.*

Psychologically, Soviet and American space feats have tended to increase each nation's respect for the other. And the tragedies this year that cost the lives of four astronauts—three Americans and one Russian—were potent reminders of common humanity.

DUPLICATION OF EFFORT

Impressive as these and other gains have been, however, the question remains: Was it really necessary to spend so many tens of billions of dollars in so short a period? What lends special poignancy to this question is the evident fact that much of the Soviet and American effort was pure duplication.

Both countries are much richer today than they were a decade ago since both have experienced very substantial and rapid economic growth. Yet in Moscow and Washington alike the competition for resources has increased. The demands of the Soviet people for a better life here and now are more forceful than in 1957. In this country the Negro revolt has helped hasten the national discovery that this is far from entirely an affluent society. In both countries, therefore, there are powerful new pressures for spending in areas that were ignored ten years ago.

In his inaugural Address before the first man had orbited this planet, President Kennedy addressed the Soviet Union and declared: "Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars. . . ."

The exploration of the stars is still generations away, but the exploration of the planets is on the agenda of the decades directly ahead. Ten years after Sputnik 1, the probability is high that the economic and technical problems ahead will force the space race to stop at the moon, with cooperation replacing rivalry as the engine of man's drive to the planets.

Fake Champions of the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA EILBERG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer, of September 15, entitled "Fake Champions of the Poor."

As indicated in the editorial, law enforcement needs tools which can be supplied only by the Congress. The President's crime program requires the support of all who are genuinely interested in doing something about crime. The editorial follows:

Fake Champions of the Poor

President Johnson was right on target Thursday in blasting pretended "leaders" of the Nation's poor who fan up blazes of fury and destruction and then hastily depart, their pockets full, as often as not, to let others face the consequences.

"These wretched, vulgar men, these poisonous propagandists, posed as spokesmen for the underprivileged, capitalized on the real grievances of the suffering people," the President said.

In further remarks, before the International Association of Chiefs of Police meeting in Kansas City, Mr. Johnson pointed out what real strides toward social and economic, as well as legal, justice have been accomplished—and are being accomplished—and that it is in the evident interest of all citizens to cling to the legal road all the way.

We believe this theme is absolutely correct and is not heard often enough in the uproar of our transitional times. "This changing world" has seldom, if ever, changed so fast as it is changing today—and the President's audience of police chiefs had more reason to be aware of it than most of us. They and their men are on the firing line of a shifting battle, day after day, and night after rugged night.

Every new form that crime takes on, every evil or despairing manifestation of shifting employment or population patterns, every vicious innovation that comes down the pike: the police have to find it and deal with it before many others are even aware of it. And for all of this there is often not even added appreciation.

We subscribe to the President's formula to redress this: "We can encourage respect for the law, and for those who protect us in its name. We can pay the bill for improving the performance of our police and our courts and correctional institutions . . ."

At this particular moment in America's history, we also think it is a matter of prime importance to isolate and punish the frauds who exacerbate our acknowledged ills to their own personal advantage—and pose as "champions" of the distressed while misleading, or coercing, them into worse and worse swamps of self-destructive nihilism.

They have pronounced themselves often enough to be enemies of society; law enforcement must be given every help it needs to deal with them as such.

Time To Examine Our Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, Vietnam war correspondent Martin Gershen has written one of the most poignant and sobering commentaries about the war that I have read thus far. Mr. Gershen recently returned to the United States after his third tour of duty in Vietnam as a war correspondent. I think his article points up the inescapable fact that many Americans are not willing to accept, and that is a war is going on and American boys are being killed. The pathos is that they are being killed and the affluent society goes on as if nothing is happening in Southeast Asia. When a society reaches the point where hippies and miniskirts command our attention more than American boys dying in defense of freedom, then it is time we had an examination of conscience. Mr. Gershen has put it on the line, and I commend his article to my colleagues and the Nation:

TIME TO EXAMINE OUR CONSCIENCE

(By Martin Gershen)

NEW YORK.—Last night I broke down and cried.

I sat at a table in a plush New York night club and the belly dancer was going through her exciting gyrations within touching distance, but I didn't see her and I didn't hear the squeaky Middle Eastern music that accompanied her contortions.

All I saw were the bodies . . .

The dead bodies . . .

The dead American bodies.

All I could see were those young bodies of American infantrymen being shoved into a helicopter in a jungle clearing in the central highlands of South Vietnam less than four miles from the Cambodian border.

The Viet Cong, who had hit the American company and decimated it, were still in the woods surrounding the frightened, worn, shaken, tired survivors of the fire fight.

The wounded had already been taken away and the helicopter crews were in a hurry. It was time to remove the dead. It would be a cruel quirk of fate if helicopter crewmen were killed removing the dead.

So each helicopter awaited its turn to land and once on the ground the blades continued spinning and the engine roared as the dead were hurriedly placed into the chopper.

At first there was some attempt at order. The dead were placed carefully onto litters on the helicopter. The first of the dead were wrapped in their ponchos so you really didn't see the bodies, except maybe a booted, mud-soaked foot or a dangling muscular arm.

PILE DEAD

But there were more dead than there were ponchos and soon the helicopter crews were nervous. They started piling the dead into the choppers like you do sardines in a can.

They piled them one on top of the other and each helicopter was taking more than its capacity load of live people. But there were a lot of bodies in that field.

The dead were still clothed in their blood-soaked jungle fatigues and boots and you could see what human intestines look like and other internal organs of your body.

They were all blood-soaked because every one of these men had died violently. Actually they weren't men; they were kids.

You've got to be a kid to be an infantryman. It's better if you're a teenager because living in the jungle is rough and fighting hand to hand takes strength, endurance and guts.

The kids have it and so do their sergeants who are old enough to be their fathers. But the rest of us don't have it. The rest of us don't know anything about war, guts, bravery or responsibility.

These kids know about such things and the dead had known it best of all. Now they were being shoved into the helicopter one on top of the other.

And when they had piled in all the dead that the helicopter could safely haul, somebody noticed that a lot of the legs were hanging out. Crew members shoved the legs back in and bent them into unnatural positions. It didn't matter because the bodies didn't hurt anymore.

You see these scenes if you cover a war or fight in one but then after you report it you let it wash from your mind because these are things that are best forgotten.

TEEN'S BRAVERY

But what I could never forget was the bravery of the American teenagers in Vietnam. They were so much different than those teenagers back home.

And the more I stayed with them the more impressed I became for even the draftees among them showed responsibility and a sense of duty.

Then last night I bumped into the youth cult back home.

A couple of acquaintances in New York were giving me a welcome-back reception which means they took me to a cocktail party being given by a fashion house at the Warwick Hotel.

There were lots of pretty models, lots of businessmen and lots to drink. Nobody there was interested in anything more than getting high on somebody else's liquor or getting the phone number of one of the models.

The war in Vietnam is a lonely way from New York and maybe that's where it should stay but somehow you can't easily shake the war from your mind if you've just come from there.

And when you see all those lovely young models, the fat businessmen, the free liquor and everybody laughing and making out then you feel sorry for the kid whose body was stuffed inside a helicopter. You get the funny notion that over here nobody really cares.

But you can't spend you life crying for all mankind so you just enjoy yourself and drink all you can that's free and accept an invitation to go to a night club to see the latest "in" belly dancer.

LONG-HAIRED DUO

Well, I had just stepped outside the hotel when I spotted these two teenagers with long hair and dirty clothes and on closer examination I could distinguish that one was a boy and the other was a girl.

It appears that the Rolling Stones or some such group was staying at the hotel and these kids were among their fans.

I admit that I shouldn't have started it but I told the boy-half of these beats that he should be out where the real people were; that I thought he was funny looking and that I wanted to punch him in the nose.

Well, I shouldn't have done this because the Rolling Stones had a lot of pebbles hanging around that hotel and about eight of them gathered round me.

They all had long hair and dirty pink faces. I believe at least five of them were boys.

And then the faces of the kids I had known in the jungle suddenly came before my eyes. They too had dirty pink faces, except the dirt was the red mud of the central highland and they had dirty clothes because they slept in that mud and only got a change of fatigues once a month.

And then all I wanted to do was beat in the faces of these hippies around me but one of my friends who had been hailing a cab came up to me quietly and said, "Come on, ignore these kids. Let's go see the belly dancer."

He took me by the elbow. The hippies stepped aside and we got in a taxi and went to the night club.

Of course, he was right, but his words shook me up.

"Ignore these kids."

Ignore these kids? Why?

We've got kids out there dying without a sound and we've got punks here who dress up like girls and make millions of dollars doing it.

REJECT SOCIETY

These beats profess a creed of irresponsibility, demand only the pleasurable things, reject society and laugh at their fellow man.

And this country takes them seriously and dismisses them by saying, "Ignore these kids."

I sat at the table in the darkened night club thinking these thoughts. The belly dancer came on but all I saw were those dangling legs and the bodies being crammed into the helicopter and the blood oozing from bodies.

And I thought that over here nobody really cared. And that's when I put my elbows on the table and my head in my hands and broke down and cried. I shook uncontrollably until somebody came up to me and said: "Please try to control yourself. You're embarrassing the belly dancer's press agent and after all we're his guests."

Kudos for the District Commissioners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the people of the District of Columbia have been indeed fortunate in having as their Commissioners men of high principle and administrative ability. This last board has been particularly effective in bringing about the progress in Washington that its people have needed and deserved.

As the president of the board, Walter Tobriner, and his Associate Commissioner John Duncan, take up their new duties, they can leave the District government with the certain knowledge that their services have helped to make possible the new and creative form of government which replaces them. Commissioner Tobriner has been nominated to be this country's Ambassador to Jamaica and Commissioner Duncan will become a special adviser to the Secretary of the Interior for urban affairs. I know that we can count on them to give the same high level of performance in their new assignments. I join with their many friends in wishing them well.

The following editorial of tribute to the last Commissioners was broadcast over station WMAL here in Washington during the week of August 20, 1967, and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

THE LAST COMMISSIONERS

There are three forgotten men in Washington, overshadowed by the progress they helped create. These are the District Commissioners—whose jobs will soon be abolished as the District Government is reorganized. They deserve a final, grateful thank you for the job they have done in the face of overwhelming odds.

Commissioners Walter Tobriner and John Duncan have held their offices for six years, caught in a circle between White House, Congress, community pressure and inevitable change. Even so, their accomplishments, too often overlooked, are impressive. Though often hampered by the inadequacies of the government system, Tobriner and Duncan have been sensitive to the District's needs. This was shown once again when they endorsed the reorganization plan that will abolish their own jobs. We also recognize the job done over the years by engineer commissioners, including the present Commissioner, Robert Mathe.

Though we believe the new District Government will bring improvement—the old should be noted for the quality of men who served as the last commissioners.

Reaching Airports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in addition to safety in the skies, the most difficult problem this Nation faces in dealing with the boom in air travel is that of access to airports.

Most new expressways to airports become traffic jammed shortly after they are built, and helicopters and short-takeoff-and-landing aircraft are still too small to be economically competitive with the expressways and other, more time-consuming means of reaching airports.

Rail rapid transit offers the best immediate prospect for shortening the time that air passengers must spend in ground travel, which according to one study amounts to between 39 and 54 percent of the time involved in air trips of 250 to 500 miles.

Yet of all American cities, only Cleveland is now building a city-to-airport rail rapid transit system. Chicago and Philadelphia are considering airport spurs on their existing subway systems, and New York is studying use of a "bus-train," a vehicle that could use both rails and highways to speed passengers to and from the city's airports.

With National Airport now close to saturation, Washington air travelers will have to turn increasingly to Dulles and Friendship International Airports for their air travel needs. The city's proposed subway system is not yet under construction, and there is still time to plan a coordinated high speed system linking all three major airports with a downtown terminal.

The distinguished junior Senator from Maryland, the Honorable JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, recently proposed a high-speed railroad link between Washington and Friendship International Airport over the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

In commenting on the proposal in its August 25 edition, the Washington Post said it "ought not to be considered in a vacuum," and that the problem of rapid transit "involves both Friendship and Dulles, and it cannot be solved by dealing only with high-speed trains to Friendship."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the Washington Post editorial at this point in the RECORD, and urge my colleagues to give serious consideration to the urgent need for rail rapid transit from this city to all its airports. The editorial follows:

REACHING AIRPORTS

The proposal of Senator Tydings for a high-speed railroad link between Washington and Friendship Airport has some merit, but it ought not to be considered in a vacuum. Mr. Tydings has proposed a demonstration project, to be completed by 1969, in which railroad cars would zip up the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad at 100 miles per hour and cut off to Friendship on a new spur.

It is obvious that rapid transit of some kind is going to be required from downtown Washington to the outlying airports. Within a few years, they will be handling the major part of the city's air traffic and the highway congestion between them and downtown will be intolerable. But this problem involves both Friendship and Dulles, and it cannot be solved by dealing only with high-speed trains to Friendship.

Ideally, a high-speed system of some kind would link all three airports with a downtown terminal. To adopt the Senator's solution and solve the problem for Friendship alone might well make the solution for Dulles more difficult. In the long run, Dulles is going to be this city's major airport, and any system involving high-speed transport to airports must be developed with that in mind.

Federal Court Sessions for Mineola

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on April 11, 1967, I sponsored legislation (H.R. 8376) in the House of Representatives to authorize and direct the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York to sit in Mineola as well as Brooklyn.

The Eastern District includes Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond, Nassau, and Suffolk Counties, but the court holds sessions only at the Federal Courthouse in Brooklyn. The more than 1.4 million residents of Nassau County and the more than 800,000 residents of Suffolk County represent a combined population which is greater than the population of 21 of the 50 States. By 1975 the population of Nassau County alone will exceed that same number of States.

Nassau and Suffolk Counties now generate 36 percent of the cases on the docket of the Eastern District. It has been estimated that by the 1980's 40 percent of the district's population will reside on Long Island.

On September 22, 1967, the Judicial Conference of the United States held its meeting at the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. Chief Justice Earl Warren chaired the conference which consists of the 11 Chief Judges of the Federal judicial districts and the 11 Federal district court judges elected by their colleagues in each district.

The conference specifically endorsed the Tenzer bill and rejected other bills authorizing sessions in Huntington and Hauppauge. A favorable report from the conference on my bill has been sent to the House Judiciary Committee Chairman EMANUEL CELLER who has pledged his support for the bill.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD an editorial and news article from Newsday issues and one article from Long Island Press:

[From Newsday, Sept. 27, 1967]

A STEP FORWARD

A proposal to bring sessions of the federal Eastern District Court to Long Island has received the all-important approval of the U.S. Judicial Conference, which administers the federal courts.

The sessions, which are much needed, would be held in Mineola. This recognition of the growth of Long Island has been long delayed. The jurisdiction of the Eastern District Court covers three New York City counties, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond, as well as Nassau and Suffolk. But the two Long Island counties now generate 36 per cent of the cases in the district.

Several Long Island congressmen had filed bills to bring sessions of the court to Long Island. The U.S. Judicial Conference approved one sponsored by Rep. Herbert Tenzer (D-Lawrence). In a fine display of bipartisanship, Reps. John Wydler (R-Garden City) and James Grover (R-Babylon), both of whom had submitted competing bills, have announced their support of the Tenzer measure. The bill also has the support of Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-Brooklyn), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Hopefully, this will mean quick passage.

Adequate temporary quarters, possibly in the new State Supreme Court Building in Mineola, must now be found. Later it may be wise to build a federal court facility in Nassau County. Federal land at Mitchel Field should be retained for that purpose.

[From Newsday, Sept. 23, 1967]

KEY PANEL BACKS U.S. COURT FOR LONG ISLAND

(By Myron S. Waldman)

WASHINGTON.—A U.S. District Court for Long Island appeared to be only a congressional vote away from reality yesterday as both the powerful chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and the highest judicial conference in the land endorsed such a court for Mineola.

The double approval backed a bill introduced by Rep. Herbert Tenzer (D-Lawrence) that the U.S. Court for the Eastern District, which now meets only in Brooklyn, should also hold sessions in Mineola, the Nassau County seat. By voice vote, the Judicial Conference of the U.S., headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court, gave its endorsement to the idea and decided to present its decision to Rep. Emmanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, on Monday. The Judicial Conference is the highest administrative body regulating federal courts. Without its approval a federal court for Long Island would be impossible.

Contacted at his Brooklyn home, Celler said: "It (Tenzer's bill) will get preference over all else." Celler said the House Judiciary Committee might pass the bill to the House floor before the end of the year without even holding a hearing. "We're going to take care of it for him (Tenzer)," Celler said. "We'll pass that bill. I think that part of the Island is entitled to another place for holding court." Asked about its chances for passage on the floors of Congress, Celler said: "The

Judiciary Committee usually has its bills passed."

Celler praised Tenzer for his efforts to bring a U.S. District Court to Long Island. "Congressman Tenzer is entitled to every conceivable credit," Celler said. "He pushed it and he worked very hard for it." In announcing the endorsement, the Judicial Conference of the U.S. disapproved proposals by two other Long Island congressmen. Rep. John Wydler (R-Garden City) had called for U.S. District Court sessions in both Mineola and Hauppauge, and Rep. James Grover (R-Babylon), wanted the sessions in Suffolk County.

Despite the rejections, both Wydler and Grover said they would not fight Tenzer's bill. Indeed, Wydler said: "It will have good Republican support. I'll see to that." Grover said he was "satisfied" because "half a loaf is better than none."

If Congress does approve Tenzer's measure, just where the new court would meet in Mineola, how often and how many judges will be in attendance are problems yet to be resolved. Joseph C. Zavatt, Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court in Brooklyn, said that many of these problems would be worked out by the Eastern District. But, he added: "First, we've got to have space."

A spokesman for Tenzer said that the congressman and Nassau County Executive Nickerson had been discussing housing the federal court in a new State Supreme Court building in Mineola on a temporary basis. Nickerson could not be reached for comment and all the spokesman would say was that the county executive, an enthusiastic advocate of a U.S. court for Nassau, has been working on finding space somewhere.

Nassau Administrative Judge Howard Hogan said that while the new courthouse is not really designed to accommodate a federal bench, he would have no objection to arranging for space on a temporary basis.

[From the Long Island (N.Y.) Press, Sept. 23, 1967]

U.S. COURT ON LONG ISLAND WINS JUDICIAL OK

A federal court for Long Island moved a step closer to reality yesterday when the U.S. Judicial Conference endorsed a bill directing that sessions of the Eastern District Federal Court be held in Mineola.

The federal court, which serves Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, Nassau and Suffolk Counties, now sits only in Brooklyn. The Judicial Conference will file its report with House Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler, on Monday.

Rep. Herbert Tenzer, the Lawrence Democrat, who sponsored the bill earlier this year, said he was "confident" the House Judiciary Committee would schedule hearings shortly on the proposal.

Citing recent discussions he said he had with Nassau County Executive Eugene H. Nickerson about the use of space in the new Supreme Court Building in Mineola for the sessions, Tenzer added:

"I hope Congress will act quickly to bring needed relief to Long Island lawyers and clients who must travel to Brooklyn."

The Judicial Conference, chaired by Chief Justice Earl Warren, consists of the justices of the 11 federal circuits and one district federal judge elected from each circuit. The conference specifically approved the Tenzer bill and rejected two other bills authorizing federal court sessions in Huntington and Hauppauge.

Judge Joseph C. Zavatt of Woodmere, chief judge of the Federal Eastern District and Judge J. Edward Lumbard, representing the 2nd Judicial Circuit, both recommended Mineola sessions to the Judicial Conference.

Prior to the action by the Judicial Conference my bill was referred to Chief Judge Joseph C. Zavatt for consideration and was approved by him and by the judges of the eastern district. Judge Zavatt in turn referred the bill to Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard for consideration by the judges of the second judicial council which likewise reported the bill favorably to the Judicial Conference.

The Judicial Conference not only approved my bill, H.R. 8376, to authorize the holding of sessions of the eastern district court in Mineola, and sent its favorable report to the House Judiciary Committee, but it also specifically rejected other bills which called for sessions in Suffolk County.

Because of the increasing backlog of cases pending in Federal courts throughout the Nation and the inconvenience to attorneys and parties to litigation caused by traveling to the place for holding court many bills have been introduced in Congress to authorize additional places for court sessions.

At the present time there are more than 100 bills pending in the House Judiciary Committee dealing with additional sessions of Federal court. In order to screen these bills and establish priorities the committee and the Congress rely heavily on the Judicial Confernce.

As an example, one such bill approved by Congress in 1966 dealt with additional sessions of court for the Federal districts in California. The legislation had been pending before the House Judiciary Committee for 10 years but no action was taken until after the bill was approved by the Judicial Conference in 1965.

For that reason the recent Judicial Conference approval of legislation for court sessions at Mineola represents an important victory for the people of Long Island and paves the way for the Judiciary Committee and congressional action on H.R. 8376.

In urging the Judiciary Committee to act favorably on H.R. 8376, I will concentrate my concern and argument on the fact that the combined population of Nassau and Suffolk Counties—more than 2.2 million—distinguishes the needs of Long Island attorneys and litigants from the admitted needs of the people who reside in the judicial districts covered by the other 100 bills pending before the committee.

I am hopeful that Congress will act quickly to bring relief to the many lawyers and clients on Long Island who are now forced to travel to Brooklyn for court cases.

The following Newsday editorial stresses the importance of considering my proposal on a long-range basis which would ultimately bring separate Federal court facilities to Nassau and Suffolk Counties:

[From Newsday, April 13, 1967]

A COURT FOR LONG ISLAND

Several Long Island congressmen have introduced bills to relieve Nassau and Suffolk lawyers of much of the traveling involved in handling U.S. District Court cases.

These cases now are heard only in downtown Brooklyn. The bills would have the federal court's Eastern District hold sessions on Long Island. The sponsors differ in the locations they recommend. These differences should not keep the Long Island congressional delegation from unanimously supporting one bill. The measure sponsored by Rep. Herbert Tenzer (D-Lawrence) has the endorsement of top federal court jurists, and Tenzer is a member of the House Judiciary Committee. We urge the Long Island delegation to back this bill, which calls for sessions in Mineola.

However, bringing Eastern District judges to Long Island should be regarded as only a temporary measure. Nassau and Suffolk now generate 36 per cent of the cases on the docket of the Eastern District, which also covers Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond. By the 1980s, 40 per cent of the district's population will live on Long Island. The only satisfactory long-range solution is the creation of a separate federal court district for Nassau and Suffolk.

Of particular importance is the availability of space for the court facilities in Mineola. I have held preliminary discussions with Nassau County executive Eugene H. Nickerson, who has offered to make available space in existing buildings in Mineola.

The Long Island delegation has voiced bipartisan support for the legislation, the Long Island daily newspapers have endorsed the legislation in editorials and the House Judiciary Committee Chairman EMANUAL CELLER has pledged his full support for the bill.

The legislative processes for this additional session of Federal court in Mineola can be expedited by a strong showing of support from the people of Long Island—the bar associations, the attorneys, industry, civil associations, and other interested groups. Such expressions should be directed to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Through these means, I hope a vital and urgent need for the several million people residing in Long Island will be met.

Pseudoinnovation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Council for Basic Education Bulletin for September 1967 contains a discussion on the subject of changes in education. While welcoming the abandonment of old methods that have proven to be ineffective, the article cautions against change merely for the sake of change, and I include it in the RECORD at this point:

PSEUDOINNOVATION

The ritual word in American education this fall, as millions of children return to their classrooms, will be Innovation. Caught up in the current enthusiasm for change, and inspired by federal largesse, school officials and school boards will be introducing computers and other electronic devices, experimenting with team teaching, abolishing report cards and bells between classes. They will be trying out the "discovery" method and non-graded schools and they will be building unorthodox school structures. The objective sometimes seems to be to make classrooms as unlike those of twenty years ago as possible—on the whole a worthy aim, considering what many classrooms were like twenty years ago.

With the spirit of change in American education CBE has the greatest sympathy. As an organization which came into existence to challenge the mediocrity and anti-intellectualism of public education, we naturally welcome willingness to experiment and to abandon old methods that have proven to be ineffective. (This does not mean, of course, that we think all change is good or of equal value.) We find such things as the new math, the new physics, Brunerian theories of learning, and language laboratories to be valuable developments when they are presented as helpful aids and not as infallible dogmas. We are even ready to consider wall-to-wall carpeting and windowless schools as long as we are not told they are part of the necessary revolution.

In other words, we vote for innovation as long as it is not presented as divine inspiration or indisputable science. Before we accept it, however, we want to be sure that it *is* innovation, that it does in fact represent genuine change. And this brings us to the point we wish to make as schools open for the new year: all is not innovation that goes by the name. Indeed, some things labeled innovation seem to us to be retrogressive. As one reads accounts of some current experiments one gets the impression that life-adjustment education and progressive education are not entirely old, unhappy, far-off things but are very much a part of the current scene. Perhaps we can illustrate our point by describing two project reports which crossed our desk this past summer.

The first of these is a pamphlet titled "The Cardozo Model School District: A Peach Tree Grows on T Street," written by Mary Lela Sherburne and published by Education Development Center, Inc., of Newton, Massachusetts, one of the country's leading organizations doing research on educational innovation. It describes a project carried out in the Cardozo school district in Washington, D.C., with the cooperation of EDC. In several places the pamphlet suggests that the District of Columbia public schools are hidebound and unimaginative and that, by contrast, the project under discussion demonstrates experimentation and innovation and brings new life to the inner-city schools.

We must say that some of the things going on in this project seem to us to be less than revolutionary. The kids preserve peaches gathered from a tree near their school, and they cook a chicken, pick the meat from the bones, make chicken salad and reorganize the bones into a skeleton. (It is not explained how a whole class cooks and makes salad with only one chicken to work with.) The kids also "watch a family grow when the class's gerbils have babies" and they cover a sheet with vari-colored sand, imitating a beach. As the pamphlet points out, the emphasis is on doing. (Does that have a familiar ring?)

The pamphlet nowhere stresses the importance of reading; indeed, one gets the impression that a great deal of the activity and much of the curriculum material is designed to by-pass reading. The old progressive faith in "freedom" and "informality" is evident throughout the article. One wonders if these slum children do not now get too much freedom and informality in their homes and community and might not benefit from a school program based on consistency, structure, and a certain amount of formal arrangement. The old notion is revived that the school must duplicate "life situations," although again many of the pupils might be relieved to break away from their life situations. In a burst of visionary fervor, the pamphlet talks of making the school an all-encompassing "temple of experience," a Learning-and-Working Condominium for both adults and children which would include "supermarket libraries, tavern seminars, drop-in museums, pinball-gallery lesson centers and street-corner lectures."

The author points out that the Smithsonian and the National Gallery of Art are only minutes away from the Cardozo district but then states, rather incongruously: "This richness cannot enter lives limited by deprivation." Why not? Isn't it the task of the school to remove deprivation by teaching slum children to read and by introducing them to things that may be beyond their present ken? This Cordozo experiment, like so much so-called innovation in slum education, contains echoes of an earlier day in education. Somehow it recalls the notion of the life-adjusters of a few years ago that education in the true sense is a luxury for a minority and that the teacher's task is to find a substitute for the majority, who cannot take the real thing.

Further proof that the siren song of innovation often turns out to be an old refrain, is contained in a report titled *Teacher Development Center and Demonstration School*, which describes an experiment proposed for the Rockford, Illinois, public schools. This demonstration center and school for teacher trainees is to be financed by a three-year grant totaling $596,729, which sum will come from the Office of Education, and, incidentally, from your pocket and ours. We wish we could be assured that we will get something new for our money, but one is discouraged after reading the proposal. It is, to begin with, fat with jargon: there will be "pivot teachers" and "factor principals," operating in a "pace-setter school" under a satellite system," and the trainees will be exposed to "sensitivity training" and "creative thinking" in "reality oriented" classrooms and will be required to make "serendipity" reports daily. (In these reports the teacher will be expected to "describe in ten words or less the most significant happening in your work with children yesterday.")

Poking through such verbiage the reader fails to discover anything that is really new. The child will be expected to "live democracy" in the classroom; traditional grading will eventually be abolished; report cards will become "skill-concepts progress charts"; each child will be required to evaluate his own progress; "problem-solving" will be stressed. Whatever you think of such ideas they cannot be said to represent progress. They are a repetition of yesterday's slogans, clichés dictated by the ghost of William Heard Kilpatrick.

The two projects described are not, unfortunately, atypical. The desire to get on the innovation bandwagon and the awareness of schoolmen and school boards that foundation and government money goes to the man with the gimmick have spawned scores of pseudo-innovations. CBE agrees that American schools do indeed need to be changed but let the changes be truly innovative, not old, worn-out ideas dressed up in glamorous public relations prose.

To change to a note of positive suggestion, we would like to see some widespread innovations in two areas, that of reading instruction and teacher training. Some interesting reforms are already taking place, but for the most part children are taught (or non-taught) how to read, and teachers are trained, much as as they have been for the past thirty-five years.

A superintendent in a large-city school system recently said this in private: "We have increased three-fold our remedial staff of reading specialists, speech terapists, and psychologists. Our reading scores continue to go down. Why?" In our view reading will not improve simply by adding more money and more personnel without at the same time effecting some changes in method and viewpoint. Reading is not going to improve, as some innovators seem to think, by putting look-and-say on computers. And the quality of teachers is not going to improve without radical departures from current philosophy and current practice in teachers' colleges. (It is significant that many of the current innovators demonstrate their lack of faith in today's teachers by trying to produce "teacher-proof" materials.)

Too many present innovations are fluff and gimmickry not calculated to produce any fundamental changes. If at the lower level we can make children literate and then provide them throughout their school years with liberally educated and imaginative teachers, we will have succeeded in making some genuine innovations. School administrators and school boards are deluding themselves if they think any innovations will succeed that are not built on such foundations.

Cheers for Libertad, and Jefferson Junior High School, Mount Lebanon, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the U.S. Congress and the American people, the excellent success of the "School to School Project" under the U.S. Peace Corps. This school to school project has been accomplished by the fine dedicated students and faculty of Jefferson Junior High School of Mount Lebanon Township near Pittsburgh, Pa.

The students by many activities over many months have raised and contributed $1,000 for this program, and by their vote chose the country, town, and school to receive this direct and heartwarming U.S. aid.

Today, a new school is built and operating in Libertad, Bogo, island of Cebu, Philippines.

It has been the cooperation of the Jefferson Junior High School students, the U.S. Peace Corps, the local government officials in Libertad, and the parents of the children, and the citizens of Libertad, that has made possible this bright new school for the education, progress, and prosperity of these young people.

I submit the good letter of the Mount Lebanon School District, as well as the statement on the Libertad, "school to school" project.

I am also including the letter of Director Jack Vaughan of the U.S. Peace Corps that gives the progress of the excellent "school to school" programs, under the U.S. Peace Corps:

MOUNT LEBANON SCHOOL DISTRICT,
Pittsburgh, Pa., September 29, 1967.

Congressman JAMES G. FULTON,
New Federal Building,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: Speaking for the faculty, administration and the students of Jefferson Junior High School, I would like to say how honored and pleased we are that you are going to mention our Peace Corps

"School to School" project in the Congressional Records.

Your personal interest in the students of our school is sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

JUANITA McDOWELL,
Activities Director.

School to School Project

The School to School is a major international self-help program in which the Peace Corps makes it possible for a school in the United States to sponsor the building of a school overseas. The schools are erected in a rural or slum area in developing countries where an extremely high illiteracy rate is the rule. The combined efforts result in the construction, under the Peace Corps' supervision, of small schools, the counterpart of our grandparents' Little Red Schoolhouse. The total cost to the American partner school is $1000. for materials.

The participating U.S. school benefits in many ways. Besides providing an outlet for the natural idealism of American students, the program also makes the study of languages, social studies, and international relations much more meaningful and interesting. It does this through the letters, pictures, and local artifacts forwarded to the U.S. sponsor school by the students, teachers, and Peace Corps volunteers living in the community constructing the school.

The Student Council of Jefferson Junior High School, Moffet Street, Mt. Lebanon, Pennsylvania was asked to participate in this program in October, 1966. The Council, consisting of forty six members from the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, presented to the nine hundred members of the student body the idea and the need for such a program. The enthusiastic acceptance of this undertaking to raise a thousand dollars, which was the sole responsibility of the students, was reflected in the manner in which the money was raised. Candy sales were held after school each day, a school dance each month, a student-faculty basketball game, and the individual homeroom drive where each student was willing to accept his own responsibility for the project by making a contribution. The students' final involvement was voting for the country in which they wished to have the school built.

This project was successfully completed on April 10, 1967, when, in an assembly program, Congressman James G. Fulton accepted the money in behalf of the Peace Corps. Today our school is completed in Libertad, Bogo, Cebu, Philippines. The faculty and the administration are extremely proud of the students of Jefferson Junior High School for accepting the responsibility of a project of this magnitude and are pleased to display the Certificate of Merit sent to us by the Peace Corps.

Executive Officers of the Student Council for the 1966–67 School Year: Larry McKeithan, Doug Seay, Dan Schaeffer, Bob Paterson, Jackie Cohen, Joette Staley, Nancy Lascheid, Barbara Liu.

Director of Student Activities: Juanita McDowell.

Principal of Jefferson Junior High School: Dr. Martin Nicklas.

PEACE CORPS,
Washington, October 4, 1967.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: Enclosed is a statement on the progress of Libertad Elementary School in the Philippines, the school whose reconstruction was made possible by the generous gift of Jefferson Junior High School in Pittsburgh which you presented the Peace Corps several months ago.

I think the School Partnership Program is one of the Peace Corps' proudest achievements. It began in 1964 as a major international self-help program. Under this program it is possible for a United States school to sponsor the building of a school overseas. The American school raises approximately $1,000–$1,500, the amount estimated as necessary for the purchase of construction materials in most cases.

To date more than $500,000 has been raised by more than 500 schools in the United States to help build schools in 38 other countries. We are proud of these figures. But figures are only a small part of the story. In many schools geography has new meaning for the students; they now know where Ghana is, where Tanzania is, where Peru is. They are involved with people in another country, and they feel they are doing something really worthwhile. Most important, in this age of tension when communication is so vital, they are exchanging letters and ideas, building foundations of understanding; people overseas are seeing the power of American ideals at work.

A typical letter of thanks was received from the headmaster of a school in India which had been sponsored by a school in the United States. It said in part:

> The people are surprised to know and hear that the donation has come to their place as a great boon for this noble purpose. The people of this place are expressing their joy and remember for ever with gratitude for the good action of your people. This place had no school building. The school children were housed in a small room. The resources for constructing a school building was gloomy. A proper school building was a dire necessity, but we were helpless though we had thought of for several times we could not possess a building. Now, our children are really lucky that a school building will come up soon on account of your philanthropic action. The fortune has come to our doors.

Yes, we are proud of this program, and we are grateful to the fine students of Jefferson Junior High School and to the students throughout the United States who are participating in this program. They have reason to be proud of themselves for they are doing their part in making this world a better place in which to live.

I would like to add that I am especially appreciative of your interest and all you have done in helping the program and bringing it to the attention of your colleagues.

With warm regards and best wishes,

Cordially,

JACK VAUGHN,
Director, U.S. Peace Corps.

Statement of U.S. Peace Corps on Progress of Libertad Elementary School

A typhoon in May of 1966 had virtually destroyed the classroom building of the Libertad Elementary School, Barrio Bogo, Cebu Island in the Philippines. The building was in a very frail condiiton. The barrio was well organized and community interest in building new classrooms was high, but the problem was lack of resources. Miss Pauline O'Dell, the Peace Corps Volunteer who was working in the barrio, described the situation.

"The interest in the community for development is high but the economic conditions are very low. It is one of the few communities without one 'wealthy' family. All are small-scale farmers. Many families here earn about $200 a year. This school could be greatly helped by some American school."

Mrs. Felisa L. Velasco, a member of the barrio council, said:

"We, teachers and parents, find ways and means to construct a building worthy of calling a classroom. Our present building is just a nipa shack. With the destruction brought about by the typhoons, our building is no longer in good shape. So we brought the problem to the parents. Due to the economic condiiton of the place, we can't raise the needed amount for the building."

Thus, the $1,000 contribution which Representative James Fulton presented to the Peace Corps from Jefferson Junior High School in Pittsburgh was paired with the need of this community in the Philippine Islands for a new school. In less than three months, 75% of the construction of the new Libertad Elementary School had been completed which is proof of the enthusiasm of the townspeople for the project, of their need for the school, and of their gratitude to Jefferson Junior High School for their gift.

By putting schools in contact with each other, the Peace Corps School Partnership Program is helping to build bonds of understanding and friendship between students in the United States and overseas. Students in more than 500 schools in 42 States have collected more than $500,000 to build new schools in 38 countries around the world. And there are many more schools, waiting and needing to be built.

The Institute for the Advancement of Criminal Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, most Americans are rightfully concerned about the problem of crime in our society today, and many have devoted much serious thinking to methods which might help resolve this grave situation which confronts us.

In a unique approach to this problem a group of dedicated New York citizens, including the Honorable Thomas J. Mackell, district attorney of Queens County, organized the Institute for the Advancement of Criminal Justice—IACJ. This nonprofit organization was recently chartered by the regents of the University of the State of New York, and is supported entirely by contributions. I commend to the attention of my colleagues an interesting article by Mr. Mackell, outlining the goals and activities of the institute, which appeared in the May-June issue of the National District Attorneys Association Journal.

Mr. Mackell makes some provocative observations on the roles played by prosecutors and administrators in our system of criminal justice, and highlights the pressing need for a model district attorney's office. The training seminars, outlined in the article, reflect imaginative and promising efforts which can be useful to all those directly concerned with criminal justice.

I insert the article in the RECORD for perusal by the Members and other read-perusal by the Members and other readers:

The Making of a Model District Attorney

(By Thomas J. Mackell, chairman, board of trustees, Institute for the Advancement of Criminal Justice; District Attorney, Queens County)

The upswing of crime in our free society cries out for the establishment of minimum standards for the office of prosecutor. Certainly this nation has the ingenuity and resources to establish at least one model district attorney's office that can be emulated by three thousand other localities.

Criminal law and procedure have one striking and unique characteristic that is virtually unparalleled in other fields of law and is rarely subjected to the kind of intensive analysis that its importance merits.

I refer to the vast and virtually unreviewable discretion vested in prosecutors to initiate, terminate and compromise prosecutions.

Today the exercise of this discretion has been impaired and American criminal justice suffers by the shortage of trained and experienced prosecuting attorneys.

The law schools are not meeting the demand. There is little to indicate that the problem painted by the late Dean Roscoe Pound years ago has changed. He said:

> "Raising up of a body of lawyers, who are to be advocates, prosecutors and judges, with no thorough training in criminal law, is nothing short of a threat to the administration of justice . . . [B]oth the criminal law and the administration of justice in criminal cases in the United States suffer from a growing neglect of teaching and study of criminal law in our law schools."

There are other factors, in addition to shortage of trained staff, which adversely affects the exercise of discretion. Some, for example, are: Congestion of trial court calendars; the strength and weaknesses of the proof of the charge; mitigating circumstances; the burden of jury service on the community; and finally, but not least important, the prosecutor's preference for a record of numerous convictions and few acquitals.

The vast discretion to permit an accused to "cop a plea" is today exercised by district attorneys in 3,130 American counties and parishes. They must be doing something wrong. Ninety-five (95%) percent of the serious criminal cases are disposed of by pleas of guilty! These pleas are accepted from defendants whose character and potential for reformation are virtually unknown at the time the plea is entered. It is little wonder a study disclosed that forty-eight (48%) percent of 7,000 offenders were found to have come once again into conflict with the law, *just two years* after the disposition of their cases.

Today, prescribed courses in American law schools devote only two to six hours to criminal law and procedure from a total curriculum of approximately seventy-six hours.

I have examined the sixteen collections of printed materials used in most of the required courses in criminal law. Only one of these basic books gives respectful recognition to the tremendous statutory ingredient in criminal law and procedure—tremendous compared with the statutory ingredient in areas on the civil side of the law school curriculum.

With few exceptions, the casebooks hardly notice the vast role of administrative discretion, the greater preciseness of concept, the involved relationship with the social sciences, and the moral significance of criminal law.

The unrealistic approach of the casebooks is rarely offset by the background of the instructors who teach courses in criminal law. Few of the professors included in a catalogue of American law teachers list any personal practical experience with criminal law or criminals.

In my judgment, there is no substitute for practical experience in giving one a "feel" for the vast importance of discretion at various levels of the administration of criminal justice.

In no other field of law are the stakes so high as in the criminal law arena: Indelible infamy and the loss, not merely of property (as in civil law), but of liberty and even life itself.

How can the challenge of crime be met?

One solid way is through research and the use and testing of that research under actual law enforcement conditions.

Recently, the Regents of the University of the State of New York chartered an educational corporation known as the Institute for the Advancement of Criminal Justice.

The IACJ is not just another research group competing for grants.

The IACJ is unique. It is my intention to "field-test" the new procedures, techniques and requirements suggested by the Institute in the District Attorney's office in Queens County, a New York metropolitan county with a population of close to two million people. The projects tested and proven true and helpful under actual working conditions will be retained for building a model D.A.'s office.

Since receiving its charter less than six months ago, IACJ has either planned, undertaken or completed the following projects:

(1) *A Law Student Intern Program.* This program was developed for senior law students and contemplates an enrollment of forty (40) students drawn from the law schools within New York City. Selections of students will be made by a panel consisting of the Presiding Justice of the Appellate Division, the District Attorney, the Deans of Law Schools and the Director of the Institute. Students will be assigned to the Complaint, Appeals, Trial and Youth Bureaus under the immediate supervision of an Assistant District Attorney and with general supervision being provided by the Institute's professors.

(2) *A Seminar at Syracuse Law School.* On May 20th last, a four (4) hour seminar was held at Syracuse Law School in cooperation with the District Attorney of Onondaga County on "The Impact of the Federal Constitution on Local Prosecution" for upstate prosecutors, judges and law enforcement officials.

(3) *A Model Court Order.* In cooperation with the District Attorney's office of Queens County, a model court order with supporting affidavit have been constructed to meet the demands of *Berger* v. *New York,* 87 S. CT. 1873 (decided June 12, 1967).

(4) *Centralized Booking.* This project was inspired by Presiding Justice George J. Beldock of New York State's Second Judicial Department that embraces a population of almost ten (10) million in ten (10) counties. The project involves the taking of a prisoner direct to the Courthouse. There he is "booked", his fingerprints and photographs checked by facsimile relay to the State Capital, assigned counsel, if indigent, and given a preliminary hearing. The proposed process will be completed within a few hours, and replace a cumbersome procedure that sometimes lasted for several days.

(5) *A June Seminar in Queens County.* To meet the demand for knowledge about the new State Penal Law which became effective on September 1, 1967, a series of seminars was given on successive Saturdays in June by one of the Institute's trustees, a member of St. John's University's faculty, Professor Bernard E. Gegan. These seminars were attended by over four hundred (400) lawyers including judges from all courts with the bulk coming from the prosecutorial staffs throughout metropolitan New York.

(6) *A Tandem Study of an Urban and Rural District Attorney's Office.* This study contemplates an in-depth study of the functioning of the D.A.'s office in Queens and Onondaga County with the view of establishing standards.

(7) *An Interservice Training Program for Metropolitan Prosecutors.* This program would cover approximately 167 prosecutors. It contemplates an intensive training period of 30 hours covering recent constitutional developments, sociology and sentencing, New York State's *new* Penal Law, evidence, trial techniques, and the rights and responsibilities of the press, prosecutors, and defendant. Outstanding instructional talent will be drawn from law schools, universities, judiciary, legal profession and business world.

Thus, the foregoing clearly illustrates the bent of IACJ. Obviously, it will be more than "academic." There will be continuous interaction between the official state machinery of criminal law, on the one hand, and the liberal arts and postgraduate university disciplines in the fields of anthropology, criminology, law, psychiatry, sociology and psychology, on the other.

To insure this interaction, the Institute counts among its officers:

Frederick J. Ludwig, *Vice-Chairman,* Board of Trustees, Chief Assistant District Attorney, Queens, Professor of Law;

Arthur F. X. Henriksen, *Director-Secretary,* New York City lawyer;

Joseph P. McMurray, *Finance Committee Chairman,* President, Queens College, City University of New York;

Daniel Gutman, *Law Intern Chairman,* Dean, New York Law School;

Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., *Research Chairman,* Chairman, Sociology Department, Fordham University

The time for meaningful training is at hand.

No Place for Drones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Greensboro Times, a weekly newspaper in my hometown, published a timely and cogent editorial that I think deserves the attention of this body and those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Times, published and edited by my good friends Ross and Pat Strange, performs a distinct service to its readers. The following editorial is another example of the Times' devotion to good journalism:

NO PLACE FOR DRONES

The peril of a drone society subsidized by productive, taxpaying citizens, is a peril the Congress and the people always should bear in mind.

Happily, U.S. Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is both aware of the peril and outspoken in warning the public about it.

Opening the debate in the House August 17 on a proposed increase in social security benefits, Congressman Mills strongly defended his committee's plan to tighten regulations on federal financial assistance to programs for aiding parents with dependent children.

"The American people," he declared, "want us to be certain that money is spent under this legislation to promote the public wellbeing. Is it in the public interest for welfare to become a way of life?"

Many Americans may not realize that welfare is a way of life to one element in our population. Rep. Mills pointed out that "we are caring for the third consecutive generation" of reliefers. Obviously, this kind of dependence has to be stopped.

In an effort to curb soch welfare careerism, Congressman Mills' committee wants the states to meet certain requirements by creating work and training programs so that unemployed parents must submit to a test of their ability to hold down a job.

If the Congress does not start requiring welfare recipients to take available jobs, public resentment is bound to mushroom. As Rep. Mills expressed it, "Some day there is going to be a revolution or a riot if the taxpayers can ever get organized. If ever I heard a good argument about a tax increase it is that giveaway programs be pared to the bone."

Congressman Mills' comments are refreshing and timely, especially in view of the outpouring of liberal demands for additional welfare programs for residents of urban "ghettos." The liberal rhetoric is interesting and revealing. It is full of insistence on government's obligation to create jobs for riotous slum-dwellers, but there is no mention of the so-called "disadvantaged" citizen's duty to take a job when it is offered.

People who have followed development of the government anti-poverty programs are aware of the fact that these federal projects often are involved in training people with a powerful disinclination to work. It frequently happens that the recipient of government aid gets off one program only to ask to be placed on another program. For many of them, a job is the last thing they want.

Actually, much of the talk about a job shortage is sheer nonsense. The classified advertising pages of American newspapers contain numerable job descriptions. Yet many of those who are loitering on street corners in the mornings and evenings aren't interested in these employment opportunities. They are the people U.S. Sen. Byrd of West Virginia recently described as being unwilling to "hit a lick at a snake."

Yet if Big Government is to give handouts to some citizens, those citizens should be required to take whatever employment is available. They shouldn't be allowed to wait around for the job that involves the bare minimum of effort.

In Western Europe, migrants from Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy and other comparatively poor countries travel to the industrial cities of Germany and France to seek employment. They take what is available, which generally is hard, heavy work. They don't complain, however, or say that the host countries have a social obligation to put an economic cushion under them.

Unfortunately, this attitude does not prevail among the migrants to American cities. Sociologists, politically-minded preachers and liberal editors have spent more than a decade telling these migrants that Society owes them a living. It is not surprising, therefore, that the United States has a new class of idlers, who believe that idleness at public expense is a civil right.

Congress and the taxpaying public will have to work overtime and talk tough to get this notion out of the minds of the would-be drones.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

> TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)
>
> TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Foreign Aid: Annual Doomsaying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Foreign Aid: Annual Doomsaying," published in the Norfolk, Va., Ledger-Star of Tuesday, October 3, 1967. The editor of the Ledger-Star is William H. Fitzpatrick, a winner of the Pulitzer Prize. Mr. Fitzpatrick is one of the Nation's ablest editors.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID: ANNUAL DOOMSAYING

No one ought to be the least bit surprised that administration spokesmen are saying that to trim back foreign aid will be terrible. It happens every year that Congress sharpens the pruning hook.

But this year the administration may well have gone too far; certainly farther than it has ever gone before in its doomsaying. For not only is it claiming that restrictions on overseas arms sales would wreck Nato and place all our allies in military disarray, it is even saying that we might have to remove all our troops from Great Britain.

What the British think of that, we don't know; but doubtless they would rather have us Americans there than not to have us; after all, many's the queen's shilling that turns over with the American dollar, whether it ends up in the pub or in Threadneedle Street.

How will all the predicted calamities come about? Why, says the white paper jointly issued by the State Department and the Department of Defense, it will come about if Congress insists on accepting restrictive foreign trading amendments—such as Senator Byrd's—that ban Export-Import Bank financing of trade with any country that does business with North Vietnam. The very idea strikes Washington as terribly unfair:

"The United States could not sell to, or buy from, the United Kingdom any military equipment or services because some Hong Kong-based, Communist-controlled ships fly the British flag and go to North Vietnam ports."

So only Hong Kong-based ships that are Communist-controlled go to North Vietnam flying the British flag? Well, the language sounds as though Whitehall has told Washington it thoroughly disapproves of these rascally captains, and that, if it only could, Whitehall would put a stop to this trade.

Well, if the British want to stop the Communist-controlled ships from going to North Vietnam we're pretty sure that British imagination isn't so barren as to prevent them from finding a way to stop them.

But then it might take some doing, at that. For the office of Senator Byrd, who keeps close tabs on what trading our allies do with our enemy, supplies these figures:

During 1965, a total of 136 ships flying the British flag went into North Vietnamese harbors.

During 1966, a total of 50 ships flying the British flag went into North Vietnamese harbors.

During the first eight months of 1967, a total of 41 ships flying the British flag went into North Vietnamese harbors.

Do the State and Defense Departments actually mean to say that all these ships are controlled by Communists?

Well, we hope the Senate and House will not be taken in by a white paper that is nothing but a whitewash. For if the British want to stop this trade with North Vietnam of ships flying the British flag, there are ways to do it. One we can think of right offhand is to withdraw their charters. Another is a full-blown debate in Commons on whether trade with North Vietnam is valuable enough to permit the blowing sky-high of Nato and the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from the United Kingdom and etc. etc. etc.

False Representations By Mail

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1411) to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to the use of the mails to obtain money or property under false representations, and for other purposes.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this measure which will strengthen the hand of the Post Office Department in its efforts to protect the consumer from fraudulent merchandising schemes which operate through the mails. I am hopeful that this legislation, which has been before the Congress since 1960, will be favorably acted upon by both the House and the Senate and signed by the President in the very near future.

The public is bilked of untold millions of dollars every year by an array of mail fraud schemes which staggers the imagination. This situation is particularly alarming because a large proportion of the victims of these vicious schemes are the aged, the blind, and the infirm. Even before being victimized by these frauds, the majority of these innocent people were in dire economic circumstances. Only last week I attended a meeting of the Task Force on the Aging which considered this most pressing problem of our senior citizens.

The committee report documents many of the more common schemes that have netted their perpetrators many millions of dollars. In recent days all of us have also read in the Washington Post of the several exceptionally cruel frauds which have operated here in the District of Columbia. In my own State of New York the attorney general, Louis Lefkowitz, has been exceptionally diligent and effective in his efforts to prevent fraudulent merchandising schemes, but he has found it most difficult to combat those frauds which operate through the mails. By increasing the effectiveness of the Post Office Department in the area this bill will do much to relieve the enforcement problems which presently confront State and local law officers.

Real estate and home improvement schemes have traditionally been among the most prevalent swindles, probably because they present the best opportunity to defraud people of very large sums of money. The victims of such schemes are frequently the aged and infirm who are confined to their homes. Thus they are particularly vulnerable to the unscrupulous salesmen who seek to exploit their understandable desires for improved living conditions.

These homeowners are typically charged exorbitant prices, bled by excessive interest rates and financing charges, and many have even unwittingly signed second mortgages on their homes. Unfortunately, it will be impossible for most of these people to recover any of the money they have lost to "fast-buck" operators, for most of these criminals have closed shop and moved to another town in search of new victims.

To effectively protect the consumer we must prevent him from surrendering any money to these fraudulent merchandisers. The civil postal fraud statute has long sought to achieve this purpose by permitting the Postmaster General, after a thorough investigation which is conducted in compliance with the requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act, to order that all mail addressed to the fraudulent merchandiser and containing remittances to him be returned to the sender.

As presently written, however, this statute limits the invocation of this procedure to those circumstances where the Post Office can prove not only that the merchandiser's solicitations are both material and false but also that they were falsified with the intent to commit fraud. This last requirement has made the protection of the consumer most difficult.

The bill we have before us today would amend the postal fraud statute by eliminating this last requirement. I emphasize that in evaluating the wisdom of this measure we should keep in mind that we are dealing here with only a civil action: this law does not impose any criminal penalties on the merchandiser. Further, the Administrative Procedure Act will continue to apply with full force to any proceedings in which he is involved. I therefore believe that we are not eroding constitutional rights of the merchandiser.

This bill is supported by most organizations representing the legitimate merchandisers in those types of businesses which are most frequently penetrated by fraudulent operators. For example, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, which represents 88,000 of the real estate firms in this Nation, has endorsed this legislation. The ethics and business practices of the vast majority of real estate agents in this country are completely above reproach. Realtors, more than any other group of businessmen, realize the incredible damage that a limited number of fraudulent operators can do the stature of an industry as well as the victims of their fraud.

I urge my colleagues to again join with me in supporting this much needed legislation which was previously approved by the House in the 89th Congress.

Houston Celebrates Beginning of Andre Previn's Reign as Conductor of Symphony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Monday, October 2, marked an historic event in Houston, Tex. On that evening, conductor Andre Previn led the Houston Symphony Orchestra in its first performance under his direction in that city.

It is a tribute to Mr. Previn, and to the city of Houston as well, that this excellent performance should mark the beginning of his reign as head conductor. In a review of this concert, Washington Post correspondent Carl Cunningham remarked in the October 5 Post that Mr. Previn's "first concert won him a standing ovation from a near-capacity audience in Jones Hall. He well deserved it."

This exciting beginning of a new musical season, and the choice of Andre Previn as Houston's symphony conductor, are indicative of the growing importance of the arts in Texas. In art, as in most things, Texas has a tradition of the unique which must be upheld. And from reports that I have of Mr. Previn's promising beginnings, Texas stands well on the way to having a whole new record of achievement and excellence to uphold.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the review "Houston Ovation Welcomes Previn," from the Washington Post, of October 5, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSTON OVATION WELCOME PREVIN

(By Carl Cunningham)

"Guadeamus Igitur," chimed that nameless medieval scholar as he long ago lifted his mug to wash down the last of his Latin lesson.

That same spirit of stately mirth echoed gaily throughout Jones Hall this week as Andre Previn signaled the Houston Symphony brass to intone the famous old university song at the climax of Brahms' Academic Festival overture.

And with good reason, too. For, like the most diligent of scholars, the orchestra and its newly appointed conductor-in-chief had spent more than a week preparing the season's opening program, laying it to audiences in six outlying Texas communities before they brought it into the hall here on Monday. Not surprisingly, the orchestra was in its finest fettle, exuding an air of triumphant festivity throughout the evening.

As successor to Sir John Barbirolli (actually, he is coconductor, sharing the podium with Barbirolli during these first two seasons), Previn selected a program that was entirely fitting to the occasion and his extensive preparation gave the audience a chance to assess the ability of their new conductor at his very best.

In scheduling William Schuman's Third Symphony, Previn saw to it that Jones Hall finally got a proper dedication as an American concert auditorium one long year after its original opening. Modern American music has been noticeably absent from Barbirolli's program. And with the Fifth Symphony of Beethoven to conclude the program, Previn demonstrated his ability to invest an old warhorse with some youthful involvement, yet keep it from galloping beyond the bounds of good taste.

The Schuman Symphony was a special triumph for the orchestra. Although it is a work of moderate difficulty and fairly regular meter, its thick polyphony and jabbing rhythms present certain difficulties and the orchestra surmounted these with uncommon brilliance. The brass section, which has always been the orchestra's weakest link, was especially alert in matters of attack and intonation and provided the audience many an exciting musical display.

The precision and orchestral discipline that so thoroughly fascinated the ear during the concert's opening half gave way to some excesses during the Beethoven. The horns had their strident moments during the exposition of its first movement and the trumpet momentarily predominated over the strings at the recapitulation. And Previn's jabbing cues occasionally produced something less than total unanimity at certain crucial points in the work.

However, he also produced some breathtaking moments during the slow movement, startling clarity in the bucolic bass theme of the trio and an over-all performance that was well conceived and tight-reined without being excessively hurried.

To an audience accustomed to Barbirolli's leisurely tempos, Previn's were undeniably taut. But this was a relief. His orchestra sound is also leaner than Barbirolli's, but this concert evoked moments of radiance that should become more shimmering as his years lengthen on the podium.

Above all, there was a sense of dynamic profile and musical assurance to this entire evening that had often been missing in his guest appearances last season. Gradations in volume may have had a well-practiced air, but they also had a purposeful intent and did much to heighten the meaning of the music.

Previn's appointment to the Houston Symphony fulfills what he terms "an unwavering goal" to become an orchestral conductor. It marks the climax of a systematic, seven-year of effort to turn away from his immensely successful career as a film and jazz musician and to replace it with a serious career as a conductor, composer and chamber ensemble pianist.

In two weeks, the orchestra will premiere his newly composed Cello Concert.

Whatever the remainder of this season may hold for him, its first concert showed Previn capably in command of a burnished symphonic ensemble and it won him a standing ovation from a near-capacity audience in Jones Hall.

He well deserved it.

Money Created Out of Nothing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I commented on the questionable practices being considered by our Government with regard to our national economy and, particularly, as these practices affect our position in the international community. Depletion of our gold reserves and the continuing adverse balance-of-payments situation have prompted this administration to seek some new international medium of exchange or currency.

The conference of the International Monetary Fund in Rio de Janeiro has provided the opportunity for representatives of our country to make some unwise commitments that could jeopardize not only our own economy but that of other nations of the free world.

Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the October 4 issue of the Chicago Tribune, entitled " 'Money' Created Out of Nothing." emphasizes some of the dangers that our Nation faces. I am inserting this editorial in the RECORD, and call it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress as well as the American public:

MONEY CREATED OUT OF NOTHING

The monetary magicians of 106 countries have decided to wave the wand and produce a new trick. This would be to manufacture "money"—strictly speaking, a new international reserve asset to supplement dollars and gold—where none exists at the moment.

The decision was made by unanimous agreement at a meeting last Friday in Rio de Janeiro of the International Monetary fund [IMF]. In the light of this legerdemain, the IMF might appropriately transpose its initials to IFM, standing for *international funny money.*

The IMF was created in 1944 to make the currencies of member countries readily available for foreign use. This was accomplished by paying a quota of their own currencies into an IMF pool of world currency holdings. When a member nation's balance of payments is in deficit, the member has the privilege of going to the IMF to "draw" foreign currencies to rectify its delinquencies to creditor nations.

Until now there have been two types of drawing rights. One is based on the nation's quota payment in its own currency and the other on its paymen in gold [normally, a gold payment of 25 per cent of the quota is required]. If the debtor nation draws currencies against its gold, it must repay within five years in currencies satisfactory to the IMF.

There is a further provision for easy credit. When a member has drawn to the full extent of its currency and gold quotas, it may draw additional foreign currencies for a three to five year period up to the amount of the original 75 percent contribution it made in its own currency. The IMF then rides herd on it to force it to get its books in order.

To these existing drawing rights there are to be added something called "special drawing rights." They had the enthusiastic support of the "underdeveloped" countries, whose currencies are, by and large, worthless. They also had the wholehearted indorsement of the United States, for reasons that are readily apparent. The plight of this country is well known.

The United States deficit in the balance of payments is chronic. We have not balanced our international payments since 1957. Our gold reserve has fallen from 24 billion dollars to 13 billion, and this is not even sufficient to satisfy the statutory requirement that the stock of paper money in circulation must have a 25 per cent gold covering. Meanwhile, short term credits in foreign hands amount to 29 billion dollars—all of these representing demands for payment in gold if they should be presented.

The Johnson administration's fiscal policies, which pile up one inflationary deficit after another, therefore create a monetary problem which can exist only thru the sufferance of foreign creditors. The rug could be pulled out from under it at any moment, once confidence is gone [and the administration year after year does everything in its power to destroy confidence]. No wonder, it is anxious to go to a system of IOU's, in which foreign claims could be satisfied by book transactions involving the exchange of no real money.

This is the road to perpetual inflationary erosion of the dollar. Even so, the IMF oxygen tank could not be brought into use before 1969, after a complicated ratification process, and the European Common Market countries, with final power of veto, could kick it over at any time. Nevertheless, the administration is putting its hope in this scheme, and its refusal meanwhile to do anything effective to put its house in order forecasts a further plunge toward thorogoing fiat money, the weakest money known to man.

Columbus Day Should Be a National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as many colleagues here know, there are some 40 bills pending before the House Judiciary Committee designed to make Columbus Day a national holiday.

I have personally introduced H.R. 7532 for this purpose, and I am pleased to include, at this point, the testimony that I presented to the House Judiciary Committee yesterday urging their favorable report and recommendation for the enactment of this legislation.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 4 OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, OCTOBER 4, 1967, RE: H.R. 7532, MAKING COLUMBUS DAY A LEGAL HOLIDAY

Mr. Chairman, may I first be permitted to extend the very deep gratitude of thousands of my constituents and myself to you and the esteemed members of this distinguished Committee for taking the time, in an extremely busy schedule, to conduct this hearing on the bill I introduced, H.R. 7532, and so many other identical bills, designed to make Columbus Day a national legal holiday.

Let me please make it very clear, right now, that I am primarily interested in, and concerned with, your consideration and approval of the objective contained in each of these bills before you and that is to make Columbus Day a national holiday. Whatever particular'bill you select from those before you today, or if you decide to present a Committee bill, is of no concern so long as it contains the fundamental objective recommended in each of the measures being reviewed.

May I express my very deep belief that there is overwhelmingly strong sentiment throughout the United States for the enactment of this legislation, not only to honor Columbus but also as a well-merited tribute to the millions of Italian-Americans who have contributed and who continue to contribute so substantially to the progress and development of the United States.

It has been authoritatively observed that there are, now, some thirty-five States in the country that have already granted some degree of recognition to Columbus Day and I think you will agree that this fact is substantial evidence of the great desire of the majority of the American people to have special, national recognition, as a holiday, given to Columbus Day.

The tremendous meaning which Columbus Day holds for all Americans cannot be denied and I believe it ought to be formally emphasized by the Congress.

To our people, Columbus represents not only the starting point of our Nation, but he is truly the symbol of a great and persevering heroic spirit who dared to penetrate great and unknown dangers in his search of "a better way." It is this mighty spirit that is responsible for our remarkable national growth and development into the greatest and best land on earth. And it is of this Columbian spirit and heart that we must be ever-mindful if this country and our people are to successfully meet the great challenges and responsibilities that face and rest upon us in this dangerous period in our history.

Mr. Chairman, the adoption of this measure would, of course, also demonstrate, in a concrete and effective way, the appreciation and gratitude of this country for the great contributions to our national welfare and development made by Italian-Americans, in war and in peace, since 1492. The historical record of Italian-Americans in furthering our American progress in free government, in music, in the sciences, in the professions, in the arts, and at every other level of our national life is unsurpassed by any other segment of our population.

I was born and have lived and worked among Italian-Americans all my life and down through the years have personally observed and admired their unwavering religious devotion, their high standards of individual conduct, their traditional family fidelity, their energetic paricipation in all community projects and their intense patriotic dedication to our national principles and purposes.

Christopher Columbus and the Italian-Americans are eminently worthy and deserving of the special honor and recognition proposed by my bill and all the similar bills now pending before you. Therefore, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I most earnestly urge and hope that you will favorably consider and recommend the prompt enactment of this legislation by the Congress.

May I again express my appreciation for the opportunity to present this testimony to the Committee.

Salute to National 4-H Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, this week—September 30 to October 7—is designated as National 4–H Week. This is the one week of the year when not only does a very special effort go into encouraging youngsters and their parents to join a 4–H club for the coming year, it is also a time to pay recognition to the 2,153,000 youngsters and nearly 50,000 parent-leaders who have completed the 1967 program.

This great arm of the cooperative extension service has been, and will continue to be, one of the finest organizations for improving our Nation and contributing to its well-being.

In Minnesota, Mr. Leonard Harkness, 4–H State leader, who has been a tremendous inspiration for the extension 4–H agents, the club leaders, and to the members, reports that over 55,000 young people had enrolled in the traditional programs. In addition, there were 21,000 others who were enrolled in any one of a variety of short-term projects. I am also advised that there is an avalanche of youngsters who are taking the opportunity of this national enrollment week to join for 1968.

Nearly one-half of the total enrollment in Minnesota had livestock projects, 23,000 were involved in food preparation projects, 17,000 girls in clothing projects, 19,000 boys and girls in gardening, landscaping, and home beautification.

It is a great testimony to the uniqueness and thorough lasting value of the programs to know that there are now 750,000 adult alumni of this great 4–H club program in Minnesota.

I salute the 13,000 adult leaders and 55,000 members for their participation in 1967, and challenge them once more in 1968 to live up to their motto of "To Make the Best Better."

Power Firms Working Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, a feasibility study being conducted for three electric power producers in Iowa is a good example of cooperation for the benefit of consumers. An editorial from the September 27 issue of the Des Moines Register expresses approval of this joint venture of a rural electric cooperative and two investor-owned utilities.

POWER FIRMS WORKING TOGETHER

Stockholder-owned power companies, electric co-operatives and public power interests have long clashed on many questions. All have a role to play in power production and are here to stay.

So evidences of willingness to co-operate in projects are encouraging. The benefits that can result from such co-operation were told at the recent meeting of the Iowa Association of Electric Co-operatives.

W. E. Adams, general manager of the Central Iowa Power Co-operative of Marion, reported on a feasibility study of a proposed $140-million, 800,000-kilowatt generating plant. The study is being made for the Southwestern Federated Co-operative of Creston and two private utilities, the Iowa Power &

Light Co. of Des Moines and the Iowa Electric Light & Power Co. of Cedar Rapids. The study has shown that a large generating plant in central Iowa, using either nuclear fuel or coal, is feasible.

Adams pointed out that all power suppliers in Iowa now are "midgets among a field of giants." Lower power rates comparable to those in some states adjoining Iowa are possible, Adams believes, if private and public power suppliers work together to build the proposed $140-million plant.

Iowa would benefit greatly from lower power rates. The beneficiaries would include the power companies, home consumers of power and industrial firms. Lower rates would help promote industrial growth in Iowa. It is to be hoped that this project can become a reality.

Expressways and Neighborhoods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an editorial by Radio Station WIND, Chicago, on Monday, October 2, caught my attention. In view of its very timely emphasis on the review and study that must be given to the adverse impact of highway construction the editorial speaks for itself even though it discusses matters of special impact in the Chicago metropolitan area. The principle involved in this thoughtful analysis applies to any major city in the country. The editorial follows:

EXPRESSWAYS AND NEIGHBORHOODS

Several years ago, highway engineers planned a road which would have sliced the Morton Arboretum in half. Fortunately, wiser heads prevailed and the highway was re-routed to affect only a small part of that nature sanctuary.

It took a public outcry to keep the road builders from destroying hundreds of trees in Jackson Park. Every new highway costs some people their homes; often changes the entire character of a neighborhood.

Under these circumstances, WIND Radio views, with cautious optimism, plans by the Federal government to tie mass transportation and community rebuilding to the plans for the Crosstown Expressway.

On the plus side, this idea gives high priority to mass transit, the only feasible method of keeping Chicago from strangling itself with more highways . . . and poisoning itself with growing clouds of carbon monoxide.

Further, it does recognize the fact that a highway seriously alters the land adjacent to it, both favorably and unfavorably. It can turn deteriorating neighborhoods into slums; it can provide the transportation which encourages new construction and new industry.

Our restraint is prompted by the very scope of the project. There is an immediate cry for a new super-governmental agency to mastermind the project. In theory, it is a good idea to provide coordination between different agencies, but the usual result is simply more bureaucracy.

There ought to be no reason why each of the agencies involved cannot dovetail their work under some form of master plan. If so, we applaud the idea. But, frankly, we've got our fingers crossed. Government agencies just don't work that way.

Save the Great Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, a new and loud voice has sounded amid the din of the millions of citizens calling for an end to the murder of the Great Lakes.

Oceanology, a new magazine on a new technology, has issued a call to the colors for all marine experts and enthusiasts, in an editorial of its most recent issue.

Mr. Speaker, this young periodical is the speaker for those who really know the field of marine ecology. As such it has sounded a somber warning which each of us should heed. I include, therefore, this fine editorial in today's RECORD:

SAVE THE GREAT LAKES!

Once the pride of the Nation, the Great Lakes are becoming a tragic disgrace through public indifference, industry ineptness, and government apathy.

The steady decline of the Great Lakes is assuming shocking proportions. The waters have been contaminated by industrial wastes and sewage; the lake trout virtually were wiped out and the fishing industry ruined by the lamprey; the natural fish balance has been disrupted by the demise of the trout and the influx of salt-water alewives; and the beaches have been covered by billions of dead fish and a morass of algae.

Lake Erie already is a "dead" lake, and Lake Ontario rapidly is moving in the same direction. Lake Michigan very easily could be next. Only Lake Superior and Lake Huron have escaped serious damage. Unless corrective measures are taken now, the Great Lakes will cease to be a source of fresh water, food and recreation. We cannot continue to ignore the problem.

It is pitiful to see the results of pollution of the lakes as you fly over Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and other areas. It is even more disheartening to find once-beautiful sandy beaches contaminated and closed to the public.

This summer nearly all the lakes were hit by a monumental die-off of herring-like alewives. In Lake Michigan alone it was estimated that more than 20-billion alewives were washed ashore. Despite persistent clean-ups, the mounds of carcasses, the stench, and the flies became almost unbearable. As the alewives disappeared, they were replaced by algae which proliferated in the nutrient-rich water—overfertilized by dead fish and other wastes. There is evidence, too, that the algae are toxic—and may be capable of causing sickness or even death in humans.

It seems incredible that the American public, industry, and government would allow an irreplaceable natural resource like the Great Lakes to deteriorate to such an extent. But it is happening, and it doesn't require much imagination to see what lies ahead unless corrective action is taken on a massive scale.

Thus far, the efforts have been sporadic, uncoordinated, and underfinanced. In addition to being indifferent, the public frequently has contributed to the problem by littering the beaches and the lakes. The steel, petroleum, chemical, and other industries have been unreasonably slow in modifying their operations to minimize pollution. Many communities still use the lakes as a sewage dump. State and federal legislative bodies refuse to recognize the seriousness of the problem, and their agencies are hindered by insufficient funds and jurisdictional disputes.

The editors of *Oceanology International* believe the time has come to get tough and to pay the price needed to preserve the Great Lakes. The public and the technical community must express indignation by demanding appropriate action. Industry must spend the money for necessary equipment to halt pollution. Local communities must stop contaminating the lakes. State and federal governments must recognize the need for additional funding, more research, greater cooperation, and strict enforcement of pollution laws. There is no other choice!

Toronto Daily Star Questions Wisdom of America's Involvement in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, on October 2, 1967, Canada's largest circulation newspaper presented a highly critical analysis of President Johnson's recent San Antonio speech on Vietnam. The Toronto Daily Star, already alarmed by the growing military-industrial dominance over the direction of American foreign affairs, warns that the administration's reckless Vietnam policy poses the greatest danger to world peace today.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues who are concerned about the grave consequences that may result from our involvement in Vietnam to read the Toronto Daily Star editorial.

The editorial follows:

WHO REALLY THREATENS WORLD PEACE?

"I am convinced that by seeing this struggle through now, in Viet Nam, we are reducing the chances of a much larger war—perhaps a nuclear war.

"I would rather stand in Viet Nam, in our time, and by meeting the danger now, reduce the danger to our children and grandchildren."

To believe this self-justifying statement by President Johnson in his San Antonio speech Friday, it is necessary to ignore the momentous changes in communism over the last dozen years, as well as the baleful effects of the Viet Nam war on the United States.

A Communist victory in Viet Nam, a small and backward country, could conceivably threaten world peace only if it fitted into the old picture of a united, militant, world-wide Communist movement.

But that picture is out of date, for the salient trends within international communism since 1955 have been, first, a widening and deepening disunity and, second, a visible decline in the aggressiveness of the Soviet Union, the only Communist power capable of harming the United States.

The great and bitter schism between China and Russia shows no sign of healing—although Mr. Johnson may yet succeed in driving them to combine for the purpose of beating him in Viet Nam. The former Soviet satellites in eastern Europe, while still Communist, have gained substantial control of their own internal affairs and are beginning to assert some independence in foreign policy.

In Cuba, Fidel Castro takes help but not dictation from Moscow. North Viet Nam itself, despite its beleaguered state, has stubbornly resisted domination by either Moscow or Peking.

Of course, even communism diluted by nationalism still does a lot of moving and shaking, and will continue to. But the ogre of a monolithic communism bent on world conquest is just not credible any more.

Mr. Johnson's use of it to justify the wretched American enterprise in Viet Nam may be calculated to conceal the emergence of a different sort of monster which now threatens world peace.

It is the U.S. military-industrial complex, against which Dwight Eisenhower warned in his last speech as president.

This alliance of generals, war industrialists, their mouthpieces in Congress and all who profit from building a bigger military machine, has grown to awesome size and power during the Johnson administration.

Fattened and made bolder by the Viet Nam war, and the $70 billion defense budget that goes with it, the military-industrial complex is clearly winning control over American defense and foreign policies.

Defense Minister Robert McNamara, who so firmly asserted civilian supremacy over the military under President Kennedy, now must yield step by step to the generals' incessant demands for escalation in Viet Nam and for costly projects of dubious worth, such as the "light" ($5 to $10 billion) anti-missile barrier against China.

His authority now is so weakened that he cannot even stop high generals, such as General Earle Wheeler, chairman of the chiefs of staff, from publicly criticizing official policy. And these generals are plainly addicted to the simplistic idea that the world's gravest political problems are soluble by the application of more American force, or the threat of force.

The president whose policy has enthroned the militarists and enriched the military-industrial complex now talks of making the world safe for our grandchildren.

If the militarization of American policy is not halted, there may be no grandchildren to worry about.

For a tragic reversal has taken place since the years when a generally prudent America led a defensive coalition against Communist aggressions and provocations.

Now it is a recklessly interventionist America, not a divided and faltering communism, which poses the gravest danger to world peace.

Who Really Threatens World Peace?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, there was a time when the actions of America were lauded and respected in just about all parts of the world. That day now seems long gone, for one regularly reads uncomplimentary reports about America's purpose and design in world affairs.

For instance, after the President made his San Antonio address on Vietnam, the Toronto Daily Star carried an editorial highly critical of the United States. Because this editorial illustrates a dismal and accusing view that a leading newspaper in neighboring Canada entertained as a consequence of the President's address, I insert it in the RECORD for the convenience of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

WHO REALLLY THREATENS WORLD PEACE?

"I am convinced that by seeing this struggle through now, in Viet Nam, we are reducing the chances of a much larger war—perhaps a nuclear war.

"I would rather stand in Viet Nam, in our time, and by meeting the danger now, reduce the danger to our children and grandchildren."

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The president whose policy has enthroned the militarists and enriched the military-industrial complex now talks of making the world safe for our grandchildren.

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For a tragic reversal has taken place since the years when a generally prudent America led a defensive coalition against Communist aggressions and provocations.

Now it is a recklessly interventionist America, not a divided and faltering communism, which poses the gravest danger to world peace.

A Citizen Views ADC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a letter which appeared in the Detroit Free Press on September 25, 1967. Since its appearance, I have had it mentioned to me spontaneously by many people in Detroit. In my judgment, it shows the good sense of the writer, whose ideas certainly are shared by many people. It is my pleasure to point out that the House-passed social security bill, which contains the welfare provisions, does much of what Miss Salder asks. This is the same bill that is being objected to in the Senate.

The House-passed bill does exactly what Miss Salder suggests in points 1 and 2. I agree with her theory on point 3 and I hope that our program will work out that way. On point 4, the National Government will help fund the day-care centers. I agree further with her that many businesses today would be able to get better help if they would help supply day-care centers. In point 5, Miss Salder suggests a family allowance system. A family allowance system is now only in the talking stage in this country. As for the rest of the suggestions, while I agree wholeheartedly, they are not included in the social security bill, but would need to come from committees other than Ways and Means.

The letter written by Miss Salder follows:

BEYOND ADC AND WELFARE

Welfare and ADC aid, as it is administered in our big cities, encourages the children to become dependent, immature and irresponsible. When ADC was started in 1936 it was our hope that it would assist the children to grow in maturity, self-reliance and responsibility. The average citizen today knows we have failed badly.

Since we know we have failed, why are we so slow in changing our method? We must make the experts look at the facts. We must pressure them into a change; after all, we pay the bills.

I have a few suggestions to add to Mr. Shannon's:

1. Job training for all heads of families who are healthy and capable of learning a vocation. (Welfare and ADC parents, both men and women.)
2. Set up day care centers to care for ADC children while mothers are being trained for jobs and while they work.
3. Day care centers should take the place of the Head Start program that was begun to give deprived children learning experiences. They could have the same experiences in the day care centers.
4. Encourage business and the national government to fund the day care centers.

5. Set up a family allowance system for every family whose head does not earn enough to adequately support the family. This method will bring human dignity to the poor.

6. Build smaller low cost housing projects. The high rises seem to breed crime. Help the poor to start their own cooperatives.

7. Give more counseling to these children in vocational decisions. Encourage the ones who are capable to go to college. Give scholarships to those who are willing to seek higher learning. See that every child learns a skill before he leaves school.

It is time for our whole society to start thinking about what we can do to change our ways of dealing with our poor. If we fail to change we are doomed.

ROSETTA H. SADLER.

H.R. 6418, the Partnership for Health Amendments, Will Strengthen Health Care in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last year, when the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Amendments of 1967 were enacted, I felt that we had made a major move toward better health for all the people in this Nation. When the President recommended the extension of the Partnership for Health program, I supported his position enthusiastically. Now I want to emphasize to my colleagues in the House my conviction that we have taken a giant step when we passed H.R. 6418 on Sept. 20.

There are many innovations in this legislation. It provides for States and communities to use Federal grants in programs that they know to be important to the health of their people. Before, they could receive Federal money only for certain specified programs that perhaps were not the most urgent to meet their needs. It allows programs to be redesigned around the total health needs of people, where before they were designed around diseases or categories of need. It provides for the establishment and support of comprehensive planning for health, where before health planning was done piecemeal without any way of avoiding duplication or overlap of programs. And in the planning process, it gives a major voice to the consumers of health service, all too often unheard in the past.

As an example of what the President means by creative federalism, this legislation shines. In supporting State and local programs, it recognizes the variety in our country and that the States and communities have and can fulfill the responsibility for fully assessing their own health situations and deciding how best to go about improving them.

This is a very good piece of legislation, and I am grateful that we acted upon it with wisdom.

OEO Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a few overemphasized reports of dissatisfaction with the poverty program could be extremely misleading when balanced against the overwhelming support with which informed opinion throughout the country recognizes the value of the poverty effort.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including eight recent editorials from representative newspapers. These newspapers are respectively, the Houston Chronicle, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the New York Times, the Dallas News, the Kansas City Times, the Baltimore Sun, and the Austin Statesman.

Recently the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the U.S. Senate held 33 day of public hearings investigating the effectiveness of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 144 hours of testimony, the Senate committee heard 401 witnesses. Of all these witnesses who testified, only two advocated the abolition of the OEO program and not one single witness recommended termination of any of the programs started by the OEO. On the basis of this record, the committee of the other body reported a bill which will continue all of these programs intact.

Members of the House will be interested in this widespread evidence of support for the objectives of our war on poverty.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1967]

BUM RAP FOR POVERTY PROGRAM

Much was heard during and after the recent spate of urban riots about what the workers for the federal poverty agency might have had to do with fomenting the disorders. Some were accused of actively going out and inciting violence.

As a result of these accusations, Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington conducted an investigation. The findings show the poverty agency has an almost clean record. In fact, of 30,000 workers in city slums, only six were charged with any offense. None was charged in Detroit and just one in Newark.

The report reveals another interesting fact. Of the millions of dollars in property damage caused by this summer's rioting, poverty agency property was damaged only in the amount of $1840. All this was in broken windows. None of the 224 poverty agency buildings was burned or destroyed.

The study found that poverty workers fulfilled a vital role in dispelling rumors and disseminating accurate information in cities where trouble was feared.

Of the 64 cities surveyed, 32 had had riots and 32 did not. All the cities have sizable minority populations and troublesome local problems concerning housing, de facto segregation and poor community-police relations.

Walter H. Richter, OEO's southwest regional director, said the survey "shows that most mayors and police officials felt that OEO summer programs helped to prevent violence in their cities. . . . Not one police chief or mayor in any of the cities—including the 32 where disturbances occurred—said that OEO heightened tensions." And not one mayor asked OEO to discontinue the poverty program. Rather, many requested additional poverty funds to prevent further trouble.

By the nature of their work, poverty employes are susceptible to the charge of inciting riots. Part of their job is motivating the poor and downtrodden. This naturally results in the poor becoming dissatisfied with their lot in life. Ideally, the poverty worker will then try to channel this dissatisfaction into constructive self-betterment projects.

Efforts need to be redoubled to convince the poor that rioting and violence will not help them in achieving equality but rather will set them back.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Sept. 27, 1967]

KEEP FAITH IN POVERTY WAR

The Plain Dealer continued to have hope for the war on poverty, even when its failures were being trumpeted abroad and its opponents were crowing over every bungle.

Now the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has just finished hearing 401 witnesses say whatever they knew through 144 hours of testimony in 33 days of public hearings.

Of the 401 witnesses, only two advocated that the Office of Economic Opportunity be abolished, or that its programs be taken over by other federal agencies, or that those programs be ended.

The 10-Democrat, 6-Republican committee reports: "OEO is necessary. It should not be abolished. Its programs should not be 'spun off.' "

This bears out The Plain Dealer's judgments in the early trial-and-error battles of the poverty war. The OEO made mistakes. It got scorched for troubles that were inescapable. No agency trying to reshape poverty-toughened youth into cooperative young citizens could avoid the rough stuff. And not every Job Corps unit can instantly run as successfully as the one here on Ansel Road.

This week the Senate will get the OEO legislation as touched up by the committee. It will probably vote on it in a few days.

We are for Head Start and a follow-through to clinch what gains it offers. We are for more job-producing, more child day care, more person-to-person guidance for families and elderly poor.

We are for OEO's acceleration of all rehabilitative services in contrast to cold handouts like "negative income tax." The latter make mere low-grade consumers out of the poor. But rehabilitating a person in poverty—while giving him a decent stipend—gives him his chance to earn self-respect, climbing out of poverty on his own steam.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 27, 1967.]

BEYOND THE POVERTY VOTE

The antipoverty program now nearing a vote in the Senate is a complicated measure. There are several different programs because there are several kinds of people who are poor.

Most pathetic, perhaps, are the five million old men and women living out their last years in meager, sometimes harrowing, circumstances. Most challenging are the 12.5 million children under the age of eighteen growing up in families whose incomes are below $3,000 a year. The nation has to extend a helping hand to these children or face the probability that out of their constricted lives, blighted hopes and disordered emotions will come tomorrow's terrifying tornado of hate and violence.

But the faces of poverty include more than the very old and the very young. There are the youths unprepared for jobs. the high school dropouts, the unskilled. There are the mothers, deserted or divorced, who are rearing small children. There are, too, the families where the breadwinner does not earn enough to meet the family needs.

The Senate Labor Committee, after a sympathetic but searching re-examination of existing programs by its Poverty subcommittee, has drafted a bill that strengthens and extends the basic law. It adds funds to help the aged, to expand family planning and to establish more day-care centers. The committee report recognizes that both the community action program and the Job Corps have encountered administrative difficulties, as was inevitable, but it recommends carrying these programs forward. A willingness to experiment in essential if answers are to be found to the stubborn, many-sided problems of persistent poverty.

An esesntial feature of the bill is the two-year emergency program to provide jobs for the unskilled and the semi-skilled. The Administration is showing poor judgment in resisting this proposal. In a society so rich as the United States, the Government can afford to act as employer of last resort for those who are willing to work and cannot find jobs. This emergency program is a modest start in a necessary campaign against hopelessness and for individual self-respect.

In casting their votes on the antipoverty bill, the members of the Senate have an obligation to look beyond statistics and beyond partisanship. As Gov. Nelson Rockefeller observed the other day, the "poverty program will go down in history as one of the truly significant programs." It can achieve its full potential if the Senators remember the faces of the poor. Beyond budgets, beyond technicalities, their faces tell poverty's story.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News, Sept. 18, 1967]

Case for the Defense

It is generally conceded that the bad apples in the War on Poverty barrel did much to spoil the entire program's image this summer. The Office of Economic Opportunity ran a survey on the situation, and, in all fairness, that side of the story deserves to be heard.

For involvement in the riots, 16 poverty-war workers were arrested; 29,984 were not. Of the 16 suspects, only 6 were employed full-time in the program. None has been convicted.

Walter H. Richter, former state senator and now Southwest regional director for the OEO, recently ticked off what the War on Poverty was doing hereabouts while the riots were going on elsewhere.

In Dallas, in April, quick action by antipoverty workers was credited with helping to keep a potential police-brutality explosion from occurring.

In Oklahoma City, five boys with police records were put to work with the recreation and police departments. The one with the worst record did the best job, organizing a highly successful trash cleanup campaign in the slums.

In San Antonio, off-duty police played big brother to Negro and Mexican-American youths, taking them to ball games, picnics, swimming pools and the like.

In Corpus Christi, reports the head of the police juvenile bureau, "criminal activity is almost at a standstill in those neighborhoods where the antipoverty program is operating."

Those are some of the bright spots, but they do not erase the smudges. Allan Maley, who directs Dallas' arm of the poverty war, sought to put it in perspective: "If you really believe that a local community should have the right to run its own programs, then how do you keep the community from having the right to fail us well as to succeed?"

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Times, Sept. 1, 1967]

A Positive Senate View of Poverty

The predicted backlash in Congress over the summer riots hardly is evident in the whopping 5.06-billion-dollar poverty and slum emergency bill approved by the Senate labor committee. Not only was the administration poverty request increased, but the committee tacked on a 3-billion-dollar job program for the inhabitants of slums.

Of course the path is fraught with obstacles between a committee recommendation and congressional approval. And there may very well be an element of sniping at the White House involved. Washington still is talking about the secret memorandum delivered to the committee in which the administration asked that the emergency-job provision be removed and that other projects be trimmed or abandoned.

Now, Rep. Melvin Laird (R-Wis.) has written to Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is a "Dear Sarge" letter in which Laid beseeches Shriver to direct his criticism of poverty program inadequacies not to Congress but to the White House. It is all good Republican fun.

The big appropriation proposal also may contain a modicum of strategy. A strong bill out of committee with its basic provisions retained by the Senate could provide room for compromise in the House.

There is still some mystery as to the nature of the slum-and-job program proposed by Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.). The exact wording is being worked out by the committee, but apparently it deals with economic development and some training to be administered by the Department of Labor.

But as this summer ends and as Congress prepares to move into the remaining months of 1967, it is encouraging to note that problems of the poor and most especially of the cities are being viewed with more reason and less emotion. All the social dislocations government and private efforts are attempting to alleviate were present before the urban disorders of 1967. They still are present, and there can be no let-up in the fight to reduce want and ignorance in this country.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 1, 1967]

No Time for Politics

When the administration's antipoverty program was launched three years ago this month it got off to "a shaky start," to quote news comment at the time. It had a relatively small budget and political enemies. The idea of setting up a separate Office of Economic Opportunity was unwelcome to officials in the old established departments concerned with labor, welfare, and education.

It still is. The House Education and Labor Committee is now considering proposals to transfer some of the OEO programs to other agencies, such as the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. Some Republican members want to bypass OEO entirely and replace it with a council of economic opportunity advisers to the President.

At the same time, the current effort in the House to tie a $5 billion cut in nondefense spending to President Johnson's proposed 10 percent tax increase threatens to knock out much of the financial support of old and new antipoverty programs.

Three years is a short time to get so ambitious a program as the attack on poverty in full stride. Trial and error was inevitable. But many efforts have been promising and the hopes of poor people have been aroused.

Already, however, some programs have been cut back for lack of funds and once-hopeful people have been deeply disappointed. This attitude can have serious consequences. It is out of frustrated expectations that violent revolution is born.

Efforts of critics of the program to make radical changes in its administration at this time should be subjected to the closest scrutiny. Political motivation should not be permitted to dictate the future course of antipovery programs. Finding jobs for unemployed teen-agers, helping little children from deprived homes to get a good start in school, creating service opportunities for the elderly should not be a subject for party feuding.

The country cannot afford to decide such issues on less than humanitarian grounds. There is no occasion for a partisan victory in this debate.

[From the Austin (Tex.) Statesman, Sept. 27, 1967]

Some Pluses for War on Poverty

Despite the blasts of critics, the War on Poverty must be doing something right.

In 32 cities in which there were no riots or civil disorders this summer, most of the local authorities credited the summer programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity for helping to prevent violence.

This is what they told the OEO in a nationwide survey in which OEO inspectors talked to mayors, police chiefs, juvenile judges, heads of local Chambers of Commerce and other leading citizens.

Not one police chief or mayor blamed War on Poverty programs for heightening tensions, and in 15 cities, local Community Action Agencies were praised for calming down bad situations in specific instances.

In 14 cities, municipal police departments and CAAs had joint programs to prevent riots. In eight cities, the juvenile arrest rate went down this summer as a result, it is believed, of increased availability of summer jobs.

There is also negative evidence encouraging to the War on Poverty:

In the 32 cities that did experience riots, only 16 of the more than 30,000 CAA employes in those cities were arrested for taking part in them.

More than $300 million worth of property damage was done in riot cities, says the OEO, yet not one of its 244 buildings in the heart of the riot areas was burned or destroyed.

Total damage to Community Action buildings was $1,840 for seven sets of broken windows.

Dickey-Lincoln Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, New England electric users, who now have the highest rates in the Nation, would benefit from a Federal power "yardstick" if Dickey-Lincoln school project were approved. History indicates that electric rates are lower where there is such "competition by example."

This was the point made recently by Lynn Stalbaum, a well-known and respected Member of the 89th Congress. His statement was made at a Lake Delton, Wis., regional meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which he now serves as a legislative consultant.

I am pleased to place Mr. Stalbaum's remarks in the Appendix of the Record:

Rural electric systems have both a general and a specific stake in the adequate funding of public works projects. Over half of the rural electrics purchase all or part of their wholesale power requirements from the federal power marketing agencies. In fiscal 1966, almost 40 percent of all power purchased by the rural electrics was bought from these Federal agencies at a cost of about $93.5 million.

From 1940 through 1966, the average cost of wholesale power purchased by the rural electrics has dropped by 41 percent. One of the major factors in this reduction has been the "yardstick" effect of the lower-cost wholesale power available from the federal hydroelectric facilities. (The other major factor is the existence of the REA loan program for generation and transmission cooperatives.)

Unfortunately, the federal wholesale power "yardstick" is shrinking. At one time, federal hydroelectric generating facilities represented over 15 percent of the total national generating capacity. Today, it has declined to 12.7 percent, and this downward trend seems likely to continue.

History indicates that electric rates are lower where there is "competition by example" from federal power. Only the Northeast is without federal power projects and so remote from them as to be virtually immune to their rate "yardstick" influence. Electric bills in the Northeast are the highest in the continental United States.

The investor-owned electric utilities would like to keep it that way, as is evidenced by their opposition to the proposed Dickey-Lincoln project on the St. Johns river in Maine, which would be New England's first federal hydroelectric facility. This controversial, much-studied project was finally authorized by the Congress in 1965, and funds were appropriated to begin planning for construction of facilities that would include 750,000 KW of generating capacity. Additional planning funds were appropriated last year, but because of the very vocal opposition to the project, the House Appropriations Committee directed its staff to "conduct a thorough staff investigation of the project to assure the proposed federal investment of $218.7 million is fully warranted."

Dickey-Lincoln came through with flying colors. The staff report confirmed the feasibility of the project, noting that it has a benefit-to-cost ratio of 1.9 to 1 and "would provide efficient hydroelectric power at reasonable rates for peaking purposes as well as firm power to the preference customers in Maine". The House Appropriations Committee voted to approve the budget request of $1.67 million for fiscal 1968 to complete planning of this project.

However, a highly-organized attack on the Dickey-Lincoln project was made during consideration of the fiscal 1968 Public Works Appropriation Bill in the House, which subsequently adopted an amendment eliminating planning funds for the project from the bill. In a statement issued after the vote, Sen. Edmund Muskie (D. Maine) charged that the House had "voted against the best public interest of our entire region." He added that "few votes have been so blatantly dominated by special interest groups" and named the private power companies and the coal industry.

The private utilities in the area contend that Dickey-Lincoln does not offer the lowest cost power for New England. They say their proposed nuclear plants are the answer to the high cost of electricity in the region. What they don't realize is that large quantities of peaking power will be needed to augment this large supply of firm power produced by these nuclear plants. Economic studies have shown that hydroelectric plants are far more efficient than nuclear plants when used for peaking purposes. Hydroelectric and nuclear firm power cannot bec ompared with each other; each serves a different and complementary function within the same electrical system.

While only the rural electric co-ops in Maine and neighboring New England states would benefit directly from this project, rural electrics throughout the country have a vital interest in the construction of this valuable multiple-purpose project. For if the opponents of Dickey-Lincoln are successful in stopping this project, they will have taken another step in their campaign to diminish and destroy the effectiveness of the Federal power "yardstick".

Government Fouling of the Lake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT McCLORY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is reliably reported that Lake Michigan is receiving a large amount of polluted material from the Indiana Harbor ship canal with the approval of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. This dumping of dredgings into Lake Michigan, which is already receiving an excessive amount of pollutants, would appear to be completely inconsistent with the policies adopted by the Congress and the objectives of the federally created FWPCA.

Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the October 4 issue of the Chicago Tribune entitled "Government Fouling of the Lake," reveals inconsistencies between the efforts of the FWPCA to reduce pollution and its agreement, which has resulted thus far in the dumping of 35,000 tons of polluted muck into the lake.

Mr. Speaker, I call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress who are also concerned with the continuing threat of water pollution:

Government Fouling of the Lake

Industries that pollute the nation's waterways were warned by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall in an interview with a Tribune reporter in Washington.

"They're just going to have to face the fact that they will have to make a major investment," he said. "Nationally there has been a reluctance by some segments of industry—including the worst polluters—to act until they are forced to. If they feel that way, we're going to force them."

This forthright talk by a high federal official is commendable, and we wish he would apply the same advice to every government agency that is contributing to water pollution. On the same day that Secretary Udall was threatening industrial polluters John E. Egan, president of the sanitary district, was urging a congressional investigation of the dumping of oil wastes in Lake Michigan by the corps of army engineers.

The oily material is coming from the Indiana Harbor ship canal, where the engineers are dredging 200,000 cubic yards of sediment to keep the canal open for navigation. About 35,000 tons of the muck consists of grease and oil, according to the Federal Water Pollution Control administration. About half of the sediment is organic matter which also would damage the lake.

For years the army engineers have been using the lake as a dumping ground for material dredged from canals and harbors. Last July 13 Secretary of the Interior Udall and Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor signed a memorandum agreeing that the dumping of polluted dredgings would be avoided. Soon afterward, however, Mr. Udall and the chief of the army engineers agreed that the dumping would be permitted while the engineers studied alternate methods of disposal.

The engineers do not relish the task of fouling Lake Michigan with the dregs of harbors and canals. They understand as well as anybody that this practice has been contributing to the threatened death of the lake, but their available funds have not been sufficient to dispose of dredgings on shore or in diked areas.

The congressional investigation proposed by President Egan of the sanitary district would determine quickly that bigger appropriations for the dredging work are needed if the engineers are to stop all dumping in the lake.

The engineers are not without influence in Congress. For generations the members of Congress have been using the corps to help promote flood control projects, harbors, canals, lakes, and dams. No stream is so small that it can't be recommended for development into a navigable waterway. The tax funds wasted in pork barrel waterway projects would go a long way toward ending the pollution crisis which is now upon us.

Secretary Udall and the army engineers should not be bashful about explaining to Congress that when a dredging project is undertaken enough funds should be provided so that the dredged materials can be disposed of safely. President Johnson's swollen budget of 137 billion dollars surely contains items less important to the national welfare than the preservation of the Great Lakes.

Government pollution of the lakes is just as bad as industrial pollution. Both should be stopped.

Atomic Energy Commission Safety Standards Receive High Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Interim Committee on Industrial Relations of the California State Legislative Assembly has made a detailed study of the subject of nuclear safety in California which has just been published as an official document. I have asked that its "Summary of Findings and Recommendations" in this regard be printed in the Record. Special attention is directed to points 3, 4, and 5 of the findings which conclude that "the extraordinary conservatism of the AEC's substantive standards maximizes safety insofar as is reasonably possible." The committee's only recommendation is for a special study of nuclear plant siting and design in seismic areas, a special need of the State of California:

Summary of Findings and Recommendations

FINDINGS

1. This committee has found that the only issue of safety .to have aroused significant public concern in connection with commercial nuclear powerplants is the danger of exposure to radiation.

2. This committee has concluded that the regulatory activities of the state in connecttion with this issue (radiation protection) are important but essentially dependent on and supplemental to federal regulation, which is determinative. We have found no substantial inadequacy in state law relevant to this issue or in the performance by the various state agencies of those responsibilities which are relevant to this issue.

3. This committee has found that the regulatory process of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the substance of their safety standards, are crucial to this issue.

4. This committee has concluded that the AEC's regulatory process focuses on the issuance of a license which effectively controls all of the activities in a commercial nuclear powerplant which could conceivably result in the exposure of living organisms to excessive radiation. The process leading up to the issuance of the license is complex and exhaustive; the license itself is comprehensive and detailed—and it has the force of law; and the enforcement process is rigorous, involves several independent participants—federal, state and private—and has been demonstrably successful.

5. This committee has concluded that the substance of federal safety standards in connection with this issue provide a very high degree of safety. We have inferred from our examination of these substantive standards that the the AEC manifests a philosophy of risk which seeks to preclude any credible risk. While no regulatory process can guarantee absolute safety, the extraordinary conservatism of the AEC's substantive standards maximizes safety insofar as is reasonably possible.

6. This committee has determined that its essential task has been to judge whether the very high degree of safety provided by federal regulation is safe enough for the citizens of California. Our examination of present scientific knowledge of the biological effects of radiation—that is, of the possible dangers—and of the substantive standards which safeguard against these dangers has led us to the conclusion that federal regulation provides California citizens with better than reasonably adequate protection. In our judgment, it is safe enough.

7. An examination of the safety record of commercial nuclear powerplants since the startup of the first one in 1957—and this we consider the acid test of our judgment—shows that no radiation accident of any significance has occurred; no radiation injury has occurred to any employee; and no radiation injury to anyone outside these plants has occurred, nor has the maximum permissible annual exposure limit for the public ever been exceeded due to the operation of commercial nuclear powerplants.

8. This committee has examined all of the issues of safety which arose in the course of our investigation, and particularly those issues posed by the critics of AEC regulation, and find no significant substance in them. At best, these issues seem to embody a certain plausibility, but it has been the absence of reliable evidence to support the contention that unsafe conditions exist that has determined our conclusions. In attempting to render a responsible and honest judgment, we have had to rely on the best information we could obtain.

9. Finally, we have identified one issue which we believe calls for congressional action. This is not strictly speaking a safety issue. Rather, it concerns the future development of nuclear power in California. The AEC's criteria for siting and design with respect to earthquakes seems to be inadequate to guide an applicant in the development of an acceptable application. Both of the major controversies over commercial nuclear powerplants in California this decade focused on this issue. We have concluded that the future development of nuclear power in this state requires more adequate federal guidelines on siting and design with respect to earthquakes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The committee recommends that a joint resolution be passed requesting that Congress fund a special study by the AEC of the problem of plant siting and design with respect to earthquakes; that this study be performed in California which is the nation's best natural laboratory for the study of earthquakes; and that this study be aimed at producing operationally precise criteria for siting and design with respect to earthquakes.

No Other Course Than To Continue Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I know of no Member of Congress who deliberately wants to spend public funds wantonly or uneconomically. In a drive for economy brought on by our heavy expenditures in Vietnam we have sometimes been blinded as to what is really true economy.

The space effort has been attacked for superficial reasons that can endanger it and in the long run make it much more expensive to achieve the goals in space that will serve mankind.

In order to gain equilibrium and balance our expenditures in all branches of Government, with the available money raised through taxes, we must keep our country moving on a high and ever-expanding level of industrial and economic activity.

The national goals in space will make a great contribution to our economy and help carry its portion of the burden of our debt and expenditures.

Dr. Wernher von Braun, who has done so much for the space effort, has written an article for the Associated Press which should be read by all of us.

The article follows:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, Sept. 24, 1967]

"UNITED STATES HAS NO OTHER COURSE," SAYS VON BRAUN, "THAN TO CONTINUE SPACE PROGRAM"

(By Dr. Wernher von Braun)

(NOTE.—The skepticism that greeted the launching of Sputnik I on Oct. 4, 1957, has been swept away by the space achievements of the past 10 years. America is committed to land a man on the moon in the second decade of the space age. Dr. Wernher von Braun, director of NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., and a pioneer in space research, here reviews the first 10 years of space exploration and outlines five important challenges that remain.)

Ten years ago, Sputnik I soared into orbit and the Space Age began.

That historic event marked the start of an era in which space became a new ocean for exploration, a new arena which man is using to advance technology, pursue national goals and better his life on earth.

Right now we are standing on a high plateau of space technology. It has permitted us to send man into earth orbit for extended periods to perform research and development tasks and extravehicular activity.

We have sent unmanned probes to the moon and planets, and within a short time we will send men to the moon and return them safely to earth.

Only by examining the major ingredients necessary for a viable space program can we make a valid comparison of the prospects for space exploration today with the outlook a few years before the Space Age began.

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS

Since a space program is primarily a scientific and technological undertaking, the first essential component is an adequate, unshakable scientific base.

Because of the tremendous amount of work done in research and development in rocketry for ballistic missile systems, many scientists in the United States in the early 1950's felt strongly that the time had come for space exploration.

There was much skepticism as well as public and official indifference and apathy.

Gradually, the practicality of the dream of space exploration grew. On July 29, 1955, President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced the intention of the United States to enter the Space Age "with the launching of small, unmanned earth-circling satellites as part of the U.S. participation in the International Geophysical Year which takes place between July, 1957, and December, 1958."

This was clearly a scientific and technical project.

The second requirement for a sound space program is the establishment of specific goals to be reached within a definite period of time. The President's declaration set such a goal.

When Charles Lindbergh made his famous first flight to Paris, I do not believe that anyone believed that his sole purpose in going was simply to get to Paris. His purpose was to demonstrate the feasibility of transoceanic air travel. He had the farsightedness to realize that the best way to demonstrate his point to his world audience was to select a target familiar to everyone. Everybody knew where New York was, and everybody knew where Paris was.

In the Apollo program, the moon is our Paris. Rather than asking the man on the street to accept the esoteric language of the trade in defining the immediate objectives of man in space, the late President Kennedy selected a goal which is entirely familiar to the man on the street. The fellow next door knows what a man is, where the moon is, and he knows when this decade is out.

ADEQUATE FINANCING

The third requirement for a space program is adequate funding.

The United States was enjoying unparalleled economic prosperity during the 1950's. The federal budget in 1957 was $70 billion, of which $76 million was for space research. So cost was neither a prohibitive nor decisive factor in the decision to enter space.

Today, dreams in space are being fulfilled on a scale that surpasses anything predicted back then. Skepticism has been swept away by these achievements.

Funding of the space program has been affected by the war in Vietnam and other urgent national needs. Despite this, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has a viable program.

The outlook for the continued exploration of space is good. And yet—I am uneasy.

Unmarred success at each stage of our advance into space could result in overconfidence or complacency. Apathy because of smugness or satisfaction is as bad as apathy because of indifference.

Earnest pursuit of difficult and worthwhile objectives is necessary to lift an individual or a nation from mediocrity to greatness.

The last major decision establishing a national goal in space was the commitment to land astronauts on the moon in this decade. Even before this goal is achieved, we must set other goals if we are to continue our steady forward progress.

The space flight technology being developed in the Apollo man-to-the-moon project provides a tremendous potential for research and exploration during the 1970s in both manned and unmanned experiments.

.The solutions to mysteries which have tantalized scientists for decades may be found in space: The origin and evolution of the moon, the earth, the sun and other planets; the origin and evolution of life itself; and the dynamic processes that affect our terrestrial environment.

MAJOR CHALLENGES

For the future, I see five major areas of challenge.

The first is the moon. The first successful manned lunar landing, a visit of about 18 hours, will just scratch the surface. Its greatest achievement will be the demonstration of the ability to travel a quarter of a million miles from earth, land on another heavenly body, and return safely to earth.

Other journeys must follow. We must use the Saturn rockets, the Apollo spacecraft and the launch and other facilities developed for Project Apollo over and over again to gain the fullest return on our investment.

To make a one-night stand on the moon and go there no more would be as senseless as building a railroad and then making only one trip from New York to Los Angeles.

Secondly, increased attention must be given the planets, especially Mars and Venus, during the 1970-1985 period. The Saturn V rocket will be capable of carrying all currently conceived unmanned scientific pay loads to these two planets. But manned exploration of Mars will require the next generation of spacecraft and launch vehicles, including nuclear propulsion.

The third challenging area is space sciences. New theories are being proposed to explain the tremendous energy levels recorded from observation of the quasars that have been discovered recently. If the secret of the great energy output of the quasars can be discovered, it might prove just as important as the discovery of nuclear energy.

The fourth challenge is in the field of space utilities—the communications, weather and navigational satellites. This area has given us the first practical commercial applications of space.

Television networks have used satellites to link continents in reporting events of worldwide significance. In the future, satellites will shoulder the burden of overseas communication between governments, business firms, universities and individuals. Worldwide television networks will beam programs directly from satellites into carpeted living rooms and dirt floor huts.

SPOTTING FOREST FIRES

The long-range accurate weather forecasts which are possible through satellites will help combat hunger through increased food production. Already we have used our weather satellites to detect dust storms in the Middle East, forest fires in California and water pollution at various places.

Our surveys indicate that gains of many billions a year can soon be available to humanity through space-research in medicine, communications, food, mineral water resources, map making geodesy, weather prediction and control, air pollution, air and sea traffic control, and industrial and management applications.

This leads us to the fifth and probably most urgent challenge of space. That is the development of manned space stations and satellites with remote sensors which can help solve earth problems by observations in a number of areas such as agriculture, forestry, hydrology, geology, geography, cartography and oceanography.

Earth satellites can give timely reports from orbit over large areas on types and conditions of soils, salinity and moisture content of soil, growth of crops, disease and other land and water conditions.

Continuous surveillance of earth from space in such areas as food and water management and population census taking could aid in international organization like the United Nations to solve a pressing problem which faces much of the world every day, starvation.

Satellites could locate potential growing areas to meet a need to multiply food production. Otherwise our children and grandchildren might live in a world in which a vast majority of mankind will be engaged in a struggle for sheer survival.

NO OTHER COURSE

There is no other conceivable course for the United States except to pursue its thrust into space, to continue its research and development programs and continue its cooperation with other nations so that the benefits flowing from this vigorous effort will benefit all mankind.

After Apollo, I believe this nation will continue to have a dynamic program for exploration of space. We shall develop manned and unmanned earth-orbiting permanent space stations with a variety of missions. We shall continue exploration of the moon, establish bases on the lunar surface, and we shall continue to send unmanned probes throughout the solar system and manned expeditions to the planets whenever that becomes promising and practicable.

In the meantime, we should continue to make maximum use of our present technologies and extend the wherever necessary to meet tomorrow's national goals in space.

Federal Meat Inspection Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, meat inspection legislation now before Congress seeks to further improve the programs which have helped build meat packing and processing into an industry with nearly $16 billion in annual gross sales, and which, in turn, provides nearly $13 billion in yearly sales of livestock by American farmers.

The availability of these markets for American livestock, as well as the prosperity and potential for the American food industry's rests on one basic fact—the continued confidence of today's homemaker in the integrity of our meat supply.

To assure that every effort is made to provide the homemaker with the full assurance that the meat she buys for her family is safe and wholesome, a Federal-State partnership must be forged through which the consumer is fully protected, the packing industry continues to prosper, and the producer is assured of an expanding market for his livestock.

H.R. 12144 accomplishes this by two means:

First. It recognizes the role of the States as a vital link in this essential program, and seeks to provide a positive means by which the States can integrate their efforts into a stronger, more unified system of meat inspection.

Second. It proposes much-needed reforms in the present Federal meat inspection system, to close existing loopholes in the 60-year-old Meat Inspection Act, and make it more responsive in the years ahead.

The most serious flaw in the existing Meat Inspection Act is an absence of any provisions for coordinating Federal and State meat inspection efforts. The role of the States is a vital one, since the Federal law applies only to products produced in plants dealing in interstate and foreign commerce. This leaves the States with sole responsibility for meat products in intrastate commerce.

The volume of nonfederally inspected products is significant—approximately 15 percent of commercially slaughtered animals, and about one-fourth of commercially processed meat products. Significant amounts of these meats are sold without any form of Government inspection. The remaining amounts are subject to inspection by State or local governments. Inspection under these programs is generally well below Federal standards, but these products may be intermingled in retail stores with federally inspected products for sale to the public.

Not all States have meat inspection statutes, and the degree of authority, implementation and effectiveness of State inspection programs vary from State to State in those that do have meat inspection laws. Even greater variation is found between State and local inspection programs, where local inspection exists.

Administrators of State meat inspection programs generally admit that they have had neither the money nor manpower to conduct an intensive, continuous inspection service for both slaughtering and processing operations. State legislators, veterinary associations, industry groups and others have tried repeatedly to obtain meaningful legislation and enforcement.

Nevertheless, the need for stronger, more effective and more uniform State inspection programs is of critical importance. In the past couple of years, there has been increasing interest among the States to initiate or improve existing programs.

The efforts by the States must be fostered and encouraged by the Federal program if this Nation is to achieve adequate, overall protection of the consumer's meat supply with resulting prosperity for the industry and the producer. By providing legislative authority for meaningful Federal-State cooperation, a uniform framework can be constructed which will provide this essential consumer protection for all citizens regardless of where their meat originates.

The proposed legislation would also update the existing Meat Inspection Act to bring it more in line with the massive technological advancements in the meat industry. The meat inspection program is dealing with problems not conceived by those who drafted the original legislation 60 years ago.

The original Meat Inspection Act is becoming increasingly outmoded in its ability to regulate the modern, aggressive industry as it is today and envisioned in the future. The role of the States is not sufficiently recognized in the existing legislation to encourage their effective contributions to a viable network of coordinated programs. The legislation is urgently needed to close serious loopholes in the Federal meat inspection program.

Yet, the consumer continues to buy her meat with presumed confidence in its wholesomeness. The prosperity of the meatpacking industry and our Nation's livestock producers is greatly dependent upon her continued confidence.

Our responsibility, therefore, is to insure that both Federal and State Governments are provided with the necessary tools and resources to fulfill their responsibilities to protect the consumer in the manner she expects and demands. This proposed legislation will accomplish this purpose.

Suburban Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the growing stature and importance of the suburban press is a healthy trend in the communications field today. While some newspapers are failing and others merging, the suburban press continues to expand and to provide their readers with an increasingly fine service.

I believe the mature suburban press is epitomized by the newspapers in the 13th Congressional District of Illinois.

At the annual editorial seminar banquet of the Suburban Press Foundation, held in Chicago on September 28, 1967, achievement awards for excellence in photography, sports writing, women's-interest writing, and feature writing, were presented to suburban newsmen. Of the five award categories, newsmen from the 13th district won honors in no fewer than four. The winners from the 13th district were:

Top award of "Suburban Journalist of the Year" was won by the writer-photographer team of Clifford H. Rowe, feature writer, and Larry Cameron, photographer, of Paddock Publications, Inc., Arlington Heights, Ill., for a feature series on air pollution in the Chicago metropolitan area entitled, "Don't Stop Breathing—Yet." The significance of this subject is known to all; I can attest to the skill with which the series was presented.

The award for best feature writing was won by Paul A. Johnson, Jr., of Hollister Newspapers, Wilmette, Ill.

Robert Strawn, of Paddock Publications, was awarded the top prize for photography.

The award for women's-interest writing was presented to Mrs. Mary B. Good, also of Paddock Publications.

In addition to the four top awards, 13th district newspaper personnel won numerous honorable mentions and other citations.

The awards banquet was a part of the Suburban Press Foundation's seventh annual 2-day editorial seminar attended by editorial staff and publishers of foundation member newspapers from coast to coast. Seminar sessions were devoted to various aspects of suburban newspaper coverage, with special emphasis on the role of the suburban newspaper in keeping its readership informed on the problems of the central city in this period of social unrest.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the Suburban Press Foundation for its interest and concern for the problems of the central city and for its continuing attention to stimulating civic responsibility in the suburbs.

No country can possibly move ahead, and no society can be free, unless its citizens are acquainted with all aspects of the basic problems of their communities. The suburban press is making significant contributions to an alert and informed citizenry.

PSA Requests Routes to Portland, Seattle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, it has been less than a year since Pacific Southwest Airlines—PSA—won its battle to provide service to San Jose Municipal Airport in San Jose, Calif. Prior to that time San Jose, one of the largest cities in the State of California and the apex of a great industrial triangle which circumvents San Francisco Bay, was not receiving reliable and efficient air service.

I am happy to say that with service to San Jose by PSA we have suddenly been elevated from the dark ages in transportation to the ultramodern 20th century. I have had several opportunities to fly PSA flights from San Jose Airport and have been impressed with the efficient, courteous and punctual service which the company renders. Naturally, in my job as a Congressman, I have flown hundreds of thousands of miles, but I can say I know of no airline which provides better service than that offered by PSA.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, PSA has provided this excellent service at a profit without a single cent of Federal subsidy. It is now the world's largest intrastate air carrier and, in my opinion, deserves the right to extend its service to other States and to become an interstate carrier.

If this were to happen, San Jose passengers would be able to forward their baggage and connect directly with interstate carriers for added convenience. I sincerely hope that the application currently pending which would entitle PSA to serve connecting routes between its California cities and Portland and Seattle will be approved. It is my intention to support it as vigorously as I possibly can.

Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the magazine tabloid entitled "Today" tells of the PSA application. So that the facts of the application and the advantages it would bring to the traveling public can be know to all readers of the Congressional Record, I submit the article herewith:

PSA Requests Routes to Portland, Seattle

The world's largest intrastate air carrier, Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA), is making a bid for interstate travel in applying to the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) for connecting routes between its California cities and Portland-Seattle, announced PSA President J. Floyd Andrews.

Interstate routes would qualify PSA for connecting flight service with domestic and international air carriers. All other airlines could book PSA reservations for a passenger and luggage would be automatically transferred to a PSA connecting flight. This opens entirely new avenues for passenger volume growth.

PSA requests service between the terminal point, San Diego, and intermediate California points of Los Angeles/Burbank/Orange County Airport/Dougherty Field, Long Beach/Ontario, San Francisco/Oakland/San Jose/Sacramento, and Portland, Oregon, and the terminal point Seattle, Washington.

"Portland and Seattle routes would be a natural extension for PSA and could easily be offered the same type low fare commuter service that we have throughout the PSA California system," said Andrews.

If awarded the interstate certification, PSA proposes approximately the same average $.04 per mile fares in Portland and Seattle which have tagged the airline as the "pioneer in low airfares" throughout the United States.

This average fare would approximate $33.52 between Los Angeles and Portland, $38.28 between Los Angeles and Seattle, $22.08 between San Francisco and Portland, $27.02 between San Francisco and Seattle, $39.86 between San Diego and Portland, and $44.63 between San Diego and Seattle, as compared to substantially higher fares of other airlines.

The proposed prices by PSA for flights to Portland and Seattle represent a 30 to 40 per cent fare reduction from current rates held by other airlines.

"PSA's $53 million order for new aircraft, all of which will be delivered in 1968, makes it possible to efficiently serve the Portland Seattle routes, and provide increased service for PSA's California markets," said Andrews.

PSA is presently operating six Lockheed Electra L–188C, eight Boeing 727–100 fan jets, and one Douglas DC–9–30 fan jets, and has on order seven 158 passenger Boeing 727–200 and four 105 passenger Boeing 737–200 aircraft. In addition, PSA has on order a Douglas DC–9–30 aircraft for delivery in the first quarter of 1968.

PSA began operation in 1949 with once-a-week flights between San Diego and Oakland. Today, PSA is the leader in passenger totals throughout their California market and is the tenth largest scheduled domestic airline in the United States in passengers carried. PSA carried more than 2¾ million passengers in 1966 and will carry over 3 million in 1967.

The airline has always operated on the free enterprise system without support from tax subsidies or mail revenue.

The PSA break into interstate travel will represent a giant step in what has been a steady progression of growth steps since the airlines began operation in 1949.

Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the history of our efforts to put an end to water and air pollution, I am sure, would fill many volumes of very heavy reading.

A light side to this most grave problem was pointed out recently in Buffalo during a visit of the nationally renowned commedienne, Phyllis Diller.

On August 30, while visiting WGR–TV in Buffalo, Miss Diller was kind enough to give WGR's daily editorial. In her usually witty, yet pointed way, she made a great case for our fight against pollution. As a tribute to this gracious public service and to one of our finest commediennes, I include Miss Diller's editorial in today's RECORD:

POLLUTION

Well—Hi—It's certainly grand to have this chance to get on my soapbox—it shows off my legs. Oooh . . .

Feast your eyes—you fool!

My subject to-day is pollution. I don't know if you've noticed, but almost everything's polluted these days—the air, the water, Fang—it's gotten so I won't drink the water or breathe the air. These strange lumps on my body are oxygen pumps. I've got more plumbing than City Hall. And the water—have you seen Lake Erie on a stormy day? We don't have whitecaps. We have blackheads! We can kid around folks, but it's no laughing matter. Unless we do something about it, pollution of our air and water is going to keep getting worse and worse and worse—until it could be a National emergency. So think about it and do something about it. Don't just sit there!

Of course, there are compensations—the other day a cab driver and I got lost in the fog on the Father Baker Bridge. It took us three days to find our way back.

It was won—der—ful!

Limiting Casualties in Beulah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, hurricane Beulah was very possibly the most destructive storm ever to hit the State of Texas. Certainly the winds were as high as might ever be expected, and the rain generated by the storm was as great as has been experienced in the history of records. By any measure, and the standard measure is the probability of what might happen once in a hundred years, Beulah exceeded the worst expectations. Yet there was very little loss of life in this storm—only seven persons died in Texas—even though whole cities were flooded and had to be evacuated. In another time, one would have expected the loss of hundreds of lives, as happened in the great storm that hit Galveston some 60-odd years ago. But not so this time. I believe that great credit should go to those officials and agencies of the State and Federal Government who, in the understanding of what had to be done, did it. The Christian Science Monitor recognized how great a part was played by men charged with saving life in Texas, and I herewith offer the Monitor's article for the benefit of my colleagues who might not have had the opportunity of reading it:

TEXAS COPES—WARNINGS SAP FURY OF BEULAH

(By Jon Ford)

AUSTIN, TEX.—Tightly coordinated statewide disaster-relief planning and quick local response to early warnings are credited with saving many lives as giant Hurricane Beulah smashed into Texas this week.

Nearly a week before the hurricane found its main target, local officials in the Rio Grande Valley area and along the Texas coast were receiving detailed advisories from State Civil Defense headquarters on what to expect and what to do.

By the time the 160 m.p.h. winds struck Brownsville, most known danger spots in the valley had been largely evacuated. More than 56,440 evacuees found refuge in 201 free public shelters Wednesday, and thousands of others rented rooms or were housed by friends and relatives far from the coast.

CITRUS CROP BATTERED

Despite preparation, property destruction was extensive. Damage to the valley citrus-fruit crop alone has been estimated from $15 million to $50 million. Some communities have been virtually wiped out. Power, telephone, and road facilities have been heavily damaged.

By Wednesday night, 12 days after the hurricane churned out of the Atlantic, a total of 30 persons had been killed. But only seven fatalities occurred in Texas. Beulah-spawned tornadoes took their toll of these, with 5 killed and at least 16 injured.

No fatalities were reported in the Brownsville-Harlingen area at the peak of the storm there, although a 15-year-old Houston girl was drowned while surfing despite warnings off Brownsville a day earlier.

"There is absolutely no question the loss of life would have been widespread without advance warnings, close communications, emergency operating plans and leadership of local officials, personal appeals by Gov. John B. Connally, and coordination of efforts through the State Civil Defense and Disaster Relief Office," said State Civil Defense Coordinator C. O. Layne.

"The damage reports prove that forty to 90 percent of some towns were destroyed. What would have happened if the people had stayed there?"

EMERGENCY GEARS MESH

A reorganized Texas Civil Defense and Disaster Relief organization is getting its first major trial in the Hurricane Beulah emergency. The State Defense Council, backbone of the organization, is composed of state agencies with relief responsibilities, representatives of the American Red Cross, and the federal Office of Civil Defense. State law places local civil-defense and disaster responsibility in the hands of Texas mayors and county judges.

STATE UNITS ON GO

Council members were called into session at the underground State Emergency Operating Center at Austin Monday afternoon and the center at the same time was placed on full 24-hour operational status.

With warning and evacuation operations hopefully behind it in the current emergency, the council now is launching relief and rebuilding services in line with advance plans.

Governor Connally has pledged to seek all available federal financial assistance when damage can be accurately assessed.

The State Highway Department is transporting emergency water supplies to stricken communities, and patrolling damaged highways with maintenance crews to remove debris and barricade dangerous areas. It also has assembled heavy mechanized equipment for use where needed.

The State Department of Health immediately alerted doctors along the lower coast for local assignment to shelters and to establish radio links between valley hospitals. The department also offers emergency medical supplies.

U.S. FOOD STOCKS FREED

Red Cross officials, operating out of a Houston headquarters, by Wednesday has cleared 622 shelters for 490,000 potential evacuees and now is contemplating rehabilitation work. The Texas Department of Public Welfare assisted the Red Cross in shelter registration and other aid to disaster victims and has alerted 250 men for clean-up reconstruction work.

The United States Department of Agriculture's consumer and marketing service freed surplus federal food stocks. The United States Office of Civil Defense made available its warning and communications system, emergency generators, water-purification units, engineering supplies, and packaged disaster hospitals.

More than 1,300 national guardsmen were assigned by the Governor to immediate military duty in support of civil-defense efforts.

From city after city, came reports of acts of kindness by Texas seeking to make evacuees as comfortable as possible during an unhappy time.

"We have not been lacking in cooperation from any agency—local, state, or federal," Governor Connally said. "I know of nothing that has been asked that has not been done—nothing that could be done that is not being done. Local governments along the Texas coast have fulfilled their emergency responsibilities in an admirable manner."

Despite optimism over the effectiveness of warning and evacuation procedures, early damage reports convince Texas officials that the task of cleaning up after one of history's worst storms is going to be immense.

Funds for Occoquan Rehabilitation Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 14, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week, the District Health Department sought to increase its budget and double alcoholic treatment facilities and personnel at the Occoquan Rehabilitation Center in Virginia. The situation is currently so critical that 15 alcoholics who had voluntarily committed themselves for treatment had to be evicted due to lack of space. They were removed to make room for additional alcoholics ordered committed by Judge Harry T. Alexander of the District of Columbia court of general sessions.

It is ironic that these men, who had openly expressed a desire to receive treatment and cure their alcohol problem, were denied this opportunity in order to make room for others who had been "involuntarily" sentenced to take their place. This situation should help dramatize the critical need that exists currently in the District for adequate alcoholism treatment centers.

When the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that alcoholism is a disease and a chronic inebriate cannot be jailed for public drunkenness, it placed the responsibility for treatment of alcoholics upon public health officials who do not have facilities to deal with the situation.

The District now sends its chronic alcoholics 30 miles away to the Occoquan, Va. treatment center, which is able to provide only minimal services due to overcrowded conditions and lack of adequate financial support.

I only hope this recent development will help emphasize the need for adequate alcoholism treatment centers and rehabilitation programs in the District of Columbia. H.R. 6143, a bill I introduced before the Congress is, I believe, a comprehensive and constructive approach in this direction. Currently being acted on by the District of Columbia Committee, this bill proposes the construction of detoxification centers and inpatient and outpatient treatment clinics, along with an expanded program of rehabilitation to enable victims of alcoholism to return to useful roles in our society.

It is my sincere belief that this bill is a constructive approach to the alcoholism problem.

Prominent Leaders of Women's Organizations Support Antipoverty Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on September 30, 1967, the New York Times in its "Letters to the Editor" column published a most persuasive appeal in support of the antipoverty program. The writers of the letter are women of tremendous stature who know of what they speak. They are: Dorothy J. Dolbey, president of Church Women United; Eleanore Shields, National Council of Catholic Women; Josephine S. Weiner, National Council of Jewish Women, and Dorothy I. Height, National Council of Negro Women. As the letter points out:

> For the first time in the history of the United States the aggrieved and disadvantaged have an advocate in our government—the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I agree that its abolition would be a serious blow to the hopes and aspirations which have been stirred by the antipoverty program. It is important that Congress continue and expand this effort.

The letter follows:

Need for Antipoverty Legislation

To the Editor: Many pages have been written about the causes of the disturbances which erupted in cities across the nation this past summer. No determination has been made as to the underlying cause, but most observers agree that—whatever the cause—immediate action is essential to provide more opportunities for a better life for the disadvantaged in our large cities. There have been some very encouraging responses, particularly from industry, where leaders made a commitment to help provide better housing, more jobs and other necessities of life.

The weakest response came from the Congress, which has before it several important proposals for programs so desperately needed to improve the quality of life in our cities. Among the most important proposals on the Hill are the amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act. Not only has Congress delayed action on this legislation, but some members are prepared to weaken the program by dismantling the Office of Economic Opportunity and phasing out some of its programs altogether. Stark facts, on the contrary, underline the need for the expansion of the Poverty Program, not its reduction.

EFFECT ON COMMUNITIES

For the first time in the history of the United States the aggrieved and disadvantaged have an advocate in our government—the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its abolition would be a serious psychological blow to those who, by virtue of their participation in various anti-poverty programs, feel that they have a stake in their communities that is worth protecting. There have been reports that workers in the Poverty Program and beneficiaries of it have helped to prevent disturbances in their cities or neighborhoods because of this.

One of the main targets of the opponents of the Economic Opportunity Act is the Job Corps program. Actually it is one of the more beneficial programs for the rehabilitation and training of young people who are out of work and out of school. Our personal contacts with persons enrolled in the Women's Job Corps reinforce our conviction that this program is of tremendous benefit to young people and must continue.

We fervently hope that Congress will indicate its responsiveness to the needs of the people by enacting, without delay, the anti-poverty legislation which will keep the Job Corps and other current programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Private Industry-Government Cooperation: Key to Providing Jobs for the Urban Unemployed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, with the President's announcement this week of a pilot program to mobilize the resources of private industry in giving job training to our hard-core unemployed, the war on poverty has been reinforced with a regiment of specialized troops.

As the Secretary of Labor has put it:

> Jobs are the live ammunition in the war on poverty, and I think the right kind of jobs are jobs in private employment, and that the best kind of training of the hard-core unemployed for those jobs is what we have come to call on-the-job training.

Private industry—in many areas desperate for qualified workers—is in a position to supply those jobs and to provide that training. In return, the Government will assume the extra expense involved in training the severely disadvantaged citizens who most need help, and will underwrite the risks involved in establishing new businesses in ghetto areas.

To make it easy for business to cooperate in this forward-looking venture, the President has established a special office in the Department of Commerce, headed by Mr. William Zisch, vice chairman of the Aerojet General Corp. in Los Angeles. This office will cut through redtape so that it can offer a company a tailormade mix of assistance from all branches of Government.

I am happy to note that Los Angeles is one of the cities selected for this pilot program.

Because of the wide national interest in this promising new program, I would like to insert in the Record at this point two excellent editorials which have endorsed the President's historic effort to find jobs for our hard-core urban unemployed.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 5, 1967]

A Useful Test Program

What is most encouraging about the Administration's effort to enlist private enterprise in an attack on hard core unemployment in the slums is the pragmatic spirit with which it is being launched. No extravagant promises are being made which might raise false hopes; no huge sum of money is involved; and there is a refreshing emphasis on the point that this is a "test program."

There can be little doubt about the utility of programs that encourage businesses to train slum dwellers for useful employment. Whether further Government assistance is required, either in the form of direct subsidies or tax relief, is an issue that should be resolved by the experience with the experimental projects. But the basic strategy of involving private enterprise in job training programs and having the Federal Government meet the costs of necessary medical or dental care appears quite sound.

Plans to attract businesses to slum areas rest on shakier ground. Nothing in the experience of the Economic Development Administration suggests that large or medium size businesses can be induced to locate permanently on uneconomic sites. Doubtless, tax remissions and other Government incentives can be made sufficiently attractive to attract some business operations to locations that would otherwise be eschewed. But once established in an unfavorable location at little cost to itself, there is nothing to prevent a business from later pulling out. Small enterprises, especially those conducted by slum dwellers, are another matter. Surely every effort should be made by the Small Business Administration and other agencies to encourage their formation whenever there are reasonable prospects for success.

Having launched this program, we hope that the Administration will continue to treat it as an experiment, that it will be flexible in trying different approaches in different cities and that it will permit experience to play the role of the stern master in deciding which ideas to retain and which should be swiftly discarded.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 4, 1967]

Jobs for the Slums

Luring a factory into a slum is no easy job. Aside from the hypothetical danger of riots, which might destroy or damage the plant, there is a more immediate problem: executives and clerical employees do not like to work in uncongenial neighborhoods. Furthermore, businessmen normally prefer not to risk the funds of their stockholders by putting up a building in a deteriorated neighborhood when open land is still available in suburbs and small towns. The only attraction that a slum offers is that nearby there are usually many unemployed workers—but these workers are often unskilled, functionally illiterate, or have other disqualifications.

The modest program announced by President Johnson attempts to overcome these high hurdles in five selected cities. Instead of paying nearly one-half of the cost of training "seriously disadvantaged" persons as it now does, the Federal Government in those test cities will pay the full cost. If a plant is destroyed in a riot, the Small Business Administration will assume the burden of paying for the lease on the damaged property. If public transportation to the factory is seriously deficient, as it is in Watts, the Federal Government will temporarily subsidize bus service. Health care, technical advice and the cost of bonding employees will also be provided.

As far as it goes, it is impossible to quarrel with the President's program or its objectives. Jobs in the slums are urgently needed, and his efforts to clear the bureaucratic underbrush and speed the way for sympathetically inclined businesses can only be helpful.

However, the only specific economic incentive that the new program holds out to a businessman is that it will be easier to obtain defense contracts. Under these circumstances, only major firms with ample resources that are interested in improving their public relations "image" or small, marginal firms desperate to establish a toehold are likely to participate. Neither is to be scorned, since jobs in the slums are in too short supply for anyone to be choosy over motives.

Indeed, the fact of slum unemployment is so well known and so severe that the time has passed for mere pilot projects. A major program to create jobs quickly on an emergency basis as proposed by Senator Clark's amendment to the pending antipoverty bill is more logical. For the longer term, substantial tax incentives as suggested in a bill by Senator Kennedy of New York would provide a more durable basis for private economic investment in slum neighborhoods. The urban crisis can be palliated but not relieved by small programs and expenditures as usual.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

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RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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Appendix

Newman Day in Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 6, 1967

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it is a source of tremendous pride to Idahoans that Time magazine has recognized the extraordinary fact that seven brothers from one Idaho family are serving simultaneously in the U.S. Navy. I salute these remarkable young men and their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Kirby Newman, of Twin Falls, Idaho.

I invite the attention, too, to an editorial entitled "A Second Chance From the Corps," published in the Lewiston Tribune of September 29, 1967. The editorial praises the Job Corps for the help it rendered to John Michael Newman, the most recent brother to enlist.

I feel certain that Senators will be interested in reading the magazine article and the editorial about Newman Day. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune, Sept. 29, 1967]

A SECOND CHANCE FROM THE CORPS

When the Job Corps began operation in 1965 critics of the program asked why the young men enrolled in the corps weren't serving in Vietnam instead of "living off the taxpayers."

One answer given at that time was that many of the young men in the corps did, indeed, want to enter the service, but were ineligible. For one thing, many of them could not read or write and were not being accepted for military duty because of that deficiency. So they joined the corps, hoping to improve their educational level and thereby gain entry into some branch of the armed forces.

A current case in point is the celebrated Twin Falls family which has supplied the Navy with seven seamen now on active duty. That is believed by naval officials to be a record.

The seventh to enlist in the Navy from the Kirby Newman family is 18-year-old John. It was quite an occasion in Twin Falls. That city proclaimed itself the "home of the Newman Navy," the state of Idaho observed "Newman Day," and Secretary of the Navy Paul R. Ignatius sent a telegram conveying his respects and those of President Johnson.

But John didn't just walk over to the recruiter's office and enlist. He tried to enlist two years ago, but, as a high school dropout, he flunked the educational tests. Undaunted he joined the Job Corps, applied himself to the corps' superb program of instruction and finally was able to pass the service exams.

The Navy now has another sailor. The remarkable Newman family has sent another of its sons into the service of its country. And the Job Corps has reclaimed another young man by giving him a second chance at an adequate education.

[From Time magazine, Sept. 29, 1967]

NEWMAN'S NAVY

When he tried to enlist in the Navy two years ago, John Michael Newman flunked the educational tests. A high school dropout, he joined the Job Corps instead, studied so hard that he was finally able to pass the service exams. Last week John Newman, now 18, became the seventh of civilian Carpenter Kirby Newman's nine sons to enter the Navy—making the Newman family the first in the memory of naval officials to have seven brothers on active duty at the same time. Idaho communities celebrated "Newman Day"; John's home town of Twin Falls proudly proclaimed itself the "Home of the Newman Navy"; and Secretary of the Navy Paul R. Ignatius sent a telegram expressing his and President Johnson's pleasure at John's induction. Asked if he would like to be stationed with one of his brothers, John replied: "No, I'm going out on my own." That was just as well, since brothers may not serve together on any naval vessel in combat.

Broad Health Grants Represent Major Step in Improving Federal Grant-in-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967, which this body approved overwhelmingly last month, are important for the direction they take in the provision of Federal grants-in-aid as well as for the improved health services they will provide.

The partnership for health amendments confirm the policy, which Congress adopted provisionally through the Comprehensive Health Planning and Services Act of 1966, of providing broad, flexible grants for health.

By thus replacing some 17 small, segmented, categorical grants, Congress will have given States and localities new flexibility in meeting the health problems which are most pressing in their areas. We will have taken a significant step toward the elimination of the confusion, competition, and misdirection of effort which have resulted from the number and complexity of many of our grant programs and from the rigidities stemming from excessive centralization and compartmentalization.

The partnership for health amendments blaze a trail which we would do well to follow in other areas.

This good bill was made better by this body's action to add $40 million over 2 years to allow, but not require, public health authorities to mount effective efforts to control rats.

With the expansion of authorizations under this program by $932 million over 4 years and the provision of an important new program for research on delivery of health services, this legislation takes its place as one of the most progressive enactments of this session.

Idaho's Wonderful Shortcut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 6, 1967

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, we in Idaho are justly proud of our State's great natural beauty, for few places in the world can compete with the wondrous splendor of our towering mountains and gem-like lakes. We want all Americans to share in this tremendous legacy.

A new all-weather highway in Idaho winds its way to completion through mountains and across rivers and streams, providing the traveler with a never-ending feast for the eyes. This is State Highway 21, lying almost in toto in the national forest lands.

One of America's outstanding landscape artists and a writer of great skill, Don Bemco Bennett, traveled this mountain highway recently and has authored and illustrated an account of that trip in the October issue of Ford Times. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I only regret that is is not possible to reproduce Mr. Bennett's illustrations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IDAHO'S WONDERFUL SHORTCUT

(Story and paintings by Don Bemco Bennett)

This year, vacationers headed through Idaho will discover a new road across the central section that could reduce their mileage by a hundred miles. Theoretically, this shortcut should save a couple of hours of driving time. Actually, it may very likely take longer—much to the traveler's delight. This paradox springs from the irresistible charm of the area—the magnificent mountain scenery, intriguing historical places, and a host of attractions that conspire to waylay even the most resolute driver so that he dawdles along with happy abandon.

The recently completed route, State Highway 21, links two major highway systems, U.S. 95–20 and U.S. 93, and thus provides a more direct route between the Butte-Helena-Great Falls-Missoula area of Montana, and Idaho's capital city, Boise. Of the highway's 130-mile length, three-fourths is paved; the remaining 35 miles on the eastern end are good gravel surface with short stretches still being improved.

Started in 1924, Highway 21 has long been a missing link in the highway network of the area, mainly because of an obstacle that arose 100 million years ago. At about that time—give or take a few million years—a gigantic upthrust in the earth's crust formed a high, 200-mile-long barrier down the center of what is now the state of Idaho. Faulting and subsequent glaciation created the area's present topography—a wilderness of jagged peaks. Geologists call this enormous granite massif the Idaho batholith; road builders call it unprintable names; outdoor lovers call it just plain wonderful. The highway manages to breach this rampart, at 7,000 feet elevation, between the Sawtooth Primitive Area and the Idaho Primitive Area, skirting the base of the Sawtooth Range.

To use this new connecting route, a motorist from, say, Missoula, follows U.S. 93, which goes south into Idaho, then westward up the Salmon River until it runs headlong into the Sawtooths at Stanley.

This mile-high community has a population of 37, a backyard full of mountains, and a casual attitude about everything. No tensions, no flashing lights, and no traffic problems. Stanley's social life is best described as wildly convivial, and time is reckoned from the only two dates of any importance on local calendars: the beginning of the fishing season and the opening of the hunting season.

From Stanley, Highway 21 heads west up Valley Creek. Five miles out, a road to the left offers a ten-minute sidetrip to Stanley Lake, one of the loveliest lakes in Idaho, with an excellent Forest Service campground, the first of many available along the next 90 miles.

The main road swings northwest around the northern buttress of the Sawtooths, following a broad valley in an idyllic setting—white-faced cattle grazing, weathered rail fences, Basque sheepherders with their flocks, meadows ablaze with wildflowers, delightful pastoral scenes.

Along Valley Creek and numerous tributary streams, it's possible, from midsummer on, to observe first-hand one of nature's miracles—the annual migration of the Chinook salmon. These headwaters are the spawning grounds of the big Chinooks; the end of their amazing 1,000-mile journey upstream from the Pacific. Here, over the gravel beds in the same stream where they began life, the fish spawn and die.

At Cape Horn, site of one of the nation's largest Boy Scout summer camps, the road turns southwest and at a junction two miles beyond, motorists have the option of continuing on Highway 21 or taking the alternate Bear Valley route, a longer and more primitive Forest Service dirt road that eventually rejoins the highway 35 miles farther southwest, at Lowman. A short distance beyond the Bear Valley junction the highway crosses the boundary between the Challis and the Boise National Forests, and descends 3,000 feet to the resort of Lowman.

Good pavement leads the 35 miles to Idaho City, which in the 1860s was a roaring gold-mining town of 5,000 adventurers, but has now dwindled to 250 residents. Each year, during its two-day Gold Rush Days celebration, Idaho City turns back the clock and becomes one of the liveliest "ghost towns" anywhere, attracting thousands of visitors who come to relive the excitement of the town's historic past. Old mining equipment operates once again, tourists can pan for gold and watch the re-enactment of a famous shooting on the main street. Fascinating historical relics of the era are on display in the 100-year-old post office, now converted into a museum. With its many old buildings, some dating before 1865, Idaho City is a museum in itself.

The last 39 miles of Highway 21 lead to the modern city of Boise, a 45-minute drive from past to present. Those who have managed to keep a firm foot on the accelerator for the previous 130 miles will have saved two hours—but missed a rare opportunity. Those who succumb to the enhantment along the way never regret a moment of it.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Air Express Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, this month marks the 40th year since a fragile biplane left the shores of the United States for Europe, bearing the first packages ever carried by Air Express.

Today this organization, which is headquartered in my home city of New York, gives employment to thousands and affects the lives of millions of our citizens. All 36 scheduled U.S. airlines, combined with 13,500 trucks of REA Express, provide 24-hour, door-to-door pick-up and delivery service between almost every point in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico. It is estimated that Air Express will handle 10 million individual shipments in 1967, at speeds up to 600 miles per hour.

I call attention to the unique partnership of airlines and Air Express which actually launched the air cargo business. In all its forms, it touches nearly every American industry. The Air Express story has the elements of initiative and enterprise that have kept America booming. For this reason, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the excellent speech by Mr. Emil Seerup, vice president of Air Express, who delivered it to the Air Transport Association in New York on September 1, the historic 40th anniversary of Air Express.

MAN AND HIS FLYING MACHINE

(By Emil Seerup, vice president, Air Express)

If you were to tour an Air Express terminal today, you'd probably find packages containing frozen hamburgers, transistors, penicillin, color television tubes, bikinis, Beatle records, video-tape, data processing cards, electric toothbrushes, and some radioactive isotopes.

But if you looked for any of these shipments back in 1927—the year Air Express service started—you'd be terribly disappointed. None of these items even existed!

The world has made tremendous progress in the past 40 years. In fact, by any standard of measurement the last four decades have seen more advancement than in all the previous recorded history of mankind.

Today the 13,500 REA Express trucks, combined with all the aircraft of the 36 scheduled U.S. airlines, provide 24 hour door-to-door pick up and delivery service between just about all points in the U.S., Canada, and Puerto Rico. And most of the 10,000,000 individual shipments Air Express will handle during 1967 will be whisked through the air in the cargo holds of huge jet giants at 600 mph speeds.

Most of us take pretty much for granted the fact that shipments weighing 5 lbs. or 5,000 lbs., are literally delivered to our door from thousands of miles away in a matter of just a few hours.

Yes, life was simpler back in 1927. To begin with, a surprisingly high percentage of today's commonplace products were hardly a gleam in the eye of their inventors 40 years ago.

The twenties were really roaring on that September day after Air Express service first started. Part of the roar was probably caused by the sputtering, coughing engines that powered that era's fragile little aircraft. It took more than a bit of courage for pilots to take some of those planes aloft and face the double hazards of unfriendly weather and uncertain airborne performance. After all, it was only five months after Charles Lindbergh had accomplished his miraculous flight. Flying was still more risky than routine.

Coast-to-coast service was provided by the Railway Express Company's surface facilities and by four airlines: Colonial Air Transport, National Air Transport, Boeing Air Transport and Western Air Express.

The flight from New York City to San Francisco took "only 32½ hours actual flying time." Much in the manner of the Pony Express, the 100 m.p.h. planes made the trip in relays. If it rained too hard, the trip took much longer.

There were twenty-five airports across the nation on the Air Express route.

In today's sophisticated jet age, it may be hard for us to understand just how important and exciting Air Express seemed back in 1927 and the first years of operation. Colonel Lindbergh cabled: "I believe that the inauguration of Air Express is another great step in aeronautic progress!" And newspaper and magazine writers greeted the new service with unparalleled enthusiasm.

It is no exaggeration to say that, back in 1927, the start of Air Express caused as much national excitement as one of today's space flights.

The "fight of the century," between Dempsey and Tunney, took place later that month. Almost as newsworthy as the pugilistic contest, was the ability of Air Express to get special fight issues of the New York Herald Tribune to Chicago sports fans overnight.

It certainly was a romantic time. Flappers did the charleston, men wore nifty spats, and there was some curiosity about a movie, "The Jazz Singer," starring Al Jolson that was to open in October. Department stores across the country proudly displayed window banners announcing that their modish frocks "Just Arrived From Fifth Avenue by Air Express." The world has changed many times over in the forty years that have elapsed. Orbiting satellites televise earthshaking events to living rooms in every corner of the globe. Today's mighty planes are approaching the size of football fields and are swifter and more reliable than even Jules Verne or H. G. Wells could have imagined. Computers are performing fantastic tasks. And the Herald Tribune is gone.

Back in the beginning. Air Express limited packages to weights of 200 pounds, primarily because the capacity of the planes was so small. Today's all freight jets can carry a load of 92,000 pounds! In 1967, the general rule is that if it can fit into the plane, it can be sent by Air Express.

During that first year, Air Express handled 5,160 shipments. Today about six times that many go through the Air Express terminal at New York's JFK International Airport each day.

Yes, things have changed. Science has made us the most comfortable and affluent people in all history.

But, unfortunately, technology often outstrips man's capacity to use the marvels around him. Man, as we know him, first made his appearance on earth some 50,000 years ago. But it took him about 45,000 years to learn that life would be easier if he rode the back of a horse instead of walking and it was even later in his development that he discovered the wheel.

The horse has a top speed of about 20 mph.

Let's stop, for a moment, and reflect on what this has meant to the development of civilization and transportation. The fastest citizen of ancient Greece rode his horse-drawn chariot at 20 mph. Julius Caesar, Genghis Khan, Joan of Arc, George Washington, and Napoleon, although separated by thousands of years, could go no faster than 20 mph. When Marc Antony wanted to send a birthday gift to Cleopatra it was transported at the top speed of 20 mph.

And finally, when the Wright Brothers got off the ground in 1903 they hit a incredible speed of 31 mph!

How lucky we are to be able to ship anything we want at nearly the speed of sound. And the SST will just about double that speed.

In 1927, shippers used Air Express for spats and crystal radios. Today it's mini-skirts and electric can-openers.

Thousands of forward thinking companies are using air shipping to reduce their inventory cost and to assure delivery in a matter of hours.

Yet, despite the fact, despite the unequaled advantages of air shipping many people deliberately choose to use chariot methods in a day when air transportation offers economy, efficiency and speed.

Air Express no longer makes the kind of news it did in 1927—and this is very gratifying to me. Air shipping is no longer news. It is a commonly accepted way of life for most American businessmen.

For those who haven't awakened to the hard facts, it's not too late to get on the band wagon and take to the air. Because, in the jargon of the mod-set, "That's where the action is."

Statement to the Insurance Advisory Panel of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement made by James L. Bentley, president of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, to the Insurance Advisory Panel of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT TO THE INSURANCE ADVISORY PANEL OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON CIVIL DISORDERS BY JAMES L. BENTLEY, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS

Gentlemen, thank you for the invitation to visit your panel and reflect primarily upon the insurance aspects of civil disorders.

Let me pledge to this panel and staff as I have previously stated both to Governor Hughes and to Governor Otto Kerner the fullest cooperation and enthusiastic interest of our group—the National Association of Insurance Commissioners.

It is well that your panel and your commission is comprised of governors who know state problems: citizens who feel the disruptive riot impact; law enforcement officials who bear a heavy responsibility and insurance executives whose burden it is to pay much of the losses. I would not be frank if I did not suggest to you, however, that a representative of one of the 50 state insurance departments might also contribute consistent and valuable service to your study. The state insurance supervisor with primary regulatory authority has an insight and practical day-by-day knowledge of the insurance establishment which is unparralled in this nation.

Recently, we created a select committee of insurance commissioners to review the impact of civil disorders on the business of insurance and analyze the current proposals pending in Congress along with previous recommendations of our Association. We anticipate an early report from this study which should give direction and sound regulatory leadership to this national concern.

Our common objective is to identify these disorders by defining the degree and the scope of destruction; who did it; who will pay for it; and who will pay again if the problem persists.

Except for the reinsurance cover provided primarily by European investors, the American policyholders and American taxpayer has the burden of paying for these losses.

It is important that we see this issue in the proper perspective and that we not allow the drama and truculence of these disorders to circumscribe our consideration and search for lasting answers.

The losses have been heavy. It is estimated that at least 200 lives have been lost in 4 years, that approximately 90 million dollars in insured losses have been incurred this year and 70 million dollars in the preceding 3 years. No estimates are available yet on the total insurance claims paid during this time due to loss of wages, loss of lives, health and accident coverage, business interruptions, and the numerous incidental classes of coverage. Neither has there been an estimate of the total economic impact for this year or for the four years. This will undoubtedly exceed 4 billion dollars.

These losses are incomprehensible to the average American. They are not record losses, however. The American insurance industry has suffered far, far greater shocks from hurricanes—$715 million for "Betsy" and $400 million for "Carla"; fires—$150 million for the 1947 Texas City fire and nearly $100 million years ago for the Chicago fire; ship disasters—$16 million for the Andrea Doria and $16.5 million for the Torrey Canyon and individual coverage—Tyrone Power's death while filming an epic cost one single company $1,219,172.

I reiterate that these insurance losses have been heavy and companies have suffered, but none have folded. Claims have been paid and are being paid. The market which has been tightening in several lines for years remains cautious, but the rate of restriction in this class has not increased. No major withdrawals have been reported.

A current but limited survey of other jurisdictions by my Georgia staff indicates residual dwelling restrictions in many states—15 of 33 yet reported. Restrictions appear to be due primarily to the location of property as well as age and physical condition of property. Capacity problems of companies is reported also as a difficulty.

The current market is a cautious one because the disorders have continued and indeed have intensified over a period of nearly 5 years.

Insurance is based upon actuarial experience and prediction. When losses continue and increase the normal reaction is a tighter underwriting attitude in the absence of additional premium dollars. Civil disorders are not natural; they are man made and should be stopped. Insurance is based, however, upon statistics and not judgment and the assumption is that they will continue. There is obviously an actuarial conviction in the American market and the foreign market that they will continue.

One insurance executive said to me several weeks ago that New York and London are living in a state of "sustained panic". Our American insurance industry throughout the whole sweep of history has depended upon foreign investors to furnish the catastrophe cover for the greater portion of reinsurance. Reinsurance is as vital to an insurance company as insurance itself is to the average citizen. Mr. Ralph Hiscox, Chairman of the Lloyds Group in London has reported that there is no "radical restriction" in the availability of catastrophe coverage. Yet, there unquestionably exists this sustained concern that losses will continue to spiral.

Our first concern, therefore, should be some solid reassurance to the American and foreign markets that losses will be reduced if not stopped. Before social reforms are promulgated and financed, we must develop safeguards for the insurance policyholder—the need, of course, still exists for the reformation of people as well as property.

Since insurance is primarily regulated by the states and since the business has grown wholesomely under this concept, it is my assumption that the system will continue and my hope that your study will strengthen the concept by promoting solutions within the current framework of local, state and federal responsibilities.

Proposed solutions cover the gamut from more guns to more money, but the basic alternatives here are three:

(1) The industry can continue to "stand and take it", or

(2) New approaches within the present framework can be provided, or

(3) Fundamental changes which may or may not be realistic and economical could alter the whole system.

Obviously, most companies would prefer to do as they have historically done—"stand and take it". But the element of reinsurance is now a primary factor which shifts our focus to either the second or the third alternative. The third alternative encompasses a broad area of exepensive changes and basic shifts to be considered by Congress. Whether called federal subsidies, stop-loss or federal reinsurance, the result of each proposal would be an additional heavy charge-back to the federal taxpayer.

This taxpayer is already scheduled to pay in the form of income tax refunds to many companies for as much as 48% of the current year's losses. The insurance industry with tax carry-back-forward privileges could receive refunds from the Internal Revenue Service for approximately one-half of the losses which they suffered and paid this year. This will obviously reduce further the shock of this year's riot losses.

The federal subsidy would apparently operate to ultimately replace the reinsurance cover provided by the foreign market by requiring the federal government to make available as much as $1.5 billion for the payment of losses as provided in one proposal.

The insurance business today is not uneconomic. Rates are 88.4% adequate on a nationwide basis which is an impressively secure economic position. If, however, the business were in the red, government subsidies are not a realistic means of making it economic. This strikes at the heart of free enterprise and regulatory authority. It dilutes the profit motive which has produced and released the gigantic prosperity that exists in America today. The federal umbrella carries with it also the political stigma of going to the federal treasury for relief which we could provide for ourselves.

Furthermore, it could affect our local responsibility of police and fire protection by inhibiting our historic American and British process of local control.

I prefer the workable alternative which has been embraced in concept by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners.

We have observed the rapid expansion of the self insurers in this nation. A responsible and well calculated program of catastrophe reserves for insurance companies would amount to a "self reinsurance" program—an opportunity for insurers to meet catastrophe losses from their own resources. Because of income tax laws, American companies have turned to the European market to obtain catastrophe protection and income tax deductions for reinsurance premiums. This has greatly inhibited the development of an American reinsurance market and, of course, further compounded our international balance of payments problems.

Prior to the income tax days, our companies turned to surplus accounts for funds to meet catastropes and built reserves to meet anticipated risks. Current heavy income tax burdens on reserves inhibit the opportunity under state authority to provide for adequate catastrophe rates as well as safeguard company solvency by adequate reserves. Funds needed for catastrophes today have gone to the Federal Treasury leaving inadequate sums when disasters hit.

The most permanent and nearest complete remedy would be a provision for tax deferral on contributions to catastrophe reserve accounts from a stipulated percentage of premium income.

The National Association of Insurance Commissioners motivated by insolvency problems in some areas and the need for catastrophe reserves in natural disaster areas unanimously adopted on June 15, 1967, in Boston, Massachusetts, a committee report from which is quoted the following:

"Because of the long-standing refusal of the Internal Revenue Service to allow tax deductions to hazard insurance companies for accumulations to catastrophe reserves or reserves for the insolvency of other insurers, such reserves have not been established. The justification for such reserves is hardly debatable in the face of the wide fluctuation of losses along the nation's seashores from hurricanes or inland from tornadoes from year to year. With recognition from the Internal Revenue Service of tax deductions for accumulations in such reserve accounts, state governments could more fully protect not only against the wide variation of loss from hurricane and tornado but also the insured of an insolvent automobile insurance company. Insolvent insurance company reserves can readily be required of all automobile insurance companies, accumulated by the individual companies at a modest rate annually subject to a maximum of 2% or 3% of premiums which can be assessed by receivers on a pro rata basis for the benefit of the estate of the insolvent insurer.

"Congressional or IRS authorization of tax deduction for accumulations to insolvency reserve accounts appears to be essential."

The magnitude of catastrophes far exceeds current civil disturbances as we have mentioned earlier. Future potentials with supersonic jets and atomic powered commerce are almost inconceivable.

Many state insurance commissioners and industry executives sincerely and genuinely share this view that income tax deferral on contributions to catastrophe reserve accounts will make federal subsidies and other untried remedies unnecessary. Undoubtedly, other remedies in addition to the current subsidy proposal could create far more complicated problems and possibly not solve the current one.

There are numerous precedents for tax deferrals including strong recommendations last year from the Department of Housing and urban Development.

The U.S. Treasury has objected to this concept. Yet, it allows full tax deductions to insurance companies for catastrophe reinsurance premiums paid to the foreign market and to be paid to a proposed federal flood fund. Futhermore, the previously mentioned loss carry-back-forward provisions of the tax code which are presently a heavy drain on the Treasury would be greatly lessened by the use of catastrophe reserves to pay for losses.

These loss carry-back-forward provisions—furthermore do not relieve the small property-casualty company to the extent that the giant companies with large investment incomes are aided.

I do not contemplate tax advoidance such as present deductions for reinsured premiums paid to foreign countries. Catastrophe reserves should be limited to realistic amounts in proportion to assumed hazards of specific risks. Any diminution in the reserve account, whatever the cause, would be taxable.

This proposal is ideal for riot-prone areas.

Your panel has already stated that federal assistance should exist only in support of state and local control. I wholeheartedly concur. This proposal is consistent with your philosophy. It would greatly supplement your strong and commendable recommendation for Urban Area Plans. It would supplement inspections, assigned risk plans and other approaches. Ideally, it need not be mandatory. Some states may prefer guaranty funds or some states may not need relief. But, this proposal should be made available to states which need it and companies who need it.

While your urban area proposals are being implemented, this program of cross-pledging of reserves could easily create a healthy layer of reinsurance facilities—company by company—for this country before it goes to the foreign market.

American-Israel Interests Versus Russian-Arab Axis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I submit for insertion in the Record a letter to the President of the United States regarding American-Israel interests versus Russian-Arab axis.

Dann, Rosenbaum, Bloom & Kaufman,
Detroit, Mich., September 20, 1967.

Re: American-Israel interests versus Russian-Arab axis.

Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson,
President, The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: In view of Russia's Mideast gains, and present position in the U.N. Debates, I would like to share the following thoughts with you:

Arab nations already recognized Israel by their claim of being at war with the State of Israel. Only a Don Quixote could fight a "non-existent State" and be *Defeated.*

Russian anti-Semitism. For centuries, Russia condoned and encouraged Pogroms and Massacres of Jews as part of its Ecclesiastic and National Policy. The same, more or less, as the Crusades and Nazis because Jews represented a Challenge to their "God", or any dogmas that enslaved either mind or body.

This additude did not change when the Communist "God" of the Kremlin replaced their God of the Church.

They engaged in these persecutions and massacres not because they had the "right" to do it, but only because they had the "power" to do it. There is a vast difference between the words "Right" and "Power". One may have the "power" to kill, but not the "right". (Nurenberg-Kremlin "Laws" to the contrary notwithstanding).

Russian anti-Zionism is merely a subterfuge and extension of their Anti-Semitism but much large in scope. Because, in addition to Zionists being mostly Jewish, Israel now "threatens" their attempt to invade and dominate the vast areas and oil resources of the Middle East.

As the only Democracy in the Mideast, Israel is the natural ally of the Western Powers and the natural enemy of Russia's world Communist expansion program of which the Mideast is an important part.

Russia's pretended "friendship" for Arabs is no more genuine than Russia's so-called friendship for the Chinese or Vietnamese. Before Kosygin, Hitler sought to likewise control the Middle East thru the Mufti.

American-Israel interests vs. Russian-Arab axis. Half the battle is won when the enemy's plans are exposed.

Politically, Americans cannot (nor can Arabs) afford to permit the Russians to turn the Mideast into another Berlin, Korea, or Vietnam; nor economically, to permit Russia to control 70% of the world's oil reserves; nor humanitarily, permit the Iron Curtain of Communism and Chain of Slavery to extend around the Mideast; nor permit Russians to replace Nazi Nuclear Scientists, War Heads and Military Bases in Egypt.

Russian roulette vs. Las Vegas and Wall Street. Sophisticated people gamble 36 to 1 odds against them on fixed roulette wheels. Many buy stocks in corporations at rigged and inflated prices that are more than 36 times their yearly earnings. Therefore, Russia did not make a bad speculation when it gambled a questionable 3 billion to take over the Middle East and control oil resources worth over 100 billion.

Russia merely made a "Wall Street" speculative investment in the Mideast, when it sold the Arabs 3 billion dollars worth of military equipment, most of which was obsolete. But this 3 billion dollar "sale-investment" was not bad from a business, economic or power-politic standpoint, if it succeeds. It still has a good chance to succeed, depending on how well the U.S. and other Western Powers and *free* Nations support Israel. In the meantime their Mideast scheme enabled Russia to make the following gains:

(1) Employment to thousands of Russians;

(2) It enabled Russians to sell and get rid of obsolete military equipment at their price;

(3) It offered Russians the opportunity to develop and test new armaments;

(4) It endeared Russians to the Arabs and made them allies of the Arabs and, at the same time, made the Arabs hate the United States as an enemy and break diplomatic relations;

(5) *And foremost,* it gave Russians a strong-foothold and strangle-hold on the Arab nations of the Middle East.

No "public opinion poll" is necessary to establish that *America* cannot afford, and will not approve of a Mideast "Tea Pot Dome Scandal" or "Deal" vis a vis Glassboro. Israel must not be permitted to compromise any of her present rights and positions lest it lead to the weakening and destruction of our own vital American interests in the Middle East.

Sincerely,

Sol A. Dann.

Telling People How To Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Telling People How To Live," which was published in the Southwest Virginia Enterprise, of Wytheville, Va., on September 28, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Telling People How To Live

"A federal injection of about $6.5 billion has hardly dented hard-core poverty in the mountains and valleys of Appalachia—for two years a show-piece of the government's antipoverty and development programs." So began an article by Associated Press writers, Gaylord Shaw and John Koenig, Jr.

Mr. Shaw and Mr. Koenig take the reader on a tour of the entire Appalachian region which extends the length of the Appalachian Mountain Range from New York to Alabama. It is a region of rugged mountains, valleys and rivers, as well as one of poverty. The government has classed 5.18 million of the 16.8 million people living in the area as poverty stricken. It appears that one of the problems is that so many government agencies are working in Appalachia to improve the lot of the people that there is a great deal of waste and overlapping effort. Innumerable programs are pouring money into housing, schools, roads and health facilities. But, the overall effect of the expenditure of more than $6.5 billions in two years is hard to evaluate.

Perhaps the biggest lesson in Appalachia may turn out to be that the development of a culture is a slow and painstaking process that must come from within the people themselves. Money alone cannot do the job. Nor can a preconceived idea of how people should live be imposed upon a populous by sociologists and urban developers. In the Appalachian region many mountaineers do not wish to move into urban centers and live in neatly planned communities. As one said, "I don't like cities. Too much noise." Aside from the comment of this mountaineer may the economic problems of Appalachia, explain in large part why Appalachia may become a classic example of governmental fouling.

The Platform of the Young Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the Young Democrats of the State of Maryland recently completed their annual convention and in so doing adopted a platform that, to me, represents one of the most comprehensive and forward looking ever produced by a statewide Young Democratic organization.

This platform is a credit to the Democratic Party, which has always prided itself in keeping an open mind to new ideas and imagination in serving the public. One source of ideas and new thinking is our Young Democratic Clubs in Maryland and across the Nation. These Young Democrats are tomorrow's leaders and I know that our State and Nation will be in highly capable hands. I wish to commend the Maryland Young Democrats for the platform that was adopted. At this point in the RECORD I include the 1967 platform for the Young Democrats of Maryland:

THE PLATFORM OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS, STATE OF MARYLAND, ADOPTED SEPTEMBER 30, 1967

(Prepared by the Platform Resolutions Committee and submitted to the Young Democrats of Maryland in convention assembled, September 16, 1967: William H. Bradford, Jr., chairman; Frank Proctor, Patricia A. McDonough, M. Michael Crewe, Carl Tuvin, Peter Masley, vice chairmen; Jon Alpert, A. Gordon Boone, Jr., John C. Byrnes, Beverely Byron, F. Joseph Dore, Martha Fenton, John Hayes, Steny H. Hoyer, Karol Ann Johnson, Joyce Leviton, John A. Lewis, III, Maclyn McCarty, Jr., Peter F. O'Malley, Jo Ann Orlinsky, Walter Orlinsky, Joseph Raymond, Patricia Reid, Hank Whaley, and George Wills)

PREAMBLE

The United States—a Nation that has evolved to the supreme world power in fewer than two hundred years, a Nation that has a standard of living higher than any other nation today or yesterday—is now engaged in a period of critical self-examination, the outcome of which will set our course for decades. As this healthy debate ensues, and as it applies to our nation, to the State of Maryland, to our communities and to individuals, *We the Young Democrats of Maryland in convention assembled* present our position on those matters of significance to all.

We exist in a time of subtle and sophisticated crisis. We exist in a nation of untold prosperity—yet millions still suffer from lack of proper medical attention, food, housing, education, jobs and social acceptance. We exist in a world less dangerous to democracy than when we were born—yet nations are still oppressed within and without and threatened by forces which would deny all peoples the right to choose their own form of freedom and government. We live in a Free State of progress and concern for its citizens—yet we must improve and perfect our governmental and social structures to enable them to meet the changing responsibilities of contemporary society facing us today, and those facing future generations.

We believe it vital that a high priority be placed on the prepartion of our State, our Nation and the world for tomorrow's challenges. Our responsibility is not to the past—although we acknowledge its victories, and its defeats, and we learn from them. In looking toward tomorrow from today's perspective, we must assess our national, state and local goals; what we have done and what we have yet to do. This is the purpose of our platform.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

In recent years the national government has been caught in a vise between rapidly-increasing domestic demands and expanding foreign commitments. Nevertheless, we believe that the present national Democratic administration under the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson has worked diligently and sincerely to balance our national goals at home and abroad and to implement them. We believe that President Johnson has set a standard of presidential leadership on a scale, of a caliber, of a tempo and of accomplishment that ranks him among the greatest of American Presidents.

Foreign policy

In large measure we indorse and support the administration's foreign policy. We are in complete accord with its over-riding goal of a peaceful and secure world.

It is our belief that prospects for improving East-West relations despite the Viet Nam conflict are greater today than at any time since the death of Josef Stalin. While it is readily apparent that Communist China will continue to be intransigent and belligerent, we feel that the Soviet Union is in a mood, in limited areas, to improve relations with the United States. We should take the initiative, if necessary, to explore fully and unceasingly these areas with the Soviet Union and to arrive at mutually beneficial relationships.

In this context, we urge the administration to make every possible effort toward the formulation and ratification of a multilateral nuclear disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union and all nuclear nations. We applaud the objective of our government to "continue to search for such agreements with the Communists as are feasible," and we encourage this search in increased trade, increased cultural exchanges and exchanges of scientific information within the limitations of national security, and the opening of more consulates in the Soviet Union and the United States for the benefit of travelers in both countries.

The opening of the last frontier—outer space—must, for the safety of all nations, be accomplished without motive for military gain. We urge the ratification of the Treaty on Outer Space by all nations so the conquest of outer space will not result in subsequent conquest of any country on the earth.

We commend the foreign aid program for economic and social development under the Agency for International Development, with particular pride in its concentration on the war against hunger, ill health and illiteracy in under-developed countries; on greater support for regional economic development, and on the democratic "self-help"-method of foreign aid. We note that the program requested for military assistance this year is the smallest since 1950 and, outside our commitment in Southeast Asia, is only 45 percent of the total military assistance the U.S. provided in 1960. We strongly encourage a continued downgrading of military assistance to foreign nations to reflect our desire for stringent arms control and nuclear disarmament.

One of the most significient accomplishments of the Johnson Administration this year was the completion of the report of the Presidential Panel on the World Food Supply. We commend the President for his initiative in ordering the in-depth study of a problem which is felt in most nations. As the President stated in his 1967 State of the Union message:

"Next to the pursuit of peace, the really greatest challenge to the human family is the race between food supply and population increase. That race tonight is being lost.

"The time for rhetoric has clearly passed. The time for concerted action is here and we must get on with the job."

We cannot urge more strongly that our government, the Congress, the United Nations, and all concerned implement the recommendations of this panel to begin a worldwide campaign to win the race between food supply and population increase, and to conquer hunger and malnutrition. We also urge the government to assist in meeting the population explosion by providing at no cost the means and methods of birth control to any poor and under-developed nation seeking this aid.

It is our belief that one of the most striking contributions this nation has ever made toward a better world is the Peace Corps. We urge an increase in the size and scope of the Peace Corps so that these dedicated volunteers may meet requests for their services from all nations.

While the Alliance for Progress has not produced over-night successes of a monumental scale, we believe that this comprehensive program to aid our neighbors to the south must be continued unabated, and stepped-up where possible, in order that long-range achievements may not be lost because of demands for short-term results.

We are critical of American military aid and foreign policy in the Middle East. We are critical of military assistance to nations that we know to be, or may become, within the realm of reasonable prediction, incompatible with our major foreign policy objective of a peaceful and secure world. In the Middle East, we believe that American military assistance and, to a degree other foreign aid, often has been misdirected, for the following reasons:

It is our policy to provide military assistance "where we are asked; where the threat of invasion or subversion is real; where the proposal is militarily and economically sound; where it is consistent with our interest and our limited means." A report by the Agency for International Development shows that from 1945 to 1966 the U.S. provided a total of $264 million in military aid to four Middle Eastern countries which openly oppose the independence and freedom of Israel, almost half of which was in grants, plus an additional $15.4 million in donated surplus military equipment. On the other hand, we provided from 1945 to 1966 only $27.6 million in military assistance to Israel, all in repayable loans and no surplus military equipment. The bulk of our economic and social aid to the Arab States has been in grants while such aid to Israel has been mostly in repayable loans.

We regret that the affairs of the Middle East countries have continued to deteriorate; however, we were very encouraged by the fact that the Soviet Union and our country did not become more involved. Still, we are concerned that our government was in a posture of giving military aid to the Arab States. Therefore, we call on the appropripriate governmental officials to modify our policy in that area of the world to provide to all these nations the same opportunities and ways of cooperation. Meanwhile, we reaffirm our policy of support to the State of Israel and the recognition of the right of that nation to exist.

We believe that this has been a disappointing year for the United Nations, because its weaknesses have been amplified by the wars in the Middle Esat and in Viet Nam, and the disorders in Africa. However, we also believe that the United States must continue, even through such periods of trial and tribulation, its unreserved support for this world body. We believe that methods must be explored to strengthen the United Nations and to make it more effective in times of world crisis. We do not believe that the U.N. should be considered as indoor recreation, as some member nations would have it. To be most effective in accordance with its charter the United Nations must be treated by all member nations with a full sense of responibility, dignity and purpose, particularly in the financial support of its operations and programs, and as a fulltime instrument of world debate, world improvement and world peace. Without the United Nations, the world situation can only regress to a state of increasing confusion, isolation and breakdown of communication compounded by a loss of concerted action to solve the common problems of men and nations.

As to the war in Viet Nam, we find it—as we find all war—deplorable. We stand behind President Johnson fully committed to his unrelenting efforts to find a peaceful solution, one that will permit the South Vietnamese people the right of peaceful self-determination. We can do no less for this tiny nation; we, too, have fought for this right. We must have a continuing evaluation of our obligations in Southeast Asia based on support and participation from local governments, Sino-Soviet relations, long-range goals abroad, and effects on our shifting domestic needs—many of which have higher priority.

We want to go on record expressing our deepest gratitude and respect for the men and officers of our armed services who are demonstrating with their lives and limbs, their personal sacrifices and perseverances, with their dedication and zeal, that an American commitment is not a paper tiger.

In concluding our position on foreign policy, we remind the American people of the words of Secretary of State Rusk:

"We ourselves have no desire to be and cannot be the gendarmes for the entire world. But we do know that our security is bound up with the security of other free societies. We have very great economic and military strength, which should inspire us with a deep sense of responsibility."

Domestic policy

This United States in which we live is the greatest nation in history. Yet, despite its greatness, our nation and its people are undergoing a painful metamorphosis. We find Americans struggling for a place in the sun; for elbow-room; for clean air and pure water; for decent homes and good schools; for good jobs and security; for modern cities and healthy suburbs; for safe streets and freedom of travel; for equal justice; for honest, efficient and responsive government, and for dignity and self-respect.

There is much to be done to improve our way of life. There is much that the Democratic Party has done and will continue to do to set our course and guide us to our destination. The following are our recommendations for our party and our nation:

The Bureaucracy

Government, to be effective, must be efficient. Efficiency and economy of operation are one of government's first obligations. The Federal Government under the Johnson Administration has set a highwater mark for responsive, progressive and imaginative programs. Nevertheless, we believe that there is room for improvement in the level of efficiency of the bureaucracy. We recommend that a thorough study be conducted of each Federal department, with particular emphasis on the old line departments such as Interior and Agriculture, and with a view toward reorganization of those which are no longer functioning in their traditional areas of responsibility.

We favor the administration's proposal to reform the Post Office Department by making it a public corporation. We urge the liberalization of the outdated and restrictive "Hatch Act" which has denied millions of Federal and state employees participation in the political process of our democracy. Along with liberalization, this act should be strengthened to provide more protection for employees against solicitation for thinly-disguised political contributions and against coercion and influence from superiors in political matters.

We strongly favor true comparability in pay and benefits for Federal employees and urge a greater effort on their behalf, because the viability of the national government hinges in large measure on the caliber of its employees at all levels. We commend those who have made public service a career for their dedication. We also urge that there continue to be an influx of new ideas and new people into the government in order that it not become stifled in tradition and fear of new approaches.

This convention indorses the objectives of S. 1035 by Senator Ervin and cosponsored by a majority of the Senate to protect the constitutional rights of Federal employees and to prevent unwarranted governmental invasions of privacy.

We urge the Congress to take action to propose an equitable method of financing the $50.3 billion accrued liability of the civil service retirement and disability fund.

We are critical, as is the House Appropriations Committee, of the unnecessary buildup of large unobligated balances by the executive branch, particularly in a time of urban crisis and a massive Federal deficit. For example unobligated balances and unexpended balances in the Department of Defense will be $10.4 billion at the end of fiscal year 1968, and unexpended balances at the end of FY 68 will rise to $45.4 billion.

These billions of dollars in unobligated and unexpended balances, funds that are appropriated but not yet spent, indicate a degree of poor fiscal management which must not be permitted, particularly when there exists a desperate need for funds elsewhere in the budget and when a heavy deficit is expected. We urge the government to take every step possible to either reduce the balances of unobligated and unexpended funds, or to transfer a large portion of these funds into urban rehabilitation programs as soon as possible.

The Congress

One of the great ironies of last year's Congressional elections is that the voters turned out a large number of the freshmen Democratic Congressmen who were of vital significance in enacting the great programs for social progress which made the 89th Congress one of the best in our history. Today, in the face of our urgent urban crisis, the slim Democratic majority of the Congress finds itself stymied by the selfish partisan negativeness of a large number of minority party members. Thus, the 90th Congress finds itself enmeshed in complacency and lack of direction. Showing general irresponsibility and utter contempt for the will of the public, the minority party members have already dragged the 90th Congress to their low level of partisanship, resulting in callous disregard for the needs of our cities and people.

We urge the voters next year to acknowledge that our national problems require positive solutions, not negative obstructionism. We urge the voters to return to the 91st Congress an overwhelming majority of Democrats in order that President Johnson and the Congress may get on with their work for the future of our nation and our people.

There is also room for improvement in the mechanical workings of the national legislative process. We urge passage of a strong legislative reorganization bill in order that the Congress may work more efficiently. We deplore the degree to which the Congress has lost its initiative to the Executive Branch, a trend which has been evident for many years. It is our belief that by reforming and modernizing its methods, the Congress can resume its standing as one of the three equal branches of government.

We call for re-evaluation of the Congressional committee chairmen selection system with a view toward its modification in a way that will allow for stronger emphasis on ability and other leadership criteria as opposed to strict reliance on tenure of office in the selection process.

We favor enactment of a stronger lobby laws requiring broader coverage, filing of more detailed reports, and efficient administration and enforcement. We urge that a limited tax credit be given for donations to political campaigns. We encourage the formation of a strict code of Congressional ethics, including annual disclosure of financial status. All of these proposals are aimed at reinstilling public trust and confidence in the integrity of our elected public officials.

Only the Congress, in its wisdom, can provide the funds for the operation of our national government. While we believe that the Congress performs its task in a sincere attempt to protect the taxpayers money, we must disapprove of the following actions:

1. In reporting the Labor-H.E.W. appropriations bill for fiscal year 1968 the House Appropriations Committee reduced the administration request by $185 million. However, the committee did not include in its bill appropriations for programs awaiting legislative reauthorization which total $261 million as listed in the budget request. If these programs are reauthorized and the committee funds the deferred $261 million as requested, the total appropriation for Labor-H.E.W. will be $76 million more than the administration requested. This obviously is a misleading appropriations process.
2. The Appropriations Committee allowed $61.7 million for a program of research grants which the committee admitted may not have proper legislative authority, pending a decision by the Comptroller General.
3. The Appropriations Committee allowed an expenditure of $33 million for a program which the committee admitted has no legislative authority.

We make these criticisms with one point in mind: Our resources are limited and our obligations are great. We must economize where possible, and this responsibility falls on the Congress as well as the Executive Branch of government.

The City

At no other time and place in our history has the impact and, to a degree, the tragedy of the industrial revolution been brought into more critical focus than in our cities today. In large measure it was the promise of the industrial revolution that gave economic impetus to the growth of our cities—the promise of decent jobs, homes and schools in cities, that brought the masses. Today the promise has become a plague, both in the seething cities and on the shrinking farms. The many millions of Americans in the core cities are suffering—the few millions left on the farms are suffering. Those between—the middle class in the suburbs—are faced with the overwhelming burden of both.

The American city is the home of the majority of our people and it houses the majority of our problems. Since 1930 city population has increased more than 50 percent while rural population has increased less than two percent. People have left the farms at a rate of almost 800,000 a year for each of the past five years. The crime rate in the city is twice that of the suburb. More 15-year-olds commit crimes than any other age group, and 16-year-olds are second. Of 2,780,015 crimes known to police in 1965, some two million occurred in the cities. Twenty-six core cities of more than 500,000 people containing 18 percent of the total population, accounted for more than half of all reported major crimes against the person, and more than a third of the crimes against property. The unemployment rate in core cities is 10 percent, almost three times the national average. For Negro teenagers it goes as high as 30 percent. One of every five slum residents working fulltime earns a salary below the poverty line. By contrast, between 1954 and 1965, almost two-thirds of all new stores were constructed outside the central city.

In 1966, an estimated 30 million Americans, or 15 percent of our population, were listed as poor, living below the minimal governmental "poverty line." Only 7.5 million of the American poor are receiving public assistance. Negroes account for 50 percent to the relief load—and nearly all aid to dependent children recipients in some cities. In the next decade the cities must spend $1,025 billion, but will not be able to raise $262 billion of that amount. More than four million homes have neither running water nor plumbing; more than nine million homes are run down or dilapidated.

These facts could not state more clearly the existence of a grave problem in our country. As Senator Ribicoff stated, "We face not only a crisis in housing, employment, and law enforcement but we also face a crisis in belief. The people of the slums are losing their belief in the promise of America."

President Johnson's National Crime Commission stated that it has "no doubt that the most significant action that can be taken against crime is action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, to improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure that every American is given the opportunities and the freedoms that will enable him to assume his responsibilities."

"Warring on poverty, inadequate housing and unemployment, is warring on crime. A civil rights law is a law against crime. Money for schools is money against crime. Medical, psychiatric and family-counseling services are services against crime. More broadly and most importantly every effort to improve life in America's 'inner cities' is an effort aganist crime."

The crisis in our cities is a national problem; it is a stigma on our nation. Three summers of widespread violence and crime have failed to produce an unequivocal national commitment to attack and to conquer our most critical domestic problem.

Our governments seem to be going in many directions, yet in no direction at all. Even for a problem of such enormous proportions, requiring a dedicated long-range effort, there does not seem to be a clearly enunciated national goal, one that every American, rich or poor, can easily understand and support.

Therefore, this convention strongly urges that our government establish a system of national priorities, and that the first priority be given to attacking and conquering comprehensively the problems of our cities. This first priority must be stated without equivocation or qualification.

It is our position that if such a priority and commitment is clearly and unequivocally stated the Congress will act responsively. As it is now the Congress does not feel that the government is strongly committed to facing the monumental problems of our cities. The result is that requests for appropriations to finance city rehabilitation programs are being cut drastically and as a parallel, loose fiscal procedures are occurring in the Executive.

This nation cannot afford summers of violence—organized or spontaneous. This nation can afford to make a national commitment of the highest priority to attack the causes of this unrest at their roots.

The Related Goals

In other areas of concern to our population, we recommend:

1. That the 200 recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice be implemented. The President's crime commission produced the most comprehensive report on crime in our nation. We believe that his commission has given us a comprehensive cure, and we must now provide the means to strike hard and permanently at crime.

2. That State programs of compensation to the victims of violent crimes be enacted, and that the Federal government enact such a program for the District of Columbia.

3. That a greatly-expanded program for the development of mass transportation methods be undertaken by the government for the benefit of our commuters, and that the responsibility for such a program be assigned to one Federal department, not two with overlapping responsibilities as exists in the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Transportation.

4. That the Federal and state governments enact legislation outlawing transportation and private possession of military-type firearms; that states enact laws prohibiting possession of firearms by habitual drunkards, drug addicts, mental incompetents and persons with histories of mental disturbances; that states enact laws requiring the registration of all handguns, rifles and shotguns, that states enact laws requiring persons to obtain permits before possession of handguns; that the Federal government enact a law prohibiting the mail-order sale of firearms.

5. That the Congress provide substantially more funds to implement the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 in order that water pollution may soon be unknown in this nation.

6. That the Congress enact the Air Quality Act of 1967 so that the Federal government can enforce clean air standard before the world is surrounded by an envelope of polluted air.

7. That the Federal Government effectively prevent its own installations from polluting the air and water.

8. That the entire welfare program be overhauled. There is little disagreement that the Federal and state welfare programs, which only reach 20 percent of those Americans listed below the poverty line, are outdated and inequitable. A blue-ribbon commission such as that which studied crime at the President's direction should be established to study the entire welfare program at all levels and to make recommendations for its reform. We specifically recommend that such reforms include eligibility based solely on need; day care for the children of mothers who can work; effective job retraining; assistance to local governments for birth control clinics open at convenient hours, and a program for finding and making effective new methods to teach the rural poor who have settled in cities how to cope with urban living.

9. That the Congress quickly enact S. 2138 as amended to authorize an emergency program under the Secretaries of Agriculture, and Health, Education, and Welfare, to provide food and medical services to prevent human suffering and loss of life. Human beings all over the country are suffering from inadequate diets, malnutrition and virtually no medical or dental attention. Estimates of the number of Americans in dire need of food range from 400,000 to four million. This act also requires a comprehensive study of the incidence and location of serious hunger, malnutrition and related health problems.

10. That the Congress enact a comprehensive truth-in-lending act to protect the American consumer from misleading costs of credit. We favor other measures aimed directly at consumer protection, including a comprehensive program concerning the unknown dangers lurking in many of our complex products such as drugs and cosmetics. We also favor legislation setting safety standards for regulation of economic poisons to protect human lives.

11. That the District of Columbia be granted voting representation in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

12. That Congress repeal section 14–b of the Taft-Hartley Act to prohibit states from enacting so-called "right to work" laws.

13. That the Congress enact a Congressional redistricting bill requiring that states redistrict within two years after each decennial census is published on a strict one-man, one-vote basis with a maximum variance between the largest and smallest district of no more than 10 percent.

14. That our Federal meat and poultry inspection laws be quickly updated and comprehensively enforced.

15. We commend the U.S. Senate on its drug-pricing hearings for facing a problem which as long deprived some of our citizens of adequate medication.

The Farm

While the average American farm has been able to produce more with less acreage, the farm family is rapidly dwindling. The farm population of 12 million today is half that of 1950. By 1970, it will shrink to 9.6 million. The same year, nearly half those on farms—4.5 million—will be age 55 or older. Besides losing its young people, the farm has been hit by an increase in costs. While prices in the consumer marketplace have increased, the farmer's share has not. In rural America, the educational achievement rate is two years behind the urban areas, and the dropout rate is 7 percent higher. Even though gross farm income last year was the highest in history, the farmer's income is still below that of the average per capita income of $2,610.

The Johnson Administration has instituted programs to help farmers and those who live in non-farm rural areas improve public services and their way of life. We strongly commend the administration for its accomplishments, and look to an even greater effort in the future, including a restudy of our agricultural program. We see a danger that yesterday's farm surpluses may become tomorrow's shortages if agricultural land and workers continue to dwindle. As well as being the providers of our food and fiber, American farmers are the custodians of our land.

The Land

There was a time when this nation could take pride in its natural beauty; today it cannot. The metropolitan bulldozer, the highway, the air and water pollution, the water and sewer lines, all have worked against our greatest natural heritage. In the process of clearing land for suburban houses, we have not provided open spaces to be enjoyed by those who will live in the houses.

There are a number of governmental programs for preservation of open spaces and natural beauty, such as the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the open space grants and highway beautification program. It is our contention that these programs are not doing enough to keep pace with urbanization.

The government is not moving fast enough to acquire land before urbanization escalates its cost beyond the point of no return. It is not moving fast enough to protect our natural beauty from desecration. A greater effort must be made.

In this respect, we call for enactment of the Scenic or Wild Rivers System, the Scenic Trails System, and the National Estuarine Areas System. We urge the government to embark on a program of securing donated scenic easements from private landowners holding property of scenic value, and offering them in return an incentive. We urge that a specific program for establishing open recreational spaces in core city areas be initiated quickly. We also urge our government to act speedily to prevent despoilation of our beaches and shorelines from vast amounts of oil trapped in more than 100 sunken tankers off the East coast.

In light of the national solid waste problem and the immortal life expectancy of most plastic throw-away containers, we urge private industries to substitute bio-degradable plastic containers in consumer product packaging rather than non-degradable plastics.

The Individual

We view with alarm equally the struggle of the individual against complete anonymity in a society that shuffles millions away, packs them in cities and forgets them, and the struggle of the individual for an identity in the world of technology which relegates human beings to punchcard perforations.

Although the computer—or cybernetic—age is barely in its infancy, how familiar one of its traits has already become: "Do not fold, spindle or mutilate." Will human beings have this same protection in the computer age?

It has been stated aptly that cybernetics causes de-personalization, a separation of man from his product, a collapse of time, a reduction of human work, and a dramatic shift of needs and skills. Can the individual survive as an entity? Can we forge ahead without sacrificing man's individuality to the computer's demands?

Individuality is not the gift of government and society, but they can rob a person of it. In preparing for the technological world just over the horizon, it is imperative that we dedicate an equal effort to preservation of the individuality and dignity of every member of our society. We urge our national leaders—intellectual, political, business and social—to address themselves to this critical question in order that our society may be prepared for another new age without undergoing painful and frustrating periods of adjustment.

It is our position that the task and goal of guaranteeing real equality of opportunity and freedom of movement and association for all persons is far from completion. Segregation must be stamped out. Discrimination must be destroyed. All men and every man must have the same opportunities, and this requires equal opportunity in all spheres and phases of our society in fact—not fiction. As a step in this direction we urge the enactment of a Federal fair housing law that does not infringe on constitutional rights.

The individual's right of privacy must be respected and protected by our government officials, and we commend the administration for the steps it has taken thus far to insure this goal.

Our government must continue to be predicated upon the ideals of personal freedom, individual opportunity and protection of fundamental rights. As long as one man is denied these, our democratic goal has not been fulfilled. Each generation brings us closer to that goal, and we must make certain that this and future generations continue. Rarely have the challenges to our principles been so great and the perils of inaction so grave. This generation of Americans can surpass all others in bringing the dream of freedom and equality of opportunity to fruition.

THE STATE GOVERNMENT

Our state government is at a crossroads. Through reapportionment, fiscal and constitutional reform, and badly-needed progressive programs to help and lead its citizens, our state government has the opportunity and the challenge of re-asserting itself as a viable instrument of government in the face of the growing Federal-metropolitan partnership.

Many persons have been active in bringing our state reapportionment, fiscal reform, a constitutional convention and programs for progress. We are particularly proud of the leading role Maryland's Young Democrats have played in reforming state government to meet present day demands. We know that our party leaders are committed to sound progress from state and its people through imaginative and progressive programs.

Our state must not stop at the crossroads. In order to help our state forge ahead to an active role in a challenging society, as it must, we present our program for progress.

The constitutional convention

We welcome the convening of the constitutional convention and commend the Governor's Constitutional Commission for its comprehensive draft and those who have and are working toward realization of a new basic charter of government. We reiterate that basic reforms in the constitution are essential and go hand-in-hand with governmental reorganization such as that recommended by the Commission on the General Assembly and the Curlett Commission on executive reorganization. We support the constitutional changes outlined in the Draft of a New Constitution for the State of Maryland adopted at our 1965 state Y.D. convention, including—

The guaranteed right of people to be protected against interception of any means of communication.

A requirement that no person in the exercise of his rights be discriminated against becouse of sex, race, national origin, religion or ancestry.

Entitlement to a free public education in the declaration of rights.

The right in all criminal cases for the accused to be assigned defense counsel to represent him at every stage of the proceedings unless he elects to proceed without counsel or is able to retain counsel.

Reduction of the residency requirement for voting in state and local elections from one year to six months.

Provisions for mandatory reapportionment and redistricting after each national census; compact and contiguous legislative districts; a limit on the number of legislators to be elected to the General Assembly and a limit on the number that can represent a single legislative district under districting plans not inconsistent with the principle of one-man, one-vote.

Removal of salary restrictions in the constitution.

Removal of constitutional limits on length of legislative sessions.

Requirement for a post audit by an officer elected by the General Assembly.

A prohibition on General Assembly enactment of public local law.

A requirement that all counties adopt home rule.

Addition of the elective office of Lieutenant Governor.

Provision for gubernatorial power, subject to legislative veto, to make changes in the executive branch organization, or in the assignment of functions within the executive which he considers necessary for efficient administration.

Establishment of a unified court system headed by one Supreme Court with an appeals court, a trial court of general jurisdiction, and a trial court of limited jurisdiction.

Supreme Court power, after hearing, to remove any judge from office upon a finding of misconduct in office, or persistant failure to perform his duties or to retire any judge upon a finding of disability seriously interfering with performance of duties which is or is likely to become of a permanent nature.

Adoption of an improved plan for judicial selection.

Establishment of the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court as executive head of the judicial system with power to appoint an administrator and staff and to assign judges to sit in any state court when he deems it necessary.

We also join those who acknowledge the citizens' right of access to public records. This right should not be abridged except as provided by law where required to preserve privity in law enforcement proceedings, preserve the integrity of state contractual transactions, and prevent unwarranted invasion of a citizen's personal privacy.

Conflict of interest

We support and urge enactment of stringent conflict-of-interest legislation including comprehensive financial disclosure. This legislation should include—

A prohibition against public officials using knowledge gained in the performance of their duties to buy and/or sell land for a profit as a result of action by the State or other public bodies.

Requirements that elected officials file detailed schedules of assets and liabilities and a statement of income by source including spouse and minor children with the Secretary of State. These reports should be made public upon request and the law should provide a method of enforcing their accuracy.

Human resources

With the increasing complexity of social and technological progress, the development of our human resources becomes more vital. Our state should provide every individual with the opportunity to develop to his fullest potential in order that he may become a contributing member of our society. Both society and the individual will become stronger socially and economically.

Development of human resources includes many fields. We congratulate the 1967 General Assembly for its outstanding record in enacting civil rights legislation. The elimination of the tavern exemption from the statewide public accommodations law marks the end of a long effort. At the same time, the campaign to end discrimination in housing was begun this year with passage of the equal housing law. We hope that full realization of this goal will be achieved more quickly than full public accommodations. The Young Democrats of Maryland are committed to the goals of eliminating any racial or religious discrimination and to providing an equal opportunity for all our citizens. We must continue to strive toward these goals until they are fully and permanently realized.

We urge the General Assembly, all State agencies and local governments to develop and implement imaginative programs to alleviate poverty in our cities and rural areas. We are gratified by the impressive start that has been made, but more must be done. While education is the best answer, it is long range and we must not ignore the present needs of all our citizens. Specifically, we urge comprehensive job-retraining programs for those unemployed who are displaced by automation, whether in the factory or on the farm, and for those who have become unable to pursue their trades through disability or because of inadequate education. We also urge re-evaluation of the workmen's compensation program in order to provide benefits such as two-thirds of average annual income, and also re-evaluation of the unemployment insurance program to increase benefits according to the rising cost of living. Liberalization of benefit disqualification standards should be included.

We recommended that the Movie Censorship Board be abolished immediately. The $75,000 annual expenditure by the state to support this board is desperately needed for far more deserving programs in development of human resources.

Education

Many improvements in Maryland's educational programs are necessary before the opportunity for our youth to develop to their fullest potential will be realized. Community colleges, education for handicapped children, education in culturally-deprived areas, and vocational training all need more attention before the state can have an adequate and comprehensive educational program.

We heartily commend the 1967 General Assembly for enactment of a state-sponsored kindergarten program. We find this an encouraging sign that our legislature is interested in filling the gaps which presently preclude a comprehensive educational program. To reach this goal, we recommend—

1. Education of handicapped children. We commend the 1967 General Assembly for enacting three of five bills recommended by the Governor's Commission on the Education of Handicapped Children. We also commend Judge Moore and the other members of the commission for an excellent job. The commission's report shows that the lack of educational programs for the handicapped is the most glaring of our educational deficiencies. We urge the legislature and the new commission to develop vigorously programs to insure that all children are provided a first rate education regardless of handicap. Most handicapped children, given the proper education, can become productive members of society. Doors to opportunity may be opened through education geared to develop those abilities which are unhampered.

In order to develop these programs we recommend that the section of Special Education in the State Department of Education be given division status.

Special education instructors will be needed to implement a program once it is developed. At present, there is a tremendous gap between the number of instructors needed and those available. We recommend that the state provide an incentive to students for careers in special education by offering scholarships in this field. Legislation supported by the Young Democrats to accomplish this objective failed in committee in the 1967 General Assembly.

Recognizing that the largest single organic handicapping condition is mental retardation, and that most of the retarded can obtain self-sufficiency after special education, we recommend that state regional centers be established to provide guidance and training to these individuals. The number of children included in this category, at least 30,000 by 1970, clearly justifies a regional approach.

At present these children are educated at Rosewood, in programs provided by some counties, by private schools or not at all. Rosewood, besides educating those educable retarded, provides for the severely retarded, trainable retarded and emotionally disturbed children; its attention therefore is diluted. Private schools place a financial burden on the family of the children, and although the state bears a portion of the cost, these schools are sometimes cost-prohibitive.

We feel that the educable retarded can be more efficiently and adequately trained in centers specifically designed to meet their needs. These schools should be free or inexpensive as are the state schools for the blind and deaf.

Ten per cent of all school aged children are emotionally disturbed and require special classes. To date very few public school classes are available to these children. Many receive no education or are placed in normal classes, which is unfair both to the disturbed children and to the others. This problem is of enough scope and importance to deserve immediate and concerted action by the State Department of Education, the Governor and the General Assembly.

2. Education of the culturally deprived. Many children become functionally retarded solely because their environment has stifled ability to learn. We commend the implementation of Federal head-start programs in culturally deprived areas, but we believe that these programs should be extended through elementary and secondary schools if necessary to the individual. In areas of poverty and despair, class sizes should be smaller than average and should be geared to individual needs of students. Materials and equipment in these schools should be superior. Teacher salaries in poverty areas should be higher; a concerted effort is needed to recruit the best available teachers, and they should be trained to teach the culturally deprived. These areas also need a sufficient number of psychologists and guidance counselors.

We believe that the most critical long-range battle in the state war on poverty will be fought on the educational front. We urge the state take the initiative from the Federal government in developing progressive and creative educational programs to help children of poverty grow into the mainstream of American life.

3. Community colleges. The growth of community colleges allows us to place higher education in the reach of any person desiring it and qualified for it. To provide some uniform standards and systematic growth of these colleges we recommend that the state develop a master plan for higher education. To achieve this, a separate board for community colleges is essential.

Programs of the University of Maryland, the state colleges and community colleges should be coordinated for maximum efficiency. The curriculum of the community colleges should be planned so transfer to state four-year colleges is facilitated. As community colleges develop sufficiently to provide the first two years of higher education, the four-year state colleges should raise their standards of admission for freshmen and sophomores.

Community colleges should include vocational training programs to supplement high school vocational training. The programs should suit the employment and economic needs of the area the college serves. Consideration should be given to cooperation between community colleges and local hospitals for nurse's training to relieve the severe shortage of nurses felt especially in Maryland.

4. Vocational training in high school. In recent years most improvements at the high school level have been made in the academic curriculum. While it is necessary to provide students planning further education with a sound academic background, students whose education may end with high school graduation are frequently neglected. We recommend that more attention be given to developing vocational training programs in high school so that graduates who do not attend college will have a marketable trade or skill.

5. Counselors and psychologists. More psychologists are needed in the public school system to detect early symptoms of mental or emotional disturbance. By detecting these problems in early stages and treating them before they become fully developed, time and money will be saved. More psychologists and guidance counsellors are needed to help guide high school students into a curriculum best suited to their talents and needs. Students should be provided assistance in making post-graduate decisions.

6. School construction standards. In some areas of the state school buildings are inadequate. The state should increase its contribution toward school construction so all counties and Baltimore City can have adequate and modern buildings. We also recommend that the state create minimum standards for school construction in order to insure that these buildings will be adequate and safe.

7. Obtaining qualified instructors. Good education programs and facilities are useless without qualified instructors. While some wealthier counties can afford to pay high salaries and maintain an adequate quantity and quality of instructors, poorer counties must frequently settle for mediocre teachers. These are the areas where good instruction is most vital because of limited learning opportunity in the environment. We hope that the new tax program for returning more money to local governments will help remedy this gross inequity. We also recommend that the base pay for teachers be raised by the state. We recommend a vigorous recruiting program by the state to attract the best qualified instructors.

Health

We believe that the availability of adequate health care is crucial to the sound physical and mental development of a child and should not be determined by the income of his parents. Severe, prolonged illness or inadequate nutrition can produce permanent mental or physical disability. The cost of developing and improving health services to insure that every child can develop into a physically and mentally sound individual is far less than the cost of maintaining disabled people on welfare.

Many physical and mental handicaps can be prevented by adequate pre-natal care to expectant mothers. We believe that vastly improved programs in these areas would be a sound investment.

We recommend the State Department of Health for its plan to diagnose and treat the victims of the 1963–64 rubella epidemic. Its report estimates that 4,200 babies born between January 1, 1964 and March 31, 1965 will have "serious problems in any or all of the areas of vision, hearing, heart deficiencies, intellectual capacity, and physical stature." We urge that the General Assembly and the general public give the Department of Health maximum support in its efforts.

The House of Delegates in the 1967 session passed a liberalized state abortion law which was defeated in the Senate. While recognizing that many organizations including some churches are opposed to abortion on moral grounds, we believe that liberalized optional abortions are desirable for many. We urge passage of such a law with adequate procedural safeguards, specifically including cases where 1. Conception is caused by rape or incest; 2. Either parent has a history of severe mental disease or is otherwise severely mentally handicapped; 3. The birth would cause substantial risk of serious physical or mental danger or of death to the mother, and 4. Medical evidence shows substantial risk of abnormality in the fetus or that the fetus is dead.

Mental Health

Recognizing that 10 percent of our youth are emotionally disturbed and that their needs are largely unserved, we must provide the long-neglected and unavailable psychiatric services for children and adolescents. Separate psychiatric in-patient facilities must be provided and all community mental health centers should give priority to separate services for the youth of Maryland. Rehabilitation and treatment of this group are an investment in the future. Waiting to begin treatment until the patient is older and the problem more acute is an inadequate utilization of our resources.

To help community mental health centers become a reality, the state must begin development of necessary services through the provision of state demonstration grants to establish the need to communities and help with initial costs of development.

Every year several hundred persons in the state become seriously dangerous to themselves or to others. They cannot utilize psychiatric services unless they cooperate voluntarily or are charged with a criminal offense. The state needs an emergency admission law to protect the individual from harming himself or others as well as a law guarding his civil rights.

The need for state mental institutions will be present for many years even with the development of community mental health centers. Therefore, we recommend an increase in the per capita expenditures per day from its present level under nine dollars to one where our institutions will be places of treatment and rehabilitation. We also urge scholarships at undergraduate and graduate levels as incentives for students to major in social work, psychology, and psychiatric nursing.

All of our mental institutions are critically understaffed. Positions at the subprofessional level are particularly difficult to fill because the salaries are not competitive. We must raise salaries for these sub-professional positions if we are to have modern mental institutions.

Rosewood State Hospital, the institution for the retarded, suffers from many of the same deficiencies as the mental institutions. Until a few years ago this institution operated without a license because it failed to meet minimum State Health Department standards. Although Rosewood is now licensed it remains overcrowded and severely understaffed.

To meet minimum staff requirements of the American Association for Mental Deficiency Institutions, Rosewood needs a staff increase of 600 persons. We believe that the state is not so poor that it cannot meet minimum standards. To hire the minimum staff, an immediate and substantial salary increase is necessary to aid in recruiting. Because of the problems at Rosewood we urge the General Assembly to scrutinize its deficiencies and to correct them.

Alcoholism is a disease and should be treated as such. Additional facilities should be provided for emergency and long-term treatment of victims of this disease. This might be accomplished by enacting the bill introduced in the 1967 General Assembly which would raise the beer tax from three-cents to six-cents and establish alcoholic rehabilitation centers with these funds.

Governmental financing

We congratulate the 1967 General Assembly for enacting a tax reform package and specifically the Federal standard for determining taxable income where possible. However, much work still needs to be done to reform the method of paying for our government and its services.

The present system of taxation of business should be completely reviewed and overhauled. Where feasible a uniform system of local taxation of business should be adopted. possibly by use of a credit against a state business tax system. Business inventory taxes might be greatly reduced or abolished since in large part they constitute an unfair discrimination between service industries and goods industries.

The present system of debt service on bonded capital improvements paid solely by the state property tax levied by the Board of Public Works should be abolished. All taxes should be levied by and all appropriations made by the General Assembly or under its direct supervision. While not impairing the right to tax property for the protection of the state's credit, the use of the state property tax should be discontinued. This source of revenue should be reserved for county and municipal governments.

The Maryland inheritance tax laws need reforming. While taxation of large inheritances is made adequate because of the credit against the Federal estate tax, there is too heavy a burden on small estates and inheritances and there are unconscionable distinctions between types of property. We specifically recommend that the tax exemption for small inheritances be raised to at least $1,000.

In many cases the farmland assessment law is being used as a tax shelter for land speculators, thus shifting a burden to other revenue sources. We urge review of this law and support enactment of revisions that will insure equity in implementation of the law.

More varied and equitable methods of financing county and local government must be found in order to eliminate the over-reliance on the property tax as the major source of revenue. The tax reform act, by permitting county net income surcharges up to 50 percent of the state income tax, has alleviated this problem for the next few years. Other sources of revenue ought to be permitted to county governments, such as motor vehicle and boat taxes, utility taxes and land development taxes. We also recommend that the constitutional convention consider the needs of county and local government for modern and flexible financing when providing for the balance between them and the state government.

Criminal justice

The most basic objective of any government must be to protect its citizens, their rights and property, from attack by others. A modern penal system should provide for comprehensive rehabilitation of the criminal while he is confined, for a follow-up after confinement, in order that he may return to society as a constructive citizen. To meet these goals we recommend:

1. The need for a modern criminal code suited to today's society has been amply demonstrated and such a code has been studied. The 1968 General Assembly should begin work on such a code.

2. Well-trained and well-paid law enforcement officers are required to meet the advancement in science and police technology. We urge that pay scales and benefits be increased and that more training opportunities, including scholarships at state community and other institutions of higher education, be made available to law enforcement officers.

3. The staffing of state penal institutions must be upgraded, along with the provision of more psychologists.

4. We urge that realistic training programs in modern occupations be established in state penal institutions in order that prisoners upon release may become productive members of society and useful to themselves and their families.

5. We urge the establishment of more effective transitional programs for prisoners, such as expanded work-release programs and half-way houses.

We congratulate the General Assembly for making state aid available to local police forces so that our counties and municipalities can render more effective law enforcement services at the local level. We recommend that local police departments use this opportunity to upgrade the quality and number of their forces and equipment, and that, especially in metropolitan areas, police departments establish community relations offices and programs to improve communications between the police and all segments of society.

We also commend the 1967 General Assembly for adopting a modern definition of criminal insanity.

We note that respect for other people, their rights and their property, constitutes a cornerstone of a free democratic society; that grievances and injustices can only be remedied through established and fair procedures; that while protest, dissent, free assembly and free speech are essential ingredients to a free society and are necessary to democratic changes in institutions, laws must be obeyed and enforced regardless of the failure of the people and government to deal effectively with genuine social and economic problems.

Natural resources

Our state is richly endowed with natural resources; yet our air and our waters are polluted and much of our other wealth is being exhausted unnecessarily. Our government must make a major effort to safeguard and rehabilitate these irreplacable resources.

The Chesapeake Bay and our rivers are of vital importance to the people of Maryland. The condition of the Patapsco and Potomac Rivers and most of our other rivers and streams is deplorable. We strongly urge the expansion of our present state pollution abatement and waterways improvement programs in continued cooperation with the Federal government. We urge state aid to localities to enable them to establish and maintain effective waste treatment programs by assistance in construction of efficient sewage treatment facilities. Too many of these plants now being built are totally ineffective and are badly located. Definite steps, including regulation, must be taken to control industrial and governmental pollution. The first step should be an immediate conference of state and local officials and industrial leaders to initiate an effective program to clean up our waters. Sediment control programs are needed, particularly in areas of urbanization and heavy construction.

The state should quickly develop effective programs to reduce sea nettles and eliminate noxious plants and diseases affecting sealife in the Bay. The menhaden of Chesapeake Bay, an important commercial catch for our fishermen, are dwindling in number. Reasons must be found soon for its depletion and that of the other aquatic life of the Bay, and steps taken to stop it.

We also urge the enactment of legislation to establish the Patuxent River Commission to protect this waterway from despoilation.

We urge the state and localities to step up their programs for air pollution abatement. Full advantage should be taken of Federal programs in this area, but effective state programs ought to be initiated, especially in view of reduced Federal expenditures.

Maryland has great recreational potential to offer its citizens and tourists, but the need is expanding faster than the full development of our potential. New parkland is needed and the present outdoor recreation plan needs revision and acceleration. More campsites, cabins and fishing facilities are required as well as the development of winter sports facilities. Too many of our major roads are without adequate picnic and wayside resting places, especially when compared with less wealthy neighboring states. Our beach and river-front facilities need safeguarding against over-exploitation and the elements. For a state with an abundance of shoreline, a tragically little amount is open for public access. Acquisition of shoreline property or easements to provide public access to our waters will have to be done on a large scale to meet public demands.

There are many Federal programs in which the state, by upgrading and finalizing its outdoor recreation plan, could participate. A comprehensive long-range study of recreational needs should be undertaken to provide for adequacy of recreational facilities for the future.

We urge the state to act decisively and effectively to prevent permanent damage to our land and waters as a result of strip-mining. Effective programs for prevention of permanent damage and a comprehensive strip mine restoration program should both be included.

Economic development

We congratulate the state government for its continued economic growth over the past years. Continued progress, however, is necessary to meet the requirements of tomorrow.

It is vital that the state have essential services in transportation, such as highways, railways, modern port facilities and rapid transit for commuters to attract and hold desirable development. The state government must take the lead where appropriate in initiating those services which are lacking and upgrading others. Specifically, we recommend more assistance to the Maryland Port Authority so that the Port of Baltimore and other ports may operate effectively. State assistance also should be provided to improve capabilities at Friendship Airport and to establish regional airports.

Special attention and assistance ought to be given to Southern Maryland to enable that important section of the state to promote its development, and attain a viable local economy based on solid economic development. The State Department of Economic Development should actively encourage county governments to cooperate in the effort to promote their own economic development. Too often in the past, county governments have discouraged the establishment of desirable and compatible industry by their apathy and seeming unawareness of the benefits development confers. In keeping with this thought, more incentives should be developed for county governments to attract industry.

The concept and inception of new towns, such as Columbia, should be studied closely by the General Assembly as an important new method of promoting economic development and good planning in the state.

Consumer protection

In this day of complex goods and services the individual consumer needs to have more and more information available to him in order to make an intelligent purchase in our free-market economy. The State and Federal governments have made great strides in consumer protection over the past several years but many abuses are still present.

A field with such abuses which requires immediate action is that of credit life insurance. We recommend that the General Assembly enact legislation with the following four main objectives that will curb, if not eliminate, the abuses:

1. To prevent the oversale of credit life insurance by limiting the amount to the loan and limiting the term of the policy to its duration.
2. To prevent the pyramiding of policies by requiring refund of premiums on existing policies in the event a new policy is taken out to cover refinancing.
3. To provide adequate disclosure to the debtor at the time of insurance.
4. Most importantly, to give the Insurance Commissioner authority to disapprove a policy if the rates charged are excessive in relation to benefits provided.

Effective regulation of abuses in service industries, especially regarding home and appliance repairmen and service contracts sold with appliances, is also required.

In the past year we have seen flagrant disregard for the home buyer, particularly in the field of title insurance. The lender, in most cases, is the only one insured against a faulty title. All banks, savings and loan companies and others which are engaged in the mortgage lending business should be required to have a signed statement from the borrower that he is aware of the reasons for title insurance but that he does not, for personal reasons, want it.

A code of ethics also should be mandatory for all real estate agents. At present there is nothing to prevent an unscrupulous agent from deliberately misleading a prospective buyer. Regulatory power is required in instances of extreme negligence to suspend or prohibit an agent from selling.

The inadequacy of meat and poultry inspection in our state has become obvious. Too many of these products are sold that are not covered by Federal inspection. We recommend a mandatory state inspection system with high standards for all meat and poultry processed in the state which is not covered by Federal inspection.

Local government

It has been said often that the best government is that which is closest to the people. Due to inadequate and aimless machinery of government and an often apathetic public this saying has seldom been true in Maryland. Local government in the state is a hodge-podge of powers retained by the General Assembly and the Governor, powers delegated to charter counties, and powers exercised by non-charter counties and by municipalities of varying sizes and functions. The constitutional convention presents a unique opportunity for local government to be placed on a rational basis and we urge the convention to take advantage of it.

We endorse the study now underway by the Commission on Maryland Government headed by Young Democrat's President George Wills of the problems and organization of local government in Maryland. We urge local governmental officials to cooperate in this study in order that county and municipal governments may better serve their citizens as a result of the study's recommendations.

Cities

Our state has a quantity of incorporated municipalities ranging in size from the City of Baltimore, one of the largest in the nation, to towns of 28 citizens. Some counties have no municipalities; some, like Prince Georges County with 28, have a profusion.

A large number of our cities and towns do not have adequate budgets to finance sufficient staffs to deal with the growing complexity of municipal programs. There will probably continue to be an increase in the number of governmental bodies, particularly in the regional and subregional level to deal with problems involving a number of municipalities and counties.

In order to bring sense and direction to what could become governmental chaos from a profusion of governmental units, we urge the establishment of a State Office of Intergovernmental Relations. This office could fill an existing void among the many levels of government to:

1. Bring together officials from all levels for consideration of common problems.
2. Make available technical assistance to governmental units, particularly small municipalities, for better administration of programs and development of new ones as needed.
3. Foster intergovernmental cooperation.
4. Coordinate state and local intergovernmental relations with the national government.

We also urge, where feasible, that municipalities and counties initiate imaginative and equitable programs to rehabilitate dilapidated housing and slum areas within their jurisdictions, making certain there are adequate provisions for displaced families.

Elections

The 1966 primary and general elections demonstrated a need to return the primary election date to no later than the first Tuesday in June, and preferably to early or middle May. It has been proven that the summer is no time to campaign because issues and candidates do not receive full public attention and exposure. Returning the primary election date may be done with or without re-establishing the presidential preference primary. Any re-establishment of the presidential preferece primary in Maryland, beginning with 1972, should be patterned after the system in Oregon and Wisconsin where designated state and party officials objectively determine actual or potential presidential candidates in both parties and enter their names in the primary unless the candidate withdraws by affidavit. The General Assembly should closely study the use of such a system for this state.

We commend the General Assembly for abolishing the office of delegate to the state convention. We urge the constitutional convention to follow suit in further eliminating trivial elective offices.

Our young men and women today, by the age of eighteen or so begin to make their own way in our complex society. Our young men may be drafted into the armed forces at eighteen and a half to fight for our democratic ideals and government. Concurrent with this responsibility, we strongly recommend that Maryland lower the minimum voting age to eighteen.

Democratic Party organization

We commend the Maryland Democratic State Central Committee for adopting the long-needed party constitution. The election of a party chairman should provide the effective leadership needed to establish a state party organization and structure capable of serving its members and the citizens of the state.

To further the ability of the state Democratic Party we recommend that:

1. A permanent party headquarters and staff be established.
2. Avoiding commitments to special interest groups, a system of permanent party financing be explored and adopted.
3. Regular newsletters of party and governmental information be created for wide circulation.
4. Modern voters registration methods be studied with a view to developing an effective registration program on a permanent basis.
5. That precinct and party organization materials be developed and made available by the state party office to local central committee members and precinct officials.
6. That close liaison with national party leaders be established and maintained.

Another Mob, Another Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I insert for inclusion in the RECORD the following article from the Detroit, Mich., News of September 22, 1967:

ANOTHER MOB, ANOTHER CRISIS

(NOTE.—It's all familiar: fires set blocks apart, the tumult, the police, the militia—but this happened a century ago.)

(By Don Lochbiler)

"Detroit's race riot grew out of wartime frustrations, industrial strikes and widespread feeling against the draft."

Does this sound familiar? Think you can guess what event in Detroit's history it describes?

Don't be hasty. Before you answer, here are two more clues:

"Struck accidentally by a bullet fired by a guardsman, the first victim of the rioting was a bystander who had taken no part in it."

"Fires were set almost simultaneously in places several blocks apart. Fire companies appeared, but crowd interference prevented them from being effective. The firemen had to fight off the rioters to prevent their equipment from being smashed."

Ready with your guess now?

Okay, but unless you're a thorough student of Detroit's past, you could miss the correct answer by more than a century.

In spite of the parallels with the present summer, the event described occurred during the Civil War.

It was Detroit's big riot of 1863.

All the facts listed were cited by Frank B. Woodford, Detroit city historiographer who died last June, in a story of the early riot included in his book, "Father Abraham's Children," published by Wayne State University in 1961.

Certainly the draft had something to do with it. After nearly two years of attempting to end the war with volunteers, the government had to accept the hard fact that conscription was a necessity. The full text of the Conscription Act was published in Detroit newspapers on March 5, 1863.

The riot came the following day.

Triggering it was a Michigan avenue saloon keeper, William Faulkner. On Feb. 26, Faulkner had been arrested on the complaint of a mother that he had raped her nine-year-old daughter, Mary Brown.

Mary and a playmate had gone out to mail a letter. It was charged that as they passed Faulkner's saloon they were enticed inside.

Feeling ran high against the dark-skinned Faulkner, who claimed to be of mixed Spanish-Indian descent but whom most believed to be a Negro. The courtroom was packed and a crowd of about a thousand gathered outside when his trial opened on the morning of Friday, March 6, in Recorder's Court.

The court occupied a small room in the City Hall, on the east side of Woodward avenue about where the Soldiers and Sailors Monument now stands.

Faulkner was convicted, although he denied all the charges, and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

In 1863, Detroit had no regular police department. Each of the city's wards was policed by a deputy sheriff and a constable. With the mob around the City Hall getting unruly, a company of the provost guard was sent to escort the prisoner to the Wayne County Jail, located then, as now, at Clinton and Beaubien.

As the guard marched Faulkner through the streets, the crowd followed, showering the soldiers and the prisoner with bricks and stones. Faulkner was knocked down.

At Gratiot and Clinton, shots were fired by the threatened guardsmen and a bystander killed. He was Charles Langer, a 24-year-old photographer.

The shots stopped the mob temporarily and Faulkner was hustled into the jail. The provost guard, its duty done, marched back to its barracks at Clinton and Jos. Campau.

But the mob milled about, then raced down Beaubien toward Fort and Lafayette where the Negro colony was centered.

Houses were stoned, windows were broken, and fences were pulled down. Men and women, caught on the streets, were beaten.

When a shot was fired at the mob from a cooper's shop on Beaubien near Fort, the rioters battered down the doors and swarmed inside, beating the five men inside.

The mob set both the cooper's shop and a home next door on fire, beating the men as they ran out from the flames and roughly handling the women of the household.

Other fires were set in places several blocks apart. When the fire companies appeared they had to fight off the rioters.

By evening, the streets of the lower east side were a shambles.

"About seven o'clock," said a newspaper account, "the flames of the conflagration illuminated the entire city, and appearances seemed to indicate that the principal portion of the Third Ward was on fire and would be totally destroyed."

Houses and business buildings in that section, as in most of the city, were of wood, and a fire once out of control could cause widespread damage.

Many Negro families fled across the river to Canada. Some courageous white families took frightened and injured Negroes into their homes and provided shelter and medical care. St. Mary's Hospital was busy with emergency cases.

One big, tough Irishman, Constable Dennis Sullivan, was everywhere at once. The shifting mob broke up into small street gangs. Whenever Sullivan found such a group, he waded in, his huge fists swinging.

Of 20 arrests made by constables, more than half were brought in by Sullivan.

The screaming mob took after Ephraim Clark, sexton of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church which served the Negro parish.

But Sullivan was on the scene and, with his back against the church doors, held off the mob of several hundred at pistol point.

Some of the volunteer firemen battled the crowd as hard as they did the flames. A railroad fireman, trying to defend a colored man, defied the mob and got a face full of buckshot.

But a handful of heroes was not enough. The call went out for troops from Fort Wayne and from Ypsilanti, where the 27th Michigan Infantry was training. Local militia companies also were summoned.

The Lyons Guards, about 50 strong, were first on the scene and were assigned to guard the jail. The Light Guard and the Scott Guard also responded.

The mob had turned to looting. After each place was looted, it was set on fire.

Rioters surged across town as far as Miami (now Broadway) and John R streets, close to the city's main business district.

But at 8 p.m. a detachment of 50 regulars of the 19th U.S. Infantry, with two small cannon, arrived from Fort Wayne. A few minutes later, a special train raced in from Ypsilanti with five rifle companies of the 27th Michigan.

With bayonets fixed, the troops formed patrols. They spread out quickly through the troubled parts of town and cleared the streets. The rioters quickly vanished.

By 11 p.m., all was quiet.

Dawn next morning found streets littered with debris, between 30 and 35 buildings burned to the ground, others badly damaged. About 200 Negroes were without shelter. How many were injured was never determined.

Only two were killed. A coroner's inquest made an attempt to fix responsibility, but nothing came of it.

History, however, added its own ironic footnote.

Within a short time, Detroiters began to have second thoughts about the "quick justice" in Faulkner's case. A new investigation was opened.

The two girls who had accused Faulkner questioned again, admitted they had made up the story. Faulker was pardoned and returned home.

Several well-to-do business men got together enough money to set Faulkner up in the produce business, and he operated a stall in the central market in Cadillac Square until his death in 1878.

Pfc. J. W. Yeager Dies in Vietnam of Bullet Wounds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. John W. Yeager, a marine from Baltimore, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PFC. J. W. YEAGER DIES IN VIETNAM OF BULLET WOUNDS

A 20-year-old Baltimorean, Marine Pfc. John W. Yeager, died of bullet wounds he received September 25 in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Private Yeager, the son of Earl W. Yeager, of 1101 North Calvert street, died Monday at the Da Nang Navy Hospital from multiple gunshot wounds received while on night patrol in Quang Tri province.

FRIENDS SCHOOL GRADUATE

Private Yeager had graduated from Friends School in 1965 and attended Baltimore Junior College for a year before he enlisted in the Marines in September, 1966.

After basic training at Parris Island, S.C., and advanced training at Camp Lejeune, N.C., he went to Vietnam last April.

After being wounded, Private Yeager was paralyzed from the waist down. A priest came to visit him at the Naval hospital and asked if he was depressed. Private Yeager replied that "There are still many things in life that I can and plan to do."

Private Yeager was an avid chess player and won several local chess tournaments including the Baltimore Junior College championship in 1966 and the Towson chess championship in 1963.

He was vice-president of the Towson YMCA chess club.

In addition to his father, Private Yeager is survived by his mother, Mrs. Paul Tinker, also of Baltimore.

Examples of Wasteful Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, in light of the President's recent request for an increased 10-percent surcharge on income tax, I would like to cite just a few examples of how the taxpayers' dollars are currently being spent.

It has been brought to my attention that the Office of Education has granted $3.5 million for library research, under title II–B of the Higher Education Act of 1965. This particular funding is concerned with research in the use of library resources; the development of library and information services; and the training of librarians and other information personnel. Of the 38 projects which have been commissioned, the size of the grants ranged from a little over $1,000 to well over $400,000. Consider the following:

First, at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., a $64,408 grant will be used to investigate the possibility of a dial-access communications system to bring library resources to dormitory rooms; thus, saving the college students a walk to the library.

Second, $33,169 will be spent to find out what the citizens of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont think of their local public libraries.

Third, at the University of Maryland, $235,190 will be used for a study of the methods for the hiring of librarians.

Fourth, a study of the social origin, social and professional activities, and educational background of those teaching in library schools will cost the taxpayer a mere $10,983.

Fifth, $50,000 will be used by the University of Wisconsin to determine what materials are now available for the improvement of adult reading.

With these examples of wasteful Federal spending, it is understandable that our national debt is so staggering. At a time when our American citizens are financially burdened with the war in Southeast Asia, it is inconceivable that the administration should conduct such frivolous Great Society programs. Indeed, more discretion must be exercised in the appropriation of our tax dollars.

Congressional Reform: Action Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday marked the seventh anniversary of the stolid refusal of the House Rules Committee, month following weary month, to report out the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967.

I would like to place in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Baltimore Sun on September 29 and to remind the House of the significant improvements in Congress' fiscal machinery which would come about as a result of the enactment of S. 355, along with other critically needed improvements in our first branch of Government.

Last March, April, and in May, we could offer the excuse, perhaps, that the congressional reform bill was being set aside temporarily in deference to the spring flood of other committee work. I think it would be a fairly flimsy excuse, but I suppose it could be made.

Throughout June, July, and August the country was experiencing a storm of discontent that often spilled onto the streets of our cities and certainly reached the Halls of Congress in one form or another. So perhaps some people could fashion a kind of excuse for not acting on the reform bill during the summer.

But now the leaves are falling, September has come and gone, and the House, as usual, is doing little or no business on Mondays and Fridays. The reorganization bill is still locked up in the Rules Committee. What is the excuse now?

I urge the leadership to schedule the Senate-passed legislative reform bill for immediate consideration by the House, and would remind my colleagues that this measure passed the other body by an overwhelming vote more than 7 months ago.

CONGRESS'S JOB

Nothing better shows congressional ineptitude in money matters than this week's activities in the House of Representatives. A quarter of the way through the fiscal year, the House is still voting on continuing resolutions to provide money for agencies to operate on from day to day. This wrecks planning and administration—and thus economy.

Even sadder is the attempt to force the Executive Department to cut its fiscal 1968 spending. That's supposed to be Congress's job. It has, "in theory," in the words of the report on the reorganiaztion bill gathering dust in the House, "absolute power to determine how much the Government shall spend." It uses that power unwisely. It has the most out-of-date system of fiscal control imaginable. "Pluralistic parochial and episodic," is the way Stephen Bailey describes it.

Congress approaches each year's budget leisurely, with too little information, and with no more overview than the blindfolded men took to the elephant—usually with similar results. If Congress does not bring its appropriating procedures up-to-date, it has only itself to blame when the White House's fiscal policies do not please it.

Poverty-Fighting Programs in the Mountains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, many people in Kentucky and in the mountain area itself are doubtful if good effects from the poverty program outweigh the bad.

To indicate the feeling of some of these people, I insert the following editorial by Carroll Knicely in the Glasgow Daily Times, which has circulation in four or five counties in Appalachia, be included in the RECORD:

ON THE SQUARE

(By Carroll Knicely)

After last week's trip to the mountains of Eastern Kentucky, it is more obvious to me than ever that many of this nation's poverty-fighting programs are simply money-wasting misadventures.

We detected a strong resentment among the hill folk we met toward the outside influence of city slickers come to the mountains to change a way of life that is actually the manner of living that a vast majority of those people have chosen because it is just the way they want to live.

All this hurrah about upgrading their living standards, inspiring them to achieve more, providing cash money to help them get out of their poverty, clean up themselves, paint their outhouses, and move their washing machines off their front porches catches little more than a suspicious sigh from the average mountaineer.

Hightly-bred, overly-educated, ultra-liberal sociologists have come into the mountain area—take one look at the squalor most hill people are accustomed to, and these people from without simply go to pieces trying to right the great wrongs that have been done. Part of the problem the outsiders face is their over-abundance of intelligence, loads of government give-away money, and too little common horse sense.

Kentucky's mountain people are a special breed. They are fiercely independent. They are deeply emotional about their religion. A touch of laziness is an accepted characteristic—but many mountaineers are very industrious, too. And, they have their own grade of self-respect. All spiced with plenty of ingenuity.

The whole point being missed by those who want to change the way of mountain life, is that by far the greatest number of these people simply don't want to change their way of living. No amount of money; no great face-lifting of the earth's strip mines; no vast home building projects; no Appalachian roadway building projects; no development of elaborate recreational complexes will cause these mountaineers to change their way of life. They're living the way they want to live.

To effect any measurable change in the habits of those whose roots grow deep in the mountains, a complete change of attitude must be nurtured. This change of attitude should be built on the foundations of mountain solidarity—independence, loyalty, religion and self-respect.

None of these are fostered by the unlimited sousing of these people with money they did not earn. Even the youngsters who are taking the money provided to youthful mountaineers to help them learn how to date their beaus is taken with a snicker and a horse laugh. How silly can the federal government be to think young love can be nurtured on tax dollars. Even the uneducated among the mountain people know better than this.

From our point of view—and from our personal observations, we believe our hill folks like their poverty. We believe they'll always manage to find a place they can live like they want to, in spite of Uncle Sam's determination to change them. We know that our present attack on poverty, in large measure, is breeding contempt and disrespect among these people. Even so, like everyone else, as long as the dole holds out, they'll have a hand upturned to take their share.

But if the truth were known, most mountain people would prefer to be left alone. If anything, they might appreciate some sparking of their native incentive to build their own way of life a little bit better. They have the initiative and the ingenuity to come forward if and when they want to do so.

What Eastern Kentucky mountains need more than money, money, money, is an enlightened program that would enable them to help themselves improve, so when they did achieve a better way of life they could still have their independence and self-respect.

Soviet Cosmonaut Deaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Julius Epstein is a research associate at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. He was educated at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig and has been a foreign correspondent. In the following article, which appeared in the Los Angeles Times of October 4 he asks that the United States give an honest accounting of what it knows about Soviet space losses, so that tragedies in the U.S. program can be assessed with proper perspective. I second Epstein's request.

TOPICAL COMMENT: SOVIET SPACE LOSSES—U.S. PUBLIC NOT PROPERLY INFORMED

(By Julius Epstein)

News on failures of Soviet manned space flights is, at least in part, "managed" by Washington. No American without access to the relevant classified information can know for sure whether the Soviets suffered fatalities in space. But the evidence is clear that Washington would not tell even if it knew all about Soviet space accidents.

Rumors that Soviet cosmonauts were lost have been circulating for years—long before Vladimir M. Komarov was killed last April, in the only fatal accident admitted by Moscow. For example, on Oct. 4, 1965, Electronic News reported "the Russians have lost 10 cosmonauts, including one woman, in faulty space shots." This information was attributed to "a top NASA official."

In the same year, the celebrated "Penkovsky Papers" were published. Col. Oleg Penkovsky was a high official in Soviet intelligence. President Kennedy considered him to be our best informer inside the U.S.S.R. During the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, Mr. Kennedy relied on Col. Penkovsky's information about Soviet missile preparedness. Penkovsky was caught and executed.

The Penkovsky book contains two references to Soviet space fatalities. "Several sputniks were launched . . . and never heard from again. They took the lives of several trained astronauts." The colonel also asserted: "There were several unsuccessful launchings of sputniks, with men killed prior to Gagarin's flight. Either the missile would explode on the launching pad or it would go up and never return." Since Penkovsky's information on Soviet casualties proved to be accurate, there seems to be no reason to dispute his other disclosures. The Central Intelligence Agency allowed the publication of the Penkovsky materials.

In hearings before the foreign operations and government information subcommittee on May 23 and June 6, 1963, witnesses from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), hinted broadly that the Soviets had suffered various mishaps in space. But, on the ground that the information is classified, they shied away from full disclosure.

Some Soviet mishaps even became known to the free world through Communist sources. A few years ago, a high official of a Czech-Soviet space research center in Prague leaked to an Italian news agency the story that several Soviet cosmonauts had died in space.

Even more authenic was the front-page story in the London Daily Worker on April 12, 1961. The headlines read: "Soviet Cosmonaut Circles Earth Three Times" . . . "First Man in Space Back Alive—But Suffering from Effects of His Flight."

The story, according to which the Soviet cosmonaut was launched on April 7, 1961, was wired to the Daily Worker by its Moscow correspondent, Dennis Ogden.

He and other Communist correspondents had received sealed envelopes which contained the sensational story. The envelopes wre not supposed to be opened without the permission of the Soviet government. All the Communist newsmen except Ogden followed the order.

Since the launching actually was a failure, the Kremlin never released the story—and only Ogden sent a dispatch anyway.

According to reliable information, the CIA submitted a confidential document to the White House early this year reporting the deaths of at least 11 cosmonauts in addition to that of Komarov.

The Washington decision not to disclose information on Soviet manned space flight failures was made during the last days of the Eisenhower Administration, presumably to protect intelligence sources. This decision is laid down in an agreement between the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, dated January 13, 1961.

At present, Washington's silence appears to be motivated by the strong desire to hear no evil, see no evil and speak no evil about the U.S.S.R.

According to the 1961 agreement, NASA publishes information on Soviet space activities which has "been authorized for public release through the office of the assistant secretary of defense for public affairs," provided "the data on foreign space activities" have been "officially reported to the United Nations Registry." In addition, only those data can be released which were confirmed by the U.S. space surveillance system run by the North American Air Defense Command.

However, only those confirmed "data on foreign space activities (including failures)" can be released by NASA "which have been publicly announced by the foreign government concerned."

With the one exception of the Komarov catastrophe, which could not be concealed, the Soviets have never yet announced any of their manned space flight failures. Hence, the agreement of Jan. 13, 1961, has probably resulted in the withholding of such information from the American public.

The DoD-NASA agreement has been the object of much Congressional criticism. But it still remains in force.

The U.S. informational policy on our own space activities is entirely open and frank. But since there is no corollary policy of openness with regard to Soviet space activities, the "image" of American space accomplishments is being harmed.

On July 4, 1967, the Moss Act became the law of the land. Rep. John E. Moss of California has been fighting for 10 long years against unnecessary government secrecy. The Moss Act stipulates that unless disclosure would endanger national security, government information should be made available to the American people.

The act amplifies Executive Order 10501, issued by President Eisenhower on Nov. 5, 1953, in that it authorizes court action to force release of such information.

It is hard to see how information about Soviet space failures could hurt the United States. Nor is there any emergency which, to deceive a political opponent, would justify news management. The U.S. government has been reporting on Soviet nuclear tests without ever asking Moscow's permission. Since the first Soviet nuclear explosion in 1949, American security, which ultimately is dependent upon an informed public, has been predicated on the release policy originated by President Truman.

The DoD-NASA agreement results in deceiving the American public and is, therefore, incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Moss Act. It is high time that Washington give an honest accounting of Soviet space losses.

Remarks of John A. Lang, Jr., Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force, to the Patriotic Order Sons of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on September 27, 1967, Maj. Gen. John A. Lang, Jr., U.S. Air Force Reserve, spoke to the Patriotic Order Sons of America, at Statesville, N.C. General Lang is a distinguished North Carolinian and is administrative assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force.

I believe my colleagues will find General Lang's remarks to be most appropriate at this critical period in our history. I include his speech of September 27 in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REMARKS OF JOHN A. LANG, JR., ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE TO THE PATRIOTIC ORDER SONS OF AMERICA, STATESVILLE, N.C., SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

No site could be more fitting for this occasion of reaffirming our love of country and our dedication to the principles on which it was founded. About an hour's drive from here at King's Mountain, at just this time of the year in 1780, American militiamen struck the blow that turned the tide of battle in the war for independence. This was the dawn which followed the darkest hour of the American Revolution. It followed a summer of defeats in which the patriots fought, got beaten, and fought again; it followed by a month Benedict Arnold's plan to betray West Point to the enemy. King's Mountain proved to be fatal to Cornwallis' plans in the South.

The American militiamen who fought for this ground 187 years ago prevailed because they had faith in a principle: freedom. This faith in principle sustained them against the most powerful nation on earth. Faith in principle was indispensable then. It still is today.

Freedom, the object of the faith of our founding fathers, can appear fickle, if we take a short-range view. The procedures which insure "government of *all* the people, by *all* the people, for *all* the people," often appear inefficient. But the founding fathers found temporary inefficiency far less important than the *principle* of freedom. They were right and they still are.

It is a pleasure to come before such an organization as yours and renew our faith in the basic precepts of freedom, democracy, and devotion to country. This reassertion of faith in these basic principles is so necessary during these times of uncertainity abroad and division at home.

Our founding fathers knew well what they meant when they wrote in the Declaration of Independence that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—and that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men.

The Father of our country, George Washington, knew well what he meant when he wrote: "It may be laid down as a primary position, and the basis of our system, that every citizen who enjoys the protection of a true government, owes not only a proportion of his property, but even of his personal services to the defence of it."

The author of the Declaration of Independence knew well what he meant when he wrote: "Every citizen should be a soldier. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans, and must be that of every free state."

Over four score years later, another great President wrote in the midst of a bloody civil war, that threatened to tear this Republic apart, those immortal words which bear such eloquent testimony to the basic concept on which our Republic was founded. Lincoln said at Gettysburg that this is "a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

On the verge of this country's entry into the First World War, Woodrow Wilson said: "To such a task (that of defending liberty) we dedicate our lives, our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

More recently on the snowy steps of our Capitol in Washington, a young President said on January 20, 1961: "Ask not what your country will do for you but rather what you can do for your country."

Indeed, running throughout these historic statements of our basic principles so well stated by great Americans and by many others who could also be cited here is a deep conviction in what we believe and stand for as a people. This belief has been tested in the fires of time, blood, sweat and tears. We have passed through many crises which in the words of that famous American Revolutionary, Tom Paine, have seemed to be "the times that test men's souls."

Today, we are a great and powerful nation—the greatest of them all. Our industrial strength produces twice the goods and services of Britain and the European Common Market combined, far more than twice that of Soviet Russia. We drive almost two-thirds of the world's automobiles on about one-third of the world's highways. We fly one-half of the world's commercial aviation mileage. College students here exceed the total population of twelve smaller nations in the world. We have 85% of the world's computers, 88% of the telephones and 65% of the insurance policies in force. Through super corporations, American businessmen criss-cross the world in computer language now surpassing the volume of human voice traffic. Our worker productivity is 60% over that of Germany 70% over France, 80% over the United Kingdom, and the USSR isn't even near.

The Creator has been good to us. Our forebearers have left us a tremendous legacy and hèritage. Now, what manner of men are we today?

The big question that comes to each of us in this Republic now is have we a full enough appreciation of those basic precepts which have made this nation great, have we got the same measure of courage, devotion to liberty, freedom and our country that characterized those who have gone on before, have we got a firm enough belief to pursue these principles to the extent that we are willing to risk our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor?

Has the overwhelming presence of wealth, success and power in our midst made us flabby, soft and phlegmatic? Let us not confuse material superiority with moral certitude that we shall inevitably triumph over Communism.

We have seen too many instances of the lean and hungry fighter knocking the stuffing out of the well-fed gladiator who has lost his desire to win.

Can such a fate overtake well-fed America? Well, if what's past is prologue, it happened to well-fed Rome. Perhaps you will recall the words of Arnold Toynbee, the distinguished British historian. In his *Study of History,* he wrote about the change that gradually came over Rome as it basked in the great victory over Carthage to become the leading power in the ancient world:

"There was a blind presumption that the victor's irresistible material power was the key to a solution of all human problems," Toynbee wrote, "and that the only conceivable end of Man was an unbridled enjoyment of the grossest pleasures which this power could place within his grasp."

"The victors," said Professor Toynbee, "did not realize that this very state of mind bore witness to the moral defeat which a militarily vanquished Hannibal had succeeded in inflicting upon them."

We must learn from the lessons of those who went before us and who once occupied the center of the world stage. All too soon, they were swept off it into the dustbin of history. Rome ended up as the subject of a famous profile-in-depth, certainly the longest obituary on record. It was called *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

Today, we as a nation face a commitment in Vietnam which is inseparably bound up with the principle of freedom in the world and our safety at home. And, while we go to great trouble and sacrifice to support the creation of democratic government in a place like Vietnam, we find that our democratic processes at home are being sorely tested.

In connection with Congressional and public discussions of our policy in Vietnam, we have heard charges that there is a revolt of the generals—that the generals are out of control. There is an implied threat to the principle of civilian control over the military and thus to democracy itself.

Obviously we cannot take seriously the critics who attack the President one day and our military leaders the next *for the same reasons* and then for good measure claim that the military are in revolt against the President. As they well know, any differences between the President and his military leaders are not fundamental but a matter of degree.

The Constitutional Convention provided that the Congress should raise and support the armed forces and that the President should be the commander in chief. The Congress must have military advice in its task of raising and supporting the armed forces. The President must have military advice in carrying out his function as commander in chief. And the people must have military information in their task of judging and electing both the Congress and the President. It speaks well for the strength of our democratic procedures when the President instructs his military officers to testify with candor before Congress, knowing full well that differences of opinion may be used against him.

But while military advice is essential there cannot be a resolution of a major national security problem without including political and economic factors as well. The total problem must be weighed in the light of the desires of the people and our national interests. The decisions of the President and the views of the Congress and the people rest on complex considerations and, in many cases, the recommendations of military leaders will be modified in the process.

We do our gallant military leaders a disservice by letting them be depicted as self-styled supermen claiming to have the simple answers to a very complex war. Conversely we do them an equally gross disservice by letting them be depicted as slipping behind the backs of their civilian superiors to lobby with Congress, the press, and industry in favor of indiscriminate bombing of North Vietnam.

Actually, the United States has never had more responsible military leaders. When a decision is made by the commander in chief, it is carried out promptly and effectively in every way. And fortunately so, because we are in a new and different sort of conflict—partly military, but largely political. The enemy seeks to support himself and extend his influence by terrorizing the civilian population and by using them as a shield in combat. Our military commanders must often risk their own men to save the people we are trying to help. We are in a type of conflict that requires a degree of discipline and responsiveness to political requirements that has never before been necessary in warfare.

There is a tendency to take routine reports and statistics out of context and blow them up into major setbacks for the United States. When we do this we are breaking faith with our young men who are fighting in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh must be pleasantly surprised by the news from America—especially since he knows that in fact things have been going very badly for him in Vietnam. We expect our troops to fight a treacherous enemy in distant jungles to convince the Communists that they must give up their aggression—while many on the home front are telling the people in Hanoi that they are going to win out. Fortunately, Hanoi knows by now that the U.S. is tougher than reports might indicate.

Things have gone so badly for Ho Chi Minh that he has had to throw his regular army into direct attacks across the 17th parallel—a very dangerous tactic for him since the front is narrow and involves operations from his own territory.

In the South, the Viet Cong have been forced to move back from military action to the role of bandits. They have been reduced to raiding outposts and killing civilians. They are now murdering and kidnapping over 500 civilians per month. Less than one-fourth of these are associated with the government. The rest are killed just to terrorize the general population. These are typical Communist tactics of the sort practiced in Russia under Stalin and by Mao in China—dragging a man out of bed and carrying him off or shooting him before the eyes of his wife and children.

But these criminal tactics will not win the war. In fact, they create enemies rather than friends for the Viet Cong.

Many cast doubts on the successes reported by our fighting men. But you don't have to look to U.S. sources. The Communists can't cover up their losses. Those who visit North Vietnam report that there is no traffic on the roads in the daytime—that not even an ox cart can move with safety. And at night the roads are patroled by U.S. aircraft working under flares.

There are tens of thousands of anti-aircraft positions in North Vietnam—you don't put forth that sort of effort unless you are being badly hurt. Arms factories, fuel dumps, and power stations are gutted. Most of the bridges in North Vietnam have been destroyed. Railroad tracks are blown up as fast as they are repaired. Locomotives and freight cars are wrecked. And the Communist world is having trouble providing enough trucks to meet minimum needs.

Who is so gullible as to think the bombing is having no effect?

The real issue before our country today is not one of military effectiveness or responsibility. There is no basis for charges of military failure or disobedience. The issue is the extent to which military questions should be raised for public debate—within the bounds of security. There have always been those who would suppress military questions because they would rather surrender to aggression than suffer the costs of freedom. But this has never been the American approach to military threats. It is a strange sort of believer in democracy who argues that military questions are not matters for public consideration or that military officers should not state their views to the Congress of the United States.

Now let me turn to another area in which our democratic processes are being tested here at home. This concerns the manner of dissent which we sometimes hear, directed from within, against our form of democracy. To be charitable, the appearance of the modern professional dissenter, is often outlandish. Like a braying jackass, he can be heard—without amplification—half-way across the country. And when we fawn on him with microphone and TV camera, he can wail around the world.

I don't believe in getting upset by this sort of person, provided he stays within the procedures his countrymen have bought for him with their blood—all the way from King's Mountain to the Ia Drang Valley in Vietnam.

When the dissenter becomes so enraptured with his cause that he violates the constitutional procedures for stating his case—when he refuses to be housebroken—when he thumbs his nose by breaking the law which seeks to protect him—that is a different matter. Retribution must then be swift. But short of that point, however "inefficient" it may seem, we're better off letting him talk himself out.

Our out—and those of you here surely have strong voices in your community—is to overwhelm by counterargument and ballot that which we see as unwarranted dissent. If our way is better, we must make that clear. If the fire of faith in the principle of freedom appears occasionally too cool, we must sustain it with sound words and example.

If you agree, as I do, that "faith without works is dead," you will welcome any challenge to *work for*—as well as *believe in*—freedom.

The process is much like that suggested by Fisher Ames. A despotic form of government, according to Ames, is like a full-rigged sailing ship. It is efficient and swift. It is beautiful to behold, and it responds sharply to the helm. But in troubled waters, if it strikes a rock, its shell is pierced and it quickly goes to the bottom. I might also add that a totalitarian government probably will not take you where you want to go. On the other hand, a constitutional democracy is like a raft. It is slow, ungainly and difficult to steer. It is no place from which to control the world. But while one's feet are always wet, it will not sink. And most important, a democracy is more likely to proceed in a direction pleasing to the passengers.

Have Stokely and Rap Betrayed the Student?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following article from the September 16 issue of the Washington Afro-American:

HAVE STOKELY AND RAP BETRAYED THE STUDENT?

(By Ralph Matthews)

NEWARK.—For sometime I have been wondering how long it would take the student movement in America to awaken to the fact that they were being studiously betrayed by their leaders Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, but apparently the students are not as smart as we gave them credit for being.

Far too often whenever any question can be clouded with the pretense that somebody is fighting for the race which is a disguise for personal aggrandisement, we are notoriously slow in catching on to what is really afoot.

Anybody with half a brain could have decided early that both Rap and Stokely were a pair of opportunistic loudmouths who had found a cheap way to attract attention and skim through life without working, but because they were able to tickle the palates of a few saps bordering on the Lunitic fringe, they attained some national attention for beyond their just deserts.

Anybody with any knowledge of social history knew automatically that demogougery and appeals to racial hatred against any race put the purveyor in a class of a dangerous rascal and an anti-social scamp who would probably accommodate himself to any cause or organization that would provide him with succor.

This is made very plain by Stokely who after using the racial stick for all it was worth has turned up in Algeria after a visit to Cuba and Hanoi "to study the techniques of waging revolution."

Who is paying the bill for this world circling junket? Surely not the bedraggled members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Council whom he used to skyrocket himself into national prominence.

When he was given the heave-ho by that organization, which was never too stable in its better days, Stokely is reported to have said: "If it were not for SNCC, I would probably be a gangster." All of which is pardonable a personal equation as I am quite familiar with a lot of gangsters, both legitimate and illegitimate, but to identify himself with students who actually thought they were following a crusader interested in the progress of the race and betraying them was the act of a scoundrel.

Just how much damage has been done to untold thousands may never be known. Off hand I suspect that the whole racial education spectrum will be affected. I can visualize people who used to contribute liberally to the National Negro College Fund as a matter of conscious taking another hard look at what they are creating.

I can recall the days when people of both races only had to be told that a youth was trying to get an education for even the unlettered to sacrifice to assist him both morally and financially.

Now thanks to the idiotic blabberings of Stokelys and Rap Browns the word "student" evoked no such emotional reaction because in spite of the actions of the rioters and others, the vast majority are interested in preserving the American dream and hope they are interested in developing leaders dedicated to the proposition that we will someday enjoy full participation.

It is my belief that like Stokely, Rap Brown, his successor, has rendered himself bankrupt in the field ideas.

Rap has been going up and down the country evangelizing and exhorting his listeners to "burn, baby, burn" and "get guns to protect yourself." But when the gendarmes picked him up for allegedly transporting firearms, he dared not use his guns but went quietly like any other citizen.

Then to compound his cowardice when he was arraigned in court he tried to use all the constitutional guarantees to escape his just deserts. Constitutional guarantees is what the NAACP and others have been using all the time.

These are the same guarantees he fights so hard to destroy. My verdict is he is just a big blabbermouth who doesn't have the courage of his own convictions and should get himself a decent job and stop trying to impress other simpletons with his phony braggadocio and send them out to get their heads blown off before they discover he was only talking to hear himself talk.

Neighborhood Action Crusade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert the following letter into the RECORD. It is from the mayor of Houston and indicates the success of the Houston blockwatcher program, a plan similar to the neighborhood action crusade, House Joint Resolution 759, introduced by myself, and Congressmen GOODELL, COWGER, and BILL STEIGER.

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
Houston, Tex., September 22, 1967.

Hon. GEORGE BUSH,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GEORGE: I thought you would want to know about the success of our "blockwatcher" program, since it so closely parellels the plan submitted by you and some other Congressmen.

During a recent outbreak of arson here we used some 200 young people to watch potential trouble spots, and to report any suspicious acts. In two nights the arson activity was brought to a halt and some arrests were made.

We have plans to continue to use these young people in similar capacities.

Very truly yours,

LOUIE WELCH,

Antismoking Figures Look Flimsy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, in the September 28 issue of the Washington Evening Star, Columnist James J. Kilpatrick made some very perceptive and pertinent remarks about recent publications and surveys which link cigarette smoking with certain illnesses.

At this point, I insert Mr. Kilpatrick's remarks in the RECORD for the interest of my colleagues:

ANTISMOKING FIGURES LOOK FLIMSY

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

"Get the facts!" said the authoritative voice on the boob tube. "A quarter of a million extra heart conditions. A million cases of bronchitis and emphysema. Eleven million cases of long-term illness. Write for your free copy of 'Smoking and Illness.'"

This free government leaflet, if you're curious, purports to "present the highlights" of a study released in May by the Public Health Service, "Cigarette Smoking and Health Characteristics." If the really curious viewer pursues the matter, and also obtains a copy of this parent study, he may discover at first hand what is meant by a credibility gap.

In plain words, both the free leaflet and the larger study on which it is based, in terms of the impression they seek deliberately to convey, are frauds. Prevaricators, it is said, are divided among three classes—liars, damn liars, and those who misuse statistics. By picking and choosing among some figures that are shaky to begin with, by glossing over necessary qualifications, and by mixing reasoned inference with pure surmise, the authors of these publications have perpetrated a shabby piece of propaganda.

The PHS study, conducted over 52 weeks in 1964–65, was intended to discover the relationship, if any, between smoking and a variety of chronic and acute illnesses. The raw figures were derived from interviews in a random sample of 42,000 households.

So far, so good. But the key figures, on which all the conclusions are based, are the figures covering smoking habits. How many cigarettes per day? Did the respondent ever smoke? If so, how many cigarettes did he smoke? What was his heaviest rate of smoking? If these figures are not solid, the whole study begins to fall apart. And the astounding fact, glossed over in the report, is that "data on 60 percent of the males who had ever smoked were obtained from other persons." The interviewers simply accepted answers from whoever happened to be at home at the time.

This is a study of smoking and "illness." To get the figures, the interviewers presented a list of chronic and acute conditions, and asked the householder to check appropriate boxes. Bronchitis, sinusitis, upper respiratory infection, emphysema, "heart trouble," "liver trouble," "chronic nervous trouble," "hypertension without heart involvement." The typical layman may be able to answer some of these questions generally; it is unbelievable that he could answer them precisely; but in this study the diagnoses of any 19-year-old who happened to be at home are given the impressive weight, down to two decimal places, of laboratory findings.

The authors of this study kept tripping over the inadequacy of their own data. They were thus reduced to guessing: "It could well be that . . . Had data been available, it might have been found that . . . This could indicate that . . . This could be affected by . . . This could result from . . ." In a moment of candor, they confess the truth: Their figures do not establish any cause-and-effect relationship between smoking and illness.

Still, their job was to leave precisely that impression—that cigarette smoking does result in illness and lost time. So they carefully bear down on the horrendous figures dealing with men who smoke more than two packs a day. Such smokers are in a small minority. Here they are made to bulk large. It is the pick-and-choose technique.

Two can play that game. With the same validity, on the basis of the PHS statistics, a critic can assure you that pack-a-day smokers spend fewer days in bed than persons who have never smoked; that the pack-a-day man is likely to have less hypertension, less arthritis, and better hearing than the never-smoked man. Amazingly, men who are presently smoking even have a lower incidence of upper respiratory conditions than persons who have never smoked. And believe it if you will, from Table 21 of the PHS report: Heavy-smokers over 65—the two-pack-a-day volcanoes—spend 8.5 days sick in bed each year, while their counterparts, men over 65 who never have smoked at all are sick in bed nearly two weeks. What do you make of that?

Bosh! The figures are flimsy and the conclusions cannot rise above them. Caution, one would say to the curious TV viewer: Relying upon these statistics may result in your being bamboozled.

Direct Jet Service Now Links Hilo, Hawaii, With West Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, October 1, marked the opening of the second gateway to the 50th State with the arrival of the first direct, scheduled jet flights from the west coast to Hilo, on the Island of Hawaii, often called the Big Island.

It was a big day, indeed, for America's only living volcanoland, the youngest and largest member of the Hawaiian archipelago, which is noted for its orchids and the spectacular beauty of its scenery.

The long-awaited approval by the Civil Aeronautics Board of direct, scheduled jet passenger service to Hilo has ushered in a new age of growth and development for the Island of Hawaii, and I congratulate the citizens of the Big Island, who have responded so enthusiastically to the challenges of the new jet age.

Beautiful full-page travel ads blossomed in newspapers throughout the Nation last month, following the CAB decision to approve this new service. The arriving passengers on those first flights were greeted in true aloha fashion by a distinguished reception committee headed by the Honorable Shunichi Kimura, a most highly competent and truly dedicated county chairman of Hawaii, who has spearheaded his county's forward thrust.

I believe my colleagues in Congress will find of special interest a report of this event by Advertiser Staff Writer Walt Southward. I am pleased, therefore, to insert in the RECORD the article, "Big Island Comes of Jet Age Today," which appeared in the October 1, 1967, issue of the Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser:

BIG ISLAND COMES OF JET AGE TODAY

(By Walt Southward)

HILO.—Today's the big day for the Big Island.

It's the day for which Hilo has long been waiting—the day of direct, scheduled jet passenger service from the West Coast.

It's a big step forward and people here hope it will result in giving the Island a big lift.

A United Air Lines flight, from San Francisco, is scheduled to land at 10:15 a.m.

A Pan American flight, also from San Francisco, will follow in 50 minutes. At 4 p.m. another Pan Am flight will come from Los Angeles.

The arriving passengers from the West Coast will be greeted by hula dancers, Hawaiian music, leis and gifts and a receiving line of dignitaries.

County Chairman Shunichi Kimura will lead the reception committee at the airport. State, County, Hawaii Visitors Bureau, Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce officers will bid the guests aloha.

Each arriving passenger will receive a koa bowl in a fish net. In the bowl will be a packet of Kona coffee, sugar and macadamia nuts. All are products of the Big Island.

Each passenger also will receive a lei from a greeter girl on duty at the airport.

The triple-header ceremony is expected to keep the airport busy all day long.

The arriving passengers will find things at the Hilo airport in a state of controlled chaos, as State Department of Transportation officials drive hard to finish an expansion project.

The airport is crowded, but there are plans—four or five years away—for a new terminal on the Puna side of the runway.

Hotel rooms here also are a problem, until a long-awaited boomlet in hotel development gets going.

The island now has 1,237 hotel rooms, including the 190-unit Kona Hilton that will open around the end of the year.

The room totals include more than 1,000 rooms in Kailua-Kona and 785 in Hilo.

Hawaii County Planning Director Raymond Suefuji estimates there are another 10,000 hotel rooms on the drawing boards for East and West Hawaii.

"How many of them will be actually built, we don't know," he said.

Suefuji said the news of direct flight approval had stirred up interest in development here.

In addition to UAL and Pan Am, Northwest Airlines will begin direct service to Hilo in December from Portland and Seattle.

Here is a list of schedules:

Pan American has announced plans for nine flights to and from Hilo each week.

Flights from Los Angeles will arrive daily at 4 p.m. with flights from San Francisco scheduled on Saturday and Sunday at 11:05 a.m.

Pan American departures will include daily flights to Los Angeles at 11:30 p.m. and Saturday and Sunday flights to San Francisco at 3:15 p.m.

United will schedule seven flights weekly to and from the Big Island, with arrivals from Los Angeles at 10:10 a.m. on Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday and arrivals from San Francisco at 10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.

Outgoing flights will head for Los Angeles at 10:30 p.m. on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday and will depart from San Francisco at 10:30 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday.

United also will offer freighter service to the West Coast four times a week, departing Hilo at 2:30 p.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday.

The Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday flights will go to Los Angeles, while the Saturday cargo flight will go to San Francisco and then continue on to Los Angeles.

Answering the Storm of Criticism of the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star carried, in its editions of October 8, 1967, a column by Howard K. Smith in which he effectively rebuts arguments advanced against American policy in Vietnam. Mr. Smith sees with a practiced eye and writes with clarity. I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

ANSWERING THE STORM OF CRITICISM OF THE WAR

(By Howard K. Smith)

The quantity of statements attacking official policy in Vietnam is multiplying with such rapidity as to attain the features of a World War II fire-storm. The attacks nourish one another to unheard of force. Counteractions—like the President's speech in San Antonio—are swallowed up in the raging blast.

Several comments ought to be made about the fire-storm. The first is that a storm of opinion all in one negative direction is not right merely because of its force. Walter Lippmann, the other day appealed for us to drop Vietnam and the world and return to Isolationism—the choice of words was his. He justified his appeal on grounds that "if this be isolationism, so be it. It is nevertheless an almost universal human sentiment in the world today."

Well, it was also the almost universal human sentiment in 1939. Americans wanted nothing to do with the world. And 31 European nations, when Roosevelt requested Hitler to stop threatening them, answered they did not feel menaced. They were lying and hoping that isolationism would work. The universal human opinion today is that they were all horribly wrong, and that their attitude cost the world still uncounted millions of lives. The attitude is also wrong now.

Though the present attacks on our Vietnam policy have, together, massive force, individually none of them stands up to the slightest rebuttal. A favorite is the old cliche that Vietnam is a political problem and we are applying useless military means. In fact, distinguishing between military and political actions is a convenience of thought that is simply erroneous. The two are inextricably blended. If the Communists did not use military means, their political effort would have died away long ago. If we failed to use military means to protect our wearying efforts to build a nation in South Vietnam, we would have been home but Southeast Asia would have become a new expanding Communist federation long since.

Some old cliches are given new gloss through sheer frustration. Gen. Gavin's old enclave proposal for us to sit in compounds and let the enemy wear himself out attacking us, is enjoying new circulation. Oddly, this comes at a time when the ordeal of Con Thien illustrates the folly of the idea. Our Marines at Con Thien are, in effect, sitting in an enclave being blasted day after day, unable to act against the source because it is in inviolable North Vietnam. For the first time, American morale is hurting in idleness. Yet this would be the rule if we adopted Gen. Gavin's plan.

We are told that our present policy is not winning. Nor did our policy in World War II—until we persisted long enough.

Opponents of our policy in Vietnam are adopting as a kind of bible Mr. Theodore Draper's intricate volume, "The Abuse of Power." Mr. Draper is a political intellectual's intellectual, which means nobody reads him: people just fall back in argument to the statement, "look it up in Draper's book; he tells the whole story."

Mr. Draper avoids original sources. He masticates published material of uneven worth until it is chewed to tastelessness. He strings secondary truths together in intricate ways that add up to a whole untruth. He documents in detail the story that Ho Chi Minh has repeatedly been ready for real peace talks, but the U.S.—the Basil Rathbone of Draper's romances—escalates each time to prevent talks. The curious thing about his case is that it is manufactured in America. Mr. Ho has not once adopted the arguments, primarily because he does not want talks. He is pretty explicit that he intends to win a military victory that will discredit American resistance everywhere and forevermore.

There remain the political attacks on policy by such figures as Senators Morton and Case. They may be dismissed with the observation that election year is near and their Pavlovian reaction is common practice.

There is an unsung truth about Vietnam; it is our first war in which no censorship whatever is applied to reporters. They need no military permission to go to Vietnam or to any battle zone, as they did in World War II and Korea. Pan Am and Air Vietnam will take them on a commercial ticket. Far from curbing dissent, the President has virtually stimulated it.

Yet the fact has to be faced: Ho, bleeding and hurting, with his nation's plans in wreckage, has but one real incentive for continuing to invade another country rather than stay at home in full control of his own: that is the belief that U.S. morale at home is crumbling. Our fire-stormers create the impression. Vietnam is the first war in which hysteria is greater among the dissenters than among the supporters.

A Marine Finds Himself in the Right Place at the Right Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post this Sunday I read a letter that Lt. Thomas F. Regan, of Falls Church, Va., wrote to his parents about a month after he arrived in Vietnam. This young marine was drowned last month when he and seven other marines were caught in the swollen Camlo River. He died trying to help the other marines who were with him, according to a letter from his commanding officer to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Regan.

In the debate now being heard around the country as to the whys and wherefores of Vietnam, the voice of this marine comes through loud and clear. His letter should remind us all that we are fighting in Vietnam to preserve the freedom of the Vietnamese people, and that our cause today is as worthy as any that America has ever fought for. For his family, perhaps the honesty and clarity of Tom Regan's convictions made his death easier to bear. I hope so.

Mr. Speaker, I insert this thoughtful letter in the RECORD:

I AM IN THE RIGHT PLACE AT THE RIGHT TIME

DEAR FAMILY: Another short letter to let you know that everything is O.K. with me.

In a couple of days we are going out on a company-size operation where we have been before. We made no contact in this particular area before but hope to have better luck this time. Even if we don't find anything, we are still making it difficult for the NVAs to mass together, and this is one of the main reasons why they aren't making any great military progress (or any other, for that matter).

In one section of The Post that you sent me, there was an article which said that this war may be unwinnable. This is true of any war if you let it be. I am not too sure of the feelings of the people in the States, but there is no doubt in my mind—and I think the same applies to Ho Chi Minh—that we are winning.

Our progress is slow but positive. The enemy's is sliding and negative. To be more specific, we are beating them clearly military and, most important, we are winning the people. The NVAs are losing this most important part of the war. Proof of this is their resort to violence and terror to control the people. This can do nothing but alienate the people.

In this part of the war, our progress is very slow because we just don't have the troops to protect all the people and chase after the NVA. But gradually we are winning this because we can give the people a better way of life—one free of the fear of having the village leaders killed, the males impressed into servitude and an unfair amount of their rice taken away.

This "revoluntion" is not a popular one with the South Vietnamese. Many have been forced into it. Don't be fooled for a minute by those who say we are interfering with the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. We are interfering with a minority's option to do this, but that same minority is interfering with the majority's right not to choose a life offered by Ho.

The only thing I am really worried about is the fact that some people are becoming annoyed at our slow progress and that American support for this effort may dwindle as time goes on. I think that this is Ho Chi Minh's big hope. Is our country suddenly going to find the price to high to pay for the ideal that we pledged to support before it started actualy affecting us?

If anyone ever asks you why Americans should fight over here, when it's not really affecting America, tell them that our country pledged its support to the cause of a free South Vietnamese people. This was given the approval of Congress, the representatives of the people. If the people didn't want this to happen, they could have said so then. It's easier to say "Why let Americans die over there now?" than it was to say then, "No, we won't pledge American support for the Vietnamese people because it may cost us too much."

I don't mind honest protest by individuals with unselfish motives, but the selfishness expressed in a lot of newspapers and magazines by "respectable" people bothers me. It can poison the minds of others.

I know that there is nothing black or white that can really be said about this, but we should keep in mind that this is supposed to be for the Vietnamese people. My reason for being here is not to protect America from some future war because the rest of the world has fallen to communism. I have no great fear of this. My reason for being here is so the Vietnamese people can live with freedom—the kind we have in America.

If anything should happen to me, I want you to know that I am over here voluntarily. I want to be here and I know exactly why I want to be here. I feel that it would not be a waste or tragedy if anything happened to me.

I think that this cause is as worthy as any that we have fought for. We knew that Hitler was wrong and was butchering the Jews but we didn't enter World War II until we got hit at Pearl Harbor—until it threatened us. Over here, we have not that much to gain for ourselves but we can do so much for the Vietnamese.

I don't particularly enjoy my work here, but neither does the guy who collects trash in the morning. Both jobs are necessary and the trashman can take pride in his job as I do in mine.

I guess I got a little carried away in telling you why I am here and my views about this. I didn't want there to be any doubt in your mind.

I know that from reading the papers and listening to the radio and watching TV, you can get very confused about this war because so many different things are said and because a lot of it doesn't seem to tie in together. I don't expect this letter to help any of you to understand all the different things said about this war but I hope it gives you as clear a picture as possible of why I am here.

If anyone asks you about why I am here or tries to tell you that I just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time and it's all very unfortunate, show them this letter and tell them that I think I am in the right place at the right time and want to be here.

Well, so long for now, and pray that I do my best.

Love,

TOM.

Report From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report which I have made to my constituents this day:

Most Congress-watchers agree that President Johnson has failed to present a convincing argument for raising taxes. His so far unsuccessful effort to win a 10 percent surtax on top of your normal federal income tax is rooted in another failure: The Administration's failure to control spending.

As living costs climb steadily, the President continues to bombard Congress with new ideas for spending money. This is why so many members of his party have joined Republicans in refusing to consider a massive tax rise in the face of mounting evidence of wasteful extravagance on domestic programs.

Congress is showing its concern over inflation in many ways. Just this week the House of Representatives rejected an appropriation bill for the U.S. Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare because, although the $13.3 billion total was some $148.1 million less than President Johnson's budget requests, it represented a $259.5

million increase over last year's appropriation for the same departments. In short, the trimming job did not go deep enough for 226 of us who voted for more economy against 173 House members who backed the bill that came out of a House-Senate conference committee.

Housewives see the visible results of the federal government's deficit spending every time they buy food for the family table. Dads see it everytime they consider the purchase of a new car, a television set or a needed appliance. Yet few consider that the higher prices they are forced to pay for goods of all kinds actually amount to an invisible tax that robs everyone but is particularly hard on people living on fixed incomes.

President Johnson scored inflation in his economic report of 1966 as "the most unjust and capricious form of taxation" but that year economists calculated the inflationary rise to be $25 billion. The Labor Department's cost of living index has risen almost every month since then. Almost every issue of your daily newspaper carries company announcements of price increases for consumer products.

Increases in advertised prices are only part of the inflation story. Every person's living costs also are affected by prices set by competitive bidding or through negotiation between buyer and seller. A recent survey showed substantial rises in these unlisted prices, affecting a variety of items from pencils to electric generators. For example:

A Southern contractor is bidding 10 per cent more than last year on a plant construction project in the $5–15 million range.

A Midwest contractor reported his bids are averaging 10 per cent more than last year on jobs to be completed in 1967 and 20 per cent more on jobs to be finished in 1968.

The Chicago Board of Education reported sharp increases in prices not only for pencils but also for all supplies purchased through competitive bidding.

Airplane jet engine repair jobs are costing 8 percent more than a year ago.

Many companies selling under long-term contracts are demanding "escalator" clauses that will permit them to raise prices if their costs go up while they are filling the contract.

These are some of the reasons that Congress is calling a halt to inflationary federal spending programs and why even members of the President's own party, including Congressman Wilbur Mills, Chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, are reluctant to approve his tax proposal.

They know that the hand that signed the tax boost request is also the hand that controls the spending spigot.

Updating Labor's Magna Carta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, William L. Kircher, director of the AFL–CIO Department of Organization, called on Congress recently to adopt new curbs to halt the rise of employer violations of the right to join a union.

Mr. Kircher, on the AFL–CIO public service program, Labor News Conference, heard on the Mutual Broadcasting System, pointed out that the National Labor Relations Act says that workers have the right to organize, but that this right is being frustrated today because of a lack of implementation. This factor is now the subject of hearings by a special committee in the House of Represetnatives.

So that we may all be able to consider what Mr. Kircher said, Mr. Speaker, I insert the text of the broadcast in the RECORD:

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1967

Subject: Updating Labor's Magna Carta.

Guest: William L. Kircher, director of the Department of Organization, AFL–CIO.

Panel: William Eaton, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News; Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press.

Moderator: Harry W. Flannery.

FLANNERY. Labor News Conference. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is William L. Kircher, director of the AFL–CIO's Department of Orginazation.

Congressional hearings on problems that have developed under the National Labor Relations Act, especially when the Act is violated, have been under way in a Special House Labor Subcommittee since early last month. Here to question Mr. Kircher about changes in the law that the AFL–CIO has proposed and why they should be made are William Eaton, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, and Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press. Your moderator, Harry W. Flannery. And now, Mr. Eaton, I believe you have the first question?

EATON. Mr. Kircher, when the Wagner Act was passed in 1935, it was hailed by organized labor as a Magna Carta. Why are changes needed now?

KIRCHER. Well, first, the Wagner Act that was passed then was substantially modified in 1947, by what is now called the Taft-Hartley Act. This is really what we have been operating with and under since 1947.

FLANNERY. I believe it was also revised in the Landrum-Griffin Law?

KIRCHER. Yes, as I was going to say, a few years after that, there were modifications as a result of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

So, we are really not talking about the Magna Carta, we are talking about the Magna Carta as it was crippled and somewhat emasculated in certain areas.

EATON. What changes would labor like to see in this law?

KIRCHER. It is not just the field of changes—although, I imagine that in the final analysis, certain legislative changes would have to occur.

We are particularly bothered today by the imbalance—what we call the imbalance—in remedies—where violations on the part of employers occur.

This is a federal law. The employer very, very frequently, violates the law in his campaign to avoid unionization. And what happens, Mr. Eaton, is that even after he is found guilty of violating the federal law, about the most that happens to him is a slap on the wrist and some kind of promise that he wouldn't do it again.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Kircher, the National Labor Relations Board handles most of these cases. Just what remedies can they apply now against an employer, once he is found guilty of violating the law?

KIRCHER. There is a great area of remedy that they haven't even explored yet.

We feel that what has happened is that the National Labor Relations Board today is being bound by some traditions of the past. We see no reason why the Board couldn't, when it finds an employer guilty of a violation, do some pretty strict things, in terms of penalties.

For example, we feel that if a company stalls an election, or stalls a certification and is later found guilty of violating the Act, as it did stalling, the Board should be allowed to establish the kind of wage levels that the union could have anticipated gaining, had it been able to go into bargaining on a proper schedule, and order the company to pay all of that back-pay to the workers.

We think this would discourage the stalling.

We think that where an employee is improperly discharged, there should be very strict penalties. We think that in the case of an employer violating every section of the Act, the kind of penalties the Board should be able to place against them should be strict enough and strong enough that they would discourage the employer from continuing to violate the law.

FLANNERY. Suppose an employer is found guilty of firing an employee for so-called union activity—do they have to take the worker back? Is this one of the penalties at the present time?

KIRCHER. The Board determines that. There is a sort of trial, Mr. Flannery, and the National Labor Relations Board ultimately makes a determination with respect to whether or not the employee was improperly fired—if that was fired for union activities.

If they make that kind of finding, then usually they order the company to reinstate that employee and pay him the amount of money that he has lost.

But, what is happening today, you see, is simply that employers feel that this is a pretty cheap premium to pay for insurance against unionization. So, they fire a man, and they fire him for union activities, and they delay the case for a whole year. And this means that for a whole year they don't have to sit at the collective bargaining table with their employees.

FLANNERY. How do they do that?

KIRCHER. Well, they do it with legalistic procedures. They appeal. They ask time for briefs. They ask for oral arguments before the Board. And they do all the legalistic gymnastics that are necessary and that they know, as lawyers, to prolong and delay the case.

So, after a year or two, the National Labor Relations board says, "Take this fellow back and pay him $6,000, $7,000, or $8,000."

Well, that is pretty cheap insurance, you see, to keep from having to face the responsibility of sitting down at the table with a union and bargaining on wages and hours and conditions for all of the workers.

FLANNERY. I think there are some instances in which workers who were fired years ago and yet they are still not back on the job, however?

KIRCHER. This is true. You take the case—the current one—Stevens. We have got—I don't know, the discharges are clear up around 70 or 80 or some unfathomable number. . . .

GILBRIDE. That is the J. P. Stevens textile firm?

KIRCHER. Yes. They have already been found guilty. I think the fourth case has now come down. The J. P. Stevens Company has made no bones about it. They say, "We are going to appeal it through all of the National Labor Relations Board procedures. Then we are going to appeal it to the courts. And then, we are going clear to the Supreme Court."

Now, it is obvious that they can delay the final day of justice, maybe as long as six or seven years.

GILBRIDE. What is happening to these 70 or 80 or more workers in all this time? Do they have other jobs somewhere else? What are they doing to live?

KIRCHER. I can't answer for all of them, but if you happened to be at the recent hearings, you would have heard workers who came up from the South—former J. P. Stevens employees, who have been fired. . . .

FLANNERY. From where?

KIRCHER. They were from down in the Carolinas, as I recall, Mr. Flannery.

They not only were fired by J. P. Stevens because of union activity, but they said that when they got a job and their new employer found out that they had worked for J. P. Stevens, then they fired them.

They have, in effect, been blacklisted.

One woman rushed out of the hearing room in tears when she told the House Committee the number of times that she had been denied employment because of the pressure the J. P. Stevens Company obviously had placed on all employers in the southern area to keep her—and I believe her husband, as I remember—both of them—from any employment.

EATON. Mr. Kircher, delays are part of due process and court appeals are probably in the law authorized by Congress. How do you propose to minimize these delays, or get around the problem of giving due process and yet not discouraging unionization?

KIRCHER. There are many different ways that it could be done, Mr. Eaton.

Back in the early days, under the Magna Carta—the Wagner Act that you originally talked about—we used to have what were called preconference elections. A union that filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board, showing that a majority of the employees desired that an election be conducted, was able to get the election very quickly. The results of the election were then kept in a sealed ballot box until a determination was made on any of the objections, or any of the other delaying tactics that the company would have.

So, you had the election when you want it. This is one of the things that could be done. We think there are many cases where you could have pre-conference elections—immediate elections—elections when the workers had indicated they wanted the election, instead of the kind of delaying tactics that now find workers asking for an election on one day and ultimately getting the election, maybe a year or two later.

We have cases today where when the gambit of delay is finally run, and the election is ultimately held, less than 10 percent of the original employee group remains there to vote in the election. This is one of the things that can be done.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Kircher, in the case of employees who are fired for union activity, isn't there also a proposal for government loans to these people to tide them over until such a time as the courts finally act?

KIRCHER. Yes there is.

GILBRIDE. How would that work? And, in the event that the employee lost, who would repay the loan?

KIRCHER. It is my understanding that in this case, he is responsible. He is the responsible party.

We feel that it, however, could be a very helpful part of the procedure, because, as I say, in the J. P. Stevens case—where people were discharged for exercising their rights, as guaranteed under federal law, and where there is the kind of delay that occurs in ultimately getting justice—there can be a pretty big void, if this person doesn't have any kind of income.

I think it is necessary that there be some kind of fund that he can draw upon. It is just like any other kind of loan. He is responsible for it, And, of course, in those cases where his discharge is found to have been unlawful, then the repayment of the loan would come from the penalty placed against the company.

FLANNERY. I don't suppose that Stevens and the other companies that dismiss these employees admit that they fired them for union activities?

KIRCHER. You would be surprised how brazen some of them get. There are some cases where they do that, but the manner in which they do it becomes almost prima facie what you just mentioned.

For example, there was one employee in the Stevens case—there were so many of them—I can't remember this fellow's name—but he had a pretty good job, in terms of skill. He had worked up into a job that was rather highly-skilled in this particular textile mill. He had been there at that job for something between 25 and 30 years, as I recall, and had had nothing but compliments upon his work. He had been, over the years, constantly upgraded into better and more responsible jobs. One day he came into the mill wearing a union button. The next day, as I recall he received his first disciplinary warning about the quality of his work, and shortly after that, he was discharged.

Now, this says it a little more eloquently, you see, than a foreman who might come directly to him and tell him, "We are discharging you for union activities."

When you look at this kind of record, you find that this is precisely why it was done.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Kircher, you mentioned the problem of blacklisting, in which an employee fired in such a case would then be refused jobs by other employers in the community. How could you get around this, or solve it, through the federal law?

KIRCHER. Of course, you have to deal with an employer who is primarily guilty. One of the problems that we are having today in organizing is the kind of interference that occurs at the community level in some areas.

This is most prominent in the Southeastern area of the United States, where there are these small towns that are trying to grow industrially, and trying to improve their own economics. They advertise in the Northern cities and try to entice corporations to come into the Southeast and build plants.

They promise them tax-free land—they get the utilities company to give them their electricity free for a number of years—and they also promise them a "cooperative labor force." This means that the community will join with the corporation in resisting any efforts to unionize.

We often find community commitees, perhaps with the town banker as the chairman, and with a lawyer or a loan company official and so forth. We have many instances that we are able to document where workers in a newly-solicited factory that has been built in the South are told by the loan company and the banker, "If you get active in the union campaign, we will foreclose on you."

So the problem of attacking the community interference can't be done by laws against the community. There are some places where ordinances have been declared unconstitutional. But we say that any time a community interferes, in any way, in any election, that an employer should be made to come out publicly and disassociate himself from that—and, if he doesn't, be considered responsible for every act that the community performs.

EATON. Mr. Kircher, do these employer and community labor law violations, as you see them, occur mainly in the South, or in the textile industry?

KIRCHER. They occur, in terms of geography, mainly in the South—in the nine or ten Southeastern states. I would say this is where we find the greatest number of them.

But, I wouldn't want to leave the impression that they are not found in other areas.

For example, the State of Nebraska, I think, is probably one of the most viciously antiunion states. The power structure works most cooperatively to resist any effort on the part of unions to organize. Among the states, it ranks, certainly, with Mississippi, Alabama, and any of the Southeastern states.

So, we find it all over the country. But it is most predominant in the Southeastern section of the country.

FLANNERY. Who is conducting these Congressional hearings? Who is the chairman of the Subcommittee?

KIRCHER. The chairman is Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D), of New Jersey.

FLANNERY. How long do you think the hearings will continue? What happens after they are concluded?

KIRCHER. Well, those things are pretty difficult to make an accurate guess on.

Mr. Thompson's Subcommittee is holding hearings on a piece of legislation that has already been introduced. Hopefully, the full Committee will report it out and the Congress will take some action on it.

EATON. Mr. Kircher, while organized labor is seeking greater penalties on employer violators, the business community wants the National Labor Relations Board's powers reduced, or transfered to labor courts. Isn't this likely to end up in a Congressional standoff, with one side demanding greater powers, and the other demanding lesser powers?

KIRCHER. If it does, Mr. Eaton—if it ends up in a standoff—it will represent an accomplishment of just what management—the business community—is after.

Nobody is kidding me. All of the smoke that the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce raise about the National Labor Relations Board and the Act, is simply contrived, so that nobody will get the idea that the management community is satisfied with the law and with the Board.

I think the management community is satisfied. But, if it indicates that it is satisfied, then it makes our complaints appear to be more valid. They just create a smoke screen of dissatisfaction so that they can gain this standoff.

They have it just exactly the way they want it. What more could they want? Every year sees an escalation in the number of unfair labor practices that the business community commits.

Now, how can you countenance a constantly increasing number of violations of a federal law.

Obviously, the management community doesn't want any changes that are going to reduce this. They don't want anything that is going to minimize the manner in which they are permitted to fight workers in their efforts to organize. If they say they like the way the law is now—it being the kind of controversial thing that it is—then chances are, our position would look a little bit better.

So, this is nothing more than a smoke screen.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Kircher, compared with 1935, when the basic labor law was passed, we usually consider this a fairly enlightened age. Why, then, this big increase in unfair labor practice cases? Are companies becoming more anti-union all of a sudden? What is the reason?

KIRCHER. No, they are not becoming more anti-union. It is pretty much the same. They never changed much in the extent to which they are anti-union.

Most of the management community likes to philosophize and talk about collective bargaining in some kind of academic context.

But unionism is something that is "good for the other guy"—not good for them. None of them like it. There are none of them who have accepted it. We have had to jerk everyone of them onto the stage of reality through strikes and elections and every other kind of procedure. So, there is no difference today in the kind of adversary that we have to take on. It is just that they have gotten the benefit of some pretty reactionary legislation—some pretty bad administration of the law, we think—and they are now hiring outstanding experts—psychologists, lawyers and so forth—to conduct their campaigns.

It is the same bitter battle. It is just that they have a few more advantages. And one of the biggest advantages is the manner in which the law is now being administered.

Eaton. Mr. Kircher, do you think the National Labor Relations Board could achieve some results by enforcing the law more vigorously? The present Board, that is.

Kircher. Yes, I think that it could, and to its credit. I think it has made some improvements in this.

But the law itself, and the whole history of jurisprudence that was written in those eight sad years between 1952 and 1960—when the administration of the Board was dominated by the big business complexion of this nation, with Mr. Eisenhower, in the White House—there are eight years of tradition that are difficult for the Board to move beyond, without some kind of legislative encouragement.

Flannery. This is a great handicap to organizing. I would imagine?

Kircher. It certainly is a great handicap. It makes organizing one of the most difficult tasks that the labor movement faces today.

Flannery. But, you are still making headway in organizing in the South?

Kircher. We are making headway in the South. As a matter of fact, during the last fiscal year, our organizing progress indicated some of the most encouraging things we have seen in the last 12 years.

Flannery. Can you give us some indication of how well you have done in the South, compared with previous years?

Kircher. The percentage of elections that we have won reached the second highest point in 12 years, and the size of the unit for which won elections is higher.

Flannery. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's Labor News Conference guest was William L. Kircher, director of the AFL–CIO's Department of Organization. Representing the press were Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press, and William Eaton, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News. This is your moderator, Harry W. Flannery, inviting you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Radio Network.

Progress in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, thus far the Communists in Hanoi have not agreed to meet at the conference table to reach a settlement in Vietnam. All of President Johnson's efforts have been bent toward achieving this goal, but it appears that only continuing military force will bring eventual peace by demonstrating to the Communists that aggression cannot succeed.

Joseph Alsop, who has been reporting at regular intervals on the war, has noted in the October 4, 1967, edition of the Washington Post, that our military operations are being successful in repelling the invaders from the north. I commend his column to the attention of our colleagues:

VAST GAINS IN VIETNAM WAR EVIDENT IN LAST FEW MONTHS

(By Joseph Alsop)

BONGSON, BINHDINH, PROVINCE, SOUTH VIETNAM.—There is one great advantage in being an intermittent reporter of this ugly war. You see the contrasts between then and now. And here in the richest of all Vietnam's coastal provinces, the chosen domain of the magnificent First Air Cavalry Division, this contrast between then and now is all but incredible.

"Stalemate" is a favorite word, much parroted by the people at home who are so articulate about this war without knowing anything about it. In order to learn what kind of stalemate we have in Vietnam, these people might well join the Air Cavalry's favorite enemy, the 3d North Vietnamese Division, which once held all of Binhdinh in an iron grip.

This 3d Division used to be a mixed outfit, with one South Vietnamese regiment, the 2d V.C., and two regiments of other regulars, the 8th and the 22d. It was a superb fighting outfit, too.

I remember vividly when the Air Cavalry first swooped down on Bongson in early 1966 for the masher operation. In those days, beyond the barbed wire surrounding the Bongson district chief's headquarters, the whole countryside belonged to the enemy. And the 3d North Vietnamese Division was so supremely confident that it had its divisional and regimental headquarters cosily installed in towns and villages on Binhdinh's open rice plains. Why not, indeed? For in 1965, they had successfully attacked Binhdinh's capital city, Quinhon.

In those days, our troops could not venture two kilometers out of Bongson town without running into a battalion—or regiment-size fight. The enemy suffered very heavily, but then the Air Cavalry were called away for other missions, the 3d North Vietnamese Division refitted, filled the gaps in its ranks, and resumed its way over most of Binhdinh—although now the headquarters were prudently removed to remote mountain fastnesses, far from the crucial rice plains.

I was here again a year ago, when the Air Cavalry had come to stay. Then plans were already afoot for Operation Irving, to be conducted jointly with the grim, methodical South Koreans.

This was in fact one of the two turning point battles of the war to date—to be compared only with the great battle in the Iadrang Valley. Characteristfcally, one of the greatest newspapers in America patronizingly reported that the enemy main body had never been engaged, but in fact all three regiments of the 3d North Vietnamese Division were torn to shreds, and the way was thus opened for the resumption of government control over the whole southern half of Binhdinh.

After Irving, the chase of the 3d Division was relentlessly continued. Hence, when I again came here six months ago, the 2d V.C. Regiment and the 22d North Vietnamese Regiment had fled north, into what was then the Marine area of operations, to replace and refit in relative peace and quiet.

Captured documents indicated that the 18th North Vietnamese Regiment would have fled as well, if the Binhdinh Communist Party committee had not protested bitterly that at least one unit of the 3d Division must stay behind to show the flag. The unfortunate 18th Regiment could not show the flag very boldly, however, since its entire strength was then no more than 600 men.

In May and early June, the 18th received numerous infiltrator-replacements from the north. It was ordered into battle and in three summer engagements—one with South Vietnamese troops—its three battalions were again torn to shreds. A captured document shows that in August one of the 18th's battalions was at one third strength, with only 192 men.

Meanwhile, in their places of refuge, the 2d V.C. Regiment was transformed, for want of southern recruits, into a basically North Vietnamese regiment by some hundreds of replacements from North Vietnam. The 22d was also fleshed out. But the refit of both regiments was sadly incomplete, probably because of the successive destruction by the Navy coast watch of two North Vietnamese trawlers, each carrying arms for two full regiments.

Thus a recent high-ranking deserter described one battalion of the 2d V.C. Regiment as armed with an 80-millimeter mortar with eight rounds of ammunition, two 57-millimeter recoilless rifles with six to eight rounds per gun, nine B–40 rocket launchers with three rounds per launcher, and hardly enough small arms ammunition to maintain a fight for an hour.

As these words are written, what is left of the 18th Regiment is in the iron claws of the South Koreans in the Phucat Massif. The plight of one battalion of the 22d Regiment, trapped in the Anlao Valley by the Air Cavalry, has already been described.

The other units of the 3d Division are now lurking in the mountains, not operating in battalion or even company strength, merely sending foraging parties down into the plain to seek food—for all are very hungry and some are on one third rations. And the hunt continues.

One must admire this famous 3d North Vietnamese Division for its resiliency and courage. But it has been like a spring that loses some resiliency each time it is pushed back. And the wonderfully persistent Koreans and the men of the Air Cavalry are unanimously convinced, for the first time, that the spring can be broken for good and all by continuing the hunt for a few months more.

Partnership in Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize anew my satisfaction in the partnership for health legislation passed by the House. It marks a milestone in Federal-State-local relationships.

Our interest in the health of all the people has been evident for many years in the legislation passed to support growing State and local programs addressed to many health problems. But we were beginning to be uneasy that this Federal support might be imposing upon States and local areas a selection of programs that might not be the most effective in terms of their special needs.

In passing the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Amendments of 1966, Pubic Law 89–749, we felt we were taking a step toward correcting the situation. This year, when the President recommended extension of this legislation for a true partnership for health, we gave it our careful attention. I believe, with the President, that the legislation passed last week, while not ideal in every detail, will be a long way toward strengthening State and local programs of planning to meet State and local health needs. It permits flexibility in the use of Federal funds so that they can most effectively promote the health of the people.

I believe that the President's recommendation and careful examination of the issues inlvoved by the Members of this House have resulted in legislation which deserves our full confidence and support.

The Shuttle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, as the Representative of New York's 25th District, I probably use the Washington-New York shuttle as much as anyone, and like many of us, I, too, am sometimes chagrined at traveling on old Constellations and having to look at slippery sneaker prints on the wings. Nonetheless, no doubt, we are all aware of the shuttle's value to those of us who regularly travel between Washington and New York. The value of this service has also been noted overseas as illustrated by the following article which appeared in the London Financial Times on September 1, 1967:

ON ESCARGOTS AND CHATEAU LATOUR

(By John Graham)

You had a hard day at the office, and you're relaxing at home in Washington, D.C. at 6:45 p.m. when the telephone goes. She's telephoning from New York, and she says you absolutely must come up to New York right away and take her to dinner at a little place called Lutece in the heart of Manhattan. You say yes.

A taxi gets you to the airport at 6.58 p.m. You walk straight through the room at the airport, throw your executive air shuttle card on to the airline's desk, walk up a short carpeted ramp, into the aeroplane (a jet DC–9), and sit down. You don't have to go outside at all. Nor do you have to make a reservation, fill in any form, wait in a queue, or pay any money.

The aeroplane takes off at 7.00, and lands at La Guardia in New York at 7.45 p.m. Halfway through the flight one of the air hostesses asks you for the fare, and you give her a cheque. The mildest sort of identification will do, such as a business card or a driver's license. La Guardia to midtown Manhattan is a mere 10–15 minutes by taxi, and you're washing down the escargots with a Chateau Latour by 8.15 p.m. You've made the journey, some 225 miles, from door to door in just 1½ hours, with absolutely no advance planning whatsoever.

It's a marvellous system, called the air shuttle, and its the brainchild of an airline called Eastern Air Lines. To-day, Eastern adds its twelfth DC–9 to its shuttle fleet, giving the shuttle 94 jet flights every weekday between Washington, New York, Newark and Boston. That is enough to carry more than 10,000 passengers, and at the moment only one airline in the world carries more passengers than Eastern.

Eastern's philosophy is simple: Everything must be done for the utmost convenience of the passenger. They're working on an account system, so that you won't even have to write a cheque. The company admits that it "violates every accepted theory for economy and practicality in airline operations." The result is a service that could hardly be more convenient, catering, for the large "shuttle society," which commutes, for business and pleasure, between Boston and New York, and New York and Washington.

MODEST PROFIT

Another result is that the shuttle service makes a modest profit, which is surprising when you consider the disadvantages to the airline. All you have to do to catch the aeroplane is turn up just before the hour. Aeroplanes leave every hour on the hour; you don't have to book, and they guarantee you a seat. What this means is that they have to keep a lot of back-up aeroplanes. They have put on an aeroplane for one passenger on 18 occasions.

Because of this, Eastern has 82 percent of all Washington-New York traffic, and 70 percent of all Boston-New York traffic. However, the company has to keep a fleet of 38 aircraft, where 14 would do if there was no guarantee of a seat. At present the fleet is being reorganized and next year there will be 14 DC-9s for the first flights, and 24 Lockheed Electras for the back-up flights.

The operation is very expensive, because the DC–9s have not yet been amortised. Also, the company has to keep full flight crews for the back-up aeroplanes, at half-pay. On average, Eastern gets less than four hours' daily use out of its full shuttle fleet, compared with 10 hours on those of its aeroplanes which are not on the shuttle route (its chief competitor on the shuttle routes, American Airlines, gets six hours average).

Now it is obviously bad economics to keep crews and aircraft sitting idle most of the time. Nevertheless the shuttle does produce a little profit, and the decision to go over completely to DC-9s for the first flights, and phase out the old Constellations (which passengers don't like nearly so much), shows that the top management has decided to back the air shuttle to the hilt.

However, life is getting tougher in the east coast corridor. There is, in fact, a minor revolution about to take place in rapid intercity transit. First, American Airlines and Northeast Airlines have come in to provide some competition. They have substantially reduced Eastern's near monopoly on the shuttle routes this year. American, for instance, gets more use out of its aeroplanes, doesn't guarantee a seat, makes you book in the usual way, has therefore a much smaller fleet, and runs a much more profitable operation.

But the real threat is coming from that old work-horse, the passenger train. Next month, the Pennsylvania Railroad will start its new fast trains on the New York-Washington run. They will stop at Philadelphia, Baltimore and three other cities, and will take an hour off the present time, doing the journey in under three hours. This is still much longer than the shuttle, even allowing for airport delays and time to and from airports, but more is to come.

ONE-HUNDRED AND SIXTY-MILE-PER HOUR CARS

To achieve its faster time, the Pennsylvania Railroad has bought 50 self-propelled passenger cars from the Budd Company of Philadelphia. These are designed to travel at 160 m.p.h., and have reached 157 m.p.h. on test runs. Budd thinks it can easily make passenger cars to go at 200 m.p.h., and if it weren't for the stops in between, and to a certain extent the bends in the Baltimore Tunnel, could equip a railway to do the New York-Washington trip in just over an hour. Add to this such extras as the ability to get a pretty good meal on the train, and commuters may easily think twice about going by air, just as on the London-Manchester railway trip.

The chairman of Pennsylvania Railroad, Mr. Saunders, thinks he is on to a winner. He has already spent $45m. of the shareholders' money on the scheme, and the Government has chipped in with $11m. This was all that President Johnson could get out of a doubting Congress, and many of Mr. Saunders's peers are just as sceptical. Mr. Saunders himself is quite positive. "Sure we're going to make money. Why do you think we've gone into it?"

What these trains will do to New York-Washington corridor traffic is still anyone's guess. The bus companies think they will hit the airlines; the airlines think they will hit the bus companies. There is little difference in price, but, if anything, first class travel on the trains will be the most expensive. The air shuttle costs $33 return. American charges $34 second class, $42 for first class. The trains will be slightly over $21 second class, and $42 first class.

In spite of the difficulties, and the inertia of air travel-conditioned commuters, this is a good time for the railroads to be trying something that has been shown to work in Europe and Japan. All airlines are in difficulties because of airport crowding, and air lane crowding. The shuttle is often late setting off, and may have to wait in the stack above New York Airport, for instance, for as long as 30 minutes. At the Washington end, the shuttle has a great advantage because the airport is so close to the center of the city. But getting into Manhattan from La Guardia can take a long time, at the wrong hour of the day. Eastern has also been hurt by the war in Vietnam. The DC–9s are being delivered late because of delays in getting engines from Pratt and Whitney.

BUDD ORDERS

One company which is certainly going to benefit is the Budd Company. Not only is the Pennsylvania contract worth $20m. but on Monday the Long Island Railroad ordered 270 high-speed cars worth $57m. The Delaware Port Authority has placed an order worth $17m., and other city authorities, notably Boston and the Bay Area in San Francisco, are very interested in this sort of travel, and will probably be ordering soon This is excellent news for companies such as Budd, which has been without significant orders for some years.

But until these new train schedules are running smoothly and until the Pennsylvania Railroad gets the time for the journey down to, say, two hours, the air shuttle will still be the best way of getting from Washington to New York. There is just one point I forgot to mention. That dinner for two at Lutece costs $75, and you'll have to stay the night. The last shuttle leaves New York at 10:00 p.m.

The Washington Subway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to voice my concern over the changes H.R. 11395 would make in Washington's projected subway system. The bill would authorize a new route to serve the rapidly expanding Southwest Washington area. I think this is a most necessary change, and one that will speed rush-hour transportation for the many thousands of employees who will be pouring into an area that houses, among other things, the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation. I am doubtful about the wisdom of discontinuing plans to construct a route through the Columbia Heights area of the city. While the statistics presented by the Washington Metropolitan Transportation Agency in support of its proposal seem persuasive, the fact remains that there will now be no subway route servicing the low-income inner city area. In this time of urban discontent, when one of the chief problems is unemployment among ghetto residents, and unavailability of cheap and convenient mass transportation only aggravates this problem, it seems an inappropriate and impolitic moment to eliminate the one subway line which would serve these people. WMTA has promised further studies of the issue and that special attention will be paid to urban renewal developments in the Shaw area. I urge the WMTA to take prompt action and not view today's passage of H.R. 11395 as any kind of go-slow mandate. It is essential that we provide fast, accessible and reasonably priced transportation for our core-city residents. And the sooner the better.

Rickenbacker

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the faith, fortitude and initiative which was so characteristic of the founders of the Nation is exemplified in one of our contemporaries, Eddie Rickenbacker. His love of God and country, along with his self-reliance carried him through extraordinary experiences dating back to the First World War. With the policy of Federal-fund panaceas so rampant today, examples such as the Rickenbacker story are sorely needed to accentuate the area of private responsibility which must be realized and practiced by American citizens today.

The New York Daily News of October 9 carried an excellent editorial on "Richenbacker," the autobiography of this outstanding American. I insert the editorial, "A Summing-Up," at this point in the Record:

[From the New York Daily News, Oct. 9, 1967]

A SUMMING-UP

Few men are privileged to live as long, as excitingly or as fruitfully as Edward V. Rickenbacker, the son of Swiss immigrants who became a national hero and a legend in his lifetime. All of it, the struggles and the triumphs, have been captured in an autobiography, entitled simply "Rickenbacker." (Prentice Hall; 443 pages; $7.95).

More than a life's tale, it is also a testament to the author's faith in God, love of country, and belief that one must give before he can hope to get.

Long before he became an auto racing champion, America's flying ace of aces in World War I, or a pioneer in commercial aviation, Rickenbacker learned the value of self-reliance, initiative, and placing opportunity and challenge above security.

He came to manhood as a spindly 13-year-old boy, forced by the death of his father to work killing hours in glass factories and metal foundries so that the Rickenbacker family could keep going. That was the start for the man who today is one of the most outspoken champions and examples of the rugged individualism so long deemed an essential part of the American character.

What kind of man is Captain Eddie? Peek at a few vignettes from his story.

Here is a young man in his 20s scraping together every cent of savings to field his own race car team with little to fall back on but his faith in himself.

You see him again in the cockpit of a Spad over France, his guns jammed and Germans on his tail, coolly refusing to seek safety for fear of panicking the younger fliers with him.

In the depth of the depression he takes charge of a weak-winged bird, Eastern Air Lines, breathes life into it and watches with pride as it becomes the first commercial airline to cast away the crutch of government subsidies.

His body horribly broken in a 1941 airline crash, he lies in a Georgia hospital and refuses drugs, lest in easing his pain they might make acceptance of death easier.

Sprawled in a tiny raft in the Pacific Ocean in 1943, he prays, pleads, sings and tongue-lashes his fellow survivors from another air crash, winning life for seven of them almost through sheer will power.

It may be, however, that the essential Rickenbacker shows best not in an hour of victory, but at a time of failure. It was the 1920s and the auto company he helped found had floundered in the postwar depression. His share of the debt: $250,000.

There would have been no dishonor in taking refuge in bankruptcy. But Rickenbacker didn't see it that way.

Without a whine or a backward look, he struck out into new ventures. It took years, but he repaid every cent.

The act of a "square"? We'd say it was the mark of a man—which Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker was, and is.

Cleveland Plain Dealer Supports President's War on Poverty and OEO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Office of Economic Opportunity, ably directing the President's war on poverty, must be left intact to help the impoverished in our midst.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, in a recent editorial, strongly supports the conclusion of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee that—

> OEO is necessary. It should not be abolished. Its program should not be "spun off."

OEO has made mistakes. This is inescapable in an attempt to end the deeply rooted poverty of generations.

But OEO has had great success. As the Plain Dealer notes, OEO programs are bringing new hope to millions—from Headstart for the young, to personal guidance programs for the elderly.

President Johnson's assault on poverty needs the central direction it receives from OEO. To parcel out its programs to other agencies would be to invite organizational chaos.

Along with the Cleveland Plain Dealer, I oppose any attempt to dismember one of the Government's most vigorous agencies—the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I insert into the Record the Cleveland Plain Dealer editorial praising the President's attack on poverty and the agency which directs it:

KEEP FAITH IN POVERTY WAR

The Plain Dealer continued to have hope for the war on poverty, even when its failures were being trumpeted abroad and its opponents were crowing over every bungle.

Now the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has just finished hearing 401 witnesses say whatever they knew through 144 hours of testimony in 33 days of public hearings.

Of the 401 witnesses, only two advocated that the Office of Economic Opportunity be abolished, or that its programs be taken over by other federal agencies, or that those programs be ended.

The 10-Democrat, 6-Republican committee reports: "OEO is necessary. It should not be abolished. Its programs should not be 'spun off.'"

This bears out The Plain Dealer's judgments in the early trial-and-error battles of the poverty war. The OEO made mistakes. It got scorched for troubles that were inescapable. No agency trying to reshape poverty-toughened youth into cooperative young citizens could avoid the rough stuff. And not every Job Corp unit can instantly run as successfully as the one here on Ansel Road.

This week the Senate will get the OEO legislation as touched up by the committee. It will probably vote on it in a few days.

We are for Head Start and a follow-through to clinch what gains it offers. We are for more job-producing, more child day care, more person-to-person guidance for families and elderly poor.

We are for OEO's acceleration of all rehabilitative services in contrast to cold handouts like "negative income tax." The latter make mere low-grade consumers out of the poor. But rehabilitating a person in poverty—while giving him a decent stipend—gives him his chance to earn self-respect, climbing out of poverty on his own steam.

The 56th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic of China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow is the 56th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. The Republic is a dear and close friend of the United States and it is appropriate for us to pause in recognition of our friend's national holiday.

On October 10, 1911, the revolution that lead to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty was begun under the direction of Dr. Sun Yet-sen. China, like the United States, followed a revolution to prosperity and strength. I am sure my colleagues join me in congratulating the Republic of China on this—its 56th anniversary.

Recently, on a trip to the Far East, I had the opportunity to visit Taiwan and meet with President Chiang Kai-shek. At that time President Chiang welcomed to his country the delegates to the First World Anti-Communist League Conference. So that my colleagues might read the remarks of President Chiang, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include his speech in the Record at this point:

Mr. Chairman, Delegates and Honorable Guests:

It is an historically significant day today, for the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League is held here in Taipei in the Republic of China. This fact symbolizes the grand mustering of all humankind under an anti-Communist banner and manifests our determination to serve the cause of freedom and wipe out slavery. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of China I extend my warmest welcome and most sincere congratulations to you anti-Communist leaders from more than 70 nations.

Although the world Anti-Communist League is an outgrowth of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, yet the instinct for freedom and against slavery has always been a part of the innate nature and conscience of humankind. The difference now is that with the inauguration of the World Anti-Communist League, we have developed a truly universal anti-Communist organization and can foresee that it will take action for freedom and justice.

Looking back on the history of anti-Communism, we find that the Republic of China was the very first nation to be severely afflicted by Communist evils. The Republic of China was also the first nation forcefully to expose Communist tyranny and to wash away the Communist evil with our own blood. At this opening session of the World Anti-Communist League. I should like to share with you my experience and the lessons I have learned in the past 40 years of my struggle against Communism. I speak as an old soldier, hoping my experiences will be helpful to other nations facing the same Communist threat and also of some value to each of you anti-Communist leaders.

The anti-Communist struggle is not a task for any single nation or region alone. It is the common mission of the entire world and of all humankind. As the Communists never limit their goal of aggressive expansion, the free people should not try to fight each of their own battles by themselves alone and run the risk of being defeated one by one. We must adopt a consistent strategy and take concerted action. In the past, we could see a united Communist bloc attacking a contentious free world. Our task today is to forge a free world unity and defeat the divided and self-contradictory Communist order.

It is to be regretted that the free world moves so slowly in resistance to Communist evils and is particularly sluggish in its undertakings to expose Communist wickedness, infiltration and chicanery. In some places, we have moved in the opposite direction. Many people have mistaken the perverse Communist ideology for symbols of "progress" and have euphemized Communist violence into "revolutionary" actions. At this very moment, some people still wrongly believe that the Chinese Communists are representatives of the Chinese tradition of virtuous rule, that the second generation of Chinese Communists may change its character, that the 700 million people on the Chinese mainland are a maneuverable asset for war, that Peiping's self-indulgence and cruelty can be mollified at the conference table, and that so long as the Republic of China is prevented from suppressing its domestic rebels, the world can live in peace with them. This fear of Communism and tendency toward Communist appeasement and these pro-Communist prejudices and illusions result from a failure to heed the bloody lessons that have inflicted immeasurable injury upon the free world. It is my hope that you far-seeing anti-Communist leaders can awaken these ignorant people to reality. The free world will then be able to correct its mistakes and clear up its psychological misunderstandings. Most of the appeasers will then turn round and decide to join in our efforts to prevent human dignity from being swallowed up in a miasma of Communist evil and tyranny. All of us seek peace. But peace cannot be won with random efforts and at no cost. We can win real freedom and honorable peace only by displaying courage in the cause of justice and by paying for cost in self-sacrifices. This determined will to victory in our anti-Communist struggle is a prerequisite to world peace.

Clearly, the danger of Communism in Asia results from the Communists' accidental stroke of luck in China. Eradication of the Asian Communist menace calls for the removal of the Chinese Communists. The free world needs to concentrate its efforts on disposing of the Peiping bandits, who, of all in the Communist camp, are the cruelest and most hurtful enemy of humankind. Such strategy and action are the common responsibility of the free world. The Republic of China, which is engaged in suppressing the domestic Communist rebellion, is under a special obligation to take up this moral burden. With every passing minute and hour, China is sacrificing its blood and the lives of its people for the fulfillment of this task. We can unite with the 700 million anti-Communist people and with the vast anti-Communist forces on the mainland and, supported by the free world, destroy Peiping's vicious rule and prevent a nuclear holocaust. There is no need to call for the service of a single soldier from other nations of the free world. The free world will from then on be saved from the exhausting necessity of rushing to extinguish the flames of war which the Peiping regime ignites here and there and anywhere at will. The Chinese Communists have continuously been engaging in hot wars with Korea, India, and Vietnam and actually with the United States—cold wars with Thailand, Burma and Malaysia—subversion in Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Africa and South America—and chicanery and blackmail in Japan and the Philippines. The Peiping regime has also instigated the ignorant Red Guards to indulge in brawling and killing, thus implementing the heresy of "negating everything, suspecting everything, and pulling down everything" so as to destroy the 5,000-year-old Chinese civilization. The Chinese Communists have not hesitated to carry out 18 years of mass slaughter and enslavement and have stirred up a mighty turmoil by pitting themselves against the 700 million people of the mainland. They have killed tens of thousands of Koreans, Vietnamese, and Americans and have openly antagonized the whole world. Even the Communist bloc has come to despise these Communist renegades whose "conscience is as dirty as sewer water". Mao Tse-tung is crazed and fanatical. His regime faces collapse and disintegration from within. He cannot escape the doomsday that the free world will bring upon his regime from without. It is my confident belief that as soon as the Peiping regime is destroyed, all the evils and dangers that plague the world will swiftly vanish, for this is the only way to assure world peace and human freedom. An old Chinese saying puts it this way: "The evil will extinguish itself if the root is permanently removed." I am sure that with the insuguration of the World Anti-Communist League, you will be able to dedicate all your efforts to the removal of this evil root. You are promoting and creating an epoch of human freedom and prosperity wherein the "evil will extinguish itself".

Once again, I should like to express my sincere welcome to you upon your arrival in the Republic of China. I trust you will stay as long as possible, have a look at our anti-Communist activities and give us your valued counsel on how we can be better. We have shaped our national policy under the guidance of *San Min Chu I*—that is, under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People—even though we have scored only preliminary achievements. However, the harmony, happiness and freedom enjoyed by the people on this *San Min Chu I* bastion of freedom—this Taiwan province—afford a striking contrast as of white versus black to the scene of struggle, chaos, massacre, and terrorism prevailing under Peiping's tyrannical rule on the mainland. Our cultural renaissance is based on the natural benevolence of the Chinese people. The "great cultural revolution" of the Peiping regime is motivated by perversion of human nature and by hatred for the course that history has taken. The contrast is one between humaneness and brutishness, between life and death, between benevolence and malevolence. Our soaring anti-Communist morale and dauntless confidence in victory deserve your special attention. Guided by this great spiritual force, we shall consummate our sacred mission of national recovery and triumph in our struggle for freedom and against enslavement.

Finally, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people. I wish this esteemed League every success and wish each and every one of you the best of health.

Mendon, Mass., Tercentenary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year it was my good fortune to be able to participate in the impressive community exercises marking the 300th anniversary of the founding of the town of Mendon, Mass., in my district.

On June 24 I was privileged and highly honored to deliver the tercentenary address at the anniversary banquet held at the Lakeview Ballroom in this lovely old New England community. For me this was a most inspiring and memorable occasion and in insert in the Congressional Record my remarks, in part, at this affairs.

The material follows:

Remarks, in Part, of Congressman Philip J. Philbin at the Banquet Celebrating the 300th Anniversary of the Town of Mendon, Mass., July 24, 1967

Mr. Toastmaster, Reverend Clergy, Chairman Clough, Chairman Dudley, outstanding members of the General Court, my able and distinguished friends, Senator Kelly, Representative Kenney, Representative Gould, former distinguished Representative, our friend, Mrs. Gladys Crocket, distinguished town officials, Committee members our distinguished friend Mr. Elmer Nelson, honored guests, friends, and fellow Americans:

I am happy, highly privileged and honored to join you tonight in celebrating the 300th anniversary of your lovely New England town of Mandon, one of the oldest and finest in the nation.

As your Congressman and friend, I proudly extend my personal congratulations to the officials and people of Mendon upon this distinguished occasion, and to wish for you, and your wonderful American community, a truly glorious future.

As I have already had occasion to note in the Congressional Record, that from earliest days, Mendon has been devoted and dedicated to profound religious and patriotic loyalty.

This town was founded by resolute, God-fearing people, hardy souls who did not know the meaning of the word fear or doubt, who were unalterably devoted to their belife in Divine Providence and were determined to live under conditions of freedom, liberty and peace.

This town has seen some extraordinary changes. Our forefathers lived in a veritable wilderness, beset by beasts and savages, hemmed in by unfriendly forces on every side, except for a narrow strip along the Coastline.

They were governed from across the Atlantic Ocean by a mother country, intent upon royal domination and management of their affairs.

Economically, the early colonists, settlers lived here under primitive conditions. Their rock-strewn farms were meager openings in the vast expanse of forest, their villages separated by intervening woods and wilderness.

But from hilltop to hilltop, majestically rose their meeting houses, the center of their community lives, the habitat of their religious spirit and their fierce determination to establish places of worship in communities of law and order and free democratic government.

But these primitive conditions were not destined to be long continued. The powerful spiritual strength, and the incredible faith and courage, the amazing resourcefulness, determination and sacrifices of the early pioneers, their persistency and never-say-die spirit, in time, triumphed over the forces of repression which seemed to surround them.

I need not recite the rest of this wonderful story because it is set in golden letters in the history books recording the growth of ordered, civil liberty, economic growth and strength, and the spiritual uplift of this great nation.

Today we may all be proud to note that our country is the giant of the North American Continent, the most powerful, richest and most advanced nation in all the world, rich almost beyond contemplation, powerful in ways that stagger the imagination, rich with accumulations of industry and the returns of commerce and the highest standards of living that the world has ever known.

Gone are the wild beasts and savages, fleeing before a way of civilization that could not be stayed.

Gone is the military dictatorship, the imperialistic control, the harsh trappings of tyranny.

With material progress has come unprecedented progress in the arts, the sciences, civilization, religion, spiritual development, industrial advancement, and all these have their proud temples and impact in this beautiful town of such historic worth and fame, and in other towns, villages and cities spread from coast to coast, north, south, east and west, all over this great nation.

Truly, a miracle has taken place in the astonishing transformation that is everywhere to be seen. God has smiled on the wilderness and it has become a garden. He has blessed our people beyond measure and given us the opportunity to live in the greatest of all countries the world has ever known.

In this vast creative work, vigorously undertaken and pursued by those who have come before us. Mendon has played its part, a moving, impressive part for the benefit of her people, her deep, Amercian traditions and convictions and the high purpose and ideals of the early settlers.

In war and peace, Mendon has had an outstanding record of patriotism, devotion to the nation, and proud participation in the great work of shaping and advancing this greatest of all civilizations.

A frontier town beset by Indian raids, many struggles, hazards and setbacks, at times far removed from its neighbors, its people were never deterred and persisted in the struggle for freedom, for law and order, for economic advancement and for spiritual values.

Think of it, my friends, three hundred years of existence as a community. What a glorious record of achievement, support of family and community life and unstinted sacrifices for the values in which your people and the American people have devoutly believed.

Down through the long, unbroken channels of history, you sons and daughters of Mendon have held the torch high, you have remained at your posts of duty, you have given example to the country and the world of what it means to live as loyal, industrious citizens, upholding each other, advancing the interests of your community, and loyalty supporting the principles and safety of your country.

From Bunker Hill to Korea and Vietnam, where we now hope and pray there will be early peace, Mendon has shown its mettle. It has demonstrated its allegiance to the proud standards of freedom, to the demands of progress in this changing world, in this age of terrible, destructive power, fabulous advancement and untold poential yet to be realized.

Truly, this is an inspiring record that your forbears and you of this generation have made. It is a tremendous contribution to this nation, enduring testimony of the quality of your patriotism and love of country and your high resolve to live as free Americans.

Yet, today, what a paradox it is, rich in material rewards as we are, powerful beyond measure, that we should face greater problems and greater difficulties than ever before, because in a very real sense it is true that the institutions which the early forbears founded here and elsewhere in our land with such valor, intelligence, resolution and sacrifice, and which have been defended with blood and treasure by so many generations, are challenged as never before.

Today we must draw inspiration from this glorious past, even as we recognize that we can never turn back the clock, that the nation and the world must go forward, must go upward to broader, higher goals, must adapt to the incredible revolutionary changes that are taking place all around us, and the pressures that are being exerted upon us by those who are seeking to destroy our way of life and impress upon us the rigors and slavery of the collective state.

To be sure, we must be very thankful, with hearts overflowing with everlasting gratitude for the blessings of the Creator, for the marvelous work of those who have preceded us, whose blessed memory we honor with such fond recollection and deep gratitude tonight.

It is an axiom that each generation must labor, struggle and strive to sustain itself, to better its lot, to move forward in changing times, and, if it is necessary, to fight for human liberties, for freedom and the right to enjoy democratic government, free enterprise, free religious and civil rights and all the precious rights and privileges Americans enjoy.

It is for us of this generation to leave nothing undone to uphold our gleaming heritage of ordered liberty and profound faith, so that we can and will overcome and conquer every obstacle, threat and danger that confronts us along the way.

Thank God our nation is powerful and great, that it is pledged to a peaceful world, to peace at home and abroad. Fortunately, even as we gather here, some of the shadows seem to be lifting and there are some signs of hope.

But we must persist with all our strength, power and might to protect and preserve our beloved free country, to keep our hearts and minds responsive to the national purpose, the goals and needs, of our people, to live in the spirit of those who shaped our free institutions with the endowments of understanding, brotherhood and compassion that come to us from the spiritual truths and moral precepts of those who established our way of life.

In that way, God willing, if we but strive to the best of our ability and strength to make this nation and this world a better place in which to live for ourselves and for all people, in our time, we will have contributed something worthy of our glorious past, worthy of the present and our own best instincts as patriotic defenders and preservers of the greatest nation on earth, and worthy of the future perpetuation of everything noble and good that our nation stands for.

Our hearts are grateful tonight for the encouragement and sustaining strength which Mendon has contributed through 300 years of this great crusade for freedom, humanity and justice represented by our country.

I hope and pray, in a most reverent spirit, that in the next three hundred years, and in all the time to come, Mendon and its loyal people will grow and prosper and achieve even higher goals under free democratic government and in the ways of independence, liberty and peace, and that all its people will continue to live in prosperity and happiness, not only in the material sense, but in the spiritual graces that have always been a part of this splendid American community.

In this way, and in this spirit, we can best be assured of passing safely, with freedom and security unimpaired, through the trials and tribulations of the present and all the years ahead and keep this nation, what it was intended to be, and what it must continue to be, a safe, free, secure dwelling place for the human spirit, a sanctuary for those unalterably dedicated to human freedom and pledged to human survival progress and peace.

Again with my heartiest congratulations and very best wishes for the future, and my warm thanks for the high privilege of being with you tonight.

Pfc. Patrick McGuire, USMC, Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents—Pfc. Patrick McGuire, USMC, of Verplanck, N.Y.—died in Vietnam last month.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

KILLED IN VIETNAM

Pfc. Patrick McGuire, 19, of 112 Broadway, Verplanck, was killed Sept. 25 near Danang, South Vietnam while on duty with the Seventh Regiment, First Division of the U.S. Marine Corps. Pfc. McGuire was the son of Bernard McGuire and the late Irene Leach McGuire. He was born June 27, 1948. Survivors include his father, and two brothers, Charles of Verplanck and Robert of Dunbar Heights, Peekskill. Funeral arrangements are incomplete, pending arrival of the body.

Director of National Security for Veterans of Foreign Wars, Retired Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, Puts Vietnam in Proper Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, retired Brig. Gen. Don Hittle, director of national security for the Veterans of Foreign Wars has written an article which has appeared in a number of newspapers throughout the country, in which he has endeavored to place the proper perspective on our current situation in Vietnam and the importance of President Johnson's decision of March 1965.

I am pleased to be able to insert this article in the RECORD, and commend its reading to my colleagues.

THE CHANGING SCENE: WE MUST VIEW CURRENT EVENTS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

(By James D. Hittle, Brig. Gen., USMC (Ret.), Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs, V.F.W.)

WASHINGTON.—People, as well as nations, seldom take the time to view current happenings in their historical perspective.

That's probably the biggest single reason why there is so much criticism and confusion over our nation's stand against Communist aggression in Vietnam.

What so many fail to see are the huge dividends our Vietnam policy is already paying in terms of national security and the cause of freedom.

To realize what is right about our stand in Vietnam, all one has to do is contemplate what the situation today would be if we had not met the challenge of Red aggression.

In the spring of 1965, the Red tide was on the verge of engulfing South Vietnam. Unchecked, it would have flooded through all Southeast Asia. There was only one thing to be done if Vietnam was going to be saved; and that was for the United States to enter the conflict openly.

Thus, in March of 1965, President Johnson made the decision only he could make. From his lonely pinnacle of power, he ordered ashore the Marines of the 7th Fleet. Since then U.S. troops and equipment have been, in a steady procession, thrown into the conflict.

The U.S. decision to stand firm and not to run out on our friends and our word, triggered a chain reaction. What happened has been good for the United States and the free world. It has been bad for the Communists.

South Vietnam, the strategic pivot of Southeast Asia was saved as it tottered on the brink of the Red abyss.

Hope began to replace despair among the South Vietnamese. Slowly, as we threw our available power into the struggle against the Russian and Red Chinese-backed invaders, the military situation began to improve. So, too, did the political situation.

Today, South Vietnam's progress since March, 1965, can be measured by the fact that the country is on the threshold of constitutional government. This, in a land torn, terrorized, and ravaged by a ruthless aggressor, is a remarkable accomplishment.

But this isn't all the beneficial fallout from extend far beyond the borders of that country. Within a few months after President Johnson's decision to take up the Red challenge, Ceylon, the strategic island nation of the Indian Ocean threw out a Red-leaning regime.

This avoided the strategic catastrophe that would have resulted from Ceylon's great naval base of Trincomalee being used as a base for Red submarines. Asian sources say that our Vietnam stand encouraged the anti-Communists in Ceylon. They saw that Southeast Asia wasn't going to the Reds by default.

More recently Indonesia, at the last minute, was saved from tumbling into the Red orbit. The reason the small group of military leaders could strike back at the attempted Red takeover was our Vietnam policy. They knew that with us holding South Vietnam, Indonesia would not be outflanked by communism on the Southeast Asian peninsula.

By losing Indonesia, the Reds also lose the long chain of island stepping stones over which Communist aggressors expected to march to the northern shores of Australia.

But this isn't all the beneficial fallout from our stand in Vietnam. Thailand is encouraged and is fighting back against Red aggression. Malaysia and Singapore are more secure.

The decision to make a fight of it in Vietnam will, for good reason, rank along with President Truman's stand against the Reds in Greece and President Eisenhower's decision to land U.S. forces in Lebanon as one of the great decisions of the postwar period.

The protesters in the picket lines may be angry with President Johnson for fighting against Communist aggression in Vietnam. But historians will view his decision more realistically and, hence, more generously.

District of Columbia Council Nominees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 26, 1967

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the selection of Max M. Kampelman, newly chosen Chairman of the District of Columbia Council, was lauded in the editorial comments of station WTOP in Washington, September 28 and 29. WTOP said:

> The choice of Max Kampelman to be Council Chairman is nothing much less than a master stroke. Mr. Kampelman is a man of experience and civic dedication. If he can't do a good job, we doubt that anyone can.

Mr. Kampelman's credentials are impressive. He has wide experience in government and business at all levels. He is the holder of a Ph. D. in political science as well as being a trained lawyer. His listing of civic associations and civic commitments looks like an article from "Who's Who." He is an author of repute on domestic and foreign issues. He is a man of proven talent and experience in governmental activity.

He is a Washington resident of long standing who is an active civic servant. He will bring prestige, honor, and ability to a very difficult and complex job.

In short, what the WTOP editorial said about Max Kampelman is indeed accurate: His appointment is a "master stroke."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL NOMINEES

The President has settled at least one weighty problem of the new DC government. He's fixed the title of the two top men. Walter Washington is not the DC commissioner, he's the "mayor." And Thomas Fletcher isn't the deputy commissioner, he's the "deputy mayor."

Having had that clearly established, Mr. Johnson did a good deal more at the well-attended swearing-in ceremonies for Washington and Fletcher in the White House East Room. In a typical Johnsonianism, he seized the occasion to spring the announcement of his nominees for the nine-member DC City Council.

What the President has come up with is a sound and solid group of citizens. The choice of Max Kampelman to be Council Chairman is nothing much less than a master stroke. Mr. Kampelman is a man of experience and civic devotion. If he can't do a good job, we doubt that anyone can.

The assistant Council Chairman will be the Reverend Walter Fauntroy, who is perhaps best known for his association with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We've always found Reverend Fauntroy to be a level-headed activist in matters of race relations. He, too, looks like a good choice.

The other seven Council members are a middle-and-upper-class cross section of the Washington community. All the nominees have a great deal of education; six are from Northwest, two from Southeast and one from Northeast.

The President could have taken any one of several tacks in selecting a Council. He has chosen to be safe and sane. We have no fault to find with that. The new government needs all the ability it can muster; that, and all the acceptance, particularly on Capitol Hill. Of course, it goes without saying that Mayor Washington and all his partners in the District Building will have to work hard and fast to establish effective communication with all segments of the community they represent—including the many thousands whose poverty, ignorance and alienation constitute the crisis of our city.

The Road to Mars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 7, 1967, the New York Times had an excellent editorial concerning a very important aspect of NASA's budget which will once again be before the House when the NASA appropriations conference report is called up. The point at issue is the funding of NASA's additional fiscal year 1968 request, which departs from the originally-planned continuing technology studies on the existing NERVA I nuclear rocket engine, to initiate a flight hardware development program of a larger NERVA II engine. This would virtually commit us—through the need to justify its estimated $2 billion cost—to embark on a manned mission to Mars involving astronomical expenditures. Admittedly, NASA has no other projected need for this nuclear engine. However, fearing that Congress would reject a manned Mars mission costing hundreds of billions of dollars, NASA does not admit to this mission plan. It is quite likely that at this time a manned Mars mission of such enormous cost would be deemed out of the question by both the public and Congress if the issue were squarely faced.

The New York Times editorial points out that several weeks ago the Soviet Union indicated that "no single country could be expected to carry out by its own means a manned expedition to Mars." The doors to possible scientific cooperation in interplanetary flights by the two major powers are open. Certainly an attempt should be made to enter them.

The House Appropriations Committee, in view of the financial pressures now being applied to the Congress, recommended that the House defer initiation of the costly NASA-proposed NERVA II flight hardware program. The House voted to uphold this decision. The Senate has now restored this item with its staggering financial implications. I hope that the House will hold fast to the wisdom it previously displayed on this issue and maintain its position that NASA be limited to the $46.5 million requested in its original fiscal year 1968 budget presentation under the line item of nuclear rockets.

The perceptive New York Times editorial of October 7, 1967, follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 7, 1967]

ON THE ROAD TO MARS

The Senate, ignoring the most obvious of all opportunities to cut nonessential spending, has not only matched the $4.5 billion the House voted for space excursion but tacked on nearly $100 million more to start new programs after the first Americans land on the moon.

The certainty that another huge space appropriation will come out of conference on Capitol Hill adds special interest to the fact that twice recently the leading space scientist of the Soviet Union, Prof. Leonid Sedov, has publicly stressed the importance of large-scale international cooperation for manned flights beyond the moon.

Several weeks ago he told an interviewer that no single country could be expected to carry out by its own means a manned expedition to Mars. Then, more recently, in Belgrade he stressed the "significance" of international cooperation in providing the "vast material and creative forces" needed for the "great interplanetary expeditions of the future." These remarks point to a policy very different from that which Moscow has consistently exhibited in ignoring the appeals of both President Kennedy and President Johnson for joint Soviet-American exploration of space.

In part, no doubt, this new attitude is the result of a reappraisal of the propaganda advantages of space feats, and a keener Soviet realization—as compared with the era of the exuberant Khrushchev—of the validity of conflicting demands for resources devoted to the space race. But the line Professor Sedov is taking, also surely indicates an appreciation of the colossal costs of trying to send men to the planets. These costs would dwarf even the great amounts the United States and the Soviet Union are spending to try to send men to the moon.

A round trip to the moon need cover only about a half million miles and can be accomplished in a week or so. A three-man crew is adequate for this journey. But a round trip to Mars would require traveling hundreds of millions of miles and would take substantially more than a year. The capsule sent on the latter journey would have to carry food, oxygen and other essentials for a minimum crew of six to ten, as well as a large quantity of fuel to be used for blasting off from Mars, which has a much greater gravitational force than the relatively tiny moon.

When the first man lands on the moon, it will be the fruit of an effort costing tens of billions of dollars. The bill for duplicating that feat on Mars is likely to be measured in hundreds of billions of dollars. No wonder the Russians—or some Russians—seem to have decided that only a combined effort can accomplish the latter feat.

This is a more sensible attitude than that of some Congressmen who dream of a United States post-Apollo program aimed at reaching Mars with American resources alone. Now that Professor Sedov has opened the door, the Administration has an opportunity to begin diplomatic explorations to see if the Russians really are serious about replacing senseless rivalry in space with rational international cooperation.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

A General in Arms—Interview of Gen. James M. Gavin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an interview of Gen. James M. Gavin, by Emmet John Hughes, published in Newsweek magazine of October 16, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GENERAL IN ARMS

(By Emmet John Hughes)

(NOTE.—Gen. James M. Gavin, a nominal Democrat who once served as President Kennedy's ambassador to France, has lately crisscrossed the nation on a personal crusade: to persuade the Republican Party to field a peace candidate in 1968. The 60-year-old retired soldier himself has appeared to some as such a potential nominee. Last week he set forth his views in this detailed interview.)

Q. *What lies at the heart of your anxiety?*

A. It is the failure of our national leadership to attack honestly and seriously the problems threatening our national life. And at the heart of *this* failure is the Vietnam conflict with all its deadly ramifications. It is a cancer that must be gotten out of our system. Or to put it in terms of global politics: our policy today in Southeast Asia is serving Communist interest perfectly. It does so in two ways. In the *nation*, it drains our resources—not merely economic, but intellectual and emotional—so that we are neglecting the fierce needs of our own society. In the *world*, it fastens our attention on Asia so intensely that all other areas—like the Middle East—become more open than ever to successful Soviet penetration.

Q. *What are the roots of your dissent from our military involvement in Southeast Asia?*

A. They go deep into the past. The position I have held—along with General Ridgway—has always been the same. We have believed it would be a ghastly blunder to go into Southeast Asia massively on the ground.

I had intensive education in the problem in 1956 when I was serving as General Ridgway's assistant in the Pentagon. Two years earlier, at the time of Dienbienphu, the cry had gone up for our intervention to save the French, but this was silenced by Eisenhower. In early 1956, however, the threat of deep involvement rose again. The grand scheme then was for an American expeditionary force and a direct assault on North Vietnam. This meant landing and taking Haiphong, the seizure of the whole Hanoi delta, and on to Hanoi itself. Both the Navy and the Air Force were all for it. The Navy insisted, moreover, that its passage into the Tonkin Gulf had to be protected by capture of the Chinese island of Hainan. And they accepted whatever consequences *that* meant. Meanwhile, on the political scene, Vice President Nixon was talking ominously about the likelihood that American "riflemen" might have to move into Vietnam.

I went out to Vietnam to see for myself. I wanted to look at the whole national picture, and I spent much time with Diem. I came to two conclusions. On the political front, the nature of Vietnam society worried me; it was torn by powerful sects and provincial loyalties, and I doubted whether anyone soon could effectively govern such a country. And on the military side, I calculated that any invasion of the Hanoi delta would surely require an initial force of eight assault divisions, plus perhaps 35 supporting engineer and other-type battalions.

Back in Washington, however, the plan for an American expeditionary force had gone right to the very top of the Defense Department. Everyone including Secretary Charles E. Wilson was for it—except Ridgway. He bypassed everyone—including Charley Wilson—and went direct to Eisenhower with a letter setting forth our dissent and fears. It worked. And we were spared—until years later.

Q. *These many years later, what would you do—tomorrow—if you were setting American policy?*

A. I would cease the bombing of North Vietnam as a necessary first step on the way to a political settlement. This bombing is not to be confused, of course, with tactical air support and strikes at Communist artillery positions—which could not reasonably be suspended at this time. But I would stop all strikes at targets in the north. Beyond this, I also agree with the suggestion of Stuart Symington that we try a suspension of all military activity. He is a former Secretary of the Air Force, of course, so it is not easy for him to zero in on it as the one service to be held back: the Air Force then feels put upon. So he has called for a broader restraint. And I would go along with that.

Q. *Do you still favor your so-called "enclave" strategy that started so much controversy?*

A. The controversy got snarled because I never urged as my critics implied, some kind of total retreat into enclaves. I simply urged, on the basis of lessons learned all the way from Sicily to Korea, that we put maximum effort into assuring safe port areas. In modern war, an average division uses some 500 tons of supplies per day, so that port enclaves are utterly vital. Today, however, I'm not worried about shades of meaning or argument about enclaves because—in a *political* sense—they have acquired a new meaning. Any process of de-escalation will have to work its way through such protected areas. And in any political settlement, they will be crucial factors for negotiation.

Q. *Do you draw any analogy between the Korean conflict in the 1952 election and Vietnam in the 1968 election?*

A. No. Some opportunistic candidates might try to equate the two, but I see them very differently. Essentially, Korea was a local conflict: it was *manageable*. But Vietnam is worldwide in its impact. Take the example of the Foreign Minister of one of our great allies, who recently groaned to me in his office: "I have gotten so bloodied trying to support your country in Vietnam." Moreover, the state of our nation here at home bears no comparison with 1952: it is infinitely worse. In 1952, it was possible to isolate Korea as a dilemma for an Eisenhower to solve. Today, the whole condition of national life—not just the Vietnam conflict—cries out for a change in leadership.

Q. *How do you define this need for change?*

A. We have to make a choice as a nation. We have to choose between the conduct of political affairs by opportunism and expediency—or by an honest and searching analysis of where we are and where we must go. As a simple example, I cite the Administration's response to the Detroit riots. The response was twofold: the people were urged to offer Sunday prayers for urban peace, and the police, shortly after, were assured of Presidential support in their enforcement of law and order. I contrast this to the serious facing of problems by men like Lindsay and Rockefeller. We are not going to solve anything with just prayers and night sticks.

And we need a national leadership looking forward not backward. This is not just a figure of speech. It is no accident that Lyndon Johnson called Diem "the Churchill of Southeast Asia" or that he confuses political compromise in 1957 with Munich in 1938. He *has* the present confused with the past—and no time to study the future.

Q. *Why are you going to visit Vietnam at the end of this month?*

A. General Westmoreland—and we are good friends—wrote me a cordial invitation to come and look. I am *not* going to probe into matters like the performance of the M–16 rifle, but I *am* anxious to study the performance of Vietnam society. Here I have two main concerns. One is my fear that the South Vietnam armed forces are not doing their part. And secondly, I am worried about the hard Thieu-Ky line against any sort of neutralist regime. If our national policy is to seek political compromise and a negotiated peace—and if Washington means its repeatedly stated willingness to accept a neutral Vietnam in the future—what is wrong with a neutralist regime in Saigon? Nothing—to my mind. But are the governments of South Vietnam and the United States then at hopeless odds on a matter so basic?

Q. *As a friend, adviser and ambassador of President Kennedy, do you believe he would have acted on a different policy in Vietnam?*

A. Everyone may have his own view on this, but I feel certain he would never have gone down the present road. He and I talked about military affairs from the time in the late 1940s when he first ran for the House, and he was always alert to the danger of this kind of war in Asia. As his ambassador in Paris, I took an active role in the settlement we worked out for Laos in 1962. This was a neutralist settlement, of course, and he had the courage to press it—thereby crossing up both the CIA and the Pentagon. The troops he finally let go to Vietnam were strictly trainers, sent to accompany and help Vietnam regiments. On the day he died, the sum of our commitment was 16,000 such trainers. I do not believe for one minute he would have gone in with combat troops.

Q. *By what tests do you appraise the Republican scene and the GOP role in the 1968 campaign?*

A. I can tell you the kind of candidate I would like to see. He should be a man intelligently aware of the future, not mentally mired in the world of fifteen or twenty years ago. He should ideally be a special kind of prophet: a man with large vision but also technical knowledge. He should have the energy and enthusiasm of a John Kennedy. And he must be resolved to get at the Vietnam cancer.

Who will this man be? It cannot be a Reagan—a most attractive man but facing firmly toward the past. A Nixon? Can we manage no better national dialogue—at such a time—than a debate between Nixon and Johnson? As a friend of mine on Cape Cod views such a prospect: "If we have to endure that, we'll widen our canal and declare the Cape an independent country."

I thought, when I began speaking out this summer, that Nelson Rockefeller clearly was the best candidate. I still believe this. I know he has not publicly voiced any views on foreign policy for a long time. When he does, I am sure he will face Vietnam in 1968 with as much courage as he faced Goldwaterism in 1964.

I have only one passionate concern. Whoever be the Republican candidate, I want him to offer our country a true *choice*. And for this, I want to work with all my strength.

Harold Howe II Talks About His Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, the September 1967 issue of the Phi Delta Kappan, the journal of Phi Delta Kappa, a professional fraternity for men in education, contains an article on U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II.

I believe this article will be of some interest to my colleagues since it provides a valuable insight of a Federal official on his job and the leadership and visionary qualities he has brought to the U.S. Office of Education. This agency now administers 75 programs providing support for many critical areas of education in my own State of Washington and all across this country.

As the article points out, Commissioner Howe had previous responsibility with small organizations but he is succeeding well with the $4 billion operation that is the present U.S. Office of Education.

What is most valuable about this article, is its description of the broad range of interests of the Federal Government in working out a creative partnership with the States and local school systems and our colleges and universities in uplifting the tone and content of education in this country.

President John F. Kennedy used to say that a rising tide lifts all boats.

The interests of the Office of Education, says the article, are now quite broad for the programs range from concern with preschool children to postdoctoral studies, from medical education in support of some of the more significant research developments in how to teach people to be doctors to programs for teaching English as a second language in foreign countries.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

The article follows:

HAROLD HOWE II TALKS ABOUT HIS JOB

Harold Howe II, who received an A.B. from Yale in 1940 and an M.A. in history from Columbia in 1947, is the third successive U.S. Commissioner of Education without a doctorate in education. This hard-working, pipe-smoking administrator declines to admit that there is any possible connection between this fact and his own stated belief that education needs the services of many professionals in addition to educators. "After all," he said, "I didn't select myself to be the Commissioner of Education."

When asked what he considered the toughest aspect of his job, he said, "Handling all of the pressures and problems of different interests and different points of view." He has to be tough in this job, for he is constantly battling for educational programs with tough and seasoned politicians. When asked if he could mention any single accomplishment that he hoped to be able to look back on with pride when he shall have left his post, he replied with the air of a man who realized that in the political maelstrom that swirls about his office, success means simply withstanding the pressures and avoiding being swept out of office or pushed to depart from one's principles. He said, "Just that I took care of the demands of the job."

Howe recognizes, as others do, that the responsibilities of the office will continue to increase as the federal involvement in education grows, but he refused to conjecture on when, if ever, the increased importance of the office might lead to its separation from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and its establishment as a separate cabinet-rank department. He seems to feel that it is futile to predict what might happen to the Office in relation to HEW—at least on this particular afternoon, when a crucial meeting with congressional leaders on a major education bill was planned in a succession of telephone calls punctuating the interview. Howe was not disposed to grapple with "iffy" questions; this day he was the pragmatic administrator.

At other times, free from the burden of immediate pressures, this Connecticut-born schoolman can be as creatively imaginative as any free-wheeling professor of education.

Much of his school experience, as teacher, principal, and superintendent, was in select schools—Andover, Newton, Scarsdale. However, he knows at first hand the problems of poverty and is totally committed to vastly improved educational opportunities for the underprivileged. As a high school principal in Cincinnati, he served as chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. For two years prior to his appointment as Commissioner, he headed the Learning Institute of North Carolina, a nonprofit organization set up largely to develop innovative educational programs for disadvantaged children.

Along the way, Howe's catholic interests in education have led to terms as a trustee of Yale and Vassar and as vice-chairman of the College Entrance Examination Board. He was a member of the Commission of the Humanities of the American Council of Learned Societies and belongs to several professional education societies.

He belongs to the new breed of educator who leans more towards innovation than to tradition, more towards rigor than to permissiveness, more towards the humanities than towards educationalism, more towards the achievement of broad and lofty goals than to the tedious recital of vague educational credos and endless absorption in administrative trivia.

In a *Saturday Review* article in May, 1965, Howe urged "more experimental colleges and more colleges engaged in experimental programs." "Colleges need to do more thinking and planning about this personal and nonacademic side of student life, for it is an element in the education process that has much to do with whether students achieve any solid belief in themselves and in worthwhile values."

In another *Saturday Review* article titled "Needed: A Radical Change," he looked at the proposals of Hyman Rickover, James Conant, and Lloyd Trump, and found something useful in all of them.

In still another *Saturday Review* article, this one titled "The Care and Feeding of Superintendents," the man who was soon to become U.S. Commissioner suggested that before we think of adding additional requirements of credits to be earned in administration courses as criteria for certifying school superintendents, we should do some of the same kind of thinking that has led to the nongraded school and advanced placement as solutions to problems raised by lockstep procedures.

The job of the Commissioner of Education is clearly not the same job it was as recently as 10 years ago, when the USOE was essentially a statistics-gathering agency. The commissionership, once one of the safest and quietest spots in official Washington, has become one of the hottest, partly because it has been directly involved with administering one of the hottest pieces of legislation, the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Harold Howe's dedication to fearless enforcement of the educational compliance guidelines predictably resulted in opposition to him, sometimes so violent as to cause certain senators to refer to him as the Commissar of Education. "Tough" and "pragmatic" are two of the words most frequently used in describing Howe. He is a realist who, though he doesn't seek conflict, doesn't seek to escape it.

It would be virtually impossible for him to avoid conflict in his present office, for that office is located at the crossroads of some of the most critical issues facing the nation today; the shifting balance of state and federal control of the schools, the uneasy separation of religion and education; the use of massive federal funds to educate people out of poverty. Though the policies are legislated by the Congress, the Commissioner of Education, charged with the administration of these policies, becomes the target for the hostility they engender.

It is not easy to discover how this Commissioner feels about the pressures of his office. He is reluctant to discuss the possible expansion of the authority of the Commissioner, noting with unassailable logic that "it is not a promising line of inquiry to ask the Commissioner what his duties should be, since the scope of his duties is determined by the Congress." He did concede that he was not at all disturbed, and gave the distinct impression of being relieved, at the recent order which shifted from his shoulders to those of HEW Secretary John Gardner authority for enforcing the civil rights compliance guidelines. He chuckled a denial that this order could reduce the stature of the Commissioner. The shift, ordered by a congressional subcommittee, places in Gardner's hands the enforcement authority formerly shared by five agency chiefs in HEW. This sticky enforcement problem, which engages the efforts of 278 HEW workers, has resulted in the withholding of $25 million of school aid to districts in the South.

Howe has said that a school superintendent should be willing to risk his job rather than compromise on school desegregation, and on a number of occasions it has appeared that he might be forced out of his own job on this very issue.

As he turned from a telephone conversation which demanded quick decisions about tactics to be used in a congressional committee meeting an hour later, he resumed the conversation about the role of the Commissioner as if there had been no interruption.

Asked about the ruling (proposed by Congresswoman Edith Green) making Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 applicable to the entire country, and presumably to *de facto* segregation as well as to *de jure*, the Commissioner shook his head in dismay that the proposal had received so little debate or explanation. He admitted he did not know, and doubted if anyone knew, exactly what it meant. The law, he said, applies only to *de jure* segregation.

Howe is not afraid of federal control. Perhaps it can be said that he is not afraid of any of the dangers that always lurk in change, though he is fully aware of the realities. He balances risks and makes decisions, then moves ahead confidently on the chosen course. With respect to the dangers inherent in federal aid, his position is significantly similar to his position before he replaced Francis Keppel in the Commissioner's office. At that time—nearly two years ago—he said, "Localism in education gives communities the right to have both good and bad schools, and the right has been liberally exercised in both directions. What the federal government is now about—and what the states have been about for some years—is to curtail the right to have bad schools."

On the sticky issue of general or categorical aid, Howe's position is clear. He wants both—categorical aid to realize the government's program of fighting poverty with schooling and general aid to give the states additional resources for programs *they* designate. It is not surprising that categorical aid comes first—as it always has—and that general aid is considered as the icing on the cake, the extra that will come after the specific federal goals have been adequately financed.

Howe opposed the Quie Amendment providing for direct payment of ESEA funds to the states, calling it a step backward. He simply meant that such a step would undercut the government's program of guaranteeing that much of this money is spent for the education of the poverty-stricken, whose plight can best be alleviated through education, rather than for other projects which the states might select.

Harold Howe doesn't duck a question, but he doesn't stick his neck out unnecessarily by talking beyond what is required. When asked about plans of the U.S. Office to administer the national assessment program, he repeated the well-known fact that money has been budgeted to provide for an assessment as ordered by Congress, but that no commitment had been made to use the Carnegie-financed assessment tests for this purpose. When it was suggested that the absence of any conspicuous alternative test (and the absence of any alternative to the U.S. Office, as test administrator) makes it seem increasingly likely that USOE will indeed administer assessment, Howe replied that the Office might well spend the budgeted money to develop its own measuring instrument.

Howe gives the impression of strength, steadfastness, thoughtfulness, and determination. He does not affect a flashy manner or attempt to sound colorful or dramatic. In this interview the practical, down-to-earth administrator came through more clearly than the creative, visionary educator. Howe is not so much an innovator as a competent administrator with a strong disposition to make other people's innovations work. Although his previous responsibility was entirely with small organizations, he is succeeding well with this monstrous $4 billion operation.

He looks younger than his 48 years, possibly because he stays in fine physical condition with daily early morning running. The sight of a man running down the street at dawn is likely to start dogs barking and chasing, but if they choose to follow this runner, they are in for a surprise. He turns and chases them.

While Harold Howe is not essentially a politician or a public relations man, he does possess an appreciation of the importance of insuring an accurate public image. Sensing the need to contribute to a proper understanding of the work of the Office of Education, he made these remarks at the end of the interview:

"There is not enough understanding of the very broad responsibility of the Office of Education. I think the man on the street who knows about it at all (and most men on the street never heard of it), thinks of it primarily as the federal government's expression of interest in the elementary and secondary schools. The interests of the Office of Education are much broader than that. Our programs range from concern with preschool children to post-doctoral studies. They deal with every type of education, from medical education in support of some of the more significant research developments in how to teach people to be doctors to programs for teaching English as a second language in foreign countries. So that if you look at the money we administer, roughly $4 billion a year, you find that about a third of this or a little more than concerned with the affairs of higher education. I don't think people in general understand the scope of the Office as a higher education enterprise.

"We're an organization that has grown so rapidly that I think the feelings that exist about us tend to stem primarily from the newspapers which dramatize the controversial. You get the impression that the major job of the Commissioner of Education has to do with the desegregation of schools. This is certainly one of his responsibilities, but is by no means the major job at all. I would hope that any statement about the Office of Education growing out of an interview with me would somehow present the broad spectrum of responsibilities we have and the activities we promote rather than the narrow view that we are an elementary-secondary school organization concerned with the desegregation of schools, which I think is the way the average person sees this job.

"We operate a national center for educational statistics. It is the place in the government where *all* statistical information about education is kept and made available to other agencies. We have just started a new Bureau of Education of the Handicapped, concerned with handicapped persons and their education—both children and adults. We have major involvements in the realm of vocational education and very significant programs there. So this is a rather wide-ranging enterprise with broad responsibilities, and I would certainly like to see it presented more in that context."—DWR

(This is the first in a monthly series of educator profiles the KAPPAN will carry in Volume 49.)

The Military-Industrial Complex

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting article entitled "Military-Industrial Complex," written by Joseph C. Harsch and published in the Christian Science Monitor of October 4, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—Sen. Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, says he thinks that President Johnson was "brainwashed by the military-industrial complex" on the Vietnam war.

This is a reference to Dwight D. Eisenhower's valedictory speech. In that speech, of January 17, 1961, the General-President warned against a new phenomenon in American political life which had not existed earlier.

He identified it as the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry."

He said the total influence of it ". . . is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government."

UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP

He said that "only an alert and knowledgeable citizen" can so manage this complex that "security and liberty may prosper together."

It is a fine point whether "complex" is precisely the best word for describing the relationship of the American armed forces to the war materials industry. But it is beyond doubt that there does exist a relationship which has become capable of exercising enormous influence on the shaping of national policy.

In one sense we are talking about a new kind of marketplace in which there is buying and selling of one thing only, weapons of war.

It is the largest specialized marketplace in the world.

WAR CONTRACTS

The volume of trading in this marketplace is suggested by the current United States military budget. In rough terms, the original estimates for the current fiscal year were $75 billion to which another twenty billion of extra Vietnam war costs are to be added. Of late, there is the decision to deploy a new "thin" antimissile system which is estimated at an extra five-to-six billion over the next five or so years. The cost of a "thick" system is roughly estimated at $30 billion.

Not all of the money spent on American armed forces goes into weaponry, of course. But vast sums do. The amount spent on weaponry is itself the biggest single market in the world.

A wholly new feature of this market place is that many of the sellers are companies which sell to none other than the American armed forces. These are not government-owned arsenals such as made America's small arms and cannon in "the days of our innocence." These are private corporations whose existence depends exclusively on building for war.

These corporations which depend wholly on war contracts would go out of existence in a disarmed world. They have a natural stake in a large, and expanding, defense establishment.

HANDSOME PROFITS

A commercial investment house, Arthur Weisenberger & Co., published an advertisement in the New York Times of last Feb. 4, in which it listed the names of 28 companies which would "profit handsomely if a full-scale (ABM) program is approved." Frederic W. Collins, in the March 11 issue of the New Republic, analyzed the location of the plants owned by these 28 to be in 42 states and 172 congressional districts. This adds up to a lot of votes in Congress interested in the welfare of these 28 companies.

Not all of the 84 senators and 172 congressmen touched by these interests are listable as "hawks." Often enough the local influences bearing on a single vote are in conflict or balance. But the situation is unusual.

It reaches into the offices of many legislators and, as President Eisenhower said, into "every office in the federal government."

Louisville Courier-Journal Applauds Johnson Administration's Efforts To Beautify America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, as part of the Johnson administration's efforts to uplift the American spirit, the First Lady undertook a "Crossroads America" journey to awaken rural America to the exciting need to beautify the countryside.

Her visit to Columbus, Ind., focused the Nation's attention on what can be done to change the monotonous face of the countryside. This town of 25,000 has earned its description as "a museum of contemporary architecture"—as more than a score of notable buildings designed by eminent architects have risen in the past 10 years. Her visit there, in the words of the Louisville Courier-Journal, "was a fitting tribute to cultural and civic phenomenon."

The First Lady's trip to Columbus marks this administration's effort to reclaim the heritage of American beauty lost through our own neglect. We will—as we must—regain our forgotten beauty.

I insert the editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal describing the First Lady's visit in the RECORD:

MRS. JOHNSON SHOWS THE WAY TO COLUMBUS

One of the useful things a First Lady of the Land can do is to focus attention on worthwhile projects through a display of her own interest. Eleanor Roosevelt aroused millions of Americans to a fuller awareness of social problems. Jacqueline Kennedy influenced American taste, especially through her superb redecoration of the White House.

Lady Bird Johnson is making an increasingly effective contribution in the fields of conservation and beautification. A typical example is the visit she made this week to Columbus, Indiana. She, Vice President Humphrey's wife Muriel, and others from Washington picked Columbus as an important stop on a cultural swing through the Middle West.

They found a town of only about 25,000 people which has been described as "a museum of contemporary architecture." More than a score of notable new buildings have risen there in the past decade. They range from schools to churches, banks, and even a country club. All represent the best style of some of the top architects of our time, such men as Eero Saarinen, I. M. Pei, Harry Weese, and John Carl Warnecke. The redecoration of a downtown store block was entrusted to New Mexican artist Alexandre Girard, who produced an effect of great color and vivacity.

INSPIRED BY MILLER

Columbus is rightly proud of its new eminence. The inspiration for this most unusual progra mof civic improvement came from Columbus industrialist J. Irwin Miller. Through his family foundation he has paid the architect's fees for a whole range of public buildings, thus making it possible to hire the country's outstanding designers. Other local individuals and foundations have supported the program.

Visitors naturally gravitate to a town that can show such unusual features. Mayor Kenneth Schmied led a party of 60 Louisvillians there on an inspection trip last year. More Americans will be drawn to Columbus, now that Mrs. Johnson and her companions have shown the way. Their visit was a fitting tribute to a cultural and civic phenomenon.

Congressman Horton Condemns Captive Status of Baltic States and Asks Special Stamp To Commemorate 50th Anniversary of Their Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the saddest commentaries on the respect according to the United Nations International Covenants on Human Rights is the plight of the three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. These countries were ruled by the Russian czars from the 18th century until shortly after the Bolshevik revolution. On November 15, 1917, the Soviet Government decreed that all minorities in the former czarist empire would be granted full self-determination. Following this decree, the Baltic States declared their independence—Lithuania on December 11, 1917; Estonia on February 24, 1918; and Latvia on November 18, 1918.

A period of nationalistic development and outstanding agricultural and commercial growth ensued. Literature, art, and music indigenous to the respective populations flourished. Agrarian reforms were widespread, as distribution of arable land reached the majority of the people. A sophisticated cooperative system of processing and distributing certain products was formulated. International trade was extensive, due to steadily rising agricultural and industrial production and the excellent seaports on the Baltic Sea.

The Baltic peoples enjoyed their freedom for only slightly more than two decades. The Soviet Union brutally occupied their countries and absorbed them into its territory on June 16, 1940. Thereafter, a tragic and cruel program of Russification and communization was imposed upon the Baltics. Hundreds of thousands of people were seized and murdered or deported to slave labor camps in Siberia. Art, literature, and music were censored. All creative or nationalistic people and the mass media were forced to adhere strictly to the party line.

Every effort has been made to brainwash the Baltic peoples into the Soviet sphere. Unlike the satellite countries, they are Soviet constituent republics. Hence, they have no political or economic policies of their own. Moscow either determines all important directives or assigns such decisions to the increasingly large number of Russians who have emigrated to these countries and who hold high positions in their governments. It is startling to find that by 1965, as a result of the resettlement of Balts and the influx of Soviet colonists, at least 20 percent of the population of the Baltic States was Russian. Furthermore, this percentage seems to be rising.

Most Western countries, including the United States, do not recognize the forcible annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. One of our basic foreign policy principles is the right of every country to self-determination.

This coming year will mark the 50th anniversary of the independence of the Baltic States. In honor of the courage of these subjugated people and in support of their efforts in the struggle against repression, I have written to the Postmaster General, proposing the issuance of a commemorative stamp in 1968. I believe that this stamp would serve as a reminder that the Baltic people fervently desire to fulfill their goal of independence. It would also reaffirm our country's moral interest in and ultimate hope for self-determination for the Baltic States.

"Who Killed Cock Robin?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, do you remember that old bit of doggerel that goes:

"Who killed Cock Robin?"
"I," said the sparrow,
"With my bow and arrow,
I killed Cock Robin."

And, then:

"Who saw him die?"
"I," said the Fly,
"With my little eye,
I saw him die."

But the question of the moment—and its answer is of more than passing importance—is: "Who killed the tax increase bill?"

Of course, such a question presumes the fact that the President's surtax proposal is really dead—a presumption that brings to mind Mark Twain's cable from London to the Associated Press, back in 1897, when he answered reports of his sudden demise by advising:

> The reports of my death are greatly exaggerated.

But, Mr. Speaker, we have been given rather ample evidence of the fact that the tax-increase bill is dead—at least for now.

Whether or not it can somehow be revived before rigor mortis sets in remains to be seen, but I should imagine that there are more than a few around here who would be perfectly content to let that process run its usually inevitable course—who are perfectly content with the present situation in that, at the very least, it has postponed for them the necessity to cast what would surely be one of the most difficult votes of this, or any recent, congressional session.

However, I happen to find the present stalemate an unsatisfactory one from several aspects, chief among which is the fact that it is only further unsettling an already unsettled economy—only further confusing an already confused public.

The President, himself, touched on one facet of all this in his homey little talk last Friday to Federal Home Loan Bank officials and others at the White House. According to news reports of that talk, he mentioned the fact that interest rates have been going up in recent months—as indeed they have in the bond market since the Ways and Means Committee shelved the tax increase bill. And this, with the Federal Government expecting to be required to borrow as much as $12.2 billion from the public in 1968—which would be about $9 billion more than during 1967—if, note, the President gets his tax increase, is something to worry about. If the President does not get his tax increase, he may have to borrow as much as $20 billion to finance the then anticipated deficit.

So, you see, Mr. Speaker, that the current shadow boxing that is going on around here—the "Alphonse-Gaston" kind of act we have been putting on—is contributing to an inflationary psychology which is already too assertive in the business community and elsewhere. And we ignore that fact only at our common peril.

Mr. Speaker, under normal conditions the Nation could afford the luxury of a debate between the President and the Congress as to whose responsibility it is to act first in the politically unpalatable task of making reductions in Federal expenditures. It may well be that the Congress has the ultimate responsibility—and that is a responsibility I do not wish to duck—but in the near crisis situation in which we find ourselves, it does seem to me that the President has the primary responsibiltiy.

In addition to that, rightly or wrongly—and I believe rightly—this House has already clearly expressed its belief that, rather than alleviating the inflationary pressures that are all around us, an income tax increase now, unless the same is coupled with a near comparable reduction in Federal spending, might merely aggravate those pressures.

Several times, now, a message to this effect has been sent by this body down to the White House—but the occupant of that mansion continues to ignore that message in favor of going on with the currently unproductive debate, and one would have to go back 20 years to the near institutional breakdown between President Truman and the 80th Congress to find a comparable impasse to the one that has now developed here.

Now, how can this impasse be solved—this deadlock broken?

By the House, virtually on its own since the other body seems to be headed in an opposite direction, looking over such appropriation bills as we have thus far considered and seeing what items therein contained are susceptible to rescission?

It seems to me not—though I am sure of the sincerity with which the chairman of our Appropriations Committee [Mr. Mahon] approaches this difficult task he has set for himself—and for us.

Whatever the true answer, however, a new—and, I believe, salutory—dimension has now been added to that on-going debate by the statement released last weekend by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the able gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills].

Mr. Speaker, I hope every Member of this House will obtain copies of Mr. Mills' statement, and consider carefully what he has said.

I am particularly gratified by his defense of the actions thus far taken by this House in bringing this matter to a head. In his words:

> Contrary to the impression that is sometimes given by intemperate critics of the Congress, these actions are not irresponsible, bullheaded, or spiteful nor are they maneuvers for partisan advantage.
>
> They are, on the contrary, an expression of the anxiety which many members of Congress feel—fortified by the uneasiness they found in their constituencies over the recent Labor Day recess—about the recent sharp rise in Federal outlays and the proliferation of Federal Government activity.

And, then, Mr. Mills makes this point—and are you listening, Mr. President?

> We are trying to get this message across: We want to pause in this headlong rush toward ever bigger Government.

Mr. Speaker, to our colleague's considerable credit, he has put the current debate into better focus than it has been heretofore. He has turned our attention away from expenditure reductions in fiscal 1968—important though those may be—by pointing out that our emphasis on them is only a protest, the point of which has evidently been as much missed by the White House as it has by many of us. And he does this, saying:

> The level of expenditures in fiscal 1968 or 1969, in itself, is not our greatest concern. Our focus, properly, is on controlling the growth of Federal claims on the Nation's production capability over the years and on making sure that the kinds of things the Federal Government does—the nature of its claims on the economy—conform with the Nation's changing preferences.

And finally, after referring to the fact that—

> This kind of buckpassing (that has been going on) makes it all the more difficult to come to grips with our real problem.

Mr. Mills concludes:

> What is required is a clear-cut acknowledgment by *all* of us who participate in Federal policy-making that our objective is establishing firm control over the course of fiscal developments, i.e., over the amount and *character* of Federal spending in the *future*. For this purpose, spending cuts this year are not the basic ingredient, welcome as they will be. What is essential, rather, is change in spending programs. We have to focus sharply on *what* the Government is to *do* as well as on how much it is to *spend*.

And, Mr. Speaker, regardless of on whose shoulders may have rested the primary responsibility for ending that impasse I have mentioned, in the form in which it was previously understood by many, it now seems doubly clear that only the President can actually move to give the Congress—and the people—the kind of reevaluation of all Federal programs both seem to be demanding. And I was especially glad to note the rather surprisingly objective analysis of this fact as made, editorially, by the Washington Post yesterday morning and, under leave to do so, its comments are now set forth:

A NEW FISCAL DIMENSION

> Perhaps—after the rhetorical gunsmoke settles—the current fiscal encounter between Congress and the White House will prove to be just another in a long series of skirmishes that are resolved by token reductions in Federal expenditures. But Chairman Wilbur D. Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee opened a new dimension of an old dialogue by insisting that effective expenditure control can only be achieved by examining and making basic changes in Federal programs, not by "the broad ax spending slash approach." Surely that argument should be regarded as more than a tactical maneuver in an essentially sterile quarrel.
>
> The real issues in the debate over Federal spending are obscured by ideological fog. "Liberals" automatically support the growth of Federal expenditures, especially those for non-military programs, while "conservatives" are quick to condemn them. But responses that are as predictable as the patellar reflex scarcely do justice to otherwise rational men. They should instead be concerned with two principal issues. How much of the Nation's resources should be transferred by taxation or borrowing from private consumption to public or collective consumption? Here there is question of registering the preferences of the electorate, an admittedly imperfect process. The second issue, assuming that preferences are known, involves the effectiveness of public expenditures. Are Federal programs assigned their proper priorities, and are specific programs achieving their stated goals?
>
> The question of preferences—how much income Americans really want to transfer to the public sector—is at the heart of the dispute between Congress and the President. Mr. Mills maintains that the electorate is alarmed by the rapid growth of Federal spending in recent years and wishes to "curb the momentum of expanding Government activity." The Chairman's judgment could prove wrong. But no light at all is thrown on the issue when the Administration replies that Federal expenditures are below 16 per cent of the gross national product. Expenditures as a percentage of the GNP can decline while the absolute rise is very great, perhaps far greater than desired.
>
> Interest groups frustrate efforts to control expenditures or assure their effectiveness. Once a Federal program is launched, strong, if not ineluctable pressures are exerted to expand it. That is why Congress is reluctant to levy a "temporary" increase in taxes. When funds are available, they tend to be spent, thus assuring the permanence of the increase in the level of Federal expenditures.
>
> There are those who argue that no effort should be made to control expenditures because Congress will only decimate those programs designed to alleviate poverty. But even if that allegation were supportable the appropriations suggest that it is not—there can be no valid defense of programs that fail to reflect the rational priorities of the society or that persistently fail to achieve their stated goals. Instead of "freezing" the more obvious pork barrel projects, a tactic that will only alter the timing of expenditures, not their amount, the Administration might meet Congressional objections by agreeing to a fundamental evaluation of all Federal programs.

And so, Mr. Speaker, before deciding who it was that really "killed Cock Robin"—if, in fact, he is dead—I imagine the people would like to hear next from their President.

Makes Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I believe all Members of the House will read with interest the following editorial which appeared in the October 5, 1967, edition of the Port Huron Times Herald regarding recent action on the so-called educational television bill. The editorial expresses not only the viewpoint of our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, JIM HARVEY, but my opinion as well. Certainly, as we hear more and more proposals of cutting Government spending, this is a precise area where such action is more than suitable. Let me quote the closing paragraph of the editorial as follows:

> And once again this Administration will look aside from urget matters at hand—like winning a war—to add more butter to a grossly over-fat budget.

The entire editorial follows:

ED-TV BILL IS NOT SO URGENT

Congressman Harvey (R-Mich.) warned that Congress may be opening a "Pandora's box" in approving federal participation in educational broadcasting.

The reference is apt.

Pandora let out a whole bunch of unexpected evils when she lifted the lid. Educational radio and TV, with the financial backing of the government, could breed a whole new kind of abuses and along with almost lidless costs.

HR-6736, passed last week by the House, would establish a public corporation to provide financial assistance for noncommercial educational television and radio broadcasting. The Senate had previously passed a similar bill (S-1160). The House then amended S-1160 to substitute the provisions of HR-6736. The amended bill is now before a conference committee.

Supporters of the plan argue that the corporation is necessary to develop the potential of television as a medium of information. Representative T. H. Macdonald, chairman of the Communications and Power Subcommittee, said the bill would provide "dramatic means to move ahead to new frontiers of educational television and radio."

Opponents, with Mr. Harvey one of the most outspoken, charged that the measure is equivalent to permitting the federal government to write the textbooks for school.

Not only could it influence the quality of education, it could provide a propaganda outlet for the political party in power.

It would stifle and commercial ventures into the educational field and would extend federal control over the editorial privileges of the airwaves.

Moreover, the $9 million budgeted for the corporation in 1968 could be 10 times that the following year, and 10 times again the year after that.

Congressman Harvey asks if this measure is so urgent that it can't wait until we are in a better position to understand it, and to afford it.

"The Administration is urging a tax increase and our Nation faces a $29-billion deficit. Yet this Congress decides to get into television production and asks the people to finance it. Congress soon must learn to say no. We still don't have a money tree in Washington, even though we act like we do," Harvey said.

He couldn't be more right.

The compromise bill has not yet cleared the conference committee. But it probably will unless there is enough public outcry against it.

If it is passed, the President will sign it because it is one of his own programs.

And once again this Administration will look aside from urgent matters at hand—like winning a war—to add more butter to a grossly over-fat budget.

Views of the Honorable Tim Lee Carter on Our Involvement in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, our friend and colleague, and my fellow Kentuckian, Congressman TIM LEE CARTER, was interviewed recently concerning his views on our involvement in Vietnam. I believe the article, which appeared in the Sunday, October 8, Louisville Courier-Journal, deserves the attention of this entire body. The article follows:

CARTER, FOR PULLOUT, SAYS PEOPLE BACK HIM

(By Paul Janensch)

WASHINGTON.—The only Republican member of Congress to call for an outright withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam is Rep. Tim Lee Carter, a 56-year-old physician from the hills of Southeastern Kentucky.

Not surprisingly, Carter's position has been overshadowed by the highly publicized statements of Kentucky's two Republican senators, John Sherman Cooper and Thruston B. Morton, both urging an end to the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and a general scaling-down of the ground war.

Traditionally and constitutionally, foreign policy is the special preserve of the Senate. Furthermore, Cooper and Morton have considerable influence behind the scenes—Cooper and Morton have considerable influence within the diplomatic community and Morton among the leaders of the GOP.

All Carter can do is speak out. And this he has done forcefully.

BRING OUR MEN HOME

"Let us now, while we are yet strong, bring our men home, every man jack of them," the Kentucky congressman declared on the House floor several weeks ago. "If we must fight, let us fight in defense of our homeland and our own hemisphere. Our sons' lives are too precious to lose on foreign soil. If they must die, let it be in defense of America."

Carter has not spelled out the mechanics of wtihdrawal. But he has made it clear that a pullout should be accomplished as soon as possible. He argues that trying to contain communism in a far-off land is an unrealistic undertaking which can only bring us closer to a third world war. The Vietnam conflict, he says, is not worth the price we are paying in terms of lives and dollars.

WARNS OF CUBA

"Why should we attempt to contain China," Carter asks, "when Communist Cuba, presently swarming with Russian instructors and missiles, lies only 90 miles off our shore? Again, how can a nation, even as powerful as ours, contain more than 700 million people 11,000 miles away, across the vast Pacific?"

More recently, Carter said on the House floor: "Can you envision the reaction that would occur in the United States if Russia or China intervened in Mexico or in Central or South America? Would the people of the United States consider this a warlike act on the part of Russia or China and a violation of the Monroe Doctrine?"

As for the toll in national resources, Carter said the $24 billion a year spent in Vietnam "could be used to construct 48,000 $500,000 schools. Slums could be eradicated. Suburbanization of our cities could be effected. And our brave, beloved young men could be returned to live as peacefully as placid streams by which as youths they once sported."

GOING AGAINST US

The drift of the war is going against the United States, Carter contends. He recalls visiting South Vietnam in November, 1965, and inspecting a "pacified" village called "Happy Valley." When he returned in July, 1966, "Happy Valley" was off limits. "The pacified area had been retaken—ours for only as long as snow drops on the river—a moment white, then gone forever."

Quoting Marine Commandant Gen. Wallace Greene and former field commander Lt. Gen. Lew Walt, Carter says top military men expect the war to last perhaps 8 to 15 years. Present U.S. casualty rates are 6,000 dead and 30,000 wounded each year, Carter notes. "It looks like its going to be an extremely expensive war, does it not?"

Rep. Carter is anything but a "peacenik." A combat medic during World War II, he was decorated for bravery in the Philippines. "I'd volunteer again if I thought it would do any good," he told an interviewer.

DENOUNCES RABBLE-ROUSERS

While sympathetic to the anti-war feeling among many of the nation's youth, Carter has denounced "traitorous rabble-rousers and rioters who blatantly curse the beloved land which has nurtured and cared for them."

Nor is Carter a congressional "wild man." Politically he calls himself a conservative. He supports the Appalachian Development Program (which is financing projects in his district) but has criticized the Office of Economic Opportunity for "mismanaging" the war on poverty.

Personally, Carter is a thoughtful, reserved, somewhat shy and extremely courteous man. When anyone, from the President to a page, asks him a question, Carter always answers with a "Yes, sir" or a "No, sir."

Respected by his colleagues, Carter this year was elected president of the GOP's "sophomore class" of second-term House members.

OPPOSITION ON RECORD

Carter's opposition to the war is nothing new. He says he was against escalation of the conflict back in 1964 when he campaigned for his first term in the House. Once escalation began in earnest in 1965, Carter was reluctant to speak out because it would be "divisive."

In the summer of 1966, pessimistic after his second visit to Vietnam, Carter decided to speak out on the House floor. He drafted a speech and showed it to the House GOP leadership. The leaders asked Carter not to deliver it, and he complied with their wishes.

Then, this past August, he spoke out for the first time. "It was something I had to get off my chest," he said.

The reaction from his colleagues has been "very nice, very good," said Carter. They don't necessarily go along with his plea for prompt withdrawal, he said, but there is an inexorably rising wave of congressional unrest over the war.

(Carter and 51 other members of the House—including hawks and doves from both parties—are supporting a resolution calling for a reassessment of the administration's Vietnam policies.)

OTHERS ARE AFRAID

Carter said other House members privately share his desire for a pullout but they don't say so publicly "because they are afraid of the polls and the press."

What about the reaction back home? "I'd say at least 90 per cent of my constituents agree with me," said the Tompkinsville Republican. "I've never had such a good reception to any speech I've given on the floor of the House. Even those who do not agree with me admit that I'm honest in what I say."

A member of Southeastern Kentucky's most politically powerful family, Carter anticipates no trouble over his Vietnam views if he runs for reelection next year, as expected. The Fifth District, incidentally, has never elected a Democrat to the House.

The opposition to the war that Carter senses among his constituents is probably a modern manifestation of his district's traditional isolationism. While Southeastern Kentucky has produced more than its share of heroes and suffered more than its share of casualties from the Civil War through Korea, the area is far from being "interventionist."

For example, Carter's predecessor, Rep. Eugene Siler, was the only member of Congress recorded as opposing the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which authorized the President to counter aggression in Vietnam. (Siler was "paired against" the resolution; Rep. Adam Clayton Powell voted "absent"; no member of Congress actually voted "no" on the resolution.)

However, Carter's "isolationism"—if that's what you want to call it—is described as highly sophisticated compared with the xenophobia attributed to some congressmen.

In short, Carter doesn't see Communists behind every bush.

Carter says that since World War II communism has been undergoing a slow but steady evolution. He says that eventually the United States and the Communist states could live together peacefully.

MARXISM ON EBB?

This is how Carter put it in his August speech:

"Russia is no longer a Marxist country. Communism evolves as does every form of life and government. As the end state of radium is lead, so is the end state of communism some form of democracy.

"Even China is no longer truly Marxist," Carter continued. "This is what the Maoist or Red Guard movement is about now—to check the natural evolution of communism. But neither time nor tide can alter this.

"If we strengthen our own country and leave Russia and China alone, in years to come they will realize the benefits and necessity of peaceful co-existence," Carter said.

Pursuing this line of thought in an interview, Carter added: "Of course we must remain strong so we can fight any threat to our country. But at the same time, if we can live in peace, we can offer a brighter future to our young people—and I'm vitally interested in that because I have a son 13 years old."

In Praise of Sam Davenport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, recently the House of Representatives was informed that services performed by its coordinator of information have been discontinued. Therefore, we have now lost our "Mr. Information" himself, Sam Davenport.

Although most of us anticipated that we would miss Sam's friendly personality and his amazing composure, I believe it is only now, in the first few days of his absence, that we truly appreciate how many things he had been doing for us so well. I suppose the real test of a person's usefulness to an organization is how much he is missed when absent.

Someone has said:

> Next best to knowing a fact is knowing where to find it.

That quotation seems to sum up Sam Davenport's unique service. For if he could not find a piece of information in his own storehouse of knowledge, he could always refer us to another source where it could be found.

So, we shall continue to miss you, Sam Davenport, but we wish you the very best of success in whatever endeavor you attempt and the happiness which you so richly deserve.

Clifton C. Williams, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, for most of us, the death of a young man is one of the hardest and most tragic of all circumstances. When the young man is a leader, a man who has excelled in his every endeavor, we feel the loss even more deeply when he is taken from us.

On Thursday last week our country lost such a young man in Clifton C. "Curtis" Williams, Jr., of Mobile, Ala. He was an astronaut in NASA's manned space flight program, and a major in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Curtis Williams exemplified everything that is meritorious in young American manhood. As a native of Mobile, Ala., he was the kind of man of whom any community would be proud.

Last week, just 9 days after his 35th birthday, Curtis Williams died when his airplane crashed to the ground in Florida. Yesterday morning he was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery and it was my privilege to be present at the very impressive ceremony.

Curtis Williams was brought up in Mobile, and attended the Murphy High School. He went on in his education to attend Spring Hill College in Mobile and then received a bachelor of science degree in mechanical engineering at Auburn University.

His career was distinguished as a test pilot of both land-based and carrier-based aircraft. He accumulated more than 2,500 hours of flying time, including more than 2,100 hours in jet aircraft.

At the time of his death he was one of the third group of astronauts selected by NASA in October 1963. He was a backup pilot for the Gemini 10 mission, and was an expert in the launch operations and crew safety aspects of manned space flight.

In his home town of Mobile, Curtis Williams was thought of as the kind of hero who serves as a model for younger boys and men. His character, his achievements, his ability, and his promise, all merited that kind of admiration and appreciation.

Our deepest sympathies go out to Mrs. Williams, Jane, and to their 9-month-old daughter, Catherine Ann, and to Curtis Williams' parents, Mr. and Mrs. Clifton C. Williams, of Mobile.

Their loss is a very personal one. For the rest of us, we know that the Nation has lost a leader, while at the same time we are grateful that men like Curtis Williams have seen fit to devote their lives for the welfare and the security of our country.

Vietnam Servicemen Enjoy Wisconsin Cheese: Letters of Appreciation Pour In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, a project that was undertaken by the National Farmers Organization in Wisconsin to show support for our servicemen in Vietnam has been an unqualified success.

Last fall, the Wisconsin chapter of the NFO conducted a fund drive to buy cheese for American servicemen in the Southeast Asia theater of operations.

They collected $15,850 which was brought to the Ben Klismith farm east of Stevens Point in my congressional district by tractor caravans which traveled to the farm throughout Wisconsin and upper Michigan.

At the NFO's request, Mr. Speaker, arrangements were made by me for the purchase of this cheese through the Defense Department. Under that agreement, Wisconsin cheese was purchased from the Army Quartermaster Corps and placed on tables in service clubs and recreation centers throughout Vietnam and that area of the world where GI's may travel on leave.

Accompanying cards were placed on the tables indicating that the cheese had come from Wisconsin and the NFO.

Mr. Speaker, this project was apparently an unqualified success judging from the letters that have poured in to officials of the National Farmers Organization.

Under unanimous consent, I include a representative sample of those letters be placed in the RECORD at this point.

The letters referred to above follow:

MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
August 14, 1967.

Hon. MELVIN LAIRD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. LAIRD: I am always proud of my home state, Wisconsin, but was especially so today when I was able to serve Wisconsin cheese to the R&R boys from Vietnam at the USO. I understand you were instrumental in arranging this. It is very well received. Perhaps the soldiers and sailors who enjoy this cheese will not have time to write to thank you so I will thank you for them and for myself.

Sincerely,

MRS. ESTHER HELMSTETTER.

JULY 6, 1967.

Mr. AL MELLEN,
Route No. 2,
Weyauwega, Wis.

DEAR MR. MELLEN: When I recently visited the Manila USO Club, I was delighted to find Wisconsin cheese being served free to servicemen in the club refreshment bar. Although I come from the state of Colorado, I'm a confirmed "cheese and crackers" fan and especially enjoy Wisconsin cheese.

The USO staff told me how the club came to be serving the cheese, and so I decided to write and tell you how very much one American serviceman stationed abroad appreciated the cheese provided by the farmers and businessmen of rural Wisconsin.

Sincerely yours,

RAY VELASQUEZ,
YN1, U.S. Navy.

JULY 6, 1967.

Mr. AL MELLEN,
Route No. 2,
Weyauwega, Wis.

DEAR MR. MELLEN: I arrived in Manila from Vietnam last week, and it was a nice touch of home to find cheese at the Manila USO—compliments of the farmers and businessmen of rural Wisconsin.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for this kind gesture.

Best regards,

DUAN K. SINCLAIR, Jr.,
Captain, USMC.

UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.,
Manila, Philippines, July 13, 1967.

Mr. AL MELLEN,
Route No. 2, Wayauwega, Wis.

DEAR MR. MELLEN: As you probably know, many American servicemen from Vietnam arrive in Manila every day for rest and recreation. The Wisconsin cheese provided for these servicemen as well as for the American servicemen stationed here in the Philippines is a welcome taste of home and is deeply appreciated by them.

All servicemen receiving the Wisconsin cheese are aware that it is a gift from the farmers and businessmen of rural Wisconsin and that it was inspired by the National Farmers Organization.

The servicemen enjoy the cheese and many of them ask me to express their thanks.

The Manila USO is truly grateful to you, to the NFO, and to the farmers and businessmen of rural Wisconsin for making it possible for the American servicemen to have Wisconsin cheese.

Our sincere thanks and very best wishes to all of you.

Sincerely,

NORMAN HOGG,
Director.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Manila, Philippines, August 28, 1967.

Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
House of Representatives,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LAIRD: The Wisconsin cheese provided to the USO in Manila for American servicemen is a welcome touch of home and is truly appreciated by them. There are, as you know, American servicemen stationed here in the Philippines as well as others who come here for rest and recreation from Viet Nam.

The Servicemen receiving the cheese are informed that it is a gift from the farmers and businessmen of rural Wisconsin and that it was inspired by the National Farmers Organization.

As Honorary President of the Manila USO Council, I wish to thank you and all concerned on behalf of the USO. To all of you I am also personally very grateful.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM McC. BLAIR, Jr.,
Ambassador.

Making the Law Work for the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, the legal services program, funded as a part of the war on poverty, is drawing many accolades from lawyers, mayors, and the poor themselves. The legal services program helps the poor to express their grievances within the law, not outside of it. Mr. Earl Johnson, director of the legal services program in the Office of Economic Opportunity, addressed a conference of legal services officers and participants in Honolulu in August. I would like to include his remarks in the RECORD at this time:

ADDRESS BY EARL JOHNSON, JR., DIRECTOR, LEGAL SERVICES PROGRAM, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, GIVEN AT THE ABANLADA CONFERENCE ON LEGAL SERVICES, HONOLULU, HAWAII, AUGUST 6, 1967

Seventeen years ago, the "Father of Legal Aid" in this country, the late Reginald Heber Smith wrote: "Nothing rankles more in the human heart than a brooding sense of injustice. Illness we can put up with; but injustice makes us want to pull things down." As was so often the case during his lifetime, Reginald Heber Smith demonstrated in these few words a unique grasp of the critical importance of justice to the stability of our society and the great risk inherent in our tolerance of injustice. We are now witnessing in scores of our cities and towns the awful cost of ignoring Mr. Smith's warning. The accumulated injustice of decades has rankled too long in too many hearts in too many crowded ghettos. The brooding is over and the poor have begun to pull things down. Fourteen areas have reported full scale riots. Another 25 have also experienced major disturbances. Scores of people have died. Countless numbers have been injured. Property damage is running into hundreds of millions of dollars.

Legal Services Projects have a vital role, possibly the most vital role in stemming the tide of violence which threatens to engulf our society. Our mission is to eliminate the "brooding sense of injustice" which characterizes our slums.

At certain times and places, legal services lawyers already have been able to convince slum dwellers that justice can be for them as well as the rich; that the courts are better than violence. At these times and places they have saved a city from riot.

In the late spring of this year in the Hough area of Cleveland, a Negro man was shot by a white policeman. The man died. By 10:30 p.m. a rumor was spreading that the man had raised his hands in the air before he was fatally shot. Tempers were running high. Much less provocation has triggered riots before. An area resident called the community investigator from the Hough neighborhood law office who in turn contacted the neighborhood attorney, Lionel Jones. At 11:00 p.m. Mr. Jones opened the neighborhood office and he and 50 ghetto residents crowded inside to discuss the situation. At 11:15 the talk of the people was of physical retaliation against the white police and the white community. A riot seemed imminent. But Mr. Jones kept talking. At midnight, the beginnings of a lawsuit had been formulated. At 1:00 a.m. the residents returned to their homes and families—not to the streets. The slum community had focused its attention on a neighborhood law office in a crisis that could have led to violence. Why? Because the Cleveland Legal Aid Agency is known to represent *groups* of poor people who have a common grievance; because the neighborhood law office in Hough is well known and trusted; because the Hough area residents know that the lawyers in that office are "their lawyers"—their advocates in the fullest sense of the word.

However, in too many instances, violence has not been averted. But here again the Legal Services Program has a key role. Legal Services attorneys have assisted public defenders at the request of city and state officials in processing those who were arrested. In Newark, lawyers from the Newark project worked night and day for the duration of the riot emergency. When their resources were overwhelmed, Howard Kestin, the state coordinator for legal services in New Jersey contacted all other projects in the state. Legal services lawyers from Jersey City, Passaic, Trenton and other cities responded to the call. Soon over a score of legal services attorneys from all over New Jersey were busily engaged in representing arrestees. Similarly in Detroit, a team of legal services lawyers and volunteers from the bar labored mightily to provide representation to the thousands of persons arrested in that city's riots. And the experience has been repeated in almost every city where riots have broken out.

To become involved in the campaign to stop riots and violence probably is the most urgent mission of the Legal Services Program. To be effective in carrying out that mission, an individual project cannot afford to be timid. A "brooding sense of injustice" is not overcome by lawyers who fear to raise fundamental legal issues or to accept lawsuits involving entrenched interests because it might spark controversy; nor is this "brooding sense of injustice" dissipated by lawyers who shy away from representing groups who share a common injustice; nor is it eliminated by lawyers who hide behind a narrow constriction of the Canons to justify a failure to establish communication with the neighborhood they serve.

And no conference convened in the summer of 1967 to discuss the issues facing the legal services field can fail to discuss the role of lawyers in preventing and ameliorating riots. Some have said this summer's riots are the most serious domestic crisis since the Civil War. *Time* magazine took issue—to them the depression of the 1930's ranked as a more serious domestic crisis. Significantly, however, only the Great Depression was in the same league. And, ladies and gentlemen, whether we like it or not, whether we want the responsibility or not, legal services lawyers and the law are the key to this crisis. We either make the law and the legal system work fairly for poor people—and make them believe it does—or our cities will be burned down from the fires ignited by a "brooding sense of injustice."

So, I think we must address ourselves to this most urgent issue—the role of legal services in riot prevention and control. Otherwise, we simply are not relevant to our time and place. I would like to throw out a few ideas about programs I think every legal services project and every legal aid society should undertake . . . tomorrow, if not yesterday. The members of this August assemblage can furnish additional, probably more valuable, ideas. We would like to hear them.

First, liaison should be established with community groups, community leaders, social service agencies, block clubs, and other programs operating the ghetto areas. All possible sources of information should be tapped. These individuals should be told that not only are the legal services attorneys available to help if problems arise, but that the lawyers should be contacted if trouble seems imminent.

Second, the mayors, the police and other government officials should be notified that legal services attorneys are available to assist if any problems arise or a potential riot situation develops.

Third, the legal services attorneys in cooperation with private practitioners should institute a 24-hour alert program similar to the one presently in progress in Washington, D.C. under the auspices of the neighborhood legal services project. Attorneys should be available at any time during the day or night to help channel grievances away from the street into the legal process. These emergency "riot prevention squads" should know the poverty community and its leaders and should have ready access to key officials in the government and the white establishment in general.

Fourth, legal services projects should redouble their community education efforts during these critical summer months. The legal services offices in each neighborhood should become the locations where residents can bring their grievances and where people can learn that the legal system offers permanent effective means for problem solution.

And finally, it is clear that we must attack root causes, not merely operate an emergency service which rushes to throw water on each incendiary incident. Rioting is lawlessness and cannot be tolerated or condoned. No one can dispute that. But we also must remember that the maintenance of dwellings which violate housing codes, discriminatory educational practices, unconscionable sales contracts, usurious interest rates, the arbitrary denial of welfare benefits and a host of other abuses which are common practice in the ghetto also represent lawlessness. And lawlessness breeds lawlessness. The subtle, sophisticated lawlessness of the slum landlord and the greedy merchant breeds the violent lawlessness of their victims. We must remove this explosive powder that has been accumulating in the ghettos for decades. We cannot rely merely on catching all the sparks.

This task is not an easy one. It will not be accomplished by lawyers who are satisfied to be craftsmen *in* the law. It can only be done by lawyers who are architects *of* the law . . . men with the vision and talent to design and install a fairer legal system and a better social order. In times of crisis, the legal profession always has produced these men of talent and vision. In 1967, the Legal Services Program must be made of such men or our whole country will suffer.

Nursing School Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the problems caused by the shortage of nurses are not getting any better. Since the passage of the Nurse Training Act of 1964, good steps have been taken to set up methods to provide assistance to all types of nursing schools, but the progress is still not enough.

Presently, there are three major types of nursing schools. They are those operated within a junior college, the baccalaureate degree program, and the diploma school which is connected with a hospital. The diploma schools now supply over 75 percent of the annual crop of new nurses.

In spite of the role diploma schools play in the national supply of nurses, they are slowly being choked out. The high costs of hospital service join with the rising costs of education to make these programs prohibitively expensive to the average individual. Hospitals already attempt to defray these tuition and training costs, but they cannot do so much longer.

Today, I am introducing a bill to operate under the procedures of the Nurse Training Act of 1964, to provide additional assistance to the diploma schools. The bill will work by giving lump-sum assistance to a diploma school—the amount ranging from $12,000 to $24,000, depending on the number of full-time students enrolled in the school.

Also, an annual grant of $400 per student will be provided. Other assistance includes matching funds for library facilities within a diploma school, as well as for the operation of a State comprehensive planning committee for nursing education.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rooney] is to be complimented for the leadership he has taken in this bill. This is a problem of national significance, as is shown by the number of my colleagues who have joined in on the bill. Still, I think the problem of nurse shortages is particularly acute in my State of Texas. We rank 46th in the number of registered nurses for the population. At this point, I would like to insert in the Record a statement of the Texas Hospital Association showing the severity of the problem we in Texas face, as well as the need for immediate, positive steps to increase the flow of nurses in the State.

The statement follows:

Texas Hospitals Face a Major Problem

There is one major problem confronting every hospital in Texas: how to overcome the shortage of nurses and paramedical personnel. Meeting community health care needs is a mandate carried in trust by every hospital.

Texas is short 10,500 nurses and 8,000 paramedical personnel. In our 563 accredited hospitals, the patient census totals 57,000. But hospitals as well as other health services cannot meet their patient needs because there are not enough qualified personnel.

This critical shortage has forced a number of hospitals to close many patient beds, while other hospitals have had to delay badly needed expansion programs.

Many events have helped bring about this imbalance between supply and demand. Since 1945 the population in Texas has jumped from 6,600,000 to 10,000,000. In the same period:

Hospitals have increased from 395 to 563 to accommodate the added population and the more frequent use of hospitals by the public.

Increased expenditures for public health, school health and industrial health have created additional demands for a substantial number of nurses.

Reduction of the work week to 40 hours requires 20 percent more nurses to fill the same number of positions.

Other contributing factors have increased the demand and reduced the supply of nurses.

Medical advances will add new demand each year for professional health services. It has been said that there has been more medical progress in the last 20 years than in the preceding two centuries, and this medical progress is accelerating rapidly. The spin-offs from space research, nuclear research, engineering, chemistry and medical research add to the medical field new techniques and instruments daily.

The aging of our population is a major factor in increasing demand for health employes. The State Old-Age Assistance Program has resulted in more patients being admitted for hospital care. And, even greater demands for nursing and health care will result from the recent congressional action taken on medical care for the aged.

This great state leads the nation in so many fields, but we rank 46th in the nation in the number of nurses, having only 167 nurses per 100,000 population. The national average is 282 nurses per 100,000.

Columbus Day Legal Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, there is legislation pending before the House to make October 12, Columbus Day, a Federal legal holiday. This anniversary commemorates the day this free land of ours was discovered by the great Italian explorer, Christopher Columbus.

General sentiment exists over all the Nation and particularly among the Italian-American population that favorable action should be taken in this session upon the pending legislation. I do hope that the Congress may consider the same at an early date.

I wish to submit with my remarks resolutions adopted by the Calumet chapter of the American Italian Societies of East Chicago, Ind., Lodge Cesare Battisti, No. 27, Italio American National Union of East Chicago, Ind., and the Modugno Recreational Social Club of Gary, Ind., requesting the designation of Columbus Day as a national holiday. In addition to the above, Mrs. Josephine Gemignani, president of the Italian-American Women's Club of Lake County, Ind., and Mrs. Angeline Casale, president of Principessa Maria di Piemonte Lodge No. 53 of the Italio American National Union of Gary, Ind., inform me that their organizations have unanimously adopted the same resolution.

The resolutions follow:

Resolution of Calumet Chapter, American Italian Societies, East Chicago, Ind.

(Submitted by Sam Bushemi, Lake County Assessor, and past president, Calumet Chapter, American-Italian Societies.)

Whereas, the Calumet Chapter of American-Italian Societies is a council of sixteen (16) American-Italian clubs in Lake County, and,

Whereas, this organization has since its inception in 1957 constantly supported legislation to make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Whereas, this year there are several bills in the National Congress that would make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Whereas, the House Judiciary Sub-Committee No. 4, Congressman Byron G. Rogers (Demo.-Colorado), Chairman, has formally announced the scheduling of hearings on Columbus Day bills on the dates of Wednesday and Thursday, October 4 and 5, 1967 in Washington, D.C., and,

Whereas, the Board of Directors (which includes current and past presidents of the local American-Italian Societies) assembled in special meeting on Thursday, September 28, 1967 to consider this question again, and

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Calumet Chapter, American-Italian Societies hereby recommends to the National Congress that it pass this year a bill to make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to: Congressman Byron G. Rogers; Congressman Frank Annunzio; U.S. Senator Vance Hartke; U.S. Senator Birch Bayh; Congressman Ray J. Madden; and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

LOUIS FERRINI,
President.

Attested:

MRS. ANGELINE ZIMMERMAN,
Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF LODGE CESARE BATTISTI, NO. 27, ITALO AMERICAN NATIONAL UNION, EAST CHICAGO, IND.

Whereas, the Lodge Cesare Battisti, n.27, of the Italo-American National Union, in East Chicago, Indiana, is composed of citizens of Italian extraction residing in Lake County, Indiana; and

Whereas, this organization has always been in favor and constantly supported legislation to make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Whereas, this year there are several bills in the National Congress that would make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Whereas, the House Judiciary Sub-Committee #4, Congressman Byron G. Rogers (Demo-Colorado), Chairman, has formally announced the scheduling of hearings on Columbus Day bills on the dates of Wednesday and Thursday, October 4th and 5th, 1967, in Washington, D.C., and

Whereas, the officers of the Lodge Cesare Battisti n.27, Italo American National Union, assembled in special meeting on Thursday, September 28th, 1967, to consider this question again, and

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Lodge Cesare Battisti n.27 of the Italo-American National Union hereby recommends to the National Congress that it pass this year a bill to make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman Byron G. Rogers; Congressman Frank Annunzio; Congressman Ray J. Madden; U.S. Senator Vance Hartke; Senator U.S., Birch Bayh; and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

FRANCIS J. GEMIGNANI,
President.

Attested:

RICHARD MCCOY,
Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF MODUGNO RECREATIONAL SOCIAL CLUB, GARY, IND.

Whereas, the Modugno Recreational Social Club of Gary, Indiana;

Whereas, this organization has since its inception in 1957 constantly supported legislation to make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Whereas, this year there are several bills in the National Congress that would make Columbus Day a Federal Legal Holiday, and

Whereas, the House Judiciary Sub-Committee #4, Congressman Byron G. Rogers (Demo-Colorado), Chairman, has formally announced the scheduling of hearings on Columbus Day bills on the dates of Wednesday and Thursday October 4 and 5, 1967 in Washington, D.C. and,

Whereas, the Board of Directors (which includes current and past presidents of the local American-Italian Societies) assembled in special meeting on Thursday, September 28, 1967 to consider this question again and,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Calumet Chapter, American-Italian Societies hereby recommends to the National Congress that it pass this a bill to make Columbus Day a Legal Holiday, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to; Congressman Byron G. Rogers; Congressman Frank Annunzio; U.S. Senator Vance Hartke; U.S. Senator Birch Bayh; Congressman Ray J. Madden; and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

EMILIO J. OTTOMANELLI,
President.

Medic Home From Vietnam Says More Men, Bombing Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, a true picture of the war in Vietnam emerges from reports of American servicemen returning to their hometowns from the Southeast Asia area of conflict.

Interviews with these men tell us a great deal more about the true conditions and situation than the confusing picture presented by Defense Secretary McNamara.

The incredible target restrictions imposed on our Air Force are an established part of the administration's no-win policy, and add to the terrible task of the nearly 500,000 American men engaged against the Communists.

Mr. Max Knight, a feature writer for the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item, has interviewed Sp4c. Richard Mix, of Richmond, Ind., and Mix's interesting comments about Vietnam lend additional significance to recent disclosures by Minority Leader GERALD FORD that the Johnson administration is pulling its punches despite the commitment of 500,000 American lives.

Mr. Knight's article follows:

MEDIC HOME FROM VIETNAM, SAYS NEED MORE MEN, BOMBING

(By Max Knight)

Spec. 4 Richard Mix, 1328 South Fifth St., has some firm ideas about the country in which he has been serving as a medic the past year, South Vietnam.

They range from the need for more troops for both occupational and fighting forces to his desire to see all those who favor stopping the bombing to sit there on the front line for a few days.

"I," said Mix, "would especially like for those long-haired hippies I see running around to be put in uniform and given duty in Vietnam.

"I'll guarantee you one thing," he continued, "few of them would return in the degrading life they now are leading."

Mix is a 1965 graduate of Richmond Senior High School.

He is married to the former Cheryl Reid and they have one child, Richard Mix II, now one year old.

Mix worked at Reid Memorial Hospital as a physió-therapy aide before entering service on Jan. 17, 1966.

He took his basic training at Ft. Knox, Ky., and his medical training at Ft. Sam Houston, Tex.

He landed in South Vietnam on Sept. 24, 1966, but immediately went by convoy to Chu Chi, 25 miles north of Saigon.

He was assigned to the 25th Medical Battalion, 25th Infantry Division Headquarters.

For the first three months he worked in the dental clinic but then was assigned as a medic, mainly in the camp area but occasionally on patrol.

USE TWO MEDICS

On patrol, there are two medics with each group, one near the front, one near the back.

"Booby traps are the worst enemy of the patrol soldier," said Mix. "They are everywhere and there are dozens of different kinds used."

As an example, he described one patrol where a soldier near him stepped on a claymore mine and lost both of his legs.

"All I could do was apply pressure, give morphine and move on," said Mix.

In less than half an hour the soldier was dead.

Mix says the Viet Cong are cowards . . . and nasty cowards. They attack from ambush but as soon as a patrol moves in on them, they scatter.

Although a medic is a noncombatant, Mix said he carried an M–16 rifle, not only for self-protection but also for protection of his patients.

He received a Purple Heart after being hit in the back, arm and leg by a mortar shell.

Asked what he thinks about our air power in Vietnam, Mix said:

"I certainly wouldn't go without it. We need to hit harder instead of letting up. And, even limited, the Air Force is doing a tremendous job."

He said the one thing that does scare him is the killing of tradition taking place in South Vietnam.

"Respect for the elder, once a highly valued family tradition, no longer holds true," said Mix.

"The war has changed this," he continued, "although I am sure it started during the French occupation."

Mix spent most of his time working at a base medical station but remembers one night on patrol as the most horrible night of his life.

The patrol spent the night in a rice paddy, lying in wait for Viet Cong movement on an adjoining path. Although leeches dug deep within his legs and the night air grew cold and damp, none of the patrol dared move.

This, he said, is typical of many night patrols for our soldiers in Vietnam.

LAUGH OFF WOUNDS

"But they learn to live with the elements," said Mix, "and many times I saw a small wound laughed off and in minutes the soldier was back in action, caring far more for his buddies than for himself."

He said the Vietnamese people are friendly toward American GIs but the biggest trouble is, "You never know to whom you are talking," said Mix.

"The guy who is bumming a stick of gum off you in the afternoon may be shooting at you that night," he added.

He again returned to the subject of continued pressure by some people in the United States to stop bombing the enemy. Said Mix:

"If those people back here who advocate stopping the bombing had to sit in a foxhole in Vietnam and be constantly shelled by mortars without any hope of air protection, they would change their mind.

"I, personally, would like to see all those who wish to stop bombing the enemy be put in uniform and given the privilege of being in the front line when the bombing halt is called."

Mix will be home a month and is hoping to return to Vietnam for the remainder of his enlisted tour.

"We need more men in Vietnam," said the medic, "and I feel it is my duty as an American to be there."

Arms Control Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, because there is so much controversy over the proposed firearms legislation, I am today inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement made by a constituent of mine, Mr. E. Morrell Allred, which appeared in the Star Valley Independent, of Afton, Wyo., under the date of October 5.

I believe Mr. Allred has very closely set out the feelings of Wyoming people concerning the proposed legislation.

THE RIGHT TO OWN AND BEAR ARMS

The proposed "Arms Control Legislation" received new impetus recently from President Johnson. It is time that the citizens of this country take vigorous action to protect their rights.

The Constitution of the United States of America guarantees the citizens the unrestricted right to own and to bear arms. This freedom has long been cherished by the people of this land. No one else has it! Are we going to throw it away without a protest? We need it for our own protection.

Restrictions on the purchase and ownership of firearms will not do what its sponsors claim it will do. Disarming the honest citizen will not contribute to his personal security. It will seriously impair his right to self protection. Criminals do not honor laws. They will obtain weapons anyway. Law abiding citizens will be at their mercy.

Most of us—who have bothered to give it a thought—realize that the legitimate purpose of government is to protect its citizens—not to provide for them. As our government has entered the role of "provider" it has failed in its role as "protector." This is not our entire problem, but it strikes at the heart of it.

What do we need, then, if we do not need arms legislation? We do need the following:

1. Punishment of Criminals. Punishment acts as a deterrent upon both the criminal and the potential criminal. A great contributing factor in crime today is the fact that criminals need not and do not fear punishment. In fact, some of the recent interpretations of law and the Constitution have almost reversed the traditional status of criminals and law enforcement agencies.

Congress could do something about this disgraceful situation. Congress can and must see that we have adequate laws and law enforcement for the protection of the citizens.

2. A change of attitude toward Crime and Criminals. The idea that crime and criminals are natural products of economic inequality is a socialistic idea that not only has no basis in fact, but is an insult to the intelligence of freedom loving responsible people.

It must be added, however, that criminals can be produced via economic inequality if people in high office continually try to influence them to desperation rather than to productive action by telling them that their economic status is the fault of someone else, that they are entitled to everything anyone else has, whether they earn it or not, that the government will see that they have a good job whether they put forth effort or not, that they are justified in illegal acts if their lot is poor, etc.

Then to add insult to injury it is implied that people engaged in law enforcement are the real criminals!

Will anti-firearm legislation correct the damage done by such fallacious indoctrination? Certainly not! Any firearm restrictions will ultimately lead to the disarming of the citizenry of this land and leave them at the mercy of the criminal element.

We should all tell our Congressmen how we feel about this. Now! It is getting late.

Jet Pilot Asks Return to Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM KAZEN, JR.

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said by so many people about the war in Vietnam. There is probably no other topic which occupies our minds, or commands our concern, more than the present conflict.

It is important, I believe, to ask how our servicemen serving in the war-torn area feel about the war. They are the ones who carry our convictions and concern for the citizens of Vietnam to the final crux.

A young marine who resides in the city of Seguin in my district, has recently made the news by extending his tour of duty by 6 months.

This man, 25-year-old Capt. Dennis Brandon, has completed some 200 combat missions. As one of his reasons for returning to Vietnam, he has said that he feels it is necessary for our country to be there. Captain Brandon's views were ably presented in the Seguin Gazette, Seguin, Tex., on September 28, 1967.

His comments are noteworthy and I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

LOCAL JET PILOT ASKS RETURN TO VIETNAM

(By John Taylor)

A 25-year-old Marine Corps pilot from Seguin who recently completed some 200 combat missions in Vietnam has just signed up for a 6-months extension of this same duty there.

He is Capt. Dennis Brandon, and he is now spending his last few days home on a furlough visiting his parents, Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Brandon, of 927 E. Ireland St.

To say that Dennis is quite unusual is a considerable understatement.

For it's incredible to think that such a young man who has hit the stick in combat in Vietnam on 200 different flights would sign up to do the whole thing again.

But Dennis did, and he told us why when he visited us at length here at The Gazette office.

"I'm going back for several reasons," he said.

"First off, I feel it's necessary that our country is there. We're committed to doing a job and I feel that I'm needed.

"I'm going back also, because I feel like I owe the Navy just a little bit more than most people do. The Navy put me through school on a 4-year scholarship, and I won't forget the obligation I have."

YOUTHFUL APPEARANCE

This is pretty heady stuff from a Seguin boy who appears young enough to still be in high school instead of being in the middle of a savage war.

But he seems a teenager in appearance only.

The real man that he is, full of confidence and pride in country, comes on strong when you talk with him.

We learned this and a lot more about Vietnam during our conversation here Wednesday.

Dennis' first hitch there was from October, 1966, to May, 1967, the period in which he flew those first 200 air strikes to earn Air Medals . . . now going on 12.

And he's due to arrive back at his base at Chu Lai, 50 miles south of Da Nang, on or about Saturday, October 7.

PERSONAL VIEW

His personal feelings about the Vietnam conflict provide considerable food for thought for those of us who argue that conflict . . . at a safe distance back in the U.S.

"As I said, I feel it's necessary that we're there, and I feel our presence there has helped to stabilize the situation a lot.

"But I personally don't feel we'll win this war, so to speak, because it'll have to be concluded at the negotiation table.

"We just can't win an all-out war with just what we have there now. Even though Vietnam is a small country, the population is too great for us to adequately handle and win a war at the same time with the few troops we have.

"Militarily we've stabilized a lot of territory previously occupied by the Viet Cong. But politically, it's obvious that many questions still remain unanswered."

More heady stuff from the young Marine Captain.

WHOLESOME HOBBY

"What do you do in Vietnam in-between flights," we asked. His answer was unexpected.

For Dennis' principal hobby is not going on liberty to Da Nang . . . "I don't like the place" . . . or going south to Saigon . . . "I've never even been there" . . . or just visiting . . . "Chu Lai sits off by itself, and isn't near any other place to visit except maybe the beach."

Dennis' hobby is reading.

"I've read almost 100 books since I've been there," he reports, adding that "most of the guys have turned into readers, and we trade books back and forth until we've read just about everything that's available."

That nearby beach, by the way, is on the South China Sea. Dennis says it resembles Padre Island in appearance, and is good for swimming and fishing. "But we don't do much of either," he continued.

Dennis flies the F-48 Phantom jet, which is a fighter bomber capable of carrying 12 250-pound or 500-pound bombs.

Many of his flights have been in support of ground operations in South Vietnam. But he has also flown a number of missions above the Demilitarized Zone separating South and North Vietnam.

RAINY SEASON NEAR

Concerning operations around the DMZ, Dennis said:

"The monsoon season is just about here,

and we're going to have trouble getting our air strikes in after that.

"There's always a cloud cover around the DMZ, anyway, of some 500 to 1000 feet, and the rainy season will only make it worse."

He said also that the jungle was very thick just above the DMZ in North Vietnam territory, but vegetation was more sparse south of the DMZ.

There are some 15 to 18 aircraft in his Marine squadron, and Dennis explained that flight operations were a little different from the way they once were.

At one time, airmen flew and cared for one aircraft.

But now by being on 24-hour duty, pilots fly whatever aircraft is ready and standing by when they're given a directive.

MORE FLYING

Dennis says he likes to fly, and that one way of looking at his service in Vietnam was that he was getting a lot more flying there than he would be getting if he were stationed some other place.

Re-enlistments and extensions are not so rare in the enlisted ranks, but not many officers ask for that second tour like Dennis has. That's because most of the officers are married, and a year away from home and families is enough for them, Dennis explained.

Dennis is still single, by the way, and not even a best girl is in sight.

"I'll have plenty of time for such things as that sometime in the future. It'll all have to wait until I can spend more than just a few months in one spot."

Dennis is a 1960 graduate of Seguin High School and a 1964 graduate of Texas University. He was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in 1964, and received his second commission after that to Captain in March, 1967.

He will be leaving Seguin on Saturday enroute to San Francisco where he'll immediately depart for the Orient.

"But this is my last extension," he said, concluding:

"If this thing isn't over in six months, then I'm coming back home."

President Johnson's Leadership in International Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, the world has learned that there can be no economic and social progress without developing sound educational systems. Yet, two-thirds of mankind is struggling to cope with widespread illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition, ancient enemies that hold a people in bondage.

If we are truly to attain a peaceful and productive community of nations in our time, new ways and new efforts must be initiated to use modern technology to advance education and make its benefits available across the globe.

Under President Johnson's leadership, the United States is making a major commitment to education and health, not only in our own land, but in sharing its benefits with others in the world.

In an address to the Conference on World Education, at Williamsburg, Va., President Johnson once again declared our Nation's willingness to be a helpful partner in international education.

The President suggested greater use of microfilm in the distribution of educational materials around the world; acceleration of basic education through educational television; and more imaginative use of the satellite television communications system to make available to all universities the world's great scholars and teachers.

The President also suggested calling on the United Nations to help set goals and planning for progress in international education—perhaps creating an International Education Year.

But, as the President noted, the crucial question in international cooperation in education is:

> How can we persuade the governments of 131 nations to make it their primary objective to give every child as much education as he wants and needs and can absorb?

America stands ready to do its share.

I insert in the RECORD the text of President Johnson's address to the World Education Conference:

TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE CONFERENCE ON WORLD EDUCATION, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

In this town nearly two centuries ago, a revolution began which swept around the world. And here Thomas Jefferson submitted to the Virginia legislature a "plan for the diffusion of knowledge."

The men who founded this country were passionate believers in the revolutionary power of ideas.

They knew that when a people commit themselves to learning, a revolution begins which will never stop.

Now, once again, the winds of change are blowing. And once again, we gather to consider plans for spreading knowledge.

I am no historian. Certainly I am not a prophet.

But for a good many years I have been an observer and a participant in the world's affairs. I have watched man at work: seen his creative power—and his awesome talent for destruction.

In this Century, man has spent literally trillions of dollars on the machinery of death and war. The cost of World War II alone has been estimated at one trillion, 154 billion dollars—not including property damage.

In those years, nearly 100 million people have died in the maiming and disease and starvation which come with war.

We have fought among ourselves like animals. And that is an insult to the animals who live together in more harmony than men.

Other facts trouble me.

Today in the world, four adults in ten cannot read and write.

There are whole regions of the world where eight in ten people are illiterate.

Even now, most people end their lives unable to write "cat" or "dog."

These are shocking facts in the Twentieth Century, the richest age of history.

They are the facts which cry out "Shame on this world! Shame on its leaders!"

A sarcastic writer once gave this definition of History: "the account, mostly false, of events, mostly unimportant, which were brought about by rulers, mostly knaves."

Naturally, I do not agree with him.

If future historians should seek a name for this period in America, I hope they will call it the age of education.

If our children's children want to measure what we tried to achieve, I hope they will remember one thing:

The American government in only three years multiplied its commitment to education and health four times over. Congress passed more laws and committed more funds to education and health in three years than in all our previous history.

But when it comes to education, every nation—including this one—is still a developing country.

We have much to learn from others. And we firmly believe that the knowledge of our citizens is one treasure which grows only when it is shared. We must find ways to extend the treasure to lands where learning is still a luxury for the few.

One lesson of our experience is economic and social development is clear: Education is the greatest bottle neck. Development means that men and women can put to use in their own societies in their own lives, in their own time, what modern science and technology can provide to help them. That requires education.

At the level of basic education the truth of the matter is that we may be falling behind. It takes so long to train a teacher and it is so relatively easy to produce a student that we are not even holding our own in basic literacy.

At higher levels of education we are making progress but we have not even begun to exploit fully the possibilities provided by modern technology. There is no reason why modern technology cannot for example, permit the best professor in the world to teach students all over the world in a field where the vocabulary and concepts and standards are uniform; and this is true of many fields of science, natural and social.

Moreover, our capacity to produce microfilm and distribute information should make it possible for a young scholar or researcher at any place in the world to have the same basic library facilities that are available in the British Museum, Library of Congress, or at one of the great university libraries.

Therefore, I place before you this afternoon these three challenges: First, how can we use what we already know about educational television to accelerate the pace of basic education for our children? How can we use modern technology to economize on that most essential and most needed educational resource: the good teacher? How can we make the good teacher available to the maximum number of students through television?

Second, how can we make the best scholars and teachers in the world available to all universities—wherever they may be—through satellite communications?

Third, how can we use the latest methods of microfilming and communication to provide to those doing scholarship and research everywhere the best library facilities that there are anywhere?

All of us need more facts. I was impressed by the statement in your Conference document which said: "If the world's financial systems were forced to function with no better facts . . . than those which educational systems live by, a financial panic would swiftly seize all the capitals of the world."

That is why we called this Conference. It gives me great satisfaction to know that you are charting an education strategy for the future.

If I may suggest an idea, you might consider calling on the United Nations to set a target time for reviewing our goals and planning new progress: an International Education Year.

Don't limit your efforts. Here, and when you leave this place, tackle the really tough questions:

How can we persuade the governments of 131 nations to make it their primary objective to give every child as much education as he wants and needs and can absorb?

How can we get the world's leaders to convert man's tragic will to destroy into a determination to build?

How can we shape a world in which men employ their minds in projects of peace—instead of sacrificing their bodies on the field of battle?

Can we train a young man's eyes to absorb learning—as eagerly as we train his finger to pull a trigger?

No gathering anywhere has a subject more urgent than yours.

You are dealing with the real dynamite of our times.

The men of Jefferson's day associate this place with liberty—and learning. Tonight in Williamsburg, we have the same concern. I hope our commitment will be as great as theirs—and our achievements as worthy of remembering.

Thank you.

Economic Expansion Enters 80th Month—Matches Old Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal of October 10, 1967, carried a front-page article about our productive domestic economy. The present boom will set an all-time record for length in November with 81 months of continuing expansion. The article is impressive and thorough and puts many aspects of current economic activity in perspective.

I include it with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PROFILE OF A BOOM: ECONOMIC EXPANSION ENTERS 80TH MONTH, MATCHES OLD RECORD—GNP SOARS 49 PERCENT SINCE 1961—PROFITS, PERSONAL INCOME RISE EVEN MORE SHARPLY—PROBLEMS: HOUSING AND GOLD

(By Alfred L. Malabre, Jr.)

If the current business expansion continues through next month, it will enter the record books as the longest boom in American history.

Even the more pessimistic forecasters are convinced that the expansion will indeed set a record. The longest expansion until now has been the 80-month business boom that went on during most of World War II, ending in February 1945. The current expansion, which began in February 1961, is now entering its 80th month. Altogether, there have been 26 previous U.S. business expansions, according to records kept back to 1854 by the nonprofit National Bureau of Economic Research. The average length: A mere 30 months.

The full dimensions of the current expansion can be gauged by reviewing some of the changes that have taken place in the U.S. economy since 1961. The magnitude of these changes is impressive, as the following review shows.

Gross national product: At more than $775 billion annually, the nation's output of goods and services has risen some $255 billion since 1961. The gain alone dwarfs the annual GNP of such major nations as the United Kingdom, West Germany and France. The table below translates America's multibillion-dollar economic growth into percentage terms and also shows how rapidly the major components of the GNP total have risen during the great boom.

[In percent]	*Gain since 1961*
Gross national product	49
Consumer spending	46
Government spending	63
Business spending	47

Within the fast-expanding governmental category, the sharpest rise since 1961 has occurred in Federal nonmilitary expenditures, which have soared 77% in the period. Federal outlays for defense have climbed 52%, and overall Federal expenditures are up 56% since 1961. Spending by state and local governments has risen 70%—much faster than total Federal outlays.

Inflation, of course, accounts for part of the GNP rise since 1961. If "growth" stemming simply from higher prices is discounted, the "real" GNP increase since 1961 works out to 34%, rather than 49%.

The consumer-spending category is by far the largest of the various GNP components. This spending breaks down three ways—for durable goods such as appliances and autos, for nondurables such as food and clothing and for services such as medical care and rent. The table below shows how the three subcategories have fared since 1961.

[In percent]	*Gain since 1961*
Durable goods	64
Nondurable goods	39
Services	48

Although spending for durables has risen fastest, the consumer still spends a good deal less for such products than for nondurables or services. Currently, consumers devote about 44% of their budgets to nondurables, 41% to services and only 15% to durable goods. Overall, the statistical breakdown for consumer spending indicates that the economy has not become as "service oriented" as is often suggested. In 1961, consumers spent about 40% of their budgets on services.

The 47% rise in business spending, of course, has brought a big increase in the capacity of the country's factories. U.S. plant capacity has grown by about a third since 1961. This admittedly is less than the dollar rise in business spending, but the capacity rise is based on physical volume of goods and therefore isn't "inflated" by rising prices.

As a result of the 33% capacity increase, U.S. manufacturers are able to produce a far greater volume of goods now than in 1961 without putting undue strain on their production facilities.

At present, U.S. factories are using about 85% of their capacity, on average, well below the 90%-plus operating rates at which severe strains traditionally begin to show up. At operating rates above 90%, overtime costs rise sharply, and many producers are forced to use inefficient facilities that would otherwise stand idle or be scrapped.

Personal income: The rapidly rising earnings of most Americans have supplied much of the fuel for the economy's long climb since 1961. The personal income of Americans now exceeds $631 billion annually, some $215 billion more than the 1961 income total. The rise reflects a variety of factors, not just the steadily climbing wages and salaries of all sorts of workers. The table below lists the key income sources of Americans and shows how rapidly each category has risen since 1961.

[In percent]	*Gain since 1961*
Total personal income	51
Wages and salaries	53
Fringe benefits	86
Dividends	71
Interest income	87
Income from rent	26

As in the case of service spending noted above, the income record since 1961 holds some surprises. Landlords' income from rent has risen only half as fast as overall income, a fact that should surprise many tenants. And income from interest and dividends on investments has climbed much faster than income from wage and salary payments, a fact that may give some second thoughts to people who worry that labor is getting far more than its share of the income pie; fringe benefits paid to workers, however, have risen much faster than wages and salaries.

At present, dividend and interest payments make up about 11% of total personal income. This compares with only 9% in 1961. Wage and salary payments make up 67% of the total, about equal to 1961.

The overall rise in consumer income is considerable even if rising prices and an increasing population are taken into account. After-tax per-capita income in the second quarter reached a record annual rate of $2,388 in terms of 1958 dollars. This was 25% higher than the comparable 1961 per-capita figure. In the view of many economists, this income measurement comes as close as anything to a "standard-of-living" index for the U.S.

Accompanying the big rise in consumer income has been a big rise in consumer savings. These savings have recently been running at an annual rate of about $36 billion, up 70% from the 1961 level (a sharper rise than the 65% increase in consumer credit outstanding over the same period). Time deposits in commercial banks have attracted the largest share of these savings.

The rise in consumer income reflects a massive improvement in the U.S. employment picture during the economic expansion. Many more jobs exist, workers toil longer hours and pay levels are considerably higher.

Today, there are more than 76 million civilian jobs in the U.S., up from less than 66 million in 1961. The increase exceeds the population of New York, the nation's largest city. The rise in jobs not only has opened up work for the country's increasing population—there are 15 million more Americans now than in 1961—but has given work to millions who couldn't get jobs early in the decade. Unemployment in the nation is below the 3 million mark; in 1961, it was close to 5 million.

Employees generally work a longer week now than in 1961. In manufacturing, the average workweek of nearly 41 hours is almost a full hour longer than the 1961 workweek. In the construction trade, the average workweek has recently exceeded 38 hours, up from less than 37 in 1961. An exception: Retailing, where the average has dropped from more than 38 hours in 1961 to less than 36 recently. Factors in the retailing trend, say analysts, include the increasing use of part-time employes and self-service in stores.

Most employes, moreover, are receiving much more pay per hour. The average hourly pay level in manufacturing is about $2.80, up from $2.32 in 1961. In construction, the average is nearly $4.10 an hour, some 90 cents higher than in 1961. In retailing, the average pay level is about $2, up from $1.68 at the start of the expansion.

Corporate profits: The climb of corporate profits during the long boom has been even more spectacular than the rise of consumer income. The before-tax earnings of U.S. companies currently total nearly $80 billion a year, up from $50 billion in 1961. Within the broad corporate category, however, there has been considerable variation between different types of industries. The table below shows the overall profits rise, plus the gains for particular groups.

[In percent]	*Gain since 1961*
Total corporate profits	57
Durable-goods makers	85
Nondurable-goods makers	49
Transport and utilities	51
Finance and miscellaneous	44

In 1961, the profits of durable-goods makers totaled some $500 million less than those of nondurable-goods producers. Currently, however, durables firms are earning some $3.3 billion a year more than nondurables companies. The big boom in auto-buying in recent years is a major factor in the profit rise for durables. It should be noted, however, that the durables group traditionally fares extra well in expansion periods and extra badly in recessions. The other categories listed above generally react less dramatically to changes in the overall course of business.

A footnote to the profits story: Since 1961, the after-tax earnings of corporations have climbed 71%, a considerably faster rise than the 57% gain in before-tax income. This, of course, reflects the 1964 income tax cut.

To be sure, the economic record of the U.S. since 1961 is not without blemishes.

LAGGING HOME STARTS

New-home starts last year totaled less than 1.2 million units, actually down from the 1961 level of 1.3 million units and far below the 1963 level of 1.6 million. In recent weeks, housing has shown some signs of a pickup, but the industry's record still stands in bleak contrast to the general economic boom since 1961.

In part, the housing industry's trouble reflects overbuilding at least of middle and upper-income housing in the earlier post-World War II years. The mortgage funds for home building have been relatively scarce at times during the boom. Ironically, if other segments of the economy hadn't been so strong in recent years, there doubtless would have been more money available for home building, and the industry almost certainly would have fared better.

The U.S. gold supply also has declined during the long expansion. The Government's coffers now hold some $13 billion of gold, down from more than $17 billion at the beginning of the expansion.

Technically, this drop has occurred because the U.S. has been spending more dollars abroad than it has been taking in from foreigners. Foreign governments, in turn, have been buying U.S. gold with many of these dollars at the Treasury's offering price of $35 per ounce, a price that many foreign officials apparently feel is a bargain.

But the deeper cause of the gold drain involves the growth rate of the U.S. economy. If the economy hadn't grown so fast in recent years, there probably would have been less price inflation, and the U.S. trade surplus—the excess of exports over imports—would no doubt have held up better, thereby curbing the outflow of dollars and gold. The U.S. trade surplus actually has declined about 5% since 1961. Without a trade surplus to bring some dollars into the country, the flow of U.S. funds abroad to support foreign-aid projects, troops overseas and other foreign programs would reach intolerable proportions, most economists believe.

Perhaps the most lamentable blemish in the boom is the high unemployment rate for teenage Negroes—25% in 1961 and 25% in boomtime 1967. Another dismal statistic: Some 7.8 million Americans are on relief at present, about 600,000 more than in 1961.

The War on Poverty: Eastern Airlines Joins the Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it has become increasingly evident that the President's war on poverty will not be won without the support, cooperation, and participation of other sectors of the economy besides the Federal Government. It is, therefore, encouraging to note the success of the program instituted by Eastern Airlines this past summer in Miami, New York, and Washington.

Eastern's program gave employment to underprivileged high school-aged youngsters for periods ranging from 4 to 8 weeks. These youngsters would otherwise have been idle and might well have been "caught up" in the long, hot summer of violence. Instead, they benefitted from their experience at Eastern, and Eastern has benefitted from their services.

In the October 6, 1967, issue of the Falcon—a biweekly newspaper published for Eastern's employees—the success of this summer's program is highlighted in an article entitled "Operation Summertime: Eastern Gives Underprivileged Teenagers a Lift." I commend this article to the attention of our colleagues and salute Eastern for its sponsorship of this program for, as the article notes:

> Eastern invested many thousands of dollars, time, and effort . . . but the reward for the community will be many times the company's investment.

Mr. Speaker, the article from the Falcon follows:

OPERATION SUMMERTIME: EASTERN GIVES UNDERPRIVILEGED TEENAGERS A LIFT

By many American cities, 1967 will be remembered for its long, hot, riot-torn summer.

By Eastern Airlines, it will be remembered also in part for the company's program aimed at helping underprivileged youths in three key cities—New York, Miami and Washington—where the company has large operations and capacity allows such radically new programs.

Eastern's "Operation Summertime," designed to employ high-school-age boys and girls for part of their summer vacation, was far more than a simple, add-to-the-number-of-jobs exercise. It was doing something about the unsolved problems created in the slums by giving as many youths as possible constructive work.

In New York, Eastern offered job opportunities to 22 conscientious teen-agers screened from 100 applicants. In New York, Eastern was doing its fair share in response to Mayor John V. Lindsay's request to industry to offer employment to underprivileged youths.

Miami's share in Operation Summertime involved two separate groups: the first, consisting of 15 teen-agers from neighborhoods similar to New York's, was employed for eight weeks. A second group of 36 underprivileged teen-agers was hired for a four-week period.

Once given the responsibility of jobs, however, the latter group seemed to welcome even more the opportunity to show the community they could produce and contribute. Among this group were some high school dropouts.

"We turned down none of the boys or girls screened for us by the Urban League of Greater Miami or the Economic Opportunity Program, Incorporated, of Dade County," says Robert O. Hach, coordinator-corporate equal opportunity program. "Of the original 40 in this group, only four dropped out, and these did so voluntarily."

In Washington, Eastern took on three youths for eight weeks. The program, again similar to New York's was limited by the size of Eastern's operations in Washington.

Results of all these programs were encouraging, says Mr. Hach.

At Kennedy Airport, a customer stopped at the seat selection counter and was cordially greeted by a young man who exhibited the aplomb of a veteran ticket agent. He was Edward Ortega, a 16-year-old from Brandeis High School, New York, who, according to Eric C. Worrell, Customer Services-quality control, "does everything except write tickets.

"The purpose of Mayor Lindsay's project was to take young people from overcrowded and underprivileged areas and help broaden their horizons by exposing them to job opportunities with a large company," Mr. Worrell says. "Special emphasis was placed on the importance of their remaining in school in order to help them become better equipped to take advantage of future employment opportunities."

These youths were given three days training and orientation by Robert Gilder, instructor; Joseph Williams, personnel representative; and Mr. Worrell.

Ten of the teen-agers were assigned to Kennedy Airport and worked behind the ticket counter, in Operations, Flight Services, Lost and Found or the Mail Room. Four were assigned to Marketing and Personnel in New York City. Others were given jobs in Maintenance at La Guardia and Kennedy. "In every area, the supervisor concerned has rated their performances highly satisfactory—and in some areas, excellent," says Mr. Worrell.

In Miami, Mayor Charles F. Hall initiated the program which had such profound results.

"One of the important things to remember," Mr. Hach explains, "is that these programs were launched prior to the flare-ups in so many of the nation's cities. I think the mayor wanted to make a major effort to avoid this situation. He made an appeal to several companies in the Miami area, and Eastern was among the first to respond."

Almost every individual who stayed with Operation Summertime has expressed a desire to return to school this fall. In cases where reinstatement was necessary, many sought the assistance of local school officials.

"The purpose of Operation Summertime was to motivate these teen-agers to seek gainful employment or to return to school to obtain academic qualification so that future permanent employment would be a realistic prospect for them," says Mr. Hach.

Eastern placed five girls and five boys in Customer Services, two boys in Data Services, three girls and a boy in Accounting, a girl in Flight Operations, a girl in Employment and 15 boys and girls in Maintenance as cleaners. Five of the 15 assigned to Maintenance were sent to aircraft overhaul, five to engineering overhaul and five to line maintenance.

"When one lad went to work for me," reports foreman John W. Krick, "he didn't have a dime. 'Will you feed me?' he asked. I gave him $2 to buy lunches with. After his first pay day, he returned the $2 with thanks."

The enthusiasm generated by Operation Summertime in Miami permeated not only the boys and girls and their families, but Eastern as well.

John Hand, senior programmer-production programming, set up a course for three of the youths. The trio learned to operate such accounting equipment as the high-speed sorter, a device used to sort punch cards for a computer.

Within a few days, Maintenance had many of the older boys polishing exterior metalwork of a Boeing 727 undergoing a block overhaul.

The Terminal Services group assisted in baggage handling behind the ticket counter.

Eastern invested many thousands of dollars, time and effort in Operation Summertime. But the rewards for the community will be many times the company's investment.

Heat in the Kitchen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of Sunday, September 10, 1967, by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst Newspapers, entitled "Heat in the Kitchen," which I believe sets forth some matters which should be considered by all fairminded and patriotic Americans:

HEAT IN THE KITCHEN

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

NEW YORK.—During the last week of my reluctantly-ended vacation at Sam Simeon I prepared for the chore of resuming this column by doing more reading than time generally allows. I didn't have to look far for a theme.

It's really amazing. Whatever news magazine I picked up, whatever commentator or pundit whose deathless prose I encountered in print or on the airwaves, all seemed to be engaged in discussing the same topic—Lyndon B. Johnson "in trouble."

Lambasting the President these days is practically a full-time job for his howling pack of vociferous critics. He is being bedeviled, reviled, belittled and beset on all fronts. And I, for one, think it's damned unfair.

The points I propose to make here are not intended as a defense of Mr. Johnson, per se. He's a man who can take care of himself. Furthermore, I am hardly what you would call a life-long, dyed-in-the-wool Democrat.

But the fact is the President is getting all kinds of blame he does not deserve and little or no credit for what he does deserve. It offends my sense of fair play to see him so unjustly attacked for whatever happens in Vietnam, for the riots in our cities, for lack of congressional action on civil rights and social programs and for practically everything else that's wrong.

What I would like to try to do here is to put things in a clearer perspective, to encourage a little sober reflection on what Mr. Johnson has done and is attempting to do, and even possibly influence some of his critics to use logic instead of invective.

There's not much chance of any success on the last point, not when you line those critics up and take a look at them. They're a great bunch.

Over here we have the unwashed beatniks. Over there are the pink-eyed super-liberals. Behind them are such racist anarchists as Stokley Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. Howling loudest are the enemy-serving stop-the-bombing gang and congressional popoffs.

The latest to join the gang is a beaut—that sterling, tongue-tied governor of Michigan with the halo of white hair over his ears. George Romney. This new war critic who would be president himself now claims he was "brainwashed" into his earlier support of the Vietnam war effort.

This might be funny if it weren't for the mischief a man in Romney's position can create. But still, imagine having a president who proclaims he can be brainwashed by a high-pressure sales talk. If he ever got in the White House they wouldn't dare let him out of the country. I hate to think what would happen to him at the hands of the diplomatic slickers in Moscow, England, France, Rome or even India.

Any fair-minded person who examines the various charges being leveled at President Johnson, either directly or by snide implication, will find they just don't stand up. Let's take a brief look-see at the three major areas in which he is taking the most abuse—Vietnam, the Negro problem and social legislation:

Not even the President's severest critics can accuse him of starting the war; he inherited it. Whether his policies are right or wrong, only time will tell. Meanwhile, in accordance with the advice of the nation's most experienced experts, he has chosen a course of action and is sticking to it.

That course of action, no matter what anyone says, is clearly aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in Vietnam by arresting communist aggression. Our commitment to contain communism is not new; we followed it in Korea, Berlin and Cuba. It is a highly honorable commitment, and the honor of the nation is at stake. In pursuing it, President Johnson—far more than anyone else in the world—at the same time has done everything in his power to get peace talks under way. Yet every one of his initiatives has been spurned by the enemy.

Just as nobody has done more to get us out of Vietnam than Mr. Johnson, so no president with the exception of Abraham Lincoln has done more for the American Negro. His record on civil rights exceeds even that of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose philosophy of spending to help the poor he adopted and expanded. Time and again he has defied Southern political forces by naming qualified Negroes to high office, even to the U.S. Supreme Court.

One would think the liberals who are so busy criticizing the President would instead be commending him for his civil rights record. The thing that strikes me as especially interesting on this point is that the great majority of the Negro population knows what Mr. Johnson has done and is trying to do for them. No single group in the country was subjected to a more concerted organizational drive by the communists, yet that drive notably failed. So far as loyalty to their country is concerned, the record of our Negroes as a group is far better than that some of our intellectuals and college professors.

Social legislation, of course, is interlinked with the problems of underprivileged Negroes. Here, again, the sweep and number of Johnson-sponsored laws passed by the last Congress is without precedence in our history. The slowdown in further action by the present Congress is certainly not the President's fault, nor his desire.

His administration has spent tremendous sums of money to improve the lot of our poor, both in the cities and elsewhere. Yet he is accused of not spending enough when mass rioting continues in the cities—even though what happened in Detroit and New Haven proved that money alone is not the answer. There is no simple answer to social unrest and President Johnson has done all a sound executive can do by summoning the nation's best brains to work out effective remedies.

And so, right down the line, we find a man in the White House who is wrestling with tremendous problems. He is doing what he believes to be the best for his country according to the dictates of his truly liberal conscience based on the most expert advice available. I think, under the circumstances he is doing very well. At least as far as I'm concerned I have not heard anybody make any suggestions which are preferable.

The man unquestionably has a most serious drawback. He speaks with a Texas accent and that's against the grain of our self-proclaimed enlightened intellectuals. They prefer the Oxford variety or that Harvard accent with which they were charmed by F.D.R. and Jack Kennedy. With them, apparently, it's not so much what you say as how you say it.

If Mr. Johnson has this drawback, he also has a counterbalancing asset. That big plus is his remarkable patience and unflappability. His self-control in the midst of the critical storm raging about him sometimes seems superhuman. Yet, after all, why should he bother to answer every heckler who comes along—most of whom are far beneath him intellectually, morally and in every other way?

Another of our down-to-earth presidents, Harry S Truman, once remarked when the going was toughest that anybody who can't stand the heat should get our of the kitchen.

The heat is on President Johnson—much of it unfair and undeserved—but I have a feeling he likes the job of head cook.

Air Express Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been 40 years since a fragile-winged aircraft carried the first airfreight package from America to Europe. Since then, Air Express, a New York firm, along with the entire aviation industry, has grown enormously.

Today, it has working agreements with all of this country's 36 scheduled airlines and, this year, will handle more than 10 million individual air shipments. By way of recognition of this company, which inaugurated the airfreight business, I should like to insert into the RECORD a speech by Mr. Emil Seerup, vice president of Air Express, at the 40th anniversary dinner. It provides some fascinating footnotes to the history of American aviation:

If you were to tour an Air Express terminal today, you'd probably find packages containing frozen hamburgers, transistors, penicillin, color television tubes, bikinis, Beattle records, video-tape, data processing cards, electric toothbrushes, and some radioactive isotopes.

But if you looked for any of these shipments back in 1927—the year Air Express service started—you'd be terribly disappointed. None of these items even existed!

The world has made tremendous progress in the past 40 years. In fact, by any standard of measurement the last four decades have seen more advancement than in all the previous recorded history of mankind.

Today the 13,500 REA express trucks, combined with all the aircraft of the 36 scheduled U.S. airlines, provide 24 hour door-to-door pick up and delivery service between just about all points in the U.S., Canada and Puerto Rico. And most of the 10,000,000 individual shipments Air Express will handle during 1967 will be whisked through the air in the cargo holds of huge jet giants at 600 mph speeds.

Most of us take pretty much for granted the fact that shipments weighing 5 lbs. or 5,000 lbs., are literally delivered to our door from thousands of miles away in a matter of just a few hours.

Yes, life was simpler back in 1927. To begin with, a surprisingly high percentage of today's commonplace products were hardly a gleam in the eye of their inventors 40 years ago.

The twenties were really roaring on that September day that Air Express service first started. Part of the roar was probably caused by the sputtering, coughing engines that powered that era's fragile little aircraft. It took more than a bit of courage for pilots to take some of those planes aloft and face the double hazards of unfriendly weather and uncertain airborne performance. After all, it was only five months after Charles Lindbergh had accomplished his miraculous flight. Flying was still more risky than routine.

Coast-to-coast service was provided by the Railway Express Company's surface facilities and by four airlines: Colonial Air Transport, National Air Transport, Boeing Air Transport and Western Air Express.

The flight from New York City to San Francisco took "only 32½ hours actual flying time." Much in the manner of the Pony Express, the 100 m.p.h. planes made the trip in relays. If it rained too hard, the trip took much longer.

There were twenty-five airports across the nation on the Air Express route.

In today's sophisticated jet age, it may be hard for us to understand just how important and exciting Air Express seemed back in 1927 and the first years of operation. Colonel Lindbergh cabled: "I believe that the inauguration of Air Express is another great step in aeronautic progress!" And newspaper and magazine writers greeted the new service with unparalleled enthusiasm.

It is no exaggeration to say that, back in 1927, the start of Air Express caused as much national excitement as one of today's space flights.

The "fight of the century," between Dempsey and Tunney, took place later that month. Almost as newsworthy as the pugilistic contest, was the ability of Air Express to get special fight issues of the New York Herald Tribune to Chicago sports fans overnight.

It certainly was a romantic time. Flappers did the charleston, men wore nifty spats, and there was some curiosity about a movie, "The Jazz Singer," starring Al Jolson that was to open in October. Department stores across the country proudly displayed window banners announcing that their modish frocks "Just Arrived From Fifth Avenue by Air Express." The world has changed many times over in the forty years that have elapsed. Orbiting satellites televise earthshaking events to living rooms in every corner of the globe. Today's mighty planes are approaching the size of football fields and are swifter and more reliable than even Jules Verne or H. G. Wells could have imagined. Computers are performing fantastic tasks. And the Herald Tribune is gone.

Back in the beginning. Air Express limited packages to weights of 200 pounds, primarily because the capacity of the planes was so small. Today's all freight jets can carry a load of 92,000 pounds! In 1967, the general rule is that if it can fit into the plane, it can be sent by Air Express.

During that first year, Air Express handled 5,160 shipments. Today about six times that many go through the Air Express terminal at New York's JFK International Airport each day.

Yes, things have changed. Science has made us the most comfortable and affluent people in all history.

But, unfortunately, technology often outstrips man's capacity to use the marvels around him. Man, as we know him, first made his appearance on earth some 50,000 years ago. But it took him almost 45,000 years to learn that life would be easier if he rode the back of a horse instead of walking and it was even later in his development that he discovered the wheel.

The horse has a top speed of about 20 mph.

Let's stop for a moment, and reflect on what this has meant to the development of civilization and transportation. The fastest citizen of ancient Greece rode his horse-drawn chariot at 20 mph. Julius Caesar, Genghis Khan, Joan of Arc, George Washington, and Napoleon, although separated by thousands of years, could go no faster than 20 mph. When Marc Anthony wanted to send a birthday gift to Cleopatra it was transported at the top speed of 20 mph.

And finally, when the Wright Brothers got off the ground in 1903 they hit an incredible speed of 31 mph!

How lucky we are to be able to ship anything we want at nearly the speed of sound. And the SST will just about double that speed.

In 1927, shippers used Air Express for spats and crystal radios. Today it's miniskirts and electric can-openers.

Thousands of forward thinking companies are using air shipping to reduce their inventory cost and to assure delivery in a matter of hours.

Yet, despite the fact, despite the unequaled advantages of air shipping many people deliberately choose to use chariot methods in a day when air transportation offers economy, efficiency and speed.

Air Express no longer makes the kind of news it did in 1927—and this is very gratifying to me. Air shipping is no longer news. It is a commonly accepted way of life for most American businessmen.

For those who haven't awakened to the hard facts, it's not too late to get on the band wagon and take to the air. Because, in the jargon of the mod-set, "That's where the action is."

Majority of TV Audience Opposes Stricter Firearms Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it was gratifying to me to learn that a high percentage of residents of the National Capital area registered opposition to the enactment by the Congress of a stricter firearms law in a recent audience poll by WMAL–TV, channel 7. This is truly significant, because the people in the Washington environs have been exposed to an almost continuous barrage of newspaper stories and cartoons and radio and TV programs that have focused attention on the misuse of firearms in the commission of crime. Concerned efforts have been made by some segments of the public and of the news media to show that firearms are the cause of crime, and I would like my colleagues to know that this poll shows that intelligent people appreciate that criminals are not deterred from committing violent acts by the mere violation of another law. We have had the Federal Firearms Act and the National Firearms Act on the books for 30 years, but what good are laws if they are not rigidly enforced?

At approximately 8 p.m., Tuesday, September 26, I received a telephone call from a friend who informed me of a poll being taken by WMAL–TV, channel 7. The polling apparently had started with the news broadcast at 7 p.m. and continued until 10 p.m.

At the close of each scheduled program between these hours, the question: "Should Congress enact a strict gun control law?" was projected for approximately 1 minute. Two telephone numbers—one for a "yes" vote, and one for a "no"—were provided for each political subdivision in this area—District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia.

No comment, editorial or otherwise, was made by the announcers, except for the oral repetition of the question, although the scheduled "N.Y.P.D." police drama program at 9:30, apparently through coincidence, had a theme that could be construed as being strongly antifirearms.

Upon calling the number listed in my area for the registering of a "no" vote the recorded voice replied: "Thank you for voting no in the WMAL–TV listeners' poll," or words to that effect. Votes were tallied electronically.

The results of the poll, announced at 11:30 p.m., and confirmed by a telephone call to the station the following day were:

No, 62 percent; yes, 38 percent.

I learned that 4,282 calls had been completed, and that the combined percentage totals for Maryland and Virginia alone actually showed 62 percent "no" and 34 percent "yes."

Selling Jobs to the Jobless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I recently read excerpts from an excellent speech by Dr. van Bearinger, vice president and general manager of the Systems and Research Division of Honeywell, Inc., a diversified, worldwide electronics firm with headquarters in my district of Minneapolis, Minn. The excerpts, printed in the company newspaper, the Honeywell World, were part of an address made in Chicago at the 22d annual conference of the Instrument Society of America.

Dr. Bearinger spoke at length on the need to find and "sell" jobs to persons who lack the quality education and high skills of our increasingly automated society. This theme relates directly to title III of H.R. 13196, the New Jobs Act of 1967, which I introduced on September 28. Title III, the Payroll Supplement Act of 1967, would provide assistance to employers that hired persons who failed to meet existing job standards at the time of their hiring. Dr. Bearinger's ideas are worth the consideration of each Member of the House, because they reflect some careful thought about the constructive role private industry can and should play in curing unemployment.

Following are excerpts from the speech:

The greatest challenge facing automation today is the same that faces government: finding and "selling" jobs to the school dropout, the underprivileged, the handicapped, the beatnik and the hard core unemployed.

Failure to meet that challenge will lead to the same kind of social injustice that toppled the mighty empires of ancient Rome and Greece.

The great dilemma of the great society is the same that confronts today's architects of progress: accelerating automation has greatly expanded job opportunities and the status of the highly educated and highly skilled.

At the same time, it has steadily reduced the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, and thus puts the administration in the frustrating position of seemingly withholding the fruits of the great society from the very groups it is intending to benefit most.

More technology or instrumentation or automation means the number of less-skilled jobs steadily shrinks and the number of complex, high-skill, wide-variety, discretionary jobs increases.

We must find a way to make more of our people self-sufficient, producing members of our society.

The poor in the slums, the minority groups in the ghettos, the handicapped, and disadvantaged, the unemployed have to be given opportunities to improve their lot and the motivation to seize those opportunities.

Welfare handouts, meaningless make-work projects, or "shipping them all back to the land of their forebears" are not practical solutions. The history of Greece and Rome is likely to repeat itself here unless we find and make a way to help improve the fortunes of all.

(Bearinger then suggested three areas for study and concern.)

1. First is employment. We must find ways to so organize our needs and our work that the time and effort of our best people is most effectively matched to what truly requires their attention. Every other part must be assigned down the line. At every level, except the very lowest, we already face shortages.

2. Second is the way we regard work. If we are to enjoy further gains of an advancing automation without rioting and looting and sniping in the streets, we have to "sell" jobs.

To try to "give" jobs is economically hazardous and socially unacceptable. Work is "given" to prisoners, to slaves or the otherwise disenfranchised . . . the rebels in our society today cannot be satisfied, and cannot be wholesomely integrated into our way of life by being "given" work any more than by being "given" welfare.

An employment applicant "buys" or declines to "buy" our job, which is pay, benefits, working conditions and most of all, the work itself. The challenge to us is to see that we have work to "sell" to all, not just to the specialists in great demand.

We must apply all the imagination, ingenuity, and sensitivity to our job, meeting the employe's needs and preferences as we have proven ourselves so capable of doing for our product customers.

It is absolutely not a matter of lowering employment standards. It is a matter of designing into our "line" of jobs some that are truly saleable to the dropout, the beatnik, the what-have-you.

The challenge is not that we help him, but that we not deny him the tough, slow, self-disciplining opportunity to help himself.

3. Attitude towards education. Here may be our greatest fault. Those of us in automation certainly ought to know better, yet we, along with most other Americans, are seriously mistaking schooling for education.

The social status symbol of "college" has actually cast a stigma on many needed, important, and worthwhile occupations. Thousands of needed, honest, paying jobs go unfilled; countless thousands more go slackly, slovenly, disgracefully, poorly done because we have downgraded them in our own and everyone's estimation.

Here is the highest challenge of all. The whole, fine, far-out wonderful structure we are straining brain and muscle to create will come crashing down around our ears if we fail to see it in its proper relationship to our entire society.

We are not going to be allowed to have . . . more and better professional people . . . at the expense of a growing body of uneducated, unemployed, cast-off, disengaged sufferers whose only basic fault is their lack of precise natural talent to fit the narrow, selfish, highly stylized, single-purpose social and economic system we now seem bent upon creating.

The limitation of our future success will not be lack of knowledge, or lack of material resources, nor even lack of professional and managerial talents to enable us, through instrumentation and the other elements of automation, to raise the level of our economy, of our education, our health, our arts, and our reference.

What will limit us—possibly even stop us cold—will be a failure to engage and utilize to the fullest extent of his capability, every responsible citizen of this great nation.

Former Greek Premier Released From House Arrest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the recent report that former Premier George Papandreou was about to be released from house arrest after 5 months of confinement should not delude wishful thinkers here that there has been a major change in the political philosophy of the military junta in control in Greece. The announcement, as yet to be confirmed by Mr. Papandreou's actual freedom to come and go at will, and to speak freely, appears to be an attempt to quiet the growing swell of world opinion against the dictatorship.

At the same time this announcement was made, the Greek Minister of Education issued a statement about how education was to be conducted, and that news item gives one cold chills. It reminds one inevitably of the mind-shaping, pattern-molding, educational goals common to Hitlerism and Stalinism.

Andreas Papandreou is still in jail charged with treason on an elaborately constructed web of hearsay. Two of the witnesses against him have already confessed, in this country, that they gave perjured testimony under fear for their lives. Thousands of other citizens are still under arrest in deplorable conditions and others are arrested every day. If you criticize the dictators in any way, you are denounced as a Communist and arrested.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Vlachos, who with great courage has thumbed her nose at the colonels by refusing to publish her newspaper, anticipated her arrest and smuggled out a letter to a European newspaper institute, but addressed to the press of the world. She asks us not to stop attacking the present ruling clique in Greece.

Mr. Speaker, I insert reports of these events, as carried in recent newspapers, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I also include a recent letter received by Members of the House from Victor Reuther on behalf of the members of the UAW. His letter expresses the conviction of many of us, and more eloquently than most of us, the depth of the darkness that has engulfed Greece.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 8, 1967]

PUBLISHER: "DON'T STOP"

LONDON, October 8.—Mrs. Helen Vlachos, the defiant Greek newspaper publisher placed under house arrest, was reported here today to be continuing to speak out against the military-dominated regime in Athens.

The Observer published a letter that it said had been smuggled out yesterday by Mrs. Vlachos calling on the world's press to keep on attacking the Government. The letter was said to be addressed to the International Press Institute, a Zurich-based organization of newspaper editors.

According to The Observer, her letter said in part:

"This letter is not dated because it was to be mailed to you by friends living out of Greece in the event that I was stopped from expressing myself freely.

"By it I wish to express my thanks for the warm support and interest the international press of the free world has given to the cause of Greece. And also for the sympathy shown to me personally by friends and colleagues. But the principal reason for it is to ask you to convey a message:

"Don't Stop."

Don't stop writing about Greece, don't stop asking why the Greek Government is not keeping its promises. Officially publicly, repeatedly they have all declared that some kind of press freedom would be restored before the end of the year. And even a pseudo-freedom would help. An arrangement by which the Greek people will not hear all the truth, but at least will not be poisoned and duped by massive daily doses of lies and propaganda."

[From the New York Times, Oct. 8, 1967]

ATHENS RELEASES PAPANDREOU, 79—EX-PREMIER AND EIGHT OTHER POLITICAL FIGURES FREED—SON IS STILL IN JAIL

(By Richard Eder)

ATHENS, October 7.—The Greek military government released from detention today former Premier George Papandreou and eight other political figures.

At the same time, it warned that it was prepared to stamp out any attempts to disturb "the peace and tranquillity of the country."

An announcement by Pavlos Totomis, Minister of Public Order, said that the 79-year-old Mr. Papandreou, who has been isolated under strict house arrest, and eight others, who have been detained either in their homes or in prison, were no longer under restraint.

TWENTY-TWO STILL UNDER DETENTION

Despite the announcement, visitors to Mr. Papandreou's residence tonight were told by the police guard that they had not yet received authorization to allow them to see the former premier, who has been under detention since the April 21 military coup.

The announcement said that "the cases of the remaining 22 politicians now detained would be reconsidered by a security commission."

These presumably included the other non-Communist deputies under arrest, but it was not clear whether the reconsideration would also apply to former Premier Panayotis Canellopoulos, who was ousted by the coup leaders. Mr. Canellopoulos was recently put under house arrest after making a public attack on the regime. Andreas Papandreou, son of the former Premier, is also still under arrest.

"GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED"

The official announcement of the release of the nine men was followed by a statement by Mr. Totomis saying:

"The Government has exhausted every means of moderation and toleration and has proceeded to a reassessment of the position of political prisoners, confident of offering a service to the nation, and looking forward to the cooperation of all Greeks with the Government's task."

"The Government is determined to protect through all lawful means the peace and tranquility of the country, and any attempts to disturb order by anyone will be stamped out. The Government has the power and the will to do this."

The wording of the announcement, as well as recent comments in the Government-inspired press, indicated that, with the releases today, the Greek political community, from Mr. Papandreou, is on a strict form of parole.

There was immediate speculation here as to the timing and the reasons for the action.

One line was that the Government was seeking to forestall the issuing of a public manifesto against the regime by a group of political figures. These included members of the Center Union, the main party in Greece, of which Mr. Papandreou is the leader.

Despite the isolation in which Mr. Papandreou has been kept, it was known that he had serious reservations about such a move. His release at this time, therefore, could go a long way to discourage the proponents of such an appeal.

The public attack by Mr. Canellopoulos, party leader of the National Radical Union, has added to the mounting pressure on the regime, and the junta members are believed to be determined to prevent the development of a wave of protest in a country that, up to two weeks ago, was held in strict silence.

The release of the politicians is believed also to be aimed at easing off pressure from abroad, particularly from Western Europe.

In recent weeks the European Economic Community voted to suspend financial credits the Council of Europe has before it a formal complaint from four member Governments asking for the expulsion of Greece unless human rights are restored, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions decided to suspend relations with Greek labor, and the British Labor party urged the expulsion of Greece from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

CRACKDOWN IS FEARED

Some observers, however, expressed fears that the release of the detainees might be something more than a defensive move. They feel that a crackdown on all expressions of political opposition may be in the offing.

Recently, a second special military court for violations of martial law has been set up in Athens, presumably to accommodate an expected rush of business. Sentences for offenders against the martial restrictions have been increased as well.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 8, 1967]

GREEK JUNTA EXHORTS TEACHERS TO AROUSE "NATIONAL CONSCIENCE"

ATHENS, October 7.—Teachers were urged by the Government this week to give priority to the stimulation of a "national conscience" among Greek schoolchildren in the new school year.

Education Minister Constantine Kalambokias, in a message yesterday hailing the reopening of schools, admonished all teachers to "become the guardians of the sacred depository of our national traditions, and guide youth toward the eternal values of our Helenic-Christian civilization.

The minister's message came as the five-month-old military regime abolished educational reforms introduced in recent years that had shifted that emphasis from the humantiies to the sciences.

MORE ELABORATE LANGUAGE

The new educational legislation, which reverted to a large measure to the old system, also abolished "Demotic" (the spoken Greek) from all but the first three grades of elementary school, reintroducing as the official teaching language the "Katharevoussa," or the more elaborate "proper" Greek.

Under the new regime, more than 250 teachers whose loyalty was questioned have been dismissed. Seventy dismissals were announced today.

In his message, the minister urged the teachers to remove from children "alien habits and ideas and inculcate in their hearts the fervent desire to emulate the great figures of our nation."

He said: "The first and chief objective of the school is to stimulate the national conscience. To achieve this you need high spirit and exaltation, that will make the school atmosphere vibrate and give that particularly Greek color, which is the foundation of the survival and great deeds of our race."

OBLIGATION TO CHURCH

The message drew attention to the obligation of all teachers and children to attend church on Sundays (except in larger cities where they should pray on Saturday to avoid crowding the churches), and go to confession and Holy Communion regularly.

The established religion in Greece is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Teachers were urged to dress and behave with dignity to set a good example, while their "vigilance and surveillance" of pupils should also extend beyond the school.

"It would be ideal," Mr. Kalambokias went on, "if pupils could remain under the influence of the school all day, by organizing them inside the school after class." This would involve the creation of libraries, reading rooms and sports grounds which are lacking.

He said teachers should also give, individually or through lectures, guidance to parents for the better upbringing of their children, "emphasizing the value of developing their religious, national and moral convictions."

The minister's message concluded: "The influence of educators cannot possibly be limited to pupils and, to some extent, their parents, their activity must extend to their extrascholar occupations, thus contributing to the promotion of the community in which they live. For this season they cannot be absent from their posts, barring exceptional circumstances, and only following authorization from their superior authority."

[From the New York Times, Oct. 8, 1967]

GREECE: JUNTA IN SEARCH OF A CAUSE

(By Richard Eder)

ATHENS.—Last Monday night, former Prime Minister Panayotis Kanellopoulos was chatting with a visitor in his apartment when the doorbell rang and two men entered.

They identified themselves as agents from the security police and told Mr. Kanellopoulos who, the previous week, had delivered a stinging attack upon the military junta, that he was under house arrest. Nobody could enter or leave except his wife and the maid.

The visitor broke in to say that he would like to go home. The policeman replied that orders were orders, but finally they agreed to telephone their superiors. Mr. Kanellopoulos offered them his telephone.

"I'm afraid we can't use it, sir," the policeman said. "You see, we've cut it off." They nevertheless did release the visitor.

Finally, a telephone was located in a nearby store and permission was secured for the visitor to leave.

It is nearly six months since a group of officers led part of the Greek Army in a coup against the quarrelling and ineffective political parties that were governing the country. They intended, they said, to quell the Communist, prune the bureaucracy, reshape the parties and, in short, mobilize the constructive forces of Greece so that when democracy was restored it would work.

DEAD INSTRUMENT

Having cut the wires, so to speak, the junta leaders find themselves, like the plainclothesmen, holding a dead instrument. After six months in office, perhaps the most important thing about the new leaders is that they have established no real links with the community they are to reform.

"How can you call this a dictatorship?" a Government spokesman said not long ago. "It has no leader, no party and no theory."

This is precisely the point. After six months, the junta remains almost as unknown in its intentions, its capacities and its structure as on the first day. Greeks have no measure by which to judge it. There are three questions that any group that seizes power by force of arms is expected to answer: Who are you? What do you intend to do? And finally, how long are you staying?

The answer to the first is unclear. Col. George Papadopoulos is obviously the leading member of the 38-officer revolutionary council that underpins the junta. He is a strong-minded but colorless figure, however, who rarely gives interviews, makes few speeches and utterly fails to project an image.

The junta's hold on the public imagination is all the weaker in that the one figure who does show himself, Brig. Stylianos Patakos, is an alternately good-humored and irascible eccentric, whose frequent and wide-ranging pronouncements obviously have little to do with the more serious purpose—whatever that may be—of the powerful figures in the council.

The second question is also unanswered. There have been some constructive measures—elimination of a wheat subsidy, reform of the church—but mostly the program remains vague, apart from continual talk of putting down Communists and purifying Greece.

If the answer to the third question were that the junta intended to remain briefly, the first two questions would not matter much. The junta has promised to disappear as soon as conditions are ripe for what they term a "true" democracy in Greece. They have gone so far as to promise that the people will be allowed to vote on a constitution next year.

LONG-TERM GOAL

But most observers here are beginning to conclude that talk of a constitution, or indeed of any meaningful democratization, may be only empty talk, despite the military Government's announcement yesterday that it had released former Premier Georges Papandreou and eight other members of the suspended Center Union party from house arrest. The observers believe, instead, that the hard core of the revolutionary council, led by Colonel Papadopoulos, intends to set up a long-term Government of national purification, without interference either from the parties or the King.

King Constantine accepted the junta in the first place on the understanding that it would provide a quick transition back to parliamentary life. With Colonel Papadopoulos giving every sign that this is not his intention, a confrontation has been created in which the King must openly resist or let his remaining power be sapped.

SOME SUPPORT

The King has the support of many army officers and their units. But only the most carefully planned and quickly executed kind of royal counter-coup could have any chance, and the King is relatively isolated and has no real staff to allow him to organize such a venture.

On the other hand, the longer he waits the weaker his position becomes. The junta has given him a list of 400 officers for retirement, most of whom have strong royalist loyalties. He has refused to sign it so far, and the junta is believed to be modifying it. The point is that the junta, by maneuver and patience, can whittle the King's power down to the point where the last real obstacle to a long-term dictatorship is made insignificant.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 6, 1967]

MOVES BY GREECE DELAY U.S. ARMS—PLAN TO RESUME SHIPMENTS UNDERCUT BY ARRESTS

(By Peter Grose)

WASHINGTON, October 5.—New arrests of opposition figures by the Greek military regime are having the effect of undercutting efforts by the Johnson Administration to resume shipments of large-scale military aid to Greece.

The Administration wants to resume aid shipments because President Johnson's top advisers judge that Greece's role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization requires continued support.

Nevertheless, the State Department expressed annoyance today that the outspoken Athens newspaper publisher, Mrs. Helen Vlachos, was placed under house arrest yesterday. Since the military coup of April 21, the United States has publicly chided the ruling junta about 20 times.

Yet United States officials believe that except for notorious individual blunders, the new regime shows promise of moving toward what they describe as "reasonably constitutional procedures."

RENEWAL RECOMMENDED

A comprehensive recommendation for resumption of the military aid, which was suspended after the coup, has been on President Johnson's desk since August. It was prepared by a senior interagency policymaking group headed by Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

The United States had been supplying the Greek armed forces with about $100-million worth of military equipment a year, including tanks and jet aircraft, to help Greece meet its missions in NATO. Lesser supplies, such as small arms and ammunition, were quietly supplied throughout the summer, but the large shipments were blocked.

Momentum toward resuming the shipments late in the summer was abruptly halted by a series of what officials here called boners, such as the ban, the regime imposed on mini-skirts and its revocation of the Greek citizenship of Melina Mercouri, the actress, who had spoken out against the coup from the start.

United States officials, including the Ambassador in Athens, Phillips Talbot, urged the military leaders to avoid such eye-catching actions, which only added impetus to the more fundamental criticisms of military dictatorship voiced by the American liberal and intellectual community.

On Tuesday it became known that the civilian who had headed the Greek Government just before the coup, Panayotis Canellopoulos, had been placed under house arrest. He had publicily denounced the military junta. A State Department spokesman Carl Bartch, added another to the series of complaints the next day and said the United States "continues to hope for an early return to constitutional procedures, with traditional liberties restored."

Then yesterday, the junta put Mrs. Vlachos under house arrest. She had called the military men who ruled Greece "mediocrities."

Criticism in Congress was aroused by a three-day visit to Washington by two senior financial officers of the military regime the governor of the Bank of Greece, Dimitrios N. Galanis, and Costas Thanos, secretary general of the Ministry of Co-ordination. The two officials left Washington yesterday, after meetings at the state department and the Export-Import Bank.

A bipartisan group of 52 members of the House of Representatives signed a letter to the Administration yesterday urging against any consideration of economic aid for Greece.

A spokesman for the Export-Import Bank said there had been no discussion of economic aid during the talks there, which he described as a courtesy call. The State Department spokesmen said the Greek officials made no formal request for aid during their meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Anthony M. Solomon, and that there had been no change in the administration's embargo of large military shipments.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 6, 1967]

GREEK JUNTA DEFENDED

ATHENS, October 5.—A prominent member of the National Radical Union party took public issue today with the recent attack made on the Greek military junta by the party's leader, Former Premier Panayotis Canellopoulos.

In an article published today in the Government-controlled Athens newspaper Vradyni, Panayotis Pipinelis said that the April coup was "necessary and unavoidable." He called on Greeks to support the junta, though he expressed reservations about some of its acts.

The article was distributed in English by the junta's press officials.

The extent to which Mr. Pipinelis's statement would split his party could not be determined, but its timing was a decided blow to the already-weakened opposition groups here and a considerable victory for the junta.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 10, 1967]

THE RIGHT DIRECTION

It would be churlish not to welcome the Greek Government's release of former Premier George Papandreou from house arrest, and the lifting of restrictions on the movements of eight of his colleagues in the outlawed Center Union Party. But one gesture in the right direction doesn't make a representative government out of a strong-arm military junta, or a democracy out of a police state.

There are plenty of ways the present military regime, which seized power in a coup almost six months ago, can demonstrate in what direction it really intends to move. For one thing, there is the question of whether the political leaders now at large will be able to practice politics. Mr. Papandreou's release comes hard on the heels of quite a different gesture—the house arrest a week ago of another former Premier, Panayotis Canellopoulos, and of a leading publisher, Helen Viachou, who had both dared to speak out against the Junta and its policies. That is hardly the behavior of a government prepared to let its opposition speak.

There is also the question of the fate of Mr. Papandreou's son, Andreas, who remains in prison awaiting trial for "treason." There are at least 2500 other political prisoners still in custody, by most accounts. Finally, there has been precious little evidence of progress back toward elections and constitutional rule and the restoration of elemental rights.

The United States and the rest of the international community should make it clear that its distaste for the present regime will not be diminished by just one gesture, however welcome. It remains to be seen whether this was a sop to Greek and world opinion or the bare beginnings of real progress in the right direction.

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA—UAW,
Washington, D.C., October 5, 1967.

Hon. DON EDWARDS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS: I write to ask that your influence be exerted to the full toward preventing either extension or restoration of U.S. aid in any form to Greece while that country remains in the grip of an essentially fascist military junta.

The Pattakos clique, using military equipment largely of U.S. origin, has throttled Greek democracy, jailed thousands of the most respected men and women in public life, imposed military censorship on all forms of utterance, reduced Greek labor unions to creatures of a Nazi-like labor front, and rules through unrelieved terror and oppression. Continued association by our country with such a regime—to say nothing of outright economic or military assistance to it—can only compromise, grievously, our country's own integrity.

I write not alone in behalf of the 1,500,000 members of the UAW, an organization which has for many years worked closely with once-free Greek unions in support of the democratic modernization of that nation. Every element of Greek life, including the most conservative of its traditional democratic participants, has had violent hands laid upon it by the military junta. The depth of world reaction to the dictatorship's assault upon the very fundaments of a free national community may be judged from the decision of the Common Market's Executive Commission to terminate Common Market assistance to Greece. I submit that our nation can do no less than to curtail economic or military assistance of any kind to Greece until such time as civil freedoms there have been restored. Not to do so is to invite authoritarian forces in any nation presently the beneficiary of American assistance to conclude that they can destroy freedom with impunity. Not to do so is to turn our backs on the thousands of courageous Greek citizens who have risked assassination and concentration camps by protesting the dictatorship's destruction of the democratic institutions which are that nation's priceless gift to the world.

Very sincerely yours,
VICTOR G. REUTHER,
Director,
International Affairs Department.

Americanism: The Ideal and the Reality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Miss Trudy Oulliber, from Perrine, Fla., has recently been named winner of the Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs Americanism essay contest with her essay, "The Ideal and the Reality." Trudy was only 15, and in the ninth grade at Cutler Ridge Junior High School when she wrote her essay, and the Perrine Women's Club submitted it to the State federation contest.

Trudy's essay exhibits exceptional maturity and insight, unusual for such a young student, and I wish to join the Perrine Women's Club in commending her for her outstanding achievement.

AMERICANISM: THE IDEAL AND THE REALITY

Americanism cannot be fully understood without first understanding America, and who can understand a dream?

For a dream such a country was, long before the Pilgrims set foot on her shores. Men longed for freedom, freedom of worship, to work as his talents led, freedom to voice his opinion, to own that which his hands had earned, and all the other freedoms which gave him personal dignity, self respect, and worth in the eyes of his fellow man. Out of these longings America was born, and Americanism came into being.

Is Americanism just the spirit of loyalty to American ideals, or is it a study in contradiction? Our constitution proclaims that all men are created free and equal, yet, what of the yellowed receipt that reads: "Received, $500 for the purchase of one male slave"?

As the geography of our country sweeps from snow capped mountains to sandy beaches, her economy from industrial multimillionaires to poverty stricken share croppers, her society from ultra-conservative Chicago to riot ridden Berkeley, her politics from far Right to rosy Left, so do the varied meanings of Americanism appear the Ideal and the Reality.

Because the world has yet to see the fulfillment of the American ideal, there are those who say it is a failure. Nothing could be further from the truth. America is still marching toward maturity and the attainment of the dream.

Patriotism is a vital part of Americanism. While one young man burns his draft card or flees to Canada to escape induction, another applies for entrance into Officers Training School, and still another asks for reenlistment papers at the end of his tour of duty.

At sporting events, one man may chat with his neighbor during the singing of the national anthem as another stands silent, erect, and proud of his American heritage.

All of these reactions are aspects of Americanism. For all are Americans and each reveals by his feelings for his country—one the Ideal, the other the Reality, and each a part of the whole.

As America moves across the stage of history, it would be wise for the people to pause and look again toward the splendor of the Ideal; to realize that it cannot be casually taken as a gift from their forefathers, but must be won by personal effort and even sacrifice.

Americans must never forget this vital truth, as expressed in the slogan of the Freedom Train: "Freedom is everybodys job."

We have seen the effect of Americanism in the past; we know its power in the present; but with these realities what does it hold for the future?

Resolution Concerning Firearms Control Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

. Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution adopted by the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners at their annual convention at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, in opposition to S. 1 and H.R. 5384 to restrict the right of law-abiding citizens to acquire firearms.

This resolution opposing that outrageous legislation sets forth the unanimous views of all of our game, fish, and conservation commissioners, and speaks the thoughts of all law-abiding sportsmen, sportsmen's groups, and conservationists on the subject of this weak and unworkable legislation so incorrectly merchandised as a panacea for our crime problems in this Nation.

RESOLUTION 1—FIREARMS CONTROL LEGISLATION

Whereas, restrictive firearms legislation proposed in the 90th Congress as S. 1 (as amended) or H.R. 5384 conflict with the Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which constitutes the American citizen's right to keep and bear arms, and

Whereas, any unreasonable restriction on firearms would tend to reduce the amount of hunting enjoyed by the American people, one of the basic freedoms traditional to the growth and development of this great country; and

Whereas, a reduction in the sport of hunting would impair the economic welfare of the United States, where the pursuit of wild game represents a thriving industry; and

Whereas, this proposed legislation on gun control would only restrict, unnecessarily, law-abiding American citizens, leaving the criminal free to steal or smuggle firearms at will, since criminals do not abide by any laws, let alone firearms control; and

Whereas, the sportsmen of the United States, representing a large portion of the population, have repeatedly expressed their disapproval of firearms control legislation; and

Whereas, legislation should hit hard on the unlawful use of firearms rather than at the right of ownership:

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the International Association of Game, Fish and Conservation Commissioners, does hereby express opposition to the legislation proposing restrictions on firearms as submitted by Senator Thomas J. Dodd and Representative Emanual Celler in the first session of the 90th Congress in S.B. 1 (as amended) and H.R. 5384; and

Be it further resolved, that the Association supports the principles contained in S. 1853 and S. 1854 as introduced by Senator Roman L. Hruska which would provide reasonable controls over handguns and heavy military weapons used by criminals, incompetents and drug addicts and would have the least effect on sporting firearms.

Congratulations to Bronx Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take pride in announcing to the Hosue that the Bronx Post Office in my county of the Bronx, N.Y., has received the 1967 National Post Office Award of the Magazine Publishers Association.

This recognition of excellence and efficiency in postal administration was presented in the form of a bronze plaque to Postmaster Frank J. Viola, of the Bronx, at the national convention of the National Association of Postmasters. I commend Postmaster Viola and other officials and employees of the Bronx Post Office for the splendid services rendered to the people of the Bronx.

With permission, I insert an article from the New York Times of October 8, 1967:

BRONX POST OFFICE RECEIVES A PLAQUE AS BEST IN NATION

SAN JUAN, P.R., October 7.—The Bronx Post Office won a bronze plaque here today for being the best in the nation.

The 1967 National Post Office Award was presented by the Magazine Publishers Association at the annual convention of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States.

Charles D. Ablard of Washington, the magazine publishers' vice president, handed the 24-by-19-inch [illegible]que to Frank J. Viola, the Bronx postmaster.

The citation singled out the Bronx Post Office for "excellence and efficiency in postal administration and employes." In making the award, Mr. Ablard said:

"With the dedicated talent and leadership of the postmaster, the supervisors and the employes, the Bronx Post Office has shown conclusively that the task of processing and delivering the mail can be accomplished despite the complexities and adversities of all the inherited problems of an urban environment."

The publishers' announcement of the award said that the Bronx Post Office had reduced work hours and overtime despite an increased volume of mail and had speeded mail deliveries at no additional cost, while maintaining good employe-management relations.

The office serves 1.5 million persons in 44 square miles of the borough. It has 3,700 employes and its receipts are $15-million a year.

American Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most eloquent and pointed definitions of American patriotism that I have seen will appear tomorrow in the Post Eagle, of Clifton, N.J., in a column entitled "Outlook and Insight" by Eugene T. Bartkowiak. He focuses on the deeds of two great patriots, Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

Mr. Speaker, as a tribute to those two great Poles who helped found this Nation, and as a continuing tribute to the great Polish-American community of today and tomorrow, I include Mr. Bartkowiak's article, entitled "American Patriotism," in today's RECORD:

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM

(By Eugene T. Bartkowiak)

Over 190 years ago, men like Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko joined forces with other famous American patriots such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams; and with pen and sword they brought a new nation, The United States of America, into being. It was an exciting time, a time for moving ahead and boldly facing new dangers. It was the time when American patriotism was molded.

Casimir Pulaski came to America and in the army of George Washington served at Brandywine. He was made General and Chief of Cavalry by Congress and fought for the greatness of America at Germantown and in the winter campaign of 1777–78. In 1779, as Brigadier General, he defended Charleston. Wounded at Savannah, General Pulaski died for America aboard ship en route back to Charleston.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko entered the American continental army as a volunteer and he too brilliantly distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War. For fortifying Philadelphia he obtained the rank of Colonel of Engineers; and his services at Ticonderoga in 1777 contributed to the defeat of General John Burgoyne at Saratoga. He planned and built the fortress of West Point and was Chief Engineer of the Southern army. He took part in the sieges of Ninety-Six and of Charleston and was rewarded with the thanks of Congress, the rank of Brigadier General and the privilege of United States citizenship.

Today we are again moving through exciting times. Again we move ahead facing the dangers before us. It is a time when the American Patriotism which was so strongly forged by Pulaski and Kosciuszko nearly 200 years ago is being tested and found worthy of the challenge before us.

Now, more than at any other time in American history, we are undergoing vast changes in industry, education, science, communications and international relations. Today we are making explorations into outer space, conquering the oceans, and encouraging the arts and commerce. A tall order, yes, but one which the American people can meet.

This month, American Poles throughout the country are commemorating the anniversary of the deaths of General Casimir Pulaski and General Thaddeus Kosciuszko. In saluting the greatness of these two Polish American patriots The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc. pays tribute by vowing to forever stand on the same platform which these men constructed—American patriotism.

Just as the Declaration of Independence was the testament of their time, so might the Inaugural Address of the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy be considered the covenant of our time. This historic document sets forth clearly and consisely the aims and goals of America today—an America beset by challenges and given opportunities for greatness never before experienced by any people. The text of the Kennedy Inaugural Address has been taken as the guide for The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc.—a guide every American should follow.

The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc. pays homage to the greatness of American patriotism by following the Pulaski and Kosciuszko spirit which blazes on. With this spirit we will move to new frontiers in our quest for a better world.

Amend Statute of Limitations in Certain Civil Actions

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to support H.R. 6527, to establish a limitation on the period of time during which an action may be brought in the District of Columbia to recover damages, contribution or indemnity against architects, designers, engineers, or contractors on the ground of a defective or unsafe condition of an improvement to real property. This measure is identical in intent to my bill, H.R. 11544.

The proponents of this bill, and others engaged in the building industry in the District of Columbia and Maryland, have discussed with me the difficulties which they now face in the absence of any statute of limitations. Recent decisions of the courts have placed an extreme burden upon architects, engineers, builders, and all engaged in construction. They may be liable for their actions many years after completing their work, long after essential witnesses and records may have become unavailable, and long after technical advances may have made their prior work difficult or impossible to defend, although the practices may have been entirely proper and reasonable when undertaken.

This bill would both protect the building industry and continue reasonable protections for injured parties. A sensible time is allowed for commencement of an action, and even following the period of limitation the injured party could bring a claim against the owner or other person in control of the property. Thus this bill balances the interest of all concerned in a way very similar to laws recently enacted by a majority of the States.

I wish to commend the District of Columbia Committee for its prompt consideration of this legislation, and fully support its passage today.

National Newspaper Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, October 8 to 14 marks the observance of National Newspaper Week, and as a former newspaperman, I am particularly pleased to take this opportunity to pay tribute to newspapers across the country for their immeasurable contributions to the betterment of society.

A most outstanding editorial appeared this week in the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle, and I would like to call it to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER WEEK: GETTING THINGS DONE

Newspapers get things done in their communities.

By putting the spotlight on needs . . .

By calling for action . . .

By making people think—and sometimes by making them mad.

When people start thinking, things begin to happen. When they get mad, things begin to happen faster.

Sometimes bad conditions exist in a community for years because nobody gets stirred up enough to do something about them.

A good newspaper is a stirrer-upper.

So it does not upset us when we write an editorial and somebody calls in to bawl us out. At least, the bawler-outer has read what we have said and has reacted. And he is going to talk and argue, and he is going to cause others to talk and argue. First thing we know, the whole community will be talking and arguing, and out of all the forensics will come eventually a consensus that something does or does not need to be done.

It pleases us, of course, to have people tell us they like what we say and always agree with us.

It pleases us even more when people say, "I seldom agree with you, but I read what you say, anyway."

The *Johnson City Press-Chronicle* is committed to getting things done for Johnson City and Upper East Tennessee. In the process, we are going to step on some toes, both official and unofficial, now and then. That's inevitable.

And there will be times when nearly everybody and his brothers and cousins will be mad at us. That's inevitable, too.

There will even be times when we will be wrong in what we are saying and doing. That's for sure.

But as we join newspapers all over the nation in observing National Newspaper Week (Oct. 8–14), we are deeply grateful that we are a part of a free press in a free country—and that, right or wrong, we and every other American are entitled to speak our piece without fear of official coercion or reprisal.

Praise for the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, in this day when the American press is too prone to negative criticism of Government operations, it is refreshing to read an editorial which takes note of the positive contributions being made by an agency which at times has been subjected to unfair criticism. This excellent editorial marking a new milestone in the history of the Peace Corps appeared in the October 3, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and I would like to share it with the Members of Congress.

While brief, the editorial "An Idea Proves Itself," conveys the magnitude of the success of this experiment in American idealism, and indicates most clearly what a handful of dedicated individuals can accomplish in helping the people of the developing nations of the world.

The editorial underscores Peace Corps Director Jack Vaughn's report that Peace Corps alumni who have returned from their missions overseas now total more than the volunteers currently overseas or in training. As a consequence, our own Nation is being enriched as the talented and highly motivated Peace Corps alumni take on new and increasingly responsible roles in our own society.

I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize anew my support of this imaginative concept as it assumes a new dimension in our national life. Director Vaughn and his predecessor Sargent Shriver have every reason to be proud of the work which the Peace Corps has accomplished over the past 6 years. Vice Prseident HUMPHREY too deserves accolades, for the Peace Corps was an idea to which he first gave life, and is so well stated by Mr. Vaughn:

> Just as with this Nation, something was right about the idea all along.

The editorial follows:

AN IDEA PROVES ITSELF

The Peace Corps has a new role.

It now has more alumni (over 14,600) than it has people overseas or in training (about 14,450).

"It is clear," says Corps director Jack Vaughn, "that some very high grade, high gear and highly motivated talent is becoming available in the U.S. in increasing number.

"For these same people who saw in the Peace Corps service an expression of themselves are finding the same opportunity at home. Our nation will be the better for it."

Vaughn said nearly one-third of the returned volunteers are going into full or

> part-time teaching or teacher-related work. The Philadelphia Board of Education is hiring them by mail from overseas. It is seeking 200 volunteers, mostly for ghetto schools.
>
> Another third of the returnees are continuing their education.
>
> Vaughn is lyrical about his program, how it developed abroad and how it now may enrich the nation at home.
>
> Of the Peace Corps concept, he says, "Just as with this nation, something was right about the idea all along."

The Facts Rebut Vietnam Cynics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing on WJBK television, channel 2, Detroit, Mich., on September 25, 1967, which I believe sets forth some facts of great interest on a problem of great concern to our people.

The editorial, entitled "The Facts Rebut Vietnam Cynics," merits the careful consideration of all Americans:

> THE FACTS REBUT VIETNAM CYNICS
>
> Intelligent, thoughtful, honest and good Americans of all political persuasions and backgrounds have differing opinions of the war in Vietnam.
>
> Some are hawks; some are doves; most are somewhere inbetween. Some want more bombing of North Vietnam; some want less. Generally, more *cynics* than *optimists* speak up on the war. But the experienced military analyst, George Fielding Eliot, says that although Vietnam has been a gigantic military and logistics problem, we now are winning the war, according to plan. The distinguished Washington correspondent and widely-syndicated columnist, Roscoe Drummond, says that while the end of the war is not in sight—and a peace conference may not be just around the corner—the facts remain, we are *not* stalemated, we *are* making progress.
>
> According to these experts, enemy strength is declining by at least 2,500 a month. New recruits cannot keep up with battle losses and desertions.
>
> Two years ago, 10,000 Viet Cong defected. Last year, 20,000. This year, 40,000—twice as many as last year and four times as many as two years ago.
>
> It now takes a half-million workers, busy all the time, to repair the damage done by our bombs.
>
> North Vietnamese are being asked by their government to work longer hours to make up for a serious manpower shortage.
>
> Hanoi has lost about half of its MIG fighter planes—and, in less than a year, 3,500 trucks, and 4,000 watercraft.
>
> Thirty-seven nations are now helping South Vietnam. Only 14 helped Korea. In 1965 only 500 free world world troops fought alongside our troops in Vietnam. Now the number is 54,000.
>
> In 1965 the South Vietnamese lost three weapons to the enemy for every one they captured. That's been turned completely around, and the South now captures more than three weapons for every one lost.
>
> The frequency of Viet Cong attacks is declining, because they are weaker. The Cong and the North Vietnamese have not scored even one tactical victory since 1965.
>
> So, regardless of whether we're hawks or doves, or want more bombing or less bombing, one important fact about the war in Vietnam is increasingly clear: We're not stalemated, and we're not losing.
>
> The growing evidence is that we can win the *military* battle. But the *real* battle is between the will of Hanoi to conquer the South—and the will of the South Vietnamese and American people to stick to their guns.

Mr. M. E. "Emmet" Robinson, of Goldsboro, N.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, M. E. "Emmet" Robinson, a longtime leader in his community of Goldsboro, N.C., in my congressional district, passed away last week and an editorial in his hometown newspaper, the Goldsboro News-Argus, paid appropriate tribute to his memory:

> Death as it will to all of us has come to M. E. (Emmet) Robinson. The spelling of Emmet is correct. He was named for the great Irish hero.
>
> If a panel of local historians and authorities on the life of the city and county were asked to name the 10 men who have served our public the best in the past 50 years, they would put Emmet Robinson high on the list. Name any great undertaking for the advancement of Goldsboro and or Wayne in the past years and Emmet Robinson would be one who had worked mightily for the project.
>
> And until a few months ago when Heart trouble stopped him, he was among the leaders in the organization of the community to set up a project for urban re-development in Goldsboro. His knowledge of the city and of its people played an important part in decisions made at the outset of the re-development program, a program which will give Goldsboro a great new look, replacing slums and shanties with modern, comfortable, adequate housing.
>
> As chairman of Wayne County Board of Commissioners, Robinson was one of the leaders for revaluation and fair valuation among all people for county tax purposes.
>
> As chairman of the old Goldsboro hospital board of trustees he was a leader in laying the foundation for Wayne Memorial Hospital and thus opening the way with city and county growth for new Wayne Memorial Hospital now under construction.
>
> As a member of the Board of Aldermen he left his mark of ability and purpose on the city.
>
> If any man served so long and with such distinction in advancing the progress of the section in so many ways, we do not know it.
>
> And remember, please, the modesty with which this splendid public servant always bore himself. The high and low, the white and the colored, the rich and the poor found a friend in him, a smiling, understanding friend. And life was an adventure, an amusing adventure to him. You will recall the half smile he wore always, his cigarete drooping from his lips.
>
> Let us plant many memorial dogwoods for him on Robinson throughway of Highway 70. This name honored Emmet Robinson for his work in securing better recognition for Wayne in allocation of highway funds during the time he was a highway commissioner. Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives subline and departing leave behind us footprints on the sands of time. Emmet left many footprints.

I would not attempt to enlarge or elaborate upon these words except to note that men like Emmet Robinson rarely seek or obtain great publicity, financial reward, or the praise of their fellow man. Seldom do such men during their lifetime receive the recognition and appreciation from their associates, colleagues and contemporaries which they richly deserve. Too often, it remains for the talented writer of an editorial obituary to assemble and put down in one place the many contributions such men have made, day by day, year by year and decade by decade so that even those of us who knew them suddenly get a full picture of the impact they had made.

Characteristically, the leadership this great man exercised in community affairs continued until just shortly before his death. May he find the peace so richly earned in a life of service.

Time To Give Vietnamese Due Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of unwarranted criticism and emotional tirades against the situation in Vietnam. One of the more timely and certainly penetrating commentaries on the subject of South Vietnamese participating in the war appeared in the Joliet Herald-News on Friday, October 6, by Copless Press international analyst Dumitru Danielopol. His commentary follows:

> TIME TO GIVE VIETNAMESE DUE CREDIT
>
> (By Dumitru Danielopol)
>
> WASHINGTON.—We were discussing the latest Washington "controversy" over U.S. policy in Southeast Asia.
>
> "What would you do if you were a South Vietnamese?" I asked the young executive.
>
> "I would commit suicide," he shot back.
>
> A startling answer?
>
> How would you like to be a South Vietnamese?
>
> How would you feel if your future, your liberty and maybe your life and that of your family, the freedom of your country had become a political football, tossed back and forth in the one capital that could protect you?
>
> How would you like to hear that your war for survival is unconstitutional, that it is immoral, that Vietnam is not America's business, that the Americans should withdraw, that they should let the Vietnamese settle their own problems?
>
> How would you like to hear proposals that the opposition party should become the "peace" party in the 1968 elections or that the Negroes in the United States support the Viet Cong?
>
> How would you like to hear—after you risked your life to go to the polls in presidential elections—that the results were inconclusive, that the elections were rigged, that your votes didn't really matter after all?
>
> We certainly provide the Communist

propaganda machine with all the gist it needs.

Under the circumstances, it's a miracle the South Vietnamese are doing as well as they are.

After 20 years of war and internal subversion this exhausted uneducated, struggling country is now being rapped because its army is not as efficient as the U.S. Army.

Admittedly the South Vietnamese lack the strength, skill and tenacity of U.S. divisions. But our divisions represent the cream of the world's best professional army and the cream of the world's best educated youngsters.

Conservative figures published recently show that since 1960 South Vietnamese lost at least 50,000 soldiers killed. If the respective populations are considered, this would represent 600,000 Americans. (The U.S. has 12 times the population of South Vietnam).

The United States didn't lose that many men in World War I, World War II and Korea combined.

The Viet Cong has assassinated 12,000 civilians, kidnapped 42,000 other.

Before we become too critical of South Vietnamese faults, let's ask ourselves:

How many of us would go to vote knowing we might be killed in the process?

Some 83–85 per cent of the South Vietnamese electorate cast their votes in defiance of all Viet Cong intimidation and threats.

How many of us would accept an official capacity in small towns and villages visited by marauding murderers? How many of us would support the government knowing we risked being kidnaped, tortured, killed—or were exposing our families to the same fate?

South Vietnamese do.

Let's stop being pompous, smug and self-righteous. Let's give South Vietnam its due.

We are fighting their war, but they are fighting our war too.

Let's not forget it.

The “Palestine Liberation Organization” Office in New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, ever since the founding of the State of Israel, Arab terrorists have launched almost continuous attacks against its people. In 1964 the Arab States aided in the formation of a formal terrorist group known as the “Palestine Liberation Organization.”

Since that time the PLO has been training terrorists in the refugee camps of the Gaza strip for service as guerrilla fighters against Israel. One of the most disgraceful aspects of this situation has been the fact that UNRWA funds, which were supposed to be for the benefit of the refugees, have been channeled into the training of these military units.

The PLO maintains an office in New York City and in the following article from the September 7, 1967, edition of the American Examiner the question is quite properly asked: Should we permit this group—which is committed to the destruction of a country with which the United States maintains friendly relations—to operate in our country?

The article follows:

Why Does Shukairy's So-Called Palestine Liberation Organization Continue To Have an Office in New York?

(By James H. Sheldon)

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the parent body of the illegal Palestine Liberation Army. Three months after the Arab-Israel War, it still maintains an office in New York City.

PLO was formed, openly and brazenly, for the purpose of liquidating the State of Israel (“Liberating Palestine,” to use PLO terminology, since its officers do not admit the legal existence of Israel). In its “National Charter,” as filed with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice, PLO declares its purpose to be the “liberation of Palestine,” denounces the United Nations partition resolution and the establishment of Israel as “illegal and void,” and resolves to “outlaw” Zionism in the Middle East.

Prior to last June its head, Ahmad Shukairy, was fond of closing speeches to his followers with a shouted “We shall destroy Tel-Aviv,” or similar language.

Actually, PLO has attempted (with the official sponsorship of the Arab states) to set itself up as a kind of shadow government for Palestine. Art. 27 of its Charter declares: “This organization shall have its flag, oath, and a national anthem—and Art. 22 of the attached “Fundamental Law” provides for the establishment of “special Palestinian Military Units, formed in accordance with the military needs and the plan adopted by the Unified Arab Command.”

We reproduce here a few items quoted from “A Summary of Events in the Middle East,” issued as an official publication of Senator J. W. Fulbright's Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

“May 8, 1964.—Representatives of the Arab States met in Jerusalem and announced the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

“September 1, 1964.—The Arab Foreign Ministers allocated $2.3 million to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

“June 19, 1966.—The head of the Palestine Liberation Organization Ahmad Shukairy, said that members of the PLO army would go to Viet-Nam ‘to fight alongside the Vietcong in their struggle against American imperialism.’

“May 17, 1967.—Ahmad Shukairy, leader of the PLO, said that his organization would continue to send infiltrators into Israel. He also repeated past statements that the PLO was armed by the Chinese Communists.”

To make the situation worse, PLO set out to use the Arab refugee camps of the Middle East as a training ground for organizing its infiltrators and military units. Through UNRWA, the United States pays more than 70 per cent of the cost of maintaining these centers. After a careful investigation, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) reported that at least 12,000 inhabitants of refugee camps were being trained, mostly in the Gaza Strip, for service as guerrilla fighters under Shukairy's leadership.

It is appropriate to ask the question now: Why does PLO—whose only purpose is to destroy Israel—continue to exist, and even to maintain offices in New York, three months after a cease-fire was supposedly agreed upon and accepted by all parties?

It is not possible to argue that PLO has shown any change of policies since the events of June. On July 17, indeed, Radio Cairo broadcasted a report of a meeting of the PLO Executive Committee, held that very day, for the purpose of preparing for “the next stage” of the war against Israel. The intent to “liberate” Palestine was again declared, as “a part of the world's liberation battles.” The National Charter of PLO, with its provisions for a “Liberation Army,” was reaffirmed. The scope of the “battle” was even widened, in a declaration that “It has become clear that the danger of Zionism and imperialism, headed by the United States, is no longer limited to Palestine.” Israel's defense actions were called “imperialist Zionist aggression.”

Implicit in the whole program of PLO is a continuing close solidarity with the communist governments of the world, and particularly with the Red Chinese regime in Peking. Readers of this column will recall that we exposed, more than a year ago, the establishment of a Peking office of PLO, headed by Rashid Sayyid Jarbu, who had been granted a regular block of time on Peking radio for the purpose of propagandizing his cause in Asia. Subsequently, the Peking government supplied PLO guerrilla groups with shipments of bazookas and other weapons. On June 6, 1967, just after fighting commenced in the Middle East, Premier Chou En Lai addressed a message to Ahmad Shukairy assuring him that the Chinese Government at Peking would “ever remain the staunch and reliable comrades-in-arms” of the Arabs in the “struggle to repel the aggression by United States imperialism and its tool Israel.”

The propaganda of PLO in America, however, has said very little about the guerrilla activities which are the center of its existence. On the contrary, the New York office talks about the “suffering” of Arab refugees, and the “injustice” of Israel's existence. The New York PLO organ, Palestine Issue, currently complains of what it calls “The Crime of the Christian West in the Holy Land.”

When Israel sought to defend herself against Nasser's troops poised for a death-strike, her action was described as an “unholy Jewish invasion,” made possible because “the Christians of the West have been the defenders of the ‘State of Israel’ against the innocent indigenous Arab inhabitants.” At this point, the PLO editor waxes turbulent, and we read:

“Woe to thee, Christians of the West, for ye have sold the Land of Peace to fanatic Zionists for ‘Thirty pieces of silver’.”

Another article in the same publication, charging that the Israelis refused to cooperate with the Red Cross, is completely at variance with reputable news agency reports from the war zone.

When it comes to talks with Arab students in America, however, PLO representatives take a very different line. Addressing a convention of the Arab Students Organization in the U.S.A. a New York representative of PLO, Saadat Hasan, spelled out the advantages of guerrilla fighting against a modernized army and called upon the students to give their support to PLO. Officers of the Association backed him up in this propaganda.

In short, there continues to exist today, in New York, an office of an organization which is devoted to waging war against a country with which the United States maintains friendly relations. Unlike the mission of a sovereign state, PLO is not an agency to which we grant diplomatic status. It is subject to our laws, which regulate the activities of all foreign agents. Besides propaganda in this country, it attempts to influence delegates at the United Nations, in spite of the U.N. cease-fire actions. What the U.N. delegates do about this is their concern—but whether PLO should be allowed to continue its political activities in our own country, and to insult our citizens, is another matter. The Justice Department should give the whole situation an early and very serious review.

Salute to Betts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Ohio, Representative Jackson E. Betts, was the only witness to protest against the nature of the upcoming 1970 census in hearings before the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in May and June of this year. In seeking to preserve the privacy of the individual against unwarrented intrusion he has introduced legislation, H.R. 10952, limiting the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law. Because I believe the American citizen has a right to his privacy and the right to be left alone and because the Constitution states the purpose of the census shall be that of enumeration I commend the gentleman from Ohio for his stand and have, as a consequence, joined him in introducing such legislation.

Just this morning, the Wall Street Journal in an editorial entitled "Big Brother 1970 Model," saluted Representative Betts' stand and warned its readers of the rude shock in store for them when the 1970 census comes around unless changes are made. The editorial, in its entirety, follows:

Big Brother, 1970 Model

Unless Rep. Jackson Betts and a few other like-minded Congressmen have their way, Americans are in for a rude shock when the 1970 census comes around. For as plans now stand, the forms to be provided by the Bureau of the Census are about as long and certainly are as inquisitive as those devised by the Internal Revenue Service.

Rep. Betts regards the more than 60 items the Census Bureau plans to ask people about as harassment and an invasion of personal privacy. The Ohioan suggests that questions on which answers are mandatory be limited to matters considered as essential to a census, such as name and address, sex, age, race and marital status. Answers to questions about such things as plumbing fixtures, he says, ought to be voluntary.

Certainly if the special trial census prepared earlier this year for New Haven, Conn., foreshadows what is to come in 1970, Rep. Betts has a point. For it not only seeks the sort of data needed for a count of the population, but probes far beyond.

It asks, for instance, "How do you enter your living quarters?" "Do you have a complete bathroom?" And if you do, how many people do you share it with? It asks if heat, light, off-street parking and use of a swimming pool are included in your rent, if you are a tenant. It asks about your water supply, what fuel you use most for heating, whether or not you have a garbage disposal unit, dishwasher and television set (black and white, or color?).

Now it is plain that many of these questions are designed for later use by private industry, educational institutions and governmental agencies. But surely it is possible to get answers to those which are irrelevant to the essential business of a census by means other than threatening the respondent with 60 days in jail and a $100 fine, the penalty for noncompliance.

In 1960, about five million persons somehow managed to escape the Census Bureau's notice. And unless the proposed 1970 form is pared to essentials, after one look at it a good many more millions are likely to long for the same sort of limbo.

Alleged Postal Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I call attention of Members of the House to an article in the October 16, 1967, issue of Newsweek in which the columnist, Raymond Moley, takes a long, hard look at the pending postal rate increase bill.

Mr. Moley properly asks why this bill is being rushed through Congress rather than await the report of a "blue ribbon" committee to which was delegated the task of ascertaining what is wrong with the operation of the Post Office Department.

Mr. Moley's article follows:

Those Alleged Postal Subsidies

(By Ramond Moley)

A House bill to raise postal rates and increase the pay of postal employees (H.R. 7977) has been passed by the Post Office Committee and cleared for floor action by the Rules Committee. This bill is a hybrid. Originally there were two bills—one to comply with the President's demand for higher postal rates and the other to raise the pay of postal employees. The latter, however, gave employees a raise higher than the President's guidelines for Federal employees. And so, to avoid a veto of the pay bill, the House committee combined the two into one piece of legislation. Thus, the present bill is a product of a political maneuver, a practice which from time immemorial has charterized almost everything related to the postal service.

Moreover, this bill is being rushed through despite the fact that a commission of distinguished people was appointed by the President to study the postal service and will not report until next year. The chairman of that commission is Frederick R. Kappel, former chairman of AT&T. The commission was no doubt appointed at the instance of Postmaster General O'Brien, who declared that the "archaic" postal service is "ponderous, creaking, erratic, costly."

THE BURDEN UPON USERS

Instead of waiting for the Kappel commission's report, which may well show how the Post Office can be reformed to the extent that most of the postal deficit can be eliminated, the House Post Office Committee chose to increase the present scale of rates and thus throw the burden upon the users of the mail service.

My argument here deals with what is called a "subsidy" for users of second- and third-class mail. According to the figures in the House committee report, first-class mail in 1966 showed a surplus of $67.7 million. But second- and third-class mail provided deficits of $416.2 million and $401.2 million respectively. For a long time figures like these have been used to claim that users of second- and third-class mail have enjoyed a huge Federal subsidy.

I have had reason to feel the effect of this claim, for whenever over the past twenty years I have in my pieces in this magazine commented upon subsidies in government agencies and programs. I have received letters taunting me about the "subsidy" enjoyed by periodicals. Until now, I have not replied to those charges in print. But since responsible journalists have now accepted the Post Office figures and have joined the chorus, I chose to show how deceptive those figures are. For I have always believed that these claimed subsidies have been based upon a wholly unsound system of allocating costs in the postal system.

BAD ACCOUNTING

The report of the House committee itself in its labored explanation of what are called "cost ascertainment" figures comes close to admitting their unreliability. The cost system does not, it admits, take account of the importance of the priority given to first-class mail as compared with the deferment imposed upon other classes of mail. Delivery of first-class mail is intended to be prompt and almost immediate. Second class should take two or three days, and third class about eight days. Calculations based on the sale of stamps or use of meters cannot be segregated by classes. They are used for all kinds of mail. And the whole basis of assigning costs to the three classes is based upon random samples. The minority report on the bill said: "The full committee had no opportunity whatever to study the cost ascertainment figures on which the rate increases are based . . . all rate adjustments are suspects because they are based on questionable and dubious statistics."

I have become so accustomed to government accounting in other fields that I have grown even more suspicious of the Post Office figures. In the benefit-cost ratio in some big water projects such as dams and water supply, the assumptions are ludicrous. In the Department of HEW there are twelve accounting systems, and none of these has been approved by the Comptroller General's office.

Common sense should tell anyone that since the same men and women, the same buildings, mail trucks, trains, boats and even in some cases horses and mules are used for all classes of mail in varying volume, an allocation of respective class costs is substantially impossible.

In the postal service, 80 per cent of the costs are for labor, and labor is largely used in handling, carrying and sorting mail. Under the ZIP Code system, magazines must do much of this handling at their own expense. A first-class item is handled on the average fifteen times by postal employees. Magazines do nine of those handlings at their own expense.

Despite this continual pushing of rising labor costs upon the users of second- and third-class mail, the rate increases on second-class (122 per cent) and third-class (188 per cent) over fifteen years have been far more than for first-class mail (67 per cent).

Finally, it should be noted that the rate increases in the present bill fall relatively most heavily upon periodicals of small circulation. To the bigs, the increases are an unjustified burden, but to the smalls the proposed rates are a tragic blow. And these smalls include hundreds of special periodicals—cultural, religious, scientific, professional and fraternal.

Here is the example of The Atlantic. Its publisher, Frank M. Herbert Jr., told the Post Office Committee that the present bill would add to his costs $8,800 for first-class mail, $26,250 for second-class mail and $52,800 for third-class mail. In all, this is $87,850. His average profits over five years have been $22,795. Thus, at one blow The Atlantic would either be destroyed or go deeply into debt. And this situation might well apply to hundreds of lesser-known periodicals.

THE BILL SHOULD WAIT

The reason why The Atlantic as well as many other magazines of small circulation use third-class mail is that their prospects are in limited categories and they cannot afford to solicit subscriptions in media with mass coverage. Mr. Herbert said that a one-page ad in the Reader's Digest, with a general circulation of millions, would cost $50,000, but if he used that $50,000 he could appeal through third-class mail to 800,000 selected individuals who would be suitable prospects for The Atlantic.

For these reasons, Congress should defer this bill until the Kappel commission reports on postal operations generally and recommends reforms such as are suggested by the Postmaster General. The billion-dollar postal deficit may be due to inefficiency and waste in the Post Office system itself. Certainly if the system is modernized and if it is possible to have an accurate accounting system, the stigma of "subsidies' should be removed from users of second- and third-class mail.

The Maritime Stalemate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very thoughtful, timely speech by my able and distinguished friend, Mr. Ralph E. Casey, president of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc., entitled "The Maritime Stalemate."

This speech by a prominent leader in maritime affairs stresses the importance of having a sound, constructive maritime program enacted by the Congress without further delay.

Mr. Casey points to the fact that about 70 percent of our ships are 20 years old or older, and that modernization of the fleet will require long-term financial commitments on the part of both operators and financial institutions.

I have long been of the opinion that, where possible, American commerce should be carried in American bottoms made in this country, plying generally to and from all the ports in the world.

A great nation like ours needs a highly developed, large merchant marine, not only for our business prosperity and the prestige of our great free system, but also for the security of the country.

I certainly hope that the Congress will not delay further in launching a suitable, massive shipbuilding and modernization program that will bring our merchant marine up to its proper strength and importance in world commerce.

If we allow our maritime affairs to drift, there is great danger that in the not too distant future we will have no merchant marine worthy of the name, and that would be a great mistake in policy on the part of the Congress, as well as a great blow to the standing of the United States in world trade and a great loss to our American economy in general.

If American shipyards are not able to build these ships, it is up to the Congress to help develop some shipyards that will be so able. There are new techniques and methods available now being used in foreign lands, both in Europe and the Orient, that point the way for modernization of American shipbuilding.

This country cannot afford to ignore these new techniques and methods; in fact, we should embrace them and set up our shipbuilding industry on a real, modernization, forward-looking basis, so that we can do the job that has to be done, and press forward as soon as we can to build up our merchant marine to the point where it should be, to serve a Nation of our size and importance in the world.

I again urge the Congress to take early action in building up and modernizing our merchant marine.

The speech follows:

THE MARITIME STALEMATE

(Speech by Ralph E. Casey, president American Merchant Marine Institute, before the Committee on Merchant Marine, the American Legion, at Boston, Mass., Sunday, August 27, 1967)

It is a real pleasure for me to appear before you once more to discuss the current status of the American merchant marine. Each year for the past ten years or more, we of the industry have been coming before these sessions to warn of the serious crisis growing ever closer for American shipping. Today, gentleman, the crisis is here, and the assistance of your great organization is needed as never before in our history.

The American Merchant Marine Institute—as many of you are aware—represents the majority of all United States-flag tonnage. Our 37 member companies operate both subsidized and non-subsidized vessels; passenger and liner vessels, bulk carriers and tankers; in both the domestic and foreign trades of the United States. This represents approxmiately 5,700,000 gross tons of American shipping. Consequently, the policy views of the Institute do not represent the vested interest of any single segment of the industry but rather constitute a broadly-based consensus of the entire industry.

The importance of having a sound, constructive maritime program enacted without further delay cannot be overemphasized. Of the 965 privately-owned vessels in the fleet today, 682, or about 70 per cent, are 20 years old or older. Even the subsidized operators—who are under statutory obligations to replace their fleets and for whom an orderly replacement plan was devised over ten years ago—currently have 158 vessels, or 49 per cent, of their fleet in the over-age category.

Modernization of our fleet will require long-term financial commitments on the part of both operators and financial institutions. To do the job right, there must be consideration given to all segments of the merchant marine in order that we will have that type of shipping potential which our national maritime policy requires. And considering the depth to which we have fallen, the action to be taken must be not only emergent but far-reaching and drastic in nature.

Two years ago, an effort was made by a Cabinet group within the Administration to present the outlines for a complete revision in maritime policy. This group was chaired by the then Under Secretary of Commerce Alan Boyd. To put it bluntly, "all hell broke loose" over the plans presented by the Boyd report, as it has since become known. Almost simultaneously a report was issued by a majority of the members of the President's Advisory Committee on the Merchant Marine. This report was never presented to the Congress, and in the minds of many here is doubt whether it ever received any serious consideration by the President himself. More recently, Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd has developed a series of proposals that, in effect represent modifications of the recommendations contained in both of these reports.

The Boyd Program, so-called, would provide for greatly increased appropriations for the construction of ships in United States shipyards. The estimates given call for the construction of approximately 30 ships each year for five years, involving subsidies paid direct to the shipyards of between 220 million and 250 million dollars each year. Additional work would be provided to American shipyards in a facet of the program which calls for the modernization of approximately 100 Victory-type troop ships. All in all, this shipbuilding, ship repair program would provide more work for American shipyards, and more jobs for American shipyard workers than ever before in the peacetime history of the United States.

Operating subsidies would be extended under the Boyd Program to four liner companies operating about 60 ships, whose applications have been pending for a number of years. Additionally, operating subsidies would be extended to bulk carriers, a segment of the fleet which was completely neglected in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. And in view of the radically-changed nature of our foreign trade over the last 30 years, no one seriously questions the need, from both a commercial and national defense standpoint, for a strong bulk carrier fleet as part of a well-balanced American merchant marine.

Cargo Preference, which has been of such great help to American shipping, would be retained. However, for those companies receiving financial aid from the Government in the form of direct operating parity payments, rate differentials would be gradually eliminated. Mr. Boyd has made it unmistakably olear that he favors retention of the now well-established principle that cargoes paid for by American taxpayers should be subject to a mandate under which 50 per cent would be carried in American bottoms.

Other aspects of the proposals which Mr. Boyd has made involve the commencement of a nuclear ship construction program; a revision in the trade route concept looking toward more freedom of operation by subsidized operators; experimentation with the operating subsidy system to find out whether there cannot be developed a form of parity payment with an incentive feature more closely tied to efficiency and economy of operation; an expanded program of research and development; and some participation by the Federal Government in a program to improve ports, docks, and cargo-handling facilities.

With all these proposals, there has been little disagreement on the part of labor and management in the industry; in fact, most of the proposals have met with enthusiastic reception. There are, however, two facets of the proposals which have been the subject of vituperative controvery: first, permitting American ship operators, once construction appropriations have been exhausted, to build a limited number of vessels abroad; and second, inclusion of the Maritime Administration within the Department of Transportation.

The Institute has consistently and strongly supported all aspects of the Boyd Program. In some areas we do not feel it goes far enough, and yet believing as we do that a start must be made somewhere and without further delay, we have supported the proposals without serious qualification. Unfortunately, there are segments of the industry, both labor and management, which have taken strong issue both on the right to build abroad and on the locus of the Maritime Administration.

Let us deal for a moment with this dilemma. The two issues have resulted in a complete stalemate so far as any new maritime program is concerned. The industry and the Congress have been split very sharply into two warring camps. This is indeed unfortunate because never before has the Congress been so divided on a set of proposals designed to benefit the American merchant marine. Added to this we have shipbuilders pitted against ship operators and one faction of unions pitted against another.

Last year, a real fight took place in the Congress over whether the Maritime Administration should be in or out of the Department of Transportation. The Administration lost this fight, due primarily to the activity on the part of a group of unions in the Maritime Trades Department, under the leadership of Paul Hall, its President, joined by segments of management including the American Merchant Marine Institute. Of course, whenever you beat the current Administration, be it Democrat or Republican, on an issue which it considers of vital importance—whether it is or not—you have trouble on your hands. The memory of last year's battle has by no means faded. This in itself would be bad enough, but it has a distinct bearing on the present conflict over the program espoused by Secretary Boyd for revitalizing the merchant fleet.

There is a suggestion that Congress itself can do the job. There are some who delude themselves into thinking that a bill prepared in the Congress and passed by the Congress without the support of the Administration—and indeed over its strong objections—will succeed in reversing the downward trend in the plight of the American merchant marine.

Nothing could be further from the truth. No one who really appreciates the way our Government works in Washington can really believe that the mere passage of a new piece of maritime legislation can actually succeed in achieving the objective we all want. For example, Secretary Boyd proposes the construction in American shipyards of approximately 30 ships a year for five years—a program which will involve substantial construction subsidies to shipyards each year. Can we really expect that if the Congress tries to extract this "goodie" from the Boyd program we can expect these large annual appropriations to be processed through the maritime agency—wherever it may be located—then through the Bureau of the Budget, then through the Appropriations Committee, and finally through the Congress, without the support of the President of the United States?

Is it any wonder that I deplore a situation where the American merchant marine, so vital to our commerce and defense, yet so close to economic extinction, is at the moment caught in a mortal web by forces and counterforces, exerted not by our enemies but by our allies.

Recently, there was a motion made on the floor of the House of Representatives to impose a limitation which some felt at the time would seriously impair the relatively small amount of money made available in the fiscal years 1967 and 1968 for ship construction. This, in essence, was submitted as a Republican-sponsored economy move. It passed with little or no debate. Where, then, were those who have been so vocal in support of a new program, yet so defiantly opposed to proposals being espoused by Secretary Boyd that would involve no Government money. Bear in mind that for every cargo ship built here the Government will have to lay out anywhere from 5 to 11 or 12 million dollars, whereas the same ship built abroad will cost the Government nothing.

There are some who think that actually there are not two issues holding up the maritime program but really only one. And that one is the right of American operators to build any ships whatever in foreign shipyards. Many people in the industry—and you may put me down as one of the strongest adherents to this point of view—feel that the hardheaded position of American shipyards and American shipyard unions, in their refusal to compromise on this issue, is completely unreasonable. I feel it is a "dog in the manager" attitude that is contrary not chant marine but of this country as a whole. only to the interests of the American mer- We need many ships, and we need them fast. We cannot wait for the complete rebuilding, modernization, and automating of American shipyards. We cannot wait for the construction of new shipyards or even the development of new techniques.

There are some in the shipbuilding industry who say, "We can do the job—just give us a chance." I say the evidence is all around us to prove that they do not have the capability and that we cannot afford the luxury of waiting a year or two in order for their lack of capability to prove itself through experience.

I know of one company who in mid-1966 asked for estimates on a large conversion job from an American shipyard. Six months later, when bids were actually solicited from that yard, the price was almost $3 million more for that same work. Was this because of higher labor costs? Of course not. The yard simply was no longer a hungry bidder.

I know of another case where an American company solicited bids from a number of shipyards for the construction of three large vessels. Only two bids were received, undoubtedly because most of the yards in the United States were not equipped to build this size ship. But even more importantly, the lowest bid was some $3 million less than the only other bid received. This is an indication that the second low bid was not a real "business" bid.

Then we have the recent case of the LASH ships. This is a radically new concept in ship design, intended to carry cargo in individual barges loaded aboard the vessels. Two American operators will build a total of 11 of these vessels at an estimated cost of over $20 million per vessel. When the bids were opened, it was found that only a few yards were interested enough to even submit a bid, and here again the low bid was almost $2.5 million *per ship* lower than the next responsive bid. It is known that other similar type vessels are yet to be let out for bids. What yards will even submit bids on this procurement and at what cost?

The shipbuilders contend that these situations represent "nothing other than normal bidding pattern". This may well be, but if so, it portends dismal prospects for any conscientious effort to revitalize the American merchant fleet. A stepped-up building program here in the United States is absolutely certain to inflate prices and prolong delivery schedules. And unless the shipyards are permitted to tailor the design of the ship to the capacity of their yards rather than to the needs of the shipping operator—and who in their right mind could subscribe to that?—there is bound to be less and less bidder interest in future procurements.

If ever I was convinced of anything, it is that no new legislation can succeed unless a satisfactory compromise is worked out between the Administration and the Congress. As I said at the beginning of this statement, neither policy nor program is an end in itself—there must be a full implementation of both, executed by administrative agencies conscientiously and without reservation. Unless this can be accomplished, all the countless hours of work and reams of testimony that have transpired over the past two years will amount to nothing but wasted effort.

Thank you.

A Summing Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the New York Daily News, on its editorial pages, comments on the publication of the autobiography of Edward V. Rickenbacker. But, the editorial comment is far more than a literary review—it is, as the article is titled "A Summing Up" of a great American, who still is going strong.

The editorial properly pinpoints the principles that led Captain Eddie to legendary fame.

The book—

States the Daily News—

is a testament ot the author's faith in God, love of country, and belief that one must give before he can hope to get.

It is a pleasure to commend the editorial to the Members, and I am looking forward to reading "Rickenbacker"—the story of a man:

[From the New York Daily News, Oct. 9, 1967]

A Summing Up

Few men are privileged to live as long, as excitingly or as fruitfully as Edward V. Rickenbacker, the son of Swiss immigrants who became a national hero and a legend in his lifetime. All of it, the struggles and the triumphs, have been captured in an autobiography entitled simply "Rickenbacker" (Prentice Hall; 443 pages; $7.95).

More than a life's tale, it is also a testament to the author's faith in God, love of country, and belief that one must give before he can hope to get.

Long before he became an auto racing champion, America's flying ace of aces in World War I, or pioneer in commercial aviation, Rickenbacker learned the value of self-reliance, initiative, and placing opportunity and challenge above security.

He came to manhood as a spindly 13-year-old boy, forced by the death of his father to work killing hours in glass factories and metal foundries so that the Rickenbacker family could keep going. That was the start for the man who today is one of the most outspoken champions and examples of—the rugged individualism—so long deemed an essential part of the American character.

What kind of man is Captain Eddie? Peek at a few vignettes from his story.

Here is a young man in his 20s scraping together every cent of savings to field his own race car team with little to fall back on but his faith in himself.

You see him again in the cockpit of a Spad over France, his guns jammed and Germans on his tail, coolly refusing to seek safety for fear of panicking the younger fliers with him.

In the depth of the depression he takes charge of a weak-winged bird, Eastern Air Lines, breathes life into it and watches with pride as it becomes the first commercial airline to cast away the crutch of government subsidies.

His body horribly broken in a 1941 airline crash, he lies in a Georgia hospital and refuses drugs, lest in easing his pain they might make acceptance of death easier.

Sprawled in a tiny raft in the Pacific Ocean in 1943, he prays, pleads, sings and tongue-lashes his fellow survivors from another air crash, winning life for seven of them almost through sheer will power.

It may be, however, that the essential Rickenbacker shows best not in an hour of victory, but at a time of failure. It was the 1920s and the auto company he helped found had floundered in the postwar depression. His share of the debt: $250,000.

There would have been no dishonor in taking refuge in bankruptcy. But Rickenbacker didn't see it that way.

Without a whine or a backward look, he struck out into new ventures. It tooks years, but he repaid every cent.

The act of a "square"? We'd say it was the mark of a man—which Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker was, and is.

Hawaii Family Income Exceeds National Average by $1,200 Margin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is generally regarded as the world's most famous year-round vacation spot. However, as the "Crossroads of the Pacific," it also plays a major role in bringing together buyers and sellers from the East and West, assisting in their trading and financial arrangements and providing them with display, exhibition, and other marketing facilities. As Hawaii advances with rapid strides toward becoming the center of finance and trade in the Pacific, I think it significant to point out the growth factors in Hawaii's new economy as described in a recent report by the First National Bank of Hawaii.

In its monthly publication, Economic Indicators, the bank notes a steady move upward in the number of families in the $10,000-plus a year income bracket, which has resulted in a whole new range of goods and services on the consumer's wanted list.

The bank's report also revealed that last year the average income per family in the 50th State was $8,053—the highest in the Nation—up from an average family income of $1,400 in 1965.

I now submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newspaper article summarizing these interesting highlights from the recent economic report by the First National Bank of Hawaii. The article from the September 27, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bullein follows:

FAMILY INCOME AVERAGE IN STATE TOPS $8,000

Families in Hawaii earn more money than the national average, but more members of the family are at work to bring in the extra income, according to the First National Bank of Hawaii.

In its monthly report, Economic Indicators, the bank said the average income per family in the State was $8,053 for last year.

The latest year in which Hawaii could be compared with a national average was 1965, and the average family income here then was $7,400, compared with $6,882 across the nation.

The 1960 Census showed 54 per cent of Hawaii families with more than one wage earner, compared with, for example, California, which had 44 per cent multiple-earner families.

National figures published by the bank show a steady move upwards in the number of families in the $10,000-plus a year bracket.

The figure moved from 6 per cent in 1955 to 14 per cent in 1960 and 25 per cent in 1965.

In Hawaii, 1965 statistics showed more than 30 percent of families earning more than $10,000 a year.

Close to half the total purchasing power for consumer goods and services lies in this $10,000-plus bracket, the bank said, resulting in a whole new range of goods and services on the consumers' wanted list.

Why They Serve: A Father's Moving Letter to His Daughter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, there has recently come to my attention a letter that a young Navy lieutenant wrote to his daughter on his departure for a Polaris submarine patrol. The letter, by Lt. John W. Asher III, is such a moving expression of the simple patriotism typical of so many career military personnel that I wanted to share it with my colleagues.

The letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 13, 1967.

DEAR HOLLY ANN: This letter will try and explain to you why your father is serving in the Navy today and why he may be serving in the Navy for quite a few years, possibly even when you are old enough to read and understand this.

Since the revolution of 1776, millions of Americans have stood for, fought for and died for freedom. They did so because freedom, unfortunately, is not free. Freedom must be fought for to be gained and fought for to be maintained. If we Americans don't fight for it every minute of every day, there are people and powers that would take it from us. In your Grandfathers day, it was Hitler's Nazis; today it is Communists. In your day it may very well be some entirely different politico.

America not only fights for her own freedom, but for the freedom of any other country that is threatened and asks us to help them keep their freedom.

Our fight for freedom today is on two fronts. On one front one half million American troops are fighting communists to help guarantee the freedom of the South Vietnamese people. These people have asked our help and we have responded. If we had not come to their aid, then their freedom and the freedom of their neighbors would have been crushed by the communists.

The second front in our fight for freedom is our national defense. Our Armed Forces and sophisticated weapons systems act as a deterrent to communist aggression and domination. As long as we demonstrate to the communists that our defense is strong and that if attacked, we can and will retaliate with terrible force; then our freedom is guaranteed.

Unfortunately the meaning of freedom is not clear to all Americans. Some take it for granted. "Let the other guy do it" they say. Little do they realize that over half of the people in the world have no freedom and that unless we fight for ours, neither will we.

My part in our fight for freedom is admittedly small. My job offers few rewards and long periods of separation from you and your mother. There is one compensation. I know that I am helping to guarantee a safe and happy home for you, your mother, your grandparents and our friends. It is well worth the effort.

Your mother is doing her part by acting as a father, mother and head of household while I am away. It is a job that she does willingly. You are fortunate that she does it so well. It is a true sacrifice. Someday, I hope, you will be able to do your part and do it as well as she does.

Love,

DAD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses cleared agriculture appropriations bill for President.

Senate passed public works appropriations bill, worked on State-Justice-Commerce appropriations bill, and passed nine bills on calendar call.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 14479–S 14534

Bills Introduced: Eight bills and two resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2513–2520; S.J. Res. 115; and S. Con. Res. 47. **Page S 14487**

Bill Reported: Report was made as follows: S. 2303, to provide a uniform system for establishing wages of employees in recognized trades or crafts, with amendments (S. Rept. 592). **Page S 14487**

Bills Referred: Five House-passed bills were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. **Page S 14487**

Public Works Appropriations: By 82 yeas to 3 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Senate passed with amendments H.R. 11641, fiscal 1968 appropriations for public works, after rejecting the following amendment and motion:

Rejected: Randolph amendment to reduce by $41.338 million funds for reactor development program of the AEC; and, by 27 yeas to 54 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Williams of Delaware motion to recommit the bill to Committee on Appropriations with instructions to reduce appropriated funds by $247,808,200.

Senate insisted on its amendments, asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Ellender, Hayden, Russell, McClellan, Hill, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Bible, Pastore, Randolph, Kuchel, Hruska, Young of North Dakota, Mundt, and Smith. **Pages S 14534, S 14537–S 14558**

Calendar Call: On call of calendar nine bills were passed as follows:

With amendment, to be sent back to House:

D.C.: H.R. 3973, authorizing employment in the D.C. Department of Public Health of qualified physicians and dentists who are licensed outside of the D.C.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

D.C.: S. 768, providing for the taking of a census of D.C. schoolchildren under age 18;

D.C.: S. 770, to provide for the establishment of a public crematorium in the D.C.;

D.C.: S. 1631, to raise to age 20 the maximum age limit of schoolchildren entitled to reduced fare transportation in the D.C.; and

D.C.: S. 2012, relating to the administration of the school lunch program in the D.C.

With amendment and cleared for House:

Highway safety: S. 1552, to establish a National Highway Safety Advisory Committee;

D.C.: S. 765, making it illegal to operate a motor vehicle in the D.C. while under the influence of a drug;

D.C.: S. 1224, to establish a register of blind persons in the D.C.; and

D.C.: S. 318, to establish a child day care program in the D.C. **Pages S 14479–S 14487**

State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations: Senate considered, but did not complete action on, H.R. 10345, fiscal 1968 appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies, taking the following actions on amendments thereto:

Adopted: Two McClellan amendments of a technical conforming nature respecting boilers and aircraft; and, by 74 yeas to 15 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Byrd of Virginia amendment stating it to be the sense of the Congress that the U.S. through its representatives in the U.N., having advocated economic sanctions against Rhodesia, should initiate and support in the U.N. economic sanctions against North Vietnam.

Pending at recess was Dirksen motion to suspend the rules for purpose of amending the bill by adding language respecting the effect of certain recent court decisions on the Subversive Activities Control Board. By unanimous consent, it was agreed that following approval of the Journal on Wednesday, October 11, further debate on this amendment will be limited to 2 hours, equally divided. **Pages S 14567–S 14582, S 14593**

Authority To Meet: All committees were authorized to meet while Senate is in session on Wednesday, October 11. **Page S 14582**

Transportation Appropriations: The following additional conferees were appointed to represent Senate in conference committee on H.R. 11456, fiscal 1968 appro-

Appendix

Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967

SPEECH
OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7977) to adjust certain postage rates, and for other purposes.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

This amendment would get more money out of the second-class users of the mails, the publishers, who are really being subsidized by literally millions of dollars by the American taxpayers.

I was hopeful that my "red-tag treatment" amendment would have passed. I did not insist upon a division but I wanted to lay some groundwork having to do with the big steal that is taking place in this country today by the publishers of second-class mail. There is where the big steal is. There is where the big mail robbery is taking place.

So. Mr. Chairman, I can support the gentleman's amendment because at least it gets a few more pennies out of them, and adding all of it together we might get a few million dollars more out of them.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I would ask the gentleman, what are the items that fall into the category of second-class mail besides magazines?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Newspapers.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Newspapers and magazines.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. In this particular section of the bill.

Mr. ABERNETHY. How much loss is the Federal Government incurring annually on second-class mail?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Right now on second-class mail I do not know the percentage.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. If the gentleman would yield, about $400 million.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Yes, about $400 million. It is a tremendous sum.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Indeed it is, if it is $400 million.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. It is said that second class is going to be given a 23-percent increase in rates in this bill. That is true, but it is 23 percent of what? Twenty-three percent of a dollar is one thing, and 23 percent of a penny is another thing. The rates are so low now that 23 percent means very little to these huge publishers. What I am trying to do is to get some more money out of these big publications that are getting this first-class, privileged treatment at these low, second-class rates. I do not know how anybody can be opposed to that.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. I would state to the gentleman in the well that the deficit on second-class mail now is $416 million.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. That is a sizable sum of money. I do not know what the proposed amendment would bring in, but I believe we ought to at least get as much out of them as we can, because they have such a strong lobby, and they have lobbied on this section more than any other section I know of. And that, I am sorry to say, is what happened between the time the subcommittee passed the red-tag treatment amendment, and when the subcommittee bill came before the full committee.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. I would like to say this: I certainly feel Congress should have to do something to reduce the tremendous deficit connected with the second-class mail, that is, the margin of deficit; it is more than half of the total deficit in the postal service. But this is the wrong way to do it, because we are penalizing the big publishers by this amendment; that is not right, and that is not equitable.

So, Mr. Chairman, I oppose this amendment, although I do support the idea of increasing rates for second-class mail users.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. This is a compromise, I might say to the gentleman. I gave the Members an opportunity to go along with the red-tag treatment amendment, but because of the small papers involved I presume the Members felt they should oppose it.

This amendment eliminates the small publications. It is at least a beginning.

This is a start. Maybe then we can build from this start.

Presentation of National Historic Landmark Certificate and Plaque to the Citizens of Georgetown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, on October 7, the Secretary of the Department of Interior, Hon. Stewart Udall, presented a National Historic Landmark Certificate and Plaque to the citizens of Georgetown.

At this ceremony, Secretary Udall cited the history and authority for issuing Historic Landmark Certificates, along with other pertinent remarks.

In preserving the history of Georgetown, Secretary Udall urged local interested citizens of this community to become more interested in preserving their town's identity and historic landmarks.

I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR STEWART L. UDALL

George Town was a thriving port city for nearly 50 years before the Nation's Capital was laid out on the lowlands to the south and east of it. It was here in Suter's Tavern that President George Washington met with the owners of the land selected as the site of the New Capital City and persuaded them to accept the reasonable terms he offered. It was here that Major Pierre L'Enfant labored over his great design for the new Federal City, as it was then called, and it was here that Andrew Ellicot produced his survey—still the basis for all major Washington planning.

And it was to George Town that many of the officials of the new government came to live, for Washington itself still offered little in the way of comfortable living. So Georgetown grew with the new republic, into a busy and fashionable town. A few mansions on the heights, many streets of fine brick houses in the charming style of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a thriving business district on Bridge and High Streets, and a busy waterside with wharves and warehouses, taverns and mills, kept busy by foreign and locally-owned ships which sailed up the wide Potomac estuary. Through the heart of it threaded the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the result of George Washington's dream to make the Federal City the key port of entry to the heartland of this great continent.

But this lively and fashionable town had sad days ahead of it. With the growth of Washington proper, a new residential area developed east of Rock Creek. Many of the old families of Georgetown held on, but whole blocks of houses were deserted and allowed to decay. Poor immigrants moved into many of them. The quiet local industry along the waterfront was replaced by heavier, uglier, more objectionable uses. The story is that of urban neighborhoods in cities all over the land.

During the 1930's, however, Georgetown's new life began. Many people, newly come to the Capital, were attracted by the historic interest of Georgetown, and by the fine late Colonial and early Federal architecture of its houses. The next 30 years saw the area taking on again the mixture of glamour and quiet respectability it had traditionally possessed. Local citizens, both those from the old families who had never left Georgetown and newcomers who had grown to cherish it, banded together to protect the old town from the uglification which is an unhappy hallmark of what we call "progress" in America.

In 1935, the Congress of the United States—

many of whose distinguished members by then lived in Georgetown—passed the Historic Sites Act which, among other things, authorized a national survey of historic sites and buildings. This was carried on by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

After the war, it was realized again that Georgetown, like other areas rich in historic associations and fine architecture, was in danger of losing its identity and character. In 1950, the Congress passed an Act which created the Old Georgetown District, the purpose being to "preserve and protect the places and areas of historic interest" by requiring the review of all plans for new buildings and for restoration of old structures. As a further demonstration of the Federal government's active interest in the physical remains of the Nation's history, in October 1966, just one year ago, President Johnson signed a new historic preservation law, which impowers the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to the States and to the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Just the other day, the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation took action toward supporting the citizens of Alexandria who are trying to prevent the demolition of a large portion of that historic city's ancient downtown area. This action may carry no authority, but it can wield a powerful influence.

The Federal government is now in the historic preservation business—within certain limits. But that does not mean that Uncle Sam will carry the ball from now on. Now, more than ever, the initiative is up to the local citizens and their organizations. The Federal government can provide the necessary legal powers and political organization, and usually half the funds, but it is up to the community to provide the initiative, the drive, the opportunity and a good part of the money.

You people of Georgetown still face many problems; some of them you have worked to solve for many years. But have you, as a community, established a town image of the future? Have you formed this image with the knowledge that change is inevitable? With proper guidance and control, change can enhance a community. Unplanned change is usually for the worse. If you can agree upon a comprehensive plan for Georgetown development, you can always make yourselves heard at "City Hall."

The first step is yours. You take it when you design the future plans for Georgetown. Then is the time, through your local governmental channels, to ask assistance. The government can furnish support, but the solutions must be your own.

What are your problems here? M Street is a mess and the hippy joints are keeping you awake at night; Wisconsin Avenue has only a suggestion of the charm it could possess for the shopper. An elevated expressway roars through your waterfront the ground around and beneath it is cluttered with noisy industries and the air is befouled by choking smells.

Except possibly for the hippies—whose long-haired enthusiasms are short-lived anyway—there isn't a problem there that can't be solved by solid community action.

Such action *must* provide for *change*. It must face the fact that the world of tomorrow will be very unlike the world of yesterday. You can help shape that change to your vision.

More than two years ago, following a directive from the President to "clean up the Potomac" and study ways and means to preserve and enhance the beauties of its shores, I asked the American Institute of Architects to appoint a Task Force to carry out this study. Its report to me is now available—some of you have seen it, I'm sure. I endorse it, yet at the same time I do not say that I accept it in all details. However, it sets forth broad principles for the design and control of the portions of the metropolitan area which impinge upon the river. Let me quote a few lines from its reference to the Georgetown waterfront:

"The Georgetown waterfront surely must and will be redeveloped. . . . Its design character should reflect its cosmopolitan life and its historical continuity. . . . New buildings in this area should be of many kinds and uses, although predominantly residential, in keeping with the character of Georgetown as a whole, although it is unreasonable to expect that many of its traditional single-family dwellings can be accommodated there. . . . The entire area should be conceived of as a logical and natural extension of the Georgetown community. . . . That a major highway will continue to traverse the Georgetown waterfront must be expected, but the highway could take a form consistent with the character of the waterfront. . . . (It) should be either underground or so thoroughly assimilated into the surrounding urban fabric that it neither obtrudes from it nor conflicts with it."

There is the essence of a design concept for the development of your Georgetown waterfront. Put your community associations and their designers and planners to work on it. You have no major problem here that I know of that cannot be solved by concerted community effort. You have a precious community, a precious heritage. Plan so that Georgetown continues to be the gracious heart of our Capital City.

Today I present a marker in recognition of what you *have* done to preserve and restore. You have been good stewards in maintaining the character of the community you inherited. It is not only an ancient town, as towns in this country go, but it is one rich in its historic associations with the founding of our Republic. You can be justly proud of what you have accomplished. We now recognize your efforts and commend them to the Nation. It is my great honor, and my own personal pleasure, to present to you, the citizens of Georgetown, the National Historic Landmark certificate and its accompanying plaque. The certificate reads as follows:

United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., Georgetown Historic District is hereby designated a Registered National Historic Landmark.

Under Provisions of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, this site possesses exceptional value in commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States of America.

World War I Debts to United States Should Be Paid by Delinquent Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the United States over a period of years, as we all know, has invested billions in the economies of other nations to assist them in regaining their fiscal footing and in developing business and industry.

In this connection the Nashville Banner, in an editorial on October 9, pointed out that the Treasury Department in a recent report disclosed that 17 nations still owe the United States some $21 billion in delinquent World War I debts.

In view of the fact that our Nation has made later substantial loans to these same nations, it would certainly seem that the least they could do in reciprocation would be to repay their old debts. Because of the great interest of my colleagues and the Nation generally in this most important matter, I include the Nashville Banner editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

TIME FOR PAYDAY EDICT ON OVERDUE WAR DEBTS

The Treasury Department issued a report Tuesday disclosing that 17 nations still owe the United States some $21 billion in delinquent World War I debts.

TD officials who keep tab on national assets and liabilities have been doing that each year since the loans were made. But nothing ever comes of it except mild wonderment as to why these debts aren't being paid and why Uncle Sam doesn't insist that some sort of repayment plan be set up so we will eventually get our money back.

Twenty-one billion dollars was a lot of money back in the early 1920s. At the rate of federal expenditures then it was sufficient to pay the operating cost of the United States Government for a full five years.

Now, even if we got it back (which is doubtful), the sum would fall short of covering the Great Society's spending program for a single year. It would barely be enough to meet interest payments on the national debt for 18 months!

The longer we let these debts go the less they will be worth in terms of buying power.

That's part of the price America is paying for inflation.

However, there's another chapter to the delinquent debt story which involves additional loans in the amount of some $19 billion to these same countries since World War II. As in the case of the World War I notes, we haven't even collected the interest on this sum, let alone get anything on the principal.

Nor are we likely to unless we press collections.

All of which makes one wonder why we periodically trot them out as "assets," unless we intend some time to issue a payday edict.

Records show that only three nations—Nicaragua, Liberia, and pre-Castro Cuba have paid up in full. One other country—tiny Finland—has been honest enough to make annual payments, the latest being $352,982.50, representing interest and principal.

On the other hand, Great Britain and France (which together owe us $16 billion), are still milking the U.S. to sustain their economies—Great Britain through recent additional loans to stabilize the pound—and France through its gold grab under an international trade balance agreement.

It's not enough for Treasury Department officials to go through the ritual of issuing annual reports on sums due.

Surely, after 45 years of loaning good money after bad it's time to serve notice on these delinquent debtors that payday is here.

If Finland can pay, so can they.

Cruel Kindnesses for the Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in diagnosing the social troubles which are affecting our Nation today, many northerners have rushed forward to blame the South for the troubles in the cities. Not everyone, however, has been so eager.

The Charleston News and Courier has recently reprinted an editorial from the Wall Street Journal entitled "Cruel Kindnesses for the Slums." The News and Courier in its accompanying remarks points out that the Wall Street Journal is an impartial observer and serves as the nearest thing to an international newspaper for the United States. It is therefore important that the Wall Street Journal singles out the U.S. Government itself as responsible for a lot of the trouble in the slums.

The Charleston News and Courier commends the Journal for its forthright editorial and it hopes that it will receive nationwide attention.

I believe that the Charleston News and Courier has performed an important service in calling attention to this remarkable editorial from the Wall Street Journal. I ask unanimous consent that the two editorials, one entitled "A Voice of Realism," published in the Charleston News and Courier, the other entitled "Cruel Kindness for the Slums," and published in the Wall Street Journal, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Oct. 11, 1967]

A VOICE OF REALISM

In searching for causes of turmoil in the cities, critics usually note the migration of Southern farm folk to the North and West. Unprepared for urban living, these migrants have drifted into slums. Occasionally they erupt into riots.

Some of the critics blame Southern white people for driving out Negroes, and for failing to train them for conditions in the cities. For years The News and Courier has been striving in editorials to throw light on the facts and reduce the hostility—sometimes, it seems, maliciously promoted by both private and political sources—against the Southern states. We welcome fresh thoughts on this subject today from an impartial observer, namely The Wall Street Journal.

Oriented to no particular region and serving as the nearest thing to a national newspaper in the United States, The Wall Street Journal is in a good position to discuss a problem in wretchedness that assumes tremendous urgency. Instead of blaming prejudice, bigotry and other bogeymen so frequently mentioned by confused and windy censors, The Wall Street Journal singles out the U.S. government itself as responsible for "a lot of the trouble in the slums . . ."

Elsewhere on this page today we reprint the text of The Journal's editorial, "Cruel Kindnesses for The Slums." We commend it to our readers. We hope this clear and forceful editorial will achieve nationwide attention. A note of realism is long overdue in dealing with issues that heretofore have been clouded with fruitless sentiment, political hokum and sheer mischief.

[From the Wall Street Journal]

CRUEL KINDNESSES FOR THE SLUMS

It is sad and ironic but nonetheless a fact: A lot of the trouble in the slums of the nation's cities is traceable, directly or indirectly, to misguided federal policies.

We may begin with the farm program. A salient feature of the slum picture today is the vast migration of Negroes from rural areas to the cities over the past 20 years or so. A major reason for the migration is the increasing mechanization of agriculture, which has meant drastically less reliance on manpower.

Mechanization is in many ways a blessing and in any case it was inevitable, but there is no doubt that it has displaced large numbers of farm workers who drifted to the cities with little real prospect of urban employment. Equally there is no doubt that the mechanization was speeded by parts of the farm program, particularly acreage restrictions.

But it's worse than that. During all those years the government has been spending billions on agriculture; evidently it was not overly concerned about the human element. Presumably the planners in Washington were aware of the accelerating migration, but the farm bureaucracy was too ponderous or too uninterested to take steps that might have eased the resulting strains.

What steps? Certainly not some kind of subsidization designed to tie the Negro to the farm, for such an effort would be a futile attack on progress. At the least, though, the government could have diverted a substantial portion of its heavy and wasteful farm spending to give the Negroes effective training before they left for the cities. Instead, a government that presumes the wisdom to take intimate charge of the farm economy neglected those most in need of help.

As it is, once arrived in the city the unskilled Negro encounters several more federally aided obstacles to employment.

One is discrimination by unions, which could only have come to their present position of great power through federal favoritism. Granting a considerable amount of employer discrimination, until recently at any rate, it is not comparable with that found in the construction unions, for example—areas where an ex-farm worker might otherwise have hoped to find a job.

Another is the minimum wage. Like the farm program, it has contributed to the speeding of mechanization in certain lines of business; the installation of automatic elevators to replace operators is a well-known case. Here again, the minimum wage hurts most of the people who most need help, the unskilled and semi-skilled.

As if these were not problems enough, the slum-dweller is often the victim of urban renewal. The federal and other planners of these enterprises have displayed a truly majestic disregard for human beings. Time and again they have sent their bulldozers crashing through Negro homes without having taken the trouble to provide other accommodations, or ones the people could afford.

The list could be continued; inflation, for an additional headache, is obviously hardest on the poor. But in a somewhat more subtle fashion the Government has also done its bit to fire the unrest—through its zealous advocacy of welfare statism

Perhaps the minority groups of an earlier day were luckier than today's poor people in that sense; they did not have politicians and others constantly dinning it in their ears that the government was going to take care of them and resolve all their difficulties. They knew they had to make it pretty much on their own. Consequently they did, with remarkable success on the whole.

None of this remotely excuses the rioting, looting and arson that have marred this and previous summers, nor does it mean that Negroes can't move out of poverty despite the obstacles; too many have done and are doing so to believe any such thing. It does, however, furnish a partial explanation for the genuine discontent that exists in the slums.

And it strongly suggests that sentimental liberalism, the dominant political vogue of the past generation, can have mischievous consequences. The government starts its various undertakings with the good intention of aiding this or that group; it ends up hurting a lot of people.

The plain conclusion is that the planners ought to begin examining their policies and their consciences to see where they went wrong. Unfortunately for the Negro and the nation, there is little sign they even realize how much harm they have caused.

Medicare Is Hailed as Surgeons Gather

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I quite vividly recall the dire predictions of waste and misuse which were leveled at the medicare program by some individuals and organizations before it was approved by Congress. The specter of an unwarranted intrusion of Government into the physician-patient relationship was raised throughout the land. The hue and cry raised against the medicare proposal was so great that an observer could properly have drawn the conclusion that the medical profession was predicting its own demise.

As an early and strong supporter of medicare, however, I found no basis upon which to give credence to the predictions of waste and misuse. I knew the program was designed to prevent unwarranted governmental intrusion into the physician-patient relationship. I could find no basis for the great hue and cry of opposition.

Our experience with the medicare program to date has amply demonstrated that the program was soundly conceived and that it is being administered in an increasingly efficient fashion, with little or no untoward interference with the professional conduct of physicians.

Because I hold these views, I was greatly pleased to see in the October 6, 1967, issue of the Detroit News an article with a Chicago dateline entitled, "Medicare Is Hailed as Surgeons Gather." The article presents a report on the comments of Dr. Reed M. Nesbit, of the University of Michigan, upon his installation as president of the American College of Surgeons.

In addition to lauding the medicare program, Dr. Nesbit is reported to have condemned the practice of fee splitting by physicians.

In order that my colleagues may be aware of Dr. Nesbit's views on these two important matters, I am including the Detroit News article at this point in my remarks:

MEDICARE IS HAILED AS SURGEONS GATHER

(By Jean Pearson)

CHICAGO.—A University of Michigan surgeon declared last night that the laws creating medicare and medicaid "performed a historic act of emancipation of which all citizens of America can be truly proud."

Dr. Reed M. Nesbit made his remarks after his installation as president of the American College of Surgeons, the world's largest and most active surgical organization, with 29,000 members in 88 countries.

"This legislation," he said, "made possible to a large segment of our population a right that had been long denied—the right to select his own physician and the means to pay for the service.

"True, the doctor by long tradition has always cared for the poor as well as the rich, and has based his time honored custom of Robin Hood fee schedules upon this tradition.

"But the medical indigent, spawned of our industrial revolution, has been another story.

"He is often an urban creature who, in times of illness, has had to depend upon the social agencies of the community. He has been provided whatever medical services have been available in the community. Some have been excellent, but many not very good.

"If lucky, he has been cared for in a well organized medical center as a service patient.

"More often, he has ended up on the charity wards or dispensaries of city hospitals, where personal attention of well qualified physicians has sometimes been lacking."

The legislation relieved the economically underprivileged "of the stigma of medical indigency," Dr. Nesbit said.

The American College of Surgeons, he said, has found nothing in medicare and medicaid that is contrary to a position it took in 1934 which declared that prepaid insurance protection of the patient "was desirable provided there was no interference with the patient's free right to choose his physician, and the assurance that the insurance carrier would in no way interfere with the physician's freedom to serve the patient."

In tracing the American College of Surgeons, Dr. Nesbit touched upon fee-splitting.

"Fee-splitting," he noted, "began at the turn of the century when surgery became safe enough so that it was accepted by the public and many self-trained surgeons of the era vied with each other in competition for patients for profit.

"The extent of the practice at the time the college was founded was indicated in a study by the American Medical Association Judicial Council which disclosed that only 77 percent of the physicians interviewed believed that secret fee-splitting was not justified.

"Today, the public is aware of fee-splitting and why it is unethical. Where it goes on, it is practiced clandestinely on penalty of public disgrace.

"A recent survey indicates that the practice is a continuing problem but that it ought not to be regarded as rife throughout the United States."

A program directed at eliminating "this evil" has been recommended to the membership.

Basically, Dr. Nesbit reported, it urged that all surgical groups "investigate promptly and diligently any report of fee-splitting, that they work with other leaders in medicine to substantiate these facts and that they report to the group's central judiciary committee any case of fee splitting."

Historic Educator Ends Career

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of Frank Boyden as headmaster of Deerfield Academy should be the occasion for noting the tremendous contribution that he has made to American life through personal inspiration of his students and all with whom he had contact. As we ponder upon the difficult problems and questions of education and training today, we must not overlook the convincing results from great teachers and headmasters like Dr. Boyden, who have established deep and lasting influence on their students. Headmaster Boyden is living proof of the essentially personal nature of the teaching relationship.

The great esteem in which he is held in his own profession was testified to when headmasters of a number of other schools came to the assistance of Deerfield in 1924 and personally conducted a fundraising campaign to assure the continuation of Frank Boyden's work there. Among those headmasters was Horace Taft, founder of the Taft School and close friend and admirer of Mr. Boyden. It is significant that help at that time has been repaid many times over in intangible ways. One of these can be seen in John Esty, a graduate of Deerfield, the headmaster of the Taft School today. This young school head is a fine example of the inspiration and teaching of Frank Boyden and his imprint upon American education and life.

On the occasion of Mr. Boyden's retirement, thousands of his former students and far greater numbers of his admirers and educational debtors join in recognizing his tremendous contribution and wishing to him and to Mrs. Boyden years of continued service and happiness.

Beyond Recognition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, since the Communists took over China in 1949, there has been a comparatively small but very vocal group carrying on a relentless campaign for the recognition of Red China as a legitimate member of the family of nations.

Nothing discourages those who promote the recognition of Communist China as they speak glibly of admitting the followers of Mao to respectable international society. Yet they must know that Comrade Mao has repeatedly said that the Red Chinese would not even undertake membership in the United Nations unless Nationalist China, a showpiece of democracy and freedom in the Far East, were expelled from that body. The campaign of the "Recognize Red China" group did not slow down during the Korean war when they supported our enemy, and strangely it has continued to the present despite the fact that Chinese Communists are assisting in furnishing the wherewithal to kill American young men in South Vietnam.

Last week the Government of Indonesia severed diplomatic relations with Red China, thus handing that nation the worst diplomatic defeat it has suffered since it gained power 18 year ago. What made this action particularly noteworthy is the fact that only 2 short years ago Indonesia was a satellite of Communist China and was on the verge of being taken over by it. The Indonesian Communist Party claimed a membership of 3 million with a total of 21 million supporters in a population of about 107 million. Only the Communist parties of the Soviet Empire and Red China were larger.

What is especially ironic about the termination of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and its huge Asian neighbor is that the events which led to it were set in motion not long after Achmed Sukarno, then president of Indonesia, had said, "To hell with U.S. aid." Apologists for our burdensome foreign aid programs had been telling us incessantly for years that we had to give millions and billions of dollars to foreign countries to keep them from going Communist. What happened after we kicked Indonesia off Uncle Sam's gravy train?

A few months after Sukarno's outburst, an attempt by the Communists to seize power was frustrated by the military, following which a wave of anti-Communist feeling swept Indonesia. The number of Communists who lost their lives during the last 2 months of 1965 and the early part of 1966 has been variously estimated at about 300,000 and 400,000. True, these figures were shocking, but not as shocking as the statistics that tell us about the millions of Chinese who have lost their lives since the Communists seized their country.

Certainly our refusal to provide Sukarno with further foreign aid handouts led to his downfall. At the same time, the firm stand by our forces in South Vietnam has insipred and encouraged the anti-Communist regime that now controls Indonesia. The ousting of the Reds from power in Indonesia cannot do otherwise than give equal inspiration and encouragement to Australia and New Zealand, which the Communists have long coveted. Who knows? It may even influence India away from the Communist orbit.

Surely there is a lesson for the United States in all this. Let us help those who demonstrate their friendship for us and the rest of the free world, but let us cease allowing ourselves to be further blackmailed by those who threaten to go Communist unless we come across with more millions and billions.

Sons of Italy, Through Mike Rivisto, Support Columbus Day National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago a valued constituent of mine, Mr. Michael A. Rivisto, of Tacoma, Wash., appeared before Subcommittee No. 4 of the House Committee on the Judiciary, in support of legislation to make Columbus Day a national holiday.

I had thought, Mr. Speaker, to insert

Mr. Rivisto's statement in the RECORD somewhat earlier. But two considerations prompted a delay. One is that it seemed appropriate to have it appear here on Columbus Day eve. The second is that in the interim came another day of significance, not to say competition. That is Leif Ericsson Day, dear to the hearts of Scandinavians. There are many descendants of those wild and wonderful Vikings among my constituents, and I am not about to take sides in the dispute about who got here first, Christopher Columbus or Leif Ericsson. As for Mike Rivisto taking sides, he will have to settle that himself—his wife is of Scandinavian descent.

Mr. Rivisto appeared before the subcommittee as Supreme National Deputy of the Order of Sons of Italy in America, a great fraternity representing people of Italian heritage in the United States, Canada, and Bermuda. The text of his testimony follows:

To speak of the glories of Christopher Columbus can be regarded as superfluous as paying tribute to the sun, the moon, stars, the oceans and all the other natural phenomena of the world. And yet, there are times when we find ourselves defending the regularity of the mighty forces of the universe.

And, so it is, that today the Order Sons of Italy in America asks this distinguished Committee to accomplish, what I believe is obvious, that is, to report favorably to Congress the enactment of the House Bill which would make Columbus Day a national holiday. It should be most natural, logical and rational that Columbus Day be declared a national holiday. The very national government functions in a land gloriously, poetically and factually entitled the District of *Columbia*. This region, undoubtedly one of the most beautiful in the world architecturally, artistically, and scenically was named the District of Columbia—by whom? By the very founders of our government. The Constitution of the United States, in Article I, Section 8, Subsection 17, provided that the Government of the United States was to be housed in a territory not exceeding 10 miles square, and the First Congress named that territory after Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of this land.

Recently there have been many theories advanced, many abstract ideas discussed, many speculations indulged in, that Columbus was not the first white man to set foot on this continent. Without seeking to disparage the efforts of some scholars delving into the subject of the discovery of America, I cannot accept that those in the 20th century would know more about the realities of the revelation of this hemisphere than those who lived closer in time to the geographical and historical facts.

The great statesmen of the days of George Washington named the seat of our government the District of Columbia—and so it is the District of Columbia. And I submit to you, Mr. Chairman and members of this distinguished Committee, that it is anomalous that in this very area named Columbia by the godfathers of our nation, Columbus Day should not be a federal holiday when in 37 individual states of the Union, Columbus Day is an official holiday.

It is the official position of the Order Sons of Italy in America that Christopher Columbus discovered America, that it was his wisdom, his courage, his heaven-inspired determination that finally tore away the misty curtains which had concealed this part of the world from the rest of the world. Even if it were to be speculated that some seafarer, buffeted by storm and carried by running tides, was blown ashore on these lands prior to 1492, it must be admitted that nothing ever came from that chance swamping in the surf on America's rocky shores. No footprints of history ever marked that hypothetical landing, not a physical marking establishes that supposed, bewildering scrambling in the sands of unrecorded antiquity.

In any case, such a landing, if there was one, was accidental, ephemeral, and nothing ever came of it.

Columbus's landing, on the other hand, was like the building of a bridge. From October 12, 1492, the traffic from the old world to the new has been continuous, ever-augmenting, and unceasing. On October 12, 1492, American civilization began. From October 12, 1492, not a day passed that the human race did not progress, as it had never progressed before—economically, scientifically, sociologically and politically.

Even if it were argued, although I submit it is a foolish and futile argument, that if Columbus had not discovered America some body else would have discovered it later, it must be admitted that mankind gained in the race for supreme enlightenment all the time that would have elapsed between Columbus's landing and some future, hypothetical landing.

We know that from the day of creation to October 12, 1492, this land we call the United States of America was but a blank page in the archives of human attainment. We know that ever since October 12, 1492, no book records more exciting, dramatic and romantic exploits, no book contains more pages of scientific, cultural, commercial, and educational progress than the book of America October 12, 1492; then marks the beginning of a new era, it records the initiation of a new epoch in the development of man and the progress of man. October 12, 1492, indeed marked the birth of America. October 12th is then the natal day of America. And, as such, it should be celebrated as the birthday of America.

No home rings with more merriment, no home vibrates with more joy than it does when it celebrates the birthday of a member of the family. Let us then, all of us, who are members of this vast American family, celebrate the birthday of America on October 12th. On that day, let there be music, poetry, singing, and dancing, let there be surcease from work, let us put aside the burdens of the office, factory and field for a day. Let there be abandonment to recreation and inspiration. Let there be the remainder, in religious services, sermons, speeches, concerts, and processions of what we owe to the Heavenly Father Who guided that brave mariner of Genoa across the uncharted seas to discover the riches of a land to be enjoyed by everybody, not only those born to wealth and affluence; to discover a land that would offer equal opportunity to the poor, that would give asylum to the persecuted, that would guarantee religious freedom, that would assure equality of opportunity to all.

Let Columbus Day be a reminder to all of us what can be done, what can be accomplished, if one is guided by the virtues of determination, resourcefulness, courage and belief in a divine mission which urged Columbus forward to build that first highway across the dark expanses of the Atlantic.

Who can speak against making Columbus a national day, and what arguments can they muster? No one can honestly say that the day does not mark an event of sufficient historical magnitude. No one can say that Americans are not entitled to a day of recognition for this glorious American historic heritage, and to pay homage to an immortal man whose devine guided feat began the first chapter of the history of America. October 12, 1942 is that point in the history of man where he found a new world.

Following the immortal day of October 12, 1492 millions of people of all nations, of all races, of different religions and different ideologies came to rest on the shores that Christopher Columbus found to begin the saga of American history.

We cannot deny or ignore the facts of history that because for Christopher Columbus we are here today.

It may be said that America does not need another holiday. I cannot go along with that line of thinking. The life of today is intense, exhausting, high-pressured, physically and mental fatiguing. Doctors, sociologists, research analysts all testify to the need for the American people to slow down, to take things a little easier. Another holiday would be therapeutic, that is, of course, a meaningful holiday. And Columbus Day is that type of a holiday. It embraces religion and history. Columbus Day qualifies as a day of majesty, dignity and spiritual exaltation.

Columbus Day joins well into the calendar. With Labor Day forgotten, with warm weather on the wane, with the thought of wintry days ahead, Columbus Day fits excellently into the chronology of the year, being a wonderful crispy October day for recreation and rest between the first Monday of September and Veterans Day in November.

But above all, America is a land of fairness and of justice. We owe to Christopher Columbus the honor which was denied him in his life. The glory which became his after that first voyage was a very short one. The enemies of ignorance, cowardice, and envy assailed him and they prevailed, even to the extent that they tied with heavy chains those legs which had carried him before kings and queens, financiers and scientists as he sought the ships with which to find a new world; those same enemies placed manacles on those brave hands which had held the tiller which guided the Santa Maria to these lands.

After Columbus conferred riches beyond the dreams of avarice on those who were unworthy of his loyalty, after he opened to mankind the vastest vista for advancement since the Lord separated the land from the waters, he was allowed to languish in illness and poverty. He died at the comparatively young age of 53.

But his deeds are immortal. Let us remember them on October 12th of each year. We owe this to Christopher Columbus, we owe this to the millions of immigrants of all countries who, with their brawn, determination and fidelity have made a mighty contribution and continue to make their contribution to this, the greatest land in the world, the United States of America.

The Order Sons of Italy in America recommends to you, Mr. Chairman, and members of this Committee that you urge upon Congress this honor long overdue to Christopher Columbus, immortal discoverer of America, the land of the free, and the empire of fairness and justice. Thank you, gentlemen.

Casimir Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, October 11 is set aside in the memory of Count Casimir Pulaski, the gallant Polish nobleman who died on that day in 1779 in the cause of American independence. Today it is appropriate for all Americans to consider the contributions which men and women of Polish origin have made to the growth and strength of America—contributions for which General Pulaski stands as an archetype and symbol.

Poland has produced more than her fair share of outstanding world citizens—among them the musician and statesman, Ignace Paderewski; the scientist, Marie Sklodowska-Curie; and the author, Henryk Sienkiewicz—all of whom visited the United States at some time during their illustrious careers.

But more directly affecting the development of the American Republic are those Poles who chose America as their adopted land. The list is long and, of necessity, must be selective: Pulaski's military colleague—Thaddeus Kosciusko—served the Revolutionary Army before returning to Europe to continue his fight for Polish independence. The poet and friend of George Washington, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, wrote the first original European biography of America's first President. Perhaps the most distinguished 19th-century musician in America was Freidrich Edward Sobolewski, who conducted both the Milwaukee and St. Louis Philharmonic Societies and won considerable recognition as a composer. And Polish men were instrumental in opening the West: Anthony Sandusky pioneered the settlement of Ohio, while Casimir Bielawski was a major figure in the exploration of California following the gold rush.

These are but a few of the famous men and women of Polish extraction who have made lasting contributions to the United States. Their names will remain a permanent reminder that the heritage of Poland is an inseparable part of the heritage of America.

Even more vital, however, than the achievements of these individuals, are the durable qualities of industry, moral soundness, and religious conviction which characterize Polish people in general. These qualities have strengthened the fiber of American national life in measure impossible to calculate, giving truth to the statement that the Polish people are benefactors to the world.

It is, therefore, altogether fitting that I salute, on this day, the legacy of Polish America, of which Casimir Pulaski is so aptly representative.

The Kee Report: Public Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report."

The subject discussed in this report is "Public Lands." The report follows:

This is Jim Kee, bringing you the Kee Report.

I believe the public is informed about the role played by the Federal Government in attempting to solve the major problems of these troubled times.

At present, there are four primary fields of Federal action. The Government must cooperate with industry to keep the economy rolling at a high level, it must cooperate with local officials on the war against crime, it must continue to meet the danger of Communist aggression and it must stay ahead in the exploration of outer space.

Because of widespread interest in these subjects, they command the lion's share of public attention.

There is one other activity of the Federal Government which is less spectacular but which is extremely important to the welfare of the American people. This is the preservation and development of our Nation's natural resources. Uncle Sam happens to be the biggest housekeeper in the world.

There are vast areas of forest and woodland, desert and mountain, lakes and rivers, which are owned by the Federal Government. You may be surprised to know that in a few states, more than half of the land is Federally owned. These reserves contain sizeable mineral deposits which have yet to be exploited. They contain valuable timber resources and other assets of great potential value. The proper use of this national treasure is a matter of deep concern to the President and Congress.

In recent years, the accent has been placed upon the development of public parks to meet the need for more recreational facilities. This is a wise policy and one which has paid handsome dividends in the past. The first public park was Yellowstone and since its creation, millions of visitors have viewed its natural wonders. Here in the East, some excellent strides have been made in park development, but much more needs to be done.

The Federal Government is now helping in the development of the Potomac Valley Park. In a message to Congress this year, President Johnson expressed the hope that this parkland along the Potomac might become a model scenic and recreational area for the Nation. This project would include some of our own State of West Virginia.

There is another conservation and development program which should be rich in historic interest. This is the project to establish a nationwide system of trails. Some of these famous trails were the original footpaths used by the pioneers in exploring and settling the heartland of America. Other trails played a notable part in the Nation's economic development, especially the Chisholm Trial over which the cowboys from Texas moved their cattle to northern railroads.

One other trail recommended for preservation by the White House is the Appalachian Trail extending from Maine to Georgia. This may be the Nation's oldest trail. Part of it has been restored but the states need help in reclaiming the rest.

A few years ago, legislation was adopted setting aside a few wilderness areas to be preserved in their natural setting. The purpose of this is to allow future generations to see the land in its virgin state before the advent of civilization. The national park system is a rare national asset. Its prudent expansion is one of the urgent needs of our times.

Thank you for listening.

Jerry Spiegel Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BRASCO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, a major factor in the development of our Nation has been the creative and invaluable work being done by various philanthropic foundations. Of course, we all know of the giant foundations, richly endowed and pouring tens of millions of dollars into the mainstream of American life.

Many of us, however, are not fully aware of the scores of moderate-sized foundations that are really pioneering in worthwhile endeavors. One of these is the Jerry Spiegel Foundation in Hicksville, Long Island.

Among its varied activities this charitable organization, founded 9 years ago, provides college scholarships for deserving and talented high school graduates. The foundation strongly believes that every effort must be made to insure that our talented youth are given every opportunity for development to the fullest potential.

In the same vein, the Foundation has been an active sponsor of the Long Island Philharmonic Society, the Island Concert Hall, and other groups who share an interest in the well being of the youth in their area.

Jerry Spiegel, a leading Long Island builder and philanthropist, and founder of the philanthropic group, has pledged himself to assisting youngsters in need. For this, I salute him.

I am hopeful that other such organizations will join in this effort—so that young people, regardless of race, color, creed, or financial ability—will be able to take their place as the new leaders in our society.

It would be shameful if we were to dissipate our country's best national resource—our youth.

Choices in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post carried an editorial on October 8 that once again points out the wisdom of thinking clearly about the options of immediate escalation or deescalation of hostilities in Vietnam.

To respond to either option would be, as the Post states, "probably politically rewarding." The thought remains, however, that our Government must project beyond the immediate objectives of these options to see where either path would take us.

Many times this year I have commended the Washington Post on certain editorials. I am pleased to do so again. I believe the remarks that follow merit the attention of my colleagues:

Which Defense Minister?

On the same day that Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, Defense Minister of North Vietnam, was quoted in Hong Kong dispatches as saying the war would be protracted, Sardar Swaran Singh, India's Defense Minister, told the United Nations in New York he was confident that a halt in U.S. bombing would lead to peace.

That presents the government and the people of the United States with a choice. They can believe either one they wish to believe. Since it is Giap and not Singh who is in command of the North Vietnamese armed forces there is a certain practical consideration that invests Giap with the higher degree of credibility. Sardar Swaran Singh tenders a conjecture founded upon unnamed sources obtained in unspecified places and uttered at times not disclosed.

If the Swaran Singh forecast suffers the debility of anonymous speculation, however, the Giap summons to a longer war and ultimate victory is also a little mortgaged by the conventions of diplomatic necessity. Whatever the North Vietnamese intend to do, they certainly will indicate an intention to fight on forever until five minutes before negotiations.

So neither defense minister really proffers any very dependable basis on which to make a forecast or on which to found a policy. We will be well advised to make no plans for peace and no plans for war on either the hopes of Swaran Singh or the warnings of General Giap.

Many would like to respond to the hopeful conjectures of Swaran Singh by suspending the bombing; and others would like to respond to the bellicosity of Vo Guyen Giap with increased bombing. There is a longing in the country for a change in our predicament in South Vietnam. It probably would be politically rewarding to respond to it with a dramatic suspension of the war or a dramatic escalation of it. But our course, should not be set by every rumor from abroad or every clamor from at home. It must be set by the necessities of a war that is waged for limited ends by limited means. In such a war, the impulse to escalate hostilities is bound to alternate with the impulse to suspend them.

The hope of the country lies in the government having the wisdom to appraise all such conflicting counsels by looking beyond immediate to ultimate objectives. Those who wish to suspend military operations must be required to offer something better than mere conjecture as to what will happen after the suspension of bombing. The failure of such a suspension to elicit any satisfactory response from North Vietnam would produce a very dangerous situation. It could have direct and tragic consequences to combat troops in Vietnam. And it could produce in this country, after an interval of frustration and rising anger a demand for a resumption of hostilities at a level of intensity unprecedented in this conflict.

Those who counsel immediate escalation of the war also must be required to offer something better than mere conjecture as to what will follow the resort to their proposals for a wider war.

Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, a former Member of Congress from Philadelphia who is now a judge in our courts of common pleas has called to my attention an address given recently to a group of new American citizens.

I agree with the Honorable Earl Chudoff that it contains much that would be of interest to all the Members of this House. Both Judge Chudoff and A. S. Harzenstein, who delivered the address, are national vice presidents of the Philadelphia chapter, Federal Bar Association. By this you will know they are very substantial men in our community. I include this very substantial address by Mr. Harzenstein before the judges of Delaware County, Pa., the Delaware County Bar Association, and new citizens:

ADDRESS BY A. S. HARZENSTEIN, ESQ., BEFORE THE JUDGES OF DELAWARE COUNTY, DELAWARE COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION, AND NEW CITIZENS

"(OUR WEALTH AND) OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND WHAT WE MUST DO TO PRESERVE IT"

On September 17, one-hundred and eighty years ago, our Constitution was adopted. A very young Constitution but very old in point of history. Its moving theme is "freedom", the rights of people, the Golden Rule, and that takes in a lot of territory. Unknown at the time or *unpracticed;* but acknowledged and taught in an ancient civilization.

When a few years earlier our Declaration of Independence was signed and the Liberty Bell forged and rung, the Bell contained words taken from that civilization 3000 years earlier. I quote from Leviticus XXV, paragraph 9 and 10, ". . . . . And then shalt thou cause 'the sound of the Cornet' to be heard throughout all your land . . . . and . . . . proclaim freedom . . . . unto all the inhabitants thereof."

If you will read the Chapter and the annotations to it, you will find that this proclamation of freedom was in derogation of bondage or slavery, a practice which cost us, some one-hundred years ago, much blood and treasure and the near destruction of our country.

I think the theme of the few minutes allotted to me will be "freedom" as embodied in our Constitution and form of Government and what we must do to preserve IT. The "IT" stands primarily for our *form of Government*. For if we cannot *preserve this,* freedom is dead and dead in capital letters. This includes freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to petition for grievances and every kind of freedom known to man, for we shall then be in a police state. Certainly many signs point in that direction, the crime in the streets, the violence, the rioting, the Beatniks, the Hippies, the college rebellions and in short, the era of protest and dissent.

So much for our problems at home—we will return to them.

On the foreign front, we have Viet Nam, the Middle East, France and Cuba. (It is not necessary to mention Russia, for in all of these she is the prime mover). Perhaps in oversimplification, but to help new citizens to understand, let me touch lightly on each:

We are bound in Viet Nam by the SEATO Treaty. This was approved with only one dissenting vote in the Senate. It was approved because (1) we thought our national vital interests were concerned in South East Asia, and (2) we felt that the best way to prevent the conflict was to declare our position and intent.

We had only a presence Force there of some fifteen-thousand men, when it is obvious that Hanoi supported by Red China, decided that they would push us out, regardless of our treaties, regardless of our interests, regardless of our pronounced intent. They made a deliberate attack on ships of our Seventh Fleet in Tonkin Bay.

We either had to take it and continue to take it and move out, or respond. We couldn't move away from our commitments and national interests, so we responded and the scene has been escalated ever since. But you will notice that the escalation is not our escalation, but that of Red China through its puppet in the North.

They have not come to peace because they do not want to come to peace. And our job is to change their mind as best we know how and with the least sacrifice of our youth and economy.

I have heard many speakers on the subject, including Dean Rusk, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and Eric Hoffer, and like these men, I have every confidence that President Johnson is doing the best that can be done and that we will somehow work it out.

The Middle East is an ancient battleground. It contains much of the world's oil reserves and connects and is the gateway to three continents. Proper influence and control in the area is a vital national American interest. This cannot be brushed under the rug by any "sour grapes" inferences. It has been Russia's historic interest from the time of the Czars, to move in. We made our mistakes in this area in the 1950's which has increased the trouble today. So much for that.

Cuba and France are the product of human ingratitude. I think all know and readily remember that we saved France in two World Wars and rebuilt her under the Marshall Plan. Yet under the obstreperous De Gaulle, our NATO Bases have been booted off her soil. She has cashed in on our gold reserves and is now interfering in French Canada, an area vital to our national interests.

Cuba under Castro is a festering sore and a threat and a danger, particularly to the South American Governments, where again, our national interests lie. She is also only ninety miles off the coast of the United States and it will be remembered, planted missile sites aimed at our head. She has also recently interfered in our affairs and encouraged domestic trouble here by receiving Stokely Carmichael and making arrogant defiant statements.

Why do I on Citizenship Day mention foreign problems? Because they are American problems. You are now Americans and they are your problems. It is to help you understand these things and our aims and interests that I have briefly summarized them.

The fact that I, the son of an immigrant and a member of a minority group can be privileged to address you here today, is proof of our system and way of life.

All of you left your native lands to acquire and to share in the liberties and rights provided by our Constitution here. A Constitution adopted by free men, without compromise; or fear of some sovereign, as was done at Runnemede but based solely on their own judgment and experience and desire to be independent and free.

Under it, you and your wife and your children and your children's children have and I hope, always will have, equal protection of the laws; protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, compulsory self-incrimination, the right of free speech, to freely assemble, to petition for grievances.

But free speech does not give the right to shout "fire" in a crowded theater, or to incite to riot, and the right to assembly means peaceable assembly.

The booklet issued on Citizenship Day and Constitution Week by the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service carried the following introduction: "United States citizenship is a glorious possession representing the dreams and struggles of men for centuries. Our Constitution, which guarantees priceless freedoms to our citizens, sets forth a concept of liberty that has been an inspiration to freedom-loving people everywhere." Then skipping what lies in between it concludes "The observance not only will honor . . . . our citizenry, ... but *will afford an opportunity for all citizens,* native-born and naturalized, to *rededicate* themselves to the *ideals* and *principles* upon which this Nation was founded and built." This is our theme, don't lose what you've got. It's too valuable, it took years of bleeding and building. It may not come again.

President Thomas Jefferson once said "Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom". This was in constitutional times. In 1955 the

Honorable Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and then serving as honorary Chairman of the National Conference on Citizenship, in a speech at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, said, "Liberty is not necessarily our permanent possession. Both external and internal pressures constantly assail it. Every generation, to keep its freedom, must earn it through understanding of the past, vigilance in the present and determination for the future."

I wonder what Mr. Justice Warren would say today, twelve years later when conditions are so much worse.

President Johnson, in his Proclamation this year on Citizenship Day and Constitution Week said, "The signing of the United States Constitution on September 17, 1787, gave this Nation an effective plan of self-government—designed to assure our people equality and justice under law, liberty, and unparalleled opportunity for all." "Our citizens—naturalized or native born—must also seek to refresh and improve their knowledge of how our government operates under the Constitution and *how they can participate in it*. Only in this way can they assume the *full responsibilities of citizenship*. . . ."

Abraham Lincoln, in Springfield, Illinois, on January 27, 1838, then 28 years old, a lawyer and a member of the Illinois State Legislature expressed his views concerning the then (130 years ago) disregard of law and the dangers in mob violence. The following are brief excerpts from his speech: "At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never! . . . At what point is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if *it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot* come from abroad. *If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher*. . . ."

"I hope I am over wary. But if I am not, there is, even now, something of *ill-omen* amongst us. I mean *the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country,* the growing disposition to substitute the wild and *furious passions* in lieu of the *sober judgment of courts*."

"And thus it goes on, step by step, till all the walls erected for the defense of the persons and property of individuals are trodden down and disregarded."

What are the elements of good citizenship. What are the goals, the guidelines? Let us first consider some examples. Benjamin Franklin was a good citizen. He benefited our country (and the world for that matter) greatly. Emil Zola, the Frenchman, was a good citizen. He stood up against the French Army and the French Government to defend individual rights. Edward R. Murrow was a good citizen. He stood up against Senator McCarthy when McCarthyism was becoming an era and a threat to our institutions. Richardson Dilworth and Senator Clark are good citizens. They rebuilt and rededicated Philadelphia. The Federal Bar Association, with official proclamation of the city of Philadelphia, annually issues awards to good citizens under the caption of "Dedication Day." Edward R. Murrow inspired this, and he, as well as Messrs. Dilworth and Clark and Mayor Tate of Philadelphia who has carried on their traditions, have been recipients of these awards.

We can't all be Benjamin Franklins, Murrows, Dilworths or Clarks. But we can all be dedicated to their ideals and devotion to the preservation of our way of life, our institution and laws and the doing of right.

As a citizen, equal as a citizen, equal with you, I welcome you to our fraternity of dedicated citizens and our "association" of free men.

Thank you.

U.S. Travel Service: A Sound Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Travel Service, since its establishment in 1961, has been operating on a bare-bones budget of about $3 million per year. The results of this effort, however, have been substantial. The noted industrial consulting firm of Arthur D. Little, after a comprehensive survey of the Travel Service's "Visit U.S.A." promotion, reported that half a million tourists and almost one-quarter of a billion dollars have come to this country as a direct result. These gains are over and above what we would normally have experienced as a result of the general worldwide increase in tourism.

Two facts stand out in this area: First, even a modest increase in U.S. Travel Service promotional efforts would yield substantial dividends to the national economy, and second, we must make this extra effort, because otherwise Americans still spend more in travel and tourism abroad than we receive from foreign visitors. My colleagues who are concerned with the balance-of-payments problem well recognize that this condition has an adverse impact on our international balance of payments, and yet we are determined not to place any restrictions on American travel abroad. The clear call is for positive action to beef up our travel promotion activities so that the United States can compete with other nations in the world tourism market.

I strongly urge support for an increase in our modest efforts to attract foreign visitors to this country.

An interesting article in the Washington Post of Sunday, September 24, 1967, sets forth detail on operations during this International Tourist Year:

VISITORS TO U.S. SETTING RECORD

(By Morris David Rosenberg)

From a dollars-and-cents standpoint, this International Tourist Year has been a bust for many countries because of wars, threatened conflicts, and human unpredictability. But not for the United States.

Business and pleasure travelers to the U.S. from overseas during July topped the 200,000 mark for the first time in any one month. Last month these visitors had increased 50 per cent over August, 1966, and the total boost is now almost 29 per cent over last year.

There are many who give the United States Travel Service major credit for what is very welcome news to all who worry about our balance of payments. And USTS officials will find out in the next few weeks whether Congress has decided to give the agency a pat on the back and more money—or a kick in the travel folders.

USTS has asked for $4.7 million. A House Appropriations Subcommittee concluded last May after hearings that the agency should get only $3 million, the same sum it has received annually for four years. The House passed the bill. A Senate Appropriations Subcommittee ended hearings recently but has not yet issued its report.

Testifying before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the Fiscal 1968 budget for the agency, Norman J. Philion, vice president of the Air Transport Association, said:

"The USTS program is threatened by budget limitations when it ought to be strengthened and expanded. The significance of travel to our balance of payments, the value of tourism spending at the community level has all achieved greater importance."

Philion said "12 other nations, none of which approach the United States in size, wealth or attractions, allocate greater funds, in absolute terms, to government tourism promotion than does this country.

"In 1965, the countries of Western Europe spent $43.2 million . . . Eastern Europe spent $18.2 million. In 1966, the budget of the National Tourist Office of Spain was $10 million. Ireland allocated $6.7 million while Canada budgeted $8.3 million and Mexico $6.6 million."

USTS deserves "a lion's share of credit for cushioning the deficit of the tremendous outpouring of American travel abroad," wrote William D. Patterson, Associate Publisher of the Saturday Review, in his annual travel report, "The Big Picture." In the 11 countries where the agency has offices, said Patterson, it helped to expand traffic by 10.7 per cent in 1966 over 1965.

A survey conducted for USTS by Arthur D. Little, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., shows that nearly half a million tourists and more than $225 million in revenues—over and above what might normally have been expected—have resulted from increased government-industry promotional efforts in 19 countries (mainly European) since the agency was established on June 29, 1961.

How big is tourism? It's going over the $60 billion mark worldwide this year, and one fifth is international travel. It may double in the next five years. Already it's the number one industry in world trade.

Travel spending by Americans is topping $30 billion annually, with slightly over one-tenth representing their travel abroad. Our receipts from foreigners may go over $2 billion this year, certainly in 1968.

About 6 per cent of world travelers come to the U.S., including Canadians and Mexicans, though the competition from other countries is getting tougher.

The 1966 U.S. receipts, including transoceanic transportation receipts by American flag carriers, was an estimated $1.8 billion, according to government figures. This is 6 per cent of our total national exports and the largest single U.S. export item exclusive of agricultural commodities. But it was $1.64 billion less than what our citizens spent abroad, and this constitutes the "travel gap."

Yet USTS Director John Black, speaking here this month to the Middle Atlantic Chapter of the Society of American Travel Writers, once again reiterated that "the U.S. Government has no intention of placing restrictions on outbound travel as an expedient way of solving our payments deficit problem."

President C. Wilson Harder, National Federation of Independent Business, Stand Strong for Small Businessmen in National Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the great champions of small business in America today is Mr. C. Wilson Harder, president of the National Federation of Independent Business.

Mr. Harder and his organization do a great work in representing the interests of the small businessmen in Washington. Proposed legislation is carefully evaluated and testimony given before committees which have bills under consideration, affecting the small businessmen of the Nation.

One of the outstanding services of the federation to small businessmen and to the Members of Congress is the continuing mandate polls that are conducted on public issues. The organization's quarter of a million members are polled regularly and the results of these polls are made available to Members of Congress.

I want to commend and congratulate Mr. Harder for the outstanding work of his organization and, specifically, I want to commend him and the federation for the work they are doing to assist our small towns and small businessmen.

The Federation has brought to the attention of small businessmen throughout the Nation the significance of the Tax Incentive Job Development Act of 1967 (H.R. 9060) which I introduced last April and which has aroused much public interest.

The National Federation of Independent Business conducted a recent poll of their membership and determined that the great majority support this proposed legislation.

The Federation has explained the provisions of this bill through its radio program and its information releases to newspapers.

This bill provides for an additional 7-percent investment tax credit for those businessmen who locate plants in our small towns.

The attention which this bill has attracted is due in no small measure to the efforts of the National Federation to make the provisions of this bill known to small businessmen throughout the country.

I want to commend and congratulate Mr. Harder and the staff and membership of the National Federation of Independent Business for their outstanding work and public service which has made them a strong voice for free enterprise and for American small business—not only in the Nation's Capital but throughout the United States.

Casimir Pulaski: Soldier of Freedom (1748–79)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, Casimir Pulaski was one of the most famous Poles of his day who lent his name and fame to a noble cause, and sacrificed his life while fighting for that cause—for our independence. This gifted and gallant son of Poland seemed determined from childhood to lead the life of a warrior. He was born to wealth and fame, and with a title of nobility as count, he could have followed in the footsteps of his father as an attorney and thus be assured of a comfortable life even under adverse circumstances. But this precocious son of a well-educated father would have none of that; comfort and wealth, personal glory and fame meant little or nothing to him. The Government of his beloved Poland remained subservient to foreign regimes and his country was losing its independence. Under such circumstances, it seemed almost treacherous to youthful Pulaski to give much thought to personal comfort and private gains. Before he was 15 years old he had vowed to fight the Russian authorities to the end of his life, in the hope of securing freedom for his countrymen. In 1766, when 18, he was already the leader of a band of Poles fighting the Russians. In the following year he and his band of followers were captured and imprisoned by the Russians. On his release in the following year, he organized other groups for the purpose of carrying on the fight. For more than 4 years, until 1772, he and his groups eluded the authorities; but in their last encounter with the Russians, they barely managed to save their lives by fleeing Poland.

The next 3 years of Pulaski's self-imposed exile were years of frustration and hardship. Early in 1775 he was in Paris, and in 1776 he heard of the American Revolution. There he saw his chance to pursue his goal as a fighter for freedom. His friends in Paris put him in touch with Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane there. With their aid and recommendation he sailed for America, arriving in July of 1777. Here in presenting his letters of recommendations to Washington, our Commander in Chief was favorably impressed by Pulaski's past performance and future promise; Washington recommended to the Continental Congress that Pulaski be placed in command of the cavalry unit. This was done promptly. In the very next battle—of Brandywine of September 11—the courage and tactics displayed by Pulaski did not escape Washington's notice. On his recommendation Pulaski was appointed to the command of the cavalry force, with the rank of brigadier general, thus becoming the father of our cavalry.

His active military career in the service of our cause, his plan for the reorganization of our cavalry forces, his participation in many of the battles with gallantry, his final encounter at the siege of Savannah in October 1779, and his untimely death while fighting there, all these facts are well known to us all. Because of his impressive record while fighting in our War of Independence, because of his extraordinary courage in battles, and also because of his rare ability as leader and organizer, the name of this great soldier of freedom has become a household word in this great Republic. As a gallant fighter for freedom and as a courageous fighter for our cause, we honor the memory of Casimir Pulaski, a most famous soldier for freedom.

Resolution on Urban Concerns Adopted by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America on September 15, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert at this point in the RECORD the resolution on urban concerns which was adopted by the general board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States on September 15, 1967.

I am sure that Members of Congress, as they consider the several legislative measures that affect people who live in urban areas, will read this resolution with interest.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON URBAN CONCERNS

(Adopted by the general board, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, September 15, 1967)

The General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., meeting in Atlanta, September 14–15, 1967, deplores the evidence of increasing hostility being directed toward the poor and powerless people in our country.

One manifestation of this animosity is reflected in the attitude of certain members of Congress toward programs designed to assist the poor. This is especially apparent in the punitive changes, passed by the House of Representatives, in the Social Security Amendments of 1967. The new provisions state that all persons over 16 years of age, including mothers in families where the father is absent, are to be employed or engaged in training programs. There is no provision for wage protection or any requirement for decent working conditions. Any person who does not accept employment or training will have public assistance cut off and children will be taken from mothers and placed under foster care. In cases where a father is absent from the family, his wife and children cannot receive assistance unless desertion can be proved. The punitive approach is likewise reflected in the provision specifying that the proportion of all children under age 21 who are receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children in each state in January, 1967, on the basis the father was away from home, cannot be exceeded after 1967. The inclusion of such a provision in the law would establish an arbitrary quota for each state, and would deny many children in our states food and clothing under the Federal-State public assistance program.

Such legislation which permits children to be deprived of food and family is highly punitive and makes it even more difficult for the poor to cope wtih their difficulties. It is contrary to the Christian concept of love and justice.

We call upon the Congress of the United States to reject the punitive public assistance provisions in the Social Security Amendments of 1967 which are now before the Senate Finance Committee and to substitute the provisions of the former bill (H.R. 5710) which include some moderate steps toward a more humane public assistance program.

Another evidence of the opposition to the needs of the poor has been demonstrated by the Congress in refusing to act rapidly and decisively to renew and enlarge the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act. Every effort must be made now to deal with the conditions of deprivation and poverty which exist in this country.

We therefore call upon the Congress to enact legislation which retains the Office of Economic Opportunity, preserves the principle of maximum participation of the poor, and creates an emergency works program to provide employment for 300,000 poor and unemployed persons, as recommended by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

We believe the above concerns together with the Civil Rights Bill of 1967 should have the highest priority in terms of both our support and creative action by the Congress. In addition we urge the Congress to enact other legislation which will serve the needs of the poor such as providing adequate funding for the Model Cities and Rent Supplement programs; initiating a massive housing program for low-income families; and support for the National Teacher's Corps and other educational programs which genuinely benefit the poor. We pledge ourselves to the support of such legislation and urge the denominations to do likewise.

We commend the formation of the Urban Coalition recently created by a group of national leaders of city government, business, labor, civil rights organizations, and religious bodies for the purpose of seeking solutions to the critical problems highlighted by the riots of the past summer. To the extent that the coalition addresses itself to the fundamental needs of our cities and involves the poor in decision making processes, it should have the full support of all groups in our society. We pledge our best efforts to this end in consultation and cooperation with other religious groups.

In the interest of local public and voluntary efforts to deal with the problems of cities, we express the hope and expectation that state and metropolitan councils of churches, local congregations and churchmen will support the formation of urban coalitions in their own communities.

To the representatives of city government, business, labor, civil rights, and religious organizations we urge the inclusion of representation of the poor and the powerless in the community. We believe that the idea of working with people in their own behalf, rather than doing *for* them, is essential to any long-range solution of urban problems.

The Ruffed Grouse Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the Congessional Record a resolution by the Ruffed Grouse Society of America in opposition to the so-called Dodd bill, S. 1, in its sundry amended forms. That resolution of a group of hunters, conservationists, with members in almost every eastern State, properly expresses the feeling of law-abiding sportsmen, hunters, and conservationists everywhere:

The Ruffed Grouse Society of America

The Ruffed Grouse Society of America is an organization of dedicated ruffed grouse hunters and conservationists, with members in Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

At the annual meeting of the society, held at Blackwater Falls Lodge, Davis, West Virginia, this resolution was passed unanimously:

Whereas, Sportsmen interested in the hobby of hunting, especially those bird hunters interested in ruffed grouse, are among our best citizens, and

Whereas, This association is convinced beyond all reasonable doubt that the availability of sporting firearms is not a factor in crime, and

Whereas, S1—Amendment 90 is, we submit, founded on the false assumption that the availability of firearms is a factor in the increase of crime, and

Whereas, Said bill is unduly restrictive, placing unnecessary hardships upon law abiding citizens, and

Whereas, There is no good reason to believe that such tight restrictions will serve any good purpose, including a reduction of crime, and

Whereas, This association recognizes that one excuse for more Federal gun legislation is to enable a State to prevent the violation of its own laws pèrtaining to guns, and

Whereas, This association is convinced that the Hruska Bill amply protects the State against violation of their gun laws through interstate purchases,

Now therefore, An annual meeting assembled at Blackwater Lodge this 9th day of September, 1967, by unanimous vote of the membership, approved the following:

1. That the Association go on record as unqualifiedly opposed to S1—Amendment 90, or any other similar legislation so pointed,

2. That this Association support passage of the Hruska Bill,

3. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to all Senators and Congressmen.

Ending of Reds' Conthien Drive Hints United States Halfway To Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Joseph Alsop, one of the more knowledgeable war correspondents, writing from Saigon in the Washington Post of October 11, has begun an analysis of the Communist strategy and tactics in Vietnam. It is Mr. Alsop's judgment, based on his observations and discussions with American military leaders, that the failure thus far of the Communists to achieve success in their assault on our gallant marines entrenched at Conthien can be the turning part of the war.

A lack of victory at Conthien, Mr. Alsop reports, is the culmination of a series of military miscalculations by the Communists and, he avers:

> If this is true, we are half-way to victory, and maybe a good deal more than half-way. The United States Marines and the other forces that are aiding them will live long in the minds and hearts of Americans and all other freedom loving peoples.

Ending of Reds' Conthien Drive Hints United States Halfway to Victory

Saigon.—Perhaps the North Vietnamese will make one more try at another of the Marines' exposed border posts, such as Khesan. All the same, it appears near-certain that the abandonment of the siege of Conthien marks the real end of the long, bloody phase of the war that has endured ever since U.S. intervention in force in the summer of 1965.

If this is true, we are halfway to victory, and maybe a good deal more than halfway. But in order to understand the really vast potential meaning of the enemy retreat from Conthien, you must also understand the nature of the phase of the war that it has so probably terminated. So one must begin at the beginning.

Prior to the crucial decision that may now be inferred, Hanoi's last comparable decision was taken over two years ago, when American intervention changed the whole pattern of the war. Until then, the war had gone precisely according to the rules laid down with great exactness by Mao Tse-tung and the Viet Minh Commander against the French, Gen. Vo. Nguyen Giap.

In rulebook terms, the war, that summer, was nearing the climax of Phase III.

The result was "Resolution 12," still calling for continuation of the big unit war. A certain division of opinion was already indicated, however, by the very peculiar formula so endlessly repeated thereafter in all the major documents: "Preparing for protracted war but seeking victory in the shortest possible time." The seemingly lunatic contradiction in this formula was resolved by a special definition of "victory." Also endlessly repeated, which was "annihilation of an American brigade or even an American battalion."

"Victory," in sum was defined as an essentially local success which was expected to have the impact on us that was produced in France by Dienbienphu, also repeatedly mentioned in the documents. In the new climate created by such a success but *only* in such a climate, Resolution 12 authorized the opening of talks.

The rule was then to be "fighting while negotiations," with special emphasis on the fighting as the documents further reveal.

Continued big unit war was again reaffirmed some months ago at another meeting of the North Vietnamese Central Committee, which produced "Resolution 13." But the captured V.C. Party members' lecture notes on Resolution 13 show that doubt was now even more widespread in the Hanoi Central Committee. For instance, Resolution 13 called for a prompt change of policy if the U.S. troop commitment in Vietnam "reached 600,000 men."

In other words, very big units—"main force" divisions and regiments of V.C. and North Vietnamese regular troops—had already entered the fighting and were within weeks of final triumph over the South Vietnamese government army. And the decision the Hanoi war planners had to make was whether to go forward with this big unit war despite U.S. intervention, or to follow their rulebooks.

In the face of the unexpected and unfavorable change in the war's pattern, the rulebooks called for immediate retreat from Phase III to Phase II. In other words, the rules required retreat from big unit war to classical, small unit guerrilla war. Captured documents reveal, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the Chinese urgently pressed the Hanoi leaders to obey the rulebooks, incidentally promising to come to North Vietnam's aid "in seven years' time" with nuclear weapons.

The Hanoi leaders instead decided to go forward with the big unit war, which was then costing North Vietnam almost nothing. But by the winter of 1966, the big unit war had already begun to cost North Vietnam a lot, because they put in more big units and needed more men to fill the gaps in the ranks of the big units. In the interval, as the documents show, too, the Soviets had pressed Hanoi to go to the negotiating table during the Christmas bombing pause of 1965. Hence there was a policy review by the Party Central Committee in Hanoi.

It is not surprising that doubt was rising among the Central Committee members in Hanoi, simply because so many expedients had already been tried without success. In 1965, the attempt had been to carry out the pre-U.S. intervention war plan, which was to have culminated in the capture of Saigon. In 1966, a less ambitious effort was made to cut South Vietnam in half with divisions starting from the Cambodian sanctuary.

By the end of 1966, in order to shorten the lines, the emphasis was changed from the center of South Vietnam to the Marine area in the northern provinces and open invasion across the border by whole divisions of North Vietnamese regulars was expensively attempted.

Yet the skill of Gen. William C. Westmoreland and the splendid courage and proficiency of our men in the field always cheated the Hanoi war planners of their longed-for "victory."

No U.S. battalion had been annihilated. Still worse, V.C. recruitment in the South had continuously declined, and enemy losses on the battlefield and from illness and desertion had continuously, cruelly risen. By May, when the plans for the Conthien siege were probably first approved, the deficit between enemy losses and Southern recruitment, had reached 13,000 men per month. And this manpower deficit, equivalent to a U.S. requirement for 165,000 men per month, could only be covered by soldiers sent from the North. The manpower deficit was of course not being covered and consequently the situation was critical.

The Conthien plan, therefore, has to be understood as a last desperate attempt to realize the requirements of Resolutions 12 and 13 for swift "victory" by the "annihilation of an American battalion"—the Marine battalion holding this exposed outpost. Conthien was unique in the entire geography of South Vietnam, in that it gave the Hanoi war planners a chance to equalize the U.S. superiority in heavy weapons with artillery emplaced across the border. And the large numbers of artillery pieces brought up for this purpose were the real key to the plan for the Conthien siege.

The siege was an end-of-the-road scheme in short. It has now been abandoned when many people at home were beginning to sound less like Americans than the more sordid sort of Frenchman. That, in itself, would point to a drastic revision of Resolutions 12 and 13 by the Hanoi leaders. And fortunately there are also documents which make the foregoing speculation into a near-certainty.

Broyhill Speaks Out on the Middle East—A Forthright, Perceptive Analysis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the very significant and timely remarks of my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Virginia, Congressman BROYHILL, who has rendered a vital service to the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East.

Congressman BROYHILL spoke at a meeting of the Maurice D. Rosenberg Lodge No. 1555, B'nai B'rith, at Alexandria, Va.

I think Congressman BROYHILL has done a great service in tracing the events that caused the present situation in the Middle East. His remarks, however, are far more than a historical recapitulation. He calls for definite moves to stiffen the backbone of our own Government to promote a stand against Arab extremism and Communist penetration of the Middle East.

I especially endorse his demand that the administration release the Douglas jet bombers sold to Israel last year. Arab fanaticism and Communist intrigue will only be encouraged if the United States fails to meet its commitments to Israel. If these jets are used as blackmail to force Israel concessions, I think that an aroused public opinion, representing Americans of all faiths, will demand an explanation.

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to associate myself with the following remarks by my distinguished colleague:

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE JOEL T. BROYHILL, REPUBLICAN, OF VIRGINIA, AT MEETING OF MAURICE D. ROSENBERG LODGE NO. 1555, B'NAI B'RITH, ALEXANDRIA, VA., OCTOBER 10, 1967

It is my understanding that we are privileged to meet during the most sacred days of the Jewish religion. I was deeply moved when I learned of the significance of the Jewish New Year, which you observed last week, and the Day of Atonement, which occurs later this week.

These special holy days, I found, are called "the days of awe". They are so called, as you know, because it is a time of self-examination, of stock-taking of one's life and its implications, of one's relationship to his fellow men. One looks at the past with introspection. One looks to the future with resolve for a new and more sound course of action in keeping with the great Judaic teachings of freedom and human justice.

Gentlemen, since the last Day of Atonement, this whole nation, Jew and non-Jew alike, has lived through "days of awe". We saw the awesome spectacle of the mobilized might of world Communism become the instigator of Arab aggression and the open defender of Arab extremism. We saw this vast power combination arrayed against a single nation, a single people . . . a very small people numerically, but a very vital people in terms of contribution to civilization and progress.

The Communists were driving for power in the Middle East, hiding like cowards behind the robes of the Arabs. The Arabs acted with arrogance and open contempt for the basic right of Israel, a free nation, to exist.

Israel was the only factor standing in the way of the Communist Arab clique in its cynical move to exploit America's preoccupation with Viet Nam and weakening of NATO. They planned to use Israel as the scapegoat in a brutal and calculated attempt to expel American influence from the Middle East, and even from the Mediterranean.

Israel was characterized as the stooge of the United States. But Israel proved not only not a stooge, but a nation with the courage and determination that our own Government lacked.

As we, the American people . . . regardless of religion . . . look back in re-examination of those tense days in May, we must face some conclusions. We must face the implications of those conclusions as we chart a firm course for the coming year.

Gentlemen, we saw the Communists and Arabs tempted to reckless deeds not only by their own malice and greed. Another factor was present. I regret that this other factor was the obvious lack of firmness and determination on the part of our own Government.

Israel stood alone during those bleak and tense days in May. Our State Department told us it had somehow misplaced the commitment signed by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1957. It was a solemn undertaking to support Israel if the Arabs closed the Straits of Tiran.

Soviet military equipment of the latest design poured into the Arab States. The Arabs, having sealed the straits without American intervention, saw the commitments so often expressed by the Executive Branch of our Government were meaningless.

They watched the Tripartite Declaration, linking Britain and France with us in preserving freedom in the Middle East, dissolve into nothing.

Arab armies mobilized on Israel's borders. They prepared for the final and fatal blow, the liquidation of Israel. They would ride the crest of success, having closed the straits and brought King Hussein of Jordon into their camp. Soviet strategy backed the Arabs each step of the way. Russian warships sailed into the Mediterranean to neutralize the U.S. 6th Fleet.

The Executive Branch of our Government proclaimed *no* doctrine of "thus far and no further". The commitment held so firmly in Viet Nam was ignored in the Middle East. Was Saigon more sacred than Jerusalem? The State Department boys felt that if Israel had to go, it was a domino that we could spare. They advised against U.S. military involvement on the side of Israel. They told the President that U.S. action in the Mediterranean might offend the Arab world and turn them toward Moscow . . . as if they are not already very far gone in that direction.

The war was thrust upon Israel. Thank God the Israelis were not found wanting. They thrilled the inner heart of every American devoted to human freedom. It was the little guy against the bully. It was a little country of 2½ million against the hundreds of millions of Arabs, Russians, Red Chinese, and so forth. David slew Goliath. We shared Israel's joy and exhilaration in escaping the cruel fate intended for her.

But I seem to remember the State Department proclaiming that we were "neutral in word, thought, and deed". Perhaps the policy-makers were neutral. I was not. I saw a great deal of difference between the independent, free republic of Israel and the pro-Communist Arab dictatorships. I am pleased to report tonight that your Congressman was not neutral in word, in thought, nor in deed.

Let us look back in reflection . . . not in recrimination. If we understand the past we are not doomed to repeat previous errors. We must be grateful that Israel survived and repelled aggression on a do-it-yourself basis. But we must allow Israel to consolidate her victory, in our own American interests as well as for the survival of the Jewish State.

We must guard against any tendency to barter away the fruits of Israel's victory. We must guard against appeasement of the Arabs and Communists in the Middle East, especially at a time when American boys are dying in Viet Nam. We must not permit a vacuum to develop in the Middle East that would again allow the enemies of freedom to miscalculate. Next time the results might not turn out as well as in June. We cannot allow Israel to be turned into another Viet Nam.

Only the strongest American posture of defense and openly stated U.S. purpose will shatter the Arab and Communist illusion that they can blackmail Israel at the conference table to achieve what they failed to win on the field of battle.

A dangerous vacuum is developing in the Middle East.

Moscow has resupplied the Arabs with jets and arms of the types lost in the recent war. Moscow has backed the Arabs every step of the way at the United Nations. The Communist bloc has even gone to the extent of persecuting Jews who are unfortunate enough to find themselves residents of Iron Curtain countries. Anti-Zionism has given way to outright anti-semitism.

There is no question of where the Communists stand on the issue of Israel. They despise the brave Israelis for frustrating the Russian timetable for penetration in a vital area.

But where does our own Government stand? That is what is troubling me. I have heard the old Hebrew saying that "the watchman of Israel does not sleep and does not slumber". That would be an excellent slogan for our entire nation.

King Hussein of Jordan jumped like a jackal into the war when he thought the pro-Communist regimes of Egypt and Syria would destroy Israel. We had given him tremendous American aid. We were sold an image of the King as an alleged moderate and friend of the United States. But when the showdown came, Jordan joined Communist-oriented forces of aggression.

Jordan has ignored Israel's practical and generous offer to establish a cooperative relationship with Lebanon and Jordan for the mutual development of all three. Israel envisaged export of Jordanian products through Israeli ports. Israel's genius for technical and agricultural progress would be available to the Arabs. All that was asked of the Jordanians was a firm and fair peace agreement.

The Jordanians gave their answer with bullets and bombs. Terrorists in recent weeks crossed the Jordan River to kill an Israeli child and other people. Jordan behaved at the United Nations like an innocent victim rather than as a beaten aggressor. King Hussein flew to Moscow to improve relations with the Kremlin. He is reported to have made arrangements to purchase Soviet weapons and to cooperate more closely with the leftist Arab camp.

The State Department's response, I regret to report, is the presentation of checks totalling about $6 million to King Hussein . . . to prop up the Jordanian economy. And this is merely a portion of some $27 million we expect to give Jordan this year. We are also said to be studying the grant of new U.S. arms to Jordan.

This can only be interpreted by Hussein as appeasement and softness. I feel it is absurd to help Hussein pay for his new Russian weapons at a time when border infiltrations and terrorism have resumed. If he wants American aid, let him qualify for it by making peace with Israel. Israel told Jordan she would be safe from counter-measures if she stayed out of the war. But Jordan gave vent to her hate and greed. Let her now face the consequences.

I agree with the Israeli Government position that the picture that exists today is entirely new. The clock cannot be turned back to the situation existing prior to the series of wars the Arabs caused. I feel Israel is justified in seeking a face-to-face peace treaty, based on recognition not only of Israel's existence, but of her navigation rights, and of borders corresponding to the requirements of security and the facts of life.

I reject the Communist ultimatum that Israel must withdraw on a unilateral basis before the Arabs will renounce their belligerency. The Arabs unleashed aggression. They now must face the consequences.

Over a hundred years ago, Mexico launched a war of aggression against Texas. Americans were asked to "remember the Alamo". At the end of that war boundaries were different than they would have been if Mexico had not forced the war upon us. I have not heard President Johnson suggest that the United Nations seek ways to return parts of Texas and our Southwest to Mexico.

Japan attacked us with Pearl Harbor treachery. Japan, unlike the Arabs, surrendered and signed a peace treaty. They are now our friends. Nevertheless, I notice that U.S. troops still occupy Okinawa for reasons of security. Americans retain certain rights involving Japan on security questions.

Nazi Germany declared war on the United States. Our troops are still in West Germany. We still have the authority to prevent the Germans from developing nuclear weapons.

The Arabs must realize that there are differences between winning and losing. It would be a dangerous precedent for the world to treat an aggressor with more consideration than the intended victim.

We live in a tough world. The Arabs would have been as cruel as the Nazis had they conquered Israel. The Communists would have shown no mercy. What would we have done? Begged Moscow to intercede with Nassar to save the Jews?

The Arabs played rough and got hurt. Now let them make some amends. If they want some of that territory back . . . not all of it, but enough to resettle the Arab refugees who Israel should not be forced to accommodate . . . let the Arabs get off their high horse.

Syria is oriented somewhere between Peking and Moscow in its fanaticism. The Syrians are training new terrorists for what they say will be a Viet-Cong style war against Israel. They joint with Algeria in calling for what the party line calls a "peoples' war" against Israel. I do not think Israel should budge from a single one of those strategic hills from which the Syrians used to fire down into Israeli farms.

Nasser of Egypt would be a comic figure if he had not caused so much tragedy. He is a sort of leftist Mussolini. Despite his loud denunciations of the United States, we went on aiding him. But we still have those who would portray him as a moderate and preferable to any alternative. This is absurd. I would oppose any further cent of U.S. money to Nasser, as I did in the past. If he does not want relations with America, let him jump into the Nile. He once told us to jump into the sea but we went on aiding him nevertheless.

Russian warships are now using the Egyptian ports of Port Said and Alexandria as bases. They have sent missile cruisers and nuclear submarines there, poised at the U.S. 6th Fleet. The Arabs have given the Russians their first bases in the Mediterranean. We are fortunate to have a strong Israel on Egypt's border.

Egypt would have to prove a lot of things to my satisfaction before I would go along with an Israeli withdrawal from the Suez Canal.

Those Soviet ships threaten Israel even more than they do us. Let Nasser get rid of the Russians before the Israelis withdraw. Let him turn the canal over to an international authority that will guarantee access to Israel and all countries on a fair basis. Let Egypt, the most populous of the Arab States surrounding Israel, sign a peace treaty and enter normal relations. That should be a condition for any withdrawal from the cease-fire lines. Even then, I would like to see the Israelis maintain their lines until the Arabs have proven in fact and in deed that they are sincere.

I must report that there are indications that while Russia is resupplying arms to the Arabs, the Administration has failed to fulfill certain contracts with Israel. These contracts cover Douglas A-4 Skyhawk jets, purchased and partially paid for in the Spring of 1966 . . . about 18 months ago. Israel lost about one-fourth of her valiant air force through combat and by operational attrition. She can get nothing more from France because of DeGaulle's policies.

Israel stands as a buffer against Communism. Her fate is our fate. I cannot understand the reasoning behind deferment in delivery of the Skyhawks to Israel. It seems that the planes are being withheld to obtain bargaining leverage to force Israeli concessions.

If the Skyhawks are good for freedom in Southeast Asia, they are maybe even more valuable in a closer area, the Middle East. I will urge, with every bit of persuasion at my command, that these planes be released. By aiding Hussien and reneging on a contract with Israel, we are undermining our friends and rewarding our enemies.

The time has come for the United States to tell the Communists and their lackeys in the Middle East, "Thus far, and no more." I place a high priority on that. If this Administration does not take such a firm stand, they should at least give the Israelis the arms they need.

I think we should refresh our minds on the situation that existed before the actual war erupted. Nasser's official radio spoke on May 23, when Nasser was riding high on the straits controlling the Gulf of Aqaba. What the Cairo radio said was of grave concern then. We should remind ourselves now of the origins of the present situation.

I quote from Nasser's official broadcast:

"We challenge you, Israel. No, in fact we do not address the challenge to you, Israel, because you are unworthy of our challenge. But we challenge you, America. We challenge you, gangsters of the Bay of Pigs in victorious Cuba. We challenge you with death which is claiming your soldiers in struggling Vietnam. We challenge you to come near, with Israel, to our gulf, the Gulf of Aqaba. Our soldiers are there with the most powerful war material known in the Middle East. Behind them stand millions of Arabs, including Fidai workers carrying in their hands explosives to blow up every American presence throughout the Arab homeland.

"For our upcoming generations, we want an honorable, proud life. To Israel and American gangsterism we hold death in store. We are waiting, waiting for you, America, before we are waiting for Israel. This is the age of peoples, and peoples are fighting you, enemy of peoples, enemy of peace, enemy of prosperity."

If anyone has illusions about Arab extremism and continued collusion with Communism let him examine the background of the recent anti-semitism disseminated by the "Black Power" movement in the United States. The so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, known also as SNICK, recently obtained and distributed anti-Jewish and anti-Israel material. The source of the propaganda, SNICK openly admitted, was the Arab embassies in Washington.

Ralph Featherstone, SNICK national propaganda director, defiantly told the press that this was the case.

I raised the question of foreign diplomatic missions in the United States using their status to stir up and exploit domestic racial tensions, prejudices, and violence. I asked the Department of State to examine Arab diplomatic connections with SNICK to determine whether certain Arab diplomats should be declared persona non grata and expelled from the United States. It is my understanding that a study of this situation is now in progress.

I asked the Department of Justice to determine whether SNICK should be required to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. I asked the Department of the Treasury to look into the tax-exempt status of SNICK.

There is enough domestic hatred now

fomented in America without importing it from the Arab and Communist countries. The Arabs and Communists want to exploit our domestic tensions by turning race against race, religion against religion, group against group.

This is a sophisticated audience. You realize, I am sure, that there was something behind the so-called "Black Caucus" at the "New Politics" Convention in Chicago last month. The Black Power advocates who dominated the convention insisted on a one-sided condemnation of Israel for alleged aggression. They depicted the Arabs and Communists as innocent victims. A resolution reflecting the anti-Israel line was adopted. Within a few hours, it was broadcast over the Voice of the Arabs radio emanating from Cairo.

It was also broadcast in Moscow, Peking, Damascus and Amman.

Let us retrace the recent movements of Stokely Carmichael, former head of SNICK. He went first to Havana, where he urged . . . as you know . . . guerrilla warfare in the United States. Then he went to Hanoi. Next we found him in Algiers. Then he was in Cairo. Last we heard from Carmichael he was in Damascus, Syria. There he issued statements condemning Israel as well as the United States. He urged racial warfare in the United States, revolutions in Latin America, and uprisings along the lines of racial war throughout the world. He identified Black Power with the Arab cause despite all that Israel has done through its aid programs for the African people.

Someone paid for Carmichael's trip. He is not operating in a vacuum. The Black Power movement is being used to advance the Arab cause because that issue is a hot item on the Communist agenda.

Just as any sane person opposes arming the Black Power movement in this country, I oppose arming the Arabs. The United States must give the Arabs neither arms nor aid until they change their attitudes. I see no reason for strengthening the worldwide revolution by Black Power, Arab Power, or any other kind of power except the power of free people to defend their freedom, hopes, and way of life.

The State Department line is that if we don't supply the Arabs, they might turn to Moscow. Perhaps we will next hear someone advocate that we arm the Black Power fanatics or else they might become more dependent on the Communists.

Both Arab Power and Black Power have the capacity to destroy and damage. But they do not have the power to win. They can temporarily cause chaos and refuse to live in peace. So can disruptive children. But I do not think it is the best policy to appease and coddle disruptive children who would bring down the house on our heads.

We could learn much from the no-nonsense policies of Israel. There are times in the life of a nation when firmness and decisions are required. Appeasement of lawlessness and aggression causes lawlessness and aggression to multiply.

Israel has helped bring law and order, as well as justice, in the highest biblical prophetic sense, to her region. The Israelis merit our support. We should emulate their conduct. They are fair, compassionate, generous, but take no foolishness when their nation is jeopardized. We could all learn something from the people who gave God's law to the world.

I would like to end on a personal note. During World War II, I served in the infantry in the Battle of the Bulge. It was my fate to be captured by the Nazis. I know very well the barbarity and enormity of the Nazi's crimes against the Jews and against all humanity.

It seemed to me in May too cruel a prospect that the survivors of Hitler's Europe should have created an island of freedom in the Middle East only to face a new Nazism from the Arabs and their Communist supporters. When the Arabs began closing in to liquidate Israel, I could not help but think back to that tragic period of 1944–45, when I was in a Nazi prison camp.

The Israelis delivered themselves. They also helped to deliver us. The people of Israel drew great encouragement from the support of Americans of Jewish faith and from any other Americans.

I felt great personal satisfaction when the Israelis triumphed. At least one recent chapter in Jewish history must have a happy ending.

But this victory left me convinced that Israel cannot depend on promises. Israel is alive because of her own courage and careful planning.

Accordingly, we . . . you and I and all men of good will . . . must emulate the Israelis and have the courage to speak out for a peace in the Middle East based on a plan of action We must reject appeasement. We must use all our influence to stiffen the backbone of our own Government. We must tell the Arabs and their Communist comrades, "Thus far and no further."

The enemies of freedom are united and act in concert. Let us unite for the sake of both Israel and America.

Thank you.

Marihuana and LSD

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY L. PETTIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, Dana L. Farnsworth, M.D., director of Harvard University's department of health services, and Curtis Prout, M.D., chief of medicine, have made a significant statement on the problem of marihuana and LSD in the bulletin of the San Francisco Medical Society which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues. It is a fair and objective statement on a serious national problem. If our Nation is to avoid a calamity of major proportions—particularly among our youth—I think we should consider seriously the scientific viewpoint of these two eminent scientists:

> The taking of drugs, especially *marijuana* and *L.S.D.* (*Lysergic Acid Diethylamide*), is becoming a fad among college and high school students who wish to assert their independence by breaking the law and offending their parents, and who wish to experiment with new physical and psychological sensations.
>
> A brief account of marijuana and L.S.D. from the medical side may be useful.
>
> *Marijuana* comes from the dried flowering tops of a hemp plant, cannabis sativa. Other names for it include hashish, bhang, and "pot." It is hallucinogenic and has no medicinal use. It may be smoked in cigarettes, chewed, or sniffed. Marijuana acts mainly on the central nervous system, and does not produce true addiction. When marijuana is smoked its effects are noted in a few minutes and usually last three to five hours. The drug causes a combination of excitation and depression. There may be an increase in the pulse rate, a slight rise in blood pressure, and small increases in blood sugar and appetite for sweets.
>
> Marijuana has a chemical effect on ordinary consciousness; ideas are rapid, disconnected, and uncontrollable. There may be feelings of well-being, exaltation, and excitement—that is, being "high." Or, at other times there may be a "down" with moodiness, fear of death, and panic. Ideas may occur in disrupted sequences. Seconds may seem like minutes, minutes may seem like hours. Distance and sound may be magnified. Space may seem expanded, the head may feel swollen and extremities heavy. Some people who take it think that it fosters physical intimacy; but the reverse is usually true. The subject may have sensations of floating, ringing in the ears, and tremors. Persons taking the drug may be quiet and drowsy when alone; restless, talkative, laughing, or joking when in company. Large doses may produce confusion, disorientation, and increased anxiety. In a few instances marijuana has produced psychoses, as does L.S.D.
>
> A dangerous effect from marijuana is the slowing of reflexes. Since marijuana also causes a distortion of reality, particularly of the sense of time, the drug is frequently a cause of automobile accidents.
>
> The medical evidence is mounting that a good deal of marijuana currently sold to students is adulterated, indeed often "laced" with mixtures of other hallucinogenic drugs to strengthen the effect of the drug. Marijuana is not a specific product but a variable mixture of flowers, leaves, stems, and sometimes the roots of the hemp plant. The mixture may be weak or strong in its physiological effect, and where it is weak, invites adulteration. The fact is a person buying "marijuana" has no way of knowing what he is actually getting.
>
> Marijuana does not produce physical addiction, but it does produce significant dependence, to a serious degree. This is a fact well known to doctors working with college students. The social influences surrounding the use of marijuana also encourage experimentation with other drugs, notably L.S.D., and, of course, may lead into addiction to narcotics.
>
> *L.S.D.* is a far more dangerous drug than marijuana, and in the opinion of many informed persons is a greater menace to users than even the addictive narcotics.
>
> During the earlier years of experimentation with L.S.D. the adverse effects were not considered to be very serious. However, in recent years, numerous cases have been reported of prolonged psychotic reactions from L.S.D., lasting from a few months up to two years. Hospitals in large cities, particularly New York and Los Angeles, have had many cases of acute psychoses arising from ingestion of this drug.
>
> L.S.D. differs from most other drugs because its effects occur at varying periods after the ingestion of the drug. What it does, in effect, is to start in motion processes, as yet not understood, which produce effects after the drug itself has left the bloodstream. There may be severe depressions lasting for several months, or psychotic reactions, or at other times both pleasant and frightening episodes.
>
> Another observed effect of L.S.D. is a reduction in responsibility—that is, the individual's judgment is impaired. In our judgment now, after a careful study of the effects of L.S.D., we consider it inadvisable for an individual who takes even one dose of L.S.D. to make a major decision about himself for at least three months.
>
> When one is under the influence of L.S.D., one can ignore the facts that were previously held to be valid and construct new beliefs, no matter how irrational. Such forms of thinking bear many similarities to psychosis. A person may feel that he has powers which he did not previously have, or that certain laws of the environment (such as vulnerability) are not operative in his case. For example, feeling omnipotent, he believes he can jump out of the window with no harmful results. Those who are enthusiastic about L.S.D. are often given to wishful think-

ing. They see in their experiences only what they wish to be true above all other truths. Medical records indicate that most people now taking the drug are young, mainly between 17 and 25; but a number of older persons also turn to L.S.D., especially persons having some difficult personality conflict.

One significant statement about the use of L.S.D. was made by Freedman and Powelson in the *Nation* on January 31, 1966: "L.S.D. enthusiasts talk of religious conversions, the awakening of artistic creativity, the reconciliation of opposites. The main change to be observed in such individuals, however, is that they have stopped doing anything. The aspiring painter talks of the heightening of his aesthetic sensibilities and skills, but he has stopped painting. The graduate student who withdrew from writing his dissertation in philosophy talks of the wondrous philosophical theories he has evolved. But nothing is written. It seems that the world of fantasy has become far more compelling than external things. Indeed, fantasy is substituted for reality."

We know now that long-term subtle psychological damage may result from L.S.D. Such damage may be glossed over by the pleasure and enthusiasm engendered by the substance, but we have seen too many cases of phychic breakdown to doubt the serious dangers of the drug. It is even possible that the brain is structurally damaged. There is recent evidence that L.S.D. attacks hereditary genes.

In short, our professional medical opinion is that playing with L.S.D. is a desperately dangerous form of "drug roulette." The medical evidence is clear. Any person taking L.S.D. runs the clear risk of psychotic breakdown and longrun physiological damage.

Dana L. Farnsworth, M.D.,
Director.
Curtis Prout, M.D.,
Chief of Medicine.

Mr. Carl T. Jones of Huntsville, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, with a great sense of personal loss I report the death of Carl T. Jones, Huntsville, Ala.'s foremost civic worker. An engineer by profession, he devoted countless hours to building of dozens of civic projects to provide a better life for all in the rapidly growing space center of north Alabama. He was an eager and tireless salesman for Huntsville and was responsible for attracting many new industries to the area.

He had a vision of the potential for proper development of the great Tennessee Valley area of Alabama and he had the ability, courage, and determination to work for realization of that vision.

It was a great personal pleasure for me to work with Carl T. Jones in numerous endeavors in the Huntsville area. His knowledge and enthusiasm provided the extra push often so necessary for the accomplishment of a significant goal. No community ever had a more devoted worker for proper progress and development.

As the son of an influential pioneer Madison County family, Carl T. Jones was always interested in building and development. In becoming an engineer, he was following in his father's footsteps.

During World War II, Carl T. Jones served his country with distinction as a combat engineer in Alaska and in Europe. Immediately after the war, he was the only Reserve officer to serve as an instructor at the Army War College.

His service to the community grew as the city of Huntsville expanded at an unprecedented rate during the past 10 years. He was considered a full-time civil servant and a leader in every worthwhile project in the city.

Carl T. Jones served as a founder and early president of the Huntsville Industrial Expansion Committee, a group concerned with attracting new industry to the area; president of the Rotary Club; president of Huntsville Industrial Associates, Inc., an industrial development group; head of G. W. Jones & Sons, consulting engineers; was on the board of directors of the First National Bank of Huntsville and the North Alabama Mineral Development Co.; was a member of the First Methodist Church, Chamber of Commerce, Newcomer Society; Historical Society; Veterans of Foreign Wars; American Legion; Knight Templars of the Masonic Order; Alabama Cattlemen's Association; Alabama Farm Bureau; Ducks Unlimited, and American Society of Civil Engineers. He was also active in real estate, farming, and other business interests.

He received Huntsville's "Distinguished Citizen Award" in 1965.

His unexpected death came October 7 while watching the University of Alabame football game in Birmingham.

As a close personal friend for nearly 40 years, I have extended to his wife and family most heartfelt sympathy at his death.

Because the people of the Huntsville area depended so heavily on Carl T. Jones for the spark of drive and leadership to accomplish worthwhile projects, the family's loss will be shared by the entire community.

How To Tell a Democrat From a Republican

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, at last the confusion about the difference between a Democrat and a Republican has been cleared up. In fact, it was cleared up in November 1962, by Mr. Will Stanton, by his article in the Ladies' Home Journal, a part of which appears as follows:

To Be Read Aloud by a Democrat to a Republican or by a Republican to a Democrat

Although to the casual glance Republicans and Democrats may appear to be almost indistinguishable, here are some hints which should result in positive identification:

Democrats seldom make good polo players. They would rather listen to Bela Bartok.

The people you see coming out of white wooden churches are Republicans.

Democrats buy most of the books that have been banned somewhere. Republicans form censorship committees and read them as a group.

Republicans are likely to have fewer but larger debts that cause them no concern.

Democrats owe a lot of small bills. They don't worry either.

Republicans consume three fourths of all the rutabaga produced in this country. The remainder is thrown out.

Republicans usually wear hats and almost always clean their paintbrushes.

Democrats give their worn-out clothes to those less fortunate. Republicans wear theirs.

Republicans post all the signs saying No Trespassing and These Deer are Private Property and so on. Democrats bring picnic baskets and start their bonfires with the signs.

Republicans employ exterminators. Democrats step on the bugs.

Republicans have governesses for their children. Democrats have grandmothers.

Democrats name their children after currently popular sports figures, politicians and entertainers. Republican children are named after their parents or grandparents, according to where the most money is.

Large cities such as New York are filled with Republicans—up until 5 P.M. At this point there is a phenomenon much like an automatic washer starting the spin cycle. People begin pouring out of every exit of the city. These are Republicans going home.

Democrats keep trying to cut down on smoking, but are not successful. Neither are Republicans.

Republicans tend to keep their shades drawn, although there is seldom any reason why they should. Democrats ought to, but don't.

Republicans fish from the stern of a chartered boat. Democrats sit on the dock and let the fish come to them.

Republicans study the financial pages of the newspaper. Democrats put them in the bottom of the bird cage.

Most of the stuff you see alongside the road has been thrown out of car windows by Democrats.

On Saturday, Republicans head for the hunting lodge or the yacht club. Democrats wash the car and get a haircut.

Republicans raise dahlias, Dalmatians and eyebrows. Democrats raise Airedales, kids and taxes.

Democrats eat the fish they catch. Republicans hang them on the wall.

Democrats watch TV crime and Western shows that make them clench their fists and become red in the face. Republicans get the same effect from the presidential press conferences.

Christmas cards that Democrats send are filled with reindeer and chimneys and long messages. Republicans select cards containing a spray of holly, or a single candle.

Democrats are continually saying, "This Christmas we're going to be sensible." Republicans consider this highly unlikely.

Republicans smoke cigars on weekdays.

Republicans have guest rooms. Democrats have spare rooms filled with old baby furniture.

Republican boys date Democratic girls. They plan to marry Republican girls, but feel they're entitled to a little fun first.

Democrats make up plans and then do something else. Republicans follow the plans their grandfathers made.

Democrats purchase all the tools—the power saws and mowers. A Republican probably wouldn't know how to use a screwdriver.

Democrats suffer from chapped hands and headaches. Republicans have tennis elbow and gout.

Republicans sleep in twin beds—some even in separate rooms. That is why there are more Democrats.

Along the Red Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, writing in the October issue of the Veterans of Foreign Wars magazine, Mr. Donald L. Miller, in his regular column entitled "Along the Red Front," submits valuable information on the planned peacenik demonstration to be staged here in Washington on Saturday, October 21.

Mr. Miller properly demonstrates the links between this propaganda exploit and the coordinated international assault on the freedom of man.

The article is all the more revealing in the light of statements Rowland Evans and Robert Novak attribute to Secretary of State Dean Rusk at a meeting in New York. Their column, carried in the Washington Post of October 11, reports that Rusk told the business executives that much of the anti-Vietnam activities were the result of Communist planning. States the article—

> Much earlier opposition, he said (that is Rusk), resulted from Communist influence. FBI infiltrators in the Communist apparatus, he said, tipped him off to the exact wording of a peace telegram from an "innocent" peace group weeks before he officially received the same telegram.

Evans and Novak continue—

> "Despite detailed intelligence on Red control of the peace movement," said Rusk, "we have not made public the extent of our knowledge. We did not want to set off a new McCarthyism."
>
> Communist influence, Rusk continued, helped build rabid anti-Vietnam sentiment among college students. But he placed a greater responsibility on what the students learn from their professors—Rusk's "pseudo-intellectuals." "Their well-turned phrases," he said, "simply cannot stand careful scrutiny."

American citizens will want this information to properly place in perspective the Communist-planned and Communist-directed demonstration aimed at disrupting the Nation's Capitol on October 21. The article follows:

> ALONG THE RED FRONT
>
> (By Donald L. Miller)
>
> An anti-war march scheduled for Washington, D.C. October 21 raises some serious questions for our national security.
>
> The march is a follow up to the anti-Vietnam war parades which turned several hundred thousand anti-draft protesters, pro-Viet Cong radicals and happies into New York and San Francisco streets, April 15.
>
> Its slogan "to end the war in Vietnam" indicates that the October event is aimed less toward informing government officials than toward intimidating them; less to peaceful protest than to gain immediate action through a show of force.
>
> As originally planned, the march leaders set their goal at one million demonstrators. All summer, agitators have been stirring up support for the march among high school and college youth and adults, in posh suburbs, crowded cities and riot-torn urban slums.
>
> Knowing that anti-war sentiment alone is not enough, they added anti-poverty appeals to get out a maximum crowd. So the marchers' demands October 21 will be (1) for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, and (2) to switch funds now being spent there into anti-poverty work in the urban slums. A third category of demands will be for dropping legal charges against people like H. Rap Brown, indicted for incitement to riot in Cambridge, Md., last summer.
>
> The protest march leaders may not get one million people. But even one fourth of this total could paralyze our nation's capital. The operations of the federal government may be slowed or interrupted for a time. And that's not all.
>
> While they are making their appeals to the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, blockading the Selective Service headquarters and the Pentagon, additional thousands will march in capitals around the world also demanding U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.
>
> This is a coordinated international assault against U.S. policies of defending freedom and of helping small nations protect themselves against Communist aggression. This kind of attack can best be understood against the background of a three-pronged strategy explained by Mao Tse-tung in "On Protracted War" in 1938.
>
> Mao said his strategy consisted of (1) guerrilla or mobile warfare to wear down an enemy and drain his economic resources, (2) a worldwide "peace" front to isolate him from moral and material support from allies and (3) revolutionary action inside his country to undermine morale and break his will to resist.
>
> "All this," he wrote, "is aimed at protracting the war so as gradually to alter the relative position between the enemy and ourselves and create conditions for our counter-offensive."
>
> Whether those involved in the scheduled October anti-war march in Washington know it or not, they are part of this strategy; they are playing roles in the worldwide "peace" front and in revolutionary action within our country.
>
> Assuming that the march is not banned, a substantial effort is needed to explain to potential marchers why they should not take part if they take civil rights and the expansion of freedom here and abroad at all seriously.

Lawrence C. Reno: An Outstanding Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in early September the city of Oshkosh and the State of Wisconsin suffered a great loss with the death of Lawrence Reno.

At the time of his untimely death Lawrence Reno was serving in his 28th year as president of the Winnebago County Labor Council, AFL–CIO, as well as president of the Oshkosh Police and Fire Commission, on which he had served for 25 years.

Mr. Reno was one of those vitally important and significant men whose mark could be found throughout both the city and State he served so well. He was indeed an outstanding citizen and leader.

Mr. Reno was employed at Oshkosh B'Gosh, Inc., and was a past president of Local 126 of the United Garment Workers. He was a past vice president of the State Federation of Labor, and in 1965 was cited by the Wisconsin State AFL–CIO for service of 22 years as a member of that organization's executive board. He was a moving force in Oshkosh in the United Fund and in support of a strong, responsible city government.

I rise to pay tribute to Lawrence Reno for his dedicated service to the labor movement, and his community and State. I include at this point, as a part of my remarks, an editorial from the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern in honor of Lawrence C. Reno:

> UNSTINTING IN SERVICE
>
> Reference to the coming convention in Oshkosh of the Wisconsin Chiefs of Police Association in another editorial today ("Equal Law for All") brings to mind one person who will not be in attendance although under the normal course of events he might well have been the one to welcome the law enforcement officials to the city.
>
> We refer to the late Lawrence C. Reno, who for 25 years served on the Oshkosh police and fire commission and gave unstintingly of his time to the lay group which served as a liaison between the public for which policemen and firemen work and whose protectors they are and the same public which forms the city, the taxpayers who make the degree of protection offered possible. Mr. Reno died earlier this month at the age of 62.
>
> The Oshkosh man, not a native but an import from Missouri as evidenced by the bit of southern drawl he retained, was better known for his activities as a labor leader of considerable stature. He was highly respected for his convictions about the respective privileges, and duties, of labor and of management by both those who are employes and those who employ others.
>
> Mr. Reno had served one company during his entire life in Oshkosh, the Oshkosh B'Gosh Inc., and was a past president of Local 126 of United Garment Workers. But he did not confine himself to his own community. He served labor on the state level having been a vice president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor. Recognition was given him by the Wisconsin State AFL–CIO for 22 years of service as a member of the executive board.
>
> The police chiefs meeting here next month might well pause a moment in their deliberations to do him honor, as labor has, and as we do herewith.

Uniform Emergency Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD another of the interesting and informative letters I have received in response to my proposal for a uniform, single, emergency phone number for police throughout the United States and one uniform emergency number for reporting fires throughout the United States.

I find this letter of particular interest because it indicates what can be done in a metropolitan area to get agreement on an areawide number. Similar action throughout the country would move us one important step nearer the nationwide emergency numbers.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT,

July 3, 1967.

Hon. J. EDWARD ROUSH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROUSH: This is in reply to your letter of June 19, 1967, asking for my opinion and suggestions regarding your proposal for establishment of a single police reporting emergency telephone number and a single fire reporting telephone number throughout the United States.

As you perhaps know, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice also addressed this need in its report *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. On page 250 of that report, the Commission recommended that "Wherever practical, a single police telephone number should be established, at least within a metropolitan area and eventually over the entire United States, comparable to the telephone company's long-distance information number." The Commission pointed out that in one metropolitan area, there are fifty different telephone numbers that reach police departments within a single county.

One of the first projects which I undertook following my appointment as Chief of Police was obtaining the assistance of the local telephone company in establishing an easily remembered police emergency number for this department. With their help, we were able to change our emergency number, the number which automatically connects the caller with our radio dispatcher, from the former EX 3–2060 to the present 444–1111. I am informed by the local telephone company that the police departments of Montgomery County, Maryland, and of Prince Georges County, Maryland, are presently considering the feasibility of changing their emergency numbers to 444–1111; naturally, I heartily endorse this move towards provision of a single emergency police telephone number for the Washington Metropolitan area.

As a police administrator, I certainly am in accord with your proposal for a single police emergency telephone number throughout the United States, and as a citizen, I naturally would endorse your proposal for a single fire telephone number for the nation.

You may feel free to use my statements in any way they would be helpful to you in this project.

Sincerely,

JOHN B. LAYTON,
Chief of Police.

Two State Youths Die in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Charles E. Farmer and L. Cpl. John T. Wertman, two servicemen from Maryland, were recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of these young men, and to honor their memory, by including the following article in the RECORD:

TWO STATE YOUTHS DIE IN VIETNAM—CITY GI, LA VALE MARINE KILLED IN ACTION

Two 19-year-old Maryland servicemen have been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

One of the two, Pfc. Charles E. Farmer, was from Baltimore. The other, Lance Cpl. John T. Wertman, was from La Vale, near Cumberland.

Private Farmer, who enlisted in the Army airborne in November, had been in Vietnam six months. He was with the 101st Airborne Division, and had been listed missing in action October 5.

Mrs. Nellie Middlebrook, of the 1500 block North Appleton street, who was Private Farmer's guardian, said he had attended Edmondson High School and had been "very interested in playing football."

She said he had planned to make the Army a career. He is survived by his father, Robert L. Farmer, of the 2800 block Popes lane, in Baltimore county.

Corporal Wertman was killed by a mine October 5 while clearing a road in Quang Nam province with a Marine engineers battalion.

He joined the Marine Corps in August, 1966, and left for Vietnam in February.

He had graduated from Allegany High School in Cumberland in the class of 1966.

His wife, the former Kathleen M. Graham, of Cumberland, gave birth to a daughter, Sherri Lyn, three weeks ago.

Corporal Wertman was assigned to C Company, 2d Plt., 1st Engineers Battalion.

Besides his wife and infant daughter, who live in La Vale, Corporal Wertman is survived by his father, Lynn O. Wertman, of Cumberland, and his mother, Mrs. Geraldine M. Wertman, also of Cumberland.

Seventy-five Thousand Los Angeles Children Hurt by Recent Cutback in Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks we have heard considerable talk about eliminating all "unnecessary spending" in the Federal budget.

The problem, of course, is in how to define the word "unnecessary."

For instance, I am confident that to the 75,000 underprivileged Los Angeles children mentioned in the accompanying article from the Los Angeles Times, the Federal funds which can no longer be provided to give them a chance to lead decent lives would probably not fall into such an "unnecessary" category.

For those who feel it is "unnecessary" to wage an effective war on poverty, I think the long-range implications of Times writer McCurdy's fine article should be of deep interest and concern.

SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND PUPILS HIT BY CUTBACK IN POVERTY WAR

(By Jack McCurdy)

Nearly 75,000 children from disadvantaged areas were attending a large number of war on poverty educational programs which have been dropped this year because of a 65% cutback in one area of federal school projects here.

It will be virtually impossible to absorb these children into other poverty programs this year because of a lack of funds, school officials said.

The programs being curtailed include remedial reading, counseling, tutoring, cultural trips, parental involvement in schools, after-school recreation, outdoor science projects, classes for dropouts and special language instruction.

The cutbacks all are in programs run by school districts under auspices of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency. These programs do not receive specially earmarked funds from the federal government, as do such agencies as Operation Head Start, and have to compete for a dwindling amount of money that is not specifically earmarked.

SOME PROGRAMS UNAFFECTED

Unaffected by the cutbacks are federal programs funded directly to the school districts, which cover many of the same educational areas as those programs being eliminated but with different projects.

The major portion of the curtailment involves after-school and Saturday programs in which students from the first through the 12th grades received help with school problems, were given opportunities to pursue individual academic interests and were provided with recreation facilities.

School officials said they have no substitute programs to occupy the free time of these youngsters.

Voluntary attendance at the 137 city schools offering these "extended day" programs reached about 60,000 children last year. Educators considered them a "tremendous success."

"The kids' attitude toward school was really changing," said Gordon Trigg, city schools' youth opportunities coordinator. "Staying after school was no longer considered a punishment."

ATTITUDES CHANGING

What may have been just as important, he added, was that the parents' attitude toward schools and their desire to help their children was also changing.

Trigg said he believes the program was just beginning to reach those that need help the most.

"At first we just hit the periphery," he said. "But recently we were actually getting down to involving the 'hard core' type of child. Now the funds are cut off."

School officials pointed out that when financing of school programs began under the Economic Opportunities Act in 1964 they were urged by federal officials to quickly launch programs. Starting in February, 1965, $5 million was allocated to school projects under EYOA for a half year of operations.

FUNDS SHRINK

In the next full year, 1965–66, they said, funds for this type of school programs "dropped" to $8 million because:

1—Other programs got under way throughout the country, spreading the available federal funds thinner.

2—Noneducation community action programs expanded, using up a larger share of EYOA funds.

Last year, the funds were reduced to $5 million, causing a drastic cut in programs almost as serious as this year. The reason for the cutback last year was the new emphasis on earmarking funds, which left less for other programs not specified in EOA legislation. The same is generally true this year, officials said.

SHARP REDUCTION

The three school agencies under EYOA—city schools, county schools office and Catholic schools—asked for about $4.5 million for 1967–68, but the estimate from federal officials is that about $1.5 million will be forthcoming—a slash of $3 million.

Instead of keeping all the programs financed by earmarked funds and making each ineffectual, school officials decided to abandon some completely in order to maintain others at reasonable strength.

The city schools kept the adult counseling program designed to bolster job training and placement projects, and a new program of hiring teacher aids in poverty areas. Total cost is $780,000.

The extended day program which also included the Student Opportunities Centers in secondary schools was cut. It would have cost about $1.4 million.

The county schools:

1—Drastically cut back the community relations program in the Bassett Unified School District, which was aimed at involving whole families in science projects and school activities. About 4,000 students are affected.

2—Reduced the extended-day kindergarten program in the Los Nietos Elementary District.

3—Eliminated dropout classes and an after-school tutorial program in which poverty children tutored each other in the Compton Union High School District, affecting about 5,000. Remedial reading classes were reduced.

4—Cut back special language and writing instruction for lower elementary school children in 12 county school districts, affecting 1,600 students.

The county schools office request was for $1.7 million and is expected to receive about $644,000.

The Catholic schools special reading classes for secondary students were slashed from an appropriation request of about $450,000 to $75,000, eliminating 2,000 of the 2,500 students involved.

Address by Gen. Harold K. Johnson, U.S. Army Chief of Staff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the presentation by Gen. Harold K. Johnson, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, at the annual meeting of the Association of the U.S. Army, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, October 10, 1967, was one of the truly outstanding speeches and reasoned arguments why all Americans can and should support our national policy in the Far East. I commend General Johnson's remarks for the study and evaluation they deserve:

ADDRESS BY GEN. HAROLD K. JOHNSON, CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. ARMY

The late beloved Carl Sandburg once observed, "In these times you have to be an optimist to open your eyes when you awake in the morning." Obviously, the scene that Mr. Sandburg observed did not make one want to leap out of bed, yet, from what we know of him, we are sure that an American of his breed would not miss the chance of facing a new day simply because he didn't like the early-morning prospects.

Today many people would prefer to stay in bed with their heads under the covers. They are not encouraged by the signs of the times, particularly in Vietnam. What is worse, their views are considered by many to represent the degree of determination of Americans as a whole. I do not share their views and I do not believe that American determination is being portrayed accurately by them. I am encouraged and not discouraged.

Since our meeting last year I have visited our forces in South Vietnam for a seventh and an eighth time—the eighth one just sixty days ago. What I have seen has enabled me to draw some comparisons and develop some firm convictions. It gives me a deep sense of pride to be an American and a member of the armed forces of a free nation. While I recognize that the path ahead is not fully known, I am able to greet each day with more confidence than ever.

Fundamental to an understanding of the conflict in Vietnam are certain facts that are not recognized fully. These facts tend to be overlooked or ignored, at least by critics of our Government's efforts in South Vietnam. Let me cite a few of them.

First: The conflict in South Vietnam is a paradox. It is not what we have always thought a war should be like. Armies in the past have normally used military force only. Annihilation and destruction have been inevitably involved in the process. If nations at war gave any thought to reconstruction, they did so only after the war was over. But in South Vietnam we are helping that country to carry out nation-building processes as we fight. Our war aims are specifically limited, but our post-war aims—which are civilian in nature—are limited only by what we can help South Vietnam achieve as a young republic after the aggressor has been made to lay down his arms.

Second: The Armed Forces of South Vietnam are training and fighting at the same time, yet their performances are being judged daily as though they were seasoned troops. Admittedly, they have problems in leadership but this, too, is slowly being overcome through experience and training.

Another fact: South Vietnam as a whole is very nearly ideal for the type of warfare being waged by the communists. Its geography, combined with the complexities and diversities of its culture and society, and the state of its fragile economy favor the insurgent. Remember this: the job of the insurgent—simply to tear down or destroy—is always easier than the task facing the builder. In other words it is always easier to be against something than for something. It is easier to criticize than to create.

Still another basic fact: A young government under the pressures of war and beset by shortages, or even a complete lack, of civil skills is attempting to establish itself and gain the confidence of its people. Since 1941 this land has been wracked by conflict in one form or another. Acts of terror have systematically descimated the ranks of those working to bring about law and order. Still, other brave men step forward to fill their shoes and to share in the responsibilities—and hazards—of giving the people a government. What I am trying to point out here is that in our eagerness to see results, we frequently overlook the actual conditions; we do not recognize the real efforts and sacrifices that are being made by a brave people to overcome the deficiences.

Finally I would emphasize this basic truth: The stakes are high—not just for the South Vietnamese but for all freedom-loving peoples. Freedom is on the line here as surely as it is everywhere in the world that Free World Forces stand to thwart aggression. And even though this small and distant nation might not seem to some of us like much of a loss, it would be a precious gain to the enemy—a gain that might well give the communist world the psychological boost it needs to realize some of its more ambitious aims.

In leaving this discussion of fundamental truths I sugggest simply this. Consider these facts as you appraise conditions and progress in Vietnam—if you wish to arrive at a meaningful answer.

Some of you here have heard me say much of what I will say here again today. Perhaps I should apologize, but I will not, because the facts bear repeating—over and over again. Popular discussion of our national policies in South Vietnam has grown increasingly critical lately, and this criticism generally pivots around a host of searching questions which must be answered. I welcome these opportunities to answer these questions because I am convinced that only by a full discussion will a clear picture get through. This is an absolute must, for only when the facts are known can the true mettle of America be expected to show. Each of you, as leaders in your communities, can do a great deal in presenting the facts.

Here, then, are a few questions that seem to be bothering people the most right now; and here are my answers to them.

Perhaps the most burning question in people's minds and one that has become the entire basis for some of the most vocal opposition to our Government's policies deals with our being in Vietnam in the first place. They ask: Are we right in being there? It is too far from our own shores, they say. They contend that we are meddling in a "civil war."

The answer to this question is contained in the answer to another. Why are we in Vietnam at all?

Our President has answered this question many times. I would like to quote one answer:

> We are in South Vietnam today because we want to allow a little nation self-determination. We want them to be able to go and vote for the kind of leaders they want and select the type of government they want. We want them to be free of terror and aggression in doing that—as we want it for ourselves.
>
> We made a contract. We had an agreement. We entered into a treaty that was confirmed by our Senate, 82 to 1, saying that in the face of common danger we would come and help.
>
> We came. We are helping. We are doing our best. . . .

In other words, South Vietnam wants to remain free of communist tyranny and has asked us to assist. Our fighting men are helping them meet and destroy forces entering the country from outside its boundaries, thus permitting the South Vietnamese to curb the level of violence so that a duly constituted government can govern. The enemy's violation of the border in one sense could be called an invasion; in another it could be called infiltration. The distinction between the two is academic. The simple, unvarnished truth is that South Vietnam is under attack by forces organized and trained outside its boundaries.

That is not civil war. It is just one more in a series of so-called wars of national liberation by which the communists intend to subvert and overthrow the young, the unsettled, and the impoverished nations of the globe. We are in Vietnam, I repeat, by invitation, and because we now know that a threat to freedom and peace anywhere in the world is a threat to all free men.

Another question, and one that each of us has asked—and has a perfect right to ask—is: Are freedom and stable government for a diverse group of warring Asians worth the life of several thousand—of a hundred—of even one American soldier? This thought tears mercilesssly at the heart and soul of every thinking person. I read the casualty lists as they come to me day by day. I write a personal letter to every family that loses a son, or a husband, or a brother. The replies I receive, whether they show bitterness or courageous acceptance of the sacrifice, widen a wound that for me will never heal. I can assure you from the bottom of my heart that I ask myself this question day and night, and if I did not have an answer I would not be able to take the first step each morning that leads from my quarters to the office.

Is all of this worth the life of even one American soldier?

At this point I could say, as Thomas Jefferson did, that—

> The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.

I could say, as Benjamin Franklin did, that—

They who can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

I could say, as President Theodore Roosevelt did, that—

If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and the stronger peoples will pass us by. . . .

Yes, I could say all of those things and many more, but I know that most critics today do not question the necessity of fighting for freedom or national security. They simply do not feel that we are doing so when we fight so far from home, when we—to use a common expression—"fight somebody else's war for them."

These people have forgotten that international communism gives little or no thought of striking in an overt, frontal attack. One of the basic considerations in the communist strategy—this one attributed to Lenin—says: ". . . and finally we will encircle the last bastion of capitalism—the United States. We shall not have to attack it, it will fall like over-ripe fruit into our hands."

The Chinese communist leaders are dedicated to a bellicose, Mao adaption of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of world revolution. Their strategy involves the mobilization of the underdeveloped areas of the world—which Chinese communists liken to "rural" areas—against the industrialized and prosperous areas—termed the "urban" areas. Envisioned in this strategy is a so-called "people's war" whose climactic act will be "wars of annihilation."

Oh, but you are forgetting something, the critics of our policies in Vietnam exclaim. This has all been changed. The Soviet Union has modified its attitude and set a new course. And disputes within the international communist structure have caused this monolithic power bloc to come unstuck at the seams.

Not quite true. The disputes have been and are concerned chiefly with methods, not aims. An example is that both the USSR and China supply arms to North Vietnam, although they continue to argue between themselves. Bitterness, invective, and strife—up to and including internecine violence—are inherent in the communist process and dare not be taken as a sign of altered aims or burned-out fervor.

If the Soviet leaders of today are more restrained, as some like to point out, it is probably because, having tested our willingness and readiness to back our words with action several times over during the Cold War, they are not now interested in involving themselves in another direct confrontation. But the hard facts of Soviet military power and their mounting investment in the sophisticated machinery of war do not point to altered aims and cannot be interpreted simply as a desire for self-protection. Look at the military inventory: the Soviet Union today has more strategic missiles and more hard sites to fire them from than ever before. Its submarine fleet is its biggest yet, and Soviet naval presence around the world, especially in such strategically important areas as the Mediterranean, is growing year by year. In Eastern Germany and elsewhere in Eastern Europe it has more modern forces than it has ever had before.

No, we dare not assume that the Soviet Union has altered its basic course. Failure to continue to support South Vietnam would be just as dangerous in today's environment as when Chamberlain went to Munich with his umbrella—and his hat—in hand. And, as Winston Churchill so prophetically affirmed then as little Czechoslovakia was liquidated, "The belief that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal decision."

Finally, I would like to answer a question that continues to bother us because we know that unless the answer to it is favorable we are wasting our efforts—our sacrifices become meaningless. Are we making progress in this hard up-hill battle? Are we stalemated?

I will answer the last question first because it contains a word that, in my opinion, particularly frightens us. Are we stalemated? Definitely not!

Then if not stalemated we must be making progress. Indeed we are—and on all fronts.

To assess progress, one must have a point from which to make comparisons. My starting point is March, 1965, when conditions in South Vietnam, and particularly the military situation, were at low ebb. In March, 1965 the Marines were landed in Da Nang to secure the airbase and our Air Force began its support of ground forces in South Vietnam. In May, Army forces were deployed to defend airbases in the Saigon area. In July a decision was announced that additional U.S. deployments were required, and by the end of 1965, an uneasy equilibrium of forces had been achieved in South Vietnam. We had also reached a point where our formations of battalion size—about 700 men—or larger could not be damaged significantly.

As the U.S. and Free World buildup has continued, the South Vietnamese units have become stronger. By mid-1966 Vietnamese leadership—both military and civilian—began to show signs of confidence in themselves and in us.

Military successes began to mount. North Vietnamese Army and Viet Cong units have been sought out and hammered relentlessly. The enemy has ceased to enjoy the sanctity of his strongholds within South Vietnam.

Today we can point to clear and concrete evidences of progress. Let me cite just a few among many. As I do, please watch for the repeated indications of how well the South Vietnamese themselves are doing, for after all, it is their war. Here they are:

Both the morale and the performance of the South Vietnamese Armed Forces have improved steadily. Two years ago, the communist forces were on the offensive and were winning significant victories. Now, the communists are on the defensive and South Vietnamese units are gaining increasing success on the battlefield. It has been a year since communist forces have won a significant victory.

Closely related to the improved performance of the regular armed forces of South Vietnam has been a steady decline in their desertion rates.

During May, June, and July of this year, their desertion rates was around a half of the rate a year ago. It should be kept in mind that desertion does not necessarily mean defection to the other side. In most cases it is just absence without leave. On the other hand, the communist defection rate has steadily increased and by the end of August, returnees to government control in 1967 exceeded the total for all of 1966.

Two years ago the South Vietnamese Army was losing three weapons for each communist weapon they captured. Today the South Vietnamese Army is capturing four communist weapons for each one they lose.

The communists are losing in combat more than four times as many men as all the allied forces.

We have greatly reduced enemy infiltration by sea.

We have prevented a major enemy offensive across the DMZ.

We have significantly increased the percentage of South Vietnam's roads and waterways that are safe for normal military and economic use.

The Viet Cong, all over the country, are experiencing severe manpower problems.

Food has become a critical problem for the Viet Cong.

These facts add up to progress—not stalemate—in my book. Slowly but steadily we are making headway.

As Americans we awaken each day with confidence and pride. We don't have to pretend to be confident. We have confidence in our ability to safeguard freedom and we are determined that it will be safeguarded. We are proud of our efforts to share freedom with others and proud of our gallant young men who are making it possible for us to do this.

Some of my friends have accused me of being a little emotional at times when I speak of the American fighting man. Maybe I am. But to show you that I am not alone, I would like to quote part of an editorial that appeared recently in a Mountain City, Tennessee, newspaper. I believe that the writer has captured the qualities of the American fighting man, and has expressed them in terms that reach the heart as well as the mind.

Here it is:

The average age of the combat soldier in many units in Vietnam is under 19. And what a man he is!

A pale-cheeked, bushy-haired, tight-muscled fellow, who, under normal circumstances, would be considered by society as half-man, half-boy, not yet dry behind the ears—a pain in the unemployment chart.

But, here and now, he is the beardless hope of a free man. When he walks by Old Glory he salutes it. Doing so he is paying respect not just to a piece of cloth; but he is honoring the many brave fighting men before him who have fought, bled, and died that our nation might continue to be one nation under God. He also respects those of higher rank and those who are his elders.

He does not demonstrate or carry a poster in front of his commander's tent during off-duty time. He does not throw rocks at jeep windows or fellow GI's when he does not get his way. He listens. He has heat in the day and accepts mortars at night.

He probably graduated from high school within the past year, received so-so grades, played a little football, and had a girl who broke up with him when he went overseas or who swears she is still faithful.

He has seen more suffering than he should have in his short life. He has seen his buddies lose arms and legs, eyes and hands. He has stood among hills of bodies, and he helped to construct those hills.

He has wept in private and in public, and he has not been ashamed, because his buddies have fallen in battle and he has come close to going with them.

Under nineteen years of age—what a man he is! He is a true American.

I can tell you that I am proud to be wearing the same uniform that he does, and I am optimistic enough to believe that tomorrow's dawn—tomorrow's outlook—may be a little brighter—and a little more secure—because of him.

I leave you with this last thought; it is in the form of a prayer that was sent to me by a friend. Here it is:

O Lord, lest I go my complacent way,
help me to remember
That somewhere out there a man
died for me today.

So long as there be War
I must ask and answer,
Am I worth dying for.

Emergency Telephone Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the RECORD a letter I received from the Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard several months ago in response to my inquiry about their emergency number. His letter indicates the method of operation of this emergency number in England; their successful education of the public in its usage, and the number of police calls handled through this service:

> NEW SCOTLAND YARD,
> *London, July 1967.*
>
> DEAR SIR, I am directed by the Commissioner to reply to your letter dated 26th June, 1967, respecting emergency telephone communication between members of the public and police, and to say, that the method by which this is achieved in the United Kingdom is by a caller dialing "999" from either a private or public telephone, and on being answered by the exchange operator, requesting either "Police", "Fire" or "Ambulance".
>
> This service is free and does not require any form of pre-payment to obtain a connection. The exchange operator accordingly routes the call to the appropriate emergency service.
>
> This service has worked satisfactorily since its inception in 1937. Through the medium of publicity over the years the emergency number "999" has become well known by the public at large, and is used to the extent, that in the Metropolitan Police District during 1966, 401,624 calls for police assistance were received at this office.
>
> Trusting the foregoing information will be of assistance, Congressman Roush.
>
> I am,
> Your obedient Servant,
> ——— ———,
> *Assistant Commissioner 'D'.*

Tribute to a Great Educator: Frank Learoyd Boyden

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues in honoring Frank Learoyd Boyden who will retire in June of 1968 as headmaster of Deerfield Academy.

Mr. Boyden has been headmaster of Deerfield since 1902 when he took over the position to support himself so that he could study law. It is fortunate for education that he never entered the field of law, for America would have lost one of her finest educators.

As headmaster of Deerfield Academy and trustee of over two dozen educational institutions, Frank Boyden has contributed immeasurably to the furtherance of liberal education in Massachusetts and in the Nation. Not only has he personally been responsible for thousands of young men at Deerfield, but many of these young men, inspired by their headmaster, have gone into education throughout the Nation. The love for learning which he imparted to these young men has borne fruit far beyond the normal ability of any one man.

Headmaster Boyden has often said that he has no real philosophy of education, of teaching. But I think we can see his philosophy as reflected in his work. He has looked "into the hearts and minds of boys." And because he has understood boys, he has been able to make them love learning and appreciate knowledge.

He has said:

> I believe in boys. I believe in keeping them busy and in the highest standards of scholarship. I believe in a normal life.

But he has not meant by this an ordinary life, but a rich, full one that combines an awareness of the world with a conscience to do good works.

I do not doubt that this retirement will mean no end of Mr. Boyden's activity; he is too involved in and important to education to really retire. However, in his retirement from Deerfield, I wish him and his lovely wife the warmest best wishes. They will be kept busy giving advice, aid, and information to people involved in education, but I am quite confident that retirement for Frank Boyden could never be any but a change from one activity to another.

Judicial System of Ryukyus To Be Updated With Help From East-West Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, in its short history, the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, located in Honolulu, Hawaii, has made a tremendous impact in promoting better relations through mutual understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific.

This institution has planted the seeds of international cooperation and friendship with remarkable success, and is serving a most essential purpose as an educational center for the entire Pacific basin.

I believe my colleagues will find of interest a current East-West Center project being conducted in cooperation with the Ryukyu Islands Government and the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands.

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin reports that a team of Hawaiian advisers—East-West Center project officer James C. Hubbard, and Honolulu attorneys Hiroshi Oshiro, Lincoln Ishida, and Mack Hamada—have begun work on a field-training program in Okinawa to help revitalize the Ryukyuan judicial system.

Dr. Y. Baron Goto, vice chancellor of the Center's Institute for Technical Interchange, stated that—

> The program's primary objective is to help the Ryukyus update current legal procedure, a process now underway in the islands.

The working team from Hawaii will no doubt serve to enhance the relationships now enjoyed between the Ryukyuans and the people of the United States, and I wish them well in their important task.

I insert at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news article, "Islanders To Modernize Okinawa Judicial System," from the September 27, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

> ISLANDERS TO MODERNIZE OKINAWA JUDICIAL SYSTEM
>
> An East-West Center project officer and three Honolulu attorneys have begun work in Okinawa on a project to modernize the Ryukyuan judicial process.
>
> In Naha for the project are James C. Hubbard, program director of the Center's Institute for Technical Interchange; Hiroshi Oshiro, attorney and counselor-at-law; Lincoln Ishida, first deputy corporation counsel, and Mack Hamada, first deputy prosecuting attorney, both of the City and County.
>
> The two-week field training in judicial procedures is being conducted for approximately 25 judges, prosecutors and other local officers of the Ryukyu government.
>
> Sponsoring the project are the Ryukyu Islands government, the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands and the East-West Center.
>
> Dr. Y. Baron Goto, vice chancellor of the Center's Institute for Technical Interchange, said the program's primary objective is to help the Ryukyus update current legal procedures, a process now under way in the islands.

We Salute Our News Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, all of those who are Members of this body take it for granted that their newspaper is on their doorstep in the morning when they arise and the afternoon paper will be on that same doorstep when they arrive home in the evening. Having been a newsboy myself, once upon a time, I know that the paper is delivered whether it rains, sleets, or snows. These boys somehow always get the newspaper to our door. The President, a few days ago, noted in a message that National Newspaper Week had begun and that next Saturday is National Newspaperboy Day. Mr. Speaker, I include the editorial from the Sunday, October 8, 1967, issue of the Champaign, Ill., News-Gazette, entitled "We Salute Our News Carriers," which is worth reading:

> WE SALUTE OUR NEWS CARRIERS
>
> The young merchant who delivers The News-Gazette to you may be engaged in the first phase of a promising career—at least he is learning valuable lessons which should be an invaluable asset later on in life.
>
> Your newsboy today, when he grows up, may not be engaged in anything related to journalism or retail merchandising.
>
> But the lessons of independence, responsibility, regular performance are best learned early in life.
>
> And your news carrier, no doubt, will acquire a better sense of the value of money and the honesty of people by the work he is now performing.
>
> Along with executives of newspapers, daily and weekly, over the nation, President Johnson has joined in offering "a well earned salute" to newspaper delivery youths.
>
> Sunday is the first day of National Newspaper Week. Next Saturday is National Newspaperboy Day.
>
> The President's message noting the week-long observance states:
>
> "It is refreshing to know that in every part of our great country, thousands of

energetic and ambitious youngsters are learning at an early age the valuable lessons of responsibility, upright business practices, and effective community action."

At ceremonies in the President's office in Washington, Mr. Johnson turned over an original copy of his greeting to Paul Link, 15, a Washington Evening Star newspaperboy representing all newspaper carriers.

Over the U.S., more than three-quarters of a million youths are engaged in delivering newspapers to your door every day.

We at The News-Gazette congratulate and salute our hundreds of news carrier boys.

Most of them are youngsters who are laying a sound foundation for success later on in life, whatever their vocational preferences as adults may be.

They are a vital part of helping us serve you with the news, every day, rain or shine, in all seasons.

Poverty Projects Show Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times recently publicized some little-known facts concerning the war on poverty in California. In an article entitled "Poverty Projects Show Results Despite Criticism and Budget Cuts," columnist Jack Jones cites several positive examples of individuals whose lives have been dramatically altered by exposure to various OEO-funded antipoverty programs. Nor are these individuals exceptions. In the south central youth training and employment project, for example, more than 5,600 youths have been enrolled, of which 1,700 have gone on to trade schools and 1,600 others have been put into jobs directly.

Mr. Speaker, I know this article, which follows, will be of immense interest to my colleagues. It is part of the growing evidence that the war on poverty is progressing well and deserves our support.

POVERTY PROJECTS SHOW RESULTS DESPITE CYNICISM, BUDGET CUTS—DRAMATIC EXAMPLES OF SUCCESSFUL PARTICIPANTS ARE CITED TO REFUTE THE CRITICS' CHARGES OF WASTE, MISMANAGEMENT

(By Jack Jones)

Philip Wilkes at 20 cannot recall any father contact during his early life in Watts' Nickerson Gardens public housing project, but he remembers dropping out of high school twice and spending a year in a county juvenile camp.

Married at 17, uninterested in education and fired from his $1.25-an-hour job at a service station, he was a prime candidate for an existence of hostility and serious trouble.

Today, however, he is a job developer and placement representative for Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees at the South-Central Youth Training and Employment Project.

Wilkes is himself a former YTEP trainee, having approached it reluctantly ("I thought it was just another employment agency") and gone through a 10-month surgical technician training program.

Realizing that school was necessary, he went back to night school while at YTEP and got his high school diploma.

DECIDED TO HELP OTHERS

After subsequent training at General Hospital, he decided to return to YTEP and work with other young men and women with similarly grim backgrounds.

Mrs. Vivian Romero, 19, has been with Pacific Telephone for two years and is regarded by her supervisor in the marketing department as a competent writer of complex service orders.

"She has settled down since she got here," says the boss.

Mrs. Romero concedes she was flirting with a lifetime of problems before she went to the East Los Angeles YTEP for training as a clerk-typist.

She had dropped out of high school for a time, was in trouble with the authorities "for not going to school and things like that" and ran with the rougher kids in the barrio.

Where would she be today if it hadn't been for the YTEP program?

She shrugs, "I don't know."

The YTEPs, with training financed basically by U.S. Department of Labor funds, are regarded as part of the war on poverty, and they are in fact, operated by delegate agencies under the local Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency.

Because they offer training stipends and often are able to concentrate on individual problems of the enrollees, they frequently fill the needs of high school dropouts with financial and personal problems.

They are only a portion of the complex of projects—community action and otherwise—operating in Los Angeles County with funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and others.

Gov. Reagan's recent criticism of the war on poverty in California (he stressed OEO programs) as a waste of $288 million has raised again for all antipoverty projects the problem of proving there are successes among the failures.

AGREEMENT WITH GOVERNOR

Many cynics in poverty neighborhoods agree with the governor that programs are hampered by bureaucracy and high administrative costs.

But they insist the war has flopped because impoverished communities themselves have not really been allowed to effect real changes in the social structure and, hence, in their own lives.

Conversely, Reagan was reflecting a view that many antipoverty projects have been designed as agitative devices, stirring picketing and demonstrating in such causes as liberalizing welfare and organizing farm workers.

Caught once more between these conflicting attacks and with federal funds for community action projects being limited by a riot-distressed Congress, poverty workers point to specific examples of break-outs from hopelessness.

The poverty program foulups, mismanagements and wasteful inefficiencies are all too easy to find, as evidenced by such criticisms as "Pass the Poverty, Please, a book reciting negative incidents.

But there has been a little public attention directed to people like Irene Porras, 23, a high school dropout from East Los Angeles who went through the YTEP program and now is progressing through periodic salary raises as a clerk-typist at Hughes Aircraft Co. in El Segundo.

If it hadnt been for the YTEP program and subsequent on-the-job training at Hughes, she thinks, she would still be working for menial wages in a factory making Christmas tree lights.

Nor has there been much emphasis, poverty workers believe, on the likes of Reynold Alford, 22-year-old Negro who found jobs hard to come by despite a year and a half of college. After an eight-week sales course at South-Central YTEP, he went to work at Robinsons department store.

NOW EXECUTIVE

Now, he is assistant buyer in the luggage department.

Like most other anti-poverty efforts, the YTEPs are being forced to cut back because of tightening federal funds, but unlike many less-specific projects, they can offer statistics to support their claims of success.

South-Central YTEP, for example, has processed more than 5,600 youths since opening in 1964. Of these, more than 1,700 have gone on to trade schools and, presumably, jobs.

More than 1,600 others have been put into jobs directly out of the YTEP and still others have found their own jobs or have been encouraged to go back to school.

Thus, says Mrs. Nona R. Carroll, vocational training supervisor, more than 4,000 youths "have made sufficient gains from this program."

TYPES OF JOBS

YTEP graduates from both South-Central and East Los Angeles include nurse aides, dental assistants, auto mechanics, machine operators, cosmetologists, clerk-typists, key punch operators, PBX operators, food handlers, salesmen.

The list is lengthy.

In other antipoverty programs, 18,000 poverty area youths age 16 to 21 reportedly have held part-time or full-time jobs in the Neighborhood Youth Corps—again with Labor Department funds.

The Watts Labor Community Action Committee, which took 2,200 young people to Camp Roberts during the summer, supports much of its regular program with NYC money.

Operation Head Start, which attempts to get poverty area preschoolers off to an even start with OEO and state funds, generally is a popular program, but it won't be able to produce solid evidence of positive results for years—until many thousands of its graduates have gone through elementary grades.

CASE HISTORIES

But even here, there are some dramatic case histories, often pertaining to the discovery of heretofore undetected physical defects in children through Head Start's medical-dental-psychological program.

A 4-year-old named Jeanine McCreary of Compton turned up with a serious congenital urological disorder during a routine Head Start examination last spring.

Corrective surgery was arranged. Head Start officials say it may have saved her life. They cite other similar cases.

Maneuvering over the legality of Gov. Reagan's Medi-Cal cutback resulted in at least a temporary curtailment of all but emergency medical treatment for Head Start children.

Another example of someone helped by an antipoverty program was Mrs. Addalyne Benford, the divorced mother of six, living on welfare in the Imperial Courts housing project in Watts.

RESTORED CONFIDENCE

She had given up when the Imperial Courts Community Development Project went to work on her, almost forced her to become an aide for a girls' club and added to her self-confidence by obtaining needed dental work for her.

Somehow, her growing sense of responsibility led her to enroll in Compton Junior College with an eye to becoming a professional social worker and getting off welfare.

Still another local antipoverty program—like most others imperiled by federal fund cutbacks—is the Vocational Rehabilitation Project, operated by the State Department of Rehabilitation.

originated after the 1965 rioting here to deal with the specific problems of unemployed individuals—health, training, emotion, etc.—put 2,946 into training during its first year and saw 614 find jobs.

This program is a good example of the difficulty of proving whether the federal investment is worth it. Cost to the taxpayer of service to some individuals has been as little as $19, for others as much as $3,000. The average is approximately $900 per trainee.

No one knows whether the $3,000 trainee might cost society more or less than that sometime in the future if such a program is not available to him.

Because of the shrinking money supply, the Los Angeles County Probation Department's day care center program is one project no longer counting on OEO funds.

The county will pick up costs for at least another year because of the apparent success of the project at three sites.

Deputy Probation Officer Judith Cochrane says there is a "dramatic difference" between the 150 youths who have gone through the program of remedial education and intensive counseling compared with other probation case youngsters.

GOOD RECORD

Only one of the project youths has gotten into trouble again to four of those in other probationary settings, she says.

The much-troubled Teen Post program has no statistics, but its administrators believe strongly that many youngsters from poor neighborhoods have been encouraged to return to school or find jobs because of Teen Post contact.

The Social Action Training Center at 1425 E. Florence Ave. apparently was the sort of thing Reagan had in mind when he blasted the use of federal funds to encourage protest demonstrations.

The SATC, now phasing out with the expiration of a $150,000 grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Juvenile Delinquency, was cut off from special OEO summer funds after the local EYOA complained that Social Action was uncooperative with program monitors.

FUNDS VETOED

It was the brainchild of Tim Sampson, who headed the California Center for Community Development, the organization whose antipoverty funds were vetoed by Reagan after its efforts to help organize Delano grape strikers.

SATC's director has been Walter Bremond, also chairman of the Black Congress, coalition of 21 Negro community groups involved in such movements as that to oust the white principal of Manual Arts High School.

SATC's announced purpose was to teach militant young Negroes and Mexican-Americans techniques of social action.

When the Reagan administration began cutting back on State Service Centers, for example, SATC organized Citizens for Creative Welfare in an effort to pack the welfare rolls as a demonstration of the potential effects of those cutbacks.

Appraisal of something like SATC depends entirely on point of view. It is either a dangerous use of federal money or a positive attempt to steer potential flame-throwers into constructive channels of community action.

Comments of several local officials, not overly anxious to be named, range from "SATC was a disastrous experiment" to "it was a good idea that just didn't have time to make its impact."

The Rev. John B. Luce, rector of the Episcopal Parish of East Los Angeles, thinks SATC gave many young militants a new sense of organizing "in a sociably acceptable way to accomplish more than by fighting with weapons."

Mr. Luce, a veteran of 10 years of work in East Harlem, said: "It's sad to see the poverty program deemphasizing community action. It's when poor people organize that it suddenly becomes wrong."

Neighborhood Youth Corps Program Conducted by San Francisco Public Utilities Commission Proves an Outstanding Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, a little over a year ago I had the privilege of inspecting a Neighborhood Youth Corps program in operation on the property of the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission. I expressed the opinion at the time that I believed it to be one of the best programs of its kind in the United States and that I was particularly impressed with the conservation aspects of the program which were under the very able direction of project director Joseph A. Rock.

Recently four representatives of the Neighborhood Youth Corps representing Chinese, Negro, Spanish, and Caucasian backgrounds called on city officials to express their gratitude for a summer work program. A letter from their supervisor, John Ottoboni, a student at the University of Santa Clara, to Mr. James E. Carr, general manager of the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission expresses the appreciation of the group.

So that our colleagues may know of the success of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in various regions of the country, I include Mr. Ottoboni's letter at this point in the RECORD:

SEPTEMBER 8, 1967.

Mr. JAMES K. CARR,
General Manager of Public Utilities, San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR MR. CARR: This is to express my pleasure and appreciation for the opportunity as a group supervisor to bring the four youngsters into your office recently for their personal comments to you on their high regard for the Public Utilities Commission's summer Neighborhood Youth Corps program which terminated August 31, 1967.

As you will recall, these four individuals were representing 735 youngsters who participated in your Commission's in-school program.

Miss Teresa Mack, 17, who has entered her senior year at Galileo High School, represented the 12 per cent of the young people who were Chinese. She thanked the Public Utilities Commission in Chinese, you will remember, for giving her and her friends "the opportunity to work and get experience in different fields". She believed that the Commission's NYC project gave the young an opportunity and was primarily working for their benefit.

Larry Beatty, 16, now a junior at Balboa High School, represented the 65 per cent of young people in the project who are Negro Americans. He reported that last year he was unable to find summer employment; but that the NYC program this year had given him an opportunity while employed in the office of the Chief Administrative Officer to learn a great deal about city government.

Isabel Delgadillo, 18, a freshman at City College of San Francisco, representing the 10 per cent of the NYC program who were Spanish-American, expressed their thanks in Spanish. She said that the summer project had proved that the language barrier affecting many Spanish-American people could be overcome.

Michael M. Ercolini, 17, a senior at Sacred Heart High School, spoke for the 13 per cent of the enrollees who were caucasians. He stated that the summer work had given him a better sense of responsibility and had stressed the importance of "getting along with the people you work with".

I would like to repeat that at the outset of the program, the enrollees received 89 cents of each Federal dollar going into the program. As of August 15, they received 90.3 cents.

Another 8 cents went to college group leaders and supervisors, which meant that 98.3 cents went to youth.

The remaining 1.7 cents went for project administration.

A total of 600 young people in the program worked in 46 various City agencies; 80, in 30 State agencies; 20, in Federal agencies; and 30 were in varied assignments.

A total of 450 worked in offices doing clerical work; 100 in shops; 180 in park properties; and some of the boys performed more difficult tasks such as drafting. One boy worked in a chemical laboratory.

It was a fortunate experience for me to have been involved in the summer project as a group supervisor under Mr. Joseph Rock, Project Director. I am now in my junior year at the University of Santa Clara, where I am majoring in history.

Very truly yours,

JOHN OTTOBONI.

William Sauer, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the achievements and indefatigable spirit shown by Mr. William Sauer, Jr., of Logan, Ohio, who has been named Handicapped Ohioan of the Year, and who this Saturday will receive the President's citation for this honor.

Multiply handicapped since early youth, Bill has overcome formidable physical limitations to lead a normal self-supporting life.

With a tremendous display of courage and ability, Mr. Sauer has actively engaged in the business and social activities of his community. Since his father's death in 1946, he has almost totally supported not only himself but also his mother.

He is locally recognized as Logan's No. 1 sports fan, and is truly a No. 1 citizen in the hearts of the people of his community.

Mr. Sauer personifies the will and spirit to overcome obstacles which has made this great land of ours the most powerful and productive country in the world. His achievements are an inspiration to us all. In behalf of the people of the 10th District of Ohio, I salute him.

National VFW Commander Scerra Gives Views on South Vietnam in WBZ–TV Interview

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, just recently the alert news staff of station WBZ–TV in Boston interviewed my good friend and constituent, National VFW Commander Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., on its informative "Next Question" press conference news show.

Commander Scerra was elected commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at the national VFW convention in New Orleans in late August. One of his first official acts was to travel to South Vietnam to observe the South Vietnam elections as a member of President Johnson's Special Commission. His knowledgeable reports on this important subject greatly enlightened the American people concerning the elections.

Massachusetts is indeed proud of Commander Scerra's success and leadership. His advancement to the position of commander in chief is gratifying to his many friends and neighbors in our State and to the rank-and-file membership of the Veterans of Foreign Wars throughout the country. I join them in extending additional congratulations to Commander Scerra with best wishes for what we all know will be a most rewarding and constructive tenure as commander in chief of this outstanding organization.

I have known Joe Scerra over a considerable time and have watched and applauded his steady progress up from the ranks at the local level to the highest position of commander within the gift of the members of one of the greatest of our veterans organizations, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

He is indeed a great American, and I predict for him an illustrious and memorable administration as national commander with his charming wife standing firmly by his side supporting his efforts.

His election reflects great honor and credit, not only upon Commander Scerra and his family, but upon our great district and State with the people moved by pride in his achievements and confident that his performance as national commander will represent the very highest standards of high purpose, fidelity to duty and progressive achievement.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the first portion of Commander Scerra's interview on WBZ–TV.

The material follows:

Good afternoon. This is "Next Question." I'm Arch Macdonald, what did the recent Viet-Nam election mean? Was it as honest as we've been told? When will the full impact of it be felt? And will that election help end the war there? These are all questions being asked by Americans everywhere.

To answer some of those questions—our "Next Question" today—our guest is Joseph A. Scerra of Gardner, Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who has just returned home from Viet-Nam where he served as one of the official observers of the elections.

Mr. Scerra was elected Commander in Chief of the VFW on August 25th at the National Convention held in New Orleans.

During the past year he's made two inspection trips to the Far East, including Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, Thailand, and he went to the Mid East to Israel.

Presently on leave as Station Superintendent of the South Gardner Post Office, Commander Scerra was born in Gardner, and during World War II served overseas with the 104th Timberwolf Infantry Division.

His first assignment on being elected Commander in Chief of the VFW was to return to Viet-Nam as a member of the Presidential Commission observing the Vietnamese election.

On our "Next Question" panel today are Sherman Bazell, WBZ–TV News Director and eye-witness news reporter Jack Chase. First question—Sherm Bazell.

Panelist. Mr. Scerra, in your opinion was the Viet-Nam election an honest one?

Scerra. There's no doubt in my mind whatsoever that the election in Viet-Nam was an honest one. Especially, through my observance of it, not only of the actual voting, but of the preparation up to and including the polling date of September 3rd.

Panelist. Some of the commentators are saying that the presence of the American observer team was embarrassing to the South Vietnamese. Did you feel that way about it?

Scerra. No, I did not. Let me say that in my case I attended the election in Ban Me Thuot, in the Darlac Province in the Central Highlands and I observed, as much as I could, all the courtesy that was at my command. I never entered a polling place without first asking the permission of the individual in charge of the polling place. He came out and greeted me and escorted me into it. In all cases they were very, very happy to see us, and I never failed to make sure that they understood that we were simply there as observers and not as policemen, and they understood this.

Panelist. From what you could feel in the atmosphere, did the elections—the results of the elections—is there some hope of peace that can be gained by this?

Scerra. Yes, I believe so. The question that was in my mind, and in the minds of many Americans probably, is why were there so many candidates. For example, why were there eleven sets of candidates—eleven pairs of candidates—for the presidency and vice presidency?

As one Vietnamese told me—he says, "If we had a run-off election and came up with two candidates, it is highly possible that the victor in the run-off might not win the presidency. And we wanted to give everybody a chance to vie for the presidency."

In fact, you know the Vietnamese government did subsidize all the candidates and paid for all the posters and all the political usage of the names and radio–TV and they appropriated almost $20,000 per presidential pair of candidates.

They also indicated in their constitution in the regulations that if a candidate failed to gather at least ten percent of the vote, that he would forfeit his deposit, which he had to make on becoming a candidate, of ten thousand dollars. Now, put yourself in the position of one of these losing candidates and you had to lose ten thousand dollars. Would you complain that the election was not a good one? I'm sure you would. Ten thousand dollars is a lot of money out there.

Panelist. Mr. Scerra, there were 22 members of this special commission. Was the report actually unanimous as it was made to the President?

Scerra. I was there at the White House in the Cabinet Room and it was unanimous in the opinion of all 22. There was a fair election.

Panelist. Now, was there any difference between what you expected to find in Viet-Nam and what you actually did find?

Scerra. Yes. In fact, I think that most of us, going through the first two or three days of briefings and of being made aware of the provisions made for a fair election, were amazed at the safeguards. I think that we did not expect to find it as fair an election as we did actually find it on election day.

Panelist. Governor Thomas McCall of Oregon is quoted as saying that he considered the Viet-Nam election as good as any election in the United States. Do you think that statement is perhaps a little strong or do you agree with it?

Scerra. Let me say I agree with it and, in fact, one of the panel said that we should probably look into the regulations set forth by the South Vietnamese people and adopt some of them here in this country.

Panelist. Yet, Commander, when you held your press conference here in Boston on your return home, you said the election QUOTE "was as fair as you could get it." Would you explain that a little bit? Is that a qualified approval?

Scerra. No, I would say it would be an unqualified approval—fair as you could get it—and I meant exactly what I said.

Panelist. Well, why . . . explain why it . . . what were the ramifications in terms of keeping it from being fair—completely and totally?

Scerra. Well, you must understand, of course, that you're dealing with a group of people that were voting that were both illiterate and literate. And what I'm trying to get across here is this: that the illiterates in South Viet-Nam were given an opportunity to vote, when somebody may interpret that in many cases they didn't know what they were doing. This is what I meant by "as fair as you could get it," because they had to differentiate between faces and symbols.

I have a copy of the ballot and I could very readily explain to you where in some cases you just coordinated faces with symbols and you voted in that manner. This was for the illiterate.

Panelist. Governor Romney said Monday that when he went to Viet-Nam he had been brainwashed. Most of the observers in Viet-Nam were there just a few days, and subject to the briefings you mentioned. Were they brainwashed too?

Scerra. Well, I can't speak for the other observers—I can't speak for Governor Romney. May I say that I don't think I was brainwashed. I don't think that the prominent people who were on this panel were brainwashed.

We were given complete freedom of South Viet-Nam; we could have gone anywhere, at any time, and seen anything that we desired in South Viet-Nam. Interpreters were made available to us. Also made available to us was interrogation of people that could not be on the ballot. Interrogation of the editors whose newspapers closed down prior to the election. Complete freedom. If this is brainwashing, I don't know the meaning of the word.

Panelist. Have you any idea of how much the observers knew about Viet-Nam, in terms of the history, political structure, language, customs, and so forth, of the country?

Scerra. I would say, in the main, that the twenty-two were very knowledgeable about Viet-Nam. They included people from all spectrums of Americana—from editors, people in the television business, veterans organizations, religion—you name it, and we had people in top branches of all those of the spectrum of Americana represented on this panel, and they were very knowledgeable about Viet-Nam and its customs before they went.

Panelist. Commander, you mentioned a little bit ago that if there were only two candidates in the election perhaps the winner might not have won. What did you mean by that statement?

Scerre. No, no . . . what I meant was this. If there had been a run-off—a primary as we know it—and we had ended up with two candidates in the primary, the one that—this is what the Vietnamese said—in the primary the one who had received the most votes in the primary might not have been the winner in a run-off election and this they wouldn't buy, do you see?

Panelist. I see. Because, in other words, the sum of the losing candidates—the votes for them—might go for the other candidate.

Scerra. Right. They felt that they should allow all candidates possible who wished to enter the polls, to do so and the winner—whoever got the most votes—should be elected. This is their philosophy of this thing.

Panelist. Were you able to discover whether the significance of the election was felt by the people in the back areas of Viet-Nam?

Scerra. Yes. Now, I pointed out that I watched the polls at Ban Me Thout. Now Ban Me Thuot was a town that I had picked because I had been to Viet-Nam before. It's a city in the Central Highlands and it provided for me a complete spectrum of the voting people there. For example, I visited polls where the people that go there were one hundred percent Montagnards—mostly illiterates. I visited polls where the people were one hundred percent Vietnamese from the center of Ban Me Thuot. I visited polls where half the people that go to that polling place were Montagnards and Vietnamese, and I also visited the military camp at Ban Me Thuot where all military voted. So, I get a complete cross section of everything.

Panelist. Do you think that the number of candidates and the actual size and confusion of the ballot had anything to do with the results? Would this cause confusion to the average voter? You say so many of them were illiterate.

Scerra. The illiteracy rate ran about 50 percent throughout the country. But, I don't think it caused any confusion because they had a tremendous program of orientation for the voter. For example, I asked a Montagnard who could neither read nor write—on the senatorial side—I asked him, "Do you know that you have to vote for at least six sets of candidates out of these 48." He says, "No, I do not." I was amazed for a moment. Then he continued and told me, through my interpreter, that I must vote for one *to* six. In other words, he was completely knowledgeable that he could cast up to six, but if necessary he only could vote for one set if he wanted to.

Panelist. What about the charges of fraud by some of the civilian losers? Should this cause any concern here?

Scerra. No, I don't think so. In fact, without naming names, a prominent editor in this country was there, and he actually queried some of the losers. And he made this statement at the report to the President: that after querying some of these, he's awfully happy that we don't have that type of person running for election in this country.

Panelist. Well, Dzu, the runner-up to the president-elect Thieu, was a peace candidate. As a matter of fact, you know that his symbol—political symobl—was a dove. And Thieu received only about one-third percent of the vote . . . 34 percent to be exact. Doesn't this indicate something less than full approval of the continuation of the war?

Scerra. Yes, I would say that that indicates that. But not necessarily does it mean that the nation will not get behind the winner.

Panelist. All right. Dzu said just the other day that he and seven other defeated candidates would demand a new election on grounds of fraud. This doesn't really presage the cooperation that the president-elect Thieu is asking for, does it?

Scerra. No, I don't think so.

Panelist. So, what's going to happen?

Scerra. Well, I think what'll happen is he will probably petition the constitutent assembly, who has all the authority in this, to declare the election null and void.

But you must bear in mind that a fellow like Dzu is an individual with an extremely unsavory reputation in Viet-Nam. Here is an individual who was taken off the embassy list of attorneys, for example, and not allowed to represent people on our list, but nothing could be done about this—no publicity could be given in that sense by our people and we weren't getting involved in this thing.

So, I would gather from Dzu's comments, and others who are protesting this thing, that when it comes time to put up, it'll be lacking. I don't believe that this election will be declared a fraud.

Panelist. Has your opinion and the VFW's opinion about our involvement in the Viet-Nam war changed any since your being able to be an observer?

Scerra. Not one iota. You know, our opinion has become more, let's say, unfavorable as we've been pursuing it all this time. But I'd like to point out this: that possibly our people are not getting a full interpretation of what is happening out there.

Many of the observers who approached the situation in South Viet-Nam with a—let's say a look as though we shouldn't be there, or on the border line—came back convinced, more than ever, that we should be in Viet-Nam, and convinced, more than ever, that it should be brought to a successful conclusion.

Let me say this is passing: some of the stories that have been coming out of Viet-Nam have been exceedingly—let's say, or slightly—unfavorable to our position out there, especially on our successes in the military field. Few people understand that we came into South Viet-Nam with a military establishment; there were no roads; there were no air fields; there were no harbors; there were no facilities. And a lot of energy and money had to be expended putting these facilities in. These facilities are now in—the full pressure of our military is now in—brought to bear on the North Vietnamese.

It has been said that we don't control but 40 percent of the counry. This may be true, but we control the percentage of that country which is populated today. The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese are in the hills, and when the time comes to get them and destroy them and put hem out of business, we will do it. We control the populated areas.

Macdonald. Commander, we have many questions to ask and we'll continue with those questions in just one minute.

Free Press Means Much

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, this week the Nation celebrates Newspaper Week. I believe my colleagues will find interesting an editorial from the Vidalia Advance, Vidalia, Ga., which serves to remind us that a free press is one of the cornerstones of our democracy.

The editorial follows:

FREE PRESS MEANS MUCH

Newspaper Week. October 8 to 14. Probably the most impressive way for the public to learn what newspapers mean in their daily lives would be to have no papers printed during Newspaper Week—but that is not practical.

The hometown paper is the living record of what happens in the thousands of communities across the land—marriages, births, deaths, social activity, politics, school news, legal notices, advertised products to inform customers, world news, everything that enables the U.S. citizen to be familiar with the latest devices and products by which he enjoys the highest living and information standards in the world.

But over and above these material blessings, a free press, which is the background of free speech, is the average man's guarantee of personal liberty, religious freedom and protection against political and judicial persecution. Dictators are afraid of a free press, hence they have a controlled press. The people read only what their rulers wish them to read. Try imagining if you can, what it would be like to live in a country where an editor dared not print a letter criticizing the political party in power, and where an editor feared to express an adverse opinion. Think of what a free press really means to you—life, freedom from political oppression, liberty and the pursuit of happiness under our Constitution.

Investigation of Flying Objects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, persistent reports of unidentified flying objects continue to puzzle Americans. The latest of these appeared in a story in the Washington Post yesterday.

Because certain details in this report bear all the earmarks of a measure of authenticity not always accompanying individual sightings I am including it in the RECORD at this point.

It seems to me that the Congress would be well advised to investigate this subject. Unless there are compelling security reasons to the contrary, I believe the time has come to subject the whole panoply of unidentified flying objects to cross-examination under oath so that we may have a record of reference with more than usual credibility. If it should develop that these objects are entirely unexplained, or appear to originate from extraterritorial sources—which seems impossible—it is likely that basic U.S. space policy might bear reexamination. This, of course, is equally true if the origination is territorial but foreign.

The article follows:

HORSE AUTOPSY ADDS TO UFO MYSTERY

ALAMOSA, COLORADO, Oct. 9.—An autopsy on a horse—believed by its owner to have been killed by inhabitants of a flying saucer—revealed that its abdominal, brain and spinal cavities were empty, the pathologist who performed the autopsy said.

The pathologist, a Denver specialist who wished to remain anonymous, said yesterday that the absence of organs in the abdominal cavity was unexplainable.

Witnessing the autopsy were four members of the Denver team of the National Investigating Committee on Aerial Phenomena. The team included Dr. and Mrs. Ken Steinmetz, Dr. Herb Roth and Capt. Dick Caple of the North American Air Defense Command Center in Colorado Springs.

When the pathologist sawed into the horse's brain cavity he found it empty. "There definitely should have been a good bit of fluid in the brain cavity," the pathologist said.

"This horse was definitely not killed by lightning," he added. That had been the official conclusion of Alamosa County authorities.

Snippy, a 3-year-old gelding, was found dead Sept. 9.

All the flesh had been stripped from the horse's neck and head and only bones remained.

Ranch owner Harry King called the owners of the horse, Mr. and Mrs. Burl Lewis, and together they investigated the area in which the horse had been killed.

They said they found areas where the chico brush had been squashed to within 10 inches of the ground. What appeared to them to be 15 circular exhaust marks were found 100 yards from the horse. Another area was punched with six identical holes, each two inches wide and four inches deep, they said.

The investigating committee yesterday measured markings on the ground and found the largest to be a circle 75 feet in diameter. Several smaller areas where the chico brush had been flattened were 15 feet in diameter.

The committee returned to Denver last night with several samples taken from the horse and an object, presumed to be a tool, Mrs. Lewis said she found Sept. 16.

Mrs. Lewis said she found the object on her second visit to the site. It was covered with horse hair and she said when she tried to wipe the hair off her hand turned red and began to burn. The burning persisted until she washed her hands, she said.

The Denver pathologist remained at the King ranch Sunday night. While there, the group stood on the ranchhouse porch and watched two unidentified flying objects pass over the house, King said.

Neighborhood Action Crusade Gains More Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, early this year I joined with my colleagues, Congressmen Bush, Goodell, and Cowger, in authoring the neighborhood action crusade, a program designed to ease the tension in our cities. I include, as part of my remarks, a letter from the Governor of Wisconsin in support of this program.

The State of Wisconsin,
Madison, September 27, 1967.

Hon. William A. Steiger,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bill: Thank you for sending me information regarding the proposed "Neighborhood Action Crusade."

As you noted, my recent report on Urban Problems and State Actions includes a proposal to establish in Wisconsin a "Good Neighbor Crusade" which is very similar to the citizen involvement concept you have suggested.

I am firmly convinced that citizen involvement is essential to a solution of the problems confronting the economically and socially disadvantaged. Through citizen participation in such programs we can stimulate a broader public understanding of the problems while at the same time demonstrating to the disadvantaged that their fellow citizens do care and are anxious to be of assistance to those in need.

Thank you for keeping me informed of events in Congress. I look forward to seeing you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Warren P. Knowles,
Governor.

Should Rural Poor Move to the Cities?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, a debate is building up across the Nation about how best to cope with the problems of the poor who live in rural areas. There are two conflicting points of view. Some like myself argue the poor and undereducated should be helped to stay in their home areas, through the attraction of industry to rural areas. Others contend it is better that they be helped to move to the cities.

I want to draw to the attention of my colleagues an article which examines this difference of opinion. It was written by Mr. Nick Kotz and appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune for October 1, 1967:

L. B. J., Aide Differ on Poverty Goals—Should Rural Poor Move to Cities?

(By Nick Kotz)

Washington, D.C.—While President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson urge more federal aid to help the poor stay in rural America, a top official in the administration's poverty program is contending that the poor's main hope is to move to the cities.

Robert A. Levine, assistant director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), has argued for federal programs designed to help poor Negroes and whites leave the Deep South and Appalachia.

Levine has actively opposed programs to establish housing, job training, and economic development designed to help the hard-core rural poor stay where they are. He believes these programs are doomed to failure, and that migration to the city is inevitable.

Levine and other administration officials who share his opinions are actively contradicting views repeatedly expressed by President Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, OEO Director Sargent Shriver, and Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman. These officials have contended the country must be committed to massive rural economic development to help rural America and to prevent increasing congestion in the city ghetto.

The Minneapolis Tribune has obtained a series of confidential government memoranda which reveal a fundamental disagreement in the government over what to do about rural poverty.

A number of key OEO officials responsible for rural program believe that the Levine thesis already prevails in the government..

Even as Mrs. Johnson toured the country last week promoting Freeman's idea that both cities and the country will be best served by helping people stay in rural America, several rural poverty officials resigned because they believe this concept is being overruled in OEO.

Thomas Karter, who resigned as director of OEO's migrant and seasonal farm worker program, gave this explanation:

"Rural programs are not being properly funded. It's not fair to expect people to stay in rural areas when money is not forthcoming to help them toward a better life there. The philosophy Levine is expressing represents the actual policy and programs not only of OEO but of several other federal agencies."

There is considerable evidence that Levine, from his position as assistant director for research and planning, already has had considerable success in shaping OEO programs to meet his philosophy.

For example, OEO is considering permitting the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, Pa., to establish one of his highly successful industry job training programs in the rural South.

But in writing to Mr. Sullivan about the shape of the project, Levine stressed that its primary emphasis should be on preparing the Southern Negro for a move to the cities.

Levine's office has repeatedly tried to frustrate demonstration projects in rural areas which would combine basic education, job training, housing, economic and community development.

There is bureaucratic rivalry involved in Levine's current attempt to take over responsibility for planning demonstration programs. But the principal fight is not a bureaucratic one.

The basic struggle involves where the government is going to spend its antipoverty resources. Levine would spend most funds in the cities and to prepare the rural poor for city life. Others, including Freeman, argue that the cities would be best served by spending heavily to improve rural areas as a place to live and work.

Levine stated his own philosophy clearly in a June 8, 1967, memorandum to Shriver in which he said it is logical and proper that more money per poor person should be spent in the cities.

Wrote Levine: "If we are to allocate our highly limited funds for maximum effect, or for any effect in rural areas, we are going to have to live with the fact that programs which try to cure rural poverty by creating a personal or community economic base under conditions where such base does not exist are seldom going to work."

Referring to the Mississippi Delta and other areas where rural Negroes have been left jobless by farm mechanization, he said:

"The economic basis simply will not support the current population. Neither will possible industrial development . . . Given modern industry, which is not labor intensive, industrialization projects for such areas . . . can use up an awful lot of money, create very few jobs and of those jobs they do create, reserve even fewer for the rural poor . . . Housing programs for the poor in these areas where there are no jobs and will be none are the height of cruelty.

". . . Neither group, community, nor regional economic development is capable of producing an answer which both cures poverty and keeps people where they are.

". . . I think the hardest rural poor in their current state of ignorance and lack of training would be better off in urban slums than starving in the Delta and other parts of the South."

Levine proposed that OEO rural funds be concentrated largely on basic education, on limited job training, and health, and on programs to encourage mobility.

"Our rural programs as such must emphasize help to people who are likely to move," wrote Levine.

As for people who are incapable of moving or unwilling to do so, he proposed: "We cannot and should not avoid completely programs of pure charity, but we should confine them to the very worst cases."

Levine rejects the thesis being offered by Freeman and many others that the poor rural migrant has provided the tinder for urban riots.

He refers to studies by Glen Cain and Richard Werteimer, both economists on his staff, which seek to prove that rural-to-city migration is an irreversible historic force, that the best-qualified rural poor move to the cities, that these new arrivals are no worse off than long-time ghetto dwellers, and that the new migrants played no significant role in starting ghetto riots.

Further, Levine brands as "a sort of naive communalism" the idea that the formation of farmer co-operatives can help more than a handful of the rural poor live decently where they are.

Needless to say, Levine's ideas are controversial and hotly disputed by civil rights leaders and by numerous poverty officials.

Levine, 37, is a Brooklyn-born, Yale- and Harvard-educated economist who previously taught at Yale and worked on military logistics and strategy at the Rand Corp., the prestigious, government-financed military "think tank." Shriver listens closely to Levine and recently quoted some of his theories at a private meeting.

In the view of his critics, Levine and his urban-oriented staff are obsessed solely with economic statistics and have little first-hand experience with rural poverty problems.

Former poverty official Karter and Gerson Green, who directs research and demonstration projects for OEO's community action program, have written stinging memorandums disputing Levine's theses.

Karter contends it is irrelevant whether the newly arrived migrant touched off or participated in riots. What is significant, said Karter, is that each new migrant compounds the already weighty problems of the ghetto.

Karter also disputes the contention of Levine's economists that the new arrival fares as well as the ghetto veteran. Such once may have been the case, said Karter, but today's migrant is not the young, ambitious fellow of yesteryear, but the older man or woman with a large family who has just been pushed off the cotton plantation.

Disputing Levine's contention that large-scale economic development is not possible in the rural South, Karten cited such examples of new boomtowns as Cape Kennedy, Fla., Huntsville, Ala., and Bay St. Louis, Miss. In each instance, federal military and space spending spurred economic development.

Karter said there are progressive white Southern leaders who are willing to work with Negroes to create a new South, but these leaders need multiple federal aid programs "to convince more of the whites that their interest also lies in progress."

Rebutting Levine's argument against aid for housing, Karter wrote:

"A new house to a Southern Negro means that he will stay, and vote, and help develop the political and economic climate that will give him the job and income to pay for the house. Circular reasoning? No. Hope? Yes. But hope based on knowledge of the South."

Disagreeing with Levine's "mobility" policy, Karter called for comprehensive programs for education, job training, housing, and economic development. He noted:

"We will have mobility from rural areas, and not every rural community will be able to develop a sound economic base. However, few rural communities will be able to develop economically if the nation's policymakers doubt that they have a chance and are using scarce national resources to move people out."

Poverty official Green wrote that Levine and his associates view problems too much in terms of "academic economics—questions of cost-effectiveness and problems of measurement, analysis and documentation."

According to Green, Levine's office has not understood and constantly has frustrated programs of the Community Action Program.

"The Community Action Program," he said, "is charged with developing programs which help poor people to participate in their communities. It is charged with developing programs that help poor people affect the decisions that govern their lives.

"This concern with institution building centers on the notion that the poor must be with us, not just among us . . . It argues that old institutions can be changed and new ones developed which will allow the poor to help themselves."

Green cited examples in which Levine's office opposed demonstration Community Action projects, including the controversial Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA). SWAFCA's objective is to help about 700 Negro farm families gain self-sufficiency by cooperatively growing and marketing vegetables.

Karter is convinced that Levine's thesis already is in full application in the rural South, that most funds going there are for basic education, Head Start and beautification public works projects. He is critical that there is no effort to combine basic education and housing with job training that is linked to jobs in the new industries and diversified agriculture of the South.

Karter's division of OEO has provided thousands of rural Negroes with some basic education training and lots of hope. The unanswered question is what is to happen to these persons when their education courses end.

The National Rehabilitation Association Celebrates Its 42d Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on October 2 it was my privilege to address the opening session of the National Rehabilitation Association's annual meeting in Cleveland, Ohio.

The National Rehabilitation Association is the social action agency and professional organization that brings together all the workers in the field of vocational rehabilitation—counselors, physicians, workshop specialists, State Directors of the public vocational rehabilitation program, and representatives of many private and voluntary groups.

The association was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 1, 1925, when a constitution was adopted on motion of R. I. Bynum, of Tennessee, seconded by Marlow Perrin, of Ohio. Oscar Sullivan, of Minnesota, had chaired the constitutional committee. W. F. Faulke, of Wisconsin, was elected the first president. The organization, known as the National Civilian Rehabilitation Conference, had existed 2 years as a division of the American Society for Vocational Education.

Forty-two years later, the NRA celebrated its founding at its annual meeting in the same hotel in Cleveland on October 2–4, 1967. There were 89 charter members in 1925. In 1967, the total membership is over 28,000 and more than 2,000 attended this conference.

A particularly welcomed innovation at this year's meeting was a most skillful interpreter for the deaf, who translated for the deaf at all sessions. This was dramatic and inspiring for all those interested in the deaf.

Among the highlights of the opening session of the conference was a tribute to our late beloved colleague, John E. Fogarty, delivered by Miss Mary E. Switzer, Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I include Miss Switzer's tribute to Mr. Fogarty, her introduction of the Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Secretary Gardner's remarks at this point in the RECORD:

TRIBUTE TO JOHN FOGARTY

The rehabilitation family will always mourn John Fogarty. It is particularly fitting this morning as we pay our tribute to him that we do so in the presence of his great friend, Congressman Hugh Carey, who in his own person and career typifies what John Fogarty believed was the role of a Member of Congress. Hugh Carey has the same qualities of compassion, enthusiasm, and faith that makes us miss John Fogarty so much.

Although the acute pain that followed his death last January is becoming muted, the sense of loss deepens and grows day by day. That we feel this so keenly is testimony to the immortality of the influence of John Fogarty.

He means something very special to rehabilitation. He was himself a rehabilitant, and perhaps because of this fact, was extraordinarily sensitive to people who had disabilities which rehabilitation was not reaching. He spearheaded the drive for the rehabilitation of the retarded, inspired by the spectacle of the children of friends who would have no future unless the rehabilitation door opened wide. He did the same thing for the deaf, and was one of the sponsors of the legislation which established the National Technical Institute for the Deaf and the Model Secondary School for the Deaf. He would have been in the front line of support for this year's legislation—especially the authorization for the Center for the Deaf-Blind—as he was in all of our significant legislation since he came to the Congress.

The many eulogies spoken and written after his death have given wide recognition to his great influence in providing for the advance of the health research programs and all the humanitarian objectives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. But the VRA family throughout the country has always felt a personal affection and devotion to this rare Irishman who always seemed to be a "friend in need" to the person in most trouble. He had the warm heart and generous quality that we associate with an Irishman. He had the love of life and the enjoyment of it that is characteristic, too, of the Irish. He had a wonderful sense of fun, and a deep seriousness of purpose and of commitment.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Administration owes him its life, for long, long ago in the early 1950's, it was his skill, when he was a ranking minority member of the Appropriations Subcommittee, that saved our program by one vote. Since then, he has stimulated almost all of the special emphases that have resulted in the broad mosaic of the rehabilitation program throughout the country.

John Fogarty was first elected to Congress in 1940 and re-elected two years later. He resigned at the end of his second term to enlist in the Seabees, where he served throughout the war. After the war, he was elected again, and in 1947 was assigned to the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare. In 1949, he became Chairman of the Subcommittee, and except for one session, when he was the Minority Leader on the Subcommittee, he retained the Chairmanship until his death. In that position, he influenced every program that came before the Committee.

His broad humanitarian interests, his ability to see into the future, and to provide the resources to meet the country's needs had been taken for granted before his death. As we express our inner gratitude for the significant groundwork he laid during his lifetime for the development of the health and welfare programs of the country, we should consider, too, the difficulties with which he was confronted because of the setting in which he accomplished his remarkable achievements. It is not always easy to secure the passage of constructive legislation.

A member of the Appropriations Committee—and particularly a chairman of an important subcommittee, such as the one for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, which Mr. Fogarty headed—has to consider the extent of his support in the light of many difficult, almost impossible alternatives. He has to be cognizant of the economic condition of the country, of the fiscal policies of the nation, of the demands upon the national budget and the treasury—and he has to do all these things objectively, and with wise concern for the broad interest of our people within a framework of sensible economics.

Mr. Fogarty had a quality all too rare in the world today—a quality of integrity which made him objective, honorable, and fine in his dealings with all of us. No matter how much he liked an official personally, or believed in the program which that official represented, he was never diverted from seeking the pertinent facts, and making the probing inquiry, which assured that his Committee had the information necessary to make a sound judgment. This quality of courage and character is an indispensable ingredient in the responsible promotion of the kind of programs for which we owe so much to John Fogarty. His deep humanity—his broad look on the world horizon—these are infinitely more precious because he had the integrity and inner spirit to honestly pursue his responsibilities.

He received scores of awards from a wide variety of organizations—public and private, local, national, and international, but the one that means most to this Association is the President's Award, which was given to him in 1958. This award, which is given by the rehabilitation workers of the country through their organization, is the highest recognition that they can give to the one who shares their concern for the disabled men, women, and children of this country.

William James once said "The purpose of life is to spend it for something that outlives you." John Fogarty will be with us always because his contributions in the field of health and rehabilitation will continue to reach out and stimulate more and better services to all Americans for years to come.

INTRODUCTION OF HONORABLE JOHN W. GARDNER

It has been my privilege to present to the annual meetings of the National Rehabilitation Association almost all of our Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare. The first Secretary was Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby in Miami in 1951—now almost a lifetime ago. Each Secretary has made distinctive contribution to the development of the Department, and it is an especially happy occasion to be here in Cleveland where our former Secretary, Judge Celebrezze, has contributed so much to everything we have been working for over many years.

Our present Secretary, John W. Gardner, is the right man, in the right place, at the right time. What he brings to his task is a unique quality of leadership growing out of years of exposure to the vast American scene in education, health, and welfare. As a prominent Foundation executive—President of the Carnegie Corporation as well as The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, he had an excellent opportunity to observe where the leaders of our country are and where the young leaders of tomorrow can be found. He came to the Department with a commitment to its purpose, and to organize its programs so that they would be more responsive to the needs of our people over the country.

He has the capacity to make all of us strive to be as good as he thinks we are and can be. He has been a strong personal supporter of me, and a stalwart believer in the rehabilitation movement, which he calls the "Maritime Corps" of our Service. I take pride and pleasure in presenting to you the Honorable Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—John W. Gardner.

REMARKS BY JOHN W. GARDNER, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

I want to talk to you today about the recent reorganization in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

This is a time of transition and change in the field of rehabilitation, as in all fields relating to human welfare. I hope you will see the reorganization as an opportunity for growth and for strengthening the public-private partnership that has chalked up such remarkable accomplishments in such a short period of time.

When I am asked to give the reasoning back of the recent merging of three major agencies in my Department, I begin with the basic reason for all reorganization. We owe it to the taxpayers to organize ourselves in such a way that the public business may be efficiently done. We owe it to our professional constitutencies and to the people finally benefitted by our programs to eliminate unworkable arrangements. It is our duty to make the government manageable.

Poor organization, duplication, cross-purposes and confusion are a source of frustration to good workers and an obstacle to the accomplishment of good purposes.

That this Department has in the past not been efficiently organized is a matter of general knowledge. We have to do better.

And even if the Department had been ideally organized in the past, it would have to be reshaped periodically. Vital programs grow and change.

Whenever a reorganization is proposed, some people object because they have become inseparably attached to old arrangements. Those of you who know my writings know how strongly I advise against such attachments. Put your faith in ideas, ideals, movements, goals. Don't put your faith in organizational forms. Human beings are forever building the church and killing the creed. They give such loving attention to organizational forms that the spirit is imprisoned.

Now as to the specific reasons for reorganization. First, there was strong professional opinion in the welfare field that determination of income eligibility should be separated from provision of services. We have accomplished this separation. The social services that were once all grouped together under Welfare are now assigned to appropriate parts of the new agency. When you see that this puts services to the blind and the disabled in the rehabilitation agency, I think you will sense the logic of the new arrangement.

Another purpose in the reorganization—and a purpose that should interest you considerably—was to place the concept of rehabilitation at the very heart of the new agency. For at least four years now, there has been an increasing emphasis on the idea of rehabilitation in social welfare fields. So this is not a new trend—but I hope that our action will strengthen the trend.

Rehabilitation has taught us much that we are now trying to apply in all the fields of health and welfare. Rehabilitation workers have long recognized that theirs was not a simple, one-step operation. Rebuilding broken lives and bodies requires the knowledge of many disciplines, the work of many hands. Over the years, rehabilitation has built strong alliances with all the professional and voluntary groups which can contribute to the shared goal.

One of the essential elements in the rehabilitation process is finding the right job for the disabled individual and helping him adjust to that job. With the increasing emphasis on training and jobs for welfare recipients, rehabilitation has something special to offer in the field of work analysis and evaluation.

People who work in rehabilitation also know that results are seldom obtained overnight. It takes patient, long-term care to teach a deaf child to speak, a cripple to walk, or to make the mentally retarded self-sufficient.

I believe we can extend the principles and techniques of rehabilitation to many more people in trouble. We can salvage many more lives. We can help restore a sense of belonging to those outside the main-stream of society—the people in urban ghettoes and rural slums, the needy and disadvantaged.

We hope the new organization will give us the tools to do the job.

At the same time, we will continue to emphasize services for special groups—the aged, the handicapped, and children. But the problems of these gorups tend to overlap, and so do the groups themselves. The talents and skills required to deal with them, while specialized in some respects, are similar in others.

Trouble for an individual or a family often results from a combination of related problems. Disability and dependency, for example, usually go hand in hand. The solution requires a number of approaches. We want to encourage a unified approach to the problems, with special emphasis on the family. We believe that the new Social and Rehabilitation Service can make this possible and that each of its parts can draw on the strengths of the others so they can be mutually reinforcing.

A word about the separation of cash payments from our programs of service.

We are wasteful of the skills of people trained to provide social services when we require them to spend time in processing welfare cases or in determining eligibility. Our manpower supply is too limited to draw them away from the job for which they were trained and which so desperately needs doing.

Moreover, social services are designed to enhance the quality of life. They aren't necessarily related to income or to income maintenance. People from all walks of life may need emergency help in running a home when the mother is sick or disabled. They may need a companion for an aged parent. They may need counselling or other assistance when family problems interfere with a child's learning.

These services should be universally available and freely accessible.

Yet many people who might otherwise use social services shun them because they are associated with public assistance. On the other hand, social services cannot be really effective when they are linked to financial aid and are viewed as a condition for such aid.

In short, separating the two functions is designed to make the entire process more simple, efficient, and dignified on the one hand, and on the other to free scarce manpower to provide services to those who need them.

Some people have expressed reservations about one aspect of the reorganization—the merging of the crippled children's, mental retardation, and vocational rehabilitation programs. Although they see merit in bringing together services for special groups they feel that the new alignment does violence to the principle of dealing with the "whole child;" that it fragments rather than strengthens our efforts for children.

Let me say first that fragmentation is an ailment that can't be cured by the organization chart. There aren't boxes on the chart big enough to hold all the pieces. Programs that significantly affect the lives of children are conducted in every HEW agency and in several other units of the Federal Government. They always will be. The same is true of programs at the State and local level.

In short, we can never put *all* the activities concerned with children in the same box on the chart. We must group together activities that seem to belong together and then make provision for coordination among the various groupings. This we have done.

In the long run the cure for fragmentation is an ability to see the whole problem, a willingness to work together and to subordinate one's personal interest in favor of the larger goal.

Handicapped children have some very special problems. They need specialized medical attention, in some cases throughout their lives. They may have to undergo long periods or rehabilitation. They and their families may need a variety of social services. They often have to attend special classes. All of these needs can be met in a more efficient, more coordinated way if they are dealt with in a single unit.

We believe that through the new organization we can—provide services to children and youth with a far broader range of disabilities;

Accomplish early identification of handicapping conditions and supply prompt care to prevent a lifetime of disability;

Provide more and better services for the teen-age handicapped, whose problems have been relatively neglected; and

Make better use of limited resources to avoid duplication.

The reorganization should also strengthen our program for the aging.

I know that more older people are benefitting from rehabilitation services, and I applaud this trend. Last year about 46,000 people aged 45 and over were rehabilitated for gainful work out of a total number of close to 175,000—about one-fourth of the total.

But the number of older people in our population is increasing. And in my opinion, we have barely begun to think constructively about the so-called retirement years.

Many people who have reached those years may never be able to return to the world of competitive work. Yet they might continue to be productive in a sheltered environment. We need to provide for such people—perhaps through an expanded sheltered workshop program—for as long as their interest and ability lasts.

Let me give you just one more example where inter-agency cooperation is essential—rehabilitation for handicapped people who file disability claims under the social security program.

When the first social security disability legislation was enacted in 1954, Congress made it unmistakably clear that workers should not only have the security of a regular income when they become disabled but should also be helped to return to work. The legislation contained incentives to rehabilitation while retaining the cash benefits for disabled workers. These provisions have been reinforced and expanded over the last decade, culminating in an even more explicit authorization in 1965 to use money from the disability trust fund to finance the rehabilitation of beneficiaries.

This program can work only if it is a unified effort. Neither the disabled workers nor society will get full value from the program if the payments of benefits and the restorative services represent two separate, independent operations.

This is an area that deserves increasing attention if we are to help more people move from dependency to self-sufficiency.

Finally, I believe it is time for the rehabilitation community to direct more of its thinking to the family. If we are to improve the conditions in which a handicapped person lives, we should be addressing ourselves to his entire family unit, and even to environmental circumstances that extend beyond the family. Those of you who have been working with juvenile delinquents know how important those circumstances can be.

The home environment represents stability and inspiration for some, a place of conflict and frustration for others, and for some, of course, home or family life are nonexistent.

Much of the current effort in rehabilitation is focused on the individual and his disability. If our approach is family centered, and if it takes into account the environment in which rehabilitation must occur, we may be more successful in rehabilitating the handicapped person himself; we may help transform disorganized and distraught families into units of strength and purpose; and we may succeed in building the foundation for a stronger and sounder social order.

I have no illusions about the difficulty of this task. It amounts to asking the rehabilitation workers of this country to extend the concept of rehabilitation, so that it embraces millions of people instead of thousands; to relate itself to some of our massive social problems; and within this larger framework, to maintain the kind of excellence which has marked the emergence of modern rehabilitation programs for the handicapped.

I don't suppose there are many people who have had more varied first-hand contact with all of the so-called helping professions than I have. And I can tell you that of all those fields, none rivals your own in ardent commitment to the possibility of human betterment. You have a never-say-die spirit in these matters that should stand as an example for everyone.

I could point out fields of social effort in which many practitioners are rather easily discouraged about the possibility of human betterment. And of course such people retreat quite readily to goals that are no higher than custodial care or maintenance. In contrast you honor the human spirit by believing that it is equal to truly formidable tasks. And your faith helps it to accomplish those tasks.

This seems to me to exemplify the very best and deepest belief we hold as Americans: the conviction that every person is of value.

I cannot close without a tribute to the distinguished Administrator of the new Social and Rehabilitation Service, Mary Switzer. Mary is inclined to attribute her success to her long bureaucratic experience, and that is certainly an ingredient. She is a pro, if ever there was one. But there are plenty of old pros who use their skill and experience to block progress rather than advance it, so you have to look further to explain Mary's effectiveness.

I have often said that when a top executive is selecting his key associates, there are only two qualities for which he should be willing to pay almost any price—taste and judgment. Almost everything else can be bought by the yard. Mary has both those qualities in high degree.

But even more important, she has the qualities that bring the world alive—zest, enthusiasm, and spirit.

She has taken on an immensely difficult assignment. She has the largest operational responsibility of any woman in government. If you will give her your support and help she will make history for all of us.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of Columbus Day, I rise at this time to urge the adoption of resolutions designating Columbus Day as a national holiday.

I have been pleased to express to the House Committee on the Judiciary my strong approval and endorsement of this legislation, and I hope and urge that early favorable action be taken.

In my own State of Massachusetts and in many other States, Columbus Day is recognized as a legal holiday and is so celebrated in honor of the great navigator, Christopher Columbus, whose great deeds brought about the settlement of the New World by the Old.

It is quite fitting that the House today be reminded of the inspiring story of Italian immigrants who made their way through our cities, towns, and villages during the early years of this century. These were the youngest of our new immigrants, so typical of those who came to America seeking refuge, opportunity, and the chance to grow in a young country.

More often as not they came with a few earthly possessions, but loving relatives and loyal friends who had come before them provided for their needs until they had found jobs and became used to this new land of opportunity. Here in America they found work, happiness, and the chance to raise their families under advantages of which they never before had dreamed. In less than a half century, the sons and daughters of humble Italian stock rose to places of leadership and great influence in the professions, in the public service, in the religious and business life, and in all the callings of the American people—so much so that they have made distinguished, outstanding contributions to the social, economic, and political institutions of our country.

In New York City at Columbia University, where I received my degree in law, there stands the stately and beautiful La Casa Italiana. Over its portal are the immortal lines of the Poet Byron:

> Italy, mother of arts, thy hand was once our guardian and it is still our guide.

Thus, we in America acknowledge the contributions of our citizens of Italian origin. They have helped to build our railroads, our bridges, our roads, and our cities.

Italian influence, capital, and energy have helped to build America to the industrial giant it is today among the nations of the world. Every schoolboy at an early age recognizes the Italian contribution to our American civilization for it was Cristoforo Colombo who discovered America, Giovanni Cabota who first explored its mainland, and Amerigo Vespucci who gave America its name.

That the Italians have taken a conspicuous part in maintaining our precious American freedoms and saving our cherished form of government no one can deny. The pages of American history glisten with the names and patriotism of such men as Filippo Mazel, the friend of Thomas Jefferson; William Paca, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and many others.

It was Mazzei who wrote in the Virginia Gazette in 1774:

> All men are by nature created free and independent . . . it is necessary that all men be equal to each other in natural rights.

This has been translated by Thomas Jefferson into the Declaration of Independence in the form of the immortal "All men are created equal."

The unexcelled patriotism of these great heroes of the American Revolution was reenacted by the Italians of each succeeding generation whenever our country was in danger. Italian names are on the rosters of all our wars and outstanding military and religious figures of Italian blood furnished inspiring leadership, gallantry, and devotion to every struggle from Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, Flanders Fields to Okinawa, the Bulge, Korea, and now Vietnam. Italian-American patriots have sacrificed their lives in every war to preserve America. Their precious blood has saturated the soil of many countries in the cause of American freedom.

Citizens of Italian origin have been in the vanguard of every fight America has made for liberty and freedom. More than 200 Italian officers served in the Civil War. About 750,000 men and women of Italian extraction served in the Armed Forces of the United States during World War I, reportedly the largest single racial group serving under our colors. An estimated 845,000 men and women of Italian-American descent were in the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II.

An Italian-American boy from our own Commonwealth of Massachusetts was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest award a grateful nation can bestow, for his heroic service in World War II. Sgt. Arthur F. DeFranzo, of Saugus, Mass., was killed in action in France on June 10, 1944. After rescuing a wounded comrade, although wounded himself, he gave his life to clear a blazing path through concentrated enemy fire. His heroic action spared the lives of scores of his comrades.

Italian contributions have not been confined to the military alone, though all Americans should take pride in the heroic accomplishments of such gallant men as Sergeant DeFranzo, especially when it is a known fact that 20 out of the 500 Congressional Medals of Honor in World War II were awarded to boys of Italian-American descent.

Our Italo-American citizens have influenced for the good practically every phase of American life. They have brought loyalty to American, loyalty to freedom and democracy, loyalty to American institutions, tolerance and justice toward their fellow man.

Here in Washington we are constantly reminded of the contributions of Italian-Americans in the field of art because the Italian genius for the beautiful has found notable expression in the adornment of our National Capitol building. Brumidi, perhaps, is the best known because he is called the Michelangelo of the Capitol, where he has left great artistic treasure as the famous Capitol frescoes Storia del America, Washington at Yorktown, L'Apoteosi de Washington, and Cincinnato all'aratro.

Amateis, another Italian craftsman, made the bronze doors of our Capitol. Franzoni designed and executed the bronze clock in the Capitol with the statue of Storia on its top. The emblematic eagle in the Capitol was sculptured by Valperti. The statue, Liberty Proclaiming Peace, is the work of Causici. The Pere Marquette statue in the U.S. House of Representatives is the achievement of Trentanove. The listing of Italian masterpieces in our Capitol Building could go on and on. They are seen daily by many hundreds of Americans from all parts of the country who visit Washington.

The world owes a great debt to Italy, to her people and to the descendants of the pioneer Italian immigrants to America. It is fitting that we recall the glowing tribute to this great race by my friend, former distinguished president of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who once wrote:

> The place of Italy in civilization is best shown by trying to subtract that place from world history. Take away her scientific accomplishments, her statesmanship, her leadership in the world for many years and what have you left? The world looks badly decapitated. You can subtract Italian culture from civilization only by destroying that civilization.

It can well be said, Mr. Speaker, as the Nation is about to celebrate Columbus Day 1967 that the great qualities, high ideals, and firm loyalties of the Italian people have all been and are a very real and moving part of American life and these are priceless possessions indeed.

Since early childhood the Italian people have been close to my heart and very dear to me and many of them have been like members of my own family.

I am grateful beyond measure for their confidence, affection and loyal support, and I am honored and proud, indeed, to hail and salute them on the glorious birthday of their great hero, the intrepid discover of the Western World, Christopher Columbus.

The Budget and the Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a long time since the Members of Congress were faced with so many serious and difficult issues all at one time. In the wake of the Vietnam conflict we must deal with increasing financial stress and pressure for budget cuts in vital areas; we must sort out with tremendous care our understanding of national priorities; and we must deal with our sense of the needs of the Nation and the wishes of our constituents. This is not an easy task, and Congress is deserving of both blame and sympathy in the way it has been reacting to this complex of problems.

Charles Bartlett wrote an excellent article on this situation in the Washington Evening Star of October 10, 1967. In pointing out the difficulties faced in selecting areas of the Federal budget which may be cut, Mr. Bartlett said:

> Almost every item in the budget has its own constituency. The areas most vulnerable to economy cuts are most heavily buttressed by special pleaders.

Mr. Bartlett mentions in this regard the apparent invulnerability of the SST and the defense budget, and the recent action of the Senate in restoring about $100 million of the funds for NASA in spite of the fact that the President had already accepted the House cuts.

In the same issue of the Star on October 10, Crosby S. Noyes dealt exclusively with the issue of the space program. He expressed his view that the Administrator of NASA and the chairman of the Senate committee are trying to revive the space race. In this regard he says:

> If the American space effort continues to be considered as a competition with the Russians, it will certainly stack up as the most expensive and least productive effort in the history of the human race.

On the same day, the Christian Science Monitor had a very perceptive editorial entitled "Sputnik's Lesson." This editorial writer counts the competition with the Russians as more important than Mr. Noyes does but points out with great clarity that—

> The best way to run a space race is to know where you are going, not to react feverishly to the competition.

In this regard the editorial starts by saying:

> Congressman Joseph E. Karth of Minnesota is right. Space projects no longer have "a very high priority." The slower paces of Soviet and American programs reflect this.

The editorial concludes:

> Moving ahead without knowing clearly what it wants to achieve, the United States risks again putting its space planning at the

mercy of future and unforeseen Soviet accomplishments.

I think all three of these excellent articles bear heavily on the considerations now before the House—with particular reference to the NASA appropriation conference report which will shortly be before us.

I commend these articles to the attention of my colleagues.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 10, 1967]

BUDGET CUTS "MESSY TO CONTEMPLATE"

(By Charles Bartlett)

There is more politics than good government in the confrontation between the White House and the conservative coalition in the House of Representatives on the issue of cutting back the budget.

The President has two reasons for declining to surrender to the coalition's insistence that he cut his own budget by $5 billion as the price of securing a tax increase from Congress. They are not reasons that he can proclaim publicly.

In the first place Congress has dragged its feet so badly on the appropriations bills that if the President submitted a revised budget with substantial cuts the quibbling and hearings would be likely to protract the legislative process beyond the end of the year.

This leads into the second reason which is that almost every item in the budget has its own constituency. The areas most vulnerable to economy cuts are most heavily buttressed by special pleaders. Last fall the President escaped the agitation which these groups can foment by keeping his post-session cutbacks secret until January.

The President may capitulate and propose the cuts that House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills demands if he ultimately concludes that this is the only way he will get his tax raise. But the consequences are messy to contemplate.

Take the supersonic transport, whose initial appropriation of $143 million should become a certain victim of any serious economy wave. It is a new project with no built-in momentum and it can be undertaken by private financing.

It is anathema to many liberals who do not not see why the government should launch a billion dollar project to trim the duration of transoceanic flights at a time when federal funds are needed for so many other purposes.

But the SST has powerful backing, particularly in the Senate where Washington's Senators Warren Magnuson and Henry Jackson are attentive to the prospects for the Boeing Company. A move to strike the appropriation was defeated 54 to 19 in the Senate Thursday. A proposal by the President to postpone the SST would alter this vote only at the cost of bitter controversy.

Another example is the $500 million cut in the obligational authority of the space agency. This was accomplished by the House with the help of an acquiescent letter from the President. The Senate committee quickly reinstated one-fifth of the cut and reprimanded the agency's head, James Webb, for going along with the President's move.

Congress' mood regarding economy is difficult to deal with because it is flighty and inconsistent. It is an inexact reaction to public sentiment because the public is actually angrier at local and state taxes, which have been rising in precipitous response to the cost of services, than it is at federal taxes, which have declined since 1964.

The administration has statistics which argue that the cost of its new programs is a small fraction, less than 8 percent, of the $200 billion growth in GNP since Johnson became president. The cost of federal government woud be a smaller slice of the total GNP than it was in the Eisenhower years if it were not for the war.

But no one believes that statistics will supply an adequate answer to the economizers, who know they are running with the public's mood. But cuts of the magnitude being discussed, from $5 to $10 billion, will be hard to find.

All the easy savings have serious hooks in them and in the end the only part of government with a big enough belly for that kind of cut will be the Defense Department. But even that will be extremely chancy because of the risk that a turn of events in Vietnam will force an upsurge of expenditures next winter.

The conservatives are pursuing an expedient course which will not meet their long-term need to educate the voters that they must expect to pay for the services which they demand. If government is to be efficient, its costs cannot be juggled to meet fluctuations in the public mood.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 10, 1967]

PRESTIGE COMES HIGH IN U.S. SPACE EFFORT

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

Poor James Webb. The head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is on his uppers. After a 10 percent cut in its latest budget, NASA will have a mere $4.8 billion to spend this year. And this, in Webb's opinion, spells the demise of the American space effort within a short time.

Unless something is done, he says, the space program will end for all practical purposes after the present Apollo project which aims at landing a man on the moon sometime after 1970. No flights to the planets are planned after 1969 and no manned flights after the Apollo Project except for a limited "application program," using Apollo equipment.

Echoing Webb's alarm, the chairman of the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, Clinton P. Anderson, D-N.M., is calling on the country to sustain its space momentum.

If we do not do this, he warns, we may find ourselves 10 years from now where we were 10 years ago when the Russians launched their first Sputnik—"wringing our hands and worry about what to do to catch up."

Well, let's see.

According to the London Sunday Times, Russia and the United States between them will have spent a total of about $100 billion by the time the first man gets to the moon. If the American space effort continues to be considered as a competition with the Russians, it will certainly stack up as the most expensive and least productive effort in the history of the human race.

Keeping up the momentum—as Webb and Anderson advise—would inevitably involve enormously greater costs. Apart from the Apollo applications program, NASA has been pushing for a Voyager program in the 1970s, involving a soft landing of instruments on Mars. But the space enthusiasts are also thinking in terms of manned flights to the planets, with the cost of one expedition to Mars estimated at $100 billion.

A high price for prestige, especially with the prospect of diminishing returns. The passionate public interest aroused by the earliest flights in space has given way to extraordinary indifference to the far more spectacular achievements of recent years.

The Congress, perhaps reflecting this flagging public support, has refused to cough up money for the Voyager program three years in a row. And it seems unlikely that the appeals of Webb, Anderson and company will inspire much enthusiasm for their ambitious plans.

And what of the opposition?

The Russians, as usual, were talking big on the tenth anniversary of their Sputnik launching and hinting among other things at the launching of a permanent orbiting space station in the near future. But the prospect of a manned landing on the moon seems to have receded considerably in the Russian order of priorities. And it seems probable that the competition in space spectaculars could be a good deal less fierce as time goes on.

An argument can be made, of course, for continuing the American effort regardless of what the Russians may do. The space program has undoubtedly produced a number of significant results—in terms of technology and medical science—with practical application here on Earth.

Yet surely the costs involved have been out of all sane proportion to the benefits achieved. If anything approaching the same sums were applied to medical research—or to population control or food production or urban rehabilitation—the results, in terms of human problems, might indeed be staggering.

To be sure, Senator Anderson has made a good point. Ten years ago there was indeed a great amount of handwringing over the flight of Sputnik I, and handwringing is rarely a prelude to sensible policy.

The vast crash program—the deadlines and priorities—which have dominated the first decade of our space effort have undoubtedly produced achievements to be proud of. But in the next ten years it might make more sense to concentrate on problems—every bit as challenging as those of space—down here where the people are.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 10, 1967]

SPUTNIK'S LESSON

Congressman Joseph E. Karth (D) of Minnesota is right. Space projects no longer have "a very high priority." The slower paces of Soviet and American programs reflect this.

We are glad that some of the emotionalism has been taken out of the space race. Yet we wonder whether the United States has learned the lesson of the first Sputnik.

A commemorative article by Prof. G. V. Petrovich in Pravda reminds us of this. He tells of the power of the early Sputnik-lifting rockets which had an efficiency unmatched by American equipment for many years.

When that rocket power sent the first Sputnik over American horizons Oct. 4, 1957, the United States reacted hysterically. Sputnik evoked a national sense of shame. It sparked a space program driven by the desire to "beat the Russians" rather than by scientific planning.

Actually, Sputnik neither proved Soviet superiority nor implied American incompetence. The rocket Professor Petrovich describes grew out of technical decisions taken years earlier. The real lesson Sputnik taught was that of the importance of lead time in solving the demanding engineering problems of space.

The United States soon discovered that frantic striving won't cut this lead time very much. The best way to run a space race is to know where you are going, not to react feverishly to the competition.

Mr. Karth's assessment reflects the mood of a Congress burdened with Vietnam war costs. This change in priorities does not mean a wisely planned space program. The United States still does not know where, in space, it wants to go beyond landing men on the moon. The administration has yet to say how it wants to use the formidable space flight capability the United States is developing.

The lead time for such ongoing space projects still runs into years. If the United States is to move vigorously ahead after the lunar landing, it must set its goals now. Even if it wants to cut back its space effort, it needs a carefully worked out program for the 1970's.

Moving ahead without knowing clearly what it wants to achieve, the United States risks again putting its space planning at the mercy of future and unforeseen Soviet accomplishments.

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Appendix

The Space Program: An Investigation in Our Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, our space program is a vital part of our national effort. This program must be maintained if we are to continue our position of world leadership and if we are to meet the challenges of the future.

Although the space age is still in its infancy, our Nation must develop the technology and capability now. I am one who believes that we can maintain these programs at the same time we are meeting the demands of our efforts in Vietnam. In fact, I feel strongly that we cannot afford to overlook these and other vital domestic programs which are absolutely essential to the future of our Nation.

Recently in the October 7 issue of the Houston Post, there appeared an editorial dealing with the space program which, I am sure, will be of interest to my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

PERMANENCY OF SPACE PROGRAM

When the Russians put their first space vehicle, Sputnik I, into orbit around the earth a decade ago, it was not the feat itself that excited Americans so much as the indication that the Russians were ahead of this country in the field of scientific technology.

They had become accustomed to the idea of American pre-eminence in this field and to the notion that the Russians were so backward that they could never catch up.

Because Sputnik I was regarded as a challenge, the American people demanded and enthusiastically approved the pouring of billions of dollars annually into a crash program in an effort to catch up with and get ahead of the Russians. President John F. Kennedy energized the effort by concentrating national energies and resources on a specific, relatively short-range goal, the placing of a man on the moon by the end of the decade.

It was never his idea, however, that this should be the end of the program. He saw a lunar landing as merely the first step in a continuing program to explore and conquer space.

As the list of American accomplishments in space grew and the Soviet challenge of American technological leadership became less alarming, it was inevitable that popular and congressional enthusiasm for the program should decline. The space program has had to compete with other demands upon federal financial resources. More and more people began to question whether or not the size and speed of the space effort were really justified in the light of other national needs.

To the extent that national security was not involved, it was easy to present a plausible case that terrestrial needs should command a higher priority, and that therefore space appropriations should be cut. The space program is especially vulnerable this year since Congress professes to be in an appropriation-cutting move.

James E. Webb, head of the national space agency, may have been exaggerating a little when he declared, on the Sputnik anniversary, that the American space program is slowly dying because of a lack of funds and headed toward an end in the 1970s unless plans are changed. But he did have a point.

Operations are being curtailed and will be trimmed even more if funds are reduced as proposed. It already is doubtful if the goal of putting a man on the moon before 1970 will be realized. Webb said that the agency has laid off 100,000 employees and that the layoff rate at present is 4,000 a month.

It would seem that, with 300,000 employees left, the agency is still a long way from liquidation.

But it is time for everybody to start thinking in terms of a permanent, continuing space program that will extend indefinitely into the future, far beyond the goal of simply landing a man on the moon. There is the problem of "lead-time." If there is not to be a long hiatus between a lunar landing and other significant space accomplishments, it is necessary that preliminary steps be taken now or in the very near future. These cannot be taken if appropriations are cut too drastically.

There is evidence that the Russians are thinking beyond the accomplishments of a lunar landing. There is a good possibility that, within only a few years, the nation again will find itself faced with the need for another crash program to catch up with the Russians and maintain American leadership. Crash programs, in any field of activity, are always wasteful.

It is time to stop thinking of the space program as a temporary, one-goal endeavor and provide for it accordingly.

"Horizons in Science and Technology": Address by Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., at Georgetown University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks made by my colleague from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] before the Middle East Institute's annual meeting at Georgetown University, Friday, September 29, 1967. The subject of the address is "Horizons in Science and Technology."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HORIZONS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

(By SENATOR HOWARD H. BAKER, Jr., before Middle East Institute, at Georgetown University, September 29, 1967)

I appreciate the opportunity to discuss with with you today a problem which is of vital concern to all of us here, bringing peace to the troubled Middle East.

The situation in the Middle East presents a unique opportunity and challenge to peace-loving men throughout the world. Rarely in history, I suppose, has such great effort been given by so many men and nations to find a peaceful solution to a conflict between nations as has been expended over the Middle East. In the United Nations and in the governments of a dozen countries around the world there have been efforts to find a satisfactory solution to the problems and attritions which plague Israel and the Arab countries. Unfortunately no solution has yet been found.

Solving our problems by peaceful means will suffer a severe setback if we fail in the Middle East. Thus, the opportunity and challenge to use every means at our disposal to find a workable solution to these problems are tremendous.

I firmly believe that if the people of the Middle East can be provided an opportunity to share in the prosperity of the more broadly developed world, the stresses and strains which have produced three costly wars in recent years will be greatly reduced.

Those of us in Congress are not unmindfull of this awesome responsibility or of the conditions which have created the conflict. I have long been convinced that the key to the dispute lies in the chronic shortage of fresh water and arable land. Water, Work and Food are three elements desperately needed if we are to erase the territorial and refugee problems.

Recognizing the need for water, work and food, Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission under President Truman and chairman of the AEC under President Eisenhower, developed a plan to use nuclear energy to produce large quantities of fresh water by desalting sea water.

When the plan was first presented, there was some question whether it was technically feasible. But today, it is clearly within the realm of our nuclear technology not only to do this but to do it in a fully economic and competitive manner.

General Eisenhower, who cooperated fully with Admiral Strauss in the development of this plan is actively working to see it pushed to fruition. In order to speed the process somewhat, I have introduced a resolution which would make it the sense of the Senate to endorse the proposal and to urge the President to make it American policy to see it implemented.

I am pleased to report that 52 senators of both parties and all ideological persuasions have joined me as cosponsors of the resolution. I am further pleased to note that Vice President Humphrey in a recent speech referred to the Eisenhower-Strauss plan as an attractive alternative.

The plan, which Admiral Strauss has recently revised and updated in line with the most advanced developments in the nuclear field, envisions the construction first, of a 6600 megawatt thermal desalting reactor which would produce 450 million gallons of fresh water per day at a cost of about $200 million. Two other plants, one of equal size, the other somewhat smaller, would also be constructed. It is planned that they would be self-financing. I will discuss the method of financing in a moment.

This quantity of fresh water, more than the combined flow of the major tributaries of the Jordan River, would immediately provide an abundance of water for irrigation and industry. Of equal importance, however, is the fact that the construction of the desalting plant and of the water and power distribution systems will immediately provide jobs for many of the untrained and unskilled refugees in the area. After completion of the plant, the enormous expansion of available arable land will provide a tremendous demand for agricultural workers.

Thus, construction of the plants would provide enough work for the unskilled and unemployed refugees, enough water to irrigate the land which in turn would provide continuing work and food for the people of the area.

This, then, would remove much of the source of irritation among the peoples of the area in their disputes over the available water from the Jordan and its tributaries and the arable land.

Earlier I mentioned that the Eisenhower Plan provided an unusual if not a unique method of financing. I believe that you are all familiar with the fiscal problems facing this Congress. As a result the Foreign Aid program requested by the Administration has been cut in the House and Senate by $647 million and $837 million, respectively. It does not take unusual political insight to recognize that new foreign aid commitments, no matter how attractive nor of what significance, will have rough sledding in the Congress. General Eisenhower and Admiral Strauss have proposed that the financing of the Middle East project be funded through an international corporation modeled after our own Comsat. (I have proposed that the corporation be named MEND for Middle East Nuclear Desalting Corporation, but like most other aspects of the proposal, only the results are important, not the details.) Admiral Strauss, with his vast experience in international finance is convinced that the world banking community will enthusiastically support this project. For the United States to make an *investment* in this project seems far more likely than to expect an outright grant when we are faced with the continuing costs of the Vietnam War and our domestic problems. It is interesting, however, to note that even the total cost of this project, which is estimated to be no more than $1 billion, is well under the estimated cost of $2 billion which the five-day war in the Middle East this past spring is estimated to have cost, or the fact that our foreign aid to the countries involved has totaled nearly $3 billion over the past 20 years.

Finally, I would like to discuss an aspect of the Eisenhower Plan which has not attracted sufficient attention yet, but which I feel probably offers the most hope for achieving peace in the Middle East. As we all know, we have reached a communications stalemate in solving the crisis. The Arabs won't talk to the Israelis and the Israelis won't talk to the Arabs. Other governments have tried without apparent success to bring the warring parties together. International organizations have met with a similar and notable lack of success in bridging the gap. We are thus faced with a total vacuum in the all important effort to resolve a most unhappy situation. The establishment of an international corporation such as MEND, which has as its very core the objective of solving the problems of the Middle East, will provide a forum at which both sides may reach a common understanding for their own national interests, unencumbered by previous biases and influences. I do believe that the very nature of this corporation can and should be used as a vehicle to accomplish what individual national interests cannot today accomplish. Creation of such an entity would provide a non-national third party with which both the Arabs and Israelis could talk.

Another thing that excites me about the Eisenhower-Strauss proposal is the fact that this would be a major breakthrough in the use of the constructive power of nuclear energy to make peace rather than using its destructive power to prosecute war.

Pay Bill Improves Government Labor-Management Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New York Times will undoubtedly be of interest to my colleagues. I am confident the American public agrees that the bill we approved yesterday will have a resultant improvement in Government labor-management cooperation.

The House action yesterday was a wise decision in Federal pay legislation. The public demands the best possible public servants and this salary bill will help guarantee the best service.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 12, 1967]

Jumbled Federal Pay Bill

The Federal pay bill passed by the House yesterday is a patent sop to the postal workers' lobby; but the favoritism it embodies does not erase its probably beneficial long-term effect. It will establish a fairer basis than exists at present for determining all Federal wages, with a resultant improvement in Government labor-management cooperation.

There is, of course, no excuse other than politics for hitching higher pay to an increase in postal rates. Neither is there justification for giving postal workers an immediate wage boost of 6 per cent while other classes of civil service employes are limited to a 4.5 per cent increase.

This manifest inequity is mitigated, however, by the bill's best feature—a provision for bringing all Federal workers up to parity with comparable workers in private industry through two subsequent wage increases in July 1968 and April 1969.

Our hope would be that the White House and Congress would establish a permanent mechanism for maintaining an even balance between governmental and private wages without the necessity for new log-rolling contests on Capitol Hill every time Federal unions begin agitating for more money.

The Civil Service Commission or a special Presidential agency could be authorized to make automatic adjustments each year on the basis of the surveys the Bureau of Labor Statistics regularly compiles of comparative wage rates. Federal workers, deprived by law of the right to strike, are entitled to a legal guarantee that they will not be at a wage disadvantage as a result. That consideration must affect evaluation of the immediate pay increases provided by the House bill. The criticism of the pay bill may be that the 4.5 per cent for classified workers is too low rather than that the 6 per cent for postal employes is too high.

Another salutory provision in the House bill calls for a tripartite commission designated by the President, Congress and the Chief Justice to make recommendations for adjustments in executive, legislative and judicial salaries. The aim would be to set standards that would attract high-level talent to policy-making posts in government.

The Government needs qualified people in every phase of its operations. Pay schedules that bear comparison with those in private industry are essential to fulfillment of that requirement.

Know Your Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the October 5, 1967, issue of the State newspaper in Columbia, S.C., contains a very fine editorial entitled "Know Your Enemy." In the editorial, Mr. W. D. Workman, Jr., discusses the debate on Vietnam and points out that his newspaper agrees with the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur that in war there is no substitute for victory.

He goes on to say that if American boys have to leave their homes and fight in South Vietnam, it is our duty to put all of the country's resources behind them. He deplores the present restrictions on the conduct of the war and the no-win policy of the present administration.

This excellent summary is just one more piece of evidence of the growing concern that the American public has for the indecision that surrounds the war in Vietnam.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Know Your Enemy

Debate on Vietnam continues. Shall we mine Haiphong harbor? Shall we have another bombing pause? How many more thousand marines are needed? What does Ho Chi Minh really want? Is it time for unconditional peace talks? Will the McNamara barrier work?

Day after day after day, the chatter goes on—and it's *inconclusive* chatter at that. One day the hawks make a point; the next day the doves score. This could go on until next century.

In any war, said General Douglas MacArthur, "there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision."

America's indecision on the Vietnam question began in earnest under President Kennedy. No one knows what Kennedy would have done had he lived; but the odds are pretty fair that he'd have done something. Even before the assassination, voices urged him either to get out altogether or go in to win.

That was almost five years ago, and the Administration still hasn't made up its mind. Meanwhile, Americans have been divided as never before in wartime.

From the beginning, *The State* has made no bones about its position. With MacArthur, we believe that *war's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision.*

We believe that if American boys have to leave their own families, whether mothers or wives and children, to fight for the protection of South Vietnamese women and children, then the United States government and *all* its resources ought to stand behind them.

On this page today, we have published a review of a new book: *Communism in Vietnam,* by two professors now teaching at the University of Southern California. More such books need to be in circulation.

America has no interest in "taking over" North Vietnam. America does have a vital interest, though, in seeing to it that South Vietnam is not taken over.

Communists have amply demonstrated their unwillingness to rely upon reason and the arts of persuasion in politics. They seem incapable of understanding anything more complicated than the workings of a gun.

As a consequence, American fighting men are now pitched against North Vietnamese fighting men and the Viet Cong.

Communism in Vietnam is a book well worth reading and pondering. It says much more than we have space for here about the nature of our enemy. And, in our view, it provides both tactical and strategic justifications for bringing this war to a swift end.

The Morality of Our Commitments in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY BLANTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current debate in both Chambers of Congress about the Vietnam war, I would like to enclose in the RECORD at this point a recent speech I made on the subject.

I was invited by my church, the First Methodist Church in Adamsville, Tenn., to deliver the Layman's Day address on Sunday, October 8. For my topic, I chose "The Morality of Our Commitments to Vietnam."

The theme I have tried to emphasize in this speech is that when we debate our commitments in Vietnam, we somehow have lost the perspective of the full picture. Too often we ignore history, and more often do we ignore tht long-range future.

The remarks I made at my hometown church are as follows:

THE MORALITY OF OUR COMMITMENTS IN VIETNAM

It is an honor for me to speak before this congregation on Layman's Day. I am humbled at the opportunity.

The theme of my message concerns a subject of major importance for all Christians. It is—"The Morality of Our Commitments to Vietnam".

Our country was settled by religious people. Our Declaration of Independence invoked Divine Providence to guide our people through the perilous days of the Revolution. In fact, down through our entire history, our Christian heritage has been as deeply rooted as the very democratic system of government it spawned.

This heritage poses a paradox for our government. Because of this deep Christian framework, the actions of our government are always scrutinized by citizens on the basis of whether activities are morally right or wrong.

In Russia a recent public opinion poll published by TASS indicated only 20 percent of the people have any belief in God. In a state-run society like they have, it is no wonder the people are passive and do not inquire into the motives of their government's policies.

This passiveness of the Communist people in regard to their own governments leaves their leaders free to pursue aggressive policies almost free from dissent from the inside. Yet, here in our country, the morality of our government's actions are often challenged openly—in the streets, in the pulpits, and in the free press.

I have given you a contrast to show you that it is difficult for a democratic society to run its government. And when it feels obligated to pursue policies it feels in the nation's best interests, it must sometimes—indeed often times—provoke much dissent at home. Dissent is both helpful, and necessary, in a country which was born out of dissent.

In Vietnam today, this country has more than half a million young men fighting a war. It has provoked much dissent here at home and abroad. Many have charged that we are morally wrong, that our actions go against the conscience of our heritage.

The simple fact is that because of morality in our decision-making processes, we have been less imperialistic than most of the world expects us to be. We are in many ways the Rome of the 20th century—the mightiest nation in our era and in the history of civilization. With just one-sixth of the world's population, we have more than one-half its wealth.

We could have conquered half the world in the past few decades—and probably could today if we wanted to. Yet our policy-making processes are so orientated toward doing the moral thing in respect to the rest of the world that we have been restrained from an aggressive path.

One very influential Senator has written a best seller entitled "The Arrogance of Power". He feels the United States is very imperialistic because of our power. He is wrong. When we exploded the first atom bomb 18 years ago, we used it to end a war, not to start one. And we have not used it since. It is our morality, our conscience which prohibits its use. We alone had the atomic power to conquer any nation we wanted to in the closing days of the World War II. We could have annihilated all our then existing enemies, and those we believed our future enemies. But our morality restrained us.

The real aggressor in Vietnam and the World today is not the United States of America. The real aggressors are Russia and Communist China. The arrogance of power is an apt description of Communism—not western democracy.

Without any Christian heritage to guide them in their dealings with other peoples, these atheist countries have not been reluctant in plundering, killing and conquering. For those of you who might not remember—and for those politicians who claim they have been brainwashed—let we cite some examples:

1. The Russians have built an iron curtain around numerous weak Eastern European countries, too feeble to defend themselves after the ravages of World War II. Let us inquire into the morality of the conquest of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia.

2. In Asia, the Russians imposed their will on Mongolia, while the Chinese atheists were and are today committing genocide against the very religious people of Tibet.

3. It is not the United States that has insurrectionists and terrorists in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. It is not our government that has trained and armed terrorists in 23 countries of the world.

4. It is not the United States that is fighting India's troops in Sikkim this past week.

These are but a few glimpses into what atheistic Communism—masquerading as peace lovers—are doing in the world today. Communist governments look upon their people as units to produce for the state—not individuals. It is no wonder that dissent in communist countries is met swiftly by imprisonment or death. It is no wonder—without a conscience to guide them—millions of people behind the Iron Curtain died in the Stalin purges, and presently the Chinese Cultural Revolution?

Aggression is nothing new to the Communist. Our reaction is not new to them either. We met their challenge in Korea. We repulsed their aggression with force. Today, the same totalitarian philosophy which has made slaves of their own people is trying to do the same thing to the poor and backward people of tiny South Vietnam.

The strategy is typical. While outwardly they seek to appear as wanting peace with the rest of the world, they secretly ignite the fires of war. If the co-existence they talk of is the same co-existence they have shown in their actions in the Dominican Republic, in Cuba and the Vietnams of the world today—then it is a fraud. When we respond with our power, they immediately shed crocodile tears in the forums of the world to cast the role of aggressor on us.

They have succeeded, unfortunately, in convincing much of the world—and even some of our own brightest minds—that we are at fault in Vietnam.

The Communists are no fools. They are masters of deceit and treachery. There is nothing they would not do to see our prestige and power defeated. Lest we not forget that Stalin even allied himself with Hitler in 1939 when he thought it would help Russia. Then he begged us to help him after Hitler turned against him.

They know our power. But, they also know our policy-making processes. They know that the morality in the decisions we make would not permit us to attack them first. They know too that they could not risk a direct nuclear confrontation with us. And since they know that Communism is a dogma that cannot flourish until the last vestiges of free enterprise is gone, they seek to weaken us, to destroy us, by bogging us down in limited wars which drain our economy and our manpower.

The Communist-inspired "wars of liberation" are the strategic weapon against the United States in a day when nuclear warfare would otherwise mean defeat. Here in these far-off brush wars rests their only hope in beating America. The land that is the stage of these wars is destroyed. This means nothing to the Communists. It is the chance to weaken us that is their goal and only concern.

In Vietnam, we are fighting Russia and China by proxy, just as we did in Korea 15 years ago.

The bullets that kill our young men are not made in Vietnam. North Vietnam is so disorganized and ravaged by our bombings that munitions cannot be produced in the quantity their troops need. The bullets and bombs which have snuffed out the lives of almost 15 thousand Americans—the bullets that have killed thousands of Vietnamese soldiers, and thousands of helpless women and children in the villages—they were made in Russia and China, and their puppets.

The same lies we hear out of Russia today are the same lies that we have heard for the past 50 years—and under their smokescreen have passed half the world's population.

It angers me for people to say that it is immoral for America to stand with the Vietnamese in defense of their country. It angers me because Vietnam is in reality a frontier for the entire world against a bigger, more powerful enemy than the ragged Viet Cong peasants could ever be.

The morality of our commitments in Vietnam goes beyond the fact that we are duty-bound to honor our treaty with the South Vietnamese. It goes beyond a commitment to defend a mere piece of Asian real estate. The morality is that we have to stand up to Godless Communism in Asia, or else we will have to fight them on our own shores someday.

As Christians, we all have a stake in Vietnam. We also have a duty to the young Americans we have sent into battle there. But we also have a duty to those men who gave their lives in Korea, in the two World Wars, and in the battles for self-preservation we fought in the last century. For if we fail now, haven't we in effect turned the victories of past wars into defeats? Have those who have died before us merely bought some extra time for our country?

The spilling of blood, the snuffing out of an individual's earthly existence—these are alien to our faith. But when the very faith is being put on the firing—when it faces an enemy who would prohibit our faith in God—then we must resort to the powers we have to stand before that tyranny.

I am not pleased with all aspects of the Vietnam war.

I am not happy to see Americans maimed and crippled and sent home in boxes to weeping parents. I am not happy to see our resources, our great wealth, being diverted from use in our own communities because of its need 13,000 miles away.

But we are doing the only moral thing we can do. We cannot abandon helpless people to the savagery of these aggressors. We cannot tire of our commitments and cause the collapse of all Southeast Asia. We cannot lay down our arms and run in the face of an enemy. We no longer live in an isolated world.

The real brainwashing today is the brainwashing of good-intentioned people into thinking we are not morally right. History depends on our steadfastness. It would indeed be our failure to our Christian heritage if we told the world today that the strongest defender of Christianity no longer believes in the right of peoples everywhere to self-determination and freedom.

The defense of freedom is a heavy burden for this generation to shoulder. But if we appease when we should stand firm, we only shift that burden to our children. This would be immoral.

State University College at Cortland, N.Y., Commemorates Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the State University College at Cortland, N.Y., is commemorating its centennial anniversary this year. This fine institution of higher education over the past 100 years has progressed from normal school to teacher college, college of education, and is now a college of arts and sciences. Its growth and progress have been a justifiable source of pride to the people of Cortland and the State of New York and we look to a future of further growth and service to the community, to the State, and to the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that an article published in the September 18 issue of the Cortland Standard, entitled "Modern Cortland College Is Product of 100 Years of Development," be printed at this point in the RECORD. The article details the 100-year history of the college.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MODERN CORTLAND COLLEGE IS PRODUCT OF 100 YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT

(By Kathy Willis)

This year the State University College at Cortland is celebrating its 100th birthday. On September 17, 1867, the cornerstone of the old Normal school was laid. This school was the predecessor of the college on the hill.

How did it all begin?

The first step in the movement to secure a normal school for Cortland was taken on August 11, 1866, at a meeting of the trustees of Cortlandville Academy when a committee was appointed to meet with the state authorities in Albany. Committee members included Hiram Crandall, William P. Randall, James S. Squires and Hon. Horatio Ballard.

In 1866, the Cortland Normal School was established here under the provisions of an act of the State Legislature. This was due partly to the willingness of the village trustees to bond the village to raise $75,000 in order to fulfill its contract with the state.

STRONG COMPETITION

Cortland secured the school, in spite of strong opposition from Binghamton, Homer and McGraw. The Cortlandville Academy, its apparatus and library became part of the new school.

The Normal school originated in the academy, the first school to offer any type of teacher training. This type was usually supported by churches; it became the forerunner of the modern high school. According to Dr. Lynn E. Brown, former Dean of Cortland Normal, the Normal school was only a glorified high school at first.

When the Cortland school was first established, a high school diploma was not required. If an applicant had two years of high school, he could take a four-year course at the Normal school. Not until 1905 was a high school diploma necessary for admission to the school. In that year the courses of instruction became strictly professional, two-year courses and the academic department became a high school department limited to 100 students.

Cortland Normal school opened March 3, 1869.

The purpose of the normal schools was mainly to prepare teachers for the elementary schools. However, through the years, this has gradually changed. On February 25, 1921, the Board of Regents extended the course of training from two to three years for these teachers. The following year courses were authorized for training teachers for physical education, nutrition, and open-air schools.

COURSES ADDED

A Kindergarten Department was established in 1897, making it possible to train teachers in this field. In 1907 a course in manual training was offered and three years later, in 1910, the normal schools offered courses in agriculture.

In 1916 a State Physical Education Law was passed. This meant that schools were in need of teachers of physical education. It was Dr. Harry DeWitt DeGroat who made Cortland a leader in training such teachers. For several years he conducted an experiment at the school in which students with intensive training in physical education taught and supervised this subject for two months in rural schools in the area.

Today the school still trains teachers in practically all areas. Now, however, a liberal arts program is in effect. To accommodate new curriculums, the school has greatly increased its facilities.

In 1923 a new building for the school was built on Court House hill, due to the burning down of the old building in 1919. In the interim years, classes were held in county and municipal buildings. One year after the new building was opened the high school department was dropped and one in teacher training for physical education was added.

Practice teaching at first took place in the Normal's own training school, but the amount of student teachers soon became too much for the school to handle. In small groups, student teachers were sent to other cities, especially Binghamton.

PRACTICE TEACHING

Eventually a new program was sponsored by the state in which the students did their practice in rural schools within a radius of 30 miles of Cortland.

In October of 1928, Cornell sent teachers and students to observe the teaching and work of the Normal supervisors in the training departments. An issue of the Cortland Standard had the following to say:

"Apparently authorities at Cornell hold Cortland Normal school in high respect in sending these students to this city. It very rarely occurs that a university sends students to a Normal school for observation.

To continue its upward trend, Cortland Normal school sought the privilege of granting degrees. The school had already expanded all of its programs to four-year sources. Finally a bill was introduced into the legislature to this effect. However, the change did not come about overnight, as the Cortland Standard records indicate.

On May 16, 1939, the following article appeared in the paper: "Dr. DeGroat . . . received a telegram this morning stating that the Normal School bill, unamended, passed the Senate last night. The bill calls for the change of Normal Schools in the state to State Colleges. This bill is no. 111 in the Senate and, as Bill 144 in the Assembly, has still to be passed by the Assembly."

GRANTING DEGREES

In October of the same year, the Board of Regents authorized the conferring of the degree of bachelor of science in education upon graduates of special curriculums in the Normal schools in and after June of 1940. For Cortland, this meant the granting of degrees in physical education. But the Normal school wanted more than this.

On April 19, 1941, the following item was put in the paper: "The State Board of Regents, meeting in New York yesterday afternoon, approved Senator Benjamin F. Feinberg's bill which would permit Cortland Normal School and other normal institutions in the state to confer degrees upon students who complete the four-year general course."

Then a setback occurred when Governor Herbert H. Lehman vetoed the bill after promising to approve it if it was okayed by the Board of Regents. The governor gave no reason for the change, except to say that there were others that were more urgent.

Despite these setbacks and delays, Cortland awarded the first degree in January of 1942; the school was now officially a state college. In 1947 the college was authorized to begin giving graduate instruction and to award the master's degree.

The year 1948 saw the college become a part of the new State University of New York established by the state legislature. The school has not stopped growing since its birth in 1867, as can be seen physically by the new buildings springing up all over the campus. The school is truly a product of its past, all 100 years of it.

Mr. JAVITS. I ask unanimous consent that another article from the same edition of the Courtland Standard also be printed in the RECORD. The article is entitled "96 Percent of Full-Time Students Receive Some Form of Financial Aid at College." It is a most significant article because it indicates the need at a typical American school for aid to the college student to meet the ever-increasing costs of higher education which is so important to the student's personal future and the future of our Nation. The fact that only 4 percent of the full-time undergraduate students of the college at Cortland are able to enroll without outside financial aid, almost all of which is from Federal and State sources, is most significant and bespeaks the need for funding and strengthening of student aid programs.

Best wishes to Cortland for another 100 successful years.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Ninety-six Percent of Full-Time Students Receive Some Form of Financial Aid at College

Ninety-six percent of the College at Cortland's full-time undergraduate students last semester received some form of aid to help finance their college education from New York State Regents Scholarships, State University Scholarships or the Scholar Incentive Plan.

In addition, more than one-fourth of the College's undergraduate students received some form of federal help in paying for their education.

The federal payments—in outright grants, loans and work opportunities—averaged $554 for each of 897 participating students. The average of New York State payments to 3,014 undergraduates for the last semester was $119.23.

There are also private scholarships and last year's totaled $30,000, with 130 students receiving an average of $230 each. In addition, some students receive loans through banks in their home communities under the New York State Higher Education Assistance Corporation's program, or earn part of their expenses through part-time jobs both on the Cortland campus and in the Cortland community.

The question of expediting applications for financial aid and of administering the allocation of the numerous types of help available are the tasks of the College's Office of Financial Aids.

For the fiscal year which ended last June 30, the Office of Financial Aids administered the use of $496,685 in federal aid programs.

There are three federal financial aid programs in which Cortland participates: National Defense Student Loan Program; Educational Opportunity Grants Program; and College Work-Study Program.

Basic to qualifying for most of the forms of aid is the filing by parents of a confidential statement on finances. This statement, which the student obtains from his high school guidance counselor, is sent to the College Scholarship Service at Princeton, N.J., where it is analyzed and the student's need for aid is determined.

The College's Office of Financial Aids then tries to tailor the aid programs available to the individual student's needs.

Educational Opportunity Grants provide up to $800 a year for as long as the student is in extreme need of aid to continue his or her education. The grants require that matching funds be provided for the student through other federal, state or private programs, including work opportunities. After the first year the student is eligible to receive a $200 bonus if he is in the upper half of his class. Last year 179 students received EOG grants for a total of $59,918.

The largest federal sum available is in the National Defense Student Loan Program which, for Cortland, totaled $347,440 last year, with 672 students participating. A "C" average is required to qualify for the loans which are given on the basis of need, and for which there is much competition.

The maximum available is $1,000 a year which must be repaid after graduation. Repayments, over a 10-year period, begin one year after graduation and the interest rate is three percent.

However, if the recipient of such a loan enters the field of teaching or guidance counseling, he may receive a waiver of 10 percent of the loan each year for up to five years. Thus, if he teaches for five years, he repays only half the amount he borrowed.

If the student is involved in teaching disadvantaged pupils he is entitled to a 15 percent yearly waiver for up to five years.

The College Work-Study Program provides funds to pay students who work at jobs that are related as closely as possible to their educational programs. For example, a science student would be offered employment in a College laboratory where possible. Last year 322 students participated in the program for which available funds totaled $89,327.

To qualify for the federal College Work-Study grants the College must maintain a specified level of student employment opportunities to be paid from College funds, as well as to provide jobs paid for from Work-Study funds.

New York State programs are varied and include Student Incentive Plan grants, State University Scholarships and Regents Scholarships which are awarded on the basis of examinations and the financial need of the students. The basic State University tuition for residents of New York State is $400 and adjustments are made through the Scholar Incentive Plan and Regents scholarships, based on the taxable income of the family. In no case may the Scholar Incentive and Regents payments combined exceed the cost of tuition.

If the net taxable income of the family per child in college ranges from $0 to $1,800, the Scholar Incentive grant and scholarship will total $400; if the family's income per child in college is from $1,801 to $7,499, the grant and scholarship will total $200, with the student paying $200 toward tuition; if the family's income per child in college exceeds $7,500, the grant and scholarship will total $100 with the student paying $300 toward tuition. Tuition for out-of-state residents is $600 a year.

The New York Higher Education Assistance Corporation provides student loans for New York State residents through banks in their home communities. Full and part-time students must furnish proof of financial need and of scholastic ability.

Full-time students may borrow up to $750 in the freshman year, $1,000 in the sophomore year, $1,250 in the junior year and $1,500 in the senior year. They also may borrow up to $1,500 a year for graduate work so long as the total amount borrowed does not exceed $7,500. No interest is charged while the student is in college. He pays three percent interest after graduation and begins repaying the capital within 60 days after termination of study. Recipients have up to six years in which to repay the loans.

There are private and community scholarships, such as the Cortland College Alumni Association and Donovan C. Moffett Scholarships, awards provided by Parent-Teacher Associations, and awards and scholarships provided by organizations within the student's home community.

Veterans and children of veterans who died in service are entitled to allowances of varying amounts. At Cortland the Dean of Men's Office lists approximately 150 students who are studying under the Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 (the Cold War GI Bill) and the War Orphans Educational Assistance Act of 1956. Arrangements for benefits under these programs are made through the student's local Veterans Administration representative.

Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R.7977) to adjust certain postage rates, and for other purposes.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity to express my concern and my views on the proposed Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967, which we are now considering.

We all recognize that the employees affected by this legislation are deserving of a pay raise. The need for this raise again reflects the serious problems we face associated with the deficit. While we all realize that the cost of living is rising faster than we can increase benefits, I want to go on record now by saying that my voting pattern in the future will be geared toward doing what is best over the long haul.

My primary reservation with the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 lies with the provision in title II of the bill dealing with the President's Quadrennial Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries.

This provision, which would give the President unrequested sweeping powers over the pay and expenses of Federal officials—including his own appointees—in my judgment, jeopardizes passage of the bill. More important, however, is the violation of the time-honored doctrine of the "separation of powers."

What is to be accomplished by creating yet another Presidential commission to do precisely what the Chief Executive is already empowered to do? Namely, the President's authority and responsibility to recommend legislation which he believes will improve the operation of the Federal Government. As a result, quite frankly, I see no need or justification to burden the passage of this needed pay raise with such a doubtful provision.

While I have the floor, Mr. Chairman, permit me to say a word about comparability. I have long supported a pay equalization factor to permit Government to compete with industry for highly skilled and professional employees.

The administration has been promising comparability for a long time. In 1964, the President said that only a false economy offered salaries that attracted the mediocre but repelled the talented.

Now, I agree completely with the President in this regard and I submit that it is time we, in the Congress, translate that philosophy into meaningful legislation.

Comparability is democracy in action because it embodies the principle of "equal pay for substantially equal work." While industry has benefited greatly from "incomparability," the need in Government has now become acute. Our goal, in considering this bill today, should be a fair, reasonable, and comparable salary for all who serve the American public.

Despite the many positions which I have outlined here, Mr. Chairman, there remains the underlying and overriding problem we face in attempting to deal with a deficit approaching $30 billion. It is, indeed, regrettable that the administration has gotten this country and the Congress into such an impossible fiscal situation. Their inaccurate estimates and mistaken belief that we can afford both "guns and butter," has placed us in the position of being unable to meet pressing obligations that are rightfully the responsibility of the Federal Government—obligations like giving these Federal employees their long overdue pay increase. This administration has promised too much to too many people.

This Congress has a solemn obligation to the people of this country to check inflation before it is too late, and I feel strongly that we must do everything necessary to fulfill that obligation.

My voting pattern today will be to help whoever offers the motion to recommit, to see that the postal workers and the other Government employees get their raise. The section pertaining to establishing a Presidential commission should be deleted, and by so doing put the administration on notice that they are going to have to pull back on the new, nonessential programs that we simply cannot afford while our men are making the supreme sacrifice in Vietnam.

If this approach is followed, it will be a great day for the postal and Government workers affected. If it does not prevail, all of America loses.

Keep one thing in mind, these Government workers are taxpayers too, and with their fixed incomes, they are just as anxious as we are to see that inflation is checked because it will serve no one's purpose to give them a raise today and have it eaten up by rampant inflation tomorrow.

Donnelly First Layman on Loyola Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, it is with considerable pleasure I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article appearing in yesterday's Baltimore Evening Sun regarding a distinguished citizen of our city, Mr. Edward J. Donnelly.

In view of some of the previous statements that have been made. I believe the remarks that follow merit the attention of my colleagues:

DONNELLY FIRST LAYMAN ON LOYOLA BOARD

Loyola College had elected Edward John Donnelly as the first layman in the 115-year history of the college to serve as a member of its board of trustees.

Mr. Donnelly has been serving as chairman of the president's board of Loyola College together with a group of Baltimore professional and business laymen. He was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of science at the college's June commencement.

A native of Baltimore, Mr. Donnelly graduated from Loyola High School and the Johns Hopkins University. In World War II he served as a lieutenant with the Navy in the civil engineering corps.

PARTNER OF FIRM

After working with the Greiner Corporation from his college days, he has risen to become a partner of that firm. He has been involved in work on the Chesapeake Bay Bridge, the Harbor Tunnel, Friendship Airport, and the Kennedy expressway. He has been asked to act as a consultant in engineering projects in more than 25 states.

Pope Paul VI named him a knight of the Holy Sepulcher in 1966. He has served professional societies of engineers, youth organizations, charities and educational institutions.

He is a board member of the Bon Secours and Maryland General hospitals. Mr. Donnelly lives in Homeland with his wife and daughters.

Article by Mrs. Anna Chennault on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of the Senate an article by Mrs. Anna Chennault that appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in the September 27, 1967, issue. Mrs. Chennault, the widow of Maj. Gen. Claire Lee Chennault, who founded the Flying Tigers in China during World War II, pointed out the great difference between the patriotism of an American soldier who fights in Vietnam and the apathy of so many of the general public on this vital issue.

In this article Mrs. Chennault cites the example of meeting a young veteran returning home and how hard she thought that it must be for him to fight for freedom and justice when so many of his own people are indifferent to this war. She ended the article by saying that she shook his hand and said:

> America welcomes you home. We are proud and grateful to you.

This excellent article contains a lesson and moral for all of those who are more concerned with their own private interests than they are with the country and its fighting men.

Mr. President, I recommend this article to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be published in the Appendix of the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HE WAS "JUST A SOLDIER COMING HOME"

(NOTE.—The author is the widow of Maj. General Claire Lee Chennault, founder of the Flying Tigers in China during World War Two.)

(By Anna Chennault)

NEW YORK.—As soon as I got on the plane I noticed him. There was something about him that told me he had just left Vietnam. I couldn't tell why. It wasn't the uniform; it was the look on his face, a mixture of relief, joy, doubt and anxiety. I have seen it so many times before among our young men returning from Vietnam.

I can always spot them, Maybe because I, too, have been to Vietnam so many times that the expressions on their faces somehow give them away.

He didn't try to hide it. He was glad to be coming back to the United States, alive and safe. But there was uncertainty in him, too. Was he really safe? He had read about the riots, the demonstrations, the card burners, and even of his countrymen delivering medicine to the North Vietnamese enemy.

And while he was fighting in the jungle, while he was looking out for Viet Cong ambushes, while he was traveling on the mine-filled roads, he wondered about this free land called America. America has room for the Beatles, the hippies, the flower children. But does it have much room for a fighting man who believes in freedom and justice and will fight and die for them?

Maybe it is difficult for some Americans, separated from the war by vast stretches of ocean, to understand what life is like in the battlefield and in the foxholes. The days are long and the nights even longer. Mud and mosquitoes, blood and heat, but not much glory.

The United Nations has rules and regulations for wars and plenty of notions as to how to settle them. But how many of the people who advocate peace have a clear understanding of the suffering and the aloneness?

Manuel Norat, a Great Hair Stylist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, last week in Cincinnati, Ohio, the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmotologists, and Proprietors International Union of America, AFL–CIO held the 1967 all-American barber spectacular and first annual U.S.A. championships in men's hairstyling. I was very pleased to learn that an Alaska man, Manuel Norat of Anchorage, won fourth place in the open free style international competition. In this competition Mr. Norat competed with barbers from around the world. He is the first from Alaska to achieve such an honor. The 49th State is fortunate to have such fine representation. We are indeed proud of his achievement. The winner of the championship was Mr. Daniel Ruidant of Belgium.

Mr. Norat will ge making a further contribution to Alaska and to men's hairstyling. He has been designated as a superior hairstylist qualified to conduct advanced training classes for barbers. This November he will begin the first classes of this kind in Alaska. Conducted by the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmotologists, and Proprietors International Union of America, AFL–CIO, this training will upgrade the skills of the profession in Alaska.

Not only is Manuel Norat a great hair stylist; he is a distinguished Alaskan and American, and a very fine gentleman.

I congratulate Manuel Norat on these accomplishments. They are a fine contribution to his State.

Nebraska's Achievements in Education, Competition, and Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, the First Conressional District of Nebraska has had occasion to feel great pride in the accomplishments of three of its citizens who have been brought to national attention during recent months. Two of its young people have been a particular source of pride.

Jennifer Reinke, age 14, of Deshler, Nebr., won the 40th Annual National Spelling Bee in June of this year. Before competing in the national contest here in Washington, Jennifer met and defeated competitors on the county, district, and State levels.

We are equally proud of Kenneth Cline, age 13, of Lincoln, Nebr. On August 19 of this year Ken won the National Soap Box Derby contest. In addition to winning the race itself, Ken also won the best design trophy. He says that he spent over 1,400 hours building his car. It has a 15-coat handrubbed lacquer finish, rabbit fur upholstery, adjustable suspension system and a dual-cable adjustable angle brake. Ken is going to be a designer and racer of sports cars someday.

Young people such as Jennifer and Ken are the key to the future progress of our Nation.

The first district can also point with great pride to William E. Galbraith of Beemer, Nebr., who was recently elected American Legion Commander. Commander Galbraith's filling of this post follows a career of service within the Legion organization itself and in his own community. In 1965 he received the School Bell Award from the Nebraska State Education Association for outstanding contributions as a layman to the cause of education, and the Schoolmasters Award for similar service.

He has been both schoolteacher and farmer and is now managing his own livestock feeder business in addition to participating in the direction of the First Fidelity Insurance Co., of Nebraska, and the Community Development Corporation.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that Nebraska's pride in these three citizens is well founded. The standards of excellence in achievement they have established, both teenagers and adult, reflect a willingness to serve and to work. Standards such as these have produced American individuality and excellence in the past. This country needs more of this kind of performance.

Carl T. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Huntsville, Ala., lost one of its most industrious citizens in the death of Carl T. Jones.

He provided confidence, ability, leadership and determination for almost every worthwhile endeavor to improve the civic and business life of the rapidly growing Huntsville area.

I was pleased to work with him on numerous occasions because he so eagerly shouldered responsibility and pushed ahead to his goals. His death will leave a great void in the Huntsville area.

An editorial in the Huntsville (Ala.) Times points out that his distinguished record of services will stand as his great memorial. I want to include the editorial at this point in my remarks:

[From the Huntsville (Ala.) Times, Oct. 8, 1967]

CARL T. JONES

Carl T. Jones, as another prominent resident once described him, was "the one person in Huntsville who has had a hand in every major decision affecting the entire community in the last 20 years."

Now, as the shocking news of his unexpected death spreads through this community, that recollected quote serves perhaps best to describe this honored native son.

Carl Jones possessed complete confidence in Huntsville, in this region and in his state. That confidence, that pride, that love was in part his inheritance. He was a great-grandson of one of Madison County's early white settlers, and his family long has been an influential and landed group. But much more of that confidence was born of a brilliant and enthusiastic man's personal experience in promotion of his region.

The list of the organizations and civic enterprises he has served cannot be listed here. And the remarkable and memorable thing is that, in virtually every one of these, he sensed the potential and pressed indefatigably to see its recognition. In that spirit, he had served signally as an organizer, board member and president of the Huntsville Industrial Expansion Committee and as a director of the region's Chamber of Commerce. He was, fittingly enough, named in 1965 as the region's "Man of the Year."

But the distinguished record of his services will stand as Carl Jones' great memorial. The region's loss of him is heavy and untimely, but its gains at his hands have been almost immeasurable.

Columbus Day Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the observance of Columbus Day has come to mean more than the honoring of this visionary's lofty achievement in discovering America. It has become an occasion to mark the courage and fortitude of subsequent immigrations.

Minority groups representing millions of immigrants have come to identify with him, for his undaunted spirit was the same as that of their forebears who came to this country in search of new vistas. Whether their ancestors came to this country willingly or of necessity, the virtues that enabled Columbus to succeed still hold promise of rewards.

Our able colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, the Honorable PETER W. RODINO, has long been a champion of those who came to our shores as strangers and contributed immeasurably to our country's greatness; of those who through their toil and loyalty and devotion to America and their families have demonstrated as no "demonstration project" could, the wealth of opportunity this Nation offers; of those who transferred to their children their sense of responsibility and their ideals of good citizenship.

At a Columbus Day celebration in Detroit, Mich., on October 8, the gentleman from New Jersey eloquently expressed his deep devotion and understanding of these loyal Americans.

On this Columbus Day, I submit Mr. RODINO's remarks for the RECORD:

COLUMBUS DAY CELEBRATION

(Remarks of the Honorable PETER W. RODINO, Jr., Detroit, Mich., October 8, 1967)

I am delighted to be here with you in the Motor City to join in the annual celebration of one of the great, unexcelled moments in all recorded history—the opening of an entire new world to civilization.

From earliest boyhood, this has been a favorite holiday of mine, and with the passing years I have lost none of my youthful enthusiasm for it. I hope I never grow too old, too hardened, too blasé to enjoy and relish this festive event when we render fitting tribute to the one-time weaver from Genoa, whose vision, skill and courage made possible that great moment of discovery.

The celebration of Columbus Day traditionally serves a twofold purpose. It is an occasion for festive social gatherings, and a time for solemn contemplation. Fun and frolic have their place. So, of course, does serious thought.

And, tonight's happy occasion is one of the few bright spots in an otherwise gray and somber year.

It has been a long, distressing season of depressing events, what with the rash of rioting in our cities, the outbreak of war and tenuous truce in the middle east, and the unsilent guns and elusive peace in Viet Nam.

Clearly, the situation could be better.

And yet, for all the noisy, raucous demonstrations and counter-demonstrations; for all the violent hate-America rallies; for all the carping and criticism, I have yet to discover a better nation in all the world.

Despite its flaws and failings, the United States remains the most democratic, the most prosperous, the most forward-looking, the most humane nation on the face of the earth.

Imperfect though it may be, ours is a more perfect union than any who would belittle us have been able to create.

I do not say these things to wave a flag, although I am still old fashioned enough to believe that patriotism is not old hat.

I say these things, these complimentary things about America, because we somehow lose sight of them in the heat and fury of momentary discontent.

Not for a single instant do I doubt that the United States will endure, for this nation of ours is unique.

And, a great part of its unique quality is inextricably bound up with the boldness and daring of Christopher Columbus.

I often wonder what it must have been like, setting out to penetrate the mystery of the dark Atlantic in those three tiny ships, so pitifully frail and ill suited to the awesome challenge that lay ahead.

What faith and courage it must have taken to dare unlock the secrets of that vast, uncharted ocean—at the mercy of navigation instruments so crude and winds so capricious.

Few believed that Columbus could succeed. The wise branded him a fool, and fools thought him crazy.

To the doubters and detractors, the undaunted Columbus had a simple one-word answer:

"Adelante."

In Spanish, it means: ahead! Forward! Onward!

To himself, in his native Italian, Christoforo Colombo must have thought:

"*Vanti, Sempre Avanti!*" Onward—ever onward!

Adelante. Avanti. Onward! No matter what the language, that one word captures the spirit an echoes the everlasting significance of the legacy of this great man.

The indestructible faith, the penetrating vision, the unalterable determination of Christopher Columbus had conquered myth and mystery. The terrifying riddle of the Atlantic had been solved. The veil had been lifted. The wise who had doubted and the fools who had scoffed had been proved wrong.

With raw courage and iron will, Columbus had pressed onward, ever onward, to carry the Old World to the New World, here to begin a stirring new chapter in the story of mankind . . . for the towering achievement of Columbus did not end with discovery and exploration.

On his subsequent voyages (there were four in all), Columbus made the first attempt to colonize the lands he had discovered. In so doing, he became the father of immigration and the founder of the great melting pot that was to become America.

And so they came, year after year, the tired and the poor, the downtrodden and the oppressed, the lovers of liberty and the seekers of freedom from the Old World to the new.

They came with faith and hope in heart in search of dignity, equality and opportunity.

They brought their religion and their culture, their arts and their crafts, their skills and their ambitions—and with bare and bleeding hands they pushed the frontiers of freedom forward and they helped to make America great.

They became doctors and lawyers, businessmen and bankers, artists and musicians, teachers and professors, workers and executives.

In time of war, they proudly proved their patriotism (even as they are doing now), fighting and dying for the adopted nation they loved, that the light of liberty not be snuffed out by turbulent tyranny.

As with Columbus before them, the way to the new world was long and trying, but still they came—your fathers and mine—braving the hazards and the perils on their arduous, difficult trek from the countryside and mountainside, from city and hamlet, across the wide ocean to the land of promised opportunity.

Yes, they came, the young and the old, with a rich warmth in their souls and a determination to succeed. With their hands and their sweat, they built the great cities of America, it roads and highways, its railways and skyscrapers. And for good measure they threw in all their love and loyalty and devotion, and they became intertwined in the fabric of their adopted land and they enriched the tapestry of America's heritage.

They labored unselfishly that we who followed them would inherit the priceless gifts and treasured traditions of a free and prosperous nation.

This, my friends, is the stuff on which our forebearers were made. The spirit to get things done; the will to achieve; the determination to accomplish—this is the legacy of the immigrant to his adopted land; to the land he gave so much of himself, though he often received so little in return.

Let me emphasize this. The American of Italian heritage seeks neither favor nor reward because he is of Italian descent.

But he should not, and must not, be denied fair and just treatment because his name ends in a vowel.

His abilities should not be ignored because he is of Italian origin. He should not be bypassed for promotion, or advancement because his ancestry is Italian. His climb up the ladder of success should not be impeded by prejudice.

The American of Italian heritage should not have to be twice or three times as good as a rival in order to gain recognition; and yet we must admit that too often this is true, all too true.

Such treatment, to be sure, undermines our fundamental concepts of decency, respect for human dignity, and fair play. It makes the Bill of Rights an unpaid i.o.u., and the Declaration of Independence an uncollectable promissory note.

The practitioners of this kind of indefensible behavior ignore the powerful contributions of the Italian-rooted American community.

They choose to see only the sensational headlines that link Italian-sounding names to crime.

Because it suits their purpose, they forget that all nationalities have their bad actors, their rotten apples, their disowned and their discredited.

What a heavy cross to ask law-abiding, law-respecting Americans of Italian descent to bear!

A tiny minority, an infinitesimal fraction of evil-doers is being used to sully the reputation of a proud and wonderful ancestry. Now guilt by association is insidious—but guilt by reason of national origin, often generations removed, is worse.

We cannot, we dare not, ignore this.

As a Member of Congress, if you will pardon the personal reference, I fought for 17 years to eradicate the anti-Italian bias that was built into our Federal Immigration Act.

The quota system, based on national origin, has, with your help and the help of many enlightened people, at last been scrapped, and we no longer have to live with the smug implication that the people of one country are better and more welcome in the United States than the people of other countries.

Good fruit, they say, needs more time to ripen. If so, the democratizing of our immigration laws must certainly be a prize melon!

But the important point is that victory was achieved, the wrong was recognized and corrected—through the democratic process, under law and order, and within the framework of our established Government.

I think this is pertinent to the problem we presently face among groups demanding immediate results and instance miracles. The justness of a cause does not always turn the wheels of progress as quickly as we would like, even in an age of supersonic travel and speed-of-light communication. Perservance, determination and patience are those Columbian qualities so necessary and essential to the ultimate victory over bigotry and racism.

This casts light upon another marathon campaign I have been waging to right a wrong of long standing—to establish Columbus Day as a national holiday.

Congratulations are certainly in order for your fine work here in Michigan in observing Columbus Day as a State holiday. But a State holiday and a national holiday are never the same. Even though 37 other States now mark this important date in history, none of these observances can give to Columbus Day the measure of respect and importance it justly deserves.

The Nation owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the Americans of Italian descent, who almost singlehandedly have kept alive the tradition of a Columbus Day observance, and who have championed its growth and prominence as a holiday of consequence and meaning.

It is not, however, and it should not be, a holiday solely for Americans of Italian heritage. It should and must be a holiday for all Americans who are justly proud of their common heritage; a common heritage that began in the early dawn of October 12, 1492, when that stalwart Genoese bent his knee to the earth of the new world and prayerfully thanked God for the divine guidance that carried him and his crew safely across the Atlantic.

Last Wednesday it was my privilege to deliver the opening speech at a public hearing called by the House Judiciary Subcommittee to help decide whether Columbus Day should be a national holiday.

I said then that I could think of no reason why it should not.

And I emphasized that whether Columbus was actually the first, or second, or even the third voyager to reach these shores is purely academic and totally irrelevant. It substracts nothing from the intrepid admiral's daring and determination. It detracts nothing from the everlasting significance of his unique and towering achievement.

I outlined for the Judiciary Subcommittee my dream of a Columbus Day observance as a multipurpose national holiday.

It would recognize Christopher Columbus, his heroic voyage and his historic discovery.

It would be a day on which all Americans could reaffirm their faith in the future and express their willingness to face with confidence the imponderables of unknown tomorrows, in the spirit of Columbus.

Further, Columbus Day would be a perfect occasion for the Nation to pause each year to pay homage to the cause and challenge of discovery, invention and exploration. It would be a fitting time to review our progress in the search for technological advances to improve our way of life; to evaluate our gains in the patient quest for cures to diseases that kill and cripple; to apprise the wondrous probes into the vast void of outer space, and the still unknown secrets of the ocean depths.

Finally, Columbus Day would be a day to honor immigrants of all nationalities and to acknowledge their contributions to the building of a strong, just and prosperous United States of America.

President Kennedy correctly called us "a nation of immigrants", and the Congress already has acted to establish Ellis Island as a permanent reminder of our indebtedness to those who came from foreign soil and who gave their brain and their brawn—and not infrequently, their lives—that their adopted land could grow and flourish.

Just as George Washington is called the "Father of our country", so Christopher Columbus deservedly should be remembered as the "Father of immigration", for it was he, and no other, who made the first attempts at colonization in the new world.

In honoring our immigrants on Columbus Day we will do more than show our gratitude for their countless contributions to a better, safer America.

We will be simultaneously striking a powerful blow against discrimination and the intolerable prejudice of those who insist upon judging a man by where he comes from, or where his parents or their parents came from, without regard for individual ability, integrity, loyalty or any other distinguishing and commendable characteristics.

The observance of Columbus Day as a national holiday will, I am certain, prove to be an effective instrument to blunt the vestiges of discrimination, prejudice and bigotry, and it will complement and enhance our calendar of national holidays.

I am happy to report to you this evening that we are making headway. I know that we made a favorable impression upon the Judiciary Committee, for the witnesses who followed me were many in number and imposing, even as they were eloquent and articulate.

And I would not be surprised if this Columbus Day celebration turns out to be historic, although for a reason you might not have expected. This may mark the last Columbus Day as a State holiday.

I sincerely hope that by next year Columbus Day will be observed by all Americans, from coast to coast, as a national holiday. Columbus Day deserves this honor and prestige.

It will truly be a holiday for all Americans. But I have no doubt that Americans of Italian heritage will honor it with just a little extra show of love and just a little additional feeling of reverence, respect and heartfelt warmth.

Thank you.

The Great Accomplishments of Ray Charles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I have recently learned that during the summer, the city of Los Angeles formally adopted a resolution declaring Ray Charles Day in Los Angeles. In view of the inspirational way in which he has overcome handicaps, I am delighted that he was given this recognition. His great success in the world of entertainment is well known, but it is less well known that despite his own blindness, he has found time to participate in various charitable endeavors.

Ray Charles is chairman of the Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, raising funds for research for this thus far incurable blood disease, and has assisted the Christmas Seal Foundation, Radio Free Europe, Children's Asthma Research, United Way, the Heart Association and Armed Forces Radio Service, and has given concerts to our servicemen.

Born to poverty and blind since the age of seven, Ray Charles has conquered handicaps which would have floored any person except the most indomitable. He has used his natural talents and has honed them to a sharp perfection.

He has many imitators, but none can match the individuality of his style. Frank Sinatra has aptly referred to him as "the giant of our profession."

The pain of his early life and the hardships he has overcome are part of the Ray Charles sound. The term "soul singing" seems to have been coined for him.

He now lives on the west coast with a lovely wife and three fine sons who he cannot see physically. However, Ray Charles has a sixth sense which is like an inner eye with which he can see more deeply than many of us who lack his sensitivity. I join with many of my colleagues in wishing him many more years of satisfaction and solid accomplishment.

Mrs. D. W. Bond, of Jackson, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY BLANTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding longtime farm leaders of my district passed away last Friday.

Mrs. D. W. Bond, of Jackson, has led a life of dedication to her community and to her State and to the farming people everywhere. She was 86 years old when she died, yet she has been active in the Madison County Farm Bureau until quite recently.

Mrs. Bond was a charter member of the Madison County Farm Bureau, and has been its secretary and a director since its beginning. She had been on the board of the Tennessee Farm Bureau ever since it was founded.

In 1924, she was chairman of the Women's Department of Tennessee, and promoted farm women throughout the State. She served as director on the Tennessee Rural Health Improvement Association, the Southern Region of American Farm Bureau Women, Tennessee Mental Health Association, Tennessee Library Committee, and various committees and boards in West Tennessee and the State.

"Progressive Farmer" magazine named her the "Woman of the Year" in 1945, and she has been recognized throughout the South and the Nation by awards, certificates of achievement, and recognition and other honors.

She was one of the early organizers of the National Cotton Council, and a charter member of the Mid-South Cotton Growers Association.

The people of Jackson, and the State of Tennessee are deeply saddened at the passing of one of our most outstanding women leaders, one who devoted her life to rural improvement.

House Republicans Stumble on Food-Aid Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, once again the Congress is faced with a major issue in combatting human misery.

This challenge for emergency food and medical aid was recently discussed in a column appearing in the Evening Star. Again, it appears the Republicans have chosen to turn down the plea from hapless Americans.

Richard Wilson, in the following column, aptly points out that the Republicans have learned nothing from their rat control fiasco. I commend his column to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Oct. 9, 1967]

HOUSE REPUBLICANS STUMBLE ON FOOD-AID ISSUE

Republicans in the House, after reversing themselves on a federal rat-control measure, slipped on the blinders again quite naturally and unaffectedly where hunger and malnutrition in the United States are concerned.

The House Agriculture Committee has set aside by a vote of 23-to-7 a bill supported by both Mississippi Democratic senators to study starvation and provide up to $75 million for food and medical attention for the undernourished.

This measure resulted from disclosures that in Mississippi and elsewhere in numerous other states millions of children and adults were, for various reasons, not benefitted by food distribution and health programs initiated 35 years ago to carry out the common will that no one in such a rich country as this should go to bed hungry.

It must be said for the Mississippi Democratic Senators, John Stennis and James O. Eastland, that after at first bristling over disclosures that thousands of children are slowly starving in their state, they recognized the condition and moved to do something about it.

Some Republicans have not been as quick to learn. Their experience with the rat control bill taught nothing. After laughing rat control out of the House, 42 moderate and urban Republicans found themselves so badly bitten that they reversed themselves and enabled the House to approve a $40 million two-year plan for rat control in city slums.

A similar measure has been passed in the Senate and a difference must now be resolved on what agency will handle the rat-control program.

Moderate Republicans are now trying to rescue the Stennis legislation for food and medical aid for the forgotten and hungry children who have fallen through the slats of badly administered state and federal food-aid programs.

Speaking of reluctant members of his own party and Southern Democrats, Rep. Albert Quie, R-Minn., said, "They may be able to get by not taking care of rats, but when you have starving Americans, that's one thing we cannot tolerate." Quie and other Republicans are trying to revive the program as an emergency aid measure in the poverty bill.

This controversy reveals again the fatal fault in the conventional Republican approach to human problems, which has not been corrected in 20 years of trying by the moderates and plays a large, and perhaps the controlling part, in freezing the GOP into its minority political position.

The fault grows out of the defensive attitude that this is a great and strong country and that those who find it wanting in some respects wish to cause trouble, upset the apple cart and perhaps even change the whole American system. They are thus to be resisted as dangerous radicals or careless tinkerers who would aimlessly or willfully foul up the whole works.

What the conventional Republicans have failed to recognize fully and emphasize sufficiently is that a modern technocratic society benefits the vast majority but leaves pockets and fringes of human misery, maladjustment and deprivation which add up to an impressive total. Translated into human terms these pockets and fringes in their totality become an embarrassment of large proportions in a rich country, and to do nothing about them or accept them as the unavoidable fall-out of progress, gives those who do so a heartless countenance which is a heavy political debit.

The problem is no better illustrated than in the matter of unemployment. Unemployment for heads of families who wish work is actually now at the practical minimum in an economic set-up where movement from one job to another provides a fluid labor supply.

But, in addition, there are more than 2 million who cannot find work because they are not qualified or are not physically adapted or trained, including some hundreds of thousands who do not wish to work or do not have such rudimentary requirements as how to speak or write English intelligibly, or who have prison records unacceptable to employers.

Not to do anything about this merely sweeps under the rug a serious human problem, not to say that what is swept under the rug may be the seeds of a whirlwind.

To get back to the hungry and starving, these people are in the pockets and fringes of human misery of the abundant society. If the Republicans wish to improve their dour countenance they could well follow the lead of Quie.

Resource Conservation and Development Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, in several areas of this Nation of abundant natural resources, the economic opportunities of the citizens do not match the potential provided by land and water. There are not enough jobs; farm income is low; industry and marketing facilities are inadequate. To bring these areas and their people into the mainstream of American economic progress requires special efforts and good coordination of those efforts.

An outgrowth of the soil and water conservation movement is providing this spark in 41 areas of about 2 million acres each—resource conservation and development projects, authorized by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. These projects draw on the experiences of these decades of conservation which have sown that where land is used and treated properly, where water is managed carefully, benefits go beyond the individual property to broader economic improvement in entire communities.

In these projects all segments of the community—rural, suburban, and urban—work together to solve local problems and improve resource use. Programs of Government agencies already at work increase their efforts, and leadership is provided by the Soil Conservation Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. All together, it is a highly effective team, whose efforts can already be measured on the land and in the pocketbook.

In the 20 multicounty areas authorized for USDA operations assistance by July 1, 1,894 specific measures had been activated by that date; 473 of these have already been completed and 520 others are being installed.

The project measures cover a wide range of activities to conserve, develop, and improve the natural resources, provide more employment, improve public facilities, and better community life in the project areas. For example, 387 measures concern development of recreation facilities, to help meet our growing needs for outdoor recreation and at the same time provide a source of added income. Nearly 200 have to do with multiple-purpose water developments to provide water for farm, city, and industrial uses; water for wildlife and recreation; and protection against flooding. Eighty-three measures are designed to increase processing and marketing facilities that will make use of local farm crops and woodlands.

After all measures are installed, and developments completed, more than 47,000 man-years of continuing annual employment are expected to be provided.

Five additional projects have moved into the operations stage since July 1. In the remaining 16 projects, local leaders have been at work, taking stock of the natural resources of their areas and planning together for development and wise use of those resources.

The R.C. & D. project approach is quickly proving its merit as a way of molding local resources and local initiative to make communities better places to live and work. It puts life and action into the rural areas development concept.

Proposed Adirondack Mountains National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, a recent proposal for the establishment of a national park in the Adirondack Mountains of New York has occasioned considerable concern and comment from the people of the area. An excellent editorial entitled "Time for Action!" in the Tupper Lake Free Press sets forth the threat that this proposal holds for the economy of the village of Tupper Lake. It was this same community that was sorely threatened in 1965 by the Federal Government's closing of its Sunmount Veterans Hospital. Again, this community sees itself threatened by yet another possible Federal action. This editorial, together with my response to it contained in a letter to the editor of the Tupper Lake Free Press, sets for the concern of the community and my own position on this proposal:

[From the Tupper Lake Free Press, Sept. 14, 1967]

TIME FOR ACTION!

The more we read about the plans for the proposed Adirondack Mountains National Park and the persuasive line being followed to "sell" the idea to the public, the more concerned we become that this is not just a far-out and impossible dream which will sputter out after the novelty wears off . . .

Whether we like it or not—it can happen here, and it begins to appear that it WILL happen, unless opposition on a grand scale materializes . . . The wishes of the people who call the Adirondacks home, and who make their living here, will apparently go unconsidered. The proponents of the national park idea contend that it is essential to preserve the wilderness character and "natural wonders" of the region; that at the present rate of land acquisition, under forest preserve status it "would take 125 years to acquire another one million acres" within the Adirondack park blue line, in which time, because of the rocketing climb in population pressure and "greater demands for economic exploitation of the private lands", such lands would be made unsuitable for either forest preserve or national park uses.

A question-and-answer document released recently by the national park promoters dismisses New York State's present Adirondack State Park as "little more than a public relations tag" and charges that "the park does not exist . . . It is a myth" . . . This should come as something of a surprise to those interests which have bucked the rigid "forever wild" provisions pertaining to the state-owned Adirondack timberlands, and which have been in effect for three-quarters of a century . . .

The plan provides that the legislation to authorize establishment of the national park would also provide for the Secretary of the Interior to promulgate zoning standards, formulated in cooperation with the towns, to guide town zoning within the authorized national park boundaries and at park entrances . . . Incorporated towns outside, but adjacent to the boundaries of the authorized park would be "encouraged to improve their zoning ordinances" so as "to prevent developments incompatible with the purposes of the national park" . . . "Within the specified village and resort exclusions or enclaves, the Secretary of the Interior's authority to acquire land by condemnation would be suspended "unless zoning failed to comply with the approved standards, or unless a property owner failed to comply with town zoning consistent with the approved standards, or unless necessary to provide public access to lakes, streams or other important park features".

The procedure is spelled out quite definitely. Private homes within the proposed park "built prior to a date specified in the legislation" would be permitted to remain, with "essential surrounding land, usually not exceeding three acres" . . . Existing commercial ventures not consistent with park purposes (including subdivision of land for sale and commercial timber production) could be acquired by the Federal Government for park purposes by condemnation, if necessary . . . Undeveloped land would be acquired for park purposes as rapidly as possible, by transfer, purchase, exchange, donation or condemnation . . . "Purchases are negotiated on the basis of competent appraisals of fair market value by qualified, impartial real estate appraisers familiar with property in the area" . . . The plan generously adds that "reserved use and occupancy by the owner for life, or for a term of years, can be allowed if purchase on this basis will meet the needs of the Service and are justified in cost . . . in general, eminent domain proceedings are utilized only as a last resort, when all other reasonable efforts or negotiation have failed" . . . In brief, you'll sell, whether you wish to or not, and at a price regarded as "fair" by government-paid appraisers, —whether or not it's "fair" by your standards . . .

All hunting and trapping would be banned within the park . . . To ease the blow to towns which would lose heavily in state taxes paid on lands within the town limits "a limited series of payments in lieu of taxes" would be arranged "until increased income from the park establishment and operation would make the local communities economically viable" . . .

That's the picture . . . Possibly for some areas the proposed Adirondack Mountains National Park would make no great difference economically. For Tupper Lake, insofar as we can see, it would be a disaster. This community is situated just outside the proposed park boundary, and would enjoy none of the recreation development possibilities of the villages in the "resort enclaves", —Lake Placid, Saranac and Old Forge . . . On the contrary, with the forced sale of the big park lands, by condemnation procedure or otherwise, —Whitney Park, Litchfield Park and others which for many years have assured a continuing supply of raw materials for the forest products industry, —Tupper Lake would face the bleak prospects of closed mills, vanished payrolls and a sleighride downhill to the status of another Derrick.

We're still not convinced that the Adirondack National Park will become a reality, provided enough opposition to the project develops . . . A couple of years ago this community faced up to another potential disaster when Uncle Sam decided to close Sunmount VA Hospital. The fight which Tupper made at that time didn't save the hospital as a Veterans Administration Facility, but it DID spark the change-over to state operation, preventing the loss of the biggest single employer in the area and giving Tupper an institution which promises to grow and develop with the passing years.

The same community-wide action is essential now . . . We strongly urge our readers to write Congressman Robert C. McEwen, Governor Rockefeller, State Senator Ronald Stafford and Assemblyman Glenn Harris, registering opposition to the proposal and calling on them to use every means at their disposal to prevent its becoming a reality . . . If you don't feel like composing a letter of protest, and you agree with the sentiments in this editorial, —clip it out and mail it to them, along with a brief note to the effect that it sums up the way most of us here feel about this important question . . .

Economically, this region has little going for it other than lumbering and the resort trade . . . With lumbering and forest products manufacture killed by national park restrictions. Tupper's future would be pretty much all behind it . . .

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., October 4, 1967.

Mr. Louis J. Simmons,
Editor, Tupper Lake Free Press,
Tupper Lake, N.Y.

Dear Lou: I noted with interest, appreciation and agreement every word contained in your outstandingly excellent editorial entitled "Time for Action!"

It has always seemed to me, as a native Northern New Yorker and one who has spent over half of his adult life in legislative bodies, that too many plans and suggestions for what to do with the Adirondacks come from everywhere but the Adirondacks. The Park Avenue friends of the forest are ever ready to suggest what would be best for the Adirondacks. Usually, as an after thought, they have some form of addendum to point out that it would also be a great boon to the people living in the Adirondacks.

I am sure that I represent the feelings of many of my North Country constituents when I react with less than enthusiasm to the proposal for the Adirondack Mountains National Park.

Every facet of this proposal does violence to the interests of the area and its people, and, yes, I would say both its year-round resident population and visitors as well. The National Park proposal does not mean increased recreational use—it means less. A plan that would ban all hunting and trapping is to me inconceivable of having any sound conservation or economic value. To allow a deer herd to become so numerous that starvation would be the only harvester, is so unenlightened as to be appalling.

Your editorial made many excellent points, including the matter of payments in lieu of taxes. I am sure that with many of your other readers, I share a skepticism about the "increased income" that would come from this proposed park.

Our North Country has long felt the adverse economic effect of an already too restrictive policy on the use of our forest lands. It is my view that the proposed park would be a further and gigantic step in the wrong direction.

In conclusion, I am pleased to report that a number of your readers accepted your suggestion that they write to their Congressman. Without exception, those letters expressed strong disapproval of the proposed national park. These letters, and the excellent editorial that prompted them, were appreciated by the writer of this letter.

Sincerely yours,
Robert C. McEwen.

Maine Makes Mini-Excursion in Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce in the Congressional Record an article published in the Portland Sunday Telegram on September 10, 1967, which describes the active interest and participation of the State of Maine in the Partners of the Alliance, a program initiated by the Department of State through its Alliance for Progress commitment.

The article is based on a recent 5-day visit by Maine's Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis to Rio Grande do Norte, the Brazilian State designated as Maine's sister State in the Partners of the Alliance program.

The Governor was accompanied by a six-man study team representing business, educational, and research interest in Maine. This group was able to observe firsthand some of the economic problems facing Brazilians in that section of South America and to discuss with officials of Rio Grande do Norte possible future trade agreements and cultural exchanges with the State of Maine.

As a result of the Brazilian trip, some 42 specific projects are under consideration, which may be of mutual benefit to the State of Maine and Rio Grande do Norte.

The active participation of State officials and private industry in the development of mutual foreign aid programs with their counterparts in other countries is the modus operandi of the Partners of the Alliance program.

I fully share Governor Curtis' enthusiasm for this program and am pleased to present the following newspaper article for publication in the Record:

MAINE MAKES MINI-EXCURSION IN FOREIGN AID

(By William A. Langley)

Augusta.—Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis considers Maine's partnership with her sister state in Brazil as a mini-excursion in foreign policy.

Although Maine's membership in the Partners of the Alliance is viewed mainly as a "people-to-people project." Curtis has thrown the state's official support behind the program.

Maine was the 33rd state in the nation to join the Alliance, but Curtis is the only U.S. governor to visit a Brazilian state in connection with the program.

The Alliance matches states in both countries to foster progress and exchanges in education, medicine, agriculture, business, fishing and cultural pursuits.

After a recent five-day visit to Rio Grande do Norte (Great River of the North), Curtis sees the Alliance as an opportunity for the people of Maine to undertake a definite project that would in a small way aid U.S. foreign policy.

"The people of Rio Grande do Norte want our help, but not any handouts. They are willing to give us something in return."

Curtis went to Rio Grande do Norte with a six-man study team for Maine. The team stayed two weeks to check their respective areas of interest and on the basis of the trip Federal Government officials have notified Curtis that Maine has one of the strongest missions in Brazil.

"The Brazilians are serious about this mission," Curtis says. "Rio Grande do Norte is just one little state, but if you extend the concept of mutual help to include all the states in the U.S. and Brazil the program could be tremendous.

"If it is only half way successful we would have accomplished an extraordinary job.

"Actually, my part in the program is rather small, but I just want to make sure the State of Maine is officially behind it. I'm more concerned with the private sector of our economy and society getting involved."

The Maine study team included Alan Rubin, vice president of the Gardner Shoe Co., chairman; T. Headley Reynolds, president of Bates College; Dr. Clement Hiebert, Portland surgeon; Robert Dow, research director of the Maine Sea and Shore Fisheries; Shepard Lee, Auburn businessman; and Kenneth Gray, photographer for the Maine Department of Agriculture.

Gray went along to make a movie of the program which will be shown on National Educational Television next winter. Maine is also the first to make a film of the Alliance at work.

As a result of the trip, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Walfredo Gurgel, governor of Rio Grande do Norte, will visit Maine in April and a Brazilian study team will come here sometime after that.

So far the program has cost the state only $600 because most of the funds come from private sources.

On the basis of the recent study trip, Rubin said there are 42 specific projects being discussed for implementation.

"We're interested in reverse projects. In other words we're also interested in what Rio Grande do Norte can do for us."

Some of the projects under study are the exchange of about six highway engineers; student exchanges on the secondary and college level; crash training programs for doctors and nurses and medical information exchanges; business projects; and cultural exchanges.

There are 5,725 miles of road in Rio Grande do Norte, but only 178 miles are paved.

Curtis says there are "tremendous business incentives being set up in Brazil for U.S. businessmen." He singles out tapioca flour, salt, and one of the world's best grades of cotton as being of interest to Maine businessmen.

The governor also points out that Rio Grande do Norte has no fine flour mills, shoe factories or poultry industry. "The idea is to have Maine businessmen invest with a Latin American partner."

The projects under discussion include providing X-ray machines, screens, beds, examination tables, lamps, wheelchairs, and oxygen equipment for hospitals; library, water pump, files, desks, memograph equipment, sewing machines, chairs, classrooms and various construction materials for schools; and sports areas, audio visual materials, kitchen equipment, sanitation programs, printing machines, wood working tools, and other construction materials for a variety of other institutions.

Most of the sites were visited by the Maine study team, and the projects have been assigned priority numbers.

Rio Grande do Norte forms the northeast corner of Brazil, much like Maine forms the northeast corner of the U.S.

Its total area is 20,469 square miles and its population is 1,254,000. Curtis says it is 20 per cent smaller than Maine in size but has 20 per cent more people.

Bounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the north and east, it has a tropical climate with an average high temperature of 84 degrees in the dry season and a low average of 73 degrees in the rainy season.

The capital and principle port in Natal, founded in 1599, with a population of 200,000 persons.

Rio Grande do Norte contains 61 inhabitants per square mile, with 62 per cent of the population being rural and 38 per cent urban.

The State's main product is sea salt but it also produces cotton, sisal, wax and has the largest deposits of tungsten in Brazil.

Although the illiteracy rate is nearly 70 per cent, school construction is on the rise.

Rio Grande do Norte has one university, located in Natal, with schools of law, medicine, engineering, pharmacy, philosophy, odontology, economics and social services.

Malnutrition is reported too high among infants because pregnant mothers receive almost no prenatal care.

Administration of the state is conducted by a governor and legislative congress represented by 40 deputies. The governor is elected by the people for a five-year term and may not succeed himself.

Lieutenant Knadle, of Maryland, Dies in Viet Ambush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Robert E. Knadle, a 22-year-old soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

LIEUTENANT KNADLE IN VIET AMBUSH—CAMP SPRINGS OFFICER WENT TO UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

CAMP SPRINGS, MD., October 11.—A 22-year-old second lieutenant who spent two years at the University of Maryland before enlisting in the Army was killed in Vietnam Monday, the Defense Department reported today.

He was Robert E. Knadle, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. Knadle, of 5400 Henderson road.

PLANNING TO STAY ON

The Defense Department said Lieutenant Knadel died of gunshot wounds received Monday when a truck in which he was riding was ambushed in the central coast area near Phu Cat.

He had been in Vietnam since January and was planning to extend his tour of duty to eighteen months, his father said tonight.

"He was very proud of his work" Mr. Knadle said. "He thought that it was worthwhile." Lieutenant Knadle was in an engineering battalion which maintains Route 1, the coastal highway.

Before enlisting in January, 1966, Lieutenant Knadle had spent two years at the University of Maryland, where he was majoring in civil engineering.

OFFICER TRAINING

After basic training at Fort Jackson, S.C., the young soldier who would have been 22 on October 19, underwent officer training at Fort Belvoir, Va.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Susan Knadle, a graduate student at George Washington University, and a brother, Roger Knadle, a high school senior.

A Proposal To Bring the Remains of Christopher Columbus to Washington, D.C., for Permanent Burial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on this Columbus Day, 455 years after the discovery of America, I wish to join my colleagues in commemorating the courage and daring of this great Italian explorer.

He faced opposition, fear, superstition, and an uncharted sea to discover a new world of opportunity for all men who searched for a better life.

Christopher Columbus is buried today in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. Because his vast discovery brought the world to the North American Continent, I am today proposing that our Government enter into preliminary discussions with the Government of the Dominican Republic for the purpose of exploring the possibility of transferring the remains of Christopher Columbus to a permanent resting place in Washington, D.C., so that a suitable monument to his vision and genius may be built and shared by all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I am one of the cosponsors of legislation to make Columbus Day a legal holiday in the United States, as well. This legislation is overdue. We, who owe so much to this outstanding Italian explorer and the men who braved the unknown Atlantic to follow him, should at the earliest opportunity make every effort to announce to the world our debt to his genius.

A permanent memorial to Christopher Columbus would be a beacon for all who envision a better, richer world. Washington, D.C., the capital of the free world is the logical place for such a monument.

Columbus is part of each of us. A monument dedicated to his greatness will reflect in some small measure our depth of appreciation and gratitude.

He deserves to take his place among the heroes who have brought the full benefits of the North and South American Continents to men of all races, creeds, and nationalities around the world.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope our Government will seriously consider undertaking these discussions at the earliest opportunity.

The Squeeze Play in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion we must give priority in the Federal budget to a solution to water and air pollution.

An editorial in this morning's Chicago Tribune bluntly describes the buckpassing that is going on in Washington. The adverse affect of water and air pollution reaches millions of our citizens. It is a far more urgent target for Federal action than many of the dubious political spending schemes of the so-called Great Society.

As long as the budget-cutting mood prevails in Washington we can effectively cut nonessential and duplicating programs. As the major nondefense program we must augment our efforts against water and air pollution.

To emphasize this point, I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point:

THE SQUEEZE PLAY IN WASHINGTON

The question of dumping harbor dredgings into Lake Michigan is a simple one. The practice is extremely dangerous, foolish, and shortsighted. Yet the army corps of engineers has informed a congressional committee that the dumping would be continued for three more years. Brig. Gen. Harry G. Woodbury passed the buck to the federal bureau of the budget. The bureau, he said, had ruled against the costlier method of disposing of harbor muck on land.

It may be doubted that the general would have been so cocksure if he had been speaking for the corps of engineers alone. Apparently he was speaking for the whole Johnson administration, which is engaged in a tug-of-war with Congress on a proposal to increase income taxes. The House ways and means committee has delayed action on the President's tax bill.

The Johnson administration in turn has put the squeeze on Congress by threatening to defer 50 per cent of highway spending. Secretary of Defense McNamara has put a freeze on 340 million dollars appropriated for military construction projects in this country. A high government official told a Tribune reporter that the President is prepared to impose further cutbacks unless Congress enacts the 10 per cent income tax surcharge.

The Tribune has protested a thousand times against the dangers of inflation caused by government deficits. We believe, however, that each government spending program should be considered on its merits. The Johnson budget of 136.5 billion dollars is loaded with programs far less important than preserving the Great Lakes.

Gen. Woodbury reported at Tuesday's hearing that the extra cost of landfill disposal of dredgings from the 15 most polluted harbors of the Great Lakes would amount to 95 million dollars in the next five years. This would be 19 million dollars a year—a trifling sum as money is reckoned in Washington. On the same day that Gen. Woodbury was testifying, the Senate approved appropriations totaling nearly 4.8 million dollars for public works and operating expenses of the Atomic Energy commission.

The Johnson administration's recent threats to economize are laughable in view of the way the same administration pours money down ratholes all over the world. Almost every economy move has been against programs that directly affect the welfare of taxpayers.

Members of Congress from the Great Lakes states should be influential enough to overrule the corps of engineers and the budget bureau and forbid any more dumping of dredged material into the lakes. If pollution of the lakes is not stopped, the eventual cost of restoring them to life will be staggering.

Congress also should take a new look at the clean water restoration act which was passed with much fanfare last year. It authorized matching grants to local agencies for sewage treatment works and other anti-pollution measures. This was one deserving administration program, and there were few objections to the plan to spend 450 million dollars in 1968 and larger sums in later years.

Several cities already have committed themselves to bond issues to take advantage of the grants, but Congress has lost interest in clean water. The appropriation bill for the first year of the program has been cut to 203 million dollars in the House.

There is only one way to stop pollution of lakes and streams and that is to stop loading them with wastes. The space program has more glamor than anti-pollution measures, but we doubt that it is more important.

Space Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I recognized the important step taken on Tuesday when President Johnson signed the treaty banning weapons from space. Space exploration is the realization of one of mankind's oldest dreams. Thus it is appropriate that the President invited all nations to join in a partnership to expand our knowledge.

Relevant to this, and under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the Record the following editorial from Tuesday's New York Times:

Space Treaty

The ceremonies in Washington, Moscow and London putting the space treaty into effect mark not only the first major East-West agreement since the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963 but a potential starting point for an even more momentous accord.

As President Johnson said at the White House ceremony, the first decade of the space age was one of "competitive spacemanship" by the United States and Russia; the next decade should be one of partnership between them "and among all nations under the sun and stars." This, of course, was not the first such appeal directed by the President to the Russians. But recent statements by the Soviet Union's leading space scientist, Prof. Leonid Sedov, indicate that the Russians too may be coming around to the conclusion that the costs of going it alone to the moon and beyond outweigh the dimming propaganda magic.

The international space treaty is a first basic charter for space law and a probing of space "for the benefit and in the interests of all countries." The Sputnik psychology of the past is outmoded. What the world now seeks from both space powers is a new approach less costly in money and, potentially, in lives.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join my colleagues in paying tribute today to Christopher Columbus and all our good Italo-American citizens and friends on Columbus Day. I am happy to be a sponsor of H.R. 5057, which I introduced on February 8, 1967, a bill declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday, to be known as Columbus Day.

Columbus Day, as now celebrated by 35 States, including my own Pennsylvania, falls on October 12. This day stands as a memorial and honor to Christopher Columbus. This great Italian discovered and brought to Europe's attention the vast American Continent. Columbus' voyage was severely difficult and only the enthusiasm of this powerful leader kept the expedition on its course.

Four hundred and seventy-five years ago today was an important day for Americans when Columbus actually discovered America. In this age of exciting space explorations, we should pause to recall and pay tribute to Columbus, because his journey stands as a monument of human courage, bravery and enthusiasm. He was a powerful leader who kept his expedition of three ships and handpicked crew of 90 on its course, in spite of extreme hardships, and unfavorable winds. Although Columbus had made numerous voyages to the Mediterranean, Iceland, and the African coast, and studied under the most advanced geographers and navigators of the day, his determination in seeking a western route to Asia led to his landing on our shores on October 12, 1492.

More recent years have seen an increasing appreciation of this great Italian navigator. In 1892, 400 years after the discovery of this continent, President Benjamin Harrison recommended to the American people that October 12 be a general holiday. President Harrison called for Americans, as much as possible, to "cease from toil" and devote themselves to such exercises as may best express honor to the discoverer and their appreciation of the great achievements of the four completed centuries of American life.

Keeping in mind the spirit of President Harrison's appeal, and also as a tribute to the many outstanding Italo-American citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pa., including Justice Michael A. Musmanno, Judge Ruggero J. Aldisert, Judge William F. Cercone, Charles G. Notari, Frank J. Zappala, and my good friends in the Italian Sons and Daughters of America and the Sons of Columbus, I am glad to join in paying tribute to Christopher Columbus on October 12, and strongly urge that Columbus Day be made a national holiday.

Post Office Should Issue Stamp Marking 50th Anniversary of Independence for Three Baltic States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to work toward the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp to mark the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

This proposal was originally made by the Independence for Baltic States Committee of Washington and Baltimore. This committee has informed me that approximately 283 of my colleagues in the House and 54 Members of the U.S. Senate are supporting the issuance of this stamp. This widespread support in the Congress clearly demonstrates the great deal of interest this proposal has generated.

It has come to my attention that the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee of the Post Office Department will meet on Friday, October 13, 1967, to discuss its 1968 stamp program. I would strongly urge members of this committee to give favorable consideration to the issuance of a commemorative stamp in 1968 marking the 50th anniversary of independence for the three Baltic States.

Firearms Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an excellent editorial appearing in the Manchester, N.H., Union Leader of October 4, 1967, pointing out the complete failure of the Philadelphia gun control statute.

Under that unfortunate experiment in lawmaking, crime has risen in Philadelphia, homicides have increased strikingly, law-abiding citizens have been harassed by burglars, muggers, and rapists, with no significant advance in law enforcement.

Inded, all of the 114 persons denied gun permits under the new law were subject to denial under a Pennsylvania State statute going back to 1939.

Millions of dollars that could have been used for prosecuting criminals and additional law enforcement have been diverted into a useless attempt at registration of firearms, harassment of law-abiding citizens, and destruction of the legitimate retail trade in firearms inside the city of Philadelphia.

Certainly, a law as foolish as this should give the Congress pause before it enters into enactment of legislation like the iniquitous Dodd bill, S. 1. The editorial follows:

FIREARMS LAWS

With the firearms law adopted by the city of Philadelphia, Pa., in 1965, now being offered as a model for state and federal firearms legislation, and President Johnson, through House Speaker John McCormack, arranging news conferences on gun control legislation—this is a good time to take a look at the accomplishments of the Philadelphia law.

The new Philadelphia law duplicates the Pennsylvania Uniform Firearms Act of 1939 in controls on pistols—but extends the pistol restrictions and red tape to cover also rifles, shotguns and antique firearms.

The Philadelphia law became effective in April 1965, and as 3½ months thus passed without the new regulations, and 8½ months with them, a fairer estimate of the effectiveness of the law may be made by comparing the "whole years of 1964 and 1966."

This shows that in 1964 there were 71 gun deaths, and in 1966 there were 75.

In 1964 guns accounted for 33 per cent of Philadelphia's homicides. In 1966 guns accounted for 39 per cent of the killings.

A principal supporter of the Philadelphia gun law has commented proudly that among the 114 persons denied gun permits under the new law were 30 convicted burglars, 26 persons convicted of aggravated assault or assault with intent to kill, 10 robbers, three rapists, two mental patients, and a drug addict.

All 72 of these would have been denied gun permits under the Pennsylvania state law of 1939.

Supporters of the Philadelphian gun law also point out that law violations in that city decreased 6.4 per cent in 1966, compared to 1965.

Usually not mentioned is that during 1966 some 1,000 policemen were added to the Philadelphia police force, and new anti-crime tactics put into use.

When the enthusiastic acclaim of the anti-firearms faction is brushed away, it becomes apparent that the new Philadelphia law accomplishes nothing in curbing crime that was not within the scope of the Pennsylvania law in effect since 1939.

The only effect of the new Philadelphia law has been to impose stern restrictions on ownership of firearms by law-abiding citizens and sportsmen—the same effect as all such laws aimed at firearms, instead of at the criminal use of firearms.

October 12: Legal Holiday

SPEECH
OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in support of my cosponsorship of H.R. 2372, a bill declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday, I would remind my colleagues of President Kennedy's remark:

> We are a nation of immigrants.

For the Record, I would like to explore briefly the meaning of President Kennedy's words.

The North American Continent is the home of peoples from every continent. The continent has absorbed and nurtured men and women who—for reasons as diverse as their origins—saw here promises that were absent or muted in their prior experience. So when we speak of ourselves as a nation of immigrants, the pronoun "we" extends in time to encompass not just the numbers of dreamers and doers who came to this continent and Nation; no, the small word "we" encompasses the dreams and deeds themselves.

Christopher Columbus was flesh and bone, and dream and deed. His dream and deed serve as mnemonic symbol of our commitment to the ideal that men are brothers. We need not, we should not, indulge in argument about the national composition of Columbus' crew. Nor does illumination occur in lengthy arguments about who came first to this hemisphere. We—and I mean the word in its historic sense—will be judged not by whether we established the authenticity of the Kensington stone or whether we proved beyond doubt that the first mate on the *Santa Maria* was of definable national origin. A true judgment of us must rest on whether we permitted men to dream and do, in a matrix of brotherhood.

I propose, therefore, that to declare a national holiday in the name of this ideal is part of our task as transmitters of the dream. Declaring the holiday is to remind ourselves of our task. It will not achieve it. But if this holiday contributes to our sense of ourselves as freemen pursuing diverse purposes within the pattern of common respect for diverse purpose, then it will have served its intent.

"We are a nation of immigrants" means that we are a nation of dreamers and doers, a nation in which dreamers and doers are at home in the vision of universal brotherhood.

Vietcong in Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, recently there appeared in the October 9 edition of the Washington Post an article by Mr. Joseph Alsop, which points to the progress that has been made in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam and, particularly, the outstanding job that has been done in the II Corps area by American forces.

Because successes and achievements have so frequently gone unnoticed, I feel this article is of special importance. All of us deplore and regret the casualties that are being suffered by our men in Vietnam, but when attention is focused on a particular sector of the country where heavy fighting is being waged, we should not overlook what is occurring in other regions where the threat of attack and offensive action by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces have been drastically reduced.

Because Mr. Alsop's article points to a substantial area of Vietnam where American forces are doing an outstanding job, I wanted to bring it to the attention of other Members of the House:

VIETCONG IN A DREADFUL MESS IN REGION HELD BY II CORPS

NHA TRANG, VIETNAM.—"Pray God the United States never, never gets into this kind of a stalemate!"

The young intelligence colonel gave the shortest and most vivid possible summary of the situation here in II Corps, which constitutes about half of the strategically vital central region of South Vietnam.

Six months ago, when I was last in II Corps, the VC were already in a mess here—and a mess that was all the more interesting because it seemed to predict the course of the war in other corps areas. II Corps is still predictive, and now it is fair to say that the VC here are in a dreadful, probably irreparable mess.

II Corps is predictive because of its very special geography of its corps areas. To the west are the tumbled mountains of the Anamite chain and the wide savannahs of the high plateaus. Here are few people and resources. Along the seasoact on the east are fertile, alluvial rice plains, each embayed in mountain masses, and here, in these rice plains, are just about all the population and resources.

It can be seen, then, that the enemy's big units—the North Vietnamese divisions and the supporting VC "main force" and provincial battalions—are bound to have a very thin time in II Corps whenever they lose effective access to the coastal rice plains. And this has made the coastal big units specially vulnerable.

Hence the North Vietnamese regiments of the so-called B–3 front, in their Cambodian sanctuary beyond the western frontier, have merely been contained by the American 4th Division, which guards the high plateaus. Meanwhile, the lion's share of II Corps resources—the air cavalry, the Koreans, and other allied units, as well as some good South Vietnamese outfits—have been employed to harry the enemy's big units out of the rice plains. The results are dramatic by now.

In Binhdinh Province, as already reported, what used to be the best North Vietnamese division in the South, the 3d, has all but crumbled into ruin. In Phuyen and Khanhhoa, the two regiments of the 5th North Vietnamese Division are in no better shape. And in the provinces farther to the south, although more limited resources have been available, the combined rollback and erosion of the enemy big units is also proceeding apace.

What is interesting about this process is not the fate of the big units. What is interesting rather is the effect on the VC control of the population and the VC base in the countryside, once the big units have been driven into hungry, ineffectual refuge in the mountains, where these "big brothers" can no longer give real support to their little brothers in the plains below. This could be foreseen six months ago, when there was documentary evidence that the 18th North Vietnamese Regiment was retained in Binhdinh because of pleas by the province party committee. The committee warned that the whole VC structure would be endangered if this wretched regiment, then down to 600 men, went north to safer territory to refit and pick up replacements.

What was then merely foreseeable has now begun to come to pass in deadly earnest, however. Take Phuyen Province, once the domain of the 95th Regiment of the 5th North Vietnamese Division, plus the tough 30th VC main force battalion. Soon after the Koreans pushed down into Phuyen (where the VC used to hold everything up to the suburbs of the province capital) the 95th Regiment was so badly mauled that it fled into the high mountains to lick its wounds.

That was last December. By May, captured documents show leading members of the local party network were grimly complaining that VC control had been lost in whole districts of the vital rice plains; that dire damage had been done to the VC base in the countryside by defection, capture and loss in battle of great numbers of essential cadres; and that, in short, the situation in the rice plain was near-desperate.

For this very reason, beyond doubt, the 95th Regiment got a good many hundred replacements during the spring. The coastal big units in II Corps now enjoy almost absolute replacement-priority, it noted. And what then happened to the 95th in turn indicates the kind of result this priority has thus far everywhere produced.

In brief, when brought up to strength, the regiment was ordered to descend again into the rice plain, with the prime mission of staying there permanently to aid the local VC and the secondary mission of collecting rice for its own hungry requirements. It did so, preparing a strongly fortified position in the northwest corner of the main plain. It also did some damage that could probably have been avoided by more rapid response to the intelligence. Reinforcements came, but fairly late.

Even before the reinforcements arrived, however, the Koreans and the local South Vietnamese army units had caught up with the 95th; had punished it cruelly; had driven it out of its new fortifications; and had chased it back into mountain-refuge again. In the process, a Korean regiment also trapped the 30th VC main force battalion. And in prisoners and killed, including the battalion political officer and the second in command, the Koreans destroyed just over half this veteran battalion's total strength of about 300 men.

Driven by necessity, small elements to the 95th Regiment are still trying to return to the plain in search of rice, of which they are desperately short. The fight is not over. The damage recently done is only beginning to be repaired. But the essential fact to note is that the big units were called to the rescue by the VC party apparatus in the populous areas of Phuyen, and this rescue party ignominiously failed. If rescue was so badly needed, and there is no real hope of rescue, what will be the future of the apparatus?

A Salute to Gen. Casimir Pulaski and the Polish People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to join with the Members here in paying tribute to the memory of Gen. Casimir Pulaski on the occasion of the anniversary of his death.

His role in resisting the forces oppressing his beloved Poland has been celebrated by the historians of every freedom-loving nation. Every American schoolboy has been taught the debt of gratitude that our own country owes to the contributions and courage of this great patriot. As we revere his memory, we honor through him that love of liberty and that dauntless spirit, stemming from his Polish heritage, which sent him forth to fight for freedom in the New World.

Through the centuries Poland has had its great leaders—men of extraordinary capabilities, character, and courage. Yet all of the great men of Poland, no matter how varied their spheres of influence or different their fields of endeavor, have inherited several things in common which gave them their reason for being—their love of God and their religion, their love of country, and their burning desire for its eventual liberation.

At the beginning of modern times all of western Christendom owed a debt of gratitude to Poland when King John Sobieski drove the Turks back from Vienna in 1683 in one of the most decisive victories in history. Had the gallant Sobieski failed, all Europe would have been subjected to a yoke of slavery and Christian culture would have been destroyed.

Poland's contributions to the success of the Allies during World War II, and the fight of her people to preserve western civilization once again as they did in the battle of Vienna in the 15th century, make it mandatory that all true Americans support the demands for justice for Poland in the United Nations.

The heroic stand of Poland in 1939 in the face of aggression by superior force was an example of courage unparalleled in history. Poland's contributions to the military success of the United Nations in the drive to final victory and peace, and her sacrifice in the cause of humanity, merit every consideration. We must keep the sacred pledges that were made to Poland, not only because of the debt of gratitude which the other nations of the world owe to Poland, but because of the necessity of obtaining the wholehearted cooperation of all the smaller nations who look to us for justice.

To Americans of Polish ancestry, who have contributed so much to the development of the United States, I urge you to continue your efforts to restore Poland to its prewar glory. The buoyant idealism and splendid patriotism, together with the deep Christian concept of the right, which have characterized the Polish spirit in the past, have done much for our own country and should certainly do much for Poland.

Civilization is based upon a reign of peace and justice, and for this reason America has been ennobled by the spiritual contributions of her citizens of Polish descent. By being true to their culture and their creed, Americans of Polish ancestry cannot help being true to their country. Their love of Poland and desire to make it free will only enhance their love of America. All of us might well be proud if we could contribute as much as Pulaski did to progress in the United States and peace in the world.

A True Story That Couldn't Be True

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I insert an editorial from the Sunday, October 8, 1967, Minneapolis Tribune in the Record:

A TRUE STORY THAT COULDN'T BE TRUE

Once upon a time, there was a country rocked by violence in its big cities. Some called them racial disturbances. Others said they were riots. A few called it a revolution.

The nation was shocked, to put it mildly. "The greatest crisis since the Civil War," was how the politicians described it. The pollsters went out and found that the people wanted the government to solve these problems. The politicians responded with a multitude of proposals . . . a Marshall Plan for the cities . . . tax incentives to stimulate ghetto housing construction . . . massive job programs.

Alas, it was all talk. The President was too busy fighting a war in another country to provide any real leadership. He appointed a study commission and announced plans to spend $40 million from existing programs to create more jobs. The Congress was more interested in cutting the budget, although it had second thoughts about its earlier inclination to economize on rat control, rent supplements and the poverty program.

Even in the cities that suffered the upheavals, little was changed. In Los Angeles, where death and destruction were severe, the recommendations of a study commission were largely ignored. In Detroit, scene of another great uprising, there was a great amount of wheel-spinning. In Minneapolis, a city with problems small enough to be manageable, a grand jury worried about undesirable elements in a youth center.

All the while, the gap grew between the haves and the have-nots. Those in the ghettos continued to live in crowded housing, subsisting on menial jobs or no jobs, growing ever more alienated from the affluent society around them, but not of them.

This went on through another winter, into another spring, and then came summer again. The country was rocked by violence even greater than before. The nation was shocked . . . etc.

Seventy-five Years of Dedicated Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, this month the First Congregational Church of Key West, Fla., marks its 75th anniversary. Throughout the 75 years of distinguished service to the citizens of Key West, First Congregational members have devoted themselves to making available friendship and spiritual guidance for all.

I would like to join the Key West Citizen in congratulating the church, secure in the knowledge that in the next 75 years the First Congregational Church of Key West will make an even greater contribution to the spiritual life and welfare of Key Westers:

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 75 YEARS OF MINISTRY

Our congratulations to members of the First Congregational Church of Key West. This month marks the church's 75th anniversary. The Rev. Charles R. Mory, present pastor of the church, is the 30th person to serve in that capacity.

First Congregational Church of Key West was born as a splinter group from the Methodist Church in 1892. It acquired its present land in 1893, as a gift from the church's first convert—John A. Harris. Since that time, 527 William Street has come to be identified as an address where any stranger can find friendship and spiritual guidance.

Key West has been fortunate in possessing many churches of many denominations. Some are older . . . some are younger than First Congregational Church of Key West. All, however, work together in seeking a common goal—to uplift the mental, moral, and physical life of our people. First Congregational Church has been especially dedicated in this work—particularly where the Armed Services are concerned.

As far back as 1889, during the Spanish-American War, members of the First Congregational Church devoted themselves to providing entertainment and spiritual strength for soldiers and sailors. The tradition has come down to the present day. In war or peace, many locally stationed servicemen have found a church home at 527 William Street.

October will be sort of a homecoming month for First Congregational Church. Next Sunday, the church's pastor of 30 years ago—the Rev. John E. Pickens Sr.—will conduct services. Special services and programs are planned for the other Sundays during the month, including social events such as a "pot luck" supper to be held in the Fellowship Hall adjacent to the church next Sunday night. Friends and former members are invited to these affairs.

First Congregational Church of Key West has sound reason to be happy and rejoice in the success of its first 75 years of ministry to the people of Key West. The Citizen is pleased to congratulate the church and to wish it even greater success in the next 75 years.

Proposed Patent Cooperation Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, our technologically oriented society has focused attention on our patent system and that system is today under active study in a number of areas. President Johnson has proposed enactment of a patent reform bill to modernize the U.S. patent system, and this measure is before the Patent Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. On another front, the U.S. Patent Office is engaged in international cooperative endeavors with other countries. A draft Patent Cooperation Treaty has recently been brought forth by the United International Bureau for the Protection of Intellectual Property. These significant developments are described in detail in a recent address by Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge before the Patents Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers and I insert the speech by Secretary Trowbridge in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE ALEXANDER B. TROWBRIDGE, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY TO THE PATENTS COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 8, 1967

It is my very real pleasure to be here with you today to discuss the improvement of our patent system—a system in which we as administrators and you as users have a common interest.

Efforts of improvement can be classified as long-range undertakings whose benefits will accrue for decades to come, just as the original Constitutional provision for patent protection has served us for 180 years.

Most of our time in this fast-moving world is taken up with short range objectives. Obviously both are important—laying the foundation for progress in the years ahead by the improvement of over-all systems, and making short-run adjustments that meet the immediate needs of the day.

President Johnson's Patent Reform Bill illustrates this Administration's concern with long-range improvements in our economic system.

In transmitting the measure to Congress last February, the President noted that the patent system has "helped American business to translate the 'fire of genius' into the products and processes that have enriched the lives of all of us."

But he also pointed out that "institutions must change to meet the demands of our times," and I think it is clear that modernization is long overdue.

If the patent system is to continue to serve us well it must be strengthened and streamlined to cope with the challenges of the decades ahead. It must keep pace with both expanded trade and new technology. Even more, it must create a better climate for expanded entry of American businessmen into international markets. And it must provide for prompt disclosure and use of new technology in this country. This will benefit not only American business but also the American consumer.

The NAM, under the leadership of your Committee Chairman, Frederic O. Hess, has been among those most active in defining the problems facing the patent system and in relating them to business interests.

One problem that illustrates the need for reform is the unnecessary and burdensome duplication of effort in protecting inventions internationally. This duplication bears heavily on the patent offices of the world and on businessmen engaged in world commerce. It creates an artificial barrier to world trade.

An average of three patent applications is filed internationally on each invention patented. This means that of the estimated 650,000 patent applications filed worldwide each year, two-thirds are duplicates or multiple filings of other applications. Each is processed individually in each country. Moreover, companies and individuals must plow through a complex maze of divergent laws and customs which have grown up over the years, involving even the size of paper which must be used or the number of typewritten lines per page.

In this country, dissemination of technological advances is often delayed by the very system designed to accelerate disclosure. U.S. patent applications are now kept secret until a patent is issued, and this can take up to five years or more.

Because of built-in delays, businessmen, unaware of a competitor's work, may invest substantial sums reinventing something already patented by a competitor. I find it hard to believe that knowledgeable American concerns actually search published foreign patents and applications to find out what other American companies are trying to patent right here in this country.

As you know, this Administration has moved on a number of fronts to update the patent system and gear it for more rapid and effective service to business and the public.

You are all familiar, of course, with the recommendations of the President's Commission and with the Patent Reform proposals he sent Congress in February to implement the Commission's work. This bill would bring about the first major revision of the patent system in more than a century. It is designed, as the President said:

"(1) To raise the quality and reliability of U.S. patents.

"(2) To reduce the time and expense of obtaining and protecting a patent.

"(3) To speed public disclosure of scientific and technological information."

The President added that these changes would also bring our own system into closer harmony with those of other nations.

Better international cooperation will lead naturally to better protection of intellectual property. And this, of course, is the rationale behind our new bilateral information and search exchange agreements with Germany, Switzerland, France, Japan, Austria and other countries. All of these pilot studies have not been completed. But so far we have learned some valuable lessons from them, notably that the quickest way to end expensive, inefficient, massive duplication is through a multi-nation system within the framework of existing international cooperative arrangements.

Accordingly, the U.S. Delegation asked the Paris Union last fall to have the United International Bureau for the Protection of Intellectual Property undertake an urgent study of the duplication problem. As you know, the result was the proposed Patent Cooperation Treaty which is being considered by your Committee here today.

I do not propose to discuss in any length the President's Patent Reform Bill, except to emphasize my support for its provisions and their underlying objectives. We want the most effective and efficient patent system to serve this country in the future. Enactment of the Reform Bill, I am convinced, will achieve the goals laid down by the President and will bring our patent system more fully in line with its Constitutional objectives.

Nor do I propose to discuss in any detail the Patent Cooperation Treaty. We are encouraged by BIRPI's effort and initiative and anxious to see further development and refinement of its work.

But I would like to outline what I think are the broad objectives of a modern, efficient patent system and to relate them to our national and international goals.

Simply stated, the patent system should provide effective incentives for the greatest possible development and use of new technology in this country and in international markets.

To the extent that it is able to achieve this goal—

It will enhance our standard of living, which increasingly is founded upon a sophisticated technological base.

It will facilitate the transfer of new technology across national borders to spur economic progress in all parts of the globe.

And finally, it will permit us to compete more effectively in international markets where new technology is at the very cutting edge of competition.

We are in a period of both continuing expansion and keener competition in world trade. U.S. exports climbed to record levels last year, and are now running at an annual rate of $31.2 billion. Obviously there is the closest relationship between our export expansion and our technological progress. For example, we can now replace reduced exports in low-technology products with increased exports in high-technology products.

Just as technological changes bear heavily on efforts- to expand exports, so does the success of U.S. firms in penetrating high-technology foreign markets depend largely on their ability to obtain foreign patents to protect inventions and innovations. This interrelation will increase, of course, as our mix of export products becomes more sophisticated. Clearly, the trend is toward greater reliance on patent safeguards. The export prospects for the future continue to be bright for highly technical products in which foreign patent protection could be a deciding factor in successful competition in foreign markets.

The world market to which U.S. business looks for customers has widened to include many countries which were ignored or not even in existence twenty years ago. These are the so-called less developed countries—less developed in an industrial sense, but in many cases with abundant natural resources. It is generally recognized that they must be brought into the international patent system to help speed their economic development, and their potential as trading partners. BIRPI has been conducting a vigorous program in this regard and we in this country heartily endorse it. One difficulty is that few of the developing countries have either the personnel or the government machinery for the complexities of a patent system. BIRPI has instituted training arrangements in which our Patent Office is cooperating. Useful seminars already have been held in Asia, Africa and Latin America. BIRPI has also supervised the drafting of a legal model for a national patent system.

In talking about international cooperation, a distinction is sometimes drawn between our national or domestic interests and our international objectives. I can't see any difference between the two. For the patent system to be truly effective, it must serve both to foster progress at home and to stimulate our international commerce.

Both the Patent Reform Bill and the proposed Patent Cooperation Treaty envisage far-reaching changes in old and established customs and practices. For this reason, if for no other, they invite controversy and opposition. To the extent that this is constructive and in the national interest, we welcome it. To the extent that it is self-serving and designed to create roadblocks, we deplore it. Whoever would oppose these measures because he is against change, *per se*, or for other purely subjective reasons, has a real obligation to review his position in light of the national interest—not to say that of his business or his profession. It is less than responsible to pretend that either the U.S. patent system or the international legal structures protecting inventions, hs they exist today, cannot be improved upon.

Reasonable men may differ over details; I cannot believe there is any question that basic reforms are needed—and soon. The world quickly leaves behind those who cannot adapt to the fact and the form of change.

We are now in the process of studying the BIRPI draft. Your meeting and discussions here today, and those of other interested parties, will help us. We should not forget that this is a draft, the first of many which will be prepared even before formal international negotiations are begun.

At a meeting of the Committee of Experts, scheduled for October in Geneva to consider the draft Treaty, the views of twenty-three interested governments on the Treay will be fully explored. To provide broad gauge representation at this meeting, private industrial and bar groups from this and other countries have been invited to participate. Following the October meeting, there will be ample opportunity for further consideration of a revised draft Treaty.

We favor harmonization of national patent laws, and we look to the ultimate goal of a true universal or multinational patent. The proposed Treaty is a major step toward this goal. Because of its importance, we should make it as attractive as possible. For example, it may be that to attract the widest possible international support, this initial step should require as little change as possible in the national laws of the member countries. It should require a minimum of administrative cost and effort. If proposals to improve the Treaty in these and other areas will increase support for it, we are prepared to vigorously sponsor such proposals.

All of these moves in the patent field, both in the international and domestic spheres, should illustrate our resolve that technological progress not become ensnared in technical red tape.

How ironic it would be for man's inventive genius to be stymied by our failure to devise ways to put the fruits of his genius to work!

We are characterized as an "innovative" society—which essentially means that we can turn the ideas of man into effective and productive tools. It is clearly in our joint interest, as administrators and as users of the patent system, to see to it that such a description of our economic system is continually proven to be accurate.

Columbus Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 475th anniversary of an event that has since influenced the history of the entire world. On October 12, 1492, a Genoese sailor who had embarked from Spain touched upon the shores of our continent.

Christopher Columbus discovered the land that was to be America—a nation that has become the richest, strongest, freest of all nations. Sailing forth to find a more direct route from Spain to India, Columbus instead discovered the New World—a land that was to represent hope to be oppressed and the needy, a land where all the peoples of the world were to come together and form one people, a land whose government was to serve as a model for representative governments everywhere.

Columbus had struggled long and hard for the funds to finance this dangerous voyage. He was persistent, he was brave, and he had great vision. It is fitting that such a man was the discoverer of our Nation.

We owe to Christoper Columbus a national debt of gratitude for discovering this New World, and today we should pay homage to his memory and to the importance of his deed.

Republic of Korea: A Bastion of the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George Chaplin, editor of the Honolulu Advertiser, is one of the most able and knewledgeable journalists in Hawaii. He recently flew to the Far East to observe firsthand the military and political situation in Korea, where free world and Communist troops continue to face each other across a shaky truce line.

Those who advocate the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea might have second thoughts on the matter after reading one in a series of penetrating reports by Mr. Chaplin.

I commend the article, "Red Teams Trying To Subvert South Korea," and a related editorial from the Honolulu Advertiser of October 7, 1967, for the study and evaluation which they deserve by the Members of Congress:

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, Oct. 7, 1967]

RED TEAMS TRYING TO SUBVERT SOUTH KOREA

(By George Chaplin)

North Korea, in addition to its raids on DMZ outposts, seeks through subversion, infiltration and propaganda to build an underground organization and create unrest in South Korea.

The Seoul government reported in mid-June that 30 well-armed North Korean guerrillas had managed to infiltrate into the southeast, presumably to raid and sabotage.

An operation of this size is exceptional. Usually, one knowledgeable source said, the Communists work in much smaller units, such as three-man teams.

There are probably 250 North Korean agents in the south at any one time, I was told. They're well supplied with three currencies—green money (meaning U.S. dollars). Japanese yen and South Korean won.

"One of the team is a hard-liner assigned to make sure none of them is taken alive. Some of them do get caught or killed trying to cross the border from the north; (South Korean) soldiers receive a bonus for getting infiltrators. But a lot of them get through safely."

TRYING TO DISRUPT SOUTH

At the ROK Defense Ministry I was told that the Communist operations are primarily psychological warfare:

"They try to undermine, to create dissension, to make people wonder if we can really spare troops for South Vietnam or whether the internal threat here is so real as to make it better to keep the troops at home.

"North Korea is not happy with the progress made in the south. The Communists know that our stability of power depends upon the stability of the economy.

"So," the spokesman continued, "they want to slow the pace in the economic area by breeding disquiet in the social structure and by trying to create doubts internationally about our stability and thus inhibit investments.

"But we feel we have the situation under control."

The south matches the Communist propaganda with its own broadcasts to the north. There is, I was told, this difference—people in the south can listen to the north, but in the north it's a jailable offense to listen to the south.

NORTH PUMPS IN PROPAGANDA

"There's plenty of reason for vigilance here," an American with extensive duty in Korea said.

"This country lives on the border of communism. It has fought against communism. And it has more adults who have lived under communism and fled than any other place in the world.

"Some were refugees from the Russians (who occupied the north) in 1945. There was a steady flow in the rest of the 1940's and then, during the Korean War (1950–53), a big upsurge.

"A million came down at one time with our army during the retreat from the Yalu.

"But the young people in the south have had no direct experience with communism. This propaganda from the north sweeps into them. The kids wonder why north and south can't unify."

This frustration is just what North Korean Premier Il Sung Kim wants. He dare not again take on U.S. and South Korean forces in conventional combat. Instead, he hopes to overthrow the South Korean government through disruption and unrest.

Kim has said at (Communist) Workers' Party congresses: To win "against imperialism and feudalism, it is necessary for the South Korean people to take Marxism-Leninism as guidance and have a revolutionary party which represents the interests of the workers, farmers and general public broadly."

SEEKS A COMMUNIZED SOUTH

He has also said that "after the unification . . . it is our duty to carry out a democratic reform in South Korea, including land reform and nationalization of important industries.

"The achievement of the democratic revolution will be followed by socialist building and after that our country will gradually become a Communist state. We can say that we have fulfilled the mission assigned to us in world revolution when we have carried out all of these successfully."

So to Kim "peaceful unification" and communizing the south are the same.

The question is on the United Nations agenda each year. (The U.N. regards the Republic of Korea as the only legitimate government on the peninsula.) The so-called Stevenson Plan voices the U.S. and South Korean position that unification should be achieved as soon as possible by free elections under U.N. supervision.

The Communists want a resolution condemning the U.S. and the Republic of Korea, want U.S. troops removed forthwith and say they can achieve unification by South and North Korea getting together with the help of Asian nations.

NATIONALISM RUNS STRONG

Last December, the U.S. came out as well numerically in the U.N. vote against North Korea as in the past. Washington didn't altogether oppose seating North Korean delegates to discuss the issue, but wanted them first to recognize the legitimacy of the U.N. and its presence in Korea. South Korea's government went along—but the north predictably refused to.

It must be renumbered that on reunification, the Koreans are genuinely nationalistic.

"Look at their history," one Western student of the country observed. "This little band of ethnically unique people have preserved this integrity for 4,000 to 5,000 years with the Japanese, Chinese and Mongols pressing them.

"One Korean was asked if he'd ever heard of the Koreans being described as 'the Irish of the Orient'. No, he said, but he had heard of the Irish, as 'the Koreans of Europe.'"

In short, they're proud of their national identity and want reunification. But in the south they don't want it on Communist terms.

The North Koreans have picked up some propaganda points by offering postal exchanges. And there is some feeling that the south should present a less rigid posture about at least exploring such modest possibilities.

PART OF A LARGER PICTURE

A basic impression I got during my visit is that President Park is trying to build an economy, then move politically toward unification. But any meaningful action is years off—for Korea is part of the larger contest between the Free and Communist worlds.

As one substantial American military figure said to me:

"Sometimes people look toward Korea, Southeast Asia, India separately. This is a mistake. Our position in Korea is a major element of our deterrent to Communist China."

"Our position, unless attacked, is defensive. Our strength here is pretty real. There is a full and ample deterrent against North Korea and they're aware of this. If the Chinese Communists joined up with them again, we would have to use additional strength—but we have it in pocket.

"From the Chinese Communist point of view, this is a hunk of land on the Asian continent which defends Japan. From their view, this is close to Peking and close to 75 per cent of Chinese heavy industry—including the small military industry in the old Manchurian industrial crescent involving Harbin and Mukden.

"In terms of power politics, this is a local area which the Chinese do not disregard when they think of military advance in Asia, particularly Southeast Asia."

He leaned back in his chair and continued.

"The U.S. in 10 years has produced a good ROK army, navy and air force. Some hotheads even say they wish North Korea would start something. But Park is trying to move the country along.

MILITARY "EDUCATES" KOREANS

"The U.S. military has helped considerably—by training soldiers, by sending thousands of Korean officers and non-coms back to the States. The people who have been to Benning and Leavenworth were exposed to the meaning of American democracy. There's been 10 years of osmosis.

"In Korean military camps we have helped teach the soldiers electronics and technical skills and in the process began to inculcate the idea of the military man serving his country rather than himself.

"Kids from all over Korea have been given a reasonably good several-year science education, with a leavening of social studies and economics. They learn about 'duty, honor, country.' There's now a pretty widespread military conception of duty-above-self.

"It's had a good impact on the younger generation."

He said a combination of three things has changed Korea, in the sense of a nation coming of age in the modern world:

The first is the beginning of an economic upswing.

The second is the contribution to the defense of the Free World.

"It warms the heart to hear them say, 'You came and fought for us, now we are the only ones in Asia to fight for the Vietnamese defense of freedom.'

"The Koreans in Viet Nam are our best propagandists. They tell the Vietnamese, 'Don't talk about Americans like they were French. We know. They saved our country and they don't want anything for it.'

"They're really effective in Vietnam. The Koreans are proud, they're standing tall—not like the inferiority complex of a decade ago."

RAPPORT THIN, BUT THERE

The third thing, he said, which has changed Korea "is the very genuine beginning of being an important political force. They generated ASPAC—the Asian and Pacific Council. They're gung ho. Before the Manila conference (in late '66), Asian countries talked about Asia; Korean shifted it to the Pacific.

"In Korea, we've begun to establish a mutuality of understanding with a genuinely Asian country on a sound basis. The rapport is only one layer deep, but it's there."

North Korea's Kim

Although Vietnam obscures it, Korea continues a danger spot—with worrisome armed intrusions into the South from the Communist North.

Sometimes these are through the demilitarized zone stretching 151 miles across Korea. At other times agents are sent by sea and infiltrate via the southern coasts.

They get little or no support from the South Koreans—in contrast to the help accorded the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars in South Vietnam—but they are creating unrest and possibly laying the foundation for larger sabotage and espionage programs.

North Korea's leader, 55-year-old Il Sung Kim, is interested in unifying Korea only on Communist terms (as a full-page article elsewhere in today's Advertiser makes clear).

He runs a Stalinist country, with police-state control over its 11.5 million people. With the possible exception of Albania, it has the least contact with the outside world of any Communist nation.

North Korea has concentrated on building up industry and had a growth rate of about 10 per cent a year until three or four years ago, when Chinese aid began dropping off.

The north is now more dependent upon the Soviet Union than upon China for industrial and military assistance, but it tries to get all it can from both.

One Seoul official likens the north to "a man with two women in different locations. He says to Moscow, 'We have assisted you (politically) against China'. He says to Peking, 'We are the same culturally'. He tries to stay apart while trying to get the most from each."

North Korea's economy is reported geared toward military preparations. It can produce rifles and machine guns, but heavy equipment comes from the Soviet Union and China.

In terms of its economy, the north is not having an easy time. Its seven-year plan is reported in trouble, which is why it is seeking substantial aid.

The regime, in treatment of the population, is ruthless, maintaining constant surveillance and at times using the purge.

There is not the slightest evidence of any probable uprising, and while there is a constant power struggle going on at top Communist levels, Kim seems to be maintaining his hold.

His background gives meaningful clues as to his ability to stay in power, and also tells something about the country.

He was born near Pyongyang as Sung Chu Kim but adroitly changed his name to that of a national hero, a freedom-fighter against the Japanese, under whom he'd once served.

Kim spent most of his youth in Manchuria, at the time a haven for Koreans fleeing the Japanese occupation of their country. As a high schooler he joined a clandestine Communist youth group, then became formally active in Communist work, fighting as a guerrilla—with Korean and Chinese partisans—against the Japanese who'd moved into Manchuria in 1931.

Eventually the Korean guerrillas took refuge in Siberia, Kim joined the Russian Communist Party, entered a Soviet military school and fought in World War II at Stalingrad. (He was one of more than 30 Korean leaders who were trained and indoctrinated in the Soviet Union, with a view to future activities in Korea).

Post-war, uniformed as a Soviet major, Kim returned to North Korea, where the local Communist leader, Chun Kyok Hyon, had entered a united front with right-wing nationalists.

Hyon was assassinated in September, 1945—he'd just been to a meeting at Soviet occupation headquarters—and Kim became first secretary of the Korean Communist Party.

Staunchly backed by the Russians, he outmaneuvered the nationalists and two domestic Communist factions, and sought popular support by seizing large farms for redistribution to the landless peasants. (The new land-holders' enthusiasm faded somewhat when they were squeezed with high production quotas).

By 1948 Kim was premier of the Russian puppet government. In the spring of '49 he went to Moscow, possibly to be clued in on plans for the following year's attack on South Korea.

When that came in June, 1950—apparently on Stalin's orders and with the Koreans heavily armed with Russian tanks, planes and guns—Kim became "Supreme Commander" of the "Korean People's Liberation Army."

After the armistice, he received reconstruction aid from both Russia and China and began to play his delicate balancing game to seek a near-autonomous position.

Internally, he collectivized agriculture and nationalized industry and commerce—using the "Flying Horse Movement," his version of Mao Tse-tung's "Great Leap Forward" in mainland China. He conducted sham trials and eliminated his major opposition.

He began his efforts to subvert the south, and has now intensified these to capitalize on the strife in Vietnam, where South Korea has 45,000 troops. Last fall, as a token of support for North Vietnam, he sent to Hanoi a contingent of pilots—estimated at 20 to 25—apparently to train fliers.

Kim has long said that North Korea must "liberate" the South in his generation. This may be rhetoric or it may presage an increasing level of infiltration and underground work.

It would be rash for Kim to take on the large combination of South Korean and U.S. forces in any direct clash. But there are so many variables—including what China and Russia might do if Kim provoked a war—that no one can paint a confident canvas.

The only thing that does seem certain is that any prospects of unification for divided Korea are a long way in the future.

Who Is a Natural-Born Citizen? Judge Gassman's Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, who are naturally interested in the current discussion of eligibility for the Presidency based on the meaning of "natural-born citizen" in article II section 1, paragraph 5 of the U.S. Constitution, will recall my discussion of this subject in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 18, 1967, at page H5776.

I am pleased to note that Hon. Benjamin Gassman, my constituent, friend, and noted election law expert, concurs in the view that Gov. George Romney is eligible, should be successful, to serve as President.

Judge Gassman, a former judge of the criminal court of the city of New York, retired because of statutory age limitation on December 31, 1964. Prior to his retirement, he was assigned by the appellate division as an acting judge of the court of general sessions and as an acting justice of the supreme court.

He is the author of "The New York State Election Law," a two-volume work, and many other articles on various legal subjects.

Judge Gassman, since his retirement, has become counsel to the well-respected New York City law firm of Raphael, Searles & Vischi.

His opinion on this question follows:

GOVERNER ROMNEY'S ELIGIBILITY TO RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY

Recently, Congressman Emanuel Celler posed the question whether Governor George Romney, of Michigan, is eligible to run as the Republican candidate for President of the United States. He pointed out that the Governor was born in Mexico after his parents left the State of Utah and took up temporary residence in Mexico, later returning to the United States, whence they took their child with them. No claim is made that the Governor's parents have renounced their United States citizenship. They remained, at all times, citizens of the United States.

Article 2, Section 1 of the United States Constitution provides that "no person except a natural born ctiizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States".

Webster's Dictionary defines "natural born" as "native, not alien, as a natural born citizen".

"There are two classes of citizens, native born citizens and naturalized citizens." (*Johansen* v. *Staten Island Shipbuilding Co.* 272 N.Y. 140). It must therefore be held that the United States Constitution, in speaking of a "natural born citizen" referred to one who became a citizen *at birth* as distinguished from one who became a citizen by naturalization.

"Every citizen born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, becomes at once a citizen of the United States and needs no naturalization". (*U.S.* v. *Perkins,* 17 F. Supp. 177, 180). That proposition is plain. However, is a person born outside of the United States, of parents who are citizens of the United States, considered a "natural Born" citizen of the United States? That question has been answered in the affirmative, both by statute and court decisions.

Section 1401, United States Code Annotated, Volume 8, states:

"The following shall be nationals and citizens of the United States at birth:

(3) A person born outside of the United States and its outlying possessions of parents both of whom are citizens of the United States and one of whom has had a residence in the United States or one of its outlying possessions, prior to the birth of such person".

"A person born in the United States is a citizen thereof irrespective of the nationality of his parents. Conversely, a person whose parents are citizens of the United States inherits their citizenship irrespective of the place of his birth." (*Tomasicchio* v. *Acheson,* 98 F. Supp. 166, 168.)

This principle of law was also enunciated in *Lee Bang Hong vs. Acheson,* 110 F. Supp. 48, 49, wherein the court said:

"The plaintiff (Lee Bang Hong) was born in San Chun Village, Chungshaw, Kwantung, China, on July 13, 1934. He is a blood son of Lee Chin Fat, a United States citizen. Lee Bang is a United States citizen by birth by virtue of the fact that he is the son of a United States citizen".

In *Doyle v. Town of Diana,* 203 App. Div. 239, 196 N.Y.S. 864, was a taxpayer's action to restrain the levying of taxes for the erection of a memorial to the soldiers and sailors of the town. The proposition to erect the memorial was carried by one vote. On the trial, the right to vote of one, Eliza Weed, was challenged on the ground that she was not a citizen. In upholding her right to vote, the Appellate Division, 4th Department, said:

"The right of Eliza Weed to vote is challenged upon the ground that she was not a citizen. It appears that she was born in Canada. She was never naturalized, but it appears that her father was a citizen of the United States. * * *

"Her father being a citizen of the United States, she was likewise a citizen thereof, although born in Canada".

In Governor Romney's case, his parents were both citizens of the United States. They moved from the State of Utah into Mexico and the Governor was born in that country while his parents lived there. At no time have the elder Romneys renounced their United States citizenship. They later returned to the United States. It is my opinion that under the circumstances, Governor Romney is a "natural born citizen" of the United States, eligible to run for the office of President.

However, in view of the fact that the question of eligibility has been raised and because of the serious question involved, I agree with Congressman Celler that this question be determined and all doubt laid at rest prior to the Republican National Convention. This can be done by an action for a declaratory judgment brought under Sections 2201 and 2202. U.S.C.A.

Congressman Ottinger Attacks Jet Noise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 27, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I am always pleased when my colleagues from other congressional districts speak out on the menace of jet noise. The more voices raised in protest, the greater the recognition of the problem and the sooner we will achieve our objectives.

True, jet noise started out as a local problem. It originally only affected those around the first airfields geared to service jet planes. Now as the number of smaller jet aircraft in operation increases and the number of airfields servicing jets increases across the Nation, we have recognized jet noise as a national problem.

Just a few weeks ago, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, a frequent and outspoken critic against jet noise, attacked jet noise and called it one of the most serious environmental problems facing the Nation today. In referring to "noise pollution" from National Airport, he further indicated that the Federal Government will soon launch a war on jet noise.

Certainly jet noise has been branded as a critical problem on the local, national, and international levels and deserves the attention of Federal responsibility.

Last week the chairman of the Transportation Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, the gentleman from Maryland, the Honorable Samuel Friedel, advised me that hearings would be scheduled next month on pending aircraft noise abatement bills. Legislation to revoke flight certificates of airlines which fail to comply with noise standards—introduced in the House by the distinguished chairman of the House Commerce Committee, the gentleman from West Virginia, the Honorable Harley O. Staggers, and by more than 20 other Members of the House—will be considered.

Focusing his attention on our Nation's Capital—Washington, D.C.—our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York, the Honorable Richard L. Ottinger, has vividly pointed out the noise and pollution factors involved in this question. Congressman Ottinger's remarks before the Palisades Citizens Association of Washington, D.C., on October 3, 1967, highlight the jet noise problem and the relationship between the people affected by jet noise and the Government agencies with jurisdiction in the field of aviation.

I urge my colleagues to read the full text of Mr. Ottinger's address and the Washington Post editorial of October 8, 1967, which I place in the Record at this point under unanimous consent:

People, Noise, and the CAB

(A speech by the Honorable Richard L. Ottinger, Member of Congress, to the Palisades Citizens Association, October 3, 1967)

It's no exaggeration to say that I've experienced the problem of aircraft pollution from virtually every angle. I've dealt with it as a regular twice a week commuter between La Guardia and National. When I'm in Washington I'm on the receiving end of a phenomenal number of complaints from constituents about the assault that air traffic is is making upon their lives in the form of air pollution, noise and air traffic safety. And when I'm home I have the pleasure of living right under what I am convinced is the most heavily travelled jet approach to La Guardia. So when I say that I'm glad to be here with you tonight, you will appreciate that my heart is really in this battle.

I find it a strange irony that the environmental pollution which threatens our health and sanity, if not our very survival, is a direct result of the very technological achievements that are responsible for the unparalleled physical well-being of our nation.

During the great depression, the late Will Rogers observed that we were on the way to having the distinction of being the only nation in history to ride to the poor house in a limousine. Well, our technology advanced so fast that we've kept raising our sights. Now we seem to be aiming at extinction in a supersonic jet.

Seriously, however, there is impressive evidence that unless we change our ways, we may well strangle in the waste and refuse that is now the greatest single product of our affluent society.

The Senate Public Works Committee has reported that by the end of this century, slightly more than one generation away, the demand for water in this country will exceed our known resources of clean water by some 300 million gallons each year.

In less than ten years, New York City will have exhausted every known resource for disposing the residue from incinerated trash—*if* the volume of refuse doesn't increase and it *is* increasing steadily. My own district of Westchester faces this same crisis within the next seven years and metropolitan areas all over the country are on a similar timetable.

A distinguished meteorologist, Dr. Morris Nieburger of the University of California, has warned that if we continue at our present rate "the world's atmosphere will grow more and more polluted until, a century from now it will be too poisonous to allow human life to survive and civilization will pass away."

These are the main conflicts that we must find a way to resolve, but they are by no means the only ones.

There are other, subtler forms of pollution that can have equally devastating effects upon the health and welfare of our society such as noise and urban sprawl.

I personally have no question that we can develop the mechanisms for resolving these conflicts and thus preserve a livable environment. But the sober fact is that we had better get cracking because we haven't made any real progress yet.

This is a national problem and the logical place to look for leadership is the Federal agencies that have played such an important role in spurring tecnological development. Agencies such as the Federal Power Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, NASA, the Federal Aviation Agency, the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Public Roads, the Bureau of Reclamation all have important responsibilities affecting the resources of the nation.

Now I am aware that I am going to be stepping on some toes here when I say this, but the sad fact is that these Federal agencies, created in the days when the paramount need was to develop technological potential to the fullest, have failed signally to recognize the present challenge or adjust to meet it.

John Kenneth Galbraith has an explanation. He once wrote that agencies "like the people who comprise them, have a marked life cycle. In youth, they are vigorous, aggressive, evangelistic and even intolerant. Later they mellow, and in old age—after a matter of ten of fifteen years—they become, with some exceptions, either the arm of the industry they are regulating or senile."

By this harsh but realistic time table you might expect the agencies I have named to have achieved a truly archaeological antiquity, even in their revised and modified editions, and I am afraid that in the main your expectation would be justified.

That is why I believe that your particular battle is so very important for the nation as a whole, even though it may seem at times to be a local and rather parochial concern. It is becoming clear that only through the action of concerned citizens can agencies of the Federal government be made to recognize that the "public" in "public convenience and necessity" means everybody, not just the air lines, the power companies, the travelers, truckers and other interest groups. And that convenience and necessity include as a primary consideration the preservation of a livable environment as well as a well-developed one.

The now-famous Storm King Mountain Case with which I am personally quite familiar offers not only a clear parallel to your case with the CAB, but also concrete proof of the value of citizen action in the battle to preserve a livable environment.

In Storm King, a group of independent citizens battled for four years to force the FPC to weigh environmental hazards in determining whether a gigantic hydro-electric project proposed for Storm King Mountain on the threshold of the nation's greatest metropolitan complex served the true public convenience and necessity.

Just as the CAB has chosen to interpret the "public" in "public convenience and necessity" as the airlines and the airlines' view of the traveling public, so the FPC interpreted public as meaning the utilities and the utilities' view of the consumer.

Just as the CAB has endeavored to pass the responsibility for environmental impact onto local authorities and the Department of Transportation, so did the FPC attempt to leave these issues to the Department of the Interior and local agencies, preferring to act as umpire rather than assume affirmative responsibility.

Just as the CAB has refused intervention on the grounds that the public interests affected by noise and air pollution are too remote and generalized, so the FPC refused intervention on the grounds that the citizens had no economic interest in the quality of the environment that was being affected.

The CAB would do well to review the stinging rebuke administered to the FPC by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals when its precedent-setting decision revoked the license issued by the FPC in the Storm King Case.

In effect, the Court said that in this complex world every citizen has an interest in preserving a livable environment and that interest must be recognized and respected by Federal agencies. It said that insofar as the consequences of an action taken or approved by a Federal agency can have an adverse impact upon the general environment, the agency has a responsibility to evaluate and weigh that impact fully in arriving at its decision. Most encouraging of all, the court added an eleventh commandment to the administrative book: Thou shalt not act as "an umpire blandly calling balls and strikes," but shall exercise an affirmative responsibility for seeking out and protecting this broader public interest.

Because of the fight that these private citizens put up, the FPC will probably never again feel safe in accepting a utility company's best guess as to what effect a proposed project may have on air pollution, fish, water pollution and other related resources. In fact, no agency of the Federal government can now safely feel indifferent to the impact of its decision on the quality of our environment, especially when they know that other groups of private citizens care.

It is important to stress that, like the Storm King Case, this is not just a local problem. You will find that people all over the country are just as annoyed, just as hectored and just as frustrated as you are by environmental intrusions and by the indifference of Federal agencies.

Eleanor Clark French in New York has been leading a battle to protect Manhattan's already cacaphonic environment from a further nerve-shattering assault in the form of helicopter service to the Pan Am building.

She has pointed out with great reason that the dubious convenience of having a dozen or so businessmen deposited on Pan Am's roof is more than offset by the damage done by the noise and by the continuing danger that the craft may well miss and land in Grand Central Station someday.

A group in Santa Barbara, California, has had an ordinance passed forbidding low-flying jets from abusing their airspace. A distinguished group in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is doing valiant battle against the incredible sonic boom intrusions that are certain to come from the supersonic jet and in Westchester, New York a group has been formed to combat the mounting noise problem experienced from the growing volume of jet aircraft landing at La Guardia and Kennedy airports.

These people deserve your attention. They share a common cause. Part of the key to victory in the Storm King case was the effort that went into locating concerned citizens all over the country and getting them involved in the battle.

With so many private citizens involved in these issues, why doesn't Congress take direct action?

In regard to your problem with aircraft noise, I have introduced legislation that would direct NASA to undertake a full-scale (I almost said "crash") program of research to develop the techniques that are needed to eliminate aircraft noise of all types. I have also introduced legislation that would authorize the Federal Aviation Agency to compel carriers to install noise abatement devices and to change flight patterns to minimize public disturbance.

Only last week the Commerce Committee of which I am a member took the first tentative step to deal with air pollution from jet aircraft when they adopted my amendment to the Clean Air Act which directs the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to get into this area. These are sound proposals and will undoubtedly help.

We have to face the fact, however, that short of creating a wholly new agency with authority to act on environmental issues, we have no alternative but to work with those existing organizations which have, so far, failed, and, worse, shown little or no interest in succeeding. This Federal myopia undoubtedly stems from the fact that they were originally chartered to spur development without much serious consideration for the impact it might have on our environment. It isn't easy to legislate leopards into changing their spots.

If these agencies recognized the challenge and were prepared to accept it, then extensive new legislation would probably not be necessary. Certainly the recent court decisions, especially the High Mountain Sheep and the Storm King Cases, seem to indicate that the existing authority is adequate, if they will only act upon it. However, if these existing agencies won't see the challenge, new legislation to make them do so would be difficult to get enacted and even more difficult to get them to implement effectively.

For the future, I am proposing legislation to set up an independent agency reporting only to Congress and charged with the responsibility for representing the public interest in Federal agency deliberations on matters affecting environment and natural resources. If this concept is adopted, then groups such as yours and the Storm King fighters will no longer have to bear the full burden of such action. You will have a resource of talent and information to which to repair for help; a resource free of the restrictions and complexities imposed upon executive agencies, free from the conflict between development and preservation, and charged only with representing the public interest. But all of these proposals will take time, time we can ill afford.

The problem is sufficiently pressing to cause the National Audubon Society to consider setting up an "Environmental Defense Fund"; this is an idea which I wholeheartedly endorse. In the meantime, the fact remains that in the real and endangered world in which we live, effective action to preserve a livable environment will come only from the efforts of determined, concerned and independent groups of citizens such as you. It will come from citizens fighting over local intrusions into their own environment and each victory will have what the great philanthropist Stephen Currier called "Social reverberations" that will in the end make the difference for survival.

CAB AND THE NOISE MENACE

Should citizens whose lives are made miserable by the noise and fallout from airplanes above their homes be allowed to intervene when the Civil Aeronautics Board is considering new air operations? The CAB says no, but the Department of Transportation and civic groups who are fighting the nerve-shattering din from National Airport take vigorous exception to that ruling. In our view, the CAB has failed in its obligation to act in the public interest in this matter.

Congressman Ottinger has pointedly reminded the CAB of the spanking that the Federal Power Commission got from the Second Circuit Court of Appeals when it similarly rebuffed a group of independent citizens seeking to protect the public interest against the construction of a hydroelectric project at Storm King Mountain. The CAB may be inviting a similar rebuke. It denied the right of citizens to intervene in the case before it in the interests of maintaining a tolerable urban environment on the ground that the complainants' interests "are not so substantial as to require or warrant intervention by them."

But in the Storm King case the Court of Appeals said that a showing of "economic injury" was not necessary to intervention "where the plaintiffs have shown a direct personal interest." The Court sharply reminded the FPC of its claim to be representative of the public interest. It then went on to say:

> This role does not permit it to act as an umpire blandly calling balls and strikes for adversaries; the right of the public must receive active and affirmative protection at the hands of the Commission.

The Transportation Department has taken a similar view, "that a consideration of the environmental impact of common carrier operations is a relevant and important factor to be weighed in determining whether in a particular proceeding the public convenience and necessity require authorization of the proposed service."

Instead of actively and affirmatively protecting the public interest here, the CAB has attempted to wash its hands of the noise and fallout menace. Instead of looking at the issue on its merits, it has simply closed its eyes and ears. In these circumstances there is no alternative to pressing the case before the courts and before Congress until relief is forthcoming.

Mr. Speaker, legislation is needed to place the airlines on notice that the Federal Government is serious about noise abatement. The courts have held jet noise to be a national problem and a national responsibility.

If a quiet engine were available tomorrow, there is no way the Federal Government could require its use by the airlines. That authority must be placed on the books now.

Communist Propaganda Against United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we must be aware of the constant propaganda against the United States. It is obvious that the controversy over Vietnam gives the Communists major opportunities to vilify the United States. Two articles by the noted international correspondent, Dumitru Danielopol, carefully pinpoint the Communist involvement in anti-U.S. moves at home and abroad.

I believe these articles, which appeared in the Aurora Beacon-News and the Elgin Daily Courier News, merit thoughtful review and, therefore, I place them in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Aurora (Ill.) Beacon-News, Sept. 27, 1967]

DUMITRU DANIELOPOL COMMENTS: "BRAINWASHING" BACK IN NEWS

WASHINGTON.—"Brainwashing" is back in the news.

Ever since Gov. George Romney complained of his military-diplomatic briefings in Vietnam in 1965, the term "brainwashing" has become some sort of a joke.

It shouldn't. It's no laughing matter. Brainwashing does happen, although it may not come from the direction indicated by the Michigan governor.

The American people have been subjected to it for nearly half a century by Communists, fellow travelers, dupes and stooges.

Brainwashing is an integral part of the Kremlin effort to win the world for communism. It doesn't have to create the vacant, robot-like "Manchurian Candidate" or the vocal apostles, who chose to stay in China after the Korean war. It is usually more insidious.

Its success can be measured by the fact that more than one billion people have fallen prey to communism mostly because the United States did not recognize the danger.

Here are a few examples of how Red brainwashing changed the course of history.

1. During World War II the image of Stalin as a ruthless tyrant and butcher was twisted into a friendly "Uncle Joe."

Before we awoke, Eastern Europe and half of Germany was in the Communist empire.

2. Chiang Kai-shek was "unpopular," his regime was "corrupt." Help to him was reduced to a trickle. Mao was an "agrarian reformer." Remember?

Today Red China looms as a threat to all civilized society.

3. Batista was a "corrupt dictator." Castro on the other hand was a "liberator."

Today communism has a foothold in the Western hemisphere and a springboard for "wars of liberation" in Latin America.

For 50 years the rulers of Russia have operated the largest, most expertly staffed, scientifically planned and lavishly financed propaganda machine in history.

They have an estimated 6,000 schools devoted exclusively to training professional propagandists.

The United States, the only power in the world that can frustrate the Communist dream of world conquest, logically is No. 1 target for all this. Yet the vast majority of the American people seem unaware of the threat.

A major aim of Communist "brainwashing" is to sow confusion in the minds of the Americans. If they can be swayed to the point where they no longer discern the difference between freedom of speech and incitment to arson, between liberty and license, between dissent and treason, between democracy and anarchy, Moscow has won.

"Intimidation" is also part of the strategy. Even the President avoids the word "Communist." Members of congress who denounce Reds and left-wingers are quickly labeled "McCarthyites" "Birchers," or at best "reactionaries."

Many well meaning people unconsciously further the Communist cause.

People who ought to know better talk in glowing terms of "liberalization" behind the Iron Curtain, yet where is the evidence?

Writers and artists are still persecuted if they stray from the party line. The Berlin Wall is still there. The police state is unchanged, though perhaps better camouflaged.

Washington is a particular Kremlin target, because it is here that policies are discussed debated and made. And today's prime topic is Vietnam. The Communists know that if they can talk the United States out of Vietnam whole new areas of the world are ripe for their conquest.

In my own experience in psychological warfare, with the British during the war, with Radio Free Europe and Voice of America I found one good yardstick to measure propaganda. It really comes from Roman Law:

"Qui prodest?" Whom does it serve?

[From the Elgin (Ill.) Daily Courier News, Oct. 7, 1967]

THEY FREELY ADVISE BUT STAY OUT OF IT

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—This strange attitude of "let's not get involved" is not limited to the United States.

Western Europe is plagued with it, too.

We've all read stories about citizens who watch a crime being committed, yet do nothing, or even interfere with police who try to do something.

Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag of Denmark demonstrated it in a speech here last week.

First he told the National Press Club that Vietnam was "not a European problem." But then he told us we should stop the bombing.

"I do not consider it realistic to get negotiations started without stopping the bombing of North Vietnam," he said.

He suggested this should be done even if Hanoi offers nothing in return. The "risk" would be small, he said. The word "risk" translates here in more American casualties.

Krag's song is not new. We have heard it before from a great variety of people, honest liberals, beatniks, peaceniks, draft dodgers, so-called intellectuals, fellow travelers and Communists.

Krag, like the others, chose to say nothing about previous bombing pauses.

The only response Hanoi made to those was to rearm, reinforce and re-equip its forces in the South. As President Johnson has said, the result was increased American casualties.

Never has Hanoi said that it will negotiate if the bombing stopped.

Time and time again, Hanoi as well as Moscow and Peking have made it clear that they consider South Vietnam their own. Hanoi will not accept a compromise.

The more people talk of halting the bombing, the more convinced Hanoi becomes that she will win.

Krag is wrong when he says that "Vietnam is not a European problem."

Any country threatened by Communist aggresion and fighting for freedom is the problem of every free man.

Like the fellow who watches a murder from his window and does nothing, Europe has chosen to turn her back on Vietnam. It lets the United States carry practically the weight of the battle, and sits by smugly offering self-righteous criticism.

While he sees no responsibility in Vietnam he doesn't take the same view of Communist China.

"China is Russia's neighbor and as such, a country whose destiny and development are essential for Europe," he said.

He ignores the fact that it's Russia and China who are really fighting the Vietnam War.

Krag walks ever so gently in his references to the Communists, but when he turns to the affairs of other Western countries, he is suddenly strong and bold.

He deplores the fact that Portugal insists on keeping her colonies in Africa. He shows concern that "in Southern Africa, white minorities are exercising power in conflict with the ideals of human rights on which Western civilization is founded." He attacks the government of Greece, although he admits that one NATO ally has no business interfering in the internal affairs of another.

His concern for human rights is laudable. But it would have been more convincing if he recognized that one-third of the population of the world is deprived of the same human rights by communism.

His concern about colonialism would have been more convincing if he spoke for the freedom and independence of Eastern Europe.

Krag's government, however, is establishing closer ties with the satellites of Eastern Europe. He makes it quite plain that he doesn't want any change in that "status quo."

"We should develop these contacts in such a manner that we do not give rise to distrust between th Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe," he said.

Denmark has diplomatic relations with Red China and thinks Peking should hold China's seat in the United Nations.

Like so many liberals Krag sees a danger of totalitarianism only from the right, ignoring that one-third of the world's population is imprisoned by the tyranny of the left.

Such Europeans need new glasses.

Uniform Emergency Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD another example of the numerous letters I have received in response to my cosponsorship of House Concurrent Resolution 361 urging the adoption, nationwide, of a single, uniform police number and a single, uniform fire-reporting number. This letter indicates some of the problems in St. Louis County and the fire marshal's support of this resolution.

ST. LOUIS COUNTY, MO., DIVISION
OF FIRE AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION,
Clayton, Mo., September 18, 1967.
Representative J. EDWARD ROUSH,
House Post Office,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ROUSH: Your article in the St. Louis Post Dispatch Sunday Magazine, "Parade", indicates a solution to a problem that has hampered adequate fire department response for years.

Having recommended similar solutions to our outmoded and completely inadequate system of fire dispatching here in St. Louis County (a County with around 900,000 residents and 54 different fire departments), I can only thank you for your efforts in behalf of obtaining some type of system that will enable anyone to place an emergency call for assistance in the shortest time possible.

As we have nearly forty-five (45) different telephone numbers for fire alarms in our County, I feel that we must exemplify the problem as well as any place else.

This Office has long been struggling to alleviate this situation, but lack of support from the local fire departments and a general apathy on the part of the citizens has made these efforts fruitless. If your solution to this problem does nothing for anyone else, it would certainly be very welcome in this area. I sincerely request that you continue to push this matter to the logical conclusion.

I have long suspected that this area is one of the worst in the Country. As you have no doubt investigated this subject on a broader basis than we have, I wonder if it would be possible to obtain any figures on the results of this investigation; figures that could be used in our local efforts toward remedying our local mess.

Once again, this Office stands behind you in your efforts toward obtaining this system throughout the Country. We will do everything we can to back you in this fight, please do not let it slip into oblivion as it has in the past. You will have much opposition from the Telephone Companies but perhaps more publicity, such as the article in Sunday's paper, will help ease this opposition.

If I can be of any assistance to you in your efforts, please feel free to call at any time.

Very truly yours,
JAMES E. HOLDINGHAUS,
Fire Marshal.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko: 150th Anniversary of His Death—October 15, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on October 15, 1817, Thaddeus Kosciuszko died. This Sunday marks the 150th anniversary of his death. With him died an era of individual devotion to principle that was without equal in history.

Kosciuszko was the heart and soul of that era. His entire life was spent battling for an ideal. His goal was freedom—freedom for men and women who had never known freedom; freedom for those who had labored under tyranny and oppression all the days of their lives.

When he came to this country from Europe to help in our Revolutionary War, he was well acquainted with the selfish tyrannies of kings. So he offered his life to total strangers who believed as he did—that men had the right to decide for themselves what their destiny would be.

His courage in battle led men to risk their lives as readily as he risked his. His zest and enthusiasm renewed them when they tired and were discouraged and despaired of defeating the hordes of redcoats that swarmed at every hand.

There seemed to be nothing Kosciuszko could or would not do for the fledgling American government, from designing fortifications for West Point and Fort Delaware, to leading charges in clash after clash with enemy forces.

Eventually, Cornwallis was defeated and the peace was signed. The United States of America was a free and independent new nation. Praise and riches were lavished on Kosciuszko, but he was troubled by the grave news from across the sea in Poland. He could not rest, but sailed at once to lend a hand to help his doomed nation in any way he could. Yet even he could not withstand the massed armies of Russia and his revolt was smashed and he was captured and thrown into a Russian prison.

But they could not crush his spirit or his mind.

Eventually, when he was set free, he sought out his friends in the United States once more. Congress, recognizing his great contribution to our victory over the British, presented him with grants of land and an independent income. On every hand were well wishers, friends, and admirers.

But, as dark clouds gathered over Europe, this man who had never chosen a soft life, resolved to return to the frontlines in the war against tyranny. Before departing, he turned over his fortune and holdings in America to his friend Thomas Jefferson, with the stipulation that they be used to establish a school for Negroes and to buy and free Negro slaves. Slavery was the great blemish on American democracy. Kosciuszko—who hated all forms of oppression and human suffering—by his example taught America a lesson in conscience that could not be ignored.

President Jefferson carried out his wishes to the letter and set his own slaves free upon his death.

February 12, 1809, was Kosciuszko's 63d birthday. On that day, far across Europe and the Atlantic Ocean, a child was born who was to proclaim Kosciuszko's lesson in freedom to all his countrymen and to the world. Abraham Lincoln was equal to the challenge.

Kosciuszko lived in an age of violence; of shifting borders and shifting loyalties; of fear and oppression, hunger and deprivation. And war. Early in life, he decided to devote his talents and his allotted time on earth to changing the old, old order.

Love of liberty radiated from him as light from a torch. He inspired men to look beyond themselves; to reach a little higher than they thought themselves capable; to see life as a continuing gift from God to be used carefully, wisely and with respect for all men.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko inspired a generation. Always, always by his example he urged men to improve, to better themselves, to stand for something, and not to fear dying if it meant others might live freely and with dignity.

Now this Nation he crossed a continent and an ocean to help is confronted with a global struggle that is not confined to national borders and territories. Today, the entire world is at stake and all who live in it must become involved in survival or face the consequences of their indifference.

Our national involvement in Vietnam is a blunt statement to all the nations with whom we share this tiny planet that the United States stands for something. Our word is good.

There is not a man among us, whether in the White House, in the Congress, or in the towns and cities across the country who likes what we are doing in Vietnam. None of us wants to be there.

But the history of too many great nations has been a history of appeasement, capitulation, and eventual defeat.

Our technological progress is great and growing. But it is also conservatively estimated that Red China will have a deliverable hydrogen weapon capable of hitting any target, anywhere on earth, in less than 5 years.

I ask you, What good would it do at this stage of development in the terrible weapons of war to say America will defend her own borders and no others? In a nuclear age there are no borders. Only targets.

Our globe, which holds so many hungry, oppressed millions, must be America's concern. We have the conscience, and the power, to do something to help.

If we can convince Red China and the Communist governments in Hanoi and Moscow we will not sacrifice Asia—as Poland was sacrified, and Czechoslovakia, and nation after nation in every corner of the world throughout history—we may buy enough time to persuade these hysterical warlords with their horrifying ability to destroy the world that there can be no victor in a global holocaust.

They have whipped themselves into frenzied dreams of conquest, somehow believing that conquering a hungry, overcrowded world will remove them from the responsibility of solving their own gigantic domestic problems.

We must convince them a war with us would be impossible of victory. And we must persuade them to talk of peace instead of war.

We have not much time. We in America could use these next few years frantically living the good life at home while the shadow of death slips over the world as one by one the small, defenseless nations are absorbed and crushed by communism.

But what about responsibility and the American dream of liberty and self-determination for all men? As long as our pledge stands for something and our commitments are made in honor, we are living up to the good words we have preached to the world in easier, more peaceful times.

Just as Kosciusko was on the side of right, regardless of the odds, so must we—each and every one of us—be on that side, too.

Adlai Stevenson might have had Kosciusko and all of us in mind before his death when he wrote:

> What counts now is not just what we are against, but what we are for. Who leads us is less important than what leads us—what convictions, what courage, what faith—win or lose. A man doesn't save a century or a civilization, but a militant group wedded to a principle, can.

National VFW Commander Scerra on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the newly elected commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., a good friend and constituent of mine, was recently interviewed on WBZ–TV in Boston.

Commander Scerra gave some highly interesting and informed opinions and observations on the South Vietnam elections, and I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the second portion of the WBZ–TV interview conducted during its popular "Next Question" press conference program.

The material follows:

This is "Next Question." Our guest today is the Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Massachusetts. Less than a month ago he was elected to that office at the national convention of the VFW and almost immediately he went to Viet-Nam as a member of the Presidential Commission observing the Vietnamese elections.

As always, today's questions asked do not necessarily reflect the opinion of WBZ–TV or the reporters on this panel. To continue the questions, Jack Chase.

P.* Commander, you and the other 21 members of the Special Presidential Commission apparently came back with a unified opinion after a ten days observation tour over there of the election. What concerns most of us back home is why is there so much confusion and so much opposition to Viet-Nam by those here at home?

S.* Well, first let me say I would rather not say unified opinion. I would rather say that the opinions reached by all of us probably are in agreement, but there was no attempt of unification. We all expressed our own opinion—they seemed to be in agreement. Now this may be twisting words a little bit, but I don't want to imply in any way that we got together and this was a unified opinion. Now you ask. . . your second question is there seems to be some disagreement at home on our position out there. Is this correct?

P.* It's all more or less part of the same question. You who have been there seem to have a feeling about Viet-Nam—that the people want a democratic government. . . that the election itself was fair. We here at home seem to be confused quite a bit by reports coming from Viet-Nam. There is a lot of confusion and a lot of dissension regarding the Veit-Nam problem as a whole. How do you account for all this opposition and confusion here in the United States?

S.* Well, let me say this confusion concerning the problem in South Viet-Nam is not a confusion that I believe simply grew up. A lot of it has been fed by propaganda from North Viet-Nam—whether we like it or not—and North Vietnamese sympathizers.

Well, let me tell you. . . from the information that we gathered there. . . from my prior trips to South Viet-Nam. . . there isn't any hope whatsoever of North Viet-Nam winning this conflict, but one. And that hope is in the fact that the American people will stop the support of the military in South Viet-Nam and, thereby, giving a victory to the North Vietnamese.

We are winning the war in South Viet-Nam. There's no such thing as a stalemate in South Viet-Nam and if you believe that, then you're not believing the facts because the North Vietnamese have not won a military victory of any kind for over a year.

P.* Well, if we're winning the war, why do we have to continue increasing our manpower there, increasing our expenditures there, increasing our effort there?

S.* Because what is happening in South Viet-Nam is simply this: we have now secured the populated areas of South Viet-Nam. And one of the great things that must happen out there is that security must be maintained and at the same time we must seek out and ferret the enemy.

It is my belief that now that we've established ourselves there, and my belief through observation, that the manpower that's required in South Viet-Nam is needed now to complete the job in South Viet-Nam.

P.* Just before the station break here, you implied, and you also said at your news conference, Commander, that some of the news coming out of Viet-Nam you felt was slanted and that you encountered some hostility by the press corps—at least some observers did. Would you expound a little bit on that? In other words, are our news reporters not doing the job you think they should be doing out there?

S.* Let me say that the viewpoint that I expressed in my news conference was not only mine. I think that if you check the news media, if you check the stories concerning our report to the President, I wasn't the only one that had that viewpoint.

Yes, I firmly believe that in many cases people are reporting news out there but not reporting, let me say, the favorable part of it. For example, the things that we are doing there. It has been said in some of the news reports that the South Vietnamese are not carrying their weight, for example—they're not doing the job there—we're doing it all.

I'd like to point out something: that during the elections, all American troops were on curfew. None were to be seen outside their compounds, except the people in the field in uniform. The South Vietnamese Army maintained the security of the country and allowed the people to vote. The South Vietnamese Army is furnishing all security for military installations. This story isn't being told.

P.* Why?

S.* I don't know. I'm not the news media. This is what I'm trying to get across. This is a favorable point for the South Vietnamese. They're doing a tremendous job.

P.* Well, of course, Commander, in some cases newsmen are entirely reliant on the military personnel. For example, on Viet Cong casualties, and there's been an awful lot of discussion about those. Are they factual? Can we believe that they are so much greater than ours?

S.* Yes. In fact, when the military give information on Viet-Cong casualties, Viet Cong casualties are actually given actual body count, and this is a fact.

P.* Except that we've also had some inconsistencies even where our own casualties were concerned, Commander. The military have given us piecemeal casualty rates and then, in the aggregate, they appear to be considerably above what we were told they originally were.

S. * Well, I actually can't answer that, except that I did go through the casualty figures with the military. We made a special point of doing this. And, to the best of my knowledge, the military do furnish the actual casualty figures. In some cases, they may be piecemeal because complete information is lacking and those figures have to be changed. But, in the case of VC casualties, I have been told—we've actually been told this on many levels, down to the company levels in the field—they're actual body count.

P.* Commander, do you advocate escalating the war and increased participation on our part?

S.* Well, the word escalation has many connotations.

P.* In the bombing sense . . . do you advocate bombing of the North? What kind of bombing would you advocate?

S.* I would advocate the continued bombing of the North. I would even say that we should increase the bombing of the North, because this is what is keeping the North Vietnamese off balance. It's making it necessary for them to keep up to 500,000 men in the North repairing bridges, repairing facilities, and manning the greatest anti-aircraft system the world has ever seen. Without this, I think that we would be wrong and we would be giving them time to regroup their forces and resupply.

P.* Do you have any concern about the entry of Communist China into the war if we escalate?

S.* I have no concern about the entry of China into the war if we escalate, simply because I belong to the school of thought—and these are just two opinions—that China will not enter the war.

P.* The VFW, also, sir, would effect a blockade of North Viet-Nam. The military assured us in Korea that the Chinese would not enter the war. Now why should we assume that they're right—that China, nor Russia, will intervene if we escalate?

S.* Because I believe that we have a different set-up at this time. For example, China is in trouble right now. You could almost say that China is practically having a little civil war of its own on its hands at this time, and I doubt that China would enter the war at this time.

Now, there're two schools of thought in this too: the military seem to believe, as you've just indicated, that China would not enter the war. I might even go on and say this: that those ships that are bringing supplies into Haiphong and even into ———, Cambodia, are bringing supplies and material used to kill our men, and I think the only way we can interdict them is to stop these supplies from getting into Haiphong, to North Viet-Nam.

P.* Certain racial extremists—Stokely Carmichael for one—has called for Negro soldiers in Viet-Nam to actually fire upon our own white soldiers. Did you observe any discrimination or any other racial problem among our servicemen in Viet-Nam?

S.* None whatsoever. In fact, the morale of our soldiers—white or colored—is extremely high. In fact, Whitney Young of the Urban League was among our group and he also indicated exactly what I said.

P.* You said that you felt that the election would help end the war there. Will you tell us how, Commander, you feel that this will become a reality?

S.* I think it will end the war there because of this reason: the South Vietnamese, as one of them said to me—he was eighty years old and this is unusual in a South Vietnamese because their average span is between 50 and 60. For the first time in his life, he had voted for a president. For the first time in the lives of many South Vietnamese, they have voted for a constituent assembly, for a president, and for the upper house recently on September 3rd. This was a victory . . . a political victory for South Vietnam. I firmly believe that a government will emanate from South Viet-Nam . . . a government that will be viable . . . a government that will be able to deal with the North Vietnamese as such.

P.* In about how long, according to your opinion?

S.* I would say, as I understand it, the president will take over in, if I'm not mistaken, in a month. And the upper house will come into formation about the same time, and the lower house we voted on, I think, in October.

P.* Well, are you saying, in effect, Commander, that we should be able to evaluate the impact of the elections within a month?

S.* I would say it'll take a little longer than a month. We've got to get both houses working and the executive branch working. Give us enough time to get both houses working and the executive branch and I think we'll be able to evaluate the impact of this election.

P.* Six months?

S.* If that's the time, yes.

P.* Commander, turning to another election, we have national elections coming up in this country next year. How will Viet-Nam fit as an election issue in that? Do you have any predictions?

S.* Yes, I'd have a prediction. I'd have a prediction that the Viet-Nam situation will figure in this election, which might not be the prediction of the politicians, and I'm not a politician, but I've been exposed to the people in this country and I do not think that our people are willing to wait five and ten years, as they've been asked to wait, for the conclusion of this conflict there. I think that our people are probably, like all Americans, a little impatient and want to get this over with.

And I think our people are really and truly concerned, and they ought to be, of our losses in South Viet-Nam. And I think it will figure greatly in the election in '68 and I think President Johnson and anybody else who aspires to the Presidency and I think both political parties know it.

P.* Do you feel, sir, that our line of communication between here and Viet-Nam and back again is what it should be?

S.* In what sense . . . do you mean a news sense?

P.* No, no . . . between our governments and our peoples.

S.* Yes.

MACDONALD. Okay, that's a direct answer to a direct question.

I thank you very much. Our guest today on "Next Question" has been Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Massachusetts, Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who has just returned from serving as an official observer of the Vietnamese elections.

Our panelists today have been Jack Chase, eyewitness news reporter, and Sherman Bazell, WBZ-TV News Director. Arch Macdonald speaking . . . good afternoon everybody.

P.*—Panelist.

S.*—Commander Scerra.

The Waning Hippies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, in the past several days I have received a number of letters from responsible and concerned teenagers in my district, who are distressed by newspaper accounts of the bizarre behavior of so-called hippies.

These fine young people, who seem to feel a personal responsibility for the future of our country, cannot understand why the hippies run away from the reality of the world instead of devoting their talents and energy to making the world a better place to live.

As an encouraging word to all who

long for the end of "hippiedom," I insert an editorial from the Elizabethton, Tenn., Star in the Appendix of the Record:

The Waning Hippies

Many a harried parent's heart may jump with relief at the thought that Ron Thelin might just be right about the hippies. The proprietor of the Psychedelic Shop, which for a year and a half has been a popular hippie haunt in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, says the flower children are withering on the vine. We will not mourn their passing if he proves right, and think few others will.

This is not to say that the hippies merit undiluted condemnation. For all their sloppy dress and conduct, for all their dabbling in "pot" and LSD, they are as much deserving of pity as of censure. It is unproductive to spout wrath at these bewildered, disoriented young people. Trying to understand them is more to the point.

But understanding may breed disquiet. The hippie philosophy of escape from reality—of "tuning out"—constitutes a genuine threat to society. It is a threat that cannot be ignored because so many young people have been attracted to this curious un-life whose focus seems to be entirely on stimuli for their own sake. If the hippies are indeed on the decline, that is good news.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

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11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.* The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

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Appendix

Speaker McCormack Hits Irresponsible Criticism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday our beloved Speaker, JOHN McCORMACK, returned to school and gave a lesson in responsibility that should benefit Americans everywhere.

In his statement yesterday, which was highly reminiscent of his recent remarks on the floor of the House October 11, our Speaker cited those individuals who through irresponsible statements have "directly and indirectly given sympathy and aid to the enemy." The occasion of his remarks was the dedication of the John W. McCormack School in Boston, which is the first ever dedicated to an individual during his own lifetime. This was a particularly fitting tribute to a great American who, although his own formal education was extremely limited, is by any standards an extremely well-educated man of tremendous vision and compassion.

We can all benefit from the lesson he gave yesterday, for here is a man who has a fine sense of history and civic responsibility. JOHN McCORMACK has served his Nation through many trying periods. He is aware of the need for leadership and his career as a public servant can well serve as a text for anyone who aspires to a role of leadership in our Nation.

When Speaker McCORMACK brings to task those who, through partisan ambition or political naivete undermine our Nation's efforts, his remarks are worthy of the utmost respect.

We are all honored to serve with such a great American and I commend the city of Boston on its most fitting tribute to this man of dedication, Speaker JOHN McCORMACK. As I am sure all my colleagues join me in this sentiment, I am enclosing an article which appeared in today's Boston Globe:

[From the Boston Globe, Monday, Oct. 16, 1967]

JOHN W. McCORMACK SCHOOL DEDICATED AT COLUMBIA POINT

(By Min S. Yee)

Speaker of the House John W. McCormack lashed out sharply against critics of the U.S. military effort in South Vietnam on Sunday.

The Speaker criticized what he called "irresponsible dissent" of the administration's Vietnam policy just prior to dedication of the John W. McCormack School at Columbia Point.

The dedication marked the first time in the city's history that a new public school was named in honor of a man during his lifetime.

Dissent on the administration's Vietnam policy has "directly or indirectly given sympathy and aid to the enemy," he said. "We find the minister of defense of North Vietnam saying that certain elements in America are in sympathy with them," McCormack said.

McCormack said that the administration had made "over 150 efforts to negotiate. We've even been willing to negotiate to negotiate."

The critics have "just been calling on us to negotiate. That's not responsible expression," McCormack concluded.

In a telegram sent to the school, President Johnson said: "I share the good judgment and foresight of those who dedicate the John W. McCormack School.

"I can think of no finer tribute to my good friend, your fine congressman and the nation's great servant," the President said.

In his dedicatory remarks to some 500 spectators, McCormack spoke of his own lack of education.

"I wish I could have gone to college as a youngster. I wish I could have gone to high school. But I worked as an errand boy, studied law some and then Mrs. McCormack and I fell in love with each other."

Mrs. Harriet McCormack, sitting on the stage, laughed.

"I am proud to be able to say that in my years in Congress I have done battle for the passage of many bills aiding America's children in their quest for an education. From my own struggles for an education as a youngster and as a young man, I have known that anything I could do to help our country's educational program I should do with all the energy I possessed," McCormack said.

"There is no better investment a nation can make than in investing in the education of its youth," the Speaker said.

The Speaker departed from his prepared text to pay tribute to James Michael Curley.

"Misunderstood as we are, I want to pay tribute to a man I consider one of the greatest public officials I ever met. This school is an extension of his dream. This man was a dreamer but he put his dreams into action.

"He's the one who contributed so much to the happiness of this city and this great state—the late James Michael Curley."

Investiture of Hon. Charles A. Moran, Atlanta, Ga., in Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it has recently come to my attention that one of my warm friends, the Honorable Charles A. Moran, of Atlanta, has been received into the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem at St. Patrick's Cathedral, in New York. Following his investiture, a high mass was offered by Francis Cardinal Spellman, who is honorary grand prior of the order.

Mr. Moran is the first Catholic layman from the State of Georgia ever to be accorded this honor, and one of the first in the entire South. I know that he and his many friends and associates are very proud. I ask unanimous consent that a newspaper article pertaining to his investiture in this order be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORAN GETS PAPAL HONOR ON SHRINES

Charles A. Moran of 218 Bolling Road NE was received into the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem Saturday in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York.

His investiture was followed by a High Mass offered by Francis Cardinal Spellman, honorary grand prior of the order.

The Equestrian Order was founded after the First Crusade and today is composed of those active in the preservation of the Shrines of the Holy Land. It is under the auspices of the Vatican and the membership is a papal honor.

Mr. Moran, member of a pioneer Atlanta Catholic family, is a retired official of the State Department of Labor. He is a veteran of World War I and is active in veteran's organizations.

ARS and SBA Team Up To Assist Polio Victim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, the cooperation between the various branches of the Federal Government and State and local government agencies is paying off every day in benefits to many people. An example of this cooperation, in which the Small Business Administration played a leading part, has just come to my attention.

The example concerns Joel Overton, an industrious resident of Malvern, Ark., a polio victim, who is now the proprietor of his own small business because of help provided by SBA's office in Little Rock.

Joel Overton is unable to do heavy work. The Arkansas Rehabilitation Service of the State Board for Vocational Education at Little Rock helped him locate a suitable small business—a newsstand in downtown Little Rock.

It was at this point that the Small Business Administration came into the picture. Joel Overton required a long-term loan to help him purchase this small business. SBA has been working closely with the Arkansas Rehabilitation Service, and was eager to help. An economic opportunity loan of $2,500, to be repaid in 7 years, was quickly arranged.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very modest loan, and yet to Joel Overton it has made all the difference. He is now doing business as the proprietor of a successful small enterprise, the Malvern News Stand.

The story of Joel Overton is told in the August issue of the Counselor, official publication of the Arkansas Rehabilitation Service.

Because it exemplifies the benefits that this cooperation between Government agencies can bring, I include this article at this point in the Record:

ARS AND SBA TEAM UP TO ASSIST POLIO VICTIM

Cooperation between the Arkansas Rehabilitation Service and the Small Business Administration has enabled Joel Overton, a victim of polio, to go into business for himself in Malvern.

Mr. Overton recently bought out and remodeled the Malvern News Stand. He held his grand opening the week of September 4–8 as Malvern celebrated "Frontier Days."

Mr. Ooverton, 30, a native of Traskwood, was stricken with polio when he was two years old. The disease affected mainly his legs and limited his area of employment. On his own, however, he was able to secure training as a radio and television repairman and worked successfully in that field until 1965.

By then, effects of the disease had progressed to the point that he could no longer work in radio and television repair. He became unemployed and with a wife and son to support he needed help.

He contacted the Arkansas Rehabilitation Service and the rehabilitation counselor for Hot Spring County recognized Mr. Overton had a desire to return to work. Through a medical examination it was found that he could hold jobs which did not require a lot of physical labor.

The rehabilitation counselor sent Mr. Overton to the Rehabilitation Service's Hot Springs Rehabilitation Center. There he received an intensive evaluation to determine the vocational field best suited for him.

While at the Center he also received additional medical evaluation which indicated that long leg braces would give him better mobility. This would allow him to keep a job for which he would be physically qualified.

The results of his overall evaluation indicated that Mr. Overton could be best employed in a small business operation not requiring heavy work. It was at this time that Charles M. Tapp became Mr. Overton's rehabilitation counselor and he went to work trying to find a suitable job for his client.

The counselor learned that the Malvern News Stand, a downtown business establishment, was for sale. W. N. Lawrence, owner of the News Stand, had earlier suffered a stroke and heart attack and wanted to get out of the business.

Mr. Tapp then contacted Ben E. Rice, agriculture and small business specialist for the Arkansas Rehabilitation Service, and they talked to Mr. Lawrence about Mr. Overton taking over the business. Financing of the transaction then became an obstacle, Mr. Overton lacked the money to purchase the business and the Rehabilitation Service could provide only a portion of the purchase price.

On top of this was Mr. Overton's inability to produce collateral for a bank loan and besides that he was unemployed.

Mr. Rice decided to investigate the possibility of Mr. Overton obtaining a small business loan from the Small Business Administration. He might qualify for a loan, the SBA said, and Mr. Overton made application with the endorsement of the Rehabilitation Service. After reviewing the application and looking into the News Stand's business prospects, the SBA approved the request for a loan.

The Rehabilitation Service also helped Mr. Overton in financing improvements to the building and in May 1967 he was ready to begin operations. He employed his brother, Herman, also a victim of polio, as an assistant.

After turning the business over to Mr. Overton, Mr. Lawrence made himself available for advice on operating the News Stand. Mr. Lawrence still has a small office at the rear of the store where he works on income tax forms. The Overtons also receive counseling from Mr. Tapp and Mr. Rice who continue to make periodic visits to the establishment.

Mr. Lawrence said business at the News Stand is brisk and the Overtons have already topped his sales record for a day's business. The former owner says he fully believes the news owners will be successful in their new business.

Discrimination Against Poor

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 19, 1967

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with dismay—and some disgust—that I refer today to the action taken yesterday by a small, reactionary minority of the House in striking the lowest blow yet against the national effort that is being made to help those who are poor work their way out of poverty.

In discriminating against the less than 3,000 people who work for the office of Economic opportunity by excluding them from the Federal pay raise the House authorized yesterday, that small minority delivered a slap in the face of every poor person in America.

OEO is the symbol of the Nation's strategy against poverty—a strategy that is working. Because of OEO—and the dedication of its employees—the poor of this Nation know that a war is being waged against poverty.

Is this the slap the House intended yesterday? I think not. I think the House action reflects the feelings of only a few. And I think the wrath of this country will well up against those who are so unconcerned—so uninterested, apparently, in the terrible problem of poverty that exists.

It was charged on this floor yesterday that 25 OEO employees received more basic annual pay than General Westmoreland. No OEO employee—let me emphasize—no OEO employee, including Director Sargent Shriver, receives the compensation that General Westmoreland does.

But the comparison is ridiculous anyway.

What needs to be talked about are the many down-the-line OEO employees—secretaries, typists, clerks—who will suffer because of the political machinations of those who sought yesterday to hit OEO and the war on poverty with another unfair blow.

More than 1,200 OEO employees hold a grade 7 or less in the classification scale. This means they make in the neighborhood of $6,000 or less—most of them less. Are they to be denied the increase that would go to similar employees in all other agencies of Government?

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and on in citing the irresponsibility of the charges that were made and the action that was taken yesterday. I will not do so at this time. I will not have to do it in the future.

Those Americans who are concerned about their impoverished fellow citizens—and dedicated to the task of helping them—will rise up and express their own anger about the deplorable action of so few with damage to the aspirations and hopes of so many.

I know the responsible members of the other party will want to disassociate themselves from the minority action that was taken. In this regard, I include an article in last Thursday's Washington Star noting objection to this action by 21 Republican mayors in the Record at this time:

BAR OEO CUT, GOP MAYORS ASK REPUBLICANS ON HILL

Twenty-one Republican mayors have urged GOP leaders in Congress to continue or expand programs offered by the Office of Economic Opportunity by voting for the necessary funds.

A telegram on behalf of the group was sent yesterday by Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell of Honolulu to Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen and House Leader Gerald R. Ford. It was made public by OEO.

Opposing moves to cut back the OEO program in the economy drive in Congress, the telegram said in part:

"We feel the implementation of our local programs as sponsored by OEO are giving great impetus . . . and any slowing up of such programs will greatly deter the progress which has been made thus far."

Washington's Gov. Daniel J. Evans Addresses National Institute of Public Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Washington's Gov. Daniel J. Evans addressed the National Institute of Public Affairs in Washington, D.C., last week, and he brought out the problems of the States, but he also called for communication between State and Federal Governments. Governor Evans' conclusion that we can become urbanized and civilized at the same time is one that offers a real challenge to all lawmakers. Under unanimous consent I include the text of Governor Evans' address in the Record:

THE URBAN CHALLENGE OF THE STATES

(Speech by Daniel J. Evans, Governor of the State of Washington, at the National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1967)

As a nation and a people we are just now awakening to the recognition of the terrifying impact of urbanization. In this country, more powerful and more affluent than any in history, we seethe with the tides of social discontent, the injustice of hope denied and the burden of a war unwon. During this past summer, to the conflict abroad, we have added conflict at home, a deep and distressing scare of conscience, a new and disturbing dimension to crisis.

Perhaps no domestic issue since the Depression has caused the people of this country to turn inward so swiftly; no issue has compelled them to search their consciences so deeply or to question the social, political and economic structure of our society so keenly.

We woke one fine summer day to see the streets of our cities spill over with violence; to see our impacted, decaying urban areas erupt in semi-revolution. For a fraction of one day, or an hour, or a week, every major city in the country teetered on the edge of conflict. If the city was lucky, like Seattle, leadership and cool heads prevailed and no riot occurred; in other cities, violence was swiftly contained; others were not so lucky.

But I don't believe that we can measure the dilemma of our cities by the degree of their good fortune or lack of good fortune this past summer. The problems of summer are a year-round reality and the same seeds of rebellion which erupted into a harvest of hate in Newark; the same frustration which turned Detroit into a carnage of death and destruction might well envelop any other city tomorrow.

This nation, which has made the transition from an agrarian to an industrialized society in just two hundred years, now finds itself face to face with the fact that by 1990—or even before—nine out of ten citizens will live in heavily concentrated urban areas. Yet, even as we contemplate this fundamental redesign of our social geography, we must recognize that it is precisely the urban area which suffers from central decay.

It is the urban area which poses the problem of air and water pollution, of archaic transportation systems and escalating costs of fire and police protection. It is the urban area where the seeds of imbedded social injustice have spilled over into the streets; it is the urban area where opportunity is a word spoken frequently, but not always realized.

I think it is becoming readily apparent that unless and until we resolve our urban crisis, this nation will not recover the historical momentum which has propelled it to the pinnacle of self esteem and world leadership. I do not believe our resources are unlimited and I do not believe our patience is inexhaustible. But within the time we can find and with all the resources we can muster, the urban dilemma must be mastered. If we cannot prevail in this one priority, then we must ultimately be prepared to surrender the streets to lawlessness and our orderly society to the chaos of social upheaval.

Not more than two months ago, I went into the Central District of Seattle and I listened. I listened not only as Governor, but as a private citizen, and if you would like to ask the question, "Shouldn't I have gone before," the answer is yes, I should have. We all should have gone before—to listen and to learn—labor and management, Republican and Democrat, educator and student.

We should go to listen and to learn—not at polite bull sessions or dinners or gatherings devoted to a spurious fellowship but at meetings where the people and their problems are located and where everyone gets their fears, frustrations and resentments out of their systems.

It was a very leveling experience, not only because of the conditions and attitudes which existed but because these conditions and attitudes could and did exist in a state which now produces more than its share of the national wealth; whose citizens rank among the highest in the nation in education; a state where affluence and opportunity are everywhere abundant, where growth is spectacular and where unemployment is at the lowest point in recent history.

I think it is our obligation, collectively, to view the orderly development of our urban society as the chief priority of our times. The massive destruction of our urban areas is not inevitable. It need not be part of an inexorable pattern of history.

While urbanization is most visibly a physical and geographical phenomenon, its chief importance is as it affects our outlook. In my own state, the shift from a rural to an urban mind-set has been swift and decisive. It has nothing to do with where a person lives but rather with the outlook of the society in which he lives.

Our society is becoming increasingly dominated by the young and the educated. Living as a part of the affluent society, or perhaps in an enclave surrounded by the affluent society, possessed of an accelerating mobility and the revolutionary impact of electronic comunications, we are subjected to an unceasing torrent of ideas and sensations, some foreign, some familiar, but all demanding attention. Not only do the ideas and sensations of the world demand and get attention, the problems of urban living also demand attention and solution.

The heavenly city, the sweet by-and-by or pie in the sky are no longer valid or sufficient answers. In a world of rising expectations, people demand that solutions be found—and quickly.

This is a task which will require the mobilization and commitments of all of our resources. It will specifically require the mobilization and commitment of the vast, yet in many instances, untapped, resources of state government.

State government in our great federal system is probably the most unique, enduring and worthwhile contribution of this nation to the art of government. It is a system, however, that in recent years has seemed to be so wedded to the past as to be unable to solve the problems of the present, much less meet the challenges of the future. The basic question is whether state government can survive as a credible force and a full participant in the Federal system. To this question, my answer is an emphatic yes.

While I must concede the stature of state government is somewhat tarnished, it is also no secret that state government, long the subject of popular indifference and scorn has suddenly assumed a new importance and is being carefully and severely tested.

In no other area of government are the dynamics of change so apparent nor the opportunities for improvement so great.

Whether this sudden interest in state government is motivated by a last desperate hope, the prospect of a convenient scapegoat or a genuine belief in the worth of federal system is immaterial.

This is no time either for the states to engage in self-flagellation over their past inadequacies nor for the resources of the resurgent states to be rejected because of their former failures or the easy acceptance of outworn patterns of government.

As I said in my State of the State message earlier this year, "State governments are unquestionably on trial today. We have been derelict in the past in meeting our basic obligations and this has both required and encouraged intervention by the federal government. I believe it is possible for state government to reassume its rightful responsibilities but only if we have the administrative capacity, the laws, the money and the willingness to carry out our share of the governmental process. If we're not willing to pay the price, if we cannot change where change is required, if we cannot prepare and carry out the programs so necessary to the conduct of expanding state affairs, if these things are not possible, then we only have one remaining recourse. That is to prepare for an orderly transfer of our remaining responsibilities to the federal government."

Let me be clear, however, I am not raising the tattered, discredited banner of state's rights nor do I take seriously those who would nostalgically return to 1920 or even to 1890. The problem faced today at the state and local level is to reform our structure of government, rethink the role of government, and find ways to make the various areas of government, along with the private sector, responsive to the legitimate needs and aspirations of our citizens.

Rather than chase the phantom of reduced federal power, I prefer to strive to the goal of increased participation by state government in its legitimate areas of concern. While most, if not all, public problems are today national in scope, they generally have special local characteristics. Whether it is called creative federalism, the great partnership or some other politically attractive phrase, it is imperative that state government become a part of the action. This is neither cheap nor easy, but it is essential. Essential not just to preserve the political idea of the federal system, although that is important but essential if we are to get the job done and find the adequate solutions to our pressing problems.

It has become obvious that no single level of government is alone adequate to the task and that our evolving federalism requires all levels of government to be active participants and not passive observers. This is a fact which is recognized not just by those of us at the state level. Recent actions indicate it has now become a real factor in the judgments and attitudes of the federal government. The job is simply too big to coordinate successfully from the top, massive programs of national concern.

In the specific area of finance, I believe there must be a reassessment of the relative roles of state government and the federal government in providing future funds and future assistance to cities and urban areas. It is my belief that while federal assistance is more readily available today, the ultimate solution to urban government lies with the states; that the states—not the federal government—represent both the proper level of concern and the proper level of coordination for the needs of urban areas.

I do not believe or propose that the states should usurp legitimate federal programs, nor do I question the desirability of a strong federal-state or federal-local partnership. My concern is that the money which is available for the support of local government be eventually channeled through the states, where, in our case, the needs of Seattle can be weighed against the needs of Tacoma, and not against the needs of Cleveland, Ohio.

This is not something which can be or ought to be accomplished overnight—there is much to be done before such a concept can fully be carried out. But I believe this—that we should be working together toward such a goal continuously and with all of the efforts of both state and local leadership.

The states can provide a much better understanding of the needs of urban areas within their judisdiction than any other level of government. The federal overview of urban problems is not necessarily as accurate or as sensitive as that from the state level. It should be apparent by now that we have no federal solution. Furthermore, it is only through state action that the tools of government can be suppiled to local governments.

This certainly requires the states to acquire the means to understand the problems of cities as well as giving the urban areas the fiscal and governmental competence to act. This can be done. In the State of Washington, the last session of the legislature, at my request, created a State Planning and Community Affairs Agency within the office of the Governor which will provide direct and comprehensive communication and assistance between state government and our urban centers. In most states, I believe substantial progress is being made in governmental reorganization to meet the demands of an urban society. While the job is far from finished, the momentum for reorganization is one of the most significant trends in state government.

Even if states recognize the demand and act to respond to the priority of urban problems, without a massive improvement of the basic structure of state government—constitutional reform—the answers cannot be provided. Good wishes and governmental reorganization are not enough if both the state and local government are to deal effectively with urbanization.

Nearly four fifths of the state constitutions were adopted prior to 1900 in an era when state constitutions were generally devised specifically to make responsive and responsible government difficult if not impossible. While in a rural or semi-rural society weak governments were a luxury that could be borne and even considered a virtue, in a highly interdependent, urban, technologically oriented society, a weak government is not just an anachronism, it is an invitation to disaster. As Edmund Burke observed, "Nothing turns out to be so oppressive and unjust as a feeble government."

The recognition of the need for constitutional reform has in recent months become less a matter of sole concern for academicians and obscure scholarly journals and more of an issue for concerned citizens and the general public. The reports of the Committee for Economic Development and the United States Chamber of Commerce are indicative of this interest. The National Governors' Conference has taken cognizance of this matter and for the last 10 months, I have headed a special committee on Constitutional Revision and Governmental Reorganization which will submit its report next week to the annual meeting of the governors.

While there are, of course, considerable risks and problems inherent in any massive constitutional change, they are far outweighed by the penalties for failure to act. In a majority of states, the ability of a state to respond to the urban crisis and the speed with which this response is undertaken is directly dependent upon the revision of the state constitution to allow state government to work. Of all items on the agenda for state action, there is none which has a higher priority than fundamental constitutional reform.

At the same time we reform the structure of state government to allow the state and local administrations to respond to urban needs it is equally necessary for us to redefine the program and purpose of state government and its relationship to the people it serves.

I am convinced that those who live in the core cities are trying desperately to communicate—my confrontation in August brought this home to me vividly. One of the things state government can do—through multi-service centers or through other redefinitions of the role of state government is to unplug the channels of communication and develop new areas of dialogue so that the credibility of government can be affirmed.

Not only must state government communicate, it must be willing to innovate and experiment. Beyond the failure to reach people in the city at any credible level, I strongly suspect that even if we were communicating we may not be providing state services in areas or at levels that have any meaning or validity to those whom we are supposed to help.

One of the most disturbing aspects of my visit to the Central Area in Seattle was the consistent expression, particularly on the part of younger people, that government at all levels had neither the willingness nor the ability to do anything to solve the problems of the core city. The commonly accepted modes of action, perhaps well suited to the past, are no longer effective. What we are faced with is the necessity for organized society to come up with new ways to deal with people and their problems. It is in this area where I believe state government can make its most significant contribution.

For too long, people in our urban centers have been treated by government as faceless cyphers lost in a bureaucratic maze or as fractionated problems to be taken from agency to agency rather than whole persons with problems affecting every aspect of their life. Just as we are seeing a consistent consolidation of government functions at the management level, so we must have a consolidation and redefinition of government at the operational level. This is nowhere more imperative than in the central city area.

In Washington State, we are embarked upon just such an experiment. Early in September, by executive direction, I established a multi-service center in the heart of the central area in Seattle. It is under the direction of a member of my staff who is indigenous to the central area and presently has prepresentatives from ten different areas of state and local government. It is set up to find ways to help people in the central area with its primary goal being to find jobs both for those who can hold a job and for those who are presently considered unemployable. The staff at the center was selected carefully and is working with people in the area on a personal, one to one basis.

There is a conscious attempt to break down the old bureaucratic loyalties and to solve problems on the basis of people, not departments of government. Additionally, we require every member of the staff to spend at least part of each working week out in the service area, with the people and their problems.

The multi-service center is both an innovation and an experiment. I don't know if it will work. If it does, it may have a general applicability to other areas of state government. If it does not, the state must then have the imagination and the flexibility to try new ways to meet people's needs.

Lastly, state government must be willing to listen. It is my hope that from our experiment and experience in Seattle, that we will gain a better understanding of what the real needs of people are and how they can best be served. We have been working out the destinies of people using methods and techniques which are deficient and obsolete. We have not been listening to the people we are trying to help. If we do, perhaps we will begin to do things differently and better.

Part of the problem, and perhaps a major part, has been the failure of citizens to regard the problems of cities in their entire urban context. There has grown up a feeling, at least partially based on experience, that the core cities and the surrounding suburbs, even though they are part of an overall urban complex, are natural enemies and that greater state authority in the field of urban affairs will only tend to help the suburbs and starve the city.

While I recognize the validity of this position I do not believe it is a necessary occurrence. Rather, I feel that the outlook for the future is the forging of a new alliance between cities and suburbs—an alliance of metropolitan areas—which will not only be the dominant political force in the states but will usher in an area of increasing action toward the solution of urban problems.

Baker v. Carr is the obvious starting point for the forging of this new alliance. But it only provided the legislative possibility through the equal apportionment of legislative districts. More important has been a growing recognition on the part of residents of urban areas that the future of cities and suburbs is inexpricably bound together and that the health of one is dependent upon the health of the other.

Although I am certain any of us can cite areas where this has not happened, there are others where it is proceeding rapidly. One area where this partnership is not an idle dream is in Seattle and King County. Legislation passed in 1957 authorized the creation of Seattle-King County Metro which has led to area-wide cooperation on sewage disposal. Ten years later the 1967 session of the Washington State Legislature, primarily through a coalition of city and surburban—urban area—legislators passed the most extensive package of urban affairs legislation in the history of the state.

Furthermore, the citizens of Seattle and King County, determined that the needs of an urban society should be met, through "Forward Thrust", a privately financed but publicly committed volunteer citizens group, has developed a program for long-range capital improvements that may well become a model for other communities.

The program, which is not yet in final form, will go to the voters in February, 1968. But in its preliminary form, Forward Thrust has recommended $825 million in capital improvements to the people of Seattle and King County. This investment covers everything from twenty multi-purpose centers to a multi-purpose, all weather stadium. It calls for underground wiring on arterial highways, extensive rehabilitation of twenty blighted neighborhoods, a balanced, integrated system of mass, rapid transit, a "land bank" for the purchase of low income housing sites, the construction of additional highways and many other essentials of an urban age.

Forward Thrust is a practical demonstration that the diverse elements of a community can be brought together, and that they can produce works of monumental proportion. It took legislation and support at the state level (for example, 18 of 19 bills endorsed by Forward Thrust were passed), instigation and encouragement at the local level—both central city and suburb—and the recognition of people who wanted to make a difference that no matter where they lived they were all inextricably bound up in the problems of urban living.

I come from a state and am a native of a great urban area where we think we still have a chance. Even though my views are doubtless colored by the area from which I come, I do not believe the State of Washington is so unique that the same hope cannot be held and similar solutions found in other parts of the country. We in Washington are committed to making state government work. We look upon meeting the challenge of urbanization as the number one priority in our state. As the problems have been caused by people, so can they be solved by people. It is our task as citizens to deal with the new and difficult realities; to strike out not alone at the effects of urban conflict, but at the root causes. We cannot place a lid on top of a seething cauldron of problems and call that law and order; what we must do is resolve the problems and call that justice.

The ancient rivalries and the outmoded sterotypes which have characterized the relationships of federal, state and local government in just the recent past are dying. There is a recognition that each element of government and society has a role to perform in solving the problems of urban living and that these elements must perform that role to the limits of their capacity and ability. Nowhere is this realization so keen, the assets so untapped or the opportunity so great as in state government.

We cannot work at cross purposes or go our separate ways, for the future of all of us is inseparably caught up in the resolution of urban conflict and in the harnessing of change for the ultimate benefit of an urban society.

We must, finally and above all, demonstrate that we can become urbanized and civilized at the same time. It is a challenge that will test us again and again, but meet it we will, because meet it we must.

Citation Awarded Mr. Ralph E. Casey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the text of a citation recently conferred by the editors of World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry upon one of the most dedicated advocates of a strong American merchant marine, my friend Ralph E. Casey, president of the American Merchant Marine Institute.

Mr. Casey was elected to his present position in 1956. Prior to that date he had served as chief counsel to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, which I now have the honor to chair. In both positions he has striven tirelessly for the maintenance, and more recently the restoration, of a privately owned merchant fleet under the stars and stripes adequate to the commercial and defense needs of the United States—such a merchant fleet as the Congress, by repeated enactments, has asserted that this country must have.

Mr. Casey is this year's only winner of the biennenial citation of World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry in the field of transportation. His citation, which is dated September 15, 1967, reads as follows:

> The struggling American merchant marine has a worthy champion in Ralph Casey. Since 1956 he has been president of the American Merchant Marine Institute, an association representing roughly 70 per cent of the country's ocean-going steamship vessels and most of the nation's large shipping concerns. The American merchant marine has problems: increasing foreign competition, lack of funds for vessel replacement, and strained labor-management relations. Armed with an expert's knowledge of law and maritime problems, Casey has worked untiringly to attack the causes of these problems and to revive domestic shipping. His efforts—to improve labor-management negotiations, to guard the legal rights of his industry, and to build a stronger merchant marine—have won him the respect to all Americans concerned with the vital issues of modern transportation.

A letter and the citation received by Mr. Casey follow:

THE A. N. MARQUIS CO., INC.,
Chicago, Ill., September 27, 1967.

MR. RALPH EDWARD CASEY,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. CASEY: Because of your distinguished contribution to the field of transportation, you have been selected by the editors of World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry to receive one of their second Biennial Citations.

The full textual supplement to the citation reads:

"The struggling American merchant marine has a worthy champion in Ralph Casey. Since 1956 he has been president of the American Merchant Marine Institute, an association representing roughly 70 per cent of the country's ocean-going steamship vessels and most of the nation's large shipping concerns. The American merchant marine has problems: increasing foreign competition, lack of funds for vessel replacement, and strained labor-management relations. Armed with an expert's knowledge of law and maritime problems, Casey has worked untiringly to attack the causes of these problems and to revive domestic shipping. His efforts—to improve labor-management negotiations, to guard the legal rights of his industry, and to build a stronger merchant marine—have won him the respect of all Americans concerned with the vital issues of modern transportation."

The citation is enclosed with my congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
KENNETH N. ANGLEMIRE,
President.

MARQUIS—WHO'S WHO, INC.,
September 15, 1967.

A citation is hereby awarded to Ralph E. Casey in recognition of outstanding contribution in the field of transportation on behalf of the editors of World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry.

JACKSON MARTINDELL,
Chairman of the Board.

Newspaper Commends Congressman Sikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON FUQUA
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the Tallahassee Democrat, of October 4, 1967, printed an editorial in which it called attention to the work of my friend and colleague, Congressman ROBERT L. F. SIKES, of Florida.

BOB SIKES has been urging the construction of an antiballistic missile defense system to protect the people of this Nation. This editorial speaks for itself and I have thus asked that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ABM NEEDED, BUT NOT ENOUGH

Two years of pleading by Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D., Fla.) and others were answered, in part, by the decision to start work on a "thin" anti-ballistic missile defense system (ABM).

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara had resisted the plan on grounds that it would cost up to $30 billion. The price tag on the "thin" version is $5 billion over the next five years.

Rep. Sikes calls it "little and late—but needed; not too little and too late—but not enough." He advocates "immediate expansion of the planned ABM system to insure fullest possible protection."

Without an effective ABM, as the Florida congressman points out, a nuclear barrage could kill as many as 90 million Americans.

"It has never appeared acceptable to me to consider $30 billion more important than 90 million American lives," says Sikes. "After all, we are now spending that much each year in Vietnam to stop the spread of communism in Southeast Asia."

His strongest argument, as we see it, is the fact that the Russians are installing their own ABM, ignoring American bids for agreement not to build such systems. If theirs works, and our country has little or no defense against incoming nuclear rockets the Reds would be in a position to blackmail the United States.

Another point, which Rep. Sikes didn't mention, is that the U.S. is far better able to win an arms race than the Soviets. Their huge military budget already is pinching their subjects, and they can ill afford to divert still more away from consumer goods.

We certainly aren't suggesting a spending race which could bankrupt the U.S. along with Russia. Still, we think Rep. Sikes', comparison of spending for an ABM system and for Vietnam is to the point.

Assistance for the Mentally Retarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the last 5 years have seen a historic emergence of mental retardation and the mentally retarded from isolation and public indifference. With their emergence from shame and misunderstanding have come great strides forward in helping the mentally retarded and his family. A condition considered inborn an irremedial until just recently, we now know that mental retardation can be ameliorated or aggravated, depending on such varied factors as conditions of pregnancy and socioeconomic environment of the child. It can even be avoided.

In 1966 President Johnson established a Committee on Mental Retardation whose findings have just been distributed. I was pleased to read of the successes in this field since the early 1960's.

Among these accomplishments are:

All 50 States—plus the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands—now have a written plan for providing comprehensive services for the retarded.

Industry and Government are successfully using trained mentally retarded workers in such capacities as messengers, launderers, cleaning crews and assemblyline workers. Over 3,000 mentally retarded are now working in 39 Federal agencies. Only 3 years ago all such workers were barred from Federal employment through examination procedures.

State action has been a significant factor in the progress of prevention and treatment of conditions that can lead to retardation. Thirty-eight States now have laws prescribing tests for phenylketonuria for all newborn infants. Nearly all of the 50 States are conducting anti-measles campaigns. In one year alone, the number of measles cases have been halved.

Under the authority of the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, Federal, State, and private sources have combined to fund 12 mental retardation research centers, 14 university-affiliated, and 175 community facilities at a total cost of some $190 million.

Many of the 77,000 mentally retarded children of the U.S. Armed Forces members are now able to receive help under the authority of amendments to the Dependents' Medical Care Act enacted by Congress in 1966.

Privately sponsored day care and recreational programs for the retarded are now available in many parts of the Nation. Local and State associations for retarded children alone sponsor over 300 day camps and 150 residential camps as well as more than 1,000 other recreational and social group programs.

Whereas in 1953 we had no special classes for the educable and trainable, we now have some 52,000 classes serving 677,000 pupils.

In 1963, some 6,000 mentally retarded were rehabilitated. This number is rapidly increasing. By 1967 it had increased to 19,000.

A new, truly promising program initiated in 1965 is the foster grandparent program. Here, older retired persons give their care and guidance to institutionalized children with remarkable results.

Mr. Speaker, life for the mentally retarded has taken on new promise since Congress passed major legislation in their behalf not quite 4 years ago. Over $400 million a year is now appropriated for Federal programs benefiting the retarded. More than twice that amount is spent each year by the States, localities, and private citizen organizations. The result has been an extraordinary growth in the services which the mentally retarded and their families may call upon—an extraordinary growth in the hope that they may lead relatively normal and productive lives.

Mr. Speaker, the millions of people who have put their energies and abilities into these grograms deserve our gratitude and praise. Only through their efforts could such great advances have been made in so short a time. They—abetted by new forces—will continue to strive for the benefit of those afflicted by mental retardation. It is my hope that the next 5 years will bring more progress on the ratio of that made in these preceding 5.

Maj. Gen. Edward S. Bres

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to an outstanding military man who made many valuable contributions to his country's welfare as well as to the welfare of New Orleans, which is in my congressional district.

Maj. Gen. Edward S. Bres, Sr., retired from the Army, died of a heart attack on September 24 in Bogotá, Colombia, where he was vacationing.

For me, it was not only the loss of a valuable citizen, but the loss of a dear friend. I served as a member of the Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission. General Bres was chairman, and he did an outstanding job in promoting and guiding this event to a successful conclusion after his appointment by President Kennedy in 1963.

A graduate of my alma mater, Tulane University, General Bres served as an Army engineer and general staff officer before his retirement in 1950. During World War II he served as deputy chief engineer and chief of the engineering project which rehabilitated the port at Darwin, Calif. He also was chief of the Joint Services Theater Liaison Group in San Francisco.

Toward war's end, he became chief of Reserve and ROTC affairs and his final Army service was with the personnel board.

General Bres had many friends here in Washington as well as business interests, and for that reason maintained a home here and a home in New Orleans.

He was a military and a civic leader. His passing is a great loss to this country and to the city of New Orleans, but his accomplismments will linger on.

My sympathy is extended to the members of his family on the loss of this fine individual. I am proud to say the he was my friend.

A Poet Views the Farm Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, the cost-price crunch on American agriculture has moved my friend "Dakota Cal" Waldron, of Minot, N. Dak., to register his protest in verse.

So that others may enjoy it, I insert the poem in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PICTURE OF AGRICULTURE

The costs have hit the ceiling—
The prices scrape the floor
From them, the farmer's, reeling
While Freeman locks the door.

The men who feed the nation
Get "less", to others "more",
And the Administration
Blames those who fill the store.

The promises that bought it
Have sold producers short—
Caught in the squeeze
That bends the knees—
Betrayed by "non-support".

From this the costly lesson
Is bitter to the taste,
They're wrong with careless guessin'—
Their "estimates" a waste!

For, in inflation's battle,
They play with loaded dice—
Can't even count the cattle
On which they peg the price!

Let memories grow longer!
In those who plant and till—
The polls must make them stronger
For men who *mean* "I will!"

Address of Dr. Bell I. Wiley at U.S. Capitol Historical Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, on August 23, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society had its annual meeting for the members in the Capitol. Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL, the founder and enthusiastic developer of this society, presided. As main speaker for the breakfast meeting, President SCHWENGEL had invited Dr. Bell I. Wiley, distinguished historian, especially of the Civil War period. He is head of the department of history at Emory University in Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Wiley also served on the centennial commission that helped commemorate the 100th anniversary of the war period.

The address made by Dr. Wiley is of such great interest and historical value that I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

THE COMMON SOLDIERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

(By Dr. Bell I. Wiley)

It's always good to come Washington. I am still enough of a country boy that when I fly in at night, and see the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial and the Jefferson Memorial and the lighted Dome of the Capitol, I get a great thrill.

One of the great pleasures of being here this morning is to renew acquaintance with Fred Schwengel. We went through the second Civil War together. I had not known him before but I came to have a very great affection and very great respect for him. I found that he had three qualities which I think are very important in the public servant. One, dynamism—he gets things done; two, character, integrity; and three, courage. I have seen him take a stand when it hurt, but he did not hesitate; I never saw him equivocate. I have said to him before that it's a pity such a good man is not a Democrat!

I am very happy to meet with the members of the Capitol Historical Society. I have followed your activities with great interest and appreciation, and I am amazed at the success of *We, the People*. More than one million copies sold! You know, most books probably sell less than 10,000 copies. This is nothing short of miraculous. The success of this publication and your other attractive publications is convincing evidence that history can be both informative and interesting. Indeed, your experience proves conclusively that the rank and file of our American citizenry have a deep interest in the past. And that they will eagerly consume large quantities of history if it is presented attractively and accurately and if it emphasizes the human qualities of the people who made it.

The essence of history is people, a fact that is all too frequently overlooked by the historians who attempt to tell the story of the past. One of the main reasons that I focused on the common soldiers in my research and writing about the American Civil War is that the Civil War affords an excellent, indeed a unique opportunity, to find out more about the plain people who bore the brunt of that conflict, and all other wars in which our nation has been involved. They are great people. During the American Civil War, for the first time, large numbers of the lowly people were away from home, and during the Civil War for the first time, they put themselves on record in breadth and in depth. About three million of them were away from home. And being away from home they had to write letters. Moreover, they were having exciting experiences and seeing new country, and this stimulated them to an unusual degree of expressiveness. So they wrote many letters. And in these letters they revealed a great deal of themselves. Ordinarily the lowly people didn't keep their family letters. They didn't have the facilities. Normally they didn't keep diaries, because they were modest enough to feel that their activities were not worthy of being preserved in journals. But because the Civil War was far and away the greatest experience in their lowly lives, their families saved these letters and diaries. During the course of my research it has been my great privilege and pleasure to read between 30,000 and 40,000—closer to 40,000—of the letters written by the common soldier. And these I have found to be a very rich mine of social information.

I think it is especially appropriate to talk about the common soldiers of the Civil War here in the Capitol because, as members of this Society well know, in the spring of 1861, as the armies were mobilized, many Billy Yanks actually were quartered here in the Capitol. One of them, Theodore Winthrop, a very articulate man, a member of the Seventh New York Regiment, wrote an article in the July issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which he told of the experiences of himself and his comrades here in the Capitol. He stated: "They gave us the Representatives Chamber for quarters. . . . In we marched, tramp tramp. Bayonets took the place of buncombe [which doesn't reflect too happily on the members, but you know people then were biased as they are now]. . . . Some of our companies were marched upstairs into the gallery. The sofas were to be their beds. . . . Most of us were bestowed in the amphitheatre. Each desk received its man. He was to scribble on it by day, and sleep under it by night . . . the companies overflowed into the corners and into the lobbies. The staff took committee-rooms. The Colonel reigned in the Speaker's parlor. . . . Our life in the Capitol was most dramatic and sensational. . . . We joked, we shouted, we sang, we mounted the Speaker's desk and made speeches."

Winthrop stated that in April, 1861, some 3,000 or more troops were quartered in the Capitol, including the 8th Massachusetts Regiment housed immediately under the Dome and the famous 6th Massachusetts Regiment, notorious for the trouble in Baltimore, was in the Senate Chamber. After a few weeks, Winthrop and the other Billy Yanks moved to camps in the District or in Virginia and in July, Congress resumed its functions. But throughout the war, Northern soldiers joining the Army of the Potomac and other Eastern units normally came through or visited Washington. In their letters home they commented on the sights, some favorably and others disparagingly.

Private Joseph G. Green, 14th New York Regiment, wrote from Washington July 11, 1861: "When I started from home I thought I was agoing to see something when I seen Washington but I do not think much of it. I think it is little better than a country town." The next day Green's brother, also a member of the 14th New York, wrote "Washington is not such a grand place after all; take the government buildings out of it and it would be nothing . . . but a mere hole."

On April 20, 1861, Waldo Denny of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment wrote in his diary: "Our Regiment marched up Penn. Avenue. . . . Some of the crowd hissed us—others called us Yankee S.O.B.'s! [he filled in the blanks] a very favorite appellation with the Chivalry. Some cheered Jeff Davis, and some cheered us, but most of the loyal people remained silent. President Lincoln visited the Regiment and most of us had an opportunity of a personal introduction and a shake of the hand. He is plain but a remarkably honest looking man. He would be called homely but he looks *good*. He had a kind word for all. He appeared care worn and anxious."

Writing on July 7, 1861, Private Daniel E. Burbank of the 2nd New Hampshire Regiment gave a more favorable view of the Capitol: "I will not attempt to describe the beauty of the capitol, for I could not begin to do it half justice. I will say that it is built of iron and stone and that it has been building 60 years and the dome is not yet finished. You cannot form any idea of the magnificence of the building. I have been to the White House [and] seen Old Abe; he is about as handsome as he is represented to be, tall, slim, high cheek bones, thin, sharp face but an eye that looks right through a man the first time he sees him."

Many other soldiers got glimpses of Lincoln, in Washington, or in nearby camps, and they nearly always reported their impressions to their homefolk. One wrote: "He is not good looking, but he looks honest." Another observed: "The Pres, is not half so ugly as he is generally represented—his nose is rather long (and this gives me a feeling of kinship with him) but he is rather *long* himself so it is a necessity to make the proportions complete." Still another wrote: "I thought he looked sort of pale; he is a hard-looking old customer and I guess the Rebs will find him so too before they get through with this war." Lincoln's plainness of dress, simplicity of manner, and even his ugliness were assets to him in his relations with the common soldiers for these qualities made it easy for the men in the ranks to identify themselves with the man in the White House and to accept his cause as their cause.

What sort of men were the common soldiers blue and gray? In the first place, they were native Americans. About 95% of those who wore the gray, and 75% of those who wore the blue, were native Americans. Of the natives, one of the most important groups were the Negroes, 188,000 of whom donned the Union blue to vouchsafe the freedom proclaimed by the President and to prove themselves worthy of full acceptance into American Society. They were subjected, on the Northern side, to much discrimination in pay. In associations with their comrades, they had to do far more than their share of labor and garrison duty. But some of them got into combat and at Port Hudson, Millikens Bend, Battery Wagner, The Crater, and other battles in which they participated, as Professor Benjamin Quarles shows in his book, *The Negro in the Civil War,* and I am honored to have him here in the audience this morning, they gave a good account of themselves and they proved that they did deserve their freedom—just as Negro soldiers in Viet Nam today are proving conclusively that they deserve a full measure of citizenship in American Society.

Another distinctive group were the Indians. There were three brigades of Indians on the Confederate side, mostly Cherokees and on the Union side, one brigade, mostly Creeks. It is interesting to look over the muster rolls of the Indian units in the National Archives. You find such names as Private Sweet Caller, Private Hog Shooter, Private Hog Toter, Big Mush, Flying Bird, and Lieutenant Jumper Duck. At the battle of Honey Hill in 1864, Rebel Indians fought Union Indians, and the savage "War Whoop" was blended with a high pitched "Rebel Yell" and the deeply intoned Union "Hurrah" or "Huzza." In combat the Indians gave a good account of themselves. But between battles they were poor soldier because they had only vague ideas of the meaning of discipline and military regimentation.

Not only were these Civil War soldiers native Americans for the most part, but they were also rural. More than half of the common soldiers in the Civil War were farm boys. And these country boys got a big thrill out of going away to war. A country boy from Buncombe County, North Carolina, near Henderson, after he arrived in Charleston, S.C., wrote back to his father: "Dear Pa—I have saw a rite smart of the world since I left home, but I have not say any place like Buncombe and Henderson yet."

Most of these Civil War soldiers were young. Indeed, the largest single age group were the eighteen-year-olds. And three-fourths of the soldiers on both sides fell in the age bracket eighteen to thirty. Charles Carter Hay, of Alabama, joined a regiment when he was eleven years old. And when he surrendered at Appomatox four years later he was one month short of his fifteenth birthday. E. Pollard of the 5th North Carolina Regiment enlisted at seventy-three. He didn't last long! In the National Archives, I looked up his records and the surgeon who filled out his certificate of disability wrote: "Discharged for old age and rheumatism." That's not hard to believe. But he was not the oldest Civil War soldier. There was a man named Cyrus King, who served in the 37th Iowa Regiment, who was eighty years old when he enlisted. He didn't last long either.

Generally speaking the soldiers were poorly educated. Of course there were some who carried Greek and Latin books to camp with them and pored over the pages around the campfires, but they stood out as eccentrics. Some companies on the Confederate side had as many as half the men who couldn't sign the muster roll. Illiteracy was much lower on the Northern side because the North had better schools and placed much more emphasis on public education. Even so, nearly every Yankee company had from one to a half dozen men who couldn't write. And even those who were literate were sometimes very poor in their spelling or grammar. A Yank of McClellan's army, writing early in 1862, after Lincoln ordered that army broken up into corps, stated: "They are dividing the army up into corpses." A Confederate who was in the defense of Vicksburg wrote: "At Champion's Hill the Yankees almost [and I'm going to spell the next word just as he wrote it—a-n-a-h-i-g-h-l-a-t-e-d] anahighlated us." Now this man was far beyond his depth trying to use a highfalutin word like annihilated, but even so, he did better with the spelling of it then some of my Juniors and Seniors do at Emory in their papers. He would have made a good product for progressive schooling.

I was reading a letter from an Illinois soldier and I found the statement: "I had the camp diary a few days ago," and I was puzzled because I had not encountered the practice of organizations keeping unit journals in the Civil War as they did in subsequent conficts. But when I read the rest of the sentence the mystery was cleared up because he added: "But now I am about well of it." I realized that he was suffering from a malady quite common among people living in unsanitary conditions on unbalanced diets. Indeed, the soldiers from Congressman Schwengel's home state who served in Tennessee referred to it in their letters as the "Tennessee quick-step."

I was reading the letters of a Union soldier who served under General Frederick Lander. He couldn't spell his general's name, which was not uncommon, and he wrote: "Landers has the g-a-n-d-e-r-s." I was reading along and I read it "Landers has the ganders," because that is what it looked like. But on reflection I realized that the G was soft, and what Lander had was the jaundice. The general was very unpopular with this particular soldier and he added: "I hope the old so and so [he didn't write so and so] dies." And the next letter in the pile begins with this statement: "Well, old Landers is dead. I bet the old so and so is down in hell pumping thunder at three cents a clap."

A Georgia soldier wrote to his wife in June of 1862: "My dear and loving wife—I this evening seat myself to answer your most kine and Affectionated letter, which I received this after Knoon. I am sorry to hear that you are sick and about to loose your teeth. You must take good care of them and now loose them as they are a great peace of property. You must take a brush and clean them three or four times a day. I would hate to come home and find you without any teeth."

Recently, it was my misfortune to lose one of my molars and I went over to my friend in Decatur, Georgia and got a replacement. And when I got the bill I realized that I too had lost a great piece of property.

The recipient wrote back that she would like to visit her husband in camp, and this thoroughly frightened him. He replied: "I would not have you in camps for nothing. If you were here I would have to kill someone in two hours. All meanness you can think of are in camps and they are no use for you here. It are no place for a nice woman to be at. There are several women in camps at this time, go on like the men, sleep in the tents, sum one way and sum another. If you think you can stand such I have nothing more to say." Well, she was a nice woman and so she gave up the idea about visiting her husband.

Now, what were the common soldiers fighting for? Some had only vague ideas. Many went to war because others were in it or to get away from the humdrum of farm or shop. As to the Yanks, a few were fighting for emancipation. But they were a decided minority. Those who were fighting for freedom of the slaves were greatly heartened by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and they made some very fine statements in support of it. The overwhelming majority, however, were fighting to preserve the Union. I consider the greatest personal discovery that I made in my research on the common soldiers of both sides was the depth of devotion of the northern rank and file to the ideal of Union. And this represented affection on the part of their people at home as well. I knew that they loved the Union, but I didn't have any conception of the depth of their affection. This refutes the claim of those historians who state that if Lee had only won at Antietam or at Gettysburg, the Union would have been dissolved. This argument does not take sufficient cognizance of the deeply implanted love of Union in the hearts of the ordinary people of this country. They loved it enough to die for it. And some 360,000 of them did. They had suffered great humiliations and setbacks early in the war and if they had lost at Antietam or Gettysburg, I think—particularly in view of the fact that they had a man in the White House who shared this affection and who came from them and who believed in them—they would have only been strengthened in their determination to go ahead and save the Union that they loved.

Devotion to the Union found eloquent expression in some of their letters. Private Sam Croft, a young soldier of Pennsylvania, wrote after a hard march in September, 1861: "I have never once thought of giving out. . . . I am well, hardy, strong, and doing my country a little service. I did not come for money and good living. My heart beats high and I am proud of being a soldier. When I look along the line of glistening bayonets with the glorious Stars and Stripes floating over them . . . I am proud and sanguine of success." He died at Gettysburg.

Recently, I read a similar statement by an American soldier (twenty-year-old Private Hiram Strickland, of North Carolina) in Viet Nam: "Don't mourn me, Mother, for I'm happy I died fighting my Country's enemies, and I will live forever in people's minds. I've done what I've always dreamed of. Don't mourn me, for I died a soldier of the United States of America." Shortly afterward, he was killed.

You know, this quality is regarded as a little old fashioned, but I'm proud myself of being old fashioned enough, of getting a lump in my throat when I hear Mahalia Jackson sing the "Battle Cry of Freedom,'" or when on public occasions see Old Glory ascend the flag pole to the strains of the National Anthem. And if we persevere as a nation, we are going to have to have some of the feeling registered by these men.

As to the Rebs, most of them who commented on their personal motivation indicated that they were fighting to protect their families against a foreign invader. And a reckless, wicked, and heartless invader most of them regarded the Federals to be. Some were fighting for slavery. Not often do they reveal this. They usually wrote that they were fighing to protect the Southern way of life, or states' rights. But in my mind, there is no doubt that most Southerners, non-slaveholders as well as slaveholders, were all earnestly interested in perpetuating slavery, not primarily as an economic system, but as an established and effective mode of social control. One North Carolina soldier wrote a friend at home in September, 1863: "You know I am a poor man having none of the property said to be the cause of the present war. But I have a wife and some children to raise in honor and never to be put on an equality with the African race." Here is one soldier who admitted that he was fighting for slavery, and there were a good many others like him.

Civil War soldiers had several notable traits, one of which was a sense of humor. Indeed, I was greatly impressed by the richness of the humor in the letters of these semi-literate men. They liked to make jokes, and some of the best jokes that they made were about the hardtack, the big thick cracker that was the field bread ration. A Kansas soldier reported overhearing this dialogue: A sergeant said: "Boys, I was eating a piece of hardtack this morning and I bit into something soft. What do you suppose it was?" A private responded: "A worm?" And that was a good question, but the sergeant immediately retorted: "No by God it was a ten-penny nail." The crackers or hardtack usually came packed in boxes or barrels stamped BC. I think these letters stood for Brigade Commissary, but the consumers were ready to swear they represented the date of manufacture! The crackers were so often infested with worms that the soldiers nicknamed them "worm castles," and one soldier said: "All the fresh meat we had came in the hard tack, and I preferring my meat cooked used to toast my crackers before eating them."

In their letters the soldiers revealed their humor sometimes by teasting their wives. There was a Georgia soldier named William R. Stilwell who had been in Lee's army about a year. He wrote his wife: "Dear Wife—If I did not write and receive letters from you, I'd think I would forget that I was married. I don't feel much like a married man now, but I never forget it in so far as to court eny other lady. But if I do, you must forgive me because I am so forgitful." Then there was a North Carolina soldier who wrote to a friend at home, a married friend about his own age (they were both young) named Poindexter: "Tommy, I want you to be good and tri to take cear of the wemmen and childern 'til I get home and we all have a chance. I want you to go and see my wife and childern. But I want you to take your wife with you when you go."

A second trait was pride. The soldier's greatest fear when he faced battle was not that he would be killed or wounded, although fear of injury or death was very real, but that he wouldn't be able to stand the test, and that he might run and bring disgrace on himself or his family. A Yank wrote to his father after the first battle of Bull Run: "We got the worst of it but I didn't run." And following the terrible battle at Franklin, Tennessee, a Reb informed his brother: "One of Old Abe's boys plugged me in the right foot, making a severe wound. But I am proud to say that there was no one between me and the Yankee when I was wounded."

A third trait was courage. I don't mean to suggest that all Civil War soldiers were heroes, because in every major battle, there were a goodly number of men who ran or skulked or sneaked to the rear. In a battle in north Georgia, a Confederate officer saw a Rebel soldier streaking for the rear and hollered out: "Soldier, why are you running?" Without slowing down the Reb hollered back: "Because," or as he put it, "Kase I can't fly." But those who shirked in battle on both sides were the exception. Most of them stayed at their post and gave a good account of themselves. I'll cite one example. The men of Hancock's Second Corps, at the battle of Second Cold Harbor, when told that they had to charge a seemingly impregnable position before them, calmly wrote out their names and addresses on slips of paper because identification tags were not items of issue on either side during the Civil War, and pinned these to their blouses so that their bodies might be readily identified and their folks at home promptly informed of their fate. And in the fighting that ensued, probably the bloodiest twenty minutes of the war, hundreds of these brave, battle-hardened men yielded up their lives on the altar of the Union that they so dearly loved.

A fourth trait was patriotism. Confederates loved the South just as much as the Yankees loved the Union. That is something that is a little hard for present day Americans to understand, but it's true nevertheless. The most impressive expression of patriotic sentiment that I found was by a Wisconsin private who wrote to his sweetheart early in 1863: "Home is sweet and friends are dear, but what would they all be to let the country go to ruin and be a slave. I am contented with my lot . . . for I know that I am doing my duty, and I know that it is my duty to do as I am now a-doing. If I live to get back, I shall be proud of the freedom I shall have, and know that I helped to gain that freedom. If I should not get back, it will do them good who do get back."

A fifth trait was capacity for suffering. Men of both armies sometimes marched for days without any food save a few grains of corn gathered from the places where the horses fed, and parched over the campfires. Yanks on the Knoxville campaign in the winter of 1863, the Rebs who went with Hood into Tennessee in the winter of 1864, marched for miles over rocky, ice-coated roads in their bare feet, because they had worn out their shoes, leaving traces of blood along the paths that they trod. But they learned to endure such hardship with a minimum of murmur.

The heroism of the wounded was particularly outstanding. For example, there was young Day Elmore, of Illinois, with whom I became well acquainted through the more than one hundred letters that he left. He enlisted when he was seventeen as a drummer boy, but at Pea Ridge he laid aside the drum and picked up a musket and graduated to the ranks. He was seriously wounded in the chest at Chickamauga and was captured, but later was exchanged. His original term was running out, so he re-enlisted as a veteran volunteer and fought through the battles of North Georgia and went with Thomas to Tennessee, in the fall of 1864. And in the bloody fighting on the afternoon of November 30, 1864, near Franklin, a beautiful and peaceful little town in Tennessee, he was severely wounded. A Southern woman from the town who came out to see what aid she could render, somehow saw him lying there on the ground, got people to put him in her buggy, nestled his head in her lap to relieve the jar of the vehicle as it went over the rough road, and took him to her home and nursed him for nine days. And then when he died, she wrote his father, an Illinois preacher, a beautiful letter of sympathy. She stated: "His wound bled profusely, and he suffered a great deal, but did not complain. He was perfectly conscious to the last." On the other side, there's a dramatic letter written by J. R. Montgomery, of Mississippi, while he was dying on the battle field of Spotsylvania. He wrote his father May 10, 1864: "My friend Fairfax will write you a letter and tell you the circumstances of my death." His friend Fairfax did write the letter, and it's preserved with Montgomery's letter in the Confederate Museum. Fairfax told the father that the young man lingered until the morning of May 14. He added: "I have never witnessed such an exhibition of fortitude and Christian resignation. . . . No word of complaint escaped his lips. . . . He retained his consciousness to the last."

Consider the circumstances. Horribly wounded in the right shoulder on the evening of May 10, young Montgomery lingered until the morning of May 15.

He probably had the benefit of no palliative of any kind because anesthetics were in very short supply on the Confederate side at this time. "He retained his consciousness to the last." "No word of complaint escaped his lips." Thus a brave boy died, and in this record of his death, he eloquently bore witness to the great tragedy that was the American Civil War.

What does all of this add up to? It proves the essential soundness of the masses. In their Civil War conduct, the lowly people North and South, white and black, demonstrated that they are as richly endowed with the qualities that count in good citizensihp as are members of any other group in Society. They also provided a convincing testimonial to the soundness of democratic government. They gave a resounding affirmation to the question raised by Lincoln at Gettysburg: "Can a nation conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal long endure?" In this their time of testing the common folk justified the faith that had been reposed in them by the founding fathers. They proved that a self-governing people could quarrel and fight and come together again and build on the ruins of war a great and an enduring nation.

The Civil War soldiers, blue and gray, who joined battle in bloody and earnest conflict at Manassas, Shiloh, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Spotsylvania proved themselves worthy ancestors of the khaki clad heroes of Normandy, Korea, and Viet Nam. These soldiers and those of our other wars, along with the women who supported them as nurses and comrades, helped vouchsafe the liberty won at Lexington, Concord, Trenton, Kings Mountain, and Yorktown.

ABM Obsolete?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, British Defense Secretary Denis Healey several days ago referred to the proposed ABM defense system around the United States as obsolete.

The following story about the Secretary's reference to the ABM system appeared in the Washington Post on Tuesday, October 3:

ABM OBSOLETE, BRITISH DEFENSE CHIEF SUGGESTS

SCARBOROUGH, ENGLAND—Defense Secretary Denis Healey said last night that the projected U.S. antiballistic missile system could prove obsolete even before it is deployed against a possible Red Chinese attack.

Healey said there is no evidence that any ABM system now conceived could produce meaningful defense against a major nuclear attack."

He said the system being planned by the United States could provide only "marginal and temporary" protection and, further, that it poses the danger of an accelerated arms race between East and West.

McNamara, in announcing the $5 billion ABM defense, said it was intended as an answer to the intercontinental ballistic missile system China is expected to have in the early 1970s.

Healey spoke to a meeting of the Fabian Society after the opening of the Labor Party convention here.

Couple Celebrates 50th Anniversary With 12 Graduated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, recently in the city of Pine Bluff, Ark., a very fine couple, Rev. and Mrs. George D. McKinney, Sr., celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary.

Theirs is a story of great inspiration to all Americans inasmuch as the sacrifices the McKinneys made in order to educate their 12 children through college depict the true character of this fine family.

Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing herewith the article which tells the story of the George D. McKinney family:

COUPLE CELEBRATES 50TH, WITH 12 GRADUATED

(By Garland Bradshaw)

From all parts of the country—from as far away as California—they began arriving Saturday at a modest home at 1700 Havis Street for a festive occasion.

Reverend and Mrs. George D. McKinney Sr. were celebrating their 50th wedding anniversary there, and about 50 members of their families were honoring them with a reunion.

The celebration was climaxed with a dinner and a reception in the Student Union at Arkansas AM&N College.

For McKinney, 73, it was a big moment in a life of struggle, setback—and success.

McKinney was born near Summerville, Tennessee, in 1894, the son of a former slave. His father moved the family to Marianna, Arkansas, in 1906, where he worked as a farmer and an engineer in steam-operated cotton gins and rice mills.

McKinney said he remembered his father as a hard-working man who liked to hunt.

McKinney has been pastor of the Smith Temple of the Church of God in Christ, 2121 Havis Street, since 1940. He founded a church at Jonesboro in 1920 and was its pastor until 1937.

He was forced, by the Depression, to terminate his formal education after the seventh grade. "Being the oldest son of eight children, I had to go to work to help support the family," McKinney said during an interview.

He continued to study through a correspondence school and worked as a farmer and shoe repairman.

He married the former Rose Anna Thompson at Rondo (Lee County) in 1917 and was ordained into the ministry in 1924.

The McKinneys had 14 children—seven boys and seven girls. One girl was stillborn and another died at the age of 10.

All 12 of the children have completed college and are working in a variety of professions. Six of them graduated from AM&N.

There are two pastors, two teachers, two secretaries, a lawyer, a businessman, a nurse, a dentist and a college registrar.

Ernest, the youngest son, returned July 7 from a one-and-a-half year "Peace Corps assignment" at Addis Abbaba, Ethiopia. He will enter the University of Arkansas School of Law at Fayetteville this fall.

McKinney is proud of his family and what it has accomplished.

How did 12 children, only two generations removed from slavery, manage to achieve such a record?

"There is one secret," McKinney said. "They desired within themselves to get an education and improve themselves."

He said education as a means of advancement was always stressed, and the children took advantage of the opportunities they had.

He said he and his wife financed the education of the eldest child, Izora, and he in turn helped the next child to complete his education. Each child would complete his education and, when he achieved a sound financial position, help the next and so on until they had all graduated.

Improvements in his own neighborhood came to mind as McKinney talked about changes he had observed over the years.

He said paved streets—"We've come out of the dust"—and better quality homes were what he would like to see more in Pine Bluff. He said he had also been impressed with the growth at AM&N and the job it had done.

McKinney said he likes to care for his lawn. That's part of his philosophy: "Just keep active."

The Administration's Tax Program Benefits the American Farmer

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in the current debate on fiscal policy, one of the main issues in the debate—the actual effects of the surtax proposal—is being buried by a smokescreen of charge and countercharge.

Coming from Minnesota, a State where agriculture is an important part of the economy, I have been interested in the effects which the surtax would have on the American farmer—a mainstay of American society.

I would recall that the administration's surtax proposal falls least heavily on those in the lowest income brackets. For example, 60 percent of all farm families in the United States fall below the adjusted gross income of $5,000 a year, and are therefore completely exempt from paying the surcharge. But, without the passage of the surtax, aggravated inflation will cause interest rates on credit to go up. The credit market will contract. Government agencies which offer credit to farmers for a multitude of purposes will be forced to curtail their activities, and millions of farm families could suffer.

In addition, there are other compelling reasons why the American farmer should support this surtax proposal. It will mean stable prices. It will mean a good supply of credit.

And it will help sustain almost 7 years of prosperity the Nation has enjoyed under Democratic administrations.

I urge the House to approve the President's 1968 budget, and the 10-percent surtax along with it.

Each day of hesitation increases our Government's financial problems.

A Determined President States His Credo on Vietnam

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, those of us who absolutely want to support the men we have sent to Vietnam should take particular note of the President's speech in San Antonio.

Surely all need not agree on every aspect of this complex problem, but I believe all must support the President, the Commander in Chief, until we can have an honorable peace in Vietnam.

Everyone knows I have sent my private advice to the President. I do not always agree with him, but I do agree that we cannot weaken the support of our fighting men in Vietnam.

The Kansas City Star of October 2 described President Johnson's recent Vietnam speech in San Antonio as "a spine-stiffening speech."

It was not only that. It was a clear restatement of the American position. It was a statement of a President's faith in the ability of his country to continue to bear the burden of the long battle against Communist insurgency.

This is not the first time a President of the United States and the American people have had to bear such a burden.

Still, the American quest for peace is as strong and determined as its resolve to resist Communist force.

The United States is not mindless of its ultimate goals, as some critics assert.

We are not cold to the sacrifices of men and materials, as some proclaim.

We are not 100-percent sure that we are 100-percent perfect.

But, what we must never forget is the basic purpose of our efforts.

We must prevent the political murder of a nation, South Vietnam, just as we would expect free nations to defend the attempted political murder of the United States.

When Americans fought for freedom against the Nazis and the Fascists in World War II, they were fighting to undo the political murders of an alarmingly long list of once free nations. Korea and Vietnam are different only in degree. Communist aggression; Communist takeover is no different from any other takeover—and we must resist it with all our might.

History will demonstrate that the strong Presidents invariably act right when the times call them to make great decisions.

I insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Kansas City Star of October 2, entitled "A Spine-Stiffening Speech: L. B. J. on Vietnam."

A SPINE-STIFFENING SPEECH: L. B. J. ON VIETNAM

It was a strong and clear address, the most forthright and in some ways the most informative that President Johnson has made on the Vietnam war in more than two years. In San Antonio Friday night, Mr. Johnson undertook to stiffen the spine of the American people as the rising casualties of the conflict and the tortuous search for peace continue simultaneously.

The President's defense of United States policy in Vietnam was an updating of the declaration he delivered at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore on April 7, 1965. Since then he has been far from silent on Vietnam. But, as events have brought change both on the war front and in attitudes toward the fighting both at home and in foreign countries, the President has not reported on developments and clarified the complex subject as much and as often as its importance has warranted.

This inadequacy of explanation by the highest level of the U.S. government has contributed, we feel, to the recent slippage in American public support of the administration's war policy. The President is not only aware of this loss but is concerned about it. In public and in private, he has been testy at times about his dovish critics. Lately he has had to face up to the hard truth that the criticism has grown, even spreading to seemed to be cohesive behind the government's stand in Southeast Asia.

In his Texas address, Lyndon Johnson was imploring the American people not to lose heart. He was telling the nation and the free world that the cause of Vietnam is worthy and that it will not be abandoned.

Yet the President did not speak in absolute terms when he discussed the larger meaning of the struggle. He acknowledged that he could not say "with certainty" that a Communist conquest of South Vietnam "would be followed by a Communist conquest of Southeast Asia." Nor did he presume to assert "with certainty" that "a Southeast Asia dominated by Communist power would bring a third World war much closer to reality." Still he spoke of his conviction that "in Vietnam, we are reducing the chances of a larger war—perhaps a nuclear war."

Scoffers, whose reaction on anything pertaining to Vietnam has become 100 per cent predictable, quickly replied that the President had misread history, that no lightning out of Southeast Asia could ever strike the world with a nuclear holocaust. They said this, but they don't really know.

A limited war in which the great atomic powers have vital interests could lead to unlimited conflict. The objectives of Nazi Germany and Japan professed in 1940–41 were limited at first. With success, these regional goals of authoritarian power became worldwide. The result was global war.

It *could* happen again. In Vietnam the purpose of the United States, in Mr. Johnson's words, is to save an independent country from "political murder" and thereby stand by the obligations of three American administrations. But there is also, here as earlier in Korea, the aim of resisting aggression that constitutes a long-range threat to the entire non-Communist world. Thus the war will go on, with the United States eager to negotiate peace and ready to suspend its bombing of North Vietnam whenever a halt can lead promptly to productive discussions.

Once more the resolve of the United States to stand fast in Vietnam as long as it may take has been reaffirmed. But the door to peace remains open as far as this country is concerned. It's Hanoi's move, and a still-determined President Johnson could not have made that central fact of the war any plainer. He deserves the nation's support.

The Irresistible Force of Optimism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I attended a meeting of the Optimist Clubs of Kansas and had the privilege of hearing a fine speech delivered by Mr. Bill Newhouse, president of Optimist International. Mr. Newhouse, in his talk, focused on a timely subject—respect for law and order—and on the efforts of the Optimist Clubs in their individual communities to "untie the fetters of disrespect and substitute genuine concern for our fellow man." He has just completed a 3-week tour of the United States and Canada, speaking on this topic which is of increasing concern and interest to everyone.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to share these remarks, "The Irresistible Force of Optimism," with my colleagues and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE IRRESISTIBLE FORCE OF OTIMISM

As Optimist International approaches its fiftieth anniversary, as we strive diligently for an intermediate goal of 100,000 members, as we engage in the work of service for our fellow man, we reflect from time to time upon our future. Where do we go from here? For many decades optimists have labored from ocean to ocean on behalf of our boys. Many are the lads who have received the fruits of our heartfelt efforts; many are the youngsters who have grown into manhood to carve their places on the mantel of community endeavor. But the task remains undone. Thousands of spritely boys emerge each year and the pursuit of boy's work remains unfulfilled.

Ever vigilant in the quest for helping more boys, we should ponder the broader objectives of the philosophy of optimism. It is not enough to concentrate all our efforts in the realm of boy's work. Should we shoulder the irresistible force of optimism toward other worthy causes? Stated another way, is there a need for a broader concept of community service?

Years ago service clubs were organized largely to promote fellowship and self-serving interests. From this rather selfish inception new theories of service to the community evolved. Some one thought that people in need could be helped. And another man may have thought that a group of workers was more likely to do the job better than one man. Maurice Maeterlinck, the Belgian poet-philosopher, stated this sentiment in these words:

"Never forget that those who bring happiness to the lives of others cannot keep it from themselves. And more often than not, the opportunity lies over your shoulder!"

In Roman mythology it is said that Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, sprang forth from the brain of her father Jupiter, and she emerged fully mature and completely armored. Optimist International, unlike Minerva, did not leap forth out of the brain of one man. Rather its substance and unity came about slowly over the years, with humble beginnings in several cities throughout the United States and then into Canada. Its primary tenets—fellowship and optimism—served to bind together the men who were the founding fathers of Optimist International.

As Optimists we should heed the words of Marcus Aurelius, one of the great Roman emperors, who many centuries ago remarked:

"No longer talk about the kind of man a good man ought to be, but be one."

Let us be to ourselves what we preach to others. So it is that today the idea of community service permeates the very foundations of Optimist International.

With the concent of widespread community service utmost in our minds, we launched the respect for law program two years ago. This program arose out of a need evident in our nations, a troubled concern about the lack of respect for the law. It was apparent that this disrespect was not confined to specific groups nor was it merely relegated to the people of harsh economic means. Disrespect for the law is rampant in many sections of our nations: It exists in the cities with people who look the other way; it recoils out of the abyss of slum areas; it lurks insiduously in the modern offices and businesses, among men who are so busy with their personal gratification that they refuse to serve even on juries; it pervades the lives of many young men and women who avidly protest against the social order but who, in the final analysis, promote no alternative and seek no solution.

In his second treatise on civil government, John Locke aptly said:

"Wherever law ends, tyranny begins."

Those who stand for nothing are no better than those who rant against the stars or who, like the old dog rattler, bark at the moon.

To be aware of the problems in the community complex is but the first step in the process. Once we recognize the problems it becomes our duty as Optimists to advance ideas for their solution. And once the ideas are finalized, the process of putting them into community action is begun. This last part—practicing what we preach—is with what we are concerned in today's respect for law program.

But do we speak only in general terms? Is there a need for more community service, and is there a vital necessity for the respect for law program?

"Freedom from fear and injustice and oppression will be ours only in the measure that men who value such freedom are ready to sustain its possession—to defend it against every thrust from within or without."

These words, written by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who has recently become a member of the Optimists, are words to remember. We, as Optimists, can do much to protect our nations from the problems within. And one of the most vexing inquiries is the lack of due respect for the law and its enforcement.

The examples showing want of respect for the law are many. A few months ago a police officer in a large eastern city was making a routine arrest. A crowd gathered, hurled insults at the officer and actually interfered with the arrest. Whether these people knew or understood that they were maliciously interfering with a lawful arrest is not known. Besieged by the foolish and unaided by the timid, the officer finally received help from a fellow officer. Another example demonstrates the same theme. An American general was invited to address a group of college students. As he delivered his talk concerning the defense of the American action in Vietnam, many students, in apparent disagreement with the view of the general, hooted him, threatened him and charged the platform upon which he spoke. We readily respect the right of those students to disagree with the General, but we sternly deplore their actions of violence against him Although the dissenters argue vociferously about their consitutional rights, they refuse to recognize the same rights in others.

Does Optimist International offer a solution to its members regarding this tragic lack of respect? It does. And more, it suggests the means to be employed by the Optimists. We must untie the fetters of disrespect and substitute genuine concern for our fellow man. At the present time over 1,000 Optimist Clubs are engaged in some aspect of the respect for law program. Whether the program can work effectively depends entirely upon the efforts of the individual Optimists in the United States and Canada. The crux of the matter is simply this: we must encourage more club participation in the program. For the more clubs which participate, the more will people be reached, and the impact upon the community will be felt indeed.

Man's ingenuity has increased his life span, created a more comfortable living for him, and has permitted him the use of added leisure time. But we know full well that the intrinsic values in life are not measured by material goods. The worth of a civilization is tempered by its values on morality, charity and justice. Yet in today's life we see religion attacked as unworthy of belief, morality challenged as impious, and venerable institutions assaulted as worthless. We hear, to be sure, the garbled words of the critics who would rather detract than construct. We cannot remain silent. We must not only voice our strong opposition to the detractors but we Optimists must also show the way to the true values of life. One of the best ways is through the respect for law program.

The recognition accorded to our respect for law program is imposing. Last March, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey wired past president Robert H. Leonard and stated:

"It is so very encouraging to know that citizens, represented by Optimist International, are making such significant efforts for law enforcement."

Furthermore, in view of our sustained efforts in this field, the United States department of Justice selected Optimist International to assist in conducting the National Auto Theft Prevention compaign. Numerous newspaper editorials have hailed the concerted campaign of optimists in turning the tide against disrespect for the law.

Our goal, fellow Optimists, is total effort by the clubs. Only if the clubs rise to the occasion of complete involvement will we begin to reverse the trend of lethargy and apathy. It is no easy matter but Optimists for years have undertaken tasks which have seemed to be insurmountable, which have thrust upon us obstacles of every kind, and which have found solution in the guiding minds and hands of faithful Optimists. In one of his many short poems Edgar A. Guest set the theme as follows:

"He started to sing as he tackled the thing
That couldn't be done and he did it."

Specifically, what can the individual Optimist club do to promote the respect for law program? First, many clubs have formed speakers' bureaus and presentations have been made to other clubs, high school assemblies and other groups. Secondly, in the event that some citizen has exhibited extraordinary unselfish concern and courage, the respect for law citation may be awarded. Special awards may be given to law enforcement officers. Let us show them that there are those who do not forget. Third, the film "Every Hour—Every Day", produced by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, may be shown. With our touch for humanity and with our optimistic philosophy, we can add the force of all our clubs to the swelling stream of citizens concerned about law enforcement.

To our new friends we welcome you in our hearts; to our old friends we renew our pledge of friendship. Our visit may be summed up in these words written by Carrie Jacobs Bond:

"For mem'ry has painted this perfect day
With colors that never fade,
And we find at the end of a perfect day
The soul of a friend we've made."

Perhaps We Need Another McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Argus-Leader carried one of the most thought-provoking articles in their Sunday, October 15, 1967, edition. This editorial should be made available for every Member of Congress and should be widely read and studied. Certainly, F. C. Christopherson has made an exceptional contribution through this editorial.

The editorial is as follows:

Perhaps We Need Another McCarthy

The customarily smug Britishers have learned to their sorrow, dismay and disgust that one of their top foreign service officers has been a Soviet spy for 30 years.

The spy—Harold Philby—moved in the best circles of his government's upper sanctum. He had complete clearance and was in a position to know just about everything his government was doing in espionage, military experimentation and diplomatic planning. Because London rated him so highly, he was given a free hand in Washington and learned much about what the United States was doing.

Suspicion was first directed against Philby in the early 1950s but that was when London was sneering at the United States for what it termed a phobia about espionage. That was when the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy was conducting his investigation. The British indicated they were quite above such childish worry about spies in their midst. So nothing was done about Philby.

BRITISH OVERLOOKED SPIES

The consequence was that Philby continued to do what he had been doing since the thirties. That was to find out all he could about what was going on in London and Washington and relaying the data quickly to Moscow. He was actually a clever and masterful spy. And, sad to say, he was only one of several espionage agents for the Soviet who operated freely in London. Two others of note were Donald MacLean and Guy Burgess, ostensibly British diplomats. They had been recruited by Philby in the thirties and served their Russian masters well during an extremely critical period in world history.

The British once acquired a reputation for being so immaculate and impeccable in their security operations that they were virtually spy-proof. But that was long before they started to laugh at the United States for its concern about spies.

None of that for the superior British! They weren't about to indulge in witch hunts or to see foreign agents under every bed. They had no intention of succumbing to McCarthyism.

It nows appears, however, that a considerable amount of what has been described as McCarthyism would have been good for Britian.

A DANGEROUS BACKLASH

In truth, a sad reaction to the McCarthy episode has been the inclination in this country to lean the other way—to be too tolerant. It is well to respect private rights and individual reputations, to be sure, but when the very security of the nation is at stake, firm measures are needed.

In starting his investigation, McCarthy did something that needed doing. And it's too bad that so much misunderstanding developed about it, resulting in a backlash that has been positively dangerous to American security.

As it is now, there is a disturbing tendency in Washington and in some pseudo-intellectual quarters to condemn anyone who suspects there are spies in our midst and tries to do something about it.

THE CASE OF OTEPKA

Consider, for example, the case of Otto F. Otepka, former chief security evaluator for the U.S. Department of State, Otepka was employed in 1955 to examine the records of the employes of the department. He found 250 individuals whose conduct and association aroused questions and placed these names in a special file. Later he was disturbed about a tendency to give emergency clearance to various persons without a complete security check.

He objected strenuously to the policies overriding his standards and in consequence was removed from his position. So were six of his key assistants. Now Otepka has been turning over to members of Congress some of the details concerning individuals whom he refused to clear. This information has been disturbing and there is a growing demand for a complete probe of Otepka's information and the circumstance surrounding his dismissal.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE

Perhaps Britain has learned by now that it was wrong in belittling the McCarthy endeavors. And one may hope, there are in Washington men of strength and courage who are willing to risk the charge of McCarthyism in doing what obviously should be done to maintain a security as complete as possible.

Some McCarthyism won't hurt us. But the presence of foreign agents in our government can damage us vitally.

New National (Socialist) Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, I include some recent editorial comment from the News, Lynchburg, Va., and the Richmond News Leader, Richmond, Va., concerning the dedication of the residence of the late Eugene V. Debs as a national historic landmark of the national park system.

To so honor the memory of a confirmed and dedicated Socialist is an appalling development. He strongly opposed the prosecution of Americans for sedition; served a Federal prison term for violating the Espionage Act; was reported to have welcomed the Russian Revolution as "a forward step"; and condoned violence and repression in the cause of socialism.

It is a said and shocking commentary to observe this apparent high regard for a foremost advocate of socialism by a department of the Federal Government.

The text of the editorial comment is as follows:

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) News, Oct. 10, 1967]

The Richmond News Leader editorial reprinted below calls attention to the Johnson Administration's high regard for Socialism and Socialists in making the home of Eugene Debs a National Historic Landmark.

While Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas are the two best-known Socialist leaders, they aren't the most influential Socialists by a long shot. The most influential Socialists are those who have implemented Socialist programs under other names. We heard Thomas say at Lynchburg College two decades ago that he no longer had a Socialist program to run on then because Democrats had enacted it into law. You had better believe him; and believe, too, that in the ensuing 20 years, these self-styled "liberals," the cover-up for Socialists, have gone far beyond Thomas' wildest dreams. And they don't plan to stop until this nation is completely Socialist and every man, woman and child is regarded as an instrument of the State.

[From the Richmond (Va.) News Leader]

NEW NATIONAL (SOCIALIST) MONUMENT

On September 23, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall journeyed to Terre Haute, Ind. to dedicate a house as a National Historic Landmark of the National Park System.

And upon whose house was this honor conferred? The Terre Haute residence belonged to Eugene Debs, who died in 1926.

Debs, born in 1855, began his political career as a member of the Indiana legislature. In 1893, he formed the American Railway Union, an industrial labor union; he advocated organization among industries rather than organization of labor by crafts. In July of 1894, he was indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to obstruct the mails. A few days later, he was arrested for contempt of court for violating a court injunction, for which he was sentenced to six months in jail.

He emerged from jail a confirmed Socialist. In June, 1887, he founded the Social Democratic Party of America, which later merged with the Socialist Labor Party. He subsequently ran five times for President of the U.S. as the candidate of the Socialist Party of America.

On June 16, 1918, Debs delivered a speech at a Socialist state convention in Canton, Ohio, in which he bitterly criticized the administration for prosecuting Americans for sedition. A Cleveland federal grand jury four days later indicted him for violating the Espionage Act, for which he received a 10-year prison sentence. He was released from prison in 1921 by presidential order, but his citizenship was never restored.

During his lifetime, he passionately opposed capitalism as an unmitigated evil; in his view, socialism was the only panacea. He welcomed the Russian Revolution as "a forward step." He believed that violence and repression were permissible as long as they were used to further the cause of socialism; he found no quarrel with the Russian revolutionaries for repressing freedom of press and speech. On the other hand, he was entitled to freedom of speech because American involvement in the first world war was "reactionary." He steadfastly opposed trade and craft unions.

This is the man, a dedicated Socialist who served a prison term for sedition, a noncitizen of the United States, whose memory the National Park Service honors by giving his former home landmark status. If it be true, as it has been said, that a nation may be known by its monuments, the designation of Eugene Debs' home as a national historic landmark may say something about the trend of thought in America.

Satisfying Retirement—A New Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, all of us are reaping more leisuretime due to the advances in science and technology. This is normally a time to do things one is not required to do; an opportunity to do things at one's own pace. However, while we have made progress in health care, housing and community service for those of us with the most leisure—the retiree—not enough national attention has been paid, up to now, on ways to provide meaningful activity for this extra time.

Sylvia Porter has written an excellent article recently in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, which cites an address by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Gardner, proposing the development of midcareer clinics sponsored by corporations, universities, and so forth, to assist people in planning ahead for their retirement; provisions for continued use of retired people whose skills are in demand; and a "helping corps" to assist older people in applying for volunteer work in communities. I commend this very provocative article to the attention of my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

SATISFYING RETIREMENT PROBLEM FOR "ACTIVES"

(By Sylvia Porter)

We are now preparing to boost pension benefits for millions of retired men and women to all-time highs. The 1967 hikes in benefits will be the biggest since our Social Security System was founded in 1935. They will mark progress toward breaking the ancient link between old age and poverty.

We are also preparing to amend the Medicare law which recognizes that health care is a basic "right" of a U.S. citizen along with the earned right of an income in old age. The Medicare amendments will mark progress toward breaking the ancient link between old age and illness.

We are starting to tackle the problems of appropriate housing for the elderly, ranging from suitable independent living facilities to nursing homes integrated with other community services. We are at least beginning to make progress toward breaking the ancient link between old age and physical isolation.

But we are making shamelessly little progress toward breaking the ancient link between old age "uselessness."

As John W. Gardner, secretary of Health, Education & Welfare, wrote in IBM's magazine "Think," a problem is "interest and purpose in life." He emphasizes that while this lies at the heart of many difficulties of retirement, "it is often the least recognized and the most neglected."

RETIREMENT CONTRASTS

On all sides, I see dramatic contrasts between meaningful and meaningless retirements. We ignore the challenges of how to find meaningful activity in our later years at great peril.

Of course, hundreds of corporations try to help employes with pre-retirement counseling, but they reach no more than a tiny fraction of American workers.

What Gardner is fundamentally pleading for is our active attention to the value of leisure, our deeper understanding of the meaning of leisure, our wiser use of the time of leisure.

In relating retirement to leisure, he proposes:

(1) The development of mid-career clinics to be sponsored by corporations, schools, universities, unions, other organizations. The aim would be to persuade an individual to think about the years ahead, which many are reluctant to do, and then to guide them toward making what Gardner calls "one of life's toughest adjustments" with grace.

Counselors at the clinics might be mature or retired persons themselves who, with some intensive training, could be prepared to help others. Incidentally, some companies have recruited retired persons for this purpose, with excellent results.

WORK ON IF USEFUL

(2) Special provisions for continued use of retired people whose skills are in demand.

In the academic world, able professors are enjoying a brisk "post-retirement market." Law firms commonly arrange to have an elderly partner remain in some meaningful relationship to the firm. Why couldn't more corporations adopt these civilized practices?

(3) A "helping corps." Here, Gardner is zeroing in on shortages of people in virtually every "helping service" as well as hitting the target of meaningful retirement. Clubs, unions, fraternal organizations, could organize helping corps of older people for volunteer work in a locality.

We have solved the riddle of bringing together men in space. We have not solved the riddle of introducing the elderly woman who needs companionship to the elderly woman across the street who seeks to give companionship.

Commentaries on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an advertisement appearing in the Detroit, Mich., News of Tuesday, October 10, 1967, entitled "Voices on Vietnam." Immediately after that I insert in the Appendix another article appearing in the Detroit News of Tuesday, October 10, 1967, describing that antiwar advertisement as "sly and dishonest."

I believe that the two commentaries read together explain much.

The material follows:

VOICES ON VIETNAM

Senator George McGovern (Dem., S.D.): "I do not intend to remain silent in the face of what I regard as a policy of madness, which sooner or later will envelop my son and American youth by the millions for years to come."

General Douglas MacArthur: "Anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined."

Defense Secretary McNamara: "I don't believe that the bombing up to the present has significantly reduced, nor any bombing that I could contemplate in the future would significantly reduce, actual flow of men and material to the south."

M/Sgt. Donald Duncan, highly decorated former Special Forces "Green Beret": "One of the first axioms one learns about unconventional warfare is that no insurgent or guerrilla movement can endure without the support of the people."

George Kennan, former Ambassador to the USSR: "Vietnam is not a region of major industrial-military importance. It is difficult to believe that any decisive development of the world situation is going to be determined by what happens on that territory."

Vice President Hubert Humphery: "The present struggle is a conflict between Vietnamese of various political beliefs. No lasting solutions can be found by foreign armies."

Columnist Walter Lippmann: "The ultimate weapons of frightfulness are in the hands of the United States and no one who knows this country, and the character of the President can be sure that they will not be used if the escalation of frightfulness continues."

Sen. Charles Percy (Ill.): "The battle is becoming more and more our war. Indeed we are moving to a major land war with Red China."

Sen. J. Wm. Fulbright (Ark.): "The war in Vietnam is snuffing out the American social revolution envisioned by the Great Society. The inspiration and commitment have disappeared . . . in the face of deepening involvement in an Asian war." "Gradually but unmistakably, we are succumbing to the arrogance of power."

Mayor Cavanagh of Detroit: "The $33 million being spent daily in Vietnam is needed at home for schools, for housing, for building the Great Society."

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.): "We must do more to exhaust all avenues of peace rather than continue to send more troops to Vietnam to be killed."

General Omar Bradley: "I would hate very much to see us involved in a land war in Asia. I think we would be fighting a wrong war at the wrong place against the wrong enemy."

Actor Robert Vaughn: "Can we possibly imagine that this bloody insanity will prove that the democratic way of life is more fulfilling than communism. If we think our methods are righteous we are fooling no one but ourselves. Certainly not the rest of the world! And certainly not history!"

Author William L. Shirer: "As Athens before the attack on Syracuse, as imperial Germany, before 1914 and Nazi Germany and imperial Japan before 1939, the United States, it seems to me, is today displaying the arrogance and the irresponsibility of power."

Historian Arnold Toynbee: ". . . in refusing to recognize that the Vietcong represent a national liberation movement made by the South Vietnamese themselves, and in attributing the war wholly to Communism intervention from the outside, the United States is unintentionally making herself heir of European colonialism in Asia."

Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling: "I am ashamed of my country!"

Senator Joseph S. Clark (Pa): "It is true that a cease-fire involves a calculated risk, but it is a risk which we, as the greatest military power the world has ever seen, can afford to take."

Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary, World Council of Churches: "The Asians with whom I've talked see a rich, powerful, predominantly white nation trying to impose its will on Southeast Asia by using its overwhelming military power. They see us as a bully."

Bernard Fall, late author and professor: "A truly staggering amount of civilians are getting killed or maimed in the war."

Commentator Eric Sevareid: "Until we got into it, the Vietnam war was essentially a civil war; a civil war and a social revolution and a struggle for national identity and freedom from European rule."

Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.: ". . . our bombers roam over the hapless country, dumping more tonnage of explosives each month than we were dropping per month on all Europe and Africa during the second world war."

Rev. Martin Luther King: "We increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept and without popular support. All the while, people read our leaflets and received regular promises of peace and democracy—and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us—not their fellow Vietnamese—the real enemy."

Columnist James Reston: "Our promise was to help South Vietnam, not destroy it."

Sen. Wayne Morse (Ore.): "We talk about democracy in South Vietnam, but the United States has been the major force in preventing democracy in South Vietnam."

Benjamin Spock, M.D. and author: "Today, I believe our country is in greater danger than at any other time in its existence. Our ruthless disregard for the rights of other nations—as evidenced in Vietnam—is earning us animosity throughout the world. And all of us will continue to be partly responsible until we can bring this madness to an end. If each of us will voice his displeasure now, and every time there is news of escalation, we will eventually make an impression on the officials who are leading us, step by step, to destruction."

U.N. Secretary General U Thant: "Cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam is a prerequisite for the next move." "The bombing of North Vietnam constitutes an insurmountable obstacle toward discussions."

Pope Paul VI: "We cry in God's name to stop!"

Gen. David M. Shoup, former Commandant U.S. Marine Corps: "I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-crooked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own. That they design and want. That they fight and work for. And if, unfortunately, their revolution must be of the violent type because the "haves" refuse to share with the "have-nots" by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want and above all don't want crammed down their throats by Americans."

Sen. Stephen M. Young (Ohio): "Americans should not blindly accept the propaganda coming from Washington. If mistakes are compounded on mistakes, then the conflict will be expanded and escalated. If, on the other hand, we follow the example of France, which gave us a great department of France, Algeria, our prestige will be enhanced in the eyes of the entire world, just as that of France has been enhanced since 1956."

Marriner S. Eccles, former Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System:

"Under no circumstances should we escalate the war in Vietnam. Our position there is indefensible. Contrary to government propaganda we were not invited by, and have no commitment to, any representative or responsible government of South Vietnam. We are there as an aggressor in violation of our treaty obligations under the United Nations Charter. We have not observed either the letter or the spirit of our obligations with respct to our actions in Vietnam. As a result, we have the opposition of not only the entire Communist world but the rest of the world as well, with few minor exceptions."

Richard Cardinal Cushing: "Let America realize that self-scrutiny is not treason, self-examination is not disloyalty. Patriotism is not a cloak for the blanket and blind acceptance of all decisions made by the United States."

Ad reprint and list of quotation sources available for 10 cents on written request.

Mail this page to your congressman today.

We strongly urge:

Stop all bombing.

Stop all escalation. Use $$ for U.S. Cities, not for Vietnamese Deaths.

Start negotiations unconditionally and with all parties to the conflict.

Observe the 1954 Geneva agreement.

This ad was paid for entirely by a group of concerned citizens and is is endorsed by: Rabbi Richard C. Hertz, Temple Beth El—Detroit; Rev. Alan Jenkins, First Congregational Church—Royal Oak; Father Clement Kern, Most Holy Trinity Church—Detroit; Dr. Harry C. Meserve, Grosse Point Unitarian Church; Rev. Robert Morrison, St. Joseph's Episcopalian Church—Detroit.

(Note.—Affiliation is given for identification only.)

Add your voice to those above . . . tear out and mail this page to your Congressman today.

These are Michigan's Congressmen:

Sen. Philip A. Hart, Sen. Robert P. Griffin, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

REPRESENTATIVES

First, John Conyers, Jr.; Second, Marvin L. Esch; Third, Garry Brown; Fourth, Edward Hutchinson; Fifth, Gerald R. Ford; Sixth, Charles E. Chamberlain; Seventh, Donald W. Riegle, Jr.; Eighth, James Harvey; Ninth, Guy Vander Jagt; Tenth, Elford A. Cederberg; Eleventh, Philip E. Ruppe; Twelfth, James G. O'Hara; Thirteenth, Charles C. Diggs, Jr; Fourteenth, Lucien Nedzi; Fifteenth, William D. Ford; Sixteenth, John D. Dingell; Seventeenth, Mrs. Martha W. Griffiths; Eighteenth, William S. Broomfield; Nineteenth, Jack H. McDonald; House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Dear Congressman: As a constituent of yours and as a concerned citizen of the United States, I support the ideas expressed on this page. I urge you to do everything within your power to bring this barbarous war to a stop now. *My vote in the next election will depend on your efforts to stop the war.*

Name ________________________________

Address ______________________________

City ________________, State __________

[From the Detroit News, Oct. 10 1967]

That Antiwar Advertisement: Sly and Dishonest

On a contentious political or national issue, such as American involvement in Vietnam, newspapers have a responsibility to permit both sides to present their arguments. This applies to advertising space as well as to news columns.

That is why The Detroit News, in the company of other major newspapers across the nation, has accepted the advertisement in today's editions which has been paid for by a group of "concerned citizens," appealing to readers to bring pressure on their congressmen to end the war now and unconditionally. The advertisement appears on page 17A.

But The News has a responsibility, too, to comment that this advertisement is falsely conceived and presented. It purports to give quotations from 31 persons, many of international stature, some known only on the American scene. In not one of the 31 quotations listed by the sponsors is the date of the quotation given, nor is the context revealed in which the comment was made.

The quotation attributed to Gen. Omar Bradley can be cited as an example. The former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is quoted as saying, "I think we would be in a wrong war at the wrong place against the wrong enemy." The obvious implication is that Bradley is talking about Vietnam.

Bradley was not. He said, "It would involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." He was specifically expressing the Joint Chief's opinion about Gen. MacArthur's proclaimed strategy of hitting Red China to pave the way for victory in Korea. At the time, May 13 1951, the war was then one year old and stalemated.

MacArthur had revealed his plan before Senate committees investigating his dismissal by President Truman. Bradley's quotation was in direct rebuttal to MacArthur's arguments. "The wrong war" he was talking about was against Red China in which Americans and Chiang's forces on Formosa would participate.

It is significant that the advertisement sponsors omit that part of Bradley's quotation about war "at the wrong time." The time was 1951 and Korea, not 1967 and Vietnam.

On our front page today a shocked Gen. Bradley, informed by The News what the sponsors had done with his quotation, strongly protests "the false and misleading impression" he is opposed to current American policies in Vietnam. Moreover, he and former President Eisenhower have just joined a group established to seek "peace with freedom for Vietnam." Gen. Eisenhower has said this committee is dedicated to a sensible war policy.

Peace, with freedom guaranteed for South Vietnam, is not demanded in any single quotation in today's advertisement.

Another example: an undated quotation from Defense Secretary McNamara has him saying that "up to the present" bombing has not significantly reduced the flow of men and material from North Vietnam to the South. McNamara has used this argument in rebutting those who advocate all-out war against the North.

The advertisement did not see fit to quote McNamara's latest report on the effects of 2½ years of bombing. He told senators on Aug. 25: "We have made the infiltration of men and supplies to the South increasingly difficult and costly, though complete interdiction of those supplies has never been considered possible by our military leaders. Weighed against its stated objectives, the bombing campaign has been successful."

The advertisement does offer to provide, for 10 cents, "a list of quotation sources." Presumably those urged to pressure Congress now to stop the war immediately might find out, by paying later, how the hidden persuaders manipulated their source material.

Emergency Telephone Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the Record a letter written to me concerning my proposal for uniform emergency fire and police reporting numbers. This letter, from the chief of police, F. C. Ramon, describes the system used in Seattle and suggests that possibly a third emergency number need be devised for other urgent needs:

The City of Seattle,
Department of Police,
Seattle, Wash., June 26, 1967.

Hon. J. Edward Roush,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: The suggestion contained in your letter of June 19, 1967, that there be one nationwide telephone number for emergency reporting to the police and another one for emergency reporting of fires, is excellent.

In Seattle, as in most police departments, we have an emergency number and then another number for routine business. We have found that generally speaking, the public does an excellent job in sorting out which of the two telephone numbers to use. In common with many other municipal police departments, we have caused the telephone number to be displayed on all marked police equipment. The idea of this, of course, is to impress on the minds of the people the police emergency number as frequently as possible.

While it might appear that in some jurisdictions there would be mechanical difficulties, they do not seem to be insurmountable. For example, in Seattle we dial two letters and a number before dialing the emergency number. In some parts of California they dial a total of eight figures. If the last four figures, under any circumstances, were identical, I believe there would be great service done to the public and to the police agency.

I might suggest one other area where experience on Interstate 5 has shown a communications need. Perhaps there should be a third number to be called for assistance at other than emergencies. For example, an automobile out of gasoline on a Freeway, or persons with motor trouble who need a tow truck, or a mechanic, but do necessarily need the police or fire department. Experience with the limited access facilities indicates that there are many calls for assistance which are not necessarily emergencies.

You may certainly use this letter in any fashion you feel appropriate,

Yours truly,

F. C. Ramon,
Chief of Police.

Land in Phoenix Is Proving Fertile for Electronics

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, that the Phoenix, Ariz., area has become a center to be counted in the electronics field is proven by the following article, "Land in Phoenix Is Proving Fertile for Electronics," which appeared in the New York Times of October 8, 1967. We are proud to have this industry in the Valley of the Sun, and to have provided the companies which have located there with the fine workers, educational facilities, and recreational resources which they need and enjoy. Our latchstring is always open, and we look forward to welcoming others in this field—or in any other field—who might wish to take ad-

vantage of all the State of Arizona has to offer. The article follows:

PHOENIX, ARIZ.—"This town is full of engineers and scientists. They're a funny breed. They work hard and then they want to relax hunting or fishing or boating or picking up rocks. That's why they're all eager to come here to live."

The speaker is the public relations manager for one of the major electronics companies that have settled here and are directing their major expansion projects in this region. Most of the big names in the industry are represented here in manufacturing or research operations. They include the General Electric Company, Motorola, Inc., the Sperry Rand Corporation, the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, Kaiser Aerospace and the Airesearch Manufacturing Company along with such native-grown companies as the Dickson Electronics Corporation, Ameco, Inc., EMP Electronics, the Rogers Corporation and Unidynamics.

Ask the top executives of any of these companies and they all agree on why they chose Phoenix for their newest operations. They state flatly that engineering and scientific personnel seem to be attracted to the region and that cooperation with the local university, Arizona State, is so perfect that they are intrigued by the possibilities of updating their education.

They also cite the "living in the sun year-round" attitude that prevails here; the proximity of mountains, lakes and even the desert for recreation and the casual approach to life. Then, too, there has been up to now a readily available supply of semiskilled or even highly skilled labor, plus plenty of non-skilled help ready for training.

The experience of Robert B. Roe, vice president and general manager of Sperry's flight systems division, in locating in this region is typical. Back in 1954 and 1955, the company decided to end its corporate concentration in the New York area. Since the division was then making an automatic pilot for the B-52 and automatic controls for the QF-80 drone, it was decided to look first east of the Mississippi River for a new site in line with Department of Defense desires for spreading around defense business.

"We decided to look the West all over," Mr. Roe recalled in a recent interview. "We liked it here especially because of the ideal flight conditions with sunny, cloudless skies and plenty of room for maneuvering. The education facilities at Arizona State also attracted us and we would be much closer to Boeing, Lockheed and Douglas, our three major customers.

"We were also more than impressed with the figures supplied by Motorale and AiResearch on low turnover and ability to recruit workers. Our experience since we moved here in 1956 has more than verified their bullish outlook on this region," Mr. Roe added.

SOME 3,100 NOW EMPLOYED

Sperry's initial facility in Phoenix comprised about 85,000 square feet of space and 500 workers, with about 90 per cent of the products turned out for the military. Today, the division employs some 3,100 persons in 360,000 square feet of space on the north side. About 70 per cent of today's output is for commercial aircraft, with most of the balance for the military. The company is taking a serious look into the field of executive aircraft and Mr. Roe feels certain that "in the next five years we'll probably have to increase both our facilities and our labor force by 30 to 50 per cent."

The Western Electric Company, supply and manufacturing arm of the giant Bell System, is right now going through the same experience that Sperry did back in the mid-fifties. It is building on the west side of the city what will be the world's largest cable manufacturing facility, with an annual capacity of 53 billion conductor feet a year. T. G. Clark, general manager of the plant, said that when it was in full operation next year it would consume about 1.3 million pounds of copper a week and raise Western Electric's cable manufacturing capacity by 25 per cent.

The giant facility's manufacturing area is about 1,200 feet long, 600 feet deep and 40 feet high and is completely air-conditioned with a system that is one and a half times larger than that used in the Houston Astrodome. Situated on an 80-acre tract, it will be the largest power user in the state and will employ some 1,200 persons. There will be about 20 acres under roof, or 850,000 square feet.

MACHINISTS TRAINED

Mr. Clark said Western Electric would bring in only key personnel and recruit the others from the vicinity. About a year ago the company opened a school to train highly skilled machinists, a group that is in short supply even in this electronics mecca.

"We've been quite pleased with the training program to date," Mr. Clark said. "About 50 percent of the trainees are from minority groups and we have had no problems at all. They want to learn and they're progressing on schedule. We're quite pleased with their enthusiasm."

The decision to locate here was based in part on the reasons advanced by others, coupled with the fact that more than 50 per cent of the nation's copper is mined in the state.

"We'll be loading our five other cable plants by computer from here," Mr. Clark said. "This means that as supplier to the Bell System, we'll use our IBM-360 computer installation to decide the economics of which plant should turn out the cable for use in the various areas of the country." The other plants are in Buffalo, Baltimore, Kearny, N.J., Chicago and Omaha.

A NEIGHBOR'S COMPUTER

Western Electric turned to a Phoenix neighbor, General Electric, for a GE-PAC 4020 process computer as part of an electronic system that will monitor production. It will be used initially for production testing and later expanded to handle more complex control problems.

Vern S. Cooper, manager of G.E.'s information services marketing operation here, is certain that Phoenix is destined to become an even more important electronics center in the future. He noted that transportation of some finished goods posed some problems, particularly for heavy items.

"We'll never see the day when transportation will be as bad as it is today and today it's really excellent," he explained, adding, "We know we can always get back here if we can get off the ground at the other end."

G.E. produces its computer lines here, sells them through trained sales people in the field and intends to keep its main production operations in this region. The over-all computer operation is coordinated in New York City, while European production is centered in France and Italy.

As for G.E.'s well-known problems in the computer business, Mr. Cooper attributes most of them to "one hell of a lot of bad press."

"The problems are really generic. Third generation computers have provided problems for everyone in this industry, I.B.M. included," he said.

A MODEST START

G.E. officially entered the Phoenix area in November, 1956, with the formation of its computer department, which then consisted of a handful of employes in rented quarters. It had one project—development of a computer complex, known as ERMA, for the Bank of America. At that time, is was the largest single order ever received. Ground was broken for a permanent facility on a 160-acre tract northwest of the city. There have since been three major additions that have more than tripled the total floor space and the work force now totals some 6,000 people in one million square feet of space.

But the real Phoenix success story in the world of electronics comes from Motorola, which in December, 1948, opened the first electronics facility in the region. It was housed in a 6,500-square-foot laboratory near the downtown area. Today, with some 17,000 employes in three separate divisions operating in about 3.2 million square feet of space, Motorola is the state's largest industrial employer.

SPENT YEAR THERE

Dr. Daniel E. Noble, vice chairman of the company and its chief technical officer, chose Phoenix because he had spent a year as a child in this region and believed that it would attract the technical people he needed. He convinced Paul V. Galvin, the founder and president, that if Motorola was to stay among the leaders in electronics, it would have to get into the solid-state art as soon after the war as possible. The military electronics division was formed in the company's first new building in the city. This was followed in 1956 by the semiconductor products division, which is now reportedly the world's largest single production facility of its type.

The third division—control systems—was founded in 1962 and now occupies the original semiconductor plant.

Dr. C. Lester Hogan, vice president and general manager of the semiconductor division, looks upon his division as part of "a great industry, a perfect example of just how capitalism should work." He explained that there are roughly 100 companies in the industry and "no monopolies either on the manufacturing or the consumer end."

"We have to succeed in the face of real competition, matching wits with each competitor," he went on. "Today, I can say we are the second largest semi-conductor manufacturer in the world, with 15 per cent of the total output. We're damn close to the largest and expect to be that next year with 16 per cent of the total."

He placed Texas Instruments, Inc., on top of the industry, with the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation third. Dr. Hogan does not see any shakedown in the industry to the point where there will be only a handful of manufacturers.

"The art changes too rapidly for that," he explained. "We now have a microminiature silicon chip that contains 524 individual components and a complexity comparable to that of three or four color TV sets. [It is about the size of a pinhead.] See me next year and we'll probably have one with 1,000 components and then 100,000. Who knows?"

NO FEAR OF PEACE

Dr. Hogan is not one who "fears any outbreak of peace," noting that it would at worst only create minor dislocations.

"The pace of research in integrated circuits is bound to continue," he said. "Our first customer is the computer industry and our second is the automotive, where the potential is almost without bounds."

Ralph Elsner, general manager of Motorola's aerospace center in the government electronics division, also believes there would be little effect on his division once peace comes.

"If the war ended tomorrow there'd be very little change in our forecasts for 1968 operations," Mr. Elsner said. "The Department of Defense arsenal would have to be replenished and we make such items as fuses and small missile guidance devices, all of which would be in short supply. Then, too, we'd be working on new items that are still in our research and development stages. We would also look for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to provide a shot in the arm to its procurement."

He pointed out that it was company policy to maintain steady employment through not devoting more than 50 per cent of the work effort to one branch of the military and not more than 20 per cent to any single program.

Raymond A. Zack is general manager of the control systems division, the newest division and one that many observers expect to be the fastest growth area for the company.

It produces digital processing and supervisory controls in competition with such leaders in the field as Foxboro, Honeywell and Taylor Instruments. Mr. Zach reported his division had "an excellent year to date principally in the industrial process line because of growing acceptance of electronics in this area." He noted that progress has been especially strong in the petrochemical industries where Motorola specialized equipment is compatible with computers from the major manufacturers.

One major project with great growth potential is in the discrete data processing field in conjunction with a major telephone system. In the event a line is down or a phone out of order, the operator marks a card, inserts it into a reader which transmits the information by telephone to a computer that selects the closest repair spot and dispatches the repair crew in hours instead of days in remote locations.

Virtually all of Mr. Zach's business is not militarily oriented, so he, too, has no fears of labor problems in the event of peace. In fact, he expects to add between 10 and 15 per cent to his work force and "should more than double the number of people we employ within three years because of new products and an expansion program aimed at doubling the division every three years.

The competition for skilled labor continues within the region. The Dickson Electronics Corporation is a perfect example. Donald C. Dickson, the founder and president, worked for Motorola until seven years ago when, with $300,000 capital, he founded his company to manufacture products similar to those produced by Motorola's semiconductor division. Dickson had 71 employes then; today it has more than 1,100 and its sales last year topped $11.5-million. Two weeks ago, it opened a new $1.9-million facility.

Potential Drug Hazard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I assume that last Friday other Members besides myself heard from their constituents, including physicians and pharmacists, of the alarm that was caused by an unfortunate handling of what otherwise might have been a routine recall from the market of a drug.

I referred to Coumadin, a quantity of which was recalled by its manufacturers, Endo Laboratories, Inc., of Garden City, N.Y. The facts, as I understand them, were these:

This drug is used—in laymen's terms—as a blood-thinning agent. It is particularly helpful to stroke victims and some heart patients, many of whose lives depend on its continued use. It is my understanding, Mr. Speaker, that a normal prescription for some types of cases calls for five milligram tablets under allowable variances of the Food and Drug Administration. This means, in effect, that acceptable tablets contain 4.5 milligrams and 5.5 milligrams.

Last Thursday night the manufacturer, having discovered that a quantity was shipped to retail outlets, issued a standard recall through the FDA. The tablets in question apparently varied from the norm by containing 5.9 milligrams of the drug.

Now, normally, Mr. Speaker, this amount, while it is beyond allowable limits, is still a pretty safe dosage. Far more dangerous than having a patient take such a tablet, is having the patient so alarmed by the discrepancy that he will discontinue using the drug in fear that it will harm him. Such discontinuance, might, indeed, have a disastrous effect.

In any case, the usual procedure in cases of this sort—and there are many—is for the pharmaceutical manufacturer to immediately notify all his retail outlets and physicians and ask for the return of the quantity in question. Obviously, the FDA also is notified of this.

In this case, however, no notification to physicians or pharmacists was made to my knowledge. Notification was made only to FDA, which immediately disseminated this information to the general public.

At this point I have no idea of why normal procedures were not followed last week in the case of Coumadin. I can only guess, perhaps erroneously, that some overzealous employee became alarmed and transmitted this alarm to the public. As I indicated earlier, this very alarm could have been far more dangerous to some patients than the slight overdose. And it could have caused a yet more dangerous situation to thousands of patients who depend on Coumadin and who might have become alarmed enough to discontinue its use.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a sample of a typical drug recall notice sent out earlier this year by this same manufacturer to illustrate what the procedure is. I assure you my files contain similar messages used by other ethical drug manufacturers recently. I need point out only that the sample letter I am submitting indicated a situation that could have been even more dangerous to these very same patients because it involved partially the same drug in much higher doses. In that case, however, normal procedures were followed and, as far as I know, patients did not have to be unduly alarmed.

Mr. Speaker, I also submit a copy of a letter I received this morning from a constituent who happens to be chairman of the professional relations committee of the Philadelphia Association of Retail Druggists, who was among those who first called this to my attention last week. I would like the Members to know also that I have written of this matter to Dr. James L. Goddard, Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, asking him to take such steps as may be necessary to prevent such reoccurrences in the future.

As direct representatives of the people, however, I think it is also incumbent upon the appropriate committee of the House to undertake an investigation of the events in connection with this near mishap last week so that we can determine how it came about and what steps are necessary for us to take to assure the safety and well-being of our people.

I, therefore, respectfully request that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee be asked to undertake an immediate investigation and report its findings and/or recommendations.

ENDO LABORATORIES, INC.,
Garden City, N.Y., February 23, 1967.

IMPORTANT: DRUG RECALL

Due to an error in a printing establishment, which occurred about 3 years ago, certain specific lots of the products enumerated below, may have been involved in a label mix up.

Only the following products, lots, and package sizes are involved. However, the possibility exists that any of these products could bear any one of these six lot numbers on the label.

Product	Lot No.	Package size[1]
Mesopin, 5 mg	3365	100
Coumadin, 25 mg	2314	100
Do	4014	100
Do	6219	100
Do	6282	100
Coumadin 7½ mg	3233	100

[1] Number in bottles.

We are recalling these lots from the market. Please examine your stocks *immediately* to determine if you have *any* of the above lots on hand. If so, discontinue dispensing these lots and promptly return via parcel post to our Garden City, N.Y. plant; Attention: Returned Goods Department A. You will be reimbursed for the postage and we will immediately replace the merchandise returned.

Please return the enclosed card immediately providing the requested information. In addition, as noted above, if you should have any one of the six aforementioned control numbers on either Mesopin 5 Mg., Coumadin 25 Mg. or Coumadin 7½ Mg. in packages of 100, kindly add this information on the enclosed business reply card.

This recall is being made with the knowledge of the Food and Drug Administration.

We appreciate your assistance.

ENDO LABORATORIES, INC.,
DAVID L. KLEIN,
Senior Vice President.

CANTOR'S PHARMACY,
Philadelphia, Pa., October 13, 1967.

Hon. JOSHUA EILBERG,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOSH: The recent action of the Food & Drug Administration in the recall of the drug Coumadin, shows a blatant disregard by the Department for the health and welfare of the American public.

While I will admit to the legal right of the F.D.A. to order a recall, I cannot agree as to the method used in this particular case. A recall must be tempered with good medical judgment, and with proper regard for calm and orderly procedures in removing a drug through ethical channels.

In the past recalls were initiated by drug manufacturers, through letters or telegrams to all pharmacies, drug wholesalers, hospitals, physicians, etc. The letter, a phototype of which is enclosed with this letter, states the reason for the recall, the lot numbers involved, and an orderly procedure for return and credit. This was always done with the full knowledge of the F.D.A. Why there was a deviation in this case is beyond me. Let me give you a brief rundown of what I went through for three hours on Friday morning.

Between 9:00 A.M. and 10:30 A.M., I received approximately thirty phone calls from patients, physicians and other pharmacists, asking about the news broadcasts and AP story (with a New York dateline). These were proper requests for the reason of recall and lot numbers involved I could not answer them. I had to take the name and phone number of each caller and promise to call them back as soon as I checked the story. Fortunately, I was able to get the lot nos. and the potency variations. The variation was so small, that in my professional judgment, there was no need for the Food & Drug Admin. to rush to the news media and radio and T.V. networks to ask the *public* to stop taking the drug. The danger of not taking Coumadin, even if there was a 50% deviation is far greater than stopping the drug entirely. Each physician I discussed this with agreed, and we advised all callers to continue with their dosage as prescribed and await more detailed instruction from their physicians or their pharmacist.

I am only sorry that you could not have personally listened to the fears the public had, the panic in their voices and in the voices of their family. Each was afraid he or she was doomed to die. Their emotions were disturbed, and this in a group of seriously ill patients, would require more assurance and more tranquility than almost any other group.

By noon Friday, my opinions were justified by Dr. Goddard himself. However, the damage was already done. Only hard effort on the part of the pharmacy—medical team overted any further damage. A statement attributed to Dr. Goddard was quoted in a new broadcast, to the effect that there is no really good system of advising the profession on drug recalls. I submit to you sir, that he is incorrect.

We do have a method, and it is adequate. No drug should be recalled by advice to the public, unless the product is so dangerous that death would ensue by taking it. Otherwise, the people who are responsible for dispensing and prescribing drugs, should be made aware of the problem *first* with full disclosure and recommendations for handling the recall. The public should then and *only after the information* is in the hands of the physicians and pharmacists, be told to contact their supplier for instructions. No panic buttons should be pushed, no implications should be inferred. If we, the medical team are entrusted with the dispensing of medication, then we and we alone should be responsible for the recovery and dissemination of information relative to removal of a drug from the market.

Let me take this opportunity to personally thank you for your splendid cooperation and for your efforts in trying to restore order and sensibility in a confused and circus like atmosphere.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH CANTOR,
Chairman, Professional Relations Committee of the Philadelphia Association of Retail Druggists.

National Television Poll on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the recent comments of the Secretary of State indicating that the majority of the American people support U.S. military action in Southeast Asia was supported by a recent nationwide television poll. Maimi station WLBW–TV participated in this poll and I insert their comments at this point in the RECORD:

WLBW–TV PARTICIPATES IN FIRST NATIONAL TV "INSTANT POLL"

MIAMI, FLA.—Last night (October 9) Miami's WLBW–TV Channel 10 joined 10 other stations across the United States in ocnducting the first national television "instant poll". The question asked was do you think we should immediately stop bombing North Viet Nam? The answer from Dade and Broward County viewers and from some 50,000 viewers across the nation was a resounding "No" with the national percentage at 60% voting "No" and 40% voting "Yes". The WLBW–TV Channel 10 percentages, based on 5,868 calls, almost paralleled the national figures with 61% of WLBW–TV callers voting "No" and 39% voting "Yes".

The "instant poll", a new trend in television programming which utilizes a battery of phones equipped with electronic counting devices, began making its appearance during television news shows late this summer. Miami's WLBW–TV Channel 10 launched the "Question of the Day" on August 29, 1967. A pertinent, timely question of local, national or international concern is asked during the early evening news program and viewers are asked to record a "yes" or "no" vote by calling one of two numbers. WLBW–TV has been averaging 2500 calls per question and was on a par with other cities across the nation in the number of calls received in the national poll. Survey results are presented in percentages on the late news show.

The national inter-city poll is the first of many national polls planned by the news department of the fifteen stations now using the TV "instant polls." Stations participating in Monday night's national polls were: KOB–TV, Albuquerque, New Mexico; WMAR, Bartimore, Maryland; WZZM, Grand Rapids, Michigan; WVUE, New Orleans, Louisiana; WFTV, Orlando, Florida; WFIL, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; WIIC, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; KCPX, Salt Lake City, Utah; KSTP, Saint Paul-Minneapolis, Minnesota; and WNDU, South Bend, Indiana.

The Pacific's Farther Shores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the Congress an excellent article by Mr. G. E. Keck, president of United Air Lines. Mr. Keck speculates on the future of the Pacific area. His thoughts and projections are quite illuminating, and reffect many of the same hopes and aspirations for the area which I share with many other Americans.

THE PACIFIC'S FARTHER SHORES

(By G. E. Keck, president, United Air Lines)

About a year and a half ago when the Civil Aeronautics Board initiated its first Transpacific Route Investigation in some seven years, virtually all major U.S. air carriers filed applications to provide service across the Pacific.

Some people may have thought the multiple filings were just another manifestation of the zeal with which airlines imitate each other. Actually, the carriers were motivated by practical economics—the same consideration which prompts them to imitate each other's service features and promotional fares. The flurry of Pacific route applications reflected recognition of the simple fact that new markets for air travel and shipping are emerging as an inevitable outgrowth of industrialization and economic progress in the Far East and South Pacific.

U.S. carriers are eager to serve the emerging markets. Plans and programs which 18 airlines have proposed for Pacific operations are being evaluated by the Civil Aeronautics Board in proceedings known as the Transpacific Case. Decision of the case is not expected until late 1968 at the earliest and more probably not until 1969.

Many associated with the air transport industry regard the case as the most important ever placed on the CAB docket. To understand why this could be true, it is helpful to view our historic attitude toward the oceans on the east and west side of the continent.

The United States has been Atlantic-oriented since Colonial times. For generations we have looked upon that ocean as our main international highway for commerce, immigration and cultural exchange. Europe has always held great fascination, which is natural considering the ancestral ties of most Americans.

In contrast with our abiding interest in Europe, we have traditionally and until recent decades viewed the Far East with indifference. The Orient seemed infinitely remote, strange, mysterious and "foreign" in a sense never quite true of the Old World.

Some authorities are now convinced that a significant shift is occurring in our historic attitudes toward the Atlantic and Pacific. Public attention is drawn to the latter more each year and there are signs which lead many to believe the United States will someday become a Pacific-oriented nation.

The shift reflects underlying social, political, economic forces too complex for even superficial analysis here. My comments will be confined to several of the more evident technological and psychological factors related to the growth of transpacific air travel and shipping.

Our national state of mind in regard to the Far East has changed appreciably since World War II. Up to that time there was still some truth in Kipling's observation that never the twain shall meet. They met, they collided, and the repercussions continue to this day.

Great numbers of Americans who had never been out of this country were transported to the North and South Pacific during the 1940's. War is tragedy, hardship, horror and, as I learned with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, it also is a grim teacher of geography. I was based in New Guinea, The East Indies and other South Pacific places of which I had been only dimly aware.

Military experience opened my eyes to the world on the far side of the Pacific—a world both backward and advanced, with vast populations and a tremendous economic potential. It was a discovery made by many thousands of servicemen and I am sure it contributed to revision of our national attitude toward the Far East.

Great distances which had always served to isolate land areas bordering the Pacific were trimmed down in the 1940's by large-scale air transport operations. The planes were slow and of modest capacity as compared with jetliners but in hours they spanned stretches of the Pacific which took days and weeks by ship.

As one of the scheduled carriers that performed military assignments for the Air

Transport Command, United Air Lines flew troops and materiel to Hawaii, Guam, Manila, New Guinea, New Zealand, Okinawa and Japan. From September, 1942, to mid-January, 1947, United logged more than 46 million plane miles in Pacific operations, carrying 18,000 tons of mail and cargo and some 156,000 military passengers.

United resumed military contract operations during the Korean conflict. Our pilots flew 13 million plane miles, carrying some 25,000 troops and 7,000 tons of military mail and cargo on a route between the United States and Japan. Currently, in connection with the war in Viet Nam, the company is participating in the lift of military personnel and high-priority cargo to Saigon, Bangkok and other points in Southeast Asia.

As of commercial operations in the Pacific, United has served the Hawaiian Islands since May, 1947. Before our entry in that market, the lowest one-way fare between California and Hawaii was $195. It now ranges down to $100 on DC-8's, with youth fare of $75 and a military standby fare of $55.

The lower fares for greatly improved service reflect the superior operating economics of jet aircraft and also attest to the benefits of competition, since only one other scheduled airline was flying between the West Coast and Hawaii before United began service.

In its first full year of Hawaiian operations United carried 24,000 passengers. Last year's total was 530,000. In addition to fare reductions, the rise in personal income and the appeal of jet aircraft, some part of this extremely vigorous growth must be credited to the heavy investment United has made in promoting Hawaii on the Mainland.

Curiosity and interest spur travel and they can be roused by advertising, publicity and cultural exchanges. Business relationships also generate traffic, both passenger and cargo, and the advance of industrialization similarly creates a demand for air travel and shipping facilities.

Since World War II there has been a pronounced increase in the interchange of East-West ideas and products. Americans who visited Japan for the Olympic Games in 1964 were often surprised by the extent to which that country has been westernized. Rock-and-roll music rumbles in Tokyo nightclubs and the "hotto doggu" can be purchased at snack bars.

In the United States we have seen a variety of film and stage productions with Oriental themes, ranging from "Rashoman" and "Flower Drum Song" to "The Seven Samurai" and "Teahouse of the August Moon." We have heard of the profundities of Zen Buddhism and the speed of "bullet" trains on the Tokaido Line. The hibachi, shoji screens, and Japanese-made sewing machines, radios and television sets are familiar items in many households.

Passenger traffic between the United States and the Orient increased 134 percent between 1960–65, while United States-Australia/New Zealand traffic increased 135 percent. The outlook for continued brisk growth is very favorable.

It is estimated that by 1970—given the stimulus of direct competition between U.S. flag airlines—a daily average of 435 passengers will travel each way between the United States—Australia/New Zealand and 1,978 each way between this country and the Orient.

As I have indicated, the main instrument in stitching together East and West is the airplane. Each improvement in its speed has brought the Orient nearer to the United States in time and, I would like to believe, nearer in mutual understanding, with the notable exception of Red China and North Korea.

Today's subsonic jets make it possible to reach the farthest of Far Pacific cities in less than 24 hours. Flying time between Los Angeles and Tokyo is now about 13 hours. In the next decade supersonic transport planes will link the two cities in approximately six hours—the interval between lunch and dinner.

In advance of the day when the first scheduled transpacific supersonic flight takes off several other developments will probably have occurred to stimulate Pacific travel. It is hoped that competitive U.S. flag service will have been inaugurated. Its inception will contribute to traffic growth, because of the added promotional efforts which accompany such competitive service.

Proposed fare reductions also will build traffic. United's transpacific plans, for example, include roundtrip economy fares which represent savings of $178 between the West Coast and Tokyo and $248 between the West Coast and Sydney.

We can further assume that the travel industry of Australia, New Zealand and Japan will invest more heavily in promoting their respective tourist features. On the basis of firsthand experience, I can report the Orient and South Pacific have many unusual attractions in scenery and recreation, art and architecture, museums and antiquities.

The Transpacific Case is extremely complex, due to its geographic scope and because of the divergent facts, opinions, claims and arguments which are being advanced by applicants. One over-riding factor, however, should serve to give direction in considering the issues:

The Transpacific Case provides a compelling opportunity to advance both our own national interest and the economic development of Pacific area countries. The unique nature of the opportunity and its importance to this nation's future far overshadow questions of individual carrier fortunes and aspirations.

United's position is that these overriding considerations require the establishment of fully effective direct U.S. flag competition in major transpacific markets in order to maximize the flow of passengers and goods across the Pacific. This calls for the authorization of a new carrier with the over-all resources and stature, the promotional and competitive ability, the technical and operational qualifications, and an existing route structure and traffic flow which will give the greatest possible assurance that the primary objectives will be effectively and economically attained.

In terms of these considerations, United's qualifications are unquestioned.

New Vista for Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 2, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New York Times makes clear Congress' predicament faced as it is with the Vietnam expenses and unwillingness to raise taxes which together lead to the possibilities of a deficit of almost $30 million in the coming year:

NEW VISTA FOR TRANSPORTATION

The dangerous congestion in the airlines and on many highways has long made it imperative that railroad passenger service be improved and new forms of ground transportation developed.

In cooperation with private industry, the Federal Government has started a program of demonstration projects and research. Best known is the plan to improve railroad service in the densely populated Boston-New York-Washington corridor. The Pennsylvania Railroad has shown commendable energy and imagination in developing faster service. It has invested $44 million of its own money in the conviction that it can generate more passenger revenue. Although technical delays in building new railroad cars have forced a postponement of the October starting date, this faster service will be a reality by spring.

Other exciting, more unorthodox projects are also under way. Developing an idea originated in Europe long ago, the Department of Transportation envisages an "auto train" which would enable a traveler to drive his car on a train, have the use of air-conditioned coaches, and then drive away in his own car when he reaches his destination. A monorail vehicle that travels on a cushion of air could reach speeds of nearly 200 miles an hour and drastically reduce the time needed to reach outlying airports. Another research project involves the use of laser beams for tunneling through hard rock, thus dramatically reducing excavation costs for subways and for placing highways underground in heavily built areas.

For all these projects President Johnson requested the comparatively modest sum of $18,600,000. The House Appropriations Committee slashed this figure nearly in half, specifically denied funds for the auto train and severely reduced the funds for the more imaginative kinds of research. The Senate sensibly restored most of the money, but a conference committee has now produced an unsatisfactory compromise.

When the conference report comes up for final action on the floor Monday, most of the Administration's effort will necessarily be devoted to fighting off the Republican amendment to reduce funds for the entire Department of Transportation by 5 per cent. Certainly this amendment deserves defeat.

But the public and the members of the House also deserve an explanation from Representative Boland, Massachusetts Democrat, and his fellow conferees for their opposition to the "auto train" and other innovations in ground transportation. They have practiced myopic budgeting of the worst kind by saving a few dollars now at the cost of increasingly insoluble traffic jams in the near future.

Johnny Appleseed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very fine article on the legacy of Johnny Appleseed, which recently appeared in the celebrated Christian Science Monitor published at Boston.

I am happy and proud to note, Mr. Speaker, that some of our finest apple orchards in the Nation are located in or near Leominster, Mass., and in other parts of my great district. Johnny Appleseed is indeed a very colorful figure, having his roots in Leominster, Mass., in my district, and my constituency has honored him on many occasions as the living symbol of planting apple trees.

Sometime ago I arranged with our National Park Service for the planting of an apple tree in one of our beautiful parks, not far from the Washington Monument and the Arlington Memorial Bridge. The site is especially beautiful—near the Potomac River, facing that historic river and General Lee's house, and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and the hallowed spot where our beloved friend and great son of Massachusetts and world statesman, the late, much-lamented President John F. Kennedy lies in his last resting place.

It was my high privilege to participate in the exercises planting an apple tree from Leominster in this lovely place, and it was my honor to break the ground and remove the first shovel full of earth for the planting of the tree.

For that reason, the very well done article of the gifted Yvonne Horton, home economics writer of the Monitor, was especially interesting to me, and I deeply appreciated her article, and the thoughtfulness of the distinguished editor of the Monitor in printing it.

The article will be of great interest to many people in our apple growing industries, and I want to express my deep appreciation to my valued friend, Mr. Arthur F. Callahan, distinguished Lawrence, Mass., native, who brought the article to my attention.

The article follows:

THE LEGACY OF JOHNNY APPLESEED

(By Yvonne Horton)

Near the birthplace of John Chapman, "Johnny Appleseed," trees bend under their burden of fruit.

Sholan Ridge orchards near Leominster, Mass., produce about 135 acres of apples, mostly McIntosh—60 to 70 bushels per tree.

On a crisp autumn day we watched the preseason spot-picking for controlled atmosphere storage.

Sholan Ridge is managed by Frank W. Poulin, one of whose innovations is a pruning method by which small branches near the trunk are left intact. The yield from these inner branches can add five to 10 bushels to the total fruit from one tree.

Mr. and Mrs. Poulin and their daughter Karen live at the orchard, in a farmhouse 200 years old. After demonstrating how quickly a tender-skinned "Mac" can be peeled, Mrs. Poulin remarked, with true Yankee thrift, "Now I'll have to bake a pie right away to use up these peeled applies."

Pickers are paid 25 cents a box, with an extra bonus (as high as five cents a box) at the end of the season. One we watched was a Canadian fisherman. Another picker works in a cotton mill in Nova Scotia.

A top-notch picker averages 110 to 115 boxes a day. Some pickers can pick two apples at a time without bruising them.

"It's all in how he palms the apple," explained Mrs. James M. Cassedy, marketing director of the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture. "Some times a good picker might get as many as three apples at a time; but that's about all." The fruit must be ripe enough that a slight twist leaves the stem on the apple. Without a stem, an apple is vulnerable to decay where the skin is broken.

From the apple picker's pans—oval with canvas tops—the apples are emptied into wooden boxes, loaded onto a truck, and taken to a loading station. There the top layer of apples is rearranged so that the boxes are level when stacked to avoid bruising the fruit.

Apples from Sholan Ridge are shipped as far as Florida, California, and parts of the Midwest, and England.

The Air War in North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam grows daily more tragic and more costly. At the same time official pronouncements about our objectives in Southeast Asia continue to evolve and to change emphasis; military actions of today contradict the policy statements of yesterday; our resources and our economy become more severely strained. Thus it is understandable that morale in this country continues to erode amid deepening confusion about the wisdom of our conduct in Vietnam.

Our aims have evolved first from helping the French in a colonial war against the Vietnamese, to a decision to have American advisors assist the South Vietnamese in a war which they would have to win themselves, to a definitive American troop commitment that would help secure the South Vietnamese against outside aggression, and now finally, as pointed out by Secretary Rusk in his press conference on October 12, to containing Chinese communism in Southeast Asia. Our interest in pursuing this war appears to have escalated, and our troop commitments and overt Americanization of the war have followed suit.

In a sense there was some relief in hearing Secretary Rusk state that the real enemy is Peking and that the real interest is in China. It makes his view of the war more understandable when he says:

> Within the next decade or two, there will be a billion Chinese on the mainland, armed with nuclear weapons, with no certainty about what their attitude toward the rest of Asia will be.

Clearly the increasing tendency to bomb within 60—or some reports say 30—seconds flying time of the Chinese border indicates an increasing willingness to risk a confrontation with China. At least there is some comfort in understanding this to be the policy if indeed it is. Unfortunately, the policy of "brinksmanship" is not new to this country, and it is deservedly viewed with great suspicion and alarm by much of this country.

More and more well-known opinion-makers in this country are questioning the wisdom of continuing the policy of bombing in the North. Articles have appeared in the press nationwide, pointing out the lack of evidence that the bombings contribute significantly to any process but that of making peace talks less of a reality. One of those articles appeared in the New York Times editorial on October 12. Another appeared as a lengthy editorial comment in the October 20 issue of Life magazine. I commend both of these thoughtful opinions to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times Oct. 12, 1967]

MCNAMARA AND THE BOMBING

The predominant impression conveyed by Secretary McNamara in his testimony before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, which has just been released, is his dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the bombing of North Vietnam. This dissatisfaction evidently reached such proportions last spring that the Secretary of Defense called on the Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Westmoreland to consider limitation of the bombing largely to the southern half of North Vietnam.

The counterattack by the military and the hardliners of the Senate was successful. President Johnson added targets to the bombing list, including some disapproved by his Secretary of Defense, even before the hearings had started. That process has continued since, bringing the bombing of such targets as Haiphong city, the port of Campha, several jet airfields and points close to the China border.

Mr. McNamara told the Stennis subcommittee that the bombing cannot slow down either the flow of Communist military supplies into North Vietnam or North Vietnam's support of Communist military action in the South. Equally important, he expressed doubt that reduction of the bombing, as claimed by some of the generals, would bring a marked increase in American casualties in South Vietnam. Nor does Mr. McNamara believe that any bombing short of extermination of North Vietnam's population—which none of the generals or Senators is advocating—would break Hanoi's will or force it into a negotiated surrender.

The defense he made of Administration policy hinges entirely on the argument that the bombing makes North Vietnam suffer some pain for continuing the war. The pain is not decisive, Mr. McNamara admits, but he contends that a price should be paid by Hanoi to have it lifted. It is not a very convincing argument at a time when there is good reason to believe that it is the bombing, rather than its curtailment, that may be increasing American casualties—by blocking negotiations that might slow down the fighting and even bring an end to hostilities.

North Vietnam's important economic losses under the bombing are being replaced by Russia and China. The diversion of labor to repair of bridges, railways and other damage is no great drain on an Asian agricultural society with vast underemployment.

All in all, Mr. McNamara's effort to reconcile the facts about the bombing with the Administration's theories merely demonstrate that its suspension could advance the peace, and certainly could not hamper the war.

[From Life magazine, Oct. 20, 1967]

THE CASE FOR BOMBING PAUSE NO. 7

Six times in 32 months of bombing North Vietnam, the U.S. has held its fire. Three times it was for a brief holiday respite. The three other bombing pauses were ordered to allow Hanoi to signal a willingness to talk peace. No clear signal came. Then, three weeks ago, President Johnson announced the U.S.'s willingness "to stop all aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussion." Hanoi came back with its standard reply: the U.S. must stop bombing" unconditionally," and North Vietnam will promise nothing in return.

Notwithstanding, we believe it would be worthwhile for the U.S. to take the initiative in another bombing pause. We think the U.S. should declare a respite in the attack against the areas north of the battle zones, confining bombing to the Ho Chi Minh Trail complex in Laos and to the southern provinces of North Vietnam, the immediate rear of the enemy forces pressing against the DMZ. There should be no publicly announced "conditions" that carry the whiff of an ultimatum. But this should not be a commitment to stop the bombing indefiniely. In taking this diplomatic and political initiative, the

U.S. administration would have clearly in mind the kind of North Vietnamese response we would consider constructive, and how long we were willing to wait for it.

In advocating a bombing pause, with no advance promise of any reciprocal move by North Vietnam, we must acknowledge that almost all U.S. military opinion opposes such a course. The U.S. would be reducing pressure on the enemy, and that is not ordinarily the way to win a war. This, of course, is not an ordinary war. U.S. bombing is in a sense a reprisal against the North for the destruction and terrorism the Vietcong work in South Vietnam. Bombing damage and strain is an important price the North is forced to pay for continuing its support of Communist aggression in the South. The more direct military benefit for the U.S. and our allies is, of course, the interference with the flow of men and matériel from the North. There is much argument as to exactly how effective the bombing is, but in stopping most of it, we would unquestionably be giving up a weapon of some value.

Life believes, however, that the benefits of a bombing pause at this time outweigh the short-term military cost:

There is a remote possibility that a pause now could be the first step toward an acceptable diplomatic settlement of the war.

There is a strong probability that a bombing pause would improve the posture of the U.S. in Vietnam, in the eyes of many other nations and indeed of many Americans, and thus ultimately improve our chances of achieving our purposes in Vietnam.

As to the possibility of a pause leading to meaningful negotiations, Secretary Rusk tirelessly points out, "I have yet to hear anyone tell us that if we did stop the bombing they could definitely deliver Hanoi to the conference table. I have asked a number of governments, 'All right, if we stop the bombing, what can you deliver?' I get no response."

Hanoi itself has denounced past bombing pauses as U.S. "hoaxes." There is a danger that they would take a new bombing pause as a sign that the U.S. is caving in. There is considerable precedent in Communist diplomacy for *raising* your terms when the other side offers any concession.

Yet there do come times in wars when belligerents change policies and positions, sometimes shortly after swearing they never would. The fact that Hanoi will not promise anything in advance, in return for a bombing pause that hasn't happened yet, does not necessarily foreshadow their actual reaction to a pause that had gone on, say, for several weeks. Such a pause could stir up hopes all over the world, including the East European branches of Communism, and could put considerable diplomatic pressure on Hanoi. Probably Hanoi would say No again, to everybody—Canada, India, Denmark, U Thant, etc. But it is worth finding out.

The more weighty reason for a bombing pause is to recapture support for the U.S. presence and commitment in Vietnam. The bombing has isolated the U.S. from most of its friends and allies throughout the world (there are a few stout exceptions in Asia), and in this country the bombing is the focus and catalyst of most of the opposition to the war. There is the "bully" image—the most powerful nation on earth pouring World War II-scale bomb loads onto a primitive little country. The U.S. has never been bombed; countries that have been tend to identify with the targets rather than with the bomber crews.

The fear that the bombing might bring China into the war, even bring on nuclear war, naturally increases as the U.S. goes after North Vietnamese targets which are only 60 seconds' jet-time from the China border. It may be foolish of so many Japanese, Indians, Indonesians, etc., to worry about this. But they do.

In the U.N., over 30 non-Communist nations, among them several of our NATO allies, have now advocated stopping the bombing (with many variations of formula as to "conditions" or no-conditions). Perhaps the most thoughful proposal was the Canadian suggestion of a bombing halt followed by restoration of the DMZ's neutralized status under international inspection. In later phases of the plan would come freezing of military "capabilities" throughout Vietnam and an eventual case-fire.

Naively or not, many millions of ordinary citizens, and not a few ambassadors, foreign ministers and U.S. senators, think a bombing halt *could* lead to peace in Vietnam, and they are increasingly critical of the U.S. for not trying it again. If we did try if for a reasonable time, accompanied it with an energetic diplomatic probing, and then nothing came of it, the air would have been cleared. Support for a resumption of bombing, even for an escalation, would be stronger than for our present policy. But much would depend on what the Administration said about the new policy, and how it said it, not just to Hanoi but to the U.S. and the world.

Life believes that the U.S. is in Vietnam for honorable and sensible reasons. What the U.S. has undertaken there is obviously harder, longer, more complicated than the U.S. leadership foresaw. And in 1967 we are having another hard, complicated year out there. There is the encouraging fact of the Vietnamese elections, small blemishes and all; there is straight military progress; but there is the maddeningly slow work of translating these advances into pacification at the "rice-roots level." We are trying to defend not a fully born nation but a situation and a people from which an independent nation might emerge. We are also trying to maintain a highly important—but in the last analysis not absoluely imperative—strategic interest of the U.S. and the free world. This is a tough combination to ask young Americans to die for.

Home-front support for the war is eroding. One may discount some maneuvering among U.S. politicians as 1968 politics, but even the most patently partisan of these noises represents somebody's rather professional judgment of how the voters are feeling.

LIFE has more than once expressed its admiration for the Johnson administration's coolness and courage in its Vietnam policy. In action the President himself has shown a remarkable blend of resolution and restraint. But in articulation of the policy—which in the end is inseparable from policy itself—the President and his administration have become more and more glaringly unsuccessful.

The President is said to be subdued these days, inclined to "hunker down" and let the Vietnam criticism beat over him. Dean Rusk is infinitely patient and courteous in explaining to critics and questioners "Your quarrel is really with Hanoi." A confusing circumstance is that the other most influential Cabinet officer, Robert McNamara, clearly is less convinced of the efficacy of bombing the North and are the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or Rusk. Nothing inspiring or eloquent and not much that is simply informative is being said from Washington.

We believe the Administration very soon must act—and speak—to recapture domestic political and intellectual respect for its Vietnam policy and to rally more diplomatic and moral support abroad. We believe the initiation of a bombing pause is a gesture of forbearance and conciliation which might accomplish that. America has the strength to do it.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

The American People Are Weary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there has been a great deal of talk lately about changing moods of the citizenry of America regarding the war in Vietnam, taxes, and welfare spending; but to my way of thinking the most conspicuous change in mood has to do with the people's loss of confidence and trust, bordering on disdain, which has developed toward the present administration.

This is, indeed, an unhealthy atmosphere for the world's most powerful, richest and, at one time, most God-fearing Nation to find itself. In an editorial in the Columbia Record, Columbia, S.C., October 12, 1967, the mood of the American people was depicted as "angry, frustrated, gloomy. But above all, weary." The writer went on to say:

> If this condition persists into 1968, the people will look for a leader who can show them the way out of the terribly thorny thicket; the man who can promise balm for the weary; the man who can show them the way out of the maze, through the bewildering rice paddies of Vietnam and through the burned-out buildings of Newarks and Detroits—back home, to where a man can take off his shoes and rest.

Mr. President, I wholeheartedly recommend this article to my fellow Senators, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE WEARY

Wherever one strays in this vast land of ours, from the aqua Atlantic to the pulsating Pacific, across the wheatlands or pinelands or mesquite barrens, he finds the weariness. A people weary of toil for any "massive social reconstruction," weary of tears over a distant war in a foreign land, half-understood and half-supported only by memories of past patriotism.

The American people, they are weary. They are wayworn wanderers led down primrose paths by promises of progress. Now, scratched by the thorns of burning thickets in big cities, they weary of the scratchy phonograph that speaks of endless Federal programs to make the poor happier.

The people, the American people, they have toiled to bring racial justice and a portion of the good life to the poor and disinherited. They have labored and now they are tired, because they see the flames curling above the rooftops of their cities.

They want it to end.

They weary of a war in which 600,000 Americans are involved and they ask, "for what?" and they ask, "why?" and they demand: "Win, or quit." Logical consequences may be the scarecrows of fools and the beacons of wise men, but the weary only half-see through their half-closed lids.

They weary of the taxes that shrivel their earnings and they mutter, angrily, over the breezy chatter about reassessment of our national goals and commitments. They are dog-tired; beyond the listening point when political captains deliver pep-talks about Federal responses to national needs. They know, instinctively, that the promises of the New Frontier and the Great Society are but empty dreams.

Oh yes, before they grew weary, they responded. They believed the dreams that the urban malaise could be cured with an aspirin. Somehow, now, they know the truth—that massive medication is required, over decades. And they weary of the medicine-men who hawk the instant cures.

So, the people, the American people, turn in their weariness away from Washington—to the organizations and communities they know best. Their faith now rests with the more traditional avenues of action: business, labor, local government, citizens groups.

This is the mood of the people, the American people. Angry, frustrated, gloomy. But above all, weary.

If this condition persists in 1968, the people will look for a leader who can show them the way out of the terribly thorny thicket; the man who can promise balm for the weary; the man who can show them the way out of the maze, through the bewildering rice paddies of Vietnam and through the burned-out buildings of Newarks and Detroits—back home, to where a man can take off his shoes and rest.

The American people, the weary American people, want no more talk of either guns or butter; but talk of peace and security and pocketbook stability. Their hearts have been emotionally charged with the tragedies at home and abroad, but now they obey one of the primitive impulses of the heart: to seek rest.

Oil Industry Leader Speaks Out on Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent speech on oil and gas prices was delivered on August 10, 1967, to the 10th district Federal Reserve Board at its meeting in Kansas City, Mo.

The speaker was Stanley Learned, vice chairman of the board of Phillips Petroleum Co. and a director of the 10th district Federal bank.

Mr. Learned noted that energy demands are growing by leaps and bounds, and the industry is going to have to face the big problem of meeting them. He predicted that prices will have to be higher than they are now, and discussed the problems involved in reaching necessary price levels.

I include this speech, entitled "Prices in the Oil and Gas Business," with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PRICES IN THE OIL AND GAS BUSINESS

(By Stanley Learned, vice chairman of the board, Phillips Petroleum Co.)

Several months ago George Clay, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, called to tell me that there had been some discussion about trying something a little different at the Kansas City Federal Reserve Board meetings—perhaps a special report every couple of months or so by one of the board members. Before we were through talking he had me committed to talk here today on the subject of "Prices in the Oil and Gas Business." I am not sure just what caused him to ask me to talk on the subject of "Prices"; it may have been any or all of the following reasons:

First, my speech of March 11, 1966, before the Executives Club of Chicago entitled: "The Biggest Goose of the Hunt," in which the basic points made were:

That unless trends are reversed we shall shortly reach the point where we will be consuming more gas each year than we are finding; such a condition, of course, will limit the growth of the natural gas industry;

That natural gas producers are in a highly competitive business and that such competition will serve consumers best; and

That what is needed to increase gas exploration effort is simply an adequate incentive, *which is a fair price, assured by a firm contract*.

A second reason why George may have asked that I talk on "Prices" is that Phillips raised the price of crude oil in Kansas in August last year by eight cents per barrel and ended up in a "hassle" with the Department of the Interior and the Council of Economic Advisers over whether this increase exceeded the guidelines; however, after explanation they dropped their objections and the price increase stuck.

A third possible reason is that Phillips suggested to its jobbers and dealers a one cent per gallon increase in the price of gasoline effective February 1, 1967, which resulted in a battle—*mainly in the press*—between the then Undersecretary of the Interior, *Luce*, and me—or, perhaps

Fourth, that I have always been *sensitive* to any *inference* that *price* increases cause wage increases and therefore inflation, for I have always let it be known that I believe wage and other cost *increases* are what usually start the wage-price *spiral of inflation*.

Since I'm not sure which of these prompted George's request, I propose to touch on all four of these subjects in my discussion with you.

I am sure that we all agree that price stability is a desirable national objective. However, such an objective should properly be considered only after looking at other factors which may be equally in the national interest. *One such factor is an adequate supply of natural resources, such as oil and gas.*

Regardless of George's reason for asking me to talk on "Prices in the Oil and Gas Business," one thing I am sure of is that he could not have predicted the Israeli-Arab War which has *brought out clearly the value to the United States of an adequate reserve supply of oil and gas to meet not only the U.S. demand but also to help serve some of Europe's needs.*

First, of course, we need to know about what the coming demands will be. In considering growth in demand one must consider new technological developments which are in the offing. To give you an idea of these coming demands, may I quote from a talk I made last year entitled: "An Oilman's Glimpse at the Next 100 Years."

"Because of developments stimulating energy use, annual consumption of energy in the U.S., measured by barrels of oil equivalent, has skyrocketed from 500 million barrels of oil 100 years ago to 9.4 billion barrels in 1965. In just the past 25 years U.S. energy consumption has more than doubled. Who in 1866 could have ever speculated that we would require such prodigious amounts of energy? At that time, for instance, who would have ever dreamed that the internal combustion engine would come along to open the floodgates for petroleum which was being used then mainly for illumination?

"Now . . . let us look to the future. . . . Predictions about future developments may actually turn out to be conservative and any estimates about energy demand may be too low. Here are some possible developments that may unfold in the next 100 years, *all of which would affect the use of energy*.

"An increase in world population to more than ten billion by 2066. And this figure is based upon man's having the wisdom effectively to control the birth rate. The greatest population increase will occur in countries where per capita energy use is now low. This per capita energy use will climb steeply as technology and machine operations reach the underdeveloped areas of the globe.

"In the U.S. population may zoom to 575 million and gross national product may reach $16 trillion 100 years from now. Resources for the Future, a Ford Foundation research group, estimates that by the year 2000—less than 35 years away—U.S. population may be more than 330 million, the annual gross national product will jump to $2.2 trillion, and 244 million autos and trucks will be in use.

"May forecasters predict that within 100 years we will have computerization of nearly every aspect of life. They predict that computer-robots will prepare and deliver food, and do the laundering, cleaning, dishwashing, and grass cutting around the home, and that offices and industries will be operated almost wholly by machines and computers.

"Other energy affecting developments which the speculators say may unfold over the next 100 years include underground, automated highways but with wheels and road surfaces eventually giving away to hovercraft riding on air; enormous supersonic transport planes; individual propulsion; transportation by ballistic rockets to any place on earth within 40 minutes; permanent space stations; regular trips to the moon; all plastic houses entirely weather conditioned. The next 100 years may also see huge cities entirely enclosed and weather conditioned and served by trains reaching speeds of 1,000 miles an hour; synthetic clothes, and other goods and appliances made to be used and thrown away; teaching machines; automated libraries; facsimile newspapers and magazines; communication with anyone, anywhere at anytime by voice, sight, and written message via satellite telephone, radio, and television; motorized and computerized artificial arms and legs; far more use of elevators and escalators, outdoors and indoors; and chemical control of the aging process extending life by up to 50 years.

"Part of the most important energy supply of all—food for the human body—may come during the next 100 years from huge fields of kelp and other kinds of seaweed, whale farms, and from cheap, edible protein derived from petroleum.

"One expert has estimated that world energy demand will increase as much as 50 times over the next 100-year period. In terms of billions of barrels of oil equivalent this would be an increase world-wide from 26 billion barrels a year today to 1,350 billion barrels in 2066. This is only conjecture however. No one can tell really how much energy the world will need.

"*We do know this though: The energy demand for the future is going to be colossal.* There can be no doubt about this in view of the *certain explosion in population, dazzling new energy gobbling developments,* and *increase in per capita energy use. The really big problem will be getting the energy to supply the massive needs.*"

Now, what kind of challenge does this pose for petroleum? One gets a good idea of the challenge by looking at just the time from now until 1980.

In barrels of oil equivalent, by 1980 energy consumption in the United States will total some 15 billion barrels, 55% greater than the 9.7 billion used in 1966. Although there will be some changes in the proportion of U.S. energy supplied by the various energy sources in 1980, these will not be radical. Liquid hydrocarbons will still supply the lion's share with about 40%, only a slight decline from the 43% today. Energy consumption for the Free World as a whole will zoom 100% by 1980.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has estimated that the United States will consume more petroleum energy in the next 15 years than we have used in all our previous history. In the case of oil, the Secretary said in a speech in March 1966, "if domestic sources continue to supply approximately the same relative proportion of our total demand for liquid hydrocarbons as they now do and if we elect to hold to the historic reserve-to-production ratio at 12:1, we will have to add 83 billion barrels to our proved reserves between now and 1980. This begins with a requirement of 4.7 billion barrels for the year 1966." Now this isn't in Secretary Udall's statement, but for your information the actual amount of liquid hydrocarbon reserves we added in 1966 was only 3.9 billion barrels, 800 million barrels short of Secretary Udall's requirement estimate.

Secretary Udall went on, "The requirement ends with a need for 6.9 billion barrels for the year 1980, with a yearly average for the period of 5½ billion barrels. This will not be easy. *In only one year—1951—has the industry been able to record a gross addition of as much as 4½ billion barrels of liquid hydrocarbons to its proved reserves. Of more significance, the average of the yearly additions since 1955 has been 3.3 billion barrels.*"

As to the outlook for gas supplies, Secretary Udall had this to say, "choosing to maintain a reserve-to-production ratio of 18:1, we shall need to add 450 trillion cubic feet to our proved reserves. This is an average of 30 trillion cubic feet a year. At no time in its history has the petroleum industry ever added as much as 25 trillion cubic feet to reserves in any one year. The average since 1955 has been 20 trillion."

As I pointed out in my oilman's glimpse at the next 100 years speech, "Huge amounts of capital will be needed.

"Now what is the one ingredient necessary to accomplish these tasks and successfully meet the coming challenges? You know the answer. It is economic incentive. This economic incentive is not sufficient at present. This is vividly illustrated by several facts about our industry which I should like to mention briefly.

"During the nine years following the last general increase in crude oil prices in 1957, crude oil prices deteriorated so that the average U.S. crude oil price, according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines, dropped from $3.09 in 1957 to $2.86 in 1965, a decrease of 23 cents per barrel.

"Let's compare this decrease with the experience of other segments of our economy, including those which make up the producer's major costs. From 1957 through 1965 the wholesale price index for all commodities other than farm products and foods in the United States rose 3.3%. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living in 1965 was 12% higher than in 1957. Data published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics show average hourly wages for production employees in crude petroleum and natural gas fields during 1965 were up about 23% from 1957. The cost of oil field machinery in 1965 was up 5.1% and the cost of oil well casing was 11.6% higher than in 1957.

"*It is only natural that this disparity in experience of crude oil prices and that of items representing the major costs of crude oil producers would have a seriously depressing effect upon exploration and drilling activity. From 1956 through 1965 total well completions in the United States declined 29%. But exploratory wells, which are the ones that find new reserves, declined 42%. Geophysical activity, the forerunner of exploratory drilling, decreased 53% from 1956 through 1965." May I say here out of the context of the quote that the situation is not improving, for the declines have continued through 1966 and 1967.*

"As for gas," the quote from my speech goes on, "the economic incentive since Federal regulation of producers was imposed in 1954 has, in my opinion, been insufficient to encourage exploring for the necessary new reserves.

"*It should seem obvious that the prices for both oil and gas are inadequate to provide the incentive sufficient to find and supply the needed petroleum for the future.* I don't know what precisely the prices should be to provide an adequate incentive. I know they must be higher than they are now. *As for gas, there needs to be the added qualification of having the price assured by a contract which cannot be altered by subsequent regulatory actions.*

"The industry requires sufficient economic incentive to do its job of helping supply the world's massive future energy requirements."

You have probably noted that since I have been quoting from a speech made last year, the figures cited are only through 1965. However, this shows clearly why the following price increases I shall now refer to were so badly needed.

Despite the fact that Phillips buys in the United States for its refineries much more oil than it produces, we posted a price increase for crude oil in Kansas last August of eight cents per barrel, which caused quite a reaction from the Council of Economic Advisers and the Department of the Interior. In July this year we posted increases for oil purchased in Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico of from five cents to seven cents a barrel and had no adverse reaction from the Council of Economic Advisers or the Department of the Interior. These increases are insufficient in my opinion to reverse the downward trend of exploration and drilling in the United States. The price of U.S. crude oil even with these increases is still below the 1957–59 average. It may take ten more five cent increases or one 50 cent increase to provide sufficient incentive to reverse the downward exploration trend. The only way a single 50 cent increase or anything like it would come would be by government subsidy, which incidentally I do not favor.

It is inevitable that increased raw material costs to the marginal refiner will result in increased costs of his refined products and hence a general increase in refined product prices. In addition, other cost increases ultimately will force the marginal refiner to raise refined product prices. Two great factors affecting increases in prices the consumer pays for gasoline are:

A. Increases in Federal, state, and city gasoline taxes, which on the average nationally amount to about 50% of the price of the gasoline itself.

B. Increases in minimum wages which affected costs of service station operation materially.

As you perhaps know, effective February 1 this year we took action to raise the price of gasoline one cent a gallon with the increase to be divided among service station dealer, the local wholesaler, and refiner. *Our increase in the wholesale price of gasoline at that time was the first general increase in this price since 1958.* I should point out that despite the one cent increase I know of no better bargain than gasoline today. The average price of gasoline to the consumer, excluding taxes, is only four per cent higher than the 1957–59 average. This compares with an increase of 15% during the period in the cost of living index. During this same period, the quality of the gasoline has been greatly increased and this has required large expenditures.

Despite the non-inflationary price experience of gasoline, 15 days after our price increase announcement then Undersecretary of the Interior, Charles F. Luce, upon advice and encouragement of the Council of Economic Advisers, took action to resist the gasoline price increase. He even went so far as to plant with selected members of the press a number of threats by way of *changes in the oil import program in an attempt to rescind the increase.* This triggered an avalanche of letters, statements, and editorial comments opposing his threats. I was one of those who sent a wire opposing the threats as reported in the press, and in reply to my wire the Undersecretary wrote me a letter which contained this statement: *"We are taking this opportunity to request again that in the national interest you reconsider your price increase action and adjust it downward to acceptable non-inflationary levels."*

I replied to this letter immediately on March 1 with this wire: "Before we can reply to your letter of February 24 we need clarification of the last sentence of your letter, which reads quote we are taking this opportunity to request again that in the national interest you reconsider your price increase action and adjust it downward to acceptable non-inflationary levels. Unquote. *Will you please wire what are the acceptable non-inflationary levels.*

It may astound you to learn that I have never received an answer to this wire. Surely, if Mr. Luce or the Council of Economic Advisers knew what the acceptable non-inflationary levels were, and our suggested one cent price increase was above them, they would have answered my wire. The only conclusion I could draw was that they either did not know what these levels were or the new price was still below them.

In the absence of any such concrete information, all any businessman has to go by in trying to determine what the government considers inflationary or non-inflationary levels are the so-called wage-price guidelines. So now let us briefly review the guideline principles since their inception in the 1962 report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. In essence, they then stated that wage and price levels should be fixed in relation to the nation's productivity. The general guide for prices calls for stable prices in industries enjoying the same productivity growth as the average for the economy; rising prices in industries with smaller than average productivity gains; and declining prices in industries with greater than average productivity gains.

It is important to know more of what was said in that 1962 report for by 1966 and 1967 the opinions and actions of these experts had materially changed. The following are three key quotes from the Council of Economic Advisers 1962 report:

The first one goes: "How is the public to judge whether a particular wage-price decision is in the national interest? *No simple test exists, and it is not possible to set out systematically all of the many considerations which bear on such a judgment.* . . . It deserves widespread public discussion and clarification of the issues. . . . *Final price decisions lie—and should continue to lie—in the hands of individual firms.* It is, however, both desirable and practical that discretionary decisions on wages and prices recognize the national interest . . ."

The next quote from the report brings out that productivity *is not foolproof, should not be used as a rigid rule.* It says: *"Productivity is a Guide rather than a Rule* for appraising wage and price decisions for several reasons. First, there are a number of problems involved in measuring productivity change. . . . Second, there is nothing immutable in fact or in justice about the distribution of the total product between labor and non-labor incomes. *Third, the pattern of wages and prices among industries should be responsive to forces other than changes in productivity* . . ."

Because of its importance, I have purposely placed at the end of the excerpts from the 1962 report, the following third quote:

"(The guidelines) do *not* . . . *constitute a mechanized formula* for determining whether a particular price or wage decision is inflationary. They will serve their purpose if they *suggest to the interested public useful ways of approaching the appraisal of such a decision."*

By 1967, however, the Council of Economic Advisers approached the guidelines on a materially different basis. In reciting basic problems for Wage-Price Policy in 1967, the Council says:

"Two important developments have created the major problems for wage-price policy today. The first is that consumer prices have risen by 3.3% in the past 12 months, *which makes organized workers* . . . unwilling to contemplate settlements at or close to the guideposts.

". . . The second development is that corporate profits have increased considerably more than labor income, *especially when measured from the slack years of the late 50's or the recession year of 1961."*

The report then follows with a discussion of a wage-price policy for 1967 and it states:

"The only valid and non-inflationary standard for wage advances is the productivity principle. If price stability is eventually to be restored and maintained in a higher employment U.S. economy, *wage settlements must conform to that standard."*

As to price policy in 1967, the Council makes this statement with which you and I can agree:

"In an economy which grows steadily but does not outrun the growth capacity, *there will be vigorous competition and ultimately profit margins in most industries should seek an appropriate level."*

But then the Council reaches the conclusion that:

"To assure steady movement toward price stability in 1967, *the public interest requires that producers absorb cost increases to the maximum extent feasible, and take advantage of every opportunity to lower prices."*

This statement of 1967 is a major change from the 1962 statement wherein it was said that final price decisions should lie in the hands of individual firms and that wages and prices should be responsible to forces other than changes in productivity.

There are many people who are not in agreement with the guideposts. Mr. Charles A. Bliss, Professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Business School, and a long-time student of business conditions and quantitative analysis, in an article in the May–June 1966 edition of *Harvard Business Review* entitled: "Flaw in the Wage-Price Guideposts" says the flaw is caused by "using a measure of physical productivity in a financial context." Mr. Bliss says, and I quote:

"If an investment in a piece of industrial equipment is contemplated, the management decision is never made on the simple basis of an expected improvement in output per man-hour but always on the basis of that improvement relative to the cost of getting it. Thus it is made on the basis of some such test as 'the number of years before its cost is repaid out of savings,' or the adequacy, vis-a-vis some desired hurdle rate, of the return on the new investment. . . . This hurdle rate varies among companies, but it has some relation to a firm's 'cost of capital,' which is set with reference to the prospective capital structure of the organization and in line with past experience.

"The point of all this is that unless the proposed investment does, in fact, make its hurdle rate of return, there is no *financial* productivity, no matter what the measures of physical productivity indicate . . ."

Perhaps of more practical value is an article in the November-December 1966 issue of *Harvard Business Review* entitled "Gamesmanship With the Guideposts" by Michael C. Jensen, Editor of *American Metal Market*, a daily trade publication. Among other things, he asks:

"How do you deal with the Administration when you want to increase prices? Some answers suggest themselves from the experience of the metals industry.

"Here is a list of do's and don't's that could help:

Do: Keep increases under the percentage guidepost.

Do: Mix decreases in with increases.

Do: Keep increases on a selective basis.

Do: Keep a compromise in mind.

Do: Time the increase so that an outright government denunciation would seem one-sided to business.

Do: Have full explanations ready to justify the increases.

Don't: Make across-the-board price increases.

Don't: Make flat percentage price increases that exceed the guideposts.

Don't: Assume that a weekend or holiday announcement will help your chances (the government works on weekends and holidays).

Don't: Assume that the guideposts are dead. They won't be until a better system is devised.

Don't: Assume that market conditions alone will insure a successful increase."

Dr. Reuben E. Slesinger, Professor of Economics at Pittsburgh University, in a recent article in the *American Bar Association Journal* entitled: "The Price-Wage Guidepost Revisited" says:

"If the fundamental framework of the American enterprise system is to be preserved, *the idea of guideposts as a substitute for the marketplace must be condemned.* If inflation is a danger, then it should be attacked at its source—the demand and cost factors involved. Finally, the administrative problems met in trying to enforce a single guidepost figure of 3.2% against all types of firms in all sorts of industries is far from practicable, not only because of the variations among firms and industries, but also because of the difficulties in calculating the productivity changes with a high degree of accuracy."

Dr. Slesinger makes ten points to support the above-mentioned conclusions. Among these the following four I think are especially telling:

"1. Guideposts are ineffective as anti-inflationary measures. *It is impossible to do more than suppress inflationary pressures in certain areas of the economy,* but they still show up in other areas or in ways other than price increases such as quality deterioration or dimensional change.

"2. Rather than improve cooperation and understanding between business and government confrontations over guidepost 'violations' tend to identify an industry or one company as for or against the President and the United States Government.

"3. There is a lack of precision as to when and to whom the controls or guidelines will be applied which creates *inequities* that can lead to an erosion of good economic relations among government, industry, and labor.

"4. Guideposts, if effectively implemented, are *only a step away from the direct controls which are used in centralized economies but have been tolerated by the people of the United States only in war.*"

From this discussion I think we can conclude that the guidepost formula for determining wages and prices is not a fair or practical one to supply the economic incentive necessary to provide consumers the oil and gas supplies necessary to meet the huge coming needs. Free competition will do this job best, just as it has in the past.

Nondefense Spending Increased Faster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the most serious problems facing this country today, touching upon every household, is the free spending policy of the Government. Never before in the history of our country have we been faced with the probability of a deficit on the order of $30 billion. If we experience a deficit of $30 billion for fiscal year 1968, and we will if the present level of spending is maintained, the U.S. Government will have the dubious distinction of running a deficit higher than the total budget in any single year prior to 1942.

Many people have said that mushrooming defense outlays are primarily responsible for our economic woes. This is not true. An editorial which appeared in the Greenville Piedmont, of Greenville, S.C., on Monday, October 9, entitled "Surprising Spending Facts," gives the lie to this assertion. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SURPRISING SPENDING FACTS

Congress apparently is not swallowing the President's tale of woe about why a surtax on the income tax is needed. President Johnson has called for the tax to support what he calls unforeseen expenditures resulting from a stepped-up war in Vietnam.

Because the lawmakers are aware of a grassroots objection to new taxes, they apparently will insist on a commensurate reduction in government spending. To bring this about, a bipartisan group is working on a proposal to force the President to trim $7.5 to $10 billion from his "Great Society" programs and other non-defense items.

There are good reasons to seek non-defense cuts in spending. One reason is that, believe it or not, nondefense spending has grown much faster in the last decade than defense spending.

The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, a nonprofit, non partisan research and educational organization, reports that from fiscal 1955 to fiscal 1965, between periods of accelerated spending caused by military operations in Korea and Vietnam, the increase in national defense payments was from $40.9 billion to $50.8 billion, or 24 per cent.

But the increase for "other federal functions" in the same period was from $29.7 billion to $71.6 billion, or 141 per cent.

In terms of per capita averages in constant-value dollars at 1965 prices, national defense costs have ranged from $373 in 1953 to $344 as estimated for fiscal 1967. This represents an actual decline in inflation-free per capita dollars for the Korea-Vietnam war years.

For other federal functions on the same basis, the range was from $193 in 1953 to $432 in 1967. Obviously, a mechanism should be established to keep a constant watch on spending.

A Hoover-type commission to study overlapping of government services and establishment of priorities should be authorized immediately. Then action should be taken to assure proper coordination of programs in the future.

Capt. Fred Feldbusch: Man of Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Fred Feldbusch, of Sheboygan, Wis., has just been named the "Man of Action" by the Independent Insurance Agents of Wisconsin. This is indeed a well-deserved honor for this firefighter of 30 years.

Far too often we allow our policemen and firemen to go unrecognized for their very worthwhile contributions. I think it is fitting that Captain Feldbusch has been recognized for his contribution, and I join the Sixth District residents in thanking him for his 30 years of service. For the information of my colleagues, I include as part of my remarks an editorial from the Sheboygan Press:

[From the Sheboygan (Wis.) Press,
Oct. 7, 1967]

WELL DESERVED HONOR

Those acquainted with the fire prevention activities of Capt. Fred Feldbusch were probably not surprised by the announcement that he was named the "Man of Action" by the Independent Insurance Agents of Wisconsin.

By no means is this award indiscriminately present. One person from each of 12 areas of the state is nominated, and the state winner is selected from this group.

A firefighter for 30 years with the Sheboygan department, the award resulted from his fire prevention programs for schools, civic clubs, labor unions, PTA, church, and hospital groups. and his labors have borne fruit. For example, the number of fires started by children in Sheboygan dropped from 21 to eight in a single year, to cite the results of just one phase of his countless programs.

"Capt. Feldbusch is particularly active during Fire Prevention Week, the Christmas holiday season and during Spring Clean-Up Week," the citation said and, after reviewing the highlights of his outstanding work in his career, concludes, "This gentleman is truly a 'Man of Action,' an excellent selection as the first winner of the Independent Insurance Agents of Wisconsin 'MAC' award."

Our heartiest congratulations.

Educational Participation in Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I have a rsponsibility to maintain an interest in all programs which can enrich and expand the traditional approaches to learning. My service on this committee, however, extends beyond the lines of responsibility. I am vitally concerned with education. If I may paraphrase the illustrations Jefferson, I too would caution: If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, it expects whatever has been and never shall be.

I have always been especially enthusiastic about programs which not only broaden the scope of education beyond the conventional approach of the academic but which allow the student to more fully realize that education is indeed his most powerful weapon in the fight against apathy, stagnation, and conditions of economic disadvantage. I am pleased to join several of my colleagues in calling attention to a unique California college program which is helping to promote a student focus upon urban problems. I refer to the EPIC program at California State College at Los Angeles.

The opening of classes this quarter at California State College at Los Angeles marks the first anniversary of EPIC—a project for educational participation in communities. Through EPIC, a demonstration—pilot—program partially funded under title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, California State at Los Angeles students are contributing their time and abilities to serve and learn from the disadvantaged in the Los Angeles area. Last year, over 1,000 students at the college worked as volunteers in more than 100 community agencies. The students assumed a wide range of duties, such as counselor aids, tutors, group leaders, recreation leaders, teen club advisers, big brother-big sisters, child care consultants, teachers, and research assistants. This year, EPIC has reduced the number of agencies to 50 and placed even greater focus upon quality service and program development. The response of the community to the EPIC volunteer has helped to highlight the value of this program. Community agencies praise EPIC volunteers for their professional attitude, inventiveness, enthusiasm, and ability. They point out that the college student often brings to the agency new ideas and techniques and enables the agency to offer new services and programs. As one agency has written:

> Bouquets to Volunteers Betty Addleman, Linda Mahru, and Boyd Johnson, who are participating in the EPIC program at California State College at Los Angeles and whose talents have been made available to the Unit II Mental Health Clinic at Los Angeles County General Hospital.

Robert B. Sampliner, M.D., Director of Mental Health, Unit II, states, "These stu-

> dents are adding rich resources in their own respective fields to the training we are giving them in group therapy. They are serving as co-therapists who will soon be handling a group in vocational rehabilitation under supervision."
>
> These students have given invaluable services to the patients at the hospital.[1]

The student, because he is one who is "making it" in society, can often offer hope and outside contact to someone who feels entrapped in an urban ghetto, or a disadvantaged economic situation. The students have also made an enthusiastic response to the program. Because California State at Los Angeles is an urban commuter college, its 21,000 students center most of their activities away from the compus. These students are often not enthusiastic about the traditional collegiate bonfires and pep rallies. But, like all of today's college generation, they are seriously concerned about current problems and their own role in society. They have a strong desire to improve both themselves and society, and to affect the directions of our Nation. EPIC has helped direct these student energies and concerns into constructive community activities. In so doing EPIC has made good use of their pent-up concerns for society, provoked intellectual stimulation, added a sense of student commitment, and provided countless hours of service to the community. As a result, interest in EPIC from other colleges and the community has never been higher.

The theme among many of today's college students is one of turn off, drop out, or you cannot fight the power structure. The EPIC program says to that same student, "tune in, get involved, you can affect the scene." The EPIC volunteer through his participation in a community service program, gains insights which coupled with the college's academic program can help him become, upon his completion of his college requirements, a more knowledgeable citizen and a more highly skilled professional. As a student, EPIC allows the individual to see the needs of his own community and the directions which his education and training must follow as he would have a positive effect on that scene.

And what about the community, one might ask? The community benefits from the tremendous energy, the challenging minds and the creative talents of the young student. The overworked, overcrowded, perhaps understaffed agency may just well need the vibrant breath of student participation. The struggling, small, independent community action program may receive just the additional staff it needs to broaden its scope and attract more young people in off the streets. The young person in trouble who might not relate to an agency authority might well be responsive to a student volunteer who is on hand, ready to serve and able to give him individual attention. I dare say that there is quite a tossup when one tries to answer the question, who gains the most, the community or the student? It seems to me that there is a pretty even balance.

I am especially delighted to learn that during the new school year EPIC volunteers will be working at the following agencies located in central and south central Los Angeles: The Avalon Youth Opportunity Center, the Imperial Court Community Development Project, the Los Angeles Youth Opportunity Center, the Pico Gardens Teen Post, the Willowbrook Avenue Community Development Project, the new Locke Senior High School, the South Central Youth Training and Employment Project, and the Southwest Tutorial Project, to name just a few. The disadvantaged economic circumstances of large numbers of the residents serviced by these agencies as well as in many instances their minority group status pose impending problems for immediate resolution. Where could better answers be obtained? What more dynamic forces could influence decisions? What greater talents could be used for counseling and planning than the college student attending Cal State, many of whom are themselves residents of this very community.

It seems to me that EPIC at California State is saying to the students:

> We can help you learn, we can help you get involved, but you must be dedicated to participating in your community through a positive service.

As a new EPIC director, Mrs. Vivian Gordon wrote me recently that:

> We feel that today's college student cannot afford to miss the EPIC opportunity. There are tremendous social changes taking place in our cities today. The student has a responsibility to know what is happening and to take part through positive action. EPIC provides such a positive outlet.

EPIC says to the Cal State students, "We need you and you need EPIC." I hope that college students all over the country who are looking—indeed who are thirsting after a sense of involvement will look to EPIC at California State and draw a guide. I am told that the director and the student coordinator staff of the EPIC program would welcome inquiries from college students who might be interested in establishing a similar program on their campuses.

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[1] A letter from Mrs. Marjorie Jane Davis, Assistant Director, Volunteer Services, Los Angeles County General Hospital.

National Businesswomen's Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, a national tribute is being paid to our country's career women at this time with the observance of "National Businesswomen's Week." The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., has sponsored this occasion since 1928, and during the week the national federation's 178,000 members will call attention to the growing role of women in every phase of national life.

In July of this year, the federation adopted its national legislative platform, and proclaimed the following excellent legislative purposes:

> To elevate standards for the employed woman, to promote her interests, to create a spirit of cooperation, to expand opportunities through industrial, scientific, and vocational activities, to secure equal consideration under the law and to establish conditions which assure both men and women the fullest opportunity and reward for the development of their capacities to the maximum potential.
>
> To consider the place and responsibility of the employed woman as a concerned citizen in the complex democratic society of the United States, and to strengthen the role of this nation in world affairs.

It is a pleasure for me to join in paying tribute to the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs of the United States and to all American career women by the observance of "National Businesswomen's Week."

Members Paying Tribute to Hon. James H. Quillen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the following Members participated with me in my special order in behalf of Jimmy Quillen on Wednesday, March 1, 1967:

Hon. Gerald R. Ford, minority leader, of Michigan; Hon. Leslie C. Arends, minority whip, of Illinois; Hon. Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin; Hon. Bob Wilson, of California; Hon. Charles E. Goodell, of New York; Hon. H. Allen Smith, of California; Hon. Donald Rumsfeld, of Illinois; Hon. John J. Duncan, of Tennessee; Hon. William E. Brock, of Tennessee; Hon. Dan Kuykendall, of Tennessee; Hon. William C. Wampler, of Virginia; Hon. James T. Broyhill, of North Carolina; Hon. Delbert L. Latta, of Ohio; Hon. John B. Anderson, of Illinois; Hon. William C. Cramer, of Florida; Hon. Albert H. Quie, of Minnesota; Hon. Rogers C. B. Morton, of Maryland; Hon. Margaret M. Heckler, of Massachusetts; Hon. F. Bradford Morse, of Massachusetts; Hon. Charles R. Jonas, of North Carolina; Hon. George V. Hansen, of Idaho; Hon. Fred Schwengel, of Iowa; Hon. Louis C. Wyman, of New Hampshire; Hon. Gilbert Gude, of Maryland; Hon. Odin Langen, of Minnesota; Hon. Florence P. Dwyer, of New Jersey; Hon. Sam Steiger, of Arizona; Hon. James Harvey, of Michigan; Hon. Frances P. Bolton, of Ohio; Hon. Robert McClory, of Illinois; Hon. Paul Findley, of Illinois; Hon. Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; Hon. Mark Andrews, of North Dakota; Hon. Del Clawson, of California; Hon. Howard W. Robison, of New York; Hon. E. Ross Adair, of Indiana; Hon. James C. Cleveland, of New Hampshire; Hon. Richard L. Roudebush, of Indiana; Hon. Clarence J. Brown, Jr., of Ohio; Hon. William L. Dickenson, of New York; Hon. J. Irving Whalley, of Pennsylvania; Hon. Frank J. Horton, of New York; Hon. Lawrence G. Williams, of Pennsylvania; Hon. Donald G. Brotzman, of Colorado; Hon. John W. Wydler, of New York; Hon. Charlotte T. Reid, of Illinois; Hon. James V. Smith, of Oklahoma; and Hon. Theodore R. Kupferman, of New York.

A Constituent Has His Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Carl Grovom, of Williams, Minn., has written me on numerous occasions through the years, expressing his views on various national and world issues. He is a regular reader of the Congressional Record, and notes the debates with considerable interest. He has taken issue with a number of statements made in the Record and recently requested that his views be included in rebuttal.

I hereby comply with Mr. Grovom's request by reprinting his remarks at this point in the Record.

Wasted Money and Who Suffers

This Administration must be reminded that there is too much money wasted in programs which are not worthwhile and must stop and realize that there is a God, and He has given us His Holy Word that we might learn thereby.

It is of no use to spend any more money on space travel to the moon, as the Bible definitely states that earth is man's boundary.

Just why should we taxpayers be taxed to the hilt just to keep-up or get ahead of a Godless nation such as Russia? We are supposed to be a nation that worships God in spirit and in truth, but we have fallen so far back one wonders if there is hope for our blessed America. There are quite a few problems that can and must be looked into, so that we can be eased from the great burden of taxation.

As I read the Congressional Record I find some very important subjects that could be remedied, and which could create ease and comfort to the elderly people in this land of ours.

I read that the Social Security program is at a point of crisis, but if those who receive social security would be given a fair check, they could enjoy their last years with happiness and comfort. Just why can't a bill be passed to lower the social security age to 55 or 60 years, and take the money that is wasted in space to pay those who would benefit from an increase in social security benefits? The minimum should be at least $100. I know that if this was put through, it would also solve unemployment to a great extent.

There are those who would retire to let the younger take the work. We must look to our younger generation (to create) equality and good will for all.

It is also true that a lot of elderly would not sit idle and not do anything at all, but be active in some sort of work for themselves, as work does not harm anyone. I know for one that if I were in that age group, I would be tinkering with something to be active.

There are so many people who have to go to the cities to get work, and can we not see that this is one cause of unrest, overpopulation and riots in our cities?

I know that what I am about to say further will cause criticism, but we have a right to express ourselves. There are too many large farms and too few small ones. If there was some cooperation it would be more fair to all, and money saved.

I am for the farmer, but I do not sympathize with those who are greedy. We have plenty of people like that. There is a verse in the Bible which states "What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world, and loseth his own soul," or what will he give in exchange for his soul? We all should look into the Good Book, and see just what God has in store for those who live honestly and righteously.

I don't claim to be a Bible scholar, but I read it every day and thank God for His blessings, even though there are days when I do not receive anything. But, thanks be to God, He will provide no matter how meager. We could well afford to read the Book of Job.

RHODESIA

Just why should we boycott Rhodesia and trade with Russia? This is a great and grave sin, and God will punish us if we do not change tactics. I am writing this from my prayerful heart, that America get back to God.

PANAMA CANAL

Beware! I, along with all the American people, will say: Don't sell or give the Panama Canal to the Russian-ruled demons. This would ruin our freedom completely. Please, American people, write a protest to your Senators and Congressmen.

PORNOGRAPHY

Do away with all this dirty trash and do it quickly. We Christians are all for the stamping out of all this unfit reading and filth.

SUPREME COURT

How is it that one woman can stop prayer in public schools? Where is the voice of our Christians in America?

May God have mercy on us, and Mr. Johnson, our leader.

Indianapolis Earns Self-Help Title

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, this is a day and age when the phrase "self-help" sometimes seems to be out of date. However, the city of Indianapolis, Ind., has compiled an outstanding record of being a real self-help city. The following article from the Indianapolis News for October 13, 1967, tells the story:

Involved Citizens: Indianapolis Earns Self-Help Title

(By Ross Hermann)

Indianapolis' record as a "self-help" city has in recent months received impressive vindication.

Growing national attention to Hoosier do-it-yourself programs and emulation by other cities have reinforced the local belief that real progress flows from the voluntary efforts of private citizens.

Indianapolis' "self-help" tag was not casually bestowed. Behind it is a degree of private concern and involvement in the welfare of the community which sets Indianapolis apart from most American cities.

During the period in which Indianapolis rejected participation in Federal "aid" programs, the city perfected a local, self-help approach to its needs which remains today the main channel for getting things done in the community.

Now Indianapolis is discovering that this period was an incubator for social-welfare experiments which are becoming models for other communities. Long advised to "come out of the past" and emulate other cities, Indianapolis today is inspected and consulted with increasing frequency by officials of cities disillusioned with Federal programs.

With Detroit's civil disorders freshly in mind, Gov. George Romney of Michigan paid tribute to Indianapolis' practical approach to community needs on a recent visit here. "To deal with problems of the magnitude we face," he said, "we are going to have to get the emphasis back on what built the country originally . . . the people built the country."

One of those drawing heavily upon Indianapolis' experience is California's Gov. Ronald Reagan, who is seeking to adapt "self-help" welfare methods to his state.

The Seattle Times recently noted with envy the generosity of the Indianapolis-based Lilly Endowment in supporting community projects and lamented the unwillingness of Seattle firms to become similarly involved.

In the last five years the Lilly Endowment has contributed $860,000 to local, do-it-yourself endeavors, according to foundation director John Lynn. If support for the United Fund is included, Lilly's five-year contribution to local welfare approaches $2 million.

Through its army of volunteers, the United Fund itself collects about $4 million each year for support of 118 social service agencies throughout the metropolitan area. Since 1960 the United Fund has received upwards of $27 million, according to its president, Richard Fague.

The community has given generously, also, to the hospitals. A fund drive completed last year raised $14 million for new hospital construction, and the new Winona Memorial Hospital has been built entirely with private funds.

One small investment which the Lilly Endowment will never regret was a $10,000 grant to launch the Citizens Forum, which seeks to reverse the tide of decay and deterioration in the city's older neighborhoods by teaching citizen responsibilty.

In two years it has expanded from a N. Illinois St. storefront to include 700 neighborhood block clubs, and its founder, former schoolteacher Mrs. Mattie Rice Coney, has become a nationally known spokesman for neighborhood conservation.

The projects which the experts come to inspect most frequently are the work of Dr. Cleo Blackburn, the Board for Fundamental Education, and its Flanner House affiliate.

Flanner House provides services and opportunities for self-improvement to an estimated 100,000 people each year, but the one endeavor which catches the imagination of visitors is Flanner House Homes, 400 single-family dwellings built under the unique "sweat-equity" plan by people who otherwise could not have afforded to own their own homes. They did the construction work themselves, and they have no intention of permitting their neighborhoods to revert to slums.

The program attracted investment capital to two abandoned neighborhoods and set in motion a self-renewal process, according to BFE public public relatons director James C. Cummings Jr. He cites a surge of private construction and easier bank loans for Negroes as direct results of the "sweat-equity" projects.

The Center for Independent Action, affiliated with the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, is currently recruiting volunteers for its Volunteer Adviser Corps., which will counsel the jobless in obtaining and holding employment. Indianapolis is the pilot project in a program that will be national in scope.

The "Tab" recreation program, sponsored by the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, has a 40-year history of serving Indianapolis children. One of the largest programs of its kind in the nation, "Tab" teaches competitiveness and sportsmanship and encourages moral values by requiring participants to attend regularly the church of their choice.

These are a few of the accomplishments of local citizens working together voluntarily for their mutual benefit. They are examples to which other cities are increasingly turning their attention as the failures of government compulsion become apparent.

Balanced Urbanization and New Community Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, increasing attention is being drawn in Congress, in the press of the Nation, and throughout the country to the problems resulting from the continued migration of people out of rural and nonmetropolitan areas into increasingly concentrated metropolitan complexes along the northeastern and southwestern coasts and across the lower Great Lakes region. This movement is caused by a number of factors, including technological changes in farming, mining, and other industries; a reduction in the number of jobs available accompanied by the lure of job opportunities in the cities. Actually the jobs available in urban areas frequently require specialized training and skills; also these jobs are frequently located in suburban or outlying regions far removed from the new central city resident.

These developments have underscored the need for a national economic development and urbanization policy to assist in developing alternatives to the continued concentration of population in a limited number of large metropolitan areas.

Several bills have been introduced in the current Congress designed to revitalize depressed and underdeveloped rural areas by encouraging economic development and thereby creating jobs. Various legislative proposals seek to establish a national commission to study balanced economic development and urban growth.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, of which I have the honor of being a member, is now in the midst of an intensive study of balanced urbanization and new community development. The Commission, established by Congress in 1959, is composed of representatives of the public and all levels of government including six Members of Congress. Mrs. Dwyer from New Jersey and Mr. Fountain from North Carolina are the other Commission members from the House. In the Senate, the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], and the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie] are the members. In addition, the Commission has three members from the executive branch; the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning. The other members include four Governors, four mayors, three State legislative leaders, and three elected county officials. The public is represented by three members.

The study and the Commission's consideration of it will provide an excellent opportunity for Congress and the many interested groups and individuals throughout the Nation to give this problem thorough and informed consideration. In order that Members of Congress may know the scope of the Commission's study on balanced urbanization and new communities the study outline follows:

OUTLINE OF ACIR STUDY OF BALANCED URBANIZATION AND NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The following is a topical and paragraph outline which develops the major areas of coverage for the Commission's study on Balanced Urbanization and New Community Development. Not all topics are treated in equal depth nor is the depth of treatment necessarily related to importance.

The study describes the present pattern of urbanization in the country and the patterns of urban and regional growth and decline. It will review the economic, social and political factors which influence economic development and urbanization. Consideration will be given to the need for a national economic development and urbanization policy to foster balanced development throughout the country, and to the respective roles of Federal, State, and local governments. It will then consider intergovernmental problems involved in evolving policies and programs to facilitate the financing, development, and governing of new communities as one of the methods to implement national policies and goals for a balanced urbanization.

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the study.

1. To examine the present total pattern of urbanization nationwide, emphasizing the whole range from villages to metropolitan centers, including specific attention to trends affecting small towns and rural counties as well as the large urban concentrations.

2. To provide a description of urbanization, using a broader definition for "urban" and more restricted for "rural."

3. To identify the forces which have influenced present population distribution patterns with a view to facilitating the consideration of possible policies designed to encourage balanced urbanization.

4. To dentry economic and social advantages and disadvantages in population concentration in metropolitan centers.

5. To consider the need for a national urbanization policy which can guide specific decisions regarding programs which affect urban development.

6. To examine several types of measures at various levels of government that can be used to foster balanced urbanization.

7. To examine the potential of "rural growth centers" as a method of counteracting the diseconomies od metropolitan contration and congestion.

8. To examine the potential of new communities as another method of meeting the problem of population concentration in metropolitan areas.

9. To review the problems involved in planning, regulating, and building large new communities. Particular emphasis will be placed on the possible role of Federal, State, and local governments and the relationships between the public and private sectors in developing new communities.

10. To explore questions of land assembly and development; planning and development; provision of community facilities and services; the time and character of municipal government for new communities; and to explore the regions and metropolitan areas.

11. To examine the governmental and administrative techniques that can be used to encourage and regulate urban development in accordance with public policy objectives.

B. Definitions—distinguish types of new communities and related developments: satellite new communities, independent new cities, regional centers, growth centers, planned developments, planned residential districts, planned unit developments, "new town-in town" (on undeveloped sites or cleared sites or a combination of the two).

C. While the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the study of new communities will have relevance for rural and urban growth centers, "new town-in town," planned residential districts, planned unit developments, etc., the emphasis will be on strictly "new communities," i.e., communities started from scratch in areas with no significant development within the projected borders and no coterminous local government. Perhaps modified to include those developments (especially those using staged development) which so enlarge an existing small incorporated nucleus as to put them outside the normal subdivider/developer situation.

PART I—NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND URBANIZATION

Chapter 1. The process of urbanization

A. Descriptive and statistical account of urbanization in the United States identifying the growth of urban areas emphasizing the whole spectrum from the smallest "rural" urban centers to the largest metropolitan areas and "megalopolis."

1. Emphasis should be given to the total pattern of urbanization stressing the growth of medium-sized urban centers.

2. The significance of the growth of suburbs in relation to central cities and the distinction between central cities and other components of urban population (fringe areas, urbanized areas, other urban places, and some rural nonfarm).

3. A description of the megalopolis concept.

4. Identification of the most rapidly growing small- and medium-sized counties and cities (including those cities located within SMSA's but not a part of the socio-economic structure of the SMSA).

5. Description of problems attendant upon the pattern of urbanization including heavy concentration in metropolitan areas and suburban "sprawl" and the resulting economic, social and governmental problems. A parallel description of problems created by the exodus of population from rural areas.

6. Significance of dispersal of industry into urban fringe and rural areas and increased industrialization of agriculture with owners and even operators more frequently living in urban places.

Chapter 2. Factors influencing economic development and urbanization

A. Analytical discussion of factors influencing national and regional economic growth and decline and urbanization based on the recognition that mature economies function through the interaction of urban-industrial complexes (cities); that the major economic activity of the nation operates and will in the forseeable future continue to operate through a system of cities; that regional differentiation tends to give way to urban interaction as the economy of a nation matures. For the purposes of this analysis, the urban complex or center is not just a densely populated area, but is a social complex containing a hierarchy of economically and socially interrelated and overlapping hinterlands which collectively comprise a recognizable, viable entity.

B. Examination of social and economic forces influencing regional activity and urbanization.

1. The extent and character of national economic growth.

2. The impact of change-initiating factors central to such growth, particularly (a) technology, (b) natural resources, (c) population and labor force, (d) changes in consumer demand, and (e) strategically important institutional changes, such as those flowing from governmental policy.

3. The relative extent to which regions have shared in the national economic growth, and the shift in the relative position of individual regions with regard to the key measures (i.e., employment within major industries).

4. The major characteristics of the economic growth (or decline) patterns of the individual regions, particularly the extent to which such growth (or decline) is related to industry composition or to within-industry locational changes.

5. The nature of the individual regions, and their patterns of urbanization.

C. Examination of economies and diseconomies of concentration and dispersion.

Chapter 3. Conclusions and recommendations regarding the influencing of economic development and urbanization

A. Identify the need for national and regional, State, and local economic development policy incorporating urbanization policy.

B. Consider possible Federal, State, and local policies to encourage a balanced industrial and economic growth throughout the nation and a balanced pattern of urbanization between large metropolitan centers, smaller urban places outside of metropolitan areas, and rural areas.

1. Policy to stem the continued concentration in metropolitan areas and to encourage the development of alternative patterns of urbanization including smaller growth centers and new communities.

2. The use of industrial location policies to influence development; placement of public contracts, institutions and facilities as an influence; and the development of job opportunities.

3. Land use and development policies such as new approaches to zoning, open space provisions, and timing of water and sewer lines and highways.

4. Measures dealing with government organization and structure such as boundary commissions, extra-territorial powers, strengthening county governments, and regional arrangements.

5. Elimination where possible of the arbitrary distinction resulting in similar but separate programs for rural and urban areas—701 and community development districts, urban rural water sewer facilities program, HUD and USDA extension programs, proposed separate urban and rural job opportunity programs.

C. Organizational alternatives to formulate economic development and urbanization policy.

1. A national economic planning agency assigned responsibility for economic development and urbanization policy—an existing or new agency in the Executive Office of the President.

2. Complementary regional, State, areawide, and local planning organization and process.

PART II—INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNING OF NEW COMMUNITIES

Chapter 4. New communities in America and their objectives

A. Objectives of new communities and identification of the public interest in them. (Obviously not all of the objectives are equally important or feasible.)

1. Dispersal away from overconcentrated urban centers.

2. Regulate development: an opportunity for planned, staged development to influence the future course of urban growth encouraging desirable cities and towns based on sound principles of physical planning, using flexible approaches, viewing the total projected city as a whole, and providing for various needs on a rational basis.

3. Assure the most economic use of public and private resources for new urban development.

4. Provide a wide range of single and multifamily housing covering a broad price range from low-income housing to luxury homes and apartments.

5. Present the opportunity for innovation and experimentation unhampered by preexisting structures and organization.

6. Provide relatively self-contained social and economic opportunities within or easily accessible to the community for a wide range of professional and occupational needs.

7. Provide housing choices to all groups as a step in overcoming established patterns of segregation which foreclose or minimize the opportunity for moving out of minority ghettos.

8. Relieve pressure on central cities and built-up areas for relocation opportunities in connection with urban renewal, highway projects, code enforcement, and other displacements.

9. Provide for amenities and desirable residential, work, and recreational opportunities. Forestall blight and deterioration.

10. Contribute to the sound economic development of a region..

11. Provide direct economic benefits to the governments involved, such as a diversified tax base and economic provision of public services and facilities.

12. Provide alternative residential and work opportunities for migration coming into metropolitan areas.

13. Provide geographically dispersed alternatives to migration into the largest urban concentrations.

B. History of "new towns" and new communities.

1. Early history.

2. General philosophy of "new towns" and new communities—various streams of thought going into them: town planning, good government, garden cities, economic interest, company towns, convenience.

3. New towns in Europe.

4. New communities in America.

a. Roots in city planning movement.

b. The company town.

c. Earliest planned suburban developments.

d. The 1920's and 1930's Garden City efforts.

e. New Deal "Greenbelt" cities of the 1930's.

f. Defense towns: Los Alamos, Oak Ridge, Richland.

g. Post-World War II large suburban developments—Levittowns, Park Forest, etc.

5. Evaluation of previous experience.

Chapter 5. New community development and government action

A. Present experience and problems facing new community development—their political, social, and economic feasibility.

1. Need to combine the public interest requirements essential to justify special provisions, concessions, and inducements with the economic need for a profit to interest entrepreneurs.

a. Provision of essential public services and assurance of adequate public facilities designed to incorporate the capacity or be capable of expansion to incorporate the capacity to serve the ultimate planned population.

b. The protection of public objectives such as the provision of a range of housing types including low-rent, public housing and middle-income housing either subsidized, non-profit, or limited profit.

2. Need for national and State and metropolitan areas, urban development policy to provide broad, basic goals and objectives to guide and inform decisions.

3. Large initial financial commitment and extended development period during which return is limited or nonexistent.

4. Limited tax base for current public needs during earlier stages before commercial and industrial development.

5. Problem of securing adequate fiscal resources to finance needed public services and facilities in those new communities which don't include sufficient industrial and commercial development within their borders.

6. The necessity for imaginative public regulation during the crucial formative stages before a government exists which is specifically concerned with the "new community" per se. Their government, in some States particularly, may not necessarily be coincident with the borders of the new communities—i.e., it may be the county, town, or borough within which development takes place.

7. The need for flexibility to develop new imaginative approaches and meet changing conditions over the period of development while at the same time protecting the public interest by preventing exploitation of the more liberal or flexible regulatory policy thus preserving the essential assumptions under which the initial commitment to develop is entered into.

8. The necessity to anticipate a political and community leadership and a constituency not yet present or even clearly identified consisting of residents, merchants, industrialists, etc. The general direction that will be desired or acceptable must be foreseen and then there must be allowance for adjustment without compromising the basic objectives as actual experience grows.

9. Relationship of development to an existing incorporated place—either a city larger than the new development or a town much smaller than the new development—when annexation is a possible alternative step rather than independent incorporation. Use of local agency formation commission or State review agency could be helpful.

10. The necessity to assess the market for and acceptability of new communities.

B. Possible recommendations for government action to assist in the development of new communities.

1. Organization.

a. A range of organizational possibilities which can be adapted to varying specific needs and objectives of new communities is needed. The organization must provide for supervision during initial stages and the ultimate transition to a permanent arrangement including incorporation if desired. There must be provision for representation and protection of metropolitan, regional, and statewide interest.

b. Organization for overall development responsibility.

(1) Public development authority with an opportunity for participation by and representation of a wide range of public and private interests.

(a) Could include authority for acquisition of title or development rights to land with subsequent sale to private developers or use for public purposes.

(b) Could include responsibility for planning and designing, land development, regulatory authority, public services, and supervision of actual development of public facilities and private houses, buildings, and factories.

(2) A mixed consortium of public and private groups (using the comsat corporation as a precedent) or a strictly private consortium, but with public funds involved in research and development, to take responsibility for development. Existing governments would retain more of the regulatory authority under these arrangements.

(3) New authority to equip the county or the State to take direct responsibility for regulation and development and for marshalling and coordinating participation of other public and private entities.

(4) New authority to permit existing cities to develop satellite cities—to take initiative and exercise early regulatory authority over them looking to later incorporation or possibly annexation.

(5) County subordinate service areas.

c. Organization for development of segments or parts of the new community.

(1) State-chartered development credit corporations to help finance individual developers of housing, apartments, commercial or industrial buildings.

(2) State development finance authorities to channel State funds and credit or credit guarantees into new communities development either through State-chartered development corporations or direct to developers. This type of assistance might be limited to or have more desirable terms for limited-profit groups.

(3) Citizens nonprofit housing cooperatives or other organizations for low- and middle-income housing and housing for special groups such as the aged.

(4) Limited-profit groups for middle-income and special housing needs.

(5) Authority for an existing government or public agency to undertake low-income public housing and middle-income housing and make necessary commitments and assurances.

(a) Could be either the county, other existing local jurisdictions, or the State.

(b) Could subsequently be superseded by an incorporated municipality or an authority of such a municipality.

(6) Limited, but multi-purpose special districts or county subordinate service areas to assume responsibility for certain public works and services either directly or by contract or interlocal agreement.

(7) Interlocal contracts or agreements with existing governments.

2. Financing.

a. Direct public financial programs.

(1) Federal and State grant programs for land acquisition and development.

(2) Federal and State grant programs for construction of public facilities—open space, water and sewer facilities, public buildings, hospitals, schools, etc. Special provisions for additional matching or incentives or higher ceilings could be made for planned new communities.

(3) Loans or loan guarantees for similar purposes and postponements of interest where justified.

(4) Grants and technical assistance to the responsible government for planning and for administering development controls during the formative stages.

b. Tax concessions or equalization measures.

(1) Certain types of tax abatement, forgiveness, or other concessions during the period of holding land for development or during the early years of development.

(2) Tax equalization or redistribution measures to help relate needs of new communities to tax resources. For example, in earlier stages of new community development, needs often outstrip the tax base. Or a new community may be located to be accessible to an industrial complex and thereby serve it and yet not include industry within its borders.

3. Planning, site designation, land assembly, and regulation.

a. Public acquisition of land or development rights for subsequent sale to developers or use of public facilities.

b. New, improved and flexible approaches to land-use and development controls such as zoning regulations, subdivision control and official maps and building codes; to development plans; and to the formulation of comprehensive planning policies and objectives.

c. A regulatory system to permit negotiation of a total plan with provision for staged development and adaptations to changing population and social and economic conditions while still providing predictability for the developers and adequate protection of the public interest.

d. Application and adaptation of existing regulatory techniques such as planned unit development, planning residential district, usable open space, and staged development.

e. Development of new land use control techniques for large, mixed, residential-commercial-industrial developments such as borrowing or averaging densities, "floating zone" approaches, and so forth.

f. Some techniques for obtaining assurances of continuing ratios of low- and middle-income housing opportunities to total housing which are the quid pro quo for special regulatory and financial incentives. Protection of open-housing practices. Assurances of adequate, well-planned public facilities to anticipate projected growth.

g. Regulatory leverage arising from public ownership of land or of development rights and conditions attached to sale.

h. National, regional, metropolitan area, and State planning for identification of possible sites and designation of specific sites using physical, social, and economic analysis techniques.

i. Tax policy to influence development.

j. Programming of public facilities to influence urban development.

It's Time for Reform Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, last week I took time during the debate on the Federal pay increase and postage rate increase legislation to emphasize my concern for the failure of this Congress to enact legislation removing the appointment of postmasters and rural mail carriers from political patronage. The need is great.

We have the vehicle for changing our present inadequate system in the congressional reform legislation that has been bottled up in the Rules Committee. I hope that we will be able to take action before we adjourn this first session to act on that important legislation. I include for the information of my colleagues an excellent editorial on this subject from the Milwaukee Journal:

HOUSE STALLS REFORM

Last March the senate passed a congressional reform bill. It was no world shaker, but it was a step toward much needed improvement.

The bill, among other things, would strip the senate of its historic role of confirming postmasters and the house of its role of selecting rural mail carriers. Both jobs would be left up to the postmaster general, who would choose on the basis of merit. It would tighten control over lobbyists, change some committee procedures and ease the annual argument over length of sessions by providing a month's vacation.

Even these relatively minor matters seem too much for the house. With the apparent approval of house leadership, the bill has been boxed up in the house rules committee since Mar. 9.

If the measure does get out of committee, there will be an effort on the part of some congressmen to agree upon a 12 month annual session on the ground that there is just too much work to be done to continue the fiction that there should be a July 31 adjournment as provided by the La Follette-Monroney act of 1946. As the late President Kennedy said, in the 19th century our leaders "dealt in their entire political life . . . with only four or five major problems. . . . Now the problems swarm across the desks of political leaders of this country." In the annual effort to go home, congress too often now ignores good measures that have had careful study and hearings and wastes time arguing about quitting.

Perhaps, if a 12 month session with a vacation is agreed upon, some attention should be given to the proposal of Sen. McGee (D-Wyo.) that congressmen be given sabbaticals, six months or so every six or seven years, to go home and recharge batteries. Universities do it. As Sen. Monroney puts it, "What (the proposal) in saying is, for Pete's sake get back to being a civilian for six months so that you can come back with the viewpoint that you had originally but with the backup of knowledge you have learned as a senator or congressman."

It's a matter worth considering, at least. But it won't get much attention if the house continues to refuse even to bring the minor reform bill to the floor.

Communist Plans for the Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, during the fiscal year 1966, the Panama Canal transited 11,925 oceangoing commercial vessels flying the flags of 50 nations, averaging 32.7 per day. These facts, more than anything else, show that the canal is one of the greatst crossroads of world commerce in addition to being the key military and strategic center of the Western Hemisphere.

As has been stressed on many occasions by my most distinguished and scholarly colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood], the control of this vital waterway has long been a prime objective in the operations of the world revolutionary movement known as the international Communist conspiracy; and it is now a prime target for Red conquest of the Caribbean and all of Latin America. The recently published collection of addresses by Representative Daniel J. Flood on "Isthmian Canal Policy Questions"—House Document—No. 474, 89th Congress is a most useful source for authentic information on the canal subject, and is commended for reference in connection with current discussions on proposed new Panama Canal treaties.

One of the major points emphasized in the indicated volume is that the real issue at Panama is not U.S. control over the Canal Zone versus Panamanian, but the retention of undiluted U.S. sovereignty versus Communist control.

This point, Mr. Speaker, should be thoroughly understood if our Government is to deal realistically with the canal problem.

In a recent, able address by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] before the Young Americans for Freedom, he dealt at length with Red plans for taking over the Panama Canal, giving some new angles on the subject and calling for defeat of the proposed treaties.

To make Senator THURMOND's illuminating address easily available to all Members of the Congress, appropriate agencies of the executive branch, maritime interests that use the canal, transcontinental transportation interests, educators, and publicists, I quote it as part of my remarks, as follows:

COMMUNIST PLANS FOR THE PANAMA CANAL

(Address by Senator STROM THURMOND, Republican of South Carolina, before Young Americans for Freedom national convention, Pittsburgh Hilton Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., September 2, 1967)

The most recent dispatches from Panama have been telling a perplexing story. Last June President Johnson and President Marco Robles announced that the two countries of the United States and the Republic of Panama had complete negotiations on three new treaties regarding the Panama Canal. Although the official texts of these treaties have never been released, the details are fully known.

From the American point of view, there is only one word to describe their contents. These treaties are the greatest give-away since God gave man the world for his dominion. They give away United States jurisdiction and sovereignty. They give away United States land and property. They give away United States operating facilities and engineering works. In short, they give away the entire U.S. Canal—and indeed any new canal that the United States might build in Panama—to a dubious operating authority whose sole strength is the slender reed of promises by the Republic of Panama. Let me take just a moment to describe the batch of three treaties. The first and most important treaty is the basic re-negotiated Panama Canal Treaty. This treaty sets up an organization described as an "International Juridicial Entity" which would be the administrative agency for operating the Canal. All of the property that now belongs to the United States Government would be turned over free of charge to the operating agency. The present Canal Zone would be diminished from the 10-mile wide strip to an area approximately 1 mile wide. The Canal Administration would operate its own court system and its own police forces in the Canal area.

So you can see that it will be very crucial for the safety of the Canal to make sure that the United States has control. Ultimate control of the Canal is in a governing board of 9 men. The United States has a 1-man majority on this board. But I want to point out that Congress will relinquish all control over the appointment of these men and has no recourse if even one of them should turn out to be incompetent or acts against the best interests of the county.

Furthermore, the executive control is in the hands of a Director General and his deputy. The terms of office of these men alternate between United States citizens and Panamanian citizens. At the present time, the President of the United States can assume direct control instantaneously if dangerous conditions are warranted. Under the five-four board, control would be so diluted that it would be impossible to be sure that effective action could be taken in time.

I would like to mention one other aspect of this important treaty. The formula for payments are strongly biased against the United States. Panama's share is based on \$0.17 per long ton going up to \$0.88 per long ton, year by year. After these payments are made to Panama, estimated to be about \$20 million per year, then all other expenses of the Canal are to be paid, including overhead, capital improvement, and operating funds. The last priority is held out for the United States payment which is only \$0.08 per long ton and going up to \$0.10 per long ton. The effect of these increased payments will undoubtedly result in increased tolls which could easily be as high as 25%.

The second treaty is the proposed status of forces treaty which defines the rights and privileges of our military forces stationed to defend the Canal. One of the most serious drawbacks of this treaty is that it provides for a committee to confer when any special action is necessary to defend outbreaks of insurrection or enemy attack. The treaty stipulates that in the event that the committee fails to come to agreement on what measure can be taken that the controversy will be directed toward the respective governments through proper channels. This is an extremely cumbersome arrangement, and is another example of civilians dictating a no-win military policy without any consideration for the experience and professional judgment of the military experts.

Another feature of this treaty is a provision that the Panamanian Flag shall fly over all United States bases on Panamanian soil. The United States Flag cannot fly unless Panama gives special permission. No other base agreement that we have anywhere in the world stoops so low as to strike the American Flag.

The third treaty gives us an option to build a so-called sea level canal somewhere in Panama. At this point we do not know whether a sea level canal is technically or economically feasible. Congress currently has authorized a study which will take at least three years to complete. It is insane to propose a treaty for building a sea level canal when we don't even know that such a canal can be built. At the very least, these treaties should be held up until the sea level study is complete. Furthermore, if a seal level canal is built, the control structure will be virtually identical to the proposal in the new treaties with one exception: The door is held open to internationalization in the construction and financing of a sea level canal. This would dilute our control even more.

But in spite of this give-away, the most recent dispatches from Panama are indeed perplexing. These dispatches report that there is tremendous opposition growing within the ranks of Panamanian politics to approval of the treaties. We hear that President Marco Robles is being attacked on all sides. The plans for the formal ceremony of signing the treaties, which according to informed sources was scheduled for three weeks ago in Washington, have been put off indefinitely. President Robles sought to make these treaties his political triumph, but it now appears that the treaties will cause him nothing but tribulation.

These reports have caused great concern and puzzlement throughout many quarters in the United States. Many men thought that the generous give-away attitude reflected in these treaties would appease Panamanian nationalism. When the treaty negotiators sat down two years ago, the United States held almost all the cards.

We had, first of all, sovereignty—operating sovereignty in the Canal Zone. Secondly, we had won independence for Panama and furnished Panama with the main source of development and support. Thirdly, we have had a history of generous concessions and easy relations with Panama since the first treaty was signed in 1903.

The only card that Panama held was the somewhat dubious power of blackmail, a power growing out of extreme Nationalist activities. There was absolutely no reason why a strong powerful nation like the United States should give in to the petty blackmail on the fluctuating Panamanian political scene.

Yet when the negotiation game was over, Panama got up with the whole pot. We played as though we wanted to lose. Many of our United States liberals, particularly those who are most liberal with the taxpayers' investments, have been genuinely puzzled by the ominous turn which events have taken in recent days, with the stirring up of opposition to the treaties.

However, those who have been watching the Panamanian scene closely for some time were not surprised. Early in July just shortly after the treaties were announced, I made a short speech before the Senate pointing out what the long-term aspirations of the Panamanian Nationalist sentiments were in regard to the Canal.

From statements in the Spanish language press, it was clear that the Nationalists were prepared to urge extreme measures. Among their objectives were: First, that Panama aspires to have the same relation to the Panama Canal that Egypt has to the Suez Canal and proposes to nationalize it. Second, that Panama repudiates the idea of internationalization. Third, that Panama is determined to have complete sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Fourth, that Panama is considering closing its territorial waters around the Canal Zone—a jurisdiction not recognized by the United States—as a trap to get its demands.

From these and other objectives, it was soon to be clear that the contents of the proposed treaties would not satisfy the demands of Panamanian politics. Insofar as the United States maintained any kind of indirect control at all, or retained any power, however bridled, to protect the Canal and its installations—to that extent the Panamanian Nationalists would remain dissatisfied.

The latest word is that even the most responsible of the forces opposing the treaty are demanding that President Robles renegotiate four principal items in the treaty which give minimum safeguards for the extensive U.S. interests in the Canal. These four objections are: First, that the provisions in the treaties for special courts in the area of the Canal would result in courts that would be outside Panamanian juridical control. Second, the special police force in the Canal area would have exclusive authority and not be under the direct control of Panama. Third, the governing body of the Canal administration would be weighted with 5 to 4 in favor of the United States; the Nationalists would prefer the other way around. Fourth, the provision for the use of Panamanian territory by U.S. armed forces defending the Canal is regarded as an imposition upon Panamanian sovereignty.

Now, as a matter of fact, the actual U.S. control exerted through these four points is so weak as to be extremely dangerous to our interests. The special Canal courts would be employing a new body of law which would not necessarily have the same protection as U.S. law. The police force would be under the control of a weak authority which would have difficulty coping with unexpected or large disturbances. The 5 to 4 margin on the governing body of the administration depends entirely upon the character and ability and inclination of the men who are appointed to the United States seats by the United States President.

Finally, the provisions for the United States defense bases in Panama are weakened by the giving of priority to Panamanian uses. Although the Panamanians want more than this, these protections are ridiculously weak when compared to the firm position which we now enjoy and seem intent upon abandoning. The question then is, why is Panamanian Nationalism intent upon rejecting the United States give-away?

The answer is that in terms of political action, Panamanian Nationalism is nearly impossible to distinguish from Communism.

Now I grant that the motives of many Nationalists may be quite different from those of the Communists. I grant that many Panamanian politicians are not looking beyond their shores. On the other hand, the Communists have had their eye on the Panama Canal from the very first days when Communism seized power in the Soviet Union. In the famous memoirs of John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, this American observer of the Bolshevik Revolution reported that the Soviet representative to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Comrade Skobelev, was instructed by the Soviet Executive Committee to demand that "all straits opening into inland seas as well as the Suez and Panama Canals be neutralized." This grand strategy of the Communists has endured down to the most recent days when, during the Suez crises in June, the Soviets once more demanded that all great waterways be internationalized.

It is easy to see why the Soviets have their eye on the Panama Canal. This is, of course, an important waterway in world trade. But it is even more important as a vital artery to American trade. Two-thirds of all cargo going through the Panama Canal is either bound to an American port or is coming from an American port. Those who wish to bury the United States must begin by blocking the Panama Canal.

But in time of war the Canal takes on an entirely new significance. During the Second World War, 5,300 combat vessels used the Canal and 8,500 other ships carried troops or military cargo through it. For reasons of safety, no Axis ships could be permitted to go through. Of course, none would have dared come within hailing distance of the entrance to the Canal. Similarly, during the Korean war, over 1,000 U.S. Government vessels transited the Panama Canal to carry troops, supplies, and war materiel to U.S. troops in Korea.

Despite the fact that those who say that the Canal is outmoded in an age of nuclear warfare, it continues to be an important supply line to Vietnam. U.S. Government and U.S. Government chartered vessels transiting the Canal increased in number from 394 to 725 in the period of fiscal year 1965–66. The cargo carried jumped from 1.9 million to 3.2 million long tons. Although these figures are the most recent available, they are for the year ending June 30, 1966, in the period before escalation really began in the buildup of military supplies in Southeast Asia.

Nuclear warfare *could* destroy the Panama Canal—or indeed any canal, even a sea level canal. However, we must presume that wars will continue to be fought as at present, to wit, in non-nuclear engagements. In that case, the Canal provides the Navy and supporting Merchant Marine with interior lines of sea communications, far shorter than the routes around Cape Horn or Cape Good Hope. If the Canal were blocked, a large part of the U.S. railroad capacity would have to be used to shuttle troops and supplies from Atlantic to Pacific.

Even if the Canal were closed in peacetime, the cost to the United States would be great. Millions of dollars would be added to U.S. shipping costs, and as much as two weeks time in ocean shipments. Japan, one of the largest buyers of U.S. coal, would probably have to seek other sources of supply. California and other West Coast states would begin to feel an almost instantaneous blight. Steel shortages would begin to affect almost all West Coast manufacturing. On the East Coast, many of the canned foods which we take for granted, such as pears and pineapples, would become very expensive.

Hunt Foods and Industries, one of the big West Coast fruit and vegetable packers, has estimated that it alone would need 75 to 80 more railroad cars in the next 60 days if the Canal were closed. I think that no one would disagree that the closing of the Panama Canal, or its take-over by a hostile nation, would be disastrous for the U.S. economy. It is no wonder, then, that the Communists have given it the No. 1 long-range priority.

Americans sometimes have difficulty in imagining how a fiercely Nationalist country like Panama, could become the tool of Communist policy. A recent publication of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which I am a member, recently chose Panama as a hypothetical case in the study of Soviet propaganda techniques. Allow me to quote:

"On the day the government of Panama falls under the control of some Popular-National-Progressive Anti-imperialist Front of Liberation, the United States could be maneuvered into relinquishment of the Panama Canal without using a single missile from its billion dollar armament. This is a very real and possible imminent development. The Front might consist of 500 students, 60 Sergeants, 50 professors, 40 journalists, 30 lawyers, and 20 longshoremen, gathered from the back rooms of a dozen cafes, and united around 10 Soviet agents at a cost to Moscow of some half million dollars."

Those who have not studied Communist history and Communist techniques cannot possibly imagine the tremendous leverage that even 10 Soviet agents who might appear to be Panamanian Nationalists can have in such a case.

Now let us turn from the hypothetical study made by a U.S. Senate Subcommittee to another study published in a theoretical periodical, the *World Marxist Review*, which is, of course, a public organ of the international Communist conspiracy. The *World Marxist Review* has already laid forth the Communist strategy for the takeover of Panama. Now it must be remembered that I am not quoting from some musty document born out of the Stalinism of the '30's. This article was published in March, 1965, almost contemporaneous with the beginning of the negotiation of the present Panama treaties that have been proposed by the Johnson and Robles administration. Let me quote:

"The People's Party of Panama (the Communist Party) has charted the road along which revolution can be carried out. The only solution seen at present is the transfer of the power to the people—workers, peasants, forward-looking intellectuals in the middle sections, and groups of the bourgeoisie who want radical reforms. Considering the realities of the present situation it is doubtful if these reforms can be achieved the parliamentary way.

"In the opinion of our party, the national liberation revolution in Panama will pass through *two* stages. In the first stage, the task will be to set up a national, democratic, peoples-government which will consistently carry out an agrarian reform, pursue an independent foreign policy, do away with corruption, take vigorous steps to develop the national industry, and embark on deep-going economic and social reforms."

At this point, I would like to break away from the text to emphasize the importance of the next statement which appears in the *World Marxist Review*. Let me quote:

"It is extremely important in the first stage to pursue a policy of unity, an alliance with all the forces interested in these changes (irrespective of their ideology). The party resolutions state that only a revolutionary peoples government, uniting all segments of the nation opposed to the oligarchy will be able in the second stage of the revolution to combat the U.S. and its monopolies, to remove the imperialist ulcer and pave the way to nationalization of the Canal.

The immediate aim of this struggle is to deflate the oligarchy, compel it to show itself in its true colors as the direct agent of U.S. imperialism, and thus shorten its days. The ultimate aim is to achieve the complete liberation of the country. To this end, the Communists will use all forms of activity."

This article from the *World Maxist Review* explains clearly why the Nationalist agitation in Panama has grown so intense. According to the rules of Communist strategy, President Robles represents the so-called "oligarchy." Therefore, the Communists are attacking him and his treaty. They will demand an independent foreign policy. They will demand that the alleged corruption of the oligarchy be done away with. In the first stage of the Communist plan, it is clear that they will ally themselves with the Nationalists so closely that it will be impossible to distinguish one from the other. Insofar as we assist the plans of the Nationalists, we are advancing the first stage of the Communist strategy.

It is my belief that the present treaties play into the hands of this Communist strategy. For example, one of the most significant sections of the proposed treaty turns over all the auxiliary enterprises connected with the Canal to "private enterprise." The terms of the treaty make it clear that only those favored by the Panamanian Government will be allowed to bid on the operation of these enterprises. Moreover, the treaty makes it plain that if competitive bidding is unsatisfactory, the contracts will be awarded by negotiation.

In the first place, this arrangement makes it appear as though well-established and going businesses are being turned over to the Panamanian oligarchy to fatten their pockets. This provision makes it appear as though the bidding will provide a ready field for all kinds of corruption and kick-backs.

It does not matter whether this situation will come to pass or not. The treaty terms are framed in such a way as to give the Communists their rallying point. They will press for a government, to quote the *World Marxist Review*, "uniting all segments of the nation opposed to the oligarchy." This means the downfall of the Robles regime according to the Communist plan.

This is the stage we are witnessing now in the vicious attacks against the treaties in the Robles government. We must not forget that the second stage of the plan is "to combat the U.S. and its monopolies . . . and pave the way to nationalization of the Canal."

In view of the fact that the treaties seem tailor-made to fit Communist propaganda, it is interesting to note that one of the chief negotiators for President Robles is a self-avowed Marxist intellectual, Diogenes de la Rosa. Senor de la Rosa has a history that the liberal journals like to describe as "a very colorful past." It is well known in Panama that for years the sympathies of Diogenes de la Rosa have lain with the Trotskyite Communists. I would like to quote to you a sarcastic comment which the columnist in the Spanish newspaper "El Mundo" made on August 17. The columnist who writes under the by-line of Picando commented that Diogenes de la Rosa is now labelling those who oppose the new treaties as "Communists and traitors." Picando's sarcastic comment was "How times have changed for Comrade de la Rosa."

The impossibility of distinguishing true Nationalist aims from issues which the Communists can use to agitate their two-part plan should make us wary of any arrangement in the Canal Zone which would weaken our control. Despite so-called safeguards written into the Treaty, we will no longer have the direct physical control of the territory and security of the Canal area which we now have.

If we accept these treaties in the hope of solidifying a fairly moderate government in Panama, the only thing we will accomplish is to make that government the target of increasingly strong Communist pressures. By throwing upon a small nation a responsibility which it doesn't have the capability to exercise, we are endangering the freedom and independence of that government.

I do not believe that any arrangement under which the United States gives up its effective sovereignty can be made to work for the benefit of the United States. There cannot possibly be any better way of protecting the Canal than to protect it ourselves.

We have the sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal by treaty. We own the land by separate purchase. We are twice owners of the Canal by treaty and purchase. There is no compelling reason to turn over its administration to a complicated international administration, under the direct sovereignty of a weak country.

If we accept the blackmail of Panamanian politics, then we will be following a policy which accurately complements the two-stage Communist plan outlined in the *World Marxist Review*. We see that plan already operating in the daily headlines of our newspapers today. If we are to avoid a stunning defeat, we must immediately change course.

Ladies and gentlemen, for the sake of the national security of the United States, these treaties should not and must not be confirmed. To prevent their confirmation, public opinion must crystallize and make itself known so that the Senate will realize the importance of the Canal to this Nation. You can have a vital part in energizing public opinion and alerting our public officials. Write to the President, write to your two Senators, and have others write. I have been getting hundreds of letters on the Canal question, and I know what effect letters can have.

We must not jeopardize the security of our nation by allowing the confirmation of these proposed treaties with Panama.

Another Measure of Vietnam's War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ward Just, an eminent and keen observer of the war in Vietnam, who recently returned from Vietnam after 18 months as chief of the Washington Post bureau in Saigon, discusses the difficulty of estimating the precise situation in Vietnam in the following report:

ANOTHER MEASURE OF VIETNAM'S WAR

(By Ward Just)

The Vietnam war has always been a matter of measurements—of intentions, of results, of the ingredients of progress. The measurements depend on the estimate of the situation in South Vietnam, on *where we are*, and hence where we are headed. This estimate has always been in dispute, with realistic men differing widely on precisely what the situation was. Which brings us to the recent dispatches of Joseph Alsop.

Alsop has an estimate of the situation. It is briefly that the big-unit war is nearly at an end, with the failure of last month's assault at Conthien. The effort had been to annihilate an American brigade or battalion, and that has failed. The North Vietnamese, he writes, will not be able to bear the cost of the fighting, under the kind of pressure the Americans are bringing to bear. This ranges from search and destroy operations in the South, to bombing raids in the North, to U.S. pacification teams in Binhdinh Province and encouraging American-Vietnamese operations in the III Corps.

With his customary elegance and precision, Alsop dares to draw an optimistic estimate. More interesting, he dares to use logic in measuring what he calls the success. He is assembling the data from captured enemy documents, which disclose that wounds and disease are seriously depleting battalions. Old-line Vietcong regiments are now fifty per cent North Vietnamese. There are references to troubles in the North, and the unmistakable inference is that the bombing is hurting; it has *got* to be hurting. He is saying that the highland provements in Haunghia Province, ten largely secure, and the II Corps measurably improving. Much of the Alsop estimate comes from documents, but come of it from personal observation (for which there is no substitute in South Vietnam). He notes dramatic improvements in Hau Nghia province, ten miles west of Saigon, which two years ago was regarded as a suburb of Hanoi. The logic is inescapable.

But the reliance on logic or "fact" in Vietnam can be decidedly dangerous. Secretary McNamara tried it in 1964 and 1965 in expressing optimism over progress and his estimates turned out wrong. The difficulty is that the central estimate must be an appraisal of Vietcong intentions: How long are they and their North Vietnamese allies willing to carry on the fight? How long are they willing to go on "hurting?" It was reasonable to suppose two weeks ago that the seige of Conthien had been broken. Our aircraft saw fleeing enemy troops; statistics said they had taken a fearful pounding, from mortars, artillery, B-52 bombers, and all the rest. But Saturday they assaulted again.

The question of military progress in South Vietnam has never been a real issue. With 500,000 American troops and millions a month in aid, of course there is progress. The question is, what kind of progress?

The dissenters from the very persuasive Alsop columns would turn to the Vietnamese, both the ARVN and the bureaucracy, for the real yardsticks. The Americans can supply their own estimates, backed up by logic and "fact," but it is really the Vietnamese view of events, the Vietnamese mood, the Vietnamese will and the Vietnamese capability that will count in the last analysis in Vietnam. It is finally, as President Kennedy said, their war; they have to win it. There is no evidence that this is being done.

Beyond that, and not very far beyond it, there is in Vietnam what one official calls "the revolutionary atmosphere." Until that is dispelled, crushed—or exploited—by the Saigon government, there is little hope of the war winding down or being "won" in any real sense. The Vietnamese must acquire their own desire to engage in the struggle. They must show the ability to defeat their Communist enemies alone before there is reason to believe the other side will quit the field.

In short, the Vietnamese themselves must pacify Haunghia and Binhdinh, bring law and order to the villages and hamlets, before these provinces—and the others—can be called "pacified." The big unit war can end, and the real war can still go on. The alternative to such an effort by the Vietnamese is half a million American troops in Vietnam for the foreseeable future, a condition which would not—one imagines—fit this Administration's definition of a win in Vietnam. Or Joseph Alsop's.

Oshkosh Welcomes the Paper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, October 9, 1967, Oshkosh, Wis., welcomed a new daily newspaper, the Paper.

I take this opportunity to welcome that newspaper to Oshkosh and the Sixth Congressional District. With daily newspapers dying on the vine and the numbers of all types of newspapers diminishing, it is a real pleasure to witness the birth of a new morning daily paper. For the information of my colleagues, I include as part of my remarks the editorial column for the first issue of the paper:

VIEWPOINT: YOURS, OURS, THEIRS

WE SUPPORT THESE GOALS

For Oshkosh:

1. A revitalization of the Oshkosh Downtown business district.

2. City Manager Crawford's recommendation for acquisition of parking facilities in the downtown and south-side business areas, subject to such future changes as may appear to be in the public interest.

3. An accelerated street improvement program in the major arterial system as well as in the residential areas.

4. The continued improvement of Oshkosh's cultural climate.

For Winnebago County:

1. The hiring of an Administrative Head for the County.

2. The election of county officials on a nonpartisan basis.

3. The relocation of the County Fairgrounds and construction of an Arena.

For Wisconsin:

1. The unification of the University of Wisconsin system and the Wisconsin State Universities System under one Board of Regents.

2. The passage of a Highway Bonding Program.

3. The establishing of Wisconsin as the nation's No. 1 tourist attraction.

For America:

1. A de-escalation of the Vietnam War followed by military disengagement.

HELLO, OSHKOSH

On this birthday of a newspaper, we want to tell you a little about what you'll find in this space each day. Allan Ekvall, the editor, will have his turn tomorrow . . . and the many tomorrows to come.

You can expect Allan and his fine staff to state the position being taken by the Paper on the issues of the day. It is the only column in which the editors will be expressing their own ideas and opinions . . . the news columns are restricted to factual reporting with an emphasis on the why of the news event and its possible effect upon the future.

One thing you will not find is a bias regarding political parties. When a candidate running for office seems particularly well qualified we'll tell you why we think so. It seems that each of the parties has its strengths, weaknesses, assets, liabilities. Read Max Lerner if you like, or Barry Goldwater, or perhaps both. You'll find them regularly on these pages.

The one consuming interest we have is right here, Oshkosh, Winnebago County and the cities, towns and counties surrounding us. The quality of civic excellence being achieved in this area is very high indeed.

While some of this is sheer good fortune, more is the direct result of the foresightedness of some remarkable citizens whose efforts over many decades have given us the fine civic climate we enjoy today.

We are approaching the point when race and creed will be of no matter, when the Southside and Northside will act as one, when all will have respect for the ideas and opinions of others. We're glad for the opportunity to be a part of these exciting times.

The PUBLISHERS.

P.S. We welcome your ideas, your opinions, on this page. A special column called "Your Viewpoint" is set aside just for you.

Of Brainwashing Republicans and the Politics of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I have a confession to make to my colleagues in this Chamber.

I have been brainwashed.

It did not happen suddenly, Mr. Speaker, but it happened, nevertheless. Over the years I was brainwashed to believe that there was such a thing as a bipartisan foreign policy. The Republicans have shown me the error of my ways.

I suppose I have heard one Republican speech on Vietnam too many.

Before these Republicans began talking, Mr. Speaker, I had believed that it was Hanoi that was stubbornly prolonging a war that only they seem to want. But now the Republicans have set the record straight, by claiming that it is President Johnson who is prolonging the war because he has been brainwashed by his generals.

Imagine, Mr. Speaker, Lyndon Johnson insists upon bombing the enemies' supplies and bases in the north to protect the welfare and lives of American troops fighting in the south. And to show how misguided he is, the President, has made it clear that he will stop the bombing if only Hanoi would make a reciprocal gesture toward deescalation.

What an unreasonable President we have. And what inspired statesmen these Republicans have become. Well, Mr. Speaker, what all of this Republican talk amounts to is a very old political game. It is called: pin the war on the President. And it is played during election years.

The rules are easy. You stick a verbal pin in the Commander in Chief and you duck for cover.

We saw this game played during the Korea war when the Republicans renamed it, "Truman's war." We saw it played against President Roosevelt when the Republican isolationists called World War II "Roosevelt's war."

The wobblies and German sympathizers stuck the pins into Woodrow Wilson just before our involvement in World War I. And going way back, there is even the case of the pin-stickers, who summoned a secret convention of New England States—in Boston—to discuss the possibility of seceding from the Union in order to end the war of 1812. Not surprisingly, this plan never did succeed.

Mr. Speaker, what a cheap and demeaning game this is. Do we have any doubt that in 1968 the Republicans will be calling Vietnam "Johnson's war"?

And yet the record will show that none of these Republican critics has dared to challenge the most essential truth of all: That the American presence in Vietnam is vital to the peace and security of all of Southeast Asia.

Not one of these Republican statesmen has called for American withdrawal from Vietnam. Why? Because they know—as the American people know—that aggression must be checked in Vietnam or it will crush the entire continent of Southeast Asia in a tidal wave of chaos and violence.

No, they are not opposed to the war. They are opposed to the conduct of the war. Allow me to translate. This means they are not opposing the President's courageous decision to stand firm against the Communists in Vietnam. They are merely opposing the President.

Republicans talk is a very unsubtle kind of political code. None of them will come out and say they oppose the war. They oppose the conduct of the war—or rather, the man behind the war, the man who directs the war, the man responsible for the war.

The Republicans know that criticism and wars are natural handmaidens to one another. They know the people are unhappy about Vietnam; the Congress is unhappy; and, heaven knows, the President is unhappy. God help this country if the day ever comes when war is popular.

I believe our people are mature and understanding enough to realize that we cannot have peace merely by hating war. For if that were the case, peace would reign supreme in Vietnam today.

And I also believe that our people realize that Vietnam is a tough, dirty, and costly war that will not be ended quickly or easily.

Of course, some of the President's critics claim that the war could be ended quickly. Ronald Reagan, for instance, would consider using atomic weapons to end it. I suppose we could settle things in a hurry by blowing up all of North Vietnam—not to mention a few square miles of Communist China—right off the map.

I will not waste my colleagues' time by reciting some of the other absurd suggestions presented by other Republican strategists. Suffice to say, Mr. Speaker, if there is a quick and easy way to defeat the enemy—without dangerously escalating this war and endangering the peace of the entire world—President Johnson and his advisers would have discovered it.

There is no such easy solution. Unfortunately, the Vietcong are tough, well disciplined, and expert guerrilla fighters. And such is the nature of this war that no military victory is deemed likely. The real victory is a political victory to win the support of the Vietnamese people and to convince Hanoi to negotiate for peace.

I would remind my colleagues: We are in Vietnam to smother the flames of aggression, not to fan them into an ever-widening conflagration.

Mr. Speaker, let us talk honestly about all this Republican politiking on Vietnam. There is no doubt about the fact that Lyndon Johnson's political enemies are using Vietnam to gain political advantage.

That is what is behind all this criticism. That is why not one of the President's critics has yet come up with any alternative to the administration's policies that are worthy of serious consideration. And that is why the dialogs on Vietnam are so wildly irresponsible and personally abusive to the President.

Mr. Speaker, these cruel and malicious tactics are doomed to fail. For the fact is that President Johnson continues to explore every conceivable route to find a way to get Hanoi to the conference table. And until he does, he will continue to conduct carefully controlled but effective resistence to Communist aggression in the south.

If there is a more reasoned and responsible policy than the Johnson administration's, I have yet to hear about it.

Again, Mr. President, let me emphasize that none of us in this Chamber, in the White House, or in any home in this country, wants for our young men to be engaged in combat in Vietnam.

But, Mr. Speaker, the United States has not sought its role as the leading free world power: This role sought us as a people whose commitment to freedom stretches beyond our own boundaries.

We are not in Vietnam simply because we are magnanimous about expending our lives and our treasure. We are there because we have learned the lessons of recent history which teaches that to retreat from aggression does not decrease the risk of war, but makes war inevitable.

This is the real issue involved in Vietnam. And this is the issue the American people understand. I can assure the Republicans seeking to make political capital out of this war, that the American people will resist such political brainwashing from politicans who have brainwashed themselves in believing that Vietnam can become a political football in 1968.

The President is right in commiting this Nation to the defense of the people of South Vietnam.

He is right in waging a carefully controlled response to the Communist aggression there which seeks to avoid expansion of the war.

He is right in trying every means to bring Hanoi to the conference table.

And because he is right, the majority of Americans will continue to support him and his policies.

One final word. Recently, the Japanese Prime Minister got to the head of the matter and said that the United States is right in the conditions it set for ending the bombing of North Vietnam:

> In any suspension of the bombing in North Vietnam there should be a firm assurance that it will lead to a suspension of hostilities in the south.

And the Prime Minister said that—

> Although the United States for its own part may wish for peace in Vietnam, it's important that such a desire should come from the other side as well.

I commend these thoughts to the Republican candidates for President, who seem to need perspective and judgment.

Results of Opinion Poll in Idaho's First District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. McCLURE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, last spring I sent the residents of Idaho's First Congressional District a questionnaire and asked that they complete the form and return it to me. The response was most gratifying. More than 15,000 individual forms were returned, many with additional comments and notes.

The political affiliation in my district is evenly divided between the major parties. But philosophically, the people are as one. If there is further proof needed that the average American citizen has repudiated the Great Society, I do not know what it could be.

I include the tabulation of the poll's results at this point in the RECORD:

[Answers in percent]

1. Do you feel that we are receiving accurate and reliable information on the activities of the Federal Government?

Yes	11.0
No	82.2
No opinion	6.8

2. (*a*) Do you believe that the rise in the cost of living requires corrective action by the Government?

Yes	80.9
No	14.0
No opinion	5.1

(*b*) If so, what kind of action do you believe should be taken?

Wage and price control	23.2
Cut Government spending	74.6
Tax increase	1.0
No opinion	1.2

(NOTE.—Approximately 70 percent of those favoring wage and price control also indicated that they favored accompanying cuts in government spending.)

3. Do you think that the present spending levels by the Government for the following programs should be:

	More	*Less*	*Same*
Defense	28.9	19.0	52.1
Foreign aid	1.6	91.3	7.1
Agriculture	18.8	50.4	30.8
Education	31.4	29.3	39.3
Health	29.7	29.2	41.1
Poverty program	7.8	79.0	13.2
Highways	26.0	15.1	58.9
Space exploration	8.4	58.4	32.2
Aid to cities	9.8	66.0	24.2
Beautification	6.9	76.0	17.1

4. Do you think the Federal Government should return a percentage of Federal taxes to the States with no strings attached?

Yes	63.1
No	23.0
No opinion	13.9

(NOTE.—Many of the No answers received comments that "the Federal Government should not take the tax money in the first place.")

5. In the Vietnam war, do you think we should:

(*a*) Continue on present course?	6.5
(*b*) Make a more definite effort for military victory?	61.8
(*c*) Hold key positions and negotiate a settlement?	17.0
(*d*) Withdraw as soon as possible?	14.7

(NOTE.—Many of those favoring withdrawal (*d*) indicated that they do so only after a military victory (*b*).)

6. Do you think the ceiling on earnings of persons receiving social security or veterans' pensions should be:

Removed	25.1
Left as is	27.5
Increased	36.6
No opinion	10.8

7. Do you favor the proposed Federal regulations on the purchase and shipment of firearms?

Yes	15.8
No	76.1
No opinion	8.1

8. Do you think our present Federal farm programs are achieving their purpose of maintaining farmers' income at adequate levels?

Yes	14.4
No	69.7
No opinion	15.9

9. Do you favor increased trade with the Communist bloc nations as a means of easing tensions?

Yes	16.6
No	74.7
No opinion	8.7

10. If you had your choice of passing a single piece of legislation in Congress this session, what would it be?

It is obvious that the answers to the above question # 10 can not be tabulated in the same manner as the other questions. However, many answered this question and their comments and letters were interesting and covered a wide variety of subjects. The item mentioned most was "Cut Government Spending," the next most mentioned subject was "Reduce Taxes." These two subjects combined accounted for nearly one-third of the suggestions. Others were: Less Government Control; Cut Foreign Aid; Win in Vietnam; Raise Social Security Benefits; Stop trade with Communist Nations; Oppose any legislation regulating or controlling firearms; Limit the power of the U.S. Supreme Court; Increased protection against imports; Ethics bill for Congress; Revise Farm Parity Program; Control riots.

San Diego 200th Anniversary Medals

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, it is with much gratitude and pride that I commend this body for the passage of the bill to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of San Diego.

There is not much doubt that the faith in the Supreme Being, upon which this pioneer California community was founded, was in large part responsible for its tremendous growth, and more particularly for the high caliber of that progress.

The southwesternmost tip of our country enjoys more than a pleasant year-round climate; it includes the finest in culture, research, education, job opportunities, and residential advantages, and I am pleased that its completion of two centuries of existence shall have lasting memorials for the future.

Communism After 50 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in the August edition of the Freeman, Mr. William Henry Chamberlin authored an excellent article on "Communism After 50 Years."

Because of the timeliness of this article, I feel that it is particularly worth reading and include it herewith:

COMMUNISM AFTER 50 YEARS

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

(NOTE.—Mr. Chamberlin, Moscow correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* from 1922 to 1934, is author of the definitive two-volume history of the Russian Revolution and numerous other books and articles on world affairs.)

The year 1967 marks the fiftieth anniversary of two events of world importance, the consequences of which are still very much with us. One event was the United States decision to intervene in World War I, following the German declaration of unlimited submarine warfare. The other was the seizure of power in the vast Russian Empire by a small disciplined band of extreme revolutionaries, then known as Bolsheviks, now more descriptively designated as communists. The first put the United States on a merry-go-round of European and world power politics, easy enough to mount, but costly to ride and hard to get off. The second replaced the authoritarian, traditional rule of the Czars by a much more ruthless, scientifically organized dictatorship of a single political party—more accurately, by the top leadership of that party.

Russian communism has experienced many changes in methods of administration and in governing personnel. Most of its founding fathers perished in Stalin's paranoid purges. However, two basic principles have survived intact. Lenin is supposed to have said that there could be any number of political parties in Russia—provided that the Communist party was in power and all the other parties in jail. This is an excellent description of how the Soviet Union is governed. Stalin, writing in the official party newspaper, *Pravda*, on November 26, 1936, spelled it out plainly:

> In the Soviet Union there is no basis for the existence of several parties or, consequently, for the freedom of parties. In the Soviet Union there is a basis only for the Communist party.

There is no toleration for opposition parties; and organized dissenting groups within the Communist party are also strictly forbidden. The consequence is that effective decision-making power is concentrated in the hands of a very few men, sometimes one man, at the head of the party organization.

TOTAL CONTROL

The other permanent principle of communism in practice is that the govenment, in one form or another, undertakes to manage the whole economic life of the country. In the first phase of the Revolution all private property, except for personal belongings, was confiscated and nationalized. After an early period of chaos, all factories, mines, railways, public utilities, and stores were placed in charge of a host of state bureaucrats.

At first the peasants were left more or less undisturbed on their small twenty-acre farms, following the confiscation and dividing of the estates of the large and medium landowners. But 1929 marked the beginning of a process lasting over several years and carried on with the utmost brutality. Peasants were subjected to such measures as wholesale deportations to forced labor and one politically organized great famine. They found their individual possession of land abolished and themselves regimented in collective farms; what they raised and what they received for their produce were determined by the government.

Communism was an outgrowth of World War I. And world war led to an extension of the area under its control. By 1945, communist power prevailed in a large number of formerly independent states in Eastern and Central Europe. Stalin had once declared: "We do not want a foot of foreign soil; we shall not yield an inch of our own." But he might more accurately have said: "We do not want a foot of foreign soil, except Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, parts of Finland, East Germany."

At least, this was how the political map of Europe looked shortly after the end of World War II. Yugoslavia, to be sure, broke away to the status of an independent state in foreign relations, although it retained the one-party system and a somewhat modified form of state control of the economy. These were not, as the Russian had been, spontaneous revolutions, arising out of the miseries and dislocation of war. Communism was imposed on Eastern and Central Europe from without, by the tanks and bayonets of the Red Army.

China, on the other hand, experienced pretty much what happened in Russia in 1917. Eight years of exhausting war with Japan, accompanied by Japanese occupation of the largest Chinese cities, had created a situation in which the power and authority of the nationalist government, under Chiang Kai-shek, were gravely undermined. Inflation had almost destroyed the value of these Chinese currency and many Chinese—mistakenly, as they realized too late—believed that communism could be no worse than existing conditions and might bring some improvement.

In the first years of the Soviet state, created by the communist revolution of November, 1917, the system was so new, so untried, that there could be the widest differences of opinion about its future prospects. Majority opinion in the West was most impressed by stories of terror, violence, hunger, and general misery. But a minority clung to the hope that communism would provide an answer to the problems and frustrations of modern society. So varied were reports of observers returning from Russia that it was hard to believe they were speaking about the same country.

There are still pronounced differences of opinion, judgment, and emphasis in writings about the Soviet Union. But the facts are now well established, and some broad conclusions may be stated with confidence.

ENDURANCE OF THE SYSTEM

First, communism, as it has developed in Russia, is a tough, durable system, which cannot easily be overthrown, either by a palace coup or by erosion from within. One need only look at the historical record. The governing system set up by Lenin has survived numerous threats:

Prolonged civil war;

Allied intervention, although on a half-hearted and ineffective scale;

Two major famines;

A German invasion that led at one time to the occupation of a large part of European Russia;

The savage struggle to bring the peasants under the yoke of the collective farm;

Several periods of distress and general shortage and misery uncommon even by Russian standards (the years of civil war and economic collapse, 1917–1921, the time of forced collectivization, 1929–1933, the years of war with Germany and postwar reconstruction).

This was due to the formula of government worked out, consciously or unconsciously, under Lenin. It was further modified by Stalin and was imitated to a considerable extent by the fascist dictators, Mussolini and Hitler. What this amounted to was rule by a combination of unlimited terror and unlimited propaganda. The people who were not convinced by the propaganda were intimidated by the terror, by the knowledge that there was no means of organized effective resistance.

Free men who are accustomed to the expression of diverse views find it difficult to understand, even to imagine, the power concentrated in the hands of the Soviet totalitarian state. Suppose the government in this or any Western country controlled every printed or publicly spoken word, directed the policy of every newspaper and magazine, used the theater, the movies, the youth organizations as instruments of propaganda, dictated what should be taught from kindergarten to university, employed radio and television as its mouthpieces, forbade the importation of foreign newspapers and politically questionable books from abroad. Suppose, in addition, that anyone suspected of disloyalty was liable to arrest and banishment to hard and disagreeable work in some remote part of the country. The chances are there would be few open dissenters.

SURVIVAL DEPENDS ON USE OF SOME CAPITALISTIC PRACTICES

Second, communism has only been able to function as a going concern by adopting some of the methods which its advocates violently denounced in what they called the capitalist system. The old communist ideal, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," has been consigned to the mothballs. Extensively copied are the incentives of a wage and salary system, with higher pay for higher skills. Differences in food, dress, and standards of living are sharper in the Soviet Union than in the West, especially so because there is much less to go around.

Such egalitarian experiments as equality of wages and the limitation of the pay of communists to the standard of a skilled worker have been discarded as impractical. In recent years there has even been an attempt, with little success, to gain some of the recognized advantages of the free market system without instituting its essential component, private ownership. Despite communist propaganda to the contrary, the transfer of economic ownership has been, not to the workers, but to bureaucrats who are less concerned with the interests of the workers than in making a profit for the state.

NO PROOF OF SUPERIORITY

Third, after fifty years, communism has emphatically failed to prove itself a superior productive system in comparison with an economy based on individual ownership. Lenin and his followers took over a huge country, so rich in natural resources as to be almost self-sufficient. Five decades later, the Soviet living standard is one of the lowest in Europe, much lower than in the United States and Western Europe, even lower than in such satellite states as East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Nor is there any reason to believe that in the foreseeable future the Soviet Union and other communist-ruled countries will achieve or approach the ideal proclaimed by Stalin and Khrushchev: to overtake and outstrip America. The agricultural record of the country under collective farming is a disgrace. Quite recently the Soviet government found it necessary to make large purchases of grain in the United States and other foreign countries whereas prerevolutionary Russia had been a large exporter of wheat. Removing the automatic incentive of private ownership from Russian farming was like taking an irreplaceable dynamo from a machine.

The consequences of nationalizing all shops and service industries have been equally disastrous: indifference to the customer, poor quality, absence of initiative in making improvements. To be sure, there have been striking advances in the quantity of industrial output, in scientific accomplishment, and especially in the exploration of space, in the spread of education, in certain modernizing changes in urban life.

But Russia under any system would have achieved substantial progress over half a century. It was experiencing a rapid economic growth in the decade before the outbreak of World War I. Many projects of which Soviet publicists like to boast were on engineers' drawing boards before the Revolution. The Soviet Union should be compared, not with Russia in 1917, but with Russia as it might otherwise have been in 1967. Judging from pre-Revolutionary trends, the noncommunist Russia of 1967 would have shown substantial economic and social progress, less spectacular than the Soviet in some fields, but better balanced and more conducive to the comfort of the average citizen.

MAINTAINED BY FORCE

After fifty years, there is no indication that communism could win majority support in any country without the use of force, violence, and terrorism. Voluntary movement is almost always away from, not toward, communist-ruled countries. There have been two waves of migration from Soviet Russia, involving hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people. One was immediately after the Revolution; the other was after World War II when many Russians who had been forcibly or voluntarily evacuated from the Soviet Union during the time of German invasion chose not to go home. The part of Germany under Soviet occupation, quaintly called the German Democratic Republic, lost some four million of its citizens to prospering, free enterprise West Germany. Then the communists set up a penitentiary wall in the divided city of Berlin and an elaborate, closely guarded system of barbed wire entanglements and booby-traps along its entire frontier to prevent this continuous wholesale flight.

Hong Kong is packed with refugees from communist China. In the divided countries of East Asia, Korea, and Vietnam, it is the same story: a stampede to get away from communist rule. There has also been a large exodus of voluntary exiles from Poland and other satellite lands of Eastern Europe.

Among millions of "defectors," refugees from communism in many lands, one recent case arrests attention. It is the flight from the Soviet Union, first to India, then to Switzerland, of Svetlana Alliluyeva, daughter of the formidable dictator, Josef Stalin, and her later appearance in the United States. Seeking the freedom of expression she was denied at home was a dramatic blow to the Soviet system in world public opinion.

The wheel, in her case, had come full circle. In April, 1917, Lenin left Switzerland, where he had found political asylum, to lead the communist revolution in Russia. Exactly fifty years later Stalin's daughter had returned to Switzerland—a refugee from the regime founded by Lenin and consolidated, built up, shaped in every detail by her own father.

SERIOUS PROBLEMS PERSIST

Fifth, the United States and other noncommunist countries have their problems, big and small, political, economic, and social. But it would be an error to imagine that, merely because they have devised effective means of suppressing open criticism and discussion, the rulers of communist countries face no difficulties and problems of their own.

In China, there has for months been an obscure but evidently bitter state of near civil war between supreme dictator Mao Tse-tung (whose "thought" is recommended as the panacea for all ills) and some of his closest associates. The consequences are still uncertain. There is more outward appearance of stability in the Soviet Union. But Lenin's and Stalin's heirs have not found the answers to two questions of paramount importance.

They have not found a means of transferring political power in peaceful and legitimate fashion. The quiet, unquestioning handing over of supreme authority from a President or Prime Minister to the representative of another party that has been victorious at the polls would be ludicrously impossible under Soviet conditions. As a result there is constant rivalry, tension, intrigue, in-fighting among the few men at the sources of political and economic power.

And, as the Soviet economy gets out of the primitive stage of trying to produce as much as possible and faces the need to make investment choices, even to pay some attention to consumer tastes, the lack of a substitute for the free market system becomes more and more painfully apparent. The free market presupposes free enterprise and private ownership; and efforts to obtain its benefits where these elements are lacking are foredoomed to failure.

OUR DANGER FROM WITHIN

Sixth, what does communism, half a century after it was launched as a system of government in a large country, mean for the United States? If the United States will hold to the principles of economic individualism, communism is not and never will be a challenge in the sense of providing a better life for more people. Nor is there any serious threat of military conquest; the predictable suicidal consequences of a nuclear clash are the best assurance that such a clash will not take place.

The danger to the advanced industrial societies of the United States, Canada, Japan, and Western Europe is from within, not from without. Intensification of the trend toward omnicompetent government, drying up of the sources of future investment through excessive taxation, throwing more and more of the burden of supporting the unfit and the unproductive on the producing part of the population threatens to erode and finally destroy the incentives to hard work which help to make an individualist economy so superior to a collectivist. If America will live up to its better historic ideals, it can face the challenge of communism undaunted and unafraid.

Federal Salary Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I supported the Postal-Federal Salary Act of 1967, as I have consistently supported over the course of my years in Congress all fair proposals to increase the salaries of Federal employees. I believe there is nothing more important to the efficient conduct of Government than a Federal civil service that is justly paid for the services it renders.

For this reason, I cannot overstate my indignation at Congress decision to exclude one agency, and only one agency, from the provisions of this bill. I see no justification whatever for singling out the employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity for exclusion from the Federal pay raise. I must interpret this action as a deliberate slap in the face to those who have taken on the difficult task and onerous responsibility of assisting the Nation's poor to break the cycle of poverty. I hope this provision will be reversed before the bill becomes law.

But these are difficult times for legislation designed to redress inequities and I voted for the bill because I judged that, on the whole, it served a useful purpose. It is, in my view, the kind of bill that saves money in the long run because it improves the morale, and, as a consequence, the performance of the men and women who make their careers serving the Federal Government.

Babcock & Wilcox Celebrates a Century of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, Babcock & Wilcox, a great American firm, is presently celebrating a centennial of progress. Through the operations of their Mount Vernon, Ind., plant, this outstanding company is responsible for much of the growth and economic progress of my district. On October 10, the Evansville Courier honored Babcock & Wilcox on the occasion of their anniversary as follows:

MOUNT VERNON PLANT'S FUTURE IS BRIGHT

One of the Tri-State's fine new industries, only five years old, is in the midst of a 100th anniversary observance!

It is the Mt. Vernon Works of the Babcock & Wilcox Co., whose modern, newly-constructed plant alongside a sweeping curve of the Ohio River is only a couple miles from the heart of Mt. Vernon.

The parent company now is observing the centennial of its founding in 1867 and the enthusiasm that has marked its almost continuous growth during its short history in the Tri-State Area.

Indeed, since construction was started on the banks of one of the finest water supplies in the world in 1962, the Mt. Vernon facility has undergone a series of expansions until today it is the world's largest, most modern and uniquely equipped heavy pressure vessel shop.

And the public has been invited to see it all at an open house Saturday.

Employment stands at some 1,000 persons engaged in fabricating large heavy pressure vessels for nuclear power stations nad petrochemical plants and building membraned wall assemblies used in conventional boilers by the electric utility industry.

The rapid growth of the plant is reflected in the history of its construction. Work on the tube plant began on the 100-acre site in the spring of 1962 but before a year had passed the company announced plans to double the size of the facility.

Just recently, officials announced the Mt. Vernon Works is one of three to be expanded to keep pace with the increased orders for its nuclear steam systems.

The facility also pumps a healthy $5 million annual payroll into the Tri-State.

Two major factors brought the plant to Mt. Vernon. A prime reason of course is the Ohio, where the huge pressure vessels, some of which will weigh in excess of 1,000 tons, could be barged via the inland waterways to their destinations.

Another important factor, officials say frankly, ss the general cooperative spirit and friendliness of the people who reside in and about Mt. Vernon.

The spirit has been reciprocal. Mt. Vernon folk generally agree that Babcock & Wilcox and its personnel have been good neighbors and have become an integral part of the community.

They can take satisfaction also in the company president's 100th anniversary statement:

"So long as we continue the search for excellence started by our founders, we are confident we shall continue to grow and prosper."

Tri-State residents share that confidence.

Eighth-Graders Raise Over $660 for Aid to East Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to publicly commend the eighth-graders from the Loma Linda, Calif., area for their generosity in helping the young people of Pakistan.

Such a program is a wonderful contribution to our people-to-people international relations. It is heartening to read of such willingness to work and of the unselfishness of our young people in their desire to help the young people of another country.

EIGHTH-GRADERS RAISE OVER $660 FOR AID TO EAST PAKISTAN

Fifty eighth-graders from the Loma Linda area can truly be proud of their accomplishments. They raised over $660 in three months to aid the young people of East Pakistan.

The Loma Linda young people are all members of the Early Teen Sabbath School Division of the University Church of Seventh-day Adventists, 24701 University Ave., Loma Linda. The youths had heard a direct report through their sponsor, Peter D. Durichek, Sr., of 11575 Richmont Road, Loma Linda, that the Kellogg-Mookerjee High School in East Pakistan is located in the direct path of cyclones and floods and suffers extensive damage during every school year. The decision was made by the youths to raise at least $500 for that school, so that it may relocate on higher grounds and out of the paths of cyclones.

Several months ago, Mr. Durichek's son, Peter D., Jr., was sent to the Kellogg-Mookerjee school by the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Missions Board to be the principal and to direct the re-location project. The Adventist denomination, which owns and operates the school, had designated a portion of the fall quarter offerings received to go toward that project, but the funds had to be spent to purchase 50 acres of land about 35 miles north of Dacca, East Pakistan. The $460 raised by the Loma Linda youths will be in addition to the funds provided by the denomination and will be available to construct new buildings for classrooms, dormitories and the industries.

"We have nearly 140 students in all the grades," writes Peter Durichek, Jr. "The students are so poor we must have more industries to help them earn their way. The absence of rain during certain months—even though we have 100 inches of rain each year—flooding durings other months, and the use of ancient farming methods leaves most of the people very poor."

Hoping to ease those difficult conditions, the Loma Linda young people baby sat, washed windows and cars, cut grass, pulled weeds, and ironed clothes for 13 weeks. They and the community are proud and deeply satisfied with the results—more than 30% over their goal—and wonder how pleasant it would be if more people throughout the world would assist their governments to extend the hand of friendship to people of other lands.

Visit "Poppa" Shawn at Jacob's Pillow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to pay tribute to the outstanding attributes and the artistic contributions of a great American pioneer, Ted "Poppa" Shawn. My congressional district in western Massachusetts has historically been a haven for the arts—offering a near-perfect setting of natural beauty and inspiring serenity. Since 1942, when the Ted Shawn Dance Theater was completed there, "Poppa" Shawn and his pupils have unselfishly given their energies and talents to the advancement of dancing.

The cultural potential of this great Nation has only recently been explored; yet recognition of this sector as a necessary part of American life has widely been accepted by a great majority of our people.

The following article, appearing in the Christian Science Monitor September 9, 1967, explains in illuminating detail, the works of Mr. Shawn and the Jacob's Pillow University of Dance:

VISITING "POPPA" SHAWN AT JACOB'S PILLOW

(By Kathleen Cannell)

LEE, MASS.—In thousands of dance nuclei round the world from jungle to fjord, the Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival is known as a performing center where more than 250 world premières and countless American firsts have been presented.

What is less remembered is that the Ted Shawn Theater, the first one specially built for dance, is part of the laboratory equipment of the Jacob's Pillow University of the Dance, enabling students to follow through from first steps to final production.

And the dream of founder-director Ted Shawn, showman and father of modern dance, has always been to educate—both dancers and audiences.

Fifty-five years ago in his own school in Los Angeles Shawn originated the educational system from which was to evolve the contemporary form of dance termed modern. Reminiscing recently at Jacob's Pillow he declared: "I always believed that dance, the oldest art, was too vast to be encompassed by any one system, school or style. I therefore began with classic ballet, with 'free movement,' based on the principles of Francois Delsarte, and with various types of ethnic dance." (This triple formula is still taught and performed at the Pillow.)

"DENISHAWN" BEGINS

In 1914 Shawn met Ruth St. Denis, became her dance partner, and married her.

In 1915 they founded "Denishawn—A School of Dance and Related Arts." To Shawn's original curriculum were added: the eurhythmics of Jacques Dalcroze (by a diploma-ed teacher from the institute in Hellerau); courses in music and drama; costume making. In the ethnic department Shawn introduced American source material—Indians, cowboys, American history, and folklore.

"The great contributions of Isadora Duncan [inspired by ancient Greece] and of Ruth St. Denis [based on dances of Asia] were fully utilized, but ballet was never excluded," Shawn emphasized.

Individuality was fostered and from Denishawn issued the most famous dancers of their time: Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman and—in a more popular genre—Jack Cole.

Shawn was a pioneer in making dance a recognized and respectable career for men.

In 1942, coincidentally with the completion of the Ted Shawn Dance Theater, the Jacob's Pillow University of the Dance was chartered by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as an educational, artistic, nonprofit institution. Affiliated legally with Springfield College, it is the only dance institute where credits may be earned for a master's degree or doctorate (though Bennington College can grant the B.A.).

WITHOUT SUBSIDY

At the University of the Dance, Shawn added new dimensions in teaching. And courses are kept up to date by the constantly renewed summer faculty, drawn from eminent performers and pedagogues in their fields.

When I first went up to Jacob's Pillow to cover the dance performances a decade ago, students and even great ballerinas lived in log cabins on the 150 woodland acres. Now on campus "Ballet Plaza" consists of six comfortable modern dormitories for women, each named for a ballerina who—like Alicia Markova and Maria Tallchief—has been intimately connected with the University of the Dance, and whose framed toe shoes adorn the lobby.

Among other enlarged facilities are three teaching studios, replacing one old barn. And the Ruth St. Denis rehearsal hall duplicates the theater stage space so that whole productions can be set up there.

Last year in recording a Shawn anniversary, National Geographic reiterated what the press has published on numerous earlier occasions—that Jacob's Pillow is one of the nation's most important cultural institutions . . . and Ted Shawn has altered the cultural climate of his country.

NEW DIMENSIONS

And all this, as Shawn pointed out, has been achieved without grant or subsidy, with occasional (usually small) friendly donations. "Poppa" Shawn, as his students call him, has helped support his dream child by lecturing and guest teaching in colleges throughout the United States and Australia, and by his writings. The latter include eight books.

Profits from the bookstall, program advertising, and souvenir programs take care of scholarships—awarded to about 25 percent of the students.

"I will never sacrifice quality to quantity," Shawn stated emphatically. "Our type of classes must be small, and enrollment does not exceed 100 a year." Even so, upwards of 1,500 graduates, many of them celebrated, have made Jacob's Pillow a stepping-stone to successful stage and/or teaching careers.

But in this decade of progress expenses have soared and taxes have tripled. Jacob's Pillow needs some help.

As we parted, Shawn cited an old French proverb: "What cannot be said must be sung, and what cannot be sung must be danced." He added:

"Dance is the universal language which has the power to promote one world. So [quoting the title of his best-known book] 'Dance We Must!' "

Viewpoint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include with my remarks an excellent editorial by Allen Saunders, general manager of radio station WHLO in my home district, pointing out that it would be a false and misleading gesture if in the interests of economy the funds for highway construction were frozen. I wish that many radio stations would perform this kind of public service.

The editorial is as follows:

VIEWPOINT

Have you ever wondered where we get all the money to build those multi-million dollar super highways? The National Highway Users Conference in Washington knows, and we think you should too. You and I, the drivers of cars and trucks, pay for those roads. Nobody else. Money from taxes on gasoline, oil, tires, new trucks, trailers, and busses pay for the roads. In other words, if you don't use the highways you don't pay for them.

We hear a lot about the billions of dollars the Federal Government is sinking into the Interstate Highway System. Recently we've also heard a lot about cutting Federal spending or raising taxes because Washington needs more money. Let it be clearly understood: *Building of new roads has absolutely no effect on the Federal Budget*. Let me repeat that: Building new roads has absolutely no effect on the Federal Budget.

The money we drivers pay in gas and other taxes goes into a special fund called the "Federal Highway Trust Fund." It is that money, and that money alone, that is used by the Federal Government to help build roads. It's our money used for the roads we use. The Federal Government doesn't pay a penny toward new roads. They only manage our money to assure the most expert design and construction of our roads.

In this day and age of increasing costs it's nice to know there's at least one area where we get what we pay for, and *we* pay for what we get.

Russia's 50 Years of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution is being celebrated this year. Fifty years is a good time to make a reassessment of the progress of the average person in Russia. Sylvia Porter, who usually makes a rather thorough investigation of her facts, comes up with an excellent article contrasting the total socialistic approach with that of free enterprise and what can be done under the two systems. Her analysis has reduced this matter to the average man and what he is able to obtain with the sweat of his brow under each system.

Two British writers within the last year have made rather extensive investigations to determine how much is produced in the way of food in Russia under the socialistic program and how much is produced through the free enterprise system. Their conclusion was that slightly more than 50 percent of all the food that goes on the table of Russian consumers each day comes from the private enterprise small plots of small farmers. These are tracts of less than 2 acres each. This means that more than one-half of the food consumed in the socialist state of Russia is still produced by the free enterprise system and sold on the open market at prices which the individual producer himself sets. It is remarkable that such a free enterprise system should still remain in Socialist Russia and the benefits of such an incentive system can be observed from outside of the Soviet Union. There is no substitute for incentive, and the figures in Sylvia Porter's article are the strongest example I know of showing the contrast between the socialistic nonincentive system and the free enterprise system of our country.

HOW IVAN, ANNA LIVE; WHAT IT COSTS THEM IN MOSCOW

(By Sylvia Porter)

If you were Ivan and Anna living in Moscow today, it would cost you $34.60 to buy a food-basket containing one week's supply of staple foodstuffs for yourselves and your two teen-age children. You would have to work 59.2 hours to earn the $34.60.

If you were John and Mary living in New York City, it would cost you $18.27 to buy the same foodbasket. You would have to work a scant 7.3 hours to earn the money.

Nov. 7, 1967—the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution—is coming up. Massive preparations are underway throughout the U.S.S.R. to celebrate the achievements of a half-century. Sparkling boasts are being made not only about the Soviet Union's strides in space and science but also about her progress in production of consumer goods and services. Sample comment of long-time Soviet leader Anastas I. Mikoyan to a New York Times correspondent: "We were one of the most backward of nations and now we are one of the most advanced."

The pride is surely understandable: it is a 50th anniversary and the Russians are even recovering from Stalin now.

Output of consumer goods and services is climbing rapidly and steadily. For the first time since before the revolution, ample supplies of meat and dairy products are reported available in Soviet cities and there is actually a shortage of butter. To deny the progress is to deny reality.

Nevertheless, by the universally accepted yardstick of living standards, the Soviet Union has made only limited headway.

To show the comparisons, Keith Bush, senior research specialist for Radio Liberty in Munich, has put together figures on costs of key foods, goods and services in Moscow and New York. (Radio Liberty, which is supported by private U.S. citizens, is the most powerful voice of democracy heard in the U.S.S.R.) To make the dollar figures truly comparable, Bush has translated them into terms of minutes of worktime. Here are retail prices—in worktime terms—of key goods and services.

Item (1 Kg.)	Minutes of worktime	
	New York	Moscow
Wheat flour	6	46
White bread (unwrapped)	13	56
Beef (best available quality)	45	222
Chicken	21	294
Corned beef (canned)	36	167
Herring	29	324
Sugar (white)	6	116
Butter	44	367
Milk, fresh (1 l.)	6	31
Eggs (cheapest grade)	9	144
Potatoes (old)	4	11
Gin, vodka (1 l.)	125	682
Cigarettes (1 pack of 20)	10	16
Small car (in months of worktime)	3.6	23.3

Of course, some items are cheaper in Moscow. The chief one is rent. Because of subsidies, the Soviet citizen has to work only 20 minutes a week to pay the monthly rent on one square meter of floor space. The U.S. citizen has to work 36.

What's more a comparison with a 1964 study by Bush reveals the U.S.S.R. worker is crawling up the living standard ladder. The foodbasket he earns with 59.2 hours of work now took him 64.9 hours three years ago.

But the Soviet Union is still far from being "one of the most advanced" nations, as Mikoyan claims. By the living standard yardstick, Russia isn't even in the same league as America.

Two Good Samaritans Aid Assault Victim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, too often the good deeds men do go unnoticed while the most henious offenses attract continued attention. For once, I think it is time that we recognize and publicly commend the deed of two men who were good Samaritans of the first order. They are Marine Cpl. James A. Buchanan, and an employee of the Potomac Electric Power Co. here in Washington, D.C., Mr. Klous Kerl.

On Saturday evening, according to newspaper accounts, these two men heard the screams of a man in the process of being robbed and assaulted. They responded immediately. Their act of courage resulted not only in saving the life of the intended victim, but also in the apprehension of two thugs wanted for committing several street crimes as well as a homicide caused by a beating given an elderly man by the two assailants.

Unfortunately, we read too often of such homicides which occur while passers-by ignore pleas for assistance and continue on their way without offering any help simply because they do not want to get involved. For those of my colleagues who missed the story in the local press, I insert the following article from the Washington Post, dated Tuesday, October 17:

TWO AID ASSAULT VICTIM, BRING SLAYING ARRESTS

A Marine and a civilian who went to the aid of a street assault victim early Saturday provided the break needed to bring arrests in a homicide and a half-dozen other street crimes, police said yesterday.

As a result, Kenneth M. Broidy, 22, and Jerome M. Massenburg, 19, both dishwashers of 1737 U st. nw., are being held without bond on charges of murder. They also are accused of three robberies, two assaults with a dangerous weapon (shod foot) and another assault.

All of the crimes took place in the 1800 block of R Street nw. where Marine Cpl. James A. Buchanan, 20, and a Pepco employee, Klous Kerl, 25, heard the screams of one of the victims shortly after midnight Saturday, police said.

They said the call for help came from Donald C. Beaumont, 37, of the 1700 block of New Hampshire Avenue nw., who had been knocked to the pavement by two men.

Buchanan and Kerl ran to Beaumont's aid and then chased the two men they saw bending over him, according to police. Buchanan finally stopped one of the men, later identified as Broidy, but the other got away, police said. Det. Gilbert M. Silvia of the Third Precinct, who was investigating another robbery around the corner, heard the commotion and arrested Broidy.

The second suspect, Massenburg, was arrested several hours later near his home, police added.

They said when Broidy was arrested, they found property taken from Joseph Prell, 87, when he was assaulted and robbed on Sept. 30, Prell, who lived at 1909 19th st. nw., died two days later at George Washington University Hospital as a result of the beating.

The other assaults and robberies took place within six minutes last Saturday, according to police. They said Beaumont was the sixth victim.

Broidy and Massenburg were arraigned Saturday on a homicide charge in Prell's death before General Sessions Court Judge Justin L. Edgerton. The judge ordered them held without bond and continued the case until Wednesday.

Operation Gateway Welcomes Visitors to Cumberland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, one of the most promising developments in the Potomac basin in the past few years has been the great growth of civic interest in promoting the area and encouraging tourism. In every western Maryland county and almost every town, local groups are working energetically to develop local assets, publicize tourist attractions, and improve facilities and services for visitors.

One such community improvement group is Operation Gateway, Inc., a citywide nonprofit corporation which has been organized during the past 18 months by the citizens of Cumberland. Launched by the Woman's Civic Club in February 1966, Operation Gateway now includes members representing the city and county governments, the chamber of commerce, many local businesses and industries, the local newspapers, the Century Club, the garden club, and many local service clubs.

With such a range of talent and interests on which to draw, Operation Gateway has already produced a list of historic and scenic places of interest, is preparing guided tours of the Cumberland area, and is preparing to play a major role in developing Cumberland as the western gateway to the Potomac basin, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and future recreational facilities. The project has already given a great boost to community pride and awakened many citizens to the great potential of this beautiful and historic mountain area.

The development of Operation Gateway, Inc., should serve as an example of local initiative and as an inspiration not only to the rest of the Potomac basin, but to communities throughout the Nation.

Accordingly, I place in the RECORD a list of the officers of Operation Gateway, Inc., and a summary of the program's varied and imaginative activities, prepared for me by Mrs. W. Elmo Channell, membership chairman:

OPERATION GATEWAY, CUMBERLAND, MD.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, 1967

President, Mrs. Ralph Isiminger.

First Vice President, Mr. Forrest Farris.

Second Vice President, Mrs. Howard L. Tolson.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Raymond Lapp, Jr.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Roger Reynolds.

Treasurer, Mr. James Bishop.

Directors: Mr. William Carscaden, Mr. Robert Little Ebert, Mr. William J. Hunt, Mr. Arthur C. Morgan, Mr. William McKee, Mr. Clarence Lippel, Mrs. Edgar MacMannis, Mr. A. N. Billings, Mrs. T. Cass Dye, Mr. Buford Saville, Mr. Julius Schindler, Mr. Thomas Conlon.

Resident Agent, Mrs. W. Elmo Channell.

COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

The General Federation of Women's Clubs—mother parent of all federated clubs here and abroad—sponsors a Community Improvement Program in cooperation with the Sears Roebuck Foundation. A club may or may not enter and if one enters is free to choose the project.

The history of Cumberland is built on transportation and since the days stage coaches rumbled over narrow dirt roads, it has been called the "gateway to the west."

With the development of the Potomac Valley Park we may well be called the "gateway to the east."

There has long been a need for someone to do something about preserving the colonial history of Cumberland, capitalizing on its past, making it attractive to tourists and projecting itself into the future. In broad terms this is our project and we call it "Operation Gateway."

Spearheaded by the Civic Club it is a community-wide program embracing all phases of communinty life and numbering among its membership representatives from City and County Governments, Service clubs, Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Businesses, State Roads Commission, Civic Clubs, newspapers, etc.

Information booths, guideposts, brochures, maps, points of interest marked, a resume of the town's history, industrial tours, scenic tours, look-outs at vantage points, even a cable-car at the Narrows are some of the things Operation Gateway hope to provide for the attracting of tourists.

Operation Gateway will play host to a bus load of canal buffs who will visit Cumberland the first weekend of October. A special train carrying 500 passengers from Washington to our city next spring for a tour is already scheduled and partly planned in detail.

The groundwork for Operation Gateway has been laid. The need is great, the time is now, hopes are high, the lethargy must be overcome, the apathy ended or Cumberland will indeed sleep on. We need you!

Auto-on-Train Operations

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, few appropriations this year will create greater interest or be of more importance than the appropriations for the Department of Transportation. This is, of course, the first year that the Department of Transportation has come up for appropriations. These appropriations total more than $1.5 million. The magnitude of tasks confronting the Department in aviation, highway construction, highway and motor vehicle safety, the Coast Guard, and railroad matters is staggering. The Department can well use every dollar the Congress is able to appropriate.

At this time, however, I would like to voice my regret at the deletion by the Appropriations Committee, the House, and the conference committee of the $3,511,000 requested for auto-on-train operations. This is an expenditure which could well have beneficial effects in the long run far exceeding this three and a half million dollar figure. This amount is needed to complete a project started in fiscal year 1967 which is estimated to cost under $7.4 million. In brief outline, this is a demonstration project to be carried on jointly by the Department of Transportation and the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad between Washington, D.C., and Jacksonville, Fla., which will permit the transport aboard rail cars of automobiles with drivers and passengers, utilizing the automobiles for seating facilities aboard the rail cars.

The 760-mile-long-trip would cost about $100 per car with passengers. Food services also would be provided. A survey of cars from the Northeast entering Florida last October indicated that about 40 percent of those cars, their drivers and passengers would be glad to avail themselves of this service.

Even if this estimate proves to be overly optimistic, I am firmly convinced that this kind of project should be given every possible encouragement.

The problems of highway congestion and the tragedies of highway accidents, injuries, and fatalities become more acute every year. Travel between the Northeast and Florida is understandably becoming more and more popular. With the trend toward longer vacations and higher incomes, we can confidently expect an ever increasing number of persons wanting to spend part of their vacation in Florida. Others will come there to retire. The trade up and down the eastern seaboard is bound to expand.

This new method of travel will appeal to thousands who want the mobility of their own automobiles in Florida but who understandably find a drive of about 800 miles both tiring and time consuming. A price of $100 would be a bargain for many a family to get to Florida without the tedium, the confinement, the tension of driving for 2 days.

We should also look upon this expenditure as a pilot project which may well be feasible in many other areas of the country. Builtup areas from Los Angeles to Seattle, from Miami to Boston, from New York to Kansas City might all benefit from having this kind of service available. No doubt, with experience, modifications will taken place.

But it is little short of insanity to keep building more and more roads, crowding them with more and more cars, creating ever new hazards, without looking into feasible alternatives. Here is one such alternative which is most promising and which should be given a full and fair trial.

It was, in my judgment, quite unreasonable for the House report on the appropriations bill to say that—

> If the project is economically feasible, there is no reason why private industry cannot proceed with it.

Unless we in the Congress are willing to face the facts of transport needs and potential and assume some of the risks of innovation, we will find ourselves in an ever increasing mess of congestion, economic waste, and rising accident and death rates.

I regret most sincerely that the conference did not retain the $2 million approved by the Senate for this purpose and give us an opportunity to remedy the shortsightedness of our earlier vote in the House.

Columbus Day, October 12, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have long been a supporter of the movement to make Columbus Day into a national holiday. It has had my sympathy because Columbus was the discoverer of our continent. He is, in very real measure, the father of our civilization. It is only just that this achievement be recognized as the source of our own presence on this continent and as a genuine turning point in history.

But I support the designation of Columbus Day as a national holiday for a second reason. Columbus has come to be a symbol in the eyes of millions of Americans of recent immigrant descent, not only from Italy but from the other countries of the Old World. Columbus' triumph is their triumph. To approve the legislation enshrining Columbus would be an act not only of justice but of acknowledgement of the contribution of the immigrant to America's strength and culture. This is not a visionary notion. I think this is an important legislation in that it would represent the Nation's gratitude not only to a great man, Christopher Columbus, but also to the millions who followed him from the Old World to make the land in which we live. I salute all Americans of Italian descent on this Columbus Day, 1967.

Steve Moriarty: Young Man of Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note in the current issue of Our Sunday Visitor a most interesting story about an outstanding young man from my hometown.

Steve Moriarty is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Moriarty of Kingsport, Tenn., and is now a student at the University of Notre Dame.

In this day of tension and unrest in the urban areas of our Nation, it is heartening to know of a young man who is taking positive, personal action to improve the living conditions of so many millions in the ghettos of our cities.

I commend Steve for his efforts, and I am proud to make his story available to my colleagues and the readers of the Record:

Who's in the Action?

Steve Moriarty, a 20-year-old theology major at the University of Notre Dame, wants to set up an unusual kind of campus placement agency.

His agency would not be concerned with the needs of business and industry, but with the needs of the inner city and other poverty pock-marks on the nation's affluent face.

Steve, whose quiet home in the mountains of Eastern Tennessee is far removed from the nitty-gritty of Chicago, spent the summer working in Monsignor John Egan's Lawndale parish. Joining a mixture of lay persons, nuns, seminarians and priests who did everything from paint the schoolyard fence to investigate eviction cases, he came face-to-face with the ghetto.

"It takes three to six weeks to get over the cultural shock," he said. "But there is a definite role for the student in the slums. A lot of students are looking for involvement—and it's there."

Steve is typical of scores of Notre Dame students who have read—more quickly perhaps than their elders—Vatican II's message about making religion relevant to anguishes of modern society. While Steve did community organization work in Lawndale, other Notre Dame students were in Appalachia, Spanish Harlem, South America, and in South Bend's own Negro areas—some in organizations such as the Christian Institute for the Lay Apostolate and others in dingy flats rented with their own money.

Steve is now setting up a clearinghouse to inform Notre Dame students of work opportunities in slums and other poverty areas.

"One thing in particular struck me in Lawndale," he said. "The motivation of the young people working in the inner city is not political but theological—not theological in a narrow, sectarian sense, but in the widest possible ecumenical sense."

Mrs. Eastman: Perseverance Pays Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to be able to bring to the attention of the Congress an article from the October 8, 1967, Pomona, Calif., Progress-Bulletin which tells a success story.

The article is about Mrs. Louise Eastman, of Pomona, and how she has succeeded, against seemingly unsurmountable odds, in establishing a garment business.

It is a matter of pride to me that the community rallied to Mrs. Eastman's side to give her a helping hand. But the true key to Mrs. Eastman's success was her own perseverance and determination, and the deep and abiding faith which undergirds her efforts.

I am sure many Members of Congress will be interested in reading about Mrs. Eastman. Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the article for inclusion in the Record:

Perseverance Pays Off—Her Dreams Come True

(By Phyllis Drew)

Some bard once wrote that nothing can withstand hard work and perseverance.

In the story of Louise Eastman, 44, of Pomono, this truth comes to light once more.

Her ambition was to have a garment manufacturing business of her own. While she had education and years of experience at the sewing machines, she had no cash—no capital.

Most people without capital abandon the hope of starting a business.

Mrs. Eastman decided to attack the problem. Last year she applied for a loan to the Small Business Administration in Los Angeles.

She was turned down for lack of experience in running a business.

She then wrote to her congressman, Glenard P. Lipscomb, in Washington, D.C.

Something in her case struck Lipscomb, for he made arrangements to meet with her next time he was in Southern California. In November of last year Lipscomb and a prominent local citizen met with Mrs. Eastman to hear about her dream of having a business and her difficulties in securing a loan both locally and from the federal government.

At this point it was something in Mrs. Eastman herself that gave the men faith in her.

They called in a local accountant to help her in preparing a new and sounder application to the Small Business Administration.

All was worked out to a fine point.

Mrs. Eastman had already secured on her own the promise of space in a manufacturing industrial park at 1855 Mt. Vernon Ave. The loan application was in the works and she went around securing contracts from fabric manufacturers, advertised for employes and arranged to lease some sewing machines.

Then in late spring came the blow. Her application for a federal loan was once more turned down.

In the midst of disappointment she stood up defiantly, saying, "I'm going ahead anyway."

Something in her spirit touched many of Pomona's leading citizens. At a crucial moment the community came through to help Mrs. Eastman.

She was allowed to use the manufacturing space on deferred rental and another Pomonan provided her business cards—reading "Lou-Vada of California, Sportswear Manufacturer."

The name comes from the first syllable of her first name and the last syllables of her maiden name, Louise Nevada.

Each week she drove a worn-out automobile to Los Angeles to pick up bundles of precut fabrics and bring them back to Pomona to be stitched up into dresses and other garments. On Friday she returned the finished products and got paid.

Once again calamity struck. A wheel rolled off the automobile on the freeway and the car was used up. She telephoned one of her new-found advisers in Pomona for knowledge and advice.

Her business depended on having transportation to and from Los Angeles.

Through community admiration of her determination, she was enabled to buy a small van at cost, with a 100-per-cent loan on the balance. She was now truly in business, with, she says, the help of God and her fellow Pomona residents.

This week, fours months after the electricity was turned on at the Mt. Vernon address on June 1, Mrs. Eastman's racks were loaded with 1,500 completed garments. She was beginning to show a profit.

Lou-Vada was on its way.

Although Mrs. Eastman gets satisfaction out of offering employment to the women, enabling them to put food on their tables, as she says, she admits that her pleasure is in having the business and seeing it go and in imagining future profits.

She is happy.

And each morning at 9 she stops the girls at their work and reads to them from the Bible. The Bible brought her through, she said. A large-type family Bible sits open on a stand on her desk at the plant.

Who can explain dreams and determination?

Louise Nevada was an only child, and her mother wanted her to become a teacher. She attended Clark University in Atlanta, Ga.

She didn't take to the idea of being a teacher. She wanted a garment business of her own.

She worked for garment manufacturers in the South and in New York City. Through the years she accumulated more and more experience in the shops. All the time she dreamed of a business of her own and watched carefully to see how things were done.

This past summer, some weeks have shown no profits. Sometimes everyone took home money but Louise Eastman. Sometimes the girls have worked all night to complete an order, with Mrs. Eastman beside them at a sewing machine.

Somehow, Lou-Vada made it through the summer. Now the contracts are bigger, and Louise Eastman has a business of her own.

Discrimination Against Amarillo, Tex.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleague from Missouri [Mr. HALL] in protesting the interpretation of paragraph 13(c) of the Mass Transportation Act of 1964 as highly discriminatory and unfair to cities like Amarillo, Tex.

Under Texas State laws, Amarillo and other Texas cities that operate their own transit systems as a public utility cannot comply with the requirements demanded by the Secretary of Labor for approval of assistance grants for such transit systems.

The city of Amarillo a year and a half ago was presented a 30-day discontinuance notice by the operator of a privately owned and operated transit system and also with a non-negotiable offer to sell the assets of the system to the city. The city declined the offer as exhorbitant, and instead, bought used buses and began its own service at the end of the 30-day notice period and has operated the service since.

The city of Amarillo also applied for assistance from the Department of Housing and Urban Development under the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 which was approved except for approval by the Secretary of Labor.

Under the Secretary's interpretation of paragraph 13(c) of the act, there was no way the city of Amarillo could comply. Texas State law forbids municipal employees to enter into a union shop contract as specified in section 13(c) so the city of Amarillo has had to continue its present operation because of the inequity of this highly discriminatory section of the act.

The city is in dire need of assistance to expand and modernize the system which last year operated at a considerable loss.

I do not believe it was the intent of Congress to force a city to go back to a privately operated system which in this case, had failed, so that the city could comply with the union contract provisions as interpreted by the Secretary of Labor.

Neither do I believe it was the intent of Congress to force States to change their laws concerning State and municipal employees so that a city such as Amarillo could comply with the Secretary of Labor's interpretation of the act.

So I join my colleague from Missouri [Mr. HALL] in seeking amendment to section 13(c) of the act which has resulted in denial to Amarillo, Tex., of the Federal assistance for such communities as Amarillo, Tex., which is certainly as much entitled to grants under the act as any other community.

One Way To Help the U.N. Succeed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most painful lessons life imposes on men and nations is the inherent limitation under which we try to achieve improvement in the human condition. As individuals, as institutions, and as members of the family of nations, we resist the realization that progress in most fields is elusive, difficult, and relative.

Nowhere is progress more "human" in its limitations than with the United Nations. As we grow in our knowledge of what a world assembly can do, we must admit there is much it cannot do, or at least has not yet done. War, world poverty, inequalities all remain as evidences of our limited advance.

No one who understands what the United Nations is about would deny that its progress, even more than other more established institutions is most directly dependent on the good will, patience, and cooperation of its members. The United Nations does nothing if its members will nothing.

The coming U.N. debate on a treaty to devote the sea's resources to their peaceful development for the benefit of the poorer nations is an outstanding opportunity for the world community to prove its devotion to the U.N. I am proud that the Long Island Star Journal recently described this opportunity for the United Nations in the following perceptive editorial:

RULES FOR THE TREASURE HOUSE

The 22nd General Assembly of the United Nations, now in session, may not be known to future generations by what it does or does not do toward peace in Vietnam or the Middle East. It may be known—and men everywhere would be the gainers—for what first steps it took toward identifying and setting rules for the development of the earth's greatest unexploited frontier, the seas around us.

Debate is scheduled on a treaty, proposed by Malta, that would give the UN control of the ocean floor beyond any nation's territorial waters and continental shelves. The exploitation of this vast and mysterious territory—already known to be a fantastic treasure house—would be devoted exclusively to peaceful uses and the development of poor countries.

Mineral riches, food resources and other fortunes for the taking have lain virtually untouched because of the limits of technology and because man has felt he has enough in the planet's land resources.

All that is changing. First, oceanology stimulated and aided by space technology, is making impressive progress. Scientists estimate, for instance, that high-grade minerals from the sea can be mined at a fraction of the cost of extracting them from the land.

Second, the great need to tap these resources because of the fast-increasing world population and the limitations of the land.

Nature's land gifts, in addition to making the earth a livable place, have been the source of unending conflict as individuals and nations compete for territory and treasure.

In opening the new frontier—the oceans and seabeds—there is threat of new and wild encounters unless rules of order are developed in advance. The UN, flawed as it has been, give us the opportunity to avoid the old mistakes. It is a workshop where nations can construct the rules for working the ocean treasure house.

The task will not be easy. It may take years to get a treaty. The jurisdictional and legal unknowns, as the seas' mysteries, are vast.

It is significant and heartening, though, that there appears to be a willingness—and let's hope a readiness—to approach the new frontier cooperatively instead of competitively.

A seabed treaty could be one of the UN's finest works.

Stopping the Subversion of Our Proven Foreign Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is satisfying to see the recent editorial defense of our foreign trade policy by some of the most highly respected organs of the general and business press. This salutary support comes in response to a slew of self-serving and untimely protectionist attacks on a national posture standing for more than three decades and of benefit to every American. Here, Mr. Speaker, are the judicious commentaries of the Wall Street Journal of October 5, the Journal of Commerce of October 6, the New York Times of October 17, the Washington Post of October 7, and the Washington Daily News of October 16. Together, they add up to a compelling indictment of the attempted subversion of 4 long years of work by our negotiators at the Kennedy round in the interest of labor, business, and the Nation. The commentaries follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 5, 1967]

THE PAINS OF PROTECTIONISM

Economists can, and frequently do, muster all sorts of arguments against import curbs. Though their case is convincing, the matter isn't entirely onesided.

To begin with, no academic reasoning will ease the pain of a businessman who believes he is being undone by imports. At the moment such major industries as textiles, meat, steel and oil say they are in that situation, or close to it, and are pressing Congress for new or increased protection.

They contend, quite correctly, that their economic health is important not only to them but to the nation. They also stress the difficulty of competing with foreign firms whose wage costs are lower.

When it comes to proposed relief, the import-troubled industries emphasize their eagerness to be reasonable. For the most part they do not want to shut out all foreign competition; instead, they would merely limit it to a "fair" share of the domestic market. Even that might not be necessary, some spokesmen say, if other nations would only allow the U.S. freer access to their own markets.

Before Congress comes to any decision, however, it should ponder this question's other sides. If the U.S. moves toward protectionism, for instance, what happens to the nation's export trade? As an international merchant, after all, this country still leads the world by a wide margin.

The answer is partly a matter of simple economics. If Country A can no longer sell quite as many textiles to the U.S., it won't earn as many dollars to buy American business machines. Thus the effect would be to limit U.S. exports, even if the only change in the situation was a higher U.S. tariff or lower import quota.

But that's not likely to be the only change. Among nations, as among little boys, there's a tendency to strike back when someone hits you. If history is any guide, then, new U.S. import curbs would quickly bring retaliation abroad, further crimping America's foreign sales.

Turning the question around another way, Congress might consider it from the point of view of consumers. What happens to them if the nation raises new barriers against imports?

For one thing, consumers would often be paying higher prices. Some people may like the snob appeal of a foreign label, but most Americans buy imports mainly when they believe they're getting more for their money. Trade restrictions, futhermore, obviously limit consumers' freedom of choice.

That brings us back to the economists, who focus most of their attention on a still broader aspect of import curbs: Their effect on the general well-being of the economy. As is their wont, the academicians take a fairly long-run view of things; they find little comfort in the economy's current health if it seems due to degenerate before long.

One prime worry is protectionism's upward pressure on prices. Inflation is already very much with us, even without fresh trade restraints to accentuate it.

Economists also fret about the effects of import curbs on the vitality of domestic industries. If foreign competition is curtailed, domestic producers will have less incentive to increase efficiency and develop new and better products.

Through the past three decades, the domestic economy has expanded enormously while U.S. protectionism has shrunk to a shadow of its former self. While there are numerous reasons for this happy development, not the least of them is stiff competition, some of it furnished by foreigners.

Trade restrictions, in sum, provide benefits for U.S. firms in the domestic market, though these gains may be only temporary. On the other hand, import curbs endanger the nation's exports, impose penalties on consumers and tend to weaken the vigor of the country's economy. Looked at from all sides, the package hardly seems appealing.

If a company is genuinely damaged by imports, machinery already exists to provide job-retaining, technical assistance and the life. If Congress decides that more help is needed, it would be better to pay direct Federal subsidies than to opt for the even more debilitating devices of trade restraint.

For some businessmen, import competition can prove quite painful. From the standpoint of the rest of the nation, however, the agonies of protectionism could be a good deal worse.

[From the Journal of Commerce and Commercial, New York, N.Y., Oct. 6, 1967]

THE MOON ON CAPITOL HILL

It would be a pity if Congress were to undo the positive results of the Kennedy Round in its desire to protect some domestic industries. Yet that may well happen unless the administration steps in to head off a massive protectionist assault. We would hope that Congress itself will not let the problems of certain industries overshadow the potential benefits to the entire nation of the trade negotiations. Yet, the actions of Congress in the past two months do not foster confidence in the lawmakers' ability to see clearly and act wisely in the national interest.

As a matter of fact, the record of Congress in the past three months has been disgraceful. Has there been a full moon over Washington for the past few months? It's very difficult to make any sense out of some of the things that have been emanating from Capitol Hill recently.

There was, for example, the disgraceful episode dealing with the dispute between six shopcraft unions and the nation's railroads. While the nation waited, the political game was played out. In the end Congress was literally forced to pass the legislation that is preventing a strike. If it had thought of the national interest it would have passed the legislation in the first place.

A couple of weeks ago, Rep. John W. Byrnes, a Wisconsin Republican, spearheaded a move that resulted in an amendment to the defense appropriations bill prohibiting the use of federal funds for the purchase of foreign-built warships. Involved is $60 million in orders for 16 new minesweepers that the British might receive if their bid is successful.

Permitting the British to bid on the minesweepers was part of an arrangement under which they were to purchase almost $800 million worth of U.S. military aircraft.

Then last Thursday the House passed a bill giving the President the right to impose quotas or increase tariffs on imports that might threaten the "well being" of American workers. The President did not ask for the authority and does not want it since it obviously would complicate the U.S. position in trade matters and negotiations.

Right on the heels of this protectionist measure the Senate Finance Committee announced that it will hold hearings later this month on a number of import quota proposals, dealing with industries such as oil, some nonferrous metals, steel and textiles, among others.

It is unlikely that the hearings will lead to actual bills. More likely, they will set the stage for riders when House-passed trade bills reach the Senate. However, the handwriting is on the wall and the administration should take steps now to make sure that all the potential good of the Kennedy Round negotiations does not go down the drain because certain industries may face greater competition.

It is totally unrealistic to think that we can impose restrictions unilaterally. Foreign governments are not about to sit idly by while we take away some of their potential markets. Their only recourse would be to impose limitations on our exports. And, quite frankly, they would be right.

While we sympathize with the industries that face additional competition as a result of the Kennedy Round negotiations it would not make sense to scuttle the entire pact to protect these companies and their employes. It is more than likely that any potential losses will be more than offset by gains by other companies to the benefit of the nation as a whole. This was the main consideration of the U.S. negotiating team. One still has to give a little in one area to gain in another. It is silly to think that the U.S. comes out of a negotiation such as the Kennedy Round a winner in all areas. Overall, yes, but not in every single instance.

Apparently the industries to be hit hardest by new imports have been working diligently to line up support in Congress for their positions (the textile industry reports that 67 senators and 171 representatives are cosponsoring legislation for major curbs on textile imports). Unions representing workers in the various fields that may be hurt are lining up for import curbs.

Obviously, great pressure will be brought to bear on Congress. If Congress knuckles under, it will be making a great mistake. A return to protectionism can only hurt the U.S. Our export sales greatly exceed imports and make up one of the major plus components in the balance of payments picture.

It behooves Congress to look at the big picture and not view the Kennedy Round on an industry by industry basis.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 19, 1967]

PROTECTIONIST "CHRISTMAS TREE"

The Administration must have bipartisan support in its belated fight against attempts by the protectionist bloc in the Senate to hold the Social Security bill hostage, Republican Everett Dirksen of Illinois and Democrat Vance Hartke of Indiana plan to tack a series of riders sought by domestic industry onto the Administration's proposals for higher old-age benefits. Their hope is that Congress will give its approval to the entire "Christmas tree" package.

There are no gifts in this proposal for either consumers or the economy. On the contrary, the demands for quotas to cut down on imports of steel, textiles, lead and zinc, meats and other products would help to accelerate current inflationary pressure. Such a protectionist umbrella would not only reward inefficient producers; it would also penalize the efficient whose exports would face immediate curtailment abroad.

Since ample safeguards already exist against dumping and other unfair practices, the protectionists recognize that the special interest measures they are putting together could never be approved on their own merits. But they may be able to get what they want, as Senator Russell B. Long did a year ago, by attaching their expensive and damaging requests to highly desirable legislation that has nothing at all to do with international trade.

To be sure, the hastily drawn plan for financing elections that was part of last year's Christmas-tree bill was revised before it could be put into effect. This time, however, there is danger that passage of protectionist legislation would provoke instant retaliation, undoing all the good work that the protracted negotiations in the Kennedy Round has produced. The Administration is now fully awake to the extent of the protectionist threat. President Johnson has made known his "wish to reaffirm the Administration's basic support for a program to eliminate any unnecessary barriers to the freer flow of trade." Secretary of State Rusk will lead a procession of Administration witnesses before the Senate Finance Committee tomorrow to oppose the riders.

The only sure way to stop the Christmas-tree bill is to chop it down before it is planted.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 7, 1967]

THE PRESIDENT STANDS FIRM

President Johnson once again demonstrated that he does not panic in the face of pressures exerted by an arrogant protectionist lobby. Last January he terminated the high, escape-clause tariff rates on watch movements and glass, weathering a storm of criticism that was loud but ephemeral. And now, in the face of strong demands, both from the industry and in Congress, that quotas be extended from cotton to the full range of textile imports, Mr. Johnson calmly referred the matter to the Tariff Commission where the facts of the case will be publicly aired. A less courageous President might have capitulated by quietly promising support for another impediment to world trade.

If the demands for establishing quotas were confined to textiles, the situation would not be so alarming. But they are not. The new protectionists, who correctly perceive the superiority of quotas over tariffs, are conducting concerted campaigns to bring steel, chemicals and all sorts of wearing apparel under the kind of quotas that now limit imports of petroleum, beef and cotton textile products.

When compared with the insidious quotas, tariffs are an enlightened form of protection. Consumers, to be sure, pay higher prices when tariffs are levied. But if the demand is sufficiently strong, goods may be imported over the tariff wall. Moreover, the burden of protection borne by the public will be somewhat reduced by the tariff revenues that flow into the Treasury.

Under quotas, the protection tends to be absolute since the volume of imports is limited by fiat. And there are no increases in Treasury receipts. In the case of the petroleum quotas, to cite a notorious case, the domestic refiners who are so lucky as to have import "tickets" get a gift from the Government that is worth about $1.25 a barrel—the difference between the price of domestic and imported crude oil. Such systems, which involve the bestowal of favors on businesses with "grandfather clause" rights to import, are breeding grounds for abuse and corruption.

William M. Roth, the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations who performed so brilliantly in the Kennedy Round, recently warned that the "New Protectionism" could carry the world back to the 1930s when autarchical policies all but strangled international trade. The best way to counter the protectionist death wish is to stand fast and fight it. President Johnson opted for that course, and he deserves the support of all who believe that an expanding trade is essential to a healthy world economy.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Oct. 16, 1967]

KEEP TRADE "FREE"

The dangers, the disadvantages, the nonsense involved in building a system of national trade barriers and quota systems are evident from history: Tariff retaliation by other countries, a choking off of world commerce, international antagonism, a decline in jobs.

Yet the foolish cry for protection continues, as events in Washington show today.

A number of congressmen, moved by industry wailing, are talking about higher trade barriers. Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader, would have the Finance Committee approve import quota systems for a variety of items—oil, lead, zinc, dairy products, beef, steel perhaps even electronics. Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, the committee chairman, thinks the U.S. oil industry needs more trade protection. Sen. Vance Hartke of Indiana joins Dirksen in advocating protection for steel.

These men, and the industries involved, take short-sighted, ill-advised positions. As William M. Roth, President Johnson's special trade representative, put it so well:

"If anything is done by Congress on this scale, there will be massive retaliation by other countries against" many major U.S. exports. Mr. Roth rightly adds that the scope of the planned Senate committee action "is so tremendous it would completely destroy our trade policy."

Mr. Roth hardly had uttered his statements before his fears were confirmed by more than a dozen of our best customers:

The six nations in the European Common Market sent a joint letter to the State Department broadly hinting at the retaliation Mr. Roth warned about. Latin-American ambassadors in Washington got together on a similar warning. Such retaliation by these countries would be a devastating blow to American business.

The White House has indicated it supports Mr. Roth's views and opposes the pending protectionist proposals. But in view of the growing campaign, the President himself would do well to speak in outright and complete opposition. He could echo Mr. Roth's arguments and add that better responses to foreign competition are more vigorous marketing policies by U.S. corporations, better management and more rapid modernization.

In one sense, the nation's "free trade" approach dates to Cordell Hull and Franklin Roosevelt. But in a broader sense such a policy is more deeply ingrained in our society. For it was Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed 168 years ago: "I am for free commerce for all nations."

Textile Industry's Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, on the cotton farms and in the textile villages of the Carolinas, WBT, Charlotte, and now WBT–WBTV, has been a household byword. This great station over the years brought to us good music, news, educational programs, sports broadcasts, and superb editorials.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial broadcast by WBT-WBTV:

TEXTILE INDUSTRY'S PLIGHT

Under our free enterprise system, each business is expected to meet the competition in a fair and square contest and survive through its own efforts. If it cannot hold its own, it goes out of business. The idea that the federal government ought to subsidize any industry in order to enable it to compete is foreign to the whole American creed of free enterprise.

It may be hard on the businessman who sees his establishment go to the wall, but those are the rules of the game.

But the first rule of the game is that the competition must be fair. If it is unfair, the government is justified in moving in with such weapons as antitrust laws and tariffs to equalize any unequal situation.

Some years ago the American textile industry was at great disadvantage because government export subsidies and other aids had reacted against the American industry by making it possible for Japanese textile manufacturers, for example, to buy American cotton at lower prices than American manufacturers had to pay. The result was that Japan could buy American cotton, and, by paying its textile workers fantastically low wages, undersell our own textile people on their home ground.

This was rectified when the two-price cotton system was abolished. But then came the Kennedy round of tariff agreements, under which tariffs on textiles were reduced by the United States, and again the foreign manufacturers were given an advantage.

Japan, which is one of the largest exporters of textiles to the United States, pays its textile workers 39¢ an hour, compared with the $2.02 paid to American workers.

When the American worker is paid five times as much as the Japanese doing the same work with the same kind of machine, the difference including shipping costs is too great to be made up by efficient management. Hourly wages in other countries that have large exports of textiles to the United States are: Hong Kong, 29¢ an hour; Singapore, 17¢; Portugal, 19¢; Spain, 44¢; Italy, 55¢; France, 80¢; West Germany, 96¢.

Even in West Germany, the most advanced of all the countries mentioned, the textile worker gets less than half as much as the American. That kind of competition is not fair. The government is fully justified in making it fair by setting up a system of import quotas to make up for the jolt the American industry got from the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations.

The thousands of textile workers in the Carolinas and elsewhere in the south have a direct interest in this effort to enable the American industry to compete with foreign rivals on equal terms.

Invitation to respond has been sent to: Mr. William M. Roth of the Office of Social Representative for Trade Negotiations.

Closing the Travel Gap

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Washington Evening Star of September 27 and a resolution adopted by the Southern Governors' Conference on September 13 make telling points concerning the travel gap—the difference between what Americans spend in foreign countries through travel and tourism and what visitors from other lands spend in America. This year, the travel gap is almost $2 billion, and this deficit worsens our international balance-of-payments position. The average visitor to this country spends more than $400 here, so there is a great economic potential in expanding travel to this country. Other countries are well aware of the gold to be found in tourism. The Governments of Mexico, France, Spain, Canada, and Greece each spend far more every year to promote travel than the Government of the United States spends through the U.S. Travel Service. This Government agency plays a key role in President Johnson's efforts to solve our balance-of-payments problem. With so much at stake, it is false economy to clamp a lid on the promotional activities of the travel service. As the editorial points out, an assault on the travel gap is worth more of an effort than we are now making. Mr. Speaker, I include the editorial and the Governors' resolution in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Sept. 27, 1967]

TRAVEL GAP

The number of foreign travelers visiting the United States has shown a 30 percent increase this year over the like period in 1966. John Black, director of the U.S. Travel Service, now estimates 1.5 million foreigners will tour this country in 1967.

That's a pretty good showing, considering the incredibly small amount Congress is willing to appropriate for attracting visitors here. Last year the Service operated on a budget of $3 million. By contrast, France spent $5 million to lure tourists, Mexico spent $7 million, Spain and Canada $10 million apiece. Even tiny Greece spends more than we do on this item.

This is a strange way to deal with the balance of payments problem. The average foreigner spends between $400 and $450 on his American visit. What better way to offset the dollar drain than to make this nation a more attractive goal for globe-trotters?

Several imaginaive ideas were put forth earlier this year by Winthrop Knowlton, assistant secretary of the Treasury, for encouraging such travel. Why not publish a comprehensive guide book for the United States, for example, translated into a variety of foreign languages?

Why can't we develop a system of certified guides, Knowlton asks, using American students proficient in foreign languages? Why can't we fill the thousands of empty university dormitory beds at vacation time, providing revenues for colleges and low cost lodgings for foreign students? Why not a "scientific Disneyland" to promote exports?

It would take money to do all these things. But surely an assault on the estimated $2 billion "travel gap"—meaning the difference between what American tourists spend abroad and the smaller total spent here by foreigners—is worth more of an effort than we are now making.

UNITED STATES TRAVEL SERVICE

Whereas, the Southern States are engaged in a cooperative effort for travel promotion; and

Whereas, the emerging international markets will play a vital role in achieving growth of travel in the South; and

Whereas, the United States Travel Service is engaged in an outstanding program of promotion and information aimed at developing these international markets:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Southern Governors' Conference urge the Congress to continue to support the programs of the United States Travel Service at the highest possible and practical level.

In Support of a Bill Extending to Volunteer Fire, Ambulance, and Rescue Companies the Second- and Third-Class Bulk Mailing Rates Available to Certain Nonprofit Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA EILBERG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the importance of our volunteer fire, ambulance, and rescue companies is self-evident. The cost of government, Federal, State, and local, is immense. Every day millions are expended in the process of keeping the machinery of government in healthy operation. For that reason the American public has welcomed the contribution of our volunteer fire, ambulance, and rescue companies, as a means of serving the public in a vital area without simultaneously demanding, once again, an increase in taxes.

There is much to be said, moreover, for the continuation of American traditions of voluntary service. In this day of big and bigger government, big and bigger corporations, labor unions, mutual benefit associations, and the like, the contribution of the individual has been relegated to the shadows, to a remarkable and depressing extent. Contrary to the trend has been the continued existence of the volunteer fire and rescue worker as a major figure in a million American communities.

We have every reason to bolster this sterling tradition. We must not stand aside and allow it to be submerged beneath the weight of economic pressures. Yet that is what we have been doing for years.

At this very moment, while the demand for fire, ambulance, and rescue work is increasing, the cost of operating such services is also increasing, and local communities have made no move to take up the slack.

We are, therefore, presented with the shocking picture of a public service threatened with extinction in a moment when the public need is clearly increasing.

It is disconcerting to think in terms of volunteer heroes being cramped-in, surrounded, and bedeviled by scores of crippling, economic problems. But that is the way it is, today, for millions of fire, ambulance, and rescue workers, right here in America.

The crisis can be partially attended to by act of Congress, and I recommend that action be taken immediately through the passage of a bill extending to volunteer fire, ambulance, and rescue companies the second- and third-class mailing rates now available to certain other nonprofit organizations.

Congress Must Act So That Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner May Not Have Died in Vain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, more than 3 years after the brutal murders of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, the perpetrators, some of whom hold positions of public trust in the State of Mississippi, still walk in freedom, symbolizing the shameful double standard which this Nation still too often applies—the immunity of white murderers versus the value placed on the life of a Negro citizen, or someone who dares to defend the Negro's right to equal freedom.

The State of Mississippi did not see fit to prosecute the murderers, and the Federal Government, lacking jurisdiction, cannot prosecute for murder. Therefore, the Federal Government is trying the accused on a lesser charge—conspiracy to deprive the three murdered civil rights workers of their civil rights.

Americans must know that even in segregationist strongholds national policy does not permit the law to discriminate on racial grounds. It is imperative that the Senate expedite proceedings on H.R. 2516—which was passed by the House on August 16—so that this bill which would make it a Federal crime to perpetrate violence against anyone because of race, color, religion, or national origin may be promptly enacted into law.

The New York Times upheld its high standard of editorial comment when it published an editorial on October 16, 1967, entitled "A Cry for Justice." It deals with the issues I have mentioned here. The editorial follows, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 16, 1967]

A CRY FOR JUSTICE

The bodies of the three young civil rights workers murdered in the Mississippi countryside more than three years ago still cry out for justice. The tale of horror being unfolded in the Federal court room in Meridian, with its evidence of Ku Klux Klan planning, of police entrapment and of deliberate mob violence, is a terrible indictment of the white people of Mississippi. Ultimately, it is a reproach to the nation.

The state has never brought the accused to trial. Only undercover work by the Federal Bureau of Investigation made it possible to develop the factual basis for the present trial. Ironically, however, the accused can be prosecuted under Federal law only for the crime of conspiring to deprive the dead men of their constitutional rights.

Under a bill recommended by President Johnson and approved earlier this year by the House of Representatives, murder or bodily harm committed against a person exercising any of his specific constitutional rights would be a Federal crime if violence was used "because of race, color, religion, political affiliation or national origin." Conspiracy would not have to be proved, and murderers could be tried for the crime they actually committed.

The Senate Judiciary Committee is under direction from the Senate to report this bill to the floor by Oct. 24. Last week, a subcommittee under the leadership of Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, rewrote the bill, striking out the limitation that the crime would have to be racial, religious or political in origin. The effect would be to make murder a Federal offense in all but a few circumstances. This drastic broadening of the bill's scope seems more designed to kill the bill than to grapple with a genuine problem. Except in racial cases in some parts of the South, local law enforcement agencies are willing and capable of enforcing the law against murder.

The Ervin substitute also adds language directed at other kinds of problems, such as the imposition of fines by unions in labor disputes. Regardless of the merits of these proposals, they are extraneous. The same is true of amendments on the sale of guns, the control of riots and the interstate travel of racist agitators—all of which various members of the Judiciary Committee are tempted to attach to the bill. These are all matters for separate consideration.

The priority task for the Senate is to approve the bill substantially as passed by the House. The Federal Government needs more authority to prosecute acts of racist barbarism than is provided by the present flimsy conspiracy statute. Until the Government has that added authority, the cry for justice will not have been answered.

Vietnam and the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, 1967, I wrote to Secretary of State Dean Rusk urging U.S. support for consideration of the Vietnam war by the United Nations General Assembly. See Congressional Record, September 25, 1967, page A4769.

When the Soviet Union made its request on June 13, 1967, for an emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Middle East crisis under the provisions of the "uniting for peace" resolution of November 3, 1950, this step represented the first acceptance by the Soviet Union of the use of the "uniting for peace" resolution for the determination by the General Assembly of a war-and-peace issue normally dealt with by the Security Council and subject to the veto power.

One day later, on June 14, 1967, in a statement which appears in the Congressional Record of that day, page A3015, I said:

> With the cease-fire in the Middle East now in effect, I call upon our Government, the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and all of their advisers to use every instrument and technique of diplomacy to bring about a cease-fire in Vietnam and/or to immediately convene a Geneva Conference to negotiate a settlement to the Vietnam conflict.
>
> We should do everything necessary to encourage the United Nations to adopt a cease-fire resolution in Vietnam similar to the resolution adopted in the Middle East crisis and/or to call upon the Cochairman of the Geneva Conference to immediately convene a peace conference.
>
> We must urge the United Nations, the Cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, the International Control Commission, and the available diplomatic channels, including the "hotline" between Washington and Moscow to bring about a cease-fire in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, on June 14 I concluded my remarks with another appeal to the President in these words:

> Now is the time to stop the bombing.
>
> Now is the time for a cease-fire.
>
> Now is the time for our President to lead us and the world on the pathways to permanent peace.

Because every offer to negotiate has been rejected or brings no response from Hanoi, I am more convinced than ever that there is some hope in the United Nations. When I first proposed to the Secretary of State that we take advantage of the "uniting for peace" resolution, I had no support for the idea. Now Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and 11 other Senators have proposed a resolution calling for a reconvened Geneva Conference.

For the information of my colleagues, I insert in the Record at this point, the State Department reply to my letter of September 22, 1967:

October 16, 1967.

Hon. Herbert Tenzer,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Tenzer: Secretary Rusk has asked me to reply to your thoughtful letter of September 22, 1967, in which you suggested that the United States employ the "Uniting for Peace" procedure to bring the Viet-Nam conflict before the United Nations General Assembly. We continue to doubt the feasibility of such action at the present time, for the reasons I outlined to you in my letter of July 1, 1967, although we of course continue to welcome any constructive efforts by the UN Security Council or the General Assembly toward a just and honorable peace in Viet-Nam.

You specifically suggest that even nations which do not agree with our policies in general might support a resolution calling upon the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference immediately to bring all interested parties together for discussions. This was, of course, one of the principle elements in our initiative on January 31, 1966 to bring the Viet-Nam issue to the Security Council.

At that time, we submitted a draft resolution calling for the Council's endorsement of preliminary discussions to arrange a conference looking toward the implementation of the Geneva Accords. The resolution was never acted upon, primarily because the Soviet Union made clear its opposition to any UN consideration of Viet-Nam, including this approach.

Ambassador Goldberg reiterated in his address of September 21 to the General Assembly that the United States continues to seek the active participation of the United Nations in the quest for peace in Viet-Nam. He again called on all UN members, individually and collectively, to accept their obligations under the Charter and use their influence to help bring the Viet-Nam conflict to an end by peaceful means. As public accounts have indicated, Ambassador Goldberg recently undertook further consultations with members of the Security Council to assess once again the prospects for Security Council action. As reported at the time, he found a widespread reluctance to act in the Council in the face of firm opposition to UN involvement from the Soviet Union and North Viet-Nam.

In our view, the members of the General Assembly would also be unlikely at this time to favor formal action on Viet-Nam, primarily because of the basic disagreement which exists on this issue among the members of the Security Council, and because at the present time many of the political factors operative in the Security Council are also present in the Assembly. Nevertheless, consistent with our desire to have the UN and its members make greater efforts towards peace in Viet-Nam, we remain willing to support an initiative which showed promise of positive results and would meaningfully advance the prospects of an early and secure peace in Southeast Asia.

As I noted in my July 1 letter, the basic difficulty remains Hanoi's unwillingness to discuss a political settlement on anything but its own terms. In light of the Soviet Union's strong support of Hanoi's position, effective United Nations action, in our view, is unlikely at least until Hanoi alters its essentially negative position towards a negotiated settlement in Viet-Nam.

I hope you will find the foregoing comments useful and that you will not hesitate to call on ine if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely yours,

William B. Macomber, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

Mr. Speaker, I am disturbed by the apparent unwillingness on the part of the State Department to actively pursue every procedural device for obtaining General Assembly consideration of the Vietnam war. Because of the veto power in the U.N. Security Council, the impasse in the United Nations can be broken only if we are willing to take the issue to the General Assembly.

The Vietnam war is not only a bilateral confrontation. It is a struggle which threatens the peace and security of the entire world. All efforts to bring the combatants to the peace table have thus far failed. The United Nations representing the force of world opinion and the only forum for expression of that opinion must not be overlooked as an instrument for moving the conflict from the battlefield to the conference table.

Mr. Speaker, member nations in the U.N. may very well have "basic disagreement" on the Vietnam issue, but that in itself is no justification for our failure to request them to express their common desire for the commencement of peace negotiations.

The United States should not fear the United Nations or even the possibility that the world body may request a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. We should display our willingness to comply with attempts by the United Nations to bring about a political settlement to the Vietnam war.

No matter how slim the possibility of U.N. action, we must not cast that possibility aside. It is time to undertake a major new peace offensive in Vietnam and I believe this can be done in the United Nations.

There is current in the United States today a developing pattern and practice to play politics with the war in Vietnam. War—with its death and destruction—is too serious a subject matter to be used for political expediency.

The game is being played on both sides of the aisle. Perhaps if all who want to see the war ended with an honorable peace were to join their efforts—elusive as it is—peace could be achieved.

The Los Angeles Times Strongly Supports the President's Job Program for the Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times has given strong—and well-deserved—editorial support to President Johnson's new job program for the hard-core unemployed.

This program will pledge $40 million to a series of pilot projects aimed at encouraging private enterprise to invest its creative genius in areas of unemployment.

The model for this program, as the Times points out, is the highly successful Watts Manufacturing Co. established by the Aerojet-General Co., in the Watts section of Los Angeles. Its financial success—and the long waiting list for job openings—demonstrates the President's belief that the unemployed will work and work well if only given the opportunity. The President's program is designed to give them this opportunity.

While success will not come overnight, President Johnson's bold program, in the words of the Los Angeles Times, "is a beginning that offers realistic hope to the forgotten and neglected in the slums."

I ask unanimous consent that the Los Angeles Times editorial be inserted into the Record.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Oct. 4, 1967]

Slum Jobs: It Can Be Done

A new partnership of industry and government will soon begin tackling one of the toughest challenges of the slums—providing jobs for the hard-core unemployed.

There was more than rhetoric and firm resolve in President Johnson's announcement Monday that a joint program of job creation and training would be undertaken for the "forgotten and neglected" among the poor.

One major corporation has already proved that it can be done.

The highly successful Watts Manufacturing Co., established last November by Aerojet-General Corp., is both the model and the inspiration for the new effort.

A total of $40 million of federal funds will be initially pledged to a series of pilot projects in eight urban and rural slums. Companies that establish plants and training programs in poverty areas are to receive loans, grants, contract preference and other forms of government help.

Five cabinet departments as well as the General Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity and Small Business Administration were ordered to give maximum support and cooperation to the program, under the direction of Secretary of Commerce Alexander Trowbridge.

Such a proliferation of participating agencies has been a major flaw in many anti-poverty projects. But riding herd on the new employment effort will be one of the men who made the Watts Manufacturing Co. a success—William E. Zisch, vice chairman and former president of Aerojet-General.

The Watts experiment was conceived by Aerojet-General's chairman, Dan Kimball, who believed that most of the "unemployable" wanted to work despite their handicaps. He was right, and there is a waiting list of 6,000 at the Watts plant to prove it.

Within a few months, the experiment also proved that a police record need not be a barrier in successful training nor a lack of education nor a virtual lifetime without gainful employment. Trainees learned woodworking, metalworking and canvasworking skills so well that they were able to produce items that met the strictest government standards.

The Watts Manufacturing Co. is making a profit, and its 425 employes have a new pride and independence that no make-work project could ever have produced.

Chicago, Washington, Boston and San Antonio, as well as Los Angeles have been mentioned as possible sites for the new pilot projects. Wherever they are located, success won't come without hard work and frustration, as the Watts experiment also demonstrated.

In relation to most other anti-poverty projects, the new industry-government partnership has begun on a very modest scale. But it is a beginning that offers realistic hope to the "forgotten and neglected" in the slums.

Uniform Emergency Number

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce into the Record a letter I received from the police department of Indianapolis explaining why they support the idea of uniform emergency numbers and recommending free access to police and fire departments for the American people who often do not have a dime in an emergency:

City of Indianapolis,
Indianapolis, Ind., July 20, 1967.

Hon. J. Edward Roush,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Sir: In response to your letter of June 19, 1967 concerning a single police reporting emergency telephone number throughout the United States, I most heartily concur with this idea. A single number for all police agencies seems most apropos for our electronic age.

Not only are we in an electronic age but an age of increasing pace in all areas of Public-Safety as well as industry, home activity, educational field, etc.; therefore, a means to expedite a single phone call is certainly advantageous to all.

People today are on the move more than ever as our world becomes smaller due to our high speed transportation, people in all walks of life do experience emergencies and *one* number nationwide, would be an aid in their daily living.

Population explosion, as it is called, provides our communities with thousands of new citizens, each of whom must be taught survival; one phase of survival is learning not only their own phone number but their respective police and fire department numbers. If a common number for our country was used then regardless where a child might be the call for assistance could save a life.

Metropolitan congested areas of multiple police and fire departments provide any number of emergency phone numbers within a given area that provides a citizen, even a local resident, a confused situation as to which one to call.

As these boundaries change or as the citizen moves about this area, he remains confused and many, many times ends up calling the wrong department. This call must be transferred or the caller is asked to place a new call to the proper number. Valuable time is lost, the citizen becomes angry and the departments involved are blamed for the entire confusion. How simple this would become with only one number.

We are aproaching the age of numbers, not only is our Social Security number quite valuable, but we have our phone number, license number, house number, and most recent one our zip code number; if we had *one* number that we could call to save our life or protect our property, regardless of where we might be, it would be more important than all others combined.

It seems to me that if most all major cities of our country (Los Angeles; San Francisco; Chicago; Denver; Atlanta, Cincinnati; Baltimore; Detroit; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Seattle; St. Louis) and even the county seats, such as Lebanon, Indiana, can utilize three numbers—411 for Operator and 611 for repair—then why can't other *triple numbers be equally used to help save the life and property of our citizens.*

Also in line with a single 3-digit number for all police and fire departments, pay telephones should provide free access to these departments and not on a "dime return" basis. Many times a person has but one dime and dials the wrong number because of being extremely nervous after an emergency, as a result loses an immediate call for help. Children, as well as adults, with no change (or after a robbery) encounter trouble in calling for assistanc even though a pay telephone is nearby.

This is some of our thinking on this department and has been discussed with Indiana Bell in an attempt to give our citizens an easy number for this department; however, no progress has been made in this direction. Therefore, I hope this information will help you in your resolution.

Please feel free to use these statements, and if I can be of further assistance please feel free to call.

Very truly yours,

Daniel T. Veza,
Chief of Police.

Republican Obstructionism at a New High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the Dallas Morning New of October 14 described the forthright manner in which two of my distinguished colleagues from Texas, Wright Patman and J. J. Pickle "lit into their fellow lawmakers the other day for failing to live up to the congressional responsibility to hold the reins on spending."

My colleagues are absolutely right when they insist on the Congress fulfilling its budgetary and fiscal responsibilities rather than trying to blame the President for doing his duty as President and Commander in Chief.

We have heard the trumpet call of many in this body—led by a solid phalanx of Republicans—crying "economy and efficiency," "cut the budget," "reduce expenditures by $2 or $5 billion."

But, to quote the Dallas Morning News, "often those who trumpet most loudly in the general cause of economy quietly vote more money than the executive asks for specific projects they have an interest in."

It is absurd to consider the fact that we are almost 4 months into the new fiscal year and the Congress has not yet approved appropriations bills for major Government departments which now have to hang day by day on continuing resolutions for their authority to do their jobs.

There is much talk about forcing the President to reduce his 1968 budget, but not a word from a good many of the self-styled budget cutters on where those cuts should be made.

There is talk about inflation, about high prices, about tight money and high interest rates, but there are very few souls with the intestinal fortitude strong enough to come out in support of the President's surtax proposal which would reduce the budgetary deficit and thus dampen the combustible pressures for higher interest rates which raise the cost of living and of doing business for most Americans.

There is a good deal of blame to be apportioned for the inaction in this House, but most of the onus in this particular situation falls upon the professional blame placers in the Republican Party. The effect of their present ploy is to paralyze the activities of the Federal Government, while simultaneously crying for unspecified cuts in the budget.

I have seen obstructionism in the Congress before, but this is a new high, or new low, in "rule or ruin" tactics.

The Congress is charged by the Constitution with control of the Nation's purse strings.

It is charged with responsibility for approving laws affecting our economy.

The Congress must act. The responsibility is ours, and no amount of contortion of speechifying is going to shift the blame for the current stalemate to the President of the United States.

President Johnson has done his fiscal and budgetary job. The decision to act is ours.

I insert in the RECORD an editorial of the Dallas Morning News of October 14 entitled, "Power of the Purse Strings."

POWER OF PURSE STRINGS

Two Texas congressmen lit into their fellow lawmakers the other day for failing to live up to the congressional responsibility to hold the reins on spending.

Rep. Wright Patman declared that it will do no good for the Congress to "pass the buck" to the executive branch. He said, "The truth is, Congress has been dodging its responsibilities—particularly in the areas of monetary and fiscal policies—for many years."

Rep. J. J. Pickle took the floor to say that current battles over spending "simply strengthen evidence that Congress needs to modernize its system of raising revenue and appropriating funds."

There is much to what these two Texans said. For many years members of Congress have been wont to make fiery speeches lambasting the executive branch's excessive spending while conveniently overlooking the fact that they themselves have the final say on proposed appropriations. Often those who trumpet most loudly in the general cause of economy quietly vote more money than the executive asks for specific projects they have an interest in.

The Constitution gives the House the responsibility for originating all revenue bills. It further provides that "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises to pay the debts and to provide for the common defense and general welfare (and) to borrow money on the credit of the United States."

The Constitution decrees that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law." And the appropriations made by law, recall, are the work of Congress.

The government and its budget are far more complex than was the case even a few decades ago. There is a need for an updating of the Congress' procedures in dealing with budget problems and conflicts.

But one thing has not changed. The Congress still has the power of the federal purse strings—and the great responsibility that goes with it. It's time for Congress to use the power wisely and accept the responsibility given to the legislative branch by the authors of the Constitution.

Mrs. B. B. Fuertes Shares Honors With Union Leader Husband

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is fortunate in still having on the active scene representatives of a major "first generation" labor movement—and I speak of the Interntaional Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union of Hawaii.

One of the best known members of the ILWU is Mr. Basilio B. Fuertes. On September 23, 1967, Mr. Fuertes, better known as "B.B." to his legion of friends, retired from his key position with the Olokele Sugar Co., on the Garden Island of Kauai.

At the recent ILWU statewide convention in Honolulu, Mrs. Fuertes gave a warm and heartfelt account of her role in her husband's union activities during their 29 years of marriage.

In reporting the event, Phil Mayer of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin wrote that—

> The sometimes still, sometimes joyous reaction to the talk by Mrs. Fuertes gives an insight into the history of Hawaii's labor movement—a history largely capsulized in the single lifetime of a man—Fuertes.

The article paid tribute, too, to this active union wife who reared a family of eight fine children, while she and her husband also rendered tireless and outstanding service in church and civic affairs.

In these days when all too few take time to remember the virtues and ingredients which make this Nation great, it is inspiring to be reminded of the dedication of men and women who were willing to work so hard in order to obtain better opportunities for themselves, their children and their fellow men.

Mr. Mayer's article is an inspiring account of how Mr. and Mrs. Fuertes, hand in hand, have worked for those principles which the labor movement has championed, and which they represented so well.

It is a pleasure, therefore, for me to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article entitled "A Union Wife Tells Her Story," from the October 14, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

THE PARABLE OF LABOR IS RECALLED: A UNION WIFE TELLS HER STORY

(By Phil Mayer)

"In Matthew 20," said Mrs. Basilio B. Fuertes, who was just a little frightened, "there is a parable of labor . . ."

Silence came to the floor of the Pacific Ballroom of the Ilikai Hotel, where the biennial state-wide convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was in its final hour.

The 621 delegates were hearing from one of their own. She has been married to one of the ILWU's best known members for 29 years.

Her speech was a love story.

Behind her on the platform was her husband, who retired Sept. 23 at age 65 as senior pan man at Olokele Sugar Co., Kaumakani, Kauai.

His job with the sugar company was a key one. He supervised the pre-crystallization boiling of sugar cane. And from 1941—when he was first employed by Olokele, to 1958—he was chairman of the ILWU's Olokele Unit, 3105.

From 1958 to 1965 he was editor of his unit's monthly bulletin.

He played a key role on the ILWU's Kauai strike strategy committee during the statewide sugar strike in 1946. He is known as "B.B." and has another nickname that says a lot about the man. It is "General."

The couple were married April 2, 1938. He met the former Rosario Lutao while both were doing volunteer work for the Methodist church.

His "home" ILWU unit honored the couple at a dinner last night at the Green Garden Restaurant in Hanapepe, Kauai.

But the sometimes still, sometimes joyous reaction to the talk by Mrs. Fuertes gives an insight into the history of Hawaii's labor movement—a history largely capsulized in the single lifetime of a man—Fuertes.

Here is what she said, beginning with the rest of her paraphrase of the parable:

"Go ye to the vineyards and I will give you whatever is right. The day's work is done, the Lord call ye stewards to the laborers and give the laborers whatever is right they shall receive.

"B.B. has completed his work and this is an honor to us and our eight children . . .

"To me, he is still 16 years old. And in turn I would like to honor the work of the ILWU which made it possible to send our children to school.

"When B.B. first started with the union, I was pregnant with a child who today is a strong member of the ILWU unit at Love's Bakery in Honolulu.

"B.B., while courting me, had a hard time convincing my parents to let me be his wife because of the labor movement he was involved with which he started. Somehow this information leaked to my dad's ears. He was an irrigation supervisor with Olokele.

"My father was one of them. And you know a supervisor is always with the company.

"The labor movement also had the result that the Filipino sugar plantation workers got the Varona agreement.

(The Varona agreement was a pact negotiated with the sugar companies by an official from the Philippines, Francisco Varona, in the 1930s, which provided for the return to their homeland of those Filipinos who completed their labor contracts or retired.)

"I can still remember the night B.B. came crying during the 1946 strike. My father was still a supervisor then. My father was sort of disappointed.

"B.B. and my father had had a hot argument because B.B.'s union men picketed him on his way to work. He felt insulted so he went after his son-in-law.

"Well, I spoke to my father softly the next day.

"I asked him if he remembered the 1924 strike—I still remember—where police and strikers died. He answered 'yes.'

"I still remember when we went to a place where dead strikers were wrapped in sheets. We uncovered every one till we came to a face my father was looking for—one of his very close friends.

"I said, 'I hope this will never happen to your grandchildren.' "

(The strike was staged by an all-Filipino organization of sugar workers. There was rioting for several days and the Territorial Government sent in National Guardsmen.

(During one encounter 16 strikers and four Kauai policemen were shot and killed. Sixty strikers later were sentenced to 4-year jail terms. The strike failed.)

"After I reminded my father of that strike, his attitude changed. My father—who has since retired and returned to the Philippines to live—and my husband became a real team.

"My father used to report to me whenever the water was running to the cane. And this is one of the mysteries of the 1946 strike—what happened to the ditch gates that blocked water from the cane fields.

"They got thrown away . . . I can say this now because B.B. is also retired.

"To be the wife of a union man is not an easy task. We had eight children and sometimes I blame the union. The union takes so much of his time.

"Instead of his heart wandering when he left me and the children at home, it became fonder. We had a child every year.

"But I am proud to say that as the mother I took part in whatever he did. I acted as mother and father when he was not home. Yet he never neglected his family.

"There always was time for church and picnics.

"There were many times people tried to discourage me about his union activities. So I studied the contract with him, knew the issues and also educated my children on how the union works.

"I even had a child who answered her teacher who was speaking against the union. She told him to his face, 'If you want to know the issues, go and see my father who is a unit president . . .'

"May I leave this advice with union wives?

"Whatever leadership your husband holds, be his helper and give him understanding and encouragement. Also give him all the love and tender care. Praise him and his work. But, doing so, you must include some anger and tears.

"Don't be afraid to argue but be sure you are right and 10 feet away so if he likes to hit you, by the time he gets to you, he is cooled down.

"And to the men, never underestimate your wife, or take advantage of your wife—especially when you come to a convention like this.

"When you go home to your wife from this convention, try doing this:

"In your lips—use your lips for truth; and in your voice, a prayer; and in your eyes, pity; in your hands, charity; in your heart, love.

"I would like to thank such good people as Lou Goldblatt, who took my husband away from me for about a month although I was about to give birth to my last child.

"He took B.B. to all the different islands on a small plane to be his interpreter. And me at home worried whether the plane would reach the destination or crash somewhere in the ocean.

"I also would like to thank Jack Hall, who taught me to cook lobster stew during our picnics, and Dave Thompson, who supplied me with materials to know the work of the union.

(Goldblatt is the ILWU's treasurer based in San Francisco; Hall is the union's Hawaii regional director and Thompson is the ILWU's education director for Hawaii.)

"And I want to thank the many others who came and slept and ate with my children, although at night you could hear music of babies crying in rotation.

"To the unit where my husband served for 14 years—there are some members who would come and check on me to see if I needed help to go shopping or if I needed help to bring the children to the hospital if they're sick, and the unit members are always close by.

"Also I would like to thank especially Mrs. Pablo, mother of Rico Pablo, who was president of the Filipino Women's Club.

"She did a beautiful job in bringing understanding in a get-together with the 1946 newcomers during the strike. These workers came from the Philippines.

"And because the Japanese in Hawaii had no fault during the Second World War, we were able to keep peace and be calm. During the 1946 strike, the newcomers were our strongest backers although they weren't even established.

"In closing remember what your local President Carl Damaso (the State's highest ranking elected ILWU officer) said, go home and sell the issues.

(The convention had voted to increase dues after an often noisy floor fight.)

"But sell it the proper way.

"Don't sell aluminum when you're selling steel."

FUERTES HAS SERVED IN MANY CAPACITIES

Basilio B. Fuertes came to Hawaii from the Philippines on the Shinyo Maru in 1929 after teaching school in his homeland.

He first worked for M. R. Aguiar, then a Territorial senator on the latter's canelands.

Then Fuertes grew rice at Hanalei, worked for the Hawaiian Pineapple Co. (now Dole) in Honolulu, Honolulu Paper Co., picked coffee in Kona, for Olaa (now Puna) sugar plantation, Kauai Pineapple Co., then went to the Hawaiian Sugar Co., where he was welfare supervisor until the firm was liquidated in 1941.

In 1941 the later firm was reorganized as Olokele Sugar Co. at Kaumakani, Kauai.

He is active in the Kaumakani Methodist Chuch as a Sunday School teacher, former Sunday School superintendent, church board chairman and church conference delegate.

He was president of the Olokele Filipino Community Association for three terms, was Kaumakani Parent Teacher Association president for three terms and taught Filipinos in night school.

He never served on Community Chest solicitation teams at Olokele because such activities were assigned to supervisors. But about five years ago, collections fell so far below the goal that he was asked to go talk to the men and get them to boost their contributions.

Mrs. Fuertes was born in Hawaii.

Of their eight children, all are high school graduates and one has a college degree. The couple has 10 grandchildren.

The children are:

Mrs. Shirley Medeiros of Omao, secretary to attorney Norito Kawakami.

Mrs. Nancy Baniaga of Kaumakani, a practical nurse at Mahelona Hospital.

Mrs. Anita Malama, with the Bank of Hawaii in Honolulu.

Basilio Jr., a graduate of Kansas State College, who was assistant football coach and track coach for three years at Hilo High School and now is first-year football coach at Waimea High School.

Mrs. Carmen Vierra, a clerk at Love's Bakery, Honolulu.

Mrs. Victoria Perry, who works at the Tahitian Lanai, Honolulu.

Rosemary Fuertes, a beautician at the Shangri-la, Honolulu.

David Fuertes, a junior at Shasta College, Redding, Calif. He is studying agriculture.

Smog: The Worsening Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the House Commerce Committee's version of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1967 deletes the entire provision—Section 208(b)—of the bill, approved on a unanimous 88-to-0 vote in the Senate, that allowed my home State of California to enforce and to continue to strengthen its already strict auto smog regulations.

The committee's version then substitutes a new provision which would seriously delay, and, for all intents and purposes, prevent California from implementing any stronger air pollution rules in the future.

I am deeply concerned that this revised language will make it difficult, if not impossible from a practical standpoint, for California to enforce the tougher clean air standards that virtually every pollution control authority in the State agrees is a vital necessity to protect the health and welfare of our citizens.

To illustrate the extent and seriousness of this problem, I include in the RECORD at this point an excellent editorial which appeared in the October 8, 1967, edition of the Los Angeles Times:

SMOG: THE WORSENING CRISIS

"Los Angeles residents have the choice of driving the kinds of autos they now own with current fuels—or breathing. But they won't have the choice for long."

"Already some 10,000 persons are moving from the Los Angeles Basin annually because of air pollution," declared Dr. Joseph F. Boyle, president of the Los Angeles County Medical Assn.

His grim warning, given at a Los Angeles hearing of the Assembly Transportation and Commerce Committee, was by far strongest statement the medical association has made on the threat of air pollution.

"A critical and worsening health crisis exists in Los Angeles County despite all efforts for its control," Dr. Boyle told the legislators. "The pending crisis is imminent and demands that every appropriate action, however drastic be taken immediately. No further delay can be tolerated with safety."

His pessimism was echoed by the local and state county's air pollution control officer, Louis J. Fuller and by Eric Grant, executive officer of the State Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board.

Both officials warned that California's present auto emission standards are inadequate and must be strengthened to cope with the continuing increase of motor vehicles.

The "adverse" level of oxidant, or ozone, has been exceeded virtually every day since 1956 in the county, Fuller said.

In terms of the definition by the State Board of Public Health, the Los Angeles Basin is continually under a "substantial threat from air pollution."

Fuller also offered new substantiation for his charge that the smog control devices installed on California cars since 1966 do not meet even the present standards requirements.

He quoted from a report made last March by the State Department of Public Health, which stated: "Projection of surveillance data shows that as vehicle mileage accumulates, the average emissions from vehicles with exhaust control systems will not meet the current standards of 275 parts per million (ppm) hydrocarbons and 1.5 per cent monoxide."

But even this much progress in combatting smog would not have been achieved had not California and particularly Los Angeles County, pioneered in the setting—and enforcing—of standards of air purity.

It seems incredible, therefore, that an effort is being made in Congress to deny California the right to take the stronger action needed to meet its pending crisis in air pollution.

Although the Senate unanimously excluded California from the federal preemption of auto emission standards, the House Commerce Committee decided no exemption should be made.

Any change in the federal standards—which are the same as California's presently inadequate requirements—could only be made by the secretary of health, education and welfare if the House committee has its way.

"Unless the special section is restored," said Grant, "it will be an outright violation of the concept of states' rights and an apparent recognition by Congress that the interest of Detroit auto makers prevails over the interests of California's 20 million people."

If the smog crisis is to be averted in urban California, the allowable amount of hydrocarbons from autos must be reduced to at least 180 ppm, as presently scheduled. Every additional car makes the problem worse, and the number of vehicles is expected to double by 1980.

A spokesman for the automobile industry told the Assembly committee that it is a "difficult technical job" to meet California current standards. No doubt it is, but as Dr. Boyle warned, no further delay can be tolerated with safety.

The health and welfare of the Los Angeles Basin dare not be imperiled by any weakening of the fight for clean air. Emission control devices must be made to meet present standards, and more stringent standards must be adopted as soon as feasible without federal interference.

Despite attempts at control, Los Angeles County suffered three first-stage smog alerts in succession at the end of August, during which the ozone level was the highest in 10 years.

How many persons will have to leave the Los Angeles Basin to find breathing room?

County smog chief Fuller offers little encouragement.

"I have previously stated that the possibility of a major catastrophe from air pollution in this basin was quite remote," he concluded. "I must now say that on the basis of present data, my opinion has changed. There is no margin for error."

Beau Jack—"A Great Guy"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 9, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by John Crittenden, sports editor of the Miami News, about a truly great guy recently appeared in the Miami News. I commend this splendid feature story to the attention of my colleagues and to the American people:

"Champ" Didn't Win Title, but Never Lost His Pride

(By John Crittenden)

The waist seems very small beneath the broad shoulders and massive chest. And when he moves across the room, it is often in a half-trot, a bowlegged semi-shuffle with so much bounce in it that it is apparent that this man, now 46, was an athlete in his youth. The body is young, but the face is not young. Ledges of flesh hood the eyes, the nose is wide and was flattened long ago and the man does not have any teeth. He is a small man—only 5½ feet tall—but with the biceps of a heavyweight. For the last 11 years, he has been the chief bootblack at the Fontainebleau barber shop.

Outside, a parade of overtanned, overdressed and self-conscious tourists move sluggishly through the tunnels under this pile of luxury. The barber shop is up a side hall, out of the traffic pattern, but this is still one of the most active corridors in the building, for the game room is next to the barber shop, and the parents bring their children here and leave them, to go on to their own games. The man with the shuffling walk and the oversized biceps seems to have a special way with the kids. He is a gentle and patient man, who makes time to answer the youngsters' questions, and often he is the one man they remember when they leave the hotel. The man who shines shoes often gets small gifts in the mail from the children . . . shirts, socks, little things to eat.

"The children are important to me," says the shoeshine man, "because I want people to like me as they meet me now. Now is the time. Yesteryear is not important."

Sometimes, when the parents come to get their children, they will shake hands with the shoeshine man, and often the father will come back later—after learning the man's name—to shake his hand once again, with feeling. The bootblack's name is Beau Jack.

Beau could have his name put over the pocket on the cloth jacket that he wears to work, and many people ask him why he does not do this, since the name is so familiar to so many of the people. "No," says Beau Jack. "I would not put my name there, because that would be too much like begging."

During World War II, Beau Jack was one of the best-known athletes in America, because boxing was a weekly thing on radio then, and Beau was one of the most active, aggressive and colorful fighters of the 1940s. On Friday nights, when there was an air raid drill, and people pulled their blackout curtains, often the only light in the house was the tiny orange glow from the radio, and the men and their sons sat and listened to the descriptions of Beau's series of fights with lightweights like Bob Montgomery and Fritzie Zivic and Johnny Greco. It seemed that Beau Jack was on every week, like Fred Allen or Gangbusters.

People liked to watch Beau Jack, too, in those pre-television days, and he kept Madison Square Garden going—in March of 1944, he fought three Garden main events in one four-week period. The record book seems to be wrong now when it says that Beau Jack never won a title, but it does not lie. Jack lost his only championship challenge. But he won the right to be called 'Champ', for many remember him as sort of a latter-day John Henry ("died with his hammer in his hand"). In a match with Tony Janiro in the Garden, in 1947 a busted bone in Beau's leg gave way, and he fell to the floor, but jumped up and hopped after Janiro on one leg. It became a legendary example of guts.

Beau Jack couldn't pass the Selective Service tests to get into World War II, but he got into the Army anyway. He failed the mental, because he couldn't read or write, but he got a uniform from somewhere and went around to the camps, fighting exhibitions. On Aug. 4, 1944, in the Garden, Jack and Montgomery were the main event on a card which sold $35,864,900 worth of War Bonds. "I got a nice letter from the President," said Jack, who was paid $1 for the fight. "It was the proudest thing that every happened to me."

The other night Beau Jack watched Joe Frazier—who is a come-on fighter the way Beau used to be—on television from Madison Square Garden, and Beau liked what he saw. "I should be an example to Joe Frazier," he said, "and to all those other young fighters. They should make sure they take a part of whatever they make and put it back somewhere and not touch it, and not let anybody else touch it. And they would be better off."

And Beau Jack, at 46, is a shoeshine boy, without any teeth for three years now and the sight fading in his left eye. He has to get up early, and change buses in downtown Miami, to get to the barber shop by 8 a.m., and it's always after 6 p.m. when the door closes and Beau sets to polishing the mirrors for the last time. "I should be an example," he says.

This seems to be the classic case of boxing and the primrose path, the fighter who made cash registers ring for millions and wound up shining shoes, bitter, broke and humiliated. Beau Jack is none of these. "God gave me strength," he explains, with patience, "I'm doing what I want to do and I have thousands and thousands of friends."

Beau rides the bus to work, but not because he can't afford a car—he has no driver's license. "I couldn't read," he said, "so I couldn't get the contract." He has two adult sons working in New York and five other children—living at home here—"and never a minute's trouble with one of them." His earnings from the shoeshine stand not only supports the family, but Beau is sending his wife through school at Miami-Dade Junior College.

Beau carries a small copy of the New Testament in his shirt pocket.

"My wife reads The Book to my children and me," he said, "and I try to tell 'em back what it means. It'll carry you a long way—it'll teach you not to hate. I've never seen Him, but I've felt Him, and I know if you go one step in the right direction, He'll take you along two more steps. That's all I'm trying to do—go the right way. If I had stood around and waited for somebody to give me something, I'd be on my face by now."

Jack didn't get all the money he had coming out of boxing, and he didn't know how to handle what he got. His first marriage broke up, too. "I'm not bitter toward my (first) wife," he said. "I just wish I had more money to give her . . . for the love she taught my children to give me. Some women teach children to hate their father, but she didn't, and there is no hate in my heart for her. What happened in my life is my fault . . ."

Beau Jack—his given name was Sidney Walker, but his grandmother nicknamed him Beau Jack, for some forgotten reason, and he has never been Sidney Walker since—was a teen-aged shoeshine boy at Augusta National Golf Club before he left Georgia to go learn how to fight. After he quit fighting ("and I was going to do anything to stay out, except steal or murder"), Beau came to Miami to train three fighters, whose lack of interest caused him to turn them back in quickly.

So Beau started to look for a job right then. "I can wash dishes," he told a prospective employer, "or I can butcher, except that I hate the smell of blood, but what I like to do is shine shoes." One day later, he found the spot at the Fontainbleau, and he has been there ever since. "I get chances to go to New York, where more people know me," he said, "but in the winter time, there's not much shoe-shining in New York."

The tips are good, Beau romps with the children and after the shop is closed, he and some friends who work at the hotel go out back and hit a few on the putting green. Anybody who grew up shining shoes at Augusta National is odds-on to be a putter.

Chris Dundee recruited Beau Jack to referee the amateur fights which are used to fill out the boxing cards at Miami Beach. Beau does a beautiful job—because he stops the novices at the first sign of trouble. "I know what it feels like to be hit—I been hit so hard it feel like electricity run through my body—and I know what it feels like to be hurt," says Jack. "My lips have been cut so I couldn't drink water and I've had a thumb turn my eyeball inside out. I don't have any hesitation about stopping a fight."

Beau has been less successful as a trainer. "One of those cases," says Manager Angelo Dundee, "where an ex-fighter doesn't understand it when a boy doesn't have as much grit and determination as he had." Jack says prospects accuse him of being too tough. "I tell them that they're liable to face death if they go up those ring steps out of shape," Beau replies. "I believe every man has the same things inside him that I did—but that the trainer has got to get it out of him. I don't know if I was a good fighter, but I know I pleased people. To bring fans back was my whole ambition. I never heard a boo."

Beau Jack hasn't fought for a long time now. "I don't go anywhere with buddy-buddies," he said. "I travel alone—and that keeps me out of trouble. If somebody pushes me to see if they can make me mad, to fight me, I just keep on walking. I don't need to prove that I can fight."

When Cassius Clay won the heavyweight championship at Miami Beach, a syndicated sports page columnist—who had picked Liston as the all-time lock to win the fight, and was quite bitter about being wrong—happened to meet Beau Jack on the street the next day. He wrote a column about the pity of it all, about Beau Jack, the most gallant fighter he ever saw, shining shoes, while Clay and Liston, cowardly dogs he called them, walked around jingling their money. The pity was, he wrote, that Clay and Liston both tried to quit and that Beau Jack never backed off anybody and wound up punchy for his heroism.

"I understand how to treat people . . . if that's punchy, I'm punchy," Beau Jack said the other day. "I know how to take care of the little money that I have . . . and if that's punchy, I'm punchy. I have no hate in my heart . . . and if that's punchy, I'm punchy.

"But don't feel sorry for me because I'm shining shoes," he added. "Not everybody can make a pair of shoes shine, you know. I'm doing what I want to do—satisfying people with my work. And that's all I've tried to do all my life."

Congressman Horton's Concern for the Ukraine Lauded by Congressman Findley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the plight of small nations which have been forcefully put beneath the Communist yoke grows more serious each year.

Unfortunately, there is too often a tendency for some to forget the millions in those nations who yearn for their lost freedoms.

But there is one among us who never fails to express his conviction that we should do everything in our power to strengthen the forces which would free the captive nations.

I refer to our colleague, Representative Frank Horton.

Mr. Horton spoke eloquently on the subject recently at Benjamin Franklin High School in Rochester, N.Y., during the observance of the 50th anniversary of the Ukranian National Revolution.

I would like to share his address with you and with our colleagues at this time:

Address by Representative Frank Horton

Perhaps some of you will recall that in July of last year I spoke to a Captive Nations dinner audience. At that time I opened my remarks with a quotation from the work of Taras Shevchenko, the reknown Ukrainian poet of freedom. The passage I used was from "My Testament" and was this:

> Oh bury me, then rise ye up
> And break your heavy chains
> And water with the tyrants' blood
> The freedom you have gained

The passage of time has only made his words more appropriate as we today pay tribute to the courage of those people of the Ukraine who fifty years ago rose up to throw off the oppressive chains of the then newly constituted Kerensky government of Russia. Unfortunately the freedom for which your forefathers fought so valiantly was soon lost. In 1921 the Polish government and the rulers of Communist Russia signed a Treaty under which they agreed to dissolve the Ukrainian National Republic and divide between themselves the territory of this once sovereign state.

The stranglehold of Communism that was then imposed on the Ukraine has since been forced upon many additional millions of peoples as the list of Captive Nations has grown ever longer.

As all of you know, I have long decried the continued growth of the Captive Nations "roster" and I have employed every means at my command to awaken the Administration to the real magnitude of the Communist menace. Today more than 20 countries comprise that roster and range from the once proud nations of Eastern Europe with their rich cultural heritages to the beleaguered island only 90 miles off the shores of America whose people have suffered so greatly since the establishment of a Communist government. Today we also witness the loss of many thousands of American lives in Asia where we seek to frustrate the most recent effort of the Communist World to expand its empire.

When I look back over the record of American efforts in the defense of freedom during the last fifty years I am deeply saddened. The fundamental American faith in the honesty of all men has caused this Nation to frequently forfeit at the conference table, and elsewhere in the sphere of international politics, many of the victories which we have achieved on the battlefield at such staggering cost. Unlike Winston Churchill who perceived so clearly the fall of the Iron Curtain, American statesmen continue to be naive about the intricacies of international politics.

For example, I have repeatedly called for a strengthening of the NATO alliance as well as our own defensive posture. The Administration, however, appears more concerned with achieving an East-West detente and a vast expansion of trade between the two worlds, financed with American credit. I am compelled to conclude that the priorities of the present Administration are confused when goals such as these are promoted while we are engaged in armed combat with a nation receiving vast amounts of aid and arms from the Soviet Union.

In my judgment the first order of business is to strengthen our great European alliance and our own defensive capability before we embark on programs to ease the tensions of the world. We should attempt to further international cooperation and understanding only after our national security and sovereignty are assured.

Organizations such as the United Ukrainian Committee and people such as Bill Andrushin have a vital role to play if the government of this country is to be made fully aware of the threat which the Communist menace poses to our continued national existence. I am hopeful that through your dedicated educational efforts the true nature of the menace will be exposed.

An International Approach to Criminal Justice

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the the privilege of participating with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in the presentation in Miami Beach of a pioneer booklet entitled "You and the Law" and designed to inform persons arrested on misdemeanor charges of their rights under the law. This booklet promises to be extremely helpful in our lower courts, not only in my area, but I believe eventually throughout the Nation.

The young man who prepared this booklet as a staff attorney for the lawyers' committee, Mr. Harvey Friedman, is a very able young lawyer from my area and I think a very promising young man in the much neglected field of the administration of criminal justice in our municipal and other lower courts.

Mr. Friedman has served as a consultant in the Office of Economic Opportunity and as a consultant to the Dade County, Fla., bar's committee on crime control and the administration of justice. Recently he pursued his interest in this subject beyond the borders of our country while on a trip to Europe.

During his trip he explored an intriguing idea for an international institution to make cross-cultural studies of the administration of criminal justice at the lower levels. He outlined this proposal to me in a letter upon his return and I insert that letter in the Record at this point for the benefit of my colleagues who also may have an interest in this subject:

Lawyers' Committee for
Civil Rights Under Law,
Washington, D.C., October 10, 1967.

Hon. Claude Pepper,
Cannon Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Pepper: I want to take this opportunity to report to you on my recent tour abroad during which I had the opportunity, through your courtesy, to interview officials concerned with the administration of criminal justice. Since that tour, I am more than ever confirmed in my belief that new research and study efforts are in order if we are to resolve effectively the problems which beset the system for the administration of criminal justice in our nation.

I have initiated discussions with interested parties abroad concerning a multi-national approach in undertaking comparative studies of criminal justice systems. The response was extremely favorable, and while at this time it would be premature to detail these discussions, I would like to set out in general terms the concepts which were developed.

In my work in police-community relations, I have constantly been searching for new approaches; for new approaches must be sought in dealing with police and community conflicts in the nation's urban centers. Judging by recent chaotic events, the old approaches seem to have completely failed, especially where there has been reliance solely on artificial and contrived devices intended for the diminution of tensions between the police and the community.

Where such devices are not grounded in solid research and based on their reliability but rather are employed in the frenzy to resolve police and community tensions, then they invariably fail.

Programs which can be readily and expeditiously implemented must not therefore be the only goal, especially where such programs are but the product of premonition and hunch.

In this connection I would bring to your attention a fact cited by The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in its report, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*:

"The Nation spends more than $4 billion annually on the criminal justice system alone. Yet the expenditure for the kinds of descriptive, operational, and evaluative research that are the obvious prerequisites for a rational program of crime control is negligible. Almost every industry makes a significant investment in research each year. Approximately 15% of the Defense Department's annual budget is allocated to research. While different fields call for different levels of research, it is worth noting that research commends only a small fraction of 1 percent of the total expenditure for crime control." (P. 273)

It becomes obvious that an immediate effort must be made to augment our research efforts in this area.

More than this, any such augmented effort must be far more comprehensive than merely dealing with the tensions and immediate problems evoked by police and community relations. It is obvious that the crisis which is observed today in the Nation's urban centers far transcends the scope of such a traditional and circumscribed venture. It is the entire system of criminal justice which must be the target of a national and comprehensive research plan. For the police structure is so interwoven within that system, both in fact and in the minds of the community, that to extricate it therefrom is a sheer impossibility.

The present day approach throughout this nation in studying the system of criminal justice is to make comparative studies of such systems operating in urban areas almost all of which are cursed with the same or similar problems. Such studies are made through on-site visits, through conferences, and through the dissemination of literature. The problem lies in the fact that those making the visits, those attending the conferences, and those writing and reading the literature all have the same or similar backgrounds and dwell in the same or similar setting. Such approaches therefore have mostly failed to bring about any really valuable or profitable insights mainly because they have failed to provide the necessary perspective from which to clearly examine the problems at hand. What is needed then is to be able to step back from this setting and view it from another perspective.

With these factors in mind, I want to set forth for your consideration the concept of developing an international setting from which to examine the system for the administration of criminal justice in our own nation and in others. Specifically this would herald a new and more intensive research effort in the nature of a multi-national undertaking. The cornerstone of this proposal would be the establishment of an international institute for the express purpose of conducting cross-cultural and in-depth studies of the various systems of criminal justice and with special emphasis on community relations vis a vis the particular system.

Such an undertaking would be organized on a joint basis between participating nations at a non-governmental level. It would be multi-disciplinary in approach in that it would freely embrace all those disciplines which could in any way contribute to understanding or bringing about a resolution of the problems faced by the parties.

The task of the institute, in essence, would be to make comparative studies of the problems faced by each of the participating party-nationals. The work of the institute would be codified in a journal produced and disseminated on a regular basis. This then would herald the establishment of an international dialogue in an area where such dialogue has as yet not been attempted and where such might prove highly profitable.

The motivation for other parties joining into such an undertaking may not be immediately obvious; but from my discussions abroad, such motivation does exist. The United States is not the only nation beleaguered by problems in this area.

What is set out herein is in the nature only of the presentation of a series of possibilities. It is but a cornerstone from which to build. It will be the task of the participating parties to mold this idea into the practical and acceptable forms which will best benefit all concerned.

I am moving forward with the development of this idea, and I will keep you notified as to my progress.

Sincerely,

HARVEY FRIEDMAN.

The Problems of Developing Countries a Fair Deal Rather Than Charity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, we are presently involved in a conflict in Southeast Asia, the purpose of which may be said to be consistent with our foreign policy of limiting the expansion of communism.

Most of us will agree that a military conflict—losing American lives in a foreign land—is the least desirable mode of accomplishing this policy. Contrariwise, it would be most desirable if each of the countries in the developing world would establish the democratic institutions which best combat communism, without outside aid. However, as this is unlikely, we have long since discovered that it is more in our interests, and the interests of the free world, if we take an active but cautious part in promoting these transformations through meaningful aid programs.

The purpose of American aid programs is to effectively aid developing countries in achieving economic and political stability conducive to a strong democracy. It does little good, however, to create one effective program to promote foreign development if we later support programs which can operate to deter this development. We must remain aware, for example, that a restriction on free trade can operate against the growth and development of the very countries our foreign aid program is meant to help. In short, it would seem to be a conflict in American policy to support on the one hand an overprotectionist policy in foreign trade which is working against our operative foreign aid programs.

Recently the Honorable Tun Tan Siew Sin, Minister of Finance, Malaysia, gave a speech to the Far East American Council in which he pointed out some of the ways in which Malaysia, one of the real emerging underdeveloped countries in Southeast Asia, is being deterred by a schizophrenic American foreign policy. I would like to enter the text of that speech into the RECORD:

THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
A FAIR DEAL RATHER THAN CHARITY

(Speech by the Honorable Tun Tan Siew Sin, Minister of Finance, Malaysia, to the Far East America Council, New York, Wednesday, October 4, 1967)

Although this is not the first time that I am addressing the Far East-America Council, it still gives me very great pleasure to be able to meet you again and to share some of my thoughts with you, particularly on an occasion like this, as I believe that you are holding the 1967 session of your Conference on Asia, and I believe that this particular meeting is devoted to South East Asia.

2. The most important political question of our time is whether the world can be made safe for democracy. The Communists say that they have a better answer, and that the solutions proposed by them are particularly relevant to the needs and circumstances of the developing world, and in this context, we must not allow ourselves to forget that the developing world comprises 2,000 millions or 67% of the human race and they inhabit 65% of the total land surface of the globe.

3. Secondly, we must not allow ourselves to forget that Western concepts like democracy, freedom and even civil liberties, are not meaningful concepts to the vast majority of the developing nations. To begin with, most, if not all of them, have never enjoyed them in all their previous history. Further, when you are hungry most of the time and are not sure where your next meal will come from, democracy and freedom are luxuries which only a sophisticated, industrial society can afford.

4. What the peoples of the developing world want most of all, therefore, is to be able to rise above their present sub-human level of existence. What they want most is to be able to live as self-respecting human beings, and thanks to the spread and rapidity of modern communications, they know that this is possible. Their ancestors might have accepted poverty in a spirit of fatalism, but their descendants of today realize that these difficulties are not God made but man made.

If such peoples have to choose between an authoritarian government which can provide an efficient and honest government and hence the necessities of life in adequate measure, and a government which is democratic in name and appearance but utterly fails in its basic and primary responsibilities, it is my humble view that there is little doubt as to where the choice will lie in the overwhelming majority of cases.

5. I know, of course, that the Western world will say in reply that it has done everything it can to assist the developing world, that it has given aid even when aid was not deserved, and that the main fault really lies in many of the developing countries themselves which have largely squandered the aid given to them and have not made the best use of the independence which

they wrested in the post-war years from their former colonial masters. I put it to you, however, that even if a developing country were a model of sound political and economic behaviour, it could eventually go down the drain as the odds against it are too great. The dice are too heavily loaded against it.

6. I will illustrate my point by giving one example, and that is the example of my own country, i.e. Malaysia. As you might know, our nation of ten years and of just under 10 million people occupies only a corner of South East Asia and is hence one of its youngest and smallest nations. It is one of the smallest, both in terms of population and area, and more to the point, it is one of the poorest, if not the poorest in terms of what is commonly known as natural resources, i.e. resources other than human resources. For some reason or other, which perhaps only the psychologists can explain, human resources are not regarded as natural resources, but I am digressing from the main theme, and I shall now return to it.

It is, of course, true that we have rapidly diminishing tin deposits in one part of the country, while one of our States has an adequate supply of valuable timber forests, but this is about all. It is also true that for some years past we have been the largest producer of natural rubber in the world, and recently we also became the largest producer of palm oil in the world, but this has been achieved in spite of the fact that our soil is generally poor. In any case, we do not compare favourably in this regard with our neighbours in South East Asia which, in terms of natural resources, and here I use the term "natural resources" in its ordinarily accepted sense, is one of the richest areas in the world.

7. In spite of these handicaps, Malaysia has achieved an average growth rate of 5.8% per annum in the 1960's, even though we have been independent for only 10 years. Our per capita income is about US$320 per annum, which is one of the highest in Asia. Our external reserves which stood at US$615 million when we won independence 10 years ago, now stand at about US$800 million, and this is sufficient to pay for 8½ months' imports at the current level. If I am not mistaken, we are perhaps the only developing country among those which gained their independence in the post-war period which has actually increased its external reserves since independence. Our cost of living has remained stable for the last 15 years, and this can be readily ascertained by a quick look at the statistics regularly published by the International Monetary Fund.

8. Our currency has also been stable even when compared with the currencies of the highly industrialised countries. For example, the First National City Bank of New York, in its annual survey of the shrinking worth of currencies, reported that during the period 1956 to 1966 United States currency fell at an average rate of 1.8% per annum in terms of puchasing power. Further, the purchasing power of the currencies of the leading countries of Western Europe, viz. Belgium, West Germany, Switzerland and Britain fell by between 2% to 3% per annum on an average during this period. That of Canada and Australia fell by an average of 2% per annum while that of Japan and France fell by 4% and 4.7% per annum respectively. Even the currency of the frugal Dutch fell by 3.4% per annum and that of New Zealand by 2.6% per annum. Working on the same basis, the purchasing power of Malaysian currency fell by an average rate of only .45% per annum. We are, therefore, well ahead of the currencies of the highly industrialised countries of the Western world and of Japan, Australia and New Zealand. We are, of course, even further ahead of the countries of the developing world which recorded a fall of anything from 5% to 30% per annum during this decade.

9. To put it very briefly, we have achieved growth without inflation and this is regarded as a phenomenon even in the highly industrialised world. We even have a full-fledged democratic system of government, based largely on the British Parlimentary system, and that system seems to have worked with us. The same government which took over from the British 10 years ago is still ruling today and the senior Cabinet Ministers of 10 years ago are the senior Cabinet Ministers of today. Even the Prime Minister has remained the same.

10. In spite of all this, we are in financial and economic trouble. In fact, we are in really serious financial difficulties through no fault of our own. Our most important export commodity, viz. rubber, which used to account for 30% of our gross national product and 56% of our export earnings and which accounts for about 30% of our total labour force, has reached its lowest level in 18 years, i.e. US 15 cents per lb.

Between 1960 and 1966, Malaysian natural rubber production increased by about 27%. In 1967, production is expected to rise by a further 7% to reach the million ton mark for the first time. Yet during this period earnings from rubber exports declined as a result of steadily falling prices. Between 1960 and 1966, the unit value of Malaysia's exports of rubber fell by about 38% from an average of US 35 cents a lb. to an average of US 21 cents a lb. In 1960 we exported just over US$667 million worth of rubber; by 1966, although the export volume was nearly 19% higher, export proceeds were 27% lower. For 1967, it is expected that the export volume would probably rise by about 7%, but owing to the prevailing price level, export earnings from this commodity are expected to be about 9% lower.

11. A comparable situation for the industrial countries would be the complete reversal of the present upward trend for the prices of manufactured goods which we largely import from them. If the selling price of rubber had kept pace with that of such manufactured goods we would be very well off indeed. In fact, had the export prices of rubber which prevailed in 1960 been maintained throughout the sixties, Malaysia's increased export volume during this period would have reaped an additional sum of about US$1,807 million in foreign exchange during these 7 years, which is aobut 57% of our estimated G.N.P. for 1967, or nearly 1½ times the country's gross export earnings anticipated for 1967, or more than 17 times the amount of net loans actually received by the public sector during the period 1961–1966, or 6¾ times the amount of official grants and net loans actually received during this same period, or more than 3½ times the inflow of both private and official long-term capital into Malaysia during the period 1961–1966.

Under such circumstances, we would not only not need any aid from anyone, we would be able to give aid to other developing countries and even a little to some of the highly industrialised countries as well. I venture to suggest that even the mightiest nation in the world would be in serious financial and economic difficulties, however irreproachable its conduct may be in this field, if it had been placed in circumstances comparable to that which faced us.

12. In the case of natural rubber, we were told that it was inferior to synthetic rubber in certain properties and we, therefore, set about in earnest to improve the quality of our natural rubber so that it could match synthetic rubber in all respects. Thanks to our research scientists, we can now produce special rubbers tailored to meet the most rigorous demands of consumers. As a result, we have come up against another difficulty because a number of such technically superior natural rubbers are classified as manufactured goods on entry into some developed countries and thus attract import duties which really hurt.

13. If we manage to survive these obstacles, in spite of the heavy odds, our troubles are still not over. If the exports of the developing countries, whether of primary commodities or manufactured goods, begin to show signs of becoming lucrative, the tightly organised, world-wide, and all-powerful shipping cartels, euphemistically known as "shipping conferences", all too often raise their freight rates to the limit which the market can stand and thus skim off the cream resulting from our sweat and toil. There is no justice or logic in the determination of such freight rates. Quite often a commodity transported over a shorter distance is charged more than the same commodity transported over a much longer distance.

For example, the current freight rate for rubber from Singapore to the United Kingdom is between US$31–27 per long ton, whereas the same bulk can be exported from Djakarta to London at a lower freight rate of US$27–21 per long ton.

14. It seems to us that the determination of these rates is largely based on the ability of the so-called conferences to extract the maximum without fear of retaliation. Where the victim does not possess the power to retaliate, the maximum is charged. Where he does, the shipping conferences are more circumspect and thus we have the anomaly of the same article being charged less when carried over a longer distance.

15. Last, but by no means least, the developing countries are advised to industrialise. So long as they are only partially successful, no great harm results. If, however, they become really successful, then the fun begins. Cripping quotas or import duties or a combination of both are imposed against their goods which attempt to seek entry into the industrial countries. We, therefore, get the paradoxical situation where it is not worthwhile for a developing country to be really successful in this field because that would be the surest way to trouble. If, on the other hand, it is only partially successful, then it might enlist the pity of the industrial countries and thus attract a certain amount of aid.

16. One is, therefore, increasingly driven to the conclusion that the only real hope for the developing countries is for them to realise that they must largely rely on themselves, if they wish to prosper. This is reasonable enough, because nations, like individuals, have to learn to be self-reliant and, as the old saying goes, God helps those who help themselves.

At the same time, we in the developing world would like to make it clear that we do not desire aid as such. We do not desire aid which weakens rather than strengthens, what we require most of all is fair terms of trade. What we require most of all is a square deal. If this is not available, it is clear that we need, if I may borrow an expression which has since become famous, an agonizing reappraisal.

17. I do not think, however, that the prospects should be as grim as they appear at the moment. The history of the post-war years has shown that there is an increasing awareness among the rich and strong nations that prosperity, like peace, is one and indivisible. What is required is courageous leadership and the ability to express such awareness in terms which would be clear and acceptable to public opinion in the industrial countries. If these requirements can be met, the translation of intentions into fulfillment is merely a matter of time. The United States has assumed the leadership of the free world in this momentous age and it can honestly be said that this is perhaps the first time in history that a world power has consciously used its strength and wealth

to promote the interests of weak and poor nations. If is could crown its efforts in the last third of the 20th century with the supreme achievement of success in the war against poverty and want, and in the process do good not only to others but to itself as well, that would truly write a bright and glorious chapter of human history, and show that such history need not necessarily, as has too often been the case, be a catalogue of man's inhumanity to man.

Diploma Nursing Schools Need Help

SPEECH

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, for years, the Nation has faced a critical shortage of trained nurses, but we have yet to face up to it fully.

We have taken steps to help the colleges offering degrees in nursing under terms of the Nurses Training Act of 1964, but we have neglected to help fill the income gap which is driving diploma nursing schools to the wall.

Last year, diploma schools—which certificate registered nurses, but do not award baccalaureate or associated degrees—accounted for 26,278 of the Nation's 35,125 graduating nurses, or about 75 percent of the total.

Yet, though we depend so heavily upon these schools to train the nurses we need, we have stood by while school after school has been forced to close its doors because of financial difficulties, and others have reduced enrollment.

Back in 1959, there were 918 diploma nursing schools in the United States, and since then, 121 of these have been forced to suspend operations. In almost all cases, the basic reason for inability to continue their educational programs has been rising costs.

Every diploma nursing school incurs deficits ranging from $1,200 to $2,000 a year per student. Attempts have been made to bridge the gap by raising tuition costs and passing on part of the deficit in the form of higher bills to patients in the sponsoring hospitals. As a result, students are discouraged from enrolling and hospitals are discouraged from recruiting new students.

Under terms of the 1964 Act, diploma schools must show projections of enrollment growth in order to qualify for construction assistance. With training costs rising and enrollments falling, they have been hard put to qualify.

They have no way of guaranteeing enrollment over a period of years, because most diploma schools cannot tell from year to year whether they will be able to continue at all.

I was happy to be a sponsor of the 1964 Act, and I have been gratified to see that since it was enacted, it has served as an important factor in helping to build up America's nursing forces. However, its greatest effect has been to benefit schools with baccalaureate or associated programs, and these schools, at their current rate of growth, cannot fill the shortage of nurses.

Since 1964, diploma schools have declined. The increase in graduates of degree schools has not been enough to make up for that decline. As a result, we find that there were 35,259 nursing graduates from all schools in 1964, but only 35,125 in 1966.

A few years ago, the Surgeon General of the United States appointed a consultant group on nursing, and this group found that there were 550,000 practicing professional nurses in 1962. The consultants estimated that 850,000 nurses would be needed by 1970.

Here we are in 1967, with the war in Vietnam increasing the demand, and only 640,000 active registered nurses in all the United States. Where are we going to get anywhere near 210,000 more by 1970—or, for that matter, even by 1980? Certainly, not by sitting back and hoping. Certainly not by watching the diploma schools shrivel and die for lack of support.

We have seen how Federal aid can help the baccalaureate and associated degree programs. That is good and it must continue. But we can wait no longer to stimulate and support the diploma schools.

I was glad to be able to join the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] and others of our colleagues in introducing H.R. 13096, which would go a long way to restore diploma nursing schools to a firm financial footing, make it possible for them to increase enrollments, and keep them in the business of providing the trained nurses the Nation needs.

It would do this, first, by providing direct annual grants to help support and expand training resources and staff recruitment. These grants would range from $12,000 per school, for a full-time student enrollment of at least 50, to $24,000 for schools with a full-time enrollment of 201 or more students.

As a second means of assistance, the bill would provide matching fund grants of up to $6,000 a year per school for expanded library resources.

It would help reduce training deficits and lessen the increase in tuition costs through $400 per student grants to diploma nursing schools.

The Surgeon General would be authorized to participate in determining eligibility of diploma schools for assistance. And, finally, the program would stimulate the development of comprehensive plans for nursing education, including the development of additional facilities and plans for recruiting students.

The Congress has been prompt to enact legislation for increased medical research, for better hospital care, and for related assistance to the healing arts.

It cannot be reasonable to allow a key function in healing to fall by the wayside, for lack of assistance to the diploma nursing schools.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to act promptly to bring H.R. 13096 to speedy enactment, for we cannot delay any longer in helping to overcome the Nation's deficit in nurses.

Job Corps Perform Valuable Public Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, while the success of the Job Corps as a program of human renewal is becoming well known, it is unfortunate that many of the dividends of Job Corps fail to get the attention they deserve. It is a simple fact that immense contributions are constantly being made to local communities and the common good by dedicated corpsmen who work to conserve our natural resources, or who brave the elements and face great personal risk to fight fires and floods, rescue individuals lost in the wilds, and provide needed manpower to overcome many natural disasters.

As an example of the type of contribution which Job Corps makes in the public interest, I would like to call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to the work of Job Corpsmen this past summer in clearing the shores of Lake Michigan of dead alewife fish. As a result of this excellent work, the Job Corps headquarters received telegrams and letters of thanks and gratitude from many distinguished public officials, including several Members of Congress. One such letter was sent by our distinguished colleague and minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD].

With permission, Mr. Speaker, I insert some of the correspondence received by Job Corps concerning the alewife cleanup at this point in the RECORD, with the hope that they will receive the careful consideration they deserve.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Indianapolis, Ind., July 28, 1967.

Mr. W. P. PELLY,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KELLY: The State of Indiana thanks the United States Job Corps for the work done by 108 of its men from Camp Atterbury in helping clear dead alewife from the Indiana shores of Lake Michigan.

The men worked for two and a half days at Michigan City, Beverly Shores, Gary, East Chicago and Whiting. They worked hard and steady despite the unpleasantness of their task, and their deportment was excellent.

These communities—especially Beverly Shores—could not have met this hazard to the public health without the helping hand from the Job Corpsmen.

Again, we thank you and the men of the Camp Atterbury Job Corps.

Sincerely,

ROGER D. BRANIGIN,
Governor of Indiana.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 10, 1967.

Mr. W. P. KELLY,
Director Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KELLY: This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of August 7 in which you inform me of the activities of the Job Corps in ridding Lake Michigan beaches of alewives. I very much appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

As an original sponsor of legislation calling for the creation of a Job Corps, I have been pleased to note the willingness of the Agency to help where help is most needed.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Clement J. Zablocki,
Member of Congress.

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C., August 14, 1967.

Mr. W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kelly: Thank you for your letter informing me of the initiative shown by the Job Corps in the recent alewife disaster. I appreciate your efforts in this endeavor.

The Corpsmen and the Job Corps are to be congratulated for undertaking a task which was shirked by so many others.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Percy,
U.S. Senator.

Lansing, Mich.,
July 14, 1967.

W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your telegram concerning assistance from Job Corpsmen from Custer Job Corps Center and the Hoxie Conservation Center in removing fish from the shores of Lake Michigan. I have designated Mr. Glen C. Gregg, deputy director of the Michigan Department of Conservation to act as my coordinator on this project. Mr. Gregg will be in immediate contact with Mr. Crawford of your office concerning project details. Might I add that I consider your offer to be a constructive example of beneficial State and Federal cooperation to meet a problem of great concern to the citizens of the State of Michigan.

George Romney,
Governor, State of Michigan.

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C., August 14, 1967.

Mr. W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kelly: Thank you for your letter reporting on the fine work done by Job Corpsmen in removing dead alewives from the shores of Lake Michigan.

Your men certainly performed in A-1 fashion. It was a nasty job which they nevertheless performed to everyone's great satisfaction.

Please tell the boys "Well done!" and thank them for all of us.

Sincerely,

Philip A. Hart,
U.S. Senator.

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C., August 4, 1967.

Hon. Sargent Shriver,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Shriver: Numerous reports have reached my office concerning the excellent job performed by Job Corps trainees in helping to remove dead alewife fish from public beaches along the shoreline of Lake Michigan.

I personally wish to thank you for the prompt and effective response to my request for such assistance.

I hope you will express my gratitude for a job well done to the many Corpsmen who participated in the clean-up program.

With best wishes and my kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Robert P. Griffin,
U.S. Senator.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., August 10, 1967.

Mr. W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kelly: Thanks so much for your recent letter informing me of the outstanding job done by the job corpsmen in the removal of dead and decaying alewife from the shores of Lake Michigan.

The alewife problem is a difficult one and the job was a dirty job. From all due reports, however, the job corpsmen are to be commended for their assistance to the citizens of Michigan.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Philip E. Ruppe,
Member of Congress.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., August 22, 1967.

Mr. W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kelly: I have had many firsthand reports on the excellent work of the Job Corps in clearing alewife from the beaches in my district.

All of you are to be commended, thanked, and congratulated.

Sincerely,

Guy Vander Jagt,
Member of Congress.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., August 16, 1967.

Mr. W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kelly: I appreciated receiving your account of the Job Corpsmen's participation in removing dead alewives from the beaches of Lake Michigan.

As representatives of my district, the efforts of the Custer Job Corps Center in Battle Creek are of special interest to me. This worthwhile and arduous activity, greatly helping to alleviate a crisis situation, is gratefully acknowledged by me and, I am sure, by my constituents and the citizens of Michigan.

Please relay my personal thanks to the Custer Job Corps Center. And keep up the good work.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Garry Brown,
Member of Congress.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., August 9, 1967.

Mr. W. P. Kelly,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kelly: Many thanks for your letter of August 7, reporting on the progress that Job Corps trainees have made in helping to clear our beaches of the alewife nuisance.

I would like to extend my appreciation and congratulations to the young men of the Job Corps, and to the program's administrators, for the fine public service they have performed in accomplishing this task. It is indeed a most constructive example of how the federal government can cooperate with the states to help solve common problems.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford,
Member of Congress.

Education Is the Road to Freedom, Security, and Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, a dollar spent on education today means a thousand dollars saved on welfare in the next generation.

Education is the road to freedom, security, and prosperity.

Our first obligation to the youngsters of today is to provide a sound moral education, for morality is the cohesive fabric of the entire social structure.

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to provide tax exemptions for educational expenses—a tax exemption for funds spent for higher education, either in family, or in the form of contributions to scholarship funds.

In recent years the costs of higher education have been advancing rapidly, and have placed a heavy burden on both parents and students.

Meanwhile, the Federal Government has been attempting to assist education by ever-increasing appropriations. My proposal is to allow a proper tax exemption for educational expenses, and thus reduce the demand for Federal aid to education.

I feel that when someone spends a large sum of money to provide himself or his children with a higher education, he is spending money in the national interest, and it is only fair that the Nation try to ease his burden through our tax laws.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, today I enter a bill that will provide a tax credit for higher education. Basically, my bill provides a 100-percent tax credit on the first $200 which is spent on a person's education; 75 percent on the next $300, and finally, 25 percent of the next $1,000.

As an individual reaches a higher tax bracket, the tax credit will be greater to him in proportion to an individual in a lower tax bracket. In order to help equalize the benefits among different tax brackets, I am providing for a 1-percent reduction from the tax credit for those earning an adjusted gross income in excess of $25,000.

The credit is available to anyone who pays the specified expenses for someone trying to obtain a higher education. It is available to students who are trying to put themselves through school. It is available to parents helping their children through college, and it will be available to other persons who contribute help. This measure would help to create individual scholarships in that the donor would receive a tax credit, and colleges could well use this provision to encourage their alumni to help some deserving student.

I am well aware of the fact that a college education is not the only form of additional training and education needed. Our advanced technology creates an unending need for upgrading the skills of those engaged in industry and science. It would be discriminatory to help only students attending college. Under my bill any person attending a postsecondary school such as business, trade, technical, and other vocational institutions would be qualified for the credit.

There are many students in college today who are receiving full or partial scholarships. The median family income of students receiving scholarships is $8,436. Most State-supported colleges have a tuition of less than $600. My proposal would furnish a maximum tax credit of $675. The assistance from the tax credit measure could release scholarships for the benefit of those in greater need.

In my own State, Georgia, there are many outstanding institutions of higher learning. Included in the Fourth District are Georgia State College and De Kalb Junior College. Georgia State's tuition for three quarters is $315 for residents of Georgia, and De Kalb Junior College's tuition for two trimesters is $220 for residents of De Kalb County.

My bill would provide a $296.25 tax credit for any Georgia citizen who desired to attend Georgia State.

Also, a tax credit of $215 would be provided for all those De Kalb County residents who desire to attend De Kalb Junior College. Thus, under my plan, any resident of my State who wishes to attend these institutions, and has the academic background, may do so.

Those college students who are working in order to pay for their college education will receive a larger rebate from the Internal Revenue Service under the tax credit. This rebate will give them additional funds which they need so badly to pay for food and clothing.

Our Nation today is confronted by many thousands of frustrated youngsters who are unable to obtain higher education because of the cost involved.

My bill helps promote the American ideal of helping those who desire to help themselves, without any interference from the Federal Government.

I feel it is very important for these ambitious young people to attempt to obtain an education by themselves, instead of having to rely on Government training, or some other federally sponsored program.

Thus, my bill will allow the individual to provide for his own education without seeking the help of the Federal Government.

I therefore urge the House to give this measure prompt and careful consideration at the earliest possible debate.

Mr. Speaker, I place the text of my bill in the Record at this point:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subpart A of part IV of subchapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relatimg to credits allowable) is amended by renumbering section 40 as 41, and by inserting after section 39 the following new section:

"Sec. 40. Expenses of higher education.

"(a) General Rule.—There shall be allowed to an individual, as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year, an amount, determined under subsection (b), of the expenses of higher education paid by him during the taxable year to one or more institutions of higher education in providing an education above the twelfth grade for himself or for any other individual.

"(b) Limitations.—

"(1) Amount per individual.—The credit under subsection (a) for expenses of higher education of any individual paid during the taxable year shall be an amount equal to the sum of—

"(A) 100 percent of so much of such expenses as does not exceed $200,

"(B) 75 percent of so much of such expenses as exceeds $200 but does not exceed $500, and

"(C) 25 percent of so much of such expenses as exceeds $500 but does not exceed $1,500.

"(2) Proration of credit where more than one taxpayer pays expenses.—If expenses of higher education of an individual are paid by more than one taxpayer, the credit allowable to each taxpayer under subsection (a) shall be the same portion of the credit determined under paragraph (1) which the amount of expenses of higher education of such individual paid by the taxpayer during the taxable year is of the amount of expenses of higher education of such individual paid by all taxpayers during the taxable year.

"(3) Reduction of credit.—The credit under subsection (a) for expenses of higher education of any individual paid during the taxable year, as determined under paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection, shall be reduced by an amount equal to 1 percent of the amount by which the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year exceeds $25,000.

"(c) Definitions.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) Expenses of higher education.—The term 'expenses of higher education' means—

"(A) tuition and fees required for the enrollment or attendance of a student at a level above the twelfth grade at an institution of higher education, and

"(B) fees, books, supplies, and equipment required for courses of instruction above the twelfth grade at an institution of higher education.

Such term does not include any amount paid, directly or indirectly, for meals, lodging, or similar personal, living, or family expenses. In the event an amount paid for tuition or fees included an amount for meals, lodging, or similar expenses which is not separately stated, the portion of such amount which is attributable to meals, lodging, or similar expenses shall be determined under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate.

"(2) Institution of higher education.—The term 'institution of higher education' means—

"(A) an educational institution (as defined in section 151(e)(4))—

"(i) which regularly offers education at a level above the twelfth grade; and

"(ii) contributions to or for the use of which constitute charitable contributions within the meaning of section 170(c); or

"(B) a busines or trade school, or technical institution or other technical or vocational school in any State, which (i) is legally authorized to provide, and provides within that State, a program of postsecondary vocational or technical education designed to fit individuals for useful employment in recognized occupations; and (ii) is accredited by a nationally recognized agency or association listed by the United States Commissioner of Education; and (iii) has been in existence for two years or has been specially accredited by the Commissioner as an institution meeting the other requirements of this subparagraph.

"(3) State.—The term 'State' includes the several States of the Union, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

"(d) Special Rules.—

"(1) Adjustment for certain scholarship and veterans' benefits.—The amount otherwise taken into account under subsection (a) as expenses of higher education of any individual during any period shall be reduced (before the application of subsection (b)) by any amounts received by such individuals during such period as—

"(A) a scholarship or fellowship grant (within the meaning of section 117(a)(1)) which under section 117 is not includible in gross income, or

"(B) an educational assistance allowance under chapter 34 or 35 of title 38, United States Code.

"(2) Noncredit and recreational, etc., courses.—Amounts paid for expenses of higher education of any individual shall be taken into account under subsection (a)--

"(A) in the case of an individual who is a candidate for a baccalaureate or higher degree, only to the extent such expenses are attributable to courses of instruction for which credit is allowed toward a baccalaureate or higher degree, and

"(B) in the case of an individual who is not a candidate for a baccalaureate or higher degree, only to the extent such expenses are attributable to courses of instruction necessary to fulfill requirements for the attainment of a predetermined and identified educational, professional, or vocational objective.

"(e) Disallowance of Expenses as Deductions.—No deduction shall be allowed under section 162 (relating to trade or business expenses) for any expenses of higher education which (after the application of subsection (b)) is taken into account in determining the amount of any credit allowed under subsection (a). The preceding sentence shall not apply to the expenses of any taxpayer who, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, elects not to apply the provisions of this section with respect to such expenses for the taxable year.

"(f) Regulations.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section."

(b) The table of sections for such subpart A is amended by striking out the last item and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 40. Expenses of higher education.
"Sec. 41. Overpayment of tax."

Sec. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall apply to the taxable years beginning after December 31, 1966.

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate continued debate on Subversive Activities Control bill.

House passed a bill to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 14847–S 14879

Bills Introduced: Six bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2542–2547; and S. Res. 178.

Page S 14848

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 878, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act so as to permit further Federal use and donation of exchange sale property, with amendment (S. Rept. 642); and

S. Res. 178, to provide an additional $5,000 for Committee on Government Operations to study and evaluate the effects of laws pertaining to proposed reorganizations in the executive department (no written report)—referred to Committee on Rules and Administration.

Page S 14848

Bills Referred: Six House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees. **Page S 14847**

San Rafael Wilderness: Senate disagreed to House amendment to S. 889, to designate the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, Calif., asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Jackson, Anderson, Church, Kuchel, and Allott. **Page S 14880**

Philippines: Senate adopted S. Res. 160, to extend greetings of Senate to the Congress of Philippines on the 66th anniversary of arrival of Thomasite teachers, after adopting a perfecting and conforming amendment by Senator Byrd of West Virginia. **Pages S 14847–S 14848**

Water Resources: Senate concurred in House amendment (with an amendment) to S. 1788, authorizing feasibility studies of proposed irrigation projects in North Dakota, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

Pages S 14880–S 14881

Urban Problems: S.J. Res. 112, extending until December 31, 1968, time for signing report by Commission on Urban Problems, was cleared for President when Senate concurred in House amendment. **Pages S 14891–S 14892**

Subversive Activities Control: Senate continued debate on S. 2171, to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act so as to accord with recent decisions of the courts.

Pages S 14879–S 14880, S 14882–S 14883, S 14886–S 14891, S 14893–S 14902

Nominations: 45 postmaster nominations were received. **Pages S 14905–S 14906**

Program for Wednesday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 5:10 p.m. until noon Wednesday, October 18, when it will continue on S. 2171, to amend Subversive Activities Control Act. **Pages S 14847, S 14905**

Committee Meetings

(*Committees not listed did not meet*)

FISHERY BILLS

Committee on Commerce: Committee, in executive session, ordered favorably reported the following measures: S. 2269, regarding unlawful seizure of U.S. fishing vessels by foreign countries; S. 2047, to exempt certain vessels engaged in the fishing industry from the requirements of certain inspection laws; S. 1260, providing for protection of mammals under the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950 (amended); S. 1752, making it unlawful for foreign vessels to engage in fisheries within U.S. territorial waters; S. 1798, authorizing Secretary of the Interior to make loans to fishermen's cooperative associations; and S.J. Res. 103, to authorize a survey of coastal and fresh water commercial fishery resources of the U.S. (amended).

Committee indefinitely postponed further action on S. 2232, regarding prohibition of foreign fishing in U.S. territorial waters.

D.C. MATTERS

Committee on the District of Columbia: Subcommittee on the Judiciary held hearings on H.R. 8582 and S. 1682, to increase from two to five the number of associate judges on the D.C. Court of Appeals, with testimony from Andrew M. Hood, Chief Judge, D.C. Court of Appeals; John O. Lane, on behalf of Committee on Administration of Justice, D.C. Judicial Conference; Robert F. Kneipp, Chief Assistant D.C. Corporation Counsel; and William J. Donnelly, Jr., Committee on Court of Appeals, and the Bar Association.

Appendix

Lawrence Post Office Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on September 17, 1967, the new U.S. post office at Lawrence, N.Y., was officially dedicated. Due to illness, I was unable to attend the dedication of this long-awaited post office facility—which replaced a structure more than 65 years old—and which is destined to bring improved postal service to the residents of my home community. My dear wife, Florrie, represented me at the dedication ceremonies.

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to Lawrence postmaster, Mrs. Florence Robinson, and to her dedicated staff for their efforts to maintain postal service in Lawrence, though handicapped by inadequate facilities. The new post office will materially assist them in the objective of providing improved and better postal service for every resident of our community.

The U.S. postal service handles more mail than all the other nations of the world combined. It is a "big business" which continuously needs to be modernized and improved to provide the services required by our expanding industrial and business complex and our national population of 200 million.

One of the most important contributions we can make to the improvement of the postal service is the improvement and replacement of our outdated post office buildings and equipment. The old Lawrence Post Office always struck me as a remnant of the "Wells Fargo" era. The new building and its modern facilities is something the residents of Lawrence can be proud of and I am indeed pleased that I was able to use my good offices in expediting an application which was pending for more than 8 years.

DEDICATION COMMITTEE

The residents of the incorporated village of Lawrence were so delighted with the news that they were to receive a new post office facility that they proceeded to organize a Dedication Committee including the mayor of the village, representatives of industry, business, banking and citizens of all faiths and walks of life. The following served on the Dedication Committee:

William D. Denson, chairman; Edward Brevda, Mannie Weiss, cochairmen; Jay F. Gordon, master of ceremonies; John F. Reynolds, Herbert Rosenthal, treasurers; Morton Stein, secretary.

Mrs. Florence Robinson, ex officio; Mrs. Dolie Adams; Robert C. Baldridge; Irving Baron; Raymond Baron; M. Albert Bendes; Bert Berk; S. Jerome Berman; Paul D. Brown; William D. Clark; Millard Cohen; Courtlandt P. Dixon; Arnold Douglas; Nathan Farber; John F. Garde, Jr.

Dr. S. David Geller, David J. Jacobs, Thomas Lanzillota, Abner Levine, Milton Lynn, Harry S. Mayer, Milton Meyer, Calvin Polivy, Robert Richner, Mrs. Harold S. Rosenfeld, Bernard Sloat, Barnet Tannenbaum, Mrs. Herbrt Tenzer, Thomas B. Walsh, Ichabod T. Williams.

SPONSORS

The dedication committee enlisted businesses and private citizens to act as sponsors for the dedication ceremonies which were followed by a reception at the Lawrence Village Park Golf Club. The sponsors for the occasion were the following:

Acker Knitting Mills, Inc; Dolie Adams; Advertising Distributors of America; Bargaintown USA; Mr. and Mrs. Bert Berk; Mr. and Mrs. S. Jerome Berman; S. M. Bernheim Agency, Inc.; Blum, Levin & Ross; the Brandeis School; Paul D. Brown, Inc.; Chemical New York Trust Co.; Mr. and Mrs. William D. Clark; Concord Oil Corp.; Congregation Beth Sholom; Mr. and Mrs. William D. Denson.

Double E. Food Markets, Inc.; the Entertainer; Five Towns Democratic Club; Forley Jewelers, Inc.; Franklin National Bank; Gruber's Service Station; the Hillel School; Hills, Korvette Supermarkets; Mr. and Mrs. Jack J. Holland; HSW Agency, Inc.; Jules Cleaners, Inc.; Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Kalikow; E. J. Korvette, Inc.; Lawrence Association, Inc.; Lawrence Cedarhurst Federal Savings; Lawrence Cedarhurst Republican Club.

Lawrence Chamber of Commerce; Lawrence Drug Co.; Lawrence Wines and Liquors; Lawrence Yacht Club; Mr. and Mrs. Abner Levine; Levitt Bros., Inc.; Fred R. Mackey Agency, Inc.; Mayfair at Lawrence; Miller's Pharmacy, Inc.; Nassau Herald; National Bank of North America; Peninsula National Bank; Mr. and Mrs. Meyer H. Robinson; Mr. and Mrs. Harold S. Rosenfeld; Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Sacks.

Mr. and Mrs. Harry Samuels; Mr. and Mrs. Abraham H. Schwartz; Sheridan Creations, Inc.; SMS Realty Co.; South Shore Record; M. Stark Construction Co.; Stefans Flowers, Inc.; Mr. and Mrs. Jerome S. Sverdlik; Temple Israel; Temple Sinai; the Tenny Press; Hon. and Mrs. Herbert Tenzer; David J. Thompson Mailing Corp.; Wall Decor, Inc.; Mannie Weiss, Inc.; the Wilshire.

DEDICATION PROGRAM

The dedication program on this beautiful Sunday afternoon was both interesting and impressive.

Musical prelude, Lawrence Junior High School Band, Lawrence Appel and Stanley Vansant, directors.

Chairman, dedication committee, Hon. William D. Denson, trustee, village of Lawrence.

Invocation, Rev. Dennis W. K. Wagner, Lawrence Methodist Church.

Master of ceremonies, Hon. Jay F. Gordon, mayor, village of Lawrence.

Welcome, Hon. Florence Robinson, postmaster.

Introduction of guests, Hon. Jay F. Gordon, master of ceremonies.

Remarks, Hon. Ralph G. Caso, presiding supervisor, town of Hempstead.

Remarks, Hon. Eugene H. Nickerson, Nassau County executive.

Remarks, Mrs. Herbert Tenzer, wife of Member of Congress, Fifth Congressional District.

Musical selections, Lawrence Junior High School Band.

Dedication address, Hon. A. C. Hahn, special asistant to PMG for policies and projects, acting regional director.

Presentation of flag, Mr. James Fazio, district administrative aid to Congressman Tenzer.

Blessing of flag, Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, Congregation Beth Sholom.

Raising of flag, color guard, Pfc. John J. Oliveri Post 1582, VFW, Edward Galante, commander.

Pledge of allegiance, Michael Valente, Congressional Medal of Honor winner; Charles Heine, commander, Lawrence-Cedarhurst Post 339, American Legion.

National Anthem, Dale M. Sarro.

Benediction, Rev. William Hill, First Baptist Church of Lawrence.

Retiring of colors, Pfc. John J. Oliveri Post 1582, VFW.

Musical concert, Lawrence Junior High School Band.

I place in the RECORD at this point the texts of remarks made at the official dedication by a number of officials and local community leaders:

INVOCATION BY DENNIS W. K. WAGNER, PASTOR, THE LAWRENCE METHODIST CHURCH

Almighty God, our Father, by whose power, wisdom, and love all things are sanctified, enlightened, and made perfect; be merciful to us and bless us, that what we now do may please thee, and show forth the honor of thy name. Let thy work appear to thy servants, and thy glory to their children. Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

REMARKS MADE AT DEDICATION OF LAWRENCE POST OFFICE BY WILLIAM A. CARROLL, DIRECTOR, POSTAL OPERATIONS DIVISION, NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE

Members of clergy, Mr. Nickerson, Mrs. Tenzer, Postmaster Robinson, learned guests, patrons of the Lawrence Postal District and my many postal colleagues present in this gathering.

There is no one thing among my unassigned duties that I enjoy more than being given the privilege of participating in the dedication of a new post office. Today, on behalf of our President, Lyndon B. Johnson; our Postmaster General, Lawrence F. O'Brien; and our Regional Director, Mr. A. C. Hahn, I take pleasure in dedicating the new Lawrence Post Office.

With this dedication of a building, we also dedicate the services which will be given to you by Postmaster Robinson and her able staff. The acquisition of this new post office fulfills an obligation not only to you people of Lawrence, but to our own postal employees in that it gives them the type of pleasant surroundings and efficient work space to give you the good service you deserve. Of interest to you people, as taxpayers, is the fact that our current building program, in most instances, calls for leased buildings; the advantage to the township being that these buildings stay on the tax rolls of the local community. As you know, most federal, state, and local buildings when they are owned by the government agency involved, are tax free. This is not so in the case of this new Lawrence Post Office. This will continue to contribute taxes to your local treasury.

A new post office does not just happen—it takes great effort on the part of your local congressman to see that his community gets a fair share of the dollars allotted to the Post Office Department; careful planning at the Post Office Department level to put new post offices in the places mostly in need of them, within the limited building funds allotted to them. It is not always easy to accomplish this. I look across the tracks from this platform and I see your old post office. I am aware that we occupied that same site for over 65 years. Surely we have not, up to now, kept pace with the growth of your community. It is situations like this, and others even more serious, which prompted Postmaster General O'Brien to make his unprecedented proposal that the Post Office Department be taken out of Government as such—away from Congressional controls and restrictions which are necessary under any democratic system. This is *not* a criticism of our Congress but a facing up to the fact that the fabulous growth of our population and the ever-growing volumes of mail is too rapid to be bound up in the controls of legislation. It is for this reason that Postmaster General O'Brien proposes a public corporation similar in nature to the Tennessee Valley Authority. Over-simplified, this would mean that the postal corporation could plan further ahead, not only in our building program, but in research and development. For example—under the present system we can only plan building programs within our budget for a given year; under a corporate program we could float bond issues for building programs over longer terms.

Immediately upon receiving Postmaster General O'Brien's proposal, the President appointed a committee made up of top business executives to determine its feasibility.

Our building program must keep pace with our growth. Our volume increases at more than 3 billion pieces per year. This year we will handle approximately 84 billion pieces of mail. We cannot afford to put our heads in the sand and expect this problem to disappear. We can't solve this problem alone. It takes the cooperation, not only of each of us postal employees, but also we need the cooperation of you—the mailing public.

Five years ago, the Post Office Department inaugurated the Zip Code Program. At first we were the butt of many cartoons, jokes, and resistance based on a misapprehension—that it would not last, but our faith in this Program has borne fruit. Industry has conceded its merits and has become almost 100% cooperative—but we need everyone's cooperation in this Program. Most of our plans for development of letter sorters and optical scanners depends on the use of Zip Code. We can make an analogy that Zip Code is to us what the dial telephone is to the telephone companies. Some of you out front remember those days when you picked up your phone and the operator cheerfully said "Number please?" Well, if the dial phone had not been invented, causing you to become more or less a "Do it yourself" operator, it would have been necessary by 1970 to employ every adult female to handle the calls in the "old-fashioned way." Without Zip Code which is a kind of "Do it yourself" sorting of mail, the Post Office Department also would find themselves in the not-too-distance future with a need for all adults working for the Post Office Department.

The week of September 18th is being set aside as Postal Services Week. During this week we will deliver to each of our postal patrons a card indicating their Zip Code and also a set of Zip Code Locator Cards. Please take advantage of these cards. Fill in the addresses of those people with whom you correspond; return the Locator Cards to the local post office and we will provide the Zip Codes. Use your Zip Code in your return address and use your Zip Code file when we return it to you in all correspondence with your friends and business associates. Help us give you the best postal service in the world.

In closing, may I say that the new Lawrence Post Office is one link in the chain to the best postal service, and I know that Postmaster Robinson and her staff will continue to provide you this good service which you so richly deserve.

May I also say that since the growth of the postal volume and revenue of a community also indicate the growth of the community itself, I hope your community continues to grow and prosper to the degree that it will not be many years before we will be dedicating another new Lawrence Post Office.

Blessing of Flag at Dedication of Lawrence Post Office Building by Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman

Bless this Flag, Almighty God, and the United States of America, our beloved country, which it represents. May it fly proudly over this building which it will grace and over all the mansions of government which serve us. On land and at sea may it inspire the men and women of America to the brave fulfillment of their duties and the unselfish service of their country.

May this flag be a symbol of the union and unity of all the inhabitants of our country, whatever their origin and creed. May it be a bond of true brotherhood and an instrument to banish hatred and bigotry and to safeguard the ideals and institutions which are our country's glory.

Especially, Almighty God, do we pray that our Flag ever wave over our land in freedom and peace. May the sound of war never be heard in our land and the terror of battle forever forgotten.

Bring, we pray Thee, a quick cessation to hostilities all over the world, and honor and dignity to our arms and aspirations. May our Flag ever stand in the vanguard of all men leading to the fulfillment of the words of the Prophet, "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall men learn war any more." And "May the knowledge of the Lord fill the earth as the waters cover the sea." Amen.

Benediction by Rev. W. L. Hill, D.D., Pastor, First Baptist Church of Lawrence

Father God, we ask Thee for this occasion as we come now to dismiss ourselves from this place. Do not dismiss us from Thy presence, but as we go from here walking, talking, and serving, please Sir, grant that we may have a closer walk with Thee. Amen.

Mr. Speaker, had I been present at the dedication ceremonies of the Lawrence Post Office I would have taken the occasion to endorse the proposals made by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien for revitalizing the Post Office Department by creating a public corporation to run the postal service. I share the sentiments of the Postmaster General that the operation of the Post Office Department should be removed from politics and should run as efficiently as big business is run in America today. The Post Office Department is truly big business. It is my opinion that if a public corporation were to run the Post Office Department free of politics, postal service would be improved, and postal employees could be adequately paid on a basis of comparability with private industry.

Conferral of Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree Upon W. O. DuVall, Chairman, Atlanta Federal Savings & Loan Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, an honorary doctor of laws degree was conferred by the Atlanta Law School upon one of the city of Atlanta's most outstanding businessmen, W. O. DuVall, chairman of the board of the Atlanta Federal Savings & Loan Association.

This was indeed a high honor for Mr. DuVall and a well-deserved recognition of the outstanding contribution he has made to his city and State.

On this occasion, the Reverend James P. Wesberry, pastor of the Morningside Baptist Church in Atlanta, delivered an eloquent tribute to Mr. DuVall, and it is my pleasure to ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Rev. James P. Wesberry, pastor of the Morningside Baptist Church, Atlanta, one of the great preachers and leaders of our time, outlined the achievements of the honoree.

Here is what Rev. Wesberry wrote and said about W. O. DuVall, a real in the flesh Horatio Alger success hero:

"You were born in Pearson in South Georgia on July 23, 1901.

"At the age of 14, upon the occasion of the eternal homecoming of your father, you came to Atlanta to live with your physician brother, Beecher DuVall.

"Upon graduation of Young Harris College you were principal of an elementary school at Hampton, Florida for two years and at Lawtey, Florida for two years while you continued your education at the U. of Florida.

While teaching and administering the school at Hampton you met, fell in love with, and married the former Harriett Turner of Leakesville, Miss.

"At the time you received your A.B. degree from the U. of F. in 1924, several unique events happened in your life; you served as an instructor at the University during the summer; . . . your first daughter was born; and you served as a member of the State Legislature of Florida.

"You came back to Atlanta in 1925 and taught at Joe Brown High School and attended the Atlanta Law School at night.

"Often, after working hard all day and going to Law School at night, you did your studying with a law book on one knee and a baby on the other.

"Upon graduation from the Atlanta Law School you were admitted to the bar and became a member of one of the most respected law firms in Atlanta.

"One of your partners in the law, Mr. McElreath, a founder of the Atlanta Building and Loan Association, encouraged you to become its secretary and attorney. You handled all titles and loan closings.

"The assets of your Building and Loan Association at that time amounted to $121,000.

"Today its assets are $325 million.

"You have served as Executive Vice President, as President, and now as chairman of the board.

"You have also served as a director of other influential financial organizations.

"You are a highly respected, eminent citizen of this city, a giant business man, a man of honor and integrity, a man of noblest Christian character.

"You have never failed to serve your community.

"You served for 9 years as chairman of the initial joint City and County Bond Commission, charged with planning and financing Atlanta's $100 million expressway system.

"You continued as member of the new commission that administered an $87 million bond issue for public improvements.

"You served as a trustee of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority for 5 years and as its chairman for 3 years.

"You are past president of the downtown Atlanta Kiwanis Club.

"You, too, are a Master Mason and a Shriner.

"You are a member of many other outstanding clubs and organizations and have received many honors.

"Above all, you are one of Atlanta's noblest, finest Christian citizens and you serve as a Deacon in the Secone Ponce de Leon Baptist Church, as a trustee of the Atlanta Baptist College and of Young Harris College.

"Because of your golden Christian character, your many attainments and great influence for good, and your superlative qualities as a lawyer, your Alma Mater, the Atlanta Law School, is happy and privileged to honor you.

"You honor the School more than the School can honor you.

"And I take great pleasure in presenting you, Wallace Odell DuVall, my dear, good friend, for the honorary degree of doctor of laws."

An Open Letter to the Postmaster General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, during the past few years the Post Office Department has been dedicated to the demise of the railway postal service, thus abandoning the time-honored and proven concept of enroute distribution of mail which throughout the years has facilitated the speedy delivery of mail upon arrival at its destination city or town or hamlet. I have tried my best to convince the postal officials that they were making a terrible mistake which they would some day have to pay for. Nevertheless, in spite of the counsel and warnings and urging by me and others who are genuinely interested in having the mail moved efficiently and expeditiously, the Department has gone ahead full speed in abandoning railway mail cars to the extent that soon there will be hardly an RPO car left anywhere in the country.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department has set its course and is not about to be deterred. During recent weeks I have received letter after letter from the Assistant Postmaster General for Transportation advising of discontinuance of railway post office service on yet another train. And each time I receive letters and telephone calls from the postal employees affected, some of whom have been riding the RPO cars for 20 years or more, pleading with me to try to reason with the Department.

The employees now know that the Department is not to be reasoned with on this subject and they have have resigned themselves to their fate so far as their RPO jobs are concerned. All they are asking now, Mr. Speaker, is that the change in service be made in an orderly manner, permitting reassignment of the excess employees to other jobs without complete disruption to their lives and the lives of their families. These dedicated employees have established their homes at one end or the other of the line they have been working. They have bought houses, their children are in school, and they are part of the community in which they live. But they find that their long and faithful service entitles them to no consideration so far as the Post Office Department is concerned. They are told and I am told that "no regular postal employee will lose employment as a result of this action." This is true, of course, but the catch is they may have to sell their homes, take their children out of school, and move many miles away.

The most recent wave of RPO discontinuances will leave approximately 80 mobile clerks living in or in the immediate vicinity of my hometown of Omaha scrounging for other jobs. I have been advised that only 14 jobs have been made available for them in the Omaha post office, in spite of the fact that in recent weeks thousands of hours have been worked by temporary clerks and postal assistants who do not have career status. In addition, the attrition rate in the post office is high, requiring the continual hiring and training of new employees. It only makes sense, Mr. Speaker, that these excessed mobile employees should be placed in the local post office if there is work there for them to do, thus avoiding the expense, confusion, morale damage, and loss of efficiency in the postal operation resulting from relocation of employees to areas far from their homes.

Mr. Speaker, I have once again asked the Postmaster General to consider the welfare of these employees, as well as the postal service itself, and the pocketbooks of the taxpayers. A copy of my most recent letter to him follows, and I sincerely hope my plea will not fall on deaf ears.

October 11, 1967.

Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien,
Postmaster General,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Larry: I find it necessary to contact you once again in behalf of the Mobile Postal Clerks who are being displaced and asked to disrupt their lives and the lives of their families, at great cost to themselves and the taxpayers, because of the wholesale abandonment of railway postal service.

I am particularly concerned, of course, for employees in the Omaha area. Information I have is that approximately 80 employees are affected by Mr. Hartigan's latest RPO slaughter. I understand that only 14 jobs in Omaha have been made available, even though officials of the Postal Clerks' union were assured some time ago by the Wichita Regional Office that jobs would be available in Omaha for the bulk of the excessed mobile clerks who wished to remain there.

There is little on this subject that I can add to what I have already said to you and other Department officials. I would only reiterate that I feel the Department has an obligation to these career employees, many of whom have more than 20 years of service, and I believe it would be in the best interests of all concerned if every effort were made to place them in the post offices nearest their homes, thus saving them the inconvenience, frustration, and expense of relocating in other areas, at the same time saving the Department and the taxpayers a considerable amount of money in relocation expenses.

Your further consideration of this urgent problem will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Glenn Cunningham,
Member of Congress.

Opportunity for Firmness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial which appeared in the October 13 edition of the Knoxville Journal be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Opportunity for Firmness

Allen and Scott, in their report on this page Wednesday, outlined the plans of a so-called militant "Resistance" movement for a massive assault on Washington, Oct. 21.

On this date, organizers of the invasion will undertake to mobilize tens of thousands of antiwar protestors, peaceniks, beatniks, Black Power leaders, intellectuals and Communists.

The announced objective of this undertaking is to "shut down the Pentagon" and to create as much civil disorder as possible. Of course the prime purpose will be to influence the thinking of the Johnson Administration on the Vietnam war and, no less important to these radicals, provide grist for the worldwide Communist apparatus. This new mass march on Washington is part of the Communist plan upon which Ho Chi Minh bases his confidence that even though he loses the war in Vietnam he will win it in this country through the undermining of our resolution to carry the war to its conclusion. Of course, if one assumes that the radicals will achieve their goal of having 100,000 or more persons participating in this newest insurrection, when this figure is compared to the total population of this country it does not amount to much. However, even with a smaller number of marchers, newspapers and TV coverage will result.

REAL TROUBLE

Allen and Scott quote congressional investigators as saying that something called the National Mobilization Committee, the organizing body for the Oct. 21 demonstration, plans to stir up real trouble. According to these investigators, the New York based organization, which has opened a large office in Washington, already has made transportation arrangements to bring 60,000 persons to Washington by chartered bus, train and plane. Thousands of other protestors and agitators, including teams trained to incide violence, are planning to come to Washington by automobile from points as far away as California.

Rap Brown, the Black Power leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has announced that he will be on hand. So will brother Stokely Carmichael if he can slip back into the country without being detected by US authorities. As the reader knows, Carmichael has, in the last few months, made a tour of Communist countries, all the way from Cuba to Hanoi, to denounce his own country.

The big question in the minds of the American people, or such of them as are aware of the plans of this Communist directed undertaking, is whether the President will permit this rabble from all parts of the country to defy law and order in its assault on the Pentagon, or other Washington targets, or will take action to prevent what promises to be a shameful display of what will be no less than insurrection. We have no means of anticipating what the President will do, but we know what we would do if we were in his place, bearing a responsibility to the whole nation.

It is obvious the Police Department of Washington will not be able to cope with this mob bent on creating violence. The time to put out a fire of this kind is before it occurs and not after a conflagration has been well started.

TROOPS HANDY

If we were in the President's shoes, we would have troops from Fort Myer, just across the Potomac, or from Fort Mead, close by in Maryland, moved into Washington the night before this planned invasion takes place. Such troops would be assigned not only to protect the Pentagon and those who work there, but the whole population of our capital city. It will be folly to take a position of appeasing or sweet talking the kind of scum that will participate in the rioting planned for Oct 21. The President of the United States bears the constitutional responsibility of protecting the capital city against being converted into the kind of shambles that this Communist inspired undertaking has in mind. Having federal troops on the scene before the fireworks start seems to us to be the only dependable preventive for thwarting this Communist enterprise. We hope the President will have his responsibility, rather than the 1968 elections, in mind and that the troops moved in to protect Washington—and the nation's self respect—will be well armed and instructed to take no nonsense from the protestors.

ONLY A SHIELD

These people are operating under the constitutional guaranty of the right to dissent. This, however, is no more than a shield for disguising their purpose of subverting our federal government. If there is justifiable cause in their behavior for shooting a few of them, such drastic action might constitute a lesson that would be of value all over the country.

The Rudolph Hess Case—A Footnote to History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on October 14 the Los Angeles Times carried a letter to the editor of interest to those who have followed the bazarre Rudolph Hess case. It is as follows:

ORDERS TO MANIPULATE REPORTS: THE COVER-UP ON HESS' MENTAL CONDITION

I would like to correct a statement about Rudolph Hess, published in an Associated Press report some days ago. In this dispatch, the Berlin AP correspondent wrote: "Doctors have reported symptoms of schizophrenia, but no one says Hess is insane."

This statement does not fully correspond with the truth as it is known to me. Hess was at least twice declared "psychotic, suffering from a clear case of schizophrenia."

The American psychiatrist, Dr. Maurice Walsh, now of Beverly Hills, was invited in 1948 to examine Hess in Spandau. Dr. Walsh was then serving as a consultant to the surgeon of the United States Army. The specific request to examine Hess was made in view of the fact that Hess had already twice attempted suicide. Dr. Walsh saw Hess during a month when Spandau was under British control.

Dr. Walsh "unequivocally" established the fact that Hess was suffering from a latent schizophrenia. As he wrote:

"There is no doubt about the basically psychotic nature of his psychiatric illness," nor was there any doubt in Dr. Walsh's mind that Hess had experienced "recurrent psychotic episodes for several years past."

Dr. Walsh was immediately informed by American authorities in Berlin that he would not be allowed to state this truth in his official report to the military authorities of the four occuping powers . . .

Two years later, in 1950, Dr. Walsh attended a psychiatric congress in Mexico City where he met a British colleague who had examined Hess shortly after his spectacular flight to Scotland in 1941. The British phychiatrist told Dr. Walsh that he had already in 1941 found that Hess was suffering from a serious case of schizophrenia.

Interestingly, the British psychiatrist added that he, too, was requested by a British high official to falsify his report by omitting any reference to Hess' mental illness, because "this would have an adverse effect on the conduct of the war and would influence the Nazi war crimes trials." Although the British psychiatrist was doubtful as to the wisdom of the order to falsify his report, he too felt obliged "by the force of circumstances to comply . . ."

The British psychiatrist is Dr. J. R. Rees who was in 1941 consultant psychiatrist in the British Army. I also established the fact that the British "high official" who had ordered Dr. Rees to falsify his official report was none else but the British prime minister. It was on Churchill's order that Dr. Rees manipulated his report on Hess in 1941.

In a letter to me of Feb. 16, 1967, Dr. Rees wrote: "The reason we were told not to mention, if possible, his psychotic diagnosis, was, of course, because the prime minister felt that this would mean that he would have to be under mental care in the army, and would therefore become repatriable, and he (Churchill) did not want him to be repatriated. As a result, we had to provide what was really a private clinic for him with trained mental nursing orderlies with him, and a psychiatrist always living with him, until Nuremberg."

In a second letter of Feb. 27, 1967, Dr. Rees wrote: "I agree that he should be released, because it does no good and costs other countries a great deal of money by holding up the whole affair of Spandau."

In the meantime, even the former British chief prosecutor at the first Nuremberg trial, Sir Hartley Shawcross, has joined those who had repeatedly demanded the release of Hess, including the American, British and French governments.

JULIUS EPSTEIN,
Research Associate,
Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Aid for Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Aid for Israel," which was published in the Charlottesville, Va., Daily Progress of October 13, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AID FOR ISRAEL

Attention should be paid to the warning by Israel's Premier Levi Eshkol that Russia has resupplied the Arabs with some 80 per cent of the planes, tanks and artillery that they lost in the six-day war last June.

While Moscow lost little time in replacing much of what Egypt lost so quickly, Mr. Eshkol said that the Syrian war machine has been restored to virtually what it was before the June war. The United Arab Republic, in other words, is now about as able to wage war as it was last June so far as the weapons with which to fight are concerned.

With Col. Nasser and his henchmen still licking their wounds and whining about Israeli aggression and their lost territory, it is not likely that there will be overt belligerency by the Arabs any time soon. But wars are prepared months in advance and Mr. Eshkol's concern for the present is as much concern for the future.

The hurried influx of Soviet weapons into the Middle East has again upset the balance of power, said Mr. Eshkol in an interview with The New York Times.

"It has made our position more precarious and made it all the more important that the Western powers permit us to buy the weapons we need to defend ourselves."

What Mr. Eshkol is saying is that an Arab Republic armed again to the teeth against an ill-equipped Israel contains all the elements for an early outbreak of hostilities again in the Middle East. He also means that Col. Nasser will continue to have second, and third, thoughts before he tackles an Israel that is well-armed and more than able to take care of another Arab attempt.

Unfortunately, Israel's arms future is not too bright as of today. The French, who supplied Israel with its planes and much of its arms, have imposed an official embargo on arms shipments and the United States has also suspended shipments, although not with the enthusiasm with which the French did.

It is encouraging to note that the State Department has indicated that it will honor a prewar commitment and deliver 48 jet bombers to Israel, starting late this year. This will be of great benefit to Israel in defending itself but more than jet bombers are needed. Tanks, trucks, fighter planes, artillery, ammunition are also necessary.

We hope that Washington is not unaware of what constitutes a grave threat to the future peace of the Middle East. This country is too involved too heavily elsewhere to permit Israel to decline into what might well become a fatal arms shortage.

Voice of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the Kansas City Times, in its issue of September 25, carried an informative article by Tom Stewart of the Associated Press concerning the Voice of America. The work of VOA, the worldwide radio operation of the U.S. Information Agency, is of interest to all of us concerned with presenting the American story to the world at large.

I insert this article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

AMERICA'S TRUTH-SPEAKING VOICE: SOME BELIEVE OFFICIAL RADIO TELLS TOO MUCH

(By Tom Stewart)

WASHINGTON.—Radio listeners around the world don't have to tune in on Radio Moscow to learn about America's problems—its riots, political squabbles, divisions over Vietnam policy. They can get it, along with the brighter side of U.S. life from the Voice of America.

If they're listening, that is.

And Washington obviously hopes they are. The overseas propaganda effort is a major one, involving 2,400 employees and 38 languages. It's costing about 53 million dollars this year, bringing its bill for the last two decades to 590 million dollars.

DEPENDS ON RECEPTION

But man-in-the-street checks by A.P. correspondents in more than a score of countries suggests the Voice gets only modest listenership in most areas and virtually none in some where short wave reception is anemic.

One faithful listener, however, is the Red Chinese foreign minister, Chen Yi, according to Leonard H. Marks, director of the Voice's parent organization, the United States Information agency.

Chen told a group of Japanese parliamentarians and newsmen the Voice is his means of keeping tab on U.S. positions, Marks says.

Marks also says a Swiss diplomat told him that when Joseph Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, sought sanctuary in the West she asked upon arrival in Switzerland that the Voice be told. Russian listeners to the Voice got their first word of her defection this way.

ESTIMATE OF 43 MILLION

The Voice's own estimate of its adult audience is 43 million, but this is at best a guess, Marks says.

"You have to do it by measuring intangibles," he points out. "There's no Hooper rating or any other type of measurement customarily used in the United States for radio audiences."

The flow of mail—some 200,000 letters a year—is a barometer. Also whatever reactions embassy people abroad pick up in conversations with "our target audiences, so-called—students, opinion-forming leaders, business leaders, governmental officials."

How influential is the Voice with these people it wants most to reach?

Again, Marks says, the answer can't be pinned down.

There are no spectacular victories, no won-lost column.

By competing against the anti-U.S. radio services, he says, "you can be hopeful that people will not be as prejudiced and that, hopefully, they'll be for you. So there is no immediate scientific measurement—anybody who tells you there is doesn't know what he's talking about."

MUST BE FRANK

But winning audience confidence, he says, can be painful. It means the Voice can't ignore the unpleasant side of American life, the side to which Radio Moscow and the others give heavy attention.

Here are some excerpts from Voice newscasts:

July 23—"A four-day conference on Black Power ended in Newark, N.J., with the adoption of resolutions with a strong antiwhite and anti-Christian tone, one calling for a study of the possibility of splitting the United States into two nations—one white and the other black."

July 25—"U.S. Army troops were deployed through riot-torn Detroit today. By dawn, relative order had been restored. At least 23 persons have been killed and more than 1,000 others injured in the city in 48 hours of burning, looting, and shooting in predominantly Negro areas."

July 31—"Michigan Gov. George Romney has accused President Johnson of delaying the dispatch of troops into riot torn Detroit because of political considerations. He said Mr. Johnson 'played politics in a period of tragedy and riot'."

Listeners to Voice newscasts also are told about Washington disagreements on Vietnam war policies, about Stokely Carmichael and about the late George Lincoln Rockwell and the noisy little hate-peddling American Nazi party.

OTHERS WILL CARRY IT

It's just as easy for many overseas listeners—and a lot healthier in some places—to get the news from Radio Cairo, Radio Moscow or Radio Peking. A friendly rival is the British Broadcasting Corporation with its solid-rock reputation for full and honest reporting.

"If you show your warts, show your weaknesses," says Paul Rapaport, an official in the Voice's commentary section, "you'll show your strengths, too."

This sums up the "tell it all and hope for the best" approach. Not everyone in government thinks it's the wisest or best policy.

But John Daly, who cut his much more lucrative ties with commercial television this month to become the $25,890-a-year director of the Voice, vows the news will be played straight.

"They do a damned sound news job and this we will continue," he said in an interview.

MUST APPROVE BUDGET

If he keeps talking this way, Daly can count on an occasional brush with tough-talking John J. Rooney, the veteran Democratic congressman from Brooklyn who is chairman of the appropriations subcommittee that acts on the Voice's budget each year.

Rooney always approves the full request, but he just as routinely denounces what he feels is the Voice's overconcern with ethics.

"I mean, this business of telling the truth and all that stuff," he told an interviewer. "That's for the birds. I don't believe in telling lies but there are some things they shouldn't tell at all. I just don't believe in washing our dirty linen on these programs."

The whole point of a government radio, he said, is to win men's minds. There are others in Washington who feel the same way.

SET THE GOAL

A 1963 presidential directive orders USIA and thus the Voice, to help "achieve United States foreign policy objectives by influencing public attitudes in other nations, identify the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified for its leadership of world efforts toward this goal; and unmask and counter hostile attempts to distort or frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States."

A big order, one made doubly difficulty by the fact that Radio Moscow, the principal opponent, is probably better financed.

Congress in all likelihood will give the Voice 53 million dollars this year, enabling it to build some new facilities to strengthen reception overseas, maintain a staff of 1,400 in the United States and 1,000 abroad, and continue or slightly increase its present output of more than 800 hours of programming a week. But Radio Moscow puts out twice as many hours a week and has a much more ambitious array of languages.

At the headquarters of the Voice, three blocks from the Capitol, they talk a lot about "freight"—broadcast material that directly or indirectly achieves policy objectives.

To balance the somber picture of race relations presented by the news department's coverage of the riots, for instance, the commentary department—focus of the Voice's "freight" operations—might work up a discussion of recent legislative advances in fields such as civil rights, employment and education.

There is also "freight" of a sort in a panel discussion in which several well-known American journalists discuss the way next year's election shapes up. Their free-wheeling remarks, perhaps critical of President Johnson or some of the other prospective candidates, demonstrates the freedom of the press in the United States.

Even music—and the Voice plays a lot of music—has some soft-sell "freight."

Says Willis Conover, whose jazz record show, "Music U. S. A.," probably has one of the largest audiences in the world: "It says we're a nation with social mobility. It says we're creative. It says a lot about the diversity of America."

Conover is not a government employee. A New Yorker, he free lances, drawing $300 a week to tape 2 hour-long shows a day, six days a week. He is the idol of 1,300 fan clubs and is considered particularly popular behind the iron curtain.

Conover's "Music U. S. A." was mentioned frequently when the AP talked to government officials, mechanics, teachers, storekeepers and truck drivers around the world.

In areas where there already exists a broad choice of radio in the listener's language, Western Europe, for example, the Voice has little audience and is unlikely to show much increase. Its real targets are the emerging nations, the captive nations, the hostile nations.

"We're anxious to reach as wide an audience as possible," says Marks. "But the principal part of our audience are those who have some effect on the policies of their countries."

Though technically independent of the State department, USIA maintains very close ties with State and the wellsprings of policy lie there.

One Hundred Fruitful Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, this week in the Borough of Naugatuck, Conn., there is taking place a series of ceremonies in celebration of the 100th anniversary of St. Francis Roman Catholic Church. The loyal and devoted parishioners of St. Francis Church, under the leadership of their Pastor Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph A. Healey, have organized an elaborate and fitting program for the centennial and, most appropriately, it includes an Ecumenical Night when all churches of the community and their choirs will join in a special service.

Mr. Speaker, as a tribute to the past and present priests and parishioners of St. Francis Church and in recognition of the contribution of this Parish to the community of Naugatuck and the centennial program, I should like to include here for the edification of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Monday, October 16, 1967, edition of the Naugatuck Daily News:

ST. FRANCIS CHURCH CENTENNIAL

It is not every day in the year that there are celebrations of 100th anniversaries.

One hundred years is a long time, even by modern standards, for any organization not only to survive but to flourish as well.

Such is most certainly the case in the story of St. Francis Church of Naugatuck.

It was the late Rev. James Lynch who inspired and in due time supervised the building of the first Roman Catholic parish in the Town of Naugatuck.

Now the Town of Naugatuck is set to observe the centennial of the birth of St. Francis Church. Every day and every night for a solid week there will be special ceremonies of some kind to mark the anniversary—which is as it should be.

Today more than 500 Naugatuck families comprise the parish of St. Francis. And all of them are ready to observe this 100th anniversary with justifiable concern, pride and joy.

Over the past century a great many people, parishioners as well as pastors, have contributed much of their substance to St. Francis Church. The building which was completed in 1890 has come to be very much a part of the Naugatuck community, not only as a place of worship but also as a community center.

It has been said, with a considerable degree of truth, that the first 100 years are the hardest. And we would be fairly certain that the priests, the nuns and the parishioners who have worked over this past century would be in hearty agreement with that premise.

But the first 100 years have passed—and now with open hearts and minds the people of St. Francis Church can call upon their neighbors and friends, of whatever religious persuasion, to join with them in this centenary observance.

We would particularly call the attention of our readers to the Ecumenical Night planned for Tuesday, when all the clergy of all the churches of Naugatuck, with their choirs, will join in a special service of celebration.

As St. Francis parish prepares to celebrate this centennial, may we as one united community join with them to rejoice in the observance.

Urban Problems and Peaceful Integration on the Entire Populace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, on September 16, Mr. Robert Smith, Republican county chairman for Dauphin County, Pa., delivered a most meaningful address to the Pennsylvania Republican Negro Council on the subject of urban problems and peaceful integration of the entire populace. Mr. Smith's words reflect a sincere and penetrating approach to some of our present urban perplexities and the necessity for cooperative, positive action toward their solution.

His address follows:

My original thought for a few remarks today was the subject, "What the Dauphin County Republican Committee is doing for the Negro Republican Council."

Then, it struck me that a more apt approach to this meeting might be: What is the Negro doing for Dauphin County, be it for his own Negro Republican Council or for the Dauphin County Republican Committee—or, more important, for any council or for any committee.

We live in strange times. We live in a world where each man's brother remains a stranger. We are discovering what it means to survive in a country torn by violence at home, and by wars, hot and cold, across the seas. And yet, so few of us have been touched by tragedy from either activity.

We search for easy answers. We appoint committees to audit the work of other committees. We spout pat phrases in an attempt to convince ourselves that we know the answers. And what answers have we come up with so far?

We've come up with words we've heard for centuries. Words like "love your neighbor" and "justice must prevail." These are basic thoughts. These thoughts should be unworthy of corruption by the self-seeking trouble makers of Newark and North Viet Nam—but they are not. In the mouths of our nation's enemies the thoughts become distorted and ugly. And now, our time—your time and my time—is long overdue.

Our presence here today demonstrates that we are interested—no, let me change that—we are dedicated to finding our way to the kind of society we want. A society of dignity and mutual respect where each man can find for himself and his family a place to grow and to prosper.

One simple fact prevails in our dilemma. People without jobs can have no security; no hope for tomorrow; and small chance of maintaining dignity. The goal of all of our lives is to justify our own existence. None of our citizens can be made to sit on the sidelines in the most prosperous nation on earth. No one can be told that his problems are understood and then have him discover the horrible truth that action—positive, vital, constructive action follows slowly behind our preachments.

In a world where some 66 millions of dollars are daily being poured into a faraway country—into a country whose combined population is only slightly more than that of New Jersey and Michigan combined—men are being told that they should wait while money is being found to help solve their problems—to give them jobs.

This must stop. There can be no contest—mostly for political advantage—between "guns and butter." We must start right now to solve our internal problems. Not by edicts and public statements. Not by sympathy; but by sincerity.

Until we have a movement of men motivated by conscience, and not by their desire to hold the spotlight, we will be stalemated—at the same going-no-place position we are now.

This is what the Negro Council must do. It must seek out the ways and means of translating into positive action the solutions we now only speak about. The Dauphin County Republican Committee, the State Committee, and, in fact, every Republican Committee in the country eagerly awaits the opportunity to help you.

We must substitute now, baby, now! for burn, baby, burn!

We must stop dealing with stopgaps and start looking for solutions!

We must show the citizens of your communities and of my community that when we are seen standing hand-in-hand, we are not posing for publicity pictures. We are building a human chain to pull our less fortunate neighbor from the morass in which he finds himself.

And this is the job at hand. This should be the resolved theme of this meeting today, as we go back to our councils and our committees. We are going to lick this problem because it is ours. It does not belong to some text-book writer or to some theoretician. It belongs to us.

If we work together to find the difficult answers and translate our solutions into positive action, the next quarterly meeting of this council will be an occasion for rejoicing.

We will be able to say to the state and to the nation, Pennsylvania Republicans believe what they say, because we do something about it. And, my friends, I submit this will *truly* justify our existences to ourselves. And this should satisfy any man.

Pollution and Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, radio station WIND of Chicago has been especially concerned and has expressed vigorous editorial opinion on the problem of pollution of the waters of Lake Michigan. Its editorial of Friday, October 13, which follows, is typical of its logic and hard-hitting commentary.

POLLUTION AND INDUSTRY

For some weeks, WIND Radio has been pointing out that the dredgings of the Indiana ship canal is not necessary except for the special interests of the oil industry. We said that the channel, if left untouched, would remain passable for an indefinite time, but that it would not permit fully loaded oil ships to get through. The answer, we said, was to bring in ships less heavily loaded.

A spokesman for one of the oil companies acknowledged this in a Chicago newspaper today, but said it was uneconomical to operate ships unless fully loaded. What he meant was that it would be less economical—that the company wouldn't make quite as much money. Moreover, if he were right, American industry has been built on solving just such problems—by finding alternative answers.

In many ways, this controversy is typical of the whole pollution problem. Where industry is responsible for water or air pollution, it must find an alternative. The problem of pollution is too vast and has too big a head start to tolerate further violations.

In some instances, it is going to cost industry money to make the needed adjustments. But it will cost less to act now, than to delay. Industry should meet the challenge and we are confident it will.

Meanwhile, we trust the Corps of Engineers will do as they promise and end the dumping in Lake Michigan now—not three years from now.

International Magazine Launched

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, the role of communications in the modern world is a vital one. As technical advances make the world smaller, we must maintain a constant flow of thoughts and ideas among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Recently a new magazine was brought into the mainstream of communications, designed to broaden understanding of other nations and peoples. The following article is a statement of the purpose of Interplay magazine:

In our lifetimes an integrated Europe, of now unknown size and nature, and North America will be coming to terms. Anticipating that day, it seems wise to establish a free-flowing channel of communication through which Europeans and Americans can get inside one another's minds, share thinking about their mutual concerns, and, in effect, engage in private policy planning of external affairs. This is Interplay's *raison d'être*.

How does the informed European feel about the prolonged American military presence in his midst? How worried is he about investment invasions from the United States, about nuclear burden sharing, about the effects of American "pop" culture on his national values? Conversely, how do Americans feel about the new isolationism emerging in some quarters of Europe? About the new markets western European industrialists are opening up in eastern Europe? About the power vacuums left behind in Asia and Africa by the break-up of the European colonial empires? Interplay believes that these matters must be given a fuller and franker airing if Europeans and Americans are ever to understand one another.

There is no truly international journal of opinion and reportage about the new societies being formed by the technological, or what might be called the second industrial, revolution. Interplay aims to narrow the journalistic gap. These new industrial societies inevitably will be international because the interplay of current forces and ideas forming them cannot be contained within national boundaries. Interplay will focus on the Eur-Atlantic areas since the highy developed industrial nations are, for the most part, now located in Europe and North America. In charting the changes and foreshadowing developments, Interplay will publish articles by some of the best-informed journalists, authors and officials on both sides of the Atlantic.

A Realistic Pace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial on the need to continue the war on poverty at "a realistic pace," such as the recently passed Senate version of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, would provide, appeared in the Newark Evening News on October 7. In order that my colleagues may have the benefit of the viewpoint of this highly respected voice of the press, I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD with the hope that this body will soon approve an antipoverty bill consistent with the constructive Senate bill:

A REALISTIC PACE

The $2.2 billion authorized by the Senate for another year's attack on poverty, while inadequate, recognizes that it would be a delusion to suggest the solution lies in handing out more billions.

The Senate did add $198 million to what President Johnson had requested for his antipoverty program. This increase acknowledged that more needs to be done, but in more fundamental ways than by pouring an additional $2.8 billion into creating only 200,000 emergency jobs over a two-year period, an idea the Senate turned down Wednesday.

As was pointed out in debate, there's less a lack of jobs than a lack of men and women qualified to fill them. Training to develop needed skills has been one of the promising objectives of the antipoverty program, even though of limited success so far. Thus $10 million added by the Senate is for incentives to employers to hire and train the disadvantaged, and $35 million is for day care for children of mothers at work or being trained. These are in addition to $862 million which the Senate approved for continuing the Job Corps and work-training projects.

Similar long-range possibilities lie in the $108 million which the Senate added to advance development in high-unemployment areas, including assistance to small businesses. The attention given to rural neighborhoods under the program is also a contribution to the cities. For urban unemployment is worsened by flight from poverty-stricken rural areas.

Financing the war in Vietnam is of course draining funds which might go to the war on poverty. Still, the Senate authorization is $600 million higher than was appropriated last year, and there is no clear evidence that the billions allocated so far have done the job expected. The Senate has provided for a reasonable growth without pushing the program faster than Washington seems abie to handle it.

Walt W. Rostow Exposure: Index of General Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 28, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in a statement to the House on October 17, 1967, I quoted a newsstory concerning the security status of Walt W. Rostow, now special assistant to the President on national security affairs, published in the October 4, 1967, issue of the St. Louis Globe Democrat.

Although the charges leveled at Dr. Rostow are startling enough for anyone in this position of such great responsibility, they seem to be only a part of a general situation among certain agencies of our Government as indicated by newsstories in the October 21, 1967, issue of Human Events, a well-known Washington weekly newspaper.

Mr. Speaker, one report, revealed in the story on "The Importance of Security," is that during the Korean war both Gen. Douglas MacArthur and his chief of intelligence, Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, were certain that information about vital decisions by our Government concerning military operations was passed by Communist agents in Washington to the Soviet Government.

One cannot help but wonder to what extent our war effort in Vietnam is being subverted.

The indicated news stories follow:

INTERNAL SECURITY BREAKDOWN

The scandalous scrapping of high security standards for America's most sensitive government agencies may well develop into a major issue during the 1968 presidential contest. Though suppressed or ignored by major metropolitan dailies, the continual unfolding of stories revealing a shocking laxity in government security procedures has rocked conservative-minded lawmakers on Capitol Hill.

Here, for example, are just a few startling revelations now being studied by concerned congressmen:

Item: Security collapse at the White House. Walt Whitman Rostow, a special assistant to the President on national security affairs, it is now discovered, was three times rejected for service in the Eisenhower Administration because he was considered a possible security risk.

According to briefs recently filed in a Civil Service case by former State Department security evaluator Otto Otepka, the Air Force made a security ruling adverse to Rostow prior to 1955 and the State Department made similar findings in 1955 and 1957, all rejecting Rostow for service on highly secretive projects.

Filed in an effort to save his own career Civil Service job, the Otepka briefs charge that Secretary of State-designate Dean Rusk and Attorney General-designate Bobby Kennedy came to Otepka in 1960 to get him to waive security procedures in the Rostow case and others, but Otepka said he would evaluate all cases only according to the high standards previously followed.

Bobby, reportedly, flew into a wild rage. According to Otepka, conflict with Kennedy on the Rostow case triggered his own downfall as the department's chief evaluator. (For more on Rostow, see story below.)

Item: Security breakdown at the State Department. According to the Otepka briefs, the State Department eviscerated security standards and approved or condoned major misconduct by foreign service officers—including homosexuality, deliberate hiding of security violations and the delivery of classified information to Communists.

The Otepka brief outlines at least 18 cases, some enumerated in a story below, of alleged security violations. Otepka, though rated a top-notch security evaluator during the Eisenhower Administration, was finally fired from his job in 1963 after his room was bugged and his safes broken into at night. (His case is still pending before a State Department hearing examiner.)

Item: The Stephen Koczak case. Former foreign service officer Stephen Koczak has charged that his State Department personnel record was rigged with distortions and "forged pages" to make it possible to fire him under the "select out" process.

Like Otepka, Koczak had only high ratings in his personnel file until 1961. But difficulties paralleling those of Otepka soon developed when he reported what he considered to be violations of national security procedures on the part of his superior, a foreign service officer stationed in Germany.

The trouble between Koczak and his superior developed in 1961 when both were in Berlin at the same time. Koczak was insisting that the Soviet Union planned to go ahead with erecting a wall between East and West Berlin. His views, which were included in reports to Washington, were at variance with those of his superior. Though Koczak proved to be right, this was only a small matter of conflict between the two.

Koczak's major difficulty began after he reported that his superior, who had been ousted from Poland because of questionable associations with female Communist intelligence agents, was making unauthorized visits to East Berlin to make telephone calls to Communist party functionaries in Warsaw.

Nothing was done to follow up on Koczak's charges and it developed that one of the foreign service officers who could have acted on them had a brother who was a full-fledged Communist. At any rate, Koczak was finally eased out of the Foreign Service, but the man he accused has been promoted.

Item: The security collapse at the Pentagon. *Human Events* readers are by now familiar with the story of Robert Arthur Niemann, an engineering graduate given a secret clearance by the Pentagon to work on defense contracts when, in fact, he belongs to the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. The DuBois Clubs have been termed "Communist controlled" and "subversive" by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and the U.S. attorney general on March 4, 1966, petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the clubs to register as a Communist-front organization.

Niemann not only belongs to the DuBois Clubs, but, as *Human Events* learned, has participated in numerous leftist activities, worked with known Communists, admitted to having voted in 1966 for Communist Dorothy Healey for tax assessor of Los Angeles, openly allied himself with the revolutionary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and promoted the wild demonstrations against LBJ at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles in June of this year.

Nevertheless, Joseph J. Liebling, the Pentagon's director for security policy, says the Defense Department's screening board "has determined that continuation of Mr. Niemann's secret clearance is clearly consistent with the national interest."

In connection with the Niemann case, Solis Horwitz, assistant secretary of defense, recently wrote Rep. Roger Zion (R.-Ind.) that ". . . mere membership in such an organization [the DuBois Clubs] does not constitute sufficient cause to revoke a security clearance. . . ." (What many now would like to know is what *does* constitute sufficient cause?)

Such are the reasons why many believe that security—or the lack thereof—may become a big issue in 1968.

The Rostow Story

The Otepka briefs relate an intriguing story in connection with the Rostow case. According to the briefs, Bobby Kennedy and Dean Rusk approached Otepka in 1960 about Rostow, well aware that earlier efforts to get him named to a highly sensitive national security project had been thwarted by the Eisenhower Adminisration's strict security standards.

Desiring to appoint Rostow to a key position in the State Department, Rusk opened the discussion by asking: "What kind of security problem would be encountered regarding the appointment of Mr. Rostow to the department?"

Otepka replied that he was acquainted with the Rostow file, and that this familiarity dated back to 1955 when the department was giving consideration to hiring Rostow as a key person in a psychological warfare project to be undertaken by the Operations Co-ordinating Board.

"Persons employed by the project were required to have a security clearance under the strict standards prescribed by the United States Intelligence Board," the briefs state. "As a part of his evaluation, Otepka at this time reviewed the State Department file on Mr. Rostow, the CIA file and the results of reviews given to the case by both the CIA and the Department of the Air Force. The Air Force had previously made a security finding adverse to Mr. Rostow.

"As a result of Otepka's findings, Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover Jr., the chairman of the Operations Co-ordinating Board, decided that Mr. Rostow would not be utilized as an employe or consultant by the State Department in connection with the board's project.

"In other words, Mr. Rostow could not get the necessary clearance under the strict standards applicable to the Operations Coordinating Board.

When Rostow was again recommended for State Department employment, Roderic O'Connor, administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, made the determination on the basis of the previous record that "Mr. Rostow was not desirable for employment."

According to Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Clark Mollenhoff, who unearthed the contents of the brief, when Otepka related the background on Rostow, Rusk remained silent but Bobby "spoke disparagingly of the adverse finding that had been made by the Air Force" and referred to the Air Force as "a bunch of jerks."

When it became clear that Otepka would continue to evaluate the Rostow case in the same manner as it had been evaluated previously, Rostow was hired by the White House, where the President can set his own security rules.

After being given this job, Rostow was moved into the State Department for a time as someone who had already been given a clearance.

Angry with Otepka, Kennedy later assigned John F. Reilly, formerly a Justice Department lawyer, to the State Department as deputy assistant secretary of state in charge of administration. Reilly's role in the anti-Otepka cabal is well documented. This cabal at length plotted and engaged in eavesdropping, wiretapping, searches of Otepka's wastebasket and general spying on his activities in an effort to find grounds on which to dismiss him.

A former professor of international politics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rostow is a graduate of Yale and served in the Office of Strategic Services in World War II. Identified as the author of a State Department policy paper promoting unilateral disarmament, trading with the Communists and a generally "soft-line" toward Soviet Russia and Communist China, Rostow has come under considerable attack and was even the subject of a special congressional hearing. In recent years he has been identified with a comparatively hard line on Viet Nam. The Otepka brief reportedly does not disclose why Rostow was denied a security clearance by the Eisenhower Administration.

Fourteen Breaches in Security

The sensational Otepka briefs, whose contents have been revealed to only one or two reporters in Washington, outline numerous cases of alleged security violations. Clark Mollenhoff of the Des Moines *Register* has detailed 14 of the cases which appear below:

1. A foreign service officer who sexually violated his own daughter but was never disciplined, and in fact later was designated a part-time security officer at a post that did not have a full-time security man.

2. A foreign service officer who borrowed money from the State Department Credit Union and forged the endorsement of a fellow employe on his application for the loan. The individual later was given an important assignment in the White House.

3. A foreign service officer who admitted he furnished 18 documents, some of them classified "secret," to Philip Jaffe, the publisher of *Amerasia* magazine and on whom there was a considerable record of Communist activities and affiliation. The officer was permitted to take an honorable retirement with pension.

4. A security division technician who went on drunken rampages at several embassies in foreign countries and whose misconduct was condoned and covered up by Reilly. Reports of the misconduct actually were kept out of the personnel file.

5. A security officer stationed in Athens, Greece, who failed to report a large number of security violations, yet was appointed deputy chief of the Division of Security Evaluations at the State Department.

6. A person nominated by President Kennedy for a high position who publicly assaulted his wife and threw her clothing on the lawn, shrubbery and street. The information was ordered eliminated from the personnel record by a "progressive" security officer who said such details of a public family fight had nothing to do with security or suitability of a high public official.

7. A man dismissed as a security risk by the Mutual Security Agency and characterized as having "a rotten file" who was appointed to a State Department position and given full security clearance.

8. A foreign service officer stationed in Mexico and Caracas, Venezuela, who was guilty of a series of incidents of sexual misconduct, including an affair with the wife of the ambassador of another nation. His conduct was excused by State Department politicians.

9. A security officer who withheld information from his superiors concerning the loss of classified documents by an American ambassador. The officer was not censured and was promoted to be a top lieutenant of Reilly.

10. A security officer stationed in Moscow who permitted himself to be enticed into the apartment of a Russian woman, an agent for the secret police. The secret police used concealed cameras to photograph the American and his nude companion and tried to get him to spy for the Soviet Union. He never was criticized or disciplined.

11. A foreign service officer who admitted to security officers and State Department medical authorities that he had engaged in

homosexual acts. The medical officers found him unfit to serve abroad because in their judgment his homosexual tendencies made him a potential security risk. He was sent abroad, however, and was assigned to a critical post behind the Iron Curtain.

12. A foreign service officer who, on his application form and in interviews, concealed the fact that he had been a member of the Young Communist League and the Communist party. He was not disciplined and still is employed in the State Department.

13. A foreign service officer stationed in an eastern European post who admitted homosexual tendencies and other personal misconduct but who was given responsibility for supervising the Marine guard personnel and protecting all safe combinations at the American embassy. His negligence permitted foreign agents to have access to classified reports at the embassy. He was not disciplined and received normal promotions. He still is in the State Department.

14. A foreign service officer, formerly a security officer, who owned two automobiles but was authorized to have only one shipped to a new post at government expense. He had the second automobile concealed in a lift van and represented it on the invoice as a household furnishing. His case was referred to the Department of Justice for prosecution for fraud, but there was no prosecution and he was not disciplined.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY

The crucial importance of having a first-rate security program has been driven home by the London *Sunday Times'* sensational new disclosures concerning Harold Philby, the head of the Soviet section of the British Secret Intelligence Service who fled to Moscow in 1963.

Philby's achievement in rising to this position while himself being a Soviet agent, says the *Times*, ranks as one of the greatest espionage coups of all time.

Philby later went on to become the linkman between the British service and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, from which position he could give his Soviet spymasters thorough knowledge of the operations of both the major Western intelligence agencies.

Remarked the *Sunday Times* last week: "... there is a classic quality about the earlier achievement. The selection in 1944 of Philby, already a Soviet agent of more than 10 years' standing, as the man to conceive, build and control a new British operation against the Russians, is an event embodying the purest essence of espionage."

In its investigation into the Philby conspiracy, the *Sunday Times* also unearthed a remarkable 1956 U.S. State Department report on British diplomat Donald Maclean, who fled to Moscow in 1951.

The 1956 report, says the *Sunday Times*, "makes it clear that, contrary to repeated British government assertions since 1951, Donald Maclean had access to every crucial Anglo-American policy decision at the height of the Cold War. . . .

". . . the U.S. intelligence report reveals that Maclean had knowledge of secret Anglo-American exchanges on the North Atlantic pact, the Korean War and the Japanese peace treaty.

"It also shows, for instance, that Maclean had full knowledge of the critical American determination to 'localize the conflict,' and therefore of its decision not to allow the United Nations forces under Gen. MacArthur to carry the war against the Chinese coast.

"Both MacArthur and his chief of intelligence, Gen. Charles Willoughby, were certain at the time that this information had been passed to the Russians. Just before he died, MacArthur complained that the Chinese not only knew of this policy decision, but 'all our strategic troop movements.' "

The first secretary in the British Embassy in Washington and later head of the American department in the Foreign Office, Maclean also passed on vital information to the Soviet regarding our atomic secrets.

Post Office General Release No. 153

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, following my remarks I am including a copy of a bulletin put out by the information service of the Post Office Department. This is General Release No. 153. I call to your attention the first sentence in which it states:

> Ways and means of making available American postal know-how to Latin American countries and newly developing nations will be the major topic of discussion by international postal chiefs attending the Management Council of the Universal Postal Union meeting in Bogotá, Colombia, this week.

Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that our own Post Office Department ought to develop some know-how, which is now lacking, before it tries to tell other countries what to do and get them in the same mess in which we find ourselves.

Also, you will note in this bulletin it states there are seven officials of the Post Office Department who are making this trip to Bogotá, Colombia. This would occur to me as being quite expensive, unnecessary, and unwarranted in view of the current debate over Federal spending.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT GENERAL RELEASE NO. 153

Ways and means of making available American postal know-how to Latin American countries and newly developing nations will be the major topic of discussion by international postal chiefs attending the Management Council of the Universal Postal Union meeting in Bogota, Colombia, this week.

Assistant Postmaster General Richard J. Murphy, who will head the United States delegation at the conference, leaves for Bogota, Thursday, October 19. Working groups of the Council have been in session since October 14th. The meeting will end October 27th.

The U.P.U.'s Management Council, composed of 26 member nations, will study the technical and operational problems of the postal service on the local level as well as the movement of mail internationally.

Other topics to be discussed at the meeting will include mechanization and modernization of the postal services, standardization of envelopes for international mail and expanded use of sealed "containers" for the movement of mail between nations.

U.S. postal officials also participating in the session are: Mr. Walter F. Sheble, Special Assistant to the Postmaster General for International Postal Affairs; Mr. Francis X. Biglin, Special Assistant to the Assistant Postmaster General, Bureau of Operations; Mr. Harold E. McClur, Financial Manager, Finance Systems Managemnt Division and Mr. Stuart J. Winston, Economist, Office of Postal Economics, Bureau of Finance and Administration; Mr. Joseph K. Feldmark, International Technical Liaison, Bureau of Research and Engineering, and Mr. Pedro Juan Sandin, Postmaster, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Public Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, one of the most constructive legislative acts of the 90th Congress to date, in terms of new legislation, has been passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The measure was approved in differing versions by the House and Senate. The bill is now in conference. I hope that soon a conference report will emerge that both bodies can approve. The bill is not fully adequate, but it does provide the building blocks for a "second network"—an alternative course of fare from that served by commercial broadcasting.

I include an editorial in the Washington Post for September 24, 1967, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PUBLIC TELEVISION

The passage by the House of Representatives of the public television bill assures the establishment of what promises to be a great new force for the enrichment of life in this Nation. Only a few details need to be ironed out in conference with the Senate before the bill goes to the President for his signature. When that is completed, television should be on the verge of delivering to the public those great cultural and public affairs programs it has all too frequently failed to deliver in the past.

The action of the House came despite substantial opposition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. Forty-four Democrats (39 of them from the South) voted to kill the Corporation although 161 members of their party favored it. The Republicans voted 123 to 33 against the Corporation. Why the Republicans should oppose the bill is difficult to understand. They voiced fears of establishing a great propaganda organ, although amendments by the House Commerce Committee have assured bipartisan control of the Corporation. And they complained about the financing of the Corporation, although this question was specifically put off until the President makes a recommendation next year. It appears that the votes were cast against the bill as much to rebuff the President, who had proposed the legislation, as anything else. Only one Senator had voted against it.

The question of financing is, indeed, a difficult one. But the establishment of the Corporation, with a comparatively small budget provided on a temporary basis by the Federal Government, clears the way for thoughtful consideration next year of permanent financing. The Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Commission, which played a major role in initiating the legislation, both oppose financing public television out of public funds, as do we. One of the methods proposed is to levy an excise tax on the sale of every new television set. Another, discussed by several members of the House during the debate, is to raise at least part of the estimated $280 million eventual budget through license fees charged to operators of commercial television stations. This latter idea, it seems to us, needs considerable exploration before it is accepted or rejected.

Under terms of the new legislation, the Corporation will finance and arrange for the production of television programs "primarily designed for educational or cultural purposes." It will offer those programs to independent educational stations which may or may not air them as they see fit. And it will have funds to help in the development of such stations where they do not now exist and to encourage innovations in programming on existing and new stations.

With a sound financial base, this Corporation should be able to provide a new source of information and enlightenment for the Nation's television viewing public. It will not have to worry about audience ratings and sponsors' reactions. Its prime concern will be the quality of its programming. Coming just as some close observers of television are wondering if large parts of the public are beginning to tire of their current fare, this new kind of television may provide the competition needed to insert more flashes of brilliance into the present mediocrity of the air.

Double Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, there is a lesson for all in the career of Raymond A. Gallagher, who has just retired after 41 years' service in a variety of capacities with Pennsylvania Electric Co. In addition to leaving an outstanding record in the utility industry, he has compiled a history of community contributions that should set an example not only for busy executives but for others in all types of employment.

A graduate of Pennsylvania State University in 1923, Mr. Gallagher was employed by the Erie Lighting Co., Alabama Power Co., and Duquesne Light Co. before joining Penelec in 1926. Through outstanding ability and devotion to duty, he became a member of the board of directors and vice president of the former Keystone Division of the company, with headquarters in Oil City, in 1942. Four years later he returned to Johnstown, where he had previously served as comptroller and chief accountant, as vice president in charge of industrial relations and rates. In 1954 Mr. Gallagher became vice president and assistant to the president. He was also chairman of the pension board and of the executive pension plan.

To achieve these positions in an important company in an important industry was obviously a full-time effort, but Mr. Gallagher was willing to expend reserve energies in behalf of his industry and his fellowmen. Several times a member of the executive of Pennsylvania Electric Association, he was vice president in 1950–51 and president in 1951–52. What is more, Mr. Gallagher was—

Director of the chamber of commerce and the Community Chest, and a member of the Rotary Club and the Boy Scout Council advisory board during his tenure in Oil City;

Director of the Greater Johnstown Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the American Cancer Society's 1951 fund drive in an eight-county central Pennsylvania area, and vice president and a member of the board of directors of the society's Cambria County unit, and

Division chairman for the campus completion campaign of the University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown.

Mr. Gallagher has also been serving as treasurer and a member of the executive committee of the Greater Johnstown Citizen's Safety Council and is a national associate of Boys Clubs of America.

Because so few individuals are gifted with the dedication, zeal, and stamina of Raymond A. Gallagher, his accomplishments stand out all the more. And we are all the better for them.

One More Hurdle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia Board of Zoning Adjustments is to meet today to consider what should be a routine case involving the Watergate project in Washington. That it may not be so routine is suggested by an editorial which apeared in the Washington Evening Star on Monday. The fears expressed in the editorial are most surely confirmed by the submission of a bill in the Senate earlier this month which would prohibit the erection of any building within 1,000 feet of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The editorial in the Star makes sense to me and I trust it will also make sense to the Board of Zoning Adjustments.

The editorial follows:

One More Hurdle

The developers of the Watergate project are expected to seek the Board of Zoning Adjustment's permission Wednesday to proceed with final plans for the last building in their attractive apartment-hotel-office building complex at the foot of Virginia Avenue. If there is any justice left in the world, the request will be speedily granted.

To be sure, the history of bureaucratic delay, obstructionism and obfuscation which has plagued this development has been so incredible that perhaps it is unwise to assume that reason or justice will prevail now.

The project was initially approved by the District government in 1962, under a complicated new zoning classification which sought to encourage a mix of varied urban uses on large tracts. One by one, the hurdles raised by half a dozen governmental agencies have been surmounted through countless modifications in plans. Throughout, the developers have acted in good faith. And the nearly completed product fully reflects the promise of its original designs. Only one barrier remains—a claim that the final building will impair the value of the Kennedy Cultural Center, now being constructed on an adjacent Potomac River site.

While the objections of the center's trustees are not new, they have changed radically. Indeed, when the cultural-center site was being sought, the line was that the two projects would be perfectly compatible. In time, however, the center's trustees complained that the height of Watergate's final building would dwarf the center. And their present position, adopted a few weeks ago, is that the final structure should not be built at all.

This, of course, is preposterous. Quite apart from the value of the land at issue, the contractual obligations between Watergate and its present commercial and private tenants assume the completion of the entire project. Much of the investment return is wrapped up, moreover, in the final apartment. If it should not be built, who is to assume the cost of these damages? And the further fact is that without the final structure the architectural integrity of the Watergate project would be shattered.

The ultimate absurdity of the trustees' position concerns their esthetic objections. The Watergate building will be 300 feet from the cultural center—the length of a football field—at the closest point. Its "excess" in height over that of the center amounts to 14 feet, a difference which will be virtually indistinguishable. The two projects, in our view, complement rather than detract from one another. If there is a vantage point from which this is not the case we have been unable to find it.

Edward Durell Stone, the Kennedy Center architect, says that such a presidential memorial should be surrounded by "open park areas" which presumably also would leave open the possibility of the center's expansion if that should prove desirable at some time in the future. But it is a little late for Stone or anyone else to be raising these concerns. The physical limiations were recognized when the site was chosen—and they were brushed aside then as being of no consequence.

The only substantial issue before the BZA is whether it intends to uphold the District's end of a bargain entered five years ago. Its failure to do so now would be an unconscionable act of bad faith.

Small Victories in Pollution War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most direct and practical editorials that has come to my attention on the need to develop an effective program against water pollution appeared in the Chicago Sun Times on Tuesday, October 17. In placing this editorial in the Record I wish to point out that it properly emphasizes the fact that congressional action, rather than words, is necessary so that the cleanliness of water throughout the land can be maintained. The editorial follows:

Small Victories in Pollution War

The Army Corps of Engineers has agreed to stop dumping polluted Indiana Harbor Ship Canal dredgings into Lake Michigan, and Gov. Kerner has banned all dumping into the lake of material dredged in Illinois.

Both actions simply are concessions to public pressure, and neither is a major victory in the campaign for clean water.

The engineers—who earlier said no Indiana land-disposal sites were available—now will dump canal dredgings onto land belonging to steel firms. But the Indiana project is just one of 64 Great Lakes dredging jobs under way.

A change in practice on one project does not alleviate the bureaucratic obstinacy which has allowed pollutants to be dumped into the lake for more than 40 years.

It now appears, however, that the pollution war has become politically popular. Until Mayor Daley flatly termed the lake pollution to be a crisis, many who had not felt the urgency suddenly took up weapons in the battle.

Yet enthusiasm often tends to flag whenever public outrage subsides. So public pressure for clean water must not lessen until a full-scale co-ordinated war on water pollution is under way.

What is needed, as we have said in this space frequently, is a congressional study of the pollution problem and the existing antipollution machinery, followed by passage of federal legislation that will force cleanup of the water.

The Kee Report: Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report."

The subject discussed in this program is the Social Security System.

The report follows:

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

Your Congress is now engaged in what the experts describe as a routine revision of the Social Security system. While there has been controversy over a few amendments, the changes are too technical for review on a program of this nature.

In this time of alarm and excitement, a routine review of any Federal program is hardly likely to attract much public attention. I believe most of our citizens are deeply distressed at the growing wave of violence, both at home and abroad. However, in the midst of the world's bad news, perhaps this is the ideal time to review one of the most successful programs ever undertaken to aid those in need.

The Social Security system was launched a little more than 30 years ago, at a time when our national economy was slowly recovering from the great depression. The first and basic step was the establishment of a system of compulsory old-age insurance financed by the contributions of both employer and employee. Please bear in mind that in those days, the majority of retired workers had no fixed income and nothing to rely on except family support or public charity.

The insurance worked well from the beginning. But as late as the year 1950, only one quarter of our citizens over 65 years of age were receiving benefits under the Social Security system. The others were still outside its protection because for one reason or another, they failed to qualify. This group included self-employed persons, the employees of institutions or industries exempt from coverage, and women homemakers. Over the years since then, there has been a gradual expansion of social security coverage to help meet the financial needs of the majority of our senior citizens.

As a result, about 86 percent are now covered in one form or another. Perhaps the most satisfying feature is that the revised Social Security system attempts to make provision for those who need it most, the widows and orphans of deceased workers. The latest figures reveal that more than 14 million retired workers are now receiving monthly benefits, survivors benefits are going to more than 5 million widows and orphans, and benefits are also going to nearly 2 million disabled workers and their families.

A couple of years ago, during the last Congress, a further extension of the system was made when the medicare program was voted into law. This was adopted because experience had shown that the great majority of elderly Americans lacked the means for the medical costs of an extended illness. It is too early to evaluate the practical results of this program, but the urgency of the need is beyond question.

Social Security benefits, even for those who received the maximum amount, can hardly be called excessive. Yet, this monthly check represents the only income for 85 percent of those in the Social Security system.

Because of the current unrest, it is fashionable in some quarters to question the value of our Democratic institutions. Our system is not perfect. But it has brought more happiness to more people than any Government on earth.

Thank you for listening.

Shelton Honors Sam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent gathering in Shelton, Conn., sponsored by the Loyal Order of Moose, honored Salvatore Chapperone for his outstanding services over the years to the Moose Lodge and to the community of Shelton.

Mr. Chapperone who has been a member of this public service organization for 30 years has distinguished himself in the minds of his fellow citizens by his generous and public spirited work for the benefit of the less fortunate members of his city.

In the conviction that we would be a better Nation if we had more Sam Chapperones, I include herewith a news article from the Ansonia Evening Sentinel of September 26, which describes the community tribute which was given to Sam Chapperone:

Two Hundred Fifty Salute Chapperone at Moose Lodge Fete

Salvatore (Sam the Barber) Chapperone was feted at a testimonial Saturday in the Community Center, Shelton. More than 250 attended.

The affair was sponsored by Shelton Lodge, Loyal Order of Moose.

Chapperone was given a plaque by Governor Fred Criscolo of the local lodge for outstanding services to the community and the lodge.

Mrs. Chapperone was given a large bouquet of roses by Jack Carey, junior governor and chairman of the testimonial.

Among the guests were Mayor Charles Frager and Robert Stillwell, deputy governor of the Supreme Lodge, Loyal Order of the Moose of the World.

Telegraphs of congratulations were sent to Chapperone by Governor John Dempsey and Congressman John Monagan. Lester Brittle of Stamford Moose Lodge was master of ceremonies.

Chapperone has lived in the Valley for 34 years. His barber shop is on Howe Avenue, Shelton. He has been a Moose member for 30 years.

National Businesswomen's Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, October 15–21 has been designated as National Businesswomen's Week for 1967. The idea for observance of this week was first presented to the national convention of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in 1928.

Its purpose is to publicize the achievements of business and professional women and to publicize the objectives and program of the National Federation. This week, a number of presidents of national organizations which serve career women are in the Nation's Capital for the Congress of Career Women. I understand that the focus of their meeting will be on the growing role of women in all phases of national life.

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs was founded in 1919 as an outgrowth of the YWCA War Work Council of 1918.

Today there are more than 175,000 members of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in more than 3,500 local groups. The membership represents some 700 occupations.

The objectives of the clubs are: to elevate the standards for women in business and in the professions; to promote the interests of business and professional women; to bring about a spirit of cooperation among business and professional women of the United States; and to extend opportunities to business and professional women through education along lines of industrial, scientific, and vocational activities.

Mr. Speaker, since 1923 the National Federation has sponsored awards and funds including a World Friendship Fund; the Lena Lake Forrest Fellowship Fund to finance research work in the problems of business and professional women; the U.N. fellowship which enables one of its members to study one of the agencies of the United Nations; the Sally Butler International Scholarship Fund; the Dr. Minnie L. Maffet Chinese Nurse's Memorial Fund; and the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania Fund.

The federation also sponsors the Congress of American Women Leaders, participates in the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, and was instrumental in the creation of State commissions on the status of women.

Mr. Speaker, a tribute to the business and professional women of America is especially fitting in 1967 when one-third of the work force is made up of women, when more and more top Government positions are held by women, when women are heading brokerage firms and research teams, and when educated women whose children are grown are increasingly aware of the opportunities for career fulfillment which are available to them.

May I say that we welcome the ladies in Washington for the observance of National Businesswomen's Week, we commend them for the fine work they are doing, and we recognize them for their importance in every phase of the national life.

Textile Industry's Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, excessive imports are seriously threatening the job opportunities of the American people. The problem is becoming of increasing concern to every one interested in providing full employment of our people.

On October 16, 1967, television station WBTV and radio station WBT, Charlotte, N.C., carried an editorial which points up the critical condition existing in the textile industry by reason of inordinate imports.

I feel the editorial will be of interest to all of us who are exerting every effort to protect job opportunities in the domestic textile industry. I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

TEXTILE INDUSTRY'S PLIGHT

Under our free enterprise system, each business is expected to meet the competition in a fair and square contest and survive through its own efforts. If it cannot hold its own, it goes out of business. The idea that the federal government ought to subsidize any industry in order to enable it to compete is foreign to the whole American creed of free enterprise.

It may be hard on the businessman who sees his establishment go to the wall, but those are the rules of the game.

But the first rule of the game is that the competition must be fair. If it is unfair, the government is justified in moving in with such weapons as antitrust laws and tariffs to equalize any unequal situation.

Some years ago the American textile industry was at great disadvantage because government export subsidies and other aids had reacted against the American industry by making it possible for Japanese textile manufacturers, for example, to buy American cotton at lower prices than American manufacturers had to pay. The result was that Japan could buy American cotton, and, by paying its textile workers fantastically low wages, undersell our own textile people on their home ground.

This was rectified when the two-price cotton system was abolished. But then came the Kennedy round of tariff agreements, under which tariffs on textile were reduced by the United States, and again the foreign manufacturers were given an advantage.

Japan, which is one of the largest exporters of textiles to the United States, pays its textile workers 39c an hour, compared with the $2.02 paid to American workers.

When the American worker is paid five times as much as the Japanese doing the same work with the same kind of machine, the difference including shipping costs is too great to be made up by efficient management. Hourly wages in other countries that have large exports of textiles to the United States are: Hong Kong, 29c an hour; Singapore, 17c; Portugal, 19c; Spain, 44c; Italy, 55c; France, 80c; West Germany, 96c.

Even in West Germany, the most advanced of all the countries mentioned, the textile worker gets less than half as much as the American. That kind of competition is not fair. The government is fully justified in making it fair by setting up a system of import quotas to make up for the jolt the American industry got from the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations.

The thousands of textile workers in the Carolinas and elsewhere in the south have a direct interest in this effort to enable the American industry to compete with foreign rivals on equal terms.

Independent Oil Jobber Favors Cut in Oil Depletion Allowance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on October 12, I introduced for myself, Mr. REES, Mr. COHELAN, Mr. WILLIAM FORD, Mr. DOW, Mr. MEEDS, and Mr. ADAMS, H.R. 13490, a 10-point tax reform bill designed to save more than $4 billion in lost revenues.

A major leak in the Treasury bucket is the oil depletion allowance. The allowance spares the investor in oil from paying income tax on 27½ percent of his gross income from oil wells—as long as that amount does not exceed one-half of his net income.

This privileged sanctuary from the tax collector is naturally strongly guarded by the oil interests.

It is therefore refreshing to find a sector of the oil industry—the small independent oil jobbers—opposed to the oil depletion allowance.

The small independent jobber—one of the last sources of competition in the highly structured and integrated oil industry—suffers from the unfairness of competition with the oil behemoths which reap the benefit of the allowance. For example, in 1964, as a result of this provision, the five largest U.S. oil refiners paid the following percentages of their income in Federal income taxes: Standard Oil of New Jersey, 1.7 percent; Texaco, 0.8 percent; Gulf, 8.6 percent; Socony Mobil, 5.9 percent; Standard of California, 2.1 percent—these taxpayments in a year in which corporate taxes rates were 48 percent.

There follows a copy of a letter I reently reeived from Este Oils Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio:

ESTE OILS CO.,
Cincinnati, Ohio, October 10, 1967.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN REUSS: I read in the October 9th issue of Oil Daily of your efforts to reduce the Depletion Allowance to 15%. Let me say that you have the wholehearted support of the many small independent oil jobbers in this great nation of ours.

The Depletion Allowance at its present levels and with its tremendous abuses constitutes one of the greatest money grabs from the IRS that has ever existed and I believe it is long overdue for a complete overhaul.

Again let me say good luck with your efforts to reduce the Depletion Allowance.

I am sending a copy of this letter plus a copy of the article to our representatives in order to let them know how much we here at Este Oils Co. would appreciate their supporting your bill.

Truly yours,

E. H. SCHIETLMAN.
J. ALLEN.
E. B. LINESCH.
MARIE WEAVER.
KENNETH H. SMITH.

Creative Partnership: Government and Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the Des Moines Register recently published an editorial entitled "Funds for City Renewal." It called our attention to the life insurance industry's decision to invest $1 billion in housing and commercial enterprises in slum areas. This effort was termed an "excellent example of how business and Government can join forces in attacking the Nation's urgent city problems."

I want to join the editors of the Register in endorsing this announcement. If we had more examples of such active interest by private industry and encouragement by the Federal Government—we would be further ahead in our efforts to solve the problems of our cities. This commitment is particularly important because it represents corporate recognition of their social responsibilities. As noted in this editorial.

The firms obviously are motivated by more than the usual business considerations. They know that problems of the cities cannot be left to government alone. They know the business community has responsibilities to the community as a whole that must be assumed.

I would like to share this informative editorial with my colleagues by inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FUNDS FOR CITY RENEWAL

The life insurance industry's decision to invest $1 billion in housing and commercial enterprises in slum areas is an excellent example of how business and government can join forces in attacking the nation's urgent city problems. The federal government plans to back the private enterprise loans with Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgage insurance and other government programs.

Until recently FHA contributed to the decline of decaying areas by a policy of shunning mortgage insurance for housing in blighted neighborhoods. The policy was justified on the ground that these were "high risk" areas. FHA further contended that denial of insurance would be an inducement to other neighborhoods to avoid the same fate. The net effect was to penalize slum inhabitants and virtually stifle private investment and improvement efforts in areas most needing them.

The FHA's new policy of insuring mortgages in "high risk" areas is a factor in the insurance industry's willingness to earmark substantial funds for investment in these neighborhoods. But the 348 life insurance companies—including three major Iowa-based firms—participating in the program almost certainly can earn higher interest in other ways than is allowed under FHA programs.

The firms obviously are motivated by more than the usual business considerations. They know that problems of the cities can't be left to government alone. They know the business community has responsibilities to the community as a whole that must be assumed.

Investment in urban housing will be of little benefit to the lowest income slum dwellers unless accompanied by subsdies to bring rents to levels they can afford. One of the most promising methods of furnishing such a subsidy is through the federal rent supplement program, which finances rent payments for low-income families in nonprofit housing built and operated by private enterprise. A substantial portion of the $1 billion of insurance company investment money is expected to be put into construction of housing eligible for rent supplements.

The House in May voted against new rent supplement funds. The Senate Appropriations Committee, however, recently endorsed the full $40 million authorization requested by the Administration. The insurance industry action in putting up money for slum area investment is a challenge to Congress to help foster the budding business-government partnership for improving city life by voting a generous rent supplement appropriation.

Clarence B. Hamel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, Clarence B. Hamel, for 36 years a dedicated member of the Manhasset-Lakeville, N.Y., fire district, died last week while answering a volunteer fire call. At the time of his death he was commissioner of the fire district.

I had the privilege of knowing Mr. Hamel and knew of his devotion to the safety of his friends and neighbors. Nobody will ever know how many lives were saved by Mr. Hamel's work in building the Manhasset-Lakeville Volunteer Fire Depatrment into an efficient and responsible department.

The October 12 issue of the Manhasset Press contained an editorial of appropriate tribute to Mr. Hamel. Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include that editorial in the RECORD at this point:

The tall figure of Commissioner Clarence Hamel will be seen no longer in the firemen's line of march on Memorial Day nor at the scene of a fire, fighting side-by-side with the vamps. He died of a heart attack Monday night while running to assist his company at the fire in Patricia Murphy's Restaurant.

But, Manhasset will not forget Commissioner Hamel's 36 years of dedicated service to the community and the fire department which, due to his efforts, is recognized today as one of the most efficient and effective organizations in the state.

We join the community in mourning Commissioner Hamel.

Mr. Speaker, I too, join in mourning Commissioner Hamel.

Auto Smog: A Serious Threat to Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply disappointed in the revised language written by the House Commerce Committee into its version of section 208 of the 1967 Clean Air Act Amendments.

This revised section 208 will undermine the tremendous progress now being made in California's air pollution control program—currently the Nation's pioneering leader in this vital field—and could have a potentially disastrous effect on the health of the nearly 10 million persons living in the Los Angeles basin—one of America's most highly critical auto smog areas.

This unfortunate provision of the committee's bill is, in my opinion, a regrettable and unnecessary concession to the narrow economic interests of our powerful and influential automobile manufacturing industry.

Moreover, it will have the effect of penalizing the citizens of California for our State's outstanding leadership in the fight to organize a truly national effort to eliminate, once and for all, the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe, and to create the kind of clean atmosphere we want for ourselves and for our children.

The House committee's version of section 208 would do this by prohibiting California's State legislature from adopting more stringent auto smog control regulations than the bill's proposed national standards, and, instead, would require California to follow a complicated bureaucratic procedure if it ever tried to convince Federal officials in Washington that they should prescribe and administer stricter motor vehicle emission standards in order to allow California to meet the unique and compelling circumstances found in our major metropolitan centers.

Therefore, I strongly urge my fellow colleagues in the House to reverse the Commerce Committee's action, and restore the original Senate language—adopted on a unanimous 88-to-0 vote—that allowed California to continue to strengthen its air pollution control regulations.

In this way, we can best promote a cooperative local-State-Federal-private industry approach to establishing a healthy living environment in America's increasingly crowded metropolitan centers like Los Angeles, where some 80 percent of our country's population will soon reside.

As added evidence of the urgent necessity for prompt congressional action to allow California to pursue aggressively its fight against the smog menace, I would like to include in the RECORD a hard-hitting statement on this subject by Dr. Joseph Boyle, president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association.

Dr. Boyle describes the air pollution problem as "a serious threat to the health of the residents of the Los Angeles basin" which constitutes an imminent crisis demanding "that every appropriate action, however drastic, be taken immediately."

Dr. Boyle concludes with the warning:

No further delay can be tolerated with safety.

The statement referred to follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. JOSEPH BOYLE, PRESIDENT, LOS ANGELES COUNTY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., OCTOBER 5, 1967

The Environmental Health Committee of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, representing approximately 10,000 physicians, has reviewed air monitoring measurements and other data compiled by the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District. This committee concludes that air pollution is becoming increasingly worse and may lead to great lethality in this community.

The evidence is conclusive that the increase in the significant components of this air pollution is due primarily to emissions from motor vehicles. These emissions constitute a serious threat to the health of residents of the Los Angeles Basin. Although this is especially true for those who are ill, the very young and the aged, it also applies to those who are presently in good health.

The Los Angeles County Medical Association wishes to emphasize to the Legislature of the State of California and the Congress of the United States that a critical and worsening health crisis exists in Los Angeles County despite all efforts for its control. The pending crisis is imminent and demands that every appropriate action, however drastic, be taken immediately. No further delay can be tolerated with safety.

Wall of Silence Surrounds U.S.S. "Liberty" Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on October 6 I wrote the following inquiry to the Secretary of State:

OCTOBER 6, 1967.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SECRETARY: At the time of the Israeli attack on the U.S.S. *Liberty* it was stated that the Israeli Government would pay reparations to the United States for damage to the vessel and indemnification to injured United States personnel and survivors of United States personnel who were killed.

Would you kindly advise me in detail what, if anything, has been accomplished to date relative to these payments, the matter of apologies and all other developments concerning the matter.

Thank you for your courtesy in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress.

On the same date I wrote an identical letter to the Secretary of Defense.

Thus far I have heard nothing from the State Department and have received from Defense only a short acknowledgment under date of October 9, specifying that—

> This matter is receiving attention and you will be advised further as soon as possible.

Inasmuch as American lives were lost, American sailors were injured, and an American naval vessel was severely damaged by the attack on the U.S.S. *Liberty*, it seems to me that the U.S. Government by this time should be in a position to say something definitive about the whole affair and be in a position to give some assurances that the Israel Government is pursuing in good faith the matter of financial and other amends for the acts in this instance of members of its military establishment.

Mining Seminar, Barstow, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Nevada, Congressman Walter S. Baring, and the gentleman from Utah, Congressman Laurence J. Burton, and I attended a mining seminar last Saturday in Barstow, Calif., and I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to the major events of this seminar. The purpose of the convention was to work out a cooperative spirit between Government and private industry with the object of revitalizing the mining industry in the West.

Mr. Speaker, by acclamation, the convention, attended by 750 registrants, endorsed the following four resolutions:

First. That Congress enact rules and regulations for the Department of Interior, to correct present unrealistic regulations. This resolution asks Congress to bring about an administration of mining law in the spirit and intent of Congress and the people.

Second. That State and county departments concerned with planning and approval of new mines and mills change attitudes and procedures for a better relationship with the mining industry.

Third. For many years the Government has paid subsidies to farmers, the merchant marine, and the aircraft industry, and has provided oil depletion allowances. Therefore, the President and the Congress should either subsidize the mining industry or eliminate subsidies and restrictions altogether and return to a free economy for all.

Fourth. That the seminar be annual, and its name changed from a county mining seminar to the Western States Seminar.

Mr. Speaker, the keynote addresses were delivered by my good friends and colleagues, Congressman Walter S. Baring and Congressman Laurence J. Burton, and it is a pleasure, therefore, for me to insert into the Congressional Record their remarks as follows:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN WALTER S. BARING, DEMOCRAT, OF NEVADA, BEFORE THE FIRST ANNUAL SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY MINING SEMINAR, BARSTOW, CALIF.

Mayor Gilliam, Chairman Mikesell, my colleagues from the House of Representatives, distinguished guests, and members of the mining fraternity:

I always feel at home when I am in the midst of those who have the fortitude to explore for and develop the minerals that lie within the earth—mainly because even when they suffer economic setbacks they remain affable and confident in their future.

I am happy that this seminar has come into being and wish to compliment my good friend and colleague, Congressman Jerry Pettis for his vision and determination to bring about a constructive and public discussion of the problems of mining in San Bernardino County. I join with him in the hope that the views aired here and the suggestions made here will be given careful consideration by our mineral policy makers. I for one, look for positive action, not just promises or excuses from them.

Here we are in the nation's largest county with a history of mineral production highly helpful to the development of the West but where for the lack of sound policies the full potential of mineral development is not being realized. Is this potential to be denied realization and great producing properties of the past to become ghost areas and tourist attractions only? I cannot conclude that you would have it that way.

There are those, in this and past administrations both Democrats and Republicans with a different outlook than mine, who would have you believe that the mining industry of this country never had it so good. They point to high production and earnings and take credit for them. Have you ever heard them step forward with positive policies to aid our small miners, the very backbone of our mineral development in the past? Have you ever heard them announce, voluntarily, changes in onerous regulations or policies to encourage the search for and mining of our hidden ore bodies?

I say the record does not show concern over the plight or welfare of the miner. Rather it has been clouded with political soft soap, skillfully applied, with indifference and even callous disregard for those who risk their capital in pursuit of minerals in the ground. The record, too, is replete, with ever changing ground rules designed to make it more and more difficult to bring in new mines and develop them—particularly on the public lands.

Time will not permit me to cite but a few of the myriad of problems with which the mining industry has been beset and where solutions advanced by bureaucratic administration have discouraged rather than encouraged mineral progress. Let's take a look at the public lands area for a moment. Repeaded efforts have been made by the bureaucrats to undermine our basic mining laws. Various regulations and rulings by Interior Department officials have attempted to erode the mining laws by holding that a mineral discovery on mining claims must be accompanied by a demonstration of "commercial value" of the product of the claim. They are still trying but, fortunately, the courts of the West have recently overturned the Departmental decision in this regard. What the final outcome will be in the higher courts, no one can say, but you may rest assured that the responsible mining industry will continue to challenge the action of the Department in denying location or patent on the grounds of lack of commercial marketability.

All of you here are probably familiar with the continuing efforts of the Interior Department to define "common varieties" of minerals under Public Law 167 in the narrowest sense. Patents have been denied and claims rules invalid in many instances where I believe that the minerals involved were certainly *not* of a "common variety." Although I have introduced a bill to clarify this situation, I am not sure that new legislation can specifically define "common varieties" better than existing law, without creating new problems unless the Department of the Interior is willing to cooperate by making reasonable interpretations of the laws passed by Congress. I do believe that reasonable administration, carefully evaluating each case on its own merits, can result in fair and equitable treatment of locations for minerals of an "uncommon variety" nature. Minerals, even though they are of common occurrence, may possess distinct and special values which properly qualify them for location under the mining laws. High type cement rock: special grade building stone; terrazzos of special grade and particular use, to my way of thinking, are *not* "common varieties." The only common thing about them is the uncommon treatment that has been accorded their claimants by the Department of the Interior. I do not believe that those administering the law today have carried out the intent of Congress but rather have sought to legislate by ruling and regulatory authority they did not receive in the enabling act.

Land withdrawal policies have certainly created havoc with mineral development. As you know, we have had numerous military withdrawals, too many of which have occurred in this country. Recently Congress has attempted to put some control over them by requiring that such withdrawals of 5,000 acres or more must have Congressional approval. This does not, however, provide for the lands returned to the public domain after they have served their usefulness, nor does it make sure that multiple use is placed in effect wherever it does not interfere with straightforward military activities. While there is this partial control over some defense withdrawals, there is no like control over other types of withdrawals, the majority of which prohibit operation of the mining laws. I have introduced legislation to correct this and to prevent future indiscriminate withdrawals harmful to adequate development of our mining industry. I hope we can secure its passage so that some curb may be placed on the bureaucrats.

Another type of land action that is causing great concern today, and particularly in my own state of Nevada, is the classification of public lands for specific purposes under provisions of Public Law 88–607 of 1964. That Act, passed as a temporary measure pending the report of the Public Land Law Review Commission's study of public land laws and their administration, provided for classification of public lands for disposal or interim management. The effect of such classification is to segregate the lands from settlement, location, sale, selection, entry, lease or other formal disposal under the public land laws, *including the mining and mineral leasing laws*, except to the extent that the proposed classification notice specifies that the land shall remain open for one or more forms of disposal under terms of existing land laws. This segregation was not intended to be kept in perpetuity, nor was it intended that every inch of public lands be classified prior to the Public Land Law Commission report. Were they all to be classified for specific uses, the work of the Commission might well be in vain. I submit that the Interior Department has sent its employees scurrying about the public land areas to classify as much land as possible in as short a time as possible and make it difficult for undoing such classification.

I am told that the Department is of the opinion that such classifications are of indefinite duration. This was not the intent of Congress. It is another example of assumption of authority beyond the intent of the legislation. I hope that Congress will exert its constitutional authority and reverse this move, thus reinstating the checks and balance between the legislative and executive branches of Government in land matters.

Before turning to a few other specific examples of unenlightened mineral policy, let me take this occasion to call your attention to the difficult and challenging task being undertaken by the Public Land Law Review Commission, of which Representative Larry Burton of Utah, and I have the honor of being members. Headed by my good friend, Chairman Wayne N. Aspinall of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, the Commission is forging ahead in its review of the more than 5,000 public land laws, the countless thousands of administrative regulations, rules and interpretations, and in the sifting of constructive suggestions from citizens in all parts of the country. I am sure the monumental job confronting it will result in a series of recommendations that will provide a guidepost for much needed revisions to remove inequities in law and administration and provide for maximum benefits to all of our people from our available public lands. This county should be proud of the fact that County Commissioner Nancy Smith is a member of the Commission and has participated in all of its work. Her awareness of your problems will certainly be of great help in arriving at solutions to mineral problems that will revitalize mining not only in this county, but throughout the United States.

Let us now take a look at other facets of mineral policies.

Minerals stockpiling is a good example of the destruction of confidence of the mining industry in the soundness of government policies. It was a firm, and I believe excellent, policy of the Government to create a national stockpile of strategic metals and minerals necessary to our defense. It proved its value in time of need. Pathetic today, however, are the views expressed by expert mining people years ago, when they said unless Congress securely retained the key to disposal of stockpile accumulations, materials in the stockpiles could be disposed of in an unbridled manner.

Their very existence would always have an unhealthy and repressive effect on the mining industry. How true these predictions of over 20 years ago have proved. You are all aware of the drive of two years ago and again last year to get rid of metals and minerals by public sale so as to reduce budget deficits. Mind you the concern was for obtaining funds. I maintain that this type of policy is depressive to our mining industry, is toying with possible defense requirements and supplies, and plays into the hands of those that believe we should keep our minerals in the ground and obtain our supplies from foreign sources. If you will review the history of our stockpile policies, I believe you can only arrive at the conclusion that the domestic mining industry was encouraged to build stockpiles and then thoroughly discouraged through a reversal of policy, adopted primarily to produce revenue or to hold prices at an unrealistic level. This is not the American way. We must not permit its continuance.

We have seen the sorry spectacles in the past of crash programs for mineral production and then their quick termination when they have served their needs—always with but little regard for the miner. The purchase programs for antimony, manganese, tungsten, mercury, etc., are good examples of this. The philosophy here was "get the miner to turn the spigot on, and we'll decide when to turn it off." Feast or famine, take your choice! What a policy!

We have seen efforts, year after year, to aid our domestic lead and zinc producers come to naught because of Executive Department opposition or outright threat of veto. It's been against tariff relief, quotas, purchase programs. It's been for a zero lead and zinc stockpile. What is it for—export of our lead and zinc job opportunities abroad?

We have seen our domestic uranium industry burgeon and deflate because of lack of long range policies. Again, miners turn the spigot on, "your Government will tell you when to turn it off."

We have seen our money cheapened through the downgrading of gold and silver in our monetary system. The prediction that many of us have made for a decade or more with respect to domestic supplies of these precious metals have been borne out. Throttled by Federal price control, unable to absorb more than tripled production costs, and denied the right to operate in a free market, domestic precious metal production could not and cannot meet demand.

The law of supply and demand has at last caught up with silver and the Government has had to admit that its supplies and its price control cannot now support industrial and coinage demands even with less silver being used in the coins. The operation of the law of supply and demand has brought a price increase accompanied by expanded exploration for new deposits (witness the Calico operations in this country) and increased production. Why did the Government continue to subsidize silver consumers at the expense of domestic miners when the supply-demand handwriting was on the wall? Do we always have to wait for emergency and crash programs?

(Perhaps the capable efforts of American Smelting and Refining Company and other forward looking mining companies may again result in a soundly based silver mining base here in San Bernardino.)

Gold, likewise, may respond to the law of supply and demand after having been shackled by Government fiat since 1934. As you know, I and many of my colleagues have urged for years that domestic gold mining be revitalized through various means—subsidies, bonus payments, free market, tax incentives, stockpiling and the like. Our plaintive marches to the White House and to the responsible Government Departments have met with sympathy but no substance in the form of assistance. Thus, I have again sponsored legislation to provide financial aid to gold mining. It has been approved by our committee and I hope that it may receive the green light for passage.

Internationalists and timid Government officials have practically written the destruction of our domestic gold miner. Substitution of paper money for gold backing of our currency practically removes gold from our monetary system. Why then does the Government persist in opposing a proper price, arrived at in the market place, for gold? It says Uncle feels it could bring about a loss in confidence in the dollar. How about the loss in confidence of those who would pan for gold, seek new gold supplies, and produce gold to meet the rising industrial demands if the price was right. Are not they entitled to a fair shake? How long do they have to continue as second class citizens?

How do we forge a minerals program to restore confidence in the miner? To do this, we must remove the fetters that shackle domestic mining. We must get the Executive Branch out of legislating through regulation and opinion. We must strengthen our mining industry, not mummify it.

I ask each of you to sound off to your elected officials and to the public at large, letting them know what policies are needed if mining is to develop in this country, in this State, and in this Nation. There is an old but appropriate saying "give the people light and they will find a way." I hope that you will aid all of us who are your friends in Congress by getting enough light on mining problems that the administrative branch will find a way to harness its lethal weapon labeled "veto" and find a way to strengthen the mining industry through sound policies that can be counted on not to be changed at the whim of bureaucrats. Given constructive guidelines, we in Congress can look forward to enacting the laws that will provide minign with the confidence to meet the challenge of the future.

REMARKS OF HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues from the House of Representatives, and members of the mining fraternity:

I have a deep interest in the maintenance of adequate stockpiles of strategic materials as a necessary supplement of our mineral production and other raw material programs. Such a program is vitally necessary to our national security and defense.

I did not, however, think that my research into latest stockpile policies would result in finding that our stockpile material experts place the things that dreams are made of above essential mineral commodities such as lead and zinc. But this, alas, is true. On January 6 of this year, the Office of Emergency Planning finally (after years of promises) announced nuclear war stockpile objectives and a comparison of them with conventional war objectives.

Here's but a sample of what our stockpile planners have arrived at:

1. *Opium*, which has a zero goal for a conventinal war, requires 143,000 pounds for a nuclear war!
2. *Feathers and down* should be stockpiled to the tune of 3 million pounds for both types of wars, conventional or nuclear.
3. We still need 558,000 pounds of *castor oil* in the event of a nuclear war, a drastic reduction from the 22 million pounds needed for a conventional war. (The use of nuclear bombs has obvious implications.)
4. Such important materials as aluminum, asbestos, certain types of bauxite, cadmium, copper, fluorspar, molybdenum, and lead and zinc are cut to a zero goal in event of a nuclear war!

Obviously, the establishment of the nuclear objectives and even of reduced conventional war objectives is going to have an impact upon the domestic mining industry. All of you are aware that the administration aims at realizing another billion dollars from stockpile sales of so-called excesses. The main value in this regard lies in the stockpile holdings of lead and zince which have an approximate value of three quarters of a billion dollars.

Last year, with the leadership of Chairman Aspinall, the House Interior Committee held exhaustive hearings on the stockpile program and its relationship to domestic mining. These hearings resulted in a full and frank discussion of our stockpile policies, and I think raised some serious doubts as to the adequacy of even some of our conventional objectives. We did not then know what the nuclear objectives would be.

I would also point out to you that Congress has refused to transfer blanket stockpile disposal authority to the Executive Branch despite repeated efforts made in this direction. However, what the Executive Branch has not been able to obtain in one all-encompassing bill, it is getting piecemeal from Congress. Last year alone, it approved a large sheaf of bills calling for disposition of a broad range of mineral commodities. We have received notice from the Administration regarding the further disposal of stockpile minerals and metals. These will include proposals for disposition from both the national and supplemental stockpiles of 115,000 ounces of plantinum, 1,200,000 pounds of bismuth, 60,000,000 pounds of nickel, 7,640 tons of rare earth materials, 15,000,000 pounds of molybdenum, 55,000 short tons of magnesium.

I know that all of you in the mining industry do not object to stockpile releases where complete justification has been made for them in the interest of national security, or even when really needed to meet the needs of our economy, but I am keenly aware of the criticism of the manner in which many releases are made. Such criticisms are justifiable, and I urge all of you to be sure that your views are made known to Congress when these measures are up for consideration by the Congress.

Undoubtedly, there is real justification for the stockpiling of opium, castor oil, and feathers and down; but there is equal justification for maintenance of a sound mining industry with essential minerals and metals in the stockpile. On the other hand, it is my personal opinion that the interests of the mining industry cannot be best served if the policy of any Administration is to consider the mining industry itself as a stockpile.

Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Gay Helen Barnett, managing editor of the Barstow Desert Dispatch, Barstow, Calif., appeared in the Desert Dispatch on Monday, October 16, 1967. I commend this feature story of the mining seminar to the attention of my colleagues and to the Government officials concerned with the problems of the mining industry:

Resolutions Received Unanimous Approval by Mining Delegates

(By Gay Helen Barnett)

Over 800 miners and those representing mining interests unanimously approved four resolutions at the conclusion of the first annual mining seminar held at Barstow College Saturday.

The resolutions came after the day long seminar heard directors of nine federal agencies involved in mining determinations explain the positions and policies and help available from the different agencies.

There was one fact that was made absolutely clear at Saturday's mining seminar at Barstow College, and that is the miners and the mining industry is extremely unhappy with the federal government.

The extent of the miners unhappiness with government policy was most clearly stated when Representative Jerry Pettis told a news conference that the federal directors of agencies involved in mining had "real guts" to even appear at the seminar.

The panel of government experts was not allowed to answer questions from the floor, but only those submitted in writing earlier for evaluation by the screening committee. This plan was undoubtedly felt necessary by the government to prevent department heads from obligating it to what could be termed indiscreet statements or promises.

As uncommitting and unadmitting as the panelists were, their stand was received goodnaturedly by the miners, a crusty and outspoken group at heart.

Government gobbledygook was received with chuckles and hearty laughs, despite the fact the industry has good reason for their complaints.

I call miners crusty and outspoken, and that's not an insult, it's a deep down truth. Anyone with enough fortitude to try making a living by digging an expensive hole in the ground in the hopes they'll strike paydirt has got to have real courage and, because government has forced them to be independent of anyone or anything, they are indeed outspoken about their livelihood.

Despite the shackles put on the federal panelists, a lot of good did come out of the seminar. The mining industry had a chance to hear what programs are available to assist them in their work, and what must have been the best news to those attending was the "hint" that indeed there may be discrepancies in the administering of mining laws.

I predict the only problem arising as the result of the mining seminar in Barstow will be the battle royal as to who will host the affair next year. For a program planned for a couple of hundred interested in mining, the turnout of about 800, all concerned with the same subject, can only be termed fantastic. There will be many a San Bernardino County city bidding for the seminar next year. Let's hope the steering committee will see to it that it stays right here in Barstow. It's a boom to our economy, not to mention our status.

The first resolution asked that those departments of state and county governments concerned with planning and approval of new mines and mills be urged to change their attitudes and procedures to facilitate a better relationship with the mining industry and promote that industry. The resolution cited the problems and bottlenecks that have impeded progress of the mining industry.

The second resolution cited the importance of the future of our country that we have a strong mining industry. It stated that mines and miners have met with problems in the past from various federal agencies involved in administering the mining laws which at times has been impeded by unrealistic regulations to the extent it is now almost impossible to patent a mining claim. The resolution urged that Congress enact rules and regulations for the Department of the Interior to administer the mining law in the spirit and intent of Congress and the people of the United States.

The last resolution received a round of hearty applause from those attending the seminar as the resolution complained of the many years of artificial monetary restriction on the prices paid for gold and silver by the U.S. Treasury that has resulted in thousands of idle mines and unemployed miners. The resolution stated that for many years the government has paid parity and other forms of subsidies to farmers, merchant marine and aircraft industry, and also oil depletion allowances. It resolved that the President and the Congress either subsidize the mining industry or eliminate subsidies and restrictions altogether and return to a free economy for all. The resolution was met with an ovation as the miners unanimously approved the resolution.

By general agreement of the seminar attendance the annual seminar will be renamed the Western States Mining Seminar, designating the inclusion of the eleven states concerned with mining in the United States.

William F. Houck, National Adjutant of American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to honor Mr. William F. Houck, who today was named as national adjutant of the American Legion on the recommendation of the National Commander William E. Galbraith and with the concurrence of the Legion's National Executive Committee.

William Houck has been serving as acting national adjutant of the American Legion, the world's largest veterans organization, since the close of the 1967 national convention on August 31 of this year.

He is the ninth man to hold the position of chief administrative officer of the 2½-million member organization and he will be responsible for the direction and supervision of the Legion's national headquarters staff of 390 full-time employees located in Washington, D.C. and New York City.

Born in Holgate, Ohio, on March 17, 1917, he moved with his family to Garrett, Ind., at an early age. When World War II broke out he served his country as a lieutenant with the U.S. 28th Infantry and saw action in France, Germany, Luxembourg, and Belgium. Wounded by a landmine, he was returned to the United States in April 1945.

He was retired from active service on disability and returned to Indiana, where he became active in the American Legion. He was affiliated with the Aaron Scisinger Post 178 in Garrett, and was recently awarded a life membership by the post. In 1945 he was named assistant deputy adjutant of the American Legion of Indiana and 4 years later appointed to the position of deputy adjutant. In 1952 he joined the national headquarters staff of the American Legion and was named director of the Legion's Washington, D.C., office and he was serving as executive director of the Washington office at the time of this appointment as acting national adjutant.

I am proud to say that Mr. Houck resides in my congressional district, at 8517 Rayburn Road, Bethesda, Md., with his wife, the former Miss Meredith Ann Walter, of Garrett, Ind., and their daughter, Cecilia.

It is an honor for me to call attention to this outstanding American upon his achievement. I wish him the very best of luck in his new position with the Legion, and I am confident that he will continue to do an excellent job.

Out of Yesterday—Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, William Shakespeare's admonition from "The Tempest," which is enstoned on the National Archives, reads: "What is past is prologue."

These words, I believe, take on greater meaning each day as the problems of the future unfold before us. We must seek courage and strength from the past, if we plan to meet these challenges.

Mr. Speaker, in 1962, Mr. John Casler, then a senior at Hamburg High School, Hamburg, N.Y., won the Erie County Public High School Essay Competition with his essay entitled "Out of Yesterday—Tomorrow."

As a source of strength for us all in the coming days, I include this fine essay in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

OUT OF YESTERDAY—TOMORROW

(By John Casler, now graduate student, Columbia University, N.Y.)

If you would know the soul of a country, the ideals, and the principles in which it believes, you must visit its past, understand its shrines and monuments. Know which qualities a nation has cherished in the past and you have an invaluable standard with which you can better understand its present and predict its future.

Let the great men of America be your teachers. Rediscover the source of John Glenn's pioneer spirit. Wait until twilight and then have John Smith show you through Jamestown, or tread the streets of Plymouth with William Bradford and Miles Standish. Stand in the cool moonlight on Cole's Hill and watch the waves lap against Plymouth Rock.

Know how America will react to threats of Soviet aggression by going to Lexington Common and standing your ground with Parker and the Minute Men. Feel beneath your feet the rough sturdy planks of Old North Bridge. Stand proudly on the storm-swept battlements of the Alamo with Crockett, Bowie, and Travis.

Hear America's answer to political tyranny. Visit St. John's Church in Richmond and hear again Patrick Henry's ringing speech before the Virginia Convention. Stand in Boston's Faneuil Hall and listen quietly as the voices of Sam Adams and James Otis came echoing down the corridors of time. Kneel and pray beside Washington in the snows of Valley Forge.

The opportunity is there. The men are there, and they will answer. They always have. Walk the ramparts of a lonely wilderness fort as the quiet and darkness of evening settle and the woods again fill with Indians and danger. Pace the plunging deck of "Old Ironsides" with Isaac Hull, or stand with Meade and Reynolds on Cemetery Ridge as Lee's dusty legions flow out of the woods and charge across the fields, giving anew the dread Rebel yell. When they are gone, walk among the small white tombstones of those "who here gave their lives" and listen again to the Great Man. Do these things and you will understand America, as she was, as she is, and as she will always be.

Emergency Phone Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I include the following in the RECORD which is a letter from the Fire Commissioner of Boston, Mass., expressing his unequivocal approval of the emergency nationwide phone numbers for fire and police. He also expresses some of the other problems associated with firefighting in our cities today:

CITY OF BOSTON FIRE DEPARTMENT,
Boston, Mass., June 30, 1967.

Hon. J. EDWARD ROUSH,
U.S. House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROUSH: I have your letter of June 19, 1967 relative to a single uniform fire-reporting number and asking what the opinion of our Department is relative to your request.

I can, unequivocally, state that it is most important for fire and police on emergency calls to have a number which is the same throughout the United States. I have travelled in many parts of Europe, and there is, in every country, a distinct number which is simple and easy to remember for fire emergency calls.

In furtherance of your basic thought, I would like to state that we, and I believe all major cities, are operating under extremely difficult circumstances relative to fire alarms. Here, in Boston, where the alarm box and tapper system was first inaugurated, we have 2,297 fire alarm boxes throughout the City. Of the alarms received over these boxes, approximately 80 percent are false. Approximately 10 percent of the telephone alarms are false.

I firmly believe that a better alarm system can easily be devised, such as all by telephone, all recorded, and a substantial fine for reporting a false alarm, with the voice of the caller being admissible as evidence in court by the playing of the recording.

There are many other facets of fire operations that require investigation, but I am happy to know that you are trying to do something about this particular problem.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM J. FITZGERALD,
Fire Commissioner.

ACYPL

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House another project recently sponsored by the American Council of Young Political Leaders—ACYPL—of which my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana, LEE HAMILTON, and I are directors.

With the cooperation of the Department of State, the ACYPL on September 8 sent a delegation of 10 young American political leaders, five Young Republicans and five Young Democrats, on a 2-week study tour of four European countries. The purpose of this program was to familiarize these young American leaders with some of the attitudes current among young political leaders in Europe and to give the Europeans an idea of current thinking among young leaders here about the vital international and domestic issues that face us all. In addition, the young Americans had the opportunity to learn firsthand about politics in the countries they visited and obtained valuable experience in the give-and-take of international relations. Finally, the young Americans developed close personal ties with their European counterparts which will endure throughout their political careers.

The delegation was led by Kansas State Senator Tom Van Sickle, former national chairman of the Young Republicans, and Virgil Musser, national president of the Young Democrats. Included on the delegation were Republicans James Goetz, Lieutenant Governor of Minnesota; James Culbertson, chairman of the North Carolina Federation of Young Republicans; Richard Carling, member of the Utah House of Representatives; and B. B. McClendon, Jr., former general counsel of the Young Republican National Federation. The Democrats on the delegation were Alice McMahon, Young Democratic national committeewoman from Florida; Norman Cohen, Young Democratic president in New Jersey; Paul Pendergast, executive assistant to the Governor of Kansas; and Paul Lister, national treasurer of the Young Democrats.

The group was first briefed by the NATO international staff in Paris and by our Ambassador to NATO, Harlan Cleveland. After observing the Atlantic Treaty Association Assembly in Luxembourg and attending a meeting of the Atlantic Association of Young Political Leaders, the delegation visited Bonn and Berlin where they met with young German political leaders and received briefings from German Foreign Ministry officials. Last stop on the tour was London, where the group met with young British leaders and parliamentarians, discussed the British economy at the Treasury, and observed the recent by-election at Cambridge.

I would like to point out, Mr. Speaker, that in Germany and England the U.S. delegation was accorded the official hospitality of the Government. Expenses for hotel, food, and domestic travel were borne in Germany by the Ring Politischer Jugend, which is an all-party youth organization heavily financed by the Federal and Lander governments. In England, the British Foreign Office, at the request of the British Atlantic Group of Young Politicians, provided the young American visitors with 4 days of first-class accommodation. Having participated in similar programs as a young political leader, I am fully aware of the value and educational impact of such exchanges among young political leaders from various European countries.

Mr. Speaker, our American equivalent of these organizations, the American Council of Young Political Leaders, is presently unable to host such a group of visiting delegations of foreign young political leaders. This fine organization, supported jointly by the Young Republican National Federation and the Young Democratic Clubs of America, the two official political youth organizations of the United States, has a current bank balance, according to a recent article in the Portland, Maine, Telegram, of $10.63. Should we not consider some way in which our politically active youth can carry on programs that our European allies and, indeed, other countries of the world find within their means?

Certainly, the international education and associations of our future political leadership and the future political leadership of other countries is vital and important enough to merit a larger bank account than $10.63. I am fully aware of existing programs operated by the Department of State and affiliated agencies to achieve these ends. Unfortunately, the bona fide politician, the person who has demonstrated his political ability by obtaining elective party or public office at an early age, is too often neglected in such programs. Of the dozens of foreign young political leaders I have met during my participation in young political leader activities, very few have had the opportunity to visit the United States under existing governmental and private programs. Most of these young political leaders from foreign countries are, or will be, in positions of great influence in their respective parties and governments.

Unlike existing programs, the ACYPL offers hospitality to young visiting political leaders that have shown sufficient interest in our free and democratic system to have raised transportation money to visit the United States from sources in their own countries. The fact that they have been able to find transportation funds from either party, governmental, or other sources in their own countries is a firm indication of approval from their own governments and support of their own political ability and future.

I believe we must find a mechanism to allow our young political leaders, operating through the ACYPL, to finance reciprocal treatment that is accorded them in foreign countries. In our modern world, where international understanding at the political level is so vital, we should expand programs such as those conducted by the American Council of Young Political Leaders as a partial solution to ever present and increasing problems of international scope.

Fiscal Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's tactics in response to congressional demands for some degree of fiscal responsibility are typical of what we have come to expect from this administration.

He knows, of course, that when the call for economy went out, the aim was at those programs which could easily be eliminated, reduced, or deferred until a time when we are not financing a major war and when the Nation's fiscal affairs are in better shape. He knows we were not referring to either the military construction or highway programs.

It is such cat-and-mouse games, playing politics with this serious problem, that cause the people to lose faith in their Government. They remember that the President froze approximately $1.1 billion in highway construction funds late last year and then released the funds between February and July of this year. The people find it strange that this administration is more interested in beautifying highways than in building them.

Once again it must be urged that we set priorities, and once again it must be pointed out that the administration refuses to do this.

A poll of my constituents clearly indicates the priority they would give the roadbuilding program. I asked those questioned whether they felt funds should be increased, decreased, or remain at the same level for a number of Federal programs. The highway program was considered one of the most worthwhile.

As an indication of the kind of concern this matter is causing among Idaho officials, I would like to include at this point in the RECORD the text of a letter from Idaho State Highway Engineer E. L. Mathes to Governor Samuelson:

OCTOBER 12, 1967.

Hon. DON SAMUELSON,
Governor of Idaho, State Capitol Building, Boise, Idaho.

DEAR GOVERNOR SAMUELSON: Reference is made to the 8 October telegram you received from Secretary of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd, concerning a possible holdback on Federal-Aid Highway Trust Funds for fiscal year 1968.

In addition to the data, and remarks which were furnished for a response to that wire, I should like to comment further concerning my thoughts on this most important subject. Essentially, they represent a condensed version of the Department's testimony concerning the November 1966 action by the Federal Administration when Federal-Aid Highway "Trust Funds," previously authorized to the States by the Congress, were withheld from State use. This testimony was presented to a joint session of the Senate and House Public Works Committees on 1 March 1967. The circumstances here are the same, in my opinion, but the proposed action by the Federal Administraiton is about one month earlier than in 1966.

Actions such as this now proposed by the Federal Administration adversely affect a wide segment of Idaho citizens. There can no longer be any confidence in Federal legislation on these matters if the President, the Secretary of Transportation or any other Administrative personnel can circumvent the intent of such law. State-Federal relationships are weakened; unfavorable attitudes are generated and the integrity of the entire highway program is placed in jeopardy.

The established taxing process on the highway user continues and it has been admitted by the Administration that monies to meet authorized apportionments will be available in the Trust Fund. There simply cannot be any genuine reason for withholding funds "held in trust" for a program so vital to the safety, economy and stability of our country.

Restrictions such as this will effectively disrupt the highway planning function; produce serious delays in advertising highway projects to contract; and, adversely affect many important segments of the total economy of the State. Similarly, such action will seriously undermine and needlessly erode the morale of all persons connected with the highway program. Deferrals and subsequent restarts in the program will create chaotic problems for the contractor, materials supplier, engineer, highway administrator, and numerous other elements of both the public and private sectors of the economy.

At the time of the enactment of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, each State was told that all Federal-aid financing required to meet the Interstate Highway program schedule would be provided. I am privileged to say that the people of Idaho and the Department of Highways have fully met the challenge of that Act.

For over eleven years the Idaho Department of Highways has planned, organized and trained its personnel to meet our share of this enormous public works program. The contractors of Idaho and the adjoining States have invested hundreds of thousands of dollars in equipment and many other organizations have geared their efforts toward meeting their full share of this commitment.

In my opinion, we have had a reasonable measure of success during these eleven plus years and Idaho is now slightly ahead of schedule in completing its portion of the Interstate Highway System. This has taken the full cooperation of every segment of our economy.

Additionally, as you know, in June of 1967 the Legislature of the State of Idaho enacted legislation increasing the State user tax on gasoline and diesel fuel, effective 1 January 1968, so that the State would be in a position to utilize all Federal-Aid Highway Trust Funds available to Idaho.

Now, however, how does one reconcile the facts, widely publicized, concerning the lives to be saved; the importance of the Interstate Highway System to the defense of our country; the improved economy and efficiency to the highway user; and, the ease of travel to be made available throughout our country, when actions such as that now proposed by the Federal Administration can be arbitrarily taken? It is implied that these tangible benefits are no longer important.

It seems entirely inconsistent and inexplicable to emphasize the many benefits of improved highway systems; to constantly impress upon the highway user the need to pay for these systems in advance, without incurring any indebtedness; and then to withhold the funds for these improvements—thus depriving the user of the roads he has bought and paid for.

The Federal Highway Administration's Idaho Division office has now advised me that, effective immediately, Forest Highway and Public Lands highway project advertisements for bids will be withheld indefinitely. This order delays four major Idaho projects being developed for early advertising. Even though projects in these classifications are financed from the general treasury, it is significant to note that a substantial amount of highway user derived revenue is diverted into the general treasury at the Federal level. This order then effectively deprives the user of a facility he has already paid for.

I have previously mentioned the importance of the highway program to heavy construction work and heavy construction employment in Idaho. All three of the proposals set forth in Secretary Boyd's wire would produce reductions in our program of greater magnitude than would have the November 1966 fund withholding action of the Federal Administration had it continued.

Section 101, Chapter 1, Title 23 of the United States Code, states, in part, "It is hereby declared that the prompt and early completion of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, so named because of its primary importance to the national defense and hereafter referred to as the 'Interstate System' is essential to the national interest and is one of the most important objectives of the Act." This statement apparently represents the position of the Congress. There is surely no consistency, however, between this stated position of the Congress and the current proposal of the Federal Administration.

It is my considered opinion that the intent of the Congress has been clearly stated in Title 23 and that Federal Administrative actions which would propose to withhold authorized Trust Fund monies from State use are surely not consistent with that intent. Certainly, such actions could not be considered in the public interest.

Last February, Secretary Boyd, in testimony before a joint session of the Senate and House Public Works Committees, gave assurance that the fiscal year 1968 Federal-aid Highway Program would be in "a full annual program level of $4.4 billion." A copy of his testimony with the specific assurance underlined on Page 5 is attached. The Secretary's current proposal is not consistent with his assurance of last February.

I submit that "full Trust Fund apportionments" should be made to the States on some reasonable schedule of quarterly reimbursable obligations. There should be no holdback or deferment of such apportionments as long as there is an operating balance in the Federal-Aid Highway "Trust Fund." I believe we must all vigorously support such an orderly release of authorized funds if the highway program is to continue on any sound cooperative basis.

The American Association of State Highway Officials will meet in Salt Lake City next week. Several congressional public works leaders will be addressing that conference and I am certain that Federal-Aid Highway "Trust Fund" financing will be a major topic of discussion.

I will keep you advised of any new developments on this issue.

Sincerely yours,

E. L. Mathes, P.E.,
State Highway Engineer.

Dreams Never Grow Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, October 12 is a day meant for celebration, for happiness, for thankfulness. It is Columbus Day, and without that great explorer and discoverer, where would we all be? There would not be America as we know it. There would be something different here, a different way of life. Perhaps, even a life without baseball.

But because Columbus had vision, faith, and dreams, we have baseball today. Many of my colleagues may not follow this reasoning, but it is sound. And so, because of Columbus this October 12 was probably the saddest day in the history of sports in Boston, Mass.

There was no joy in Boston on October 12; there was sadness and a touch of relief that finally it was all over. But there was pride, too, for the Red Sox has foiled all the prophets and beat all the predictions. And there was hope, too, for they did this year and they could do it again.

The Boston Globe printed a short editorial, which I commend to my colleagues, that expressed part of the feeling of Boston on that sad day. They quote from Housman's poem, "To an Athlete Dying Young," and conclude that time conquers all. This may be so. But dreams, as an old song goes, never grow old.

The editorial follows:

THE YEAR OF THE RED SOX

"The time you won your town the race
We chaired you through the market place;
Man and boy stood cheering by,
And home we brought you shoulder high.

Today, the road all runners come,
Shoulder-high we bring you home,
And set you at your threshold down,
Townsman of a stiller town."

(From "To an Athlete Dying Young," by A. E. Housman.)

This is the way it is with sport. You get caught up in its vortex, swirl cork-like for a delirious moment, and then suddenly the waters are still.

Nor does it really matter that your idols did not carry the climatic day. The moment of transport has been cruelly shortened, but it would have ended anyway. As the melancholy Housman knew, it is not love that conquers all: it is time.

What does matter is that a race was run, and valiantly; that, for a season, there was fire and grace and a rare sense of community in the town.

The legacy of the Boston Red Sox of 1967 is bounteous indeed.

Peace Corps' Happy Return

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, 7 years have passed since John Kennedy first proposed the creation of a "peace corps of talented young men and women, willing and able to serve their country."

Since then each year has recorded many new triumphs for our country and our way of life but no catalog of U.S. achievements can be complete without mention of the Peace Corps.

The tremendous record of selfless service compiled by tens of thousands of individual Americans who have voluntarily served abroad is, as the Miami Herald said in a recent editorial, "a monument to the spirit of America."

Recognition of the Peace Corps' accomplishments by the Miami Herald in its editorial of October 3, 1967, is an outstanding tribute to the vision of President Kennedy and to the volunteers and administrators whose hard work turned that vision into reality. Text of the editorial follows:

PEACE CORPS' HAPPY RETURN

An annual trauma for administrators of government departments is the required appearance before a congressional committee to outline budgeted programs and to plead for adequate appropriations.

Not so with the director of the Peace Corps. When Jack Vaughn addressed the House Foreign Affairs Committee the other day, it was an opportunity to speak about the highest idealism of the nation and the spirit of young Americans who carry a message of hope to struggling people throughout the world.

Mr. Vaughn had the pleasure of telling the congressmen that his department was returning $5 million of last year's authorized $110 million budget. He coupled this neatly with an explanation of the request for an additional 8 per cent this year to expand the Peace Corps 18 per cent to 17,150 volunteers and trainees.

In terms of investment and return, the $118 million for the Peace Corps appears as one of Washington's greatest bargains. Mr. Vaughn explained that one-third of the volunteers come home to continue their education, enriching the nation's most critical resource.

About one-third help to meet the nation's shortage of 170,000 teachers. States and cities are now recruiting Peace Corps volunteers by mail in the months before their scheduled return.

These young people are finding at home the same opportunity for service that led them to volunteer to help the people of India grow more rice, to help the people of Honduras catch more fish, to teach the children of Colombia how to read. There is a desperate need for such service in the elementary schools of America's ghettoes.

As Mr. Vaughn related to the House committee, the head of a small fishing cooperative in Jamaica told him, "This is the first time anybody come to work for us in 350 years."

Seven years and nearly 30,000 Peace Corps volunteers have produced a monument to the spirit of America.

A Sanctuary for the Little Elk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, a most heartwarming story for every citizen interested in preserving America's rich heritage of natural beauty, as well as one of its rarest species of wildlife, is now unfolding in my home State of California.

Particularly at this time, when national and international interest is turned to the preservation of rare species and open spaces of natural beauty, yet so little constructive action is being taken to reverse the ever-accelerating trend to oblivion, the authorization of California's Owens Valley Wildlife Refuge to help protect the nearly extinct Tule elk—whose number has now dropped to 246—is certainly a bright spot, indeed.

I want to join in congratulating the city of Los Angeles for its splendid action in moving to save the rare and lovely Tule elk, and a spot of beauty, for California and for the Nation.

As Naturalist Sigurd Olson puts it:

> The Owens Valley Wildlife Refuge will not only save from extinction the rare Tule Elk, but will be a refuge for people, who more and more as the cities expand, will need places of quiet and natural beauty for family recreation and enjoyment.

The October 1967 issue of Westways magazine has a fine article by Andrew Hamilton entitled, "A Sanctuary for the Little Elk," which tells the intriguing story of the creation of the Owens Valley Wildlife Refuge.

Under unanimous consent I include the text of this excellent article in the RECORD:

A SANCTUARY FOR THE LITTLE ELK

(By Andrew Hamilton)

March 9, 1967, was a routine day in the high-ceilinged, marble-pillared chambers of the Los Angeles City Council. Councilmen lounged in their brown leather chairs and listened to the proceedings. Spectators yawned or read newspapers. TV cameras were switched off.

But March 9 turned out to be a red-letter day for nature lovers, conservationists and outdoorsmen—a major victory in the long fight against cattlemen, bureaucracy and public indifference.

It came when the following motion, offered by Councilman Gilbert Lindsay, was adopted 13–0:

"The Tule Elk is a unique, nearly extinct animal. Like the great American Condor, this last remaining species is struggling for survival. The major habitat of the Tule Elk at present is in the Owens Valley, which is owned almost entirely by the Department of Water and Power.

"Therefore:

"I move that the City authorize that portion of Owens Valley land lying between Tinemah and Owens Lake to be set aside as a wildlife refuge."

Some 200-plus square miles of the lower part of eastern California's great valley—willow-fringed river bottom, sagebrush-covered slopes and sun-baked lava outcroppings—will soon become a "home" for one of the world's rarest mammals. "No hunting" signs will be posted, and the Tule Elk will be protected from man, his worst enemy.

Since the time of Christ more than 100 mammals have become extinct—one third of them in the last fifty years. Another 600—including the Tule Elk—are in danger of being wiped out. But now for the first time a trend is reversed. The Tule Elk is to be spared the fate of the passenger pigeon, the California grizzly and the dodo.

Before the white an came, elk roamed the North American continent in huge numbers. Indians called them *wapiti*—a Shawnee word meaning "light rump." In later years, biologists identified several species—the Eastern Elk (now extinct), the Merriam Elk of Arizona (extinct), the Manitoba Elk, the Rocky Mountain Elk and the Olympic Elk.

Somewhat smaller are the Tule Elk of California (also known as Valley Elk, Dwarf Elk and Dwarf Wapiti). Bulls average about 600 pounds in weight, cows about 400 pounds. They are distinugished by their reddish coats, tawny rumps and the magnificent antlers worn by bulls.

From 1600 to 1850, thousands of these animals were seen in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. Their range extended from Butte County in the north to Bakersfield in the south, and from the western slopes of the Sierra to the Coast ranges. Edward Bosqui, a vistor to California in 1850, said the herds "darkened the plains for miles, and looked in the distance like great herds of cattle."

Early explorers, trappers and miners shot just enough of the animals for their immediate food needs. But when the Gold Rush brought a flood of hungry mouths to San Francisco, Sacramento and Stockton, professional hunters slaughtered the Tule Elk for meat and hides.

In his monograph, "History of the California Tule Elk," Gerhard Bakker of Los Angeles City College tells how this slaughter was sometimes performed:

"Instead of shooting the elk, some of the more adventurous vaqueros would ride alongside and hamstring it with a long-handled machete or a *luna*. The latter was a curved knife attached to a branch in order to lengthen the handle. A good horse could readily outrun an elk fattened after a good summer season of green feed, but a few months later an elk could keep ahead of the fleetest of horses."

In less than a quarter of a century, the extensive California herds were wiped out, except for one small band that managed to hide in the tule marshes north of Buena Vista Lake—hence the name Tule Elk. "Even here," writes Bakker, "they were mercilessly hunted down by boat, a lookout climbing a ladder lashed to a mast in order to look over the tops of the tules."

By sheer luck, these last survivors made their stand on the Miller and Lux Ranch in Kern County. Henry Miller, a one-time New York immigrant butcher boy who later became one of California's largest ranchers, sent out a strict order to his hands: don't molest the elk herd and protect them from hunters.

In 1873 the California Legislature provided further security by passing a tough law that made killing an elk punishable by a prison term up to two years and a fine up to $1,000.

Under this protection, the Tule Elk population stabilized temporarily. But the animals trampled alfalfa fields and knocked down fences. Damages totaled $7,000 a year on the Miller and Lux ranch. In 1904, the owners offered the entire herd to the Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture.

Over the next three decades, 146 Tule Elk were distributed among nineteen different parks, zoos and private estates in California—such as Yosemite National Park, Sequoia National Park, Balboa Park in San Diego, Big Basin Redwood Park, Del Monte Park in Monterey, Petaluma Park and Zapps Park in Fresno.

Each time the elk were moved it was a laborious, expensive job to build crates, rope the animals and transport them to their destination. Despite care taken for their comfort and safety, many became diseased and died.

By 1930 it was proposed that an elk sanctuary be built in the hills near Bakersfield. The California Legislature and the Kern County Board of Supervisors appropriated $70,000 to establish a 953-acre elk preserve at Tupman, The land was purchased, but disease and death persisted.

"There must be *some* place in California where the Tule Elk will survive," said Horace M. Albright, who headed the National Park Service.

"There is—the Owens Valley," said G. Walter Dow, the late rancher and hotel owner from Lone Pine. "Tule Elk are wild animals. They need an open range where they can be free—not a wire fence enclosure or a stockade."

Dow elaborated on his suggestion. The broad Owens Valley was the ideal spot: no industry, very little ranching, a scarcity of people—largely because 90 percent of the valley floor belonged to the Department of Water and Power, which had built an aqueduct to Los Angeles. In 1933 Dow obtained permission for relocated Tule Elk to run free on Los Angeles City-owned land.

At his own expense, Dow transported twenty-seven animals (seven bulls, eleven cows, three yearlings and six calves) from Yosemite and released them near the little community of Aberdeen in the Owens Valley. In 1934, another twenty-eight elk were brought in from the Tupman refuge.

Given their freedom in the great desert valley between the Sierra and the Inyo ranges, the Tule Elk thrived and quickly began to multiply. By 1943 the original fifty-five had become 190. To slow down this population explosion, the California Fish and Game Commission authorized the first legal hunt in seventy years. A second hunt was allowed in 1949, a third in 1955.

A handful of ranchers, stockmen and packers in the Owens Valley favored keeping the herd small because of the animal's potential damage to pasture land, alfalfa and fences. Under a "gentlemen's agreement" Fish and Game held the total between 100 and 200 animals. Conservationists, however, were convinced that the minimum for a species on the verge of extinction should be 500—lest an epidemic wipe it out altogether. (By world standards, a species is considered endangered when it drops below 2,000.)

In 1960, state officials proposed another hunt that would cut the Tule Elk herd to the dangerously low level of 135. A hearing was held in the old courthouse at Independence. Again, cattle interests and ranchers put up their familiar arguments.

After the hearing, fifteen conservation enthusiasts met at the Winneduma Hotel in Independence.

"What we need is a permanent organization that will wake up the people of California," suggested Rodney Ellsworth, an East Whittier teacher.

"I'm going to ask Tasker Edmiston's boy, Joe, to collect $2.00 right now from each of you for stamps," said Dow. "We're going to write a lot of letters."

And so the Committee for the Preservation of the Tule Elk was born with Ellsworth as chairman. Joining the committee's advisory board were such well-known names as Ansel Adams, the photographer; Horace Albright, former Director of the National Park Service; Dr. Edmund C. Jaeger, former professor of biology at Pomona College; Dr. Carl Hubbs of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography; Ira N. Gabrielson, former Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Today the Committee for the Preservation of the Tule Elk has more than 2,000 dedicated, dues-paying members, and is supported by sixty civic and conservation groups ranging from the Le Roy Boy's Home to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

The committee disseminates information about the Tule Elk through news letters, reprints of articles from conservation magazines, annual dinners, lectures before social groups, field trips, motion pictures and convention exhibits.

"We stopped the hunt of 1960," said Beula Edmiston, "and prevented the herd being cut to a dangerous level. In so doing, we formed an effective agency that will help to establish the Owens Valley wildlife refuge on a permanent basis."

If you wish to see the area, take U.S. Highway 395 to the Owens Valley. The preserve lies between Owens Lake (named after Richard Owens, a member of Frémont's 1844–45 overland expedition to California) and the Tinemaha Reservoir (named after a Paiute Indian chief).

Today, by official count, there are 290 Tule Elk in the Valley, grouped into six herds. You may be fortunate enough to see some of the tawny-rumped animals along the highway. But you will probably have better luck by taking side roads that lead to the Owens River or to the lower meadows of the Sierra and Inyo mountains on either side.

This is the part of California immortalized in Mary Austin's classic *Land of Little Rain*. If you prefer a more modern guidebook, consult Genny Schumacher's *Deepest Valley*, published by the Sierra Club.

John Muir wrote of this semi-desert country, flanked by 14,485 foot Mt. Whitney on one side, 14,246-foot White Mountain peak on the other:

"The sun is hot enough for palms yet the snow round the Arctic gardens at the summit of the pass is plainly visible, only about four miles away, and between lie specimen zones of all the principle climates of the globe."

On the floor of the great valley are the little towns of Olanche, Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine and Bishop—strung like beads along U.S. Highway 395. In the historical past they played host to gold and silver miners, cattlemen and homesteaders. Today their economy depends upon dollars brought in by motorists, skiers, fishermen, scientists and families on vacation.

This is the argument that clinches the case for the Committee for the Preservation of the Tule Elk and their efforts to establish a wildlife refuge in the Owens Valley:

"The Owens Valley is one of America's most unusual natural parklands," said Dow. "It lies within a five-hour drive of Los Angeles—a distance that most families prefer to drive for a weekend trip.

"The creation of a sanctuary here—not just for the Tule Elk but for many species of desert and mountain wildlife—will focus attention on the real destiny of this area. Beauty, not beef, is the wealth of the Owens Valley."

Facts Refute the Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, now that House consideration of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 is close at hand, a tremendous flood of endorsements of the OEO and its economic opportunity programs is pouring in from all across the Nation. Local officials, Governors, businessmen, private groups, the press, virtually the entire panoply of responsible opinion in this country is lining up in favor of the war on poverty.

The local press is playing an especially valuable role, Mr. Speaker, in articulating the reasons why OEO must be given a mandate to continue and expand its vital work. As a perfect example of what I mean, I call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to an editorial appearing in the Grand Rapids Press on September 15, entitled "Facts Refute the Critics."

Mr. Speaker, the editorial describes the irresponsible attack made against OEO during the disorders of the past summer, and the way in which these charges and rumors have been emphatically disproven. As the editorial puts it:

> In a responsible but quiet way, the Office of Economic Opportunity not only has answered the critics, but has built up such a solid case for the war on poverty that no responsible Congressman can continue with a conscience the meat-ax approach in considering OEO fund needs.

Mr. Speaker, the OEO and its vitally needed economic opportunity programs deserve the warm support of every Member of this body. As the editor of the Grand Rapids Press puts it, the plain truth about the contributions these programs are making to a better America "should put at rest the calloused, unconcerned opposition to voting the funds needed to keep the war on poverty in full momentum."

With permission, Mr. Speaker, I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

FACTS REFUTE THE CRITICS

Those members of the Senate and House who have been waging a determined fight to hamstring the war on poverty through a sharp reduction in appropriations have made a lot of noise over loose charges that antipoverty workers were instigators of the riots that wracked American cities this summer.

The charges, which never were substantiated, grew out of the fact that arrests made in some riot-torn cities had included antipoverty workers. This was all the ammunition the foes of the war on poverty needed.

In a responsible but quiet way, the Office of Economic Opportunty not only has answered the critics, but has built up such a solid case for the war on poverty that no responsible congressman can continue with a conscience the meat-ax approach in considering OEO fund needs.

To establish the truth, OEO conducted a survey on the effectiveness of the war on poverty, requesting officials in each community having an OEO-funded program to report on whether the program had been a help or a hindrance in easing urban tensions. Every one of the 32 cities that experienced racial disturbances this summer was included in the survey.

And what were the answers? Not a single police chief or mayor replied that OEO workers had, as critics on Capitol Hill had charged, heightened tensions. On the contrary, the replies offered convincing evidence that OEO programs had helped to cool tensions.

And what about the charges that OEO workers had instigated riots? In the 32 cities where riots erupted, there were 30,411 paid antipoverty workers, and of this number only 16 were arrested, but none has been convicted. And of the hundreds and thousands of enrollees in Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps and other OEO programs, only 48 were arrested.

Moreover, inspection teams conducting on-the-spot checkups on every OEO program have reported that in 15 cities local community action agencies calmed bad situation; in 14 other cities there were joint programs by the community action agencies and the police to prevent riots; in 13 additional cities special groups were formed by concerned citizens in troubled areas to establish communication between the police and the ghetto districts and in eight cities the juvenile arrest rate declined this summer, due to the increased number of summer jobs for ghetto youths as a result of antipoverty training.

By misconstruing rumor as fact, the critics of OEO have performed an unintended service to the war on poverty. Their unfounded charges resulted in a factual survey that should put at rest the calloused, unconcerned opposition to voting the funds needed to keep the war on poverty in full momentum.

The Return of Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the adverse flurry surrounding the new TV programs it is well to note that many of the basic complaints over that media are still pertinent. Of special importance, therefore, is the following article which appeared in the Chicago Heights Star on Sunday, October 15, which very properly points a finger at some of the dubious TV presentations of this season:

THE RETURN OF VIOLENCE

A little more than a year ago the nation was shocked by the slaying of Valerie Percy, the young daughter of now-senator Charles Percy. In commenting editorially on the increasing amount of mayhem and murder in this country, THE STAR noted that on the very day of the murder, a Chicago television station carried "The Outrage," a motion picture in which a young woman is ravaged before the eyes of her trussed and helpless husband. It also noted that scheduled for TV showing a few days later was another film, "Psycho," in which a young woman is stabbed to death in her shower.

"Young minds are like sponges," the editorial stated. "If they're fed on a steady diet of violence they will come to accept violence as a fact of every-day life. Look around you—contempt for law and organized society is the latest manifestation of this frightening attitude."

Evidently a lot of other people felt the same way; public indignation forced the TV station to cancel "Psycho."

A glance at last Sunday's Chicago area television schedule, however, shows that things haven't changed a bit. The TV stations are playing the same old ratings game, each trying to outdo the other by offering more offensive films in the hope of attracting viewers. On that day TV film offerings included "Under the Yum Yum Tree" (a young girl has the bright idea that she and the young man she loves should live together—platonically—"to explore each other's character and personality"); "Anatomy of a Murder," "Dial M for Murder," "Creature With the Atom Brain" (a deported gangster returns to the United States with a scientist who can turn dead men into robots capable of committing murder).

"Young minds are like sponges . . ."

Another Step Toward Cleaner Air

SPEECH

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished group of scientists and business representatives have just completed a report titled "The Automobile and Air Pollution: A Program for Progress."

Convened by the Commerce Department's Technical Advisory Board, this panel worked under joint sponsorship of several other Federal departments and agencies. Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge called this report "an outstanding example of voluntary cooperation in the public interest between the industrial, academic, and Government sectors." I agree.

I call attention to the recommendations of this group and to its members, both of which are listed below, to encourage the work of our congressional committee who have worked so effectively in the past on air pollution problems.

The recommendations below deserve our attention especially as we are about to consider very important improvements in air pollution control in the proposed Air Quality Act of 1967 which I cosponsored.

The material referred to follows:

THE AUTOMOBILE AND AIR POLLUTION: A PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS

RECOMMENDATION

Recommendation 1: The national goal for air quality should be the achievement of an atmosphere with no significant detectable adverse effect from air pollution on health, welfare, and the quality of life.

Recommendation 2: The Environmental Science Services Administration of the Department of Commerce should establish a research program to determine the effects of air pollution on atmospheric processes.

Recommendation 3: The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should develop and promptly implement an expanded program to establish quantitative information regarding the effects of air pollution upon health and welfare of the population.

Recommendation 4: The Federal Government should continue to establish standards for all harmful automotive emissions, and realistic timetables for the achievement of such standards.

Recommendation 5: The Federal Government should immediately establish standards for the lead content in gasoline which will prevent any further increase in the total quantity of lead emitted to the atmosphere. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should begin an intensive study of the long-term health effects of lead in the atmosphere to determine requirements for future action.

Recommendation 6: The Federal Government should set standards for emissions, including smoke and odor, for gasoline and diesel powered trucks and buses.

Recommendation 7: The Federal Government should increase its support for mass transportation research, development, and demonstration programs related to the reduction of air pollution.

Recommendation 8: All Government standards concerning vehicle emissions should be developed in terms of the total mass of specific pollutants emitted under an appropriate driving cycle, rather than as the percent of pollutant in the exhaust.

Recommendation 9: The creation of effective local inspection mechanisms to enforce vehicle emission standards should be encouraged by the use of Federal matching grants for training, equipment, and operation.

Recommendation 10: The Federal Government should develop cooperative mechanisms to accelerate the worldwide interchange of information relating to air pollution, its effects, and control.

Recommendation 11: The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should establish primary operating responsibility for the air pollution control program at the highest possible organizational level.

Recommendation 12: The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare should establish a Technical Advisory Board reporting to the Secretary to assist in the development of plans, programs and research activities and to more effectively use the resources of the scientific and industrial communities.

Recommendation 13: A mechanism for coordination of all Federal activities relating to air pollution should be established as a continuing function at a high level in the Executive Branch.

Recommendation 14: The Federal Government should initiate a five-year program, in total amount of approximately 60 million dollars, to support innovative developments useful in the establishment of future emission standards, in the following areas: (a) energy sources for vehicles, (b) vehicular propulsion systems, (c) emission control devices, (d) special purpose urban cars, (e) general purpose vehicles.

Recommendation 15: Federal, state, and local governments should incorporate low emission performance criteria as factors in the purchase of vehicles for their requirements.

Recommendation 16: The National Science Foundation should review its basic research and educational programs in atmospheric physics, electrochemistry and other scientific and engineering disciplines relating to the air pollution problem and ensure that such activities are receiving adequate support.

PANEL MEMBERS

Richard S. Morse, *Chairman*, Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Manfred Altman, Director, Institute for Direct Energy Conversion, University of Pennsylvania.

Edward H. Blum, Princeton University (Now with Rand Corporation).

Rolf Eliassen, Professor of Environmental Engineering, Stanford University.

James W. Ford, Director, Economics Office, Ford Motor Company.

Everett Gorin, Manager, Process Research, Research Division, Consolidation Coal Company.

Carl E. Heath, Section Head, Government Research Laboratory, Esso Research and Engineering Company.

Seymour W. Herwald, Group Vice President, Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

Edward O. Johnson, Manager, Engineering-Technical Programs, R.C.A. Electronic Components and Devices.

Peter Kyropoulous, Technical Director, Styling Staff, General Motors Technical Center.

Alan G. Loofbourrow, Vice President, Quality and Reliability, Chrysler Corporation.

David V. Ragone, General Atomic Division, General Dynamics Corporation (Now Professor of Metallurgy and Material Science, Carnegie-Mellon University).

Robert C. Shair, Vice President, Research and Development, Gulton Industries, Inc.

Philip Sporn, Retired President, Director, American Electric Power Company.

Charles W. Tobias, Chairman, Department of Chemical Engineering, University of California, Berkeley.

Myron Tribus, Dean, Thayer School of Engineering, Dartmouth College.

Paul T. O'Day, *Executive Secretary*, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology, U.S. Department of Commerce.

(NOTE.—*Edwin A. Gee, Director, Development Department, E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., served as a member of this Panel until his resignation on September 7, 1967.*)

The Double Standard of Tax Exemption

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, for some time now I have been quite concerned about the Internal Revenue Service's treatment of tax-exempt organizations. A very interesting résumé of the problems which Dr. Billy James Hargis, of the Christian Crusade Movement, has been having with his tax-exempt status is included in the September 22 issue of his publication called the Weekly Crusader.

I do not want my position misunderstood. At this juncture, I would have no way of knowing whether or not the revenue people are correct or incorrect on their tax treatment of Dr. Hargis' organization but I would say that from what I have seen of his publication and from what I know of his operation, by news accounts, it appears very obvious to me that he does not go nearly as far as other organizations who are still operating under a tax-exempt status. Admittedly, some of the other organizations may be using a "gimmick" but the revenue people are aware of the "gimmicks" and thus far have done nothing about it.

I suspect the problem is that Dr. Hargis' organization is on the wrong side of the center line of the highway to suit the Federal Government.

For the information of the Members who are interested, I have obtained unanimous consent of the House that the article "The Double Standard of Tax Exemption" be printed in its entirety in the RECORD at this point:

THE DOUBLE STANDARD ON TAX EXEMPTION

In its September 22, 1966, letter revoking Christian Crusade's tax-exempt status, the Oklahoma City District Office of Internal Revenue Service said that the agency's conclusions were based "on our finding that common to all of your activities is the advocacy of a political viewpoint on a variety of topics . . ." The IRS charged that "a substantial part" of Christian Crusade's activities were attempting to influence legislation and that our efforts were "only remotely, if at all" accomplishing an educational, religious or charitable objective.

The only legislation specifically mentioned in what the IRS charged as being a "substantial part" of Christian Crusade's activities was the Becker Amendment (H.J. Res. 693, 88th Cong.) to return prayer and Bible reading on a voluntary basis to our public schools. Christian Crusade's attorneys have requested our IRS representatives to cite other specific instances of attempting to influence legislation and of intervening in political campaigns on behalf of candidates for public office. The IRS has failed to come forward with any specific examples.

Other anti-communist conservative organizations have had their tax-exemption taken away. Included among these are Life Line and The Circuit Riders. During March, 1965, the IRS revoked Life Line's tax-exemption on the grounds that its principle activity, the Life Line daily radio broadcast, was "not educational." (*Tulsa Tribune*, October 13, 1965)

A March, 1965 "Progress Report" from the Committee of Christian Laymen, Inc., Woodland Hills, California, revealed that it had not been able to obtain tax-exemption. The Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations was also denied tax-exemption. (William F. Buckley, Jr., *San Francisco Examiner*, December 29, 1964). This organization is composed of prominent republicans and democrats. It includes a few political liberals from both parties.

A BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION

A tip-off to the forthcoming activity against anti-communist conservative organizations came in a book by two liberals which was published during 1963. That book was The Far Right by Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann. The authors revealed that during the fall of 1961 Walter Reuther discussed the problem of anti-communist conservatives with Attorney General Robert Kennedy, "and promised to write a memorandum for him." The authors continued, "That memo, a twenty-four-page blueprint for action against the extremists, was submitted to the Justice Department on December 19, 1961. It had been prepared by Reuther's deputy, his brother Victor, who said in an accompanying note: 'We are hopeful that this memo may have some value to you in focusing attention upon possible Administration policies and programs to combat the Radical Right.' . . ."

Reuther classed the struggle against anti-communist conservatives (whom he called "the radical right") as "a long-term affair." Among the steps recommended by Walter Reuther was, "prompt revocation" of the tax-exempt status or organizations such as "Hargis' Christian Crusade." A main purpose was to "scare off" the source of funds sustaining these conservative organizations.

Newspaper reports around the country later revealed what the authors of The Far Right had foretold—the harassment of taking away tax-exemption would be aimed primarily, or almost exclusively, at the so-called right-wing.

EXEMPTION FOR THE LEFT

Ultra-left tax-exempt organizations, which went all out for the defeat of Senator Goldwater in 1964, are experiencing little trouble in relation to their tax-exempt status. The only prominent "liberal" organization which we have heard of that is even being checked in this respect is the National Urban League. A news item in the Tulsa World of August 25, 1967, reported that it was being audited by the Internal Revenue Service. Our prediction is that they will come out of it untouched.

The NAACP is tax-exempt through its "Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc." At this organization's national convention held during June, 1964, Senator Goldwater was denounced and republicans were urged to defeat his bid for the Presidential nomination. This resolution stated, "We call upon the delegates to the Republican National Convention to repudiate the position taken by Senator Goldwater and deny him the Party's Presidential nomination . . ." In a letter to Mr. Harold E. Hartstack, Chief Technical Coordination Branch of the Internal Revenue Service, Representative Gene Snyder (R-Ky.) called attention to the provision of Title 26, Section 1.501(c) (4), Subparagraph (2) (ii), which states:

"The promotion of social welfare does not include direct or indirect participation or intervention in political campaigns on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office."

The congressman challenged the IRS to explain how the resolution quoted above allowed the NAACP to qualify under this provision. Mr. Hartstack explained it as follows in a letter of July 20 to another party:

"Our records . . . show that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, usually referred to as the NAACP, is not an organization to which contributions are deductible.

"However, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., has been held to be a separate organization, exempt from tax, and contributions to it may be deducted as charitable contributions . . .

"It should be stressed that the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. is a separate organization from the NAACP, with distinct and limited purposes. Its funds are not available for the general purposes of the NAACP."

In his letter of July 13, Representative Snyder called attention to the following contradiction:

I would also like to call to your attention a letter dated December 9, 1966, on the letterhead of the "NAACP Special Contribution Fund" which indicates that it is "Supporting NAACP's Programs in: Voter Education, Legal and Community Action, Education, Employment, Housing, Youth Work, and Public Information." Also, at the bottom of this letter is the statement "The Special Contribution Fund is the only tax deductible channel for aiding the work of NAACP" . . .

"This is positive evidence that tax deductible contributions are being made to the NAACP whether you call it that or the NAACP Special Contribution Fund."

Mr. Hartstack attached a "Fact Sheet," dated February 13, 1967, to his letter of July 12, 1967, to Congressman Snyder. Apparently the main loophole which the IRS used for its double standard method of judging qualifications for tax-exemption is the word "substantial." The February 13 "Fact Sheet" explained that "The limitation is that 'no substantial part of the activities' of such organizations may be 'carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.' "

The same "substantial" loophole is used to explain IRS' refusal to do anything against the National Council of Churches for its blatant and open political activities. In a letter of July 28, 1967, to Senator Dirksen, the acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service explained, "The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States is at present exempt from Federal income tax as a religious organization under section 501(c)(3) of the Code. Such an organization will lose its exemption if its legislative activities are substantial in relation to its total activities. What constitutes substantial legislative activities can only be determined from all the facts and circumstances of the particular case." Of course, this merely shows that "substantial" means whatever the ruling powers in the Internal Revenue Service decide it means.

The NCC even had paid lobbyists in Washington, D.C., working against the Becker Amendment. Christian Crusade cannot afford paid lobbyists nor can most other anti-communist conservative organizations. The May 21, 1965, issue of *Christianity Today* revealed, "Although there has been much public concern over the impact of the religious and theological right wing, none of the religious groups identified with this viewpoint has Washington offices." A careful examination of the facts would show that the NCC's "political" activities are far in excess of those by conservative organizations which have had their tax-exemption removed. However, administration officials who apparently feel an ideological identity with the National Council's political activities would not consider any amount of such activities to be "substantial."

Another of the many occasions on which NCC representatives have engaged openly in political activity was on June 4, 1965, when Rev. J. Carothers (Associate General Secretary, National Division of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, a member of the Program Board of the Division of Christian Life, which is a mission of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and Secretary of its Commission on the Church and Economic Life) appeared before the special Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor to urge repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

NCC and NCC-related organizations went all-out in campaigning for the defeat of Senator Goldwater in 1964. Little, if any, effort was made to cover up this blatant political activity by that untouchable, ecclesiastical monstrosity.

During 1964, Lyle Wilson, UPI staff writer, put a finger on the double standard as related to tax-exemption for the politically powerful AFL–CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE): "The punishing fist of the Internal Revenue Service is about to land flush on the whiskers of . . . right-wing operators who are accused of certain political activities. The targets are H. L. Hunt, a Texas billionaire who bankrolls the radio broadcasts of the Life Line Foundations, and evangelist Billy James Hargis . . .

"What the IRS seems to be saying is that tax-exempt outfits must not engage in politics. That is what the IRS says to the righties. But does it say anything like that to the lefties? Available evidence is that it does not. This, however, is not solely the responsibility of the IRS.

"The U.S. Supreme Court has relieved the IRS from the embarrassing chore of saying to Walter Reuther, 'Hold on, bud, you and your union are engaging in political activity. You gotta stop that or we will take away your union's tax-exemption.' That would be a very embarrassing chore for the IRS because the statesmen to whom the IRS management is beholden for jobs are uniformly politicians who couldn't be elected if they offended Walter Reuther and his big-league union associates.

"The Supreme Court, which never has been accused of any anti-union bias, disposed of the matter easily. It ruled that when organized labor pours its manpower and money into an effort to elect a president, a U.S. senator or a representative, that is not a political activity forbidden to a labor union. That merely is education.

"So, you have the tax-exempt AFL–CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) which can and often does spend upward of $500,000 in Federal election contests. If the IRS ever yanked a tax-exemption from a labor union as a penalty for practicing politics, there is no record of it . . ." (Pittsburgh Press, December 18, 1964)

During 1966, columnist Ralph De Toledano observed, ". . . political activities of organized labor . . . are no secret . . . But labor continues to go its tax-exempt way. On the other hand, corporations are barred, on pain of prosecution, from contributing to a political campaign or a candidate . . ." (*Human Events*, October 1, 1966) Politicians on the ultra-left are certainly enjoying a tremendous advantage because of the double standard in regard to tax-exemptions.

Another tax-exempt organization on the extreme left is the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions headquartered at Santa Barabara, California. It is sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, which also enjoys tax-exempt status. In the May, 1967, issue of her *U.S.A. Magazine*, Alice Widener reported that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, "was the birthplace of the radical National Conference for New Politics, a group described by the *New York Times*, May 17, 1967, as established to help the New Left 'win political influence.' . . ." Miss Widener also revealed that the Center's Vice-President, W. H. Ferry, and its Secretary-Treasurer, Hallock Hoffman, are both on the National Council of the National Conference for New Politics.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions sponsored a meeting called the Pacem in Terris II Convocation at Geneva, Switzerland, May 28–31, 1967. The main "unofficial" speakers were Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, and Senator J. William Fulbright. Both speeches, of course, were highly critical of U.S. defense against communism in South Vietnam. Harry S. Ashmore, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, visited Dictator Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam during January, 1967, for the purpose of inviting him to attend the Pacem in Terris II Convocation. In the "Center Diary of March-April 1967," Mr. Ashmore praised this Red tyrant as follows. ". . .there is nobody else around the world today in any country who seems to provide a similar blend of spiritual and political power."

According to Alice Widener, Mr. Ashmore said that he and his associates at the Center were running what amounts to a privately financed foreign service "to do what governments ought to be doing and ultimately will have to do." (*U.S.A. Magazine*, May 1967) This, of course, indicates a violation of the Logan Act which should be more than enough to deprive this ultra-left organization of its tax-exempt status.

William F. Buckley, Jr. reported on a three-day meeting of students hosted by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Among other things, he revealed the following: "Mr. Devereaux Kennedy, the student body president of Washington University in St. Louis called, in the words of an observer, 'for outright revolution and the overthrow of the United States government. He advocated terrorism on such a scale that it would "demoralize and castrate America." ' " (*Tulsa Daily World*, September 4, 1967)

Another tax-exempt organization engaged in "educational" activities is the League for Industrial Democracy. This outfit has been a key socialist organization in our country for many years. It is, essentially, the American Fabian Society and has even referred to itself as "a kind of American Fabian Society." (*LID Form Letter*, received February 1967) The LID's "educational" activities are aimed at destroying the traditional American form of government and establishing a socialist form of government in its place.

The so-called Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is a tax-exempt organizations. (Editorial in *The News*, Lynchburg, Virginia, December 20, 1966) Stanley Wise, Executive Secretary of SNCC, boasted that his organization was "absolutely without doubt responsible for the race riots through the country this summer." (*Tulsa Daily World*, August 25, 1967)

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is tax-exempt through its "charitable and educational arm" called the "CORE Special Purpose Fund." (Letter dated August 21, 1967.) Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, said during a "Black Power" news conference that Negroes have a "right" to revolt "when they deem it necessary." (*Tulsa Daily World*, July 23, 1967.) In Franklinton, Louisiana, Lincoln Lynch, an organizer for CORE, told a group of Negroes that "from now on, we must be ready to kill." (*The Tulsa Tribune*, July 25, 1967.) During August, Lynch boasted, "The revolution is spreading." (*The Tulsa Tribune*, August 21, 1967.) According to the weekly newspaper *Human Events* of August 5, 1967, Ford Foundation granted $175,000 to CORE "as part of a deal Bobby Kennedy made with CORE members to receive their backing in future election years." Of course, the Ford Foundation is also tax-exempt.

Another organization considered worthy of tax-exemption is the Institute of Pacific Relations. After a lengthy investigation of this organization during the early 1950's, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, consisting of four democrats and three republicans, concluded:

"The Institute of Pacific Relations has not maintained the character of an objective, scholarly, and research organization.

"The IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence.

"The IPR disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources . . .

"Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist . . .

"IPR activities were made possible largely through the financial support of American indutrialists, corporations, and foundations, the majority of whom were not familiar with the inner workings of the organization . . .

"The effective leadership of the IPR used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States . . .

"The net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been such as to serve international communist interests and to affect adversely the interests of the United States." ("Institute of Pacific Relations", Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1952)

Obviously this is an important "educational" organization as viewed by today's strange double standard. Fortunately, it is not as large and influential as it was during the 1930's and 1940's.

The Metropolitan Music School, a tax-exempt organization, is cited as follows in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, December 1, 1961: "Committee hearings 'showed clearly that the Metropolitan Music School is controlled by Communists.' 'Twenty-four identified Communists have been on the faculty of the school.' . . ."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. DOES NOT PAY TAXES

The Communist Party, U.S.A., which is dedicated wholeheartedly to the complete destruction of American freedom, does not have to pay income taxes. During 1956, T. Coleman Andrews, Commissioner of Internal Revenue at that time, slapped an income tax levy of $325,000 against the Communist Party for the year 1951 and padlocked its offices throughout the country when it refused to pay up. (*The Worker*, February 7, 1967, p. 4) During October, 1965, the U.S. Tax Court backed up the commissioner by ruling that the Communist Party must pay federal income taxes. (*Ft. Lauderdale News*, October 7, 1965)

The communist conspirators in the United States appealed, and on February 1, 1967, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reversed the Tax Court decision on grounds that it "had refused to consider any of the grounds urged by the Party for invalidating the tax as unauthorized, discriminatory and illegal." (*The Worker*, February 7, 1967, p. 4) On May 12, 1967, the U.S. Tax Court issued a decision releasing the communist conspirators from their obligation to pay the 1951 income tax levied against them in 1956 by the Internal Revenue Commissioner.

One of the grounds on which the communist conspirators got out of paying this tax was their claim that they are a "political party" and that "no other political party has ever been subjected to taxation." (*The Worker*, May 21, 1967, p. 11) Of course, the communists are not a political party in the American sense of the term, but they constitute an international conspiracy dedicated to our destruction.

In the August, 1956, issue of *The Elks Magazine*, J. Edgar Hoover reminded readers of that fact in the following words: "The Communist Party, USA, is not 'just another political party' as its adherents and apologists would have you believe. It is a fifth column which no American who values his freedom can afford to ignore . . ." Mr. Hoover went on to inform his readers that the communist conspiracy constituted "a tyranny more monstrous, more devious, less understood and more deadly than any which has threatened civilization heretofore . . ." Yet, this conspiracy does not have to pay income tax while organizations such as Christian Crusade which are fighting it do have to pay such taxes. No wonder the communists are confident of ultimate victory over the United States.

AMERICANS MUST FIGHT BACK

It is past time for thinking Americans to complain long and loud over the tremendous injustice involved in the Johnson Administration's double standard on tax-exemption. Some Christian Crusade supporters have been doing just that. Included among these active Americans fighting against the gross injustice to Christian Crusade is Bernard I. Seeger of Seattle, Washington. During June, 1967, he wrote to his two senators and representative and his letter to them was also published in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* of June 11. It stated:

"Although the modest religious or educational contributions that I am able to make are not influenced by the tax-exempt status of the recipient organizations, the basis for any change in such status, I believe, requires careful examination in relationship to proper or improper stewardship of the donations. I am unable to make such an evaluation in the case of the . . . revocation of the tax-exempt status of Christian Crusade . . . owing to the lack of an authentic specification of the violations involved . . .

"The only published explanations that I have seen are limited to such vague generalities as Dr. Billy James Hargis, Director of Christian Crusade, (a) indorsed political candidates, and (b) influenced legislation. Under the assumption that Internal Revenue Service regulations apply uniformly to all religious organizations, I must reject both (a) and (b) on the basis of my own specific knowledge of the position of the National Council of Churches in these respects.

"As for (a), indorsing political candidates, which Dr. Hargis denies, and of which I have found no evidence, various publications identified with the National Council of Churches have clearly done so. I will not burden you with a long list of references, but can certainly supply one if desired.

"In the matter of (b), influencing legislation, the hearsay complaint is more specific in accusing Dr. Hargis of urging Members of Congress to support the 'Becker Amendment, which would have permitted voluntary prayers in tax-supported schools. I can testify, and Dr. Hargis acknowledges, that he did engage in this activity—but apparently not as resourcefully or as successfully as the opposing lobby of the National Council of Churches, whose tax-exempt status remains unchallenged. Indeed, the National Council of Churches was honored with an address by Vice President Humphrey at its General Assembly in Miami Beach, Florida on December 6, 1966, although the battle cry under which both the 'Becker Amendment' and the subsequent 'Dirksen Prayer Amendment' were defeated was 'Separation of Church and States.'

"I know that many Americans are as confused as I am by the past and continuing actions against the Christian Crusade and against Dr. Hargis individually. I request, therefore, that you supply me with an official statement of the violations as cited by the Internal Revenue Service. Should you encounter any reluctance to place this important information at your disposal, I earnestly urge that you call for public hearings that will establish it."

Since his original letter in June, Mr. Seeger has continued corresponding with his congressmen in an effort to pin down the IRS in regard to its revocation of Christian Crusade's tax-exempt status. About all his congressmen are getting from administration representatives is one of the so-called Fact Sheets mentioned earlier in this article. Of course, as we have already mentioned, the key to the Johnson Administration's discriminatory policy on tax-exemption is the word "substantial." The so-called Fact Sheet, dated February 13, 1967, explains, ". . . the test of substantiality is not made in relation to the legislative activities of other organizations. Rather it is measured on the basis of the legislative activities of the organization in question in relation to its own total activities." The available evidence indicates that "substantial" would depend to a great extent upon the ideological leanings of the organization concerned.

While IRS representatives continue to harass Christian Crusade, ultra-left organizations such as those mentioned in this article enjoy tax-exempt status with little or no harassment.

Many Americans may consider this to be a battle involving only Christian Crusade and other victimized anti-communist organizations. But, it is a matter which should concern all who believe in freedom and fair play. The double standard used by a powerful federal government can come crashing down on any Americans who find themselves at odds with the administration in power. A fair government would apply the same standards to all. The lifting of Christian Crusade's tax-exempt status could be considered justifiable by fair-minded Americans only if the exact same standards were applied to all organizations engaged in "educational" activities bearing upon issues of political significance. It is in the interest of all Americans who value our freedom to demand that the same standards be applied to all.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

La Guardia Place

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on September 25, Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York City, my predecessor in the 17th Congressional District, signed into law an amendment to the New York City Administrative Code designating as La Guardia Place the area formerly known as West Broadway between Houston Street and Washington Square South, which area I once represented as a member of the New York City Council.

It is fitting that this House take cognizance of the remembrance thus recorded of its onetime Member, later mayor, F. H. La Guardia the great chief executive of New York City.

The La Guardia Memorial Association, of which I am proud to be a member, through its president, Judge Eugene R. Canudo, has provided me with a copy of the fine address by New York State Supreme Court Justice Matthew M. Levy on the occasion of the hearing before Mayor Lindsay with respect to the legislation for the street name.

It is fitting that Judge Levy, who was first appointed to the bench by Mayor La Guardia, should have lead the delegation dedicated to perpetuating this great name and the ideals for which it stands in government.

Judge Canudo's letter and Judge Levy's address follow:

LA GUARDIA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION,
Brooklyn, N.Y., October 17, 1967.

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TED: Thank you for having agreed to submit Judge Levy's remarks for publication in the Congressional Record. Here they are. As usual, he did a splendid job.

We are all very grateful to you for the part you played in launching this living memorial to F. H. His fondest memories, it always seemed to me, were of the early, bitter struggles in this area, where he finally gained the foothold that led to his brilliant public career. It's good to know that his memory will be perpetuated so close to the scene of those battles.

Please send me a copy of the Record, so that we may distribute reprints to our membership.

Cordially,

GENE CANUDO.

LA GUARDIA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

(Address by Judge Matthew M. Levy, before Mayor John V. Lindsay, at City Hall, September 25, 1967)

I appear before you, Mr. Mayor, in an entirely non-political and non-judicial capacity—although, I like to think, in support of a thoroughly politic and judicious application. I make this presentation from both a representative and personal viewpoint.

Judge Eugene R. Canudo, the Chairman of the La Guardia Memorial Association, found it necessary to go abroad, and he asked me, as one of the directors of the Association and a member of the Committee which projected the idea, to urge you officially to approve the measure now before you—that is, to amend the Administrative Code so as to change the street name of West Broadway between Houston Street and Washington Square South to La Guardia Place, and to do so in honor of and as a memorial to your illustrious predecessor—the dynamic, progressive, dedicated Mayor of the great City of New York during the twelve turbulent years from 1934 to 1945.

Just two decades ago last Monday, Fiorello passed away. For these many years, the LaGuardia Memorial Association has, on this anniversary, gathered at his grave at Woodlawn Cemetery to pay annual tribute to his memory. At one of the meetings of the Association some time ago, I presumed to suggest that in my view, if our departed friend and leader were able to express a choice, he would wish that we memorialize his lively living rather than the somberness of his absence from our midst. Thus it was that, with Anna Clark as the effective chairman of the commitee to study and develop an apropriate proposal, we are here today. Reuben Lazarus, Louis Yavner and the late Edward Corsi were on that committee with us.

I know that I need not, at this hearing, go into any detail in respect of the career of the volatile Fiorello Henry LaGuardia. But you may ask why it is that this specific area was selected by the proponents of the change, rather than any other in this great city, which the Major (as do you) served so industriously and so well. Suffice it to say, I hope, that West Broadway, at the Houston Street end, is two short blocks from LaGuardia's birthplace and that at the Washington Square end, it is two short blocks from the present location of the law school from which F. H. was graduated in 1910. It is remembered, too, that LaGuardia served in the House of Representatives as the Congressman from this area at a time when he resided in the Village and before he was elected as the President of the Board of Aldermen of the City which he (as do you) loved so much, and for the happiness of its inhabitants in whose behalf he (as do you) worked so hard.

I said also that I speak for myself personally. As you know, Mr. Mayor, I reside in the neighborhood of Washington Square. Nothing, I feel sure, would please you more than to make every residential section of our city an attractive place to live. In that regard, there is much to be done in the Village and in Washington Square. I trust that a salutary result of our proceedings here today will be an inspiration and stimulation to my local community to take a vigorous, effective interest in restoring this area as a historic place of culture and as establishing it as a modern place of clean pleasure. With your help, I am hopeful that LaGuardia Place will become a cynosure and a symbol to residents and visitors alike and be the forerunner for making the Square and the Village as a whole an attractive and dignified—and still an interesting—place to live.

In removing the nondescript characterization of "West Broadway" as the name of the street here involved, we are not depriving the present area of a nostalgic memory, or a past official or hero, or an outstanding citizen or inhabitant, of the respect accorded by any prior administration.

And, that this measure is an entirely nonpartisan one is further attested to by the fact that the Community Planning Board under the chairmanship of Paul W. Douglas has unanimously given its approval, that it was introduced into the City Council jointly by the Honorable Angelo J. Arculeo, the Republican Minority Leader, and the Honorable Edward I. Koch, the Democratic-Liberal Councilman from this district, that it was unanimously approved by the Council Committee on Parks and Thoroughfares, headed by the Honorable Sam Curtis, that the City Council itself unanimously approved it, that it has the support of New York University and its great Law School, as evidenced by a communication I have here from University Vice President and former Law School Dean Miguel de Capriles, (which I wish to file for your records), and last but not least, the silent thankfulness and appreciation of Marie LaGuardia herself, who has graced this occasion by her presence here this morning.

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, and, through you our thanks to your Deputy, Robert W. Sweet, and to your Assistant, Robert Blum, who—without commitment as to the result—were kind enough to guide the Association, Judge Canudo, Miss Clark and myself in this matter.

I urge you to sign the bill, and to do it now as a step in the commemoration here at City Hall of the 85th anniversary of the year of the birth of Fiorello H. LaGuardia, the 99th Mayor of our town, counting from the year 1665 to the year 1967.

War on Litter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, in recent years we have seen a good deal of controversial publicity on a number of age-old social problems for which it has become politically popular to mount an attack in the form of social "wars." We now have such coined phrases as the "war on poverty," "war on crime," "war on urban blight," and probably a number of others still on the drawing boards awaiting a timely entry into the political arena. To say the least, these wars have attracted the headlines, probably due as much to the billion dollar price tags as to the objectives that these programs seek to achieve.

However, Mr. Speaker, I would call attention to a much smaller "skirmish," less sensational, but nonetheless significant in its own right. This is the "war on litter"—not measured so much in dollars and cents as in time, personal pride, and individual effort. In view of the rising tide of public pressures and an increasingly perceptive awareness of the value in esthetics, a timely article recently appeared in one of the fine daily papers in my district, the Woodbury Daily Times, entitled the "War on Litter," under the byline of Mr. Amos Kirby.

The article was motivated by a program before a local service club presented by a Mr. George Rogers who is affiliated with the Owens-Illinois Co. in Glassboro, N.J.

Mr. Kirby observes:

Mr. Rogers is one of these dedicated people who is fighting a one-hand battle against litter along our highways. He not only talks about litter but he has done something. He shows an excellent film on how people are discarding trash regardless of the rights of others.

Mr. Rogers told of filling 37 big bags with litter within 100 yards of an important intersection in the county. With the same group of Boy Scouts, they filled 90 bags with trash within a short distance of these two roads.

I can recall one interview with a representative of the New Jersey Turnpike, where their entire crew spends about two days each week picking up the trash that has been discarded from passing cars.

A MAILMAN'S EXPERIENCE

John Gaunt, a rural mail carrier in commenting on litter, tells of the problem that he has in avoiding bottles that may have been discarded and lying in the path to rural mail boxes.

There is hardly a farmer in Gloucester County who resides on any road, but what can recount their experience with broken bottles and trash that has landed in their fields.

The glass problem has become a greater menace to farming through the nonreturnable bottle. When there was a deposit on bottles, people were not so careless. There was a time when the two-cent bounty meant something.

According to Mr. Rogers, highways, picnic grounds, wooded areas and even streams are becoming public dumping grounds.

Litterbugging is a national illness and some efforts are being made to create public and community consciousness for highway beautification.

The Gloucester County Board of Freeholders has had signs erected warning of fines for litterbugging. Many have the idea that this applies only to the dumping of boxes and barrels from cars and trucks. Actually it applies to the discarding of paper bags and even cigarette wrappers.

Harold Ott, Mullica Hill farm supply dealer, reports of distributing plastic litter bags five years ago and with thanks to Harold, this column has carried this litter bag across more than 25 states. While on radio, the writer worked with Mrs. Cyril Fox, Media, Pa., who was instrumental in passing an anti-litter program in that state. How to get people to be responsible for the proper disposal of trash is a most difficult problem. Few seem to be interested and the litter piles up with no consideration of what it is going to cost or their responsibility in making Gloucester County a litter-free community.

Mr. Speaker, we see more frequent publicity on various nationwide efforts to preserve the natural beauty, which is still abundant in this country. We read about the highway beautification program; the elimination of roadside billboards and the hiding of junkyards. We have heard of antilitter campaigns in some of our larger cities and we are less aware of the many State laws and local ordinances designed to deter the litterbug.

These efforts have undoubtedly had their impact, but all too frequently, governmental efforts tend to detract from individual responsibility, giving the impression that millions are being spent to take care of the litter that one might carelessly discard.

I dont intend to minimize these efforts, but it is well to put them in their proper perspective. The remedy, after all, lies in the hands of each and every one of us and hopefully, Mr. Speaker, in giving credit where it is due, Mr. Rogers example will serve to stimulate others to follow his lead.

History Repeats Itself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, history repeats itself and its lessons must not be lost upon us. Few of our international columnists draw enough historic parallel to explain present day complications. I feel that the following thoughtful historical analysis by Copley Press columnist Dumitru Danielopol, which appeared in the Glendale, Calif., News-Press on October 11, is a most valid commentary. The commentary follows:

WE CANNOT ESCAPE ECHOES OF HISTORY

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—It was October 1938 when Winston Churchill told the House of Commons:

"It must be accepted that all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will make the best terms they can with the triumphant Nazi Power.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and French Premier Edouard Daladier had just signed the Munich agreement that dismembered Czechoslovakia.

"The system of alliances in Central Europe, upon which France relied for her safety, has been swept away, and I can see no means by which it can be reconstituted," Churchill said.

Churchill didn't use the term, but he was talking about the "domino theory" that has been applied now to Southeast Asia.

Churchill proved correct. Nazi Germany swept into Poland and European states fell like dominoes. Only the English Channel saved Britain.

And when order was finally restored to Europe, Britain had ceased to be a great power and France, despite De Gaulle's megalomania, is only a shadow of her former glory.

It is pertinent to recall this because the United States could make the same mistake.

Americans born to a mighty power, never invaded and never knowing defeat can't comprehend how nationals of smaller countries feel.

This explains why many eloquent political figures refuse to admit the "domino theory" is valid in Vietnam.

I heard Churchill's speech in London in 1938.

The British refused to take him seriously. He was a "war monger," the term "hawk" had not yet been coined.

But we Eastern European diplomats knew he was right. We were face to face with the Nazi steam roller. Our security could only be guaranteed by collective security. Munich had destroyed that.

Romania at the time had alliances with Czechslovakia and Yugoslavia in the "Little Entente" and with Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece in the "Balkan Entente."

Had Czechoslovakia resisted the Nazi grab for the Sudetenland as her Government wanted, Romania and Yugoslavia would have been automatically at war with Germany.

In fact during the crisis which preceded Munich the Romanian Government even offered to allow Soviet troops to pass through Romania in order to help the Czechs.

On Mar. 15, 1939 Hitler broke the Munich agreement and took over the rest of Czechoslovakia. In August he signed the pact with Stalin and on Sept. 1 he invaded Poland, Britain and France went to war. But what happened to the other countries?

Yugoslavia and Romania were neutral. So was the rest of what remained of Europe.

Poland was crushed in a few days by the joint forces of Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Then Hitler started taking Europe apart, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece fell in rapid order. Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania quit without a fight.

Vietnam is to Asia what Czechoslovakia was to Europe 30 years ago.

The French who knew its strategic importance called it "the bolt in the door."

Let's change a few words in that 1938 Churchill speech:

"It must be accepted that all the countries of South East Asia will make the best terms they can with triumphant Communist power. The system of alliances in South East Asia, upon which the United States relied for her safety, has been swept away, and I can see no means by which it can be reconstituted."

The only difference is that Britain had America to rescue her.

We have no one.

War Critics Sing Off Key

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 10, 1967]

LOUD NOISE OF DISSENT: WAR CRITICS SING OFF KEY

Again the doubting Thomases in the United States of America have started their recordings on Vietnam, turning up the volume to "full."

It is anomalous.

In Vietnam the cream of American manhood is fighting with skill and dedication for our national interest.

At home more and more shortwinded appeasers are dropping out of the race for freedom, as did the French before Dienbienphu, and just as Hanoi expected.

As others in history have learned, anything repeated loud and long enough is likely to have an effect on public opinion. It is then essential to turn attention to the replaying of the same old recording of the appeasers, not only to hear what they criticize, but to see the alternatives they offer.

Leading among their contentions is that a cessation of bombing will bring Hanoi to the negotiating table and bring an accolade of world opinion to the United States.

Five previous lulls in the bombing of North Vietnam have failed to evoke a single reciprocal response from North Vietnam. And it is naive to assume that the opponents of the United States abroad will change their views short of our total withdrawal perhaps not even then.

Leading critics of the United States at home call for re-convening the 1954 Geneva convention on Vietnam. It is a pious hope blurring the facts.

Hanoi has categorically refused to participate in a Geneva type of conference. Russia, a co-chairman of the 1954 meeting, is fomenting the war in Vietnam by sending millions in supplies yearly to Hanoi. It has recently announced a step up in the aid.

Other domestic critics urge that the matter be tossed to the United Nations. Conveniently overlooked is the fact the United States has repeatedly proposed this. Russia has said she would veto such an agenda item. And North Vietnam is not a member of the world body.

Some appeasers also have tried their hand at generalmanship—advocating a retreat to a few coastal enclaves just to keep a United States presence in Vietnam. It would make U.S. forces sitting ducks, be an admission of defeat and pin Americans down in Vietnam forever.

Most of the critics have not advocated that the United States withdraw altogether from Vietnam. They also seem to realize that this would be a shattering blow to our credibility, prestige, national interest and image.

If we must stay—and we must—there is no alternative to a military victory that will bring the enemy to the negotiating table as nothing else can.

And political chatter which offers no realistic alternatives can only prolong the war because it convinces Hanoi that our will to continue is flagging.

Exciting and Dynamic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the Office of Economic Opportunity has launched many exciting and dynamic programs attacking poverty in our own country, and one of the most popular and effective of these has been VISTA—Volunteers in Service to America. But VISTA pays no salaries to its volunteers—only a food and shelter allowance—and offers them only the glamour and comfort of urban slums and rural poverty where these VISTA volunteers serve for 1 year.

I was very pleased to read in the October 17 issue of Look magazine that a recent Gallup poll disclosed that 3 million Americans would be willing to spend some time of their lives in VISTA service if they had the opportunity. More than 33,000 Americans have applied to the OEO for VISTA service and, Mr. Speaker, the OEO has on file requests from local communities across the Nation for more than five times the number of volunteers it can put into the field.

VISTA's popularity and acceptance is unquestioned. VISTA's successes may be measured in the millions of dollars that taxpayers are saving because of the voluntary work VISTA is providing on Indian reservations, in legal service projects, in Job Corps centers, mental health programs, and hundreds of services to the poor in the 49 States and possessions of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include for my colleagues' information the complete article written by Mr. William Zinsser, which appeared in Look magazine, and which contains these and other references to the OEO's VISTA programs:

THE RIGHT TO FAIL

(By William K. Zinsser)

I'd like to abolish "dropout" from the American language. It's a perfect time to get rid of it, at the start of another school and college year. Otherwise we will be hearing and reading about dropouts from now to June, if not to doomsday, and always in the same connection—as a synonym for failure. It is America's newest dirty word.

What I resent is that we only apply it to people under 21. Yet an adult who spends his days and nights watching mindless TV programs is more of a dropout than an 18-year-old who quits college—with its frequently mindless courses—to become, says a VISTA volunteer, living and working with the poor. For the young, dropping out can often be a way of dropping in.

To hold this opinion, however, is little short of treason in America today. A boy or girl who leaves college is labeled a failure—and the right to fail is one of the few freedoms that this country does not allow its citizens. The American dream is a dream of "getting ahead," painted in gold wherever we look. Our advertisements and TV commercials are a hymn to material success, our magazine articles a toast to people who made it to the top. Smoke the right cigarette or drive the right car—so the ads imply—and girls wil be swooning into your deodorized arms or caressing your expensive lapels. Happiness goes to the man who has the sweet small of achievement. He is our national idol, and everybody else is our national fink.

I want to put in a word for the fink, especially the teen-age fink, because if we give him time to get through his finkdom—if we release him from the pressure of attaining certain goals by a certain age—he has a good chance of becoming a national idol of a different sort, a Jefferson or a Thoreau, a Frank Lloyd Wright or an Adlai Stevenson, a man with a mind of his own. We need mavericks and dissenters and dreamers far more than we need junior vice-presidents, but we paralyze them early by insisting that every step be a step up to the next rung of the ladder. Yet, in the fluid years of youth, the only way for boys and girls to find their proper road is often to take a hundred side trips, poking out in different directions, faltering, drawing back, and starting again.

"But what if we fail?" they ask, whispering the dreadful word across "the generation gap" to their parents, who are back home at the Establishment, nursing their "middle-class values" and cultivating their "goal-oriented society." The parents whisper back: "Don't!"

What they should say is "Don't be afraid to fail!" Failure isn't fatal. Countless people have had a bout with it and come out stronger as a result. Many have even come out famous. History is strewn with eminent dropouts, "loners" who followed their own trail, not worrying about its odd twists and turns because they had faith that their own sense of direction could be trusted. To read their biographies is always exhilarating, not only because they beat the system, but because their system was better than the one that they beat.

Luckily, such rebels still turn up often enough to prove that individualism, though badly threatened, is not extinct. Much has been written in recent months, for instance, about the fitful scholastic career of Thomas P. F. Hoving, New York's gifted Parks Commissioner who has now become the youngest director in the history of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hoving was a dropout's dropout, entering and leaving schools as if they were motels, sometimes at the request of the management. But he dropped back in again, evidently richer for his brief nonconformity, and today has reached the top of his profession, in his mid-thirties, skipping most of the lower rungs on the dull old ladder of success.

His case reminds me of another boyhood: that of Holden Caulfield in J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, the most popular literary hero of the postwar period. There is nothing accidental about the grip that this dropout continues to hold on the affections of an entire American generation. Nobody else, real or invented, has made such an engaging shambles of our "goal-oriented society," so gratified our secret belief that the "phonies" are in power and the good guys up the creek. Whether Holden has also reached the top of his chosen field today, like Thomas Hoving, is one of those speculations that delight fanciers of good fiction. I speculate that he has. Holden Caulfield, incidentally, is now 33.

I'm not urging everyone to go out and fail just for the sheer therapy of it, or to quit college just to coddle some vague discontent. Obviously it's better to succeed than to flop, and in general a long education is more helpful than a short one. (Thanks to my own education, for example, I can tell George Eliot from T. S. Eliot, I can handle the pluperfect tense in French, and I know that Caesar beat the Helvetti because he had enough *frumentum*.) I only mean that failure isn't bad in itself, or success automatically good.

Fred Zinnemann, director of the year's most honored movie, *A Man for All Seasons*, was questioned recently about his previous film, *Behold a Pale Horse*, a box-office disaster. "I don't feel any obligation to be successful," Zinnemann replied. "Success can be dangerous—you feel you know it all. I've learned a great deal from my failures."

A similar point was made by Richard Brooks, now directing *In Cold Blood*, about his ambitious money-loser, *Lord Jim*. Recalling the three years of his life that went into it, talking almost with elation about the troubles that befell his unit in Cambodia, Brooks told me that he learned more about his craft from this considerable failure than from his many earlier hits.

It's a point, of course, that applies throughout the arts. Writers, playwrights, painters and composers work in the expectation of periodic defeat, but they wouldn't keep going back into the arena if they thought it was the end of the world. It isn't the end of the world. For an artist—and perhaps for anybody—it is the only way to grow.

Today's younger generation seems to know that this is true, seems willing to take the risks in life that artists take in art. "Society," needless to say, still has the upper hand—it sets the goals and condemns as a failure everybody who won't play the game. But the dropouts and the hippies are not as afraid of failure as their parents and grandparents. This could mean, as their elders might say, that they are just plumb lazy, secure in the comforts of an affluent state. It could also mean, however, that they just don't buy the old standards of success and are rapidly writing new ones.

Recently it was announced, for instance, that 37,000 Americans have completed final applications for VISTA (the domestic Peace Corps), that 200,000 have inquired about service, and that, according to a Gallup survey, "more than three million American college students would serve VISTA in some capacity if given the opportunity."

This is hardly the road to riches or to an executive suite. Yet I have met many of these young volunteers in the past year, and they are not pining for traditional success. On the contrary, they appear more fulfilled than the average vice-president with a swimming pool.

Who is to say, then, if there is any right path to the top, or even to say what the top consists of? Obviously the colleges don't have more than a partial answer—otherwise the young would not be so disaffected with an education that they consider vapid. Obviously business does not have the answer—otherwise the young would not be so scornful of its call to be an organization man.

The fact is, nobody has the answer, and the dawning awareness of this fact seems to me one of the best things happening in America today. Success and failure are again becoming individual visions, as they were when the country was younger, not rigid categories. I hope we will cherish this right of every person to succeed on his own terms—and to fail, as often as it may be necessary, along the way.

Pulaski: The American Freedom Fighter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join in hailing the 188th anniversary of the passing of the great Polish leader and patriot, Casimir Pulaski, who gave his life for this country in our early battle for independence and freedom.

This great fighter for personal liberty was born in Poland in the year 1748. At a very early age, under the leadership of his father, he fought in the Polish uprising against Russian control of his own country after the partition has been decreed by Germany, Russia, and Austria.

Fighting against organized tyranny at great odds, Pulaski and his noble compatriots were defeated and crushed by the Russians but this misfortune did not dim his resolution to fight for human freedom.

His father and brother had been lost in the battle for Poland but Pulaski was resolute. Visiting the great Benjamin Franklin in Paris and learning of the urgent need for trained leaders and soldiers in the American Revolutionary War, this great lover of freedom traveled to the United States and contacted General Washington and immediately took up the fight for American independence.

He fought gallantly in the Battle of Brandywine, was commissioned a brigadier general by Congress and given command of the entire American cavalry.

For 2 years this intrepid Polish hero and freedom fighter furnished superb leadership to the cavalry and struggled and fought gallantly against the enemy.

Finally, during the siege of Savannah, he was seriously wounded and within a few days he died, a martyr for the cause of freedom, while still in the bloom of youth at the age of 31.

He was hailed by all the leaders of the American Revolution who regarded him truly as one of their own and throughout the years he was paid high tributes of gratitude, honor and affection, by the American Government and people.

Hailed and saluted as a hero who gave his life for his country, many memorials and monuments were constructed throughout the Nation in his honor and his name is inscribed in the rolls of the martyred dead who gave up their lives in the bloody struggle to institute American liberty, human rights and freedom, under God, in this country.

It is a curious irony that the homeland of the great Pulaski is still crushed and held in the iron grip of tyranny and oppression against which he struggled in his early years.

After all these years, gallant Poland and its noble people have been in the vanguard of almost every struggle for freedom, yet they are still unliberated and held in bondage by Russian imperialist oppressors.

Even now, during our bitter struggles in Vietnam, Russian imperialism is giving comfort and aid to the aggressive designs and activities of Communist governments that are opposing the liberation of oppressed peoples in Asia.

The Communists profess peace but give it only lipservice. If they would stop sending Mig aircraft, large guns of all kinds, and even missile systems of various kinds and military materiel, supplies, and equipment of almost every kind in support of the North Vietnamese, the present conflict could not be carried on for 2 weeks and would collapse of its own weight.

Let there be no misunderstanding on the part of the American people or anyone else that it is only because of the support of Russia that this bloody war is being continued and I hope and pray that the Russian Government will accede to the pleas of this Nation and all humanity for peace, based on collective security in the world.

The great Pulaski will always be gratefully remembered by the American people of every generation. His spirit still lives and always will live because it is the spirit of freedom and dignity of man, the spirit breathed into the soul of every human being when he or she comes into this world, implanted in the breast not only of Americans but of all peoples, the spirit that does not recognize the oppression and exploitation of others, the spirit that seeks freedom and justice for all.

This was the spirit of Casimir Pulaski who gave his life for American independence and freedom for all.

As we again turn our thoughts with gratitude and deep appreciation to recollections of this great Polish hero's supreme sacrifice for this Nation and for freedom, let us resolve that his sacrifice and that of so many millions of boys throughout the world who died to defend and to enthrone freedom for all, shall not be in vain.

As we honor the great Pulaski, let us renew our determination to hold firm to the ideals and truths for which he gave his life, to preserve our own freedoms and to help other nations to preserve theirs and to stand resolutely with those who seek liberation for them and peace in the world in the name of Pulaski and let us all be reinspired by Pulaski's supreme sacrifice for our country to continue to hold out the hand of encouragement and assistance to his homeland of Poland that the time may come and not be too far distant, when this great nation may be freed from servitude and bondage and take its place once again in the ranks of the free independent nations of the earth.

Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7977) to adjust certain postage rates, and for other purposes.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it is with reluctance I rise in opposition to this amendment, but in my personal opinion this is an anti-individual taxpayer amendment, and I will tell the Members why.

I had the honor and responsibility of serving on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service for about 4 years back in the 1950's. I went through some of these rate hearings, and I believe I got a little background from them at that time.

The simple facts are that if we are going to provide an increase in wages for our postal employees—and they need an increase, I am convinced of that—it would be folly to vote for this amendment, which would do away with the majority of the revenue which is going to be used to pay for that increase.

Now I will tell the Members why I believe this is an antitaxpayer amendment.

As to first-class mail, I might say that I am not very impressed with the cost ascertainment system of the Post Office Department. I have gone through that a long time, too.

The only reason why you run a Post Office Department 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, is to deliver first-class mail. If you were just going to deliver second- and third-class mail, you could run it 5 days a week, 8 hours a day, or 40 hours during the week, and it would not make any difference whether it is delivered this week or next. Here is why I think this is an antitaxpayer amendment. Eighty percent of all your first-class mail is business mail. It is put out by the businessman. As a matter of fact, that is a legitimate expense for him. The other 20 percent of first class is taken care of by the 200 million average citizens in the country. When I served on that committee, the average household sent about 13 letters a month. I understand from checking with the committee that it went up to about 20 a month. That is an increase of $2.40 a year. It is that amount for an average household. And let us say there are four in an average household. This amendment would lose $518.4 million worth of revenue.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. Let me finish my statement, and then I will be glad to yield.

Some $518.4 million worth of revenue. Let us say that there are four people in the average household. I would much rather pay it through the postal revenue than through the tax window. It has to be paid somewhere.

Mr. GROSS. Is the gentleman trying to say the businessman will not pass the cost of this increase in mail on to the consumer?

Mr. CEDERBERG. He may. He has to pass it on to everybody else. But we have to look at it from a practical rate point of view. The average man who pays a penny every letter is farther ahead to pay 20 cents a month for his letters than he is on a family of four paying $8 or $10 a year through the tax window. You can take your choice.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS. The gentleman said—and I think I heard him correctly—that an average householder sends 20 letters a month. How do you get $2.40 a year?

Mr. CEDERBERG. Twenty times 12 is 240 and at 1 cent is $2.40.

Mr. HAYS. You are talking about the increase?

Mr. CEDERBERG. Yes, the increase.

Mr. HAYS. I thought you said the total.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I am talking about an increase of $2.40 a household. But if you take it by individuals, the individual, as I read this, with 200 million people in the country, can lose $518 million a year in revenue. That is $2 per individual. If you have 5 in the family, that is $10. If you have a choice, the average taxpayer is much further ahead to pay the increase in the revenue than go through the tax window and let the businessman pay for his mail.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. Yes.

Mr. POOL. You still have not answered the problem when the figures show and we use the Post Office Committee's figures——

Mr. CEDERBERG. That is wrong.

Mr. POOL. You asked me to answer the question. How are you going to explain the 123-percent increase above the cost?

Mr. CEDERBERG. In the first place, I do not believe the 123 percent and I never believed their guess.

Mr. POOL. I know, but that is the payment figure, and the whole bill will be thrown out. That is what we based the bill on.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Where will you raise the revenue if you lose the $158 million to pay the postal employees? You will not raise it on second and third class, and you know it.

Mr. POOL. The post office is giving good service.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Let me tell you. If want to protect the taxpayer, it is better for him to pay it through the stamp window than through the tax window, and do not forget that. The average family will pay $8 or $10 a year through the tax window with this amendment, and he will pay $2.40 a year, and for me that is good business for my constituents.

Leaderless and Gutless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I incude the following:

[From the Pacific Beach (Calif.) Sentinel Scope, Oct. 15, 1967]

LEADERLESS AND GUTLESS

(By Clinton D. McKinnon)

If the clamor over Viet Nam were of one critical voice, the issue would not be so hard to resolve.

There are those who wish to escalate the war; who rally around the attractive slogan of "Fight to Win". Even among themselves, this group does not entirely agree upon how the war should be pursued.

There is the other extreme of those who advocate a complete pull-out; a submissive admission of a huge mistake.

There is still another group which advocates a negotiated peace, and while few disagree with this objective, no one answers the real question of how you negotiate with someone who doesn't want to negotiate.

At this moment, why should Ho Chi Minh want to call it quits? It would seem to almost any observer that even though his military forces are taking a whipping in the South, and his people are taking a beating in the North, that his determination will offset our firepower simply because so many of the American people seem leaderless and gutless.

It makes one sick to compare the valor and dedication of our fighting men in Viet Nam with the spineless and indecisive leadership in our Congress.

No wonder our people are confused. And concerned.

It's very likely that the Johnson administration will go down to defeat next year, if it can't do a better job of communicating the nation's objectives in Viet Nam and elsewhere throughout the world.

This casualty is to be regretted no more than the thousands who have given their lives in battle in Viet Nam. Both are for a just cause and, to give the President credit, he has not retreated.

The disgusting aspect is that so many Congressmen realize they, too, may be political casualties, but instead of being courageous leaders, they scamper into dugouts and hope they can survive until the bombardment passes.

What a miserable contrast to the valor of our troops in Viet Nam.

The voice of the people is paramount in a democratic society, but this also implies that the men and women who are elected must lead, instead of rushing to the bomb shelters.

Nor does leadership consist of voting one way one time and another way another, as is the case with Senator Fulbright. He helped to fashion the treaties that brought us into Viet Nam and he gave further support to the Tonkin Gulf resolution that supported President Johnson in his determination to resist North Viet Nam.

Now he says he's a sadder but wiser man. Any man, however, who has been wrong more than two-thirds of the time hardly qualifies for the World Serious.

A democratic society provides for many viewpoints but only one national policy. That has been adopted through the passage of treaties, by resolutions, and by the votes for funds for the conduct of the war.

If this country is going to maintain its security, it's high time its Congress got together and gave the nation some leadership. That would do more to move the world to the peace table than anything else.

Spending Brakes Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House, in substantial terms, expressed a clear determination to control runaway spending of the Federal bureaucracy. An editorial in the Saturday, October 14, edition of the Lansing, Ill., Journal emphatically emphasized the need for such action. It backs up its point with some interesting tax statistics. The editorial follows:

SPENDING BRAKES NEEDED

The proposed surcharge on corporate and personal income is supposed to be a temporary measure needed largely to finance the cost of the war in Viet Nam.

But, there have been temporary taxes enacted before, and a good share of them are still with us.

If the rapid expansion in the size and cost of government now under way is not checked, any tax boost made will have little effect on budget deficits or the course of inflation.

Both will remain with us to undermine the economic stability of the country and depreciate the income and the savings of the people.

It is time to consider national fiscal policy.

It must be recognized that governments too have limitations on their ability to spend.

In the nation's capital the word "temporary" often has a definition not found in the dictionary.

All too frequently in Washington "temporary" simply means "permanent".

Remember the "temporary" wartime buildings that were still standing decades later, the "temporary" commissions that never finish their assignments? Certainly none of us can forget the "temporary" taxes that have been imposed upon us.

He is one example:

In June 1932, Congress levied a tax of one cent a gallon on gasoline as a temporary measure.

It was described as an emergency step to help the Federal government meet the financial crisis brought on by the depression.

This tax produced $57 million in revenue in its first year.

Thirty-four years later and with a rate of four cents a gallon, the tax yielded $2.9 billion, bringing the total since 1932 to nearly $33 billion.

In 1967, this "temporary" tax is expected to have an even higher yield.

We are not raising the question here of whether the gasoline tax is good or bad, but we are stressing the fact that "temporary" in federal language may mean "forever".

During the Korean War many excise taxes were enacted to help pay for the conflict.

However, a great many of these so-called temporary taxes have been retained either at the same rate or in slightly modified form.

This phenomenon of government should be borne in mind when there is talk of new or increased taxes.

Flight Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was very much impressed by a letter I recently received from Maj. Gen. Joseph D. "Smokey" Caldara, U.S. Air Force, retired, one of our greatest Air Force flyers and administrators, now of the Flight Safety Foundation, Inc., concerning the problems of air safety.

Referring to a recent article in the New York Times on air safety, this very able, distinguished, and highly experienced aviation leader described this subject as being most critical, which, to be sure, it most certainly is.

The General also commented on instances where he had personally seen vital decisions affecting the safety of flight deferred until after an accident, or worse yet, deferred until after a series of accidents.

He pointed to the fact that recent midair collisions, the inexcusable delays that are costly in both time and money, and sorely lacking, traffic-control capability, as attested to by our constant communications within the industry, point the way to additional disasters, unless positive action is taken now or in the immediate future.

General Caldara, whose expertise and authority in this field is surely unquestioned, declares that he is taking the liberty of calling the real and present danger of potential disasters in the air to the attention of each members of Congress. He states that as a professional in the discipline of air safety, which he equates with efficient flight, the situation requires Congress to take the action necessary to provide vital funding for air safety, and candidly, I could not agree with him more.

I am persuaded from my own study and knowledge of these matters that we have tarried all too long in rounding out, and providing the money for, efficient air-safety programs. Now that we have a supplemental request for funds of about $100 million pending, I hope that there will be no further semantic equivocation or delay in a matter which is of utmost importance to the flying public and civilian and private air service components and the orderly progress of aviation.

In brief, the time has come for urgent action in this vital field, and I want to join General Caldara in urging that Congress provide funding for this all-important effort as soon as we possibly can.

American aviation and world aviation are expanding at a very rapid rate, and we are facing shortages and needs in almost every part of the great aviation and air industry, and we must start with safety factors and make sure that we do not overlook the one single step in this Congress that would provide maximum safety in the air, in air traffic and relevant ground-air instruments and equipment.

General Caldara has done aviation and the Nation a great service in bringing these important matters to the attention of the Congress, and I want to express my warm appreciation to him, and at the same time assure him and all other interested parties of my complete support of our efforts to approve air safety.

I include as part of my remarks General Caldara's letter and enclosure from a recent edition of the New York Times which I believe would be very helpful and effective in these matters:

Flight Safety Foundation, Inc.,
New York, N.Y., September 18, 1967.

Hon. Philip J. Philbin,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Phil: An extremely interesting account in today's New York Times on air safety and the problems the FAA is having in funding it touches on a most critical subject. The opening sentence, "The Federal Aviation Administration, fearing it cannot keep pace with air travel growth is fighting the White House for more air safety funds" is the reason for this letter.

Over the years I have seen, sometimes to my horror, vital decisions affecting the safety of flight deferred until after an accident or, worse yet, after a series of accidents. Such decisions based on emotion rather than analytical fact generally fall far short of providing the necessary or even a realistic solution.

The recent mid-air collisions, the inexcusable delays that are costly in both time and money, and the already sorely lacking traffic control capability, as attested to by our constant communications within the industry, point the way to additional disasters unless positive action is taken now.

The article also stated, "Only if top Administration officials become convinced that air safety might develop into a troublesome political issue are they believed likely to approve the supplemental request for funds for the fiscal year . . . to be about $100-million." In addition to the political issue of a failure in air safety the economic aspect of one accident can easily exceed the $100-million requested.

While I am sending a letter similar to this to the President, I am taking the liberty of calling the very real and present danger of potential disaster in the air to the attention of each member of The Congress. As a professional in the discipline of air safety—and all we are really talking about is efficient flight—I urge you and all the members of The Congress to take the action necessary to provide this vital funding for this all-important effort.

Sincerely,

Joseph D. Caldara,
Major General, USAF, Retired.

FAA Is Pressing for More Funds in Safety Drive—Pleads for White House Aid to Add Traffic Controllers, Towers and Equipment

(By Evert Clark)

Washington, September 17.—The Federal Aviation Administration, fearing it cannot keep pace with air travel growth, is fighting the White House for more air safety funds.

The date the White House and the Budget Bureau have resisted the pressure. The agency's greatest need is for more air traffic controllers, but it also wants more money for control towers and electronic equipment.

Only if top Administration officials become convinced that air safety might develop into a troublesome political issue are they believed likely to approve the supplemental request for funds for the fiscal year 1968. The amount involved is said to be about $100-million.

If a denial of the request were to be followed by a major accident, involving air traffic control, the safety issue could be catapulted into a political controversy.

Congress, concerned about two midair collisions this year involving airlines, has recently shown considerable interest in air safety problems.

FATAL ACCIDENTS CONTINUE

There were 10 fatal airline accidents in the first eight months of this year. The annual average for the last five years was 12. Crashes this year have taken 217 lives, compared with a five-year average of 293.

The F.A.A.'s regular budget request for the fiscal year 1968, which has passed the House but not the Senate, is the first in four years that would permit the recruiting of new controllers in any volume.

Even then the $811-million requested would add only 648 controllers and 121 maintenance men to the 14,000 controllers and maintenance men who now run the traffic centers and the control towers.

But David D. Thomas, deputy administrator, indicated that this increase was only about one-third of what was really needed. The deficiency, he said, would be made up, as it has been in the last few years, by asking each controller to work harder.

"The way air traffic is growing now, with the budget now before you, if each air traffic controller did exactly the same amount of work that he is doing this year, it would take 1,500 more positions than you have in the budget just to keep up with the traffic," Mr. Thomas said.

"We are actually expecting him to do 8 to 10 per cent more work next year, with the equipment we are furnishing him and the improvement we are making in the traffic control system."

He explained that the productivity of the air traffic control system—that is, the number of take-offs, landings and overflights it can handle—had already been increased by 178 per cent of what it was in 1963, without the hiring of any appreciable number of new controllers.

In other words the system has been able to handle far more traffic, partly because electronic aids have improved but chiefly because individual controllers now deal with many more planes on a radar scope at one time than they ever have before.

Agency officials told Congress last May of their "urgent" air traffic problems and said that they might return to ask for more money if conditions worsened and the Administration approved such a request.

Gen. William F. McKee, the agency's chief, testified that F.A.A. traffic forecasts prepared only a few months before had already been exceeded.

"I am concerned about the number of personnel, particularly in our air traffic control system," he said.

Since he testified, the House has acted on the budget request. It did not cut money for controllers, but it did make cuts that would force the agency to defer 12 new control towers and six new radar installations.

These improvements were planned before the current budget was submitted. The budget does not include any new money for further tower or radar installations.

Typifying the Administration's budgetary problems, the Budget Bureau cut $70.2-million from the agency's proposed 1968 request before the request went to Capitol Hill.

It would have cut more, but General McKee made a strong plea to the President and the budget director that he have at least a handful of new controllers.

The agency is now in the position of having to ask the Budget Bureau and the President for still more money just to keep pace with traffic growth.

It does not pretend that the supplemental request would permit it to go ahead of the problem.

No Answer From the Drug Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on January 26 of this year I introduced H.R. 3994. This bill provides that under the medicare program and State medical programs which are assisted by Federal funds, the Federal Government will bear the expense of the drugs only if they are supplied on the basis of their generic name.

This is to remedy the situation where a company which sells a drug to the Government under its generic name for 69 cents per thousand sells the same drug under its trade name to druggists for $39.50 per thousand.

This bill would foster competition and inform the people of a choice in drugs which they do not now have.

The drug companies have tried to answer the charge of overpricing implicit in this bill. Their answer is really no answer at all. The oft-repeated line is that this huge markup is necessary for the costs of research. This is simply not true.

The 1961 Kefauver committee report showed that the research expenditures of the 20 major drug companies represented only 6.4 percent of their total sales dollar. This percentage has not changed much since then. The same report showed that approximately 24 percent of drug receipts of the same drug companies is used for promotion; this is often more than the cost of the product itself.

Early this week Richard Furlaud, president of E. R. Squibb & Sons, one of the largest drug companies in the Nation, gave the drug industry's standard defense of the two-price system. This answer is no answer at all, for it is based on contentions that have been disproved, such as the cost of research answer.

The editors of the New York Times evaluated Mr. Furlaud's defense as "unpersuasive." I agree, for the facts refute his arguments. I would like now to include this well-written editorial in the Record:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 17, 1967]

Dual Drug Prices

The president of E. R. Squibb & Sons has given an unpersuasive defense of the curious two-price system for drugs in this country. A much better argument will have to be made to explain why Congress should not outlaw the present anomalous practice under which the same medicine may be very expensive or very cheap, depending upon whether a doctor has prescribed it by its brand name or its generic name.

Taken at face value, the strongest point made by Squibb's president, Richard Furlaud, is the need to cover costs of research aimed at finding new drugs. Unfortunately for the pharmaceutical industry, the force of that argument has been weakened by the recent testimony of Food and Drug Commissioner James L. Goddard. He reported that much of the drug firms' research is "poorly executed" and "has not resulted in the introduction into medical practice of genuinely new therapeutic agents." The relative fruitlessness of this research is, as Dr. Goddard noted, a kind of "expensive inefficiency" whose involuntary subsidization by consumers is hardly justifiable.

Particularly unpersuasive is Mr. Furlaud's effort to defend the huge advertising and promotional spending of the drug industry, costs that are then used to justify the exorbitant prices charged for many branded pharmaceuticals. Every practicing doctor in the nation is deluged with such advertising material, much of which employs themes more appropriate to cigarette or automobile advertising than to the sale of products concerned with human health.

Doubtless, as the drug companies contend, some fraction of this promotional expense does contribute to the education of practicing physicians, but this is surely a far from ideal—or economical—solution to the problem of postgraduate training for clinicians. A drug company advertisement or salesman must aim primarily to sell that enterprise's products—a goal quite different from that of medical educators engaged in bringing up to date the knowledge of their colleagues who actually treat patients.

Passage of a law requiring all drug to be prescribed and sold by generic names would be an extremely radical step, one that Congress should not take lightly or hastily. But the demand for it will increasingly be heard if the present enormous discrepancies in the prices of branded and generic medicines are noe narrowed substantially, and if the drug companies do not give a more convincing justification for the differences that remain.

Our Friend Sam Davenport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, though Sam Davenport is no longer officially associated with the Congress, we often think of him and his splendid service to the membership. Most of us perhaps will always remember Sam as connected with the Office of the Coordinator of Information. We know how faithful and dedicated he was to duty. While here he answered thousands of our questions and inquiries annually. He often answered the phone himself and would often bring a reply in person so as to explain more fully.

He was devoted to the House as a great American institution. He loved the House and respected it as the most direct representation the people have in our democracy. Sam Davenport was well aware that a Congressman not only had to legislate, but he has to perform tasks for his individual constituents. He realized that a Congressman was no more effective than his political strength back home.

While serving us here Sam was courteous, sympathetic, and kind. He is a true gentleman.

I first knew Sam not as one to provide the answer to our difficult questions, but as an unofficial member of the House Christian Breakfast Group. In the old 80th Congress Sam was there every Thursday morning and this is where I first learned to know, respect, and admire him. He is a Christian soldier who fervently believes that Christianity is the answer to our complex modern-day problems. He is truly one of the finest men it has ever been my privilege to know.

While Sam is no longer officially associated with the Congress, he will continue to be of service to his country and to his fellow man.

Mrs. Dorn and my staff join with me in wishing for Sam and his family the very best always.

Corporal France, 20, Dies of Wounds in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lance Cpl. Phillip S. France was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 18, 1967]

Corporal France, 20, Dies of Wounds in Vietnam

A 20-year-old marine who graduated from Edmondson High School in 1965 was killed last Saturday near beseiged Con Thien in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

He was Lance Cpl. Phillip S. France, husband of Mrs. Margret T. France, of the Lexington Terrace housing project in the 200 block North Fremont avenue.

TOLD OF WOUND

Corporal France died of head and body wounds sustained when a Communist mortar shell exploded. About two weeks earlier, he had been slightly wounded by another mortar explosion, his wife said last night.

In a letter, he said that he had been wounded while he had a dying friend in his arms, Mrs. France said. He also wrote that his name had been put in for a Silver Star, but Mrs. France said she knew none of the details of the action which led to the recommendation.

The young marine had been in Vietnam since mid-July, all but about a month of the time in the Con Thien area. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in May, 1966, and underwent training at Parris Island, S.C., Camp Lejeune, N.C., and in Puerto Rico before being sent to Vietnam.

While he attended Edmondson High School, he sang in the school choir and took part as a flag bearer for a neighborhood drum and bugle corps.

Besides his wife, he is survived by a daughter, Davita France, 1½; his mother and father, Mrs. Pauline France and Clarence France, both of Baltimore; a brother, Army Spec. 4 Victor France, who is stationed in New York; and a sister, Arlene France, of Baltimore.

Who Riots and Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEL CLAWSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, the wave of violence which has spread like a blight across the Nation has generated every shade of opinion and reaction. Attempts have been made to analyze systematize and comment upon the data available to us from many viewpoints. A discussion by a psychologist of international reputation which appears in the October issue of "Nation's Business" draws some interesting conclusions and makes recommendations which seem firmly founded in practical thought as well as professional expertise. The article entitled "Who Riots and Why" by Robert N. McMurray is included at this point in the RECORD:

WHO RIOTS AND WHY

(By Robert N. McMurry)

Because more recent riots have occurred in deprived areas, many of which are Negro ghettos, it is easy to assume that they are a direct consequence of the deprivation of those participating and that the key to their prevention lies in comprehensive welfare work, manifesting itself through massive relief and rehabilitation programs—mostly government sponsored.

These assumptions are questionable and these remedies may prove ineffective. Certainly other actions should have priority. These facts should be examined:

First, violence, rioting and attendant looting are in no sense confined to deprived areas. Outbreaks have occurred in such slumless centers as Nyack, N.Y.; Fort Lauderdale and Lake Geneva, Fla.

Second, while most of the participants are members of minority or disenfranchised groups, some of the rioters and looters are white, in instances from well-to-do families.

Third, while members of the white race are usually the avowed targets of these outbreaks, members of the deprived or minority groups are often the greatest sufferers.

Finally, large segments of the disenfranchised populations, specifically the Negro, are strongly opposed to such "direct action" because it is inconsistent with their standards and values.

PEOPLE WHO RIOT

This raises the question: What kind of men and women actually participate in these riots? First, the majority of those engaging in violence of this nature are young people ranging in age from 15 to 25. A high proportion are not indigenous to the areas in which the riots take place. Far from all are from the "deprived" strata of the population.

From a psychological point of view, recent riots have tended to be marked by behavior which can only be described as berserk. At the height of these disorders many of those taking part have clearly cast aside all civilized restraints. In their activities they give free expression to the most primitive, atavistic impulses.

Why do certain individuals succumb to this "blood lust?" To understand this breakdown of social restraints, it becomes necessary to analyze the mechanisms within each human being which normally serve to inhibit these impulses. The key to the forces within the individual which serve to police his behavior is to be found in the character of his values and what psychologists refer to as the "strength of his ego controls," in other words his capacity to maintain a satisfactory regard for reality and consequences.

The primary inhibiting influences in every human are his values. These are the moral and ethical standards he has acquired in the course of his life which constitute his conscience.

These are not merely a passive collation of pious admonitions or rules. The conscience has a dynamism of its own. It enforces its restrictions by creating in the individual intolerable feelings of guilt and anxiety whenever he transgresses his conscience's dictates. It is through this psychological mechanism which reflects his values that he is restrained from antisocial activities.

It is the person's values to a much greater extent than his intelligence and education that determines what he will do in any given situation. This is an area in which there are marked differences among people. Thus persons with very strict consciences are ordinarily rigid, withdrawn and inhibited. Others, with more permissive consciences, can engage in more activities without feeling guilty or anxious. Still others, for example, members of the Mafia, have consciences which not only condone criminal behavior, but they often are compulsively driven to engage in behavior of this character.

PROBLEM MEMBERS OF SOCIETY

Unfortunately, a small segment of the population has deformed or malfunctioning consciences which are the results either of faulty upbringinig or life in environments whose mores are essentially antisocial.

Of these, first, are those with weak egos, i.e., they lack self-control; they do whatever they wish to without thought of consequences.

The second category is composed of those with warped, perverted, or psychopathic personalities—the people who hate.

Usually neither of these two groups is employable or economically or socially productive. In both of these groups are found criminals and "problem" members of society.

Those with weak egos include many of the self-indulgent, irresponsible adolescents, school dropouts, petty thieves.

Among the psychopathic personalities are many of the chronic failures, malcontents and drifters. For the most part, these are persons who are without hope, who are bitter about their own lives, who hate authority and who have an unlimited capacity for envy of their more fortunate fellows.

Every metropolis and many smaller communities every place in the world have their quota of these people of various races. They are the lost souls of civilization.

It is predominately from these two groups—the irresponsible and the psychopathic personalities—that the majority of the rioters, the vandals, the looters, the arsonists and the potential killers come.

There are undisciplined youth and psychopathic personalities at every economic level of society and in every ethnic group both here and abroad. Members of this stratum of society have been present since the earliest days of civilization.

If this is true, why have members of this group in recent years suddenly broken out into the prevailing rash of violence here in America? Probably because there has been a gradual shift in the prevailing mores and cultural values of our society in the direction of an increasing acceptance and condonement of violence and even lawlessness in American society. Rioting, sedition and anarchy in the past were considered criminal.

Society either took a strong stand against criminals and troublemakers personally by jailing them, or considering them as harmless eccentrics, and encouraged them to preach their doctrines to small crowds from soap boxes in "bug house squares."

Today society's attitudes have softened. Behavioral scientists, taking their leads from John Dewey and a misinterpretation of Freud, have advocated a loosening of authority and the general adoption of a more permissive attitude.

This has manifested itself in the home (do not punish the child; it might frustrate him), in the school (where progressive education has become the mode), on the job (where the so-called Theory Y of democratic management is strongly advocated), or in the courts (where increasing consideration is being given to the "rights" of the accused).

In short, to many persons rioting has now become respectable. Society increasingly is condoning rioting as a justified expression of a way of life. This in turn rationalizes violence.

Advocates of violence, demagogues such as Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael are now given wide publicity. Their points of view are carried in the public press and on television. Their positions are widely endorsed by some clergymen. In consequence, owing to this shift in the mores of society, the consciences of many no longer contain restrictions againt rioting, violence, arson and even murder. Hence, the individuals feel no guilt.

Admittedly, conditions are bad for many members of minority groups, especially Negroes. On the other hand, they are probably no worse now than they have been in previous times. In many respects they are better.

Certainly in and of themselves these conditions of deprivation do not explain nor justify the violence of riots. The roots of the difficulty appear to lie in the fact that rioting can now be indulged in with relative impunity. Police now are often restricted in the measures they may employ to check riots.

Actually, the chief hazard for many of the active participants is the danger of being shot or hurt in the riot itself. This, however, is no deterrent. No one ever expects that he personally will be injured. Also because the majority of the rioters are immature, irresponsible or psychopathic, they are incapable of being aware of the dangers. Finally, only a small proportion of those participating is caught and punished.

These conditions all point to a prospective increase in the frequency and violence of rioting which may be anticipated.

Public aid programs, no matter how desirable, do not get at the immediate causes of these outbreaks.

On the assumption that it is primarily members of the two special groups, the irresponsible delinquents and the psychopathic personalities, who engage in these acts of violence, immediate remedial steps must be designed to identify, contain and restrain the members of these two groups.

In coping with persons of this nature, it must be recognized that when inflamed they revert to a state in which they are enraged animals, devoid of civilized restraint and capacity for self-control. Under mob conditions, they are immune to appeals to reason, to logic, or to their better natures. Actually, their consciences are so constituted that literally they have no better natures. Their value systems, as embodied in their consciences, have no place for kindness, consideration or regard for others.

To them a riot is a saturnalia, comparable to the Russian rape of Berlin, in the course of which the rioters become mad dogs, thinking only of destroying, burning, looting and shooting.

Only brute force will contain such persons.

STOP PREACHING VIOLENCE

From a prophylactic point of view it is obvious that public aid and similar programs must be undertaken to ameliorate intolerable living and employment conditions. More immediately, however, demagogues must be deglamorized. They must be denied a forum from which to preach violence and sedition.

Those who openly advocate anarchy, sedition and the take-over of powers by violence must be arrested, tried and, if found guilty, jailed or fined. When trouble threatens, potential rioters, those known to have engaged in rioting and violence previously, must be rounded up and placed in "protective custody" until the emergency is past.

On an over-all basis the existence of these strata of the incorrigibly delinquent and those with psychopathic personalities, must be recognized and faced. It must be understood that they have deformed personalities and are social and economic misfits.

Only forceable restraints and the creation of a sincere conviction in them that punishment for transgressions will be quick, certain and intolerably painful will have any deterrent effect.

This will not be easy and may entail some infringements of these persons' civil rights. No more so, however, than is the case of those who must be hospitalized because they are mentally ill. The alternative, unfortunately, is the inevitability of even more and worse riots. Society must make its choice between these two courses.

Treatment of Prisoners of War in North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, recent releases of news concerning American military personnel held captive in North Vietnam starkly point out some facts which should be spread before the American public and the peoples of the entire world.

The conditions under which our young men exist as prisoners appear to be adequate by North Vietnamese standards and on that basis Hanoi claims that it is giving the prisoners humane treatment.

Humane treatment covers more than getting barely enough to eat and having a leaky roof over one's head. These men have families and they are naturally concerned for their families' welfare.

Hanoi has consistently refused to announce the names of the prisoners it is holding. Out of the more than 200 American prisoners the Department of Defense believes to be held in North Vietnam, Hanoi has released the identity of less than 100. By no stretch of the imagination can this be called humane treatment.

Some of the correspondents who have visited North Vietnam have been told that the prisoners are free to write to their families. This is a gross misstatement. I am informed that less than 75 prisoners have been permitted to send letters and post cards to their families, and these only very infrequently.

It is certainly not a very humane captor who will keep from the families of the prisoners knowledge of their fate and condition, especially since this knowledge can have no conceivable effect on the course of the fighting.

Those who oppose the U.S. presence in Vietnam and who are apologists for Hanoi should ponder whether their support of and sympathy for the North Vietnamese position is really merited in view of this kind of treatment being meted out to those of our men who have fallen into the hands of these Communist sadists.

Subsidized Cities Are Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967 .

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, virtually every Member of the House is concerned about the complex problems confronting our Nation's cities. We differ, however, in analyzing their causes and recommending appropriate solutions. With each metropolitan crisis comes a cry from some for more Federal funds to remedy the ills of the beleaguered residents.

In the October issue of Nation's Business, the column "Washington: A Look Ahead," points up the errors in assuming that most Americans are living in big city poverty with expectations of larger doles. Believing this article of interest to those who lobby for more and more big city spending for ill-advised Federal experiments, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON: A LOOK AHEAD

National obsession with the plight of the cities seems boundless.

It's typical of America's pendulum politics. It usually starts with an intriguing statistic and builds rapidly on scraps of dramatic evidence. Then momentum swings pendulum out of bounds.

With the cities, it began with the widespread, well-known statistic that seven out of 10 people now live in the cities. All of a sudden, it seemed, we all turned into city slickers. Politicians went overboard.

It was as if every soul in the U.S. should be annoyed by eye-smarting smog, tensed by subway clattering, locked in traffic jams, wracked by crime and oppressed by mere proximity of his fellowman.

That's the way some officials have been looking at it, mouthing about it endlessly.

Then came riots, and politicos call for a massive "Marshall Plan" for the cities, even though Washington has spent nearly $9 billion in the past five years on urban programs.

Of course, the big cities of the United States have massive problems of race, deterioration, congestion. But the national preoccupation with cities perpetuates a myth that we're all urban and all our problems are urban.

Not so. Look at these facts for balance, for common sense:

Believe it or not, we're still a small-town America. Only one in 10 of us lives in a big city—over a million population. More than half of us live in what some New Yorkers call "the sticks." We reside either in rural areas or in small cities—50,000 or under, towns of only 15,000 families or fewer.

Moreover, it's the small towns that are growing. Since 1920, the portion of Americans living in cities of under 50,000 has risen by 50 per cent; more and more, suburb communities are where America hangs its hat, shops and goes to little theater. Increasingly, and desperately, we're seeking the solace of the countryside.

A Gallup poll not long ago found that about half the people liked small-town living; next largest percentage preferred the suburbs; only about one in four or five wanted to live in metropolises.

Even in the so-called Northeast "megalopolis," where in a few short years we're supposed to be stepping all over each other, people aren't any thicker—on the average—than about 500 per square mile. And there are great stretches of wilderness still. Most of us don't live packed in slums.

Only half the states have even one county with an urban density of 1,000 or more per square mile.

Politicians—particularly in Washington—would have you think there's no longer anywhere in the land of the free where you can still park on the street outside your office and that every downtown is ripe for the urban renewal bulldozer. The "crisis in the cities" has been drummed into us endlessly in the drive to dump new vote-getting money into socio-economic urban experiments.

There's not a slum-dweller in the nation today who hasn't been told time and again by the politicians how bad off he is and how much the government ought to be doing for him

Glance at some budget figures: A couple of years ago, Washington spent about $350 million for housing and community development subsidies. Now the Administration wants to obligate nearly 10 times that amount. This is for public housing, urban renewal, metropolitan planning, rent subsidies, urban transit and so forth.

And what's a generation of urban renewal and public housing done? Well, urban renewal has torn down people's homes, scattered low-income families around the cities, shrunk the supply of housing and raised its cost for the poor. Public housing? It has taken away many people's incentive to improve their earnings because they get booted out of public housing as soon as they earn a decent wage.

And certainly scores of millions in federal funds didn't solve all of Detroit's problems.

Any urban-type legislation appears sacred today. For example, opponents of the $40 million rat extermination program were scorched even though the federal government already has five different agencies with rat programs, any of which could be expanded rather than start a new one.

High hopes are held for new experiments, planning, coordinating, model cities, incentives for getting business into the act. Industry know-how, innovations may finally furnish answers.

Into the big cities also goes most of the $7 billion relief money, not to mention about $2 billion more for poverty war. In fact most of the total $25 billion spent by Washington for poor goes to the cities.

If the poor are the cities' most distressing woes, certainly the spear-carrier of poverty agencies—Office of Economic Opportunity—hasn't won many battles.

Shriver's poverty army has made limited gains in rehabilitation, training, education. It has gotten some poor off the dole.

But where Shriver's OEO has made most spectacular gains is on two battlefronts: Lobbying and publicity.

The Shrivers' gracious soirees for Congressmen at Timberlawn, their Maryland mansion, known to some as Disneyland East, plus enlistment of everybody from the Conference of Mayors to Billy Graham to lobby for the agency, has borne fruit.

The agency's anxiety neurosis about its public image is shown in brainwashing sessions for press and fact that it spares no expense to try to prove it is right. Whenever anti-poverty wrongdoing is exposed, OEO dispatches teams of investigators, issues reams of press releases, hip-shooting denials.

Even the most liberal find grounds for criticism. Former Assistant Secretary of Labor Moynihan, who now heads MIT-Harvard Center for Urban Studies, says in the eagerness to "maintain confidence" in government poverty fighting we tend to "avoid evidence of poor results" and pay "too little heed to the limited capabilities of government to bring about social change."

Former White House aide Richard Goodwin: "Modern poverty cannot be abolished by friendly edicts from remote officials." (See "Where Poverty Program Is Doing Poorly," page 52.)

All of this is not to say government should be doing nothing and that our cities aren't in trouble. Some of them are. Heaven knows the plight of the slum Negro demands action. So do other crises.

But politicians sometimes get things out of focus.

Certainly tax dollars will build a park and pay a policeman's salary. But money from a faraway government won't make one man like or understand another man.

The average city-dweller, white or Negro, leads a far, far better life than the average resident of Moscow, Peking or most other cities of the world.

Setting up a federal Department of Housing and Urban Development or an Office of Economic Opportunity doesn't solve all problems.

Likewise, many an American still breathes fresh air, and the closest thing to mass transit he sees is a station wagon. He grows his own tomatoes, never hears a subway roar, leaves his front door unlocked and expects neither federal rent supplement nor food stamps.

City Youth Is Cited for Bravery in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Charles Bowers, a Marine Corps private from Baltimore, has been cited for heroic action in Vietnam. Private Bowers received his Navy commendation for aiding a fellow marine in battle. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to include the following article in the RECORD:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 18, 1967]

CITY YOUTH IS CITED FOR BRAVERY IN VIETNAM

A Baltimore Marine Corps private has been awarded a Navy commendation for helping another marine on a Vietnam battlefield.

Charles Bowers, 4600 block Renwick avenue, also received a Purple Heart for a leg wound he received June 7 in the same battle. The marine's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Henry F. Bowers, also live in the 4600 block Renwick avenue. He attended City College.

ATTACKED BY NORTH VIETNAMESE

The citations say that, while on a search-and-destroy mission near Khe Sanh, the unit for which Mr. Bowers is radio operator was attacked by North Vietnamese Army regulars.

The young marine saw another marine trying to clear his malfunctioning weapon. Although "painfully wounded in the leg," Mr. Bowers "quickly obtained a rifle from a casualty and ran across 30 meters of fireswept terrain" to aid his comrade the citation said.

After giving the rifle to the marine, Mr. Bowers returned to his post as radio operator until he was evacuated. The citations called him an inspiration to those around him.

Suburban Press: A Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, Chicago is one of the great cities of the world, and it is surrounded by some of the finest suburbs to be found anywhere. Making a major contribution to this excellence are a number of outstanding suburban newspapers.

One of the best of these is a group of papers known as Paddock Publications, published in Arlington Heights and circulating throughout a number of northwestern and western suburbs.

I was pleased to note that these papers, which have a large circulation in the 14th District, which I represent, paid tribute during Newspaper Week to my colleague and neighbor, Representative DONALD RUMSFELD of the 13th Congressional District.

The editorial follows:

SUBURBAN PRESS: A SUCCESS STORY

This is National Newspaper Week, a seven-day period set aside each year for recognition, appraisal, and analysis of the nation's press—its performance, problems, and potential.

It was especially appropirate that U.S. Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, R-13th, last week chose the even of this annual observance to call attention to Congress to the new and growing suburban press.

"The growing stature and importance of the suburban press is a healthy trend in the communications field today," declared Rumsfeld. "While some newspapers are failing and others are merging, the suburban press continues to expande and to provide their readers with an increasingly fine service."

Singling out editorial personnel from Hollister Newspapers, Wilmette, and Paddock Publications for special recognition as winners in recent Suburban Press Foundation awards competition, the congressman said: "I believe the mature suburban press is epitomized by the newspapers in the 13th Congressional District of Illinois."

Cong. Rumsfeld's interest in the suburban press is being shared by leaders throughout the newspaper industry, which today regards the new media as one of the most dramatic success stories in the history of American journalism.

This development is an outgrowth of another phenomenon of post-war America—the unique explosion of suburbia itself.

The impact of this historic, unprecedented outreach of population, commerce, and industry is evidenced by the expansion of our own suburbs, which have been the growth leader in all metropolitan Chicago for 17 successive years.

To meet these changing conditions, a new suburban press has emerged as a distinctive medium tailored to the special needs and interests of new suburbanites.

There are now 2,500 suburban newspapers serving 65 million Americans; by 1980 this readership will comprise three-fourths of the nation's population as the shift to suburbia continues.

The suburban press is acknowledged as the most prosperous and opportunity-laden segment of the newspaper industry; it is also the fastest-growing—in circulation, in number of papers, in pages printed.

Since 1954 circulation of suburban and community newspapers rose 80.5 per cent while circulation of "big city" dailies grew less than 2 per cent. In Chicago, and nine other major metropolitan areas, total circulation of suburban newspapers is greater than that of all downtown dailies combined.

No other media—radio, TV, magazines, dailies—can duplicate the suburban press role in assuming initiative for meeting community problems at the local level, serving as a medium for communication, and suggesting sound remedies. It is the only medium capable of digging in on a sustained basis and telling suburbanites what's happening in their community and how it may affect them.

The future of suburban journalism provides unlimited opportunity for greater community service and editorial leadership. We look forward to such a future with confidence and anticipation, ever mindful of the increased responsibilities which accompany these opportunities. This role was aptly summarized by Rep. Rumsfeld in his remarks to Congress:

"No country can possibly move ahead, and no society can be free, unless its citizens are acquainted with all aspects of the basic problems of their communities. The suburban press is making significant contributions to an alert and informed citizenry."

Riot News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable discussion in recent months about the effect of news coverage on the riots which rocked so many of our cities during the summer.

The following editorial, which appeared in the Greenville, Tenn., Sun, gets down to the basic problem involved in reporting this type of news, and I would like to call it to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD:

RIOT NEWS

The Justice Department revealed recently it was studying news coverage given riots in American cities in recent months—in an effort to determine what effect news coverage had on the disturbances.

There have been suggestions news media should withhold news of riots, in some cases, until police gain control of the situation to prevent the curious and troublemakers from converging on the affected area before order is restored.

Several American cities already have "news moratorium" plans for crisis worked out in detail, for such reasons. The plans depend upon the voluntary cooperation of the press and it is said news media in Detroit delayed reporting the beginning of the Detroit riots recently in an effort to help police.

Certainly the police need all the help they can get these days. While it's true not every law enforcement officer is a restrained diplomat, who makes no mistakes, by and large the nation is served well by its law enforcement officers.

The country cannot achieve permanent progress through rioting, lawlessness and mob action. The lesson all citizens must somehow learn is that law and order must be maintained, that it constitutes greater protection for minorities than anyone else. Officers of the law, who must maintain that order, need every form of assistance fellow Americans can give them.

National Day of Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Arlene Christian Hawkins of my home city of New Orleans, La., has done a wonderful job in organizing my city's observance of the National Day of Prayer, which was observed there and throughout our Nation on October 18, 1967. I want to take this opportunity to commend Mrs. Hawkins and her committee for the splendid work they have done to foster a spirit of Christian love through observance of and participation in a National Day of Prayer.

The National Day of Prayer was authorized by a joint resolution from Congress in April 1952, and former President Harry S. Truman proclaimed this day and signed the resolution. Ever since that year, a National Day of Prayer has been observed annually.

I believe that the annual observance of a Day of Prayer makes each of us reflect on the many blessings God has given us here in the United States and renews in us the spirit of the Founding Fathers who fostered the ideal that our Nation was established under God. It is true that, in the words of the Mass, we should at all times and in all places give thanks to God for the blessings he has bestowed upon us. But I believe that it is wise to set aside a specific day of prayer throughout our country as a further emphasis that the United States of America was founded on Christian principles.

Mrs. Hawkins and the "Church Women United" of New Orleans are deserving of commendation for their efforts in promoting a National Day of Prayer, not only in my city, but throughout the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I also would like to include, for the benefit of my colleagues, three fine prayers offered on the National Day of Prayer by Bishop Harold R. Perry, archdiocese of New Orleans; the Reverend William P. Richardson, Jr., rector of St. George's Church in New Orleans, and a prayer written by Rabbi Nahnam of Bratlav, 1772–1811, which has been delivered at the Gates of Prayer Synagogue in New Orleans. The three prayers follow:

PRAYER—BISHOP HAROLD R. PERRY, ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

O God, Father of us all, you have created all men equal and endowed them with a dignity which is their natural right, and which unites them all as your children and brothers one of another.

We pray that our President and Members of Congress may have a clear vision of the place and function of government in mobilizing the human resources and wealth of this great Nation to uproot poverty and illiteracy.

Our Nation, O God has progressed to a level of prosperity, surpassing any achieved in the history of the world. We humbly acknowledge however, that poverty continues to be the lot of a substantial number of people. Yet we know that our country can only achieve its full potential, if each individual has the opportunity to contribute to the fullest extent of his capabilities.

May our minds and hearts be moved with an ardent zeal to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty by opening to everyone the opportunity for education, and work, the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

All these blessings we ask in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER, 1967, BY REV. WILLIAM P. RICHARDSON, JR., RECTOR, ST. GEORGE'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

O Lord God whose Presence is everywhere, we pray Thy blessing upon these United States of America. In this time of stress and tumult and violence we turn to Thee in Penitence for our failures to act as brothers and our self-centeredness in thinking mostly of ourselves. Enlarge our understanding of each other and of Thy purposes for our country, that as we look to Thee for guidance we may be drawn into a Spirit-filled fellowship with one another. Strengthen and assist every good cause, and redeem all those whose motives are evil, that the spirit of love and good will may prevail. Give us thankful hearts for Thy many blessings and sustaining grace, and grant that wars and strife may cease and that peace may be established among the nations and races and peoples and in our own hearts. And this we ask for the sake of Thy blessed Son, Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR PEACE

(Ascribed to Rabbi Nahnam of Bratzlav, 1772–1811)

May it be Thy will, to annul wars and the shedding of blood, and to extend a peace, great and wondrous, in the universe. Nor again shall one people raise the sword against another and they shall learn war no more.

But let all the residents of earth recognize and know the innermost truth: That we are not come into this world for quarrel and division, nor for hate and jealousy, contrariness and bloodshed; but we are come into this world Thee to recognize and know, be Thou blessed forever.

And let Thy glory fill all our wits and minds, knowledge and hearts; and may I be a chariot for the presence of Thy divinity. May I not again depart from the Sanctity as much as a hairsbreadth. But may I ever cling to Thee and thy sacred law, until I be worthy to introduce others into the knowledge of Thy divinity. To announce to the children of man Thy power, and the honor of the glory of Thy kingdom. Amen.

Gen. Casimir Pulaski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, 188 years ago, the cause of freedom lost an outstanding general in Casimir Pulaski.

After a courageous, but unsuccessful struggle against Russian control of his own beloved Poland, this great Polish patriot learned of the American Revolutionary War, and immediately volunteered his services in our fight for independence.

The dedication with which he performed his self-imposed duty to defend our right to freedom and democracy inspired troops at Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, and finally at Savannah, where he gave his life for the most important cause in the world—freedom.

For his courage, his dedication, and his adherence to principle against all odds, America shall never forget General Pulaski, nor the significant contribution he made toward our struggle for democracy.

FMC Corp. Contributes Another Advance for Our Military Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I am especially interested in new developments of equipment and materiel to be used by the Armed Forces of the United States. I am pleased to say that a firm in my district, the Ordnance Division of FMC Corp., has earned the reputation for producing tracked vehicles which have constantly improved in efficiency and which have been produced at lower proportionate costs to the Department of Defense.

A ceremony is being held today in San Jose, Calif., commemorating acceptance of the first prototype of a new assault amphibian for the Marine Corps. This new tracked vehicle is designated LVTPX12. Designed to be launched from offshore ships, it travels through rough seas and plunging surf, and continues over-the-beach and inland, carrying 25 combat-ready troops or 10,000 pounds of cargo, at speeds in excess of 8 miles per hour water and 40 miles per hour on land.

The amphibian is the result of coordinated effort by the Marine Corps, the Naval Ship Systems Command, and FMC Corp., to develop a family of landing vehicles to replace the current LVTP5 family of amphibians developed during the early 1950's.

Acceptance of the initial prototype marks a major milestone in the development program. This prototype is the first of 15 being built for testing and evaluation in order to demonstrate the ability of the design to meet the stringent requirements of the Marine Corps in all extremes of climate, terrain, and operational service.

The FMC Corp. of San Jose, Calif., was awarded the development contract, on the basis of competitive bidding, by the Naval Ship Systems Command.

Water jet propulsion is a new feature in the LVTPX-12. Tests show an impressive improvement in water speed and maneuverability. Tests to date indicate the LVTPX-12 will have the reliability and low maintenance requirements so essential in combat and will have the lowest operational cost of any vehicle for its size and weight.

FMC has extensive experience in the military amphibian field. The Marine

Corps first landing vehicle was developed by FMC in 1941. This was followed by a construction program in which the company built over 11,000 LVT's in several different models during World War II. Since then, FMC has made many significant contributions which have provided effective, low-cost military vehicles for our Armed Forces.

The M–113 vehicle family used so extensively by the U.S. Army in Vietnam was developed and is being produced by FMC at a cost lower than any previous personnel carrier. Deadline time on the M–113 in Vietnam has proven to be lower than any other wheeled or tracked vehicle being used in that war.

If past experience is repeated we have reason to hope that the LVTPX–12 will soon be furnishing the same low cost service to the Marine Corps that is now provided by the M–113 family of vehicles.

The engineers, executives, and all personnel of FMC are to be congratulated for providing the Nation's fighting forces with another significant step forward.

New Zealand Expands Support of South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on October 17 the Right Honorable Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, announced that country's decision to expand its military support of the war in South Vietnam. Involved was the commitment of an additional infantry company to the New Zealand fighting forces already in Vietnam.

Because Prime Minister Holyoake's statement expresses the basic principles which motivated this new commitment I feel it is worthy of my colleagues' attention and consideration.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF NEW ZEALAND ATTITUDE ON THE VIETNAM PROBLEM

(By the Right Honorable Keith Holyoake, C.H., Prime Minister of New Zealand)

The special significance of the Vietnam war is that in an acute form it has confronted New Zealanders with the realities of their international position. At the heart of the debate over the Government's decision lies a choice—of adhering to the basic principles which have guided the country's foreign policy ever since it assumed full responsibility for its own destiny, or of abandoning them for uncertain and untried courses of action.

I am convinced that those basic principles—support for the purposes of the United Nations Charter, resistance to aggression, defence of the rights of small states, participation in collective security arrangements and assistance to other countries in their economic and social development—remain valid and should continue to guide New Zealand's actions. I am convinced too that the Government has applied them as scrupulously to the Vietnam situation as it has to every other major international question. The fundamental issues involved are starkly simple. Whose will is to prevail in South Vietnam—the imposed will of the North Vietnamese communists and their agents, or the freely expressed will of the people of South Vietnam? Or more explicitly, are terror and armed aggression to succeed?

A CLEAR CASE OF AGGRESSION

It is striking that many of those who questioned the Government's decision to commit New Zealand troops two years ago no longer deny, as they did then, the facts concerning North Vietnam's direct and massive responsibility for the conduct of the war in the South. Many continue, however, to deny that aggression is involved—on the grounds that Vietnamese are fighting Vietnamese and that the war is therefore only a civil war. Such a view to my mind evades not only the special circumstances of the Vietnam conflict, but also the clear record of international precedent. To my mind, the facts of aggression are as decisive as they were in the case of North Korea's attack on South Korea, where the communist North Korea fought against the free South Koreans, or as they would be if East Germany sent its forces across the dividing line into West Germany. It is true that there are superficial resemblances to a civil war. But the conflict is much more than that, and much more too than an armed insurrection by a purely local communist movement. It is incontrovertible that the Viet Cong—itself largely directed, sustained and supplied by North Vietnam—has been backed up by military forces sent in from North Vietnam. In the face of such blatant external interference and attack, South Vietnam had no alternative, if it wished to preserve its rights to determine its own future, to calling for outside assistance. And it had every right to do so.

NEW ZEALAND'S RECORD OF ASSISTANCE

New Zealand, as a member of SEATO, was one of the countries to which South Vietnam appealed. Our decision to give what assistance we could, military as well as civilian, was not lightly taken. But to those aware of the central elements of our foreign policy it should have afforded no surprise. We undertook to help for the same reasons that we went to the assistance of South Korea and Malaysia. In all three cases, aggression had been committed, the peace and security of Asia were threatened, and legal, treaty and moral obligations were involved.

It is startling that New Zealand's military involvement in Vietnam has evoked criticism while our activity in Malaysia has not. Why should that be when the purposes which New Zealand has sought in both countries have been the same. Since the war there have been two security situations in Malaysia. First there was the 12-year emergency in what was then called Malaya. It is true that in that situation the numbers involved on either side cannot compare with the gigantic scale of the war in Vietnam. Yet the issues at stake were identical. In Malaya, as in Vietnam, the communists attempted to take over the lawful government of the country, using all the now familiar tactics of terror and subversion. They failed, but only after a costly and protracted campaign in which of course New Zealand forces played a part. This role was not seriously questioned in New Zealand. The second security situation was Indonesia's campaign of armed attack against what had then become Malaysia. New Zealand, with virtually unanimous public support, joined in a combined Commonwealth effort to resist this aggression. The parallel with Vietnam is a direct one. There is no doubt in my mind that, having concluded that armed aggression was being committed against South Vietnam, New Zealand was under a strong obligation to lend weight to joint action to resist that aggression, just as we had done in Malaysia.

THE PROPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

What, now, are the prospects for the future? The objectives of South Vietnam and its allies are simply to induce North Vietnam to abandon its aggression, to ensure that South Vietnam is free to decide its own future in accordance with the wishes of its people, and to work for a more stable and sensible means of solving the problems of Southeast Asia. Obviously these objectives can best be secured through a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam conflict. But the North Vietnamese have bluntly rejected the many initiatives made to get discussions under way. They have shown no interest in a settlement other than one which would mean handing over South Vietnam to their control.

In this situation three courses could be followed: an all-out assault against North Vietnam which could rapidly bring that country to its knees but which would involve the risk of a major conflict; abandonment of the South Vietnamese people to communist dictatorship; or a continuation of the present limited military measures, including the bombing of military installations and supply routes in the North. I have no doubt that so long as the bulk of the South Vietnamese people remain determined to resist North Vietnamese aggression—the third course is the right one for New Zealand to support.

FORCES FOR VIETNAM

There is no question about New Zealand's commitment to this allied policy. But that is not the end of the matter. The Government has constantly to judge the size and nature of the contribution which should be made to the joint effort, in the light of developments in Vietnam, the limited military capacity of our country, and our commitments in other areas of Souh-east Asia.

In the exercise of this judgment we are in no sense subservient to the policies, attitudes and wishes of any of our allies with interests in Asia. We naturally value opportunities to discuss with our allies political possibilities in Vietnam and the progress of the fighting. We recognize that we are only one of many countries which are determined in different ways, to withstand communist aggression. We recognize, too, that set against the immensity of the need, our contribution is small. But I have made it clear that if in our judgment the situation demands it and our capacities allow, the Government will not shrink from strengthening its assistance to Vietnam in appropriate ways, military and other, in accordance, of course, with the wishes of the Government of South Vietnam. However, let there be no misunderstanding. Whatever judgments we reach, whatever decisions we take, they will be ours alone.

We exercise the same independence of approach towards problems arising from the conduct of the war and the search for a political settlement. For the most part our opinions of such issues are expressed in confidential exchanges with our allies. But on at least one—the bombing of North Vietnamese military targets—I think it important that there be clear public understanding of our viewpoint.

THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM

The bombing of North Vietnam is a direct consequence of the decision of the Government of the North to seek to impose its will on South Vietnam by force of arms. The purpose of the bombing, along with the other military measures being taken, is to frustrate that attempt by hindering the infiltration of men and the flow of military supplies from the North to the South and by generally raising the cost of aggression. The bombing then is a part of the overall military effort made by the allies to check North Vietnamese attacks. It is true that infiltration has continued, sometimes at a high level. But the bombing has achieved important results. It has without doubt hampered

North Vietnam's capacity for major military operations in the South and by so doing has saved the lives of thousands of allied and South Vietnamese soldiers and civilians.

I would hasten to add, however, that while the Government accepts the military necessity for the bombing of military targets in North Vietnam, we have always been anxious to work towards a mutual scaling down of military activities in Vietnam. We have always recognised that another suspension of the bombing could be an important step in this process. This matter was discussed very fully with the recent mission from the United States and the President's advisers repeated the United States Government's well-known readines to stop the bombing the moment North Vietnam gives a reliable sign that it is prepared to undertake some reciprocal step to reduce its military activity in the South or to make some meaningful advance towards a political settlement. This, however, the North Vietnamese Government has consistently refused to do. The United States Government has on five occasions ordered a halt in the bombing in the hope of evoking some favourable and constructive response from the North Vietnamese. One of these pauses was for 37 days. The only North Vietnamese reaction was to exploit the opportunity to increase the flow of men and military equipment to the South which resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives in the South.

Discouraging as these experiences have been, I feel that the circumstances could still arise in which a further pause in the bombing could be tried. At the same time I am convinced that any responsible national leader who urged such a course upon the United States would need to have taken full account of the existing military situation and of the human and military cost of past pauses. He would need too to have at least some confidence in the prospect of a favourable reaction from North Vietnam. Otherwise I see no escape from a recent observation by Mr. Rusk: "We do not believe that prospects for a settlement are enhanced by proposals which ask us to stop half the war while the other side continues unabated its half of the war. Suppose that the United States were to say that we would negotiate only if the other side stopped all of the violence in South Vietnam while we continued to bomb the North. Everyone would say that we were crazy. When the other side makes exactly the same proposal in reverse, why do many people say that their proposal is reasonable and ought to be accepted?"

I am as concerned as anyone that the fighting in Vietnam should not be extended into a wider war. But I do feel that if a case is to be made against escalation it must embody a broad perspective, must pay due regard to the care with which allied objectives are sought, and must give due account to the actions of North Vietnam. It is entirely wrong that the allies alone should be held responsible for escalation, especially since most of their actions are a response to North Vietnamese measures and are, to my knowledge, pursued with the closest possible regard to the risks involved. I am sure that if more attention were directed to such North Vietnamese acts as the mining of the port of Saigon, the abuse of Cambodian territory and the infringement of the demilitarized zone, the purpose and deliberate restraint of allied military operations would be better understood. It is all too easily forgotten that the allies are seeking limited ends in Vietnam. No one is seeking to overthrow North Vietnam or to topple its communist regime, even though it is one of the most cheerless and heartless on earth. The United States commands fantastic military power but its use of that power has been reluctant, graduated, and concerned to limit civilian casualties and damage. It stands in direct and vivid contrast to the terror and atrocities deliberately employed by the Viet Cong through South Vietnam.

Undeniably, the savagery of the Vietnam war, initiated by the Viet Cong, gives it a special moral dimension. I am as conscious of this as any other New Zealand citizen and I long to see the war ended. But surrender, or a fraudulent peace, would be no answer to the issues posed by communist aggression. Where men and nations seek to achieve unjust ends by force and violence, men who value freedom have a right to assistance in defending themselves. Out of all the horror of Vietnam, one thing emerges clearly—the refusal of the people of South Vietnam to support the National Liberation Front or to submit to force. That being so, I fail to see how we can do otherwise than give what help we can, in both military and civilian fields, until the threat of aggression is averted and the foundations for a lasting settlement are laid.

HAS A STALEMATE BEEN REACHED?

What are the prospects of this? Are allied sacrifice and effort leading to progress? Or has nothing more been achieved than a stalemate which may last a very long time?

Real progress has been and is still being achieved in both military and political spheres. The communist forces have been defeated wherever they have been found in strength, and it appears that there is no longer any risk that they will succeed in their objective of subjugating the South. The secure areas of South Vietnam have been extended, so that many more of the people may live in peace, without fear of Viet Cong atrocities. Roads and waterways are being cleared, and development of South Vietnam's economy is taking place.

Full economic reconstruction cannot of course take place until after the war. Nevertheless a marked degree of economic stability has already been achieved. At the same time, even in the midst of war, nation-building projects, such as hydroelectric schemes are going ahead. Nor should it be overlooked that, destructive as war invariably is, when the conflict is at last over, South Vietnam will be left with a chain of new ports, new airfields, new roads, and a reservoir of manpower trained in skills of value to Vietnam's future development. These things are in themselves an unequal compensation for the sacrifices which the Vietnamese people have undergone; even so, they provide an earnest that once a settlement is achieved the Vietnamese people will have a foundation on which to construct the free life and wider opportunities for which they have given so much.

I attach particular significance to achievements in the political field. Despite the hazards of war and the efforts of the enemy, elections have been held at several levels in South Vietnam. A new construction has been drawn up by a freely chosen Constituent Assembly and recently, despite a determined and ruthless attempt by the Viet Cong to wreck the elections, the South Vietnamese people went to the polls in large numbers to choose the men who are to lead their Government. By any standards, this is an impressive achievement but the fact that these elections were held freely in a country torn by war and comparatively untutored in the traditions of parliamentary democracy is remarkable indeed.

Much of course remains to be done. The important consideration, however, is that the basis has been laid for the development of a stable, broadly-based, and representative form of government. The South Vietnamese have shown that they reject utterly the communist blue-print for the future of their country and they have indicated firmly that they wish to follow the path of free democratic government. If the various political groupings in South Vietnam can now put their differences aside and work together for the common good of their country then we may be at the starting point of a new and more hopeful period. Certainly the stage has been set for new efforts to further the social revolution which is under way in South Vietnam and to pursue the search for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. This could, if only the North Vietnamese will face up to the startling changes which have occurred in South Vietnam, be a turning point in the long struggle for peace in Vietnam.

The Dickey-Lincoln Powerplant and Southern New England Power Costs

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 888), making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, the record votes of the 89th and 90th Congresses show that the House of Representatives categorically opposes construction of the Dickey-Lincoln powerplant. It would provide no redeeming water resource development benefit to compensate for its enormous cost of over one-third of a billion taxpayer dollars, and its continuing annual tax loss of $3 to $5 million.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make it clear that I and others in southern New England oppose Dickey-Lincoln, sited in northern Maine, for the reason that it would provide the three southern New England States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut it would be built to serve with high-cost power.

In 1975, the average wholesale cost of Dickey-Lincoln baseload and peaking power would be not less than 1.67 cents a kilowatt-hour, according to the findings of the House Appropriation Committee investigative staff.

In 1965, the average wholesale cost of power to the municipal utility systems of Massachusetts was 1.33 cents a kilowatt-hour. Due to wholesale rate reductions effected since then it is less today, and it is scheduled to go even lower by 1975, according to the FPC national power survey.

Mr. Chairman, it has been brought to my attention that—notwithstanding it would have a powerplant efficiency index of minus 60 percent—it has been asserted that Dickey-Lincoln could serve as a so-called yardstick for New England power costs. I must point out that, as shown by the recent decision of the Federal Power Commission presiding examiner in the western Massachusetts license proceedings, the cost of Dickey-Lincoln peaking power would exceed the cost of providing equivalent power by private industry's new, taxpaying facilities in New England by more than 34 percent. A powerplant that represents an annual overcharge of more than 34 percent is not southern New England's idea of a yardstick for its power costs.

Eureka!—"I Have Found It!"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, we in the Middle West are willing to acknowledge that there are other places in the country which are very desirable, but we do feel that our area is really "God's country," and it is therefore very pleasing to have this feeling bolstered by outsiders who are overwhelmed when exposed to the benefits we can offer in this hurly-burly modern world of ours. In that connection I am, therefore, happy to place in the RECORD the editorial written by Mr. Carl Greenberg, who is the political editor of the Los Angeles Times. He visited Eureka, Ill., recently while covering the visit of Governor Reagan, of California, to Eureka College, his alma mater, for the purpose of dedicating a new library. Mr. Greenberg came, saw, and was conquered by the warmth and friendliness of the people, by the beauty of the countryside, and most of all, by the realization that there are still areas in the country that have smog-free air, which is really a revelation to someone from Los Angeles.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

EUREKA!—"I HAVE FOUND IT!"

(By Carl Greenberg)

The other day a professor of environmental design listed 16 cities of the world as tops in living conditions.

Paris was first, Rome and London were second and third. Los Angeles was fifteenth. In between were such places as Venice and Istanbul and Pittsburgh.

Eureka, Ill., didn't get a mention.

I'll bet Prof. John E. Burchard of UC Berkeley has never even been in Eureka.

Well, I have. And that's more than most people in the whole world can say. Have YOU ever been to Eureka? I thought not.

Oh, I'll grant that Eureka doesn't have any great museums and art galleries and swimming pools in every backyard and fine stores where they sell suitings and shirtings and Belanciagas or Laurents and they haven't got a Rolls Royce or Jaguar agency in town, or a savings and loan or bank on every corner.

The truth is there aren't many corners in the place at all.

But I'll tell you what they have got:

Eureka has about 2,500 people, many of whom live in well-kept homes that may be 70 or 80 years old. Some of the homes may even go back to the time when Eureka was called Walnut Grove—and that was more than 100 years ago.

They have smog-free air.

They have a people who impressed me as undefiled by a lot of the phony sophistication and braggadocio that goes with the big city.

They have a warmth and friendliness.

They have American flags that nobody has to urge them to display on appropriate occasions.

They have the idea the Fourth of July is still worth celebrating.

They have a belief in God, Home and Country.

Go ahead and sneer at them, but if you look closely, they're doing the same at you.

The last holdup in the town was about 10 years ago and that was by some bird from another city.

There are no bars in Eureka. A chocolate ice cream soda or a Peach Melba, yes; booze, no.

If you want liquor, you'll have to go beyond the city limits—that is, if you want to drink it outside your home.

Among the things I didn't see in Eureka:

Pickets.

Hippies.

Traffic signals, "don't" signs, litter in the streets, "for sale" signs on the houses.

I saw a people who appear to be living in contentment, who probably don't have to lock their doors at night, who mind their own business instead of yours.

I saw beautiful maples that were shedding their leaves on broad green lawns.

I saw gorgeous rolling hills where an occasional horse was loping in pasture. I saw a friendly wave now and then as I drove the narrow highway out of town.

I saw a little bit of what's left of America as it was when I was a boy.

And I wish it all could be true again.

Sour?

You bet I am.

The rest of the world takes our largesse and spits in our eye.

We produce the finest cars in the world and kill ourselves with them.

We have polluted the air and our streams and ourselves.

We have the most efficient and deadly underworld of any nation.

We tap each other's telephones and peek in everybody's keyhole.

We are weighted down with serial numbers—military, Social Security, bank, credit cards, zip codes, area codes, Jack Armstrong codes, and too many ordinary co'ds in the head—for which we have yet to find a cure.

This whole column is Ronald Reagan's fault.

If he hadn't gone to Eureka to dedicate his alma mater's library, this never would have happened.

Continuing Appropriations, 1968

SPEECH

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 888), making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the MacGregor substitute to the pending Ottinger amendment.

The MacGregor proposal would rescind fiscal 1968 appropriations for the supersonic transport. The Ottinger amendment would repeal all funds for the SST, including those now ongoing.

One amendment would be slow strangulation. The other would be instant death.

Both amendments, I am sure, would cause delight and rejoicing on the other side of the Atlantic. The British and French with their Concorde are already 3½ years ahead of our supersonic transport. They expect to begin commercial service in 1971. The earliest timetable for the American aircraft is 1974.

The situation is very clear, Mr. Chairman. Delay of this program would seriously compromise American technical superiority. We would also strike a damaging blow to American jobs and profits.

Mr. Chairman, the cost to the Federal Government of developing this aircraft will be repaid when the company sells 300 of them. If 6-percent interest is charged, then the cost will be paid when 500 aircraft are sold. The market for the American SST is estimated at up to 1,100.

In short, then, we have to push ahead of or fall behind in the competition for technical superiority and for a sound balance-of-payments situation.

Inflation Is Called Big Challenge to Life Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Tribune, Oct. 16, 1967]

INFLATION IS CALLED BIG CHALLENGE TO LIFE INSURANCE

(By Mike Konon)

The greatest challenge facing life insurance in the modern age is the prospect of continuing inflation, according to the president of one of the largest life insurance firms in the country.

John T. Fey, president of National Life Insurance Co. of Montpelier, Vt., on a visit to San Diego last week, noted that his firm is working on an answer to the continuing erosion of buying power of the dollar.

"We are working on development of a balanced contract, with a guaranteed portion and a variable bonus, to be used as a hedge against inflation. Probably this, the variable annuity field, will represent a major share of the business in the 1970s," Fey said.

The variable plan would offer much more than a mutual fund because of the bonus provisions, Fey said.

All life insurance offers a guarantee, Fey noted, but the new plans under development will also compensate for an estimated inflationary trend of 2½ per cent per year for the next 10 years. Increasing sophistication has made people more aware of the inflationary bite on the dollar, a bite which took a jump of an estimated 3 per cent last year.

"People have more dollars for savings. With longer life expectancy they are concerned with building up a retirement fund. In a sense, life insurance is becoming living insurance," Fey said.

Inflation and the changing economy also is bringing insurance companies to take a long, hard look at their ultra conservative investment patterns, Fey said. Traditionally more than 40 per cent of the invested funds were in gilt-edged bonds, Fey said. Now firms are looking for more and more equity opportunities to improve return on investments.

"We face the problem in the current changeable market of continuing to stay short (on term of loans) and still get the highest yields," the insurance executive said.

Fey applauded recent efforts by the life-insurance field to enter into the field of slum improvement through commitment of $1 billion in loans. The answer to slum problems eventually will be found, the ex-Marine businessman believes, in a combination of government and private enterprise "know-how and expertise."

National Life ranks 23rd in size among the 1,751 listed life insurance companies. Fey visited general agent Max L. Cartmill, 1717 Fifth Ave., on a visit of West Coast agencies.

Public Debate Over Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, in recent months and weeks public debate over the war in Vietnam has probably escalated even more than the war itself. To Americans trying to find an answer to the dilemma of the war, much of this debate is confusing and some of it falls below the standards of realism and responsibility.

For the information of my colleagues in the House, I am enclosing two recent editorials from newspapers serving my district which have consistently called for a balanced perspective in the Vietnam debate. The first article, from the Quincy Patriot Ledger, points out that debate has reached the point where both the administration and its critics are taking extreme viewpoints to rebut what the other side is saying. This is a timely warning to be wary of the statements and claims being made by both sides.

The second editorial, from the New Bedford Standard-Times, praises the President for putting forth the basic reasons for our presence in Vietnam in his address to the Nation last week.

It is important for all Americans—critics of our policy and supporters alike—to understand our basic purpose in Vietnam. It is, first, to safeguard the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese and second, in global terms, to show the particularly violent strain of Asian communism that subversion and aggression will not be allowed to succeed. Any appraisal of our policy must proceed from these basic purposes.

Whatever position one takes regarding the Vietnam war, Mr. Speaker, exaggerated claims made during the debate are not helpful to Americans honestly trying to find the truth. As one of the following editorials points out, it is irresponsible either to gloss over the frustrations of our Vietnam policy, or to insist that nothing is going right. At a time when responsible national debate is needed more than ever, the Congress must surely do its part to clarify the hard realities of our Vietnam involvement.

Text of the editorials is as follows:

[From the Patriot Ledger, Quincy, Mass., Sept. 27, 1967]

NOT BLACK AND WHITE

As the public debate over the Vietnam war escalates, American citizens will have to be increasingly wary of the statements and claims being made by the Administration and its critics.

The debate is reaching the point where both the Administration and its opponents are taking extreme viewpoints to rebut what the other side is saying.

South Vietnam's elections, for example, were termed "fraudulent" and "rigged" by the critics, whereas the Administration portrayed them as a major step toward democracy.

The critics say the bombing is not working, while the Administration insists that it is necessary and is effective.

There are charges that South Vietnam is not doing all it should be doing in the war effort. Sen. Edward W. Brooke, R-Mass., last week said the government and people of South Vietnam have refused to make a total commitment to winning the war. Associated Press Correspondent Peter Arnett is critical of the South Vietnamese army.

On the other side, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey told a panel of Furman University students and teachers in South Carolina last week to discount reports of slackness on the part of South Vietnamese forces. He said it is "time to put an end to this kind of propaganda."

Exaggerated claims made during the debate on the war are not helpful to Americans honestly trying to find the truth. The world is not composed of hawks and doves, or black and white simplifications. The South Vietnamese army is neither totally inefficient nor the world's prime fighting force.

If the debate on the war is to have any meaning at all, it will have to be based on the tough realities of the Vietnamese situation and avoidance of misleading simplifications. The Vietnamese war is a complex struggle in which there are many elements. It is irresponsible either to gloss over the inadequacies and the frustrations, or to insist that nothing is going right. The debate must be based on informed, balanced judgment.

The citizen may also be confused by public statement of the diplomats. He is told that there are "peace initiatives" being made, yet the public comments of the diplomats do not seem very peaceable.

The day after U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg asked whether Russia and other supporters of North Vietnam would use their influence to obtain a peaceful solution of the war if the Americans stopped bombing North Vietnam, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said peace was possible only if the United States withdrew its forces. The Russians also concluded a military assistance agreement with Hanoi.

However, there is a distinct difference between the diplomatic jousting in public and the quiet, unpublicized diplomatic efforts going on behind the scenes. What is said publicly may be only window-dressing; it's what is said and done in private confidence that counts.

[From the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times, Oct. 1, 1967]

RIGHT ADDRESS AT RIGHT TIME

The sense of determination so needed to unite people at home and to give second thoughts to the enemy dominated President Johnson's address Friday night on the course of the war in Vietnam.

The offer of negotiation was there, as usual, and gently couched, but as the President declared, the terms are already well known to Hanoi.

But both in the percentage of his address devoted to the subject, and in personal emphasis, the President's theme was the absolute necessity of seeing the struggle through as long as Hanoi plays the waiting game.

And, in a seeming departure from the usual order of priority, the President stressed the basic but not always declared reason for the U.S. presence in Vietnam, that the security and freedom of this nation are directly involved in the aggressive Communist thrust in the developing East.

The area is miles away, to be sure, but the same observation was made—and later hugely regretted—about Czechoslovakia and Poland when Hitler began the takeovers that fattened his desire for world conquest.

Also underlining the administration's conviction of the rightness of its course was Mr. Johnson's unequivocal pledge that, "We will provide all that our brave men require to do the job that must be done."

Mr. Johnson's words were exactly, in tone and direction, what must be said. The greatest obstacle to a negotiated settlement of the war, the surest inducement to unwanted escalation, is to have the enemy misread the strength and resolution of the U.S. effort. The President cleared the record for critics at home and for the patient board of strategy waiting in Hanoi, Moscow and Peking.

Scranton Native Man To Know in Rome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, for years the writing of Mr. Jim Bishop has delighted the American reader, both through his books and through his daily columns in many of our newspapers.

In his column of October 18, 1967, appearing in the Scranton Times, Mr. Bishop pays tribute to one of the outstanding churchmen of this generation, Archbishop Martin J. O'Connor, chief of communications at the Vatican and the ranking American prelate in Rome.

I take a particular pride in this tribute, because Archbishop O'Connor is a native son of Scranton in the 10th Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

Archbishop O'Connor is not only a distinguished American prelate. He is also a learned and most kind man. I am certain that many of you were fascinated several years ago when, as the head of the North American College in Rome, the good archbishop conducted a television tour of the Vatican for the viewers which was indeed memorable. For those of you who may have met the archbishop in Rome, I am sure there would be unanimous agreement that there is no kinder, more thoughtful man anywhere to be found.

I know you will wish to join me, Mr. Speaker, in extending my own best wishes to Archbishop O'Connor. With your permission I will append here the column of Mr. Bishop to which I have referred:

SCRANTON NATIVE "MAN TO KNOW" IN ROME

(By Jim Bishop)

This is written about seven miles straight up, somewhere between Athens, Greece, and the Island of Rhodes. The sky is a deeper blue than the sea. A thin rim of creamy clouds all around the horizon separates the two. Otherwise we might be flying upside down without knowing.

Six hundred miles an hour is incredibly slow. I've been watching that chocolate-colored island for 20 minutes, and all it has done is move from a position ahead to one directly below. It's a good time for a nap, but my wife has learned that the stewardesses are about to serve a hot chicken cream soup, broiled double lamb chops, a salad of lettuce, cucumbers, onions and tomatoes with Roquefort dressing, asparagus with hollandaise sauce, small pan-browned potatoes, and creamy chocolate eclairs and ice cream.

This keeps her awake. Her elbow keeps me awake, so I look out the window and watch the island. Slowly, it move behind us and the little villages on the sides of mountains look like handfuls of orange confetti.

I always leave Rome confused. It is the most materialistic and the most spiritual city in the world. It is a marble goddess in a sable stole; a pagan child with dark, luminous eyes; an old lady selling violets who will never have any of her own.

The best man to know—if you can know but one—is Archbishop Martin J. O'Connor. I remember him best as president of North American College, and, prior to that, a great son of Scranton, Pennsylvania. Today he is chief of communications at the Vatican, the ranking American behind the walls of St. Peter's.

He has enjoyed the confidence of three popes—Pius XII, John XXIII and Paul VI. When the synod of bishops began a few weeks ago, the press of the world had to turn to O'Connor to get the story. No one else had it; no one else was permitted to discuss it.

And yet, he is the most accessible man to the press. He sits at a desk in a castle behind the basilica, a ruddy, energetic man of 67. The office walls are of pale green damask, the boxed drapes hide day from night. The desk, hand-carved, has an unseen plaque under the blotter. It was given to Monsignor Eugenio Pacelli when he left Berlin as papal nuncio to become Vatican Secretary of State.

In time, three popes pored over the troubles of the world at that desk. Today, the heavy elbows of an American rest on it. He is president of the Pontificia Commissione per le Communicazioni Sociali, the press agent pipeline to the world.

That island is now slipping backward over the edge of the sea. Beneath the silvery wings is a waterbug with a trail of white. A streamer is bound from Africa toward Greece. To be the people on deck, this huge plane must be the glint of a sunbeam in an azure sky. The broiled chops are on the tray and the typewriter—my bread and butter—is dispossessed.

Italy should revise its currency system. After the war, the lira slid down a coal chute and never came up. The rate of exchange is 620 to the dollar, and this forces American women to carry pencils and pads in their purses. A waiter who is given a hundred lira note is not very happy because it amounts to less than 17 cents. A lacy blouse in a window at 9,300 lire sounds like a fortune, but is really $15.

The cashiers in hotels make change in king-size 10,00 lira notes, and do not want to exchange them for smaller notes. When the tourist checks out, the cashier at the Excelsior says: "Sorry, we do not accept coins." I walked out with my forehead lit up "Tilt."

One of the men who will leave Rome this month is Leo Hochstetter. He has been chief of the Rome Bureau of the Motion Picture Association for a long time. He is Jack Valenti's man, and is being moved to England. Valenti is regarded as the hardest-working president of the Motion Picture Association since the office was created by Will Hays.

Hochstetter was telling me that, when he first arrived in Italy he was not aware that the Italians have seventeen religious holidays per year, in addition to the customary civil celebrations.

On his second day, he arrived at the building to find all the offices empty. A woman was mopping the corridor. "Where is everybody?" he said. She didn't even look up. "Today," she intoned, "is Ascension Thursday."

"Yeah?" said Hochstetter in wonderment. "Who went up?"

A native of Scranton, Archbishop O'Connor is a former pastor of St. Peter's Cathedral and former auxiliary bishop of Scranton. In addition to his duties as head of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications, he also is apostolic nuncio (ambassador) to the island of Malta, the first to be appointed to that post.

From 1946 until 1964 Archbishop O'Connor was rector of the Pontifical North American College in Rome. He was elevated to archbishop in 1959 by the late Pope John XXIII and was named papal nuncio to Malta Dec. 15, 1965. An annual visitor to this area, he spent some time here last July.

Youth Corps Jobs Helped Cool Negroes' Summer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, after recently reading an article in the Flint, Mich., Journal, on the Neighborhood Youth Corps, I thought how much such a program would have meant to me during my high school days.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps program seems to have something good and useful for everyone connected with it: The city, the youths who are in it and the townspeople who benefit in many ways. One of the things that made a deep impression on me, for it carried me back to the days when I first looked for a job, was the statement of a young high school graduate, Pauline Delgado, who did a fine job in the office of the local Air Force recruiting office.

Pauline's statement may strike a responsive chord in the memories of many of us here. She said:

> The NYC program helps teens by giving them work experience. People say they don't want you without experience, but you can't get it without a job.

I know how true the last part of her statement is from experience—and how discouraging it was to me to hear it.

Mr. Speaker, in order that my colleagues may have the pleasure of reading this interesting and informative article, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

YOUTH CORPS JOBS HELPED COOL NEGROES' SUMMER

(By Jana Bommersbach)

Not all of Flint's Negro youths were restless and unemployed this summer.

At the same time that local businesses were searching—and in some cases, creating—jobs for unemployed youths, about 300 Negroes between 16 and 21 were working.

They represented 90.83 per cent of the total number of students in the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) which completed its second summer in Flint this year.

NYC is a federally sponsored program administered through the Flint Board of Education. It is part of the Economic Opportunity Act, which helps poverty stricken youths who need money to continue their education and to develop potential, said William H. Crawford, director of NYC and the Personalized Curriculum Program (PCP) a local education and work experience project.

Students can only be employed in NYC by non-profit or governmental agencies. Economic need is the most important factor in eligibility, he pointed out.

Under national guidelines for "poverty families," a non-farm family of five would have a yearly income of $3,800; of six, $4,200, and of 13, $7,800.

Flint's NYC youths worked at $1.25 an hour for the Flint public schools, Mott Program, Hurley Hospital, the Flint Recreation and Park Board and the city.

Some were teacher aids, others were inspectors, receptionists, maintenance men and clerks.

Some had worked during the school year with NYC, others were new this summer, and then there were those who couldn't get into the program because funds were exhausted.

Crawford pointed out that many more young people could have met the economic guidelines for the program, but there were not enough funds to include them all.

For instance, he said there were 540 youths under Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) alone who could have qualified for NYC, and ADC covers only 29 per cent of the families in this low economic bracket.

During this school year, 130 students will be employed in the program. A total of 120 worked during the last school year, and 200 youths were in the program in the summer of 1966.

White youths were "recruited" for NYC this summer, Crawford said. Last summer, 99 per cent of the 200 corpsmen were Negro.

The federal guidelines have been changed so that now any in school program can also help out-of-school youth, he said.

Salaries for the employes under NYC are completely paid by federal and local funds.

This summer, $213,200 in total funds were allocated for the program. Of this amount, the federal government paid $166,100 and the board of education paid $47,100.

Administrative costs consume only 20 per cent of the total allotment, which covers staff salaries, equipment, supplies, postage, telephone, rent and gas allowances. The rest of the funds, or 80 per cent, goes for the youth's salaries.

To the students, NYC means spending money, a chance to help out at home, a a chance to go to college, or new school clothes.

It means more significant things to Crawford, who pointed out that only one NYC student was a high school drop out last year; none was involved in the "disturbance" in Flint this summer, and all were at their jobs the day after unrest broke out.

To Craig Fielder, 18, it means a chance to earn money for college, and also work close to his chosen field.

He was employed this summer at the DeWaters Art Center as a general watchman, but he hopes someday to become a commercial artist.

After graduating from Northwestern High School this spring, he received a scholarship to study art at Ferris State College, through efforts of the NYC.

When things weren't too busy at the art center, Craig had a chance to do free-hand sketching of some of the exhibits.

"In school you don't get to see stuff this good," he claimed. "Here you can get ideas on new styles."

There are nine persons in Craig's family. His father works at Baker's Drug Store and his grandfather is employed at Buick.

He needed about $300 for living expenses at college (his scholarship covered other expenses) and Craig felt he helped his family by earning it himself.

"If it hadn't been for NYC, I'd never gotten a job so I could get the money for college," he said.

An A and B student, Craig had tried in several downtown stores and factories to find a job, "any job," but jobs were scarce in Flint this summer.

This problem was faced "over and over again by NYC this summer," said Michael L. Sepeshy, job development and placement specialist for NYC.

"The school system sells kids the idea to stay in school and get a high school diploma," he said, "but then when they get out and have that piece of paper in their hands, they can't find jobs."

Because Eligha Deloach found a job with NYC, his family could pay the deposit on a new apartment.

He worked in daytime maintenance at City Hall, and one of the things he learned was that policemen can be nice.

"I thought all policemen were mean and big brutes, but I've found that they're quite nice," he said.

He is considering working in the new high school Police Cadet Program, which will have teen-aged cadets patrolling teen clubs.

Eligha "wasn't too choosey about a job."

He said it "takes a load off my widowed mother," to have extra money coming in, and he was also able to help buy school clothes for himself and his younger brother and sister.

He tried to find a job last summer and went to the Youth Opportunity Center, which is under the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

After they referred him to a job, which Eligha said was for an older man with mechanical ability, they told him to "come back every 15 days" to see if there were any other openings.

"After 30 days of this—that's the whole summer," Eligha complained.

In a "round-about way" he found out about NYC and got a job.

Jobs offered to corpsmen are sought out by the NYC counselors, Sepeshy said.

For instance, in the city, each department head submitted a list of jobs to be filled. It listed the number of sex needed, and from this, the staff "counseled the students into the jobs," Sepeshy said.

The counselors decided which jobs the students were best qualified for and then sent them to the prospective employer with a card of recommendation.

All the employers went along with the recommendations, he said.

Shepeshy stressed that NYC tries to find "meaningful work" for the corpsmen and also to help them establish good working habits, such as dress and grooming.

"The objective is to develop responsibility. So even if we can't get them into their field of interest, they're still getting responsibility and work habits," Shepeshy said.

One of the problems, however, is trying to get enough jobs to place the corpsmen.

Since the guidelines state it must be a non-profit agency, there are problems "trying to get good, constructive work experience," he stated.

"The program we have with the city is a real answer to the problem of finding meaningful jobs," Crawford explained.

Using the NYC in municipal departments was an experiment this summer; but Crawford said that the city will continue to employ these youths.

"Almost every city department," will be using corpsmen, he said.

Crawford also noted that two NYC youths helped establish a library in Probate Court this summer, and others worked as clerks in the YOC, the Urban League and its On-the-Job Training Center, and the YMCA.

"We had hoped that more NYC students would be used by the social agencies," Crawford said, "but perhaps because of the nature of their work it isn't feasible."

Jacob Stuart, a senior at Central High, was a "buddy" to 3 to 7-year-old boys this summer.

He and three other NYC students worked at the Cedar Street Children's Center, a day care facility.

In the morning he would take the "older boys out for a roughin' it," and would help supervise their playtime. In his "overtime" Jacob and William Hendricks, another corpsman, built a tree play house and reassembled a play fort, which was donated to the center.

Jacob said, "This was the best job I've ever had. It gave you a feeling of really doing something."

He said he hoped he gave the boys something "you wish you'd had."

"Some of the boys don't have a father in the home, and they'll come and talk about baseball. Even the girls want to ask someone about sports," he said.

He valued the NYC program because "they tried to find jobs which brought people out. Every day you would go home and know there was one little fellow there you made a bit happier."

Responsibility to Jacob meant, "if I failed myself, I failed those kids."

His employer, Mrs. Kathryn Blewett, director of the center, noted that she was "extremely pleased" at the way her NYC employes had worked out this summer.

In the spring when the center was inspected by state officials, a recommendation was made to have male staff members, so the NYC helped fill this bill.

At first, she admitted, she "hated to see them come, because I couldn't see how we could work four people into our program."

But during the summer she found that the students worked well with the children.

"Two mothers called to express their happiness with the boys for helping their sons," she said.

"We'd like to keep Jake," Mrs. Blewett commented.

Another satisfied employer was T. Sgt. Richard D. Stafford of the Air Force Recruiting Office.

Pauline Delgado, a Northern High graduate, worked as a typist and with filing in his office this summer.

"Pauline was a lifesaver when she came, for she acquired the full area of responsibility," he said.

"We should have three recruiters in this office, but I'm the only one, so Pauline has been like a recruiter."

This was the first time his office ever used anyone from NYC, but Sgt. Stafford said he "definitely would like to have NYC students working" for him in the future.

Although he would like to keep Pauline in his office, she wants to go to the Flint Junior College this fall.

She said the program "helps teens by giving them work experience. People say they don't want you without experience, but you can't get it unless you've got a job."

Bryan Corley, a senior at Northern High, has worked for two summers at Hurley Hospital under NYC.

This summer he was in housekeeping in the nursing home.

While his mother was alive, he helped support the family of six brothers and sisters. Now he lives alone, and his job at Hurley is his only income.

"I don't know what I would have done without this job," he said.

Besides working, Bryan also went on field trips, sponsored for the first time this summer by NYC, to Greenfield Village, a Detroit Tiger baseball game and to Niagara Falls.

The only cost to him was a $5 charge for the Niagara Falls trip.

Other corpsmen worked as inspection crews checking trouble spots around homes which caused basement flooding, and of the 22 students in the Mott Program Tot Lot, 18 were NYC girls.

The corps had a struggling start in Flint. As early as 1965, the Committee to Probate Action (COMPACT) submitted proposals for an NYC program. However, both a plan for 1,012 youths in 1965, and another for 150 in 1966 were rejected.

In April of 1966, Frank Stanard, district director of NYC from Detroit, approached the Flint Public Schools about starting a Corps program here.

He asked Crawford and Lester B. Ehrbright, director of pupil personnel, if the system could find jobs for 200 youths.

Crawford explained that the school system was approached because of "difficulties in processing NYC proposals."

In June, 1966, Gov. George Romney approved a $92,320 federal NYC grant, and 200 Flint students started working.

NYC has had a good start in Flint, but there are still problems—Finding enough of the right kind of jobs; getting the yearly allocations from the federal government, and the strain on NYC counselors having so many corpsmen under their direction.

Also needed, Crawford said, is more communication between the different agencies trying to find employment for youth. With such a link, they could all help each other, he said:

But these are problems Crawford hopes to meet as the corps goes into another year.

Dr. David L. McAninch Honored for Vietnam Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALLEN SMITH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, Dr. David L. McAninch, a constituent of mine of Glendale, Calif., recently returned from a 2-month mission in Vietnam, where he was part of the AMA volunteer program.

The Glendale News-Press of Wednesday, September 20, printed a nice article covering his dedicated service, which I place in the Congressional Record:

A Glendale doctor, David L. McAninch, was honored Monday by the American Medical Association for his service in Vietnam.

An AMA Certificate of Humanitarian Service was given to Dr. McAninch by the president of the Glendale District of the Los Angeles County Medical Society, Dr. Leroy E. Walter.

McAninch recently returned from a two-month mission in Vietnam. He was part of the AMA volunteer program.

AMA Volunteer physicians for Vietnam is a program for supplying medical care to the civilian population of South Vietnam through the volunteer services of U.S. physicians. It is administered by the American Medical Association and financed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Physicians serve a 60-day tour of duty at one of 16 provincial civilian hospitals. The volunteer receives only his transportation and an expense allowance of $10 a day; otherwise his services are entirely unpaid.

Vietnamese authorities asked the United States to encourage American physicians to serve voluntarily in South Vietnam to relieve a serious shortage of civilian physicians. The country, in a state of war for 25 years, has only 700 native physicians to serve 16 million people, and nearly 500 of these are in the South Vietnamese armed forces.

The Protectionist Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the battle for liberalized international trade policies by the U.S. Government, like many other worthy matters, is never securely won. In the 1920's, the situation was disastrously restrictive. The reciprocal trade agreements in the 1930's marked a welcome turning toward a lowering of barriers. This year, completion of the Kennedy trade negotiation round marked a high point in this direction. However, in recent weeks, as in the case of other public matters on the agenda of the 90th Congress, regressive tendencies have developed. This is unfortunate. It is with this as a preface that I ask there be placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post of October 19, 1967. The editorial is a lucid, effective exposition of the situation.

THE PROTECTIONIST THREAT

The President's decision to send five Cabinet officers to testify against the import-quota bills is a measure of his Administration's determination to blunt the protectionist drive that would set the international trade clock back to the 1930s. The stakes in this battle are so huge—measured in the economic welfare of people everywhere in this world—that no effort should be spared to prevent a tragic outcome.

Consider first, the economic burden that would be inflicted on this country if Congress enacts more import quotas. The specific quota bills now pending—those covering shoes, wool, textile wearing apparel, electronic equipment and steel and chemical products—would cover about $6.3 billion of our annual imports or roughly 25 per cent of the total. If those quotas are enacted and imports are reduced by $3 billion, the injured countries will quickly retaliate and so our exports will fall by at least as much, reducing income and employment in the affected industries.

Protectionists argue that the gains through quotas—the increased sales and employment—offset the losses of imports. But the fallacy of that argument—even if it were true that the physical output of domestic industry was unaffected by protection—is that it neglects price effects. Limiting imports through quotas compel American consumers to pay much higher prices.

The generalized quota bill which would limit all imports that exceed a stated proportion of U.S. consumption, would affect $12 billion of imports or nearly half the total. And attaching such a measure to the Social Security bill, as Senators Dirksen and Long propose to do, would be the cruelest hoax of all. With one hand the Government would add to the income of the aged and the widowed, and with the other hand it would nullify that benefit through the price inflation that would surely follow upon a sharp reduction of imports.

When the international implications are considered, there is no doubt that the protectionists are playing into the hands of this country's most implacable enemies. For years the Communists have been telling the underdeveloped world that the advanced capitalist countries are only interested in cheap sources of raw materials, not opening their markets to trade in finished products. Imposing more import quotas would convert a propaganda lie into a substantial truth.

Slum Jobs: It Can Be Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing awareness in America that the public and private sectors of our society must work as a team to turn up jobs for the hard-core unemployed.

As the paradox of poverty and misery persists amidst the general prosperity, it has become increasingly clear that no single institution in our country can overcome this vexing social problem.

I therefore am most heartened that the Los Angeles Times has firmly endorsed President Johnson's recent call for a test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs and provide training for those most in need.

This industry-Government partnership clearly represents a major innovation in our national efforts to overcome those obstacles that prevent so many of our citizens from leading productive and self-respecting lives. The Times has called the program "a beginning that offers realistic hope to the 'forgotten and neglected' in the slums."

I believe the Times editorial captures the essence of the President's well-conceived industry-Government program and include, Mr. Speaker, the editorial, "Slum Jobs: It Can Be Done," in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 4, 1967]

SLUM JOBS: IT CAN BE DONE

A new partnership of industry and government will soon begin tackling one of the toughest challenges of the slums—providing jobs for the hard-core unemployed.

There was more than rhetoric and firm resolve in President Johnson's announcement Monday that a joint program of job creation and training would be undertaken for the "forgotten and neglected" among the poor.

One major corporation has already proved that it can be done.

The highly successful Watts Manufacturing Co., established last November by Aerojet-General Corp., is both the model and the inspiration for the new effort.

A total of $40 million of federal funds will be initially pledged to a series of pilot projects in eight urban and rural slums. Companies that establish plants and training programs in poverty areas are to receive loans, grants, contract preference and other forms of government help.

Five cabinet departments as well as the General Services Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity and Small Business Administration were ordered to give maximum support and cooperation to the program, under the direction of Secretary of Commerce Alexander Trowbridge.

Such a proliferation of participating agencies has been a major flaw in many anti-poverty projects. But riding herd on the new employment effort will be one of the men who made the Watts Manufacturing Co. a success—William E. Zisch, vice chairman and former president of Aerojet General.

The Watts experiment was conceived by Aerojet-General's chairman, Dan Kimball, who believed that most of the "unemployable" wanted to work despite their handicaps. He was right, and there is a waiting list of 6,000 at the Watts plant to prove it.

Within a few months, the experiment also proved that a police record need not be a barrier in successful training nor a lack of education nor a virtual lifetime without gainful employment. Trainees learned woodworking, metalworking and canvasworking skills so well that they were able to produce items that met the strictest government standards.

The Watts Manufacturing Co. is making a profit, and its 425 employes have a new pride and independence that no make-work project could ever have produced.

Chicago, Washington, Boston and San Antonio, as well as Los Angeles have been mentioned as possible sites for the new pilot projects. Wherever they are located, success won't come without hard work and frustration, as the Watts experiment also demonstrated.

In relation to most other anti-poverty projects, the new industry-government partnership has begun on a very modest scale. But it is a beginning that offers realistic hope to the "forgotten and neglected" in the slums.

Bernard Marson: A Brilliant Architect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is undergoing a major transformation as block after block of new construction—new buildings of all types rise to provide a far better environment for all of our people.

This reshaping of our urban areas is a vital part of the lives of each and every one of us. If the city planning is done intelligently and with imagination, we can all point to far better lives.

One of the young architects who is certainly making a striking impression in this field is Bernard Marson. A brilliant designer with great imagination, Mr. Marson has designed industrial, residential, commercial, and medical buildings.

He has the courage of his convictions; namely, that architects have a major responsibility to society. They must not only plan structures that are economically feasible and practical, but must strive to improve the esthetics of the community. They must plan with vision and with a sense of creation. They must attempt to bring beauty into the lives of the community, while not losing the essential functional aspect of their structure.

Mr. Marson, whose work has been singled out repeatedly by the New York Times, is typical of the young, capable architects who our Nation must encourage. For in their hands rests much of the future of our country and its growth.

Some Observation on U.S. Overseas Sales

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, foreign competition is cutting sharply into U.S. canned fruit and vegetable export markets and threatens to eliminate these overseas sales altogether unless immediate action is taken. There are few persons better qualified to comment on this situation than Mr. Vincent C. Giordano, president of the Allied Canners & Packers, Inc., whom I have known for many years. Mr. Giordano is a respected, knowledgeable leader in both the dried and canned fruit industries.

After he returned from an extensive, factfinding trip abroad, Mr. Giordano was interviewed by the Pacific Fruit News which quoted him at length in one of its editorials. Mr. Giordano points out that canners from South Africa, Australia, Italy, and Spain are deliberately cutting prices in order to capture markets traditionally supplied by American canned goods. He further notes that price structures of California fruits are high not because canners are trying to make excessive profits, but because crops are short and production costs high.

The solution called for by Mr. Giordano is a program of subsidies, or price equalizations, offered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which would enable U.S. canners to maintain their world markets. In turn, the canning industry would agree to maintain export prices at present levels for the balance of the marketing year, and agree to set aside 20 percent of their packs for this export program.

Thinking the editorial referred to earlier will be of interest to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am submitting it herewith under permission to revise and extend my remarks:

[From the Pacific Fruit News]

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON U.S. OVERSEAS SALES

By now the canning industry knows the depressing fact that our 1966 U.S. canned fruit and vegetable export market fell behind 1965's marketing by about $11,092,000. Although there are almost as many explanations on why this happened as there are exporters to tell it, the truth of the matter is that the canned fruit and vegetable exports are in marketing trouble and are faced with sales problems that call for strong forthright action if our markets are to be saved.

Some of the factors involved in regaining and increasing our markets are ones we would just as soon forget, if we could, but unfortunately if the overseas markets are to keep pace with current overseas demands, some of these facts must be faced and overcome.

Vincent C. Giordano, president, Allied Canners and Packers, Inc., San Francisco, has just returned from an extensive business trip through Canada, the Scandinavian countries and central and southern Europe, including the United Kingdom. His observations are timely and one that we believe to which the industry should pay particular attention as they point to where a great many of the current problems are to be found.

Giordano makes no bones about stating that it was the most discouraging trip he has made, and he has made such trips annually since 1948. His first stop was in Canada and he reports that he encountered strong competition from both Australian and South African peach and fruit cocktail packs.

"The prices of the fruits being offered there when reflected on a California basis were not at all encouraging." Giordano states, "In the first place, the Australians have launched a very expensive advertising campaign. They are, in addition, giving published allowances on their list prices as follows: 15 cents per case on 24/15 oz.; 30 cents per case on 24/2½s; and 25 cents per case on 6/10's. To this they are giving floor stock protection. Further, they are bringing in the goods and storing them so that the customers can obtain them for immediate use without having to wait for rail cars to come in, such as they would have to do if they came from California. In addition to this, when goods are picked up at the terminal points a further allowance of 10 cents a case is given as a freight allowance. To this they are giving quantity discounts which in the final analysis reflects a California price on 2½ Choice at $5 and 2½, Fancy, at $5.20 on peaches. On their fruit cocktail, their prices are as follows: 24/300—$4.20; 24/2½—$6.45; and on 6/10's—$6.40."

In Scandinavian countries, Germany and the Benelux countries Giordano found in excess of 1,000,000 cases of peaches have been dumped on the market at prices ranging from 15 schilling per dozen for South African peaches, Standard halves-slices ($4.20 a case which would reflect a $3.35 per case for 2½s) through choice halves and sliced at 17 schillings and sixpence ($4.90 a case) CIF Hamburg, including the agent's commission. This would work out to about $4 a case, California, Giordano says. "The Australian fruit was sold comparatively higher. In any event, the selling price for the choice Australian peaches was 19 shillings, which gave them a selling price of $5.32 or an equivalent California price of $4.42," he pointed out. "Under the circumstances the buyers in Europe were compelled to buy, even though they had in previous years preferred to buy from California. It appears that the buyers all seem to like the quality now produced by South Africa and Australia. In some cases they prefer them to California peaches. This is, of course, distressing."

Giordano says that the Australians and South Africans have a two price structure, one for the United Kingdom, and one for the balance of Europe, as the U.S. trade knows only too well. A great deal of price jeckeying occurs on the United Kingdom pricing of canned fruits, he indicates, and as an example cites 24/2 1/2 Choice selling at 22 shillings sixpence ex-store whereas the prevailing minimum price under the minimum selling price scheme is supposed to be 23 shillings nine pence x-wharfside. Export minimum prices are being evaded in many ways, he comments, and one of the main ways is to give extra promotional allowances that run from 5 to 7½ per cent off the minimum prices.

From what he was able to observe, South African and Australian canners have been able to obtain full minimum prices on apricots and pears and have used peaches as an item in which their full minimum price scheme price is not paid or is evaded.

"This was done to liquidate stocks," he explains. "It is reported that considerable stocks are still in the various ports of entry in the U.K. The cling peach market in the U.K. has been depressed for many months, and below cost of selling has been caused primarily by importers and distributors in an endeavor to liquidate their stocks," he explains.

Giordano confirms the fact that the big problem is in the increased cling peach and fruit cocktail (mixed fruits) production in both Australia and South Africa. He says that Australian cling peach production increased from 3,200,000 cases in 1964 to 4,500,000 cases in 1966 and 4,973,000 cases in 1967. The same is true for South Africa.

"Added to this is the new increased production in Italy and southern France. The Italian canners are of the opinion that by 1968 they will have a production in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 cases," Giordano states.

There are other factors besides competition pricing. One of these is the new idea of a sugar tax on syrups in canned fruits. For example, in some countries the sugar tax is 5.5 pfenning per tin or about 33 cents per case on peaches in heavy syrup and about 4.4 pfenning, or 26 cents, per case on fruit cocktail.

Giordano contends that canners should go to a two-price system for peaches with one price for domestic trade and another for overseas trade. He stresses the fact that the Australians and South Africans are doing everything possible to encourage trade to secure foreign exchange, and he emphatically states that we too must do so as an industry—with or without the aid of various government channels—and make all effort to subsidize or otherwise encourage the sale of California fruits abroad by keeping our products competitive with these others seeking the same markets. Advertising, he claims, is not enough.

We believe Giordano's observations tell their own story. We cannot comment on it other than to say that if this is the case, something had better be done and done quickly or there are going to be a great many more cases of canned fruits in our warehouses for domestic consumption than we now anticipate.

Emergency Phone Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today another of the interesting and revealing letters I have received concerning the proposed emergency numbers for fire and police for the entire Nation. Some of the problems communities suffer for lack of these are indicated in this particular letter:

CITY OF CLEVELAND DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC SAFETY, DIVISION OF FIRE,
June 26, 1967.

Congressman J. EDWARD ROUSH,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROUSH: I have received your letter dated June 19th, with regard to a single uniform fire reporting telephone number. I am in complete agreement with such a resolution.

We have attempted to initiate legislation in our locale to establish a uniform fire telephone number for all the sixty-odd communities that comprise Cuyahoga County, based on the simple reasoning of rapidity and convenience. We have not succeeded in this endeavor.

I am sure that your proposal, covering the entire United States, entails many ramifications that are not present in our County problem.

You have my permission to use my name in this matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. BARRY,
Chief, Division of Fire.

Congressman Horton Cites Team Sacrifices of Don Holleder—An "All America" Vietnam Victim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, Amerians were saddened this morning when they learned of the death in combat in Vietnam of a former all-America football hero, and an outstanding soldier, Maj. Don Holleder, of Webster, N.Y. I had the pleasure of knowing Don personally, and I would like to pay tribute to him today because his career typified the patriotic dedication which has been the bulwark of America's defense far more than any new developments in guns, planes, or rockets.

Mr. Speaker, Don Holleder was no ordinary man, any more than he was an ordinary soldier. Throughout his career, this young man showed unusual promise, unusual qualities of leadership, and an unusual sense of teamwork and consideration for the needs of others.

Don's consideration for and attention to his country's needs were almost too well demonstrated when he fell in combat yesterday in a strange and distant corner of the globe.

Don Holleder died in the flower of his manhood. Only God knows what contributions he would or could have made to his country and to mankind if he had survived the 1st Infantry's search-and-destroy mission in Vietnam yesterday. His untimely death compels us to look back on his short life to discern what sort of man he was:

The years between the moment when Don stepped forward to accept his diploma at Acquinas Institute in Rochester, N.Y., and the moment at 11:30 p.m. on the 17th of October when he was killed on a search-and-destroy mission in Binh Long Province, were years in which Don won championship on the gridiron and in his chosen military profession.

First, there was the distinction of a career at West Point where Don was an outstanding member of the football and basketball teams for 4 years.

The high point in his student days came in 1954 when he earned nationwide fame by being named an all-America end.

Don's unselfish devotion to the principle of team spirit showed itself the next year when the West Point team needed a quarterback. The coach asked Don to fill that position. Knowing that he would not be named an all-America as a beginning quarterback, but that he might win that honor again as an end, Don nevertheless sacrificed this chance for individual recognition for the benefit of the Army team. I would like to point out, Mr. Speaker, the parallel between Don's courageous personal sacrifice for the West Point football team, and his ultimate sacrifice in battle yesterday.

Don's military career after graduation from West Point showed a steady progression up the ladder of responsibility. From infantry school at Fort Benning he took aviation training and served in command positions. Don was assistant football coach at West Point, until last year, when he was given the assignment which showed that he had been marked for advancement in the Army—a year at the Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Don completed that course in June of this year, and arrived in Vietnam last July as operations officer of the 1st Brigade of the 1st Infantry Division. It was in this important position, on a search-and-destroy mission, that Don was killed in action yesterday.

Mr. Speaker, Major Holleder's list of medals was impressive. He held the Air Medal, the Vietnam Campaign Medal, the Vietnam Service Medal, the Army Commendation Medal with Oak-Leaf Cluster, and had earned the Combat Infantryman's Badge and the Ranger Tab.

But impressive as are his accomplishments in sports and in his professional career, I think Don typifies many young men today who dedicate themselves to the task of defending this Nation. It should serve as a reminder that too often we calculate the costs of war in terms of dollars, or planes. But the real cost is in the loss of fine young men like Maj. Don Holleder who must walk into the face of danger for the sake of the freedom of this Nation.

The occasion of the loss of this famed athlete and soldier is the proper occasion not only to mourn his loss, but to again firmly resolve that when our national policies require that we ask our young men to go into battle in the national interest, that the reasons be clear, and the need urgent.

There is no adequate consolation for Don Holleder's wife and family, and for his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Irving A. Cowles, of Lake Road, Webster, N.Y., in my congressional district, beyond knowing that we, and all Americans, feel his loss deeply and realize that the way of life we cherish is more secure because he was, for too short a time, among us.

Los Angeles City Council Charges House Committee Version of Clean Air Act Will Hamper California's Smog Control Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of my home State of California have become increasingly disturbed at the action of the House Commerce Committee in eliminating section 208(b) of the Senate-passed Clean Air Act Amendments of 1967—which would have allowed California to continue its successful auto smog control program.

The committee's substitute, the auto industry sponsored revised section 208 (b), would effectively prohibit California from enforcing the tougher clean air standards that every pollution control authority in the country agrees is vital to the health of the residents of our State.

As firsthand evidence of the deep concern in California about the House committee's most unfortunate action, I include in the RECORD the text of the resolution recently adopted by the Los Angeles City Council on this subject.

The resolution is as follows:

> Whereas, California has a unique need for controlling air pollution, and smog is a problem of great magnitude; and,
>
> Whereas, in Los Angeles non-vehicular sources of pollution have been controlled more effectively than anywhere else in the world and there is a continued urgency to effectively control vehicular sources; and,
>
> Whereas, federal statutes as now proposed will hamper California in its efforts to meet the threat that air pollution poses to the State; and,
>
> Whereas, California has the wealth and capability of coping with the problem of air pollution,
>
> Now, therefore be it resolved, that by the passage of this Resolution, the City Council of the City of Los Angeles, California, calls upon the Congress of the United States to amend the pending Air Quality Act of 1967 to permit California to set and maintain more stringent standards for controlling air pollution and also allow California to administer such standards at the State level.

Intelligent Business in the Ghettos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal about how civil disorders are compelling businesses to leave slum areas. It is reassuring to see from an article in the September 29, 1967, issue of Home Furnishings Daily that businesses which adopt responsible practices and do not attempt to exploit their lower income customers can operate as profitably in core-city areas as anywhere else.

In the following article, Barbara Mayer quotes Richard Sachs, president of Sachs Quality Stores, as saying:

> We believe that it is good business to be a one-policy store in all our locations. . . . Primarily this means that we carry the same merchandise in Harlem; we charge the same prices; we pay our salesmen the same wages; we expect the salesmen to treat customers as courteously; we spend as much to upgrade the looks of our store.

The article referred to follows:

SACHS PRAISES GHETTOS AS A HAVEN FOR BUSINESS

(By Barbara Mayer)

NEW YORK.—"It costs us less to do business in Harlem than in Hempstead. We like doing business in both places and intend to stay," says Richard Sachs, president, Sachs Quality Stores, furniture chain.

Disputing current statements that it is more expensive to sell furniture in ghetto areas and therefore necessary to charge higher prices, Mr. Sachs says his firm's experience does not bear this statistic out.

A survey of the costs of occupancy of each of the Sachs store locations revealed, for example, that occupancy costs in Harlem's 121st Street store are 1.7 per cent lower than in Hempstead, 1.6 per cent lower than in downtown Manhattan at 35th Street and only 0.2 per cent higher than in the Fordham Road store.

The cost of sales in percentage terms at Harlem are 2.1 per cent lower than in Hempstead and 0.5 per cent lower than at both 8th Avenue in Manhattan and Fordham Road in the Bronx.

Furthermore, Mr. Sachs added, credit cost at the Harlem store is no higher than in any other store. Sachs carries its own credit paper. About 7 per cent of total volume is produced by the Harlem store branch. Total sales for Sachs Quality Stores are said by industry sources to be about $17 million.

"We believe that it is good business to be a one-policy store in all our locations," Mr. Sachs says.

"We expect our Harlem store manager to participate in the life of the community just as any other store manager would in any part of the city.

"Primarily this means that we carry the same merchandise in Harlem; we charge the same prices; we pay our salesmen the same wages; we expect the salesmen to treat customers as courteously; we spend as much to upgrade the looks of our store. As in other stores, our staff is fully integrated. Of seven in selling staff, two full timers and one part-timer are Negroes.

"We offer the same extra services in Harlem as in other stores. These include decorating courses, art classes for both children and adults and a program under which home economics classes visit the store. We also put on puppet shows for school kids in lower grades. We contribute to the civic betterment programs in the neighborhood."

Mr. Sachs stresses that though there are difficulties of doing business in a ghetto, there are also advantages. For example, though pilferage rates are somewhat higher and a window may sometimes be broken, rents are considerably cheaper. Furthermore, he adds, people like to purchase big-ticket items in their own neighborhoods if possible, and this goes for the people in Harlem, too.

That there is money to spend in the area is seen by the fact that in a survey of the weekly income of customers of various Sachs Quality Store branches, Harlem customers are by no means the lowest income group on the list.

Mr. Sachs theorizes that one reason ghetto furniture merchants may suffer heavier credit losses than store owners in other areas is that they oversell customers who are not able to carry the debts.

"You cannot sell somebody $500 worth of furniture on credit just because he wants it, with the idea that if he does not pay, you will respossess the furniture or garnish his salary. Such a practice hurts him and you, too, in the long run.

"Selling is a two-way street. If somebody on welfare comes in for a TV set, he can afford maybe a $149 black and white portable, but not a $500 deluxe color TV console. If you sell the thing you know he cannot afford, you are forcing him into becoming a deadbeat."

This kind of merchandising philosophy that stresses a responsibility not to cheat the customer while at the same time making a profit is, in Mr. Sachs' opinion, the plus that has made it possible for Sachs to grow from the small one-man peddler operation started by his grandfather into a multimillion dollar chain.

"If you really believe in selling furniture and servicing the customer, you will get your message across in the slums and in the suburbs.

"I could advise a newcomer to open a furniture store in the ghettó providing he is serious about the furniture business and not just out to make a fast buck. The ghetto is too sophisticated for the fast buck operators now."

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, 475 years have passed since the prosperous "land of opportunity" we now inhabit was discovered.

The courage and gallantry of the young man who made this discovery have been recorded in history books for centuries, but we, as a Nation, have yet to pay tribute befitting the magnitude of Christopher Columbus' accomplishment.

As Americans, we can boast of wealth, strength, and freedom, and for the pride with which we cherish America, Columbus is one to whom we owe a national debt of gratitude. This, in my opinion, can best be expressed by declaring October 12 a national holiday.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

Col. Chuck Yeager's Hometown Newspaper Focuses Attention on 20th Anniversary of His Aviation Achievements in Breaking Sound Barrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on October 14, 1947, while flying the Bell X-1, Charles E. "Chuck" Yeager of Hamlin, W. Va.—then a captain in the U.S. Air Force—became the first pilot to break the sound barrier.

The October 12, 1967, issue of the Lincoln Republican, published at Hamlin, dedicated the entire first page to a Lincoln County salute to Colonel Yeager on the 20th anniversary of his famous flight. It is a matter of interest to Colonel Yeager's many friends that his mother, a sister, two brothers, and other relatives still reside in West Virginia.

Mr. President, because the hometown newspapers articles provide the background adequately and appropriately, I request unanimous consent to have excerpts placed in the Appendix of the Record in recognition of Colonel Yeager's historymaking aviation exploit which advanced space and aeronautics technology so appreciably.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Lincoln County Salutes Colonel Yeager on the Twentieth Anniversary of His Famous Flight

Twenty years ago on October 14, 1947 no one had ever done it before but Lincoln County's own Charles E. Yeager, then Captain, tried and succeeded. Chuck made the first historic plunge through the dread sonic barrier and became the first man to fly faster than sound.

Chuck entered the Air Force upon his graduation from Hamlin High School in 1941. He was assigned to the 522nd. School Squadron at Victorville, Calif. in March, 1943, he was commissioned a flight officer and transferred to the 363rd Fighter Squadron, 357th Fighter Group at Tonopah, Nev.

He went to Europe with the squadron in December, 1943 and on March 5, 1944, during his ninth mission, was shot down over German Territory. Two months later he returned to his squadron, and in July, 1944, was appointed a second lieutenant in the Air Reserve.

In March, 1945, he returned to the United States for assignment to Perrin Field, Texas, where he took the Pilot instructors' course. The following May he became a basic flying instructor at that station and two months later was assigned to the fighters flight test branch at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. He received his regular Army commission in February, 1947.

Chuck's wartime score: 63 missions, 13 German planes shot down, three damaged. Silver Star for bagging five Messerchmitt 109's on one mission and Cluster for four Focke-Wulf 109's on another. Distinguished Flying Cross with two Oak Leaf Clusters, Bronze Star, Air Medal with six Clusters, Purple Heart.

Charles' war experiences are the kind they talk about in the movies. Since entering the service his life has been one dramatic exprience after another.

When Chuck received the Silver Star for bagging five Messerchmitt 109's on one mission he was leading an Eighth Air Force Mustang group that was the spearhead of a surprise attack on 22 Nazi fighters forming up to attack bomber formations hitting targets in western Germany.

The Bronze Star Medal, an award usually reserved for heroic actions of the infantrymen, was awarded to Chuck for his efforts when he was shot down over occupied France and with the help of the French underground made his way back to England bringing along a wounded bombardier.

Chuck's coolness, courage and skill have always brought him the praise of fellow officers who say "he never let's anything bother him" and "he flies like he is part of the plane."

Born at Myra, on February 13, 1923 to Mr. and Mrs. Hal Yeager, Chuck has never outgrown his home-town nor his West Virginia drawl, though he has received wide acclaim for his aviation feats.

Charles was awarded the Collier Trophy for his part in the first human flight faster than sound. The presentation was made by President, Harry S. Truman.

Chuck has received world-wide acclaim for his efforts, speaking before groups and crowds all over the world and meeting with many dignitaries such as the Shah of Iran.

Major Charles E. Yeager was chosen one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1954 by the U.S. "Jaycees."

He was also awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and the Harmon Trophy by President Dwight D. Eisenhower for flying at a speed of 1,650 miles per hour.

Col. Yeager is married to the former Miss Glennis Faye Dickhouse and they are the parents of four children. Their oldest son, Donald, 21, is now serving with the U.S. Army. Their three other children Micky, 20, is taking Art and engineering at a college in Calif. and Sharon, 18, and Susie, 17, still at home, which for the time being is in the Philippine Islands.

For the Colonel—who made a personal plea to General Eisenhower for the permission to continue flying in the European theatre after being shot down, wounded and ordered back to the States—the fight for freedom still goes on. Col. Yeager now commands the 405th Tactical Fighter Wing at Clark Air Base, Manila, and trains fighter pilots for service in Viet Nam.

All the experiences of his life have joined to make Col. Chuck Yeager truely a great man. From the lettering in basketball and football at Hamlin High, to the narrow escape via the French underground after being shot down during World War II and his present day job of making boys into men, Charles E. Yeager has proved to be the living example of the American dream.

The modest freckled face boy who left Lincoln County in 1941 has never swerved from the course he chose to follow and to serve his fellow man. He truely deserves the admiration and acclaim with which he is viewed by his fellow Lincoln Countians and fellow Countrymen.

Chuck Yeager advocated an adequate air port for the Huntington area as early as 1948 when he admonished area citizens to "get on the ball" because the "boys in aviation have never heard of us." Could a more appropriate name be found for a Midway Jet Port than that of Charles E. Yeager? No where can you find a man more proud to be a West Virginian.

Chairman Rand Dixon of Federal Trade Commission Sets Outstanding Record of Accomplishments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Rand Dixon, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, has made an outstanding record as the head of this most important regulatory agency and his recent reappointment by President Johnson as Chairman, testifies to his leadership and his dedication.

In this connection Newsweek magazine in its current issue has an excellent article detailing the effectiveness of Chairman Dixon and the FTC. Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important agency, I include the article in the Appendix of the Record.

The article follows:

A Little Old Lady With a Tough Look

Almost from the time it was born 53 years ago, the Federal Trade Commission has been treated by official Washington as something of a buffoon among bureaucracies. "The Little Old Lady of Pennsylvania Avenue" was one nickname. Or, as another overworked gag went, there are three museums side by side on Pennsylvania Avenue. The National Archives, the National Gallery of Art—and the FTC. The commission, chairman Paul Rand Dixon said in a speech in New York City last week, has been "denounced for doing too little and too much, for being too slow and too aggressive, for ineffective single-shooting and for biting off more than it can chew."

"The truth of the matter is," Dixon added, "that most businessmen don't know what the commission's real purpose is, or what can be expected of it."

But these days, more and more businessmen are learning—a few of them the hard way. The FTC's real purpose is, quite simply, to police business in order to prevent unfair competition and deceptive sales and advertising practices. With 5 million U.S. companies in a $790 billion annual economy, that's a large order for any Federal agency—particularly one with only 1,150 employees and an annual budget of $11 million. But under the chairmanship of 54-year-old Rand Dixon—first appointed by President Kennedy in 1961 and recently named to a second seven-year term by President Johnson—the Little Old Lady of Pennsylvania Avenue is finally showing some spring in her step.

Dixon's first move after taking office was to reorganize the FTC, long a dumping ground for political appointees, and consequently something less than zealous in the performance of its duty. He scrapped the commission's unwieldly and ineffective bureaus of investigation and litigation and replaced them with three streamlined enforcement divisions: restraint of trade, deceptive practices and textiles and furs. Then, with the three divisions responsible for carrying a case from initial complaint to final adjudication, the commission went on the offensive.

CRACKDOWNS

There were crackdowns on gasoline price wars, "cents off" sales by supermarkets and misleading advertising by producers of everything from shaving cream to binoculars to vitamins. In one year alone, the FTC monitored 897,000 separate television commercials—and ordered thousands of them toned down. The textile and fur division developed hundreds of cases where clothing was deceptively labeled or, in a few instances, actually flammable. By early 1966, the FTC was moving against the tire industry in an effort to stamp out misrepresented prices and misleading advertising claims. At one point during the hearings on tires. Commissioner Philip Elman asked an unfriendly industry witness: "If you were me, would you drive to New Hampshire in my new station wagon with two kids and baggage with those tires on my car?" "No," the witness had to admit—and shortly thereafter, the commission issued a tough set of tire advertising and price guidelines.

But the FTC's biggest target during Dixon's first term as chairman was the tobacco industry. "It was our finest hour," concedes Elman, the leading activist on the five-member commission and a frequent critic of its chairman. Soon after the U.S. Surgeon General released his explosive report on smoking and health in 1964, Dixon called an urgent Saturday meeting of the commission to draw up a blunt new regulation requiring cigarette makers to say on each package and in all their ads that smoking is a health hazard. In the absence of White House support, the industry convinced Congress to beat that rule down. But eventually, the FTC did make stick a regulation prohibiting advertising that suggests that cigarette smoking "increases popularity, makes one more masculine or attractive to the opposite sex, or enhances social poise, etc. . . ." A year later, Congress passed a bill requiring manufacturers to print a "cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health" disclaimer on each pack. Dixon says now that the FTC is far from finished with the cigarette makers. Currently, it has two smoking machines puffing away on 50 different brands to determine the amounts of harmful tar and nicotine content. It forwards its reports to Senator Warren Magnuson and Rep. Harley Staggers, chairmen of the Senate and House Commerce committees, respectively. And FTC staffers think their research may eventually lead to even tougher government rules on cigarette ads.

To many businessmen, a tough new look was exactly what could be expected when Paul Rand Dixon took over at the FTC. A one-time Vanderbilt University football star, the burly, plain-talking Tennessean had started his government career in 1938 as an energetic trial lawyer for the FTC. But in 1957, he moved to Capitol Hill as staff director and chief counsel for the late Senator Estes Kefauver's controversial investigation of "administered" prices in some of the nation's biggest industries—autos, drugs, bread and steel.

TOUGH TALK

Dixon's experience with the Kefauver committee obviously colored his thinking in his early days as FTC chairman. "It's not truthful," he said bluntly a few days after taking office, "to talk about having a free enterprise system if we tolerate the conditions which our investigations have uncovered." And to a convention of the Advertising Federation of America, he noted pointedly: "It takes no great clairvoyance to predict why false advertising cases will continue to flood the commission. It will be because too many advertisers, with or without the connivance of their advertising agencies, and without or against the advice of their lawyers, will take a chance on trading truth for more sales."

But as Dixon grew in his new job, the iron fist was increasingly accompanied by another approach to businessmen: consultation, negotiation and, eventually, a consensus on what's legal and what's not. As he explained in an interview: "Our recent policy of providing more guidance to businessmen on how to comply with the law . . . is a happy alternative to a patternless attack on violators. Our purpose is not to bring an ever greater number of adversary actions; its function is esentially one of guidance.

To implement that policy, Dixon encourages businessmen to visit FTC headquarters to discuss problems before they reach the stage of a "cease and desist" order from the commission. "Some days," one FTC staffer cracked, "our lobby looks like the lounge at a convention of the National Industrial Conference Board." But statistically, the policy seems to be paying off. In 1961, the FTC worked out only 216 assurances of voluntary compliance by businessmen to its rules. By 1966, that figure had increased to 422 and so far this year, it has hit 599.

To some commission staffers, this phase of the Dixon treatment appears to smack of a sellout. Fiery Phil Elman, for one, says: "It's a sad, sad story. I don't think the basic character of the commission has been changed in any permanent way." But among others, Senator Magnuson, who has made consumer protection his special cause on Capitol Hill, offers his unqualified endorsement. "The FTC," he said recently, "is operating better now than I have ever seen it operate." And even James J. Bliss, executive vice president of the National Retail Merchants Association and a sometime FTC adversary, has kind words for Dixon. The commissioners, he says, "began with a hard-nosed attitude toward business. But Dixon soon saw that the numbers game—piling up record numbers of complaints—was not the way to run an agency."

Even so, the FTC has been caught up in a new and popular Washington crusade: all-out protection for the nation's consumers, particularly those living in big city ghettos. Congress has set the pace with new laws governing packaging, labeling, auto safety and flammable fabrics—and counts another dozen bills in the hopper covering truth in lending and even door-to-door salesmen. President Johnson followed by nominating television's Betty Furness as a special assistant to try to insure that housewives get a fair shake when they shop.

THE POOR PAY

For its part, the FTC has begun an investigation into charges that some supermarkets jump prices in the ghettos on the day welfare checks are distributed, while prices in suburban stores of the same chains remain unchanged. In the District of Columbia, one chain has been accused of hiking the ghetto price of 2 pounds of bananas from 29 to 34 cents, of a dozen eggs from 37 to 49 cents and of two cans of peaches from 62 to 69 cents. Two days after the distribution of welfare checks, these prices went back down again, and in the chain's better-neighborhood stores they were never changed. On another front, meantime, the FTC is now investigating automobile and appliance warranties. And it may also start taking a hard look at repair shops.

Despite the FTC's new vigor, at least two commissioners—Phil Elman and John Reilly, a 39-year-old former Justice Department lawyer—think it is not doing nearly enough. And even Mary Gardiner Jones, a commissioner who usually takes a moderate view of the FTC's role, noted last week: "We're starting to carve out our position in the ghettos and other parts of the marketplace. But there's so much more we can do."

But Paul Rand Dixon—while vowing not to relax the FTC's vigilance—feels there are limits to the role it can play in a free society. "We're not a civil-rights agency, and we can't be policemen for the whole economy," he notes. "Caveat emptor is dead and buried . . . so much so that there's a danger of going overboard in the other direction. We're trying to find the middle ground."

Navy Department's Partial Reply to Inquiry Relative to U.S.S. "Liberty" Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I have received the following communications under date of October 17 from the Navy Department in response to my October 8 inquiry relating to the U.S.S. *Liberty* attack in which 34 U.S. Naval personnel were killed, 75 injured, and extensive damage to the ship was inflicted:

Department of the Navy, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations,
Washington, D.C., October 17, 1967.

Hon. Craig Hosmer,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hosmer: Your letter of October 8, 1967 to Secretary McNamara requesting information regarding the USS *Liberty* incident has been forwarded to this office for consideration and reply.

A U.S. Navy Court of Inquiry has thoroughly investigated this tragic event. Enclosed is the complete Department of Defense statement on the matter, including unclassified extracts of the Commanding Officer's testimony, which I hope you will find useful.

The Department of State has conveyed a formal protest to the Government of Israel and in coordination with the Navy, established a procedure whereby personnel who were injured and beneficiaries of personnel who died were queried in connection with possible claims. The claims of the beneficiaries of the men who died are near completion and will be submitted to the Government of Israel shortly. At a later date when additional evidence and more complete reports are available, claims will be submitted on behalf of those men who received personal injuries, and for the cost of medical treatment, loss of service of the injured, personal property losses and damage to government property. In a limited number of cases the complete evidence will not be available until the estimated date of completion of treatment can be predicted accurately.

The Israel Ambassador, while not mentioning specific monetary amounts, has informed the Secretary of State that the Government of Israel is prepared to make amends for their June 8th attack on the USS *Liberty*.

I trust this information is sufficient for your purposes. Please advise me if I may be of further assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

W. F. A. Wendt,
Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy).

I do not believe the protracted delay in settling up this affair is justified. Formal and complete apologies for the incident should have promptly been communicated to President Johnson together with a formula under which the Israel Government itself would have at once undertaken compensation of the injured and surviving families of the dead as well as the U.S. Government for its material damages and losses. By this time also, the Navy Department should be in a position to supply further details on the incident supplemental to those contained in the unclassified and not too revealing version of its court of inquiry proceedings referred to in the letter. Although the Israel Government indicated those of its military services actually responsible for the torpedo would be identified, and hinted at court-martial proceedings shortly following the incident, I know of no followup action on its part which has been taken to this end.

The U.S.S. *Liberty* incident is, at this point, by no means satisfactorily closed.

Finnish Anniversary

SPEECH

OF

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, Finland is a free and independent state. She achieved her freedom at the time of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution. Since that time she has had to fight Russia twice to preserve her territorial integrity.

It is only fitting that we honor her on this 50th anniversary of her independence as a nation. There are a large number of people of Finnish descent residing in Oregon's First Congressional District, as well as throughout the rest of this Nation. To them I say on this occasion, "you have a right to be proud of your heritage."

I also would like to present at this time an editorial from the Oregon newspaper the Daily Astorian, which extends further congratulations to the Finns and their descendents on this celebrated occasion:

FINNISH ANNIVERSARY

Finland has been one of the US's best friends in Europe, and for many years was the only European nation to pay its World War I debts to this country.

It is fitting and proper therefore that we issue a special commemorative postage stamp honoring the 50th anniversary of Finnish independence.

Finland is a mere youngster among the family of nations, for 50 years is a short national existence, even though the Finns have an ancient culture and civilization of their own.

Bigger neighbors for centuries had political dominance over Finland—for a long time the Swedes, then the Russians.

Finnish independence was one of the fruits of World War II and the Russian Bolshevik revolution, which gave this small satellite nation the chance to shake off Russian control.

Independence was not won easily—Finland had its own bitter civil war between the reds and the white before it achieved national stability. Twice since then, during World War II, Finland had to fight the Russians to preserve freedom. It won once, was licked once, and had to give up some territory, but stubbornly maintained precious independence at a time when other small central European nations all became Soviet satellites, controlled by grim communist puppets of Russia.

Finland has a right to be proud of its 50 years of independence, and is entitled to the honors we give her on the occasion.

Two Montgomery GI's Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. James W. Prather and Sgt. James P. Purkey, servicemen from Maryland, were recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of these young men and to honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

TWO MONTGOMERY GI'S DIE

GAITHERSBURG, MD., October 18.—Two Army draftees, one an infantryman and the other a combat engineer, who both grew up in the Gaithersburg-Germantown area of Montgomery county have been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported today.

They were Pfc. James W. Prather, 20, the infantryman, and Sgt. James P. Purkey, 23. Private Prather was killed Monday in a Communist attack north of Saigon and Sergeant Purkey died in a mortar attack last Friday near Chu Chi, also north of Saigon.

Private Prather, who entered the Army in April, had been in Vietnam just over a month, his father said tonight. He was drafted one semester before he was due to graduate from Montgomery Junior College, where he was majoring in physical education.

PLAYED FOOTBALL

He graduated from Gaithersburg High School in 1965. Both in high school and in junior college, he played left tackle on the schools' football teams.

Private Prather's father, the Rev. James E. Prather, has been pastor of the Poplar Grove Baptist Church in Gaithersburg for the past twelve years.

Besides his father, he is survived by his mother, Mrs. Edna M. Prather, and five sisters, Mrs. Phyllis A. Copeland, of Washington, Mrs. Carolyn Claggett, of Rockville, Mrs. Peggy Saunders, Joyce and Sharon Prather, all of Gaithersburg.

Sergeant Purkey had been in Vietnam since January and was expected home around Christmas, his brother, Eugene Purkey, said tonight.

Like Private Prather, Sergeant Purkey was a graduate of Gaithersburg High School, a member of the class of 1962. The following December he and his wife Phyllis, were married.

Besides his wife and brother, Eugene, he is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Shirley M. Payton, and Mrs. Joyce Ann Cunningham, both of Gaithersburg; three other brothers, Robert L. Purkey, of Rockville, Lonie R. Purkey, of Gaithersburg, and Army Sgt. George W. Purkey, who is stationed in Korea; and his mother, Mrs. Helen M. Purkey, of Gaithersburg.

Funeral services for Sergeant Purkey will be held at 3 P.M. Friday at Arlington National Cemetery.

Much-Maligned Foreign Policy Gets Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to my colleagues a very thoughtful column by a noted journalist, Howard K. Smith, which appeared in the Washington Star on Sunday, October 15.

Mr. Smith, as usual, presents for readers another incisive column on the need for U.S. involvement in Vietnam, as follows:

MUCH-MALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY GETS RESULTS

(By Howard K. Smith)

In a famous phrase, Winston Churchill called democracy the worst form of government except for all the others. In this gloomy passage of events, the same might be said of U.S. foreign policy. It is certainly in the worst condition except for everybody else's foreign policy.

It is no solace in our travail that the erstwhile rulers of the world have virtually no foreign influence left. Britain has none at all. Except in the imagination of De Gaulle neither has continental Europe.

In the Middle East, the horizons on which Russia—usually our chief competitor—looks are bleak. While we still have freedom of maneuver, Russia is stuck with the Arabs. All the guns and trainers Russia can deliver will not make the Arabs a military viable people for ten years at the least. The Arabs can mount a guerrilla war in Israeli occupied areas, and that will be a bloody nuisance, but it won't win anything or reduce the costs for Russia. Likewise Russia is stuck with Cuba and a mangy clutch of guerrilla wars in Latin America—another drain without promise.

North Vietnam is yet another drain on Russia without hope of results. The North Vietnamese strategy is clearly to hold on and see Johnson defeated in the American elections of 1968. Well, Johnson may be defeated, but as was the case with Truman in 1952, the chances are overwhelming that if he does he will be replaced by someone just as determined to hold on. Russia and Ho will then face the awful prospect of four more years of being beaten without issue.

The decline of China's foreign influence has been one of the most dramatic developments of the past two years. When on July 28, 1965, President Johnson made the decision for a massive entry into a land war in South Vietnam, everything was moving China's way. South Vietnam was about to fall. Foreign Minister Chen Yi had announced the opening of a campaign to take Thailand. China was pouring arms into Indonesia with the aim of seizing that government of the fifth largest country in the world. There was every hope that China and her friends would soon outflank India and bring about the distintegration of the subcontinent.

Every item in that agenda is now dead. South Vietnam is beyond reach. The Thailand campaign is barely keeping alive. The Communist grab for Indonesia in September 1965 failed and the Communists have been destroyed. Moreover, the men on whom China placed hopes in Africa—Ben Bella and Nkrumah above all—have been overthrown.

At the famous Washington Teach-In in 1965, some professors made the point that inevitably China was going to be the dominant power in Asia. Two years time makes clear what should have been clear then. Asia extends from the Urals to the Pacific, and now and for a long future Russia will be the strongest power there. The second biggest potential is not China's but Japan's. And the Communist strategy has resulted in a third power, the U.S., putting half a million armed men on the Asian mainland. China is fourth in Asia and falling.

A later and less impassioned time will see the present as an unusually difficult transition in world affairs. The last of old Europe's power has been dissolved. The grip of both the U.S. and Russia on large blocs of nations has been loosened. In the vacuums half a hundred new nations came into existence, most with only the vaguest notions about how to survive. The most brilliant statesmen history ever saw would have had a devilish hard time maintaining some kind of control of the situation.

The U.S. has in fact handled the situation well, blocking the chief grabs and slowly building up regional groupings of the new nations in Asia and in Latin America so that, in the far future, they can prosper and defend themselves without outside help. With all manner of illiberal liberals and nonintellectual intellectuals yapping at their heels, the American leadership has nevertheless done a good job in hard circumstances.

Skyhawk Bombers for Israel

SPEECH

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that the Department of State is using the Congress as an excuse for failing to meet the administration's commitment of the spring of 1966 to sell two squadrons of Douglas A-4 Skyhawk jet bombers to Israel.

Israel made partial payment for these planes. They are especially needed by Israel today in view of that country's operational and accidental losses in the recent war, compounded by the Soviet resupply of jets to Egypt. France was the source of Israel's jets, but De Gaulle now refuses to send further war material to Israel.

Some concern was expressed in the Congress that the administration secretly financed arms sales to the Arabs through the U.S. Export-Import Bank. The State Department has seized on this to misinterpret the concern of the Congress and to use it as a pretext for holding back on the promised shipment of the jets to Israel. It was never the intention of the Congress to obstruct the arming of Israel. The arbitrary denial now being exercised by the State Department is masked in sophistry, cynicism, and doubletalk.

At stake is not only the security of a friendly democracy, Israel, but also the entire American security situation in the Middle East and Mediterranean. We are permitting the Soviet Union to recoup losses of last June and are encouraging the Arabs to further extremism by shirking our responsibility to implement the arms deal we completed last year with Israel. This is a breach of honor that the State Department must explain.

Los Angeles County Medical Association Issues Urgent Auto Smog Health Warning, Calls for Defeat of Proposed Dingell Amendment to Clean Air Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, for many years, we in California have been acutely conscious of the critical health hazard posed by the dangerously increasing air pollution problem in America's major urban metropolitan centers.

But we have also been extremely fortunate in the kind of dynamic local and State leadership we have had in the fight against this serious health menace.

This outstanding leadership, both political and professional, has made California the pioneer in the effort to organize an effective nationwide program to eliminate the lethal impurities in the air we breathe, and to create a clean atmosphere for ourselves and our children.

Now, however, the proposed Dingell amendment, written into the House Commerce Committee's version of the 1967 Clean Air Act, threatens to halt the tremendous progress we have been making in California—and prevent us from raising our air purity standards to protect the health of the residents of our State.

So serious is the Dingell amendment's threat to the future success of California's auto smog control program, that one of the most distinguished professional health authorities in the State, Dr. Joseph F. Boyle, president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, has just released the text of his signed President's Page editorial on this subject which appears in the October 19, 1967, issue of the Los Angeles County Medical Association Bulletin.

In the editorial, Dr. Boyle calls for "prompt, concerted action" to defeat the Dingell amendment, and allow California to continue to strengthen its motor vehicle air pollution control regulations, as the best way to promote the health and well-being of our State's nearly 20 million citizens.

Because of its vital importance to every American who is concerned about the growing automobile air pollution crisis in our Nation's cities, I ask unanimous consent to include Dr. Boyle's forthright statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

WHO NEEDS IT?

Two or three times each year the citizens of Los Angeles County become extremely irritated—literally—by the smog. A combination of heat, no wind, and a thermal inversion layer of air trap large concentrations of pollutants in the atmosphere, precipitating a sharp increase in the sale of handkerchiefs and dark glasses. The latter items do not help much, but do keep us occupied wiping stuffy noses and soothing burning eyes.

The telephone circuits buzz as the irate populace registers its protest with civic officials, politicians, newspapers, TV and radio stations, doctors—anyone who will listen. Politicians "view with dismay." The news media toll the alarm. The experts are interviewed. Average Joe Citizen-"Experts" disagree. Everyone has an opinion as to both the cause and the cure. Then the smog all blows away—with the Santa Ana winds—and we get brush fires instead.

The control of air pollution in a basin such as this impinges upon many areas of our economy. Millions of dollars have been spent to keep Los Angeles air as "clean" as it now is. No one knows how many more millions will be needed to render it really clean. The natural question posed is, how important is clean air? Plus the corollary question, does smog do any harm?

As citizens, who simply breathe the stuff, our immediate response might be, "what difference does clean air make? Who needs it anyway!"

As a medical association we need be more scientific. To this end, we recently had an opportunity to testify before a State Assembly Committee. Some of the facts presented to that committee should be available to our members, since others will surely be questioned in the future.

First, how clean or dirty is Los Angeles air? At the direction of the State Legislature, the California Department of Public Health carefully defined levels of pollutants that could be identified as *"adverse," "serious,"* and *"emergency."* These include levels of carbon monoxide, sulful dioxide and photochemical oxidants. So what has happened?

Well, in the past 10 years, we find that we have been below the "serious" level for oxidants and other contaminants approximately three days of each month! We also find that on several occasions, except for favorable nighttime breezes, we have been in substantial danger of reaching catastrophic concentrations of smog such as those disasters that have been experienced in London, Donora, Pennsylvania, and New York City.

So, how much harm does the smog impose on the health of our patients? To begin with, we don't know how much. We do know it is considerable.

Carefully performed studies demonstrate beyond question that patients with emphysema, bronchitis, asthma and heart disease are made substantially worse by exposure to increased concentrations of air pollutants. We have observed a number of patients whose terminal illnesses and deaths have been precipitated by periods of increased smog. Simple observation tells us that inflammation of the respiratory epithelium is produced by SO_2, NO_2 and photochemical oxidants.

We have observed patients who have developed the Los Angeles equivalent of "Tokyo-Yokohama asthma"—a form of air pollution-induced sensitivity bronchitis which does lead to chronic obstructive lung disease and pulmonary fibrosis. Some of these patients also have died. We have observed a form of alveolitis which generates cells indistinguishable from squamous carcinoma and which can be reversed by filtering smog from the patient's room air.

Can anything be done about it? A great deal has been accomplished already. Each day industry in Los Angeles keeps out of the atmosphere approximately 10,000 tons of pollutants that formerly contributed to the smog. They were "motivated" to do so by ordinances enacted by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. Unfortunately, the automobiles we all drive add 13,000 tons per day of compounds to pollutants which could also be controlled.

Legislation to accomplish this is under consideration by the State Assembly. The technology is available in Detroit to reduce the pollutants emitted in automobile exhausts to levels 25% below those of current standards. The State should "encourage" Detroit to use this technology. I am confident that if they were thus "motivated," the auto manufacturers would find the engineering capacity to produce clean vehicles that will sell—at a profit.

But, hold everything! In Washington a bill has been passed by the Senate to establish *national* standards for motor vehicle exhausts—standards totally inadequate for our State—even less stringent than those we already have. And a gentleman in the House of Representatives—from Dearborn, Michigan, no less—has amended this to effectively *prevent any State* from adopting local restrictions greater than those provided in the Federal Bill.

Although the smog has temporarily blown away, we need action now. I would suggest that LACMA members acquaint their Congressmen with our very grave concern for the health of our community, and support their efforts to defeat this amendment. I would suggest also that you communicate this concern to your colleagues, friends and relatives in other States as well. Air pollution happens to be one of many areas in which Los Angeles does excell, but other cities have now or will soon have a comparable threat to their wellbeing. Help them tell their Federal legislators "how it really is."

We know the answers. Perhaps by prompt, concerted action now we can help protect the health of the entire country.

JOSEPH F. BOYLE, M.D.,
President, Los Angeles County Medical Association.

Dr. H. Robert Davis, of Boiling Springs, Pa., Commended for Work in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, history records that wartime emergencies always prompt Americans to perform heroic deeds, both on and off the battlefield.

I am indeed proud to say that Dr. H. Robert Davis of Boiling Springs, Pa., a resident of my congressional district, is one such person, having given freely and generously of his medical skills on two volunteer tours into the Province of Tay Ninh in Vietnam.

Upon his return from the second tour, Dr. Davis wrote me a letter explaining the nature of that tour, and because it contains some highly interesting observations, I insert it in the RECORD.

I would like to mention that Dr. Davis received letters of commendation from W. C. Westmoreland, general, U.S. Army, commanding, Vietnam, and James T. Vance, lieutenant colonel, Infantry, commanding, 1st Special Forces, along with the award of a Combat Medical Badge.

The Evening Sentinel, Carlisle, Pa., ran a special feature on Dr. Davis in its August 12, 1967, issue, and this along with the two aforementioned letters I insert in the RECORD at this point:

LETTER FROM DR. DAVIS TO CONGRESSMAN GOODLING

My second volunteer tour to the Province of Tay Ninh as a medical doctor proved as satisfying as the first, and perhaps not quite as frustrating. We were still lacking in medical supplies, personnel, facilities, and transportation, but this time I was expecting it, and did much better because I was familiar with these problems. The welcome that I received from the people in the province was most touching. Three hundred of them were present at the airstrip to meet me, and as usual, in an administrative mix-up, the pilot of the small plane that I flew in from Saigon would not land at the strip where all the people were, but informed me that his orders were to land at a strip 5 miles away. No amount of pleading would change his mind, and so we landed not where my friends were, but 5 miles away, and it took me one hour to get back to where the greeting committee had waited patiently for me. The welcome was tremendous—they had banners hung all over the town of Tay Ninh—proclaiming welcome back, Dr. Davis. Some of our projects were fully realized—the 100 Boy's Dormitory was completed, and already 60 boys had used it for the previous school year—this year, there will be one hundred high school boys making use of its living facilities. This is the dormitory that we used $9,000.00 of our Province of Tay Ninh Aid Fund to build, and Governor Scranton had laid the cornerstone in May of 1966 when he visited Tay Ninh at my request. The dormitory is named after the people of Pennsylvania, and has Governor Scranton's and my name on the Memorial Plaque, which is located on the wall in the large dining room.

In our 60 day tour, we again had more patients than we could possibly take care of. I saw over 5,500 in the 60 days that I was there, and could have seen four times that number. For all of the 285,000 people of the Province, there were only four doctors who actually treated the population. There was a Philippine Surgical Team of four surgeons, but they worked out of the Province Hospital, and you had to come to the hospital to be treated. The need is great for more hands, and hands that know gentleness and compassion, and not those of the unfeeling technician that we so often see over there. We also, through our FUND, were able to complete a new 12 bed Tuberculosis Ward, and present it to the Medicine Chief, Bac Si Lien—which was the first addition to his hospital in 5 years. We saw the Tay Ninh Public Library that we had helped build, almost finished, and started a dispensary in the Cham Village, which has never had any medical care or place where they could hold a sick call.

Our volunteer fund has contributed over $20,000 in buildings and benefits to the Province, plus four wheel chairs, and $5,000 worth of surgical instruments and drugs to the Hospital, two television sets to the Hospital, clothes, food, and toys to the Cao Dai Orphanage, and 22 continuing scholarships to needy high school students. The money for our fund has been freely contributed by donators in the Central Pennsylvania Area—through our more than 140 talks and showing of our films on Vietnam. We estimate that we have spoken to over 40,000 people, and have endeavored to bring the true story of the situation in that war torn country.

This program of Volunteer Physicians For South Vietnam goes a long way in convincing the rank and file South Vietnamese person that we are interested in them, in spite of all of the political considerations involved. When they learn that the Bać Si who is treating them has come 13,000 miles from his home, without pay, to look after him, he knows that this is someone who really cares. The doctor who makes the best impression will be a warm, human being, who knows how to function cheerfully, despite the shortage of drugs, other supplies, help, and facilities, and the ignorance of his patients. He will relate to these people with love and devotion and never give an inkling of feelings of superiority. He will remain open-minded about the attitudes he encounters, rather than trying to impose his methods and will upon people who have functioned in the midst of hardships for centuries, using their own peculiar ideas, methods and attitudes. It is a most frustrating task at times, but a doctor can be an invaluable good-will ambassador for his country, and do more good in this way than ten B–52's, fully loaded, dropping their bombs on the military front. This second front is as important, if not more important than the military and political fronts, but more people and better quality people are needed to help. I have returned again from South Vietnam realizing some small amount of satisfaction in what I did for the people of Tay Ninh, and perhaps even more, what the people of Tay Ninh did for me.

H. ROBERT DAVIS, M.D.

U.S. MILITARY SERVICE COMMAND,
VIETNAM, OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER,
October 2, 1967.

Maj. HARRY R. DAVIS,
Boiling Springs, Pa.

DEAR MAJOR DAVIS: Thank you for your letter of 21 September 1967 concerning your service in Vietnam.

The Volunteer Physicians Program has been a tremendous success in providing assistance to the Vietnamese people. Without your services and the services of the other volunteer physicians, many of these people would not have received this much needed medical treatment. Colonel Montcrief and Colonel Boyson praised your work highly.

You contribution to the U.S. effort in Vietnam is appreciated greatly, and I am happy to inform you that the Vietnamese Service Medal has been forwarded to you by separate correspondence.

Sincerely,

W. C. WESTMORELAND,
General, U.S. Army.

THE 5TH SPECIAL FORCES GROUP,
AIRBORNE, 1ST SPECIAL FORCES,
San Francisco, September 6, 1967.

Subject: Award of Badge.

To: Commanding Officer, 316 Station Hospital, Harrisburg, Pa.:

1. While attached to this "B" Detachment, Major Harry R. Davis performed his duties in a superior manner. Besides working closely with the civilian medical personnel in Tay Ninh Province he also found time to participate in military activities, held sick call in isolated "A" camps, assist with Medical Civil Action Patrols and tended the Civilian Irregular Defense Group (CIDG) soldiers when evacuated with combat wounds, He was always available to assist in an emergency. I consider Major Davis a devoted professional man, an asset to the Army and a true friend. His conduct and efficiency were well within the highest expectations of the military service and were such as to bring credit on himself, his unit and the United States Army.

2. I request you award him the inclosed Combat Medical Badge in an appropriate

ceremony and the orders be posted to his service record.

JAMES T. VANCE,
Lieutenant Colonel, Infantry, Commanding.

[From the Carlisle (Pa.) Sentinel, Aug. 12, 1967]

RETURNS FROM SECOND TOUR: DR. DAVIS POINTS TO PRIDE AT NEW DORMITORY FOR VIETNAMESE

(By John E. Crull)

"Dedicated to the people of Pennsylvania who have proved that nothing is impossible to a willing heart" were the words written on a plaque attached to the wall of a "dream-come-true" for Dr. H. Robert Davis, Boiling Springs, who recently returned from his second trip as a volunteer physician to Vietnam.

The wall where the plaque was attached was a 100-bed dormitory complex, for students built from the $20,000 donated to The Province of Tay Ninh, South Viet Nam Aid Fund that Davis, and a number of leading citizens from Cumberland and Dauphin Counties, began upon his return from his first trip there.

In addition to the dormitory, the money was used to renovate the existing hospital at Tay Ninh City, recondition the maternity ward and the pediatrics ward, install a hot water plumbing system in the hospital delivery room, and build a 12-bed tuberculosis ward onto the hospital.

Also, the money was used to establish a two-room dispensary in Cham Village; to buy two television sets for the Tay Ninh Hospital. Some of the money was donated to the Nivaro Library building project in the city.

INTRODUCES PROGRAM

Davis left "a little bit" of the Carlisle Hospital in Tay Ninh City when he left there this time. The first "Candy Striper" program was started by the doctor during this trip. He modeled his program after the one at the Carlisle Hospital.

"I must see if they can spare a uniform which I can send to Vietnam as a model for the 19 girls who entered the program," Davis said.

"I believe that if you interest the youth, you can train them," Davis said in answer to how the felt the program would work out. "Those people who we help get an education, or interest them in something and train them in it, will someday be the way to the future for South Vietnam," Davis added.

Davis said that during his stay there he saw 100 patients a day. A typical day began at 7:30 a.m. in the morning and ended at 6 p.m. in the evening. "However, there wasn't very many times we called it quits at 6," Davis added.

SOME 300 BORN MONTHLY

His day, began with a round of the 25-bed maternity ward. Davis said, "300 babies are born there each month, and during the two month period I was there we delivered an average of 10 babies a day."

"On the average, that ward held anywhere from 40 to 60 maternity cases," Davis said. "It wasn't very often, that one of those beds held only one person. Two or three people were in a bed," he said.

"After maternity call," Davis said, "we opened 'sick call' for the villages and from 8:30 a.m. until noon we would begin seeing the 100 patients which the out patient clinic would schedule to see us."

Davis was referring to the eight physicians who administered to the 285,000 people in the Province. Besides Davis there were four filipino doctors, and three Vietnamese doctors at the Tay Ninh hospital.

NO LUNCH BREAKS

At noon, when the Vietnamese doctors would go for lunch, Davis would spend this time traveling from the local military hospitals, the Phillipine Civic Action Group, the B team of the 5th Special Forces and the U.S. Aid Mission trying to "beg, borrow; scrounge, or cajole" needed supplies like X-ray film, blood, drugs, bandages which were always in short supply. "My Vietnamese interpreter and I would average 30 to 40 miles during that lunch period trying to get supplies."

"Hardly a day would pass that we didn't abandon sick call for emergency treatment on the Vietnamese soldiers or civilians who were wounded in a V.C. attack," Davis said. "After treating emergency cases from the attack, we would return to sick call, and not one of the villagers scheduled to see me was left standing at the door." This action always had Davis working into the early morning hours.

JOINS GREEN BERETS

Davis said, "these days were the easy days when we treated the people the clinic would send to see us. Once a week, I would travel up to the 'Green Berets' B-team camp and join up with the men and go on a MEDCAP visit."

"Medcap is Medical Civic Action Program, a fancy name for the 'sick call' that would take place in a village somewhere in the Province. The V.C. didn't stop to check when they ambushed a group moving through the jungles on one of these visits," Davis said. "Luckily, we were not hit during any of our outings while I was there."

Davis, was recommended for a Bronze Star and the Combat Medical Badge by Lt. Col. James R. Vance commanding officer of the B–32 team for his work during the Medcap visit.

"Why Do You Stay?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE R. POOL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the antiwar demonstrations that are taking place in the cities of our Nation, and specifically the demonstration to take place here in our Nation's Capital tomorrow. I include this October 18th editorial from the Dallas Morning News in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today. The point of the article is well taken.

"WHY DO YOU STAY?"

This Nation was built by men who believed that the citizen of this Republic must face the obligations as well as the benefits of citizenship. This week we are seeing an organized antidraft campaign dedicated to the proposition that Americans can demand the benefits while repudiating the obligations.

The American system has embodied the ideal that the individual's rights and his responsibilities are as inseparable as the two sides of a coin. He cannot enjoy the one without bearing the burden of the other.

The burden can be heavy, much heavier for some than for others. Of most, the state usually requires only obedience to the laws that protect others' rights and payment of taxes for the common defense and general welfare. But some are called upon to pay a higher tax, a tax that calls upon them to give their time, and if necessary, health or life itself in the service and defense of their nation.

Millions who have been called upon to provide the nation their young years have done so. Hundreds of thousands have given all that they had to give. Because they have sacrificed so much in fulfilling their responsibility to serve when called upon, the rest of us receive the advantages of the freedoms their sacrifices earned.

Now we see thousands refusing, in the name of those freedoms, to bear the burden of defending them. Many claim to believe that not only the duty of service but the republic served is odious and corrupt; that the entire framework of our society is unfit to survive or to claim their allegiance.

However, they hold these beliefs and propagate these condemnations while demanding the full protection of the way of life they call unfit to defend.

Most Americans, we believe, would not condone the arbitrary silencing of these statements, regardless of our disagreement with them or our animosity toward those who make them. Still less do we believe in attempting to force on anyone the basic beliefs on which the country was built.

What we cannot understand or condone is that those convinced that the system is rotten and insupportable do not follow their conviction to its logical conclusion. If those who say that the American society is cruel and oppressive are truly sincere, why do they not leave it and seek a society more to their liking? Why do those who denounce the United States as unworthy of their allegiance not shed its purported guilts and its undoubted benefits in favor of a land more hospitable to their own ideals?

Surely, there are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of those anti-American Americans that would prevent their giving up their residence here. Certainly the United States has not insisted on using its borders as prison walls to confine those who prefer a different way of life.

Unfortunately, the draft-resisters are not willing to go all the way with the belief that the U.S. is a criminal society. They prefer to stay cradled safely and securely within the framework of freedoms they condemn. They insist upon their full share of America's progress and protection while loudly refusing to contribute to either.

If the extremists behind this campaign believe that bearing arms is wrong, there are alternative ways in which they can serve, as sincere and patriotic conscientious objectors have served in past emergencies. And, if the militant ones believe the national society itself is evil, they are free to leave it forever. It is a measure of their hypocrisy that they shy away from either demonstration of their alleged beliefs.

They say, "Hell, no, we won't go" to serve this country. It is time to ask them, "Then why do you stay here, profiting from the sacrifice to those who will?"

Don't Expect Too Much From Public Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on September 21 the House approved the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. Not unexpectedly, some people immediately conjured up a picture of a great revolution in the program offerings of radio and television.

But I would hope that Mr. John Q. Public is not yet poised in front of his radio or television set, ready to spin the dial and reap the benefits of that expected revolution. In fact, the top-quality, exciting programs that some expect to see on so-called educational television may never be offered if we accept the view of the well-known columnist Howard K. Smith as it appeared in the Washington Star on October 1.

Mr. Smith cautioned against expecting changes of any great magnitude in either commercial or educational television as we know it. While I do not share Mr. Smith's appraisal of the Congress or his thinking about many other matters, I thought my colleagues might be interested in this assessment by a liberal member of the fourth estate.

Under unanimous consent I include the article in full in the Record:

Don't Expect Too Much From Public Television

(By Howard K. Smith)

The House of Representatives has passed the public television bill. The Senate will almost certainly do so too, and a source of government-authorized, tax-supported TV will come to exist alongside our private, ad-supported, commercial TV. As television is thought to affect greatly the mental and spiritual climate of America, this might be an important development.

People who understand television but little, however, are premature and hyperbolic in seeing a new age of wonders about to open. A leading figure in our nation stopped me on Capitol Hill the other day and said, "You commercial TV people had better straighten yourselves out, or the audience is going to desert you now that public television will be available." A leading Washington newspaper commented that TV was "on the verge of delivering to the public those great cultural and public affairs programs it has all too frequently failed to deliver in the past."

Criticizing the fare on commercial TV is without doubt America's chief popular avocation, more practised than watching baseball or even than discussing Lyndon Johnson's faults. But for an exercise Americans indulge in so much, it is odd how ill thought out are their assumptions. There is not going to be any hegira away from commercial to public TV. There is nothing magic in public TV that is going to increase the quantity of genius or imagination in our nation.

All the paraphernalia of commercial TV—the quest for the highest profits, the ratings, the fear of offending—undoubtedly help to create mediocrity on commercial TV.

By far the most limiting factor on quality, however, is the rarity of genius, and even of creative talent. The notion that there are reams of undiscovered Hamlets or rejected "Death of a Salesman's" waiting only for an outlet, is a myth. Good plays or programs simply do not exist in quantity, and public TV is not going to change that.

The rarity of high-grade material did not begin with the television age. Now that we can watch decades of Hollywood's output on the late show night after night on television, it is clear that there were never really many good movies. The list of national paperback book best-sellers (a more reliable guide than the hardback book best-sellers which a minuscule number of Americans read) is led by some books that are several years old, and they were not outstanding when they were first published. William Shakespeare is far the best contriver of stories the human race has produced, yet most of his plays were pretty dreary potboilers.

In the realm of documentary TV reporting, one needs only watch those produced of educational television. They are duller and more timid than those on commercial TV—which is quite an indictment.

Far from being more interesting than commercial TV, there is even a real possibility that public TV may be less interesting. Congress will have ultimate control over its flow of lifeblood—money. Congress is consistently a good 10 to 20 years behind the times, as has been demonstrated by its slowness to enact the minimal legislation needed to avoid explosion in our cities. Congress excels at negating, and is downright suspicious of creativity.

There is the famous example of the display of American art put on by the USIA in West Berlin in the 1950s. To show that experimentation was afoot in our nation, the exhibition featured a wall of examples of pretty far-out art. A junketing group of Congressmen visited Berlin and went to the exhibit and went through the roof, so to speak. Was this what their appropriations were being squandered on? The USIA promptly removed the paintings and substituted a display of antiseptic American photographs. Is Congress going to sit still while public TV falls on its face with experiment—without which good art in any realm is impossible?

Unless public television is effectively insulated from congressional pressure I foresee a timid, proper and dull series of programs. The ardent controversies which are the absorbing spirit of real life will be blurred or blunted. The drama is likely to be horrendously safe. And if there are comics, they had better be careful about whom they make the butt of their jokes.

Snooping in the Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 11, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, Chicago's American for October 7 contained an editorial regarding the decennial census that will be conducted in 1970.

A number of Members of the House of Representatives, including my distinguished neighbor, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski], have expressed opposition to some of the questions that have been proposed. He feels, and I agree with him, that they constitute an invasion of privacy.

The editorial discusses the subject logically, fairly, and temperately, and I would like to bring it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

Snooping in the Census

Is the Federal census bureau trying to infringe on the privacy of American citizens by asking personal questions? Rep. Edward Derwinski [R., Ill.] says it is, and blames Congres for failing to keep the bureau in check; by now, says Derwniski, it has "gotten completely out of control."

Derwinski has joined a group of congressmen opposed to certain questions proposed for the 1970 census, the first in history to be conducted by mail. Queries include how many persons share a single shower, the number of flush toilets there are in a dwelling, and how many times an individual has been married. Those who fail to answer any census questions may be fined $100 and sentenced to 60 days in jail.

The growing complexity of American society might justify seeking information beyond counting noses for the purpose of congressional redistricting—the original purpose of the census. But it obviously must not be used to compel answers to questions that invade privacy.

A bill introduced by Rep. Jackson E. Betts [R., O.] seems to us a sensible way to protect personal privacy and also supply the government with useful information. His bill specifies that mandatory answers be required of only seven basic questions: Name, age, address, race or color, marital status, relationship to the head of the household, and number of resident visitors. All other questions would be listed separately and plainly marked as voluntary.

Anyone answering questions voluntarily would probably give more accurate answers than someone required to answer under duress. Also, with the state of the art of computer analysis of survey information, the census bureau could get most or all of the information it needs from projection of a voluntary sample.

Undoubtedly more than enough Americans would be willing to volunteer information to the census bureau. They should be allowed to do so with the feeling that they are contributing to knowledge about the nation, not because they face a jail sentence if they don't answer.

The Log Export Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, last April I told the House that export of raw logs to Japan was threatening the health of the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest. In the intervening months, the rate of these exports has accelerated. This serious situation has attracted the attention of many of my colleagues in the House and Senate, and was one of the topics discussed during the recent United States-Japan General Trade Conference conducted at the State Department.

At that time, our Government agreed with the Japanese to study the log export problem in depth. The agreement stated that discussions would include such matters as the level of exports, the geographical concentration of log purchases by the Japanese, diversification of purchases to include finished lumber, and programs designed to increase supplies of timber resources.

Our Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, was designated as representative of the U.S. Government to meet with the Japanese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. Secretary Freeman recently visited the Pacific Northwest and understands the impact of log exports on the American timber market. No date has been set for the first meeting, but the State Department is hopeful that the discussions can be undertaken before Christmas. Industry officials will be invited as observers to these negotiations.

In order to acquaint my colleagues with recent developments in the Japanese export situation, I am including in the Record a recent article from the lumber and plywood market report, Random Lengths. This knowledgable trade paper, circulated worldwide by Mr. Lester E. Anderson, of Eugene, Oreg., presents a balanced and reasoned discussion of the many difficult policy decisions which must be made to resolve the log export problem.

Those who negotiate for the United States in the upcoming talks with Japan must recognize the serious ramifications log exports are having throughout the entire lumber and timber industry. If exports continue to grow at their accelerating rate and the damage to the domestic timber industry is permitted to continue, remedies far more stringent than diplomatic accommodations may be necessary. Congressional action may eventually be required if the diplomatic effort stalls.

I include the comments from Random Lengths in the RECORD at this point:

> In August and early September, while lumber and plywood prices skyrocketed primarily because of an impending shortage of raw material, there were huge log decks at the Washington ports of Olympia, Bellingham, and Everett. These logs were earmarked for export, principally to Japan.
>
> The extreme market fluctuation of late summer, ranging from $10–15 on many items, cannot be blamed directly and solely on these specific log decks. There had been a faltering improvement in the consumption of lumber throughout the Summer; there had been an unusually long dry spell in the Northwest which hampered normal logging operations. But, there also had been an increasing volume of logs sold for export, and a significant increase over a year ago in the price these export logs commanded, effectively *blocking off many domestic manufacturers* from access to such logs as were available. What developed in domestic lumber and plywood markets was a foretaste of a problem outlined here August 4: The forests of the Northwest, under present practices, cannot for long meet the lumber and plywood requirements of an expanding domestic market and, at the same time, supply wood fiber for unrestricted export; not, that is, without economic dislocation which is most likely to affect the domestic consumer of forest products.
>
> The growing seriousness of the impact of log exports was recognized recently in a decision to undertake a joint U.S.-Japanese examination of the use of timber resources of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. This examination was agreed to at the annual meeting of the cabinet officers of the two nations. Exports have been a matter of concern among forest products producers for some time. Finding a solution satisfactory to all the parties involved is a matter important to both nations. *The U.S. and Japan need each other's trade.* The domestic forest products industry needs at least equal access to raw material grown in this country.
>
> At the moment, there are no clear indications of the ground the cabinet-level examination will cover. Certainly it will be necessary to determine the probable needs of both this country and Japan. Housing construction in the United States over the next decade has been projected at an average of 2 to 2.5 million units annually; Japan recently announced a government program to build 1.2 million units annually over the next 10 years. While the materials requirements are quite different in each country, *both are major users of structural wood products.* Japan needs the wood fiber; softwood lumber which is imported primarily from British Columbia and, for domestic reasons, logs which can be processed in Japan.
>
> If the Pacific Northwest cannot meet domestic demand, and supply Japanese requirements as well, where is the wood to come from? The most logical source is Japan itself. Most of the wood consumed there comes from Japanese forests. But these are being cut many times faster than can be sustained by growth. (However, something like one-fifth of Japan's national forests are unroaded; would road development permit the managed harvest of more timber?) Another source of timber has been Russian. In the past, U.S. exporters have threatened that Japan would turn to the Russians for more of their timber needs if they could not get logs from this country. But, the Russians say they are exporting only surplus logs and as equipment (much of it supplied by the Japanese) becomes available for domestic manufacture the volume of timber available for export is expected to drop.
>
> Alaska has seemed to many to be a logical source of both timber and lumber for Japan. U.S.-Japanese combines now are shipping a large portion of the lumber and pulp produced in Alaska to the Far East; recently logs from private ownerships have been exported. But federal timber in Alaska is being held for the *development of local industry* and is restricted from export. At this time, however, the market which would cause this development is in Alaska and Japan.
>
> Therefore, only about half of the annual allowable cut of Alaskan forests is being harvested. The use of the remaining unharvested half of this state's annual timber yield to develop roads and other facilities is worth considering. Finally, the Pacific Northwest, the principal source of Japan's log imports, might be able to supply a substantial volume of timber without damage to domestic manufacturers. This might be accomplished under any of several intensive management programs which have been discussed but never adopted. One such program, calling for the investment of $80 million a year for eight years in development of a thinning program, has been estimated by the Forest Service to permit an increase of 500 million board feet per year in the allowable cut of the national forests of Oregon and Washington.
>
> In addition, there is private timber which is, and will continue to be, available for export. However, the export of large volumes of private timber might create problems if public timber is excluded from export. What, for example, should be the policy toward a firm which sells its own timber for export, taking the benefit of the capital gains tax, and uses this revenue in the *preclusive purchase of public stumpage* with which to operate its domestic plants?
>
> It is not going to be easy to find reasonable and satisfactory solutions to the log export problem. But, answers must be found without a great deal of diplomatic hemming and hawing. Through the first six months of this year, exports from Oregon and Washington were about 40% greater than in the same period of 1966. It is expected that exports for the full year will climb from just over one billion board feet last year to between 1.8 and 2 billion feet this year.
>
> This is a matter of concern not only to manufacturers but also to distributors. Consider that the 159 million feet of logs shipped out of Oregon and Washington in July alone (56% more than in July, 1966) would have provided raw material—at a time when it was critically needed—for more than a full week's production of lumber in these same states. The loss of this volume of products can be sustained by our economy. But, not if it happens repeatedly and over a long period of time. If this occurs, and there is no evidence that a prompt and reasonable solution can be found, the demand for the unwanted solution—that exports be flatly prohibited—*may reach proportions which cannot be ignored.*

SABMIS Answers the Red China Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, of particular interest to the Congress is the Navy's seaborne anti-ballistic-missile interception system, SABMIS. The effectiveness of SABMIS has been explored in the current—October 16—Washington Report of the American Security Council by Anthony Harrigan, as follows:

SABMIS: FORWARD ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE

(By Anthony Harrigan)

> When Alfred Thayer Mahan, the great naval strategist, wrote two generations ago of the influence of sea power upon history he could not in his wildest dreams have imagined that one day the mobility of the surface ship would make possible the projection of national defense envisioned in the new SABMIS concept—the sea-based, anti-ballistic missile intercept system. Yet this concept, now under consideration as a vital addition to the nation's nuclear deterrent in the cold war, offers the United States a forward defense of the continental United States.
>
> The public is familiar with the marriage of the nuclear-armed missile and the nuclear-powered submarine. The nation's fleet of 41 Polaris submarines, completed this past summer when the USS *Will Rogers* was commissioned, is widely understood as a key element in America's atomic-age strategic forces. Beyond Polaris, however, lies the SABMIS system, designed to give sea power a new strategic defense role by providing forward protection for the United States and its allies.
>
> The SABMIS concept provides for placing anti-ballistic missiles aboard surface ships. If this system were authorized and deployed, a number of naval vessels—some equipped with powerful radar and others outfitted as launch ships—would be assigned stations in the path of enemy missiles aimed at the United States from land bases in the communist countries. This sea-based system would give the U.S. a forward line of ABM defenses. The ABMs aboard ship in the Pacific or North Atlantic would have the task of intercepting enemy missiles long before they entered their terminal phase of flight.
>
> Dr. Paul C. Davis of Westinghouse Electric Corporation, writing in *Orbis*, has cited the possible forms a sea-based, anti-ballistic missile defense system might take.
>
> "Theoretically," he said, "one could devise a system based solely on submersible and airborne or spaceborne components. Since, however, a sea-based, anti-Chinese system would be needed, if at all, by 1975, or even earlier, the present analysis is based upon a relatively unsophisticated system, one in which the main elements are mounted on surface vessels. The launching platform might be a converted transport or small carrier; the missile system might be an adaption of the Nike Zeus; and detection systems might be carried by picket ships or converted destroyers, supplemented by carrier-based picket aircraft."
>
> The SABMIS system under discussion would have the initial task of serving as a counter to the potential nuclear threat offered by Communist China. The system is needed, moreover, not simply as a means of dealing with a possible attack on the United

States but also with the threat of a Chinese attack on U.S. allies in Asia.

Armed with nuclear weapons, Communist China within a few years will have a much greater capacity for international blackmail than it has at present. Peking can be expected to threaten Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and other Asian countries with nuclear attack unless they break all defense links with the United States and move into Peking's orbit. Indeed more than a year ago, a leading leftist journal in Europe recommended "socialist counter-escalation" in the future, and suggested the likelihood of "graduated reprisals" with rockets against U.S. air-naval bases on Formosa, Okinawa and in the Philippines.

Unless the United States is to withdraw its forces deep into the Central Pacific, abandoning all the Asian countries protected at such vast expense over so many years, the credibility of American deterrence of atomic-armed missiles in the hands of Peking must be enormously enhanced. The utility of an anti-Chinese, sea-based ABM thus is enormous.

It should be borne in mind that Peking does not need an especially sophisticated missile delivery system, as its primary goal will be political blackmail and psychological terrorism—not pinpoint destruction of key targets. It is this threat that Japan and other friendly Asian countries must be protected against in the relatively near future. The land-based, ABM system on American territory can be largely concerned with the more complex danger of Soviet rocket attack, a problem which does not particularly worry Japan, Thailand and other friends of the U.S. at this stage of the cold war. It is possible, of course, that Japan has the know-how to develop her own ABM defense, but Japanese defense authorities face a formidable constitutional hurdle in obtaining authority for the acquisition of defensive nuclear weapons. Thus the real burden of free world interests in Asia will, for many years to come, fall on the United States. In addition, the U.S. government, which is opposed to the proliferation of nuclear weapons—even of a nominally defensive type—may prefer to increase the American capability rather than encouraging a defense partner to build her own atomic shield.

A major advantage of a sea-based, anti-ballistic missile defense for Asia is its mobility. The Asian countries with which the United States is concerned embrace a vast area of this continent. Furthermore, the Chinese nuclear missile threat is likely to shift from one political theater to another. With the SABMIS system in operation, the United States could shift its anti-ballistic missile defense structure as needs dictated. The balance of these ABM forces could be altered according to the weight of specific threats at particular times. Thus SABMIS vessels could be deployed in a variety of areas and formations from the Bay of Bengal to the Sea of Japan. SABMIS ships thus would be as effective in protecting India or Japan against Chinese Communist nuclear threats as the Seventh Fleet has been in guarding the free Chinese on Formosa from amphibious invasion. Indeed the security of Formosa has to be given special consideration when analyzing the Chinese nuclear-armed missile threat. This bastion of the legitimate Republic of China remains as a special political target of the powers-that-be in Peking, and a truly contemporary defense system for the island must involve an ABM defense.

Yet even on Formosa the construction of land-based ABM sites would pose a variety of political problems. Any change in the relationship between the United States and the Republic of China, because of an alteration in the leadership of either nation, could create the possibility of a major defense system becoming inoperative because of political conditions. On the ocean, however, there is no problem of base agreements or disagreements over hands on the triggering mechanism. In addition, a sea-based ballistic missile system eliminates the problem of providing adequate security against terrorist attack. ABMs on shipboard would escape the surveillance the enemy would maintain if they were on land in the Far East.

Another tremendously important advantage of a sea-based, anti-missile system is that it would eliminate the danger of radiation and blast effects in the vicinity of U.S. cities. An ABM system on American territory would necessitate significant protection measures for the civilian population. In a sea-based, anti-missile system the area of radiation and blast would be over water. This means that both the United States and its allies would be spared the cost of constructing shelters.

Existence of the SABMIS system would give an added measure of protection to civilian populations in the event of a nuclear attack because the enemy would have to concentrate fire at the sea-based, anti-missile systems. Therefore, civilians would have more time to insure their own survival.

The forward deployment assured by SAMBIS would be in keeping with the long-time efforts of the United States to offer prime resistance to cold war enemies on our advance strategic frontiers from Berlin to Vietnam. It always is wiser for the United States to move its power out from the center of national life to the rim area where armed conflict will not directly or immediately impinge on the lives of our people at home.

SABMIS is especially attractive from the fiscal standpoint inasmuch as the concept does not include a requirement for a new and extremely costly type of vessel. The Polaris missile system is housed in a multi-million dollar atomic submarine. SABMIS, however, could be installed aboard existing vessels of conventional design. The only special protective system required would be augmentation of anti-submarine forces in the SABMIS operating areas. The United States is fortunate, however, that Communist China, though seeking status as an undersea power (See WR 65–27), still lacks an effective undersea fleet and could not develop one rapidly without expenditures currently beyond its capacity.

Approval of the SABMIS concept is likely to be difficult, it should be acknowledged, in view of the extreme reluctance of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to authorize any major new strategic counter-measure. Despite his announcement of token ABM system designed only to face a future Red Chinese threat, Mr. McNamara remains basically hostile to the deployment of a full ABM defensive system, whether on land or on sea. He apparently places his faith in negotiation with the Soviets to reduce the arms race to a walk.

This faith, nonetheless, does not remove the reality of Chinese Communist fanaticism which places Peking beyond the range of reasonable discussions on any subject.

As Dr. M. H. Halperin has written, "China's nuclear capability will pose a threat of massive destruction to Asian cities in the short run and to American cities in the long run." This threat makes it ever more vital that additional ways be found to eliminate Red China's nuclear gains. SABMIS offers optimal detection and interception of Chinese missiles aimed at Tokyo and Manila as well as those aimed at U.S. territory. At the same time, as SABMIS would concentrate on mid-course interception of Chinese missiles, land-based ABMs in the United States could concentrate on terminal intercept of Soviet inter-continental weapons. SABMIS also would permit more realistic training in remote ocean areas. Nuclear defense drills on U.S. territory, after all, necessarily are hedged around by the most elaborate precautions which somewhat inhibit the development of the offensive spirit. Nor, in the case of SABMIS, would there be any problem with disaffected citizens such as those who have attempted to halt troop trains carrying soldiers to points of embarkation. SABMIS could perform its mission far from the shores of America in an environment of maximum operational freedom. All in all, SABMIS offers a valuable opportunity to the United States to redress the strategic balance.

Military Rule in Greece

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most perceptive and best-informed writers on the military regime in Greece is Maurice Goldbloom. Mr. Goldbloom, a freelance writer, was labor information officer for the U.S. economic mission to Greece in 1950–51. He has since returned to the country many times and has numerous sources of information that give authority to his articles on recent Greek developments. Following is an article that appeared in the September 24 New York Times Magazine:

AFTER THE ARRESTS: HOW THE MILITARY RULES 8 MILLION GREEKS

The military junta which seized power in Greece last April 21 is still nervous, but with each passing day it is less and less vulnerable. By now, neither a decision by King Constantine to break with it, nor a decision by the United States to cut off military aid would automatically topple it, though either would undoubtedly weaken it.

The attitude of most Greeks toward the King's role is summed up in a mot that has been going the rounds in Athens: "In the process of seduction, there is a point at which a girl must decide whether she is going to remain a virgin. The King has passed that point with the junta." In his recent appearances in the United States—in Washington with the President, in Newport for the America's Cup races—Constantine has apparently been acting as the regime's envoy. For its part, the United States, through its initial acquiescence, has given the junta the time it needed to dig in.

In other words, the junta, though not noticeably more popular, does seem to be more solidly entrenched. The coup was staged by no more than 200 to 400 officers—out of some 10,000 in the Greek Army. The ability of such a small group to seize power without significant opposition was largely the result of mistaken identity. Greeks had long been expecting—and right-wing Greeks had been hoping for—a coup by a large, nominally secret, but in fact well-known, organization dominated by senior officers known as IDEA. But over the years a small, rival organization of junior officers, called EENA, had been growing up almost unnoticed. At the time of the coup its leadership included only one general—Stylianos Patakos, now Minister of the Interior—and he had been made a brigadier only three months before. The group's most important leader was Col. George Papadopoulos—who happened also to be the man assigned by IDEA to transmit the orders for its coup to its followers throughout the army.

It was EENA that struck, but when Papadopoulos gave the signal its recipients thought they were obeying IDEA. Because there was no organized democratic group in the army, there was no military resistance.

Because civilian political groups—including the weak and demoralized Communists—were prepared only for lectoral activity, there was no popular resistance.

Once in, the junta lost no time in broadening its base of military support. Increasing the officer corps by approximately 10 per cent has enabled it to win the support of perhaps twice that many officers through promotions and new appointments. Key officers on whose loyalty it could not count were forced to retire. In the army, this purge for the most part took place immediately after the coup; in the navy, where the coup had received almost no support, the junta moved more slowly. Still, by mid-August more than 60 naval officers, mostly of high rank, were said to have been removed, and 11 to have been arrested.

Arrests, indeed, have been the junta's most conspicuous activity. The cases of former Premier George Papandreou of the Center Union, his son, Andreas Papandreou, and Mikis Theodorakis, composer of the score for "Zorba the Greek," have attracted worldwide attention, but there are thousands more, and the arrests show no signs of abating.

The original wave of arrests was based largely on an army list of suspects prepared nearly 20 years ago; the conspirators had been afraid to ask for more recent lists for fear of tipping their hand. Thus, many of those arrested in the first sweep were people who, whatever they might have been in the turbulent nineteen-forties, had long since ceased to be politically active.

Later arrests—which by now certainly outnumber those of the first wave—have been more selective. They affect all sections of the political spectrum, including parliamentary deputies, former Government ministers and several of the country's leading journalists. They also include a man who criticized the King in a telephone conversation with his sister, a bus driver who objected to letting a soldier ride free and numerous persons accused of such offenses as having five or more guests in their home or possessing a mimeograph and not registering it with the police.

Of those arrested at the time of the coup, more than 6,000 were sent to a hastily opened concentration camp on the island of Yiaros. (Some 1,500, most of whom had been arrested because of their official positions rather than for their politics, were soon released, though many remained under house arrest.) The Government has now announced the opening of a second major concentration camp on the island of Leros, to which prisoners are being transferred from Yiaros, This should be an improvement.

Yiaros is a completely waterless and barren island, swept by high winds. Before the coup it had an old and unused prison, with cells for a few hundred persons. When the detainees were dumped on the island, the prison was used to house some of the women. The other prisoners were housed in tents, 25 to a tent, grouped in three camps.

Some weeks later, at a time when the Government claimed to have released about a third of the prisoners originally there, it announced plans to construct reservoirs on the island which would make it possible for each prisoner to receive 15 liters (a little less than 4 gallons) of water a day. Clearly, the water supply during the first several weeks must have been barely enough for drinking, let alone sanitation.

Later, other ameliorations were promised. These included an improvement in the diet, which was said to have consisted mainly of beans, and the opening of a canteen at which prisoners could purchase additional food and other small necessities. Some of these improvements may have taken place. It at least appears reasonably certain that the canteen was opened—since underground channels reported a few weeks later that it had been closed again.

There are inevitable gaps and time lags in information on conditions in the various places of detention, since Yiaros and most of the others have been barred to journalists and foreigners. A representative of the International Red Cross has, to be sure, been permitted to visit them. But in accordance with the normal practice of that organization, his report was submitted only to the Greek Government, which never made it public.

The Government did, however, release a letter in which the Red Cross representatives asked on humanitarian grounds that the 250 women confined in the old prison on Yiaros be transferred elsewhere, to accommodations more appropriate to their sex. (The circumstances of this release were such that one is impelled to wonder if the Government really desired to give it wide publicity. In the Greek Government press office, official releases are normally laid out on tables, arranged in the order of the numbers which they bear. They are available in Greek, English and French. This release had no number, it was not with the others, and it was available only in Greek.) I have seen no report indicating that such a transfer has in fact taken place, although the women may be among those now being moved to Leros.

If conditions on Yiaros have improved in some elementary physical respects, it appears that they have recently become worse in other ways. Some 250 of the "most dangerous" prisoners are said to have been segregated from the others, and to be confined to their quarters 20 hours a day. During the four hours in which they are allowed out, the other prisoners are confined, in order to prevent any contact between the two groups. And the three camps on the island are kept isolated from one another.

These changes probably result from the regime's disappointment at the failure of the prisoners to break down under its pressure. A condition for release is that the detainee sign a pledge to refrain from "antinational and anti-Governmental activity." Few politically significant prisoners have been willing to sign, regarding it as dishonorable.

Interior Minister Patakos complained to me: "Some of them are getting more hardened instead of reforming. They have organized by tents; a leader for each tent, and a group leader for each 8 or 10 tents. They have a president for each of the camps, and a general commander for the whole island. They have collected 250,000 drachmas [a little more than $8,000] among themselves, for what purpose I do not know, but I am sure it is not a good one."

As one of the "Communist" leaders of the hardened prisoners, Patakos mentioned Dimitrios Stratis. When I remarked that the 78-year-old Stratis, a veteran trade-union leader and left-wing parliamentary deputy whom I know well, was not a Communist, Patakos replied: "He calls himself a Socialist, but he is a Communist. In Greece, we have right people and wrong people. All those who are against the country are Communists. Stratis is a Communist in his heart and his works. They are all liars."

Yiaros and the courts-martial which hand out sentences of five years for writing slogans on walls and eight years for *lèse-majesté* are not the Government's only instruments of intimidation. Some Greeks beyond the borders have had their citizenship revoked—most notably, the actress Melina Mercouri, who seems to have come out ahead on the exchange.

Many persons regarded as potential troublemakers have been taken to police stations and badly beaten, as a warning, without being formally arrested; this treatment has been most often used on students and other young people. The security police have visited private employers with lists of "unreliable" individuals who are to be discharged. Many people have had their telephones removed because of their political views; all have been discouraged from talking politics on the phone or writing about it to friends by the knowledge that phones are likely to be tapped and letters opened.

But the junta has not relied on terror alone to consolidate its position. Rather, it has systematically endeavored to entrench itself in every aspect of Greek life. On the national level, despite the existence of a nominally civilian Government, an army officer plays a key role in every ministry—in some cases as minister, in others as secretary general, in still others as a political commissar without official title.

The tenure of civil servants has been abolished; many have been removed for their ideas, and all have been ordered to pledge their loyalty to the regime on pain of dismissal. The purge has not been confined to such poltically sensitive departments as the police, where 118 high-ranking officials and police doctors were dismissed in mid-August. (Others had been ousted previously, individually or in smaller batches.) It has even affected the director of the Byzantine Museum, an internationally known scholar.

Locally, the regime has destroyed the system of nonpolitical nomarchs or district administrators, whose establishment American advisers once regarded as one of their major achievements. More than half the nomarchs have been removed; most of their replacements are army officers. While asserting its belief in the decentralization of authority, the Government has removed large numbers of elected mayors and local councils and replaced them with appointees chosen in Athens.

Nor has it confined itself to the governmental sphere. It has seized control of the Orthodox Church. It has dissolved hundreds of private organizations and removed the officers of numerous others, including bar associations, agricultural cooperatives and the Jewish community.

The United States Embassy in Athens clearly does not like the regime, though most Greeks regard it as responsible for the coup—an opinion the junta assiduously encourages. (A skeptical friend remarked to me, after seeing one of the coup leaders in action, "Now I believe what you say about the Americans not being behind the coup; they'd never have chosen *these* people!") But the Embassy also regards the present Government as a lesser evil than a revolt against it, and has therefore placed its hope in persuading the junta to practice self-denial and restore democracy voluntarily. Its influence is limited, since the junta now feels certain that the United States will continue military aid whatever happens. (Some weeks after the coup, the U.S. did cut off certain items, estimated by the Defense Department at 10 per cent of the total.)

Nevertheless, the Embassy and State Department see great cause for optimism in the appointment of a committee of jurists to draw up a revised Constitution by the end of the year for submission to a plebiscite. This is supposed to lead to a speedy and orderly restoration of constitutional government.

This assessment appears to contain a large measure of wishful thinking. The group named to draw up the new Constitution included a few persons of some distinction, several conservative nonentities and a few with rather unpleasant reputations. But the members were not consulted before their appointments were announced, and some of the best-known have refused to serve.

The Government's influence on the deliberations of the committee is not likely to be cast on the side of democratic institutions. While Premier Constantine V. Kollias has said the new Constitution will be only slightly changed from the present one, journalists close to the junta have called for much more drastic alterations. Among the suggestions offered are a ban on political activity by anyone who has ever cooperated with the extreme left, a requirement that all candidates have loyalty certificates from the security police, and the exclusion from office of anyone who has ever held foreign citizenship.

The first of these provisions would not only bar all those in the United Democratic Left (EDA), a partly which contains some hard-core Communists but also a wide range of non-Communists. It would also ban most members of Papandreou's Center Union and a number of people now on the right—including some ex-Communists who hold office under the junta or are among its advisers. (For example, Theophylaktos Papaconstantinou, whom the Government has placed in charge of the press, is a former Communist theoretician. So is the editor of Eleftheros Kosmos, the newspaper widely regarded as closest to the junta.)

The significance of the second is shown by a story told by a friend who had served as an officer attached to the general staff. One of his duties was to investigate the qualifications of officer candidates. In the dossier of one he found a report from the Security Police: "A. is a dangerous subversive, being closely associated with the politician Constantine Rendis." At the time of the report, Rendis, who belonged to the right-center, was Minister of Public Order and the superior of the police official who wrote it.

The third proposal is aimed primarily at Andreas Papandreou, a former American citizen and the man on whom millions of Greeks rest their hopes for their country's future.

When I asked Patakos what constitutional changes the Government would propose to the committee, he mentioned none of these specific points, although he referred in a general ways to changes in the qualifications of deputies. In response to a question, he added that the Premier named by the King would still have to receive the support of a majority in Parliament. He added that these ideas were merely being considered very tentatively; the one point on which the Government was determined was that the new Constitution must cure all the faults of the existing system, Apprised of this statement, one diplomat remarked: "That's easy; all he has to do is change eight million Greeks."

Whatever kind of Constitution may emerge from the committee, the problem of implementation will still remain. The embassy appears to rely on the King and Patakos—the member of the junta who is regarded as most susceptible to the influence of the palace—to promote the restoration of a constitutional regime. Patakos, however, does not seem to have any such intention. He told me: "We are not interested in elections; if we were, we wouldn't have made a revolution. This system we have now is the best system, because what we have now we have achieved with the people's support, so there is no need for elections. We have more serious problems than elections. What we have done we did in order to achieve certain aims, and when we have achieved these aims, then we will have time for elections. . . . We are frank people. We are not liars and we do not want to make false elections, the way they do in Russia with 98 per cent; therefore there will be no elections."

But even if Patakos could be introduced to support a prompt return to constitutionality, it is unlikely that he could accomplish it. Unlike Colonel Papadopoulos, who organised the coup, Patakos appears to have little talent for conspiracy or political infighting. He seems a basically decent if insensitive man, whose political naiveté is almost incredible. (He is responsible for most of the pronouncements which have brought ridicule on the junta—the bans on miniskirts, beards, long hair, etc.) A soldier of peasant origin (a brother is said to be still working on the roads in Crete), he rose slowly through the ranks for 37 years, becoming a brigadier general and commander of the tank school three months before the coup. Only then does he seems to have been brought into the conspiracy—because the tanks he controlled were necessary to its success. One suspects that he joined partly because of resentment at the establishment—civil and military—on which he blamed his slow promotion (he talks with obvious bitterness of the 10 years he lingered as a lieutenant colonel), and partly because he really believes the moralistic slogans to which others in the Government pay lip service.

In any showdown between Patakos and Papadopoulos, the latter seems far more likely to be the victor. Indeed, the other members of the junta may in any case drop Patakos when they feel strong enough to do so. He might even end up on Yiaros. If he should, I would not expect him to sign a declaration in order to obtain his release.

But if the junta does not seem likely to give up power voluntarily, there are factors which may eventually lead to its downfall. One is the difficulty of getting competent personnel to work for it. The population of Greece is about the same as that of New York City, and the proportion of trained personnel is much lower. If one eliminates a majority of the population—and a much larger majority of the well educated—on political grounds, it becomes difficult to find competent people for important positions. Moreover, many whom the junta might be willing to appoint do not want to serve under present conditions; in one instance, it has had to draft a retired official into the army in order to make him assume a top post in a ministry.

This difficulty may explain some of the peculiar appointments the Government has made. One, particularly strange for a regime which talks in terms of moral regeneration, is that of Constantine Thanos as Secretary General of the Ministry of Coordination and Alternate Governor of the World Bank, two of the most important economic posts it had to fill. Mr. Thanos was, a few years back, rejected for a teaching post at the University of Athens because it was discovered that the thesis he submitted in support of his application was a verbatim plagiarism from a memorandum by Prof. Benjamin Beckhart of Columbia. The incident is not the only one of its type in Mr. Thanos's career.

But the Government may well feel that it cannot look too closely into the moral credentials of anyone who can help it solve its economic problems, for these are very great, and almost certain to increase. At the beginning of June, Greece had short-term debts of about $20-million more than its official gold and foreign-exchange reserves. (Some $100-million in gold sovereigns, the purchase and sale of which were used to stabilize the currency internally, did not appear in the official reserves. The exact amount in this fund was secret.) And Greece's three principal sources of foreign exchange—emigrant remittances (about one Greek worker in five is employed abroad), tourism and shipping—all seem likely to drop sharply this year, as does foreign investment.

In addition, it is almost certain that a loan of about $100-million which had been promised by the European Economic Community will now be postponed, if not canceled. Nor have the financial prospects been improved by the resignation of the internationally known economists Xenophon Zolotas and Michael Pesmazoglou as Governor and First Deputy Governor of the Bank of Greece.

No wonder that a former minister says of Col. Nicholas Makarezos, who as Minister of Coordination is in charge of economic policy: "He's the only one of them who thinks seriously about problems; that's why he always looks worried." The colonel's worries seem likely to come to a head within the next six months. By that time, the Government is widely expected to run out of cash. (It is already asking for U.S. economic aid.) It may be able to renew credits as they come due, simply because creditors will prefer to keep their loans on the books instead of pushing them into default. But without new credits, which seem unlikely, there will have to be drastic import restrictions and currency controls; there may be a devaluation of the drachma and a sharp reduction in the standard of living.

The political repercussions of such a development are unpredictable. It may be that the opposition will still be too disorganized to take advantage of the situation, and that the Government will be able to ride out the crisis. But it is also possible that students—who are difficult to control because their leadership is always being renewed—and workers returning from northern Europe, where many of them have already organized against the junta, will by then form the basis of an effective resistance movement. And if the regime is not able to keep up the standard of living of the armed forces—particularly the officer corps—trouble could come from that quarter.

Such a situation could conceivably result in a countercoup. Or the junta might turn to a foreign adventure, particularly in Cyprus. This past summer, there were sounds from Athens of a new drive for *enosis*, the union of Cyprus with Greece. (They produced no sympathetic echoes among Greek Cypriotes.)

Or the regime might seek to rally popular support by swinging in a Peronist or National Bolshevist direction. There are already some signs that it is considering this option. One is a decree prohibiting any Greek, including employes of foreign companies and international organizations in Greece, from getting more in salaries, allowance and pensions than the Premier receives—about $18,000 a year. The junta issued a decree raising the salaries of Cabinet ministers substantially, but forbade the press to mention it. Some days later another decree was issued reducing the salaries—but to a point well above their previous levels. The reduction was then publicized, without mentioning the previous raise.) It has also raised pensions for peasants by about two-thirds. And Agriculture Minister Alexander Matthaiou's first radio address was not only filled with leftist phrases, but was couched in a form of the *Demotiki* (the popular language, traditionally championed by the left as against the *Katherevousa* or "pure" language backed by the right) so extreme that it is regarded as the trademark of the Communist party and shunned by everybody else. A move in this direction might also take on an antimonarchical aspect; not all the members of the junta regard the King as indispensable.

It might seem strange for a rightist government to move in this direction. But the junta does not represent the traditional Greek right, rooted largely in property and birth. Its leaders are men of lower and middle-class background. They may hate the left, but they have no love for the conservative establishment.

Cuba Versus Vietnam: L. B. J.'s Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, how can President Johnson ask American support for a war against communism 10,000 miles away in Vietnam on the ground of its vital importance to the national security, and all the while continue to ignore the same Communist operations only 90 miles off our own coast in Cuba? This is a basic inconsistency, well pointed up by Henry J. Taylor's column entitled "Cuba Weakens Vietnam Position," appearing in the Manchester Union Leader of October 20, 1967. I commend its reading to all who are perplexed and troubled by this aspect of current U.S. foreign policy.

The article referred to follows:

CUBA WEAKENS VIETNAM POSITION

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Columnist Henry J. Taylor points out that our dereliction of responsibility regarding Communist Cuba weakens our statement of moral obligation in Vietnam.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg's September 21 United Nations speech again put a high moral prop under President Johnson's Vietnam policy, but a glaring contradiction inevitably weakens this prop, which is supposed to be its foundation—Cuba.

Ever since the Bay of Pigs, followed by the so-called confrontation in which President Kennedy secretly guaranteed not to molest Fidel Castro if the Soviets took out (still questionable) the missiles, Washington policy has been plagued by a paradox.

We proclaim the vital reasons for our Vietnam intervention 12,000 miles away and fight there a horrible, mismanaged and unwon war. But viewing Cuba, millions question how our morals can be so highly selective.

The issue is not that we should be doing in Cuba what we are doing in Vietnam, but how we can reconcile what we are doing in Vietnam with what we are doing in Cuba.

On the one hand, our Navy, Air Force and Coast Guard are enforcing a blockade around Red Cuba, not to quarantine and contain Castro but to protect his Communist rule from interference. On the other hand, we send our men and treasure into Southeast Asia to molest and contain the Viet Cong.

On the one hand, also we arrest any Cuban freedom fighters en route to their tortured homeland and impound not only their small boats but even their private automobiles in Florida and elsewhere. These heroes feel, in the words of co-patroit Don Luis Recaseus Siches, that "it is better to die than to live under the terror of Fidel Castro's Red regime." Yet, while sending such freedom fighters to Florida jails we send our own American boys to fight and die for the freedom of the South Vietnamese.

On the one hand, we sacrifice hundreds of American flyers and planes to block Hanoi's infiltration trails through the Asian jungles. President Johnson says, corrrectly: "The Vietnam war is a war for all of Southeast Asia." Castro has publicly confirmed that the purpose of his Latin-American infiltrations is a Red Southern Hemisphere. The threat isn't as important there? If ever there was a self-contradictory policy this is it.

CASTRO'S PAYMASTER

When President Johnson was talking with Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin at Glassboro he was talking with Castro's paymaster—to the tune of about $400 million a year. Next stop for Kosygin: Cuba. Whereupon Castro proceeded with the meeting (July 31–Aug. 8) of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization in Havana, promising its Communist revolutionaries all the cash they needed.

Their push is behind any Panamanian take-over of the Panama Canal—as if we were not entitled to know this. The real question in the pending proposal is not the surrender of U.S. control of the great canal versus Panamanian control. It is U.S. control versus ultimate Communist control.

The next Red objective is our abandonment of the Guantanamo naval base as Castro also has publicly stated. "Like Gibraltar, this fiendish, monument to colonialism's oppressions must go," said he. If we pull out of the Canal Zone how can we conceivably justify not pulling out of Guantanamo? And who will move in?

Brazil borders on all but two Latin-American countries. I met able Brazilian President Arthur Costa e Silva on his preinauguration visit to Washington. His main national problem is to defend the frontiers against Castroite infiltration. Guatemala Vice-President Clemente Marroquin states: "Guatemala could be the next to fall. We have been in a state of siege for nine months, with no end in sight." Venezuelan President Raul Leoni finds his country also under siege. So does Colombia President Carlos Lleras Restrepo.

We've seen recent proof that Ernesto (Che) Guevara, who mysteriously disappeared from Cuba in March 1965 was leading Castro's guerrilla warfare against that country at the time of his reported death.

All these threats to the nearby Southern Hemisphere are indivisible. But our response is totally out of balance at the moral level or any other level while Mr. Johnson explains all the while our policy in Vietnam.

In a society where intelligent people can look at the evidence and think for themselves, the moral loophole deprives Mr. Johnson's moral contentions of the support so sorely needed by the United States.

Florida Veterans Appear Before Veterans Advisory Panel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 29, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a recent edition of the Stars and Stripes carried an article by Commander Philip A. Kirse, of the Department of Florida Veterans of World War I, reporting on their appearance before the President's Advisory Commission to present views of the Florida World War I veterans on pension legislation. I include this article at this point in the RECORD:

FLORIDA VETERANS APPEAR BEFORE VETS ADVISORY PANEL

Philip A. Kirse, commander of the Department of Florida, Veterans of World War I, and Bernard T. Milligan, a past Department judge advocate of the World War Veterans in Florida, appeared before the President's Advisory Commission in Atlanta, Ga., on Sept. 16, to present the views of the Florida World War I veterans in connection with present pension legislation.

SOME 100,000 VETERANS IN FLORIDA

Kirse said that there are approximately 100,000 veterans of World War I now permanently residing in Florida. He said unofficial poll indicates that these veterans and their widows feel that legislation beneficial to World War I veterans has been consistently delayed in passage. He pointed out that veterans of all other wars enjoy far better financial benefits than those enacted for the veterans of World War I. He also pointed out that S. 16 really does not help the needy veterans of 1917 and 1918.

CITES REASONS

He cited compelling reasons for granting further aid to World War I veterans. They are:

1. We would like to see the income limitations increased for both the single and married veterans wtih dependents, along with an increase in limitations for the widows.

2. The Internal Revenue bureau does not consider Social Security in figuring income tax payments, exempting same. Then why should not the same exemption apply to the veterans or their widows and orphans, when figuring their income for pension purposes? It is, therefore, suggested that Social Security be eliminated from income limitations.

3. In the enactment of the Social Security laws, Congress provided that at age 72 the income limitations of the individual be removed. Should not this same exemption of income at age 72 apply to the veteran as well? We, therefore, recommend that at age 72 all veterans shall be presumed to have no income.

4. Increases in Social Security should have no bearing on a veteran's income limitation. The same should apply to the veteran's widow and his orphans.

5. Getting back to the income limitations, in H.R. 5710, known as "Social Security Amendments of 1967," the proposal of the President has been accepted by the House tha single elderly citizens over 65 with incomes up to $3,222 and all elderly married couples with incomes up to $5,777 shall be free of income tax.

AID VETERANS OVER 65

If legislation such as H.R. 5710 can be enacted for the senior citizens then we likewise recommend the same income limitations be fixed as a basis for pensions to elderly veterans over the age of 65. This would be just as equitable and would present a great deal of hardship that now exists with World War I veterans and veterans of the same age in other wars.

It is recommended that serious consideration be given to increasing the present burial allowance for the interment of a veteran. There are thousands of aged veterans, especially of World War I, who do not have any other source of income than a very small meager pension and a small Social Security benefit.

6. We recommend that Congress give serious consideration to placing the National cemeteries thruout the Nation under the Veterans Administration and that authorization be given to establish one National cemetery, centrally located, in each State of the Nation.

7. It is also recommended that Arlington National cemetery be reopened for burial of all veterans and not just a select few.

LIVING COSTS

8. We also recommend that the veteran or his widow should have an automatic increase in pension rates as the cost of living increases, the same as the retired serviceman now receives.

9. We urge that the Senate establish a Committee on Veterans Affairs as quickly as is possible to do so.

10. Last, but by no means of lesser importance, it is recommended that the pensions to all veterans be increased to $105 and all widows be increased to $80, with additional compensation to those who are incapacitated because of service-connected disabilities.

It was Theodore Roosevelt, our 26th President, who said: "No other citizen deserves so well of the Republic as the veteran. They did the one deed which, if left undone, would have meant all else in our history went for nothing. But for their steadfast promise all our annals would be meaningless and our great experience in popular freedom and self-government would be a gloomy failure."

Lyndon Baines Johnson and Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, the other day I came across a most interesting comparison of two Presidents. And it was, to me, encouraging as well.

It was made by one of the finest men I have met, Mr. J. Harvey Leach, of Bremerton, Wash. Mr. Leach has had a long, active, productive life as an industrial executive, a political power on the other side of the aisle, a civic leader, intellectual, poet, above all as a man.

My one regret is that I was not there to hear him personally, for Harvey Leach is noted as an orator of the most enchanting old Irish school. Since I was not there personally, I am glad that Miss Adele Ferguson was the one who so expertly put to print that silver voice.

Following is the article, from the October 14 edition of the Bremerton Sun:

Bedeviled L. B. J. Undeserving of Criticism

(By Adele Ferguson)

Lyndon Johnson, bedeviled on all sides by criticism of nearly every move he makes, is probably the most maligned president since Abraham Lincoln.

And he doesn't deserve it, as Lincoln didn't deserve it.

The comparison and the sympathy for the Democratic president comes from one of the best known Republicans in Kitsap County, J. Harvey Leach.

Almost as well known is Leach's reputation as a Lincoln era historian.

His collection of some 1,300 volumes on Lincoln and the Civil War is known to other Lincoln historians throughout the country, and he's read every single one of them.

The situation that Texas rancher Johnson faces concerning the Vietnam War is very much like the man from Illinois was confronted with during the Civil War, says Leach.

"Lincoln was very unfairly criticized and his most serious critics were the ones that should have been supporting him; both from a political and moral standpoint," he said.

"He could expect criticism from his political adversaries but he had no right to expect the carping criticism he received from his own political followers."

Most of them criticized him because they thought they were smarter than he was, Leach said, "and were incensed because he refused to take their advice. This included the intellectuals of his time, most of whom thought that he should be more painful in his surgery than he wanted to be—more painful in his treatment of the South."

Johnson's worst critics also are his own people, Leach said, "the ones who should follow him."

"Strangely enough," he said, "Lincoln's chief support came from the soldiers who did the fighting. This may not be strange either because they knew what he was up against. There was nothing academic in this understanding because they, as they suffered, had an idea what he was suffering. Lincoln was a very kindhearted man, as is Lyndon Johnson.

Johnson's chief support, too, will show up among the soldiers, Leach said, "because undoubtedly, the soldiers have a better understanding of war than civilians."

Both presidents were in positions where they had to perform rather than criticize, he said. "There are many situations in history where the man who was closest to the picture had to do rather than suggest. Then, as today, these are the people who carry the burden."

Lincoln hated slavery more genuinely than any of the so-called radicals who insisted that the slaves be freed immediately, Leach said, "but he stated the situation correctly when he said that if he freed the slaves in the beginning, he would lose the support of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, and without the support of Kentucky, especially he would have had little chance of winning the war. The main thing was to win, even though it took a little patience. This was the reason he delayed the emancipation proclamation until he did, that is, it was a matter of tactics rather than a deep set feeling from the heart."

He believes that Lyndon Johnson, too, "wants to end this war as badly as I do," he said, "but it's his job to end it under situations that will not be worse than they were before he brought it to an end."

There are other comparisons between the two men.

"Abe Lincoln, to the intellectual followers of his time, was a baboon," Leach said, "which is an extreme statement of the case. He was a hillbilly, but if any of us trace our ancestry very far back, we'll probably become involved in hillbillies."

Johnson is in much the same position, he said. "I haven't heard anybody call him a baboon, but I have heard him ridiculed as 'an uncouth Texan with a non-Harvard drawl.' "

Johnson truly is "the most maligned president since Lincoln," he said, "and most unjustly maligned. He didn't get into Vietnam in the first place. He had no responsibility for getting into this mess, and now he's got a bear by the tail and it's hard to let loose of it."

There is a possibility Lyndon Johnson can pull out of all this and win a more approved place in history, Leach said, "but you never can tell what conditions will be. In 1864, Lincoln was sunk lower than Johnson is now. They had no polls then, you didn't have to face one of those infernal polls every morning before breakfast, but one prominent newspaper said there are no Lincoln men. They couldn't find any. Disgruntled Republicans got John Fremont to run as a splinter candidate, just as the radicals are trying to get someone now, but then Mr. Grant had some luck at Chattanooga and things started to go better.

"They hammered at Lincoln so much they roused some sympathy he didn't have before."

Johnson, too, is being hammered at on all sides, and whether it will be because of a backlash of sympathy, a Vietnam type of Grant at Chattanooga victory or what, the most maligned president in 100 years of presidents, historian Leach believes, will probably be reelected in 1968.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Friday, October 20, 1967

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate continued on bill to amend Subversive Activities Control Act.

Senate committee reported bill to continue appropriations.

See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 15051–S 15071

Bills Introduced: Three bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2561–2563; and S. Con. Res. 48.

Page S 15052

Bill Reported: H.J. Res. 888, continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968 until November 23, with amendments (S. Rept. 672) (reported after adjournment of Senate pursuant to prior authorization).

Calendar Call: On call of calendar four bills were passed as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

Navy lands: H.R. 11767, to adjust legislative jurisdiction exercised by the U.S. over lands comprising U.S. Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

Agriculture: S. 2068, repealing the Standard Containers Act of 1961 and 1928, the Tobacco Seed and Plant Exportation Act of 1940, the Naval Stores Act of 1923, and the Wool Standards Act of 1928; and

Public lands—Maine: S. 108, conveying all rights of the U.S. retained in certain lands heretofore conveyed to the State of Maine.

With amendment and cleared for House:

Special milk programs: S. 2179, extending for 3 years special milk program for the Armed Forces and veterans' hospitals.

Pages S 15056–S 15058

Subversive Activities Control: Senate continued consideration of S. 2171, to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act so as to accord with recent decisions of the courts, agreeing by unanimous consent to limit as follows on pending modified Mansfield-Dirksen-Proxmire amendment No. 415 providing that the Subversive Activities Control Board shall cease to exist June 30, 1969, unless it has instituted proceedings and conducted hearings under this legislation between its enactment and December 31, 1968: On Monday, October 23, following remarks by Senator Bennett time on amendment No. 415 will be equally divided between proponents and opponents until 3:30 p.m., when there will be a quorum call, followed by vote on the amendment.

Pages S 15071–S 15072, S 15078, S 15081

Confirmations: The following nominations were confirmed: Numerous Navy, including six in the rank of admiral; and numerous Army and Marine Corps.

Page S 15081

Program for Monday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 1:47 p.m. until noon Monday, October 23, when it will continue consideration of S. 2171, to amend Subversive Activities Control Act.

Page S 15081

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

APPROPRIATIONS—CONTINUING

Committee on Appropriations: Committee, in executive session, ordered favorably reported with amendments H.J. Res. 888, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968. As approved by the committee, the bill would continue appropriations to November 15, instead of November 23 as stipulated by the House-passed bill, and would delete House-imposed restrictions on Federal expenditures.

SHIP MORTGAGES

Committee on Commerce: Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries held hearings on S. 2211, to provide for construction aid for certain vessels operating on inland rivers and waterways, and S. 2247, to increase Federal ship mortgage insurance available in the case of certain oceangoing tugs and barges. Witnesses heard were Carl C. Davis, General Counsel, Maritime Administration; William N. Muster, Greene Line Steamers, Inc., Cincinnati; and Hans Hvide, Port Everglades Towing Co., Ltd., Fort Lauderdale.

NOMINATIONS—D.C. COUNCIL

Committee on the District of Columbia: Committee held hearings on the nominations of John W. Hechinger, to

Appendix

Judge John R. Coryn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the State of Illinois has just lost one of its outstanding jurists in the untimely death of Judge John R. Coryn, of the third district appellate court.

Jack Coryn was only 38 years old when he was killed in a plane crash in Canada on October 5 of this year. He was the youngest appellate court judge in the State of Illinois and despite the fact that he was a young man at the time of his death, Jack Coryn had already achieved excellence in his chosen profession, and prior to assuming the bench he was generally recognized as an outstanding trial attorney in western Illinois. His record as an appellate court judge will be remembered by the many opinions that he wrote which will be his legacy to the bar.

I had the privilege of living in the same neighborhood and growing up with Jack Coryn in Moline, Ill., and I along with all of the rest of his friends and neighbors had the opportunity to watch him grow in stature from the time he attended Sacred Heart School in Moline and then graduated from St. Ambrose Academy in Davenport, Iowa. He then went on to the University of Notre Dame where he graduated with a B.S. degree, cum laude, in 1951, and received an LL.B., cum laude, in 1953, from the Notre Dame College of Law, ranking fifth in his law class. From 1953 to 1955 he served in the U.S. Army with the office of the judge advocate general in Germany.

After his military service he became an assistant State's attorney in Rock Island County from 1955 to 1956, and Moline city attorney from 1957 to 1961. He then served as assistant attorney general of Illinois from 1961 to 1964. From 1958 to his election as appellate judge in 1964, Judge Coryn was a partner in the law firm of Sinnett, Rink & Coryn, in Rock Island, Ill., acting as trial counsel for that firm. He served as a Democratic precinct committeeman in Rock Island County from 1958 to 1964.

Judge Coryn was a former member of the board of governors of the Rock Island County Bar Association, and was a member of the Illinois Bar Association, American Bar Association, and American Judicature Society. He was on the board of directors of the Notre Dame Law Association, as well as a member of the Institute of Judicial Administration.

Not only was he intelligent and professionally competent, but he had the even more important virtue of genuinely liking and respecting people, and in turn people liked and respected him. He loved to hunt and fish and was an avid fan and backer of all sports. He possessed great integrity and a very deep sense of responsibility.

Surviving are his parents, the J. Ralph Coryns, of Moline; two brothers, Jim of Rock Island, Ill., and Bob of Davenport, Iowa; and a sister, Mrs. John McGhee, of Toronto, Canada.

Illinois has truly lost one of its leading young citizens and it is with deep remorse that we mourn his passing.

Younger Voting Age and Judicial and Legislative Reform in Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I have often spoken in the Senate and in forums across the Nation on the future of State governments. I have urged that State and Federal Governments work as vigorous partners to assure the renewed success of our federal system. But to bring this about, it is evident that many State governments must reconstitute and revitalize themselves.

Just such an effort is taking place in my own State of Maryland today. A special convention has been convened, made up of delegates chosen by the people, and charged with the drafting of a new and modern State constitution. When completed and approved, this fundamental law should place Maryland's governmental structure among the most efficient and progressive in the Nation.

On three occasions in the past several weeks I have had the privilege of testifying before committees of the Maryland Constitutional Convention.

I spoke first to recommend lowering the voting age.

On the second occasion, I commented on proposals to restructure the State judicial system and on the problem of unfit judges.

My third appearance was to recommend a commission to determine legislative salaries and to urge that the length of the legislative session be determined by the general assembly rather than by the constitution.

I ask unanimous consent that my testimony on those occasions be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY OF U.S. SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON SUFFRAGE AND ELECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, OCTOBER 3, 1967

Madame Chairman and members of the Committee on Elections and Suffrage, I appear here this evening to testify in favor of extending the vote in state elections to two groups now denied the vote: first, residents of Maryland who would qualify to vote except that they live on federal enclaves within the state, and, second, residents of Maryland who are over eighteen and would qualify to vote except that they have not reached twenty-one years of age.

RESIDENTS OF FEDERAL ENCLAVES

In Maryland, as in almost every state, the federal government owns a good deal of real estate. Although Maryland retains jurisdiction over much of this property, jurisdiction over some of it has been ceded to the federal government by our legislature at various times.

Frequently federal employees live on this federal land. Except for that fact, these people are indistinguishable from other residents of the state. They bear substantially all the burdens of state residence. Yet, some of them are not entitled, under Maryland law, to the most precious of state benefits: the right to vote.

Marylanders who live on federal reservations can vote if the state has retained jurisdiction over the land. But if the state has ceded jurisdiction over the land to the federal government, the federal employees on it cannot vote, even though Congress has specifically authorized the states to collect income taxes, sales and use taxes, and motor vehicle fees from the residents of these federal enclaves.

The Maryland Court of Appeals has held, in the case of *Royer v. Board of Education, Supervisors, Cecil County* (231 Md. 561, 191 A. 2d 446 (1963)), that residents of federal enclaves are not "residents" within the meaning of Art. I, Section 1 of the present Maryland Constitution, the article which gives the residents of Maryland the right to vote.

I think this provision of our State Constitution, which keeps some Marylanders from voting just because they live on federal land within the state, is unreasonable, unjust, and should be changed.

Withholding the vote from Marylanders who live on federal enclaves not only prevents them from voting in state elections; it also prevents them from voting in federal elections, including the election for President, because the United States Constitution leaves it to the states to establish voter eligibility in federal elections.

The Constitutional Convention Commission has wisely and justly, I believe, recommended that the new Constitution should permit residents of federal enclaves to vote in state and national elections, if they meet all other qualifications of the election laws. This recommendation of the Commission is reasonable and fair. It corrects an injustice which has accidentally arisen under the present State Constitution. I support it, because a Marylander's right to vote should not depend on legal niceties between the state and federal government.

REDUCING THE VOTING AGE

The Constitutional Convention Commission has examined the question of reducing the minimum voting age and has recommended that the voting age should not be reduced from the twenty-one years required by the present Constitution.

I respectfully disagree with the Commission's conclusion. The minimum voting age should be that age level at which the average person of that age group has attained the maturity required to make an intelligent choice from among the various candidates for the leadership of his government.

Although the twenty-one year minimum is traditional in this country, it is not sacred or immutable. Two states, Georgia and Kentucky, long ago reduced the voting age to eighteen; Alaska allows voting at nineteen; and Hawaii at twenty.

I believe Maryland should reduce the voting age. I believe that the age of eighteen—the age of high school graduation—is a reasonable minimum voting age. This Convention may choose a higher age. But I urge you to reduce the twenty-one year requirement, because no argument can justify it.

As the Constitutional Convention Commission explicitly recognized, "any decision as to voting age must be arbitrary." But some ages are more arbitrary than others.

In its report, the Commission enumerated the primary arguments for retaining twenty-one as the voting age. I believe an examination of those arguments will show that none of them offer valid reasons against lowering the voting age.

TRADITION

First, the Commission noted twenty-one is the traditional age in forty-six of the states.

Whatever justification existed for imposing twenty-one as the minimum age a century ago, the fact is that today's American young people are achieving physical, emotional and mental maturity at an earlier age than ever before. While the traditional twenty-one year old voting age has remained unchanged, the character of our population has changed dramatically, especially with regard to the education, maturity, and responsibilities assumed by our young people.

Indeed, tradition itself is no reason at all for maintaining the voting age. If tradition were a good reason to maintain a constitutional provision, we would not be holding this Convention today to revise our traditional, but badly outdated Constitution.

We should deal with the facts as they are today. The fact is that most eighteen year olds are as personally qualified to vote as most of their elders. Indeed, in some instances they are more qualified.

OTHER 21-YEAR REQUIREMENTS

Some argue that since the common age for legal majority is twenty-one, the minimum age for voting should be twenty-one. There is no compelling connection between the age set as the minimum for voting and the age set as the minimum for other state-regulated activities, such as the purchase of alcohol or the administration of an estate. The law in each case should be shaped to the subject matter involved.

In the case of voting, the question is whether eighteen, nineteen, or twenty year olds are mature enough to make an intelligent choice in the voting booth for the government leaders who tax them, regulate their lives, and can send them to war. I think the answer is clearly that these young people are as qualified to make such political judgments as most of their elders.

TOO MUCH IDEALISM

In its report, the Commission notes the argument that lowering the voting age would add to the voting population many whose idealism has not been tempered by practical experience in adult society.

I do not think that we should fear a little idealism in politics. I think we should welcome it.

Moreover, although precise figures are unavailable, the Census Bureau has given me statistics which indicate that more than one of every five Marylanders between eighteen and twenty-one is a full-time wage earner. Many others work part-time while putting themselves through college. Thousands of Maryland boys between eighteen and twenty-one are not only getting practical experience in "adult society," they are getting it in a very hard school—in the jungles and and on the battlefields of Vietnam.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

The argument is made that reducing the voting age would add to the voting population persons highly influenced by their parents, schools, television, and special interests.

I reject the notion that young Americans are any more susceptible than their elders to parental political influence, political pitchmen, or special interests. My experience, as a Senator speaking to high school and college groups and answering their questions in every corner of Maryland, has been that these young people—as a group and as individuals—are as acutely aware of the world as anyone in society. They know their history and current events; they are earnest and informed; they are skeptical and searching; they are no more likely to be taken in by demagogues than anyone else. As a matter of fact, they are less likely. As for undue parental influence, if eighteen to twenty-one year olds take the advice of their parents on whom to vote for, it will be, if the testimony of many parents is to be believed, the only aspect of life on which a parent's advice is the prevailing factor at that age.

If a perfect test could be devised for determining who should be able to vote, so that arbitrary age limits could be eliminated, surely some eighteen to twenty-one year olds would fail it. But, I submit that a far greater percentage of present voters over twenty-one would fail it. Because no such perfect test can be devised, we will have to continue to have an arbitrary minimum age limit. But that age limit should be based on today's realities, not those of a century ago or legalistic concepts developed during the Middle Ages.

COLLEGE COMMUNITIES

Another argument offered against lowering the voting age is that small college communities might find their municipal governments overrun by college students. Of course, the same argument can be made against having the voting age at twenty-one. Perhaps it should be increased to twenty-two or twenty-three, since most people do not graduate until that time.

But basically this argument deserves little weight because the new Constitution will certainly provide residency and registration requirements which will discourage, and probably prevent, the registration of most college students in any but their home districts. A phantom fear about a few places should not prevent the extension of the franchise to thousands of qualified young people throughout the state.

All the arguments made against giving young adults the vote have been made against every expansion of the franchise. All of them were made, for example, against the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.

The tradition of nearly every state was against it.

Other state laws were against it. Women had been legally deprived of certain rights—such as the right to make contracts—for centuries, and, it was argued, this same legal inferiority should be continued in the case of the vote.

Giving the vote to women, it was said, would add to the voting population many persons whose idealism has not been tempered by practical experience. Women would be highly influenced by their parents, schools, and handsome rogues and demagogues.

Women, it was said, would affect elections even though they had little knowledge of, or interest in, local affairs.

Fifty years have now passed since these prophecies of doom, but the Republic still stands. I believe few would argue against the point that our political system is much richer and wiser because of the participation of women in the electoral process.

I think the fears expressed against extending the vote to persons under twenty-one are just as invalid today as these same arguments were a half century ago when they were used against the universal suffrage.

I hope this Committee will recommend a lowering of the voting age, if not to eighteen, at least to some more realistic level than twenty-one. But even if you decide against lowering the voting age in the Constitution, I urge you to do as New York's convention has done in the new Constitution to be voted on in that state in November: to leave to the legislature the setting of the minimum voting age, and not foreclose the question by specifying twenty-one in the Constitution.

[Appendix to testimony of U.S. Senator Joseph D. Tydings before the committee on suffrage and elections of the Maryland Constitutional Convention, October 3, 1967]

The National Current Events Test

(Results of CBS news special as broadcast over the CBS television network, Tuesday, January 3, 1967)

On January 3, 1967, the CBS Television Network broadcast "The National Current Events Test," an hour long television program to test American public knowledge of the events of 1966, on the theory that "The decisions this country makes depend upon the sum total of what we know."

Prior to the broadcast, CBS employed the Opinion Research Corporation to administer the same test to a sample of adult Americans across the country. *In addition to this pre-broadcast testing, during the broadcast CBS simultaneously administered the same test to one hundred college journalism students, including some from Morgan State College in Baltimore.*

The test itself was composed by CBS and the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey. The test contained thirty-three questions on current events including such questions as those set out below.

In scoring the nation wide sample of adults and the one hundred college students who took the test, CBS counted each correct answer as three points, so that a perfect score on all 33 questions was 99. *The average score in the national sample of adults was 48, with only 2% over 84. In contrast, the studio audience of journalism students had an average score of 78, more than 50% better than the average adult in the nation wide sample.* The average college journalism student did almost as well (78%) as the *best 2%* of the adult national sample.

3) The Viet Cong control more of the land in South Vietnam. True or False?

9) Premier Ky of South Vietnam was elected to his office by the South Vietnamese Parliament. True or False?

11) How many seats did the Republican party gain in the United States House of Representatives in the 1966 elections? A) 7. B) 27. C) 47.

16) The newest position in the President's Cabinet is Secretary of Transportation. True or False?

23) Communist China has successfully developed and tested a missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead. True or False?

26) There is an international treaty prohibiting nations without nuclear weapons from developing them. True or False?

30) The leader is Sukarno. What is the name of his country? A) Malasia. B) The Philippine Islands. C) Indonesia.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE MARYLAND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, OCTOBER 4, 1967

I would suppose that the average citizen never crosses the threshold of a courtroom for more than a tourist's visit. We are fortunate that entanglements with the law in court are not an intimate part of our daily lives. But as a result it is all too easy for any one of us to assume, without further thought, that our courts are functioning fairly and smoothly. Indeed, we have indulged that casual assumption for a long time and we have paid a high price for our sluggishness.

As Chairan of the United States Senate Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, my daily work has made me starkly aware that the judicial systems in this country are struggling through a period of crisis. In some States, court dockets are so congested and the machinery of justice so clogged that people must wait for periods of up to six years to have their disputes resolved. Maryland citizens are more fortunate, but the situation is hardly ideal; and the future, far from promising. In 1965–66 the average litigant in this State had to wait almost 18 months from the date of filing before a jury could decide his case. And in some parts of ths State, the period of delay ran as high as two and one-half years. The poet's complaint of the "law's delay" is not mere poetry. In these times, it is a clear description of reality and, though we have long ignored it, it is now a call for reform.

In some measure, the people of this nation are responding to the call. In the last decade projects for judicial reform have been completed in more than half the States.[1] In some states such as New Jersey and California these projects have met with electrifying success. In still others, more modest gains have been made. But unfortunately, in many areas proposals for reform have been blocked and stifled at every turn.

The State of Maryland now has an opportunity, unparalleled in its history, to meet the mounting demands of our times with an effective program for judicial modernization. I am here to render what help I can to ensure that we do not miss the opportunity or respond to it with less than the full measure of our capacity. With that in mind, I truly appreciate the opportunity to comment upon the proposed Judicial Article of the Maryland Constitution.

After two years of work, the Constitutional Convention Commission has proposed changes in the structure of the court system and in the selection and tenure of judges that I heartily endorse. I have one or two questions to raise that I think worthy of further consideration, but I want to stress my support for the Article as a whole.

If these proposals are adopted, Maryland will join the ranks of those States that have established a unified judicial system. The present multiplicity of courts, varying from locality to locality, bewildering to lawyer and litigant, and unnecessarily expensive, would be replaced. In their stead, Maryland would have a simple system, governed by uniform standards of jurisdiction throughout the State, ultimately financed economically by one authority, and administered on a daily basis under clear and simple lines of responsibility.

The principle of a unified judicial system in this country is over 50 years old.[2] But age alone does not warrant its adoption. Although details of the optimum structure may vary from State to State the unified judicial system is gradually gaining acceptance across the land because it has proved to be the only sensible and efficient way to run the courts. No modern corporation would dream of conducting its business with less than a streamlined structure and clear channels of responsibility. No modern State court system should expect to do the business of justice properly with less than such an organizational framework.

My only question with respect to the proposed court structure concerns the wisdom of establishing and freezing the four tier system with two trial courts in the Constitution. The second trial court, the District Court, would have jurisdiction comparable to that now conferred upon the trial magistrate and the People's Court. These are so-called "lower courts". The proposed fourth tier, then, would be a single "lower court".

Maryland should give the most careful attention to the future of the judicial institution that will deal with the problems of seemingly lesser magnitude. As the President's Crime Commission recently documented, conditions in the so-called lower courts in this country have been allowed to deteriorate disgracefully, and that can only have an aggravating impact upon the crime problem that concerns us all.[3] It is in these institutions, not in the appellate courts, that most of the people will have their contact with the law. What they see there of justice or injustice, efficiency or bumbling, will determine whether they look upon the courts and the law with respect or cynicism. How can we expect to promote respect for the law, if the courts that have the most direct impact upon the people are forced by shabby conditions and standards to treat the people crudely?

Your Commission recognizes that other States, Illinois and Indiana, have adopted or are working on court structures involving 3 tiers. In these States, the third tier is a trial court of unlimited jurisdiction with various divisions designed to handle special kinds of cases, including those ordinarily dealt with in the "lower courts". Such a structure promotes administrative economy and efficiency and it tends to ensure that all matters on the trial level will be handled by judges of comparable competence and community reputation. Although your Commission acknowledges that the fourth tier cannot justifiably be regarded as a "lower court," we must acknowledge certain realities. For example, it will tend to be manned by judges of lesser stature.

It is true that some states have adopted the four tier system with two trial courts pursuant to the American Bar Association's Model Judicial Article of 1962. And that degree of streamlining is so significant an advance over the present maze of courts in Maryland that I would hesitate to state a firm objection to it. But the fourth tier may prove as unnecessary here as it has in States such as Illinois that have adopted more simple structures. For that reason, I would oppose enshrining the fourth tier in the Constitution. In my view the wiser step would be to establish a three tier system with a single trial court, leaving the power to the legislature to create the fourth tier if the simpler structure proves unwieldy in our State.

I might add that the elimination of the so-called lower court is a recommendation of the President's Crime Commission as well.[4] And the Journal of the American Judicature Society has already predicted that three and even two tier court systems are the wave of the future.[5] The basic point is that there is no such thing as a lower problem, a lower dispute or a lower crime, although we sometimes tend to think so. Likewise there should be no lower trial court, unless experience proves that a single trial court is unworkable. By honoring the concept of the lower trial court with the constitutional seal of approval we would make it very difficult for Maryland to establish and test the merits of a single trial court system.

Before I leave the subject of reform in the system's structure, let me touch upon one point that has given rise to an objection in some circles. One of the principle advantages of a unified judicial system is its flexibility. By contrast with the rigid structure of the system as a whole, the parts within a unified system can move about more freely. For example, a system designed for administrative efficiency can discover and transmit information quickly when needs for judicial manpower develop in certain localities. Using his powers as administrative head of the system, the Chief Justice may then promptly assign judges for temporary services in the areas of need. And under the pending proposals, he will no doubt receive important assistance from the chief judges of the appellate and trial courts acting in their administrative capacities.

Some people have expressed concern that under the transfer power their local judges will be whisked away recklessly and too often. It should be noted, however, that transfers of judges of the circuit courts already take place in this State, although the authority for them, said to be found in Article IV, Sec. 18A of the present Constitution has been questioned.[6] The pending proposal clarifies the existence of the power to transfer any judge but it also provides a streamlined administrative structure for the courts that will tend to guarantee that the power is used more intelligently. The informed use of the transfer power is an essential of an efficient judicial system. There is no reason to set up a system so inflexible that it is paralyzed to act when temporary, remedial action is called for.

Ultimately, however, any fears we may have about the use and misuse of power within the judiciary can be quieted only by assuring that we select and maintain judges of the highest quality and integrity. The pending proposals take a long step toward providing that assurance by recommending important reforms in the selection process. I regard these reforms as critical to the success of the projected modernization of the Maryland system. And we should note as well that they are fully consistent with the recommendations of the President's Crime Commission for stepping up the efficiency of our war on crime.[7] Although some have questioned the wisdom of embodying new selection procedures in the Constitution, I have no such doubt. The procedure for choosing our judges is so fundamental a feature that it deserves a central place in our fundamental document.

There is no sound reason for maintaining the present diversity of methods by which Maryland judges are selected.[8] And even less reason for retaining those features of the present system that permit contested popular elections for judicial office. The present system unfortunately permits the least attractive features of our political system to come into play in the least appropriate form. Although the proposals before you would provide for certain differences in the structure of the nominating commissions responsible for suggesting the names of candidates to the Governor, they would essentially establish a uniform process of judicial selection modeled upon the Niles Plan and known nationally as the Missouri Plan. The proposed Niles Plan resembles in every major principle the plans for judicial selection that are gradually being adopted in a greater number of states. And it should be noted that in a significant number of states and localities, the people themselves have chosen to adopt some such plan when they were given the option at the polls. In recent years, the voters of Kansas; Iowa; Nebraska; Dade County, Florida; and Colorado have elected to install some variant of the Missouri Plan. And in other major States, governors and mayors have voluntarily used nominating commissions for judicial selection.[9] In short, judicial selection reform along the lines of the Niles proposal has failed of adoption for the most part in cases where state legislatures have smothered it.[10] There is no question in my mind that the citizenry of Maryland would vote overwhelmingly in favor of replacing political factors with merit and competence in the selection of our jurists.

The Niles Plan would ensure perfection in judicial selection. Everyone agrees that no plan could do that. But it would minimize the negative impact upon selection and tenure that partisan political elections are bound to have and have historically had in Maryland and elsewhere.

Modern surveys demonstrate conclusively, for example, that the people have little or no idea of the names of judicial candidates in partisan elections.[11] And, as a result, able State judges have been swept out of office for no better reason than that they belonged to the political party suffering a landslide defeat in a general election.[12] The Commission's proposal would allow the people to evaluate a judge's performance by rejecting or reconfirming him at the polls. But since the judge would run only against his record, he need have no fear of being washed out of office in the wake of shifting political tides. Eliminating this fear can only help to attract men of high quality to the bench.

Both the nominating commission and the modified form of popular election are thus features of the Niles Plan well calculated to improve the quality of Maryland judges. Accordingly, I urge that the selection and tenure provisions of the Commission's draft be embodied in the document submitted to the people of Maryland for approval. The electorate of our State should have the opportunity that has been given to the people of other States to evaluate by ballot an important suggestion for reform in the selection of those who administer justice.

Once a process for selecting judges of high quality is set up, an effective judicial system should be equipped to retire and remove judges who are not longer fit to serve. The proposed Judicial article contains two such devices.

The first is the provision for mandatory retirement at age seventy, carried over from the present Constitution and extended to cover every judge in the system. Coupled with an important provision authorizing the temporary designation of a retired judge to perform judicial duties, the mandatory retirement age seems well suited to ensure the maintenance of an able bench.

Age alone is not a certain index of judicial disability, but it cannot be denied that disability frequently does accompany advancing years and most men in that position will not easily admit that to themselves. A mandatory retirement age, however, enables the aging and tiring judge to step down without having to make such an admission. It also avoids the necessity for the potentially embarrassing case-by-case investigations that may be conducted, formally or informally, when allegations are made that particular judges are fading into senility. The provision for temporary assignment of retired judges, on the other hand, tends to ensure that the law will not lose the service of those judges who can continue to function well, in limited or extended capacities, beyond the retirement age. It is true that decisions to designate or not to designate retired judges in particular instances may occasion some of the embarrassment that the across-the-board retirement age is designed to avoid. But the difficult situations are likely to be few once all judges over 70 are retired. And the provision for Supreme Court approval of these decisions will ease some of the discomfort that the chief justice might otherwise feel in relation to particular judges. In any event, I would be willing to pay that small price for a system that retains the service of older able judges.

In another important provision of the proposed Constitution, the new Supreme Court would be empowered to remove or retire judges no longer fit to serve. Again, I think a provision of this kind is so essential to a sound judicial system that it deserves Constitutional status. Maryland's present Constitution already provides for a Commission on Judicial Disabilities that may recommend removal or retirement of a judge to the General Assembly. Insofar as the proposed provision would shift removal and retirement power from the legislature to the Supreme Court, I think it would bring about an important change. An allegation of judicial misconduct or disability is a grave allegation indeed and it deserves the considered judgment of a body all of whose members have the time to devote full attention to it. As the history of impeachment proceedings in the United States Senate unmistakably demonsrates, it is highly unlikely that all the members of a legislative body can turn their full attention to such a matter when an occasion for judgment arises. Moreover, final removal and retirement power should properly be lodged with the judges themselves in order to preserve as nearly as possible the independence of the Judiciary.

In another respect, however, I regard the proposed provision as seriously deficient. It fails to give Constitutional status to a Commission that would receive and review complaints as well as recommend action to the Supreme Court. The draftsmen of the proposal indicate that they contemplate establishment of such a Commission under the new Supreme Court's rule-making power. But I would not leave any such uncertainty about the need for a preliminary reviewing body. In a real sense, it is the heart of an effective removal and retirement procedure.

The Commission is indeed the heart of the California system whose remarkable success has inspired the creation of similar institutions in Colorado, Florida, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas and Utah. No doubt the happy results of the California Commission also fostered the development of Maryland's interest in an effective removal and retirement process.

In connection with our work on fitness in the Federal judiciary, my Subcommittee held two days of hearings in San Francisco and Los Angeles to investigate the workings of the California system. And we learned there how critical to the process the initial Commission review is. I have presented materials from those hearings in the Appendix to my testimony, including the annual reports on its system that California has published thus far. But let me give you just a brief idea here of what the Subcommittee learned during its visit.

California voters adopted their cnostitutional amendment creating removal and retirement machinery in 1960. The preliminary Commission, of mixed lay and legal membership, receives complaints and investigates allegations. It does no more than inform the complainant if it finds his charge frivolous. If a substantial problem of judicial fitness appears, however, the Commission may act either of two ways. It may simply inform the offending judge without publicity, if it determines that a charge is sound but not of the magnitude that would warrant removal or retirement. Or if the graver sanctions are called for, it permits the judge to retire or resign on his own. In the event the judge refuses to step down, the Commission provides for a hearing, held in confidence, and subject to rules designed to ensure fairness. Rules such as these could properly be left to the rule-making power of a State's highest court. If the hearing convinces the Commission to recommend retirement or removal, the judge is entitled to a full hearing before the Supreme Court of California.

The genius of the California system is that the existence of the process at the Commission level encourage voluntary and confidential solution of most judicial fitness problems. Thus far, only one case has reached the Supreme Court whereas from seven to ten judges each year have voluntarily left office under investigation. I think you can see, too, that the confidential workings of the process are particularly appropriate for the troublesome case in which a judge must be persuaded that he has become physically or mentally unable to perform his duties. And the presence of the Commission serves a very important purpose even in frivolous cases. People are assured that someone will listen to grievances they may feel in connection with the behavior of an otherwise seemingly authoritarian judge.

One witness before my Subcommittee summarized the value of the Commission as follows:

"Thus . . . besides providing a fair and effective method for terminating office where cause exists there are important corollary effects.

"First, the very existence of the commission . . . is an important deterrent. This is with respect to situations which never become cases before the commission. It fosters a high level of performance and encourages retirement when bad health prevents carrying out the judicial function.

"Secondly, violations of ethics and derelictions which are of a minor nature not warranting removal can be dealt with.

"Thirdly, irresponsible and baseless accusations against judges can be disposed of without harm to the judiciary or without harm to the judge.

"In summary, the judicial branch is given a tool so that it can exercise its judgment for the public good on matters of fitness and conduct. This cannot help but raise public confidence in the judicial process."[13]

I cannot stress too strongly the importance of the healthy impact of the Commission upon "public confidence in the judicial process." Public confidence in the courts is a key to public respect for the law. It is no wonder, then, that the President's Crime Commission has focused upon it so sharply. Just as its report urges the upgrading of the lower courts, so it recommends adoption by the States of "commissions on judicial conduct taking the approach used in California. . . ."[14]

Accordingly, I heartily endorse the proposals for removal and retirement pending before you but I would not leave any uncertainty about the need for a Commission as the front line of defense against unfitness in the judiciary. So critical is it to the effective functioning of a sound judicial system, that it deserves a specific place in the new Constitution. To leave this important area out of the Constitution would in my judgment very likely result in the failure of the removal machinery.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF THE MARYLAND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, OCTOBER 11, 1967

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on the Legislative Branch. I appreciate this opportunity to express my views on the proper structure of the Maryland legislature. I am here specifically to make two points. First, I do not believe that a limitation on the length of the legislative session has any place in a modern state constitution. Second, I do not believe that the setting of legislative salaries should be solely the prerogative of the legislature, but rather that there should be a constitutionally-created Commission to propose adequate compensation scales to the legislature for approval.

I. THERE SHOULD BE NO LIMIT ON THE LENGTH OF LEGISLATIVE SESSION

As we all know, the present Maryland Constitution provides an absolute limitation of seventy days on the session of the General Assembly. The draft constitution would relax this limitation somewhat. The seventy-day session could be extended for not more than thirty days upon the three-fifths vote of each house. Furthermore, the Governor could be forced to convene a special session upon written request of three-fifths of all the members of each house.

While the draft constitution would give the General Assembly greater control over the length of its session than presently allowed, I do not believe it provides sufficient control to the legislature. Like the Constitutional Convention's Committee on the Legislative Department, I believe there should be no constitutional limitation on the length of the legislative session. I endorse the concept of the General Assembly as a continuing body.

The constitutional limitation on the length of state legislative session has been, along with malapportionment, inadequate compensation, and insufficient staff and resources, one of the prime impediments to the effectiveness of state legislatures. The restricted legislative session has been a strait jacket which has constricted the legislature's ability to analyze and act to correct state problems and which, consequently, has nullified to a great degree legislative initiative. Worse, the limited legislative session has been a favorite tool of the obstructionist who need only delay legislation until the clock runs out to foil the will of a legislative majority. The constitutional limitation on the length of the legislative session allows time, not votes, to decide the fate of proposed legislation.

The constitutional restriction on the length of the legislative session is premised upon the falacious assumption that a state legislature can competently deal with an increasingly complex budget and growing state problems if it works less than one-fourth of the year. Legislating for Maryland's welfare can no longer be such a part-time job. When I entered the House of Delegates in 1955, the state operated on a budget of but $136 million. Yet, I found that my legislative responsibilities required almost all of my time during the session and about one-third of it during the remainder of the year. Today, the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, a national organization composed of business, labor, and educational leaders, estimates that the typical legislator spends half of his time the year round on legislative duties. This increased demand on a legislator's time is not difficult to understand. State responsibilities are ever-expanding. For example, the Maryland budget jumped from $136 million in 1955, to more than $564 million by fiscal year 1965.

For fiscal year 1967 Governor Tawes presented an $888 million budget to the General Assembly for consideration, and, as we all know, Governor Agnew proposed a billion dollar budget to the last session of the legislature. Adequate review of these growing budgets cannot be expected of a legislator who must watch the clock as well as the budget. Adequate review is not assured by placing a time limit on the opportunity to analyze and act.

An unrestricted legislative session would give the members of the legislature, not the clock, control of the session. It would provide a heretofore unknown flexibility to the legislature. It would allow the legislature to meet either for a condensed, consecutive period, as now, or several days a week throughout the year. It would allow the legislature to determine its working conditions rather than having them frozen in the constitution.

I am certain that no one would believe it wise to constitutionally restrict terms of court or gubernatorial activities to seventy days a year. Yet, there was probably a time in Maryland history when a judge or chief executive could work such a relaxed schedule without causing a breakdown in governmental machinery. But today we all know that such a time has long since passed. We expect our judges and chief executive to work full time but setting their own schedules. This Convention is even considering a provision for removal of judges who persistently fail to perform their duties and for retiring one permanently disabled. There is also under consideration a provision for determination of a governor's disability. What makes legislating such an easy task that the legislature should be only a restricted, disabled branch of government? Do we want only a rubber stamp legislature which can only react to executive initiative rather than take its own initiative?

Of course, merely ending the time restriction on the legislative session will not assure a vigorous, effective branch of government. The General Assembly must also be properly apportioned, adequately compensated, and served by a competent, professional staff. But, by removing the constitutional restriction on the length of the legislative session, this Convention can remove a real as well as psychological impediment to an improved legislature.

In opposition to a constitutionally unrestricted legislative session, it will be argued that a restriction on the length of the session provides an "impetus for prompt and efficient conduct of legislative affairs." I do not agree with this argument. The restriction on the length of the legislative session inevitably means a flood of hasty and ill-considered enactments as the concluding hour draws near. And it means, as I have argued, that an obstructionist can thwart the legislative will by time when he cannot by a vote.

The notion of a restricted session really is a vestige of an era when legislatures, as all government, were distrusted, as much because there was little information available about legislator's activities during the session as for any other reason. The people feared sending representatives to far-away Annapolis where little could be known of their activities. But that day is gone. With modern transportation, Annapolis is no longer "far away," and our modern news media keep us well-informed of activities in Annapolis.

I urge this committee to recommend to the Convention a provision making the General Assembly a continuing body. The General Assembly, not the Constitution, should determine the working time of the legislature. The will of the legislators, not the clock, should terminate a session. The legislature should have as much flexibility in setting its work schedule as the Constitution will allow the other co-equal branches of government.

II. ASSURING ADEQUATE SALARIES FOR LEGISLATORS

Legislators in Maryland and most other states receive abysmally small compensation for their public service. In thirty-five of our states, legislators receive less than $5,000 a year and in eighteen they receive less than $2,000 annually. Compensation of legislators in most states, therefore, is markedly less than the median annual salary of $25,000 for governors, $22,000 for judges of the highest state courts and $8,500 for city councilmen of cities with more than 500,000 population.

As you know, our Maryland legislators receive $4,185 annually in salary and expenses. Maryland thus ranks twenty-fourth among the states in legislative compensation, although it stands eleventh in per capita income and fifteenth in terms of economic growth. The compensation of the Maryland legislator does not begin to approach that paid to members of the executive and judicial branches. Maryland's Governor quite properly receives $25,000 per annum and associate judges of the Court of Appeals get a $32,500 salary. The compensation of the Maryland legislator also lags behind that paid in most progressive states. For example, California provides $16,000 annual salary to its legislators; Michigan pays $15,000; Pennsylvania provides $12,000; Ohio gives $8,000; and New Jersey pays $7,500. Our neighboring state of Delaware just raised the legislative salary to $6,000, and even Georgia pays $5,388 per annum to its legislators.

Why have we Marylanders allowed state legislative salaries to lag so far behind those of other state officials and other state legislators? Undoubtedly, one reason has been the concept of part-time work that surrounds the legislature and is perpetuated by the restriction on the length of the legislative session. I have already testified on the growing demands on our legislator's time.

He is continually faced with ever-increasing budgets and evermore complex problems. We expect him to develop a legislative program of his own, to introduce bills, to attend floor sessions and to participate in debate, to vote, to exercise surveillance over the state governmental bureaucracy, to answer correspondence, to perform liaison between his district and the state government and to take part in ceremonial activities. Being a state legislator is no easy or part-time task and it is time the compensation of a Maryland legislator reflected more accurately this fact and his responsibilities.

Perhaps another reason why we have allowed legislative salaries to lag has been the low esteem which many people, I fear, have for state legislators. As Adlai Stevenson said a few years ago, "To a deplorable degree, the public lacks confidence in state government, particularly the legislature." This lack of confidence has been bred by accounts of legislative incompetence and buffoonery, bribery and conflicts of interest which all too often have been true. Citizens who hear, as Marylanders did in 1965, that their state Senate had spent the last hours of its session debating the location of a garbage incinerator instead of pressing issues of vital state-wide significance, can hardly be expected to view their legislature with pride. In addition, due to malapportionment, most state legislatures have been unresponsive to the growing urban and suburban problems causing the public to look to the federal government whenever it looked beyond the local government for help. This has bred an ever-expanding and over-centralized national government whose continued growth can be attributed largely to the failure of the states to meet their responsibilities.

But all of this is beginning to change, particularly in Maryland. Reapportionment has revitalized the Maryland legislature and allowed it to come to grips with vital state-wide issues.

The record of the last session of the General Assembly has been widely acclaimed. Perhaps its most important action was to enact the enabling legislation necessary to convene this Constitutional Convention.

These signs of life in Annapolis are gaining public attention and raising the prospect of truly effective state government in Maryland. More and more competent and civic-minded citizens are being struck with the idea of seeking public office in the state legislature. Yet for most of them the decision to run is a difficult one, in light of the present financial sacrifices required.

Because legislative salaries are so low, the prospect of state legislative office means severe financial sacrifice to the conscientious person not blessed with independent wealth. Many potentially excellent state legislators—family men without private means—simply cannot afford to seek and hold legislative office. Others will inevitably decide that they cannot afford to lose time from active and promising private careers for public office offering meager compensation. Our state cannot afford to lose the legislative services of these citizens.

We must realize that legislating for Maryland's welfare is no longer a part-time job and we must pay our legislators enough so that they can devote substantially all of their energies to public duties. We must compensate our legislators commensurate with

Footnotes at end of speech.

the great and growing importance of their office. And we must begin to measure legislative compensation against the amount a Senator or Delegate would expect from the same time spent at his private occupation. In 1964, attorneys nationally averaged almost $14,500 a year. Even if we were only willing to compensate a legislator as well as the "average" attorney, Maryland would have to more than triple the compensation of legislators.

This Convention must take the action necessary to give hope of increased compensation for our legislators. The draft constitution takes a great step forward by removing the constitutional freeze on legislative salaries. But I do not think this is enough particularly in view of the popular rejection in 1966 of a constitutional amendment to the same effect. I believe the risk of the draft proposal is not that our legislators will give themselves too great a salary but rather that the salaries they enact will continue to be too small. An astute legislator will remember that in 1962 the Maryland electorate rejected a constitutional amendment to raise the legislative salary by $600 to $3,000 a year.

By leaving to the General Assembly the job of deciding legislative salaries, we ask each legislator to evaluate his own worth to the state—a task we do not ask of our governor, our state judges, or, indeed, any state official other than the legislator.

I do not believe we should ask any man in public life to set his own salary. I do not believe that we can leave the General Assembly with the sole responsibility for setting legislative salaries. Therefore, I propose a device which will relieve the legislator of the onus of determining what he is worth.

I propose that the new constitution establish a Commission which would meet every two years in order to review and set compensation the state provides its legislators and, indeed, all statewide elected officials. I would have the Commission selected from private life by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. I would suggest that the Commission have approximately fifteen members and I would hope that they would represent a broad spectrum of the community.

I believe that this Commission should forward its recommendations on legislative and other compensation to the General Assembly. These recommendations could be raised or lowered by the General Assembly but only by ⅔rds vote of each House.

It setting legislative salaries, I suggest that the Commission be guided by the following general criteria:

(1) That legislative compensation should be set at a level which would attract the best qualified citizens to public service; and

(2) That legislative compensation should be competitive with what legislators could expect to receive for work of comparable importance and responsibility in private life.

The notion of a citizen's commission to study the adequacy of legislative and executive pay is not unknown to Maryland's sister states. Such commissions exist now or have finished their ad hoc work in Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, North Carolina, Oregon, Utah and Washington. While each of these commissions was created by executive order or legislation, I believe we in Maryland now have the opportunity at this Convention to create a viable continuing body to constantly reappraise the salary levels of legislators and state-wide elected officials to assure they are in line with rising living costs and growing legislative responsibilites.

Such a commission would not be without precedent in Maryland. The State Employees Standard Salary Board (Maryland Code, Art. 64A, §§ 26–30) was first created in 1941, although it was reorganized in 1953 and again in 1956. The Board prepares and recommends to the Governor a pay plan for all state employees to assure that comparable salaries are paid for comparable duties, experience, responsibility and authority. In establishing rates of pay the Board must give consideration to, among other things, prevailing rates for comparable public and private employment, living costs, and the State's financial condition. If the Governor accepts the plan, the plan has the force of law at the enactment of the next State budget if funds for the plan are provided in the budget as enacted.

I have offered but a basic framework of a Commission I consider a vital element of our Constitution. Such a Commission has ample precedent—both in Maryland and her sister states. I urge you to give it every consideration.

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[1] See, Winters, *The National Movement to Improve the Administration of Justice,* 48 J. Am. Jud. Soc. 17, 19–21 (1964).

[2] See Pound, The Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction with the *Administration of Justice,* 29 Rep. Bar Ass'n. 395 (1906).

[3] See, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society 128 (1967).

[4] *Id.* at 128.

[5] 50 J. Am. Jud. Soc. 185 (1967).

[6] Annual Report of the Administrative Office of the Courts 1965–1966, p. 31.

[7] The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society 146 (1967).

[8] Judges are not only selected by different methods from level to level, but selection of judges within the lower levels differs from political subdivision to subdivision. Judges in the Orphans' Courts are popularly elected, but Trial Magistrates and Committing Magistrates are appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. And the City Council appoints People's Court judges in Montgomery County.

[9] See Voters Back Judicial Reforms 50 J. Am. Jud. Soc. 115 (1966).

[10] North Dakota is the one instance in which the people have failed to approve such a selection plan at the polls. The vote was very close: 82,644 to 73,231. And the State legislature has submitted another similar proposal for voter evaluation in September 1968.

[11] See e.g. Nelson, Variations on a Theme—Selection and Tenure of Judges, 36 So. Cal. L. Rev. 4, 5, at n. 10.

[12] See Traynor, Rising Standards of Courts and Judges, 40 J. State Bar of Cal. 677, 684 (1965).

[13] See, Statement of Jack E. Frankel, Executive Secretary, California Commission on Judicial Qualifications, in *Hearings,* "Judicial Fitness," Part 2, before the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 89th Congress, 2d Sess., p. 162.

[14] The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, p. 147 (1967).

The Mirror of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD J. IRWIN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, in yesterday's New York Times, C. L. Sulzberger, writing from Rio de Janeiro, has written an incisive piece entitled "The Mirror of Vietnam," which makes what seems to me to be one of the fundamental points involved in our difficult struggle in Vietnam. He spells out clearly what the impact of our failure to meet our commitment in Vietnam will be in Latin America. As he says in closing:

Our adversaries know, even if we do not, that revolutionary warfare in Vietnam is directly linked to the fate of South America.

THE MIRROR OF VIETNAM

(By C. L. Sulzbreger)

RIO DE JANEIRO.—Our future in Latin America is likely to be decided by the outcome of the Vietnam war as much as by the Alliance for Progress. The connection is discounted and largely unseen in the United States, but our enemies are more perceptive. They proclaim an intention to ignite several "Vietnams" on this continent, turning it wholly against us.

Some brands of Communism are content to coexist with us in peace, but all aspire ultimately to reduce us. And they agree that Latin America, with its geographical proximity, its markets and materials, is vitally important to the U.S.A.

FRANCE'S EXPERIENCE

When France was smashed in Vietnam one could easily forecast repercussions in Algeria, whose nationalists gained obvious encouragement and learned from 'Ho Chi Minh's techniques of revlutionary warfare. France, of course, was fighting for colonial reasons to stay in Indochina and Algeria while we hope to get out of Vietnam once it's stabilized and we aren't even in Latin America.

Power rests on the myths of power, and when the latter is destroyed, the former fades. Through all its vicissitudes, the United States has been the power of the Western Hemisphere and were that power's myth erased the reality couldn't long endure. Our humiliation in Vietnam would persuade guerrilla nuclei here of the efficacy of "national liberation" wars.

Jean Larteguy, former French paratrooper and novelist of revolutionary warfare recalls a conversation in Danang two years ago when a U.S. lieutenant in the special forces said: "After Indochina we also will have our Algeria. It will be Latin America."

The French distort our global experience to suit their own. As Karl Marx said: "Men make their own history but they do not make it just as they please." Our position in Latin America is less imperial and more beneficent than Paris conceeds, but it is as beneficent as we imagine.

We rule no country south of the Rio Grande, yet our influence is enormous. In some capitals our Ambassadors have almost the prestige of viceroys. U.S. interests are blatant and U.S. investors control perhaps 40 per cent of South America's production.

Our policy seeks to encourage reform and progress but the process is tedious and faces local frustrations. To avoid the dangers of revolutionary regimes hostile to us we urge rapid social evolution within a framework of stability. But this requires exertion of U.S. influence, from price support to military aid.

This feeds Communist grist-mills and it will be decades before immature Latin America rebalances its illiterate poor masses and privileged rich few, gaining sufficient self-confidence to shrug off the shadow of U.S. strength and the record of U.S. intervention.

ON THE MINUS SIDE

Until then we cannot escape embarrassing reminders: manifest destiny, Guantanamo, Panama Canal, dollar diplomacy, Bay of Pigs, Dominican Republic. Castro has lost his early lustre and Communism has been weakened by the Peking-Moscow schism, the Soviet attitude on Israel and Che Guevara's death; yet this doesn't automatically make us popular.

Vietnam is not an obsessive issue in South America but if a guerrilla army there defeats the world's greatest power (which is also an often resented neighbor) guerrilla movements here are bound to spread.

Castro proclaims: "The Vietnam war shows the Americans are powerless in face of a truly revolutionary force." Chinese and Vietnamese strategy of revolutionary warfare, based on the theory that the countryside should first be taken over and the cities encircled within it, already is being gingerly tested on this continent in guerrilla pilot projects.

For the moment U.S. efforts to mantain continental stability are succeeding although they are complicated by the existance of military regimes that belie democracy. But Castro, while his subversive efforts have faltered, continues to school guerrillas for export, and South America's impoverished millions are ready to heed the promises of agitators.

THE VOLCANO

If both the myth aned reality of U.S. power are maintained we can persevere with the objectives of the Alliance for Progress—evolution. But if our prestige is diminished by defeat in Vietnam, our goals are bound to be, defeated and mortified here, much as the Bay of Pigs brought on the Berlin Wall. The Latin-American volcano, which has so far only belched and simmered, would then erupt. Our adversaries know, even if we do not, that revolutionary warfare in Vietnam is directly linked to the fate of South America.

Finland Praised for Integrity in Repayment of Debts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle, in a recent editorial, praised Finland for its integrity in paying back its debts. F. C. Sowell, managing editor of WLAC radio station in Nashville, used the editorial as the basis of his "Comment" radio broadcast. The text of this broadcast also is published in 24 Tennessee newspapers. I ask unanimous consent that these much-deserved words of praise for Finland be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WLAC RADIO COMMENT

(By F. C. Sowell, managing editor)

Shakespeare was so right when he said, "The evil that men do live after them—the good is oft interred with their bones." This applies in equal force to nations. When have you ever heard of Finland? While agreements with most countries are not worth the paper they are printed on, Finland's word is as good as its bond. So, this little country slips from public notice. The *Johnson City Press-Chronicle* brings it back forcefully to our attention with:

"There is still some national integrity abroad in the world. Surprising as it may seem, at least one country persists in the old fashioned belief that debts deliberately made should be deliberately paid. That country, of course, is little Finland, which continues in steadfast good faith to meet installments on the debt she owes the United States.

"Back in 1923 Finland borrowed $9 million from us. In the aftermath of World War II, she borrowed some more. Through good years and bad, this little country of 44,600,000 has met her payments when due. Even in 1939, when she was ravaged by Soviet hordes, there was no interruption.

"Not long ago Finland's 67-year-old physician-President, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, summed up his country's attitude: 'We Finns do not wish repayment of this loan to be regarded as an exceptional or unique achievement. The strict fulfillment of all our commitments and contracts is the cornerstone of Finnish foreign policy. We received many valuable loans after World War II which helped us to rebuild and develop our economy. But let me make it quite clear that we have not received any aid in grants, nor are we asking for such assistance. Every cent we receive will be paid back with interest.'

"These are words of honor, and we offer a salute. Greater nations—nations such as Britain, France, and Italy—may default, but Finland will pay—and by doing so will write a bright chapter in the often-dark book of international relations."

(My Comment: I don't know whether this tiny debt-paying country should be saluted or simply be written off as the most stupid of all countries. Everybody else is living off the generosity of the United States of America—why shouldn't they? That happens to be the policy of a vast segment of our own population, "Everybody else is getting it—why shouldn't we?" But, I must confess, I do go along with the writer when he says Finland's honesty does constitute "a bright chapter in the often-dark book of international relations." What do you think?)

Eleventh Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 11th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Dr. Andras H. Pogany, national president of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation, has issued a proclamation on behalf of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

THE 11TH ANNIVERSARY PROCLAMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS' FEDERATION IN THE U.S.A.

On the eleventh anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation, U.S.A. is still relentlessly fighting for the realization of basic revolutionary demands unfulfilled: for the immediate removal of Russian occupying forces for Hungary and for the right of self-determination of the Hungarian people by free parliamentary elections on a multi-party basis. We are fighting for the basic human rights in Hungary, for the release of thousands illegally deported or imprisoned. We fight for changing the genocidal "free abortion law" which resulted in a catastrophic drop of live births which is permitted and promoted only in "rebellious" Hungary.

The Federation is compelled to declare that Hungary at present is still a subservient colony of Moscow in spite of some misleading tactical changes of the ruling regime. The strategy, however, remained the same: the prolongation of the so-called "Soviet-Hungarian Mutual Friendship Pact of 1948" for an additional twenty-year period, maintaining the Russian colonial rule and exploitation proves it without question or doubt.

Our present policy of "building bridges" at present proved to be a "one-way" street only, especially in American-Hungarian relations, on which goods and good-will pour to the Budapest Government with no betterment in the life or hardships of the oppressed millions. It must be equally noted that since the implementation of our new policy the means of Communist control over the Hungarian people have sensibly hardened to a considerable degree. We call attention to the fact also that the Budapest Government, misusing the facilities granted to them by our sincere "bridge-building" efforts is relentlessly trying to disturb, disrupt and silence our free Hungarian-American organizations in the United States, among them first of all the activities of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation by despicable means.

We, former Hungarian Freedom Fighters as proud American citizens deeply believe in freedom and human dignity so elaborately espoused by our Constitution. We do not, however, believe in double standards even in international relations. The American dream must come true everywhere and especially in Hungary, where merely eleven years ago thousands and thousands offered their lives for freedom and liberty for all.

On this anniversary day we solemnly declare our resolution to continue our fight for these ideals; to inform our fellow Americans of the perils of unchanged Soviet strategy which wants to bury us; to continuously throw light on the true state of affairs in Hungary. The priceless heritage of the American tradition, the freedom what we enjoy and the liberty what we proudly share and cherish should not be for Americans alone. It is for the entire world regardless of boundaries. It is for the oppressed, exploited and subjugated people of Hungary also. And this is only, what we, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation are fighting for with determination, resolution and with never-ending hope.

Airport Trains Make Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the executives of our Nation's airlines have ever paused to consider what airport conditions will be when five or six of their jumbo jets are loading and discharging within a few minutes of each other.

The answer, of course, will be chaos, unless the airlines, the airport owners, and the cities the airports serve get together and build rail rapid transit systems to handle the enormous ground traffic that the jumbos and the SST's will generate.

In a column in the October 2, 1967, issue of Railway Age magazine, editor Luther Miller cites a staff memo asserting that it is the airlines themselves that stand to gain the most from airport rapid transit systems.

Mr. Miller then writes about the one airline that has done something about rapid ground transit—Sabena, Belgian World Airways. From its check-in counters in downtown Brussels, Sabena whisks passengers to the airport in 16 minutes via Belgian Railways trains.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the Railway Age column at this point in the Record, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues—and to the airlines who serve them. The column follows:

Airport trains make sense—As our editors work on particular issues of Railway Age—transit, engineering, freight traffic or whatever—interoffice memos fly thick and fast. Some of these deserve a better fate than a file drawer—and in this category falls a note that came from Transit Editor Joe Asher while he was working with Associate Mechanical Editor Fred Houser on our Cleveland airport transit story.

"Why aren't airline industry men," memoed Joe testily, "actively promoting mass transit for airport-access purposes? It's the transit people who are most glad to see that the Cleveland Transit System is getting new cars for downtown-to-airport service. But the ones who really stand to gain are the flyboys.

"Traffic congestion, in terminals and on the ground approaches to airports, is getting to be a scandal. All predictions point to a drastic increase in air passenger traffic over the next 15 years. Jumbo B–747 jets will have a seating capacity of 400–500 passengers—supersonic transports anywhere between 200–400 passengers. What happens when five or six of these mammoths are loading and discharging within a few minutes of each other at the same terminal?"

A life-saver—What happens, suggests Joe, is this: "Chaos, pure and simple. The present ground facilities are already overcrowded. Highway access by limousine or automobile is often a one-hour to one-and-a-half-hour affair from the center of town, as it is. If the new planes start service dependent on present access arrangements, the time needed to get to and from an airplane may double. That's where transit comes in.

"The CTS decision to build an extension out to the airport is an attempt to bypass the highway bottleneck and provide fast, low-cost transfer service. It stands every chance of success.

"The Federal Aviation Administration has endorsed it, as have some private air industry leaders. But the reaction from most airline presidents is still 'wait-and-see.' Don't these gentlemen know a lifesaver when they see one?"

Well, we know of at least one airline that did see the handwriting on the terminal wall years ago—and did something about it. We're talking about Sabena, Belgian World Airlines.

The Belgian way—Check in at Sabena's downtown air terminal in Brussels and you get the usual departure documents, plus—of all things—a train ticket. It costs 50 cents. The passenger goes down an escalator to a subterranean platform, climbs into a waiting train (operated by Belgian Railways), and is whisked to a subterranean rail station at the airport in 16 minutes. The argument that people rich enough to fly won't ride trains to the airport doesn't stand up. Some 450,000 passenger a year use these trains. It took a lot of planning, starting a dozen years ago when Sabena built its new downtown terminal. But it paid off. Can't cities besides Cleveland take the hint?

Mad U.S. Policy Loses Friends in Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, one often wonders whether the welfare of the Negro is really uppermost in the minds of those who so loudly condemn areas of greatest Negro advancement and support areas where his retrogression to savagery seems to be the goal of the ruling body. Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, in his " 'Mad' U.S. Policy Loses Friends in Africa," which appeared in the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., on October 22, 1967, clearly presents factors involved in the fallacious Rhodesian policy of the United States and England. His article follows:

MAD U.S. POLICY LOSES FRIENDS IN AFRICA

LOURENCO MARQUES, MOZAMBIQUE.—The longer one travels about Africa, trying to soak up facts and impressions, the more one is dumbfounded by the imbecilities of American policy in this part of the world.

Consider, if you please, a few rhetorical questions: Where in Africa does one find stability in government? Where does one find Western ideas and institutions? Antipathy toward communism? Where is the black African advancing most steadily in education, wealth, housing, medical care? Where are the harbors, docks, and mineral resources that hold the greatest strategic and economic importance to the United States?

The answer is that these attitudes, exertions, amenities, and advantages are to be found largely in Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, and South Africa.

And where, we may ask ourselves, are opposite conditions to be found? Where does one encounter unstable or incompetent government? Where do we find regimes that incline toward Soviet Russia and Red China? Where are the military juntas, the tinpot dictators, the most barbaric tribal rivalries?

The answer is that such conditions obtain, by way of example, in the Congo, in Tanzania, in Zambia, in Nigeria, in Ghana.

These truths being generally self-evident, which countries is the United States supporting? Both in the United Nations and out of it, such is the lunacy that results from the anti-colonial psychosis, the United States is supporting the Congo, Tanzania, and Zambia; and the U.S. is opposing and undermining Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, and South Africa. We will not even let Rhodesia's prime minister come to Virginia for a visit.

This makes sense? This makes madness. For the past three years, Portuguese Mozambique has been locked in a bitter struggle with terrorists who operate primarily from Tanzania and to a lesser, but increasing extent, from Zambia. To gullible Liberals, obsessed by the Orwellian notion that black is good, white bad, these terrorists are known as "freedom fighters."

Bunk. The principal gang of terrorists in these particular parts is the "Mozambique Liberation Front," otherwise known as Frelimo. It is headed by a power-hungry triumvirate composed of one fellow-traveling opportunist, one Russian-oriented Communist, and on Chinese-oriented Communist—Mondlane, dos Santos, and Simango. Their followers and foot-soldiers are to be found primarily among the fierce Makonde tribe of northeast Mozambique. The Makonde have not the first, faint glimmering of freedom or of nationalism either; they fight as they have fought for generations, for blood and booty. Their cruelty is exceeded only by their ignorance.

But if the United Nations has its way, pursuant to various pious resolutions that have drawn U.S. support, these are the greedy and savage hands into which the West would deliver this rich and developing land. Canada actually has provided Caribou transport planes to Tanzania, and Tanzania is using them to haul the terrorist cadres around. The U.S. has propped up Great Britain's punishing embargoes on Rhodesia. We have insulted South Africa and cold-shouldered Angola.

All this, mind you, is in the fetishistic name of "one-man, one vote," or of "self-determination." The rallying cry is "Africa for the Africans." These are advertising slogans; they bear no visible relation to reality. The great mass of black Africans have no comprehension of democracy; their whole tradition is opposed to this ideal. For the most part, they are poorly equipped for any form of political self-determination. And if the vast one-third of Africa that lies south of the Congo ever were surrendered prematurely to black rule a long dark night of utter chaos would ensue.

This is not to suggest that perfection lies either in South Africa's scheme of separate development or in Portugal's goal of a genuinely multiracial society. Certain aspects of apartheid seem ludicrous; an American observer, acknowledging the sincerity of Portugal's purpose, might have expected to find more black Africans farther along in government and commerce.

But leg over leg the dog goes to Dover; and the United States, one reflects, is no Utopia either. Mozanbique, like Angola, is investing a fortune in African education and economic development. If the progress seems agonizingly slow to impatient advocates of instant civilization, the progress is nonetheless perceptible. Visit the schools here; go inside the housing projects, inspect the dockworkers' gleaming kitchens. There is much that is good.

Yet the West blunders along. By Portugal's accounting, the sanctions imposed by the U.N. upon Rhodesia already have cost Mozanbique some $44 million in lost trade. The terrorism continues. Within the mini-nations, democracy diminishes. The Soviets and the Red Chinese are feeding on this situation like jackals on the carcass of a zebra, while the U.S. loses the best friends it might have had. It is in truth a mad, mad world, and nowhere madder than here.

Ho as the Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Howard K. Smith, writing in the October 22 edition of the Washington Sunday Star, assembles illuminating information on Ho Chi Minh which is not good reading for those who continue to call for unilateral action by the United States and South Vietnam to "end the war in Southeast Asia." Mr. Smith properly places the brand of stupidity on those who refer to Ho Chi Minh as a patriot, one who is resisting the aggressor, one who longs for peace, and one who is a constructive social reformer. For Ho Chi Minh is none of these things. He is a bloody tyrant intent on taking over as much of Southeast Asia as gullible world opinion and Communist weaponry will permit.

Yet American voices still are raised to aid and abet this fraud. The article follows:

HO AS THE "MAN OF THE YEAR"

About this time each year the well known news magazine begins to sort out possible choices for its Man of the Year. I doubt if I will get around to mailing it but my nomination is Ho Chi Minh. The formidable wisp is one of the bloodiest despots of a bloody century, as immoral as he is incompetent at government—yet, in the guise of wise little

Uncle Ho, he is winning the Vietnam propaganda war.

Ho's transcendent talent has been in organized destruction. But after Dien Bien Phu in 1954 he had to run a nation instead of merely destroy it, and the results were almost all disastrous.

First of all nearly 900,000 of his people abandoned homes and jobs and farms and fled to South Vietnam. If the Economist in London is right, 250,000 more were ready to flee when the borders were shut.

Then to break opposition he presided over a bloodbath of vast proportions for a small country. The late Dr. Bernard Fall estimated close to 50,000 were murdered. That, however, could be a minimum based on a few cases in which trustworthy eyewitnesses were present. One such case occurred when peasants stormed a Jeep containing the Canadian member of the International Control Commission and begged to be allowed to go to South Vietnam. Ho sent a division of troops to that region and 6,000 were "deported" or executed.

After two years, Ho's General Giap said in a famous speech, "We made too many deviations and executed too many honest people. We attacked on too large a front and, seeing enemies everywhere, resorted to terror which became too widespread . . . torture came to be regarded as normal practise."

After that Ho stopped executing "too many" honest people and resorting to terror that was "too widespread," and merely applied enough. He won his 1960 election with a 99.91% vote, somewhat aided by the fact that he had no opponent.

Ho not only had the reputation of being a great national popular hero who fearlessly faced public opinion, but also of being a great social reformer, friend to the peasant. That was due to his great land reform in which land was taken from the rich and given the poor—though Russian statistics show the rich were comparatively richer afterwards. Anyhow, there was enough abandoned refugee land left so that yields of rice per hectare rose a little until 1960; since then low morale and bad management have sent them ever downward.

A British expert argues that the reason Ho decided to go south and resume the more familiar arts of destruction was that construction was not doing well in the north. In the south, his minions assassinated 30,000 South Vietnamese civilians in a decade, not counting those killed in combat action.

Ho's military success is not mysterious. Destruction is simply vastly easier than construction. It takes six years of college education and about a year more of work to build a bridge. It takes a half-hour of explanation and ten minutes of work to set the fuses to blow it up.

Ho's triumph is in creating and maintaining an image of being conciliatory—or even peace-loving, a nationalist George Washington, and a constructive social reformer. All that is pure fraud.

He succeeds due to the perverseness of human nature. One and all may go freely to South Vietnam, see what they wish and write without censorship. A useful few are admitted to North Vietnam on strictly supervised tours. From the free writers in south Vietnam come venomous and unfair articles like Mary McCarthy's admittedly loaded observations. From the restricted few in the north comes a dutiful parroting of Ho's line.

Thus Harry Ashmore, back from Ho's presence, added his weight to the view that the U.S. frustrates Ho's conciliatory peacefulness.. Yet the U.S. is on record almost weekly for peace talks while Ho has not once abandoned the line expressed in his newspaper Hoc Tap: "The liberation of South Vietnam can be settled only by force . . . it cannot be settled by treaties and agreements." Mr. Ashmore cares nothing for this.

Last weekend we watched on television Messrs. Harrison Salisbury and David Schoenbrun—two of the handful let into the north—confirming one another's information that the Viet Cong in the south are fiercely independent of Ho Chi Minh—though how they got an objective reading on that in a blinkered visit to the north was not explained. In any case it is not right. The two were almost jocular about Ho's insistence that there are no North Vietnamese troops in the south. It seems that if the President of the U.S. withholds information for reasons of state it is a credibility gap; but when Ho tells a bald lie it is real cute.

Come to think of it, Man of the Year is not enough for Ho. He should also get the Nobel Prize for fiction. The remarkable thing is, he doesn't even have to write his fictions himself.

Vietnam Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Michael D. Quinn, has sent me a copy of a letter which he wrote to the national cochairman of the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace, in answer to the committee's campaign for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. I was very much impressed by Mr. Quinn's letter, particularly his rebuttal to those who feel that an end to the bombing would be an easy solution. I should like to insert the letter in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

OCTOBER 19, 1967.

DEAR SIR: I have read with considerable interest your statement regarding the U.S. position on the Vietnam conflict. In my judgment your position paper does isolate a growing feeling of frustration being experienced by the American people. No one would argue these feelings are unjustified. In addition, it is understandable when you express the opinion that the war is becoming extremely expensive and one must start comparing the investment and risks with the possible benefits.

It is, however, difficult for me to understand how anyone can assume that a contraction of the bombing and military activity will automatically lead to a negotiated settlement of any type much less an honorable one.

Many pariotic Americans have allowed the heavy cost in men and material of this conflict to confuse them. They forget that we have stopped the bombing and no one offered to negotiate. They forget that a unilateral decision by the U.S. to cease military operations would in no way insure that the North Vietnamese would likewise cease their military offensive against South. And most important of all, they forget that we are there because we have a vested interest in S.E. Asia, is; containment of Communist expansion at our expense.

I respectfully submit to you that what you propose is that the United States surrenders. That we admit to the world that we are unable and unwilling to fight Communism if the cost is high.

History teaches us that those who throw down their arms in the heat of battle do not "choose a course that may lead to reasoning together" rather, they admit defeat and hope that their adversary will grant them forbearance and an honorable settlement. The option, therefore, rests with the victor.

It seems to me that our assuming that the North Vietnamese are prepared to exercise that option to our benefit is a very dangerous and erroneous assumption.

Very truly yours,

MICHAEL D. QUINN.

Statement on United States-Greek Relations by President of Order of AHEPA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Andrew Fasseas, of Chicago, an outstanding civic leader, public official, and businessman, is president of the Order of AHEPA and recently returned from a visit to Greece. Recently, at a meeting of the governing board of the Order of AHEPA, President Fasseas issued a statement on United States-Greek relations, which I feel merits thoughtful review, especially at the upper echelon of the Department of State.

His statement follows:

The order of Ahepa is composed, in great part, of Americans of Greek extraction. It is non-sectarian in religion and non-partisan in politics.

Ahepa's members are proud and happy that our country and Greece always have been allies and friends. As a historic fact that were many Americans including Samuel Gridley House, George Jarvis and many others who fought in the Greek War of Independence in 1821. The United States by Presidential action and congressional resolution wholeheartedly supported the people of Greece in that great struggle.

During World War I, United States and Greece fought side by side.

In World War II, Greece was again a valued and faithfully ally of our country. In that War, its small but brave little army won the first victories against Axis power.

After World War II, while other people and nations were busy rebuilding and recovering from war's devastation, the Greek people were called upon to fight yet another enemy—Communism.

With American help, under the great Truman Doctrine, the people of Greece were the first nation that stopped the communist aggression. It is noteworthy that not a single American soldier shed his blood or lost his life in that great struggle of the Greek people.

Since World War II, Greece has been a faithful ally of the United States. She is a valued and loyal member of Nato. Greece supplies the bases in the middle east for the 6th fleet and other American forces required in that part of the world in order to contain Communism.

The best interests of our country require that Greece become and remain economically sound and militarily strong.

The Order of Ahepa therefore urges that the United States continue its military and economic aid to Greece.

In the recent Israel-Arab War, Turkey, the other leg of the eastern anchor of Nato, declared that she would not allow the United States to use the Nato bases in Turkey. That left Greece as the only base of the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean. That proved once more that Greece is, as she has always been, a loyal and reliable friend and ally of our country.

The Order of Ahepa therefore urges that the United States continue its military and economic aid and assistance to Greece.

Many of our officers and members have recently visited Greece. They have found that law and order prevail and that conditions for visitors and tourists are most pleasant.

If a European came to the United States and told the American people what type of government we should have or whom to elect as our President we would rightfully resent it as an unwarranted interference in our internal politics.

The members of the Order of Ahepa feel that the type of government in Greece is a matter that concerns the Greek people only. As Americans, our only concern is that what ever Greek Government Greece has should keep Greece as a member of Nato and a faithful ally of the United States.

Johnson Has the Kind of Troubles Truman Had

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago today I was a second-term freshman at Yale College with a developing interest in politics; 6 months before that I returned to college after service in the U.S. Army. The President at that time was Harry Truman. I have often been impressed with the similarities between President Johnson's present term in office and the troubles which confronted Mr. Truman then. I was therefore delighted to see in the Sunday, October 22, New York Times Magazine, an article by one of the old pros of the Washington bureau of the New York Times, Cabell Phillips, entitled "Johnson Has the Kind of Troubles Truman Had."

The times are troubled and the political mood uncertain. I should think it would be helpful to everyone, Democrat and Republican alike, to be aware that our experience is not as unique as sometimes we might think.

The article referred to follows:

JOHNSON HAS THE KIND OF TROUBLES TRUMAN HAD

(By Cabell Phillips)

(NOTE.—Cabell Phillips, a member of the Washington bureau of the New York Times, wrote "The Truman Presidency," published last year.)

WASHINGTON.—Political history has a reassuring way of repeating itself, and the way out of new dilemmas can often be charted on old maps, dog-eared with usage.

This platitude has a very special relevance today for President Johnson as he finds his popularity sagging and the obstacles to his re-election next year ominously piling up. Just 20 years ago another President, anxious to succeed himself, was being written off in the same fashion as a failure and a loser. That was Harry Truman and he came from behind—way behind—to stage the most stunning recovery in the history of Presidential politics.

If Truman could do it in 1948, why can't Johnson do it in 1968? Both are masters of the political arts.

There is, of course, no certain answer to that question today. A great deal can happen between now and next summer's convention and November's election to change the political face of things. But some clues are suggested by the many striking parallels in their situations at a comparable time in their quest. With the election a year off, both found their ratings in the public-opinion polls at a humiliating low; both lost ground with the liberal constituency with which they were identified, and both encountered a stubborn "can't win" despondency in their party's front rank.

There are dissimilarities as well, of course. These are concerned mainly with the temperament and political style of the two men—they don't look alike or react alike under the same stimuli. But we will come to that later; now we are talking about objective circumstances which, for the moment at least, make them an extraordinary pair of look-alikes.

To understand Truman's dilemma, you have to think back to what the mood of the country was in 1947. To most of the public he was a "nobody" when he was catapulted into the Presidency by Roosevelt's death in April, 1945, and during the next couple of years he managed largely to confirm that estimate. According to the mythology of the time, he was still a miscast haberdasher who put his Missouri cronies into good jobs and had to be reminded to say "manure" when explaining how the White House roses were fed.

The job of reconverting the nation's economy from a wartime to a peacetime footing was manifestly too big for him, people said. Prices skyrocketed after controls came off, housewives picketed supermarkets and marched on Washington, and the greatest wave of strikes in history—116 million man-days of lost time in 1946 alone—crippled production and inflamed tempers from coast to coast. In 1946 the Republicans, gleefully inquiring of the voters if they had "Had Enough?", seized control of Congress for the first time in 17 years.

The country, in short, was fed up in those closing months of 1947 as it had not been for a generation—fed up with war and its nagging aftermath, fed up with the endless bickering between industry and labor and the politicians in Washington. "It is not an eaxggeration to say," Walter Lippmann concluded at about this time, "that the condition of the Truman Administration is a grave problem for the nation. . . ."

Cocky and confident as he was, Truman himself now sensed the bleakness of his prospects of winning a Presidential term on his own. In November, 1947, he took the unprecedented step of offering the top of the Democrtaic ticket in 1948 to General Eisenhower, then his Chief of Staff, with himself in the No. 2 spot as candidate for Vice President. (This incident is described in the writer's recent book, "The Truman Presidency," where it was published for the first time.) When the general, in a state of mild shock, rejected the offer, Truman set seriously to work doing what he had always done best—tackling a problem head-on and to hell with the odds.

It is inconceivable that Lyndon Johnson would contemplate stepping aside next year for anyone on any pretext. His pride and his ego are less flexible than Truman's, which doesn't say much for the humility of either man. But excluding this quite extraordinary incident, the trail to the fulfillment of their identical ambitions is beset with a lot of nearly identical hazards, obstacles and boobytraps.

STRANGERS IN CAMELOT

Both men lived—and suffered—in the dark shadow of a luminous predecessor. For the first couple of years of his tenure, Truman regarded himself as little more than a caretaker President, a pawn of the fates, ill at ease, uncertain of himself. His "style" compared with Roosevelt's seemed awkward and vulgar; he was the butt of crude and contemptuous jokes. And so it is with Johnson, unable after four years to surmount the Kennedy *mystique*, to match the aura of grace, urbanity and subtle sophistication around the memory of the Young Knight.

Truman pulled away from the Roosevelt shadow, became his own man, after his knockout victory in 1948. But Johnson, also with a memorable victory—1964—to his credit, must still contend with a dynastic pretender: wherever he turns there stands the haunting figure of the Young Knight's brother, Bobby.

HE JUST WON'T DO

This is the sort of subjective indictment that needs no documentation. It is a matter of mood, faith, metabolism, even on occasion of insight. Its intensity can at least be surmised when the poll-takers ask, "How do you think the President is doing his job?"

In the latter half of 1947, as in the latter half of 1967, about two-thirds of the people said, "Not very well." They didn't like (among other things) Truman's "cronies in the White House," his "knuckling under to labor" or maybe his loud sports shirts, and they don't like (among other things) Johnson's "credibility gap," his conduct of the war in Vietnam or maybe Texans in general.

People continued to say of Truman, "He just won't do," until he began his famous "nonpolitical" whistle-stop tour in advance of the 1948 Democratic convention, a stratagem deliberately planned to improve his image. As tens of thousands of voters trooped into ball parks and to trainside rallies to see and hear him for the first time—his unprepossessing but friendly face, his down-to-earth way of talking to them, his scrappy underdog demeanor—they weren't so sure but what he *would* do. His score on the polls began to climb ever so slowly, with much of his gain (as George Gallup was embarrassed to concede later) concealed in the "undecided" column.

CONGRESS: THE FULBRIGHT SYNDROME

Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, a Democratic colleague of both Truman and Johnson when they were Senators, has managed to synthesize in his grumbling perturbation of spirit the disaffection that many members of Congress felt toward each as President.

After the Democrats' washout in 1946, he solemnly proposed that Mr. Truman resign and let an appointed Republican Secretary of State succeed to the office (there being no Vice President to fill such a void). President Truman exploded and called Fulbright "an overeducated s.o.b." in private and "Senator Halfbright" in public.

Not long ago, capping a long history of carping at the Johnson Administration, Senator Fulbright, in a major address, spoke of the Great Society as the Sick Society. President Johnson exploded, but what called Fulbright is not recorded.

Both Presidents "grew up in the Senate" and have been credited with being privy to its moods and possessing the key to its inner mysteries. Yet each has been balked by Congress on critical points of his program and has met defiance to his leadership. President Johnson's current travail is familiar to all and holds little promise of early improvement. The open-handed generosity that led him to describe the last—89th—Congress as "the greatest" has congealed this year into a wary, calculating skepticism.

President Truman enjoyed only a sort of weekend honeymoon with the Congress he inherited from Roosevelt and a frigid incompatibility with the Republican-dominated 80th. The principal battle was over how to shrink a booming wartime economy down to peacetime proportions, and the clashing warfare between competing groups and special interests was bloody and prolonged. In the midst of this turmoil he laid before Congress a series of welfare measures—minimum wages, health insurance, civil-rights reforms—that set conservative arteries to popping like firecrackers.

Truman won a few notable legislative victories during those first two-and-one-half years (the Atomic Energy Act, Employment Act of 1946, etc.), but a rebellious Congress cut most of his domestic program to ribbons. As a leader he was a flop, and as 1947 drew to a close there were many, in his party and outside of it, who felt that Senator Fulbright had had the right idea all along.

But, as they say, sweet are the uses of adversity, and Truman found the jewel in the toad's head. He made "that no-account, do-nothing Republican 80th Congress" the prime target of his 1948 campaign with results that are writ in letters a foot high in the political archives.

DEFECTIONS ON THE RIGHT, LEFT AND CENTER

A few weeks ago a mixed congregation of some 2,000 members of the New Left met in Chicago to form a new party dedicated to the proposition of keeping President Johnson out of the White House in 1968. Up, down and across the nation, meanwhile, ex-Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama is rallying the Old Right for an identical purpose.

Neither group has yet coalesced into a viable political organization; the Chicago Happening seems, in fact, to have dropped out before it got turned on. But both are important as grave symptoms of the erosion that is eating away at a Democratic President's traditional base of support—liberals, intellectuals and Negroes of the urban North on the left, the no-longer solid but still substantially Democratic South on the right.

And now down the middle of the road lies the long and enigmatic shadow of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The shadow scarcely flickers as he says, usually with a sly and toothy grin, that he is not a candidate. But there is an eager and ambitious crowd of liberal and younger Democrats who are determined to make him one, and a "Kennedy slate" is to be entered in the psychologically important New Hampshire primary next March. If he should make a big showing, he would be strongly tempted to test his strength in other primaries. The prospect worries the Johnson camp more than a little.

Truman's dilemma with defectors at this time 20 years ago was equally if not more grievious. His troubles on the left were manifold. Old New Dealers were dubious of his liberal credentials; they suspected him of being politically expedient rather than intellectually committed. Labor was down on him because he fought to hold down the wage side of the wage-price inflationary spiral, because he had threatened to draft striking railway workers into the Army, and because he had had a $3-million fine slapped on John L. Lewis's mine union for defying an antistrike injunction. And a noisy segment of the intellectual and academic community—the peaceniks of their day—washed their hands of him because he would neither stop the manufacture of A-bombs nor cut the Russians and everybody else in on its secrets.

All these bands of malcontents were blended, under subtle Communist party direction, into the Progressive Citizens Association (P.C.A.), and later into the Progressive party. In December, 1947, Henry Wallace, once Truman's Secretary of Commerce and now the brooding evangel of the "Century of the Common Man," proclaimed himself the new third party's candidate for President.

Opposition on the right hardened more slowly but it had been building up steadily since the end of the war, like a slow fire spreading through the Dixie grassroots. It flamed angrily into the open in February, 1948, when Truman sent to Congress one of the most sweeping civil-rights messages any President had ever composed. He called for a permanent civil-rights commission and legislation to outlaw racial discrimination in hiring, in education, transportation, restaurants and other public-service facilities, and a Federal statute against lynching. (Truman obviously was pretty far ahead of his time!)

Southern politicians reacted as if Yankee gunboats had again sneaked up on Fort Sumter. After a caucus of Southern governors, Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina issued a prophetic ultimatum: "The present leadership of the Democratic party will soon realize that the South is no longer 'in the bag.' "

And sure as hell it wasn't. Southern party leaders conspicuously boycotted the traditional Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners in March, the Confederate flag was hoisted above a hundred city halls and statehouses throughout the region, legislatures in Virginia and Alabama voted to ban Truman electors from their ballots. And on May 10, the States Rights Democratic party ("Dixiecrat") was born amid great jubilation and endless renditions of "Dixie" at a convention in Jackson, Miss.

Nor was the middle of the road any clearer of obstacles for Truman. He, too, found it under a long and enigmatic shadow, that of Dwight D. Eisenhower. The General, now president of Columbia University, had stated as emphatically as he could late in January, 1948, that he wanted no part of a political career. His disclaimer convinced the Republicans, who had been courting him assiduously, but not the Democrats. In the spring as their despair over Truman deepened, their yearning for Eisenhower became an obsession.

These were not bubbly-eyed amateurs; they were for the most part professional Democratic pols. They well knew that a party that repudiates its own sitting President is hardly likely to win an election with a last-minute substitution pulled from the bleachers, even one named Eisenhower. But so popular a hero at the top of the ticket in such a sacrifice play might carry enough lesser candidates into office at least to hold the party organization together. That was a good enough bargain. The main thing was to dump Truman; to scare him off before the convention if possible, to clobber him on the convention floor if necessary.

It is instructive today to look back at the illustrious gallery of Democratic stalwarts who were hung up on the Eisenhower fixation of almost 20 years ago. It included several of the big-city bosses like Frank Hague of Jersey City, William O'Dwyer of New York, Jake Arvey of Chicago, Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis (yep, same fellow). It included a half-dozen Governors and a number of state chairmen like John M. Bailey of Connecticut, who is now the national party chairman. It included a large clutch of Senators like Richard Russell of Georgia, John Sparkman of Alabama, Paul Douglas of Illinois (then a candidate) Claude Pepper of Florida. And it included such triple-plated old New Dealers as Chester Bowles, Wilson Wyatt, Walter Reuther, Leon Henderson of Americans for Democratic Action, and both Elliott and James Roosevelt, sons of The Founder.

By mid-June the Eisenhower bandwagon was rolling noisily along, with Truman's carcass presumably tied to the tailgate. There was only one worrisome defect—nobody had heard anything from the candidate. The General had locked himself for weeks in his house on Morningside Heights, refusing to see newsmen or political emissaries, stonily unresponsive to the fervent overtures of the Democratic rebels. As the zero hour approached, the rebel leaders' anxiety turned into despair and then into panic. Two days before the convention was to assemble, Claude Pepper, acting for the junta, sent the General a telegram informing him they planned to put his name in nomination with or without his permission. Back came the reply in words as closely approximating those of General Sherman as any modern politician has uttered: "I would refuse to accept the nomination under any conditions, terms or premises. Eisenhower."

That ended the centrists' revolt, but just in the nick of time.

WARS, HOT AND COLD

Finally and most significantly: President Johnson's greatest handicap is the war in Vietnam. Truman had no Vietnam on his back, but he had the first shock waves of the cold war to deal with—the Communist takeover in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the civil war in Greece, the distintegration in China—and people said it was because he was "soft on Communism." There were no American boys dying in Asian rice fields at that stage of the cold war, and so Johnson's burden may be greater on this count—but not by very much.

On balance, then, it doesn't seem that the hurdles blocking President Johnson's path to 1968 are much different from or more menacing than those President Truman faced in 1948. Both men for reasons that are closely alike seemed to be overwhelmed by the events of their day, their power to lead and to inspire shriveled by public disenchantment, even contempt. "He just won't do" is a sinister and unarguable indictment for a President to bear.

There was no special genius to the strategy of Truman's deliverance in 1948. It was a battle plan devised by a small corps of highly proficient aides—Clark Clifford, Oscar Ewing, Oscar Chapman, J. Howard McGrath, among them—and he stuck with it from beginning to end. He never floundered (except when the money ran out periodically) and he always knew what he was doing.

It was a strategy tailored uniquely to his needs and capacities. He was the underdog and he had to go for broke—the whole way. Lay off the big sticky questions like foreign policy and concentrate on the gut issues like Taft-Hartley, the price of hogs and civil rights. The eye of his target was the Republican—80th Congress; smash that and Dewey would at least be hit by flying fragments. His chief hope lay in reviving the old New Deal coalition, so go after Wallace in the Northern cities (visualized as the main threat) and pray that the South would stay solid (which proved in fact to be the main threat). With whatever energy was left over, exploit the Republican's poor record with the farmers in the Midwest and West. In sum, he might not win but he didn't have to lose.

Truman's political nerve endings were extremely sensitive. After his first, preconvention whistle-stop tour he was convinced (although not many others shared the conviction) that if he could talk to enough voters face to face he had a fighting chance to win. His campaign, accordingly, was a backbreaker—two meandering tours across the continent, with forays into New England and the South and fire-brigade dashes to special trouble spots. He made a score of major platform speeches (which fell flat more often than not) and hundreds of good humored, off-the-cuff talks from courthouse steps, park bandstands and the rear platform of his train that drew delighted whoops of "Give 'em hell, Harry!"

That cry, in fact, took the place of an anthem and a slogan for the Truman campaign. It was an affectionate, spontaneous outburst from crowds that grew ever larger and that seemed to care less about *what* Harry said than *how* he said it. Nobody in 1948 was ever heard to yell, "Give 'em hell, Tom," and not many lately have been heard to say, "Give 'em hell, Lyndon."

And therein lies the special, and perhaps the unshared, ingredient that converted disaster to triumph in 1948. Truman had an uncanny knack for identifying with the great mass of middle-class Americans, for sensing their mood, hopes, piques and frustrations, for thinking about things the way they thought. As you watched him from the crowd uttering his sassy and good-natured banalities, chopping the air with those awkward gestures of the small-town Kiwanis toastmaster, you felt, "Here's a fellow I know; I see his likes every day at the post office or the school-board meeting or cutting the grass next door. . . .

"Give 'em hell, Harry!"

Sympathy? Empathy? Solidarity of the great confraternity of second-besters? Call it what you will, Truman had it and Johnson does not. This quality is not always and inevitably a sure prescription for political success, nor even an always admirable one. But it is a handy substitute when the more glamorous and cerebral attributes of leadership are wanting—as they were then and as they seem to be today.

The end of the story is, of course, that Truman confounded all the prophets, the pollsters and the pundits by winning. He gave up more than a million popular votes each to Wallace and Thurmond, and the electoral votes of such key states New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Michigan, to say nothing of the four in the Deep South that went Dixiecrat. But he still had enough left over for a 2 million-plus popular vote margin over Dewey and an edge of 114 electoral votes. No one who went through the cliff-hanging excitement of that Tuesday night, Nov. 2, 1948, is likely to forget it. The clincher didn't come until 9:30 the next morning, when Ohio fell into the Truman column. It was a real squeaker.

And since we are talking about parallels, there was another squeaker that year worth remembering. Late in September there was a two-man runoff in the Democratic primary down in Texas to pick a candidate for U.S. Senator. The winner by 87 votes out of more than a million was Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson.

Dan O'Connell and National Newspaper Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Derry Star in Derry, N.H., writes a weekly column entitled "The Way I See It," which always makes for interesting reading. Last week, in the October 19 issue, Mr. Dan O'Connell touched upon a subject deserving the attention of the Members of this body and I include the full O'Connell article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. O'Connell reflects on the passing of National Newspaper Week and raises some pointed questions regarding the present-day ethics of some editors and publishers of the fourth estate. What he says concerning certain conditions in his industry is most interesting. Admittedly, however, and thankfully, these conditions are not prevalent in any universal sense to the industry. But the danger that exists in allowing the conditions to continue is clear to the preservation of a truly represented "free press" in America.

I commend Mr. O'Connell's column to Members of the Congress, as follows:

THE WAY I SEE IT

(By Dan O'Connell)

National Newspaper Week 1967 came and went without a murmur of pride on my part, which is unusual, to say the least. I customarily jump at any opportunity to sound off on the blessings of "press freedom".

This retreat from protocol may be puzzling to some people. While the "oversight" could be blamed on business pressures or old age, that explanation wouldn't be completely honest.

The World Series rise and fall of the Red Sox could be cited as the villainous distraction. That wouldn't be total truth, either. I did forget, but it wasn't to bestow bouquets. I had intended to toss some brickbats!

National Newspaper Week, to me at least, seems no longer the big deal it was once cracked up to be. Instead of standing up to take bows, many publishers should be hanging their heads in shame for mocking free press!

The Week is always eventual for many crusty old characters who delight to re-live by recollection the golden age of wooden type and iron men. The thrill came to some, but for most the era's glory was very largely fictional.

I am no Johnny Come Lately to this business; I write more from life than from books. My association with the industry goes back better than thirty years. Much of the glitter and glory is sheer hokum.

I have known some remarkable people and papers. Some prized their integrity above material achievement. These were exceptions to the rule. For most, integrity was the extent of their estate, in life and death.

Press lords of yesterday, by and large, were not so far removed from today's new breed of sophisticate fast-buck chasers. They were a bit less obvious, perhaps, but their scruples came as cheaply.

Then, as now, most presslords were good for stirring speeches. As a practical matter, however, the vast majority couldn't have cared less for "press freedom", except as the advantage served their own selfish purposes.

Few of them were above applying the whip, the gag, or the "sack", to have their own, or their master's way. They regarded the press as a private game preserve, seldom as public domain. Others' freedom meant nothing.

Then, as now, press lords considered themselves celestial bodies. They were, in a sense; they hung around with Hell's Angels. Even so, the ancient vintage seemed less obvious and arrogant than today's fast-buck idolizers.

Of course, it should be noted that the ancients operated at a great disadvantage. The boob-tube and so-called "in depth reporting" had not been invented yet. Arrogance couldn't hide under a mask of pseudo-scholarliness.

Old-time techniques for seducing and raping freedom were more primitive. Truth was choked to death at a tender age. Ancient press-lords looked readers in the eye and dared them to talk back. They invited unpopularity.

How much simpler for modern sophisticates to disarm truth with the all-purpose brainwash of "in depth reporting"; to practice as mossbacks while pretending to be "libetral". In Depth is the cemetery of most honest reporting.

Let's face it; the prefabricated and always amenable Why has reduced to almost nothingness the Who, What, Where, and When fundamentals of basic journalism! Most big-issue "reporting" today is a civic shame, a national disgrace.

What else in an Age of Anything Goes? Just as cornered criminals need credible alibis to create the illusion of innocense, news-managemers require a trump card in their little game. That trump card is "in depth deception".

Like their old-time idols, most of today's press lords and communique commandos are also afflicted with a piratical morality. They play the game "anything goes" style. The technique has now reached scandalous proportions.

The lords of communication have pulled out all moral stops to make their prejudices look good. It is labor in vain. The philosophy of Anything Goes breaches law and logic; it can stand only so much "propping".

The dirty tricks of "in depth reporting" may serve temporary purposes, but the murder of truth will always out, inevitably. Brain-wash phrase makers tend eventually to outsmart themselves and build their own gallows.

The philosophy of Anything Goes is unstable by nature, and certain eventually to trip over its own errors. Meanwhile, the "in depth" artists have a ball, "moulding" public opinion to suit their own devious purposes!

Public opinion is rarely reported or reflected these days, it is made, manufactured, mass-produced. The techniques of "in depth reporting" are perfect tools; they are capable of going to any length, or any direction.

What old-timers in the journalism trade derided and denounced as news-slanting and between-the-lines deception has recently come into its own, and is all the rage for most news media. Fitting atmosphere for Free Press Week?

If the trend continues, news will lose all significance as a word. Eventually, all public information will come from the politicians, pre-chewed and pre-digested. Future generations may be unable to distinguish between fact and fantasy.

The prospect is not good. The consequences, logically enough, will be a continuing chaos of public frustration and mounting confusion. Journalism has never known such instability, nor the public so much skepticism.

Granted that gifted "in depth artists" can justify or condemn with the greatest of ease, any given set of circumstances. Question is, "How often can they reverse their intellectual field without running themselves ragged?"

Abraham Lincoln is said once to have observed that no man can ever acquire a good-enough memory to become an accomplished and successful liar.

This is the mortal weakness of synthetically made public opinion!

Just as one workaday lie leans on another, and needs another and another, ad infinitem, so, too, with editorial fraud! Unless the trend is reversed, and truth becomes fashionable again, journalism is headed for big trouble.

It is not inconceivable to say that American communications media could lose their identity and their press freedom within the decade. The day of reckoning and servitude may be that far away, or just around the corner.

This much is certain. Free press is in danger; and the days of private enterprise publishing may well be numbered. The once proud profession of journalism is hard put to attract recruits. Need anyone ask why?

Instead of taking bows and basking in the reflected glories of history, it seems to me that the present press and communications lords of the country might have put the National Newspaper Week just past to better uses.

They could have used the occasion for some badly needed soul-searching and conscience-probing. They could have stopped holding a mirror to the world for an instant and studied their own reflections.

I am well aware that this sounds like a harsh, scathing, blanket indictment of the entire profession. This is unfortunate, but inevitable, when so many are inextricably involved, and so deeply enmeshed in sewage of the mind.

I don't contend that the ugly conditions are universal. I do say that they are vast enough to be called "almost general". Certainly, there are some notable and significant exceptions.

These know who they are; and so, I suspect, do the people!

November Calendar of the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to call the attention of the Congress and the American people to the usual fine calendar of events for the National Gallery of Art for the month of November. The lectures, films, tours, and special exhibits of the National Gallery continually enrich the cultural life of our Nation's Capital:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, NOVEMBER 1967

The Gallery is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Sundays from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. The cafeteria is open on weekdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and on Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Continuing exhibition: "Ginevra de'Benci" by Leonardo da Vinci. New acquistion. Lobby B.

1967 Christmas cards: Reproductions of 48 paintings, scultures, and prints from the Gallery's Collection, in color, tipped onto French folders, and in black and white (with envelopes). Prices 25¢, 20¢, 15¢, and 10¢ each, postpaid. Orders under $1.00 add 25¢ handling charge. Free catalogue with black-and-white illustrations upon request.

New reproductions: 19'' x 25'' Color Reproductions: Bellows, "The Lone Tenement"; Bonnard, "The Letter"; Boudin, "The Beach at Villerville"; Cézanne, "Landscape in Provence"; Degas, "Four Dancers"; Vincent van Gogh, "Girl in White"; Hicks, "The Cornell Farm"; Monet, "The Houses of Parliament, Sunset"; Monet, "Vase of Chrysanthemums"; Sargent, "Street in Venice"; Turner, "Mortlake Terrace"; Twachtman, "Winter Harmony," $2.95 each postpaid.

Recent publication: Catalogue. "Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection" by John Pope-Hennessy. 333 pages, 616 illustrations, 12'' x 9¼''. $18.50 postpaid.

Recorded tours: Acoustiguide. A 45-minute personalized tour of 20 National Gallery masterpieces selected and described by Director John Walker. A portable unit may be rented for 25¢ for one person, 35¢ for two.

LecTour. A description of every object in 28 exhibition galleries. Talks in each room, which may be visited in any order, last about 15 minutes. A small receiving set may be rented for 25¢.

Film: "The American Vision" will be shown in the auditorium on Saturdays at 2:15 p.m.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5

Painting of the week: Ingres, "Pope Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 56. Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: Italian painting, "Florentine." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday 5:00.

Sunday lecture: "The History of Pottery and Procelain." Guest speaker, John P. Cushion, Department of Ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Lecture hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: John Miles, tenor; Lucy Brown, pianist. East garden court, 8:00.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12

Painting of the week: Poussin, "The Assumption of the Virgin." (Ailsa Mellon Bruce fund), gallery 52. Tuesday through Thursday and Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: Italian painting, "Venetian." Rotunda. Tuesday through Thursday and Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Friday (Veterans' Day holiday), 1:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: "Thomas Cole and American Romanticism." Guest speaker, Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., visiting lecturer on art, Smith College, Northampton. Lecture hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: Branka Musulin, pianist. East garden court, 8:00.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19

Painting of week: Cuyp, "Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle" (Widener collection), gallery 46. Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: Italian painting, "Sienese." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: "Neoclassicism in American Painting and Sculpture." Guest speaker, William H. Gerdts, Director of the Art Gallery, University of Maryland, College Park. Lecture hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra. Richard Bales, conductor; Aline van Barentzen, pianist. East garden court, 8:00.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26

Painting of the week: Monet, "Rouen Cathedral, West Facade, Sunlight" (Chester Dale collection), gallery 84. Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: Italian painting, "Umbrian." Rotunda. Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Thursday (Thanksgiving Day), 1:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: "Thomas Eakins." Guest speaker, Gordon Hendricks, author, New York. Lecture hall, 4:00.

Sunday concert: Aldo Mancinelli, pianist. East garden court, 8:00.

Representatives Hall and Gross Check Fast Ones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, throughout the years there have been many duos that have become extremely famous and their names have become a household word throughout the United States.

Who among us can ever forget Ruth and Gehrig, or Lum and Abner. And we can all remember the great feats of Blanchard and Davis when they carried the ball for the West Point cadets.

We have chuckled at Abbott and Costello and we have traveled many roads with Hope and Crosby.

Another famous pair which has become the idol of the young set, as of late, of course, is Batman and Robin.

But here in the House we have our own "dynamic duo," who work hard, research continually, and receive little publicity.

Recently I came across an Associated Press story which ran in many newspapers throughout the country paying tribute to these two men, whom I consider not only extremely able colleagues but my good friends.

At this point in the RECORD I would like to have this newspaper story printed honoring Congressmen H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, and DURWARD G. HALL, of Missouri:

ONE ALWAYS PRESENT IN HOUSE: REPRESENTATIVES HALL, GROSS CHECK FAST ONES

WASHINGTON.—When the House of Representatives uses extraordinary procedures to try to speed up its work, Reps. H. R. Gross and Durward G. "Doc" Hall are all ears.

One of those two Republicans is always there—and usually both—to make sure the Democratic majority doesn't pull any fast ones.

"We're just two fellows who are vitally interested in rules and procedures and in protection of the rights of the minority," said Hall, 57, a self-styled "hillbilly doctor" who has been in Congress since 1961.

"I just want to know what's going on," said Gross, a 68-year-old former news reporter and radio commentator who has been there nearly 20 years.

Gross admits he has been at this "quite a spell." One reason is that his party has controlled the House for only two years since he has been a member.

In former years, Gross' partner was former Rep. Clare Hoffman of Michigan.

Shortly after Hoffman left the House, Hall organized a mass effort by Republicans and Southern Democrats in September 1965 to put every possible parliamentary roadblock in the way of the Democratic leadership, which was trying to use speed-up procedures to bring bills more easily to the House floor for action.

By the time the House finally adjourned at 12:31 a.m. the following morning, there had been a record 23 quorum calls or roll-call votes, each lasting about 25 minutes.

Both are Midwestern conservatives with usually dour expressions. Hall is from Springfield, Mo., Gross from Waterloo, Iowa. Gross was the only survivor in 1964 when Democrats decimated Iowa's GOP House delegation.

The two make their points by objecting when unanimous consent is required for House action, by demanding attendance roll calls when many members are absent and others are in a hurry and by raising intricate parliamentary objections.

"We put each other on notice when one has to be away so that there will be coverage," Hall said.

But it's a rare day when either is absent at noon when the House meets, and usually one or the other demands the first quorum call to prod the necessary majority of members to be present for the day's business.

"I think that brought me to Gross' attention," Hall said, adding that the two have been brought more closely together by his designation as one of the Republicans assigned to study for possible objections those bills scheduled for passage by unanimous consent.

Gross considers himself "an unofficial objector," a task which he says requires "the ability to get up and ask questions and object if you get the wrong answers or inadequate answers."

"It's not pleasant to get up and object to another member's bill," Gross added. "It's time consuming, and it isn't pleasant." But he said "a good many members don't pay much attention" to these bills and someone should.

Their triumphs are usually more fleeting than permanent. But often they lead to full debate on a bill and a chance to amend it, which Hall says is really what they are trying to make possible.

John B. Turner Is Mr. Miami

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, few men have contributed of themselves to their community to the extent to which John B. Turner has in Miami.

The Miamian magazine has recently honored him by selecting him as Mr. Miami, and this recognition is richly deserved.

Mr. Turner's activities in behalf of the community have been most numerous, but one of his outstanding contributions has been his service as chairman of the Dade County Community Task Force which was established in cooperation with the Federal Government to cope with the problem of thousands of Cuban refugees who have poured into the area in the last few years.

I commend to my colleagues the Miamain article which describes but a few of Mr. Turner's many efforts to make Dade County a better place to live for all:

PLAN FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

Everything being done today, should be done for the people and the city that will be here 50 years from now, according to John B. Turner.

Turner, one of Miami's civic leaders, looks at the community as he believes it will be in the future.

"I always at least try to look ahead. Never go back, and never look back except to learn and benefit from experiences and history," he said.

In his 17 years in the Greater Miami community, Turner has guided the helm of most every major community effort.

He has been president of the Miami-Dade County Chamber of Commerce, the United Fund, Operation Amigo, South Florida Boy Scout Council, Downtown Kiwanis Club and chairman of the board of the Economic Society of South Florida, to mention only a few.

One of the most recent major involvements was as chairman of the board and executive committee of the Dade County Community Task Force, and organization stated at the expressed wishes of the President of the United States to insure that there be no adverse economic effect on the Greater Miami area from the Cuban Refugee Airlift inaugurated nearly two years ago.

"The Task Force was an unusual organization. We had to go looking for problems to solve. We found plenty of them, and found solutions to some such as assisting in obtaining more adequate federal funds for the education of the Cuban children in the Dade School System, helping work out the problems of the Cuban dentists, and other similar problems," Turner said.

Turner had also been a member and vice chairman of the Dade County Community Relations Board.

"If there is one group that could do more in less time, it would be an organization composed of a community relations board and a task force. With connections and influences both within the community and in Washington, such a group could be effective in obtaining federal funds to help build Miami-Dade Junior College, the proposed state university, and in obtaining funding for Aerojet-General, and other projects which the federal government could participate in which would stimulate the economy and aid industry," Turner believes.

But without such a group, the momentum must come from within the community to accomplish overall goals.

"People are coming to Florida, and business goes where people are," Turner said. "The population trends show over two million people by the 1980's and they are probably right. We must prepare ourselves for the next 50 years. We can't simply plan for the next few years or even few decades.

"The major problems of this area stem from the people who settled here 50 years ago. They lacked vision. They didn't build for a population of a million persons.

"We are still in a pioneer era. There are still the opportunities here that there were 20, 30, or 50 years ago. Sure, Miami Beach has already been developed, but the same kind of opportunities exist if you look for them."

Turner believes that it is the duty of each generation to provide the necessities, such as school, for the next generation.

"On this point," he said, "Dade County has an excellent reputation. Our schools are excellent for what we had to work with. But here again, taxes are going to have to be raised, or bonded indebtedness incurred, so that we can continue to grow, expand and build more schools, housing, sewers and all the other things that a society needs and will be needing in the coming years."

Part of the planning ahead is looking for new job opportunities for the growing population.

"Miami must encourage new industry to move in, new industry which will provide jobs for the population which in turn will need housing, education and other products and services.

"I don't mean just big industry. Big companies would be nice, but don't forget the smaller plants. They're even more important if you have enough of them," Turner emphasized.

Turner believes that it is the duty of the entire community to help encourage a good business climate, and the organization to work through is the chamber of commerce.

"The value of the chamber of commerce to this community can only be limited by the time and the interest that's put into it by the business and professional people," Turner emphasized.

Intial steps, be believes, have been taken to start Miami on the road to further progress. Review of the state and local government, a strong look at taxation and problems of the future, the new Doxiadis plans for redevelopment of downtown, are all a step ahead.

"But we must take action if we want the problems to be solved. I am all for private enterprise implementing these things, but not if it takes another 25 years. We have been struggling and struggling, and nothing gets done. Let's accept it and implement it, either in whole or in part, or reject the whole thing.

"Maybe the only way we can get the plan finished is for some government group to go in and get it done. Otherwise, the Doxiadis plan will be just another report."

Turner, a retired vice president of Cities Service Oil Co., has helped to implement many ideas and plans in this community. As president of the Community Television Foundation of South Florida, Inc., he was instrumental in obtaining a more progressive programming policy for the station.

In other areas, he serves as an elder of the Miami Shores Presbyterian Church, trustee of the Florida Presbyterian College, on the executive committee of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, and a director of the Dade National Bank of Miami.

Prior, he had been on the regional board and dinner chairman for the National Conference of Christians and Jews, active for over 20 years in the American Red Cross and chairman of the Dade County chapter.

To top them all, however, was the American Red Cross' 1967 award to him as "Man of the Century."

Colonel Moore Killed in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Col. James B. Moore, a career officer from Maryland, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend Colonel Moore's courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

COLONEL MOORE KILLED IN ACTION—FORMER ROTC TEACHER HIT NEAR DEMILITARIZED ZONE

CAMBRIDGE, MD., October 22.—Lt. Col. James B. Moore, a career officer and a former assistant professor of military science at Western Maryland College, was killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Colonel Moore, who was 36, died October 10 as a result of wounds received in action close to the demilitarized zone, his wife, Mrs. Ann Trice Moore, of Cambridge, said.

EARNS BA

Born in Ridley, Pa., he graduated from Ridley Park High School and received a B.A. from Western Maryland College in 1953.

He graduated in the Army ROTC program and was commissioned as a second lieutenant. In the next four years, he was stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., Fort Knox, Ky., and Fort Lewis, Wash.

He returned to Fort Knox in 1958 for and advanced course in armor before going to Germany for three years with the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment.

From 1963 until 1966, Colonel Moore was assigned to the ROTC staff at Western Maryland College while he studied for a masters in education. He then spent a year at the Command General Staff College in Leavenworth, Kansas.

STATIONED AT AN KHE

He left for Vietnam in July and was stationed with the First Air Cavalry Division at An Khe in the Central Highlands.

He was promoted to major while he was at Western Maryland College. He had just been promoted to lieutenant colonel, Mrs. Moore learned from the Defense Department after she had received official notification of his death.

Besides his wife, he is survived by three children, James B. Moore, Jr., Elizabeth Ann Moore, and Bradley T. Moore; his parents

Mr. and Mrs. J. Layton Moore of Rehoboth, Del.; two brothers, Joseph B. Moore, Jr., of Rehoboth, Del., and William E. Moore, of Germany; and a sister, Mrs. Peter Brown, of Lyndon, Vt.

Address by Under Secretary Nicholas deB. Katzenbach at Fairfield University Progress Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, last week, Under Secretary Nicholas deB. Katzenbach spoke at the Fairfield University progress dinner in Fairfield, Conn. In a very astute presentation, Mr. Katzenbach referred to the perplexing problems posed by our struggle to obtain equal rights for the Negro to demonstrate the equally difficult dilemma which confronts us in Vietnam. He stressed our need to pursue a course we know to be right even in the face of seemingly insurmountable complexities, both physical and oral.

His remarks show invaluable insight and I commend his statement to my colleagues for their consideration:

Address by the Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State, Before the Fairfield University, Fairfield, Conn., October 17, 1967.

Father McInnes, Congressman Irwin, distinguished trustees and faculty of Fairfield University, ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored to be invited to this Fairfield University *Progress* Dinner. With some of the political flack that has been flying around us recently, it is nice to know that a member of this Administration can still be invited to a *progress* dinner without raising a credibility issue.

Governor Romney says we are not making the progress we claim. And Governor Reagan says we are making more than we admit. And there are some, most notably that elusive and highly reluctant gentleman, Ho Chi Minh, who refuses to sit down with us at all, least of all to a progress dinner.

Actually, I like the word "progress" and am happy to be associated with it. We have made a lot of progress in this country in recent years, a fact easily lost betwixt the high density problems that continue to beset us.

Yet the progress is undisputable and profound and the problems we now face as a nation have, not infrequently, been sired by the very progress that preceded them. Each move forward has uncovered a set of new and often harsher problems hidden beneath.

The struggle to obtain equal rights for our Negro citizens presents the most obvious and striking illustration of what I mean. It is a magnificent story—and one with which you are all familiar. You recall the long battle in the courts to establish legal equality. You remember how that principle was finally affirmed in the historic 1954 Supreme Court school decision. And you remember how that decision stimulated the great efforts to implement the principle, efforts which recall to mind such epic dramas as those of Little Rock and Montgomery and Selma, efforts which still continue.

On the political side, these efforts brought into being the 1964 Civil Rights Act, outlawing discrimination in public accommodations and facilities and providing ways to end discrimination in federally-assisted programs and in employment. A year later, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 provided tools to enable Negroes to vote in the deep South. In the two years since its enactment, Negro voter registration has increased by over half a million in the five deep-South states.

At part of this continuing effort, the Administration has recommended legislation to Congress which would help knock down remaining barriers to equality. We have urged passage of bills prohibiting discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of housing and in the selection of federal and state juries, as well as legislation permitting federal prosecution for racial crimes when state or local authorities are unable or unwilling to act—the need for which is particularly demonstrable today.

I am hopeful that this legislation will be passed and that the remnants of legally sanctioned inequality will soon be eliminated. Skirmishes in the legal area will undoubtedly continue for some time. But clearly the system of officially backed segregation is dead in the United States today.

While I have been saying all this you may well have been thinking of something else—of last summer in Watts or this summer in Detroit, of Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael, of arson, rioting and looting. And you may have been asking yourselves, "If this is progress, who needs it?"

And, of course, this brings me back to the point. The lifting of the legal barriers to equality, the enormous progress of the last thirteen years, has brought us face to face with far more intractable barriers still: the great inequalities of opportunity which exist in jobs, in housing, in education. So formidable are these barriers that the Supreme Court decision of 1954, which a scant few years ago seemed a major social breakthrough, now represents to some little more than an exercise in tokenism.

The riots this summer and last were a boiling over of frustration over these conditions, a sort of tortured, agonized lament. They were also a non-condolable tragedy that incalculably set back the nation and, even more so, the ghetto inhabitants themselves.

For many Americans they were a nightmare initiation into reality. If there was any consolation in them at all it was only that. They brought home the deep nature of the grievances of one-tenth of our citizens.

Many of you know better than I the complexity of the problems that must be overcome. Certainly Father McInnes, who among his many other responsibilities is Chairman of the Poverty Program in Bridgeport, knows how far we must yet go to meet our debt.

Squalid slums, overcrowded schools, broken-down housing, bad health, poverty—these are not simply Negro problems. They are American problems reflecting failures in our whole society. They result from a failure to meet the needs not only of Negroes but of human needs generally. An urban ghetto, whether it is composed of Negro poor or Italian poor or Irish poor endangers and deprives and depreciates not just those in it but all of us.

Clearly, then, the drive to eradicate poverty and provide equal opportunity to all Americans must go on.

The fact that there have been riots does not mean we should call a halt.

The fact that great new difficulties have been encountered does not mean we should never have begun.

The fact that the work to be done will be hard and long and complicated does not mean it should be abandoned.

The fact that there is opposition does not mean we should drop our commitments to what we know to be right.

I know that this audience agrees with these statements and I ask you now to move with me to an area of equal concern—one in which there is perhaps less agreement—but one in which the same kind of statements are equally valid. I speak, of course, of Viet-Nam.

The problems in Viet-Nam are every bit as complex and every bit as difficult as our problems of race and poverty at home. We are seeking to help the South Vietnamese to build a free nation under the incredibly difficult circumstances of aggression from the North supported by subversion within. And we face in that troubled land a tough, cunning and determined adversary who is counting on wearing us down, who is depending on a failure of will and determination on our part and on our allies.

This is not just conjecture. We have it on the authority of no less a figure than General Giap, North Viet-Nam's Minister of Defense. He used the same strategy against the French. This month he reasserted it once again in a long article in his army's newspaper. The best strategy, he said, was to break down American morale, patience and determination through a tiring and protracted war.

I do not think his strategy will succeed. For I do not believe Americans abandon what is right just because the going gets tough. I do not believe we are ready to abandon the people of South Viet-Nam in their struggle for freedom any more than we are ready to abandon our fight for freedom at home, because the going is tough here too.

Little elaboration is needed on our aims and purposes in Viet-Nam. They have been stated clearly and often.

Our objective is to protect the independence of South Viet-Nam from external interference and force. We do not seek to destroy North Viet-Nam or to threaten its regime. It is not *we* or the South Vietnamese who are unwilling to co-exist. It is the North Vietnamese who are unwilling. It is *they* who are relentless in their efforts to take over the government of their neighbor.

There are some who complain that the United States has become involved in a civil war in Viet-Nam. In Viet-Nam one part of a divided country is indeed fighting another. But the fact that it is Vietnamese who have attacked Vietnamese does not make armed aggression any more acceptable. Certainly it is no more acceptable for the North Vietnamese to attempt to unite Viet-Nam by force than it would be for one part of divided Germany, or China, or Korea, to unite those countries by force.

We have said since April of 1965 that we are prepared for unconditional discussions or negotiations. Since that time we have urgently and ceaselessly sought every opening and followed every lead, no matter how threadbare, that could bring North Viet-Nam to the conference table. And we will continue to do so. But as long as the North Vietnamese refuse to talk peace, we will pursue the struggle, making their aggression as difficult for them as we can without risking the wider war we do not want.

No one pretends this is an easy road to travel. It is arduous and dangerous. But ponder for a moment the alternatives: On the one hand, a wider war which could easily slide down the slipper chute of nuclear catastrophe; on the other, withdrawal and the abandonment of both our legitimate interests and our ties and commitments to the non-communist peoples of Southeast Asia.

These commitments—both legal and moral—are so solidly founded that I cannot see how anyone can rightly argue that we should renege on them.

They are rooted in the Geneva Accords of 1954, (at the conclusion of which the United States formally stated that we "would view any renewal of the aggression . . . with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security"), rooted in the SEATO Treaty (which applies to South Viet-Nam through a protocal annexed to it), and rooted in numerous other assurances (including President Kennedy's statement of August 2, 1961 that "the United States is determined that the Republic of Viet-Nam shall not be lost to the communists for lack of any support which the United States Government can render").

Our commitments to South Viet-Nam are far better grounded than were those to South Korea at the time of the aggression there. For this reason, I am puzzled as to why so many liberals who supported President Truman in a policy of limited war in Korea now oppose a parallel policy in Viet-Nam. The objectives of such a policy have seldom been as clearly and precisely stated as they were by Richard Rovere and Arthur Schlesinger (*The General and the President*, Farrar, Straus & Young) in 1951. They said:

"The objective is not to destroy communism everywhere, a goal which would involve an unlimited ideological crusade, or even to destroy the Soviet Union, a goal which could not be briefly attained without an atomic holocaust, the objective is to punish aggression by lowering the boom on individual experiments in aggression, while at the same tme refusing to generalize from the individual case to the total war. Korea had to remain a limited war; limited in its investment of American forces, limited in its goals."

What Rovere and Schlesinger wrote about Korea in 1951, it seems to me, is no less valid for Viet-Nam today. Much of the current debate, in fact, is almost interchangeable with that of the early fifties. It was complained then that the Korean Government of that time was not really representative. Today—despite an election—the same complaints are heard about the Government of General Thieu. It was complained then that the Koreans were not doing enough for themselves. The same complaint is heard now about the South Vietnamese.

In both cases we were aiding an independent and sovereign government to govern itself—not seeking to govern it ourselves. As in every country, especially in nations which suffered long hardships under colonial rule, there are some good leaders and some bad, some who are corrupt and some who are scrupulously honest.

Certainly in South Viet-Nam there are both good leaders and poor ones, efficient and inefficient. Many units of the South Vietnamese army fight superbly, others are less well led. Finding enough sound leadership has been a problem for the South Vietnamese. Miracles will not take place overnight.

None of these facts, however, alters the validity of our basic objectives in Viet-Nam. Relatively few Americans oppose those objectives. The large majority of persons who quarrel with our pursuit of the war do so over the means and mechanics rather than its underlying purpose.

In a recent survey (October 8) of views of Governors and Members of Congress on the war, the *New York Times*, for instance, found that "Many of the replies . . . reflected discouragement that this investment of men and money [in Viet-Nam] did not seem to be achieving visible progress rather than any basic quarrel with the aims of the investment."

I am convinced that much of the current wave of uneasiness over the war, much of the edginess, weariness and impatience really stems from the realization that easy alternatives do not readily present themselves. That is why so much of the debate on Viet-Nam has wandered up so many starkly blind alleys. That is why it has explored so many irrelevancies and pursued so many pipedreams.

One such irrelevancy—one of the sillier ones—has been the assertion made in the press in the last few days that the Administration was evoking "the yellow peril". In discussing our interests in Southeast Asia at his press conference last week, Secretary Rusk pointed out that the free nations of the area fully share our determination to prevent aggression. He said what everyone knows, that these nations—which are *also* oriental—are deeply concerned about their long term security in the face of a militant, hostile and rigidly ideological Communist China.

By some mysterious alchemy, some commentators managed to transform these remarks into an evocation of "the yellow peril". Any fair reading of the Secretary's words demonstrates that such an interpretation is sheer fantasy. His statement had nothing to do with race—yellow, brown or any other. They were addressed to the unquestioned need to help the free nations of Asia build strong, stable, and progressive institutions if peace is to be maintained in that part of the world. And they are doing so.

Perhaps the most fruitless irrelevancies of all are the endless questionings of the wisdom of decisions long past. Countless words have been expended as to whether or not President Eisenhower should have done this or Secretary Dulles should have done that or President Kennedy should have done the other. I personally doubt whether it is ever possible adequately to assess the correctness of any historical decision without the benefit of at least twenty years of hindsight.

On all the things that happened regarding Viet-Nam in the past, on all the decisions that were taken, there may be room for argument by historians. But to say we should not be where we are—a position I do not agree with—is not in any event to solve the problems of the here and now.

Now is our starting point. Now is from where we must go on. But while our current action is delimited by responsibilities and decisions carried over from the past, it also gains by past experience. Significant to that experience—the experience of all of us who lived through the period between World Wars I and II—is the finding that armed aggression cannot be met simply by appeals to reason and virtue. Armed aggression is not deterred by rhetoric or wishful thinking.

One final thought. It is a grievous and dangerous delusion to believe all our problems would be solved if we withdrew from Viet-Nam, or from Asia, or from anywhere else. On this shrinking planet the strongest nation in the world cannot so easily escape its responsibilities.

We are involved in this world, whether we want to be or not, as individuals and as a nation. There is little use in reviling fate—or men—for the difficulties that beset us. The work of building peace has never been easy and it is not easy now. But its success depends on each of us.

Day-Care Unit "Recruiting" Drive Slated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, very soon the House will be considering the authorization bill for the Office of Economic Opportunity. The following article from the October 19 issue of the Louisville Courier-Journal should be of interest to all Members and readers of the RECORD:

DAY-CARE UNIT "RECRUITING" DRIVE SLATED

A day and night program to find children to fill the almost empty free day-care centers in Louisville poverty neighborhoods will be launched next week, an antipoverty program worker said yesterday.

Only 54 youngsters are enrolled in eight child development centers opened 10 days ago with federal Head Start money. The centers have space for 294 children but six of them have five or fewer.

"There has not been enough recruiting . . . and a lack of publicity (in the neighborhoods)," Mrs. Margery Provette, assistant to the director of the Head Start program, said.

TO MAKE EVENING CALLS

Starting next week, male neighborhood workers attached to the poverty program's newly opened store-front offices will make evening house calls in an effort to find more children, Mrs. Provette said. Teacher aides from each center will ring door bells during the day.

Another obstacle to recruitment has been the requirement that the parents be employed or involved in job training, she said.

Mrs. Provette said that when the poverty program's manpower job-training program starts children of poor persons enrolled in it will qualify for the day-care centers.

OPEN 6 A.M. TO 6 P.M.

The centers are open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. to children, aged 2 to 3 in the city, and 2 to 4 in the county.

They are located at: Presbyterian Community Center, 760 S. Hancock; 800 E. Washington; First Christian Church, 850 S. Fourth; Plymouth Settlement House, 1626 W. Chestnut; St. Patrick School, 1520 W. Market; Baptist Fellowship Center, 1351 Catalpa, and California Center, 1037 16th.

The Newburg center at Peace Presbyterian Church, 4210 Indian Trail, is the only one presently filled to capacity.

A Penny Postcard for a Nickel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago an increase in postage rates was railroaded through the House and will soon be adopted in the same basic form by the other body. Most of Washington seems happy with the bill, except that very little concern has been expressed over the plight of the public which is suffering from deteriorating postal service and is now being asked to pay additional postage rates. Station WBBM–TV, channel 2, of Chicago, has developed a reputation for its vigorous editorial policy. Its editorial broadcast of Tuesday, October 17, dwells on the postage rate increase in a most emphatic fashion.

The editorial follows:

A PENNY POSTCARD FOR A NICKEL

In olden times, we sent each other penny postcards. We still do, but very shortly, the "penny" postcard will cost you a nickel.

That's part of a package of postal rate increases already approved by the House of Representatives, and soon to be voted by the U.S. Senate.

The increases are moderate. First class mail will go from five to six cents, air mail letters from eight to ten cents, and postcards from four to five cents. Second and third class, used for newspapers, magazines, circulars and bulk mail also will be increased.

Altogether, the postal rate increases are expected to bring just under 900 million dollars a year into the government in added revenue.

The raises are not surprising, because just about everything costs more these days.

What was a bit surprising was the manner in which the House passed the bill raising the postal rates. The bill does not provide for any improvement in postal services to you, but it does call for across-the-board pay increases, not only for postal workers, but for all federal employees.

Thus, in simple arithmetic, the bill that will net the government 900 million dollars in new money, will cost the government three times that amount in additional payrolls.

Spread over a three-year period, the pay raises are supposed to bring the pay and fringe benefits of federal employees up to the same level earned for equivalent jobs in private industry.

We agree with that principle, but we do not agree that it is a good idea to tie a sweeping pay raise plan into a bill increasing postal rates.

The income and expenses of the Post Office Department should be considered separately, and the pay raises debated on their merits. This is especially true at the moment, when pressures to cut government expenses are growing because of the cost of the war in Vietnam.

We suggest that our entire postal system could stand a sweeping review. The Post Office Department in this country has, traditionally, been dominated by politics, a fact that has usually contributed less to its efficiency, than its deficit.

Postmaster General O'Brien himself suggested not long ago that the postal system might be more efficiently and more economically operated by a private corporation, instead of the government.

The idea deserves more attention than it has received.

In any event, we believe that if postal rates must go up, they should be raised in a bill that also provides for better postal service, not in a package that raises the pay of those who work for the government. That is a separate matter.

Is a "Big Boy" New Speculator?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the increasing use of speculative trading practices by institutional investors is a phenomenon that has attracted the attention and concern of many people who are involved with the operation of our securities markets. I, too, have been concerned with this matter for many months; and yet I find that while there are many opinions expressed by responsible people, there is a disturbing lack of facts and figures to throw some light on the situation.

Miss Sylvia Porter, certainly one of the country's most distinguished financial columnists, has pointed out one important aspect of this situation in her syndicated column, "Your Money's Worth." Her article appearing in the October 16 issue of the Washington Star is worthy of the consideration of the Congress and the investing public.

I, therefore, am inserting at this point in the RECORD Miss Porter's interesting and timely article:

IS A "BIG BOY" NEW SPECULATOR?

(By Sylvia Porter)

There is a type of spectaculator in the stock market that never has been known before. He is a well-informed professional. He manages a mutual fund which places a large amount at his disposal. He is a swinger, trading in and out of stocks for quick profits.

Because he usually chooses stocks in limited supply, his heavy buying can run up prices fast. Then he sells quietly and often the result is the bottom drops out.

There is little that can be done under today's securities laws or rules to curb this type of speculator. Unless several firms get together to put a stock up or down, they are not doing anything illegal. The question is: should there be additional regulation or legislation?

The above summarizes what is currently the most important stock market problem. The problem is in-and-out speculation by a mounting number of institutions and as Robert W. Haack, new president of the New York Stock Exchange, remarked recently, "every thoughtful professional in Wall Street must be concerned about it."

Haack said "within my term of office, the NYSE probably will have to make a decision on how far its responsibilities go. Is its function just to maintain a free, orderly marketplace? Or how far down the trail should we go in defining what is undesirable speculation and in trying to control it?"

The facts are these:

1. Institutional investors—mutual funds, pension funds, life insurance companies, bank-administered personal trusts—have become a dominant factor in the stock market. The individual investor is shrinking in comparative importance; the institutional fund, run by professional traders, is mounting. Until recently, the institution was considered a stabilizing force in the market because of its steady buying.

2. But among institutional investors, a special group has emerged which threatens to be an unstabilizing force. Included are the "performance funds" which are dedicated to the goal of fast profits. These may turn over their portfolios several times a year and whirl up obscure stocks to fantastic heights before they feed out to greedy public.

3. Mutual funds are taking on new forms and varieties. There are new funds which specialize in "hot" stocks within one "hot" industry. There are funds with severely limited numbers of owners (so they do not even have to register with the Securities & Exchange Commission) which are set up to use all known legal techniques for gambling in stocks. New "swingers" are popping up by the day.

4. Meanwhile, insurance companies are tying up with mutual funds; this will put a whole new army of trained salesmen into the mutual fund field. Fnancial institutions are also tying up with mutual funds. This will widen the market tremendously too.

Are we creating a "Frankenstein" here? Are we inviting the danger of a trading explosion and speculation blow-off?

Haack is too hep to pretend he has the answers. He can, though, see the possibility of rules which would be aimed at in-and-outers but which would simultaneously restrict all investors.

Many Wall Streeters admit that many things now going on are "reprehensible." Who will do the policing this time around?

Ho as the "Man of the Year"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., of October 22, 1967, Howard K. Smith again effectively sorts out some of the myths and facts about the Vietnam war—this time in relation to Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam. I place this in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

HO AS THE "MAN OF THE YEAR"

(By Howard K. Smith)

About this time each year the well known news magazine begins to sort out possible choices for its Man of the Year. I doubt if I will get around to mailing it but my nomination is Ho Chi Minh. The formidable wisp is one of the bloodiest despots of a bloody century, as immoral as he is incompetent at government—yet, in the guise of wise little Uncle Ho, he is winning the Vietnam propaganda war.

Ho's transcendent talent has been in organized destruction. But after Dien Bien Phu in 1954 he had to run a nation instead of merely destroy it, and the results were almost all disastrous.

First of all nearly 900,000 of his people abandoned homes and jobs and farms and fled to South Vietnam. If the Economist of London is right, 250,000 more were ready to flee when the borders were shut.

Then to break opposition he presided over a bloodbath of vast proportions for a small country. The late Dr. Bernard Fall estimated close to 50,000 were murdered. That, however, could be a minimum based on a few cases in which trustworthy eyewitnesses were present. One such case occurred when peasants stormed a Jeep containing the Canadian member of the International Control Commission and begged to be allowed to go to South Vietnam. Ho sent a division of troops to that region and 6,000 were "deported" or executed.

After two years, Ho's General Giap said in a famous speech, "We made too many deviations and executed too many honest people. We attacked on too large a front and, seeing enemies everywhere, resorted to terror which became too widespread . . . torture came to be regarded as normal practice."

After that Ho stopped executing "too many" honest people and resorting to terror that was "too widespread," and merely applied enough. He won his 1960 election with a 99.91% vote, somewhat aided by the fact he had no opponent.

Ho not only had the reputation of being a great national popular hero who fearlessly faced public opinion, but also of being a great social reformer, friend to the peasant. That was due to his great land reform in which land was taken from the rich and given the poor—though Russian statistics show the rich were comparatively richer afterwards. Anyhow, there was enough abandoned refugee land left so that yields of rice per hectar rose a little until 1960; since then low morale and bad management have sent them ever downward.

A British expert argues that the reason Ho decided to go south and resume the more familiar arts of destruction was that construction was not doing well in the north. In the south, his minions assassinated 30,000 South Vietnamese civilians in a decade, not counting those killed in combat action.

Ho's military success is not mysterious. Destruction is simply vastly easier than construction. It takes six years of college education and about a year more of work to build a bridge. It takes a half-hour of explanation and ten minutes of work to set the fuses to blow it up.

Ho's triumph is in creating and maintaining an image of being conciliatory—or even peace-loving, a nationalist George Washington, and a constructive social reformer. All that is pure fraud.

He succeeds due to the perverseness of human nature. One and all may go freely to South Vietnam, see what they wish and write without censorship. A useful few are admitted to North Vietnam on strictly supervised tours. From the free writers in south Vietnam come venomous and unfair articles like Mary McCarthy's admittedly loaded observations. From the restricted few in the north comes a dutiful parroting of Ho's line.

Thus Harry Ashmore, back from Ho's presence, added his weight to the view that the U.S. frustrates Ho's conciliatory peacefulness. Yet the U.S. is on record almost weekly for peace talks while Ho has not once abandoned the line expressed in his newspaper Hoc Tap: "The liberation of South Vietnam can be settled only by force . . . it cannot be settled by treaties and agreements." Mr. Ashmore cares nothing for this.

Last weekend we watched on television Messrs. Harrison Salisbury and David Schoenbrun—two of the handful let into the north—confirming one another's information that the Viet Cong in the south are fiercely independent of Ho Chi Minh—though how they got an objective reading on that in a blinkered visit to the north was not explained. In any case it is not right. The two were almost jocular about Ho's insistence that there are no North Vietnamese troops in the south. It seems that if the President of the U.S. withholds information for reasons of state it is credibility gap; but when Ho tells a bald lie it is real cute.

Come to think of it, Man of the Year is not enough for Ho. He should also get the Nobel Prize for fiction. The remarkable thing is, he doesn't even have to write his fictions himself.

Teenagers Bring Christmas Cheer to Mental Patients

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, teenagers for 6 years now have been bringing the jobs of Christmas to families of mental patients in Marion County, Ind.

On October 26, hundreds of young people will launch the 6th annual Christmas Toy Shop, sponsored by the Marion County Student Mental Health Association and directed by the Marion County Association for Mental Health.

As a result of this project, over 3,000 toys will be collected and made available to mental patients so they can do their Christmas shopping for their children and grandchildren.

The work these teenagers do is an inspiring example of humanitarian effort. It makes my community a better place in which to live.

Accordingly, I insert at this point in the Congressional Record an article which appeared recently in the Indianapolis News, describing this most worthwhile project:

Annual "Toy Shop" Project To Open

Kickoff for a local teen project which has received national recognition is set for 7:30 p.m. Oct. 26 in the auditorium of the Herron Museum of Art, 110 E. 16th.

The project is the annual "Christmas Toy Shop," sponsored by the Marion County Student Mental Health Association, under the direction of the Marion County Association for Mental Health.

The Indianapolis-born project is manned and planned entirely by pupils from local high schools who purchase or collect on their own nearly 3,000 new toys each year.

The toys are then used to stock the "Toy Shops" at Central State, Larue D. Carter and General Hospital and the Marion County Home. The store moves on successive Saturdays from one hospital to another so mental patients can do their Christmas shopping for their children and grandchildren.

The patients shop without charge and the teen volunteers help man the stores, giving a portion of their weekends and the Thanksgiving holiday to the project.

This is the sixth year for the project, operating through schools, clubs, youth organizations and other interested teen-agers.

At the kickoff meeting, the project will be reviewed for new volunteers and a general chairman will be named. Plans will be made for a dance after the "Top Shop" at Central State, on Nov. 24.

Connie Noble, program director of the Marion County Association for Mental Health, is project co-ordinator.

Invitations have gone out to nearly 400 pupils who participated last year. Letters also have been sent to metropolitan Indianapolis high school principals inviting pupil participation.

Sergeant Franklin, Paratrooper, Drowns in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. Willie Franklin, a career soldier from Baltimore, recently died in Vietnam. I wish to commend Sergeant Franklin on his service to his country and to include the following article in the Record in honor of his memory:

Sergeant Franklin, Paratrooper, Drowns in South Vietnam

A paratrooper whose family lives in Baltimore has died in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Staff Sgt. Willie Franklin, 29, husband of Mrs. Celestine R. Franklin, of 1302 Wildwood parkway, drowned Saturday while he was swimming near his base.

Sergeant Franklin, a career soldier, had been in Vietnam four months, Mrs. Franklin said last night. He was assigned to the 173d Airborne Brigade.

DOING HIS DUTY

Mrs. Franklin said her husband expressed his dislike for Vietnam service in letters home but felt that he was doing his duty there.

Sergeant Franklin had also served in the Dominican Republic. In 1965 he was one of 2,500 members of the 82d Airborne Division ordered to the Caribbean country by President Johnson after a rebellion overthrew the United States-backed regime of Donald Reid Cabral.

SERVED AT EDGEWOOD

Sergeant Franklin was a native of Detroit and went to school there before he enlisted 10 years ago.

He had served at Fort Bragg, N.C., Fort Benning, Ga., and Edgewood Arsenal, in Harford county, Md.

He originally was a demolitions expert, but he volunteered for jump school in 1964, after two years of service in Italy, Mrs. Franklin said.

Survivors include his wife; a son, Byron Franklin, of Baltimore; his mother, Mrs. Willie Belle Franklin, of Detroit; seven brothers and four sisters.

C-5A: Big Plane With Big Promise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Record an article from the Air Force magazine of October 1967:

Lockheed's C-5A Galaxy—Big Plane With Big Promise

(By Edgar E. Ulsamer)

"The biggest problem is that you have to combine the precision and sophistication of aeronautics with the sheer size of shipbuilding."

That's how T. R. May, President of Lockheed-Georgia Co., describes the challenge of designing and building the world's largest plane—the Air Force's C-5A heavy logistics aircraft.

The first one of the giant planes with a gross takeoff weight in excess of 700,000 pounds and an interior volume more than four and one-half times that of the C-141A is on the production line in Building B-1 of Lockheed's Marietta, Ga., facility and is being readied for rollout in February next year. This is an aircraft you can talk about only in superlatives. It is being assembled in the world's largest aircraft manufacturing plant (the assembly building for Boeing's 747 will be larger in terms of cubic footage, but is not yet completed); the fire truck that will service the C-5A dwarfs the average city bus; the largest aluminum forgings ever made (weighing 3,200 pounds) go into the C-5A's fuselage; its sixty-five-foot-high tail is too tall for any existing assembly building—so it will be mated with the fuselage in a special empennage building; and the aircraft's General Electric TF39 engines, powerful enough to furnish power for a city of 50,000, are the largest aircraft engines in existence (although substantially below the thrust-augmented output of those that will power the American SST).

While the manufacturing of an aircraft of this size and weight poses myriad problems, Lockheed executives say none has proved insolvable or sufficiently grave to cause a delay. "The contract says that we have to roll out in February 1968. We intend to meet that commitment," says Mr. May. From the looks of the assembly line, he isn't likely to miss his deadline.

The C-5A, or "Galaxy" as it has been nicknamed by USAF and Lockheed, has undergone a number of changes since the contract was awarded in October 1965. The wing design was changed substantially and, according to Lockheed, furnishes a substantially improve lift/drag ratio and, consequently, better direct operating costs (DOC). The wing fillet size was increased and streamlined beyond the level of the initial design. The high-lift system was changed both at the leading and trailing edge of the wing. The original double-slotted design was replaced by a tracked Fowler configuration. Wind-tunnel tests now indicate a "very satisfactory" performance of the high-lift system, which will enable the C–5A to maintain a good climb rate even with only three engines in operation. Other modifications included improvements of the landing pod fairings and a more pointed configuration for the aircraft's nose.

Less apparent changes, according to Vice President and C–5A Program Manager H. Lee Poore, include weight savings through improved chemical milling and use of more honeycombed construction and lightweight bonding. The improvements result in weight savings in excess of five percent over contemporary methods. Advanced technology fiber glass laminates and aluminum fiber glass sandwich panels account for part of the reduction. The use of about 8,500 pounds of titanium in the C–5A provides a weight saving of more than 2,500 pounds over standard materials and gives the aircraft a payload increase of more than one ton. Similarly, the use of some 750,000 titanium fasteners was dictated by the intrinsic lower weight and higher strength of that metal and resulted in an over-all weight cut of 7,400 pounds.

Lockheed officials say that similar progress has been made in the C–5A's guidance systems, advancing beyond the state of the art of contemporary transport aircraft. Onboard facilities provides for a navigational accuracy of one nautical mile per hour of flight and a positioning of the aircraft for airdrops of within 300 yards of the target. Without ground aids, landings at ceilings of 500 feet and one-mile visibility can be conducted, there values are reduced to 200-foot ceilings and one-half-mile visibility when ground aids are available and used.

Improvements are also reported in the C–5A's Malfunction Detection Analysis and Recording (MADAR) subsystem which monitors over 1,300 test points and permits diagnostic checks leading to the detection of malfunctioning components which can be replaced in flight.

The advanced technology engine of the C–5A, the General Electric TF39, entered flight test this spring installed in a B–52. This turbofan engine produces 41,100 pounds of thrust on takeoff, features a bypass ratio of 8:1, and an over-all pressure ratio of 25:1. Its specific fuel consumption is twenty-five percent below that of current transport engines. Eventually it will have a time between overhaul (TBO) of 5,000 hours; in the first phase of the program the TBO will, of course, be somewhat lower.

General Electric, subject to additional funding by the Department of Defense, has proposed growth versions of the TF39. By 1972, engines with a thrust of 45,000 pounds, and by 1975, 50,000 pounds, could be produced. Actual development of higher-thrust engines presumably will depend on cost/effectiveness analyses by the Department of Defense. These would weigh increased costs against aggregate benefits in the form of increased payloads, shorter takeoffs, higher cruise altitudes, and higher cruise speed.

While the present contract calls for the delivery of fifty-eight aircraft, Lockheed officials predict that some 300 or more C–5As will be built. A number of foreign countries have shown "great interest" in the C–5A, and Lockheed expects to sell the aircraft, configured as a military cargo plane, abroad in quantity. Conversion of the aircraft to commercial cargo operation is under consideration but will require a substantial investment by the company.

Military use of the C–5A beyond logistics missions is being examined by both the Department of Defense and the manufacturer. Lockheed has found a number of corollary missions. One includes the capability as an airborne command post. By adding three additional wing tanks, the C–5A Command Post could remain aloft for twenty hours and with only minor modification could furnish 7,000 square feet of usable floor space. It is also relatively easy, according to Lockheed, to convert the C–5A into a tanker that would offer two significant operational advantages: offload capabilities well beyond those of any existing craft, and the ability to operate from support-area airfields. An optimized taker version, featuring a shortened and slenderized fuselage and improved performance, is also being considered.

Under study as well is conversion of the C–5A to a missile launched. A number of launch techniques are being examined, among them Polaris-style vertical fuselage tubes, downward ejection, and launch through the aerial delivery openings.

As a heavy bomber, the C–5A might well be without peers, according to the manufacturer. Its capabilities would seem to qualify the giant plane for conventional rather than nuclear bombs. On the basis of a preliminary study, the C–5A bomber could deliver 288 conventional 750-pound bombs (214,000 pounds total bomb load as compared to a maximum of 60,000 pounds for the B–52). Bombs could be released through bays located forward of the main landing gear. Using the C–5A's standard rail and roller system, forty-eight 750-pound bombs could be released in a single salvo or, by alternating the pallets over the bomb bays, in continuous patterns for several thousand feet. The potential of the C–5A as a nuclear-powered aircraft was discussed in the August '67 issue of this magazine.

In cargo configuration, the Galaxy can accommodate about ninety-eight percent of all military equipment in the inventory. Range of the aircraft with full payload (220,000 pounds) is 3,050 nautical miles. With 112,600-pound payloads, the range increases to 5,500 nautical miles, and the aircraft's ferry range is 7,200 nautical miles. Gross weight is 728,000 pounds, and cruise speed for long-range missions is 440 knots. The C–5A can be loaded both from the front and the rear. Its loading height is adjustable to various conditions because of the "kneeling" capability of its landing gear, and the aircraft can airdrop as much as 200,000 pounds of payload in seconds. In a quick-change feature comparable to the latest commercial jetliners, the C–5A can accommodate seventy-five troops in a passenger compartment located above the cargo compartment. This installation can be removed to furnish additional cargo space when necessary.

Despite the airplane's great weight, the C–5A will be able to operate from forward sites because the "footprint," distriubted among the twenty-eight wheels of its landing gear, is lower than that of contemporary large jet transports. The pilot can deflate the tires just before landing to suit the existing field and weight conditions with the help of an electrically controlled tire-pressure control system.

The aircraft is designed to complete off- and on-loading and servicing in fifty to sixty minutes. Its direct operating cost is 2.1¢ per ton-mile, fifty percent cheaper than the best current equipment can furnish. Yet Lockheed already is busily studying a follow-on aircraft, designated the LGX (and nicknamed the Megaplane), with a proposed takeoff weight of between 900,000 and 1,200,000 pounds to furnish the increased airlift requirements of the more distant future.

Vice President Supports Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey is one of our Nation's most articulate, effective, and courageous defenders of our policy and our men in Vietnam.

Vice President Humphrey was one of the first great Americans of this era of American history to see the danger in appeasement of Communist aggression. I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the Country the following excellent article by William S. White which appeared in this morning's Washington Post:

Humphrey Heads L. B. J. Attack Against Anti-Vietnam Forces

(By William S. White)

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey has become the field chief of the Administration's long delayed counter-attack upon an implacable anti-Vietnam war faction led mainly by dissident Democrats who were once his close colleagues.

Task Force Humphrey, in consequence, is all but continuously airborne, as the Vice President carries the fight with characteristic gusto into every section of the United States. Already his flight patterns have taken him into every State save Mississippi. And he is even now working to add Mississippi to his list as soon as he can fit it into a bruising barnstorming schedule which is reviving rather than depressing the spirits of the man who holds the most inherently dispiriting post in Government.

Humphrey, that is to say, is an authentically happy warrior, who has in his eye a light of battle clearly too genuine to be only assumed, and a light in no way dimmed, moreover, by the fact that speech-making invitations are now rolling into his office at the rate of 100 a day.

The issue not only gives him something big to do—and in more poltically peaceful times the calendar of any Vice President is often heavy with made work—but also something into which he is able to put his whole heart. For Hubert Humphrey, the darling of both the moderately liberal and the far-liberal within his party in the old days when their joint concerns were predominantly those of domestic welfarism, in all his career has never wavered from a rationally hard line against Communist expansionism.

His strong support of the war policy in Vietnam long since has alienated the new left of isolationism; and hard and ugly words have long since fallen upon him from the lips of erstwhile comrades who now berate him as a renegade because he will not soften on Vietnam. But the shock of this episode has now largely gone, because Humphrey is too busy to care too much any more and because he sees Vietnam as the great divide between the men and the boys in the camp of American liberalism.

His ex-communication by such as Americans for Democratic Action—an organization he helped to found and an organization in which at the start led resistance to early efforts at Communist penetration—has by no means been an unmixed bane. For following logically from it has come a new degree of acceptability for HHH among moderate and conservative Democrats notably and ironically in the South and West. Their old suspicion of his domestic policies is vanishing in a new appreciation of his undoubtedly courageous stance on Vietnam and on Communist containment in general.

Task Force Humphrey is operating for the Administration very much as a military task force operates out ahead of the main troop bodies when a climactic and large-scale battle is developing in a wide field. It is moving fast, hitting hard, and maintaining always the high mobility that is the hallmark of any forward assault unit on martial terrain.

In a single visit to a single area Humphrey will make a minimum of three appearances: One to some non-political and general body, say a meeting of a Catholic, Protestant, Jewish charity group; another before the local or regional press and television; a third in private to some group of business or labor leaders.

The aggregate attendance at these far-scattered public appearances already runs in the hundreds of thousands and will at length run into millions. Humphrey has long since abandoned any notion of turning the other cheek to hard-core peaceniks and is giving more than he gets on every college campus. He is hitting the theme that three successive Presidents have found resistance to military communism in Asia to be indispensable and that all three are unlikely to be wrong.

He is wryly aware that he is little noted in Washington and the East, which he regards as pretty well drenched with anti-war propaganda, but asserts that out in the country the majority will support the war to the end when its justifications are presented with force and without apology.

Right or wrong, he is going for broke; he is prepared to live or die politically on the issue. He has made his peace with himself.

The Airport Trains Are on the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, as anyone who has experienced the trials of getting to and coming from our Nation's major airports knows, highways can no longer be relied on exclusively to serve the growing air transport industry.

With the jumbo jets and the supersonic transport just around the corner, it is vital that our cities provide rapid rail transit service to and from their airports. Thus far, however, only Cleveland has opted to provide this service.

The October 2, 1967, issue of Railway Age magazine, in an article entitled "The Airport Trains Are on the Way," closely examines the nearly completed Cleveland-Hopkins Airport rapid transit system and reports on the prospects for similar systems for other cities and their airports.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the Railway Age article at this point in the Record and commend it to the attention of my colleagues. The article follows:

The Airport Trains Are on the Way

Increasingly, rapid transit is talked of as a traffic-free means of reaching metropolitan airports, accessible today mainly over congested highways. So far in North America, however, only the Cleveland Transit System is putting tracks where all that talk is.

Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Denver are studying proposals to link rail terminals downtown with outlying airports.

The Port of New York Authority is examining potential of a road-rail vehicle capable of taking travelers from midtown Manhattan to Kennedy Airport; the Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority is considering 100-mph trains over the Long Island Rail Road to bring air travelers from Calverton to New York, 70 miles away.

Boston's Revere Beach transit line has a stop near Logan Airport, with bus transfer service.

In Europe, Brussels is linked to its airport by a commuter railway, and London to one of its two airports the same way. For the other London airport, two schemes were advanced for bringing British Railways and London Transport trains from downtown.

The important thing in everyone's mind is that jumbo jets and SST's are just around the corner. Getting to and from airports may be a headache now—but it's just a small foretaste of what's to come, if highways are relied on exclusively (RA, July 3/10, p. 42).

The 4-mile Cleveland Transit System extension to Cleveland Hopkins Airport will open more than a year from now. Cars for the new service have just been delivered. And the 20 stainless-steel units—first of this metal to be built for transit operations by Pullman-Standard—have already gone into revenue service.

CTS is operating its all day base and off-peak service over the existing 15-mile line with the new cars—rolling out their 13-year-old predecessors only during rush hours. Riders are encountering features new to Cleveland, and, in some cases, entirely new to U.S. rapid transit.

When the $3.5-million order was placed with P–S in July 1966, it was intended that the cars would provide fast, low-cost direct transportation between Cleveland's business center and the Hopkins terminal building. A test of this concept was so significant that the Department of Housing and Urban Development participated in the purchase of the rolling stock.

Luggage racks for travelers. A unique feature of the cars, designed specfically to make them attractive to air travelers, is the luggage rack installed just inside the doorway at each end. This five-shelf storage area was chosen in preference to racks over the passenger seats because it will simplify and speed the handling of bulky luggage.

Air conditioning is new for Cleveland transit riders: the Vapor Injectaire air circulating system is a "first" in the U.S. The four 100-hp motors on each 65,000-pound car, geared for a maximum of 60 mph, will produce considerably greater acceleration than traction equipment on the older cars. The Wabco N–2 self-centering, fully automatic coupler, another "first" for these cars, is installed at both ends.

Longer on the outside. Configuration of the new units differs considerably from previous CTS cars which are 48 feet long and seat 52 passengers.

Joining the transit-industry trend, CTS opted for the longest possible units and was able to fit 70-foot cars (over anti-climbers) on the existing line with only minor alterations at three station platforms. Seat spacing has been increased and two luggage racks have been installed. Each of the new cars seats 80 passengers.

Some of the older cars are assembled in married pairs with only a single operator's cab per unit. All cars which have just gone into service are designed for possible operation as single units. Each has a cab at each end. Because of the 300-foot platforms on CTS, trains of a maximum of four cars will be operated.

The carbody is essentially a stainless-steel structure. Undeframe end sections and bolsters are fabricated of low-alloy, high-tensile steel and welder between the AISI 200-grade stainless-steel side sills. The remainder of the framing, the side sheathing and the roof are also stainless, with all visible metal an AISI 300-grade alloy.

Plastic ends. The streamlined carends are molded fiberglass extending the full width and height of the carbody and incorporating the windows, destination signs and door openings. The integral color is chosen to blend with the metallic finish of the remainder of the carbody. The plastic is molded with extra thickness or metal reinforcements at stress points.

The car is carried by a pair of Rockwell MPT–2 transit trucks. While this is a new design, it incorporates the equalizing-tramming arrangement developed by Rockwell's LFM-Atchison Division for the 180 Chicago Transit Authority cars built in 1964 (RA, May 4, 1964, p. 26). This alignment system consists of a pair of spherical bearing joints in diagonal corners of the side frame—transom connections combined with the journal roller bearing installations. The flexibility of this truck arrangement permits individual vertical wheel displacements with a minimum of load transfer.

Air and coil suspension. Suspension is a combination of air and coil springs with hydraulic vertical and lateral shock absorbers. At each of the 28-inch cast-steel wheels is an ASF packaged tread braking unit fitted with composition shoes. Each motor drives through a double-reduction, parallel gear drive unit.

Each car has four sand boxes which deliver through electro-pneumatic sanders to the rail outboard of each truck. Traction controls are General Electric SCM type controlling the series-wound GE traction motors. Braking is basically dynamic, supplemented with the air-operated tread brakes. The Wabco Cineston master controller is used for regulation of both acceleration and deceleration. Maximum acceleration is 2.75 mph per second; deceleration is a maximum of 3.5 mphps, in emergency.

The carbody is insulated with polyurethane panels beneath the windows and with fiberglass above that level. Interior lining is laminated plastic with integral colored melamine facing. Partitions are aluminum-faced plymetal faced wtih melamine. Remainder of the trim and finish is stainless-steel. Floor covering is composition rubber bonded to the heavy plywood floor. Carl Ramsey. Cleveland Transit's manager of maintenance, stresses the system's requirement that no paint be used for interior finish of the car.

Special seating. Along with the greater-than-standard seat spacing, the seats themselves are also wider than previously used by CTS. Each is a two-passenger transverse type with stainless frame and one-piece cushion and one-piece back. Decorative heavy vinyls are used to cover the molded urethane foam seat and back. Under each seat cushion are two rubber platforms which are attached by heavy strapping over cavities in the plywood frame. The rubber is a polymeric compound called elasta/SEAT. It is formulated to dampen vibration while providing strength and resilience.

Passenger compartment side windows are tempered Chem-Cor glass with 28% light transmission to reduce glare and prevent infiltration of infrared rays of the sun. Plastic closures surround each window. The sill is designed as an air diffuser for the air-circulating system.

The 10-ton Safety electro-mechanical air-conditioning package which is resiliently mounted beneath the carbody incorporates the compressor, condenser, evaporator and control panel. It is designed to maintain a 75-degree interior temperature with an ambient of 95 degrees and a passenger load of 100.

Injectaire system. In the Vapor Injectaire system, air conditioning is tied in with heating so that either cold or hot air will be delivered to the car interior at the window sills. Heating is automatic and is based on energy released from the accelerating-braking resistors with a 41.4-kw auxiliary heater supplementing the waste heat recovered from dynamic braking.

The blower in the air-conditioning unit is used year-around for air circulation, directing air through the heat exchanger to the air distribution ducts along the car's side sills. It is directed upward under each window and passes through floor-level nozzles where it is combined with air recirculated from the carbody. Return ducts deliver a certain portion of the air to the air-conditioning blower. There it is combined with fresh air under thermostatic control.

Passenger compartment lighting consists of Luminator fluorescent fixtures. It is designed to backlight the advertising card racks and produce a 35-foot-candle illumination at the reading level of seated passengers. The lights operate on 400-cycle-per-second a-c power inverted from the 32-volt d-c control system.

Does Asia Want the Future Mr. Rusk Seems To Offer?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal, it seems to me, should be of great interest to the Members of this House. For this reason, I am this day inserting it into the RECORD, as follows:

DOES ASIA WANT THE FUTURE MR. RUSK SEEMS TO OFFER?

Secretary of State Dean Rusk last week delivered a very long and unsurprising defense of the administration's Vietnam policy. Once more he repeated that we are in South Vietnam only to insure that it and other small countries will "have a right to live in peace without molestations from across their frontiers." He told us that the war is going well, that the new South Vietnamese government is making progress, that no stalemate exists and that the debate in which the American people and its government are now engaged "is essentially a debate about detail—this or that military move, this or that diplomatic step—this or that formulation of what is in fact a common middle position."

Then Mr. Rusk, in the opinion of many who since have pondered his words, opened a new and disturbing dimension and rendered futile most of his earlier efforts to limit our commitments in time and in objective. Asked whether and to what extent our own national security was involved in Vietnam he said: "Within the next decade or two, there will be a billion Chinese on the mainland armed with nuclear weapons, with no certainty as to what their attitude toward the rest of Asia will be. . . . Now we believe that the free nations of Asia must brace themselves, get themselves set; with secure, progressive, stable institutions of their own, with co-operation among the free nations of Asia stretching from Korea and Japan right around to the subcontinent, if there is to be peace in Asia over the next ten to 20 years. . . ."

AN AWESOME COMMITMENT

One does not have to be an isolationist or to turn one's back on the legitimate responsibilities of great power to regard the prospect thus opened up with a shrinking heart. Our commitment in Vietnam, from this viewpoint, is far greater than merely chasing the North Vietnamese back home. We are there to insure the peace and safety of "the free nations of Asia stretching from Korea and Japan right around to the subcontinent."

So awesome a responsibility takes for granted far more than the American people have ever taken, or than most of them envisioned as our limited commitment to South Vietnam. It presupposes a view of Chinese expansionism with which many serious students disagree.

Edwin O. Reischauer, for instance, an Asian scholar of international repute and our former ambassador to Japan, has some differing thoughts on China: "In actuality," he says, in a new book: *Beyond Vietnam: The United States and Asia,* "China's share of the world population has for long been static or even declining. If present population figures are so uncertain, we cannot be very sure about earlier ones, but it would seem that China's population was a higher percentage of world population a century ago. . . . Growing now at a rate of about 2 per cent a year, as contrasted to rates averaging closer to 3 per cent in other less developed regions, it may be further losing ground. . . .

"China's development since 1964 of a small nuclear capacity has not, in my judgment, notably changed the military equation. Large nuclear arsenals have produced a balance of terror in the world but have not proved usable. . . . How much less useful is a tiny nuclear arsenal. . . . Would even a weak neighbor be seriously intimidated by a Chinese nuclear threat when everyone realizes that the actual use of nuclear weapons by China might bring down on it a much larger nuclear response by us, by the Soviet Union or possibly by both? . . .

"We are drifting perilously close to war with China over Vietnam. Nothing would be more profitless or idiotic. . . . Neither side could possibly win such a war but each could seriously hurt the other. . . . In fact it might lead to a Soviet-American war that could destroy the world. . . ."

Mr. Rusk seems often pushed, by circumstances and his own predilections, into frequent comparisons of the United States in Asia today and the United States in Europe a quarter-century ago. The comparison is dangerous. Containment as a policy applied to Stalinist Russia was, as its author, George Kennan has pointed out, one with a limited application in time and place. Its greatest advantage was that no war ever had to be fought to test it. It needed the presence—in peaceful formation—of allied troops on the continent of Europe. But it involved far more. Principally it involved the Marshall Plan, which proceeded, and succeeded magnificently, during the era of containment.

A DIFFERENT EUROPE NOW

When the Marshall Plan had achieved its objective of making Western Europe—a highly industrialized and homogeneous group of nations—once more economically self-sufficient and militarily self-reliant, the whole reason for containment of possible Soviet aggression withered away. But it has been and is now being, to the distress of its enunciator, invoked as a living and valid policy by a State Department rooted in the remembrance of things past. Its application to another continent, to entirely different circumstances and to a group of nations wretchedly ill-equipped for an industrialized society, has become a tragedy.

We are now, Mr. Rusk seems to be saying, committed to fighting a twenty-year war in the name of China's containment on and around the land mass of Asia. But containment did not involve war, it involved construction. It did not waste the lives and land of poor people; it rebuilt them. In contrast to a Marshall plan to enable Asians to live in peace and comfort, we are offering a scorched earth now as possible insurance against scorched earth twenty years from now. Is this really the future for which Mr. Rusk's "free nations of Asia" are besought to "brace themselves, get themselves set?"

Fighting Servicemen Are the Steppingstone to Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Editor Lyn Daunoras, of the Summit Valley Times, is a thoughtful, energetic, and dedicated newspaperwoman who is known for her candid views.

In a column in that publication on Wednesday, October 18, Miss Daunoras addressed herself directly to the political complications within the country caused by the war in Vietnam.

This is such a forthright commentary I feel it deserves careful scrutiny:

FIGHTING SERVICEMEN ARE THE STEPPING STONE TO OFFICE

(By Lyn Daunoras)

More and more we have come to admire our senior senator from Illinois, Everett McKinley Dirksen.

While all the opportunists are using our armed forces in Vietn Nam as pawns in the great vote-getting of November 1968, Dirksen has laid his senatorial ambitions on the line, insofar as re-election is concerned, by having the courage to speak up for our position, tenuous as it is, in that country. By so doing, he is setting aside partisan politics in defending a Democratic president. This is the type of man we need more of in Washington.

Romney is a hopeless cause. First he curried the Negro vote by letting Detroit burn to the ground rather than even attempt to stop the rioting there last summer and now he is bleating about having been "brainwashed" about Viet Nam in the days when he spoke up for our action there—before he realized how unpopular it was with some of the public. First of all, who needs a president who can be so easily brainwashed? And secondly, we don't dig a candidate who vacillates on issues just to build up his vote.

We had enough of that in 1964. Goldwater could have won the election had he been dishonest in his promises to the people. Instead, he had the nerve to say that if we go into a country, we should win the war and get out. This made him a "warmonger" and the Democrats, who were promising to "bring the boys home," made the most of it. But as soon as election was over. Goldwater's call for escalation was carried through.

Deliver us from candidates who promise the moon in order to get into office. This crowd includes Chuck Percy, too, who has a long way to go before he hopes to inherit the mantle of greatness worn by Dirksen. Talk is cheap—it's action that counts.

Much as we are anti-LBJ, we must say we admire his stand, too, in defending our action in Viet Nam when he knows it may well cost him the nomination. Bobby Kennedy, appealing to the hippies and young vote with his long hair and bangs, is carrying on the "peace crusade" which is amusing when one considers that the war was escalated and more troops sent over to fight under his brother's administration.

So what about Viet Nam? Are we to leave our boys defenseless (with apologies to Right Guard) while candidates argue the merit of staying there? Are we to settle for a dishonorable peace? Isn't it peculiar that the largest, richest, most powerful country in the world is stymied by a tiny Asian town not even as large as Rhode Island?

And what of the boys who have already sacrificed their lives there? Has it been in vain? It would be if, as the Doves will it, we just back out sheepishly and try to forget the whole thing.

There used to be a car slogan that went, "Ask the man who owns one." Well if anyone bothers to ask the man who has been there, they would find that, unlike the Korean war when men didn't realize why we were there and were defecting to the enemy, the boys fighting in Viet Nam today are writing home to speak up for our need there.

Receiving letters from Brookfield boys during that village's "Viet Nam Day in Brookfield" to honor their fighting men, we reprint here some of the excerpts from their notes of thanks:

"These people are disease-ridden and dirty, but they have more dignity than anyone I've ever known. They never complain. They work slow and steady, but they always work. These people live from one day to the next. They have to feed and clothe their children. If there is just enough food to survive, you can be sure there's no money for a doctor. These people depend on every American medical facility in Viet Nam. The only thanks they can give is a heart-felt smile, but do you know—it's more than enough?"

"Even though the country is diseased and contaminated and the living conditions are below that of the slums, these people still work hard just to keep alive. I have been over here only three months and I respect them very much. I'm glad I volunteered to come over here now. It gave me a chance to grow up, a chance that I'd probably never have gotten if I'd stayed stateside or gone elsewhere. We are fighting to free these people and no matter what our job is, we're all helping to keep communism from coming to the U.S."

"I read last week in Houston, Tex., that the 23rd Marine Regiment gave a group of antiwar agitators a thorough beating. I think every American serviceman is proud it finally happened."

These notes were not in response to letters asking questions. They were written by the boys in response to packages sent them by the community. Their comments were entirely of their own free will and it doesn't sound too much like they feel they should not be there.

And then there is the one we received last week from a mother whose son wrote: "Ask the people back home to pray and to let our leaders know what they are doing to us by not letting us fight like we were taught. We could clean this place up shortly if they'd give us the go-ahead. While they're telling everyone how human we are and asking for peace, we're getting blown away. The only way we can bring peace again is by force."

Instead of crying "bring the boys home," candidates would do well to call for an honorable peace and they are not going to get peace negotiations by letting our boys continue to be targets out there. The do-gooders in this country are not helping the cause any either. All they are doing is delaying the possibility of peace talks. Why should the Communists talk peace when they see how disunited we are here? If they hold out until after election they may win—not on the field—but in the American polling booths! It's worth it to them to wait.

Regardless of how Americans feel about this war, we're in it and to allow our boys to be slaughtered while they shilly-shally around in Washington is certainly not to our credit and only adds to the image of the "ugly American."

Our vote will go to the candidate who promises to end the war in Viet Nam—not by crawling out shamefully, but by honorable means. We can only keep faith with the dead, the wounded and those fighting there now, by giving it our all. It takes unity to do that.

We hate to think how many boys are going to die between now and next November while the politicians use them as their main step to office.

Are We Headed for a Dark Age of Nondiscovery in Therapeutics?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, committees of both this House and the other body have been actively examining the practices of the prescription drug industry, its pricing and marketing policies, its research and development record, and the effectiveness of that industry's regulation by the Federal Government.

This is no doubt necessary in the general interest of public health protection and in view of the Government's role in the delivery and financing of health care for more and more of our citizens under the medicare, medicaid, and related programs.

We must take all proper steps to assure that the best possible health care is available to the American people and that no one is being denied such care, including drugs, because of an inability to pay for it. The flow of sorely needed new medicines for yet untreatable diseases should not be impaired.

Therefore, it caused me grave concern when I read that a distinguished professor of medicine at Columbia University, Dr. Charles A. Ragan, Jr., fears that we may be headed for "a dark age of nondiscovery in therapeutics." It shocked me to learn, Mr. Speaker, that such views are held by the Lambert professor of medicine at the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, who is also director of the first medical division at New York's Bellevue Hospital.

Writing in the October issue of the journal Resident Physician, Dr. Ragan points out that the pharmaceutical industry, because of its intimate relationship to the health of the Nation, is being subjected to rules and regulations imposed on few other industries. In essence, he said, it is becoming a "public utility."

Most utilities have not been greatly innovative, as Dr. Ragan points out, and—

> New ideas leading to new drugs are an absolute necessity for the whole health field.
>
> If this process of innovation in the drug industry is stopped or slowed—

Dr. Ragan warns—

> American medicine and the whole health profession will suffer.

Federal regulation has already slowed the process of drug discovery, Dr. Ragan charges, and it is vital that this slowdown be overcome.

> Some method must be worked out whereby the pharmaceutical industry is allowed a just profit and is permitted to innovate while assuring the public maximal protection—

He concluded:

> It is essential that this be done before we enter a dark age of non-discovery in therapeutics.

I urge my colleagues to read and ponder Dr. Ragan's editorial, which follows:

ARE WE HEADED FOR A DARK AGE OF NONDISCOVERY IN THERAPEUTICS?

(By Charles A. Ragan, Jr., M.D., Lambert Professor of Medicine, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons; director, first medical division, Bellevue Hospital)

The pharmaceutical manufacturers have recently been having a bad time. Buffeted by hostile Congressional committees, blown hither and yon by an increasingly aggressive but yet hesitant FDA, they have truly been placed in an unfavorable light, despite their excellent record of achievement. A large part of their profits have been put into research and development. As Congressman Melvin Laird (R., Wisc.) pointed out in a recent speech, in "an industry based on innovation, the pharmaceutical industry receives only 4% of its research and development money from the Federal government, compared with 88% for aircraft and missiles and 55% for all manufacturing." Still, their drug prices are under constant attack and their marketing poliices—particularly their advertising phraseology, which is carefully monitored—have been severely criticized. Comparing the advertising claims of the pharmaceutical industry with those of other industries—automotive, food, cosmetics—it obviously seems lily-white and low pressured.

The whole battle over generic versus brand names for drugs is contrary to principles in other well-established industries, where brand names are an accepted form of merchandising and Fair Trade Practice acts prevent discount sales. However, it is difficult to justify the differences in price of identical drugs, although whether they are in fact identical when put out by different manufacturers has been questioned. In other areas, fly-by-night companies are seldom tolerated and should certainly not be supported in the drug field. Wide differences in price among established firms are, however, impossible to justify. The final link in the chain of drug prices—the charges made by the local pharmacist—is now under closer scrutiny.

The basic problem seems to be that the pharmaceutical industry, because of its intimate relationship to the health of the nation, is subject to rules and regulations imposed on few other industries. Parenthetically, a case can be made for a relationship between the automotive industry and health, since so much surgery is needed to repair the results of automobile-induced trauma. And the threat of the tobacco industry to health is daily receiving more emphasis.

Since the pharmaceutical industry is so closely allied to health, legislators have held that its pricing and marketing policies must be in a special category, different from those of other industries. Great circumspection in its advertising claims has been imposed and, as a corollary, its profit motive has had to be held in check.

In essence it becomes a public utility, with a stated permitted profit margin. Most utilities, with the exception of the Bell Laboratories of A.T.&T., have not been greatly innovative. And new ideas leading to new drugs are an absolute necessity for the whole health field. If this process of innovation in the drug industry is stopped or slowed, American medicine and the whole health profession will suffer. Statements have been made that new methods of drugs evaluation are needed, particularly at the molecular level. This may well be true, but trials on humans represent the final answer in the efficacy (which includes the safety margin) of a new drug.

At the present time, the regulatory agencies—notably the FDA—have slowed this process of discovery. It is vital to American medicine that this slow-down be overcome and that the process never be stopped. Some method must be worked out whereby the pharmaceutical industry is allowed a just profit, and is permitted to innovate while assuring the public maximal protection. It is essential that this be done before we enter a dark age of non-discovery in therapeutics.

Interpol Condemns Marihuana as Capable of Producing Drug Dependence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, as we know, there has been a semipublic debate going on in this country for the past few years about the advisability of legalizing marihuana, known as *Cannabis sativa* in its scientific name, or as "pot" or "grass" to those of the younger generation who profess its use.

Last week, Dr. Goddard, of the Food and Drug Administration, managed to stir the bubbling pot a bit more with his assertion that he did not personally believe marihuana to be any more dangerous than alcohol. His remarks are unfortunate, in my view, for while he stated them in terms of his own opinion, his words are sure to be cited by proponents of legalization as those of an authority in an important Federal post.

In the midst of this controversy, I believe we should all be aware that the 93-member nations of the International Criminal Police Organization—Interpol—meeting in their 36th general assembly session in Kyoto, Japan, recently unanimously adopted the following resolution stating that marihuana is capable of producing drug dependence, and urging that all member governments continue to deal severely with those who traffic in it.

Resolution 1—Narcotic Drugs

Whereas the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, obligates signatories to place cannabis under a system of rigid control;

Whereas many members of Interpol are from countries which have ratified or acceded to the Single Convention;

Whereas the WHO Expert Committee on Dependence-Producing Drugs has determined that cannabis is capable of producing drug dependence and that harm to society is caused by abuse of cannabis;

Recognizing the need for checking any possible tendency to minimize the harmful aspects of cannabis or to bring about legalization of this drug;

Recognizing that inadequate control of illicit cannabis traffic breeds drug dependence, creates enforcement problems and injures the national welfare;

Keeping in view the resolutions adopted in General Assembly sessions in Rio de Janeiro and in Berne in 1965 and 1966 respectively, and having considered the developments since then;

The I.C.P.O.-Interpol General Assembly, meeting in Kyoto from 27th September to 4th October 1967 at its 36th session:

Recommends that all Interpol members urge on their governments the necessity of providing adequate and prompt measures to ensure that illicit cannabis traffickers are severely delt with, and that possession of cannabis be restricted to legitimate medical, scientific and industrial use.

Good Marks for Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the issue of school integration stirs great controversy. Many people question whether integration contributes to better education.

Evidence to support the belief that integration does contribute to educational achievement is found in the city of White Plains, N.Y. Last week the White Plains Board of Education made public the results after 3 years of their racial balance plan. The most significant finds:

First. Negro pupils attending integrated schools are achieving far more than Negro children who attended the segregated "center city" school.

Second. Negro pupils who have been in integrated schools since first grade are doing far better than those who started in a segregated school.

Third. White youngsters are academically doing as well as, and sometimes better than, pupils in the all-white schools before 1964.

An article on the White Plains experience appeared in the October 22, 1967, New York Times. I insert that article in the Record, as follows:

Good Marks for Integration

(By Leonard Buder)

Three years ago White Plains, the county seat of Westchester County, closed a predominantly Negro elementary school in the center of the city and began transporting its pupils to white schools in outlying residential areas under a "Racial Balance Plan."

Many white residents in the suburban city of 55,000 persons, 20 miles north of New York City, predicted this would spell the end of the fine local public school system. The influx of the Negro youngsters, most of whom come from economically disadvantaged families, would impair the education of the white children, it was feared.

Some white families began looking for homes elsewhere. There were bitter remarks that the city might soon have to be renamed "Black Plains." But despite some initial apprehension, no exodus of white families developed.

The real test of the integration plan, however, was what impact it would have on the education of pupils—white and Negro. And this could not be quickly answered.

Last week the White Plains Board of Education gave that answer when it made public the findings of an evaluation of pupil achievement before and after the Racial Balance Plan went into effect. The most significant findings:

(1) Negro pupils attending integrated schools are achieving far more than Negro children who attended the segregated "center city" school.

(2) Negro pupils who have been in integrated schools since first grade are doing far better than those who started in a segregated school.

(3) White youngsters are academically doing as well as, and sometimes better than, pupils in the all-white schools before 1964.

The experience of White Plains—which, incidentally, undertook to correct racial imbalance in its schools before a crisis erupted—should prove encouraging to those who believe that effective school integration need not be an elusive goal.

By coincidence, a day after the suburban study was made public, the New York City school system released an outside evaluation of a multimillion-dollar educational experiment intended to halt the exodus of white pupils from so-called "transitional areas."

This study, however, had no happy conclusion: the white population in the schools surveyed declined more than 50 per cent in a three-year span, despite the special program. This would seem to show that it will take more than limited patchwork efforts to cope with the dynamics of urban change.

The White Plains plan, on the other hand, did not represent a collection of piecemeal experiments but a carefully evolved program.

It came as the logical extension of other moves made in recent years to bring about greater integration.

When faced with a need to build a second high school, the school board correctly decided that two high schools would inevitably lead to segregation no matter where the new school was located. Consequently, in 1960, a new all-city comprehensive high school—large enough for everyone—was opened. The former high school was converted into an elementary and junior high school.

Under the new elementary school assignment policy—which sent Negro pupils to the outlying, largely white schools—Negro enrollment in each school was kept within a range of about 10 to 30 per cent of the total pupil enrollment. Thus, the Negro minority remained a minority, a fact that made integration more acceptable to some whites.

"More relevant to our success," observes Dr. Carroll F. Johnson, the Southern-born, integration-minded Superintendent of Schools, "was the fact that we could balance racial percentages in our schools without removing white children from predominantly white schools and reassigning them to predominantly 'Negro' facilities."

MINORITY ENROLLMENT CITED

Dr. Johnson frankly concedes that this was possible because "we had only to deal with a minority group enrollment of 17 per cent."

"The truth is," he adds, "that cross-busing would have presented major difficulties and might in the end have been rejected. Our residents are characteristically fair and their educational background is above average. They wish, for the most part, to provide equal educational opportunity for all children—even at some inconvenience to themselves.

"But I do not believe that they would have willingly sent their own children into center-city schools to leaven the lot of disadvantaged pupils there."

Other communities, however, cannot—as Dr. Johnson readily points out—solve their racial imbalance problems in the manner of White Plains.

In New York City, for example, Negro and Puerto Rican pupils make up the majority in the elementary schools. In Manhattan, they comprised 76 per cent of the elementary school enrollment last year.

But the success of White Plains can offer some guidelines to those communities more similarly situated. Most important, it demonstrates what can be accomplished by determination. And it proves that equal opportunity for Negro pupils need not impair educational opportunities for white pupils or trigger a white exodus.

Transportation: The Fourth Dimension

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, as our transportation system struggles to keep up with the growing demands placed on it by a rapidly expanding and urbanized population, we often find ourselves being servants to the system rather than its master.

In a recent article in the Chicago Sun-Times, Charles Bartlett examines this problem—what he calls the fourth dimension in transportation—and his discussion helps to focus attention on this important topic. It is particularly significant because of the proposed construction of high-speed routes to J. F. K. airport in New York City, which will so vitally affect resident in the city. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of Mr. Bartlett's excellent article:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 16, 1967]

BOYD FIGHTS DIN IN AIR, ON ROAD

(By Charles Bartlett)

WASHINGTON.—An imaginative move by Alan Boyd and his Transportation Department raises hopes that all the future advances in that field will not be accomplished at the expense of the man who stays home.

Although his department is less than a year old, Boyd is interpreting its charter in the broadest possible terms. He has proclaimed his intention to exert its leverage in behalf of the victims as well as the beneficiaries of new methods of transportation.

"We no longer can afford to ignore the fourth dimension in transportation—its effect on the environment," Boyd said recently. "Transportation today determines not only how well we can move in our cities; it determines how well we can live in them."

His solicitude for those whose tranquillity is being ruptured by the jet plane or the flow of autos comes barely in time to head off an uprising. Normally passive citizens are increasingly indignant over the noise they are asked to suffer. More than 175 lawsuits have been filed against the noise at 34 airports; the victims of Kennedy Airport staged a traffic jam there over Labor Day.

"It is a lucky thing the wheel was invented before the auto," a humorist named Samuel Hoffenstein observed. "Otherwise can you imagine the awful screeching?"

The sequence of inventions in the case of the jet engine was less fortunate. The manufacturers and airlines leaped into the jet age on an assumption that the public would accept the noise in return for the speed.

The rumblings of revolt have caught them without a technological fallback position. They desperately need new airports for the massive traffic which the jet has brought to them. But the public will not yield up the sites for those airports because of its apprehensions over the noise.

Similarly, the relentless pressures for new highways in the cities are met by the counter-pressures of citizens in revolt for the first time against traditional assumptions that highways should go where the highway engineers decide to put them.

One transport planner, C. McKim Norton, has put the situation succinctly: "Until we make up our minds about what kind of cities we want to live in and design our transportation system to serve the indicated needs, transportation will continue to be the master of our urban environment."

Boyd already has taken two significant steps toward his goal of insuring that the public interest is the key factor in all future decisions.

"Under the Federal Aviation Act, the concept of 'public convenience and necessity' is not limited to a concern for air transportation users only," the department's general counsel, John Robson, asserted in a petition to the Civil Aeronautics Board. "It may encompass as well concern for others who may be affected by air transportation. . . . Board determinations should consider those who assert they would be inconvenienced or adversely affected as well as those who allege that they will be benefited by the proposed new service."

On the highway front, Boyd has contracted with Baltimore to employ a team of architects, city planners, sociologists, and economists to work with the highway and traffic engineers in determining the route and design of a new section of the interstate highway system.

Asserting that the "best judges of routes and designs are the people who will have to live with them," Boyd will require two public hearings on every route that is proposed for federal financing. One hearing will deal with the route's impact upon the people who live in its corridor.

Seventy-three Percent Vote "No" on Gun Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the results of a poll conducted in Columbus, Ohio, on October 9, 1967.

In that poll following the 6 p.m. news program on channel 4, the question was asked, "Do you favor gun-control legislation?" Persons in the audience were to call one telephone number to vote "yes" and another number to vote "no."

The results were announced on the 11 p.m. news that same evening. Twenty-seven percent of those responding voted "yes" and 73 percent voted "no."

This tends to indicate again, Mr. Speaker, the strong opposition of the American people to legislation restricting the right of law-abiding citizens to acquire firearms for legitimate sporting and defense purposes.

Revolt in the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, by a majority of 239 to 164, economy-minded Members of the House last Wednesday voted to place a ceiling of $131.5 billion on the amount that can be expended by the Federal Government during the current fiscal year. This is $6 billion more than was spent last year. By the terms of the House measure, the limitation cannot affect funds to support the war in Vietnam, nor money for pensions, social security payments, and for other fixed and essential services.

The House action has been acclaimed throughout the land. The people are scared—and understandably so. Faced with an estimated $29 billion deficit—brought on by excessive and irresponsible nondefense spending in recent years—and a possible additional tax increase, the American people have a right to expect this Congress to do something meaningful about it.

The built-in danger is well described in an editorial which appeared in last Friday's Washington Evening Star, in these words:

> Without this, if spending is not heavily trimmed and if, in consequence, there is no hike in taxes, the American people can look forward to two very bad things. First, a deficit-inspired inflation of very serious proportions. Then, perhaps in two or three years' time, according to some authorities, a deeper depression than anything this country has experienced in the past quarter of a century.

The entire editorial follows:

REVOLT IN THE HOUSE

The anti-spending rebellion in the House on Wednesday cannot be explained away as a wrathful reaction by the legislators against the Johnson administration. Wrath may have motivated some of the members. But the real source of this revolt was the voters—voters who have let their congressmen know in very explicit terms that they are not going to hold still for a tax increase unless it is accompanied by a significant cut in spending.

This, in our view, is a very healthy development. There is nothing scientific about the approach. John Q. Voter hasn't the foggiest notion as to how and where the federal budget can best be trimmed. The chances are that not many members of the House are endowed with much more expertise in this respect. But they know, or they feel in their bones, that this country is headed for very hard times unless somebody steps on the brake. And this feeling, we think, is amply justified.

One estimate is that the spending reduction which would result if the House action stands would range from $5 billion to $7.5 billion. In his appeal to the Senate Appropriations Committee for relief, Budget Director Schultze fixed the cutback at from $6 billion to $8 billion. Actually, of course, no one can be sure at this stage of the game for there are too many unknown factors.

If either of these estimates is correct, it may be that reductions of such magnitudes cannot be made without curtailing or eliminating essential services. But some reduction, perhaps on the order of $3 billion to

$4 billion, can be made in the domestic sector while the country must foot the bill for the costly war in Vietnam. It is very doubtful, however, that even the smaller cutback will materialize unless the administration is compelled to pull in its spending horns. And this is what we hope will finally come out of the revolt in the House.

Without this, if spending is not heavily trimmed and if, in consequence, there is no hike in taxes, the American people can look forward to two very bad things. First, a deficit-inspired inflation of very serious proportions. Then, perhaps in two or three years' time, according to some authorities, a deeper depression than anything this country has experienced in the past quarter of a century.

Are We Winning in Vietnam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, to answer that question I commend to the attention of Congress and our people throughout America the following articles which appeared in the Washington Post this morning—one by Joe Alsop, writing from Saigon; the other article by John Chamberlain:

WESTMORELAND FORCES HAVE VIETCONG ALL BUT OVER A BARREL

(By Joseph Alsop)

SAIGON.—After a month spent in a dozen different provinces and three of the four corps areas of South Vietnam, one leaves really bewildered by the defeatism that seems to prevail at home. There is no stalemate here. And by any rational test, Gen. William C. Westmoreland at last has the other side over a barrel.

The barrel consists of a basic contradiction. On the one hand, every observable sign—in the field, in the POW and defector interrogation, and in ton upon ton of captured documents—points to a central conclusion about the VC guerrilla base in the countryside and their control of the population.

The conclusion is that this VC base in its instruments of control cannot long survive without the active, fairly close-in support of the big units—the enemy's "main force" divisions, regiments and battalions, which are now chiefly North Vietnamese in three-quarters of the country.

On the other hand, every observable sign—again in both the field and the documents—points to an equally important conclusion about the "big unit war," as it is called here. This first phase of the war, which has endured since the American intervention, has in fact come to an end. The reason is that the North Vietnamese cannot pay the immense manpower bill for supporting the ambitious troop structure of big units they have deployed in South Vietnam.

That does not mean that there will be no more big units—for the Hanoi war-planners quite certainly dare not go as far as a complete return to classical, small unit guerrilla fighting. The effort to pin down American forces along the miscalled Demilitarized Zone may well be continued, to relieve pressure farther south.

In addition, the effort to keep in being some sort of big units—perhaps battalions instead of regiments and divisions—will certainly be continued in a good many areas, where this support is essential to the survival of the VC base in important and populous provinces. Yet the barrel will still be there, as can be seen by a glance at II Corps, for instance.

In II Corps, as recently as six months ago, there were supposed to be two full enemy divisions on the western border, in the Cambodian sanctuary. This was already a bit of an overestimate, yet the North Vietnamese troops of this "B–3 Front" were still fighting aggressively and continuously at that time. An entire U.S. Division, the Fourth Infantry, was engaged against them.

Only a few days ago, in contrast, Gen. Westmoreland returned from an inspection of the border with the conviction that the remaining regiments of the B–3 Front had been "degraded (as our army now so strangely says) to replacement depots." Obviously, this kind of diminution of the Cambodian sanctuary's threat will also diminsh the U.S. troop requirement there.

Suppose, then, that only one U.S. brigade is needed to keep the border guard. That will free two more brigades for use in the populous and important coastal provinces of II Corps. And here the other side is already in dreadful shape.

On the coast, the Third and Fifth North Vietnamese have long since been torn to rags and tatters. But precisely because they are desperately needed to support the VC base in populous provinces (a need the documents show), these two unhappy divisions now have complete replacement priority. Even this replacement priority has failed to bring them back to effective life, however.

Increase the pressure here still further, as Gen. Westmoreland can so easily do if the big unit threat diminishes elsewhere, then the remnant of the big unit threat in the coastal province can also be eliminated. Whereupon the VC base and the VC population control will ravel away, for want of big unit support. And the coastal provinces will then be largely cleared.

This is, of course, far too schematic a description of what is necessarily a very complex process. As experience in vital Binhdinh Province shows, for instance, the raveling away of the VC base goes by stages. It is very fast at first, when the VC majority are killed or captured or defect. It slows down after that, when none but the ultra-hard-core minority of VC activists are left to be scooped up.

There are differences, too, from province to province, and from corps area to corps area. In III Corps, for instance, the famous Ninth VC Division may well be kept in being; while the two other divisions are broken down or wither away. Yet there is still that barrel, always at work.

If the big unit threat ends or even drops off at Point X, in other words, Gen. Westmoreland can intensify the pressure at Point Y—primarily in the most populous provinces, where the big units are harder to keep up to strength, too, than they are on the remote borders. If the pressure is increased enough at Point Y, the second stage of raveling away is reached. Point Z will then key in to feel more pressure. An so it must continue, with the same contradiction always bedeviling the enemy.

SOME GOOD NEWS ON VIETNAM L. B. J. COULD HAVE DISCLOSED

(By John Chamberlain)

Gov. Ronald Reagan of California has accused President Johnson of hiding news of our successes in the Vietnamese war in order to save the glad tidings for the 1968 election campaign.

This is scarcely credible, for how does any news, good or bad, keep for nine months? But if Reagan is almost certainly wrong about Lyndon Johnson's motivations, he could be right when he says the White House isn't giving the public an up-to-date run-down on the progress of the war.

If I didn't happen to subcribe to the Washington Report of the American Security Council, for example, I wouldn't have known that the military advisers of SEATO, meeting in September in Bangkok, had received a most optimistic summary of battlefront successes from Gen. Westmoreland's headquarters. Gov. Reagan says he has a feeling, based on information from "certain contacts," that "the corner has been turned" in Vietnam. The Governor may be sticking his neck out but the Westmoreland report to SEATO certainly corroborates what Reagan has learned from "people who have been there."

Zone by zone, the Westmoreland summary contradicts all the purveyors of gloom. Quoting the American Security Council, "North Vietnamese forces still have the capability to mount large-scale attacks from within and above the Seventeenth Parallel." This means that the First Corps Zone is still in trouble, but enemy attacks have always, to date, "been repulsed with heavy losses," which means that no Dienbienphu is in sight. Meanwhile, the "percentage of population in the zone under Vietcong control has decreased from 65 per cent to 49 per cent over the past year," and "commercial and military traffic can now use the entire 235 miles of highway from DMZ south to the Second Corps border."

In Zone Two, no North Vietnamese regiment has achieved a successful operation for two years. The "population under Vietcong control has fallen from 50 per cent to 11 per cent," and "90 per cent of the important highways are now open."

Zone Three is a more complicated matter, for here "the bulk of the VC clandestine organization remains intact" for terroristic purposes. But "the number of enemy killed, captured or defecting has risen from 900 a month in 1966 to over 2000 a month in 1967."

In Zone Four, population under VC control "has dropped from 54 per cent to 40 per cent." Pacification is slow, but "the foundation is being laid," and "public confidence in the government's ability to win the war is growing."

As for the air war against the North, the Westmoreland report to SEATO says it has been extremely effective." Approximately 50 per cent of North Vietnam's war supporting industry, including its only iron and steel plant and its only cement plant, have been destroyed."

Bulk oil storage facilities have been knocked out, "forcing the North Vietnamese to resort to an inefficient, widely dispersed 55-gallon barrel storage system." All the major northeast rail lines have been "successfully interdicted," and over a "half-million men have been diverted to road maintenance, repair, dispersal and reconstruction tasks." Ship off-loading time "has quadrupled in six months at North Vietnamese ports."

If the foregoing report is at all accurate, President Johnson should have passed its essential features along to the American people.

Aviation's Challenge: Nuclear-Powered Airplane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues' attention to an interesting article which appeared in the August issue of the Air Force Magazine. It follows:

REBIRTH OF AVIATION'S TOP CHALLENGE: THE NUCLEAR-POWERED AIRPLANE

(By Edgar E. Ulsamer, associate editor, Air Force/Space Digest)

The theory of nuclear propulsion for military aircraft is experiencing a renaissance, giving rise to the heady prospect of airborne missile launchers, command posts, and large logistics aircraft of almost unlimited endurance and revolutionary capabilities. Present efforts differ substantially in approach and objectives from those of the previous nuclear bomber program (ANP), which rode high in the 1950s and was terminated toward the end of the decade.

While the initial-effort was characterized by high-flying exuberance, the present program, involving a number of aerospace companies and government agencies, is devoid of pyrotechnics and marked by, as one executive put it, "a cautious low-key approach." Equally dissimilar is the application: For the moment, all study efforts are confined to massive subsonic aircraft at least as large as the C–5A. This is so for technical as well as economic reasons. C. L. "Kelly" Johnson, Lockheed's Vice President for Advanced Developemnt Projects, recently described the history and prospects of nuclear propulsion in these words: "We tried very hard in the 1950s to make a nuclear-powered bomber, but we got terribly mixed up in asking nuclear power to do something that it did not want to do. [But] with the changes that we have had in the last ten years in metals and in our knowledge of nuclear problems slowly but surely, the first application will come in large cargo aircraft."

A government scientist states the case for the nuclear plane in this fashion: "ANP had two strikes against it when the mission parameters were set. Holding the weight to 500,000 pounds was one principal mistake and requiring the plane to fly supersonically was another. Nuclear propulsion doesn't seem to become practical in aircraft much below 1,000,000 pounds gross takeoff weight, and really comes into its own at about 1,200,000 pounds. Also we are now convinced that only subsonic capabilities are in the cards for the atomic plane."

He added that recent recognition of these two facts "will probably go down in history as the two main breakthroughs in the exploration of nuclear power for aviation."

AIR FORCE INTEREST INCREASING

"Recent developments in nuclear reactors and shielding," according to Lockheed's Chairman of the Board, Daniel J. Haughton, have made nuclear power a "distinct possibility" for large subsonic aircraft. T. R. May, President of Lockheed-Georgia Co., which spearheads current industry efforts in the nuclear-propulsion field, says that Air Force interest in an "orderly and realistic study program of nuclear propulsion is increasing discernibly."

Other Lockheed officials directly involved in the current effort point at a principal caveat: "We need to do more work focused on the system effectiveness and the performance capabilities of a nuclear-powered aircraft system. We have a comprehensive in-house study under way and similar evaluations are in progress elsewhere. When these have been completed, a decision can be made on whether a nuclear-powered airplane program should proceed. We don't as yet recommend any actual construction program of a nuclear airplane."

Dr. H. S. Sweet, a senior scientist who helps direct the study program, explains Lockheed's "in-house effort is part of our long-range, post-C–5A systems planning, which includes a number of large aircraft configurations employing conventional as well as nuclear propulsion." Findings from this company-funded work are being made available freely to the Air Force, NASA, and AEC. Other aerospace companies involved in this and related studies include Westinghouse, General Electric, Aerojet-General, and the Allison Division of General Motors.

In spite of the determination to hold fast on a cautious course, Lockheed finds much to justify optimism in regard to nuclear propulsion for aircraft of the C–5A type or larger and at a price that may well be attractive in the light of the intrinsically unique mission capabilities.

Since the demise of the original ANP scheme, some progress in such areas as shielding, reactor efficiency, reduced reactor size, and increased safety has been made. But Lockheed's planners say that the most important advance is the recognition "of what nuclear propulsion can do and cannot do in aeronautics," occupied with the emergence of large aircraft concepts in military and commercial aviation typified by the C–5A and the Boeing 747.

THE NUCLEAR POWER RATIONALE

The impetus for nuclear-propulsion R&D in aircraft, according to Lockheed, is based on the following rationale and technological developments.

The advent of massive aircraft of the C–5A type can make the heavy and costly installation of a nuclear propulsion system for cruising worthwhile.

The availability of ultrahigh-powered, advanced-technology engines, such as the TF39 (which, of course, is coming into being because of the increased propulsion requirements of the C–5A), which feature a thrust-to-weight ratio sufficiently high to carry the additional weight of a nuclear-propulsion unit. (Lockheed's planning is based on using engines much like the standard four engines of the C–5A operated with conventional fuel during takeoff and landing. The aircraft would be driven by the reactor's nuclear energy, in the form of heat, during cruise only. The dual-purpose engines would include a heat exchanger located forward of the combustion chambers to permit operation in either mode.)

LIQUID METALS OR HELIUM?

Lockheed's Deputy C–5A Program Director, F. A. Cleveland, stresses that a major challenge and promise lies in reactor and heat-transfer-loop technology, especially the use of liquid metals such as potassium, lithium, and sodium and the related pump efficiency in order to permit more direct and more efficient conversion of the reactor's heat generation into useful propulsive thrust. Inert gases such as helium are also being considered for the heat exchanger. Government officials also prefer to continue the examination of the liquid-metal and inert-gas approaches.

Comparable progress in shielding techniques combined with the fact that reactors have grown smaller.

Government scientists stress that areas of equal importance are reactor efficiency and fuel-element burn-up rate as they affect time between overhaul (TBO). NASA calculations indicate that a TBO ranging between 1,000 and 10,000 hours could represent a viable compromise between what the state of the art makes possible and what is desirable. Oxidation is seen as the principal foe of reactor and heat exchange longevity. While use of such heat-resisting metal as molybdenum and colombium enables the designers of nuclear-propulsion systems in space applications to achieve satisfactory longevity, these metals can't be used in the atmosphere without special and difficult coating techniques. It is feasible to surround the system with an inert gas except at the radiator in the engine, where the heat energy has to be transferred to the airflow.

Reactor overhaul and refueling will be difficult and expensive. The simplest approach is to remove the shielded reactor from the airplane and take it to a refueling facility. Meanwhile, a spare refueled reactor can be put in the airplane to reduce airplane down time. Reactor overhaul and refueling will be accomplished by specially trained operators manipulating so-called "slaves" (remote control devices that function and look like human hands) in a shielded building.

Nuclear contamination, which in the initial ANP program posed severe problems, appears to be less severe in heavier aircraft which can "afford" better shielding. Lockheed scientists hypothesize that encapsuling the reactor in a rupture-safe shield, known as the unit shielding technique, is now feasible. The ANP approach had to compromise because of the then-existing state of the art and weight limitations, and settled for a divided shielding technique. This placed part of the shielding around the reactor and some more around the crew. The result was that the entire aircraft except the crew compartment was contaminated, that maintenance was next to impossible since even after shutdown the radiation levels at such points as the engines were far above the industrial dose rates considered safe by the AEC, and that the aircraft would have represented an intolerable safety hazard.

CRASH SURVIVABILITY

By contrast, the Lockheed Co. predicts that unit shielding will be able to survive a controlled crash and even a midair collision when linked to special energy absorption techniques which are of a classified nature. Consideration is being given to "self-welding" valves linking the reactor shielding with the heat exchangers. This self-welding technique would be automatically activated.

Unit shielding confines contamination to the reactor area, while the rest of the airplane remains "clean," thereby permitting normal maintenance. This presupposes that a leak-proof design is possible.

Mr. May, predicting that state-of-the-art advances last year and current progress will result in eventual go-ahead on a full-scale nuclear-propulsion hardware program, envisions "an orderly development program built around the C–5A."

The hardware progression Lockheed will propose, he says, starts with static ground testing of the propulsion unit and the heat-exchange-loop system. Areas that require further study and innovation include the reactor fuel elements, the heat-exchange system, and pumps.

The next step after static tests would be flight testing of a system aboard the C–5A. Following the satisfactory completion of such a development phase, the actual modification of a number of C–5A aircraft to employ nuclear power for cruise flight could begin.

Mr. May feels that the number of conversions of C–5As to nuclear propulsion would depend on the mission requirements. Complete "nuclearization" of the C–5A fleet, he thinks, would be neither necessary nor practical.

THE OPTIMIZED NUCLEAR PLANE

If the nuclear segment of the C–5A fleet performs as expected, the final phase in the development and deployment of nuclear-powered aircraft could set in, according to the Lockheed executive.

This would be the design and manufacture of special, massive aircraft "optimized from the very outset for the employment of nuclear propulsion."

"There can't be any question about the fact that eventually we will have to build aircraft designed specifically and solely for the unique characteristics of nuclear propulsion. Adapting already existing airplanes to accommodate a reactor and related systems will be adequate in the early state of the developmental program but is not going to furnish the full efficiency that nuclear power is capable of," Mr. May suggests.

Such optimization would affect engine locations, which should be as close as possible to the reactor, as well as the latter's quick "removability" to facilitate overhaul and refueling.

Eventually, far down the road, there may be even a requirement for nuclear-powered commercial cargo carriers to operate over distances exceeding the range limitations of conventional aircraft.

On a speculative long-range basis, both the air pollution caused by conventional organic fuels and the possible depletion of the world's natural fuel supplies might catalyze the eventual change-over to nuclear power of conventional aviation.

TWO POWER SOURCES CONSIDERED

What will be the basic features, in terms of performance and operational capabilities, of the nuclear C–5A?

Lockheed has studied extensively a design in which only one set of engines relies on two energy sources: conventional jet fuel for takeoff and landing and nuclear power for cruise. This approach has certain advantages. While nuclear reactors sufficiently powerful to furnish the maximum thrust needed for takeoff can be built, considerable weight can be saved if the reactor is required to furnish only the lower thrust needed for cruise. Safety and radiation considerations are improved if the reactor is not operational during takeoffs and landings. However, Lockheed recognizes that additional study may show that the use of two reactors and nuclear power during takeoff may give the best performance, considering that no chemical fuel would have to be carried and the engine would be simpler.

Government evaluations of nuclear propulsion include considerations of nuclear power for all modes of flight, without auxiliary conventional power, as well as nuclear-powered takeoffs and climb-outs augmented by conventional power. Government scientists say little is gained in terms of safety by not having the reactor "on the line" at takeoff, because if it has been operational at all, it represents a potential contamination hazard under any circumstances.

Installation of a nuclear propulsion system (reactor shielding and primary and secondary heat-exchange loops) capable of furnishing cruise power for the C–5A is calculated to weigh in at between 200,000 and 300,000 pounds. This equals roughly the weight of the fuel needed to operate the C–5A with the standard design payload of 220,000 pounds over a distance of about 3,000 nautical miles.

With maximum fuel—318,000 pounds or 49,000 gallons—the conventional C–5A can transport a payload of about 80,000 pounds over a distance of more than 6,000 nautical miles.

A nuclear-powered C–5A, by contrast, will have a payload between 75,000 and 100,000 pounds and no range limitations attributable to fuel.

Conventional fuel needed for takeoff and climb-out as well as descent and landing will amount to about 70,000 pounds, according to the Lockheed study. If the weight of the nuclear propulsion unit can be reduced from the presently envisioned values, the weight of the maximum payload could increase by a corresponding amount. In terms of interior space the reactor installation is expected to require a 35-foot-long section in the center of the aircraft, or roughly a volume reduction of twenty-five percent from the normal configuration.

At this time nobody wants to venture a specific guess as to how much it would cost to develop and build a nuclear-powered C–5A. At the same time nobody questions that the price will be "very high."

NUCLEAR POWER CONSIDERED COST/EFFECTIVE

Will a nuclear-powered aircraft be cost/effective? Yes, say Lockheed planners, because it can perform missions that can't be flown any other way. In case of mission radius requirements (without refueling) of 3,000 miles the nuclear plane is advantageous; for greater radius missions, it is a necessity. As for the payload/range equation that aviation has lived by ever since its inception—it just doesn't exist as far as the nuclear-powered aircraft is concerned.

This almost unlimited endurance is enhanced further by the fact that the nuclear aircraft has no speed limitations beyond those imposed by the aerodynamics of the airframe. It can "loiter" just as long at 470 knots as at 130 knots. Its advantages parallel those of the nuclear submarine or surface ship over conventionally powered craft and to a extent, those of the nuclear rocket. The latter, of course, has "range limitations" because in order to create thrust in the vacuum of space it must expel a mass, such as hydrogen, whose on-board supply it eventually dissipates. But the need for technological sophistication of the nuclear power unit design is less pronounced in naval or space vehicles than in aircraft.

The nuclear airplane, be that a modified C–5A or a completely optimized design, appears to be ideally suited for patrol, reconnaissance, airborne alert, search, and long-distance cargo missions. As an airborne missile launcher employing SRAM, Poseidon, or other missiles, it could perform a mission similar to that of the Polaris submarines but with far greater mobility and flexibility. Missile-launch systems under consideration for the nuclear C–5A include vertical fuselage tubes of the Polaris type, downward ejection from the aircraft through launch bays, and launch through the aerial-delivery openings.

The apparent delay in, or even demise of, the Fast Deployment Logistics (FDL) ships project which was to complement the C–5A's logistics mission is likely to hasten and underscore the requirement for a nuclear cargo plane. Assuming no prepositioned fuel supplies or aerial refueling, the standard C–5A cannot exceed a mission radius of more than 3,000 miles and, with a full payload, needs additional fuel for the return flight over any radius above 1,500 miles. On missions involving likely trouble spots in the world the C–5A takes out more in fuel weight than it brings in in payload. While access to some fuel sources, or a chance for aerial refueling, will exist in the majority of all possible conflict sites, this won't be true for all of them.

Any change in the world picture in the next ten years—the minimum time span needed according to Lockheed to convert the C–5A to nuclear propulsion—which would cut back the number of US bases and restrict the prepositioning of supplies, would seem, then, to justify consideration of a new ANP undertaking. Perhaps, in that light, the roughly $1 billion invested in the original ANP during the late 1940s and the 1950s will yet pay dividends. In that sense, of course, any future ANP will also benefit from the lessons learned in nuclear propulsion for naval vessels and such projects as the NASA/AEC Kiwi and Nerva space rockets.

Walter Lippmann on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it was long a maxim of American military doctrine that the United States should avoid involvement in a land war in Asia. Yet daily this Nation becomes deeper enmeshed in such a war which the next addition of 50,000 troops seems no more likely to resolve than did the last.

Walter Lippmann, whose acute analysis of America's global role remains vital and relevant, has summarized his views in an article in the New York Post of October 21, entitled "How We Can Get Out of Vietnam." It is an enlightening discussion of the basic issues involved, and I commend it to my colleagues:

[From the New York Post, Oct. 21, 1967]

HOW WE CAN GET OUT OF VIETNAM

(By Walter Lippmann)

President Johnson is a man who, having taken the wrong road, has lost his way. Until he corrects his original mistake he will not get to his destination by stepping on the accelerator and pushing on. The problem that we in America face is to find our way to the right road. If we do, in fact, realize the mistake we have made, it will be clear enough what the right road is. We can find it and be at least wiser and perhaps even happier than we are today.

The original mistake was to commit this country to a large land war on the Asian mainland. Whatever our ideals and purposes are—to stop the expansion of communism, to thwart the conquest of South Vietnam, to promote liberty and democracy, to defend American security—the crucial point is that Mr. Johnson was mistaken in believing that he was going to achieve these objectives by fighting a large land war in Asia. This strategic decision by the President is the great mistake which will have to be corrected.

It is often said by the President's apologists that if we correct the mistake we will be forced to defend ourselves later on in Hawaii or even in California. This is not so. The essential difference between what we have done in Vietnam and what we should have done is that we have gone ashore on the mainland—where the masses of Vietnam and of China can march against us. The right way, indeed the right thing to do now, is to take our stand on territory separated by blue water from the mainland and from the masses who live upon it.

The mistake has drawn us into a war which cannot be won even if we beat down our adversaries to a point where they have to surrender or retire. No agreements can be negotiated offering any assurance that, without our military presence to enforce them, a Saigon government will be able and willing to do all the things that the President says we are fighting to enable it to do. The notion that we can win the war for Mr. Johnson's objectives and then go home is either an innocent delusion or a gross deception.

It is safe to assert that there will be no "productive" negotiations as long as our objectives on the Asian continent are such that we must stay there to enforce them. This will not surprise anyone who remembers the American military tradition and doctrine. It always has been axiomatic that we must exert our power offshore and must never allow ourselves to get pulled deeply onto the mainland. Since Vietnam became an American problem after the French defeat, three Presidents have remembered and restated the axiom—Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson himself in 1964.

Lyndon Johnson differs from his two predecessors in that he is the first President who abandoned the cardinal rule of American military strategy in Asia. President Eisenhow intervened in South Vietnam's civil war with money, words, some arms and a token military mission. President Kennedy let himself be persuaded to use stronger words, to send more military advisers and to meddle more deeply in Saigon politics. It was not a glorious chapter in his Administration. But he stopped well short of engagin this country in an American-Asian war. No one has ever spoken more emphatically than did President Johnson in 1964 about not sending Americans to fight Asians in Asia.

Because the strategy of the war is mistaken, the courage and fortitude of American fighting men are being expended in an unwinable war. It is not a glorious war. Measured by the overwhelming superiority of American arms, the military results in Vietnam are embarrassing. The Air Force has been battering a country which has no air force. The Navy has been bombarding a country which has no navy. The best equipped army in the history of wars has not defeated the lightly armed rebels or the men from the North.

We are, says the general who commends our troops, fighting a war of attrition! A war to exchange casualties with the inexhaustible masses of the Asian continent is not a brilliant thing to do. The military tradition and doctrine of this country have always warned us against it.

The mistake is producing calamitous consequences in Vietnam, in our relations throughout the world and in the internal peace and welfare of the U.S. The mistake can be corrected by those who realize what the mistake is and who are willing to speak out. When they do, we shall begin to see light at the end of the tunnel.

The fundamental question about Vietnam is not what we would like to do but what we can do. If the Administration could do what it says it is going to do, there might still be objectors; but the debate would, in fact, be over.

The question that needs to be considered and discussed is, therefore, whether by waging a big land war in Asia there is any real prospect of achieving our official objectives. There is no prospect. Even to overwhelm the enemy would never bring peace. The revolutionary war would be resumed if the American forces were withdrawn or seriously reduced.

If we are engaged in a war that is unwinable and, in fact, interminable, then we have made a colossal strategic mistake. We have blundered ever more deeply into the quagmire by persisting in our mistake. In order to extricate ourselves we shall have to correct the mistake. This cannot be done by giving the Air Force a free hand or sending to Gen. Westmoreland another few hundred thosuand men. If we cannot win or accomplish our purpose by fighting a land war in Asia, the mistake can be corrected only by making it our declared policy to pull our forces back to territory which is separated from the mainland by blue water.

This analysis points to Australia and New Zealand as the proper forward base of American power in the South Pacific. To those who are startled by the idea of pulling back from the Vietnamese mainland to reliable and defensible island territory. I would plead that they give this idea a careful hearing. It offers big advantages.

An American decision to adopt a new Pacific strategy will remove the essential issue which makes the war interminable. An American decision to pull back to Australia will not only end the war in Vietnam, but it will remove any near prospect of war with Red China. It will make the terms and conditions of the pullback, which would inevitably take some years, the subject of the negotiations for which we are asking.

It is not necessary to labor on how much easier, cheaper and more secure would be a South Pacific base in Australia than it can ever be in Indochina. The controlling fact about the Chinese and Vietnamese military forces is that they can march but cannot swim. They have no sea power and we are a very great sea power. If they could invade and conquer Australia against our Navy and Air Force, they could blockade Saigon and destroy our power in South Vietnam. On any calculation of forces, Australia and New Zealand can be made invulnerable.

There is, of course, the Chinese nuclear power. But we must remember that our position in South Vietnam offers no defense against Chinese nuclear weapons. As a matter of fact, South Vietnam is completely vulnerable and would be an attractive target if nuclear weapons were brought into play. The real defense against Chinese nuclear power is not in Vietnam nor in Australia, but in the strategy of deterrence.

The rhetorical claim that if we do not stand fast in South Vietnam we shall have to fight in Hawaii or even in California seems to be a frivolous insult to the U.S. Navy. It is, however, fair to ask whether from a stronghold in Australia, we can exert as much influence in South Asia as from Saigon and Danang.

If influence means that American officials can order the natives around, the answer is that to pull back to Australia is to accept the fact that the era of ordering natives around is over and that policies and purposes must be implemented by nonmilitary means—by trade agreements, cultural intercourse, diplomatic dealings and propaganda.

Before we reject the nonmilitary means as poor and pale substitutes for Gen. Westmoreland and his firepower, we should realize the enormous consequences in world politics of an American decision to pull back from the Vietnamese mainland to continental islands inhabited by Western white men. Not only would this decision remove the most immediate threat of war with the Chinese and the Vietnamese, but it would remove the main conflict of interest between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In North Vietnam we are attacking territory which the Soviet Union is bound to regard as its responsibility. In Australia we would be on territory which they accept as being outside the boundaries of Soviet influence.

An American decision to pull back from the mainland would transform our relations with the rest of the world. We would have removed the bone of contention with world opinion, which is the almost universal fear that we are intending to establish an imperial position on the borders of China. If we scotch that fear, we may confidently expect to find willing and friendly supporters and helpers in the difficult and delicate negotiations which will be required to work out the political and military terms and conditions of the great strategic operation.

In arguing that we can correct our mistake in Vietnam by redeployment of our military forces in the South Pacific, I realize how much all of us hate to admit that we have made a mistake and that we must pull back rather than push forward. But it is not possible to make an omelet without breaking eggs. The egg we will have to break in order to repair the mistake of 1965 is to admit that we have involved ourselves in a war that we cannot win. Then, while we are still the most powerful and the richest country in the world, we will have found that we were not all that powerful. If that hurts our pride, it will be good for our souls. It will do us good to learn humility. We will be wiser for it, if less inflated.

Such a change of policy would not reduce the prestige and influence of the U.S. If the change is carried out openly, boldly and frankly and in the style of a great power announcing and explaining a great decision which will bring peace to the world, the prestige and the good name of this country will rise. It always has risen when we have had the courage to be generous and to be true to the better side of the American spirit, as at the time of the Marshall Plan.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The United Nations Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, October 22, our distinguished colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, who now serves a dual role as U.S. Representative to the 22d session of the United Nations General Assembly, was the guest speaker at United Nations Day ceremonies in Oak Park, Mich.

After reading over Representative BROOMFIELD's address—focusing attention on the crucial future role of the United Nations—I knew his remarks would be of interest to all Members of Congress. His address follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS ROLE

The United Nations was founded twenty-two years ago by nations that had just lived through a terrible war. It is dedicated to the ancient hope of all mankind for a world at peace—and the trees we plant here each year testify to our belief that all nations can work together toward this goal.

The trees we plant this year—in honor of Laos, New Zealand, and Belgium—mark the desire we share with these countries that where the peace is broken, it will be healed, and that where men now live at peace, the peace will be preserved.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have always taken an interest in the affairs of the United Nations. My appointment as a member of this year's delegation to the United Nations General Assembly has bestowed on me a great honor—not only to represent the United States in these critical times, but also to work directly with the Permanent United States Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg.

Ambassador Goldberg has asked me to bring his personal greeting to all the people of Oak Park on UN Day, and has asked me to read this message:

"The United Nations, that great center for harmonizing the action of nations, has served the world community through twenty-two turbulent years. Amidst the troubles and dangers that still prevail, we pause today to pledge anew our dedication to the United Nation's great aims of peace.

"The United Nations was founded not in the belief that it would guarantee permanent freedom from conflict and disagreement, but in the belief that the basic hopes of man are for peace rather than war, for rule by law rather than rule by violence, and for economic and social progress rather than disorder and stagnation.

"In working toward these goals, the United Nations will not always succeed. When its members are not sufficiently faithful to its purposes, it may fail. But as long as cooperation and mutual tolerance are essential to our survival, its members will have no choice but to try again.

"In this great cause, in which the United States bears such a heavy burden, the faithful support of the American public—in times of difficulty as in times of success—is an invaluable source of strength. The citizens of Oak Park, through their interest in the United Nations, will help all of us as we work toward the goal of a more peaceful world."

Signed, Arthur J. Goldberg.

As the United Nations continues its work this fall, the world faces many stubborn problems: the unresolved conflict in Vietnam, the uneasy situation in the Middle East, the danger of nuclear weapons, and the unending struggle against hunger, poverty, disease, and ignorance. But we must not lose patience because these problems are difficult.

The United Nations has long since demonstrated that when its members give it its support, it can be invaluable in the solution of the hardest problems. In its twenty-two years, the United Nations has contributed to peace and to the security of nations in such places as Iran, Greece, Kashmir, the Middle East, the Congo, and Cyprus. It has contributed to progress in arms control, in human rights, and in the development of nations. Recently, it helped in concluding the Outer Space Treaty, a major success in the diplomacy of peace. Last June, it achieved a ceasefire in the Middle East and sent truce observers to prevent renewed fighting.

It is impossible to tell where the conflict in the Middle East might have led if there had been no United Nations to help bring it to a halt. And since the ceasefire, United Nations Truce Observers have assisted in preventing renewed outbreaks of fighting in the Suez Canal area which might have led to a major conflict, with the inevitable danger of big-power involvement.

The United States is continuing its search for ways in which the United Nations can contribute to a lasting Mid-east peace settlement. Largely because of the strong stand taken by the United States, along with other members of the United Nations, the Soviet Union was unable last summer to get the Emergency Session of the General Assembly to condemn Israel. Neither was the Assembly willing to adopt a Yugoslav resolution calling for immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal and postponing indefinitely the key issue—Arab renunciation of belligerency toward Israel. The United States believed that these resolutions would have done nothing to correct the basic causes of instability in the Middle East and could only have set the stage for renewed conflict.

The United States position was—and it still is—that the United Nations can contribute to a stable peace in the Middle East. The U.S. has said, however, that withdrawal of Israeli troops should not be considered in isolation from other factors—that withdrawal should be expected only in a context of peace. The key development must be Arab willingness to recognize that Israel has a right to exist independently, to live in peace and security free of claims or acts of belligerency. We believe the Arabs cannot reserve for themselves the right to maintain a state of war against Israel while demanding that Israel undertake the obligations of peace.

We also believe that bringing peace to the Middle East will require on both sides an affirmative will to resolve the issues through a process of mutual accommodation. Neither the United States nor any other outside power can dictate a solution. The United Nations can provide its good offices to help bring about agreement between the two sides—but any real solution must be one agreed upon by the states of the Mid-East themselves.

There are a number of basic features which the United States believes should be part of any lasting Mid-East peace settlement:

Each nation in the area must accept the right of others to live. The least that this requires is that all should renounce any state or claim of belligerency.

Troops must be withdrawn—and withdrawn in a context of peace. For some parties cannot be left free to assert the rights of war while others are called upon to abide by the rules of peace.

There must be justice for the refugees.

Free and innocent passage through international waterways must be assured for all nations.

The status of Jerusalem must not be decided unilaterally but in consolation with all concerned, and in recognition of the historic interest of the three great religions in the Holy Places.

The political independence and territorial integrity of all states in the area must be respected.

Boundaries must be accepted and other arrangements made, superseding temporary and often violated armistice lines, so as to afford security to all parties against terror, destruction and war.

Last week, the President of the General Assembly, with the approval of the member states, proposed that the debate on the high priority Middle East item be postponed for a short period pending further consultations. It was generally agreed that unless the outlines of an agreement could be worked out before debate began, another round of debate on the Middle East could only have the effect of freezing positions, making an ultimate solution more difficult.

Ambassador Goldberg and other members of the United States Delegation have been among those engaged in intensive discussions throughout the past week in the attempt to help the states involved find the outlines of a generally acceptable United Nations resolution on the Middle East. Exactly what the results of these consultations will be, it is not yet possible to say. The goal toward which our delegation at the General Assembly continues to work is that of a stable peace.

The second great issue in the minds of all delegates to the UN today is the problem of Vietnam. The United States has repeatedly sought to have the UN Security Council act on Vietnam. Unfortunately, two permanent members of the Security Council have opposed any United Nations involvement with Vietnam and the Soviet Union has blocked Security Council discussion. In addition, the Hanoi government has denied the authority of the UN to even consider Vietnam. In the face of this hostility, the United Nations has been unable to act.

The United States, in both public and private statements at the United Nations, has made clear its commitment to a negotiated, political solution of the conflict in Vietnam. We have emphasized our willingness to base a settlement on the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962. And even though it may be unable to act on Vietnam, the United Nations continues to serve as a listening post, both for the United States to present its views, and for other nations to communicate with us.

It is said by some that Hanoi will agree to begin negotiations if the United States ceases the bombing of North Vietnam—that this bombing is the sole obstacle to negotiations. But no third party—including those governments which are among Hanoi's closest friends—has conveyed to us any authoritative message from Hanoi that there would in fact be negotiations if the bombing were stopped. On its part, the United States has made clear that it would be glad to consider and discuss any proposal that would lead promptly to productive discussions that might bring about peace in the area.

I know from my own work at the United Nations and in the Congress that the United States is looking and will continue to look for any possibility that the United Nations may be able to act in this situation. Our ultimate purpose is—and must be—to find a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam—a negotiated settlement which will preserve the right of the South Vietnamese to self-determination.

The United Nations faces a number of other issues this fall—the question of a treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, a communist demand for withdrawal of United Nations forces from South Korea, and continuing issues involving race relations in the southern part of Africa. Less dramatic than these, but perhaps equally important to the future of the UN itself, are a number of questions pertaining to the budget and administration of the UN. I myself have the responsibility for presenting the U.S. position on these issues in the Budget and Administrative Committee of the General Assembly.

The United States, as the richest nation in the world, is also the largest contributor to the United Nations. For this reason, it has a great interest in helping the UN to strengthen and improve its administration and management. I am pleased to report that we are continuing to press for reforms which will enable the United Nations—and in fact the many specialized agencies associated with it—to get the maximum effectiveness from each dollar it spends. One of the principal items thus far debated in the budget and administrative committee deals exclusively with this problem. It is only natural that the United Nations, faced with its many diverse and intractable problems, needs to keep its administrative machinery under constant scrutiny. With our great experience in management techniques and methods, we can and must help the United Nations to operate efficiently as possible. This is a difficult and stimulating assignment, and I hope to carry it out effectively.

As Ambassador Goldberg has said, the United Nations will not always succeed as it approaches the tasks before it. Often, the United Nations may seem to be long on debate and short on accomplishment. But when the United Nations does succeed—as it succeeded this summer in achieving a ceasefire in the Middle East—we recognize that the UN is not only one of man's greatest dreams, but can become one of his great accomplishments. Indeed, we cannot look for an alternative to the UN, for there is none. What we must do is strengthen the UN—and work through it toward the day when all men will be able to live their lives in justice and in peace.

Personal Explanation

SPEECH

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the House that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLACKBURN] came up and introduced himself to me and told me he was present, and I corrected my remarks to show that. As a matter of fact, another fellow came up and introduced himself as Mr. BLACKBURN. I do not know whether I was being taken for a ride or how many Mr. Blackburns we had, but I had not met the gentleman before and I had not really bothered because I did not think he would be here in the next Congress, anyway.

OEO Day Care Centers: A Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in view of the continuing debate over nearly every aspect of the antipoverty program, I was especially interested in a perceptive column by Mr. Gilbert Kretzer which appeared in a recent issue of the Central Maryland News, published in Ellicott City, Md.

In a balanced and thoughtful presentation, Mr. Kretzer surveyed the pros and cons of day care centers for children from low-income families. While recognizing that such centers, in a broad perspective, "treat the runny nose, and not the cold," and that they do not provide real solutions, he concludes that—

> Day care centers can make a start at helping a very difficult situation—

And that—

> Anything which tends to assist these children, who may yet be started off on the right foot if we all care a little, seems worth a try.

I believe that many of my colleagues may be interested in Mr. Kretzer's observations, and include his column in the RECORD at this point:

POLITICAL VIEWPOINT

(By Gilbert Kretzer)

It is easy to say of a project like the Office of Economic Opportunity's so-called "Day Care Centers" that it is just another social scheme by the federal government. Or, that such programs simply foment more and larger social projects.

But the other side of the coin is that day care centers can make a start at helping a very difficult situation.

If such a center is ever established in our county (they still have no physical plant in which to operate), it will be largely supported by federal funds but under the jurisdiction of local residents. For three and four year olds, and sans any ideological indoctrination by the program directors, such centers make it possible for mothers in welfare-recipient or impoverished homes to work and improve the income level of the family. Ostensibly, this can provide the family with more of the wherewithal to properly feed, house, clothe and educate its offspring.

On the negative side is the fact that said mothers do not necessarily have to work. Such follow-up, if this condition for entering a child in such a program were made, would be impossible to police. However, social worker contact would be made with the child's parents and, even if the mother does not work, the child will be given exposure to events and treatment he could not get in his own home.

The question of whether rearing a child is the responsibility of the home or an outside agency is raised. Practically, however, these poor families simply cannot care for their children. Can we not make even this feeble effort to give them a decent start?

Naturally, day care centers treat the runny nose, not the cold. The real problem lies in having a national administration unable, unwilling, or too dull to see that the real solution to this economic (not moral) problem is a freer economy which will put more of the men of the household to work in the kind of gainful employment which will make said centers unnecessary.

In the meantime, anything which tends to assist these children, who may yet be started off on the right foot if we all care a little, seems worth a try.

Resolution on Pollution of Lake Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Illinois State Senate, now meeting in special session, approved a resolution on October 16, which evidences the great concern of the people of the State of Illinois over pollution of Lake Michigan.

The text of the resolution follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 178

(State of Illinois, 75th General Assembly)

Whereas, the rescue of Lake Michigan from death through pollution being caused by the oil and industrial waste being dumped into it is the number one problem facing the people of Illinois, and of Chicagoland particularly, today; and

Whereas, the State of Illinois, although it has the greatest stake in preserving Lake Michigan as a viable lake, is not the principal source of the pollution being dumped into it and is barred by the territorial jurisdiction of other states and the power of our federal government over navigable waters from effectively controlling most of the sources of this pollution; and

Whereas, both bodies of this 75th General Assembly have jointly and severally urged Congress to enact legislation designed to save Lake Michigan as a viable lake and a priceless asset of all the people whose life and livelihood are dependent upon its usefulness; and

Whereas, Senator Dirksen and Senator Percy, our two senators from Illinois have responded to this pending disaster being inflicted on the people of Chicagoland, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan, by introducing in the Senate on September 25, 1967, Senate Bill 2457, which makes it a dangerous offense to release oil in the Great Lakes; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Senate of the Seventy-fifth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, that we urge Congress to pass Senate Bill 2457 recently introduced therein by Senators Dirksen and Percy concerning the releasing of oil into Great Lakes waters, providing stiff penalties for violators and charging the Secretary of Interior with its enforcement; that we stress the emergency that we feel is involved as to the well being of the people of Illinois and others along Lake Michigan's shores; and be it further

Resolved, that the Secretary of State is directed to transmit suitable copies of this preamble and resolution to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and to all the members of Congress from the State of Illinois.

Adopted by the Senate, October 16, 1967.

W. R. ARRINGTON,
President pro tempore.
EDWARD E. FERNANDES,
Secretary of the Senate.

Chairman Mahon: A Firm Grip on the Purse Strings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, recently William F. Arbogast, a very senior reporter of Washington affairs who has seen many Congressmen come and go, wrote an article for the Associated Press concerning the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, GEORGE MAHON.

Bill Arbogast's appraisal of the chairman is based on his many years as a witness of that gentleman's activities as a public servant. We, his colleagues, who have had the honor of knowing him over the years, can appreciate and wholeheartedly agree with the article which pictures the chairman as a steady, cool, and firm hand on the Federal purse strings.

During these times when there appears to be a tendency among some Members of this body to shirk their responsibilities for the purpose of political gain, it is reassuring to know that the chairman of the Appropriations Committee stands strong and unyielding. The article which was entitled, "Man in the Middle of Budget Battle Appears To Enjoy It," expresses quite clearly that man's determination and dedication to meeting his responsibilities. So that my colleagues might have the benefit of this perceptive analysis of Chairman MAHON, the text of the article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 22, 1967]

MAN IN THE MIDDLE OF BUDGET BATTLE APPEARS TO ENJOY IT

(By William F. Arbogast)

One of the most popular members of the House is in the middle of the budget battle between Congress and President Johnson, and seems to be enjoying every minute of it.

"It's like being in the eye of a hurricane, so to speak," comments Rep. George H. Mahon, rangy Texas Democrat who heads the House Appropriations Committee.

In addition to being the number one Congressional spokesman on appropriations—which originate in his committee—Mahon is a long-standing friend of his fellow Texan, President Johnson. They thoroughly understand each other—an understanding born not only of their long friendship, but of almost weekly chats.

"The President has his responsibilities and I have mine," Mahon said in an interview. "I don't want to delegate to the President my responsibility as chairman of the Appropriations Committee and I'm sure he wouldn't want me to.

"I have too much pride and too much respect for Congress to abdicate our authority and tell the President to make $5 billion in budget cuts anywhere he wants to. I don't believe that is the proper way to run a democratic government."

The reference to the $5 billion was to Republican insistence that as the price for providing emergency government financing, the President should be ordered to cut that sum from spending this year.

The Administration contends it can't cut the budget until it knows how much money will be available. And many of the bills providing the money haven't cleared Congress.

Mahon calls the GOP proposal "buck passing."

"It amounts to passing the buck to the President and downgrading Congress," he said. "It would be far less painful and more politically expedient for us to tell the President to do it, but we would lose our stature with the public."

Mahon has been fighting the Republican proposal for several months and has come close to losing the battle. He still may lose it. But he won't lose his composure or his ever-present friendly smile.

"I don't mind a good fight," he said. "I rather enjoy it. There's nothing personal involved. I was a district attorney for seven years and I don't mind crossing swords."

Mahon said: "The President has been very objective in his dealings with me. There's been no arm twisting."

Mahon's personal relationship with Johnson dates to 1935 when Mahon came to Congress and Johnson was an administrative aide to former Rep. Richard M. Kleberg of Texas.

The chairman's looks belie his age, 67. He was born in 1900 in Haynesville, La., but moved to Texas in 1908.

He keeps his athletic appearance by exercising regularly. "I'm an apostle of the strenuous life," he said. "I like to walk and I take calisthenics every day. I play golf when I can. I love to hunt rabbits and birds. I work hard and I try to get to bed by 10:30 at night and get up at 7 in the morning. I don't drink or smoke, but I have nothing against others doing it. I don't go in for a heavy social life. I avoid the banquet circuit as much as I can."

Mahon's domestic hobbies are reading, "good art and good music." He and his wife, the former Helen Stevenson of Loraine, Tex., live in a modest Washington apartment.

Carnegie Foundation Award Winner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to the courageous act of a very outstanding young man residing in Ohio's Sixth Congressional District. As a result of his outstanding feat of heroism, Paul Welton, son of Mr. and Mrs. James Welton, Portsmouth, Ohio, was selected by the Carnegie Foundation to receive an award for heroism.

Last February, Paul, who has been a carrier for the Portsmouth Times for almost 4 years, had just finished his route when he noticed the house across the street from where he was standing was afire. In spite of the imminent danger to himself, Paul ran into the house and rescued 7-month-old Ray Lee Traylor, carrying the baby to safety seconds before the room where he had been sleeping was engulfed in flames.

I know Paul Welton's parents and the citizens of Portsmouth are very proud of him for his courageous act of bravery. It is reassuring to know that we have such outstanding young citizens like Paul who reflect credit upon their families, communities, and Nation.

I would like to join with the many others who are congratulating this young man and extend to him my sincerest wishes for future health and happiness. He is indeed a credit to our younger generation.

Exclusion of OEO From Federal Pay Raise Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, last week the House of Representatives voted 4.5-percent increases for 2 million Federal employees. But in a fit of spite, it excluded 2,700 workers at the Office of Economic Opportunity from the pay increase.

I sought a rollcall vote on the issue, but support for this request was notably—and understandably—lacking.

However, these actions by the House did not go unnoticed by the Nation's press.

The Wall Street Journal headlined its editorial "Seized by Pettiness," and commented:

> Whatever your objections to the poverty war, and we boast a good many, they will not be cured by gratuitous insults.

The Journal added:

> It is scarcely conceivable that the exclusion will be allowed to stand in the final bill; the amendment will not hurt the poverty agency. But the damage such incidents do to the reputation of the House and to responsible members of the opposition will not be so easily undone.

A columnist in the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution, under the headline, "The House Is Like a Little Boy," wrote from Washington:

> To many experienced observers here, the 90th Congress has often seemed to behave like an irascible little boy. The maxim it demonstrated Wednesday was that House leaders had better not give it anything to tinker with that they don't want to see broken.

The Long Island, N.Y., Press concluded its editorial with the comment, "Talk About Sick Humor."

Mr. Speaker, I include these three articles and editorials at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 23, 1967]

Seized by Pettiness

We shall never understand why Congressmen are given to seizures of pettiness.

As for example, the House vote excluding anti-poverty workers from the general pay increase for Federal employes. You might hope the House had learned its lesson from the self-demeaning anti-rat episode earlier this year, but you would hope in vain. When Representative Edward J. Gurney (R., Fla.) offered the amendment excluding anti-poverty salaries, the House rushed it through by voice vote. A call for a record vote was greeted with scattered laughter.

Whatever your objections to the poverty war, and we boast a good many, they will not be cured by gratuitous insults. It is probably impossible to stop an occasional member from offering a snickering amendment, but we see no reason why the House leadership should stand by and let such sentiments dominate the chamber.

Leaders of the Republican Party should be especially concerned simply because they have voiced responsible opposition to the poverty war in its current form. For the bitterness in the pay bill amendment unfairly but inevitably taints all criticism of the poverty agency and makes any sensible reform all the more difficult to achieve.

It is scarcely conceivable that the exclusion will be allowed to stand in the final bill; the amendment will not hurt the poverty agency. But the damage such incidents do to the reputation of the House and to responsible members of the opposition will not be so easily undone.

[From the Long Island (N.Y.) Press, Oct. 13, 1967]

Congress Has Another Laugh

The House of Representatives Wednesday voted to give 2 million federal workers a $2.6 billion pay increase, but excluded 2,700 employes of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This brave gesture was done by voice vote and when Rep. James G. O'Hara, a Michigan Democrat, sought a roll-call on the amendment he was greeted with laughter around the chamber. This was a fun vote, a way to get in digs without having to answer for it by name. And after all, the more responsible Senate would probably undo it, anyway.

It was almost as much fun as that thigh-slapping, side-splitting vote to turn down an appropriation to fight rats in the slums.

As OEO Chief Sargent Shriver said: "The poor have always gotten the dirty end of the stick. They have been discriminated against. Now, even those working hardest to help the poor have gotten the same treatment."

"The poor," of course, in such a context can be read largely as "the Negro." The disgusting thing in all this is that not only do so many Congressmen snap the backlash, they seem to derive such pleasure in doing it.

Talk about sick humor!

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Oct. 17, 1967]

The House Is Like a Little Boy

(By Art Pine)

WASHINGTON.—The Democratic leadership, openly concerned about the fate of the antipoverty bill in the 90th Congress, got a sobering lesson this past week: Don't let the 1967 measure onto the House floor unless it has been altered drastically from its 1966 version.

The warning came with attention-grabbing underemphasis as the House was considering an across-the-board pay increase for federal workers. Amid a spate of 23 minor amendments, it impulsively decided not to include employes of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

It isn't so much the substance of the amendment that concerns sponsors of the antipoverty bill here. Few sensible House leaders seriously believe the anti-OEO rider will stand up in the Senate, which still has to consider it, or in the courts, which might have to.

What alarms most advocates of the program is the almost-mischievous way in which the House approved it—an 86 to 66 nonrecord vote with practically no debate. Rep. Edward J. Gurney, R-Fla., merely said he thought OEO workers made too much money, and the rider passed.

Michigan Democrat James G. O'Hara came forward later to demand a roll-call vote. But amazingly, he couldn't even muster enough support to force a head-count. The rider was routinely confirmed by voice vote.

The analysis by congressional leaders the next morning was the same one offered by top OEO executives: That the House, as it had been the first time the rat-extermination bill was laughed off the floor, was just in a mood to have fun.

Others interpreted the rider as a direct slap at OEO Director Sargent Shriver, who to many congressmen has become a symbol of all that is wrong with the antipoverty program. And some who were polled didn't take the amendment seriously at all.

"If they present the poverty bill properly," said one moderate legislator last week, "you'll see it pretty well accepted by everyone in the House—everyone, that is, except the Southern Democrats and a few very conservative Republicans."

Despite such optimism, congressional leaders seem convinced that any refining of the present program will have to be done in committee. To allow the existing bill to be reworked on the House floor would be to invite disaster.

Members of the House Education and Labor Committee, who early this week will begin talking over areas in which they can cut and revamp the more controversial parts of the antipoverty program, doubtless will have Wednesday's lesson in mind.

To many experienced observers here, the 90th Congress has often seemed to behave like an irascible little boy. The maxim it demonstrated Wednesday was that House leaders had better not give it anything to tinker with that they don't want to see broken.

Lake Charles Memorial to Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, at a time when our Nation's Capital is cleaning up the aftermath of the thousands of so-called "anti-war" demonstrators here over the weekend, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues another and more heartening movement being undertaken by the Young Men's Business Club of Lake Charles, La., in my district. The young men who comprise this club have raised 90 percent of the funds needed to erect what will be known as the Lake Charles Memorial to Peace. The purpose of the proposed monument which will be called a "peace" rather than a "war" memorial, is neither to condemn nor condone the war in Vietnam, but instead to pay tribute to our American men who have fought and died there. Uniquely and functionally, the proposed Peace Memorial tower will stand 110 feet, support 46 aluminum purple martin castles, and will house swallows which can each day eat over 4,464,000 mosquitos and other insects which create nuisances and health hazards to our areas along the gulf coast.

I commend and support the members of the Young Men's Business Club of Lake Charles in their work and can think of no more fitting tribute to the American servicemen who have made the supreme sacrifice for our country while fighting Communist aggression. I cannot help but contrast the action of the young men of this club to those of the draft card burners and protestors who assembled in Washington to spew their venomous obscenities and leave a wake of destruction and filth.

Medal of Honor Winner Offers Views on Demonstration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the incredible fiasco which occurred in Washington this past weekend, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks made by Sgt. David C. Dolby at a recent Congressional Medal of Honor ceremony at the White House. Sergeant Dolby's remarks are indeed refreshing when considered in retrospect and pertaining to the manner in which this administration issued a permit to these demonstrators and insurrectionists. This probably marks the first time in history that the Government has issued a permit for an insurrection against itself, and especially its defense nervehead. The remarks follow:

Remarks by Sgt. David C. Dolby After Receiving the Medal of Honor at the White House

QUESTION. What do you think of criticism of the war now that you are here in the States? Does it look any different to you from here?

Sgt. DOLBY. No, it looks about the same except I didn't see any TV in Vietnam. So seeing it on television, it seems different to an extent. I think that the original peaceniks—I don't hold anything against them—this is a free country and I see their point of view, but I think there are un-American type parties, Communists backing them up with money and infiltrating them. I think that they don't realize the damage they are doing. The North Vietnamese are basing their strategy on these peaceniks. They have pamphlets, propaganda pamphlets they leave on the battlefield, showing pictures of these demonstrations, and that's their whole program and whole heart. What they pass on to their privates, on up in the North Vietnamese Army, is that the Americans don't want to fight. They play these peace demonstrations up, and it makes it harder for the individual soldier in Vietnam because the enemy comes from the North fresh, thinking he is going to win, and that we don't want to be there and our morale is low, but it is vice versa and this makes the battle much harder.

QUESTION. What's in your own future, Sergeant? Would you go back to Vietnam?

Sgt. DOLBY. I would like to go back, but I will be going to Ft. Bragg, North Carolina.

QUESTION. And what then?

Sgt. DOLBY. The 82nd Airborne Division. I don't know what my job will be.

QUESTION. Do you plan to make the Army your career?

Sgt. DOLBY. I've been thinking about it, but I also want to get a college education. I'm due to get out in February and I'll decide between now and then.

PRESS. Thank you.

State Department Reply to U.S.S. "Liberty" Inquiry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on October 6 I wrote both the Defense and State Departments as to progress on settlement of the U.S.S. *Liberty* incident. Defense's reply was carried in the Appendix of last Friday's RECORD. The State Department's reply dated October 20 but received by me only today, October 24, is as follows:

OCTOBER 20, 1967.

Hon. CRAIG HOSMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOSMER: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of October 6 requesting information as to the current status of preparations being made by the Department of State to claim compensation from the Government of Israel for injuries occurring as a result of the attack on the U.S.S. *Liberty* by Israeli air and naval units. Compensation will be claimed on behalf of the injured persons and the dependents of the deceased, as well as for losses incurred by the United States Government, such as for the damage done to the U.S.S. *Liberty*.

The United States has demanded compensation for the injuries suffered in the tragic attack on the U.S.S. Liberty and the Government of Israel has expressed its regrets over the incident and has promised to make payment. As a first step in preparing the claims, it was necessary to obtain sworn written statements from the dependents of the deceased and from the injured personnel. These statements will serve as the evidence in support of a claim on behalf of each claimant. Because of the large number of claims and the necessity of proceeding promptly with the determination of the amount of compensation to be paid, the Department arranged with the Department of Defense for lawyers assigned to the various naval headquarters within the United States to take the forms prepared by the Department to the various claimants and to assist them in filling them out. Not only is this procedure quicker than the usual method of preparing international claims, which involves correspondence by mail between the claimant and the Department, but it has the additional advantage of ensuring that the claimants will have legal assistance in filling out the forms. A substantial number of the forms have already been completed and returned to us and we are now in the process of evaluating the evidence and preparing the claims. Within the next few weeks we expect to send letters to the claimants in the thirty-four death cases. These letters will state the amount which we calculate international law permits us to claim on behalf of each of these persons and request the concurrence of the claimant to the amount before the claim is transmitted to the Government of Israel.

While some of the claims will accordingly be ready for presentation in the near future, others will, of course, require a longer period of time before they can be presented. For instance, in the case of personal injuries resulting in permanent impairment, it will not be possible to establish the degree of permanent impairment until all medical treatment has been concluded. Needless to say, these personal injury claims will be presented as soon as they are ready and the Government of Israel will be informed that additional claims will be forthcoming when the supporting medical evidence is available. Other claims will be presented when the evidence supporting them is available and they have been properly prepared for presentation.

If I can be of assistance on this or any other matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for
Congressional Relations.

Plight of All Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the following letter was received and so well expresses the plight of all Americans, I thought it appropriate for the RECORD:

SACATON PUBLIC SCHOOL,
Sacaton, Ariz.

Representative SAM STIEGER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned think that you should know—That we as a group of individuals work *hard* for our salaries and raises. Most of us pay for our training out of our own pockets which may cost up to $400.00 to $500.00 per year. We work a full day while attending school, putting in long hours in attaining our goals.

We think that you should know—That after having put in our time, effort, long hours—plus sacrificing leisure time spent with our families, we expect some compensation wagewise in helping us to pay said cost mentioned above and for our improvements. We are interested in improving ourselves in becoming better qualified for positions and becoming better citizens.

We think that you should know—That we waited hopefully for our first checks this year knowing that we had raises coming. *What happened!!* If we were lucky we got $2.00 more take home pay per check. Two dollars after receiving close to a $500.00 raise? Unbelievable!! That means, the person receives $38.00 more over the previous year which alone could not pay for books and supplies we needed for classes taken, while the Federal Government receives a grand total of $209.00 raise. What happens to the rest? You may ask—Well, we have FICA, Retirement, and State taxes to take care of that, but these three totaled do not amount up to the Federal Government tax alone.

But as was said some of us were lucky, we got $38.00 more this year, while others got less. Yes, they got a raise and went down on take home pay. Who can afford a raise!! Especially with the cost of living going higher and higher. *Not this way!* Please keep in mind that we are talking about "take home pay" and not "gross income." The raise does show up in "gross income" but what good is that? We worked hard for our raises in expecting more to take home.

We think that you should know—That the Federal Government, instead of encouraging it's people to better themselves in becoming better citizens through knowledge and training, it, the Federal Government, is discouraging those vital needs of our country of today and other vital needs. Such as: Trust, Loyalty Honesty, Integrity, Pride, Respect, Tolerance, Understanding, Learning.

By such actions in raising taxes the Federal Government is causing many of our today ills among its people. We need not mention these ills. We are sure you know; crime, strikes, riots, etc.

We are not saying that relief from high taxes would cure said ills, this is absurd—but it would help—plus *Said Vital Needs.*

We are therefore advocating a reduction in high taxes and *you* as a leader or leaders elected by the people should listen to their voices and heed to their needs.

This letter was written for said party or parties to whom it is addressed and we are *trusting* you, the party or parties to whom this letter concerns, to read this letter *personally,* and write an encouraging letter of acknowledgment.

Respectfully submitted:

Wallan L. Burgess, Principal; Elsie Mae Garland, Teacher; Pearl McMillen, Librarian; Dorothy B. Nolan, Teacher; Rosalie R. Carrillo, Teacher; Betsy R. Visselago, Teacher; Tibeke Sue Redman, Teacher; Peggy Hostitle, Teacher; Chas. E. Eshelman, Counselor; Sybil Bartlemo, Teacher.

P.S.—Please send letters of acknowledgment to the above inside address.

Keeping Up With the Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the State Department is obsessed with the thought of pleasing the Soviet Union, a mildly needling editorial in the Chicago Tribune on Friday, October 13, which points out the interesting similarities between the Soviet and Johnson administration budget practices, is of interest.

The editorial follows:

KEEPING UP WITH THE NEIGHBORS

The Russians, who are always boasting about how they excel over the United States in just about everything, seem to have really done it this time, tho not by much. The supreme soviet has passed a record 137.3 billion dollar budget. President Johnson's record budget is just a trifle under that, at 136 billion dollars.

The soviet budget is to pay for the biggest peace time spending in Russian history and for a host of benefits to raise living standards for the man in the street. Mr. Johnson's budget is to pay for the biggest peace time spending in United States history and a broad assortment of domestic welfare and foreign aid programs designed to advance the Great Society at home and abroad.

The Russians will derive the funds for their budget out of the energies of the low paid workers in state owned business and industry. Mr. Johnson will get his funds—unless

Congress intervenes—out of the hides of American taxpayers.

Of course, the Russian are skillful at concealing precisely how much they do spend and so all we have is their word for it. In any event, it does appear that they are doing a pretty good job of keeping up with the Johnsons.

Learn Lesson From Settlers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from an address made by Edwin M. Wheeler, a native of Marion, Kan., during the Marion Old Settlers Day earlier this month. Mr. Wheeler, assistant to the president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, has made some pertinent observations regarding the pioneering spirit of change and challenge, as well as factors that have led to the growth and power of the Federal Government.

The Marion County Record published a part of Mr. Wheeler's remarks and I call them to the attention of my colleagues in the House:

LEARN LESSON FROM SETTLERS SAYS SPEAKER

Edwin M. Wheeler, speaker for the Marion Old Settlers' Day celebration Saturday afternoon in the Marion City Building delivered a talk which had a huge impact on his audience. Many have asked that the Marion County RECORD reprint a part of his address. We gladly do so here:

"We meet today, as those ahead of us have since 1912, to pay tribute not to specific individuals, but to that group of pioneers known as Old Settlers.

"The individuals in this county were a diverse group . . . Irish, German, French, Bohemian, English, Welsh, Scottish . . . nearly every northern and central European country was represented shortly after the settlement began in the mid-1860's.

"Today I want to make one central point, or focus your attention on a single facet that this special day represents.

"That point is that we are inheritors of a great heritage. This heritage is not limited to Marion County, Kansas . . . no, it is an American Heritage. Many in this nation either do not know of it, or have forgotten it purposely or otherwise.

"Let us review that heritage and see if some of the great experience these pioneers were subjected to can't help us face our own problems of the space age generation.

"Change was their watchword and guide . . . else why would they have come? The site of this city was hostile. Indians lurked everywhere. Civilization ended for all intents and purposes at the east bank of the Mississippi. There was no glory to be earned by bringing women and children into an area where there were none of the physical hallmarks of civilization. Only prairie blinding heat and glaring cold and the land were present. But it was the land which offered the opportunity.

"The pioneer wanted the chance to change, to start not only a new life but a new way of life.

"The pioneering spirit of change and challenge is needed today more than ever. I sometimes wonder if the recent decline in the population of our small Kansas towns is attributable in some measure to the resistance to change. Your forefathers were not slow to change and challenge, else they would have 'stayed put' . . . but what about our generation?

"It is often said today that Kansas is exporting its richest treasure to its great detriment . . . the young people coming out of the state colleges and universities. Why do these young people leave? Could it be because the old home town lacks the pioneer spirit to change . . . to challenge its young?

"We've heard it said, 'There's no chance to get ahead if they come back' and that's true where a town is dedicated to the same dull dreary way of doing things.

"America is a nation dedicated to change. We purposely restyle our cars to make them obsolete. Let a new model of any household product come out and Americans rush to buy . . . even though only the cover is new.

"Much criticism is upon the land about the growth and power of our Federal government. I submit that much of this has come about by an antiquated and archaic local governmental structure. Our state and local governments just have not changed to stay in step with the demands of our day. Our pioneers set up a government structure that fit their need, but I defy you to find anything in our history or heritage that says, in effect, 'This system shall never change.' How much longer will it be before that pioneer spirit will be rekindled to make the bold change to bring county government, as an example, into line with need? There are counties in the state, running a full set of offices, where the population of the county is about the size of Marion.

"Some of the problems facing this country today would vex the wisdom of Solomon . . . Uppermost in our minds is the Vietnam war. I am frightened by the possibility that for the first time in our history this country might turn its back on an American Army engaged in a war. Men from Marion County, as they always have, are making a proud record under the trying conditions of battle. But from many sources there appears to be a weakening of resolve to support our men and our country. It will be a tragic day if this comes to pass . . . While I am not totally in agreement with the administration on its Vietnam policy, nevertheless I do not want my voice added to those that would undermine the morale and courage of our men in the field . . .

"As a Kansan I am proud of the Old Settlers and the gifts of life they have passed on to me. Whenever I go about the country and people ask where I am from, I say 'Kansas' with pride, for I know that my roots go back to a great heritage as typified by the Old Settlers here today."

Personal Explanation

SPEECH

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 20, 1967

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to say that upon rechecking the RECORD, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLACKBURN] who made the fuss about the Members who did not respond to the quorum call, I do not know where the gentleman was. However, I have here now the RECORD in regard thereto which I have checked and have rechecked, and the RECORD shows that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLACKBURN] was not present at the time of the call of the quorum. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, the gentleman's indignation is misleading.

Authorizing Additional Tunnels and Bridges in Maryland

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

(Mr. LONG of Maryland asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, during the legislative progress of H.R. 11627 through this House—first in the Public Works Committee, then in the Rules Committee—I have spoken out in opposition to one of the bridges authorized by this legislation; the bridge parallel to the existing Chesapeake Bay Bridge. I have sought to delete the authorization for this bridge from the bill.

I would now like to present the case against the parallel bay bridge on the floor of this House. I realize that I have no chance to win on the issue of deleting the parallel bay bridge from this bill. The dean of the Maryland delegation is chief sponsor of H.R. 11627, and he is also chairman of the powerful Public Works Committee. All of us who know the political facts of life know what I am up against.

My purpose in taking my fight against the parallel bay bridge to the floor is to bring out certain facts about the bridge for the benefit of my colleagues in this House; for the benefit of the Senators who will soon consider this bill; and for the benefit of the voters of Maryland who decisively rejected the parallel bay bridge in a referendum only last November.

The necessity for congressional action on a bill authorizing the construction of bridges and tunnels in Maryland, according to the Public Works Committee report, stems from two technical requirements:

First. Because the bridges in this group were partly authorized by an act preceding the General Bridge Act of 1946, in which Congress delegated to the States the power to permit construction of bridges over navigable waters; and

Second. Because new structures authorized by this bill will participate in the financial pooling of revenue established by the original act.

However, Maryland officials are interpreting congressional endorsement of this legislation, which includes the parallel bay bridge, not as the technicality which is its only justification, but as ringing approval of their own insistence on a project that the people who voted them into office had rejected.

Therefore I urge my colleagues to look beyond technicalities before deciding on the value of H.R. 11627. Because the implications and significance of the parallel bay bridge are not mere technicalities—not to the people of Maryland who will use these bridges and who rejected the parallel bay bridge—not to the Maryland State officials who have so assiduously pushed the parallel bay bridge, and not to the Federal Government, which may have to finance the approach roads to the bridge. Construction of the parallel bay bridge will determine State and Federal expenditures for highways in Maryland for years to come.

If the parallel bay bridge is built, at least $50 million will be needed for an Arundel Expressway to speed Baltimore area residents to the parallel bay bridge. Millions more will be needed for a new Kent Narrows Bridge, which is a small drawbridge on the approach road to the Chesapeake Bay Bridge that is lifted up to 50 times daily on busy summer weekends; and for a new Choptank River Bridge, another narrow bridge on the vacation route to the parallel bay bridge.

I would also like to call my colleagues' attention to actual traffic figures for the existing Chesapeake Bay Bridge, and economic and financial data about the projected parallel bridge.

The existing Chesapeake Bay Bridge is now carrying only half its rated capacity of 8.5 million cars a year.

Traffic on the existing bridge failed to make any real gains between 1963 and 1965 because of the opening of other toll facilities.

The existing bay bridge is congested on only a few summer weekends during the year.

Simple and inexpensive methods of easing such infrequent congestion—for example, increasing toll booth facilities, and eliminating approach-road bottlenecks—have yet to be introduced by the State roads commission. In fact, I believe it is fair to say that they want all the congestion they can get so they can make a case for another parallel bridge. Each time they get a little congestion there they have photographers swarming all over the place trying to get pictures of it.

If a bridge were built in the Baltimore area first, it would provide better service to the 60 percent of the Maryland population living in the metropolitan area. It would expand the port frontage, attract new industry and population, and build up the economy of Maryland generally.

These bonuses cannot be claimed for a bridge alongside of a bridge which can give greater convenience on only a few summer weekends, and mostly to out-of-State motorists.

Contrary to the claims of the Maryland State Roads Commission, the parallel bridge will not be paid for by tolls of the people who cross it. Interest and amortization on the second bridge will cost $4 million to $5 million a year, and at a $1 toll will require an extra 4 to 5 million cars annually.

Yet the State roads commission figures show that the extra traffic using this second bridge will still be far below this figure, even by 1985. The parallel bay bridge will therefore have to be paid for by the people who use other toll facilities—the Susquehanna Bridge, the Potomac Bridge, and the Harbor Tunnel.

That is why they have to come to the Congress because they have to have the revenue from these other toll facilities, including the existing bridge and the Potomac River Bridge which is across interstate waters. This requires them to come from congressional authorization.

If they were just content to let that bridge be paid for by the people who cross it, they would not have to come to the Congress for money at all—at least that is their claim.

If the parallel bridge—and a second harbor tunnel—were not built, and it is very interesting to note that this has been overlooked at all times in all of the arguments, if these are not built, all of these toll facilities in the State would become free to motorists in 3½ years under the State law automatically.

Maryland voters have been told again and again that the advice of experts should determine which bridge should be built first, and where, and that the advice of these experts should supersede the wishes of the votes as expresesd in referendum.

The records of these so-called experts give some index to measure the value of their advice.

Estimates of traffic and revenue on the proposed parallel bay bridge were made by the traffic consulting firm of Coverdale & Colpitts. I have discovered eight major projects on which this firm made gross overestimations in traffic and revenue—including two bridges in Maryland, the Potomac River Bridge and the Susquehanna River Bridge. These eight projects have a total value of three-quarters of a billion dollars, or 15 percent of Coverdale & Colpitts' entire business.

In addition to the Maryland bridges, this firm's six other blunders include two bridges in Michigan; and toll projects in Illinois, West Virginia, Massachusetts, and Kansas. Three of the projects are in default on interest payments to bondholders. A fourth is paying interest out of borrowed money. In the fifth and sixth projects, tolls had to be raised sharply in an attempt to make up for traffic deficiencies. Even with higher tolls, revenue is still below the firm's predictions.

The main motive behind this drive for a parallel bridge is not the economic merits of the project but the millions of dollars to be made from fees and land speculation.

The Governor—and now listen to this—along with eight business and political associates, owns land on the approach to and very near the proposed parallel span. Last year, when his ownership was discovered, he promised in a rather emotional statement to sell his share and give any profits to charity. Repeated public prodding has only just now succeeded in getting a definite action to sell this property. Whatever happens to the profits of his share though, and keep this in mind, eight business and political associates of the Governor, of course, still own the remainder of this land and still stand to profit from this parallel bridge.

More questionable than the record of Coverdale and Colpitts is that of the J. E. Greiner Co., the consulting engineers who recommended the parallel bridge and have just been given a cost-plus contract—although I thought those things went out with World War II—under which the higher the costs, the higher the profits, to design and supervise construction of this bridge—a bridge duplicative of the present bridge, which was designed by this same firm.

This same firm can draw on the designs which they originally used to build the bridge and which ought to be of some value in building the parallel bridge.

In Pennsylvania, in 1957, after two Greiner officials were indicted on a charge of conspiracy to defraud the turnpike commission of millions of dollars, the commission dismissed the Greiner Co. as consulting engineers and brought a $7.7 million civil negligence suit against the firm. The Greiner Co. had recommended a program, of drilling and filling minefields, for which the State was billed over $7 million, but which—State mine officials testified—should have cost only $82,900, or 1 percent. Five State officials, including the chairman of the turnpike commission, went to jail. The two indicted Greiner officials escaped conviction, but the Greiner Co. paid the turnpike commission to settle the civil suit out of court.

In Florida in 1965, a grand jury ruled that fees charged by the J.E. Greiner Co. for engineering and design of the Tampa Airport were "unduly excessive" by $907,000, or 37 percent.

In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in 1956, the J. E. Greiner Co., as consulting engineers to the Delaware River Joint Toll Bridge Commission, was found to have authorized illegal payments of $181,000 in public funds to commission members and employees. In addition, Greiner officials authorized additional payments of public money for extravagant parties and pleasure trips to Las Vegas and other cities.

For example, a $4,000 set of china which was made by the same firm with which the chairman of the commission was connected was bought from that firm for entertaining, and a gal was hired and put on the rolls for secretarial services, though she was simply a nightclub entertainer known as TNT From Gay Paree.

So doubtful was the chairman of the Maryland State Roads Commission that his contract with Greiner for the parallel bridge could withstand public scrutiny that he long delayed making this document available. I had one heck of a time getting hold of it. I have just been able to obtain a copy, but only after the contract was signed and delivered, and even then only after one of my assistants prodded the chairman's office for 3 days running.

This cost-plus contract gives Greiner every incentive to squander public money because the firm will not only be reimbursed for all of its payroll expenses on this project but will receive in addition an amount equal to 101 percent of these expenses.

In summary, the building of a parallel bay bridge would be a tremendous economic and financial mistake for Maryland and its people, who would be paying for this blunder through extra tolls for years to come. I have briefly described the history of miscalculation,. negligence, land speculation, and plain incompetence surrounding this bridge and the consultants and the Governor who recommended it. The need for a parallel bridge is far from proven, and the black marks against it so many and varied, that the House would be wise not to authorize its construction at this time. During the reading of H.R. 11627 for amendments, therefore, I shall offer an amendment to strike the parallel bay bridge authorization from this bill.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. In his previous remarks, the gentleman made some reference to the interest of the taxpayers' or the people of the Nation generally in this matter. Is this proposed bridge going to cost the Federal taxpayers, the taxpayers of all the country, any money now or in the future?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Not directly, but indirectly. In the first place, it will cost the toll taxpayer. They are merely taxpayers who are paying sums out of a different pocket, anywhere from $70 million to $100 million, depending on its cost. But in addition, there will be scores of millions of dollars worth of approach roads and bridges which will have to be built to service this road which would not necessarily otherwise have to be built if a bridge were built in another area.

So this is of great significance to the Federal taxpayer.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I yield to my colleague from Maryland.

Mr. MORTON. In connection with the matter of approach roads. Approach roads would have to be built regardless of where the bridge is built; is that not correct?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Not necessarily.

Mr. MORTON. In Kent County there are no road systems that would now handle or support any reasonable amount of traffic across the proposed bridge?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I agree with the gentleman entirely. If a bridge is built in another area, roads would have to be built. The Governor and the State road commission have consistently maintained that only the northern approach would require approach roads. Now it turns out that already a $60 million Arundel Expressway is being projected for the parallel bridge, if the parallel bridge goes through.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLS). The time of the gentleman from Maryland has expired.

Washington Square Business and Professional Women's Club Award to Nell Boardman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Nell Boardman, my constituent, is most interested in the furtherance of contemporary American art.

As the head of the Washington Square outdoor art exhibit she has stimulated an activity in Greenwich Village, in my district, which is of great significance to the area.

In recognition of National Business Women's Week, Mrs. Alma LaMothe Smith, president of the Washington Square Business and Professional Women's Club has informed me Miss Nell Boardman has received the achievement award from that organization.

I am pleased to bring this to the attention of my colleagues and to set forth herein the article on the subject from the well respected weekly newspaper in my district, the Villager, as follows:

ACHIEVEMENT AWARD TO NELL BOARDMAN

In recognition of National Business Women's Week (October 15–21), Washington Square Business and Professional Women's Club has honored Nell Boardman with their "Woman Of Achievement" Award for her many years of service to her community and her outstanding talent as an artist and teacher, announced Mrs. Alma La Mothe Smith, President.

"Miss Boardman is currently President of the Washington Square Outdoor Art Exhibit, Inc. and Chairman of the Board, a position she has held since the present non-profit corporation was set up, for the avowed purpose of stimulating, promoting and preserving contemporary American Art. One of the precepts is that the Show and its prize awards are available to all, regardless of their sex or national origin, and perhaps this is one of the reasons it has become the largest art show in the world. It is rated as the most colorful event of the City of New York by the Department of Commerce, and cooperates with the New York City Summer Festival, which provides a scholarship for a deserving artist.

"In 1960, Nell Boardman traveled to Alaska on a painting mission sponsored by the Beth Corcoran Art Gallery in Anchorage. Mayor Wagner had sent a letter announcing her visit and Mayor George Byer presented her with a key to the city when she arrived. While there, Nell Boardman officially opened Alaska's first American Art Week since becoming part of the United States. This is an event held the first week in November annually, founded and sponsored by the American Artists Professional League and celebrated not only in this country but also by our Armed Forces in various parts of the World.

"Nell Boardman, in 1962, received the "Woman Of The Year" Award from the Kiwanis Club of Greenwich Village. She also was a semi-finalist in the national competition for the annual Lane Bryant Award for volunteer service to the community.

"National Business Women's Week was officially proclaimed in 1928 by the President of the United States as one dedicated to highlighting the outstanding achievements of working women in all phases of social, economic, cultural, business and professional life. It is therefore especially appropriate to call the attention of the community to the tremendous contribution made by Nell Boardman to the cultural life of the City of New York and of the Nation."

Peace Comes From Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the American youth of today are being subjected to a sordid and senseless set of standards, perhaps unlike any social challenge ever before encountered by our young people—a set of standards promoting unrestrained individualism, repulsive dress and speech, outright obscenity, disdain for moral and spiritual values, and disregard for reverence, rectitude, and respect.

Fortunately, a high percentage of our millions of young people are dedicated, hard working, and serious minded. However, their good deeds and achievements are overshadowed by those who are doing more talking than thinking. Along those lines, I note that a Prof. Robert McAfee Brown, of Standard University, is so opposed to the war in Vietnam that he has announced he is going to encourage his students to evade the draft and take their chances on going to jail for it. This type of misguided advice for young people is a classic example of talking before thinking and when I note further that Professor Brown is a professor of religion, I have some concern for the type of moral convictions he is conveying to his students. Like so many zealots, Professor Brown forgets that the convictions of others are worth examining and while peddling his distorted counsel to these students, he should recognize that while rebellion, resistance, and denunciation have their place in our society, acceptance ond obedience to the laws of our country are even more important.

Under unanimous consent I include the following editorial which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star entitled "Peace Comes From Law" at this point in the RECORD. It should be required reading for Professor Brown and all those who suffer from the inability to separate desire from fact.

The article referred to follows:

PEACE COMES FROM LAW

Robert McAfee Brown, a professor of religion at Stanford University, is so opposed to the war in Vietnam that he feels "civil disobedience seems to me the only honorable route left."

He therefore has announced he is going to encourage his students to evade the draft and take his chances on going to jail for it.

We hope he is carted off quickly, not so much because we favor the war as because we oppose law-breaking.

Professor Brown's problem and that of many of his fellow travelers on the road of protest to the war in Vietnam lies mostly in the inability to separate desire from fact.

He desires peace so much he would break the peace, forgetting the fact that it is law and only law which can make and keep peace.

The professor is of the view that he has thought this whole thing through at great depth, but has he really?

He compares his plan to break the law to Martin Luther King's breaking of the unjust laws of the racist South. But are the draft laws comparable to segregationist laws? We hardly think so, and we think if the professor thought about it deeply he would have to agree.

The draft laws exist to protect us. They have done so during many wars of the past and they shall do so in the future, providing assaults such as Professor Brown's are dealt with.

What really bugs the professor is not the law but President Lyndon Johnson and his State Department which will not conduct our foreign policy as he sees it. He thinks his going to jail may change our foreign policy.

In actual fact, it would probably be strengthened if Professor Brown were put behind bars.

Vincennes Sun-Commercial Comments on Protesters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, in a provocative editorial, a fine midwest newspaper, the Vincennes Sun-Commercial, comments on the timing of the current wave of antiwar protests in our Nation. Every concerned Member of Congress might do well to pause and reflect on the nature of these protests.

I commend this fine editorial as follows:

PECULIAR PROTESTS

The current outbreak of protests against the draft and the war in Vietnam has all the spontaneity of a card-section display at a Saturday football game.

The protesting nature of the demonstrations has been spelled out by a prominent Jewish rabbi who said the protest is being directed by the radical left. This group of extremists—and that is probably the most charitable description, if not the most accurate—are critics of anything American.

Wisely enough, the Jewish church leader has urged other religious groups to disavow the deliberately planned public displays now under way. Various church leaders already have lent too much respectfulness to an otherwise unsavory movement. Indeed, some church and religious figures soon may have to choose between continued support for dubious ends, and continued support by the citizens who are the backbone of the religious structure in this country.

The demonstrations spreading over the country have an unusual coincidence with a crescendo of calls for a stop in bombing in Vietnam. It is the accurate, intriguing fact that authoritative Red Army officers in the Soviet Union have predicted an American invasion of North Vietnam. Could it be that the communists are in more serious military trouble than they care to admit?

There is at least a remarkable correlation between the anti-draft demonstrations and American claims that the Reds, in fact many, are being hurt seriously in the fighting. Thailand soon will provide a division of infantry for use in Vietnam. Hanoi admits that the bombing has been effective and suddenly, "Peace" protests blossom in the largest cities of the United States.

The leadership of the various demonstrations have no visible or approved connection with a foreign government. The fact remains that these public activities cannot fail to be of aid to an enemy of the United States.

It will be argued that such a statement casts reflection upon the patriotism of the honestly concerned Americans who are interested only in being assured the right to be heard. Scripture made many centuries ago points out that men are best known by their actions. This is the other side of the coin of patriotism in which the professional protesters wish to trade.

The average American is becoming less and less amused by the sophistry and cynicism of those who can only criticize and carp. The false ring of the planned protest is only too obvious.

The demonstrators are apt to prove once more the validity of Abraham Lincoln's comment about fooling all the people all of the time.

The U.S. Purpose in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the Congress a timely editorial about the Vietnam situation which appeared in the Los Angeles Times October 22, 1967.

The editorial, entitled "The U.S. Purpose in Vietnam," represents an important contribution to the public information and dialog on the Vietnam situation at this time, for it discusses forthrightly and succinctly what is at stake in Vietnam and the significance of what happens there, not only to our own national security but also to the world's future.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the Los Angeles Times editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

THE U.S. PURPOSE IN VIETNAM

Secretary of State Rusk defines America's stake in Vietnam as a matter of vital national security.

The non-Communist states of Asia, he feels, are threatened now and will be even more in the future by an immense and ambitious China. Our credibility, embodied also in mutual defense treaties with more than 40 states, is hostage in Vietnam, and were we to give up the fight this nation would be subject to "mortal danger."

This is one of the more explicit statements of U.S. purpose in Vietnam any Administration official has made yet. We think, however, that our reason for being in Vietnam and all that commitment involves can be stated with greater precision.

The basic reason for our fighting a war costly both in irreplaceable lives and in money is that we are trying to prevent any major change in the balance of power in Asia and, hence, in the world. This consideration has been pre-eminent in American foreign policy for more than 20 years. It is the same consideration that prompted U.S. intervention in Korea, an intervention which achieved its primary purpose.

Should a victory be scored by the Communists in South Vietnam, a shift in political directions would almost surely follow in Southeast Asia. Laos and Cambodia, whose political fates clearly depend on the outcome of the war in Vietnam would be the first to feel the effects of any Communist victory, as the rulers of these countries well know. Ho Chi Minh has made no secret of the Communist claim to all of Indochina.

Neutralist Burma could be expected to move into closer alignment with the dominant Asian power, China. Thailand would face an accelerated and more readily sustainable insurgency threat. So too would the Philippines. Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, looking at the new political realities, might feel forced to shift their present positions.

Many might say of this projection, So what? Does it really make a difference if those far-away Asian lands, whose way of life is so different from ours, come under Communist control, or adopt anti-Western attitudes?

We are convinced it would make a difference, politically, economically and strategically. We also believe that such a drastic realignment in Asia, and all that it would mean, could bring far closer than now the possibility of a direct Sino-American clash.

Should it be proved in Vietnam that foreign-supported internal aggression is able ultimately to overcome the most powerful nation in the world, then beyond any question such aggression will be launched again and again in the developing countries of the region, and beyond that, quite likely, in other areas of the world.

North Vietnam and China are both deeply aware of the real stakes in this war, as statements by their leaders make abundantly clear. Aware, too, are the leaders of the non-Communist states of East Asia, who uniformly support what the United States is doing in Vietnam.

The American effort in Vietnam has already had significant political results in Southeast Asia.

"One of the generally unrealized benefits of the war in Vietnam," Robert Shaplen writes in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, "has been an awareness on the part of Asian leaders—as best expressed so far by Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew—that the United States has bought time in Vietnam for the rest of Southeast Asia to get together and avoid another Vietnam."

No one can promise that a defeat of the Communist plan in Vietnam will rule out future efforts elsewhere. Certainly, however, a demonstrable defeat of the idea so loudly endorsed now by Peking will have a profound dissuasive effect on those who see "national liberation wars" as the easy way to power.

That, in combination with what is taking place now inside China, promises to mean much to the future of Asia. It could well help to bring about what Secretary Rusk sees as our overall objective, the establishment of an "organized and reliable peace," under which—it is not so wild a dream—the United States and China might enjoy something approaching normal relations.

The greatest mistake that can be made about the Vietnam conflict is to see it as simply a "civil war" of purely local interest and significance. American blood is being shed in a cause of far greater political and strategic importance than that.

What is at stake first of all is the balance of power in Asia, a determinant of essential concern to U.S. national security and the world's future.

Centennial of Western Maryland College

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on October 21 it was my privilege to take part in the centennial convocation marking the 100th anniversary of Western Maryland College, one of the indispensable, independent liberal arts colleges in the Nation. On this occasion, the administrators, faculty, students, alumni, and friends of this fine institution paused to look back over the college's proud history, and forward to a second century of growth and accomplishment.

Established in 1867, Western Maryland was the first coeducational college south of the Mason-Dixon Line. The college was the dream of Fayette R. Buell, who operated a private school in beautiful Westminster, Md., and started constructing the first college building in 1866 on a hill at the western end of Westminster which had been used at times for public meetings and as a Federal artillery emplacement during the Civil War. Chartered in 1868 by the former Methodist Protestant Church, Western Maryland is now a church-related college of the Methodist church.

Since the administration of its first president, Dr. J. T. Ward, Western Maryland has been led by four succeeding presidents to its present position as an effective, highly esteemed institution. Its leaders have built the college from a 6-acre campus with one building to a complex of more than 160 acres with facilities valued at $10 million. The student body has grown from the 70 enrolled that first year to over 800 today. As part of its centennial celebration, the college is engaged in a vigorous expansion program which will provide sufficient facilities for an enlarged student body of 1,200.

The theme for the college's year-long celebration is "The Liberal Arts College: Continuity and Change." In taking a keen, constructive look at the role of liberal arts colleges in education today, Western Maryland is both analyzing her own role and future, and providing leadership for other independent liberal arts institutions in our changing educational structure.

The president of Western Maryland College, Dr. Lowell S. Ensor, the officers and members of the board of trustees, the college's entire administrative staff and faculty, and its alumni and students deserve our warm congratulations for their achievements to date and the soundly based confidence with which they face the future. The record of Western Maryland College in her first century has been one of great accomplishment, written in the contributions of the institution's many distinguished graduates, in the growth and prominence which the college has brought to the community of Westminster, to Carroll County and to Maryland, and in the leadership which Western Maryland has exerted in the cause of quality education. I have every confidence that the school's record during the next 100 years years will be equally proud.

For the information of my colleagues, I insert in the RECORD at this point the following summary of the college's history and objectives:

WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE

BACKGROUND

The dream of one man the selfless labor of another account for the beginnings of Western Maryland College. Fayette R. Buell, operator of a Westminster private school, had a dream which he followed until construction actually started in 1866 on the first College building. The late J. T. Ward, who became associated with Mr. Buell while his plan was being formulated, went on to see the College through a difficult beginning period, serving as its president for 19 years.

Western Maryland opened in 1867 and was chartered in 1868 under the auspices of the former Methodist Protestant Church. It is now one of the church-related colleges of the Methodist Church. The College is coeducational; in fact it was the first institution south of the Mason and Dixon line to open its doors to both young men and young women.

At the retirement of J. T. Ward from the presidency of the College, Thomas Hamilton Lewis became Western Maryland's second president. During his administration, the College developed financial stability and intellectual firmness. Promotion of its physical growth and a vision for the future were the College's inheritance from the presidency of Albert Norman Ward. President Fred G. Holloway brought Western Maryland safely through the depression and the difficult times of World War II. Under the present incumbent, Lowell S. Ensor, the College has become an up-to-date and outstandingly effective institution.

That first building, started by Mr. Buell with borrowed money, was located at the western end of Westminster on a hill which had been used at times for public meetings and as a federal artillery emplacement during the Civil War. There were just six acres and one building in the original campus. Since that time the College has acquired surrounding farm lands and other properties to achieve a campus of more than 130 acres with facilities valued at 9½ million dollars. There were 70 students enrolled when the College began; now enrollment tops 800. The curricular approach has broadened, also, from a narrow classicism to the full scope of liberal arts.

In those early days, Western Maryland, one College historian has remarked, had both "the ultra-Victorian provincialism of the environment and the conservative influence of denominational sponsorship"—this, despite its radical adoption of coeducation. Both the nation's and the College's approach to higher education have progressed from that era.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

As a liberal arts college, Western Maryland presents an educational program which equips graduates with qualities of leadership and a sense of responsibility for personal development and the advancement of society.

Students at a liberal arts college receive an education which enables them to meet the vagaries of life with discrimination, understanding, and a fund of useful knowledge. Students can acquire a comprehension of humanity in terms of social environment and natural law. They are taught to search for the basic issues of any specific problem or conflict and discover what human values are involved. Liberal education attempts to inspire that range of interest, depth of appreciation, and facility of thought and action needed for effective living in a democratic society.

Western Maryland, along with many distinguished undergraduate institutions, is interested in a well-stocked and well-disciplined mind, but educates for more: insight, which goes beyond facts and skills. The program at Western Maryland is aimed at fostering an enlightened and responsible citizen—enlightened in the sense of understanding rather than merely possessing a fund of facts, and responsible to the degree of being involved personally in what engages the mind. At the same time, the College encourages students to develop a sense of aesthetic and spiritual values and to feel inspired to create. Such interests are not merely supplementary to the business of life; by adding value to leisure hours, they make it full. Western Maryland also realizes that professional proficiency is essential. Certain career choices require special abilities which the student is helped to acquire. The College provides an education which is basic to nearly all professions as well as specialization in some areas. Typical of this chance to specialize is the opportunity for French students to take their third year of study in France.

Western Maryland is accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and by the University Senate of the Methodist Church. It holds membership in the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the National Association of Schools of Music and has the approval of that Association for a Bachelor of Arts degree in applied music and in music history and literature. The College is on the approved list of the American Association of University Women.

Education is self-enrichment. The liberal arts philosophy concentrates on informed individualism, and Western Maryland offers a program which enhances development toward individual breadth and maturity.

Patriotism Isn't Dead—It's Alive at Palmetto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the American people should be continually reminded that the future of the United States lies in the optimism of today's youth. An article from the October 17 issue of the South Dade, Fla., News Leader, recently brought to my attention, champions this ideal. The article's author June Rudick presents excerpts from several fifth-grade essays entitled "What It Means to Me To Live in the United States." I think you will find the children's words both delightful and heartening:

PATRIOTISM ISN'T DEAD—IT'S ALIVE AT PALMETTO

(By June Rudick, A.M. (authorized mother))

If you think that Patriotism, like God, may be dead, be assured that it may be lying dormant in some areas, but it's actually being re-born in today's youngsters. Fifth grade students of Mrs. Winifred Findley's class at Palmetto Elementary School were assigned to write a paper on, "What it Means to Me to Live in the United States." Some of their words show great promise for the future:

Barby Crompton: "I think living in the United States now is nice. . . . I am glad we live in peace. I'm glad we don't have Kings because if you were living in Ohio and moved to Florida you would have to learn this Kings way when you just got used to the other Kings way. . . . We have freedom, justice, and liberty. And I think it is the best place in the whole wide universe to live!!"

Barbara Little: "To live in the United States means to me freedom of what I want to do that is reasonable. It means justice and protecting laws . . . The United States means liberty . . . All of the people of the United States form it. Love is what Americans are made of . . ."

Diana Lazo: "I'm glad the United States has a government because if we wouldn't we would all be in jail or maybe we won't have a father or a mother or sometimes a sister or brother the reason is because we may not have enough money and we starve to death or another things that are bad . . . and you can babysit or mow the lawn and earn about 6 dollars and, if we were in the old days there were no rules so you would earn a penny because they were poor."

Kory Rudick: ". . . We try to follow the laws. We live together nicely. It's a good place to be . . . I am very pleased to be an American. I like very much living in America. I think very highly of our Constitution. It is a good one because it gives us freedom and rights. Our government made it a good one. I would not like moving from here."

Robert Rosenberg: ". . . I am happy no one gets their home taken away and people can be whatever they want to. I am happy that we have our own Flag, Armed Forces, the Statue of Liberty and our country's Capital. I am happy that we have our own coinage . . . I am happy that every year there is a change of the new cars, boats, buses and sometimes airplanes. I am happy we have our own schools, and the transportation for children by bus, and that we have books to read. . ."

Lynn Minegar: "To me the United States means freedom. Freedom of religion, freedom of land, speech. We take this for granted so much. In the time of kings and rulers, and when Negroes were slaves, people were not free. Kings lived in great palaces and had many slaves. Then the Constitution was developed. The people developed laws, there is freedom!"

Andy Madsen: ". . . It's a privilege to live in the United States. You think what you want. Everybody should stand straight when the Star-Spangled Banner plays and should be proud to sing it. And I think it's fair to vote for whom you want to vote and have rules about things not to do and things to do."

Larry O'Connor: "I am glad I live in the United States because it is free from bad laws and from kings. Our government set up a Constitution, everyone is free, to say what they think people can vote for who they want . . . The newspapers can print what they think is right . . . You can go where you wish. There are laws and they are fair."

Douglas Noordhock: "In the United States I can go to the church of my choice . . . In the United States I can own and run my own business, I can earn as much or as little money as I want. The United States is a beautiful country. There are swift rivers with fish. And high mountains to climb. There are beautiful resorts to visit. I can get a good education in the United States."

Mary E. Cohen: "I think that the idea of the Constitution was good because we wouldn't have regulation to go by if there wasn't . . . A good reason to live under the government is that there are laws and peace . . . We have teachers to help us, doctors to keep us well and so on . . . There are laws like: speed limits, throwing trash on the road."

Ronald Harvey: "To live in America it means freedom of speech, freedom of writing, and deciding what you want to be. It also means you have to obey certain laws . . . There are many museums where there are things from the past. There are many stupid people there are also some people the opposite. The government provides police, armies, rockets, atomic bomb and hydrogen bombs."

United Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, during this United Nations Week, when we are observing the 22d birthday of the international organization, it is impressive to note the depth of support for the U.N. throughout American society. Some of the strongest support comes from internationally minded businessmen. The interest of the business community was expressed aptly and succinctly last Saturday by Lynn Townsend, chairman and chief executive officer of the Chrysler Corp. Mr. Townsend was chairman of the seventh annual United Nations concert and dinner in Washington.

His remarks on this occasion follow:

Our meeting here tonight may be the signal for a new period of challenge, of fruitful work, and of fulfillment for American business in the service of world peace and prosperity. If that sounds too hopeful, let me suggest that this occasion can be at least a step in that direction. Other United Nations concerts here in Washington in other years have been supported by other groups of people—all of them dedicated to the principles of the United Nations Charter. This concert and this dinner meeting have been supported by the American business community.

We are here because we believe in the great objectives drafted twenty-two years ago in San Francisco and agreed to by the representatives of 50 nations. We are here because we know we are living in a time unmatched in all human history for its potentials and its perils—and because we would like to do what we can to neutralize the perils and realize the potentials. We are here because we know that the scientists, engineers, businessmen, and workers of our time can make a new world if the conditions are right. And we know that what we need most is a common purpose to reduce the common fear.

The United Nations provides us with one of our best reasons for hoping that nations can negotiate their differences—set new goals together—and unleash the energies of men for building a strong, peaceful world.

All of us recognize that the United Nations has its limitations as an instrument for achieving peace and progress. But with all its limitations, it is the most important single instrument we have for improving international understanding in this highly imperfect world. The United Nations has not brought universal and unbroken peace. But in its twenty-two years of existence there has been no conflict comparable to the two world wars earlier in this century.

The United Nations has not found ways to bring adequate food and health and universal education to the world. But through the Food and Agriculture Organization—the World Health Organization—and the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization it has helped the nations of the world to work together toward a better life for their people.

The United Nations has not bridged the enormous economic gap between the developed and developing economies. But it has built a whole series of economic and financial agenices that have helped the people of the advanced and the less advanced economies to communicate with one another and work together to good purpose.

Those of us who do business in other parts of the world know how much these UN agencies have helped to make our work more productive. They have helped to create the kind of conditions in which investments can be made with confidence and plans can be laid for growth in the long-range future.

One excellent example is the work of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These two great financial institutions were born at Bretton Woods a year before the end of World War II, when forty-four nations met to find a way to stabilize the currencies of the world, to help finance the rebuilding of the war-shattered economies, and to assist in the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

When the International Monetary Fund began to operate in 1946 there were only a few hard currencies that could be freely exchanged. The IMF helped to tide over the nations that had foreign exchange difficulties until their currencies were strong enough to hold their own. Today most of the world's major currencies are freely convertible. And last month in Rio de Janeiro the member nations of the Fund voted almost unanimously in favor of a bold new approach to international monetary policy. The Special Drawing Rights arrangement is one of the most promising financial inventions of our time. I'm sure most of us hope that when it becomes effective it will help to create the kind of international monetary structure that will make possible a continued and rapid growth of trade and investment.

Over the past twenty-one years the World Bank has made loans for economic development in 38 different currencies totaling the equivalent of $10.5 billion. These loans have financed roads, railroads, power plants, including one atomic power plant, irrigation projects, port improvements, and other basic facilities. The Bank has also financed the foreign-exchange costs of economic and technical surveys needed by member countries in planning their future development. The World Bank raises its development funds by selling its bonds in the private money markets of many countries. In this and other ways the Bank has relied on the private sector and has created conditions favorable to the growth of vigorous private business enterprise.

In addition to the UN agencies I have mentioned, there are many others which help to bring greater order in the world by protecting patents and copyrights, promoting freer trade, establishing better communications, coordinating scientific research, and so on.

All these activities are important in themselves. They are also important because they strengthen a growing tradition of cooperation among nations. They keep the world moving—however painfully and slowly—toward the time when international relations will be made more orderly by the rule of international law. International business helps the world move toward this same goal. Businessmen working outside their own country must find a common ground of understanding with businessmen in other countries. They must make and honor informal commitments on the basis of mutual trust. And they must draft and live up to formal contracts. These habits of cooperation and confidence are a force for peace as well as for economic progress.

Many of us believe the present period offers more promise and a more favorable climate for the growth of trade and investment than any previous period. At no time in the past, for example, has the world seen anything to compare with the rapid creation of continental marketing arrangements in both hemispheres during the past twenty years. The emerging common markets are creating one of the conditions for mass production, mass marketing, and the resulting economies of scale—which were formerly realized only in the United States. The Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations recently concluded after four difficult years was more successful than any previous round. And in most parts of the world there is clear evidence of a growing understanding of the practical social advantages of the competitive open-market economic system which provides both incentive and economic discipline through the mechanism of profit.

Some of us have been particularly encouraged by the rapid growth and acceptance of the multinational company, which is based in one country and has branches and subsidiaries in many other countries. Many companies that are represented here this evening are finding that the lines between their domestic and overseas operations are no longer distinct. Over the past ten years or so many of us have learned to think of our activities as being one interlocking worldwide system of resources, men, and markets. It is no exaggeration whatever to say that the multinational company—whether it is a North American company or a company based on one of the other continents—has become the principal agent for making the most efficient use of the world's resources.

With the cooperation of the countries where it operates, the multinational company can combine its productive and marketing skills for the widest possible benefit. It can carry its technology throughout the world, train the people of developing countries in advanced skills, and bring about a healthy cross fertilization of ideas and culture. And being a profit-making organization, in competition with other profit-making organizations, the multinational company has no other choice than to work for maximum efficiency by using the simplest and most economic means to get the desired results. This in itself can be a very major contribution to any developing country.

Great as the potential benefits of the multinational company are, those benefits will be realized only through the practice of sound and farsighted business diplomacy. A company operating abroad can never forget that it has the same obligation of being a good corporate citizen that it has in its own country. Since the customs and national objectives of the host country are bound to be somewhat strange, this obligation may be difficult to carry out. And no businessman conducting operations outside his own country can be unmindful of the need to reconcile the competitive, profit-oriented decisions that must be made by the central administration of a multinational company with the national interests of the host countries.

We have now entered the last third of the twentieth century. This may prove to be the most exciting, the most interesting, and the most productive period in terms of human values that mankind has yet experienced. This is not to say we won't continue to have our troubles. After all, we have the same set of human frailties as ever. But along with our troubles we will have great triumphs that will give a lift to the spirit.

I am confident that in the remaining years of the century the deserts will begin to blossom with desalinated seawater. We will learn to farm the ocean floor. We will become as familiar with the mountains on the Moon as we now are with the Rockies and the Himalayas. And in a thousand other ways we will use science and engineering—along with the rapidly unfolding new science of management—to build an entirely new and different and better environment for the human race.

With all the staggering obstacles that confront us during this troubled century, we can never afford to loosen our hold on our ideals. We can never afford to let the stubborn problems of the present cloud our vision of the future. After all, it is the long look toward a better tomorrow that gives meaning to the turbulent events of the day. And it is always possible, as well as practical, to be, in John F. Kennedy's words, an "idealist without illusions."

Perhaps it is the combination of the idealistic with the practical that gives the United Nations its strong and persistent hold on the loyalties of men in our time. I would hope that the businessmen of all countries—working with and supported by the United Nations—can help provide the people of the world with the confidence and the will to make the kind of peaceful and steadily improving world we all want.

Destroying America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of U.S. News & World Report once again includes a dramatic message from Warner & Swasey, this time pointing out policies that are making America weaker every day. Calling such policies progressive is an abuse of the English language. It is like saying black is white or hate is love.

Why is it that we do not demand in the Congress an end to centralization of Federal power, an end to Communist control over Cuba, legislative and tax policies to encourage thrift, and court decisions that will protect the internal security as well as law-abiding members of society against deliberate criminals?

I commend Warner & Swasey on these splendid messages, and urge all concerned about the mess the policies of the present administration have produced, to read this message.

WHY DO WE BORROW THE WORST FROM COUNTRIES INSTEAD OF THEIR BEST

We talk about Guaranteed Income for everyone, whether he works or not. The British called the same thing The Dole, and it helped make England Socialist and destroy the British Empire.

We complacently watch unions demand and force unearned wage increases which destroy profits vital to national growth. That's only one step from the Russians, who abolished profits in favor of the Workingman's Soviet.

We watch our central government seizing more and more power, destroying the authority and self-respect of cities and states. That's what Germany did—and out of it came Hitler.

More and more of our income is taken in taxes to support indolence by people who won't work but who will support whoever gives the most from the public trough. That's what supports Cuba's Castro.

Criminals are pampered, police attacked. Success is suspect, poverty perpetuated. Government runs amok in spending money it doesn't have, and in destroying thrift and hard-won security.

All this is the very opposite of what built America. And, continued, this won't be America long.

Dr. Halperin Speaks on the Spirit of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on September 27 I had the privilege of speaking before the annual convention of the Citizens for Educational Freedom in New York City. One of the highlights of the meeting was an address by Dr. Samuel Halperin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

So that our colleagues may have the benefit of Dr. Halperin's remarks regarding the development of Federal policies in the field of education, I include the text of his speech at this point in the RECORD:

THE SPIRIT OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, BY DR. SAMUEL HALPERIN, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—REMARKS PREPARED FOR ANNUAL CONVENTION OF CITIZENS FOR EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM

It might be helpful if I, as an official concerned with the development of Federal policies in the field of education, stated some of the premises and principles affecting nonpublic schools on which we in the Administration predicate our proposals for legislation providing Federal aid to education.

In the first place, we recognize that the American educational system is precisely that: an interdependent *system* comprised of both public and private institutions, both sectarian and secular in character. This plurality of interests and contributions has a long and honorable history and provides much of the underlying motive power for innovation and diversity of education experience. We in the Administration prize this diversity and cherish it wherever we find it. In other words, we believe that each part of the system contributes to the welfare of the Nation as a whole, as well as to the particular segment of children it is established to serve. The Nation prospers most when each part of the system offers high quality instruction, when each part contributes its particular excellence to the American social system.

In other words, we recognize the contribution of the nonpublic sector not merely as flowing from the legal right of parents to select for their children a school system of their choice but, more affirmatively, as one of the positive contributions which we have come to expect from the various building blocks in our total educational system.

These are now easy words to utter. It was not always so. Here and there, one occasionally finds a person in a position of authority who denies the contribution which the nonpublic sector can offer to American society. But, I am happy to report, this is increasingly a rare phenomenon in the political and social environment of Washington.

Translating this philosophical recognition into operational terms, on the other hand, has been and continues to be a most difficult problem. I need not remind this distinguished audience that a hundred years of acrimonious debate and political warfare flowed from the obvious fact that an increasing number of American parents chose nonpublic school opportunities for their children.

The seeds of conflict were nourished when the American people as a whole showed themselves in earnest about the importance of education, when their annual tax bill for the support of public schools and colleges mounted each year to the point when, as a consequence, disparities of expenditure between the public and private sectors became flagrant. The result was increasing resistance on the part of nonpublic school parents to public levies for educational purposes unless there were to be a commensurate recognition of the needs of the nonpublic sector. As often as not, these conflicting demands resulted in stalemate for all segments of education, public and nonpublic alike.

At this point, our great education President—and we should not be embarrassed to use that description of his frequently overlooked or forgotten achievements—set to work to find a way around the impasse. President Johnson's Commissioner of Education at that time was Frank Keppel. The charge which the President gave to Keppel was this: "The day of the talkers is over; the day of the doers is here. It's time to go to work, and the first work of these times is education."

Keppel and Johnson together determined that the question of how to improve education for all the American people was to be just that: an *educational*, rather than a political, question. In conference after conference and meeting after meeting, the Administration worked with public and private school educators toward an analysis of the educational needs of all of the children of this country. We did not get "hung-up" purely on constitutional and political niceties, although we were not oblivious to political restraints and to constitutional limitations.

Time and time again we sought to state the issues squarely in educational terms and then it was that we arrived at the principle which, in my unlawyer-like way, I prefer to call, not the child benefit theory, but the "public trustee principle." What we came to—gropingly and imperfectly, to be sure—was the statement that the public school sector had a responsibility—as the sole recipient of Federal tax funds—to provide educational opportunities for all of the children of the community—public school pupils, private school pupils, parochial school pupils, or school dropouts—for *all* of the children who needed improved educational services. Public funds were to be channeled through public agencies, *provided that* the public agency would agree to act in good faith as a trustee for the promotion of the public welfare of the entire community.

I would emphasize that this determination was not solely the creation of a group of Washington bureaucrats. At every step of the way, we worked closely with educators of every persuasion. We came to believe—in the spirit of John F. Kennedy and Pope John—that it would be possible for educators to work together at the State and local levels in much the way that educators and politicians were able to do in national decision-making forums. We came to hope that Federal legislation could broaden the responsibilities and visions of local public school educators by entrusting them with resources for the improved education of all the children in their respective communities. We knew that this was a gamble, that in some communities the educators would not work together; that in some communities tokenism might prevail; that in some communities the forces of bigotry and stand-patism were likely, at least initially, to dominate.

But we believed that the risk was worth taking if it could bring the American people to focus on educational problems rather than on denominational labels; if it could provide sorely needed assistance to the children of our urban slums and rural depressed areas; if it could help to break down barriers in communication among the various subcommunities of our Nation.

Human institutions change, at best, with glacial speed. Yet, we have good reason to believe that the gamble of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is paying off. While bad news and reports of community conflict may make better newspaper headlines, our initial impressions are that, in communities across the Nation, links of public and nonpublic school cooperation are being forged as never before and that students in every type of institution are beginning to enjoy the much-needed benefits of Federal aid to education.

Let me summarize some statistics regarding three titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I present these to you not as evidence that all is rosy and satisfactory, but merely as preliminary indication that the public trustee principle which underlies the Elementary and Secondary Education Act may well be *beginning* to work.

TITLE I OF ESEA (EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED)

During the 1965–1966 school year, the first year of the Act:

Over 8 million children participated in regular and summer terms programs. More than 526,000, or about 6 percent of these children were enrolled in nonpublic schools, while approximately 2 percent were not enrolled in any school at all.

At least $30 million was spent for programs directly attributable to participation by nonpublic school children.

TITLE II OF ESEA (SCHOOL LIBRARY AND A–V RESOURCES)

During the 1965-1966 school year, the first year of the Act:

Materials costing $11 million were loaned to pupils and teachers in nonpublic schools.

Materials for nonpublic school children and teachers cost 12.5 percent of the total funds.

5,685,000 children in nonpublic schools benefited—16 percent of all the children in the elementary school program, 8 percent of those in the secondary program.

These children were in 16,000 nonpublic schools, 89 percent of all the nonpublic schools eligible to participate.

TITLE III OF ESEA (SUPPLEMENTARY CENTERS AND SERVICES)

During the 1966–1967 school year:

884,571 nonpublic school students participated in supplementary educational programs.

3,077 nonpublic school teachers received in-service training. Unpublished reports, now beginning to flow into Washington, give us gratifying examples of:

Genuine nonpublic school participation in the Elementary and Secondary Education programs;

Consultation in planning the programs from the earliest stages on;

A strong desire by both public and nonpublic administrators to help *all* the disadvantaged;

A willingness on all sides to confer and to cooperate;

Of a mutual recognition of common problems, as well as of peculiar differences;

The employment of additional staff in both the public and nonpublic school systems, to insure the fullest possible implementation of the Federal programs; etc.

Time does not permit me to cite actual examples but I can tell you that the Federal reporting system—never before geared up for this kind of responsibility—now has exemplary information from Denver, Colorado; Wilmington, Delaware; Wheeling, West Virginia; Atlanta, Georgia; Sacramento, California; Rochester, New York; Winona, Minnesota; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Worcester, Massachusetts; and Youngstown, Ohio, to mention but a few cities.

Of course, in a country as large as ours—with 23,000 operating school districts—these success stories may not give a full picture of reality. Neither, however, do the reports from a few cities a few persons and groups seek to thwart the Congressional mandate to serve appropriately and fairly all children regardless of the schools in which they are enrolled.

Much remains to be done at the State and local level before the Elementary and Secondary Education Act achieves optimal results.

Some of these needed actions are not really appropriate for me, as a Federal official, to comment upon. But it should be noted—as we knew at the time ESEA was being developed—that more than favorable and cooperative attitudes on the part of educators would be required in some States. There was and is the problem of the bearing of restrictive State constitutions on the expenditure of Federal grants by State and local educational agencies. (E.g. Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Nebraska prohibit shared services; New York bars dual enrollment during school hours; Missouri forbids both dual enrollment and shared services.)

But this, too, was part of the gamble. Would the people of the several States wish to apply what I have termed the public trustee principle to their respective State programs? The answers to this question will not come all at once, nor will they all be in one direction. But already we see encouraging signs that Federal legislation can influence and be used as models for State and local practice. This, surely, is the influence which underlies passage of New York's 1965 Textbook Loan Law, Michigan's Auxiliary Services Law and related measures.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said: "Americans have only one defect—they have a passion for sudden achievement." In this spirit, my message today is simply this:

We have been privileged in our lifetime to see the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. That Act is a beginning and not an end. It gives promise of healing old wounds and of helping to achieve new levels of accomplishment among all the school children of America. That Act is not perfect. It's implementation has certainly not been ideal. Yet, as our late President Kennedy once exhorted us: "Let us begin!" And, as President Johnson pledged when he took over the reigns of government: "Let us continue!"

Senator George McGovern once remarked: "Bad politics are caused by good people who don't take government seriously." The good Senator from South Dakota wasn't thinking of CEF when he said that! By your actions, I am confident, you will help to make the spirit of ESEA a national educational reality.

Senator Ralph Yarborough: Modern Minute Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, we Texans are fortunate to have as our Senior Senator a man of action. Over the years, RALPH YARBOROUGH has attained a reputation as a champion of the less fortunate, as a man who is dedicated to progress. He also rightfully enjoys recognition as a man who acts promptly when action is required.

We recently had a graphic example of his alacrity following the recent Hurricane Beulah. This destructive storm wreaked havoc throughout south Texas, causing considerable damage to the Intracoastal Canal in that area. This canal, vital to the welfare and growth of Texas and the complete gulf coast, is badly in need of rehabilitation. Therefore we were most pleased when the Senate-approved public works bill included $1,000,000 to begin repair work on it. These funds had been requested by Senator YARBOROUGH, and while they will not directly affect the ninth congressional district, we and all Texans can be grateful to the distinguished Senator.

Recently in the Beaumont Enterprise there appeared an editorial which expresses that appreciation quite well. The text of the editorial follows:

[From the Beaumont Enterprise, Oct. 13, 1967]

INTRACOASTAL CANAL

Through the efforts of Sen. Ralph Yarborough, the Senate-approved public works spending bill included $1 million to begin rehabilitation work on the intracoastal Canal. At the request of the Texas lawmaker, the Appropriations Committee in the upper chamber had added the repair money to the measure passed by the House, because Hurricane Beulah had struck after the lower chamber acted.

We are grateful to Yarborough for reacting so quickly to a big need of his constituency. The canal is one of the most vital lifelines in the commerce of this state, a truth brought home every day to the people of this industrialized area.

The investment in the Intracoastal Canal has, in fact, paid economic dividends far beyond the wildest dreams of the leaders in the movement for its construction.

Some of these farsighted pioneers and supporters are Southeast Texans, a source of pride for all the people.

The spending bill went to a joint conference committee that will work out a compromise resolving differences in Senate and House versions. We trust all the canal repair fund will remain.

New York Times Cites Figures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, while even the modest tax increase requested by the President makes us wrestle with our collective congressional conscience, there may be evidence in the latest economic figures that the economy in fact needs to prevent overheating.

Figures recently released show that the rise in the gross national product during the third quarter of 1967 was the largest in a year and a half. This striking increase in the Nation's total output of goods and services is all the more dramatic because it occurred when the Ford strike took fully $2 billion dollars out of the increase.

The rate of price increases has been twice that of the early quarters of this year and the likelihood of a 4- to 6-percent hike in the cost of living becomes increasingly evident.

When these factors are added to the expansion of business inventories during the third quarter the ingredients for a boom do seem to be boiling.

I am concerned that these figures may be evidence that perhaps Congress would be abdicating its responsibility to the Nation if it does not take some action to nip roaring inflation in the bud.

I must say that even though my own mind is not entirely made up, I find these statistics sobering and I am sure other Members will, too.

For the possibility exists that we act now, a modest average increase in taxes of 1 percent out of a dollar will suffice. If we continue to delay, more drastic measures may become necessary.

I insert into the RECORD an article by one of the economic reporters of the New York Times, Eileen Shanahan:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 14, 1967]

OUTPUT GAIN HELD SPUR TO TAX RISE—INCREASE OF $15 BILLION IS THE LARGEST IN 18 MONTHS

(By Eileen Shanahan)

WASHINGTON, October 13.—The nation's total output of goods and services registered its largest gain in a year and a half in the third quarter of this year, the Commerce Department reported today.

The increase of $15-billion in the gross national product in the third quarter, which occurred despite the strike at the Ford Motor Company during almost all of September, brought the gain to a level that the Johnson Administration defined, in advance, as inflationary. Thus the new statistics supported the Administration's case that a tax increase would be necessary to keep the growth of the economy at a noninflationary pace.

The rate of price increase in the entire economy, as measured by the gross national product, was already very large in the third quarter—about twice the rate of the earlier quarters of this year—the figures showed. The pace of price increases in the July-September period was at a rate that would amount to 3.6 per cent if continued for an entire year, the Commerce Department said.

HALF FOR PRICE RISES

Nearly half of the $15-billion gain in the gross national product during the quarter—$7-billion of it—was attributed to price increases rather than increases in real output.

The $8 billion gain in real output was, nevertheless, the largest, in dollar terms, since the first quarter of 1966 and, in percentage terms, since the fourth quarter of last year.

The total $15-billion rise brought the gross national product for the third quarter to an annual rate of $790.1-billion.

The Commerce Department said that the third-quarter increase had been reduced by about $2-billion by the Ford strike.

While one of the main factors in the gain in the gross national product during the third quarter was an increase in the rate of accumulation of business inventories, the total output for final sales also increased "substantially" for the third quarter in a row, the department said.

The rise in final sales, which amounted to $14-billion, was, however, smaller than the increases of more than $15-billion in final sales recorded in each of the first two quarters.

The increased inventory accumulation amounted to $18-billion, compared with the accumulation rate of the second quarter. The department warned, however, that only the July and August statistics on inventory accumulation were available at the time the G.N.P. estimate was made and that the inventory accumulation estimate was, therefore, subject to revision.

Auto Lobby Threatens California's Air Quality Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times yesterday carried, on page 1, a very penetrating article about the auto industry's campaign to deprive California of the right to set and enforce her own standards for controlling pollution from automobiles.

Since the House will be taking up the air quality bill very shortly, possibly next week, I believe that my colleagues will want to familiarize themselves with the issues involved in the struggle now going on between my State and the auto industry.

I am, therefore, including the article at this point in the RECORD as an extension of my own remarks:

IT'S LAWMAKERS VERSUS AUTO LOBBY: CALIFORNIANS TO FIGHT FOR POLLUTION CONTROL

(By Rudy Abramson)

WASHINGTON.—The California congressional delegation is getting set for a spirited jousting match with the powerful automobile industry lobby over the state's right to tighten auto pollution standards.

Thus far most of the action has been behind the scenes, but it is expected to break into the open this week when the Californians start rounding up support for an amendment which would allow the state to set more stringent auto emission standards without the approval of the federal government.

The provision, authored by Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.), has been passed by the Senate, but it was knocked out by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which is handling the antipollution legislation in the House.

Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D-Calif.), who lost a bid to save the amendment in committee, is now leading a campaign to get the provision restored when the Air Quality Act of 1967 reaches the House floor, possibly as early as next week. Van Deerlin and Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.) will introduce their own amendment which is nearly identical to Murphy's.

If that fails, it will be up to Murphy to save the amendment when House and Senate conferees meet to resolve the differences in their two bills.

The auto lobby has already started circulating propaganda against the amendment and Reps. John Dingell (D) and James Harvey (R), both from the car-manufacturing state of Michigan, have written their House colleagues that the pollution bill "more appropriately meets California's need" without the Murphy amendment.

The California delegation thinks otherwise and is solidly lined up behind the move to save it.

"This amendment is extremely necessary," Murphy said last week.

"California has had the pollution problem longer, knows more about it and has more experience than any other state. I put the amendment in to make sure we could continue the progress that's been made," he declared.

"Automobile manufacturers take the position that if each state is permitted to make its own specifications, it would require 50 different engines. That's the silliest logic I've ever heard. All they have to do is make one good engine that will meet the standards in California and their problems are solved."

As the House pollution bill now stands, California would have to obtain the approval of the secretary of health, education, and welfare before putting its more stringent emission standards into effect in 1970.

Van Deerlin said he has no doubt that Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner would permit California a free hand in tightening standards.

The danger he sees is that a different secretary at HEW in the future might block the state's efforts to extend its antismog laws.

Officials at HEW said last week the department has no position on the amendment, that it is neither supporting nor opposing it. One member of the California delegation said this attitude in effect is aiding its foes.

Van Deerlin said there are three valid reasons for putting the amendment back in the bill:

1—California, which has done more than any other state to fight pollution, has clearly demonstrated its ability to run its own program.

2—Automobile emissions account for 90% of the smog problem in some areas.

3—California's present standards have enabled the auto industry to accelerate the development of pollution control technology and pass it on to all areas of the country.

In other areas of federal regulation, the U.S. government has traditionally set minimum standards, leaving states free to make them more strict if they desired.

Another notable exception—other than the House version of the pollution bill—is the cigaret labeling act. "In both cases," Van Deerlin said, "a very powerful lobby was at work."

In the House bill, as it is now written, California would have to convince the welfare secretary that it is necessary to invoke standards more stringent that the federal standards now in effect. If the secretary agreed to this, he would still retain administrative control over the tougher program.

Van Deerlin said this amounts to saying that the federal government does not trust California to run its own program.

Though the Republican Coordinating Committee recently issued a report calling for stronger state and regional control over antipollution programs, Republicans on the House Commerce Committee supported Dingell's successful effort to kill the Murphy amendment.

Nevertheless, Van Deerlin and Moss believe they can get the support to add their amendment to the bill on the House floor. Besides the solid backing of the California delegation, they hope to get the votes of representatives from other metropolitan areas with pollution problems as well as those of congressmen who support states' rights in general.

So far most of the efforts have been directed at getting California to present a solid front. This week there will be a stepped up attempt to line up votes from other members of the House.

The fight over the amendment will probably be the biggest issue when the pollution bill reaches the floor. The only other differences in the Senate and House version at this point concern the amount of money to be spent.

"It's a very forward-looking bill, and one I wouldn't hesitate to vote for even without the amendment," Van Deerlin said. "But we need the amendment."

"The House Commerce Committee has yielded to the demands of the auto industry and voted for complete federal preemption," he said.

Lawyers for the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, several years ago as a young lawyer in Detroit, I volunteered some time to what we would now call a legal aid program. As I participated in that program, I grew to understand how important legal assistance is to the poor. I saw how the availability of legal advice could mean the difference between imprisonment and freedom, between eviction and fair treatment by a landlord, between usurious interest and merchandise at a reasonable price.

Later, when I was elected to Congress, I had the opportunity to vote for the establishment of the Office of Economic Opportunity. With funds given to OEO by Congress, legal service organizations have been established in nearly every city and county in the country. Mr. Speaker, I think this has been a very significant accomplishment.

Lately, however, there has been talk of legislation to prohibit legal aid agencies from handling suits by the poor against governmental agencies. I cannot understand the logic of the advocates of this restriction. It would seem to me, Mr. Speaker, that the poor are in very great need of the full range of protection against arbitrary governmental action. After all, the poor are often much more dependent on the Government than the rest of us.

There are numerous State and Federal programs which have been established to help the poor and disadvantaged, and I know that the agencies which administer these programs desire to help those in need. Occasionally, however, there may be an honest difference of opinion, or an agency may inadvertently act in an arbitrary manner. Whenever this happens, the poor need someone to represent their point of view. To deny them this protection, Mr. Speaker, could turn programs which were designed to help into ghoulish nightmares of injustice and arbitrariness.

An editorial appearing in the October 16 issue of the Washington Post well states my views on this subject. Mr. Speaker, I think it would be valuable reading for all Members of Congress.

Of course, it costs more to assure the poor the right to be represented by counsel when they object to actions taken by the Government, but we should not judge programs by the balance sheet alone. As the editorial points out, the Government's true interest lies in doing justice.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that the American Bar Association has been very active in the fight to save the legal services program in its present form. I think the Nation owes the ABA a debt of gratitude for its enlightened position on this matter. Unfortunately, not all professional groups have been as responsive to the plight of the needy.

The editorial follows:

Lawyers for the Poor

An attempt will no doubt be made in the House to revive an amendment to the poverty bill, recently defeated in the Senate, banning suits against all government agencies by federally financed legal service organizations. The amendment is disastrously mischievous. It would wreck the whole concept of promoting equal justice under law by making legal aid available to poor people.

Senator Murphy, who introduced the crippling amendment in the Senate, seemed particularly irked by a suit against the Department of Labor on behalf of some California farm workers. The suit, which was brought by a California legal assistance group funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, involved welfare aid to the farm workers and served to delay importation of some 8100 Mexican braceros to harvest fruit and vegetable crops in the San Joaquin Valley. Senator Murphy said in support of his amendment, "I cannot believe that affording legal advice, counsel and representation to persons unable to afford it in order to promote justice should include the right to bring suit against a Federal, state or local agency supported by taxpayers' money when the party is represented by another agency or program which is financed by the same funds."

What else could it possibly mean if it is to correct the imbalance that puts the poor at a hopeless disadvantage in any litigation simply because they cannot hire lawyers to counsel and represent them? The question was asked in different words by Senator Clark who opposed the Murphy amendment: "Does the Constitution, so far as the first ten amendments are concerned, apply only to those who can hire their own lawyers, but not to anyone who must depend, because of his economic circumstances, on a lawyer from the Legal Services Division of the OEO?"

The Government's true interest lies, of course, not in winning cases but in doing justice. Competent legal assistance for the poor helps them to obtain their rights and to protect their legitimate interests. It also helps to keep Government efficient and responsive to popular needs. The furnishing of such legal aid has been, in our judgment, one of the most valuable of OEO activities in the poverty program.

Dedication of Ross Hall at East Tennessee State University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle describes a well-deserved honor which was bestowed upon my good friend, Dean Ella V. Ross, during homecoming activities at East Tennessee State University last weekend.

Dean Ross, whose name is practically synonymous with higher education in Tennessee, has been a friend and counselor to countless students during the years she has served at East Tennessee State University.

She is a dedicated educator and a wonderful individual, and I am pleased that this fine new dormitory has been dedicated in her honor.

Dedication of Ross Hall Set Tomorrow at ETSU

East Tennessee State University's Ella V. Ross Hall will be dedicated at an open house tomorrow.

The new structure, which houses the suites of the seven national sororities as well as rooms for 104 students, was named after Dean Ross by the State Board of Education in 1965. The open house will be from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m.

President Burgin E. Dossett will speak at 10 a.m. prior to the unveiling of the portrait of Dean Ella Ross by her sister, Mrs. May Ross McDowell. Dean Ross will then present a gift to the Panhellenic Council, represented by Jennifer Davison, president.

Mrs. Burgin E. Dossett, Mrs. Mack P. Davis, Mrs. Solon Gentry, and Mrs. A. D. Van Gorder will serve at the tea table. Women members of the personnel staff will assist. The public is invited to attend.

A plaque in her honor bearing the following inscription is on view in the foyer: "Under the authority of the State Board of Education, the Administrative Council of East Tennessee State University officially named this building the Ella Virginia Ross Hall in honor of her who served this University from September, 1937 to the present as Chairman of the Department of English, Dean of Women, Sponsor of the Panhellenic Council, Director of Student Personnel Services and Dean of Students."

Dean Ross was instrumental in bringing sororities to the University as local organizations in 1945. In 1954, the first national organizations were installed, and others were added in 1956. The first Panhellenic Building was dedicated in 1960. Only a year later, tragedy struck when it burned to the ground. The new building opened in September, 1964.

The seven sororities on the campus are: Alpha Delta Pi, Alpha Omicron Pi, Alpha Xi Delta, Kappa Delta, Phi Mu, and Sigma Kappa. Each has a large suite individually decorated by the group to its own taste. At least a third of the 104 residents are nonsorority women. The principal officers of each sorority and those of the Panhellenic Council live there. The hostess is Mrs. Virginia Scott.

State Legislative Leader Urges House To Restore Original Antismog Provision of Clean Air Act To Allow California To Deal Effectively With Its Critical Air Pollution Emergency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a very concise and persuasive letter from the speaker of the California State Assembly urging the House of Representatives to restore the original Senate-passed version of section 208(b) of the 1967 Clean Air Act Amendments—in order to permit California to apply more stringent controls over automobile-caused air pollution, as a means of dealing with the serious health hazard we face because of the "compelling and extraordinary circumstances" found in our State.

I would like to include the text of this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because I believe it will make a positive contribution to the consideration of this bill by the Members of the House:

ASSEMBLY CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE,
Sacramento, Calif., October 5, 1967.

Hon. EDWARD R. ROYBAL,
House of Representatives,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ED: As you know, Senate amendments placed in S. 780 by Senator Edmund Muskie, the Administration's air pollution control bill of the current session, reflected California's unique need to control air pollution caused by motor vehicles. The proposed Section 208 (b) of the bill, originally sponsored by Senator Murphy, would have allowed California to require more stringent control over vehicular pollution than federal requirements, upon a proper showing to the Secretary of HEW of "compelling and extraordinary circumstances". Unfortunately, the House Commerce Committee removed this provision, thus preempting California state law in this field and preventing the State Legislature from further dealing with this serious problem.

It seems clear that California's smog problem is of a different magnitude and dimension than that faced by any other state. In 1965 California had 11.1 million registered vehicles and 18.4 million people; or roughly two cars for every three people. There are approximately as many cars in Los Angeles County as in the entire State of Illinois!

In Los Angeles, where non-vehicular causes of air pollution have been controlled more effectively than any other place in the world, motor vehicle emissions account for nearly 90 percent of the air pollution. Obviously, we will be unable to deal with this most serious health hazard now confronting our people if Congress ties our hands by prohibiting us from adopting stricter standards than those proposed in the Muskie bill.

The Assembly Transportation and Commerce Committee, under the chairmanship of Assemblyman John F. Foran of San Francisco, has just begun a comprehensive review of California air pollution laws and there is every likelihood that the Committee will propose tough new auto smog standards for California when the Legislature convenes in January. I urge you to insure that the Murphy amendment to S. 780 is retained in the final version of the bill, hopefully before the bill leaves the House but if not, in conference committee.

California has pioneered in the field of controlling motor vehicle air pollution. Our State should not now be forced into a national mold which does not fully take into account the extraordinary problems facing us.

Sincerely,

JESSE M. UNRUH,
Speaker of the Assembly.

"The Great Dollar Throwaway"—New Proof of Need for Federal Reforms

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, our current debates over Federal expenditures and immediate spending cuts have reemphasized the need for long range, thorough reforms in Federal operations to hold costs to manageable levels and insure that American taxpayers receive a dollar's worth of services for every tax dollar.

Dramatic new evidence of the problems which have developed in the executive branch is being published this week by the Baltimore News-American in a provocative series "The Great Dollar Throwaway," by News-American reporter Jerry Cartledge. Mr. Cartledge's thoughtful articles are based on more than 3 months of study and investigation, review of countless massive Federal documents, and interviews with many individuals in the Congress, in the executive branch, and in non-Federal agencies which utilize Federal assistance. Interest in my bill—H.R. 69—to establish a new Hoover-type commission to review and reform Federal operations attracted Mr. Cartledge's attention and his work promises to alert countless Americans to the importance of beginning such an effort without further delay.

I feel that Mr. Cartledge's articles will be of immense interest to the Congress, and may point out some problem areas which individual Members have not had the opportunity to explore. I would therefore like to place his first two articles, from October 22 and 23, in the RECORD today, and will include the rest of the series as it is published:

THE GREAT DOLLAR THROWAWAY

(By Jerry Cartledge)

The federal government expects to spend a minimum of $169.2 billion this year—at least $135 billion in the executive branch bureaucracy—to conduct its business. The President says that if Congress will impose an immediate 10 percent surcharge on all personal and corporate income taxes, the 1968 fiscal spending binge will amount to only $14 to $18 billion more than the government can expect to take in from taxes and other sources this year.

On Aug. 3, when President Johnson sent his special tax request to the Congress, he warned that if he did not get his 10 percent tax boost, deficit spending would spiral to more than $28 billion.

According to statistics given to the House of Representatives prior to the President's tax increase plan, the average American will work —— hours and 25 minutes of every working day of the year to earn the money he will need to pay his 1967 federal taxes. The estimate, which by many is considered extremely modest by many experts and was made by the Tax Foundation Inc.

According to statistics given to the Congress by Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman of New York, "it costs $4.481 to run the federal government every second of every day in the year."

A large portion of the spending stampede has resulted from the agencies, departments, bureaus, offices, etc., which have been created since the last bipartisan and public review of executive branch spending and policy which was completed by the Second Hoover Commission 12 years ago.

In an attempt to restore some sanity to government spending, a Maryland congressman, Charles McC. Mathias Jr. has been trying for the past three years to establish a public watchdog group, comprised of federal and state leaders and experts from private enterprise, to find out exactly what is happening to American taxpayer dollars and to make wise suggestions to the Congress on how we can cut spending, or at least get a dollar's worth for a dollar spent.

Today, the federal government plans to spend $36.9 billion more than in 1966 and about $15.6 billion more than it spent last year.

A large portion of this money will be spent to pay the salaries of Congressmen and their staffs and the more than 3 million people on the payroll in the Executive Branch of government.

Most of the remainder will be spent to carry out the programs of a spiderweb of departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments and instrumentalities of the executive branch.

A total of $76 billion in the 1968 budget is earmarked for "major military programs," with the present war in Vietnam making ever greater demands for money.

The President early this year asked for a green light from Congress to increase deficit spending up to $8 billion dollars to finance the cost of our military activities in Vietnam. Congress reluctantly agreed to $7 billion.

Budget analysts have allocated $16.7 billion for "grants-in-aid to state and local governments." But this is by no means the limit of taxpayer dollars that will be spent on domestic programs that are increasing at what many federal legislators term "an alarming rate."

Following the laws of inertia, programs once set in motion tend to remain in motion. Defying the laws, programs at rest do not tend to remain at rest. By their very nature, federal programs—particularly those dealing with domestic problems—have built into them the capacity for continuation, reproduction, expansion and proliferation.

Today there are more than 220 separate programs through which the federal government assists states and localities financially. These programs require at least 20 different agencies with more than 400 regional offices and 150 Washington offices to administer, by a most conservative estimate.

However, Maryland Congressman Charles McC. Mathias Jr. says the figures are much higher.

"The Department of Health, Education and Welfare alone," Mathias says, "participates in 175 to 180 programs costing about $8 billion. There are about 57 vocational education programs, and 33 agencies engaged in 296 consumer protection activities."

Paperwork alone cost $9.5 billion, or 7 percent of the 1967 budget, and the figure will rise again this year.

The number of federal employees in the Washington area needed to cope with mammoth government increases by 6,000 each year. There is no accurate estimate of the increased payrolls at the government's regional establishments across the nation.

Actually, when things get down to the regional and local levels, they often get lost, statistically and otherwise.

In a special study, the Library of Congress has stated that, "The federal government now spends nearly $4 billion annually on research and development in its own laboratories, but it does not know exactly how many laboratories it has, where they are, what kinds of people work in them or what they are doing."

What duplication, overlapping, completion and general inefficiency exist in the giant multiplicity of programs conducted by the federal government at the local level can only be guessed at.

But some indication may be gotten from testimony of Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz before Congress when he noted that: "There are 15 to 30 separate manpower programs administered by public and private agencies, all supported by federal funds, in each major U.S. metropolitan area."

To add to the confusion, Connecticut's Democratic Sen. Abraham Ribicoff recently told the Senate: "Manpower programs alone have increased eightfold since 1961, but they are administered by 10 separate organizational units in three independent departments."

Some of the foregoing examples and many of those to follow might seem mildly humorous to the average person—until he stops to realize that he is paying and will continue to pay for it at a shocking rate.

Hardly anyone speaks of economists in this capital city of the greatest nation ever known to civilization. Members of Congress know that the word "economy" is a dirty word in Washington, and those who still remember pledges of economy to the people back home realizes that the only way to broach the subject is to speak of "efficiency."

A smart Congressman does not question the wisdom or economy of a particular program of the federal government. Rather, he respectfully inquires as to whether the program involved is being administered efficiently. Via this route, he can sometimes find out whether a program is actually accomplishing anything "tangible."

"Art for art's sake" might well be the slogan of many of the federal government's program architects, especially those dealing with research. The program is often the only excuse for its own existence, and anyone who tries to measure the value of the program expenditure in terms of dollars and cents, improved living standards or service rendered is left dismayed.

For instance, Uncle Sam, through the National Foundation on Arts and Humanities, is spending $5,000 for studies aimed at finding out who has written what that happens to be critical of the writings of Edgar Allen Poe. Among other things, the federal government is also using taxpayers' money for a $12,650 study entitled "Literary Investigation of American Popular Culture," and $18,000 to find out whether Edmund Burke actually wrote "18th Century Journal."

At a time when the nation is erupting with racial violence and Negro leaders are either demanding or pleading for more economic assistance from the federal government to alleviate the disastrous conditions of urban ghetto life, it is a bitter fact that, through some flaw in research, the U.S. has wasted $3.5 million to create a modern ghost town in Brazil.

The money was spent by the U.S. to provide 19,000 homes for the impoverished people of the shantytowns and ghettos outside Rio de Janeiro. Only, one or more of our programmers goofed, and the homes were built 30 miles away from the city of Rio where the shantytown dwellers must find work. In order to live in these bright new homes, the workers would have to spend almost a third of their near-starvation wages to commute to and from work.

New York's Republican Congressman Charles Goodell made an inspection tour of Brazil and recently reported to the Congress that the Rio workers are still living in their favelas (shantytowns).

"When it is understood what $3.5 million could have accomplished in developing resource-backed community action within the favelas themselves, the enormity of this kind of waste is galling," he noted.

Goodell also got a good look at U.S.-financed school construction in Brazil, another glaring example of fairy godmother programming, botched planning and hasty spending.

Many of the schools were poorly constructed, Goodell reported, and there was immediate danger that some of the roofs or walls were collapsing. Contracts had been awarded to unregistered firms on a noncompetitive basis, with later changes permitting contractors to double the award price. Additionally, the schools were deteriorating because there had been no provision made for upkeep.

But wasteful spending abroad is only a small portion of an ever-growing problem which has caused many members of Congress to take a long, hard second look at the program bonanza and spending spree that has become the order of the day in the sprawling Washington bureaucracy.

Several members of both houses of Congress have introduced legislation aimed at reorganization of the Executive Branch in an effort to curb runaway government handouts. All target inefficiency, duplication, overlapping procedures and resulting administrative costs of "over-kill proportions."

In the Senate, Ribicoff has called for a partisan commission of nine persons from government and private life, appointed by the President, to help find some solutions to the problem. The preamble to his bill (S. 2116) states:

"The Congress finds that there are more than 150 departments, agencies, boards, commissions, bureaus and other organizations in the Executive Branch engaged in performing the functions of government; that such a proliferation of governmental units tends to produce a lack of coordination between them and overlapping, conflict and duplication of effort among them; that the President and Congress need additional tools and procedures to exercise better superivsion and direction . . . and that improved organizational structure and managerial techniques would permit the President to carry out more effectively the Constitutional mandate that he coordinate and manage the Executive Branch in accordance with the laws enacted by Congress."

Members of the Ribicoff Commission appointed from private life would receive $100 per day, plus expenses, for their planned 18 months of study.

Another Senate measure, by Kansas Republication James B. Pearson, calls for 10-member bi-partisan commission . . . with two appointed by the President, four by the president of the Senate (two Senators and two private citizens), and four by the Speaker of the House (two Representatives and two private citizens).

Private citizens would be paid $75 per day, plus expenses, during the two-year life of the Pearson Commission.

Both bills gives the commission power to issue subpoenas for witnesses and documents and to hire "consultants and experts" for $75 per day under the Ribicoff proposal and $50 a day under Pearson's plan. Both bills provide for open-end salaries for commission staffs.

In the House of Representatives there have been several bills submitted by members interested in "streamlining government operations," for much the same reasons as those expressed in the Senate.

But the most comprehensive measure to date, and one which has won the most support, is the bill calling for the establishment of another "Hoover Commission" by Maryland's Congressman Mathias.

The bill (H.R. 69) would establish a commission along the same lines as the two others which accomplished so much to put government back on the tracks after years of unbridled spending during World War II.

The new study group would be officially titled "The Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government," as were its two predecessors, but probably would be commonly called the Third Hoover Commission.

Mathias' bill calls for a commission of 14 bi-partisan members as follows:

Six appointed by the President, two from the Executive Branch, two from among the 50 U.S. governors and two from private life.

Four appointed by the President of the Senate, two Senators and two from private life.

Four appointed by the Speaker of the House, two Representatives and two from private life.

Private-citizen members of the two-year commission would receive $75 per day, plus expenses, and could hire "temporary and intermittent services . . . at rates not to exceed $50 a day for individuals." The commission would have the power to "apppoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems necessary."

While the pay for commission members seems attractive, the duties involved are staggering enough to assure that only those with a dedication to public service will be willing to tackle the job.

The Mathias bill stresses the obligation of the commission to "promote economy, efficiency and improved service" in the government by:

Defining responsibilities of officials, and functions, services and activities of departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments and instrumentalities of the Executive Branch . . .

Recommending methods and procedures for reducing expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with the efficient performance of essential services, activities, and functions . . .

Eliminating duplication and overlapping of services, activities and functions . . .

Consolidating services, activities and functions of a similar nature . . .

Abolishing services, activities and functions not necessary to the efficient conduct of government . . .

Recommending means . . . to expedite coordination of programs and policies in areas such as, but not limited to, urban affairs, natural resources and transportation . . .

Recommending means to increase and improve liaison and communication, including the sharing of information, within the Executive Branch, between the executive and legislative branches of the federal government, and between the federal government and appropriate state and local governments and public entities.

Under the Mathias proposal, the commission would have subpoena powers to probe into every nook and cranny of the federal bureaucracy.

The members would have the tools to cut through any amount of red tape or peer into the highest ivory towers of entrenched political favoritism and protection.

Hoover Commissions Saved Billions

(By Jerry Cartledge)

Twenty years ago, in the immediate aftermath of World War II, when the Federal government was still at the apex of an unbridled spending spree and a bureaucracy spreading like cancer, a Senate committee on expenditures in the Executive Departments reported:

"The time is ripe for a general overhauling, for going through the government with a fine-tooth comb and for casting some light into all the many dark places."

As a result of this committee and others within a deeply concerned and worried Congress, the first Hoover Commission, was born officially created by the stroke of President Truman's pen on July 7, 1947.

According to Maryland Congressmen Charles McC. Mathias Jr., who is leading a legislative drive for a similar commission, the 1947 body was created at a time of rapid change, when the Federal government had become unwieldly, inefficient and obviously unable to respond to new conditions and new responsibilities.

The first commission, formed to conduct a systematic, objective review of Federal operations, ultimately made more than 100 major recommendations which when implemented, shaped the government into a far more effective instrument public service.

The cost of operating the commission for its 18 months duration was about $2 million. A survey by the Library of Congress, completed early in 1960, showed that the commission had resulted in savings "of at least $7 billion . . . based on the official reports of the Federal agencies themselves."

In its final report, in 1949, the commission described the magnitude of the problems it had faced by noting that in less than 20 years civil employes of the government had increased from 570,000 to more than 2 million . . . bureaus, sections and units increased four-fold to more than 1,800, and that annual expenditures had spiraled from $3 billion to more than $39 billion for administrative purposes alone.

The commission concluded, "Such rapid growth could not take place without creating serious problems of organization and management. Methods, procedures and controls effective two decades ago cannot cope with the management needs of today."

Echoing the above statement, Mathias recently noted that over the last 20 years the federal budget for administrative purposes alone has grown from $33.7 billion in fiscal 1948 to $135 billion in fiscal 1968, which started July 1.

During that same 20 years, Mathias said, the non-defense budget increased from $22 billion to $59.5 billion, a jump of 170 percent.

Mathias told the House of Representatives last June: "We now have more than 220 major federal grant-in-aid programs and innumerable minor ones, contained in more than 400 separate authorizations, and administered by at least 21 federal agencies with more than 150 major bureaus and offices in Washington and more than 400 regional and area offices in the field."

For the above reasons, and a volume more that have been enumerated by congressmen from all parts of the nation in support of the Maryland congressman's bill (H.R. 69), Mathias is imploring Congress to act now to begin another sweeping review of big government, aimed at cutting waste and increasing efficiency, savings and services.

In this light, it is important to review the accomplishments of the first Hoover Commission, and its successor, which served in 1953–55 under the administration of President Eisenhower.

One of the key recommendations of the first commission led to the Reorganization Act of 1949, under which the President may submit reorganization plans to Congress, and the plans become law unless rejected within 60 days by a majority of either House or Senate. This permits the President to control the purse strings and coordinate or eliminate activities within the agencies with which he is most vitally concerned.

In addition to the Reorganization Act which, incidentally, is currently being used by President Johnson to seek a compromise solution to the problem of home rule in the District of Columbia, the most significant results of the first Hoover Commission's report were eight in number:

1—The Military Unification Act of 1949. Even though this left our defense establishment far short of complete unification, it was an enormous stride toward that goal. Fortunately, it came just in time to produce unprecedented teamwork among the Armed Services in the critical early days of the Korean War.

2—Creation of the General Services Agency (GSA), by combining four previous agencies for more efficient government housekeeping—through modernized prchasing, inventory control, storage, and records management in the civilian agencies.

3—Complete reorganization of the State Department to clarify responsibilities, expedite communications and eliminate artificial staff barriers.

4—Consolidation of a multiplicity of functions within a Labor Department of full Cabinet stature.

5—The end of political appointments in the corrupation-ridden Bureau of Internal Revenue, which now operates under the merit system.

6—Reclassification and regrouping of welfare activities and the creation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. While this agency currently is the object of much criticism in Congress because of its proliferation of programs and varying policies, its creation eliminated an unbelievable fragmentation of public services which were almost impossible to evaluate.

7—Elimination of much delay, waste and duplication in the Post Office. Many of the recommendations in this regard were to be taken up by the next Hoover Commission, with extremely successful results in savings and service.

8—Separation of "hidden subsidies" from payments by the federal government for the transportation of airline mail.

A Citizens Committee which evaluated the commission's work reported the resulting savings of "at least $7 billion," but carefully noted that the complete, overall savings from these and other measures "became hard to trace in the budget upsurge created by the Korean War."

The second Hoover Commission report scored major accomplishments in the areas of national safety and government cost, and resulted in five basic changes in government functions and several particularized improvements.

1—Defense Unification, now Public Law 599, strongly reinforced the constitutional principle of civilian control of the military.

The authority of the Secretary of Defense was greatly clarified concerning transfer, reassignment, consolidation and abolition of functions. The effectiveness of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as a planning unit was strengthened. The number of Assistant Secretaries was sharply reduced and many of the resulting causes of inter-service bickering and delay were eliminated or, at least, diminished.

Bearing virtually on the safety of the nation and the lives of its people, the measure provided for unified combat commands.

A citizens Committee concerned with this aspect of the commission's work found that "frightening evidence of confusion and dissention in the frontal sectors of our defense bastions were brought out" by both Hoover Commissions and by expert witnesses called to the hearings on the subsequent unification bill.

An amendment to the unification measure, to correct what the commission termed "one of the most grievous cases of waste in the whole far-flung defense establishment," authorized the unified procurement and management—under civilian control—of common-use defense supplies such as food, clothing and fuel.

While this section of the law was "permissive" rather than "mandatory," it gave the Defense Secretary a chance to effect enormous economies.

Modernized Budgeting System, adopted via Public Law 759, was the result of a commission finding that the government was operating under an obsolete system. Prior to the new law, Congress made lump sum approriations for long-term projects and rarely got a second look at the expenditures in succeeding years.

Huge carryovers in unexpended funds, estimated by the commission at near $70 billion in 1955, "were flowing over the dam beyond further congressional review."

As a result, the Congress finally adopted "annual accrued expenditures budgeting," which means that the government pays, in a given year, only for the goods and services received in that year.

However, recent investigation reveals that this measure is being ignored to varying degrees by deferred pending in government agencies, particularly the military.

A poignant example of the inefficiency and apparent waste involved in certain aspects of deferred spending was turned up this year by Maryland Democratic Congressman Clarence D. Long.

It seems that the Navy in 1964 requested $1.2 million to build new barracks for the WAVEs stationed at Bainbridge, Md. The appropriation was subsequently approved, but the barracks were not built until this year—long after the women had been shipped to a new permanent station in Orlando, Fla.

3—Reduction of government competition with private business, a key recommendation of the commission, has been to a varying degree acocmplished by several minor laws and direct action by the Executive Branch.

For example, in 1955 the commission found some 2,500 business-type government establishments "engaged in useless and costly competition with nearby private businesses, usually small businesses, in the Defense Department alone."

These included bakeries, laundries, and factories making paint, rope, ice cream and scores of other civilian products. By 1960, about 700 had been closed or were in the process of being shut down or curtailed.

4—An improved federal career service, recommended by the commission, has come into being, more through executive action then legislation. The commission placed heavy emphasis on the need for attracting and holding competent administrative, manageral and scientific personnel in federal service.

A Career Executive Board has since been set up along the lines suggested by the commission.

5—Recommended coordination and expedition of federal research—an area of crying neglect today—was to some degree achieved by the defense unification law. The law, based on a fundamental commission proposal, amounts to a congressional mandate to the Defense Department to eliminate duplication and delay in overlapping and confused research programs.

The law also established a Departmental Director of Defense Research and Engineering, with broad powers not only to centralize and coordinate Armed Services research projects, but to initiate research programs on his own wherever he sees a gap or lag.

The Citizens Committee reviewing this action emphasized, "The importance of this development can hardly be overstated. Recent studies (in 1958) have shown alarming contrasts in the time required for U.S. missile and other projects to move from the 'idea' stage to the drawing board and then into production, as compared with the record of the Russians."

Other accomplishments of the second Hoover Commission were:

Liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corp. This not only put an end to government loans to snake farms and juke box operators, it returned $474 million in capital funds to the Treasury.

Improved and simplified government paperwork. The commission in 1955 found that paperwork cost the government $4 billion a year, almost equal to the entire federal budget of 1930. (Last year, government paperwork cost $9.5 billion, but this resulted from many factors—such as population explosion and inefficiency produced in an ever-growing bureaucracy.)

The government-wide system of better records management and simplification suggested by the Hoover Commission did have some tangible effect however. As an example, the 1,040 largest Post Offices in the nation now use 600 standardized forms in place of 22,000 local forms, prior to 1960.

Coordination of military hospitals, with one branch of the service handling medical care for all military personnel in a given region . . . rejecting the costly theory that soldiers must go to Army hospitals and Sailors to Navy hospitals, even though it meant overfilled hospitals in some areas and half-full hospitals in others.

Not all of the commission's recommendations were followed, however, and certain of them might well be implemented today with many beneficial results.

Some of the suggestions forgotten by subsequent administrations and Congresses include establishment of a coordinating Federal Advisory Council and Health . . . reorganization of federal legal services . . . establishment of a joint committee on intelligence matters . . . improving the efficiency of government lending agencies and making them self-supporting . . . reorganization of federal water resources and power facilities, and restriction of federal activity in areas where private industry cannot operate.

The second Hoover Commission was given $2,848,543 by Congress for its 18 months of work. It spent $2,768,562 and returned $83,527 to the Treasury. A commission task force estimated savings in federal expenditures as a result of its recommendations of more than $8.5 billion.

Chicago Needs a Lake Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have often talked of the need for an additional airport for Chicago to relieve the dangerous congestion at O'Hare Airport.

It is my firm belief such an airport could safely be built in Lake Michigan. This would solve most of our traffic and noise problems over the city and would actually expedite traffic into and out of the city of Chicago. Rather than fighting traffic for an hour or better, depending on the time of day, passengers would be just a few minutes' ride by boat or helicopter from the loop to the lake airport.

Noise, water and air pollution are three serious problems confronting us today, particularly the residents of large urban areas.

Chicago, in particular, suffers from its proximity to the world's busiest airport, O'Hare Field. The noise to hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who live within 10 miles of the field is horrendous.

An airport in Lake Michigan would relieve the congestion, alleviate the noise, and vastly improve the traffic problems currently plaguing the city.

Following is an editorial printed in the Chicago Sun-Times strongly advocating such a lake airport. I bring it to the attention of my colleagues, particularly those whose districts suffer from close proximity to busy airports.

Mr. Speaker, the Sun-Times editorial follows:

Chicago Needs a Lake Airport

Chicago's third airport should be built in Lake Michigan because of increasing demands of growth on land in the metropolitan area and because of the ever-more-bothersome disruption of daily life by air traffic.

A consultants' report released by Mayor Daley Wednesday indicated that of 15 possible locations for a third airport, the lake and 10 sites southwest of the city would be acceptable because of their size and distance from the city. A second phase of the study will determine which site is best from the standpoint of noise, safety, weather, cost and other criteria.

We are confident the analysis will show Lake Michigan to be the best site.

A previous report by the same consultants proposed a $282,000,000 expansion program for O'Hare Airport. The expansion is urgently needed. Already the world's busiest airport, O'Hare has reached its projected capacity years ahead of schedule with the growth curve moving constantly upward.

The report implied, however, that O'Hare cannot grow indefinitely and said the expansion proposal assumed a third airport would be handling all international traffic by 1975.

O'Hare is limited by its boundaries, just outside of which are homes, business and industry. The same would become true of any land site selected for a third airport, however isolated or rural it may be now.

In any case, as O'Hare's manager said earlier this year, an airport can become so large "that you build in delays." An example is New York, where the present average flight delay of 12 minutes could rise to 119 minutes by 1969 at the present rate of air-travel growth.

The logical place for the third airport is in Lake Michigan. Bailey K. Howard, president of the Newspaper Division of Field Enterprises, Inc., publishers of The Sun-Times and The Chicago Daily News, said in The Sun-Times platform for Chicago last Sunday: "On reclaimed lake bottom a few miles offshore can be built the nation's handiest airport and—because its approaches are over water—the least disruptive of adjacent living."

Mayor Daley has forecast that a lake airport could be built without polluting the lake, and said it could be partly in operation by 1971, four years before the estimated completion of the O'Hare project's initial phase.

Chicago has taken the lead in air-travel facilities, and with both a lake airport and an expanded O'Hare that leadership would continue.

Automobile Industry Power Play Behind Dingell Amendment to Clean Air Act, Noted Air Pollution Control Authority Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I have been encouraged at the increasing awareness by Members of the House that the Automobile Manufacturer's Association-sponsored Dingell amendment to the Clean Air Act, would be a serious step backward in America's fight to eliminate the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe, and create a healthy living environment in the Nation's crowded metropolitan centers.

By effectively prohibiting the 20 million citizens of the State of California from continuing our vital antismog air pollution control program, the auto industry-proposed Dingell amendment, if adopted by Congress, would serve as apparent acknowledgement that the narrow economic interests of Detroit's carmakers take precedence over the health and welfare of the people of our country.

One of America's leading authorities on air pollution control, Mr. Eric P. Grant, executive officer of the California Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board, has termed this proposed amendment "an outright violation of the concept of State's rights," the result of "the current power play by the automobile industry," and legislation that "would benefit the manufacturers and no one else."

Because of its importance, therefore, to full consideration of this measure when it comes before the House next week, I would like to include pertinent portions of Mr. Grant's recent statement on this subject before the California State Legislature's Assembly Committee on Transportation and Commerce.

The statement follows:

California is faced with a very serious problem due to legislative efforts in Washington. If the current power play by the automobile industry is successful, legislation on a national level will place us in the untenable position of being totally pre-empted in the field of automative emission control. Such legislation would benefit the manufacturers and no one else.

It is my judgment that had it not been for the efforts of this committee and the Public Health Committee, and your colleagues in the Senate, starting back in 1959 and 1960, there would be no emission control systems on vehicles at this time. And yet we have here a Federal legislative effort to deprive this State completely of all rights except the right to squawk about the quality of our air.

If this legislation, as passed out of committee, is allowed to stand, it will constitute an outright violation of the concept of State rights, and an apparent recognition by Congress that the interests of Detroit prevail over the interests of 20 million people in the State of California.

I would like to indicate some thoughts as to the future.

1. I feel there is no question that emission standards *must* be reduced on 1970-model vehicles to 180 ppm, or the equivalent; that for 1975, we must proceed to 100 or less ppm. I feel certain that if this State is to have the quality of air that we are entitled to, our means of transportation must not be allowed to pollute the air. I am convinced that recognition of this by the Legislature, by the people of California, and the automobile industry, will result in immediate efforts by manufacturers to control their vehicles to this degree. Setting of the improved standards can be and should be considered by the new Air Resources Board.

2. Mass emission standards must be considered as necessary in the future. Why should a 400+ h.p. engine be legally allowed to emit more than a 100 h.p. engine?

3. An absolute maximum allowable standard applicable to each and every car should be developed, if possible.

4. I urge that this State, through this committee, go on record as opposed to the Dingell amendment that would exclude California from any effective part in auto emission control. I would also urge that the House reconsider the 271 million dollar cut in U.S. Clean Air Act funds. You cannot fight air pollution without money.

5. Furthermore, I feel it is essential that this committee fully recognize that an important part of the State's control program is effective cooperation between the Board, the California Highway Patrol, and the Department of Motor Vehicles. Generally, enforcement is very good, and up until now problems occurred mainly because only California cars were properly equipped. Out-of-state vehicles being registered for the first time in this State did not come equipped with California-type controls. Resolving California's enforcement problems will begin this year with the introduction of the 1968-model vehicles, all of which, nationwide, are equipped with both the exhaust and crankcase controls.

6. Oxides of nitrogen are still a subject of concern. John Maga, I am sure, will address himself to this area.

In the meantime, I must point out that our test procedure requirement of not over 15% increase in oxides of nitrogen emissions above those from an uncontrolled vehicle is being complied with; in fact, it is about 10%.

7. California could in no way require emission performance specifications of new vehicles if the Dingell Amendment is passed by Congress. Its passage would require an entire review of our posture.

Jobs for the Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the praises of Sargent Shriver's Job Corps have been sung repeatedly in all parts of the United States. Now an article from the New Statesman, of London, has been brought to my attention. The article's author, Nora Sayre, visited the Kilmer Job Corps Center in New Jersey and found what many Americans have already discovered:

The Job Corps has the simple evidence of success: thousands are now working who would have been on relief.

The article follows:

JOBS FOR THE DROPOUTS

(By Nora Sayre)

From fire to fire the riots flare across the summer, while many liberals automatically deduce that the Anti-Poverty Programme is a failure or an irrelevancy. Yet, sifting the ashes and the shattered glass of riot sites, while counting the dead, should clinch the conviction that the Job Corps should be urgently expanded. Currently, there are 122 centres in the U.S. Camp Kilmer, in New Jersey—a former army base that once held Italian prisoners of war and, later, Hungarian refugees—has placed 2,039 of its 2,377 graduates in jobs. Staff members stressed that these particular young men might otherwise have been burning, smashing and dying. Aged 16 to 21, these school drop-outs are damaged goods when they arrive—but all have come voluntarily. Conspicuous, for self-contempt and uncertainty, they are selected according to need: poverty, bad family life, minimal education. Records of delinquency do not disqualify them, although "major criminal offenses" aren't acceptable, nor is retardation. At Kilmer, 70 per cent are Negro and Puerto Rican. They receive $30 a month, and average nine months' training; they can stay for a maximum of two years. On finishing they get $50 for each month "satisfactorily completed". The Kilmer management is contracted to the Federal Electric Corporation, a subsidiary of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation.

The Corpsman's reading and mathematics are improved so that they can receive the equivalent of a high-school diploma, and the choice of vocational programmes includes electronics, trucking, mechanics, carpentry, painting, cooking and offset printing. (At women's centres, the courses range from secretarial training to cosmetology.) Vocational counselling is intensive: a boy who's determined on electronics but has no ability is carefully guided to a related field. Another is advised against office machine repairs if he's going to return to a hometown of 200 inhabitants without a single typewriter. It's admitted that the kitchen is an inflammatory place, and that a nervous, irascible boy shouldn't become a short-order cook subjected to yells, heat and inevitably short tempers. They are trained in on-the-job behaviour, dress and hygiene, and how to act during interviews and towards an employer ("Keep to the point, he doesn't want to know about your sex life. Watch the hep talk"), and how to budget their salaries. City drop-outs are nocturnal creatures; they tend to sleep all day and roam at night, hence many are shocked by the requirements of punctuality. The intention is to raise them to a very strong apprentice level and to provide every graduate with a letter of introduction to a specific company. Industry and corporations have responded admirably, and Job Corps centres concentrate on encouraging firm representatives to visit the camps and inspect the professional level. Thus the Job Corps has the simple evidence of success: thousands are now working who would probably have been on relief.

However, personal rehabilitation is as crucial at Kilmer as the level of future employment. Counsellors and group-leaders simulate Corpsmen to ventilate all their problems, including racial tensions (which do exist, but have not been serious), plus the numerous manifestations of homesickness. (They come from all over the U.S. Many miss their neighborhoods or city blocks, rather than their families.) There's an emphasis throughout on expressing feelings—which must be a fresh and startling experience for many, since impoverished parents often stress silence, especially by shouting at their offspring to shut up. Today it's quite astonishing to realise that a large group can be good for its members. While armies, offices and school dormitories deaden and deflate so many psyches, it's evident that Corpsmen thrive on mutual exposure and on their eventual concern for one another. There are nightly group meetings: quite often these focus on a boy who wants to leave, while the others try very hard to persuade him to stay. They say that they feel like failures when they can't convince a classmate to remain. (Incidentally, anyone can leave whenever he wishes.) But the group aura is far from militant; Corpsmen say that they appreciate being allowed to work at their own different speeds, and the lack of competition. The staff is frank about intrinsic problems: one is the diversity of intelligence—mingling those who read like eight-year-olds with some who are college material. Discipline is naturally quite intense: fighting or returning drunk from a weekend results in menial tasks or fines. But talking to Corpsmen, one learns that they are very concerned about the Corps' reputation—and that they want each other to keep it clean. The verb "to blow" is often heard at Kilmer: there are many references to blowing your job or your salary, as well as your cool. But repression isn't an albatross and griping is considered healthy.

Asked about their complaints (apart from the absence of girls, whom they do see on weekends or at many social events), Corpsmen were critical of the outside screeners who had glamorised the camp: "They promise roses and cream." Hence some are disappointed. Still, the national drop-out rate is less than 19 per cent. Over a canteen lunch of fried chicken and limitless gravy, three students of heavy trucking were indignant about the costs of the space programme, and very well informed about its budget in contrast to Anti-Poverty funds: "So go to the moon. Later. Not now. We know too many people who need what we're getting here." However, they (and others) seemed to have little feeling about Vietnam; the army is still considered good employment, and a fair number of Corpsmen later enlist. They said that there hadn't been much "interest" in the recent riots in New Jersey or elsewhere. One behemoth added: "I used to be a . . . [careful pause] . . . hell-raiser. Then I got sick of standing on the corner with the wine." They all agreed that their previous lives had been boring—"with your mother on your back all day long too".

Since the U.S. school system caters for the middle-class, it has already failed to serve anyone who is eligible for the Job Corps. Tangible results are important for morale at Kilmer, from the tools and machine-parts which a Corpsman can keep when he's completed them, to the final diploma. A librarian remarked that there's a fierce determination to own things—that Corpsmen are pleased by the fact that everyone's given his own paperback dictionary. Noting that thousands of wooden pencils vanish from the library, he suggested that 'there must be something symbolic about owning them', and, since the camp is strewn with a host of broken pencils, he thinks that many must snap them in half during spasms of momentary frustration.

There has been ample hostility to the Job Corps, plus many tinted distortions by the press. It's true that the first applicants were not so carefully selected as they are now and that discipline has been accelerated. But the arrest rate among Corpsmen is less than half that for their age group throughout the U.S. Antagonism probably springs from envy of the swimming pools and other recreational amenities that nearby townsmen lack, homespun racism and the uneducated whites' fear of competition from Negroes with good vocational training. Also, rescuing people isn't cheap. Since it costs about $6,950 a year to maintain one Corpsman, there's a lot of rhubarb about 'the taxpayer's dollar'—ignoring the fact that Corpsmen themselves pay taxes. Even among liberal New Yorkers there's a lax readiness to believe that Job Corps centers are festivals of delinquency. Hence visits should be compulsory for every critic. Energy and professionalism make their own testimony. At Kilmer's driving school vast trucks weave slowly between orange barrels in a serpentine obstacle-course; in an auto-service station, Corpsmen's bodies dangle or protrude from capsized cars; amidst Plutonic showers of sparks an Irish instructor lyrically extols the poetry of welding and his students' exceptional 'feel' for the medium; the dilemma of perfecting a pumpkin pie absorbs a crew of intent cooks. The Corpsmen hardly wear halos, but there are cordial and courteous greetings to any stranger. Numerous back pockets bulge with paperback books. Seeing so many alert and intelligent faces, it's hard to remember that many were almost illiterate not long ago.

Despite its achievements, the Job Corps' budget has not been enlarged. The President is never shy of asking Congress for fresh funds for Vietnam, his requests for Anti-Poverty money are punctual but less passionate. This particular Congress may be remembered for its anti-riot bill, cutbacks in aid to the poor, and a recent vote for an elegant $10-m. Washington aquarium that few natives are said to desire.

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Appendix

Eloquent Words From the President About Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, in ceremonies today at the White House where President Johnson awarded the Medal of Honor to Maj. Howard V. Lee, U.S. Marine Corps, President Johnson put to rest the absurd charge that the American presence in Southeast Asia is based on the so-called yellow peril.

The President declared:

> We have fought side by side with Asians at Bataan and Corregidor, in Korea, and now in Vietnam. This Nation has utterly repudiated the racist nonsense of an earlier era.

We have made a commitment to Asia today because we believe that no man—regardless of race—should be delivered over to aggressors; and that freedom is not the exclusive possession of white Europeans or of Americans.

The President declared:

> Race has no place in our purpose. The American commitment is clear.

Mr. Speaker, the President also took note of those who dissent from his policies—especially those who have made their opposition known by demonstrating and causing incidents. He said:

> The existence of liberty in America—the liberty that permits any minority of our people to dissent from the policies of the majority—ultimately depends upon the courage and perseverance gallant men like Major Lee and his brothers in arms. Their willingness to risk their lives for liberty is what preserves it for their countrymen.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this statement is a fitting epitaph to last weekend's demonstrations here in Washington.

I insert the President's remarks today into the RECORD:

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT THE MEDAL OF HONOR AWARD PRESENTATION TO MAJ. HOWARD V. LEE

As we meet here, it is early Thursday morning in Vietnam.

My thoughts go back to October 25th one year ago—when I left Manila to visit our men at Cam Ranh Bay.

That day I saw some of America's bravest sons, men like Major Lee and his comrades. I talked with them; we ate and laughed together. Never, in all my life, have I been prouder of my country. Never have I been so moved by the courage and steadfastness of its sons.

I gave them this pledge: "We shall never let you down, nor your fighting comrades, nor the 15 million people of South Vietnam, nor the hundreds of millions of Asians who are counting on us to show here—here in Vietnam—that aggression can't succeed."

Twice before we have fought in Asia. Twice we have stopped the aggressor and achieved peace. We will achieve it again in Vietnam. Our men there do not doubt it. Our allies who fight beside us do not doubt it.

I wish every American could have a chance to see, in distant Asia, the battlefields of this and other wars: all the remote fields and hills where Americans have died for freedom—in Vietnam, in Korea, and in the Philippines.

There has been some furor in the past week or so about the "yellow peril." Let me take just a moment to point out the absurdity of this charge.

We fought side by side with Asians at Bataan and Corregidor, in Korea, and now in Vietnam.

We have utterly repudiated the racist nonsense of an earlier era. Indeed, we have made a commitment in Asia because we believe—

That no men, whatever the pigmentation of their skins, should be delivered over to totalitarianism;

That freedom is not a prize reserved for white Europeans or Americans in our private enclaves of affluence.

Race has no place in our purpose. The American commitment is clear. It was given clear and eloquent voice by a young American fighting man, who wrote to Secretary Rusk from Vietnam that:

"We are fighting for the freedom of these people, as we once fought for our own. Of these thousands of young Americans over here, we all take pride in fighting for the principles that made our country the greatest on earth. . . .

"Not all young Americans," he said, "in fact, not even a majority of us, sit in college classrooms . . . and see fit to protest that which our Government does. Not all young Americans attend LSD parties and park on the grass . . . Not all young Americans protest a war for freedom . . .

"When our grandchildren read about Vietnam in history lessons, we will be proud to tell them that we were part of that lesson."

The day is coming when Americans of another generation will return to Plieku, Con Thien and Cam Lo. They will reverse them—as we do Corregidor and Seoul—because, for a time, these were the outposts of freedom under fire.

One of the heroes of Cam Lo is with us today. Men like Major Howard V. Lee have stood ready—throughout our history—to pay whatever price their country asks.

The existence of liberty in America—the liberty that permits any minority of our people to dissent from the policies of the majority—ultimately depends on the courage and perseverance of men like Major Lee and his brothers in arms. Their willingness to risk their lives for liberty is what preserves it for their countrymen.

My message for them today—for those here and for all who serve beneath our flag—is the one I carried to Cam Ranh Bay a year ago:

"Make no mistake about it: The American people . . . are proud of you. There are some who may disagree with what we are doing here, but . . . we in America depend on you, on the young and on the brave, to stop aggression before it sweeps forward. For then it must be stopped by larger sacrifice and by heavier cost.

"We depend upon you. We know that a nation that stops producing brave men soon ceases to be a nation."

The message has not changed. Neither has America's mission in Vietnam. Nor will it until we achieve the peace we seek and all those young heroes are home with us again.

Dr. Lloyd E. Church: Water Conservationist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Dr. Lloyd E. Church, of Wilburton, Okla., has been named Oklahoma's 1967 "Water Conservationist of the Year." An article in his hometown newspaper, the Latimer County News-Tribune, tells how Dr. Church has devoted his life to community service, particularly in the field of water and soil conservation and in highway improvements. That article, entitled "Every Man Owes Part of His Time and Profits to the Good of His Community," follows:

[From the Latimer County (Okla.) News-Tribune, October 12, 1967]

EVERY MAN OWES PART OF HIS TIME AND PROFITS TO THE GOOD OF HIS COMMUNITY

Completely ignoring Horace Greeley's famous "Go West, young man," Lloyd E. Church pulled up roots in western Oklahoma 15 years ago and headed east—a decision which has benefited southeastern Oklahoma as well as the entire state.

Living the philosophy that "every man and woman owes part of his or her profits and time to the good of the community," Dr. Church moved to southeastern Oklahoma because "I thought this area had the greatest potential and that there were unlimited opportunities."

His favorite interests are the conservation of water and soil and highway improvement, although those who know the aggressive leader aren't surprised to find him at any type of meeting which has anything to do with improving life in Oklahoma

WORKS FOR BETTERMENT OF COUNTRY

Dr. Church, who is often kidded by friends about practicing dentistry in Wilburton only as a hobby, spends most of his waking hours working for the betterment of this part of the country and Oklahoma in general.

When Dr. Church came out of the Kansas City Dental School in 1919, he had the feeling that dentistry was an honorable profession and that dentists should be active in civic affairs—quite a new idea for those days.

"I realized the importance of the dental field and felt that dentistry could do much for the general health of our people," Dr. Church said.

"The emphasis was on the restorative aspects of density back in 1919, but I became interested in the preventive care of teeth and health and started spending a lot of time studying nutrition and found that our food wasn't nutritional because the soil was bad in some instances.

"TRIED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT"

"Then I realized that we needed better soil and water and have tried to do something about it through the various conservation programs," Dr. Church explained in telling how he got involved in the soil and water work in Oklahoma.

Vice-Chairman of the Oklahoma Water Resources Board and the Vice-Chairman of Water Storage Commission, Dr. Church is recognized throughout the state and region as an authority on water problems. Only this fall Dr. Church was named "Water Conservationist of the Year" at the third annual Governor's Conservation Achievement program. He is now eligible for national awards competition at Houston in March.

He has served on the Oklahoma Water Resources Board either as chairman or vice-chairman since its formation 10 years ago and is serving presently on 11 other boards, all having to do with conservation of natural resources in Oklahoma. Only last week he was appointed as one of three Oklahomans to the Kansas-Oklahoma Arkansas River Commission.

HEADS STATE ROADS ASSOCIATION

As president of Oklahoma Good Roads and Streets Association, Dr. Church can speak from experience about roads across the state as he drives an average of 35,000 miles a year to his frequent meetings in all sections of Oklahoma.

As president of Oklahoma Good Goads and Streets Association, Dr. Church can speak from experience about roads across the state as he drives an average of 35,000 miles a year to his frequent meetings in all sections of Oklahoma.

"Mr. Latimer County"—as he's called by friends—worked as president of the local chamber of commerce for five years and was instrumental in Wilburton's buying land on which a lake was built as part of the Fourche Maline Creek Watershed Association. Dr. Church worked diligently and untiringly while holding educational meetings so citizens up and down the water shed might be informed.

In 1963 citizens showed their appreciation for his work when a resolution by the mayor and city council of—of Wilburton—named the new lake, the "Lloyd E. Church Lake."

A much needed comprehensive-coordinated study between the Soil Conservation Service and U.S. Corps of Army Engineers on the Poteau River Watershed in Arkansas and Oklahoma was a result of Dr. Church's efforts.

EFFORTS BRING ABOUT NEW LAWS

This study reveals need for additional industrial municipal water impoundment to properly develop vast natural resources of the Poteau River Basin in Oklahoma and Arkansas. Through his efforts, and others, the Oklahoma Legislature in 1963 passed laws empowering the Oklahoma Water Storage Commission to participate in maximum feasible water storage for future use in all water storage structures being built in Oklahoma under watershed protection and other water storage programs.

"Oklahoma has the opportunity to become the greatest in the nation—but every small town must realize that it has the same responsibility as the large cities to develop the state.

"Greatest possibilities of this area have to be industry and tourism. We have the minerals needed in an industrial complex. We have the climate and cedar for the tourists, the wood and minerals for industry and water for everything in Southeastern Oklahoma," he said.

"The time is coming when the per capita income of this area will be equal to that of western Oklahoma, because people looking for investment are looking to this area.

"The Potential of the area hasn't been developed because the area just doesn't have the leadership," he said.

Dr. Church is quick to encourage young people to take an interest in politics, civic affairs, the church and anything that can help the community.

"Too many people give the kids the impression that politics is bad. Grade, high school and college students should have the opportunity to see inside of our government and decide for themselves," the dentist said.

Two years ago in Philadelphia, Pa., Dr. Church was designated Honorary Member of the Soil Conservation Society of America which is a signal recognition conferred upon individuals who have made significant contributions in the field of soil and water conservation. Bestowed without regard to profession, occupation, or membership in the society, this coveted honor has been won by only 102 individuals since it was first awarded in 1950.

ELECTED PRESIDENT OF CIVIC GROUPS

The same enthusiasm that Dr. Church spreads around Wilburton was used in Clinton when he served as president of Clinton's Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce and as a board member for numerous years.

In fact, the outgoing Church was voted Clinton's most useful citizen in 1936 and received an award for the same. He also received awards for unselfish service to the Clinton Chamber of Commerce and also to Upper Washita Soil Conservation District and Outstanding Services rendered on Cloud Creek, Sandstone Creek and the Washita Valley during a period from 1936 to 1952.

Dr. Church's parents, Henry and Florence Church, made the Cherokee Strip Run in 1893. Church was born three years later near Carmen in what is now Alfalfa County. Church's mother, now past 90, still lives in Seiling where the family moved when Dr. Church was 10. The Wilburton leader, born in a dugout, was the oldest of 10 children.

When he was graduated from dental school, Dr. Church returned to Seiling for over a year and married the former Christine Bush, who also grew up in Seiling. Dr. and Mrs. Church live northwest of Wilburton on their 80-acre ranch.

PRACTICED AT GBANFIELD 8 YEARS

The dentist moved to Granfield where he practiced for eight years before going to Clinton where he stayed from 1929 until 1952 when he came to Wilburton.

Highlight of his 24 years at Cilnton was his two races for U.S. Congress. In 1950 he and 12 others ran for the seventh district spot and he and Victor Wickersham met in the run-off which Church lost. Again in 1952, Church ran against Toby Morris and Wickersham, both incumbents running in the combined 6th district and Church lost again.

He served as a member of the Advisory Board of Planning and Resources Board under Gov. Roy Turner and later was named chairman of the Oklahoma Waterstudy Committee, created by House Joint Resolution 520 of the 25th Legislature to study, hold hearings, and gather data for the purpose of recommending to the next Legislature the thinking of the people as to what should be Oklahoma's future water laws.

A Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisor for 22 years, Dr. Church received two Governor's Awards for outstanding service in soil and water conservation under Gov. Raymond Gary.

DENTAL ASSOCIATION CITES CHURCH

The Oklahoma Dental Association recognized Dr. Church in 1960 for outstanding leadership in community life by presenting him the "Harry Kaho Memorial Award".

Dr. Church, past president of the Southwest District Dental Society in Oklahoma, is a member of the Episcopal Church and once served on the Bishop's Committee.

Not surprising to anyone, Dr. Church uses his few leisure hours re-vegetating worn out lands, establishing wildlife habitats or at home enjoying his hobby of pasture improvement and caring for this 135 cows and calves.

In looking back over the past 71 years, Dr. Church feels that he wouldn't do anything differently after having lived in "the most interesting era of history".

Future years will see Dr. Church wanting to stay home more and develop his land and housing in this area, but friends know that he will continue helping others keep Oklahoma on the go.

Another Side to the Vietnam Protests: A Young Missouri GI Writes Secretary Rusk of the Protest of Those Who Feel Letdown in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the right to protest is inherent in our American democracy, guaranteed in the Constitution, and respected by the vast majority of the American people. When this right is abused by those who seek to cause dissention and bitterness in our national life, at a time when America needs unified will and firm national purpose, a great disservice is done not only to our Nation and to the cause of freedom, but to the right of dissent itself.

Last weekend, for instance, large numbers of anti-Vietnam protesters came to Washington to express their opposition to national policy. The vast majority of these were young people who conducted themselves responsibly, made their protests visibly but with due respect for law and decency, and went home. But others insisted on turning a protest into an attempt at anarchy, disgracing not only themselves but the sincere views of those who made up most of the gathering.

In contrast, the civil rights march on Washington in 1963, with many times more participants, left a deeper, more profound impression and served its cause with far more effectiveness. Because of the excesses of the minority in last weekend's march, the aftertaste of this demonstration is only one of leaden revulsion.

DISSENT OVER METHODS SHOULD NOT EXTEND TO GOALS

There are as many views on the Vietnam issue as there are Americans with convictions or ideas on any subject. It is one of the least understood and one of the most difficult wars in which our country has ever been involved. There is no territory to be gained—or wanted, no victory to be achieved except the retention of a foreign people's right to try to seek their own destiny in freedom. It is no wonder we have so much disagreement over the details of the fighting or the policies to be followed in bringing the other side to the peace table. But there should be no disagreement over the ultimate goals we seek.

It is on the question of how to achieve those goals that we have such wide differences among thoughtful Americans and in the press, with the two great newspapers in my district, for instance, seeing the same facts from completely different view points and reaching opposite conclusions.

I respect all honest, dissenting views on Vietnam, for none of us, I feel, knows all the answers on this tragic war.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the views of a young man who has perhaps the greatest right of all to have views on this subject, for he is in the midst of the fighting in Vietnam. He may not have sufficient perspective from his vantage point to see all the facts objectively, and that is certainly understandable. But he deserves a hearing.

A MISSOURI GI'S VIEW FROM VIETNAM

Secretary of State Dean Rusk on the eve of the anti-Vietnam demonstration here last week, released a partial text of a letter he received from this young man who, I understand, is from my State.

What a contrast between the views this GI expresses and the often obscene shouting of some of those who last weekend tried to storm the Pentagon in a deliberate attempt to translate dissent into mob violence.

The young soldier wrote to Secretary Rusk:

> I've never talked to a single GI over here and I probably never will, who says "get out of Vietnam."
>
> We are fighting for the freedom of these people, as we once fought for our own. Of these thousands of young Americans over here we all take pride in fighting for the principles that made our country the greatest on earth. When our grandchildren read about Vietnam in history lessons we will be proud to tell them that we were part of that lesson. We will take our place in history with the Americans who fought for freedom in Revolutionary War, both World Wars and in Korea.

This soldier also has a protest. In his letter to Secretary Rusk, he expresses his deep regret that the attention focused by the information media at home on youthful protesting of all kinds—social as well as political—ignores the willingness of most youth to fulfill their obligations to their country whether or not they agree with every decision, especially the thousands in Vietnam.

PARTIAL TEXT RELEASED BY SECRETARY RUSK OF MISSOURIAN'S LETTER

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit for inclusion in the Congressional Record the partial text released by Secretary Dean Rusk, of the letter he received from a Missouri GI in Vietnam as follows:

> As you well know most of the GIs over here, of which there numbers over four hundred thousand, are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. I'm in that group. These people are Democrats and Republicans, liberals, and conservatives of all types of families. Yet I've never talked to a single GI over here and I probably never will, who says "get out of Vietnam."
>
> We are fighting for the freedom of these people, as we once fought for our own. Of these thousands of young Americans over here we all take pride in fighting for the principles that made our country the greatest on earth. When our grandchildren read about Vietnam in history lessons we will be proud to tell them that we were part of that lesson. We will take our place in history with the Americans who fought for freedom in the Revolutionary War, both World Wars, and in Korea.
>
> We are not the only young Americans who feel as we do. There are thousands more in the States who share our feelings. The people in Washington are doing their best for their country, just as we do it over here.
>
> Not all young Americans in fact not even a majority of us, sit in college classrooms, major in Political Science, and see fit to protest that which our government does. Not all young Americans share a room with the opposite sex and call it the new freedom in sex; not all young Americans attend LSD parties and park Volkswagens on the grass; and not all young Americans protest a war for freedom.
>
> The St. Louis Post Dispatch, the New York Times, and Time Magazine have sorely overloked millions of us, especially thousands of us that are over here. Yet we are alive too.
>
> We are proud to be here fighting for America; millions back home are proud of us, and the morale over here has never been higher!
>
> We all respect and admire our Administration aind we know the feeling is mutual.

Aircraft Noise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, ever since I have been a Member of Congress I have tried to make my colleagues aware of the terrible problem of aircraft noise. We, of course, on Capitol Hill are not particularly bothered by this problem since the planes landing and leaving from National Airport are not allowed to fly over us. The same is true about the White House.

The President, however, was recently subjected to aircraft noise and his experience was related in an article in the New York Daily News. I am placing the article in the Record as proof positive of the seriousness of this problem to all Americans, including the President of the United States:

AIRCRAFT NOISE

> President Johnson has been blissfully unaware of the jet takeoff noise from nearby National Airport despite the furor it has created in posh Georgetown circles. The airspace over the White House is completely restricted to all planes but the Presidential helicopter.
>
> But last week, when Johnson was about to make a speech at memorial services for poet Carl Sandburg at the Lincoln Memorial, he realized that the jet zooms were drowning out the speeches.
>
> In the middle of a reading of Sandburg's poetry, Johnson summoned a Secret Service agent and asked: "Can't you stop those airplanes?"
>
> The agent took the hint, left the platform and called the tower at National Airport. Within minutes the planes were rerouted and Johnson addressed the throng in comparative quiet.

Utilizing the Information Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an important byproduct of technological revolution and scientific research in this country is information—stacks of information, tons of information, bales of information, shelves and books and tapes and files and offices full of information.

Until recent years, most of us simply have allowed information to accumulate. And it may seem, as the reports, monographs, reviews, critiques, releases, and clippings flow over our desks every morning, that the only thing we can do with information is to accumulate it.

But I am pleased to report to the House that progress is being made in the effort to bring the explosion of information under control and to put its growing energy to good use.

Just 11 years ago, the Congress first moved to put more information to better use by more people. It passed the Library Services Act of 1956 to expand and improve library services in this country. More than 72 million Americans living in rural areas benefited from the improved services.

The Congress followed up this first step with the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964. Under terms of that law, services were expanded and improved in urban and suburban areas, as well as in rural areas.

But until 2 years ago, there was no single Federal program to help information scientists in their efforts to control the explosion of information, to make better use of libraries and library services.

The Congress took two important steps in this field in 1965. First, through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act, it authorized the Office of Education to provide library services and resources to the grade schools, high schools, colleges, and universities.

And second, through the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Congress authorized for the first time research in the field of library and information science. The research was intended to develop better uses and new uses of library resources.

A large and vital investment of public funds is at stake in this effort. The Federal Government is investing $16 billion in various kinds of research and development projects. The citizens' access to the results of this research depends directly upon the library and information science programs.

In September 1966, President Johnson called attention to the information explosion. He appointed the National Library Commission to recommend future directions of library programs and services in this country. The Commission received one of the first grants under the library and information science program.

Here are some areas in which research is being carried forward:

Manpower for libraries and information systems, organization of library and information science services, relationship of libraries, and information services to other agencies, better use of libraries in schools, control of new forms of information, and improved ways of preserving, reproducing, and giving access to information.

I say I am pleased that progress is being made in these efforts, but there is still a long way to go. It is estimated that more than 100 million Americans must use inadequate public library services. More than 15 million Americans have no library services at all.

College and university enrollments are expanding so rapidly that the number of library books per student is declining. It would cost more than $200 million to bring the present collection up to a standard demanded by the information explosion and increasing enrollment.

Almost 50 percent of elementary school students in this country go to schools without libraries, or with substandard libraries. According to a 1964 study, it would cost $1 billion to bring school library book collections up to standard.

Mr. Speaker, we are investing billions of dollars in research and development projects. Our citizens and scientists must have access to the results of this research. I strongly support the library and information science research program being carried forward as the Congress directed in the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Rent Supplements

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, about 34,000 American families will be aided in obtaining decent housing under the present allocation of rent supplement funds. Some already are receiving this aid. Others must wait on new construction.

The 34,000 families that will be helped when all of these projects are in operation should only reflect the start of a productive era of assistance to our poor.

We can help bring these people out from the breeding place of poverty—the slums. We can help these people attain the dignity that comes with decent, clean surroundings. We can help these people begin new lives.

Thousands of families across this Nation are waiting and hoping that we will act. The elderly, the handicapped, the poor need our help.

Where before these people had nothing to look forward to but the filth and degradation of the slums, they can now see a glimpse of a future.

We must not fail them.

Military Construction Appropriation Bill, 1968

SPEECH

OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13606) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my disappointment that funds included in the 1968 military construction authorization bill for the development of new facilities at Fort DeRussy in Honolulu were not included in this appropriations bill we are considering today. Men serving in Vietnam are choosing to spend their rest and recreation leaves in Hawaii in ever-increasing numbers.

The Fort DeRussy Recreation Center was opened on June 8, 1942, and was the first off-base rest and recreation center in Hawaii for servicemen and their families. It was redesignated the Armed Forces Recreation Center in June of 1949 and was declared a permanent military installation on March 22, 1956. Today DeRussy has two primary functions—it is the center of Army Reserve training activities for Oahu and continues to serve as a recreation center, particularly for the rest and recreation leaves for Vietnam-based servicemen. Since the Secretary of the Army designated Hawaii as a rest and recreation area in August 1966, approximately 50,000 men have found respite from their war-zone duties on our hospitable shores, and the number is on the increase. It is estimated that 75,000 military personnel will be on rest and recreation in Hawaii in 1967, with some 70 percent of them being joined by wives and children when they arrive. Pan American Airways is running about 40 flights a month on contract with the Government to bring 160 men each time on daily flights from either Saigon, DaNang, or Cam Ranh Bay.

We in Hawaii have taken these servicemen to our hearts. Local people assist in every way to make these men feel welcome as they truly deserve, and the reaction in letters I have received and in letters to the editor in Honolulu has been that the program is a fantastic success. Hotels and gift shops universally offer all services and goods at discount rates. Yet with all the good will in the world, there must be additional action taken to insure the continued utility of Fort DeRussy as a haven and center for men resting from the war.

Fort DeRussy itself has only 680 beds in temporary quarters at present, and the Army estimates that it could make immediate use of 2,000 rooms with the present demand. Hawaii is famous as a resort, and its many outstanding hotels fully deserve their international reputation, but the attractions of my State are bringing visitors at a pace almost faster than we can accommodate them. In 1966 we had over 700,000 visitors pass through Hawaii for varying lengths of stay, and this year the projected visitation is a stunning 925,000. This tremendous influx of visitors, which includes rest-and-recreation servicemen and their families in its totals, has strained the day-to-day capacity of our hotels, and I therefore feel that we should go ahead with the $7 million authorized for the development of these 416 new billets at Fort DeRussy. This hotel-type facility will be built well back from the beach so as not to block any of the splendid shoreline view, and full consideration I am certain will be given to preserving the natural beauty of the area. Since the planning of this facility will take 6 to 7 months, I believe that we should give the go-ahead as soon as possible for the initial phases of the work so that the initial occupancy can be scheduled within a year.

There is no indication that the flow of men on rest-and-recreation leave into Hawaii will diminish as our tourism shoots up also, the chief reason being that it is the only rest and recreation area where servicemen's families may join them without going to excessive travel expense. About 85 percent of these men, including dependents, now stay in local hotels, but as our tourist inflow grows, we may be faced with serious problems not till now encountered in finding satisfactory accommodations for all. The military now has an average of 1,460 rest-and-recreation personnel in the State at any given time.

I would hope that the House will see fit to allow the Army to move ahead with plans for these facilities so necessary to meet the need for reasonably priced accommodations for our men in uniform and their families on rest-and-recreation leave from Vietnam.

On this point I wish to address a question to the chairman of the committee.

Are there funds currently contained in this appropriation bill which will permit the Department to do the necessary planning, so that when they do present the 1969 budget the construction funds will be considered by your committee at that time?

Mr. SIKES. I am glad to be able to assure the distinguished gentlewoman from Hawaii that there is a general fund for planning which can be used for this project. Under the terms of the letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, which I quoted earlier, planning should proceed on this important facility.

Mrs. MINK. I thank the gentleman for his assurance.

Carroll Archie Hodges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the friends of Carroll Archie Hodges, and all those who knew him as a dedicated and conscientious postal employee, were shocked to learn of his sudden and untimely passing on October 10.

A mail handler who serviced the House and Senate post offices out of the City Post Office for nearly 20 years, he was a willing and courteous worker—never too busy to lend a helping hand.

On several occasions, Mr. Hodges was commended on his devotion to duty as a public servant. The day before his death he received his sixth annual award from the National Safety Division for safe driving.

Mr. Hodges was admired and well respected by all who knew him. We all share in the sorrow of his bereaved widow and family, and extend our heartfelt sympathy to them.

The Great Dollar Throwaway—Part 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I called congressional attention to the first two articles in a very interesting series by Mr. Jerry Cartledge, of the Baltimore News American, in which he surveys many of the management problems which have snarled Federal operations and discusses the importance of establishing a new Hoover Commission as a focus for reform efforts.

Today I would like to insert in the Record the third article, which appeared in the News American for October 24. This study focuses on problems in the vast and growing field of education and training, and includes much information which should be of interest to all.

The article referred to follows:

Great Dollar Throwaway: This Year Just $12.3 Billion for Training

(Note.—This is the third in a series of articles pointing up the need for a third Hoover Commission to curb waste in government spending.)

(By Jerry Cartledge)

The federal government this year plans to spend more than $12.3 billion on what it calls "funds for education, training, and related programs." This is 20 percent more than the $9.58 billion it spent for the same purpose in 1966, and at least $1.1 billion more than it spent in the fiscal year just ended—for which figures are not complete.

Approximately $1.5 billion will be spent for the traditional programs of federal aid to the states for grade school and high school education.

The rest, close to $11 billion, will be spent by at least 42 separate federal agencies in a hodge-podge of educational programs and projects that include such things as an $8,700 grant to a foreign professor in a California university to study the history of the comic strip.

To most people, the figure 11 billion dollars is incomprehensible. It may help some to describe it in simpler terms. For instance, one million dollars in $1,000 bills makes a stack eight inches high. One billion dollars in $1,000 bills makes a stack 115 feet higher than the Washington Monument, which itself stands 555 feet, 5⅛ inches.

Most of the money to be spent this year will issue forth from the Office of Education, an arm of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to the tune of $4,906,000,000.

The next largest chunk of the educational budget is the $2,191,000,000 to be spent by the Department of Defense on activities within the Army, Navy, Air Force, and on related civil activities.

Third largest amount is the $1,115,000,000 earmarked for spending by the Office of Economic Opportunity for anti-poverty educational projects. This money is appropriated by Congress directly to the President, to be spent at his discretion.

Other monies under the direct and exclusive control of the President include educational spending of $158 million for "economic assistance," $50 million for the Peace Corps and $42 million for "military assistance."

Of the whopping amount to be spent by HEW, unpredictable millions of dollars will be spent in such unfamiliar educational arenas as program to produce federally educated "hotel and motel housekeeping skills," and "family dinner service specialists."

The "housekeeping aides" are what people commonly refer to as chambermaids. The "specialists" are what most people call cooks when they are hired to work in private homes, buying and preparing the food, setting the table and cleaning up the kitchen afterwards.

The "aides" will be eductaed by Uncle Sam and the HEW along the lines laid down in a 19-page "Suggested Training Program" brochure, spelling out the varied details of a 60-hour course of study.

The stated program objectives are generally to prepare trainees:

To perform the jobs involved in keeping hotel or motel rooms clean, orderly, and ready for use of paying guests.

To follow correct procedures in handling cleaning materials and equipment required in changing bed linens, cleaning rooms and making bathrooms sanitary.

To know the procedure to follow regarding articles found in the room.

To acquire skill in quickly checking a room to make sure everything is in readiness for the next occupant.

The cleaning materials and equipment referred to are later defined in the brochure as "soaps and detergents . . . special cleaners . . . disinfectants and other sanitary supplies" and "the vacuum cleaner . . . electric or hand brooms . . . wet and dry mops."

Under the "Course Unit Outline" in the brochure, particular attention is paid to "developing a job philosophy . . . maintaining good working relations," plus heavy emphasis on "basic conditions of employment," under which the trainees are to be made fully aware of the "typical standards and regulations" of their employment.

In the latter category, the trainees are taught about their local wage scale and tax deductions, their benefits under Social Security, their benefits under insurance and Workman's Compensation and "labor relations" concerning their hours of work and "industrial standards for women."

The 20-page brochure for the "dinner specialists" suggests 240 "course hours" devoted to such details as "need for clear understanding of work to be done . . . wash up dishes from previous meals, clean kitchen, use food purchased by employer in preparing planned menu . . ." Special emphasis is again placed on work agreements, like "desirability of a written statement concerning agreements with signature of employer and worker."

Other, similar training programs which flow from the multi-billion-dollar educational cornucopia include things like training for "the homemaker's assistant," a 300-hour course devoted to teaching would-be domestic workers to "empty trash into incinerators . . . vacuum the rugs or carpeting . . . clean and disinfect the toilet (use brush or small mop for purpose) . . . use proper methods of work when using dust mops, brooms, brushes and dust cloths."

A 13-page brochure outlining the requirements for a kitchen helper in an institution such as a hospital or homes for children or the aged gives detailed instruction leading to the title "Supervised Food Service Worker." The course teaches "Definition of terms . . ." such as:

"A—Procedures—scrub, rinse, scald, dry, dust.

"B—Materials, detergents, soap, scouring materials, brooms, brushes, mops, pails, sponges, disinfectants."

It also advises the student that "common accidents in the food service area include burns, falls, cuts, strains and splinters."

For those who would like a career working for a family and doing such things as altering and repairing clothing, having clothing cleaned and stored over the summer or winter, HEW through its Office of Education has another 13-page course outline for training the "clothing maintenance specialist."

Still another 13-page booklet outlines teaching requirements for training a "companion to an elderly person."

All the courses require teachers with varying degrees of training and background, and places where the actual courses can be taught. In some instances, the course outline suggests cooperative ventures with private business—such as using nearby hotels or motels in the "on-the-job" phase of training the "housekeeping aides," or field trips to the local electrical appliance store where future "homemaker's assistants" can learn about the tools of their trade.

If the paying of teachers' salaries, rental for classroom space and printing cost of the course brochures does not eat up the budgetary allocation for the programs, other items will bite deeper. They include "using movies, filmstrips, charts, tape recordings, or other audiovisual materials to present specific information . . . providing reading material appropriate to age and reading ability . . . using persons from special fields such as mental health, geriatrics, nutrition or dietetics, child development, medicine, public health, and housing to extend basic knowledge and answer questions."

The list goes on and on, and while HEW can take pride in these programs developed and operated by the Office of Education it takes equal pride in the many and varied programs of education administered by another of its arms, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration.

VRA expects to spend $146 million this year alone on such things as "traineeships"—federal grants—to teach "Workshop Administration" in selected college and universities across the nation, and similar programs for "graduate study in recreation . . . social work . . . rehabilitation nursing . . . rehabilitation counseling . . . physical therapy . . . occupational therapy."

The division of training of VRA has published an ever-growing pile of four-to-ten-page brochures telling applicants the requirements of all of its programs and how and where to apply for the specialized educational grants.

So proficient has HEW become in the field of educational vocational rehabilitation, that the notoriously jealous Department of Labor has lately been relinquishing many of its vocational programs to the Office of Education.

As one Democratic congressman, critical of the administration's "education" policies, put it:

"When it comes to manpower training or vocational retraining, it used to be that Labor said, 'That belongs to me.' Then Welfare came along and said 'If they're unemployed and poor, the job belongs to me.' Then the Office of Economic Opportunity came along and said, 'If they are poor and disadvantaged to start with, the job belongs to me.'

"Then the Education people said, 'If the schools are used in the program, the job belongs to me.' Then, for a while, it looked as though the Housing and Urban Development people were about to say, 'If those to be rehabilitated come from urban renewal areas, 'the job belongs to me.' But, it finally looks like HEW and OEO have got the whole vocational pie to divide between them."

In addition to costs of Education and Vocational Rehabilitation Administration "educational" programs, other so-called educational programs of HEW include $804 million in the National Institutes of Health, $285 million in "other Public Health Service" and $66 million to be spent on educational projects of the Welfare Administration.

To make sure it touches all bases on the educational playing field, Health, Education and Welfare also expects to spend a miscellaneous $50 million on "other Health, Education and Welfare" educational programs.

And to make doubly sure that the above programs are fully implemented and carried out, other federal agencies will be busy spending millions of dollars this year duplicating to some extent the efforts of HEW and providing overlapping and sometimes competitive services and programs.

As Maryland Congressman Charles McC. Mathias pointed out before the House of Representatives in appealing for his bill (H.R. 69) to establish a watchdog Hoover-type Commission to oversee spending by the executive branch of the government, education and related programs require some keen scrutiny.

In education, Mathias noted, the practice of enlisting "outside" talent is being quickly expanded. One method is through informal consultations and the creation of anonymous task forces responsible to the President alone.

"Another method, which merits close and continuous scrutiny," according to Mathias, "is the hiring of consultants or making of research contracts at rates which often far exceed the salaries allowed regular employes.

"Although no systematic studies of the use of consultants have been made recently, except in connection with the Office of Economic Opportunity, I suspect that considerable money could be saved if many of the jobs now contracted out were done in-house, or if people now hired on a per diem basis could be placed on the regular payrolls.

Another means of tapping outside talent is through the creation of advisory councils. Mathias said that in certain areas such councils do help to bring new ideas and fresh perspective to public policy.

"In many other areas, however," Mathias declared, "it appears that such panels are set up wholly or partially for other reasons: to give an added stamp of authority to recommendations, to help outside professionals feel they have a share in program operation, or to give recognition, through membership on an advisory panel, to outstanding citizens in certain fields."

The number of advisory committees, councils and groups has grown rapidly in the past few years. The Office of Education "Fact Book," for example, lists 18 advisory panels which are involved in the administration of at least 29 separate educational programs.

They include such bodies as the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, the Research Advisory Council, the Advisory Council on Insured Loans to Students, the Advisory Committee on New Educational Media, and the Advisory Committee on Administrative Costs for the National Defense Student Loan Program.

According to Mathias, "At least six programs involve more than one group. Vocational education and research and training projects, for example, involve both the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education and the Advisory Council on Vocational Education.

"It is no wonder," Mathias concluded, "that the Office of Education recently was recruiting new employes to coordinate the work of its advisory groups."

While there is no statistical evidence, it is reasonably certain that of the innumerable paid consultants, none receives less than $50 per day and expenses, and many receive considerably more . . . up to and above $100 per day. Those who "serve" without remuneration still receive "expenses" that run into millions of dollars in taxpayers' money.

Reporting to the Congress last March, Dr. Leland J. Haworth, director of the National Science Foundation, noted that NSF had established "30 or 40 panels in the research area . . . we have 600 or 700 paid consultants and more than a thousand who serve without compensation," including both research and education panels.

While avoiding the matter of fees, or other monies paid out, Dr. Donald F. Hornig, director of the Office of Science and Technology, recently testified before a congressional subcommittee that the President's Science Advisory Committee has established a 15-member panel on World Food Supply.

This panel, in turn, has created 14 subpanels with a total of 137 members, on subjects ranging from the intensification of plant production to projected trends of trade in agricultural products.

In support of his Hoover Commission bill, Mathias recently stated:

"The National Bureau of Standards and the Bureau of the Budget are currently engaged in intensive efforts to resolve the technical problems which must be overcome before compatible information systems can be developed.

"The problems are tremendous, and it seems to me that the Budget Bureau, in this area as in many others, needs and should welcome all of the expert assistance which can be made available."

Seized by Pettiness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal spoke editorially Monday on a matter about which Members of this House have been generally silent, quite possibly from embarrassment.

I am referring to the arbitrary and lightly taken exclusion of employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity from the pay increase for Federal employees. The Wall Street Journal rightly condemns this as a "gratuitous insult." It is an insult not only to the dedicated employees of that agency and to the entire U.S. Civil Service, but it taints this House as well. This country enjoys the most competent and trustworthy civil service in the world. That some of these men and women have been singled out for financial penalty is an unhappy commentary on the legislative whims of this body.

Mr. Speaker, many Members of the House have honest misgivings about certain aspects of the poverty program. Fair criticism must be based on the substance of the war on poverty, not on "seizures of pettiness," in the Journal's words, exemplified by the vote on the pay bill.

> You might hope—

Says the Wall Street Journal, that—

> The House had learned its lesson from the self-demeaning anti-rat episode, but you would hope in vain.

I continue to have hope, Mr. Speaker, not only that the wrong done by the House will be undone, but that when the economic opportunity bill comes before this body at long last, we will buckle down to work and act with seriousness, constructiveness, and good sense.

Want To Smoke Without Fear?—Punch a Hole in Your Cigarette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, when the Public Health Service in 1964 published its bulletin entitled "Smoking and Health" following a study by a special commission, it was obvious then to many of us that the primary interest was in trying to brand cigarette smoking as unhealthy and dangerous, and then as a remedy to the situation to attempt to eliminate cigarette smoking.

Many of us pointed out at that time that with the amount of pleasure millions of people derive from cigarette smoking, the Public Health Service should, instead of attempting to brand and outlaw and prohibit cigarette smoking, direct its effort toward trying to isolate and eliminate the harmful agents in cigarette smoking or otherwise to develop a new filter or other device which would enable smokers to continue to enjoy cigarettes with little or no threat to their health.

I have suspected all along that the Public Health Service has made little or no effort along the lines of trying to come up with a solution which would make smoking safer, but has labored mightily to fight cigarette smoking.

This suspicion is confirmed by an article which appeared in the Raleigh, N.C., News and Observer of October 22, 1967. The article points out that Dr. Armstead Hudnell, a distinguished North Carolina physician and former member of the faculty of Bowman Gray School of Medicine, Winston-Salem, N.C., has discovered a system for smoking which significantly reduces the tar intake from cigarettes, but that when he first approached the Public Health Service with it, he found no interest because "at that time the Government was on an all-out stop-smoking campaign reminiscent of the days of prohibition in the twenties."

The article describing Dr. Hudnell's discovery entitled, "Want To Smoke Without Fear?—Punch a Hole in Your Cigarette" is extremely interesting and I insert it into the RECORD here and commend it to my colleagues and others interested in the vital question of smoking and health:

Want To Smoke Without Fear?—Punch a Hole in Your Cigarette!

(By Rose Post)

Winston-Salem.—If you've got to smoke, go ahead. Smoke.

But punch a hole in your cigarette first.

Yep, a hole. A single hole. No more, no less. Right at the base of the filter. Do it with anything you have handy. The tip of a paper clip. The end of a ballpoint pen. Or one prong of a fork. Feel like jeering, huh? Me! Smoke a cigarette with a hole in it? Not on your life!

Well, it might just save your life, according to a lanky, intense Winston-Salem doctor who has been doing battle for the past four years with both the tobacco companies and the U.S. Public Health Service in an effort to give smoking Americans a safer cigarette.

SOME LISTENING

And, at last, there is some indication that a variety of people are beginning to listen to what he's been saying.

Punching a hole at the base of the cigarette filter will reduce all the harmful elements in the cigarette—tars, nicotine and toxic gases—up to 91 per cent, says Dr. Armstead B. Hudnell, ophthalmologist and former member of the full-time faculty at Bowman Gray School of Medicine.

Cover the hole with your finger for the first drag or two and you'll enjoy your smoking. After that, leave the hole uncovered and you won't think about the difference. The reason? Most of your smoking—after that first couple of drags—is pure reflex.

In fact, you probably won't have to think about it. You'll probably leave your finger off automatically.

And while the hole's uncovered—as the cigarette gets shorter and shorter and more and more harmful—it won't be hurting you as much.

Go ahead. Try it. We'll wait to explain while you punch your hole and light up.

Okay. Let's go,

Dr. Hudnell is a smoker.

He's also a physician—and his credentials are impressive. With degrees from the University of Alabama and the Medical College of Alabama, he served an internship at Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas, Texas, was a flight surgeon with the Air Force in France, and held a U.S. Public Health Service research fellowship for two years before joining the full-time faculty of Bowman Gray. He is certified as a diplomate by the American Board of Ophthalmology, and has published numerous scientific papers.

What's all that got to do with smoking?

Only the fact that Dr. Hudnell is a man trained in medicine and trained in research who believes he's found a way to make smoking safer.

And he's burning with a missionary fervor to get the message across.

It all started, quite by accident, with a torn cigarette.

Years ago, while he was still in medical school, he was studying late one night and got down to his last cigarette—and it was torn! Only smokers can appreciate the particular breed of panic that situation can produce.

Desperate for the cigarette, Dr. Hudnell lit it anyway, covered the hole with his finger so he could get some smoke through it, and went back to his books. When he had finished and was putting the cigarette out, he noticed—with astonishment—that he had forgotten all about the tear.

"Well, I kind of filed that way back . . ."

Until four years ago.

Then, in one of those stranger-than-fiction real life adventures, the same thing happened again—late night, last cigarette, hole in the paper. He smoked it anyway—and found he had again forgotten all about the hole by the time he finished it.

And that made the research scientist in him come in strong.

Why had he forgotten all about that hole in that cigarette? Well, obviously because he was smoking out of pure habit, in part, at least.

And if that were true—that two or three puffs would satisfy his cigarette craving and the rest of the smoking is reflex—what could the hole accomplish if it were deliberately put in the cigarette? Well, it would replace smoke with fresh air, at least in part, and it's plain to even the non-scientist that it's safer to breathe air than smoke.

It was apparent to the scientist, though, that here was an idea that needed research. The U.S. Public Health Service was accumulating considerable evidence about the adverse effect of smoking on health. And so far no safe cigarette had been developed that also tasted good. Making a safer cigarette was no problem. The problem was taking the hazard out and leaving the flavor in. Make the world's safest cigarette and you've done nothing—unless people smoke it.

Convinced he had something, he went to a tobacco company, expecting to be received with open arms.

He wasn't.

No company would admit there is such a thing as an unsafe cigarette.

BECAME STUBBORN

The more he thought about his theory, the more sense it made. And the more the tobacco company said "no," the more stubborn he became.

The result was that he himself hired a reputable research laboratory, Foster D. Snell, Inc. of New York, to test his theory. This is the same laboratory that has done the testing for Reader's Digest.

And their results convinced him.

Using a smoking machine, Snell discovered that a filtered cigarette—with no hole—will produce 15.9 milligrams of tar, which scientists believe is the most dangerous component of cigarette smoke. The same cigarette with a 1-16th inch hole has only 5.9 milligrams of tar. And the same cigarette with a ⅛th inch air vent has only .9 milligram—or 91 per cent less than the cigarette with no hole.

TESTIMONY PRESENTED

With these results, Dr. Hudnell went back to the cigarette companies and even succeeded in getting the same and more elaborate tests run in one of the R. J. Reynolds laboratories. But how could the tobacco people be interested in a safer cigarette if they didn't believe their present cigarette to be unsafe? They couldn't. And weren't.

Neither was the U.S. Public Health Service which Dr. Hudnell tried next. At that time, the government was on an all-out stop-smoking campaign reminiscent of the days of prohibition in the Twenties. But in August he succeeded in getting written testimony presented before the consumer subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce, and interest has grown progressively since then.

A recent issue of Drug Research Reports, noting that the National Cancer Institute Lung Cancer Task Force is itself becoming very much interested in the development of a safer cigarette, focussed attention on his testimony.

The testimony—and the Drug Research Reports publication—describes a digital air control device, which Dr. Hudnell has devised.

The digital air control device is simple. It is a squeezable tube incorporated in the cigarette filter. When the smoker lights up, he takes a puff or two with his finger squeezing the tube shut. He gets the full taste, tars and nicotine. The smoke, however, has been filtered through the cigarette at its longest—and, therefore, safest.

After the initial satisfaction, however, Dr. Hudnell believes most smokers will puff away reflexively and the smoke is heavily mixed with relatively clean air. Hence the reduction in tars, nicotine, and gases.

Drug Research Reports confirms that Dr. Hudnell has been told by Dr. Kenneth Endicott, director of the National Cancer Institute, that "experimental data he presents warrants serious interest on the part of anyone interested in a safer cigarette."

OTHER POINTS

His testimony argued a number of other points, among them the fact that the same Surgeon General's report which said Cigarette smoking is a health hazard also came to the conclusion that it provides important health benefits.

The surgeon general's report reads:

"Medical perspective requires recognition of significant beneficial effects of smoking primarily in the area of mental health. These benefits originate in a psychogenic search for contentment and are measureable only in terms of individual behavior. Since no means of quantitating these benefits is apparent the committee finds no basis for adjudgment which would weigh benefits versus hazards of smoking as it may apply to the general population."

This statement, Dr. Hudnell says, was made not once, but twice in the report which also pointed out that cigarette smoking has been proven by "a substantial body of fact and experience" to be an effective "anti-obesity" agent and to also be of significant value in the "maintenance of good intestinal tone and bowel habits."

Merely to prove something hazardous, Dr. Hudnell pointed out to the Senate subcommitte, is no basis on which to crusade for its abolishment. If so, then automobiles should be abolished. In spite of obvious qualifying statements in the Surgeon General's Report about the hazards of smoking, the response was an aggressive campaign to abolish cigarettes.

CAMPAIGN FAILED

One fact is clear. The campaign to abolish cigarettes has been tried and failed. This was acknowledged by Department of Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner last spring. Although some doctors gave up smoking, Gardner concluded the general population was not greatly affected by the campaign.

Meantime, the percentage of doctors smoking is still high and, Dr. Hudnell asks, if the campaign to get people to stop smoking can't really stop doctors—with the necessary background and education to allow a sophisticated understanding of all the facts involved—who can it stop?

"I think," he said, in his report to the Senate subcommittee, "we must conclude that people will continue to smoke and people will continue to take up smoking, and that the only meaningful way in which we can presently help these people is by the development and marketing of less hazardous cigarettes that they will buy and smoke."

And this, he says, is what a hole in the cigarette, creating a finger controllable, air filtration system, will provide—namely, a less hazardous cigarette that people can still enjoy.

SIMPLE WAY

The digital air control device is the more sophisticated approach. But because he has so far been unable to get a cigarette manufacturer to test market it, he urges smokers to punch their own holes.

This can be done, he says, by taking a sharp pin or needle and inserting it through the filter overwrap into the tobacco just in front of the filter. The filter overwrap extends beyond the end of the filter for a short distance. The cigarette paper doesn't work as well. It's too fragile and provides too little support for the finger.

The hole will work best in filter cigarettes because air resistance of the filter itself keeps the smoker from feeling as though he's sucking air.

And the heavy smoker will benefit most because the more a person smokes, Dr. Hudnell believes, the more his smoking is pure reflex.

Dr. Hudnell has discussed his research with over 300 doctors and scientists and not one, he says, has disputed the potentially safer nature of the approach. Included are Dr. Phillip R. Lee, assistant secretary of Health for HEW, and Dr. Kenneth Endicott, assistant surgeon general and director of the National Cancer Institute.

And he has strong hope that the Lung Cancer Task Force's new interest in a safer cigarette will bring new interest in his theory.

MUTUAL PROBLEM

But, as Drug Research Reports points out, "Dr. Hudnell faces the same problem the task force faces." Any safety device must be test marketed because "the behavior of the smoker is crucial to the success of the agent."

In the meantime, Dr. Hudnell is concerned for the smoker who can't or won't quit smoking.

You, for instance.

Did you punch that hole?

And if you did, what happened? Did you leave it uncovered? Or did you cover it up?

That's what Dr. Armstead B. Hudnell of Forsyth Medical Park, Winston-Salem, needs to know because, until a cigarette manufacturer will test market the theory, only the smoker punching his own hole can provide an answer.

Why not drop him a card?

It just may bring a safer cigarette on the market sooner.

Gallup Report Shows Nixon Cigar Winner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the latest Gallup report published just a few days ago on Sunday, October 22, shows clearly that Richard Nixon is a winner. He is the only Republican that wins by all three yardsticks:

First. He wins over Lyndon Johnson decisively across the country.

Second. He wins over Robert Kennedy, should he become his party's nominee.

Third. By better than 2-to-1 margin he wins in the esteem and support of Republicans all across the country.

Of course, Richard Nixon's possible presidential candidacy does not rest on the Gallup report or any other poll. It rests on his unmatched knowledge and experience in foreign policy, his constructive record on urban and other domestic issues, his unrivaled record of service in national office, and his proven ability to lead. Polls change and fluctuate from month to month. They can tell us what the mood of the country is at a given time. They can give a message. The message of this poll is that Richard Nixon can win in 1968.

THE GALLUP REPORT

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N.J., October 21.—Sen. Robert Kennedy outshines President Johnson in test races against the two top nomination choices of Republican voters—Richard Nixon and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

As of today, however, neither President Johnson nor Senator Kennedy is able to top either of these current GOP favorites.

The following question was asked in the latest survey of 1585 persons in 320 localities across the nation, with interviewing conducted between October 6 and 11.

"Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If (candidate's name) were the Democratic candidate and (candidate's name) were the Republican candidate, which would you like to see win?'

The following tables show both Nixon and Rockefeller, as well as Gov. George Romney, defeating President Johnson in the latest trial heats.

Both Nixon and Rockefeller have improved their standings over earlier surveys. The latest survey, in fact, marks the first time that Nixon has shown greater strength than Johnson.

Rockefeller, despite his insistence that he is not a candidate, currently holds a wide lead over the President.

The results, by likely voters:

[Results in percent]

Nixon	49
Johnson	45
Undecided	6
Rockefeller	54
Johnson	40
Undecided	6
Romney	48
Johnson	45
Undecided	7

Kennedy runs both of the two top Republicans, Nixon and Rockefeller, a tight race, as seen in the following tables:

	Percent
Nixon	48
Kennedy	47
Undecided	5
Rockefeller	47
Kennedy	46
Undecided	7

The following question was asked in the latest survey to determine the nomination choices of voters who classify themselves as Republicans:

"Here is a list of men who have been mentioned as possible Presidential candidates for the Republican party in 1968. Which one of these men would you like to see nominated as the Republican candidate for President in 1968?" (List included 7 names.)

The trend from earlier surveys shows that Romney has failed to recover the support he lost following his statement on September 5 about having been "brainwashed" by the Administration on Vietnam.

VIEWS OF GOP RANK AND FILE

[In percent]

	Latest	Late September	Early September
Nixon	42	40	35
Rockefeller	18	17	14
Reagan	14	16	11
Romney	13	14	24
Percy	6	9	6
Hatfield	3	1	2
Lindsay	1	1	2
No preference	3	2	6

Today's figures point up clearly the dilemma of the Republican party. While Richard Nixon has a great lead over all other Republican possibilities with the party membership, he lacks some of Rockefeller's appeal among Independents and dissident Democrats.

Both Rockefeller and Nixon win almost exactly equal support with Republicans (83 per cent for Rockefeller, 84 per cent for Nixon), but the New York Governor wins 32 per cent of the vote of Democrats to Nixon's 24 per cent and 57 per cent of the vote of Independents to his fellow Republican's 52 per cent.

INTERESTING COINCIDENCE

An interesting coincidence is brought to light in the latest results. The current close race between Nixon and Robert Kennedy is comparable to the division of the vote in the 1960 election when John F. Kennedy defeated Nixon by less than one percentage point.

Still another coincidence: On September 24, 1959—a little more than a year before the 1960 presidential election—a test race conducted by the Gallup Poll showed exactly the same result as today's poll, with Nixon running a percentage point ahead of John F. Kennedy.

The Council of Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, the Council of Europe was established in 1949 at the initiative of Winston Churchill. Although we are not a member, the United States is interested in its development and also its work, for we naturally have a concern in some of the practical matters which have been dealt with in the Council, such as questions which might affect our trade interests in the area. U.S. officials have attended, with observer status, Council meetings on European patent matters, pharmaceutical regulations, and certain aspects of European civil service regulations which could have affected U.S. nationals working for Atlantic organizations.

For several years, Members of Congress have also visited the Consultative Assembly of the Council and have informally exchanged views on matters of mutual interest and concern. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point an article about the Council of Europe which I hope will prove of more than passing interest to all who have an interest in foreign affairs:

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The Council of Europe, which has established its seat in Strasbourg on the Franco-German frontier, is the oldest and largest political Organisation in Western Europe dedicated to European unification. It was set up by ten countries in 1949 and today has eighteen members: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Maltan, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

The aim of the Council is "to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage, and facilitating their economic and social progress" by means of "discussion of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters and in the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms." The only matter specifically excluded from its competence is the purely military aspects of defence. In addition to working for closer European unity, the Council has set itself the task of making a constructive regional contribution, wherever possible, to the work of the United Nations.

Other European States may be invited by the Committee of Ministers to join the Council providing they accept the principles of the rule of law and the enjoyment by all persons within their jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and collaborate sincerely and effectively in the realisation of the Organisation's aims. The Ministers have undertaken to consult the Assembly before a country is invited to join or to withdraw from the Council.

The organs of the Council of Europe are the Committee of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly.

THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS

The executive organ of the Council is the Committee of Ministers, which consists of the Foreign Ministers of each member government. It may propose the conclusion of conventions or agreements or the adoption by governments of a common policy on a particular matter. Joint consultation on major political issues of common European concern is an important feature of its work. The Committee meets regularly in the Spring, before the opening of every annual session of the Assembly, in December and at such other times as it may decide.

The Committee's discussions are held in private. Each representative has one vote. On certain important matters, such as recommendations to governments, the opening for signature of European Conventions and political decisions, the Ministers must be unanimous: on other matters a two-thirds majority is required.

Since March 1952, each government has appointed a permanent representative to act in the capacity of Minister's Deputy. Decisions at inter-governmental level are frequently taken by the Ministers' Deputies, who meet on average once every six weeks. In the technical field—legal, social, cultural, public health, etc. . . . —the work of the Ministers is prepared by specialized committees of governmental experts.

THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

The deliberative organ of the Council, is the Consultative Assembly, which resembles in form and procedure the national parliaments of member countries, but has no legislative powers. It consists at present of 147 representatives from the Council's 18 member States and as many substitutes all of them appointed by their national parliaments. The size of the national delegations varies according to the population of the country concerned and their composition approximately reflects the strength of the political parties in the national parliaments, although no communist parliamentarians have so far been designated. The Statute of the Council of Europe clearly excludes from membership any non European State; nevertheless on the parliamentary side a small delegation of observers from the Israel Parliament has attended sittings of the Assembly since 1958.

The Assembly makes proposals to the Committee of Ministers in the form of recommendations, which require a two-thirds majority. It may also adopt, by a simple majority, resolutions, opinions or orders. The work of the Assembly is prepared by its 13 permanent Committees. The Assembly usually holds three week-long sessions a year. When not in session, the Assembly is represented by the Standing Committee, consisting of the senior officers and other members of the Assembly.

The Joint Committee is a liaison body between the two main organs of the Council. It consists of eighteen representatives of the Committee of Ministers and eighteen representatives of the Assembly. Since 1961, there has been an annual "colloquy" between the Ministers and the Assembly in an expanded version of the Joint Committee. These colloquys, which are held in private without a formal agenda, allow a free exchange of views between the Ministers and the Parliamentarians.

Most European institutions were inspired by Council of Europe proposals and send their annual reports to the Assembly, for example, the European Communities, the European Free Trade Association, the European Space Organizations, and the European Conferences of Ministers of Justice, Education and Transport. Even non-European bodies, like the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, Unesco and the International Labour Organization follow this procedure to obtain the support and arouse the interest of European parliamentary opinion for their work.

The Assembly also holds an annual joint meeting with the European Parliament of the Six—usually in the autumn—and also an annual exchange of views with a delegation from the United States Congress—usually during its Spring Session.

The Assembly has been addressed by the Heads of Government of nine member States, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and leading political figures from Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Latin America.

THE SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat consists of a permanent staff of over 500 persons from the various member countries. Every member of the staff must make a solemn declaration that he will perform his duties conscientiously, uninfluenced by national considerations and that he will accept no instructions from his national government. The Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and Clerk of the Consultative Assembly are appointed by the Assembly (voting is by secret ballot) from a list of candidates previously chosen by the Committee of Ministers.

The present Secretary General is Mr. Peter Smithers (United Kingdom).

ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The Council has sought to give practical expression to the aims laid down in the Statute in a number of ways, e.g. nearly 60 European Conventions and Agreements have been concluded since 1949 on a wide variety of subjects, from the peaceful settlement of international disputes to the suppression of pirate radio stations.

Among the most noteworthy is the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. A European Commission and a European Court of Human Rights have been set up to ensure the respect of the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Convention. The Council's activity in other legal fields has been reflected in the signature of a series of conventions and agreements designed to regulate, *inter alia,* establishment, patents, mutual assistance in criminal matters and to facilitate the movement of persons between member countries. In 1964, a European Committee on Legal Co-operation was set up to implement the Council's legal programme.

The Council's aim in social matters is to ensure that citizens of one member country resident in another receive, as far as possible, the same social benefits as the nationals of the country in which they reside, and secondly, to raise the standard of social security and welfare as high as possible in all member countries. The entry into force of the European Social Charter in 1965 marked an important step towards the realisation of these aims. There are also a number of other agreements in force dealing with social security, medical assistance and public health. The Council has also created a European Pharmacopoeia Commission to set common standards for pharmaceutical products.

The Council's educational and cultural activities are looked after by the Council for Cultural Co-operation, whose work covers the fields of higher education and research, general and technical education, youth and out-of-school education, cinema and television and general cultural activities. States which have signed the European Cultural Convention, e.g. Spain and the Holy See, can also take part in the Organisation's educational and cultural work. The CCC's aims are to preserve and enrich Europe's cultural heritage, to spread knowledge of new educational techniques, to promote research and exchanges of teachers and students.

THE WORK PROGRAMME

In May 1966, on the initiative of the Secretary General, the Committee of Ministers adopted a programme of work for the Organisation's intergovernmental activities. Entitled "Man in a European Society", the programme, which is revised annually, provides a comprehensive and classified list of all these activities and fixes priorities for their completion. Every year, the Assembly is invited to express its views on the Work Programme, thus keeping the Committee of Ministers continually in touch with European public opinion.

Saigon Regime Still Plagued by Tax Evasion and Cheating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have followed with interest the efforts of the Agency for International Development and the Internal Revenue Service to establish efficient tax systems in Latin America. These programs of tax reform are very worthwhile and have met with success.

I am happy to see that these two agencies are also working together in Vietnam where tax dodging robs the Vietnamese Government of millions of dollars desperately needed to finance development measures. With the help of AID and IRS, the government is cracking down on tax evaders and is initiating steps to improve its revenue system. Although there are years of reform ahead, John McKay, in charge of the IRS advisory team in Saigon, optimistically predicts that in about 2 years the government will have "the mechanics for collecting" from everybody.

With permission, I include in the RECORD an article that appeared in the October 16, 1967, Washington Post which discusses the problems of tax collection in Vietnam:

SAIGON REGIME STILL PLAGUED BY TAX EVASION AND CHEATING

(By Raymond R. Coffey)

SAIGON.—While President Johnson presses for higher U.S. income taxes to help pay for the war, American revenue experts here are pushing the Vietnamese to collect more taxes of their own.

As with Mr. Johnson's call for a 10 per cent income tax surcharge, however, the campaign here so far has met with less than total success.

South Vietnam, with the help of U.S. tax experts, is collecting steadily more revenue and is tightening its collection system.

But there is still a staggering degree of tax evasion and cheating. Particularly among those who are profiting most from the war.

In 1965, the South Vietnamese government collected about 8 billion piasters (roughly $80 million) in direct and indirect taxes—income, property, licensing, excise and so on, but not including customs duties.

REVENUES INCREASE

In 1966 the figure climbed to 11 billion piasters and this year, John P. McKay, head of a U.S. team of Internal Revenue Service advisers, estimates it will rise to 17 billion.

However, McKay says the total would be at least 30 billion piasters if the government were collecting all it has coming.

"The tax rates in this country are high," he said. "The problem is collecting them."

"It's like sitting on a muddy slope," one U.S. adviser from the Customs Service said. Gains slip away almost faster than they are made and "we see bribery and cheating and corruption every day."

One of the principal weapons used by the U.S. and the Vietnamese governments to combat inflation here is an enormous import program which is designed to soak up surplus piasters by flooding the market with goods.

One of the essential ideas is that the government is supposed to collect healthy customs taxes on the imports ranging, for example, up to 335 per cent of the value on imported whiskey.

But almost all the big importers in Vietnam are Chinese. They are making money hand over fist off the import program—largely financed by the United States—and they are, as one U.S. tax expert says perhaps the "world's most expert tax evaders who know every loophole in every law there is."

WHISKEY DEAL

They are also shameless bribers and corrupters of Vietnamese officials.

As one of thousands of examples, a U.S. tax adviser cited the case of an importer who got a license to bring in large shipments of Scotch whiskey.

He listed the price he was paying for it as around $3 a case, a ridiculously low figure. But a paid-off government official accepted it and that was the basis on which the tax was paid.

Meanwhile, the importer simply paid the rest of the actual price to the whiskey brokers with a check drawn on the importer's secret and illegal account in Hong Kong.

There have been other cases in which importers have had waterproof cargoes sunk in the Saigon River and claimed they were lost. Then in the dark of night they have had the cargo fished up and delivered—duty free.

WITHHOLDING TAX BEGUN

The most significant advance made in Vietnam's revenue system recently, according to McKay, was the establishment of a withholding tax system for salaried workers similar to that in the United States.

This has boosted the amount of income tax collections by at least three times in the last year.

However, it has also given the salaried class, already the hardest hit by inflation, something else to howl about. The better-off professional and self-employed business groups, who are getting richer by the day, still find it relatively easy to escape the tax collector.

To catch up with these people, McKay says, there are plans to establish next year a U.S.-style system of having businesses and self-employed professional people file estimated tax declarations in advance and then to collect the taxes on a "pay as you go basis."

AUDITORS TRAINED

The U.S. tax team also is helping the government train tax auditors and set up a tighter auditing system.

One group of 20 auditors has been trained and are going after about 1400 "big account" taxpayers.

One of the problems, as a U.S. adviser put it, is to "stiffen the backbone" of the auditors, who are inclined to take whatever the taxpayer offers, so long as it's a little more than they collected the year before.

An illustration of how far the revenue program has yet to go is that about 85 per cent of all taxes are now collected in Saigon and the Chinese suburb of Cholon.

The Vietcong probably collect more taxes in the countryside, where 80 per cent of the people live, than the government does.

One of the greatest weaknesses in the tax and customs systems, according to U.S. officials, is that government salaries are so pitifully low that officials yield easily to taking bribes.

McKay, who came here from the IRS offices in Cincinnati, says that in two years or so he believes the government will have established "the mechanics for collecting" from everybody.

Fool's Gold by the Billions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

FOOL'S GOLD BY THE BILLIONS

(By Representative JAMES B. UTT)

Fool's gold by the billions may glitter, but it is not gold in spite of what the International Monetary Fund managers tell the public. It is purely and simply a gimmick. Not one ounce of gold is involved; not one ounce of wealth will be created; only a new layer of credit expansion will be established; only more paper will be printed which still must eventually be paid off in hard metallic gold.

Steel, aluminum, tin, zinc and other base metals have each had tremendously important influence, both on constructive progress and on the destructive aspects of forcible control of nations. That influence, however, pales to insignificance when compared with the power of precious metals, especially gold.

Without gold, and the purchasing power it controls, the base metals would have been unavailable in necessary quantities, and their fabrication into sophisticated constructive and destructive complexities (airplanes, bombs, etc.) would have been impossible. Without gold, the incentive to do more than provide shelter and to find food would have been lacking. Incentive works for good and for evil, and gold has been responsible for much of both.

Yet excepting jewelry and other gold or gold-plated articles in common usage, few people today ever see the metal which affects their lives so completely. In 1934, gold was prohibited in commerce among our people. We also saw a "synthetic" gold in the form of paper printed a gold color, which was used as legal currency and was backed by a percentage of gold held in the Treasury. Such gold certificates were also outlawed in 1934.

Today, it is proposed that "paper gold" be reincarnated in international monetary affairs. Called "Special Drawing Rights" by their international architects, their use is claimed to provide "the most significant development in international financial cooperation" in many years. The scheme will be required to be approved and ratified by legislatures around the world, and formal adoption is not expected until late next year or early 1969.

Representatives to the International Monetary Fund, of which William B. Dale is the United States member on the twenty-man Board of Executive Directors, met jointly with the World Bank organizations in Rio de Janeiro. Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, Managing Director of the Fund, formally presented the plan as one that would create new reserves, and one by which "the international community should be able to control reserves, instead of reserves controlling the community," as he put it.

According to the plan, nations, having financial difficulties would be able to borrow some foreign currencies. Borrowing limits are to be based on each nation's IMF quota, which in turn is based on gold, and instead of being able to obtain 100% of the loan quota, a nation would be limited to 70% for an average five-year period. The amount we could borrow, if indeed further borrowing would be of assistance, would be less than enough to cover our annual gold losses through our Balance of Payments deficit.

We have been promised each year, for the past eight years, by the Secretary of the Treasury, that the Balance of Payments problem would be resolved within a year or, at the most, two years, but instead it has consistently worsened. In addition to the huge amount of goods and materiel which we furnish to areas throughout the world, from which there is no dollar income, we also provide sizeable sums of cash as gifts, even though some are called loans. Our tourists traveling to foreign lands number far greater than do visitors to this country, and they spend larger sums of money. All of this ends up as claims by foreign governments upon our gold supply in excess of our claims against them.

Those in attendance at the International meeting also heard World Bank President George Woods make an emotional and dramatic appeal for a glorified "share-the-wealth" plan on an international level. He demanded that the rich countries do a better job of helping the poorer ones.

The world, and particularly the oppressed taxpayers of the United States, would be in much better shape if men such as Mr. Woods would pay more attention to the anguished cries of pain as the many "poorer" countries of the world continue to kick us in the teeth for the exorbitant amount of "help" which we have given financially and militarily to practically all the world.

A let-up in the "generosity" of those in this country who are responsible for the billions of dollars of foreign-aid give-away (people who apparently find a great sense of satisfaction in their liberality with someone else's money) would do much to solve the problem of the Balance of Payments deficit. It is this imbalance that creates the International Monetary Crisis. Rather than to attack it at its source by eliminating the imbalance, a "patch" is proposed to be added in the form of paper gold to make the crisis "wearable" another year or two. For it to go into effect, the IMF nations must agree that it is then necessary in the interest of greater international liquidity. Some nations, particularly in Europe, now claim there is too much liquidity.

One of the largest demands for gold has been made by France. French Finance Minister Michel Debre is expected to object to the "paper gold" scheme until our Balance of Payments deficit is wiped out. France wants metallic rather than pulp gold. U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler, who supports the "new gold" but doesn't want it tied in any way to the deficit, made a statement to the press that it would not be necessary to bring about a balance in order to make the plan work.

The claim is being made that in dealings between nations, trade will expand because it no longer will be dependent upon gold and dollars. Yet the plan is to value the Drawing Rights in gold, and therefore their use will still be contingent upon the faith of nations in the ability of the purchasers of their products to pay for them, eventually, in gold. Regardless of how fancy the printing, or how many optimistic claims are made for it, it is still paper of no intrinsic value. It simply starts the printing presses rolling in international affairs, and probably the result will be no different than the national inflation the printing press money has caused in the United States.

Our dollars continue to flow outward, along with our gold reserves, and an annual deficit for many years now decreased our gold supply to its lowest point. As long as this situation continues, and as long as world faith in our credit lives, there will be many countries which will see little need, or desirability, for the Special Drawing Rights.

Any loss of faith in our credit, causing a substantial demand for gold in exchange for dollars held by foreign nations would, however, certainly not be mitigated by any "paper gold" in existence. On the contrary, since the use of such a scheme is expected to enlarge the debt structure, while causing no improvement in the deficit problem, it could hasten the loss of faith and accelerate the demand of many nations for true value in metallic gold.

Gold is one of the most powerful incentives. Gold and the power it provides cause dictatorships to come into being, personal rights to be violated and civilizations to fall. Our inflation would not have progressed as it did, if it were not for the printing press money made possible by its low percentage of backing in gold. Our national debt would cause much greater concern among influential financiers, and probably would not have reached its towering height, if it were not for the "gold" represented by the interest being earned by national and international interests, which in many cases also profit from the sale of a large share of the goods paid for by the borrowed money.

As long as financial gain of those in controlling positions would be adversely affected by sound programs, we will continue to see plans similar to the "paper gold" scheme advanced as panacea for world problems. We will find such schemes generally accepted on the basis that intelligent world leaders would not be supporting them unless they were workable and beneficial.

There probably was never a dictator in history who was not intelligent, but benevolence and altruism are not virtues which must accompany high mental capacity.

Vietnam Victim Awarded Bronze Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Bronze Star has been awarded posthumously to Pfc. Robert L. Johnson, a young soldier from Baltimore who was killed in action in Vietnam.

I would like to include the following article in the RECORD in memory of Private First Class Johnson:

VIETNAM VICTIM GETS BRONZE STAR

The Bronze Star has been awarded posthumously to Pfc. Robert L. Johnson, who was killed August 1 while on reconnaissance patrol for the 1st Squadron, 10th Cavalry, in Vietnam.

A native of Baltimore, Private Johnson was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Garnie Johnson, of 3005 Georgetown road. He attended the high school divison of Baltimore Bible College, and had planned to study for the ministry when he left the Army.

Private Johnson had been in the Army for a year. In the citation, he was praised for his versatility, bravery, and professional competence.

Counterdeterrence and the ABM

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, our Secretary of Defense has recently announced the start of work on a so-called thin anti-ballistic-missile system. This is a step forward, in spite of the fact that it is only to take into account the threat of Red China. It is my feeling that something more must be done to meet the Soviet threat. In this connection, I commend the following article, entitled "Counterdeterrence and the ABM," by Prof. James D. Atkinson, of Georgetown University, which appeared in the Washington Report of the American Security Council of August 21, 1967.

The article follows:

COUNTERDETERRENCE AND THE ABM

(By Dr. James D. Atkinson)

That trenchant observer of the American scene, Will Rogers, once observed that in the field of disarmament Americans had a tendency to scrap battleships while their opponents tore up blueprints. Something of this American tendency of an almost extremist goodwill is in evidence today with reference to the question of anti-ballistic missile defense. We talk and talk in the hope that we can persuade the Soviet Union to dismantle its present anti-ballistic missile system and to refrain from going ahead with further missile defenses. The Soviets stall in the negotiations while continuing to build and deploy their ABMs.

SOVIET CAPABILITIES AND INTENTIONS

The recent study prepared by a special sub-committee of the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council entitled "The Changing Strategic Military Balance: U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R.," has stated that "the preponderance of evidence points to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is succeeding in its massive drive toward strategic military superiority . . . (and that) the year 1967 falls in a crossover period with the U.S.S.R. estimates ranging between 16,000 and 37,000 (deliverable) megatons, to equal or exceed the U.S. estimated range of between 8,000 and 29,000 (deliverable) megatons "This study, with its graphic documentation of the Soviet thrust for military-technological superiority, has received, and continues to receive, widespread attention from leading editors and authorities in both the daily and the periodical press. The New York *Times*, for example, in a front page story on July 12, 1967, stated that ". . . *the Defense Department did not directly contradict the study's findings*, but argued that deliverable megatonnage was not an accurate indicator of 'true military capability'." (Emphasis added.)

It has been argued in some quarters in the West, however, that Soviet capabilities as illustrated by the Soviet deployment of an ABM system need not be a cause for alarm since Soviet intentions are peaceful and the Cold War is, in fact, over.

But are the Soviet leaders mellowing? Unfortunately, the most recent evidence would appear to indicate that storm flags are flying in the Kremlin. Some storm signals are:

(1) The official pronouncement of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued June 25, 1967, in a summary of 50 years of Bolshevism. It stated that, "The domination of imperialism on the world scene has ended" because of the growth of Soviet military power. The statement also singled out the United States as the "main enemy" of the national liberation warfare movement and charged the state of Israel with aggression.

(2) Appointing (for the first time since Beria's execution in 1953) the Soviet secret police chief a member of the ruling Politburo. This is Yuri Andropov, whose promotion was announced June 22, 1967. Since the KGB (the Soviet secret police) have vast responsibilities for waging unconventional warfare around the world, it would appear that giving Andropov such power indicates stepped-up Cold War operations.

(3) Writing in the official Soviet Armed Forces newspaper, Red Star, on June 3, 1967, Bulgarian Minister of Defense, General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov said: "The Soviet Union has always been and *will continue to be the main political and material base of the world revolutionary process.*" (Emphasis added.) The general also went on to say that "The Soviet Union constitutes the main support of fighting Vietnam."

(4) Soviet escalation of the Vietnam war is another example of the Soviet's true intentions. Soviet shipping going into North Vietnamese ports has shown a marked increase this year over 1966. As of June 1967 the rate was eighteen per month with an additional 2 to 5 Soviet satellite ships per month. Indicative of this escalation is the Moscow Radio broadcast of July 28 which stated that Soviet ships "leave Odessa practically every day with cargoes for Vietnam."

(5) The recent hard-line in the Soviet press which continually attacks Israel, "Zionism," and the United States. In reporting this trend from Moscow, the *Washington Post* of August 8, 1967 stated that the press campaign was one which "to some senior diplomats here recall the worst days of the Cold War."

These indicators of increasingly "stormy cold war weather" indicate that Soviet strategists understand quite well that revolutionary agitation and propaganda, "peace marchers" in London and New York, guerrillas in Africa and Latin America, are techniques of conflict on a par with guided missiles and nuclear submarines. But does it follow that these same Soviet strategists are unaware of the possibilities for nuclear blackmail of the West in the event that they attain strategic military-technological superiority? Indeed, one may well ask whether the present U.S. limitations on air strikes against military targets in North Viet Nam result from the steady accretion of Soviet military-technological power?

CHINESE COMMUNIST NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT

Even if it were possible to disregard the evidence of the Soviet deployment of an ABM system or systems and the counterdeterrence which this poses to the announced U.S. policy of deterrence, it would be still more difficult to close our minds to the ominous developments in China.

The Chinese Communists exploded their first H-bomb on June 17, 1967. It was apparently a sophisticated implosion type in the two-to-seven megaton range. The complicated electronic triggering and measuring devices that would appear to have been required, in this and other nuclear tests, would be of great assistance to the Chinese in building an intercontinental missile. Since the Chinese progress in nuclear weapons development has been faster and more effective than had been anticipated by Western sources, it may be that they will also develop a nuclear ICBM delivery capability sooner than the mid-1970's, which is the time phase previously estimated by Western sources. Moreover, the Chinese *now* possess the design capability for a multimegaton thermonuclear weapon which can be delivered by aircraft.

The possibilities of the Chinese Communists exercising nuclear blackmail against Southeast Asian countries, Japan, or, indeed, against the United States are underscored in a report released August 3, 1967, by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The Committee said: "We believe that the Chinese will continue to place a high priority on thermonuclear weapons development. With continued testing we believe they will be able to develop a thermonuclear warhead in the ICBM weight class with a yield in the megaton range by about 1970. We believe that the Chinese can have an ICBM system ready for deployment in the early 1970's. On the basis of our present knowledge, we believe that the Chinese probably will achieve an operational ICBM capability before 1972. Conceivably, it could be ready as early as 1970–1971."

The Joint Committee then went on to sound a warning about the direct threat to U.S. national security posed by Chinese Communist nuclear weapons developments by pointing out that "Most significant for the United States is the fact that a low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970's. At present we do not have an effective anti-ballistic-missile system which could repel such a suicidal (for the Chinese) but nevertheless possible strike."

THE STABILIZING VALUE OF A U.S. ABM SYSTEM

In the final analysis, the value of a system of deterrence is that which the enemy *believes* about it. If the Soviets believe that the U.S. deterrent offensive force can be neutralized by their ABM systems to a point at which the Soviet war-making capability will sustain only an acceptable level of damage (and, of course, their acceptable level may be much higher than ours), then they have achieved a counter-deterrence posture which may lead them to risk—at a given crisis in international relations—a nuclear war.

Equally, if at some future point the Chinese Communists should *believe* (in the absence of a U.S. ABM system) that there is somewhat more of a "suicidal" element for the United States than for them in a nuclear war, they might, in a given confrontation, launch a surprise nuclear attack on America.

The evidence of the post-World War II period suggests that it has been the stabilizing factor of U.S. military-technological power which has prevented a general war. Today, under the impact of both the Soviet and Chinese Communist military-technological thrust, that stability appears to be threatened. Would the production and deployment of a U.S. ABM system—perhaps even on a crash basis as a clear demonstration of credibility—have a definite stabilizing value on world politics? That it might well do so is indicated by the thoughtful and carefully measured words of the Senate Appropriations Committee. In reporting on the Defense Department Appropriation Bill for fiscal 1968 (August 4, 1967), the Committee said: "It is the view of the Committee that the deployment of the NIKE–X antiballistic missile system should be initiated immediately, and the Committee urges the executive branch of the Government to take action accordingly."

Address by Hon. Paul A. Fino in Support of Our Boys in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of this House an address given by our colleague, the Honorable Paul A. Fino, at the conclusion of the October 22 Bronx War Veterans rally in support of our boys in Vietnam. Mr. Fino's speech, which was extremely well received, puts Vietniks, beatniks, and their political allies in exactly the right perspective. We need more of these rallies and more men like Paul Fino to support them. The voice of patriotism is so rarely heard these days that I agree with my colleague our men in Vietnam must know that the vast majority of Americans have not abandoned them. We do support them 100 percent. Mr. Fino's remarks follow:

Address by Congressman Paul A. Fino

Mr. Chairman, Admiral Clark, Reverend Clergy, Distinguished Guests and Fellow Americans:

At the outset, let me say that I am proud to be here today and privileged to participate in these patriotic ceremonies.

Whether we agree or disagree with our tactics and policy in Vietnam is unimportant and immaterial. The essential thing to remember is that our American boys are fighting and dying over there, fulfilling their duty to their country, and it is our great obligation to give our fighting men all the material and moral support they need. They must know that their sacrifice is important and that it is appreciated and that we stand behind them 100%.

I cannot think of anything that makes me more ashamed than the actions of some high officials of our land who shun patriotic parades to meet with Soviet poets; who shun flag-raisings but applaud flag-burnings; and who mock the sacrifices of our young men in Vietnam while prancing around with hippies and peace-niks.

I cannot think of anything that disturbs me more than the persistent attempts by this Administration to build trade bridges with the Soviet bloc while we are engaged in a brutal conflict in Vietnam in which Red Russia is supplying our enemies with massive arms, weapons, ammunition and equipment.

I cannot think of anything that bothers me more than the demands of some of our politicians who urge that we reduce support of our boys in Vietnam so that priority can be given to domestic needs.

I cannot think of anything that makes my blood boil more than the actions of our city brass who justify the presence of ex-communists in our poverty program and identify them as "distinguished public servants."

I cannot stand here today and say that our involvement in Vietnam is the height of wisdom, because, like General MacArthur, I believe that it was a mistake for the United States to get involved in an Asian land war but I say to you that since we are heavily involved and committed in Vietnam we have an obligation to support our fighting men over there. We have an obligation to keep the flag-burners, the Vietniks, the draft-card burners, the peaceniks and the hippy-coddling politicians from stabbing our fighting men in the back.

The purpose of these ceremonies is to show the world that we, in America, will not ignore the valor and sacrifice of our boys in battle.

We want the whole world to know that we will give our fighting men all the material support they need.

We want the whole world to know that our moral support is total.

We want our fighting men in Vietnam to know that their sacrifice is important and that it is appreciated. It is our duty as Americans to give them our fullest and complete support. That is what we pledge here today.

The Kee Report: Panama Canal Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report."

The subject discussed in this report is the proposed new treaty with Panama, governing the canal. The report follows:

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

I believe the American people take pride in the fact that building the Panama Canal was one of the greatest engineering feats in history. Every school boy knows that the primary purpose in building this waterway was to shorten the distance between the Atlantic and Pacific and thus, help both our commerce and our national defense.

This marine highway has now been open to ocean traffic a little more than half a century. During this time, which included two world wars, the canal has proved its usefulness in a substantial way. Although American cargo comprises the bulk of canal traffic, the ships of foreign nations pay the same tolls as our own. This has been helpful to the maritime nations and also to the countries of South America, because much of their import and export traffic passes through the canal.

Because canal traffic is expanding at a rapid rate, experts predict that another deep-sea channel between the two oceans will be urgently needed before too long. In fact, the need is so apparent that a Federal commission is now studying the project.

Meanwhile, the Republic of Panama has complained so loud and so long, that a new treaty has been prepared governing the operation of the canal. While this new treaty is still unpublished here, its terms have been freely discussed in Panama. Several radical changes are in the making, including dual operation of the canal and much higher payments to Panama to be paid for by increased tolls. I have no wish to prejudge this agreement, but experts are warning that a heavy boost in canal tolls could hit some American industries very hard, including the coal industry of West Virginia. In recent years, the industry has enjoyed a growing export business, helped in large part by the low carrying charges of ocean going vessels. Thus, coal from our West Virginia fields is transported by rail to the Eastern Seaboard, and thence by ship through the canal to Japan.

If canal tolls are revised upward to the extent now contemplated by Panama, the coal export trade to Japan would simply disappear. For the same reason, other American industries would be hard hit.

Advocates of the treaty assert that the annual payment to Panama of a little less than two millions of dollars is unrealistic in this age of inflation. This may be true, but it should be borne in mind that other business generated by the canal adds about 100 millions each year to the Panamanian economy.

In like manner, the proposal for dual operation of the canal should be carefully studied. Sabotage could put this vital waterway out of operation at a time of great peril to the United States. Panama has a large and active Communist party. In the light of these facts, the surest and safest guaranty of canal safety is for the Army Engineers to maintain complete control over canal personnel at all times.

The Government of Panama naturally wishes to get the best financial terms it can in payment for canal zone rights. But the American people likewise have vital rights which must be protected.

Because a mistake could be disastrous, the new treaty should be thoroughly explored before final action is taken.

Thank you for listening.

New Data for the Bureaucrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker—

The problem of the schools in Chicago and other large northern cities is not how to promote integration. The problem is how to prevent, or even to slow, resegregation of integrated schools into all Negro schools. When there are no white children, integration is impossible.

This statement from an editorial appearing in the Chicago Tribune of October 25, 1967, is so obvious that it hardly requires elaboration. We can only hope that officials in the Office of Education consider this problem in formulating their future policies. I included the editorial from the Chicago Tribune at this point in the RECORD:

NEW DATA FOR THE BUREAUCRATS

Federal government officials, who have been pushing Chicago to lessen racial segregation in the public schools, should take note of the latest racial count of the pupils in those schools. The count showed that the percentage of Negro pupils increased from 50.9 to 52.3 in the last year. The percentage of white pupils dropped from 46.6 to 41.5. The remainder were classified as Puerto Rican and "others."

The biggest racial shifts during the year were in the schools of the south shore and Austin neighborhoods. In district 22, which includes south shore, the percentage of Negro pupils rose from 53 to 58.3 per cent. In district 4, which includes Austin and the far northwest side, the percentage of Negroes increased from 10 to 18.1.

The changes in several elementary schools do little to support the theory that white families will stay in a changing neighborhood if the schools are of high quality. Bryn Mawr and Mann schools, in the south shore area, have been recognized as outstanding. In 1963 they had fewer than 50 Negro pupils each. Now Bryn Mawr has 1,005 Negroes, or 77.2 percent of enrollment. Mann has 858 Negroes, or 74.3 per cent.

Supt. of Schools James F. Redmond issued a report last July in an attempt to satisfy demands of federal officials for more "integration." He proposed that pupils be transported at public expense from schools in fringe areas to distant schools for the purpose of stabilizing racial proportions. The Redmond recommendations have been praised by Harold Howe II, United States commissioner of education, and Peter Libassi, director of the civil rights office of the department of health, education, and welfare.

One of the schools being considered in the proposed stabilization program was the Cook elementary school, 8150 Bishop st., which last year had 764 Negro pupils, or 75.6 per cent of enrollment. The plan was to maintain this percentage by busing some Negro pupils elsewhere. The racial count this year, however, shows that the number of Negro pupils already has risen to 1,549, or 95.9 per cent. It is unrealistic to suppose that this trend can be changed.

A report on the Chicago schools last year by the federal office of education suggested that redrawing school boundaries would do much to promote "integration." The racial counts of pupils do not support this theory. Calumet High school was 21.3 per cent Negro in 1963. The percentage rose to 60.7 in 1964, to 65 per cent in 1965, to 83.6 per cent in 1966, and to 95.2 per cent this year.

The trend is in the opposite direction only in extraordinary circumstances. One exception this year was Kenwood High school, 4959 Blackstone av., which increased its percentage of white students from 17 to 25.6 percent. This change is explained by the opening of the new Lutheran School of Theology, which brought about 500 families to the area, and by the University of Chicago's purchase of several apartment buildings for student housing.

The problem of the schools in Chicago and other large northern cities is not how to promote integration. The problem is how to prevent, or even to slow, resegregation of integrated schools into all-Negro schools. When there are no white children, integration is impossible.

When these hard, uncomfortable facts are understood in Washington, maybe the federal burocrats will get off the necks of Chicago school officials and permit them to proceed with plans within the range of possibility. The first emphasis should be upon improving the quality of all schools in underprivileged neighborhoods so that pupils in the schools will have a chance to get jobs.

New High in Iowa College Enrollment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently I reintroduced the Iowa plan for growth and progress in higher education, a tax credit plan for the costs of higher education.

The need for assistance to college students and their families to help finance their education is demonstrated by the steadily increasing number of college students.

This year there are 96,058 students enrolled in Iowa colleges and universities. Help is needed for these students. The Iowa plan provides such help.

Below is a newspaper story which appeared in the October 20 issue of the Iowa City Press-Citizen regarding the college student population in Iowa:

SOME 96,058 NOW ENROLLED IN IOWA COLLEGES

Enrollment in the colleges and universities of Iowa rose to a new high this fall, with 96,058 students on the campuses, but there was a slight leveling off in the rate of the increase compared with recent years, according to a report made today to Iowa college presidents.

Public and private junior colleges continued to make a strong showing as the collegiate starting point for more and more students as both public and private sectors showed enrollment increases of 12.2 per cent.

The state-supported universities had an increase of 8.4 per cent over 1966. Twenty-eight of Iowa's 29 private colleges and universities had a collective enrollment increase of 1.4 per cent, but a decline of nearly 3,000 students at the 29th institution, Parsons College, made a net enrollment decrease of 6 per cent for the private colleges taken as a whole.

Enrollment trends in Iowa institutions of higher education are revealed in a report prepared at the University of Iowa for the Association of Iowa College and University Presidents, currently headed by Ernest Nielsen, president of Grand View College, a private junior college in Des Moines.

This fall's total enrollment throughout the state—which includes three new colleges—is 2.9 per cent greater than last year's total of 93,324 the report said. The new schools are the public Area 10 Community College at Cedar Rapids; Charles City College, Charles City, and Sioux Empire College, Hawarden, both private junior colleges.

Commenting on the enrollment trends, President Nielsen said:

"The increase in enrollment is significant in terms of the recognized need for extending the opportunity for higher education. It is reasonable to expect that growth in student population may taper off at some future date unless we can anticipate a continuing increase in the number of students from other more populated states. The presence of students from other states in our institutions is, of course, a most commendable feature of our system of higher education, which permits this flow of students from one state to another in pursuit of education."

The public junior colleges enrolled 7,346 freshmen this fall, an increase of 17.9 per cent, while private JC's have 1,826 freshmen, up 18.5 per cent over last year. In total enrollment, public junior colleges gained by 12.2 per cent to 11,900, while the private junior colleges also gained 12.2 per cent to 3,580.

Private colleges, excluding Parsons, gained 1.4 per cent in total enrollment and now enroll 34,174 students. Including Parsons, the private college total is 36,505 compared with 38,855 in 1966. The private colleges enrolled 6 per cent fewer freshmen this fall, from 10,098 to 9,494. The state-supported schools—the University of Iowa, Iowa State University and the University of Northern Iowa,—increased in enrollment by 8.4 per cent to 43,739, and have 7,906 freshmen.

This fall 45.5 per cent of all college students in Iowa are at the state-supported institutions, compared with 43.2 per cent in 1966. The private colleges and universities have 38 per cent, the professional and technical colleges have .3 of a per cent, the public junior colleges have 12.4 per cent, and the private junior colleges have 3.7 per cent.

Current enrollment in private four-year colleges is 38,855, compared with 36,505 last fall. By college, enrollments this fall, with 1966 totals in parentheses, are:

Briar Cliff, 1,072 (928); Buena Vista, 951 (993); Central, 1,148 (1,004); Clarke, 1,098 (1,206); Coe, 1,083 (1,034); Cornell, 983 (996); Divine Word, 187 (216); Dordt, 693

(607); Drake, 7,310 (7,245); Graceland, 1,165 (1,113); Grinnell, 1,191 (1,203); Iowa Wesleyan, 937 (935); Loras, 1,624 (1,618); Luther, 2,000 (1,844).

Marycrest, 1,166 (1,060); Midwestern, 791 (1,040); Morningside, 1,368 (1,399); Mount Mercy 651 (635); Northwestern, 707 (676); Parsons, 2,331 (5,141); St. Ambrose, 1,435 (1,446); Simpson, 943 (910); University of Debuque, 829 (821); Upper Iowa, 1,089 (1,054); Vennard, 168 (137); Wartburg, 1,360 (1,387); Wartburg Theological Seminary, 168 (182); Westmar, 1,040 (1,042); and William Penn, 1,026 (983).

Clemson's Frank Howard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Frank Howard, head football coach and athletic director at Clemson University, is the dean of American college football coaches. Coach Howard came to Clemson in 1931, served as line coach and became head coach in 1940 when the great Jess Neely left Clemson to become head coach at Rice. Coach Howard is in his 37th year of continuous coaching and his 28th year as head coach.

Jesse Neely and Frank Howard last coached together in 1940 when they defeated Frank Leahy's Boston College Eagles in the Cotton Bowl in Dallas, Tex., on January 1, 1940.

Frank Howard, while playing for the Alabama Crimson Tide became the idol of southern schoolboys as the "little giant." Howard was a guard on the renowned Alabama team that crushed Washington State 24 to 0 in the Rose Bowl on January 1, 1931.

Frank Howard, for more than a generation, has devoted his great talents to developing leadership, character, and courage in thousands of young men. He is dedicated and devoted to and has confidence in the youth of our country. I have seen "his boys" on the gridirons of the Nation as pro players, high school, junior college, and college football coaches. They typify good sportsmanship, courtesy, and good manners. I have seen his men on the battlefields of Europe, the hills of Korea, and in the jungles of Vietnam. They have brought honor to Clemson and to the United States in the cause of freedom and human dignity.

Mr. Speaker, may I again remind my colleagues that Clemson University had more officers serving in our Nation's Armed Forces during World War II than any other college or university in the United States except Texas A. & M. During the Vietnam war ROTC commissions have doubled at Clemson. The Senate at Clemson has adopted a resolution supporting our policy to oppose Red terror and aggression in South Vietnam.

Clemson University is located on the old plantation of John C. Calhoun, who served in this House with honor and distinction as a "war hawk" during the War of 1812. The Calhoun Mansion, in the heart of the campus, is magnificently maintained as one of the outstanding American shrines.

The esprit de corps and spirit at Clemson is famous throughout the Nation—even equal to that of Notre Dame and West Point.

We are especially proud of the dynamic president of Clemson University, Dr. Robert C. Edwards, who serves on the advisory committee of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Army.

This Saturday in "Death Valley" at Clemson, Frank Howard will near his 400th football game when he plays an old fellow alumnus and friend Bear Bryant and his Alabama Crimson Tide. Before this game I salute my friend, Frank Howard, the dean of America's coaches, and wish him well.

Mr. Speaker, the following column by Jim Anderson appeared in the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., just before Howard's Clemson Tigers defeated Duke University last Saturday. I commend this excellent column to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the youth of America:

HOWARD AS FOOTBALL COACH?

"What do you think of Frank Howard as a football coach?"

This question has been asked often—especially of late. This seems the time to answer publicly. This is written before Saturday's Duke-Clemson game. It's an opinion—win or lose this week or any week.

What do I think of Frank Howard as a football coach?

A man of loyalty who teaches loyalties . . . . . A buffoon at times but also a country gentleman . . . . . Of unquestioned honesty . . . . . One of the rare coaches who punctures "high pressure tactics" and who deflates "rigid organization."

A man who keeps the fun in football . . . . . A public relations expert for humor and good copy . . . . . Whose very name draws a smile from any college or high school coach in the land . . . . . And whose name is known throughout the U.S.

Frank has 45 years invested in playing and coaching football . . . . . But always the student of the game . . . . . Connected with almost 400 football games in his four decades . . . . . Emotional about almost every one of them . . . . . He's seen every play there is—every way it can be run.

He knows the abilities of each player on the squad, although he might not always remember his name . . . . . "All they are to me are numbers, or something," he says . . . . . A bit of psychologist who knows what to say to different boys . . . . . "Son, you're standing so still until if I poured water on you, you'd grow."

HAVE WELL-COACHED LOOK

Howard is as unusual as a soda fountain in the Sahara Desert (because he was weathered 37 years at the same place while in a business where job security is as thin as this sheet of paper . . . The longest tenure of any coach in the nation.

Highly in demand as speaker . . . "I use'ta be dumb. I wuz speaking for nuthin' before I found out other coaches who couldn't speak were getting paid." . . . Sharp as a needlepoint in retort. Many other coaches have shied away from an exchange of words with him.

Tiger teams always give the look of being well-coached. They make few mistakes . . . Some other nationally known coaches respect Howard's football knowledge so greatly until they often telephone him on Sundays to get corrections for miscues the previous day . . . He constantly lives football. Says it's exciting. "It takes so many adjustments on defense, and I love it."

Secrecy is taboo with him . . ."I had one of them practices several years ago," he can say. "Day before the big one with South Carolina and I lost that game. Taught me a lesson."

THINKS BIG AND IS BIG

Howard is a topflight football coach whose successor will have to be paid more in 10 years than Frank has made in 20 . . . . But retirement is a dirty word to him . . . . "Shore, I'm gonna retire. When I'm 65."

The big stadium, the big crowds, the big schedule, the big squad, everything BIG connected with the Clemson program has been built by the man called The Baron of Barlow Bend, the Ringmaster of the Tiger Act, the Wagon Master of Death Valley . . . . "Buddy, we always think big. We ain't gonna get anything if we don't think big."

Game postmortems have seen him outspoken on the merits of players, but never critical of individuals after defeat . . . . He shows hurt in defeat but speaks softly . . . . He shows happiness in victory and speaks salty . . . . A heart bigger than his stomach, he can cry.

Frank has been the high road and low. The bowl years and the losing years. He's heard grumbling from alumni and followers. Known the excitement of the Gator, Orange, Sugar and Bluebonnet bowls. Coached in the East-West and Blue-Gray games. Conducted clinics in many states and also Europe . . . . "One year they tried to fire me. The next year they gave me a new car."

When the history of Clemson football is someday written, there will be mention of John Heisman and Bob Williams and E. A. Donahue and Josh Cody and Jess Neely, but the big portion will be about Howard . . . . And someday Frank will get his wish:

"I love this place. I've got a spot already picked out where I want 'em to put me when I die—up there on that ole hill near the stadium.

"I want to be there so I can hear all them people cheering my Tigers on Saturdays and where I can smell that chewing tobacco in every corner of the stadium. Then I won't have to go to Heaven. I'll already be there."

The Gallup Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note that 46 percent of the citizens polled feel that the United States made a mistake in sending troops to fight in Vietnam.

It is even more interesting to note that 70 percent of those polled believe that the Johnson administration is not telling the citizens all they should know about the war in Vietnam.

Fifty-seven percent of the American people also feel that the United States should not intervene in situations like that in Vietnam if they occur in other parts of the world.

To substantiate these facts, I include the article taken from this morning's Washington Post:

Forty-Six Percent Now Feel Vietnam War Is Mistake

(By George Gallup)

Princeton, N.J., October 24.—Disillusionment with the Vietnam war continues to grow. Two years ago, in August, 1965, 24 per cent said that it was a mistake to have become involved in Vietnam. Now nearly twice as many, 46 per cent, hold this opinion.

This shift in sentiment, representing an estimated 25 million Americans since August, 1965, has been particularly marked in recent months. The proportion saying it was a mistake to send troops has climbed from 32 per cent in February, to 37 per cent in May, to 41 per cent in July, and finally to 46 per cent today.

This is one of many findings that came out of a study of the public's views on this issue. Attitudes were gauged by means of Nation-wide surveys and by interviews in depth in the Gallup Poll's opinion laboratory in Hopewell, N.J.

A second report will deal with the public's views on six specific plans that have been proposed for dealing with the Vietnam conflict. The third and final report in the series will present the results of surveys taken in other nations of the world.

A key question—and one that proved most indicative in the Korean war—is the question of whether we made the right decision to get involved with troops in Vietnam.

This question was asked in the latest survey and in eight earlier surveys since August, 1965:

"In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Vietnam, do you think the U.S. made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?"

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No opinion
Latest	46	44	10
July	41	48	11
May	37	50	13
February 1967	32	52	16
November 1966	31	51	18
September 1966	35	48	17
May 1966	36	49	15
March 1966	25	59	16
August 1965	24	61	15

President Johnson and supporters of the present effort have emphasized that one of the chief reasons for our presence in South Vietnam is to head off World War III. But today as many people think it may start World War III as think it will prevent another world war.

The question and results:

"Some people say that the war in Vietnam may prevent World War III. Others say it may start World War III. With which group are you more inclined to agree?

	Percent
May prevent	40
May start	40
No opinion	20

A natural consequence of the questioning attitude of many Americans today is the feeling that they have not been let in on the whole story of Vietnam. In the most recent survey, 70 per cent think the Administration has not told the public all they should know about Vietnam.

The following question was asked:

"Do you think the Johnson Administration is or is not telling the public all they should know about the Vietnam war?"

[In percent]

	Latest	March
Administration is telling public facts	21	24
Is not	70	65
No opinion	9	11

From the very beginning of the war, those interviewed have expressed doubts and reservations about its outcome and have expected a compromise as in the case of Korea rather than a military victory.

Widespread doubts have existed as to whether South Vietnam can develop a strong enough government to withstand Communist pressures. At the same time the weight of sentiment has always been that Communist China would send in "volunteers" as it did in the Korean war, if North Vietnam shows signs of collapsing.

In the latest survey people again reveal their gloomy attitudes about the war. Fifty-seven per cent say we should not send troops if a situation like Vietnam were to arise in another part of the world.

The question and results:

"If a situation like Vietnam were to develop in another part of the world, do you think the U.S. should or should not send troops?"

	Percent
Should	28
Should not	57
No opinion	15

The Importance of Free Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, two recent editorials from daily newspapers in my district, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, take an enlightened approach toward the debate over liberal trade agreements versus protectionism. I hope every Member will heed the arguments in the editorials—the first from the Star, the second from the Tribune—which follow:

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Star, Oct. 18, 1967]

Asking for a Tariff War

With powerful support in Congress, protectionists are mounting a full-scale battle in the Senate this week to limit imports that compete with American products. If successful, they could wipe out many of the gains made in the Kennedy Round of tariff-cutting negotiations earlier this year.

Some of the nation's biggest industries—steel, chemicals, textiles, etc.—are involved in the attempt to impose import quotas on foreign goods. The protectionists, claiming they will be "irreparably" injured if the tariff gates are lowered, have formed inter-industry alliances and have recruited such potent spokesmen as John T. Connor, former secretary of commerce. Connor, who once sought to expand this nation's markets abroad, is now—as president of Allied Chemical Corp.—taking an opposite tack, one that would close many of these markets.

This is a narrow view, one that was appropriate a century ago when our "infant" industries needed protection from the goods exported by industrial giants in England and Germany. Our industries have long outgrown the infancy stage, and are now among the most sophisticated in the world. To raise trade barriers against competing imports would be a dangerous step backward for this nation's economy and balance of payments.

Just how dangerous it would be is clearly indicated by threats of retaliation against our products from Japan and the European Common Market countries. This kind of "tit for tat" protectionism could start a new tariff war that would prove especially damaging to American agriculture and many other industries. It could also drive a further wedge into our political and military relationships with many of our allies.

Since 1934, this country has tried to encourage freer trade among nations. If the bills now before the Senate Finance Committee are permitted to become law, it would mean a repudiation of the efforts of five administrations.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Oct. 22, 1967]

Echoes of the Smoot-Hawley Tariffs

This week the Senate Finance Committee will expose itself to salvos from some of the heaviest industrial artillery in the United States. Manning the guns will be spokesmen for textile, steel, meat, oil and other industries which share the problem of competing with imports. Their purpose is to beat down the administration's opposition to legislative proposals which would establish more restrictive quotas and raise tariff barriers.

Congressional proponents of such measures use poignant arguments. "It is time someone began to show a little concern for our own people," said Louisiana Sen. Russell Long. Minnesota Rep. Odin Langen has complained of the "glut of foreign imports" which depresses prices for this state's mink ranchers, and Rep. John Zwach has pointed to the injustice of competition from Western European canned hams.

The irony in the pleas for protection is twofold. First, the United States has a favorable balance of trade; that is, it sells abroad more than it imports, at a differential of about $4 billion a year. The restrictions proposed are estimated to cut or drastically reduce imports in an amount approaching that trade surplus figure, effectively obliterating the mutual concessions gained in the Kennedy Round negotiations last summer.

Second, protectionism is not a one-way street. Japan and the Common Market countries can be expected to reciprocate should the United States resurrect the kind of trade restrictions now under consideration.

And even being tolerant of the misnomer in the principal bill's title—"The Orderly Trade Act of 1967"—it is difficult to accept the logic of Sen. Everett Dirksen, who proposed that the quota package be attached as a rider to the social security bill, thus making it less susceptible to presidential veto.

We think that most Minnesotans recognize the benefits of freer trade, and we urge the state's congressional delegation to make their votes and voices heard in support of that principle.

An Intern's Tribute to His Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I have long been a strong supporter of the student intern programs through which interested young men and women from all parts of the country are given an opportunity to work in congressional offices and learn firsthand how the legislative branch really operates. I have found this program to be immensely valuable, not only to the students themselves, but also to the Members of Congress who have the benefit of the students' work and their observations on our problems and procedures.

An excellent example of the rewards of the intern experience appeared recently in the Williams Record, the school newspaper of Williams College. This article "Silvio O. Conte: Williams' Congressman," was written by Larry Levien, the paper's associate editor, who spent the past summer as an intern in the office of my good friend, Silvio Conte. Mr. Levien's essay presents his general impressions of the Congress and his own observations and conclusions about his summer employer. His article both demonstrates how much a student can learn in Washington, and stands as a tribute to the outstanding job being done by Mr. Conte, who has served the First Congressional District of Massachusetts for 9 years, and has spent a total of 17 years in public office.

As Mr. Levien concluded, Mr. Conte's strength as a legislator "lies in a fierce determination to discover the right way to govern the United States and in his refusal to compromise once convinced he is right."

I include this article in the Record:

Silvio O. Conte: Williams' Congressman

(By Larry Levien)

Every member of the United States House of Representatives works in a government office building in Washington. Just about every Congressman has special, low-number license plates for his 1967, soon to be 1968, automobile.

An office, a license plate, and a perennially new car, however, is about all that is common to the entire body of 435 United States Representatives.

More than a few Congressmen are lazy, terribly lax in their jobs, and still confident of re-election because of their "safe" Congressional districts.

Many Representatives, on the other hand, are hard-working, putting in a 10 to 12 hour day at least five days a week. Silvio O. Conte, Representative for the western third of Massachusetts including such college towns as Northampton, Amherst, and Williamstown, is one such Congressman.

To off-handedly label Silvio Conte a hardworker, however, does a great injustice to a man who has served with distinction in Congress since 1959. (Mr. Conte defeated Political Science Prof. James MacGregor Burns '39 in 1958). A Republican by party and a liberal by nature. Mr. Conte is not only considered a hardworker but also a man who will stand firm in his beliefs despite any political consequences.

Silvio Conte is neither an eloquent speaker nor an immediately overpowering individual. His strength as a legislator lies in a fierce determination to discover the right way to govern the United States and in his refusal to compromise once convinced he is right.

Because of this determination and because of his physical stature, (Mr. Conte sometimes gives the appearance of being as broad as he is tall) he has been compared to the fiery former New York Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia.

The "Conte personality" is general knowledge in Washington, but is based upon two main incidents. The first such episode centered around President Johnson's 1964 Foreign Aid Bill. House Minority Leader Charles Halleck of Indiana insisted that all Republicans vote a $515 million cut in the bill as a matter of party loyalty. Mr. Conte voted for the Administration Bill as originally drafted. He was the only Republican Appropriations Committee member to do so.

One of his angered colleagues instructed Mr. Conte to "go over there on the Democratic side and sit with them as long as you're voting with them."

The other touchy incident which scalded the Republican leadership occurred in the summer of 1964 at the Republican National Convention. Sorely outnumbered, Mr. Conte grappled with the Barry Goldwater forces for a more liberal Republican platform.

Obviously losing the battle, Rep. Conte gained national prominence for his actions in San Francisco. He also happened to incur a one million dollar damage suit from two irate members of the John Birch Society who claimed slander.

In speaking about the San Francisco fiasco, Mr. Conte simply noted that he jumped up seven places in rank on the Republican side of the Appropriations Committee after the November debacle. He is currently the senior Republican member of two subcommittees, although House rules prohibit him from assuming the ranking minority position on more than one subcommittee.

These particular incidents typify Silvio Conte. He remains a Republican because he received his political start as a Republican. He feels a debt to the party, dislikes having to sometimes vote against it, and honestly believes that Republicans in general could do a far better job of running the country than Democrats.

Unlike the Republican leadership, however, (Gerald Ford and Melvin Laird in particular) Mr. Conte holds no pretensions about Republican infallibility. His speeches and personal conversations avoid party jingoism and seek to explain and explore rather than expose.

Mr. Conte grew up during the Depression. Unable to attend college after graduation, he attended vocation school in Pittsfield. With the advent of World War II, Mr. Conte joined the Navy and served in the Pacific theater.

His first political stirrings, Mr. Conte states, came during the war. He became disillusioned with the government and decided he wanted to "go back home and straighten out the world."

Taking advantage of the G.I. Bill, Mr. Conte entered Boston College, his income supplemented by a football scholarship, and went on to receive a law degree—all by 1949.

With his own "75 per cent-Republican, 25 per cent-Democrat" campaign organization—his own because he could not get an official endorsement from either political party—Mr. Conte ran and was elected to the state Senate at age 29 in 1950.

Mr. Conte's political apprenticeship in the state Senate perhaps should have served as a warning to the dogmatic Republicans in the United States House of Representatives. In his first state Senate legislative action, Mr. Conte became embroiled with the then Senate majority leader. The issue: why a man's conscience should dictate in the way he voted.

With six years in the state Senate and 10 in Congress, Silvio Conte has been voting his conscience for almost two decades.

In 1962 he received 74.4 per cent of his district's votes, one of the country's highest percentages for opposed candidates. In 1964, the year of the Goldwater debacle, Mr. Conte received not only the Republican nomination but the Democratic nomination as well. It is highly unlikely that there exists anyone in western Massachusetts who can beat him.

Unless some bizarre event or ill health forces Mr. Conte to give up his political career, there exists no reason why he should not continue to vote his conscience for another two decades.

Assuming then that Silvio Conte remains in the House of Representatives it is almost inevitable that he will someday become either ranking Republican member or chairman (if the Republicans should control the House) of the powerful Appropriations Committee. (The Appropriations Committee demands so much time that House rules forbid Appropriations Committee members from serving on any other permanent committee).

It would be unnatural, on the other hand, for Mr. Conte to be wholly satisfied with his present status, or even the certainty of his future status as a member of the House of Representatives.

Despite 10 years of accumulated seniority, Mr. Conte has still not been in Congress long enough to wield much power. That "someday" when he assumes control of Appropriations is at least another 10 years away, maybe 15. One wonders whether Silvio Conte is willing to wait that long.

Although he has never mentioned it publicly, it is safe to assume that Mr. Conte wants to run for the Senate. But when? Edward Brooke is a Republican, and Mr. Conte cannot buck the party to the point of opposing Brooke in 1972. Sen. Edward Kennedy, who comes up for reelection in 1970, is considered as unbeatable statewide as Mr. Conte is in his own district.

The governor's chair, now occupied by John Volpe, also a Republican, is another possibility for 1970. Mr. Conte, however, seems to show a preference for the legislative branch of government. And unless Volpe successfully wins both the nomination and the election for vice president in 1968, there is no reason to expect him to vacate the governor's mansion in Boston.

Thus Silvio Conte is wedged in. The best he can hope for is a Senate campaign in 1972, assuming either Teddy Kennedy or Edward Brooke are in some way connected with the national ticket.

But 1972 is a long time off. By then Mr. Conte just might not want to leave the House, for he would probably have more power in his status as a House member than as a freshman Senator. In addition, the "someday" of real power would be in the close future.

Realizing Silvio Conte's political position, his personal actions in Washington become even more admirable. Regardless of what he does, he will remain a fixture in the House for at least another seven years. He does not have to work so hard. His future is both assured and limited. There literally is no place to go.

Yet a stint in Silvio Conte's office should convince even the most cynical college intern that Mr. Conte is first a representative of his district interested in insuring their welfare and secondly a political figure with a natural amount of personal ambition.

Every single visitor to Mr. Conte's office is given a personal tour around the Hill by a member of Conte's office staff. This task is by no means necessary: guide agencies swarm all over the Hill, and the Capitol offers its own special tour.

Mr. Conte believes, however, that every constituent who makes the trip to Washington, and then to his office in the Cannon Office Building, deserves more than a standard glimpse at the activities of government. This principle is obviously also good politics.

His office proper is a repository for Western Massachusetts products, the latest addition being a miniature generator donated by the Pittsfield General Electric Co.

Beyond making sure that every visitor is looked after personally while in Washington, Mr. Conte makes it a practice to answer every letter that falls into his office. While the Congressman clearly does not have the time to write any of these letters—some of which are as inconsequential as a Christmas greeting—he reads and signs every reply.

Most Congressmen have long abandoned this process to an ingenious little device known as the "automatic signer," or "the hand." Mr. Conte's regular mailing list, which his interns unfortunately learned far too well, is one of the largest in the House. It covers approximately 75,000 families throughout the district.

Mr. Conte's devotion to his job and his sincerity in handling it are somewhat contagious. His staff, led by a female administrative assistant and a wry but brilliant legal assistant Fred Wortheimer, puts in a work week as long as the Congressman's.

Every Saturday morning, a time when most offices are closed, at least one staff member makes it a point to be in the office to open the mail. According to the staff, this extra duty accomplishes two purposes: it makes Monday's job a little easier and thus releases the staff for more important duties, and secondly, it allows for the immediate disposal of any urgent problems.

This kind of sincerity and devotion by both Mr. Conte and his staff are essential qualities for running a "good" Congressional office. Unhappily neither Mr. Conte's honesty nor his staff's devotion and good intent can make a perfect Congressional office nor a perfect Congresman. And Silvio Conte, though he may be one of the best, is far from perfect.

Vietnam is a fine example of how inconsequential sincerity and honesty can be in the frustrating world of Washington's political and intellectual merry-go-round.

Like many other Congressmen, Mr. Conte is horrified by the war, horrified by the way the President is conducting the war, and at the same time extremely slow to produce constructive solutions. In fact Silvio Conte appears just as confused, if not more confused, about Vietnam as any undergraduate on the Williams campus.

The Congressman's mail on Vietnam is much more hawkish than dovish, and Mr. Conte himself has always been inclined to intensify the war and get it over with. Last summer, however, he began to advocate an end to bombing North Vietnam and advanced the idea of sealing South Vietnam through electronic devices.

The "barricade" idea is certainly not unique with Silvio Conte, and will probably not be effective anyway. For a barricade almost presupposes that North Vietnam is waging the bulk of the war. Once North materials, the argument goes, the war will be stopped in the South.

As he was once a military man himself, it is not unreasonable for Mr. Conte to have a great deal of sympathy with the military's main arguments—for instance his former sanctioning of the bombing.

The main grounds for criticizing his entire Vietnam policy, however, is that he still seems to be looking at Vietnam as primarily a military problem and only secondarily as a social and political one.

Since Mr. Conte's Vietnam views have already undergone some change, there is no reason to believe he could not change his mind again.

Here his honesty, both to himself and his constituents, again becomes meaningful. For if Mr. Conte ever were to decide his position on Vietnam was not what he considered best for the country, he would not hesitate to change that position. He would not stay tied to a political position or any new party line. As always, he would be tied to what he considered the "best" position.

If Vietnam is Mr. Conte's present Achilles heel, his stance on the crucial domestic issues of this summer is his forte, at least from a liberal viewpoint. It was Mr. Conte who made the House motion to recommit the Anti-Riot Bill, a measure which if passed would have effectively killed this piece of legislation. Strongly outvoted by his colleagues, Mr. Conte still maintains the bill borders on the ludicrous.

Silvio Conte certainly deserves recognition for his stand against this reactionary legislating. He should be applauded, however, not for a single vote against a single bill but for his continuing leadership in the struggle to obtain education for America's underprivileged minorities.

Along with several prominent educators in Western Massachusetts, including Dr. Howard Jones of the Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools, Mr. Conte is responsible for securing federal funds for both ABC (A Better Chance) and ISTSP (Independent Schools Talent Search Program).

Both of these programs take culturally impoverished children out of the ghetto and seek to provide them with an education, that they in turn may someday supply the ghetto communities with intelligent and responsible leadership.

In the past several years Mr. Conte has helped secure several million dollars in federal aid for these programs. He has also supported federal programs designed to remedy ghetto conditions in all their multitudinous facets.

In brief, Mr. Conte is aware of the domestic challenges that will face America in the future, and is prepared to meet these challenges not with outdated methods, but with new weapons.

In addition, he doesn't drive a 1967 car, which is sort of interesting all by itself.

Religion, Relevance, and Reality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the following inspiring remarks were made by the distinguished leader of Hollywood Temple Beth El, Rabbi Joseph H. Wagner. His comments are particularly suited to today's problems and can help us in understanding these difficulties and being prepared to face them.

The remarks follow:

RELIGION, RELEVANCE, AND REALITY

(By Rabbi Joseph H. Wagner)

My thought for this morning is not the 3 R's of general education: reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic. In announcing a title, I had in mind three key words which will serve as the framework for what I want to say today. My three R's are: "Religion, Relevance, and Reality."

The major problem of religion, that is organized religion, as I see it, is its infrequent ability to function *within the framework of relevance and realism.*

Organized religion has only too often stood in the way of man's search for truth. Galileo was forced to confess publicly his error in a scientific discovery—although that discovery was true, correct and monumental. Spinoza was excommunicated because he challenged some theological dogmas. A generation ago, in our own country, Scopes was tried and condemned for teaching the theory of human evolution. The former president of Cornell University wrote a book in which he relates that institutional religion fought many discoveries of science, but lost each battle. Religion has a sad history of opposing the search for truth. It drove away many intelligent people from any meaningful religious faith.

What is equally serious, perhaps more serious, is the fact that organized religion was often insensitive to the need for social progress and opposed most of the efforts to better the condition of human existence. In the French Revolution when hungry and oppressed men demanded some relief from the bewigged and bedecked aristocracy, the religious leaders were on the side of the nobles. In our own country, organized religion was in partnership with the slave-owner, not with the suffering slave. In the famous Gary steel strike when men battled to work less than 12 hours a day and to be paid a living wage religion was blind and deaf to their suffering. Organized religion has often stood in the way of progress. So, organized labor went elsewhere for support in their struggle for decent living. Many thinking people discarded the church and synagogue as totally irrelevant. Religion became an obstacle to man's effort to advance in knoweldge and in justice.

For this morning, I can only deal with one aspect of the problem. I will have to forego discussing the great issue of teaching religion which is not intellectually valid, and leave it for another time. This morning I want to focus only on one area . . . and that is the relationship of organized religion to social progress.

That is something we should be discussing on this special Sabbath, Shabbat Chazon, which introduces for us Tisha B'av.

It takes its name from the opening word of the Haftorah, from the first chapter of the prophet, Isaiah. Listen to just a few of the soul-searching statements, for they symbolize not only the essence of Isaiah but the major thrust of the Jewish religion as understood by the prophets of Israel: "Hear O Heavens, and give ear O Earth, for the Lord hath spoken. Children I have reared and brought up, and they rebelled against Me. Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it . . . your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire . . . your new moons and your appointed seasons. My soul hateth; they are a burden unto Me . . . I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide Mine eyes from you, Yea, when ye make many prayers I will not hear; Your hands are full of blood. Wash you, Make you clean, Put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes, Cease to do evil . . . Learn to do well, Seek justice, Relieve the oppressed, Judge the fatherless, Plead for the Widow."

Here, my friends, is the very heart of religion that is relevant and realistic. Here is not a God who is blind and deaf to the injustice of His children.

The truth is, that if God is God, then injustices upon earth are blasphemy. Blatant luxury, side by side with debilitating poverty, ought to be the concern of anyone who believes in a God of justice and love. If anyone speaks in the spirit of a God, who as creator brought cosmos out of chaos, certainly the hurt and misery of the deprived would enlist his support. If God is God, those who profess Him cannot escape the demands of those who are treated unjustly and cruelly.

Religion is more than charity which gives to the poor what is left over, after we have satisfied ourselves. When a man fights for a chance to earn a decent living, to work in conditions that are fit for men, and to be treated as a child of God and not as a commodity to be thrown out at the discretion of another, religion which speaks for God is involved with him. The presence of the children of the poor who in innocence are deprived at the start of their lives and handicapped forever ought to disturb spokesmen for God, who see this and ostentatious consumption right beside it.

But formal religion has largely failed to remake man, because it has failed to reshape society into which man is sent forth to live.

So what you have is a conflict: religion tells man to be moral, but the society which so-called religious people have created, tells him to be self-centered and never mind the other fellow.

Problems of urbanization, education, and general employment all require money, and money is hard to come by, especially through taxes, if people are schooled by a society that encourages selfishness and unconcern for neighbors. Therefore, and to our great detriment, we who have engineered the industrial revolution and all the technological advance that goes with it, have tolerated slums, ghettos, rats, poverty, untreated illness, unemployment, and social discrimination. This is the disgrace of the affluent society and only as we recognize it for what it is can we hope to move from riots to responsibility; from urban unrest to creative possibility.

But there are too many in the church and synagogue today who are against this trend which involves religion in the day-to-day affairs of man. They claim that all this is not the business of the synagogue or the church; and that religion should not become involved in the social issues of the day. They want you to talk of the God who comforts, consoles, and blesses men without disturbing their moral consciences. But how does a man teach about God and His presence among men, and yet blind that God to injustices, to the misery of men and their poverty, to prejudices and brutality! One can have sympathy for the man who says he comes to the synagogue to get away from the headlines, to find peace of mind and soul. To be sure, that is important. But how can one have peace of mind in the presence of God, without feeling the shame and agony of a life lived comfortably while so many suffer and are miserable?

If God is God, then those who profess to know Him and worship Him, must make Him relevant to the real world wherein His children dwell. Religious people should transform the face of society from selfishness to responsibility, concern and true empathy of man for his neighbor. Religious people should clean up a society schooled in selfishness and not leave it to the secular Communists. The loud talk about the evils of Communism comes with poor grace from those who are insensitive to the evils of injustice, poverty and the terrible inequality among men.

Perhaps it would be well to conclude this sermon on the three R's in which I have discussed the urgency for a religious approach of relevance and reality . . . with the humble words of a man who prayed: "Dear God, grant us the serenity to accept the things we cannot change; the courage to change the things we can change; and the wisdom to know one from the other."

The M-16 Rifle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the M-16 rifle program has pitted cost effectiveness against the cost of lives and lost.

In 1963, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara designated the Army as the Defense agent for all users of this rifle and its ammunition with instructions, based on the cost-effectiveness factor, to procure only one rifle, rather than separate service versions, produced with minimum delay, with concurrence from all services on ammunition and such modifications as are absolutely necessary.

The Special Armed Services Subcommittee report on the M-16 was released October 19. Based on documented testimony in hearings and field investigations in the United States and Vietnam, the subcommittee's findings are appaling:

First. The M-16 rifle as initially developed was an excellent and reliable weapon which was modified, despite Marine Corps and Navy disagreement, not on the basis of test data, but as stated by the Army's rifle project manager:

> On the basis of direction . . . (which) emanated from the Department of the Army . . . was further coordinated with the Department of Defense and Secretary McNamara personally approved it.

There is still no proof that the modifications proposed will eliminate the malfunctions experienced with the M-16 used by our servicemen in Vietnam. But I certainly pray they will.

Second. Both Army and Marine Corps personnel have experienced serious and excessive malfunctions with the M-16, all based on corrective factors known to the Departments of Defense and the Army as early as March 1964, many of which have still not been corrected.

Third. No move has been made to correct ammunition deficiencies, even though Army officials have been aware since 1964 that the ball propellant ammunition currently used in Vietnam is the major cause of the M-16's malfunction. It is important to note that this type of ammunition is not used in the Army-supervised acceptance tests of the weapons, but no move has been made to supply the test ammunition to our fighting forces.

Fourth. Training publications on the M-16 provide misleading instructions on the care and cleaning of the weapon. Shortages of cleaning equipment, lack of proper training and supervision on the care and cleaning of the rifles have added to their malfunctions, as did the military's delay in providing effective lubricants. Note: The subcommittee's investigation confirmed the reported death of a corporal, killed while running up and down the line of his squad pushing out cartridges which failed to extract with the only cleaning rod in the squad.

Fifth. During one period, an acceptance test was waived and approximately 330,000 rifles were accepted by the military, thousands of which were shipped or carried to Vietnam with the Army on notice that the rifles failed to meet design and performance specifications and might experience excessive malfunctions when firing ammunition loaded with ball-propellant ammunition. Ninety percent of the ammunition used in Vietnam is ball propellant.

Sixth. No instructions to tighten production quality controls were issued even after continued reports of malfunctions were received from Vietnam.

Seventh. The State Department approved the sale of 20,300 of these rifles to Singapore at the very time that there was a shortage of M-16 rifles for training purposes in both the United States and Vietnam.

The subcommittee has called on the Departments of Defense and Army for immediate investigations and corrective action on these and many other aspects of the M-16 rifle program, including audits of the military contracts to the Colt Manufacturing Co. and the Olin-Mathieson ammunition suppliers.

Every possible step must be taken to effect immediate corrections and assure no possibility of similar failures in the future.

I have been opposed to Secretary McNamara's handling of the Vietnam war, as well as to his continued efforts to cut back our Nation's nuclear superiority to parity, whatever that is. The facts on the M-16 make one wonder how much confidence to place in any vital defense decisions dominated by the Pentagon's so-called civilian defense intellectuals.

FORUM's Little Voice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Federal Government, as owner of countless national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges, should participate in the support of the local government on the same basis as privately owner lands. To this end, I support the argument put forth in the editorial which I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today; that is, to amend the law to set a 25-cent-per-acre minimum return to counties with Federal forest lands. This would bring some equity at long last into the relationship of private and public hands for support of government:

FORUM'S LITTLE VOICE

Our relationship with government becomes more difficult to manage as we governmentalize so many processes of living which were once private affairs. This trend toward having government-take-care-of-grandma, the unemployed, the handicapped and so many others needing aid in a modern, industrial society and economy may be inevitable, but if it is to be the best thing that men can advise it simply must be subject to public inspection, comment and correction.

Government's way of doing anything is to set up a pattern, and you'd better knuckle to it—even if it becomes nonsensical—or it's your head. This is logical and even proper. Government is accountable to the people in America, but the accounting process—and it's never neglected in government—becomes very, very expensive.

There's another problem that it's hard to get the public interested in. It's the problem of freedom of expression. The people in command of government are always so bedeviled by public opinion that they shush any of their own people who make public comment about what's going on. This spills over into the public section. They try to "manage" the news—the information—the facts—so that an impression prevails that is favorable to the officials in charge.

The inevitable result of such a system's ultimate success would be that it would gobble up the private sector—the corporations and partnerships and little businesses and individual enterprises—and the government would be everything. The voices crying out against this trend always do it in the face of governmental displeasure and, with government as huge as it is today, this takes some courage. It also takes some savvy on the part of the public if the voice is to be heard and to be influential.

FORUM (Forum on Resources of Upper Michigan) raised its voice this week at Milwaukee in testimony by its chairman, Bruce Buell of Chassell, a retired professional industrial forester, before the Public Land Law Review Commission. Buell explained that

FORUM is "an organization of corporate and individual resource owners and managers, and technically qualified agencies and scientists. It's purpose is to afford free and unbiased public consideration of issues affecting the natural resources of Michigan's Upper Peninsula."

FORUM suggested to the Land Law Review Commission:

1. The U. P. has in state and federal ownership over 40 per cent of its timberland and we feel that no more lands should go into government ownership except and unless such lands are of unique character and only if the government is willing to effect exchanges of its lands so that the local timber economy and tax base can be maintained.

2. That management policies on all federally owned lands should be re-examined to see that they are used to the best interest of all the people. Government single purpose usage of its huge holdings would get a look under such an inspection to see if there couldn't be hunting in parks and selective logging in refuges, etc.

3. Amend the law to set a 25 cents an acre minimum return to counties with federal forest lands. This would bring some equity into the relationship of private and public hands for support of government. The U. P.'s two national forests paid averages of 6.1 and 9.5 cents an acre and private forest lands an average of 42.5 cents an acre. "This situation is forcing the abandonment of private forest ownership."

FORUM also expressed its belief that federal ownership of parks, wildlife refuges, etc., should participate in local government support on the same basis as national forests.

It is regretable that our local governments in the U. P. are so tongue-tied in speaking out for fairness in tax treatment of all lands in the U. P. The situation makes the voice of FORUM specially courageous, needful and healthful.

Butter and Guns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, there are those who say we should provide "guns" for Vietnam but no "butter" for domestic programs. Others say Vietnam is harming civil rights. Still others are opposed to the tax increase. Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., in his paper, "Butter and Guns," shows the defects in all the above thinking. Because I believe my colleagues will be interested in his suggestions, I include the article of Dr. Reuter's in the RECORD:

BUTTER AND GUNS

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

INTRODUCTION

Some months ago, I visited with Norman Gorin of CBS News at a party in the home of Tom Tilgner. We talked at length about our mutual friend, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and why he was attempting to relate Vietnam to civil rights. I felt very strongly that one of the greatest men of our time was making a serious blunder. While Mr. Gorin agreed in principle, he suggested the idea that what Dr. King was doing was to keep ahead of the so-called liberal establishment in order to retain his leadership. Later, Richard Amberg, Publisher of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, shortly before his death, expressed the same idea to me at the Stadium Club in St. Louis. This Mr. Amberg and I rejected as unsound. Since when does a leader follow? I prefer the recent statement as coming from a leader that I read in a New York newspaper.

I was attending my aunt's funeral (Mrs. J. F. Cervantes) and the statement came from Speaker of the House John W. McCormack. Speaker McCormack was aroused by a reported remark by Red North Vietnam's Defense Minister Vo Mguyen Giap that dissent in the United States on the Johnson policies is "a valuable mark of sympathy." The usually calm statesman from Massachusetts responded as a leader should: "Nobody argues with the right of dissent. But if I had an opinion I thought would be adverse to the interests of my country, I would withhold it."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND CURRENT LEADERSHIP

It is a dying fashion to pay respect to those who achieve—who really "have it," to use the vernacular. This is the day when the fashion is to be for the underdog. The attitude is being developed that if you really want people to care for you—and who doesn't?—don't be successful; be a misfit, a loser, a victim of one's environment. I'm not entirely certain of the reason for what appears to me to be a general social-psychological aberration, but I suspect it springs from a massive social guilt. Regardless, I consider it fitting to praise our President now.

When President L. B. Johnson went to Washington from his home in Texas hardly a soul knew him there. He was new in Washington and when he walked along the streets he received only rarely a greeting or a nod of recognition from a passerby. But seldom has a stranger become so quickly a vital part of America, and seldom has one contributed so much to its progress and welfare. Yes, he is a man of vision in a sea of dissent. As President, he deserves our support because his program is just and sane. This may be expressed around the following guidelines:

1. His administration supports adequate training and education. President Johnson realizes that this Nation can neither prosper nor endure without trained, productive men and women. For this reason, he led in a massive campaign to extend the blessings of education to the children of the poor. Yes, he also is responsible for increasing the opportunities for vocational training to help the physically handicapped, and to bring higher education within the grasp of more and more of our young people.

A once-dominant goal of American education—shaping of the moral character of the young—is gaining prominence in educational planning again after a period of relative neglect. The reason is not hard to find. It comes from the concern of the Johnson Administration.

2. His administration believes this education must be for all. President Johnson studied the teachings of Max Weber, the famous German social theorist of 50 years ago. Professor Weber attributed to Luther and Calvin the popularization of what he called the "Protestant ethic:" a cluster of attitudes stressing honesty, industry and frugality. It was Weber's thesis that the Protestant ethic gave rise to capitalism—a thesis so broad that it can scarcely be formally proved.

Mr. Johnson realizes that Weber's focus was too narrow. For the Christian idea of vocation implies a community of work in which all mankind has a place, while capitalism, whenever it stands outside this Christian ideal, ignores the community and sets the individual at war with his neighbor's interests.

3. His administration believes in a dynamic economic system. Jesus did not outline any economic system. Christianity contributes to economics, first, higher ideals, then greater power through the human agent to attain these ideals. It was not economists who liberated slaves or passed factory acts but reckless and ignorant Christians.

Mr. Johnson understands that unless we alleviate ills, the ignorant, the uncouth, and the heathen will move society. Thought and action from Amos through the "war on poverty" demonstrate a yearning to have ethics dominate economics. Ethics must be in constant examination to meet changing situations.

Reinhold Niebuhr has observed that poverty has its materialism the same as does wealth. By this he means that we are all subject to the real sin that the rich young ruler saw in himself when he bared his soul to reflection in the Jesus-mirror. That sin may be in taking too much pride in being what we are and in wanting to remain like we are—proud to such an extent that we don't want to change.

4. His administration believes in supporting both wars. Standing in the smoke and rubble of Detroit, a Negro veteran said: "I just got back from Vietnam a few months ago, but you know, I think the war is here." There are in fact two wars going on and both are important and should be supported. It is just as important to support the war in the jungles of southeast Asia as the one in the streets of Detroit and Newark. I am confident that we are not unwilling as a people to make the necessary sacrifices in both wars to improve the conditions under which all free and equal people are entitled to live. While the rate of return is greater for education and welfare programs—butter—freedom is essential too, hence guns at present in Vietnam.

Jesus stands on the battle field in Vietnam and in the ghetto and says: "This is my body; what you are doing to the least of these, my brothers, you are doing to me." A broken and bleeding body lies there on our communion table. He who eats and drinks the one without seeking in every way open to him to heal the others, profanes the body of the Lord.

5. His administration believes in adequate necessities of life. As disturbing as the attitude of those who preach repression has been, that of those who point the accusing finger of scorn at the Federal government is worse. The defeat of the rat bill on the eve of rioting has become a national "in" joke for cartoonists. One cannot defend the opinion which places the major share of the blame for our urban crisis upon President Johnson's shoulders. Instead, the Federal government has for a generation been the leader and the shaper of much of the real progress which has been made in the public sector of urban life. Yes, our Nation owes much to Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson in the areas of public housing, urban renewal, public health, welfare reforms, stiffer housing code enforcement, land use planning and recreation, community renewal, and a host of other programs.

6. His administration believes in a just peace. Through the ages mankind has groped for some unifying set of principles that would enable them to live in harmony and peace. This has been true not only in local areas and regions, but also in the larger cultures and societies that have merged into national states. That same quest for peace and harmony has been going on in the international community. The long view of history does show a tortutous movement toward a universality, toward the establishment of a community of mankind where the intellect and reason dominate, rather than ignorance, superstition and passion.

For survival, man's first priority is peace, and we must recognize that peace can only be founded on the cornerstone of cooperation. This is the prerequisite of peace and there will be no shortcut around, or substitute for, international goodwill. There are too many who would bridge the gap between our desire for peace and the end of war in Vietnam. The first phase of the Vietnam War began under President Eisenhower. The war is being managed by the men President Kennedy brought to Washington to conduct

American foreign and defense policy. We know these statesmen to be persons of immutable conviction on almost all matters we would regard as central to liberal belief, and further to be men of personal honor and the highest intellectual attainment.

It follows then that we must see the war through. It would be as foolish to withdraw now as it would be to have an all-out war. When hostilities in Vietnam have ended with a truce comparable to Korea, there will be future "limited wars" as long as Communist exists, but this is still the better approach in America. "Limited wars" do not kill or injure as many people and it keeps America from an all-out war economy.

7. His administration believes in both "butter and guns." The spotlight of public opinion is swinging toward the issue of Federal spending where it is likely to be focused for years. Proponents and opponents of Government spending are adept at using ratios to their own advantage. As I stated in Chicago recently, "I support President Johnson in providing both 'guns and butter,' because both are essential now. We must support both the wars. We must support the President's tax program. If 10% tax increase is not enough, then make it 20%. To cut either the foreign or domestic program would be to invite disaster."

Dr. King and the liberals should support President Johnson's programs. They should, at the same time, be critical of Congress if either the domestic or foreign program is cut. If either program is not enough, then increase it, because we are able to see both programs through based on our national wealth.

CONCLUSIONS

The great majority of the American people will continue to support President Johnson's programs of "butter and guns," because it is the just and humane thing to do. In closing, let me cite two additional guidelines to follow in the years ahead. First, President Harry S. Truman spoke of America when he cited these values and principles: "There is no more fundamental axiom of American freedom than the familiar statement: 'In a free country, we punish men for the acts they commit, but never for the opinions they have.' And the reason this is so fundamental to freedom is not, as many suppose, that it protects the few unorthodox from suppression by the majority. To permit freedom of expression is primarily for the benefit of the majority because it protects criticism, and criticism leads to progress."

Then, in the final analysis, a wise scholar once said: "I said to the man who stood at the Gate of the Year, 'Give me a light that I may tread safely into the unknown.' He said: 'Go out into the darkness and place thy hand in the hand of God: that to thee shall be better than light and safer than a known way.'" Here is the encapsulation of the ultimate in faith. Yes, our wealthy America must provide both "butter and guns."

To Our Millions of Elderly Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, phenomenal has been the growth in recent years of golden age clubs, senior citizen organizations and retired men and women's groups; perhaps the most significent sequence to this movement has been the issuance of worthwhile publications slanted in the direction of their interests and needs of these elderly citizens.

Only recently has there been satisfactory communication between the growing number of retirees, in the fostering of information having particular application to citizens in their latter years.

One of the outstanding mediums helping to fill this void has been Lobby 65 Digest, published in Massachusetts by Frank Le Roy Johnson, 2 Wright Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, now in its second year.

Its readers are offered helpful hints for the use and exchange of talents; the understanding of ailments and ways to achieve savings in the purchase of drugs for their treatments; also suggestions for obtaining travel tour information, hearing aids and timely articles by competent authors on matters of common concern.

Lobby 65 Digest now has a wide distribution in Massachusetts. It is chartered by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as a charitable, tax free, nonprofit, nonpartisan, nonsectarian corporation.

Its columns have been filled by such men of competence as the following; Dr. Howard F. Root, Boston, of the Diabetes Foundation; Dr. William S. Clark, New York, on arthritis; Dr. Charles I. Schottland, former U.S. Commissioner of HEW, presently the dean of the Florence Heller Graduate School, Brandeis University.

Others have contributed articles, including Dr. Naif L. Simon, F.A.C.A. anesthesia department chief at the Quincy city hospital; Dr. Fredrick J. Stare on nutrition—Harvard School of Public Health; Judge Robert Gardner Wilson, the Shrine Burns Institute for Children in Boston; and Dr. Irving S. Cooper of St. Barnabas Hospital, New York on use of cryoprobe in cryosurgery the technique for relief of Parkinson tremors.

Articles have also appeared in Lobby 65 Digest concerning the American Cancer Society; the Deafness Research Foundation of New York, and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

Most of this information is useful in every State, especially when supplemented by information in local areas in which the publication is distributed. That probably accounts for the many inquiries Mr. Johnson has been receiving from other States seeking the licensing of Lobby 65 Digest under his copyright. This publication is unique in the composition of its advisory board, which includes outstanding representatives among different races and religions.

It is dedicated to advancement, education, and service to the elderly; and seeks to spread the gospel of good will, mutual assistance, and spirit of togetherness—through the medium of "each helping the other." This undertaking of publishing Lobby 65 Digest has come about through the initiative, imagination, generosity, and talents of 69-year-old Frank Le Roy Johnson, a retired American citizen who has been received by Richard Cardinal Cushing and Gov. John W. Volpe, who have paid him high tribute for helping to solve the concerns, sharing sources of common interest, and for obtaining information most applicable to men and women—who under our American system of social security, face retirement after they reach the age of 65.

In addition, Lobby 65 Digest lists the names of officials of all the known clubs serving retired groups in Massachusetts—and aids in keeping each of these in contact.

Circulation of this publication under a charter license in other States will find ready recipients to share its intrastate valued columns and rewarding in the helpfulness it gives to its subscribers.

Representative Moss Addresses Montana Farmers Union Convention

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California, Congressman JOHN E. MOSS, recently delivered an outstanding address at the annual convention of the Montana Farmers Union in Great Falls, Mont.

In it, he expressed views with which I strongly agree, and I recommend his thoughtful comments to every Member of the House.

I include Congressman Moss' remarks in the RECORD at this point:

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN E. MOSS, DEMOCRAT, OF CALIFORNIA, AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MONTANA FARMERS UNION, GREAT FALLS, MONT., OCTOBER 19, 1967

It is very refreshing to be here today to discuss with you some of the problems facing the rural communities of your great and beautiful State of Montana.

I might add that it is refreshing as well to be away from the discords, pressures and bickerings which pervade our national capital today.

There are myriad critical problems besetting our Nation both at home and abroad. But their magnitude does not minimize the seriousness of the problems facing you right here in your own backyard. In fact, the worsening state of the nation's rural economy demands immediate and thorough study and corrective action.

The progressive National Farmers Union is in the forefront of a growing national campaign to remold and reinvigorate our rural economy, advancing new ideas and concrete proposals. In Montana, under the leadership of your long-time president Leonard Kenfield, you have worked diligently to preserve the best values of rural life in modern society. Each of you deserve the highest praise and the fullest cooperation of all thinking Americans.

In the last few years the spotlight of national concern has centered, for the most part, on the urban communities of America and their large pockets of grim and debilitating poverty. Certainly the problems of our cities cry out for speedy and effective solutions. And you will agree, I know, that we cannot evade our responsibilities in this regard.

While the plight of our rural economy has been somewhat obscured by the violence and upheaval in the cities, there is a growing awareness that America's rural communities and farmers also face complex and serious problems. There is indeed a close relationship between the urban and rural dilemmas now brooding over the nation.

The crisis in our cities is caused in large measure by the gross congestion of people which breeds economic instability, shocking housing conditions, and explosive discontent. Many of the 30 million persons who migrated from American farms to American cities since 1940 were "rural dropouts" who left the farming communities because of the sagging rural economy. "There's no home on the farm," they said, "so let's try the city." And, I'm afraid, that despite the urban convulsions the mass migration to the cities is continuing.

It is a particularly sad and revealing fact that most of the people leaving the land for the cities are under thirty years of age. The largest group comprises young people who have just finished high school and are facing the productive years of life.

I know this figure is probably out of line in Montana, but one-third of the Americans who live on farms, live in poverty. In addition, the proportion of people without jobs is twice as high among agricultural workers as it is among industrial workers. Furthermore, our rural communities, generally speaking, do not offer first rate medical facilities, maximum cultural opportunities, or a great variety of stores and services.

The flight to the cities also means fewer people to pay the taxes in rural areas, and thus less money for public education, public medical facilities, libraries, and other institutions which are the mark of social progress.

How can we stem, indeed reverse, this flow of manpower to the cities? The answer is obvious but mighty hard to come by—make our rural areas economically attractive and provide better homes, better roads, better schools, better amenities of all kinds. I agree fully with your President, Mr. Kenfield, who recently said:

"Rural America has vast spaces with clean air and is capable, if allowed to share in a larger part of the national income, of providing wholesome living for more families on more farms and in more rural communities. . . . A dynamic program of improvement in rural America will help the cities by relieving them of depressing congestion and shifting their burdens into more self-sustaining areas."

A recent Gallup poll tells us that half of the American people would really prefer to live in the country or in a small town, if they felt they could obtain the economic and social advantages of urban and suburban areas.

The challenge we face, then, is simply this: we must harness our technology and resources—which are the greatest in the world—to provide the benefits of modern living throughout our rural communities, benefits equal to or higher than those existing elsewhere in the nation.

Rural areas need more jobs based, not only on agriculture, but also on medium and small industry, on research facilites, on distribution centers, and other enterprises which do not have to be in large metropolitan areas to prosper and grow. The economic weight of Defense and other government contracts for research, development, and production, as well as tax incentives and other programs of cooperative partnership between government and private enterprise, should be used for farm areas as well as in the big cities.

But government cannot do the job alone. Rural communities must develop their own civic consciousness, organize development groups to attract job-producing enterprises, and make the most of their natural resources and recreational opportunities. There must emerge a dedicated and imaginative local leadership in our rural communities.

The basic element for improving rural America is, of course, to eliminate the high cost—low price squeeze now throttling our farm communities. The decline of parity to 73 this September, largely because of higher machinery prices and lower hog prices, is not good for rural America. It is, indeed, tragic that the increase of 233.8 percent in our gross national product since 1947 has been accompanied by a decrease of 6.6 percent in net income of farmers since 1947.

Government and private enterprise must evolve programs and policies which will reverse this disastrous trend. Unless effective corrective action is taken, efforts to rejuvenate our rural communities will be of no avail. It is good that in these trying times the National Farmers Union is putting forth restless and active leadership in proposing innovative possible solutions to the farmer's economic problems, nationwide and in the State of Montana, including such proposals as setting up a mechanism for enabling farmers and ranchers to engage in collective bargaining, commodity by commodity, with buyers, handlers and processors; limiting government payments to any one farm operator; providing more government low-cost credit to farmers and ranchers; and abolishing the so-called corporate farm.

The National Farmers Union stands four-square for family farming, as I do. This is why I have always endorsed, and will always seek to preserve, the effective acreage limitation in the Federal Reclamation law limiting the Bureau of Reclamation from furnishing water at a cost carrying significant subsidy to more than 160-acres for each landowner. That provision is the bedrock of family farming in great areas of our nation, as much today as when it was enacted some 60 years ago.

You, the farmers and consumers in Montana, are particularly fortunate to have such a champion as my great and good friend, Senator Lee Metcalf. He is truly a dedicated public servant, who fights vigorously and continuously for the consumer's interests. His efforts against high cost electricity are particularly epochal and noteworthy. He has documented, time and again, the overcharges and the unconscionable high rates of return received by electric power companies at the expense of the consumer.

Montana has these problems too. Here in Great Falls, the consumer pays the Montana Power Company about $5 per month more than he would pay in comparable cities elsewhere in the country, while the Company's actual rate of return—11.37 percent—is one of the highest of any electric utility in the country.

One reason for these high charges, and high rate of return, is lack of competition. Montana is the only State, except Hawaii, without a single municipal power system.

Traditionally there have been three principal means to protect the consumer's interest in low-cost, reliable, electric service. First, by the competition of other forms of energy, but such competition is now rapidly becoming obsolete even where the local power company doesn't own the gas company too. Second, by governmental regulation of rates and conditions of service, but such regulation has seldom been very effective and frequently it is pure sham. Third, by the yardstick of public and cooperative power which helps to measure the reasonableness of the rates and services of electric companies by comparison with the operations of municipal, public utility district, and rural cooperatives electric systems.

The yardstick depends largely on the hydropower generated at Federal dams. This is because of all the electric energy generated in this country in 1966, State and local bodies produced only 10 percent, and cooperatives produced only 1 percent, whereas the Federal Government produced 13 percent. All the rest (76 percent) was produced by the investor-owned, profit-making companies. But the yardstick is not as effective as it ought to be, because less than half (48.6 percent) of this Federally generated power was sold to preference customers such as municipalities, rural cooperatives, public utility districts, States and other public agencies. About one-sixth (17.8 percent) was consumed by the Federal Government itself, and over one-third (33.6 percent) was sold to private industry and investor-owned utilities.

The Federal Power Commission predicts that total electric consumption in the United States will at least double between now and 1980. Federal power production, therefore, should also double, at least, if we are to maintain even the present inadequate yardstick. Unfortunately, the trend is in the other direction.

We must begin to think very seriously about public agencies engaging in thermal generation of electricity if we are going to be able to maintain the Federal yardstick. Traditionally, Federal power has meant hydropower. Even today, TVA is the only Federal entity with its own thermal generation. However, hydro alone will not provide the large increase in Federal power and energy required to maintain the present minimum Federally-generated proportion of all power produced in this country.

Furthermore, as new hydropower sources become scarce, and existing Federal hydropower is more and more reserved for peaking operation, it tends to lose its yardstick quality. With private steam plants carrying the base load, and the coordinated output sold at composite rates, which often include a private wheeling toll, it becomes difficult or impossible to compare Federal and private prices.

At the same time, however, the growing importance of hydropower for peaking purposes will make it feasible to develop many marginal hydro sites which previously were thought to be uneconomic because of their limited amount of water to produce energy. We should therefore urge that all such sites be reevaluated for Federal development as peaking plants. In many cases, these marginal sites can be made very useful for peaking power by inclusion of pumped storage facilities, which make possible the carrying of large peak loads with very small streamflow, provided, of course, they are operating as part of an adequate base load system.

Hydropower, therefore, can still have a great role in the future of the yardstick. However, it is under heavy attack. Unless consumers act to protect their interest in low cost electricity, its role is going to be whittled away. It is ironic that the well-financed campaigns by private power companies against new Federal hydropower projects has been inadvertently aided by well-intentioned people, who are as devoted to conservation as I am, who fear that dams will damage fish, birds or whitewater canoeing.

I do not think that dams are necessarily destructive to the principles of resource conservation. On the contrary, the reservoirs provide water for municipal purposes, flood control, irrigation, industral use, and many forms of recreation, including boating, swimming, fishing, etc. Hydropower dams are a renewable resource, and frequently are less destructive to the natural environment than any other form of electric generation. They do not pollute the air with smoke and radioactivity, or the water of our rivers and lakes with heat or radioactvie wastes.

Conservation consists of the most effective long term use of the resources of nature for the benefit of mankind. It involves respect for mother earth. It does not imply idolizing one value—for instance, the sport of shooting rapids in rubber boats—to the exclusion of all others. It means reverent use, not non-use, of the gifts God has provided to man.

If we are to have more Federal dams, we must take our case to the public. We must describe the dangerous alternatives. We must explain the true meaning of conservation. But it is not enough simply to have Federal dams and powerplants. It is also necessary to be vigilant in protecting the public's rights to the power produced by such Federal powerplants. For example, on July 31 of this year the Secretary of the Interior signed a long-term contract with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company which makes the entire Central Valley Project power system in California an appendage of the company until the year 2005, freezes the load growth of existing preference customers, excludes the opportunity of other preference customers to obtain the benefits of low-cost Federal power, and subjects the Government and its customers to an intricate set of restrictions that will almost inevitably insure their permanent domination by the company.

For four years I fought, along with several other Members of Congress, to eliminate or modify the many unconscionable features of the contract, some of which were severely criticized by the Federal Power Commission and the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. Our efforts resulted in various changes which improved the contract in some respects for both the Government and its preference customers.

I am sorry to say, however, that the contract was still heavily loaded in the Company's favor. Secretary Udall has said he will try to help the various smaller municipalities of Central and Northern California to assure their future power needs at economical costs. However, I have the gravest misgivings that the contract which he signed with the Company, over my objection, will make it most difficult, if not impossible, for the municipalities to develop their own sources for their future power needs, and for the Secretary to be of much help to them.

The struggle for low-cost electricity in the next decade or two will become increasingly great in the field of nuclear power. I understand that 55 percent of the new generating capacity contracted for in the United States last year was for nuclear power plants. The most significant feature of these plants is their large size. The average capacity of the 32 plants contracted for construction after 1967 will be 625 megawatts. The average size of the nuclear generating units ordered last year—which is the latest figure in the AEC report—will be 790 megawatts. Indeed the smallest plant in the list for future completion is 450 megawatts.

Of course, the economies which result from large generators is the reason for the increasing capacity of new atomic plants. The AEC estimates the cost of production from a 500 megawatt nuclear plant at 4.4 mills per kilowatt hour. TVA has already begun construction of two nuclear plants, each over 1100 megawatts, which will produce energy at a cost of 2.37 mills per kilowatt hour.

4.4 mill nuclear power may or may not be competitive with coal, but 2.37 mill energy is competitive even with hydropower. But you have to be awfully big to afford an 1100 megawatt plant. TVA is paying $122,700,000 for two of them—plus costs of the transmission plant, contingency allowance, and interest during construction, which run the bill up to $247,000,000—plus $232,000,000 for a twelve-year fuel supply. Significantly, however, even the investment in the plant itself, on a dollars-per-kilowatt basis, will be less than for a comparable coal plant—$116 compared to $117. But there are few non-Federal public power agencies or rural co-ops that are big enough to engage in the generation of atomic power.

Of the 20,003 megawatts of total capacity of nuclear power plants under contract for completion after 1967, only TVA's 2,229 megawatts and the Omaha Public Power District's 450 megawatts—the smallest on the list—will be publicly owned.

The Hanford plant on the Columbia River, the only other large publicly owned nuclear power facility in the country, was built by the Atomic Energy Commission to make plutonium for bombs. The Commission considered producing electricity at Hanford itself, but the Congress would have preferred to waste the steam. Only after a bitter fight was this waste prevented, by legislation permitting a group of Washington State public power districts to recycle steam from the cooling water through their generator to produce 786 megawatts of useful power—but then only on condition that they offer 50 percent participation to the private companies. The private power interests today are very strong indeed.

Another example of their strangle-hold is shown in the recent struggle over appropriations for the Dickey-Lincoln School Dam in Maine, the first Federal hydroelectric project in the Northeast, which Congress authorized in 1965 by a narrow margin. In this Congress, the House of Representatives, with the approving votes of most of the New England Congressmen, where power costs are the highest in the Nation, voted against the appropriation. It is most significant that the very threat of this project has led to at least five rate reductions from private power companies in Maine.

The very success of the TVA in developing a once poor and backward region has made the private power industry vow never to permit it to happen again; and so far, they have kept their vow. There are no plans to repeat even the Hanford 50 percent public-50 percent private arrangement. Even half a loaf to the public is too much.

A potential new fuel for making electricity is geothermal steam—natural underground steam. Certainly steam under the public lands of the United States is a public resource that ought to be developed for public benefit either by the Government itself, or at least by public and cooperative bodies under a preference clause. The Department of the Interior proposed a leasing act to this Congress for geothermal steam. It contains no preference clause. Instead it provides for sale of steam leases to the highest bidder—again pricing the little fellows out of the market.

Almost sixty years ago, in vetoing a bill to give away a hydropower site on the James River in Missouri, President Theodore Roosevelt wrote as follows:

"The people of the country are threatened by a monopoly far more powerful, because it is in far closer touch with their domestic and industrial life, than anything known to our experience. . . .

"To give away, without conditions, this, one of the greatest of our resources, would be an act of folly. If we are guilty of it, our children will be forced to pay an annual return upon a capitalization based upon the highest prices which 'the traffic will bear'. They will find themselves face to face with powerful interests intrenched behind the doctrine of 'vested rights' and strengthened by every defense which money can buy and the ingenuity of able corporation lawyers can devise. Long before that time they may and very probably will have become a consolidated interest, controlled from the great financial centers, dictating the terms upon which the citizen can conduct his business or earn his livelihood, and not amenable to the wholesome check of local opinion.

* * * * *

"I esteem it my duty to use every endeavor to prevent this growing monopoly, the most threatening which has ever appeared, from being fastened upon the people of this nation."

We need another Roosevelt today.

Already electric power is the nation's largest industry. Its capital assets are 60 percent larger than those of the next largest industry—petroleum refining. Twelve percent of all capital invested in business in this country is under the control of the privately-owned electric power utilities. And they grasp for more at the public expense.

The State of New York has a fine public power authority, which generates 20 percent of the electricity produced in that State, from the waters of the Niagara and St. Lawrence Rivers. These rivers are now almost fully developed. Logically, to maintain the yardstick, and to retain the public share of the market, the New York Power Authority, like TVA, should begin building nuclear plants.

This is not what the State Administration has proposed. Instead, it proposes to bring power costs down by providing free atomic fuel to the private companies.

Unless an enlightened and outraged public demands otherwise, this may be the ultimate fate of the yardstick—to be replaced by a subsidy to the private companies which enables them to impose their excessive rates on both our light bills and our tax bills.

The proportion of Federally-generated power to privately-generated power must be maintained at least at its current level. How can public power survive the establishment of the large regional power pooling combines that are coming to be the predominant pattern of the electric power industry, if public generation does not keep pace with industry expansion? Either we maintain the balance between the private and public sectors of the industry or the electric industry will become ever more dominated and controlled by the large private monopolies within the next decade.

The second method of protecting the consumer from abuse by the monopolistic electric utilities is through government regulation of rates and services. There is vast room for improvement in this field, both by the State Commissions and by the Federal Power Commission. However, I believe that despite the prior inadequacies of such regulation, we should continue to work to improve and strengthen the regulatory role of both the Federal and State Commissions, and not abandon regulation as a tool for protecting the interests of the consumer.

Most of you are familiar with the efforts made during the last Congress by the private utilities to enact the Holland-Smathers bill which would exempt them from FPC jurisdiction. The bill was on its way to passage when the great Northeast Blackout of November 9, 1965 occurred. That Blackout graphically demonstrated the interstate character of the electric industry and the need for more regulation, rather than less regulation, and effectively killed the Holland-Smathers bill in the last Congress.

But the private power utilities are not easily discouraged. The Holland-Smathers bill has reappeared in this Congress. It would exempt from Federal regulation, including Federal accounting and disclosure requirements, any electric company "whose facilities are all situated in a single State and are not used to transmit or receive electric energy by direct connection, from or to any other State, or by indirect connection, from or to any other State except for temporary or emergency purposes."

The Florida Power and Light Company, which is one of the principal supporters of the present Holland-Smathers bill, is the largest utility in the State of Florida, with assets of about a billion dollars. It is ninth in revenues, among the almost 3600 electric systems in the Nation. It claims that the "onerous" FPC accounting requirements will force it to raise its rates, and that it is already adequately regulated by the Florida Public Service Commission.

In 1964, Florida Power and Light Company's rate of return was 12.3 percent, the third highest rate of return on invested capital of any power company in the country. In 1965 the Chairman of the Florida regulatory commission testified before the Senate Commerce Committee that in his opinion the best utility regulation "is little or no regulation." In 1966, a newspaper reporter who asked the director of the finance department of the Florida Commission about Florida Power and Light's rate base was told: "Where it is, if it still exists, I don't know." The law of Florida does not provide for any regulation of wholesale rates and service. Thus, if the Holland-Smathers bill should pass, there would be no one to require Florida Power and Light Company to sell electricity to a co-op, and perhaps ultimately, no more co-ops in Florida.

Florida Power and Light is not directly connected to any out-of-state utility. It is connected to Florida Power Corporation, which in turn is connected to the Georgia Power Company. The interchange contract between Florida Power and Light and the Florida Power Corporation is not to be found in either the FPC or the Florida Public Service Commission files. It apparently has never been put in writing. It remains more secret even than Florida Power and Light's rate base.

The new Holland-Smathers bill, although apparently motivated to fit the Florida Power and Light pattern, can also serve as the vehicle for exempting many other private electric utility companies from FPC jurisdiction, simply through the device of setting up a separate corporation to hold title to a substation, or other facility (even merely a 10-foot stretch of wire) at the state boundary, so that the utility is not connected "directly" to facilities in the next state.

I intend to continue opposing the Holland-Smathers bill. What the country needs is not exemption from FPC regulation, but more FPC regulation to insure better performance, better reliability, more equitable prices and conditions of service, and maximum protection from blackouts in the Nation's electric power industries.

Perhaps these benefits may come in the proposed Power Reliability Act which the FPC sent to Congress after the blackout of last June on the PJM system in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware which affected 13 million people.

In my opinion, the FPC bill offers a sound approach to the problem of reliability and adequacy of power planning and power transmission. However, as I studied the FPC bill I found a number of oversights or defects which should be corrected. Therefore, on August 14, I introduced a revised bill (H.R. 12322) which would, in my judgment, remedy those deficiencies.

The purpose of this legislation is not merely to prevent more cascading power failures. It is also designed to assure, in accordance with the national policy adopted 32 years ago, that there will be an abundant supply of electric energy throughout the United States, with the maximum possible economy and with due regard to the proper utilization and conservation of natural resources. This bill would also clarify the Congressional mandate to the Federal Power Commission to consider esthetic and historic values in carrying out its regulatory duties concerning electric power.

The FPC bill, and to a greater extent, my bill, views the electric power industry as one nationwide public utility, consisting of all the local generating and transmission entities, including the public, private, and cooperative segments thereof. Both bills require organization of the industry into regional councils to plan, coordinate, and provide the most reliable, efficient, and economic service to all the people of the region, regardless of who provides retail distribution service, and to exchange and coordinate power with neighboring regions.

Strong interconnection between adequate generation is the key to power reliability in areas of heavy energy consumption. Every one of the 18 cascading power failures starting with the great Northeast Blackout of November 9, 1965, occurred because of inadequate interconnections. The Holland-Smathers bill in addition to its many other faults, would discourage interconnection, and hence decrease reliability. The Electric Power Reliability bill would help strengthen interconnections and thus increase the reliability of electric power systems.

Both the FPC bill and my bill seek to achieve these objectives by voluntary cooperation of the various managements within the regions. Both bills require that the regional councils be open to membership by all segments of the power industry so that all plans developed by the regional councils will be the product of all the power systems, including the public, private, and cooperative power networks within the same region.

My bill corrects an oversight in the FPC bill to provide for participation, on a voluntary basis, by State regulatory commissions as well as the utilities, in regional council work. Both bills empower the FPC to compel participation in council work by recalcitrant generating and transmission entities; however, my bill adds an explicit provision requiring such entities also to share reasonably in the council's expenses. Both bills provide that the FPC may review, and, if necessary, revise regional council plans; but both provide that the plans are to be developed in the first instance by the local utilities in the region.

The FPC bill provides that those who act pursuant to a regional plan shall be immune from suits for damages and injunctive relief under the antitrust laws by those who are hurt by such actions. I think such grant of immunity from suit under the antitrust laws would be a dangerous weakening of the protections against arbitrary monopoly actions. Furthermore, I believe the courts are a better forum than the FPC to resolve disputes under the antitrust laws. Hence, my bill does not authorize the FPC, by its approval of the plans of the regional councils, to confer antitrust immunity.

Both bills contemplate the establishment of mandatory reliability criteria by the FPC for bulk power supply facilities, which may be of nationwide or regional applicability. These criteria would be promulgated only after consultation with the regional councils, and may, in fact, be developed in the first instance by the councils. My bill differs in only two words from the FPC bill concerning reliability standards. I say the Commission "shall" promulgate regulations setting forth reliability criteria; and the FPC bill says it "may". Clearly, the criteria must be promulgated, and my bill explicitly so provides.

The FPC bill recognizes that the construction and operation of extra-high-voltage lines, those over 200,000 volts, will involve aesthetic values. I want to provide increased protection to these values.

The FPC bill would authorize the FPC to appoint advisory coordination review boards, but does not explicitly encourage the appointment of persons interested in conservation and aesthetics to those advisory boards. My bill will do so.

In addition, my bill expressly prohibits the grant of rights-of-way for extra-high-voltage power lines in national parks, national monuments, national battlefields, historic sites, and all other areas administered by the National Park Service, except three types of areas. The excepted areas are national parkways, which are narrow strips hundreds of miles long, and two varieties of recreation areas which frequently surround existing power dams and do not have preservation of the natural environment as their primary purpose.

My bill also goes beyond the FPC bill by authorizing the administering agency of Federal land to veto a proposed EHV power line over Federal lands, not only on the ground that it would endanger aesthetic or historic values, but also if it would endanger identified species of flora or fauna. I have also added a provision to clarify that the Electric Power Reliability Act will not supersede the Wilderness Act in any way.

Both the FPC bill and my bill require review by the FPC before extra-high-voltage transmission lines may be built. One reason is to provide a forum for reviewing the aesthetic consequences of proposals such as Potomac Edison's plan to run an EHV line near Antietam battlefield in Maryland. The other reason is technological. The FPC will have an opportunity to determine whether the EHV line is adequate to do the job for which it is intended, whether it will increase the reliability of service at both its terminals, as it should, or increase the chances of cascading failures, as it should not.

My bill goes another step beyond the FPC bill, and makes extra-high-voltage lines true public utilities, giving to every electric entity the right to increase the capacity of such lines, by whomever owned, at its own expense and subject to FPC regulation and technological review, and to participate in joint use of such lines. This addition to the bill is important, both aesthetically and economically, because it will reduce the need for unsightly and costly paralleling facilities. It recognizes the fact, which is far too frequently overlooked, that transmission lines are part of this Nation's transportation system.

I have revised greatly the FPC bill's provision for granting rights-of-way across Federal lands for EHV lines. Under my bill rights-of-way over Federal land may be granted for a limited term, not in excess of 50 years; or for an unlimited duration. However, if the right-of-way is granted for an unlimited duration, then the FPC will have continuing jurisdiction at intervals of not less than 10 years to add to or change the conditions of the right-of-way grants.

The FPC bill makes no provision for payment to the United States for use of its land. Mine does.

The FPC bill completely overlooks Indian rights in Indian reservations. The Indians, rather than the Government, are the true owners of the reservations, many of which were set up by solemn treaty guaranteeing that no one would ever be permitted to reside or cross over them without the Indian's consent. My bill requires Indian consent before any EHV right-of-way can be granted through an Indian reservation, and, when consent is given, it requires the utility to pay the Indians for the use of their lands.

Both bills authorize the FPC, on its own motion, to compel interconnections between power systems—again giving priority to efficient public service for the consumers of a region. My bill, however, goes further, requiring each entity, public or private, to wheel power for other entities to the extent of excess capacity in its lines. For this service, it would, of course, be entitled to fair compensation.

I have added provisions to the FPC bill at several places to insure that the public receives notice of what is proposed and has access to information on file. Thus, when a statement of organization of a regional council, or a regional plan, is filed, I would require the FPC to give notice of the filing in the Federal Register, whereas the FPC bill requires such notice only in case of an EHV transmission line proposal. Furthermore, under my proposal, all filings which are permitted or required to be made will be available for public inspection, including coordination contracts, such as for joint ownership or operation of generators and transmission lines.

I have also included a new section directing the Federal Power Commission to survey existing and planned extra-high-voltage testing laboratories in the United States and to report to Congress within one year whether any action is needed to provide more laboratories and to make them available to all persons desiring to test their EHV facilities. At the present time there are only two laboratories in this country, in contrast to 20 abroad, able to test extra-high-voltage equipment under operating conditions. Both American laboratories are maintained by individual manufacturers for their own use. I need not stress the hazard that inadequately tested equipment presents to reliable service.

You will be interested to know that I have been receiving considerable mail from people all over the country supporting and commending the revisions which my bill would make in the FPC's Electric Power Reliability bill. These include conservation groups (such as the National Audubon Society, the Izaak Walton League, the Citizens' Committee on Natural Resources, the Sport Fishing Institute, the National Recreation and Park Association, the North American Wildlife Foundation, and others), various Indian tribes who support the provisions of my bill which will protect against arbitrary seizure of their lands, and public power groups such as the Northeast Public Power Association which advised me that it endorses and supports my bill and the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association which commended the "very substantial improvement" my bill makes over the FPC version. I was particularly pleased by the letter from the Cooperative League of the USA which stated:

"The changes and additions you have made to the original FPC bill, in their general thrust and intent, perform a valued service for the American Consumer and for the typical member of an American cooperative . . . You have come up with meaningful improvements . . . These proposals reflect a deep and valuable understanding of this whole involved field . . . which puts in your debt the American electric consumer in whose behalf you have fought so valiantly."

The private power utilities, however, have not been idle. They are mobilizing all their resources to oppose the bill, in communications and contacts with the Federal Power Commission, the Committees and Members of Congress, and within the Electric Power Fraternity. Unless you, as consumers speak up to protect your interests in low-cost power and maximum reliability of electric service, you will have only yourself to blame if your electric bill goes up instead of down, and your electric power flickers or goes out when you need it most. I assure you that those who will be considering this bill in the days ahead—the Committees and Members of Congress, the Federal Power Commission, and the President—all of them want to know, indeed, need to know—what the consumer thinks about this bill.

I cannot predict when this bill will be enacted. A few more blackouts may hasten its enactment. But of this I am sure—that the national need for maximum reliability of electric service will inevitably demand the enactment of this bill, or similar legislation.

In the meantime, as consumers who want low-cost power, you must work together to make sure that the economies of large-scale generation and transmission will be passed on to the consumer instead of into the salaries of company officials and the dividends of company stockholders. You must work to strengthen the governmental tools for protecting the consumer's interest. This includes both improved regulation of the monopolistic utilities, and the maintenance and strengthening of the yardstick of competition resulting from the availability of low-cost public power. You must participate in all the benefits of pooling, and not permit the public and cooperative sectors of the electric industry to be smothered by private power domination of the benefits of large-scale generation and transmission. For example, the new 125 miles of 345 kilovolt transmission line which the Bureau of Reclamation will soon be building between Fort Thompson, South Dakota and Grand Island, Nebraska will help strengthen the Upper Missouri River Basin electric grid and confer regional advantages that will greatly benefit your members, the region, and the nation too.

I am confident that you will maintain your alertness to the opportunities and the dangers that lie ahead for the consumer of electric power as the industry continues its massive expansion in the next decade.

I intend to continue my efforts to help consumers obtain all the electricity they desire, at the lowest possible cost, and with the maximum possible reliability of service. I shall welcome your support and cooperation. I shall be glad to work with you in the common cause.

California's Fight for Clean Air Against the Entrenched Auto Makers' Lobby Recognized as the Nation's Struggle for a Healthy Living Environment for All Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, in the last few days there has been increasing evidence of a growing public awareness that the fight now being waged by the Members of Congress from California to preserve our State's right to maintain a vigorous automobile air-pollution control program to protect the health and well-being of our 20 million citizens, is, in fact, the Nation's own fight to have a healthy living environment for every one of our 200 million citizens.

Since the House will be considering the 1967 Clean Air Act amendments within the next week or so, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD several articles which have appeared in some of the country's leading newspapers, describing this effort to eliminate the lethal impurities in the air we breathe, and to create the kind of clean atmosphere we want for ourselves and for our children.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Oct. 25, 1967]

AUTO LOBBY HIT IN POLLUTION BILL FIGHT

(By Robert Walters)

A new controversy over the lobbying efforts of the automotive industry has surfaced during preliminary House debate over an amendment to a pending air pollution measure.

Californians are fighting for a tougher bill than the House is expected to approve.

The dispute reached the House Rules Committee yesterday, when Rep. B. F. Sisk, D-Calif., charged that the House Commerce Committee "has run for cover under an attack from the auto industry."

The charge was denied promptly by Rep. Harley O. Staggers, D-W. Va., Commerce Committee chairman.

At issue is a provision in the Air Quality Act of 1967, already approved by the full Senate and the House Commerce Committee, and cleared yesterday for House floor action by the Rules Committee.

The bill authorizes a three-year expenditure of $428.3 million to expand the federal government's authority in controlling air pollution, particularly in emergency situations.

TWO APPROACHES AT ISSUE

The disputed section involves two different approaches designed to allow California to set standards more stringent than those promulgated by the federal government because pollution is a bigger problem there.

In the Senate version, Sen. George Murphy, R-Calif., successfully inserted an amendment which said the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in charge of the federal antipollution program, should allow California to set tougher auto emission standards.

Under Murphy's approach, HEW would have the burden of proving that California did not require such an exemption from the national guidelines.

But when the bill reached the Commerce Committee, Rep. John D. Dingell, D-Mich., succeeded in substituting his own amendment for the Murphy provision. It would place the burden of proving the need for a state exemption on California officials.

In addition, the Murphy amendment would place the administration of the California antipollution program under state control, while the Dingell amendment would give such authority only to HEW.

Virtually the entire 37-member California House delegation is supporting the Murphy amendment. They argue that the state must tighten its standards because, despite all previous efforts, 14,000 tons of pollutants, 90 percent from autos, are escaping into the state's atmosphere.

Dingell, in a recent floor discussion with Rep. James Harvey, D-Mich., argued that "California can arrive at more stringent emission standards under either the House or Senate version . . . The House version is, in my opinion, better because it affords a single administration for the two programs."

But Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif., who is expected to join with Rep. John Moss, D-Calif., in leading the floor fight against the Dingell amendment, argued in a recent letter to all California congressmen:

"The House Commerce Committee has yielded to the demands of the auto industry and voted for complete federal preemption in the field of auto emission control."

Dingell acknowledged yesterday that an early draft version of his disputed amendment was drawn up, at his request, by the auto industry. But he said it has since undergone two revisions.

Dingell, whose district includes Dearborn, home of the Ford Motor Co., said: "When the auto industry is right, I'm glad to stick up for them—and I believe they're right on this one."

Current readings indicate that Dingell has the votes to carry his amendment in a floor vote. His initial success was, in great measure, the result of an intensive lobbying campaign by industry officials.

Thomas C. Mann, former undersecretary of state for economic affairs who was appointed president of the Automobile Manufacturers Association last year, presented strong testimony in favor of the Dingell approach during Commerce Committee hearings.

Lynn Mote, the AMA's recently appointed lobbyist, "has been working on this daily," according to one industry source.

Also seeking support of the industry position is Lloyd N. Cutler, a senior partner in the Washington law firm of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, hired as an AMA lobbyist last during the congressional debate over the National Traffic Safety Act, which established federal safety standards for autos.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 25, 1967]

DINGELL FIGHTS CALIFORNIA SMOG CURBS

(By Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson)

Rep. John Dingell, the Detroit Democrat, is a great defender of the public interest when it comes to almost everything except automobiles. Regarding these he has been a vigorous, effective inside lobbyist for the motor moguls.

Right now Dingell is in the middle of some backstage jockeying over curtailing smog in

Los Angeles and California generally. The issue has come up as a result of the air pollution control bill which the Senate passed last summer permitting California to set tougher standards to curb motor exhaust fumes than the Federal Government may set.

Purpose of the Senate amendment was to allow California to be tougher than the rest of the country because of the serious situation faced by Los Angeles. There 90 percent of air pollution comes from motor vehicles.

When the Senate bill reached the House Commerce Committee, of which Detroit's Dingell is a member, he assumed his role as auto industry lobbyist. Guided by Lloyd Cutler, efficient attorney for the auto industry, and Tom Mann, president of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, Dingell rammed through the Commerce Committee a provision that Federal standards for auto exhaust fumes would prevail rather than any tougher standards by the states.

Dingell's bill would permit a state such as California to prove that it needed tougher standards, but in view of the present position of HEW bureaucrats, this would be difficult, perhaps impossible.

Dingell's neat campaign now faces the unanimous opposition of California Congressmen. Even conservative Sen. George Murphy, a Republican, has united with such California liberals as John Moss of Sacramento and Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego to battle against Dingell.

Sen. Murphy claims that Dingell is betraying the health of the public.

It's also claimed that the exhaust control device Detroit put on 1966 and 1967 models sold in California have not been working effectively, that it fails to function after a car operates around 5000 miles.

The legislation is due to be threshed out in the House of Representatives in the next few days.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 24, 1967]

CALIFORNIA FIGHTS CLEAN-AIR BILL TODAY

(By Eric Wentworth)

California's delegation in Congress has come out swinging against a key provision in the air-pollution bill scheduled for a House Rules Committee hearing today.

Their target is an amendment sponsored by Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) that would let the Federal Government have control over giving California any tougher auto exhaust standards than those for the rest of the Nation.

Californians want tough standards, and they want the privilege of setting their own at the state level. This was the purpose of an amendment sponsored by Sen. George L. Murphy (R-Calif.) and adopted by his Senate colleagues.

Dingell, supported by another Michigan lawmaker, Republican Rep. James Harvey, won over the House Commerce Committee to his version, which is far more palatable to the auto industry.

Californians, feeling pressure from home, where dirty air is a red-hot issue, have taken a strong bipartisan stand against the House committee's version. Two Rules committee Californians, Democrat B. F. Sisk and Republican H. Allen Smith, plan to raise the matter at the panel's hearing today.

But the big fight will come later on the House floor. Two California Democrats, Reps. Lionel Van Deerlin and John E. Moss, will lead the drive to restore the Murphy amendment there.

The Californians gained support from a new quarter yesterday when Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman (R-N.Y.), announced he would push an amendment letting Federal exhaust standards take precedence only where state standards are less strict.

Dingell, who says the auto industry came to him with the proposal he sponsored after some changes, rejects Californias' claims that his amendment would destroy their state's air clean-up program. He said the automakers are willing to outfit cars for the California market to meet special requirements in that state—they are doing so already.

But, according to Dingell, Detroit wants to avoid the "leapfrogging" that might occur if California and Washington alternately tighten their standards. Too, vesting standard-setting authority with the Federal Government alone would provide more uniformity.

Dingell, a frequent sponsor of measures to improve man's environment, is confident the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare would set standards meeting California's special needs.

His California foes say they also have confidence in the present Secretary, John W. Gardner, but can't be sure what a Gardner's successor might do.

While the Murphy approach would put the burden on the HEW Secretary to show that California shouldn't get a waiver to set its own standards, the Californians insist, the Dingell version would put the burden on their State to persuade him to establish special California standards.

The Administration itself has remained neutral.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Oct. 22, 1967]

CALIFORNIANS TO FIGHT FOR POLLUTION CONTROL—IT'S LAWMAKERS VERSUS AUTO LOBBY

(By Rudy Abramson)

WASHINGTON.—The California congressional delegation is getting set for a spirited jousting match with the powerful automobile industry lobby over the state's right to tighten auto pollution standards.

Thus far most of the action has been behind the scenes, but it is expected to break into the open this week when the Californians start rounding up support for an amendment which would allow the state to set more stringent auto emission standards without the approval of the federal government.

The provision, authored by Sen. George Murphy (R-Calif.), has been passed by the Senate, but it was knocked out by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which is handling the antipollution legislation in the House.

Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D-Calif.), who lost a bid to save the admendment in committee, is now leading a campaign to get the provision restored when the Air Quality Act of 1967 reaches the House floor, possibly as early as next week. Van Deerlin and Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.) will introduce their own amendment which is nearly identical to Murphy's.

If that fails, it will be up to Murphy to save the amendment when House and Senate conferees meet to resolve the differences in their two bills.

The auto lobby has already started circulating propaganda against the amendment and Reps. John Dingell (D) and James Harvey (R), both from the car-manufacturing state of Michigan, have written their House colleagues that the pollution bill "more appropriately meets California's need" without the Murphy amendment.

The California delegation thinks otherwise and is solidly lined up behind the move to save it.

"This amendment is extremely necessary," Murphy said last week.

"California has had the pollution problem longer, knows more about it and has more experience than any other state. I put the amendment in to make sure we could continue the progress that's been made," he declared.

"Automobile manufacturers take the position that if each state is permitted to make its own specifications, it would require 50 different engines. That's the silliest logic I've ever heard. All they have to do is make one good engine that will meet the standards in California and their problems are solved."

As the House pollution bill now stands, California would have to obtain the approval of the secretary of health, education, and welfare before putting its more stringent emission standards into effect in 1970.

Van Deerlin said he has no doubt that Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner would permit California a free hand in tightening standards.

The danger he sees is that a different secretary at HEW in the future might block the state's efforts to extend its antismog laws.

Officials at HEW said last week the department has no position on the amendment, that it is neither supporting nor opposing it. One member of the California delegation said this attitude in effect is aiding its foes.

Van Deerlin said there are three valid reasons for putting the amendment back in the bill:

1—California, which has done more than any other state to fight pollution, has clearly demonstrated its ability to run its own program.

2—Automobile emissions account for 90% of the smog problem in some areas.

3—California's present standards have enabled the auto industry to accelerate the development of pollution control technology and pass it on to all areas of the country.

In other areas of federal regulation, the U.S. government has traditionally set minimum standards, leaving states free to make them more strict if they desired.

Another notable exception—other than the House version of the pollution bill—is the cigaret labeling act. "In both cases," Van Deerlin said, "a very powerful lobby was at work."

In the House bill, as it is now written, California would have to convince the welfare secretary that it is necessary to invoke standards more stringent than the federal standards now in effect. If the secretary agreed to this, he would still retain administrative control over the tougher program.

Van Deerlin said this amounts to saying that the federal government does not trust California to run its own program.

Though the Republican Coordinating Committee recently issued a report calling for stronger state and regional control over antipollution programs, Republicans on the House Commerce Committee supported Dingell's successful effort to kill the Murphy amendment.

Nevertheless, Van Deerlin and Moss believe they can get the support to add their amendment to the bill on the House floor. Besides the solid backing of the California delegation, they hope to get the votes of representatives from other metropolitan areas with pollution problems as well as those of congressmen who support states' rights in general.

So far most of the efforts have been directed at getting California to present a solid front. This week there will be a stepped up attempt to line up votes from other members of the House.

The fight over the amendment will probably be the biggest issue when the pollution bill reaches the floor. The only other differences in the Senate and House version at this point concern the amount of money to be spent.

"It's a very forward-looking bill, and one I wouldn't hesitate to vote for even without the amendment," Van Deerlin said. "But we need the amendment."

"The House Commerce Committee has yielded to the demands of the auto industry and voted for complete federal preemption," he said.

Speaker John W. McCormack Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to call to the attention of my colleagues, the fact that Monday, October 23, our distinguished and beloved Speaker received the coveted award of Statesman of the Year from the Argo Lodge of the B'nai B'rith.

For the information of my colleagues, and so that we may join in paying tribute to our honorable Speaker, I would like to insert the speech of Speaker John W. McCormack, and the remarks of the other speakers who joined to honor him:

Tribute to B'nai B'rith

(Remarks of Hon. John W. McCormack)

Dr. Greenwood, President of Argo Lodge, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege and a pleasure to be at the Argo Lodge with you this evening. It is with the utmost humility and yet, paradoxically, with the greatest pride, that I accept this award which you have seen fit to bestow upon me—that of "Statesman of the Year": with humility, because I know that my efforts, in the context of history, must of human necessity be limited; with pride, because I value so highly the approval and recognition of an organization such as B'nai B'rith—an organization which has always distinguished itself by devotion to the political ideal of democracy, the social ideal of equal opportunity, and the humanistic ideal of individual dignity and worth.

B'nai B'rith is, as I am sure you must know, the oldest Jewish service group in the world, celebrating its one hundred and twenty-fourth birthday this month. B'nai B'rith has always, in my estimation, stood as a singular force in the long struggle of men for realization of their common bond in human brotherhood. It is an association devoted to preserving the cultural identity of Judaism, while seeking, nevertheless, to reconcile the best in Jewish ethical tradition with the American concept of democracy. In the Nation, and here in Washington, where it is so well represented by the Argo Lodge, B'nai B'rith has been an unrelenting devotee to the causes of citizenship, education, charity, and moral soundness—causes which both Judaism and Americanism have consistently espoused.

Let us consider for a moment the work of B'nai B'rith in educating the populace for responsible citizenship. This abiding concern of B'nai B'rith is anteceded in the words of the great Hebrew sage Hillel, who counseled two thousand years ago: "Separate not thyself from the community." B'nai B'rith has staked its very existence upon this precept—that a man can realize his proper potential only by relating in an active and meaningful way to the society in which he lives. By cultivating in American citizens a sense of the richness of their heritage, and a concomitant sense of the responsibilities imposed by that heritage—by constantly striving to clarify the value and meaning of American citizenship, B'nai B'rith contributes substantially and unreservedly to upholding the principles which have made America strong.

In serving the ideal of education, no less than that of citizenship, B'nai B'rith is engaged in the vital task of reaching the minds and souls of youth—of guiding both the spiritual sensibilities and vocational aptitudes of that segment of our population upon which the very future of the Nation will depend. The B'nai B'rith Youth Organisation, the B'nai B'rith Vocational Service, and the Hillel Foundations are vital adjuncts of B'nai B'rith's commitment to young people of the Jewish faith—and, in a larger sense, of all America.

The cause of charity is a special interest of B'nai B'rith—more urgent perhaps, than the causes of citizenship and education—though no less vital: and I mean *charity* in the sense of benevolent social work, as well as *charity* in the sense of human compassion and brotherly love.

In the first case, to illustrate, I point out that B'nai B'rith actively participated in disaster relief thirteen years before the birth of the Red Cross, and established both orphan homes and hospitals soon after its inception in the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout its history B'nai B'rith has been active in providing for Jews throughout the world who have suffered the bitter consequences of discrimination and oppression.

Of prime importance, in fact, in illustrating B'nai B'rith's concern for the cause of human understanding, is the task your organization has undertaken in seeking to dispel, wherever possible, the ugly manifestations of prejudice and intolerance. Created to inspire in all men a tolerance for others, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has many times over proved its effectiveness and worth. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the Anti-Defamation League stands among the vanguard of those organizations by whose efforts we enjoy a modicum of racial and religious harmony in the U.S. today—however, marred by rude intrusions of bigotry and violence that harmony may be.

Finally—in promoting the solid and time-proven ethical values contained throughout history by the vessel of Jewish culture and faith—in working to synthesize the ancient Jewish heritage of moral affirmation—based upon the threefold foundation of study, service, and benevolence—in working to synthesize the Jewish heritage with the distinctively American legacy of democracy and political freedom, B'nai B'rith is working to ensure the coming of that day when men may answer with proud affirmation the ancient question: Am I my brother's keeper?

The fundamental and salient purpose of B'nai B'rith is aptly summarized, I think, in a recently published statement of the B'nai B'rith Foundation:

"[B'nai B'rith] is both a creature and defender of Judaism. The programs it undertakes have a single underlying purpose—to strengthen and stimulate Jewish community life.

"This . . . is a task of two dimensions. In a free society where Jews have that greatest of freedoms—the right of being themselves—there is a correlative responsibility for Jews to express their religious heritage creatively, in ways that contribute to democratic living.

"This is B'nai B'rith's cause.

"The other side of the problem exists in lands where Jews are told *how* to be Jewish—denied the right to be Jews on their own terms. Here the task is to fight against the discriminations and the forced erosions of Jewish religious and cultural life.

"This too is B'nai B'rith's cause."

In short, B'nai B'rith is a source of constant strength in our National striving for the recognition by every man of the integrity of every individual and of every religious and ethnic group; for the triumph of principle and the vindication of right; for the noble assertion of mind and spirit over the baseness of appetite and the pride of passion. The long history of your organization, which has grown from 12 to over 500,000 members, is a testament to the opportunities for human improvement which democracy provides. It is as the late President Kennedy so aptly stated:

"Voluntary organizations such as B'nai B'rith are an essential part of a free society. The long history and wide range of B'nai B'rith interests have been a positive and constructive force for a good part of the history of our Nation."

May you continue in your positive and constructive influence, secure in the knowledge of past accomplishment, yet challenged by the rich opportunities which the future so numerously bestows.

Remarks by Edward Rosenblum, Past President, Argo Lodge, B'nai B'rith; Past President, District Grand Lodge No. 5, B'nai B'rith; National Hillel Commissioner, B'nai B'rith

Mr. Speaker, friends, it is strikingly fitting that we who represent America's oldest, largest and most distinguished Jewish service organization, B'nai B'rith, have voted unanimously this year to honor you, Mr. Speaker. You have similarly given not only to America but to citizens of the world a long and distinguished service. I searched thru Webster's dictionary as it defines "statesman." Webster says: "One advanced in the principles or art of government; one actively engaged in conducting the business of government or in shaping its policies; one who exercises political leadership wisely without partisanship, in the general interest." But this we know only partly defines our eminent honoree. Your host of friends and admirers everywhere would add your deep compassion for all humans regardless of faith, color or creed, your striving to uplift the poor, and seeking greater dignity and worth for the individual. We respect your deep moral and spiritual belief and fervor. We applaud your compelling love and affection for children and the aged, and your diligent labors which reach out and benefit all segments of our great American community.

Because of your attributes as a great American, a great leader, a great servant of the American people, and not the least, a great friend, we in Argo Lodge of B'nai B'rith—which means as you know, Mr. Speaker, sons of the covenant—honor you tonight with the highest award it is within our power to give—our statesman of the year award.

It is my pleasure to present to you now a young Massachusetts attorney, formerly associated with one of your distinguished colleagues, Hon. Torbert McDonald, 7th Massachusetts District, Mr. Erwin G. Krasnow, vice president of Argo Lodge, who will now, on behalf of the mass membership of our lodge, make the formal presentation.

Remarks by Erwin G. Krasnow, Vice President of Argo Lodge, B'nai B'rith and Chairman of Statesman of the Year Award Committee

It has been said that the difference between a politician and a statesman is that a politician thinks only of the next election, whereas a statesman thinks of the next generation.

We are here tonight to pay tribute to a great statesman, Speaker John W. McCormack, a man whose distinguished career in public service is marked by an ability to think and act on behalf of the next generation.

The recipient of the 1967 Statesman of the Year Award ranks as one of the greatest leaders in our national history. Beginning in 1917 when he was elected as a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, John McCormack has devoted half a century to public service. Prior to coming to Washington, D. C. as a Congressman in 1928, he enlisted in the United States Army and subsequently served in both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature.

To give proper recognition at this time to his manifold achievements during 39 years of service in the Congress is as futile as trying to telescope onto a small television screen the dimensions and grandeur of the stars in the universe. Speaker McCormack has been in the forefront of leadership as inspirational architect, master parliamentarian and resolute fighter for the passage of laws to help the underprivileged and oppressed, to strength our country's defenses and to preserve basic democratic freedoms.

For example, John McCormack's leadership in the 1930's as a ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee played a large role in the passage of the early Roosevelt legislation which brought our country out of the deep 1929 depression. Name any landmark measure enacted by the Congress in recent times—be it the Selective Service Act, the secret financing of the vital Manhattan atomic bomb project, the liberalization of our immigration laws, the establishment of our space program, the passage of civil rights legislation—history will show that John McCormack, working diligently behind the scenes, has been largely responsible for these achievements.

We pay tribute tonight to a man who has been honored many times in the past by his fellow man. The leading institutions of higher learning in our nation have acclaimed him for his work in education and for his efforts in other legislative areas directly affecting the well being of children by conferring honorary degrees of Doctor of Law upon the Speaker.

He has been honored by all religious faiths. He holds the Peace Medal of the Order of Catholic Laymen. He has been honored by the Vatican as a Knight of Malta. Several Jewish organizations have paid tribute to the Speaker for his unrelenting support of the democratic State of Israel. Indeed, Argo Lodge presented him with its coveted Americanization Award in 1957.

The people of his district and his home state of Massachusetts have honored him on many occasions. Last year the Commonwealth of Massachusetts officially declared March 16th as John W. McCormack Day. The people of Boston have named a new $3 million school building in Dorchester in his honor. The John W. McCormack School will provide for the education of more than 1100 pupils each year. Such an honor—the naming of a new public school—has not been previously granted to a public figure during his lifetime.

His colleagues in the Congress have honored John McCormack by unanimously selecting him as Speaker of the House during the 87th through 90th Congresses. The Speaker, a man whose word is his bond, is one of the most loved and respected Members of the House.

He has been honored on many occasions by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, each of whom has looked to Speaker McCormack for advice and counsel. President Johnson has stated that he knows of no person who has been more devoted, who has been more courageous under fire, and who has been more compassionate for his fellow man than our beloved Speaker. The President sent the following telegram to the Lodge and asked that it be read to the Speaker tonight The telegram reads:

"I was delighted to hear that the Argo Lodge of B'nai B'rith is presenting its 'Statesman of the Year Award' to my good friend, John McCormack. Speaker McCormack's entire public career has reflected his dedication to the democratic principles which your own organization has done so much to uphold. Your award is most fitting—and I deeply appreciate this opportunity to add my own voice to those of the Speaker's many admirers.

"Please convey my warm best wishes to him and to all who are present tonight.

"LYNDON B. JOHNSON."

Speaker McCormack, no single plaque or citation could even begin to describe the outstanding contribution you have made to the nation, the world and mankind. We of Argo Lodge are forced to be content with the following phrases:

"Argo Lodge, B'nai B'rith salutes Hon. John W. McCormack, Speaker, United States House of Representatives, as Statesman of the Year for his faithful service to the United States as a dedicated legislator, compassionate humanitarian and courageous fighter for freedom and world peace. Washington, D.C., October 23, 1967."

The officers and members of Argo Lodge wish you many more years of similar outstanding public service.

The Mayor of Washington, or What's in a Name

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, there has been some objection in the Congress to the popular and journalistic custom of calling the chief executive of the District of Columbia "Mayor" Walter Washington instead of using his technically correct title of District Commissioner. This surely must be one of the more minor issues facing the Congress, but I thought the Members might like to read why the Washington Star prefers Mayor Washington:

MR. MAYOR

In a letter the other day one of our readers asked a good question: Why, all of a sudden, is everyone going along with this business of calling Walter Washington the new mayor when his real title is District Commissioner?

There is no mystery about how it started, or why. The President began using the term, rather pointedly, at Washington's oath of office ceremony three weeks ago. He has taken every opportunity to use it since. He obviously wants it to take hold. And the reason is that "mayor" makes the District sound more like other cities. It implies that through the Johnson reorganization plan the new District head has been vested with powers which would be quite impossible if he were merely a "commissioner."

None of which is really true, and no one, of course, should be taken in by this political ploy. So why are we being taken in?

Well, we might, weaving and dodging, note that Webster does define "mayor" as the "chief executive officer of a municipal corporation," which Walter Washington certainly is. Or that mayors, in some cities, are in fact appointed rather than elected. Or even that Walter Washington, after all, needs all the prestige just now that he can muster by any means.

But the simple truth is that we are persuaded by a consideration of purely personal convenience: the word "commissioner," to put it bluntly, just doesn't fit in headlines. "Mayor" fits fine.

It used to be that we got around this dilemma by using names such as Tobriner, Duncan or Mathe. But "Washington," let's face it, counts nearly as long in the copy book as "commissioner." Besides, the person is apt to be confused with the city. And we've never been one of those who call people FDR or LBJ—so WW is out.

Mayor, it is. Our copy readers are overjoyed. You should get better headlines. And so long as no one is deceived, what's the harm?

Emergency Phone Numbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the Record a copy of an article in the Kokomo Times describing the value of the single, uniform emergency phone numbers for fire and police calls. The author picks out some interesting cases showing when and where such numbers would be an invaluable assistance. The Kokomo Times is published in Kokomo, Ind., a part of the Fifth Congressional District, which I represent. The last part of the letter alludes to the present time problem in Indiana which is one of the States divided into more than one time zone.

The article follows:

FROM ROUSH TO THE TIME PROBLEM

(By Jan-Udo Wenzel)

Rep. J. Edward Roush is pushing a very worthwhile subject in Washington.

He wants a common emergency telephone number for all police stations and fire stations in the United States.

In a recent national magazine story Roush's idea got a lot of publicity, but not too many people seem to have heard about it.

Roush feels that a lot of crime could be prevented, that people would get aid faster and that police could do a more efficient job, if everyone, even in a strange town, knew how to locate them at once without having to look up the number.

In our local telephone book the police department is listed three times: once under Kokomo, City of, in the Yellow Pages and under P for police. But the last listing does not even rate black-faced bold print.

For a stranger in Kokomo it would be hard to find in the Yellow Page, because there it is listed under Police Department, see Government Offices, city. There it is listed a fourth time.

I presume Roush takes his cue from Great Britain. There the whole of the nation is covered by one emergency police number, namely 999.

It is so easy to remember that even a preschooler should be able to dial it.

Here, where the population is as dense as in Britain and where you have a city or town every few miles, you could bleed to death before you find the number in the phone book. That is, if you first of all find a phone book in a public booth.

Since Roush is representing us in Washington, I feel we should encourage him and let him know that he has a good idea . . .

Imagine, history may later list a congressman from Indiana as the unifying force in the country as far as telephone numbers are concerned.

Seriously, though, couldn't you just see yourself in troube somewhere near Hicktown, U.S.A. and unable to find a phonebook? Along highways I haven't seen a directory anyway, but in the West I noticed emergency numbers in plastic cases near the phones.

Furthermore, the emergency call should be free, without depositing a dime first.

Don't you find yourself without a dime quite often?

Sure, you'll say, one can always call the operator.

I don't know about you, but I have had up to more than a dozen rings sometimes before she answers.

Not her fault, but there it is. If you had a a simple number like that in Britain you would save time by calling directly.

(Yes, I know, it should not be 999, we most certainly not copy the British, should we now?)

So let's get behind Mr. Roush, even if you are a Republican and it is election year.

This action of a Democrat could even help a Republican in an emergency.

Can't see all the fuss about the time question her in Indiana.

The time zones were regulated by international agreement with Zero Hour at Greenwich, England.

Each time zone was so designed that the globe was spanned by 24 equal zones.

If everyone, including those people living in this state, would adhere strictly to the agreement, then there would not be a question at all.

Sure, it may be tough on some for economical reasons and tough on others for other reasons, but I think the zones were regulated for a purpose.

If in the past someone would not have given in and pushed the line to where it was not supposed to, we wouldn't have had trouble.

But someone did and it seems as if someone else is trying to promote more of that sort of thing.

The U.S. as far as I can recall was a signatory to the agreement about time zones in the world. Lt's stick to that and tell the lobbies who want other things for their own ends to go and live somewhere else.

Retirement of Russell S. Hilbert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I today bring to your attention the November 1 retirement of Russell S. Hilbert, superintendent of Redford Union Schools, Redford Township, Mich.

Russ Hilbert has dedicated 43 years of his productive life to educational administration, so his retirement, though a reward for his many years of service, is also regarded as a great loss for the Redford Union School system. During those 43 years, Russ has served as school superintendent, not only in the Redford Union School system, but also in the Michigan communities of Sebewaing and Romeo.

Except for postgraduate study done at the Universities of Chicago and California, Russ Hilbert has been a lifelong resident of the State of Michigan, having been born near Wayland in Allegan County. Russ attended Wayland public schools and did his undergraduate work at Western Michigan University. His masters degree was earned at the University of Michigan, where he also did postgraduate work.

During World War II Russ served his country as an officer in the U.S. Air Force. He saw action in the Pacific theater.

Russ Hilbert serves as chairman of the teachers retirement committee of the Michigan Association of School Administrators, is a charter member of the Redford Township Music Society, served as a director of the Redford Township Chamber of Commerce, and on the Governor's Committee on Pre-Paid Hospital and Medical Plans, and is a former president of both the Macomb and Wayne County School Administrators.

As you can see, Mr. Speaker, Russell Hilbert has dedicated his life to bettering his fellow man, and the job he has done stands as a fine example for those who are to follow.

I share today in the pride which Mrs. Hilbert and the Hilberts' daughter, Mary Margaret, sons James and Roger, and six grandchildren derive from the contribution Russell Hilbert has made to enrich the lives of all those who know him.

Better Late Than Never

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the bombing of Phuc Yen, North Vietnam's biggest airbase, is not an escalation of the war there but, as so emphatically and accurately pointed out in the following commentary in this morning's Chicago Tribune, is a belated practical military action:

TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS LATE

American warplanes flew thru intense missile and anti-aircraft fire yesterday to bomb Phuc Yen, North Viet Nam's biggest air base, 18 miles northwest of the capital, Hanoi. Many soviet-designed MIG jets were destroyed or damaged on the ground, at least one was shot down in aerial combat, and the air field was knocked out of action. The Communists claimed nine American planes.

The news was that this was the first time American jets had been permitted to attack the huge MIG air field. It was news that should have been made more than two and a half years ago—when President Johnson launched the air war against North Viet Nam in February 1965.

At that time the military chiefs favored massive and continuous air strikes against every vital military target in North Viet Nam, including Hanoi's half a dozen MIG air fields and missile bases. The President and Secretary of Defense McNamara said no. They would approve only a few selected targets. The policy was to be a slow squeeze, sometimes so slow that few could detect when any additional pressure was applied.

Rather than a punishing knockout blow from the air, favored by military strategists, Pentagon policy remained one of cautious attrition. And while vital targets were withheld from attack, North Viet Nam was able to build up its supply of anti-aircraft guns and missiles, enlarge and strengthen its air fields, and train an air force whose bases remained off limits.

Only this year have American pilots been able to zero in—and then only occasionally—on MIG bases. Phuc Yen was the fifth to be attacked since Jan. 1. Still untouched is the Gia Lam MIG field, three miles northeast of Hanoi, which also happens to be North Viet Nam's major airport. Pilots who fly thru the Communists' flak alley wonder if it will take another 2½ years before the White House turns them loose on Gia Lam.

Connecticut Footwear Plant Sets New Safety Record for World's Rubber Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the Naugatuck, Conn., footwear plant of UniRoyal, Inc., has set a new safety record of 13,970,162 man-hours worked without a disabling accident. This is a noteworthy accomplishment on the part of the 4,300 employees of the Naugatuck plant and the firm's officials.

I have visited the Naugatuck plant often and, I am aware, not only of the competence and efficiency of its employees, but also of the extraordinary safety measures initiated and implemented by employer and employee alike.

I include here, Mr. Speaker, a story which appeared in the October 23, 1967, edition of the Naugatuck Daily News which sets forth, in some detail, the significance of the new safety record set in Naugatuck, Conn.:

UNIROYAL'S LOCAL FOOTWEAR PLANT SETS NEW WORLD'S SAFETY RECORD FOR RUBBER INDUSTRY: 13,970,162 MAN-HOURS

A new World's Safety Record for the entire rubber industry of 13,970,162 man-hours worked without a disabling accident has been set by the 4,300 employees of the Naugatuck Footwear Plant of UniRoyal, Inc., according to an announcement made by Jack M. Smith, factory manager.

The new mark was established by operating since January 27, 1966 without a single disabling injury to anyone in the plant.

The main factor in attaining this success, according to Smith, is the cooperation of everyone in practicing and promoting safety throughout the plant.

"Since safety is everybody's business, everybody at Naugatuck Footwear can take great pride in their accomplishment" he went on to say. "I hope we can add still more to this record by continuing indefinitely to work without any disabling injuries," Smith concluded.

During the past few years, the Naugatuck Footwear Plant has concentrated special emphasis on problems of safety. A large-scale continuing program of safety was developed with the aim being to make each and every employee safety conscious. Many new and improved safety methods and devices were also introduced in the plant under the guidance of Stanley Abromaitis, plant safety supervisor, in cooperation with the Union-Management Safety Committee.

UniRoyal plants have always been active in the promotion of safety. The Providence Plant set the World's Safety Record for the rubber industry in 1936 and held this record until 1946 when the St. Jerome Footwear Plant of UniRoyal in Canada broke it.

Firestone then broke St. Jerome's record until April 1955 when a new record was set by the local Footwear Plant. In 1959 the local plant again attained an enviable record of 13,970,161 man-hours without a disabling injury, a record bettered Friday.

Dedication of the Anthony E. Doulos Memorial Library

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 15, the Anthony E. Doulos Memorial Library was dedicated at the George K. Menichios Post of the American Legion.

Anthony E. Doulos was born in Mytilene, Greece on January 12, 1912. He was a resident of Dorchester, Mass., and served with the U.S. Army in India during World War II. Mr. Doulos was very active in American Legion affairs and was a benefactor to both the community and the American Legion.

The Anthony E. Doulos Memorial Library is a tribute from the George K. Menichios and the Doulos family to the memory of Anthony E. Doulos, who died on November 23, 1964.

The Honorable Charles N. Collatos, Massachusetts Commissioner of Veterans' Services, delivered the eulogy at the dedication ceremony. This eulogy is both a tribute to the dead and the living: To Anthony E. Doulos, whose life in his adopted land made this library a fitting tribute to his work; and to James Doulos, Tony's brother, whose love for his brother prompted him to donate the needed funds for the library.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Commissioner Collatos' eulogy in the RECORD.

DEDICATION OF ANTHONY E. DOULOS LIBRARY

(Address by Charles N. Collatos, Massachusetts Commissioner of Veterans' Services, at the dedication of Anthony E. Doulos Library at George K. Menichios Post, Boston, Mass., October 15, 1967)

Today, as we dedicate the Anthony E. Doulos Library, we must pause and reflect because of the individual emotions that stir within us.

Our first impulse is to give vent to inspiring phrases saluting Tony's accomplishments in life as a brother, as an uncle, as a friend and as a good Greek-American who served his country in World War Two.

Today, however, I think quietly, simply, we must honestly reflect that in honoring Tony, we also honor his generation's fellow-Greeks who crossed the sea to come to America—the land of dreams.

They came here intent on becoming good citizens—and they were—gaining the coveted honor of United States citizenship, being privileged to fight for their new country and for democracy, helping the Greek Orthodox Church become established—and above all, helping and sharing with his fellow Greek-Americans.

Today, we should, in this dedication ceremony, join in silent prayer, remembering and thanking Almighty God for the hand with which he has so mercifully guided so many of those of Greek extraction who journeyed to the then far away and different country of America, with its difficult language barrier, strange customs and the everlasting problem of every-day existence.

Through the guidance of the Almighty God, our people have made their way in America, side by side, with their fellow-Americans—proud of their achievements and holding their head high, proudly, that because of their sacrifices we of the second generation here in America have been able to obtain the education and knowledge that is so vitally necessary in our competitive society.

The torch they passed on to us is to perpetuate the best of values of two great countries—Greece and America—and for us, you and I, and those who will use this library in the search for knowledge, to be constantly mindful of the sacrifices they made for us to enjoy and contribute to a better life in a better America.

Our task is to perpetuate these ideals and values—and to continue making their sacrifices worth the giving to us.

Anthony Doulos was born in Greece on January 12, 1912. He served his adopted country in the U.S. Army in World War Two, serving with the overseas forces in India. We are proud of his dedicated service and honor him for it.

Anthony died on November 23, 1964.

About three years later, we join here together because of the love and affection of brother for brother—Jimmie-Eleftherios—and John.

You and I are here because, in the final analysis, as are families so is our society. Where brothers are one in honor and affection and where their children—the nieces and nephews have a common bond of care and love—the family unit contributes and makes possible the furtherance of our society. Such was and is the Doulos family.

The patriarch of the Doulos family is the benefactor of this library in honor of his brother.

Jimmie Doulos personifies all that our forefathers wanted in their sons, and especially, their oldest son.

He has been tried in the crucible of human regard, and not found wanting—as a brother—as a father—as an uncle—as a friend—and here today, as a benefactor of the American Legion and the veterans it represents.

Jimmie Doulos is a vital part of our community, and has contributed so much to its progress.

Jimmie has helped transform the once eyesore of a fish pier to the position where it is now—a powerful center of economic life in our city and state.

Through his dynamic industry and foresight, coupled with hard, unstinting work, he transformed a twenty-stool cafe to the magnificent, outstanding Jimmie's Harborside—one of the greatest restaurants in our country—an institution that all the Greeks share in the glory of.

But, throughout his success, he has not forgotten his deep obligation to his brother. And in the true tradition of a noble Greek, who excels in his participation in the affairs of the community, by dedicating this library to his brother, he is also honoring his fellow-Americans of Greek descent, who served side by side with his brother, to make this world a better place in which to live.

Indeed, by Jimmie's actions, all of us share in the deep obligation we owe to all the gallant Americans who have fought in our wars to keep America the land of the free.

As this library will testify to, the love and honor of brother for brother—it will also show to one and all that the parents of the Jimmie and Tony—well instructed their children in love and devotion for one another and what is of greater importance, a love for their country, both of birth and choice.

For we know that Mother and Father Doulos were the springs from which went forth the streams of a common bond of family kinship and love.

Anthony Doulos knew, prior to his passing away, what heaven was like—for we know that a happy family is but an earlier heaven.

God grant that, by the Doulos magnificent gift to the Menichio's American Legion Post, those who will use this library—that we who will share in it—will leave this room of knowledge with the fervent prayer and wish that we, too, will do all we can to have a happy family—not only so that we can enjoy a happier heaven here on earth—but so that our children and our children's children can make their contribution to make our city, our state and our country a better place in which to live and to show to one and all, that proudly, by utilizing the ideals and philosophy of Mother Greece, we can shape and mould them so that we, too, can take pride in being a better American. And with the help of God, we will be better Americans.

GOP Turns Its Back on Our Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, those Republicans who voted so determinedly against model cities and rent supplements yesterday should understand that by their actions they rang the bell for another round of urban riots.

It seems as if they would rather see blood run in the streets than lift one little finger to clean up the slums.

By their votes on these two bills, the Republicans showed their total disinterest in the problems of the cities—as well as demonstrating a full measure of hypocrisy.

Virtually all the Republican Presidential candidates, their Governors and mayors, as well as their members of Congress, screamed to high heaven at the time of last summer's riots that the Government must provide more assistance to the cities—and must encourage private industry to help.

But when the moment of truth arrives—when they are called upon to vote for programs which do exactly what they say must be done—they run like scared rabbits.

They are the first to scream that our cities are in a mess but they are the last to do anything about it.

Particularly in regard to rent supplements their vote shows clearly they do not want private enterprise joining the battle to rehabilitate our slums any more than they want the Government to.

Only a few weeks ago the Nation's insurance companies pledged a billion dollars to help improve slum housing and urged passage of the rent supplement program to help them in the job.

If the insurance companies are willing to pledge a billion dollars you would think that Congress would at least appropriate $40 million.

Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned with the problem of air pollution and seek ways in which this threat to our very existence may be removed, and that the air we breathe will be free of harmful pollutants.

I have been particularly impressed with remarks made recently by the Honorable Robert E. McNair, Governor of South Carolina, to the Southeast Public Officials Regional Clean Air Institute.

The able Governor noted the importance of State and local initiative in solving the problem of air pollution and I respectfully include his statement in the RECORD for the benefit of the Members:

REMARKS BY GOV. ROBERT E. MCNAIR TO SOUTHEAST PUBLIC OFFICIALS REGIONAL CLEAN AIR INSTITUTE

In America today we face many problems. We are fighting a war in southeast Asia, battling civil disorders in our own cities, losing tens of thousands of our people in automobile accidents each year, and trying to contain disease, poverty, blight and other social, medical, mechanical and material problems. When one stops and looks around, we wonder if we as human beings are big enough and resourceful enough to cope with everything. And, as if our problems weren't already numerous enough, we are now facing—with new concern—something that threatens our lives through the mere involuntary act of breathing.

Americans are actually injuring themselves—and perhaps significantly reducing the length of their lives—in greater proportion and with greater frequency than ever before because the air we breathe is becoming increasily dirty and poisonous. Air Pollution—the problem which is the center of your discussions here today and tomorrow—has become a top concern of government and business leaders and even the man on the street. It used to be that we pretty much took for granted the air we breathed. But today, we see a little soot or smoke in the air or smell something a little bit foreign, and we get upset about the amount of "suspended particulates," sulphur dioxide gasses, or other pollutants in the air. We know that dirty air hurts us and we don't like it. People are vitally concerned about air pollution—and they should be.

Recently we saw on television an hour long documentary produced by one of the networks. The study reported that air pollution is "one of the most urgent health problems in America." It said that three of every five persons in the United States are breathing "dangerously polluted air."

This is a disgrace. This national disregard for clean air is impairing the health of our people today and possibly of future generations. And something must be done to correct it. Because we have no choice but to breathe the air around us, it seems imperative to me that we should act, and act quickly, to clean it up. The U.S. Senate Committee on Public Works was correct when it said that the American people recognize the threat of air pollution and they want action.

No one has the right to use the air as a garbage dump. Because the atmosphere belongs to everyone and has no boundary, it should be the desire of everyone, individual as well as manufacturer, to keep it as clean as we can through a little discretion and mechanical control.

This problem of air pollution is no longer just the problem of the major industrial centers. It is spreading like a cancer into all areas of the country, and here in the once placid southeastern region, we are now facing this new menace. Even the beautiful "Sunshine State" of Florida is having the problem. A recent edition of the Tampa newspaper reported that because of expanded industrialization in the Southeast, the frequency and length of "smoggy" mornings is increasing. The article noted that fog, which used to "burn off" by nine o'clock in the morning is now lingering until midday because of additional concentrations of pollutants from industry in neighboring states. This is disturbing, for we must depend on the one hand upon increased industrialization for the economic growth of our region, and at the same time, fight the emmissions of industrial smoke and gasses that come with it.

In our state of South Carolina, where we have a pronounced temperature inversion—the most severe of any state along the entire eastern seaboard—we are still relatively free of air pollution; but should we continue our present rate of industrialization, we will have—in just a few years—a severe pollution problem. Our future problems may come through the solution of another problem.

We have been talking recently of ways to stop the out migration of rural people who are streaming to the large cities of the North. This problem is with us in South Carolina and most rural areas of the nation. Farm mechanization, a boon to our total agricultural output, is putting literally thousands of people out of work.

The result is that now 70 per cent of this country's population lives on only one per cent of the land—in the major cities. And the saddest part of it all is that most of the workers who left the farm for the city are still out of work and living in abject poverty.

What has recently been proposed is a concentration of effort on getting these people back home by convincing industry that it can build factories in the rural areas, close to good highways, and close to good sources of labor, and make an even greater profit than it can in the big cities.

But the problem here is that if we are successful in getting industry to go to the labor sources instead of the other way around, we may end up with industrial pollution in the very places where we now enjoy the cleanest air and the purest water. This would be a high price to pay for progress.

Therefore, we cannot be lulled by complacency and apathy while we enjoy the clean air we have today.

Because the Southeast is becoming one of the more industrialized areas of the country, we face a great challenge and a unique opportunity. Industry is the economic salvation of our region, and we have worked long and hard in making our area attractive to industry. And as we move forward, we have the opportunity of planning for our growth—even as it relates to pollution.

It has been the history of our region to operate by the "crisis system." In our state—as in most others—we have too often had to resolve issues, after they have developed into a crisis. But in respect to air pollution, we can move to meet the problem now instead of waiting until it has grown to unmanageable proportions.

In South Carolina, we have recognized the eventual threat of air pollution and have a Pollution Control Authority, charged with the responsibility of monitoring the air at fifteen different points across the state. This agency with a patient but firm hand, is working with industry, municipalities and others in an effort to reduce the harmful content of pollutants in the air.

This is a pattern that is developing across the country. With cooperation at all levels of government and industry, each state is recognizing its own pollution problem and is moving to correct it. Sometimes the pace is not fast enough, and the cooperation not as good as it can be but, generally, the states are recognizing their responsibilities and living up to them.

"State responsibility" is the new theme in our nation today. We recently attended the Southern Governors' Conference in North Carolina, where the repeated emphasis was on the responsibility to each state to live up to its commitments to its citizens. Even the Federal Government has shown a new willingness to "let the states do it." This naturally carries over into the area of air pollution control.

And why, all of a sudden, is there a mad rush to solve our air pollution problems? Is it because we recognize the problem? Or is it because we recognize that if we as states don't resolve it, the federal government will do it for us?

It is almost unanimously agreed that the states should take care of their own pollution problems in their own ways. Because conditions and sources differ widely, so must the methods of controlling air quality. As long as the quality of the air is maintained at a level that provides protection for the public health and welfare, the state should be free of dictation and control from the Federal government.

States should also work together closely to insure that the pollution levels are maintained at an acceptable level for each neighboring state, as the smoke and gasses move through the atmosphere into other regions. A compact arrangement among several states could have beneficial effects on pollution control.

When looking around for someone to blame for the pollution problem, I think we should make it clear that we don't fault industry alone. It is perhaps the primary responsibility of industry to control emission of smoke and poisonous gasses, but it is important that we recognize the steps industry has taken to control pollution and commend them for their progress. Although there are still problems in some areas, most manufacturers are seeing their responsibility and meeting it.

As an example, the petoleum industry has spent 220-million dollars in the past 10 years on research into ways of reducing pollution and it is currently spending 40-million dollars a year on controlling pollution. This new consciousness is carrying over in other major industries.

The contributions made by industry must be continued however, and expanded, if the fight is to be won. Last Friday's *Wall Street Journal* said in an editorial that "any state trying to solve air pollution problems is not being helped by the outworn parochialism of some of its industries." The writer warned that "the record shows that when states have proved themselves unwilling or unable, either singly or in regional cooperation, to, cope with problems affecting large numbers of their citizens, the Federal government will respond." The editorial further noted that "a state can move to remedy any kind of problem no faster than those in it are willing to go."

I think we are aware of Washington's willingness to move, if we don't. This has been manifested many times in other areas involving health, education, welfare and other matters close to the people. Without the full cooperation of industry, we would not be this far along in pollution control, and without continued cooperation, we will, in effect, be inviting Washington to do the job for us.

Let us say here however, that we need the help of the Federal Government—and welcome it. But the primary responsibility for carrying out pollution control programs should be with the states and its various government subdivisions.

In soliciting cooperation from industry, we should make it clear that we want to work with everyone to reduce air pollution. The problem goes far beyond that of industrial pollution, and cleaning up industry won't entirely clean up the air.

The Public Health Service says that every urban area of 50 thousands or more population now has an air pollution problem. Many under that size also have problems, depending upon pollution sources and atmospheric conditions. It is estimated that in most of our cities, at least half of the gray pall that hangs over them in the wintertime is caused by small commercial buildings, offices, apartment buildings, and individual home fires. Such complexes as a hospital or a prison also contribute greatly to the overall pollution level. Automobile exhausts make up a portion of the smog, but this should decrease a major source with the advent of federal emission control devices. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the polluted air in the city of Denver, Colorado, is the result of back yard incinerators. The source of non-industrial pollution can even be attributed to the burning of leaves, or charcoaling of steaks in your back yard.

Because the major population centers are themselves responsible for polluting the air, it is only fitting that they resolve their own problem, in accordance with an overall comprehensive state program.

Our city of Spartanburg, in the upper part of South Carolina, is a good example of local responsibility in action. The Mayor, Bob Stoddard, spoke to you about their progress earlier today, so we won't go into all the details again. But we do want to emphasize that Mayor Stoddard's city—one of our most industrialized—shows the lowest pollution level of any city of comparable size, and is lower than many cities much smaller. While this dramatically emphasizes the benefits of a good local program—and we commend the Mayor for it—the jurisdiction of the control authority unfortunately stops at the city limits.

This, I believe, shows us that we need to strengthen our program at the state level—reaching out into each municipality and county in a coordinated effort, with our objective being to localize programs in accordance with local conditions, regardless of boundary lines.

Throughout the Southeast—and in other parts of the country as well—air pollution control programs exist at various levels of government. In many instances, these programs are superimposed one atop another, each going its separate ways to accomplish a common goal, and yet using many different guideposts. It would be far more effective to launch a concerted and coordinated effort with each level of government making the contribution it is best able to make.

With everything being equal, the lowest level of government capable of carrying on a regulatory program should be the one to do it. Technical support, financial assistance and expert guidance should be lent from the levels above it, for strength and uniformity. This approach would allow city-county cooperation or regional programming, with the overall state program as guide and backstop. The state could then reach out to Washington for further assistance in meeting the needs of the general geographic region in which it resides.

The major contribution the state can make is in planning the proper approach to the pollution problems. It has been said many times that the future belongs to those who plan for it. The future health of our people will depend, in large measure, on how we plan to meet the problem of pollution. Good planning can stimulate action because in many cases, inaction is the result of not knowing which way to go. Improper planning—or no planning at all—leads to confusion and conflict and can slow progress. When it comes to reducing pollution, the program must be comprehensive, and just as important, coordinated, at each level of government.

The need for action against air pollution should be clear to all of us. We as government leaders and individuals know the problem and its importance. It has been said that we will *have to* do something about it in five years, so why not do it now, while we still have enough good air to do it in, and while we are relatively free of federal intervention? This is not a Federal problem, but it will become one if the states wait too long to act.

Pollution control costs money—and the price keeps going up. But the financial commitment will be a small price to pay if we can substantially improve the quality of the air.

It will take new thinking, new approaches, to solve the problems. Because scientists know too little about pollution and its causes, industries, government and education institutions will have to press ahead with research programs; because there is no one universal air pollution problem, each area will be faced with solving its own problem in its own way, and because of the vastness of the problem, industry, the business community and all levels of government, will have to continue—and improve—the spirit of cooperation.

The most hopeful sign in this battle is the increased awareness of the problem and support for its solution on the part of the public. The strength of a state—and of the nation—is derived from its people. With their continued interest, we will win the battle of air pollution. Despite all the other problems we face today, we cannot ignore *this* problem.

Key Marine Institute Post Filled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Georgia has realized one of our most important national programs will be a concentrated effort to unlock the vast food and mineral resources of the sea. Georgia is fast moving ahead in the new frontier of oceanography with the planned establishment of the Ocean Science Center of the Atlantic on Skidaway Island near Savannah, Ga. It will be operated by the university system of Georgia. A key post at the new center will be filled by Dr. Thomas W. Jackson, who will direct the graduate marine institute at the center.

The Savannah Evening Press of October 19, 1967, marked the appointment with the following editorial:

KEY MARINE INSTITUTE POST FILLED

The Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia has selected one of its top-notch scientists and administrators to become the first director of the graduate marine institute that will become a major phase of the Ocean Science Center of the Atlantic on Skidaway Island.

Dr. Thomas W. Jackson, the new director, is qualified in every way for the position. He is now serving as acting director of the graduate division of Georgia Institute of Technology and has served as the chief of the mechanical engineering division of the school's experiment station.

Dr. Jackson is no newcomer to the field of ocean science by any means. He has built a one-man submarine and is scheduling tests with the vehicle.

He has a strong educational background at the University of Illinois, University of California, and Purdue University. In the field of mechanical engineering, he is highly recognized in research and educational circles. He has authored a book on research and is the author or co-author of many scientific documents.

Dr. Jackson worked with the aerospace program in its early days.

Evenutally, as head of the marine institute, Dr. Jackson will become a citizen of our community and it indeed is a pleasure to welcome such an outstanding scientist to the Savannah scene.

Pittsburgh Commerce Institute—Creative Initiative in Business-Government Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on November 17, Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge will lead a team of top officials of the Department of Commerce to the city of Pittsburgh, to participate in a seminar on the services and information available to businessmen from the Commerce Department.

This meeting might appear to be a very ordinary and commonplace event.

What lifts this seminar above the level of the ordinary, however, is the way it came about. Some farsighted business and civic leaders from Pittsburgh came to the conclusion that there are many facilities and services offered by the U.S. Department of Commerce which could be directly helpful to the businesses and the economy of the Pittsburgh area. But rather than wait for this information to come to them, they decided to take the initiative on their own.

The Pittsburgh Commerce Institute was established to provide the mechanism for a meaningful face-to-face meeting between Federal Government officials and businessmen from the Pittsburgh area.

To indicate the broad base of interest and participation in the institute, I would like to list the local organizations and local chapters of national groups represented on the steering committee.

The list includes: Advertising Club of Pittsburgh, American Marketing Association, Association of Industrial Advertisers, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Duquesne University, Economic Club of Pittsburgh, Engineers Society of Western Pennsylvania, Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Patent Law Association, Pennsylvania Bankers Association, Public Relations Society, Purchasing Agents Association, Sales-Marketing Executives of Pittsburgh, Special Libraries Association, Traffic Club of Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, and the Pittsburgh Field Office of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge responded by designating high-level officials from the National Bureau of Standards, Economic Development Administration, U.S. Travel Service Environmental Science Services Administration, Patent Office, Bureau of the Census Office of Business Economics, Business and Defense Services Administration, Office of Field Services, and the Bureau of International Commerce.

During the seminar, Pittsburgh businessmen will learn how to secure services and information on export expansion, the promotion of tourism, business statistics, marketing, and a broad range of other topics.

I am encouraged by this example of enlightened business-Government partnership, and I predict that both partners will benefit greatly from this meeting.

The Plight of Soviet Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow marks the end of the Jewish high holy day season. Families in synagogues across the world will celebrate Simchat Torah, "rejoicing over the law," as they begin the yearly cycle of the reading of the law.

This holiday has a twofold nature: solemn, because it ends the most holy period in the Jewish year, and joyous because it signifies the new year, the renewal of faith, and the celebration of the repetition of Biblical law.

The joy inherent in Simchat Torah is complete. Families attend services in the synagogue which are filled with singing and dancing. Often the children march up and down the aisles, carrying signs, flags, and noisemakers, while the older congregants sing Hebrew and Jewish folksongs. Often the service goes far into the night with music, food, and dancing by the oldest men around the Ark.

This celebration occurs all over the world; in the Soviet Union it takes place only because Soviet Jews have refused to let their religion die.

For 3 years, thousands of Soviet Jewish youths have thronged to Russian synagogues to experience the joy of Simchat Torah. Often the synagogues have been closed down by the Soviet Government. These young men and women have been denied a Jewish education; they have not been allowed to study the Jewish customs or religion of their parents. They have not learned Yiddish or Hebrew; and they have not even been allowed to participate in many of their most important ceremonies and festivals because the Russian Government has refused to permit the sale or manufacture of such vital objects as Passover matzoth, or taleissim and tfilin for daily prayer.

Soviet Jewry has been the brunt of restrictive measures far harsher than those applied to any other national or religious group. Ostensibly, the Soviet Union has a tolerant attitude toward national groups and religious groups which encourages them to develop institutions to perpetuate their cultures. This has not been their policy toward Judaism.

Many of their policies have been so restrictive that they have been destructive of the very substance of Jewish life. The news coverage and propaganda that surround actions by Jews and Jewish groups are often so virulent that they can only be classified as anti-Semitism.

In the past year, the Soviet Union has lessened some of the curbs which made the continuation of Jewish life almost impossible. We must continue to call attention to the fact that the theory and the reality of Soviet treatment of nationalities and religious groups are not the same.

At this time of the year, when Jews all over the world celebrate this joyous season, let us extend our support to Soviet Jewry in the hopes that the Government of the Soviet Union will relent and will allow this age-old people to continue following their religion and teaching their children the ways of their fathers.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Poems by Mrs. Donna Crebbin, Columbus, Nebr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, Mrs. Donna Crebbin, of Columbus, Nebr., is an amateur poetess whose sole reward is the gratification which comes from sharing her work with others to whom it has meaning.

Last year, it was my privilege to have her poem, "Poland," printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Today I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two of her latest poems. One is a reflection on the village of Lidice, Czechoslovakia, which was completely destroyed by the Germans during World War II. The other is a tribute to Sir Winston Chruchill.

There being no objection, the poems were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VALIANT MAN: A TRIBUTE TO WINSTON CHURCHILL

(By Donna M. Crebbin)

Mournfully, he pondered his beloved England's bitter cup,
Then the bull-dog of tenacity surely spoke:
"We owe our future generations victory!
Relentlessly then we must fight on.
Though the hours are dead darkness now,
There always must be a dawn!
To the valiant, victory always comes!
Though perilous be the price,
Inherent freedoms of all men, involve this sacrifice.
England's fate is precious—we'll all survive or must die.
A noble nation is suffering—take up the battle cry.
The flag of England flies on somber.
Our Christianity is at stake.
Usurp this wretched war monger!
Appeasement is a mistake.
Across the sea reigns freedom,
America is our friend.
Look not back in martyrdom!
Forged steel must never bend!
There's faith and hope for tomorrow,
Though monumental be the price,
Future civilization revolves around sacrifice.
Surrender is forbidden!
Dreadful losses we must ignore.
When England's history is written,
A heritage (priceless) triumphs forevermore.
When this indefatigable struggle is over,
Let us kneel and thank God from our shore,
In the future let nations live much like brothers,
To all valiant men we owe this and more!"

LIDICE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(By Donna M. Crebbin)

Even though the world does not care to remember,
A small Bohemian village—15 miles from Prague!
To the women survivors, memories still burn so tender!
Yet today on a gently rolling but desolate landscape.
A living symbol of ravagement and cruel martyrdom,
Bohemian men, women and children—173 men gone!
One generation is removed—always will be missing.
Remembrance makes the revengeful enemy's cruelty live on!
In the high wooden cross—naked hate breathes and rises,
Through barbed wire—a few scattered stones on a cold mass grave,
For such monstrosity a bewildered human only surmises,
An embellished, grandiose memorial is surely a mistake!
Though a brand new little village rises—100 yards from the old,
They say the ground there is ever so much higher,
But that the bitter memories and salty tears still grab hold.
Lidice women—"the only survivors" and a few children,
They tell the story: "I believe it must now be 25 yrs. old,"
Of the revenge and the enemy's cruelty,
A tortured eulogy those brave women dare to unfold,
Their main street today is broad and it's very new,
They've planted young trees; they're all uniform in height.
A House of Culture stands; it must needs help to renew,
To establish hope, give inspiration and perhaps a new might.
To the brave—the future Lidicen's—who've had to give twice.
In death, to their loved ones and now to establish a new life.
I beg we should all strive to pray and also to remember—
That Lidice, Czechoslovakia may seem ever so far away,
But to every God-loving American, this same agony could happen here some day.
And to these brave, sorrowing peoples, we humbly, with love, say:
"The new Lidice, we salute, with many tears in ours eyes!
Because in our hearts, we all share each wrong burden,
No matter how or where such terrible hate lies,
And let the children grow up strong like the barley,
Which is growing so green and high on that common grave,
And though it pains us—let us also remember this error forever!
We'll pray a miracle happen and one day we can say: "They forgave!"

Local Leadership Is Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, with the Nation's top leaders speaking out concerning the plight of the country's cities, I would like to call the attention of this body to an editorial which appeared in the De Kalb New Era, one of the Fourth District's prominent weekly newspapers, which I think reflects the thinking of a great many Americans that the appropriation of more and more money will not eliminate the problems of the cities.

For my colleagues information, I am inserting this editorial into the RECORD:

[From the De Kalb (Ga.) New Era]

LOCAL LEADERSHIP IS ANSWER

Our cities have many problems. No one will deny that. However, the causes of urban unrest won't be eliminated merely by the appropriation of more and more tax money. Leadership and sound programs at the state and local level are the great need.

Federal funds for metropolitan areas have increased from $3.9 billion in 1960 to an estimated $10.3 billion in fiscal 1968. In fact, federal appropriations for programs in our cities have increased by 165 percent in less than a decade.

For example, in the last five years over $3 billion has been appropriated for urban renewal, over $1 billion for low-rent public housing, over $1½ billion for neighborhood facilities and college housing.

These figures do not include more than $2 billion for the poverty programs as highways, education, pollution control, welfare, and other federal programs.

Congress is deluged with pleas to allocate many more billions in an effort to solve the problems of the cities. But it seems that the greater the flow of taxpayers' funds into our metropolitan areas, the more unrest we have, continuing evidence that congressional spending alone will not end the urban problems. Local leadership must supply the answers.

Transportation and Councils of Government: Address by Seattle Mayor J. D. Braman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the city of Seattle is fortunate to have a man of vision as its mayor. The Honorable J. D. "Dorm" Braman last Friday demonstrated his leadership and knowledge when he addressed the Urban Transportation Planning Committee of the American Association of State Highway Officials in Salt Lake City, Utah, on "Transportation and Councils of Government: Framework for Action." I would like to call this knowledgeable speech to the attention of my colleagues. I insert this speech in the RECORD, as follows:

The problems which beset America's metropolitan regions are profound. What the solutions to these problems are can be debated, but some of the causes are inherent in a breakdown of our transportation network in urban areas. Today I should like to share with you some thoughts I have on the scope of the problem and a possible approach to dealing with it.

We are all aware that Metropolitan areas are in a period of difficult times. This past summer was again a period of severe social strife and civil unrest. For every area that went beyond the breaking point, there were several who could have just as easily been in the same category if one unfortunate event had sparked the flame.

The pressures which have brought about the urgent problem that we are now attempting to cope with have been evolving since the end of World War II.

The historic pattern of rural movement to urban areas has been continuing at an accelerating rate since 1946. This in turn has been coupled with a counterflow of people from the Central city to the adjacent suburban areas. Those who have left the core city have to a large extent been replaced by the rural migrant who, all too frequently, is an individual with few saleable skills and an extremely limited educational background. In the short span of one generation there has been a dramatic recasting of the population in metropolitan America. The disadvantaged have been left left in the Central city and their numbers added to by incoming migrants while the more affluent moved to suburbia and have become two-car families.

A chief stimulus for individual home ownership in suburban subdivisions was the Federally guaranteed mortgage program which enabled the individual climbing up the economic ladder to become a home owner earlier in his career. Subdivision upon subdivision combined with new schools and shopping centers to become new satellite communities. Once established, rigid zoning controls were enacted to preserve the character of the community—modifying this only to permit the entry of light industry which served to improve their tax base.

As more and more communities become established, there is an increasing demand for ease of access to the Central city and to its principal employment centers—the CBD, the commercial and industrial areas. The answer has been in the construction—using federal aid—of multi-laned freeways, designed to permit high-speed access. These new highways resulted in the establishment of high-rise, high-density apartment developments because of cheaper land outside the established city, and once again siphoned off middle and upper income citizens. The irony of the situation is that we have two federally assisted programs working to disintegrate the existing social fabric.

We simply cannot continue on as we have, accepting the benefits of narrowly focused federal programs which do not take into consideration the overall social and economic impact on the area in which they are being implemented. This is particularly true in the area of transportation facilities. We must go forward on some rational basis which considers the total needs of the metropolitan area and what impact our solutions will have.

To say that one is for a balanced transportation system is the equivalent to saying that one is for good 5-cent cigars—few will take issue. The problem comes when you attempt to implement the concept. Just why this should be is not clear to me. When talking about a balanced transportation system, I am thinking of bringing together all of the available modes into a system which is complementary—not competitive. To give you one example of this resistance, I cite the case of rapid transit as an adjunct to a well-conceived highway system. Rapid transit, as I see it, addresses itself to the most vexing problem that faces the Highway Engineer; that is, how do we cope with the peak load. In designing a highway system in an urban area, a key element is the two-hour traffic count between 7:00 and 9:00 a.m. This peak, plus the growth factor, determines the number of lanes which must be made available. If the number is not sufficient, a slowdown or complete stop quickly results. I will concede that the automobile has the advantage of providing door-to-door service and is not tied to schedules or a specific route. However, a comprehensive, properly planned rapid transit system will perform an invaluable transportation service between high-density areas. The system that we are considering for the metropolitan Seattle area is capable of carrying 23,000 seated passengers per hour on one track as against the average of one freeway lane carrying 2,200 persons per hour. The economies of scale that are inherent in these figures are so persuasive that I would ordinarily assume that those charged with the responsibility of highway construction would be eager to encourage such peak hour relief.

No one that I know believes that rail transit or buses can, will, or should replace the automobile. We all enjoy the flexibility that our car gives to us. We want to continue to enjoy a reasonable utilization of our cars without turning vast areas of our metropolitan regions into highway lanes whose sole utility is moving people between 7:00 to 9:00 a.m. and from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. Those people who do not require an automobile in their daily lives should have the benefit of some other form of urban mass transit. This has to be a safe, economical, pleasant and convenient way to move them into and around the city.

In June of this year, AASHO appeared before the Public Works Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives and made what was characterized as a preliminary report of the Federal Aid to Highways Needs after 1972. The testimony was essentially based upon the following three considerations:

1. What are the public desires in regard to transportation?

2. Highways should be the dominant force in transportation planning.

3. The Highway Trust Fund, as currently constituted, should be continued with 10 percent of the fund going to the Interstate Sysem, 30 percent going to Urban Highway needs, and 60 percent going to Rural Highway needs.

Gentlemen, let's be realistic. The transportation needs of today are in the urban areas. The population density in metropolitan areas continues to increase at an astounding pace. The best judgment is that by the year 2000, a little more than a generation away, 90 percent of the entire population of the United States will reside in metropolitan areas.

In the hope of stimulating dialogue, I would like to suggest to AASHO three alternative assumptions which I would like to have them compare with the three I previously mentioned:

1. A transportation system should be a tool to shape the growth of metropolitan areas and should have as its goal the improvement of the quality of the environment.

2. The particular characteristics of each urban region should determine the transportation modes most appropriate for that area.

3. Priority consideration should be given to the funding of a balanced transportation system for urban areas.

Balanced transportation is not simply a passive force which concerns itself only with movement of people, but rather, it is an exciting opportunity to help shape and mold the community. We have here a land use planning tool which can be of tremendous value in assisting us in improving the quality of the environment in which we live.

In planning a balanced transportation system, we should combine at the inception all of the disciplines that relate to the problem. The inter-disciplinary relationship should be that of a team working toward a system which represents the best that can be obtained. The components of the design team may vary, but at a minimum should contain first of all the responsible decision makers, then the engineer, an urban design specialist, an architect, an economist and a sociologist. It is important that no one discipline dominate the team and that communication be established early between all members. There should be a free exchange of views with policy decisions already outlined being a fundamental part of the considerations. It is my general impression that in the past the policy makers have not been as closely coordinated with the technical people as they should have been. As a result, in many instances a politically unacceptable solution has been suggested resulting in a great deal of money and effort being needlessly expended.

A balanced transportation plan must be predicated on the particular characteristics of the area to be served. There are practically no two metropolitan areas in the United States which have identical transportation requirements. The City of Seattle is bounded on each side by large bodies of water. This is combined with hilly topography and an hour-glass shape, with the central business district area being in the most constricted section. There is no similarity to a city such as Phoenix, Arizona, which has completely different physical characteristics and yet has an immediate need also for a satisfactory transportation solution.

The requirement of the Federal Highway Act of 1962 that communities of 50,000 or over have a continuing regional transportation plan is a good one provided that it is combined with a comprehensive land use plan and, further, that it fairly represents an objective effort to solve the particular problems of the region and is not merely an effort to meet the 1962 requirement so that the highway building can go on.

The requirement, of course, is for a "continuing comprehensive cooperative transportation planning program." This is another area in which it is essential that the decision makers be currently informed in a manner in which they comprehend changes and the reasons therefor. All too frequently the public official is kept informed on a rather perfunctory basis, and when the time comes to implement the plan, there is a great hue and cry from the public; and an emotionally charged meeting makes a poor atmosphere for making an intelligent policy judgment. In many cases, I feel certain that the decision maker could have avoided some problems had he been made aware of the full significance of what was going to be proposed. Elected officials come from all walks of life and have varying educational backgrounds. To make a decision they need to know just what is involved and what will be asked of the public. They should fully understand the complete significance of what they are told. I am specifically thinking here of non-technical language.

If we are going to implement a total transportation system for the urban areas, priority consideration must be given to just how the system will be funded. The present approach is unsatisfactory. We have one facet of the system receiving annual funding on a very substantial basis, whereas other elements are catch-as-catch-can. With the limited funds available, the challenge seems to be to find who is most proficient in the art of grantsmanship.

The problem we must face is how do we proceed in the urban areas to do that which has to be done? In my opinion, we who are concerned about metropolitan transportation problems can learn a valuable lesson by analyzing the method by which this country was able to obtain the National System of Interstate Defense Highways.

There are 41,000 miles of superb highways linking together all of the major centers of the United States. The fact that these funds for construction were generated by the users was the foundation upon which the whole system was predicated. Your organization has done a public service which will last indefinitely. I am honored to be with you and want you to know that I respect the competence and dedication of the individuals who make up this organization.

In my opinion, the reason that the interstate program has been so successful is because a workable concept was utilized at the outset. The Federal government collected and administered the funds, a role which we all know they perform very well. Their partner was each of the States operating through their Highway Departments and Highway Commissions. The emphasis in each instance was exactly where it should be—a nationwide problem met by funding through a Federal program. But equally important was the fact that the highway system from each state was designed at the State level. That is, that each State was given the widest latitude to determine how its needs could best be fulfilled while meeting interstate highway needs. The wisdom of this combination is best evidenced by the fact that in just a few years the entire system as originally conceived will be a reality. I believe that a system that has worked so well at the State level has certain analogies which are equally as applicable to the metropolitan problem.

Is there some means upon which urban needs and urban priorities can best be resolved? My present thinking is that an instrumentality such as the Council of Governments could possibly be modified to help accomplish this purpose.

The Council of Governments is an attempt to cope with concerns common to a given metropolitan area. There is no established structure for such an organization. The problems common to a particular area serve as the catalyst which brings the members together. The whole concept is in its embryonic stages, the first Council having been formed a little over ten years ago; and at the present time there are approximately 50 existing in the United States—the majority of which have been formed in the last few years. Basically, a COG is a voluntary association of local governments usually represented through their locally elected officials. Some functions and activities of Councils of Government presently in existence include comprehensive planning to help solve physical development issues, coordination of programs, cooperative services, research, and in some instances, joint legislative activity. These organizations function only in an advisory capacity. The chief purpose is to coordinate planning, but they also provide a means by which opinions can be exchanged and plans can be crystalized.

The Puget Sound Governmental Conference, of which Seattle is a member, is one of the older Councils—having been in existence since 1957. Our Conference is composed of four counties with their cities. The area in question is just under 7,000 square miles, and the population involved is slightly under 2,000,000. Our Conference has been helpful in developing a regional comprehensive open space plan, evaluating regional land use and development. It has also supervised a transportation study for our region, and is now responsible for the continuing Transportation Study required by the Federal Highway Act of 1962.

I want to make clear, I do not regard COGs as they have been constituted to date as completely satisfactory to do the job that has to be done in implementing a total urban transportation system. However, they seem to me to hold the most promise among those governmental structures which have gained acceptance throughout the United States. The principal reservation that I have concerns itself with the method of representation that the Councils afford. Generally, each member unit of government has but one vote, notwithstanding how many citizens it may represent. I am aware that there are some practical reasons why smaller communities would only come into the Council with this being the case. But the fact remains that decisions should be predicated on the needs of the people of an area. My own personal experience has been that in the planning phase it is relatively easy to reach agreement on what should be our goals and what should be our methods. When it comes to implementation, that is an entirely different question. This, I suggest, is where some adjustments will have to be made. Let us assume for the moment that the mechanics of implementation can be resolved, and let us consider what we then could do.

I would willingly support the continuation of the Highway Trust Fund as it is presently constituted with the revenues now going into the fund being reserved for highway purposes, but I would do this only provided that two conditions were met:

(1) That a separate account within the Highway Trust Fund be established for non-highway urban transportation problems. To accomplish this purpose, some other revenue source, possibly auto excise taxes now going into the general fund, could be earmarked for such an account; and

(2) That a Council of Governments, competent to do the job for the urban area, should be constituted and that it should have the necessary authority to commit and obligate the area under its jurisdiction on transportation matters affecting that area.

I would have no objection to monies being funneled through the State Highway Department or State Department of Transportation, as the case might be, provided that no expenditure of funds could be made unless it conformed to the plan which is being implemented by COG. Funds would come to urban areas based on a formula which would prevent any diversion of either highway or non-highway transportation funds away from the metropolitan area.

The time has come when we must all work together. I believe that the job can be done provided that we agree on how to implement a concept which we can all accept in principle. We need your help—you need ours. Let us cooperate to develop a safe, convenient, and balanced transportation system for the congested urban areas of our nation.

Atlanta Should Become an International Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, as you know, Atlanta, Ga., is one of this country's fastest growing cities. It is known as the "Gateway to the South" and is this region's leading commercial and industrial city.

Because of these reasons, I feel that Atlanta should become an international airport. Traffic from all the nations of the world would flow into this region if this were so.

Therefore, I include a resolution which was passed by the board of directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce in the Record:

A Resolution

It is the City of Atlanta's desire to have its airport attain international status with direct service to major cities of the world.

The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce requests, that in future treaty negotiations between the United States and any foreign country involving international air routes, the Department of State take into consideration the expressed desire of Atlanta to become a gateway for international service and that Atlanta be named a point of destination in such future bilateral agreements.

This request is to be forwarded to the appropriate officials in the United States Department of State and congressional representatives for the metropolitan Atlanta area.

Military Must Be Given Job and Then Allowed To Do It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

Military Must Be Given Job and Then Allowed To Do It

This is an age of specialists. This is a time that when there is a job to do, the men best qualified, the men trained to do that job, are called in and presented the task.

But for all our respect for specialists, we still leave too much up to amateurs when it comes to fighting a war.

The United States of America is involved in a complicated struggle in Southeast Asia. There are many facets to our presence in Vietnam. One of those is the fighting of a war, but thus far the men who have to do the fighting and the men who must direct them are pinned down more by directives than enemy.

Every American with faith in our Constitution and our heritage respects the supremacy of civilian authority over the military. But every American knows that when there is a job to do, any group—military, civilian agency or businessmen—must be free to do its job without constant outside interference.

Our military struggle in Vietnam has been hampered by the lack of clearly defined objectives and guidelines at the outset and by day to day interference by civilians who have assumed the role of military expert.

The Military Order of the World Wars, meeting in San Diego this week, has passed a resolution asking President Johnson to give unhampered authority to the military so the commanders can obtain a swift and decisive military victory.

The members of the MOWW, all well trained in the business of fighting a war, recognize the handicaps our present military leaders are operating under. They are urging the course of action which they, from their experience, feel will best help the fighting forces.

We can well imagine the frustration of the men in charge of the fighting in Vietnam. As best as can be determined from unclassified information, the targets, the objectives and the methods of fighting are changed almost day to day. It is an impossible task to do any long range planning when you don't know today what you must plan for next week.

The frustrations the military feels are similar to the feelings of many Americans about the war in Vietnam.

There seems to be a lack of clearly defined goals for all phases of this struggle, both the military war and the attempts at pacification. The American people have been told, in generalities, the objectives of the fighting in Vietnam, but there has been little attention paid to specifics.

Instructions, if you care to call them that, to the home front seem to change as often as those to the military. We can bomb close to Red China, we were told not too long ago, because there is so much turmoil in that country that there is no danger it would become involved militarily.

The latest talk is that we are fighting in Southeast Asia because Red China is such an imminent threat.

This is just one illustration of the doubletalk we are getting on Vietnam. When we, as civilians, get this, we can sympathize with the men who must take this ever changing policy and translate it into military strategy and tactics.

The military leaders must be given the objectives of this war. They must be given the guidelines which international politics may force us to fight within. But then they should be allowed to use their knowledge and ability to obtain the objectives.

This could be said of all phases of the Vietnam war. We say to our national leaders, let us know our objectives, let us know what is to happen when the fighting stops, let us know the progress being made on the battle front, the progress being made in pacification, the progress being made in turning Vietnam into a nation, the progress being made in getting greater involvement from the Vietnamese in this war.

We call for victory without a clear understanding of what victory, according to the Washington planners, is or what the victory will mean in terms of future U.S. action and involvement.

The members of the MOWW, men who have already given so much to their country, can make another great contribution if during their convention they come up with recommendations for action that will end the fighting in Vietnam, that will bring peace to Southeast Asia, that will allow the U.S. to help build a nation in Vietnam.

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, this amendment to the amendment is simply an attempt to reach a middle ground compromise in the light of our discussion here in the last 15 or 20 minutes. It seems to me that the gentleman from New York has a point in suggesting that people may have made contracts and textile firms may well be penalized by a cutoff date of the sort suggested in the original legislation. Under my amendment to the amendment the cutoff date would be July 15 rather than September 15. This bill was introduced on June 15, and this would give a company 30 days notice. I think it is a more reasonable solution to the problem, and I urge the adoption of the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. POAGE. I cannot speak for the committee and can only speak for myself, but as far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing to accept it.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BELCHER. I can speak for no one but myself, also, but as far as I am concerned, I would accept July 15.

The Petroleum Industry: A Taint of Monopoly?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, one of this country's most distinguished citizens, Mr. M. A. Wright, a former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and presently the chairman of the board of Humble Oil & Refining Co., spoke to the Texas Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association in Houston on October 17, 1967, on the subject of competition in the oil business. In these days when many people are attacking one of our most important industries, this explanation is necessary and makes a great deal of sense.

I commend Mr. Wright for his analysis of the situation and so that my colleagues may have the benefit of his thoughts, I am including this speech in the Record:

The Petroleum Industry: A Taint of Monopoly?

Over the past several months, our industry has received an unusually large measure of criticism. The long-term critics of conservation regulations, depletion allowances, and import controls have continued and perhaps stepped up their usual tempo of attacks. But these have been supplemented and buttressed by a number of perhaps even more serious allegations. The Federal Trade Commission, for example, in its long awaited report on gasoline marketing, suggested in rather strong language that segments of the industry remain immune to the competitive forces of the market and enjoy monopolistic advantages. Even more recently, the Attorney General's report on the Interstate Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas concludes that "there are serious questions of the general operations of the industry as measured by the usual standards of competition." In other words, it is strongly implied that many industry activities are conducted under the protective veil of monopolistic conditions.

Attacks on the petroleum industry, however, were even more acute in the shale oil hearings conducted this past spring. Professor Morris Garnsey of the University of Colorado, for example, testified before the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee that the U.S. oil industry is so highly monopolized that it cannot be entrusted with the development of oil shale. He added that "if the American people as a whole are to benefit from this great source of energy, the resource must be developed without the taint of monopoly;" or in more direct terms, the shale oil deposits must be developed outside the present structure of the petroleum industry. Professor Garnsey offered as an alternative the establishment of either a government agency like TVA or a quasi-government corporation such as Comsat to develop the nation's shale oil resources.

To those of us closely involved in the petroleum industry's operations, these allegations are most disturbing. Contrary to the views of our critics, we see the petroleum industry as a highly dynamic and competitive industry. Instead of the static and monopolistic conditions envisioned by these critics, we witness the keen competition of our rivals as they attempt to win our markets, to develop a technology, or outbid or outmaneuver us to obtain attractive exploration acreage. We fully realize that a bad decision or miscalculation by any one of us can have serious repercussions—repercussions that in some cases are fatal. Indeed, by the mere fact that some companies fare better in a given market than others, that some find oil and others do not, and more conclusively, that some make good profits, some average profits and some no profits, the petroleum industry would seem highly competitive.

Therefore, if the petroleum industry with which we are familiar is not consistent with the one described by our critics, I believe it is time that we present our case. If the monopolistic petroleum industry envisioned by some is more a myth than a reality, we need to put forth the data that will reveal this myth to be what it is. The need is for placing the allegations of our critics in their proper perspective and giving actual data on how the industry actually operates. The need is for pointing out the characteristics and performance of the industry—and noting how these characteristics and this performance differ from what is normally thought of as a noncompetitive, monopolistic market situation.

At the outset we should recognize that it is not an easy task to define competition. For about 200 years the economist has had his models of competition—but he is usually the first to qualify that these theoretical models have few if any practical facsimiles in the real business world. Most economists acknowledge that the present state of technology, the existence of national markets, and the unusually large capital requirements for modern business limit to varying degrees the freedom of entry, the extraordinarily large number of competitors, and other specifications of the theoretical competitive norm. The economist is really only saying that it is not as easy to become an automobile manufacturer today as it was to become a wagon maker or blacksmith fifty years ago. The realities and requirements of modern business do not allow hundreds of auto makers just as they do not encourage thousands of petroleum refiners or tens of thousands of crude oil producers.

Though these ideas are simple, they continue to elude our critics. It is too often said that the petroleum industry is not competitive because many of its practices do not conform to the "economists' basic norm of competition." This point was made in varying degrees by both the FTC report and the Attorney General's Report. But is this divergence from the theoretical norm that significant? The evidence would suggest that it is not. The same statement made in these reports about the petroleum industry could be made to different degrees about all American industries. Yet, it is recognized that competition does exist in industrial markets. And it is further recognized that most deviations from the theoretical norm—in petroleum and elsewhere—are necessitated by modern technology and market conditions. It would thus seem reasonable to conclude that effective competition can be realized without having a highly fragmented market structure. And it is this effective competition—rather than a theoretical norm—that should concern us, the policymakers, and our critics.

It seems reasonable to began by establishing performance as the most meaningful gauge of effective competition. Though definitions of competition vary widely, most all observers agree that the ultimate goal of the competitive market system is to provide the consumer with the best possible product at the lowest possible price. But in the practical world, it is not always feasible to determine if the existing product is the "best possible" or if the actual price is the "lowest possible." It is, therefore, necessary to adopt synthetic criteria that will give a general indication of the competitive or monopolistic nature of a given market. The criteria most generally used for this purpose are concentration ratios—which indicate the control over supply by the largest companies—the pace of industry—and price performance and profit yields—which measure the ability of companies to pass costs on in higher prices and to realize monopolistic benefits. It must be re-emphasized that these are synthetic—and perhaps pseudo—criteria. But they do afford a limited comparison of the relative competitiveness of the petroleum industry with various other industries—and in a world founded on relatively this may be all that is possible or necessary.

We should begin our analysis and comparisons with the very cornerstone of the industry's operations—that of crude production. It has been estimated that there are about 8,000 operators producing crude oil today. Although numbers are not always an accurate indication of the degree of competition, to those of us who are trying to make a profit on our present reserves and find new reserves to replace them, we recognize this large number of operators as intense competition in its highest state. In the recent Outer Continental Shelf lease sale, for example, 55 companies participated in the bidding for acreage offered for sale by the government. I think most of us who participated would agree that competition for production properties was never greater than in this bidding.

The crude producing arm of our industry is in fact one of the least concentrated and most competitive businesses in the whole basic commodity field. In 1965, the top crude oil producer in the United States accounted for only about seven percent of the total output and the top four firms accounted for less than 25 percent of all crude production. By comparison, most other basic commodity industries have the largest firms controlling a much greater share of the total industry output. In lead, for example, the top producer accounts for about 46 percent of total output and the top four firms do nearly 80 percent of the business. In the copper and zinc industries, the top producer does about 30 percent of the total business and the top four companies in each industry account for more than 60 percent of the output. Thus, on the basis of our first criteria—concentration ratios—the environment for crude production would appear relatively more competitive than that found in other comparable fields of enterprise.

These approximations of relative competitiveness, however, fail to reveal some of the most essential differences among the respective industries. Each industry has a completely different set of economics—and each variation in this set demands a different industrial structure. The most characteristic features of the crude production industry are high risk and increasing cost; for example, only one of nine wildcats drilled produce any oil at all, and only one in 40 could be considered profitable ventures. Yet on average, each of these wells, dry holes and otherwise, cost in excess of $50,000 if drilled onshore and more than $370,000 if drilled offshore. Many wells involve costs of one million dollars or more. And all of these costs are up substantially from just a few years before. From these data it seems remarkable that there are not fewer companies, instead of more, and that the operations are not more concentrated, instead of less.

There is, however, another characteristic of this arm of the petroleum industry that affords an even more convincing indication of its competitive nature—namely price performance. In 1957, a year of general prosperity for the industry, a barrel of crude oil sold for $3.01. This past year crude prices, even after firming somewhat, were $2.88 per barrel, reflecting a decline of a little more than four percent. Over this same ten year period, wholesale prices in general rose about seven percent and industrial commodity prices rose 5.5 percent. For an industry with purported monopolistic characteristics and alleged control over its prices, this performance does not seem wholly rational.

But this does not yet fully or accurately reflect the situation of the crude producer. Not only were his prices declining while prices in general were rising over these years, but his costs were also increasing. In 1957, the average hourly earnings of petroleum and natural gas field workers was $2.47 an hour. This past year, a crude producer paid the same person $3.14 per hour, or some 27 percent more for each hour worked. And paralleling this increase in labor costs was a six percent advance in the average price of oil field machinery and tools. These general conditions—decreasing crude prices, increasing costs of operation, and a generally inflationary economy—are not what one would ordinarily expect from an industry that supposedly enjoys monopolistic market conditions.

The technological progressiveness of the crude producing business also fails to conform with the general conception of a monopolistic situation. Since the inception of the oil industry over 100 years ago, the techniques and methods practiced in producing crude have undergone dramatic change. The recent Attorney General's Report portrayed the industry's early crude producing operations in this manner:

"Operations in this early industry, and for many years later, were highly primitive and wasteful. The science of geology, essential to oil exploration, was in its infancy. Principles of reservoir engineering were then unknown, so that pools were depleted rapidly. Primitive distillation technologies for refining took off the few pretroleum fractions of immediate use and discarded the remainder. Transportation delays and difficulties led to more waste. Oil stored above-ground ran into streams or evaporated. Oil in barrels was initially rafted downstream to refineries, with accidents contributing heavily to stream pollution. The crude wooden pipelines also employed at this time added to the waste by leakage."

Later in the report, however, it is pointed out how today the discovery and production of petroleum are quite different—are in fact "complex and exacting operations requiring heavy reliance on technology." Through such techniques as fracturing, fluid injection and other innovations, the recoverable reserves of new and existing wells have been increased. Better spacing, improved storage techniques, and new methods of disposing of brine have reduced the waste and bad side effects from the extraction process. In total, producing oil is a highly efficient operation and one that must involve every effort to conserve this vital resource. The image portrayed here, and the one we all operate in daily, is hardly static or regressive. It is instead one of rapid changes in technology and techniques, changes to which each company must be closely attuned if it is to complete effectively.

Before looking at the competitive nature of the industry's other two principal operations—refining and marketing—mention should be made of the government-created institutions that some critics believe to be more harmful to competition in the petroleum industry than the actual structure of its operations. Specifically, some critics contend that conservation and import controls bring about a government-created and government-protected cartel that affords the petroleum industry monopolistic advantages. This allegation is somewhat wide of the mark. The industry's cost, price, and profit performance alone suggests that if such advantages do exist, the companies have not realized any windfall gains from them. Despite increases in cost and marked quality improvements, the retail price of gasoline, excluding taxes, has remained relatively constant for many years. And the average profits in the industry remain below those of most other industries.

The conservation and import controls were legislated to prevent waste of an important natural resource and to maintain a level of domestic producing capability deemed necessary in the interest of national security. Within the framework of these objectives our industry has operated in a highly competitive manner.

Moving on to industry's refining operations, the critics' contentions of monopolistic practices are again greatly exaggerated. Petroleum refining, like petroleum production, is one of the lesser concentrated of all industries with comparable operating characteristics. This past year the four largest refiners in the U.S. operated about 30 percent of all refining capacity and the top eight companies accounted for a little over 50 percent. By comparison, in both the motor vehicles and parts industry and the tire industry, the top four companies accounted for about 75 percent of the market and the top eight for about 85 percent. In cigarettes, the top four did 80 percent of the business with eight accounting for all the business. Similar patterns can be shown in many other manufacturing industries.

The price performance of petroleum refining also contradicts the contention that the industry enjoys monopolistic powers. The wholesale price index of petroleum products in 1966 was more than six percent below where it stood in 1957. Yet, as previously noted, wholesale prices in general rose almost seven percent. Moreover, the average hourly earnings in petroleum refining rose from $2.66 per hour in 1957 to $3.41 per hour last year, an increase of 28 percent. For an industry that is supposedly able to raise prices and pass costs on to customers at will, this performance is somewhat perverse.

The technological progress in petroleum refining is also contrary to what would be expected of a monopolistic operation. In the present year, the petroleum industry will spend approximately $500 million on research and development activities. There are few industries that can boast records of innovative efficiencies and economics comparable to that found in petroleum refining. In recent years such refining processes as hydrocracking, isomerization, hydrofining and others have increased the octane rating of gasoline have improved its volatility, have increased the energy content of gasoline and have reduced its deleterious materials. The progressiveness inherent in this record is incompatible with the usual description of a monopoly as a company or industry that is generally not inclined to push innovations, efficiencies, and economies to their practical limits.

In the marketing phase of our operations, it is reasonable to say that intense competition is inevitable. There are approximately 160 gasoline brands, between 10,000 and 12,000 jobbers and probably about 400,000 gasoline retail outlets. Although numbers do not insure competition, any familiarity with this phase of our business should provide convincing evidence that monopolistic conditions do not exist. With minimal entry barriers and aggressive expansion policies by most gasoline marketers, the consuming public is assured a wide variety of products and services at the lowest price possible. Gasoline marketing is one of the most competitive businesses in the nation today.

Retail gasoline prices in fact provide strong evidence of not only the competitive nature of gasoline marketing, but indeed of the whole petroleum industry. In the year just past, the average retail gasoline price excluding taxes was 21.57 cents per gallon, only one-tenth of a cent, or one-half of one percent, higher than ten years ago. In this same period, however, the average retail price of the typical basket of goods and services purchased by a consumer rose more than 15 percent. Thus, while the consumer was paying substantially more for most goods, he was buying his gasoline for about the same price he paid ten years before; even though its performance characteristics had been significantly improved. On the basis of delivering a quality product to the customer at a low price, the record of the petroleum industry is remarkable and fails to reflect the critics' "taint of monopoly." The over-all record would instead lend strong support to testimony by Dr. Willard Mueller of the Federal Trade Commission before Senate hearings earlier this year. Dr. Mueller stated it was his opinion that "the competitive performance of the petroleum industry over the past 50 years has been quite effective."

But there is still one more measure that will perhaps bring all of these comparisons into even sharper focus. Our critics, as well as our defenders, would probably agree that the overriding reason for creating monopoly is to obtain unusually large profits. In other words, the monopolistic business would surely enjoy monopolistic profits.

The average rate of return on investment in the petroleum industry has been less in recent years than in most industries. Data compiled by the First National City Bank of New York show that in 1966 the average rate of return on net worth in the oil industry was 12.6 percent, compared with 14.1 percent return for all manufacturing companies. This same series shows that the average return on book assets in the petroleum industry over the past ten years has been 11.2 percent. The comparable return for all manufacturing industries has been slightly higher at 11.8 percent.

Data published by Fortune Magazine are consistent with those compiled by the First National City Bank. In 1966, on a sales basis, seven of the largest twenty-five industrial companies in the United States were oil companies. None of these seven oil companies, however, ranked even in the top 100 on the basis of return on investment. The average rate of return on investment for all 31 oil companies in the Fortune Top 500 listing was 11.3 percent. For all other companies in this listing the average rate of return was 13.6 percent. Profits in the petroleum industry, therefore, were again found to be somewhat less than those of most other industries.

Considering the evidence on concentration, prices, technology, and profits, I can only conclude that the petroleum industry is a highly competitive industry indeed. Over the years, the operations of this industry have proved to be a key to the nation's economic progress. By continually improving its techniques and methods of production, refining, and marketing—as well as transportation—the nation has been provided massive volumes of energy of the highest quality and at the lowest price imaginable. Since the discovery of oil in Pennsylvania in 1859, no industry has had a greater influence on the destiny of the nation than ours. With the nation's energy requirements becoming almost insatiable—and with 75 percent of all energy being furnished by petroleum products—the pivotal position of the petroleum industry seems assured for years to come.

With the voices of our critics becoming ever more audible, we must each see that the public and the policymakers are fully aware of the true characteristics of the petroleum industry. All must be made aware of its highly competitive nature—its contributions to the nation's progress. If our case is properly presented to the public, I am confident that they will agree that instead of having a taint of monopoly, our industry is one of the most competitive in the nation.

An Approach to Latin American Armament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, we may be seeing the beginning of a Latin American competition in increasing military capabilities; that is, an arms race. Major powers have discovered and supplied a demand by several Central and South American countries for powerful and sophisticated war instruments. France is a major source of sub and supersonic jets to Argentina, Brazil, and Peru; of tanks to Venezuela; and of helicopters to Peru, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. More recently the U.S. State Department stressed that the United States is willing to offer for sale "limited numbers" of our F-5A supersonic fighters to our Latin American friends.

I consider an arms race in Latin America as not in the interests of her peoples. When a young nation concentrates on developing militarily, it must forego economic and social development advantageous to its citizenry. Furthermore, a buildup in one country often results in similar steps being taken in neighboring countries, thus spreading the slowdown in nonmilitary development.

I cite as an example the Middle East. The people of the United Arab Republic were made to invest the wealth of their nation into a military regime which succeeded only in involving itself in and losing a war; in destroying property and losing lives; and in bringing the United Arab Republic to near economic ruin. Was that in the interests of the Middle Eastern people?

America should, I feel, take such steps as are practical to dissuade those who would favor following that course. Conversely, we should recognize and support those who espouse an opposing position.

There is a fine line between building a military which can protect and defend a people from unfriendly forces and building a military which is powerful enough to constitute that unfriendly force. This line need not necessarily be drawn where subsonic jets become supersonic, although the power, speed, and maneuverability of the weapon is important. The line should not necessarily be drawn when a nation acquires 21 planes as opposed to 20, although the number acquired is a crucial factor.

Ultimately, a study of each country's needs, attitudes and actions will be necessary. Let us not be too hasty to condemn; but let us condemn when a condemnation is warranted.

Recently, Ambassador Radomiro Tomic from the Republic of Chile provided me with a statement of Juan Carmona, the Chilean Minister of Defense, showing the official position of the Chilean Government regarding this matter. At this time, I wish to share this statement as well as its introductory letter with the Congress:

EMBAJADA DE CHILE,
Washington, D.C., October 7, 1967.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The question of armaments purchases by Latin American countries is again in the news. Following instructions of my Government, I am enclosing the official statement issued by the Chilean Minister of Defense Mr. Juan Carmona on this subject.

I feel it is proper to comment unequivocally the position of the Chilean Government:

1. Our last war was ninety years ago. For the last seventy years, the Chilean foreign and military policies have been definitely oriented towards peace and juridical solutions of conflicts of any nature among Latin American countries. This policy has been implemented in every dispute in which Chile has been involved during this long period, some of them of substantial importance.

2. Several among the last Presidents of Chile have proposed publicly and officially the need for agreements to limit armaments or at least to reduce the purchases of armaments in Latin America. The present Administration has reiterated the full support of Chile on agreements for disarmament in Latin America; or agreements to limit the military expenses; or agreements for the voluntary renouncement by Latin American nations to purchase armaments of high technology; supersonic planes, air carriers, missiles, heavy tanks, heavy guns, etc. We tried to reach this agreement in Punta del Este, and we shall try again, and again.

3. Our "good intentions" have been followed by practical deeds. Last year Chile spent only 9% of the budget for national defense. This is one of the lowest in Latin America. Only a small fraction of our young men of military age are drafted for military service, and they serve one year. (Students only serve a perfunctory period of three months.) We do not have supersonic planes, nor missiles or carriers, nor heavy tanks, nor heavy guns, etc. (Even though we do have more than four thousand miles of land borders, and at least as many miles of sea coast, and Chile's territory is extended to Easter Island, 2,400 miles away from the mainland.)

4. In the last thirty years Chile has purchased war planes only on three occasions:

(a) 1938: Italian "Nardis", "Bredas", etc., all of them gone very long ago;

(b) 1956: 5 "Vampires";

(c) 1966: 21 "Hawker Hunters", subsonic defensive planes, several of them trainers.

When accused of participating in the "armaments race", it seems fair for Chile to answer that this is indeed a very unusual way to "run" in it!

I avail myself of this opportunity to remain,

Sincerely yours,
RADOMIRO TOMIC,
Ambassador of Chile.

STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF CHILE, JUAN CARMONA

The Minister of Defense of Chile, Juan Carmona, made the following statement, answering the accusations of armamentism that some Peruvian Congressmen have advanced against Chile:

"Chile has maintained a policy of peace and, consequently, a favorable disposition toward a limitation of armaments in Latin America. Our country has constantly been in favor of a limitation of armaments in this part of the Continent. Therefore our national security policy has been—and continues to be—oriented toward keeping acquisitions for the Armed Forces adequate only to the defense of the nation and to its economic possibilities. To accuse Chile of "armamentism" is entirely groundless.

"The pretext for this accusation has been the purchase of 21 Hawker Hunter planes last year, and a display of rocket-launching equipment on truck platforms. The Government has been very explicit. The Air Force has purchased those planes because it had not renewed its old-fashioned material for more than twenty years. And consequent with our policy, we did not seek supersonic planes, but subsonic ones, of a typically defensive nature.

"No extraordinary laws or funds were required for this purchase. Normal funds, contemplated in the regular budget were used.

"As far as the rocket-launching equipment is concerned, it is difficult to understand the meaning of the comments. Chile has not displayed guided missiles equipment. The equipments shown are nothing but structures of discarded material to which Armed Force's technicians had adapted rockets of the kind used by all Latin American Air Forces with a 25-mile range. This is definitely not a new purchase of any kind.

"Chile has not subscribed any military treaty or bought any military equipment from the U.S.S.R. Chile does not possess Russian tanks or any kind of Soviet armaments in its Armed Forces. As an illustrative data, in relation with this subject, I can state that the Ministry of Agriculture has received from Bulgaria, 250 grass-mowers (animal traction). Whatever the amount of good or bad faith it seems very difficult to have mistaken them for tanks!

"The Chilean position is so clear that I understand the Government of Peru itself has refuted the preposterous opinions of some Congressmen."

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CABELL. I wish to point out in reference to this proposed amendment that, with the Near East in the turmoil in which it was at the time this legislation was introduced, and with Egypt having severed diplomatic relations at that time, is there anyone in this House naive enough to believe that the mills involved were not conscious of the circumstances involved? Is there anyone in this House naive enough not to have known through their various lobbying interests that this legislation was introduced? Is there anyone in this House naive enough to think that successful American businessmen did not take those situations into consideration and enter into a contract from which they had no escape clause?

Gentlemen, no successful mill has ever been successful by being that juvenile in its operations.

I would like to call your attention to another thing which to me is rather serious. The mills of the Southeast are pushing legislation to impose quotas on textiles. I have joined with them in that endeavor. I have joined with them on that because I think they are entitled to some protection.

But bear in mind that I come from the State of Texas. The biggest customer that we have for Texas cotton is Japan, and of the many textile imports are Japanese imports of Texas cotton that has been bought and paid for. I am willing to deny, to abdicate certain parochial dealings with reference to this in order to help the overall textile industry. But if the Southeastern textile industry are not willing to do their part to protect the American grower of long staple cotton and are able to make a windfall out of the chaotic conditions existing in the Egyptian market, where they do not even know that they can get delivery of this merchandise, then I am willing to forswear my support of the textile industry on textile imports and protect my Texas cottongrowers.

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation appeals to me in view of the attitude of the Egyptian Government toward our country and in view of my own attitude over the years about textile imports.

I believe it should be pointed out that so far as my office is concerned we have had no contact from the textile industry organizations. I have had none from the general textile industry firms which operate in our part of the country.

But today we have had contacts from two different thread manufacturing companies. They are not great big companies which have lobbyists here in Washington. Apparently they are only today learning of the effect of this legislation upon their orders and upon their commitments to their customers.

My friend from Texas [Mr. CABELL] is a stanch friend. I certainly do not want to lose his support in meeting our major textile problems. However, I do believe we should give some thought to the fact that in this country we have a few small companies which manufacture sewing thread. They find it desirable to have Egyptian cotton in order to satisfy their customers.

Perhaps this can be changed on the basis of later orders, where the thread companies can communicate with their customers to advise that they will not be able to use Egyptian cotton and will thereafter use American-grown extra-long staple.

I would hope that in some way we could find some resolution of this problem so that these people, not the giants of the industry, who have these commitments—the small thread industry of our Nation—might be able to get some relief from what they say will be a burden upon them if this bill is passed without some amendment similar to that offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. BRASCO].

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. CABELL. I never thought the day would come when I would be on opposite sides with a man whom I admire as much as any man in this House, my friend from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. I hope we are not on opposite sides.

Mr. CABELL. I do not believe we are at cross purposes even now.

I should like to ask the gentleman a question, if I may.

It is conceivable that those brokers and those small thread mills, for whom the gentleman has a just concern—and I share the concern—is it conceivable that any broker or any buyer of foreign commodities in July or after July would enter into a contract with a nation that has severed diplomatic relations with the United States, that has castigated us for every type of pirate and brigand that the dictionary holds? How many of those men would enter into contracts with other countries with which we have no diplomatic relations when, as a matter of fact, relations are definitely strained?

I will not say I question their integrity, but I say I question the judgment of anyone who would enter into contracts even between May and July for deliveries of Egyptian cotton, unless he were taking a calculated risk, where the odds were awfully high. When one takes a calculated risk with high odds, one is also taking a risk of loss.

I believe this applies in this case.

Mr. WHITENER. I thank the gentleman for his comment. Let me say that certainly I believe those of us who have major goals other than this for the American textile worker may be taking a risk in raising this issue. I do feel, though, that here in the Congress of the United States even that small manufacturer, who is not a member of an organization with lobbyists, has a right to have his representative at least present to this House for consideration the position which he takes. This is his due even when his position may be inconsistent with the position of the overall textile industry of America.

Alleged Violations by the Soviet Union of the Limited Test Ban Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, now that it has been revealed by the administration that questions have arisen concerning possible violation of the Limited Test Ban Treaty by the Soviet Union, and that our notes concerning same have not been satisfactorily answered, I am free to reveal certain additional details concerning the subject. I have today issued to the news media the following release:

SOVIET TEST BAN TREATY VIOLATIONS

Recommendations for a "simple and straightforward handling" of alleged Soviet violations of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTB) made by the Ranking House Republican member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy have been "ignored" by the Johnson Administration, it was charged today.

Congressman Craig Hosmer said he was free to talk about the delicate subject discussed "on more than one occasion" with State Department and Atomic Energy Commission officials "behind the Joint Committee's closed, security guarded doors" because the Administration revealed yesterday that two notes had been sent to the Soviets asking for explanations. In both cases, the Administration spokesman admitted that the Russians had failed to give satisfactory responses.

Hosmer listed three instances in which radiation from USSR underground tests had been detected outside Soviet borders.

(1) From an underground test in January, 1965, radiation was detected in Japan. At the time the Soviets admitted some accidental leakage from the test but claimed it was "so insignificant" that it did not violate the Treaty.

(2) A similar underground test on October 27, 1966, vented radioactive material into the atmosphere which caused slight fallout in other countries.

(3) The same thing occurred again from a December 18, 1966, Soviet underground explosion.

Hosmer said the events had been reported to the Joint Atomic Committee, as well and the U.S. notes and the Soviet replies. During the discussions Hosmer says he:

"Strongly urged U.S. officials to write the Russians a letter telling them their venting had been detected in each instance, advising them of the exact amount of radiation monitored, and stating that it is our official position no violation of the treaty occurred."

Hosmer charged that U.S. underground nuclear tests are made "much more expensive, much more difficult and much less effective by our own self-imposed interpretation that the Treaty prohibits absolutely no venting whatsoever."

"It is obvious the Russians are not interpreting the treaty that way and are giving themselves considerably more leeway in the conduct of their tests underground.

"It is stupid and self-defeating for us to persist in handcuffing our researchers by a one-sided overly strict interpretation of the Treaty's ban against release of even minor amounts of radiation beyond national boundaries," Hosmer added.

His view is that it is technically infeasible and practically unnecessary to prevent minor radiation releases below levels harmful to life or health. He feels that the more liberal interpretation he recommends and the Soviets are following anyway will permit the Plowshare program to go ahead and utilize nuclear explosives for peaceful uses of benefit to man.

Hosmer cites the digging of "a new Panama Canal" as one of the prime candidates for Plowshare techniques. He also suggests Plowshare can be helpful in bringing water to arid areas of the world, such as the Midwest, "where wars are spawned because lack of water causes poverty and hunger."

"The Administration's persistent adherence to unrealism in interperting the treaties it signs not only weakens the treaties themselves, but denies us equality with other signers and puts roadblocks in front of technological advances which can be turned away from man's destruction to his benefit," Hosmer concluded.

Spokesman for Hard-Working, Tired Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, every day I receive many letters from conscientious, interested Americans who are willing to take the time to write their views to me. Through my mail, I am able to sense the feeling of my district and to thus better fulfill my duty as a Representative. Once in a while, there comes a letter which captures the pulse of this country, a letter which expresses with clarity and forcefulness a feeling shared by the country at large.

It was my privilege this past week to receive and to read such a letter. It brought to my mind a poignant poem which is heard with increasing frequency in this time of controversy, demonstrations, picketing, and violence. The poem begins: "I am a tired American." I have used the poem because it portrays the mainstream of American thought; it speaks for the majority of our citizens who still cling to a tradition of allegiance to our country and to our way of life. Finally, it portrays the discouragement so many feel today.

The poem conveys a message for those who share the feeling. Today, I have something better. I have a testimony to verify the truth of the poem. This letter from Mrs. Dolores Jones of Independence, Kans., touches me deeply. She speaks as one of those Americans and for those Americans who strive to become useful citizens and to honor the rich heritage of our Nation. Such Americans are great in number but lest we forget those Americans who are not loud, who do not march for attention, who do not disrupt for publicity—then let us remind ourselves that these are the Americans who will take this country through times of trouble and who work for better tomorrows. I commend this letter to the attention of my colleagues. I hope you will read it and ponder the strength of the thoughts:

INDEPENDENCE, KANS.,
October 17, 1967.

Re: Draft protests.
Mr. JOE SKUBITZ,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SKUBITZ: Last year my husband and I paid over $2000 in income taxes to the federal government. This figure says nothing of the state and local taxes—income, real estate and personal—nor does it include the sales taxes and hidden taxes. As a conservative estimate, I figure that we paid at least a quarter, possibly a third, of our income to support the government. In addition to this we have a son who has just *volunteered* for his second tour of duty in Viet Nam. We have two other sons that are almost draft age. My husband works from ten to twelve hours daily as an engineer, and I teach school. Since you are an ex-school teacher yourself, I need not tell you how many hours I spend each day at my job. None of our family has ever been convicted of a crime of any sort. In fact, none of us has ever been accused of a crime.

I tell you these things not to complain. I am proud and thankful that I am mentally and physically capable of performing my duty. I tell you these things to demonstrate to you that as contributing members of this society we need and deserve your representation.

Recently something has been happening in this country that disturbs me greatly. For some time now, I have felt that the draft card burning and the organized protesting that has been going on in various cities across the country has been infringing on my rights. This small group, composed mostly of non-contributing members of our society, has received far more attention than they deserve. Their protests, which seem far too highly organized considering the age group involved, lead me to believe that they must have subversive leaders.

Mr. Skubitz I am not the kind of person to get myself involved in sit ins; nor would I carry a placard in a screaming parade. I am far too busy making a living, paying my bills and supporting my country to ever attract the eye of a TV camera man or a newspaper reporter. However, I am beginning to fear that there are groups in our society that are receiving so much attention that congressmen may feel compelled to listen to them, thereby forgetting the millions of us who foot the bills.

All I am really asking is that you keep me in mind and remember that I am beginning to need protection from certain elements within our society. Perhaps an investigation of draft protest leaders would be a beginning.

Sincerely,

DOLORES JONES.

Russian Discrimination Against Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, soon the Soviet Union celebrates their 50th anniversary. Regardless of what they claim, it is certain they cannot claim, fair and impartial treatment of all citizens of their country as they would have the world believe.

The record of their discrimination against Jewry is nothing short of unbelievable. Recently they have again demonstrated this gross discrimination by resorting to inhumane beatings. Recently, too, it has been reported that a rabbi has been killed. They have and continue to disallow Jews from even practicing many of their meaningful religious customs.

Indeed this attitude of the Soviet Union has been magnified since the Israel-Arab war, a war which may well have "saved the bacon" for our own Nation in the Near East. Yesterday morning I read in the Washington Post that the United States will make available to certain Arab countries, the sale of military weapons. This I submit, is a policy I fail to understand—especially since the reason given is because they will buy the armaments elsewhere if we refuse to sell.

Is this the criteria by which we decide the validity of arms sales to those who have publicly stated their hatred for us? I say that regardless of circumstances we should not make armaments available to them. Certainly they must prefer our arms to those of the Soviets or they would buy from their friends. To me that indicates our arms are more effective, more destructive—of greater military value—than any other. Who will they be used on to destroy? Obviously, our friends the Israelis, Mr. Speaker, let us not be ridiculous. Let us not feed the hand that bites. If we must become involved at all, for goodness sake let us support, supply, and defend our friends and our friends only.

Republicans Unfit and Unwilling to Help Urban America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Party in the House of Representatives has often been accused of blind obstructionism.

Yesterday that accusation was proven beyond any shadow of a doubt.

The Republicans have elevated the word "no" into a political philosophy.

The almost unanimous Republican vote to cripple model cities appropriations and kill the rent supplement program is a measure of Republican cynicism and distrust of our cities.

No Republican can dare go before the voters saying he really cares about what happens to the city dweller.

No Republican can now go before the voter saying he cares about the poor, the older citizen, the ghetto resident, the city man without skills, the schoolchild without proper education.

The Republican vote against model cities and rent supplements is clearly a vote to keep cities down in urban decay, wallowing in despair, riot and worse. What a miserable Republican response to the conditions which caused last summer's riots.

Where were those Republican Governors—Romney and Rockefeller—those apostles of the cities when these Republican votes were cast?

Instead of leading their Republican delegations to vote for model cities and rent supplements, these two presidential hopefuls were out on political walking tours or off attending to much less important business.

I hope and pray the American voter remembers this reactionary Republican vote on the cities.

I hope the American voter remembers the total lack of concern by Republican Governors for one of the finest urban programs in recent history.

I hope the voter remembers Mr. Romney and Mr. Rockefeller when they come around crying they are friends of the poor and friends of the city.

The Republican Party—in the Congress and in the States—has shown us all that it is not fit by temperament, personality, or philosophy to do anything to improve urban America.

That is the lesson of yesterday's vote.

A Time for Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are concerned about our efforts in Vietnam. While open and free discussion is a basic principle on which our Nation has thrived, that discussion to be beneficial, must be responsible.

Unfortunately, among those Americans who disagree with our position in Southeast Asia, there appears to be an outbreak of irresponsibility. Although we can always expect some extremist elements in any public debate, recently the amount of irresponsibility appears to be reaching epidemic proportions. Careful study and serious consideration of this crucial matter have been replaced to a great extent by rash statements and rash actions.

It is time for the earnest dissenters, those who are genuinely interested in our Nation's future, to reflect on the situation that actually exists and to free themselves from the flammatory statements and actions of the most vocal few whose purposes are not so noble. This must be done if those individuals are to make any worthwhile contribution to our national effort.

As the Beaumont Enterprise noted in an editorial this week, on the very day that the Hanoi regime rejected another conditonal offer by the United States to halt the bombing, hundreds of peacenik demonstrators were on the streets defying authority and winning worldwide publicity.

And the Enterprise is right to wonder aloud:

> Is it any wonder that the Hanoi regime showed no interest?

It is an open secret, Mr. Speaker, that Ho Chi Minh and General Giap believe that America will follow the example of the French and wilt before this war can be resolved. They see us as a nation hopelessly divided over whether to continue the struggle or pull out. And they reason that time alone is on their side.

Perhaps this is why they have turned down proposals for peace offered by the United States and other governments on more than 40 separate occasions.

We must search our consciences, Mr. Speaker, and ask whether or not this endless public debate on Vietnam, combined with the inflammatory and highly irresponsible actions of the extremist groups, have combined to reinforce the Communists' conviction that the war will be won not in Vietnam but right here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, freedom to speak out is a precious right guaranteed by the Constitution. But commonsense and responsibility are not guaranteed for any of us. These we must struggle to gain through wisdom and maturity. Without such commonsense, freedom of speech can sometimes be abused, and at the expense of the national interest.

This is a price we pay as a free people. But to say this, it seems to me, is to place too little faith in the strength and wisdom of the people.

I think the American people understand what is at stake in Vietnam. And I think they also realize that we have all heard everything there is to hear on this subject from both the administration's critics as well as from its allies.

The time is ripe for a period of responsibility, and I earnestly hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and on all sides of this issue will join with me in urging this return to responsibility in this most serious matter.

The editorial from the Beaumont Enterprise, which eloquently underscores the need for such a return, follows:

ANOTHER TURNDOWN

> North Vietnam has just rejected another conditional offer by the United States to halt the bombing of that country in exchange for peace negotiations.
>
> Is it any wonder that the Hanoi regime showed no interest?
>
> On the very day the turndown was published hundreds of Americans were defying authority and doing everything possible to thwart the war effort.
>
> And on top of this a group of the nation's cruising governors—having a lot more fun than the boys in the jungles—were accusing President Johnson of all sorts of wrongdoing in connection with the administration's efforts to live up to this country's commitments and serve the cause of freedom, for us and humanity everywhere.
>
> Do the doves prefer defeat?
>
> Many of them don't, of course, or at least wouldn't say so.
>
> Yet the most illogical of the President's Vietnam critics have, at this point, nothing to offer but withdrawal—and defeat is what that would be in every sense of the word.
>
> Those who clamor for an unconditional end to the bombing of North Vietnam upon the assumption that Hanoi would then come to the conference table are only talking through their hat. The Communist regime continues to make withdrawal of United States forces from South Vietnam a precondition to peace talks. That would mean, of course, turning all of Vietnam over to Ho Chi Minh and his gang.
>
> We have consistently offered to halt the bombing provided some reciprocal gesture is made, or some reciprocal restraint is observed by the other side.
>
> In honor, and respect for common sense, we can ask no less.

Oppression of Jews Continues in Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union have just concluded the observance of Simchat Torah, the end of the Jewish holy season.

And, once again the eyes of the world are on the oppression of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders claim that their people have freedom and equality, but Jews are not allowed contact with their own people abroad, as are other minority groups in the Soviet Union.

Also, Mr. Speaker, the number of synagogues has decreased to less than 70 in the last 12 years. In 1956, there were 380 synagogues in Russia.

I join the millions throughout the world in calling upon the leaders of the Soviet Union to end their discriminatory practices against the Jewish people and to return to them their freedom of education and instruction in their own cultural and linguistic heritage.

Edwards Reports to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, our colleague Jack Edwards this week is sending an interesting report to his constituents in the First Congressional District of Alabama.

I present it here in the Record in the general interest:

A Difficult Vote

Sometimes in Congress a complicated bill presents a real difficulty when it comes up for a vote. It includes both good and bad parts in big measures. Yet we are not allowed to vote on the various parts separately, and we can't vote "maybe": it's got to be either *yes* or *no* on the whole package.

A bill like that came up in mid-October. It provides for pay increases for postal workers and other federal employees, and for a series of postage rate increases. It also carries a special provision for setting government salaries at the executive level. Although the bill passed, I voted against it, and I think you should know why.

Postal employees and federal civil service people are among the finest, hardest-working, and most loyal of all Americans. They need more adequate salaries, and their families deserve it. The bill provides raises for some 3,000,000 employees over a period of three years. But as much as I favor adequate salaries for our federal employees my vote was determined by other provisions which concern the basic fabric of our government.

First, a little-known section of the bill says that a special commission will recommend to the President, every four years, the pay levels and expense allowances for executive level employees of the government, including Department heads, Senators and Congressmen, and federal judges. The President would have authority to put these recommendations into effect unless Congress takes special action to reject them.

This will give the President new and greater influence over the whole scope of the federal government. It is another deep erosion of the Constitutional doctrine of separation of powers: I just couldn't buy it. The President already has too much power over the Supreme Court. He already wields too much influence over Congress when his political party controls the entire Congressional machinery. Should we give him the power of the purse as well?

It is not hard to imagine the political jungle which this plan will create. I don't want to see our federal judges and members of Congress lobbying with the President for more pay—our current President or any future President. Judicial decisions could be influenced, executive branch policies could be altered, and undue pressures could be brought to bear on Congress if powers like this were abused by the President.

The second objection relates to postage rates. The bill increases first class mail rates from 5 to 6 cents, and air mail rates from 8 to 10 cents. But these kinds of mail already pay their own way: the rate increase is hard to justify. The bill also raises the rates for third class, or "junk" mail, but not nearly enough to cover the cost of that service. In other words, when we send first class mail or air mail we are helping to subsidize the delivery of unsolicited third class mail.

A third objection to the bill is another little-known provision transferring authority from Congress to the White House for setting the specific rates of pay increases in 1968 and 1969. No Congressional approval will be needed. Unfortunately this is typical of what is happening in government today—a yielding up of responsibility by the Congress, and the taking of ever-increasing power by the executive branch of the government.

A fourth objection was the cost of the bill: almost $3 billion. Let's face it. This country is broke. We are being saddled with a budget deficit which may well reach $30 billion for this year, a situation which staggers the imagination. Every effort to postpone increased expenditures will lessen the need for a tax increase, and will help hold down inflation in the long run.

DISTRICT TOUR CURTAILED

I am having to cancel my plans for making a Traveling Office tour of the First Congressional District after the adjournment of Congress this Fall. The reason is that adjournment is not likely to come before Thanksgiving, or perhaps considerably later.

Under ordinary conditions Congress is expected to complete its work by Labor Day, allowing plenty of time for a tour of the District. My Traveling Office has proven to be a good way for citizens to meet with their Congressman in their own home community.

When the work of Congress is finally done for the year I plan to visit each county of the District. But there will not be time for the full trailer trip.

THE SYSTEM BREAKS DOWN

One of the reasons Congress is staying in session so long this year, relative to the amount of legislation which is actually being produced, is the breakdown in relations between Congress and the White House. The system envisioned by the writers of the Constitution is simply not working. The House of Representatives has, in effect, voted a lack of confidence in the President. And in the words of one leading newsman, "President Johnson is defensively, almost desperately, trying to regain control."

To find a similar situation you have to go back to 1948. But then, democratic President Harry Truman was defied by a Republican Congress. Today's impasse is between a President and a Congress of the same political party. The essence of true leadership, in domestic as well as international affairs, is missing. Regardless of party labels, Congressmen resent the sense of ownership which the President and those around him seem to have towards the country and towards the Congress. And they feel that the Administration generally fails totally to comprehend the depth and meaning of public unhappiness (even anger) over government affairs.

PUTTING THE LID ON SPENDING

Differences between the President and Congress were sharpened when Mr. Johnson in early August asked Congress to approve a tax increase. Since then people all over the country have sent floods of mail to their Congressmen opposing the tax increase without making some real cuts in federal spending at the same time.

With a staggering $30 billion budget deficit on the horizon, the President's only moves to cut spending have been transparent attempts to avoid the issue. Then on Oct. 18 the House rebelled and voted to force LBJ to hold spending down to $5 billion more during this year than last: that's about $7 billion less than he wants.

The action included specific directives to hold foreign aid spending down to $2 billion for the year, and War on Poverty spending down to $1.2 billion. But as this is being written the Senate has knocked out the spending cuts approved by the House. This is disappointing and hard to understand.

AIDING THE DOPE TRAFFIC

With the nation's traffic in illegal narcotics increasing at an alarming rate the Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration said recently that he thinks marijuana should be legalized. And who said this country is not in deep trouble?

The Facts Behind the Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, most of the Members are aware that the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee recently reported a bill to create a redwood national park in northern California. Many observers as well as legislators are interested in the continuing activity in our efforts to resolve the many problems involved in the redwood park question.

One of the major problems is that of minimizing any adverse economic impact on the local communities. The Times-Standard, of Eureka, Calif., whose coverage area includes the redwood area covered by this new Senate proposal, and the Del Norte Triplicate, of Crescent City, Calif., in the same area, both have editorialized recently on this subject.

I am sure the Members would like to be aware of these opinions of the local people because this would be their first concern with any major Government proposal in their own districts. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to include these editorials in the Congressional Record:

[From the Eureka (Calif.) Times-Standard, Oct. 12, 1967]

The Facts Behind the Park

On paper, the Senate bill to create a Redwood National Park looks fair to the lumber industry. In fact, it would deal a serious blow to both the big companies and smaller operations which are already facing an uncertain future.

The bill authorizes a federal takeover of more than 32,000 acres of private timberland, generally in the Mill Creek area of Del Norte County and the Redwood Creek area of Humboldt County. To offset the economic impact on the companies, it authorizes a transfer of the 14,567-acre Northern Redwood Purchase Unit (U.S. Forest Service land in Del Norte County) to the lumbermen, plus cash in cases where the new timberland was not equal in value to the seized property. Since the Purchase Unit is not anywhere near equal in acre-for-acre value to the magnificent stands considered for a park, the cash compensation would be tremendous.

To Senators in Washington, this cash-plus-timberland trade might sound fair. It is not:

—Cash payments to companies would swell their bank accounts, but not those of the men who work in the woods and mills.

—Del Norte County, which has gained revenue for schools and roads from a 25 per cent rebate on cutting on the Purchase Unit, would see that money vanish as the land went into private ownership.

—Even if companies could survive losing more than half their timberland (Arcata Redwood faces this prospect), transfer of operations to new, lower quality timber far from the mills would be a great expense.

—Companies which in the past have done stumpage logging on the Purchase Unit would see this source of logs dry up. Cal-Pacific Redwood Co. and others are already scratching for timber.

For these reasons, the Senate bill does not carry out its stated intent to "minimize economic dislocation and the disruption of the grantor's commercial operations."

To create a national park acceptable to us, the Congress must somehow accomplish the following steps:

—Leave the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit in Forest Service control and re-open bidding for logging (such bidding has been canceled for a year while the park dispute boiled).

—Change the land-seizure figures so that no company is as seriously hurt as Arcata Redwood.

—Restore in-lieu tax payments to compensate counties for the revenue lost.

—Give some realistic assurance that the North Coast economy will not suffer because of the park. Promises of tourism are small comfort besides threats of unemployment and closed mills.

Is this too much to ask?

[From the Crescent City (Calif.) Del Norte Triplicate, Oct. 18, 1967]

JOKER IN THE DECK

While it should be encouraging to most of us in the Redwood region that the national redwood park issue may be settled before too much longer, there are some real uncertainties in the latest proposal for a park which went to the U.S. Senate last week.

The latest proposal offered by California Senator Thomas Kuchel and Senator Henry Jackson of Washington wouldn't deal the Miller-Rellim Company of Del Norte county quite the serious blow that the earlier senate bill called for. But it is still more expansive, even though similar, than the proposal of Congressman Don Clausen. The newest scheme would take over more than 32,000 acres of private timberland in Del Norte and Humboldt counties. And even though an exchange of federal timber lands would be offered to some extent, the companies apparently would still lose in board feet of timber available. And what they got in the trade probably would be more costly to log.

Equally as important, the 25 percent rebate on federal timber sales which goes to Del Norte county schools and roads would be severely curtailed.

Other companies which have purchased timber in these federal timber sales would find this source of supply drying up. And some plants in Del Norte and Humboldt counties already are having problems with timber supplies.

Another "Joker in the deck" feature about the bill as presently proposed is that it eliminates the in-lieu tax provisions which would compensate the counties for lost tax revenue.

So, while the bill is a step in the right direction in that it takes some of the burden off Del Norte county, there are still these and other problems to be solved before the intent of the bill to minimize economic disruption and hardship is accomplished.

The Presidential Commission and the Return to the Patent Act of 1793

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, this year hearings have been held by the House Judiciary Committee on the so-called Patent Reform Act of 1967. The proposed legislation is considered by many to be an ill-advised and radical departure from our present system. Recently, the American Bar Association Journal published an article by Paul H. Blaustein, of the New York Bar, in the October 1967 issue, which reasons that the proposed legislation may, in reality, be a regression to our Patent Act of 1793 and not at all progressive.

Therefore, in the light of the considerable controversy that this matter has raised, I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION AND THE RETURN TO THE PATENT ACT OF 1793

(NOTE.—Mr. Blaustein examines the history of the United States patent laws and states that the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Patent System for a first-to-file system are actually regressions to the severe laws that existed under the Patent Act of 1793. He says that there is no reason so to change our present patent laws.)

(By Paul H. Blaustein)

The distinguished members of the President's Commission on the Patent System and their chairman, Simon H. Rilkind, have devised an entirely different patent system intended to be simpler and better able to promote the interests of the useful arts.[1] The simplicity desired is not without substantial new burdens and penalties imposed on United States inventors.

The commission made its recommendations in an attempt to conform our patent laws to the conditions imposed by an "exploding technology" and to make the patent system application to "modern day requirements". But it is curious to observe that the changes recommended are actually regressions to the United States patent law that existed from 1793 to 1839 under the Patent Act of 1793, a law regarded as being especially severe.

The structure of the recommended system depends upon the foundation provision, Recommendation I, which requires an inventor to file a patent application before there is any public disclosure or use of his invention. In the present system, the date of the invention for priority and validity purposes is the date the invention was made; a grace period of one year, akin to a statute of limitations, also is allowed after the first publication or public use for filing a patent application. The commission recommends a "first-to-file" system, under which the winner in the race to the Patent Office is deemed the first inventor as a matter of law.

THE BASIC DIFFERENCES

Recommendation I reads as follows:

"Prior art shall comprise any information known to the public or made available to the public . . . by use or placing on sale, anywhere in the world, prior to the effective filing date of the application."

The present statute, 35 U.S.C. § 102(b) (1952), reads:

"A person shall be entitled to a patent unless—

". . . (b) the invention was . . . in public use or on sale in this country, more than one year prior to the date of the application for patent in the United States, or. . . ."

Two points of difference are clear: (1) Public uses outside the United States are included as prior art; and (2) the grace period of one year is eliminated.

A third important difference is implied: The present experimental use exception to public use is eliminated.

In a closely related recommendation, the commission further contemplates a new preliminary application to be followed within twelve months by the complete application.[2]

THE REASONING OF THE COMMISSION

The advantages the commission believes will be derived from the proposed first-to-file system are, generally speaking, greater international uniformity of patent systems and expedited examination procedure in the United States.

The specific advantages are the following:

1. International applicability

(A) Greater international uniformity would be achieved, since the present grace period has no counterpart in most foreign systems.

(B) The anomaly of excluding from prior art, public knowledge, use or sale in a border town of Mexico or Canada, and including the same kind of disclosure in Alaska or Hawaii, would be eliminated.

(C) The granting or valid United States patents on inventions which would be unpatentable abroad because of long use or sale there would be prevented.

(D) Another step toward conformity with European patent laws and acceptance of a common definition of universal prior art would be taken.

2. Expedited U.S. examination

(A) Interference procedure in the United States Patent Office would be eliminated.

(B) The examination procedure would be accelerated by eliminating the consideration of affidavits at present submitted to establish an earlier date of invention and thus overcome *prima facie* prior art.

(C) The applicant no longer would need to maintain extensive records now required to corroborate such affidavits or, thereafter, to prove his actual date of invention.

In the face of these advantages, a brief review of the history of the patent laws during the period from 1793 to 1839 and the reasons for the rejection of the 1793 statute will be helpful.

CONGRESSIONAL REJECTION OF THE ACT OF 1793

Section 1 of the original Patent Act of 1790 provided:

"§ 1. . . . . That upon the petition of any person or persons . . . that he, she, or they hath or have invented or discovered any useful art, manufacture, engine, machine, or device, or any improvement therein *not before known or used*, and praying that a patent may be granted therefor, it shall. . . ."

The first statute was ambiguous as to whether the invalidating use was before the date the invention was made or before the date that the patent application was filed. In 1793, Congress eliminated the ambiguity by making the invalidating use before the application date.[3]

Recommendation I of the commission may be compared with the Patent Act of 1793, which provided:

Footnotes at end of speech.

"§ 1. . . . That when any person or persons, . . . have invented any new and useful art, . . . *not known or used before the application,* and shall present a petition to the Secretary of State. . . ."

This act worked against the interest of the public and the inventor, as stated in Robinson's treatise on the *Law of Patents* (page 486):

"In its earlier stages the law both in England and in this country was in this respect especially severe. The statute of James I. allowed the grant of letters-patent only for inventions which others, at the date of such letters-patent, did not use; and under this provision the courts held that a single instance of such use by any person other than the inventor in a public manner, was sufficient to debar him from a patent. In the United States, the act of 1793 required that the invention should not have been used before the application, and this our courts construed as prohibiting a public use by the consent of the inventor, and decided that his acquiescence in the enjoyment of his invention by the public, whatever might be its duration or extent, was equivalent to an abandonment. So strict a rule was necessarily disadvantageous to inventors and indirectly prejudicial to the public."

After the Patent Act of 1793, successive patent acts looked upon the inventor with greater favor. The Patent Act of 1836 excluded unauthorized use from invalidating the patent:

"§ 6. . . . That any person or persons, having discovered or invented any new and useful art, . . . and not, at the time of his application for a patent, *in public use or on sale, with his consent or allowance. . . .*"

The Patent Act of 1839, which was similar to the present patent law, provided:

"§ 7. . . . no patent shall be held to be invalid, by reason of such purchase, sale, or use prior to the application for a patent as aforesaid, except on proof . . . *that such purchase, sale, or prior use has been for more than two years prior to such application for a patent.*"[4]

The Acts of both 1836 and of 1839 were intended to assist inventors:

"The act of 1836 was evidently intended for the benefit of the inventors, and was the offspring of a public sentiment in their favor which increased rather than diminished during the ensuing forty years. In less than three years afterward the act of 1839 was pasesd, every other provision of which was marked by the same liberal spirit toward inventors, and was manifestly designed for the furtherance of their interests."[5]

A return to the first-to-file system will be an abandonment of the liberal spirit developed in the Act of 1839 and will be accompanied by burdens, injustices and impracticalities.

WORLDWIDE PUBLIC USE AND PRIOR ART

The geographic expansion of public use will greatly expand the field of prior art. Any public use, whether in Mexico, to take the example used by the commission, or in China or South Africa would be available to invalidate a patent.

Patents of certain foreign countries hardly enrich our technology, yet are part of the prior art. For example, the tubeless tire patent was held invalid because of a prior South African patent (*Goodrich* v. *United States Rubber Company,* 244 F. 2d 468 (4th Cir. 1957)). Foreign public uses are virtually unknown in the United States and will not enrich United States technology at all. Is it fair to the American inventor to charge him with knowledge of these uses, which are utterly beyond his means to learn?

Judge Rifkind noted some time ago the difficulties facing the United States inventor in fighting the wide scope of world-wide prior art, which he termed a "paper-and-paste doll":

"Unlike another fictional character of the law, the Reasonably Prudent Man, this character whom I call Mr. Prior Art, is not the product of intuition and changing modes and judgment. He is a paper and paste man, carefully put together by industrious lawyers making vigilant searches into dusty archives of the Patent Office, the libraries and the workshops. No matter how brilliant be the flesh and blood inventor who comes into court with this patent, he may be utterly undone by this paper and paste doll. Someone, somewhere, some time may have had the insight and diligence to put on paper the words which foreshadowed the product of the inventive genius. And who can fail to sense frustration when the trophy is thus snatched from the inventor's hands."[6]

Further, the expansion will increase the cost and uncertainty of litigation to the extent that world-wide investigations for public uses will be made, investigations which could only be afforded by those of substantial financial means.

It will only add to the difficulty of the United States Patent Office both in uncovering world-wide public uses and in adjudicating the worthiness of the proof of a foreign public use in an opposition procedure. The same difficulty will be presented to the courts in litigation.

THE GRACE PERIOD AND EXPERIMENTAL USE

An experimental use probably would be considered a public use, part of the prior art, unless it is under absolute secrecy. This follows from the commission's carefully worded definition of prior art, which overrules the landmark case, *Elizabeth* v. *Pavement Company,* 97 U.S. 126 (1877). Here, the Supreme Court stated that experimental uses were not public uses and that prior art does not include information made available to the public by such use:

"In this connection, it is proper to make another remark. It is not a public knowledge of his invention that precludes the inventor from obtaining a patent for it, but a public use or sale of it. In England, formerly, as well as under our Patent Act of 1793, if an inventor did not keep his invention secret, if a knowledge of it became public before his application for a patent, he could not obtain one. To be patentable, an invention must not have been known or used before the application; but this has not been the law of this country since the passage of the act of 1836, and it has been very much qualified in England. *Lewis* v. *Marling,* 10 B. & C. 22.[7] Therefore, if it were true that during the whole period in which the pavement was used, the public knew how it was constructed, it would make no difference in the result."

It is seen, therefore, that the basic rule of *Elizabeth,* that knowledge obtained by the public during an experimental use is not prior art, is to be essentially changed, since prior art will comprise *information* made available to the public *by use.*

Not every idea is worthy of a patent application. The experimental period and the grace period are designed to allow the inventor the right to discard the unworthy. The late Judge Learned Hand recognized this. In *Aerovox Corporation* v. *Polymet Manufacturing Corporation,* 67 F. 2d 860, 862 (2d Cir. 1933), he said:

"At any rate we shall assume that an inventor may wait longer, may wait until he learns whether his invention is of enough value to justify an application for a patent. On this view he may test it, not only to put it into definitive form, but to see whether his ideas are worth exploiting."

Past judicial experience has recognized the wisdom of a liberal interpretation of experimental use; for example, consider the experimentation required on the reaper (*Graham* v. *McCormick,* 11 Fed. 859, 862–863 (N.D. Ill. 1880):

"It could only be tested by practical use in the field, and it was essential that it should be so tested by farmers on their farms. The inventor was then struggling, as inventors often do, to establish the success of his invention. It was necessary that thorough experimental tests should be made, and that he should have the assistance of others in making them; and it is manifest, we think, that the machines of 1863 were not yet so perfected as to be practical machines, capable of successful work."

The commission recognizes that further development of an idea is required before a meaningful invention can be completed and contemplates a provisional disclosure system giving the inventor the right to file a complete disclosure within twelve months.

Under the first-to-file system, a provisional application covering the reaper could not be complete since the invention was not complete; the needed assistance to perfect the reaper would not be sought because of fear of public use and possible stealth by others.

Here again, an analogy may be drawn to the Act of 1836 which allowed the filing of a caveat[8] to preserve an inventor's rights. The requirements as to form were obviously minimal. However, the caveat procedure was found to lack utility and was subsequently eliminated from United States patent law.

The purpose of the experimental use provision and the grace period is to allow the inventor sufficient time to experiment and perfect his invention and, as a corollary, his application. It discourages paper inventions, sketchy disclosures and incomplete patent applications. It encourages experimentation, field testing under service conditions and efforts to perfect an invention.

Conversely, the first-to-file system encourages hasty filing with incomplete discloures on incomplete inventions; it fosters secrecy and fear of enlisting the help of others. It provide a harsh statute of limitations after first public use, namely, zero days. It burdens those who lack means and increase the burden on the nation's corporations. It further requires a diversion of funds for filing patent applications to protect paper disclosures, the only way left to secure protection for the untested invention.

One of the main reasons cited is the desire to reconcile the United States patent system to foreign patent systems. This reason is itself novel, since in the past we tried to devise a system which was better than other systems, particularly when the Acts of 1836 and 1839 were passed. In fact, we succeeded, and many major countries, *e.g.,* West Germany and Japan, emulated us and allowed a public use during a short statutory period before an application is filed. Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Japan and others have laws similar to present United States law and do not consider world-wide public uses as part of the prior art. International uniformity and co-operation do not require the proposed system.

International conformity and co-operation among national patent offices are desirable goals and in fact exist to a considerable extent now. The present system does not offer any substantial impediment to the achievement of these goals.

It is certainly desirable to expedite and simplify United States examination procedures. No patent lawyer holds any brief for the current interference practice, and it could be substantially modified under the present statutory framework. All of this can be done without adopting the first-to-file system.

The history of the United States patent system is the adoption and rejection of a first-to-file system, followed by Congressional scrutiny and change of the public use provision in response to injustices and a balancing of the inventor's and the public's interest. No compelling reason now exists to give up the benefit of the present law, written in the light of more than 170 years of legisla-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

tive and judicial experience, to regress to the first-to-file system.

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[1] REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE PATENT SYSTEM (1966) (hereafter referred to as REPORT).

[2] "II. A preliminary application may be used to secure a filing date for all features of an invention disclosed therein, if the disclosure subsequently appears in a complete application. Requirements as to form shall be minimal and claims need not be included.

"One or more preliminary applications may be consolidated into one complete application filed within twelve months of the earlier preliminary or foreign application relied on."

[3] "It is not wholly insignifiacnt in this point of view, that the first patent act passed by congress on this subject, (act of 1790, ch. 34, ch. 7.) which the present act repeals, uses the words *'not known or used before,'* without adding the words 'the application'; and in connexion with the structure of the sentence in which they stand, might have been referred either to the time of the invention, or of the application. The addition of the latter words in the patent act of 1793, must, therefore, have been introduced, ex industria, and with the cautious intention to clear away a doubt, and fix the original and deliberate meaning of the legislature." *Pennock v. Dialogue,* 2 Pet. 1, 21–22 (1829).

[4] ROBINSON, LAW OF PATENTS 504 (1890). "The evident purpose of the section was to fix a period of limitation which should be certain, and require only a calculation of time, and should not depend upon the uncertain question of whether the applicant had consented to or allowed the sale or use."

[5] ROBINSON, LAW OF PATENTS 506 (1890).

[6] Rifkind, *Romance Discoverable in Patent Cases,* 16 F.R.D. 253, 257 (1954).

[7] In this leading English case, Lord Tenterden, C.J., said to the jury, "To show that the machine was not new, evidence is given that a model has been seen by three or four persons and that the making of a similar machine was begun, but it appears to me that the defendant has failed to prove that such a machine was generally known or generally used in England before the taking out of the patent by the plaintiff's." The Court of Kings Bench equated "generally known" with "publicly known".

[8] Act of 1836, § 12, related to the filing of "a caveat, setting forth the design and purpose thereof, and its principal and distinguishing characteristics. . . ." Cf. REPORT, Recommendation II: ". . . Requirements as to form shall be minimal and claims need not be included."

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH
OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be a cosponsor of H.R. 10915 and to give this bill my support today.

I do so, recognizing that this Nation's trade policy should be based on the good of the country as a whole and not just the good of one segment, one area, or one narrow, parochial interest. In this case I think the good of the country will be advanced by an action which, incidentally, will constitute a boost to a given industry.

Patience and long suffering are virtures, whether practiced by individuals or by governments, but they have limits. The large quotas of extra-long-staple cotton assigned to Egypt and the Sudan in past years may have been a good foreign policy risk. Tolerating the antics and abuse of President Nasser may have made sense prior to last June. I have no particular quarrel with the decisions of our administrations from Harding through Johnson to permit a large portion of the domestic market in this commodity to go to Egypt and the Sudan. But I think continued patience and long suffering, after the severance of diplomatic relations by these countries, and after they have accused the United States falsely of making war upon them, would be ridiculous. The world can only read such patience as weakness and such long suffering as stupidity.

Mr. Chairman, the cotton growers of this country are quite capable of producing all of the extra-long-staple cotton previously imported from Egypt and the Sudan, and I think it's time we gave them a chance. They will appreciate the business; Nasser will not.

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH
OF

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I simply want to state the position of the committee on this matter before any more of the Members commit themselves to what appears to be a sound and equitable procedure.

The picture painted by the gentleman from New York is, of course, attractive to all of us who want to try to deal fairly with everybody. I believe there is much merit to his basic idea, and I believe the committee agreed that there was much merit to it, but it was presented to the committee for the first time this morning, long after the bill had been reported, and after a rule had been granted and after a date had been set for a hearing on the legislation.

The committee did discuss it, and suggested that if we could agree upon July 1, which is 15 days after the bill was introduced, and after everybody had notice of what was happening, or what might happen, that the committee would not oppose the amendment. We, too, recognize that there should be some opportunity for those who in good faith have entered into contracts of this kind. We did feel that the amendment as it is now written is so broad that it did open the door to those who, recognizing that there was no way of getting extra-long-staple cotton out of Egypt at this time, could go there and buy this cotton for almost nothing at the present time. I do not believe there is any established market in Egypt now. One can go there and pick up the cotton on almost any contract he wants to offer. I do not believe there are adequate safeguards in the amendment to make sure that these contracts it would protect are not simply contracts entered into for the very purpose of evading this act although it does say that they must have entered into in good faith—but there is no provision in this amendment to require the contracts to be the kind mentioned by the gentleman from North Carolina. There is nothing to even suggest that the people who would be protected have sold against the contracts.

As a matter of fact, all that they have to have is a contract which says: "I will take so many bales of cotton at half the normal price." They are not required to post any deposit. If in fact this legislation passes, they can escape with no penalty whatsoever. If the legislation does not pass, why then they have simply bought this cotton at a great profit. There is nothing in this amendment which assures us that its benefits will go to those who would without it suffer loss. It creates a windfall for some.

I think the committee was well aware that if we could safeguard this thing so that it would apply only to those contracts where there was actually a possibility of loss to somebody, we would have no objection in the world to taking the date that the gentleman suggested. But since there were no safeguards of that kind, the committee suggested giving them 15 days after they were put on notice and accepted July 1 as the effective date, which would probably be equitable.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BRASCO. We did discuss the date of July 1, but as I informed the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the date of July 1 would not be adequate to cover all the people who have obligated themselves by these contracts. I would like to say this——

Mr. POAGE. Would the gentleman let me proceed. I am glad to yield to the gentleman for the purpose of asking a question but not for him to make a speech.

I would like to continue, to point out that there is nothing in the amendment that requires any showing that anybody would lose a dime before we let him import this unneeded cotton to simply add to the cost to our Government. It merely requires a showing that they entered into a contract. It does not say that it has to be a contract on which there is any forfeiture.

It does not say that any loss is going to be sustained, but merely that they have entered into a contract. It is pretty easy to get contracts with Egyptian cotton owners and it is still quite easy to do it. There is not any requirement that you have to show any loss or any possibility of a loss. There is merely a requirement that you show you have written a contract, no matter what your escape clause may be.

I think the committee would be quite willing, if this were so limited that there had to be a showing of loss to the individual—we can accept that. In the alternative, we felt that we ought to get it down to an earlier date.

The Plight of Soviet Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, October 25 completed the season of the annual Jewish holiday period—the eve of Simchat Torah, the day which for hundreds of years has marked "the rejoicing over the law."

But it was not a day of rejoicing for the approximately 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union, because long-promised lifting of the cultural and religious suppressions affecting Soviet Jews has failed to materialize. Instead, we have seen an intensification of Russian vilification of Israel.

> History demonstrates that the treatment of minorities is a barometer by which to measure the moral health of a society—

Said President Johnson 2 years ago on the occasion of kindling by the American Jewish community of an Eternal Light for Soviet Jewry. Russia's maltreatment of its Jewish citizens points up, as the President said, the "fundamental contradictions between the stated principles and actual practices of the Soviet system."

That is something we should keep in mind in all matters where the world's leader of communism is concerned. It is further emphasized by the statements and actions of the Russians in connection with the current struggles in both the Mid-East and Asia.

We hear the Soviet spokesmen demanding the end of the Arab-Israel hostilities and those in Vietnam—yet it is Russian fighting machines and military counsel which keeps both of these conflicts alive. The Mideast crisis would never have errupted, or even now be threatened with renewed ferocity, if the Russians had not so fully armed the Egyptians and other Arabs and thereby encouraged their confrontation with the Jewish State of Israel.

Similarly, Ho Chi Minh would not be continuing to wage his aggression against the South Vietnamese without the extensive supplies he continues to receive from the Soviet Union.

I cannot help but feel that if anyone has any doubts about what Communist domination of our world would mean, all of these facts should lessen those doubts.

While the Russian Government has at times indicated it would be less anti-Semitic, it has continued to keep its Jewish citizens from enjoying the religious and cultural participation allowed to other Soviet minorities. The Israel-Arab war, of course, has worsened the situation, with the Soviet Union seemingly blaming the Jews in Russia for the defeat the Jews of Israel inflicted on their Arab neighbors.

As the Soviet Union marks the 50th anniversary of the revolution which brought it to power, indeed one of the major steps it might take toward better understanding among other nations would be to grant to its Jewish citizens at least the same rights afforded other religious and nationality groups in Russia.

United Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, during this United Nations Week, on the 22d anniversary of the U.N., ministers and laymen across the land are speaking and sermonizing on the value of the international organization. Some of the more stimulating thoughts I have read on the subject originated from the pulpit of one of my constituents, Rev. John Cummins, minister of the First Universalist Church of Minneapolis. Mr. Cummins is also president of the United Nations Association of Minnesota.

An activist and a liberal, Mr. Cummins addressed himself "in unmistakable terms" to what he regards as the responsibility of the world's religious groups to the U.N. He also dealt with "three additional characteristics of maturity" that the U.N. now lacks: First, universal membership; second, a peacekeeping force; and, third, "thorough democratization."

The text of Mr. Cummins' sermon follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF MAN

On the occasion of the 22nd birthday of the United Nations, I am reminded of the words of the famed American businessman and economist, Beardsley Ruml. Back in 1945 he wrote:

"At the end of five years, you'll think the U.N. is the greatest vision ever realized by man. At the end of ten years, you'll find out—within yourselves and all through the world. At the end of fiften years, you'll believe the U.N. cannot succed. You'll be certain that all the odds are against its ultimate life and success.

"It will only be when the United Nations is 21 years old that you will revere and laud the dedication of those who devoted their energies to it through its turbulent course, for you then will know that the U.N. is the only alternative to the demolition of the world."

It's hard to believe that a whole generation has grown up that has never lived in a world without the United Nations. This is an encouraging thought. It probably means that the United Nations has proved its worth and is here to stay, the newest and most promising of all earth's institutions.

But in another sense, the United Nations is not new. It is rather, the product of a long, historical quest for peace with justice. The men who were involved in that historic quest were not only statesmen; they were poets and philosophers who dreamed out loud about an end to war inside the family of man. In this sense, men like Tagore, who in "Gitanili" could invision a world without walls; Iqbal, who celebrated the splendor of creative human relationships; Tennyson, who in "Locksley Hall" could anticipate the reality of a parliament of man; Victor Hugo, who could look beyond political groupings to a "party of civilization"; Benjamin Franklin, who wanted to be able to set foot anywhere in the world and call it his country; Aristide Briand and Woodrow Wilson and all the other statesmen-philosophers who were in the platonic tradition and pursued the development of the world under law—men like these must surely be included in the founding fathers of the United Nations. Over the centuries, they have helped to remind us that the United Nations is not just a contemporary instrument, but the logical culmination of a long historical process and the product of a vast accumulation of human hope and desperation.

Today we still possess the gift of their heritage of ancient morals and values—love, justice, peace and compassion, but with a difference. Today we do not see those values as shimmering abstractions, the stuff of poetry and song, but as symbol terms for practical possibilities for man's life here on earth now.

Although the United Nations is a logical culmination of the civilizing effect of 5,000 years of ethical religion, it is, nevertheless, as an institution, just 22 years old. And while 22 years may be ample time for an individual to mature, more—much more—is required for great institutions to flower and gain acceptance in the minds of men. Perhaps the United Nations, in its first 22 years, is at about the same stage as a human being would be at 22 months. At this point, about all we are sure of is that it is here to stay and that it has yet a long way to go. If we are practical idealists, we will turn our attention, not to dreaming about the distant future, but to the immediate needs of this infant institution. Within the next 22 years, the United Nations needs to acquire three additional characteristics of maturity which it does not now have.

First, the United Nations needs to endorse and practice without equivocation, the principal of universal membership. At present, the United States, which dominates the United Nations, has bitterly opposed and prevented the admission of the People's Republic of China to the U.N., arguing that it is not, as is required by the United Nations Charter, a "peace-loving nation". And yet, if we ask who is it that is making war today the answer is not China. The question of which nations are really peace-loving is open to debate. Patently, it is absurd to exclude from the family of nations a country which possesses the atom bomb and the world's largest standing army and which represents ¼ of the world's people, and which, moreover, is not presently engaged in any act of war. But surely it is not necessary to belabor the principle of universality to a group of Universalists. We have, historically, upheld the principle of universality and opposed exclusiveness in every aspect of human life throughout the existence of our movement, and this is the one characteristic which distinguishes us.

A second point of maturity at which the United Nations must arrive within the next two decades is with respect to its right to sustain and use a peace keeping force. Each nation must be required to contribute its fair share of both money and soldiers to the United Nations Emergency Force. This could be most simply done by assessing from each nation a certain percentage of those armed forces which it sustains in its own interests. As a matter of fact, in June, 1964, a precedent was set by the Parliament of Norway which allocated in perpetuity 1300 troops to the world's first permanent police force. Its example was quickly followed by 1500 Swedish and 900 Danish troops.

Recently, a Latin American diplomat observed that at the U.N. "there are always certain things that disappear. If there is a dispute between two small powers, the conflict disappears. If there is a conflict between a great power and a small power, it is the small power that disappears. If there is a dispute between two great powers, then it is the U.N. that disappears." And the U.N. disappears for one basic reason—the ruling powers have not surrendered to it one iota of their sovereignty. A substantial military force answerable to the U.N. would at least resolve the military aspects of sovereignty. In West Irian, the Congo, in Yemen and Cyprus, along the borders of Kashmir and the Gaza Strip, the infant United Nations Emergency Force has already demonstrated in a small way its great efficacy.

The third and perhaps most important point of maturity at which the U.N. must arrive is the thorough democratization of the United Nations. At present, each nation in the General Assembly is represented by one vote and one vote only, regardless of its size, and that is as it should be. However, the system has one great drawback. It is that the delegation of each country is appointed by the head of each country, and thus responds to the ambition and will of the current rulers of each country, rather than the will of the people. For a thoroughly democratic U.N. which may be responsive to the will of the peoples of the world and thereby truly become what Tennyson called, "the Parliament of Man", delegates must be elected by the people of the country they represent.

You may be well aware that the United Nations is patterned on the Congress of the United States. It has the General Assembly, which is roughly equivalent to our House of Representatives, and which I have just described. It also has the Security Council, which is, or should be, the equivalent of our Senate. Now, the Security Council is the organ which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace. It acts on behalf of all member states of the United Nations and all have agreed under the charter to carry out its decisions. However, the Council at present has just eleven members, five of which are permanent, the remaining six of which are elected by the General Assembly, and which serve rotating terms of three years each. If this body is to be thoroughly democratized, it, too, must bypass the sovereignty of national administrations, by eliminating the principle of five permanent representatives and by having all eleven representatives serve in rotation in a fair and equitable manner and their delegates, too, should be elected by the people of the countries they represent.

Now I would speak in unmistakable terms about what I believe is the responsibility of the religious bodies of the world to the U.N. In short, I am talking about us! To a degree that absolute national sovereignty is the underlying problem of both the U.N. and of world peace, I believe all religious bodies should be seething with activity, for which among them is not haunted, and should not be dominated by the conviction that all men are not only equal but one? I would hope that the religious bodies of the world in general and America in particular, might unite in enforcing the same kind of breakthrough which their efforts jointly achieved in this country in the area of civil rights. Let the religious bodies of America, then, celebrate the 22nd birthday of the U.N. by challenging the whole concept of absolute national sovereignty.

To begin with, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders could urge the National Council of Churches to set up a special Commission on religion and peace similar to its brilliantly successful Commission on Religion and Race. The first order of business would be to agitate, demonstrate and organize voters pledged to vote only for peace candidates, to re-open the China debate, to insist on an increased number of blue-bereted soldiers, and to demand the updating and democratization of the United Nations.

In the same way that the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, united with churches, have challenged segregation and inequality, it seems to me that seven or eight major peace groups, such as the United Nations Association, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Committee Against the War in Vietnam, the United World Federalists, and the Women Turn Toward Peace Movement could unite with churches in dramatically and emphatically demanding that national leaders respond to the world and people rather than to selfish and parochial ambitions.

Finally and immediately, could there not be formed a non-governmental international body of citizens of all nations. Alfred Hasler talks of "an order of humanity" and of "a kind of government in exile for those would-be citizens of a society not yet brought to birth". Headed by outstanding world figures, such a voluntary organization would embody the clear truth that patriotism now, like brotherhood, must be all-embracing to be at all, and its members drawn, hopefully from all nations of the world who have pledged themselves to live as those who put loyalty to this truth above obedience to the will of any single nation, with a program that would include publications, conferences, and civil disobedience when necessary—such as, "We fight only for the U.N.", and, this organization would offer men everywhere the immediate possibility of obtaining for themselves a genuine international identity.

In 1959, we heard General Eisenhower say, "I like to believe that the people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than are governments. I think the people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

Whether the religions of the world are going to help people to their dream for peace is debatable; that they could make a difference is not debatable. Will they then continue to pick over old stones in comfortaby self-limited fields, or will, they plunge into the task of fulfilling their own vision of a world of peace, possessed of a high excitement which would truly infect all men within their reach? Such a breakthrough as I have suggested is absolutely necessary. The atom bomb and modern technology do not permit the passing of centuries for world government to slowly evolve. We need a Gandhi and a Martin Luther King rolled into one, and millions of like-minded men and women who for the sake of earth's future children are prepared to think, speak and act in the name of man.

Theodore Roosevelt's 109th Birthday

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is with the sentimental emotion stirred by old and sweet memories that I listened to the eloquent tribute to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt by our distinguished and able colleague from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN], whose full name, and fittingly, is THEODORE ROOSEVELT KUPFERMAN.

It is difficult for me to realize that on Friday of this week Theodore Roosevelt, if alive, would have been 109 years old. He was 40 years old when I first saw him. Three days after the landing of the Roughriders in Cuba, the 33d Volunteer Michigan Infantry, of which I was a member, landed from small boats on the soil of Cuba at Siboney. The Roughriders were living in pup tents not too far from the rows of pup tents that accommodated the 33d Michigan.

The first morning after our arrival, an officer on horseback not of our regiment, came riding up and started giving us orders. Our Michigan infantrymen, most of them like myself, kids out of high school, were not minded to be bossed by strangers and told him, in language not too gentle, to be on his way.

The rider reversed his course and turned in his saddle, looking back at us as he rode away. That was my first glimpse of the toothy smile of Teddy Roosevelt that afterward became so famous.

My last meeting with him was during his last hours in the White House as President when graciously he received a delegation of Chicago schoolchildren, prizewinners in a contest conducted by the Hearst Newspapers. As an old comrade of the campaign at Santiago, I had asked for the appointment and, not as President to a citizen but as one comrade to another, he had granted it, and we remained with him as the minutes of his historic Presidency clicked away until the time came for the ride to the inauguration of President Taft.

Teddy Roosevelt was the voice of a new America, aroused by the war with Spain from the quiet ways of an isolated and contented town-and-country nation to meet its challenge of destiny as a world power. He was forceful, magnetic, and spectacular in everything that he did and said, and all was genuine and sincere.

During the time of the Republican convention, just prior to the birth of the Bull Moose, I was present at a pep meeting of Teddy's followers in a hall in downtown Chicago. He was reading from a large handful of pages on which was written his message. There were only 30 or 40 words on each page. I shall never forget the manner in which Teddy raised aloft each page after he had read it, and then with a full and dramatic sweep of his arm, threw it on the floor as he continued reading the next page. He extracted drama, power, and force from everything. His every motion as well as his every word evoked an emotion and something akin to a worship among his fellow countrymen.

Under Teddy Roosevelt, America experienced a rebaptism of patriotism—good old-fashioned patriotism, honest pride of and in our Nation, its people, its soil, its forests, and its water, and, above all, in its achievements, its purposes, and its mission. He was a conservationist through and through, and this administration of the Presidency of this country was marked by the first program to preserve our out of doors and all of nature's rich treasures for future generations. Chief Justice Warren, I am reliably informed, once said that the two men to whom Americans owe the most for the preservation of the forests and other beauties of nature were Theodore Roosevelt and our own colleague, the Honorable Michael Joseph Kirwan.

In every way, in every sense, by any measure, Theodore Roosevelt was a great American. He will live forever in the hearts of his countrymen.

Simple Justice Demands That the Soviet Union Cease Their Persecution of Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased, indeed, to join with our colleagues here in calling attention to and protesting against the harsh and unjust discrimination being visited upon members of the Jewish faith in the Soviet Union.

The protest is timely because yesterday was the eve of the Jewish holiday, Simchath Torah—meaning "rejoice in the law." Unfortunately, there is no justice in the Soviet law as applied to the treatment of Jews there, and consequently, there will be no cause or even opportunity for the Jews to rejoice there.

On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence of religious and cultural discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union. For example, there is not now a single Yiddish school or class there, although Soviet law permits the organization of such classes at the request of 10 parents.

The irony is that Soviet ideology, practices, and their Constitution itself all encourage nationalities to perpetuate their group's existence through cultural, educational and religious institutions in their own language. The further contradiction is that Jews are legally defined by Russian authority as a nationality.

The Government order limiting and restricting the number of publications in the Hebrew language is undoubtedly a deliberate harassment of the Jews. The extraordinarily harsh punishment visited upon Jews in the Soviet Republic for the most minor offenses bears the blemish of intended racial discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, the natural desire of Russian Jews to be Jewish is certainly no threat to the Soviet might. It is, therefore, most difficult to understand why Soviet Jews should be deprived of, and denied, the rights granted to other religious and ethnic groups.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that under these circumstances, we here have a duty and obligation to speak out and protest against the continuation of this injustice and discrimination, tantamount to persecution, that is being persistently imposed upon Jews in the U.S.S.R.

We are, of course, restricted in what we can concretely do to help these victims of Soviet anti-Semitism; however, as free people in a free society, we can at least raise our voices in condemnation of this grave injustice being visited upon so many innocent people, and we can urge our own Government officials, here and in the United Nations, to encourage and strengthen discussions in that body concerning the religious and cultural persecution of Jews in Russia. Through persevering protests and action, let us hope we may influence the Soviet authorities to speedily end their tragic treatment of a people possessed only of good will, and who wish only to live in comparable freedom among their fellow citizens.

Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the Record a transcript of a conference telephone call between Assemblyman John F. Foran, chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Commerce of the California Assembly, and California medical, research, and public health specialists.

The transcript contains an informative discussion of the seriousness of the smog problem in California and what the State has done in combating this menace to health.

It underscores the importance to California of reinstating the Murphy amendment to S. 780, the proposed Air Quality Act of 1967 which will come up in the House soon, to allow California to retain the right to set and enforce its own standards to control motor vehicle emissions.

AIR POLLUTION

(The following is an edited transcript of a conference telephone call made on October 24, 1967 between Hon. John Francis Foran, Chairman of the California Assembly Committee on Transportation and Commerce; Joseph Boyle, M.D., President of the Los Angeles County Medical Association; Arthur A. Atkisson, Jr., Executive Director of the Institute of Urban Ecology of the University of Southern California; and John A. Maga, Chief of the Bureau of Air Sanitation of the California Department of Public Health. Emphasis has been added at certain points by italicizing.)

Foran. First of all, I understand that *the Dingell version of 208B sets up the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare as the only person who can establish exhaust emission standards for California, whereas the Murphy version allows Californians to establish the standards they themselves determine that they need in order to regain the clear air that they need for healthy living.* As President of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, Dr. Boyle, why is it imperative that we Californians retain the right to set our own standards?

Boyle. There are several reasons. First of all, the kinds of air pollution we have in Los Angeles County at the present time are somewhat unique to us although they do affect other metropolitan areas in the United States. We have had intensive efforts to control stationary sources of air pollutants for a number of years that have been moderately successful. *At the present time, our principal problems relate to the pollutants which are emitted from automobile exhaust.*

The principal problem we have here, again, is in unburned hydrocarbons which then combine with sunlight to produce our photosynthetic smog. *We have good evidence in Los Angeles County that for a number of years we have had conditions in the atmosphere which could have produced the kind of health disasters that have occurred in other areas* such as in London and Donora and in New York City most recently. We also have good scientific evidence which demonstrates that for people who have chronic lung disease such as pulmonary emphysema, chronic bronchitis, asthma, pulmonary fibrosis that the air pollution in the Los Angeles area does lead to a very distinct deterioration in the condition of these individuals. We have seen a number of other people whose deaths we are quite certain have been precipitated by intervals of increased air pollution. We have seen patients in this area who have developed a primary form of lung disease which is somewhat comparable to that which is observed in the Tokyo-Yokohama area in which the constituents of air pollution produce a sensitivity type of bronchitis which then can lead ultimately to chronic obstructive pulmonary emphysema, pulmonary fibrosis and in many instances death due to this disease.

We have observed other changes in the lungs, such as forms of inflammation of the lung cells in the breathing sacs or air sacs which, when we examine them under the microscope, can be seen to be indistinguishable from cancer cells.

All of these effects that we have observed can be reversed by filtering the polluted air out of the atmosphere that the patient is breathing. *With these observations in front of us, we believe that unless there is some drastic action taken soon that this area in the future could become uninhabitable. We are faced with the proposition that we are almost daily now advising patients that from their health standpoint that it would be desirable that they do leave the Los Angeles area.*

Foran. Thank you very much. Mr. Atkisson, you are currently the Director of the Institute for Urban Ecology at the University of Southern California. I understand you helped develop exhaust emission standards for the 1966 California cars. These are the same standards federal law requires on all 1968 cars. What is you opinion of those standards and the testing techniques upon which they are based?

Atkisson. First, I think we have to go back a long time in history to the time when I was involved with the Air Pollution Control District in Los Angeles. . . . *We only imperfectly understood the dimensions of the photochemical smog problem. Our understandings as to the ways that it might grow and expand as a function of population increase were imperfect. It was against that backdrop that the first standards evolved which provide for a level of 275 parts per million in the exhaust stream of each vehicle. There are a couple of critical factors about this standard today.*

First of all, this standard is palpably incapable of solving and keeping solved the Los Angeles smog problem. The projection that we have made of vehicle population growth would suggest that by 1975, if we are to reduce vehicle exhaust emissions to *about the level that existed in 1940, will require an exhaust emission standard of somewhere between 50 and 100 parts per million. Now this is just about a third of the level presently authorized in both the California and the new federal standard. So when the Secretary of HEW is given the standards fixing authority and when we confront a situation where the standards that have been recommended and adopted by federal bodies are three times as high as we know will be required in Los Angeles within the next decade, then I think we face the situation that we ought to be apprensive about.*

The second point is that the standard itself is built on really the assumption that the Mississippi River and a leaky bathroom faucet are both the same because we are talking about a standard that expresses the amount of a pollutant per million parts of a moving exhaust stream. The simple fact is that larger, more expensive, more affluent American cars emit a great deal more exhaust volume to the atmosphere than do smaller vehicles. Now if we were to convert this standard to the basis by which the atmosphere is really polluted, that is, the amount of pollution actually emitted from the tail pipe, per mile driven, per hour operated, or to some equivalent basis, we would have a real capability to build incentives into the market place, to alter the mix of vehicles that are now traveling the road. We would establish equality of treatment between motorists and we would probably move our program further down the pike more rapidly than the present program seems to be capable of moving us.

And yet this disability has been built into the federal program and if there is value in altering the basis for the standards we will be unable to realize those values because the system has been frozen by the Secretary and by the Department in terms of the Dingell amendment.

FORAN. Mr. Atkisson, would there be any administrative problem between the state and federal authorities if California went ahead and developed more stringent standards?

ATKISSON. None that I can conceive of or none that cannot be solved. The paramount problem we face is that it's a lot easier for the American automobile industry to build a vehicle that conforms to just one national standard than to try to produce a product which is safe for all environments.

But the whole point of the program is that we must produce products that are safe in all of the environments in which they will be operated, and those environments are not the same, therefore the standards cannot be the same. For example, Los Angeles has an coverage annual wind speed of about 6.2 miles per hour. Boston, on the other hand, has an average annual wind speed of nearly double that amount, about 12.2 miles per hour. What this number tells us is that a unit of pollution put into the air of Los Angeles will produce twice the effect of the same unit of pollution put into the air of Boston. To put it another way, two tons of hydrocarbon loss in Boston are worth one ton of hydrocarbon loss in Los Angeles. And *this means our standard has to be twice as restrictive as the standard in Boston. Now even if this did produce administrative inconveniences, it becomes a program necessity,* a criterium that we have to honor.

FORAN. Mr. Maga, you are chief of the Bureau of Air Sanitation for the California Department of Public Health and have been working on the California air pollution problem for 15 years. What values do you think would be served by allowing California to continue in its pioneering work to rid our atmosphere of smog?

MAGA. *Basically, allowing California to continue its pioneering effort to clear our atmosphere of smog is the best way to insure that the needs of our State are met. Meeting these needs is essential for the health and welfare of the people of California.*

Research in California has shown that the severe photochemical air pollution problem is caused by emissions by a large number of automobiles and the unique meteorology and topography of many places in the State. Now California has by far the most severe photochemical air pollution problem in the world. To illustrate, the California standard for photochemical oxidant, this is an air quality standard, now is fifteen hundredths of a part per million of oxidant for one hour, and this represents an air pollution level where eye irritation, vegetation damage, and visibility impairment are first experienced. During the years 1964 and 1965, Pasadena and Azusa in Los Angeles County succeeded this standard for oxidant about 150 times per year in each of the two years. Most of the cities outside of California where oxidant is also measured continuously, the same standard was exceeded only four to eight days per year during '64 and '65. Denver is the city with the most frequent photochemical smog attacks outside of California. And here the standards were exceeded about 18 times per year in the two year period. So we see that *the frequency of smog attacks in Los Angeles area, Pasadena and Azusa specifically, is from eight to twenty times that of the other cities outside of California.*

The motor vehicle pollution control program must be designed to reduce emissions to an acceptable level in the Los Angeles area to satisfy Californians. *Because the determining factor in the degree of control needed is the air quality in Los Angeles, studies on 1) the occurrence and effects of photochemical smog, 2) the degree of control required for emissions, and 3) the effects of control efforts on air quality must be conducted in the air of Los Angeles County.* Extensive data on all these items has been, and continues to be, obtained by agencies in California as part of their ongoing program. So these agencies using this data are in the best position to determine what's needed for California.

California was the first to recognize the photochemical air pollution problem. It was the first to establish air quality and motor vehicle emission standards, specifically directed at the motor vehicle created air pollution problem. It was the first to enact legislation for controlling motor vehicle emissions, the first to establish a program to control, these sources, and the first to have control systems installed on cars. California has already added evaporative emission standards, standards for oxides of nitrogen, and has adopted more strict standards to be effective in 1970. And exhaust standards even more strict than those for 1970 will be needed in the future. Now these measures are needed in California and they are stringent measures. California should not be placed in the position of having to rely solely on the federal government for its needs. *California has taken the initiative in solving its problem and it must be allowed to continue.*

Most of the research that has been done on the photochemical air pollution problem has been done in California. This research was conducted by many groups, state and local agencies, universities, research institutions, industry and voluntary organizations. Most of the data on the occurrence in nature of photochemical air pollution is also from California. As a result of this extensive effort, California has broad experience in studying and dealing with the problem, in standards for air quality and motor vehicle emissions, and in the actual control of these emissions. *The solution to the photochemical air pollution problem requires all of the available capabilities, knowledge and experience, be directed to the problem. This would be done if California is permitted to continue to establish its own motor vehicle emission standards.*

Dedication of Kenosha, Wis., Municipal Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, on September 24 of this year, the remodeled and renovated Kenosha Municipal Building was dedicated. It was my good fortune to participate in the ceremony which found the city government formally moving into quarters much more suitable to the conduct of the business of the community than the city hall which had served Kenosha since 1910.

I was greatly impressed with a speech delivered that afternoon by a Kenoshan, Mr. John D. Davies, who spoke on "57 Years of Progress." I insert Mr. Davies' speech in the Record so that others may share in his well-chosen words:

Fifty-seven Years of Progress, 1910–67

The bandying of words and the rattling of swords had begun in Europe. This meant little to the average Kenoshan. The city moved from 18th in 1900 to 9th during 1910 in population class of cities in Wisconsin.

It was struggling then as it is today to meet the requirements this rapid growth entailed. Housing, health, education and other problems were acute and the population continued to increase.

One major problem, however, seemed to be solved. The new city hall located as it is today on the corner at 8th avenue and 56th street was completed. The council's acceptance took place March 28, 1911. Records tell us that most people, after viewing the building, agreed they were getting their moneys worth. Those of you taking the time today to visit our new municipal building will feel as pleased and proud as they did 57 years ago.

DEDICATION

April 22, 1911—57 years ago—our old city hall was dedicated. Mayors and council men from Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin were invited, many attended.

There was a reception in the evening, but the celebration was a much quieter, more formal affair than at first planned—possibly because of a slight disagreement among the officials. They settled for a municipal sponsored dance and souvenir buttons.

TALK OF MOVING

Twenty-four years later this new city hall was too small to house the official family and talk of moving began.

In 1925 the police department moved into the old county jail and sheriff's living quarters—today the entire department is housed in a beautiful modern police building.

The water utility business office was the next to move. Today it is housed in one of the finest water department structures in the state.

Time does not permit me to cite the departure of other department offices. It is enough to say that 57 years after the dedication of our first city hall we meet to dedicate our new municipal building.

At long last the city's official family is to be housed under one roof. If this unification of city personnel brings unified cooperation and dedication to duty then this ceremony will have real purpose and meaning—truly we have made progress.

This city has progressed in many areas, may I mention just a few. Our 60 churches covering all denominations, our wonderful

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

harbor, our modern stores and shopping centers, our beautiful parks and recreation areas (we can boast of having the finest outdoor bicycle racing oval in the Nation). Soon we will have a modern uptodate marina. We are proud of our beautiful homes, our museum and the splendid roads leading into our city, our police and our fire departments are second to none. We can boast of an excellent health department, golf courses, little theatre, art groups.

This progressive growth is all a matter of record, a record we Kenoshans can well be proud of.

Permit me at this time to elaborate more fully on four vital areas of which we are especially proud.

HOSPITALS

Kenosha has two modern county institutions, Willowbrook Sanatorium and Brookside; modern parochial and private homes for the aged.

October, 1917 seven courageous Dominican Sisters opened a 20-bed hospital; by 1927 service had grown to include 90 beds.

February of 1962 a 3 million dollar hospital was opened housing 285 beds, the latest and best in modern medical treatment, care and equipment. Plans for even greater growth are on the drawing boards. Sisters at St. Catherines can well be proud of their tremendous growth.

In 1926 Kenosha Memorial Hospital had a 75-bed capacity. In 1960, with the addition of Cooper's wing, 260 beds and 30 basinets were made available. During the past 15 years patient admittance increased from 7,500 to 10,600. Today a 2 million dollar 10 story circular structure is being added. It will provide the finest and most modern medical facility for diagnosis and treatment. This is medical progress at its very best.

MANUFACTURING

In June 1915 a Kenosha homecoming celebration marked the 80th anniversary of our city's founding. A feature was an outstanding industrial parade. Figures given out at the time showed Kenosha had the largest manufacturing plant of iron and brass beds, pleasure and commercial vehicles, harness leather, brass and copper sheet roll in the world. Records also show there was no labor trouble. The assessed value was $32,000,000 and the bonded indebtedness was $400,000. Today our assessed value is 305 million dollars and our bonded indebtedness is 30 million dollars. What great progress is shown here!

True, many of the old manufacturers are gone, others have come to take their place.

As I speak to you today, Kenosha has 115 manufacturing companies producing products from autos to zinc. The name Kenosha is being carried around the world.

EMPLOYMENT

In 1907, 6,500 workers were employed in our factories. The payroll was 5 million dollars. Today—1967—the annual industrial payroll is 130 million dollars with an employment total of 20,000 workers. There is every indication that these figures will increase. The wonderful acceptance here and abroad of the new American Motors models is proof of that.

The average effective buying income per household for the city of Kenosha is 9,365—$835 more than the *nation wide* average.

We have made and are making industrial progress.

On October 1st of this year, Kenosha will dedicate a new 2½ million dollar water pollution control plant. It will remove 95% of all harmful pollutants, both soluble and insoluble.

The citizens of Kenosha caused this plant to be built. They did this voluntarily and because of their civic awareness of the urgent need to abate pollution of our greatest natural resource—Lake Michigan.

This modern water pollution control plant stands today as an outstanding example of our civic achievement and demonstrated cooperation between local government and the people.

Our city government leaders in this project are here today. Mr. Peter Curl, chairman of the board of water commissioners and members of his committee, John S. Tondryk, George R. Ward, John Ward, William H. Miller, Robert F. Kessler; Mr. O. Fred Nelson, manager of water utilities and water pollution control; and Mr. Frank Vilen, P. E. superintendent.

While others were just talking, these men *acted*. This united action means progress in water pollution control in our city. It is up to others now to follow. The job can be done. Great progress can be and should be made.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

It is natural to expect the very best in education here in Kenosha. The first free public school in the State of Wisconsin was founded here. The first free public high school was founded here. The first orthopedic school in the State was founded here in Kenosha.

SCHOOL PROGRESS

In the fall of 1911, 3,000 children attended our schools. Records made at that time showed what a melting pot our city was and would later become. 12.3% of all students between kindergarten and high school were foreign born; 27.4% had one or more grandparents foreign born; 13.7% were fourth generation native born.

The school growth since then has been tremendous. In Kenosha today we have 12 splendid parochial schools. St. Josephs High School is one of the finest in the State. Its auditorium is always available to those civic groups needing the best and most complete in stage equipment. Plans for other buildings are underway.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Let me call your attention to the tremendous public school growth made between 1949–1967.

In 1949, 8,000 students were in attendance. There were 15 buildings: 1 high school, 3 junior high schools, 11 elementary schools, 400 employees.

The school district was 11 square miles. Listen to what it is today—18 years later. 1967: 20,000 pupils, 34 schools, 2 senior high schools, 4 junior high schools, 28 elementary schools, 1,200 employees. The schools now cover 85 square miles.

Our schools' musical program, handled by Director Ralph Houghton, has received state and National acclaim.

3,000 students are transported to and from schools. It is important to note that this thrilling growth was made during the leadership of one superintendent of city schools, Mr. Harold R. Maurer, now retired.

Working in close harmony with Mr. Maurer were many wonderful school board members, among them former board president, Mr. Julius Goldstein and Mrs. Frances Jaeschke.

We have made great progress in elementary and secondary education.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In a comparatively short period of time, 1 4-year university—1 4-year college and 1 technical institute have become a part of our educational program.

May I please discuss briefly how this all came about. It is an inspiring story of how a city can make progress.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN 2-YEAR BRANCH

A few years ago the civic council donated $50 to a citizens' group headed by Mrs. Francis Jaeschke. Its purpose was to create and help develop a working committee that would bring to Kenosha a 2 year University of Wisconsin Center. Other leaders in the drive were Mr. Joseph Unti and Mr. Walter Johnson, Mr. Bernard Talent, Mr. Larry Hastings, Mrs. Mary Smith, Mr. Roger Hubbard, Mary Schumacher, and many others.

Two years later due to this excellent leadership and hard work a united effort by the city and county officials the job was done and Kenosha had erected a two year University of Wisconsin Center and when the doors opened to admit the students, the building was debt free. How is that for progress.

CARTHAGE COLLEGE

The next educational institution to become a part of our community life was Carthage College. The original inquiry contact with Carthage officials was made in a letter written by Mr. Milt Wittenberg, executive director of the Kenosha Chamber of Commerce during 1955.

Next a Carthage College Committee headed by Mr. Ed Ruetz set to work in earnest and finally in September of 1957 the decision to move to Kenosha was made.

Kenosha was to be the new home of Carthage College. *12 million dollars* have already been spent to construct the modern new campus buildings. Their enrollment has already reached 1,300 students with a faculty of 95.

I urge you people to visit this college campus. It is one of the most beautiful in the Middle West.

KENOSHA TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

For many years Mr. Gene Lehrmann, formerly the director of the Kenosha Vocational School, dramatized the urgent need for a job training institution. Finally under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Noel, member of the State Board of Vocational Training; Mr. Rogers Palmer; Mr. Arvo Mattson and others a modern new technical training institute was built and the most advanced teaching equipment was added. It is a well known fact today that graduates from this institute are ready for a job and *they get one*.

We should all be happy to know that this institute is providing the type of *job training* so many young people want and need today.

PARKSIDE

A drive to get a 4 year universitiy was our next and most difficult endeavor. At times it seemed that bringing a 4-year University of Wisconsin branch to Kenosha County was hopeless. Thanks to the untiring efforts of Kenoshans like Mr. Ed Moore of American Motors; Mr. Ed Ruetz; Mr. George Connolly; Mr. Richard Ellison; Mr. Harlan Draeger; Mr. Mike Collins; Mr. Eugene Hammond; Mrs. Francis Jaeschke; Assemblymen George Molinaro and Russell Olson; State Senator Joseph Lourigan; the Kenosha Evening News; the Kenosha Labor; Radio Station WLIP, and countless others, the fight was won.

The site for the campus was selected and the property bought—1969 should see the doors on the university open for business.

Bringing to Kenosha these two outstanding college institutions means we have made progress where we have needed it most—in the area of higher education. *The cultural environment and stimulus and guidance we have needed for so long is here with us at last.*

All of this dynamic activity makes very clear to me that where there is vision, dedication, cooperation, and a willingness to work among its citizens a city can progress.

CLOSING

After all—

"Cities are what men and women make them, wherever those cities may be
Whether out on a desolate desert or set by the surging sea;
Tho they cling to the breasts of mountains or nestle by rivers broad,
Cities are what men and women make them in the land that is given of God.

Cities are what folks make them, what they demand them to be.
Slothful, sloven, sleepy, or progressive, beautiful, free.
If the heart of the builder is noble, in one with the day and the need,
They build unto grandeur and greatness for so it was ever decreed.
So take up your work as you find it, nor grumble at what you have not,

Be one of those to make brighter the place
you have cast your lot.
If the ocean shall threaten to overwhelm
you, build a dyke that will laugh
at its might.
For cities are what men and women make
them who are willing to cooperate, to
labor, to love and to fight."

Thank you!

Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank Snooping Into Private Lives of Employees

SPEECH
OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the subject of wiretapping, electronic eavesdropping, and other similar invasions of privacy has received a great deal of attention in our country during the past year. Some Government agencies have been heavily criticized for their use of wiretaps. Now it appears that the Federal Reserve System is also guilty of going beyond the bounds of propriety in seeking information.

On September 29 of this year, the vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Mr. Elmer F. Fricek, wrote to all employees of the Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank, reminding them that the board of directors of that bank required that every employee submit a detailed report on certain private activities. The letter also included a form for reporting the information, and carried a warning that every question on the form should be answered, and "failure to submit correct information may be cause for dismissal."

Reproduced below is a copy of Mr. Fricek's letter, as well as a copy of the confidential report form to be filled in by the employee:

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF CLEVELAND,
Cleveland, Ohio, September 29, 1967.

To All Employees:

As required by the Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, please submit a report of your indebtedness, outside employment or business connections, law suits pending, ownership or interest in bank stock, public or political offices held, and speculative dealings (as distinguished from investments), as of September 30, 1967. Two copies of the confidential report, Form *PR 27, and an envelope addressed to me are attached for this purpose.

Every question on this form should be answered. Failure to submit correct information may be cause for dismissal.

The original copy should be returned to me as soon as possible, but no later than October 13, 1967. The second copy may be retained for your records.

ELMER F. FRICEK,
Vice President.

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

*PR 27

Name

Department | Classification

1. Do you have any personal indebtedness? ☐Yes ☐No
If "Yes" please furnish the information requested below:

To whom indebted	Date incurred	Purpose for which money was used	Original amount of indebtedness	Additions to original loan		Payment		Present balance
				Amount	Date	Amount	Frequency	

DO YOU RECEIVE ASSISTANCE IN PAYMENT OF ABOVE DEBTS?............................ ☐ YES ☐ NO
IF "YES" ASSISTANCE COMES FROM: .... IN WHAT AMOUNT OR PERCENTAGE?............................

2. Are you a co-maker, endorser, or guarantor of any note or other obligation?............................ ☐ YES ☐ NO

Name of creditor	For whom	Original amount	Present balance	Purpose for which money was used

3. Do you have any employment or business connections other than Federal Reserve Bank? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Name of employer	Position and nature of work	Hours worked per wk
		Salary per wk/hr

4. Are any lawsuits pending against you? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5. Do you own stock, debentures, etc. of any bank or bank affiliate? ☐ Yes ☐ No

6. Do you hold any public or political office, such as in a precinct, city, county, state, or school district? ☐ Yes ☐ No

7. Do you engage in speculative dealings (as distinguished from investments), whether on a margin or a cash basis, and whether in securities, commodities, real estate, exchange, or otherwise? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If your answer to question 4, 5, 6, or 7 is "Yes" please give details below: (Use reverse side if necessary)

I hereby certify that the above is a true, accurate and complete statement as of............................
(Date)

Date completed | Signature

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Among other things, the report asks the employee to list all indebtedness and the purpose for which the money was borrowed. It also requires the name of any comaker, endorser, or guarantor of any note or other obligation of the employee and inquires as to whether the employee has any business or other employment outside the Federal Reserve Bank. The report then goes on to ask a series of questions such as, "Are any law suits pending against you?" "Do you own stock, debentures, and so forth, of any bank or bank affiliate?" "Do you hold any public or political office, such as in a precinct, city, county, State, or school district?" "Do you engage in speculative dealings—as distinguished from investments—whether on a margin or cash basis and whether in securities, commodities, real estate, or otherwise?"

It is clear that the Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank is playing Peeping Tom with the private lives of its employees in an area that is not involved in the public interest.

No legitimate purpose can be served by the snooping tactics of the Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank. I am shocked that the bank even considered such an action.

I have written to Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board asking him to take immediate steps to see that this flagrant violation of the rights of individuals does not continue. I am also interested in learning if any other bank in the Federal Reserve System operates such a spy system.

I want to know why Members of Congress and appropriate committees of Congress are kept in the dark about the operations of the Fed while, at the same time, the Fed is conducting an eavesdropping campaign against its employees.

For a number of years, the Banking and Currency Committee has attempted to secure the minutes of the Federal Open Market Committee, the supersecret organization that sets monetary policies for our country. However, the Federal Reserve Board has agreed only to release the minutes after they become 6 years old.

Thus, the Fed does not want Congress to know what it is doing but, at the same time, at least one of its banks is going overboard to keep tabs on its employees.

This is the second time within a year that the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland has tried to pull a fast one on its employees.

Last fall, the bank decided to stop paying its employees by check and instead deposited the payroll in a local Cleveland bank. The Fed employees had to withdraw their funds from that bank or open an account at the bank in order to receive their money.

It was explained by officials of the Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank that the new system was adopted because it would cost the bank less to process its payroll and would thus save the taxpayers' money.

That myth was exploded when we learned that the bank was spending thousands of taxpayers' dollars on items such as dues to the American Bankers Association; engraved silver plates; cigars and cigarettes, subscriptions to popular magazines, elaborate dinners, and hundreds of other nonbanking items.

I sincerely hope that Chairman Martin can correct the situation in Cleveland, and convince bank officials that they are dealing with employees and not slaves.

Perhaps if Mr. Martin cannot straighten out his Cleveland bank, the House Banking Committee might have to do it for him.

Lawless Cancer Needs Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union, Oct. 24, 1967]

DOMESTIC GUERRILLA CAMPAIGN: LAWLESS CANCER NEEDS SURGERY

This is a critical time in the affairs of the United States of America—a time when the nation must review the events of the last weekend and face some inalienable truths.

Can this be the United States in 1967, with nearly two centuries of maturity, when troops have to be deployed in the capital to protect national security and institutions?

The anarchy in the capital and other cities over the weekend is a sign of the tragedy and the danger of the times. It is the new height of permissiveness that can destroy our nation as surely as external aggression.

Ostensibly the street warfare in the United States last week was started by the domestic guerrillas who oppose our involvement in Vietnam.

But we should not have any illusions on this point. If there were no war in Vietnam many of the same anarchists would be in the streets. Their goal is the destruction of the social order of the United States and any excuse will do.

The demonstrations make us face up again, and more urgently, to the inescapable truth that we must win the war in Vietnam as rapidly as possible.

It is possible to gain a victory and bring Communists to the truce table more rapidly as countless military men and leaders have pointed out.

The formula is to leave the military decisions to the professional military men, make optimum use of conventional land, air and seapower and stop begging the enemy to come to a negotiating table. He sees this only as a sign of flagging determination.

As high a North Vietnamese official as Vo Nguyen Giap, the defense minister, has said the U.S. "demonstrations" are "a valuable mark of sympathy for North Vietnam."

Concurrently with winning the war as rapidly as it can, the United States should turn its attention to the internal crisis which represents a danger of the highest order.

Unless the United States acts decisively to expose, identify and punish with due process of law the internal threat a minority of rabble can destroy the republic that has been building for two centuries.

And the first way to deal with the crisis is to insist that the demonstrators obey laws just as all other persons do, and receive punishment commensurate with their crimes.

The weekend assaults on law and order represent a cancer in the national house. If not treated as promptly and decisively as any cancer the end result can be the same.

This is an inalienable truth.

Woman of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the following article which recently appeared in the Elizabethton, Tenn., Star and which pays tribute to Mrs. Jean Johnson, the featured homemaker of the week.

Mrs. Johnson is a member of the Business and Professional Women's Club which last week celebrated National Business Week with the theme "It's a Woman's World." Her husband, Stanford, is director of the computer system at East Tennessee State University.

I am proud of this honor for Mrs. Johnson and her family, and it is a pleasure to insert in the RECORD the very interesting article by Helen Morriss, an outstanding writer:

BPW MEMBER, MRS. JEAN JOHNSON, FEATURED AS "WOMAN OF THE WEEK"

(By Helen Morriss)

"It's a Woman's World" all week for the Business and Professional Women and local club member Jean (Mrs. Stanford) Johnson was nominated for our featured "woman of the week."

Mrs. Johnson has retired from teaching for a while, enjoying her lovely home in Golf Club Acres and her family.

Moving in during July, 1963, they were among the first families to build in this section.

A native of Hampton, Mr. Johnson is director of the computer system at East Tennessee State University. Savannah, Georgia is Mrs. Johnson's home and she speaks with a deep Southern accent.

Their children are Stanford Jr., age 10, and Ellen, age 9, students at University School. Both are piano pupils and Stanford is also studying German.

Mrs. Johnson taught mathematics at Elizabethton High School for two years and has also taught at University High and Science Hill in Johnson City, and at the University of Arizona.

She is a graduate of Shorter College in Rome, Georgia, and received her master's degree from Peabody in Nashville.

Her hobbies include reading, crocheting and bridge. Mr. Johnson is an avid golfer and sports fan, and enjoys hunting when time permits.

The Johnsons are members of the First Baptist Church.

Colonial styling was chosen by the Johnsons who used a harvest blend brick for their home. The interior combines beige, green and brown for a coordinated color scheme.

Italian provincial furniture is perfect for the living-dining area, separated by the fireplace which is open from three sides. Over the extra long sofa, Jean used an attractive picture grouping.

A book table in walnut and cane back chairs combine for an attractive conversational grouping. Orange and yellow daisies from the garden were used for accent.

The kitchen-family room is paneled in cherry, with storage units behind louvered doors.

From the master bedroom there is a magnificent view of the adjoining golf course with mountains in the background. A balcony is reached either from this room or the living room. The furniture is also Italian provincial and the bath features a green color scheme.

Ellen's furniture is French provincial; the pink and white organdy curtains and bedspread make this a very feminine room.

A provincial print combined with brown chintz is used in Stanford's room, with books and sports equipment evidence of his interests.

Framed prints of Alan Beck's "What Is A Girl" and "What Is A Boy" were a gift to the children for their respective rooms. Their bath is in brown and beige.

Downstairs the large den opens out on a patio for outdoor living. A second kitchen and utility room is located on the lower level; also a guest room and bath.

A red and green color scheme and fireplace with raised hearth make this a cheery room for informal relaxing. The television, piano and record player create an entertainment center.

Jean insists she doesn't consider herself an outstanding cook, but we are sure you'll find her recipes interesting additions to your file.

BEEF STROGANOFF

2 lbs. filet of beet
Four T. butter
1 cup chopped onion
1 clove garlic
½ lb. fresh mushroomed, sliced ¼ in. thick
3 T. flour
2 tsp. meat extract paste
1 T. catsup
½ tsp. salt
⅛ tsp. pepper
1 can beef bouillon, undiluted
½ cup dry white wine
1 tsp. snipped fresh dill or ¼ tsp. dried
1½ cups sour cream
1½ cups cooked wild rice
4 cups cooked white rice

Trim fat from beef, cut filet crosswise into 2 inch thick slices. Cut each slice across the grain into ½ inch wide strips. Slowly heat large heavy skillet. Melt one tablespoon butter and add beef strips, just enough to cover skillet bottom. Over high heat, sear quickly on both sides. With tongs, remove beef as it browns. It should be browned outside, rare inside. Continue browning beef and set aside. In same skillet, saute onion, garlic and mushrooms in butter until onion is golden (about five minutes). Remove from heat and add flour, meat extract paste, catsup, salt and pepper. Stir until smooth, gradually add bouillon, bring to boil. Reduce heat and simmer five minutes. Over low heat, add wine, dill, sour cream, stirring until well blended. Add beef. Simmer just until sauce and beef are hot. Lightly toss wild and white rice. Surround stroganoff with rice. Snip two tablespoons of dill or three tablespoons of parsley over top for garnish. Serves six.

GREEN BEANS IN SOUR CREAM SAUCE

6 cups cooked green beans
1 large onion, finely chopped
3 T. chopped parsley
3. T. butter
1½ T. flour
¾ cup liquid from beans
¾ cup sour cream
1½ tsp. salt
1½ tsp. pepper
1½ tsp. sugar
1½ tsp. vinegar
¾ cup grated cheese

Heat beans while making sauce. Saute onion and parsley in butter. Stir in flour. Drain beans and add the liquid to mixture and cook until thick. Add other ingredients and heat long enough to melt cheese. Pour over beans and serve hot.

LASAGNE

(Meatless)

10 lasagne noodles
1 cup cream style cottage cheese
1 large pkg. cream cheese
1 large garlic clove, minced
½ tsp. salt
¼ tsp. pepper
2 T. grated Parmesan cheese
½ cup water
½ tsp. oregano
2 cans tomato soup

Cook lasagne noodles according to package directions. Drain, arrange noodles, overlapping ½ inch in rectangle. Meanwhile, combine cottage cheese, cream cheese, one-half of garlic, salt, pepper and parmesan cheese. Spread mixture on noodles. Roll as for jelly roll and place in shallow baking dish. Combine soup, water, oregano, remaining garlic and pepper. Pour over noodles. Sprinkle with remaining parmesan cheese. Bake in moderate over 350 degrees, for 30 minutes. If desired, serve with additional Parmesan cheese. Makes four servings.

GUMDROP CAKE

1 cup butter
2 cups sugar
4 eggs
½ cup buttermilk
3½ cups sifted flour
1 tsp. soda
7 oz. dates, cut up
1 lb. gumdrop orange slices, cut
1 can cocoanut
1 cup pecans, cut
1 tsp. grated orange rind
Pinch salt

Cream butter and sugar, add eggs, one at a time, beating after each addition. Take 1 cup flour and dredge dates, orange slices, cocoanut and nuts. Combine remaining flour with soda and salt; add alternately with buttermilk; add date nut mixture and grated orange rind. Mix and pour into three layer pans or 2 loaf pans and bake at 250 degrees for 2½ hours. Remove cake from oven and combine 2 cups sugar and juice or an orange and 1 tsp. grated orange rind. Pour over hot cake and allow to set until all is absorbed. (Cake can be baked in a tube pan, if desired).

APPLE PIE PUDDING

1 cup sugar
1 cup flour
1 tsp. soda
¼ tsp. cinnamon
Dash nutmeg
Dash salt
Sift ingredients together and add:
½ cup melted shortening
2 cups diced apples
½ cup nuts

Bake in pie pan about 40 minutes at 325 degrees. Serve with sauce and ice cream.

SAUCE

¼ cup sugar
¼ cup brown sugar
¼ cup cream
¼ cup oleo

Boil together one minute and serve over pudding.

2 cups shelled nuts
1 cup dates
2 cups shredded cocoanut
1 cup brown sugar, firmly packed
2 eggs, unbeaten

Start oven at 350 degrees. Grind nuts and dates in food chopper. Mix in 1½ cups cocoanut and remaining ingredients thoroughly. Scoop up mixture and shape into a roll as thick as a frankfurter and half as long. Roll each Hedgehog in cocoanut, place on a greased baking sheet and bake 10-12 minutes. Makes 40. (Mrs. Johnson says this is a delicious holiday confection.)

Export Controls Protect National Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, all too often we hear allegations that the Office of Export Control in the Commerce Department is doing a bad job of administering the Export Control Act. In the September 21 edition of the Baltimore Sun, Joseph R. Slevin, well-known columnist on economics and business, tells the story of how the Office of Export Control works to help assure that unlicensed items on the export control list are not shipped out of this country. In the interests of balancing the picture of this important activity, I am pleased to insert the column by Mr. Slevin in the RECORD:

EXPORT CONTROLLERS KEPT BUSY

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

WASHINGTON, September 20.—A week ago, Federal agents arrested a West German by the name of Diethard Prosdorf as he was about to board a Vienna-bound plane at New York's Kennedy Airport. Prosdorf had two brand-new trunks that he had bought earlier that day. Each trunk contained a delicate, carefully wrapped oscilloscope that Prosdorf's accomplices planned to transship from Vienna to Czechoslovakia. The ultimate destination of the sensitive electronic devices was to have been Communist China.

LIST EXCEEDS 1,000

Prosdorf had been in the United States only 5 days and had flown from Germany for the express purpose of picking up the costly oscilloscopes. China needs them for atomic research and is willing to pay heavily to get them.

The charge against Prosdorf is that he tried to smuggle the instruments out of the country without an export license. Oscilloscopes are on a list of more than 1,000 strategic items that may be shipped overseas only if a United States company first obtains a license from the Commerce Department's watchful Export Control Division.

The Prosdorf case marks one of the relatively few times that a handler of strategic goods has taken the risk of coming to the United States to fill an order from a Red bloc country. In most instances, the dealers try to do their buying from abroad. Sometimes they set up a phony company in a non-Communist country to place their orders. More often, they pose as legitimate business men in Britain, Germany, Japan or another non-Communist country and buy through a reputable local importer.

STAKES ARE HIGH

The stakes are high. Strategic goods command several times their regular prices in the Red bloc markets.

"It's like liquor during Prohibition, or narcotics, or marijuana." Charles B. Clements, the office of Export Control's Investigations Director, declares. "Once it becomes illegal to deal in a thing there are people who are going to take a chance at it."

Electronic items are the prime target of the Red bloc buyers. The Chinese want them for their guided missile systems as well as for their nuclear program. Most Communist countries are anxious to obtain United States electronic parts for computers, testing instruments, and automated production controls.

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CUBA IS SEARCHING

Optical equipment is in heavy demand. So are the recently developed high intensity light beam lasers, advanced oil exploration equipment, and a broad range of scarce alloying metals.

Cuba is constantly searching for United States products but the Caribbean dictatorship has a special set of requirements. Castro desperately needs spare parts for his deteriorating, American-built trucks, locomotives, nickel processing plant, and sugar refineries. The Cubans operate mainly through Western Europe but they still try to get some supplies through Canada and Mexico.

Private Initiative Provides Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, this week I hosted a luncheon in honor of a man who takes time from his hyperactive business activities to worry about his fellow man. His name is Joe Benaron, and just worrying does not satisfy him. He does something about it. He was in Washington this week because he is trying to get many others to help.

When the riots erupted in Watts 2 years ago, Joe Benaron was the first businessman to respond with a prototype program for hiring young people out of the area. It was not a big program by any means. His plant is 40 transportation-clogged miles away from Watts. But he wanted to do something constructive.

As one of the original members of the Advisory Council to President Johnson's Youth Opportunity Campaign, and a member of the advisory board of Fund for Job Corps Graduates, Mr. Benaron initiated a program involving some young people from Watts. He went to Jordan High School in Watts and recruited a car full of youngsters to work in his plant for the summer. Kids from Jordan High School had trouble finding jobs. Joe went there specifically to give them jobs, to provide the necessary job training and even transportation to his plant.

In his speech, Joe outlined a proposal for involving the Nation's businessmen in the type of program which he inaugurated in his own firm. Because of the interest of all of us in providing jobs for the underprivileged and underskilled, I insert in the RECORD Mr. Benaron's statement of an eminently practical and workable approach to the pivotal problems of providing more jobs and job training:

REMARKS OF MR. BENARON

All of us are busy in many areas of activity and, as we all know, it is much easier to stay put than to make changes. . . .

However, in view of the violence, hatred and deadly riots that have burned in the hearts of the greatest cities of our land, we must recognize the change of a mood of a people that seems to be dominated by hopelessness, helplessness and hatred—a dismaying discovery that events have gotten out of control.

I do not accept this hopeless version of human existence. I do not believe that this is our destiny.

Something will be done to correct the situation for we are genuinely distressed by the things that are wrong. There is hope when we are troubled because now something will be done!

The number of businessmen concerned with this problem, however, must grow. I tell you now that the same handful of businessmen who are leaders in movements to improve the lot of the underprivileged cannot do the job themselves. It is the majority of American industry which up to now has remained uninvolved that must become an integral part of any program to successfully make a change.

My own opinion is that this group must share the blame for the riots that have burst forth upon our nation. The responsibility rests with the industrial delinquents who would not hire people from the minority groups because it was "more comfortable" to go along the same old paths without them. We cannot afford the luxury of that kind of prejudice if America is to survive!

What does a rumble in Watts have to do with our own electronic plant in another part of Los Angeles, 40 miles away? What do riots in Milwaukee, Newark, and Detroit mean to me? There are two fundamental elements involved in this massive type of contageous unrest. There are human values and business values. There is no question that human values are of paramount importance, but a major contribution by business can change the rebellious trend of this segment of society. The answer is jobs. With jobs comes dignity, development of self importance, security, pride in being a productive member of the community.

Give men jobs—if they are making a buck, they will be good citizens. This is where businessmen and men of industry must come in. The fundamental problem is one of job development, hiring people from depressed areas, people on the welfare rolls.

The Federal Government has done an outstanding job on its own with the poverty program, whose shortcomings are more than compensated by its successes. Sargent Shriver's recent report on the magic of Mississippi should give heart to any man of comparison, but this enormous problem is one for private industry as well as Government.

I would like to propose a supplementary program, one of industry-Government partnership that sounds almost utopian. It could lower the relief rolls, train people in slum areas for gainful employment and, at the same time, help industry. It is like having your cake and eating it, too.

This can be achieved by the Government developing a program of labor training to parallel the investment tax credit plan, one which was overwhelmingly effective in getting industry to put huge sums of money into capital expenditures.

The Government should now embark on an investment in labor tax credit to give industry an incentive to train unemployed slum dwellers and persons on welfare rolls.

Government should not shoulder the full cost of training these people as has been suggested in other programs. Industry would be pleased to share part of the cost if the training were done by them and in their own plants. Let industry hire and train these marginal workers and pay them half the going wage rate. Let the Government pay the other half to start with, but each month it would cut back its contribution by one-twelfth. This industry's investment in the individual would grow as the trainee becomes more skilled. By the end of the year, the Government aid would be ended automatically and industry would be paying the total wage bill for the fully trained individual, and there will have been no experimentation, no guess work as to the value or need for the training because the potential employer will have indicated that need through his own investment.

At the same time, the dignity of the individual would have been upheld. He would have had a whole spectrum of job opportunities from which to choose. He wouldn't have to pick grapes or get off the relief rolls as has been suggested in some quarters. I know that if I were in that predicament, as healthy as I am, I would be physically incapable of working in the fields, but I could undertake other types of training. The American concept of free choice of work will prevail, and could and should be accomplished with a minimum of red tape.

An editorial in the L.A. Times last week referred to a Labor Department-approved program costing 8½ million dollars. It hoped to find training "slots" for 2,000 persons at a cost of $4,300 per worker. Under the recommended non-experimental program presented today, the cost to government for developing a $4,000 a year skilled worker would be just $1,000, and surely the State, county, and municipal governments might even share part of this cost from the great savings that would accrue to each level of government by the shrinking of the welfare rolls.

Is it good business to train minority and seemingly culturally disadvantaged groups for industry?

I can report to you firsthand that it is a good, sound business practice to utilize this great pool of labor. We have been doing it at our plant for years without subsidy, but I do feel it will take something substantial like the investment in labor tax credit to involve that vast majority of industry that sits on its collective duff and doesn't want to be bothered. Luckily, it's good business to be bothered.

There was a time factory managers would have thought electronics too sophisticated a business to utilize Mexican-Americans or Negroes, yet right now, we have more than 600 such people employed working on production lines, making electronic instrumentation.

I'm a firm believer in training. A person should be utilized for his capability—not penalized for his deficiencies. This policy has led us to have as many as 15% of our plant force from the ranks of people classified as handicapped. They were never handicapped in our factory. They were productive—and profitable—for us as well as for themselves.

This is a call to business and industry. Hire the minority groups, the unskilled, the people from distressed areas, the welfare rolls. Make them become a part of our productive American business community. We have America to win—and win it we will. Let the government, now successfully pressing forward in its poverty program, supplement this effort. Let it pitch in and involve industries all over the United States, attack all the ghetto problems at the same time, and take advantage of a new opportunity. Together we can and will do the job!

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of this legislation. I wish to make one or two remarks.

One has to do with permanent legislation. This is permanent legislation in the respect that it does not have a termination date.

I do not know of any legislation that is permanent in the sense that one might define it from the dictionary. I do not believe there will ever come a time when a great committee of this Congress will not listen to and will not consider a request from the executive branch of this Government to consider changes in legislation.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. When Nasser severed his relationship with the United States he did not fix any termination date for that, did he?

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. I do not recall any, if he did.

Mr. ABERNETHY. So far as the record shows, it is permanent, is that correct?

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. I would assume it is.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. I yield briefly to the distinguished gentleman from Washington, for whom I have high regard but with whom I happen to disagree on this piece of legislation.

Mr. FOLEY. I thank my distinguished friend from New Mexico.

I am a little confused by the proponents of the bill. My friend from Texas stands up and says it is not anti-Arab and it is just doing something which should have been done long ago, and implies it is a permanent reduction which should have been taken care of long ago.

Then my friend from New Mexico gets up and says no, it is not permanent legislation, we can change it at any time we want to.

Is the gentleman not really suggesting that what we do is take away the quota from Egypt, from the United Arab Republic and give it to the producers of the Southwest, including the gentleman's State? Will not the gentleman be candid and say he never intends to do anything else except to leave the situation as it would be?

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. I will say to the gentleman from Washington that I tried to define as simply as I could what permanent legislation means. Permanent legislation is legislation that does not have a termination date. That does not mean a change could not be made.

Mr. FOLEY. The gentleman would not support a change, would he?

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. I do not know. I would not support legislation that changed it under the present conditions, of course. I do not know that I would support it under the conditions the gentleman's amendment would involve.

I will say this: I would certainly consider any request.

So far as the gentleman from Texas saying that it is not anti-Arab, I believe it is pro-American.

Let us clear up one other item. The statement has been made that this will not help domestic cottongrowers in the United States. There is a rule in mathematics which says zero plus zero equals zero. If the gentleman from Washington, considers that the present cotton which is produced in the United States is worth zero, then this bill would not mean anything, but I do not happen to agree with that statement.

I think it will mean something. It would double the quota of the States and farmers who produce cotton in the various States.

Dingell Amendment to Clean Air Act Called an Alarming Threat to the Health and Well-Being of the People of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important for the RECORD to show the fully united position of all the people of California in firm opposition to the blatant attempt by the Automobile Manufacturers Association, the domestic carmakers' well-financed and highly organized Washington lobby, to take away from the 20 million citizens of our State our local rights under State law to protect our own people from the increasingly critical health hazard posed by auto exhaust-caused air pollution in our major metropolitan centers.

For that reason, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of the resolution on this subject adopted by the County Supervisors Association of California at its 73d annual meeting in Fresno last Friday.

The resolution follows:

COUNTY SUPERVISORS ASSOCIATION
OF CALIFORNIA,
Sacramento, Calif., October 23, 1967.

Hon. EDWARD R. ROYBAL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROYBAL: This Association's 73rd Annual Meeting in Fresno last week was cheered at its end by the receipt of news of the valiant fight our Congressional Delegation is waging to restore the Murphy amendment to the Air Quality Act of 1967 (S. 780).

This amendment, of course, means much to California in its continuing struggle against air pollution. We are counting on your efforts to be successful!

Without the Murphy amendment permitting California to have higher than federal standards for motor vehicle air pollution control, there is real danger that California counties will lose heart in their continuing struggle for clean air in California.

Cordially yours,
WM. R. MACDOUGALL,
General Counsel and Manager.

RESOLUTION RE RESTORING THE "MURPHY AMENDMENT" TO THE AIR QUALITY ACT OF 1967 (S. 780)

Whereas, S. 780, the Air Quality Act of 1967, by virtue of the "Murphy Amendment", was revised in the United States Senate to permit California to establish standards for automotive emissions that are commensurate with atmospheric conditions in this state; and,

Whereas, The "Dingell Amendment" (Representative John Dingell of Detroit) to S. 780 in the U.S. House of Representatives would remove this power in California to protect its citizens thus imperiling the health and well-being of millions of Californians; and,

Whereas, the federal standard of S. 780 should set a minimum requirement for all motor vehicles throughout the nation, but leaving to each state the power to fix a more demanding standard if air pollution conditions within its boundaries so require; and,

Whereas, S. 780 *must not* condemn millions of Californians to suffer in denser and denser concentrations of automotive smog;

Now, therefore, be it resolved That the County Supervisors Association of California in annual meeting assembled this 20th day of October, 1967, in Fresno, does with all the vigor that the crisis demands, call upon the U.S. House of Representatives to restore the "Murphy Amendment" and thus avoid the alarming threat to the health and well-being of the people of California.

House Resolution on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, this week 23 Members of the House of Representatives joined in sponsoring a sense of Congress resolution (H. Con. Res. 536, 539, 555, and 556) expressing the view that "the President should request" the United Nations Security Council or General Assembly to "support an immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties" in the Vietnam war and adopt "appropriate measures, such as the convening of an international peace conference, for reaching a permanent settlement which will assure a lasting peace for Southeast Asia."

Those Members of the House of Representatives sponsoring the House resolution are: Hon. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, of New York; Hon. WILLIAM A. BARRETT, of Pennsylvania; Hon. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., of California; Hon. PHILLIP BURTON, of California; Hon. JEFFERY COHELAN, of California; Hon. JOHN CONYERS, JR., of Michigan; Hon. DON EDWARDS, of California; Hon. JOSHUA EILBERG, of Pennsylvania; Hon. DONALD M. FRASER, of Minnesota; Hon. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, of Maryland; Hon. JACOB H. GILBERT, of New York; Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York; Hon. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN, of Washington; Hon. KEN HECHLER, of West Virginia; Hon. HENRY HELSTOSKI, of New Jersey; Hon. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, of Wisconsin; Hon. ROBERT L. LEGGETT, of California; Hon. PATSY T. MINK, of Hawaii; Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, of Pennsylvania; Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York; Hon. EDWARD R. ROYBAL, of California; Hon. JAMES H. SCHEUER, of New York; and Hon. HERBERT TENZER, of New York.

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Mr. Speaker, for the convenience of Members of the House, I place in the RECORD at this point the text of House Concurrent Resolution 556:

H. CON. RES. 556

Whereas the primary purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to take collective measures to remove threats to world peace;

Whereas in satisfying the charter of the United Nations the United States undertook a solemn treaty commitment to settle international disputes by peaceful means; and

Whereas under the charter the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, which devolves to the General Assembly when the Council is unable to act: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that:

1. The President should request an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider all aspects of the conflict in Vietnam and to act to end the conflict in accordance with article 25 of the charter.

2. If the Security Council is unable to act, the United States should take all steps necessary to assure action on the issue by the General Assembly.

3. The United States objectives in the United Nations should be to obtain—

(a) support for an immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties, and

(b) recommendations for appropriate measures, such as the convening of an international conference, for reaching a permanent settlement which will assure a lasting peace, for Southeast Asia.

The Speaker, the Secretary of State and our Ambassador to the United Nations have in the past expressed themselves in support of United Nations action in connection with the Vietnam conflict. Now the Congress has an opportunity to express itself so that a coordinated effort may be made to achieve the desired result—an honorable settlement of the Vietnam war.

Mr. Speaker, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations began hearings October 26, 1967, on similar resolutions. Fifty-five U.S. Senators have sponsored a sense of the Senate resolution expressing the view that the President consider taking the Vietnam issue to the U.N. Security Council.

Because of the support for the House resolution—which includes a request that the Vietnam issue be brought to the General Assembly, failing Security Council action, I urge my colleagues in the House to review the text of House Concurrent Resolution 556. So that a majority of the House may also express its views on this resolution, I urge my colleagues to join in a broad, bipartisan effort to express the sense of Congress on the Vietnam war and the appropriate role of the United Nations in bringing the conflict to the conference table.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Remarks of First Lady at Southwestern University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, at ceremonies this week, Southwestern University, at Georgetown, Tex., conferred honorary degrees on three outstanding Texans, including America's First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson.

In accepting her honorary doctor of humanities degree, Mrs. Johnson praised the contributions being made by the school to the world outside the academic community.

She pointed with particular pride to the accomplishments of many of the distinguished graduates of the university and to the changes that have come about in the field of education.

U.S. Ambassador to Australia Ed Clark, a Southwestern graduate was also on hand to present his outstanding and valuable Texana Book collection to the school.

I find her remarks timely, inspiring, and sincere in their assessment of world condition, and, therefore, I commend them to the attention of our colleagues:

Remarks of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at Southwestern University, Georgetown, Tex.

Thank you, Dr. Fleming.

Faculty, students and friends of Southwestern:

I'm delighted to be honored with this degree. And I'm proud to join the ranks of those friends who have received degrees from this wonderful old university. Indeed, my husband treasures the Doctor of Laws degree he received from Southwestern in May, 1943—the first honorary degree he ever received.

This month of October has been filled with university visits for me—some of them noisier than others, as you may have read. While I was preparing to come here, I had the fun of reading some of the early history of Southwestern in the Texas handbook.

Several intriguing highlights caught my eye.

I learned, for example, that the university opened here on October 6, 1873—"despite a financial crisis and a yellow fever epidemic."

Take note, college budget officers!

In the first year, according to historians, "the lack of a Methodist Church in Georgetown and an unruly element in the small student body were early difficulties."

Of course, I know that Southwestern's roots go much farther back than its opening here. Indeed, one of your several "ancestor" colleges—Rutersville which opened at LaGrange in 1840—was the first Protestant and the first Methodist College in Texas.

Another of your ancestor institutions was John Witherspoon Pettigrew McKinsey College at Clarksville, where—parents take note—"tuition, board, room and laundry cost $180 for 10 months."

Sometimes in those days, tuition was paid with produce—or "with horse and saddle which the student used to reach school." Prayers were at 4:00 a.m. daily—with compulsory attendance!

But I think the thing that most impresses all of us who love this historic old school is the wide range of its influence: how far-flung are the footprints of your graduates.

For almost a century, a graduate of Southwestern was most likely to be a leader close to home—in the pulpits or the business and civic life of San Antonio, El Paso, Texarkana, or Dallas. The hardy few who went abroad were usually missionaries.

Today, it's remarkable how many parts of the world have been touched by Southwestern alumni. Today's graduate may just as likely be a Peace Corps Volunteer; a builder in Djakarta or Dahomey, a Methodist minister in Vietnam, or an Ambassador—as witness Ed Clark.

Southwestern's traditional missionary spirit is still very much at work. And I feel sure that your graduates go into the world with a deeper insight, a special sense of values, a certain equilibrium gained right here.

Southwestern's horizons are widening. Its responsibilities are growing. And it is not a quiet outpost, but a place vitally involved in the world. And what is true of your university is true of our nation, too.

When John and Abigail Adams—the first occupants of the White House—lived there, ours was a brand new republic. Washington was a tiny, shaky, courageous little capital in a mudhole of a town—with very few friends in the world. There were fewer than half a dozen foreign missions accredited to the United States.

Thirty years ago, my husband went to Congress to represent Georgetown—and Williamson County—from the Tenth Congressional District. That was 1937. Interestingly enough, Washington that year had sixty foreign missions doing business with our nation.

Today, the number has grown to 110.

In the past twelve months alone, 36 kings, presidents and prime ministers have visited our country.

No one can live in the White House and meet the parade of visitors from around the world without realizing how greatly our responsibilities have grown—and how much our world has been shrinking. No country today is more than 17 jet hours from Washington.

On our trip to Asia last fall, four of the countries we visited—New Zealand, Australia, Malaysia and Thailand—had never been visited by a President of the United States. In 17 days, we traveled 31,500 miles—to a part of the world where two-thirds of its people live.

I returned from that trip with a great sense of awe and excitement—and with a real feeling of optimism about the future.

What gave me that feeling?

Not our wealth or power—but our *people*: their concern, their technical know-how that they are willing to share, their eagerness to *involve* themselves in building a better world. You might call it their missionary spirit.

Americans have made that spirit a vital force in the world.

When the wife of our Ambassador helps run an orphanage in Recife, Brazil; when a businessman's wife organizes an adult education center in Chad, a special kind of communications takes place.

Ann Clark has proven that to literally thousands of Australian visitors to our Embassy in Canberra, Australia. School and civic groups, Red Cross workers, charity and art organizations have learned, through her good work, that American openheartedness and hospitality are good diplomacy—often as good as official messages and formal state visits!

All over the world, Americans are making that clear. I've met some of them: businessmen in Bangkok, school teachers working with educational television in Pago Pago, Peace Corps volunteers in the Philippines.

Knowing about those thousands and their good work makes me appreciate my country a little more. And it makes me grateful for instituitons like this one: For Southwestern is arming young Americans with the knowledge—and the values which can truly change the world.

I suppose our country will always have its criticism—even some extremes and excesses. We always have. But throughout our history, another force has always been stronger in our land: not the spirit which destroys, but the spirit which *builds*. I see it in abundance here.

It's good to come home. Part of my heart will always be here. Thank you for this joyous day!

Golden Anniversary of the Play Schools Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, 1967 marks the golden anniversary of Play Schools Association, a voluntary, nonprofit agency which has been concerned for half a century with the enrichment of children's lives through play, after school in winter, all day in summer. Pioneers in giving normal children a chance to play, it now reaches out to all children—of all ethnic groups and regardless of handicap.

Today play is considered an essential and powerful force in the lives of children.

It is a force which helps children to learn while they are developing emotional and social maturity. The development of every individual to his highest capacity must be one of our greatest concerns.

During the past 50 years, Play Schools has promoted and established recreation programs for school-age children throughout the United States and most effectively in New York City, the association's headquarters. In cooperation with the New York City Board of Education and the Departments of Health and Social Services, it has established laboratory centers for training of recreation

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specialists and has sponsored play programs not only in public schools throughout the year, but in housing developments, children's institutions, hospitals and community centers. Together with its 52 affiliated agencies it carried out a city-wide program for over 12,500 children in poverty areas during the summer of 1967.

As the New York Times stated recently in an article about Play Schools Association:

> For a child the art of play is really the art of living. Play fills about 3,500 of the 8,760 hours in a year. To deny him the right of play leaves almost half his life in a vacuum. It must never be forgotten that children must be encouraged to learn as they experiment, as they question, as they imitate. Play is the area in which children practice life's skills.

The next half century will bring even greater changes than the last. We will see the growth of the megalopolis—vast urban areas extending for hundreds of miles—one city running indistinguishably into the next.

Just as we will see revolutionary new concepts of living—in design of housing, hospitals, schools, industrial complexes—so Play Schools must grow and change too. The long thread joining Play Schools' first and second half centuries will be the philosophy of working with parents as well as teachers, strengthening family living through the knowledge that the family that plays and has fun together grows healthy and productive adults.

Congratulations to the Play Schools Association on its 50 years of dedication to children's birthright of play and their recognition that children learn and grow as they play.

That Man in the White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues an eloquent and forceful rebuttal to those who savagely attack our President and his and President's Kennedy's devoted and capable Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. Feelings are running high and I am especially disappointed in my fellow Democrats who fiercely and unfairly attack our national leaders. I hope the passion will eventually bring out the best in all of us.

An article from the Reporter, November 2, 1967, follows:

THAT MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE

In this country, where interest in politics is traditionally subnormal, a strange thing has been happening: the frenzy of a Presidential campaign at its peak has been with us for months. Yet the great day will be not next Tuesday but a Tuesday a year from now. As usual, the noisy activism is the hallmark of the professionals or the parasites of politics, while the concern of most people is casual. But this has not deterred the pollsters from scanning the inclinations of the unconcerned.

There is no outstanding Republican candidate on the horizon, and, so we are told, not even one Democrat will seek to wrest the nomination from Lyndon Johnson. Yet this weird, unseasonable electioneering is aimed at defeating Lyndon Johnson, not in the primaries or at the convention, but now. In fact, it is the closest equivalent to an impeachment campaign.

The movement is bipartisan, though the Democrats are by far the more vehement. Those who wish the elimination of Johnson could be instant, if not retroactive, treat him as the evilest man who ever had his residence at the White House. He alone, they say, is responsible for our participation in the Vietnamese War. He alone has lost the war on poverty, failed to bring about the Great Society, and isolated our country from its allies. In vain the poor man and his few remaining friends can try to prove that he is not the President who brought this country into a new Asian war, and that it is he who has suffered the most, at home and abroad, by keeping it limited. The radical programs for domestic improvement were presented to the nation as demanding a sustained national effort for a much longer period than one or two Presidential terms. True, he is not popular abroad, but what other opinion could foreigners have if they listen to what so many American say about their President?

There is something sick and sickening in the anti-Johnson fury. The howls against him do not change; they just get louder: "Hey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" With endless variations, they come from men of certified wisdom as well as the ranks of the New Left.

What has he done to make himself the object of such revulsion? It is impossible to know how the majority of the electorate might feel about him one year from now, and the data provided by the pollsters are as irrelevant as the primaries being run in some special estate, such as the one of the intellectuals. But it can be said that his very person, the man he is, goes against the grain of certain categories of citizens and arouses the latent meanness in a fairly large number of articulate people. Even his notorious sensitivity to what is said and, above all, written about him is provocation to poison tongues and poison pens.

The outsize features of his person and of his mind are offensive to many who cannot stand a President who thinks big, acts big, and so untiringly pursues the goals he has assigned himself. Moreover, his bigness could turn out to be greatness, and this fear may be lurking in the minds of those who have taken most advantage of his unusual vulnerability to detraction.

The war on poverty and the Great Society are vast though still cloudy programs in the President's mind, and the fancy names they have been given are probably the contribution of some of the scribes who now sneer at him. But certainly the prosecution of the war in Vietnam is the riskiest and weightiest of his undertakings. He could have stopped it at any time, just as his predecessor could have done but didn't; he could stop it today by accepting a cessation of the bombing, followed by perfunctory negotiations. South Vietnam would be ruled by a coalition government with a large Communist participation, and our soldiers could be brought home. Briefly, it would be like Laos, but minus large U.S. forces at the border.

We have been reminded of the Laotian precedent by Mr. Theodore Sorensen, who further suggests, with self-protecting qualifications, that a good example of the way to get out of Vietnam may be derived from the experience of the Bay of Pigs. This is exactly what the enemy wants us to do, and no American President would later have to pass any ransomed South Vietnamese prisoners in review.

In the last few months the pressure on Lyndon Johnson to stop the bombing and bring the war to an end has been ever mounting. Then the President decided that the time had come to restate our country's position as clearly and forcefully as he could. In his San Antonio speech on September 29, he said: "It [Vietnam] is the arena where Communist expansionism is most aggressively at work in the world today. . . ." Two weeks later, at a press conference on October 12, Dean Rusk followed suit. He is the one member of the cabinet who, because of his loyalty and fearlessness, seems to be made to order to take much punishment.

The most skillful baiters of Johnson and Rusk could not believe their ears or their eyes. There is an old French saying: This animal is so mean that, when attacked, it defends itself. Haven't those two men had enough? Of course not. More punishment will be inflicted on both of them, and there will be no respect for their office or personal lives. After Dean Rusk dared to speak out forcefully and well, the counterattack against what was called his Yellow Peril mania was furious, though among the columnists there was a noble competition to exempt him from the suspicion of racial prejudice.

Or perhaps there is nothing particularly new in this anti-Johnson, anti-Rusk rampage and these two Southerners must have found the right name for it: It is just a lynching party.

—MAX ASCOLI.

Tax Exemptions for Questionable Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Internal Revenue Service has again been accused of discriminatory practice in the administration of section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C. 501). The IRS continues to grant exemptions to such a questionable political organization as the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and to religious organizations which are "carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation." But the magazine Human Events notes in an article published on October 21, 1967, that the IRS has refused tax-exempt status to the World Youth Crusade for Freedom, an organization which "has given new hope to young people throughout the world by showing that their contemporaries in America are determined to stop the spread of communism."

Mr. President, I invite the attention of my fellow Senators to the article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONCE AGAIN IRS IS PLAYING POLITICS WITH TAX EXEMPTIONS

(By Ralph de Toledano)

In the early months of the Kennedy Administration, Walter Reuther submitted a plan for the extermination of the conservative and anti-Communist movements in the United States. In a memorandum submitted to Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, the president of the Auto Workers urged as one means to this end that right-wing organizations whatever their purposes, be deprived of tax exemption.

The Reuther plan was no innovation. Over the years, conservatively oriented groups always had a far harder time winning tax exemption than those standing to the left of center. Walter Reuther simply wanted to close all doors and codify this political use of the presumably non-discriminatory statute.

Comes the news now that the Internal Revenue Service, as if taking a page from the Reuther memorandum, has refused tax-exempt status to the World Youth Crusade for Freedom (79 Madison Ave., New York City 10016), thereby threatening to end the life of this important organization.

Ironically, while rejecting the WYCF petition, the IRS continues to grant tax exemption to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a left-wing outfit that sponsors and encourages "burn, baby, burn" seminars and helped to bankroll the Communist-"Black Power"-dominated National Conference for New Politics.

The IRS concedes that WYCF's purposes are "to stimulate concerted activity of freedom-loving student and youth groups throughout the world; to prepare, coordinate and finance programs for the exchange of students and other youth representatives between the United States and other countries to further international understanding; to communicate information from these activities to the public at large, particularly the educational community."

The WYCF has done far more than this. It has given new hope to young people throughout the world by showing that their contemporaries in America are determined to stop the spread of communism. And it has been able, in the two years of its existence, to counter what it called the "historical misinterpretations" and the "philosophical blandishments" of the political, social and moral enemies of this country. This kind of educational effort can mean more to the United States than a division of Marines. The work of the WYCF can well be called preventive education.

The Internal Revenue Service does not see it that way. Teaching the disadvantaged to hate is educational. But, quoting the IRS letter, "fostering and participating in the creation of groups to oppose communism . . . while possibly having broad educational aspects, are not, basically, educational purposes or operations as the term is defined in the regulations."

The United States is at war with world communism. But an organization created to teach young people throughout the world what communism is, and how its spread can be prevented, is, according to IRS, indulging in propaganda.

On the other hand, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions—an outgrowth of the unlamented and notorious Fund for the Republic, may collect tax-deductible dollars and then spend them for purposes that run directly counter to the purposes of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

IRS, in short, is imposing a double standard in its application of the tax laws. It is saying, in effect, "Liberal, *si!* Anti-Communist, *no!*" In this, of course, it reflects the views of the Liberal Establishment, of the State Department's middle echelon which hopes to "build bridges" between the White House and the Kremlin, and the Eastern Establishment which is determinedly lobbying for the shipment of strategic and nonstrategic goods to a Soviet empire supplying the tools of war to the Vietnamese Communists.

This is not what Congress had in mind when it wrote the tax-exempt provisions into the Internal Revenue statutes. And I do not believe that the true views of those who head IRS are accurately represented in the letter to the World Youth Crusade for Freedom. The WYCF will, of course, appeal the ruling of the Exempt Organization Branch of IRS. If enough mail goes to the director of IRS, perhaps the ruling can be reversed.

FDA and HEW Talk Out of Both Sides of Their Mouths on Proposed Laboratory

SPEECH

OF

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I must confess surprise at the letter from HEW Comptroller James F. Kelly to Senator Hill concerning the proposed FDA Headquarters Laboratory No. 2 which was placed in the Record by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Laird] in connection with the conference report on the Labor-HEW appropriation. However, I suppose that it should not have been unexpected, since this is simply another example of how FDA and HEW officials have repeatedly talked out of both sides of their mouths on this project in an attempt to play one congressional committee off against another. This history is amply documented by House Report No. 801, "FDA Procedures for the Selection of Laboratory Sites," which was prepared by the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, and adopted by the Committee on Government Operations without a dissenting vote.

Nevertheless, in order to set the record straight, I feel obligated to point out that the Office of the HEW Comptroller had provided the subcommittee information which was quite different from that provided to Senator Hill. The information provided to the subcommittee also contained relevant facts which were omitted in the letter to the Senator.

In the latter document, Mr. Kelly concluded that there would be only a small net difference in the construction costs for this facility between Beltsville, Md., and Madison, Wis., "which could be anywhere from zero to a 1-percent differential, plus or minus." In substantiation of this conclusion, he cites the Boeckh construction cost index, which he says "shows a slightly lower cost per square foot in Madison, Wis., than the comparable figure for the Washington, D.C., area." This same publication is cited in a letter of July 31, 1967, to a member of my subcommittee staff from Mr. Kelly's deputy, Mr. James B. Cardwell, to show "general construction costs at Madison as being about 1 percent lower than those for the Washington, D.C., area." However, Mr. Cardwell went on to say that:

> The index in question relates only to general non-Federal office and commercial construction and not to specialized laboratories of the type at issue. At this time, we are not able to furnish you with an accurate estimate of what all of the cost differentials might be. Clearly, the Boeckh index is not in itself sufficient for this purpose.

Obviously, this is quite different from the impression created by Mr. Kelly in his letter to Senator Hill.

Mr. Speaker, I request that the July 31 letter from Mr. Cardwell be included in its entirety at the conclusion of my remarks.

Furthermore a memorandum supplied to the subcommittee by Mr. Cardwell and dated August 15, 1967, contains the following statement concerning the cost of construction of Laboratory No. 2 in the Midwest:

> Current rough cost indices (the Boeckh Appraisal Manual and the DOD Construction Cost Index) are so broad in their scope that there is no sound basis on which to estimate that an actual cost differential exists between the Beltsville site and the alternate site at Madison. The Boeckh index shows that it would be about three percent cheaper to construct the same brick and concrete building in Madison than in Washington. The Department of Defense Construction Cost Index shows construction in the State of Wisconsin to be ten percent higher than in Washington, D.C. Both of these cost indexes fail to make any adjustment for geographic differentials that may exist for the purchase and installation of fixed laboratory equipment. Since the cost index figures that are available do not agree in their conclusion and since specialized laboratory equipment is a major part of the total construction cost we are unable to reach any firm conclusion on construction cost differentials between the two geographic areas in question.

Again, this is quite different from the impression created by Mr. Kelly in his letter to Senator Hill. I think it is also significant that Mr. Kelly failed to make any mention of the fact that the Department of Defense Construction Cost Index showed construction in the State of Wisconsin to the 10 percent higher than in Washington, D.C.

There are other instances in which Mr. Kelly's letter to the Senator is not in accordance with information previously supplied to our subcommittee by his office. For example, his letter states that for the initial cost of relocating personnel from Washington to Madison, "We have been provided with estimates ranging from $338,000 to $500,000, but have not endeavored to evaluate them." On this same point, however, the August 15 memo to our subcommittee states that because of the passage of the Administrative Expenses Act, it would appear that the 1966 estimate of $500,000 is a minimum.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the foregoing facts are sufficient to show that HEW, and particularly the Office of the Comptroller, have been playing games with the committees of the Congress. However, there is one other matter in connection with this proposed laboratory about which I feel some obligation to set the record straight.

In the Record for October 25, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Kastenmeier] made a statement alleging that the report of the Government Operations Committee "is completely inaccurate with respect to the cost estimates for the proposed Madison, Wis., site for the Food and Drug Administration Laboratory No. 2."

Mr. Speaker, the report makes it quite clear that the estimates referred to are not the committee's but were in fact prepared by FDA for the House Appropriations Committee.

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Moreover, the report states that the committee is not necessarily endorsing the accuracy of FDA's original estimate that it would cost $5.4 million more to construct this facility in the Midwest than in the Washington area or a later revision of that estimate reducing the differential to $1 million.

I believe the following quote from the findings of the report makes this point quite clearly:

> The Committee wishes to emphasize that it is citing FDA's cost estimate only to illustrate the inconsistency of FDA's position and its apparent lack of concern for economy and efficiency. In so doing, the Committee is not endorsing the accuracy of the estimate. In fact, since the Subcommittee's hearings, FDA has changed its original estimate and now maintains that the initial cost differential between Beltsville and the alternative site at Madison, Wis., would be about $1 million rather than $5,400,000. However, for the reasons previously cited in this report, the Committee finds no basis for placing any more reliance on the second estimate than an the first.

Mr. Speaker, there were other points in the remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] with which I cannot agree. However, I do not believe it is necessary for me to make a point-by-point rebuttal. The report is impartial, objective, and based on sound, documented facts, and can speak for itself.

The report finds that the study which FDA has made is inadequate and recommends that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare require FDA to do the study over.

Some of the specific inadequacies of the study cited in the report are:

First, FDA did not comply with the HEW regulations on site selection which require, among other things, the establishment of a site selection board and the preparation of a report reflecting the potential sites considered, the points considered in their comparative evaluation, and the reasons for the choice made.

Second, a list of 47 institutions supposedly meeting FDA's basic criteria for eligibility was incomplete and was reduced to six institutions on the basis of the personal opinions of one individual who did not visit any of the 47, and made no record of the basis for his actions.

Third, the final selection was made without any site visits by individuals scientifically qualified to evaluate the potential contributions the institutions might make to FDA's research program.

Fourth, the study was made in such a hasty manner that adequate evaluation of all potential sites was impossible.

Fifth, there was an almost total absence of documentary support for the selection made.

Sixth, FDA officials were totally unaware of and did not apply the Bureau of the Budget and HEW criteria for determining whether a given facility is or is not susceptible to decentralization from the Washington area.

So far as I am concerned, the enactment of the 50-mile limitation in the appropriations act, simply means that the new study must begin at least 50 miles outside of Washington.

The letter from Mr. Cardwell follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., July 31, 1967.

Mr. W. DONALD GRAY,
Senior Investigator, Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee on the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GRAY: This will confirm our telephone conversation of this date.

The Food and Drug Administration advises:

1. They have made no new analysis or study of cost differentials between Beltsville and Madison, Wisconsin, or between Beltsville and other sites. The last analysis they made was contained in the report to the Committee on Appropriations, which was made a part of the sub-committee's hearing record.

2. They have no record of the University of Wisconsin having applied for consideration as an alternate site for Laboratory Building No. 2. They state that at no time did they invite the University of Wisconsin, or any other institution, to apply for consideration. However, following FDA's visit to the University of Wisconsin on March 2 and 3, 1967, representatives from the University did visit FDA, they received two visits. Mr. C. A. Engman, Vice President for Administration, visited FDA on March 16, 1967, and Dr. Robert M. Bock, Dean of the University's Graduate School, visited FDA on March 17, 1967.

3. They have not received any form of written statement from the University of Wisconsin indicating that land and/or utilities would be available at no cost to the Government.

With respect to your question of whether the Department has prepared a cost analysis which shows that the facility in question could be constructed at less cost at Madison or some other location away from the Washington, D.C., area, the answer is no.

I have verified my earlier statement to you to the effect that neither Mr. Kelly nor anyone else in the Office of the Secretary has issued information indicating that the facility could be constructed at Madison with a savings of as much as $400,000.

As I told you, we did ask the Food and Drug Administration to obtain information about variations in the general construction cost index between Beltsville and Madison. We asked the Food and Drug Administration to do this several days ago in response to a specific request received from the Senate Committee, based on information relayed to us by FDA and obtained from GSA, that the Boeckh Construction Appraisal Manual currently shows general construction costs at Madison as being about 1 percent lower than those for the Washington, D.C., area. In relaying these data to the Committee on Appropriations, we advised them, as we would advise you, that the index in question relates only to general non-Federal office and commercial construction and not to specialized laboratories of the type at issue. At this time, we are not able to furnish you with an accurate estimate of what all of the cost differentials might be. Clearly, the Boeckh index is not in itself sufficient for this purpose. However, if you like, we will be glad to ask the General Services Administration to prepare a special estimate for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES B. CARDWELL,
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Budget.

Combating Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg Herald, of October 13, 1967, contains an article entitled "Communists Try Harder, Fleming Says in Warning," written by Mary Sue Floyd, Herald staff writer. The article is a report on an address made to the Spartanburg Kiwanis Club by the Honorable Tom Fleming, managing editor of the Spartanburg Herald.

Mr. Fleming has recently completed a news study mission behind the Iron Curtain, which included 3 weeks in the Soviet Union. He warns that the Communists are working hard in an effort to promote their totalitarian system, and he notes that the Russians have not changed their goals, laid down by Lenin in 1917, for world dominion and world conversion to the Communist ideology.

His remarks deserve the attention of Congress and all citizens. I join him in urging that we in this country work as hard at free enterprise as the Communists do at their own ideology.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNISTS TRY HARDER, FLEMING SAYS IN WARNING

(By Mary Sue Floyd)

Tom Fleming, managing editor of The Spartanburg Herald, addressed the Kiwanis Club Thursday at the YMCA Family Center.

Fleming, who went on a news study mission behind the Iron Curtain last July and August, said first of all that three weeks in the Soviet Union does not turn out an expert on communism.

"However, I do want to deliver a watchword At the risk of sounding square, that watchword is simply 'patriotism'."

Fleming said that Americans cannot take freedom for granted because there are 235 million people in the Soviet Union dedicated to the premise that we have no right to enjoy that freedom.

"The Russian people are secretive: this comes naturally in a totalitarian state. Every move a foreigner makes is watched, partly out of curosity." Fleming said that as newspaper people, his group of visitors were scrutinized more carefully than were the average tourists. "They are a proud people because they are aware that they are not now and never have been well liked."

Standing in line is a way of life in the Soviet Union and the hesitant gets left out. For this reason, a Russian is rude in public although he is very gracious in his home.

There is little recreation, partly because of the automobile shortage, and Russians have become fond of museums, ballet, and the theatre.

"It's shocking to come face to face with communism, to see the loss of individualism," said Fleming. Indoctrination of children begins with sophisticated nursery schools and continues through professional training, which the government chooses for the student. Freedom of choice for the individual does not exist.

The Russians have not altered the goals laid down by Lenin in 1917: World domination and world conversion to the Communist ideology.

"We can't leave Vietnam without a military or political decision. It's important to us as a nation to see this thing through, to stop the spread of this ideology."

It should be a challenge to Americans to become familiar with the goals and aspirations of communism, to know exactly what we are up against.

In closing Fleming said, "We must be resolved to work as hard at free enterprise as the Communists do at their ideology."

GI an Example to Civilians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, riots and demonstrations, punctuated by acts of civil disobedience and disrespect, not only for law and order, but for America's deepest values and ideals, are objects of our immediate concern. At the same time, however, we can take heart that deep wells of strength in America not only survive but grow in a manner which gives us confidence that they will prevail.

The city of Beaver, Utah, is the county seat of Beaver County with a population of about 5,000. It lies in a green valley surrounded by mountains of beauty. The county is an agricultural, recreation, mining and railroad center. The citizens of Beaver, like citizens throughout the country, are troubled by the war. Their patriotism is not in question when they talk about alternatives.

The editor of the Beaver Press, a weekly newspaper, is George Rich. He writes a thoughtful column, entitled "Press Time." There is tremendous strength in America's weekly newspapers. In my State, they are independently owned and they express an independent and uncluttered report of grassroots sentiment. The October 19 issue of the Beaver Press contained Mr. Rich's column which mirrors this grassroots thought of the small city, where the spirit of patriotism and independence burns brightly.

The column follows:

PRESS TIME

(By George Rich)

For some time now I have been quite concerned, as I suppose most all of us have been, over the course this country seems to be taking. We have seen riots in some of our major cities; sit-ins, marches and other 'protest' demonstrations in our universities; strikes in our industries; and demonstrations of disgusting lack of respect toward the elected and appointed officials of our country until I have personally questioned whether or not this country has reached and passed its peak and is now on the decline and will soon fall by the wayside.

Recently a man of some influence asked me what the people of this area thought of the war in Vietnam and I, in turn, asked him for his opinion. He told me, and four other men present concurred in it, that if it were up to him, he'd get our boys out of there. I asked him how he would do it and he answered, "right now—a lot faster than is being done—just as fast as we can get the ships there and haul them home."

I suppose that could be done and if Vietnam were all that is at stake. perhaps that is what should be done. The trouble is that Vietnam isn't all that we have at stake in Southeast Asia. I'm sure you can all recall the Chinese attempts at aggression in India of a few years past and have noted the quiet in that area since they have had to put their efforts into Vietnam. Without question, Indonesia would now be in the sphere of the Red Chinese except for the peoples revolution which came about through the renewed faith those people gained through watching our commitment being carried out in Vietnam.

Having watched these and other developments in Asia and throughout the rest of the world, it has seemed to me that we could either meet the threat there or adopt the pacifist attitude of the middle thirties, shout "Peace in our time" and meet the threat in our own front yards complete with bomb carrying missiles and the lack of will on our part to defend ourselves—ready to give in to the first bum who threatened to hurt us.

A short time back we had a visit with a young sergeant of the Marine Corps who had just completed his tour of duty in Vietnam. This young man had been raised in a home where his mother had had to earn the living since he was a baby when his father had left town owing everyone there. His mother had done her best to provide for the three children and pay off the debts and still take the time to instruct those children as to the responsibilities of citizenship. She has done a good job.

Young Sgt. B. is a man with both feet firmly planted on the earth who is not afraid to take and carry out responsibility to the best of his ability. He is not in search of something for nothing but rather wants to go to school and prepare himself to be a productive person. Asked what should be done about the demonstrators, rioters, etc., he remarked that he would be happy to put a group of them through basic and take them into Vietnam. I asked him, what about it, would you want to go up against the Viet Cong knowing that that type of person was supposed to cover you? He answered, "When they get through training, they'll know its fight Charlie or fight me and they're going to rather fight Charlie."

On Tuesday, Chad Johnson, who has just returned from Vietnam, spoke for a few minutes to the Beaver Lions Club. In answer to questions, he said that he believes we are doing too much for the people of that country. The amount of our aid is so great that those people are not doing all that they can and should do for themselves. It was then brought out that he as signed up to fulfill another six month tour of duty there and he was asked why he had done this.

His answer was one which should make every one of us feel humble. "The first six months of duty in Vietnam was spent in training me to do a job. Then four months were spent doing that job and the last two months thinking about coming home. We can't win that war with one-third time soldiers so I signed up to pay the cost of the training I received."

Those may not have been his exact words but they carry the meaning as closely as possible and all I can say is that surely there are things wrong in the world today but the biggest wrong is not in Vietnam. Some people, in fact a lot of people right here in the United States of America would do right well to study those words and ask themselves if they are earning their keep.

The thought of a young man volunteering to serve an additional six months in the heat and humidity and dirt of Vietnam—not to mention the fact that an element of personal danger is involved—is enough to make me wonder if a lot of us ought not look at our aims and ideals and perhaps tidy up a mite.

Variety Clubs Cite Anne McIlhenney Matthews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, long a favorite columnist in the Buffalo area, Mrs. Anne McIlhenney Matthews, of the Buffalo Courier-Express, has been cited by the Variety Clubs. The Barker, the official publication of Variety Clubs International in its October issue contains an article appropriately captioned "Unanimous: All Out in Praise of a Member of the Fourth Estate." I join the members of Variety in their high regard for Mrs. Matthews, and ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNANIMOUS—ALL OUT IN PRAISE OF A MEMBER OF THE FOURTH ESTATE: ANNE MCILHENNEY MATTHEWS, COLUMNIST, BUFFALO COURIER-EXPRESS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

Anne McIlhenney Matthews (Mrs. Burrows Matthews), well known Buffalo resident, currently listed in Who's Who in the East and Who's Who in American Women, has lived in Buffalo since 1920.

A newspaperwoman, former swimming champion, physical education instructor, Major in the Women's Army Corps in World War II, and active in many civic, social and philanthropic activities, she is known professionally as Anne McIlhenney, whose by-line has appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express for many years.

Mrs. Matthews began work on the Courier-Express as a sports reporter with the background of local, national and international swimming champion. Subsequently, she worked in the City Room as: Police Reporter; City Hall Reporter; Courts Reporter; feature writer; general news reporter covering all beats; politics reporter covering three national conventions; Western New York Editor; Women's Pages Editor; Aviation Editor; Motion Picture Editor, writing a weekly Hollywood news column; Drama Critic; Music Critic, and Art Critic. She also wrote a Sunday round-the-town general news and feature column, "Once Over Lightly."

During these years, Mrs. Matthews also did considerable promotional work and was a Public Relations consultant in many fields outside of her newspaper activities. For many years she did all the press work for three independent concert agencies who brought outstanding singers and orchestras to Buffalo. She did promotional work for various theater groups and fund-raising projects notably the "Long Night" picture-charity event that filled Kleinhans Music Hall to record capacity for the benefit of the Cancer Fund.

She has a wide range of cultural, civic, political, diplomatic and military contacts.

Immediately on the formation of the Women's Army Corps in 1942 she volunteered

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and was the first of four women selected from 3,000 applicants in Western New York to be in the initial class of 400 to be trained at Fort Des Moines as officers. On graduation from Officers Training, she was appointed Public Officer of the WAAC. Subsequently, she was designated Public Relations Officer of Fort Des Moines which took in all military installations in Iowa. This resulted in widespread publication of the fact she was the first woman Chief Public Relations Officer in the U.S. Army.

She was one of the first six WAC's to be sent overseas. She was sent to Africa to participate in news coverage at the Casablanca Conference and then transferred to MTOUSA as a public relations officer on General Eisenhower's staff. After the Salerno invasion she was transferred to the staff of General Mark Clark of the Fifth Army and worked directly for General Alfred H. Gruenther, Chief of Staff, as conducting officer for war correspondents in the Italian campaign. With the invasion of France she was transferred to Supreme Headquarters to General Eisenhower's staff serving as aide-de-camp to General Frank A. Allen, Jr., the Chief Public Relaations Officer of SHAEF, and she also was Chief of Special Assignments in which capacity she was in charge of all visiting dignitaries and tours of VIP's and Congressional delegations.

On her release from the Army in 1947, Mrs. Matthews (then Miss McIlhenney) returned to the Buffalo Courier-Express, but resigned after a few months to marry the Editor, the late Burrows Matthews.

In 1952, at the request of General Omar Bradley, the Matthews' were asked to return to Army service in the Korean War and were sent to Supreme Headquarters in the Far East at Tokyo, Japan. They were asked to go as a "team," Mr. Matthews as adviser in the field of Public Relations to General Matthew B. Ridgway, and Mrs. Matthews to assist in writing the General's speeches and news releases.

When General Ridgway was assigned to replace General Eisenhower in Paris as Supreme Commander of NATO, the Matthews were persuaded to accompany him to Paris to assist in initiating his command there. Mr. Matthews resigned this duty to return to the United States to aid in General Eisenhower's election as President of the United States. Mr. Matthews died in 1954.

After Mr. Matthews' death, Mrs. Matthews did occasional Radio-TV political campaigns and speech writing for various candidates. In 1959 she returned to the Courier-Express as Art Critic and Columnist. In 1960 she was transferred to the Promotion Department to do all editorial promotional writing and to assist James C. Kennedy, Promotion Chief, in planning and implementing drives and campaigns.

Concurrently with her newspaper work, Miss McIlhenney was Athletic Director of the Buffalo Consistory (1925–'26), Women's Athletic Director of the Buffalo Athletic Club (1927–'37), swimming instructor, Kensington High School (1938–'42).

Mrs. Matthews was born in Philadelphia. She came to Buffalo in 1920. She attended Public School No. 56 and was graduated from Lafayette High School. Later she took many courses at the University of Buffalo.

Variety Clubs International salutes this outstanding citizen of Buffalo and member of the "Fourth Estate" who has twice been voted as a selection by Variety Club of Buffalo, Tent No. 7, to participate in the VCI Communication Medias Award Plan . . . for the continued excellent coverage and interest she gives to the work of Variety through her news column, thereby communicating the purpose and meaning of *Variety Clubs* to the Buffalo community!

Today, the spotlight shines brighter on the work of Tent No. 7 in Buffalo because of Mrs. Matthews!

Rev. Carmel Vinson McCoig

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, last Friday the east Tennessee area lost a dedicated spiritual leader when Rev. Carmel Vinson McCoig passed away at the age of 61.

Mr. McCoig gave almost 40 years of his life to the ministry, and during this time he was instrumental in building four new churches.

He will be missed in the community he loved and served, and to his family and friends I extend my heartfelt sympathy.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the accounts of Mr. McCoig's passing which appeared in the Newport, Tenn., Plain Talk and the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinal, as follow:

REV. C. V. MCCOIG, FORMER PASTOR OF NEWPORT CHURCH, DIES

Rev. Carmel Vinson McCoig, age 61, passed away at 3:40 p.m. Friday in a Knoxville hospital, following a long period of declining health. Rev. McCoig, a graduate of Harrison-Chilhowee Baptist Academy, served as pastor of several East Tennessee Baptist Churches.

Mr. McCoig spent approximately 40 years in the ministry, first serving as pastor of Nina Baptist Church at White Pine, Swansylvania at Dandridge and Union Valley at Seymour, while attending Harrison Chilhowee.

From 1935 until his retirement earlier this year Mr. McCoig was pastor of churches at Rocky Hill in Knox County; First Baptist Church in Savannah, Tenn. At the same time he was pastoring Hopewell Baptist Church; Sheron Baptist Church, Turkey Creek and Lutz, all Savannah, Tenn. From there he went to Tracey City, Tenn. where he did special mission work in the mountain area, pastoring First Baptist Church at Tracey City, Altamont and Air View. Mr. McCoig organized Palmer Baptist Church in Grundy County.

He was pastor of the Lincoln Avenue Baptist Church here in Newport for 11 years. He lead in the Building Program of Church and the new Pastorium. He retired from the Eureka Baptist Church of Rockwood, Tenn. after 8 years as pastor.

During his ministry, he led in the building of four new churches, two pastoriums and several remodeling programs.

Other positions he held included moderator of the East Tenn. Baptist Association, member of the executive board of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, president of the Roane County Ministers Association and President of the East Tennessee Association Pastors Conference.

Survivors: wife: Mrs. Ida Moore McCoig of Newport; daughter: Mrs. Hazel Rowland of Merritti Island, Florida; brothers: Talmadge McCoig of Gastonia, N.C., James and Hooper McCoig of Knoxville, Bartley McCoig of Spartanburg, S.C.; sisters: Mrs. Sarah Waters and Mrs. Vegie Prior of Spartanburg, S.C., Mrs. Malissa Dockery of Cocke County; granddaughters: Sandra, Jean, Billie, and Deborah Rowland.

Funeral services were conducted 4:00 p.m. Sunday at the Lincoln Avenue Baptist Church with Rev. Robert Walker, present pastor of Lincoln Ave. Baptist Church, Rev. W. F. Hall of Harrison-Chilhowee Academy Staff and Rev. Wayne Markum pastor of Rocky Hill Baptist Church, Knoxville officiating with burial in the Union Cemetery.

Active Pallbearers were: Clarence Black, Cecil McGaha, Jason Harvey, Probe Wood, Jim Maloy, Paul Turner, Stanley Martin, and Edd Ellis.

Brown's in charge.

THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS IN MINISTRY: REVEREND MCCOIG DIES; BUILT FOUR CHURCHES

Rev. Carmel V. McCoig, graduate of Harrison-Chilhowee Baptist Academy who served as pastor of several East Tennessee Baptist churches, is dead at the age of 61 after a long period of declining health.

He died at 3:40 p.m. yesterday at University Hospital, where he had been a patient since Oct. 4.

Mr. McCoig spent approximately 37 years in the ministry, first serving as pastor at various churches while still a student at Harrison-Chilhowee.

IN KNOXVILLE FIRST

From 1935 until his retirement earlier this year, Mr. McCoig was pastor of churches in Rocky Hills, in Knox County; Savannah, Tenn.; Tracy City, Altamont and Airview, all in Grundy County (and he organized Palmer Baptist Church in Grundy); Newport and Rockwood. He retired from the Eureka Baptist Church in Rockwood.

During his ministry, he led in the building of four new churches, two pastoriums and several remodeling programs.

Other positions he held included moderator of the East Tennessee Baptist Association, member of the executive board of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, president of the Roane County Ministers Association and president of the East Tennessee Association Pastors Conference.

He leaves his wife, Ida Moore McCoig, of Newport; daughter, Mrs. Billy H. Rowland, Merritt Island, Fla.; three grandchildren; four brothers: Talmadge, of Gastonia, N.C.; Bartley, of Spartanburg, S.C.; James and Hooper, both of Knoxville.

He also leaves three sisters: Mrs. Sarah Waters and Mrs. Vegie Pryor, Gastonia, and Mrs. Melissa Dockery, Newport.

SERVICES TOMORROW

The family will receive friends from 7 to 9 tonight at Brown's Funeral Home, Newport. Services will be at Lincoln Avenue Baptist Church, Newport. Burial will be in Union Cemetery, Newport.

Officiating ministers will be the Rev. Robert Walker, present pastor of Lincoln Avenue Baptist Church; the Rev. W. M. Hall, of the Harrison-Chilhowee Baptist Academy staff, and the Rev. Wayne Markum, pastor of Rocky Hill Baptist Church, Knoxville.

Retirement of Dr. John Slawson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a distinguished American and a distinguished servant of the American Jewish community recently retired from the post he has held for some 24 years as executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee. Dr. John Slawson, on August 1, 1967, became executive vice president emeritus.

Dr. Slawson was trained as a social worker. Prior to coming to the American Jewish Committee in 1943 he served as a professional in that field with the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York City. In the course of 24 years as chief executive officer of the AJC he emerged as one of the Nation's leading social scientists. Under his leadership, the AJC sponsored, among a score of other pioneering studies, the social research which produced the groundbreaking report, "The Authoritarian Personality," which report illuminated prejudice and bigotry as a disease in the hater.

As he retires from active leadership of the AJC, he will turn to a long-unfinished agenda of social research, and as he does I bespeak for him many more fruitful years of contributions to the democratic society which he has served so well. In these times of increasing violence, to quote his own words:

> We must rest our faith upon our conviction that, of all the weapons man has available for his own preservation, the sharpest by far are still in the realm of reason and domain of the spirit.

On May 18, 1967, at the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, Dr. Slawson delivered his farewell address, entitled "Not by Might," which he described as "Reflections with Gratitude and Hope."

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"NOT BY MIGHT"—REFLECTIONS WITH GRATITUDE AND HOPE

(By John Slawson)

When one contemplates an occasion such as this, one naturally wonders: "Am I going to be sad? Am I going to be happy? Will I start to reminisce, or will I try to play the role of a seer?"

Well, I have made my decision, and I hope it will not cause too much consternation among those of you who know me well. I am going to be myself.

And tonight in honoring the memory of Audrey and Stephen Currier, who, in their short lives did so much to further the cause so dear to all of us, we have in fact, honored ourselves.

In a wider sense, I am grateful because I have been living in the 20th century, especially in the last two decades of this century. True, this century has brought its bitter episodes: two devasting world wars, and the unfortunate and depressing Vietnam conflict in which we are still engaged, and above all the Nazi holocaust with its gas chambers and crematoria, the most macabre contrivance known to man. It took me a long time to believe that man was capable of such bestiality, such depravity. The holocaust was what caused me to leave a relatively sheltered professional existence at the Jewish Board of Guardians to come to the American Jewish Committee in 1943.

Nevertheless, I am grateful to have lived during these two decades. One reason is that it was in this period that our nation developed a worldwide perspective and a concern for the welfare of all peoples.

When I was a young man, Africa and Asia might just as well not have existed. We hardly knew that the people of the Orient were hungry. They are still hungry—perhaps more so—but today we are concerned and attempting to do something about it.

The oppressed condition of the Negro in America was then taken for granted. Franklin D. Roosevelt, one of our most forward-looking presidents—whose son honors us by his presence tonight—could do nothing more to alleviate the Negro's plight than to issue an executive order banning discrimination in Federal employment. And even this was done only after A. Philip Randolph threatened a march on Washington.

What a transformation since that time! Influenced to a considerable degree by rising Negro protest, America has not only changed its laws and customs concerning race, but the very mind of America is changing, too. We are ashamed, we are guilt-ridden, we are concerned. And we are doing things about our concern—certainly not as much as we should, even now, but we *are* doing things about it.

In a sense, I believe the 20th century really came fully into its own after World War II. That was the watershed between the past and the present. In 1942 man set off the first nuclear chain reaction. Three years later this technological breakthrough was followed by a breakthrough in human relations—the creation of the United Nations, with its international commitment to human rights. I need not remind you, I know, that two of our honorary presidents who are with us this evening, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer and Mr. Jacob Blaustein, played a leading role in the establishment of this international commitment.

The growth of the United Nations illustrates what I have said about the development of a world perspective. Some of us complain about the way the United Nations has grown: there were only 51 members when it was formed in 1945, and there are 122 members today. Well, I must ask: Would we rather have the League of Nations whose 63 members constituted very nearly a white man's club, or the ever-increasing universality of the United Nations with all of the problems entailed?

Those of us who get discouraged with the United Nations and its defects would do well to heed the words of the late President Kennedy in this matter: "Our instrument and our hope is the United Nations and I see little merit in the impatience of those who would abandon this imperfect world instrument because they dislike our imperfect world. For the trouble of the world's organization really reflects the troubles of the world today."

I believe the recent transformations in human relationships are at least as crucial as the technological explosion in their implications for mankind. Man's impending conquest of space and his forging of new weapons against plagues and hunger are matched by the two great human revolutions of our time: the racial revolution and the religious one.

In the matter of race in America we have had to make abrasive readjustments. There have been a number of serious conflicts and there are likely to be even more. But the matter is now out in the open; the problem is no longer tucked away. It can and will be resolved.

We have done with the idea that the plight of the Negro is his natural condition. True, things may very well get worse before they get better; but that has been the experience of practically every ethnic group in the United States. During the days of mass immigration, America's nationality ghettos deteriorated terribly as the influx from abroad increased, year after year. But then, at a certain stage, the upturn came and an uninterrupted upward journey commenced. Just so, I believe, the present conflicts will prove to be the first phase of an upward journey for the Negro.

Of course we are impatient, and rightly so, with the pace of our progress. We should remind ourselves that all through their history in America, Negroes have had their confidence and their capacity for self-help and mutual aid crushed by their oppressors. And let us not overlook the considerable progress that is now being made toward self-help and mutual aid in the Negro community. America's and the world's march toward human equality will not be halted. There will be no repetition of the post-reconstruction period, with its dangerous regressions and its bitter disappointments.

Back in 1963 I had occasion to state from this very rostrum: "Once the formal barriers are dissolved, as they will be; once the civil rights are secure, as they must be; then and only then will all of us really begin to comprehend the dimension of this revolution." I have no reason to alter that statement today.

No less fundamental than the racial revolution are the new departures in religion to which I referred earlier. I mean not only the participation of religious leaders in social causes such as the civil-rights movement, important though that is: I refer to the religious rapproachment that is unmistakably taking place today. The progress made since the 19th and early 20th century in inter-religious relationships has been a journey from darkness to light.

Only one lifetime ago, France was reeling under the Dreyfus affair, and the churchmen who should have spoken out were silent. On the eve of the First World War when Mendel Beilis, a Ukrainian Jew, was accused of a ritual blood murder, the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, the voice of the High Church of England, refused to take sides, and stated editorially, "We do not know where the truth lies." Think of it, only one lifetime ago! Later, as we know, when Hitler came to power, the churches failed to take a stand.

Here, again, the end of the Second World War was the watershed. Organized religion has now put itself squarely among the active forces for human brotherhood—a development which was symbolized for all mankind in that holy man, that *zaddik*, Pope John XXIII. The 1965 declaration of the Second Vatican Council, which repudiated the idea that the Jews are collectively guilty of the death of Jesus, and officially outlawed all forms of anti-Semitism in the Catholic Church is, for us Jews, the fairest fruit of the *aggiornamento*—the modernization process which Pope John initiated. Nor do we forget that as early as 1961 the World Council of Churches, the leading international Protestant group, had taken a parallel step—affirming that the responsibility for the crucifixion rests with corporate humanity, not with the Jews or any one race or community.

This brings us to the general question: Just what is the condition of anti-Semitism today? First, anti-Semitism is no longer considered "natural" or "normal," as it used to be only a few decades ago. In the 1920's, in our own country, Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* gave vast circulation to the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, that notorious anti-Semitic forgery fabricated by the secret police of Czarist Russia. A few years later, Father Coughlin was disseminating the *Protocols* on the airwaves. Millions of people in the United States and elsewhere believed them. Today it seems almost inconceivable that anyone should have fallen for this myth, whose viciousness is second only to its absurdity. If anyone still believes nonsense of this sort, it is only a small relic of ignorant and superstitious people, who still live mentally in the 19th century.

Furthermore, not only anti-Semitism, but prejudice and bigotry of all kinds, have become discredited and despised. They are now looked upon as a twist of the mind; their roots are known to lie in a sickness in the hater, not in the qualities of the hated. This insight is the direct result of scientific research—such as the *Authoritarian Personality* study, which the American Jewish Committee was privileged to sponsor.

And what of Jewry itself in this 20th century? One-third of our people have perished in the ghettos and gas chambers of Eastern Europe. We dare not forget that; for, as

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George Santayana has warned us, those who forget the past are doomed to relive it.

Phoenix-like, Jewry rose from its ashes; the still incomprehensible calamity of the holocaust was followed by a 20th-century miracle, the birth of the State of Israel. Today, Jews in most countries live in far greater security and dignity than they did during the 19th century. We have been welcomed in the United States and in other Western countries (with some exceptions) and I believe we have more than adequately repaid the welcome.

One of our great contributions to this country has been to establish the legitimacy and even the desirability of difference among people. Our ideas and our very presence, I believe, have contributed to the appreciation of cultural pluralism. To be different is not to be second-class, we insisted. And so we helped Americans to appreciate the enrichment and the nourishment that come from different strains, different cultures and different religions, and we helped clarify the right and obligation of a minority to act, not only in its own behalf, but for the welfare of all the people and the entire nation. Actually, these two goals are inseparable, for as we well know, what is bad for America is worse for the Jews or any other minority.

As the Jews have progressed from the 19th to the 20th century, their condition has changed considerably, and so has their image. Seventy-five years ago, most Jews were peddlers and workingmen, recent immigrants from Eastern Europe with little formal education. But even then, their moral intensity and their intellectual fervor attracted writers like Hutchins Hapgood to portray with admiration their world in *The Spirit of the Ghetto,* back in 1902.

Today American Jews are middle-class and upper-middle-class, well-represented in the academic world, both as students and as teachers. They contribute abundantly to the arts and to literature—and as a matter of fact, the present era in literature has been referred to as the "Jewish epoch," just as earlier periods were noted as the "Southern epoch" or the "Midwestern epoch." And I might add, that the "Negro epoch" in American literature is on its way.

In terms of economics, the Jewish community of America ranks high. It includes proportionately far more self-employed persons, especially professionals, than are found in the total population. True, Jews are still excluded from management careers in corporate industry and from administrative ranks in universities. But these inequities are now being attacked frontally with increasing success. Similarly, social discrimination—the other major holdout of exclusion—has begun to erode.

But some serious inner problems have arisen—unwanted, though perhaps inevitable, by-products of this free and open society for which we have been striving. Through centuries of adversity and the striving to overcome it, the chain of Jewish religious and cultural commitment has been damaged. There is an alarming indifference to Jewish values and traditions, and the treasures of Judaism as a religion and as a tradition are hidden away from many of our Jews. We no longer have the extent of the self-hate we used to have, and this is an important advance; but Judaism's hold on its young people—especially on its intellectuals—is far more tenuous than in the past.

We have to find ways of making known to this generation of young Jews the richness and vitality of Judaism, its moral and ethical force, its commitment to human compassion and social justice, and its overriding concern with bettering the human condition here and now. For we are taught that "the righteous of *all* nations have a share in the world to come."

We need to make our religio-cultural treasures intellectually attractive, emotionally satisfying and aesthetically enjoyable. And we must strengthen the sense of identity that is so essential in this increasingly homogenized society, with the loneliness that permeates the lives of so many of our young people. It is a task that will require our most innovative thinking in the months and years to come.

And so, I say to you that the 20th century has had its misery, and its suffering, even its collective madness, but there has also been phenomenal progress. We have witnessed a vast acceleration of change—indeed, the only certainty we have today is the certainty of change. There is much that remains to be done—and I am happy to know that the American Jewish Committee, with which I am about to terminate my official connection as Executive Vice President, but which will always be part of me as long as I live, will continue to do its share—to serve the Jewish community, to serve America and to serve humanity as a whole.

Yes, humanity as a whole. For we are not exactly novices in transforming the particularly Jewish into the generally human and the universal. We have developed a special radar capacity, a certain unique sensitivity to sicknesses in the general society, that helps pinpoint the nature and extent of a social malady.

I trust the American Jewish Committee will be concerned about the emerging casualness towards brutality that is developing in the world today; that we will keep in mind that democracy is still a minority system of government among the populations of the earth, and that most of the world's peoples are still governed by automatic, despotic, totalitarian regimes; and that we will continue to be dedicated unreservedly to the sanctity of the human being.

I know that we will always remain alert to the embers of hostility that flicker deep beneath the surface—embers which can, under certain conditions, become all-consuming flames. And I am certain we will never lose sight of the unbreakable link between human rights and world peace.

I pray that the American Jewish Committee will retain its agency personality, characterized by certain attributes that have guided its conduct since its inception: effectiveness as the sole criterion of what it does and the way it does it; reliance on research and study as a guide to action; a concern with root causes and not just with outward symptoms; fearlessness in doing what it believes to be right, regardless of criticism from without or even attack; a refusal to be influenced by irrelevancies; freedom from parochialism; and a forthrightness, wihout apology, in its well-considered approach to the fulfillment of its responsibilities.

As a private agency, the Committee has an obligation to help conserve the human element in life's processes—to help counteract the mechanistic and depersonalizing influences that make inroads on the individuality of the person. I hope the Committee will continue to engage in experimentation and to contribute to professional training. For the voluntary agency of the future will survive only if its performance is marked by excellence. The private agency can become an island of sensitivity, a source of morality, culture and intellectuality in an atmosphere of increasing depersonalization.

I fervently hope that we shall redouble our efforts in support of the Negro's struggle to attain his civil rights, whether those efforts be made as leaders or as workers, and regardless how great are the frustrations inherent in this task. This is a moral imperative. We must do this because we are dedicated to social justice and we must do this because we love America. And I need not tell you that civil rights means not just legal rights, but all necessary rehabilitative, economic and educational facilities needed to make possible full human equality. This means we will have to concern ourselves not only with all those fields in which we have worked in the past, but also with problems of urban decay and the deterioration of the metropolitan areas.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey in a pamphlet on *Race in a Changing World,* which we published recently, said, "Prejudice as a divisive force among man is one of the greatest dangers to world survival today." He was referring to the conflicts and hostile feelings not only in our own country, but among racial and ethnic groups the world over—the fearful tensions between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East; the overseas Chinese and the indigenous populations of Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand; the Moslems and Christians in Lebanon; the Walloons and Flemings in Belgium; the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus; the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in Quebec; and the artificial hierarchy of color which is climaxed in South Africa's apartheid system.

Yes, there is much to do. "The day is short. The work is plentiful, and the reward is abundant."

Let me repeat, in closing, what I had the privilege of saying at the dedication of our Institute of Human Relations in 1960: "We must rest our faith upon our conviction that, of all the weapons man has available for his own preservation, the sharpest by far are still in the realm of reason and the domain of the spirit."

It has been said far, far better in the Book of Zechariah: "Not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

Thank you and God bless you.

Enough Talk: Kill Surcharge and Cut Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the Muskegon Chronicle. It underscores the fact that a tax increase is not the answer to fighting inflation. The initial attack against inflation must be a reduction in nonessential spending.

The editorial follows:

ENOUGH TALK: KILL SURCHARGE AND CUT SPENDING

Is the tax bill dead? We think it is, at least for this year. And deservedly so.

The Administration has failed to make a convincing case for the surcharge, and a vast majority of Americans—whose feelings on the matter are being tellingly reflected by their representatives in Congress—are agreed that the initial attack against inflation must be a reduction in spending.

Virtually everyone in Washington is convinced that the chances for enactment of the 10 per cent surtax are practically nil; everyone, that is, except the President, his stable of economic spokesmen, and the secretaries of the Treasury and Transportation.

With White House prodding, the secretaries presented very devious arguments in favor of the tax. Credit for the most barefaced ploy goes to Transportation Secretary Boyd who told the governors of the states last week that the President proposes to cut highway construction funds as an economy measure.

The $4.4 billion-a-year federal road program, he said, might be cut back as much as 50 per cent.

The proposal is an affront—an insult—to the intelligence of the American public, designed solely to mislead.

Congress is demanding that the Administration cut down the federal deficit. But federal highway revenues go in and out of a special trust fund which is supported by highway taxes and is completely outside the administrative budget.

To let these revenues accumulate in the trust fund instead of spending them would do absolutely nothing at all for the budget deficit. It might be argued that not spending some $2 billion that normally would be spent on roads would help cool off a boiling economy and thus be anti-inflationary. But the funds would not be "saved" and withholding them would not constitute a deficit reduction by a cut in spending.

The highway expenditures were not included in the Administration's $135 billion budget that Congress wants the President to cut—although highway beautification funds were included—and cutting the highway funds won't reduce the deficit one cent.

Transportation Secretary Boyd concluded his message to the governors with invitations for their "comments." He'll get some, all right, and we hope he'll pass them along to the White House.

They'll provide instructive reading as well for Treasury Secretary Fowler, whose fight for the surtax this week reflected no credit on his high office, and for Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, who warned that a refusal to raise taxes will cost Americans twice as much in the form of higher prices.

The latter threat is a scare tactic, pure and simple, and we'll look at it here, saving Secretary Fowler's gambit for a separate editorial.

The President, according to Chairman Ackley, predicts that an overheated economy wil force the cost of living up from 4 to 6 per cent—the sharpest rise in 16 years—unless there is a surtax, in which case he says the increase will be held to only 2.5 per cent.

The cost of living index, a key indicator, is the statistical sum of many important and complex parts. Some of these parts, such as the cost of medical services, have risen much faster than others in recent years while commodities in general, particularly new cars and household appliances, have climbed very slowly.

If we are indeed faced with runaway inflation—and the experts are by no means agreed on this—a tax increase is a very dubious remedy. If a tax increase is to be effective in fighting inflation, it must siphon off dollars that otherwise would be spent on items that fuel inflation.

We don't think the public will cut back on spending for medical care, or for the myriad other work-a-day services that contribute most to the high cost of living. What the consumer is much more likely to do is defer purchases of durable goods, such as cars, appliances and television sets—hurting the very producers who have done the most creditable job of holding the line on prices over the last decade.

Would a tax increase have impact on federal spending? It is spending on this level that causes the strongest inflationary pressures, and demands for federal funds always exceed the supply.

A tax increase is not the answer. The first line of defense against inflation is reduction in nonessential spending. The President should drop the curtain on his chorus of economic double-talkers and take the first step.

Mining Haiphong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Shreveport, La., Journal October 21, 1967, contains a very fine article entitled "Mining Haiphong," in which Miss Edith Kermit Roosevelt discusses the pros and cons concerning this vital seaport in North Vietnam.

She points out the unanimous opinion of military leaders that mining the port is not only feasible but also a highly desirable action from a military point of view. At the same time she presents arguments against the stand taken by Secretary of Defense McNamara to the effect that mining Haiphong Harbor would be useless. The careful research evident in her article reveals the great difficulties the Soviet Union must overcome in shipping military supplies on the Red Chinese rail system. Moscow radio highlighted these difficulties in a broadcast last summer stating that the overland transport of freight to North Vietnam met with frequent delays and difficulties.

This excellent article is an unbiased account of an important issue which still requires early resolution. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOULD "OFFEND" REDS: MINING HAIPHONG

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—The most important goal of the Communists in Vietnam is to prevent the United States from doing what it could do and should do to win the war. In this context, the Administration's fears of "escalation" dovetail with Moscow's psychological warfare program of nuclear blackmail. Our highly organized "peace" front too, finds a response in Administration "restraints" which prolong the war and add to U.S. casualties.

The Administration's refusal to mine the port of Haiphong is an important example of Moscow's success in political warfare. Practically every military leader has urged that the port be closed in addition to lifting the restrictions on bombing in North Vietnam. In hearings entitled "Air War Against North Vietnam" released by the Senate Military Preparedness Subcommittee, Adm. Ulysses S. G. Sharp, commander-in-chief of U.S. forces in the Pacific, said that the Navy recommended mining as the preferred method of blocking the port. He said that the Navy had the capability to accomplish this "completely feasible and simple operation." Mines could be laid down a week in advance of activating them, giving the United States time to warn foreign ships.

The reason the port of Haiphong is not mined has nothing to do with military or technical reasons. The real reason slipped out during the hearings, Adm. T. H. Moorer, U.S. chief of naval operations, declared, "We do give consideration to the reaction of China and Russia when we consider such problems, for instance, as mining the harbor."

What this adds up to is that the Administration does not wish to offend Moscow and Peking by halting their steadily mounting aid to the Viet Cong. This is obvious by the smoke screen of specious military arguments advanced by Defense Secretary McNamara in his subcommittee testimony. He contended that it was useless to mine Haiphong, insisting that the enemy could send what it needed to by barges or by land.

His position contrasts sharply with the views of military experts. They do not believe that North Vietnam could sustain its required import rate by land, rail and water from Red China. What was left unsaid by McNamara is that the transfer of cargo from ships to barges would be hazardous in open seas. The material would be a sitting duck for an air attack as it was being transported by these more primitive, vulnerable means.

In a broadcast last July 28, Moscow Radio itself pointed out some of the difficulties involved in using land routes in revolution-torn Mainland China. Soviet Commentator Leonid Sergeyev said that Moscow had been unable to reach an agreement with Mao Tse-tung on aid to North Vietnam. The Soviet broadcast stated, "The overland transport of freight directly related to DRV (North Vietnam) can be carried out only through the Chinese Peoples Republic, which is the only one of all the other socialist countries with a common frontier with Vietnam. However, not a single attempt by the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to come to an understanding with the Peking leadership on this specific question has been successful."

Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R-Wis.) stressed recently the limited efficiency and capacity of the Red Chinese rail system. He pointed out that a complete cargo transfer is required for shipments to come by rail from the Soviet Union to Red China. When goods reach the Soviet-Chinese border, they must be transferred from the Soviet roadgage track to the Chinese standard gage. Even after that, if the railroad tracks have been damaged or cut by U.S. bombing, additional transfers are required by truck between connecting points of the disrupted stretch of rail.

For these reasons the port of Haiphong is invaluable as the means for bringing in military weaponry for use against our forces. Recent press reports confirm this by revealing that our pilots have finally been allowed to bomb military complexes in Haiphong where Soviet helicopter and surface-to-air missiles are being assembled. According to Sen. J. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), knowledgeable and hard working member of the Military Preparedness Subcommittee, "Air Force reports of the appearance of Soviet MI–6 helicopters in North Vietnam provide further documentation that the port of Haiphong is essential to the supply of military equipment from the Soviet Union."

The MI–6 is one of the world's largest operational helicopters which is capable of ferrying 120 troops or a load of large antiaircraft missiles at speeds of 155 miles an hour. It is 108 feet long and it has established a record of lifting 44,350 pounds to a height of more than a mile. There has been speculation in the press that the appearance of MI–6 helicopters in North Vietnam was required because U.S. bombing raids made land routes so hazardous. These large helicopters are used for emergency movement of military cargoes and will be of prime importance to North Vietnamese operations. According to Senator Thurmond:

"The logistic problems of shipping these large helicopters are such that they have to be moved by sea transportation. Consequently, it is evident that the only means of introducing them to the Vietnam theater is

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through the North Vietnamese port of Haiphong. This serves as additional rationale for the closure of that port, which our leading military authorities have recommended time after time."

House Out of Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, it was with a feeling of disappointment and of "I told you so" that I read the following editorial which appeared in the October 26, 1967, New York Times entitled "House Out of Control." What really did the poor New York Times expect? And what do they expect from the Republican Party next year? It is time to stop, listen, and think.

The editorial follows:

HOUSE OUT OF CONTROL

What ever happened to the so-called new breed of responsible, constructive, modern-minded Republicans in the House? Representative Ford of Michigan, the minority leader, and his colleagues started off the year bravely enough, presenting their alternative proposals to those contained in the State of the Union message and assuring everyone that the obstructionist alliance with the Southern Democrats was a thing of the past.

In recent weeks, however, negativism and arid partisanship have prevailed. Responsible legislators in both parties know perfectly well that no budget can be reduced by picking a figure out of the air and arbitrarily asserting that total spending is to be cut by that amount. A budget is an expression of programs that Congress has already established. The only useful approach is to analyze those programs, one by one, and decide which of them can be reduced, postponed or eliminated.

Such decisions can be debated on their merits and in a factual framework. The same cannot be said for the rider which Republicans and Southern Democrats joined in attaching to the routine resolution extending the spending authority of those departments whose money bills have not yet been approved. It may sound good to say that the House has ordered the Administration to slash spending by $8 billion, but everyone who understands budgeting knows that this is just playing to the gallery.

If the resolution was demagogic, the adamant opposition among House Republicans to rent subsidies and model cities expresses a disquieting refusal to think through urban needs and to act upon them. The meager compromise patched up yesterday by House-Senate conferees will, if approved, permit these two programs to go limping forward, but it underscores the rural-and-suburban bias of most House Republicans, who are only too eager to turn their back upon the cities.

Not all of the irresponsibility is confined to the House or to the G.O.P. But the significant development in Congress is a House of Representatives out of control. In fleeful but shortsighted partisanship, most House Republicans have joined with the reactionary backwoodsmen among the Southern Democrats and are rampaging against any and all domestic programs. Before rushing any further in this direction, Representative Ford and other House Republican leaders need to remember their predecessors who followed that same dead-end street and met with repudiation from the voters.

Clean Air Authorities Agree It's Essential to the People's Health for California To Continue Pioneering in Auto Smog Air Pollution Control Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, with the 1967 Clean Air Act Amendments scheduled for consideration by the House next week, I believe many of my colleagues will be interested in the comments of four leading air pollution control authorities who have endorsed California's continued aggressive auto smog control program as the only way for our State to meet the unique and critical circumstances which have caused California to experience "the most severe photochemical air pollution problem in the world."

The comments follow:

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE, ASSEMBLY, COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE,
October 25, 1967.

Hon. EDWARD R. ROYBAL,
House of Representatives,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROYBAL: Remarks supporting the present version of Section 208 (b) of The Air Quality Act were read into the *Congressional Record* on October 11th by two Michigan Congressmen: Representatives John D. Dingell and James Harvey. I have taken this opportunity to respond to those remarks for I feel that the *present version of 208(b) reflects the interests of no one but the auto industry.*

In the enclosed transcript of a conference telephone call, I expressed my concern over vehicle air pollution to California medical, research and public health specialists. The persons to whom I addressed these questions are but three of a large number of air pollution specialists in California from whom such information could have been elicited. As you can see, they are unanimous in their agreement that California must retain the right to set vehicle air pollution standards.

I would hope that this information might be given distribution equal to that afforded the remarks of Congressmen Dingell and Harvey; however, it is for you to use in whatever manner you wish. Thank you for your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

JOHN FRANCIS FORAN.

Mr. Speaker, the following is an edited transcript of a conference telephone call made on October 24, 1967, between Hon. John Francis Foran, chairman of the California Assembly Committee on Transportation and Commerce; Joseph Boyle, M.D., president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association; Arthur A. Atkisson, Jr., executive director of the Institute of Urban Ecology of the University of Southern California; and John A. Maga, chief of the Bureau of Air Sanitation of the California Department of Public Health. Emphasis has been added at certain points by being italicized:

FORAN: First of all, I understand that *the Dingell version of 208B sets up the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare as the only person who can establish exhaust emission standards for California, whereas the Murphy version allows Californians to establish the standards they themselves determine that they need in order to regain the clear air that they need for healthy living.* As President of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, Dr. Boyle, why is it imperative that we Californians retain the right to set our own standards?

BOYLE. There are several reasons. First of all, the kinds of air pollution we have in Los Angeles County at the present time are somewhat unique to us although they do affect other metropolitan areas in the United States. We have had intensive efforts to control stationary sources of air pollutants for a number of years that have been moderately successful. *At the present time, our principal problems relate to the pollutants which are emitted from automobile exhaust.*

The principal problem we have here, again is in unburned hydrocarbons which then combine with sunlight to produce our photosynthetic smog. *We have good evidence in Los Angeles County that for a number of years we have had conditions in the atmosphere which could have produced the kind of health disasters that have occurred in other areas* such as in London and Donora and in New York City most recently. We also have good scientific evidence which demonstrates that for people who have chronic lung disease such as pulmonary emphysema, chronic bronchitis, asthma, pulmonary fibrosis that the air pollution in the Los Angeles area does lead to a very distinct deterioration in the condition of these individuals. We have seen a number of other people whose deaths we are quite certain have been precipitated by intervals of increased air pollution. We have seen patients in this area who have developed a primary form of lung disease which is somewhat comparable to that which is observed in the Tokyo-Yokahama area in which the constituents of air pollution produce a sensitivity type of bronchitis which then can lead ultimately to chronic obstructive pulmonary emphysema, pulmonary fibrosis and in many instances death due to this disease.

We have observed other changes in the lungs, such as forms of inflammation of the lung cells in the breathing sacs or air sacs which, when we examine them under the microscope, can be seen to be undistinguishable from cancer cells.

All of these effects that we have observed can be reversed by filtering the polluted air out of the atmosphere that the patient is breathing. *With these observations in front of us, we believe that unless there is some drastic action taken soon that this area in the future could become uninhabitable. We are faced with the proposition that we are almost daily now advising patients that from their health standpoint that it would be desirable that they do leave the Los Angeles area.*

FORAN. Thank you very much. Mr. Atkisson, you are currently the Director of the Institute for Urban Ecology at the University of Southern California. I understand you helped develop exhaust emission standards for the 1966 California cars. These are the same standards federal law requires on all 1968 cars. What is your opinion of those standards and the testing techniques upon which they are based?

ATKISSON. First, I think we have to go back a long time in history to the time when I was involved with the Air Pollution Control District in Los Angeles. . . . *We only imperfectly understood the dimensions of the photochemical smog problem. Our understandings as to the ways that it might grow and expand as a function of population increase were imperfect. It was against that backdrop that the first standards evolved which provide for a level of 275 parts per million in the exhaust stream of each vehicle. There are a couple of critical factors about this standard today.*

First of all, this standard is palpably in-

capable of solving and keeping solved the Los Angeles smog problem. The projection that we have made of vehicle population growth would suggest that by 1975, if we are to reduce vehicle exhaust emissions to about the level that existed in 1940, will require an exhaust emission standard of somewhere between 50 and 100 parts per million. Now this is just about a third of the level presently authorized in both the California and the new federal standard. So when the Secretary of HEW is given the standards fixing authority and we confront a situation where the standards that have been recommended and adopted by federal bodies are three times as high as we know will be required in Los Angeles within the next decade, then I think we face the situation that we ought to be apprehensive about.

The second point is that the standard itself is built on really the assumption that the Mississippi River and a leaky bathroom faucet are both the same because we are talking about a standard that expresses the amount of a pollutant per million parts of a moving exhaust stream. The simple fact is that larger, more expensive, more affluent American cars emit a great deal more exhaust volume to the atmoshere than do smaller vehicles. *Now if we were to convert this standard to the basis by which the atmosphere is really polluted, that is, the amount of pollution actually emitted from the tail pipe, per mile driven, per hour operated, or to some equivalent basis, we would have a real capability to build incentives into the market place, to alter the mix of vehicles that are now traveling the road. We would establish equality of treatment between motorists and we would probably move our program further down the pike more rapidly than the present program seems to be capable of moving us.*

And yet this disability has been built into the federal program and if there is value in altering the basis for the standards we will be unable to realize those values because the system has been frozen by the Secretary and by the Department in terms of the Dingell amendment.

FORAN. Mr. Atkisson, would there be any administrative problem between the state and federal authorities if California went ahead and developed more stringent standards?

ATKISSON. None that I can conceive of or none that cannot be solved. *The paramount problem we face is that it's a lot easier for the American automobile industry to build a vehicle that conforms to just one national standard than to try to produce a product which is safe for all environments.*

But the whole point of the program is that we must produce products that are safe in all of the environments in which they will be operated, and those environments are not the same, therefore the standards cannot be the same. For example, *Los Angeles has an average annual wind speed of about 6.2 miles per hour. Boston,* on the other hand, has an *average annual wind speed of* nearly double that amount, about *12.2 miles per hour*. What this number tells us is that a unit of pollution put into the air of Los Angeles will produce twice the effect of the same unit of pollution put into the air of Boston. To put it another way, two tons of hydrocarbon loss in Boston are worth one ton of hydrocarbon loss in Los Angeles. And *this means our standard has to be twice as restrictive as the standard in Boston. Now even if this did produce administrative inconveniences, it becomes a program necessity,* a criterion that we have to honor.

FORAN. Mr. Maga, you are Chief of the Bureau of Air Sanitation for the California Department of Public Health and have been working on the California air pollution problem for 15 years. What values do you think would be served by allowing California to continue in its pioneering work to rid our atmosphere of smog?

MAGA. *Basically, allowing California to continue its pioneering effort to clear our atmosphere of smog is the best way to insure that the needs of our State are met. Meeting these needs is essential for the health and welfare of the people of California.*

Research in California has shown that the severe photochemical air pollution problem is caused by emissions by a large number of automobiles and the unique meteorology and topography of many places in the State. *Now California has by far the most severe photochemical air pollution problem in the world.* To illustrate, the California standard for photochemical oxidant, this is an air quality standard, now is fifteen hundredths of a part per million of oxidant for one hour, and this represents an air pollution level where eye irritation, vegetation damage, and visibility impairment are first experienced. During the years 1964 and 1965, Pasadena and Azusa in Los Angeles County exceeded this standard for oxidant about 150 times per year in each of the two years. Most of the cities outside of California where oxidant is also measured continuously, the same standard was exceeded only four to eight days per year during '64 and '65. Denver is the city with the most frequent photochemical smog attacks outside of California. And here the standards were exceeded about 18 times per year in the two year period. So we can see that *the frequency of smog attacks in Los Angeles area, Pasadena and Azusa specifically, is from eight to twenty times that of the other cities outside of California.*

The motor vehicle pollution control program must be designed to reduce emissions to an acceptable level in the Los Angeles area to satisfy Californians. *Because the determining factor in the degree of control needed is the air quality in Los Angeles, studies on 1) the occurrence and effects of photochemical smog, 2) the degree of control required for emissions, and 3) the effects of control efforts on air quality must be conducted in the air of Los Angeles County.* Extensive data on all these items has been, and continues to be, obtained by agencies in California as part of their ongoing program. So these agencies using this data are in the best position to determine what's needed for California.

California was the first to recognize the photochemical air pollution problem. It was the first to establish air quality and motor vehicle emission standards, specifically directed at the motor vehicle created air pollution problem. It was the first to enact legislation for controlling motor vehicle emissions, the first to establish a program to control these sources, and the first to have control systems installed on cars. California has already added evaporative emission standards, standards for oxides of nitrogen, and has adopted more strict standards to be effective in 1970. And exhaust standards even more strict than those for 1970 will be needed in the future. Now these measures are needed in California and they are stringent measures. California should not be placed in the position of having to rely solely on the federal government for its needs. California has taken the initiative in solving its problem and it must be allowed to continue.

Most of the research that has been done on the photochemical air pollution problem has been done in California. This research was conducted by many groups, state and local agencies, universities, research institutions, industry and voluntary organizations. Most of the data on the occurrence in nature of photochemical air pollution is also from California. As a result of this extensive effort, California has broad experience in studying and dealing with the problem, in standards for air quality and motor vehicle emissions, and in the actual control of these emissions. *The solution to the photochemical air pollution problem requires all of the available capabilities, knowledge and experience, be directed to the problem. This would be done if California is permitted to continue to establish its own motor vehicle emission standards.*

No Man Lives Unto Himself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct honor for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues in Congress a splendid address by my good friend, Frank A. Nemec, president of Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., New Orleans, on the occasion of his receipt of the 1966 National Defense Transportation Award

Frank Nemec is a farsighted leader in the shipping industry of our country, who is doing a splendid job in directing the operations of a great shipping line. He is most deserving of this recognition by the Secretary of Defense in consultation with the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, based on nominees offered by the National Defense Transportation Association.

This important award, given annually for the past 18 years, is presented to the citizen of our country who has contributed most to defense transportation. Frank Nemec has been in the forefront of those shipping company executives who have provided insight, imagination and hard work to meeting the problems and the needs of our Nation for the most efficient transportation system for the United States.

In his address, delivered on October 6, 1967, Mr. Nemec sets forth, in an incisive manner, the problems of our maritime industry and the bright future which the industry has if we will only meet the challenges we face in a constructive, positive manner.

It is indeed a pleasure, Mr. Speaker, for me to commend Frank Nemec for his contributions to the advancement of our country and its defense, and to call to the attention of my colleagues this fine speech he made on the night he was honored with the 1966 National Defense Transportation Award. Mr. Nemec's address, entitled "No Man Lives Unto Himself," and a press announcement on the NDTA award, follow:

NO MAN LIVES UNTO HIMSELF

(By Frank A. Nemec)

I am privileged to have been selected to receive the National Transportation Award. Symbolically this award recognizes the great contributions of my fellow officers and associates in Lykes, and indeed of the American steamship industry, to the national defense.

Following in the steps of many distinguished predecessors, men whose names toll the bell of progress in transportation, I accept this award with humility and in a spirit of rededication to the many men and women of Lykes—both ashore and afloat—who have contributed so much to our national interest. Previous recipients have included distinguished engineers, administrators and business executives, famous inventors, chairmen of House and Senate committees, and a great university—men like Sikorsky, De Long, Douglas, Magnuson, Harris, Haughton and Trippe. Now this award is presented to me, and through me, to the people of Lykes—for no man lives unto himself.

Over the years, Lykes has served our nation both in the time of peace and in time of war—and in doing so—has created a great

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organization immersed in the principle of dedicated service to the commerce and defense of the United States.

During World War II and in the rehabilitation that followed, in Korea, and today in Southeast Asia—the ships and the men and women of Lykes have served their nation in time of need. Never has our country called that we have not answered in full measure—regardless of cost and private interest—for well we know the importance of sea-lift to the defense and to the economic and political interests of our nation.

Aside from significant carryings of military and economic aid in our regular operations, Lykes, today, has fourteen new self-sustaining ships under direct charter to the Navy—more new ships than all other private or public sources combined. This, then, is living evidence of our purposeful support of our common defense. We of Lykes, wear our service stripes openly and proudly—with apologies to no man. So long as our nation calls—so long shall we serve.

The winds of change are blowing on the sealanes of the world and, during the next two decades, our nation must earmark a larger proportion of our total economic resources to the support of an enlarged and revitalized merchant fleet.

Today, the United States, involved in an expanded military commitment in all of Southeast Asia and with war clouds overhanging other vital areas, must recognize that its maritime resources are strained to the breaking point. Despite massive use of airpower, ocean transportation moves more than 97% of all military cargo and almost 100% of vital economic supplies to Viet Nam and the rest of Southeast Asa. Even about 80% of all Air Force cargo for Viet Nam moves by sea.

The magnificent armada of merchant ships constructed to help win World War II—now more than twenty years of age—has reached the end of its useful life. In the relatively near-term future it will be increasingly difficult to find suitable ships and crews to carry necessary military cargoes without damage to our international trade and balance of payments.

A substantial enlargement of the present conflict or need for significant military intervention in some other area of the world would require mobilization in the military sea-lift of most of our vital cargoliner ships.

Let me illustrate this! During 1967–1968, military requirements of dry-cargo sea-lift to all areas of the world will aggregate about 30,000,000 tons, of which the private sector will provide about two-thirds.

But—and mark this well—neither the National Defense Reserve Fleet nor the Military Sea Transportation Service have much more sea-lift capability in reserve. The inactive NDRF consists of about 1,100 ships—of which only a handful are suitable for use in the present emergency.

As a practical matter, any significant enlargement of military sea-lift requirements during the balance of this year must be satisfied by the ready ships ships of the American Merchant Marine.

Yet—and this is often overlooked—we are not fighting a conventional war. In this new military-political-economic form of total warfare it is abundantly plain that cargoes necessary to support the civilian economy of the Republic of Viet Nam are as important to the overall requirements of the United States effort as direct military cargoes. These cargoes also require sea-lift.

A few years from now the situation will be even more critical. During the 1970's, our nation will be face to face with the unpleasant truth that it will be without the support of an effective United States merchant fleet even for limited wars such as the Korean or Viet Nam conflicts.

Looking into the '70's, the situation is frightful. With the exception of the subsidized cargoliner fleet, most segments of the American Merchant Marine will be obsolete. Specifically, the vast majority of the MSTS nucleus fleet, the National Defense Reserve Fleet, the so-called tramp or contract carriers, and most unsubsidized liner ships have limited remaining life. It is plain that in the future the United States defense establishment must become increasingly reliant upon the subsidized cargoliner segment of the United States Merchant Marine for sea-lift availability even in cases of limited emergency.

By 1971, our total ocean-going merchant marine, exclusive of the then all but worthless World War II ships, will consist only of about 400 ships—including 230 subsidized cargoliners and 130 tankships. In 1973, the number of useful ships will drop to about 350—with little improvement in sight untill after 1975.

I have called the five years—1971–1976—our years of crisis. American shipyards and component suppliers caught in the deluge of naval and maritime orders will be hard-pressed to make deliveries before 1972, at the earliest. It was for these reasons that in my appearance this year before the Senate Subcommittee on the Merchant Marine, I urged on behalf of the Committee of American Steamship Lines that for these five years of crisis, American shipowners be authorized to build ships abroad for registry under the American flag—without penalty or discrimination. But this is not to be. So it seems inevitable that in the endless patchwork of our nation's maritime policy, selected units of our antiquated and obsolete World War II fleet must be refurbished at great cost and expense—a costly sacrifice on the altar of self-interest and national folly.

As a nation, we seem to have forgotten that seapower is not a single element but a very complex structure—with built-in time delays—the essential elements of which must include:

1. A formidable naval fleet made up of surface, underwater and air units;

2. A naval auxiliary which, in time of need, must consist largely of merchant ships capable of maintaining adequate logistic support for our armed forces overseas; and

3. A merchant fleet of sufficient residual size to provide sea-lift for the essential sinews of war.

More than any other single factor, the future state and size of the merchant marine can limit our nation's ability to apply effectively the full measure of our military and economic strength as rapidly and as forcefully as may be required by future events. Herein lie the seeds of national disaster! We stand before the world—a military and economic goliath—with feet of clay!

Yet this need not be so. At a time when the Soviet Union is rapidly expanding its maritime capability, building ships both at home and abroad and in the process of expending large amounts of badly needed foreign exchange—our nation has fumbled with indecision.

The United States cannot long remain the greatest military power on earth with an over-age and inadequate maritime fleet. Cost effectiveness seems to have become a goal—rather than a tool; short-term expedients have been dignified as long-term policies; and as a consequence, our national security and a vital segment of our total economic strength are in jeopardy.

On the other hand, while the deplorable state of the U.S. Merchant Marine may lead to a national disaster, the Soviet Union is steaming full speed ahead with a program to become the world's leading maritime nation. Already, Russia, today, has more cargo ships in its active merchant fleet than the United States, though our overall tonnage is greater. Russia is building nearly 12 merchant ships to each of ours. Russia has contracted for or has under construction today 556 merchant ships totaling over 4.5 million deadweight tons compared with our 48 ships of 641,000 deadweight tons. It seems to me that the Russian Bear is not the land-loving brown bear, but rather the polar bear who thrives in an environment both cold and wet.

Yet, while our merchant marine programs have faltered, the subsidized common carrier companies have built ships to the limit of the available shipyard subsidies. As a consequence, today the United States has the finest cargoliner fleet on the high seas and the 155 new ships built or building are the envy of the entire world.

With heavy emphasis on construction and design which improve endurance and reliability, the speeds of these new ships, cargo-handling abilities, and crew conditions have been substantially improved. Their heavy-lift cargo gear, cargo-handling flexibility, features such as strengthened decks, quick-opening hatches and many other specialized capabilities make these ships the finest group of military auxiliaries in the entire world today—bar none.

Consider this one fact—today, the United States has in operation three times as many twenty-knot cargoliners as the rest of the world combined.

Presently, in the absence of full mobilization and because of our need to earn and conserve badly needed foreign exchange, many of these ships have been retained in their commercial trades—but they are ready and available to the defense establishment whenever required by our national interests. But—and mark this carefully—since 1957 the 155 new ships which the subsidized lines have built or now have building have released an equal number of C–2 and C–3 type ships—most of which are now serving in the Southeast Asia sea-lift. Without this shipbuilding program, which represents an expenditure of corporate funds aggregating more than $1 billion, the United States would be in dire straits today.

While this accomplishment is gratifying, the thirteen companies presently associated in the Committee of American Steamship Lines are on the verge of exciting technological breakthroughs of unprecedented magnitude.

New concepts—including containerships and lash type ships—will immeasurably strengthen our economic and military sea-lift capability. Also in the forefront of this shipping revolution is the Lykes Seabee Class of ships—which, I believe, are destined to become the finest military auxiliaries on the high seas.

Within the next few days, Lykes expects to open bids of domestic shipyards for the construction of three ships of the Seabee Class. With, I hope, some pardonable pride, I would like to outline some of the important features of this new class of ships.

These ships will be gigantic by any standards, measuring about 875 feet in length and 106 feet in beam.

With a cargo lift of about 20,000 tons, each ship will have a sea speed of more than 21 knots. To illustrate the immense size of this vessel, each of the 38 standard design barges which can be carried by this ship will be 97½ feet long and 35 feet wide. The clear deck space on the upper deck, for example, is the length of two football fields, 75 feet wide and free of any supporting stanchions.

I want to emphasize that more than simply being a new ship, the Lykes Seabee System is an entirely new method of transportation—one which is based on an entirely new method of handling shipboard cargo.

The principal novel cargo-handling features of the new Seabee include:

1. An extremely large stern elevator having total lift capacity in excess of 2,000 tons;

2. Special use of wheeled hydraulic transporters for moving barges or other cargo from the elevator into the decks of the ships; and

3. The wide-open decks which permit this cargo to be rolled into its final resting place rather than lifted and stowed.

Thus, in its simplest form, the Lykes elevator will move cargo, whether in barges, containers or otherwise, up to one of the three deck levels. The cargo-handling function will then be taken over by wheeled hydraulic transporters which will automatically carry and stow this cargo in predesignated places on one of the decks.

It is a system of magnificent simplicity and tremendous productivity. In its evolution, the Seabee has become the first completely intermodal carrier capable of carrying cargo, barges, containers, vehicles or unitized cargo with equal facility.

Among its other major innovations in commercial practice, the Seabees include:

1. The largest single power plant in a cargo ship—36,000 SHP;
2. The use of a new-type fluidic bow thruster; and
3. Contra-rotating propellers to improve efficiency and speed.

Apart from its commercial capabilities, we believe this new concept can render unlimited service to the military forces of the United States in time of national emergency or war.

For example, in military employment it can serve as a fast-deployment resupply ship. Military cargo, pre-loaded in watertight barges, can be stored in forward locations in a ready state. The complete ship loading cycle of 38 barges will take about eight hours. Discharge in any suitable port, bay or estuary on a hostile shore will also take about eight hours. Relatively cheap barges rather than expensive ships will be pre-loaded with military cargo. They can provide completely protected storage facilities under direct military control.

Military barges can be tailored for special needs or purposes, and may be self-propelled or pushed by "seamules," designed for self-unloading through ramps or otherwise, and provide warehousing facilities pending movement to forward areas—whether by helicopter or otherwise—without tying up costly vessels.

Entire interdiction and coastal attack fleets can be carried as self-sustaining flotillas. The upper open deck can carry a variety of special purpose or fighting ships, including tugs for the barges. The two barge decks can carry specially-equipped barge ships to serve as command posts and dormitories, ammo-carriers, hospital types, communication centers, and fuel depots. The large tankage capacity of each Seabee can be fitted to carry 15,000 tons of petroleum or other liquids which can be pumped into rubber or plastic storage facilities, other ships, barges or other storage capacity, thereby providing needed fuel for the flotilla or strike force.

As a roll-on/roll-off ship, five Lykes Seabees can comfortably carry all of the 5,000 vehicles of the present armored brigade force—plus 75,000 tons of fuel.

Because of the flexibility and shelter provided by the elevator and stern access, vehicles can be off-loaded under primitive conditions with less hazard and at greater speed than any other roll-on/roll-off ship of which we have knowledge.

Helicopters, VTOL'S or other aircraft can be carried on all three desks and flown off the elevator.

For these and other reasons, we believe the cost effectiveness and adaptability of the Lykes Seabee Class provide the Navy and Defense departments with the opportunity to develop compatible weapon and transport systems of unlimited scope and flexibility.

These new types of invaluable military auxiliaries can, and in the future must, be made available to the armed forces. Even assuming that in future limited war our national interest requires continued commercial cargoliner services, the newest, the finest and the most useful of these ships can be turned to military service almost instantly, provided the Defense Department joins in implementing the so-called respond program which C.A.S.L. developed and presented to the Navy and Defense departments this year. This proposal, now under active study, can make sea-lift capability available to the military on a pre-programmed basis.

In the sweeping change toward specialization—only the dry cargo common carriers will be able to provide our military forces with self-sustaining sea-lift. Large bulk carriers—while necessary for supporting basic industry—are not suitable as military auxiliaries. Let me make this perfectly plain—the military establishment will have increased need of the common carrier cargoliners in the near future—and Lykes and the other C.A.S.L. lines will cooperate completely with the national interest. But, we are entitled to and must have assurance of increased recognition by the Department of Defense of the long-term importance of the United States common carrier cargoliner fleet, coupled with constructive changes in the handling of military sea-lift cargo.

Military and other government cargo should be regarded as seed cargo—and used as such to maintain and expand common carrier service. By providing equitable incentives in the allocation of this cargo—at fair and reasonable rates—we can expand our total maritime capability—and thus our national strength.

At last our decades of neglect seem at an end—and a modest beginning is to be made in rebuilding our merchant fleet. Even as I stand here, the White House is putting the final embellishments on a new maritime policy and soon will submit it to the Congress. While it will not fully meet the problems of our years of crisis during the early 1970's, it will represent the reawakening of our maritime ambitions as a nation. Among the most significant features of this new policy will be the willingness of this administration to commit over the next five years, the expenditure of more than $1¼ billions for shipyard subsidies on new construction. This will permit construction of between 120 and 165 new ships—depending on types.

On the brighter side—we have led the world in technological innovation on the sealanes of the world—and will continue to do so. To note but a few—the supertanker, the containerships, the lash types, and now the completely intermodal Seabee carriers are products of American inventiveness and ingenuity. These sweeping changes create new vistas of progress and service to the commerce and defense of the United States. All this is but a beginning—the oncoming rush of the complete through-put system of transportation, whether by unit loads, containers or barges, will offer new tools to business management and help make American industry more competitive in world markets.

Much more will be demanded of all. There must be improved communication and cooperation with shippers and shipowner, with other modes of transportation and carriers, and with the Navy and Department of Defense.

These are exciting new days, with new forms and new free flows in transportation.

Awareness, communication and cooperation—these must be the maritime watch words of the future—for no man lives unto himself.

He who lingers is lost. Our nation has no choice—we must secure the seas for our defense and our commerce—and our new maritime policy is essential to both.

LYKES LINES NEWS RELEASE

Frank A. Nemec, President of Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Inc., has been selected to receive the coveted National Transportation Award for 1966, presented annually by the National Defense Transportation Association in recognition of innovations made in the transportation field for contributions or encouragement to programs of transportation research and development.

The final selection of Mr. Nemec was made by Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, upon the recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Initially presented in 1949, the silver trophy that Mr. Nemec will receive symbolizes the far-reaching influence of transportation technology on national affairs. The trophy is engraved with the names of sixteen men and one educational institution that have contributed a wide range of services to the transportation industry as a whole, to the economy of the nation and to the defense of the free world.

Mr. Nemec's nomination was based on the fact that for two decades he has, in various capacities, furnished aggressive and able leadership to the American Merchant Marine. He has helped develop substantial new technological areas and initiated revolutionary innovations; thereby, helping to create a modern, efficient sealift necessary for the national defense in support of the military establishment.

In 1960, Mr. Nemec was elected Louisiana Maritime Man of the Year in recognition of his efforts in initiating and promoting the ship replacement program of the American Merchant Marine and Lykes.

Mr. Nemec is currently serving as General Chairman of the Committee of American Steamship Lines. As the head of CASL he has assisted Secretary of Transportation Boyd and others in the national administration to evolve a practical national program for revitalization of the American Merchant Marine.

The conception, design and development of the Lykes Seabee Class of vessels has rested largely with Mr. Nemec. This design was the first version of an ocean-going barge carrier ever seriously explored by a merchant shipping company. The ship will be the largest cargoliner ever constructed in the world, and represents a major breakthrough in ocean shipping that will provide the United States defense establishment with the most valuable military auxiliary available to any nation.

This is the second time in recent years that a New Orleans nominee has been selected to receive the award. In 1963 Tulane University was honored for its Institute on Transportation and Port Operations and for its contribution to the stimulation of ideas and discussions of all phases of foreign and domestic trade operations. Tulane is the only educational institution ever to receive the award.

Recent recipients of the award include, Senator Warren G. Magnuson, 1961; Hon. Oren Harris, U.S. Congressman from Arkansas, 1962; Tulane University, 1963; Daniel J. Haughton, President of the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., 1964, and Juan T. Trippe, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Pan American World Airways, 1965.

The official presentation will be made at the National Defense Transportation Association's annual meeting in Los Angeles, in October.

David N. Myers Wins Cleveland United Appeal Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland United Appeal last Tuesday gave its distinguished service award to David N. Myers, president of the Jewish Community Federation.

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Under leave obtained, I insert in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Cleveland Press on October 23, which reads as follows:

Myers, who is president of the Byerlyte Corp., was presented the award at a Mid-Day Club meeting of United Appeal volunteers in recognition of numerous civic accomplishments.

Specially cited were his leadership and financial support in behalf of the Jewish Orthodox Home for the Aged. He was president of the home-sponsoring organization for seven years and assisted in the creation of its new $5,000,000 building.

The citation said, "He has shown a humanitarian concern for continued progress toward the well-being of this community's people."

Myers has been a trustee of the Jewish Community Federation for 19 years and has served as treasurer of Mt. Sinai Hospital and the Cleveland Mental Health Assn.

In July, he was given the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award by the Israel Bond Organization of which he was a founder in Cleveland.

Navy Day Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, in honor of the outstanding services rendered by our men and women of the U.S. Navy, I would like to insert the following Navy Day message from Rear Adm. G. M. Davis, commanding officer, National Naval Medical Center. I am proud that the world renowned naval medical institution is located in my congressional district.

The message follows:

NAVY DAY MESSAGE FROM THE COMMANDING OFFICER

Friday, October 27th, marks the observance of Navy Day 1967. It is on this day that we recognize and commend the men and women of the U.S. Navy for their tireless efforts and devotion to duty throughout the year.

Today's Navymen are, in some ways, very different from their predecessors of 100 years ago. They are highly specialized individuals serving in many different fields. Yet, their devotion to duty, loyalty, and dedication to the Nation and the Navy has not changed but has been proven over and over again.

In today's Navy there are almost unlimited opportunities and challenges for the young men and women of our Nation. In accepting them, by becoming members of the Navy Team, they have gained the respect of their Nation and the confidence of its people. By willingly accepting assignments at shore stations, at sea, under the sea, with combat units in Southeast Asia and performing duties ranging from actual combat to that of research and training. Navymen—1967 have again proven that they can master the challenges of the greatest Navy in the world.

Valor among Navymen has become a tradition. This is especially true of our Hospital Corpsmen serving with combat units in South Viet Nam. Performance far above the call of duty also exists here at Bethesda—in the care of patients, in research, in training, and in the local community. The theme "U.S. Navy—Mark of a Man" has again been well earned.

G. M. DAVIS
Rear Adm., Medical Corps, U.S. Navy, Commanding Officer, National Naval Medical Center.

Right and Responsibility of Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, under the guise of freedom to dissent, somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000 demonstrators brought shame and dishonor to our Nation in Washington, D.C., last week.

A mass migration of beatniks, hippies, black nationalists, professional agitators, and naive students attempted to close down the Pentagon, which is the nerve center of the military defense of this Nation.

They came here from all parts of the country, by car, by bus, by train, and by plane. A legitimate question "Who paid for their transportation?"

The right to dissent is guaranteed by our Constitution. It is fundamental to maintain liberty and freedom. However, coupled with this "right" of dissent is a corresponding "responsibility."

Last Sunday night I went to the Pentagon to see the protest activities "firsthand." What I found was a mixture of misguided humanity. This conclusion was not drawn solely by their physical appearance.

The night was cold and bonfires were burning on the steps and grounds of the fortified building. Not only were these fires used for warmth but for the burning of draft cards and dollar bills. There were numerous protesters seated and sprawled on the steps of the Pentagon. Circling this group were U.S. soldiers and Federal marshals. Floating up from this gruesome sea of humanity was the scent of drugs.

Within this motley group was a large portable loud speaker. The protesters would take turns speaking—their remarks were unbelievable. The so-called free speech was salted with vulgarity directed toward the troops. Anti-American phrases advocating violent revolution were common. Filthy signs were displayed while others exercised their "dissent" by painting obscene remarks and figures on the walls of the Pentagon.

The restraint shown by the military and the Federal marshalls to the taunts and the face-to-face confrontation with the demonstrators was remarkable. They swallowed humiliation and never once lost their composure.

As I mingled amongst the dissenters I have never seen such a group of confused, selfish and malicious young people. They were a real dedicated bunch of draft dodgers.

After leaving this disgusting scene I talked to bushy-haired Jerry Rubin, a codirector for the march and Peking-oriented leader of the Progressive Labor Party. Rubin, who has been active in violent protest demonstrations throughout the country, told me that a "revolution has begun and no power can stop it."

I witnessed the military warn the protestors that the agreed time for the march to end had arrived. The protestors, who had previously agreed to the terms of the march, refused to leave. It was necessary to carry them bodily from the steps to awaiting police vans to be arrested.

The entire group represented a real waste of humanity—young derelicts with no purpose or direction—a ship without a rudder.

While we as a free people, and as a government, will continue to jealously guard and protect the right of every American to dissent—the fact remains that these misled young followers have provided incriminating propaganda to Communist countries. Their demonstrations are not patriotic, nor do they provide the morale needed in Vietnam. Instead it is aiding and abetting the enemy. Make no mistake how the Communists will interpret this demonstration. They see it as a weakening of America's attitude toward the war.

It behooves us as citizens of our country to act immediately to correct a condition that may very well give seed to our own destruction as a free country.

The financial cost of handling this pro-Vietcong rally held last week was estimated at over $1 million. This does not include the value of the large amount of planning and staff time by the Government that went into preparing for the 2-day demonstration, nor does it include the cost, estimated at $350,000, of the military man-days of the Federal troops that defended the Pentagon.

The cost of this demonstration to our Nation's security is indeterminable.

Appendix

Land and the Production of Forest Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the Public Land Law Review Commission, which was established by the Congress to bring better order into the public land use policies of the Nation, and of which I have the honor to serve as chairman, recently conducted another series of field studies in pursuance of its work.

A memorable event in our meetings was a Governor's luncheon in Seattle, Wash. It was attended by many leaders in resource management, industry, and and public representatives. The main speaker at the luncheon was Mr. Gene C. Brewer, of New York, who is chairman of the board of the National Forest Products Association and president of U.S. Plywood-Champion Papers, Inc.

Mr. Brewer thoughtfully, and eloquently, described some of the very real problems regarding land use confronting our important forest industries. His statement was most helpful to the members of our commission who were in attendance.

Because of the importance of what he said, I would like to call the attention of the Members of this House to his speech. I feel it will be most helpful to their thinking about this complex subject.

I would like, therefore, to insert his address in the RECORD.

LAND AND DEMAND; TODAY'S RESOURCE CHALLENGE

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a pleasure for me to be with you here today, not only for the honor this occasion brings me. I grew up in the Pacific Northwest, and my first job in the forest products industry was right here in Seattle.

This gives us much in common and gives me a feeling of being back home.

The forest industry is very much a part of Seattle's history. This city was literally carved out of the forest, and the manufacture of products from the forest is one of the important industries in this region.

Naturally when the average citizen thinks of the forest industry, he thinks of trees. But the march of events and the deep-lying changes that are sweeping the nation in our time suggests to me that we should be thinking of something more basic than the trees—for we should be concerned about the land on which they grow and the demands that are being made upon that land.

It is this latter with which the Public Land Law Review Commission is so intelligently concerned, and it is about this that I would like to share some thoughts with you today. And I am going to wear two hats—speaking to you not only as a representative of the forest products industry but also as a private citizen concerned with the administrative procedures and policies that may develop as a result of your far-reaching investigations and deliberations.

AN ENLIGHTENED LAND USE POLICY

The need for a more enlightened public land policy has become vital and is pressing heavily upon us. This is at the heart of the Commission's studies, and it is something that deeply affects everyone—city dweller or no—not merely my own industry or other resource-based industries.

The elements of all life derive from the land, and it is our dependence upon and proper use of the land which will determine whether our nation will long survive. In the United States, we, more than most other peoples, have been blessed with vast and fertile lands. They have been bountiful in yielding foods and fuels, clothing and shelter, minerals and mountainous harvests of all the things our people have required.

The land of America has been good to us—and many Americans have accepted the bounty and beauty of the land without recognizing the burdens we impose on it.

In making thoughtless demands upon the land, many have failed to assign a scale of values to those benefits they expect from it. Most of us have inadequately understood the obvious fact that, among the riches of a prosperous nation, only its land base is fixed.

Let me emphasize at this point—the very solutions we are attempting to reach must not be politically motivated. It is not a political problem—and therefore it cannot have a political solution.

RELATIVE VALUES MUST BE CONSIDERED

This being true, we must then consciously adopt a national philosophy of relative values which will enable us to use our available land base wisely and well. The problem arises because we live in a time of mushrooming populations; the automobile has made our families the most mobile in the world, and we seek outdoor recreation and scenic vistas; we must provide for modern transportation's insatiable appetite for super highways, airfields and parking lots; our affluent society demands great land-gobbling shopping centers; the evolution of the megalopolis threatens to engulf urban dwellers in an unending sea of asphalt, steel and brick—sometimes called the "asphalt jungle"; widely spread housing developments consume thousands of acres of some of our best agricultural lands each year.

The huge agricultural surpluses we were faced with a few short years ago have been generously contributed to famine-ridden nations in all corners of the world, and the need becomes more critical with each passing year.

The urgent need for many of us to escape to the fresh air, sparkling waters, and the stillness of the out-of-doors imposes heretofore undreamed of pressures for parks, lakes, seashores, forests and the soul-satisfying wonders of the wilderness.

ONLY SO MUCH LAND

But there is only so much land to go around. If we set productive land aside for special purposes to the exclusion of economic production of necessary materials, then we have chopped away at a limited land base, a resource that permits us to turn out products required by a society with a high standard of living. We have also chopped away at jobs and economic stability, taxes, and the public serivces they pay for.

Let me direct your attention to a tremendously significant change that has occurred in public policy in this country. A century and a half ago, the population was concentrated along the eastern seaboard. Then before and following the Civil War came the great western migration encouraged by such federal action as the Homestead Act, railroad land grants, and a number of similar laws.

Private capital was encouraged to invest in these opportunities.

A CHANGE IN POLICY

But shortly before the turn of the century, public land use policy began to change. Forest reserves were created, later to become national forests. Railroad lands were revested, and national parks, monuments, grazing districts, wildlife reserves, power and water reservations and mineral reserves were set aside from private entry.

Then, to complete the reversal, an active program of land acquisition began to put private lands back into government ownership. This acquisition program was justified on the grounds of insuring future supplies of natural resources, to protect the headwaters of navigable streams, to preserve natural wonders, to provide recreation and outdoor space for a variety of other uses.

A DIFFERENT PICTURE TODAY

But times have changed, and it is now reasonable to question the laws which led to the disposal and, later, the acquisition of public lands. This, of course is the main thrust of the investigation being conducted by the Public Land Law Review Commission. However, I would respectfully suggest that the Commission, while recognizing the possibility of continued need for public acquisition of private property, also recognize the necessity for evaluating present public land ownership, with an eye to disposing today of those lands that can contribute significantly to our future economic wealth. Scientific and technological breakthroughs of the past several decades have placed a different set of values on our land area, offering improved utilization and productivity.

Certainly the economics of the forest products industry have changed for the simple reason there are no longer timber frontiers as we once knew them. The once-migrant character of the lumber industry has now been stabilized by investment of hundreds of millions of dollars in tree farms and permanent manufacturing facilities with increasingly remarkable diversification. The evolution of the Tree Farm Program, since its inception in 1941, is an outstanding success story. More than 70 million acres of privately-owned tax-paying forest lands in the 48 continental United States are dedicated to growing perpetual crops of trees, as well as providing the aesthetic enjoyment demanded by all of us. We have developed the applied science of forest management, and the general quality of management on our lands is second to none in the world.

PROGRAMS, STABILITY, INVESTMENTS

Our intensive forestry programs have developed genetically superior trees, fertilization methods, intermediate harvests and other improvements over and beyond the natural productivity of the land.

These programs provide a measure of raw material stability, permitting the additional investment of risk capital in plants, research and development, and marketing activities. With this investment comes additional jobs, personal income—economic stability—par-

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ticularly in rural areas and small communities.

Today I think it's reasonable to ask if as much can be said for the lands in public ownership.

Lest you wonder how this might affect you, let me remind you that presently the federal government owns a huge land empire—34 per cent of the nation's total land area and 64 per cent of all lands west of the Rock Mountains, and plans are afoot to acquire still more.

Here in the state of Washington, for instance, exhaustive studies have been made of the North Cascades, delineating a possible National Park, as well as establishing definite boundaries for wilderness and primitive areas. Reclassification of the nearly two million acres represented must take into consideration the present and future economic impact on the communities involved, as well as the stated purpose to protect specific scenic and aesthetic areas of interest.

SPEAKING OF GAPS

It is stylish to speak of gaps—the technology gap—the generation gap—credibility gaps—and so forth. Might we also be facing an investment gap in resource development? When the national forests were created, the stated purpose was to insure a future supply of timber to meet the nation's wood requirements. Yet the very policies established by the public agencies charged with the sale of public timber inhibits the investment of venture capital.

Most public timber sales are of such small volume that private operators cannot realistically anticipated an economic return over the long haul—planning for the short term only does not encourage long-term investemnt. Only through the most intensive management of our public forests can we hope to meet the increased demands for forest products tomorrow. Converting today's stagnant overmature timber stands to the growing of timber crops for tomorrow will not only stabilize our raw material requirements but will also expand the other compatible uses these same forests provide—recreation, watershed protection and wildlife habitat.

PRESSURES ARE GROWING

The organized pressure for land for recreation and other outdoor use purposes is intense and growing. In the past few years there has been a flood of proposals for new national parks, new wildlife areas, new wilderness set-asides, water development and drainage projects, and other purposes. Today we have "demands" for the North Cascades National Park, a Redwood National Park and, within the last month or so, an Adirondack National Park.

The Forest Service contemplates acquiring four million acres, mostly in the East and South. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation has ambitious programs. Private groups and organizations are beating the drums for favorite projects.

All of these things cut deeply into our limited land resources because the majority of the "demands" are aimed at taking out of timber production lands that could compatibly serve a variety of uses. Surprisingly enough, for a country as vast as ours, we are beginning to run out of land we need to grow and harvest trees and land necessary for the production of goods and services other than timber.

OTHER INDUSTRIES ARE AFFECTED

The electric utility industry is caught in this same squeeze, particularly in densely populated areas. This industry, which has created its present capacity over the past 75 years, must now suddenly double its capacity over the next ten years or so.

To do this it must build hundreds of new generating plants and thousands of miles of high voltage transmission lines. This takes land.

Yet non-hydrogenerating plants must be located with access to the cooling waters of large streams, lakes or the sea. This usually places their generators on prime lands adjacent to these waters—the very lands which are also in demand for recreation or aesthetic purposes. Their transmission lines must cross other land which recreationists want to reserve for their particular use.

Likewise the ever-growing enormous consumption of paper and paper products has put pressure on the pulp and paper industry for vast jumps in production. Yet how is this to be done if forest areas are set aside for non-manufacturing recreational use?

SOME OMINOUS BY-PRODUCTS

There are other ominous by-products of this situation. Today we are witnessing two significant social phenomena—the decay of the central core of our cities with their "ghettos" and the migration away from rural communities and small towns to the cities.

This trend must be reversed. Historically the downfall of Western civilizations began with the moral and physical decay of its major cities—a cancerous growth that snuffed out such promising societies as Greece and Rome. This is a very real social responsibility that all of us must be concerned about. And I'm confident our forest industries, properly positioned, can contribute meaningful solutions to these problems by maintaining a broad economic base, providing diverse job opportunities, utilizing to the fullest our available raw material resources, as well as providing the leisure time enjoyment we all demand.

As you know, the typical forest-oriented community is rural in character—and small in size.

Yet if we continue to maintain a national land use policy that constantly reduces the resource base, the forest-supported rural economy collapses; people lose their jobs; schools are closed; and there is nowhere for these people to go except to the cities where they compound these already difficult urban problems.

CONTRADICTORY IN POLICIES

We are being more than a little contradictory in our policies when on the one hand we launch vast expensive programs to cure urban ills and rural poverty and, on the other, follow with more enthusiasm than common sense programs which inevitably send more people pouring into the cities to make bad conditions even worse.

While it is hard to show that federal land practices specifically create such problems except in a general way, I think we might ask if the federally owned lands might contribute more to their solution. Can these lands be used to create new investment opportunities to replace those lost to changing technology as, for instance, in agriculture or in the forest industry? I think it's worthy of examination. If they can, they would certainly ease the mounting pressure on urban areas.

Suppose there were a reduction in the barriers which federal land ownership and administration practice place before investment. Would new investment be forthcoming? I think so. Consider, for example, the investment being made by the forest industry in the South where federal land ownership is too insignificant to pose a barrier. The availability of land for private purchase or lease to back plant expenditures must not be discounted as a reason for the resurgence of the forest products industry in the South.

NO "EITHER-OR" PHILOSOPHY

So we get back to the ever-increasing need for a new, enlightened land-use policy for the nation, the subject of the Commission's far-flung work. We can't have, when it comes to land use, an "either-or" philosophy; "either recreation and other public outdoor use" or "economic production" and still have a viable economy and a strong nation. We've got to work out our way to some kind of compatible-use policy with wise limitations on the amount of land dedicated to exclusive use.

Perhaps more private forest lands could be opened to some kind of public use in spite of the many barriers and sound legal reasons why this is hazardous. Possibly federally-owned lands, too, could be better developed for recreation and compatible use than they are today.

THE RECREATION COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

Regarding the use of private land in our nation's recreational needs, you will recall that the Outdoor Recreational Resources Review Commission considered the role of the private sector and found that it was not practical to look to the government sector alone. That Commission's recommendations on encouraging private land owners to carry a larger share of the recreational load have been passed over lightly while government officials concentrate on expanding federal holdings.

I'm sure the ORRRC believed that the private sector also offered a fruitful way of providing outdoor opportunities for the general public rather than the single approach of government acquisition and removing federal lands from multiple use with resultant damage to dependent industries and dependent industries and dependent communities.

AN EXISTENCE AT STAKE

We in the forest industries are particularly sensitive to these considerations. We are doing research on the matter and will suggest action in the very near future. Whole rural communities and, to an important extent, this very region stake their existence on the eternal wonderment of forest regeneration; important industrial complexes worth hundreds of millions of dollars depend upon continuing growth of the bounty from the land; the entire nation requires the thousands of products we are able to derive from the tree. I am continually reminded that the forest products industry creates beauty in the trees it plants as well as beauty and utility in the products it manufactures.

We, among all the manufacturing industries in the nation, have it within our power to assure a perpetual raw material base by growing trees and harvesting them in the endless cycle of wise use of that miracle—wood fibre. The secrets of these very wood fibres are being unlocked to guarantee that human needs will not outstrip nature's ability to provide for man.

So it can be for all future generations—with proper planning.

So it is the land that literally lies at the roots of man's partnership with the forest-growing cycle. And it is the diminishing base of forest land that demands our nation's earnest concern.

URGENT QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

As the sprawling cities, the broad avenues of transportation, the reservoirs, the parks and wilderness areas, the seashores and the scenic monuments encroach on available productive land base, without an enlightened national land-use plan, we must consider these urgent questions:

1. Will our remaining agricultural land base be sufficient to feed our population and provide some relief to others in the world who already face starvation?

2. Will our rural population, already diminishing because of limited economic opportunity, continue further to aggravate the problems of our teeming cities as people turn in desperation to urban centers as the only source of jobs and welfare?

3. Will the reduction in lands available for commercial forestry, grazing, mining and other income-producing activities impose upon our people the necessity to lower their standard of living as demand exceeds supply and prices of land-based products become prohibitive?

4. Will the inability of land-based industries to absorb an appropriate number of our work force impose additional tax and welfare burdens upon the entire population?

These questions, I assure you, are not asked rhetorically. They are seriously posed.

EXAMINATION AND DISCUSSION

What we need is responsible examination and discussion of the burden all Americans must share in evolving a community of understanding among all elements of government, industry, and our whole society, which will lead to conscious evaluation of our national land mass and its most beneficial uses. The Public Land Law Review Commission is working on the basic problem, but we cannot close our eyes and merely turn the problem over to the Commission to solve.

We must all get in on the thinking—businessmen, the public, industry, scholars, organizations and institutions, Members of the Congress, and the public at large. We need public debate, public examination, public discussion, as evidenced by the Commission hearings.

If we, as a nation, fail to identify our essential and nonessential land uses and assign them on a scale of national interest without regard to our individual preferences or our individual sociological, economic, recreational or spiritual ambitions, we will have failed indeed.

INDUSTRY CONSCIOUS OF RESPONSIBILITY

My industry is concerned with natural resources. We are deeply conscious of the responsibility we have for husbanding the forest resource in our keeping. It is unfortunate there are still individuals and organizations who persist in identifying us as "despoilers," "cut out and get out artists" and epithets much worse. They know, as we know, that it just isn't true.

We do recognize that the land itself is the priceless natural resource because it can never be enlarged.

Let us no longer withhold ourselves but have the will to face squarely the needs of all our people if we are to live and prosper in this land.

I hope that, as a people, we are big enough to face the complicated facts, work with them, settle our differences, and come up with sensible answers to a grave and difficult problem I sincerely believe that we can.

Nonalinement and Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the hypocritical policy being followed by two self-styled neutralists, Yugoslavia and India, was the subject of a very thoughtful, timely, and penetrating commentary in the October 28 edition of The Christian Science Monitor." The article follows:

NONALIGNMENT AND POWER

The increasing difficulty felt by the so-called "nonaligned" nations in making their views effective was sharply underlined during the recent visit of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Yugoslavia. Not only did the visit fail to arouse much interest outside Yugoslavia itself, but the welcoming speech by Yugoslavia's President Tito revealed little new in nonaligned thinking. The main burden of his address was that:

India and Yugoslavia saw eye to eye on favoring the Arabs in the Middle East.

The United States was the villain in Vietnam.

Nonalignment furnished the greatest possibility for activating such world forces as are dedicated to peace and progress.

There was, of course, no mention of the fact that the common Indian-Yugoslav policy on the Mideast had been a total failure, that the reference to America in Vietnam was a tired, overworked cliché, and that nonalignment had steadily paid fewer and fewer dividends during the past half-decade.

We do not relish the fact that the nonaligned world is less and less able to influence the course of events. We see great need for such lands to play a more decisive and constructive role in the settlement of world problems. The economically advanced nations too often fail to understand the needs and the outlook of their poorer neighbors. The American and Russian superpowers are too frequently lost in their own vast commitments. The voice of what is sometimes called The Third World is urgently needed in international councils.

This is not likely to come about, however, until the nonaligned bloc, either individually or collectively, comes up with new, fresh ideas capable of leading to positive solutions. Unhappily, remarks such as those made by President Tito on the Middle East and Vietnam can only hasten the erosion of nonaligned influence on the world's great centers of power.

Whenever the nonaligned appear to be playing the game of one side or another (as India and Yugoslavia appeared to be playing Russia's game on the Middle East last summer) they run the risk of ending up with less rather than more influence. Only a balanced and constructive neutrality will permit nonaligned nations to play the part in world decisions which we hope they will play.

The Historic Potomac: G.W.U. Archeologists Explore Heater's Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken many times of the vast and varied attractions of the Potomac Basin, including its tremendous historical resources. A very interesting article in this morning's Washington Post outlines the experiences of members of the George Washington University Archeology Club as they began to investigate the traces left by the Piscataway Indians 260 years ago on Heater's Island, in the Potomac 40 miles upstream from Washington. To me, these students' probing of the past is one more example of the kind of opportunity which the Potomac Basin offers, and one more reason for beginning right now to protect this great river's rich assets and make them more available to all.

I would like to bring the Post article, by Mr. Willard Clopton, Jr., to the attention of the Congress, and include it in the RECORD at this point:

EVIL SPIRITS BEDEVIL TRIP TO ISLAND: GW CLUB EXPLORES OLD INDIAN VILLAGE

(By Willard Clopton Jr.)

The Piscataway Indians will never know how much grief they caused the George Washington University Archeology Club.

The tribe has been virtually extinct since 1793, but some evil spirits hung around to bedevil the collegians, whose expedition Saturday to Heater's Island, 40 miles up the Potomac River, was heap full of woe.

The Piscataways were the people who dominated southern Maryland and much of Virginia's Tidewater region at the time Capt. John Smith visited them in 1608.

They then numbered at least 3000. Their largest village, called "Moyaone" by Smith, was across the Potomac from Mount Vernon. The next biggest was Nacostan on the site of what is now Washington's Anacostia section, which took its name from the Indian word.

MIGRATED IN 1698

Harassed by white settlers and other Indian tribes the Piscataways were reduced to a few hundred members in 1698, the year they migrated to Heater's Island.

About 15 of the University's student archeologists, led by Jack Snyder, the Club's vice president, and Robert L. Humphrey, an assistant professor of anthropology, drove out Saturday to scour the island for any traces of the Piscataway's 24-year stay. (They moved to Bainbridge, Pa., in 1722, joined in an Indian conference in Detroit in 1793, and thereupon vanished from history.)

The GW group's first mishap occurred after they boarded the creaky barge that carried them across 150 yards of water to the mile-long, droplet-shaped island.

Several students began propelling the craft by pushing long wooden poles against the river bottom. But unusually high and swift waters created a strong current that stalled the barge in mid-crossing. Only the fact that it was attached to an overwater steel cable kept the barge from being swept downstream.

STRENUOUS WORK

Strenuous work by the pole-wielders and a half-dozen students who paddled vigorously with their field shovels, got them across—after an hour and 45 minutes.

Two students who missed the barge tried crossing in a small motorboat. As it came alongside the barge, the small craft capsized. The two were rescued, but one got soaked and their bagged lunches floated off in the direction of Great Falls.

Once on the island, the group made a long trudge to the Indian village site, and did some exploratory digging.

The return barge crossing, in the late afternoon, was made safely. But shortly after Snyder started his car to take five other students back to the campus, he drove over a large rock and ruptured his gas tank. The six found other rides, but the car wound up in a Leesburg repair shop.

TRIP WORTHWHILE

"I think the place must be cursed," Snyder said afterward.

In spite of all the setbacks, the trip was worthwhile.

During their several hours on the island, the students got more familiar with the tools and techniques of archeology. They dug several test pits—spare holes four feet across and more than a foot deep—and sifted through the dirt for artifacts. They found several.

There were shards of Indian pottery and fragments of white clay pipes that used to be mass-produced in Europe and swapped to the Indians by the colonists. "Those pipes were extremely common then," Snyder said. "They were the transistor radios of their day."

"PROJECTILE POINTS"

Also turned up were a number of flat, pointed bits of rock that archeologists call "projectile points."

"We don't use the word 'arrowhead'," Snyder explained. "It's an amateur's term. After all, these points could have been used with either arrows or spears."

Toni Gregg made a surprise find when her

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shovel went six inches into the ground and fatally injured a small grey animal that another student identified as a mole. "Oh, you poor thing," she said sadly, as the remains were tossed into a corn field.

The most exciting discovery, made in one of the test pits shortly before the group went home, was of a pair of "post moulds"—dark, round discolorations about two inches across and about 16 inches apart.

IMPORTANT CLUE

Humphrey explained that the spots are the decomposed remains of tree trunks that the Indian drove into the ground 250 years ago as supports for the walls of dwellings or the protective stockade, as much as eight feet high, that ringed the village.

If a complete pattern of moulds can be traced later the diggers will have an important clue to the layout of the village that could guide them to promising excavation areas.

The outline of the village was first spotted from the air 18 months ago by a pilot who was photographing the region for another purpose. The GW Club has made several preliminary trips to the site.

The island is owned by retired Navy Capt. and Mrs. Kenneth L. Jeffery, who raise purebred Aberdeen Angus cattle on their Loudoun County farm opposite the island.

The Jefferys have given the Club full access to the island and have offered not to plant crops at the village site next year if that will help.

"We're encouraging them," Mrs. Jeffery said. "We like to find out things, too."

Demonstrators Create a Second Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, an interesting and perceptive analysis of the antiwar demonstrations this Nation is experiencing appeared in a recent edition of the Largo Sentinel. The editorial to which I refer points out that the demonstrations being carried on in the United States against U.S. participation in the Vietnam war are actually a form of psychological warfare, designed not only to give encouragement to the Communists but also to publicly embarrass America's leaders. The editorial also calls for distinguishing between lawful "dissent" and "planned anarchy," a distinction which is becoming more and more imperative as greater and greater license with our liberties is taken by those who are covertly seeking to destroy these liberties.

The editorial, which appeared in the October 26, 1967, issue of the Largo Sentinel, Largo, Fla., follows:

DEMONSTRATORS CREATE A SECOND FRONT

Thousands of youngsters and many, by age definition, adults have been exhibiting themselves in various poses of rebellion recently. The publicity they have received has left little doubt that they have gotten thier message across . . . they would prefer to see the Communists win in Viet Nam and have our American boys defeated.

'Tis passing strange how the pacifists never seem to note or deplore the violence of the far left but can always stir themselves to oppose those who defend themselves against Communist take-over attempts. That these demonstrations are encouraged, aided and often planned by Communists and their dupes and stooges cannot be questioned by anyone willing to examine the facts of the case.

Why would the Communists wish to create such a scene in America? The answer is simple. They are trying to defeat the American forces in Viet Nam through phychological warfare. This is not a warfare of idealism as many would prefer to think but rather of warfare of continual public pressure designed to create public embarrassment for our leaders. Unfortunately many of our leaders make decisions by political motivations and are thus logical targets for such tactics.

It has recently proven necessary to call out United States Army troops to control this "second front" at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Surely this is not the reasoned dissent that builds a great nation . . . this is pure demagoguery and ought to be treated as such. The failure of our national leaders to perceive a difference between dissent and planned anarchy has been a contributing factor to our descent as a nation to the position we now are in.

Street style demonstrations in favor of those who would quickly enslave the very people waving the trite slogans are hurting America as are the riots that find the looters ignored or quickly released. This is the kind of second front action that demands a positive policy from our national leaders as much as does Viet Nam. The "no-win" approach to today's problems will only add fuel to the demonstrations and the riots; much the same as the "no-win" war policy in Viet Nam has dragged out the present conflict to the present dangerous point.

Detroit's End Run

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Dingell amendment clearly threatens the right of California to set auto emission standards for the protection of the health of her own people.

Within a few days, the House will be considering the Air Quality Act which, as reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, is the vehicle for the Dingell provision to preempt the entire field of auto smog control for the Federal Government.

At the appropriate time, Congressman Moss, acting for the entire California delegation, will offer an amendment to permit California to set and enforce standards that are more stringent, not weaker, than the Federal auto emission requirements. This amendment is nearly identical to a Senate-approved provision drafted by Senator MURPHY.

For the information of colleagues, I am including an editorial published in this afternoon's editions of the Washington Star. The editorial, which correctly labels the Dingell amendment as "a piece of special interest legislation," follows:

DETROIT'S END RUN

When Detroit auto makers issued a flurry of press releases a few months ago about their development of electric autos, it looked as if the nation had turned a corner in the air pollution war. Here was evidence that the car manufacturers were really serious about helping clear the air.

But a new legislative battle in Congress has stirred misgivings about the sincerity of the industry in this matter. Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan has sponsored an amendment to an air-pollution bill that would seriously undermine the power of California to set its own, more stringent clean-air standards. The Senate previously gave California this right in an amendment by Senator George Murphy.

The Dingell proposal would give the federal government the final say on whether California could have stricter standards for auto exhausts than those for the rest of the country. According to press reports, the Michigan lawmaker's friends in Detroit want to avoid "leap-frogging," that is, a race between the state and the government to see who could tighten standards more.

It's not difficult to see what's behind this amendment. Dingell openly admits the auto industry approached him with the basic idea for the legislation. Evidently Detroit thinks California is overly zealous in battling air pollution, and fears auto makers may have to improve car exhaust devices even more for the nation. California already has enacted a law that will require cleaner fumes from cars in 1970 than federal standards now require.

Well, if ever there was a clear-cut case for states' rights, this is it. California has pioneered in smog control—and with good reason. The health of her citizens is involved. In the past 14 years the number of motor vehicles in Los Angeles County alone has increased from 2 million to nearly 4 million. The state has nearly 10 million cars registered. Is anybody seriously arguing that the same problem exists here—and the same minimum controls should be applied—as in, say, North Dakota?

The Dingell amendment is a piece of special interest legislation. The California delegation is amply justified in opposing it, and the measure should be opposed by every other House member interested in cleaner air.

Alexander Wiley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin and the Nation are deeply mourning the loss of one of our most distinguished and revered citizens.

Alex Wiley devoted 24 years to the service of his country in the Senate, longer than any other Wisconsin Senator, and he was a high-ranking Member of Congress during some of this country's most critical times. His career included chairmanships of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. His accomplishments were many and his influence great.

He will be remembered as the "Father of the St. Lawrence Seaway," an accolade he so richly deserves for he never wavered in his steadfast efforts to fulfill his dream of bringing the ships of the world to America's heartland.

In his early career he called himself a "neutralist" in foreign affairs but he was not a man afraid to change his mind and to recognize changing conditions. His interest became global and during the postwar years he repeatedly reminded us that the world was growing smaller with the far corners only hours away by plane, and that we could no longer afford the luxury of ignoring problems in other countries.

He was one of the first to warn of the growing threat of international communism. His warnings 14 years ago about Vietnam sound like they were made yesterday.

He was a deeply religious man. In fact, he had at one time studied for the ministry, and he was the author of a number of religious articles. His constant prayer, which he repeated publicly many times, was for a world in which all men could live in peace and freedom. He once proposed that there should be an executive department of peace with the duty of concentrating on the elimination of sources of friction and misunderstanding between peoples.

Despite rubbing elbows with the famous in Washington and the world, however, he resisted pomposity and sophistication. Many humorous stories are told of his informal treatment of the mighty, such as the time he greeted a monarch with a hearty "Hi there, Queenie."

This prominent son of immigrants never forgot, as he would put it, "the folks back home." He was renowned for his efforts in behalf of his Wisconsin constituency and Wisconsin's products.

I am privileged to have known him and to have worked with him on legislation of mutual interest. I benefited many times from his wise counsel and from his kind and generous friendship.

I shall remember him always and to his wife and to his children, I express my sincere condolences.

Air Quality Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in view of the serious challenge that the pollution of our atmosphere poses to our national health, I strongly support the Air Quality Act of 1967.

The Congress recently declared in the "Declaration of Purpose" for Public Law 89-749, the comprehensive health planning amendments, that "fulfillment of our national purpose depends on promoting and assuring the highest level of health attainable for every person, in an environment which contributes positively to healthful individual and family living."

It is this kind of environment toward which we must aspire, an environment not merely safe from hazard but contributing positively to healthful living. In such an environment there is no room for polluted air.

Air pollution in the United States is clearly responsible, wholly or in substantial part, for a number of unnecessary deaths and a very large amount of unnecessary disability and discomfort. As President Johnson said last January in recommending adoption of the Air Quality Act:

> The economic loss from air pollution amounts to several billion dollars each year. But the cost in human suffering and pain is incalculable.

It is imperative, in the interest of the health of the American people, to remove from the air now all the pollution within the range of feasibility.

The Air Quality Act of 1967 strengthens and builds upon the base provided by the Clean Air Act, which we passed and the President signed in 1963, and closes important gaps that have become apparent since the passage of that act in 1963. This bill is most timely, and would permit the development of appropriate, effective, and urgently needed new ways to move toward national air pollution control.

I strongly urge each and every one of my distinguished colleagues to join with me in voting "yea" on this critically needed legislation.

Art Younger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 27, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, during my 19 years in Congress it has been my privilege to serve with many outstanding Americans.

I served in this House with two Members who later became President of the United States, one who became Vice President and many who have been candidates for the Presidency. It was my great pleasure also to serve here under Speaker Sam Rayburn. Mr. Speaker, Art Younger was one of the greatest men ever to serve here. He was genteel, always kind and had time for a quiet word of encouragement. He radiated enthusiasm, understanding, and confidence.

Art Younger was a Christian who believed in and lived the oldtime principles of Christian faith upon which our Nation was founded. Art Younger became associated with the House Christian breakfast group during the 83d Congress. In the history of this group Art stands out with the late Percy Priest of Tennessee and Brooks Hays of Arkansas—great and good men who left their mark on this Congress and on this Nation.

Art Younger was an effective legislator, a credit and an asset to the Congress—a good image that we all might emulate. His vision was as broad as the distance of his district from Washington. He loved this Nation. America and even the free world are better because of his distinguished service in the Congress.

Art was a man of great courage and deep faith. He was a family man, devoted to his lovely wife.

Mrs. Dorn joins with me in extending to Mrs. Younger our deepest sympathy and in wishing for her the very best always.

Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, last week a group was formed, known as the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam. Included in the membership of this new organization are a number of distinguished Americans. Former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman head the list of the unit which is being organized by former Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois.

The objective of the new committee is laudable, for it seeks to meld America again into a cohesive Nation, unified in its struggle.

The Greensboro Record, an afternoon newspaper published in my hometown of Greensboro, N.C., recently carried an eloquent editorial which commented on this new committee. I would like to have it published, so that others may benefit from its wisdom. The editorial follows:

THE SENSIBLE VIETNAM ROAD: KEEP WAR AND AIMS LIMITED

The "sensible road" between capitulation in Vietnam and the naked use of more and more force is advocated by a new bipartisan group headed by former Sen. Paul Douglas and General of the Army Omar Bradley and including both living former presidents in its membership.

This course seems to sum up a national consensus on the war. It has been some months since Washington saw anything of consensus politics. It seems time to rediscover the phenomenon, particularly on so vital and basic an issue as the war in Vietnam.

Not only does the new group appear to represent a reasonable approach to that unpopular conflict, it serves at the same time to show that the nation is not represented by its advocates at either extreme—those for flower power or nuclear power.

Neither is suitable in Vietnam. The political critics who call for turning the war over to the generals and for threatening the foe with the big bomb lead the country further toward Armaggeddon than it desires to go. The emotional critics who are ashamed of the country and want it to evacuate and abandon Vietnam also speak for no one but themselves.

There appears to be a far broader sentiment which finds the war hateful, distant and expensive, one the country would be well out of if the way opened, but which is unable to discern an exit. To this group, Senator Douglas and his colleagues speak. Keep the war limited, they say, but do not abandon all the principles which Americans have found to defend in South Vietnam.

"We are opposed," says the statement of the new Douglas-Bradley group, "to surrender, however camouflaged. Yet nothing we advocate can be interpreted as unnecessarily risking a general war in Asia or a nuclear war in the world. We favor a sensible road between capitulation and the indiscriminate use of raw power."

While this certainly lends support to the President, it does not encourage the escalation which some of the administration spokesmen seem to be thinking about. While the new Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam took a slap at the "strident voices of some dissenters" who may be encouraging misconceptions in Hanoi and Peking about American determination, the new group is "not in business as a committee to support Lyndon Johnson," said Senator Douglas. "We are concerned with the future of the United States which is bigger than any of us—or any group of us."

This middle-road approach should serve to limit expansion of the war or American war aims. A limited war is hard to fight, as President Truman found in Korea. It is also hard to conclude, as President Eisenhower discovered. Both agree that it can be done, however, and that the American position in Vietnam must be maintained.

It will be best maintained if this country avoids the notion that it must wage a crusade against Chinese Communism. It may be possible to stabilize the situation in South Vietnam, even at this late date, provided the settlement is kept local and the war is not so escalated as to involve China.

Fighting a limited war calls for keeping war aims limited. It is well to be realistic about a future threat from China. It is wrong to trumpet a confrontation between China and the United States—wrong because the situation in Vietnam is not yet at that stage; wrong because this country should share the task of containing China just as it did the task of containing the Soviet Union. To do this requires allies, and allies require agreement on policy. Vietnam has not only driven a wedge into American politics, it has driven one between America and its allies.

The best means of reuniting at home and with allies abroad is to stress the limited nature of the war, to look for means of consolidating the position there without escalating war aims or methods, and to build a new consensus on what this country seeks to do in Southeast Asia. To that end, Senator Douglas and his committee may play a major role as they advocate "the sensible road."

Construction Grants for Waste Treatment Works, Public Works and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation Bill, 1968

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, there is a tide in the affairs of men, and there is a tide in the public affairs of the Nation. We must take the current of public support when it serves, or our ventures, if not lost, will surely lose in impetus. That is why I am concerned, deeply concerned, at the failure to implement, with a meaningful increase in funds, the vastly expanded program of waste treatment works construction grants which Congress authorized in 1966.

When we enacted, without dissent, the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, we built on the solid foundation of a 10-year program of demonstrated worth, the program of Federal grants to assist in the construction of needed municipal waste treatment works, which began with the enactment of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act as permanent law in 1956. The program was enlarged and the provisions of assistance liberalized in 1961 and again in 1965. By the end of that calendar year, 6,582 projects had been approved for Federal grant assistance totaling $728 million. These grants had generated expenditures by local communities of an additional $2.7 billion. They were designed to serve a population of 53 million Americans, and to enhance water quality in 55,000 miles of streams. These figures include accelerated public works projects in 1962 and 1963. It was not an untried Federal program which we voted to expand in 1966.

Nor did we act without information as to the critical need to build more plants and to improve existing facilities if the Nation expected to overcome a backlog of facilities requirements and to keep pace with population growth and other factors contributing to the ever-mounting load of wastes entering the country's waterways. Needs through 1972 for our 100 largest cities alone were shown to near $4 billion. The Congress responded to the need. The Federal Government, we determined, would step up its support of a nationwide water pollution control effort. We authorized an increase in appropriations for Federal grants from $150 million in 1967 to $450 million in 1968, with successive increases to $1.25 billion in 1971. We encouraged with provision for increased Federal grants the participation of States in waste treatment works financing, and the application of water quality standards to the receiving waters.

Congress was spurred in its action by a dramatic upsurge in the public demand for clean water. Excitment supplanted the apathy of years. The lonely cause of conservationists and a few other concerned people was taken up by vast numbers of Americans both in and out of public office. Few domestic issues could now rival water pollution and its control in public concern. That is what we stand to lose if we do not fulfill, with appropriated funds, the bright promise of the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966. When the tide of pollution is at the flood, will public support be at ebbtide?

The war in Vietnam has put a strain on the budget, which makes it difficult to press for more money for even the most critical domestic programs. I had hoped that construction for clean water might have fared better in the setting of priorities than a $203 million appropriation request would suggest. Senate amendment No. 13 to H.R. 11641, reported in disagreement, proposes a token increase in the appropriation to $225 million, half the authorized amount. House acceptance of even a token increase would provide more support for the protection of our water resources, and it would let the States, the communities, and the concerned citizens of the country know that we want to get on with the monumental job of cleaning up pollution.

When the President signed the Clean Water Restoration Act almost a year ago, he said that it "gives us power to rescue the once-clear waters of our streams, rivers, and lakes from the growing menace of pollution." I hope that it will be possible for the administration to seek a supplemental appropriation early in 1968 for the act's effective implementation.

Bankrupting the Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, those of us from the Midwest are quite concerned about farm prices this fall. The price of corn has dropped below $1 per bushel.

Recently an editorial in the Muscatine Journal pointed to the farm problem which exists today. It should be read by all those interested in the farm problem. It follows:

[From the Muscatine (Iowa) Journal, Oct. 24, 1967]

BANKRUPTING THE FARMER

Two items in Monday's issue of the Journal points out the wide gap in the American economy that is spelling serious trouble for the farmer.

Item No. 1: Ford Motor Co. and the United Auto Workers announced tentative agreement on a new three-year contract that could increase workers' wages and benefits by nearly $1 billion.

Item No. 2: The Muscatine cash grain market bid price for corn Monday was 99 cents per bushel. That's the lowest price for corn since 1961.

This is one of the most critical problems in the United States today, and the one that is most often overlooked. While the inflationary trends created by labor and wage policies continue to spiral upward, the free forces of the farm market are working in the opposite direction.

Despite the declining number of farms, farming remains as the greatest of all American industries. Farms employ 5.2 million workers—more than the combined work force in transportation, public utilities, and the steel and auto industries.

But, while the industry workers are represented by powerful unions, the farmer is largely left to depend upon the unpredictable vagaries of the market. He is caught in the squeeze of rising costs while receiving lower prices for the foods and fibre he produces.

Part of the plight of the midwestern farmer has been caused by government manipulation of cotton restrictions to the point where cotton acreage in the south is now the lowest since 1921. Southern farmers have diverted much of their former cotton land to corn and soybeans, thus displacing much of the midwestern market because the southern growers are considerably closer to export outlets. And, with production ranging far ahead of domestic needs, midwestern farmers need the export market as an outlet for their crops.

Farmers can not produce corn at 99c per bushel for long without going bankrupt.

It is a simple fact that food is still a bargain in the United States. We spend a smaller percentage of our total income on food than do residents of other nations. This leaves a greater surplus of money we can spend for cars, clothes, appliances and all of the other manufactured consumer goods. It is the rising cost of all these other goods that puts the farmer in a bind because of inflation.

Bankrupting the farmer would be the fastest way to put this nation back into a depression like that of the 1930's.

We must find a way to see that the farmer receives his fair share in the nation's economy. It's not happening in the current period of inflation.

A Letter From a Soldier in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a heart-warming letter from a constituent who is presently serving with the U.S Army in Vietnam.

Maj. Richard C. Cobbs is a man of mature judgment, courage, and dedication. His letter reflects that maturity and I would like to share its contents with my colleagues. It is an expression of the confidence that he, as an experienced military man who has had extensive duty in Vietnam, has in our country's aims, and in the leadership of his Commander in Chief.

Major Cobbs and the other dedicated young men who serve our Nation so well in Vietnam are an inspiration to me and, I trust, to all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, the text of the letter follows:

A LETTER FROM A SOLDIER IN VIETNAM

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BROOKS: It has been three years since I last wrote you. And if my memory serves me correctly, I was TDY to Vietnam from Okinawa at that time. I am presently on a full year tour in Vietnam, having arrived in August 1967.

Much has happened in these last three years, and I just wanted to let you know how I feel about some of them. The *Enterprise* has kept me informed as to your activities. Also my parents keep me briefed. Congratulations on the addition to your family. With three of my own, I know the happiness they can bring.

Most of all, I have been very pleased at the steady support you have given to Mr. Johnson and the policies of the present Administration. So many of the people he should be able to count on are proving to be fair-weather friends. Personally I have some opinions I am sure don't agree with his policies; but they are best kept to myself because what we need now is unity. I get to thinking my problems are pretty big with the few men I have. Then I stop and think of what he must be faced with, and I thank God I am not the President. I cannot and do not question our national policies. As a professional soldier, I carry them out. I am fully convinced that we are heading in the correct direction, that he is doing the best possible job under the worst possible conditions. I have nothing but admiration for his courage and steadfastness. I admire you for your support. It is the least we can give him in an extremely difficult state of affairs.

From my point of view here, I can see tremendous change for the good since 1964. The change is in the attitude of the Vietnamese people and Army. They are showing a real willingness to try new ways. Progress is slow and it will continue to be so. It is going to take time and hard work. The biggest lesson we have to learn is that as a major world power, not everyone is going to agree with us. It has taken 15 years for the Koreans to make any real progress with our help. But I see the Korean troops here and they are really magnificent. They cannot be even considered to be the same Army as in 1957 when I saw them last. Patience not being an American virtue, I hope that our people do not become overly eager to "get it over with." We cannot allow aggression to be profitable. You know the price that is being paid here in men and money. These are fine troops and they are giving their very best. I so often feel so inadequate to be one of their leaders; but I will continue to do my best.

Again, I want to thank you for your support of the defense program since I last wrote; and your participation and your help on the military pay bills. Where you have cast your vote in a manner differently than I would have, I know you have done so with fuller knowledge upon which to make your decision. I personally feel you will serve our District best by continuing just as you have in the past. Study the issues and vote your conscience. No man can be asked to do any more than that.

Should you come to Vietnam in the next year, I hope that our paths cross. It's nice to see folks from home. Thank you again.

RICHARD C. COBBS.

The Men That Mr. Carmichael Does Not Speak For

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on the front pages of our newspapers one can daily read the incendiary ravings of the traveling missionaries of black power violence. These so-called leaders, who claim to speak for so many, have earned their publicity prominence by talking the toughest line to their cohorts and the press, and by boastful association with snipings, looting, and community burning.

In the article here reproduced, a distinguished American pilot disclaims Mr. Carmichael's spokesmanship. Colonel James' only claims to publicity are a record of consistently excellent combat performance in two wars, leadership of an Air Force fighter wing and the rank of colonel attained in very stiff competition. In that he does not talk with sufficient abandon to qualify for exposure on page 1, one must search out his views on page 22, the Washington Post, August 10, 1967.

The man whose thoughts are set forth below is one of the legion of American Negro fighting men who are compiling a record of valor, poise, skill, and discipline second to none in Vietnam. Col. Chappie James merits at least an equal hearing and I commend his views to the attention of all among us who wish to maintain a balanced view of the decent, productive, and very valuable Negro citizenship for whom Stokely Carmichael and his associates do not and cannot speak. The article follows:

NEGRO FIGHTER PILOT, A SIT-IN PIONEER, ASSAILS CARMICHAEL AND BLACK POWER

(By William Tuohy)

DANANG, SOUTH VIETNAM, August 9.—"Stokely Carmichael is a big-mouth who is making a profession out of being a Negro, and he's got no damn business speaking for me," said the tall, impressive-looking Negro pilot. "This Black Power garbage is for the birds."

Col. Daniel James Jr., 47, carries his 230 pounds on a 6-foot, 4-inch frame covered by a distinctive black flying suit with silver colonel's eagles on the shoulders. There are command pilot's wings on his breast just above the name: "Chappie James."

Chappie James, the biggest fighter pilot in the Air Force, has become something of a legend in the air war in Vietnam. He flies an F-4 Phantom fighter and is vice wing commander of the 8th Tactical Fighter Wing based in Thailand. The commander is James closest friend, Col. Robin Olds, the Air Force's top ace.

In Danang on a short visit, Col. James said in an interview, "These riots are the worst thing that could happen to the Negroes' cause. This could set the civil rights movement back 100 years. A lot of the fence-sitters are jumping off on the wrong side now."

Col. James emphasized that he did not speak for the white establishment.

"I'm not going around bareheaded and on bended knee," he said. "I'm not a nonviolent man. I'm a fighter. But I respect the law of the country. There's no excuse for rioting and stealing. A thief is a thief. In the end, everybody loses."

"We're fighting to get laws passed to protect civil rights," James pointed out. "You've got to obey laws. You can't have a double standard."

James is especially critical of Stokely Carmichael, the former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"I resent Stokely's setting himself up as spokesman for Negroes," he said. "This S.O.B. is leading too many kids astray. And when he advises Negro servicemen to come back and fight at home—that's sheer stupidity."

In case anyone should question his own credentials in the civil rights movement, James added, "Hell, I was in the original sit-in back in 1943."

He and nearly 100 other Negro Army Air Corps cadets refused to accept segregation at Selfridge Air Force Base in Michigan. They were all arrested and threatened with court-martial, but they held their ground and the charges later were dropped.

"What I really don't buy is that back-to-Africa stuff," James concluded. "I'm not an African immigrant. I'm an American with several generations behind him in my country.

"If something is wrong with my country right now, then I'm willing to hold her hand for a while until she pulls out of it and gets right."

On being commissioned, James first flew B-52 bombers, then shifted to fighters and flew 100 missions in Korea in P-51s and F-80s.

Now, as a deputy wing commander, he has logged 56 missions over North Vietnam and is shooting for 100 before his tour is up in December.

He wears a black flying suit because his Jet Phantom squadron originally trained as "night owl" night fighters. "It adds to my natural camouflage and lets me zap around that country with impunity," he said.

Born in Pensacola, Fla., and a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, James now lives in Tucson, Ariz. He has two sons, one in Air Force ROTC at the University of Arizona, and a daughter who was formerly an airline stewardess.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I try to keep my constituents informed of events concerning my work as their U.S.

Representative in Congress. I am reporting to them some of the thoughts I have in mind which concern my official responsibilities, as follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT

DEAR FRIENDS: I am happy and proud to report to you that the House of Representatives has approved my amendment to the Postal bill which provides a means for stopping the flow of obscene advertising materials through the wall.

It is a victory for American parents because it deals with advertisements sent through the mails to sell materials which are erotically arousing or sexually provocative. Under the bill any person receiving a "pandering advertisement" of an obscene nature may request the Postmaster General to advise the mailer to remove his name or the name of his minor child from the mailing list. The Postmaster General then is required to issue a stop order to the mailer. Failure of the sender to take the complainant's name off of the list is punishable by law.

These filthy advertisements have been an ever-increasing problem. During the past year the Post Office Department has received over 250,000 complaints from people everywhere, including Nebraska, bitterly complaining about receiving offensive, sex-oriented advertising matter in the mail. Most of the complaints were from parents whose minor children had received such advertisements.

The passage of this bill is a step forward, and it will serve to discourage those who would try to make a profit by corrupting our children.

My sincerest thanks to you for your many letters of encouragement during my long fight against filth in the mails. This same legislation which I sponsored passed the house of Representatives overwhelmingly on two previous occasions, but the Senate did not act on it. Now by attaching it to the Postal Rate bill, *they will have to consider it and I hope favorably.*

There is another section of the Postal Rate bill which is outrageous. I call it the "Great Mail Robbery of 1967." Most of us have read editorials in the newspaper telling about the subsidies many industries receive from the Federal Government, *but I've never noticed an editorial complaining about the huge newspaper mail subsidy which they receive.*

The newspaper and magazine subsidy is one of the reasons for the huge Postal Department deficit and costs taxpayers an estimated 250 million dollars a year or more. *This huge subsidy to newspapers and magazines is paid for with your tax dollars.*

Official U.S. Post Office figures indicate that letter writers are paying 123.3 percent of the cost of handling and delivering first class letter mail . . . third class mail users (seed catalogues and other business advertising mail) pays 100 percent of this cost of delivery. *But newspapers and magazines* (second class mail) *are paying only 29 percent of the cost of handling their mail.*

In addition, the *newspapers are receiving a further subsidy by what is called "Red Tag Treatment."* This means that they receive the same or better handling as the average first class letter but pay only ¼ as much. Public relations or not . . . the red tag practice is not fair to the rest of the mail users or the nation's taxpayers.

I fought hard *to raise the mailing rates for newspapers and magazines* in the Committee and later when the legislation was debated in the House of Representatives, I was successful in getting a small adjustment in these laws *to cut down on the newspaper-magazine government subsidized rates.* But the fact remains that "holier than thou" newspapers are still being heavily subsidized when sent through the mails. *Newspapers and magazines are against everyone's subsidy but their own.*

WHO IS POLLUTING THE RIVERS?

Here is another item under the "Do as I say and not as I do category." I dislike river pollution as much as the next man. When I was Mayor of Omaha we inaugurated the first step in halting pollution. I was shocked to learn recently that one of the largest contributors to pollution on the Potomac River which runs past the Capital of the United States is the U.S. Government itself.

In a recent survey of eleven Federal installations in the Potomac Basin, it was revealed that all eleven Federal installations made a major contribution to water pollution. Federal agencies in Washington were not original in their reactions to the news they were themselves polluting the Potomac. Thier answers ranged from, "We are making a study" to "Corrective action is being implemented" (whatever that means).

I think that Omahans should be hopping mad about the executive branches' casual approach to river pollution when it involves its own agencies. After all, didn't the Federal Government recently threaten to "take action" unless the City of Omaha made significant progress in reducing Missouri River pollution? Now we see that Omaha has spent and is committed to spend millions of dollars to fight pollution while the Federal Government is just starting to "make a study" of its own pollution sources. It seems they never will be able to see the forest for the trees.

FLOOD CONTROL DISCUSSION

I met recently here in Washington with Brigadier General C. Craig Cannon the new head of the Army Corps of Engineers in Omaha. During the meeting which was attended by Senators Roman Hrushka and Carl Curtis, Representative Robert Denney and myself, we discussed the proposed Papillion Basin Flood Control Project. I told General Cannon that in my opinion the Papillion Basin Project should have the very highest priority because of the high potential for heavy loss of life during a flash flood.

I have obtained a *limited supply of maps of Vietnam* and the Asian Continent for distribution to interested families in my Congressional District. This map is in short supply so I hope you will understand if I am not able to send everyone a copy. Your requests for these maps will be filled on a *"first come, first serve basis."*

I read an article the other day which I believe is worth passing along. History usually has a way of repeating itself. The article follows:

"In ancient Greece, Pericles inauguarated the nursing of people out of the public treasury. A hundred years later Plato found that he had so completely debauched the Athenians that they were reduced to pauperism.

"*Instead of working,* they hung around the marketplace gossiping, and their characters were so weakened *that the state was forced* to hire barbarians to defend it from invasion.

"A paternalistic government *is bound to destroy the self-reliance and self-respect of the people.* When these attributes go, everything goes. Those are the virtues which have made our country great, and those virtues alone will keep us great."

Black and White

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker. The Reverend S. Barry O'Leary, rector of the Messiah Episcopal Church, in St. Paul, Minn., recently delivered an outstanding sermon on racial problems which have so disastrously erupted in our Nation's cities this year

In order that his important message receive a wider audience, I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BLACK AND WHITE

(Sermon by Rev. S. Barry O'Leary,
October 15, 1967)

Now that the children are back in school and leaves are falling from the trees and there is a hint of frost in the air and the football season has replaced the baseball season,—now it is possible to forget about the long hot summer we had in this country back in June and July and August. As temperatures have cooled off, so racial tensions have cooled off, and thoughts about riots in Detroit and other cities can be packed away with the summer clothes and the outboard motors. We won't have to be concerned about such things now until next summer—and that's a long time away.

Wouldn't it be nice if saying this made it true? But of course it isn't true.

A few weeks ago I saw a television program in which newsmen interviewed some of the young men who had actually been doing the burning and looting in Detroit last summer. They all said much the same thing, "We're going to give the white man one more year,—till next summer—to show us if he really means the things he's been saying,—to see if the white man really intends for things to be any different for the black man in this country. If nothing happens, there's going to be a revolution next summer that'll make these riots look like kid stuff. We're tired of waiting for whitey to make up his mind whether we belong to the human race or not."

I believe them. I think they mean it. I don't think most Negroes want fighting and destruction—most of them have shown remarkable restraint in working for their own emancipation—but there are enough who do want to wage all out war, if necessary, so that their warnings about next summer are no idle threat.

So we can't really forget last summer's riots, or the conditions that caused them, can we? The conditions are still there. Still here. The problems arising out of the state of race relations in our nation are still with us.

Most of us know the Negroes grievances well enough. But why do they have these grievances? Why is there a race relations problem in this country?

The most basic reason is that there are two different races living in the same society. Why is that a cause of problems? Because the races are different, white people and black people are not the same. If there were no way to distinguish between the two, there would be race problems. There would still be poverty problems, educational and social and economic problems, but they wouldn't have any racial overtones. Then what is the big difference between whites and blacks which underlies all our racial problems?

Just how are the Negroes different from the whites?

We used to have some ready answers to this question. You used to hear people say, "Negroes are shiftless and lazy. They don't want to work. Negroes are not as intelligent as white people. Negroes have very low moral standards. Negroes have no civic pride. They throw garbage in their yards and never paint their houses. Negroes have no ambition."

You know all the old cliches. We also know none of these statements are true of all negroes, or even of many negroes. We also know that all of these statements are true of some white people as well. Even the most bigoted racist will admit today that there are white people who are lazy, shiftless, dirty, immoral, and socially undesirable, just as there are many Negroes who are ambitious, well-educated, immaculate, public-spirited, and have high moral standards.

One doesn't have to be a trained sociologist to see that none of these things can actually be held up as being the real difference between the races. Not one of them, positive or negative, is true of people of one race that is not also true of people of the other race. So we can forget these so-called distinguishing differences of this nature because they simply do not exist. They are not racial characteristics at all.

Then what is the difference between the white man and the black man? There is a difference. What is it?

There are really two differences. The first difference is the major difference. One man's skin is white and the other man's skin is black. That's the main difference.

Even in South Africa, with its rigid apartheid policies, the final legal determination of whether a person is white or colored is based on what the person appears to be when you look at his skin color. If a Negro is so fair-complexioned that he can pass for white, he will have no problem buying the house next door to you.

If a white man should dye his skin and pose as a Negro, he would have a very hard time buying the house next door to you. His skin would be the wrong color—and that would be all your neighbors need to know about him.

That's it. That's the main difference. Color of skin. That's what lies at the root of all the rioting, all the bitterness, all the prejudice, all the discrimination, all the tensions that exist between the two races.

There is a second difference, of course. Because the Negroes skin is a different color, because his skin color marks him as a descendant of those people who were brought to this country as slaves, he has a different heritage, a different past, than the white man. Because his skin is a different color, he and his parents and his ancestors have been required to live in segregated areas in substandard housing, on low incomes, in a relationship to their society which is markedly different from that experienced by the white people.

The Negro does have a different background, it's true, but this not a primary truth. It is true because of—and only because of—the more basic fact that his skin is black.

So the only real, fundamental difference between you and the Negro is the color of your skin and the color of his skin. Anything else that is true of some Negroes is also true of some whites. Then why are we having so much trouble learning to live together and accept each other?

There is just one reason. We don't know each other, and, as a holdover from some primitive age, we are inclined to fear the unknown. The one reason is simply ignorance. Not lack of intelligence, but lack of knowledge of each other. And where there is ignorance between people there is usually fear, mistrust, and all sorts of strange ideas about the people who are different."

Did it ever occur to you that Jesus was a little prejudiced?

Remember the incident about the Canaanite woman who went to Jesus and begged him to help her daughter who was ill? Now the Canaanites were people from the wrong side of the tracks as far as the Jews were concerned. They worshipped false gods, and the good Jew would have nothing to do with them. And do you remember how Jesus answered the woman when she begged for his help? He said to her, "It is not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs. I was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

But the woman replied, "Yes, Lord, but even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table." When Jesus heard those words, he discovered something about this woman that, in his ignorance, he hadn't known before. As he talked with her, he not only forgot his prejudice, he actually developed respect and admiration for her. And he said to her, in an entirely different tone than before, "O, woman, great is your faith! Be it done for you as you desire!"

At first he judged her no better than the dogs, for the simple reason that he recognized her to be a Canaanite. After he talked with her only briefly, and came to know something about her, he recognized her as a woman of great faith—and would have done anything for her.

I suppose one reason for this incident being recorded in the Bible is that it is an example of faith on the part of the woman. But probably the chief reason is that Jesus himself, in this incident, so perfectly illustrates that fact that when two people get to know each other, despite whatever prejudices may have existed, knowledge displaces prejudice and apparent differences become unimportant. There will still be individual differences, of course, but the strange, supposed differences will be found non-existent.

That's really all that is needed to overcome the racial problems in our country and the racial prejudices which may still be lurking in our own hearts. To know and understand one another, to break down the strange artificial barriers between the races and come to know one another—that's all it will take.

Of course, there will still be great social and economic and educational problems to be dealt with. There will still be the matter of discrimination in employment and housing and innumerable areas of social inequalities. But we are never going to overcome these problems, or the tensions that have been growing out of them, until we first admit that we are divided by only one absurdly unimportant difference of skin color, and then proceed without delay to seize every opportunity to get to know and understand our Negro brothers and begin to develop with them the kind of redeeming relationships out of which mutual respect and love can grow.

Will it take a revolution to show us our ignorance—to make brotherhood a reality instead of just a nice word?

We hear a lot of talk about equipping our police forces and giving them more riot control training in preparation for next summer. This is probably necessary, but is it really the best strategy Christians can come up with? Or did Jesus show us a better way?

We really don't have long to decide—or to act. God help us if we're still too ignorant and prejudiced to make the right decision and to begin taking the right kind of action in our own community.

There is real need for the work being done by governmental agencies, but laws and governmental programs alone cannot heal divisions and restore broken relationships.

It takes people, like you and me, to accomplish this.

Veterans (Armistice) Day Observances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, a number of communities in my 27th Congressional District of New York are considering Veterans (Armistice) Day ceremonies to support our boys in Vietnam. This represents a very deep concern of affection and admiration for our men.

Yet I am a little troubled that the ceremonies may extend, perhaps without intention, to express support for the mistaken policies in Vietnam that we as a nation have chosen to follow.

In order to make the distinction between the sincere tribute owed individually to our fighting men, and the ill-conceived national policy, I have sent a letter to all news media in my district.

A copy of the letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., October 25, 1967.

To the EDITOR:

DEAR SIR: This letter is intended to be helpful to the citizens in valuing the great issue presented by American involvement in Vietnam.

We have just observed the demonstrations at the Pentagon. The conduct of the demonstrators was in many cases shameful and repulsive. Draft card burning and the like is just as shameful. In a very natural reaction against these performances, I note that loyalty parades are being planned by some groups in communities in my Congressional District on or near Armistice Day, November 11.

The theme of these parades is going to be "support our boys in Vietnam." It is understandable that thousands of Americans should want to express this kind of feeling.

However, I wonder if the real issues about Vietnam are really getting through to all of us. These issues concern the whole political situation throughout the world. For example, in this world of hungry people, years and years of rebellions lie ahead. Are we going to send our American boys to fight poor men in many places who may be struggling to make their own world a little better?

Another question is whether we want to become involved in a nuclear war with Russia and China. It is all very well to say that we are not afraid of them. I am sure we are not, and we shouldn't be. But we ought to ask whether our very questionable stake in Vietnam is worth the danger of blowing our world to pieces.

While we have our pride about our position yet the pride of other great powers will become involved if we continue to escalate the war and push it further. As matters stand, they will continue to supply North Vietnam just as long as we continue our military campaign. It is a very dangerous stalemate, unless a way better than bombs is found to deal with this problem of the pride of the great powers.

Let's consider our relations with China. By our bases and our bonbing, we are seriously irritating and antagonizing China, but not settling the problem of living in the same world with her. We should first try to get along with her at the negotiating table before we take hostile steps.

Also, many Americans question whether we are really doing any good in Vietnam. The Vietnamese have just conducted a presidential election. There were ten candidates and the winner received only one-third of the vote. The runner-up has now been sentenced to prison. How long will it take to teach Democracy in Vietnam?

If we are having so much trouble to deal with thirty million Vietnamese on one beachhead in Asia, how can we ever exert influence on the two billion backed up behind them on that vast continent?

Does anybody know how to "win" in Vietnam? Sometimes I wonder if it is fair to urge the boys on when we don't have any clear notion of what the task is, whether it can be done or where it will lead our boys and the thousands who may follow.

As your Congressman, it is my duty to think out these issues as best I can and to tell you honestly and fairly how it seems to me.

We should carry out the Armistice Day ceremonies in honor and remembrance of our men who have fought in other wars and those now in Vietnam. Their individual sacrifice deserves every tribute we can pay. But individual actions are separate from our national action. I seriously wonder whether the ceremonies ought to express favor for the Nation's very questionable policy of making war in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

JOHN G. DOW,
U.S. Congressman.

CAO Told of Threat To Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House Education and Labor Committee's approval of the bill (S. 2388) to amend the Economic Opportunity Act met strong local reaction in Erie County, where neary 20 antipoverty programs have been administered under the able leadership of Mr. Ambrose I. Lane, executive director of the community action organization of Erie County, in Buffalo, N.Y.

The curtailment of these programs would be a drastic setback for our underprivileged, and seriously retard the progress that is being made to help the poverty stricken in our community.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include articles that appeared in both the Buffalo Courier-Express and the Buffalo Evening News, dated October 28, which point out the disastrous effects of the bill, as approved by the House committee, if it is enacted into law:

[From the Buffalo Evening News, Oct. 28, 1967]

BILL WOULD CRIPPLE CAO, GROUP'S DIRECTOR WARNS—MEASURE BEING STUDIED BY HOUSE WOULD TRIM ANTIPOVERTY PROJECTS

The executive director of the Community Action Organization, Erie County's official anti-poverty agency, Ambrose L. Lane, said Friday that a bill approved by the House Committee on Labor & Education last week would "cripple" the CAO structure, philosophy and operation.

The CAO last year administered 19 programs for the disadvantaged in this county at a cost of nearly $2.5 million, including the summer recreation and work-training programs for residents of poverty-stricken neighborhoods.

Mr. Lane said the committee-approved measure would do away with "every Head Start Program, Wider Horizons, Language Enrichment and perhaps Planned Parenthood unless substantially more cash is made available by the government, the United Fund and other sources."

He also said the bill would cut the number of representatives of the poor on the GAO board, replacing some with public officials or representatives of other groups. More than half the CAO board now consists of representatives of the poor.

The executive director went on to say the proposed law would make it the policy of Congress to "encourage the rural poor to remain in rural areas . . . to discourage migration to the cities."

He said this "is totally unacceptable, . . . a racist and serfdom policy that is more restrictive and repressive toward American citizens than the policy of Congress toward foreign immigrants.

Mr. Lane siad that while many of the changes approved by the House Committee may not become law CAO directors neighborhood advisers and delegate agencies should take whatever action is necessary and legal to let our congressmen know "how we feel about these proposed changes."

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Oct. 28, 1967]

CAO TOLD OF THREAT TO WORK—LANE ATTACKS HOUSE ACTION

The Community Action Organization (CAO), Erie County's official antipoverty agency, would be destroyed by a bill approved last week by the House Committee on Labor and Education, the executive director of the Erie County agency said Friday in a strongly worded letter to CAO officials.

Ambrose I. Lane, the CAO executive, said the bill would "cripple" the CAO "structure, philosophy and operation."

The local antipoverty agency last year administered 19 programs for disadvantaged communities in Erie County at a cost of nearly $2.5 million. It played a major role in last summer's recreation and work-training programs for residents of poverty-stricken neighborhoods.

WOULD HIT PROGRAMS

The committee-approved bill would eliminate "every Head Start Program, Wider Horizons, Language Enrichment and perhaps Planned Parenthood, unless substantially more cash is made available by government, the United Fund and other sources," Lane warned.

Wider Horizons, in particular, has generated wide public support in Buffalo. Representatives of the Negro self-improvement organization BUILD (Build Unity, Independence, Liberty and Dignity) have made a strong plea for continuing Wider Horizons as part of the antipoverty educational program.

Head Start enrichment programs for preschool children are being conducted by five separate organizations in Erie County, under auspices of the CAO, and two additional Head Start programs were conducted during the summer.

CHANGE IN POLICY

The House committee-approved bill would reduce the number of representatives of the poor on the CAO Board of Directors and replace some of them with public officials or representatives of other groups. More than half of the present CAO Board consists of representatives of the poor.

"Locally, we have been proud of the fact that our board has a majority comprised of representatives of the poor," Lane said. "We have demonstrated that such a board can work effectively. Under the proposed changes, this majority must be reduced to one-third of the total."

Lane added that the proposed law would make it the policy of Congress to "encourage the rural poor to remain in rural areas . . . to discourage migration to the cities." Such a policy, he said, "is totally unacceptable. It is a racist and serfdom policy that is more restrictive and repressive toward American citizens than the policy of Congress toward foreign immigrants."

WOULD CURTAIL ACTIVITIES

The bill, if enacted into law, also would reject the Summer Camp proposal of the Johnson Administration and would prohibit CAO personnel from voter registration activities, Lane said.

"The consequences of these political, repressive and unreasonable changes may be devastating for our nation," the executive director warned.

Lane said amendments passed by the House Committee on Labor and Education apparently would "make wasted and fraudulent all of our efforts to meaningfully involve neighborhood residents, social agencies, the business community and government in decision-making, in program operation and in policy-making."

FUNDS MAY BE CUT

"Additionally," he said, "I was informed today that even if the Administration bill is passed by Congress, there will be no money for new programs and there will be cuts in programs now being considered for refunding. There also will be no funds available for any summer programs."

This word came as the CAO was considering entering the housing field by becoming the sponsoring agent for the construction of housing for low-income families in the Ellicott District. The CAO also has offered to operate playground programs at the Buffalo schools during the coming summer, as it did last summer, and a budget cut presumably would affect that offer.

Lane noted that many of the changes approved by the House committee may not become law. But he urged CAO directors, neighborhood advisers and delegate agencies to "take whatever action is necessary and legal to let our congressmen know how we feel about these proposed changes."

Teacher Strikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, October 25, the Calumet Index, an independent publication serving South Chicago and adjacent suburbs, carried a concise, thought-provoking editorial expressing an opinion on the current wave of teachers' strikes. In view of the growing concern we should have in these developments, I direct the attention of the Members to the article which follows:

TEACHER STRIKES

The teacher strikes in various parts of the country bring two factors to mind which could have a significant bearing on our children and on the nation's educational system. First of all, the ability of parents to have a voice in shaping the educational experience of their children depends upon the independence and discretionary power of local school boards.

Federal aid to local school districts brings with it regulations and restrictions on this independence. As this is enlarged, community control over schools will decline. Federal control of education with all that it implies in the way of political indoctrination is not something we want. We can get such control by accident unless local communities muster the will and the resources to meet the legitimate needs of both teachers and students.

Teacher strikes raise another question. Since every state has some kind of legislation prohibiting strikes by public employees, a teacher on strike is violating the law. This seems highly inappropriate since one of the responsibilities of every teacher is to instill respect for the law in the mind of each student. Either the law should be changed or violators prosecuted. The alternative is that teachers stand before their students as living proof that you can successfuly flout the laws of society. This is plainly unacceptable.

Why Vietnam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, each day, many of us are asked, "Why Vietnam?"

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, which I have the honor to chair, has tried to provide some answers to that question. We have held extensive hearings, giving the administration's spokesmen as well as those who differ with our Nation's course in Vietnam, the opportunity to express their views. And we published those hearings, making them available to all.

Last week, my attention was called to a statement on Vietnam issued by the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam.

This thoughtful statement addresses itself to the question, "Why Vietnam?" It was prepared by an impressive group of patriotic Americans who feel that they speak for the great "silent center" of American life. President Truman and President Eisenhower are among the signers of this document.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend this statement to the attention of all those who ask—"Why Vietnam?"

Peace With Freedom

(A policy statement of the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam, unanimously adopted by the founding members)

We are a group of concerned citizens who seek peace *with* freedom in Vietnam.

We do so in the conviction that our own vital national interests are at stake in that troubled land. We are not ashamed to admit that our primary motivation is self-interest—the self-interest of our own country in this shrinking world. America cannot afford to let naked aggression or the suppression of freedom go unchallenged. To Americans, peace and freedom are inseparable.

Our committee is national and non-partisan—it is composed of Democrats, Republicans and Independents, and of "liberals," "moderates" and "conservatives" drawn from all sections and all sectors of our country.

We believe in the great American principle of civilian control and a civilian Commander-in-chief. And we strongly support our commitment in Vietnam and the policy of non-compromising, although limited, resistance to aggression. All four of the post-World War II American Presidents—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson—have proclaimed America's basic purpose of defending freedom. We are not supporters of a President or of an administration; we *are* supporters of the office of the Presidency.

As a committee, we shall strive to stay above partisan politics, political personalities and transistory opinion polls. Our concern is not with politics or popularity, but with principle.

We are opposed to surrender, however camouflaged. Yet nothing we advocate can be interpreted as unnecessarily risking a general war in Asia or a nuclear war in the world. We favor a sensible road between capitulation and the indiscriminate use of raw power.

We believe that, in this, we speak for the great "silent center" of American life, the understanding, independent and responsible men and women who have consistently opposed rewarding international aggressors from Adolf Hitler to Mao Tse-Tung. And we believe that the "silent center" should now be heard.

A great test is taking place in Vietnam—that test is whether or not the rulers of one territory can cheaply and safely impose a government and a political system upon their neighbors by internal subversion, insurrection, infiltration and invasion. These are the tactics of the communist "wars of liberation" which depend for success upon achieving their goals at an endurable price and a bearable risk.

Our objective in Vietnam is to make the price too high and the risk too great for the aggressor. This is why we fight.

Vietnam is a small country and we Americans had little contact with it until after World War II. It still seems isolated and remote to many of us, although all of our Presidents for thirty years have had to concern themselves with our national interests in East Asia. For better perspective, we must turn our sights to the edge of East Asia, that enormous area of peninsulas and islands from Korea and Japan south to Taiwan and the Philippines, then west across Southeast Asia to Burma, then southeast to Malaysia Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand.

That area contains 370 million people—approximately twice the population of the United States. Each of these nations is different from the others but they have one thing in common—all of them are free from *external* domination. Will this be true if we abandon Vietnam? Or will Peking and Hanoi, flushed with success, continue their expansionist policy through many other "wars of liberation," each conducted at a price which they can endure and a risk which they can bear? We believe they would.

Never in over a century has there been as much loud and violent opposition expressed in America to a conflict in which our fighting men are heavily and heroically engaged. Our committee specifically affirms and supports the right of opponents of our national policy interest to criticize that effort and to offer alternatives consistent with our national interest and security. However, we are concerned that voices of dissent have, thus far, received attention far out of proportion to their actual numbers.

Our objective as a committee is not to suppress the voices of such opposition. Our objective is to make sure that the majority voice of America is heard—loud and clear—so that Peking and Hanoi will not mistake the strident voices of some dissenters for American discouragement and a weakening of will. And, at the same time, we want to give renewed assurance to our fighting men that their sacrifices are neither in vain nor unappreciated—or unwanted—by the great bulk of their fellow citizens.

We want the aggressors to know that there is a solid, stubborn, dedicated, bi-partisan majority of private citizens in America who approve our country's policy of patient, responsible, determined resistance which is dependent for its success on having the enemy realize that we shall keep the pressure on and not back down, that the peace we insist upon is a peace with freedom and, thus, with honor.

Today, America is a great world power, shedding its blood and expending its treasure in a distant country for the simple privilege of withdrawing in peace as soon as that country is guaranteed the effective right of self-determination. We ask nothing for ourselves and insist upon nothing for South Vietnam except that it be free to chart its own future, no matter what course it may choose. Surely this is a noble and worthy objective consistent with all that is best in American life and tradition.

Our committee has been formed to rally and articulate the support of the concerned, independent-thinking, responsible citizens in America who favor our nation's fundamental commitment to peace *with* freedom.

Will you join with us?

"Peace With Freedom" Membership Is Listed

Membership roster of the Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam, as anounced yesterday by its organizers:

Acheson, Dean—Former U.S. Secretary of State.

Alexander, Holmes—Syndicated columnist.

Antell, James B.—President, U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Arnold, Thurman—Former Solicitor General of the United States.

Bandler, Ned—Business executive.

Barnett, Frank R.—President, National Strategy Information Center, Inc.

Baron, Murray—Industrial consultant.

Beire, Joseph—President, Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO.

Bradley, General of the Army Omar N.—Former Chmairman, U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Breit, Dr. Gregory—Donner professor of physics, Yale University.

Brown, Dr. J. Douglas—Professor of economics, Princeton University. Former Dean of the Faculty.

Brown, Edmund G.—Former Governor of California.

Burns, Dr. James McGregor—James Phinney Baxter professor of history and public affairs and chairman, Department of Political Science, Williams College.

Byrnes, James F.—Former U.S. Secretary of State: Columbia, S.C.

Cabot, Thomas D.—Chairman of the board, Cabot Corp., Boston. Former Director, Office of International Security Affairs, Department of State.

Cherne, Leo—Executive Director, the Research Institute of America, Inc.

Clay, Gen. Lucius D.—Senior partner, Lehman Brothers.

Conant, Dr. James B.—Former president, Harvard University. Former U.S. Ambassador to Germany.

Connelly, Marc—Playwright.

Darden, Colgate—Former president, University of Virginia; Norfolk, Va.

Davis, Thurston N., S.J.—Editor-in-chief, America.

Douglas, Paul H.—Former U.S. Senator from Illinois.

Draper, Gen. William H.—Partner, Draper, Gaither & Anderson.

Drummond, Roscoe—Syndicated columnist.

Ellison, Ralph—Author.

Emmett, Christopher—Chairman, American Friends of the Captive Nations.

Engel, Irving M.—Attorney-at-law, Past president, American Jewish Committee.

Farland, Joseph S.—Former U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and to the Republic of Panama.

Farrell, James T.—Author.

Fishel, Wesley R.—Professor of Asian studies, Michigan State University.

Fisher, John M.—President, American Research Foundation; Chicago.

Gaston, A.G.—President, Booker T. Washington Insurance Co., Birmingham, Ala.

Gates, Thomas S.—Chairman, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense.

Gideonse, Dr. Harry D.—Chancellor, New School for Social Research.

Gullian, Dr. Edmund A.—Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; Medford, Mass.

Gunderson, Mrs. Robert—Former U.S. Civil Service Commissioner; Rapid City, S.D.

Hacker, Louis M.—Historian and professor of economics, Columbia University.

Handlin, Dr. Oscar—Director, Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, Harvard University.

Hanes, John W. Jr.—Investment banker, Former Assistant Secretary of State.

Harris, Huntington—Business executive.

Hecht, Rabbi Abraham B.—President, Rabbinical Alliance of America.

Hoffer, Eric—Author and longshoreman, San Francisco.

Jackson, the Rev. J. H.—President, National Baptist Convention.

Johnson, Donald E.—Past national commander, American Legion.

Jones, Dr. Frank—Physician and surgeon.

Keeler, W. W.—President, Phillips Petroleum Co.; Bartlesville, Okla.

Keggi, Dr. Kristaps, J.—Assistant professor of Orthopedic surgery, Yale University. Former chief of orthopedic surgery, Third Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army), Vietnam. Captain MC USAR.

King, Wilson—Farmer; Rock Falls, Ill.

Lapp, Dr. Ralph E.—Nuclear physicist and author.

Liebman, Morris I.—Attorney, Chicago.

de Lima, Oscar—Business executive. Chairman, executive committee, United Nations Association; Stamford, Conn.

Lindsay, Howard—Playwright, producer and actor.

Locke, Edwin Allen Jr.—President, Modern Homes Construction Co.; Valdosta, Ga.

Lodge, George C.—University official. Former Assistant Secretary of Labor; Beverly, Mass.

Loomis, Henry—Former Director, Voice of America.

Lord, Mrs. Oswald B.—Former U.S. Representative on Human Rights Commission, United Nations.

Lucey, Archbishop Robert E.—Archbishop, Archdiocese of San Antonio.

Lyons, John H.—General president, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, AFL–CIO.

McCaleb, Claude B.—Book company executive; Indianapolis.

McDougal, Myres S.—Sterling professor of law, Yale University.

McGill, Ralph—Syndicated columnist; Atlanta.

Marshall, Brig. Gen. S. L. A. (Ret.)—Military historian; Birmingham, Mich.

Martin, C. V.—President, Carson Pirie Scott & Co., Chicago.

Martin, David—Special assistant to Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.)

Meany, George—President, AFL–CIO.

Michael, Franz—Associate director, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, George Washington University.

Nash, Dr. Philleo—Consulting anthropologist. Former U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Nevins, Allan—Historian.

Newman, Ralph G.—Author, publisher and columnist.

Porter, Paul A.—Attorney, Arnold & Porter; former Director, Office of Price Administration.

Porter, Paul R.—Chief, ECA mission to Greece, 1949–50.

Randall, Ann Hagen—Television producer and former foreign correspondent.

Reid, Whitelaw—Business executive.

Robinson, Prof. James A.—Director, Mershon Center for Education in National Security, Ohio State University.

Roosevelt, Kermit—President, Roosevelt & Associates.

Rose, Dr. Frank—President, University of Alabama.

Rowe, James H. Jr.—Former assistant to President Roosevelt and former Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Rubin, Rabbi Schulen—New York City.

Sacks, Prof. I. Milton—Dean of the Undergraduate School, Brandeis University.

Saltonstall, Leverett—Former U.S. Senator from Massachusetts.

Saltzman, Charles E.—Investment banker. Former U.S. Under Secretary of State.

Scalapino, Prof. Robert A.—Professor of political science, University of California.

Seabury, Dr. Paul.—Professor of political science, University of California.

Seitz, Dr. Frederick—President, National Academy of Sciences.

Shuster, Dr. George N.—President emeritus, Hunter College.

Smith, Howard K.—News analyst, commentator and author.

Smithies, Dr. Arthur—Nathaniel Ropes professor of political economy, Harvard University.

de Sola Pool, Dr. Ithiel—Professor of political science, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Sonne, H. Christian—Chairman, National Planning Association.

Stephens, Charles J.—Student, University of California, Berkeley.

Stout, Rex—Author.

Strauss, Anna Lord—Former president, League of Women Voters of the U.S.

Strauss, Lewis L.—Former Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Stulberg, Louis—President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, AFL–CIO.

Swearingen, Rodger—Professor of International relations, University of Southern California.

Swig, Benjamin H.—Chairman of the board, Fairmont Hotel Co., San Francisco.

Tatum, E. L.—Nobel laureate in medicine and physiology. Professor, Rockefeller University.

Taylor, Prof. George E.—Director, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington.

Thacher, James—Attorney, San Francisco.

Trager, Frank N.—Professor of international affairs, New York University.

Tyroler, Charles II—President, Quadri-Science, Inc.

Urey, Dr. Harold C.—Nobel laureate in chemistry. Professor of chemistry-at-large, University of California.

Van Dusen, Dr. Henry P.—Clergyman, educator and author. Chairman, Foundation for Theological Education in Southeast Asia.

Washburn, Abbott—Former Deputy Director, USIA.

White, Robert P.—Student, University of Oklahoma.

Whitney, John Hay—Former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain.

Wigner, Eugene P.—Nobel laureate in physics. Professor of physics, Princeton University.

Williams, Prof. T. Harry—Boyd professor of history, Louisiana State University.

Wilson, Joseph C.—Chairman of the board, Xerox Corp.

Brent Spence—A Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 5, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is the people's institution. Its Members, elected every 2 years, are close to the people. Members of the House are no further away from the humblest citizen than the telephone or a postal card.

Great and revered public servants over the years have made of the House of Representatives the greatest deliberative body in the world. Among the giants who created a great image for the House of Representatives and for public service was the late Brent Spence, of Kentucky. I was saddened and shocked to learn of his passing even though I knew he must be approaching the end.

Brent Spence was an outstanding committee chairman who presided over the Banking and Currency Committee with great wisdom and fatherly advice. Brent Spence was a great Kentuckian, serving in the tradition of Henry Clay and Alben Barkley. He was a loyal Democrat, but did not let his love of the Democratic Party make him biased and partisan when the welfare of his country was at stake.

Brent Spence was a great American, and this Nation is a better Nation because of his service here in the Congress and because of his understanding of fiscal and monetary affairs. Brent Spence was down to earth, humble—the markings of a truly great servant of the people.

Brent Spence was a warm personal friend whose memory I shall always cherish as a friend and as one of the great men in the history of the House of Representatives.

The Real Causes of Today's Troubles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article by H. Frederick Hagemann, Jr., chairman of the board and president of State Street Bank & Trust Co., Boston, Mass., entitled "The Real Causes of Today's Troubles."

THE REAL CAUSES OF TODAY'S TROUBLES

(By H. Frederick Hagemann, Jr.)

The people of this country are deeply concerned with crime in the streets, juvenile delinquency, high taxes, the rising cost of living, riots in the cities and the war in Vietnam. In particular, the continuing outbreaks of violence in American cities have left the country alarmed, perplexed and questioning.

At the same time, the international impact of the riots has shaken admirers of the United States all over the world and, of course, has delighted our enemies.

America finds itself in a dilemma, the solution to which calls for maximum resourcefulness, forthrightness and a high degree of national maturity.

There are many solutions advocated daily. Most of them are concerned with federal funds to be channeled directly to cities, or through the states. Others call for the creation of new or the expansion of present spending programs. But all of them have one common thread—they are, in the main, panaceas to relieve the situation. They are not remedies to cure the condition. And there is a dangerous temptation to react quickly to violence with another hasty program to show that "something is being done" rather than to analyze the total problem and take basic steps to get at the roots of the problem.

Calling for the elimination of slums strikes a responsive note everywhere. But they cannot be talked away. Until the country is reoriented to provide the opportunity and training to enable a man to earn a living, the present programs in most cases only subsidize his lack of opportunity and continue to strip away his dignity.

Welfare is a necessary life raft, but it cannot be a career incentive.

There is no quick and easy solution to this problem, nor do I suggest there may be a long-range one to be embarked on immediately. I do believe, however, that in searching out remedies, certain basic facts must be considered.

How can these riots happen in 1967 with business very active? How can they happen in 1967 when defense spending for Vietnam and other interantional commitments have sharply increased government spending? How can they happen in 1967 when more people in America are employed at higher wages than at any time in our history?

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

In looking at America today and comparing it with the America of fifty to one hundred years ago, it is easy to see that in many respects we in America have wandered from our original concept of government. In the early concept of American life our man-made laws were consistent with the moral laws. The marked exception was legalized slavery and the minority directly involved and the entire country is still endeavoring to recover from this breach of the moral law. Ours was a government founded under God, with tremendous faith in individuals. Our economy was based on free men and free markets and money of value independent of government. It was a nation that laid great stress on the preservation of law and order, a nation that put a great deal of emphasis on the ownership and protection of private property, a nation that believed in placing limitations on the power and size of the federal government.

This nation was founded on the principle that the individual was supreme and the government was the servant of the people. This nation was founded on the principle of capitalism—namely, "*to each according to his ability.*" Whether we realize it or not, we have wandered a long way from those original principles and have moved toward an alien philosophy in which the government tends to be supreme and the individual tends to become the ward or servant of the government. This alien philosophy has as its basic concept, "*from each according to his ability, to each according to his need,*" by the force of government.

The United States was settled first in 1607 at Jamestown, and later at Plymouth in 1620. The rest of the world had been known and settled for thousands of years prior thereto. In the short span of a few hundred years this country, starting from scratch, developed under the American concept into a leading world power and a nation which provided for most of its people a higher standard of living than known anywhere else in the world. Also, the poor and the disabled people of the United States were taken care of by voluntary charities so that their condition was far above the condition of similarly situated people in the rest of the world.

CRITICISM OF CAPITALISM

Nevertheless, some people are always trying to modify this system and many of the ills from which we are suffering are caused by the interventions of people with the best of intentions. I am not trying to indicate that the capitalistic system is perfect by any means. No system composed of mortal men operating on this earth will be perfect. But it is the only system which has worked and which has increased the standard of living for the great majority of the people. In many areas of the world where they have ample resources, economic conditions are still as poor as they were 2000 years B.C., and they will be the same as long as they continue with their present system.

As William Graham Sumner, renowned professor of political and social science at Yale in the late 1800's, said regarding the industrial virtues of hard work, saving and learning, "I repeat that they are our only moral resource for winning success in the battle of life. The greater the disadvantages under which one starts in life, the higher the value of these virtues for winning the first foothold and making the first step to something better."

Some people criticize the capitalistic system because it has not eliminated all poverty, has not eliminated inequality, and has not eliminated all insecurity. Most of the world is still in poverty, and from a global standpoint, pockets of prosperity, civilization and a high standard of living are the rare things rather than the usual.

Under our Constitution, all men are born equal with inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but this means equality of opportunity and not equality of ultimate attainment. In fact, the American Constitution guarantees us the right to be unequal in this regard. To criticize the capitalistic system because it does not develop a sense of security is unrealistic. The accumulation of private property, properly protected under law and order, is the only real source of a feeling of economic security that can be obtained in a world of insecurity, and then only obtained in a measure.

As previously stated, everyone is for helping the poor, everyone is for raising the standard of living of everyone to the highest possible level. No one is against welfare, but the big question is how do we attain the ends which everyone wishes and provide the opportunity for improvement that many sorely need.

I say we attain them by returning to our American heritage and the strengthening of the capitalistic system, encouraging incentives for the industrial virtues of hard work, thrift and the desire for learning, together with the strengthening of independent private charities. Such a combination of private enterprise and private charity was successful in the past and can be successful again. The greatest thing the government could do at this time is to set about creating a climate encouraging to private enterprise, for the economic strength of a nation depends on the number of people engaged in productive work, as against the number of people on public payrolls.

Even in the field of housing the social results the government has attained so far have been rather negligible, and in my opinion the only way a major step forward can be really accomplished is through enlisting the full support of the private sector of the economy through the normal methods of the profit and loss system.

DRIFT TOWARD ALIEN PHILOSOPHY

For the past thirty years government programs have moved away from our original concept. I am convinced that a continuation of the present government welfare programs, backed with additional large sums of money, will not accomplish the ends which we all seek, and will also further weaken our country's financial position to the great disadvantage of the entire country, and particularly those in need of the opportunity to improve their standard of living. In the light of history only very few ultimately benefit from inflation.

Why do I believe this? Under the system of free men, free markets and money that has value independent of government, capital increases and the ability to dispense charity also increases. Capitalism is hard to describe and explain, but so is electricity, but both work wonders, It is just a question of looking at recorded history.

Also, under the capitalistic system, there is a tendency for the number of people who need charity to decrease as more people are provided an opportunity to work in productive enterprises. Consequently, as you look down the road under the original American system, you can see daylight and a real hope of general improvement on a sound basis.

What happens under the continuation of the present big government welfare trends? By taking from those who are working, earning and saving, and giving to those who are not working, we, through our government, are doing two things—we are interfering with the formation of additional capital and discouraging the people who are working. Furthermore, in giving the money to those people who are not working but who are able to do so, and relieving them of the pressure to earn their own living, we are weakening their resolve to become self-supporting. We are weakening their resolve to regain their dignity through working and ultimately to enjoy life.

There is no question that those people who are mentally ill or who are physically unable to take care of themselves must be taken care of. But programs to do this should not cover men and women who are able to work and choose not to do so. Reward must be associated with effort. Any nation that disassociates these two factors opens itself to untold trouble.

Already, under the tremendous increase of government expenditures for health, education and welfare, the government is unable to make both ends meet. In thirty-two out of the last thirty-eight years we have failed to balance the federal budget. First, we have been unable to raise sufficient taxes to cover expenditures. Second, we have been unable to borrow from the savings of the people sufficient money to cover the difference between the money we have been raising on taxes and the money we have been spending. Third, in order to pay the remaining balance of its bills not covered by taxes and bonds sold to the people, the federal government has had to resort to creating the equivalent of printing press money in order to pay its bills in total. By thus diluting the purchasing power of our money in order to pay its bills, the government complicates its own problems generally and particularly in the welfare field by having the costs of welfare continually increase. Such mounting costs put further pressure on the government to raise taxes, to sell more bonds to the public, and to create larger amounts of the equivalent of printing press money in order to continue to pay its ever-mounting bills. As you can clearly see, this is a vicious circle.

Undoubtedly various forms of wage controls, price controls, interest rate regulations and exchange controls and rationing will be suggested as a remedy, but the controls only attack the symptoms and not the causes.

This dilution of the money is basically immoral, and is cutting into the value of fixed income securities, life insurance policies and pensions. It also discourages thrift and encourages speculation. It is a destroyer of the incentive for hard work and has a tendency to break down the morals of the people. Economic chaos and moral decay have been the pattern of previous inflations in various other parts of the world as far back in time as the Roman Empire. As George Santayana, the philosopher, said, "Those who refuse to learn the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them."

Many people will say it is too late to turn back to our American heritage and to reemphasize and strengthen the private charities sector and to de-emphasize the government's role in the welfare field. However, I feel strongly that we cannot continue on our present course without an ultimately disastrous outcome.

As David Babson, an investment counselor of vision, said in his recent weekly letter to his investor clients, "Note that total government expenditures now account for 31% of the Gross National Product, versus 27% in 1960 and 18% in 1947. Contrary to popular impression, the war in Vietnam is responsible for only one-fourth of the gain since 1960. *In fact, in the past seven years civilian outlays have risen almost 50% more rapidly* *than military spending and they have grown over eight times faster than the population itself."*

Taxing those who are working and have saved, and giving to those who are not working and have not saved, ultimately winds up with the liquidation of those who have accumulated capital, and therefore this source of welfare funds dries up. We then arrive at the point where if anyone wants anything, he will have to pay for it himself or do without it. It must be firmly kept in mind that the government does not have any money to disburse to the people which it doesn't first take from them, through taxes, borrowing from them, or by money dilution, which adversely affects them, and is the most unfair form of taxation.

Furthermore, all of us must realize that we live in a very complicated society with a high degree of specialization of labor. Most of us who are not living on self-sufficient farms are acutely dependent on the exchange of money for goods and services which we need. One of the functions which money performs is a medium of exchange. If the dilution continues ad infinitum, a point could come when the system of exchange could break down. In previous inflations where the money has been diluted too far, farmers have refused to send food into the cities because they did not want to exchange things of value for the terribly diluted paper money. The depreciation of the dollar has already gone a long way, and, as indicated, dollar depreciation cannot indefinitely be a continuing way of life.

Again from Mr. Babson's letter:

Value of the dollar, 1939=100 cents

	Cents		Cents
Cur.	41.7	1953	51.7
1966	42.7	1952	52.3
1965	44.0	1951	53.5
1964	44.8	1950	57.6
1963	45.5	1949	58.3
1962	45.8	1948	57.6
1961	46.5	1947	62.2
1960	47.5	1946	71.1
1959	47.6	1945	77.0
1958	48.0	1944	78.8
1957	49.3	1943	80.2
1956	51.0	1942	85.2
1955	51.7	1941	93.4
1954	51.5	1939	100.0

DRASTIC EXPENSE CUTS IMPERATIVE

The foregoing has portrayed an extremely disturbing outlook and it calls for a very drastic reduction in government expenditures. The tax burden on the people is already high and, in addition, they are paying the cruelest tax of all, namely, the tax imposed by the continuing depreciation of the value of their money. Some people have been able to offset the increase in taxes and the decrease in purchasing power of their money by their own increases in wages. However, many have not been so fortunate.

As was previously stated, the public sector of the economy has no money except what it gets from the private sector. The weight of the public sector on the private sector is already very great and, in my opinion, this weight should not be increased at this time by heavier taxes. On the contrary, the method of procedure should be to reduce the weight of the public sector by cutting back government expenditures and eliminating the necessity for the government to use the equivalent of printing press money in order to completely pay all its bills.

I am told by my friends and associates that I am naive to think that the Congress will ever substantially reduce federal spending and, therefore, we are going to be faced with continually higher government expenditures, higher taxes and a continuation of the depreciation of the dollar. History is on the side of those who claim that the continuation of our present course is inevitable.

INTENTIONS OF MONEY DILUTERS GOOD

Governments have been warned not to resort to printing press money or its equivalent because this practice is easy to start and hard to stop. Prior to the year 1900, to the best of my knowledge, there have been only two cases when countries having once embarked on the issuance of printing press money or the equivalent have had the wisdom, courage and statesmanship to turn back before the money became practically worthless. Those two occasions were England and the English pound in the early 1800's and our own country with the American greenbacks which came out in February of 1862, and although repealed by an act of 1874, lasted until January of 1879. Since 1900, the two outstanding exceptions have been the dollar and the pound and let's hope both currencies continue to be exceptions.

Also, bear in mind that in every case when money dilution was started, it was done with the best of intentions to help improve the standard of living of the people, and it was done by government officials who felt that although the odds of controlling it were against them in the light of history, due to their particular skill and knowledge they could manage it and not let inflation get out of control.

Therefore, my friends' comments certainly cannot be lightly regarded, but I refuse to believe that in the year 1967 in the United States of America, with the education and tradition which we have, we cannot face up to our present dilemma and salvage our present situation before money dilution continues to the bitter end.

There are some with the best of intentions who propose that we remove the 25% gold reserve requirement behind our Federal Reserve notes. I strongly disagree with this move because I feel it would further weaken our currency. This 25% gold backing requirement is the only remaining form of discipline left and the one remaining statutory requirement preventing the unlimited issuance of paper money. The cardinal fallacy in the field of money is to believe that because paper money can supplement gold and silver, paper money can do the job alone.

CONCLUSION

We still have representative government in America, and if the message could ever be gotten through to the American people and they realized that the basic cause of the depreciation of their money with all its undesirable social ramifications was the financing of part of the federal deficit by the equivalent of printing press money, I am convinced that they would write their congressmen and demand that they cut back government spending to the point where this money creating process, equivalent to the printing press, would be stopped.

I have great faith in the American people and in their good sense and judgment once they know and understand the facts. It is late, but it is not too late to reclaim our American heritage.

Civil Disobedience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the Manchester Union Leader appears a column written by Mr. Jay Hanlon of Bedford and Manchester, N.H., called Jay Hanlon's Notebook. Always interesting, Mr. Hanlon's remarks are sometimes pointedly pertinent to some of the great issues of our time.

One such column appeared in the issue of October 23, 1967, and dealt with civil disobedience extending to violations of Federal laws by young people encouraged to do this by older people who ought to know better. Teachers hold positions of public trust and responsibility. They have no business telling our younger generation to burn their draft cards, resist our laws, or avoid military service when called. Such conduct goes beyond the pale of legitimate dissent and should be and is recognized for what it is by most thoughtful and concerned Americans—plain contemptible.

I commend the reading of Mr. Hanlon's remarks in this column to Members of Congress and I hope many others including our loyal men in Vietnam who at this hour are fighting for us thousands of miles away in a hostile land. Most Americans are proud of them. Most Americans do care. The article follows:

JAY HANLON'S NOTEBOOK

Last week all of the newspapers were full of it. There, splashed all over page one for all the world to see, were the young men of today, college students in the very flower of manhood—some of them possibly even the leaders of tomorrow—and they were in mass revolt.

In Boston they were marching "in reverent silence" to the altar of the historic Arlington Street church to burn their draft cards.

In Brooklyn, they were battling police in protest against the appearance on campus of two Navy recruiters, a demonstration, no doubt, of academic freedom. And in Washington at the end of the week the United States Army was calling in combat-ready paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne to put down another so-called non-violent peace demonstration.

It would have been laughable if it didn't make you sick to your stomach. These were scenes not to be forgotten easily and even now as I sit down at my typewriter I can see in my mind's eye these fuzzy-faced peaceniks and their bearded friends and their muddle-headed professors and again I feel like I have been kicked in the stomach.

To be sure, I have never held myself out as one of the world's heavy thinkers. Nor am I a moralist who jumps into print at the drop of a hat with a soul-saving sermon. Regular readers of these pieces should know by now that I look for lighter subjects and I do so in the firm belief that (1) others more qualified can handle the heavy thinking and (2) that there already is enough of it elsewhere on this page and (3) that a little lightness is very necessary in these troubled times.

But lightness is no accident. You've got to feel it inside first. And all I keep feeling inside today is a twisted gut, sickened by the draft card burners and peace marchers and protesters who claim they are willing to go to jail rather than to Vietnam.

They called it civil disobedience, they did, as they stood at the church altar last week and let the flames from a religious candle ignite their draft cards. Oh what brave young men they were to hold their burning draft cards until the flames licked at their fingers, protesting all the while that they were following the dictates of the conscience. What pure hogwash!

And all you can say to yourself is what a misguided sense of conscience, while your stomach squirms and your brain floods with outraged anger.

Then, on historic Boston Common, hallowed ground that gave root to the freedoms these men today flaunt, these fuzzy-faced college kids listen to an addled professor exhort them to further revolt.

"We owe it to our conscience," he says, "to the principles of American democracy to declare our independence . . . to resist . . ." And the kids cheer and clap.

And the sickness in your gut is almost too much to hear.

May be the professor thinks it's 1775 and he's a colonial patriot citing the injustices of an oppressive king. But he is plain and simple, an American calling for revolt against a duly elected government. Moreover, he is, in fact, calling for sedition and by doing so he is very definitely lending aid and comfort to our enemy in Vietnam.

And no matter how you slice it, this is nothing short of treason. In another day and another age the man would have been thrown in jail. Or worse. And so too would have his fuzzy-faced audience who think they are performing a heroic act by burning up their draft cards.

But this is 1967 and it is vogue today to tolerate such clowns because, they tell us, this professor and his friends are merely exercising their constitutional rights to dissent.

So when the professor gets up and tells his fuzzy faced followers to burn up their draft cards and a clergyman tells the crowd, "I woud not submit to conscription myself if I were eligible," we're supposed to take old Voltaire's admonition to defend to death their right to call for such treasonable acts?

Well, perhaps this high-minded attitude is fine and dandy for the lofty thinkers in America today. But it is not okay with me—and, I'm sure, with countless other work a day Americans who are just as fed up with the card burners and their professors.

I'm sick to death of listening to their drivel. All of them ought to be thrown in jail immediately. Maybe then this sickness in the pit of my stomach will go away and let me return to lighter subjects for this space.

Federal Grants for Health Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALTON LENNON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the outstanding service our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina, L. H. FOUNTAIN, has performed over the years as chairman of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee. His many important contributions to improving the quality of Government administration have ranged from programs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Department of Agriculture. In addition, he has earned a reputation as one of the most knowledgeable authorities in the Nation in the field of Federal-State-local relations. In this latter connection, Congressman FOUNTAIN was the author of the legislation creating the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and has represented the House on this influential body since its establishment.

Last week the Committee on Government Operations issued an important report on "The Administration of Research Grants in the Public Health Service," based on the studies of Representative FOUNTAIN's subcommittee. This report, aimed at correcting administrative shortcomings that have prevented our health research programs from being as productive, efficient, and economical as Congress intends, has received a great deal of favorable attention in the press.

In view of the importance of this subject, I was very pleased to see a front-cover article on the Fountain committee report in the November 4 issue of the Saturday Review. Entitled "Science versus Democracy, the Developing Struggle," the article was written by the magazine's science editor, John Lear.

I believe my colleagues will want to read this thoughtful article. I, therefore, include it to be printed in the RECORD following my remarks:

SCIENCE VERSUS DEMOCRACY: THE DEVELOPING STRUGGLE

(By John Lear)

Regular readers of these columns will recall that in the month of January 1966 the New York State Board of Regents Medical Committee on Grievances voted to suspend for one year the license under which Dr. Chester M. Southam practiced as a physician. The vote followed committee hearings in which Dr. Southam was found guilty of "fraud and deceit in the practice of medicine" [*SR*, Feb. 5, 1966]. The committee held that the "fraud and deceit" had occurred during Dr. Southam's initiation and supervision of an experiment in which twenty-two helpless old patients at the Jewish Chronic Disease Hospital in Brooklyn had been inoculated with live cancer cells without their knowledge or consent.

Although the grievance committee decision was modified by the full Board of Regents to allow Dr. Southam to retain his license during a one-year period of probation, the action nevertheless evoked considerable shock in the medical profession because of Dr. Southam's eminent position as a researcher and policymaker. He was not only a full member of the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research but also a special consultant to the United States Public Health Service in its various approaches to the cancer mystery. And the experiment that resulted in the accusation of "fraud and deceit" had been financed by USPHS grant No. CA 03215—which, like all other USPHS grants, explicitly required the written consent of all experimental subjects.

Last month another shock wave enveloped the medical profession. This one originated in Washington, D.C., where the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Operations approved publication of a study submitted by its Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee. The study disclosed that in the very same month in which the New York States Board of Regents summons was handed to Dr. Southam at Sloan-Kettering, the U.S. Public Health Service granted to Sloan-Kettering unique and unprecedented power to decide for itself what experiments Sloan-Kettering would perform with the help of public monies over a five-year period extending through 1971.

The text of the subcommittee study, drafted under the chairmanship of North Carolina Congressman L. H. Fountain, related details of the unusual arrangement and recounted the rationale offered for it by the National Institutes of Health, research agent for USPHS:

"Beginning in January 1966, NIH substituted a single cost-sharing grant for forty-one grants and three contracts then in effect for the support of specific research and training projects at the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research in New York City. The [consolidated] grant, made for an initial five-year period at annual amounts ranging from $4.3 to $4.7 million, is intended to provide long-term support commencing at a level of almost half (47.3 per cent) of the institution's total operating budget. In addition, provision has been made for adjusting the grant to accommodate increased costs of conducting research at the agreed-upon level. Also, hospitalization costs related to the research, as well as any authorized facilities construction, will be financed by separate grants. NIH has claimed these principal advantages for the Sloan-Kettering grant:

"(1) NIH will be able to review the grantee's program at one time and as a whole, thereby obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of the program.

"(2) It is in keeping with the increasing need to decentralize the making of operating decisions, both scientific and administrative.

"(3) It provides greater financial stability for Sloan-Kettering, thereby enhancing the grantee's ability to recruit established investigators.

"(4) It provides an incentive for the grantee to use the money where it will be most productive, to redirect grant funds to new activities on short notice, and

"(5) The reduction of numerous applications to a single document will lessen the administrative load for both the applicant and NIH."

The committee did not question that the recited advantages would indeed accrue to the Sloan-Kettering Institute, or that NIH would be relieved of many administrative responsibilities. However, deep concern was expressed over "both . . . the policy implications of this agreement and . . . NIH's embarking upon an experiment of this magnitude without first developing workable methods for the comprehensive scientific and administrative review of a large institution's total program." Especially worrisome, the committee said, were "two consequences of this grant arrangement": first, sequestration, over a five-year period, of "at least $22.6 million of NIH funds which would otherwise be awarded on a competitive basis" [hence possibly to other schools]; second, removal of Sloan-Kettering project applications from the established process of review by advisory panels of qualified specialists, "thereby depriving the grantee of an objective, outside judgment on its individual research proposals."

"Aware that Sloan-Kettering Institute is widely recognized as a leading cancer research institution" and unwilling to "question Sloan-Kettering's standing," the comittee nonetheless challenged "the wisdom of providing support for Sloan-Kettering's entire program in the light of the . . . Institute's . . . recent experience in competing for NIH grants." The committee elucidated:

"In the last two complete fiscal years which preceded the January 1966 fiscal grant, Sloan-Kettering investigators applied for thirty-four separate grants, of which only twenty were approved by NIH scientific review bodies. The approved rate for these applications was 59 per cent in the combined fiscal year 1964 and 1965. The comparable approval rate for all NIH applicants in these same years was 58 per cent. . . .

"Sloan-Kettering fared even less well in competing for NIH grants in the half year which preceded the award of a single cost-sharing grant. During the first half of fiscal year 1966, NIH reviewed twelve project applications, of which five were approved, five disapproved, and two withdrawn. . . .

"The several study sections [the NIH scientific review panels] which reviewed and recommended disapproval of recent Sloan-Kettering research proposals gave these explanations in their resume on five of the applications:

" 'This unimaginative proposal plans to do studies which have become almost routine in institutions with active hematology and radioisotope services. There is no research support warranted for this plain data-gathering exercise.'

" 'Disapproval is recommended. The conceptual approach and experimental plan are remarkably unsophisticated. There is nothing in the application to inspire confidence that continuation of this work would add to the understanding of the mechanism of action of anti-tumor agents.'

" 'There is nothing in this proposal to indicate that the applicants are in a position to contribute significantly to this heavily worked area.'

" 'Study section believed that it was logical to precede this study with appropriate pilot studies before initiating the proposed research, which is based on supposition. Concern was expressed also that the applicant was unaware of the immunological procedures requisite to this proposal. Accordingly, a recommendation of disapproval was voted.'

" 'Results of this program have been disappointing, and on the basis of the application and information obtained through the site visit, there is no reason to expect that marked progress or significant results will be forthcoming in the future.'

"If projects are unacceptable to NIH on the basis of an adverse scientific review by its nongovernmental consultants, what justification is there for giving the grantee discretion to finance these same projects from a single cost sharing grant? If NIH's Study Section-Advisory Council review mechanism is the best available method for bringing scientific judgment to bear on research project applications—as NIH has stated time and again—substituting the grantee's own judgment for that of the established review system in selecting projects for support is surely a questionable practice. We are dealing here not with delegating discretion to the grantee institution for deciding how a limited amount of supplementary research and training money may be spent . . .; we are dealing, rather, with the grantee's ability to modify its entire program for which NIH contributes nearly half the total cost."

That Sloan-Kettering's internal standards for judging experiments contemplated by its staff scientists might not always be as exacting as the standards imposed by public competition in the professional marketplace was suggested in a related passage of the Fountain committee study. This passage declared:

"Moreover, the committee has learned that during 1965 Sloan-Kettering itself supported approximately five research projects for which funds were requested from NIH but denied because the projects lacked scientific merit."

The committee study further revealed that the unique protection accorded to Sloan-Kettering was bestowed after extraordinary political pressure had been exerted. Only two types of grants were specifically authorized by the law under which USPHS had been created. One type covered individual research projects, the other covered "general support" of institutions in which researchers worked. The Assistant General Counsel of Cabinet Secretary John Gardner's Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—parent of both USPHS and NIH—ruled that the consolidated grant designed for Sloan-Kettering did not legally fit either of the two classifications. The only possible loophole was in Section 301(i) of the Public Health Service Act, which authorized the Surgeon General, titular head of USPHS, to adopt, upon recommendation of the National Advisory Cancer Council or other appropriate council, "such additional means as he deems necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes" of the law. The five-year *carte blanche* for Sloan-Kettering was pushed through that loophole.

Persons who usually know what is happening behind the scenes in Washington says Surgeon General William H. Stewart resisted signing the necessary papers. Unfortunately, they add, he couldn't have the stamina to stand off NIH chief James Shannon. If their version of events is accurate, the Fountain committee study should restore the Surgeon General's faith in his original judgment.

Section 301(i) of the Public Health Service Act had been written many years ago, under conditions quite different from the conditions of today, the study pointed out. The cited subsection might have been, but was not, used in 1960 when "general support" grants were first proposed. Instead, the HEW department then asked that the Public Health Service Act be amended to enable "general support" grants. The Fountain committee held that the Surgeon General "acted unwisely" in failing to seek a similar amendment to legalize the special arrangement with Sloan-Kettering in 1966.

Since medical research is now a $2 billion-a-year business, with two-thirds of its spending done by the federal government and almost $900 million of it at the disposal of USPHS, the Congressional committee recommended amendment of Section 301(i) of the Public Health Service Act "to clarify and limit the Surgeon General's blanket authority to adopt 'such additional means as he deems necessary or appropriate' for the conduct and support of research." After the report appeared, Dr. Sherman told newsmen he was sure of its constructive intent.

The 1966 blanket grant to Sloan-Kettering, though now the only one of its kind, "establishes a precedent for a type of support which other research institutions would have every right to request," the Fountain report warned. "The extension of such support would necessarily have the effect of constricting the availability of grant funds to the detriment of individual investigators and less well known institutions. This is a development which deserves careful study from the standpoint of national policy. It is a step which should not be taken without full consideration within the executive branch and formal authorization by the Congress."

The implications of these remarks can be appreciated only when the Fountain committee study text is read in a fully illuminated setting. For many years past, the vigorous crusading of philanthropist Mary Lasker (donor of the Lasker Awards for achievement in medicine) to shorten the interval betwen medical discovery and its application in clinical practice has interlocked with the political philosophies of two Congressional appropriations committee chairmen—Senator Lister Hill and the late Representative John Fogarty. The combined effect has been to bring to medical research perennially larger appropriations of federal funds than any Presidential budget has called for. The public is led to infer what every competent scientist knows is untrue—that significant medical breakthroughs are proportional to the number of dollars spent in search of them. But the inflationary result of easily available money is steady deterioration in the value of a progressively greater percentage of experiments undertaken. According to NIH figures, the ratio of "excellent to superior" projects fell from 40 percent in 1956 to 26 percent in 1966, "fair" projects rose from 15 percent to 23 percent, "marginals" rose from 1 percent to 4 percent. Since researchers enjoy affluence as much as stockbrokers do, insiders naturally favor perpetuation of the system that made them prosperous.

As the Fountain committee report observed, acceptance of the Sloan-Kettering agreement as a precedent would invite creation of a chain of protected establishments. As the steady accumulation of sequestered funds drained from the marketplace, it would become logical to plead for still larger appropriations to cover experiments not being performed in the protected institutions. Gradually the checks and balances normal to the shifting needs of a democratic society would be removed from so large a segment of the scientific community that researchers would live in a charmed autonomy all their own.

That such a state of affairs may not be far distant from the ideal of many scientists is the theme examined independently in following pages of SR by Daniel S. Greenberg, news editor of *Science*, weekly journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Fountain committee report provides a brief but startling glimpse of the drive with which NIH has begun to assert authority commensurate with the autonomy it already feels. This heretofore private view of the inner sanctum focuses on the Health Sciences Advancement Award (HSAA) conceived by NIH at some undetermined recent time:

"The Health Sciences Advancement Award (HSAA) was formally initiated in 1966 under the presumed authority of the general research support legislation. The announced purpose of this program, however, is very different from the purpose for which GRS legislation was enacted. While the latter was intended to establish a system of continuing general-purpose grants, determined by a uniform formula, to supplement each eligible institution's grants for specific research projects, the HSAA program was initiated to provide special-purpose grants to selected schools for 'increasing the number of excellent research and training programs in graduate academic institutions.' The HSAA program is intended 'to aid in the implementation of specific proposals whereby institutions can advance to higher levels of achievement by developing new and strengthening existing health science activities.' In short, its purpose appears to be similar to that of the National Science Foundation's university science development program—to create additional 'centers of excellence.'

"The first public announcement of the new grant programs was NIH's issuance of the document 'Health Sciences Advancement Award, General Policy and Information Statement,' dated April 1966. A brief preliminary announcement was submitted for publication in the April 22, 1966, issue of *Science*. Both of these announcements specified July 15, 1966, as the deadline for application. Nevertheless, applications for HSAA awards were received from three institutions a year earlier, in May 1965, and two of these institutions were awarded grants officially approved by the National Advisory Health Council on September 28, 1965, but held in abeyance until a public announcement had been made on the establishment of the new program.

"Precisely when these three institutions were invited to submit applications is not clear, but NIH staff met with their representatives on April 28 and 29, 1965, for the purpose of discussing the HSAA program. . . . An ad hoc Health Sciences Advancement Award Scientific Advisory Committee met at NIH on June 1, 1965, to review the resulting applications from Cornell University, the University of Virginia School of Medicine, and the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest. The role of the ad hoc committee was confined to the technical evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the program proposed by each applicant. The chairman observed that it was not the committee's responsibility to make the rules or to determine an applicant's eligibility for the program. The origin of the three applications was not considered by the committee except for the following inquiry:

" 'COMMITTEE MEMBER. There is something I would like to know more in curiosity than anything else because I think it bears on what kind of attitude we should take toward this. We have only three applications. The program wasn't announced, and I don't know what the mechanism was for getting these three applications into the hopper, but were they asked or suggested to them that they apply, or did they hear about the program and—

“‘NIH Official. It was suggested to them, each and every one, that they apply at least by some official in the Public Health Service.

“‘Committee Member. It was a trial balloon you wanted to try out?

“‘NIH Official. This was a trial balloon. And you realize you have three quite dissimilar applications here. This isn't accidental, and we will not open the flood gates. This is not a program in which fifty institutions can apply no matter who or how distinguished they may be.

“‘Committee Member. I wanted to know what the origin of the application was.

“‘NIH Official. We are fumbling around here. What we do not want to be is flooded under with fifteen applications or fifty or something.’

“All three applications were approved by ad hoc committee, subject to various conditions, and presented to the National Advisory Health Council on June 8, 1965. By law, every NIH research grant must first be recommended by an appropriate advisory council before the grant can be awarded. The Council, however, deferred the three applications for later consideration along with such other applications as might be presented to it after the program had been publicized. As one Council member expressed it ‘We are sort of in the position of judging a beauty contest with not enough contestants.’ The procedure used in bringing the three applications before the Council was criticized by another member who stated:

“‘I think that when public funds are involved . . . there is a clear obligation on the part of the federal government to announce in clear and explicit terms to all interested parties the terms of the competition. . . . And I feel very strongly that this principle ought to be established. And I think that if this is done, that we will find . . . a number of candidates and some of them may be even more lovely than what has gone on before’ ”

The Fountain committee report went on to show that the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest withdrew its application after being told it could get the money it sought in another way. HSAA grants were finally given to Cornell ($1,000,000 over a five-year period) and to the University of Virginia ($1,097,650 over a five-year period) but only after the Advisory Council had expressed its unhappiness over the noncompetitive nature of the awards as well as over the principle of making awards to institutions already receiving substantial development funds from other sources. Here is the transcript:

“Council Member. Secondly, I take it that the general announcement to the university community has only been made very recently. In other words, the opportunity to participate in the program on a competitive basis has only recently been formally announced.

“NIH Staff. Actually it has not yet been announced. It will be announced very shortly.

“Council Member. It strikes me as a very specific illustration of policymaking in a vacuum. It is hardly surprising that the Review Committee found much good in these proposals, but I would argue they would have found much good in proposals from other large, prosperous institutions throughout the country had those institutions had the opportunity to know about the availability of Federal funds. I am even tired of my own speech on this, I have made it so often.

“Second Council Member. We never have got an answer to the question which we have asked several times. How did these three or those two applications happen to come in?

“Council Member. . . ., we did get an answer. And it was not a very good one. It was to the effect these had been solicited.”

The Fountain committee report did not say what informed sources in Washington know well—that the objectors on the Advisory Council were young turks whose opinions were overridden by older council members. But this fact was reflected in a committee recommendation that future appointments to all advisory councils be limited to four years and that a four-year interval be permitted to elapse before the same scientist is named to another council. Such a restriction would weaken the influence of a small group of people, some of whom have shifted from one council to another and so maintained a place in the advisory hierarchy for unbroken periods as long as eighteen years. “When some of the same individuals who have served on advisory councils for many years receive substantial NIH grants, and also testify before the Congress in support of the agency's appropriations, the appearance of favoritism is unavoidable,” the committee declared, calling attention to a three-year-old report of the National Academy of Sciences which said that the advisory responsibility ought to be spread over a larger number of scientists and that more young scientists should have this experience.

As a rule of thumb, with exceptions taken as proof of the rule, it can be assumed that the younger the scientists are the more aware they are of their environment and of the necessity to work with it constantly in mind. How to alleviate pollution of the air enveloping their native planet, the waters flowing on and beneath the planet's surface, and the electromagnetic forces capable of generating intolerable noise—these are concerns of the laboratory. But no less a preoccupation is the developing struggle of the spirit—between the traditions of science and the traditions of democracy.

Continuity in United States-Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, after a long period of silence, a man who has been an important part of two administrations has spoken out on Vietnam. I am referring to Mr. Theodore Sorensen who, in a recent Saturday Review article, has made some suggestions on bringing the Vietnam war to a speedy conclusion.

What he says deserves careful consideration, but consideration in the light of changed circumstances since he was a responsible part of the White House staff.

In his book, Kennedy, as Mr. Sorensen himself points out in the Saturday Review article, he set forth the policies pursued during the Kennedy administration on Vietnam:

> The Administration's objective was to gain time—time for the South Vietnamese with our help and protection to achieve a society sufficiently cohesive both politically and militarily to negotiate a balanced settlement.

In my estimation, this policy has not been changed. These objectives remain as constant as ever, although the administration has changed.

Mr. Sorensen observes that the “time is finally near at hand” to negotiate, and to reach this objective we should consider cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. This is not a new sugestion. It has been made before and much thoughtful atention has been given it both inside and outside the Government. It is my belief that the United States has been forthright and eager in its response to stop the bombing and to explore negotiations.

But the simple fact remains that it takes two to negotiate and thus far Hanoi has shown no willingness to talk.

The Secretary of State in his October 13, 1967, press conference stated that:

> The problem is that dozens and dozens of suggestions have been made to Hanoi through all sorts of channels, through all sorts of formula, and that Hanoi has categorically rejected all of them.

The Secretary also stated:

> I have yet to hear anyone tell us that if we did stop the bombing they could definitely deliver Hanoi to the conference table. I have asked a number of governments, “all right, if we stop the bombing, what can you deliver?” I get no response. Hanoi has not yet indicated it was in any way ready to pursue a “balanced settlement.”

The President, most recently in San Antonio, has spoken on the subject of bombing cessation both strongly and clearly:

> The United States is willing to stop all aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We, of course, assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation.

What began as a small guerrilla war was expanded by the introduction of regular North Vietnamese troops, infiltrating in greater and greater numbers into the South in late 1964 and continuing to this very day. This has introduced a profound change in the nature of the war since 1964—a change which many observers have not taken fully into account.

In other words, what might have been adequate in 1963 or 1964 as an American response to Communist aggression, would be inadequate at this time. Pacification—the importance of which no one underestimates—was made a more difficult task by the large-scale invasion from the North.

We are attempting, in a sense, to build a house during a hurricane. We are helping to build a new political, social, and economic order in Vietnam while a war ranges around. In spite of the difficulties, there have been notable successes.

We have met the challenge of inflation, benefiting from our experience during the Korean war.

We have not been forced to dominate the war, as some have charged. The Province Chief still governs his province. The ARVN commander still commands his own forces. The newly elected government truly represents the electorate.

We have been able to assist in the establishment of basic democratic forms in a country which has lacked them for many years. It is a development which hopefully presages a true social revolution in South Vietnam, one benefiting the people.

This is the kind of victory we are looking for in Vietnam. Some may sneer that such victories are small. Such statements betray an ignorance of the nature of guerrilla warfare. Small victories are the essential victories.

It was a victory to hold a successful national election despite widespread Vietcong opposition and terrorist tactics.

It was a victory to see national and provincial leaders emerging, bolstered by an election, responsive to—responsible to—the public.

We do not seek total military victory. We do not wish to bomb North Vietnam back to the stone age. We do not believe that the war can be won only by force of arms.

The conflict in Vietnam is one which ebbs and flows. Yet the course we set during the Eisenhower administration is still unchanged. President Johnson does not seek objectives which are any different from those administrations which preceded his—although circumstances have changed in many important ways.

The United States remains committed to a balanced settlement, one which will respect the rights of all parties involved. To that end we shall continue to pursue the real accomplishments, the small victories which are so important to a solution in Vietnam.

Support for Categorical Aids to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, in the growing debate about categorical and general aids, including Federal tax-sharing we too seldom hear a good word said about the existing categorical aid programs which have served this Nation so well.

In this connection, I am sure that my colleagues would profit from hearing the words of Hartford, Conn., Superintendent of Schools Medill Bair. Under unanimous consent I include Mr. Bair's introduction to "Educational Excellence Through Creative Action, State and Federal Grant Programs, Hartford Public Schools, 1967" in the Congressional Record:

Introduction

Connecticut's pioneering State Act for Disadvantaged Children and a number of Federal laws—most importantly Title I and Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, NDEA funding, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Vocational Education Act of 1963—have provided for the young people of Hartford vital programs that are of tremendous consequence in advancing educational progress.

The scope of activities described in this booklet is impressive. Needless to say, special funds have enabled us to advance far beyond the budget available from general tax sources. For this we are grateful.

It is currently fashionable, in national educational circles, to grumble about the paperwork required by most Federal projects. Hartford sees little merit in this grumbling. On the contrary, we agree that programs which involve large amounts of money must be fully explained and justified. And certainly, fair regulations to insure that money is spent honestly and wisely are absolutely essential.

What causes us some real concern is a growing demand that all Federal aid be general aid, rather than the categorical aid we now have. If such a policy is implemented, we fear that activities of the type reported in this booklet would be less likely—perhaps impossible. Categorical aid should be continued, since only in this way is there any guarantee that the funds provided will reach the children for whom they are intended, under a program specifically designed to meet these children's needs.

Our relations with officials in Washington and in the State Department of Education have been most cordial and, we hope, mutually beneficial.

While it is impossible to give proper thanks to the many officials in the United States Office of Education who have counseled us wisely and efficiently, we can mention specifically the tremendous efforts of Dr. Alexander J. Plante, director of the Office of Program Development of the Connecticut State Department of Education. His untiring and inspiring efforts have helped to open up new educational vistas in this state. We hope our tribute to Dr. Plante reflects also our tremendous gratitude to all the "bureaucrats" in Washington or Hartford whose vision, hard work, and dedication have done so much to create the most exciting and promising educational climate in our lifetime.

Medill Bair,
Superintendent of Schools.

September 1967.

We Owe America a Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the shrill protests of extremists of the left and right tend to drown out the voice of reason, of moderation of the vast majority of our people. The underlying spirit of America is typified in the quiet comments of a father and mother in the 11th Congressional District it is my honor to represent.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Warrander, of Irvington, N.J., whose only son, Maj. John Warrander, is a marine pilot in Vietnam, summarized their feelings in an article that appeared in today's Newark Star Ledger. The Warranders said:

> For all of its mistakes and for all the things that are not good, we feel very deeply that this country is still worth fighting for. America has been good to us and we feel we owe her a great debt.

I am pleased to insert at this point in the Record this inspiring story of the courage and patriotism of this splendid family:

Only Son Is in Viet: We Owe America a Debt

"I'm sorry I just have one son to do this job," Mrs. Mary Warrander said yesterday, hours after she prayed at church for his safety.

Mrs. Warrander is the mother of Marine Corps Maj. John W. Warrander, 37, who gave up flying a commercial jet liner over the friendly skies of the United States to pilot a Skyhawk fighter-jet through the unfriendly skies of Vietnam.

The major's mother and father, Robert, a retired tool and diemaker, who make their home at 16 Cornell St., Irvington, still wish they had more sons even though they lost a nephew, Army Capt. Colin MacManus, 26, in combat in Vietnam last February.

"For all of its mistakes and for all the things that are not good, we feel very deeply that this country is still worth fighting for," the Warranders said. "America has been good to us and we feel we owe her a great debt."

Mrs. Warrander spoke of her son, who returned to active duty earlier this year because he wanted to "do something worthwhile so that others especially my daughter, can learn from my example."

His daughter, Lesly, 9, an only child, lives with her mother in East Orange.

SERVED IN MARINES

Warrander previously served for 15 years in the Marines, spending most of that time in Japan, Okinawa and other Asian areas before he became a commercial jet liner pilot.

"I guess I'm patriotic," said the 5-foot-9, 165-pound Marine combat pilot. "I prefer to be judged by the company I keep and the Americans in Vietnam are in the best company there is.

Warrander, who is attached to Marine Attack Squadron 311 at Marine Corps Air Station in Chu Lai, finds a difference between flying big commercial jets and the compact Skyhawk combat jet.

"The liners are, of course, bigger, and very stable," he stated. "You have a crew and an automatic pilot. You are controlled and guided by set patterns. So far in Vietnam, I've flown 90 combat missions. You are alone in the aircraft and it's up to you to handle any situations that arise."

Warrander used to fly the Caravelle jet and Viscount four-engine, turbo-prop from Newark to Atlanta and Chicago for one of the nation's largest airlines.

Dingell Amendment to Clean Air Act Would Undermine California's Fight Against Critical Smog Health Hazard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I think it is vitally important that the Members of this House understand the full implications of the so-called Dingell amendment to the Clean Air Act, when that legislation comes up for a vote on the floor later this week.

In particular, I believe they should realize that this auto industry-inspired provision would undermine the efforts of California officials to protect the health of that State's 20 million citizens against the increasing threat of deadly car exhaust fumes polluting the atmosphere of California's major metropolitan areas.

For that reason, I have sent a short letter explaining the adverse effects of the Dingell amendment to each of my colleagues in the House, and include the text of that letter in the Record at this point.

The letter follows:

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., October 31, 1967.

Dear Colleague: With all the recent discussion about the effect of the so-called Dingell Amendment to S. 780, the Air Quality Act of 1967, I believe it is important to set the record straight.

Here is a short summary of what this is all about:

(1) California, and particularly Los Angeles, undeniably has a very pressing need

to reduce emissions from motor vehicles. The President of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, speaking for 10,000 physicians, terms the pollution from motor vehicles a critical hazard to the health of the people of that community.

(2) To meet this need, California enacted the Nation's first standards for motor vehicle emissions. Cars sold in California in 1966 and 1967 have been equipped to meet these standards. California also has set more stringent standards to become effective with the 1970 models. It should be noted carefully that industry spokesmen have said they are prepared to meet these standards.

(3) The Federal Government enacted auto emission standards applicable to the 1968 models sold throughout the Nation, and cars sold anywhere in the country after December 31, 1967 will be equipped to comply. These standards are the same as those which have been in effect in California since 1966. Thus, in 1968 nad 1969, California and the rest of the country will have uniform standards.

(4) The enactment of Federal standards raised the question of pre-emption. Would the fact that the Federal Government legislated in the same field nullify the more rigorous standards that California had set for 1970? This matter was considered by the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution when S. 780 was being drafted.

(5) When the Committee held hearings in California, they were told that the preemption problem should be solved in one of two ways: either the National standard should be set to meet the problem of the area with the most acute pollution condition, i.e. Los Angeles; or, the State of California should be allowed to set its own standards.

(6) In response, Senator Murphy offered an amendment which was passed by the Senate 88–0, that attempted to supply the second alternative: that is, it would allow California to set its own standards. Under Murphy's amendment, the Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare *must* waive the National standards and allow California to set its own standards, unless he finds that California does not have a need. The burden is on the Secretary to make a clear finding that California *does not need* special standards, and this would be difficult to do in the face of the strong testimony that the medical community of that state has presented.

(7) Representative Dingell's amendment shifts to California the burden of proving affirmatively that it has an overwhelming need for special standards, and then the Secretary may, or may not, himself set the standards for California at any level that he chooses, *and that he determines technology and economics allow*. There is no question that it would be much more difficult for California to reduce automotive emissions under the procedures of the Dingell Amendment than under the Murphy Amendment.

(8) When the present standards were set in California, it was recognized that they would not be adequate, and that is why the 1970 standards were established at a much lower level. The industry now has had several years to prepare to meet the 1970 requirements, and spokesmen for the industry have said they are prepared to comply. There has been adequate "lead time" for the industry to meet and readily satisfy California's 1970 requirements. All of this will now be upset if the Federal Government pre-empts under the Dingell Amendment, and the industry will again plead the necessity for several more years of lead time.

Referring to the automobile industry, the largest industry in his State, Representative Dingell has repeatedly made statements such as "We can't operate *our* production lines to meet fifty different standards."

Of course, we are not presented with a proposal for fifty different standards. All that the industry will have to do is exactly what it has been doing for the past two years: that is, make one type of car for California and another for all the rest of the States. This is two standards, and not fifty.

It is interesting that nowhere has Representative Dingell ever proposed that the standards for the Nation be set at the level required in California. I am sure that he won't.

Whatever Mr. Dingell's intent, the effect of his amendment will be to obstruct progress in reducing smog in California. It should be defeated, and California should retain the power to protect the health of its citizens.

Sincerely,

EDWARD R. ROYBAL,
Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Carl Hayden

SPEECH
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy and privileged to join with my dear friend, and able and esteemed colleague, Congressman JOHN RHODES, in hailing and saluting on his 90th birthday one of the truly great Americans that it has been my privilege to know during my service in the Congress, the Honorable CARL HAYDEN, outstanding U.S. Senator from the great State of Arizona.

Senator HAYDEN is unique. There is no one like him in Washington today. His service in public life commenced about the turn of the century and has continued since that time with steady advancement to high and higher levels of service, culminating in the House and U.S. Senate. He has served for the past 55 years with outstanding distinction, fidelity to duty, great ability, extraordinary diligence, and an exceptional spirit of devotion.

CARL HAYDEN is a great American. His country, his State, and all of us who know him may well be very proud of his illustrious career in the public service and be grateful for the opportunity to know and to serve with such a great public servant who is admired by all.

The Senator served in public office with some great people from his State. It was my privilege as a young man to meet him with my own great, patriot-statesman friend, the late, lamented Senator David I. Walsh, and another great illustrious figure from the State of Arizona, and one time distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the later renowned Hon. Henry Fountain Ashurst.

Senator HAYDEN is physically rugged and inexhaustible and is blessed by the good Lord with a very keen mind, untiring energy, and the ability and patience to tackle and handle multifold duties and an incredible volume of official work with hardly the wink of an eyelash.

I could not pay adequate tribute to such a great man, but must observe that he is truly incredible, not only in the amount of work he can accomplish, but also in his amiable, relaxed personal qualities and great respect for the dignity of his colleagues and fellow men and women.

I want to thank my valued, very able friend, Hon. JOHN RHODES, an outstanding Member of this House, for giving me this opportunity to join in the wholehearted, deeply-felt tribute of esteem and high regard that Members of the House are paying on this occasion to this great Senator of the United States, who has served his country over such a long period of time with such unflagging devotion, loyalty to the people from whom he has sprung, and the Nation, and deep concern for this great system of Government and for the American people.

I wish for Senator HAYDEN, esteemed national leader and friend to very many, continued success in his work, good health, real happiness, and peace for many years to come. He is, indeed, one of God's noble men and a great credit to his State, his Nation, and the Congress of the United States.

Questions in the 1970 Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join with those who question the need and propriety of so many clearly nonessential questions being included in the 1970 Decennial Census of Population and Housing. It would seem to me that only the essential questions should call for compulsory answers; answers to any others should, at best, be on a purely voluntary basis.

Basically, the purpose of the census is to provide the Congress with information needed to decide on a basis of population how the seats in Congress should be distributed among the various States. Any other purpose that is served becomes incidental.

I have examined the 67 subject items tentatively proposed to be included, with answers to each made mandatory. One who fails to answer any of the questions becomes subject to Federal prosecution, with a possible penalty of 60 days in jail or a $100 fine.

As I see it, essential questions should be those which relate to names, addresses, relationship of the head of the household, sex, birth dates, race or color, and marital status. A bill to that effect has been introduced.

It is proposed, for example, that the census taker ask whether you share your shower, how you enter your home, where you lived at a certain time in the past, whether you use a flush toilet or a refrigerator, the amount of rent you pay, and how many of the rooms in your home have running water.

It seems clear to me that many of the proposed questions invade the area of one's privacy. As applied to some there is danger of harassment and embarrassment.

The census should be kept as short and simple as possible, and only failure to answer those questions which are essential should subject the citizen to prosecution.

The Congress should take a close look at this.

Air Quality Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I would like, at this time, to add a few words to the many that have already been spoken in support of the Air Quality Act of 1967.

In his January 30 message to Congress, in which he recommended adoption of the Air Quality Act, the President said:

> Our efforts to understand and control air pollution must be intensified and broadened. Many sources of air pollution cannot be economically or effectively controlled by our present technology.

That our scientists and technicians have not discovered all the answers should come as a surprise to no one, for the knowledge of air pollution and its control is in its infancy and the Federal Government's program is only 4 years old.

What we have done under this program we can be proud of; but when we established the program in 1963, we simply did not realize the dimensions of the problem, and we were only beginning to understand how serious the dangers of air pollution were.

In the 4 years since then, however, the shape and the vastness of the threat have begun to emerge, and we realize far better than we did how much we yet have to learn. Because of this, the President has placed great emphasis on expanding our research program, and especially research intended to solve the problem of pollution from the burning of fuels. The sulfur oxides may be the most serious of the pollutants, both from a health and an economic point of view, and they are emitted whenever coal and oil are burned. And certainly the biggest volume of pollutant comes from the automobile, burning gasoline.

In fact, more than four-fifths of our pollution comes from the burning of fuels, and our knowledge of how to control this pollution is, to put it mildly, imperfect.

The President, therefore, has asked that we provide for extensive new research efforts to develop the devices and techniques for controlling pollution from fuels, but in doing so he has wisely been mindful of the importance these fuels have in the economy and how great an effect any change in the pattern of their use would have. He said:

> We must recognize that in dealing with fuels for industry and motor vehicles, we are dealing with matters of enormous importance to every section of the Nation and to many economic interests. America's technology and natural resource development are intimately involved in any program that affects fuels and their uses. Great investments have been made on given assumptions about those fuels and uses.
>
> These considerations require that we approach the pollution problem with respect for its complexity and its economic implications.
>
> But the health of our people, and indeed the health of the whole urban and rural environment, also require us to approach the pollution problem with urgency and tenacity.

Mr. Speaker, as a resident of Lawrence, Long Island, N.Y.—in the shadow of Kennedy International Airport, I have been concerned for some time with the problem of air pollution in and around airports not only from automobiles but also from aircraft. While the main thrust of the Air Quality Act is aimed at pollution from automobiles, the proposed legislation does recognize the problem and seeks to authorize a 2-year study by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine the feasibility of establishing national emission standards for aircraft.

Mr. Speaker, I have been told that a single jetplane produces approximately 1 ton of measurable pollutants on takeoff and landing—an amount equal to the average pollution from an automobile during a 1-year period. This problem cannot and should not be overlooked. It must be attacked in the same way we are attacking the problem of air pollution from automobiles.

I shall support the Air Quality Act because I believe it to be an essential step toward the preservation of the health and welfare of our country's people, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

On the Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished American and a past president of the Navy League of the United States, Rear Adm. John J. Bergen, USNR, retired, was the recipient of the Wall Street Post 1217 Bill of Rights Defense Gold Medal for 1967.

Each year the medal is presented to an outstanding American chosen by the post in appreciation of his efforts and activities over the years in "defense of our Bill of Rights and our American way of life."

Past recipients of this award have included Cecil B. DeMille, Francis Cardinal Spellman, George Sokolsky, William Randolph Hearst, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, and Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker.

The remarks made by Admiral Bergen on the occasion of his receiving the Bill of Rights Defense Gold Medal are worthy of the attention of all citizens:

COMMENT ON BILL OF RIGHTS

> It is appropriate that we should remember the Bill of Rights. In many ways it was the capstone in the basic construction of our Constitution.
>
> The Bill of Rights, and the freedoms it assured, have become cherished bulwarks of our American Way of Life.
>
> But, unfortunately, I believe that there are some things that too many people in our country today have forgotten about the Bill of Rights.
>
> Those who most heavily lean on and exploit the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights have forgotten that rights are not the only things involved in that portion of the Constitution. When those who founded our country gave us the Bill of Rights, they recognized that rights imposed responsibilities.
>
> In fact, the enjoyment of the rights guaranteed by our Constitution is, in the long run, dependent upon a sense of responsibility in exercising and enjoying those rights.
>
> Today, disregard for law is all too prevalent in some quarters of our populace. Regretfully, freedom of speech and other freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights are used as the means by some for infringing upon the rights of others.
>
> It is high time that the Bill of Rights is no longer used as a camouflaging cloak for those groups and individuals whose exploitation of the Bill of Rights is destroying those precious freedoms. It is, I believe, time for us to engender in all elements of our nation a clear understanding that the Bill of Rights also was—in a real sense a Bill of Responsibilities. After all, freedom without responsibilities is simply a one way ticket to constitutional disaster.
>
> For instance, those today who are encouraging our enemy by irresponsible and vicious criticism of our government's stand against Communist aggression in Vietnam are claiming justification and immunity under our Constitution's Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Assembly, and Freedom of Press.
>
> Such actions in opposition to our stand in Vietnam encourage the enemy. They confirm, in his opinion, the Communist theory that America is divided, and does not have either the determination nor the moral spirit to persevere to victory in Vietnam. This encouragement of the enemy leads him to increased efforts against us and our allies. And this is translated very quickly into an increasing number of dead and wounded U.S. and allied troops.
>
> I find it difficult to believe that those God-fearing patriots who drafted our Constitution, who wrote the Bill of Rights into it, and who set this country on its course towards greatness, ever imagined for one moment that the freedoms for which Americans had fought and died would today be so twisted as to protect those who, in opposing our government in this time of conflict, are in effect helping kill Americans who are fighting to preserve those freedoms.
>
> As we reflect upon the cherished possessions that we have in our constitutional Bill of Rights, I believe that we must recognize that those who are misusing those rights today are badly confused.
>
> They cannot see the difference—or will not see the difference—between the *use* of freedom and *abuse* of freedom.
>
> Our Bill of Rights, our Constitution, and our country itself, is based upon the most noble and exalted concept of government in all the history of man. *A thing this precious requires protection*. To protect our Constitution and its Bill of Rights, which is the legacy of thousands of years of Greco-Judean-Roman and Anglo-Saxon traditions and achievements, we must have restraint, we must have responsibility and sincere adherence to the obligations that every citizens must have toward his government.
>
> Unfortunately, no law can be written which, in itself, can guarantee that the freedoms we cherish will be lasting. The preservation of these freedoms can be assured only by a sense of appreciation, responsibility and restraint.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Today, it is our obligation to instill in our children these indispensable and noble attributes. In so doing, we can hope that we are triggering a chain reaction of patriotism that will continue for generations. This is the only way by which the freedoms of our constitutional Bill of Rights will be assured to successive generations of Americans.

A Realistic View of the Soviet Economy: Implications for U.S. Trade and Budget Policies

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 12, 1967

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent days there has been considerable public debate on our trade and credit controls and on the effect on our national security of the export of American products and technology to the Soviet Union.

The question of budget priorities for our national research and development resources and their allocation among competing demands for space, defense, air and water pollution, transportation, and urban renewal programs has also been foremost in my mind and in the minds of many of my colleagues.

Because our trade relations with the Soviet Union and the allocation of our research and development resources are such salient issues at this time, I am calling to the attention of my colleagues an interview with Richard S. Morse, former Director of Army Research and Development in both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. Dr. Morse has been a director of a number of technical enterprices, a president of one, and chairman of another. A physicist with a command of high vacuum technology, he is chairman of the Department of Commerce Technical Advisory Board's Panel on Electrically Powered Vehicles, cosponsored by nine Federal agencies, and he is senior lecturer at the Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The interview, which appeared in the August 14 issue of U.S. News & World Report, magazine of the distinguished spokesman of conservative opinion, David Lawrence, follows:

A BUSINESSMAN SIZES UP RUSSIA: INTERVIEW WITH A MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY

(NOTE.—What are the facts about Soviet industry—its strengths and weaknesses? Can this country learn from the Communists? More important—is the U.S. freezing itself out of a big market?

(In this interview, Richard S. Morse, a prominent management expert who has just toured Russia, comes up with authoritative answers.)

Q. Dr. Morse, is Russia starting to free its system a little—in effect, heading toward capitalism to get the country moving?

A. There's no evidence of it, despite wishful thinking by some Americans. The Soviets did recently decide to adopt a so-called profit system. I think this was misunderstood because, in fact, their profit system is merely used as a gauge for production efficiency, not to permit individuals to profit or to use capital for profit.

Q. We get conflicting reports about Russia. Some insist its technically oriented industry is stagnant, with no real drive. Other reports say the Soviets are catching up with us. What did you find?

A. I was impressed, in terms of their relative progress. I think Americans have a tendency to believe that science and technology is a unique kind of animal over which we seem to have a monopoly.

The average American certainly did not believe that the Chinese could develop an atomic bomb. One cannot help but be impressed by the fact that the Japanese, whom we used to call "imitators," are now becoming innovators and are using science and technology to develop products—as evidenced by their auto and motorcycle industry, camera, radio and TV business, shipbuilding—and use modern management techniques in combination with science and technology.

This was an area where we always assumed we were preeminent. Other countries have good people, they have access to science and technology, and they are using it for their own good.

Q. Are you saying it is a very dangerous thing to underestimate the Russians?

A. It certainly is dangerous—this applies to Russia or any other country these days. We would be remiss if we did not assume that the Russians can eventually do anything that the United States can do, technically.

Q. Are the Russians at this moment competitive with the U.S. in technology?

A. Certainly not in general, and this varies with the field of endeavor.

In computers, for example, we are several years ahead both in the design and manufacture of computers and certainly to the extent to which we have introduced them into our management system. But the Russians are working extremely hard in this area. We found 400 people engaged in mathematical research relating to computer programing in one city in Siberia.

From an educational point of view I suspect they're doing a good planning job and potentially will have more trained technical people available than we in many fields. On the other hand, we now require fewer engineers in many fields because of our use of advanced design methods and the use of computers and advanced instrumentation.

Q. Where is the Soviet emphasis now?

A. Housing is probably still their biggest problem, and living conditions are still very poor by our standards. The chemical industry represents a very important aapect of their current program. This is in plastics, fibers, agricultural chemicals. They also have a very large power expansion program, particularly in Siberia.

In the consumer field I found essentially no shortage of consumer goods anywhere, at least as evidenced in the stores. The quality leaves much to be desired, but there is now considerable emphasis on styling and sales promotion. Even in Eastern Siberia, we found television sets both plentiful and in use in the smallest villages.

Automobiles, of course, are very few in number. But they have now just completed negotiations for the erection of a plant in collaboration with Fiat of Italy. This will have a production capacity of 400,000 cars per year.

One of the top Russian Government officials stated—for what it may be worth that he would have preferred a deal with a U.S. auto manufacturer, but this was currently impossible because of our relations, and I am sure also because of our reluctance to give credit on terms comparable to those now being offered by European countries.

Q. Have U.S. restrictions on exports to Russia effectively slowed down the Russians' progress?

A. In certain limited areas, our past policy of export control may have slowed them down. I feel very strongly, looking back upon this policy, that we've been wrong. I think the United States, perhaps unknowingly, has now isolated itself from the rest of the world to a far greater extent than we have isolated Russia from us.

You can't stop the flow of technology. You may slow it, but you cannot stop it. In the long run, to some extent as a result of our prohibiting the export of certain technology, we have forced the Russians to develop their own technology. So they are now becoming independent.

At the same time, all the rest of the world is beating a path to Russia. I ran into many Japanese and European industrialists. These countries are developing trade relations with Russia; they are giving longer-term credits than we are willing to give. I think the United States has isolated itself far more than it realizes. I'm not speaking of military, classified information, though I think even there we're also probably kidding ourselves as to our ability to control the flow of technology, products and processes in this area.

Q. Are these other countries moving into a vacuum we created?

A. There is no question about it. The Italians are already building the automobile plant. Imperial Chemical Industries of England is developing a very large chemical complex, giving the Russians good modern technology. The Swedes and Finns have built a 1-million-ton-per-year pulp plant in Eastern Siberia—which we visited—with control instruments made by two American firms, Foxboro and Leeds & Northrop.

Q. What should we be doing?

A. The present stated policy of the United States is to encourage trade with the Russians. But I'm afraid that our current image, and reputation resulting from past actions, will make this more difficult. American industry and the public are not really sure of our true policy, so we are not making real progress.

In the future, if we are going to develop a working trade relationship with the U.S.S.R., we're going to have to play this street both ways, and from a practical economic viewpoint one might well ask: "What has the U.S.S.R. to sell to us?"

One example: The Russians are extremely annoyed—and I'm not sure I blame them—for the decision of the Department of the Interior to exclude their bid on large hydroelectric generators for the Grand Coulee Dam. This is one area in which they believe they have world pre-eminence and great experience. Their question is that if the U.S. really means to develop trade relations, why were they specifically excluded from selling to us?

Q. Exactly where did you visit on this trip?

A. My trip was originally initiated on the basis of an invitation from Dr. [Garmen M.] Gavishiani, who is the son-in-law of [Premier] Kosygin and Deputy Minister for Science and Technology in the U.S.S.R.

We were in Moscow twice, and went far east of the Ural Mountains to Irkutsk. We met there with industrial and academic groups and then flew north to Bratsk, near Lake Baikal, which is a newly created city with the largest hydroelectric plant in the world—4,000 megawatts of power, although it appeared to be operating at about half capacity.

We returned west via Novosibirsk, stopping at Omsk. We visited their so-called Science City, a totally new city of 38,000 people, created on the outskirts of Novosibirsk. I keep saying "we" because the group included Prof. William Pounds, dean of the Sloan School of Management at MIT, and my son Kenneth, a student at MIT.

Q. Were your activities restricted?

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

A. In Moscow, Leningrad and Irkutsk we were completely free to travel within the city—shop, go to the theaters, etc. Elsewhere, we had a definite feeling of complete restriction and our conversations with all industrialists and scientists were planned and limited by our "constant companion." He was an extremely competent, educated individual, a member of the party and undoubtedly directly connected with the Russian counterintelligence organization.

Many of our impressions and information have obviously been influenced by our close and detailed discussions with this gentleman, who was intimately familiar with both the Russian and American systems and particularly their respective organizations for science and technology.

Q. Would you say you found a healthy economy throughout Russia?

A. A strange economy would be a better description. It cannot be compared to the United States because of various factors.

No one is Russia may own property; therefore, the concept of capital cost or return on investment is unknown as we would use it industrially. Rents for executives in the Government run from $6 to $16 a month. On the other hand, one can very easily spend $6 for a single meal in the evening—namely, one month's rent.

Jet fuel is sold within Russia at $3.50 a ton and aviation gasoline at $4.50 a ton. On the other hand, a white shirt costs $12. How can one equate this kind of economy to American standards? It's impossible.

Q. Does Russia's highly centralized control strike you as a big advantage, when it comes to production?

A. When you have a country as large as Russia, there is great danger in too much centralization of authority. But in the early stages of industrialization this was undoubtedly necessary. The Russians compare their progress with India's and very properly explain that they have taken action starting with a comparable situation—and they see no reason to help a country that has shown so little ability to solve its own problems. Admittedly, if you have the right man in each job such an organizational concept can be effective, but sooner or later more delegation will certainly be required.

Q. Did you find the Government still running everything?

A. This tends to be done in Russia far more than in any other country. Let me give you an example: They have established by edict a rule that only one computer "language" will be used throughout the entire U.S.S.R. Now, I will admit that this will save duplication of effort. But, conversely, suppose they pick the wrong "language"—and this is a rapidly changing kind of technology. They will have considerable difficulty in reconverting.

When you're in a changing environment such as we have today in the field of science and technology, it can be very dangerous to make didactic decisions of this type. I would far rather see the American system, where we tend to infuse competent people in each of our federal departments, each of whom is concerned with research and technology and will couple this with a particular requirement, whether it be urban renewal or pollution, safety or defense.

Q. Doesn't central direction give them a big advantage in fields such as urban development?

A. Perhaps it should, but, if you look at their construction program or their approach to city planning, it is very evident that either because of lack of direction, or lack of resources, they have failed to take advantage of many aspects of a centralized authority.

The city of Bratsk has 150,000 people. It has been literally built from nothing—unlimited land and power available. They've made no provision, in a real sense, for the automobile, which certainly will be present on the Russian scene in increasing quantities. The architecture leaves a great deal to be desired. The construction methods are not innovative, nor well engineered. Yet, I doubt that it would have cost a great deal more to have really used some new ideas, which in their society one can do by edict. In our society we must use the profit system to force innovating in housing, for example, and it's much more difficult.

Q. Are they running into air and water-pollution problems in the big cities?

A. In the sense that Russia is not as highly industrialized as the United States, they have not yet had to face some of the air-pollution problems with which we are so familiar. In the erection, for example, of the paper plant in Bratsk, there was no attempt made even to approach the water-pollution problem.

In the major industrial centers, such as Novosibirsk, the air-pollution problem is obviously there now, and in spite of the fact that they have, again, a highly centralized procedure where decisions could have been made, they did not face up to this problem.

The auto designs to be employed by Fiat in their proposed large auto-production facility will apparently not include antipollution devices, and yet this would be a great time to make such a decision. We failed to make early decisions on such a program and so now we have 90 million used cars without controls in use in America—a tough problem today.

On the other hand, in the city of Moscow, they have arbitrarily decreed recently that no intercity diesel buses will be allowed to operate because these impair the health and welfare of the people. This was done by edict.

TOP STATUS FOR SCIENTISTS

Q. With all the Soviet emphasis on pushing ahead with science and technology, did you still find a lingering admiration for American methods?

A. We were surprised to find that the Russians were generally less interested in our activities than we were in what they were doing.

The Russians are very confident of what they are doing in science and technology. They have elevated the role of science and technology, both within the Government and within the eyes of the people, to the highest possible level. The Minister of Science and Technology in the U.S.S.R. is one of the four top people, a Vice Premier.

They've established the Russian Academy of Sciences, which is almost independent of Government control. There is no position in Russia which rates as high as being an academician. This is recognized from the point of view of his position in the community, his stature within the eyes of the public, plus the fact that he gets cold cash and living quarters which are second to no one in Russia.

All basic research is under the direction of the Russia Academy of Science. In their Science City in Siberia they are now also planning to combine basic research and development and engineering activities under the same central authority.

Such an approach is contrary to American practice, where we believe that development programs should be decentralized and coupled closely to market requirements. As a matter of fact, it is in this very area, namely the development of research-management methods, where we have such a decided and proved superiority over other countries.

So I would say that they've used science and technology as a very important ingredient of the whole economy. They are using it as a tool for progress. They are making a great effort to enhance their educational facilities in science and technology and to attract young people into this field.

People in Russia view science and technology as a goal for a better life, place it at a higher level than we do in this country.

One area where I did find keen Russian interest in the U.S. was in industrial management. They were very much interested. They are just now beginning to address themselves to the problem of teaching management and the use of computers and new management tools. I think the Russians are beginning to feel this is the next area to which they should direct their attention.

Q. Have they been lagging badly in that?

A. They have been lagging badly, but, on the other hand, they are willing to recognize this fact, and my guess is that they are going to do something about it.

For example, they have no graduate business schools. On the other hand, there are very few in Europe. This type of educational activity, which we've known in the United States for some time, is only beginning to become apparent in other areas of the world.

The Russians are now wondering how they can use computer technology as a management tool. Such a technique may be even more important in their highly centralized decision-making structure.

With the tremendous emphasis upon education, the ability to attract top-flight students to go to their technical institutes, universities and language institutes, my guess is that they are doing a pretty good planning job in anticipating future needs for an industrialized country.

WHY AUTO OUTPUT LAGS

Q. Over all, how does Russia stack up against Western Europe in moving ahead?

A. Look at it this way: Recently, the biggest single problem in Russia has been housing. In evaluating their lack of success, let's say, in the chemical industry and in automobile production, we've got to realize that they had to attack this housing problem first. In Russia today all land and property is owned by the state, and individuals are limited to 100 square feet of living space per person!

I'm not impressed with the design, architecture or quality of construction. But they are, in fact, building a tremendous number of apartments, so at least the people have somewhere to live. And they have done this at the same time that they have been trying to develop a highly industrialized and scientific society. I think once they are over the housing problem, if they address themselves to other areas such as agriculture, plastics, chemicals, or automobile production with the same vigor, they are going to make a lot of progress.

Q. Did you find that the Russians are addressing themselves as vigorously to their problems of management as the Western Europeans are?

A. Actually, I found more concern with the problem of technical management in Russia that I normally would find in Western Europe Until fairly recently, I don't believe that the Europeans have viewed the management of a technical society as an important factor in either education or industry—certainly not the way we do here in the United States.

Q. You hear the Europeans complaining bitterly that a "brain drain" and a "technological gap" have been brought about because the U.S. is so big and has so many resources. Are these legitimate complaints?

A. Most of the comments about our part in the technological gap and the brain drain have come from politicians, not from progressive industrial managers or directors of research.

Q. There has been some talk about the U.S. providing a "technological Marshall Plan." Is this necessary?

A. I find very little support anywhere in this country, either in Government or industry, for any so-called technological Marshall Plan. We should realize that research and development per se do not necessarily contribute to economic growth. Research and development must be effectively used to develop products and put them into the marketplace. That is another problem.

The people who have been talking about the "technological gap" in Europe, in many instances, see large expenditures of Government research and development funds in America and assume that these necessarily can be correlated with productivity or the development of products. This is not so, except in limited areas where the scale of research or the market is a dominant factor.

The Japanese prove this point. They have invaded the United States with optical equipment as a result of their own technology. They have entered the shipbuilding business and are now by far the No. 1 producer of ships in the world in terms of tonnage. This was not a question of science, but a combination of good management techniques and the use of modern technology.

As I said before, science hasn't any particular boundary. The problem is to take science and technology and couple those things with a market demand in combination with good management—and produce products. And I think if there is one area where this country perhaps is pre-eminent, it's in our ability to mate science and technology with market requirements at a faster rate than can be done in some other countries, particularly in Western Europe.

Certain aspects of our economy are totally unknown in Europe. I refer, for example, to the concept of American entrepreneurship—the idea of generating new technical enterprises, as we have done to a very large extent in the greater Boston area and in Palo Alto. This idea of "risk taking," either at the management level or the entrepreneur level, is just not known in Western Europe.

In another area—namely, that of education—the Europeans and the Russians are way behind the United States in developing schools of industrial management. The relationships between industry and the universities as we know them in the United States are not known in Europe. The United States is the only country in the world—with the possible exception of Russia, incidentally—which has developed a technique for using the combined academic, industrial and government talents on a compatible basis to look at major national problems. This just isn't done in Europe.

So there are a number of misconceptions with regard to the technological gap. In essence, if there is a gap, it is a management gap.

SPACE PROGRAM: A WASTE

Q. Dr. Morse, how much does industry actually gain from all these big research-and-development programs we have in this country—billions in space and defense and other fields?

A. It is my view that our large Government-funded programs in space and defense may actually be detrimental to our ability to compete in world trade with new technical products on a total over-all effectiveness basis. Two thirds of our technical professional manpower is now tied up in federally sponsored R&D programs and as a result our capability to design, develop and market competitive commercial products probably has been reduced rather than enhanced in terms of our national effort. Some firms in the aircraft industry are selling commercial aircraft, and some aerospace companies have developed new markets via corporate acquisitions. But, almost without exception, no predominantly space or defense-oriented companies have successfully developed and marketed new commercial or consumer products on a substantial scale.

The management-marketing capabilities for successful Government-contract work are not suitable for use in the highly competitive civilian economy.

Q. Are you saying these large Government programs are hindering our competitive situation abroad?

A. I think it would be difficult to prove they are actually hindering it. But we shouldn't have any misconceptions about defense and space programs as a stimulus to civilian production. Actually, I'm more concerned about the people than I am about the dollars. When you take a very large number of people out of the civilian sector, these are people who are not working on products which might be of direct interest to world trade or in improving living standards at home. In fact, we now have a pretty husky scientific WPA in some areas.

Q. We hear so much about "spin-off" from all these Government R&D programs—is it of substantial value?

A. The spin-off that we get from large Government programs—either defense or space—is greatly exaggerated when you try to express it in terms of specific products. From Government activities, we have learned to manage large systems—true. We have expedited the use of certain new forms of technology—true. We have certainly expedited the commercial introduction of transistors and microcircuits, for example.

But the actual number of specific products which can be directly related to spin-off from the space program is extremely small in terms of the total numbers of people and dollars expended in that activity. I would far rather see this effort—and I refer particularly to the manpower effort—directed to more important problems right here on the earth's surface, such as in areas of air pollution, water pollution, urban renewal and transportation.

Unfortunately, many segments of our society have to have some kind of goal, or be mission-oriented—as the Apollo moon-landing program, for example—to either stimulate people's imagination or stimulate Congress to provide funds to get on with the job. I believe this is a gross misuse of the total technical and management resources of the country and we should do a better-integrated planning job.

RUSSIA'S MOON-RACE GAINS

Q. Are the Russians in the same boat? They're in the moon race, too—

A. I think from the Russians' point of view, an Apollo-type program probably had greater significance, because it was essential to their national pride and it established them clearly in the eyes of the world as a leading technological nation. We didn't need to do this in order to be established as a progressive industrial society.

If we had had the guts to bow out of the moon race at the very start, and concentrate on useful space applications, such as reconnaissance, communications, navigation and weather, we would not now have our difficult NASA problems.

I think a large segment of the world's population would have applauded our willingness to use a little more mature judgment and say, "We're going to do things which are good for the world, not good for pride and prestige."

Q. The Germans and Japanese, to take two countries, aren't involved in these Gargantuan government programs. Are they at a disadvantage, being left behind in developing new technology?

A. Obviously, the Japanese are not. The Japanese have been particularly clever in picking up "spin-off," if you will, from our space program and applying it to developing commercial products which have improved their export trade.

You're going to find a certain amount of this done in Europe. Maybe we're big enough to do both useful things and "science for science's sake," but it doesn't seem to me an effective use of our manpower. We can't do everything. We've got to have a better allocation of technological resources for the good of the country—or the world, if you will.

Q. What is going to force a reallocation of our resources—public reaction, or the Government itself?

A. This is a very difficult problem in a democracy, because unfortunately we do not have a good forum for national debate on issues of this type. I have, for example, personally polled a group of people who represented the senior technical executives of perhaps 80 per cent of the commercial sector of our economy and almost without exception found no backing for the current Apollo program—much less a post-Apollo space program in the United States. But our more objective and knowledgeable people are not usually the most vocal.

Our aerospace industry is obviously committed to its existence. Congress has not been willing to face this issue clearly. So we have a built-in, self-perpetuating phenomenon here which is difficult to slow down.

We also have a very substantial investment in Government laboratories with Government employees which should be redirected, from an effort point of view, but this also is difficult. In general, the people who review such programs as our post-Apollo activities are the very people who are associated with space programs, rather than those who should be concerned with the total and more effective allocation of both financial and technical resources in the country as a whole, particularly in time of war—i.e. today.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate took up bill to create Redwood National Park.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 15473–S 15534

Bills Introduced: Two bills were introduced, as follows: S. 2597–2598. **Page S 15474**

Bill Referred: H.R. 13510, proposed Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1967, was referred to Committee on Armed Services. **Page S 15473**

Authority To Sign Bills: Secretary of Senate was authorized during adjournment of Senate to receive messages from President and the House, and the President pro tempore or Acting President pro tempore was authorized to sign enrolled bills. **Page S 15496**

Redwood National Park: Senate took up S. 2515, authorizing establishment of Redwood National Park, Calif. **Page S 15534**

Nominations: Numerous Army and Coast Guard nominations were received. **Pages S 15534–S 15536**

Program for Tuesday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 1:29 p.m. until noon Tuesday, October 31, when its unfinished business will be S. 2515, to authorize establishment of the Redwood National Park, Calif. **Pages S 15496, S 15534**

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

CRIME

Committee on the Judiciary: Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, in executive session, concluded marking up S. 917, omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1967, and ordered the bill reported to the full committee.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

Committee on the Judiciary: Subcommittee on Separation of Powers held hearings on S. 2307, proposed Federal Constitutional Convention Act, having as its witnesses Senator Proxmire; and Theodore C. Sorensen, formerly Special Counsel to the President.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

EDUCATION

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare: Subcommittee on Education, in executive session, ordered favorably reported to the full committee with amendments S. 1125, proposed Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967.

POSTAL RATES AND FEDERAL SALARIES

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: Committee concluded its hearings on the postal phase of H.R. 7977, to increase postal rates and salaries of Federal employees, with testimony on title III (obscene mail matter) from Representatives Waldie and Cunningham; Timothy J. May, General Counsel, Post Office Department; Frank M. Wozencraft, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice; Lawrence Speiser, American Civil Liberties Union, Washington, D.C.; Marion Harrison, American Bar Association; and Horace Manzes, counsel, American Book Publishers Council.

Hearings continue tomorrow on the Federal pay provisions of the legislation.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Bills Introduced: 13 public bills, H.R. 13743–13755; 12 private bills, H.R. 13756–13767; and three resolutions, H.J. Res. 913 and 914, and H. Con. Res. 562, were introduced. **Pages H 14208–H 14209**

Bills Reported: Reports were filed as follows:

Fifteenth report by the Committee on Government Operations entitled "Better Management of Research Equipment Procurement and Utilization in Federal Laboratories" (H. Rept. 867);

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Appendix

Detroit's End Run

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to read a most thought-provoking and penetrating editorial in the Washington Evening Star entitled "Detroit's End Run."

This excellent editorial analyzes the so-called Dingell amendment to the Clean Air Act, and pulls no punches in describing it for what it is—

> A piece of special interest legislation . . . that would seriously undermine the power of California to set its own, more stringent clean-air standards.

The Star's editorial writer continues:

> If ever there was a clear-cut case for states' rights, this is it. . . . The California delegation is amply justified in opposing it (the Dingell Amendment), and the measure should be opposed by every other House member interested in cleaner air.

Under unanimous consent, I include this fine editorial in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Oct. 30, 1967]

DETROIT'S END RUN

When Detroit auto makers issued a flurry of press releases a few months ago about their development of electric autos, it looked as if the nation had turned a corner in the air pollution war. Here was evidence that the car manufacturers were really serious about helping clear the air.

But a new legislative battle in Congress has stirred misgivings about the sincerity of the industry in this matter. Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan has sponsored an amendment to an air-pollution bill that would seriously undermine the power of California to set its own, more stringent clean-air standards. The Senate previously gave California this right in an amendment by Senator George Murphy.

The Dingell proposal would give the federal government the final say on whether California could have stricter standards for auto exhausts than those for the rest of the country. According to press reports, the Michigan lawmaker's friends in Detroit want to avoid "leapfrogging," that is, a race between the state and the government to see who could tighten standards more.

It's not difficult to see what's behind this amendment. Dingell openly admits the auto industry approached him with the basic idea for the legislation. Evidently Detroit thinks California is overly zealous in battling air pollution, and fears auto makers may have to improve car exhaust devices even more for the nation. California already has enacted a law that will require cleaner fumes from cars in 1970 than federal standards now require.

Well, if ever there was a clear-cut case for states' rights, this is it. California has pioneered in smog control—and with good reason. The health of her citizens is involved. In the past 14 years the number of motor vehicles in Los Angeles County alone has increased from 2 million to nearly 4 million. The state has nearly 10 million cars registered. Is anybody seriously arguing that the same problem exists here—and the same minimum controls should be applied—as in, say, North Dakota?

The Dingell amendment is a piece of special interest legislation. The California delegation is amply justified in opposing it, and the measure should be opposed by every other House member interested in cleaner air.

Lutheran Reformation Observed at German Embassy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the weekend observances marking the 450th anniversary of Protestant Reformation reached a climax last night at the German Embassy as His Excellency Ambassador Heinrich Knappstien and the Lutheran Council in the United States were hosts at a reception and historical observance of the event. On this day, October 31, 450 years ago, an Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, nailed his now famous "95 theses" to the castle church door in Wittenberg and thus began the greatest movement in all history to free the spirit of man. To this very day the impact of that momentous occasion is still being felt in the religious, social, and economic realms. None will deny today that the concept of inclusive education for all and the sacred right of political activity to cure injustice has its roots in the Reformation begun by Martin Luther.

The event last night was highlighted by a penetrating address delivered by the Reverend Dr. Thomas C. Spitz, Jr., general secretary of the Lutheran Council in the United States. Because of the deep insights provided by Dr. Spitz and the timeliness of his message for this our day, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent today, the 450th anniversary of the Reformation, to place his address, marking this historic event, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORMATION

(An address delivered at a historical observance of the 450th anniversary of the Reformation, by the Reverend Dr. C. Thomas Spitz, Jr., general secretary of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Washington, D.C., October 30, 1967)

Mr. Ambassador, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to represent Lutherans of the United States in receiving this commemorative Reformation Memorial stamp issued by the post office of the Federal Republic of Germany.

For all of us Lutherans this occasion serves as a reminder of the rooting which our spiritual heritage has in 16th century Germany. For many of us it also sharpens our gratitude for our German ancestors who brought that heritage as a prized personal possession to this country. For some of the more fortunate of us it also serves to recall the pleasures of recent visits in Germany and the joy of working in a common ministry with the people of Germany.

We are all, your excellency, grateful for the love and concern which the people of Germany demonstrate throughout the world through the support which agencies like Brot fur die Welt give to religious and charitable endeavors, many of which operate under Lutheran sponsorship. We appreciate both the vision and the technical skill which the people of Germany have contributed to common projects which we Lutherans have undertaken with them, like Radio Voice of the Gospel in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. And we are mindful of the great contributions made by the churches of Germany to the organization and program of the Lutheran World Federation.

We United States Lutherans thank our Lord for the mutual blessings growing out of the inter-relationships of our two governments during these very trying years in world history and hope that these inter-relationships will continue with mutual benefit. With the continuing reformation and renewal of the church, also in terms of the discovery and development of its unity, we eagerly anticipate increasing contact and common endeavor with all of the Christians of Germany.

Anniversary celebrations—like the observance of the 450th Anniversary of the Reformation—do sometimes have their positive benefits, however tired we may sometimes get of them. A husband and wife can review and renew their commitment to each other. A company can re-evaluate its objectives and purposes. Religious people can ask themselves in what way history has really reflected His story, God's story, the action of God's people in the world.

For example, we might ask ourselves today what, if any, political implications there were for the church in the position taken by Martin Luther in the 16th century Reformation? Are there any political implications for the church in our day?

These, Mr. Ambassador, are the questions to which I would like to address very briefly and in a very preliminary way the comments you have invited for this occasion.

Was Luther shaped by the times in which he lived or did he contribute in a major way to shaping those times? This critical question must be answered if we are to place in perspective any political implications the Reformation may have had.

It is said that within the past fifty years more books have been written about Martin Luther than about any other Christian figure, including Jesus. You don't have to read very many of them before you are tempted to ask, "Will the real Martin Luther please stand up?" It is possible to conclude that he was a religious hero, an individualist and rationalist, a nationalist rebel, a primitive reductionist, or a bridge between mysticism and high idealism and in each case to find responsible authority to support the conclusion.

Ultimately, a person today can by a careful selection of sources find the Luther he has predetermined to see.

We all know about those today who want particularly to regard Luther as the proto-Communist, the spiritual precursor of Marxism. They claim to have lined up the necessary documentation. But a graduate student at Stanford University has produced a doctoral dissertation of 662 pages, due for publication in German in Mainz late next year, in which this proto-Communist hypotheses is traced directly to Engel's analyses regarding Luther's relationship to the Peasant War. This dissertation shows that Engel's views lean almost entirely upon the views of a bourgoise historian by the name of Zimmerman who had done his research solely among Anabaptist writers. It is an understatement, of course, to say that the Anabaptists had less than an objective or favorable view of Luther and the Reformation.

This is just one very timely example of the way in which a specific case can be built up through a limited selection of source material.

Complex and difficult as it is to evaluate the man, Martin Luther himself, the historian's analysis is further complicated by the fact that the Reformation as a movement was made up of many elements over which Luther himself had little or no control and in which he played little or no personal part. This is particularly true of the social, cultural and political implications. There were changes already underway in the 16th century and some elements of the Reformation were just one more manifestation of them.

The classic debate on the relationship of the Reformation to the emergence of the modern world was the debate between Wilhelm Dilthey, the great scholar from Berlin, and Ernest Troeltsch. Dilthey saw both the Reformation and Renaissance as parts of a general European struggle for intellectual liberty. He held that they had a common origin in the rise of city life, the development of industry and commerce, the emergence of the bourgoisie, and the formation of modern states. He held that in Germany this rediscovery of the world and of man expressed itself also in a demand for ecclesiastical reform and for a new personal role in religion, and that the Reformation thus contributed together with the Renaissance to the emergence of the modern world, particularly in that it directed man's moral energy toward work in secular life.

Troeltsch, on the other hand, believed that the Reformation was fundamentally opposed to the Renaissance. He argued that it produced an authoritarian ecclesiastical culture right out of the Middle Ages, that it was more medieval than modern, more religious than secular, more supernaturalist than this-worldly, more spiritual than material.

The Dilthey-Troeltsch debate in the early years of this century was very soon overshadowed by the work of Karl Holl, another great scholar from Berlin. His work focused on Luther's piety, his overpowering sense of moral obligation, his feeling of utter impotence before the demands of God, his terror of the divine wrath and his unshakeable clinging to God's word and promises. Holl held that neither philosophy, sociology, nationalism, nor economics could explain Luther; only religion could provide the explanation.

Despite Holl's very scholarly work, there were and are a great many historians who continue to say that some consideration outside religion must have made the difference in establishing the Reformation because, they say, Luther's religious affirmations were really not that new and, when presented previously, had produced no such effect whatever. Luther, they say, happened to emerge amid a set of circumstances particularly auspicious for him.

But, while allowing that economic and political factors contributed substantially to the historic developments of the Reformation, Erich Hassinger takes sharp issue with the assumption that Luther's religious affirmations were not original. He argues that Luther's unique contribution was his rediscovery of the historic core of Christianity, the conviction that God did something unique in history, that the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection constituted a unique self-disclosure of God, and that Luther provided an important and distinctive application for the historical uniqueness of the work of God in Christ to life both now and hereafter.

Hassinger's contribution, like that of Karl Holl, does help us understand Luther. But it does not completely explain the Reformation. Were the people of the Reformation in every instance stirred by the religion of Luther or merely by his revolt? Some historians offer an economic explanation which suggests that the princes supported Luther in order to expropriate the goods of the church, that the peasants rallied to him in the hope that the freedom of the Gospel would mean freedom from serfdom and that the masses adopted his position in order to throw off tithes and fees and iindulgences. Other interpreters stress political factors, contending that the Reformation could have begun in no other country than Germany because of is political decentralization at that time. They make the point that in a great monarchial state an obscure professor would have had very little chance to persuade a king like Henry or Charles to embrace his religious ideas; Saxony, however, was small enough and the relations sufficiently personal so that a teacher supported by his colleagues could gain the following of a small prince like Frederick the Wise.

There is a degree of validity in each of these contentions. None, however, is without its counter arguments. Over against the economic explanation, for example, it can be pointed out that the people and the princes were almost immediately brought to the point where they had to risk their goods and their lives in their adherence to the new faith. Already in 1530, the German princes jeopardized their titles, lands and lives in the presentation of the Augsburg Confession. And, in the 1540's, the Emperor came with troops but neither princes nor people would yield.

The interpretation of personal preference to me is that Luther's interests in the Reformation were spiritual but that this does not mean that they were entirely other-worldly. Luther acknowledged that changes were both needed in his world and its society and that they were going on there. He was in favor of many of those changes and felt that Christians had to be a part of them and support them. But he also held that the wellspring for any Christian action was God's action in Christ, the form which God established for dealing with mankind, and that any significant pursuit of change had its beginning in reform, in return to the form of God's redeeming, justifying action in Christ. The church exists for the world, he said, but it belongs to God. It lives and serves in the existential situations, but it takes its directives and direction from God.

But Luther's spiritual interests did indeed carry very strong secular implications.

Luther himself was almost constantly involved in politics and did not find this at all inconsistent with his principle for the distinction between, and institutional separation of, church and state. Luther renewed the concept of the "secular state," state not dominated by church or dictated to by the church. What a tragedy if we'd lose this concept today. If Church has something to say, it should be heard. But there is nothing about either clerical collar or a beard that authorizes or authenticates oversimplified answers to complex social problems. Luther did not free Christians from the political use of the Law but he also did not assume that the state could be run by the Gospel. He did sometimes suggest that government as such would not be necessary if all people were Christians but he also held that even the Christian clergy were always only in the process of becoming Christians and that the Law therefore had an obvious validity and necessity for all.

Luther himself became personally involved in politics at either of two points. In some instances he felt that a political issue had to be clarified also in the light of its theological implications. His interests in those cases were primarily pastoral; he wanted Christian people to apply their understandings of God and God's will and God's action in Christ to the political decisions which confronted them.

In other instances, Luther boldly used his reputation and position to influence men who would not listen so well to anyone else. He asserted that he did this as an individual Christian citizens. But one must admit parenthetically that it must have been very difficult both for him and for others always to differentiate between his judgment as a private citizen and as the foremost spokesman for the church.

Luther held that, while all people are subject to the political use of the Law, the Christian has a special relationship to it. The Christian sees God at work through the Law, protecting and preserving through the instrument and force of government those who would otherwise not be responsive to God. The Christian "serves the state," Luther said, "not because *he* needs it, but because *others* need it . . . that they may be protected and that the wicked may not become worse." The Christian has a host of works of love by which he may serve the welfare of his fellow man but these acts do not excuse him from doing—as Luther said—"all he can to further the government that it may be sustained and honored and feared."

In order that government might get the Christian participation wihch it deserved, Luther consistently encouraged individuals to assume their political responsibilities and opportunities. "You are under obligation to serve," he said, "by whatever means you can, with body, soul, honor or goods . . . Should you see that there is a lack of executioners, judges, lords or princes and find that you are qualified, you should offer *your* services and *seek* the position in order that necessary government may by no means be despised and become inefficient and perish. For the world cannot and dare not dispense with it."

Luther helped establish politics as a legitimate occupation in which good people were necessary. He encouraged the parents of gifted children to provide the education which might qualify them for government service and held that government service required abler people than those needed in the office of preaching. "In the preaching office," Luther said, "Christ does the whole thing by His Spirit, but in the government of the world, one must use reason—from which the laws have come—for God has subjected temporal rule on the affairs of the body to reason and has not sent the Holy Spirit from Heaven for this purpose."

It was Luther's conclusion that Christians whose daily reformation included touching base again with God's redeeming action in Christ could contribute to the process of reason a dimension of love and forgiveness and concern for others not otherwise available. He held that political participation is not optional for the Christian but rather that it is a God-given duty, not in order to make the world Christian, but rather to serve the neighbor in love.

However revolutionary much of Luther's thinking about theology, about the relationship of church and state may have been in his day, he was not himself a political revolutionary. We would probably describe him today as an ultra-conservative. George Forell points out that Luther was politically conservative, not because he thought the old days were so good, but because he was not sure that change always implied improvement. His own political experience tempted him to believe that changes promoted by enthusiastic political dreamers often make things worse rather than better. His perspective on the Peasant War convinced him that nothing caused more damage in the political life of the people than the wild ranting of agitators of the type of Thomas Müntzer. Not only did it cause a great deal of bloodshed, but, when it was over, the situation of the people whose interests these revolutionaries claimed to promote was much worse than it had been before.

Luther's conservatism about change is excellently illustrated by a story which Luther tells in his book "Whether Soldiers Can Be Saved": "We read of a widow," Luther wrote, "who stood and prayed for her tyrant most devoutly, that God would let him live long. The tyrant heard it and was astonished because he well knew that he had done her much harm and this prayer was unusual; for prayers for tyrants are not commonly of this kind. He asked her why she prayed thus for him. She answered, 'I had ten cows in your grandfather's time; he took two of them and I prayed against him that he might die and your father became lord. It came to pass, and your father took three cows. I prayed again that you might become lord and he might die. Now you have taken four cows, and so I am praying *for* you, for I am afraid that he who comes after you will take the last cow and everything that I have."

Luther tended to judge political action not according to theory, but according to its ultimate effect upon the welfare of the citizens. And so, while he encouraged Christians to get into politics, it was this pragmatism which led him to say that it was far better to have a competent and intelligent ruler who was personally an evil man than to have a ruler who, though personally a model of virtue, was politically incompetent and stupid.

There may have been one additional reason for Luther's conservatism in political and social matters. It was his frequently expressed hope that the end of the world was at hand and he was convinced that only the most urgent changes should be made either in the internal political structure or in the relationship of nations. "Since no other rule can be expected," he said, "it is not advisable to change it. But let whoever is able to do so repair and patch it the best he can while we still live and punish abuses and put bandages and ointment on its pocks. But if you tear out these pocks unmercifully, nobody will feel the pain and the damage more speedily than the clever barbers who rather tear out the wound than heal it."

Luther did not believe in the power of rebellion. But he did believe in the power of strict law enforcement. He felt that leniency and permissiveness were much less merciful than strict enforcement. In his opinion and in his experience, easy going law enforcement led only to great bloodshed and eventual disaster. It was his opinion that a just and firm enforcement of the law at the very beginning of the Peasant War would have avoided all of the suffering which the war itself produced and that the situation of both peasants and princes would have been far better than it eventually was at the end of the conflict.

Luther did not believe in rebellion. But he also rejected utterly the notion that people should remain aloof and uninvolved, passively accepting whatever came along. It was Luther's oft-repeated judgment that people "tend to have the government they deserve." Christians, he felt should not criticize the government to which they made no contribution, in which they volunteered no service and for which they were not willing to give the best and most competent of their children.

Lutheran passivity in matters social and political is an unfortunate cultural and theological misinterpretation of their Reformation heritage. Luther was ultra conservative in his personal political judgment. But he was not conservative about the nature and extent of his involvement. He would say to us today: "You don't have to adopt my positions, but you should adopt my posture as participant; you don't have to use my answers, but you ought to have my attitude of concern."

Luther held that Christians were to be "little Christs" to their neighbors. He said that this meant that they were to be "the servant of everybody by love." Whether pursued through the medium of political action or otherwise, part of the service of every Christian was to be that of contributing to the shaping of a society and world in which people might live as persons, enjoy their rights, be challenged by opportunity, experience justice, and function with a reasonable sense of security against injury and loss.

Luther believed that reformation meant a return to the understanding of God's action in Jesus Christ. God's action had not only done something for Christians and to Christians; it had also done something *with* Christians. They were by it sent into the world just as surely as Christ was sent into the world. They were the body of which Christ was the continuing Head.

Luther really believed that this world was God's world. It was, for him, not only God's creation, but it was also the place in which "little Christs" lived out their Christlikeness. Through the Christian, Christ's mission was to be directed, not only into all geographical areas of the world, but also into all phases of life, economic, political, social, cultural, business, professional and domestic. It was Luther's opinion that, if a man could not be a Christian at his work, at the table, in the sessions of the town council or in bed, the chances were that he could not be very Christian in church either.

Luther's conviction that the individual Christian has a role in political action would probably be stated today in the same strong terms in which he stated it in the 16th century. One wonders, however, what he would say about the political role of the organized church. At the point at which the government, among other forces, is involved, not only in providing safety for society, but actually in the deliberate shaping of it, the pursuit of Luther's principle does insist that the institutional church must speak very publicly to the theological implications of social planning and social change, must stimulate the attention and the action of its constituents, and must provide for an airing of the opinions of the church even on issues on which the people of the church are unable to speak with a unanimous voice. In the matter of Luther's own action, the institutional church must at least serve as a channel by which the action and concern of church-affiliated people may be expressed and serve as a catalyst and influence for those who will not listen so well to any other group.

In Luther's day, the Christian could express his concern or assert his influence through the intimate, interpersonal relationships of which life was composed. The church's influence upon a few princes was influence on the shapers of society. But today the prince is gone and the neighbor's need is more often met through ballot and pressure groups and government lobby than through interpersonal contact. As Martin Marty points out, even the created orders on which Luther would have relied—family and home and church—have yielded their place of major influence to other forces in society. If then it is not possible for "the church to speak to the prince" in the rather simple way suggested by Luther, must we not find another way or a host of ways in which in our day the people of the church may pool their common witness and their common participation in the forces by which society moves?

Whatever other applications we may find today for the political implications of the Reformation, there are two principles for which all of us are in the debt of Martin Luther. By insisting upon Christlikeness in the contributions of a Christian as citizen in political action and in government, Luther has pointed to a way by which God's reconciling action in Jesus Christ may be applied to every area of contemporary need. Secondly, by asserting that the Christian faith deals more consistently with principle than with systems and provides for attitudes rather than for procedures, Luther has made it possible for the church to function under varying forms of government and to be independent of changes in the political sphere.

Mr. Ambasador, it is the prayer of Lutherans—and I think of all Christians in the United States—that the observance of the Reformation anniversary of this year will stimulate a Christian reformation and renewal in which God's Spirit may truly produce a Life—New Life of service which will demonstrate itself here and in your country and throughout the world, also through the channels of government and in political action.

Danny McCoy: Lens Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, last week Newsweek magazine carried a story on the "hippie" world, complete with several color photographs.

While the story was distressing, the photography was exceptional, and I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to the cover photograph, which was made by a young man from Johnson City, Tenn.

The following story, written by Alice Torbett, an outstanding reporter for the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, illustrates how far a young man with talent and ambition can go, and I think it will be of interest to my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD:

DANNY MCCOY: LENS SUCCESS

(By Alice Torbett)

A Johnson City man and former photographer for the Johnson City Press-Chronicle has a picture on the cover of a national news magazine this week.

The Oct. 30 cover of Newsweek sports a picture of a pair of "flower children" made by Danny McCoy, a 1955 graduate of Science Hill High School.

That the photograph expresses the awkward vulnerability of young members of the "hippie" world is clear even to those who don't accept their values.

McCoy, now with Black Star in New York, at the same time has a series of color photographs on a newborn baby running in the current Redbook.

This cover picture is his third, all for Newsweek. His first was a shot of a gas-masked U.S. Marshal in Oxford, Miss., in October 1962.

McCoy, son of Mrs. Blanche McCoy of Johnson City, worked at the Johnson City Press-Chronicle during his last year of high school, when he saved enough money to buy his first camera.

He soon left to take a photography course in New York City. For a while he supported himself by working in the dark room at the Copa Cabana and the Latin Quarter.

He worked for papers in Maryland and Miami, Fla., and for Black Star in Houston before going with the New York office.

His work includes the photography for a young people's book, The Model, published by McGraw-Hill, and several pictures for National Geographic's book, This England.

Remarks by Sgt. David C. Dolby After Receiving Medal of Honor at White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, we are seeing daily more and more criticism and open demonstrations against our war policy in Vietnam. These demonstrations are difficult for our men in uniform to comprehend, and in many instances we are certain that they undermine the morale of our fighting men on the frontlines in Southeast Asia.

Recently, Sgt. David C. Dolby was awarded the Medal of Honor at a ceremony at the White House. After that ceremony he was interviewed by members of the press who asked specific questions about criticism of the war.

It is to Sergeant Dolby's great credit that he spoke conservatively about the effect of these demonstrations and how the North Vietnamese use them to their own advantage. He pointed out that the North Vietnamese have propaganda pamphlets that they leave on the battlefield that show pictures of these demonstrations, and they inform their own troops that the Americans do not want to fight. He goes on to say that when fresh troops come down from the north, they think that they are going to win. They think that the demonstrations in the United States reflect the true attitude of our soldiers, and the sergeant says this makes the battle much harder.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of the interview with Sergeant Dolby be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS BY SGT. DAVID C, DOLBY, AFTER RECEIVING THE MEDAL OF HONOR AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Question. What do you think of criticism of the war now that you are here in the States? Does it look any different to you from here?

Sergeant Dolby. No, it looks about the same except I didn't see any TV in Vietnam. So seeing it on television, it seems different to an extent. I think that the original peaceniks—I don't hold anything against them—this is a free country and I see their point of view, but I think there are un-American type parties, Communists backing them up with money and infiltrating them. I think that they don't realize the damage they are doing. The North Vietnamese are basing their strategy on these peaceniks. They have pamphlets, propaganda pamphlets they leave on the battlefield, showing pictures of these demonstrations, and that's their whole program and whole heart. What they pass on to the privates, on up in the North Vietnamese Army, is that the Americans don't want to fight. They play these peace demonstrations up, and it makes it harder for the individual soldier in Vietnam because the enemy comes from the North fresh, thinking he is going to win, and that we don't want to be there and our morale is low, but it is vice versa and this makes the battle much harder.

Question. What's in your own future, Sergeant? Would you go back to Vietnam?

Sergeant Dolby. I would like to go back, but I will be going to Ft. Bragg, North Carolina.

Question. And what then?

Sergeant Dolby. The 82nd Airborne Division. I don't know what my job will be.

Question. Do you plan to make the Army your career?

Sergeant Dolby. I've been thinking about it, but I also want to get a college education. I'm due to get out in February and I'll decide between now and then.

Press. Thank you.

Fraser Leads Liberals on District of Columbia Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, although the Congress has the responsibility for the District of Columbia, that responsibility has often been neglected, especially by the liberals in the House. But now Representative Don Fraser, of Minnesota, has taken the lead in making the liberals on the House District Committee into an effective force for progressive government.

A feature story in yesterday's Washington Post told of Representative Fraser's efforts:

> The House District Committee's little band of usually wilted liberals has perked up this year, in large part through the efforts of a quiet congressman who rarely makes a speech, rarely introduces a District bill, rarely gets his name in the news on District issues—and likes it that way . . .
>
> He has helped transform the Committee liberals from a scattered group of frustrated outcasts into a cohesive and fairly effective bloc.

Many Members appreciate the work of Representative Fraser in helping to achieve needed reforms for our Nation's Capital—a reorganization of the District government, an elected school board, and improved revenue legislation. I hope that some day we can all join together and cap Representative Fraser's efforts by giving the citizens of Washington full home rule.

I place the article from the Washington Post in the Record at this point:

HOUSE LIBERALS WINNING BIGGER ROLE IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AFFAIRS

(By Peter Milius)

The House District Committee's little band of usually wilted liberals has perked up this year, in large part through the efforts of a quiet congressman who rarely makes a speech, rarely introduces a District bill, rarely gets his name in the news on District issues—and likes it that way.

He is Rep. Donald M. Fraser, 43-year-old third -team Democrat from Minneapolis, former law partner of Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman, chief whip of the Democratic Study Group (the organization of liberal House Democrats) and a man more interested in the backstage than the front-page side of the legislative art.

When Fraser came to Congress five years ago, he made an unusual request. He asked—because home rulers here asked him to—to be put on the District Committee.

At some point in the murky process that produces Committee assignments, he lost out (though he did get on Foreign Affairs, his first choice). When he came back in 1965, Fraser made the same request. That time he got the District seat.

In the time since, particularly this year, he has helped transform the Committee liberals from a scattered group of frustrated outcasts into a cohesive and fairly effective bloc.

BACK TO FUNDAMENTALS

On a Committee dominated by conservative Southern Democrats, the liberals have always been No. 2, and they had stopped trying harder. This year, however, they have made a comeback.

They did it by getting back to fundamentals.

Early in the year, five of the liberals agreed for the first time to designate aides to keep continuous track of District legislation.

The aides kept in touch with one another, kept abreast as best they could of what Committee conservatives were up to, gathered information for their members and kept them primed. They acted almost as a shadow District Committee staff.

When there was an important hearing, the liberals made sure (as they often had neglected to do before) that they had a member there to get their point of view on record, deflate witnesses hostile to their causes and lead friendly ones on.

Before an important vote, the liberals met and thrashed out a position.

GETTING PROXIES

When the vote finally came, they had their members present. When they couldn't get a member, they got his proxy.

In token recognition of the District's Negro majority, the District Committee has two Negro members, Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago and Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Sr., of Detroit.

It is one of the little peculiarities of District Government that Dawson never comes to District Committee meetings, and Diggs rarely does. In the past, the two Democrats usually had just been written off. This year, in the major liberal-conservative confrontations, the liberals sought their proxies. In Diggs' case, at least, they got them.

One of the liberals says, perhaps a bit too optimistically:

"We know where we are on a bill now. We're not just getting beat and waiting for the Senate (District Committee) to bail us out. We're not going in at the last minute with a couple of guys who aren't prepared and getting rolled over like we used to."

The liberals split up the work. On the crime bill, which the conservatives agreed to soften somewhat this year, the main burden fell to Rep. Brock Adams (D-Wash.), a boyish-looking, small but combative former prosecutor from Seattle. But on revenue, reorganization and the elected school board bill, where the liberals also won significant victories, Fraser was the central figure. Lanky and irreverent Rep. Andrew Jacobs Jr., a Democrat from Indianapolis, also occasionally took a hand.

On the Republican side, solid help came from two Marylanders, urbane, respected fourth-termer Rep. Charles McC. Mathias and dependable Montgomery County freshman Rep. Gilbert Gude, and, especially in the reorganization fight, from veteran Rep. Frank J. Horton of Rochester, N.Y.

On some issues, the liberals were able to make alliances with other Republicans, most importantly with ranking GOP member Ancher Nelsen, whom Fraser knew from Minnesota. Nelsen when he went along with the liberals (usually just part way), brought other Republican votes behind him.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

The liberals, Fraser chiefly, also got involved in the basic and delicate business of getting more of their fellows on the Committee. The District Committee is at best a second committee for most members.

Fraser persuaded Adams and Jacobs to come on the Committee when the present Congress convened 10 months ago.

He and others tried to get a liberal assigned to the Democratic seat left vacant by Mississippi's John Bell Williams when Williams went home to run for governor this year.

The liberals' candidate was Rep. Thomas M. Rees of Los Angeles. The man who got the seat was Rep. E. S. Johnny Walker of New Mexico, a conservative.

SOUTHERN BLOC

Contested committee seats are like anything else—they are prizes to be bartered for. The Democratic leadership has to try to keep the Southerners as happy as any other group, perhaps happier, and Fraser observes wryly that "the District Committee balance never really changes that much."

Actually, there are only seven Southern Democrats left on the Committee (out of 25 members, 14 of them Democrats), and one Southern Republican of like views, Rep. Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia. And the Southerners feel keenly the loss of Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, second-ranking Democrat and chief Southern web-spinner on the District Committee until his defeat in last year's elections.

But the Southerners (who, as contrasted to the liberals, are also mainly small-town or country men) make up in seniority what they lack in numbers.

The chairman, Rep. John L. McMillan, is from South Carolina. Rep. Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi is now number two man; Rep. John Dowdy of Texas is No. 5, and Rep. Basil L. Whitener of North Carolina, No. 6.

Southerners—Abernethy, Dowdy and Whitener—still serve as chairmen of three of the five District subcommittees (though in the last Congress, with Judge Smith serving, they had four).

House District subcommittees don't have special subjects, like health or highways or crime or education. They just have numbers, which allows McMillan to refer bills to whichever subcommittee he wants to.

A NEW OPENING

Another Committee seat will probably fall vacant this winter, when Democrat Abraham J. Multer, one of the few liberals with significant seniority, is expected to win a state Supreme Court judgeship in New York and resign from Congress.

Fraser was born in Minneapolis, where his father was dean of the University of Minnesota Law School (after serving as dean of the George Washington University Law School here).

He received both his bachelor's and law degrees at Minnesota, joined a law firm in 1948 (another partner was Federal Communications Commissioner Lee Loevinger), became active in Minnesota's highly ideological Democratic politics and served as State senator from Minneapolis' university district from 1954 to 1962.

He ran for Congress in 1962 against Walter Judd, and won with 51.5 per cent of the vote. He got 60 per cent in the 1964 landslide, 58 last year.

Fraser, who now lives with his wife and five children in a Southwest Washington apartment, generally votes the liberal line on national issues.

On District matters, he would like most to vote himself out of a job and give the city home rule. Lacking that, he is generally content to support District bills the White House and District Building sent to the Hill.

He is under no illusions about the past 10 months: the Committee conservatives still have the votes. But the liberals, he thinks, have become less doctrinaire and are a little more respected and effective in the Committee.

"We used to just beat our heads against the wall," he says. "Now the Committee has become a little more fluid."

Address by Senator Holland Before the 62d Annual Convention, Gulf Intra-Coastal Canal Association, Jacksonville, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very informative address delivered by the distinguished senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] at Jacksonville, Fla., on October 30, 1967, entitled "The Contribution of Manmade Navigation Projects."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MANMADE NAVIGATION PROJECTS

It is a great pleasure to me to welcome your Association, for its first convention in the Sunshine State of Florida—indeed its first convention east of the Mississippi.

I believe it most fitting that you selected the City of Jacksonville for this meeting as this will be the linking up point of the Gulf Intracoastal Canal by way of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal with the Atlantic Intercoastal Waterway which extends some 1456 miles from Trenton, New Jersey, to Miami. Within a few years, when the Intracoastal Waterway from St. Marks to Tampa Bay is completed, the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, which now extends from Brownsville, Texas, to St. Marks on the West Coast—a distance of some 1115 miles—will be over 1400 miles long. The completion of the Cross State Barge Canal will save a distance of more than 600 miles an will eliminate the hazardout route around the Florida Keys and open up an intracoastal system from New Jersey to the Mexican border—a system of over 2500 miles of protected waterways. Here will be the point of connection of waterway systems which extend into 34 states.

I do not need to tell those present today that water transportation has played a vital role in our nation's development since the day of the earliest settlements along the East Coast.

And speaking of the East Coast, I would like to point out that you are less than 40 miles north of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the continental United States. It was established by Pedro Menendez d'Aviles, who landed there and took possession of Florida, September 8, 1565, in the name of King Philip II of Spain. He named the town San Augustin in honor of the Saint upon whose day the first fleet had sighted the Florida Coast.

Prior to the coming of Menendez, Jean Ribault and his French Huguenots, sailing the coast of Florida, came to the mouth of the St. Johns River which they named "May River" in commemoration of the day, May 1, 1562, when discovery was made. There they erected a stone column bearing the Arms of France, and later established Fort Caroline in honor of Charles IX of France, and set about the establishment of Protestant New France.

Somewhat earlier in 1512, Ponce de Leon, in search of the Fountain of Youth, first made land on Sunday, March 27, but did not set foot upon its shores until the 2nd of April at a spot believed to be a short distance north of St. Augustine. Having first come upon the coast on Palm Sunday, Pascua Florida, as it was called in Spanish, he gave to his supposed island the name "Florida". History also tells us that Ponce de Leon was the first to envision the possibility of a canal across the State of Florida and that some 300 years later this vision was rekindled by Andrew Jackson.

The foresight and leadership of such great Americans as Governor William P. Duval, and I include among them Clarence Holland, another Holland but unfortunately not related to me, and Roy Miller who played such a vital role in the buiding of the Intercoastal Canal since its inception on August 8, 1905, have aided materially in the conservation, preservation and development of our soil and water resources. Governor Duval, in addressing the Territorial Legislative Council of Florida in 1824 said:

"The bold and navigable rivers which run thro' our Territory will be more valuable than mines of gold."

The vision and the development of the Gulf Intracoastal Canal has very greatly exceeded expectations as the annual commerce carried on the Canal is approximately 15 times what it was forecast at the time the waterway was authorized some 40 years ago and it has achieved the phenomenal high ratio of benefits-to-cost of 26.0 to 1.

If you would picture a map before you, you would see that the Gulf Intracoastal Canal connects up with major developed river systems, such as the Mississippi and Alabama, and in addition the proposed or authorized development of the Trinity and Appalachicola Rivers. These, in turn, are linked with other major systems, such as the Ohio, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and Illinois and with the Intercoastal Canals. This great inland waterway system is of inestimable value to the continued growth of our nation. It helps to bring about the increase in the gross national product so necessary to maintain our ever-expanding population and keep our economy in balance.

In the early pioneer years of our country in the 1700's, the river was the American highway as there were few roads and no railroads. With the passing of time, the rivers no longer were the only arteries of commerce but became only a segment, a highly important segment, in an integrated national transportation system which is particularly adapted to moving large quantities in bulk at low cost.

The navigation benefits we enjoy from our water resources have increased as our water systems have moved from limited transportation usage to controlled usage. Likewise, by the employment of multi-purpose water development we have made possible the wise use and re-use of this priceless water resource.

This development has been a major factor in the transformation of our country from a wilderness to a nation of great national commerce and its continued virile growth. This continued expansion of the American economy requires continued emphasis on the development of our water resources and particularly in the field of navigation improvements.

Great credit goes to the Corps of Engineers in the development and control of this resource. In my opinion they have performed a most commendable job, and I might say that here in Jacksonville we have a District Engineer, Colonel Tabb, who has performed a great job, and we are indeed pleased that he is here.

We know, for it has been proven, during the development of our water resources in the some 140 odd years the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has carried forward our public works programs, that monies invested in these programs have been returned many fold. Just think of progress made since the steamship "Great Eastern", the famous "great iron ship", cross the Atlantic in the 1890s when Portland, Maine, was the only American harbor that could receive her.

Yes, we have made great strides and as a result of the visions of great men—and great leaders—you have played a vastly important part in developing the most prosperous nation in the world, and the great efforts and enthusiastic support of groups and associations such as yours have played a major part in providing the means for such achievement by constantly urging the continued improvement and enlargement of our waterway systems.

This activity must be carried on most vigorously in the future in order that we may keep pace with our ever-expanding growth. The Bureau of the Census projects the population of our nation for 1977 at 232 million and for the year 2000 at 350 million—almost twice the population of 1960. This expansion in population, coupled with the projection of our gross national product which exceeded $700 billion last year and is estimated at about $1,000 billion, or one trillion dollars, in 1976 and at $2 trillion in the year 2000, which is about triple that of 1966.

These startling figures point up the necessity for continued improvement in all modes of transportation. Not only must our waterways be improved, but improvement of the railroads, the perennial objectors to waterway development and of the highways, also, must be accomplished.

As to the railroads, this becomes apparent when we compare the freight load carried by rail facilities during World War II which was about 745 billion ton-miles to an estimated requirement in 1976 of one trillion ton miles of freight haulage per year and by the year 2000 some two trillion ton-miles.

This ever-increasing demand for transportation of the production of physical goods, which increased from 1959 to 1964 by 17.6 percent, shows very clearly the need for constant improvement of rail facilities. The inability of the railroads to meet traffic demands is evidenced by the Interstate Commerce Commission reports that on some days in 1966 there was a shortage of 15,000 freight cars and I understand the backlog of orders placed for freight cars with the builders grew 66 percent in one year—May 1965 to May 1966.

To me, it is perfectly obvious that the projected demands will require vital steps in order to balance our transportation needs and it is apparent that the railroads will not be able to carry the projected traffic. Therefore, the only other mode of bulk transportation which can be substituted for or considered for relieving this demand is the great river systems and our inland waterways which are uniquely adaptable for the mass movement of bulk commodities at low cost. The use of such resources will aid in the creation of jobs for the estimated additional 25 million persons who will be added to our labor force by the year 1980.

The some 26,000 miles of improved waterways have brought with them industrial expansion along their routes involving more than 6000 plants which have provided jobs and payrolls, opened up new markets, stimulated general business activity and enlarged the public tax base, which is vitally important today when we are having great budgetary problems. And when we mention budgetary problems to a Member of Congress these days it brings on an immediate headache. This reminds me of a story of one friend asking another: "Are you saving any money since you started your budget system?" And his friend replied: "Sure, by the time we have balanced it up every evening it is too late to go anywhere." I wish that the budgetary problems of the Congress were that simple of solution.

These man-made waterways have stimulated greatly competition with the railroads and have resulted in reduced rail rates where such competition is present. This is readily apparent if comparison is made of rail rates between points where water transportation is available with those areas in which the railroads operate but do not compete with water transportation.

As our nation was being founded, writing in the Federalist, James Madison, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton all stressed the importance of federal improvement of transportation facilities. Madison was of the opinion that:

"Nothing which tends to facilitate the intercourse between States can be deemed unworthy of public care." (The Federalist, No. 42)

Madison further stated:

"Intercourse throughout the Union will be facilitated. . . . The communications between the western and the Atlantic districts and between various parts of each will be rendered more and more easy by the numerous canals with which the beneficience of nature has intersected our country and which art finds it so little difficult to connect and complete." (James Madison op. cit. No. 14).

These views, as expressed by James Madison, are even more relevant today than they were then and the pursuit of continued development of our waterways has now become an inherent part of our economy.

Along with many of my colleagues, I will continue, with the help of organizations such as yours, to seek necessary authorizations and appropriations to insure the full development of our water resources. We are now doing all we can, in the face of the strained current fiscal situation, attributable in great part to the Vietnam situation, to provide adequately for continued improvement of our waterways.

I am sure that you are all aware of the action now being taken by the Congress in regard to the Public Works Appropriations for fiscal year 1968. These appropriations do not provide all we would like, under the circumstances we have had to face up to. Being mindful of the need to continue vital projects as well as to make new starts, we have done the best possible. Senator Ellender of Louisiana has been our great and inspiring leader in this work. I might say that I would have liked to have seen additional funds provided for the Cross-Florida Barge Canal in order to insure its completion in 1974, now three years behind its original scheduled completion date. As many of you are probably aware, the Corps of Engineers indicated a capability of $20 million for the project for fiscal 1968. However, the budget recommendation was for $11.4 million and this figure will be in the final bill. Again, here is a case in point where additional funds can be justified, yet under our present burdensome fiscal condition some giving has to take place to provide for a needed, rounded-out, overall program.

I am not pleased nor am I unhappy about this for our field is just one of the many important programs for which our nation must provide. I do feel it is important that steps be taken to insure that once a project is funded for construction, the Engineers may adhere to their completion schedules and I hasten to say I do not blame the Engineers for delays in completion for in most cases such is the result of actions taken by higher authority in refusing to recommend the appropriation of adequate funds or in the withholding or deferment of the allocation of funds appropriated by the Congress.

One last point I would like to make with regard to the contribution of man-made navigation facilities:

Much is said, particularly by the various conservation groups—to the effect that the building of our waterways destroys the beauty of the areas where improvements are made. Let me say emphatically that I am deeply interested in the conservation movement and was instrumental in establishing the Everglades National Park which was begun when I was Governor and finally came into being after I came to the Senate. I shall continue to be an ardent conservationist. Certainly, there is something to say on this point—not only because of temporary construction scars, but likewise in contrast with the early days of the nation when inhabited areas were built in the wilderness, and later abandoned because of changing times and lack of transportation, the development of our inland waterways has brought with it the repopulation of many areas which now provide, as a result of water facilities, cheap rates of transportation. Those redeveloped areas and the industries which accompany them cannot have all the character of untouched nature. But I have also seen, as have many of you who have traversed the Inland Waterways, much beautiful scenery that heretofore was unseen and unenjoyed due to the difficulty in reaching it. Now millions may enjoy it. One such area which I shall mention—and there are many others—is the great dismal swamp in North Carolina— once second in size and inaccessibility to the Everglades. Here, besides us average citizens, skilled foresters, geologists, botanists and zoologists now find an ideal opportunity to observe nature at its best.

Anyone who has seen and enjoyed the indescribable beauties of manmade lakes in Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas, and in many, many other places in our nation, will have to acknowledge that our program has helped to create beautiful scenery of incalculable value to America.

These great inland waterways which we shall continue to improve, in addition to their need for our industrial growth provide boundless recreational facilities for fisherman, sportsmen and boat enthusiasts. And speaking of both the pleasing and the economic side of life, the marinas and other facilities which have come into being for the enjoyment and pleasure of a great number of our citizens also provide a means of employment to many.

In closing I want to stress that many of my colleagues and I have long recognized that there is no physical asset more valuable to our nation than our water resources. The continued development of these resources is essential to our future. Their development adds to our national strength. Any attempt to restrict such improvement by establishing unrealistic criteria for the economic evaluation of waterway projects or the imposition of tolls or user charges, either by regulation or legislation, will be met head-on by those of us who believe that unrestricted use of our vast inland waterway system is essential to our national interest. Your friends in the Congress will fight all proposals of this nature.

But it is most important that your organization and the many other groups committed to the continued development of our inland waterways maintain a constant alert against such rash proposals. To date you have done a fine job, but this is no time for relaxation. Together we have strength and determination to defeat the constant efforts in certain quarters to impose unrealistic restrictions on waterway users. We must continue to mobilize our forces and stand at-the-ready to exert our united strength against these proposals which are definitely not in the national interest.

Caring for Vietnam's Orphans

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the following article from Our Sunday Visitor:

We're Too Busy To March: We've Got an Orphanage

(By Glenn A. McCurdy)

Hawks and doves. Peace marchers and counter marchers. Escalation and the credibility gap. Draft card burning and Martin Luther King. These are the stories which surround the most controversial war in the history of the United States.

On every level of communications the conflict in Vietnam continues in a fog of proposals and accusations, the heavy-handed drama of big headlines. News, almost by definition, is bad news. But on a much more modest level this unhappy confrontation between East and West can produce an active involvement that holds some hope for the future of mankind on this planet. When people are working to help other people there is hope, but few headlines.

Last spring the undergraduates of St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia, through the efforts of an alumnus now stationed with the Air Force in Vietnam, became involved in the war in the most positive way possible, they worked to diminish pain and increase hope. In short, they quietly adopted an orphanage.

For over a month virtually every organization on the St. Joseph's campus (1,800 strong) raised money to support their new ward, the Stella Maris (Star of the Sea) orphanage in Dan Nang. After two dances, a car wash, special movies, and selling chances on a date with Miss Pennsylvania, they presented "Tony's Tots" (the established Stella Maris fund) with a check for $1,500, with more to come.

Project Vietnam came to St. Joseph's through the letters of an alumnus, Lt. James L. Tobin, class of 1964, who was then on a tour of duty as a civic actions officer with the 630th Tactical Control Squadron near Da Nang.

"Some men spend their free time here watching the days fall from the calendar," said Lt. Tobin, "while others read, watch endless movies or take correspondence courses to kill the time. I like to believe I spend some of my time trying to help as much as possible."

During his first months of duty he spent his off-duty hours teaching English in Vietnamese schools or supplying hospitals in Da Nang with drugs and medical supplies or arranging informal athletic programs between the people of this war-ravaged country and the GIs.

"But my deepest concern has always been for the homeless children who are innocent victims of this tragedy," said Lt. Tobin.

He outlined these feelings in a long letter to his former campus commander at St. Joseph's, Lt. Col. Daniel J. Boyle, director of Aerospace Studies. Lt. Tobin's initial request was for the support of the Air Force detachment on campus, but the story of Stella Maris quickly spread throughout the college.

Lt. Tobin describes his meeting with the nuns of Stella Maris as follows:

"We were approached by two tiny Vietnamese nuns who indicated they were looking for garbage to feed their 'pigs'. We watched them scavenging through the garbage pails behind our mess hall. Nothing escaped their hunting eyes and everything edible to man or beast was stuffed into the small bags they carried. It soon became apparent that these scraps weren't meant only for these mysterious 'pigs' for the Sisters were especially looking for dry cream products. A young airman fluent in French spoke with them and we invited them into the Commander's (Lt. Col. Fred Faupel) office. Everyone began to offer help."

The story of the orphanage, a crude building comparable only to perhaps American livestock shelters is a simple one and it is the story of a saint. Sister Angela, mother superior of Stella Maris, fled from Hanoi with three other nuns and crossed miles of mountainous jungles until they reached Da Nang and the sea. They owned only the clothes they wore, but brick by brick they constructed a small haven for the lost children of their world. They planted the seeds for what could someday be an orphanage. As word of their presence spread to nearby villages, their mission of love was fulfilled in the pitiful form of an undernourished and maimed child left in the clearing outside their shelter. Three days later this child died. The only hope they could give him was their love.

Today the nuns of Stella Maris are caring for 96 children of all faiths. Through the efforts of the 620th Squadron they are able to feed, clothe and provide medical treatment for this entire family. The goals of the present are being met, but the future is always uncertain.

"Theirs is a big project for people with big hearts," wrote Lt. Tobin. "They must be able to save for tomorrow. Drugs, medicine and vitamins are the things we need most. Last spring 36 children died because of a measles epidemic. I hope this letter will help."

It did. New York City was the center for a "March for Peace" several months ago. The students at St. Joseph's couldn't attend; they had to take care of an orphanage.

Egyptian War Crimes Go Unpunished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the long and bitter civil war in Yemen has now become a struggle between the people of that small near eastern country and a puppet regime kept in power by Egyptian troops and armaments.

Yemeni charges that Egyptians are using poison gas have been documented officially by the International Red Cross. One such case involved the population of an entire village, including the children, all killed by nerve gas coming from cannisters bearing Russian markings.

So far, President Johnson has demonstrated no interest in taking the least action to have these particularly barbarous crimes against humanity punished. How long the administration will continue to ignore this pressing moral responsibility remains unclear, but our duty is clear.

Syndicated columnist Roscoe Drummond has written an open letter to our U.N. Ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, on this subject. Because of its relevance, and the valuable information it contains, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Letter to Mr. Goldberg

(By Roscoe Drummond)

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,
U.S. Ambassador to United Nations.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: In your recent statement you express "strong concern" over Egypt's use of poison gas in Yemen, but announce that the U.S. "is not taking the lead" in bringing the issue before the United Nations.

In all candor, Mr. Ambassador, why not?

You say "we are deeply disturbed" but prefer to let somebody else take the initiative.

In all candor, is a let-someone-else-do-it policy good enough for the United States of America in a matter which involves violation of the Geneva Treaty, transgression of the U.N. Charter, and a heinous offense against humanity?

Isn't this the kind of international crime which the U.N. was created to deal with and which the U.N. is capable of dealing with?

But the U.N. can do nothing unless the issue is brought before it.

Is it really good enough for the United States to pursue a course of let-someone-else-do-it?

You know as do the rest of us that under present circumstances nobody else is going to do it.

The Yemeni people who are being gas-bombed can't get their protest to the U.N. because their government does not represent them. The present Yemeni government either approves the use of poison gas against its dissident people or is so completely the tool of Cairo that it can't do otherwise.

And it seems clear that no other government is going to stand up first at the U.N.—at least not in time to accomplish anything—and say for the conscience of the world: This must stop! No Arab state is going to do it. No neutral state is going to do it.

If there were a real choice between the U.S. "not taking the lead," as you put it, and somebody else doing so, it might be understandable for the U.S. to yield the initiative to another.

But, Mr. Ambassador, there is no such choice. Nobody else is ready to take the lead. Nothing is being done and nothing is going to be done to demand an end to this hideous crime unless the United States takes the lead to demand that something be done.

At the moment a voice or two is being raised by Arab leaders urging Nassar to get out of Yemen entirely, withdraw his 25,000 troops, and end this illegal intervention. But exactly such an agreement was signed by the U.A.R. and Saudi Arabia and nothing came of it. Perhaps the losses sustained by

Egypt in the six-day war with Israel will force Nasser to retire from Yemen—for a time. But you can't count on it.

Is the U.S. going to stand by and refuse to take the initiative on the sterile theory of let-someone-else-do-it?

Mr. Ambassador, there are quite a few of us who hope not.

Michigan Girl Cites Value of 4-H Club Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, from time to time it has been my pleasure to meet with young men and young women from my congressional district as they come to Washington for seminars at the national 4-H Club center. I have been very much impressed by the work of this organization.

I was pleased to receive a few days ago an article written by an 18-year-old girl from my district discussing the benefits of the club programs. It was written by Miss Brenda M. Swenson of Midland, Mich., and I would like to share it with my colleagues.

It follows:

MY 4-H STORY

(By Brenda M. Swinson, age 18, Midland County, Midland, Mich.)

The 4-H program has helped me to form my personality, which is based on the saying, "a little hope, faith, and charity." Without these three one cannot be successful or live in this world of ours. 4-H has helped me gain a love and respect for the "Head, Heart, Hands, and Health" God has given me.

If the 4-H program is to be successful, the members, leaders, and Extension people must have faith in it. With faith in our hearts we can try different techniques of planning meetings and recreation, and carrying out our projects. In this way we can show our beliefs and individuality, yet work harmoniously as a group.

This we did in our local service club in working at Patterson Street School with retarded children. We taught them leathercraft, sewing, dancing, games, and songs. They, in turn, taught us what they knew—songs, games, but most of all a love of life and the simplicity of beauty (flowers, the sparkle of the stars, and the warmth of their hearts). Disappointment came when membership in our service club was too low to operate any longer and we had to face the fact that we would have to discontinue the Patterson program. We had raised interest in this program that the high school took over the program. Faith that we would find some organization to continue our work kept us going as long as we did.

My older brother was a 4-H member and, being a little sister, I wanted to do what he did. It seemed years before I was old enough to participate. I joined with enthusiasm and looked forward to learning skills, gaining knowledge, and to just pure fun in the 4-H program.

Through faith and hope I found the fun, learned the skills, and gained the knowledge I wanted. More than that, I found a place where I could exercise what I had gained in the 4-H program through service clubs, junior leadership, and now leading.

This is where "a little charity" stepped in—by sharing, giving, and urging participation. So with charity within ourselves the 4-H program, industries, colleges, and communities interested in 4-H we all gain points on the success chart.

"A little faith, hope, and charity" in the ways I have mentioned were the major tools which are still forming and molding my character, personality, and future aspirations. My family was a 4-H family, Dad leading a horse project, Mom cooking, my brother meeting the girl he was to marry through 4-H, and me still participating as a member and junior leader. I feel my community has gained by having a group in the rural area offering service, experiences, and achievement for youth.

Business arrangements with my father gave me the opportunity to own a horse, plot a garden, and have a sewing machine. Awards and some trips financed through industries and organizations have given me opportunities to travel, meet friends and resource people, and to see the broad horizon of the 4-H Clover.

Through planning workshops, camps, ceremonies and recreation and holding different offices, I have gained in leadership. I have viewed and gained better citizenship and patriotism since I attended the Washington, D.C., Citizenship Shortcourse, and 4-H Club Week at Michigan State University.

State Conservation Camp taught me that conservation is a part of our daily lives. The duty is left up to us to conserve our wildlife, water, forest, fish, and soil. I enjoyed this camp the most of my 4-H excursions because it gave me a wonderful feeling of closeness to both nature and its Creator. I felt great pride and gratitude when I was chosen to return the following year as a member of the 1965 Planning Committee.

Through this type of faith, hope and charity I have become aware of what a successful life really is, and of the results and rewards of the saying, "It is better to give than to receive." It is a challenge to live up to the motto "Make the best better," and when asked to help in a project or activity, to stand up and give the answer, "I'll be glad to."

I am attending Central Michigan University this fall preparing for a career of working with children. Further down life's path I hope to be a successful housewife and mother. And, God willing, be a 4-H leader, supporter, and parent.

L. B. J. Defeats Republicans in Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and New York Polls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, with just a year to go before the presidential election the Republicans are trying desperately to boost party morale by already claiming victory.

Unfortunately for them, the election will determine the winner—not their publicity releases. And while I hate to be a killjoy, I would urge the Republicans not to order their victory champagne before the final results are in.

Just last week, for example, polls conducted in Pennsylvania and New Hampshire revealed that President Johnson could defeat handily the top five Republican hopefuls.

The polls, conducted by an independent firm in Princeton, N.J., showed that in Pennsylvania, the President ran ahead of Richard Nixon, 51 to 37; ahead of Rockefeller 45 to 41; ahead of Romney, 48 to 35; ahead of Reagan, 51 to 33; and ahead of Percy, 50 to 29.

The sampling covered 657 persons throughout Pennsylvania.

In New Hampshire, the poll showed the President and Nixon running neck and neck, but Lyndon Johnson running ahead of Rockefeller, Romney, Reagan, and Percy.

In addition, an earlier poll covering New York State—conducted by this same firm—showed President Johnson easily defeating this same group of Republican rivals.

The Republicans want to claim victory in 1968 a year early. Now if only those polls would cooperate.

I think the polls will cooperate with the Republicans to the same degree that they have cooperated with the Johnson administration in passing needed legislation.

In other words, the Republicans do not have a chance.

Detroit's End Run

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, last night's Washington Evening Star contains an editorial which, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the House for the added light it sheds on section 208(b) of the Air Quality Act of 1967. How can we fairly be accused of an excess of zeal when at issue is the protection of the health of the people of California?

The editorial follows:

DETROIT'S END RUN

When Detroit auto makers issued a flurry of press releases a few months ago about their development of electric autos, it looked as if the nation had turned a corner in the air pollution war. Here was evidence that the car manufacturers were really serious about helping clear the air.

But a new legislative battle in Congress has stirred misgivings about the sincerity of the industry in this matter. Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan has sponsored an amendment to an air-pollution bill that would seriously undermine the power of California to set its own, more stringent clean-air standards. The Senate previously gave California this right in an amendment by Senator George Murphy.

The Dingell proposal would give the federal government the final say on whether California could have stricter standards for auto exhausts than those for the rest of the country. According to press reports, the Michigan lawmaker's friends in Detroit want to avoid "leapfrogging," that is, a race between the state and the government to see who could tighten standards more.

It's not difficult to see what's behind this amendment. Dingell openly admits the auto industry approached him with the basic idea for the legislation. Evidently Detroit thinks California is overly zealous in battling air pollution, and fears auto makers may have to improve car exhaust devices even more for the nation. California already has enacted a law that will require cleaner fumes from cars in 1970 than federal standards now require.

Well, if ever there was a clear-cut case for states' rights, this is it. Califonia has pioneered in smog control—and with good reason. The health of her citizens is involved. In the past 14 years the number of motor vehicles in Los Angeles County alone has increased from 2 million to nearly 4 million. The state has nearly 10 million cars registered. Is anybody seriously arguing that the same problem exists here—and the same minimum controls should be applied—as in, say, North Dakota?

The Dingell amendment is a piece of special interest legislation. The California delegation is amply justified in opposing it, and the measure should be opposed by every other House member interested in cleaner air.

The Plight of the Jews in Soviet Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on October 25, 1967, those of Jewish faith throughout the world celebrated the end of the Jewish high holiday period, the eve of Simhath Torah, that day marking "the rejoicing over the law"; a holiday celebrated for hundreds of years by the followers of Judaism.

All of us of any religious conviction know and understand the sacred nature of religious holidays and the meaning they have for each man.

It is indeed sad to realize, therefore, that there are still areas of the world wherein a man may not follow his chosen religion; where he may not take pride in his heritage; where he may not follow those convictions taught to him at his mother's knee; where he may not share the devotion of men of his belief throughout the world on the holiest of days. Such is the plight of the Jews in Soviet Russia.

Today, more than 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union are quietly but consistently treated, both by the Government and by the Russians in general, as nothing more than second-class citizens. Their activities and movements are more rigidly watched and spied upon by the secret police than those of other ethnic groups.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress the following statement made on October 11 by Rabbi Israel Miller, chairman of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, and which was read in thousands of synagogues throughout this country on Yom Kippur:

We conveyed to President Johnson, through Mr. Rostow, a special statement which the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry will issue later today.

The statement describes the present plight of Soviet Jews.

The Conference, composed of 25 national Jewish organizations, has distributed the statement to every synagogue in the United States, urging that it be read from the pulpit during Yom Kippur service on Saturday.

A year ago, on September 19, 1966, a meeting similar in content and purpose to this morning's was held at The White House. At that time, Mr. Rostow expressed the hope that developments within the Soviet Union would enable its Jewish community of nearly 3,000,000 to preserve its identity and transmit its heritage.

But the hope for a lifting of the cultural and religious suppressions affecting Soviet Jews still remains unfilled; at best, there has been only token implementation.

There was, in the past year, a significant statement by Premier Alexei Kosygin. Last December, at a press interview in Paris, Mr. Kosygin declared that Soviet families who wanted to be reunited with relatives abroad would "find the door open." There had been a trickle of emigration. But the door was again slammed shut by the Soviet Union this summer.

Meanwhile, a campaign of incredible vilification against Israel and Zionism has been conducted throughout the Soviet Union, throughout all the media of communications and social control at the disposal of Soviet authorities. The crassest fabrications—stories that clearly defy credibility, fantasies of well-nigh pathological nature—have been circulated. The image conveyed reminds us of the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the fraudulent anti-Semitic tract first circulated in Czarist Russia.

The Soviet campaign must be seen in the context of the overall attitude of hostility toward Judaism and Jewish life which Soviet authorities have displayed for many years.

We also described to Mr. Rostow some observable manifestations in the past year of the great hunger for Jewish cultural activity that persists among Soviet Jews, and of the dramatic expression given to their desire for a distinctively Jewish experience by tens of thousands of young Russian Jews, many of them students, who gathered in or near the larger synagogues that still exist in the Soviet Union to celebrate the festival of Simhat Tora. According to reports reaching us, attendance at Rosh Hashana services in Moscow last week was greater than last year's; at the Central Synagogue in Moscow it overflowed into the surrounding streets.

Two years ago, when the American Jewish community first kindled an Eternal Light for Soviet Jewry, President Johnson issued a statement which was read to the huge gathering of American Jews from all regions of our Nation who had assembled for the mass demonstration in Lafayette Park.

The President at that time declared: "History demonstrates that the treatment of minorities is a barometer by which to measure the moral health of a society. Just as a condition of the American Jew is a living symbol of American achievement and promise, so the conditions of Jewish life (and that of other religious minorities) in the Soviet Union reveal fundamental contradictions between the stated principles and actual practices of the Soviet system."

The Soviet Union will shortly celebrate the 50th anniversary of its Revolution. We suggest that, on its 50th anniversary, the Soviet Union must be measured by its continued denial to Soviet Jews of those rights granted to other religious and nationality groups in the Soviet Union.

In another statement President Johnson also declared that "all responsible officials in our Government continue to search for practical methods of alleviating the position of Soviet Jews."

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry today expressed to the Administration, through Mr. Rostow, the hope that such a search will now lead to actions by our Government to communicate its concerns to appropriate officials of the Soviet Union.

Postal Bill Discriminatory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article by David Lawrence, "Postal Bill Discriminatory," which appeared in the Evening Star on October 30, 1967.

I wholeheartedly agree with the views expressed by Mr. Lawrence as to the discriminatory element in the postal bill as passed by the House. Our Post Office and Civil Service Committee, in its deliberations on postal rate increases, was very careful to avoid any possible discrimination among the users of the various classes of mail.

The article follows:

POSTAL BILL DISCRIMINATORY

Congress under the Constitution is not permitted to pass any law that abridges freedom of speech or freedom of the press. Demonstrators in large numbers exercised their freedom of speech a week ago around government buildings here and were given protection by federal, state and local authorities. Some members of Congress, however, seem to have forgotten that freedom of the press is also guaranteed by the First Amendment. For instance, the House of Representatives has passed and there is under consideration in the Senate a proposal to put a special charge on mailings of a publication above 500,000 copies.

The placing of appropriate charges on all publications for transportation through the mails is a sound practice, as they should naturally be expected to pay for the cost of delivery and help offset the expenses of the Post Office Department. But no explanation has yet been offered as to why only those publications having a mail circulation in excess of a set figure should be penalized instead of the same rate being applied uniformly to all publications delivered by mail.

The Supreme Court of the United States in 1936 ruled that a levy of this kind is unconstitutional. The judgment was rendered in the case of a Louisiana statute which imposed a license tax for the privilege of engaging in the business of selling advertising. But it applied only to publishers of newspapers and magazines with a weekly circulation of more than 20,000 copies.

The high court said the state law imposing the tax was "unconstitutional under the due process of law clause because it abridges freedom of the press." Justice Sutherland, who wrote the opinion of the court, said:

"It is not intended by anything we have said to suggest that the owners of newspapers are immune from any of the ordinary forms of taxation for support of the government. But this is not an ordinary form of tax, but one single in kind, with a long history of hostile misuse against the freedom of the press. . . .

"The tax here involved is bad not because it takes money from the pockets of the appellees. If that were all, a wholly different question would be presented. It is bad because, in the light of its history and of its present setting, it is seen to be a deliberate and calculated device in the guise of a tax to limit the circulation of information to which the public is entitled in virtue of the constitutional guarantees. A free press stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. To allow it to be fettered is to fetter ourselves. . . .

"The form in which the tax is imposed is in itself suspicious. It is not measured or limited by the volume of advertisements. It is measured alone by the extent of the circulation of the publication in which the advertisements are carried, with the plain purpose of penalizing the publishers and curtailing the circulation of a selected group of newspapers."

The postal bill being considered at present by the Senate would impose, in addition to a higher rate for all publications—newspapers and magazines—a supplementary charge for each copy mailed in excess of 500,000. It takes a good many years for a publication to attain that amount of circulation, so the "surcharge" amounts to a discriminatory penalty imposed upon growth and efficiency.

Congress could apply higher mail rates to all publications uniformly, and, while there might be some protests from those affected, there certainly could be no objection raised from a constitutional standpoint. It is the use of governmental power to discriminate between large and small publications which has evoked criticism.

The mail service performed by the government is identical for all publications, irrespective of how many copies are being delivered. If the principle of unequal rates were upheld, it could mean that companies doing a large business in a given industry could be required to pay a special tax from which their competitors would be exempt. The press, however, does have recourse to the First Amendment, which, in effect, prohibits any interference with or restraint upon "information growth."

More Progress Needed in Air Pollution Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Clean Air Act, which we passed in 1963 and have since amended, was the beginning of a nationwide effort to combat the evils of air pollution. Unfortunately, we still have a long way to go before the war is won. Last December 12, Vice President Humphrey, in addressing the Third National Conference on Air Pollution, made it clear that the Johnson administration is extremely concerned about the need for further progress in this important area.

The Vice President told the conference:

> I said that there is a serious toll of human life involved. And there is. The nation that suffers the most is ours—from emphysema, for example, a disease associated directly with air pollution. Emphysema is the fastest-growing cause of death in this country today. Among American men the death rate from emphysema is almost ten times what it was in 1950. Each month 1,000 more workers are forced prematurely onto the Social Security rolls because of the crippling effects of this disease. Significantly, deaths from emphysema are twice as high in our cities as in our rural areas.
>
> Now, if there happens to be a relationship between the filthy air of the urban areas and the relatively clean air of the rural countryside, the coincidence only underscores what anybody with an eighth-grade education already knows. What a pity it is to think that we can build glistening towers, magnificent buildings, incredible designs for machines and devices, and yet we don't know how to control the smoke that comes out of a smockstack.
>
> Like emphysema, other major respiratory diseases—bronchitis, asthma, lung cancer, not to mention the common cold—are clearly lined with air pollution, even though the link is incompletely documented as yet. However, there seems to be a growing body of evidence that all of these disturbances of the lungs and throat are realted indirectly to the atmosphere that surrounds us, the air we breathe.

Mr. Speaker, I agree wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed by Vice President Humphrey. We are indeed late in getting started and the problem is indeed immense. However, we in the House of Representatives will soon have an opportunity to substantially increase the resources available to combat air pollution. The Air Quality Act of 1967, an integral part of President Johnson's program to assure a safe and healthful environment for every American, has been favorably reported out by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Our support of this important legislation will constitute another battle won in the war against polluted air. I strongly urge its passage.

Calumet Park in Illinois Aids Orphanages in Vietnam

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Calumet Citizen is published in Calumet City in the district in Illinois that I have the honor to represent. I am extendng my remarks to include a letter in the current issue of the Citizen from a serviceman from Calumet City in Vietnam, as follows:

LOCAL SERVICEMAN ISSUES APPEAL

The following letter can best describe the ideas and wishes of the young writer who has issued a poignant appeal to the people of his hometown—Calumet Park:

"SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
October 19, 1967.

"Mr. HARRY GORMAN,
"*c/o The Citizen:*

"First let me say thanks again for sending the Citizen to me while I am over here. It means a lot to get your hometown paper when home means so much to you.

"One reason that I am writing to you is that I would like you to print a plea from the 616th Sq., to which I am attached to over here, to the people of Calumet Park. Our squadron, little as it is, supports an orphanage of War refugee children over here. As of this date, our squadron is just about the main support for these poor and helpless kids. These children have known nothing but the tortures of war and most of them have seen their parents killed for not helping the VC. A lot of these kids have been mistreated since birth and some have been beaten by the VC for what their parents have done. What I am asking the people of Calumet Park to do is, out of the kindness of their hearts, give these kids a chance to enjoy life a little. I am not asking for money, although it will be welcomed, but for any old clothes they may have and also for soap, baby food and diapers. The Catholic nuns that run the orphanage depend on the squadron almost entirely for the support of it. I know the people of my hometown will not let these poor kids down. If anyone is interested in sending anything, please keep the weight to five pounds. That way it will be sent Air Mail instead of by boat. It is surprising what a little item such as a piece of candy means to these kids. Thanks again.

"Sincerely

"A2c. GEORGE EVANS."

George is a former Calumet Park Volunteer Fireman and has turned to Calumet Park residents to help these unfortunate children of a war-torn nation.

Villagers have come to the front many times when the need has been great. This young serviceman has the complete support of The Citizen and its staff in the generous undertaking of the 616th Squadron.

All donations may be mailed directly to A 2/c George Evans, care of the 616 M.A.S.S. Sq. C-FLT, APO 96307 RVN., San Francisco, California.

From Williamsburg: A Peripatetic Seminar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago a group of college students descended upon our Nation's Capital. Perhaps "ascended to" is more appropriate terminology because these young men came north to Washington. Their visit drew no undue notice from the news media because they were protesting nothing and because their activities were completely orderly and gentlemanly.

I am proud that these young men came from the Marshall-Wythe School of Law at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va., which is located in my district. This is the Nation's oldest school of law founded in 1779 at the instigation of Thomas Jefferson with the eminent George Wythe as its professor. I am certain that these two distinguished Americans would be as proud as I am of the attitudes and activities of these young men who came to Washington.

In his own journalistic style, which regularly captivates those who read the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Charles McDowell, Jr., the newspaper's popular Washington correspondent, chronicled the visit of these 95 young men to the seat of their National Government. I believe that almost as much can be learned from a recounting of this excursion as was learned by the participants themselves and, therefore, I include Mr. McDowell's article in the RECORD:

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, Oct. 22, 1967]

FROM WILLIAMSBURG: A PERIPATETIC SEMINAR

(By Charles McDowell, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—There is no accounting for the wild hopes of youth. Ninety-five students at the Marshall-Wythe School of Law at the College of William and Mary got aboard two special buses in Williamsburg at noon Thursday and came to Washington with the idea of meeting and talking with some of the principal leaders of government.

Anyone here could have told them it was a naive, if admirable, idea. The leaders of government almost surely would be too busy—too preoccupied with the impending peace demonstration, for one thing—to hold seminars for law students. Some of us in the press could have told them what folly it was to think even in the best of times that they could interview Vice President Humphrey, Republican Leader Everett Dirksen, Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach and Undersecretary of Defense Paul Nitze in one afternoon and the following morning.

Well, they did it and more. Two students, Glenn Sedam of Bay City, Tex., and Andrew Parker of Lakeside, Ohio, both of whom had worked in Washington last summer, had arranged the tour to the last detail, and the leaders of government came through for them. The Phi Delta Phi legal fraternity sponsored the trip, the law school suspended classes for it, and four members of the faculty came along to join in the learning.

2:50 p.m. Thursday.—The buses arrived at the State Department. After a brief delay while security officers deep in the labyrinth were reassured by security officers at the door that this was not a "flower power" invasion, the students were led to a conference room. Then, for more than three hours, they heard from Undersecretary Katzenbach, an assistant legal adviser named Murray Belman, and John Kimball, a thoughtful and good-humored man with the unlikely title of Senior Editor, Office of Media Services.

All the discussion was under the ground rule of "background only," which means that we aren't supposed to attribute specific statements to any of the speakers. But it can be said that the "Yellow Peril" was not mentioned once, although most of the talk was about the Vietnam war, China, the Soviet Union and all sorts of touchy problems of foreign policy.

Katzenbach and the others defended current American policy strongly, sometimes eloquently and hardly ever dogmatically. The State Department people were preoccupied with the "generation gap"—the reluctance of young people to equate the Viet Cong and North Vietnam with the Nazis, for example. The students asked good questions. They were polite and reasonable and genuinely seeking the State Department's point of view, and most of them also seemed frankly skeptical about the United States policy in Vietnam. The State Department people asked questions, too they really seemed to want to know how the students felt about Vietnam and the rest of the world.

Perhaps a reporter will be forgiven for saying it was one of the most reasonable and reassuring discussions that he has heard in Washington, or anywhere, in the past two and a half years.

6:25 P.M.—After a long day and last-minute delays at his office, Vice President Humphrey arrived an hour late but full of words, warmth, good humor and quite implausible vitality. Most of the students obviously liked Humphrey within five minutes; it took the deeper-dyed Republican 10 minutes.

Humphrey told jokes about the vice presidency and himself. He criticized Congress for "fiscal irresponsibility," a new wave of protectionism in trade, failure to expand President Johnson's domestic program, and "shrinking from international responsibility." Then he defended Congress as a body that "reflects how people feel."

More on Congress: "The integrity and character of men in government is as great or greater than in any comparable profession . . . But people look and they say, 'But that fellow's a fool.' Well, fools are entitled to representation, too, you know."

On the success of American aid to Western Europe: "The patient not only has thrown away his crutch but has hit the doctor over the head with it."

On the administration's low rating in the polls: "If we had followed the public opinion polls, we would have lost Berlin, Korea, Iran, Turkey and Greece . . . If there had been a poll at the time of Valley Forge, George Washington would have been driven out of the country."

On peace demonstrations: "Blessed are the peacemakers—but it says peacemakers, and it doesn't say anything about marchers, walkers and protestors. You want to do something for peace? All right. We have a job for you in the Peace Corps, Vista, community work, the poverty program . . ."

On intellectual critics of the administration: "The intellectuals say the President doesn't have any intellectual around him. Well, Dean Rusk was an intellectual until he got to be Secretary of State. Nine of the 13 members of the Cabinet are Ph.D.s, and 10 are Phi Beta Kappas. The intellectuals say something happened to those men when they came down to Washington. You know what happened to 'em? They had to make some decisions."

On what makes news: "How many people know there are young people like you sitting here, willing to listen to all this? It's not news. But you want to get in the paper? Just go out and get in some trouble."

7:47 P.M.—Almost an hour and a half after he dropped in for a few minutes, Humphrey stopped talking and departed. The standing ovation lasted after he was out of sight. The trusty buses carried the students to the Sheraton-Park Hotel, where they had given themselves a reception. The basic conversational ploy was for the less conservative students to say to the more conservative ones, "Well, what did you think of him?" By now, the conservatives had recovered sufficiently to say something about not agreeing with everything he said, but he was "remarkable," "dedicated," "inspiring," and "fantastic." Mr. Humphrey would not have believed that those buses had come up from Virginia.

7:45 A.M. Friday.—The buses arrived at the Pentagon. There was a chance for a cup of coffee before the students heard a 20-minute talk by Undersecretary of Defense Nitze, a long military briefing on the Vietnam war and a talk on opportunities for attorneys in the defense establishment.

11 A.M.—They arrived in a conference room at the Supreme Court for a delightful lecture by the Clerk, John F. Davis, on the procedure and folklore of the court; then came a tour of the courtroom with historical commentary.

1:15 P.M.—In a private dining room in the Senate, the students gave a standing ovation to a gentleman who just seemed to wander in—Everett McKinley Dirksen. (It had been arranged by Mark Trice, secretary to the minority and father-in-law of one of the students, Walter Smith, president of the William and Mary Student Bar.)

While messengers tugged at his arm and whispered that he was needed in the Senate, Dirksen talked on and on—"Brevity is not in our lexicon." He was in one of his very conservative moods—they vary—and this pleased the conservative students whose consciences hurt for having liked Humphrey so much. The Dirksen wit, if anything that broad can be called wit, pleased everybody, of course.

Next came visits and graceful speeches by Sens. Harry F. Byrd Jr. and Charles Percy, the Illinois Republican.

3 P.M.—The students departed for Williamsburg with the impression, one observer would guess, that the government is an easily accessible and altogether charming institution.

William B. McGuire, Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, on October 18, a most distinguished Carolinian, William B. McGuire, president of Duke Power Co., was honored as Man of the Year by the Greenville, S.C., chapter of the Society for Advancement of Management. Presenting the award on behalf of the society, Mr. Arthur Magill, internationally known businessman and philanthropist, read the accompanying citation:

TO WILLIAM B. MCGUIRE, A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

For his contribution to industrial research and development through association with North Carolina's Research Triangle and the electric industry; for inauguration of Duke Power's outstanding leadership development program, which applies to all levels of management, and for his regional and national leadership in the electric industry.

For his contributions in the field of education, as a trustee of the Duke Endowment and active friend of church-related colleges; and for his church identity as ruling elder of Myers Park Presbyterian Church and trustee of Union Theological Seminary.

For his work in broad civic and community interests, in the North Carolina Citizens Association, as director of the Federal Reserve Bank at Charlotte, for leadership in the Carolinas-Virginia Nuclear Power Association, and for his interest in South Carolina's historic past as well as her economic futre as shown by significant support of the State Department of Archeology and the University.

But chiefly because of his deep-seated concern with, and conviction that this country has been energized by individual initiative and private business, and because in the face of great odds he had to fight for the Keowee-Toxaway Power Project for Duke Power, believing that something more vital was at stake than the project itself—the principle that private businesses paying taxes are a vital part of our national life and national greatness and that the future of our nation depends upon the preservation of these principles.

He defended this belief with honor and courageously refused to yield to extreme bureaucratic bullying. We salute him for his stand and for the victory; but had he lost, we would still salute him. This country will remain great only so long as people with Bill McGuire's integrity and bull-dog tenacity will stand up publicly and say: "This I believe in and for this I will fight." His courage, his judgment, and his patience stand as an inspiration to those of us who sometimes weary and grow faint.

JAMES W. MARKIN,
President.

In responding to the award, Mr. McGuire touched upon two issues of vital interest: The continuing encroachment of Federal Government upon areas best served by private enterprise and the increasing disparity between Federal revenue and expenditures. Believing that his observations will enlighten and inspire Members of Congress and citizens generally, I include them here as an extension of my remarks:

All taxpayers know the burden of present taxes. The comment has been made that the burden is approaching the point at which it becomes so severe that it will bring about the disintegration of our economy. Studies have been made which show that other economies have disintegrated when the tax burden was no more or very little more than the present tax burden.

In many of our communities and states we see the burden of state and local taxes steadily increasing. We know that an increase in federal income tax has been proposed.

What can be done to stop or slow down the steadily increasing burden of taxes?

Obviously, the first and foremost way to cut down the tax burden is to reduce expenditures. Most every taxpayer has some view on this subject and in all probability suggestions as to how expenditures could be reduced. Usually, suggestions for reductions point to a cut in appropriation for somebody else's funds. Seldom does the recipient of an appropriation request that it be cut.

There are other ways in which the problem of the tax burden could be attacked. I want to point to one which is frequently unnoticed. It is, however, an area of tax escape that is rapidly expanding: Non-taxpaying business enterprises. These are enterprises which are carrying on business operations similar to and in competition with, the operations of taxpaying business. The operations of these non-taxpaying business enterprises have a double effect upon taxpaying business.

In the first place, failure of these non-taxpaying business enterprises to pay taxes increases the tax load which must be carried by taxpaying business. Those who pay taxes have to make up the taxes not paid by the non-taxpaying business enterprises.

In the second place, the competitive advantage obtained by non-taxpaying business enterprises through their failure to pay taxes enables them to under price and take business away from taxpaying business enterprises. This business if done by taxpaying business enterprise would bear its share of the tax load.

Thus, we find taxpaying business enterprises carrying a double burden by reason of the operations of non-taxpaying business enterprise. I refer to this in the title of my remarks as an "unseen" burden because this double effect is frequently overlooked.

It has been estimated that taxes escaped by non-taxpaying business enterprise for which some data is available amout to $750,000,000 per year. But there is no data available on many such enterprises. In the judgment of informed persons the tax loss on all non-taxpaying business is double this amount. Even in today's astronomical government budget, 1½ billion is important.

Most tax exemptions began years ago when income taxes were small and exemptions created little advantage. Now income taxes are a big part of the cost of doing business. Property taxes likewise are much higher. Not having to pay taxes today creates a significant competitive advantage and makes equality of taxation a critical issue for business.

There are many types of business operations wholly or partly non-taxpaying. We immediately think of business conducted by government—federal, state and local. The Hoover Commission report of some years ago pointed to the many business operations carried on by the federal government.

Another form of non-taxpaying business is the cooperative. There are a multitude of types of cooperatives. The largest group of cooperatives are the farm cooperatives. In years gone by the principal operations of these cooperatives were marketing farm products and buying farm supplies. Now, however, they have expanded into manufacturing, processing, mining, transportation and warehousing. They handle every type of general merchandise. They make and supply building materials. They manufacture feed, fertilizer, and petroleum products. They sell motor vehicles and even own banks and insurance companies.

Farm cooperatives have expanded more in the West and Mid-West than in the South. However, there is one operating out of Richmond that was reported in 1962 to be operating seven fertilizer plants, a supply service handling more than 2,000 items of merchandise and with other cooperatives owning and operating an oil refining business in Texas. Another cooperative out of Atlanta was reported to own and operate cotton gins, fertilizer plants, poultry, pecan, and peanut processing plants and plants for drying and storing grains.

Cooperatives are by no means limited to the farm cooperatives. Let me read you the description of a cooperative from a statement by Congressman Joseph Y. Resnick on September 26 of this year.

"If there is any question about how loose and ineffective the laws concerning co-ops are, let us examine the National Cooperative Refinery Association of McPherson, Kansas. This association is in the oil business: it operates oil wells, pipelines and refineries in this country and it is engaged in oil exploration in Canada. It has even done business in Libya. On sales of $58 million in 1966 it enjoyed a profit of $8.2 million. This was after the standard deductions for depreciation and oil depletion allowance.

"Since this association has declared itself a cooperative, instead of paying taxes and dividends, it simply makes patronage refunds available to its owners and avoids the payment of taxes altogether. However, the recipients of these dividends don't pay any taxes either, because the National Cooperative Refinery Association is, in turn, owned by 6 other cooperatives whose annual sales are over $1 billion. This organization is not unique. There are many other such setups in the cooperative movement.

"In conclusion, I believe that there is something obviously wrong when a group of businessmen can exploit our tax laws by organizing a profit-making business in such a manner that they can compete with taxpaying businessees, engage in unrestrained and unregulated growth, and avoid the payment of taxes to the U.S. Treasury and dividends and interest to their stockholders."

Another type of cooperative with which you may have some familiarity is the credit union. It is estimated that credit unions in the United States today have total assets of $11½ billion. This is obviously, a substantial banking and credit operation.

Another type of cooperative with which I am sure all of you have heard and had some acquaintance are the REA cooperatives. There are cooperatives engaged in many other business activities. The foregoing seems an adequate illustration of their scope.

In 1954 the Director of the Budget, Rowland R. Hughes, said—this is a direct quote:

"The Federal Government is, among other things, the largest electric power producer in the country, the largest insurer, the largest lender, the largest borrower, the largest landlord, the largest tenant, the largest holder of grazing land, the largest holder of timberland, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouser of grain, and the largest truck fleet owner. This is a rather amazing list."

That was 1954. I suspect the list would be longer rather than shorter if we had it for 1967.

As early as 1933 a special committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate Government competition with business reported that:

"The evidence in general indicates that the operations of the Federal Government in the field of private enterprise have reached a magnitude and diversity which threatens to reduce the private initiative, curtail the opportunities and infringe upon the earning powers of tax-paying undertakings while steadily increasing the levies upon them."

The dangers of governmental competition with private business can be expressed in many ways. In 1954 the House Governmental Operations Committee warned:

"If Government competition with private enterprise were pushed to its logical conclusion, the Government would ultimately destroy its source of income and commit national suicide."

Martin Gainsbrugh, Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the National Industrial Conference Board stated in his testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress during hearings in May of this year: "Few if any changes in the market structure have been so laden with social, economic, and political significance as the movement of government into areas of activity previously reserved for tax-paying enterprise."

I would like to give two illustrations of business activities of federal government. In doing so, I point out that there are many others. First, I will mention the PX operations carried on by the federal government. Originally, the PXs were designed to supply the needs of military personnel and are still operated in connection with military establishments, but now the PXs vigorously compete with taxpaying business sales. Sales of government run commissary and PX operations totaled, before Vietnam, $3.2 billion in 1965. This is the third largest retailing activity in the United States. It is outranked only by Sears, Roebuck and A. & P.

A Vice President of the National Retail Merchants Association in a letter filed with the Joint Economic Committee of Congress had this to say about PX operations. "Initially, PXs were designed to provide articles of 'convenience and necessity' for members of the armed forces. However, in recent years, these operations have grown at a rapid rate not only in the lines of merchandise handled, but in volume. It should be made clear that retailers feel that an adeqaute PX is necessary but the highly promotional aspects of the modern military store presents unhealthy competition for nearby tax-paying retail stores."

The second illustration of government in business that I will point out is government in the electric power business. I use this because this is a field in which I have some knowledge. In 1929 government owned facilities accounted for only 5% of all electrical power generated in the United States. In 1966 we find 23% of the power produced in the United States being produced by government owned generating facilities. Hartwell, Clark Hill, and the as yet unbuilt Trotters Shoals are examples of federal power production. Using Federal Power Commission formulas for estimating taxes it is estimated that the Trotters Shoals project would, if it paid taxes, pay over $2,000,000 in local, state, and federal taxes. Of this amount, 1¼ million dollars would be federal taxes and over $800,000 would be state and local taxes in Georgia and South Carolina.

What can be done to correct the inequity created by non-taxpaying business enterprise?

The obvious way to correct the situation would be to require non-taxpaying business operations to pay taxes or pay tax equivalents. You may say that this objective cannot be achieved. I say in response, that by continued effort it can be achieved. REA cooperatives in North Carolina paid no state or local taxes for many, many years. Under legislation adopted in 1965, beginning January 1, 1967, these cooperatives pay full state and local taxes except they will pay no state income tax. The North Carolina cooperatives estimate that the taxes they will be paying will amount to between $2 and $3 million each year. Perhaps some may say this is not a significant amount but I would point out that it can pay each year the salaries of many school teachers or provide substantial additional school plant and equipment. I must note for your information, that these cooperatives still pay no federal income tax or federal income tax equivalent.

In many sessions of Congress bills have been introduced undertaking to achieve varying degrees of tax equality. Some efforts have been partially successful. Mr. Martin Gainsbrugh in his testimony before the Joint Economic Committee has proposed the creation of a commission for the purpose of assessing not only the magnitude of today's governmental business operations but also to determine whether these operations are expanding, whether they are business activities which have served their original purpose and should be discontinued, what is the long-run significance of continued expansion of government into business operations, and what steps should be undertaken to insure that such policy as may be adopted with respect to business operations of government is carried out. Your support of this suggestion could be quite helpful.

In a recent news letter put out by the National Tax Equality Association, its President expressed the opinion "that business activity in competition with fully taxed businesses is coming to the fore. There appears to be a fresh and more wholesome attitude toward tax equality both within the Congress and among some high government officials."

I commend this subject to you for your careful consideration and more importantly for affirmative action on your part.

A Different Kind of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I recently read a letter from the son of a friend. Most of the letter was concerned with personal matters, but part of it dealt with Vietnam, where he is serving as an officer on carrier duty.

What he had to say seemed to me to express some of the legitimate grievances of our fighting men over the way the war is being mismanaged from Washington, and irresponsible protests on the homefront are giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

I include the relevant passages in the Appendix of the RECORD:

". . . Things are getting pretty depressing out here. The Helo squadron on the ship just lost two more planes and five people. That's a total of 13 dead so far this cruise for the . . . Plus, by the time you get this, you will have read about the *Forrestal*. God only knows at this time how bad that is, last count we heard 20 dead and 29 aircraft destroyed, fires still burning and explosions still ripping the insides apart. We had a 4 plane helo detachment on the *Forrestal*, so that could mean a few more.

I know you have to expect things like this in wartime conditions, but why won't they quit messing around out here and get busy?

We've got more carrier power sitting on Yankee Station right now than we had in the whole Pacific Fleet during World War II.

If we could whip the Japanese we should sure . . . be able to get better results over here. I know what you're going to say, that this is a different war. Well, I'm getting pretty tired of standing up there on the flight deck once a week and hearing them play taps and fire a 21-gun salute for somebody killed in this different kind of war.

It's no different over here now than it was 25 years ago. You're just as dead when you die; it's just as messy and fouled up. The only difference is back there . . ."

The Splendid Record of the J. P. Stevens & Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, it is shocking to know that the hearings on proposed amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, conducted by a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, have recently provided a forum to castigate the good name of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc. My knowledge of this matter convinces me that the charges of unfair practices directed at J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc. are unjustified and were completely refuted by Mr. Robert T. Stevens, president of the company, in his recent testimony before the subcommittee. I commend to the membership of the House the fine statement made before the subcommittee by Mr. Stevens, who is one of the Nation's outstanding citizens and businessmen.

It appears to me that the "crime" of which the Sevens Co. is accused is that its employees in every instance have failed to indicate a desire to join a labor union. Whenever they have voted, they have turned down the union emphatically in spite of an allout effort on the part of the Textile Union of America, with the backing of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO, and with vigorous assistance from the National Labor Relations Board, to make the Stevens Co., its prime target in an organizing drive on southern industry.

The Stevens Co., established in 1813, is one of this Nation's oldest firms and is the second largest textile manufacturing chain in America.

I have personal knowledge of the company's philosophy of employee relations as one of the Stevens' plants is now, and has been for more than 25 years, located in my home city of South Boston, Va. The company strives to maintain a progressive outlook, is eminently fair and just in its dealings and relations with its employees, and provides wages and benefits within the top level of the textile industry. It is unthinkable to believe that the charges which have been lodged against the Stevens Co., with respect to its employee relationship have any basis for credibility.

Mr. Speaker, on the floor of this House on April 21, 1966, in my remarks concerning the decision of the National Labor Relations Board of March 22, 1966, charging unfair labor practices against the J. P. Stevens Co., I sought to point out the unbounded contributions the company has made to the growth of this country. I took vigorous exception to the manner in which the National Labor Relations Board is undertaking to punish this economically sound manufacturing concern and its employees, and I expressed the opinion that we should not sit idly by and witness this company being required to repent in sackcloth and ashes for a sin it did not commit. I commend the company and its legal counsel upon filing an appeal from the decision of the National Labor Relations Board, and am pleased to know of the company's intention to prosecute its appeal to the highest court of the land.

Mr. Speaker, my record in public life will show that I have always upheld the right of an individual to join or not join a union. I believe that voluntary membership in a union is the fundamental right of every American. The present case against the Stevens Co. is one in which a governmental agency seeks to force upon thousands of employees, who by their secret ballots have spoken out against the union, something they do not want. Such action will create discord in labor-management relations beyond recovery.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I reiterate that it is a sad and shocking experience to observe the unfair treatment accorded the Stevens Co. in hearings before a congressional committee, and I hope the membership of the House will take time to read the statement of Mr. Robert P. Stevens presented to the subcommittee, and to which I have previously made reference.

Reduction of Extra-Long-Staple Cotton Quota

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10915) to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise to sound a note of optimism. I think that peace in the Near East is close at hand.

I have watched during the years the efforts of Israel in giving of her small means help to other countries in the Near East and in Africa. I have seen her helping the Arabs, when there was opportunity and receptibility. I think that Israel's investment of good will is about to pay off in large dividends.

I clearly vision the dawning of a new and happier era when grudges and hatreds will be replaced with the spirit of the cooperative friendship of nations and races laboring together to achieve the highest measure of prosperity and contentment for all the Near East and all Africa. I do not want to slum the door on this vista of the promised land.

I do not want my country to take the position of a man who will not forgive when true penance has come to his former enemy.

I am strongly supporting the Foley amendment because I want to leave the door wide open for a truly penitent Egypt and Sudan to return to the society of good neighbors striving with us to make this a better world for everyone. To say to Egypt and the Sudan that they are permanently off our list, forever, and forever and forever, is to strengthen the present governments of those countries that have so grievously offended us. It could only serve to discourage the reform forces and persons in Egypt and the Sudan that are seeking to bring their homelands into the world of today and far, far from the age-long slavery to grudges and hatreds.

Bureaucrats Still Prying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, letters from many of my constituents give evidence of their concern over reports that the 1970 U.S. census will be a veritable inquisition into their private lives. With that concern I fully agree.

My colleague, Representative JACKSON BETTS, of Ohio, has introduced a bill which would serve to keep the census interrogation within the reasonable bounds for which it was intended.

As evidence that Congressman BETTS' proposed restrictions on census questions are supported in Ohio, I am pleased to submit an editorial from the Columbus Dispatch, of October 29, 1967, for inclusion in the RECORD:

BUREAUCRATS STILL PRYING

Picture the scene: A lonely widow discovers that her mail contains an official questionnaire from Washington asking about her financial affairs and about her late husband's smoking habits.

Nowhere in the four-page inquiry is there any notification that she is not required to answer the questions.

There are just cold, cruel, personal questions.

Big Brother is getting pushy again.

This time, it is the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which is prying.

We agree with U.S. Rep. Samuel L. Devine of Columbus that the whole thing is unnecessary and that the questionnaire should have made it quite clear that answers are expected only from those persons who wish to volunteer.

The Public Health Service contends that the information requested is "crucial" to its mortality study and that a comparison is needed according to income brackets.

Another Ohio congressman, Rep. Jackson Betts, recently proposed that Congress put limits on the scope and depth of even the Census Bureau which is required to accumulate data concerning this nation's populace.

We agreed with Rep. Betts then and we agree now.

Big Brother is getting too nosy.

Rep. Betts has introduced a bill in Congress that during the 1970 Census, citizens will be required to answer questions on only seven subjects: Name, address, relationship to head of household, sex, date of birth, race or color, marital status, and visitors in the home at the time of census.

He also points out that the next census will be taken on a mail-out, mail-back procedure and that no personal census-taker will be employed.

This, Rep. Betts believes, will result in chaos, especially in large urban centers. He doubts that the older generation, especially among the inter-city poor and ethnic groups, will have sufficient education to fill out the census forms completely or correctly.

He predicted there would be a major undercount, despite the fact that there will be a penalty of a 60-day jail term or $100 fines for failure to return the census forms.

Big Brother not only insists on prying, but he promises to get rough with anyone who objects to baring details of once private lives.

Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam Offers Responsible Approach to Critical National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, during the past week, there has been formed in this Nation a bipartisan Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam, dedicated to "a sensible road between capitulation and the indiscriminate use of raw power."

This committee is composed of more than 100 men and women of proven leadership, who understand what real responsibilities are. It includes not only two former Presidents of the United States, but men who have held top Cabinet and Government positions in the past, former Senators and Ambassadors, military leaders, heads of major industries and labor unions, scholars, attorneys, newsmen, and authors.

They stand in marked contrast to self-appointed critics who, however honest or sincere they might be, speak without such knowledge, experience, or indeed, past responsibility for the national security interest of our country.

The Citizens Committee is concerned not with politics or popularity, but with principle, and it has come forth so that our enemies will know that—

> There is a solid, stubborn, dedicated, bipartisan majority of private citizens in America who approve our country's policy of patient, responsible, determined resistance which is dependent for its success on having the enemy realize that we shall keep the pressure on and not back down, that the peace we insist upon is a peace with freedom and, thus, with honor.

Mr. Speaker, the position of this group deserves the attention of Congress and the Nation, as well as our adversaries who might question our resolve and determination, because of the distinguished nature of its membership, but even more so because of the sound and reasoned arguments which it has presented.

I include at this point in the RECORD the policy statement of the committee, its membership list, and newspaper comment about its formation:

EISENHOWER JOINS TRUMAN IN GROUP BACKING THE WAR—NEW COMMITTEE FORMED BY DOUGLAS AND BRADLEY GIVES STRONG VIETNAM SUPPORT

(By E. W. Kenworthy)

WASHINGTON, October 25.—A new nonpartisan committee including former Presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, several former Cabinet officers and high-ranking World War II commanders, gave strong endorsement today to the Administration's policy in Vietnam.

The co-chairmen of the organization, which is called the Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam, are former Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, and General of the Army Omar N. Bradley. General Bradley, commander of the 12th Army Group in Europe during World War II, is a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

At a news conference announcing formation of the committee, Mr. Douglas vigorously rejected a suggestion that the group was backing President Johnson. The committee, he insisted, is backing "the office of the President" but was "not committed to support Lyndon Johnson."

In this, Mr. Douglas was taking the same position as the Senate Republican leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois.

POLICIES SUPPORTED

In a policy statement, the committee gave unqualified support to the Administration's present policies and conduct of the war. This support extended to the idea, repeatedly emphasized in the last two weeks by the President, Vice President Humphrey and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, that the United States has a "vital national interest" at stake in Vietnam because of the aggressive, expansionist policy of Communist China.

"America cannot afford to let naked aggression or the suppression of freedom go unchallenged," the statement said.

"We are opposed to surrender, however camouflaged," the statement continued.

At the same time, the committee said it was opposed to "unnecessarily risking a general war in Asia or a nuclear war in the world."

Meanwhile, the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, introduced a resolution with 54 sponsors, stating the sense of the Senate that the President should "consider taking the appropriate initiative" to have the United Nations Security Council take up the United States resolution of Jan. 31, 1966. This asked the council to discuss the Vietnam situation.

Evidently alluding to Secretary Rusk's known, but publicly unexpressed, disinclination to discussions in the Security Council because of Soviet opposition, Mr. Mansfield said:

"All I can say is that with our casualties in excess of 100,000 and increasing with no end in sight in the struggle . . . that any time is a good time . . . and it is high time that we find out . . . where the members of the Security Council stand on this question."

Senator Douglas said that the idea for the new committee was his, and that the statement of policy had been "edited in longhand" by former President Eisenhower.

"Our objective in Vietnam," it declared, "is to make the price too high and the risk too great for the aggressor."

The statement stressed that the committee was setting itself up as spokesman for "the great silent center" in the United States, representing "the understanding, independent and responsible men and women who have consistently opposed rewarding International aggressors from Adolf Hitler to Mao Tse-tung."

PACIFIST BETWEEN, WARS

Mr. Douglas, who was a pacifist between the World Wars and a decorated marine in World War II, suggested that the Vietnam debate had been largely pre-empted by "extremists who want to either pull out on the one hand or start dropping nuclear bombs all over the place and very possibly starting World War III on the other."

Mr. Douglas was asked whether he regarded such former Senate Democratic colleagues as George S. McGovern of South Dakota, Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota and Albert Gore of Tennessee as "extremists." He replied that he did not want to call any one an extremist.

A reporter then asked General Bradley why he thought the Army should now be involved in a ground war on the Asian mainland when the Army had traditionally opposed such involvement.

The general replied that the situation now was different from that in Korea. Then, he said, the source of supply for the North Koreans was the Soviet Union and not Communist China.

"We felt we could solve Korea without bombing Russia," he said. He went on to say that "nobody ever yet conquered China."

"This is different," he continued. "We are not fighting China. We are there at the request of South Vietnam. We are following the policy of containment of Communism."

The committee's policy statement did not go into the question of the bombing of North Vietnam. Asked about this, Mr. Douglas said the committee had not discussed this, but he said he personally felt that "in any armed conflict risks must be taken."

General Bradley said he hesitated to take a position on the question of bombing targets "when I don't have all the information," but he thought the bombing has accomplished a great deal.

TEXT OF POLICY STATEMENT BY COMMITTEE SEEKING PEACE WITH FREEDOM IN VIETNAM

WASHINGTON, October 25.—Following is the text of a policy statement issued today by the Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam:

"We are a group of concerned citizens who seek peace with freedom in Vietnam.

"We do so in the conviction that our own vital national interests are at stake in that troubled land. We are not ashamed to admit that our primary motivation is self-interest—the self-interest of our own country in this shrinking world. America cannot afford to let naked aggression or the suppression of freedom go unchallenged. To Americans, peace and freedom are inseparable.

"Our committee is national and nonpartisan—it is composed of Democrats, Republicans and independents, and of 'liberals,' 'moderates' and 'conservatives' drawn from all sections and all sectors of our country.

CONCERN WITH PRINCIPLE

"We believe in the great American principle of civilian control and a civilian Commander in Chief. And we strongly support our commitment in Vietnam and the policy of noncompromising, although limited, resistance to aggression. All four of the post-World War II American Presidents—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—have proclaimed America's basic purpose of defending freedom. We are not supporters of a President or of an Administration; we are supporters of the office of the Presidency.

"As a committee, we shall strive to stay above partisan politics, political personalities and transitory opinion polls. Our concern is not with politics or popularity, but with principle.

"We are opposed to surrender, however camouflaged. Yet nothing we advocate can be interpreted as unnecessarily risking a general war in Asia or a nuclear war in the world. We favor a sensible road between capitulation and the indiscriminate use of raw power.

A SMALL COUNTRY

"We believe that, in this, we speak for the great 'silent center' of American life, the understanding, independent and responsible men and women who have consistently opposed rewarding international aggressors from Adolf Hitler to Mao Tse-tung. And we believe that the 'silent center' should now be heard.

"A great test is taking place in Vietnam—that test is whether or not the rulers of one territory can cheaply and safely impose a government and a political system upon their neighbors by internal subversion, insurrection, infiltration and invasion. These are the tactics of the Communist 'wars of liberation,' which depend for success upon achieving their goals at an endurable price and a bearable risk.

"Our objective in Vietnam is to make the price too high and the risk too great for the aggresor. This is why we fight.

"Vietnam is a small country and we Americans had little contact with it until after World War II. It still seems isolated and remote to many of us, although all of our Presidents for 30 years have had to concern themselves with our national interests in East Asia. For better perspective, we must turn our sights to the edge of East Asia, that enormous area of peninsulas and islands from Korea and Japan south to Taiwan and the Philippines, then west across Southeast Asia to Burma, then southeast to Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand.

"That area contains 370 million people—approximately twice the population of the United States. Each of these nations is different from the others but they have one thing in common—all of them are free from external domination. Will this be true if we abandon Vietnam? Or will Peking and Hanoi, flushed with success, continue their expansionist policy through many other 'wars of liberation,' each conducted at a price which they can endure and a risk which they can bear? We believe they would.

LOUD AND CLEAR

"Never in over a century has there been as much loud and violent opposition expressed in America to a conflict in which our fighting men are heavily and heroically engaged. Our committee specifically affirms and supports the right of opponents of our national policy to criticize that effort and to offer alternatives consistent with our national interest and security. However, we are concerned that voices of dissent have, thus far, received attention far out of proportion to their actual numbers.

"Our objective as a committee is not to suppress the voices of such opposition. Our objective is to make sure that the majority voice of America is heard—loud and clear—so that Peking and Hanoi will not mistake the strident voices of some dissenters for American discouragement and a weakening of will. And, at the same time, we want to give renewed assurance to our fighting men that their sacrifices are neither in vain nor unappreciated—or unwanted—by the great bulk of their fellow citizens.

"We want the aggressors to know that there is solid, stubborn, dedicated, bipartisan majority of private citizens in America who approve our country's policy of patient, responsible, determined resistance which is dependent for its success on having the enemy realize that we shall keep the pressure on and not back down, that the peace we insist upon is a peace with freedom and, thus, with honor.

"Today, America is a great world power, shedding its blood and expending its treasure in a distant country for the simple privilege of withdrawing in peace as soon as that country is guaranteed the effective right of self-determination. We ask nothing for ourselves and insist upon nothing for South Vietnam except that it be free to chart its own future, no matter what course it may choose. Surely this is a noble and worthy objective consistent with all that is best in American life and tradition.

"Our committee has been formed to rally and articulate the support of the concerned, independent thinking, responsible citizens in America who favor our nation's fundamental commitment to peace with freedom.

"Will you join with us?"

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

Membership roster of Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam:

Truman, Harry S.—33d President of the United States.

Eisenhower, Dwight D.—34th President of the United States.

Acheson, Dean—Former Secretary of State.

Alexander, Holmes—Syndicate columnist.

Arnold, Thurman—Former Assistant Attorney General in charge of Antitrust Division.

Bandler, Ned—Business executive.

Barnett, Frank R.—President, National Strategy Information Center, Inc.

Baron, Murray—Industrial consultant.

Beirne, Joseph W.—President, Communications Workers of America.

Bradley, General of the Army Omar N.—Former chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Breit, Dr. Gregory—Donner Professor of Physics, Yale University.

Brown, Dr. J. Douglas—Professor of Economics, Princeton University. Former dean of the faculty.

Brown, Edmund G.—Former Governor of California.

Burns, Dr. James MacGregor—James Phinney Baster Professor of History and Public Affairs and chairman, Department of Political Science, Williams College.

Byrnes, James F.—Former Secretary of State.

Cabot, Thomas D.—Chairman of the board, Cabot Corporation, Boston. Former director, Office of International Security Affairs, Department of State.

Cherne, Leo—Executive director, the Research Institute of America, Inc.

Clay, Gen. Lucius D.—Senior partner, Lehman Brothers.

Conant, Dr. James B.—Former president, Harvard University. Former Ambassador to Germany.

Connelly, Marc—Playwright.

Darden, Colgate—Former president, University of Virginia.

Davis, Thurston N., S.J.—Editor in chief, America.

Douglas, Paul H.—Former Senator from Illinois.

Draper, Gen. William H.—Partner, Draper, Gaither & Anderson.

Drummond, Roscoe—Syndicated columnist.

Ellison, Ralph—Author.

Emmett, Christopher—Chairman, American Friends of the Captive Nations.

Engel, Irving M.—Attorney-at-law. Past president, American Jewish Committee.

Farland, Joseph S.—Former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and to the Republic of Panama.

Farrell, James T.—Author.

Fisher, John M.—President, American Research Foundation, Chicago.

Gaston, A. G.—President, Booker T. Washington Insurance Company, Birmingham.

Gates, Thomas S.—Chairman, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, former Secretary of Defense.

Gideonse, Dr. Harry D.—Chancellor, New School for Social Research.

Gullion, Dr. Edmund A.—Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.

Gunderson, Mrs. Robert—Former Civil Service Commissioner.

Hacker, Louis M.—Historian and professor of economics, Columbia University.

Handlin, Dr. Oscar—Director, Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, Harvard University.

Hanes, John W., Jr.—Investment banker. Former Assistant Secretary of State.

Harris Dr. Huntington—Business executive.

Hecht, Rabbi Abraham B.—President, Rabbinical Alliance of America.

Hoffer, Eric—Author and longshoreman.

Jones, Dr. Frank—Physician and surgeon.

Keeler, W. W.—President, Phillips Petroleum Company.

Keggi, Dr. Kristaps J.—Assistant professor of orthopedic surgery, Yale University.

King, Wilson—Farmer.

Lapp, Dr. Ralph E.—Nuclear physicist and author.

Liebman, Morris I.—Attorney-at-law, Chicago.

De Lima, Oscar—Business executive. Chairman, executive committee, United Nations Association.

Lindsay, Howard—Playwright, producer and actor.

Locke, Edwin Allen, Jr.—President, Modern Homes Construction Company.

Lodge, George C.—University official. Former Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Loomis, Henry—Former director, Voice of America.

Lord, Mrs. Oswald B.—Former United States representative on Human Rights Commission, United Nations.

Lucey, Archbishop Robert E.—San Antonio prelate.

McCaleb, Claude B.—Book company executive

McDougal, Myres S.—Sterling Professor of Law, Yale University.

McGill, Ralph—Syndicated columnist.

Marshall, Brig. Gen. S.L.A.—Military historian.

Martin, C. V.—President, Carson Pirie Scott & Co.

Meany, George—President, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Michael, Franz—Associate director, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, George Washington University.

Nash, Dr. Phillfo—Consulting anthropologist. Former Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Nevins, Allan—Historian.

Newman, Ralph G.—Author, publisher and columnist.

Randall, Mrs. Ann Hagen—Television producer and former foreign correspondent.

Reid, Whitelaw—Business executive.

Robinson, Prof. James A.—Director, Mershon Center for Education in National Security, Ohio State University.

Roosevelt, Kermit—President, Kermit Roosevelt & Associates.

Rose, Dr. Frank—President, University of Alabama.

Rowe, James H. Jr.—Former assistant to President Roosevelt and former Assistant Attorney General.

Rubin, Rabbi Schulen—New York City.

Sacks, Prof. I. Milton—Dean of the undergraduate school, Brandeis University.

Saltonstall, Leverett—Former Senator from Massachusetts.

Saltzman, Charles E.—Investment banker, Former Under Secretary of State.

Scalapino, Robert A.—Professor of political science, University of California.

Seabury, Dr. Paul—Professor of political science, University of California.

Seiztz, Dr. Frederick—President, National Academy of Sciences.

Shuster, Dr. George N.—President emeritus, Hunter College.

Smith, Howard K.—News analyst, commentator and author.

Smithies, Dr. Arthur—Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University.

De Sola Pool, Dr. Ithiel—Professor of political science, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Sonne, H. Christian—Chairman, National Planning Association.

Stephens, Charles J.—Student, University of California, Berkeley.

Stout, Rex—Author.

Strauss, Miss Anna Lord—Former president, League of Women Voters of the United States.

Strauss, Lewis L.—Former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Stulberg, Louis—President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Swearingen, Rodger—Professor of international relations, University of Southern California.

Swig, Benjamin H.—Chairman of the board, Fairmont Hotel Company.

Tatum, E. L. Dr.—Nobel laureate in medicine and physio-professor, Rockefeller University.

Taylor, Prof. George E.—Director, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington.

Thacher, James—Attorney-at-law.

Trager, Frank N.—Professor of international affairs, New York University.

Tyroler, Charles 2d—President, Quadri-Science, Inc.

Urey, Dr. Harold C.—Nobel laureate in chemistry. Professor of chemistry at large, University of California.

Van Dusen, Dr. Henry P.—Clergyman, educator and author. Chairman, Foundation for Theological Education in Southeast Asia.

Washburn, Abbott—Former deputy director, United States Information Agency.

White, Robert P.—Student, University of Oklahoma.

Whitney, John Hay—Former Ambassador to Britain.

Wigner, Eugene P.—Nobel laureate in physics. Professor of physics, Princeton University.

Williams, T. Harry—Boyd Professor of History, Louisiana State University.

Wilson, Joseph C.—Chairman of the board, Xerox Corporation.

An Election for Voters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we all anticipate an intense election campaign in 1968 in which, very properly, both major parties will be appealing to the voters for support.

Since we have a very mobile society, one of the obstacles that we have yet to overcome is to obtain maximum citizen participation in elections. Necessary adjustments must be made in registration procedures and election facilities that will help us obtain maximum voter participation. A Thursday, October 26, editorial by station WBBM–TV, Chicago, dramatized this issue, a year before it becomes a voter irritant.

I commend it to the attention of the Members so that we might institute corrective steps:

AN ELECTION FOR VOTERS

It isn't easy to pick up a newspaper or listen to a news broadcast these days without noting that somebody is running for some office or other in the next election.

And, the next election is just a year away.

During that year, many, many millions of dollars will be spent on political campaigns. Many more millions will be spent by the press, radio and television to cover the campaigns, the conventions and, finally, the election itself.

It will be a modern, streamlined political campaign in every way, with all the electronic age trimmings of television and jet travel.

Only the voting, next year, will regress to nineteenth century fashion.

Once again the polls will be open roughly from dawn to dusk, making it as inconvenient as possible for many voters to cast a ballot, and for others, impossible altogether.

Some of you will have to cast your ballots in precincts where voting booths are installed in the back room of a barber shop, in a parking garage or a dimly lit basement.

If you have moved into the state of Illinois within the year just before election day, you will be deprived of your sacred right to help select a President and Vice President of the United States, because of our out-dated residence requirement law.

Thousands of voters in the enlightened year 1968 will still be casting votes on last century's paper ballots. Voting should be made simple. Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, recently suggested several ways to remove obstacles from voting.

One is the establishment of a 24-hour election day, declared a national holiday, on which the polls would open at the same time everywhere, and close at the same time 24 hours later. So, you would vote anytime it pleased you, day or night, and thus give your ballot the deliberation it deserves.

Many sweeping reforms are needed to bring our system of electing public officials up to date.

Establishment of a uniform, 24-hour national voting holiday is a logical place to begin the reforms.

Another Honor for Dr. Henry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, where most high offices are concerned, the man seeks the job. Last week, the job sought the man.

President David D. Henry, of the University of Illinois, was elected president of the Association of American Universities. He has been in times past chairman of the American Council on Education; a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and also president of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

All of this is testimonial to Dr. Henry's abilities and the esteem in which he is held in higher education circles. He will do a good job in handling his newest responsibility as he has done in the past.

Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an editorial from the Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette of Friday, October 27, entitled "Another Honor for Dr. Henry":

ANOTHER HONOR FOR DR. HENRY

University of Illinois President David D. Henry this week became the recipient of another top honor and responsibility.

Election of Dr. Henry to presidency of the Association of American Universities, for a two year term, again exemplifies the high regard and recognition of abilities held for him by his colleagues in the field of higher education.

President Henry, now in his 13th year as chief executive of the University, has occupied leadership posts in the nation's educational circles. He was president of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges three years ago and later served as chairman of that group's executive committee. Among other important positions he has held at different times are presidency of the Association of Urban Universities, chairman of the American Council on Education, and trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

His election to head the AAU, during the University of Illinois' Centennial year, is an honor both for President Henry and the state university.

Noting this, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, in a special statement of commendation, said "it seems most fitting that this choice should be made at a time when the university celebrates its centennial year and the State of Illinois prepares to enter its sesquicentennial year, and when educational attainments have reached new highs in the State of Illinois in general and at the University of Illinois in particular.

"This honor falls upon a distinguished educator at a distinguished university and reflects well-deserved credit upon both."

The only other UI president to serve as president of the AAU was the late Dr. David Kinley, who held the post in 1914 prior to the time he was chief executive of the University.

We join Gov. Kerner, the community and students and faculty of the three UI campuses, in congratulating President Henry on the new office, confident that his leadership of the AAU will mark another achievement reflecting great credit upon the University of Illinois.

U.S. Public Not Properly Informed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Julius Epstein, of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, has for some time been researching the question of the U.S. space secrecy policy, which he concludes does great harm to the Nation's best interest.

Mr. Epstein's recent article which appeared in the Los Angeles Times represents one of the first studies on this subject to reach the American public. Believing it will be of interest to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am submitting the full text of Mr. Epstein's article for inclusion herewith:

SOVIET SPACE LOSSES: U.S. PUBLIC NOT PROPERLY INFORMED

(By Julius Epstein)

News on failures of Soviet manned space flights is, at least in part, "managed" by Washington. No American without access to the relevant classified information can know for sure whether the Soviets suffered fatalities in space. But the evidence is clear that Washington would not tell even if it knew all about Soviet space accidents.

Rumors that Soviet cosmonauts were lost have been circulating for years—long before Vladimir M. Komarov was killed last April, in the only fatal accident admitted by Moscow. For example, on Oct. 4, 1965, Electronic News reported "the Russians have lost 10 cosmonauts, including one woman, in faulty space shots." This information was attributed to "a top NASA official."

In the same year, the celebrated "Penkovsky Papers" were published. Col. Oleg Penkovsky was a high official in Soviet intelligence. President Kennedy considered him to be our best informer inside the U.S.S.R. During the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, Mr. Kennedy relied on Col. Penkovsky's information about Soviet missile preparedness. Penkovsky was caught and executed.

The Penkovsky book contains two references to Soviet space fatalities. "Several sputniks were launched . . . and never heard from again. They took the lives of several trained astronauts." The colonel also asserted: "There were several unsuccessful launchings of sputniks, with men killed prior to Gagarin's flight. Either the missile would explode on the launching pad or it would go up and never return." Since Penkovsky's information on Soviet casualties proved to be accurate, there seems to be no reason to dispute his other disclosures. The Central Intelligence Agency allowed the publication of the Penkovsky materials.

In hearings before the foreign operations and government information subcommittee on May 23 and June 6, 1963, witnesses from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), hinted broadly that the Soviets had suffered various mishaps in space. But, on the ground that the information is classified, they shied away from full disclosure.

Some Soviet mishaps even became known to the free world through Communist sources. A few years ago, a high official of a Czech-Soviet space research center in Prague leaked to an Italian news agency the story that several Soviet cosmonauts had died in space.

Even more authentic was the front-page story in the London Daily Worker on April 12, 1961. The headlines read: "Soviet Cosmonaut Circles Earth Three Times" . . . "First Man in Space Back Alive—But Suffering from Effects of His Flight."

The story, according to which the Soviet cosmonaut was launched on April 7, 1961, was wired to the Daily Worker by its Moscow correspondent, Dennis Ogden.

He and other Communist correspondents had received sealed envelopes which contained the sensational story. The envelopes were not supposed to be opened without the permission of the Soviet government. All the Communist newsmen except Ogden followed the order.

Since the launching actually was a failure, the Kremlin never released the story—and only Ogden sent a dispatch anyway.

According to reliable information, the CIA submitted a confidential document to the White House early this year reporting the deaths of at least 11 cosmonauts in addition to that of Komarov.

The Washington decision not to disclose information on Soviet manned space flight failures was made during the last days of the Eisenhower Administration, presumably to protect intelligence sources. This decision is laid down in an agreement between the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, dated January 13, 1961.

At present, Washington's silence appears to be motivated by the strong desire to hear no evil, see no evil and speak no evil about the U.S.S.R.

According to the 1961 agreement, NASA publishes information on Soviet space activities which has "been authorized for public release through the office of the assistant secretary of defense for public affairs," provided "the data on foreign space activities" have been "officially reported to the United Nations Registry." In addition, only those data can be released which were confirmed by the U.S. space surveillance system run by the North American Air Defense Command.

However, only those confirmed "data on foreign space activities (including failures)" can be released by NASA "which have been publicly announced by the foreign government concerned."

With the one exception of the Komarov catastrophe, which could not be concealed, the Soviets have never yet announced any of their manned space flight failures. Hence, the agreement of Jan. 13, 1961, has probably resulted in the withholding of such information from the American public.

The DoD-NASA agreement has been the object of much Congressional criticism. But it still remains in force.

The U.S. informational policy on our own space activities is entirely open and frank. But since there is no corollary policy of openness with regard to Soviet space activities, the "image" of American space accomplishments is being harmed.

On July 4, 1967, the Moss Act became the law of the land. Rep. John E. Moss of California has been fighting for 10 long years against unnecessary government secrecy. The Moss Act stipulates that unless disclosure would endanger national security, government information should be made available to the American people.

The act amplifies Executive Order 10501, issued by President Eisenhower on Nov. 5, 1953, in that it authorizes court action to force release of such information.

It is hard to see how information about Soviet space failures could hurt the United States. Nor is there any emergency which, to deceive a political opponent, would justify news management. The U.S. government has been reporting on Soviet nuclear tests without ever asking Moscow's permission. Since the first Soviet nuclear explosion in 1949, American security, which ultimately is dependent upon an informed public, has been predicated on the release policy originated by President Truman.

The DoD-NASA agreement results in deceiving the American public and is, therefore, incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Moss Act. It is high time that Washington give an honest accounting of Soviet space losses.

Political Letter From the Northern Virginia Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a resident of my congressional district asks that I call the attention of Congress to the fact that there was a group of demonstrating students present at the Pentagon's north parking lot on Saturday, October 21, supporting the position of the United States in Southeast Asia. These students from local universities, I am told, were labeled Nazis by a story appearing in the Washington press, and were accorded no further publicity. If indeed this is an accurate account, and I have no reason to suspect that it is not, then the press has reason to apologize to this group, both for applying an offensive and incorrect label to them and for not according their efforts proportional coverage.

Inasmuch as this was not done, I insert for your consideration the "Political Letter From the Northern Virginia Committee" in the RECORD without further comment:

POLITICAL LETTER FROM THE NORTHERN VIRGINIA COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 24, 1967.

THEY WERE GIVEN A MONOPOLY—WHY?

Saturday, 21 October 1967, should go down as Bastille Day for the Communist Revolution in the United States. Let us now work to prevent a Reign of Terror.

The Communist Party is now surfacing in the United States. Their demonstration at the Pentagon was a success. They achieved their prime objective. They broke into the Pentagon on Saturday and went back home on Sunday, leaving the GSA janitors to clean up the mess at public expense.

At about 5:30 p.m. on Saturday afternoon, 21 October 1967, an infamous act occurred when a Communist-led mob was pushed out of the Pentagon by young American soldiers crowding through a narrow passage way. The Historic Photo of 1967 was made for the front pages of Hanoi and Peking and Moscow. (See front page of Washington Star of October 22, and 10,000 other front pages in the world, for that day.)

The Vietnam War is probably extended by many months and thousands of American lives.

How can such an infamous event occur? It happened because the Communist leaders had the Pentagon demonstration area all to themselves. The Communist leaders of the mob, during the days before the event, announced boldly and clearly they would break into the building. (After all, this was the purpose of the whole affair.)

But, in spite of their *announced* felonious intent, they were provided the jumping off place for the Pentagon door!

No other applicant was given a permit. Those who applied to demonstrate against the Communist-led group were turned down by the janitor of the Federal Government, the General Services Administration.

A valiant group of anti-Communist youth from Georgetown and George Washington Universities, with the famous Pastor Richard Wurmbrand, a prisoner of the Communists in Rumania for eleven years, managed to break into North Parking, which was approved Communist territory, just as the mob was entering from Lincoln Memorial at about 2:45 p.m., Saturday.

The anti-Communist group, very effectively led, began, by means of their speeches and posters to break up the Communist-led meeting at the North Parking entrance from the Memorial side! The Communist-led group dispersed to the other end of the lot at 4 PM, and prepared for the break-through into the Mall entrance of the Pentagon at 5:30 PM.

But the heart-breaking thing was the report of *this* event in the Washington Sunday Star, on 22 October 1967. The anti-Communist demonstrators, who were supporting the soldiers in the Pentagon, and, the war in Vietnam were labeled as "Nazis". It appears in the news summary of the entire day in the Washington Star of Sunday, 22 October, page 9, column 5.

It is possible that the U.S. Army itself is endangered by the agents of the Communist Party of the U.S. And, it is puzzling to the law-abiding citizen of the great suburbs of Washington *why* the Communist leaders were given the monopoly of the Pentagon North Parking lot on 21 October 1967. And, the law-abiding suburbanite deserves a true story of what happened in the North Parking lot, as the Communist-led mob entered.

After all, while the Communist-led mob was attacking the headquarters for the defense of freedom in this world, Mr. Suburbanite was back home putting fertilizer on his front lawn on the beautiful Indian Summer day.

Mr. Suburbanite was the little man who wasn't there. That's why they were given a monopoly.

EDWARD J. SLOANE,
Northern Virginia Committee.

Awash in Bureaucratic Seas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the Cincinnati Enquirer has commented editorially on a legislative battle that is currently underway in Congress. Along with several other Representatives and Senators, I have introduced legislation that would enable Green Line Steamers, Inc., to proceed with construction of a new $4 million passenger riverboat.

For the information of my colleagues, I include the following editorial:

AWASH IN BUREAUCRATIC SEAS

Even on clear days we often find it difficult to fathom some of the workings of the bureaucratic mind. But even though the weather in these parts was exceptionally fair the last time we looked we must confess to complete bewilderment at the most recent example of Federal flea-mindedness to come to our attention.

The case in point:

Finding itself compelled, because of new Federal safety laws enacted in the wake of the Yarmouth Castle disaster, to build a new boat to replace that venerable but still popular river siren, the Delta Queen, the Greene Line took what its officials thought was a quite proper step.

On the theory that if inland vessels were to be placed under the same safety regulations as ocean-going ships they should come under the same Federal mortgage insurance provisions, the line sought the larger amount applicable for ocean vessels—87.5% as against 75%.

Reps. Robert Taft Jr. and Donald D. Clancy, among others, introduced bills to this effect. In all, seven bills have been introduced in the House, and one, cosponsored by Sen. Jennings Randolph (D., W. Va.) and Sen. Stephen M. Young (D., Ohio), in the Senate.

The Greene Line plea received the sympathetic ear of Sen. E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (D., Alaska), whose subcommittee is considering the Senate bill. Senator Bartlett, advised by company officials that a $500,000 down payment for the replacement could be met but that the $1 million needed if the loan were guaranteed at only 75% would be impossible to raise, said he thought it would be a "tragedy" if the sole surviving overnight passenger riverboat in this country were to disappear without a replacement. If the Delta Queen's replacement is not ready for service by November 1, 1968, that is exactly what will happen, because of the new Federal regulations.

Senator Bartlett took a dim view of administration objections, as expressed by the Maritime Administration of the U.S. Commerce Department and the Bureau of the Budget. We are in accord with the senator.

Although the general counsel of the Maritime Division testified that this office "was not aware that any general needs exists" for the legislation, we beg to differ.

The mere fact that the Delta Queen has been operating at a phenomenal 95% of capacity should be eloquent testimony to the fact that the vessel serves "a need."

The Delta Queen, although it is a reminder of past days of teeming river traffic and the joys of leisurely, comfortable transportation, is no museum piece. It is an operational piece of transport that provides a desired service as witnessed by its popularity. And so too will be its replacement, the new Queen.

There is no question here concerning an outlay of public funds for private enterprise. All that is being asked is a mortgage guarantee, similar to those effected for construction of deep-water vessels, so that the line may make arrangements to contract for a new vessel.

One of the most inexplicable facets of the executive branch's opposition to the proposed legislation was revealed when its counsel, Mr. Davis, testified that he personally favored the proposal, although he was there to express official opposition.

So far, the measures to save the surviving page of one of this nation's most colorful chapters have fallen on sympathetic congressional ears. We hope this feeling can be generate to an extent that it will nullify administration objections that have appeared banal, confused and flimsy.

Shipbuilding Industry and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House a speech recently made by Edwin Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, on the subject of the shipbuilding industry as the fourth arm of defense.

Mr. Hood effectively spells out the importance of a strong merchant marine and shipbuilding industry to our national defense.

This is a point which cannot be made often enough, and I recommend Mr. Hood's cogent statement to my colleagues:

SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Speech by Edwin M. Hood, president, shipbuilders Council of America, before Naval Reserve National Engineering Unit 5-2, Washington, D.C., October 19, 1967)

It is often asserted that the U.S. shipbuilding industry is an essential component of the Fourth Arm of Defense, and I therefore welcome this opportunity to discuss with you the relationship of our commercial shipyards to the national defense.

Let me begin by pointing out certain facts concerning the nature and size of our shipbuilding industry.

Shipbuilding, as many of you may know, is primarily an assembly process. The shipbuilders' true manufacturing process consists of forming and tying together the hull structure from steel plates and shapes. His principal capital investment is therefore in the heavy metalworking and materials handling equipment required for this manufacturing activity, in providing the means for assembling this product of manufacture into the integrated structure, and in getting the structure waterborne.

There must, of course, be additional investments in plant equipment to fit and install secondary parts or systems of the permanent structure—piping, wiring and finish—although subcontractors are used in varying degrees for joiner work, reefer installation, electronic outfitting, and frequently other activities.

Generally speaking, the shipbuilder does not manufacture the operating components of the ship, but does assemble and integrate them into the completed vessel. Accordingly, the nature of a shipyard can take many forms. The choice of plant type is heavily influenced by the total industrial complexion and geography of the community in which the yard is located.

The industry encompasses not only the building of ships but also the conversion and repair of ships. The nature of these facets being different, individual plants may be oriented toward one or all three work categories, so the character of the yard may likewise vary widely on this account alone.

But, whatever the character of the individual yard, its survival is fundamentally dependent upon a satisfactory volume of shipwork since opportunities for diversification into non-marine construction or repair are limited by reason of the specialized nature of shipyard facilities. The latest Census of Manufactures reveals that more than 90 percent of the industry's revenue is derived from shipwork. Thus, the industry will rise or fall in direct proportion to the volume of work materializing from its two principal customers—the U.S. Navy and the U.S. flag merchant marine. The industry must build ships to survive and, as a corollary, shipbuilding capability is concentrated in a clearly identifiable industry.

Shipyards with ready facilities to build ships 600 feet in length or larger are presently being used at less than 60 percent capacity. Quantified at optimum utilization, this capacity in addition to the current level of naval ship construction could produce about 30-35 more large oceangoing merchant ships annually than the 15 per year the industry is now delivering.

Our shipbuilding industry produces for the domestic market. The art of shipbuilding is an ancient one. Its techniques are well known and practiced similarly by all the world's maritime nations. Basically, then, our high standard of living compared to any nation in the rest of the world, coupled with a common knowledge of techniques, proscribes our industry in terms of competing at world market prices for production of ships for other nations.

No matter the degree of automation introduced into the shipbuilding process, labor remains a controlling cost factor. I am sure you are aware that labor costs on an hourly basis here are half again as much as those in Sweden, about three times those in the United Kingdom and nearly four times those in Japan—three nations who produce merchant ships in volume. Moreover, material costs—and the costs of expanding shipyard capabilities—are higher here.

The standards of safety at sea and habitability of U.S. ships also are much higher than are international standards—a natural outgrowth of our higher standard of living. These standards result in an inherently more costly ship than one built to lower international ones.

But, though our industry must produce for a domestic market, it also builds the world's most sophisticated ships, ones which are unequalled in performance by those constructed elsewhere. This is especially true of naval vessels. I can do no better than quote Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Henry J. Kuss, Jr., who, in recent testimony before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, said in part:

"The German Government looked at the possibility of building three missile destroyers in their own country and in working with our Bureau of Ships, now our Naval Ship Systems Command, determined they could not come close to the price of building a guided-missile destroyer that we had in the United States. This was surprising because we are not the lowest priced builders in the shipbuilding business. But it is a complicated ship. It is an entirely technological operation. As a consequence of that comparison, and that kind of activity that goes on back and forth between the industrialized countries and ourselves, the Germans finally made the decision—not we—that they are going to purchase three guided-missile destroyers which are built in the United States."

Though the case here mentioned is one in which our industry is *not* building for the domestic market, it does illustrate worldwide recognition of the sophistication of our ships and the "know how" of our shipbuilders. These three destroyers along with three similar ships being built for Australia, represent the only recent major U.S. shipbuilding contracts placed by overseas buyers.

Most U.S. shipbuilding activity stems from government-sponsored orders—either from the U.S. Navy, Coast Guard, Maritime Administration or Department of the Interior. Activity levels are geared to the size of yearly Federal appropriations. With the excess capacity already noted and with ships customarily purchased in small lots, there is fierce price competition for the work available. Though our building technology continues to advance, profit margins, by and large, have been disappointing. Nevertheless, in the past decade our industry has invested heavily in capital improvements and the annual increment has been steadily increasing.

Recent changes in procurement practices, especially by the Navy, offer greater incentives for greater capital investments, and, at the same time, facilitate significant reductions in shipbuilding costs. The Navy, in some programs, is combining anticipated requirements of ships of like design in a multiyear procurement from a single producer. Recent contracts for the building of 20 Destroyer Escorts (DE's) and 17 Tank Landing Ships (LST's) fall in this category. Each contract has a face value of about $250 million. In these instances, the cost advantages of multiple production and the opportunity to concentrate production control efforts affecting one ship type for an extended period, produce not only direct cost savings but also stimulate substantial capital improvements in the producing shipyards.

The Navy, in other programs, is pursuing another potential source of cost savings by inviting shipbuilder participation in ship design. This could lead to improved design for producibility, hence to cost savings. The FDL program, now in abeyance; the LHA program, now in engineering stage; and the DX/DXG program, the first stage of which will start this year, are in this promising category. An almost identical procurement approach, augmented by a cascade of Federal funds for research, development, test and evaluation, has made it possible for our aircraft manufacturing industry to gain stability and worldwide prominence.

You may have noticed this comment by Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations & Logistics) Graeme C. Bannerman before a recent session of the American Society of Naval Engineers: ". . . As I have travelled around the country and visited a number of shipyards in recent months, I have been struck by the extent to which the shipbuilding industry has planned and is actually undertaking very significant improvements in its capital equipment and facilities and in its design and planning staffs. These improvements are not confined to one or two companies, and I can't help but feel that, to some extent, they are influenced by the changes I have described in our methods of doing business . . ." He was, of course, referring to the emphasis on total package and multiyear procurements which have influenced a change in the Navy's traditional methods of doing business over the past two years.

I turn now to the level of activity of our shipbuilding industry. In 1966, the commercial industry averaged a total employment of about 141,000 workers. Annual orders and backlog are derived almost exclusively from government orders, predominantly for naval vessels. In Fiscal Year 1966, for example, the Navy program resulted in nearly $700 million in contracts for building—and $400 million in awards for repair—of naval vessels. Other direct government new construction funds that year amounted to about $180 million. In that year, 85 percent of the Navy's shipbuilding program and 35 percent of all repairs and conversions to naval vessels were undertaken by commercial shipyards.

The value of total industry performance in calendar year 1965, the latest year for which complete returns are available, was approximately $2 billion. Analysis of these returns highlights the fact that today more than 70 percent of the industry's product is directly government financed.

In calendar year 1966, our industry delivered 13 large naval vessels and at the end of the year had a backlog of some 147 large naval ships, including 54 Navy ships ordered during the year. In the same year, the industry delivered 13 merchant ships, received orders for 18 others, and had a year-end backlog of 48 merchantmen. The substantial volume of Navy ships ordered reflects the multiyear contract placement of 20 DE's and 17 LST's mentioned earlier. The small number of merchant ships is characteristic of the low level of activity in merchant ship construction in our country through the last decade.

In terms of naval shipbuilding, the U.S. leads the world. In terms of merchant ships, Japan is building nearly half of the world's annual output of merchantmen, and in terms of gross tonnage its backlog is 30 times as great as ours. In total, the dollar value of our combined naval and maritime output, however, approximates that of the rest of the free world.

This, then, is the nature and level of activity in our industry. As has been noted, the product of the industry is primarily for the account of the government. More than half of the industry's output is directly produced for our naval forces.

At this point, it is logical to ask: what is the relationship of the product to the National Defense?

Among those familiar with the importance of sea power to a nation's security and economic stature, it has long been accepted as axiomatic that the sealanes are vital arteries which must be accessible for peace-time commerce and to project military might during time of war. Unfortunately, except in times of overwhelmingly obvious international crisis, this axiom comes little to the attention of our citizenry generally. Indeed, many of our country's officials, even in the face of clear demonstration of its continued validity, fail at times to endorse this axiom.

We must therefore examine today's validity of this age-old premise, for if it is not valid, the United States does not need ships as instruments of national power. And, if it does not need ships—naval or commercial— obviously there is no need for an American shipbuilding industry. On the other hand, if our nation continues to require ships, available on call, to continue or enhance its position of world leadership, then our shipbuilding industry is vital to our defense posture.

Historically, the premises of this axiom have been proven repeatedly. It was brought home to us in World War II most vividly when; for all practical purposes, we built and operated virtually the world's only merchant fleet after gaining full military control of the seas and denying access of them to the enemy. And, what of the present situation? We have unchallenged military control of the sealanes to the Far East—albeit that control is potentially subject to challenge by the Soviet Union—or eventually Red China.

In support of our operations in the Far East, we move substantially all of our men and materials over the sealanes in ships—though much of the movement is painfully made in tired, uneconomic ships left over from a past generation. Our warships, unchallenged, at least for the present, are heavily and effectively engaged in direct support of land operations.

Concurrently, the import-export trade of the United States constitutes approximately one half of all the world's oceanborne commerce. Who carries it? Regrettably, not U.S. flag shipping! Foreign flag vessels carry more than 92 percent of our trade and commerce. More alarming—66 of the 77 materials recognized as strategic must be imported by the United States, and 96 percent of our total volume of imports arrive in bottoms flying the flags of other nations.

Obviously, we do not control the oceanborne shipping media through which we maintain national industrial and economic strength. Entirely aside from the question of long-term economic strength, we do not control the shipping media which must bring to our shores and industrial plants the many raw materials basic to our national defense. It can be reasonably assumed that so long as the nations which are international carriers, and which are not committed to either side of a conflict among international powers, would continue to provide transportation service as long as it is profitable, but only that long. Dependence on the uncertain service of ships not under our own control is a tenuous thread on which to predicate national survival.

Moreover, the Soviet Union, our implacable and continuing opponent in the matter of world leadership, believes in the axiom of strength at sea. Its Navy is better known to you than to me. But, let us look at its merchant marine. From virtually nothing in 1950 (and that largely composed of ships the United States provided under Lend-Lease during World War II), the Russian fleet has grown to some 1,400 in number totaling more than 10 million deadweight tons.

It transports today 75 percent of the Soviet Union's total foreign commerce. It has 7 times more tonnage under construction or on order than the United States. The USSR could obtain the services of international carriers at less immediate cost than providing these services for itself, but it chooses the option of self-control. Why, people ask, does it build up its merchant fleet? I can find no better answer to that question than the abundantly clear evidence that the USSR subscribes to the axiom we are examining here this evening.

We find the axiom proven historically. We find living proof of the validity of the tenets of the axiom in our own Vietnam experience. We see obvious evidence that the Communists accept it. We can reasonably draw the conclusion that the axiom is equally as valid today as it was in yesteryears.

But, the components of sea power are more inclusive than ships and the men who operate them. Broadly speaking, we may say they are: (1) the forces required to gain and maintain control at sea; (2) a merchant navy; and (3) the bases needed to support both. Eminent authorities here and abroad have consistently subscribed to this doctrine. They have consistently numbered shipyards among the bases which are required to support our naval forces and merchant marine. We can therefore further conclude that the product of the shipbuilding industry—warships and commercial carriers—and shipyards, are indigenous elements of sea power—and in every way essential to national defense.

Need we rely on American industry—American shipyards—to provide the product? This question has been raised frequently. It is self-answering in the case of warships. The United States builds and supports the best naval vessels in the world. The continuing need to maintain the edge of superiority make it mandatory for our own industry to supply our own warships.

The answer to the question in the case of the merchant ship must also be an unequivocal "yes"—for much the same reason. Despite any allegations of higher building costs in the United States, this "yes" flows from the demands of national security. It has already been demonstrated by definition and history that merchant ships and shipyards are components of sea power. The term Fourth Arm of Defense as applied to the American merchant marine derives from this precept. In the strictest sense, merchant ships and shipyards, like warships, are tools of warfare, therefore instruments of national defense.

But, shipyards are even more. From them come the basic product and no world power can depend on foreign nations to supply it with the tools of warfare. It can be accurately stated that our shipyards are the first element in providing the instruments for controlling the sealanes. Eminent authorities have also certified to the lasting quality of this truism.

Clearly, if our country is to be prepared for the national defense, it must have an adequate shipbuilding capability and experienced manpower base which, as one report stated 20 years ago, "can be expanded to meet the demands of our fighting men and in all probability those of its future allies in future wars."

History has a way of repeating itself. I need not recite to this audience the present state of the world nor recall the vagaries of dependence on allies in times of conflict. I need not mention that American men and resources are today carrying the burden in Vietnam. But, I will leave you with the thought that the facilities and manpower which constitute shipbuilding capability will be available to provide the tools and instruments of future burdens only if they are utilized to the fullest extent today in the construction of merchant and naval ships, as well as other types of vessels. That capability would be dissipated and unavailable for the national defense if our ships for sea power were to be obtained elsewhere.

Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very succinct editorial point was carried in the October 21 edition of the Lansing, Ill., Journal, which, despite its brevity, deserves much thought.

I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

MEDICARE

By the way, they report Medicare is not working out the way they thought it would.

Maybe this is a case where Congress should take a second look.

It would seem now that they have a couple of years experience, they could come through with a better bill.

Some are recommending the government change the $3 payment idea and allow the Senior Citizens an amount of Social Security to purchase private insurance to use with Medicare.

Seems to us that we heard that idea before the existing bill ever passed.

The Press Response to California's Fight To Preserve Its Air Pollution Control Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the proposal in the House version of the Air Quality Act of 1967 to deny the State of California the right to continue its successful program of automotive air pollution control unhampered and unabridged has met with a strong response in the press. At this point I would like to submit several articles for inclusion in the RECORD which strike close to the heart of the matter.

In California, the automobile is central to our way of life and to our economy. Air pollution from automotive exhaust constitutes a grave and imminent danger to our citizens. In order to assess this menace and continue to take decisive, meaningful steps to halt it, the right of the citizens of California to exercise their own good judgment must not be preempted.

I earnestly hope that my colleagues will read these expressions of public opinion carefully in preparation for the forthcoming debate of the proposed Air Quality Act of 1967 on the House floor. Let us resolve now to pursue it on the highest plane of factual information.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Oct. 24, 1967]

SMOG: CONGRESS AND THE CRISIS

Some misguided members of Congress seem determined to cripple California's efforts to cope with its worsening air pollution crisis.

That crisis, warned Dr. Joseph Boyle, head of the County Medical Assn., "demands that every appropriate action, however drastic, be taken immediately. No further delay can be tolerated with safety."

But on Capitol Hill there are those who apparently are more concerned with the economic health of the automobile and oil industries.

The House Commerce Committee recently voted to deny California the right to impose more stringent standards for auto emissions, principal cause of smog in the Los Angeles Basin. Although the Senate unanimously excluded this state from federal pre-emption, the House committee agreed with the auto industry that all states should be treated the same.

Rep. John Dingell (D-Detroit), who led the fight in committee to weaken California's anti-smog program, admitted in Los Angeles Friday that his amendment was based upon proposals given to him by representatives of the auto industry.

The first-stage smog alert that occurred during Dingell's visit mocked his assurance that he "would not sponsor legislation that would threaten the health of the people of California." For it was painfully obvious that the state's present auto standards are far from adeqaute.

Meanwhile effective control of the Los Angeles Basin's most significant stationary source of smog is jeopardized in oil import legislation introduced by Sen. Russell Long (D-La.).

The Long bill would have the effect of blocking importation of low-sulfur oil from Indonesia for use in utility steam generating plants, even though such fuel is the only oil that doesn't produce a smog problem—and is unavailable from domestic producers.

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall had authorized the importation of Indonesian oil because "under the existing program there simply isn't enough low-sulfur residual fuel oil available on either coast to permit major metropolitan centers to meet the desired standards of air pollution."

To Senator Long, however, an oil import program "has one and only one purpose, and that is to maintain a healthy, vigorous, domestic petroleum industry . . . This purpose and objective cannot be realized . . . if it is to be used to solve the pollution problem."

In the absence of a sufficient supply of natural gas, Southern California Edison Co. and the City Department of Water & Power must burn as much as 12 million barrels of oil in the winter months from November to April.

To deny Southern California the right to import fuel oil that could eliminate this present smog threat is an outrageous example of shortsighted legislation.

The Times calls on the members of both houses of Congress to remove these barriers to more effective protection against air pollution.

Achieving cleaner air is sufficiently difficult without the interference of special interests and their representatives on Capitol Hill.

[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Oct. 10, 1967]

Unity on Smog

We commend the state and county for recognizing a common enemy and closing ranks to fight the threat of too-lenient Federal smog control legislation.

The Federal legislative threat is greater than the differences that have divided state and county approaches to smog control in the past. Indeed, California's health, welfare and future prosperity are at stake, as medical experts have testified in hearings by the Assembly Committee on Transportation and Commerce.

The House Commerce Committee irresponsibly deleted a Senate-passed provision of a Federal smog control bill that would allow California stronger regulations than those set by Washington.

If this action is allowed to stand, California will have to mark time in the smog fight and risk choking to death while doing so.

The House Commerce Committee, for reasons that surpass all logic, has ignored the unique local conditions that demand California keep strict control over air pollution.

The problem of air pollution does not mark time; it grows in intensity and destructive capability. And it can only be met by unshackled local and state initiative which build on this state's trail-blazing efforts in the field of smog control.

The cooperation of the state and county must continue to bulwark the uncompromising stand of California's congressional delegation. It is California's duty to its citizens to make all-out, unrestricted war on smog.

More than a state right is involved. The right to live in health and safety transcends all else in the battle the state and county have entered as allies.

[From the Monrovia (Calif.) Daily News-Post, Oct. 14, 1967]

We Breathe Death; Let's Fight for Life

Air pollution in our area is discussed in an editorial elsewhere on this page today, but I believe strongly that public apathy is the first problem which must be overcome in the fight against smog.

You and I may be dying from air pollution at this moment. Surely, if it continues unabated, it will kill most of us in the long run.

What is even more tragic is that it is killing our children. And those who it doesn't kill probably will be afflicted with maladies from smog which may as well be congenital.

I have two daughters, which regular readers of this column already know, ages 4 and 2.

They are bright, healthy youngsters, alternately happy and unhappy, delightful and irritating. I love them, really, more than life itself. It may be trite but it's true.

I'm sure that every parent feels the same way about his children.

And it sickens me that my children on some days find it difficult to breathe, begin coughing and cannot be allowed outside because of the condition of the air.

This is one reason we were forced to install an air conditioner in our home this year. We did not install it as a luxury. We felt it was a necessity for the health of ourselves and our children.

We're lucky. My wife and I could juggle our finances to make payments on an air conditioner. Many persons simply can't. That means they are breathing death constantly, because there are times the air doesn't clear up even at night in this area.

Personally, I'm sick and tired of hearing excuses about why smog can't be beaten. Auto manufacturers make excuses, the oil industry makes excuses, everybody makes excuses.

Meanwhile, my children are being infected by the filthy air they are forced to breathe.

It's disgraceful and disgusting that financial considerations are so important that all of our lives are of minute importance to some people.

Newsman Al Wyman and radio station KLAC should be credited with bringing the matter forcefully into the open once again, perhaps more vividly than it ever has before. Wyman did really a superlative job of digging and reporting on the story. The station and its owner, Metromedia, provided the funds for him to do the proper kind of job.

Now it is up to the people, for without an end to the apathy nothing will be accomplished.

The matter is under consideration in the House of Representatives at the moment, with federal smog controls already having been approved by the U.S. Senate.

Sen. George Murphy's amendment allowing California to have stricter laws on the subject was approved by the Senate.

Now a Detroit congressman, John D. Dingell, has legislation offered which will strip Murphy's amendment from the legislation so that California cannot be more militant in its smog control efforts. Our problem here is different than in any other place. We must be able to do all we can to combat it.

But Congressman Dingell, bowing to the auto industry which he represents, doesn't really give a damn about the people of California.

And he stands a good chance of being successful in his efforts to limit California's control of the problem.

If the people of California let him get away with this, they will have helped sign their own death certificates.

It mustn't be allowed to happen.

Let your congressman know how you feel, and let him know now!

[From the Valley Times, Oct. 13, 1967]

Heavy Smog Lingers On—Burbank Hit Hardest by Air "Garbage"

(By Peter Earnshaw)

The eye-stinging smog and blinding fog is here to stay with no immediate end in sight.

For the fourth straight day residents can expect to wheeze, sneeze, cough, cry and choke today on the ugly blanket of smog which reached toward the danger level Thursday.

Meanwhile the "pea soup" fog shut down the Hollywood-Burbank and Van Nuys Airports early this morning and International Airport was operating at a bare minimum visibility of 250 feet.

"Everybody is tired of this garbage," pleaded the Lockheed radar controller, "We haven't seen Mt. Pinos for days."

BREEZES LACKING

The stagnant blanket of smog and fog is being caused by a lack of sea breezes which normally blow away pollution and fog from the Valley and Los Angeles basin. The Air Pollution Control District (APCD) said the smog would be moderate to heavy today with temperatures near 90 in the Valley and 85 at Los Angeles Civic Center.

Red-eyed residents suffered with a smog reading of .37 parts of ozone per million parts of air in Burbank Thursday. It was the highest reading in the Los Angeles area.

A first-stage alert is declared whenever the ozone content climbs to .50 parts of ozone. The high reading Wednesday was .44 parts recorded in Pasadena.

WEST VALLEY HIT

The West Valley area, usually smog-free, got hit with a .27 ozone reading.

A flood of complaints poured into (APCD) headquarters in Los Angeles Thursday as APCD chief Louis J. Fuller threatened action in the U.S. Supreme Court if Congress passed a bill to limit California's control over automobile emissions.

Fuller met with automobile executives Thursday in an attempt to persuade leaders that more stringent controls are needed, especially in smog-plagued Southern California.

AUTO SMOG BILLS

A recent amendment proposal by Sen. George Murphy would have given California the necessary control to deal with smog.

Murphy's bill, however, has been replaced with a more lenient amendment proposal by Rep. John Dingell of Detroit, which would vest sole authority for setting auto smog standards in the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare.

The Dingell amendment to the "Clean Air Bill" is the subject of much controversy in Washington and is being viewed as a less restrictive replacement for the measure offered by Murphy. The Murphy amendment would have allowed California to set more stringent standards than in other states.

Alexander Wiley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sorrow that Wisconsin and the Nation received the news of Senator Alexander Wiley's death last week. The 24 years of his distinguished service in the Senate—longer than any other Wisconsin Senator in history—reflects the respect and reverence with which he was held by the citizens of Wisconsin.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee it was my periodic privilege to serve with Senator Wiley on various conference committees. While Senator Arthur Vanderburg was widely regarded as the outstanding exponent of bipartisan cooperation in international affairs, Senator Wiley epitomized that same philosophy in his work on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Over the years of his dedicated service on that committee Senator Wiley demonstrated an impartiality and fairness in his judgment of the issues—weighing each on its own merit and for the ultimate good of all Americans. He served his country and State well.

He was, in addition, a man motivated by strong religious principles, always honest, humble, and forthright in his dealings with all whatever their rank or station. The courage of his convictions was never underestimated.

I join with my many colleagues and with his countless friends and admires in expressing my personal sorrow over Senator Wiley's passing. Mrs. Zablocki joins me in extending heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Wiley and the Senator's children.

Carl Foreman, Film Industry Pioneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the American motion picture industry which not too many years ago bore the confining synonym of "Hollywood," has now become one of our greatest international enterprises, extending to every continent of the world. Hollywood is still there as its capitol, but men of great vision have broken the national and regional bounds to make American films a worldwide industry. Our influence and thoughts have been immeasureably broadened even beyond the understanding of our ideals which the motion picture itself carries to other nations. I want to call attention to one of the most vital figures in this broad internationalization of our motion picture interests. He is Mr. Carl Foreman, a writer, producer, and director of films, who pioneered the extension of our film industry to other continents. Fifteen years ago, Mr. Foreman went abroad to make movies in foreign locales. Authenticity of settings had a great deal to do with the tremendous resurgence of American films at a time when their demise was being predicted because of the growing competition of television. With headquarters in London, as well as in America, Mr. Foreman overcame the hurdle of being an outsider working in England and came to be accepted by the British film industry not as a competitor within their midst, but as one of the world's most respected workers in this visual art. This regard overcame national and competitive commercial considerations with the result that Mr. Foreman became the first American to be elected governor of the British Film Council. Jennie Lee, England's Minister of State for the Arts, appointed Mr. Foreman as the only American member on the national committee to study the need for a national film school. He is also the only American member of the British Experimental Film Board, and a member of the executive council of the British Film Production Association.

While we spend much time, effort and money on developing better economic and cultural understanding abroad, Mr. Foreman, as a single American, has contributed heavily to this solely through his own talent. Nor is he without honor in his own native country. Besides the Academy Award won for his screenplay for "Bridge on the River Kwai," he received Academy Award nominations for four other great movies, "Champion," "High Noon," "The Men," and "Guns of Navarone." It is well known that America gave the world the motion picture as its only original art medium. Within that medium, the western is its most uniquely American form. It was through the western that we first attracted the attention of the world in the film industry's infancy. Its popularity has never waned, but it reached a point some years ago when it had nothing new to say. Shortly before he left to establish himself in England, Mr. Foreman wrote and produced "High Noon" in Hollywood. It brought to the American western a new dimension and a fresh viewpoint of social conscioueness. Its success here and abroad not only gave the western new directions, but added further international lustre to American frontier courage exemplified in our heritage of the West. True to his resolve for honesty and authenticity in settings, Mr. Foreman has now returned to this country to film another western, "Mackenna's Gold," his first film here since he left our shores 15 years ago. Mr. Foreman's return to his origins is welcomed not only by the American motion picture industry, but by our responsive leaders and citizens alike. We, too, add our welcome and our commendation to Mr. Foreman for the honors he has won abroad and the bright image he has created there of the creative American filmmaker.

A New Voice of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as pointed out in the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of October 26, 1967, an alternative is now available to the loud-in-volume but small-in-numbers demonstrators against our Government.

The Citizens Committee for Peace With Freedom in Vietnam has been formed to represent the millions of Americans who support our defense of freedom in Southeast Asia.

I commend the editorial to the attention of our colleagues:

A NEW VOICE OF AMERICA

For all Americans who have suffered in frustration as they listened to the shrill rantings of the anti-war contingent—and the number of these Americans must run high in the millions—there is something new abroad in the land.

At last, and it is long overdue, a committee composed of 107 founding members has emerged to speak for the "silent center"—that great majority of Americans who stand somewhere between the doves and the hawks in the raging debate over the war in Vietnam, the debate over the justification for the war and the manner in which it is being conducted.

Committees, as we all know, are a dime a dozen in our country. Some hardly survive the night. Others, at least a few others, serve a truly useful and constructive purpose. We believe that the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam belongs in the latter category.

Its credentials are above reproach. Former Senator Paul Douglas, who at one point gave up his political career to fight with the Marines in the Pacific in World War II, is the moving spirit behind the organization. But he is far from alone. Other members include our only living former Presidents and Secretaries of State—Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, James F. Byrnes and Dean Acheson. General of the Army Omar Bradley has signed up. He thought the war with the Chinese in Korea was the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time. He thinks the war in Vietnam is the right war and that it is a war against the right enemy.

The list of members includes other distinguished men and women. It is a nonpartisan group. Many of them are Republicans. This committee's purpose is not to support Lyndon Johnson or any other individual in any partisan sense. But in the case of this war it does support the office of the presidency of the United States. It also will not hesitate to criticize the conduct of the war when it thinks it deserves criticism.

Basically, however, this committee has been formed because its members believe that a great test is taking place in Vietnam—a test of whether aggression disguised as a war of liberation can be permitted to succeed. The members think that this should not be permitted because they believe that a vital interest of the United States is at stake—that if we chuck it in Vietnam the struggle in Asia will have to be fought out later in some other place.

The committee has three main objectives. One, to establish a rallying point for Americans who believe that our country is trying to do the right thing. Two, to let Peking and Hanoi know that the strident voice of the dissenters is not the true voice of the American people. Three, to give renewed assurance to our fighting men in Vietnam that their sacrifices are neither in vain nor unappreciated.

To all Americans who believe in and who want to help in this struggle for "peace with freedom," the committee says: "Will you join us?" The address is 1028 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Meat Inspection Requirements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, unless we take some positive action to improve and strengthen our meat inspection regulations, we are failing to protect the American traveler and the American housewife. I rise in support of H.R. 12145 because it is a fundamental first step in protecting ourselves against unwholesome meat.

According to a survey conducted by the Minnesota Tribune's Minnesota Poll, almost nine out of 10 Minnesotans—87 percent—favor expanded Federal inspection of meatpacking plants. Housewives across the country have rallied to the support of this all-important crusade to improve meat inspection programs.

The Federal assistance to State meat inspection programs authorized under the Smith-Foley bill will strengthen State programs throughout the United States. The basic health protection of our citizens calls for action in this vital program and I am proud to rise in support of it.

Micronesia: Forgotten Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a joint resolution providing for the establishment of a commission to study the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The resolution is House Joint Resolution 848.

I have introduced this resolution because of my belief that the time has come for our Nation to make some far-reaching decisions about the trust territory, commonly called Micronesia, which the United States administers under the mandate of the United Nations.

Additional evidence of the need for the speedy establishment of this Commission was provided in an article by Robert Trumbull, veteran Asian reporter, in the New York Times of Monday, October 30.

Mr. Trumbull points out a number of Micronesian problems which for too long have been ignored in the United States. He says, among other things, that Micronesian leaders are demonstrating "growing disenchantment with the American administration" of their islands.

At stake here are important economic, political, and strategic matters. They must be dealt with—and soon—or the result may be more than a little damage to our national interests.

A commission composed of Members of Congress and other citizens, as proposed in House Joint Resolution 848, could perform an essential service in studying Micronesian problems and providing recommendations that could be the basis of a farsighted policy in the near Pacific.

Believing that the Members of this body will find Mr. Trumbull's article interesting and informative, I am including it in the Record at this point:

Micronesia: 2,141 Islands Forgotten by United States

(By Robert Trumbull)

Saipan, Marianas Islands.—Leaders among the more than 90,000 Micronesians under United States rule are demonstrating growing disenchantment with the the American administration of the United Nations trusteeship.

Peace Corps workers and other Americans—officials as well as visitors—also voice concern at the conditions they find in the great belt of islands in the mid-Pacific.

"Volunteers fresh out of school arrive out here believing in the American dream of the good life and are shocked to find that the dream is far from reality in the Trust Territory," said James Schmitt of Aurora, Ind., director of the Peace Corps in the Palau district of the Western Caroline Islands.

Many in the islands have also expressed fears that stringent economies ordered by President Johnson in all Federal Departments, are jeopardizing long-awaited improvement projects and may dissipate the more hopeful atmosphere induced by the appearance of a new High Commissioner, William R. Norwood of Honolulu, and the infusion of hundreds of eager young Peace Corps volunteers.

President Johnson has also urged that a plebiscite be held by 1972 to determine the island's future, and he is supporting legislation to establish a preparatory commission, the Congress of Micronesia. A legislature with limited powers has set up its own study group in the question despite a widespread conviction among islanders that 1972 is far too early for a vote on whether to be associated with the United States or to be independent.

Americans and Micronesians, interviewed in a month-long tour of 4,000 miles to more than two dozen islands in all six administrative districts of the far-flung Trust Territory, believe that there has been too little concern in the United States for an area considered vital to national security.

Older Micronesians compare the United States administration unfavorably with the prewar Japanese rule. "This is not the American Government that I observed and studied in the United States," said Amata Kabua, the political leader of the Marshall Islands. He was educated in Hawaii and is a member of the Congress of Micronesia.

Micronesia means "small islands." There are 2,141 of them, flecks of green in an azure sea, in a broad belt about 2,400 miles from east to west and more than 1,000 miles northward from the Equator.

Dotting an ocean expanse as big as the continental United States, they add up to only 700 square miles of land, about half the area of Rhode Island. Only 96 are inhabited permanently.

MOST ISLES ARE ATOLLS

Some, like nearly all the Marshall Islands, are typical atolls: flat, sandy outcroppings, covered with palm trees, atop a ring of coral where a volcanic crater, it is believed, has sunk beneath the sea. On most of them, a boy standing on the beach with a baseball bat could hit a fly ball to the opposite shore.

In contrast, the high islands of the Marianas and the Caroline archipelagoes rise a thousand feet or more in volcanic peaks cloaked with dense rain forests.

The islands have been held in turn by Spain, Germany, Japan and the United States. Much of the area was a scene of crucial action in the Pacific phase of World War II.

USED FOR ATOM TESTS

In 1947, at the request of the United States, the United Nations designated Micronesia a strategic trusteeship, the only one in the world.

This means that the administering power is entitled to use the islands for military purposes. The United States has exercised the right with nuclear tests at Bikini and current antimissle operations at Kwajalein, both atolls in the Marshall Islands.

The Central Intelligence Agency used part of Saipan Island from 1953 to 1962 to train Chinese Nationalist guerrillas. The well-built administrative and housing structures, on a secluded height now called Capitol Hill, became Trust Territory headquarters when the agency departed.

In contrast, the district administrative centers, at Saipan for the Marianas, Koror and Yap for the Western Carolines, Truk and Ponape for the Eastern Carolines and Majuro for the Marshall Islands, present depressing vistas of rusting Quonset huts and other dilapidated buildings of corrugated metal, abandoned by the armed forces as they left the scene many years ago.

"The most beautiful scrap heap in the world," said Michael Malm of Rochester, N.Y., an official recently arrived at Koror, in describing his initial reaction to the ramshackle tin towns that disfigure some of the most spectacular island landscape on earth.

American officials acknowledge that another major blotch on the record is the lack of roads, attributed to budget limitations.

"With few exceptions," said Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, whose department is responsible for the islands, "roads in the Trust Territory are generally deplorable, yet our essential programs of education, health and economic development are clearly dependent upon an adequate road system."

Engineers in the Trust Territory have estimated that the cost of resurfacing major roads would be recouped every four years in the saving on vehicle maintenance and replacement.

SEA TRANSPORT SPARSE

In the Yap Islands, usually described as primitive because most villagers prefer their traditional loin cloths or grass skirts to western garb, the rural roads are among the best in the Trust Territory, because the Yapese maintain them themselves with equipment borrowed from the Government.

Sea transportation, in islands dependent upon ships, is so sparse that the Congress of Micronesia petitioned the Government this year to invite a Japanese line to serve the area.

Movements of private commercial ships that run errands for the Trust Territory Government, in return for a subsidy, are heavily influenced by the hard economic necessity of loading and unloading as quickly as possible in island ports. Health services are at the mercy of schedules for loading copra, the dried coconut meat—used in making soap that is Micronesia's principal export.

"The dentists who serve the islands from ships have time only for extractions," said Robert Law, assistant district administrator of the Marshall Islands and a retired naval officer. "Many teeth could have been saved if there had been more time."

Pending a new airline contract now under negotiation, plane travel in the Trust Territory is limited to two DC-4 propeller-driven planes of World War II vintage and two SA-16 Albatross amphibians. The SA-16's are kept in service because only a few of the islands have usable landing strips. Under the Japanese, the area was dotted with military air bases. These have been allowed to revert to jungle.

A German Protestant missionary who was once a pilot in the Luftwaffe plans to institute what may become an airborne medical service.

The Rev. Edmund Kalau, pastor of the Lutheran mission, at Yap, is awaiting the delivery of a six-passenger Cessna with a 1,300-mile range that can land and take off on short airstrips. He plans to use it for medical work in the isolated outer islands of the Yap district.

Such private efforts are helpful, but the main problem is money.

Congress had never appropriated more than about $6-million a year until the Kennedy Administration in 1961 authorized $17.5-million. Under President Johnson the figure was increased to $35-million.

But Congress has never appropriated the authorized amount, nor has it funded an Administration program for spending $172-million on capital improvements—roads and other permanent construction—over a five-year period that was to start this year.

The appropriation for the current fiscal year was held to $23.1-million, and President Johnson's freeze order on new construction and hiring in all Federal departments has affected about $8-million of the total budget—"an absolute disaster for planning," said Deputy High Commissioner Martin Mangan.

PEACE CORPS RAISES HOPE

Among the projects listed for postponement under the austerity program are a territorial vocational school. The lack of the school has been criticized by United Nations inspectors and others as a glaring omission in preparing the Micronesians to be more self-reliant.

Other programs presumably delayed are two new hospitals to replace the substandard makeshift institutions at district centers on Ponape Island and Moen Island, Truk.

New power plants and other machinery to replace hand-me-down equipment, in many cases discarded by the military as worn out, may remain unordered.

But the year-old work of the Peace Corps, now 550 strong and soon to reach 700, has brought new hope to the islanders.

"The United States had done nothing on this island before the Peace Corps came," said the head man of Udot Island.

Volunteers are serving on nearly all the permanently inhabited islands, mostly living with—and like—Micronesians.

"They are the only Americans who eat in native restaurants," a touring anthropologist from Seattle said admiringly.

They are also the only Americans who can converse in any of the nine major languages spoken in Micronesia, with the exception of some missionaries and a few dedicated Trust Territory officials, such as Robert Halvorsen, the District Administrator at Ponape, who came to the islands 22 years ago as a naval officer and stayed.

Peace Corps volunteers are involved in virtually every aspect of Micronesian life.

Tom Brunt, a fledgling architect from Philadelphia, has nearly completed a coral-block school complex on Wonei Island, Truk, that is becoming known as the only American building project using local materials in an imaginative way suited to the tropical surroundings.

Donald T. Bliss, Jr., who plans to join a Manhattan law firm when his Peace Corps term is up, remarked that "New York will be anticlimactic" after two years of tutoring Micronesian lawyers of Ponape in the application of a Trust Territory legal code.

A couple of miles from the tin-roofed courthouse where the young lawyer works, Mike Ezzell of Austin, Tex., was coaching a volleyball team while his wife, Peggy, taught children from Kapingamarangi, a Polynesian island with a different language, how to speak Ponapean.

PERFORM DOUBLE DUTY

The largest number of Peace Corps volunteers are English language instructors, but they are found working also as nurses, X-ray technicians, civil engineers, radio operators, surveyors, recreation directors, business specialists and in community development activities of all kinds.

Peace Corpsmen who came to the Trust Territory from stations in newly independent countries of Africa and Asia were astonished to find the Micronesians almost totally lacking in the fervent nationalism seen in other peoples brought under colonialism.

"We will be ready for a plebiscite on our future status only after the islands have become more developed," said Thomas Ramengesau, the Assistant District Administrator in Koror, capital of his native Palau Islands.

"We should remain a trust territory until all six districts decide on a common destiny, which may take 10 or more years," said Petrus Mailo, a hereditary chief and leading politician and businessman of Truk.

Francis Nuuan, who represents his native Yap in the Micronesian Senate, laughed when asked about the general reaction to President Johnson's proposal for a plebiscite by 1972.

"Only the few Micronesians who can read English are even aware of such things," he said.

Planning a Lake Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in view of mounting support for the construction of an airport in Lake Michigan, I am including an editorial in the Record today which appeared recently in the Chicago Daily News.

This editorial adds impressive weight to the growing enthusiasm and well-reasoned support for an airport in the lake. Such an airport will solve or greatly alleviate much of Chicago's noise, air traffic, and air pollution problems.

Mr. Speaker, this editorial follows:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Oct. 27, 1967]

PLANNING A LAKE AIRPORT

The feasibility study of an airport in the lake, now complete, quickly demolishes many of the arguments heard against creating this boon for Chicago. The application of relatively simple engineering ideas, already proved successful in Holland, could provide a needed major airport just a few minutes from the heart of the city.

When it was first proposed, the idea of a lake-bottom airport impressed many people as too wild-eyed for serious consideration. An airport on filled land, yes. That we've done. But one planted below water level? Crazy.

Mayor Daley didn't think it was crazy, and neither do the engineers who have studied the problem. Build a dike, pump out the water, erect buildings and lay runways, and you have 8,000 acres of airport without disturbing anything but fish.

The Dutch pioneered this "polder" principle long ago, and have refined the technique to claim miles of land from the sea. The Harza Engineering Co. found no serious obstacles to claiming Lake Michigan land for Chicago.

The complaint of conservationists that such an airport would hamper recreation and create water pollution is not well-founded. Set five miles out in the lake, the airport would hardly be visible from the shore. It might seem strange to see airplanes rising out of and disappearing into the lake, but neither the sight nor the sound should be obtrusive. In fact, reduction of the noise level through this type of operation would be one of the chief advantages.

A system of heavy-duty pumps would eliminate problems of seepage and rainfall, and a sewage-disposal plan would prevent pollution of the lake. A dike extending 50 to 80 feet above the lakebed would keep out the biggest lake waves. A combination causeway, bridge and tunnel would provide four-lane access from the mainland.

There remain some questions, to be sure. Pilots fear that fog and wintry storms might render the airport unusable too much of the time, and weather studies are incomplete. However, technology is advancing at such a rapid pace that by the time the airport is built it is likely that planes can take off or land even in zero visibility with the aid of advanced electronic controls.

The lake airport studies are well under way, with no insurmountable obstacles in sight. We urge that planning proceed at maximum speed, for Chicago needs this airport.

The 100th Anniversary of Clinton Turn Verein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I revise and extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a speech I made at the 100th anniversary banquet of the Clinton Turn Verein, May 23, 1967.

This celebration, which was held in my hometown, was a very inspiring occasion to me, and it reawakened very happy memories of my early association with this great organization of friends and neighbors in my hometown, whose membership now embraces virtually every race, creed, and class and is devoted to wholesome family life, physical and moral fitness, and patriotic ideals of the brotherhood of man.

The speech follows:

CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN ADDRESSES CLINTON TURN VEREIN

My dear and distinguished friend, Judge Gould, whom I thank warmly for his very generous and eloquent personal references, and my friends, brothers and sisters of Turner Hall, this is indeed a great and memorable occasion. The 100th anniversary of the founding of our famous and beloved Turner Hall is a meaningful event in the history of Clinton, our state and our nation.

It has been my great honor to be here in this wonderful place to speak at the 75th anniversary, which was held before I became your Representative in the Congress, and later in May, 1957 when I spoke here at the 90th anniversary.

So you see, it is with special honor and pride that I am here tonight once again with distinguished guests, leaders of our community including our good friend, Chairman of the Board of Selectmen, Mr. Joseph Morano and the very great and distinguished President of the National Turners, Hon. George Jacquin and many other very esteemed gentlemen and ladies, officers and members of the Turners.

In the presence of dear cherished friends and fellow members, it is a very happy privilege to be with you to celebrate another Turner birthday, this time an outstanding one marking 100 years of unsurpassed, outstanding service to this community and glorious contributions to our country.

The Turn Verein is one of those exceptional organizations which the nation needs today probably more than ever before. It was founded in the early part of the last century by a dedicated, far-sighted and gifted gentleman named Frederick Jahn, a Clinton name by the way, which makes his honored name and memory stand out all the more in our minds, especially as we view and consider the many wonderful beneficial things that have been wrought here in this very place.

The rich German culture has been fused and blended with a superb brand of Americanism that in truth represents total service and loyalty to our great country.

The Turners were founded in this country in 1848 by the famous Frederick Hecker, one of the heroes of the German Revolution, to promote physical education, a most worthy and necessary goal that could be well emulated in this very day and age. But it has gone far beyond this end to include mental training, libraries, schools, journalism, civic contributions, charity and good works that stand out like a gleaming light of inspiration and leadership.

It is very interesting to note the original German slogans which our great Society followed and I am now referring to the Turners. They were Frisch, Frohm, Froh and Frei, which for the benefit of my Irish, Italian and Polish friends who are now found among our leaders, and to other non-Germans with us, simple mean Bold, Devout, Gay and Free.

These slogans are simple but they stand for fundamental principles of life and of government. They represent the will of our organization to stand up for its rights, and for the rights of free men, for our right to worship to God of our choice, for the right to be free of oppression and tyranny, and the right to enjoy some of the pleasures of music, comradeship and the gaiety and enjoyment of living in a free land.

Anything I might say by way of tribute to the founders of the Turners, and especially the founders of this Turn Hall, would be like carrying coals to Newcastle. Where could anyone find more understanding friends, better citizens, dedicated to town, state and country, honest, industrious, hard-working people, faithful fellow citizens, who in war and peace, by their words and their deeds gave expresson to their loyalty to this country and its institutions, which could never be exceeded by any other group.

It is inspiring to relate that during the Civil War, for example, over 51% of the total membership of the Turners were enlisted in the military service. The proud record will show that for the past 100 years in this town, whenever it was necessary for our citizens to rally to the cause of country, whether it was in terms of gallant patriotic contributions, commendable assumption of civic responsibility, the cause of civic virtue, neighborliness and friendship, the advancement of learning, the building of physical strength and the encouragement of all those things that go to make for the growth, development, betterment and strength of the nation, the Turners have played a leading role.

They have played this role across the board, not in any limited sense. They have furnished brilliant leadership in the promotion of many ideas and issues that have been written into our laws and made a part of the great American dream, a pattern of forward-looking philosophy, embracing progressive viewpoints and principles and unselfish public service and citizenship.

We Need Stepped Up Action To Combat Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the President has asked this session of Congress to act for cleaner air for our Nation. The need for action is great and the time for action is now.

Air pollution is not a new problem. It is an old problem which is usually identified with our large cities.

Yet, air pollution is not a problem of our cities only. It is a problem for every American, no matter where he lives, because everyone directly or indirectly must eventually pay the price for dirty air. Polluted city air is not contained within city limits. It is carried by the winds to our suburbs, towns, and farms. And the sources of air pollution are to be found not only in the city but wherever people work or are transported.

A look at projections of future levels of population, industrial production, electric power generation, use of heating fuels, automobiles produced, and gasoline consumed can lead to only one conclusion: that we are going to have to run fast just to stay where we are in terms of air quality.

To go further and clean up the befouled air that most city dwellers now breathe requires sharply increased antipollution efforts involving cooperation among the Federal, State, and local governments.

The proposed Air Quality Act provides for planning, for control on a regional basis, between and within the States. It assists the States to take the initiative and develop programs in cooperation with the counties and cities interlocking this effort with the Federal program. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I urge enactment of S. 780, so that the interests of the American people in clean air may be adequately protected.

Act of Statesmanship for Nuclear Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, recently newspaper Columnist Ralph De Toledano effected a controversy of great concern to those working in, affected by, and interested in nuclear energy. His charge: Mishandling of nuclear wastes.

A concise and good refutation came from our able colleague, Representative Craig Hosmer, and was given appropriate attention in the Oak Ridger, Oak Ridge, Tenn., of October 16. I include in the Record this statement from the daily newspaper of the Atomic City, Oak Ridge:

ACT OF STATESMANSHIP FOR NUCLEAR POWER

Two local scientists, Ernest Silver and S. E. Beall, did a quite effective job of answering Columnist Ralph De Toledano's truly startling charges against the nuclear energy program, as printed in the first of a series of three columns he recently wrote—only one of the three appearing locally in the Knoxville Journal.

But now has come yet another most effective response. Rep. Craig Hosmer, member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has sent a detailed reply in which he refutes extensively columnists' loose allegations about the mishandling of nuclear wastes.

Rep. Hosmer says that the nuclear waste problem, in general, has been overestimated and that De Toledano simply inflates the picture more.

Surely there are dangers inherent in the misuse of nuclear energy for electric generation, he argues. But there are dangers in the misuse of virtually all of the forces and equipment that serve society. Rep. Hosmer doesn't mention automobiles, but can anyone think of a better example of something very necessary, and yet terribly dangerous in misuse?

Rep. Hosmer agrees that nuclear energy is no panacea and he seems to imply by indirection that he thinks perhaps some have suggested that it is. But, he adds, anyone who fails to recognize the vital role that nuclear energy is playing and will play even more so in the world's energy needs just hasn't been around very much.

Equally as significant about the Hosmer reply is that it is he who has made it—and made it so forcefully. For Rep. Hosmer is, if anything, one of the nuclear power program's severest critics within the Joint Committee.

He has been tough as nails on a number of occasions insisting on the fullest justifications for nuclear power experiments. More than once, local scientists and administrators have known the sting of his questioning.

Therefore, to have him evidence that, despite his probing within the family, he is a staunch believer in the basic soundness of the nuclear power revolution—this is great indeed.

Neither should the political implications be missed. It is far more effective than a good, practicing conservatively-inclined Republican like Rep. Hosmer answer ultra conservative columnist De Teledano than had other Joint Committee members, or Atomic Energy Commission officials, who might simply have been thought of as mouthing a party line.

The whole nuclear program owes Rep. Hosmer a vote of thanks for a substantial act of statesmanship.

A System Without Much Zip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, when the House passed the combined pay raise and postal increase bill, I suggested that a complete and thorough study of the Post Office Department be made by an independent group outside of Congress.

Support for my position was expressed on Tuesday, October 17, in an editorial in the Davenport Times-Democrat.

The editorial follows:

A SYSTEM WITHOUT MUCH ZIP

Plans of Rep. Fred Schwengel of this First Iowa District to introduce legislation to require a "thorough study" of the Post Office Department deserve commendation.

The Davenporter announced that intention after the House passed a measure to increase postal rates and to provide salary raises for postal employes and other government workers.

The nation's postal system has long been stymied behind bulging mail sacks, overworked postal clerks, and mail that arrives perhaps three days late. That dilemma in the Quad-City community was analyzed in a recent series of articles on the Times-Democrat editorial page.

The new measure, which has gone to the Senate, would provide a 6 per cent pay increase for some 715,000 postal employes.

It's no secret that postal workers have not been living off the fat of the land, so a pay boost for them is no direct cause for gripes.

But the measure would hike firstclass postage to 6 cents for letters and 5 cents for postcards, and air mail to 10 cents for letters and 8 cents for postcards.

To boost wages, funds of course are needed, and the public is asked to help foot the bill. But then doesn't that public deserve something better than the kind of mail service it now has?

Anyway, these higher mailing charges would come nowhere near meeting proposed salary boosts for some 2 million Federal payrollers—and would contribute nothing to improving the deteriorating postal service.

The increased mail rates will bring in $884 million a year. The 6 per cent increase in salaries for 715,000 postal workers and the 4.5 per cent raise for the other 1,200,000 salaried Federal employes would cost $1.9 billion next year, and $2.6 billion the following year.

House Republicans in a minority report noted that no postal rate increase could be justified until the public could be guaranteed an efficient postal service but "unfortunately this legislation offers no such guarantees."

Cost of improvement has been pegged at $1 billion a year for the next five years. Postal department planners talk of round-the-clock, drive-in, self-service post offices; superspeed underground rail systems for faster mail movement, and electronic transmission of letters.

All of which hints that any such postal revolution will be expensive. Meanwhile, there are many questions unanswered, and a full survey of the problem's status seems mandatory at this point.

In calling for a full study, Rep. Schwengel said it should be done by a "competent commission of persons both inside and outside government" to eliminate duplication and to modernize the operations by utilizing present day technology.

We can hope that such study will lead to correction of a deplorable situation in which—despite introduction of the ZIP code—the nation's postal service remains a ponderous, creaking, erratic, costly and increasingly ineffective system.

Greek Life Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday Washington Post carried a most perceptive letter to the editor written by the president of the Greek Heritage Foundation, Mr. Christopher G. Janus. He has recently returned from a trip to Greece, a country he has visited many times in the past. He observed more than the surface and was not deceived by the apparent calm which has, unfortunately deluded some recent visitors into concluding that all was well and that the Greek people were enjoying the loss of their freedoms.

I only wish that more people in this country, and in this Government, would understand how desperate the present situation is. In my opinion, it is the height of folly to wishfully assume that the present dictators will relinquish their control if they are just given a little time. The hard facts indicate the opposite. Thousands of people are in jail, hundreds of military officers have been purged, elected mayors removed, voluntary associations have been made illegal—the list goes on and on.

I commend to my colleagues the observations of Mr. Janus about how things are in Greece today.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 29, 1967]

GREEK LIFE TODAY

I have just returned from Athens, and in all fairness to the army junta that is ruling Greece, I can confirm that it is indeed very peaceful all through the land that was the birthplace of democracy. There are no demonstrations in the streets or debates in the coffeehouses; since there are no opposition Greek newspapers, the press is very peaceful, too. There are no strikes, and that adds to the deadly quiet. Occasionally you hear the rumble of a tank—but the trains are running on time. And where have we heard that one before?

When I asked the waiter at my hotel, whom I have known over 30 years, how things were, he was silent and walked away. At my favorite tavern I asked for certain popular songs to be played but was told they could not play music composed "by enemies of the State." One of my old friends apologized because she could not ask me for dinner in her home because she was being watched and could no longer rely on her servants. Though I was received by the highest official of the state, I could not get permission to visit Helen Vlachos, Andreas Papandreou, Panayotis Canellopoulos and other of my old friends who are either in prison or under house arrest.

Yet life goes on in Athens and one of the saddest things of all is that so many well-meaning Greeks and Americans, either through self-interest, complacency, or just plain ignorance, don't appreciate what has happened and the potential dangers in the continuance of the present military dictatorship.

No evidence has been produced that Greece was on the verge of a Communist takeover; or as a prominent U.S. General (General Van Fleet) told me and later announced to the press, that Greece was saved from another Vietnam. On the contrary, more astute observers point out that continued rule by the military is dividing the people and fermenting a resistance that may indeed create another Vietnam.

Prominent persons like John Nuveen, Spyros Skouras, Tom Pappas, and Congressman Edward Derwinski, all who should know better, publicly have condoned the present military regime praised it for its efficiency and have pleaded to give the military a chance. Have we forgotten so soon this same kind of thinking prevailed in Germany when Hitler got his start? And it can happen in Greece.

CHRISTOPHER G. JANUS,
Associate, Bache & Co., President, The Greek Hertiage Foundation.
CHICAGO.

President Johnson and the New York Liberal Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the syndicated column, "Inside Labor' by Victor Riesel, released through Publishers-Hall Syndicate on October 13, 1967. The text of that column follows:

Actually, though still unreported, the earliest dump-Johnson movement was organized in the summer of '63. By August of that grim year its leader Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., had at least eight "insiders" organized into a tight, leakproof caucus. It met and planned carefully to jettison the vice-president, first by undermining him with the late President Kennedy and then by mockingly discrediting him politically.

The get-Johnson operation was in high gear when it blew a gasket. Somehow, someone got word to Mr. Johnson. Coincidentally a few days later he was invited to make the principal speech at the Oct. 15 (1967) annual dinner of the Liberal Party—which swings the balance of power in this big swing state. Mr. Johnson came and conquered. Most New York progressives expected the Texan to have longhorns or ooze crude petroleum. In his own accent, he talked their own language.

They cheered. He carried the Liberal crowd as he would Johnson City. That evening—during which he was hailed as the future Democratic presidential nominee in '68, as well as the 1964 vice presidential candidate—assured his place on the ticket. The Schlesinger caucus splintered. Some of its members attempted to keep Liberal party leader and chief strategist Alex Rose, the political hatter, from the White House.

Exactly four years later, the other night, in the same grand ballroom, history repeated itself and dumped the dump-Johnson campaign.

In that ballroom last Wednesday night were jam-packed 2,000 sophisticated, politically astute liberals—some new, some old, some young hopefuls, some already highly placed jurists. What might have been a flash fire anti-Johnson rally turned merely into a fireworks display for more spending, say $50 billion, for butter as well as bullets, for ripping out ghettos as well as whipping up guns.

No one attacked the fighting. No one demanded withdrawal. No one rose and departed when hawks were introduced. No doves fluttered.

They cheered and applauded when speakers called for spending as much money on urban crises as on the military crisis. But they also clapped loudly when Mayor John Lindsay warned that he was neither for "isolationism" nor for "unilateral withdrawal" from Vietnam.

Yet this was the most massive gathering of active and politically successful liberals in recent history.

This evening it was to each his own. When a telegram was read from Vice President Hubert Humphrey, the throng barely stopped digging into its fruit salads. When a wire was read from Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the applause was polite, perfunctory and positively brief.

This was a crowd hungry for action on the urban front. It cheered demands for more and more domestic spending. It heard no outcries for less and less fighting abroad. It applauded and roared approval of AFL–CIO vice president A. Philip Randolph's denunciation of Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown as dangerous irresponsibles. But even from this veteran Negro leader there were no cries for abandonment of America's position in Vietnam.

On this dais were labor leaders without whom there cannot be any effective junk-Johnson campaign.

"What we had there the other night was an intelligent discussion of the urban dilemma," said one of those labor chiefs around whom the Liberal Party pivots as it expands across intellectual-class lines. "Our state chairman, Rev. Donald S. Harrington, said it's a matter of money, not a question of dumping Johnson.

"I'm for our position in Vietnam. I'm for Johnson. But I'm also for solving the urban problem. So let's spend as much on our cities as on the military. There was no attack on our fighting. Didn't John Lindsay say: '. . . I believe that this country should continue to help those people who want and need help to achieve self-respect, a decent living standard and the independence we have so long enjoyed . . .' "

Apparently the difference settles down to some $50 billion. But there appeared no doubt that the broad-based liberal coalition, which has helped Democratic presidents carry New York State for decades, seeks no political dumping grounds. They do talk a fine independent game. But then, these are the men who helped invent collective bargaining.

If there was any need for it, the '67 Liberal Party banquet assured Lyndon Johnson's renomination, as did the '63 breadbreaking.

A Sad Warning for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, although as individuals we may deplore the beliefs of those who engage in legitimate protest, we must, if we are to continue to have freedom, protect the right to engage in such protests.

The minority of protestors who decide to prosecute their cause through the use of violence are not entitled to that same right. We cannot permit the proponents of any philosophy or cause to use violence to achieve their objectives.

This country has a political system which is believed in and supported by the overwhelming majority of the American people. The basis of that political system is that the minority has the right to proselytize and if its arguments are valid become a majority. Those who believe in democracy will see that that system is maintained.

The role of the fanatics in the march on the Pentagon was clearly a violent one and therefore served no useful purpose. The following syndicated column by Ralph McGill, which appeared October 26, 1967, points out that the only ones who benefited by the so-called peace march are those who are opposed to peace.

The article follows:

FANATICS DEFEAT IDEALISTS' PROTEST

(By Ralph McGill)

In retrospect nothing diminishes the sadness and complexity of the meaning involved in the recent march on the Pentagon by perhaps 35,000 Americans. Most of them were young. A heavy proportion of them were idealists, but nothing can dissipate the fact that several hundred of them hate their country so fanatically that they openly carried Viet Cong flags or war symbols of North Vietnam on their jackets. (There also were older men of equal fanaticism.)

Nor will the soldiers who behaved so admirably in the face of extreme provocation ever forget what they saw and heard. They were not merely cursed and reviled with the most vulgar language; they were spat upon and dared to respond with their weapons.

There is no theory about these people. They are the same minority that managed to take over the recent Chicago convention of "New Politics." They are the Progressive Labor Party, one of the oldest Communist groups in America. It originally was Trotskyite, but at least ten years ago it abandoned the long dead Trotsky for Mao Tse-tung. There were the self-identified members of the Communist DuBois Clubs which are organized on some campuses and in university and college communities, and some of the far-left organizations not well known. These groups do not in any sense conceal the fact that they want to see the United States defeated in Vietnam. Their hatred of this country is intense. Their resentment against the war grows because the Viet Cong forces in Hanoi are not winning it.

The real danger was apparent on Sunday. As one went across the bridges toward the Pentagon he found them littered with the ugly debris of torn newspapers, discarded propaganda literature, old food packages and the like. Only a few of the bearded, shabby, dirty looking young men and women were strolling about. Most of them were walking toward Washington bus stations or to places where they might hitchhike home. One wondered if the young idealist who came realized that the hardcore group which carries the Viet Cong flag and which quite openly seeks this country's defeat had used the great national concern about the war to associate itself with a lot of otherwise decent young people of all ages.

In the late afternoon only this hard core of perhaps 500 remained. They were not attractive to see. Their fanaticism of hatred and screaming insistence that this country is fascist and must be destroyed was still in their faces.

The government and the troops acted with much restraint. President Johnson himself had ordered that the protesters be allowed to reach the Pentagon where the troops would stop them. There was very little bloodshed even though some of those committed to the Viet Cong flung themselves at the troopers.

One cannot avoid thinking of the future. Already the extremists of the left, whose loyalty is to the enemy, are beginning to say what they intend to do. They are through, some of their spokesmen have said, with protest demonstrations. From now on they are turning to violence. Much of it will be clandestine. Some of it will be acts of sabotage as recommended by the Progressive Labor Party, the DuBois Clubs, and the present leaders of what is left of SNCC. This could mean the sabotaging of buildings and bridges and other acts of equal violence.

What we now should know without any doubt is that: 1.) These demonstrations are delaying any possible end to the war in Vietnam, 2.) The idealist and those who have honest doubts should by now know that they too are being used by the hard core who have loyalty outside their own country.

It will be more and more difficult to defend the Bill of Rights, though this must be done. Honest dissent will find the future more and more hostile. Troops may not always take obscene insults and tauntings from those who hate the meaning of the uniform worn by those troops. Those who do not want freedom to be really freedom will be the only gainers of a protest which was a defeat for everyone.

On Monday, crews were at work cleaning up the debris of filth discarded by demonstrators and scrubbing up after those who had urinated and defecated about the Pentagon walls. The future must consider what it will do.

California Builder Sees Opportunity in Libya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, this past spring, a foreign trade mission was organized by the National Association of Home Builders for the purpose of exploring construction opportunities for U.S. homebuilders in the nation of Libya. The trade mission, which was assisted by the U.S. Department of Commerce, was headed by Mr. Ira Forest, a prominent builder from Sherman Oaks, Calif. Mr. Forest has written about the trade mission's conclusions in the October 23 issue of the Commerce Department magazine, International Commerce. The findings of the industry are neatly summed up by Mr. Forest in the first sentence of the article:

> Any adventurous home builder with ambition, technical know-how, business acumen, and risk capital can speculate with good odds in Libya.

The article then goes on to explain the vastly different situation the American builder confronts in Libya. This is the kind of challenge that American businessmen have always responded to, and I am confident that the assessment by Mr. Forest augurs well for both American business and the country of Libya. I wish that this type of cooperation between public and private groups was practiced more widely in our dealings with other nations. So that all Members may read about this interesting project, I have obtained permission to insert the article from International Commerce in the RECORD:

LIBYA'S ALLOCATIONS FOR HOUSING OFFER CHALLENGE TO U.S. FIRMS, HOMEBUILDERS' MISSION REPORTS

(By Ira Forest)

Any adventurous home builder with ambition, technical know-how, business acumen, and risk capital can speculate with good odds in Libya.

This is the majority opinion of five U.S. home builders who last spring explored construction opportunities there.

Traveling as a trade mission organized by the National Association of Home Builders and approved by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the company executives visited housing projects in Tripoli, Benghazi, Baida, and Barce.

LIBYA CAN BUY

Libya's buying power is strong, and per capita income has been increasing rapidly. Oil revenue is approaching $600 million per year and about 10% has been allocated to Government contract housing and loans for private housing.

Problems uncommon in the United States must be anticipated, and adjustment to conditions prevailing in Libya must be met. Fundamental differences are evident in Moslem customs, construction detail, land development, labor, materials, and financing.

CONSTRUCTION

Modern American construction techniques cannot be offered in the form of a conventional U.S. dwelling. The religious customs of the Arab-Moslem world require that family and social life be confined almost entirely to the home, and construction of a house must accommodate these traditions: Inner courts, few and small outside windows, walled yards all are important.

The construction technique for most housing is similar: Heavy limestone or sandstone blocks are irregularly laid in mortar and then capped, cornered and headed with reinforced concrete to level and square. Concrete blocks are sometimes used but they are coarse textured and of poor quality. All walls are coated with three layers of plaster, inside and out. Reinforced concrete is used for footings, grade beams, floor slabs, and roofs. The floors are finished with concrete or terrazzo tiles. Roofs are covered with layers of insulation and waterproofing material.

Kitchens and bathrooms are meagerly furnished. Bottled gas is used for both cooking and heating. Heating is not included in the average construction plan, however. Customarily, ten-foot ceilings are standard. Painting and detail trim are usually colorful.

LAND DEVELOPMENT

Land costs are high and going higher. The average worker has no car, public transportation is poor; thus, residential areas cluster near towns and job centers. Buildable land—with no improvements or utilities—within a radius of about 2½ miles from town is quoted at the equivalent of $1 to $1.50 a square foot.

LABOR

Construction has the largest labor force in private industry, yet 1500 construction jobs are unfilled. Although pay rates are low by comparison with our union scale, productivity, efficiency and availability also are low. In addition, oil companies are legally obligated to Libyanize, and they too are drawing from the manpower pool.

The Government does allow work permits for non-Libyans, and about 25% of the construction work force is non-Libyan; but importation of workers has its inherent problems, too.

As already mentioned, most construction is of sandstone block and and reinforced concrete. Aside from sand, most materials are imported. Concrete blocks are becoming plentiful with the installation of new blockmaking equipment.

A new fine-quality block—the BMX block—made from asphalt and sand, compacted and heat treated, and joined by an epoxy adhesive instead of mortar, was displayed at the Tripoli Trade Fair last March and created much interest; but it is not yet in production.

The puzzle is: "By using the labor and materials available, how do you create an acceptable house in less time and for less money?"

FINANCING

The following Libyan housing programs have been established: Ibris Housing Scheme, Baida development, and Barce reconstruction, for which funds are disbursed by the Government; and private sector home loans, for which funds are disbursed through the Government-owned Industrial and Real Estate Bank of Libya. The U.S. homebuilder probably can benefit most from private sector housing. He must remember, however, that though liberal financing may be available, it will not necessarily be obtained quickly and "patience must prevail."

Construction contracts on the various Government projects are awarded only after difficult, competitive bidding.

IDRIS SCHEME

The Idris Housing Scheme calls for spending $1.1 billion in five years (1966–71). The total of 100,000 units would average about $11,000 per unit. Priorities are as follows: First, agricultural and rural communities; second, urban and civil workers' complex; third, low-income and slum clearance.

Winning bidders were announced in April for the initial 9,200 units at an average of about $16,000 each. Five of the ten contracts, amounting to 35% of the total, went to a Bulgarian State Enterprise (Technoexport).

Another large Government project, of some 10,000 units, is at Baida, about 150 miles east of Benghazi. Here, construction jobs are flourishing, as the city is to be made the administrative capital of Libya.

An Italian firm, Rivelli Construction, has one of the major contracts. The firm has spent the first eight months building machine shops, construction offices, living quarters, and floor-tile and cement-block manufacturing plants. Trucks, loaders, cranes all have been imported. Construction crews from Italy have been imported but labor turnover has been crippling. With such an investment, however, the company will offer tough competition in bidding on new contract.

BARCE RECONSTRUCTION

In a third Government project, the Barce reconstruction, an American engineering firm, McGaughy, Marshall, McMillan & Lucas, has the contract for planning, design, and supervision of new city replacing the community destroyed by earthquake. Actual construction is being contracted by a Polish firm (Cekop).

BEST CHANCE IN PRIVATE HOUSING

From their observations of the Government projects, the mission concludes that U.S. construction firms face strong competition as Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian companies working in Libya are prepared to make extremely low bids. Even in engineering and design consulting services, which the Americans have been able to sell, foreign firms, especially from Greece and Lebanon, are offering stiff competition.

Spurred by the Libyan Government's financing program for private homes, however, U.S. builders should be resourceful enough to find fast, economical ways to supply the demand. Redesigning houses to permit faster building with less labor, and without sacrificing structural stability, insulation or appearance could bring about great cost savings. The least hazardous technique would involve building a model home complex before launching into a sizable venture.

It is generally conceded that prefabricated housing offers the only solution, but so far prefabs have been rejected. Any new models must conform to the approved standard of a strong, well-insulated Moslem-type home.

Well selected concrete workers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, and plasterers will have to be imported. These men, working in teams, starting four or five houses each day and allowing the succeeding trades to follow, can use typical tract building methods, and complete 25 houses every two to three months. Once the momentum is started and the logistical problem solved, the journeymen can start training native apprentices and the bill will start rolling faster.

In entering the construction race for either Government or private housing, Americans should seek partnerships with Libyan firms. In private housing, this is essential, as only Libyans can own land and secure the necessary permits.

There is no doubt that an influential Libyan partner could also expedite loan approvals. The 51% Libyan ownership requirement, for qualification as a Libyan company, has many operational variations in practice, such as management contracts for specified periods, which can result in effective minority partner operating control. There are also indications that Libya will reflect nationalist tendencies in the form of protection to local industries and those on the inside will be the fortunate ones.

Three Area Men Killed in Action in Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, three servicemen from Maryland were recently killed in action in Vietnam. They were: Maj. Richard K. Boyd, 2d Lt. Vaughn P. Flizanes, and Sgt. Donald G. Osborne. I wish to commend the courage of these men and to honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

THREE AREA MEN KILLED IN ACTION IN VIETNAM WAR

Two Army officers with relatives living in Anne Arundel county and an Army sergeant from Harford county have been killed in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

The latest casualties were identified as:

Maj. Richard Klemm Boyd, Jr., 29, son of Col. and Mrs. Richard Klemm Boyd, USA (Ret.), of Gibson Island.

2d Lt. Vaughn P. Flizanes, 20, brother of Miss Sharon Flizanes, of 1503 Eaton way, Crofton, Md.

Sgt. Donald G. Osborne, son of Mr. and Mrs. Earnest Osborne, of Route 1, Street, Md. Major Boyd, a career officer, died Thursday as a result of wounds received from enemy grenade fragments.

Born in Fort Benning, Ga., Major Boyd was graduated from Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., in 1956 and from the United States Military Academy in 1960. His father, both his grandfathers and two uncles had also been graduates of West Point.

After his graduation he served for two years in Aschaffenburg, Germany.

From 1963 until 1964, he was stationed in Vietnam as a military adviser to the South Vietnamese Army. During that tour he was awarded the Bronze Star and the Combat Infantryman's Badge.

Major Boyd then served for a year as commanding officer of Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion, 6th Infantry Regiment, at Fort Carson, Col., and then as an aide to the deputy commanding general of the 5th Army, Fort Sheridan, Ill.

RETURNED TO VIETNAM

After completing an advanced course at the infantry school at Fort Benning, Ga., he was sent back to Vietnam in July of this year.

He was assigned to the 101st Airborne Division near Chu Lai. In September, he was put in command of B Company, 2d Battalion, 502d Infantry Division.

He was promoted posthumously from captain to major, his family learned from the Defense Department in the telegram notifying them of his death.

Major Boyd lived at Gibson Island from 1951, when his father retired, until he entered the Army.

OTHER SURVIVORS

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Mrs. Richard S. Beatty, of Washington; a grandmother, Mrs. Richard H. Hawkins, of Baltimore; a grandfather, Maj. Gen. Ralph M. Pennell, USA (Ret.), of Lawton, Okla., and an aunt, Mrs. John A. Tompkins, Jr., of Baltimore.

Services will be held Saturday at the chapel at the National Cemetery at West Point.

A scholarship fund has been established in his memory at Phillips Academy.

KILLED BY GUNFIRE

Lieutenant Flizanes, who commanded 30 men in the 1st Cavalry Division, was killed by enemy gunfire October 24. He had been in Vietnam since last August.

He enlisted in the Army in September, 1965, shortly after graduation from Glassport (Pa.) High School, attended officer candidate school at Fort Benning, Ga., and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in January, 1967.

According to his uncle, George Karos, of Crofton, Lieutenant Flizanes had written that he had won the Bronze Star, although there has as yet been no official notification of the award.

Surviving are his sister, and his aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Karos, all of Crofton,

Radio Moscow: "We Helped Mao Take Over Mainland"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, Radio Moscow recently admitted a major role played by Russia in helping the Communists take over the mainland of China, beginning after V–J Day in 1945.

This marks the first time the Soviets have officially admitted having bolstered the Communists in the conquest of Kalgan, Chengteh, Weihaiwei, and other Provinces. It is also the first time the Russians have given figures of military equipment delivered to the Communists.

This is further evidence of the Soviet attitude immediately following World War II in moves to promote Communist conquest by cashing in on the tragedy of war and their conspiracy to destroy Chinese freedom espoused by President Chiang Kai-shek and supported by the United States.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I include a news release from Taipei which contains details of the monitored Moscow report.

The release follows:

Radio Moscow admitted today that the Soviet Union "made great contributions" to the takeover of the Chinese mainland by the Chinese Communists 18 years ago.

The official Soviet organ, in a Chinese-language broadcast monitored here, quoted a Soviet military observer as saying that after V-J Day in 1945, the Soviet Union obstructed the takeover of northeast China by Chinese government troops, handed over large amounts of weapons surrendered by the Japanese troops to the Chinese Communists, and cooperated with the latter to seize strongholds held by government forces.

The military specialist revealed that the weapons transferred to Chinese Communist forces at the end of the war included more than 700,000 rifles, 14,000 light and heavy machineguns, 1,800 artillery pieces, 700 tanks, 800 airplanes, more than 800 depots full of ammunition, and other military supplies as well as vessels of the Japanese fleet on the Sungari River.

As a result, Radio Moscow pointed out, the strength of Mao Tse-tung's troops more than doubled overnight. Chinese Communist forces had twice the number of rifles than they had before V-J Day, their number of artillery pieces increased by three times, and ammunition by 20 times.

The military observer was also quoted as saying that after their occupation of Dairen and Port Arthur in northeast China at the end of the war, the Russian troops rejected the request of the Chinese government for sending troops to land at the two key seaports, thus cutting off their advance to the inland provinces.

"The Russian troops also cooperated with the Chinese Communist troops in taking over Kalgan, Chengteh, Weihaiwei and other strategical points from government garrison troops," the observer was quoted as saying.

Red Cox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege for me to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Birmingham News on October 29, written by a very able newsman, James Free, and about a man most of us have known for a good number of years, "Red" Cox. I met "Red" shortly after he came to Capitol Hill when former Congressman Albert Rains was elected to the House of Representatives in 1945. He remained with Congressman Rains during his tenure of office, and never have I met a more willing worker; a more affable individual. He knows how to get things done. "Red" has a lot of friends on Capitol Hill, both in the House and in the Senate, and I am sure they will be very much interested in reading the editorial:

ETOWAH MAN RODE $20 TO U.S. CAREER

(By James Free)

WASHINGTON.—Just before the Alabama bank was forced to close in the "bank holiday" declared in the depths of the economic depression in 1933, the First National Bank of Attalla cleared a final loan—for $20.

With this modest but hard-to-get stake, Elmas E. (Red) Cox bought a one-way ticket to Washington, D.C., and arrived here, flat broke, on a blustery March day.

He considered himself lucky and relatively rich, for he had the promise of something that millions of able-bodied adults badly needed at the time—a job.

Cox began his career in the federal government at $100 a month. He is best known to Alabamians for his 20 years as top aide to former Rep. Albert Rains, D-Ala., from 1945 to 1956.

For these past two years, he has been special assistant to the Comptroller of the Currency—an office that functions under the Treasury Department. And, appropriately for Cox, it is the one in which he started at the bottom of the Civil Service ladder and progressed to the highest, so-called "supergrade" (18) at $26,000 a year.

Fortunately for Red Cox, his two decades on Capitol Hill, to a considerable extent, were related to his earlier and later work in the executive branch.

His legislative boss, Rep. Rains, was an active and most effective member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, which deals with many fiscal and banking problems.

Red, a husky, gregarious six-footer, is known as a man with friends in many places—particularly in Congress—as a fellow who can get things done.

His friendliness and talent for getting along with people in difficult situations helped him get going in the first place.

He had hoped to go to Howard College (now Samford University) after his graduation from Etowah County High School. In fact, he went to Birmingham to enroll, but had to withdraw. The economic stagnation had engulfed the Cox family, too, and his mother was ill.

So back in Attalla, Red attended classes of the Alabama School of Trade. "I thought I might become an electrician," he said. "But it didn't take. My wife says I can't even fix an electric plug in our house, and I guess she's right."

Before long young Cox got into something less technical. He became a room clerk at a local hotel, which no longer exists. One of the residents, when Congress was in recess, happened to be then Rep. Miles Allgood.

He liked Red, and promised to help him land a job in Washington. He kept the promise.

After a few weeks with a temporary agency, Cox—thanks to Rep. Allgood—latched on to a position as file clerk in the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency. He remained with this sub-agency of the Treasury Department until Dec. 16, 1937.

It aided in setting up the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation in September 1933. His next job was with the Federal Housing Administration, until he went to Capitol Hill in January, 1945, to join newly elected congressman, Albert Rains, in a post now classified as administrative assistant.

In addition to the friends met through his work with Rep. Rains, Cox's acquaintanceships were widened through his marriage to the former Miss Josephine Frick of Houston, Tex., who had served as secretary to Reps. Albert Thomas and Olin Teague of Texas.

When Rep. Rains retired to private law practice in 1965, Cox had a number of job offers. One of the best came from Aerojet General, one of the giants in the "space" program.

He chose to go back to the agency where he started—the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency. "I figured it would be easier to work with banks than to get a man on the moon," said Red.

The present comptroller, William B. Camp, is a career man that Cox knew in the same shop when both were new to Washington.

The Coxes live at Lake Barcroft in suburban Virginia. They have two sons, Barry, a senior in civil engineering at the University of Alabama; and Lee, 13.

Red likes to fish, when he gets the chance. And he can do it on short notice, since he lives on a lake. His main recreation is politics. "I'm a damn good Democrat," he says.

Two Connecticut Universities Change Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Connecticut has long been a center of great education. Throughout nearly three centuries, great universities have existed in our State, sending their graduates to all parts of the country and into the world to handle further growth which has marked the Nation.

Two major universities in Connecticut have recently changed presidents, to install new leadership which will carry on these great traditions. At Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Edwin O. Etherington has become president, and in Hartford, at the University of Hartford—a relatively new but rapidly growing institution—Dr. Archibald M. Woodruff has been installed as chancellor.

These occasions, occurring on successive days, drew comment from major newspapers in our State. I believe this comment deserves the attention of our Members, and I offer for the Record, an editorial from the Middletown Press, entitled: "The Inauguration," and one from the Hartford Courant entitled: "Two University Heads Study the Student":

[From the Middletown (Conn.) Press, Oct. 23, 1967]

The Inauguration

The panoply of presidential inauguration signifies the changing of the guard, and so it was at Wesleyan this weekend as Edwin D. Etherington became the university's 12th president.

The preparations had been months in the making, and bespoke the precision with which the ceremonies had been planned. From almost 100 institutions representatives had come (probably a record in terms of academic representation of a high order). There is rare interest in what the Wesleyan of the future will be, not alone because it has the funds to do what it wishes, not alone because the new president comes from a world of executive action, not alone because the college has both a distinguished student body and faculty, but because all its advantages join in such a way as to present such great scope.

President Etherington has already enlisted the academic community, both within and without Wesleyan, in a preparation of a series of position papers on everything from female education to the demands for a new library. These are still forthcoming, and hence his speech of inauguration did not mark out specific boundaries of action. He asked "experimentation and innovation bold enough to be promising for all education, but soundly conceived in the current interests of students."

It can be rightly felt that Wesleyan's acknowledged wealth, higher per capita than Yale, Harvard, or Princeton, brings to it a responsibility that in some ways is quite overpowering, and which if not well-channelled could become self-stultifying. But the great organizational abilities which Wesleyan's new president brings now to the campus, combined with a native intellect and sensitivity that have served him so well so far, bring to Middletown a new leader of established promise and ability, one who can more than cope. For the college and the community, the future will be a fascination.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 24, 1967]

Two University Heads Study the Student

It was a week end in which the torch of leadership was handed on at two Connecticut universities. At the University of Hartford, Dr. Archibald M. Woodruff was inaugurated the second chancellor of that institution, and in Middletown Edwin D. Etherington became president of Wesleyan.

Both men come to their tasks in a time of special ferment in the university world. While the history of universities makes plain that eras of student unrest have by no means been infrequent, world issues have combined to make the present moment one of particular agitation in the intellectual community. Our fathers can recall when a college inauguration required no more than a bearded dissertion on the moral destiny of man spiced with a few scholarly references to cuneiform. At University of Hartford and Wesleyan, as on campuses across the country, there were more immediate things to talk about, and both Dr. Woodruff and Mr. Etherington seized the opportunity.

Student perplexities and student impatience concerned the two new college heads, and in the numerous points on which they touched there was a convergence of great importance. Chancellor Woodruff said that the contemplative life is an essential preliminary to action. President Etherington stressed the need of giving the student "competence to match his passion, and capacity to match his potential."

It is not difficult to appreciate the confusions in which young men and women are embroiled in a tumultuous world, or their desire to right some of the distressing problems they are already inheriting. But the rush to action, as has been witnessed in recent months, has frequently been more emotional than thought-out, more eager than constructive. The two new university heads were correct in recommending more contemplation, more competence in the face of passion, instead of a general riding off in all directions. Much of the nation's future lies within the keeping of today's students. The necessity on their part to see steadily and see whole, was never so urgent. The sound of what President Etherington and Chancellor Woodruff said encourages one to believe that the institutions now in their charge will greatly help in providing the contemplation and the competence required to turn the student contribution into something valuable to the nation.

Honor Lodge of B'nai B'rith Serves San Fernando Valley Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most successful projects in behalf of the youth of the San Fernando Valley, in my district in the Los Angeles area, is the Boys' Club of Pacoima and San Fernando, Inc.

I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House the generous, civic minded efforts of the members of the Honor Lodge of B'nai B'rith, who conceived of and executed the Boys' Club project.

Honor Lodge of B'nai B'rith is an unusual organization. It consists of Jewish business and professional men who live in the San Fernando Valley, all of whom felt the need for a philanthropic organization, under the auspices of B'nai B'rith, which would be devoted to the welfare of the community as a whole rather than the welfare of any particular secular group.

When a representative of the Boys' Club of America, Inc., in late 1965 brought to the attention of Honor Lodge its feeling that the Pacoima-San Fernando area was potentially another Watts in terms of possible civil strife, and suggested that something be done immediately to alleviate the strained conditions, the Honor Lodge responded to the problem.

In December of 1966, the Honor Lodge formed the Boys' Club of Pacoima and San Fernando, Inc. Its original board members were Jerry Edelman, David Goldberg, Louis Sugarman, Bernard Shapiro, and Irvine Robbins. Mr. Robbins was then the president of Honor Lodge, and Mr. Shapiro was a former president of Honor Lodge, and between them they spearheaded the effort to find a location and set up a boys' club.

A small store front building on Van Nuys Boulevard in Pacoima was rented, on a month-to-month basis, because there was no guarantee of continued support for the project. However, the Boys' Club is still there, and it needs larger quarters. Ernest Dillard, a bright enterprising young man with roots in the community, was hired as supervisor. He is still with the project, and has done an outstanding job. The project started off with three VISTA volunteer workers. It now has one, and he is a very devoted and conscientious young man. The club now has approximately 180 boys as members, and with more money and better facilities, it could double or triple its membership.

The club provides recreational and educational facilities for the boys. Ping-pong tables, pool tables, games, a basketball hoop, baseballs and mitts, and other sporting equipment are available to keep the boys busy and happy between the time school lets out and the time their parents return home from work. The club has books and art materials. Art classes are conducted. And, most important, Ernest Dillard counsels the boys with a great deal of depth and understanding.

The Boys' Club of Pacoima and San Fernando, Inc. has received $4,000 from the Boys' Club of America, Inc. as seed money, and the balance of the money, which runs about $16,000 or $17,000 a year, has come from the Honor Lodge. Members of the Honor Lodge have contributed athletic equipment for the boys, office equipment, and the thousand other things that are needed to run an organization.

The enthusiasm of the members of Honor Lodge for the Boys' Club is as strong today as it was when the club was formed, almost 2 years ago, and it is clear that they intend to continue their efforts to keep this worthwhile project going.

They, and all those who have devoted so much of themselves to this project are to be highly commended.

AHEPA Statement on Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 23, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has noted with interest the encouraging news from Greece recently with regard to the timetable for the eventual return to parliamentary government.

When I met and talked with the members of the present Greek Government in August, I was impressed with their complete devotion to the ideal of parliamentary government in their country and their historic appreciation of democracy and the need for democratic government in any advanced civilization which guarantees individual freedom and human dignity. Repeatedly, the Greek Government representatives assured me that elections would be held in the near future. They have kept their word. As Ambassador Palamas has said: "This timetable is irrevocable."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD today a statement defining the policy of the Order of AHEPA regarding the present situation in Greece. Andrew Fasseas, supreme president of AHEPA, issued this position paper in Chicago recently at the conclusion of the AHEPA Supreme Lodge meeting.

Mr. Speaker, this meaningful and important message follows:

FASSEAS ISSUES STATEMENT ON GREECE

(*At the conclusion of the AHEPA Supreme Lodge meeting held in Chicago last week end, Supreme President Andrew Fasseas issued the following statement defining the policy of the Order of AHEPA, in regards to the Greek political situations.*)

The order of Ahepa is composed, in great part, of Americans of Greek extraction. It is non-sectarian in religion and non-partisan in politics.

Ahepa's members are proud and happy that our country and Greece always have been allies and friends. As a historic fact that were many Americans including Samuel Gridley House, George Jarvis and many others who fought in the Greek War of Independence in 1821. The United States by Presidential action and congressional resolution wholeheartedly supported the people of Greece in that great struggle.

During World War I, United States and Greece fought side by side.

In World War II, Greece was again a valued and faithfully ally of our country. In that War, its small but brave little army won the first victories against Axis power.

After World War II, while other people and nations were busy rebuilding and recovering from war's devastation, the Greek people were called upon to fight yet another enemy—Communism.

With American help, under the great Truman Doctrine, the people of Greece were the first nation that stopped the communist aggression. It is noteworthy that not a single American soldier shed his blood or lost his life in that great struggle of the Greek people.

Since World War II, Greece has been a faithful ally of the United States. She is a valued and loyal member of Nato, Greece supplies the bases in the middle east for the 6th fleet and other American forces required in that part of the world in order to contain Communism.

The best interests of our country require that Greece become and remain economically sound and militarily strong.

The Order of Ahepa therefore urges that the United States continue its military and economic aid to Greece.

In the recent Israel-Arab War, Turkey, the other leg of the eastern anchor of Nato, declared that she would not allow the United States to use the Nato bases in Turkey. That left Greece as the only base of the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean. That proved once more that Greece is, as she has always been, a loyal and reliable friend and ally of our country.

The Order of Ahepa therefore urges that the United States continue its military and economic aid and assistance to Greece.

Many of our officers and members have recently visited Greece. They have found that law and order prevail and that conditions for visitors and tourists are most pleasant.

If an European came to the United States and told the American people what type of government we should have or whom to elect as our President we would rightfully resent it as an unwarranted interference in our internal politics.

The members of the Order of Ahepa feel that the type of government in Greece is a matter that concerns the Greek people only. As Americans, our only concern is that what ever Greek Government Greece has should keep Greece as a member of Nato and a faithful ally of the United States.

The Brooktrails Community-Conservation Blend Concept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues, a new and unique experiment in free enterprise that is now underway in the district I represent in California.

This project, which is being developed near Willits, Calif., involves the blending together of community development and the conservation of natural resources. The manner in which these redwoods are conserved for the benefit of the people in a private land development project is certainly unique and worthy of commendation.

Developed entirely by private enterprise, the Brooktrails community-conservation blend concept will result in people living and enjoying recreation within a beautiful 4,000-acre grove of redwood trees and mixed forest growth. Half of this acreage will be designated and preserved as recreational and conservation lands, while the remaining 2,000 acres will be developed for approximately 20,000 second-home and retirement residents.

This concept, instead of costing the taxpayers money, will actually engender a large revenue for the county in which it is located through tax assessments of developed lots. Thus, rather than a tax burden, this first free enterprise recreational and conservation area will be a distinct asset to the county.

I want to insert in the RECORD at this point, a fact sheet which explains the experiment and will assist those interested in having detailed information about it:

BROOKTRAILS TO BLEND CONSERVATION WITH LAND DEVELOPMENT

Brooktrails is big. Seventy odd years ago, in its original form as the headquarters of the Northwestern Lumber Company, it sprawled over more than 4,000 acres of some of the finest Redwood and mixed growth timber country in the Pacific North West.

It was at Brooktrails that big men and towering trees met. The men and trees that made the legend of Paul Bunyon seem more a reality than an American myth.

Brooktrails has always been big historically and geographically. Yet in comparison, the unique, bold concept behind the present day development of this major land project is far larger, far more important, and will in all probability have a far greater effect on the general public.

Brooktrails, is designed to be the location where land development and forest conservation meet and become mutually beneficial. At Brooktrails, a Redwood and mixed growth forest conservation park will be carefully blended with a modern recreational community.

"It's our intent," states Robert Beaumont, General Partner in Brooktrails Co., Ltd., "to create Brooktrails as the site where conservationists, concerned over the growing annihilation for the State's natural beauty, and the general public, whose demand for recreational/residential land has become overwhelming, can now both find satisfaction."

This unique concept has already attracted the interest of both State and Federal officials responsible for the implementation of President Johnson's land beautification project. It will also be scrutinized closely by urban planners trying desperately to stem the uncontrolled tide of megolopolis. The techniques applied at Brooktrails may very easily act as guide lines for future land developments and recreational communities throughout the nation.

In regard to land improvement, $4,500,000 in bonds will be issued to provide for such modern conveniences and facilities as paved roads, water, power, a sewage system and telephone lines to over 2,100 lots that are contained within the community area of Brooktrails. The vast majority of these lots are zoned for residential, single unit homes. Approximately 275 lots have been designed and earmarked for multiple unit dwellings. Within the residential community, Brooktrails will also offer a village shopping center and three other strategically located subsidiary commercial areas.

Located in the heart of the development stands the already famous Brooktrails Lodge, surrounded by a well stocked trout stream, riding stables, golf course, swimming pool, tennis court and barbeque grove. The Lodge will act as the core of the social, cultural and commercial center planned for the future Brooktrails village community.

"Brooktrails", says Beaumont, "is an investment in the natural beauty of California, with a practical profit application. The demand for recreational/residential living areas intensifies every time one of the thousands of American families who are migrating to California crosses the State line. Unfortunately, the supply of this land is limited by geography. Unlike manufactured products, there will be a time when even in a State the size of California, the supply will simply run out. The proverbial cupboard will be bare. By keeping Brooktrails a balanced combination between residential/recreational and conservation areas, we believe we have immeasurably improved the value of the land."

Beaumont is convinced that too many land developers have lost sight of what makes California recreational land so valuable. Too often, he contends, developers have acquired a magnificently beautiful property, only to strip it of its beauty in order to develop the maximum amount of salable lots. By doing so, the short sighted developer considerably diminishes the future value of the land.

Conversely, all residential lots at Brooktrails will have easy access to the natural beauty of a California redwood forest conservation park. In addition, improvement plans specify the creation of two large aquatic conservation areas for fishing and boating. Swimming will be available in the immense Lodge pool.

Brooktrails will be available to the general public in early autumn-1967. The schedule of land and conservation improvements will be initiated almost concurrently with the initiation of lot sales. This improvement program will continue for approximately a three-year period.

"A major factor in the value of land can be found in its beauty and the pleasure people derive from it," concludes Beaumont. "At Brooktrails, we intend to perpetuate and preserve this natural beauty for the pleasure and financial benefit of the public."

Nutley Red Cross Project HOME

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, while we are all familiar with the historic and prodigious human services carried on by the Red Cross, I would like to point out the existence of a new, growing project begun by the Nutley, N.J., chapter of the American Red Cross.

Title HOME—Help Over Many Emergencies—this Nutley Red Cross project is designed to help returning servicemen readjust to their new civilian environment.

At a time when services to the Armed Forces of our Nation must be expanded, I am particularly pleased to note the vigorous work successfully initiated by the Nutley Red Cross, and the fine community response. Nutley's boys in uniform can be proud of the support they are receiving. And I am happy to include at this point the 3-month progress report of Project HOME:

PROJECT HOME

1. Letters sent to families of new inductees, spelling out the project and inviting wives and mothers to receptions.

2. Letters sent to all local clergy telling of the program and asking their cooperation.

Next to the family, the church is the first to know when a man goes into the service, and when he is about to be discharged. It is the first thing a mother tells the Minister or Priest or Rabbi as she leaves the church. . . "Johnny is leaving Saturday; Johnny is in Vietnam; Johnny is coming home, etc."

We have also asked all clergy to send us the names of all boys in their parish who are currently in the service. Response has been excellent.

3. Chapter is making effort to get official lists of inductees and those discharged from service. (This is apparently a problem of all Chapters.)

Our Veteran's representative on H.O.M.E. is a National Committeeman for AMVETS and has contacted the National Commander for AMVETS and General Hershey. We have had some encouraging letters but the problem is still not resolved. We are using all other available means to get names while we continue to try to get the official lists.

A. Volunteer clips weekly paper to get names of Servicemen.

B. Church lists are coming in nicely.

C. At group meetings at Chapter House we get additional names.

(Incidentally, the AMVETS have taken quite an interest in the project and AMVET National Commander Anderson has suggested that it be utilized by every AMVET Post throughout the country. There is supposed to be an article in the National Magazine concerning the project in the near future. The cooperation of the Nutley AMVET Post 90 has been excellent. Our Committee representative has already resolved one "sticky problem" for a young veteran.)

4. Publicizing in the Nutley Sun (a weekly paper) the monthly meetings of wives and mothers of servicemen is spreading the word about the project.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES (USE OF PROVOCATIVE HEADLINES)

Jan. 19th, article spelling out the program. Red Cross H.O.M.E. Committee Aids Servicemen Returning to Community.

March 9th, article about the wives and mothers of servicemen meeting at Chapter House. Swapping Service Stories. Nutley Developing Pilot Program for Relative of Men in Service.

March 16th, Servicemen's Relatives Meet Again—Advice to Ladies.

April 20th, Vietnam Mothers Hear Talks by Clergymen.

5. H.O.M.E. committee members are speaking at monthly receptions.

This serves not only to spell out the working of the project and what we can do for the serviceman, but gives exposure to all members of the committee. Each has given 10–15 minute talks on his respective areas and then we have questions and answers. Believe me, it is hard to call a halt . . . guests are eager to learn and to ask questions. So far we have covered the following areas of concern:

1. Mr. Glyn Fowler, Superintendent of Schools, has spoken on Educational Benefits.

2. Mr. Anthony Capriglione has spoken on Veterans' Benefits.

3. Mr. James P. Moore, Field Director at Newark V.A. has spoken on What the Red Cross Can Do for Your Serviceman.

4. Rev. James J. Golding and Rev. Reginald Lancaster have spoken on Helping the Serviceman Keep His Faith—Your Responsibility and Ours.

5. The May 11th meeting will feature Commissioner Carl A. Orechio (Comm. of Parks and Recreation) speaking on The Wealth of Social and Charitable Opportunities for the Returning Servicemen in Nutley's Service Clubs.

6. Slide collection of Red Cross services in Nutley and new slides of each H.O.M.E. meeting.

The Chapter now has collection of 100 slides showing all services of our local Chapter. At each H.O.M.E. Meeting we take new slides and add them to the collection. We show them to the group (and they love seeing themselves) and we expect to use them at Service Clubs and other organizations around town.

We have loaned some slides to the United Community Fund, Nutley Division, to show the work of our Chapter to groups in town in order to help sell United Fund. We have added the H.O.M.E. slides, so will get a plug for the Project every time they are shown.

7. Contacting the discharged serviceman—Welcome Home Letter—Copy of Project H.O.M.E.

Each time we get the name of a discharged serviceman we send him a letter welcoming him home and inclose a copy of our H.O.M.E. Project in its entirety. We would hope that we had already met his wife or mother at our monthly receptions and that she would encourage him to come to us with any problem in any area.

Wake Up, America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, Howard W. Kacy, the president of the Acacia Mutual Life Insurance Co. here in Washington, D.C., addressed the members of the Prince Georges County Chamber of Commerce on October 23, 1967.

His speech, "Wake Up, America," was that of a business leader who is sincerely and deeply concerned about the state of our society in the United States. Mr. Kacy does not advocate radical or extreme ideas in his search for a better way of life, but rather a reinstilling of some of the ingredients that went into the making of our Nation almost 200 years ago.

I would commend Mr. Kacy for his fine speech, and at this point insert it in the RECORD:

WAKE UP, AMERICA

(An address by Howard W. Kacy, president, Acacia Mutual Life Insurance Co., Washington, D.C., before the Prince Georges Chamber of Commerce, October 23, 1967)

Things are happening throughout our land which greatly disturb me—and unfortunately they are happening with increasing frequency. On every hand there are signs that the moral strength of our nation is decreasing alarmingly. The principles upon which our country was founded are being eroded slowly but surely. We are substituting materialistic values for spiritual ones—the old standards of what is right and what is wrong are being discarded and, in their stead, we are establishing codes of ethics that, if followed, can only render us impotent as a people and as a nation.

One need only glance at the newspaper headlines to realize that the seeds of revolution are being sown throughout America today. Riots, demonstrations, acts which show disrespect for our flag, for high government officials, and for law and order have become a way of life for far too many Americans. These have been described in the past as isolated incidents fomented by a misguided minority of radicals. Can we still make this claim after April 15th when 185,000 peace demonstrators from throughout the nation marched in massive East and West protests against the Vietnam war? Can we still make this claim when thousands—some say as many as 75,000—peace-niks descended on the Nation's Capital this past weekend and created mass havoc? Can we still make this claim after more than 128 American cities have now experienced outbursts of racial violence? I think not!

Anyone who does not believe that these demonstrations and riots have been either organized, manipulated, supported, financed, or headed up by the Communists among us is simply unwilling to face up to the facts. For example, I have here a report issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee which clearly proves that the April 15th demonstrations were the result of efforts by the Communist Party, USA, to undermine and sabotage U.S. resistance to Communist military aggression in Vietnam.

Truly, the situation is getting progressively worse, and yet, too many Americans are still emulating Rip Van Winkle. Unless we find a way to wake them up, there might be no stopping the downward course of America. As someone recently said, "God is not dead—but He must get awfully sick when He takes a long hard look at what is going on in the United States today."

The freedoms our forefathers fought and died to obtain are now being used to weaken and divide this great Republic of ours. Listen to these statements which were publicly made by one of our more militant Civil Rights' leaders:

"We've got to tell Johnson that if we don't get home rule here in Washington *we're going to disrupt this city completely.*"

"In Cleveland they're building stores with no windows—all brick. I don't know what they think they'll accomplish. It just means we have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite".

In Chicago he said—

"I'm going to Washington and take it over lock, stock and barrel."

I say to you that what used to be called treason is being accepted today as freedom of speech. What used to be called Riot and Insurrection not so long ago is today called freedom of assembly. And academic freedom—as a noted Educator recently said:

"Has become a sort of Yalu River behind which Educators and Students alike are immune from attack but from which they are free to sally forth to attack everything else, including their own school and college."

It's so easy to follow the line of least resistance by saying "I can't do anything"—yet the fact is, you *can* do something—actually you can do a lot. The problem today as I see it—is that the wrong kind of people are the ones who are saying "I can".

Somehow, somewhere an epidemic of sleeping sickness has struck our Nation. The symptoms of this disease as I see them are four-fold:

1. An embracement of the philosophy of non-involvement.
2. A lack of interest in anything which does not have an immediate and direct personal effect.
3. An unwillingness to accept one's citizenship responsibilities.
4. A willingness to compromise one's principles and beliefs so long as the immediate effect of doing so is not too earthshaking.

If we are to cure this disease before it is too late, if we are to find ways to stop our soaring crime rate, correct our juvenile delinquency problem, bring about self discipline and decency, halt the riots in our cities, and return to a wholesome respect for law and order, each one of us must adopt the kind of personal action program which Edward Hale, a former Chaplain of the U. S. Senate recommended when he said:

"I am only one, but I *am* one. I can't do everything but I *can* do something. And what I *can* do, that I ought to do. And what I *ought* to do, by the grace of God, I shall do."

As someone recently stated, "We need *not*, if we stay morally brave and militarily strong, fear invasion." *Our problem*, however, is that our enemies are *not* planning to defeat America by force of arms. Their plan is to lull us to sleep with a form of slow poison. They keep eating away at the very foundation of our democracy. They creep insidiously into our schools and churches to seduce our thinking. They use honeyed phrases like "human rights above property rights" and "security for all" which in reality are snares that lead our country toward an autocratic state governed by mob rule rather than by law. The State becomes our Keeper and as more authority is centered in Government, individual freedom and private enterprise dies inch by inch.

Immorality is flourishing and pre-marital sex is being condoned even from the pulpits; juvenile delinquency is on the rise and disregard for law and order has been given a cloak of respectability; pornography is accepted and even preferred in our literature, in our movies and in our stage shows; our courts continue to find technicalities whereby vicious criminals known to be guilty, are turned loose to prey again and again on society. Sometime ago the Washington police arrested a man caught in the very act of raping a 22 year old Government employee. This man had, on two other occasions, within the previous six months been charged with the same type of crime. In the first instance, the case was dismissed because the victim committed suicide rather than go through the ordeal of the trial. The second case was dismissed by the trial court on the technical grounds that the police had made an illegal search because of their failure to first obtain a search warrant. He was finally tried, found guilty and sentenced by the District Court, but listen to this—our very learned U.S. Court of Appeals reversed his conviction because the Trial Court let the jury see, at their request, the official weather report for the time of the alleged attack, which certified that the weather was clear, the temperature in the low 70's and the visibility eight miles. The basis for the Appellate Court action was that the trial judge erred in letting the jury see the weather report after the jury started deliberating, and that the defense counsel had no way of attacking it after he had contended at the trial that there wasn't enough light to make a positive identification possible.

Listen, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are going to have to wake up before it is too late—we are going to have to effect some drastic changes in our present way of life—changes in our behavior patterns, changes in our thought processes, changes in our moral and spiritual values.

I believe that America's enemies are making tremendous inroads here on the Home Front and that our nation literally stands today at the crossroads—one road leads upward to Self-Discipline while the other road is all downhill and its ultimate destination is the City of Decay. I believe that we must decide *now* which road we are going to travel and *that* decision will be determined by how strong or how weak we Americans, collectively speaking, really are.

"But What Can I Do?" is the question that people invariably ask me, and therefore I would like to make a few specific suggestions for personal action. As business men we have an unusual opportunity to help influence public opinion. Through our contacts we have a built-in line of communications with literally thousands of Americans. Let's begin today to try to develop in those with whom we come in contact a sense of personal responsibility and an understanding of the importance of their maintaining high moral standards. Let's emphasize to them the need for constant devotion to religious principles, and the necessity for preserving law and order. Let's try to revive self-reliance as an American Way of Life instead of looking to the Government for more and bigger handouts. And last but by no means least, let's do what we can to rekindle pride *in* and love *of* country which has been so watered down by those who hold that "patriotism" is indeed a form of "extremism".

Next, you can bring all the pressure at your command to plug up the loopholes in our laws that enable punks to go scot-free not just once but time after time. Let's demand that criminals be treated *as* criminals—that the hands of our police in bringing criminals to justice *not* be shackled by unworkable and unreasonable requirements such as those recently laid down by our Supreme Court. Insist that the Juvenile Courts and Parole Boards carefully review the past records of criminals before releasing them to again prey on society. We must adopt a realistic attitude toward these critical problems. We have tried the lenient approach and it has failed.

Just as important, let's support our law enforcement officers. Senator Mike Mansfield recently made this statement on the floor of the Senate:

"It appears to me somewhat excesisve to expect them (the police) to be not only defenders of the peace and upholders of the law, but also lawyers, sociologists, ministers, social psychologists, judges, first-aid men, and obstretricians. Yet they are not only expected to be, but in fact, often do perform one or more of these functions in an emergency."

Too often the everyady acts of courtesy, help and cooperation which our dedicated law enforcement officers perform for the benefit of the health, safety, welfare and protection of all our citizens are accepted matter-of-factly. Too often we forget that a policeman is our friend and that time and time again he risks his life in our behalf. Unfortunately the one bad cop that turns up among literally thousands of good ones become the public's symbol for all policemen when in reality he is the exception. I believe that for the good of every community and for the good of our citizens who desire to see law and order prevail throughout our land it is up to all law-abiding people to help improve the policeman's public image by giving to him full and complete support and cooperation.

Likewise, I believe that we must counteract the generally unfounded charges of police brutality which are being leveled with increasing frequency at arresting officers all across the land. The policeman's job is tough enough without having to face brutality charges every time he makes an arrest. It is a fine line between brutality and self-defense. Last year one out of every nine officers was attacked while trying to make an arrest; and, on the average, 65 policemen are murdered each year while endeavoring to apprehend criminals. I do not mean to imply that there have not been misuses of police power, for the record shows otherwise. However, these are the exceptions. Let's *demand of our law enforcement officers* the highest quality and efficiency of performance, while demanding for them the public respect which they so rightly deserve.

Let's stop going to see filthy movies and dirty stage shows. Let's not buy pornographic magazines or books and urge those who sell them in our neighborhoods to stop making them available to our young people. Let's write letters of objection to advertisers that resort to the use of suggestive or dirty material in their advertisements. Let's start setting the right kind of example through *our* everyday lives.

Let's get prayer and a trust *in* and reverence *for* a supreme Being back into our national life. Let's not let teachers do what one mother told me happened in a Montgomery County, Maryland public school. Her daughter's class was practicing a hymn which contained in it the word *God*. That teacher instructed the class to hum when they came to the word *God* instead of singing it. I can't believe our Supreme Court expected its school prayer decision to be carried that far afield.

Our schools have been instructed to refrain from teaching our children the power and glory of prayer. We have successfully defended in court our children's right to ignore the salute to the flag. Groups are hard at work trying to abolish Christmas and Easter programs in schools—to do away with baccalaureate sermons—to eliminate Thanksgiving Day and Presidential proclamations of prayer—even working to remove Chaplains from our Armed Forces. This may all sound fantastic, but unfortunately, it's true. Certainly you cannot deny that there is a move afoot to remove religion from every phase of our national life.

The blows are being well-timed—the poison is being administered in small doses—we are weakening before the relentless determination of the ever-present minority of evil people whose goal in life is to drag others down to their level.

If your children are in college, write to the head of that institution urging him not to tolerate "student uprisings". Also urge him not to invite speakers to his campus who are sponsored by the Lecture and Information Bureau of the Communist Party of the U.S.A."The latest Senate report titled "Communist Youth Program" lists thirty colleges in our nation which last year accepted speakers offered by this bureau. The sad part about this is that when such speakers are invited to make a presentation *on campus*, the students feel compelled to attend and thus these speakers get large audiences. By contrast, Ohio State University refused to let a Communist speaker lecture on its campus. He gave his lecture in an off-campus church and only 300 students from a student body of 30,000 attended. When a college president justifies such an invitation to a subversive on the basis of so-called "academic freedom", point out to him, as has the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation of St. Louis, Missouri, that:

1. Our medical schools do not invite quack doctors to teach students about phony remedies and illegal operations.
2. Our law schools do not invite members of the Mafia to teach students how to evade the law—and
3. Our business schools have not invited Billie Sol Estes to teach students how to make money in a hurry.

Academic freedom, unfortunately, has become a vehicle for the dissemination of Communist propaganda. The campus speakers who are sponsored by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. are trained agitators who are expert salesmen for socialistic and communistic doctrines. Keep in mind that in nearly every instance their campus presentations are lectures, not debates. Thus, opposite viewpoints are not presented. Is it any wonder their listeners are often influenced in the wrong direction?

It is all part of a program which the Communist Party announced it was undertaking some five years ago following this public statement by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Party. He said, "We must give higher priority to work among youths in all fields of endeavor:

1. We must build unity among American Youth and within that unity seek to gain Communist leadership.
2. We must persuade youth that capitalists are enemies of youth while Communists are their friends.
3. We must urge *more radical immediate solutions* to current problems through the use of mass demonstrations, strikes and riots.
4. We must agitate youth to believe that socialism offers the only lasting solution for youth's problems."

What has been happening on college campuses all across this land shows how successfully they have accomplished their objectives. Believe it or not *sponsors*—not participants *but sponsors*—of the April 15th Peacenik protest included representatives from at least 50 different colleges—many of whom were professors and officers of student bodies.

I ask you—can we afford to sit idly on the sidelines while there is being spawned on our campuses today something akin to China's vicious Red Guard?

"Who built America, anyway?" recently asked the Editor of an Insurance Newsletter. "Who built the farms and towns and cities—the railroads—the industries—the millions of homes with their millions and millions of things we live with? Who created the jobs that are keeping 60-plus millions of Americans working and prosperous? Who conceived of the thousands of big and little businesses, and who works long hours at them to make them pay? Who creates the savings that go to launch new industries or expand old ones—and who comes up with the new ideas, the foods and drugs and gadgets and Heaven-only-knows-what? And after you've answered all that, then ask yourself who should be out there working the hardest to keep America clean, keep it wholesome, keep it decent, keep it high quality—keep it free!"

By remaining silent and out of action, our Country's image is being fashioned by those irresponsible individuals whose sole objective seems to be to foment unrest, doubt, distrust, revolt—hatred for any and all in authority. While an all-out campaign is underway to capture the minds of today's young people and to use their youthful vigor for the promotion of evil purposes, too many of us are still saying "I don't want to get involved." We are clamming up at a time when irresponsible individuals are hard at work undermining the very principles upon which this Nation was founded. By doing just that, we are risking the loss of everything we hold sacred and dear.

As I see it, Ladies and Gentlemen, finding answers to our present day problems is just as much our responsibility as it is the government's, and if we are going to win this battle, we must provide the leadership that these times require. It is up to us and our counterparts, all across the land, to make the real voice of America heard. I say it is time for all of us to stand up and be counted!

Alabamian Writes Book on Justice Black

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a native of Alabama, Stephen Parks Strickland, has recently published a book on another Alabamian, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Lafayette Black, who has served on the Court since 1937.

The book deals with Justice Black's work as analyzed by several legal scholars and also discloses little-known facts about the Justice.

James Free, Washington correspondent for the Birmingham News, has reviewed the book for his newspaper.

I include the review as a part of my remarks:

States' Righter and Liberal: Black Is Paradox From Alabama

("Hugo Black and the Supreme Court," a symposium, edited by Stephen Strickland (Bobbs Merrill, $10).)

(By James Free)

Most symposium books are edited by big name personages sought out by publishers. Their subjects, usually, are either sensational or dry as academic dust. Stephen Parks Strickland's book is a welcome variation.

Strickland, best known in his native Birmingham when he was administrative assistant to Rep. George Huddleston Jr., was not a name brand in the publishing world.

But his background of studies in constitutional law at Emory and Johns Hopkins Universities helped whet his interest in Justice Hugo Black, a fellow Alabamaian.

To cover the wide range of Black's contributions to the high court over three decades, Strickland rounded up eight contributing authors with impressive qualifications. Two of them—John P. Frank and Irving Dilliard—have written books on Black.

Aside from getting a publisher and "producing" the book, Strickland does a summary chapter in which he points out:

". . . Black can be an 'absolutist,' albeit 'modified' in applying the Bill of Rights; a 'states' righter' in supporting the regulatory powers of the states; a 'liberal' as regards construction of the congressional commerce power; and a 'liberarian' in applying the law in defense of free speech, free exercise of religion, and free exercise of belief."

To be all these things, Hugo La Fayette Black has to be something of a paradox. And he is—a very live and controversial one at 81 years of age—just as he was as a U.S. Senator and as a Birmingham police court judge. (One of the Justice's main complaints, as this was written was that not until after a second upcoming operation on his eyes can he expect to resume playing tennis.)

While the book is primarily about Black's work on the court, it brings out occasional little-known facts about the man. One is that his classmates at the University of Alabama Law School in 1906 said of him in their yearbook:

"This fellow seems to possess but one idea, and that is a wrong one." (They did not say what it was.)

Another is that Black's first and only appearance as an attorney before the U.S. Supreme Court came on Jan. 29, 1925. He represented, without fee, an Alabama Negro whose $4,000 lower court award in a serious personal injury case had been complicated by the bankruptcy of the company that employed him. At the time that Black fought and won this case, he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

Black's membership in the KKK was a political waystation on the road to the U.S. Senate. His concern for the underdog, regardless of race, has been a lifelong affair.

When Black received President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first appointment to the court in 1937, the Alabamian "was the President's one-man army of occupation" on the then anti-New Deal court, according to contributing author Frank.

Black has seen the court swing his way, particularly in the years since 1945, when he became senior associate justice.

Due to his continued defense of underdogs—even when they are oppressed by a minority group—Black is sometimes charged with having turned conservative.

One thesis of this book is that the court and the times have changed more than has Hugo L. Black, and that he had quite a bit to do with the charges.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

Free Collective Bargaining

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 30th anniversary of successful collective bargaining between the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. and the International Association of Machinists. To commemorate this and the progress achieved under collective bargaining agreements, Lockheed has published a pamphlet entitled "Free Collective Bargaining—What It Means to You." I share the faith which Lockheed and President P. L. Siemiller of the IAM have expressed in our system of collective bargaining and I insert the text of this pamphlet in the RECORD, as follows:

FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

(A Lockheed Aircraft Corp. report to employees represented by the Machinists' Union on the 30th anniversary of its first labor contract with the union)

TO LOCKHEED EMPLOYEES REPRESENTED BY THE IAMAW

Anniversaries are pleasant occasions, particularly when they provide an opportunity to review a history of progress.

During the many years of service to our members the IAMAW has developed several effective longstanding relationships with industrial companies. The Lockheed Aircraft Corporation is one of these.

The relationship between Lockheed Aircraft and the IAMAW has been built up over the years through collective bargaining, free of governmental interference. We want it to remain that way. When you take freedom away from the bargaining process and substitute compulsion, you are taking the first step toward destroying one of America's most precious rights.

We think it is appropriate and timely for Lockheed to call attention to the 30th anniversary of representation of many of their employees by the IAMAW. The Machinists' Union looks forward with pleasure to a continuance of this relationship.

P. L. SIEMILLER,
President, IAMAW.

TO LOCKHEED EMPLOYEES REPRESENTED BY THE IAMAW

This year marks a 30-year relationship between Lockheed and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. I believe it has been a mutually successful relationship largely because Lockheed and the IAMAW have been working toward several important common objectives:

Fair treatment of all employees.
Good pay and benefits.
Opportunity to advance.
Suitable and safe working conditions.
Good-faith collective bargaining.

In working for these objectives we have developed mutual respect. And through the shared efforts of the corporation and the IAMAW, I believe we have made Lockheed a good place to work.

We at Lockheed will strive to keep it that way.

A. CARL KOTCHIAN,
President, Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

During the 30-year relationship between Lockheed and the Machinists' Union, collective bargaining has been the cement that has bound the two parties together.

No one pretends that this long association has been without its problems. Such problems are inevitable. It is not the nature of a company-union relationship to be one of passive acceptance on either side. Tension can be expected. But it can be a relationship of constructive tension.

But during these 30 years the cement has held fast. We have relied on collective bargaining to reconcile differences and to develop equitable and reasonable solutions to problems. It has worked—and worked well.

The 30-year experience of Lockheed and the Machinists' Union is actually a strong argument for preserving collective bargaining.

Now, on this anniversary, we think it is useful and instructive to review that experience.

A PAGE FROM LABOR HISTORY

In 1937, when many other companies were beset by violent labor unrest, Lockheed voluntarily recognized the International Association of Machinists as collective bargaining agent.

As the corporation grew, so did the union. After World War II, as new Lockheed plants sprang up around the country, hourly-paid employees in many of those plants chose the IAM as their collective bargaining agent. The agreement signed in 1937 took up a single page and covered only a few hundred people. By 1967, 28 separate agreements were in force, covering almost 50,000 employees in over 500 jobs. Each agreement contains negotiated provisions designed to insure fair and consistent treatment of employees. And each is tailored to the needs of represented people in 32 different Lockheed locations.

Of course, through the years several other unions have represented smaller groups of Lockheed employees. With each, good faith collective bargaining has been the key to the development of effective relationships.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

When an organization grows in size, as has Lockheed, the problem of keeping in touch with its people grows even faster. How do you solve it?

One way is through *collective bargaining*. It *helps keep lines of communication open*—something that critics frequently forget. At Lockheed frequent committee meetings, joint projects, and daily contact between union stewards and company representatives help solve the communications problem. An important way that Lockheed "keeps in touch" with its represented people is through their union.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO LIVING STANDARDS?

When you think of living standards, you think first of all about wages. We all know they have gone up; but it is hard to realize how much. The chart opposite tells the story.

But we know the cost of living has gone up too, and some of us have an uneasy feeling that inflation eats up wage increases. And, of course, it does to some extent. But not nearly so much as you might think. The chart on the lower right shows that *wages under collective bargaining have gone up* about two and a half times as fast as living costs for Lockheed—IAMAW people.

OPPORTUNITY UNLIMITED

Along with rising living standards goes rising opportunity—for education, for self-fulfillment, and for personal advancement. *Under collective bargaining individual lines of opportunity are kept open* so that increased skill, experience, and training can result in career progress.

MORE THAN "FRINGE"

Twenty or more years ago employee benefits were so minor somebody started calling them "fringe." Today the term is still used, but it is no longer descriptive.

Collective bargaining is our nation's system for meeting the changing wants of union-represented employees. Nowhere is its success more evident than in the area of expanding benefit programs.

People have become more interested in security and in leisure time. So retirement and medical programs have mushroomed, and time off for vacations and holidays has grown. The growth of these benefits for Lockheed-IAMAW people is shown in these charts—a growth achieved through bargaining.

LABOR PEACE IS NOT NEWS

About the only time collective bargaining makes news is when a strike occurs. Conflict is news, but peace is not. Year in and year out, collective bargaining has worked better than most of us realize. Disputes arise and are settled. Negotiations occur and agreements are reached. This is the collective bargaining that seldom makes headlines.

But of course some strikes do occur, and some have occurred at Lockheed. In 30 years there have been seven strikes by the IAMAW at various Lockheed plants—some major, some minor. But when we realize that we have negotiated more than 135 labor contracts without so much as an hour lost because of strikes, the ratio looks pretty good. Two billion man hours have been worked at Lockheed under Machinists' labor contracts in the last 30 years. Only .2% of these man hours were lost by strike.

Actually, the Lockheed-Machinist strike record is better than that of unionized industry in general and of the aerospace industry in particular.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING UNDER ATTACK

Many people are beginning to call collective bargaining a failure.

If labor and management can't avoid strikes and lockouts that hurt the public, these people say, then let there be compulsory arbitration or labor courts or government seizure or some other government action to take settlement of the dispute out of the parties' hands.

But collective bargaining is not a failure. The Lockheed-IAMAW record is just one of many success stories.

We think those who would junk free collective bargaining for some unknown and unproved system might better spend more time studying its overall success rather than concentrating on its failures.

Does collective bargaining work? Lockheed and the IAMAW have made it work. As a recent editorial in The Machinist said, ". . . the fact remains that collective bargaining is one of the great successes of the American system."

Perhaps Roy Siemiller, IAMAW president, said it best in the letter that appears in this booklet: "When you take freedom away from the bargaining parties and substitute compulsion, you are taking the first step toward destroying one of America's most precious rights."

Collective bargaining *is* one of our most precious rights. It's the best system yet for settling differences between unions and industry. Lockheed wants to preserve it. The union wants to. We believe most of you will too.

A Box Score of Terror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Arab countries of the Middle East continue to train and equip terrorist groups. These groups have been penetrating the borders of Israel for almost 20 years on missions of death and destruction.

The following editorial from the Jewish Press of October 27, 1967, contains a chronology of terrorist attacks during the period September 19 to October 2.

So that our colleagues will better understand the situation with which Israel is faced, I commend the editorial to their attention:

A BOX SCORE OF TERROR

The Arab nations are pleading before the United Nations, that their word is their bond. They are only interested in peace, they say, yet the following calendar of terror tells another story.

Sept. 19: Seven Israelis seriously injured when their homes were blown up in Jerusalem by El Fatah terrorists.

Sept. 21: A cannery in Kibbutz Givat Haim blown up; several Israelis seriously injured.

Sept. 23: An Israeli police officer injured by an Arab terrorist who threw hand grenades in a shopping section of Nablus. Hundreds of women and children narrowly missed death.

Sept. 24: A three year old child killed when his home was blown up. Both parents severely injured.

Sept. 24: Ten El Fatah terrorists captured. Found with Chinese-made sub-machine guns, mortars, and ammunition, five miles from Moshav Ometz.

Sept. 26: Mustafa Hamis, second-in-command of the El Fatah terrorists, captured along with 200 admitted terrorists who said they were trained in Damascus and Lebanon.

Sept. 27: Two Israeli border policemen killed. Three terrorists captured.

Sept. 28: Thirty terrorists captured in Jenim, thirty more in Tulkarm; a border policemen killed.

Sept. 29: Arab time-bomb found in U.S. Embassy complex one minute before it was set to explode. Hundreds could have been killed.

Oct. 2: Four terrorists capture, torture and murder 20 year old Israeli soldier as they blew up homes in Kibbutz Hamadia. Entire home areas had been mined.

This is only part of the reign of terror the Arabs have inflicted on Israel since September. King Hussein has shouted to the press that the terrorism is deplorable—yet a number of the captured terrorists admitted being trained under Jordan auspices.

Syria has denied any connection with the terrorists.

Nasser has sworn that he has no connection with the terrorists activities.

Damascus and Lebanon likewise disavow any connection with the incidents."

So who's rocking the boat?

Drastic Gun Law Cuts Legal Sales, Tax Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the American Rifleman, the official publication of the National Rifle Association of America, entitled "Drastic Gun Law Cuts Legal Sales, Tax Income."

This article sets forth the economic impact, in terms of lost sales and taxes and in increased administrative costs, of Philadelphia's drastic gun control law. The article also describes the results of an investigation which shows that support for the legislation was more illusory than real.

The article follows:

DRASTIC GUN LAW CUTS LEGAL SALES, TAX INCOME

(By Frank G. McGuire)

"I was in Philadelphia once, but it was closed."

That well-known wisecrack very nearly sums up the situation on legitimate gun activities—but not crime—today in the City of Brotherly Love.

Two years after City Council passed the most drastic gun control law in the nation, legal sales of firearms to reputable citizens have slumped about 90%, to judge by tax returns, but criminal misuse of guns has resulted in more killings than before the law was enacted.

Philadelphia officials claimed their touted "model" gun law, aimed at criminals, would not unduly inconvenience the city's several hundred thousand hunters and target shooters. Yet it has driven a third of Philadelphia's licensed retail firearms dealers out of town or out of business; and their businesses did not cater to the underworld but to sportsmen.

No official statement as to the cost of enforcing the firearms regulation was forthcoming, but opponents of the measure estimated that it cost the city $15 per investigation. The application fee for a firearms permit, $1, leaves the balance to be borne by taxpayers.

Mayor James H. J. Tate, who went into office not long before the new law was proposed, announced a highly publicized program to bolster police protection for citizens. The program was cut back considerably after it developed that it would cost as much as $15 million a year. Yet the city administration found funds for its gun control program.

One year after the new law took effect, the *Philadelphia Bulletin* quoted various authoritative sources as estimating that it cost the city, all told, $3 million to $10 million—enough to have financed a good part of the extra police protection. Figured in these estimates, which came mostly from sporting goods dealers and a few public officials, were the admitted 90% drop in receipts from firearms sales taxes, the taxpayer-borne cost of police investigations, and taxes lost through nonsale of hunting accessories and the like.

Well over a year after the enactment, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in a Page One series entitled, "Violent Crime—A City's Problem," hit upon a truism: "You can't very well pass a law against crime, since it's illegal by definition."

The newspaper also noted:

"Laws can operate to prevent crime only if people themselves are going to obey them or if police can be on hand to prevent lawbreaking before it occurs. . . .

"Not long ago the city passed a firearms registration ordinance to keep firearms out of the hands of gangsters and psychotics. Yet the figures of crimes involving firearms have remained just as high as before. Approximately the same number of people shoot and are shot by each other as before the law was passed."

During the 3 years prior to the new Philadelphia gun law, police there apparently weren't too much troubled by pistol ownership. For the number of applications to buy pistols under the then existing law increased by a third while the percentage of applications denied by the police went down.

Here are the figures, suggesting that the Philadelphia police, far from tightening up because they were plagued by pistols, permitted more and more citizens to buy handguns:

BEFORE THE NEW LAW (PISTOLS ONLY)

Year	Total applications to buy	Percent rejected by police
1962	4,605	2.9
1963	5,497	2.4
1964	6,070	1.8
AFTER THE NEW LAW (INCLUDES RIFLES AND SHOTGUNS)		
1965[1]	3,157	2.9

[1] Apr. 15, 1965, to Apr. 15, 1966. Figures for 1966 are not yet available.

Figures for the first year under the new law reveal that it not only reduced pistol sales but cut sharply into local sales of rifles and shotguns, for the total of 3,157 included all 3 kinds of firearms. Thus the total of the 3 is scarcely half the sales of pistols, alone, before the new law took effect. The law's sponsors obviously consider this good, although, just as obviously, it must interfere drastically with sportsmen who are the principal buyers of rifles and shotguns.

Philadelphia has a sizeable efficient police department with many intelligent and articulate law officers. Some of them undoubtedly hold opinions regarding the new gun law. During several weeks in Philadelphia, I made persistent efforts to interview a city police official who would discuss the effect of the law for publication. I was politely shunted from one to another, in a genteel version of the old run-around. They couldn't have been nicer—or more tight-lipped. Never did I get an interview.

From District Attorney Arlen Specter, a former staff member of the Warren Commission who took office as Philadelphia's principal prosecutor after the law was passed, I got a definite comment that the law attacks the crime problem from the wrong end. Specter said it puts concealment at a premium and penalizes the law-abiding citizen.

City Controller Alexander Hemphill, a leading mayoral candidate in the next primary, described the law in his outspoken way as:

"A politicians' sop for calming down the hysterical citizens who, legitimately, want to cut down crime. The sportsmen who fought gun registration the way they did were just as silly as the people who thought that the registration was going to do any good."

Because I had heard repeatedly that City Councilmen supporting the measure (all of them did) got nasty, threatening letters from sportsmen and other opponents, I went through correspondence files (by permission). There were some emotional, strongly-worded letters, but the most menacing merely said they would never again vote for said Councilmen if they supported the bill. The truly significant thing, however, was the almost total absence of letters favoring the measure.

The backers of Bill 560, as it was known before enactment, claimed the support of "hundreds of thousands" of women. At a public hearing on wheher 560 should become law, exactly 8 of these clubwomen appeared. So I made the rounds of several Councilmen's offices to see if the city's conscientious housewives and bustling businesswomen had deluged City Hall with feminine notes professing to want Bill 560.

In one Councilman's office, I was graciously permitted to go through the entire file on the subject. I personally checked and double-checked every letter received. There were approximately 125. Without exception, they opposed Bill 560. Not a solitary letter favored it. I turned to the Councilman and said, "I understand there was a lot of support for this bill. Is there another file?" The Councilman assured me that was the "complete" file. "What about letters from those hundreds of thousands of women?" I asked. The Councilman replied, "I guess we didn't get many." "Any," I corrected.

At another Councilman's office down the hall, the Councilman's assistant told me, 'We got about a hundred letters on it, I guess." I asked, What was the ratio of those for and against?" Oh, about 90 opposed it and the rest thought it was all right."

From a third Councilman's office I got the same story.

The "several hundred thousand women" represented by club officers as being ardently in favor of the law apparently failed to write even a postcard in favor of it. As Councilman Gaetano Giordano remarked to me, "There was a lot of phony support."

I asked a woman community leader why she supported the bill.

"The opponents of the bill kept saying they had to defend their homes," she said indignantly. Now, I ask you, in this day and age? This isn't the frontier any more." In her next breath, the lady said: "By the way, did you know that during those riots we had here a couple of years ago, that the rioters stole 3,000 guns from pawn shops and sporting goods stores?"

The Philadelphia City Council totals 17 members and it is virtually impossible, for one reason or another, for an individual to poll the entire membership. The Councilmen voted unanimously for the gun law. If any of them have changed their minds, the only one who said so to me was Councilman Giordano, a delicatessen operator representing the city's 2nd District. He now thinks the law is "a joke" and would vote "No" if he has another chance.

Boys From Syracuse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. HANLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, the 174th Tactical Fighter Group, the world famous "Boys from Syracuse," celebrated its 20th anniversary.

The group was founded on October 28, 1947, by Lt. Col. Michael C. Malone as a component of the organized State militia. The first meeting was attended by only a handful of men, 16 officers and 35 airmen. Out of that small number, however, the group's present leader, Col. Curtis Irwin, has molded one of the most capable fighting units ever assembled.

Over the years, the "Boys from Syracuse" have been the recipients of numerous awards and citations. In 1963, they were cited as the outstanding unit of the New York Air National Guard and they received the NYANG commander's trophy. The following year, they received the TAC Achievement Award for flying safety, and in 1965, they were awarded the Pentagon's On-the-Job Unit Achievement Award from the National Guard Bureau for the most outstanding training program. That same year, they received the Gen. Lewis Evans Boutwell Award as the most combat-ready jet fighter group in the entire 102d Tactical Fighter Wing.

During the Berlin crisis of 1965, the "Boys from Syracuse" were called up to fly ground support missions for the U.S. 7th Army serving in France. Their service was most commendable and won widespread acclaim.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent the headquarters area for the 174th Tactical Fighter Group, which is located at Hancock Field in Syracuse. I am prouder still to represent these valiant airmen who have dedicated themselves to the freedom and security of America.

Needed: Interstate Attack Against Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, air pollution does not respect political boundaries.

As President Johnson, who has provided great leadership in this field, said in January when he sent the administration's suggested air pollution program to the Congress:

> Winds carrying waste gases have no respect for manmade political boundaries. The question we must answer is: Shall we, the victims of pollution, hinder our fight against it by concerning ourselves more with artificial boundaries than with our people's health?
>
> Today, although many of our severest pollution problems involve more than one State jurisdiction, there is not a single effective interstate program in the Nation. Efforts to achieve uniform control activities among neighboring States and communities have failed, despite added Federal financial incentives.

The Air Quality Act of 1967, which will be coming to the floor shortly for debate and vote, contains provisions to assure that there will be an interstate attack on air pollution: the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is required to indicate those regions, interstate in nature, which need to have air pollution treated as a regional problem and for which planning commission funds will be provided by the Federal Government.

This provision is a vitally important one, and it is one of the many new provisions which cause me to say that I will support the bill when it comes to the floor.

The Kee Report: Antimissile Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is antimissile defense. The report follows:

> This is Jim Kee, bringing you the Kee Report.
>
> Our Government recently made one of the most important policy decisions in the history of the United States. It was also one of the most reluctant.
>
> Because of the growing menace of the nuclear stockpile now being built by Red China, the Federal Government decided that a nuclear defense system is urgently needed to protect our country against sneak attack.
>
> This defense line will be designed to protect against enemy missiles only, and not against invading ships or airplanes. It will cost about five billions of dollars and it is intended to guard our country at least until 1980. Because, eventually, a far more expensive defense system may be necessary, the newspapers describe the one now proposed as a thin defense.
>
> Today's mass destruction weapons are deadly in execution. They are also complex enough in operation to baffle those of us who are untrained in the specialized field of science. Despite this fact, I shall now try to explain in non-technical terms how this defense system proposes to operate.
>
> The new system will be composed of fifteen or twenty anti-missile batteries located at outposts in Alaska and Hawaii and along our extended coastlines. Please think of these batteries as automatic sentinals able to detect the approach of enemy missiles and geared to send up our own missiles to search and destroy. In other words, the job of the American sentinal is to seek out and explode the enemy missile before it lets loose its destruction upon our towns and cities.
>
> It may require two years or more before this defense system is in operation. In addition to the construction cost of five billions of dollars, it will take 500 millions annually to keep it on operation.
>
> The anual outlay for defense by the United States now exceeds the costliest year of World War II. The cost will climb each year. In other words, we are now engaged in the most terrifying arms race in human history, the pace of which seems to increase as each year goes by.
>
> The American people are unanimous in their desire for peace. The American people are against war. The idea of conquering other people or other territories is contrary to every decent citizen. In the face of this, suppose we examine the national conscience to see if our Government is responsible in any degree for the current nuclear arms race.
>
> The United States and its allies first unlocked the secret of the atom during World War II. As a result, they had a monopoly on the most destructive weapon ever invented.

They could have employed this monopoly for selfish purposes. Instead, in the grandest gesture in history, the United States and its allies offered to surrender this monopoly to international control in return for proper safeguards.

This offer came before the United Nations about 20 years ago. Every nation in the world voted to outlaw these mass destructive weapons except Soviet Russia and the satellite nations under the domination of Moscow. In other words, Stalin and Stalin alone plunged the world into the nuclear arms race. Since then, in defiance of world opinion, Red China has stepped up the pace by joining the nuclear club on a massive scale.

Since Stalin made his fateful decision, both the free world and the Communist nations have expended hundreds of billions on costly armaments and the end is not in sight. This is the dreadful burden which Communism has forced upon the whole human race.

Thank you for listening.

I Am an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, one of the finer weekly newspapers in the Midwest, the Tazewell County Reporter in Washington, Ill., recently printed a prize-winning essay submitted to the Freedom Foundation by Cmdr. James C. Standish, U.S. Navy. The essay is really a letter or message if you prefer to the draft card burners, the demonstrators, and all the malcontents who have received so much undeserved publicity in recent weeks. I am under no illusion that this shabby crew would be persuaded by the commander's stirring comments but it should provide some ammunition for the great majority of young people on college campuses around the country who are opposed to all that the dropouts from reality have been espousing.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial from the Tazewell County Reporter issue of October 26, 1967, in the RECORD at this point:

I AM AN AMERICAN

(By Comdr. James C. Standish, U.S. Navy)

Burn your draft card, boy. Join the protest marchers, the teach-ins and ban-the-bomb demonstrators.

Because I am an American I'll protect your right of free expression of your ideas. But how about some help from you? Or am I asking too much in expecting you to help combat the communistic menace to your rights of free assembly and peaceable protest?

I understand your fears. I felt them in 1943 and again in 1952. I feel them again today. I will be afraid if I'm assigned to duty in Vietnam just as I was when assigned to the Pacific in World War II and to Korea in the Korean War. However, if so assigned I will go, because, as corny as it may sound, it is my duty to my country. I will go in the belief that it will help prevent my children from fighting the communists on U.S. soil at some later date; or preclude my opportunity for the likes of you to advocate surrender to communism at some later date.

I understand your ignorance of the real goals of communism since you have been influenced by a few idealistic, highly educated boobs who inhabit an unreal world of theory. They chose to ignore the stated goals of world communism and its oft demonstrated means of obtaining these aims in the real world that most of us inhabit. They, and you, choose to ignore the lessons of history no matter how recent they may be.

I also understand that you have been reared in an era of parental permissiveness that breeds scorn for discipline, law and order. It appears to be an era that encourages you to disobey any rule that you disagree with or did not help make. I recognize this environment as the spawning ground for your shallow excuse of refusing to participate in the Vietnamese War because you did not participtae in the decision to fight. Did you participate in drawnig up the Bill of Rights? The Constitution? Did you participate in the past wars this country fought against tyranny and oppression? "Of course not. How old do you think I am?" you ask. Do you then reject your heritage as an American resulting from these actions because you were not a participant? Do not the majority of the voters of the country select the president and the other representatives to make the decisions for the people? In a democracy do those who were ineligible to vote or who voted for an unsuccessful candidate forfeit any of their rights and privileges as free citizens? Are they released from any of their responsibilities as citizens?

Child that you are, you want all the privileges of a free man but not his responsibilities. Knowing full well that in a free society such as ours, there are, always were and always will be parasites like you along for the free ride, I will still defend our freedom as long as I shall live.

I will protect our liberty despite your shortcomings as long as I shall live. I further hope to live long enough to see you learn the true meanings of liberty, freedom and communism, and then in spite of your fears, volunteer to serve your country. Only then, child, will you realize that freedom is not a free ride but it is secured and held at great cost.

Dr. King's Brand of "Nonviolence"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the proposal by Dr. Martin Luther King to close down Washington with a massive "camp-in" is deplorable. Nothing could damge the cause of social progress more than intimidation and threats.

I trust he will think better of his suggestion before the hotheads act on it.

The following editorial concerning this matter was broadcast by station WMAL here in Washington during the week of October 22, 1967, and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

DR. KING'S BRAND OF "NONVIOLENCE"

Dr. Martin Luther King must have suffered a slip of the tongue when he advocated camping thousands of persons in Washington with the avowed purpose of disrupting the city. Such a remark hardly upholds Dr. King's image as a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Yet Dr. King solemnly proclaimed that a gigantic "camp-in" may be "necessary" to "pressure" Congress into passage of a $20 billion a year anti-poverty bill. Dr. King wants this bill to include guaranteed income, guaranteed jobs and plenty of other "guarantees."

We appreciate Dr. King's concern for social problems, but we deplore his suggested method of achieving his goals. It takes a devious twist of the imagination to picture the right of peaceful assembly extending to a "camp-in." There is no right to "make sure a city will not function", as Dr. King put it.

Dr. King should think twice. To attempt to dictate to Congress what laws it should pass, by use of threats and intimidation, is to damage the cause of social upgrading.

Obscene Material Available to Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, many constituents have communicated with me protesting the apparent lack of enforcing Federal laws with reference to the mailing of obscene materials.

Many letters concern the distribution of the November 1967 issue of Playboy magazine. The Columbus Dispatch on October 30, 1967, ran a news story entitled "Obscene Material Available to Children: Survey Shows Nudist Magazines Near Schools." The Columbus Dispatch is to be commended for its disclosure of the freedom of display and sale of obscene materials in the city of Columbus.

There is little wonder that juvenile delinquency mounts year after year when publications of this kind are so readily available to so many youngsters as soon as they are able to read.

Steps should be taken to prohibit the distribution of adult publications with sex as their major appeal, such as Playboy magazine.

In Playboy we find pseudoserious articles with displays of sex and nudity on alternate pages. Fathers add to the problem by bringing home for children to see these flashy mixtures of philosophy and philandering which make millions for their publishers.

The problem is, however, one for action at every level of government. The Federal Government should show the way by enacting new legislation which courts will accept and officers will enforce.

I am pleased to submit the abovementioned article from the Columbus Dispatch for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

SURVEY SHOWS NUDIST MAGAZINES NEAR SCHOOLS: OBSCENE MATERIAL AVAILABLE TO CHILDREN

(By Graydon Hambrick)

Columbus citizens, including local school children, can find ready access to obscene reading material, depending on one's definition of obscenity.

You can pay 25 cents for a magazine such as Intimate, with its front cover headlines which promise much but offer little, to several dollars for nudist magazines showing boys and girls at play without clothes.

About the only "pornographic" magazines unavailable openly are extremely various sexual activities.

Courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, are without consensus as to the definition of salacious literature, but some local magazines probably would not be considered good home reading.

At a store in the 1100 block of N. High St., are stacks of innocent magazines and comic books displayed among popular recordings.

When a reporter entered the shop recently and began browsing, the woman in charge said, "The girlie magazines are back here, mister."

The magazines are of the Playboy variety, with pseudo-serious articles sandwiched between photos of nude and semi-nude women, usually in provocative positions.

The shop is slightly more than a block from Everett Junior High School, 1170 Dennison Ave.

Also nearby in a drug store which has a magazine stand containing the latest "normal" magazines: Better Homes and Gardens, Time, fashion pictorials and current teen-appeal publications about the Monkees and the Beatles.

Next to the innocuous ones there are other magazines which appeal to the younger set and which carry teaser headlines intended to attract sexual attention.

The nearest point to their school at which Hilltonia Junior High students may purchase smut is a store in the 1900 block of W. Mound.

There, in plain view of the interested public, are legitimate magazines, to be found next to those such as Confidential, the first of the expose types which now are abundant.

Headlines on Confidential scream: "How Warren Beatty Became Broad-Jumping Champ of Hollywood," and inside are photos of the late Lenny Bruce sitting naked on a commode and those depicting a new jet set parlor game called "kiss my tattoo." The tattoos, of course, are appropriately placed so as to expose intimate parts of the body.

Students at Dominion Junior High, 330 E. Dominion Blvd., must walk several blocks, but they can find salacious material at a N. High St. store.

Innocuous teen magazines about the Monkees are displayed next to expose types which claim to offer the inside dope on the "Monkees 3 Forbidden Nights of Love."

Central High School, 75 Washington Blvd., and East High School, 1500 E. Broad St., are not particularly near newstands offering smutty material. But from those schools, students may go to the central business area for their extra curricular reading requirements.

For example, A. W. Spring St. store offers on its open magazine racks run-of-the-mill girlie magazines.

For more titillating photo of big-busted women, one must ask the clerk at the cigaret counter for copies of Jaguar and similar magazines which are priced at about 75 cents a copy.

Those in the Union Station area may stop at a nearby store for an appealing array of girlie publications. Inside photos are raw and numerous and, as at other stores, purchasers apparently may be of any age.

Consumers at West High School, 179 S. Powell Ave., may purchase from a nearby chain grocery several magazines tending to appeal on a lower level to teens.

Students at North High School, 100 Arcadia Ave., are but a few blocks from High St., and the line of amusements in that area, include an art theater.

The theater regularly shows films which may attract those with prurient interests.

Despite the requirement posted in the cashier's cage that one must be 18 to enter, at least two boys who looked younger were admitted recently without showing the cashier evidence of their age.

One of the recent films shown at the theater told the story of an 18th Century girl named Kissey Hill who entertained a succession of men in her bedroom.

In a scene, Kissey serves dinner to an older man teasing him all the while. Later, when Kissey and her paramour are in bed, camera tricks indicate the couple's sexual progress.

In another scene, Kissey beats a second man with a whip. Again, camera motion indicates the writhing of the excited couple.

At the theater concession stand, about 12 titles of nudist magazines are available for prices ranging to $6. Also for sale are color and black-and-white motion picture films, for up to $35 for 200 feet of film.

If one decides not to enter the theater, he may stand, apparently undisturbed, in front of the theater and view still scenes from coming attractions.

The stills show the movies cast in various poses and stages of undress.

In varying degrees, photos of at least questionable value are available locally. It begs the question to note that tastes differ, as do standards for judging such material.

Pictures—still or motion—of naked people are for sale in Columbus.

Republican Mayors Endorse War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, one of the most troublesome and conflict-producing aspects of the operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity has been the relationships between local poverty officials and local civc and political officials. I was greatly encouraged, therefore, to receive a copy of a telegram signed by 22 Republican mayors from Hawaii to New York City sent to Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN and Representative GERALD R. FORD endorsing the war on poverty and urging its expansion. I was most pleased, too, to see the signature of Mayor Ronald R. James of my own hometown, San Jose, Calif. Mayor James and the other 21 Republican mayors admit the inevitable "imperfections and criticisms from some corners" but they are confident, as am I, that these difficulties can be worked out and that "the programs are a positive force in lessening social tensions in our cities."

I include the entire telegram and the names of the 22 mayors in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

TELEGRAM SENT BY MAYOR BLAISDELL, OCTOBER 11, 1967

Hon. EVERETT DIRKSEN and Hon. GERALD R. FORD,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned Mayors and Members of the Republican Party endorse the continuation or expansion of the programs fostered by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

All of us are greatly concerned as we are continually pushing forward those projects in our individual cities which are aimed at improving neighborhoods that can be rehabilitated and to also raise the economic, educational, and social standing of those citizens who are living in poverty. We feel the implementation of our local programs as sponsored by OEO are giving great impetus toward our goal and any slowing up of such programs will greatly deter the progress which has been made thus far.

We fully realize that in any new program, such as the War on Poverty, there are bound to be certain imperfections and criticisms from some corners. But in our daily activities of actually seeing these programs administered they are proving to be successful and getting the job done. It is our considered opinion that the programs are a positive force in lessening social tensions in our cities. All of us are confident they will continue to improve and are so meaningful as to give our less fortunate citizens a new hope in life. You can readily see people involved and active. These programs are realities and are no longer in the talking stage. The strong leadership provided by this agency in administering the various projects has been most impressive.

We strongly urge each of you to encourage members of Congress to support the OEO budget so that these dynamic and imaginative programs may be carried on in a successful manner.

Neal S. Blaisdell, Honolulu, Hawaii; John S. Ballard, Akron, Ohio; J. D. Braman, Seattle, Wash.; Stanley A. Cmich, Canton, Ohio; Frank M. Dulan, Utica, N.Y.; Dave Hall, Dayton, Ohio; James M. Hewgley, Tulsa, Okla.; Orville L. Hubbard, Dearborn, Mich.; Floyd H. Hyde, Fresno, Calif.; Ronald R. James, San Jose, Calif.; Erik Jonsson, Dallas, Tex.; Lawrence F. Kramer, Jr., Paterson, N.J.; Robert J. Lehnhausen, Peoria, Ill.; John V. Lindsay, New York City, N.Y.; Theodore R. McKeldin, Baltimore, Md.; John W. Potter, Toledo, Ohio; Kenneth A. Schmeid, Louisville, Ky.; A. V. Sorensen, Omaha, Nebr.; Edwin W. Wade, Long Beach, Calif.; George C. Whitmer, Des Moines, Iowa; Charles W. Wright, Jr., Topeka, Kans.; Clarence E. Vollmer, Wichita, Kans.

The Houston Chronicle Talks Sense About the American Position in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote an editorial view recently expessed by the Houston Chronicle. This quotation, I believe, sums up in a cogent way where we stand in Vietnam:

> Americans will do well to remember that Lyndon Johnson is not the man who stands in the way of a peace settlement. He is willing to stop the bombing of North Vietnam if Hanoi will reciprocate in any way, and he is ready at any time to meet with Ho Chi Minh or some other representative of the Hanoi government whenever Hanoi is willing to talk peace.

The onus for peace rests in Hanoi, not in Washington.

President Johnson has said time and time again that he is ready to talk peace any time, anywhere. But, obviously, he cannot negotiate alone.

The Houston Chronicle concludes its editorial, summing up the American position, by asking:

> What could be more reasonable?

This is a good question—one that all Americans should seriously ponder.

The fact is that the policies of this administration in the Vietnam situation are both reasonable and responsible. But there can be no peace in Vietnam until Hanoi is ready to join with us in peaceful and honorable negotiations.

Until this day, the war must continue. And no amount of criticism or protest can alter this inescapable fact.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD this excellent editorial from the Houston Chronicle:

WHY WE ARE IN VIETNAM

Why are we in Vietnam?

President Johnson answered that in his San Antonio speech three weeks ago:

"I am convinced that by seeing this struggle through now, in Vietnam, we are reducing the chances of a larger war—perhaps a nuclear war. I would rather stand in Vietnam, in our time, and by meeting this danger now, reduce the danger for our children and grandchildren."

Secretary of State Dean Rusk explained why last week:

"Within the next decade or two, there will be a billion Chinese on the mainland, armed with nuclear weapons, with no certainty about what their attitude toward the rest of Asia will be.

"Now the free nations of Asia will make up at least a billion people. They don't want China to overrun them on the basis of a doctrine of the world revolution. The militancy of China has isolated China, even within the Communist world, but they have not drawn back from it. They have reaffirmed it . . ."

And this week the No. 2 man in the State Department, Nicholas Katzenbach, and the No. 3 man, Walt V. Rostow, added their arguments to the current Vietnam debate.

The issue, says Rostow, is "whether the United States should abandon its whole postwar foreign policy . . ."

And in one of the most incisive observations of the week, State Undersecretary Katzenbach said that much of "the current wave of uneasiness over the war, much of the edginess, weariness and impatience really stems from the realization that easy alternatives do not readily present themselves."

Americans will do well to remember that Lyndon Johnson is not the man who stands in the way of a peace settlement. He is willing to stop the bombing of North Vietnam if Hanoi will reciprocate in any way, and he is ready at any time to meet with Ho Chi Minh or some other representative of the Hanoi government whenever Hanoi is willing to talk peace.

What could be more reasonable?

Eastern's Service Termed Inadequate and Unacceptable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter into the RECORD an article that has appeared in the Aviation Daily, dated October 31, 1967:

EASTERN'S SERVICE CALLED "INADEQUATE AND UNACCEPTABLE"

A member of the House Government Operations Committee, which has authority over the CAB, yesterday blasted Eastern Airline's service between Louisville, Ky., and seven other cities as "inadequate and unacceptable." Rep. William O. Cowger (R-Ky.) of Louisville said he has called the problem to the attention of the CAB chairman Charles Murphy. Other points mentioned by Cowger were Cincinnati, Dallas, Detroit, Memphis, Pittsburg, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

Cowger said Eastern has "shortchanged" Louisville because of its "monopoly situation in the city." He said Eastern has discontinued daily nonstop flights to Washington on Sundays. Cowger threatened to solicit increased service from other airlines using the Louisville airport.

Justice Department's "Volunteer Observers"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, at this moment the Department of Justice is attempting to intimidate the electorate of Louisiana by the presence of so-called "volunteer observers."

As a result of this effort, I caused to be published in the New Orleans papers the following letter which explains the situation.

The open letter follows, as I think all ought to be aware of what is happening:

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL ELECTION COMMISSIONERS, FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONERS: The Department of Justice, under provisions of the so-called 1965 Civil Rights Voting Act, has directed several Federal Agencies to provide "volunteer observers" at the polls on election day.

I have challenged this procedure on the basis that such participation by Civil Service employees is a violation of the Hatch Act. The Attorney General of the United States disagrees with me but does admit that if these so-called "volunteer observers" do more than merely look and observe, they are then in violation of the Hatch Act. In other words, the only thing these so-called "volunteers" are supposed to do without violating the Hatch Act is to look and listen. They are not supposed to interfere with any voter, to assist any voter, to register any voter, to violate any State Law: they are only to do what the U.S. Attorney General says they are supposed to do.

In order that there can be no misunderstanding, I am quoting below from a letter dated October 23, 1967, received by me from Mr. John Doar, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division. The emphasis is mine but the language is Mr. Doar's, in toto, and nothing out of context:

"The Hatch Act forbids each federal officer 'to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the result thereeof,' (*5 U.S.C. 118i*). Federal observers are assigned to those parishes in which the Attorney General finds there is a need to determine firsthand whether persons entitled to vote are being allowed to vote and whether their votes are being properly counted and tabulated. *They are present only as observers and do not interfere with or attempt to influence the voting process,* their function is to report to the Attorney General so that he may exercise his responsibilities for enforcing the Voting Rights Act. Their right so to observe is protected by order of the three-judge federal district court, in United States v. Louisiana, 11 R.R.L.R. 1879 (August 12, 1966). *Of course, if they misused their authority and engaged in partisan political activity, they would then violate the Hatch Act and action would have to be taken against them."*

I have publicly stated and repeat now, that if any violation of the Hatch Act is brought to my attention I will immediately take proceedings against these individuals. Therefore, I am asking you for your full cooperation to preserve the integrity of our rights in this section of the country. If you observe any one of these individuals doing anything other than listening and looking, as far as the conduct of the election is concerned, please notify me immediately and I will take the proper steps to prosecute.

I further direct your attention to the statement of the Attorney General that the observers will merely be there to report any infractions which they observe. Clearly, this means they cannot participate in any manner in the conduct of the election. Their only function, according to the Attorney General, is to report after the fact, for the Attorney General to decide whatever action is considered necessary.

I am accepting the U.S. Attorney General's position but I am demanding that it be carried out to the letter.

I am determined that the law shall be enforced without fear or favor to anyone, regardless of race, color or creed and I shall not tolerate the continued violation and domination of our free elections by federal power and usurpation.

I again ask your full cooperation and again repeat: if any of these "volunteer observers" do anything more than look and listen, please let me know.

Sincerely,

F. EDW. HÉBERT,
Member of Congress, First Congressional District, Louisiana.

The March on the Pentagon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, the Dallas Morning News on Tuesday, October 24, ran two brilliant pieces concerning the recent march on the Pentagon. These writings underline the dangers of a government permitting mobs to smash the structure of laws.

Robert Baskin, chief of the Dallas News Bureau in Washington, exposes how the marchers pressured and hoodwinked the Government into becoming their virtual "accomplice".

Mr. Speaker, it would behoove every Member of Congress to study these two fine articles. I herewith submit them for the consideration of my colleagues:

FOREWARNING WAS IGNORED

(By Robert E. Baskin)

WASHINGTON.—The astonishing thing about last weekend's violent assault by militant peaceniks on the Pentagon is that it ever was allowed to occur in the first place.

The federal government had the power to prevent conditions from arising that would permit these frenzied unwashed dissidents from undertaking such an enterprise. But the government, influenced perhaps by the softline intellectuals of the East, elected to take the chance.

It was a disaster, all the way around.

And the tragedy of it is that the militants had given every warning that they would undertake to do just what they did—assault the Pentagon and try to disrupt its operations.

They were participants in the negotiations with the General Services Administration, which finally gave its blessing to a march from the Lincoln Memorial to the Pentagon, across the Potomac River in Virginia, and there was never any misunderstanding about what their intentions were.

Despite this, the GSA, acting undoubtedly with approval of the White House, approved the march to the Pentagon.

On Friday, the day before the march, it was common knowledge in Washington that a serious attempt would be made to break into the Pentagon—which was partially achieved—and that there was a sizable group of the thousands of demonstrators headed for the capital who visualized this as their main goal during the weekend.

A great deal has been made in the liberal press and elsewhere of the right of citizens to assemble and state their dissents against government policy. No one questions the constitutional validity of this. But there are other considerations.

The gathering Saturday morning at the Lincoln Memorial was an orderly one, and speakers could vent their feelings against the conduct of the war in Vietnam. Perhaps they went pretty far at times, as when Mrs. Dagmar Wilson of the Women Strike for Peace said that the only hope of peace would come when Secretary of State Dean Rusk was dead. But words are one thing and actions another.

If the demonstration had ended at the Lincoln Memorial, that would have been the end of it. Dissent would have been voiced, constitutional rights would have been observed and the democracy could continue on its way.

But this was not enough. The demonstrators demanded the right to march on to the Pentagon—peaceably, some said; militantly and with intent of violence, others said.

The government acquiesced, although it apparently knew that violence was probable because it brought in several thousand troops to defend the Pentagon.

Why was this done?

No one knows the answer, but the damage is in front of us—the ugly pictures of the clash before the Pentagon's mall entrance. the club-swinging marshals and rifle-bearing troops, the mop-headed zealots screaming obscenities, the clusters of off-beat characters camping on the Pentagon grounds. These pictures now have been seen all over the world, and much of the world has probably concluded that something just short of revolution is occurring in the United States.

It isn't true, of course. The attackers of the Pentagon are a wild-eyed, tiny minority which has gained international notoriety far beyond its scope.

The fact remains, however, that these misguided and vicious people had an accomplice, and it was the government of the United States. They had stated what they intended to do and the government gave them permission to try to do it.

It would appear that the federal authorities who authorized the march are almost as guilty as those who attacked the Pentagon.

Why was it allowed to happen?

Belated Brooding

It is not surprising that Washington was, as columnist James Reston described it, "a sad and brooding city" Sunday night. The trouble was, he said, that "everybody seemed to have lost in the antiwar siege of the Pentagon this weekend."

Washington has good reason to be troubled when it sees the national political debate descending to the level of a shoving match. The extremists of the left, having failed to accomplish their purpose by mob tactics in the street, are now beginning to talk privately of plans to go over to what Reston calls "clandestine acts of violence."

One of the most discouraging aspects of the situation, no doubt, is the knowledge that Washington has, in large part, brought these troubles on itself. The Eastern establishment once cheered on those using tactics that have now been turned against it.

The downward spiral of politically motivated lawlessness from civil disobedience to insurrection and sabotage was predictable—and it was predicted. History is replete with cases in which societies have destroyed themselves by allowing mobs to smash the structure of laws.

Unfortunately, these tactics were initially used by those whom the liberals of the establishment idealized and against officials who appeared to fit the liberals' most cordially hated stereotypes of Southern segregationists. And so, the establishment, with all of its vast power to influence public opinion, praised the tactics as well as the integration cause in whose name they were used. Since the initial targets of civil disobedience were white supremacists, the establishment approved the flouting of laws—after all, its spokesmen rationalized, the lawlessness is committed in a good cause.

When alarmed Americans warned that the developing trend was encouraging zealots to place themselves above the law and to substitute force for the democratic process, the establishment shrugged off these warnings as last-ditch attempts to save white supremacy. The leaders and opinion makers of the establishment rushed to identify themselves with their "fellow revolutionaries," the militant heroes who supposedly placed principle above the prosaic requirement to obey the law.

The establishmentarians now brood over the fact that the most violent and irresponsible factions have taken over the leadership of the movements that grow steadily more destructive of civil and political rights. Yet is this not the natural progression of any movement that seeks power through the use of illegal force?

The disillusioned ones once believed that, in encouraging use of political lawbreaking, they were helping to further the goals of civil rights and free speech. Now, too late, they are discovering that they were actually furthering the corrosive concept that the end justifies any means.

Pfc. C. R. Gentry Is Killed in War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Charles R. Gentry, a soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

Pfc. C. R. Gentry Is Killed in War—Youth, 19, From Bowman's Addition Joined in 1966

Cumberland, October 31.—A 19-year-old Army private first class from Bowman's Addition, a village just outside Cumberland, was killed in Vietnam Sunday, the Defense Department reported today.

He was Pfc. Charles R. Gentry, son of Mrs. Mary H. Gentry and the late James H. Gentry.

The young soldier had been in Vietnam since August. He had enlisted in August, 1966. Private Gentry was born in Cumberland and attended Fort Hill High School. He belonged to the First Church of God in Cumberland.

Besides his mother, he is survived by two brothers, Ronald and Harry Gentry, and a sister, Mrs. Telva Lagratta, all of Bowman's Addition.

An Unfinished Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, hundreds of thousands of the finest young men of the Nation are daily being exposed to sudden death and injury in Vietnam. It has almost become trite to hope that they will not have died in vain.

When one considers the peaceniks, the hippies, the hopheads and the other riffraff of the Nation who not only evade military service by their undesirability, but continue to bring disgrace upon our land while giving aid and comfort to the enemy, there is no honor too great to bestow upon those who have contributed their most prized possession.

One of these was Tom Durbin, who lived with his family in Escondido, Calif., in my congressional district. Tom died by a sniper's bullet on September 21, 1967, with a partially written letter to his folks, dated the day before, never to be completed.

Tom wanted to be a veterinarian, but God willed otherwise. So friends of Tom have established the Thomas F. Durbin Scholarship Memorial Fund to assist others to carry on such work for him. Contributions may be made to the fund through the Escondido National Bank at 261 West Ohio Avenue, Econdido, Calif. Mr. Speaker, I include Tom's last, unfinished letter hereafter in the Record. The letter follows:

September 20, 1967.

Dear Mom and Dad: I've finally got a minute to write. I'll try to bring you up on what's happening here. I can't even remember when I last wrote so I might repeat some news. So far I've received two letters from you. I would like to get more but can imagine what's going on at home. Nevertheless, our problems that we have at home are nothing, and I mean *nothing,* compared to our problems and the people's problems here. I just can't describe in writing what really goes on in this war. You might wonder if I've done any shooting or killing here. There are V.C. snipers everywhere and I've done my share already. That's all I can say about that.

I don't know if I've told you this before but the first day in the field I won my C.I.B. (Combat Infantry Badge). You get a C.I.B. if the enemy fires at you. Don't worry I didn't get hit and I'm still OK, at the present anyway.

I'm writing this letter on top of a rocky hill called "283." This is where my platoon spent the night. This morning 3 of the 4 squads in the platoon went to the base of the hill to join the rest of the Company and get resupplied. My squad was left here as sort of a lookout and a security element. This is why I have a chance to write.

Every day I witness jet air strikes and artillery barrages. Our Company will be out in the field until the 25th of this month at which time our whole 1st /14th INF battalion will move from Hill 54 to Duc Pho. I was there for one week when I first got here. Four days ago a close friend of mine got killed by a V.C. booby trap just outside the perimeter of Duc Pho. Another buddy was wounded. I think he's back in the States by now. Our whole battalion has been out here in the field for the past six days. We've killed about 10–11 V.C. snipers already. We could double or even triple that figure but most of the snipers get away before we can get to them and hide in vast tunnel complexes. We have blown about thirty tunnels in the last few days. These tunnels are amazing. Some of them in solid rock. Must have taken many years to complete them.

I've just been given the job of R.T.O. (Radio Telephone Operator) for the Platoon. I'll probably be on R.T.O. for a couple of weeks so I can learn Company procedure. They plan to make me a fire-team leader and then possibly squad leader. If I make squad leader that would automatically make me an E–5 sergeant. Only time will tell. I'll make E–4 by November anyway.

I'm sure you're wondering what happened to your money order. Well hold on because I haven't forgotten. It's just that it's very hard to get one here. The earliest I can get one now is in Doc Pho (Duck Foe). I've got the money but just can't get to the Post Office to get an order. I've made up a list of things I want and need. There is one thing you've got to realize before you send anything over here. *Everything* I own here is on my back in my rucksack. I've had to throw a lot of things away. All I carry besides food and water is my stationery and a picture portfolio. That's it. Of course, there's my poncho and poncho liner, radio (26#), extra battery (5½#), long antenna (3#), air mattress, and weapon cleaning equipment. There is no place to store anything. Every time we come in off the field to base camp to rest for a couple of days we stay in different tents. So, if a guy leaves anything behind thinking he can pick it up later, he might as well kiss it good-bye, because someone will take it when they move in. The only good thing about base camp is you don't have to worry about snipers and it's a place where you can buy something cold to drink. That's all!

All my civilian clothes and other personal items are in a duffle bag in Plieku. I can get to them only when I go on R&R in late December or early January. Plieku is about 300 miles south of here. Right now, I'm about 49–51 miles from the Marines at the DMZ. So you can image how far North I am. Before we came out to the field, we were at a place called Tam Ky (Tom Key). Before that, we were at Hill 54 near Chu Lai (Chew Lye). You should buy a map of Viet Nam and mark the spots where I am. You could get a better picture then of where I am and how we move. Like I said before, we'll be in Duc Pho by the 25th.

Now the list:

1. Kool Aid—presweetened—any flavor, send a couple of packs in each letter, too!
2. Powder Milk or Coffee Mate.
3. Plastic bags—all sizes and as many as you can send. (Everything gets real wet without them.)
4. Small cans of fruit (peaches, pears, apricots, plums) one serving size (I'll carry as many as you send). The C-Rations we get in the field get "old" fast so I like lots of canned fruit to break the monotony of the same thing every day. The PX here has a *very poor* assortment of food stuffs so that is why I want you to send me mostly food.
5. Tea bags (no coffee please) or a jar of instant tea.
6. A plastic bag of that "Dutch Treat" chocolate mix (just add water).
7. *Beef* bullion cubes (one jar, small size).
8. An assortment of cheeses (The kind Dad likes). You have to be real careful on what kind of food you send because the packages usually take three weeks. With Christmas coming up it will take much longer. So if you plan to send a Christmas package send it extra early. Like 1st November.
9. All I want for Christmas is a black face, waterproof, luminous dial, skindiver watch. You can buy them at Sears for $12.95. I think Timex has them but you have to order them special. Timex one's sells for about $16–17. I would buy it in the PX here but they don't sell them. Both the watches I have now leak in the darn monsoon rain.
10. One jar of red mustache wax. I've got a real good "stache" going now and need some wax to curl the ends.
11. Saint Christopher medal with chain (heavy duty).
12. Also for Christmas, 1 or 2 avocados.
13. This next request might be the hardest to get so don't worry if you can't get it. You know the small little packages of catsup and mustard you get at the hamburger stand? Ask Kathy or Maureen, they know what I'm talking about. Have the two girls save all of them they can. A jar would be much too heavy.
14. Packages of dehydrated soup Lipton or Knoor (chicken noodle, onion, vegetable, mushroom) just the good kind.

Don't worry about sending too much of anything because I'll carry all of it. I just won't carry my regular amount of C-Rations. All C-Rations come in cans, so any that I can "dump off" would be a relief.

(Hand-written by Tom Durbin, but unsigned, awaiting completion.)

A New Look at NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on Monday I presented to the House, on behalf of 20 of our colleagues and myself, a number of recommendations for a revitalization of NATO and our policies toward Europe. These suggestions were based on an intensive study of the current situation and prospects for NATO, which was spurred both by the impending NATO council of ministers meeting, and by the obvious need for far more emphasis on European affairs in the overall framework of our foreign policy.

A thoughtful editorial in the Baltimore Sun for Tuesday, October 31, summarized the main points of our report and recommendations, and called on the administration "to widen its own field of thought and discussion" in regard to Europe. I would like to call this editorial to the attention of the Congress, and include it in the Record at this point:

LOOKING AT EUROPE

Twenty-one Republican members of the House of Representatives have joined in urging their fellow citizens to look at Europe and think about the United States policy with respect to Europe and NATO. Their paper is made up of a perceptive summary of the shortcomings of the United States policy in this area and of a series of suggestions looking toward a revitalization of NATO with emphasis on political and economic matters.

Two points stand out in their critical study. One is the United States tendency—both in public and private, as they say—to "imply that all of NATO's problems are the result of France and General de Gaulle." The other is our preoccupation with Vietnam: "One of the highest prices paid for the war in Vietnam has been the lack of attention given in the United States foreign policy to the pressing needs for changes in other areas of the world," the statement says. "Along with others, Europe and her problems have been placed on the back burner."

The Republicans who joined in the statement include several who are trying to broaden their party's international outlook and to give it a sense of initiative in Europe which is lacking in the present Democratic Administration. The group includes Representatives Findley (Ill.), Frelinghuysen (N.J.), Morse (Mass.), Conte (Mass.), Reid (N.Y.), Schwengel (Iowa), Taft (Ohio) and, it is pleasant to note, the three Maryland Republicans—Congressmen Mathias, Morton and Gude.

As the statement points out, recommendations as to the future shape and policy of NATO are to be considered at the meeting of the NATO council of ministers in December. The council should be looking for new approaches to East-West trade, the German problem, nuclear armament, aid to the underdeveloped countries and to economic and political relations. The House Republicans' statement stresses the importance of forward steps in these fields. Their suggestions, as well a their criticisms, should help to stimulate the Democratic Administration to widen its own field of thought and discussion.

The Facts on the Auto Smog Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the House on Thursday will debate and undoubtedly pass the Air Quality Act of 1967. At issue is the so-called Dingell amendment, which would take away California's right to regulate auto smog control devices for the health and safety of her own people.

Eric P. Grant, executive officer of the California State Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board, has prepared an informative fact sheet, in question-and-answer form, about the critical motor vehicle smog problem in California and the measures the State has already taken to keep at least some of this poison out of the air.

I believe all Members will want to examine the fact sheet before this important debate, so I am including it at this point in the Record as an extension of my own remarks:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN RELATION TO THE 1967 AIR QUALITY ACT

BACKGROUND

The air quality act is the result of extensive hearings by Senator Muskie's subcommittee on air and water pollution.

These hearings were held throughout the United States, including a two-day session in California.

The resulting act provided that California would be permitted to establish a vehicle emission program which would satisfy our needs. It was not restricted by federal authority. The provision providing for this has become known as the Murphy amendment.

Representative Dingell of Dearborn, Michigan, in the House Commerce Committee reversed the Senate's position and put in what is known as the Dingell amendment. The Dingell amendment *prevents* the State of

California from having its own program for motor vehicles. *Only* when the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is satisfied that California needs controls stronger than the federal program would be federal administrative organization provide for a different rule.

The following are brief questions and answers in conjunction with this legislation:

Question: Why is the Murphy amendment needed?

Answer: Photochemical smog is caused by unburned gasoline. Only by strict application of regulations to motor vehicles can it be solved.

Question: What is the Dingell amendment?

Answer: The Dingell amendment precludes the State of California from any activity on new vehicles in relation to emission control.

Question: Who has the responsibility under the Dingell amendment?

Answer: The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare *only* may deal with the manufacturers.

Question: What difference does this make?

Answer: California's program, established seven years ago, places primary responsibility on the manufacturers of motor vehicles.

Question: Why should the manufacturer be held responsible?

Answer: California's program required that emission control systems with *normal* service perform satisfactorily for the life of the vehicle.

Question: Who would be responsible for legal enforcement under the Dingell amendment?

Answer: The state would have no recourse but to enforce performance requirements against the motorist.

Question: What would it be under the Murphy amendment?

Answer: Under the Murphy amendment the manufacturers and the motorist and the service industry are all responsible. If official tests reveal failure of satisfactory performance with normal service (random sample tests), the manufacturer must improve the ability of the system.

Question: How well do the systems work?

Answer: Crankcase systems are 100% effective. Exhaust systems control two-thirds of the emissions from the vehicles.

Question: Are stricter standards and requirements necessary?

Answer: Yes. Every authority in state and local government agrees that essentially total control is needed in California.

Question: Will stricter California standards impose a hardship on the automobile industry?

Answer: To some extent, yes, since they will have to build a different vehicle for California motorists. However, they have been doing this and the California motorist has been paying for it since 1960.

Question: Would it cost the motorists in the rest of the United States if California had a different standard?

Answer: Of course, no one knows how the automobile industry accounts for its prices, but it would certainly appear that different vehicle equipment in California would be like any other extra and would be included on the window list price.

Question: What is to prevent California from setting unrealistic goals?

Answer: California has, in its seven-year program, never acted capriciously. The California authorities have consistently recognized both the needs for air pollution control and the scientific engineering production capacity to provide it.

Question: How much will this cost?

Answer: At present, systems are costing around $25 per vehicle average, some higher, some lower. Savings are, however, generated for the motorist due to improved combustion and increased mileage.

Question: What is the direct effect now on the State of California if the Dingell amendment were passed?

Answer: First, present assembly quality control requirements imposed by California on new vehicles sold in the state would be nullified. Second, 1969 large trucks and buses are covered by state requirements. There is no similar federal requirement. Third, 1970 gasoline-powered vehicles by California law must both reduce exhaust emissions and control evaporation losses. Fourth, diesel standards for smoke and odor established by the State of California would also be null and void.

NOTE.—All of the above could apply in California only IF the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in his judgment felt it was necessary.

Question: Why is this program necessary in California?

Answer: First, we have a terrible smog problem that must be resolved. Second, vehicle emissions are the principal cause of air pollution. Third, 10% of the total fuel purchased in the State of California goes off into the air on uncontrolled vehicles. This would be more than 2 million gallons a day. The vehicles can be controlled, the industry has said they will control them—but only if we force them into it will this be done.

Progress on the Smog Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Fullerton, Calif., News Tribune of October 3, 1967.

This editorial points out that S. 780, as approved by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, affords adequate protection to the people of the State of California.

The editorial states that, under this legislation, "California should have no difficulty in proving its case to the Secretary" for more stringent or for additional standards to meet the needs of the State of California.

Fullerton, Calif., is in the Los Angeles vicinity and shares that area's air pollution problems.

The editorial follows:

PROGRESS ON SMOG FRONT

We do not agree that the Smog Control Program approved by the House Commerce Committee is necessarily bad because it modified California's option of imposing more stringent measures than would be obligatory in the rest of the country.

The Senate version had excluded California from federal preemption of the field. The House Commerce Committee left to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare the decision as to whether this state should invoke tougher motor vehicle standards than those applying nationwide.

California should have no difficulty in proving its case to the Secretary. There are more automobiles in this state than there are people in all but three of the 50 states of the Union. California's auto registrations totaled 10.3 million last year and are expected to reach 10.7 million by the end of this year. Only California itself, plus New York and Pennsylvania, had more people than that in the 1960 census. Illinois, Ohio and Texas came close, but all other states were well behind the California auto figure in numbers of people.

California's lead in auto registration is considerably greater than its lead in population. New York ranks a distant second with 6.2 million cars. Texas has 5.7 million. Ohio and Pennsylvania have 5.2 million each.

While it might be better to have the authority with no strings attached, no formalities to observe, we cannot conceive of a Cabinet Officer's rejecting an urgent and well-documented appeal from the nation's most populous state, with the second largest delegation in Congress and representing so significant an influence upon a Presidential election.

By going along with the Senate, essentially, the House Commerce Committee has assured passage of the most far-reaching air pollution control legislation yet proposed. States will be required to establish and enforce regional clean-air programs or have the Federal Government do it for them. The Health-Welfare Secretary will have the power to seek court injunctions to shut down industrial sources of pollution and halt traffic when there is "an imminent and substantial" danger to health. Funds will be granted the states for inspection of motor vehicle pollution control devices. And indepth studies of the composition of smog, its sources and more sophisticated means of overcoming it will be financed.

The plus factors of the House bill far outweigh the minus represented by indirect, rather than direct, authority for California to set its own standards.

Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today received a letter from a brave patriotic young corporal now serving in the battlefields of Vietnam. It is a heartfelt letter which I would like to share with others by placing it in the RECORD. I want others to know of his inquiry, his love for his country, his respect for mankind, his fight for peace, and his own search for the answer to "why?"

The letter referred to follows:

SOUTH VIETNAM.

MR. DUNCAN: I am just one man in thousands that are fighting in Viet Nam. I am old enough to drink, vote, and fight in a democratic society.

I have been a resident in Knoxville, Tennessee, for 15 years. I have been brought up in life as an American citizen. I have been away from politics at home for two and one-half years, and I cannot vote properly without knowing the candidates and their policies.

But I feel that maybe my questions can be answered by a man such as you. If a representative of the people cannot answer these questions then I know not where an answer can be found. You represent what I am fighting for. Can you answer these words?

The time has come for words of wrath to be unleashed. While I sit and read newspaper articles and letters from home telling me of protest marches, anti-war demonstrations, and draft card burning, men all around me are dying.

Why are these men dying? The answer, as both of us know, is simple. To help bring the freedoms and privileges of a democratic way of life to those people unfortunate enough to be under the Communist aggression.

I seek the answers to the questions of why the Nation's Capital had to be closed for three days, why these so-called American citizens are allowed to run amuck in our country destroying the morale of our freedom fighters, why do we discover medical supplies from organizations in the United States of America in the hands of the North Vietnamese army?

There are many men who would like to know the answers to these questions. These people are only helping to kill American fighting men. I only wish that they could see the killing and crippling for life that is happening.

To stop this war now except at peace would only see the lives of many fathers and sons, brothers and husbands, wasted.

Is it that Nathan Hale, George Washington, and other men like them were wrong?

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth to this continent a new nation. . . ." "Think not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

The words of great and wise men. Men who helped to carry forward the torch of freedom to keep a constant vigil over our homeland.

But this burden was not on their shoulders alone. It rests upon the shoulders of individual men and women; each representing a stone in the foundation supporting freedom, lest it be shattered to nothingness by the forces of chaos.

If a standard bearer should fall, another must maintain his post. Man can be replaced, but the things he has lived and died for cannot—or these men would have died in vain. A constant vigil must be kept on the shores of America, but this is not enough. The vigil must be extended to foreign soil to try and bring forth the same fundamentals of democratic living.

Men have asked me if what they are going through is worth it—only because of the happenings at home. I think it is worth it all. But can't this nonsense be stopped? Do you think it is worth it?

Sincerely,

Cpl. James J. Elliott,
U.S. Marine Corps.

Senator Montoya Addresses Missile Electronic Warfare Technical Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, Senator Joseph M. Montoya, of New Mexico, today delivered a talk before the missile electronic warfare technical meeting at White Sands Missile Range, N. Mex.

New Mexico is an ideal place for such a technical meeting, because my State has been in the forefront as far as scientific endeavors are concerned since the dawning of the atomic age. Scientists at Los Alamos, N. Mex., worked during the early 1940's on the Manhattan project. The project resulted in the first atomic explosion at Trinity site, which is just a short distance from Alamogordo, and is part of White Sands Missile Range. We of New Mexico are not willing to rest on our past achievements. The New Mexico delegation is now working diligently to make our State the center of the Nation's electronic research. It would be very difficult to find a place in the world with more sophisticated electronic hardware. But even more important, the number of technical personnel and the high quality of such personnel now in New Mexico, or willing to locate there, will keep the United States in the lead.

Senator Montoya's speech follows:

It is a privilege and a pleasure to return to White Sands and be with you on the occasion of this missile electronic warfare meeting being conducted by the Missile Electronic Warfare Technical Area, U.S. Army Electronics Command and commonly known as MEWTA.

I am very familiar with the activities of White Sands and the important work being done here.

We here—now—are at the heart of the Missile Electronic Warfare capabilities and vulnerabilities of the United States. That heart is in my constituency.

I find electronic warfare a subject that is rapidly coming to the forefront in many of our defense systems. Electronic warfare covers not only the complete spectrum of electro-magnetic frequencies, but also the combat spectrum ranging from underwater, to surface, air, and space as well.

Gentlemen, the world-wide balance of power is shifting. While we are preoccupied with the Vietnam quagmire and worries about Red China, the U.S.S.R. is engaged in a top priority technological arms race—simultaneously, on an unprecedented scale, bending military iron, pouring military concrete, developing an international military base structure, and obviously questing for world-wide military dominance.

Concern with the swift U.S.S.R. parallel build-up in offensive and defensive forces, possibly coupled to a date of Soviet-believed readiness for war, is one of my reasons for appearing before this distinguished group. I hope in this and other addresses to focus the attention of the Nation on the critical balance of terror; on the fact that the Soviets could be convincing themselves, albeit erroneously, that they could win in an all-out war against the U.S. Not a threat of war in a distant future, but a credible threat of an incredible Soviet-initiated war early in our time.

The missile electronic warfare capabilities of the United States could make the difference.

Missile Electronic Warfare gives promise to deny decisive credibility to enemy strategic weapons of mass destruction; to return the Soviets to a road marked "sanity."

Missile Electronic Warfare has started to save the lives of American soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen, daily in the military theater of Vietnam. In August of this year, Defense Secretary McNamara noted that: "Electronic countermeasures equipment, installed on U.S. aircraft during recent months, has proven highly effective against enemy radar sites. This has permitted aircraft to fly higher, out of range of small arms ground fire." He said, also, that: "New Air Force tactics, made possible largely through the use of ECM, have lowered the risk and made attacks more effective." So we can see how your major field of concentration is affecting America, on a daily basis. But now we must look at a still larger picture.

I would like to share with you some of my thoughts and impressions that are pertinent to this meeting and to recent developments in your area of interest that I am acquainted with.

White Sands, with its extensive test and evaluation facilities and its highly skilled personnel, is performing a vital role in the development of combat missile systems for the U.S. Army. The testing, analysis, and refinement of the Army's missile weaponry that is being done at White Sands assures us that these offensive and defensive missile systems will hit their targets under combat operating conditions.

The combination of the extensive range facilities, the specialized instrumentation and the remote location of White Sands makes it an ideal location for testing our most advanced missile systems.

White Sands Missile Range has been active in testing techniques and hardware applicable to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense system. Recent increased emphasis on this program by the Department of Defense should find White Sands playing an even larger role in the development of this system in the years ahead.

In addition to its support of the Army missile programs, White Sands Missile Range also serves as a test area for advanced research projects being conducted by the other Services, NASA, and various research organizations.

You have had to struggle against some powerful obstacles. The first seems to be inertia. I am constantly surprised at the lip-service that is paid to Missile EW and its complement . . . system vulnerabilities. Coupled with this is a history of negligible support.

The Missile EW community at this meeting have long recognized the deadly seriousness of missile system vulnerabilities, both U.S. and foreign. For the past one and a half decades this problem has provided your mission in life. Your hopes for recognition will come to pass, if this Senator can make it so.

But I was amazed, therefore, at the lack of timely U.S. Missile Electronic Warfare successes in the recent history of battles. With such fine field assets, I was amazed at the lack of an adequate Missile EW focus, from above. I was amazed at the invariant high level tendency toward an early glossing-over of the inadequacies, the vulnerabilities, of systems with which we initially confronted our enemies; at an inherent high-level complacency of some planners with regard to the EW capabilities of the enemy. This kills American boys. This must not be allowed to persist. I could not cease to be amazed at the lip-service paid to Missile EW and its complement, system vulnerabilities . . . lip-service and a history of negligible solid support. Without intending to pun, Electronic Warfare makes waves; bureaucrats and planners, alike, tend to avoid waves; so do contractors in the definition phases of a contract. But that is the time—the very time—to start thinking about the enemy!

My staff has found that the vulnerability aspects of Electronic Warfare rarely, if ever, adequately influence a go-ahead signal, or a halt, on a missile system contract; in fact these aspects are ignored more often than not. Compared with the power of missile system proponents, the EW assets are so very, very sparse, and held down to such very, very, low and weak levels. The EW message rarely, if ever, reaches a sufficiently-high command level in the developmental and production-decision cycle; if it does, rarely, if ever, is it given necessary and deserved preponderant weight. Worse: Rarely, if ever, has an EW unit not under the thumb of the program manager, been allowed to have full insight into early knowledge of the system to be questioned, in order to table a timely early objection, and to form a basis for timely early system amendments—before the bending of iron, and long before full-scale deployment. No, the motto seems to have been: Spend the available money first, then go back to Congress for more money. Even now, there might not be time to go back to Congress for more money.

The questions you deal with are rapidly becoming life and death matters for our nation. One that continually draws my attention regards our own missile systems. Can these multi-billion dollar systems, those operational and planned for future operations, withstand a determined and knowledgeable primary enemy if he exploits his full EW capabilities? In some cases, yes. In some tragically serious cases, I know enough to doubt it. Again the answer to this lies with you, and you must be given the tools with which to do the job.

We know that in the light of modern offensive and defensive net evaluation, the numbers game of opposing military forces is no longer of predominant significance. Rather, the technological ability to penetrate successfully, and to deliver undamaged strategic weapons of even limited force is now far more important than a mere head count of available delivery vehicles, warheads, throw-weight or comparisons of megaton yields. The technological ability to totally deter a missile force from weapons delivery during a few crucial hours may no longer be dependent upon the size or potential yield of that force. Again, the answer lies with you and your work.

Missile-for-missile deterrency will no longer work in this era of long range, high altitude, widespread nuclear radiation kill effects. These are all well understood and exploited by our own country and the Soviets.

For these are critical times, and electronics pervades all critical weapons areas. The confidence with which existing and currently budgeted electronics systems can be counted upon to operate effectively in a battle environment is inversely proportionate to the effectiveness of opposing EW. The concern of the Soviet Union with radar vulnerabilities to electronic countermeasures can be exemplified by the degree of effort placed on their track-while-scan principle, which became the basis for the so-called SA–2 antiaircraft guided missile system. They started early on their system. We started late with our countermeasures. We still can't use current strategic bombers strategically over North Vietnam solely because of that damned missile system. Did we know about it early enough? Yes. Can we beat it? Of course! Could we have beaten it earlier? Of course! The Soviets have long recognized EW as a unique and extremely important weapon of war. Do we objectively review our vulnerabilities to it, and their vulnerabilities also? We shall, and our surprises will not be so costly in the future.

Countermeasures, counter-countermeasures, hardening of electromagnetic systems against transient radiation effects and other long range radiation effects, objective self-criticism on that score, objective net evaluation of our systems effectiveness against a dynamic enemy, all of these are elements in my value-judgments; all of these factors fall within the designation "Electronic Warfare". All of these factors are crucial to the viability of the United States. All of these must be supported, here, adequately, and timely. This I intend to ensure.

It is, therefore, to you, the experts on Electronic Warfare, that one of the fundamental technical spectra of the strategic balance has been entrusted. Technological surprises or dramatic breakthroughs cannot be overlooked. If not for you, the Soviet Union could alter the existing balance of strategic forces that favor the United States, and at a startling pace.

Now we see the threat. Yet does it not appear to you rather remarkable that more support was not given to EW in general, and to the missile EW complex here at White Sands in particular?

It certainly appears remarkable to me. But upon what must I base my military program approvals? Political party position? In Electronic Warfare there is none. Military committee decisions and recommendations? Yes, if all factors have been considered to my satisfaction; but I can't find factors of Electronic Warfare in their conclusions, so they were apparently not in the imput data to those committees. Conscience? There is a good support! But technical guidance for my conscience? The Executive Branch is both technical proponent and technical advisor.

When I require guidance as to the need or adequacy of a particular system, it must be based upon Intelligence; both C.I.A. and D.I.A. are arms of the Executive Branch. When I need guidance as to supporting the thrust and extent of military research and development—its necessity and adequacy—it must come from the Department of Defense, itself. If I question value judgments—systems credibility in the face of scientific phenomena exploited by the enemy net evalution—none but the cognizant officers or their chosen representatives are ever deemed technically qualified to respond—Arms of the Executive Branch. If I still question, when I need guidance as to objectivity of the proponent, realistic costs, manner of projected or past expenditures, effectiveness and operational value of the product—I must turn to the Bureau of the Budget, another arm of the Executive Branch.

Please, don't misunderstand, I admire the Executive Branch and respect it for the almost impossible tasks it is called upon to surmount in service to the country. But its rabbits are minding the most costly and most crucial cabbage patches, and it is not unknown for them to get all fouled up. At least, a Senator cannot accept all programs at stated face value. Senators must develop relationships, through their staffs, with carefully chosen, objective, experienced, relatively independent experts, in support of conscience and objective Senatorial actions. One objective arm of the Executive Branch upon which I shall depend is right here, on the factual-judgment level, and well separated from the more subjective policy levels. Of course, I would expect that the commands would bless, monitor, and support the MEWTA asset.

MEWTA is an activity under the command of General Latta, who also heads the Army's Electronics Command at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. The Electronics Command has the reponsibility for conducting the Army's research and development in the non-communications electronic warfare field.

MEWTA provides a unique capability in the missile electronic warfare segment of that field. It has the responsibility of determining the vulnerability of our missile systems and other missile systems considered to be a threat to our forces, and to recommend development of suitable electronic warfare systems to cope with the situation.

Its charter also includes performing analysis of our ballistic missile systems, analysis of our ballistice missile defense systems, and their deployment to determine their combat operational effectiveness.

This is indeed a formidable task.

This meeting which brings together many of the most highly specialized and talented people in the electronic warfare profession is indicative of the type and calibre of effort required to conduct successful research and development in this field.

Electronic warfare may be considered to be a new dimension in modern warfare. Although it was first introduced in the World War II time period to degrade the effectiveness of enemy radar and navigation systems, it has now progressed to a highly sophisticated science that is included in the design and tactical deployment of every weapon system that must penetrate a complex enemy electronic defense environment.

This exacting science requires that the finest scientific and technical resources be applied to the problems at hand.

This is the job that faces each of you here today. In this room are scientists, engineers, educators, technicians, combat operations and management specialists in the field of electronic warfare. You must all work individually and collectively to come up with the analysis, the hardware, and tactical solutions required.

In this ever changing environment, you are called upon to react quickly to new defense situations. New hardware must be designed and tested and new tactics must be determined. This is a team effort with members ranging from scientists working in areas of basic research to designers putting new ideas into hardware, and operations analysis determining new tactics for the commander in the field to put in his "Bag of tricks".

Electronic warfare can be called a "cat and mouse" game of sorts in which the mouse attempts to outwit the cat and gain the advantage. The electronic warfare version of this game employs the most advanced technology available to the players. Current techniques sometimes make it difficult to determine who is the cat and who is the mouse in any given situation, and furthermore, who has the advantage.

Each of you is frequently called upon to provide a new or revised electronic warfare capability to counter a new enemy electronic system as soon as it is discovered. On many occasions this involves engineering analysis of systems that are often times poorly defined, and a fast response time that must be met to negate any advantage the enemy may enjoy with his new system.

This calls for an extraordinary contribution from every member of the team in personal sacrifice of time and energy, and technical resourcefulness to meet the challenge with the tools at hand.

Electronic warfare is a game of reaction. We must not only know the enemy's equipment and tactics, and the weakness therein. But we must anticipate changes and improvements in his electronics inventory.

This means that we must maintain a broad base of research and development in the field of electronic warfare so that we are able to select techniques and hardware as the need arises. At MEWTA we must ensure that our electronic warfare capability is such that our national security is not jeopardized.

This will enhance our ability to reach to threats facing our nation. In the situation where our newest equipment can become obsolete overnight, we must be prepared to meet the new technical challenge with every resource at our command.

A dynamic and comprehensive electronic warfare research and development program that will provide at MEWTA a readily available reservoir of electronic warfare technology is a resource that must be provided to the Department of Defense.

A characteristic of electronic warfare research and development is that it tends to be neglected between periods of national crisis. It is revitalized as soon as hostilities break out, and crash efforts are made to catch up as quickly as possible. We must maintain continuity in our research and development programs in order to keep abreast with the latest ECM and ECCM techniques and equipment in the field. We cannot afford the luxury of an electronic warfare vacation between national emergencies.

It is essential that a continuous research and development program for electronic warfare be maintained and supported to meet future needs of the military. This in turn must be backed by sufficient resources, both money and personnel, to insure completion of assigned tasks. As the enemy's electronic warfare capability and electronics are continuously being expanded and refined towards sophisticated weapon systems, the U.S. must constantly maintain the proper vigilance to insure that we can meet any enemy threat in electronics. This is what I mean by net evaluation. The electronic warfare program for the Services must never be allowed to be diluted or enter into a state of limbo. Support for these highly sophisticated electronic warfare programs must be backed by all agencies responsible for safeguarding the integrity and defense of this country. Industry must be given the opportunity and responsibility of continuously providing research and development for future land, air, sea and space applications. This will provide the United States with the necessary electronic warfare resources to prevent operating on a crash program basis as we have done in the past.

The extensive facilities of the White Sands

Missile Range, the unique capability of MEWTA, and the resources of Sandia Base and Los Alamos must continue to work closely with our partners in industry and other research organizations to insure that we maintain the technical advantage so necessary in the field of missile electronic warfare.

The true effectiveness of electronic warfare systems, the vulnerability of our missile systems, and future electronic warfare systems requirements can only be defined by extensive and realistic operational testing in a suitable environment.

White Sands is well suited to perform more of this type of testing and evaluation.

I will continue to work with the Department of Defense to assure that the resources of White Sands Missile Range, MEWTA and other New Mexico facilities are recognized and that they will be given the opportunity to realize their full potential in the test and evaluation of future missile programs and related electronic warfare systems.

We should examine the possibilities of utilizing this area as a central test area for other electronic warfare testing to include aircraft as well as missile systems.

We should also consider the MEWTA assets at White Sands as an Anti-Ballistic missile system defense laboratory.

New Mexico State University has played an important role in supporting the activities of White Sands Missile Range. I anticipate that it will contribute even more in the future to the work being done by White Sands Missile Range and MEWTA in the technical evaluations and analysis of missile systems.

The significance of electronic warfare is quite apparent in Department of Defense thinking these days. A Department of Defense Electronic Warfare Board has recently been formed to review the electronic warfare programs of the military Services. The President's Science Advisory Committee is also devoting serious attention to the subject of electronic warfare and the role that it plays in modern day military operations.

I personally plan to help further an understanding of electronic warfare among my associates in Washington. It is a subject not widely understood nor its importance recognized. I will need your cooperation and support in keeping me abreast of developments in this field.

Each of you here this morning is contributing to the Army's missile electronic warfare program. It is up to you to help analyze the problems, define the requirements, and deliver the equipment to meet the needs. Every task is of extreme importance to the future survival of our nation.

My technical advisors have remarked about the fine scientific coverage in this symposium. When we convene next year at the same time, in the same place, on the same subject at this national Missile EW Center, I expect that the sharp focus which will have been established in your support, will show up in your vastly enhanced capabilities. I expect that this region shall be ringed with developmental and production facilities of private enterprise, adequately supported by the government. With our form of government this is always the winning combination.

And win we shall. Let all know, the price of war against us has gone up; we complain only about the pace of our past advancements and the cost-effectiveness of our measures.

I am of peaceful mind, but of a mind to say that, confident of our strength, we may more testily lose patience in the face of crises intentionally created by our adversaries. They should right now hesitate and ponder over the advisability of depending upon attacks which would, at best, even now, be highly uncertain of success; that uncertainty will become certainty of failure. So much, you are seeing to. The "Raven" need not act like a "hawk" or a "dove", but the "Old Crows" would make tough chewing. **Missile Electronic Warfare has arrived, and this facility at White Sands is its national center.**

It has been a pleasure being with you this morning.

I wish you a successful conference and every success in meeting the challenges that you will encounter in the future.

Mrs. Mary Regan, Pioneer Resident, Dies in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, a beloved civic leader in Michigan's copper country and cherished friend, Mrs. Mary Regan, died recently at the age of 84. Mrs. Regan was an artist, writer, musician, historian, and an integral part of the colorful history of northern Michigan. Great granddaughter of Capt. John Sutter, of California's goldrush, daughter of Benjamin Jeffs, one of the mining pioneers of the copper country, Mrs. Regan lived and told the history of the early mining era as no one else could. I grieve at the passing of a dear friend; those of us from the copper country will long miss her presence.

I wish to include the following article from the Ontonagon Herald of Ontonagon, Mich.

MRS. REAGAN, 84, PIONEER RESIDENT, DIES IN CHICAGO

Mrs. Joseph M. (Mary) Regan, 84, one of the most widely-known and respected residents of this area, died suddenly on Sunday, Sept. 17 at St. Ann's Hospital, in Chicago, where she has been convalescing.

She was the widow of John M. Regan, publisher of a number of financial books and magazines.

Mrs. Regan was a native of Rockland and was born in 1883, a daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Jeffs, who were widely-known early Ontonagon County pioneers. Her father was the owner of the famed Minnesota Mine, once one of the greatest copper producing operations in the United States, and he also controlled the Michigan Mining Co. and other mining properties.

Her mother was a Sutter girl and a granddaughter of General John Sutter, on whose California mill property gold was discovered in 1848, precipitating the famous California gold rush.

Mrs. Regan received her early education in the Rockland schools and later attended Sacred Heart Convent in Grosse Pointe. She also attended the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music and Radcliffe College, Boston, graduating from both institutions.

Mrs. Regan's interests were varied and her talents many. She was an accomplished violinist, writer and historian, and in the early part of the century she became interested in the publishing field and founded Child Life Magazine. She wrote many articles for both this and many other periodicals.

A considerable number of her children's stories were written while she was rearing seven children of her own.

During her lifetime Mrs. Regan was active in many civic and philanthropic works and recently founded and donated to the Historical Society of Rockland the museum which is to be dedicated to the early days of the copper industry in the Upper Peninsula. She had been an active member of the Ontonagon County Historical Society and of the Republican Party.

She was a member of St. Mary's Catholic Church in Rockland.

Surviving are five sons, Benjamin of New York and Joseph, Lewis, Robert and David, all of Chicago; two daughters, Mrs. Lewis Brumleve of Effingham, Ill., and Mrs. Thomas D. Hawley on Ontonagon; 23 grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Her body arrived at the Memorial Airport between Hancock and Calumet Monday morning, Sept. 18 about 10:30 via private plane, which also carried members of the survivors' families.

The Driscoll Funeral Home in Ontonagon was in charge of arrangements.

Many friends called at the Regan home in Rockland between four and ten Tuesday evening, and the rosary was recited there at eight o'clock.

A concelebrated Mass was held Wednesday morning at 9:30 at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Rockland with the parish priest, Rev. Fr. Raymond Moncher as the principal celebrant. The concelebrants were the Rev. Fr. Charles M. Herbst of Ontonagon, Father Donald LeLonde of Mohawk and Fr. Clarence Donnelly of Marquette. In the sanctuary were Fr. Frank Hollenbach of South Range, Fr. Tom Ruppe of Vulcan and Fr. Paul Savageau, O. Praem, St. Joseph Hospital in Hancock.

Her five sons, Benjamin, Joseph, Lewis, Robert and David Regan and a grandson, Ben Regan, Jr., served as pallbearers.

Interment was in the Rockland Cemetery.

"The Profession of Truth"—An Address by Robert Mitchell White II, at the 101st Annual Meeting of the Missouri Press Association, at Kansas City, Mo., on October 20, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on October 20 to attend the 101st annual convention of the Missouri Press Association held at Kansas City, Mo.

One of the highlights of the outstanding 2-day program was an address by Robert Mitchell White II, a third-generation editor and publisher of the Mexico, Mo., Evening Ledger. The White family has made many outstanding contributions to the State of Missouri since the Ledger was purchased by the late Col. Robert M. White in 1876, and the present publisher, who is the national president of Sigma Delta Chi, the society of journalists, has in a brief span of years made a brilliant record in his chosen profession and has been the recipient of many national awards.

Perhaps I am prejudiced because of Mr. White's references to the late Walter Williams, founder of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, of which he later became president—and because of my admiration for Dean Williams who, in my opinion, made some of the greatest contributions to the profession of journalism—I was particularly impressed with the address of Mr. White, and for that reason, have requested permission that it be included with these remarks.

I would also like to include a short biographical sketch of Robert Mitchell White II, which follows:

ROBERT M. WHITE II

Robert Mitchell White II was graduated from Missouri Military Academy and Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Va., where he played varsity football and majored in history.

In World War II his Army service included duty on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur and combat duty in three South Pacific campaigns. He was released from service as a lieutenant colonel.

White's professional newspaper experience began as a young man working in all departments of the Ledger.

He later served with the United Press and between 1956–58 served as special consultant to the editor and publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times.

From August 1959 to March 1961 he was President, Editor and chief executive officer of the New York Herald Tribune.

His many newspaper awards include the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award for editorials in 1952 and the Silurians Award for the best editorial published in New York in 1959.

He is a member of the board of directors of Stephens College, Columbia, Mo., the State Historical Society of Missouri, the Missouri Military Academy, the Mexico Savings Bank and the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey. He is president of the Mark Land Co. and the See TV Co. as well as his newspaper company.

He served as a Pulitzer Prize Journalism Juror, 1964–65–66.

In 1966, White served as a member of the five-man United States newspaper delegation which, as the guest of the USSR's Committee For The Press, made a three-week journey in the Soviet Union inspecting newspapers there.

His memberships include the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. (he was national treasurer in 1963), the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the International Press Institute, Inter American Press Assn., the Inland Daily Press Assn.(past president), the Newcomen Society in North America, Rotary (past president), Dutch Treat, National Press Club and Beta Theta Pi.

He is married and has three daughters and one son.

WE ARE NEWSPAPER PEOPLE

Thank you. It's a privilege to be your speaker. It's always good to be with friends, but it's even better to be with old friends.

We are newspaper people. We belong to the profession of truth.

We also belong to the most important profession. Walter Williams used to say that and explain why. What an amazing man. How very proud all of us are of him.

A Missourian, a weekly publisher, a member of this organization, the founder of our School of Journalism—today the oldest and largest and, in the opinion of the experts—the best school of journalism in the nation, the president of our great University of Missouri, the president of Rotary International.

To list all his honors and all his accomplishments would take all our time here today.

Anyway, he always remained a newspaperman, and always claimed the newspaper profession was the most important profession.

Some of you will remember. He would say: "I am a newspaperman. I belong to the most important profession of all. And I can prove it. Because when we die we all go to Heaven. In Heaven there is no crime, so we don't need lawyers. In Heaven there is no sin, so we don't need preachers. But I'll tell you one thing about Heaven: The people in the south end of Heaven are going to be mighty curious about what's going on in the north end of Heaven.

We are newspaper people.

We belong to the profession of truth.

And right now our respect for another great profession—the legal profession—is put to sore test, indeed.

Tragic is the word for the American Bar Association's present move to force the American people to know less about what their police are doing, and what their courts are doing.

The ABA is doing it with the pious pose—and for the righteous reason—of defending the accused criminal.

The rights of the accused criminal properly must be protected, but must be protected properly.

The ABA's proposed plan is to protect those rights with new court rules and regulations which would force more secrecy in arrests, and more secrecy in trials.

The ABA's plan is based on a report by the Bar Association's Reardon Committee.

That report is an ill conceived and tragic attempt at indirect censorship.

Apparently those lawyers who support it prefer for the ideal juror the man who reads nothing, who hears nothing and who sees nothing—in short, the totally uninterested and uninformed citizen.

And to achieve that juror, they are now championing a plan which has for its purpose a less informed American public as a whole.

Happily, there are lawyers in the American Bar Association who are against this plan. And there are other bar organizations not known to be for the plan.

Every American, every newspaperman, every lawyer who believes an informed voter is democracy's greatest strength, should join in opposing the Reardon plan.

And it is high time, indeed, for Congress to investigate this private organization, with its headquarters in Chicago, this private organization which exerts such vast power in every state in the land, in every city in the land, in every town in the land.

Well, let's talk about us.

We are newspaper people.

We belong to the profession of truth.

We also belong to the profession of the famous.

Walter Williams is one.

William Allen White, from our neighboring Kansas was another.

My favorite story about Mr. White—a great Republican as well as a great editor—has to do with one Sunday afternoon here in Kansas City. Mr. White was 82 at the time.

He was sitting in the lobby of the Muehlebach Hotel late that afternoon.

A friend came along and said, "Mr. Will, are you tied up for dinner?"

Mr. White said he wasn't.

So the friend said, "Come along and dine with us."

They went to a private dining room and there—to Mr. White's surprise—was every prominent Democrat from Missouri and Kansas.

As Mr. White walked down the table to a vacant seat, the master of ceremonies rose to the occasion.

He tapped on his glass and said with an audible chuckle:

"I will now ask that great Republican, Mr. William Allen White to say grace"

Everybody smiled as they bowed their heads.

And then 82-year-old Mr. White leaned forward and said:

"Thank you, Mr. Toastmaster, but I'd just as soon God didn't know I was here".

Of course, Mr. White's son, Bill, has a great sense of humor, too.

My favorite story about him goes back a few years ago at a newspaper meeting in New York.

I was standing with another Missourian—Joe Pulitzer, the present publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Bill White came in. I asked Joe if he knew Bill, the son of William Allen White. Joe said he didn't and would like to meet him. I introduced them. Bill shook hands with Joe and said: "Joe Pulitzer, I'm glad to know you, you are eligible to become a member of the club."

Joe was very serious about it all. He asked what club. Bill said, "Why, the sons of famous fathers . . . Jesus Christ is our president."

I hope that story doesn't offend anyone. I can't help but think the good Lord, Himself, would chuckle about it.

Anyway, last year I met Bill at an AP meeting here in Kansas City.

I reminded Bill of that day in New York, I told him I had gotten a lot of mileage out of his story, and asked about its background.

Well, Bill said, it goes back to the White House during World War II.

I was a guest there and we were having breakfast one morning with Anna Boetenger, a couple of other members of the Roosevelt family, and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Anna was talking about Elliot.

Poor Elliot, she said, everything happens to him.

The dog story had been in the news—some of you will remember, Elliot sent a dog back from England, by plane.

Poor Elliot, Anna said. It wasn't even his dog. It was hers.

All Elliot did was take the dog to an air base in England, turned it over to some operations officer and asked him to put it aboard some empty plane going back to Washington and have somebody there please leave the dog off at the White House for his sister.

Well, the young operations officer got all efficient, ordered wounded soldiers off a plane and that sort of thing and by the time the dog was delivered, headlines were huge. Congress was ready to investigate.

Poor Elliot, Anna continued.

Why before the war, people would offer him jobs and we'd have to tell him they didn't want him for himself, but because he was the President's son. So he would turn the jobs down.

And then we'd feel sorry for him, Anna said, and encouraged him to take the next job and, sure enough, they didn't want him for himself, they wanted him just because he was the President's son.

Poor Elliot.

At this point Mrs. Roosevelt interrupted.

Now Bill could imitate her well. It went something like this . . .

"Well, every morning I divide the many letters I receive into two piles on my desk. This pile over here is from young people whose handicap is that their father is Negro, and this pile is from young people whose handicap is that their father is Jewish. I don't think we should give too much sympathy to Elliot whose handicap is that his father is President of the United States."

We are newspaper people.

We belong to the profession of truth.

We also belong to the profession of words. They are our tools. Not words for the sake of words. But words for the sake of understanding, for the pure, simple, inspiring and totally difficult purpose of conveying a thought.

I remember a few years ago a New York newspaper was conducting an anti-pollution campaign for swimmers at Coney Island.

In an effort to drum up public support for the campaign the paper would run the bacteria count "per 100cc's of water" at Coney Island daily, but nothing happened.

And then one day a cub reporter was sent down to the city lab to get the bacteria count per 100cc's of water.

Being curious, he asked the question, "How much is a 100cc's of water?"

The lab technician said, "Oh, about a mouthful."

So the paper changed the words, and started reporting the bacteria count per mouthful of water.

Needless to add, telephones started ringing at City Hall and a major anti-pollution campaign was soon launched. Words. The profession of words.

A few years ago an ex-newspaperman did a short piece about words in Look.

May I read it to you.

"Words . . . they sing . . . they hurt . . . the teach . . . they sanctify.

"They were man's first, immeasurable feat of magic.

"They liberated us from ignorance and our barbarious past.

"For without these marvelous scribbles which build letters into words, words into sentences, sentences into systems and sciences and creeds, man would be forever confined to the self-isolated prison of the scuttlefish or the chimpanzee.

" 'A picture is worth ten thousand words,' goes the timeworn Chinese maxim.

" 'But,' one writer tartly said, 'It takes words to say that.'

"We live by words: Love, truth, God.

"We fight for words: Freedom, country, fame.

"We die for words: Liberty, glory, honor.

"They bestow the priceless gift of articulacy on our minds and hearts—from 'Mama' to 'infinity'.

"And the men who truly shape our destiny, the giants who teach us, inspire us, lead us to deeds of immortality, are those who use words with clarity, grandeur and passion:

"Socrates, Jesus, Luther, Lincoln, Churchill."

We are newspaper people.

We belong to the profession of truth.

That is because we have only one thing to offer—truth.

Wtih truth our product can be successful, because it wins and holds faith.

Without truth it fails, it becomes meaningless, even a desecration.

Truth, alone, is our reason for being.

Truth in reporting fact—call it accurate news reporting.

And truth of opinion—call it sincerity, call it integrity in the editorial column.

We of the newspaper business describe our kind of truth many different ways.

The New York Times describes it this way: "To give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved."

J. N. Heiskell of the Arkansas Gazette once made a speech on the subject. He called it "Keeping the faith".

Let me quote a few paragraphs from that speech:

"Just as an individual may find his conscience put to test and trial and his courage challenged, so a newspaper may have to make the crucial choice between the safe and easy way and the hard and hazardous course that is the line of duty.

"If a newspaper is to be more than a mere mechanical recorder of news, if it is to be a moral and intellectual institution, it must fulfill the measure of its obligation even though, in the words of St. Paul, it has to suffer affliction.

"It must have a creed and a mission.

"It must have a dedication.

"It must fight the good fight.

"Above all else, it must keep the faith."

A war correspondent by the name of Winston Churchill put the same thought into a symphony of words. He said:

"A free press is the unsleeping guardian of every other right that free men prize; it is the most dangerous foe of tyranny.

"Under dictatorship the press is bound to languish, and the loudspeaker and the film become more important.

"But where free institutions are indigenous to the soil, and men have the habit of liberty, the press will continue to be the Fourth Estate, the vigilant guardian of the rights of the ordinary citizen."

We are newspaper people.

We belong to the profession of truth.

Everybody reads newspapers.

But not everybody knows what newspapers are.

Newspapers are the sum of the skill, the dedication, the courage of their staff.

Newspapers are the sum of the labor, the loyalty, the love of their staff.

Newspapers are teamwork—a selfless, inspiring giving—of men and women:

Newspapers are the lonely role of leadership—sorely tested, and daily accounting for itself in black and white—to the world at large.

All of which is to say that newspapers, most of all, are people—people dedicated to truth. They are you. You the journalists of today.

The newspapers of today can be no more than you who put them out—you and your dimensions.

To paraphrase Mr. Heiskell, above all else you must fight the good fight. You must keep the faith. You—we—must be prepared to follow the "hard and hazardous course that is . . . the line of duty."

Why? For ourselves? No, not just for ourselves. For newspapers? No, not just for the press. Then why?

To answer that question may I tell you about the founding of Sigma Delta Chi, Professional Journalistic Society.

Sigma Delta Chi was founded as it should have been . . . on a college campus.

For, actually, Sigma Delta Chi is ideals—old and tried ideals—vigorously pursued to establish standards of truth in news reporting, standards so high they are always just beyond the reaching hands of the best of us.

The campus of an American university is a fitting place to dare to dream such a dream. And then, with youth's magnificient disregard for doing the impossible, to do it. To mold that dream into a practical, day-to-day, typewriter-pounding, deadline-beating, factual, clear reality, serving man's greatest dream of all—that of man, standing alone, as an individual, in freedom, under God.

Sigma Delta Chi is ideals vigorously pursued—a "fellowship of those who care," created to serve the high cause of establishing what is truth as near as professionally possible, and reporting it with clarity, with courage, with selfless dedication to truth, for truth's sake.

That is Sigma Delta Chi. That, plus, knowing that each new generation of newsmen must do still better, must make and take the constantly improving tools of journalism, and with them hew still finer the accuracy needed, to serve better the mind of modern man.

Ten young men started this organization. They started it on the DePauw University campus back in 1909.

The impossible wasn't impossible to them.

And they were right. Today, with more than 40,000 men having taken the oath of service, with 95 campus chapters, with 94 professional chapters we of Sigma Delta Chi look ahead to future years.

The numbers will double. And double again.

But that isn't as important as the service to be rendered to the ideals championed by those young men, ideals that date back even beyond the founding fathers of our nation.

For the ideals are still unchanged or, if changed at all, still more meaningful, still more inspiring, still more sorely needed.

These ten young men at DePauw dreamed the dream of how to hold still higher the bright torch of truth against the darkness of ignorance.

Willing hands—more each year—have joined with them.

That's why we, we of Sigma Delta Chi, we of the entire news profession, must fight the good fight, must keep the faith, must be prepared to follow the hard and hazardous course that is the line of duty.

Because we serve ideals—truth, the right of people to know so they will not be lost in the darkness of not knowing, so that they may continue the habit of liberty.

We are newspaper people.

We belong to the profession of truth.

High School Students Help Fight Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the pollution of our waters is a serious domestic problem. Combating this menace is a matter of the highest priority. Federal, State, and local governments are grappling with the problem, as are industry and research institutions. The problem is of such massive proportions that I am afraid many have felt it futile to try to combat the problem without the benefit of the resources provided by the above-mentioned institutions.

In view of this, I was particularly pleased to learn of the efforts made in Gillett, Wis., a city of 1,500 located in my district, as outlined in an article in the October 22, 1967, Green Bay Press-Gazette.

The story tells how a sick lake is being nursed back to life through the combined efforts of Gillett High School students and private citizens.

I commend the effort being made by the team from Gillett High School and I recommend this article to my colleagues and to all interested in clean water:

Pollution Doesn't Have To Be the Victor—Gillett Faculty, Students Have Helped To Restore Savage's Lake

Gillett.—Savage's Lake, in the center of this northern woods community, was once spring fed and crystal clear.

Its waters teemed with bluegill, bass and northern pike.

Children swam from beaches on the western shore.

Then the lake started to change.

A plywood mill dumped refuse into the clear water. A storm sewer carried the wastes from city streets and added to the pollution.

Savage's Lake was sick—sick, perhaps to death.

Its water became weed choked and took on a gray pallor. The stench of pollution drifted off the lake and fouled the air.

The fishing was virtually gone—only minnows and bullheads survived the fouling.

The story of Savage's Lake was a familiar one. The lake would probably have been written off as lost as have so many similar ponds and streams.

But the story of Savage's Lake has taken a new turn.

A research team from the Gillett High School sought the specific causes of pollution.

The group, directed by faculty biologist Charles Gruentzel, found that bacteria in decomposing the rotting vegetation and polluting debris were giving off carbon dioxide in quantities lethal to game fish.

The process was killing fish year round, but tests in late winter months showed that the decomposition had reduced the lake's oxygen level to nearly zero.

Gruentzel saw that two steps were needed to restore Savage's Lake.

First, the pollution had to be stopped.

Second, dredging was needed to remove the accumulation of muck.

The plywood mill cleaned up its area of the lake and a Gillett citizen provided funds for dredging.

A six-weeks dredging operation ended in October 1966—but it left the lake in a state of shock.

The secchi disc—a device used to measure water clarity—was barely visible just under the water's surface.

Gradually, however, the silt started to settle at the rate of about one foot a month.

But the oxygen demand was still excessive. By February of this year the oxygen supply was again depleted.

Since then, Gruentzel's crews have found, the lake has become more stable. It is still highly alkaline and hard water is more productive than soft.

Plankton life is varied and plentiful. Algae and weeds grew quickly during the summer—but they should also produce the oxygen needed during the winter.

Advanced biology students continue checking processes in their unique laboratory.

They are hopeful that Savage's Lake will recover and that, someday, the fish will return to provide sport.

Perhaps, they hope, children will again swim from the beaches on the western shore.

The U.N.'s Friends Could Lead It to Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the October 30, 1967, edition of the National Observer expresses the very real danger of the friends of the United Nations leading it to a disaster.

The article follows:

THE U.N.'S ROLE

The United Nations would be better off without some of its friends.

Senator Mansfield and many of his colleagues, friends of the U.N. all, once again last week went on record calling for the world organization to end the Vietnam War. The Johnson Administration has made similar pleas, to no avail. What makes the Mansfield resolution particularly useless—even dangerous—is its naive assumption that the U.N. actually could, somehow, dictate a genuine peace in Southeast Asia. So this group of senators would have the United States hand the United Nations a blank check, then sit back and accept without question whatever directives are voted by this gathering of nations and mini-nations. The only thing to be said about this provision is that it assures defeat of the entire resolution, which would not only fail in achieving its stated goal, but create disillusionment about the U.N.'s future.

Whatever that future might be, the limitations of U.N. power in 1967 should have been apparent to any and all last week. Here was the Middle East, a region that had for years been blessed with a U.N. presence, erupting again in warfare. United Nations observers were on the scene, reporting back to headquarters. The Security Council debated, then adopted a harmless resolution condemning both sides for violating another cease-fire. All this futility was exercised on a matter in which the United Nations presumably had developed some influence and some expertise.

So considering the organization's failures in the Middle East, the U.N. would surely be leaping in over its head by tackling Vietnam. Even if Washington were to bow unprotesting to U.N. dictates for a settlement there, any peace would be brief.

The U.N.'s detractors overlook the organization's genuine contributions—as a diplomatic clearinghouse, and as a useful collection of international service agencies. These functions may someday provide the basis for a really effective peace-keeping organization. Unfortunately, the U.N.'s detractors are not providing the greatest disservice; that comes from the U.N.'s friends, who by overlooking the organization's real limitations would steer it to disaster.

Are We Going To Lose Sunday, Too?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, a gentleman in East Orange, N.J., has thoughtfully transmitted to me a message from his pastor on the proposed Monday holiday legislation with the request that it be publicized in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am pleased to comply with the request and should like to insert at this point in the RECORD the comments of Dr. Frank Lawrence, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Orange, N.J. I know the membership will accord serious consideration to Dr. Lawrence's well-stated viewpoint:

ARE WE GOING TO LOSE SUNDAY, TOO?

God and the Bible have been taken out of our public schools.

Now the mystery of iniquity works in Washington where Congress is discussing a bill which would set five holiday each year on Mondays, thus insuring long weekends for leisure.

If the bill is passed these are the holidays that will be affected:

1. Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays—these will be merged into President's Day, the third Monday in February.
2. Memorial Day, the last Monday in May.
3. Independence Day, the first Monday in July.
4. Veteran's Day, the last Monday in October.
5. Thanksgiving Day, the fourth Monday in November.

WORSHIPPING MAMMON AGAIN

Strongly behind the enactment of such a bill is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The chief argument is economic. It would improve sales, especially in businesses dealing in travel and recreation. It would reduce absenteeism that occurs when holidays come in the middle of the week. It would be popular with employees who would be sure of at least seven "long weekends" a year (Labor Day and Easter are the other two).

SENATOR DIRKSEN TOLD

Taking the strongest stand against the bill has been the Lord's Day Alliance. Its representatives told a Senate committee chaired by Everett Dirksen "The churches do not ask for laws to help them in their work, but they certainly do not want circumstances created by law that will hinder their ministry."

Chief problem facing the churches is that three-day holidays disrupt the Christian education of the 47 million Sunday school pupils in America.

Eternity Magazine has some wise observations on this matter. The nature of holidays has changed. All of these five holidays were once patroitic celebrations but now they are being tailored for economy, business, the Almighty Dollar. Christmas is now Santa Claus; Easter is Spring Clothes; Memorial Day is baseball double-headers. We have chosen pleasure over patriotism and recreation over remembrance.

TIME TO WAKE UP

The church had better wake up to the fact that times have changed. Even the "faithful" are absenting themselves from the home church more and more. The proposed three-day holiday bill will increase such absenteeism. Here are some questions we should be asking ourselves: What makes Sunday for Christians any different from any other day of the week? Will our Church School be conducted mid-week instead of on Sundays in order to maintain educational continuity?

Nation Weary of Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared recently in the Knoxville, Tenn., Journal speaks well and forcefully on the mood of our citizens in regard to the demonstrators who advocate violence in our country.

I wish to call this excellent editorial to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD:

NATION WEARY OF VIOLENCE

This week the Republican leadership in Congress called on public authorities to put "the violent few" among demonstrators on notice that their actions no longer will be tolerated.

In a joint statement Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen and House Minority Leader Gerald Ford asserted "there is no right to act against the public safety, anywhere, anytime—for any reason." Both leaders pointed out they had reference to the whole gamut of demonstrators, including those against the Vietnam war and those engaging in racial rioting and other violations of the law that include violence.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that the Republicans were not challenging freedom of speech and peaceable assembly, in time of war as well as in time of peace, but declared that "lawbreaking and violence can never be tolerated."

Continuing, they said, "The demonstrations that have taken place in Washington and across the nation in recent months have given the American people increasing and even frightening concern for the future."

The joint statement came after Dr. Martin Luther King announced a new campaign of what he called nonviolent disruption and dislocation in the big cities of the North by crowds which he estimated would number from 50,000 to 100,000 persons.

It must have occurred to more than one reader of his outline for action that, while one may express the purpose of undertaking to paralyze the business, transportation and other activities that are part of a city's life, the chances for inviting violence and all kinds of civil disobedience represent a real contradiction implicit in King's program.

The results of such activities as King envisions may well be as spectacular in relation to violence and civil disorder as the inflammatory admonition of a Stokely Carmichael or a Rap Brown.

The fact that there is a growing objection on the part of the public to the kind of program announced by King was indicated by action of the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania in warning its staff members to stop advocating civil disobedience on pain of possible dismissal.

Bishop Robert L. DeWitt, head of the five-county Philadelphia area diocese, made the above announcement after several days of controversy over statements by some Episcopal clergymen.

One 450-member church said it was withholding $700 from the diocese because of what it considered "seditious and treasonous" statements by some diocesan officials. One of the actions to which this church objected was a recent call by a Rev. David Gracie for young men to burn their draft cards.

Warning flags are already flying against violence and disorder, including civil disobedience, whether related to the Vietnam war or some racial objective. The truth is that making law-abiding citizens safe in their homes, in the streets and in the possession of their property seems almost certain to be one of the principal issues in all elections in the year or so just ahead, including the presidential bout in 1968.

Statement of the Honorable Robert L. Leggett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to an award recently made to Travis Air Force Base, which is located in my district, at Fairfield, Calif.

This award for efficiency of operations was made by Leonard Marks, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, to Brig. Gen. Maurice F. Casey, 60th Military Airlift Wing commander. This is the fourth consecutive year that Travis AFB has won the USAF Wing/Base Cost Reduction Program Management Award.

I wish to commend General Casey and all base personnel for their continued diligence and high performance of duty in responding to the challenges which Vietnam poses to air power logistics.

A story from the Global Ranger follows:

TRAVIS AIR FORCE BASE AWARD

Travis this week became the only Air Force activity to receive the USAF Wing/Base Cost Reduction Program Management award for the fourth successive year. Presentation of the coveted trophy was made to Brig. Gen. Maurice F. Casey, commander of the 60th Military Airlift Wing at the Air Force Academy as a highlight of the Fourth Annual Cost Reduction Awards Ceremony. In keeping with cost-saving objectives of the program, both General Casey and Col. James D. Barlow, his deputy for materiel and cost reduction manager, "hitch-hiked" to the Colorado Springs ceremony on an aircraft of a sister organization, the 63rd Military Airlift Wing.

Earlier General Howell M. Estes Jr. commander of the Military Airlift Command, wired headquarters 22nd Air Force here, "I am pleased to inform you that the 60th has been selected by USAF for having one of the most effective and imaginative FY 67 cost reduction management programs at base level. This is the fourth consecutive year that the wing has been so recognized—an accomplishment matched by no other Air Force activity.

Selection of the Travis wing was based on Air Forces validated savings of 262 per cent of a goal of $908,400, motivated in part by promotional activities that won recognition by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Department of Defense.

It was the only Military Airlift Command organization to place among the award-winners named at the Air Force ceremony.

Participating in the presentations were the Honorable Leonard Marks Jr., assistant secretary of the Air Force; Gen. Bruce K. Holloway, USAF vice chief of staff, and Lt. Gen. Robert G. Ruegg, Air Force Cost Reduction Program manager.

"There is no alternative," declared General Casey, "Cost reduction is an Air Force way of life. I am proud that we at Travis have become leaders and are being looked to for answers in this very important program.

"At the same time it places a heavy responsibility on us to show the way. We will have to continue to develop new ideas and relate more of our activities to cost reduction. We have done this in every year of the program's existence.

"I think we can do it again in year number five."

Colonel Barlow emphasized the need to identify and report current money-saving activities. "We are already started down the road in the FY 68 program," he said. "There will be new areas and changes in the program once again.

"It is up to all of us to examine our day to day operating techniques and through imaginative and creative thinking develop new ways to reduce operation cost. The Cost Reduction Program is a reporting system in which you can receive recognition for savings ideas.

"If you have an idea to reduce operating cost—regardless of its seeming unimportance—work it up and submit it to your supervisor. Every dollar saved through management results in cost reduction accomplishments and counts in the overall Air Force program."

"The Great Dollar Throwaway"—Conclusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, for the past several days I have been calling the Congress' attention to the most interesting series of articles on Federal administrative problems written by Mr. Jerry Cartledge, of the Baltimore News American.

Today I would like to include in the RECORD the eighth and final part of this series, which appeared in the News American on Monday, October 30. Summarizing the results of his long study, Mr. Cartledge reviewed the case for reforms to increase Federal operating efficiency and cut overhead. He concluded:

While the billions wasted through inefficiency and mismanagement are lost to us forever, the groundwork and planning and recommendations of a new Hoover Commission could well save untold billions that would otherwise become budget deficits of the future.

I hope that my colleagues and all Americans will pause to consider his work and will join with me in seeking the objective, comprehensive review of Federal operations which is so clearly required.

The article follows:

THE GREAT DOLLAR THROWAWAY: FREE-WHEELING L. B. J. AIDE SENDS $129 TELEGRAM

(By Jerry Cartledge)

One balmy day this spring the President issued his Plan 3 for reorganization of the District of Columbia.

A Johnson aide concerned with such matters happened to be in Connecticut at the time. But he decided that Governors Miles E. Goodwin of Virginia and Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland would be interested, since they live so close to the District, and he telephoned them long distance to pass the word along.

Both governors expressed interest in the plan, the Comptroller General later revealed, so the aide then called his White House office long distance to ask that they be sent copies of the complete Presidential order.

A zealous assistant in Washington immediately sent a 19-page TWX (special wire) to Goodwin at a cost of $10.75. Since Agnew did not have TWX facilities, the assistant sent a 19-page telegram the 25 miles between Washington and Annapolis to Agnew at a cost of $129.91.

This particular waste of taxpayers' money came to the attention of Maryland Congressman Charles McC. Mathias who, after noting that the message involved was of no great urgency and could have been sent free under the mailing privilege accorded the White House, contacted the Comptroller General's Office for an explanation.

On Aug. 11 Mathias got a three-page letter from Frank H. Weitzel, assistant attorney general, advising him that the $129.91 telegram was unquestionably not the wisest thing in the world but also informing him:

"Wasteful and extravagant uses of appropriated funds do not in themselves afford a basis upon which to take legal exception to the expenditures involved."

Via telephone, Mathias was assured that the telegram procedure would not be followed in the future.

Were it not for the interest of Mathias the matter probably would have gone unnoticed. The amount is small in comparison to usual government waste, but the principle remains the same, also, how many times in the past had the White House aide made use of the Western Union wire when a simple letter would have served the purpose?

The documentation of waste from the White House serves another purpose, especially in the light of the President's "austerity" order of last November which was supposed to hold the line on unnecesary federal spending.

Incidentally, since that order which supposedly put a moratorium on the hiring of new federal workers, the government has acquired an average of one new worker every 26 seconds of each eight-hour working day, based on figures for last month, which do not include special, temporary summer help.

These facts, plus thousands more, put Congress in a black mood for the President's call for a 10 percent surcharge on all personal and corporate income tax last Aug. 3. And, if they were not ready for a tax hike on that day, they were even less receptive after a week-long Labor Day holiday during which they got a chance to talk with the voters back home and weigh their point of view.

Several times since Aug. 3, the President "has spelled out the urgency" of his tax hike in the pages of the local press and on television. But the mood of Congress appears unchanged, especially in the House of Representatives where members run for office every two years, an must therefore be more receptive to the will of the voters.

"Faced with the awful facts of his administration, President Johnson has one hell of a row to hoe with this tax business," is the way one Midwest Congressman put it.

This forecast indicates some of the economic perils facing the nation whether Congress gives him his 10 percent tax increase or not.

Expenditures are likely to be between the January budget figure of $135 billion and $143.5 billion—as much as $8.5 billion higher—depending upon the determination of the Congress and the Executive to control expenditures.

Revenues are now estimated some $7 billion lower than in January—even with the 6 percent tax surcharge planned.

These changes in the January budget estimate would result in a deficit of $23.6 billion.

Without a tax increase and tight expenditure control, the deficit could exceed $28 billion. And that does not include an estimated $700 million higher cost of interest on the public debt that such a deficit would involve.

Mr. Johnson says a deficit of $28 billion "poses a clear and present danger to America's security and economic health." If not checked, he said, the deficit could cause:

A ruinous spiral of inflation which would rob the poor, the elderly and millions of persons with fixed incomes.

A brutal increase in interest rates and tight money which could cripple the home builder and buyer, and the businessman.

An unjust and unequal distribution of the cost of the Vietnam war.

A serious deterioration of the U.S. balance of payments by decreasing exports and increasing imports.

President Johnson gave Americans two alternatives:

Accept the deficit, totally financed by borrowing (which to a large extent simply means printing more money) and let the interest rates rise; or

Reduce the deficit by raising as much money as possible through tax increases and borrowing the rest.

He obviously favors alternative No. 2.

One alternative the President did not suggest was immediately cutting back on wasteful and fruitless spending, eliminating the high salary echelon in his war on poverty, wiping out duplicating agencies and services.

He now makes dire predictions of what will happen if the nation's budget plunges to a $28 billion deficit, while he has advocated deficit spending since his first days in the White House.

When the President first predicted his "disastrous deficit," one of the country's leading congressmen said facetiously, "A $28 billion budget deficit? Well, let's try it and see what happens."

Other, more serious congressmen are of the opinion that we are going to have to live with a large portion of the deficit in any case. They say guardedly, and off the record, that we knew all along that someday somebody was going to get hurt by all of this pay-tomorrow spending and that maybe now is the time for somebody—home buyers and builders, lending institutions, etc.—to finally get hurt.

For years the American people have been told by such leading economic geniuses as J. Kenneth Galbraith that deficit spending was simply borrowing from yourself, that it was perfectly all right and nothing to worry about. Perhaps now is the time to start paying ourselves back.

Suddenly the President of the United States has become alarmed about the budget deficit, a deficit he and the Executive Branch of the federal government created with great society ideals based on feathery dreams instead of common-sense reality.

For eight days we have documented the waste of billions of dollars through inefficiency duplication, mismanagement, poor policymaking and lack of realistic planning.

None of the waste and inefficiency was so top secret that the President's fiscal advisors were unable to get hold of it. The President had access to all the information about the bungling federal bureaucracy, yet he did nothing to curb the interminable agency-against-agency fight for taxpayer dollars and power that has led to the nation's present fiscal mess.

Most of the at-home spending program has grown under the direct leadership and encouragement of the President.

With the polls showing the President's political popularity at an all-time low, he persists in the same business-as-usual approachs to programs which have been proved useless and taxation which is breaking the back of the American wage earner.

Within only a few days of the Johnson call for a tax hike, a Washington newsman reported that the Civil Service Commission had slapped a gag rule on its employes, forbidding them to contact members of Congress or the press regarding policies and irregularities at the CSC.

The policy stated:

"An employe shall not make public any disagreements with, or criticism of, officials, policies or practices of the commission or of other feedral agencies in areas relating to the commission's functions. Such matters may be brought to the executive director's attention for appropriate action."

The job of an individual congressman or a newspaper reporter trying to uncover waste and inefficiency was thus made twice as difficult. The gag-rule assures that the old policy line of the agency will be handed out to the public in place of legitimate documentation of waste and inefficiency.

The Civil Service Commission certainly did not act without the full consent of the Executive Branch in such a powerful pronouncement.

The fact that Congressman Mathias has been trying for three years to get a Commission on the Reorganization and Operation of the Executive Branch is not news to the administration, which could get the measure (H.R. 69) out of committee and onto the floor of Congress for a vote with only the slightest indication that it wished to do so.

Many Congressmen in both houses predict that if the Mathias bill were brought to a vote it would pass unanimously in both houses.

Had the administration supported such a measure from the beginning—while only paying lip service to such a move toward efficiency—many of the new programs and agencies which have come into being in the last 12 years would have been streamlined and made more efficient by a "third Hoover Commission."

As Congressman Hastings Keith of Massachusetts told the House of Representatives while speaking in behalf of the Mathias bill:

"Since the second Hoover Commission presented its final report with recommendations for streamlining and reorganizing the Executive Branch of the federal government, there has ben a vast proliferation of departments, commissions, bureaus, boards, offices and other executive agencies.

"In addition to the 12 Cabinet departments, there are at least 53 so-called independent agencies in the Executive Branch. In the last decade at least 44 new agencies, temporary or permanent, have been established, at the same time that almost as many were being transferred or abolished."

Also speaking in behalf of the Mathias bill, Rep. Ford said, I do not think this should be a partisan political endeavor. Nor do I think it should be pigeonholed and postponed forever simply because any objective inquiry into the operations of the Executive Branch—whenever it may be undertaken—is bound to turn up instances of inefficiency and mismanagement which may have partisan political repercussions.

This did not defer President Truman in 1947 nor President Eisenhower in 1953 from enlisting the great talents of former President Hoover and two commissions of distinguished Americans whose monumental works helped ease America's entry into this complex era of world leadership and responsibility."

The first two Hoover Commissions resulted in national savings of close to $16 billion, almost two-thirds of the impending budget deficit that has the President in a panic.

The first Hoover Commission cost about $2 million and resulted in savings of about $7 billion. The second commission spent $2,768,562 and resulted in savings of about $8.5 billion.

Congressman Mathias estimates that a third Hoover Commission would cost about $3 million, but could be expected to produce multi-billion-dollar savings.

While the billions wasted through inefficiency and mismanagement are lost to us forever, the groundwork and planning and recommendation of a new Hoover Commission could well save untold billions that would otherwise become budget deficits of the future.

The commission alone is not the answer. It would work and make recommendations which then would have to be acted upon by Congress. How diligently Congress followed up on the commission's recommendations would be the measure of savings and increased efficiency in the federal government.

Coupled with this would have to be the determination of the Executive Branch to practice economy in all areas of public endeavor.

No one in Congress challenges the obligation of the federal government to serve the needs of the American people, and almost all congressmen realize that these needs have grown tremendously in the past decade.

But no Congressman can justify the waste of billions of dollars in a hit-or-miss, poorly planned attempt to solve the nation's problems by merely pouring more tax dollars down a bottomless well.

A new Hoover Commission would weed out the inefficiency and waste and provide a sound economic base upon which future politicians could build their great societies and shape their dreams of a better life for all Americans.

Race and the News Media

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Woody Klein, former crusading reporter for the New York World Telegram and Sun, former press secretary to Mayor Lindsay, and presently assistant administrator for public affairs of the New York City Housing and Development Administration discusses the role of the news media in the development of race relations in this country in a book entitled "Race and the News Media," which was based on a 3-day conference sponsored by the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Freedom of Information Center of the University of Missouri School of Journalism. The Antidefamation League excerpted Mr. Klein's article and published it in October 1967, issue of the ADL Bulletin.

Woody Klein's article raises very important questions about the relation of the news media to the civil rights movement in America. He asks if the press has distorted the picture that white America retains of Negro aspirations and efforts and questions such matters as extended coverage of riots. On this point, for example, he quotes John Gregory Dunne in the New Republic of September 11, 1965, in reference to the summer riot in Los Angeles, as having said:

> Not only did television exacerbate an already inflammatory situation, but also, by turning the riots into a Happening, may even have helped to prolong them.

The basic question raised by Mr. Klein's article is how heavy a responsibility does the press bear in a situation as important and delicate as race relations not merely for providing good copy and selling newspapers, but for an unlimited effort to present an unbiased account of such important news. Woody Klein believes the news media are big enough to do so.

His article concludes:

> Still, our country remains in racial crisis. If it is ever to be resolved, there must be more understanding on the part of everyone involved in America's biggest domestic dilemma. This can come about only if the communications media offer the public unbiased, in-depth, objective accounts of what is happening. The responsibility is immense, but I, for one, am confident that our journalists will live up to the challenge.

I commend this perceptive and encouraging article to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin, October 1967]

RACE AND THE NEWS MEDIA

(By Woody Klein)

Surprisingly, there is a general dearth of material on the subject of race and the news media. It was not until the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 that the news media began to cover race relations in America as a separate story. Prior to that time, any news about Negroes was frequently viewed as "Negro news" and given a low priority. In recent years, however, great efforts have been made in radio, television, and the press to expand and sustain coverage of what has been called the number-one domestic issue in America todya.

In 1967, it can be said without any doubt that all the electronic and print media consider civil rights a top running story. The story "broke"—in the reporter's lingo—in 1963, and it has been "good copy" ever since.

Has the coverage in the white press been fair? Has it been accurate? Has it reflected the mood and legitimate hopes of American Negroes? Many of the nation's Negro leaders, invited to give their honest opinions of the news media with which they regularly deal, have concluded:

The news media do not fully and fairly report the civil rights movement.

Negative stories—violence and conflict—are given more space and headlines than positive achievements by Negroes.

The white press has perpetuated a bad image of the Negro.

The white press "creates" Negro leaders in many big cities.

Newspapers and radio and television stations are guilty of mere token integration in employment.

Statements and events in the civil rights struggle are not adequately analyzed or interpreted.

The news media lack trained specialists knowledgeable in Negro history.

The press generally goes along with the police in a dispute involving charges of police brutality or conflict between police and Negroes.

he Negro press, which is still a protest press, is generally underestiimated and unknown by whites.

Press coverage of the Negro revolution has made more whites conscious of their Negro neighbors but has not brought about any real understanding between the races.

In his book, *Black Man's America,* Simeon Booker indictment of the white press in America: "To an industry that can accuse Presidents and Cabinet members of 'news managing,' Negroes can certainly justify complaints about the news treatment of their people." Booker, chief Washington correspondent for *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines, charges that for too long, "Negroes were unacceptable as candidates for space in departments of society, housing, education, women's pages, civic news and business but could rate a mention in crime, entertainment and sports."

Whitney Young's most severe criticism is that the white press is not balanced. "The press plays up the bizarre, the dramatic. Floyd Patterson moves out of Scarsdale because of racial problems and this makes news. But for twelve to fifteen years, there have been situations in suburbs of smooth integration. We never read about them."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the nationally known Negro psychologist and educator, has a more positive outlook on the white press. "The press is fairly and fully reporting the civil rights revolution," he says. "It plays an important role. Television has played an extremely important part in exposing injustice. It keeps the story before the American public." Clark's only criticism of the white news media is what he calls its "thirst for sensation."

A white reporter, Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times,* takes the white press to task in his book *Portrait of a Decade.* He criticizes publicizing many lesser-known Negroes "who are moved to make extreme statements in the knowledge that in this they can catch attention." Lewis' argument is that by blowing up unimportant Negro spokesmen all out of proportion, the press is unwittingly fragmenting the efforts of true Negro leaders to deal concretely with problems.

What is the role of the Negro press in the racial crisis? There are 145 Negro newspapers in the country, mostly weeklies, and 155 Negro magazines, according to the 1967 N. W. Ayer survey.

In recent years, the Negro press has become more sophisticated and has attracted more readers, white and Negro. It has given direction, in many instances, to the Negro revolution in America.

The Negro and white press, of course, cover many stories in common these days. Newsmen from white dailies and Negro weeklies and magazines frequently exchange pleasantries on the scene of a news story, but they rarely exchange ideas or leads for news stories. According to James L. Hicks, former executive editor of the *Amsterdam News,* it is still difficult for a Negro to get a press pass in New York if he does not work for a white publication. Even after a Negro gets a pass, he must display it prominently to be accorded equal treatment by the police, Hicks says.

In the United States, out of a total newspaper employment of 50,000 there are fewer than 100 Negroes who work as reporters, copy readers, photographers, or deskmen on white newspapers. This imbalance recently led the Reverend Eugene S. Callender, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New York, to criticize major newspapers and radio and television stations for not hiring more Negroes. "We have the personnel and talent," he said at an Urban League luncheon honoring thirteen Negro newsmen, five of whom were working for white news publications or stations. "What is needed is the will and the desire of people in executive positions." Some editors do not agree with Mr. Callender. Many newspapers, in the North at least, are anxious to hire Negroes but maintain that they can't find enough qualified candidates.

In the radio and television field, coverage of racial news has frequently been criticized as superficial and lacking in insight. In the September 11, 1965 issue of *The New Republic,* one critic, John Gregory Dunne, went even further, charging that television reporters and cameramen on the scene during the summer riots in Los Angeles "turned the riots into some kind of Roman spectacle, with the police playing the lions, the Negroes the Christians . . . Not only did television exacerbate an already inflammatory situation, but also, by turning the riots into a Happening, may even have helped to prolong them."

On the positive side, Martin Luther King has praised television's coverage of the 1963 March on Washington. In *Why We Can't Wait*, he wrote: "As television beamed the image of this extraordinary gathering across [the] oceans . . . every dedicated American could be proud that a dynamic experience of democracy in his nation's capital had been made visible to the world."

Despite the news media's shortcomings, most of the civil rights leaders interviewed admit that some progress has been made in the relationship between the white press and the Negro in America. The news media have, in fact, contributed to the Negro revolution, according to James Farmer, by their coverage of the "nonviolent direct-action movement." And Whitney Young adds, "Many newspapers have helped gain public acceptance of civil rights laws in school desegregation, in fair housing, and in employment. These laws have made segregation something undesirable. They have made it unfashionable to discriminate openly."

Still, our country remains in racial crisis. If it is ever to be resolved, there must be more understanding on the part of everyone involved in America's biggest domestic dilemma. This can come about only if the communications media offer the public unbiased, in-depth, objective accounts of what is happening. The responsibility is immense, but I, for one, am confident that our journalists will live up to the challenge.

Consumer Affairs Subcommittee Again Splits 6 to 6 on Consumer Credit Bill Despite Unanimous Endorsement by President's Consumer Advisory Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency has completed its work on H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act which I introduced on July 20, as chairman of the subcommittee, in behalf of myself and Representatives GONZALEZ, MINISH, ANNUNZIO, BINGHAM, and HALPERN. An identical bill, H.R. 11806, was introduced by the ranking member of the parent committee, Representative MULTER, with many cosponsors.

The subcommittee, as I said, completed its work on the bill, but split 6 to 6 yesterday on the motion to approve the bill for consideration by the full committee. Previously, we voted, also on a 6-to-6 tie, not to substitute the credit disclosure provisions of Representative HANNA's bill for section 203 of my bill. The basic differences between these two versions of truth-in-lending legislation were spelled out in the material I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on October 4.

Basically, the disagreement which split the subcommittee evenly involves the exemptions adopted by the Senate in passing S. 5 on July 11. The Senate bill exempts first mortgages. Furthermore, credit transactions on which the credit charge is less than $10, and open-end "revolving credit" such as used by the computerized department stores and mail order chains would be exempt from the requirement of expressing finance charges on an annual percentage rate basis.

These exemptions are not included in H.R. 11601. H.R. 11601 treats all types of consumer credit alike. All would be subject to the same disclosure requirements.

ISSUE WILL HAVE TO BE FOUGHT OUT IN FULL COMMITTEE

Mr. Speaker, this issue of discrimination in the treatment of various types of consumer credit under truth-in-lending legislation will now have to be fought out in the full Committee on Banking and Currency. I know the fight there will be a difficult one, just as it has been in the subcommittee.

The retailers using revolving credit have been quite effective in their lobbying work on this bill. Other businesses in the consumer credit field—banks, automobile dealers, small loan companies, and retailers using forms of credit other than revolving credit—have not been nearly as effective in getting across to Members of Congress their side of this issue. Only the furniture dealers appear to have been active in writing in to Members of Congress pointing to the discriminations against them in the Senate-passed bill.

CONSUMER ADVISORY COUNCIL ENDORSES "FULL DISCLOSURE"

The President's Consumer Advisory Council, appointed by President Johnson on August 11, with Attorney General Bronson C. La Follette, of Wisconsin, as chairman, held its initial meeting last week and announced its unanimous support for the truth-in-lending provisions of my bill as presently amended. This position was expressed in the following press release:

CONSUMER ADVISORY COUNCIL BACKS TRUTH-IN-LENDING AND TYDINGS PROPOSALS

The President's Consumer Advisory Council, at its initial meeting took under discussion the urgent problems of consumer credit and service and liability. Credit problems ranging from repossessions to excessive interest rates and finance charges on installment loans are areas for further study by the Council.

They were encouraged that the proposed program of Senator Joseph D. Tydings (D., Md.) to establish a Consumer Protection Agency in the District deals with many of these same credit problems.

Bronson LaFollette, Attorney General of Wisconsin, and Chairman of the Council, in a joint press briefing with Betty Furness, Special Assistant to the President said "I am heartily in favor of Senator Tydings' proposed legislation for the District and would like to see it extended into every State."

The Council also unanimously backed the Truth in Lending bill as it now stands in Congresswoman Leonor Sullivan's Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

"We are unanimous in believing that this bill which includes full disclosure on revolving credit must be enacted before the 90th Congress recesses," Betty Furness said.

She added that the subject of service repair, warranties and liabilities also was of "enormous interest" to the Council and has been given long range consideration.

Other consumer problems ranging from auto insurance to the cost of drugs came under Council scrutiny. At the close of its 2-day meeting the Consumer Advisory Council will indicate areas for further study.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONSUMER ADVISORY COUNCIL

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the unanimous support of the distinguished members of the President's Consumer Advisory Council for effective truth-in-lending legislation including "full disclosure on revolving credit." I am sure the Members will be impressed by the stature of the individuals named to this Council by President Johnson.

The membership includes 12 outstanding Americans. Their names are included in the following statement made by the President in announcing their appointment:

CONSUMER ADVISORY COUNCIL

(*Statement by the President Upon Announcing Appointment of the Chairman and Members of the Counil. August 11, 1967.*)

President Johnson today announced the appointment of 12 members to the new Consumer Advisory Council for terms of 2 years.

The Council members appointed by the President are:

Bronson C. La Follette, of Madison, Wis.—Chairman, Attorney General of Wisconsin.

Robert J. McEwen, of Boston, Mass., associate professor and chairman of the department of economics, Boston College.

William J. Pierce, of Ann Arbor, Mich., professor of law and director of the legislative research center, University of Michigan.

Corwin D. Edwards, of Eugene, Oreg., professor of economics, University of Oregon.

Richard H. Grant, of Portsmouth, N.H., general manager, Pease Air Force Base Federal Credit Union.

Gerald A. Lamb, of Waterbury, Conn., State treasurer, State of Connecticut.

Louis Stulberg, of New York City, N.Y., president, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

William L. Lanier, of Metter, Ga., State Executive Director, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

Mary L. Bailey (Mrs. Charles W.) of Austin, Tex., housewife.

Maurine B. Neuberger, of Portland, Oreg. (currently residing in Washington, D.C.), chairman, Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Mrs. Otrie Taylor, of Los Angeles, Calif., neighborhood aid participant for neighborhood aid projects in Watts, Los Angeles.

Louise Gentry, of State College, Pa., assistant dean for resident education, Pennsylvania State University.

Miss Betty Furness, the President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, will serve as Executive Secretary of this new Council.

In announcing the appointment of the Consumer Advisory Council, the President stated:

"Every American citizen—rich or poor—is a consumer. And so, in a very special way, the public interest is the consumer interest—the interest of all of us.

"In the past 3 years, we have seen the greatest advances in the Nation's history on behalf of the American consumer. At my recommendation, the 89th Congress enacted the first Traffic Safety Act in history. It passed the Tire Safety Act, and the first Truth-in-Packaging Bill. In addition, it enacted legislation to protect our children against dangerous toys and to protect the modest savings of American wage earners in savings institutions.

"Taken together, these laws touch the life of every American citizen, no matter what his income or his station in life.

"Now, in the first session of the 90th Congress, I have recommended nine major laws to benefit consumers: the Truth-in-Lending Bill; the Wholesome Meat Act; the Fire Safety Act; the Hazardous Products Commission Act; the Pipeline Safety Act; the Electric Power Reliability Act; the Flammable Fabrics Act; the Land Sales Fraud Act; the Mutual Fund Reform Act.

"The Consumer Advisory Council will add new strength and direction to the great purposes which these laws support. The Council will recommend still further ways in which the Government of all the people can protect all the people."

STRONG STATEMENT BY BETTY FURNESS IN BEHALF OF "FULL DISCLOSURE"

Mr. Speaker, I want to include in this report a letter I received last week from the executive secretary of the President's Consumer Advisory Council, the Honorable Betty Furness, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 25, 1967.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR LEE: I have been following very closely, as has the President, your efforts to give the American people a strong Truth-in-Lending law. I wish to commend you for your steadfast stand for a bill which is truly meaningful, and not one in name only. The workability of a law which includes coverage of revolving charge accounts has already proven itself in Massachusetts.

I am aware of the narrowly-based but strong pressures being exerted for a watered-down version containing serious exemptions, or for no bill at all. Unfortunately, the consumer is not organized to articulate effectively his needs and, as a result, he is no match for those who oppose even such a simple step as the disclosure of actual credit costs to the American public. It seems to me that the withholding of such information negates the revered American practice of free competition and operates to protect those who would for some reason hide the facts. Hide them, not only from those of us who as consumers would like to shop for credit as we shop for the best buy in other items, but hide them from other businessmen so that competition cannot truly be effective.

Although American consumers—and that is nearly 200 million of us—have no highly organized means of bringing our thinking to the attention of the Congress, I believe that action or failure to act on a meaningful Truth-in-Lending bill will be one of the major measures by which the public will judge the 90th Congress. Please let me know if this Administration can do anything to assist in the efforts to bring a strong Truth-in-Lending bill to the House of Representatives shortly.

Sincerely,

BETTY FURNESS,
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

The Air Quality Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to support S. 780 as one of the sponsors of a similar bill in this House. The detailed and thoughtful structure of the bill bears eloquent testimony to the continued desire on the part of Congress to exert every effort, explore every new avenue which may return cleaner, healthier air to us all.

I believe that the principal measures embodied in this proposed legislation to complement what has already been done should go far in attacking the problem vigorously: realistic air quality standards established and enforced by Federal and State agencies, for both stationary and mobile sources of air pollution; grants for further research and development in both Federal and private laboratories; the regional airshed approach to air pollution control; financial incentives to industry for the construction, operation, and maintenance of abatement facilities; and a set of enforcement procedures that is just, yet effective, and enlists the cooperation of all parties involved.

As a Representative of a highly developed industrial urban area and State, I am particularly concerned with that section of the bill dealing with accelerated research and development of air pollution control methods and equipment, and I urge strongly that favorable consideration be given to all its provisions.

Accelerated research programs to develop low-cost emission control devices for motor vehicles are urgently needed. Automobiles are the chief source of carbon monoxide, and they are the producers of photochemical smog, the effects of which have been felt in congested urban areas throughout our land. I am looking forward to the anticipated improvements resulting from the control devices which are mandatory on all 1968-model cars. However, much remains to be done to abate pollution resulting from fuel combustion effectively and thoroughly. Research programs to control combustion byproducts should include provisions for the practical demonstration of new processes and devices. The removal of pollutants may produce potentially valuable commercial byproducts, the use of which should be explored systematically.

The development and testing of new processes and devices is always costly. It involves the design, planning, construction, and installation of large demonstration plants, time-consuming operation of as yet unproven equipment, experimental and thus expensive use of new methods. There is no guarantee that a private company willing to engage in such a venture will be rewarded with profit. Under the financial provisions of this bill, the Federal Government and private industry and laboratories would be able to engage in joint ventures which will benefit large sectors of private enterprise. They would assure financial support by the Federal Government of new air pollution control projects which are still in the research and developmental stage.

I am pleased to note that the provisions of this section are not confined to research aimed at curbing emission from motor vehicles. Stationary sources of pollution contaminate the atmosphere as much as mobile polluters. About 95 percent of our growing industries are run by energy generated by burning coal and oil—fossil fuels which contain elemental sulfur as an impurity. During the combustion process, the sulfur is changed into sulfur oxides, one of the potentially serious health hazards in contaminated air. Devices now available can substantially control unburned carbon particles, fly ash, and cement plant dusts. However, more imaginative ways must be found to remove sulfur from the coal or to extract sulfur gases from the combustion products.

Coal is one of our most important natural resources and an economical source of heat and energy. Accelerated research and development of improved methods and equipment to control soot, smoke, and sulfur oxides is one way to improve the air we breathe, yet retain the use of one of the most abundant and inexpensive sources of energy at our disposal today.

Advocates of higher smokestacks claim to have found a solution to much of our pollution problems. However, particles distributed high in the atmosphere may significantly change the weather, serve as a core around which condensation might form, and change the reflectivity of the earth. Emissions from high stacks are joined by other sources of air pollution at high altitudes. Rocket exhausts and jet aircraft also introduce contaminants. When our supersonic transports start to operate at 70,000 feet, air pollution will extend to the fringes of the atmosphere. This, then, is another area for which intensified research efforts are indicated.

Mr. Speaker, I feel strongly that the provisions of the Air Quality Act of 1967 are an imaginative and practical sequence to our air pollution control efforts to date. They would provide the means for a joint, concerted undertaking in which the Federal Government, State and local authorities, and private industry could participate effectively. I urge that we give each section our careful and favorable consideration. Thank you.

NASA Awards Ceremony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the privilege of attending the honors award ceremony conducted by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration at which time Dr. Roger W. Heyns, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, was the principal speaker.

All of us should be very interested in what Dr. Heyns had to say on that occasion, and I am happy to insert his very appropriate remarks in the RECORD:

NASA AWARDS CEREMONY

(By Roger W. Heyns, University of California, Berkeley)

It is a pleasure for me to be here to participate in this ceremony honoring those members of the staff of the agency who have particularly distinguished themselves in the process of achieving the total objectives of the organization.

In addition to the obvious pleasure of being here to honor distinguished achievement of individuals, I am happy with the opportunity to express appreciation, on behalf of one University campus (and I'm sure that I speak for the vast majority of institutions of higher education) to the entire organization, The National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Those of us who have worked with many governmental agencies give NASA high marks. Its policies seem to us to be singularly enlightened, and, in view of the well known characteristics of universities to be sensitive to external interference to the point of paranoia and of our determination to spend public money as though we had divinely endorsed rights to it, without rendering account—remarkably tolerant, if not indulgent.

The institutional grants program and the facilities grants program have been wise and unquestionably have strengthened us as institutions. All of the policies have made for an effective partnership between the agency and the universities. The agency has shown commendable reticence about the establishing of laboratories in the house where the effect on universities might be harmful. It has been thoughtful and sensitive about relationships to the universities when it has felt the need to establish centers of research and development. Finally, its instruments for seeking advice from and responding to the scientific and technical community have been effective without depriving the agency of its essential independence. These are delicate and artistic problems, never solved finally but your level of performance is one of very high quality indeed, and I commend you for it.

But the achievements of the agency go beyond this, and I would be derelict if I did not go on and refer to the impact of the space program on the curricula and the research efforts of the Universities across the nation. Through the stimulation of NASA programs, new fields of study and reseach have been created—in the atmospheric sciences, the physics of the solor systems, and exobiology and others. The agency has stimulated new and already productive interdisciplinary efforts in the physical sciences and the social sciences. Some of this challenge we are only beginning to respond to in the universities. I refer, for example, to the problem of greater participation by universities in the urgent problems of our cities. These are positive contributions indeed, and legitimate reasons for pride.

The problem of organizing massive research, technological and operational endeavors when no single person can comprehend all that needs to be known are enormously complex. It can be done; the Manhattan project proved it, and NASA is today one of the world's most ambitious attempts to pool the talents and learning of thousands. I find the success of NASA enormously reassuring. NASA has shown that it is possible to structure an institution in such a way that managerial decisions can be made, not drifted into; it is possible to develop information and feedback systems so that policy decisions are more than someone's best guess about something he knows little about; it is possible to develop policy rationales so that decisions represent something approaching principled conclusions rather than random prejudices. That is reassuring to me because, obviously, I confront not dissimilar problems in riding the unruly horse known as the Berkeley Campus of the University of California. There are, of course, differences, not the least being that we are ten times as old as NASA with accumulated traditions that sometimes represent wisdom and invariably obstruct reform, good or bad. To an important degree the goal of the University today is much more generalized than the mission of NASA; I suppose that necessitates much more pluralistic and dispersed decision-making for the University. We share, however, a passion for problems at the frontiers of knowledge and both of us are dependent upon the public for financial support.

What I am trying to say is that NASA has been doing pioneering work of immense significance to modern society that has nothing to do with the exploration of space per se. Objectives have been defined, scientific and technical knowledge and talent have been collected, trained and aimed at research objectives and results produced. That is a massive accomplishment of human engineering. That experience is an inspiration to all of us. Just how much of your model is transferable to other situations remains to be seen, but it is already clear that parts of it are surely relevant and it certainly is not inconceivable that what we have learned, and what we will learn, about public administration from NASA may, in the long pull, mean every bit as much as the scientific and technological developments from the exploration of space itself.

I suppose I could, and perhaps some of you would so wish, stop at this point. Yet I can't avoid referring to our turbulent times, a matter with which this city is always concerned but of which Washington had a special reminder on Sunday. While some of our unrest has to do with the war, there are more basic problems, one of which is well stated by Archibald MacLeish in a recent issue of *Saturday Review*.

"Several months ago the President of the United States protested in a public speech that nobody seems to see what was right with America, only what was wrong with it. What was right, he said, was obvious and admirable—and he cited instances. What was wrong was insignificant in comparison. And yet the cussers and complainers saw only the wrong.

"It was a sound observation, but there was no need to limit the indictment to the United States. Throughout the contemporary world, or that part of it, at least, which modern technology has affected, nothing is more noticeable than precisely the paradox which outraged Mr. Johnson: the contradiction between the triumphs of human achievement, on the one hand, and the profound uneasiness of humanity on the other.

Seen in terms of its scientific and industrial accomplishments, our is one of the great ages of history: an unbelievable age, the age in which the old, impossible heroic myths have all come true. For the first time the deeds of men have caught up with their imaginations. Victories have been won in the ancient, hopeless, human struggle against death. Fire has been stolen not from the Olympic gods but from the sun itself. Time has been extended and distance reduced so that a word can be heard around the earth as it is spoken and an ordinarly life can be lived in leisure. Even the oldest, the most absolute limitation on our freedom has been abolished: we can leave the earth.

"But what is true of the accomplishments of the age is not true of our feelings for it. It would be impossible to find in the literature of any epoch a more nearly unanimous repudiation than in the plays, fictions, commentaries, poems which regard themselves as most expressive of our time. It is commonly said, as every college freshman learns, that the hero has been replaced with us by the antihero, but the change is more extreme than that. Ordinary, unheroic man has dwindled until nothing but his morbid fears, his exceptional vices, his 'extreme situations' are significant, and common human life itself has lost its literary interest; only its 'absurdity' inspires a novel or a play.

"In most ages it is the arts which are creative and believe, the men of action who despair. With us, physics and chemistry and biology move forward toward the world beyond while the arts retreat. The discoveries of contemporary literature are old discoveries long since made: the discovery that men do truly die; the discovery that mortal human life is meaningless; the discovery that nothing is real but the convulsions of sex, which are not real, either. 'Vanity of vanities,' said the preacher thousands of years ago.

"But all this merely fortifies the contradiction. The paradox remains. Einstein and Böhr discover the height from which the universe can be seen, and Samuel Beckett buries his characters to their necks in sand to give the age its metaphor.

* * * * *

"There is, in truth, a terror in the world, and the arts have heard it as they always do. Under the hum of the miraculous machines and the ceaseless publications of the brilliant physicists a silence waits and listens and is heard.

"It is the silence of apprehension. We do not trust our time, and the reason we do not trust our time is because it is we who have made the time, and we do not trust ourselves. We have played the hero's part, mastered the monsters, accomplished the labors, become gods—and we do not trust ourselves as gods. We know what we are."

Why read this to this gathering? The people in this audience are the men of action and much of this uncertainty is unfamiliar to you. Yet NASA finds itself in the very center of this paradox and it will become clear as I go on, that we here today have something to do about the problems MacLeish states so eloquently.

There is no single solution to this vast problem, no single element to fill the void or simple way to restore faith in ourselves. Our homes and our churches must provide meaningful goals and standards—the absence of which makes for some of this dissatisfaction. But I read into this two things that relate to us; a desire for (1) a need, for over-riding compelling purposes, related to fine and high ideals and (2) a way, a place in which we can work creatively and effectively in the attainment of those objectives. True, part of our problem is absence of goals and of values that command assent. But more of it is frustration: How can we be effective? What can we do? Where can we grow, to make our contribution and realize our potential?

And this brings me back to NASA and each of us in this room. This search for goals, for meaning, for purpose in our life can be met in part at least by those of us who are part of the "establishment." We know from personal experience that it is possible to "make a difference", that even enormous organizations can be, and properly ought to be, responsive to good ideas and high ideals. We must do everything we can to help young people see that the stereotype of the conforming organizational man is just that—a stereotype. We must welcome young people as partners, out of poise born of our past accomplishment and ambition born of our own belief that things could be better. This means that each of us must make our organizations more attractive as settings for individual growth and creativity.

This, in closing brings us back to this ceremony. It calls our attention to the individual and the organization as means to collective and individual accomplishment. There is a fascination about human engineering problems, a drama in vast cooperative efforts involving thousands of people. Unless we take special pains, this drama tends to obscure how much turns on individual human effort, and obscures the fact that the good society properly evaluates organizations in terms of their impact on the quality of individual effort. Human intelligence is imprisoned in bodies and can be freed only by individual choice in a creative environment.

It is good that all of us should turn away from the intoxicating problems of financing and organization and focus our attention instead on the individuals. I am more than pleased to join in this ceremony devoted to humble recognition of individual achievement. I congratulate each of those who are honored. This ceremony is the institution's way of saying to everyone that individual effort is the force that has made the exploration of space possible. It also asserts that it is an organizational goal of NASA to create an environment for the expression of human talent. Our sociey needs organizations in which this is a central goal. It is important further that they are perceived as having such purposes. Only in this way can we fill the void so many of our people feel.

Thank you.

Torch Artist Displays Flare for Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. RONAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Mr. Mikalojus Ivanauskas, of 1332 South 49th Avenue, Cicero, Ill., upon being awarded a citation naming him "Outstanding New-Citizen of the Year" in the Chicago metropolitan area. Mr. Ivanauskas, a recently naturalized citizen, came with his family to the United States 8 years ago. Originally from Lithuania, they have been forced to start a new life six times because of World War I and World War II. His success in his adopted homeland is an inspiring example of a story often retold throughout our history.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point an article from the Cicero Life newspaper on the occasion of this well-deserved honor:

[From the Cicero (Ill.) Life, Oct. 13, 1967]

TORCH ARTIST DISPLAYS "FLARE" FOR CITIZENSHIP

At recent Citizenship Day ceremonies held at Chicago's Prudential Building, Mikalojus Ivanauskas of 1332 S. 49th ave., received a citation naming him "Outstanding New Citizen of the Year."

Born in Lithuania, he was one of five to receive such an award from a group of 8,000 newly-naturalized Americans. The other recipients were from Egypt, India, Spain and China.

The citation is presented to a select number of new citizens who have demonstrated an appreciation of American citizenship, provided a positive contribution to the advancement of knowledge and have given good service to the community.

By profession, Ivanauskas is a structural engineer and works for a Chicago engineering firm.

He has a degree in art education from the University of Lithuania and has received international recognition for his art innovation of "flame painting" in which he employs the use of a blow torch to create a new concept in art.

Proudly displaying his citizenship award to a Life reporter, Ivanauskas explained that the last two World Wars forced his family for the sixth time to start a new life.

"With God's help and with hard work and great will we have won a new life in the United States of America. I have been living in the United States for eight years and I am convinced that the best opportunities are found here. One is able to obtain learning and a profession and to reach an economic standard without social, racial or religious discrimination. During the short time that I have been in the United States, I have reached the goals I had set for myself."

In 1959 when the artist and his family came to the Unitied States, new horizons opened for his creative work.

"The high standard of living and the easy availability of technical means enabled me in five short years to create that which I have shown in my last five art exhibitions—three in Chicago and two in Cleveland," he related.

In the spring of 1968 Ivanauskas plans to show his "flame paintings" at an art exhibition in Munich, Germany.

Ivanauskas and his wife Elena have been living in Cicero for the past eight years.

Their only son, Eugene, is now serving with the U.S. Army, stationed in Georgia.

The Dingell Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's leading authorities on the control of air pollution from motor vehicles is Eric P. Grant, the executive officer of the California State Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board.

Mr. Grant has written a thoughtful analysis of the Dingell amendment to the Air Quality Act, which the House will be considering Thursday, November 2.

In his letter, Mr. Grant states the adverse effects of the Dingell amendment on the air pollution control programs in California.

All our colleagues, including the Michigan delegation should find this letter interesting reading.

Excerpts follow:

What would be the immediate effect on the California program?

The Dingell Amendment totally excludes the right of this State to specify, require, or attempt to enforce any regulations in relation to new vehicles. Under the Dingell Amendment, *only* the Federal Government would be able to perform in this area.

At present, and since 1963, we have required all new vehicles sold in this State to be equipped with specified emission control systems, or exempted for due cause. The immediate effect as to 1968 models would be that our present approvals for sale in this State would not be effective. The Board now requires, and has notified every manufacturer of automobiles who sells them in California, that the vehicles must be properly set before introduction into the market place. This means timing, carburetion and air/fuel mixture. Our experience has taught us that over 40 per cent of the vehicles were not set correctly by the manufacturers, and therefore *never* had a potential of effective emission control, even though equipped with systems.

We now require 100 per cent certification of every vehicle, or the equivalent, to assure the motorist that when he makes his initial purchase he is getting what he has been told he is getting. All of this would be wiped out (by the Dingell amendment).

The Dingell amendment prohibits the following from being effective unless approved by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare:

1. 1969 gasoline-powered trucks and buses must be equipped in California with emission control systems. There is no similar Federal provision.

2. Present State standards (for hydrocarbon emissions) require 180 parts per million . . . for 1970-model vehicles. This standard was established several years ago by the State Department of Public Health, which recognized both the need for the standard and the ability of industry to respond. Although Federal applications are planned, there is no similar Federal standard at present.

3. California established in 1965 evaporation loss controls, and again specified 1970-model vehicles as the effective year. Again, this standard would not apply without Federal approval under the Dingell amendment.

4. The industry has been informed that emisison levels in the area of 100 parts per million or less should be considered necessary and the subject of action by this State before 1975. There has been no action by the Federal Government in this area.

* * * * *

The Dingell amendment clearly shifts used vehicle (from 10 minutes after first sale) responsibility upon the vehicle purchaser, the service industry and the State Government. This is contrary to the philosophy of enforcement we have followed in this State. We have found through experience that the manufacturer *must* be primarily responsible to place on the roads of our State a vehicle which does not pollute our air when properly maintained.

The argument is often put forth that a dual standard will cause administrative, technical, engineering and cost problems. California of necessity must proceed as rapidly as possible to total control of motor vehicles.

Since 1961 models, California vehicles have been different than those in the rest of the Nation. This has caused no appreciable cost differential, except for the direct increase in the window-sticker price that the California motorist was willing to pay for the air pollution control equipment. To argue that this will create a hardship or any other difficulty is unsound, irresponsible, and not supported by the facts.

The industry, the Federal Government and this State have recognized in the past, and recognize now, that it is essential to have uniform test procedures and certification requirements. California and the Federal Government have worked closely with the industry toward this end. The only difference in our requirements is higher performance.

It should be pointed out that under all circumstances of any proposed amendments, this issue of pre-emption applies *only* to California. Under the Dingell amendment, California citizens are the only ones who will lose the right of self-determination as to the quality of their air, and the auto manufacturers are the only ones who will gain by such legislation—since the result of enactment would be potentially less severe standards of performance applied at the Federal level than those which would be applied by the State of California.

A Breath of Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to commend KLAC Metromedia Radio in Los Angeles, Calif., for their outstanding documentary, "A Breath of Death."

Seven months ago, KLAC undertook a tremendous task to improve the public's understanding about our serious air pollution problem in California. Members of the KLAC staff, led by announcer Al Wiman, devoted countless hours and traveled thousands of miles compiling information on our smog problem. Their chief concern—just as it is my concern—is the health of southern California residents.

After 7 months of research KLAC compiled a series of reports which were broadcasted daily for 2 weeks under the title of "A Breath of Death." During this series Al Wiman expressed reasons why "every day for the past 10 years almost the entire Los Angeles Basin has been subjected to a substantial health threat from air pollution." It was also emphasized in numerous on-the-air interviews with the California congressional delegation, this State's urgent need to defeat the Dingell amendments to the clean air bill (S. 780) while at the same time restoring the Murphy amendment.

KLAC station received thousands of phone calls in response to its drive to defeat the Dingell amendment, due to come up on the House floor tomorrow. If the Dingell amendment is passed it would put air pollution control in the hands of the Federal Government, denying California the right to pass its own, more stringent controls.

Tied in with the "Breath of Death" broadcasts, the station launched a write-in campaign, urging listeners to write letters in support of the Murphy amendment and cleaner air. As a result of these broadcasts, approximately one-quarter million pieces of mail expressing support for the Murphy amendment arrived at KLAC. These letters, telegrams, cards, and petitions have since been flown to Washington, D.C., and are now here in the Capitol to prove to the Congress the overwhelming support these people who breathe smog day after day have for the Murphy amendment. I would like to insert here in the Record several examples of the types of letters KLAC has received and again express my appreciation for the most valuable service this station has performed:

Boy Scouts of America,
Los Angeles Area Council,
Los Angeles, Calif., October 20, 1967.
Mr. Sam Benson,
Public Service Director,
KLAC Radio,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Benson: I have been very much impressed with Al Wiman's documentary of "The Breath of Death". It shows a grave concern on the part of the management of KLAC Radio station. If we were able to do anything to improve the smog situation in the Los Angeles basin, it would be the greatest public service that any organization could do.

Even with my limited knowledge of science and chemistry, I know that if we continue to pollute the air as we are now in the Los Angeles basin, the entire population is headed for severe trouble.

I quit smoking nine years ago because I was concerned with my lungs being polluted with carbon monoxide, tar, nicotine, etc., and now I am told that I take into my lungs more harmful chemicals than I did when I was smoking a pack of cigarettes a day.

The time is now that the lawmakers of this great country of ours must come to face the smog situation that we have in the Los Angeles area and take whatever action is necessary to clean it up. If this does not happen, it can only lead to mass exodus, both on the part of business and industry, and people; and it certainly will harm those of us who find it necessary to live here.

I congratulate KLAC and Al Wiman for the great job they have done with "The Breath of Death", and I certainly hope it does have some impact on those that are in a position to do something about it.

Sincerely yours,
Norman S. Lewis,
Field Director.

Los Angeles County Heart
Association,
Los Angeles, Calif., October 21, 1967.
Mr. Al Wyman,
Station KLAC,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Wyman: We of the Los Angeles County Heart Association are aware of your Documentary on Smog "A BREATH OF DEATH" heard on your station Friday, October 13th.

Air pollution is of greatest concern to us because of its possible effects on the circulatory system. We are most anxious that the necessary laws, rules and regulations be adapted that would bring a speedy solution to the very serious problem of smog.

We are well aware of our own personal local problems in Southern California, but must recognize that this is a nationwide, even world-wide, problem.

We congratulate KLAC in its most effective work on air pollution.

Sincerely,
Robert W. Oblath, M.D.,
President.

U.S. Post Office,
Los Angeles, Calif., October 20, 1967.
Mr. Sam Benson,
Public Service Director,
KLAC,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Benson: As a resident of Los Angeles, I am seriously concerned about the ever-increasing volume of pollutants that are poisoning our atmosphere.

I realize there is no easy solution to our smog problem, but it is a problem that has to be solved—sooner or later. And I hope KLAC's excellent documentary "Breath of Death," which is helping to focus attention on this situation, will be instrumental in bringing about a solution sooner, rather than later.

Congratulations on your efforts in behalf of the citizens of this great city.

Sincerely,
Leslie N. Shaw,
Postmaster.

March of Dimes,
Los Angeles, Calif., October 19, 1967.
Mr. Al Wiman,
News Department, Radio Station KLAC,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Wiman: On behalf of the Los Angeles County March of Dimes, we commend your research efforts into the serious problem of smog here in Los Angeles County.

Smog affects our post-polio patients, many of whom are using respiratory equipment.

As a voluntary health agency we are concerned about the general health of all residents of our county and we wish you much success in your campaign to alert public officials in Washington, D.C. about our serious smog condition.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,
Evelle J. Younger,
Los Angeles County District Attorney, Los Angeles County Campaign Chairman.
Anthony E. Meehl,
Chairman, Executive Committee, Los Angeles County Chapter.

Christmas Seal Association,
October 19, 1967.
Mr. Sam Benson,
Director of Public Affairs, KLAC,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Benson: This organization has a vital concern, growing out of our long fight against tuberculosis and respiratory disease, in the increasingly serious problem of air pollution. That this problem has drastic effects on the health of individuals, and on the community itself, has become more and more clear over the years.

It is thus with a great deal of pleasure that we commend Mr. Al Wiman of your station on his recent well-planned, intelligently-researched and brilliantly-presented documentary series on air pollution, entitled, "A Breath of Death." In presenting Mr. Wiman's excellent series to this community, KLAC has performed a service in the best tradition of broadcast journalism.

Our volunteer board of directors and our staff wish to extend their heartfelt thanks to Mr. Wiman and to KLAC for the presentation of "A Breath of Death."

Sincerely,
Merwin L. Noble,
Executive Director.

Goodwill Industries
of Southern California,
Los Angeles, Calif., October 15, 1967.
Mr. Al Wiman,
Radio KLAC News,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Wiman: Your current and most vital program concerning the smog problem deserves the attention and appreciation of everyone. We know here, because of detrimental effect of smog on many of our handicapped client employees, the urgent necessity to do something to alleviate this most noxious situation.

Our thanks to you and your station and our personal pledge to do anything we can to support effective air pollution control.

Sincerely,
W. C. Wilkinson,
Director of Public Relations.

The Arthritis Foundation,
Southern California Chapter,
Beverly Hills, Calif., October 19, 1967.
Mr. Sam Benson,
Director Public Affairs, KLAC Radio, Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Benson: We have listened with great interest to a series of programs aired over KLAC radio which discussed the acute smog problem in Los Angeles.

We too are deeply concerned about the effects of smog on those living in this community. The Arthritis Foundation, as the sole voluntary health agency combatting the arthritis problem, is also involved with the well-being of the whole individual.

We join KLAC in urging that prompt action for clean air in Los Angeles be submitted immediately to the legislators in Washington, D.C.

Sincerely,
C. Edward Miller,
Board Chairman.

Boys' Club of Hollywood, Inc.,
Hollywood, Calif., October 18, 1967.
Mr. Al Wyman,
KLAC,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Al: First, let me congratulate you and your fine station on the tremendous job you are doing regarding our smog problem. In addition, I want to urgently add my own plea for help in eliminating this problem.

I think I can speak very authoritatively on behalf of over 1,500 boy members of our Boys' Club. At age 45 I am sure that this problem will not affect my health nearly as much or as drastically as it is affecting the health and well-being of these young boys as they grow up in our community. The affect of smog on a well-fed, healthy individual is bad enough, but when you consider that so many of these youngsters are not well-nourished, you can see that the problem is magnified tremendously. Therefore, I add my plea for help. Keep up the good work!

Cordially,
B. F. "Chuck" Lawley, Jr.,
Executive Director.

American Vocational Association Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, concerned as we must be about proper job training in needed skills, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter from Mr. Robert N. Reese, executive secretary of the Ohio Vocational Education Association in Columbus, Ohio. Mr. Reese refers to testimony before the

House Education and Labor Subcommittee on Education, April 13, 1967, and resolutions adopted by the American Vocational Association which express concern with the shortcomings of the Department of HEW on vocational education. Mr. Reese's letter and the American Vocational Association's resolutions follow:

OHIO VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION,
September 15, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT TAFT, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE TAFT: Vocational educators in the State of Ohio, at both the state and local levels, are becoming deeply concerned over the absence of aggressive and strong leadership from the vocational division of the U.S. Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. At this crucial time when the program of vocational and technical education as it relates to manpower and human resource development throughout the country, is expanding at such a rapid pace we find the services normally expected from the office of education to be at the lowest productive level that the people in vocational education can remember. A report of the growth and development of vocational education in Ohio is included in an attached statement made by Dr. Shoemaker, State Director of Vocational Education, before the House Subcommittee on Education.

As a state, we are very definite about the importance of the maintenance of state and local control of education. We are neither interested in nor willing to accept administration of any educational programs from the federal level including vocational education. We are, however, willing to meet the regulations established for the use of federal funds and very appreciative of consultant and leadership services and coordinating efforts throughout the nation from a strong Division of Vocational Education in the U.S. Office of Education.

It appears that the 'management philosophy" of Health, Education and Welfare is over-emphasizing management while neglecting program development. It seems that decisions regarding the administration of vocational education are very frequently being made by individuals without experience or training in this field of education. There is little evidence that leadership is being given to the substantive fields within vocational education by the U.S. Office of Education. It is our opinion that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, including its Office of Education, is too often abrogating the responsibility for vocational education and permitting duplication of services in other agencies of government.

At one time the states could expect national leadership and assistance in developing and expanding programs in the broad occupational fields of Agriculture, Business, and Office, Distribution, Homemaking, Trade and Industrial and Health education. Today very little support or service can be expected. One of the most serious deficiencies of the Division of Vocational Education in the U.S. Office at the moment is lack of personnel. It is far understaffed and very poorly organized to carry out the necessary responsibilities in such a rapidly expanding field of education. In fact, far fewer qualified individuals are providing services to the states in the various areas of vocational education than in prior years when the program was much reduced in size.

We also find it impossible to obtain adequate data concerning the growth and development of vocational education from the U.S. Office of Education. We are confident that Congress no doubt finds the same absence of such data which should be available to assist them in determining the effectiveness of the program and to help them enact legislation that would more nearly meet the needs of the nation.

We, in Ohio, also are greatly concerned over the growth of vocational training in the agencies of the federal government other than the U.S. Office of Education. It appears that these other agencies are becoming actively involved in vocational education and training with little evidence that any positive action is being taken by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to prevent such a duplication of responsibility and duties at the national level.

Dr. B. R. Shoemaker recently stated, "We are deeply disturbed over the fact that little or no leadership is being given to the states. This at a time when the massive expansion of the program demands more leadership and coordination of the many federal programs concerned with vocational education at the national level". The frequent turnover of personnel within the division of the U.S. Office of Education is in itself evidence to us of a program and personnel philosophy which is not in the best interest of services to the states.

There is no criticism of the abilities or dedication of the present personnel in the Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education of the Office of Education, but a concern for the low level of the unit in government in keeping with its mission, the organization of the unit and the small number of personnel.

The concern nationally in regard to the situation of vocational education in the Office of Education is expressed through the attached resolution passed by the delegate assembly of the American Vocational Association. This Association includes 40,000 members throughout the nation.

I sincerely urge that you take time to investigate this deplorable situation and hope that Congress will find ways and means of taking appropriate action to assist in rebuilding a strong, national office for vocational and technical education even if this requires the establishment of a new bureau of vocational education. We believe that such action is vital to the development of vocational and technical education which is just now being accepted as a major part of the total plan of development of human resources within the states and the nation. We have noted the growth and the effectiveness of the service of vocational rehabilitation since it became a separate bureau in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

We believe that competent, qualified and experienced personnel should be in positions of responsibility in this field at the national level and would hope that some way may be found to make the necessary adjustments in the administration of vocational education at the federal level to bring about the strength that is needed in this vital area of education.

Very cordially yours,
ROBERT M. REESE,
Executive Secretary, Ohio Vocational Association.

STATUS OF FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(AVA resolutions adopted by the house of delegates, Dec. 10, 1965, Miami Beach, Fla.)

Whereas, The American Vocational Association approved resolutions urging bureau status for vocational and technical education in the U.S. Office of Education, as set forth in Resolution 14 in 1964, and

Whereas, the Panel of Consultants for Vocational Education, appointed at the request of the late President John F. Kennedy, recommended:

"That a single agency in the federal Government perform the following functions in vocational and technical education:

"1. Be responsible for the administration and supervision of the federal vocational education acts and/or portions of federal acts related to vocational and technical education in the schools of the nation.

The division within the U.S. Office of Education to perform these functions should be headed by a well-trained, experienced, and capable vocational educator who should report directly to the Commissioner of Education.

Professional competence should be the prevailing policy for leadership personnel in the federal agency, with salaries, authority, and resopnsibility sufficient to justify employment and retention of the most capable personnel.

"2. Be responsible for liaison and coordination with federal agenices and their activiites as they are related to the vocational and technical education program."

Whereas, vocational leaders are greatly displeased with the present administrative posture and level of vocational education in the U.S. Office of Education, and

Whereas, the extent and importance of vocational education warrants the administration of the program at a higher level in order to achieve more effective communication in connection with policy-making and decisions vital to the vocational education program as an integral part of the total education program, and

Whereas, it is essential for the administration of vocational education at the federal level to have status comparable to that of other federal agenices to insure that the interests of vocational education are appropriately represented at the national level, and

Whereas, research programs funded under section 4–C of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 are now being administered by a separate bureau of the Office of Education, a procedure which is not in keeping with the intent of the recommendations of the Panel of Consultants, and since, in principle, vocational education research should be more directly related to the administration of vocational education, and

Whereas, educational leaders suggest the possibilities of establishing the administration of vocational education as a bureau or a separate office answerable to the Secretary of HEW.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that the AVA Board of Directors work diligently at an early date to secure a higher status for the administration of vocational education at the federal level, and

Be It Also Resolved that the AVA Board of Directors (a) provide for an appropriate study to determine the services and/or functions that should be carried out by the federal agency administering vocational education, (b) that from such a study, the place of vocational education in the structure of the federal government be identified, and (c) that such a study include positive and definite proposals to be made to appropriate federal officials, and

Be It Further Resolved that AVA members be urged to advise their representatives in Congress that they are displeased with the fact that the federal administration of vocational and technical education is at a low structural level; that even though federal funds have been greatly increased, the program has been placed at a lower administrative level than it was formerly; that the program is suffering because of the insufficient number of personnel in high leadership positions who are knowledgeable about vocational and technical education at the federal level, and that the program is thus not being given the policy leadership or decision-making authority it needs and warrants.

Storm Over the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the debate over the role of the States in our federal system has resulted in statements and interpretations that have often been misleading. Some of the commentators have had little working experience with State government and fail to offer practical solutions to the day-to-day problems.

One person who has had daily experience in State problems is Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina from 1961 to 1965. While Governor of North Carolina, he was widely acclaimed for his efforts to improve education in his State.

During the past 2 years, with the aid of grants from the Ford Foundation and Carnegie Corp., Governor Sanford has conducted a research project on State government problems at Duke University. Out of this research has come the establishment of the Education Commission of the States, with permanent offices in Denver, and the creation of the Institute of States to offer practical solutions to various problem areas of State government.

No one is better qualified to write or speak about the problems and progress of State government than Governor Sanford. He has very excellently addressed himself to the current issues in a book—just published—whose title, "Storm Over the States," succinctly describes the present controversy.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to represent the House, along with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN] and the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER], on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, one of the organizations that Governor Sanford indicates has been instrumental in providing leadership in the field of intergovernmental relations. The Advisory Commission has long advocated a strengthening of State and local government for a more perfect Union. Governor Sanford states:

> Throughout its existence, the ACIR reports have been among the best in the intergovernmental field. Their published recommendations to both the Federal Government and the States have been forward-looking and useful in giving a progressive program to the proponents of a better intergovernmental system.

Governor Sanford offers his own program for National and State action leading to a dynamic federalism. Among his recommendations he advises that:

First. States must get their tax houses in order before looking to the National Government for financial help;

Second. Congress should enact an income tax—credit plan allowing Federal income taxpayers to claim a substantial percentage of their State income tax payments as credit against their Federal income tax liability—this recommendation, as the Governor notes, is identical to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relation's recommendation in this area and, in effect, constitutes strong endorsement of the legislation which I have introduced—H.R. 1415—which would implement the Commission's tax credit proposal;

Third. The Federal Government must relax its stringent and multiple requirements for the many grant-in-aid programs, and take steps to consolidate them into fewer, broader grants.

One may not agree with all of the arguments and conclusions of Governor Sanford but anyone working to gain a practical knowledge for developing a dynamic federalism should read this book.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the RECORD a press release prepared by the McGraw-Hill Book Co. to accompany the publication of Governor Sanford's book "Storm Over the States." The press release summarizes the findings and recommendations of the book in greater detail, and is deserving of the attention of all who are interested in a sound intergovernmental structure.

The press release follows:

> Unless America moves swiftly to revitalize the role of the states in our whole federal system, the states may be weakened to the point of endangering the federal system itself.
>
> This is the central finding of a large-scale study, "Storm Over the States," by Terry Sanford, former Governor of North Carolina, which is being published today by the McGraw-Hill Book Company.
>
> Governor Sanford gives the conclusions of a two-year project, "A Study of the American States," which was conducted by him at Duke University and supported by grants from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.
>
> Major recommendations in the Sanford report include: establishing machinery for advice from the state governors to reach the White House before intergovernmental legislation is introduced or amended; participation of the states in the administration of important federal programs; increasing state capacity for action by wide-ranging reform of state legislatures and state constitutions and the states' executive structure; and greater activity of the states in urban affairs and in meeting public needs that cross state boundaries.
>
> In his overview, former Governor Sanford flatly rejects the contention of some observers that the states are "through" and outmoded in our intricate modern world. On the contrary, he finds, "The states have served the people well. There is a long list of solid and reassuring achievement in every state to bear out this conclusion. They have the capacity to serve even better, if we will quit fussing and start thinking, quit fumbling and start working."
>
> Setting forth some of the most immediate needs for state action, Terry Sanford makes four main points:
>
> 1. The challenge of the urban areas must be accepted by the states, since only the state is in the position to bring order to urban growth. Each state should develop a forceful and competent department or agency for urban affairs.
>
> 2. The state, from its pivotal position in the federal system, must serve as coordinator, stimulator, representative, protector, and adviser for local governments in their relationships with the national government.
>
> 3. The states must free local governments from the thicket of unworkable and out-of-date restraints on administrative structure, annexation, program activities and personnel.
>
> 4. The states must bring order out of local fiscal crisis. . . . The states must free local governments from unworkable restraints on their financial structure.
>
> To give the states their proper recognition in the carrying out of large-scale federal grants in aid, the Sanford report recommends as a declaration of national purpose:
>
> "National programs of assistance and involvement should not be allowed to weaken the states by circumvention, domination or regimentation, in either policy shaping or administration; rather it should be the national purpose to design national programs so as to promote the continued renewal of state and local governments in their capacity to solve problems and serve the communities of the nation."
>
> To give the states more specific channels in the national administration, the Sanford report makes a central recommendation:
>
> "Congress should establish a mechanism of government to function at the highest level of the executive branch, with sufficient presidential authority, to work daily to reduce conflicts, duplication and confusion, and to exercise continuing initiative to reach the goals defined for intergovernment relations."
>
> The Sanford report quotes Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, a former governor of that state, as suggesting a National Intergovernmental Affairs Council, which would be "chaired by the President and composed of those Cabinet officials and agency heads whose activities have a major impact on federal aid to states and localities." Senator Muskie thinks such a Council should have "an executive secretary directly responsible to the President. . . . (who) would speak for the President in developing policy," and adds that the President of the United States needs "a mechanism for domestic affairs comparable to that available in foreign affairs."
>
> Noting the difficulties that many states are having in balancing their budgets, Terry Sanford urges states to use the taxing powers and tax resources they now have, without fear of political consequences, and says that in most cases public opinion will support taxes for clearly needed public purposes. He cites statements from recent tax studies indicating good future prospects for a general rise in state revenues. Out of such reports, says Sanford, "I draw the encouragement that the bases of state taxation are improving, and that increased incomes will provide some states the needed money without increased tax rates. Increases in revenues will not be adequate in every state, but the states are not bankrupt. In general, the sources are healthy and are constantly growing."
>
> Surveying some of the areas where increased state action is needed, Sanford says, "Our unmet agenda is staggering: air pollution, water pollution, mass and rapid transit, urban and rural education, special education, housing, poverty, police and fire protection, mental health, conservation, recreation and urban renewal, to name a few. And the demand to do something about each of these items is increasing."
>
> Facing such prospects and needs, Governor Sanford recommends a four-stage program which would lead to a sharing of federal revenues only as a final step.
>
> "First, I believe the states must get their tax houses in order." Sanford berates the something for nothing attitude which immediately looks to the federal government to bail the states out of money troubles. ". . . Citizens are not going to look on the states with much favor if their only pose is with the hand extended, palm up."
>
> "Second, I believe that Congress should enact the so-called income tax-credit plan. I agree with the recommendation of the Ad-

visory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations that federal income tax taxpayers be allowed to claim a substantial percentage of their state income tax payments as a credit against their federal income tax liability. For those states without an income tax, this would be an inducement, but not a requirement, to levy such tax."

"Third, the federal government must relax its stringent and multiple requirements for the many grant-in-aid programs, and take steps to consolidate them into fewer, broader grants."

"Fourth, once the grants are more comprehensive than categorical and more open than restricted, and after a tax credit act has been established, Congress should construct a broad tax sharing program based on the federal income tax revenues. This final step is the Heller plan (as proposed by Walter Heller, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers), or at least a variation. Under this proposal, a certain percentage of the federal income tax revenues, probably around one or two per cent, would be earmarked each year for distribution to the states. A portion of the money would be reserved solely for the poorer states, with the rest being distributed on a population basis. . . . I only recommend a broad-based tax sharing program as a final item after the first three recommendations have been achieved."

A concluding section of "Storm Over the States" contains a detailed discussion of ways in which the individual states can improve the workings of their state governments. Former Governor Sanford stresses the importance of enligthened and energetic leadership in every state and his specific recommendations include these six:

1. Make the chief executive of the state the chief executive in fact.

2. State constitutions, for so long the drag anchors of state progress, and permanent cloaks for the protection of special interests and points of view, should be revised or rewritten into more concise statements of principle.

3. The two-year term for governors should be replaced with a four-year term, and a governor should be allowed to succeed himself at least once. Maybe, if succession is not favored in some states, a six-year single term might be considered.

4. The executive committees, state councils, and separately elected executive officers and indeepndent boards and commissions should be eliminated, in authority if not in fact.

5. Like the President of the United States, each governor should have the authority to regroup his executive agencies, subject to legislative veto within a specified period of time.

6. The governor should be the chief budget officer and the chief planner for his state, looking beyond his term of office and providing needed continuity in state government.

Col. Earl "Red" Blaik Writes About Army Maj. Don Holleder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago we all read in the papers of the death of Maj. Don Holleder, former Army football star at West Point. Probably one of the few men who would have known Don Holleder better than his father, was Col. Earl "Red" Blaik who was his coach. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an article written by Red Blaik as a part of his syndicated column in which he presents a heretofore unknown story on Don Holleder.

The article follows:

(By Col. Earl (Red) Blaik)

Last week I read where Washington witnessed the march of 70,000 peace demonstrators whose object was to "confront the war makers in Washington and to surround the Pentagon as the symbol of evil."

What these demonstrators failed to comprehend is that the career soldier does not commit this country to war—war is the judgment of our civilian leaders elected and appointed. The Pentagon implements this judgment and the career soldier is the one whose duty it is to answer the call of his country—not to question why. These men, in going to war, leave youngsters and wives with a smile, but more often with heavy hearts as they realize there may be no return. For demonstrators to suggest that the men of the regular military service want war and the Pentagon is a symbol of evil is to forget that Sherman said, "War is hell" and that MacArthur eloquently stated in taking the Japanese surrender on the U.S.S. Missouri, "it is my earnest hope and indeed the hope of all mankind that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past—a world founded upon faith and understanding—a world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish—freedom, tolerance, justice."

Military men abhor war as they know it in the raw and to them the action of the biligerent demonstrator is incomprehensible.

I am greatly saddened by the news that Major Don Holleder of Army football fame, has been killed in Viet Nam. Holly, like so many fine young Americans, made the *supreme* sacrifice in terrain better suited to wallowing barnyard stock. War, to Holly, meant leaving a lovely wife, four children and a devoted mother.

Last December, in accepting the Gold Medal Award of The National Football Foundation, I referred directly to only one former Army player and that reference was to Holleder. You will better understand this brave young officer and his dedication to duty from those remarks which follow.

Axiom—Good fellows are a dime a dozen, but an aggressive leader is priceless. The 1955 season was most trying for me as we had a lean squad and no quarterback. A coach has never known trouble unless he has the senseless temerity to change an All America End into a "T" quarterback in one season. There was hardly an officer or cadet at West Point who didn't believe this switch was a colossal error. Even my friends of the Press called the move "Blaik's Folly."

Sunday afternoon after the Michigan defeat the Superintendent, my former football teammate, came to my office and inquired as to whether I was aware of the local sentiment about our quarterback. I told him that the team was aware, the staff was aware, and I was aware, but far more important they all believed as I did that our only chance to defeat the Navy was with Holleder at quarterback.

A few minutes after the Superintendent left Holleder came to see me. As he entered the office I got up, placed my hand on his shoulder, and said, "Holly, you played a good game yesterday and I am proud of you. You're making fine progress as our quarterback." With moisture in his eyes, Holly replied, "I know what the cadets are saying, I have heard the officers talk, and I came fully prepared to get my old number back, but I want you to know I prayed all the way here that you would not give up on me."

Now, it is many weeks later. It is the night before the Navy game. As was usual, I took the squad for a bedtime walk on the golf course which ended with a few words about the big game. I recall saying: "Three times this season I took the long walk across muddy fields to congratulate first Benny Oosterbaan, then Ben Schwartzwalder, and then Jordan Olivar. It has been a trying season and I am a bit weary from those walks. Tomorrow before 100,000 spectators and fifty million television viewers I want you men to know it would be the longest walk of my coaching career if I cross the field to congratulate the Navy coach."

There was silence for a moment—then a voice spoke out with resolution. It was Holleder. "Colonel, you're not taking that walk tomorrow."

The Cadets won an upset victory over the Navy. The Press stated it was Holly's vindictation. It wasn't—it wasn't at all. It was an unforgettable demonstration that an aggressive leader is priceless.

This priceless leader is now the late Major Don Holleder.

United States Steel Corp. Endorses Antigarnishment Provision of Consumer Credit Protection Act, H.R. 11601

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the controversial provisions of H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, would outlaw garnishment as a device for the collection of consumer credit debts. During the hearings in August of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency on the truth-in-lending and other titles of H.R. 11601, we received a great deal of testimony, pro and con, on the garnishment provision, which is title II of the bill.

There is widespread interest in this issue. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Members who have read about our hearings will be interested in a letter I received from Mr. William G. Whyte, vice president of the United States Steel Corp., expressing the views of his firm on this issue. We had earlier received the endorsement of Inland Steel Corp. for title II of H.R. 11601.

The letter from Mr. Whyte of United States Steel follows:

UNITED STATES STEEL CORP.,
Washington, D.C., October 30, 1967.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I am taking this opportunity to communicate with you regarding the truth-in-lending bill (H.R. 11601).

The provision of the proposed bill which has a direct relationship to our operation is Title II, prohibiting the garnishment of wages. We are in favor of the provisions of Title II (dealing with the Prohibition of Garnishment of Wages) of the bill now before your Subcommittee.

Wage garnishments constitute a heavy and costly administrative burden upon our company. Quite apart from the administrative burden that garnishments impose on any large-size company, we believe that this repayment device may well lead to the extension of credit to wage earners in situations where credit more reasonably might be withheld and in fact serves to enhance the credit problems to which many employees find themselves subject.

We sincerely trust that our comments may be helpful to you and your colleagues in the consideration of this proposed legislation.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM G. WHYTE,
Vice President.

Compensation for Goodwill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the power of eminent domain is used frequently to acquire property for public improvements—urban renewal, highway construction, schools, and hospitals. In the process the small businessman suffers economic hardship. He loses his busines location and customs. He is forced either out of business completely or to relocate. Although he is entitled to compensation, he is seldom, if ever, compensated for goodwill.

I have long advocated that the small businessman displaced by Federal urban renewal should be entitled to compensation for goodwill, and I have introduced legislation which would deal with this problem in each Congress in which I have served. In the 90th Congress, my bill is H.R. 1227. Such a step by the Federal Government is long overdue.

Apropos of this, the proposed new constitution for the State of New York, in article I, the bill of rights, provides that private property shall not be taken without just and timely compensation and that—

> Such compensation shall include the fair value, at the time of taking, of goodwill of retail businesses, as defined by the legislature.

This is a salutary provision, which the delegates to the recent New York State Constitutional Convention adopted.

I recall that Prof. Huger Jervey, of Columbia Law School, used to describe goodwill as "the likelihood that old customers would return to the same old place." Surely the loss of this prospect is compensable.

James Antone wrote an article in the Home Furnishings Daily, of October 25, 1967, in which he discussed this problem.

The article follows:

NEW YORK CHARTER SLEEPER AIDS OUSTED DEALER

(By James Antone)

NEW YORK.—Retailers, especially the little guys, may have a bigger stake in the new State constitution than they think under a sleeper amendment now on the books.

The "goodwill" amendment . . . which was pushed through the tailend of the constitutional convention . . . seeks to correct "vast inequities perpetrated on local retailers" who for some reason or another are forced to terminate their business.

Although the State constitution always has provided for compensation when individuals are deprived of their property, this generally has been considered a misnomer. In the eyes of many, just compensation has seldom been realized since in most condemnation proceedings one of the most tangible assets of a retailer . . . goodwill . . . never was paid for.

Goodwill can be termed a net profit, the over-all value of net profit a business will show at the end of a year. It's the stuff that takes a retailer time to build, and it's difficult to dismiss. Sometimes it's determined by gross business . . . other times it may be worth 10 to 15 times more.

If a business does $1,000 a week, just in goodwill, it would be valued about $12,000–$13,000 a week. Of course, the lease or rent and physical assets are considered.

The new goodwill amendment was sponsored by Harvey Strelzin, doctor of judicial science, professor of law at New York Law School and former assistant Attorney-General. It was adopted by the delegates to compensate merchants for more than just their business and property when their property is condemned for public purposes.

Never before in the history of the State has so much land and buildings been appropriated, under the power of eminent domain, for highways, expansion, hospitals, schools, housing and recreation areas.

The complexity and magnitude of the present programs within heavily populated and suburban areas have created vast economic disruption to thousand of merchants who have been forced either to give up their business or to relocate.

According to Mr. Strelzin, "The purpose of my action at the convention was to minimize the plight of the local merchant, whose greatest asset, goodwill—a value which can only be established after years of merchandising in one location—is taken from him without the slightest compensation."

This denial of compensation, added the Brooklyn delegate, is inconsistent with a bill of rights that seeks to make provision for "just compensation."

Loss of goodwill, which is recognized in the business world as a tangible, salable asset, is not compensable under present law.

"And so," continued Mr. Strelzin, "in our desire to create something for the public good, we have imposed a burden upon others, while at the same time disregarding the principle of equity which calls for just compensation.

"I am of the opinion that if a retailer can anticipate a good will award, it must necessarily work to the advantage of an entire neighborhood. It tends to sustain the economic and social levels of the community," he said.

But what is the present situation?

Resolutions Urge Continuation of War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 4, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most encouraging results of our national efforts to eliminate poverty is the extent to which organizations of different concerns, purposes, and memberships have rallied behind this national effort. It is this involvement of private individuals and organizations that has afforded much of the success of the war on poverty and that today speaks for its continuation and expansion.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues several resolutions which have been adopted by three of these organizations and which indicate the widespread concern that we, as a nation, not turn our back on our disadvantaged and impoverished citizenry.

Mr. Speaker, I will place in the RECORD at this point the resolutions of the 68th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus, and the United Church Women of Northern California and Northern Nevada:

RESOLUTION BY KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

Whereas, the Knights of Columbus have always been in the forefront in aiding the less fortunate regardless of race, creed or ethnic background, and,

Whereas, the Economic Opportunity Act passed by Congress in 1964 has created the Office of Economic Opportunity and established the Job Corps to promote increased opportunities for all Americans to share in the Nation's abundance, and,

Whereas, the religious leaders of our country have been instrumental in creating a non-profit organization, Joint Action in Community Service, Inc., to give support services to graduates of Job Corps Training Centers, and to report on the results of this program, and,

Whereas, Joint Action in Community Service, Inc. (JACS) is making its resources available to those Americans who stand in greatest need,

Be it resolved that the Knights of Columbus at its quarterly Board meeting in Montreal, Quebec, Canada on Sunday, August 13, 1967 do hereby endorse the program of Joint Action in Community Service, Inc. and recommend that our brother members participate to the fullest extent possible in the local, regional and national efforts of Joint Action in Community Service, Inc. to eliminate poverty.

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION,
Indianapolis, Ind., August 18, 1967.

Mr. W. P. KELLY,
Director, Job Corps,
Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KELLY: Thank you so much for your letter of August 11. We enjoyed meeting and talking with Mr. Purdon and Dr. Haddon when they visited this office last week.

I am sure that we will be talking again in the future and I, too, hope that we can find some area of mutual interest where The American Legion can positively help support a program of teaching government to the enrollees in the Job Corps program.

Please convey my very best wishes to Mr. Purdon and Dr. Haddon, and with every good wish, I am,

Sincerely,

MAURICE T. WEBB,
Director.

RESOLUTION 237—ASSIST IN WAR ON POVERTY

Whereas, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, through direct action and collective support, have always promoted increased opportunities for all Americans, that every individual, regardless of race, color, creed or ethnic background, might share in this nation's abundance; now, therefore

Be it resolved, by the 68th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that each individual member and Post be encouraged to participate to the fullest possible extent in local and national endeavors to eliminate poverty; and

Be it further resolved, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars advise the members of ways and means to help as a community service project those young men and women who have been trained at government expense to re-establish themselves in the areas where they have been sent for employment; to help these people find housing, learn the area so they can get to and from work, and other things that good Americans do for other good Americans.

United Church Women,
San Francisco, Calif., August 16, 1967.

Mr. Sargent Shriver,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Shriver: The following is a resolution adopted by the Northern Nevada, Northern California Church Women United:

"Since it is now possible for the first time time in history to eliminate poverty, as Christians we have a clear and compelling mandate to support even stronger efforts than have yet been made toward this end.

Our experience with thousands of girls in poverty throughout the country leads us to the conviction that the Job Corps program is absolutely essential if this generation of disadvantaged girls is to receive adequate assistance.

Believing that the essential coordination of all services for the poor and the continuing necessary innovations in these programs and services can be accomplished only through a single administrative agency, we support the Office of Economic Opportunity as that agency.

Therefore, Church Women United assembled in Lafayette, Indiana, July 16, 1967, urge members of our Congress to support the Economic Opportunity Bill and further urge our members as individuals and as groups to make known their support of this Bill."

Respectfully yours,
Mrs. Alfred O. Smith,
Acting President.

Businessmen of Greenwich Village Feted at Church of the Ascension

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 26, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Greenwich Village is a self-contained world famous community in my 17th Congressional District.

Among the many reasons for its fame is the variety of thought and citizen participation there.

Just last week, on October 24, at the Church of the Ascension, Fifth Avenue and 10th Street in the heart of Greenwich Village, a special service was held in honor of the businessmen of the Village.

Louis W. Fairchild, former chairman of Fairchild Publications, planned for the service, and Rev. John M. Krumm, rector of the Church of the Ascension, led a group ecumenical in every respect.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the article in the Villager, an outstanding newspaper in my district, which details the "happenings" in the Church of the Ascension:

Church Program Lauds Businessmen

The setting was the greatest and the occasion unprecedented as the Church of the Ascension, Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street, held a service "in honor of the business men of Greenwich Village" last Tuesday, Oct. 24, at 4:30 p.m. The greatest religious mural painting of our time, the "Ascension," by John LaFarge, adorns the space above the Sanctuary, where the service took place.

Unprecedented indeed, as several speakers noted, for the business community, frequently maligned and deprecated, to be on this day, joined in an act of worship and thanksgiving for having faithfully served the neighborhood.

Representing Mayor John Lindsay, Dr. Timothy Costello, Deputy Mayor, said he was "glad that this too, is New York—glad that this too is the Village." He noted that all segments of Society must pool their efforts for the city's common good. Dr. Costello said it was his privilege to convey the Mayor's greetings and enthusiasm for this service and the hope that it may be setting the example throughout the city for a brotherhood of all segments of our society.

The Rev. John M. Krumm, Ph.D., S.T.D., rector of Ascension, thanked the Mayor and Dr. Costello and welcome the congregation and participating clergy. He introduced Dean Charles M. Edwards, Jr., of New York University's institute of Retail Management. Dean Edwards noted that despite the benefits that business men and women bring to their chenteles, they often are not fully appreciated. Using the retailing phase of business, he pointed out that all of us are dependent upon the retailer for our business success and personal welfare. Without him the wholesaler, manufacturer, miller and banker can not operate. In daily life, the retailer is the customer's provider and protector and a public servant in his community, he said. The people to whom he caters rarely stop to consider the fact that it is he who maintains a continuing supply of the goods and services that are essential to their happiness and their welfare—and even to their livelihood and their lives. Without the retailer, they would suffer grave deprivation, said Dean Edwards.

The retailer takes every precaution to obtain products that live up, in all respects to his representation and to the customer's expectations. He must price his merchandise fairly and state his claims honestly. While all retailers do not live up to these obligations, fully, most are ethical men who are guided by laudable principles.

In addition to government regulations, responsible business leaders in all branches, have established criteria to maintain controls and operate their business in the public interest by self-regulations, said Dean Edwards.

Preceding this main address, the order of the service began with the singing of the hymn, "O God, Our Help in Ages Past;" psalms were read by the Rev. John B. Macnab, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Timothy F. Herlihy, pastor, St. Joseph's R.C. Church and prayers were led by Rabbi Irving J. Block, of the Brotherhood Synagogue, whose Cantor, Leib Mirkovic sang the Solo Anthem "How Good It Is To Thank the Lord." Present in the Sanctuary were Rev. John J. Caserly and Rev. Laurence Gibney of St. Joseph's R.C. Church.

Dr. Krumm thanked Cantor Mirkovic, Dr. Vernon DeTar, organist and Louis W. Fairchild, former Chairman, Fairchild Publications, and his committee, who planned the service. He read a telegram from Congressman Theodore R. Kupferman, extending best wishes to all present.

Among those present were Dr. Margaret M. Devine, Dean Mills College; Malcolm S. Forbes, President and Gertrude Weiner, Treasurer, Forbes, Inc.; John Q. Adams, President, Manhattan Refrigeration Co.; William J. Williamson, publisher, *The Villager* and Mrs. Williamson; Emanuel P. Popolizio, Chairman, Mana.

Serving as ushers were: Louis W. Fairchild, of Fairchild Publications; Clem Haines, Hawthorne Flower Shops; Philip Zach, *Time Magazine*; Samuel R. Peale, Clark Dodge & Co.; Michael A. Cosenza, Greenwich Village Chamber of Commerce; and R. J. Meigs.

Among the other Committee members are Norvell B. Samuels, President, American Book Co.; Captain Daniel O'Connell, Sixth Precinct, N.Y. Police; Mrs. Dominick Natale, President, G.V.A.; Edgar T. Hussey, President, W.S. S. Bank; Edward A. Griggs, V.P., Horace S. Ely & Co.; Henry L. deRham, President, Wash. Sq. Assoc.; Henry L. Chisholm, Pres. Chisholm Realty Co.; Clifford L. Carter, Carl Fischer, Inc. and others.

Moscow Orients Foreign Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the late President John F. Kennedy once said:

> If freedom and communism were to compete for men's allegiance in a world at peace, I would look to the future with ever increasing confidence.

Today, the world is not at peace, and the battle for men's minds goes on all around the world. One of the major Communist fronts in this battle is Lumumba University, in Moscow.

Lumumba University is a school to train professional men, the leaders of tomorrow, from the underdeveloped countries.

Deeply imbedded in this professional training is the implication that the Soviet Union will be the beacon to which these nations will turn in the years to come.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Ram Desai, director of the African Development Institute at the State University College, at Buffalo, N.Y., has written an article on Lumumba University for the Christian Science Monitor.

In the interest of realizing the active efforts of the Soviets on the battlefield for men's minds, I include this excellent article in today's Record:

Moscow Orients Foreign Students

(Note.—Moscow's Lumumba University is geared to meet the needs of students from emerging nations. Many graduates return home to take up positions of leadership. They could influence their nations for decades to come.)

(By Ram Desai)

The most compelling impression an academician carries away from the Soviet Union is the sophisticated strategy that country has employed in the battle to win the minds of the youth of the uncommitted world.

At 5 Donskoy proyezd Street in Moscow is one of the greatest Soviet arsenals in this battle—Lumumba University, the Soviet center for international education.

To the casual observer of the Soviet Union, the People's Friendship University, popularly known as Lumumba University, retains a mistaken reputation for being "a third-rate university," "primarily designed for Africans" and "an academic sad sack."

Furthermore, it is believed that the university has failed in its primary goal: that of indoctrinating the students in Communist ideology. In lighter moments even some American officials have suggested that the United States ought to split the costs with the Soviet Union for doing such a fine job for them.

United States misconceptions were further reinforced by a protest demonstration of African students in Red Square in December of 1963—the first one of its kind in modern Russia. Sparked by the death of a Ghanian student—African students did not accept the Soviet explanation that the death had been accidental—the march brought other grievances against the university to the surface.

Perhaps the most important one was the resentment against compulsory attendance at a course entitled, "Political Philosophy," which stressed the basics of Communist ideology. To meet this criticism, the Soviet authorities finally decided to make the course voluntary for all foreign students although it is still compulsory for all Soviet students enrolled in the university.

SUBTLE CHANGE OBSERVED

The importance of this change is not to be interpreted in the light of a clash which produced a capitulation of the authorities. Rather, its importance can be seen in the subtle but more dramatic change in student attitudes toward the course.

Once placed on the voluntary list, the course attracted 85 percent of the foreign students attending the university. Moreover, student reaction became more positive to the course. As one student put it: "Now that it is not compulsory, almost everyone attends it. I am a medical student, yet I am curious to know about their ideology."

The significance of the protest demonstration, therefore, must be seen as disagreement about methods to be used in providing the students with a specialized education with ample opportunity to explore the political and economic foundations and structures of Soviet society.

Some lighthearted American interpretations of the incident point up the tendency in the United States to underestimate the impact of this Soviet experiment in higher education for students from emerging nations. One need only look at the circumstances which led to the formation of Lumumba University and the composition of its student body to clearly grasp the effectiveness of the Soviet approach to this aspect of assisting underdeveloped countries.

Founded in 1960, often called by historians "the Africa Year," the university has steadily grown so that in 1966 there were some 3,600 students representing 83 countries. The first class of 228 students from 46 countries was graduated in 1965 and another class consisting of 470 students from 59 countries was graduated in 1966. In 1967, the enrollment is expected to reach 4,500.

The university has a teaching faculty of 900 members of whom 66 are doctors of science, members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and 300 members are candidates for the Doctor of Science degree, a status equivalent to the American Ph.D.

The university's academic program consists of one preparatory and six main faculties: engineering, medicine, physics, mathematics and natural sciences, agriculture, economics, law, history, and philosophy offering specialties in 16 fields, so that the major educational needs of the future leaders of emerging nations can be serviced in a unified educational center.

After five years of carefully assessing the value of its program the Soviet authorities decided to consolidate its scattered faculties in a new multimillion-dollar complex. It is replete with the latest equipment and facilities compatible with their resources. (Although these facilities do not match the sophistication of American equipment, the Soviets are placing at the disposal of the students of Lumumba University the best they have.)

This new center in Moscow should be finished and ready for use by the beginning of the 1967 academic year. This venture seems more than likely to attract more and more students. At present the university receives approximately 10,000 applications each year from students in various parts of the world. From this admissions pool, 600 students from emerging nations and 100 Russians are enrolled.

The demand far exceeds the available space, and thus a sense of prestige is maintained and fostered. Thus, the general appeal of the institution abroad is wide as the diverse nationalities of the students clearly indicates. The high priority the Soviets have given to Lumumba University is quite analogous to their space program and defense priorities and should not be minimized.

STUDENTS FROM AFAR

During the fall of 1966 there were 750 students from 34 African countries, 990 from Latin-American countries, 650 from the Middle East, and 700 from Southeast Asia. These statistics should dispel the notion that the university is primarily designed for the Africans.

Although Nigeria had 210 students, India had more than 250; Kenya had 106; while Indonesia had an even greater number. Ghana had 43, but some Latin-American countries like Argentina or Cuba far exceeded those from Ghana. There were 23 from the Ivory Coast and 12 from Tanzania, and the remaining 356 of 750 total African students came from 29 other African countries.

There were 387 female students enrolled from all countries including the Soviet Union.

Of the 3,600 students who were enrolled during the fall of 1966, over 55 percent were studying engineering or medicine, areas of vital importance to emerging nations. Three hundred were studying physics and mathematics; 250 were in agriculture; and the remainder were distributed among the fields of history, philology, and economics. These undergraduate programs seem to provide a practical orientation which will meet the needs of a new developing nation.

As one might expect, academic and political factors are not neatly separated at the university. This shows up in the composition of the graduate student body.

During the 1966 academic year, there were 1957 graduate students enrolled in the university of whom 57 were Russians, 20 were from India. And, with few exceptions, the remaining students appear to be from those countries where the returning graduates have had difficulties in securing jobs because of the existing political attitude of the government in their home countries or where the university degree credentials might be questioned for professional reasons.

QUALITY EMPHASIZED

Given the general success of the program there are a few ironies: Although England, India, Ghana, Nigeria, and many other countries have recognized the degrees from Lumumba University, Ceylon, on the other hand, does not recognize them, a fact which is understandably irritating to the university. As one university official put it, "Our medical graduates can practice in England but they cannot practice in Ceylon, which is ridiculous, isn't it?"

Generally speaking, the quality of instruction adequately meets the needs of the countries from which these students come. Discussions with non-Russian observers confirm the impression that the university has an excellent faculty and is well equipped.

The greatest area of weakness turns out to be the quality of the students who are admitted rather than the quality of instruction. Standards of admission are low indeed, although with the increasing number of applicants they are likely to be raised.

More often than not, students without a completed secondary education are admitted for not very obscure reasons. To overcome academic and language deficiencies, students may spend from one to three years in the university preparatory school before they are admitted for regular degree work. As a rule almost everyone spends at least one year studying Russian and attending courses in political ideology.

Applicants seeking admission to the university are either sponsored by their governments or by public organizations such as the Communist Party, trade unions, cultural agencies such as the Soviet-Uganda Friendship Society, or by academic institutions in their home country.

In most of the developing countries, where nepotism is not uncommon, government officials are prone to recommend their relatives and friends without undue consideration of their academic qualifications.

Also, sponsoring groups like Communist parties and trade unions are less concerned with the academic qualifications of their candidates than they are with such qualities as political and organizational potential.

While academic institutions in the emerging nations now are supplying better prepared students, Soviet embassies abroad still have an eye for politically promising individuals and naturally tend to give them preferential consideration.

TRAVEL COSTS PAID

Once the student has been accepted by the university, the Soviet Government pays the complete cost of travel to and from his home country. In addition, hostel accommodations and tuition are provided free of charge.

The university pays all students a stipend of 80 rubles a month while in the preparatory faculty and 90 rubles during the regular academic training. Those students with superior academic performance receive as high as 125 rubles, a generous allowance indeed if one compares it with the wages of the average Russian, which are approximately 100 rubles a month.

Graduate students are even more fortunate in this respect. They receive a very handsome allowance of 150 rubles a month in addition to the above stated free benefits.

The 82 students I met at Lumumba appeared to be highly satisfied with the student-faculty relationships as well as with their social and educational experiences.

As one Indian student told this writer, "The university officials are particularly nice to us Indians," implying a sense of preferential treatment, while a student from Nigeria put it, "Since the demonstrations they go out of their way to be nice to us."

Regardless of nationality, the students thought they were well looked after and were grateful for their opportunities and treatment. All emphasized how hard they worked and how well they expected to do academically. The few who could not adapt to the social and academic standards of the university were sent home.

On balance, it appeared that the foreign students fared better economically than their Soviet counterparts. For example, Soviet students receive an average stipend of 50 rubles a month. Those who do superior academic work may receive a maximum of 70 rubles. This discrepancy in financial treatment of Soviet and foreign students is a source of friction.

Although the university officials blandly deny that such friction exists, one gets the distinct impression that the Soviet student keenly resents what he thinks is preferential treatment of non-Soviet students. Thus, despite official explanations designed to explain the unique needs of the visitors, the Soviet student remains unconvinced of the fairness of the practice.

RACIAL BIAS HINTED

Privately, some African students will admit that they have detected some racial bias against them among younger Soviet citizens. They also made it clear that this bias did not appear to exist among university officials.

When queried on such matters, one university official observed, Come here at 5 o'clock on a Saturday evening and see how many African students have Russian girl friends." The accuracy of his statement cannot be disputed. Yet, one might suggest that the higher standard of living of the foreign student made him a desirable companion for a Russian girl, given his access to foreign merchandise, especially clothing, with all the implicit status associated with such things.

Also, one might conclude that the resentment of Soviet students toward their foreign guests in no small measure may be attributable to their differing financial abilities to compete for the attention of the Russian girls.

While university officials could take some pride in the integrated social life of their students, the fact still remains that officially the university does not encourage marriage relationships between foreign and Soviet students, pleading matters of cultural diversity and the like. Thus, one could reasonably conclude that there are many subtle factors at work which would give sensitive African students an awareness of racial bias operating against them.

In reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of the Lumumba experiment, one can certainly be satisfied that the faculty is determined to provide the best educational experience possible in accordance with the needs of emerging nations. The professional skills acquired and the broad cultural experience received by young foreign students certainly are beneficial to them and to their own nations.

The real long-range challenge of Lumumba University is its successful graduates who return home to take up leadership positions which could influence the course of their nations for decades.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

A Brave American, Harris Haynie, Is Honored by His Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, there are many tragic aspects of the present war in Vietnam, but there are Americans here and abroad whose conduct is a tribute to America, whose courage is an inspiration and encouragement in these dark times.

One person whose story deserves telling throughout America, whose concern for his fellow man and his desire to help them should provide new hope for those who grow despondent over the increasing number of Americans who prefer not to "get involved." Harris Haynie, of Dallas, Tex., got involved, so much so that he will never again be whole in body. But this young man, an aspiring doctor and a medic in the Vietnam conflict, will never lose the heroism which characterized his whole career as a defender of his country and of his fighting countrymen.

In the Sunday, October 15, issue of the Dallas Morning News, his story appears under the title "Butch Changes to Doc as Haynie Wages War." I recommend the story to everyone who has become discouraged with America's growing record of crime and immature action.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Fair Share Plus One: Butch Changes to Doc as Haynie Wages War

(By Paul Crume)

At an Army hospital in Japan, Harris Haynie, specialist fourth class, of Dallas, Texas, labors at writing a letter home. His mangled left arm is a bother and a burden. It and the spot on his leg from which the doctors had taken a skin graft hurt. His misplaced nose gets in the way of his good eye. The tubes in his shattered abdomen irritate, but Harris Haynie works steadily at the letter for the homefolks.

He had meant to be a doctor, never a soldier; but here he is on the wrong end of a stethoscope with more than 250 combat air assaults in Viet Nam behind him, with a Silver Star and maybe even a higher decoration, with an Air Medal and two clusters on his Purple Heart for the three wounds he took before these.

But Harris Haynie, a self-made Army medic, is as proud of the fact that he earned the nickname of Doc among the men of his platoon before the war suddenly ended for him.

"I'm OK," he writes in the last of a series of letters which draw a picture of a Dallas boy at war.

His nickname wasn't Doc in the beginning. When he was born 23 years ago at All Saints Hospital in Fort Worth, his hands were so big that he was promptly dubbed Butch, a name he carried all through his boyhood.

The family moved soon to Dallas, most recently to 163 Bon Air Drive, where Harris grew up the typical American boy of a typical American family. His dad, Harris Sr., is a printer at The Dallas News, his mother a secretary in the Dallas office of Sika Chemical Co. Butch was a boy between sisters. The older one is now Mrs. Benton Smith of Irving, and the younger, 19-year-old Toni, is at home.

At Bryan Adams High School, where he is remembered as a big, quiet, pleasant, blond-haired boy, Butch was an officer in the ROTC and a National Merit Scholarship finalist. After his graduation in 1962, he immediately enrolled at Arlington State—for pre-med work, of course. Already his interest in medicine was such that he joined the Emergency Corps so that he could get a lot of training in advanced first aid, and he quickly became an instructor. On weekends, he worked at The News for the circulation department.

Thus he got through 2½ years of pre-medical work. But meanwhile his mother had had an accident which kept her invalided for several months. Young Haynie had to go to work full time at Frito-Lay and adjust his college schedule accordingly.

Like many another American youngster, he just wasn't carrying enough work in school when his number came up.

So, in a routine way, Harris Haynie on Nov. 29, 1965, went to war. He didn't let it fret him. His mind was too lively and his interest in the scene about him too keen. He wanted to be a medic, but the Army didn't need any just then, so he trained at Ft. Carson, Colo., in the 5th Mechanized Division. Even that wasn't to be his niche. When he went to Vietnam in November, 1966, the Army spent a day or two teaching him and the other new arrivals how to come down the ropes from a helicopter. Within a week, he had made his first assault landing as a scout of Troop D, 1st Squadron, 9th Cavalry of the 1st Cavalry Division.

His first letters have the tone of wide-eyed wonder about them. He was living in the field, as he did all the time he was in Vietnam. On a typical day he went on patrol at 7 a.m. and came in after dark, having eaten C rations in the field and whatever was left of supper when he got in. He then did three or four hours of guard duty during the night. He was having to sleep on the ground because there wasn't an extra air mattress—so he slept on a shelter half and a poncho with a poncho liner for cover against the cold. And he didn't mind it usually because he was so tired.

"There are all manners of biting and stinging bugs around here," wrote Harris Haynie wonderingly.

Once Gen. Westmoreland visited them. Haynie had been one of seven sent out to take the weapons off a Viet Cong killed by a helicopter gunner, and they had waded through five rice paddies after being landed. When they got back to camp, they made formation to hear the General.

"He is the whole Army's honcho in Vietnam," wrote Haynie. "He was very complimentary about the Squadron . . . However, I have have been more comfortable than I was during his talk. I was wet from the hips down from running through the paddies and loaded down with my grenade launcher, two canteens, ammo and the medic's aid bag. He didn't go so I took his place . . ."

Young Haynie thought he might be more in danger from his jeep party than from the VC. His job it was to stand up in the jeep behind the machine gun while the driver traveled chug-holed roads at expressway speed. The machine gun, which was supposed to be Haynie's object to hold onto, was free-swiveling. On one trip, he wrote, the jeep ran off the road, and though he was holding onto the swinging machine gun, he was thrown over onto the hood. Theoretically, if they met the enemy, he was supposed to keep their attention with the machine gun while the driver and medic found cover and then covered him. It actually didn't work that way because Charlie usually went after the machine gunner first, the medic second and the driver last.

"I hope they get in some more replacements soon so I can become just the second priority target," wrote Harris Haynie.

That was the year of the Christmas truce, but Haynie and his platoon were taking no chances anyway.

"Today we built a shelter for our Christmas tree and sandbagged it against mortar attack," he wrote a couple of weeks before Christmas. It was a collapsible tree made of wire and cellophane, two feet tall, which had been sent one of the soldiers.

"It's not much, but it's all we've got, so we wanted to protect it," added Haynie. "We've got lights and ornaments and icicles to go on it, and a white towel for snow, so it looks pretty good, if you can forget about it being 50 feet from a rice paddy."

Haynie's letters in those early days of his Vietnam tour told of routine patrols with occasional small fights. He took time out to make notes on the birds and snakes of that country. He developed a case of immersion foot from having his feet wet constantly. He griped because the Army wouldn't let the scouts wear a combat infantryman's badge. There wasn't a fight in the neighborhood, he said, that they hadn't started.

That was to change. He had already asked to be transferred to the medics. In the Emergency Corps and from his school work, he already had the necessary training. From the beginning, he was handed a medic's outfit and made a scout-medic. Late in December, he was told that his job was going to be changed. He was moved into a new tent, one which he shared with only one other man, and he even had six wooden ammunition boxes to sleep on instead of the ground.

It was March before the Army finally qualified him as a medic and assigned him to B Troop. Haynie immediately went out and patched up a man under fire, qualifying for his Combat Medic's Badge. From then on, he was almost constantly in action. As a medic, he was supposed to have every other day off, but two of the outfit's medics were shot almost immediately, and Haynie found himself serving two companies on alternate days for awhile. When he had spare time, he was holding sick calls for the neighborhood civilians. The letters which had been long became short and hurried. There was a frantic tone beneath them.

Somewhere during this period Butch became Doc, and Haynie suddenly aged. The family could tell it from the quick, hard, almost peremptory tone of the letters, and the pictures which he sent home showed a man thick of shoulder and hard of jaw.

Friends were shot down. After hugging the ground through one enemy attack, he looked up and found that he was under a cactus. The cactus was full of bullet holes. But Haynie escaped hurt until May 28. It was quite a day in his life or that of any other man. An official report told that story.

An infantry platoon was hunting a large enemy force and found it near Duc Pho, entrenched and with automatic weapons. The first burst of fire felled the point man of the point squad. The second man was soon wounded. Enemy fire pinned down the rest of the platoon. Haynie left cover and, despite the automatic weapons fire, worked his way across an open field to the two men. He gave the first man first aid and sent him to the rear for further treatment. Haynie himself remained behind with the exposed point squad to treat the point man and finally carried him 50 yards to a safer position.

The Dallas soldier quickly set up an aid post in a large trench system, but all during that long, intensely hot day, he kept going back under fire. Some of the new men on the defense perimeter passed out from heat exhaustion, and Haynie left to treat them, using his own water supply. When an infantryman from reinforcement helicopters was injured and fell in the open landing zone, Haynie sortied again and pulled the man to the aid station. A lift ship attempting to land ammunition was shot down in flames in an open paddy outside the U.S. perimeter. Again Haynie left cover and got injured crew members back to cover. During an air strike, Haynie used his own body to shield a seriously wounded pilot.

He was wounded twice. He took shrapnel bits in an elbow and in the head, and another metal fragment smashed a lens of his spectacles. Haynie refused to leave the field until another medic arrived with a group of reinforcements, and he was back with his platoon the next day.

"I can honestly say that he rates as one of the most courageous and compassionate men that it has been my privilege to know," wrote Haynie's platoon commander, 1st Lt. Ted C. Chilcote of Tyler.

But that was after Haynie's final mission.

Haynie wasn't even supposed to be on that mission. The Army had decided that he had taken more than his fair share of chances. He was to be sent to a safer area. But Haynie's replacement hadn't shown up on the afternoon of Sept. 6 and they needed a medic up front where an American unit was pinned down by enemy fire. A gunship was escorting the helicopter in which Haynie's party was riding. On the way the gunship crashed and caught fire.

Haynie and five other men dropped 30 feet from the helicopter and rushed to the downed copter to get the crew out.

Haynie crawled into the cockpit to rescue the wounded pilot, and the gunship blew up around him.

He was not aware of the torn ear on his head, or of the eardrum that didn't work, of the steel in his stomach or of his face grown suddenly lopsided and needing 50 stitches to close the cuts. Haynie remembers a buddy trying to help with that left arm that was hanging by a rag; and he remembers hitting himself again and again with morphine, but the pain wouldn't quit.

Haynie was one of the lucky ones.

He'll be coming back to the States in a couple of weeks, and the doctors say, given time and a lot of work, he can be made good as new.

Three of the men in Haynie's party and the six men in the gunship died.

The President's Historic Achievement: Unprecedented Economic Growth and Vitality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, amid all the Republican cries of "fiscal disaster" on the part of the Johnson administration, the United States has now entered the 81st month of economic prosperity.

This is the longest expansion of its kind in American history. And this is Johnson prosperity.

The record shows that we have not had any of the recessions that were so prevalent when the Republican fiscal experts ruled the economic roost.

No, Mr. Speaker, it has taken Democrats to keep the Nation on a sound and even keel.

Under President Johnson and President Kennedy before him, more than 9 million more Americans have found jobs; consumer income after taxes has risen 40 percent; and the gross national product has risen at an average rate of 5.2 percent a year.

This kind of economic growth did not happen by chance. It happened by reason and firm leadership of the administration and the support of Democratic Congresses.

It is interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that between 1854 and 1961, the average duration of economic expansions in the United States was 30 months. This expansion is remarkable not only for its longevity, but for its undiminished vigor. And it is a tribute to the soundness and wisdom of the fiscal and economic policies of the Johnson administration.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson and the Democratic Party can go to the American people next year with their promises kept. We have promised to keep the Nation moving ahead; and we have done so.

On this great and historic occasion, it is well that we not only count our blessings, but also continue to support the President and the Democratic leadership who have made possible this marvelous growth unprecedented in mankind's history.

A Negotiable Goal in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently published excerpts from a speech on the Vietnam war that I recently made in the Senate. With the thought that this shortened or edited version might prove worthwhile for some to read and contemplate, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEGOTIABLE GOAL IN VIETNAM

(From a Senate speech by ALBERT GORE, Democrat of Tennessee)

Is U.S. security truly involved in the war in Vietnam? For what lesser cause would we send men to fight and die? That has always been the central issue, as I have seen this problem. It is precisely on this level and upon this point that our policies, particularly our future policies, should be examined.

I don't think that President Johnson has shown—or that anyone has shown—that our national interest in Vietnam is "real."

The truth, as I see it, is that the war in Vietnam is a quagmire into which we have stumbled, and from which we must extricate ourselves as honorably, as cleanly, and as gracefully as possible. Other nations have found the political courage, the will, and a manner with honor to extricate themselves from untenable and dangerous positions—Russia from missile bases in Cuba, France from Algiers.

The invocation of the threat of China—perhaps obsession would be a better word—is as true today as it has ever been. But does this establish a mortal danger for the United States in happenings in Vietnam?

I think that most experts on Vietnam would concur that North Vietnam is far from being an actual—let alone willing—Chinese puppet or satellite. Two thousand years of Vietnamese-Chinese relations have left the Vietnamese with feelings toward the Chinese which one eminent authority has described as "like those of the Irish for the English of Oliver Cromwell's day."

And as the war continues—although the pronouncements of the Administration repeat, and repeat, and repeat the view that it is Peking that stands behind Hanoi—the Soviet Union has become North Vietnam's chief military and economic provider.

Even taking the Administration's case at face value—which I do not, except for purposes of argument—if the war in Vietnam is a confrontation between "Asian Communism" and the free world, a confrontation that will determine not only the future of Asia but also the future of the United States—the battle is being fought in the worst possible place and at a place and under conditions of the enemy's choosing.

I believe our leaders are mesmerized by mirages in Vietnam and that as a result they see national interests there where none exist. But this is only part of the tragedy of this quagmire war. The other part of the tragedy is that, mesmerized by mirages, we are unable to see where our real national interests lie.

It seems clear to me—it has for some

time—that our real national interests lie in our present and future relations with the two other great powers in the world, the Soviet Union and China. Unquestionably, the war in Vietnam is worsening our relations with both the Soviet Union and Communist China, and, I might add, with most of the rest of the world.

We are not "maintaining the balance of power," but upsetting it.

The Administration says it wants to negotiate. But what is there to negotiate if we are truly protecting our vital national interests in South Vietnam? If in fact we are in mortal peril in Vietnam, what is there to negotiate?

There is something that may be negotiable, and that is the neutralization of Southeast Asia. So far as I am concerned, this would be in our true national interest. Thus far, the Administration does not seem willing to negotiate on this basis.

While we have stated our willingness to negotiate without conditions, we have not made clear, at least publicly, the kind of Vietnam we envision when negotiations have been completed, other than in such phrases as "independent," "free," "self-determination," and the like.

Something less than our real objective in Vietnam would be the neutralization of Southeast Asia. It would also be something less than the apparent objective of the communists supporting the Vietcong. It just may well be that an indication of our willingness to settle for neutralization would produce the negotiations we have sought for many months. There remains the question of whether such a settlement would serve our vital national interests. In my opinion, it would.

No lasting settlement or accommodation can be achieved if negotiations are conducted only among major powers with the thought that the terms upon which the major powers agree can be imposed upon Southeast Asia without regard to the wishes of the people there. In my view, if negotiations are to produce lasting benefit, they must involve discussions at multiple levels, including negotiations between the Saigon regime and the National Liberation Front.

Having lost our innocence in Vietnam, can we retain our honor? I believe that we can because of the common interests—if we and they can but see them through the smoke and fire or war—that exists even between the North Vietnamese and the people of the United States.

The first common interest we share is a desire and need to end the war. American lives are being lost and American treasure spent, but the North Vietnamese are losing far more. By ending the war, we could save our lives and our precious material resources. But they could save their country.

The second, and more subtle, common interest is that it seems logical to me to assume that neither the North Vietnamese nor, for that matter, the Soviets would want necessarily to see the United States humiliated and bereft of power in Asia, for the result would surely be a surge of Chinese influence through the Asian Continent. A peace with honor is therefore not only essential for us; it should be essential for North Vietnam as well, if she still clings, as she has clung for a thousand years, to her own nationalism.

From a review of the record, it seems clear to me that we have no legal commitment that requires us to expend the effort we have undertaken in Vietnam.

What actual commitment we have there, we have managed to create for ourselves. It is as if, by saying over and over publicly that we are committed to restore order and tranquility in South Vietnam, we have somehow convinced ourselves that we are legally bound and honor bound to do so, whatever the cost.

In addition to whatever formal legal commitment we may or may not have in Vietnam, there is what is callled our moral commitment to assist a people in quest of freedom. Lest we be carried away by this emotional, idealistic appeal, let us remember that there are many other Communist regimes, in China, in Russia—yes, and there is one in Cuba. Our moral commitment to liberate our neighboring people in Cuba should be at least equally strong. Even so, it does not necessarily follow that we should launch a major military effort to overthrow Castro. These indefinite "moral commitments" have their limitations. They must be measured by our own "vital national interest."

In the final analysis, we should be guided by these vital national interests. It has long been my view and, as I have said, it is now my conviction that our national interests are not served by a major military operation in Southeast Asia.

Roswell Park Memorial Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent a district where an illustrious medical research facility, the Roswell Park Memorial Institute, is located. A number of Members of this House, their families, and friends have been given attention there.

From 1952 until recently, Roswell Park was under the direction of Dr. George E. Moore, a distinguished scientist with an international reputation who is now the director of public health research for the entire State of New York. He has been succeeded by Dr. James T. Grace, Jr., an equally brilliant surgeon and researcher. Both of these men have appeared as expert witnesses before our various congressional committees.

In our area, Roswell Park is well known not only for its scientific achievements but also for its staff interest in human relations and community affairs. I have worked with these dedicated people in developing a fine urban renewal project which includes facilities for senior citizens, neighborhood and community recreation, and various types of housing.

A short time ago, a member of the Roswell Park staff, Dr. Robert Ausman, was honored with the Distinguished Service Award of the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce for his work at Roswell Park and in the Buffalo community, exemplifying the highest ideals of the medical profession. This citation recognizes Dr. Ausman and the entire Roswell Park staff for its outstanding service to our people.

With permission, I include an article that appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., on October 21, 1967, which will be of interest to many of my colleagues:

STATE JAYCEES HONOR DR. ROBERT AUSMAN OF ROSWELL PARK

NIAGARA FALLS, October 21.—Dr. Robert K. Ausman, 34, a surgeon at Roswell Park Memorial Institute, will receive a Distinguished Service Award here this evening from the New York State Jaycees.

James B. Antell, Jaycee national president, will present the award, one of five, during a dinner at the annual Jaycee state meeting in the Parkway Inn.

Dr. Ausman, a 1957 graduate of Marquette University Medical School, is a busy surgeon who also puts in a full day as administrative director of Health Research Inc., the agency that handles more than $6 million in non-state research funds that Roswell receives annually.

"His mental capacity is at the genius level," said Dr. George E. Moore, former Roswell Park director, in nominating Dr. Ausman for the award.

Dr. James T. Grace, the present director, said that "Dr. Ausman has made substantial contributions not only to Roswell Park but to the Buffalo community."

Dr. Ausman, the Jaycees said, helped plan and acquire funds for Roswell Park's new $2.5 million Research Studies Center Building and has a key role in planning the projected $5 million Cardiovascular Research Institute that the state plans to locate in the Roswell Park area.

He is the co-author of 60 published works and produced a movie on cancer, "Surgical Regional Chemotherapy."

Dr. Moore said that Dr. Ausman, of 869 Delaware Ave., "works 18 hours daily, every day."

Dr. Abe Silverstein, Man of Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, we in Cleveland are extremely proud of Dr. Abe Silverstein, whose brilliant achievements as director of the NASA Lewis Research Center, has won him another national award from the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics.

Given for significant contributions in the art and science of space flight, Dr. Silverstein's honor cites his "imagination, technical excellence, and leadership which have led to the practical application of high energy liquid hydrogen fueled propulsion technology to the vehicles for space transportation, and for the initiation of, and technical contributions to, the free world's first manned space transportation systems."

Translated, this means that the genius of Dr. Silverstein has brought America many years closer to the stars.

The Plain Dealer has paid tribute to this great scientist in an editorial which I now insert in the RECORD:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Oct. 30, 1967]

MAN OF HONORS

If you ask jet age scientists who among them deserves great honors, they will name Dr. Abe Silverstein.

Dr. Silverstein, who directs NASA's space probe programs here at Lewis Research Center, has won another national award.

For the second time his peers in the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics have singled him out for exceptional honor. The AIAA's space transportation prize went to him "for developing the free world's first space flights and for developing liquid hydrogen rocket fuel."

The world would not be gasping at spectacular scientific gymnastics by Surveyor, Ranger, Mariner, Tiros and all if it were not for the heroic accomplishments of Dr. Silverstein.

It is an honor to Cleveland to count Dr. Silverstein among its most eminent sons.

Distinguished Service Cross Awarded to Sgt. Sherman Fuller for Vietnam Heroism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Sherman G. Fuller, a young soldier from Maryland, has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the Nation's second highest combat award, for heroism in Vietnam. I wish to call my colleagues' attention to Sergeant Fuller's courageous actions and to include in the RECORD the following article, describing the incident and the citation:

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS AWARDED TO SGT. SHERMAN FULLER FOR VIETNAM HEROISM

Sgt. Sherman G. Fuller, son of Mr. and Mrs. Walter F. Fuller, Box 59, Calvary road, Churchville, was awarded the nation's second highest combat award for "extraordinary heroism" in Vietnam at a ceremony in Fort Knox, Ky. on Oct. 7.

Sgt. Fuller received the Distinguished Service Cross for valorous actions with the First Air Cavalry Division Dec. 17, 1966, when under intense fire from a North Vietnamese machine gun, he covered a wounded comrade with his body and was hit.

In the citation, the 25-year-old soldier was credited with a "selfless display of dedicated courage" for the act, which followed fearless leadership of a recoilless rifle team against a North Vietnamese machine gun nest. In the assault, two men were killed and two injured.

At the time of his heroic actions, Sgt. Fuller, a 1958 graduate of Bel Air High School, was serving with Company A, First Battalion, 12th Cavalry of the First Air Cavalry Division. He was assigned as a squad leader during a combat air assault near Bong Son.

The squad he was leading came under engagement from a heavily armed North Vietnamese force immediately upon their arrival by helicopter. The action began before the recoilless rifle could be set up. The citation said, "Before the crew could reach a favorable position, the North Vietnamese delivered accurate, withering fire into the area."

Sgt. Fuller, "realizing the critical condition of his comrades, rushed along the battle line to obtain help." He organized a rescue team, directing them to the wounded, and went to the assistance of a wounded medic.

"Undaunted by the increasing firefight activity and devastating air strikes in close proximity, he began administering first aid to the men," stated the citation. There followed his extraordinary heroism in covering the man with his body, incurring a wound, when the North Vietnamese opened fire with a machine gun which "began raking the area with voluminous fire."

Even after being hit, "despite his painful wound, he continued to engage the enemy until he was forced to be evacuated," said the citation, which was signed by Gen. William C. Westmoreland, commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Sgt. Fuller is now serving as a platoon sergeant in the U.S. Army Training Center here. Brigadier General Charles H. Hollis, training center commander, pinned the award on Sgt. Fuller.

The sergeant, a member of American Legion Post 128, Aberdeen, entered the Army in January 1960. He completed basic combat training in March of that year at Ft. Jackson, S.C. His 12-month tour in Vietnam began in July 1966.

In addition to the Distinguished Service Cross, Sgt. Fuller also wears the Air Medal, Purple Heart, Good Conduct Medal, Presidential Unit Citation, Vietnam Combat Medal, Vietnam Service Ribbon, Occupation Ribbon, Expeditionary Force Ribbon and the Combat Infantryman Badge.

National Flood Insurance Act of 1967

SPEECH
OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 1, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1985) to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill pending before us today, the National Flood Insurance Act of 1967. It appears that this legislation will meet a significant need throughout the country in providing security for property owners who suffer flood damage for which they are unable to obtain insurance coverage.

With the configuration of the islands of Hawaii, we have flooding problems in my State too, particularly when rain-swollen streams in their descent to the sea extend beyond their channels and cause considerable damage. However, this bill is of interest to us in the 50th State for another salient reason, since the Banking and Currency Committee wisely allowed for the broadest definition of natural disasters to be included under its coverage. Hawaii is unique among the States in its suffering from recurring tsunamis, popularly referred to as tidal waves, which periodically wreak havoc along our coasts and low-lying communities. These tsunamis are most commonly generated by earthquakes in such distant areas as Japan, Alaska, and South America, where disruptions of the earth send shock waves roaring across the seas in a matter of hours to break with great fury over the first landmass encountered.

Hawaii has been hit by 45 tsunamis since recordkeeping began in 1819, and the heaviest damage has been caused by four major disasters in the last 21 years. The wave that hit us on April 1, 1946, was the worst natural disaster in the history of my State, killing 159 persons, injuring 163, and leaving more than 5,000 people homeless. The damage from this tsunami, caused by an earthquake in the Aleutian area, rose to more than $25 million, with waves that reached 55 feet in height making a shambles of the bayfront of the city of Hilo in Hawaii County. Buildings as high as three and four stories were smashed to ruins by this tsunami, and the destruction extended throughout the entire island chain.

A wave on November 4, 1952, caused another $1 million worth of damage, and 5 years later, the March 9, 1957, tsunami destroyed homes, schools, shops, roads, bridges, and crops to the tune of $3 million. In the 1957 disaster, 54 homes were destroyed on the island of Kauai and 27 others were severely damaged, while 200 homes on Oahu and Hawaii were flooded.

Yet another disastrous wave struck on May 23, 1960, killing 61 people in Hawaii County, injuring another 53, and making 300 homeless. The Hilo business district, mostly small stores, was virtually wiped out, with damages rising to $50 million, and another $200,000 worth of property was lost on Oahu. A smaller wave on March 27, 1964, did $15,000 damage to business buildings.

These tsunamis are a problem for which we have no solution at present, Mr. Chairman. An islandwide warning system has cut down on the loss of life, but there is virtually no way to prevent the destructive ravages of these waves on buildings which are of necessity in flat areas and near the oceanfront. The heaviest losses are incurred by those who can least afford them—small shopkeepers, howeowners, proprietors of the smaller hotels, and the like. The regrettable fact is that new land to build on is hard to come by because of existing ownership patterns in Hawaii, and in many cases, it is the same persons and businesses hit over and over again.

I am most anxious in light of this problem that the National Flood Insurance Act is approved with the inclusion of tsunami insurance left intact. Under the provision of S. 1985, the Federal Government will cooperate with the private insurance industry to make disaster insurance available at reasonable premiums for small business properties and one- to four-family residential properties. When loss occurs, the Federal Government's obligation would be determined by the ratio between the insured party's premium and the actuarial cost of insuring the property. The participating insurance companies would pool capital in a joint fund which would be used to absorb much of the losses which might occur. The role of the Federal Government would be to contribute premium equalization payments to the insurance pool and it would also provide reinsurance coverage against major disaster losses. Insurers would have to pay a premium to the Government for such reinsurance coverage, and other insurance companies might participate in the program as fiscal agents of pool members without themselves actually bearing any of the risk.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that this legislation will serve a most useful purpose in extending financial security to property owners in those areas of the country which are susceptible to recurring natural disasters beyond their control. The National Flood Insurance Act of 1967 is a fine example of the concern of the Government for the welfare of all of its citizens, and I sincerely hope that passage of this bill will be followed by early implementation of its provisions through mutual action of our Nation's insurance companies and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. I am certain that those individuals who suffer losses from floods and tsunamis and have only the hope of emergency or disaster relief funds being specially allocated to them will be especially grateful to have this assurance that they will not be wiped out overnight and be faced with total bankruptcy. S. 1985 is a good bill and deserves our approval here today.

Guaranteed Incomes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, "guaranteed income" is a far-reaching phrase which is fast becoming one of the controversial issues of the day. To many, many Americans a guaranteed income for every family, guaranteed and provided by the Federal Government, is a concept which denounces the "taproot" of American principles and traditions devised, conceived, and placed into practice by the Founding Fathers 175 years ago.

This Nation derives its strength from the collective incentive of the private enterprise system, and this "share the wealth without working" theory literally shakes the foundation and destroys the footing of the free enterprise system. A recent editorial in the Gallatin Democrat, vividly portrays the impracticality of implementing such a nonsensical program into the welfare system. The editorial follows:

[From the Gallatin (Mo.) Democrat, June 8, 1967]

GUARANTEED INCOMES?

There must be millions of Americans who never expected to live long enough to see a Presidential Commission seriously recommend that each individual be guaranteed an annual income "whether he works or not." But they did. Moreover, since government has decided to define and measure poverty, no one would be poor under the guaranteed annual income.

We don't remember who first advanced this incredible proposal. Our first recollection of it dates to 1963 when a UN economist, Robert Theobald, told a Chicago audience that the Contsitution should guarantee everyone a salary "adequate to allow him to live with dignity" whether he works or not.

Now, four years later, a whole Commission is making the recommendation. Wait another four years and the geometric increase should have at least one-half the workers in the country ready to quit work and take the guaranteed income. Production will be reduced by one-half. And there will be only one-half as much to divide. By the end of the second year, doubtless all workers will want to get on the "gravy train." Then there will be nothing to divide—and we can start all over.

Back in 1624, Captain John Smith wrote of the experiences of the Jamestown Colony: "When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured jointly together, glad was he (that) could slip from his labour, or slumber over his tasks he cared not how—nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much paines in a weeke, as now for themselves they will doe in a day; neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them, so that we reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie, as now three or foure do provide for themselves."

Couldn't we just establish another Jamestown Colony somewhere and let that Commission test the theory for a few years? We doubt that any members would survive two hard winters under that guaranteed annual income policy. If some did, we could transfer the emaciated wretches to a Governmental Hospital and nurse them back to good health slowly. And it would be a lot cheaper than trying the experiment on the whole population.

The Government is the largest land-owner in the country. Set the Commission up in business, Mr. President, and let them demonstrate their theory.

Freedom Is Not Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion National Commander William E. Galbraith recently emphasized his theme for the American Legion Year "Freedom Is Not Free" at a press conference in Lincoln, Nebr., shortly after his return from Vietnam. I found his remarks of great interest and quite significant, and under permission to extend my remarks I include this important statement:

OPENING STATEMENT BY WILLIAM E. GALBRAITH, AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL COMMANDER, LINCOLN, NEBR., PRESS CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 13

Having just returned from Vietnam, I am more impressed than ever with the validity of my theme for this American Legion Year, "Freedom Is Not Free." I have had the moving experience of visiting among young Americans engaged in combat in the defense of freedom. I have had a fresh reminder that freedom is not free, for I have been among young men who are today fighting and dying for that freedom we cherish so highly. It is, of course, impossible for all of our people to have this experience, but it surely is the duty of those of us who have had it, to remind our fellow citizens here at home that we must defend freedom when it requires defense, or we shall surely lose it, and I am dedicated to carrying the message that freedom is not free, to all Americans throughout this year.

I returned with renewed pride in the courage, determination and dedication of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, civilians and allies fighting there. They know why they are fighting and what must be done to insure ultimate victory. I am no military expert but I came away from Vietnam with the distinct feeling that we are winning the war. Maybe this impression merely mirrors the confidence of our fighting men. I hope so because confidence is a parent of accomplishment.

Victory can be a reality. And it will be. But only if there is no let up in our bombing of strategic military targets in North Vietnam. The greatest mistake we could make would be to stop the bombing without any comparable and meaningful move toward peace by North Vietnam. Any cessation in bombing without such a move could only result in the regrouping, resupply and reenforcement of Viet Cong forces, in the repair and rebuilding of vital transportation and industrial facilities, in prolonging the war and increasing American casualties.

Too many prominent elected government officials here at home are demanding a halt to the bombing or suggesting a unilateral cease-fire. Too many prominent Americans are acting like arm chair generals. They do a disservice to our fellow Americans fighting in Vietnam because their harping and criticism is being interpreted by the enemy as proof of division and dissention in our ranks. Strengthened by this "evidence," the enemy is steeling himself to further resistance, to greater effort, to increased casualties all because he believes that we will ultimately give up the fight, that victory will finally be his. We know that he is wrong, but we know this also. More of our fellow Americans will pay with their lives or with a lifetime of pain and disability because of the enemy's tragic miscalculations.

Just as the Constitution of the United States vests in the President the responsibility for the command of America's armed forces including our military forces in Vietnam, so the American people should entrust the President to be the authoritative voice of this nation's will to honor its commitment, to defend freedom in Vietnam.

The American Legion submits that with the lives of our fighting men in Vietnam directly at stake we can no longer afford the discordant, divisive protests, questions and demands of any citizen, especially our elected officials, which falsely encourage the enemy to stay on the battlefield and away from the conference table.

National Flood Insurance Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1985) to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY].

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Brown amendment.

I have not heard one thing here today in this debate which always used to be mentioned when these backdoor spending proposals came before the House. There used to be a few of us who would say we believe our Founding Fathers meant what they said when they wrote into the Constitution that no money should be drawn from the Treasury save by an appropriation made by law.

I believe that was a wise provision. I think it is absolutely essential to give jurisdiction over all withdrawals from the Treasury to one committee of this House just as we give jurisdiction over taxes to one committee.

That is the only way by which we are going to be able to control expenditures.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, it would be wise if we adopted the Brown amendment so that the administrators of this program would come in annually and the one committee would scrutinize their needs as far as withdrawals from the Treasury are concerned.

I think these administrators should

report each year to the Committee on Appropriations on the way that they have administered the program. So, I say, Mr. Chairman, I strongly support the Brown amendment.

Governor Reagan Addresses Alf Landon Lecture Series at Kansas State University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, on October 26, 1967, Gov. Ronald Reagan, of California, addressed an audience of 14,000 at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans. His eloquent remarks were a contribution to the Alf M. Landon lecture series at Kansas State University.

I include his message in the RECORD at this point, for his remarks are timely and will be of interest to many, many Americans:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY GOV. RONALD REAGAN, OF CALIFORNIA, AT ALF LANDON LECTURE, KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, OCTOBER 26, 1967

I am speaking here today neither as an academician nor as a politician. I do not have the training to be the first nor the aspiration to be the second. That leaves me the role of concerned citizen, and among my concerns is higher education and its place in contemporary America.

Listing the problems is easy—solutions are a little harder to come by. For example, there is the problem of financing the increasing cost of higher education. I have some first-hand experience with that one, but I cannot lay claim to having the answer. Nor do I think that university president has the answer who stated bluntly that the academic community's only responsibility was to tell government its needs, and government's obligation was not to question but to simply come up with the money. This was higher education and contemporary America meeting eyeball to eyeball.

Strange as it may seem, there is a limit to what government can extract from the body of the citizenry—a limit fixed, not by pity or unwillingness to wield the scalpel, but by the hard fact that unless that body of citizenry is able to function on a 9-to-5 basis, the schoolhouse door will not open at all.

Government's share of the wealth has to stop short of interfering with the production of wealth. Higher education explains it as having to do with the law of diminishing returns.

Then, of course, having decided on and collected its share, government must allocate. So much for roads—so much for protection against the law breaker—for help to those who must depend on the rest of us for sustenance—for health—and, of course, for education, elementary through college and university.

Never, according to those engaged in these various facets of government, is there sufficient funding for all that needs to be done. But when government is taking all the economy will bear, choices must be made, and, if education demands an increase in funds greater than the normal workload increase occasioned by growth and higher prices, then it must be taken from some other program.

Now this should not be interpreted as minimizing the importance of education. No one denies the value of a higher education for all those able to assimilate one. Indeed, a vast network of institutions of higher learning, both public and private, is essential if we are to maintain our nation as the world's leader in science and technology. Nor does anyone deny the growing needs in our nation for teachers, for doctors, lawyers, economists and sociologists, and yes in these days, not only for a literate public, but also for a well-educated and knowledgeable populace.

Alfred Whitehead said, "In the conditions of modern life, the rule is absolute: The race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed."

There is no question but that Americans all over this land have assigned a high priority to education. It is also true that the cost of education is increasing faster than the increase in public funds. A more sophisticated answer is needed than just "come up with more money."

I suggested a partial answer in California based on the theory that good tax policy involves assessing at least a part of the charge for a service against those receiving the service. In a word, I proposed tuition at our State University and Colleges. The result was cataclysmic. I could not have branded myself as any more "anti-intellectual" if I had said, "Me Tarzan, you Jane."

Actually, there was much more to my proposal than Just a method for collecting revenue.

The students enjoying the benefits of public higher education in California come from the same income levels as those attending the private or independent schools such as Stanford and U.S.C. Very few from low income families can take advantage of the educational opportunities made available by the taxpayers of California.

With this in mind, half of the funds from the proposed tuition would go for a combination of loans and grants-in-aid to needy students.

And since another problem in our University is an exceptionally high dropout rate, we tried to cope with that. Our plan called for 75% loan and 25% grant the first year, 50–50 the second year, 75% grant and only 25% loan the third year, and 100% grant the fourth year. The loans, of course, would be repaid after graduation.

Another problem at our University is the unhappiness of students over lack of contact with professors engaged more in research than in teaching. To help meet this problem, one-fourth of the tuition money would provide for 250 new teaching chairs at the University and the remaining fourth could be applied to capital construction of needed facilities.

Since all of this could be accomplished with a tuition that amounted to less than 10% of the cost of the education, we did not think the proposal was punitive.

May I add that, if we adhere to the idea that everything adds to the educational experience, I believe there is some merit in the student accepting responsibility for a portion of the cost of his education—as long as no qualified student is denied an education because of lack of funds.

There are benefits and burdens that accrue both to the individual and to society, and the burdens, including the burden of cost, must be borne by both.

But if all the problems of finance could be solved tomorrow, there would still be cause for concern about the place of higher education in contemporary America.

What is our definition of academic freedom?

Those who teach, understandably enough, define it as the right to teach as they see fit without interference from administrators and certainly not from those who hold the public purse strings or who fill the public purse.

But those who pay for the education, students and taxpayers, also have a definition of academic freedom: their freedom to have some say in what they get for their money.

Those holding public office try to interpret the will of the people and pass it on to the university administration, conscious always that they must not appear to be exerting political control over education. Equally uncomfortable are the administrators who must interpret the educators' viewpoint to the crass politicians and vice versa—they can be likened to a prisoner in front of a cellophane wall being shouted at by both sides.

And the truth is—all the claims are legitimate and must be reconciled within a framework of mutual understanding and compromise.

The dictionary defines education as "the impartation or acquisition of knowledge, skill, or the development of character as by study or discipline."

The taxpayer is wrong who ignores the great increase in things we know—knowledge acquired since he was in school—and who demands "no new-fangled courses. What was good enough then is good enough now."

But so is the student wrong who would eliminate all required courses and grades—who would make education a kind of four-year smorgasbord in which he would be the sole judge of how far and fast he ran in pursuit of knowledge.

And that educator is wrong who denies there are any absolutes—who see no black and white of right or wrong, but just shades of gray in a world where discipline of any kind is an intolerable interference with the right of the individual. He rebels at the old fashioned idea of "loco parentis" and claims he is there to impart knowledge, not to substitute for absentee parents. But he can not escape a responsiblity for the students' development of character and maturity.

Strangely and illogically, this is very often the same educator who interprets his academic freedom as the right to indoctrinate students with his view of things. Woe to the student who challenges his interpretation of history, or who questions the economic theory given as proven formula in what is, at best, a very inexact science.

One thing we should all be agreed on is the university's obligation to teach, not indoctrinate.

Institutions of higher education are repositories of all the accumulated knowledge of man, but they must not be vending machines. Along with the dispensing of facts and figures must come the production of wisdom.

In our colleges today are undoubtedly more than one President of the United States, a number of Supreme Court Justices, Cabinet members and many Legislators.

And this brings me to the part higher education plays in contemporary America.

These institutions were created, and are presently maintained, to insure perpetuation of a social structure—a nation, if you will.

Now don't put a narrow interpretation on this as some will, and translate "social structure" into "status quo" or "social order" or "preserve the aristocracy; keep the little bananas from becoming top banana."

Our country, unfortunately, has a lot of people who would turn the country back to the dark ages, or ahead to 1984. Some have a concept of government more akin to Frederick the Great than Thomas Jefferson.

Our nation is founded on a concern for the individual and his right to fulfillment, and this should be the preoccupation of our schools and colleges.

The graduate should go forth, literally starting on a lifetime of learning and growing and creativity that will in turn bring growth and innovation to our society.

And the truth is—never in history has there been such a need for men and women of wisdom and courage—wisdom to absorb the knowldege of the past and plan its application to the present and future, and courage to make the hard decisions.

At Stanford University in 1906 William James said, "The wealth of a nation consists more than in anything else in the number of superior men that it harbors."

At the risk of great oversimplication may I suggest that the great ideological split dividing us on the world scene and here within our own borders has to do with the place of the individual.

Acceptance is given more and more to the concept of lifting men by mass movements and collective action, in spite of the fact that history is strangely barren of any record of advances made in this manner. By contrasts, the roads from the swamp to the stars is studded with the names of individuals who achieved fulfillment and lifted mankind another rung.

It is time we realized what we mean by "equality" and being "born equal".

We are equal before God and the law, and our society guarantees that no acquisition of property during our lifetime, nor achievement, no matter how exemplary, should give us more protection than those of less prestige, nor should it exempt us from any of the restrictions and punishments imposed by law.

But let there be no misunderstanding about the right of man to achieve above the capacity of his fellows. The world is richer because of a Shakespeare and a Tennyson, a Beethoven and a Brahms. Certainly major league baseball would not be improved by letting every citizen who wanted to, have a turn at playing Willie Mays' position.

We live (even many so-called poor) at a level above the wildest dreams of the kings of one hundred years ago—because some individual thought of a horseless carriage, an ice box and later a refrigerator, or machinery that lifted burdens from our backs. (I would have thrown in television if I were still appearing on Death Valley Days.)

Why did so much of this develop so far and fast in America? Other countries are blessed with natural resources and equable climate—yes, and energetic and talented people.

But here, to a degree unequalled any place in the world, we unleashed the individual genius of man, recognized his inherent dignity, and rewarded him commensurate with his ability and achievement.

Your generation is being wooed by many who charge this way we have known is inadequate to meet the challenges of our times. They point to the unsolved problems of poverty and prejudice as proof of the system's failure.

As students, you have a duty to research to find if the failure is one of system—or is it the inadequacy of human nature?

You should also inquire if those who would replace the system have anything to offer in exchange other than untried theory packaged as Utopia. It sometimes seems strange that what is so often described as the brave new world of the future must be upheld by the collectivist philosophy of nineteenth century theorists like Rousseau, Fourier and Marx.

You have lived your entire lives in a governmental framework tending ever more toward the welfare state and centralism. We still have government of the people, by the people and for the people, but there seems to be a lot more of "for" the people and less "of" and "by". This is justified on the claim that society has grown so complex that we can no longer afford too much individual freedom.

To invoke "states' rights" is to be suspect of wanting to deny "human rights", and similar charges of selfishness greet *any* attack on the tendency of government to grow, but more particularly when attention is called to failures by government in the field of human welfare.

But you are students and therefore engaged in a search for truth.

Has the idea of a federation of sovereign states been proven unworkable because here and here selfish individuals used state government to impose on the freedom of some? Isn't there something to be said for a system wherein people can vote with their feet if government becomes too oppressive? Let a state pile on taxes beyond a bearable limit and business and industry start moving out and the people follow.

Let us think very carefully before switching to a system in which these states become administrative districts enforcing uniform laws and regulations.

If I may personalize here, let me tell you some of what we have learned in California these past nine months.

California—that is where they give governors on-the-job training. Being totally inexperienced, I had not learned all the things you cannot do, so I set out to keep my campaign promises. And once the people got over their shock they sort of took to the idea.

By every rule of reason, government "of" and "by" the people must be superior to any other kind.

No government could possibly muster a group capable of making the multitudinous decisions that must be made every day to keep a society like ours moving.

If a state is to be great it must call upon the greatness of the people. And the people must be prepared to give a portion of their time to public affairs because government is their business.

The only alternative to the people running government is government running the people.

We put together a blue ribbon citizens committee to recruit personnel for the administrative posts that had to be filled by appointment. They did not just screen applicants for public jobs; they persuaded top level people in business and the professions to take jobs which represented tremendous personal sacrifice in salary in almost every case.

Then we invited the most successful citizens of our state to lunch and locked the doors. We outlined a plan for bringing their knowledge to bear on government. They were asked to give up their own careers for a period of from four to six months, to work full-time as members of task forces going into every agency and department of government to see how government could be made more efficient and economical by the use of modern business practices.

And we asked them to put up the $250,000 it would take for administrative overhead in this undertaking. They volunteered to a man and they have just completed more than six months full-time away from their own pursuits and even their families.

We are correlating their reports and putting their recommendations into operation. They range from methods of buying supplies to data-processing, from rotating department heads to consolidating files.

* * * * *

The world is full of people who believe men need masters. Our society was founded on a different premise, but continuation of this way of ours is not inevitable. It will persist only if we care enough. We must care too much to settle for a non-competitive mediocrity. Only the best that is in each of us will do.

If it has seemed that we have left your generation with no cause to believe in, no banner to follow—you do have a cause here in this land.

For one tick of history's clock we gave the world a shining golden hope. Mankind looked to us. Now the door is closing on that hope and it could be your destiny to keep it open.

Topheavy Debt Structure of Savings and Loan Holding Companies Must Be Controlled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, several large savings and loan holding companies in the Far West are in trouble. These companies overextended themselves by borrowing large sums of money with which to finance speculative real estate developments. As long as demand exceeded supply and ample mortgage funds were available at reasonable rates of interest, things looked good. However, subsequent events have demonstrated the speculative nature of these holding company operations, and, today's high interest rates and tight money have made it exceedingly difficult—if not impossible—to develop and sell their properties.

As a result, these holding companies have been hard pressed to pay interest and principal required by their topheavy debt structure, and they have exerted pressure upon their savings and loan subsidiary associations for funds.

The unfortunate result has been the milking of federally insured savings and loan associations to meet debt service demands made upon the parent holding company. Moreover, the holding companies have caused their subsidiary insured associations to make risky high-yield loans to generate maximum income. Now, many of these otherwise healthy savings and loan associations find themselves with substandard assets. This situation is detrimental to the entire savings and loan industry as well as to the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

A letter I recently received from the Honorable John E. Horne, Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, spells out this situation with great clarity, and I strongly recommend that Mr. Horne's remarks be carefully considered by all Members.

The public interest in a sound and solvent insurance corporation absolutely requires that the Congress enact a strong holding company bill in this session. Agency authorization to prevent excess holding company debt is a vital necessity.

Mr. Horne's letter follows:

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD,
Washington, D.C., October 30, 1967.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN SULLIVAN: This letter is intended to summarize for the Committee some of the consequences and risks of savings and loan holding company operations. It is also to state that neither under the existing statute nor the bill as reported by the Subcommittee can the Board prevent or correct holding company problems that threaten both the public interest and the welfare of the $140,000,000,000 savings and loan industry.

1. Holding companies control one-eighth (⅛) of the savings and loan industry but account for five-eighths (⅝) of the institutions in most serious financial jeopardy. (Both figures relate to total assets).

2. The tendency toward higher risk operations of associations controlled by holding companies far exceeds that of the remainder of the industry. For example, holding company associations:

a. have a foreclosure rate over three times as high as the rest of the industry;

b. have a level of substandard assets almost three times the rest of the industry.

The result is a level of capitalization in relation to risk that is far below the rest of the industry and that correspondingly increases the exposure of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC).

3. Nearly 10% of holding company associations (and also 10% of holding company associations' assets) are in the serious problem case category. But as regards mutual associations (which comprise about 78% of the savings and loan business), only $\frac{9}{10}$ of 1% of associations (and only $\frac{9}{10}$ of 1% of association assets) are in the serious problem book.

4. The assets of serious problem associations ($1.6 billion) controlled by holding companies just about equal the liquid assets ($1.7 billion) of the Insurance Corporation. This poses an unwarranted risk to the safety of the insurance system.

It is argued that thus far there has been little loss incurred by the Insurance Corporation on holding company operations. The significant points to consider are the disturbing trends already shown by this relatively new development of holding companies in the savings and loan industry and the precarious condition into which some holding company operations have gotten their savings and loan subsidiaries.

5. For every dollar of problem mutual association assets, the mutual association sector has contributed to the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation nearly $3.00 in premiums and earnings thereon. But for every dollar of assets in holding company associations, the corresponding contribution by the holding company sector has been less than $.20. In effect, the risks of holding company operations are being underwritten by mutual associations throughout the country.

6. It is argued by opponents of the legislation that holding companies can provide financial strength to their associations. The contrary has been true in nearly every instance. And in 1966, the worst year in two decades for the savings and loan business, holding companies put a mere $1.8 million into subsidiary associations as capital contributions but took out $17.7 million in dividends and fees.

7. Holding companies exist in eleven states (see list), with 83% of the assets of their associations being in California. Why should the industry in the non-holding company states, and indeed the non-holding company associations throughout the entire country, have to bear the burdens created by holding company operations?

8. The vast majority of the total industry—the mutuals, most of the independent stock associations, and some of the holding companies—support a measure at least as strong as the Senate version. Moreover, the Board and its staff, the twelve District Bank Presidents and their staffs, and the National Association of State Savings and Loan Supervisors—the authorities responsible for examining and supervising the savings and loan industry—have strongly urged the passage of legislation at least as strong as S. 1542.

It seems illogical and unfair that the self-interest of a few should be served at the expense of many others who conduct their affairs in a sound and reasonable manner. The Board urgently supports, therefore, inclusion in H.R. 8696 of provisions that would:

a. place safeguards on holding company debt; and

b. prevent acquisitions of control over independent associations by companies with dubious or dishonest management or in weak financial condition.

Such provisions were adopted by the Senate without dissent.

Respectfully,

JOHN E. HORNE,
Chairman.

P.S. The enclosed article from today's New York Times describes the consequences in Las Vegas of the way a holding company (First Western Financial Corporation) operated there. This story does not end in Las Vegas, as the foregoing statistics show.

TABLE 1.—SAVINGS AND LOAN HOLDING COMPANY CONTROLLED ASSOCIATIONS, PORTION OF TOTAL ASSETS OF ALL INSURED ASSOCIATIONS IN STATE AT DEC. 31, 1966

State of operation	Total number of holding companies	Controlled associations: Total number	Controlled associations: Total assets (millions)	Percent of total assets of all insured associations in State
California	48	72	$13,349	50.4
Ohio	14	14	809	8.8
Texas	7	13	689	12.1
Illinois	11	11	293	2.5
Colorado	5	9	409	25.6
Arizona	2	2	66	8.2
Nevada	3	2	331	53.2
Utah	2	2	64	9.9
Kansas	1	4	89	5.7
Idaho	2	2	28	10.5
New Mexico	2	2	43	10.5
Guam	1	1	3	100.0
Total	98	134	16,173	27.4

Ninety-two-Mile-Per-Hour Winds Rip Area—Three Hamburg Boys Missing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, last week as 92-mile-per-hour winds lashed the Niagara frontier, a near tragedy turned to triumph for three boys from Hamburg, N.Y.

John P. Songer, 11; Terrance Sweeney, 12; and Gregory Lambrix, 12; were pinioned to a 100-foot cliff by 20-foot waves for 14 hours Saturday night.

Scratching from nook to nook on the nearly sheer wall to avoid the rising water, the young men stayed calm. They remembered the survival training they learned in the Boy Scouts. Taking turns napping and watching through the night, at 6:30 a.m. their peril turned to victory as they sighted a light on the beach below.

Mr. Francis Lambrix, father of one of the boys, found the youngsters huddled in a shallow crevice and carried all three at once to his automobile.

Mr. Speaker, as a tribute to these plucky young men, and they are, indeed, men, I ask that two newspaper articles regarding their experience be included in today's RECORD.

One article is from the Buffalo Evening News of Saturday, October 28, and the other is from the Buffalo Courier-Express of the same day. The articles follow:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier Express, Oct. 28, 1967]

NINETY-TWO MILES PER HOUR WINDS RIP AREA; THREE HAMBURG BOYS MISSING—BOAT DAMAGE AT HARBORS RATED HEAVY

Roaring winds registered at 92 miles an hour, well above hurricane velocity, ripped across the Buffalo area waterfront Friday night causing residents in some areas to be boated to safety and turning loose in Lake Erie a 580-foot unmanned barge which three missing Hamburg teen-age boys may have boarded.

The barge, the Wiltranco, was blown afloat by high winds at Sturgeon Point, where it had run aground on Wednesday night. It was sighted early this morning about 500 yards off Lake Shore Road, Wanakah.

NO SIGN OF BOYS OBSERVED

State police, Buffalo fire fighters, Hamburg Town police and sheriff's deputies trained spotlights across the craft and reported that there was no sign of anyone aboard.

The three Lake View youths reported missing from their homes about 7 in the evening and seen near the grounded barge at Sturgeon Point before it took to the lake were identified as:

John P. Songer, 11, Truscott Terr.

Terrance Sweeney, 12, of 86 East Lane.

Gregory Lambrix, 12, of 16 West Lane.

Town of Hamburg Police Chief Robert G. Williams said the parents of the Lambrix boy believed that the youngsters were playing in the area the barge was grounded.

BREAKS LOOSE FROM TOW LINE

The barge broke loose from a tow line near Port Colbourne, Ont., on Wednesday night and ran aground at Sturgeon Point. It was unoccupied at that time. It had floated about a mile to the point where it was sighted this morning.

Coast Guard officials said they would send a helicopter to the barge as soon as weather permits.

Meanwhile, the roaring winds, clocked at 92 m.p.h. at 7 p.m. at the Coast Guard base, played general havoc along area waterfronts.

In the Town of Brant, 19 persons were rowed to safety from their flooded summer homes and trailers in boats manned by policemen. No injuries were reported.

Scores of pleasure craft sunk or were damaged at area harbors. There were dozens of trees felled, isolated power failures, traffic signals blacked out, store windows blown in and numerous traffic accidents, all connected with the hurricane.

At the Small Boat Harbor off Fuhrmann Boulevard, 30 boats were believed sunk and many others damaged. Carmelo Gruttadauria, night watchman, estimated damage to the crafts at $100,000. Next Wednesday is the deadline for all boats to be brought in for the winter.

LAKE RISES 8 FEET

Gruttadauria said the lake rose 8 to 10 feet above normal at the height of the storm about 7 p.m.

Two sailboats were sunk and a number of other craft damaged at the Buffalo Yacht Club at the foot of Porter Avenue. Catwalks were torn loose and all docks loosened, said Louis Rizzo, club manager.

All docks were under water at the Motor Boat Club of Buffalo at the foot of Georgia Street. Gordon McDougall, secretary of the club, said about 10 boats were submerged and 30 to 40 others rocking back and forth with the winds. He estimated damage to the 10 sunken boats at about $50,000.

BOULEVARD IS FLOODED

In Fort Erie, Ont., a section of Niagara Boulevard leading into the Peace Bridge was covered with four feet of water. Barricades were set up and motorists rerouted.

Throughout Western New York, the damage was pretty much the same. From Dunkirk came reports of knocked-down trees and power lines and flooded cellars.

Fredonia troopers said there was flooding in the Sunset Bay area and some homeowners were isolated.

In Buffalo, a number of live wires were reported down and felled trees were blocking several streets. Roads near the water front were littered with tree limbs and other debris as waves often sprayed across the highways.

A 60-foot tree, uprooted by the winds, threatened homes in front of 206-208 W. Ferry St. late Friday night, Fire fighters roped off the area and attached heavy chains to the swaying tree, holding it to adjacent trees until the Forestry Division could cut the tree.

WIND VELOCITY EXPLAINED

The Weather Bureau said winds reach hurricane proportions when they reach velocity of 74 m.p.h. Winds from 55 m.p.h. to 73 m.p.h. are classified as gales. The bureau said there was no way to determine whether the 92 m.p.h. reading was a record since it does not record the wind velocity at the waterfront, but takes its readings at the airport.

Meanwhile, the winds are expected to subside today followed by snow flurries with cool temperatures, the high about 40.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Oct. 28, 1967]

Hamburg Father Finds Son, Friends in All-Night Hunt—20-Foot Waves Eat Away Shore Where Youngsters Clung for 14 Hours

A father's determined search and the Boy Scout training of three young boys are responsible for the rescue of the youths after a harrowing 14 hours on the side of a wave-lashed cliff on Lake Erie in the Town of Hamburg.

The boys, missing since Friday afternoon, were found about 6:30 AM by Francis Lambrix, father of one of the boys, who had searched alone throughout the night.

The boys, in satisfactory condition in Our Lady of Victory Hospital are:

Gregory Lambrix, 12, of 16 West Lane.

John P. Songer, 11, of 9 Truscott Terrace.

Terrance Sweeney, 12, of 86 East Lane, all of Hamburg.

The boys, described by police as "cold, wet, scared and hungry," said they went to the beach near their homes to watch the drifting barge Wiltranco which was then aground off Sturgeon Point.

TRAPPED BY WAVES

They said they walked along the beach but about 4:30 PM found themselves trapped against a steep 100-foot cliff by waves pushed by gale winds.

The cliff is near Birchwood Dr. in the Clifton Heights area.

The boys said that as 20-foot waves lashed against them, they clung to the cliff and managed to climb to a small pocket of loose shale about 25 feet above the beach.

During the night, they said, their small haven began to collapse and they scampered to another tiny cove nearby.

Just before dawn, as the second cove, too, began to fall, the boys saw a light on the beach just below them.

LOCATED BY FATHER

It was Mr. Lambrix who had searched the lakefront throughout the night and had waited for the waves to subside slightly before venturing near the cliff.

Mr. Lambrix told police the boys slid down the cliff and that he "carried all three at once" to his car nearby.

He drove them to the Songer home, the closest of the three, where police and ambulances were called.

Hamburg Police Chief Robert G. Williams today praised the resourcefulness of the young boys as well as the dedication of Mr. Lambrix.

"The boys used excellent judgment," Chief Williams said. "Just amazing for ones so young."

"They told me they remembered their Boy Scout survival training, that they took turns napping, making sure one was always awake, and that they remained calm through the whole thing, although they certainly were frightened," the chief related.

THOUGHT TO BE ON BARGE

A land and lake search for the youths was called off by police about 1 AM and was preparing to resume when Mr. Lambrix found the youngsters.

It was believed, Friday night, that the boys might somehow have boarded the Wiltranco and drifted with it to where it ran aground off Wanakah late Friday.

Searchlights supplied by the Buffalo Fire Department illuminated the barge but not enough to determine if anyone was aboard.

Police had planned to attempt to reach the barge today if the waves had subsided, or to fly overhead in a helicopter.

Naive Men Fail To Believe Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the dangers and blindness of naivete are eloquently and convincingly described by Wayne Guthrie in the Indianapolis News for October 27, 1967:

Naive Men Fail To Believe Reds

(By Wayne Guthrie)

History has a way of repeating itself and presenting parallels by which man should profit.

However, naive man seems determined to disregard them—at least not to heed or be unduly upset by them.

Before World War II Adolf Hitler published his "Mein Kampf" in which he left no doubt of the Nazis' plan for world conquest.

Naive man read it. Many were startled by it. Many could not believe it true. So, for the most part, people, although envisioning what the consequences of such a plan could be, could not believe it probable. So naive man did little to forestall its heinous predictions.

However, one naive man did—or thought he was doing it. History's famous umbrella man, Neville Chamberlain, Britain's prime minister, flew to Europe, met Hitler and brought back in triumph what he confidently felt was a sure-fire pledge that would avoid war.

What happened? The ink on that document scarcely was dry before Hitler unleashed his forces and began his conquest that soon engulfed mankind in World War II from which it even yet has not recovered.

History repeated itself. The Communist Manifesto, with bluntness and brazenness equal to that of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" which naive man preferred not to believe, outlined in terms that can not and could not be mistaken Communism's plan for world domination.

It made it clear its principal theme—to crush the capitalistic system which is represented best by our American free way of life. In other words that which we hold dear, the thing that has made our country the envy of the world, must go.

Then began its program of conquest—not with the same suddenness and proportion as Hitler's but, rather, a step-by-step process.

First came Korea where, instead of nipping the diabolic program in the bud before it got under way, we accepted a stalemate.

Then came the infiltration and take over of Cuba—right under our figurative noses only 90 miles from our mainland—an unquestioned violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which had been a bedrock of United States policy since our nation's earliest days. Naively we permitted that takeover to stand—and it still stands.

Then came Vietnam where we still are.

All the while Communism did not relent and has not relented in its repeated attempts to gain a foothold in different Central and South American countries.

All these steps are recognized by many who have watched Communism's unfolding program as its plan, if possible, to encircle the United States with an arc reaching from Cuba to Korea.

Now in recent months the agitation for peace and withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam continues. In fact, it grows in intensity. Some ask for an honorable peace. Others would be content with just any old peace—just so long as we get out of Vietnam.

But, what assurance is there that Communism will live up to any peace agreement? Is there any reason to believe it will not take advantage of any such respite to re-arm, recoup and proceed with its plan of American encirclement and eventual world domination?

Well, as attorneys say, let's look at the record. They say the record is the best evidence.

If that be so, let us not lose sight of this: Since World War II, 25 pledges have been violated by successive Soviet regimes. Does that give much assurance Communism will keep any further promise?

Then there is the cry in many places against escalation of the war in Vietnam lest it bring Red China into the conflict.

Which is better, to run that risk than to abstain and thus permit Red China to arm itself with nuclear weapons and other capabilities to the point it will be able to move against us on its own, never losing sight of the fact that Communism's program, regardless of in what nation it is, is world domination and the destruction of the capitalistic free way of life.

One thing stands out clearly: Communism has not abandoned and does not intend to abandon its program of world domination that it has proclaimed by both the written and spoken word. It may give a little here and a little there if it deems such action expedient but we may rest assured it will not abandon that program.

Hitler made his warning clear. The naive did not believe it. What followed is history. The Communist Manifesto makes equally clear its program of world domination. Is history to repeat itself? Is naive man going to refuse to believe it?

Help for the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, if one mentions the initials, ADA, here in Washington, people tend to associate the remarks with a body of theorists with some rather fuzzy ideas about American economy and politics. Elsewhere throughout the country, however, people recognize that the Americans for Democratic Action are interlopers in using these initials. People recognize that the rightful owners are the members of the American Dental Association.

This latter body met here in Washington recently, and I was privileged to talk to a number of the visiting dentists. I was particularly pleased to spend a few minutes with an old friend, Dr. Max L. Bramer, and to hear from him of an innovation in the care of people whose dental needs are often forgotten.

Doctor Bramer is a longtime resident of the 14th District, which I represent, but his practice is in Chicago, and he is chief of the section on the handicapped at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago.

Throughout a long practice, he has devoted much time and talent to the treatment of persons whose physical or mental handicaps create real problems. He has devised many devices and has developed special equipment to enable him and his colleagues to bring merciful relief to people who need relief more than most of us.

As a result of Drs. Bramer's initiative, the Du Page County Health Department has become the headquarters of a new not-for-profit corporation known as Home Care Dental Service of Du Page County. This is a community approach to the health needs of handicapped patients, and it has been approved by the Community Nursing Service, the Community Welfare for Mentally Retarded Children, the Public Health Council of Du Page County, and the county's organized dentists.

This corporation has been provided with portable dental equipment, so that any person who needs dental care but who can not go to the dentist's office will not need to accept a low level of dental treatment.

The Home Dental Care Service has established a sliding scale of fees for those able to pay, and has a reserve fund to care for those unable to pay.

Mr. Speaker, as far as is known, Du Page is the first county in the United States to provide such a service for people who can not leave home. The people owe much to Dr. Charles Lange, who, as the county director of public health, is custodian of this equipment, and to Dr. Bramer, whose humanitarian instincts are given expression in this new service.

Welcome to Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with the House an editorial which appeared in my State's largest newspaper, the Portland Oregonian, noting the centennial edition of a leading daily newspaper in my district, the Eugene Register-Guard.

I agree wholeheartedly with the editorial's comment that the Register-Guard is an outstanding paper. Serving as it does the most heavily populated area of Oregon's Fourth District—the most rapidly growing area populationwise in the entire State—it is important that its coverage be of the highest quality. It is.

I congratulate the management and staff of the Register-Guard in their effort to provide a resource of accurate, detailed information for their readers. It is with pleasure that I include this editorial in the RECORD at this point:

WELCOME TO CLUB

On June 4, 1867, The Oregonian noted briefly the appearance of the first number of a newspaper called the Guard at "Eugene City."

"It is intensely Confederate, and we can see little use for such political papers since surrender of Mr. Lee," wrote the editor of this paper. "The Guard may, however, be useful in other respects, and our hope is that it may be successful according to its deserts."

The above was one of the historical nuggets mined by the late Warren Price, professor of journalism at the University of Oregon, who died a few months ago while working on a history of the Eugene Register-Guard. Mr. Price dug out much more material of greater significance than the rather snide comment cited. This appeared, along with reproductions of whole pages and selected stories from the past 100 years, in an excellent special edition issued by the Register-Guard the other day.

The Eugene daily has been "successful according to its deserts", the latter being substantial in consequence of the highly creditable manner in which it serves its area in news, editorial, advertising and circulation coverage. The Register-Guard is an outstanding paper which has grown in size and structure in full stride with the rapidly developing Eugene-Springfield-Lane County region.

The second century holds high promise for both the community and its paper. The Oregonian again wishes the Register-Guard success according to its deserts which should continue to be superior. We welcome it to the Century Club.

Progress Report on Lads From Boise Finds That All Is Well

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, last March the Wall Street Journal reported on the activities of two young men in Boise, Idaho, who had done what had been said could not be done in developing a system for converting computer programs.

Now, in what almost appears to be on the verge of becoming a serialized presentation, the Journal, in its edition of October 30, reports on the further successes of these men.

I am pleased to include the article in my remarks, as follows:

A PROGRESS REPORT ON LADS FROM BOISE FINDS THAT ALL IS WELL—RONNIE TIM BOUGHT THAT HONDA AND NOAH BECAME A FATHER, BUT THAT'S NOT ALL THE NEWS

(By John F. Lawrence)

BOISE, IDAHO.—When we left Ronnie Tim and Noah last March, Ronnie Tim was considering trading in his Honda for a bigger motorcycle, and Noah still didn't know if he had passed his test for promotion to airman second class in the Idaho Air National Guard.

Well, Ronnie Tim did buy a bigger Honda, and Noah did pass the test.

Other than that, things aren't much different for the two young workers at Boise Cascade Corp. Noah did sell the 100 Boise Cascade shares that he received as a bonus last spring so he could finance a vacation trip to his inlaws in New Orleans. His wife also had a son, Robert Edward, last July. Robert Edward is their first child. Everything is going well for Ron and his wife and their three children. "I'm happy here," he says.

Oh, one other thing. The two young men have invented another system for converting computer programs to fit a new, faster IBM computer. This time, IBM officials graciously say the system is an "outstanding achievement."

IBM, you'll recall, wasn't so gracious the last time. About a year ago IBM told Boise Cascade that a system to convert programs for an old computer to fit a new computer just couldn't be devised. But Ronnie Tim Hoppins and Noah Wilbert Tadlock Jr., two faces in the crowd at Boise Cascade, said it could be done. And they did it.

IBM scoffed and refused to buy the system, which Boise Cascade offered the computer company for $10,000. But a Los Angeles computer-service concern, Computer Sciences Corp., did like the system—which consists of an instructional manual and a set of punched cards—and agreed to market it to a company that wanted to convert programs from the old IBM 1410 computers. So far, it has sold 35 for a total of $300,000, one third of which goes to Boise Cascade.

WHO NEEDS LOS ANGELES?

The two young men—Noah now is 24 and Ron is 26—became reasonably well known at Boise Cascade. The president called them in and gave them each 100 shares of Boise Cascade stock (current price: About $40 a share), and each got a raise—Ron to $12,600 a year and Noah to $10,200.

Then the saga of Noah and Ron was told to the world in The Wall Street Journal, and things began to happen. Job offers began pouring in, but the boys ignored them. The youths like it here in Boise. One of the best offers came from Los Angeles—"but who'd want to live there?" says Ron. Ron also tells of a late-evening phone call from New York. "A guy wanted me to help him set up a parking lot system. He offered me $30,000 for three months' work," he says. But he adds: "I am not sure, he may have been calling from a bar."

(Things also happened at The Wall Street Journal. An official of IBM strode into the paper's San Francisco office, wearing a serious look. The story was all wrong, he said. IBM people never scoff, he implied, but if there was a scoffer at IBM, he wanted to know who it was. He got no satisfaction, so IBM went to Boise Cascade to find out who scoffed. The Boise people confirmed there was a scoffer at IBM, but they wouldn't say who either. "Why should we help them get some guy in trouble?" asks a Boise Cascade official.)

When things calmed down, Ron and Noah went back to work at their windowless offices at Boise Cascade's data-processing center. The people at Computer Sciences had told them that if they could develop a system to convert programs from the IBM 1401 computer they would really have something, since there are believed to be about 10 times as many 1401s in operation as there are 1410s.

ANOTHER GEM

The challenge proved tougher than expected. Ron and Noah thought they would have a system by early summer, but they didn't come up with one until fall. But the one they got is a gem. It has saved Boise Cascade $100,000 in its own computer operations, and Computer Sciences already has sold three of the systems to other computer users, including the state of Colorado.

IBM insists it already has a wide range of conversion systems of its own, though it concedes none is directly competitive with the Boise Cascade system. Besides calling the youths' efforts an outstanding achievement, an IBM spokesman says: "We encourage conversion development efforts by Boise Cascade, as well as others, for the benefit of all" users of big new computers.

And what of Ron and Noah? They each got another raise—believed to be about $150 a month, though no one will say for sure—and they're now hard at work on some internal programing problems at Boise Cascade. They're rather blase about all the publicity, and Noah gives the distinct impression The Wall Street Journal is nuts to do another story on him and his friend.

Time Off for Parents of Armed Forces Personnel Lost in Combat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced very much needed legislation to allow Federal employees reasonable time off, without charge to their annual or sick leave, when their sons or daughters in the Armed Forces lose their lives because of armed conflict with a hostile foreign force.

President Sidney A. Goodman, of the National Postal Union, wrote me about a postal employee whose son was killed in action in Vietnam and who had to use annual leave to make necessary arrangements and to attend his son's funeral. I am sure there are many other such unfortunate cases, and deeply appreciate Mr. Goodman's patriotic concern.

Mr. Goodman's letter, and a letter from the bereaved mother—the wife of the postal employee—follow:

NATIONAL POSTAL UNION,
Washington, D.C., Oct. 27, 1967.

Congressman THADDEUS J. DULSKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DULSKI: I take the liberty of attaching herewith a recent letter from Mrs. Frederick R. Carson of Springfield Gardens, New York. It deals with the fact that there is no provision for leave with pay for postal employees who must take time off because their sons have been killed in action in Vietnam.

Currently, postal employees involved in such unhappy circumstances are charged such time off to either annual or sick leave. In either case, and depending on local practices, they would be required to present "evidence," quite possibly a medical certificate, indicating they are "unable to perform their duties."

The point is obvious. Surely appropriate consideration should be given to authorizing leave without loss of any credits in such situations. I know that you will be most sympathetic. May I request that you sponsor the legislation that would be necessary to correct this situation.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,
SIDNEY A. GOODMAN,
President.

ROSEDALE, N.Y.,
September 29, 1967.

DEAR MR. GOODMAN: My husband is a Post Office clerk at 90 Church St. N.Y.C. Last week my sons body was sent home from Vietnam and it was necessary for my husband to make the arrangements and take time off for the funeral. As you know this time is charged either to sick time or vacation time. It is bad enough having the shock of our son being killed and feeling the heartache without having to worry about how many days are used. I think its a disgrace that time isn't allowed by the government for a death in the family, especially when the death came because my son was fighting for his country. I think its about time the Union took some kind of action on this matter and in their next fight ask for this time.

Very truly yours,
MRS. FREDERICK R. CARSON.

Five Minutes To Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues of the California congressional delegation in urging approval of the Moss amendment to the Air Quality Act of 1967. We in California believe we must have the right to set minimum health standards for our State.

In the case of smog, it is the opinion of both our air pollution agencies and our public health officials that it is absolutely necessary to adopt higher standards for automobile emissions than now exist on the Federal level, or would be provided by the Air Quality Act as reported from committee.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to have printed a series of editorials by KABC radio in Los Angeles which deal with the smog menace threatening our community and emphasize the great danger of air pollution to 20 million Californians.

The editorials referred to follow:

FIVE MINUTES TO LIVE—I

There are times in the life of a society, just as there are times in the life of a man, when a stand must be taken on issues of importance without regard for political or economic pressures or consequences. Such a time has come for our society. The deadly air we breathe in Los Angeles and throughout our nation can be cleansed.

That silent killer Smog can be eliminated. Those who have urged us to wait, to go slow, to study and bide our time, must no longer hold the control button. The time of crisis is near.

KABC has long advocated legislation to curb, to control, to contain the polluted air we breathe. We are now saying not only that this must be done, but that it must be done now!

Listen to the voice of Dr. Arthur Grossman, a pediatrician, a professor, a Senior Physician for the Children's Hospital at Cedars of Lebanon:

"The thing to do is to declare war! Not on people, not on poverty, but to declare war, an act of violence, on smog. The way to do it is to write, to wire, to call your Congressman or Senator and force President Johnson to divert funds for the development of a clean and safe automobile."

Dr. Grossman is one of 10,000 Los Angeles Physicians who have now warned us: Unless we move immediately to clean our air, the penalties will be painful, and fatal. KABC Radio urges you to wire President Johnson now to demand federal action.

We urge you to write your senator and your congressman to demand that congress prevent passage of pending law that would prevent California from setting stronger smog-control standards than may be needed elsewhere.

If you don't know who your Congressman is, write to us: KABC, Editorials, Los Angeles 16. We'll see to it that your cards and letters are placed before the President.

FIVE MINUTES TO LIVE—II

KABC Radio, in a current series of editorials, is re-stating its long-standing belief that our officials at the federal, state and local levels must stop dragging their feet, and must act now to cleanse the air we breathe. There has been enough talk of hydrocarbons and nitrous oxides and points and percentages. Enough confusing laboratory language which at once intimidates and lulls the public.

It is time now, KABC believes, to put the truth in words and terms everyone can understand, and to unify the citizenry in a battle against the slow-moving forces that are playing games with our lives.

Listen to the words of Dr. Arthur Grossman, medical doctor, pediatrician, professor, and senior physician. Dr. Grossman here makes it clear the automobile is the chief villian in this continuing crisis:

"These emissions constitute a serious threat to the health of residents of the Los Angeles basin. Although this is especially true for those who are ill, very young and the aged, it also applies to those who are presently in good health. The Los Angeles County Medical Association wishes to emphasize to the Legislature of the State of California and the Congress of the United States that a critical and worsening health crisis exists in Los Angeles County, despite all efforts for its control. The pending crisis is imminent and demands that every appropriate action, however drastic, be taken immediately. No further delay can be tolerated with safety. That is the statement of the Los Angeles Medical Association."

KABC holds that the time for conjecture and conversation is over. KABC holds, as do 10-thousand doctors who support that statement, that the time has come to demand that our government declare an emergency, and do what must be done to terminate this crisis in our skies.

KABC urges you to write or wire President Johnson, your Senators and your congressman. Or, if you wish, send your cards and letters to us. Address them: KABC Editorials, Los Angeles 16. We will see to it that they are delivered to the White House.

FIVE MINUTES TO LIVE—III

KABC—in this current series of editorials—is re-emphasizing its firmly held belief that the time is here and now for action against the deadly air we breathe. We have waited long enough; we have suffered enough through smog alerts and choking, coughing, crippling days. We have for too long, as a society and as a community, tolerated the endless debate, the endless stalling, the endless politics and economic pressures that have made a mockery of smog-control.

Listen to Dr. Arthur M. Grossman, a physician, a professor, a member of the Los Angeles County Medical Association's Committee on Environmental Health. He speaks for 10,000 concerned doctors:

"I think in the very near future, possibly this month, the increasing air pollution, or in April or May of 1968, that we will experience a national air pollution disaster of some sort, and in retrospect all the politicians will be wailing that they didn't know about it. They know about it now, because they have here been informed by the Medical Association."

It is KABC Radio's belief that when 10,000 doctors in one community sound a warning like that, we had better listen:

"I know that there are people that are so indifferent to the health needs of a country or a community or their own health needs for their family, that they would ignore all warnings of the medical profession which has no ax to grind except for the health of the people."

Write or wire President Johnson, Senator Kuchel, Senator Murphy, and your Congressman or if you wish, write to us. KABC Radio Editorials; Los Angeles 16.

We will see to it that your cards and letters are placed before the President. Demand action, now. We have no wish to sound alarmist . . . but apparently those who represent us are not going to listen, unless we speak. Loudly and now!

FIVE MINUTES TO LIVE—IV

The air we breathe in Los Angeles today is deadly. Our skies are thick with filthy emissions that choke and cripple and kill us. It is KABC Radio's belief that the time has come to demand action, at the highest levels, to curb this proliferating menace. We have for too many years spent too little money, taken too little notice of the impending crisis, listened too patiently to the soft-speaking specialists who suggest: "There is yet time. There is no need to rush . . . to end this health-menace called Smog." Listen to Dr. Arthur M. Grossman, pediatrician, professor and spokesman for 10-thousand Los Angeles doctors:

"At the current rate at which exhaust controls are being placed on automobiles, and the current rate at which automobiles are being used, it will be 1974 before we can even stop the increasing rate of air pollution. And it will be 1984 before we have clean, breathable air. This means that within the next foreseeable five to seven years we can expect at some time or other a crisis so severe that fatalities may result directly from the effects of smog, and not indirectly as has resulted at other times."

Ten thousand Los Angeles physicians—members of the Los Angeles County Medical Association—are sounding that warning. It is time we listened. And it is time our President, our Congress and our State Government listened. It is time our politicians tell the special interests, the lobbyists, the "go slow" advocates to stand aside. KABC urges you to write or wire President Johnson, Senator Murphy, Senator Kuchel, your congressman, Governor Reagan, and your own district legislators demanding both federal and state action. Now! And if you wish, write to us: KABC Editorials, Los Angeles 16. We will see to it that your message gets to the White House!

FIVE MINUTES TO LIVE—V

Smog, the deadly pollutant that has corrupted our air and that menaces our lives and health, has been tolerated too long. It is KABC's belief that our federal and state officials, from President Johnson and Governor Reagan to Congress and the State Legislature, must be told—by all of us—that we are not now asking, but demanding, action to curb this crippler and killer.

We ask you to listen to the voice of a doctor, Arthur Grossman, whose business is attending to the lives and health of children. He speaks not just for himself, but for 10-thousand doctors in Los Angeles:

"It only takes about 15 to 20 years to develop changes in lung tissues of newborn infants due to breathing contaminated air. And I personally can foresee that any child born in the next 5 to 7 years is going to experience a great increase in the number of respiratory infections that affect children. And I think this will be due not indirectly but directly to air pollution or environmental contamination of our atmosphere."

Dr. Grossman—who is a pediatrician, a professor and a spokesman for 10-thousand Los Angeles doctors, has more to say, and we had better listen:

"The two generations of children we have raised since 1945 have been breathing the contaminated air and no one can even begin to predict the deadly effects on lung tissues of these young people and their children. I would say we must move now, act now. Don't be quiet. I'd become belligerent if I could. We are all trying in the medical profession to impress people with the fact that although you can live for five weeks without food, for five days without water, you can live for only five minutes without air."

Make no mistake about it. Dr. Grossman, KABC Radio, and the 10-thousand physicians who have warned this nation that we face a crisis-in-health and a potential national tragedy . . all of us will be accused of sensationalism and of demanding too much, to soon. But the color of the skies and the poison of the air we breathe demands that we speak out; and now

For to long, too many of us have been guilty of asking "What can we do?" We can do something. We can all write or wire President Johnson, our Senators, our Governor, our representatives in Washington and in our districts, demanding immediate action at both the federal and state levels. We can, all of us, demand that President Johnson stop congress from passing a pending law that would forbid California from enacting legislation any stronger than the national legislation which might apply to Minnesota or Maine.

All of the skies of this land are being polluted; but almost nowhere else is it as bad as it is here in Los Angeles. We must not allow congress to deprive California of its right to enact strong laws to curb the pollution of air by the automobile. If you want to be heard, write to us: KABC Editorials, Los Angeles 16. We will see to it that you cards and letters are delivered to the White House.

FIVE MINUTES TO LIVE—VI

As our regular KABC listeners know, we are speaking out as forcefully as we know how against this killer called Smog. In a series of editorials which we call 'Five Minutes to Live', we point out that we of Los Angeles and we of this nation have waited long enough for action to stop the increasing incidence of air pollution.

We have quoted a spokesman for ten-thousand concerned Los Angeles doctors, who are warning us: We must immediately demand that the automobile quit polluting the air we breathe. We can send rockets to the moon and around Venus. KABC refuses to believe we cannot curb the killing fumes sent forth by cars.

Those who caution "patience" and urge us not to expect "too much, too soon" have had their way long enough. KABC agrees with the Los Angeles county board of supervisors, which has asked that the appropriate congressional committees call for a report from the automotive industry on its research progress in developing safe and effective smog control devices.

KABC also agrees with County Smog Control Officer Louis Fuller who says we must move now in turning back the deadly tide polluting our air. And KABC says Congress must not pass Senate Bill 780 which would deny California the right to at least set its own control standards, which would be stronger than proposed federal standards. KABC agrees also with those who have criticized legislation passed in Sacramento this year which emerged toothless and which served only to pacify the public.

KABC disagrees with claims that smog can best be reduced by waiting for the auto and oil industries to come up with their own answers.

You and I must demand that legislation be enacted to control not only crankcase and exhaust emissions . . . but the air pollutants sent up by gas tanks and carburetors and used cars that have never changed hands and every other source. The alternative is an alternative we dare not accept:

"We doctors are getting a little more and more upset. At least 10,000 physicians who make up the Los Angeles County Medical Association have stated just recently that a crisis is imminent, and demand that every appropriate action, however drastic, be immediately taken to stop all air pollution. It is my feeling that the current crop of babies who are the second generation to be raised in a polluted atmosphere, the worst in recorded history, that if this generation continues to breathe the foul air, at least in this community of ours, that at least another 50,000 of these babies will be dead as a result, indirectly or directly, of the aerial contamination we call smog."

The voice of Dr. Arthur Grossman, physician to children and spokesman for 10,000 concerned Los Angeles physicians:

"Although you can live for five weeks without food, and for five days without water, you can live for only five minutes without air."

KABC believes we must kill Smog before it kills us.

Equality of Justice for the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, recently attacks have been made on the California Rural Legal Assistance Project, a program to assist the rural poor to obtain equal access to the protection of law by being provided legal services.

The Santa Barbara News-Press, in an editorial entitled "Equality of Justice for the Poor," has rendered a great service to California and the Nation in disclosing the hypocrisy of these attacks.

It seems ironic that in these days when certain so-called responsible leaders glibly denounce violence in our streets that they would want to seal off legal remedies from the unfortunate victims of neglect and poverty. It raises a question of who is really responsible, morally and legally, for disorders in our country.

The editorial follows:

[From the Santa Barbara (Calif.) News-Press, Oct. 3, 1967]

EQUALITY OF JUSTICE FOR THE POOR

Governor Reagan's attack upon the California Rural Legal Assistance association, a non-profit group that receives federal funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity (antipoverty agency), is stirring up an issue that has more than regional or partisan implications.

The legal assistance group (CRLA) was formed and funded by OEO primarily to provide counsel for poor people with less than $200 a month income so they could have their rights protected in wage claims or other civil cases. It has worked closely with farm labor union officials and lawyers in many cases, but technically represents only individuals who are unable to hire their own lawyers.

Its legal staf aroused the ire of the Governor in three specific actions, and he has indicated he will "veto" the allocation of any further funds to the association—though his power to do so is in question. The fight, however, has been taken to Washington, and the legal aid program in other states may be affected by the outcome in California.

One controversial case was the suit for the injunction which resulted in a Superior Court order to halt the governor's cut-back of the Medi-Cal program. This issue is now in the State Supreme Court, which will hear the case next month; meanwhile the cut-back is officially forbidden, but actually is largely in effect because counties, hospitals and doctors are hesitant to provide services for which they may not be paid if the high court upholds the Governor's economizing edict.

A second case was the suit to enjoin the U.S. Department of Labor from permitting the importation of 8,100 Mexican nationals to harvest California tomatoes. This case was settled out of court, with the importation allowed, but with the Department of Labor issuing a written order requiring more adequate enforcement of minimum standards of wages and working conditions—a result that the CRLA views as a moral victory, and an indication that its complaint "had considerable merit."

The third case was one that the Governor described as "harassment of a county welfare director" to the point that the supervisors had to hire a special counsel at $35 an hour to protect the official. The board of supervisors, of Sutter County, asked OEO headquarters in Washington to stop all funds to the legal assistance group.

The CRLA was asked to help four farm workers who charged they had been called ineligible and refused aid by the County Welfare Department. The workers have won in all ten cases that have come to decision in this situation; the state welfare director has reprimanded the county officials for "refusing to allow the poor to apply for welfare" and for not following practices "in accordance with the law."

It appears clear that the legal assistance agency in these instances was challenging the right of administrative officers—on federal, state and county levels—to make decisions that seemed unjust to its impoverished clients; and was using the courts to test whether such decisions were legal and just.

No one would question the right of a corporation to bring suit against any government agency if it appeared that it had been treated unjustly or contrary to law—and the fact that the corporation may have received some aid in government contracts, subsidies or tax adjustments would not reduce its rights to sue for justice.

So Gov. Reagan's complaint of lawyers "paid by the taxpayers" bringing suit against government agencies also "supported by the taxpayers" has no relevance to the situation.

The actions of the CRLA are strongly supported by its special advisory committee, which includes the past and present presidents, and the president-elect, of the American Bar Association.

The principle of equal justice for rich and poor is one that must be defended, and brought into practice as far as possible in an imperfect world.

Lance Cpl. Robert Carlozzi, of Wheaton, Dies in Combat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lance Cpl. Robert M. Carlozzi, a marine from Maryland, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

LANCE CPL. ROBERT CARLOZZI, OF WHEATON, DIES IN COMBAT

WHEATON, MD., November 1.—Lance Cpl. Robert M. Carlozzi, who enlisted in the Marine Corps after graduating from high school in 1966, was killed in Vietnam Friday, the Defense Department reported today.

The 20-year-old marine, who had been in Vietnam for about eight months, was killed by a gunshot while in combat near Thua Thien.

COMPLAINED ABOUT RIFLE

He was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Salvatore Carlozzi, of the 4000 block Ferrara drive in Wheaton. Mr. Carlozzi is a printer for the United States Government Printing Office.

Corporal Carlozzi joined the Marines in October, 1966, after graduating from Einstein High School in Silver Spring. His first three years of high school were spent at Wheaton High School.

Mr. Carlozzi said his son was proud to be a marine. Only once did he complain about duty in Vietnam, and that was about the controversial M–16 rifle. He said he had friends whose rifles had jammed, Mr. Carlozzi said.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a brother, Stephen Carlozzi, who is 10 years old.

National Policy, Unity of Effort Urged To End Rural Exodus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the members of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development have been meeting for the last 2 days in an effort to formulate a national policy to end the exodus of residents from our rural areas. I include the following press release, which was issued by this committee on October 31, 1967, in the Record at this point:

NATIONAL POLICY, UNITY OF EFFORT URGED TO END RURAL EXODUS

It will take a national policy to bring about an improved rural/urban balance and greater unity of Federal programs in rural areas to end the exodus of people from countryside to city, 28 public policy advisors said today.

During a 2-day meeting at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, members of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development repeatedly stressed the need for cooperation among private groups and all levels of government to establish a nationwide manpower service that would create new jobs and expand opportunity in the countryside, thus helping solve the problems of urban congestion and small town decline.

The population exodus from countryside to city that has crowded 70 percent of the people onto 1.2 percent of the land "could and should be reversed through conscious, deliberate and planned efforts within a national manpower service," the Committee said.

The need for Federal programs and activity outside metropolitan areas was repeatedly stressed. "No one Federal department, no one private organization, can do the job alone," was the theme that ran throughout the 2-day conference.

In rural areas, inadequate jobs and income, a deficiency in educational programs, a desire for better community facilities and services, and a search for improved civil rights were cited among the major reasons for the migration that has caused congestion, tension, and strife in our cities and brought economic decline to small towns.

The advisors approved the policy statement of Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman expressing a new conception of community. They urged the Secretary to continue to push for a national policy of better rural/urban balance, with a greater application of Federal aid outside metropolitan areas, to ease population pressures in large cities and to restore job and living opportunities in the countryside.

Other Committee rcommendations to the Secretary:

Develop better organizational structure with which *all* Federal agencies can work at the local level, based upon local initiative, aspirations and goals of all groups within the community.

That we seek out and implement ways and means of keeping the median family farm in young farm hands.

That we provide small farmers and ex-farm workers with information about programs they can use to develop new job skills and nonfarm businesses.

A "special effort" be made to provide job opportunities for minority groups and other low-income people and efforts pressed to secure strict enforcement of the law and regulations in administering Federal programs.

A thorough review of all national policies, including geographic location of Government installations and procurement contracts, to make certain they work to provide increased jobs and opportunities for people in rural areas.

Special programs for towns, small cities, and counties to encourage and enable them to work together in multi-county districts or communities.

That the Federal government has an obligation and should act to meet the urgent food needs of hungry people and should do so even if local and State authorities do not fully meet their obligations in this regard.

Train and retrain USDA personnel from varied backgrounds so they can serve in areas of human and economic development at the community level.

That funds for rural human and resource development programs be expanded.

Area Water Pollution Gets Joint Attention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, the International Joint Commission issued a report on pollution in the Niagara River.

The report detailed many familiar sources of pollutants and commented that many industrial polluters are now building treatment facilities to be operational by 1971.

Mr. Speaker, in an editorial last Sunday, the Buffalo Courier-Express recognized what has been started; and more important, what remains still to be done to abate pollution. In this editorial, the Buffalo daily calls upon the International Joint Commission to be the watchdogs of the pollution effort in the years to come.

To recognize the Courier's sane and sound view on the pollution problems on the Niagara Frontier, I insert this editorial in today's RECORD:

AREA WATER POLLUTION GETS JOINT ATTENTION

The report of the International Joint Commission on water pollution issued simultaneously in Washington and Ottawa contained little new information on water contamination in this area but it did point up the necessity for expediting pollution-control measures. Apparently with this in mind the commission—composed of U.S. and Canadian experts—will convene shortly for a full scale review of the problems and possible remedies.

While the IJC does not possess international authority to order effective control measures, it can bring a certain amount of pressuer on the government concerned to take action. The report stated that most of the problems—such as inadequately treated municipal and industrial wastes—originate in the United States, thus indicating that the major share of the clean-up burden rests with federal, state and municipal governments on this side of the border.

The Buffalo River, one of the most polluted streams in the country, came in for its share of attention in the report. However, it was noted that industries which contribute substantially to the pollution of the stream are constructing treatment facilities which should grealy reduce the quantity of pollutants being discharged into the river. Indications are that virtually all of the treatment plants in the area will be in operation by 1971.

Four years may seem like a long time to reach the first goals in the campaign to save the Great Lakes and their tributaries from complete deterioration, but it must be remembered that pollution is a problem which has been almost completely disregarded in the Great Lakes region for more than 100 years.

The job can only be accomplished through complete and willing cooperation of industry and government working toward a common goal which means so much to the future welfare of all concerned. It is an undertaking that requires constant attention and planning to meet the demands of an area that is growing steadily in population and commerce.

It is to be hoped that the International Joint Commission can serve effectively as a watchdog agency which will call to the attention of the communities concerned the problems they are creating and the steps that must be undertaken to eliminate them. The stakes in saving the Great Lakes are high indeed, but they must be met if the area is to survive through the coming years when the worth of fresh water will increase in proportion to the demand.

Older Artists Honored for Capitol Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, senior citizens from many communities of New Jersey competed recently in a competition of special interest to everyone who believes that retirement years can be rich in creativity and satisfaction.

The winning paintings, chosen at the New Jersey State Fair in Trenton, will be shipped to Capitol Hill within the next few weeks for display in the office of U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging. The chairman of that committee, Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, of New Jersey, already has displayed other works by older Americans at that office and now for the first time he will have prize-winning paintings from a statewide contest conducted by the New Jersey Division on Aging.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to agree with Senator WILLIAMS when he says that the competition sponsored this year in New Jersey will undoubtedly inspire elders in other States to do the same. To pay tribute to the winner, and to give encouragement to others, I include in the RECORD an article from the September 1967 issue of Added Years, the newsletter of the New Jersey State Division on Aging:

CAPITOL ART

On September 21, Senior Citizens Day at the State Fair, five older artists were honored in special grandstand ceremonies. These five New Jerseyans were the winners of the Capitol Art Competition conducted by the New Jersey Division on Aging in cooperation with the 1967 Fair. Their paintings will travel in November to Washington, D.C. for a special exhibit in the office of the Senate Special Committee on Aging. The Chairman of this Committee, Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. sent the following message to those witnessing the ceremonies:

"My regrets at missing today's ceremony are heartfelt. I had hoped to be with you to tell you that I am deeply honored by your decision to show the prize-winning paintings from this statewide competition in the office of the Committee on Aging only a short distance away from the Capitol of the United States.

"The Committee on Aging has, to my mind, two major responsibilities.

"For one thing, it must continue to investigate and report on the chronic problems that still afflict millions of older Americans—to name a few, inadequate income, poor housing, discrimination because of age, and—even with Medicare—the high cost of illness and medications.

"You can be sure that the Committee will continue to prod Congress for action that will improve the quality of life for our aging and aged population.

"The Committee's other responsibility is to demonstrate as forcefully as it can that life past retirement age need not be drab or empty. Instead it can be one of the most creative periods of a lifetime.

"The paintings on display here certainly prove that point. The outpouring of entries from all areas of the state make it quite clear to me that the elderly of this nation are getting younger all the time. I am impressed once again with the talents and enthusiasm expressed here, and I am pleased indeed that you will share your paintings with me and the many visitors who come to the Committee office.

"You can be sure that the winning entries will have a place of honor in that office, and you can be sure, too, that the competition sponsored this year in New Jersey will inspire elders in other states to do the same.

"You have started something here. It is going to grow and warm the hearts of many Americans all through this land."

WINNERS OF CAPITOL ART COMPETITION FOR OLDER NEW JERSEYANS

People's choice (nearly 2,000 votes cast): Mrs. Charlotte A. Crosby, 12 Jefferson Street, Somerville, New Jersey.

Judge's first prize (chosen by 6 New Jersey art experts): Mr. Richard Pedlow, R.D. No. 2, Mount Holly, New Jersey.

Judge's second prize: Mr. William A. Monnot, 1115 River Road, New Milford, New Jersey.

Judge's third prize: Mrs. Anna Wunsch, 561 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Honorable mention: Mr. W. Hollis Hoffman, 740 Crescent Road, Cherry Hill, New Jersey.

The President's Critics and the Empty "Unconstitutionality" Argument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence, noted newspaper commentator, has voiced the just indignation of the American people at those Vietnam critics who accuse the President of acting contrary to the will of Congress and the strictures of the Constitution.

He clearly demonstrates the absurdity of such charges.

Congress could at any time end our involvement in Vietnam by refusing to authorize funds—yet, Congress has overwhelmingly approved appropriations to support the conflict.

As Mr. Lawrence notes, Congress could dictate the terms of withdrawal—but instead it specifically authorized the President in unmistakably clear English "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."

Congress could repeal the Tonkin Gulf Resolution—but has taken no steps to do so.

The spirit of the Constitution has been as honored as the will of Congress.

Presidents have in the past used American troops to honor our international commitments without first asking for a congressional declaration of war. President Truman did so in Korea. In the NATO Treaty, Congress even authorized the President to do so if a member state is attacked.

Congressional critics who wish to terminate our involvement in Vietnam had better find a more reasonable excuse than hiding behind the false shield of "unconstitutionality."

The facts in this matter are clear: President Johnson has been faithful to the trust of the American people, the will of Congress, and the heritage of our Constitution.

The article which appeared recently in the Washington Star follows:

MEMO TO CONGRESS ON CONSTITUTION

(By David Lawrence)

Members of Congress enjoy freedom of speech like anyone else, but some of them either have not read the Constitution of the United States or choose to forget its provisions as they make statements which misinform and mislead the public.

Several speeches in the House and Senate which have been widely reported in the press give the impression that President Johnson is carrying on a war in Vietnam without the consent of Congress, and that the Chief Executive in this and preceding administrations has disregarded the Constitution in his use of the armed forces of the United States abroad.

It is easy to forget but it is tragic not to review history when one is elected to Congress. For no president could carry on a single military operation a moment after Congress by resolution or by law withdrew authority for such acts. Even today Congress has the right to pass a law which would prevent the Executive from continuing the Vietnam War. Congress could dictate the terms of withdrawal, and the President would have to abide by such a command.

It has been argued that President Truman sent American forces into the Korean War in 1950 without the consent of Congress. But, while no formal "declaration of war" was made, the Congress promptly exercised its power to supply funds and authorizations for the use of the military forces. The Constitution says:

"The Congress shall have power . . . to raise and support armies . . .

"To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces . . .

"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. . . .

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

The founding fathers didn't foresee the possibility of a nuclear attack, but in the Constitution they explicitly ordered the executive branch of the government to protect each state "against invasion." Certainly a nuclear attack would be an "invasion" by air. The president, therefore, has the right to launch a deterrent attack on an enemy without waiting for the Senate and House to go through the legislative process.

The Senate, by a two-thirds vote, already has given the President broad authority in Europe by ratifying the North Atlantic Treaty, which requires the President instantly to help repel invasion of any member country without a "declaration of war" by Congress.

Sometimes a president doesn't deem it desirable to request a formal "declaration of war." This is because under international law an obligation arises to search and seize neutral as well as enemy ships. But such action might paralyze American trade, too, so sometimes the step is not taken. Congress, however, at any time can pass a resolution formally declaring "a state of war" or can deny it after a president's request. The final power rests entirely with Congress.

Thus, to say that President Johnson is today exceeding his authority in Vietnam is to disregard the Tonkin Gulf resolution passed by Congress in 1964, which authorized the President "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression" in Sotuheast Asia.

It has been argued that Congress didn't intend to authorize large-scale operations by American military forces in Vietnam. But if this is true, both houses can at any moment pass a resolution repealing their previous action or reaffirming it. President Johnson has repeatedly pointed this out. Congress, moreover, in the last few years has passed many bills appropriating billions of dollars for the Vietnam War. Not a single expenditure could have been made without authorization by a majority of the members of both the Senate and House.

It only confuses people when members of Congress ignore the words of the Constitution and talk about the Vietnam War as an allegedly unconstitutional operation.

Revolving Credit Is the Crux—Remarks by Congresswoman Sullivan at Consumer Assembly 1967 on the Consumer Credit Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, it was a great thrill for me this afternoon to stand in the Regency Ballroom of the Shoreham Hotel and see that vast room filled with men and women organized to battle for consumer causes. Consumer Assembly 1967, meeting in Washington today and tomorrow, has brought together an impressive array of Americans, from all parts of this country, who have learned that the consumer cause—which is everyone's cause—cannot prevail unless consumers band together and fight for that cause.

I sincerely hope the newspapers and television will carry full reports on the proceedings of this important meeting. The presence there today of President Johnson, who made an outstanding address, and of such other speakers as the Honorable Wright Patman, chairman, of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, and the Honorable Betty Furness, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, underlined the importance of this event.

It was my privilege, Mr. Speaker, to appear at the parade of consumer stars rally along with the speakers named above, and to have the opportunity to discuss truth in lending and other aspects of the consumer credit legislation now pending in the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

The chairman of the rally, one of the finest men to serve in the House, was former Representative Jerry Voorhis.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit for inclusion in the Record the remarks I made this afternoon at the Consumer Assembly 1967 rally, as follows:

Remarks by Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan, Chairman, Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs. House Committee on Banking and Currency, at Consumer Assembly 1967 Rally, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., 1 p.m., Thursday, November, 2, 1967

I deeply appreciate the recognition accorded me this afternoon by the Consumer Assembly in designating me as one of the "stars" of the consumer movement in the United States. Long before the Consumer Assembly was ever thought of, I suppose I was subconsciously aiming to be one of those designated here today. For, ever since coming to Congress in 1953, I have tried to make it my purpose to serve the consumer interest in national legislation.

In 1953, there were no Congressional Subcommittees on Consumer Affairs; there was no office in the White House or anyone in the White House devoted to this area; there was no Consumer Assembly; and there were very few Members of Congress interested in the subject. The Food, Drug and Cosmetric Act was full of serious holes—some of which, I am sorry to say, still exist, although many others have been repaired. Pesticides were such an unknown (and generally unfeared) problem that Federal regulation was virtually nil. Poultry of the filthiest kind moved in interstate commerce without Federal inspection. Chemicals of doubtful safety were being used in foods in such proliferation—despite the findings of the Delaney Committee in 1949–50—that no one knew what harm they were doing. There was no necessity to have these additives tested and cleared before they could be used.

We still have such a long road to travel before even the health aspects of consumer protection are adequately taken care of—the votes in the House Tuesday on meat inspection gave a good illustration of that fact—that no one in the consumer movement can dare to relax and consider the big victories all won. They are far from won.

So many consumer victories *were* won in recent years, however—not this year, but in the 88th and 89th Congresses, and particularly last year—that there is no longer a sufficient sense of urgency among the general public over consumer problems which still continue unsolved. Thus, the work of a Consumer Assembly is even more important *now* than it is when the public is actively aroused over consumer causes. For you must now help to develop an interest where it does not yet manifest itself.

As a Member of Congress deeply involved in many of the issues in which you are also concerned, I see much evidence of *your* interest—in *your* letters as officials of organizations or consumer groups. But I don't see much evidence of your *effectiveness* right now. You are not reaching *your own people* and enlisting *their* active help and support.

Despite an excellent public relations campaign in behalf of the Smith-Foley bill on compulsory Federal inspection of most of the meat in intrastate commerce, much of it unfit to eat, we failed rather miserably on this issue on the House Floor Tuesday. There were many reasons, of course. But the main one, I feel, was that so few *housewives* wrote in on this subject that only a handful of Members of the House were concerned enough to stay on the House Floor for the hard fighting in Committee of the Whole, where the real damage can most easily be done.

On the consumer credit bill, we have been hearing from some of the *business* interests which have a stake in the battle over revolving credit, but not from many customers, who have a much larger stake in it. *You* good consumer leaders write us; your people don't.

Don't they know about the fight? Or don't they care?

Even when we do hear from the individual consumers on this bill; the chances are that the issue which is at the *very heart* of this controversy—revolving credit—is not even mentioned. I received a letter just yesterday from a consumer group in Minnesota who seemed to feel the Senate-passed bill on truth-in-lending was a good bill which needed a push to get through. We need *no push* to get through a bill which contains all of the special interest exemptions of the Senate measure. All 12 members of my Subcommittee are committed *at least* to that kind of measure and a majority of us favors from a *little* to a *lot more* than the Senate-passed bill.

The Senate bill completely exempts first mortgages, no matter how unconscionable the terms or how fantastic the extra charges. It exempts from the annual rate disclosure requirement the great bulk of consumer credit transactions—those up to about $110.00. It does not include credit life insurance in the annual percentage rate. It does nothing about garnishment, the worst weapon used by predatory credit outfits in victimizing the poor. It sets up a special "sweetheart" exemption for revolving credit. And it completely ignores the many abuses in the advertising of credit.

But revolving credit is the crux. On that, we divided 6 to 6 in the Subcommittee. And the big retailers, who use computerized credit systems and delight in the exemptions they have won from the Senate for their type of credit, see a clear victory ahead for the special privileges contained for them in the Senate bill.

Believe it or not, our greatest hope right now in getting through a strong bill which would treat *all* forms of consumer credit alike seems to rest in the efforts being put forward by a group which would really prefer no legislation at all—the small town and big city furniture dealers, who sell on the installment basis, and who have warned their Congressmen that they may be put out of business if they have to tell their customers they are charging *at the rate* of 18% a year, say, for credit arrangements similar or identical to those which the department stores, or Sears or the others on revolving credit, can offer at the expressed rate of 1½% a month. To the customer, the one statement of credit cost sounds very high, the other very low. Yet in this example the rates are the *same*. Why not then require use of comparable terms? How else can the consumer *compare* credit costs?

What the chain retailers want—and got from the Senate—is a device to *hide* from the average consumer the *comparable* cost of their credit in relation to other forms of consumer credit. Could this be *truth* in lending?

As I said, the big retailers have won this argument in the Senate and with *half* of the Members of my Subcommittee; they are making great inroads with other Members of Congress, too. In the full Banking Committee, the issue as between a weak or strong bill is *so close* that a single uncommitted Member might represent the deciding vote. On the House Floor, we will lose—our efforts for a strong bill will be killed—unless the public *is* aroused, and that means that you people must get busy, really busy, in reaching the rank and file. I need no resolutions from your *organizations;* I need support from individual voters in every Congressional district. Can you help me?

Chairman Wright Patman of the full Committee, who has been fighting for the cause of the moderate and low-income citizens during all of his long and distinguished career in politics, has given me all of the help and support it is possible for any Committee Chairman to give a Subcommittee Chairman. Without his backing, I could never have held the illuminating and far-reaching hearings our Subcommittee conducted. But he has *only one vote* in Committee and on the Floor.

If we lose in this battle, you can all look for an explosion into all credit fields of open-end or revolving credit such as the department stores have devised and developed, and soon, more than half of all consumer credit would be outside the fully effective coverage of truth-in-lending regulation. Without realizing it the public would be paying 18 or 24% interest on a majority of its credit transactions.

The 90th Congress is not the 89th. It does not have the liberal majority we had last year. Its *punch* was *lost* even before we convened—it was lost just exactly one year ago, when so many of the promising freshman Democrats of the 89th Congress were defeated for re-election by Republicans who stand pat with their party elders and form the deciding margin in obstructing good legislation.

This is not a political rally today, I know. Many of the organizations you represent do not participate directly in political activity, and, in fact, are not permitted to do so.

But aside from Federal employes, there is no reason why all of you here who deeply *care* about consumer causes can not use some of your *individual prestige* to get out and work for the election of the kind of Congressmen who will be responsive to consumer needs. That includes Congress*women*, too.

On the other hand, no matter how hard you work in that direction, it will be at least a year before the House can be re-oriented again toward the consumer. What about the period between now and then?

My advice is this: Let those who now have the responsibility for casting votes in the House on consumer legislation know that you are *gunning for their hides* if they continue to evade their legislative obligations to consumers.

Make it clear to them that by voting for bills which are all title and no substance—bills stripped of their consumer provisions—they are not winning consumer confidence.

I have seen you people work when you are really fired up on a bill which *means* something to you and to your members. I have seen the galleries filled with *head counters*—keeping track of who is on the Floor, who is going down the line on the decisive teller votes. You call Members in their offices to find out why they are not on the Floor for the unrecorded votes where the real damage is done. I haven't *seen* any of that *effective* work lately. What's wrong? Is everyone tired?

Or aren't the issues that important any more?

I have come here today to accept your gracious expressions of appreciation for my efforts on consumer causes, but, like a Dutch aunt—and my maiden name was Kretzer, I might add—I have scolded you for not doing enough. Perhaps I should apologize for that.

Well, I will apologize—but only when your absolutely essential efforts succeed in helping us to get through a good, strong, effective consumer credit bill. It can't be done without far more work than has been put into it so far, and you people, and the people you represent, are the only ones who can really do this job.

November 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following calendar of events of the Smithsonian Institution for November 1967:

NOVEMBER AT THE SMITHSONIAN

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1

Free film theater: "The Sky is Falling." Meteorites—what they are, what they do, how they are studied, and how they were formed. "The Search for the Tunguska Meteorite." Historic footage tells of the 1908 cosmic phenomenon in Siberia and the mystery it caused until another meteoritic fall in Russia forty years later. Introduction by Eugene Jarosewich, chemist, Smithsonian Division of Meteorites; 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology auditorium; and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History auditorium.

Mineralogical Society, meeting. Museum of Natural History, room 43, 7:30 p.m.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2

Free film theater: "The Sky is Falling" and "The Search for the Tunguska Meteorite." For description see November 1 listing. Museum of History and Technology Auditorium, 12 noon.

Luncheon talk: "An American Impressionist," by Adelyn D. Breeskin, consultant, National Collection of Fine Arts. Museum of History and Technology, first floor, reception suite, 12:00–2:00 p.m. *By subscription only. For information call 381–5157.*

Entomological Society of Washington, meeting. Museum of Natural History, room 43, 8:00 p.m.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4

What is a reptile? Talks and tours at the National Zoological Park for members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 4 through 7. *By reservation only. For information call 381–5157.*

Creative puppetry: "The Pied Piper of Hamelin," talk, and demonstrations by Rod Young. For members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 8 to 14. Museum of Natural History auditorium, 3:30 p.m. *By reservation only. For information call 381–5157.*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5

Field trip: Rock collecting.—Conducted by John White, Department of Mineral Sciences. For members of the Smithsonian Associates. *By reservation only. For information call 381–5157.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6

Sales exhibition of Eskimo art. Rotunda, Arts and Industries Building. Informal reception for members of the Smithsonian Associates, 8:00–10:00 p.m. Members will receive a 10% discount on purchases. *Through November 26.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7

Luncheon talk: "An American Impressionist." For information, see November 2 listing.

Mike Seeger: "Traditional American Folk Music and Styles." Museum of Natural History auditorium, 8:30 p.m. *For members of the Smithsonian Associates.*

"The Artistic Program of Ajanta," illustrated lecture by Prof. Walter M. Spink, of the University of Michigan. Freer Gallery of Art auditorium, at 12th Street and Jefferson Drive, S.W., 8:30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, THROUGH SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11

"The Achievements of Andean Civilization." The emergence and destruction of the Inca State. Seminar by Dr. John J. Murra. Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates. *For information call 381–5157.*

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8

Free film theater. "Toccata for Toy Trains." Traveling across highways, through villages and past railroad stations, the toy trains in this visually exciting film production by Charles Eames begin to assume life-like proportions. "Discover America." A journey from many historical places of East Coast America through parts of the South and Midwest out to the Far West and to the beauties of the Hawaiian Islands. Introduction by Paul E. Garber, Assistant Director, Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum; 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology auditorium; and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History auditorium.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9

Free film theater: "Toccata for Toy Trains" and "Discover America." For description see November 8 listing. Museum of History and Technology, 12 noon.

Luncheon talk: "An American Impressionist." For details see November 2 listing.

International Amateur Boat Building Society meeting, lecture. Museum of Natural History, room 43, 8:00 p.m. *For further information, call John Clark 381–5613.*

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11

"What is a bird?" Talks and tours of the National Zoological Park for members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 4 through 7. *By reservation only. For information call 381-5157.*

Art tour to Charlottesville, conducted by Donald R. McClelland, Associate Curator, National Collection of Fine Arts. Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates. *For information call 381-5157.*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12

Field trip: Industrial archeology. Conducted by Robert M. Vogel, Division of Mechanical and Civil Engineering. For members of the Smithsonian Associates. *By reservation only. For information call 381-5157.*

Field trip: Fossil hunt. Conducted by Erle Kauffman, Department of Paleobiology. For members of the Smithsonian Associates. *By reservation only. For information call 381-5157.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13

"The Development of Botanical Science in Indonesia," lecture by Dr. Achmad Jahja Kostermans, Herbarium Bogoriense, Bogor, Indonesia. *Botany Seminar.* Museum of Natural History, room W531, 6:00 p.m.

Appalachian Trail Club, meeting. Museum of Natural History Auditorium, 8:00 p.m.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14

Luncheon talk: "An American Impressionist." For details see November 2 listing.

The Baroque Players of New York, lecture-discussion. Museum of History and Technology auditorium, 2:00 p.m. *No tickets necessary.*

"Wings of the Wild," film-lecture by Alvah W. Sanborn. Sponsored by the Audubon Naturalist Society. Museum of Natural History auditorium, 5:15 and 8:30 p.m.

Behind-the-scenes tour of the Paleobiology Laboratories and informal reception. One-hour tours beginning every 15 minutes, 7:00-8:00 p.m. Museum of Natural History, Constitution Avenue lobby. *For members of the Smithsonian Associates only.*

The Baroque Players of New York, concert. Museum of History and Technology auditorium, 8:30 p.m. *No tickets necessary.*

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15

Free film theater: "The Mystery of Stonehenge." The answers to: "What is it?" and "Why was it built?" are many and diverse. Dr. Hawkins' theory that this prehistoric monument was built as an observatory and as a computer is dramatically recreated. Introduction by Gerald S. Hawkins, Astronomer, Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. Museum of Natural History auditorium, 8:00 p.m.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16

National Capital Shell Club, lecture. Museum of Natural History, room 43, 8:00 p.m. *For further information, call Mrs. Walter Carpenter 273–4402.*

United States Air Force String Quartet, concert. Museum of Natural History auditorium, 8:30 p.m. *Free and open to the public. No tickets required.*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17

"The Original Comic Art," exhibition. Museum of History and Technology, third floor, Graphic Arts Salon. *Through mid-December.*

"Intelligent Life in the Universe," lecture by Dr. Carl Sagan, Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory, 8:30 p.m. Museum of Natural History auditorium. For members of the Smithsonian Associates.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18

Paintings of U.S. and European spacecraft, exhibition. The paintings were commissioned by TRW Corporation, sponsors of the exhibit. Arts and Industries Building, Aerospace Art Gallery. *Through December.*

Art tour to Philadelphia, conducted by Adelyn D. Breeskin, Consultant, National Collection of Fine Arts. Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates. *For information call 381–5157.*

"What is a Mammal?" Talks and tours at the National Zoological Park. For members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 4 through 7. By reservation only. *For information call 381–5157.*

Chalk talk, by Robert G. Baldwin, creator of "Freddy," and reception. For members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 8 to 14. Museum of History and Technology auditorium, 2 p.m. *By reservation only. For information call 381–5157.*

MONDAY,NOVEMBER 20

"Art in Our Cities," lecture by Constantinos A. Doxiadis, City Planner. Museum of Natural History auditorium, 8:30 p.m. For members of the Smithsonian Associates.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21

"Estuaries and People," illustrated lecture by Dr. Cronin, Director of the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Maryland. Sponsored by the National Parks Association. Museum of Natural History auditorium, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22

"Puluwat: A Seafaring Culture," illustrated lecture by Thomas Gladwin. Sponsored by the Anthropological Society of Washington. Museum of History and Technology auditorium, 8:15 p.m.

"The Graphic Art of Mary Cassatt," art exhibition. 83 prints, watercolors and drawings—a seldom shown aspect of her talent. Museum of Natural History, foyer gallery. *Through January 7.*

Free Film Theater: "Canon." A clever visual presentation of this musical principle. "Stravinsky." The active life and warm personality of this great musician—his compositions and his contributions to the music world. Introduction by Helen R. Hollis, Smithsonian Division of Musical Instruments; 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology auditorium; and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History auditorium.

National Photographic Society, meeting. Museum of Natural History, room 43, 8 p.m.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24

"Journey to the Planets." Planetarium program for members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 8 to 14. Rock Creek Nature Center, 10 a.m. By reservation only. *For information call 381–5157.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27

"Gardens for People and Wildlife," lecture by the Honorable Gilbert Gude, Congressman from Maryland. Sponsored by the Audubon Naturalist Society. Museum of Natural History, room 43, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29

Free film theater: "Jet Propelled." The story of jet flight and of Frank Whittle's pioneer work in this field as shown through historic footage which includes shots of the world's first jet-powered plane the the first use of jets in combat. Introduction by Robert B. Meyer, Jr., Curator, Smithsonian Aero Propulsion Division, National Air and Space Museum; 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology auditorium; and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History auditorium.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30

"Three Centuries of Peruvian Silver." An exhibition of objects from the viceroyalty through early independence. Sponsored by the Peruvian Embassy in Washington. Museum of History and Technology, first floor, special exhibition area. *Through January.*

Free film theater: "Jet Propelled." For descriptions, see November 29 listing. Museum of History and Technology auditorium, 12 noon.

CONTINUING EXHIBITIONS

William Zorach: 1887–1966, exhibition. Includes 48 watercolors, drawings, and sculptures. Museum of Natural History, foyer gallery. *Through November 5.*

Pastimes of the Presidents, exhibition. Museum of History and Technology, third floor gallery. *Through November 15.*

Early American Dentistry, exhibition. Collection on loan from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, Dental School of the University of Maryland. Museum of History and Technology, first floor, Hall of Medical Sciences. *Through November.*

George Caleb Bingham: 1811–1879, art exhibition. Includes 36 oil paintings, and 25 related drawings. Last National Collection of Fine Arts show to be hung in the Art Hall Gallery. Museum of Natural History, art hall. *Through January 1.*

In the Spirit of Lindbergh. Exhibitions by the Federal Aviation Administration and Environmental Science Service Administration which were exhibited at the Paris-Air Show earlier this year. Arts and Industries Building. *Through mid-January.*

Computer exhibit. Tracing the history of modern computing. Museum of History and Technology, first floor, Hall of Physical Sciences. *Through February.*

Alexander Graham Bell, exhibition. Museum of History and Technology, first floor, Hall of Electricity. *Through July 1968.*

IBM Project Germini, exhibition on Gemini featuring onboard computer operations. Visitor participation in controlling function of computer in simulated rendezvous and re-entry operations. Gemini IV spacecraft, walk-in-space umbilical and maneuvering device also on display. Air and Space Building. *Permanent Exhibit.*

Fairchild Scan–A–Graver, exhibition. First electronic halftone engraving machine. Museum of History and Technology, third floor, Graphic Arts Hall. *Permanent Exhibit.*

Hall of Cultures of Africa and Asia, exhibition. Museum of Natural History, first floor. *Permanent Exhibit.*

Dial-a-Museum: By dialing 737–8811, prospective visitors can get the latest information, revised daily, on what is being shown in the museums, where it is being shown, and how long it will be on display. The recorded report is prepared by the Smithsonian Office of Public Affairs.

Dial-a-Satellite: For precise time and exact locations of satellite passages visible to the naked eye and other astronomical data, dial 737–8855. An up-to-date report is prepared daily by the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory.

MUSEUM HOURS

Museum hours: 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. daily.

Food service in the Museum of History and Technology.

Cafeteria hours: Public, 11 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., 7 days; staff, 9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., 5 days.

Snack-counter hours: 8 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., 7 days.

Material for the December Calendar must be submitted by November 8. For further information, call Smithsonian Office of Public Affairs, 381–3911, or Government Code 144–5911.

For a Calendar of Events of the National Gallery of Art, which is separately administered, please write to the Office of Information, National Gallery of Art, 6th Street and Constitution Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20565, or call 737–4215.

Heavy Hand of Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle recently carried an editorial on America's ever-climbing crime rate.

Quoting from an address by Rich L. Gelb, president of Bristol-Myers Co., the editorial points out the effect of crime on business and individuals.

I would like to call this very worthwhile editorial to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the Record:

HEAVY HAND OF CRIME

America's soaring crime rate, in addition to being a threat to individual and collective security, has some very serious side effects. And these are costly.

In an address before the International Association of Police Chiefs, Rich. L. Gelb, president of Bristol-Myers Co., dealt with the heavy hand crime lays on the ledger sheets of business and the tax bills of individuals.

Most of us are inclined to think crime does not affect us unless we are its direct victims—that is, unless an offense is committed against us.

Some portions of Mr. Gelb's address, therefore, deserve close attention:

"Today perhaps for the first time, American business is facing up to the reality that crime is not just something in the movies or on TV, but rather it is a fact of life which vitally affects American business in several ways.

"High crime rates mean high taxes. Our crime control system now costs $4 billion a year. That figure . . . is equal to roughly 5% of the total corporate profits of all U.S. business in 1966.

"High crime rates mean higher prices. All of you are aware of the impact organized crime has on any business which it controls. For the first time the public is becoming aware that . . .

"Crime reduces our market. Fear of crime causes people to stay at home . . . 43% of the people in some areas of this country stay off the streets after dark. They are afraid. Thus shopping is curtailed; the businessman loses.

"Crime inhibits or alters the pattern of business expansion. Recently, Eastern Airlines announced it expected to move a large unit to New Jersey. It would have expanded in New York, but its women employes were afraid to walk through the streets at night.

"Crime can mean the difference between a profit and a loss. The Fireman's Insurance Co. stated that 30% of all business failures was due to theft by the employes of those companies. This is a staggering figure . . . During this past year, a branch bank outside our nation's capital closed its doors because of five armed robberies and a burglary in its 18-month existence. Insurance rates for the bank were so high that it had to take a $5,000 deductible clause. The bank officials stated clients were afraid to use the bank.

"Finally . . . the businessman personally, as a citizen, deplores crime. He often lives and certainly works in the city. What does it avail him—or anyone, in fact—to build a career and an income if he must live in fear of becoming a crime victim? Money is no good if you live in a jungle . . .

"The businessman, in my judgment, should become a stronger force in crime control than he has been. After all, we heavily depend upon the police. The police have a right to expect something of us—a kind of partnership to help reduce crime.

"Every social and health problem in the country is dealt with by professional workers. But there are some agencies—hospitals, health agencies, social agencies and the like—which rely on volunteers. Some agencies could not work without them. Law enforcement, as well as the criminal justice system, has yet to reach out to involve the volunteer in crime control efforts . . ."

Chicago Tribune Page Ad Tells GI's: "We Back You"

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the Congressional Record an ad appearing in the Chicago Tribune of Friday, October 20, 1967, and an article appearing in the same paper setting forth how a group of Americans under the leadership of radio station WGN purchased the full page ad in that newspaper to indicate support of our fine young men serving this Nation in the cause of freedom in South Vietnam.

I think that, in this time of demonstrations by loud, unruly, unwashed crowds, a strong evidence of support by a group of Americans for our young men merits the widest possible attention and circulation.

The article and advertisement follow:

TRIBUNE PAGE AD TELLS GIs: "WE BACK YOU"

(By Clay Gowran)

Today, 24 hours before protest groups in various parts of the nation are expected to stage demonstrations in Washington against American action in Viet Nam, an unusual full-page ad appears in the Tribune.

Placed in the newspaper by Wally Phillips of W-G-N radio and more than 3,500 citizens of Chicago and the midwest who contributed dollars to pay for it, it is an open letter to American service men in Viet Nam from what the advertisement calls "the Silent Millions back home in America."

"What we're doing in this letter is simple," Phillips said yesterday. "We who took the ad are telling our men in Viet Nam, on behalf of untold millions of Americans who have no way of making their sentiments heard, that we do not agree with the protesters, that we are behind our men and their action in Viet Nam 100 per cent."

MAIL IT TO GI'S

Phillips explained it is hoped that readers of the ad by the hundreds of thousands would tear out the page and air mail it to men they know serving in Viet Nam "to show them there is more than one kind of demonstration going on in America."

"This ad, and the mailing of it to our fighting men, is a demonstration on its own—a demonstration of our faith in our country and of our support for the men defending its way of life," Phillips said.

The ad today is, in a way, a result of another full-page ad Phillips and a contributing army of his listeners took last July 14 in the London Times to announce to Britons that they and millions of other Americans support United States action in Viet Nam. That ad was an answer to another, earlier advertisement in the Times, signed by 70 Americans, which had branded our military intervention in Viet Nam "shameful."

THOUSANDS LEFT OVER

So many W-G-N listeners contributed to buy that advertisement that several thousand dollars was left over. The money, with the enthusiastic approval of the fans, went to buy the new ad.

There is another story about today's ad, too. The text for the open letter was written by a veteran Chicago advertising man, Wallace Capel, who was the father of Bruce Capel, who was a top-flight athlete at Glenbard High school in Glen Ellyn and, later, center on the 1964 Illini football team which played in the Rose Bowl.

Lt. Bruce Capel, United States Marine corps, was killed in action in Viet Nam May 12, 1966.

A LONG OVERDUE LETTER TO U.S. SERVICEMEN IN VIETNAM—FROM THE SILENT MILLIONS BACK HOME IN AMERICA

Today must be a sad day in Viet Nam—

Because today, we are ashamed to admit, some of your own countrymen are marching on Washington.

The marchers' sponsoring group has announced:

"We will shut down the Pentagon. We will fill the hallways and block the entrances. Thousands of people will disrupt the center of the American war machine."

It must be a little discomforting for you fellows ducking sniper bullets in the rice paddies to learn that some of your "fellow Americans" are trying to foul things up at your headquarters.

You must wonder what the folks back home really think.

This letter is to let you know that *most* of us are *with* you—100%.

We want you to know that you are *not* the forgotten men.

You are in our thoughts every day.

You may not realize this, because normally we don't spout our feelings. In fact, we are typical of the Silent Millions of *non*-demonstrators—those who back you with quiet concern and prayerful pride. We are painfully aware of the personal sacrifices you are making for the cause of liberty.

For a long time we've been meaning to write to you—but haven't. Finally, this march on Washington did it. We've decided we could no longer remain silently on the sidelines.

Those who are marching in protest, those who desecrate our flag, those who burn draft cards—all make a lot of noise. They also make the headlines. And they present to the world a distorted picture of America. But, thank God, they are *not* typical.

At best, they are a misguided minority whom we'll just have to ask you to defend along with the rest of us. Granted, the motives of some of these people may be pure. But they seem to think they have a unique right to protest in any way they take a notion—with faint respect for fellow citizens or servicemen, for their country's laws, for their elected authorities, or even for others' opinions.

There is room for honest differences and doubts, but when demonstrations stir up sabotage, vandalism, and violence parading under the banner of rightful dissent, they threaten to tear our country apart.

These protesters act as if they're the *only* ones who possess any morality. But we *all* have a conscience. And it might not be too surprising to find that some of us ordinary guys have even a litle more conscience than some of the sign bearers.

Let's face it: *nobody* we know *wants* war.

Everybody we know *hates* war.

Everybody we know wishes this war were over.

Everybody we know wants you home as soon as possible.

We can't think of *one* person who enjoys war.

We don't.

Our friends don't.

Obviously, the protesters don't.

You don't that's for sure. Yet—some of these people call you names like "murderers" and "hired killers," implying that you're having a sadistic field day.

Government officials don't enjoy war either.

So it's ridiculous for anyone to chant vulgarities like: "Hey, hey, LBJ—how many kids did you kill today?"

But there's one thing that all of us *do* enjoy.

That's the *freedom* of the most fortunate land in the world. It is a historic privilege to be a free citizen of America. This freedom is part of the heritage we cherish and for which we have and always will pay any price, including our lives.

Despite our country's admitted shortcomings, most of us appreciate the opportunity of living here. Most of us wouldn't trade places—or systems—with the people of *any* other country.

Most of us are grateful to the brave men of other generations who have fought and died to preserve this priceless freedom.

Most of us today are humbly indebted to you and to our sons and brothers and husbands and fathers who are fighting—and dying—in Viet Nam for freedom. And for us.

Yes, the majority of Americans love America and the American way.

Even the protesters enjoy their unearned freedom—although they might not admit it. They're too busy shouting about the virtues of "the other side."

But no one knows better than you about "the other side."

You know—and we do, too—that international communism is determined to obliterate us and enslave the world. Communism *must* be contained. This is vital to our world, our lives, our future, and our children.

You know—and we do, too—that Hanoi's blind hunger for the subjugation of the free people of Viet Nam has made peace negotiations impossible to date, even with several bombing pauses.

You know—and we do, too—that "the other side" has *deliberately* assassinated and tortured many, many more innocent civilians in the South than our air raids have accidently killed near military targets in the North.

You know—and we do, too—that if you and your companions were to leave Viet Nam today, the iron hand of communism would clamp down *tomorrow*. And South Viet Nam would become another East Germany—another cowed Cuba.

You know—and we do, too—that your presence in South Viet Nam is a guarantee to freedom-loving people everywhere that they will not be forsaken. And so a remarkable number of you have voluntarily reenlisted to return to Viet Nam.

You know—and we do, too—that a strong stand in Viet Nam by the champions of human rights reduces the chances of a larger war. And it is holding off communist takeovers of other nations in southeast Asia.

You know—and we do, too—that appeasement has never worked and never will.

We hope that all who read this letter over here and feel the way we feel will do three things:

1. We hope they'll tear out this page—and airmail it to you, maybe with a letter of their own—to give you a bit of moral encouragement.

2. We hope they'll write letters—and express their points of view to their Government officials, to their friends and relatives, and to all the news media.

3. We hope they'll speak up—and quit apologizing for how much they love this country. Get off the defensive. On to the offensive.

We believe that when sound-thinking people want to say something, they should *say* it. When they want to do something, they should *do* it.

If more solid citizens would speak out to the protestors, perhaps we could even set *them* straight.

We believe the time is here for the voice of responsible patriotism to be heard.

The sooner this is done and the sooner we present a united front, the sooner you'll be coming home from a peaceful Viet Nam.

In behalf of the Silent Millions,

WALLY PHILLIPS of WGN,

(And over 3500 citizens of Chicago and the Midwest who contributed to the cost of this letter).

New Reference Book on the Hungarian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my pleasure to be visited by two distinguished Hungarians, Gen. Lajos Veres and Mr. Istvan Gereben. During their visit they presented to me a book which Mr. Gereben helped prepare, "The Hungarian Revolution in Perspective." This book is a collection of brief statements made by world leaders during and after the Hungarian revolution of 1956, and includes a series of detailed studies of the economic, historical, social, and political conditions and traditions which led to the revolution.

One of the virtues of this work is that it does not dwell upon the details of the revolution or the infamous tactics which were used to wrench victory from the hands of the valiant freedom fighters. Rather, it concentrates on placing this event in its proper place in the broad context of world history.

The first segment of the book is comprised of capsule opinions of many world leaders about the revolution. Men of such divergent views and positions as former Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Joseph Cardinal Ritter, Pope Pius XII, Jean-Paul Satre, former Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and Jomo Kenyatta are quoted in the opening pages of the book. Their conflicting, competing, and complementary views, many expressed quite some time after the fact of the revolution, form a most interesting mosaic.

Premier Khrushchev views the revolution and Russian intervention in it as one Socialist country coming to the aid of another in time of severe need. Former President Dwight Eisenhower on the other hand commented:

> The terror imposed on Hungary repudiates and negates almost every article in the Declaration of Human Rights. That these human rights have been so flagrantly repudiated is cause for worldwide mourning.

These two excerpts are typical of the views which are juxtaposed in the opening pages of this volume.

Following this introductory material is a series of carefully analytical essays which consider how the events of October of 1956 fit into the pattern of world history and what impact they have had on the subsequent pattern of that history. I believe that the casual reader of this book may well find the first of these essays to be among the most interesting.

In it Salvador de Madariaga, the widely respected European chronologer, details the social and political circumstances before, during, and after World War II which contributed to the descent of the Iron Curtain over Eastern Europe. From this he moves to a consideration of the international political factors which permitted the Soviet Union to act with impunity in reestablishing a Communist government in Hungary.

Hungarian readers or those persons with a particular involvement in the revolution and its consequences may be equally fascinated by the contribution of Louis Gogolak, one of Europe's preeminent authorities on Hungarian-Czech-Slovak history. His work carefully recounts Russian-Hungarian relations during this century, particularly since World War II.

As would be expected, Madariago, Gogolak, and the other authors share an obvious bias in favor of the freedom fighters and their fellow Hungarians. However, their analyses of the world situation are generally acute and reflect a studied effort to separate fact from opinion.

Perhaps because some time passed between the revolution and the writing of most of the works contained in this volume, this effort at objectivity is surprisingly successful.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues the contrasts between the lives of my two distinguished guests, General Veres and Mr. Istvan Gereben.

These two men represent the best of Hungary's past and the hope of its future.

General Veres, now 78 years old and living in England, is a much-decorated soldier, who in 1944 was designated by then head of state Horthy as "homo regius"—his successor in the event Horthy were killed. In October 1944, Veres was captured and sentenced to death but this sentence was later reduced to life imprisonment. By the war's end Veres was liberated and had assumed a prominent role in the underground opposition to Russian rule.

In 1947, General Veres was among several hundred members of the underground who were sentenced to prison for their activities. This prison sentence was also cut short, this time by Hungarian freedom fighters, who freed him during the 1956 revolution.

It is the heritage left by such outstanding Hungarians as General Veres that stimulates and motivates such younger men as Istvan Gereben, whom I have known for several years. Gereben, a young and prominent oceanographer and geophysist, is now an American citizen who left his native Hungary after actively participating in the 1956 revolution. He continues to work tirelessly to stimulate American concern for an understanding of the captive peoples of Eastern Europe.

Since arriving in Congress I have been continually concerned that the American people understand the oppression which the peoples of the captive nations must endure. Because of this concern I last year served as the chairman of the Board of the American Citizens Committee to Commerate the 10th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. This concern now prompts me to commend this book to my colleagues. I am sure each of you would find it to be a highly readable and valuable reference work.

President Johnson Reaffirms the New Focus on Opportunity for Mexican Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, last week the Mexican American citizen of the United States was again the focus of opportunity by the American Government.

From all over the country, representatives of the Mexican American community, independent specialists, and government officials came together in El Paso, Tex., to discuss proposed solutions to Mexican American problems.

It was a fitting followup to the new focus on opportunity for Mexican Americans announced by President Johnson some months ago.

Indeed, the President himself came to El Paso to tell the gathering that although much had been accomplished by Spanish-speaking citizens during the last three decades, more had to be done.

He pledged the aid and assistance of Government in achieving those ends.

The President talked about progress being made in jobs, health, education, housing and civil rights.

He talked about the work of the new Interagency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

And he cited the tens of thousands of Mexican Americans who had received job training during the last 3 years throughout the Southwest and West with Government help.

He talked of the 2 million children who had received the benefit of Project Headstart.

And he pledged continuing efforts to bring the Spanish-speaking resident of the Southwest up to the level of first-class citizenship.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the remarks of President Johnson made at the Mexican American Conference in El Paso, Tex., this past weekend:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE, EL PASO, TEX.

Mr. President and Mrs. Diaz Ordaz; Mr. Foreign Minister and Mrs. Carrillo Flores; Governor Connally; distinguished members of the Senate and House; distinguished Delegate to the United Nations, Dr. Garcia:

I am here on a mission that fills me with a great deal of pride and with deep satisfaction.

The Chamizal is now Mexican territory. The United States of America and United States of Mexico have solved a political problem of more than 100 years' standing.

So the fiesta that you are enjoying serves a dual purpose:

First, to celebrate the Chamizal, and

Second, to concentrate our attention on the achievement, and the concerns, of America's Mexican-American people.

This is the first time, to my knowledge, that the Federal Government of the United States has sent five of its top Cabinet officers across the land to search for new ways to fulfill the fundamental hopes of Spanish-speaking Americans—hopes and yearnings that they have for good education for their children, good jobs for their workers, good wages, good health, and good housing.

This is not much to ask, but we have a long way to go in order to get it.

This is home country for me, as you know.

When I talk with you about the problems and the potentials of the Mexican-American, I am talking about people I have known all of my life and care about deeply. These people are proud people. They are people who are older in history than the United States of America itself.

What a change there has been in your lives—in all our lives—since I was a poor schoolteacher in a Mexican-American school at Cotulla, Texas, 40 years ago. Most people in Texas then—Mexican-American included, lived on the farm and made their living in the fields.

Few Mexican-Americans had moved into better jobs, where they could offer their families a few of the comforts of life.

There has been a good deal of upward movement during these 40 years. It is encouraging, but it is not enough.

Tens of thousands of Spanish-speaking Americans entered professional and technical occupations during this period.

They became managers, executives, and proprietors.

They worked as key employees in some of the great new industries of the Southwest.

But for too many years your government paid too little heed to both the status and the hopes of the Mexican-American community.

For too many years Americans who were poor remained invisible.

But in the 1960's, we decided that an era of neglect must come to an end.

With the help of a great Congress, we wrote into law more measures to train, to educate, to heal, and to house more Americans than had ever been written in all of our history before.

We were abused, criticized, and condemned, but we wrote into law two landmark civil rights acts to guarantee that no American would be deprived of opportunity by the prejudice of other Americans.

We did all of this amidst a sea of controversy. That was to be expected. So far as I can determine, no President has ever done anything that is very worthwhile without controversy.

And I would much rather be controversial than complacent—or just critical. You will be hearing more about that in the days to come.

The effort and the controversy have been worth it. For the first time, we had the tools to work with each minority in a way that met its particular needs—that provided help, without regimentation or conformity.

For the Spanish-speaking citizen, there was a "New Focus on Opportunity."

He gained a powerful voice in the highest councils of government, the voice of a distinguished public servant who sits with the Cabinet committee and gives the Mexican-American community of our Nation able leadership—Vicente T. Ximenes.

I am very pleased to observe, from the Baltimore Sun front page this morning, that the distinguished Dr. Hector Garcia, the first Mexican-American to ever sit as a delegate to the United Nations, sat in the United Nations yesterday and made a speech in Spanish to that great body.

Yes, we have found programs that answered their special needs in language, education and economic development.

And those programs respected the rich and unique cultural traditions.

In the last four years, your Government has trained tens of thousands of Mexican-Americans in the Rio Grande Valley and throughout the Southwest, for useful and rewarding jobs.

And we have reached down into the smallest town and the largest city to do this.

And just as fundamental as jobs is education.

In four years we have passed 36 landmark education bills. We have tripled the money invested in these programs from $4 billion to more than $12 billion in education in this country in the last three years. We are doing three times as much today as we were doing three years ago.

These are not just statistics. They represent children being prepared to take part in America's prosperity and in America's future.

Let me tell you the story this afternoon of a young Mexican-American named Frank (Pancho) Mansera who came to visit me the other day in the White House.

Pancho got off to a rough start in life. He was sickly. His parents were poor. When he came into the Head Start program, he could hardly talk or walk, even though he was five years old.

But after medical treatment and the stimulus of people who cared about his education, Pancho moved ahead like the wind. He became cheerful. He was active, alert, healthier. He wanted to learn. He was a bright child. He just needed a chance. Head Start and the Government of the United States—through the Congress of the United States—gave him that start. And they are going to give other children that. We will be voting to give hundreds of thousands of other children that when we pass the Poverty Program—I hope in the next few days.

There are more than 2 million Pancho Manseras who have gotten a new educational head start already. There are millions more who need to.

And if I have my way, they will return to this country much more than they have received.

We are moving forward to set up additional community health centers for needy families.

In 41 different sections in our country now we have Neighborhood Health Centers that we didn't have just a few months ago. But we need more than 41.

We are ready to launch other Neighborhood Health Centers for San Luis, Colorado and Taos County, New Mexico. It could help more than 7,000 Spanish-speaking citizens in a remote area that has only two doctors and limited health facilities.

So we are moving forward. Nobody knows better than you how far we have to go.

Nobody can know, who has not experienced it, what it is like to be turned away at a personnel office because you have a strange accent. Nobody knows from the outside what it is like to have your children stumbling over words in a schoolbook, because a teacher hasn't taken the extra time to help them learn. Nobody can know, but those who have lived it, how a man wonders whether he will ever break free of the old cycle of just following the crops, and give his son a better chance.

A lesser people might have despaired. A lesser people might have given up a long time ago. But your people didn't give up. They believed they were full-fledged citizens of the greatest Nation on earth, even if others didn't always treat them as such.

It is a long way from the Cotulla schoolhouse to where I live now, but we have made progress and we are going to make more.

Today their time has come. With the help of their government—but far more importantly, by their own hard work and with high good humor—they are entering into their rightful heritage as Americans. They are contributing to their country's welfare here, and to their country's security abroad.

I can tell you that nothing I have seen since those days long ago when I left that classroom has given me greater happiness.

I hope that in my time of leadership that I have helped to make some of it happen. I know that in the time that remains, I am going to do all that one man can do to make the promise of these years multiply among the Mexican-American people. And you can be certain of that.

In the last 12 months, of the 129 Nations in the world, the President of the United States has conferred with more than 80 of the Heads of State. That is a record since the founding of this Government.

And there is another record—in all of those more than 80 meetings, none has been as pleasant, as successful, or as fruitful as thte one just concluded with the distinguished leader of Mexico.

I want all of you to know his beautiful, gracious, enlightened wife, Mrs. Diaz Ordaz, the First Lady of Mexico.

And Mrs. Johnson.

The Senate had to adjourn today because we had the Majority Leader and most of the distinguished gentlemen on the plane—Senators coming down here with us. I would like to ask the Members of the Senate and the Members of the Congress, including all of our own delegation—Members of the House and Senator Yarborough—to please stand and take a hand.

I want to ask our distinguished Governor to please stand and take a hand—Governor Connally.

Now ladies and gentlemen, I want to present to you the great leader of a great people, a statesman, a man who understands the needs of not only his own people but the people of the world, a man who is providing international leadership—not only in this hemisphere, but throughout the world—because today in Afghanistan and Iran, in India and Pakistan, they are receiving the blessings of the laboratories that produced the Mexican wheat under the leadership of the great Nation the President represents—th Nation of Mexico. In the years to come, you will find—not only in this hemisphere, but throughout other lands—the mark of leadership of the Mexican people. No one will contribute more than His Excellency, the able, the cordial, the friendly good neighbor, Diaz Ordaz.

Fountainhead of Communism Is in Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, we are prone to overlook the fact that communism is our real enemy and that the fountainhead of communism is in Russia. Regardless of appearances, Hanoi is not our only enemy. It is well to watch what the Soviets will do, too. This is pointed out very carefully and capably in an article by Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC, retired, which has received considerable note. I submit it for reprinting in the RECORD:

SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP HITS OMINOUS NOTE

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle USMC (ret.))

WASHINGTON.—There are some strange, and ominous, things going on in the Soviet Union these days.

While Communist First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Premier Alexei Kosygin keep talking about their desire for peace, their government is doing things that reflect an opposite policy.

The proceedings and decisions of the recent meeting of the Supreme Soviet, the parliament of the Soviet Union, underline the militant trend of Russian governmental action.

Unfortunately, the real meaning of what the Supreme Soviet did in rubber-stamping Kremlin decisions has been largely overlooked in the United States. The dominant theme of the parliamentary meeting was support of Communist aggression internationally and a military buildup at home.

MILITANT NOTE

With an eye to domestic, as well as foreign reaction, the Kremlin bosses sugar-coated the bigger arms outlay with promises of increased consumer goods. But the essence of the Soviet action was distinctly militant.

Soviet military expenditures are being increased, it was officially announced, by about 15 per cent. However, this is just part of the story. Longtime observers of Kremlin methods say there is a big difference between what the Kremlin says it is spending for military purposes and what it actually spends.

This is because vast amounts are concealed under costs of non-military governmental projects. Consequently, say the Kremlin Watchers, the real military expenditure could be as much as three times the officially announced budget.

There was a distinctly bellicose tone to the official Kremlin explanation for the upward zoom in defense costs. The culprit, as the Communist leadership explained it, is the United States. It is U.S. "criminal aggression" in Vietnam that is largely to blame, according to the Moscow party line.

MORE HANOI AID

Consequently, the Kremlin is raising military spending to send more weapons and other war material to Ho Chi Minh, premier of North Vietnam.

This portion of the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet should make it clear that the Russian leadership openly and officially is a partner of Ho in waging war against us and our allies in Vietnam.

In addition to the boost in defense expenditures, the Soviet Union took other actions demonstrating the increased emphasis on military preparedness.

The 1,517 delegates to the Supreme Soviet unanimously endorsed the Kremlin plan for changes in the draft law. The new law calls for compulsory military training for the last two years of high school. This includes the assignment of military officers to the faculties of all high schools.

SERVICE REDUCED

Another aspect of the Russian military manpower expansion calls for a reduction of military service for draftees from three to two years in the army and air force, and from four to three in the navy. At the same time, the basic draft age was reduced from 19 to 18 years.

This is no softening of military manpower policy. Rather, the actual result will be more Russian youths being put through military service in a shorter period of time. This, in turn, means getting a bigger reserve mobilization base at a faster rate.

All of this brings us to the question: Why have the Kremlin bosses decided to adopt such a jolting acceleration in mass military training?

One answer is that the Kremlin is determined to continue its expansionist policies and recognizes what it takes to back them up.

Realism requires our realization that Russian saber-rattling that has frayed the free world's nerves since World War II is now to be accompanied by saber-sharpening.

It is also notable that the Soviets have admitted their contributions to the takeover of the Chinese mainland by the Chinese Communists 18 years ago. This is described in a news report from the Chinese Information Service, and I submit it also for reprinting:

RADIO MOSCOW: "WE HELPED MAO TAKE OVER MAINLAND"

TAIPEI, October 4.—Radio Moscow admitted today that the Soviet Union "made great contributions" to the takeover of the Chinese mainland by the Chinese Communists 18 years ago.

The official Soviet organ, in a Chinese-language broadcast monitored here, quoted a Soviet military observer as saying that after V–J Day in 1945, the Soviet Union obstructed the takeover of northeast China by Chinese government troops, handed over large amounts of weapons surrendered by the Japanese troops to the Chinese Communists, and cooperated with the latter to seize strongholds held by government forces.

The military specialist revealed that the weapons transferred to Chinese Communist forces at the end of the war included more than 700,000 rifles, 14,000 light and heavy machineguns, 1,800 artillery pieces, 700 tanks, 800 airplanes, more than 800 depots full of ammunition, and other military supplies as well as vessels of the Japanese fleet on the Sungari River.

As a result, Radio Moscow pointed out, the strength of Mao Tse-tung's troops more than doubled overnight. Chinese Communist forces had twice the number of rifles than they had before V–J Day, their number of artillery pieces increased by three times, and ammunition by 20 times.

The military observer was also quoted as saying that after their occupation of Dairen and Port Arthur in northeast China at the end of the war, the Russian troops rejected the request of the Chinese government for sending troops to land at the two key seaports, thus cutting off their advance to the inland provinces.

"The Russian troops also cooperated with the Chinese Communist troops in taking over Kalgan, Chengteh, Weihaiwei and other strategical points from government garrison troops," the observer was quoted as saying.

National Flood Insurance Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1985) to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I support the National Flood Insurance Act of 1967.

As I know from experience along the Mississippi, communities in a river basin, as well as along the seacoast, become completely immobilized following a major flood. They must depend on the Federal Government and voluntary relief agencies to provide various forms of assistance. Some State and local governments have limited programs to assist a flood area, but disaster relief is inadequate to provide for the necessary restoration of heavily damaged areas.

The estimated annual losses from floods have been increasing. Despite large expenditures for flood protection, this increasing exposure to flood damage occurs as a growing population occupies and uses more of our flood plains and seacoasts.

We have acknowledged the seriousness of the flood damage problem since 1936 when the Nation inaugurated a flood protection policy which has invested more than $8 billion dollars in flood protection and prevention through the Corps of Engineers and the Soil Conservation Service.

Despite these measures, each year the homes and household goods of thousands of families are destroyed and damaged by floods. Flood damages are particularly bad for the homeowner who still owes a mortgage on his home, or a small businessman whose livelihood is tied up in his business.

Various forms of assistance presently available are helpful to flood victims but they are usually only enough to enable the victims to start the process of physical and financial rehabilitation. In many cases relief is not forthcoming until after the area has been declared a disaster area. There are also limitations under Federal assistance programs on the amounts of money available at any one time to meet these emergencies. Moreover, a disaster that is large for a particular locality might not be considered large on a national scale and might not be eligible for assistance under certain Federal programs.

In addition, relief measures for those who suffer flood losses do nothing to encourage wise use of land subject to flooding or to discourage increased exposure of life and property in such locations.

These facts underline the need for a program which will make insurance against flood damage available and encourage persons to become aware of the risk of occupying the flood plains, and reduce the mounting Federal expenditures for disaster relief assistance.

I urge the House to pass the National Flood Insurance Act of 1967.

In Honor of John Edward McGinn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I noticed an article which appeared recently in the Alameda Times-Star, a newspaper published in my district. The article struck me with a sense of sadness and at the same time a great feeling of pride in a young man who lived in my district. This young man served in the Peace Corps in the west African village of Kadjebi in Ghana for 2 years teaching literature and grammar. After returning to the United States in 1964, while serving as a Peace Corps recruiter, he was killed in a tragic automobile accident; thus, apparently cutting short his career dedicated to the service of his country and to humanity. However, he was not to be forgotten among the people whom he had unselfishly served. The people of the village, together with his former Peace Corps colleagues, have begun construction of a library to be named in his honor, the John Edward McGinn Memorial Library. This was in fulfillment of his own ambition to establish such a facility in the village in which he had worked so diligently.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to make the following insertion in the Record to honor the memory of this outstanding young man who bore credit to his family, his community and his country.

[From the Alameda (Calif.) Times-Star, Oct. 21, 1967]

WEST AFRICAN VILLAGE LIBRARY MEMORIAL SET FOR ALAMEDA CORPSMAN

A library in a West African village will be dedicated in memory of an idealistic young Alameda man, it was learned yesterday.

In December, the villagers in tiny Kadjebi, in the nation of Ghana, will formally open their first library.

It will bear the name of John Edward McGinn, an Alamedan who served in the Peace Corps in that faraway village before he met death in an auto accident in 1964. He was 26.

"The library will not only be a living testimony to the good work the late John McGinn did while he was here with us, but will also make a significant contribution to the progress of education in Ghana," a letter from a Ghana resident to the Alameda parents of McGinn said.

A graduate of St. Joseph's High School in 1955, Mr. McGinn was the son of Dr. and Mrs. Edward J. McGinn of 1303 Bay St.

TWO YEARS' SERVICE

He served with the Peace Corps in the village of Kadjebi for two years, teaching literature and grammar, and helped the villagers put together their first promise of a library.

"He loved his work in Africa and his one ambition was to go back there," his mother said yesterday.

But while back in the United States in 1964, serving as a Peace Corps recruiter, the former Alamedan was killed in an auto accident in Pennsylvania.

His friends in Ghana decided to do something to keep his name alive.

And what better tribute than to construct a library, an endeavor which the former Alameda man had championed.

DRIVE LAUNCHED

Working including villagers, former students of the Peace Corps volunteer, and fellow Peace Corps members started the ball rolling.

The result is that a one-story, white stucco building—The John McGinn Memorial Library—will be officially opened this winter.

Mrs. McGinn said she is now seeking contributions of books to be shipped to the village of Kadjebi to line the shelves in the library dedicated to her son.

Contributors are urged to contact Mrs. McGinn at 523-3567.

FAMILY

The late Peace Corps volunteer was the brother of Dr. Philip S. McGinn, Army captain; Ellen T. McGinn, teacher in Maryland; Mrs. Herbert Launer of Berkeley; Mary McGinn, San Francisco State College student, and Anne McGinn, who attends St. Joseph's Grammar School in Alameda.

He was a graduate of the University of California in Berkeley, with a bachelor's degree in English and a master's degree.

"His death was a great blow to us," villagers of Kadjebi wrote to his parents after his death.

"I am certain my son would be overjoyed that his dream—a public library in the village in Ghana where he spent such a happy and productive period—is coming true," his mother added yesterday.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

The 75th Anniversary of the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on October 1 I had the honor of attending the 75th anniversary of the founding of the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association of America. This organization for three-quarters of a century has not only contributed greatly to the welfare of its membership, and its church, but has cooperated with many local civic organizations as well as supporting all patriotic programs in cooperation with the local community, county, State, and Nation.

The following has been submitted as a review of the celebration of the commemoration of this anniversary:

SLOVAK LADIES ASSOCIATION MARKS ANNIVERSARY

The 'Helen Kocan' District of the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Assn. celebrated the 75th anniversary of the founding of the organization in Whiting, Indiana on Sunday, October 1, 1967.

The Diamond Jubilee celebration began with a Mass of Thanksgiving at St. John the Baptist Catholic Church at 10:30 a.m. The Rev. Edward Homco C.p.p.S., pastor, was celebrant, and Rev. John Kostik C.PP.S. delivered the homily. Also present were Rt. Rev. Msgr. Clement Mlynarovich, and Rev. Jos. Partasek O.F.M., from the Franciscan Monastery in Valparaiso, Indiana.

The solemnities began as the Jr. Order Members in their colorful red and white drill-team uniforms led the procession of National, District, Local officers and members. The Mixed Choir of St. John's sang "Tollite Holtias" (Praise Ye the Lord of Hosts) by St. Saens; then followed an organ Cortege played by Don Kometz, organist and choirmaster at St. John's. As the procession was ending, the choir sang "Krasna si Maria" (Beautiful Mother). At the offertory of the Mass, Jr. Members of the Jednota presented gifts to the celebrant. The Jednota members and the choir sang a Slovak Hymn in Honor of St. Ann, Patroness of the organization, during the offertory. A string ensemble added to the beauty of the music and the ceremonies. The Choir sang the Slovak Motet, "Zdravas Bud Maria," (Hail Mary) during the communion. Also sung at the Communion was the Slovak Hymn "Da Mihi Jesis" (Jesus, Offer Me Thy Heart). The Mass ended with the singing of the Hymn, "Duso Krestanska," (Christian Heart, Praise the Lord). The Choir sang "Break Forth into Joy" as a recessional anthem. The words and composers of the traditional Slovak Hymns sung at this mass are of ancient origin and unknown.

Approximately 500 people attended the anniversary dinner which followed the Mass in the Panel Room. Eleanor Kochis, District President, delivered the welcome address. The Rev. M. Fred Bach, pastor of Immaculate Heart parish, was the toastmaster. The invocation was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Semancik. The audience then joined in with the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner"; accompanist was Susan Hruskocy. Five girls (representing all the Jr. District Members) presented an Anniversary cake to the National President. With this the audience sang "Happy Anniversary." Rt. Rev. Msgr. Mlynarovich, the Shakespeare of the Slovaks, composed and delivered a beautiful toast to the organization. The address was given by Elizabeth Lipovsky, national president of the F.C.S.L.U., Bethlehem, Penn. Sophie Gresko, Anna Gandy, Susan Lavenda, and Ann Hruskovich were honored by the district for bringing in the most membership during the Diamond Jubilee Campaign by a presentation of gifts by Mary Kovacik, Secretary and Mary Slosarcik, Treasurer. On the occasion of the 75th Diamond Jubilee a presentation of new memberships was made by Mary Therese Gresko, and Mary Beth Kucka. Greetings were then given by the Honorable Ray J. Madden, our Congressman whom we all hold in high esteem. Then followed greetings from Mrs. Anna K. Hruskovich, National Trustee, F.C.S.L.A. Introduction of National, District, and District Branch Officers. Guests introduced were Mrs. Anna Fusillo Editor of the F.C.S.L.A. Magazine; Joseph Grenchik, Mayor of Whiting; Judge William Obermiller of Whiting; and Joseph Klen, Lake County Recorder.

During Mrs. Eleanor Kochis' closing remarks, she expressed her gratitude on behalf of all present to Congressman Madden who took time off from his very busy schedule to be with us for this occasion. Through Mr. Madden, our 1st Cath. Slov. Ladies Association, and some of our National Officers, and prominent Slovaks were given recognition in the Congressional Records for their achievements. Mr. Madden also was instrumental in getting us a Slovak Postmaster in Whiting.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President—Elizabeth Lipovsky, Bethlehem, Pa.

Vice President—Veronica Radocha, Coaldale, Pa.

Vice President—Veronica Borsogo, Poland, Ohio.

Vice President—Tillie Bacik, Cleveland, Ohio.

Secretary—Susan Matuscak, Cleveland, Ohio.

Treasurer—Anna Yasso, Cleveland, Ohio.

Trustee—Anna Hruskovich, Whiting, Indiana.

Trustee—Mary Haydu, Swissvale, Pa.

Auditors—Mary Osadjan, Chicago, Ill. Ella Vlasaty, Braddock, Pa. Sophie Gresko, Whiting, Ind.

Anna Fusillo, Editor, Gary, Indiana.

National Chaplain—Monsignor Michael M. Tondra, Cleveland, Ohio.

DISTRICT OFFICERS, LAKE COUNTY, IND. AND JOLIET, ILL., KNOWN AS HELEN KOCAN DISTRICT

President—Eleanor Kochis, Whiting, Indiana.

Vice Presidents—1st Caroline Kukuch, Indiana Harbor; 2nd Sue Chizmark, Joliet, Ill.

Treasurer——Mary Slosarcik, Gary, Ind.

Secretary—Mary Kovacik, Munster, Ind.

Auditors—Anna DeVore, East Chicago, Ind., Anna Kaminsky, Hammond, Ind., Anna Gandy, Whiting.

The First Catholic Slovak Ladies Assn., a fraternal insurance society, was started by a poor immigrant woman, Anna Hurban of Cleveland, in 1892. Today its membership exceeds 103,000 with branches located throughout the Nation and Canada. Its assets total over $41,000,000.

Well known for its benevolence, the FCSLA donated $100,000 to the SS. Cyril and Methodius Institute in Rome, and at their recent convention in Cleveland in July, the organization donated $27,000 to various religious orders in addition to the $10,000 gift to Bishop Clarence Issenmann of Cleveland, for the education of a seminarian for the diocesan priesthood.

They also have a home for the aged, known as Villa Sancta Anna, 25000 Chagrin Blvd., Beachwood Village, Ohio.

N. L. "Skip" Wymard: A Great Pennsylvanian Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I have met few people in Pennsylvania for whom I have a warmer feeling than I have for a fine gentleman named "Skip" Wymard. He is a great gentleman, a great Pennsylvanian.

There was a reception held in honor of "Skip" who is retiring after some 47 years with the Gulf Oil Co. It was a reception to which many distinguished guests came to pay their own personal tribute to "Skip." But just as significantly, it provided John M. Cummings of the Philadelphia Inquirer with the opportunity of writing a column on "Skip."

Mr. Speaker, I know you will want to join me in wishing "Skip" well in his retirement. He is indeed the precise sort of American of whom we can be proud. He has been a distinguished businessman, and one who has given his time generously to the betterment of his own community and the State. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will append here the column from the Philadelphia Inquirer:

A LITTLE ON RETIREMENT

(By John M. Cummings)

Last Friday, we went down to the Barclay Hotel to attend another type of ceremony. Our old friend "Skip," or N. L. Wymard, after some 47 years with the Gulf Oil Co., was retiring. In his younger and more supple days, "Skip" was quite a footballer at Georgetown. For years after his graduation he refereed football games all over the country. He never lost interest in the game.

There he was, ramrod straight, with his two daughters and their husbands from Washington. "Skip" is a Pittsburgher who came east with Jim Duff when the big redhead was Governor. He was on the Governor's legal staff at Harrisburg.

The room in which the reception was held was alive with judges, especially those of the Federal type. While there were to be no speeches, beyond a tribute to "Skip" by Judge Harold K. Wood, several others found it necessary to press forward and deliver an opinion.

It's no secret to readers of this corner of the paper, that we have a sourpuss for this retirement racket. Young men like "Skip," at the top of their usefulness, are retired. They are expected to sit down and twiddle their thumbs or ramble through a pasture like a wornout horse.

"Skip" had only 47 years with the Gulf Co. Invitations to retirement ceremonies have become so frequent that we seldom take our hat off the rack. We keep it on the night table by the side of the bed.

It is our information that "Skip" Wymard is not going to pass the time twiddling his thumbs by the side of the kitchen stove. Just as soon as his stomach clears the rich food he had at the recent clambake, he's going to work.

American Banker Daily Newspaper Puts Squarely Up to Nation's Bankers Their Stake in the Revolving Credit Exemption in Truth-in-Lending Legislation Passed by the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I have a strong feeling that the mail to Members of Congress from individual bankers in their districts is suddenly going to increase in volume, particularly on the discriminatory revolving credit exemption in the Senate-passed truth-in-lending legislation.

An editorial in the November 2 issue of the American Banker daily newspaper clearly places before the Nation's bankers their stake in this issue, one which divided the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency by 6 to 6, and which will be a very close one indeed in the full committee.

I am certainly pleased to see this editorial in a newspaper which reaches so many individual bankers. The spokesmen for associations of bankers, such as the American Bankers Association, the Independent Bankers Association, the Industrial Bankers Association, and so on, had advised our subcommittee of their opposition to the revolving credit exemption in the Senate bill, but few of their individual members have written to Members of Congress on the issue. The same thing has been true of the automobile dealers.

As this editorial states so clearly and directly, the revolving credit issue is crucial in determining the kind of truth-in-lending legislation which will be enacted; that is, whether it be a bill like H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which treats all forms of credit alike, or a discriminatory bill.

COMPARABLE TERMINOLOGY NEEDED FOR TRUE COMPARISON OF RATES

The main objective of truth-in-lending legislation is, and always has been, to give to the consumer the information necessary to shop intelligently for credit among competing forms and offers of credit. Under any legislation which afforded an opportunity to the consumer to be able to compare the costs of one credit offer with another, using comparable terminology, the banks would undoubtedly emerge in a favorable competitive situation. Banks are seldom, if ever, involved in the kind of consumer credit horror cases we have heard so much about.

On the other hand, if users of revolving credit can express their charges on a monthly basis, usually 1½ percent, while installment credit and other forms of credit must state an annual rate, as the Senate bill requires, the comparison becomes more difficult, and a monthly rate of 1½ percent sounds lower to most consumers than an annual rate of 18 percent, even though they are identical rates.

As the American Banker stated it:

> The key point still at issue . . . is the matter of disclosure at annual rate by the grantors of revolving credit—the department stores, chain stores, and mail-order houses. They are trying to get authorization to express their credit charges in monthly terms, while all other lenders are required to state their terms at annual rates. And despite all the arithmetic they ever learned, consumers take far more kindly to a rate stated as 1.5% a month, than they do to rates stated as 18% a year—even though the two are exactly the same."

Mr. Speaker, I hope all of the Members will take the time to read this editorial in full, entitled "Arithmetical Eight-Ball," from the November 2 issue of the American Banker daily newspaper, as follows:

ARITHMETICAL EIGHT-BALL

The moment of truth is close at hand for truth-in-lending legislation, and the banking industry does not seem to be doing much about it.

For all the vigor the industry displayed over the years in its grim resistance to previous legislative efforts to enact interest disclosure laws, the banking industry is demonstrating a curious sort of resigned apathy toward trying to do much about the final form that the law will soon take. And yet now is the time when banking has a remarkable opportunity to convert a tactical retreat into a major victory.

Granted, the industry has wanted no part of any truth-in-lending legislation. In years past its adamant posture of resistance worked admirably in the face of a no-compromise insistence on the part of supporters of the legislation. Impasse meant no legislation, and that suited banking just fine.

But this year, supporters of the bill, under the leadership in the Senate of William Proxmire, D., Wis., have demonstrated the same enthusiasm for the principles of full disclosure, and have added to it a willingness to maneuver. This has resulted in a victory in the Senate for the bill which was so sweeping as to make passage of legislation very much like it almost certain in the House.

Banking was caught flat-footed by the new flexible tactics of the advocates of truth-in-lending and, anchored in inflexibility, could not recover fast enough in the Senate to do much about the bill it passed.

Now, though, as the House ponders the legislation, the industry has been given a rare chance to adapt to the new conditions, and to help shape the final result into a law that will be good for banking. Just as big as the victory which is now within its grasp, is the size of the potential defeat if banking fails to grasp it.

The key point still at issue, as the draft legislation emerges unresolved from the House banking subcommittee on consumer affairs, is the matter of disclosure at annual rate by the grantors of revolving credit—the department stores, chain stores, and mail-order houses. They are trying to get authorization to express their credit charges in monthly terms, while all other lenders are required to state their terms at annual rates. And despite all the arithmetic they ever learned, consumers take far more kindly to a rate stated as 1.5% a month, than they do to rates stated as 18% a year—even though the two are exactly the same.

The revolving credit exemption is embodied in the bill voted by the Senate.

So if banks do not come on strong with opposition to this exemption, they are going to find themselves stuck behind an arithmetical eight-ball, where they will look bad vis-a-vis their lending competition, even though they will be charging the same rate.

If there is any doubt about how important this distinction is, it does not exist in the minds of the department stores and the other purveyors of revolving credit, who are mounting a massive lobbying offensive to preserve it.

Subcommittee chairman Leonor K. Sullivan D., Mo., put the problem bluntly in a speech before the House last week. If banks and other extenders of credit who are going to be required to state their annual charges as an annual rate "do not want to lose business or at least spend a large proportion of the time and effort in completing a credit transaction in trying to explain why their rate is competitive with the department store rate, they had better let their members of Congress know quickly why they feel the Senate-passed bill is terribly discriminatory," she warned.

The remarkable think is that bankers will come out in a stronger competitive position than ever, if all extenders of credit are required to state in unmistakable, comparable terms, what their rates are. Given the certainty that some form of truth-in-lending is going to pass, it is high time for bankers to come out of the sulks of defeat, and seize the ready opportunity to make that legislation—in a remarkable switch from what they have feared for years—very good for banks.

Time To Cut Loose?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with the House a timely editorial from the Omaha World-Herald of Monday, October 23, 1967, in regard to operation of Headstart in Omaha. This seems to be a typical example of the entire operation of the OEO.

The editorial follows:

TIME TO CUT LOOSE?

The one local War on Poverty endeavor which has strong public support and a degree of real achievement—Operation Head Start—again is in difficulty because of what seems to be a bureaucratic foul-up in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Head Start classes for poor preschoolers were to have started, according to public school schedules, about September 3, when regular classes opened. But OEO officials put the opening back to the first week in October, and then only with tentative approval of plans.

Now the anti-poverty agency has called off Head State indefinitely. The best that local school officials can hope for is a November 1 starting date.

The heaviest impact of this delay, obviously, falls on the 560 children scheduled to be helped by Head Start this year. They are being short-changed.

The administration of the project also suffers. About 40 teachers, nurses and other staff members are out of work, and some may be forced to take other jobs.

The delay, and the confusion from which it results, may also have the unhappy effect of tarnishing the image of Head Start by placing it undeservedly in the same category as some other antipoverty schemes beset by intramural squabbling and red-tape snafus.

Regional OEO Representative Dean Tyler said in Kansas City that the Omaha program is being held up because of "deficiencies" in it. He refused to discuss these "deficiencies" with Omaha school officials on the grounds that Head Start is considered as belonging to Greater Omaha Community Action, the local anti-poverty agency. It will be up to GOCA to fill in the School Board on what's wrong, Mr. Tyler said.

The schools receive their Head Start funds through GOCA, which approved the Head Start plan last May.

It's a long time from May to September—long enough, we would think, to have uncovered and corrected any "deficiencies" in the schools' program.

This is the third consecutive year in which Head Start has been messed up and started late.

Perhaps it is time for the School Board to consider cutting itself loose from its frustrating, time-wasting dependence on the chaotic War on Poverty organizations and turn Head Start into a wholly local program, relying on Omaha money and Omaha judgment.

We think that most Omahans would support Head Start's continuance as an integral, locally financed part of the public school system, especially if its operation as such would insure that it started on time every year.

San Antonio Express Says President Johnson Offers Clear Formula for Ending the Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, in a balanced, perceptive editorial, the San Antonio Express recently described President Johnson's Vietnam speech as offering a clear formula for ending the Vietnam conflict.

The American commitment to Vietnam is as strong today as when it was entered into by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, and continued by President Johnson.

Yet, while we maintain a necessary commitment in force, the United States through President Johnson has repeatedly explored every possible avenue to an honorable cessation of hostilities. Unfortunately, dozens of peace overtures have been turned back. Yet, even in his most recent address in San Antonio, the President again made it clear that the war can end any moment Hanoi decides to end it.

President Johnson is fully aware of the cost of the war in lives and money, the Express pointed out. He is aware of 30 years of Communist duplicity in world affairs. Still, the President continues to press for peace in every world forum—as was evidenced by the recent detailed proposal presented by Ambassador Goldberg to the United Nations which would halt hostilities and initiate peace talks.

But, as the President said at San Antonio, "we must not mislead the enemy" into thinking we are disunited and ready to withdraw. We must persuade the enemy that the American nation will be true to itself and its allies until South Vietnam is permitted to determine its own destiny without outside intimidation or pressure. There can can be no other road.

I insert in the RECORD a very good editorial from the San Antonio Express of September 30, entitled "President Offers Clear Formula for Ending the War in Vietnam":

PRESIDENT OFFERS CLEAR FORMULA FOR ENDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM

President Johnson struck at the heart of the impasse with North Vietnam in a major defense of his conduct of America's part in that war Friday evening. He declared that "we must not mislead the enemy." Misinterpretation of the influence the domestic debate has on our role in the war would be a grave injustice to North Vietnam as it would be to America.

We did not lightly enter the war. Three presidents ago this nation committed itself, with the support of the congress, to the task of containing Communist colonialism in Southeast Asia. The commitment led to a war involving some half-million American combat troops. Some members of the congress and many Americans who supported that commitment are having second thoughts.

They don't have the responsibility for making the decisions, however, and all of their proposed solutions to the conflict have been rejected in Hanoi.

The President made abundantly clear that the war can end any moment Hanoi decides to end it—assuming Ho Chi Minh can control the forces there. He also made it abundantly clear that he believes the course we are following is achieving goals the administration has set.

He spoke even as the United Nations approved a resolution to debate the definition of aggression. The vote was 49 to 37. It was taken over strong American opposition.

He spoke as Britain and Canada sought to bring the war to the conference table by either going back to Geneva, where it all started, or to get a response to Ambassador Goldberg's question of last week: What happens if we stop bombing the North?

If Ho Chi Minh really wants the bombing stopped, he can get it stopped by a favorable response, secret or otherwise. If Hanoi and the Soviet Union want the shooting stopped, Moscow can agree to take the dispute back to Geneva.

The only thing the President has failed to offer Hanoi is unconditional surrender and evacuation of American forces there. Even Senator Fulbright hasn't demanded that.

The President is aware of the cost of the war in lives and money. He is also aware of 30 years of Communist duplicity in world affairs. The United Nations delegates—and the rest of the world—have been given a clear formula from our side on how to end the war. Let some of them propose a better one.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring a matter of grave concern to me and the people of Mississippi to the attention of my colleagues, and in particular to my Democratic colleagues.

For some time in the State of Mississippi a group of people known as the Freedom Democratic Party has attempted to represent itself as the official arm of the Democratic Party. A few of their more spectacular activities have included the contesting of the seating of the Mississippi delegation at the last National Democratic Convention and the protesting of the seating of the Mississippi congressional delegation to the Congress in 1964.

Because this group has attempted to influence action with the courts and the Democratic Party on their behalf, I believe the information which I will present will be helpful in exposing the Freedom Democratic Party for what it actually is.

To this end, I would like to bring to your attention excerpts from the Mississippi Newsletter, No. 31, published at Tougaloo, Miss., on September 22, 1967. In this newsletter a full-page replica of instructions on how to make a molotov cocktail appeared. The original picture and instructions were published in the Hinds County Freedom Democratic Party News. The molotov cocktail is captioned "New Politics."

In addition to the above, this same pamphlet included under the caption "Black Power Is Fire Power" the following statement:

GUNS THE ONLY WAY

We must learn what the White Man learned in 1776. There can be no peace or freedom for any oppressed people until that people is ready to pick up guns.

Adjacent to that statement were the words "Burn, Baby, burn!"

I do not believe the responsible people of Mississippi, colored or white, support the policies of the Freedom Democratic Party; and, I do not believe the Members of this House approve of the type of politics advocated by this militant organization which is trying to take control of the State of Mississippi.

This group has given notice that they will again challenge the Mississippi delegation at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. To give the group the slightest recognition in the councils of the

Democratic Party would serve to condone the politics of molotov cocktails and "Burn, Baby, burn!"

In my opinion, a political organization that publicly instructs its members in the construction and use of molotov cocktails and that calls on its supporters to be ready to pick up guns cannot be accorded recognition by any responsible group in this country. In fact, the Freedom Democratic Party should be recognized and branded by responsible conservatives and liberals alike as a vicious advocate of race hatred and revolution.

Dairymen's League Certificates of Indebtedness

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, during the 4 months in which I have been conducting an investigation of the American Farm Bureau and its affiliates, not one of my charges has been refuted. Instead, the Farm Bureau uses an intriguing end rum of personal attack and distortion of my views.

For example, in the October 2 edition of the American Farm Bureau Federation Official Newsletter, I read that—

> Representative Joseph Y. Resnick (D) of N.Y. has launched an attack on all farm cooperatives.

This scurrilous and irresponsible account of my investigation ignores the fact that I have repeatedly said I am concerned with the practices of only those giant cooperatives—usually affiliated with the Farm Bureau—which have been victimizing the American farmer by issuing patronage dividends.

Many cooperatives—certainly a large majority—are truly farmer controlled and farmer owned. Since they represent the farmer, they return within a reasonable period of time. Such a co-op is the New York Dairymen's League.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the following statement of the Dairymen's League, which describes their policy of distributing patronage dividends, in the RECORD. It is a model which all cooperatives would do well to follow.

DAIRYMEN'S LEAGUE CERTIFICTATES OF INDEBTEDNESS

1. Dairymen's League Certificates of Indebtedness represent, in effect, a legally binding agreement between the Cooperative and its individual members. Each member under the bylaws of the Association, loans the League 10c a hundredweight on all of his milk marketed through the League. In return, he receives each April a Certificate representing the monies so loaned during the preceding 12-month period. This Certificate has a due-date 10 years from the date of issue. In addition, it pays (presently) 5¼% interest each year until called. The money is used exclusively for capital purposes: building plants; buying businesses; plant improvements etc. It is separate and distinct from the 2c a hundredweight members contribute to the day-to-day operations of the League.

2. For more than 40-years, League Certificates of Indebtedness have been used by members of the Association as a regular part of the financial operations. They are often used as security when negotiating a loan. In instances of this type, the bank holds the Certificates until the loan has been paid, but the League member continues to collect the interest.

3. There has always been a ready market for League Certificates. In most cases, the member can sell his Certificates for 100 cents on the dollar to other members or to other private parties looking for a secure investment for surplus cash. There is also an active dealers market for Certificates. At least two or three such dealers regularly advertise in the Dairymen's League News to buy all Certificates offered. As is customary in such cases, the dealers buy at some discount below the face value of the Certificates.

4. The League has never failed to redeem its Certificates—usually a year or two before they are legally due to be called. No interest payment has ever been missed.

5. Beginning in 1967, the League issued an *additional* type of Certificate called a "Certificate of Investment." This is *purely voluntary*. It is intended to provide the Association with long-term capital and members with opportunity for long term investment at a high rate of interest. These Certificates of Investment are for 25 years and carry 6% interest. As one mark of the confidence members have in the Association, some $700,000 have already been invested in the new Certificates by members. There is no doubt that this success reflects the reputation earned during the past 40 years by the original Certificates of Indebtedness (which, of course, continue to be the mainstay of the Association's capital financing.)

Noted Commentator Reports Effectiveness of Bombing in North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of America's most knowledgable commentators, Roscoe Drummond, has concluded that American bombing of North Vietnam has been of great value to our efforts in that war-ravaged area.

Bombing has denied the enemy a privileged sanctuary, exacted a penalty for his aggression in South Vietnam, and limited the infiltration flow of men and material from the north. This in turn will shorten the war and lead to more immediate negotiations.

North Vietnam's industrial and agricultural production has been crippled—reducing their warmaking capacity and sources of foreign exchange.

Mr. Drummond notes that American precision bombing has diverted 600,000 North Vietnamese workers—who would otherwise be available for war production or the army.

Damage to transportation routes has slowed North Vietnamese infiltration, forced the enemy to shorten his supply routes, and caused him to abandon large-scale military operations in the south.

The bombing of the north is a vital weapon in our Vietnam arsenal. Its effectiveness is proven.

Under unanimous consent, I insert into the RECORD Roscoe Drummond's article appearing in the Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 25, 1967]

DIFFICULTIES OF HANOI REGIME GREATLY ENHANCED BY BOMBING

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Question—What are the objective facts behind the conclusion that the bombing of North Vietnam is achieving its purposes?

The purposes are (A) to deny the enemy a sanctuary, (B) to exact a penalty for his actions aaginst South Vietnam, (C) to limit the flow or increase the cost of infiltrating men and materiel.

The bombing has severely curtailed North Vietnam's industrial and agricultural production. This appreciably weakens its war-making capacity.

Examples: Now out of production are the only modern cement plant, the only metallurgical plant, the only explosives plant, and 80 per cent of the nation's central electrical power generating capacity.

Last year because of the weather and the indirect effects of the bombing, North Vietnam's rice crop dropped 300,000 metric tons and it is beginning to show up short again this year.

North Vietnam is losing crucially needed foreign exchange because the bombing has cut the production of coal in half. Phosphate exports have virtually ceased; both were previously sold abroad in quantity.

The consequence is to increase radically North Vietnam's need for foreign aid to sustain her war effort and her economy at minimum levels. Imports went up 2000 metric tons a day in 1965 and are double that this year. Hanoi has to ask the Soviets to increase their aid from $100 million to $700 million annually.

Bombing is continuing to divert up to 600,000 workers to defend against it or repair the damage—a manpower pool which would otherwise be available either for production or for the army.

It has caused the damage or destruction of about 5000 freight cars, 8000 trucks, and 19,000 watercraft.

It has increased substantially the number of men and tons which must be dispatched from the North to get one man and one ton into South Veitnam. It is impossible to measure this effect of the bombing but it is accurate to say that it has (1) caused the enemy to resort to the shorter routes across the DMZ and (2) contributed to the abandoning of large-scale military operations within South Vietnam.

Attacks on electrical power, bridges, roads, and railroads in the Haiphong area have made it increasingly difficult for North Vietnam to unload supplies and move them out of the port area. Layover times of ships have mounted 300 per cent—from 10 days in 1966 to 30 days this year.

Question—How are additional targets selected?—Except for a few which are avoided so as not to bring Red China or the Soviet Union into the war, the most lucrative targets are being bombed.

Targets are approved on the basis of these factors: new construction, new intelligence, a balancing of the military gains against the military risks (to pilots and planes), and the factor of Chinese or Soviet intervention. We refrain from bombing the dikes because it would subject civilians to starvation.

The United States does not seek to destroy the North Vietnamese regime nor to unseat Ho Chi Minh. It does not intend to invade or occupy North Vietnam.

DAV National Commander Speaks Out in Honor of Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Disabled American Veterans National Commander Francis J. Beaton recently made a forthright statement denouncing the uncalled for and disgraceful comments made by one of our TV personalities concerning our soldiers and sailors stationed in Vietnam. Commander Beaton's remarks speak for themselves and I am sure will meet with great favor from all patriotic citizens of this country.

The remarks referred to follow:

Remarks of Francis J. Beaton, National Commander, Disabled American Veterans

I recently received a letter that called my attention to certain statements made by Robert Vaughn, who plays the role of a Secret Agent in the television series, "Man From Uncle." Press releases were sent charging Vaughn with issuing the statement that U.S. fighting men in Vietnam are drop-outs, unemployables, and unintelligent and added, "the smart ones are in college." According to a UPI Editorial by Vernon Scott, Mr. Vaughn has launched an attack against the President for his policy in Vietnam.

To classify our fighting men in Vietnam as drop-outs, unintelligent, and unemployables is not only a very deplorable statement for any person in public life to make but it also happens to be totally untrue. DAV officials have visited Vietnam on several occasions during the last two years and our Organization has found that these are brave, intelligent, high-spirited American boys who are doing their part to protect institutions of freedom from communist aggression. Mr. Vaughn would probably be amazed to know the number of young men who left college, not as drop-outs, but as inspired patriotic young men who wanted the opportunity to serve this Nation on the battlefield as did their fathers and grandfathers before them. This type of attack is coming from one who is supposed to portray a defender of freedom on T.V. Studios and sponsors should take a hard look at anyone who is representing them who would make such irresponsible statements.

Just what Mr. Vaughn's motivation may be, I do not know but I do know that he certainly does not understand our fighting men in Vietnam nor does he understand the important significance of President Johnson's policy in Vietnam. Maybe Mr. Vaughn had better stick to his script and leave the conduct of state affairs to those eminently more qualified than he.

I believe that the time has come when we must adopt a strong non-partisan point of view concerning the affairs of our Nation, both in our foreign policy and our domestic policy. I do not mean that we must abandon the political party of our choice, but I do strongly believe that the President of the United States today is being unwarrantedly attacked by those who have apparently lost all concept of patriotism and of concern for the welfare of our people.

This enemy within our Nation would have us show indifference and disrespect to the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, and the Judiciary of this Nation. Regardless of party, Lyndon B. Johnson is our President and the program that he has followed in his foreign policy, particularly in reference to Vietnam, is sound in the eyes of many thinking Americans.

In the final analysis, the containment of communism is the issue and it makes no difference if it's Vietnam or elsewhere in the world. The idea of allowing vast spreading of communism presents eminent danger and threat to the security of our people. Perhaps we have had too much of a good thing, including prosperity and all of the freedoms we enjoy. Perhaps also, we have forgotten how to discipline ourselves and to condition ourselves to times that require the marshalling of all our resources to combat the common enemy.

The institutions of our government, beginning with the Chief Executive, deserve our respect. This we can have and at the same time reserve to ourselves the right to dissent, exercised in the voting booth.

As the leader of this patriotic organization of disabled men and women, I urge thought on these troubled times. And in your chapter meetings you can consider various programs where your chapter can show its support of the President, our Congress, and our law enforcement agencies.

Farewell to a Gallant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the editorial space in the October 20 issue of Sea Tiger, the publication of the 3d Marine Amphibious Force in Vietnam, is given over to a moving letter of farewell to a brave young marine, Pfc. J. Robert Hinson. Private Hinson was killed in Vietnam on August 16. He was 18 years old.

The letter was written by his grandmother, Mrs. Pearl M. Jones, of Charleston, S.C. I want to share this moving tribute with all the Members of the House.

The letter follows:

Farewell to a Gallant Marine

My grandseon, Pfc. J. Robert Hinson, USMC, was killed Aug. 16 in Vietnam. He was due home Sept. 10.

I wrote to him every Sunday while he was in Vietnam and I would like to pay tribute to him this way:

Farewell to a gallant Marine, who died for his country, Pfc. John Robert Hinson: 27 Aug. 1948–16 Aug. 1967.

Dear Bobby: Every Sunday while you were in Vietnam I wrote to you. Today, Sept. 10, I will write my last letter to you, hoping that somehow you will know about it.

Always faithful, you gave your life on Aug. 16 in the Sanho, Republic of Vietnam at the tender age of 18. You died trying to help others to have life more abundantly, people, whose names you never knew.

That was your way of life, always thinking of others. Recently in a letter home you said, "If I don't get home, don't worry, I am prepared to die." You believed what you were taught as a child: "God made me to know him, to love him, to serve him in this world, and to be happy with him in heaven."

And you said you knew the good Lord was always looking after you.

Today, Sept. 10, we would have been looking for you to come home, but you won't be coming home to us. You are at home where you will be happy with God forever: where there is no fighting, no dying, no tears. And although we grieve for you, we are consoled to know, as you lived, you died, by your faith. Why? Only God knows, but like you, we trust His reason. And in our hearts we feel in that heavenly land, another Marine has landed and the situation is well in hand.

Semper Fidelis, United States Marines. Farewell Bobby, until I join you some day.

Love,

Grama.

Mrs. Pearl M. Jones, 879 Rutledge Ave., Charleston, S.C.

The Protest Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, one of the more rational and dispassionate evaluations of the peace march in Washington recently appeared in Burlington Hawk-Eye editorial on Wednesday, October 25. It places the march in its proper perspective and calls attention to its shortcomings, as follows:

The Protest Faiure

Last weekend's demonstration at the Pentagon can be viewed with relief on two counts; for the admirable restraint and discipline of the troops, which kept the bloodshed minor; and for the fact that the irrational militants among the demonstrators were a distinct minority.

One can further be proud of a government which, however angry and frustrated, stretched tolerance of dissent to a point well beyond what any other country on earth would permit.

Nevertheless, the aftermath of the great demonstration has an air of failure and sadness about it.

Minority though they were, the uncouth and lunatic hippies, far-leftists, and acid heads, captured the public attention, and soiled the whole mass of orderly protestors with their filth.

It was perhaps inevitable. The phrase "disorderly dissent" may be an unresolvable contradiction. There is no machinery to control participants from within the ranks; no way to weed out the nuts.

(Honest conservatives regularly find themselves embarrassed by the Klansmen, antisemites and right-wing idiots who insist on joining, or taking over, their causes.)

At any rate, if the purpose of the demonstration was to persuade the Johnson administration to change its Vietnam strategy, or to awaken Americans to new thinking about the war, then it was a failure.

If the cause of dissent is the obscenity and violence of war, one does not make a good case against it by committing obscenities and violence; if the object of protest is to change public policy, you do not aid your argument by urinating on public buildings.

If anything, the personal villification of the President and the childish parading of obscene words, will strengthen the administration's position, arousing personal sympathy for the President, and disgust at his opponents.

There remains a great, perhaps desperate, need for reviewing and revising American policy in Asia, for groping through the credibility gap to find where America's real interests are.

But a national policy, however erroneous, cannot be improved on by immature exhibitionists.

Both Hanoi and Washington surely were most impressed last week, not by the demonstrators at the Pentagon, but by the Republican governors refusal at a national conference to repeat their previous Vietnam policy.

If so, that should be a clue to the protestors—a suggestion that, whatever changes are to occur in that policy can be brought about more quickly through the established political machinery than by spitting on soldiers or littering the public lawns.

Nutley Sun Supports Automobile Safety Requirements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the increasing hazard of automobile travel is of great concern to us all. Congress has acted to require some safety devices, but there is a continuing need to review the problem and assure the utmost possible protection for our citizen consumers. In this connection, I was heartened to see that Federal officials are continuing to insist that we move forward firmly in this vital area. An excellent editorial appeared in the November 2 Belleville Times, of Belleville, N.J., discussing the issue of shoulder straps. It is most heartening that this fine weekly newspaper is bringing to public attention the importance of utilizing shoulder straps in conjunction with seat belts for greater public safety, and I place the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

SHOULDER BELTS ORDERED

The federal government has decided to stand by its original order requiring shoulder harnesses in passenger cars. There had been indications recently the order might be eased but at joint news conferences two federal officials reported a seven-week study "convincingly confirmed" the benefits.

Dr. William Hadden, Jr., director of the National Highway Safety Bureau, and Lowell K. Birdwell, Federal Highway Administrator, said the study showed shoulder straps used by front seat passengers and drivers, in combination with seat belts, added greatly to the safety factor in driving.

There had been charges that shoulder straps did not provide the protection claimed and that there were certain disadvantages in wearing them. But the government's seven-week study showed safety benefits were highly impressive. In addition, a thorough study in Sweden by the Volvo Automobile Company resulted in findings that the use of shoulder harnesses might reduce driver fatalities by more than 80 per cent.

In the face of such overwhelming evidence the federal officials rightfully decided to require shoulder harnesses. Automobile makers did not immediately indicate whether such equipment would be installed on all new cars; the makers indicated, however that extra charges are certain for cars with harnesses.

If such harnesses are not standard equipment by 1968. Congress should enact legislation requiring them in the interest of the driving public.

Dedicated Education: Edythe Jones Gaines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times on October 25, 1967, reported the nomination of Mrs. Edythe J. Gaines, a distinguished and dedicated educator of New York City, to the post of assistant superintendent of School District No. 12 in the Bronx.

Edythe Gaines has served for 8 years as principal and acting principal of Joan of Arc Junior High School in the congressional district which I am privileged to represent. A pioneer in community-school relationships, Mrs. Gaines' record in the New York City school system is an outstanding one of achievement and excellence in her service to the community. Although it saddens us that we will no longer have the benefit of her gracious presence, it is only fitting that she should receive this well-deserved recognition.

I take this opportunity to wish her all the success that she so rightfully deserves.

The New York Times on October 25 published a profile of Mrs. Gaines which I include along with a news article:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1967]

A NEGRO PRINCIPAL DUE FOR HIGH POST—WOMAN NOMINATED FOR POST OF ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

Mrs. Edythe J. Gaines, who three years ago became the first Negro woman principal of a junior high school in the city, has been nominated for the post of assistant superintendent in charge of a school district in the Bronx.

The announcement was made yesterday by Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, Superintendent of Schools, who said he would offer the proposal at the Nov. 15 meeting of the Board of Education.

If the board approves, Mrs. Gaines will become the second Negro woman to become an assistant superintendent. The other is Mrs. Margaret S. Douglas, who recently was elected deputy superintendent in charge of curriculum after serving in District 19, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

Mrs. Douglas's post as assistant superintendent will be filled, according to Dr. Donovan, by Elizabeth C. O'Daly, an assistant superintendent who is one of his special assistants and who headed the More Effective Schools program for three years. The program provides small classes and special services.

Mrs. Gaines has been principal of Joan of Arc Junior High School at 154 West 93d Street since 1964. Her annual salary is $19,565 and will be $24,940 if the board approves the appointment.

Dr. Donovan has recommended that she be assigned to District 12, which includes the Morrisania section of the Bronx, where there are high proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The district was supervised by Dr. Seelig Lester until he was recently named deputy superintendent of schools in charge of instruction.

As assistant superintendent, Mrs. Gaines would be in charge of the 22 schools in the district, working closely with the local school board.

Under the boards new decentralization plan the districts have increased powers that include the recommendation of candidates for principal and the assignment of teachers.

Primarily the assistant superintendent is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the schools and acts on such major matters as curriculum reform after consultation with the local board.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1967]

HARD-WORKING EDUCATOR: EDYTHE JONES GAINES

Late one evening not long ago, the phone rang in the principal's office at Joan of Arc Junior High School. Without knowing who was calling, Mrs. Edythe Jones Gaines picked up the phone and exclaimed: "How did you know I was here?" Friends and associates had long since learned that her devotion to her job frequently kept her at her desk long after the last bell signaled the end of classes. Mrs. Gaines—who was nominated yesterday to become assistant superintendent in charge of School District 12 in the Bronx—has spent almost her entire career as a teacher and administrator in the Joan of Arc school.

The 44-year-old principal is not cast in the mold of the traditional schoolmarm. She is extremely fashion-conscious and sometimes wears miniskirts on the job.

At the time of her appointment as principal in 1964 (she had been acting principal five years), Mrs. Gaines remarked:

"I always wanted to be a teacher. My mother was a teacher of English and Latin, and my family has been producing teachers and clergymen in about equal proportions for three generations."

Mrs. Gaines was born in Asheville, N.C., one of seven children of an Episcopalian minister. But before she was ready to start school, her father became fatally ill and the Depression wiped out his real-estate investments.

A HUNTER GRADUATE

Thet family was divided temporarily. Mrs. Gaines and a sister went to Mount Kisco, N.Y., with their mother. Later the family was reunited and moved to 163d Street and St. Nicholas Avenue in Manhattan. Mrs. Gaines continued her education at Wadleigh High School and Hunter College.

Against her mother's wishes, she was married at the end of her junior year at Hunter. Soon after her graduation she gave birth to a son, Richard. Her second child, Mallory, was born while she was studying for her master's degree at New York University.

With her husband, Albert, an electronic engineer, she now lives in a brick-and-clapboard house in Montclair, N.J. She enjoys housework and cooking.

Mrs. Gaines, who was the first Negro to become principal of a secondary school in the New York City System, says:

"This is a masculine job in many ways, and I like to come home to a feminine role. I'm an excellent cook. My mother-in-law taught me and did a good job."

When our tight schedule permits, she enjoys dancing and listening to jazz.

More than two-thirds of the pupils at Joan of Arc Junior High are Negroes or Puerto Ricans. The school has attracted wide notice both for its integration and its academic excellence, part of which Mrs. Gaines attributes to "the courage of the middle-class white people who would not run."

Besides running the school, Mrs. Gaines has coordinated seminars to help prepare Negro and Puerto Rican teachers for competitive examinations for licenses as assistant principals.

Meanwhile her own formal education continues. She has nearly completed the requirements for a Ph. D. in education at Harvard.

Unions Get U.S. Promise on Shipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, many of us in Congress have been disappointed in the administration's failure to come forward with a program to revitalize the American merchant marine, which was promised more than 2 years ago. Unfortunately, it appears that not only is there no new program, but programs under existing law are being inadequately administered.

There is evidence of failure to comply with the requirements of the cargo preference law. There is evidence of extensive use of foreign-flag ships by the Government when American ships are available. And there is evidence of continued use of World War II ships withdrawn from the reserve fleet to meet emergency situations in Vietnam, even though there are now ample privately owned American vessels available for support of the war effort.

This deplorable situation is clearly bared in today's edition of the Baltimore Sun in an article by its maritime editor, Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley.

I insert the article, entitled "Unions Get U.S. Promise on Shipping," in the RECORD at this point:

UNIONS GET U.S. PROMISE ON SHIPPING—GOVERNMENT WILL PROBE FEDERAL COMPETITION, FOREIGN FAVORITISM

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON, November 2.—Government agencies promised seagoing labor unions today they would promptly explore complaints concerning competition from Government-owned vessels and favoritism to foreign-flag ships.

James J. Reynolds, Under Secretary of Labor, announced that every effort would be made immediately to see what can be done to rectify situations which are causing problems for private shipowners and ultimately American seamen.

Today's two-hour session was scheduled with officials of five labor unions and representatives from seven Government agencies after the unions threatened "waterfront action." They meant, of course, a strike against American-flag shipping.

FOREIGN-FLAG CARGOES

They alleged that the Agriculture Department and others routing Government-financed cargoes are giving most of it to foreign-flag ships, even though American bottoms now are available. Too, they charged that the Defense Department was using more de-mothballed ships now than are needed, thus making it difficult for private shipowners to exist.

The unions supported shipowners' claims that the Government-allowed freight rates have remained the same since 1957, without making any allowance for increases in costs over the decade.

Reynolds stated that Maitland Pennington, of the Maritime Administration, promised to give a high priority to the rate matter and come up with an answer soon. The Maritime Administration sets what is considered the Government's "fair and reasonable" rate both for chartering ships and carrying Government cargoes. If American shipowners demand more, they are not given any special consideration for any Government business.

FOUR-YEAR-OLD COMPLAINT

Complaints about the freight rates have been raised since the Russians purchased wheat from the United States in 1963. Steps were supposed to have been taken at that time to offset some of the rising cost factors to the shipowners, but nothing has been done, they contend.

Reynolds also said that the Defense Department will consider accelerating the return of World War II Victory ships to the reserve fleets. The need for ocean tonnage in the Vietnam sea-lift has dropped considerably since the congestion has been eliminated in Vietnamese ports and the acceleration of troops has leveled off.

Of the 170 General Agency Agreement vessels, referred to commonly as "GAA" ships, reactivated for Vietnam duty, 33 already have been returned or are slated to be returned to inactive status.

However, it was learned today that the Military Sea Transportation Service had to put two GAA's back on the Southeast Asia run recently because the privately owned vassels could not provide as much ocean shipping space as they had claimed.

The Agriculture Department admitted that American vessels are not carrying anywhere near the 50 per cent minimum they are supposed to, Secretary Reynolds stated, because of their use on the sea-lift.

Now they are going to move more on American bottoms.

The unions want the Agriculture Department to make up the losses American ships have incurred over the past two years while helping out on the Vietnam run by giving them up to 70 or 80 per cent to balance out the 70 to 80 per cent foreign bottoms have been carrying during that time.

Reynolds stated that the unions' complaints were legitimate, but that it must be recognized there have been some problems resulting from the Vietnam situation and there must be some allowance for transition.

He also assured the labor leaders that the Department of Labor would lend its full weight to see that the shipping industry is given fair treatment from the other agencies.

Officials were on hand from the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, the National Maritime Union and the AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, Thomas W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, wired that he was unable to attend because of problems in the New York harbor area.

Capt. Alden R. Sanborn, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, an Air Force officer from Maryland has been awarded one of the highest honors given by the Republic of Vietnam. Capt. Alden R. Sanborn, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Alden R. Sanborn, of Annapolis, was awarded the Vietnamese Medal of Honor at a ceremony at Bien Hoa Air Base. Captain Sanborn was cited for his outstanding work with the Vietnamese Armed Forces in combating the Communists in the war. I commend Captain Sanborn on his courage and service to his country.

Snake River Trout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HANSEN
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, not only is my State of Idaho the home of the world's best potatoes, it is also the home of the world's largest trout farm.

On the Snake River, in the area of the fabulous Thousand Springs, the Snake River Trout Co., produces annually over a million pounds of this succulent fish for the delight of gourmets around the country.

The Rimes-News, published in Twin Falls, Idaho, some time ago did a very comprehensive feature story on the operation of this trout ranch, which I include at this point in my remarks:

SNAKE RIVER TROUT FIRM AT BUHL IS LARGEST COMMERCIAL HATCHERY IN WORLD

BUHL.—Trout has become America's favorite fish just as steak is America's most popular meat. Its popularity is so great it has made the trout industry flourish and one of the leaders in this new industry is the Snake River Trout Co., in Buhl.

The local company is the largest trout hatchery commercial or governmental in the whole world. In its 50 cement ponds or raceways 900,000 pounds are raised annually and with the 57 more ponds at the affiliated Idaho Springs Trout Co., the total output produced by the Snake River farm is more than one million pounds of fish yearly.

The local farm processes the output of both hatcheries in frozen dressed, boned and breaded fish which are shipped all over the United States and to military installations around the world.

In addition to the frozen products, fresh iced fish also are sent to distant cities by railway or motor express.

Many famous hotels serve the Idaho Rainbow trout produced by the local company. Among those are Fontainbleu and Eden Rock in Miami, Beach; Essex House, the Biltmore and Stouffer's in New York, Sun Valley and Ireland's in Chicago.

The trout farm pioneered by the late Jack Tingey in 1928 was purchased by Robert E. Erkins in 1952. Under Erkins' management the company has developed many of its own devices in the youthful industry. A new procedure for feeding and breeding was established.

In addition a $10,000 homemade eviscerating machine constructed through the efforts of Nyal Hoffman and Ted Eastman, employes, now is being utilized.

This machine with its maze of belts, brushes, sprays and knives cleans 1,280 trout per hour compared to 1,000 trout a worker could clean in one day.

As a result of all these accomplishments the outfit which originally cost $19,000 is now worth over $1,000,000.

The farm's basic resource is a natural water reservoir considered the largest below surface deposit in North America. The water comes out of the ground in an area known as Thousand Springs, which incidentally provides the firm's brand name.

Clear water gushes from the springs along the base of the cliff in an inexhaustible torrent and maintains a steady 58 degrees. Part of the output from these springs races through the Snake River farm. It provides a circulation of 4,000 gallons of water per minute through the Snake River installations and 20,000 gallons in nearby Idaho Springs farm.

The torrent provides the trout with plenty of oxygen, washes away their wastes and gives them plenty of exercise needed to keep their flesh firm.

Fish at the Snake River operations are alive up to the processing line and within 30 minutes are ready for freezing. This is one of the factors which makes the local trout a superior product, officials say.

Fish are taken from marketing ponds next to the processing building and killed electrically. They are mounted on the especially designed eviscerating machine which whips them through a series of knives, brushes and sprays. After evisceration the trout are washed and checked again for cleanliness and sorted into 10 different sizes from four to 14 inches.

The fish are chilled in 30 degrees slush ice. The chill tanks also contain Acronize to prevent bacterial action.

Following the chilling and acronizing process the trout destined to be shipped as frozen dressed or boned are dipped in "Frodex" solution, a corn soluble syrup, to give the fish a preservative glaze. The material is tasteless and merely gives the fish an air-tight seal.

The frozen trout are then wrapped in sheet Cryovac or individual polyethylene bags, packed in five pound cartons and sent to the blast freezer, where they remain overnight. A temperature of —40 degrees is maintained in the freezer and it has a 10,000-pound capacity.

Fish to be boned and breaded are sent to the boning line to be boned and definned by hand. Then they go to the breading operation opened out butterfly fashion and are covered with a mixture of cracker meal flour and fresh eggs.

The boned and breaded product is put in cryovac bags by hand and vacuum packed by machine, then put in five pound boxes and sent to the freezer.

Fresh trout go straight from the chill tank to five pound polyethylene bags. These are subseqeuntly encased in five pound cartons and then another poly bag is wrapped around the carton and it's finally packed in wet ice.

All the frozen fish are put in 50 pound master cartons and sent to a holding room where temperature is kept —20 degrees, considerably colder than many storage rooms in existence throughout the frozen food industry. The company actually has two such rooms one with a 150,000-pound capacity and the other a 100,000-pound capacity. Shipments are made by refrigerated truck carriers or railway express.

Some 50 fulltime employes work at the trout raising, processing and freezing company with additional help hired during the summer peak season. Expanded building facilities include a main processing plant with an attached men and women's lunch room, printing shop, a freezer storage building, another freezer and feed storage building, a machine and woodworking shop, grain storage elevators, hatchery building, spawning building and a laboratory for testing feeds and running a bacterial count on specimens.

In addition to these facilities the grounds are beautifully landscaped and provide a background setting for the Erkins spacious home and there is an attractive administrative building.

There are many visitors to the farm, principally tourists. However, many are business minded people interested in the operations. The Snake River Trout Co. has its own United Nations program and trains fish culturists from other countries.

The foreign visitors are paid as they learn what is involved in the commercial rainbow trout industry. This knowledge they can take back to their country and utilize there. Most of these trained are people in the fish business or those having facilities for this industry. Trained to date have been persons from England, Iceland, Tasmania, Mexico, Egypt and Chile.

Heading the Snake River Trout Co., are Robert Erkins, general manager; Ted Eastman, plant superintendent; Robert Eggleston, assistant plant superintendent; Gary Wright, traffic manager and sales coordinator and Dave Erickson, hatchery biologist.

Serving as foremen are Wallace Kendrick, shipping; Joe Stewart and Lee Partin, feed; Jim Fritz, plant foreman, and Max Kuhn, fish crew foreman.

Erkins also is president and general manager of the affiliated Idaho Springs Trout Co., in the Hagerman Valley with Arlie Partin in charge of operations. This company simply raises the fish and the Snake River Trout Farm purchases and processes them.

Facilities currently are being expanded at the Hagerman company. Unique lake type ponds are under construction. They are over 100 feet wide and 400 feet long. It is anticipated to increase production substantially with these new ponds, Snake River Trout Co. officials report.

This week, Mr. Speaker, Giant Food arranged to have 15,000 pounds of Idaho Rainbow trout flown to Washington, D.C., in a featured promotion of this great delicacy.

In addition to their excellent advertising coverage of the special sales event, Giant Food arranged for the publication in the Evening Star of a background article, including a number of recipes.

Believing this article and the recipes to be of interest, I include them in my remarks as follows:

Look for a Rainbow: Buy Some Fresh Trout

Any angler will tell you that trout is a fish which must be served fresh if its delicate flavor is to be fully appreciated.

Then, likely as not, he will break into a lengthy reminiscence of that unforgettable day when he caught that incomparable trout and fried it directly over the coals.

Such an experience is hard to recapture in the average city kitchen where fresh fish is hard to find and cooking methods tend to be elaborate in order to disguise the shortcomings of the ingredients.

However, a treat is in store for Washingtonians.

Fresh rainbow trout will be available here for the next two weeks, courtesy of Giant Food, who are flying 30,000 fish from Idaho.

These fish come from the 1000 Springs Ranch which is the largest trout farm in the world. Here trout are reared by the million and shipped by the thousand—a far cry from the angler idly fishing for them one by one.

Like any other modern farm, the operation is highly mechanized. A fast-flowing river is diverted into a series of pools in which the trout are grown during the 12 to 14 months it takes them to reach pan size.

They are fed on a special meal which contains wheat, whey, yeast, vitamins and even anti-biotics to keep the fish healthy.

When they weigh about one pound, the fish are gathered and killed by electrocution. They are cleaned and packaged mechanically and are ready for freezing or shipping within 25 minutes of leaving the water.

Not only must trout be eaten fresh, but they should also be plainly cooked and here Chef Alber, of Giant Foods has something to say.

"Don't try to dress up trout," he advises "Their delicate flavor is accentuated by cooking for only a short time and they should never be mixed with strong seasonings. Probably it is best to poach them but they can also be baked, broiled or sautered.

"Treat them gently—and bon appetit!"

POACHED TROUT

Bring to a boil 2 quarts of water, ⅔ cup of vinegar, 2 carrots cut in half, one small onion cut in two, a sprig of parsley, 2 teaspoons salt, ½ teaspoon peppercorns. Let simmer 20 minutes. Strain. Bring to a boil and immerse the trout. Cook 5 to 6 minutes. Serve with melted butter.

BROILED TROUT

Dry the cleaned trout in a towel, flour it lightly and place on a buttered baking dish. Season it with lemon juice, salt and pepper. Broil in pre-heated broiler 8 minutes or until done, basting with the butter, serve with lemon wedges.

BAKED TROUT I

Flour the cleaned trout and season with salt and pepper. Butter, generously, a baking dish, add ½ cup water and the juice of a lemon. A teaspoon of chives may be added for extra flavor. Bring this quickly to a boil, then place the trout in the dish and bake 12 minutes at 355 degrees. Bring half a cup of cream to a boil, pour it on the trout, sprinkle with bread crumbs and return to the oven or broiler to brown crumbs.

BAKED TROUT II

Salt and pepper trout to taste. Brush generously with butter, and sprinkle with slivered almonds and diced onions. Pre-heat oven to 425 degrees and bake 25 to 30 minutes.

SAUCE AMANDINE

For six trout, melt ¼ cup butter, add ½ cup blanched slivered almonds and cook until almonds are brown. Pour sauce over broiled trout or serve with trout. Lemon juice and parsley may be added to this sauce if desired.

To serve with trout, Chef Alber suggests the following vegetables.

POMMES ALBER'

Trim and round raw potatoes to a size smaller than a golf ball. In a sauce pan, melt one teaspoon of chicken fat, add ½ cup of chopped celery, and the potatoes. Cook 5 minutes and then add three cups of chicken broth, bring to a boil and let simmer 25 minutes or until potatoes are done. Drain, and serve as is.

CHAMPIGNONS GRILLES

With the tip of a knife spread some beef extract on each mushroom cap. Pre-heat the broiler—broil the caps on a baking sheet for 10 to 12 minutes.

Repressing Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, much has been written on the violence and riots that have swept across the country in recent months, but I was impressed with the forthright manner in which the following editorial from the Kingsport, Tenn., Times approached this very serious problem.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this outstanding editorial in the Appendix of the Record:

Repressing Riots

An anonymous member of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders says the findings of the commission show the United

States is teetering between the chaos of anarchy and peril of becoming a much more repressive society. He adds if the situation is not met by major corrective (but not repressive) action the country could be ripped to pieces.

We do wish that people who speak so frankly about the situation could be just a little bit more frank and not hide behind "anonymous." Then their words would carry more weight.

All sensible people will agree that the situation is bad. Remember, we are not talking about Civil Rights, but about civil disturbances. Civil rights calls for corrective measures as we all agree. The burning question is whether the end of remedying conditions justified the means of civil disturbance.

We are seeing the extraordinary spectacle of men openly saying that the answer is yes to that burning question. We are seeing people openly advocating violation of law and other people excusing it. We have seen rioting and burning and stealing (which is an honest name for looting) condoned or at least excused. We have heard people who proclaim that ours is a government of law rather than of men, refusing to condemn violence and defiance of the law with the words "Well you can hardly blame them."

If this country is ripped to pieces and if we are in danger of anarchy it is because we are in danger of accepting the doctrine that one wrong can be cured by another wrong; because we are in danger of telling ignorant people that they have the right to commit acts of violence to get what they want when what they want is right.

We do not know what our anonymous member of the Commission means when he says measures to end civil disturbances must not be "repressive." Certainly the rights of people must be protected but acts of violence must be repressed and the hands of the law must not be tied in doing that. It is not the business of the law enforcement bodies to ask why men go beserk; it is just their duty to stop them.

There is no right legal or moral to destroy property so as to express resentment. There is no justifiable cause for such action and the government should make it clear that it will not be tolerated. When civil disorders cannot be repressed, democracy degenerates into mobocracy.

Speech by the Honorable John J. Rooney of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including the text of a recent address by the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY, of New York, before the Smolenski and White Eagle Democratic Clubs. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of State, Department of Justice, and Department of Commerce, JOHN ROONEY has proved to be a trustworthy guardian of the public trust; he is one of the most respected Representatives in Congress, and his example is an inspiration to all of the Members. It is a pleasure to put the text of his speech in the RECORD for the benefit of all of the Members:

It is a real pleasure for me to join with you tonight and with members and friends of the Smolenski and White Eagle Democratic clubs to share in paying tribute to those great American heroes of Polish birth who did so much for our country.

I have taken genuine satisfaction over the many years in calling the attention of my colleagues in Congress as well as the American public to the immortal General Casimir Pulaski and the magnificent service he rendered to our forebears—a service ending with his making the supreme sacrifice of giving his life to the cause of our freedom.

I have long considered it not only a real pleasure but a duty to call the attention of my fellow Americans to the splendid contribution of another heroic Pole, General Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who although not dying for us, lived every moment of his fateful sojourn in this country in completely dedicated service to us and to our founding fathers.

Like Pulaski, Kosciuszko was a brilliant and well-trained officer.

Also like Pulaski, he was dedicated to the principle that fullest freedom is the God given heritage of every man.

Kosciuszko became so intrigued with the American fight for independence, he sailed to Philadelphia to volunteer for military service. Americans can never forget the way he plunged into our war effort. We can never forget his brilliant plans for fortification of the Delaware River and his personal supervision of the stupendous task of making West Point an impregnable fortress. Nor can we forget the courage and valor which he demonstrated on the front lines of the battle of Charleston, South Carolina.

Youthful Tadeusz Kosciuszko was rapidly promoted from colonel of engineers to brigadier general. With this country making fullest use of his engineering and leadership talents, he planned to dedicate his life to this, his adopted country. But the ties of blood and the love of fatherland caused Kosciuszko to respond to the call of help from his own people in their struggle for freedom. Wounded on the field of battle at Maciejowice, he was taken prisoner and imprisoned in Russia. Subsequently, he was exiled to Switzerland.

It is truly fitting that the sesquicentennial of his death on October 22, 1817, be observed in this country for which he did so much. It is equally fitting that the 192-year-old house in Philadelphia which he occupied the last months of his stay in America he dedicated as a shrine. It is gratifying that historical societies recognized this building as a landmark of great historical importance. His death truly was a tragic loss not only to Poland and the U.S. but to freedom-loving people all over the world.

No American-born hero made a greater contribution to this struggling nation than that brilliant strategist, planner, fighter and Polish patriot.

No American-born patriot ever made a more significant contribution to the cause of civil liberties in this country than Kosciuszko when he executed his last will and testament authorizing his good friend Thomas Jefferson to dispose of all his property and use the funds to purchase slaves owned by Jefferson and others and give them freedom and essential training to become independent citizens.

No man among the Host of legendary heroes guiding our war of independence is more deserving of our homage than General Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

I commend you and all the fine Polish-American societies for taking the leadership in organizing the ceremonies which give Americans everywhere the opportunity to reflect upon the gallantry and heroism of these great Polish American statesmen and soldiers.

But I am even more pleased that you assume responsibility for reminding not only your fellow Americans, but the peoples of the world of the greatness of others who contribute to the life and welfare of mankind.

It is important for all America to join you in the honor which you are paving to Madame Marie Sklodowska-Curie in observing her 100th birthday this year. Her discovery of radium, her magnificent research in the field of X-ray opened a whole new era of scientific development. Her gift to the world has been a boom to the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of cancer sufferers who have been cured or relieved by the magic of X-ray treatments.

Your honoring of these great sons and daughters of Poland is a constant reminder of how close the bonds are between the people of Poland and the people of this country. Your activities help us to maintain a fuller realization of the debt which Americans owe to those of your heritage for their bountiful gifts of music, art, and other forms of culture, for the gifts of science, medicine and the healing arts.

It is also gratifying that you honor another great Pole, Marshall Jozef Pilsudski, with appropriate centennial memorial ceremonies. The world can never forget his valiant fight for country, for fellowmen, and for liberty during the bloody Bolshevik invasion of Poland.

Your celebration this past year of the Polish millennium made the world more aware of the steadfastness and integrity which has been manifested by generation after generation of Polish citizens and their descendents who are now the citizens of many other countries.

I am proud to have shared in those celebrations and I rejoice that because of them we are more determined than ever to see that fullest freedom and self determination for the liberty-loving people of Poland will be achieved at the earliest possible date. In the wake of the millennium celebrations, you have a commendable program for stressing the Kosciuszko sesquicentennial and the centennial memorials for Marie Selodowski-Curie and Jozef Pilsudski. Your efforts in behalf of these three significant occazons will be of great importance to all American citizens.

Grateful as all of us are for your superb job of reminding America of the contributions of Polish patriots and heroes, we appreciate even more the day by day contributions which Polonia is making throughout America. Your community service programs and your cultural enterprises are most beneficial to Americans of all ethnic backgrounds and of all races, color and creeds.

My friends, I have only touched briefly on a few of the reasons which make me so happy to be with you and so proud to be invited by you.

A Letter on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include the text of the letter recently written by a citizen—a most respected one—to a member of the administration—also a most respected one—because it seems to me worth reading:

DEAR ——: I am deeply moved by your letter and the distress which it reflects. I fully share your concern about the spilling over of dissent on our Vietnamese policies from legal opposition to civil disobedience, especially as the latter spreads from the Viet-Nam issue to many others, such as racial issues, etc., and from passive to violent resistance. This, as you say, threatens the very fabric of our democracy and the unity of our people.

I differ, however, with your assessment of the blame for what is happening. It is not clear to me that the whole responsibility falls on the dissenters, and none on the Government itself.

I agree, of course, that our democracy rests on the acceptance of majority decisions by the minority and that the proper recourse of the dissenters is to induce changes in policies through the democratic process rather than through mob demonstrations. Yet, a number of other points should also be taken into consideration.

The first—in which you and I certainly do *not* disagree—is that the electoral and legislative process itself requires dissenters to express and spread their opinions by all legal means, including the rights of free speech, peaceful assembly, etc. Yet, we hear at times disturbing suggestions that such activities are unpatriotic, and might have to be curbed in order to strengthen the doubtful effectiveness of policies which dissenters regard as contrary to the national interest itself. Public debate on vital issues should not be curbed here lest it mislead Hanoi! "My country right or wrong!" is the slogan of a traitor. If I feel that my country is wrong, I should not help push it further into the abyss.

Secondly, our citizens followed the normal democratic process when they massively voted against escalation of the war in 1964. Did our Government heed the democratic process in this case? Civil disobedience may well appear to many today as a last resort against the flouting of democratic behavior and constitutional guarantees by our own Government.

Thirdly, these reactions of the dissenters may be justified—*and must certainly be expected*, even if unjustified or controversial—if our Government shows total disregard for another implicit, but essential rule of our—and, indeed, of any—democracy: *i.e.* that the majority should not impose its will by coercive—even though legal—means, in matters of such deep and crucial concern to a large minority of the population as to invite widespread disobedience in areas in which national unity is a prerequisite for the effectiveness of policy.

Countries do not normally go to war on the basis of mere majority decisions, and would be ill-advised to do so as such action raises an awful dilemma for loyal and patriotic citizens. Obedience to the Government of the day cannot be regarded as an *ultimate* value, superior to all others. The individual is morally bound to obey his own conscience. In most cases, this raises no problem, since the State's law and the moral law coincide: "Thou shall not kill" is normally imposed by both. When the two come to diverge, however, the individual should have the right—and even the duty—to disobey a law which he regards as immoral, and to accept instead the sanction provided by the law itself in such cases.

Bizarrely enough, our laws exempt from such sanctions and moral condemnation conscientious objectors who oppose *all* wars including, for instance, such clearly legitimate ones as resistance to Hitlerite aggression; but they would condemn a man who, in Hitler's Germany, would have refused to participate in such aggression. Yet, the action of the second would seem more clearly unobjectionable than that of the first. The very least that we should do is to esteem rather than smear the draftee who prefers jail to the army if he is honestly convinced that killing poor peasants, women and children in Viet-Nam is neither the only, nor even the best, way to preserve the world from aggression by Ho chi-Minh or Mao Tse-Tung.

It is extremely difficult indeed to believe that half a million South Vietnamese soldiers and half a million American soldiers, with a fantastic arsenal of guns, tanks, napalm, helicopters, B–52's, and the rest are necessary to help the local population of South Viet-Nam against 50,000 "infiltrators" from the North equipped only—a former Assistant Secretary of State told us—with the kind of weapons they can carry on their backs or on their bicycles. If Mr. Diem, yesterday, or Messrs. Thieu and Ky today, really embodied the aspirations of their people, the war would have been won long ago.

Did not President Eisenhower himself admit that the free elections promised at Geneva in 1954 were rightly called off because 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi-Minh? If we are really sincere today in our professed acceptance of the Geneva agreements—including foreign troops withdrawal and free elections—as a basis for negotiation, we accept, after all, the fact that Ho Chi-Minh, who never bombed his own people, is likely to be preferred to Mr. Thieu, Ky and company. What, then, are we fighting for, and asking our young men to kill and be killed for?

Are we defending—if not Viet-Nam's freedom—our own national interests and security, no matter how cynically defined? Are we not instead weakening ourselves by endangering our national unity and wasting our manpower and billions of dollars each year in the Viet-Namese jungle? Are we not frustrating our efforts at better relations with the Russians? Are we not antagonizing more and more deeply every day public opinion in allied countries and helping dig the grave of NATO?

One of the European statesmen most universally respected in this country was asking me, more than a year ago, whether it is possible to conceive of a policy more agreeable to Mao Tse-Tung. This remark might well be pondered by our Secretary of State.

Our Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs rightly complained to the Atlantic Treaty Association, on September 11, about Europe's failure "to carry a fair share of the burden of building a peaceful and progressive world." He asked "for more European participation in the broader processes of decision-making [and] for new procedures . . . to define and coordinate our common interests outside Europe itself."

I agree. But are we truly prepared to take into serious consideration the views of our European allies regarding our policies in Viet-Nam?

Many Congressmen deplore our overambitious attempt to become the self-appointed policeman of the world. A policeman, however, implements policies defined, not by himself, but by his community. A better simile for our present actions would be to liken them to those of a "vigilante" of the world, taking world law into his own hands.

I do not question the sincerity and good intentions of our hawks, but I am very much afraid of the grossly oversimplified view of the world problems which inspires their righteous reactions. They seem to view the world drama:

1. as a *puppet show*, in which everybody acts as a pawn for somebody else: the Viet-Congs are the puppets of Ho-Chi-Minh, who is himself the puppet of Mao Tse-Tung, who used to be a puppet of the Kremlin;

2. as an old-fashioned *melodrama*, whose big villain used to be the Communist conspiracy, and is now Chinese expansionism;

3. as a *Western movie* with good guys (the U.S.), bad guys (the communists) and befuddled Milquetoasts (the rest of the world).

The American people deserve a better basis than such cliches for their awesome policy decisions in the atomic age.

All this being said, I recognize that there is no easy way out of the mess in which we have gradually slipped unwittingly rather than by a well-reasoned conscious choice. We are rightly concerned about the consequences of a humiliating withdrawal, even though France survived an equally agonizing one in North Africa and in Viet-Nam itself. I don't want to expand here on the ways in which past errors might be corrected at the least cost, since we do not appear ready to even consider such a policy.

Let me merely conclude with an old Latin saying which I hardly need translate for you: "Errase humanum est, perseverare diabolicum." Another one might possibly be equally apt: "Qus Jupiter vult perdere, primero dementat!"

I apologize for the length and bluntness of this letter, written in answer to your very poignant one. I find it as hard as many of your other friends to understand your intellectual and moral position on this issue, but we have no more doubt of your good faith than you have of ours. This is why we remain, and shall always remain, your friends no matter how deeply we may disagree.

Yours ever,

——— ———.

Aim-Jobs Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appeared in the Plain Dealer, Cleveland, on Tuesday, October 31, titled "Aim-Jobs Success Story." This editorial is of more than local interest because it indicates the incentive which businessmen are able to put into a program by unifying their determination and coordinating their action to find employment for the underprivileged and chronically unemployed. Many of those who fall into this classification are young people who have been denied an opportunity for a high school education, and some have been unfortunate enough to have been born in circumstances of abject poverty. Many of these young people have latent and undeveloped skills, which would be lost to business and industry had not the Cleveland businessmen who participated in this undertaking devoted their time and effort to help in this project. I am sure the results, thus far, will be gratifying to Secretary Wirtz, whose personal appearance in Cleveland stimulated further activity on behalf of those who were drifting, without guidance, looking for employment without success.

I insert the Plain Dealer editorial in the Record, under leave granted, and recommend that it be read by other Members of Congress who may be confronted by a similar problem in their congressional districts:

AIM-JOBS SUCCESS STORY

The Cleveland business community's significant contributions toward finding jobs for the hard-core unemployed and keeping them at work won deserved praise yesterday from U.S. Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz.

These contributions are being focused on the inner-city unemployment problem through AIM-JOBS, a joint project of private enterprise, the federal government, labor organizations and public and private agencies.

AIM-JOBS seeks out the ghetto unemployed, particularly the young adults, assesses their capabilities and skills, trains them, finds them jobs and follows up by providing personal coaches who give the encouragement and counseling some of them need to hold onto their jobs.

Many of those helped have had no experience or understanding of what it means to work for a living. Many are school dropouts. Some have tried to find jobs but have lost hope after months of failure.

The Cleveland business community, which initiated the unique project and provided the seed money to get it started, contributes to its success by active involvement.

It lends executives who know where to find jobs and how to persuade industries and businesses to fill them with the disadvantaged, even if it means changing company policies regarding school achievement, police records and physical requirements.

Best of all, it has shown willingness to take a chance by hiring men and women once considered unemployable.

Since the program began in June, AIM-JOBS has placed 595 disadvantaged in jobs with industry as clerks, welders, machine operators, route salesmen, or with government as caseworkers or health aides. The goal is to place 2,000 in jobs by next June.

The initial success of the venture is beginning to have a real impact in the inner city, putting some of its frustrated citizens into the mainstream of economic activity, changing their lives and their outlook.

Cleveland is indebted to Secretary Wirtz for having come here to lend his personal help and support to the AIM-JOBS program. New incentives and even higher goals will be the inevitable result of the message he delivered in Cleveland's industrial and business leaders.

Southwestern University Honors Ambassador Edward Clark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, on October 24, 1967, Southwestern University honored a distinguished alumnus, our Ambassador to Australia, Edward Clark. The occasion marked the opening of the Clark collection of Texas historical writings and memorabilia at the university's Cody Memorial Library.

Southwestern University is justifiably proud of Ambassador Clark, for he is a man who has been successful in many fields. He was recently referred to by an Australian Government leader as the "most capable representative the United States has sent to our country."

At the ceremony, Ambassador Clark delivered an address which provides an unusual insight into this distinguished gentleman. It illuminated the fine sense of history and devotion he has to his State of Texas and our Nation.

The Clark collection of Texas will be a source of pride to the university for years to come. I am certain that my colleagues will enjoy reading the text of his remarks, which follows:

Response of Edward Clark at Opening of Clark Collection, Southwestern University, Georgetown, Tex., October 24, 1967

Standing before you today is, for me, a proud and heartwarming experience. At the same time, the faces into which I am looking and the memories that flood my brain cause me to feel a real sense of humility. Southwestern University has done much for me.

My association with the school has spanned forty-four years. In the fall of 1923, I came here as a freshman student. It was on this campus that I was introduced to a whole new world of books and learning, for I had lived in deep East Texas in a town that did not even have a library. Now, those of you who know me realize that I am loathe to admit any shortcoming in my home town of San Augustine, but even I am quick to concede that for the citizens of a community to be deprived of a library is a great sadness.

In 1966, I made another memorable trip to Georgetown, when I received an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University. My association with Southwestern has been for me very profitable, and I would like to think that the gift of this collection of books may, in some small measure, repay the tremendous debt of gratitude which I feel toward this school.

The repayment of such a debt with a collection of Texana may not strike some of you as appropriate. You may be right, but just for a moment I should like to explain my point of view.

First of all, Southwestern is a suitable setting for a comprehensive Texana Collection because of the school's long and distinguished history. Southwestern has more than age; it has a great tradition of educational service. Late in life, J. Frank Dobie, in reminiscing about his freshman year here at Southwestern, wrote with regard to one of his teachers that "His survey course in English Literature transmuted the world for me . . . He did not create a quality in me but he cultivated one and seems to have been largely responsible for my decision to teach." Dobie is an example—a fine one—but Southwestern has had many outstanding students. A list would include Senator John Tower, Ernest L. Kurth, David T. Searls, and others who have become leaders in all worthwhile fields of human endeavor.

There is every reason to believe that Southwestern will carry on its great tradition. Its enrollment is growing; its administration is active and alert; its faculty is dedicated. Talking with officers, teachers and students here has assured me that in the future Southwestern will continue its service in the shaping of men and women of high calibre.

There are, however, other justifications for the presentation of this particular gift to Southwestern. In my opinion, the finest thing that a college education can contribute to the individual is breadth of knowledge and capacity for continued growth. It is not without some concern that I observe in this day of specialization, the great emphasis which is being placed on "training" to the exclusion of "education". Actually there is real need for both. One may be trained to "make a living," but one should also be educated for "living."

The function of a liberal arts college like this, as I see it, is to help each student to find himself as a *whole* man or woman, and the first step is to help the student discover *who* he is. He must identify his God, discover his individual abilities, formulate his goals, and familiarize himself with his own heritage.

Most of the students here share a Judeo Christian heritage. Most of them are Americans, and most of them are a very special brand of Americans: Texan. While we Texans find ourselves bearing the brunt of literally thousands of jokes. I dare say at least some of these jokes are prompted more by envy than by contempt. For better or worse, however, we are a unique breed—products of an astonishing and relatively unknown history.

Eighth grade texts are sketchy and oversimplified at best. The so-called popular Westerns spread inaccuracies and misinformation. There are few college level courses on the subject.

There could be no doubt about my own pride in my Texas heritage, but with me it is more than pride. I truly subscribe to the familiar saying that "No man is fit to be trusted with the control of the present who is ignorant of the past, and no people who are indifferent to their past need hope to make their future great."

History makes understandable the forces which have shaped the destiny of man and brought him to the present time equipped as he now is with his various concepts and institutions. Prehistoric man carried little of the past with him. Present day man staggers under a load of ideas, institutions, and tools which have been gathered slowly and painfully in the long march from *then* until *now*. History is the record of how, when, and where man acquired what we call civilization.

These volumes of Texana will, I hope, make available to the students source materials on their Texas heritage which they could not find elsewhere. They may also acquire here the love of books which, in itself, is a Texas tradition. Stephen F. Austin, in prison in Mexico on March 2, 1834, wrote in his journal complaining of the failure of his friend, Muldoon, to send books as he had promised. Austin concluded his entry with the statement that "I would prefer bread and water with books to the best of eating without them."

Obviously, Austin was in accord with the sentiments expressed many years later in the *Story of Yale University Press*—"The world of books is the most remarkable creation of man. Nothing else that he builds ever lasts. Monuments fall; nations perish; civilizations grow old and die out; and after an era of darkness, new races build others. But in the world of books are volumes that have seen this happen again and again, and yet live on, still young, still as fresh as the day they were written, still telling men's hearts of the hearts of men centuries dead."

My own personal "world of books" I assembled over a period of thirty-five years. I began in a not too serious way but was soon overcome by book collector's fever. For many years now Texana has occupied much of the spare time that other men devote to hunting, golf or gardening. My interest in the events and personalities that sparkle through Texas' history has never been satisfied. It has increased. My pride in Texas heroes continues to grow in proportion to my knowledge of their deeds. Austin, Houston, Rusk, and Henderson have become my daily companions, and though I've searched three continents, I have never found better ones.

Experience soon taught me the mechanics of book collecting. I placed standing orders with book dealers who sent information whenever a rare item was obtainable. I studied the catalogues published by auction houses in advance of their sales and submitted bids by mail. In every city I visited. I made the rounds in second-hand book shops. I learned the difference between wrappers and dust jackets and meaning of folio, quarto, and octavo. At this point in my life, I could no more give up book collecting than I could give up eating, and I know, therefore, that I shall be adding to this collection here at Southwestern. The pleasure of collecting Texana is surpassed only by the pleasure of bestowing the entire collection on my beloved Southwestern University, where it is beautifully housed, perfectly cared for, and constantly used.

As Harry Weidner said in making a gift of books to his school, I do not want to be remembered as the collector of a few books, however fine they may be; I want to be remembered in connection with a great educational institution. It is my hope that the broad, true, educational process here at Southwestern will be furthered and assisted by these volumes dedicated to our Texas heritage. Our continued strength as a state and as a nation lies in the preservation of the foundations laid by our forefathers, for

> "When a land forgets its legends
> Sees but falsehood in its past,
> When a nation views its sires
> In the light of fools and liars,
> 'Tis a sign of its decline
> And its glories cannot last."

Problems in the Navy Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the Navy Band was created by a special act of Congress in 1925 and has been for many years one of the great symphonic organizations of the world. Troubles in rank structure and continuity of leadership, however, have led some to question whether the Navy Band will retain its eminence in the future.

The Special Subcommittee on Enlisted Promotion Policy Review of the House Armed Services Committee has examined the enlisted structure of the Navy Band. Some of the other problems facing the band are discussed in an important article by Mr. Bill Kreh, the very talented managing editor of Navy Times. It should be read by all those who have the best interest of the band at heart. I do hope the Navy will take steps to see that its band does not suffer in comparison with other service bands in direction or in ability to compete for top musical talent.

The article follows:

NAVY BAND'S FUTURE HANGS ON PENDING DECISIONS—ROTATION, RANK, INEQUITIES AMONG NOTES OF DISCORD

(By Bill Kreh)

What's in the future for the U.S. Navy Band? That's the question that's being bandied about these days by a lot of people both in and out of military music circles. Decisions coming soon could affect not only the future of the Navy's official band, but the entire Navy music program as well.

The crux of the matter right now centers around what in the past has always been considered the top musical billet in the Navy—that of leader of the U.S. Navy Band. The current leader, Lt. Comdr. Anthony A. Mitchell, is only the third ever to hold the post. His two predecessors served for 16 and 20 years, respectively. Mitchell is now in his sixth year and there's the possibility it may be his last.

Why such a short term in comparison with his predecessors, with his counterparts in the official bands of the other services, and with conductors generally? Because he is a limited duty officer. So are all the other music officers (bandmasters) now in the Navy—they are all ex-enlisted men who have worked their way up from the ranks. As LDOs they must retire after 30 years' service unless they apply, and are accepted, for retention.

None of the leaders of the other official bands—Marine, Army and Air Force—is subject to this limitation and these musicians can look forward to from 10 to 20 years in their posts. Most who have held the positions have not given up their batons until they reached statutory retirement age. In comparison to the current leaders of the other bands, Mitchell, 50, is next to the youngest in age, although next to the top in total years' service—his 30 years were up last year and he was extended for one year. That extension expires next January 1 and he has applied for another one. His request is not pending in the Bureau of Naval Personnel.

Some observers have wondered why any officer in the Navy should hold the same billet for six years, let alone any longer. To this, others point out the uniqueness of the band leader's position and the extraordinary talent and professionalism it takes on the part of the officer who fills it. He heads an organization which was established in 1925 by a special act of Congress naming it the permanent official band of the U.S. Navy. Its mission since has been to enhance the prestige, image and tradition of our nation and the Navy. Besides its official Washington duties, which includes regular appearances at the White House and before foreign dignitaries and many public concerts, it has traveled literally millions of miles performing for audiences in every state of the union and it has helped spread American musical culture in many foreign countries. In a lot of these places, the band is the only contact the people ever have with the U.S. Navy, and the impression the band leaves depends to a great extent on the capabilities of its leader.

So, it becomes readily apparent to anyone, in or out of the music field, that the U.S. Navy Band—and the other official service bands whose duties are similar—cannot be made up of anything less than top-flight professional musicians. It's more than just an organization to play military music. It is, as the CNO, Adm. David L. McDonald, said in 1965, "the apex of the Navy's musical operations . . . a unique musical institution (that is) one of the great symphonic bands of the world . . . to (which) come the best musicians in the Navy."

The then Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze added at the same time that Navy Band members "stand tall among their contemporaries both as uniformed members of the armed forces and as professionals in the field of music."

And President Lyndon Johnson has called the Navy Band "a vital part of our musical community . . . contributing to our culture with its fine musicianship and outstanding performances of its instrumentalists."

Whether or not the band can continue to warrant such praise in the future has become the subject of quite a bit of speculation lately. It's no secret that the Navy Band has had trouble recruiting top talent from civilian life because of more lucrative incentives that are offered by the other service bands. The other official bands can offer initial appointments in higher pay grades, the possibility of faster advancements and, in at least one case (the Marines) no basic training is required. These enticements are possible because the other services give the leaders of their official bands more authority and control over appointments and promotions within their bands.

Many of these inequities between the service bands are being brought to light during the enlisted promotion hearings being held by the House Armed Services Committee. And while most observers don't agree upon which system is the right one, they do agree that the differences are unfair and that the Navy Band ends up as low man on the musical talent totem pole.

And now comes the question of inequity between the leaders of the official service bands in their lengths of tours, their rank and their powers, with the Navy Band again getting the short end of the baton.

When Mitchell was named by a special SecNav board to succeed the late Comdr. Charles Brendler in 1962, he was then a lieutenant. His counterparts with the other bands were lieutenant colonels and because he lacked the necessary time-in-grade, Mitchell remained a lieutenant until 1964 and even then his promotion to lieutenant commander was by special Presidential order. Last year he was selected for lieutenant commander by the annual Navy selection board.

Comdr. Brendler had received his rank by special act of Congress several years before he retired. The Navy has since upgraded the Navy Band leader's billet to commander, but there's a chance it may never be filled in that grade under normal Navy selection procedures, as will be explained later.

Bills have been introduced in both houses of Congress that would direct the Navy to count the two years served by Mitchell as lieutenant commander under the Presidential proclamation as official time-in-grade, thus making him eligible for selection to commander by the 1968 commander selection board. This, obviously, is of little consequence if he is not extended for another year. Another portion of the proposed legislation, however, authorizes the President to promote him "immediately." Again, this could be of little importance if Mitchell is not extended, unless the legislation is passed quickly and the President makes the promotion before January 1.

Music circles generally agree that Mitchell is well qualified professionally to continue as leader of the Navy Band. At age 50, he is at what any musician would consider the prime of his musical career. He's spent 29 of his 31 years' service with the Navy Band, starting as a clarinet soloist in 1938 and working his way up to third leader, assistant leader and, finally, the top post. He has been asked many times to be guest conductor of top symphonic orchestras and this past summer was awarded an honorary doctorate degree by Saint Francis College in Loretto, Pa. He has written several nationally famous marches, and those who watch him conduct concert after concert without the aid of a written score.

But despite his qualifications and the years of effective musicianship he has left, some wonder if he—or any other bandmaster—should remain in this highly coveted position for more than the three or four years that are standard tours in the rest of the Navy. What about the younger officers they ask. If this is indeed the top billet for a Navy bandmaster, what do these junior LDO officers have to look forward to if the job is held by one man for many years?

The post has been virtually unattainable in the past, but now, if the Navy so decides, it could be filled every few years.

So what's wrong with this, some wonder. What's wrong, their opponents argue, is where in civilian life will you find a top-notch musical organization with a turnover of leaders every few years? They cite such maestros as Howard Mitchell who's directed the National Symphony Orchestra for 18 years; Eugene Ormandy, with the Philadelphia Orchestra for 31 years; Leopold Stokowski, who headed the Philadelphia Orchestra for 24 years and who has been conductor of the Houston Symphony Orchestra since 1955 and Arthur Fiedler who has directed the Boston Pops since 1930. The list of long-term foreign conductors is even greater.

Ask any of these, or any other top musician, they urge, and you'll find out what they think would happen to the quality of a musical organization that has a rapid turnover of leaders. It wouldn't be good, they claim.

Another objection to rotation will be the future problems of finding outstanding conductors for the U.S. Navy Band. Where are they to come from?

Unit Navy bands? With the partial exception of the Naval Academy Band, no other Navy band is comparable in size and no other Navy Band is comparable in repertoire. The Navy Band's library contains more than 30,000 selections, ranging from dance music, through martial music to the great store of classical music, and even to the national anthems of more than 100 nations.

From within the Navy Band? If this is done every few years, the upheaval caused by preferment of one candidate over another would hardly have died away before another occurs.

Direct appointments? The Navy has no program now of giving direct commissions to outstanding civilian musicians and there are no indications that it plans to start one.

For the immediate future both the big bands, Navy and Academy, have a pool from which a good leader might be obtained. But this is precisely because there has been no rotation and there are veteran assistant leaders.

But because they all have age and service, by the time the Navy must choose its third or fourth leader, eight or twelve years hence, where will be the experienced assistant leaders then?

Still another objection to rotation of leaders that has been pointed out is that members of the U.S. Navy Band can spend their entire careers with the organization, and well over half of them do. Where in the Navy would you find another unit where the enlisted men stayed for 20 or more years while their commanding officers changed every few? This would certainly make for poor morale and discipline, they say.

All right then, some argue, let's put all Navy Band members on a rotation system with fleet and station bands. Move them around like everyone else in the Navy.

To this, the music lovers throw up their hands in dismay. Then, they claim, you'd make the official U.S. Navy Band nothing more than another unit band, not, as Adm. McDonald called it, "the apex of the Navy's musical operations." There would go your prestige, your reputation—and your musical quality.

Every first class musical organization in the world, military and civilian, is composed of long-term musicians who have spent years playing together. The "pick-up" orchestras common to summer opera, ballet and concerts are invariably inferior in caliber to permanent organizations, even when, as is often the case, a majority of members are from the same permanent organization.

There are many who feel that anyone selected to be leader of the Navy Band should be appointed for a set term—at least ten years—and should immediately take the rank (commander) the billet calls for. In other words, make the rank go with the job, just as the Navy does with its vice admiral and admiral billets. If it doesn't do this, it's unlikely that any of the upcoming LDO's will be able to serve enough time-in-grade to qualify for selection to commander.

Many point out that the rank structure of the Navy's music program right now is a little ludicrous. The Music Branch in BuPers, which technically directs all Navy music activities (including the Navy Band) is currently headed by a lieutenant, although the billet has just recently been upgraded from lieutenant commander to commander. The post of CO of the Navy School of Music in Norfolk has also been raised from lieutenant commander to commander but, it too, is now filled by a lieutenant—and until last year, the music school's skipper was a line captain who, ostensibly, was under the control of BuPers' Music Branch.

Observers say this certainly is not the most conducive chain-of-command system. And, they add, what good does it do to upgrade billets to commander when there's little likelihood that any LDO will serve enough time-in-grade to be considered by a commander selection board? The percentage of LDOs making commander anywhere in the Navy is relatively small.

Should the Navy then make the rank go with these jobs, too, if it does so for the Navy Band leader? If not, then you might have a situation where a commander (the Navy Band leader) is still under a lieutenant or lieutenant commander who is filling a commander's slot in BuPers. And that, of course, is not the Navy way.

Common to all great musical organizations and the U.S. service bands except Navy—with a startling exception—is that the conductor is indisputable boss man. The exception is the great Vienna Philharmonic in which senior players share control with the conductor. (So that control even here is still with the band, not some outside group or the "front office.")

One solution to this, some say, would be to take the Navy Band, because of its uniqueness, out from under control of the Music Branch and put it under another office, such as the Recruiting Division or the Chief of Information or, perhaps, even the Secretary of the Navy himself.

The arguments could go on forever—and perhaps they will. But what the Navy must do, most people feel, is decide just exactly what the U.S. Navy Band should be to the Navy and how it should be administered.

Should it be primarily a military organization with its members subject to the same procedures and rules as others in the Navy, at the price of a probable downgrading of its musical ability and reputation? Or should it truly be the best in Navy music; the Navy's contribution to America's culture, of a professional caliber that would make its members real musical ambassadors throughout the world? If so, many say, there are going to have to be some exceptions made to Navy rules as far as the band is concerned. A special ad hoc board has been meeting in BuPers for the past week, pondering these and other questions concerning the Navy Band, Leader Mitchell and the Navy music program in general.

It will be interesting to see what is decided.

The National Guard Is Awake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, in the October 27, 1967, issue of Life magazine an article entitled "The National Guard, Awake or Asleep?" was included. A good friend of mine and a dedicated guardsman, Col. Guy Rogers, of Jackson, Miss., has ably answered this one-sided article.

I submit this letter for the information of my colleagues in the House:

COMPANY E, 20TH SPECIAL FORCES GROUP (AIRBORNE), 1ST SPECIAL FORCES, MISSISSIPPI ARMY NATIONAL GUARD,
Jackson, Miss., October 25, 1967.

EDITOR,
Life Magazine,
New York City, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: I have been exposed to some real "sick" articles in your magazine in the past but the one by William A. McWhirter (The National Guard—Awake or Asleep?—October 27, 1967) has to be the worst.

I command Company E, 20th Special Forces, Mississippi Army National Guard and serve under Colonel Henry H. Cobb, Jr., of Birmingham, Alabama, who was mentioned in the article.

If Mr. McWhirter would visit our unit he would find us jumping out of Air Force C119 aircraft with 90 pounds of equipment rather than drinking beer or playing low stakes poker.

Sergeant Major Bryan McKnight was with the 2nd Ranger Battalion on Omaha Beach during the Normandy invasion. Sergeant Major Adelchi Pilluti jumped into France with the 82nd Airborne Division. I shudder to think what might happen to Mr. McWhirter if he should refer to either of these two men as "comic soldiers".

This article did a great disservice to the National Guard and to the dedicated citizen soldiers who are so vitally concerned with the protection of our Nation.

Yours very truly,
GUY N. ROGERS,
Lieutenant Colonel, Infantry, Mississippi Army National Guard, Commanding.

Making the Desert Bloom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, on May 14, 1967, Mr. Stephen J. Trachtenberg, special assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, spoke at the second annual dinner of the Phoenix Hebrew Academy. This academy was established in Phoenix in September of 1965. Rabbi David Rebido is its director. I believe that Mr. Trachtenberg's fine speech on the general subject of education, entitled "Making the Desert Bloom," is well worth reading and remembering, and I urge my colleagues to read it with attention and thought. Mr. Trachtenberg's speech follows.

MAKING THE DESERT BLOOM—SALUTING THE PHOENIX HEBREW ACADEMY

(By Stephen J. Trachtenberg)

NO OTHER WAY FOR YOU

As I look around, I can hardly believe that the Phoenix Hebrew Academy started as late as September 1965, as the dream of a few individuals. This educational enterprise stands as a living testament to the dedication and determination not only of its Rabinical and lay leadership, but of each and every one who worked for its organization. Clearly there were those in this room as well as others in the Phoenix community who believed that, to take the words of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." This school on East Bethany Home Road would not exist except for this belief.

It is, after all, a community school, catering to the needs of all Jewish children of Phoenix rather than to those of a particular synagogue or congregation, be it Orthodox, Reform, or Conservative.

You have every right to be proud. What a fine institution this is, with its nursery, kindergarten, elementary school and junior high school. All of this is an affirmation that "a Jewish education is the birthright of every Jewish child." Still, one could have predicted no less. As American citizens who are the bearers of the heritage of classical Judaism, which has traditionally given primacy to the education of the young, there was no other way for you.

EDUCATION ON HIGHLY EXACTING LEVELS

This independent school is but one of many individually operated, autonomous schools created by like-minded citizens across America. Jews are among the Americans who want their children to attend a school which sees as its objectives the provision of intensive instruction in the area of secular, general education, and in the Jewish religion, and seeks to accomplish both on highly exacting levels.

The modern Jewish Day School is known for its efforts to inculcate in its pupils a rich knowledge and fervent love of their American heritage and homeland, a firm sense of civic responsibility, and an enduring commitment to the pursuit of academic excellence in the sciences and the humanities. Side by side with these efforts one sees a high regard for ethical norms and an abiding loyalty to the principles and precepts of the Jewish religious tradition. The Jewish tradition has always been one of good citizenship and love of democracy. In essence this school, and others like it, are examples of a difficult but rewarding search for synthesis in our time between the values of Judaism and the best of American culture. Groups such as yours are hard at work to insure quality and equality of education in our pluralistic society.

HISTORICAL PARALLELS

Historical parallels are difficult to draw. The Jewish Day Schools of the 18th and 19th centuries may be distinguished by the scholar, one from the other, and each respectively from the schools of the 20th century. However, it is interesting to remember that in 1730, what may have been a sort of Hebrew Day School, Yeshibat Minhat Areb, was founded in New York City. It served as a meeting place for the Spanish-Portuguese Congregation and point of assemblage for synagogue officials. The charter of that institution talks of a program of religious and secular education. The curriculum then embraced Spanish, English, writing, arithmetic, and, of course, Jewish studies. They had less to work with than you do today and their goal was somewhat different: but it was a starting point.

By 1854, there were seven Hebrew Day Schools serving the Jewish community—paralleling six for those of the Protestant faith and 17 for those of the Catholic persuasion.

By 1935, New York City had 17 schools and one had sprung up in Baltimore.

More and more Hebrew Day Schools developed as the Jewish community came face to face with the commitment expressed in the classical words of that Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages, Judah Ibn Tibbon: "Books shall be thy companions, bookcases and shelves thy pleasure nooks and gardens."

In 1942, there were seven schools similar in thrust to this one, outside of Metropolitan New York. It became increasingly clear that students of public and private schools are partners in the mosaic of the American educational structure. The most remarkable growth of Hebrew Day Schools has taken place in the last 20 years.

Some statistics may give an indication of the greater fabric of which the Phoenix Hebrew Academy is but one part.

In 1956—200 schools, 73 communities, 25 cities.

In 1962—285 schools in the United States and Canada.

In 1964—306 Hebrew Day Schools in America.

Each year since 1960 has seen more strings added to your bow.

In 1960—16 new schools.

In 1961—11 new schools.

In 1962— 6 new schools.
In 1963—11 new schools.
In 1964—15 new schools.
In 1965—21 new schools.

Today Hebrew Day Schools may be found in far more than half of the States in our Union. They exist in all our cities with a Jewish population of 20,000 or more.

Each is an independent organization, responsible for its own destiny, and each seeks to harmonize Judaism and Americanism in its own way. The schools represent the needs of local people as they see them. Some things are constant—love for Jewish learning *per se,* the fostering of observance of the *mitzvot* (the commandments), preparation for study in higher schools of Jewish learning which requires a knowledge of the Bible, the Talmud, the Code of Jewish Law, Hebrew, and Jewish history. Commitment to a Jewish way of life within an American context seems to be the common denominator. An American way of life for "the people of the Book."

THE AGE OF THE EDUCATED MAN

This is, as you know so well, the age of the educated man. President Johnson has called education "the first work of these times" and recently Mrs. Johnson told the Women's Branch of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregation that the President considers "the education bills passed in the last years" as the most important accomplishment of his administration. "Education," he said, "is the most lasting investment anyone can make."

This is certainly true in the public sector where, for example, the budget of the U.S. Office of Education jumped from roughly $170 million in 1956 to about $4 billion in 1966. Education is the largest growth industry in America. Those of you who read the commercial sections of our newspapers have no doubt observed the interest which business now takes in education. The August 1966, issue of *Fortune* magazine lists some of the mergers, acquisitions and joint ventures which have changed the education market's family tree since 1962. It reports that:

Xerox has taken on University Microfilms, Basic Systems, and American Education Publications.

General Electric has embraced Silver Burdett, Time Inc., and the General Learning Corporation.

I.B.M. has encompassed Science Research Associates.

Raytheon's family now numbers Edex, Dage-Bell, Macalaster Scientific Corporation and D. C. Heath.

R.R.A. and Random House are now under one roof.

C.B.S. has a new friend called Creative Playthings.

The list goes on and on and it raises questions not only about capital investment, but also of human investment and benefit.

Today about three of every ten persons in the United States are in school. This is a new enrollment record for the 22nd consecutive year. The total student population in public and private schools and colleges is now approximately 56 million—an increase of 1.5 million over last fall. I like to think that in this great national education effort, some of the best friends of the public school people are the private educators.

Education takes money. Expenditures for all schools in this nation for 1965–1966 ran to roughly $45.1 billion, or nearly 6.7% of last year's gross national product. This is second only to the effort devoted to national security. This year America's tuition bill is expected to reach the neighborhood of $48.4 billion.

MAKE EACH CHILD WANT TO COUNT

All of these numbers and talk of dollars, however, should not obscure the real business of education. It is the process which ultimately takes place in the classroom when teacher and student confront each other; when the planes of their intellect meet and the spirited friction of learning begins. Because your school provides small classes, making individualized instruction possible, you have an academic opportunity which is the envy of many. How many schools can point to the progressive educational program and spirit found here? You have the chance, if I may paraphrase Leo Rosten, to instill the scholar's discontent in your students and to urge them to push both their brains and hearts to the furthest reaches of which they are capable. You have G-d given occasion to make each child want to matter—to count, to stand for something, to have it make some difference to his country and to his faith that he lived at all.

You must continue to take advantage of this opportunity. We must remember that you are competing with someone who does not charge for his product. There is a challenge in this circumstance. You have the responsibility to be a *lighthouse,* for as Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, recently observed about private schools in general, "without the constraints sometimes imposed by school boards and State authorities of the public school systems, you can adjust curriculum and methods of instruction to fit the needs and interests of a somewhat special but certainly important group of young people." "You can experiment with new course offerings that might arouse strong resistance if put forward by the public schools." Your independence gives you the freedom to shape an educational policy which can often be superior to that available in many public school systems. May I urge you to consider too your ability and community responsibility, as articulate and effective members of society, to help improve the public schools. You have the machinery to prove there are new and better ways to run our schools. I think you have an ongoing duty to do so. In that way you may serve—through demonstration and example—a group greater than the immediate one in your classrooms. You must continue to work with and for your neighbors and for greater educational opportunity for all in Phoenix as well as the rest of America.

HOUSE IN THE WOODS

To introduce a somewhat personal note, I should like to recall a favorite fable which I recall reading someplace long ago. "Two children walking in the woods are approached by a shriveled old lady who warns them to keep away from a house barely visible in the distance. The house, it turns out, contains none of the usual demonic menaces of fairy tales, but is a depository of the memories of people who recognized too late all the chances for self-fulfillment they had, and missed, when they were young. The children listened to her kind warning but sadly they soon forgot." It would be nice to strike a happy note about the passage from youth to age; but the optimism does not come because, if I may say so, most people are still caught in this pattern of realizing too late how much they have failed to experience fully in their youth.

This school makes it possible for *your* children to avoid that house in the woods. The education here can set students free and be an example to the other Hebrew Day Schools as well as the public sector. I would have you recall that the purpose of schools—on the one hand—is to do those things for the individual that will make him an effective member of society. By this I mean that we have to make him employable, we have to make him a good citizen, we have to give him the skills and knowledge that will move him in the direction of employability and good citizenship. These are the ways that he participates in the society.

THE SCHOOL IN A KEY ROLE

And as Americans we do these things in school. Other agencies also are engaged in this effort—the church and synagogue and the family. But the school is the major agency which the society supports for these purposes. And the school does the big part of the job—at least for a great many youngsters.

So, on the one hand, we have this job of developing an individual for his social involvements. And on the other hand, you have to consider his life as an individual—and the rewards that he as an individual is able to achieve in his lifetime will to a degree be conditioned by the levels of understanding he is able to achieve and the levels of appreciation he is able to absorb.

You have supported the three R's, which we all learned, when we were in school, with the three T's—*teachers* who are superior, *techniques* of instruction that are modern, and *thinking* about education which places it first in all our plans and hopes. The eyes of the Nation—indeed, the world—are focused on our efforts to translate these words into practical programs which gets results. Your students and teachers will play a key role in our success or failure.

As I view your efforts to build a greater Phoenix, a grander Arizona, a richer, stronger America; as I view your efforts in union with your neighbors—while still retaining your sense of identity—I am convinced that you and your friends, Jewish and Gentile alike, have mastered the technique of making the desert bloom. I suspect that just as you nourish the land so will you sustain scholarship. Let me recall the words of Alexis de Tocqueville—"America is a land of wonders, in which everything is in constant motion and every change seems an improvement. The idea of novelty is there indissolubly connected with the idea of amelioration. No natural boundary seems to be set to the efforts of man; and in his eyes what is not yet done is only what he has not yet attempted to do."

I wish you all the best of luck.

Dealing With Childhood Biters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, the demonstrations and disorders occurring in many of our institutions of higher learning are causing great concern and worry.

I believe it to be the general feeling that firm action must be taken against the offenders, so that those students who attend these universities can pursue their search for education properly.

I have been particularly impressed by an editorial appearing in the Wyoming State Tribune of Casper, Wyo., and I am inserting a copy of this editorial so that others, too, may read it:

[From the Wyoming State Tribune, Oct. 31, 1967]

DEALING WITH CHILDHOOD BITERS

A respectable middle-aged lady we know confessed the other day to having been a "biter" in early childhood. According to her story she bit almost everyone available, but mostly parents, brothers and sisters, cousins, uncles and aunts, and casual callers on the family.

The biting was tolerated for some reason, at least until one day when a kindly old uncle came to visit. As the uncle was chatting with the family the little biter crawled up behind him and sank her teeth into his leg. Whereupon the kindly old uncle let her have it with an open-handed blow to the kisser that flattened the little biter, who fled screaming loudly.

The nice old uncle was flabbergasted at himself. He hadn't meant to smack the little girl, but acted merely on a reflex from the pain of the bite. He was most contrite and apologetic. Her parents were horrified. So was the little girl, who never, never bit anyone again.

Today, this country is raising a whole generation of "biters" on its college campuses. Their weapon for demonstrating their insecurity and desire to call attention to themselves is manifested not by biting but by demonstrations and sit-ins.

Within the past two weeks several respectable institutions of higher learning have been beset by their students with sub-adolescent mentalities, picketing recruiting offices for military services and private concerns engaged in some form of defense contracting. Amazingly, the college authorities have permitted these things to happen, serving to fan the flames when they should be promptly put out.

Institutions of higher learning, like society in general, must be governed by rules if they are not to be overtaken by chaos and anarchy. The regulations must be enforced on a strict, no-nonsense basis.

Whether the institution is state or privately-owned makes no difference. Activities which are disruptive of the college or university's orderly processes should not be tolerated for one second.

Like the parents of the little girl-biter who permitted her to get away with sinking her teeth into almost anything, the parents of today's college-age students are largely responsible for the academic chaos that has been perpetrated on a lot of our campuses.

All are the product of the permissiveness that has become a trait of today's American home, in which offspring are allowed to do too many things without supervision or firm control of the household.

This is because in too many instances the head of the household, the father, has had his authority subverted because he has shirked the responsibility of exercising it. Doting mamas have played their part, too, in seeking everything of material advantage for their too-often spoiled brats.

So the latter go to college where they are further encouraged in their irresponsible activities by the academic authorities. The head of the college would like to clamp down on them, but a shrieking faculty too often prevents him from doing so. So we have incidents such as those that have beset colleges within the past few years.

Instead of using the rod in halting all such nonsense, the college administrations have acted indecisively, temporizingly, and timidly; they have sought to reason and parley when they should have in effect kicked the rebels in the seats of their pants and thrown them out of school.

Perhaps college and university administrators now will read "Rebellion and Responsibility" by Ben Rubenstein and Morton Levitt in the current (autumn 1967) issue of Yale Review, which says essentially what we have said above. America now is suffering from the product of a generation that misread Freud, say Messrs. Rubenstein and Levitt; who note that student rebellions are related to the adolescent's struggle to separate himself from his family.

There is nothing new in this, these two writers report, despite a tendency of interpreters of the current scene to describe campus rebels as a "new generation."

And while they do not recommend anything to stop the emergent adults from pecking their way out of the shell, Rubenstein and Levitt suggest that society cannot stand by and permit itself to be overrun by their transient process.

Colleges, at least, must make it very clear to students that if they do misbehave, they will be expected to suffer the consequences.

When the people who run our higher institutions of learning return to this simple, basic concept that prevailed in a more realistic America, then the campus demonstrations, sit-ins and other manifestations of rebellion will cease.

But until then, they will continue, unless and until society in general realizes it faces a potential disaster from such permissiveness.

Will the Consumer's Voice Be Heard?—Remarks by Betty Furness at the Consumer Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, everyone interested in consumer causes can take great satisfaction in the effective manner in which the Honorable Betty Furness, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, is carrying on the work of her office so well, begun nearly 4 years ago by Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson.

Miss Furness has been an outstanding witness before congressional committees, with her straightforward, unequivocal testimony. She was instrumental, I believe, in firming up the administration position for a much stronger meat inspection bill than the one passed by the House on Tuesday. And in her remarks before Consumer Assembly 1967, she gave an excellent outline of the type of legislation still needed by consumers and the kind of legislation which must be fought.

I feel that her position in support of strong and effective truth-in-lending legislation will be of invaluable help in persuading the House to improve tremendously on the legislation passed by the Senate July 11, on a 92-to-0 rollcall vote—a vote which certainly indicated that the bill could not be strong enough to do the job which must be done.

Under unanimous consent, I submit as part of my remarks the address by Betty Furness before the Consumer Rally of Consumer Assembly 1967, as follows:

REMARKS BY BETTY FURNESS, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR CONSUMER AFFAIRS, BEFORE THE CONSUMER ASSEMBLY '67, NOVEMBER 2, 1967

I am especially pleased to be here today. For it is a kind of anniversary for me. It marks the beginning of my seventh month on the job. And I can't think of a more appropriate way to celebrate an anniversary in the consumer field than to share a platform with such distinguished veterans of the consumer protection battle as Senator Paul Douglas, Senator Gaylord Nelson, Congressman Wright Patman, Father Robert McEwen, who I am glad to say, is a member of the Consumer Advisory Council, Ralph Nader, who Eric Sevareid characterized as the consumer's Robin Hood, and all the other dedicated, hardworking people who have been identified with our cause for many years.

And I am proud to join battle with them to see that the consumer gets the fair shake he deserves.

All of these people, in fact all of you here today, helped to lay the groundwork for the consumer legislation that is now before Congress. It is largely through your efforts that the consumer is becoming aware of his own needs.

Assembled here today you represent what Congresswoman Sullivan has called "the collective conscience of the American people." But what we must reach is the individual conscience of the individual consumer.

We just aren't getting through to the man in the street. We must make him understand that his voice is potent. He can use it to get what he wants. He can use it to make congress give him what he wants.

I have found that the voice of the consumer is more apt to be a whimper than a roar. That the consumer gives voice to his daily minor irritations without understanding the deepseated causes that produce the surface irritation that makes him express his displeasure.

Too often he takes the negative approach. He's quick to tell me, and you and Congress what he doesn't like. But when it comes to letting Congress know what he does want there is silence.

We must convince him to take the positive approach. To make himself heard on legislative issues that vitally affect him. He has a vote. He should understand it and appreciate what that vote can do for him. Senators and Representatives want satisfied voters just as industry wants satisfied customers. It's good business for eevryone.

So it is up to us to persuade the individual consumer to become directly involved in government-consumer relations. There must be total involvement if we are going to achieve our goal.

To reach this goal we need from you an eraly warning on consumer issues you see emerging, just as we shall try to alert you to those issues which we feel need your attention and help.

As you know, the legislative proposals submitted by President Johnson comprise the most ambitious and most comprehensive consumer's program a President has ever presented to Congress. For this reason, our efforts to help him get it passed should also be vast and comprehensive.

There are still several consumer bills pending in Congress. They range from legislation to help the consumer shop wisely for credit, to legislation protecting us from power black-outs.

These bills are needed. And they are perfect bills for Congress to pass while it's in a mood for economy, for they cost the taxpayer almost nothing. They must not be pigeon-holed.

You *can* help them pass.

I feel particularly strongly about the Truth-in-Lending Bill which is, I understand, about to be referred to the full Committee (Banking and Currency) from Congresswoman Sullivan's Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs. And I want to salute Mrs. Sullivan for her valiant efforts to include full disclosure of revolving credit charges. I hope that when it reaches the full Committee they will realize, as we here do, that excessive credit costs are eating away at everybody's pocketbook, and the consumer should know exactly what he is paying for interest charges whether it is revolving credit or installment buying or a bank loan.

The very fact that it has been held up in the Subcommittee means that we must use every available method of persuasion to have the full disclosure bill passed.

Let us get behind the bill which provides for higher standards in our clinical laboratories. This bill is now in the Senate Subcommittee on Health.

The bill establishing a National Commission on Product Safety has passed the Senate and has been adopted by the full House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. We should press for passage before adjournment. There is still a chance that we can get passage of the Flammable Fabrics this session.

We must also fuly support the efforts of Senate Commerce Committee Chairman Warren Magnuson and Senator Vance Hartke to restore the criminal penalties provision of the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act when it comes before the Senate. The penalties are proposed for willful violations of safety standards, and industry witnesses before the Committee have acknowledged the justice of imposing such penalties.

We must take the position that when the health and safety of the American public is at stake no compromises can be considered.

The people or groups who don't want these bills are well organized—and vocal. They apparently oppose more loudly than we propose. It's time for a switch.

I mentioned earlier that the average consumer seemed unaware of the fundamental causes for some of his complaints. And what I am going to talk about now, could be an excellent example of that "save the surface and you save all" attitude. It is a matter of paramount importance to all of us, as consumers, as Americans, and as citizens of a world whose existence depends on a continuity of cooperation between nations.

There are at the moment bills pending before one or both Houses of Congress that would restrict the imports of a great many products into this country. Rather than recite the whole list, here is a representative sample:

Watches, radios, sewing machines, electric shavers, typewriters, rubber and leather footwear, glass and chinaware, sporting goods, costume jewelry, woven silks, raincoats and linen goods. And, just to round out the list of our everyday needs: meat and dairy products.

In most cases, these restrictions would be imposed by quotas: This means that imports of a given product would be stopped dead as soon as they reached a certain percentage of the national consumption of that product.

The narrow intent of these bills is to protect the industries concerned from competition from abroad—from countries whose labor costs are lower, say, and who can produce those goods at lower cost and sell them for less that U.S. manufacturers.

If these bills were just simple safeguards for certain industries, they would deserve your support.

But they are not. Passage of these bills would constitute one of the most dangerous threats to American business, to the American consumer, to the American economy, to the American system of free enterprise, and to world trade in the past thirty years.

Those are pretty strong words, I know. I don't use them lightly. I'm not an economist, but I have studied these bills as carefully as any reasonable alert layman. I have talked with the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. I have talked to worried businessmen and consumers across the country.

I have also lived through a gloomy period of American history that might well be repeated if these bills were to pass—the protectionist early 30's.

Remember the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act? We were just in the beginning of the depression, and we decided, in our wisdom, that the way to give new life to our economy was to curtail the import of foreign goods.

So we imposed tariffs. Other countries naturally retaliated in kind. The result was that within four years, the total dollar value of world trade fell by two-thirds. Exports from the United States dropped 70 percent. We were not even able to keep pace on a percentage basis: Our own share of the world trade market dropped by a third.

In comparison with the quotas which are proposed in Congress now, the Smoot-Hawley Act looks like progressive legislation. For, quotas of the kind proposed represent the most insidious kind of subsidy. They protect a few industries, freeing them from the competition which is the cornerstone of the American system.

Unlike tariffs, which at least bring money into the Treasury, quotas end imports by fiat and contribute nothing to the Treasury.

When prices rise—and they would—it is not those special interests which pay the bill. It is other industries, and the consumer.

We are mindful that imports do pose a problem with some industries or worker groups in particular situations. The Trade Expansion Act has a number of procedures with which to assist industries, companies, and worker groups if they are adversely affected by imports.

We hope that these provisions will be liberalized in the ensuing months. Among the provisions for assistance are:

1. Escape Clause Acts where a bona fide case of injury to an entire industry can be proven.

2. A series of forms of adjustment for insistance in terms of: retraining allowances, worker relocation, technical assistance grants, low-income loans, and tax rebates—all of which are designed to assist companies and groups of workers to withstand the impact of imports.

I believe—and I hope you believe—that this country was not founded on the promise of laws which benefit the few at the expense of the many.

Let me just give you a couple of examples of what would happen, generally, if these bills became law.

Billions of dollars worth of imports would never reach the United States These are goods you use every day. They would, simply, not be there for you to buy.

Retaliation from other countries would be instantaneous—and calamitous. For every restriction we put on imports, foreign nations would impose an equivalent restriction on our exports. This is their right, and don't think for a minute that they would hesitate to exercise it. Many foreign nations have already written to the State Department hinting at broad retaliation. So businesses which would not benefit at all from the quota restrictions would find their foreign markets strangled. As Ambassador William Roth said, "The effects on our balance of payments would be incalculable."—The very substantial accomplishments of the Kennedy Round would be wiped out even before they could go into effect. And the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 might just as well never have happened.

Or, to descend from the billion-dollar wonderland and talk closr to home, here's how these bills would affect the consumer directly.

There is a lot of talk about rising prices, but I ask you to think for a moment what would happen to prices if these quotas were established and the restraining influence of foreign competition weakened.

Parenthetically, just recently we had an example of how a free market benefits the consumer. du Pont announced that it was reducing the price of its Corfam leather substitute 20 percent, to bring it more in line with a similar Japanese product.

In some cases, these bills would virtually eliminate items from the market. Certain transistors and portable sewing machines, for example, would be unavailable.

To foist this condition off on the American consumer is like telling a citizen he may enjoy all of our Bill of Rights except, say, Article 1. The right of our consumers to a free choice of a wide variety of goods is basic: It is one of the four consumer rights which President Johnson has enumerated time and again. It is, and it must continue to be, inviolable.

Imagine what this combination—of higher prices and restricted freedom of choice—would do to the consumers we must constantly work to protect: It would hurt the elderly, and those who live on low, and often fixed, incomes.

We would lose thousands of jobs. Exports produce markets for our goods. With those markets cut back, the demand for U.S. goods would shrink, and countless people would be out of work.

Make no mistake about the seriousness of this threat: It is neither idle nor far-fetched.

These bills might pass, for lack of action by concerned consumers. In fairness to the Congressmen who have to make the decisions, what are they *supposed* to believe, if they hear only from the vocal protectionists and see in the rest of their constituents only apathy and ignorance?

If I may quote Congresswoman Sullivan again, "We"—meaning the Congress—"we're just not getting the word. We're not hearing the facts about the local application of national legislation. We have to dig for this information, and frankly, there isn't time for each of us to do that on every issue. This is one area in which all of your organizations are falling down right now. . . . I am not passing the buck from the Congress; rather, I am trying to find a way for you to pass it back to us in a manner in which we can be prodded or forced into doing our share."

This prodding is up to you. It is more than necessary. It is essential if the voice of the people is to be heard in Government. I hope that you can find time to take up this problem on your agenda at this Assembly. I urge you to *make* time.

You can help maintain for our consumers the highest standard of living the world has ever seen. Or, you can let time and other nations pass us by. You can let thirty years of progress collapse.

The choice, I think, is all too clear.

Before I close I want to compliment Jake Clayman and Sarah Newman on putting this program together. It was a great job and I am proud to have been part of it.

Thank you.

She Gives Poverty Racket a More Sunny VISTA

SPEECH
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 16, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a truly heartening and revealing story about a VISTA project in the Nashville, Tenn., area appeared in the Minneapolis Star on October 12, and I would like to share it with my distinguished colleagues. One of the young VISTA volunteers discussed in the article is Miss Joyce Hewitt, of Walnut Grove, Minn. As described by the Star's editorial editor, George L. Peterson, Miss Hewitt—know as "Sunny" to her poverty neighborhood friends—is making a meaningful personal contribution to success in the war on poverty.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that many of my colleagues, including those who harbor the notion that antipoverty projects contribute to violence, will take the trouble to read Mr. Peterson's excellent article, which I insert at this point in the Record:

She Gives Poverty Pocket a More Sunny Vista

(By George L. Peterson)

Nashville, Tenn.—When the Vista girl from Minnesota, clad in a yellow outfit and usual bright smile, rode her Honda to her assignment in a poor Negro suburb last spring the young folks asked her name.

"Joyce Hewitt," she announced.

"It don't fit," one said, and all agreed. Let's call her Sunny."

That not only fit—it stuck. So Sunny she is to 123 admiring Negro families in a pocket of poverty called Providence, just outside Nashville.

The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Hewitt of rural Walnut Grove, Minn., interrupted her education at the University of Minnesota (psychology and pre-med) to join VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), domestic counterpart of the Peace Corps. She was sent to Atlanta, Ga., for indoctrination, then on to Nashville.

Soon she was joined in her Providence project by Linda Robinson, a medical secretary on a year's leave from her Philadelphia job with Scott Paper Co. Commuting from Nashville proved a time-consuming chore, so they moved into half of a double bungalow on Alice Road, a rocky path up a steep hill bordered by shacks where women sit on the porch and look into space.

What are the white girls doing in Providence? Teaching people to read and write for one thing. Mr. Gray, at age 76, could do neither. Sunny started tutoring him this summer and now he can make out simple words in his Bible, and write laboriously, "I love Jesus."

The girls prod youngsters—prone to truancy from inadequate neighborhood schools—to catch up with their classmates. Particularly ill-equipped are some of the Negro children thrust suddenly into integrated schools.

Most exciting undertaking for the entire community is a recreational center for which the cement blocks and other materials already have been gathered. Construction is scheduled for next month, mostly with donated labor, and then the activities now crowded into the girls' apartment will have permanent shelter.

Providence startled and warmed me when I spent a day with Sunny and Linda. Of the 123 families, about half have no visible fathers. Yet children abound—up to a dozen per house. Almost no one is on relief. Mothers and older girls work as domestics at $6 a day. The men are laborers mostly, some skilled in the building trades. A few sell produce on the highway that cuts through the settlement.

Only a couple of the dwellings boast indoor plumbing, and one of these belongs to George Davis. He obviously could afford to live elsewhere but he likes the camaraderie and the rough yet attractive terrain of Providence. He and Sunny and Linda have revived the Providence Progressive Civic Club, which long had planned for the recreational center, then ran out of steam.

Mr. and Mrs. Davis were holding a fish fry to raise funds for the center. Never have I eaten better prepared food—a big slab of fish, hush puppies, French fried potatoes, cole slaw. Price: 65 cents. Davis and the girls figured they had in hand about $400 of the $1,500 cash needed for the wiring, plumbing and other items for the new building.

Somebody in Nashville suggested that federal funds could be found for the structure. "Nothing doing," said the club officials. The people of Providence want a stake in the center. "Then we'll be more likely to keep things going when Sunny and Linda leave," Davis explained.

The girls are gathering books for the center. The Nashville Metropolitan Action Committee, sponsors of Sunny and Linda, will provide various programs there. "We'll need a birth control clinic," Davis told me.

That's apparent. The illegitimacy rate must be close to 50 per cent. The great fear of high school girls, and of many of the older women, is pregnancy.

Yet for all the promiscuity, Providence is a conservative, church-going community. Sunny and Linda were accepted wholeheartedly once they proved they had no connection with any Black Power movement, for above all else Providence wants peace. The place is a strange combination of pride and poverty, of hospitality and ignorance, of laughter and tears.

Do Sunny and Linda feel safe in this environment? they frequently are asked. "Never felt so well protected," they answer, almost in unison.

Men in the neighborhood have pledged guardianship. The only hint of trouble came when some white youths drove up tortuous Alice Road looking for "those Vista girls." The Negro youths soon edged them out of Providence, peacefully but firmly.

Sunny and Linda's main concern is the eventual day they must leave Providence, for the ties are strong. After only a day, I could share their sense of attachment.

Representative Charles H. Wilson Makes Some Observations on the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, November 2, 1967, my good friend and colleague from the congressional district adjacent to my own, the gentleman from California [Mr. Charles H. Wilson], spoke before the Biological, Chemical, and Nuclear Division of the American Ordnance Association, at a conference held at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

The speech was well received as a thought-provoking statement of Mr. Wilson's views on this vital subject.

I include the text of Mr. Wilson's remarks in the Record at this point:

Some Observations on the Middle East

(Speech of Hon. Charles H. Wilson before the American Ordnance Association, Andrews Air Force Base, November 2, 1967)

I'm very pleased and honored for the opportunity to speak to you this evening. If I may I'd like to discuss my recent trip to the Middle East and perhaps raise some larger foreign policy questions.

As members of the American Ordnance Association—an organization dedicated to military preparedness—you probably share my interest in United States foreign policy. Military preparedness must continue to be one of the main pillars of our foreign policy, and to deny that the two are intimately related is just about as ridiculous as denying that the armament industry is today an integral part of our Nation's economy.

I suppose you've heard the joke that claims the only reason the Israelis didn't capture Cairo and Damascus is because they were renting their tanks by the day and by the mile. Actually Israel's victory was right out of a military science textbook. Her classic pincer movements into Sinai and her superb application of air power have drastically altered the balance of power in this region so vital to our national security.

With the advantage of hindsight, President Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba was a daring attempt to reassert his leadership over the badly fractured Arab world. When Nasser sealed off the gulf, one prominent commentator, Joseph C. Harsh of the *Christian Science Monitor*, remarked that "seldom in the history of diplomacy has one man chosen his moment for revenge so skillfully." In one respect Mr. Harsh was correct: the United States was in no position to intervene militarily. But what Mr. Harsh did not and could not know was that at that very same moment the Israeli general staff, alarmed more by the massing of Egyptian troops in Sinai than by the naval blockade, was planning a massive, preemptive strike against the U.A.R. Nasser's rhetoric was soon replaced by the thunder of Israel's fighter-bombers. In retrospect, then, Gamal Abdel Nasser overplayed his hand. He sought a modest political victory, but wound up suffering a total military defeat.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I was one of the first Members of Congress to visit Israel after the war. Arriving in Tel Aviv during the first week of September, I conferred with Israeli and American officials and toured the battle areas, including the Golon Heights the Syrian outpost of Kuneitra, the Gaza Strip, and Israeli-occupied Jordan. If I were asked to recall one central, lasting impression of my trip, I would say that it is the remarkable spirit of the Israeli people. It is hard for Americans, protected as we are by the vast oceans and flanked only by friendly and cooperative neighbors, to imagine a situation in which one's homeland is faced with the prospect of extinction. Yet this was precisely what the Jews were confronted with: A choice between survival and death.

I'd like to make some personal observations on what I saw in Israel and in those areas she now occupies.

At an Army salvage base near Tel Aviv, I inspected captured trucks, tanks, and other materiel. Surprisingly, the instruction booklets for these weapons were in Russian, Czech, or Polish rather than in Arabic, as you would expect. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Arabs could not really operate the sophisticated weaponry supplied by the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. In this connection, Alfred Friendly of the *Washington Post* reported that during the battle for the Golon Heights in Syria, he overheard the artillery fire-control officer giving orders in Russian.

The Israeli salvage base commander showed me a Czech-made Arab truck called the "Tazra" which he described as a valuable heavy-duty transport vehicle. The truck was made in Czechoslovakia, but I was shocked to learn that the air filters over each of the front wheels were manufactured by an American company. It would serve no useful purpose to identify the firm, but I have privately expressed my concern about this matter to the State Department.

The Israelis told me that this was only one of many such salvage camps. If the one I saw was fairly typical, they must have captured an enormous quantity of Russian-made weapons. This particular camp had acres and acres of vehicles and guns. One Israeli colonel told me that the Arabs apparently abandoned much of their modern equipment because of a lack of proper maintenance. Many of the vehicles, including the tanks, were captured with only about 500 miles on them, which indicated that as soon as the first minor maintenance was required, they were abandoned. The Israelis put most of the equipment into running condition and covered the necessary parts with cosmoline to preserve them.

The roads throughout Israel, including those in what was formerly Syrian and Jordanian territory, were in remarkably good condition. It appeared that Israel's first task after the war was the resumption of normal transportation and communication. In addition to repairing blown bridges and the like, the Israelis were quickly resurfacing and laying new hard-surface roads throughout Israel and into Jordan and Syria.

The attitude of the Israelis throughout the country, and particularly in the *kibbutzim*, their collective farms, was one of determination to rebuild and, at the same time, one of vigilance.

I suppose that Israeli sacrifices during and after the recent war are relatively minor when viewed aganist the tragic mural of Jewish suffering in Europe. For these Jews, many of whom are survivors of Nazi death camps, Israel means everything. Yet despite the constant Arab threat, the Israelis remain cheerful and confident of their ability to endure and flourish.

But the most disturbing aspect of the Arab-Israeli war is that American weapons were used against Israel, our only true friend in the Middle East. It can be argued, I think, that our State Department's policy of supplying vast quantities of military aid to the Arabs—while restricting arms sales to Israel—contributed to the outbreak of hostilities.

In my view, we have been suckered into providing massive military aid to Jordan. According to the *New York Times*, American dollars have permitted King Hussein—who just three weeks ago was in Moscow soliçiting Soviet aid—to increase his army from 4,000 men in 1948 to some 55,000 today. Thanks to American largesse, Hussein now has a $56 million defense budget and before the war had eleven infantry brigades five fighter squadrons and approximately 300 modern tanks (250 of which were American-made Patton T-48's).

Our policy of giving military aid to Jordan was based on the naive belief that we could woo Hussein away from the Arab orbit and away from the Soviet Union. This line of reasoning so dearly held in foggy bottom, collapsed during the war. When the chips were down, Jordan declared war on Israel and severed diplomatic relations with us. Americans had to wtach the spectacle of Jordan, armed to the teeth with American weapons, waging war against our only ally in the Middle East. Jordan's Patton tanks went up in flames, and so did U.S. foreign policy.

Our Middle East policy turned out to be little more than a State Department pipe-dream. But what worries me is not our Middle East policy per se, but rather the assumptions, the philosophy, and the strategy upon which that abortive policy was based. I am beginning to wonder whether our policy toward the Arab States isn't just a symptom of a more general and more dangerous illness which, if left unchecked, may sap our Nation's vitality at home and diminish our influence abroad.

The British historian, Sir Denis Brogan, has called this illness "the illusion of American omnipotence." By this he means that we Americans believe that if we put our minds to it, we can do almost anything we want internationally. Our agonizing experience in Vietnam has already put that notion to rest. The inescapable fact is that the United States, the most powerful nation on this planet, wields very little political influence in Southeast Asia despite our unlimited military capability. Our political leverage in Saigon, let alone in Hanoi, is very, very limited.

Perhaps a better word for this illness I am trying to diagnose is *"globalism."* By this I mean the doctrine, best enunciated by the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and the present Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, that says the United States must intervene every time the virtue of any non-Communist country is threatened by revolution or aggression. According to the "Rusk doctrine," as one columnist has called it, the United States must unilaterally stop aggression and revolution wherever they occur.

I do not pretend to be a foreign policy expert, but it seems to me that Mr. Rusk's globalism of the 1960's is as dangerous as the isolationism of the 1930's, and that indiscriminate internationalism is as foolish as indiscriminate withdrawal into a "fortress America."

There are, I think, some obvious similarities between globalism and isolationism. Both deny the existence of priorities in foreign policy which are derived from a hierarchy of interests and the availability of resources to support them. For both extremes, it is either all or nothing, either total involvement or total abstention. Isolationists used to say, "America will be corrupted by foreign affairs;" globalists are now saying, "American must intervene whenever there is revolution or aggression anywhere." Whereas the isolationists used to say, "we don't need to have anything to do with the world." The globalists are saying, "we shall take on the whole world." You might say, as one historian has, that "isolationism is a kind of introverted globalism, and globalism is a kind of isolationism turned inside out." In other words, Dean Rusk is as far off base as were Colonel Charles Lindbergh and the American firsters.

Both of these worldviews are blind to reality and contrary to America's best interests. Both are based on moral crusades; the isolationists wanted to protect America's virginity, while the globalists are obsessed with communism.

I would hope that we Americans are not so unsophisticated that we would build our whole foreign policy on anti-communism. Yet this is exactly what we have done and seem bent on continuing. At one time this approach made good sense. During the Truman administration communism was monolithic in nature and was, in Dean Acheson's phrase, "The spearhead of Russian imperialism."

But today there are as many different brands of communism as there are people in this room. Communism today is riddled with internal arguments and even open conflicts. The titanic struggle between Communist China and the Soviet Union proves, I think, that national interest is more important than ideology in foreign relations. To paraphrase an old song title, today's Communist might say that "nationalism is breaking up that old gang of mine." Although national communism is far from dead, international communism probably is dead.

Knee-jerk anti-communism yields few returns and is often counter-productive. John Foster Dulles' brainchildren, the Bagdad Pact and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, have proved to be utterly worthless pieces of paper. And blind anti-communism can also be somewhat embarrassing to a nation that claims to stand for such things as freedom, self-determination, and social justice. How do we square these lofty pronouncements with our support for the Diems, the Francos, and the Batistas? Or do the Greek fascists now in power in Athens deserve our support simply because they are anti-Communist?

During the Kennedy Administration there was a recognition that we should be more selective in our foreign relations. John Foster Dulles' crusade was replaced by a more discerning and more flexible assessment of our vital interests.

Yet today Secretary Rusk and other administration spokesmen are riding and spreading the alarm about something they call "Asian Communism," as if there were a single, all-consuming dragon which threatens to engulf Asia as nasism engulfed Europe. However I, for one, am not quite sure whether Mr. Rusk is referring to Vietnamese communism. Japanese communism, Indian communism, Chinese communism, Indonesian communism, North Korean communism, or the other varieties of communism in that part of the world. Is Mr. Rusk saying that it is America's responsibility to save Asia from a fate Asian nations themselves are not alarmed about?

I have generally supported our policy in Vietnam and will continue to do so. But Secretary Rusk would be well advised, I think, not to raise the spectre of Asian communism or to commit this Nation to a larger war. In this regard I fully agree with Senator Hartke of Indiana, who last week warned that we should not embark on such a crusade unless there is more of a consensus on our policy toward Asia.

A foreign policy which is based primarily on anti-communism confuses the moral crusade with national interest. And more often than not, such a policy is self-defeating. A foreign policy which would oppose revolution throughout the world violates the traditional criteria of national interest and available power. It also violates three basic axioms of foreign policy.

First, the human and material resources of even the most powerful nation are limited. Perhaps we could intervene in two or three small countries simultaneously. But military estimates that we may have to send as many as one million American boys to Vietnam vividly illustrates my point. No nation can afford globalism and unlimited commitments.

Second, trying to suppress revolution in this poverty-ridden world of ours is like trying to suppress waves in the ocean. You crush communism in Vietnam and it raises its head, say, in Thailand: you stop it in the Dominican Republic and its raises its head in Bolivia; and so on. *Putting down a revolution in one part of the world does not prevent revolutions from occurring in other parts of the world.* Assuming that the conditions for revolution are there. No one would deny that the Chinese and the Russians try to seize control of revolutionary movements, but the United States cannot afford to oppose revolutions simply because there are Communists in them. Lest we forget, America was born of revolution. And ours was a violent revolution.

Third, suppressing a revolution in one part of the world is bound to affect one's relations with the rest of the world. Our policy in Southeast Asia has not only damaged our relations with our adversaries, but with neutralist countries and our allies as well. In many ways our intervention in Vietnam—and this is not to say that we should not have intervened there—has isolated the United States internationally. I sincerely hope that when historians look back upon the Vietnam war they will conclude that the gains far outweighed the sacrifices in treasure and blood.

I am neither a hawk nor a dove. I am neither a militarist nor a pacifist. My concern is that our foreign policy be grounded not on the shifting sands of emotion, but rather on the hard bedrock of national interest, and that our foreign policy *strengthen* America, not weaken us at home and disgrace us abroad.

I think that there is, however, a middle course between globalism and isolationism. I think we must be much more selective in pledging our support to other countries. Let me return to the Middle East problem to illustrate what I mean.

Even though the Arab-Israeli war demonstrated the utter bankruptcy of our Middle East policy, the State Department has quietly resumed arms shipments to the Arabs. It's amusing that Secretary Rusk, whose favorite word these days is "aggression," hasn't said anything about Arab aggression against Israel. His department still seems to think that if we pour enough money into the Arab countries we can lure them away from Moscow.

I would suggest that if we don't wake up to the simple fact that Israel is our only friend in the Middle East, we soon won't have any friends there at all. Our "one-foot-in-each-boat" policy can only end in disaster for the United States.

In addition to being more selective in committing our power and prestige, I think we must revise our attitude toward revolution.

I believe that rather than opposing revolutions we should *compete* with the Russians and the Chinese for the control of these revolutions. As I have already explained, revolution is a fact of life. Suppressing revolutions by force creates more problems than it solves. By sending American troops to Lower Slobovia to put down a revolution we smother the flames of revolution but we do not extinguish the causes of the fire. And then when the fire breaks out again with even greater ingenuity, our policy leaves us with only one alternative: sending more troops.

Military intervention, although it is sometimes absolutely necessary, is a poor substitute for foreign policy. What is worse, it leaves us wide open to Communist charges that we are counter-revolutionary and that we support the status quo. Now the status quo might sound pretty good to you and me, but maybe we should ask the Bolivian peasant or the Nigerian farmer or the Indian factory worker what the status quo means to them, and how they feel about those countries that support the status quo. After all, these people and hundreds of millions like them are going to have a lot to say about the future of the underdeveloped world.

What I have tried to do here this evening is give you my views on the Middle East and discuss some general questions which have been on my mind. Like most of us here in Washington, I have too many questions and too few answers. However, the questions I've raised here tonight are fundamental. They will *have* to be resolved if we are to have real national unity. And the best way to achieve that unity is the American way: free and open debate and let the chips fall where they may.

Before I sit down I'd like to put in a plug for some legislation I've introduced which might interest you. My bill, H.R. 13693, would set up an international aeronautical exposition here in the United States in 1970 and every two years thereafter. Patterned after the Paris air show, which I recently had the privilege of attending, this exposition would seek to encourage worldwide interest in American aviation.

Thank you very much.

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Appendix

Novel Industrial Stabilization Act: Possible Model for Peaceful Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Thatcher, a distinguished lawyer and an ardently public-spirited citizen from Ogden, Utah, has brought to my attention an editorial that appeared recently in the Ogden Standard-Examiner. The editorial is entitled "Novel Industrial Stabilization Act: Possible Model for Peaceful Labor." The editorial treats the subject of new approaches to solutions of labor disputes. The crippling strike involving the Kennecott Copper Corp.'s Utah operations is now more than 110 days old and has cost the economy of the State some $41 million. All of us from my State are deeply concerned over the continuance of the strike and hopeful that it will be settled soon. The proposals made in the editorial, while they come too late to be of help in the present situation, are worthy of consideration as solutions for future labor difficulties, and I submit them to my colleagues for their consideration.

Mr. Thatcher also recently wrote to the editor of the Salt Lake Tribune on the same subject of labor strife and the public interest. His letter appeared in the Public Forum of that newspaper on October 17, 1967. I take this opportunity to bring it also to the attention of my colleagues.

The material referred to follows:

[From the Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner, Oct. 22, 1967]

NOVEL INDUSTRIAL STABILIZATION ACTS POSSIBLE MODEL FOR PEACEFUL LABOR

It's a long ways from Utah to the historic Caribbean islands of Trinidad and Tobago. But a novel Industrial Stabilization Act now in use there offers itself as a possible model for achieving labor peace here in our own state.

When Utah Gov. Calvin L. Rampton intervened personally in a vain attempt to bring peace to the state's paralyzed copper industry, he was criticized in some selfish sources as having no business intervening in a labor dispute.

The governor replied that he was acting upon behalf of the people of Utah, whose economy has been crippled for 100 days by a strike for which no settlement is in sight.

All that Gov. Rampton could do, in asking the opposing sides in the deepening copper controversy to get together, was to use the prestige of his office. He had no legal power to request that the strike end.

Had Gov. Rampton been the chief executive of the independent state of Trinidad and Tobago, he would not only have had the power to intervene but the duty. And the contesting parties would have been required, under a unique "Industrial Stabilization Act," to submit their dispute to a potent Industrial Court. The court's decision would have been final.

The Trinidad-Tobago system of industrial peace provides an ingredient sadly lacking in U.S.-style labor relations. It provides a voice for the people, the public, who—as in the current Utah copper situation—are so badly hurt by labor-management strife.

There's another parallel. The population of the two islands, 20 miles apart in the Windward Islands of the "Lesser Antilles" chain just north of Venezuela, was 950,000 when they became independent members of the British Comonwealth on Aug. 31, 1962. They now have more than one million residents, almost identical with the population of Utah.

The program they have adopted is a thought-provoking one. It is well worth the study of Utahns—and others in our country—who are interested in securing a sensible method of settling unreasonable labor fights.

The new, written constitution of Trinidad and Tobago is a model in many respects, taking its cues from the best portions of the U.S. Constitution and the British form of government. In its preamble, the carefully written document stipulates that the people of the two islands "recognize that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and the rule of law."

Their parliament consists of a 24-member Senate, appointed by the Crown-named governor-general from a precise list of nominees, and an elected, 36-member House of Representatives. The governon-general is actually powerless; the chief executive is a prime minister.

The system of courts follows, again, a combination of American and British forms, pdegded to protect fundamental freedoms and human rights of the multiracial island society.

The original constitution had no specific provisions on labor courts. However, a state of unrest developed in early 1965 in the all-important sugar belt of Trinidad, brought about by what J. Algernon Wharton, an attorney in Port of Spain, the capital city, called "conflicting trades union interests."

A limited state of emergency was declared. During it the parliament, on March 20, 1965, passed the Industrial Stabilization Act. Its preamble describes it as "an act to provide for the compulsory recognition by employers of trade unions and organizations representative of a majority of workers, for the establishment of an expeditious system for the settlement of trade disputes, for the regulation of prices of commodites and for the constitution of a court to regulate matters relating to the foregoing and incidental thereto."

In plainer language, it resembles the U.S. Taft-Hartley Labor Act, up to a point, but adds a provision for what amounts to compulsory arbitration.

If a dispute develops, the Minister of Labour tries to obtain a settlement. Failing this, he refers the matter to the Labor Court, whose opinion is binding. Appeal can only be taken to higher courts except on points of law, not on the merits of the dispute itself.

Since its enactment, the Industrial Stabilization Act has survived a critical test in the nation's highest courts, which upheld its constitutionality.

The act was a major issue in a parliamentary general election in November 1966. The union-sponsored Workers and Farmers Party demanded its repeal. But the unionists failed to win any of the 35 House seats; one member, a veteran of several prior assemblies, was even rejected in his bid for re-election.

The people of Trinidad-Tobago, in other words, liked the Industrial Stabilization Act and wanted it to remain in force. We sympathize with them, feeling they are on the right track.

During its first year of operation, the court considered 70 trade disputes referred to it for final determination and one case that came up simply for advice, another desirable provision of the act. It settled them all.

The act has a fine set of teeth, applicable to both management and labor. An employer who declares or takes part in an illegal "lockout" is subject to a penalty of $20,000 in fines, three years in prison or both the fine and prison sentence.

Unions violating the act face a fine of $10,000 and loss of their registration—their charter. Individual union officers can be assessed fines of $2,500, a 12 months' jail term or both; non-union striker leaders can be fined up to $5,000, jailed for two years or be given both penalties. Individuals who strike illegally can be fined $250 or jailed for three months!

This measure used by Trinidad and Tobago is mighty extreme. American labor and management associations may charge that it interferes with the traditional rights of collective bargaining.

We do not believe that it does. If used in Utah or in the United States at large, it could bring order out of the labor chaos already upon us. This situation, with strike threats in many major industries, is apparently going to grow worse.

The time to adopt laws that protect the public instead of only the selfish interests of shortsighted unions and companies, is upon us. The Trinidad-Tobago Industrial Stabilization Act could well serve as an effective model.

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune, Oct. 17, 1967]

REGULATION FOR LABOR

EDITOR, TRIBUNE:

Years ago we Americans recognized, and Congress and many legislatures declared that labor-management relations vitality affect the public health, safety and welfare.

Labor Relations Laws were enacted, intended to secure a just and enduring industrial peace serving the interests of all. By those laws we created Big Labor—a virtual independent sovereignty within our nation—hoping it would secure industrial peace by a "balance of power" with Big Business.

Years have passed, but peace and order in labor-management relations still elude us. Daily we read and hear of long continued strife and bitterness in labor relations, of strikes, of violence and sabotage, of idleness and waste.

Clearly the laws we adopted have missed their mark. It is time to take a fresh look and more effective action.

A just and practical solution can be found in the principles and procedures used in regulating the public utilities, whose operation also affects the public interest. If a utility wants a rate increase or a change in operations, it files its proposals with the Public Service Commission. All concerned, including the public, are given a fair, open hearing, and the facts are investigated and determined. The commission then authorizes such changes as the evidence shows are fair, just, and compatible with the public interest.

This system has well and fairly regulated monopolistic utilities. It should as well and as fairly regulate monopolistic Big Labor—to the benefit of all.

PAUL THATCHER.

A Call for Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the President's call for mail in support of a tax increase, I think it would be well for him to see some of the mail which comes into my office and into the offices of other Kansas Members. I am sure he would be a bit discouraged about the success of his proposed letterwriting campaign. Ninety-nine percent of the mail I receive is against a tax increase. What people want instead is a reduction in Government spending.

My colleague from Kansas, the Honorable LARRY WINN, of the Third District, recently made a speech in which he pointed out how much better it was to fight inflation by cutting spending rather than raising taxes. His speech was the subject of an editorial in the Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital on November 1. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring this editorial to the attention of my colleagues. I also hope it will be brought to the attention of the people in the White House who are asking for mail in support of a tax increase.

A CALL FOR ECONOMY

Rep. Larry Winn Jr., R–Kan., spoke an elemental economic truth when he said it is more important in fighting inflation to cut unnecessary spending than it is to raise taxes.

The freshman lawmaker accused President Johnson of trying to "brainwash" taxpayers into believing that a tax increase is the same thing as a spending cut.

"Well, it just ain't so," Winn asserted in a speech at Kansas City, Kan. "Any good economist will tell you that a $1 cut in spending will have a much greater effect on curbing inflation that a $1 tax increase."

Winn hasn't been in Congress long, but already he has found numerous places where money is being squandered.

One is the much-discussed rat control program. He called the new spending bill a "boondoggle" and duplication of efforts to kill rats in big city slums because "three existing programs already provide nearly $450 million" for the same thing.

He also asserted billions are being wasted in foreign aid and in some instances "our alleged allies are even known to be using American generosity against us in Vietnam."

Even in the war effort, Winn says this country is spending more than necessary. "Certainly we must support the men," he said, "but what about wasteful spending in the Defense Dept.?"

Crossing political lines, the GOP lawmaker backed Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, D-Ark., chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, in his statement that "we cannot produce enough money fast enough to police the corners of the world, live the way we want to at home, and go to the moon, without building up unacceptable deficits."

Winn reflected the Kansas consensus in calling for less spending to avert a tax boost.

The Right To Know: A Shared Burden

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in recent testimony before a committee of the State of Maryland Constitutional Convention, the former staff director of the U.S. House Subcommittee on Government Information expressed the view that the people's right to know about their government must be guaranteed and protected at the local level.

Mr. Samuel J. Archibald stated:

> The guarantee of access to Government information is . . . a local problem, whether the government unit affected is the Federal Government, the 50 state governments or the thousands of local governments . . . (T)he mass of government secrecy exists outside of the headquarters of the national government.

Mr. Archibald was accentuating the fact that the Federal Government cannot act to reduce governmental secrecy at the State and local level. The States and local governing bodies must take appropriate action to assure the public's access to information about government activities.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Illinois has set an example for other States to follow. Illinois' 75th General Assembly recently enacted extensive amendments to the State's 1957 open meetings law, making it one of the most advanced laws of its type in the Nation.

The following editorial from the Arlington Heights, Ill., Herald describes the beneficial impact of the general assembly's action.

RIGHT TO KNOW: A SHARED BURDEN

The 75th General Assembly's enactment of extensive amendments to the state's 1957 open meeting law represents a thoroughly comprehensive overhaul of Illinois' guarantee of the people's right to know.

Under the 1957 law, meetings could be open or closed depending on nature of deliberations. Too frequently, meetings were closed to the public and press on the pretext of holding an "executive session" or that only "discussion" would occur rather than any "legal" or "final" action.

The new law completely revises, clarifies, and strengthens the right of the public and press to attend sessions of virtually all governmental bodies and agencies—whether state, county or municipal. Purpose and scope are clearly defined in the Act:

"It is the public policy of this state that the public commissions, committees, boards and councils, and the other public agencies in this state exist to aid in the conduct of the people's business. It is the intent of this Act that their actions be taken openly, and that deliberations be conducted openly."

To ensure full compliance, the law provides both criminal and civil sanctions against any official or public servant in violation of its provisions.

Any meeting held without proper notice to the public and press is invalid, and any action taken is void.

Illinois has set an example for other states with its 1967 Right to Know Law, now regarded as the most advanced of its type in the nation.

While we have experienced few problems in our dealing openly with public officials, we believe this new law establishes the specific ground rules necessary to guarantee open government and, at the same time, effective government by all public bodies. Thus a complete understanding of the law is essential for both news media and elected officials.

As is the case with much legislation, the amended law is complex and, to some degree, unclear to the layman. Consequently, we asked our attorneys to provide an explanation of the major elements of the new law—what it does and does not do.

We found this interpretation to be most helpful and felt it might also be of assistance to public officials in determining their obligations and responsibilities under the new law.

As a communty service, we have mailed copies of the summary to 700 elected officials in northwest surburbs. Additional copies are available on request at our office.

The new law makes clear the increased responsibility of both news media and public officials to make certain the public is informed of the public's business.

Throughout our 95 years of journalistic service to northwest suburbs, we have attempted to take our public responsibilities seriously and to assume a leading role in helping create the sort of communities in which people can thrive and take pride.

This dedication to service and progress is shared by public officials throughout our area; their past cooperation and response to our efforts have been a continued source of reassurance and encouragement.

We believe the new law not only clarifies our mutual obligation and responsibility, but also provides us both with new and expanded opportunities for community service.

We look forward to working with these public officials in behalf of our common goal—to better serve the public interest.

World's Largest Airline Personnel Training Center To Be Built by American Near Fort Worth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, another great step in the program by our Nation's airlines to keep this country the leader in air transportation has just been taken by American Airlines.

This is American's announcement that it will build a multimillion-dollar Academy of Flight to be located on an 80-acre campus adjacent to the new supersonic-age airport being constructed between the Texas cities of Fort Worth and Dallas.

In this new academy, when completed in 1969, will be the focal point of an educational complex for flight crews and it will be the largest airline personnel training center in the world.

American, in this new jet-age and supersonic-age academy, will give its professional pilots graduate level training for both the supersonic and the other highly advanced transports due in the 1970's.

William T. Seawell, American senior vice president, has stated that while the center will be primarily for training American's pilots, his company is studying the possibility of admitting crews from smaller airlines, both foreign and domestic.

The new academy will comprise an administration building and student service center; cafeteria and medical facilities; safety research center, classroom building, and a simulator building. The academy will be completed in 1969 on acreage now containing American's Stewardess College, which will be tripled in size.

We are delighted to have this new academy located in the Fort Worth-Dallas area and congratulate American Airlines on this fine project.

Federal Meat Inspection Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12144) to clarify and otherwise amend the Meat Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State meat inspection programs, and for other purposes.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, I voted for H.R. 12144, but I had preferred and supported H.R. 12145, the Smith-Foley substitute which would have extended Federal meat inspection to all packing and processing establishments doing intrastate business whose gross annual sales exceeded $250,000. The Smith-Foley bill would have provided meaningful protection to the health and welfare of consumers. I felt we needed a stronger meat inspection bill, one that would have provided Federal inspection of 97 percent of the meat slaughtered and processed. At the present time, 5.3 billion pounds of meat and 706 billion pounds of meat products are processed annually without Federal inspection.

The committee bill, H.R. 12144, is going to protect consumers of meat crossing State lines, but what about the housewife who purchases meat and meat products packed and processed in her own State? Under the committee bill, 6,000 large and medium slaughtering and processing plants with more than $250,000 gross annual sales will continue to avoid Federal inspection, a loophole which I felt should be closed. The Department of Agriculture surveys have pointed out the need to close this loophole. Sixteen percent of meat slaughtered and 26 percent of that processed in the United States is not covered by Federal inspection.

We should have legislation that will eliminate every pound of uncleaned and unsanitary meat—meat from diseased animals, processed products containing lungs, chopped hides, excessive chemicals, and inferior materials, must be kept off the market.

I am hopeful the Senate will strengthen this legislation by adopting the provisions of the Smith-Foley bill.

The Peace March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leonard Carriers is an attorney whose avocation is writing. I felt that his commentary on the recent so-called Washington peace march, which appeared in the October 26 edition of the Blue Island, Ill., Sun Standard, was especially appropriate. The article follows:

The peace march on the Pentagon was a success. There were only a couple of hundred arrested, several dozen injured, but fortunately, no one was killed. It did take a small army of 2500 to keep even that kind of peace. Without the army, the 30,000-odd demonstrators would have peacefully taken the Pentagon apart with their bare hands, stone by stone. It is so easy to chant, "L.B.J., how many kids did you kill today?" That doesn't change anything. Neither goes twirling your beads.

At times, I do not know what brings about change. I do know that change does in fact come. The change is not always for the better, but change for changes sake can so often be misconstrued for progress. Who amongst the demonstrators and the other doves of peace can give any assurance what the course of events may be should their aims be followed? More important still, how do you rectify an error of that magnitude, should it turn out to be disastrous? Who decides what is in fact an error under such circumstances? When such a decision can be made on an objective plane, those whom it could have affected are no longer around to enjoy its benefits. It doesn't teach much to those who may come later. It is an unfortunate characteristic of men that they do not learn some things by experience. Because we are human we keep repeating our mistakes. Men will do what they must, without regard to the right or the wrong of the thing, and leave the judgment to history. It gives very little comfort.

In that vein, I read an account of the last great Indian Treaty at Medicine River with the Commanche, the Kiowa and the other Indian Tribes. Who can say what should have been done other than what was done? Yet, from the mouth of one of our barbaric little red brothers, Chief Ten Bears of the Commanche, came one of the most eloquent and poetic appeals for peace, tolerance and understanding I have read. It availed him nothing.

It was Ten Bears who said at the great Peace Conference." I was born on the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures—I want to die there. I lived like my fathers before me, and like them I lived happily—We only want to wander on the prairie until we die. I want no blood upon my land to stain the grass. I want it all clear and pure and I wish it so that all who go through among my people may find peace when they come in and leave it when they go out."

All this changed nothing. They were forsaken. They were forgotten. Should it have been different? Could it have been different? Could it have come to pass in any other way than it did, without regard to right or wrong? Will it come to pass in any other way in Viet Nam?

In the course of human events some things appear to be inevitable. If man from time to time appears to be less than he should be, judge him not too harshly. We are prone to serve those ends in our private and national lives that are selfish and materialistic though couched in idealistic, humanitarian phraseology. It has always been thus. Who can say that this is wrong? To serve those ends is to survive. To become weak and passive, though eloquent and poetic in your appeal, only invites extermination. That serves even less, since it serves the enemy.

To endure, to survive and to prevail brings with it a hope, a hope that someday we may no longer blot out the sun, and that someday we may not forsake our brothers. The road is long and arduous. The goal is in reaching its end. No one has made it in a supine position.

OEO Employees Show Dedication To Struggle Against Human Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, these are certainly extraordinary times. They are times of prosperity for this country, unprecedented in the whole history of man. And yet this month the most powerful Nation on earth may not be able to pay the people we have enlisted to help our fellow citizens who live in poverty. And the programs we have designed to help bring an end to poverty are beginning to grind to a halt for lack of funds.

I am referring, of course, to the failure of this Congress to provide operating funds to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Not only has the OEO gone nearly 5 months into a new fiscal year without a new appropriation, but on October 23, 1967, we allowed the continuing resolution under which Congress permitted OEO to hobble along, to expire altogether. Thus OEO is now technically without any funds whatsoever to pay salaries, overhead, bills, or operate programs. And this technicality could have the very real effect of causing the civil servants who staff the OEO to go without pay next payday.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure you recall that last month this House in a voice vote decided to exclude OEO employees from the pay increase we approved for all other Federal employees. The suggestion that a record vote be taken, which would have had Members identify themselves as opponents of a pay increase for the poverty fighters, was met with laughter from this body.

What has become of a sense of responsibility in this Chamber, Mr. Speaker? How can we possibly justify these purposeless insults to Sargent Shriver and those who work with him in the antipoverty effort?

I think it ought to be of concern to this House that expressions of displeasure with OEO are being turned aside with dignity by employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Let me quote from a message Sargent Shriver gave to all OEO personnel:

> The purpose of this message is to encourage all of you not to lose heart in this situation . . . No matter what happens, I want to ask each and every one of you to continue doing your job with the same vigor and dedication you have always shown. I am proud to be associated with each and every one of you and I am confident that I will have even more cause to be so after we have ridden out this latest difficulty.

Mr. Speaker, what a difference in tone this is from the action taken by this body in recent weeks.

I think we ought to pause, too, to reflect on the damage we do to the whole concept of civil service when we arbitrarily and haphazardly decide to punish people because we have misgivings about the program they work for.

It is ironic that the action the House has taken will also mean that even VISTA volunteers, who have already indicated a willingness to work for a monthly stipend of only $50, may go without pay. That these volunteers should be penalized financially by action or inaction of the Congress is most unfortunate. Yet in this case, too, the employees of the war on poverty have exhibited a sense of dignity and commitment. William Crook, national VISTA Director, has written to every VISTA volunteer as follows:

> If you are able to stretch your meager budget even farther than usual, I am asking you to continue your service to the poor as long as possible.

Mr. Speaker, the great dedication shown by employees of the war on poverty is one of the unique features of that agency. That is one of the many reasons I intend to give my support to this program. And I urge my colleagues to do likewise.

I include at this point the letters to OEO employees to which I have referred:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Washington, D.C.

A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR FOR ALL OEO EMPLOYEES

As you know, Congress has not passed our annual appropriation. Since July, we have been financed on a month-to-month authorization from Congress, known as a "continuing resolution." The last continuing resolution authorized by Congress expired at midnight on October 23. Since that time we have technically been without funds to run OEO. We have continued to operate since then "on credit," so to speak, against the expected passage of a new continuing resolution.

If some relief is not forthcoming in the next several days we will be faced with the very real possibility of delaying pay checks due OEO employees on November 14. If this should happen you will, of course, receive full payment just as quickly as the situation is straightened out by congressional action.

The purpose of this message is to encourage all of you not to lose heart in this situation. Those of us here in Washington have been working continuously with the President and other key members of the Executive Department and the Congress to find a solution to this problem. I am personally confident that Congress will act in time to avoid delaying these payments to you.

However, and no matter what happens, I want to ask each and every one of you to continue doing your job with the same vigor and dedication you have always shown. I am proud to be associated with each and every one of you and I am confident that I will have even more cause to be so after we have ridden out this latest difficulty.

Thank you for the unceasing effort and support you have given to the poor people of this country whom we are all serving.

SARGENT SHRIVER.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR VISTA VOLUNTEER: VISTA has another difficult task to ask of you.

Congress allowed the continuing resolution under which we have been operating to expire as of midnight October 23. This means that since October 24, VISTA—Volunteers and staff—has been without funds. It also means that you may not be paid your food and living allowance this coming pay period.

If you are able to stretch your meager budget even farther than usual, I am asking you to continue your service to the poor as long as possible.

Fortunately, some help is available. Neighborhood people are coming forward with offers of assistance to Volunteers working in their area. Private Industry has inquired as to the cost of temporarily supporting Volunteers in the field. We are quickly gathering the information to reply to this unusual offer.

We hope that Congress will soon rectify this situation and that any action will be retroactive to October 24. Meanwhile, I want to tell you we have every confidence in the depth of your commitment and that we will do everything possible to see that you can remain Volunteers in Service to America.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. CROOK,
Director, VISTA.

Air Quality Act of 1967

SPEECH
OF
HON. JACOB H. GILBERT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 2, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 780) to amend the Clean Air Act to authorize planning grants to air pollution control agencies; expand research provisions relating to fuels and vehicles; provide for interstate air pollution control agencies or commissions; authorize the establishment of air quality standards, and for other purposes.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Air Quality Act to provide systematic pollution control on a regional basis. I was one of the original sponsors of this proposal.

The intentions of the bill are good: To primarily pave the way for the control of all pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States.

This is an important step toward combating one of our country's most serious problems. The Federal Government is given the role of guidance and providing criterial and scientific information on how to cope with this health hazard. Yet, the States have the responsibility of setting standards and enforcing measures to meet their specific regional standards. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will continue current programs for air pollution control and research, but will provide systematic control of air pollution activities on a regional basis, the regions based on such factors as urbanization, industrialization, and topography. Standards of air quality will be tailored to each region, based on criteria presented by the HEW, on which the States will set their own required air quality standards. In emergency situations, where immediate action is required, HEW will have the power to take action. An Air Quality Advisory Board of 15 members to advise and consult with the Secretary of HEW and make recommendations, will be appointed by the President.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues in the House to join me in voting for passage of the Air Quality Act.

Land Mine Kills Maryland Marine in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. Tracy L. Whoolery, a career marine from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

LAND MINE KILLS SERGEANT IN VIETNAM—TRACY WHOOLERY HAD BEEN DECORATED FOR BRAVERY

A 26-year-old career marine from Dundalk, who won the Bronze Star and Purple Heart in May, was killed Thursday in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

He was Staff Sgt. Tracy L. Whoolery, husband of Mrs. Lynn Whoolery, of Burton, S.C., and son of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Whoolery, of 1912 Codd avenue, Dundalk.

Sergeant Whoolery died aboard a hospital ship several hours after he was critically wounded by a land mine near Con Thien. He had been in Vietnam since January.

In May, he was decorated after being wounded in the head when his unit was attacked by Viet Cong near Da Nang. Sergeant Whoolery received both the Bronze Star and Purple Heart for helping wounded comrades.

After being graduated from Dundalk Senior High School in 1960, he enlisted in the Marine Corps. For the three years before he went to Vietnam, he served as a drill and swimming instructor at Parris Island, S.C.

Sergeant Whoolery was born in Uniontown, Pa., but came to Baltimore at a young age. His father works in the hot mill for the Bethlehem Steel Company and his mother works in an Eastpoint Shopping Center department store.

Besides his wife and parents, he is survived by a daughter, Tamara Jo, of Burton, S.C., and a brother, Army Spec. 4 Russell Whoolery, who is stationed at Fort Belvoir, Va.

President Johnson Offers Challenge to New District of Columbia Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last Friday I was pleased to attend the swearing in ceremonies for the City Council of the new District of Columbia government. This completed the last official step in President Johnson's District reorganization plan.

President Johnson spoke at the ceremonies and challenged the new council members to meet the new era of government with a pledge of excellence—in police-community relations, in education, in housing, and in crime prevention.

It is my opinion that President Johnson has done more for the District of Columbia than any other President in our history. President Johnson has not only stated the right goals for the District of Columbia—he has taken his valuable time and worked effectively to see the goals implemented. Those of us who are trying to make the District of Columbia a model city are indebted to the President for using his influence toward that end.

At this time, I insert in the RECORD the remarks of President Johnson at the swearing in ceremony of the District of Columbia City Council, plus an editorial from the November 4 Washington Post.

The material follows:

TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE SWEARING IN OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CITY COUNCIL

We are in this East Room to celebrate an historic day.

This morning the future separates from the past.

In the Nation's Capital, the city of all the people, a new era of government begins.

For a hundred years, the citizens of Washington have waited for this moment.

Many men have worked hard and faithfully to make it possible.

The list is long. It includes members of the Congress. Many are with us today.

It also includes the three commissioners who have helped to solve the District's unemployment problem—by working themselves out of a job. Now the people of the District will gain nine new employees to serve them. They are the members of the City Council, who will be sworn in in just a few minutes.

With that, Washington will move from wagon wheel government into the jet age.

The new government launched here this morning will be an effective force for the people's hopes and needs.

Earlier today, I took the first step by signing the revenue bill for the District of Columbia. This will give the new government a stronger fiscal base for its work.

Now the job will be up to you—Council Chairman Hechinger, Vice Chairman Fauntroy, and Council members—working as a team under the leadership of Mayor Washington and Deputy Mayor Fletcher.

Your problems are out there waiting. They are many. They are serious. They are pressing.

Above all, they are the problems of people.

Help us solve them.

Help us find ways to drive crime from our midst, so citizens can walk safely.

Help us find ways to make our schools places of excellence for the entire community.

Help us find ways to build decent homes for those who have never known their comfort.

Help us find ways to make responsible citizens out of young men and women who need only a chance.

All the Nation will be watching you—because this is the people's city.

Your challenge is unique. It is to turn Washington into a model community—a place of pride for people to live and work and visit.

The federal government stands ready to help you.

And the one million people you serve will be your source of strength and inspiration.

Go among them. Learn their problems—first hand.

Begin your work now as you go back to City Hall. And work as if you had to run for election every November.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 4, 1967]

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The new government of the District of Columbia, formally installed in appropriate ceremonies at the White House yesterday, is better equipped to deal with the problems of this community than its predecessors. It is the product of months of patient effort that could not have succeeded without the unrelenting support of the White House staff. No other Presdent in modern times has devoted as much time and attention to the extremely difficult problems of this urban community.

Now that the government is launched, that interest will continue to be a strong support for effective government in Washington. But the Administration's assistance alone will not translate this hopeful beginning into a satisfactory system of government.

The sympathetic response of citizens themselves is required. The Mayor and his deputy and the Council members must obtain from the rank and file residents of this city more cooperation and support than the previous Commissioner regimes have had. Washington residents now have a government that quite adequately represents most elements in community life—even though it has not been chosen by popular election. It deserves the good will of citizens and is entitled to their confidence and help as it sets about the incredibly difficult task of governing Washington. For this new government is confronted by the difficulties that are characteristic of American urban society. And it has added to these difficulties some challenges that are unique and local.

Even the support of the White House and the Community will not assure the success of the new government, however, if it lacks the interest and support of Congress. No other public body has more collective experience in dealing with Washington problems and the wisdom of Senators and Congressmen on the District Committees and Appropriations Committees must be drawn upon. At the same time, Congress will doom the new regime to failure if its interventions are so mischievously detailed as to destroy Executive authority and initiative.

It is a hopeful moment in Washington history. If this government fulfills the expectations of those who have helped to bring it about, the city can look forward to a more democratic regime. Sooner or later the offices now filled by appointment should be filled by election. How soon or how late this day arrives will be determined largely by the success of the government inaugurated yesterday.

Concern for the Spread and Increase of Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. (BOB) MATHIAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, each of us is disturbed and concerned by the spread and increase of juvenile delinquency. The changing attitude of our young people toward law enforcement and authority is particularly troubling. The boy or girl who gets a police record today is more likely to become an adult offender.

One of my constituents, Bob Wiley, sheriff-coroner of Tulare County, has come up with a unique and excellent idea to help deal with this problem. Sheriff Wiley is working to establish crime prevention programs in the schools of Tulare County to give our young people an understanding of the aims and purposes of law enforcement. These programs will be the best kind of crime prevention. They will help shape law-abiding attitudes and build responsible citizens.

I would like to include here a letter, describing these programs, which I have received from Sheriff Wiley. I am sure that you will find it interesting:

OFFICE OF SHERIFF-CORONER,
TULARE COUNTY,
Visalia, Calif., October 11, 1967.

HON. BOB MATHIAS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: As you know, my campaign for tthe office in which I was elected was based strongly upon the need for a crime prevention program within our schools and communities to deter juvenile delinquency. It has been and is presently the feeling in law enforcement and juvenile work that the steady increase and rapid change of the attitude of the youngsters toward law enforcement and authority has created a need for such a program. Basically, the whole image of respect is my objective.

Upon taking office in January, I immediately started organizing and preparing for a new division within my department. This division is known as the Crime Prevention Bureau and is a unit of the Juvenile Division. In order to prepare the programs which were so vitally needed and so that they might fit into the curriculum of our school system, inquiries were made with many school administrators, civic organizations, and parents. These persons have been most cooperative and have shown a great deal of enthusiasm toward this program. The objectives will be to prepare programs which will be geared to a grade level, thereby preventing repetition in following years. Upon completion of each program a number of pilot showings is given to various age groups whereupon these students prepare an evaluation of this program. This enables us to determine at what grade level the program should be shown and at which age group the program will be most beneficial.

On October 6, 1967, the program was activated at a meeting of the 21st District Parent Teachers' Association, which was held within the city of Tulare and attended by 150 parents and school administrators from Kings and Tulare Counties. As principal speaker to this elite group, and after having the opportunity to present my programs, I found it to be most receptive and that all persons present felt that this was a most unique program and would play a major role in combating juvenile delinquency.

Also scheduled to speak with me was Mr. Jim Roland, Consultant for California State Youth Authority, and presently under contract to Kings County as Chief Probation Officer. Mr. Roland strongly supported this program and stressed throughout his talk that law enforcement has realized for years that a different concept toward juvenile delinquency was needed and that this program was quite unique, and to his knowledge was the only such program within the state.

Bob, effective November 1, my program will be available to the schools within Tulare County. As a representative from our county I would like to afford you the opportunity to review and evaluate this program at your earliest possible convenience. This would also give me the opportunity to discuss with you step by step as to how the program was planned, organized, and initiated. At present the program is gaining attention with other law enforcement agencies and enthusiasm from residents of other counties, and we have already been invited to present our program outside of Tulare County.

I am sure, Bob, that this program will generate into something of national recognition, and feel that you should play a part in this most important program.

Looking forward to seeing you upon your next visit to our county, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Bob Wiley,
Sheriff-Coroner.

GI Justice: Is It Second Rate?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, recently there have been articles critical of our military justice system. I share the concern of those who feel we need to act now to modernize the present system of military justice, and I am happy to report that Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on Armed Services has begun constructive and thoughtful hearings on one of my bills, H.R. 12705, which is designed to insure that the accused is afforded every appropriate and proper safeguard. I look upon H.R. 12705 as only the beginning of changes to come in our military justice system. It is clear that we must turn more of our attention toward insuring that our servicemen are accorded the same rights as those who are prosecuted in our Federal courts.

The accusations that have been made in the recent articles I mentioned call military justice today "second rate." I have come across a recent speech by Lt. Col. Jacob Hagopian, who is assistant chief of the Military Justice Division of the Judge Advocate General's Office of the Army, in which he replies to this accusation of a second-rate system, and I am pleased to bring this to the attention of my colleagues:

A Case of Free Speech in the Military and Due Process

(An address delivered to the Brooklyn Bar Association on October 25, 1967, by Lt. Col. Jacob Hagopian, JAGC)

In a recent series of articles a nationally syndicated writer was critical of military justice. The series began with shouting headlines entitled "GI Justice: A Second Rate System." The crowning defect of the article and characterization is the absence of a standard used by the writer. The military justice according to the writers standard may well be subjectively second rate. The system enacted by our Congress in the Uniform Code of Military Justice, when compared to contemporary standards of criminal justice is first rate. The syndicate writer concluded in one of his articles: "The American military system continues to offer few of the Constitutional due process protections considered fundamental to the American concept of civilian justice."

This sweeping allegation was not accompanied by any statement showing any particular due process right which is not afforded by the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Comparative studies indicate that the military accused has more due process protection than the civilian from early times to present day. Only since the so-called "Criminal Law Revolution" which began in 1964 has the civilian begun to catch up. Mr. Justice Clark, a more knowledgeable observer than the syndicate writer commented: "In addition to the fundamentals of due process (The Uniform Code of Military Justice) includes protections which this court has not required a state to provide and some procedures which would compare favorably with the most advanced criminal code." (Kinsella v. Krueger, 351 U.S. 470 (1959)). Indeed the true concept of justice can be only reached through the rule of law and not by rule of man. Declaratory of this concept, the Supreme Court in Reaves v. Ainsworth said: "To those in the military or naval service of the United States, the military law is due process."

In U.S. v. Clay, one of the earliest cases decided by the Court of Military Appeals, the court catalogued and enumerated some of the rights and safeguards which make up military due process:

To be informed of the charges against him; to be confronted by witnesses testifying against him; to cross-examine witnesses for the Government; to challenge members of the court for cause or peremptorily; to have a specified number of members compose general and special courts-martial; to be represented by counsel; not to be compelled to incriminate himself; to have involuntary confessions excluded from consideration; to have the court instructed on the elements of offenses, the presumption of innocence, and the burden of proof; to be found guilty of an offense only when a designated number of members concur in the finding; to be sentenced only when a certain number of members vote in the affirmative; and to have an appellate review.

To this list may be added:

To have compulsory process to obtain defense witnesses; to have a speedy and public trial; to have every step in the processing of the case determined by officials who enjoy the freedom to exercise their discretion without fear of outside influence; to be secured against unreasonable search and seizure; a broader exclusionary rule on the right against compulsory self incrimination; and a broader protection against being placed twice in jeopardy.

These rights obtain in all courts-martial. Indeed the appellate procedures in the administration of military justice have been cited for civilian systems to emulate. The significant factor is that appellate review in our system is mandatory and it is there in appellate review that all notions of high value are scrutinized and preserved. The Attorney General's Committee on Poverty and the Administration of Justice, which studied the appellate review procedures of military justice commented that—

"The military experience demonstrates the essential fact that free access to appellate review is an indispensable feature of an enlightened system of criminal justice. . . . The experience gained . . . in (the) administration of military justice should be consulted in every serious consideration of new appeals procedures in the civil courts."

These present day comments of the Attorney General's Committee are echoes of similar words expressed 45 years ago. Then, a distinguished and eminent lawyer, scholar, educator and Dean in his address delivered before the Maryland Bar Association on 28 June 1919, had this to say:

"In spite of the several specific safeguards on which we place such high value—right to witnesses, right to counsel, right to jury, right to remain silent, and so on—the one vital measure which insures the constant observance of all these is still lacking in our law, viz., the automatic appellate scrutiny of every criminal case by a higher court.

"We are accustomed to think these things from the point of view only of an accused's rights; from that point of view he is entitled to the protection of appellate scrutiny. But it is even more important from the administrative point of view. An effective central supervision of criminal justice is impossible without complete data showing the central authority what is being done daily in our trial courts. Every record should go up for appellate scrutiny.

"In Federal military justice every record of every case goes up to at least one higher authority; and all records of general courts-martial go up two stages, to the Judge Advocate General, or the President. Every convicted man thus obtains an appellate scrutiny, and this he obtains without any cost, paying no counsel fee and no transcription expense.

"This is an ideal of which civilian justice has been dreaming ever since Magna Carta. Complete justice to the poor man is still a dream in our civilian courts. In the military courts it is already a fact. And it costs not a cent. It does not even need a motion in court. It is automatic. Here is an object lesson for civilian justice."

Those were the words of John Henry Wigmore, Colonel Judge Advocate, United States Army.

Tonight we will examine the very anatomy of the sort of automatic appellate revew cited by Dean Wigmore. Our examination will concern the appellate review of a free speech case in the military—the case of U.S. v. Lieutenant Henry H. Howe. The appellate review of his case has been completed by a board of review of the United States Army Judiciary and the United States Court of Military Appeals.

The appellant, a commissioned officer of the Army, stood before the board of review convicted, contrary to his pleas, by general court-martial of using contemptuous words against the President of the United States and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman in violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, Articles 83, 10 USC 888, and 133, 10 USC 933 respectively.

A preliminary consideration of the evidence places the errors assigned by appellant in proper perspective.

On 6 November 1965, the appellant, attired in civilian clothes, participated during off-duty hours in a public demonstration at San Jacinto Plaza, El Paso, Texas. For about thirty minutes the appellant there walked in a line of demonstrators. As he did so, he carried a sign, one side of which bore the words, "Let's have more than a choice between petty ignorant facists (sic) in 1968." The other side of the sign bore the words, "End Johnson's facist aggression (sic) in Viet Nam." Some 500 to 1500 spectators witnessed the demonstration, including at least three or four enlisted soldiers.

Appellant by and through his military and civilian appellate counsel in assigning numerous errors urged: "The charges against appellant violate the First Amendment to the United States Constitution: (a) The First Amendment is a limitation on the power of the armed forces; (b) Articles 88 and 133, as applied in this case, violate the First Amendment.

In the case of *US* v. *Howe* the *accused's appellate counsel* in summary urged the following arguments:

That the First Amendment is a limitation on the powers of the armed forces; that the First Amendment is paramount to the Uniform Code of Military Justice; that the rights of military personnel are not wholly subordinate to congressional will under Article 1, section 8, clause 14; that different standards limiting free speech should prevail in the military only in instances of *demonstrable military necessity;* that the Supreme Court considers First Amendment rights as occupying a preferred position; that free expression for armed forces personnel is an expanding concept; that there is always a *presumption* in favor of free speech; that the limitations on free speech provided under the "clear and present danger" test are not present in this case and, in addition, even under the "balancing test" the appellant's conduct did not override this even-narrower limitation.

The *Government* in summary presented the following rebuttal:

That free speech is subject to reasonable limitations based on military necessity; that Congress has the power to define military offenses; that the appellant was convicted for publicly displaying contempt for his Commander-in-Chief, not for expressing his personal political views; that the President is the Commander-in-Chief, and he would be an ineffective one if he could be assailed with impunity by those under his command; and that political freedom is *not* without limitations.

Appellant in his first assignment of error urged that the charges and specifications of which he stood convicted be dismissed because such conviction abridges his right to free speech guaranteed to him by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. The sum of his contention when tailored to the facts before the board of review was that his conduct in carrying a sign, in a public demonstration, bearing the words, "Let's have more than a choice between petty ignorant facists (sic) in 1968," and "End Johnson's facist agression (sic) in Viet Nam" was an exercise of his constitutionally guaranteed right to free speech. The board of review did not attempt to resolve grave constitutional questions as a matter of first impression for such serious determinations of constitutionality had already been made by the decisional pronouncements of the United States Supreme Court and the Court of Military Appeals. The board of review relied upon their decisional guidance in disposing of errors assigned.

The appellant called upon the board of review to protect his right to free speech and the board of review stated "we are mindful that . . . the military courts, like state courts, have the same responsibility as do the federal courts to protect a person from a violation of his constitutional rights. . . . (Mr. Chief Justice Vinson) *Burns* v. *Wilson*, 346 U.S. 137, 142 (1953). The appellant's right to freedom of expression is one of those certain rights which we, as an appellate military judicial tribunal, are duty bound to protect."

In *United States* v. *Voorhees*, 4 USCMA 509, 16 CMR 83 (1954), all judges of the United States Court of Military Appeals recognized that the constitutionally preserved right of free speech inure to a service man. The Board was aware of no legal authority, either military or civilian, who would view a constitutionally protected right of free speech as an absolute one without limitation. The constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech does not confer upon the appellant an absolute right to speak "and the law recognizes that there can be an abuse of such freedom." The Constitution does not confer: "unrestricted and unbridled license giving immunity for every possible use of language and preventing the punishment of those who abuse this freedom." *Whitney* v. *People of State of California*, 274 U.S. 357, (1927). In *United States* v. *Voorhees, supra*, all judges of our Court of Military Appeals were unanimous in their agreement that the right of free speech in the military is subject to reasonable limitations based on military necessity. In the case at bar, the limitations imposed upon the appellant's conduct by Articles 88 and 133, Uniform Code of Military Justice, 10 USC 888 and 933, respectively, was found by the board of review to be constitutionally premised, reasonable and based on military necessity.

Congress is constitutionally empower in expressed terms "to make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces." Article 1, Section 8, Clause 14 of the United States Constitution. The Congressional enactment of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, 1950, and its articles thereof is a clear exercise of its constitutionally conferred power. *Kinsella* v. *United States*, 361 U.S. 234, (1960). Article 88 and Article 133, Uniform Code of Military Justice, 10 USC 888, 933, provide in applicable part, respectively:

"Any commissioned officer who uses contemptuous words against the President, . . . shall be punished as a court-martial may direct." Art. 88, UCMJ, 10 USC 888.

"Any commissoned officer, . . . who is convicted of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman shall be punished as a court-martial may direct," Art. 133, UCMJ, 10 USC 933.

"It is not for us to question the wisdom of Congress in enacting articles 88 and 133 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice as appellant would have us do," said the Board of Review. *United States* v. *Culp*, 14 USCMA 199, 33 CMR 411. See, *Blackwell* v. *Issaquena County Board of Education*, 363 F. 2d 749 (5th Cir. July 21, 1966). The opinion went on to state, "We need not decide the precise balance to be struck between appellant's claim of a preferred right to free speech and the Congressional limitations imposed upon the exercise of that right. The overriding power in the Congress on the subject of military justice has been consistently recognized by the decisions of the Supreme Court and the United States Court of Military Appeals." *Burns* v. *Wilson*, 346 U.S. 137, (1953); *Dynes* v. *Hoover*, 20 Howard 65, 79 (U.S. 1858); *United States* v. *Culp, supra*, at 416, Mr. Chief Justice Vinson in delivering the principal opinion in *Burns* v. *Wilson, supra*, stated:

"Military law, like State law, is a jurisprudence which exists separate and apart from the law which governs in our Federal judicial establishment. This Court has played no role in its development; we have exerted no supervisory power over the courts which enforce it; *the rights of men in the Armed Forces must perforce be conditioned to meet certain overriding demands of discipline and duty*, and the civil courts are not the agencies which must determine the precise balance to be struck in this adjustment. *The Framers expressly entrusted that task to Congress.*" (Emphasis added).

Accordingly, appellant's right, as an officer, to speak may not override a reasonable and necessary standard of conduct firmly entrenched in our system of military justice. The only concern was whether the conduct of the appellant, of which he stood convicted, fell within the pale of what Congress in its wisdom proscribed.

The facts of record showed that the appellant, a commissioned officer, knowingly and purposely displayed a sign, the manifest import of which was to characterize the President of the United States as a petty, ignorant fascist and the President's policies in Viet Nam as fascist aggression. It was found that the use of such language by the appellant, under the circumstances here was patently contemptuous in fact and in law.

The military standard of discipline demands obedience to orders and respect for legally constituted authority. The authority of the military must always be servient to that of legally constituted civilian authority. The ultimate purpose for the existence of the military establishment is to prepare for and to be successful in combat against the enemies of the United States, and its bedrock is order and discipline. The appellant may not contemptuously assail his Commander-in-Chief with impunity no more than he may behave himself with disrespect toward his superior officer. . . .

Military discipline, in peace as well as in war, does more than expect obedience and respect—it demands both. The sacrifice, not only of personal liberties but that of human life, is demanded by the stern necessity of military discipline. "It is for these reasons we hold, said the board of review, that the acts and conduct of this appellant fall within the limitations imposed upon him as well as upon all other commissioned officers of the Army, and such limitations are reasonable and are validly based on military necessity." Although not assigned as error, the board considered the reasonableness of the classification concerning officers found in Article 88, *Code, supra*. They held that the privileges and status enjoyed by all military officers, like the appellant officer, carries with it correlative duties, responsibilities and standards of conduct peculiar to that status. Without saying that the same conduct, here charged, by nonofficer military persons would be lawful, they found the classification limitation of Article 88, *Code, supra*, to be reasonable, necessary and therefore constitutional.

The board of review discussed in much the same manner several other assignments of error urged by the appellant and decided them. They found that the findings of guilty and sentence were correct both in law and in fact and affirmed the conviction below.

The appellant then filed a petition for grant of review with brief in support thereof in the United States Court of Military Appeals. He urged substantialy the same assignments of error that he had presented to the Board of Review. The Court of Military Appeals denied the appellants petition for grant of review. The appellant moved for reconsideration of its denied petition.

Appellant urged that his case was one of first impression. He claimed that his right to free speech had not been overcome by a showing of military necessity. He argued that the finding against his claim of a preferred right violated Supreme Court standards, and he contended that the board of review had "refused" to pass on the constitutional question.

The Court of Military Appeals denied appellant's motion for reconsideration and left the Board of Review opinion undisturbed. In their denial the Court gave detailed reasons with all three judges concurring.

The Court measured the constitutionality of the limitations imposed on appellant's conduct by all possible standards. They stated that speech is not absolute and an

Article 88 violation constitutes a clear and present danger to discipline in the armed forces. They pointed out that historically it is clear that Congress has always considered Article 88 Constitutional. Judge Kilday observed that Article 88 supports a long tradition based on Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. That tradition has consistently subordinated the military to the civilian in Government. In tracing this historical tradition he cited Mr. Chief Justice Warren—the American people have deliberately avoided rule by the military throughout our national existence. Experience of the English speaking people teaches that free government depends on the supremacy of the civilian representatives of the people. The birth of our country was wrought from war—the burden of its birth in the Revolution was carried by the military making possible our existence as a nation—but to insure our national existence civilian supremacy of government is indispensable.

Among the complaints of the colonists enshrined in the Declaration of Independence was that the King had subordinated the civil power to the military.

In conclusion Judge Kilday, in denying appellant's motion for reconsideration, would have added the observation that "Petitioner is a reserve officer, rather than a professional officer, but during the time he serves on active duty he is, and must be, controlled by the provisions of military law. In this instance, military restrictions fall upon a reluctant 'summer soldier'; but at another time, and differing circumstances, the ancient and wise provisions insuring civilian control of the military will restrict the 'man on a white horse.' "

This evening's analysis warrants the conclusion that the present court-martial system offers the military accused safeguards equivalent and indeed superior to those enjoyed in Federal Courts. My comparative standards of due process are clear. Those of the syndicate writer are his own.

It Is Time To Pull Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to introduce to our colleagues a reprint by New Age for November 1967, of the Temple Daily Telegram editorial of August 25, 1967, entitled "It Is Time To Pull Together."

In reproducing this in the RECORD, I would add only that while maintaining ultimate civilian control in the office of the Commander in Chief according to our system in a representative republic, we need to turn the strategy in actual winning of battles, including geography and minds, over to the military who, like Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, have spent decades in training, experience, and planning to defend America under all situations with the least loss of life, the least loss of national treasure, the maintenance of the greatest esteem for our Nation, and in the shortest possible time.

General Clarke demonstrates again, as he has repeatedly in his military career, and finally as commanding general of U.S. Army in Europe, his perception and know-how.

The article follows:

IT IS TIME TO PULL TOGETHER

The *Temple* (Texas) *Daily Telegram* on August 25, 1967 said in an editorial:

The Temple Daily Telegram firmly believes, as do a host of our nation's dedicated leaders, that if we as a nation could pull together, the Vietnam war would be over soon. The differing groups that divide our effort only give comfort to the enemy and strengthen his desire to hold out, hoping that this great nation of ours will come apart at the seams and pull out of Vietnam because of our internal strife.

Those of us who are old enough to have driven a team of horses or mules know that "pulling together" produced "Teamwork" which caused the load to move toward success.

When we went to high school or college; were a Boy Scout or played in the Little League; yes, when we became Masons, we learned well that teamwork at all echelons of endeavor was necessary to win the "Big Game." This applied to players as well as to supporters.

We have half a million of our best men in Vietnam trying to win big stakes for us. They have teamwork to a very high degree. Why do we at home seem to have forgotten the great necessity for teamwork on our part if we are to support their efforts for us as they deserve.

Morale is most important to our Armed Forces fighting for us thousands of miles from home. It is based upon three simple factors:

1. A feeling that they are on an important mission.

2. A feeling that they are performing it well.

3. A feeling that their sacrifices and good work are appreciated.

It is our duty as members of the American Team here at home to not only provide the material support called for but to assure that the three factors making up morale are strong in their minds.

The future of our country depends on our ability as a people to again understand and practice the teamwork that has made America great.

BRUCE C. CLARKE.

It's Time To Dissent Against the Dissenters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, VFW Commander in Chief Joseph A. Scerra has again spoken out in connection with our activities in Vietnam and the reaction which our position is causing among some people here at home. His remarks are timely and impressive and I commend them to the Members of Congress, as follows:

IT'S TIME TO DISSENT AGAINST THE DISSENTERS

(Remarks of Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at Redfield, S. Dak., October 11, 1967, at a testimonial for the new junior vice commander in chief, Ray Gallagher, of Redfield)

It is high time some of the amateur diplomats, professional politicians, armchair generals and would-be Presidents in our nation be reminded that their continuing harsh and distorted criticism of America's continuing stand against aggression in Vietnam is harmful to the success of our mission and to the security of our nation.

It may not be their intention, but these self-appointed experts of international military and political strategy are providing false hope and misleading comfort to the enemy. They—no less, and perhaps even more, than the so-called anti-war demonstrators—are actually helping to prolong the war rather than to shorten it, as they so zealously claim is their objective. Their expressions of dissent and protest provide the North Vietnamese with a reason to believe they can achieve the victory our men in uniform are denying them on the battlefront through a split in our ranks on the home front.

The devisive antics of the peaceniks, beatniks and draft card burners can perhaps be blamed on ignorance or immaturity. It is difficult, however, to find any excuse for the increasing tendency of certain members of Congress and other elected officials to assume they somehow have acquired a special insight and wisdom which qualifies them to render better judgments on policies and actions than the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State or the Commander-in-Chief.

Never in the history of our nation has there been a greater need for national unity and support of our constituted leaders. The withholding of traditional bi-partisan Congressional support from the President in the conduct of foreign policy can only serve to undercut his bargaining strength with our enemies and diminish his stature among our friends.

Our military leaders report that our military position in Vietnam has improved considerably in recent months. We have gained the offensive and the enemy has sustained crippling losses in men and materials that have destroyed his ability to effectively continue his course of aggression. However, although the North Vietnamese can find little comfort in the trend of the war itself, they have only to read the statements of some of our Senators and Representatives to find reason to believe they can outlast our will even if they cannot outgun our fighting men. Almost daily, a Member of Congress furnishes the enemy with fresh signs of what he can easily misinterpret as a weakening of our staying power.

It is difficult for our enemies to understand that America's freedom to debate and dissent does not mean a lack of resolve to honor our commitments. We Americans respect the right of the individual to dissent. But too often the enemy quotes the words of our debaters and dissenters in their newspapers and on their broadcasts as a means of bolstering the sagging morale of their own fighting men.

It is indeed unfortunate that the pressure that our guns and bombs bring to bear on the enemy in an effort to lead him to the negotiating table in response to the President's repeated requests for peace talks is continually negated by the words of the dissenters in the U. S. Congress.

Some of the dissenters say we should halt our bombing of North Vietnam. Yet they do not ask that the enemy provide any assurances that he will respond with a comparable deescalation in military activity, or that he will not use the occasion to build up his weaponry and manpower so that he can launch new offensives and kill more of our American troops.

Some of the dissenters want to restrict our military activities to the defense of isolated enclaves. Yet they do not explain how this will help the South Vietnamese achieve freedom for the people outside these limited areas or how this will help resolve the conflict.

Some of the dissenters even call for a complete withdrawal of our troops. Yet they do not say how we can explain this abrogation of our commitment to the other small nations of the free world who look to us as a bulwark against Communist aggression.

The dissenters do not have a monopoly on a desire for peace.

What the dissenters in Congress and elsewhere seem to forget is that the Administration has tried halting the bombing of North Vietnam a number of times, but they have all gone unheeded by Hanoi.

The Administration has repeatedly offered to hold unconditional negotiations with the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong but all overtures have been rejected.

The Administration has honored cease fire agreements during certain holiday observances, but the enemy has used them to infiltrate our lines and reinforce his positions.

The Administration has conferred with every interested nation and used every available channel, including the United Nations, in its efforts to find some method for bringing about a meaningful cessation of hostilities.

Peace, unfortunately, can not be achieved merely by making speeches on the floors of Congress or by holding demonstrations in the streets of our cities. And peace cannot be brought about by one side alone.

The enemy must be made to realize that he cannot achieve his goals of expansion and domination by military aggression. He must understand that this nation is committed to the defense of freedom in South Vietnam and that this nation honors its commitments. He must not be permitted the luxury of drawing succor, no matter how unjustified, from the misleading statements of the disasters within our midst.

We do not need another pause in the bombing of North Vietnam to convince Hanoi of our desire for peace. We tried that, and it didn't work.

What we need to try now is a pause in irresponsible dissent to demonstrate our strength of purpose and unity of spirit.

President Kennedy said "The cost of freedom is always high but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission."

The path to a just peace is the one where we present a united front to the enemy, so that he will not fail to recognize the futility of his aggressive course of action.

I, therefore, personally call upon our Senators and Representatives to support the Administration in fulfilling its pledge to support our fighting men in Vietnam and to work for a just and honorable peace in Vietnam.

At the same time, I urge every member of the V.F.W. and every American citizen to embark on the most massive letter writing campaign in the history of this nation. I urge that he write his own Senators and Congressman to adhere to our traditional Constitutional procedures for the conduct of war and foreign affairs and to support—not hamper—our Secretaries of State and Defense and the President of the United States in the conduct of their awesome tasks. You should also send copies of your letters to the White House, so that our President will know his countrymen stand behind him in this hour of trial.

I have never asked the members of the V.F.W. to write their Congressmen for any specific purpose before, but I do so now because I feel the need is critical. Let your Senators and Congressman know how the veterans of this nation feel about our commitment in Vietnam.

If he supports the Administration's stand in Vietnam, let him know how much you appreciate it. But if he has been among the dissenters, let him know that now is the time for our nation to stand together in its defense of freedom and its quest for peace.

Firm Against Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital editorialized in its November 1 edition in strong support of the Republican position against the riots and demonstrations which have caused so much violence and destruction in our cities. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring this fine editorial, "Firm Against Violence," to the attention of my colleagues and to commend the Topeka Daily Capital for its support.

The editorial follows:

FIRM AGAINST VIOLENCE

The Republican leadership of Congress has taken a firm stand against unruly demonstrations which have plagued this nation for too long.

Many people, believing the situation has gotten out of hand, think the Johnson administration should act. So far, each time this country's image has been besmirched by peaceniks, draft card burners and others, the administration has shrugged it off.

Now, the Republicans have spoken up.

"We are well aware, as all Americans must be, of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech and peaceable assembly which are so great a part of our treasured heritage," the Republican statement says. "We are equally aware, however, that there is no right to act against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, any time—for any reason."

Pointing out that this nation had its origin in dissent, the Republican leadership says: "We have always believed in unlimited criticism—in time of war and in time of peace. Free speech—without violence—must always be permitted and approved. But lawbreaking and violence can never be condoned."

It's high time someone in authority is making its position known, as the Republicans now are doing.

"These wretched few (the unlawful demonstrators) can no longer be tolerated," the statement continues. "They must be held in check hereafter and, when necessary, be brought to justice, legally but firmly by the scruff of their collective necks. The safety and the peace of mind of all decent, hardworking, law-abiding millions of other Americans must be preserved.

"The first duty of those in authority—in Washington and in every community throughout the land—is the preservation of public order and the firm enforcement of the law. The rights and the privileges of those countless good Americans who obey the law and keep the peace must be given priority above all others, at all times.

"Tolerance of marchers and demonstrators is all very well—up to the point at which they defy the law and endanger the public safety. We call upon those in authority everywhere to enforce the law, with our full backing, in the public interest. We urge them to do so without undue concern hereafter as to the protests and whining of these lawbreakers, who have no regard whatever for the good of the community and who in our view seek only publicity and selfish personal privilege."

It's a strong statement—one that was a long time in coming—but one which the vast number of good citizens applaud.

Remarks of J. Howard Wood at the Graduation Exercises of the 80th Session of the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, all of us are greatly concerned with the increasing crime rate in our country today. Although Congress and the Federal Government must help combat this ever-increasing problem, the battle over crime is being and must continue to be fought out in the local communities—by local law enforcement officials, local citizens, and local resources. Newspapers have long been allied with law enforcement agencies and officials in the apprehension and prosecution of criminals. This has been made quite clear in a speech, delivered by Mr. J. Howard Wood, chairman of the board, the Tribune Co., Chicago, Ill., to a group of local law enforcement officials, graduating from the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy, Washington, D.C.

I would like to take this opportunity to insert a copy of this speech in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF J. HOWARD WOOD AT THE GRADUATION EXERCISES OF THE 80TH SESSION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION NATIONAL ACADEMY

I am delighted to participate in this important ceremony today. I congratulate each of you and the police departments you represent upon the successful conclusion of this most worthwhile course of study. The knowledge you have acquired in your twelve weeks at the Academy will, I know, be of great benefit to the citizens of your communities throughout your careers as police officers. I believe your presence here and the work of the FBI National Academy are in keeping with today's enlighted view that police work is a very professional pursuit requiring a high degree of training and skill.

I also think it most fitting that this program of advanced police education be held under the auspices of the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI's distinguished director, perhaps more than any other man, has brought international recognition to the field of law enforcement. If anyone epitomizes to the world our Nation's thousands of educated, capable and career law men, it is Mr. Hoover. The FBI, under Mr. Hoover's leadership, has achieved fame, recognition and admiration unmatched by any other government agency in the world. Where else would leading local law enforcement officials assemble to acquire advanced skill than at this Academy staffed and operated by the FBI?

I would like to share with you this afternoon my reaction to this graduation and what it means to me as a newspaperman and a citizen. A government can neither function nor survive unless it can establish and maintain law and order. The frightening riots that occurred in this country last summer graphically portray that without law and order there can be no economic progress, no social progress and, indeed, nothing but chaos. Violence, crime, and mob rule never have advanced anybody's cause or country.

In the United States, law enforcement must always be accomplished without endangering our democracy. Although we must always have an effective, well-equipped and adequately staffed police force to keep the peace, we can never permit that force to function so as to jeopardize our guaranteed liberties. We cannot maintain law and obtain order at the expense of freedom. Indeed, we need only look to the East to see the results of that kind of solution. It is a solution every thinking American rejects.

No one can study history without realizing that totalitarian governments most often arise and remain in power with the aid of a national police force. The FBI and J. Edgar Hoover have long recognized the dangers inherent in such an organization, and they have resisted all suggestions to enlarge the FBI's jurisdiction and covert it to a national peace-keeping organization. Instead, the FBI has remained truly and simply the best national investigative agency civilization has ever seen. Thus, the primary and fundamental responsibility for maintaining law and order is upon the local police, which a majority of you represent. You are a part of, and responsible to, the community in which you function. You form, in sum, a grass roots system of law enforcement.

I think that our method of law enforcement is one of the great bulwarks against a so-called police state. No person can control the police power of this Nation, for it is diffused into the hands of each local community. However, this bulwark will remain only so long as local law enforcement agencies are strong, vital and responsive to the needs of the community. Strong local law enforcement requires able, well-trained local law officers. Thus, your training at the Academy not only assures your community of having more effective officers, but to me it means solid reassurance that local law enforcement will continue to be the primary peace-keeping force. Furthermore, the responsibility is not moved to Washington. There is too much shifting toward Washington, and law enforcement certainly should not follow this pattern.

I believe that in the newspaper you have a strong ally in keeping law enforcement effective at the local level. Unless your city or town is a striking exception, you will face upon your return home a mounting crime rate.

Since 1960, the volume of crime has risen nearly seven times as fast as America's expanding population. The Uniform Crime Reports Bulletin for 1966 reported that a record of nearly 3¼ million serious crimes were committed in the United States last year. And a new record appears to be in the making, since during the first six months of 1967 crime rose 17 per cent over the same period in 1966. In Washington, the increase was 2½ times the national rate, although this city has the highest per capita income of any American metropolis.

You are dedicated men, or you wouldn't be here. The career you have chosen—that of protecting the rest of us—is the highest possible form of public service. No one asked you to do this. You have not been drafted. You have volunteered with the knowledge that the battle against vicious criminals, many of them repeaters, is a hazardous and often unappreciated undertaking. Last year, 57 law enforcement officers were killed in line of duty. From 1960 through 1966, 335 law men were killed. Of the 442 persons involved in the slaying of these officers, 67 per cent had records of prior convictions. Of this group with prior convictions, 69 per cent had been granted leniency in the form of parole or probation on at least one occasion in their criminal careers. In fact, three of every ten of these law breakers were on parole or probation when they killed a police officer.

I see nothing to any of the statistics that cross the Tribune's news desks that gives any cause for belief that a downward trend is in the offing. On the contrary, the trend is toward more and more crime. You must meet this challenge if the Nation's system of local law enforcement is to maintain the confidence of the people. A willing partner in your fight against crime in the community is the Nation's press. I am sure that many of you already can bear witness to the effective working relationship between the press and the police in combating crime.

I hope that when you return to your respective cities you will collaborate with reporters and editors in your area to expose crime and corruption. My own newspaper, the Chicago Tribune, is proud of its fine team of reporters who, working with law enforcement officials, have been responsible for a great many successful investigations and prosecutions.

In Chicago, a city once regarded by many as the birthplace of organized crime, unprecedented strides are being made by federal, state, county, and local authorities against big-time criminals. The top mobsters are on the run. The Chesterfield coats, the pointed shoes, and the gaudy automobiles of the crime syndicate gangsters are becoming less and less a symbol of encouragement and success to the lower echelon hoodlums.

In the last few years, with the cooperation of local law men, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, and other federal agencies, have helped imprison more big-time gangsters than ever before in the history of our city. In other communities throughout the Nation, the press has worked closely with the authorities to bring to justice those who have enriched themselves by preying upon the law-abiding majority. The American Newspaper Publishers Association is proud of its members' participation in the fight against crime.

One of my primary responsibilities as president of ANPS has been an active involvement in the current so-called "free press-fair trial" controversy. That controversy, as you may know, has arisen because certain members of the bar and bench are advocating severe restrictions on reporting to the public the crime news of the community on a current basis—crime as it happens. The assertion is made that unless much of the reporting of the day's crime news is curtailed, the defendant will be denied a fair trial before a jury. These advocates of restraint wish to prohibit the police from giving the press information that is plainly necessary for the public to judge how those in office are performing their public function.

My fellow publishers and I are concerned about the assertion that jurors cannot decide a case fairly if they read about it in a newspaper. We feel that this reflects a deep-rooted lack of confidence in the integrity of American jurors and their ability to assess the evidence in open court. One of the Nation's most prominent and able Federal judges, Chief Judge William J. Campbell of the Northern District of Illinois, told this very Academy's graduates earlier this year that he regards proposed restrictions or guidelines in reporting crime news as displaying a complete lack of confidence in the ability of trial judges to conduct and control criminal trials. I think that the advocates of restraint, besides displaying lack of faith in judges and juries, also are equally guilty of showing a complete lack of confidence in the judgment, integrity and good sense of the police, and, of course, of the press itself.

I do not lack confidence in the police or newspapers, nor do I believe that either intends to or will jeopardize the rights of a defendant. I think police and press can freely exchange information and inform the public, and the defendant can still have a fair day in court. I see no justification or basis for general rules restricting crime reporting. No one has yet demonstrated, and I do not believe anyone ever will, that prejudice occurs in day-by-day factural reporting of crime news. Furthermore, we have seen nothing to convince us that reading news about a crime will induce jurors to ignore the evidence or a trial judge's instructions. That being the case, we feel strongly that the police should be allowed to do their appointed job, the courts and juries theirs, and the press to report all that occurs concerning the public business.

I think an experience in Chicago last year indicates the harm inherent in artificial and general restraints on crime news reporting. When Richard Speck, who murdered eight nurses, was sought, Orlando Wilson, then Chicago's police commissioner, announced publicly that the killer had been identified. Wilson later was criticized for jeopardizing Speck's rights by that announcement. I wonder if those critics were aware of the hysterical conditions in the south side of Chicago at the time Speck was captured. Eight barbarous murders had been committed and the city was in such a state that many people were afraid to walk the streets. Others were speaking of going out on the street armed. All sorts of unfortunate incidents, accidents and even catastrophies could have occurred had the city not been reassured by Wilson's announcement. I believe that Wilson's announcement was proper and that thereafter Speck received his day in court and a fair trial.

During celebrated crimes, whether it be a murder of eight nurses or the assassination of a President, and where fear to the point of panic grips the community or Nation, law enforcement officials must be allowed use of their common sense, and be permitted to make appropriate announcements under the circumstances. Police officers should never be compelled to follow an artificial set of rules that probably would cause more evil and mischief than they could ever cure.

I know that you are all aware of the current trend of criminal law in the United States. There are many outspoken proponents and opponents of such new criminal doctrines as exemplified in the Escobedo and Miranda cases—decisions which have dramatically enlarged an accused's rights.

Ultimately, the wisdom of the Escobedo and Miranda decisions must be tested against experience in the light of what best insures the rights of all. I think that the only way for the public to be sufficiently informed so that it may judge the wisdom of the current trend in the law is by giving full and complete reports of the activities of the police and the courts when the public interest is at its highest.

Only then will the public be able to judge whether police officers have been unduly restricted, or whether the defendant's rights are being safeguarded or overprotected, and where the community's best interests lie. Therefore, at this time of flux and reappraisal of our criminal law, we should encourage free and open reporting of crime news, and not impose censorship upon such reports. I would not want either the local police department or the local newspaper to be shackled by some central body which sets down rules of conduct or a straitjacket of behavior that is necessarily artificial and inflexible. I hope that day will never come. It would surely be a step toward a central police control.

I pledge to you, as graduates of this fine Academy, that the American newspaper industry is deeply committed to strengthening local law enforcement, and will continue to advocate that responsibility for law and order be retained at the local level. We will resist all attempts to strip you of your responsibilities in maintaining law and order, whether it be in the field of law enforcement itself, or in your reporting to the public through the press. We also shall vigorously fight to maintain the right to print and the public's right to know the crime news of the day, and exactly how you and your departments are functioning. I do not see how democracy as we know it can work any other way.

I thank J. Edgar Hoover and his magnificent staff for the opportunity to be with you and speak to you today.

Cable Snatching Backfires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, there was considerable levity in the press over the purloined cable which Governor Reagan gleefully distributed to the Republican Governors at their recent meeting aboard the *Independence*.

It was treated in some quarters as a mischievous prank on the part of Governor Reagan and a joke on the President. At a time when privacy of communication is a major issue before the courts and the Congress, I do not think it should be treated flippantly. It seems to me Mr. Robert G. Spivack in his "Watch on the Potomac" column has put this matter in the perspective it deserves.

I insert his remarks in the RECORD:

WHAT CAME OUT OF THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON.—It is axiomatic in politics that there is no percentage in being "cute". A politician must exude "sincerity" or "shrewdness" or even "cunning" but if he seems overly-clever, or cute, he's bound to get into trouble.

Ronald Reagan of California is learning that lesson the hard way. What looked like a very cute gesture in The Case of the Purloined Letter, unexpecedly has backfired and Reagan is finding his "sincerity" image a bit tarnished.

For those who missed the scenario there was a cable to former Gov. Price Daniel of Texas from the White House with suggestions for lining up support for the President's Vietnam policy. One of Gov. Reagan's assistants, who was spending a great deal of time around the telegraph office, later acknowledged that he gave the cable to the Governor.

He would not say how he got it, but since it was clearly addressed to Price Daniel the implications are rather plain. Aside from the fact that there are criminal penalties for intercepting or opening other people's mail, the decision to open and circulate a cable from The White House is risky on a security count, too.

Reagan's office then compounded the act by making copies of the cable, circulated it to the other Republican governors and gave copies to the press. What resulted was not simply the torpedoing of a resolution backing the President.

The other Republicans, including Michigan's Governor Romney, got themselves into a position where they would not even support a compromise resolution pledging support and backing for Americans boys overseas.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller left the cruise early, apparently in disgust at such juvenile behavior. It's doubtful if Richard Nixon had been aboard the Republicans would have let themselves get maneuvered into such a spot.

Just as the Republicans were leaving their swank surroundings in the Virgin Islands, another group was converging on Washington, also determined not to say a good word for the American GIs in Vietnam.

Unlike the Republican governors, the latter group was part of the Left and Far Left. Some were genuinely for peace. Others were for a Communist victory over our men. The two groups had little in common except an unwillingness to do anything which might provide encouragement to America's fighting men.

A different thing, though, was happening in other cities. A group which called itself the Committee for Responsible Patriotism, which enjoyed backing from Nixon and former Sen. Barry Goldwater, said that regardless of differences over Vietnam policy they would do nothing to contribute to the loneliness of America's fighting men, or make them feel forgotten.

Aside from these negative results nothing much seemed to come out of the Governor's conference, aside from the opportunity it gave the Chief Executives to enjoy a cruise aboard the S.S. Independence into the warm waters of the Caribbean.

Aside from playing a Hollywood-type role in the case of the cable, Reagan did manage to align himself with the most right-wing of the Republican governors and ten from Dixie in refusing to support the Governor's conference's major working paper. This outlined a program for action by the states on meeting urban problems, how to avoid riots and eradicate their causes.

First Reagan abstained from voting. Then he switched and voted "no."

That was about the extent of Reagan's contributions to the meeting. It was just a little bit less than nothing.

Perhaps there was one positive result. After Nelson Rockefeller saw in action the man mentioned as a possible running-mate he was more determined than ever not to seek the G.O.P. nomination.

Facing the Big One in 1968

SPEECH
OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the analysis of a major political party in the United States is a very difficult undertaking. Nevertheless, this task has been accomplished with skill and imagination by two political professionals, Stephen Hess, a former assistant to President Eisenhower who is now an instructor of political science, and David S. Broder, a syndicated columnist and political correspondent for the Washington Post.

I wish to call the Hess-Broder product, "The Republican Establishment," to the attention to my colleagues. A review of the book by David Murry, which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times' "Book Week," follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times, Nov. 5, 1967]

FACING THE BIG ONE IN 1968

(By David Murray)

Late, late on election night, 1966, Ray C. Bliss, the Republican national chairman, sat in his Washington office watching the television screen record the impressive series of GOP victories across the land.

"I'd say we're on our way, Thrus," he remarked to Sen. Thruston B. Morton, the congressional campaign chieftain.

"You damn betcha we are," Morton replied. "It's a new ball game and it's a long time coming."

Now, a year later, there are few signs that the Republican momentum has measurably slackened, and the party and its leaders are facing the Big One in 1968, if not with cockiness, at least with waxing confidence.

Into this precampaign climate, Stephen Hess, a student and practitioner of GOP politics, and David S. Broder, a political correspondent and syndicated columnist for the Washington Post, have brought *The Republican Establishment*. At the beginning of the season when one can expect a torrent of political guidebooks, they have produced a high standard for others to follow. Their book, the result of three years of work, is a superb inventory of the GOP assets and liabilities in the year ahead.

As someone has said, the Democrats are a party of organizations, the GOP a party of personalities. Broder and Hess provide exhaustive portraits and assessments of the major contenders for the presidential nomination—Gov. George W. Romney of Michigan, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Sen. Charles H. Percy of Illinois and Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. But they also examine organization, finance, staff from Bliss on down, and find that the GOP, while it has made strides, is now basically made up of "clusters of independent organizing talents." Not, Broder and Hess say, that these clusters are incapable of mounting a successful campaign next year. The authors take the GOP leaders to the top of the temple to show them the world—or at least the politically arable U.S. land.

The nation as a whole is younger than ever (27 average age by 1968 vs. 33 in 1964), better-educated (half the young men reaching their majority have gone beyond high school), and urban (three-fourths of the population in metropolitan areas). The GOP must no longer rely on the old-fashioned, rural-and-small-town policies and philosophies, Hess and Broder write. And there is reason to believe that the Republicans are seizing chances to capitalize on the massive population shifts.

"But the question of which party will mobilize the new generation of voters is as yet unsettled," the authors say. "The Democrats are hardly dunderheads and not all of them are 80 years old." Given the proved Democratic penchant in the past to ride, in Dean Acheson's words, with "the drama of human progress," the Republicans have their work cut out for them.

At the top of one list they have candidates such as Persy and Reagan who are attractive to the younger group of voters, although for different reasons. Farther down, there is a handsome group of senators, governors and congressmen—young, articulate and responsive to the new professional and managerial class that now controls the economy.

Broder and Hess do not, however, seem to take into large account the one great factor that could re-elect Lyndon Johnson next year. That is the *kamikaze* complex to which the GOP has clung through the years. There is no reason the authors should have examined this in any great detail, because it becomes apparent only after the fact. Like a bad shot in golf, you know exactly what you have done wrong as soon as you have done it. But it is very nearly a physical law—or has been in the past—that if the Republicans are given the opportunity to muff a chance, they will almost invariably do it.

The authors do point out a number of ways in which this pitfall can be avoided, and even provide some encouraging signs that the party leadership is aware of it. But we shall see.

Broder and Hess, thank God, present no heroes or villians in their assessment. They do not, again the same grace, view politics as a holy calling. They write with high good humor about people and incidents. For example, Nixon, the indefatigable campaigner for others in 1966, is described as making a speech in Oakland, Calif., "for 50 minutes, imbuing a soon-to-be-forgotten Republican congressional candidate with virtues his own wife never suspected he possessed." At another point, they chacterize the trogloydytes in the GOP as viewing the progrssives of the Ripon Society as "button-down Mario Savios."

More enlightening even than the profiles of the front-runners is a solid, carefully researched look at the leaders in the different regions of the country, along with the gains and losses of the past and the chances for the future. For a political writer, this section is an advanced refresher-survey course; for the novice, it is required reading for an understanding of national politics.

Dickinson Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Representative WILLIAM DICKINSON has sent a useful newsletter to the people of the congressional district he represents. It follows here in the general interest:

BILL DICKINSON REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE

DEAR FOLKS: October saw some political blood-letting on the Floor of the House. On the 18th, Republicans and conservative Democrats dealt the President a blow for the taxpayer. By a healthy margin, we ordered President Johnson to hold federal spending to $131.5 billion—$5 billion less than the President had requested in his budget to Congress.

However, the President doesn't like it when the arm being twisted is his. As a result of this "LBJ backlash," a big question mark hangs over several 2nd District projects: $625,000 authorized for construction of an archives building at Maxwell AFB (Montgomery), and $300,000 for improvement of Perdido Pass. Since all appropriation bill items are temporarily "frozen," these two important 2nd District projects are awaiting Conference Committee action.

POSTAL RATE INCREASE—FEDERAL PAY HIKE

I think almost all fair-minded people in the 2nd District who know anything about the facts, will agree that many of our postal employees are underpaid.

The man who delivers the mail and the man who sorts letters are subjected to rigid job classification & limited promotion opportunity which have caused inefficiency & costly and increasing turnover of personnel. These people are entitled to a change of classification in many instances & a reasonable increase in pay.

A bill was introduced at the first of this session (HR7) which was such a bill, & would have cost a little more than $626 million. I was prepared to vote for and support this bill. However, this is not the bill that reached the Floor for a vote.

The bill presented to us gave postal workers a 6 percent increase & almost ALL federal employees a raise of 4.5 percent—more even than the fancy spending LBJ Administration had recommended. This would cost 3 billion dollars a year when fully effective. In addition, the military pay raise bill was before the Armed Services Committee at the same time, and it had been announced that the military pay hike would be on a par with the civilian pay raise. This would add an additional $2.7 billion dollars to the annual debt when fully effective, and both bills together amount to $5.3 billion per year.

We were asked to support this at a time when we are faced with a tax increase of 10 percent to pay our present debt, plus ever increasing inflation. I could not vote to increase expenditures without voting to raise taxes, which I will not do. Another bad feature of this bill was that it raised all postal rates, but the raises will not increase efficiency or the service within the Post Office Department. Also included in the bill was a pay raise for myself and all federal judges and other high government officials. These are some of the reasons I voted "no".

VIETNAM MAPS AVAILABLE

Due to the large number of requests we have had for up-to-date maps of Vietnam from constituents with sons, husbands and fathers in Vietnam, I have procured a limited supply and will be happy to send them upon request. This map is published as a House document. The maps are in color and offer good details of Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT YEARBOOKS

Also available upon request is the 1967 Agriculture Yearbook entitled, "Outdoors, U.S.A." Both map and yearbook requests should be mailed to my Washington office.

NEW OFFICE NUMBER

My staff and I just went through the ordeal of moving from the fourth floor of the Cannon Building to the fifth floor of the Longworth Building. My new address is: 1504 Longworth House Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515. The phone number, thank goodness, is the same.

The reigning Miss Universe is Sylvia Hitchcock, a student at the University of Alabama. I had the pleasure of meeting her during a Washington stop over on her year-long tour. Although she represented Alabama in the international beauty contest, we must share our pride with Florida. She hails from Miami where her father is a member of that city's finest—the Police Department. She is as gracious as she is attractive, and I know she will represent Alabama well during her exciting tenure as Miss Universe.

When a citizen got a letter from a politician addressed to "Occupant," and asking for campaign funds, he sent back a nice check—signed "Occupant."

In my last letter I mentioned I was going to take a first-hand, on-the-spot look at the F–111A fighter—better known as the TFX. Above you see me doing just that at Nellis AFB, Nevada. Colonel Dethman, who is showing me the plane, is organizing a squadron to take it to Vietnam sometime soon, (according to the press). About the time it looked like they were getting the "bugs" worked out of the Air Force version, one konked-out in flight and crashed on October 19th. Now, they're not so sure. (This is the third one to crash in all). On October 20th the *first* production model F–111A was delivered to the Air Force, but the Navy will be at least two years late receiving their order of F–111B's—if they accept them at all.

Incidentally, one of the pilots who bailed out of the crashed F–111A was Max Gordon, a graduate from Auburn in Aeronautical Administration.

Baltimore Sergeant Decorated for Service in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Glenn C. Hoppert, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hoppert, of Baltimore, Md., was recently awarded the Army Commendation Medal for meritorious service in Vietnam. Sergeant Hoppert, who is now serving with the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, N.C., previously won the Bronze Star for heroism while he was with the 101st Airborne in Vietnam. I wish to commend this young man for his courage and to congratulate his parents on the fine job their son is doing for his country.

Big Job Ahead for Administrative Conference Chairman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, we now have a Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States. We waited for 3 years for this appointment by the President, so the time is here to make special and favorable note of the nomination and confirmation of the Administrative Conference Chairman.

Prof. Jerre S. Williams comes from Texas and appears to come with many qualifications for the job of Conference Chairman.

His job is an enormous undertaking. When he goes to work each morning his is the responsibility to seek improvements in all of our public service. He must find ways to counteract delay and duplication and excess costs in our Government and in the regulatory agencies particularly. He is to see that Federal programs are administered adequately and fairly. He is to insure the protection of the rights of private persons and the promotion of the public interest. He is, as Prof. Walter Gellhorn suggested, the official who might very possibly become a sort of American ombudsman.

I wish him well in these tasks. As a part of my remarks I am including a November 5 editorial from the Washington Post about the work ahead for the Administrative Conference:

AGENCY-IMPROVEMENT DEVICE

Few acts of Congress have been as grossly neglected as the law to set up the U.S. Administrative Conference to improve the operations of the Government's quasi-judicial agencies. This act, devised by an eminent group of experts and passed unanimously by Congress in 1964, is designed to do for the administrative agencies what the Judicial Conference of the United States has done for the judicial system. Yet three years passed with nothing being done because the top position in the new system was left vacant.

Now at last Jerre S. Williams, law professor of the University of Texas, has been nominated and confirmed to be chairman of the Conference and it is hoped that the venture will get into motion. The Conference is to be a clearing house for complaints of all kinds involving the administrative process. It will be Mr. Williams' task to screen these complaints, dismissing the frivolous ones and sending the others to a 12-man council, which is incidentally, yet to be named. The end result would be an expert study of meritorious complaints, debate of the findings in the Conference (made up largely of agency representatives) and finally recommendations to change faulty procedures and practices.

The courts have found their self-improvement mechanism to be highly useful. In the far-flung administrative agencies there is still greater need to focus attention upon arbitrary conduct, inefficiencies and citizen grievances. Now that the first step has been taken toward setting up this hopeful Administrative Conference the President and Congress ought to make a special point of giving it the tools it will need so as to overcome the consequences of its slow start.

Patriotism Is Not Old Fashioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, some people feel it is not fashionable to be patriotic. Recent waves of protests, draft card burning, and hippie uprisings overshadow reports of those who still are patriotic and are not ashamed to demonstrate for, instead of against, the United States. A paper in my district recently included an editorial on patriotism in which it applauded efforts of those who rallied in support of our country. The Titusville Star-Advocate, in an editorial entitled, "Patriotism Is Not Old-Fashioned," commends a patriotic rally organized by a 19-year-old high school student. It gives needed publicity to a popular and constructive element of our society. I insert it in the RECORD as evidence that responsible citizens are not afraid to be patriotic.

[From the Titusville (Fla.) Star-Advocate, Oct. 31, 1967]

PATRIOTISM IS NOT OLD-FASHIONED

Proof that patriotism is not, and never will be, considered as "old-fashioned" by the majority was clearly demonstrated again Sunday.

A patriotic rally, organized by a 19-year-old high school student, drew an estimated 25,000 persons in Wakefield, Mass., on Sunday for a 75-minute program of prayers and speeches.

The rally, held as a gesture of support for American servicemen in Vietnam, was conceived by the youthful organizer after he became infuriated over an anti-Vietnam protest held in downtown Boston on Oct. 16, when some 200 youths either burned what they claimed were their draft cards or turned the documents over to clergymen.

Massachusetts Governor John A. Volpe, one of the speakers at the rally, told the crowd: "Patriotism is said by some people to be old-fashioned now. But it never should be out of fashion. It can stand revival. Let's make it fashionable together."

Gov. Volpe, and hopefully others, can say that again, and again, and if they'll put it in the form of a motion they will find those who will "second it" number in the hundreds of thousands.

Rallies, such as this one held Sunday, are welcome gestures of support for Americans serving in Vietnam, without taking sides on whether or not we should be there.

Regardless of how one feels about our involvement in Vietnam, Americans are fighting and dying in the cause of freedom and they have every right to expect our wholehearted support behind each and every deadly mission. Surely that is the least we, enjoying the comforts of home, can do in support of those fighting "freedom's" battles in the jungles and rice paddies of Vietnam.

Jurisdiction Over Ocean Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements has been holding hearings on who should have jurisdiction over the ocean's resources. These hearings were stimulated by the proposal of Malta that the United Nations should have a significant role in making the decision.

An article in last Friday's Christian Science Monitor discusses the arguments for and against the Maltese proposal. Because a number of Members have introduced resolutions on this subject, I include the article in the RECORD:

VAST WEALTH?—U.N. URGED TO STUDY OCEANS

(By Earl W. Foell)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The so-called Captain Nemo" issue—complete with undersea mineral reserves sufficient to supply the earth for up to 400,000 years, undersea nuclear-deterrent races and sonic jamming, and strontium-90-threatened fish—has surfaced here with a splash.

The splash came partly from a speech. It was a widely researched 63-page Moby Dick of a speech with which tiny Malta sought to persuade UN members they ought to get busy thinking about controlling earth's vast sea bed for peactful purposes.

Malta's ambassador Ariv Pardo bored some delegates and fascinated others with this book-length address. His research was vivid. His conclusions were broad and stirred some big-power doubts. But his suggestions for action start modestly with a request for appointment of a UN study committee.

RESOLUTION OUTLINED

That committee, he urged, should consider producing a resolution which would declare:

That national claims to sovereignty over the ocean floor "should be frozen until a clear definition of the continental shelf is formulated."

That the ocean floor, as a common heritage of mankind, should be exploited only for peaceful purposes.

That any financial benefits from seabed production should be used with "preferential treatment" given to the needs of poor countries.

That a "widely representative" committee should draft a landmark treaty which would safeguard the international character of the seabed through an international agency.

CONTROVERSIAL NATURE CLEAR

Such an agency will obviously be the basic sticking point when debate on the issue becomes serious here. As outlined by Ambassador Pardo, the agency would rule a huge, sharply bordered area beyond continental shelves.

It would see to banning military moves in this area. It would supervise exploration rights and grant leases for mineral and sea-farming exploitation. It would act as "a trustee for all countries."

Already much muttering has been heard from nations interested in undersea resources, from military headquarters, and from industrial spokesmen.

$5 BILLION PROFIT?

To counter this growing opposition to his newborn plan, Mr. Pardo seeks to rally the support of the poorer nations, which make up a majority of mankind and of UN membership. He asserts that "hasty calculations" indicate that if a sea-floor agency were to be created in 1970, by 1975 its gross annual revenue from concessions and leases would be, "conservatively," $6 billion.

Deducting administrative and research expenses, he claims, the net profit would amount to $5 billion. This, he urges, should be used primarily for development investment in poorer lands.

The industrialized Western powers (some speaking publicly) and the industrialized Eastern powers (mostly speaking privately) tend to downgrade the Maltese plan as visionary.

Some of the "haves" agree with American officials, who say they are intensely interested in the subject opened by Mr. Pardo. But they tend to see the world-agency phase of his plan as "unrealistic for the foreseeable future."

One American said that what was realistic was for a UN committee to study the subjects brought up by Mr. Pardo—first the legal definition of deep-sea bed as contrasted to continental shelf, second the problem of atomic-waste pollution, and eventually the question of undersea "second-strike" arms races.

CALLED LARGELY PREMATURE

Such spokesmen assert that the other parts of the Pardo plan are "premature" and that there is "lots of company" for nations holding this view.

Undaunted, Mr. Pardo is attempting to stir delegates into serious action by hitching a stick to the $6 billion carrot of marine revenues described above.

That stick consists of his stark picture of the results of a new undersea nuclear-arms race. Mr. Pardo argues that tracking devices now in existence could be placed on the sea floor to neutralize the secret maneuvering advantages of Polaris-type "second-strike" nuclear submarines.

He also asserts that undersea missile-defense sites, perhaps maneuverable launchers near the bottom, could change the nuclear balance of terror by making it possible to hit attacking missiles before their warheads could split off into multiple-strike patterns.

GRIM PICTURE DRAWN

Mr. Pardo pictures any such undersea arms races in grim terms: hugely expensive, giving no new advantage to either superpower, and endangering even existing sea resources. He envisions an arms race as eventually including national appropriation of the area around undersea missile sites, banning of naval activity in such areas, and use of sonar-jamming equipment to prevent detection by an enemy. ("Insonifying" is the jargon for this loud breach of the "silent sea.")

Such steps—shrugged off by big-power spokesmen as distant—could play havoc with existing fishing and even mineral-extraction industry.

The future of mineral extraction is painted by the Maltese in glowing estimates taken from the projections of technical writers. To back these expansive figures Mr. Pardo cites the unexpected jump in underseas yields in the recent past.

There is an element of the visionary in this catalogue. But Mr. Pardo is eager to make sure that UN diplomats do not remain indifferent to Captain Nemo until the Jules Verne age is too far advanced for political control.

Handling of Federal Water Pollution Control Standards Criticized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the Appendix of the Record correspondence in criticism of the handling of the Federal water pollution control standards by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

Put in simple terms, the communication to the board of directors of the National Wildlife Federation, one of the largest and most prestigious of the conservation organizations, points out that the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration is failing to carry out the purposes of the Water Quality Act of 1965—Public Law 89–234.

As one of those who worked very hard to secure enactment of this important piece of legislation, I join the National Wildlife Federation in criticism of inadequate and incorrect interpretation of the congressional intent on this important legislation.

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration has permitted downgrading of water quality standards, has failed to carry out the requirements of law on pollutants, and is permitting States to fix standards lower than those now afforded by practice and usages. The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration is failing to use its authority to "protect the public health and welfare, enhance the quality of water and serve the purposes of the act," to quote from the purposes of the statute.

A number of Federal standards have been approved wherein States affix lower usages than is possible for rivers, streams and lakes.

The failure to fix usage appropriate to the water, as high as can be met with appropriate treatment, is a retreat from the intent of the law and a disregard of the clearly expressed will of the Congress.

It also represents poor trusteeship of one of the Nation's vital resources—its clear water—which is so essential to the future of this Nation.

The letters referred to follow:

National Wildlife Federation,
Washington, D.C., October 26, 1967.

To National Wildlife Federation Board of Directors:

Gentlemen: As result of a recent meeting of representatives of several conservation organizations with the Assistant Secretary of the Interior (Water Pollution Control), Frank C. DiLuzio, and officials of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, I wrote to the Secretary of the Interior.

Copy of this communication in which I express disappointment in current attitudes toward establishing water quality standards, is attached.

Copies are also being directed to participants in the meeting held October 9, to officers of NWF State Affiliates and their national affairs committee members, to all state conservation agency directors, and to members of appropriate Congressional committees.

Sincerely,

Thomas L. Kimball,
Executive Director.

National Wildlife Federation,
Washington, D.C., October 18, 1967.

Hon. Stewart L. Udall,
Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: May I take this opportunity to thank both you and Assistant Secretary DiLuzio for the time you have taken to discuss with the major national conservation organizations some of the problems which are currently being encountered in establishing water quality standards for interstate waters as presented by the states under the provisions of the Water Quality Act of 1965 (Public Law 89–234).

As a consequence of the discussions which were held, I would like to present a few basic concepts, observations and conclusions which have disturbed the officers, directors and affiliates of the National Wildlife Federation in their efforts to assist in cleaning up the Nation's water supply:

1. We have been told by members of the Congress, associates in the Water Pollution Control Administration and you, that the purpose of Public Law 89–234 is to enhance the quality and value of our water resources and to establish a national policy for the prevention, control and abatement of water pollution. It has been further stated that no standards submitted by the states could be accepted if there were built into those standards a means to pollute further, and deteriorate the purity of existing waters. In discussing this matter, however, with the technical staff of the Water Pollution Control Administration, we were shocked to find:

a. That officials of FWCDA are of the opinion they cannot classify water use on interstate streams, conceding this is the sole prerogative of the state, thereby abandoning any Federal authority, real or imaginary, over water use classification.

b. That pure water can be downgraded and polluted legally under the terms of the Federal Act, as long as it meets standards accepted by you for the specific use designated by the state.

2. The Guidelines for establishing water quality standards which were sent to the states as a means of providing direction for establishing state standards emphasize that the standards submitted be of such quality as to "protect the public health and welfare, *enhance* the quality of water and serve the purposes of this Act." Under the policy guidelines, it was frankly and succinctly stated that no one has the inherent right to pollute the Nation's waterways and that "*in no way will standards providing for less than existing water quality be acceptable.*" Most conservationists were bitterly disappointed to learn that the Water Pollution Control Administration concedes that this most significant of all directives was and is in their judgment impractical and impossible of attainment. This conclusion was aptly demonstrated when we learned standards from ten states have already been accepted which do not meet this policy direction guideline.

3. As I understand the discussions with the administrators and technicians of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, they are placing all of their hopes to improve the water quality throughout our nation on agreements from the states that they will provide primary and secondary treatment for domestic sewage and industrial effluents. Again, most conservationists were disheartened with this halfhearted approach and negative attitude towards our entire water pollution abatement program. In the first place, primary and secondary treatment doesn't remove heavy metals which are extremely toxic to the aquatic environment. Nor do they remove the fertilizing chemicals which account for algae and other oxygen-depleting growth which adversely affects water quality; nor does it even consider thermal pollution. Furthermore, the accumulative effect of several plants with primary and secondary treatment of even 85 per cent effectiveness can completely degrade a stream and ruin it for most beneficial uses. Here again, such a policy represents an important retreat from the original basic concept that polluters would eventually be required to construct whatever treatment facilities are necessary to keep water pure enough for all legitimate water uses.

4. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and all of the national conservation organizations, to my knowledge, have vigorously supported the standards recommended by the National Technical Advisory Committee on Water Quality Requirements for Fishes, Other Aquatic Life and Wildlife. Members of this Committee were selected by the Federal government as the most knowledgeable and reputable scientists in the field of aquatic biology and pollution control and they have submitted what is considered by most technicians and conservationists to be the most capable presentation of the required standards for maintaining a healthy aquatic environment.

Once again, conservationists were extremely distressed to learn that these standards have not been adopted as the formal guidelines for developing state fish and wildlife standards. Although submissions by ten states already have been approved, there is still no FWPCA approved guideline standards for fish and wildlife and no commitment as to when formal approval of the National Technical Advisory Committee's recommendation may be expected.

In short, perhaps all of the fifty state standards (for fish and wildlife) which are now under review, will be evaluated and approved before the Water Pollution Control Administration officially approves standards developed by its own technical advisory committee.

5. A number of states have classified streams as fish and wildlife waters and yet have proposed standards below those recommended by the National Technical Advisory Committee as essential for maintaining healthy game fish populations. The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, in some instances, has accepted these standards without advising the states that such standards will not fully protect the stated classified use of the streams. Of even greater concern, however, is that the bulk of the fishermen and other citizens are of the opinion that this classification and the standards proposed by the state and accepted by FWPCA will fully protect the fisheries values present. Yet, unless the Federal government assumes its full responsibility by notifying the general public as to the inevitable effects of such a standard, they will be aiding and abetting a grave misrepresentation. Furthermore, once standards are set and placed in effect, it will be terribly difficult to upgrade them. Sanitary engineers building plants to meet a given level of water quality can hardly be expected to switch to higher levels without a struggle.

6. Many of the states are also bitterly disappointed at the amount of Federal money which will be made available for construction grants to assist in the abatement program. The Administration at first attempted to justify the niggardly amount of funds requested—less than half the amount authorized and needed—on the basis that the states had insufficient construction projects to accept any greater amounts of money. The National Wildlife Federation made a special

survey to determine just how much Federal funds could be wisely utilized if made available and testimony was presented to the Committee on the results of this survey. On October 10, 1967, this information was printed in the *Congressional Record* (page S14554–6), a copy of which is enclosed for your information.

While we have a genuine sympathy for the fiscal problems facing the United States Government in the light of the current conflict in Vietnam and for the many social reforms now under way, we are still to be convinced that there is any more worthwhile project which will do greater good to a larger segment of the American citizenry, than the water pollution abatement program. If we are to save America from all of the perils which currently confront us, let us at least have an America that possesses these esthetic qualities of the natural environment that make it worth saving.

In summary, we are dismayed and bitterly disappointed at the current trend in the water pollution abatement efforts. Apparently the Federal government has abrogated whatever right and authority it might possess to classify the use of water in interstate streams. It is proposing, and has accepted, standards on streams the states have classified as primarily valuable for fish and wildlife which do not even meet its own criteria recommended by the National Technical Advisory Committee on Water Quality Requirements for Fishes, Other Aquatic Life and Wildlife. It has retreated from the published doctrine stated in the law and in the guidelines that no state standards would be accepted that do not fully protect existing water quality, as well as abate existing pollution. In fact, unless the present trend in administering the statute is reversed, there is a good probability that the Federal Water Pollution Control Act will turn out to be nothing more than a license to pollute the pitifully small remnants of pure water in America.

Sincerely,

THOMAS L. KIMBALL,
Executive Director.

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION,
Washington, D.C., October 3, 1967.

To: C. R. Gutermuth, Wildlife Management Institute; Sydney Howe, Conservation Foundation; Joseph W. Penfold, Izaak Walton League of America; Philip A. Douglas, Sport Fishing Institute; Miss Ada Kimsey, Gen. Federation of Women's Clubs; Dr. Fred G. Evenden, The Wildlife Society; Mrs. Justus Duvé, National Council of State Garden Clubs; Stewart M. Brandborg, The Wilderness Society; Mrs. Lois Sharpe, League of Women Voters; William E. Towell, American Forestry Association; Dr. Robert Hutton, American Fisheries Society; Dr. Spencer M. Smith, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources.

Subject: Meeting on Water Quality Standards.

This is a follow-up to our conference with the Secretary of the Interior and his staff on September 25, 1967.

A meeting to discuss technical points relating to water quality standards has been arranged with Assistant Secretary of the Interior, DiLuzio. This meeting has been scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. on Monday, October 9, 1967, in Room 4156, Interior Building. The meeting will continue as long as there appears to be a need.

We hope you can plan to participate or for your organization to otherwise be represented. Can you call my office by Friday, October 6, to let us know who will participate in order that the Secretary's office can be advised?

Sincerely,

THOMAS L. KIMBALL,
Executive Director.

Address by the Honorable James C. Cleveland at the 53d Annual Meeting of the American Association of State Highway Officials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on October 16, of this year my able and respected colleague, the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND], presented an address at the 53d annual meeting of the American Association of State Highway Officials at Salt Lake City, Utah. It was very appropriate for Mr. CLEVELAND to speak to AASHO at that meeting since later during the business session the commissioner of the New Hampshire Department of Public Works and Highways, Mr. John O. Morton, was elected president of the organization for the coming year.

My colleague from New Hampshire is an able and valuable member of the Committee on Public Works and serves on both the Subcommittee on Roads and the Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program. He utilized the experience and knowledge gained through his service on the subcommittees in preparing his speech for AASHO. The address is an informative and thought-provoking discussion on the Federal-aid highway program and its probable future. The address discusses succinctly and forcefully the critical problems confronting the Federal-aid highway program, including particularly the lack of adequate funds to complete the Interstate System, the willingness of the present administration to turn the highway program on and off like a spigot, and the paralyzing reorganization of the Bureau of Public Roads under the new Department of Transportation.

I commend it highly to my colleagues and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JAMES C. CLEVELAND AT THE 53D ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE HIGHWAY OFFICIALS, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, OCTOBER 16, 1967

It is a *real* pleasure to be with you today, because my interest in highways has been of long standing. During my 12 years of service in the N.H. Senate, my many years as a country lawyer, and five years in the Congress, highway matters have been of major and direct concern to me. Over the years I have enjoyed a cordial and constructive relationship with the N.H. Department of Public Works and Highways. I would like to take this opportunity to publicly pay my respects to Commissioner John Morton and his able and dedicated associates. They have been cooperative and helpful in many ways. Some of the information and suggestions which they have shared with me have in fact found their way into the laws of the land, and I hope that more will follow.

Today, I want to discuss the outlook for the Federal-aid highway program once the presently designated Interstate System has been completed.

As most of you know, chiefly because of financial difficulties, the Interstate System will probably not be completed until 1975. But it is imperative that we decide soon what course the highway program will take after that date, so that highway development can continue in an orderly manner without interruption.

The need for making decisions on the future program is made particularly urgent because of uncertainties as to the effect the creation of the new Federal Department of Transportation will have. I am genuinely concerned about the apparent down-grading of the Bureau of Public Roads and its effect upon the State-Federal partnership which has continued so long and so successfully.

The years since enactment of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 have wrought dramatic and far-reaching changes in the highway construction program and its acceptance by the public. Many of these changes have been reflected in amendments to the Federal-aid highway laws. I would like to briefly review some of the most important of these amendments, because they illustrate the growing realization that highways are more than a convenient means of getting from one place to another. The location and construction of a highway can have a tremendous impact—beneficially or otherwise—upon many groups other than the highway users.

On August 3, 1956, just a little more than one month after passage of the 1956 Act President Eisenhower approved *Public Law 966 of the 84th Congress*. This Act provided that the head of the Bureau of Public Roads would be a Federal Highway Administrator appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and to receive compensation at the rate set for Assistant Secretaries of executive departments.

The Act was passed in recognition of the increased importance of the expanded highway program and the additional responsibilities of the head of the Bureau of Public Roads resulting therefrom. However, this concept has now been reversed as a result of the reorganization of the Bureau within the new Department of Transportation. I do not believe the down-grading of the Bureau's authority, functions, and responsibilities is encouraging for the future of the Federal-aid highway program.

The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1958 contained the first Federal provision for the control of outdoor advertising. Under this provision, the States were offered a bonus if they agreed to control outdoor advertising in certain areas adjacent to the Interstate System but were not subjected to a severe penalty for failure to comply, as is provided in the controversial and unworkable Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

Also in 1958, all of the laws relating to the Federal-aid highway program were codified as *Title 23, United States Code*. This made only minor substantive change in the highway program, but it did bring together, in one convenient package, more than 40 separate laws dealing with the program.

The *Federal-Air Highway Act of 1962* contained two important provisions reflecting Congressional awareness of the severe impact highway construction can have on people and communities.

The first provision required that relocation advisory assistance be provided for the location of families displaced by acquisition or clearance of rights of way for any Federal-aid highway. Federal funds were also made available to reimburse States for moving cost payments to displaced persons and businesses.

The second important provision of the 1962 Act required that programs for Federal-aid highway projects in urban areas of more than 50,000 population be based on a continuing comprehensive transportation planning process carried on cooperatively by States and local communities.

In 1963, the Congress recognized that the requirement of the 1956 Act for Interstate highways to be constructed to standards adequate to accommodate traffic forecast for 1975, would result in highways which would be obsolete and inadequate almost as soon as they are opened to traffic. Accordingly, the *Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1963* required that Interstate highways be constructed to standards adequate to accommodate traffic forecast for the twenty-year period following approval of plans, specifications and estimates for projects.

The year 1965 was an extremely important one from the standpoint of the Highway program.

Public Law 89–139 requires that in January, 1968, and in January of every second year thereafter, the Secretary of Transportation, acting through the Bureau of Public Roads shall report to Congess his estimates of the future highway needs of the Nation. The purpose of this provision was to enable the Congress to obtain the information it must have in order to make proper decisions as to the nature and scope of the continuing highway program after completion of the Interstate System. As I indicated earlier, these initial decisions should be made soon.

Public Law 89–139 also contained a provision that after December 31, 1967, each State should have a Highway Safety Program. This provision, which was an amendment offered by the late Congressman Baldwin, was the forerunner of the Highway Safety Act of 1966. In fact, the 1966 Act has been referred to as "the Baldwin Amendment with money."

During the same year, 1965, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 was enacted. I could speak at some length on that inadequate and unworkable piece of legislation, but will refrain. Suffice it to say that the Act provides a penalty of 10 percent of all the Federal-aid highway funds apportioned to any State which fails or refuses to comply with the Act. I am very much in favor of beautifying our highways, but I do not believe that a penalty approach is at all appropriate in a State-Federal partnership program.

The year of 1965 also brought forth the *Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965*. This is an important enactment from the highway standpoint, even though it affects only thirteen States. The Act is based upon Congressional recognition that highways are an important element in the economic development of an area or region. In consequence, the bulk of Federal money provided under the Act is for the construction of highways and access roads.

In this connection, it seems to me that further thought should be given to highway location and construction as a tool to solve some of our serious urban problems.

Under several Great Society programs, millions of dollars are being poured into large metropolitan areas in an apparently unsuccessful effort to solve some of their economic and social problems. In my opinion, expenditure of such large sums of money may well have reached a point of diminishing returns. Some Federal actions may even be adding to the problems, by encouraging more people to migrate to hopelessly crowded metropolitan areas, and conversely by discouraging the development of smaller communities.

I suggest that some urban ills might be alleviated by reducing or reversing the trend of migration to large metropolitan areas. We know that highways are an important element in economic development. We know that construction of Interstate highways and other freeways is almost always followed that construction of Interstate highways by commercial, industrial and residential development.

Highways should thus be located where the maximum economic development potential can be realized. If this is done, development along the highways may help slow down the migration to large metropolitan areas.

The year 1966 was even more active than 1965 with respect to the highway program.

The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1966 amended the existing law by requiring that the standards for highways on the Interstate System provide for at least four lanes of traffic in all cases. This I have long advocated.

The 1966 Act also declared it to be a national policy that maximum effort be made to preserve Federal, State, and local government parklands and historic sites. The Act prohibits the Secretary from approving any program for a project which requires the use of parklands unless such program includes all possible planning to minimize any harm to such or site.

The 1966 Act directed the Secretary of Commerce to make two important studies. The first of these studies was for the purpose of determining what action can and should be taken to provide additional assistance for the relocation and re-establishment of persons, business concerns and non-profit organizations to be displaced by the construction of Federal-aid highways. The requirement for this study reflected Congressional dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the relocation assistance being provided under the provisions of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962. The study has been submitted to the Congress and will provide the basis for considering further legislation on this subject.

The 1966 Act also directed the Secretary of Commerce to make a full and complete investigation and study of the advance acquisition of rights-of-way for future construction of highways on the Federal-aid highway systems. The report on this study has been submitted to the Congress, and I am delighted to note that it contains a recommendation that the Congress authorize a revolving fund from the Highway Trust Fund to finance the advance acquisition of rights-of-way. I am particularly gratified at this recommendation because in 1963, during the 88th Congress, and in each Congress since then, I have introduced a bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to advance Federal-aid highway funds to any State for early right-of-way acquisition. With the report of the Secretary before the Congress, perhaps favorable action will be taken on my proposal at an earlier date.

Two additional important enactments during 1966 were the *Highway Safety Act of 1966* and the Department of Transportation Act. The Highway Safety Act, if properly carried out, can result in the saving of thousands of lives. I was a strong supporter of this Act, although I deplore the fact that it follows the example of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 by providing a severe penalty for those States which fail to comply. The *Department of Transportation Act*, as you know, places most of the Federal agencies having to do with transportation under a single department. I still have reservations as to what this change will accomplish that could not have been accomplished under the previous organizational structure. I am more concerned, however, about the downgrading of the Bureau of Public Roads which has taken place under the new Department.

During its consideration of the Department of Transportation Act last year, the Congress recognized that the United States has the finest highway network in the world, and that a primary reason for this is the Federal-Aid Highway Program, a State-Federal partnership program, with the BPR representing the Federal Government and doing an outstanding job. Because of this recognition, the Congress clearly expressed its intent that the Bureau be preserved when it provided in Sec. 3(f)4 of the Department of Transportation Act that "The Director shall be the operating head of the Bureau of Public Roads or any other agency created within the Department to carry out the primary functions carried out immediately before the effective date of this Act by the Bureau of Public Roads."

We have heard repeated assurances from the Department of Transportation that the Bureau of Public Roads would be preserved.

Unfortunately, however, analysis of the organizational structure and the delegations of authority issued by the Department of Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration are in direct conflict with these assurances. It is clear that despite the expressed will of Congress and repeated assurances from the Department, the Bureau of Public Roads has been almost completely eviscerated.

The field offices and personnel of the Bureau of Public Roads are no longer responsible to the Director of Public Roads. The division engineers report and are responsible to the regional engineers (who have been re-designated Regional Federal Highway Administrators). These officials report and are responsible directly to the Federal Highway Administrator, so that the Director of Public Roads is no longer in the chain of command. It is elementary that authority can be delegated but that responsibility cannot. It is an intolerable situation when the Director of Public Roads has no supervision or control over the officials exercising authority delegated by him.

Under the new organizational structure and delegations of authority, very few functions remain in the Washington office of the Bureau of Public Roads. According to an analysis prepared by my able colleague, William C. Cramer, of Florida—which can be found in the Congressional Record for October 3, at page H12895—the only functions which remain are, and I quote:

"Supervision and control over Region 15, which is engaged in direct Federal construction in the eastern part of the United States, and the Inter-American Highway Office (Regional 19), which administers construction of the Inter-American Highway in Central America:

"Development of policies, procedures and standards governing Federal and Federal-aid highway research, planning and construction (but subject to control of higher officials, and without control, over field offices applying such policies, procedures and standards);

"Provide technical program guidance and assistance to Federal Highway Administration Regional offices, other Federal and State agencies, and certain foreign governments with respect to the location, design, construction and maintenance of highways."

I am strongly in favor of reorganization for the purpose of streamlining and simplifying government and making it more efficient, but I am strongly opposed to the almost complete evisceration of a highly respected agency which, over the years, and on balance, has performed well.

I feel very strongy that substantial reorganization of Governmental agencies, as well as far-reaching legislative proposals should be carefully and critically analyzed by the Congress. This is the only means of assuring that reorganizations are effective, and that the laws enacted by the Congress are workable and wise.

In order to accomplish this, the Committees, must be properly staffed, on both the majority and minority sides. Minority staffing is particularly important during periods when the same political party controls both the Congress and the White House, because the Members and staff of the majority party are oftentimes inclined to accept Administration proposals on faith, instead of subjecting them to careful scrutiny.

The House Committee on Public Works has a fine and capable staff on both the majority and minority sides. But on the minority side, at least, we have too few staff members to do all of the work which needs to be done.

The work of the Committee would be vastly better—and the highway program, among others, would benefit—if the minority members of the Committee can obtain the additional staff members we have been seeking so long, and need so badly.

I speak with some conviction on this subject of staffing. In a book entitled *We Propose: A Modern Congress*, published by my Task Force on Congressional Reform and Committee Staffing (McGraw-Hill) last year, I have a chapter on the need for increased minority staffing. I hope some of you may find the time to read that chapter. To dwell further on the vital importance of staffing to representative government is hardly necessary here. I know that all of you depend heavily on staffing and thus can appreciate, better perhaps than most, how truly important it is.

The year 1967 has not gone well from the standpoint of highways. The year started with joint Senate and House hearings on the highway cutback ordered by thhe President, allegedly as an anti-inflationary move. The "disorganization" of the Bureau of Public Roads followed.

The latest blow has been the proposal to severely cut back the highway program as part of the move to reduce Federal expenditures.

This proposal is an obvious sledgehammer tactic to bludgeon the Congress into passing the tax surcharges the President has recommended, instead of reducing unnecessary Federal expenditures.

It is a meaningless gesture. Cutting back on the Federal-aid highway program, which is financed on a pay-as-you-go basis out of the Highway Trust Fund, not the general fund, will have no effect whatsoever on the estimated expenditures in the Administrative budget nor the deficit of approximately $29 billion which the President has forecast.

It is an unwarranted and unthinking attack on the Federal-aid highway program which the President himself has described as being "one of our best investments".

I am a strong advocate of restraining Federal expenditures. But, continuity and orderly scheduling are essential to the highway program. Making that program an up-and-down, yo-yo program, which fluctuates with every change in the direction of the economic winds, is entirely unacceptable.

In other economy moves affecting other construction programs the President has halted the approval of new projects, but has properly allowed projects underway to continue to completion. This is to avoid the economic waste of a half-completed facility.

Perhaps someone should remind the Administration that the Interstate System is a half-completed facility. The Interstate Highway Program is an on-going project, and should be continued to completion. It must be admitted that, unlike a half-finished project, part of thhe Interstate System can be and is being used. But it should also be noted that a completed Interstate System will save more lives.

Next year will be a critical one insofar as the future of the Federal-aid Highway Program is concerned. A new estimate of the cost of completing the Interstate System will be presented to the Congress, and the Congress will have to make a decision as to ways and means of financing the completion of the System. So far, the present Administration has exerted little leadership to provide for such financing. Also, in January of 1968 the Secretary of Transportation is to submit his recommendations concerning the future highway needs of the nation. I have no way of knowing what those recommendations will be but there are disturbing reports that they will bear little resemblance to the recommendations contained in the preliminary report of the AASHO presented to the Committee on Public Works last June.

Ladies and gentlemen, if our future Federal-aid Highway Program is to truly meet the needs of the Nation, and not simply be a subsidiary adjunct of some theoretical Great Society program, the highway departments must exert every effort to furnish to the Congress and to the people solid and constructive reasons for the continuation of the program and prove that this can be done with a minimum adverse impact on people and communities.

Let me hasten to say that I am confident that this will be done, that the Congress will provide for financing for the completion of the Interstate System and that the Congress will reach acceptable conclusions as to the nature and scope of our future Federal-aid highway program. I am confident of this, because AASHO in the past has done an outstanding job and because the Congress recognizes the necessity of an adequate highway network.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been a privilege for me to appear before you today, and I am looking forward to working with you in the future.

EPIC: Title I of the Higher Education Act in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, with the enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Congress of the United States recognized the changing role of the university and the college in America today.

In view of the pressing social problems which confront us all, we can no longer afford to regard our institutions of higher learning as a separate part of our society. Our communities are greatly in need of the talents of our concerned young men and women and our college students are eager as never before to address themselves to the task of finding solutions to our country's problems. Title I of the Higher Education Act enables these students to work together with the community for the benefit of the Nation.

Title I was enacted "for the purpose of assisting the people of the United States in the solution of community problems; by enabling the Commissioner to make grants; to strengthen community service programs of colleges and universities." As has been amply demonstrated in the past, there are many ways in which the college can be of service to the community, but I think you will agree that the strongest program is the one in which the community also contributes to the educational process. There must be a two-way exchange of ideas and services if the program is to be of maximum benefit to all concerned. In constructing such a program, then, there is one essential question which must be considered: How can this program best serve the needs of the underprivileged community while contributing to the effectiveness of the educational institution?

EPIC, or Educational Participation in Communities, is one of the most promising answers to this question. EPIC is a program which is being conducted at the California State College at Los Angeles under the able direction of Mrs. Vivian Gordon, formerly of the Education and Public Welfare Division of the Legislative Reference Service. Seventy-five percent of its funds are allocated to it by the Coordinating Council for Higher Education in California under title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The remaining 25 percent of EPIC's budget is provided by the California State colleges and the associated students of the college. EPIC is a demonstration project which is rapidly proving its value to the Los Angeles area, and which could well serve as a model for similar projects in other institutions. Several colleges in the Los Angeles area have already made plans to start their own EPIC programs, and requests for information have been received from schools across the Nation.

Last year over 1,000 students from California State, Los Angeles, volunteered their time and talents to participate in EPIC. These volunteers served in over 100 agencies in the Los Angeles area and contributed thousands of hours of their free time to a variety of projects. In my own district, the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation and the National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation in Beverly Hills, the Family Planing Center in Venice, the Venice Service Center, and the Neumeyer Foundation were all assisted by EPIC.

This year some of the student volunteers will be able to earn academic credit for field experience or independent study conducted while participating in the EPIC program. Others will fulfill their student teaching requirement in schools or Teen Posts.

Student interest in EPIC runs high. One Cal State L.A. student describes the impact of her work for EPIC in these terms: "My life is not the same. It's affected me greatly." Mr. Frank Gutierrez, Assistant Director of EPIC, explains the students' enthusiasm in this way: "Our students felt that there was something lacking in their college education and that something was experienced in dealing with people in their chosen field on a real-life basis." According to Mr. Gutierrez, many of the students have come to know poverty intellectually through books and classes, "but through EPIC they come to know poverty in a way that will not soon be forgotten."

EPIC provides valuable preprofessional experience for students who wish to continue in the fields of social work, public health, education, and recreation. It also prepares students of other vocational interests to function in the community in a constructive and meaningful way.

The Cal State newspaper, College Times, states that:

> At the present time EPIC answers so urgent a community need that it is organized on campus with a professional staff. The ultimate aim of the program is to establish a strong organization which can be entirely manned on a student volunteer basis."

The present staff of EPIC consists of a director, an associate director and an assistant director, as well as secretaries, program coordinators and student assistants. There is also an EPIC advisory board composed of campus and community representatives which meets regularly which meets regularly to evaluate program progress and recommend future activities.

An EPIC volunteer can choose to serve in one of eight project areas: recreation, teacher aides, hospital-clinic, Headstart, social work, special interest, or special programs and events. Within each area, there are opportunities for many different kinds of community service. Volunteers have staffed a summer school, tutored dropouts and potential dropouts, worked in planned parenthood clinics, conducted remedial reading groups for adults, assisted in physical therapy classes for handicapped children and counseled parolees for the county probation department.

It is apparent from this list, which represents only a few of the many activities in which student volunteers have participated, that EPIC is succeeding in serving many different portions of the community. During the first year of the program's operation, over 190 social agencies requested the assistance of college students through EPIC. The agencies are enthusiastic about the results, as the additional help provided by EPIC volunteers has enabled them to expand their own activities and services.

One of EPIC's most distinctive features is its flexibility. There is room for innovation and change within the context of the program. The advantages of such a broad approach are obvious in view of the multiple social problems which beset our communities. All community agencies may apply for volunteers, thereby identifying those areas where assistance is most urgently needed. The students can choose to work within the field of interest in which they can perform most effectively. And the community receives many services which might otherwise exist only as ideas in the minds and imaginations of these college students.

I should like to recommend EPIC as a highly successful example of the application of funds under title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. If the war on poverty is to be won, we must enlist the cooperation and support of the entire community. Our Nation's college students are an important part of this community. They are concerned and eager for change. Through EPIC, these students are discovering constructive ways to translate their desire for a better world into a social reality.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia Hails Creative Contribution of Amercan Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, it is often difficult to quantify the global impact of a creative concept such as the Peace Corps. How can one measure understanding? Or empathy? Or commitment? How can one measure the elusive process of human development?

I am happy to draw to the attention of my colleagues, however, that a growing number of foreign leaders are keenly aware of the solid contribution of the Peace Corps to the development of their nations.

Last month, for example, we read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that President Diori said:

> I consider the Peace Corps the best gift that the U.S. has made to Niger.

More recently, President Habib Bourguiba, of Tunisia, has cited American Peace Corps volunteers for helping lift "their brothers in humanity" into a place among the developed nations of the world.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I am happy to present the text of President Bourguiba's remarks and include it in the RECORD:

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT, HABIB BOURGUIBA, AT THE PALAIS DE CARTHAGE, OCTOBER 19, 1967

> I thank the Peace Corps Director in Tunisia, the Ambassador of the United States of America and all the representatives of the different American Peace Corps in this part of the world from Morocco to New Delhi, who have chosen Tunisia to meet in, and to exchange experiences and observations. It is a great satisfaction and honor for us and we hope that you will take home with you a good impression of Tunisia.
>
> You can be assured that—if you have occasion to travel in Tunisia, to meet and speak with Tunisians, which you can do in the company of Peace Corps Volunteers, their companions and their friends that they have made in Tunisia—and they are numerous—you will realize that Tunisia is also an open country which wants to work seriously and appreciates all the help that it receives from countries that are more advanced than ours.
>
> It is for this reason that we consider your contribution to the development of Tunisia important, and we value it greatly because, as well as being a cultural and economic or technical aid, it is at the same time a way for you to become acquainted with Tunisia and to introduce Tunisia to other Americans, and to give Tunisians the opportunity to know America, not only by means of newspapers or propaganda, but by the human contact of its children. Above all, when these children are Volunteers, they help their brothers in humanity who need this aid in order to take their place among the developed nations of the world. I think that this organization, which is an honor to America and which we owe to President Kennedy, is bearing its fruit. The Peace Corps has done much to make America known and appreciated by the people of the world.
>
> I believe that for this reason and in this spirit, this institution of the Peace Corps constitutes a work of peace, as well as a work of mutual comprehension—an idea which includes affection, respect, and understanding, which can develop, endure, and extend to all areas of activity.
>
> It is in this spirit that I wish to thank you for what the Peace Corps has brought in the way of aid to Tunisia, and for the honor that you have done to Tunisia in coming here for your conference, to come to know not only your own problems but also Tunisia. I thank you for your consideration and I wish that Tunisia might see you from time to time in order for you to follow our march forward.

Where Work Works Wonders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, we are about to begin debating again the merits and demerits of the administration's celebrated "war on poverty"—and we will undoubtedly discover enough of both qualities in that controversial conflict to spend the better part of this week talking about them.

At this moment, as the debate begins, it is difficult if not impossible for anyone to predict the outcome. But I am sure that, whatever the outcome, the American people will go on fighting poverty in their own individual ways, either through their own individual efforts, or on a collective, communitywide basis, and that this "other" war will continue to be won though not, perhaps, as fast as some of the more impatient among our citizens would like, and surely not as fast as those within the current administration who have badly oversold its own government-led "war on poverty," and inspired thereby something akin to a revolution of rising expectations among the poor, would like.

But, Mr. Speaker, what makes these comments of mine relative—I hope—to the present moment here in this Chamber, are two unrelated matters that were recently called to my attention, the first a comment by Columnist Joseph Kraft, in his syndicated column in the Washington Post for Sunday, October 22, and the second my recent opportunity to attend and speak at what I discovered was the 25th anniversary dinner of the Sheltered Workshop for the Disabled, Inc., of Binghamton, N.Y., in the congressional district I have the honor to serve.

Taking these items in order, Mr. Kraft—in commenting upon the current American scene—said, among other things:

> I do not think the country is yet ready to live on memories. I think it is still pulsing with restless energies, still doing every day with its left hand things undreamt of in the poor philosophy of Washington. And, setting against the energy of the country the tired routines of the political leaders. I am reminded of T. S. Eliot's famous lines:
>
> "Here I am, an old man in a dry month,
> Being read to by a boy waiting for rain."

Yes, Mr. Speaker, as Mr. Kraft suggests, this Nation does still pulse "with restless energies"—and the people of these United States, in their own way, are still accomplishing, and veritably with their "left hand," so many virtually unmarked successes that the sum total thereof continues to surpass even the wildest dreams of those who too often I fear, come close to believing that Government can somehow become a substitute for people.

Now, what in the world has Binghamton's Sheltered Workshop for the Disabled—and its complementary counterpart, Rehabilitation Services, Inc.—got to do with all this?

Well, Mr. Speaker, the theme of that 25th anniversary dinner was one of paying tribute to the founders and present or retired—or graduated—workers of this truly noble experiment: A place "where work works wonders."

Permit me, now, to detail the dimensions of the success of this enterprise—successes, believe it or not in this age of growing dependency upon some form of governmental assistance, that have been achieved without the need for either Federal aid or guidance:

Last year, the employees of the Sheltered Workshop earned more than $1 million in wages.

That is only a statistic, of course, but it has meaning. It is income that is spent in the Binghamton community for homes, cars, furniture, clothing and other items;

And behind it is a dramatic story of 25 years of productive work by talented people who have given that community a unique manufacturing facility;

As I have said, the workshop is self-supporting. It receives no outside financial support. In fact, both the company and its employees make contributions to many worthwhile community agencies;

Besides this, the handicapped employees—who surely have no handicap of the spirit which may be the only true human handicap—are taxpayers, not welfare recipients; 150 people have, in fact, been taken off the relief rolls through employment by the workshop;

Its more than 300 employees last year paid $133,552 in Federal income taxes, $19,144 in State taxes, and $86,208 in social security taxes;

The company and its employees have contributed $22,112 to the Broome County United Fund; 94 of its employees own their own homes; 168 have raised families; 132 own and drive automobiles, and 450 have "graduated" on to other jobs with other firms after their workshop training.

And all without "Federal aid."

Mr. Speaker, I feel like cheering—and most assuredly I am proud of this enterprise and of its people, just as is the community that is blessed by its presence; and, truly Mr. Speaker, those men with vision who founded this enterprise in awareness of their and our responsibility to our neighbors, and those who through the years have supported and worked for it, are the kind of people who are the backbone of our great country.

The lesson?

Here I am, an old man in a dry month,
Being read to by a boy waiting for rain

United Nations Attention Strips Cloak From Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, very little attention is being given to the manner in which the first Communist President of the United Nations General Assembly is conducting himself. An article in the San Diego Union on Friday, October 27, by columnist Daniel Danielopol gives proper attention to this matter. The article follows:

U.N. ATTENTION STRIPS CLOAK FROM ROMANIA

Romania's slip is showing.

Corneliu Manescu, Romanian foreign minister, is serving as president of the United Nations General Assembly and he looks good on television, but that's not enough.

The Romanians figured that this honor—it is the first Communist country to seat a U.N. president—was going to give them carte blanche in the West.

Instead it has turned the spotlight on conditions inside Romania. Despite carefully arranged props, the fact remains that the Romanian government holds all the tyrannical powers of a Stalinist state.

The reshuffling of the police set-up last August tightened control over the population rather than relaxing it.

Romanians requesting exit permits to visit relatives abroad are immediately suspect. They come under closer police scrutiny than before. Requests from relatives abroad for passports for loved ones are rejected in the great majority of cases.

Foreign embassies in Bucharest are out of bounds to most Romanians. Citizens cannot be invited to embassy functions without prior approval by the foreign office. Even tourists visiting Romanania are not secure.

Many former Romanians, who now have another nationality, have been arrested. The total of arrests of former Romanians reached 165 in September.

The charge? The Romanian police said the persons had, in many cases, visited Romania too often, which qualified them as "spies."

How does Manescu behave at the U.N.? Like any good Communist.

With brazen effrontery he slipped out of his chair, the other day, passed the gavel to his Indian substitute and joined the other Communist delegations as they marched out when the delegate from South Africa rose to address the Assembly. The Communists called it a protest against the apartheid policy.

But Manescu, as president of the Assembly, is supposed to be neutral.

Romania's economy is in shambles, despite claims to the contrary, and she is knocking at the door of Western Europe and the United States for long term credits, understanding and help.

Before she gets it, she'd better fix that slip.

She might start by making concessions to the people of Romania whose rights are guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations.

Broadcast Media in the Mexican-American Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I had the pleasure of attending a testimonial dinner on behalf of one of the outstanding leaders of the Spanish-speaking community of Los Angeles, Mr. Edward Moreno. Mr. Moreno has for several years been an extremely popular broadcaster on one of the Spanish-language radio stations in Los Angeles, gaining a wide following in the community for the high caliber of his own programs and for his concern for better programing and better service to the community by the broadcast media in general.

Mr. Moreno has left the field of radio broadcasting and is now serving as project director for a cooperative manpower training project for Spanish-speaking adults, the centro pre-vocacional, or prevocational center. The program is funded by the Department of Labor, under MDTA and other authorizations, and has the cooperation of the State of California, local community service groups, and private industry. It is under the general direction of the Mexican-American Opportunity Foundation, which has a long and successful record in this type of activity. I am sure that Mr. Moreno will, in his new position, continue to dedicate his efforts to the needs of the Spanish-speaking community and continue to demonstrate the leadership and ability which have won him such respect in the field of radio.

Mr. Moreno did not wish to desert the broadcasting field. He wanted, instead, to help make the broadcast media into the great resource for the people of which it is capable. In the remarks which he made at this testimonial dinner, he spelled out the problems affecting so-called language radio in a way which deserves widespread attention. I am inserting his remarks in the RECORD because I think they may help draw attention to a problem which perhaps is growing worse in language radio. I can understand how the public, and the FCC might not be exposed as directly to what is happening here, and might therefore be somewhat more remiss in demanding corrective action. I believe Mr. Moreno's insight, reflected in his speech, might help this situation.

The speech follows:

BROADCAST MEDIA IN THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

(By Edward Moreno)

I wish to thank you, from the bottom of my heart, for this unforgettable display of friendship. You have given me an experience that I'll remember the rest of my life. But you have twisted the situation, for, if the objective was to recognize what you call a "good job of informing the public," then you should be here, each one of you, not I, since each one of you has contributed at least one story full of human interest, and has made it possible for me to reach that part of the lives of our audiences that had never been reached before. To some of you I owe several of my "firsts," to many, continuous interesting reports, and to all, the opportunity to develop new insights into our concerns, and renewed hopes for their solution. What you say radio was until some months ago, you made it possible.

I do not know how to behave properly in a situation like this, but because you have showered your affection upon me, and you have given me cordiality, good wishes, and encouragement, I am begging your indulgence to let me abuse your hospitality, and to allow me to talk very briefly and candidly about a situation of which many complain, but about which very few know what to do. I'll offer only a few details, and I hope, some solutions.

Up to the time when Jim Coyle quite a few years ago organized KWKW into an all-day Spanish language radio, there was some collection of programs and "horas," competing against each other for the attention of the public and the dollars of the advertiser. Many of you perhaps remember pioneers like Calatayud, The Hoyas, Juan José and Julita Vazquez, Mrs. Salinas and her husband—she is still around doing excellent service to the community—the Orozcos, and even the aggressive though not necessarily positive Professor Velez. But not one of the pioneers graduated to ownership, or to management of any radio station, and it was not until a few months ago that Angel Lerma was finally able to secure, after a prolonged fight, a license for Channel 40, which instead of being devoted to Spanish only, has turned out to be a "Torre de Babel," a plurality of tongues. Thus radio and TV have ended in the hands of Anglo entrepreneurs who have sold and resold, traded and retraded frequencies, or in the hands of combines in which the Mexican American is almost a silent partner.

This situation is somewhat frightening because the broadcast media, radio especially, are still in the era of *patronazgo*, or tutelage, from which many industries and business in our communities liberated themselves years ago. Some field studies, by the way, place radio as the 90% medium of penetration in the community, second only to our active grapevine. This tutelage means that Spanish language radio, despite its importance and penetration in our community, is not generally attuned to our needs, nor too well disposed to serve them properly. Since I have shared with you on many previous occasions this concern, let us discount right now any possibility of "sharpshooting" from my part.

The owner of any newspaper or magazine can do with his property what he pleases, provided that he is prepared also to support prolonged judicial suits for libel or defamation, or to stand loss of circulation for policies that the audience resents. But broadcasting is a bird of a different species. The air is the people's. An independent agency of the federal government, the Federal Communications Commission, or FCC, is entrusted with vigilance in this field. The broadcaster is granted a license to operate, by the FCC, and in his application, the broadcaster, after a prolonged and complicated process, swears affidavits that he has investigated the needs of the community which he proposes to serve, and obliges himself to serve in the interest, convenience and necessity of his community, and here I am quoting sub-paragraph "j"—paragraph 4, section 73.24 of the FCC regulations, and similar provisions of other sections, and from the wordy provisions of the application for a new license or transfer of license. Of course, this is putting it in the simplest terms.

But I ask you now, is Spanish language radio in Los Angeles really serving the interest, convenience, and necessity of our communities, and we know that there are many Spanish-language communities in the county? Where is the discussion of civil rights as we the Mexican Americans understand them? Where are the suggested answers to our concerns on education and opportunities? Where is the program to enlighten our people in the area where they need it the most, the concept of citizenship and government and democracy as it is understood here?

Where are the topics of consumer education, local concerns for betterment, individual and communal? And why this silence on the face of individual and communal accomplishment? Why the ignorance of our activities and activism? Why are politics tabooed, and I don't mean politics of candidate X versus Z? Aren't these topics and others like them part of the interest, convenience and great necessities of our communities?

Very few people are as sensitive as that great Irish-Mexican guy Jim Coyle to the pressures, activism and needs of our peoples. But unfortunately, Coyle is no more at KALI since its change of ownership. However, it was under his direction that topics such as voter registration, consumer information, participation in community activities, in local government and boards of education were of primary concern to the station. Others that were also part of the daily contribution of the station to the community were women's concerns for equality, and even family planning, control of social diseases and juvenile delinquency, and respect for law. You remember, I hope, that beautiful project of offering completely free, and for the first time in the history of our state, a kit containing the most ample information, in Spanish, about all agencies and services of interest to the Mexican American, including credit orientation, drug addiction, Social Security, frauds of all types, equal rights to employment and housing, etc. . . But Coyle is no more at KALI, and that is a great loss; neither are there our "Special Reports," and another voice has been stilled.

Minority radio, in my opinion, has very special obligations, and those obligations must parallel the profit motive, for I repeat, the licensee has received a license to operate for the benefit of a community, for I repeat, the air is the people's. I cannot see any reason why the FCC would want to grant a license to any individual for the single purpose of exploiting a community, or part of a community, and for that individual, after extracting all the profit from a market, abandon it when his own policies of overcommercialism, inane programming, irresponsibility towards the audience and the broadcasting personnel had dried the sources of his income.

Neither can I see how through FCC ignorance, or carelessness, language radio, to use broadcasters' parlance can be allowed to kill or reduce its own audience by a system of operating like a rockola with 20 Ahooas! or Whoopees! and 18 commercials between each record, or can be permitted to implement policies that not only destroy or reduce the audience, but also tend to deface the precious little we still have, our cultural identity, our music, our traditions. These are not assumptions. Field studies indicate that while the Mexican-American population grows, and the ratio of station to population more or less remains the same, the share of audience is diminishing. Yes, by attrition language radio, Spanish language radio is slowly disappearing. People are going to KFWB, KRLA, and even KPOL, at a time when we know that radio is still the number one medium in our community.

If interest, convenience and necessity are to be served, then I see as the greatest need that of intercommunication. In this era of active participation, it's only fair that Pomona know what Pico Rivera is accomplishing, and that El Monte be aware of what ferments are in operation in East Los Angeles, for sooner or later it will end with part of its population overflow. Education, my favorate topic, is another of our greatest needs, both general and consumer education. Here I wonder why not a single one of the federal agencies concerned with the consumer has bothered to find what happens to a consumer, who in addition to being poor, is sold through pressure practices a bill of goods at exhorbitant prices and with extra usurious charges for what is called "service."

Don't you shudder for instance when some joker refers to you as "hermano" while trying to knife you with a contract for a pile of junk which he calls a "used car," and a plan of only ten dollars a week . . . forever? I am sure that my mother, from her place of rest in the blue beyond, would look sternly at me if I didn't vigorously object to being included in the dubious brotherhood. And, how do you feel about those wonder tonics that rid the system of empacho, or promise "eternal male vigor forever?" Right now, at least I heard it a few days ago, despite the flagrant violation, an advertiser gives the impression that his reducing cure is approved by the Federal Food and Drug Administration, the FDA . . . Approved, no less, as if the FDA were in the business of certifying nostrums on behalf of the taxpayer. Or is FDA perhaps now accepting royalties for the use of testimonials?

But if these things bother us, doesn't it bother us more that in an era when we have pressured HUD, HEW, DOD, DA, OEO, and all the rest of the alphabet soup into action, when our complaints have been effective to the point of even having the White House Conference finally organized, doesn't it bother us more that not a voice has ever been raised to demand that the FCC take a more active interest in our chief medium of communication in the Spanish language? That the vigilance entrusted to the FCC be implemented, and that our interest, necessity and convenience are finally served?

The air is ours, the people's. And while the profit motive which has made America the great country it is, is indeed a legitimate motive, equally legitimate are the needs of our communities, and there are many. There are policies that are injurious, harmful to the individual and the community, like denying time to our organizations when a broadcaster has promised to carry ten percent of his program as free public service, like advertising valueless cures and products, like ignoring the accomplishments of our people, and concentrating on the sensational, like living away from the reality of our societies, like permitting proliferation of hidden or open fraud. Thus when only the profit motive rules, and despite the sworn affidavits the community is secondary, it is, in my opinion, time to ask why?

The way to correct this situation is not to stop listening to Spanish language radio, or stop watching our TV, nor through vain hopes that the situation will correct itself someday, nor that the audience, disenchanted with one frequency turn to another. The way, as I see it, is to demand from the licensee the promised service now, and then to look for the opportunity to enter the field of management and ownership of a facility of broadcasting ourselves, with the purpose to render better service, with the idea to live according to the doctrine of service in the interest, convenience and necessity of our peoples. That is the way we have learned to accomplish things in our country . . . Isn't it?

Thank you again for all you have given me in guidance, assistance, and encouragement and in insight during my broadcasting years in Los Angeles.

Letter From Neighborhood Youth Corps Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, as the House of Representatives this week debates the poverty bill, I thought my colleagues might be interested in a recent letter that I received from a constituent of the 11th Ohio Congressional District.

Miss Teresa Jesionowski is a senior at the University of Chicago. She is an outstanding young lady, and I think that her observations from working firsthand with the Neighborhood Youth Corps will be of value to all of us.

Her letter to me reads, as follows:

MENTOR, OHIO.

Representative WILLIAM STANTON,
Longworth Office Building.

DEAR SIR: The Neighborhood Youth Corps failed. Yes, it kept the kids off the streets

But it did not provide a meaningful summer work experience for the teenagers it hired.

I am a third-year student at the University of Chicago. This summer I worked with the Neighborhood Youth Corps at Greenleaf Recreation Center in southwest Washington. Here I would like to outline why I think NYC failed and what can be done about it.

The purpose of the Neighborhood Youth Corps was to give teenagers summer jobs; to give them an opportunity to have a "good working experience" at recreation centers in their own neighborhoods. Perhaps a good working experience would instill in them an old-fashioned American value: an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. Perhaps they would find that it would be worth their while to contribute to American society through their work.

Others said the motive behind the NYC was to keep the kids off the streets. There were no riots in Washington this summer. But bribing is hardly admirable.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps failed because it did not provide the opportunity for a meaningful work experience. The teenagers became bored and disillusioned. There was no challenge. They lost interest.

The reasons I see for this failure are largely difficulties in the planning of the program itself.

First, there were too many teenagers employed on playgrounds and recreation centers for the number of children who used them.

The newspapers reported that 2000 teenagers were hired by NYC at Lincoln Junior High School to take jobs as "recreation aides" on playgrounds, recreation centers, day camps and block camps. However, NYC did not place these people. Regional directors of D.C. Recreation were to assign all the people hired to various programs in their regions. As a result many centers had far too many employees.

A recreation program is not manageable with too many employees for the number of children it serves. There is a limit to the interest or challenge three teenagers will find supervising a kickball or softball game with only two or three kids on each team. And a lack of equipment made things more difficult.

Secondly, there were too many conflicting programs.

Commissioners' Youth Council also sent teenage employees to recreation centers. At Greenleaf the total of NYC employees and CYC employees was 38. The conflicting programs aided to the already excessive number of employees. It also resulted in confused lines of authority and greatly increased administrative difficulties.

Programs such as day camps, block camps, recreation centers and pre-schools competed for children in the neighborhoods. Some programs had good numbers of children, some had few.

Thirdly, there was no training program for the NYC.

Some NYC teenagers attended the two-day training session of the Summer Enrichment Program. But most were ill-equipped to work on recreation projects.

A lot of money was wasted in this program and a lot of teenagers were disappointed and bored. If one expects them to become adults interested in their work and in their society, one would choose to make their summer work experience more meaningful and worthwhile. Each employee would definitely be needed if the program were a manageable size, a size appropriate to the job to be done. Creating jobs for which there is no need benefits no one. Three people in charge of thirty youngsters would be more reasonable. The teenagers would then feel a responsibility toward their job which does not occur when there is an overloading of employees, a minimal amount of equipment, and a confused administration. This responsibility would be a challenge for the teenagers. In meeting such a challenge they might find their work experience more valuable.

Specifically, I suggest the following.

Cut down on the number of programs to avoid conflicts in administration and to use the available money more efficiently.

Hire teenagers for specific jobs which exist and in which they have an interest.

Have a good training program, making explicit demands for things that must be done, offering and asking for alternatives for things that might be done.

Have well-trained and experienced personnel in the positions of greatest responsibility.

The most important thing to remember is that these are people. Statistically, perhaps the NYC was successful; in the quality of the experience for the individual it failed. The mechanical things that need to be done to facilitate a good experience for the individual, I have listed. The benefits of providing an opportunity for a good work experience are not only immediate but long-range. The same teenagers who find their summer work valuable to them will also have a better chance of finding their life work more valuable: something which will benefit the individual and the society. The difficulties I have listed can be solved. The rest will be up to the teenagers themselves and their directors.

Sincerely,

TERESA R. JESIONOWSKI.

Bedford Supports Our Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE H. HAMILTON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a demonstration in the Ninth District of Indiana in support of our servicemen in Vietnam. The people of Bedford, Ind., led by the Bedford 40 and 8, recently organized a "Back Our Boys" parade. I was pleased to participate in this event, which drew 10,000 spectators. Under leave to extend my remarks. I include the following excellent article from the Bedford Daily Times describing this community event:

TEN THOUSAND SEE BEDFORD "BACK BOYS" PARADE

(By Ray Snapp)

BEDFORD.—More than 10,000 persons formed a human corridor Saturday morning for the biggest parade Bedford has ever had, this one to demonstrate that the people of this area are behind our men fighting in Vietnam.

Nearly 2,000 persons, in approximately 100 units, participated in the parade. They represented everything from Girl Scout Brownies to the Fort Knox Army Band and a Navy guided missile display from Crane.

The parade was six weeks in the planning stage. Co-chairmen of the event were Andrew Enochs, chef de gare of the Bedford 40 & 8, and George Vaughn.

The mass of floats, bands, maching units, 40 & 8 locomotives and other participants gathered on West 16th St. as a cool wind whipped the city and threatened to bring in rain. But the rain did not arrive and there were times that the sun broke through the heavy overcast for brief periods.

On the reviewing stand immediately following the parade, Indiana Secretary of State Edgar Whitcomb said it is ironic that our men are fighting in Vietnam to protect the freedom of expression which extremists in this country are abusing.

Whitcomb, who was a prisoner of war of the Japanese during World War II, said he wondered at that time, just as our boys in Vietnam must wonder now, if the people back home were really behind them. He said after he returned home he found that the people at home were solidly behind their fighting forces.

Whitcomb urged officials of the sponsoring American Legion and 40 & 8 to send photographs of the Bedford parade to Stars and Stripes so the men overseas might see the great support accorded them on the home front.

The secretary of state also observed in his brief remarks that not one demonstrater appeared during the parade. "All were demonstrating," he said, "for what our boys are fighting for."

Another post-parade speaker, Congressman Lee Hamilton, cited the cases of two winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor as indicative of the kind of young men we have in Vietnam.

Hamilton told of one Marine from Orange, N.J., who, while on a search and destroy mission, pulled the pin of a hand grenade as he approached an enemy hole. He discovered, however, that the safety on the grenade was not working and that it was activated. "There was not time to safely dispose of the grenade and there were friendly forces all around so that it could not be thrown," he said. "So the young Marine fell on the grenade in order that his body might absorb the full force of the explosion."

Another Congressional Medal winner, Hamilton said, was a Negro. He was wounded twice while on patrol, but treated 14 or 15 men despite his own serious wounds.

"This parade," Hamilton said, "brings to mind the great sacrifice these men are making for you and me."

The huge parade, which required an hour and a half for completion, attracted units from throughout the state. There were units from Brazil, Muncie, Bloomington, Rensselaer, Connersville, Indianapolis, Columbus, Greenwood, Orleans, Edinburg, Camp Atterbury, Princeton and other Hoosier cities, as well as from some cities outside the state.

The parade began moving promptly on schedule at 11:00 a.m., led by Bedford police vehicles with sirens blaring and red lights blazing. All went well until 11:55 a.m. when the engine crew of a Monon Railroad freight train got a first-hand view of the parade as it moved along the north and south sides of the square. The train cut the parade in two places—on 15th and 16th Sts.—for about five minutes.

The parade spread over two miles of city streets, with the first units completing their march long before the last units began to move.

There were eleven bands, countless color guards from Legion and 40 & 8 units throughout the state, antique cars, Boy and Girl Scout units, many school-sponsored floats and marching units, and a liberal springling of business and industrial units.

The Kitchen Band of the Lawrence County Senior Citizens Club performed on the bed of a truck along the parade route, with the members dressed in costumes of the 1900 era.

Winners in the parade were announced by Mr. Vaughn as follows:

Bands—Bedford High School, first; Paoli High School, second; Shoals High School, third.

40 & 8 Locomotives—Voiture No. 1251, Rensselaer, first; No. 843, Bloomington, second, and 1040, Connersville, third.

Marching Units—Indiana Volunteers, 125th Regiment, first; Hoosierettes, Bloomington, second, and Michaelaires, third.

Floats—VFW Post No. 14, Columbus, first; Bedford Citizens Band Club, second; Bedford Exchange Club, third.

Master of ceremonies for the post-parade program was Ray Krempt, a World War Two Navy officer. Honorary parade marshals were James Cox, grand chief de gare of the Indiana 40 & 8; Congressman Hamilton; Secretary of State Whitcomb; State Rep. Maurice Chase and Bedford Mayor C. J. Hauck.

Riots: Not a Civil Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, now that it is recognized that civil rights is not a problem found exclusively in the South, I would like to point out that there is one section of the country where all races live compatibly and where prejudice is at a minimum. That area is my home State of Idaho.

Judging from the correspondence I receive and chats I have had with constituents, it is obvious that Idahoans probably look at the problem of race relations as objectively as anyone possibly could.

The Idaho County Free Press editorialized on this recently, saying some things that many of us have been thinking, but not enough of us are expressing; namely, that civil rights and rioting are not necessarily one and the same thing.

Because of its timeliness, I include the editorial in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

RIOTS: NOT A CIVIL RIGHT

In the last few weeks riots, looting and murder in cities across the nation have overshadowed almost everything else in the minds of the people, even to the point of almost completely drawing attention away from the war in Vietnam.

Not since the days of the war between the states has this country experienced such devastation and disorder. And the end seems a long way off.

While it is obvious the lot of the Negro race has not been a good one, it is also obvious that much of his condition is of his own choosing. The major portion of these people have been content to move along at a snail's pace without even taking advantage of the opportunities open to them. In cities where excellent schools have operated exclusively for them, the enrollment was small even though classrooms were only half filled.

Those who have shown a desire for higher education and have been willing to work for it have, in almost every instance, been able to move ahead and earn a place in society equal to their ability.

Even now, and in spite of all the claims of a desire for a better way of life by the heads of the various groups, a large majority of the Negro race would prefer to be left alone to pursue the way of life they have always known.

Rioting, looting and killing are not a part of Civil Rights nor will they ever help to obtain any degree of same. The Constitution of the United States guarantees every citizen the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness but it also charges each individual with the responsibility of earning and protecting those rights.

The chaos being created now is doing more damage to the Negro's cause than it could possibly do good. Not only is it killing all sympathy for his cause, it is physically and financially hurting the very people it is supposed to be helping.

President Johnson has appointed a committee to investigate the cause of the rioting and determine legislation which might help to stop it. It is doubtful that any legislation will go far toward relieving the tension.

Not likely to be of any more help is the President's give-away program. It has long been proven that charity is no substitute for the pride a man takes in having a job and earning his own living. Neither will it instill a desire for better things if these things have to be earned by the sweat of the brow.

Regardless of the race, if a man is not willing to learn, willing to work and willing to sacrifice to gain stature, no amount of charity, advice or legislature is going to help his situation.

National Eye Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, with permission, I wish to insert in the RECORD my recent statement before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, on my bill and related bills, to establish a National Eye Institute:

TESTIMONY OF HON. JACOB H. GILBERT, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE, HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 1, 1967

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend this committee for its forward-looking stand in conducting hearings on the proposal to establish a National Eye Institute. I am one of the sponsors of this proposal, my bill being H.R. 4331, but Congressman Fred B. Rooney of Pennsylvania, author of the bill, deserves our particular thanks. This is a progressive measure, one that is worthy of Congress' tradition as a leader in the field of health care and research. All of us here in Congress depending so heavily as we do on our eyes, understand its meaning. I urge favorable consideration of this bill and the establishment, without delay, of a National Eye Institute.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, we know that by 1975, unless there is a dramatic breakthrough in eye research and treatment, there will be some 16 million blind persons in the world. Even today, in the United States alone, there are three and a half million men, women and children suffering from permanent and serious eye defects. It is estimated that nearly 90 million Americans suffer from some sort of eye trouble. At this moment, there are more than 10 million in the world who are blind.

It is difficult to believe that with all the effort and money that has been put into medical research, most diseases of the eye remain a mystery to doctors. Eighty percent of all loss of vision in the United States results from diseases of which the causes are unknown. Surely that alone is testimony to the importance of this legislation.

In economic terms, the burden of eye diseases is staggering, Mr. Chairman. Public assistance is extended to more than 100,000 blind persons. Society pays for special facilities, books, teachers and materials for no less than 20,000 blind children attending elementary and secondary schools. The upkeep is tremendous for vocational rehabilitation centers and other facilities to restore the productiveness of the blind. I have no figure of how much society pays for this grevious debility but it is enormous, and we obviously cannot measure blindness in monetary terms alone.

But, as an example, let me point out to you the story recently brought to my attention of one blinding disease. In 1953, doctors made the discovery that too much oxygen administered to premature infants resulted in retrolental fibroplasia, a cause of blindness. As a result of the discovery, the incidence of this disease fell from 1900 cases in 1952 to only 28 in 1958. Happily, this terrible condition is today a rarity. But if this discovery had come only a year later, the lifetime cost of care for the additional blind persons would have amounted to more than $120 million. If the discovery had come 10 years later, the cost would have exceeded one million dollars.

So you see, Mr. Chairman, you are not being asked to undertake a project that is merely humane, as if humaneness alone were not sufficient reason for passage of the bill. This measure will pay for itself over and over again in the years to come. The National Eye Institute would conduct research on blinding eye diseases, blindness and other visual defects. Its work will be of benefit not only to the thousands, perhaps millions, who will be saved from blindness. It will be of benefit to society, both at home and abroad.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Subcommittee, the American people will be grateful to you for positive consideration of this bill. A recent Gallup Poll disclosed that Americans fear blindness only second to cancer as a debilitating disease. I urge you to act quickly, for each day means more persons struck down, persons who could be leading happy and productive lives if only they had the use of their eyes. This bill will do so very much to keep these eyes functioning.

Prisoners of Their Skin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include an address I made before the American Jewish Committee Appeal for Human Relations, at the New York Hilton Hotel, Thursday, November 2, 1967.

My remarks follow:

PRISONERS OF THEIR SKIN

"When I consider how my life is spent," thus, Milton begins his sonnet of his "Blindness". It is a pitiless thing to ask a man to consider how his life is spent. That is why, to me, Milton's line is one of the most poignant I have read. It is like asking a man to wrap himself in guilt, to tear himself apart with the rapiers of self-accusation, for who among us has been, without pause, on the side of the angels? A man must make his way, fulfill his ambitions, seek love and laughter, provide the bread, all for his own sweet sake. What more? Must we pick up each day and throw over our back like peddlers of old the bundle of the world's woes? War, poverty, crime, disease, illiteracy, woes thousands of miles away and woes just around the corner? No wonder, then, we seek the "island in the sun". Each morning the troubles removed from our own thresholds press in upon us.

Well, what do you do? Retreat with a shrug and a muttered "plague on all your houses?" Certainly there is an arguable premise that having lived our own lives responsibly and with a degree of integrity, we have discharged our obligation toward God and man, but there is an equally arguable premise that the dimensions of our lives are as flexible as time itself and that our hearts and minds will remain unsatisfied if we keep them rigidly in place to concern ourselves with that only which touches on our personal selves.

I think the key word in the second premise is "unsatisfied". In the final analysis, if we choose the road of participation we do an essentially selfish act lest we walk through the days of our lives forever hungry, our spirits starving on an island of isolation. There are so many needs in the world, can we try to fill them all? No, of course not. The answer lies in selectivity. We choose to attack that evil which shakes our conscience most, one or two or even three, as our capacities permit.

Being city born and city bred, I, for one, find I am most responsive to the anguish prevalent in the city streets. How could we have permitted this to happen? This ugliness in parts of our cities; this mass huddling in poverty in our ghettos, this forcing of a part of our people to be prisoners of their skin? I remember last Congress when the open housing provision of the Civil Rights Act came before the Judiciary Committee, of which I have the privilege to be Chairman, white people throughout the country shrank away from commitments they had made to civil rights. Mind you, this was before the multiple riots. When the finger was pointed sharply at the South, as it was in the 1964 civil rights proposals, we Northerners were vigorous, articulate and organized in support of these proposals. Religious groups, labor groups, professional groups—just name them and there they were demanding the passage of the 1964 package. In 1964, in response to that push, the civil rights legislation was enacted into law.

Contrast that with what happened in 1965 when the open housing proposal was unveiled. Silence. Silence from religious groups, the labor groups, the professional groups, etc. All we heard were the anguished cries of a "man's home is his castle". They were busy people, people like the real estate brokers, the builders, the landlords, and their white tenants. I cannot measure for you the dismay among the Members of the House when the open housing proposal was unveiled. Which weighed more heavily upon them—conscience or votes? I am proud of the House of Representatives because conscience won. The bill passed the House; it died in the Senate.

A new phrase gained currency—"white backlash". Do not be mistaken, there is white backlash and this is the major tragedy of our cities. We tell our Negro residents, "This is the line beyond which you shall not pass". Why? Because you are black, that's why. Does it amount to more than that? There are those who would say, "Yes, it it does." The Negro is crime prone, irresponsible, illiterate, etc. What he is is dictated so, were we to have open housing economics would determine where the Negro seeks entry. The landlord screens out the white undesirable, just so can he screen out the Negro undesirable. As all economic groups do among the white citizenry of our country, the Negro will seek his own economic and social level. What is this all-pervasive fear? The point must be made over and over again. No man, woman or child shall be deprived of the equality of opportunity in any area of human activity only because of the color of his skin. I have said repeatedly, a man can change his religion, can change his wife, his profession, his trade, but no man can change the color of his skin. Yet, that is what we charged him with; accused, he stands before us, accused of not being white. And he cannot purge himself of the accusation. He cannot remove his guilt. He cannot become white.

There is, as has been said, "white flight to avoid the black flight".

What have been the economic and social consequences to those of us who live in the cities?

(1) A narrowing of cities' tax base as the middle class moves to the suburbs. Thus, where the tax money is most needed there is less of it.

(2) The further degradation of schools and housing.

(3) An island of glittering high rise office buildings with an inner rim of factories and filth and an outer rim of ghettos. I am reminded of a passage in Matthew noting our concern with making clean "the outside of the cup", assuming that such attention makes the "inside" clean as well.

(4) Highways glutted in the morning and in the evening, ingress and egress blocked for miles.

(5) A deepening and dangerous frustration on the part of city dwellers with the consequent increase in crime and violence.

These are all demonstrable facts. Just look. Look and see.

Mind you, I do not hold at all that no responsibility lies with the slum dwellers. Law and order are as necessary for him as it is for all inhabitants of this land. Riots are a form of self-indulgence and ultimately boomerangs. That we understand the reasons for the riots is important. That we do not use the *reasons* for *excuses* is equally as important.

I want to state this at this point because I do not want you to believe that I am an apologist for these riots. That is another subject and would take more time than you have to give me this evening. What I have endeavored to do is to underscore our responsibility. Our responsibility goes much deeper than economic depravation. Economic depravation of the slum dweller is one aspect. Far greater is the self-respect for which the Negro in the ghetto has been robbed. His *social poverty* is shaped by our attitudes. From morning until night the Negro is rebuffed and humiliated. For the most part, these are not conscious acts on the part of white people. This is the greater tragedy. Unions fight to get the Negro out. This is more than economic jealousy. In the offices and in the stores, white personnel is preferred. But police brutality does exist.

You need only watch the performances in the clinics of our hospitals to note the difference in attitudes. You see those attitudes take shape in our subways, in our streets, in our restaurants, and in our theatres. We fear and are feared, and, yes, we hate and are hated.

It may seem to many of you that the civil rights bill, which I introduced, H.R. 5700, has lain dormant before the Committee. It has not. Because of a sullen climate which surrounds the phrase "civil rights", the Committee on the Judiciary has been acting on the bill piecemeal. One provision, the extension of the Civil Rights Commission passed the House, passed the Senate with an amendment. A conference may be necessary thereon. The protection of civil rights workers, another portion of the bill, was acted on favorably by the Committee and by the House of Representatives and has undergone many changes in the Senate. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported it out after a long fight and by a majority of one, though in pretty good shape. Report of the Committee will be filed by midnight tonight. I am not hopeful that it will be taken up on the floor of the Senate this session because there is a very definite threat of filibuster.

Two other sections of the bill on jury reform are now being actively processed by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, and I have every reason to hope that this reform will be acted upon by both the House and the Senate. Two provisions remain untouched; namely, enforcement rights for the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and open housing. You can well understand the reluctance of the House membership to act when having fought with moments of great bitterness for the open housing section only to have it killed in the Senate. It is now the feeling of the House membership that the Senate act first, lest once again the House engage in a futile exercise.

I frankly foresee no action on either of these two provisions for the simplest of reasons. The majority of our electorate is against it. Maybe some day we shall awaken to the old truths: "As we sow, so shall we reap."

Civil rights is not minority rights. It is rights up and among the major issues that plague all of us. Civil rights is not the march of the minority towards fulfillment of the American ideal; it is everybody's march. That realization will come sooner or later. If later, we shall have had to pay a merciless price for it.

Thus, you see I am totally committed. I do not ask that you make this the object of your commitment, nor do I ask that your commitment be total. I do not have that right. I can only suggest that the disengaged life is barren. The way to fulfillment is your choice. I hope you will choose.

Thank you.

When Will Peace Come to Humanity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Bristol, Tenn., Herald-Courier provides a ray of-hope for our strife-torn world, and I insert it in the Appendix of the Record:

WHEN WILL PEACE COME TO HUMANITY?

The end of this century may herald peace in the world for the first time since the Roman era, when the world enjoyed an imposed tranquillity for the short span of 220 years.

This prophecy was made by Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of the United Nations Development program, in a Voice of Civilization lecture as a part of the University of Michigan's Sesquicentennial observance.

Although mankind has never known lasting peace in all recorded history—man has waged 15,000 major and minor wars and signed something like 8,000 different peace treaties—there is now a hopeful prospect for lasting peace, Hoffman said, as he enumerated new factors that may bring this change.

The first of these new factors is the incredible destructiveness of modern weaponry. Horrible and wasteful though it was, war did resolve certain isues over the years, when even the vanquished could recover and recoup the material, if not human, losses. Now the 20-megaton bomb can blast the largest of modern cities out of existence and devastate 5,000 square miles. The instinct of self-preservation becomes a firm deterrent to great power conflicts.

Next, Hoffman emphasized, the human race is growing up, though that is sometimes hard to believe, and war is losing its glamour.

Finally, there is a growing trend toward regional and even global economic integration that is having positive political side effects. For instance, the European Common Market has made France and Germany so dependent on each other—and has established so many points of day-to-day cooperative contacts—that war between these longtime enemies would be almost impossible today.

As long as any larger country, such as the Soviet Union or China, has aggression as a basic part of an unswerving policy, causing the nations of the world to spend $150 billion a year for military forces, we will not have peace.

Perhaps we will have peace when aggressor nations settle their differences by law, not by war. But it is our great power which can create the climate for peace. The rest will come when we can look ahead confidently to security for us and for the whole world.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.* The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

Bowing to Foreign Intolerance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Bowing to Foreign Intolerance?" which was published in the Wall Street Journal of November 1, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOWING TO FOREIGN INTOLERANCE?

Some friends from Virginia are spatting with the State Department over a visa for Rhodesia's Ian Smith. Their picture of officialdom vs. freedom of inquiry may brush aside some equivocal overtones, but their central point sticks.

The student forum of the University of Virginia School of Law tendered a speaking invitation of Prime Minister Smith, leader in Rhodesia's split with Great Britain over racial policy. The students stressed that their invitation expressed only academic interest, not approval or disapproval of Mr. Smith's government or policies. He responded that he might be able to come sometime next spring if they could assure him he would be admitted to the United States.

When student officials and some concerned Virginia Congressmen inquired at the State Department, they were told no final decision could be made until Mr. Smith formally applied for a visa. But the Department warned, "What is involved in our view is not a legal technicality, but a political act affecting our foreign relations."

It explained that the U.S. still recognizes British sovereignty over Rhodesia, ignoring that nation's unilateral declaration of independence. Therefore it would normally accept passports for Rhodesian residents only if they were validated by British authorities. The requirement for a passport is waived, it added "only in exceptional cases and in compelling circumstances."

Mr. Smith, it must be observed, serves his own political purposes by putting the State Department on the spot. Unless he has already been rebuffed in more discreet channels, his choice of intermediaries strikes us as curious. If this is more a ploy than a sincere attempt to accept the invitation, the Department's tentative answer is perhaps defensible.

For a time when a final decision must be made, however, we question the idea that "technicalities" should be allowed to bar Mr. Smith. If the State Department ever gets an acceptance from those Red Chinese journalists it keeps inviting, to take a parallel case, you can bet they won't need passports validated by Chiang Kai-shek.

So the crux of the matter, as the Department says, is that granting a visa would be a "political act affecting our foreign relations." Or put plainly, Mr. Smith is viewed as an international pariah. If we let him in, Great Britain might take affront, though he seems to be one of their officials' favorite sailing companions. More pertinently, we suspect, the Black African states calling for Rhodesia's damnation unquestionably would take affront. This would make life tougher for a lot of already beleaguered diplomats.

The rub is, as our Virginia friends stoutly maintain, that the issue involves not only foreign relations but domestic principles. The danger is that Mr. Smith's views will be suppressed because they are unpopular. Worse, that they will be suppressed not so much because they are unpopular at home, but because they are unpopular abroad. And of course, the suppression would affect not only Mr. Smith but those Americans who want to hear him.

So if Mr. Smith really wants to come, the question is whether the diplomatic tail will wag the domestic dog. We certainly see no reason to compromise American ideals like the freedom of inquiry simply because they are not understood in less enlightened places.

Hawaii-Grown Kona Coffee Among Finest in World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues in the House are great coffee drinkers; some, indeed, are "coffee gourmets" who enjoy drinking the finest of South American blends and unique grinds. Not many of them realize, however, that one of the rarest and most delicious coffees is grown right in our own country.

There is, of course, only one such place in the United States where the coffee bean is successfully cultivated and a splendid brand brand of coffee is produced and exported to the world. This area is, of course, my own State of Hawaii.

The coffee grown in Hawaii is called "Kona coffee" after the region on the island of Hawaii where it is grown. It is the "champagne of coffee," unique because it can only be produced in limited amounts in Kona, due to the special climate and soil conditions found there.

Kona's secret lies in the need of the coffee plant for shade—continuous exposure to the hot sun will produce a weak plant, easily killed by dry spells and plant diseases. Kona is protected by high mountains. The mornings there are bright and sunny, but, about midday, clouds slip past the great volcano, Mauna Loa, and cover the slopes where the coffee is grown, thus providing a unique, natural "umbrella." The combination of the rich, volcanic soil, the ample rainfall, the sheltering mountains, and this natural "umbrella" make Kona a perfect region for the cultivation of the choicest coffee bean.

Kona coffee is distinguished by its great strength, fine flavor, and pleasing aroma. It is one of the few coffees in the world which has all three of these attributes. Most coffees sold in the United States are blends of several different kinds of coffee, none of which is fine enough to be sold in its "pure" or "straight" form. In fact, Kona coffee is often added to these blends to add aroma or flavor. In West Germany, Kona coffee has become very popular in its "straight" form.

It is time for Americans to discover the pleasures of drinking Kona coffee, grown in their own State of Hawaii, and I submit an article from the November 1967 issue of Hawaii Crops for inclusion in the RECORD, in the belief that it may be of interest to my colleagues:

KONA COFFEE

Among all the Hawaiian Islands, the largest is the Island of Hawaii, known fondly throughout the Aloha State as the "Big Island."

Air travelers to the island first become aware of two graceful cone-shaped mountains hanging gracefully above enormous billows of clouds. At times, there may even be a decoration of snow on these peaks, for they are the lofty Mauna Kea, which soars 13,796 feet above sea level, and Mauna Loa, the most active volcano in the world, which rises to 13,680 feet.

The long western slopes of Mauna Loa, and of the lower 8,251-foot Hualalai comprise the district known as Kona, from which Hawaii's unique Kona Coffee takes its name.

The towering mountains shelter Kona from the prevailing northeast trade winds. The porous volcanic soil and the ample water found above the 1,500-foot elevation have created lush vegetation. This combination has given Kona a character all its own, a languid, timeless serenity that unobtrusively enchants the visitor into benign indolence.

It has long been known that this area produces a magnificent coffee. First brought to Hawaii in 1817, a serious effort at coffee culture was attempted in 1825 in Manoa Valley on the island of Oahu, where now stands the University of Hawaii and attractive Honolulu residential areas.

The shrub was brought to Kona in 1828 by the Reverend Samuel Ruggles, who planted slips at Naole, but for many years it was a garden decoration only, while other islands took the lead in growing for use. In the year 1845, when Hawaii exported its first 248 pounds of coffee, about 1,000 acres were under cultivation on the Island of Kauai.

Serious efforts to produce a coffee crop in Kona began in the 1850's, and the natural advantages of the Kona district were discovered. Before long, Kona had become the center of coffee production in Hawaii.

Today, it is the only producing area.

Kona's secret lies in the need of the coffee plant for shade. Continual exposure to the sun produces a weak plant, easily killed by dry spells and plant diseases.

The high mountains protecting Kona produce a curious weather condition. Generally the mornings are bright and sunny, but about midday, clouds slip by Mauna Loa and form a long cover over the western slopes, making a unique natural umbrella.

The rich volcanic soil, the ample rainfall pattern, the sheltered lee of the great mountains together with this natural shade cover all combine to make country perfect for the growing of coffee. Other areas of Hawaii can provide some of these conditions, but none can provide all of them.

For this reason there can be only a limited amount of Kona coffee. Like French champagne or the great Bordeaux claret, or Cognac, only this one area can produce the real thing. And like the French wines, use of the name "Kona Coffee" is restricted by State law to Hawaiian coffee.

Kona coffee is distinguished for having great strength, fine flavor and delicious aroma. Coffees seldom have all these attributes, and for this reason, most coffee sold in the United States is a blend of various coffees. Only a few types with special attributes are offered as a straight coffee, usually in limited quantity.

In bygone days, coffee drinkers used to acquire a taste for flavored varieties of coffee, such as Mocha or Java—usually named after their area of origin. In those days, such discriminating institutions as the Bohemian Club in San Francisco, the University Club in New York, and the old Waldorf-Astoria in New York used to be steady buyers of Kona Coffee.

The growth of vacuum packed, mass distributed blends all but drove individual varieties from the market, but in recent years there was been a swing back to the idea of adventuring into special tastes.

During those years, Kona Coffee's special qualities have been recognized by its use in various well known blends to add aroma and flavor, but it has lost its own identity.

An interesting exception has occurred in West Germany, where straight Kona Coffee is very popular.

It is time, perhaps, for Americans to rediscover the special treat that is Kona Coffee, grown in their own State of Hawaii, the only coffee producing State in the Union.

Window Dedication Exercises at St. Luke's Church in Worcester, Mass., Honoring the Memory of the Late J. Albert Banks, Renowned Cartoonist and Journalist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday afternoon, November 5, 1967, it was my great personal honor and privilege to deliver the main address at the dedication of a memorial window in St. Luke's Church in Worcester to honor the memory of the late J. Albert Banks who, because of his unique concern for his fellow men and his unsurpassed professional skills, as a cartoonist-journalist, will forever occupy a high and revered place in the minds and hearts of the people in our Worcester, Mass., region and thousands of other friends throughout the country and the world. At this point I should like to include the report of the dedication ceremonies that appeared in the November 6, 1967, issue of the Worcester, Mass., Daily Telegram and the address I delivered at the ceremony:

BANKS MEMORIAL IS DEDICATED

Persons from all areas of the community—clergy, city and government officials, newspapermen, youth—gathered in St. Luke's Episcopal Church yesterday for dedication of a memorial window to the late J. Albert Banks.

The invited guests were persons who knew Banks personally and professionally. But the presence in spirit of the larger community of persons who knew Al Banx, cartoonist, was also evident.

The Rt. Rev. Robert McHatch, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western Massachusetts, said this in the dedicatory prayers:

"We offer Thee our brimming gratitude for the life of our gay servant, James Albert Banks: For his simplicity, that straight path where those walk who are going to Thee; for his human warmth, which cheered us all; for his candor, which gave solidity to all his relationships; for his flashing humor, which knocked out pretense and lifted the disappointed and defeated from the floor.

BISHOP FLANAGAN

The Most Rev. Bernard J. Flanagan, bishop of Worcester, who spoke for the Roman Catholic community, expressed the same feeling this way:

"There is a deep joy and pleasure so many of us feel in knowing that a man so many of us loved is so fittingly memorialized . . . in an art form he himself used so skillfully in his lifetime . . . in stained glass which perpetuates both his colorful personality and the color he brought to other lives . . . the joy of laughter and good fellowship so aptly symbolized."

Bishop Flanagan also paid tribute to Banks "as one of the most ecumenical people I ever knew because he was so at home in any setting."

OF ALL OF US

The bishop said it was two years after he first met Al Banx participating in Catholic activities before "I learned he wasn't 'one of us' as old-time Irish are apt to say" but because "Al excluded no one from his friendship he was one of all of us."

PANELS OF SKETCHES

The window contains panels of Al Banx sketches from the Bible and of Banx cartoon characters.

Orrin E. Skinner, representing Charles Connick Associates, the firm which translated the Banx drawings of the Book of St. Luke into stained glass, said the window "is at the mercy of the light it receives and thus will always be alive and constantly changing in aspects." His statement was dramatically illustrated as the late afternoon sun appeared and disappeared during the dedication service.

The Rev. Edward J. Day, pastor of St. Luke's, led the service of evening prayer assisted by the Rev. David C. Tontonoz, a former member of the parish of which Banks was an active member and Sunday school teacher.

PRAYER FOR POPE

A prayer for the recovery of Pope Paul VI was added to the service by the Rev. Mr. Day. Bishop Flanagan gave the benediction.

After the service, Mrs. Banks and her son, Army Lt. Albert S. Banks, greeted the guests at a reception at the church.

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN HAROLD D. DONOHUE

It is a real privilege for me to join with you in these dedicatory exercises honoring our late and dear friend, Al Banks.

It occurred to me if we could have surprised him in one of his serious moments, I think he might have admitted, a little proudly, to being a journalist by profession.

A journalist, the dictionary tells us is—"A writer who aims at a mass audience." We all know that Al was a uniquely gifted picture-writer with unerring journalistic marksmanship.

His aim was straight; his mark was the minds and hearts and the humorous sense of his neighbors and fellow citizens; his message was the encouragement of brotherhood among men; he impacted a massive audience, indeed.

Through his special talents, he exercised a tremendous influence upon a great number of people.

One of his many exceptional virtues was his recognition that the possession of such wide public influence required the self-imposition of a correspondingly high standard of personal responsibility in its use.

In accord with that high standard, his picture and written reports were projected with absolute accuracy. His observations were interpreted with a clean and wholesome enlightenment. Yes, his persuasive power was governed by noble restraint. He fulfilled all professional obligations without any dilution of his personal principles.

It is commonly held that Al Banks could have accepted the attractive offers from a number of great metropolitan news media and used such high position to seek expanded professional acclaim and larger financial returns. He chose not to do so. We know there is always some private agony in any choice we make involving others, especially our families, and I have no doubt that Al suffered his full share on such occasions. But I think he made a sound, prudent choice for everyone concerned.

He purposely chose a more confined fame for himself and a more limited prosperity for his family for what he felt was an ultimately greater good for his loved ones and himself.

He thoroughly understood the basic tenet, with all its human annoyances, that if you wish to know and love your neighbors, you cannot remain away from and above them—you must constantly live with and walk among them.

And that is what Al Banks did.

I believe that is why he drew without derision; he wrote without distortion; he spoke without disdain; he entertained without extremes; he portrayed without being pernicious; he humorized without harming.

Al Banks did not stand aloof in dictatorial judgment of his neighbors. He walked among them and talked to them with a deep and sincere compassion.

He spent a good deal of his life bringing wholesome pleasure to our community. In the morning he sent us out with a chuckle, to face the dreary world. In the evening he bade us and our families to welcome the night with a smile. He was an intimate member of every household.

And in being and doing all this, he revealed himself as a man of unsurpassed professional skill, of amazing human insight, of unbounded sympathy, of immeasurable warmth, of self-effacing humility, of steadfast friendship, and of a spiritual wisdom that looked beyond the stars.

He was a gallant U.S. Marine in World War I, a combat recipient of the Purple Heart for outstanding courage and bravery; a devoted husband, a dedicated father; a kindly neighbor, and a pre-eminent journalist.

The whole rule of his life may perhaps be summed up in these memorable lines by Sam Walter Foss:

"Let me live in a house by the side of the road,
Where the race of men goes by,
The men who are good and the men who are bad,
As good and as bad as I.
For I would not sit in the scorner's seat,
Nor hurl the cynic's ban.
Let me live in a house by the side of the road and be a friend to man."

This is the simple philosophy that Al Banks infused into all around him.

Is it any wonder, then, that this joyous human being is so sorely missed in our newspapers, at testimonial banquets of all kinds, sporting events, social and civic club meetings, communion breakfasts of all faiths, and by his Sunday School pupils, his professional associates, people in every walk of life, his gracious wife and his bereaved son?

Is it any wonder that you and I, so privileged to call him friend, respected, admired and loved this truly great man, who has been called to his heavenly home?

But blessedly he will never be very far removed from us because of the inspiring example he left behind for us to follow—an example of invincible moral integrity, unyielding principle, unlimited tolerance, complete acceptance of individual responsibility, of intense patriotic loyalty, unswerving family fidelity, and an unwaivering faith in God and his fellowmen.

I think he has characteristically left us this moving example at the precise moment when his friends, his neighbors, his community, and his country need such example more than ever before in our history.

Today our country and our people are at a crossroad of destiny involving our own survival and the world's future. We are beset by external and internal afflictions of frightening challenge and anxiety.

Abroad we are embroiled in an agonizing conflict whose frustrations have developed a dangerous disunity within our ranks.

At home our materially prosperous society is generating great and grievous human weaknesses among its own benefactors.

Let us passingly reflect that in this country we have the greatest material wealth, the mightiest military power, and the highest standard of living of any people in the history of the world.

But ironically and very sadly, we also still have millions of poor people in the midst of our affluence; we have comparatively more crime than anyone else; we have a higher divorce rate; we have more mental illness; we are appalled at the amount of delinquency among our youth; and in too many of our communities, we cannot walk the streets in confident safety.

As we look about our land today, I think you may agree that there are, unfortunately, too many regretable signs of widespread immorality, indifference to recognized ethical conduct, defiance of constituted authority, and even some thoughtless ridicule of the heroic sacrifices of our young military servicemen abroad.

These are unhappy symptoms of a declining moral character and a depreciation of good will among our citizens.

When we observe these signs and try to assess the whole picture, I think we are all stirred with deepest concern for our people and our country.

We may well ask—How can we save ourselves, our children, and our nation from further and even more dangerous deterioration?

I confess I do not know, nor have I heard of anyone who does know, the exact solution for each one of our varied and complex national problems.

However, I do know that respected spiritual leaders of all faiths, like Bishop Hatch, Bishop Flanagan, and your own Pastor, Dr. Edward Day, have emphasized that unless the solutions we evolve are based upon moral principles and sustained by the moral will of the majority of a God-fearing people, they will not suffice, they will not stand.

In substantiation of these revered Church Directors, we can almost hear an echo from the past, in the pronouncement, long ago, of the father of this country when he warned us that, "Of all the things that lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports."

These essential supports of a truly great society seem to be floundering today upon the same disintegrating sea of eroding ills that have historically undermined and swept into oblivion the prosperous peoples of so many powerful nations in the past.

If we hope to survive this troubled era, we must begin now to shore up these basic pillars of national strength. For without a speedy revival of national belief in the faith of our founders and the practice of the traditional principles that made possible our heritage of freedom, we may well be inviting disaster.

Perhaps you may be reflecting that in your small place in the great scheme of things, you personally cannot do very much in this struggle to save your community and your country.

I do not think that the man whose memory we honor here today would agree. I think his reflections would rather be revealed in the quietly reassuring lines of that great teacher, Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet, when she wrote:

> "You may say the little efforts that I make will do no good;
> They never will prevail to tip the heavy scale
> Where justice hangs in balance.
> I do not think I ever thought they would;
> But I am prejudiced beyond debate
> In favor of my right to choose which side
> Shall feel the stubborn ounces of my weight."

The life of Al Banks proves to us how very much one person can influence thousands of people when his character is good, his heart is right, and his faith is strong.

My friends, many and fierce evils are presently scorching our country. Their correction and cure rests upon each one of us.

The critical task of our generation is to forge our mighty material power with an unyielding moral resolve to preserve this nation, undivided, under God, to carry out its mission of leading this bewildered world into a new era of civilized progress and peace.

I hope that all of us will join in this mission and in this crusade. I suggest that our common inspiration to do so should be the life example of our departed friend for whom this special window is a most fitting memorial.

It is colorful, as were his actions; it reflects light, which he gave through sage advice; it represents clarity, as was his teaching; it signifies community concern, as was his interest; it represents tolerance, as was his disposition; it generates wholesomeness, as was his personality; it depicts religious devotion, as was his nature; it expresses charitableness, as was his spirit; it spurs us toward moral good, which wa his entire character . . . and perhaps above all, it demonstrates the truth of the prophetic words in St. Luke's Gospel, when he said—"And he who humbles himself, shall be exalted."

And we are further told in the Bible that in a critical period of history when Joshua was chosen to lead the children of Israel into the land of Canaan, he said to his people—"Choose this day whom you will serve. But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."

Some years ago, at a critical moment of his career, I believe that Al Banks decided to honorably serve his God and his country, his family and his neighbors, and he carried out that determination through every day of his wonderful life.

I think that you might agree that there would be something very essential lacking in this ceremony today if we did not, with his inspiration and in his memory, silently and prayerfully make a pledge to our departed friend.

Therefore, I suggest that together we solemnly pledge to—"Go, thou, and do likewise"—until, please God, we all meet with Al Banks again in the House of Resurrection presided over by the Father of us all.

Real Story Behind Red Attack Is That Foe Was Desperate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House a carefully written article that discusses in some detail recent actions in Vietnam.

While we deplore and mourn the casualties of this war, nevertheless, we should also look at the progress our Armed Forces have been making. This article by Mr. Joseph Alsop, which appeared in the November 3 edition of the Washington Post, points out not only the progress our own forces are making, but also the desperate situation that the enemy forces find themselves in because of our unrelenting pressure.

The article referred to follows:

REAL STORY BEHIND RED ATTACK IS THAT FOE WAS DESPERATE

(By Joseph Alsop)

Returning travelers always have a sad tendency to go on too long about their impressions garnered overseas. Even so, one further word resulting from a long Far Eastern trip is really irresistible.

The essence of this further word is a warning—the warning that nothing like a true picture of the war in Vietnam is coming through to the American people. To illustrate, let us take a specific, rather recent instance.

Not long ago, a minor unit of the admirable U.S. 1st Division ran into a whole regiment of the enemy's 9th VC Division. The meeting surprised our men; and the losses of the American unit were fairly heavy, including the brilliant son of the 1st Division's famous World War II commander, Lt. Col. Terry Allen Jr. The engagement received the fullest front page coverage, plus the usual hyped-up coverage by the television people.

As far as the American public were concerned, the story ended there. But in reality, it did not end there, by any means. To begin with, there was the remarkable basic reason for the surprise of the American unit by the enemy unit—to be specific, by the 271st Regiment of the VC Division.

The basic reason for the surprise was that the 271st Regiment turned up where it had no business to be, far from its alloted base in the remote depths of War Zone D. A. captured document—a letter from a regimental political officer to the VC high command in the South—furthermore revealed that the 271st Regiment had been driven to move out from its base toward the more populated areas, because its men were approaching starvation on a diet of little but rice-gruel.

Such, then, was the condition of the first regiment of a division which used to be the proudest, toughest and most celebrated of all the larger VC outfits in the whole of South Vietnam. Long ago, in addition, the division ceased to be a VC outfit in anything but name. For want of VC recruits in the South, in fact, the 9th VC Division has been repeatedly filled up with Northern replacements that it would better be called the 9th North Vietnamese Division.

As to the division's second regiment, the 272d, it was already in such bad shape eight or ten months ago that it had to be pulled out of the line for rear area duty, being temporarily replaced with a regiment of northern origin. More recently this 272d Regiment was returned to the 9th VC Division. But hard intelligence has recently revealed that it has been given a "food production role"—meaning that this regiment is wholly engaged in jungle-farming, for reasons that can be deduced from the surprise move of the 271st Regiment.

As to the division's third regiment, the 273d, it has been in the news very recently, as the result of an obstinate but wholly unsuccessful attack on the Special Service camp at Locninh, near the Cambodian border. For an entire regiment to assault a Special Service camp (with a garrison of eight or nine Americans plus perhaps 300 South Vietnamese) and to fail disastrously in the attempt, is something that really offers food for though. In addition, the 273d lost something like a quarter of its effectives in this fighting.

What then is more important? The fact that an American unit had some bad luck, which came through in full force here at home? Or the fact that the proudest, toughest and most celebrated VC division is now in quasi-ruins, which has not even been mentioned before these words were written?

No one with the least interest in the progress of the war can have any doubt about the right answer to the foregoing questions. Why, then, does the war's real pattern and trend fail to come through here at home?

In part, the answer to this further question is not pleasant for anyone proud of being a newspaperman. For example, this war has had only two really decisive battles to date. The newspaper that claims pre-eminence in this country reported the first of these two battles exclusively in terms of U.S. losses, with hardly a mention of the fearful defeat the enemy was suffering. It then denied that the main body of the enemy had even been engaged in the second decisive battle, which was also a fearful enemy defeat.

Mainly, however, the difficulty arises from the sheer complexity of the war's pattern, which is enormously hard to convey in a balanced way. Meanwhile, the main point to note is quite simple. The true pattern and trend of the war are in fact rather accurately indicated by the foregoing summary of the state of the 9th VC division. In military terms, as well as in political terms the American and Allied efforts are at last beginning to pay off.

We Are Making It Easier for the Communists To Make It Harder for Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the news editor of Los Angeles radio station KPOL, Mr. James Marine, recently broadcast a five-part commentary on the subject of trade with the Communist bloc.

In this public service broadcast Mr. Marine gave an excellent presentation on a subject vital to all of us and I am sure that Members of Congress will be interested in his observations.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the commentary for inclusion in the Record:

We Are Making It Easier for the Communists To Make It Harder for Us

As is pretty widely known, Russia and her communist satellites recently announced a sharp increase in aid to the North Vietnamese. As is *not* so widely known, President Johnson recently announced his intention to sharply increase U.S. trade with Russia and her communist satellites. If these two announcements strike you as self-contradictory, you've hit upon the root of a great deal of new controversy in Washington.

Even if you don't believe Communist threats that they're going to *bury* capitalism, there's no question that the Reds are bitterly competitive with us—politically, militarily and economically . . . so any help we give them is at least aiding a powerful competitor if not a sworn enemy. It would take some very compelling arguments to prove that such help benefits *us*.

In this series of commentaries, therefore, I'm going to review the major ingredients of this policy: the arguments the administration presents in favor of East-West trade; the degree to which the stated goals of such trade have been reached; the kinds of products, materials and services involved in this trade; the arguments *against* trading with the communists; and some of the legislation now pending that would affect such trade.

It should be noted first that the United States has been helping the Soviet economy since 1929, when we provided technical know-how and materials for the construction of the Magnitogorsk blast furnace—which still, incidentally, is the largest in the world. It was, in fact, U.S. technology that *built* Russia's industrial base in the early 1930s . . . and some of the factories we helped build then still produce the great bulk of all Russian automobiles, trucks and tractors.

Following World War Two, it was American expertise and millions of tons of American materiel that helped Russia get back on her feet . . . and, of course, in the process, helped the somewhat shaken Communist regime to reentrench itself.

Today, according to the U.S. State Department, we trade with the Communists—and should trade more—for five basic reasons: we hope to build bridges of understanding, so that the Communists will become less hostile and, perhaps, positively amicable; we hope to decrease the dependence of Russian satellites on Russia, partially by converting their dependence to us; we need badly to improve our balance of payments, by bringing in more dollars; if *we* don't furnish the Communists with the equipment they need, somebody else will . . . so it might as well be American firms making the buck instead of English or French or somebody else; and, finally, we hope to divert the Soviets' historical emphasis on military production to non-military, by bolstering their domestic economy.

Furthermore, as President Johnson said recently, we're not going to let the Vietnamese war stand in the way of trying to be friends with Russia, even if Russia *is* helping our enemy!

All right, let's look at those arguments, one-by-one, to see how they have borne up in the light of experience, logic or plain ordinary morality. Have the Communists become less hostile, for example, because of our nearly three decades of helping to bolster their economy? The answer, no matter how optimistically one may view the world, must be a resounding "No!"

The Communists have steadily increased their support of North Vietnam, and vowed to increase it further—and they consistently refuse to use their influence in behalf of peace. The Communists were openly involved in triggering the Israeli-Arab war, certainly with no intention of benefiting us, and they are now involved in replacing the equipment the Arabs lost in that fracas. The Russians, by their own admission, continue to pour huge amounts of materiel and money into Cuba, as well as technical personnel . . . and provide funds, training and personnel for Communist bands throughout Latin America and Africa.

The *Chinese* Communists showed their gratitude for several years of trade with Great Britain by wrecking the British embassy in Peking, beating up all the embassy personnel they could lay their hands on and ordering all *their* representatives in London to attack the English bobbies with axes and baseball-bats.

Furthermore, as the F.B.I. has reported, Communist espionage in the U.S. has *intensified* in recent years, not lessened, and has spread into so many forms that, for all practical purposes, every Russian citizen in America can be considered a potential spy.

And to top it all off, the Communists *talk* as nastily as they act; the U.S. is still the brunt of practically every outrageous insult the Russians and their satellites can think of . . . and there's been a noticeable upsurge in these tirades in just the past few months.

Would anybody *really* insist, therefore, that trade has made the Communists any more cooperative, any less hostile toward us? I would hope not, but still, the pro-trade people have the *other* arguments to fall back on.

The second argument is that trade will somehow wean Russia's satellites away from Russia and toward us, and make them a little more democratic in the process. Experience however, proves that *this* hasn't happened, either. Every Russian satellite is furnishing aid to North Vietnam and bragging about its solidarity with Russia in nourishing the fight against the United States. In addition, there are proven instances of material we've shipped to satellites which they immediately forwarded to Mother Russia, though it theoretically was destined for them . . . and, worse yet, of material that's been transferred from *our* ships to, for example, Polish ships, and sent straight to North Vietnam.

With the possible exception of Rumania's refusal to condemn Israel in the recent war, I cannot recall a single instance in which Russian's satellites have not actively sided with Russia, and against us, on any important issue, despite all our efforts to convince those satellites that we love them.

In fact, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, our aid to satellites actually strengthens their allegiance to Communism and their resistance to change. The *Journal* points out, for example, that Rumania waited, in 1964, until being assured of a U.S. trade deal, then issued an edict forbidding even discussions of reform . . . and that Yugoslavia's alleged relaxation of totalitarian methods occurred only *after* we threatened to cut off trade with Tito two years ago.

At this rate, if we have to rely on trade to break up the Russian bloc, we'll run out of goods first!

The administration also argues that trade with the Communists is beneficial to us because it improves our total balance-of-payments picture. Well, in 1966, our East-West trade, according to the Department of Commerce, netted us a paltry 20-million dollars, against a *loss*, in the *total* balance of payments that year, of more than one-and-quarter *billion* dollars . . . which comparison ought to take care of *that* argument without further comment.

Actually, it's not the dollar volume of such trade that's important, but the products and services and, *most* significant, the political elements, *involved* in the trade. As Nikita Khrushchev said, "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political reasons". And yet, just to show you how intensely the administration clings to this discredited argument, Averell Harriman—a leading administration spokesman—said a year ago that people who oppose the balance-of-payments proposition are, in his words, "bigoted and pig-headed"—that's right, "bigoted and pig-headed" if you disagree, according to Averell Harriman.

The administration's fourth argument is—and there's no nicer word for it—pure economic harlotry. That's the argument that says we should supply the Reds because if we don't, the Reds will go elsewhere . . . which is the equivalent of saying—if you'll remember the recent articles in *Life* on the activities of the Mafia—that *you* might just as well play the slots because somebody else will if you don't. Furthermore, if the Communists could, in fact, get what they want elsewhere, they wouldn't be yenning so frantically to deal with us. The fact of the matter is that they *can't* get the quality, speed of delivery, service and replacement parts from anybody else; we make the best and sometimes the *only* kind of materials they need the most, and if they didn't get them from us, they couldn't get them *any* place. They would, in other words, have to make them themselves, if they could or wanted to.

Now, the administration's final argument is that our bolstering the Communists domestic economy will divert them from their emphasis on the military, which is, on its face, completely illogical. The opposite, in fact, is true: bolstering their domestic economy actually has helped them *strengthen* their military production . . . for the simple reason that every ruble they save on non-military needs—factories and chemicals and wheat and so forth—it another ruble they can spend on military needs.

Our Joint Economic Committee has reported, for instance, that Russia's industrial defense establishment has grown at a rate twice as fast as its domestic economy. A Russian economist has admitted that 30-to-40 million people are employed in that industrial defense establishment—30-to-40 per cent of all the workers in Russia—and that only 15 million or so work in other, non-agricultural jobs. It's no wonder the Reds pine so longingly for our products and our technical expertise, no wonder they're still using factories we helped them build before World War Two, and no wonder they still produce less than one-and-a-half million automobiles for a total population of over 230 million people.

Furthermore, as the C.I.A. has reported, there is absolutely no evidence that the Communists plan any change in their present policy of emphasizing military-and-political efforts to the continuing detriment of their domestic economy.

Why the United States should pull Russia's domestic chestnuts out of the fire and thereby strengthen their defense industry—especially when the Communists obviously don't care that much about the domestic scene themselves—is incomprehensible to me. But what makes it even more incomprehensible is that many of the items we've licensed for export to Russia could be used for *defense* purposes as well as non-defense. Let's just review a few examples:

. . . nearly half-a-million dollars worth of diethylene glycol, which is used for, among other things, explosives and liquid rocket propellants;

. . . more than 6-million dollars worth of chemical wood pulp, which sounds innocent enough except that it's used to make solid rocket fuels;

. . . computers and computer parts, which the Russians admit they can't duplicate;

. . . precision machine tools, in which the Reds also confess they're inept . . . jet aircraft engines . . . rifle-cleaning compounds . . . diamond drill bits—which nobody else can supply—to help produce more oil . . . chemicals of all kinds . . . and countless varieties of scientific instruments, including ones to measure radiation, aircraft flight performance and the quality of sophisticated optics.

The lists of such harmless little, non-strategic items run for pages and pages in government documents. The Department of Commerce was even ready to ship the Communists an instrument to improve the accuracy of Soviet missiles until South Dakota Senator Karl Mundt found out about it, last winter, and forced them to cancel the license.

Furthermore, the Department of Commerce—under constant harassment from the White House to free more items for export and to speed up the granting of applications for product shipment—removed some 400 items from the previously restricted list of trade goods, last fall . . . and did so without checking with the major intelligence organizations to determine if any of those items had strategic value. The Department said it had checked with what it called the "intelligence community", but when California Congressman Glen Lipscomb asked the intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Defense Department about it, not one of them said they'd been asked for technical advice.

And that's not the only subterfuge going on. Another government report on items for export to the Communist bloc deliberately omitted a full list of types of machine tools because, said the committee which issued the report, "publication might upset normal commercial relationships". Result: nobody knew *what* was on the list until Congress got extracurious.

This haphazard, sometimes downright secretive, approval of commerce-for-communists takes on special meaning in view of the fact that the very communists we're helping so much by our trade are helping *other* communists to kill Americans. Commenting on this paradox, South Dakota Senator Karl Mundt stated last summer, "Americans are getting sick to their stomachs with an administration policy which is increasing American casualties through the supplies we send to the Communist states, which in turn are used to shoot and kill American boys . . . in Vietnam".

This continuing policy of shipping materiel and technical expertise to Communist nations has not only provoked a rash of proposed legislation in Washington, but has caused a large number of Red-trade advocates to have second thoughts about the benefits, wisdom and morality of such trade.

Russia and her satellites *are*—without the slightest reticence about it—supplying North Vietnam with hundreds of million of dollars worth of materiel to support their war effort against us, including, of course, missiles, aircraft and weapons. Russia's aid to the North Vietnamese increased 50 per cent in 1966 over 1965, rose again in 1967 and, according to the Russians, will rise sharply this year. An estimated 80 per cent of all North Vietnam's imported war materiel comes from Russia and her satellites.

There's no question—even in the minds of administration spokesmen—that our present trade with Russia and her satellites makes it easier for them to help the North Vietnamese, though the pro-trade people *do* argue that the difference isn't significant.

There's more to this argument, of course, than the mere *practical* consideration of whether our trading with Eastern Europe helps North Vietnam prolong its war against us. There also is the *moral* question. As Senator Mundt puts it, "Never before in our history have we found it conscionable to trade with the enemy in time of war." New York Congressman Paul Fino states, "There is no moral justification for giving aid to those nations who are supplying our enemies in Vietnam." And California Congressman Glen Lipscomb says, "I am utterly unable to understand how it makes any sense to help equip the Communists who are assisting aggressors to kill and maim our soldiers in Vietnam."

Certainly this policy of trading with people who openly capitalize on that trade to help our enemies, is something new in American diplomacy. During the Korean War, for example, we cut our trade with Russia to virtually zero . . . and during the crisis over the Berlin Wall's construction, we deferred all applications for export to the Communist bloc. Why, then, are we doing the opposite today, particularly when there's an amazing parallel between our increase in trade to the Communists and *their* increase in trade to the North Vietnamese?

I don't know the answer to that question, and I'm not sure anybody does, but Senator Mundt smells more in it than just "immorality, inconsistency and a lack of regard for the man fighting for us." He says, "Communists are not idiots. They know that something is lacking in our American desire to conclude this war successfully when we not only ship their side of the war hundreds of different types of the supplies they need, but also encourage our American exporters to expand even greater trade with the enemy . . ." And then he raises the question that may, in fact, be the answer: "Are we really interested in ending the war successfully? Or is this conflict to be prolonged as a sort of a giant W.P.A. project to give millions of dollars in profits to those in America who are privileged to sell supplies to the enemy in time of war? What *really* are the facts behind this curious and self-defeating, war-prolonging trade policy?"

Well, there are two ways to find *out* "what really are the facts". The first is to stop all trade with the Communist bloc immediately and the second is to launch a saturation investigation of the entire subject.

If you agree that we should stop bolstering Communist economies, the first thing you can do is express your support for legislation now pending in Washington that would both halt our trade and initiate a thorough study of the entire subject.

Senator Karl Mundt, for example, has a bill that would slap an embargo on the export of all items to Communist countries furnishing materiel to North Vietnam. The bill—which is Number 2908—presently is idling in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. You should, therefore, write a letter to Senators George Murphy and Thomas Kuchel, asking them to see that Senate Bill 2908 gets some action . . . and you should send a carbon of your letter to Senator John Sparkman, who's chairman of the Banking & Currency Committee.

There's another piece of legislation kicking around both the House and the Senate that would bar a 50-million-dollar loan from the Export-Import Bank to Russia to help the Reds build an automobile plant. It's known generally as the Fino bill, and you should write your Congressman and the two California Senators urging them to support Fino's proposal to stop the use of Export-Import Bank funds for the benefit of the Communist.

Finally, California Congressman Glen Lipscomb has introduced a resolution—House Resolution Number 847—which calls for the establishment of a Congressional Committee to make a complete investigation of such topics as the impact of East-West trade on our national and international interests, its effect on the productivity and capability of nations aiding North Vietnam or any *potential* tinder-box, and the effectiveness of U.S. controls on exports to Communist nations. Congressman Lipscomb says, incidentally, that present Export Control rules and practices are a "farce".

The Lipscomb resolution is pending before the House Rules Committee, so you should send a carbon of your letter on House Resolution 847 to Congressman William Colmer, the Rules Chairman.

If enough people will write to their Congresmen and Senators about the whole subject of Communist trade and specifically about these three pieces of legislation, I can promise you, you'll see some action.

But there's something else you can do, too: you can refuse to do business with companies that currently do business with Communists. After all, American business is under no obligation to trade with countries that help our enemies, even if the administration urges them to do so. In my opinion, it all boils down to a simple question of a modicum of morality versus a maximum of greed, and any company that will opt for greed doesn't *deserve* your business.

Find out, therefore, if your own company sells anything to the Communist bloc, and keep an eye open for stories in newspapers and trade magazines about other companies who seem to think a dollar is more important than winning a war. Then write those companies a letter or, if you want, send them these five commentaries . . . but in any case, hit them where they obviously will feel it the most: in their pocketbooks. If we can show American businessmen that—all questions of morality aside—it is very bad *business* to trade with Communists . . . and if we can simultaneously show Congress that it is very bad *politics* to trade with Communists . . . we can end what Senator Mundt calls this "incomprehensible, morally indefensible policy" of making it easier for our enemies to make it harder for us.

The Late Adm. Ivan Ernest Bass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday here in Washington, retired Rear Adm. Ivan Ernest Bass died.

Admiral Bass enjoyed a long career in the Navy, which he loved and to which he dedicated his life. He was a member of a outstanding south Mississippi family. His brothers and sisters are prominent in their own right in their chosen fields of business and medicine. His parents founded the Bass Pecan Nursery in Lumberton, Miss., which developed into the largest pecan nursery in the world. It is now operated by the admiral's brother, Houston, and other members of the family.

A great and patriotic man, who truly rendered yeoman service to his country, has passed into the great beyond.

The Washington Star carried the following account of the passing of this able and distinguished naval officer:

ADM. IVAN E. BASS DIES, ENGINEER FOR NAVY, 90

Retired Navy Rear Adm. Ivan E. Bass, 90, a Navy engineer for more than 50 years and a founding member of the Army-Navy Country Club, died yesterday of a heart attack at his home, 3601 Connecticut Ave. NW.

He had lived in Washington since his retirement in 1947 and worked on family genealogy, publishing two volumes.

Adm. Bass was the senior member of the Bureau of Ships' settlement review and property disposal board from 1944 to 1947.

In his long career as a naval engineer, he had been head of the machinery division of the New York and Boston Navy Yards, served as engineer officer on four battleships and served as fleet engineer of the Asiatic Fleet under Adm. Montgomery Taylor.

He held the Boston Navy Yard post during the years of World War I, after which he came to Washington to join the Navy's board of inspection and survey. He then stayed here, except for his three years with the Asiatic fleet, from 1931 to 1934, and five years as the Navy's inspector of machinery at the Newport News (Va.) Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co.

Born near Carley, Miss., Adm. Bass graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1901.

Besides being a founding member of the Army-Navy Country Club, he was a member of the Mississippi Historical Society, the Devon and Cornwall Records Society, the Mississippi and National Genealogical Societies and the New York Yacht Club.

Adm. Bass leaves his wife, Florence; two brothers, Dr. Charles C. of New Orleans, and Houston of Lumberton, Miss., and two sisters, Dr. Cora B. Pigford and Mrs. Wreathe B. Hoey, both of Lumberton.

Graveside services will be at 2 p.m. tomorrow in Arlington Cemetery.

Clear Air Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, at a time when America's air and water pollution problems are growing at a rate faster than corrective action, it is pleasing to learn of a local success story in the struggle against air pollution.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose such a story from the November 2, 1967, issue of the Detroit News. The article follows:

BUDD CLEARS AIR IN EAST SIDE FEUD

(By Richard A. Ryan)

Foundries, as a rule, do not make particularly good neighbors.

But don't try to tell that to a group of people in the Conner-Charlevoix area on Detroit's east side.

They might give you a heated argument that the Budd Co. gray iron foundry at 12141 Charlevoix is a darn good neighbor.

But it took a lot of "neighborly" actions on the part of the foundry to get into their good graces.

"The Budd people have been just wonderful," said Mrs. Frances Cipresso, 52, of 2224 Lakewood. "They've done a lot in this area."

In fact, Budd's neighbors think so much of the company that the Detroit Committee for Neighborhood Conservation and Improved Housing recently gave plant manager Robert W. Haeberlein a special award.

It cited Budd for "imagination in creating a spirit of cooperation between industry and nearby residential areas."

Everything wasn't always so pleasant.

It wasn't long ago that residents of the area were locked in battle with Budd over air pollution.

"This was probably one of the dirtiest neighborhoods in the country," said Mrs. Cipresso, president of the Jefferson-Mack Community Council.

"The soot and ash in the air ruined the paint on cars and homes, and some persons had to be given medical treatment for their eyes.

"The sidewalks and streets were always dirty and it was impossible to hang laundry outdoors. At times you couldn't even see across the street."

For three years area residents protested and pleaded for the company to do something. Some picketed the City-County Building, demanding City Council action against the foundry.

Budd officials were well aware of the problem, however, and had been seeking ways to do something about it.

They commissioned the American Air Filter Co., of Louisville, to devise a pollution control system that would effectively serve an iron foundry.

Last February a $1 million system was installed, which Budd officials estimate will cost them $80,000 to $100,000 annually to maintain.

"It's wonderful here now," Mrs. Cipresso said. "You would never know it was the same neighborhood. We have no pollution problem whatsoever."

When Budd decided to be a good neighbor, it didn't stop with pollution control.

The company also planted hundreds of cedar trees, constructed attractive fencing around open storage areas, and painted the exterior of all its buildings.

"See," said Mrs. Cipresso, "foundries can make good neighbors."

Communists Object to Integrated Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, when Communist diplomats in Washington, D.C., objected to their children being used as guinea pigs and laboratory statistics in public schools, the U.S. State Department put its foot down and said "no"—there can be no transfer by white children—even if Reds—to escape from heavily Negro schools.

So the experiment in international mixing ended. The Poles, Czechs, and Bulgarians have taken their children out of public schools and placed them in private schools just like an American. This proves that even Communist parents love their little children.

And our State Department is upset worrying about our image overseas. Which image? The image that everything not compulsory is now mandatory, or the image of fear that the foreigners may find out that even Communists do not like Big Brother regulations. Maybe what we need is a domestic branch of the State Department to concern itself with our image with our own people.

I ask that the news release from the November 6 U.S. News & World Report follow my remarks in the RECORD:

A RACE PROBLEM FOR THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS

WASHINGTON.—Racial violence in Washington schools has become a problem for the State Department.

Some white foreign diplomats complain that their children attending public school are being beaten and intimidated by Negro pupils. One youngster was hospitalized after a beating.

The diplomats appealed to the State Department for help in getting their children transferred out of the predominantly Negro school.

But the Department was told that a recent federal-court ruling forbids transfer by white children to escape from heavily Negro schools.

Instead, arrangements were made for increased police patrols around the school.

"By international agreement, we must protect diplomats and their families," a State Department spokesman said.

The complaining diplomats are attached to the embassies of Communist countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Three diplomats withdrew their children from the public schools.

Commented the State Department spokesman: "This is very bad for our image overseas."

New Opportunities in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD T. HANNA
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues in the Congress are by now well aware of my long and continuing interest in U.S. relations with the Pacific nations. As I see the thrust of the future, no single element of national policy is more determinative of our future than is our stance with the emerging, modernizing countries of the Pacific basin. In terms of all the dynamics of society, be they economic, political, or cultural, the sheer weight of the potential of the Far East is impressive.

We, like our counterparts of other days, are overly impressed by the problems of our times. Lost from view and absent from appreciation is the full flow of history. It is not unlikely that the next most important chapter in the history of man on this evershrinking globe will be the full participation by the Asian nations in the flow of events in the modern world.

Our policies in this important region should include, therefore, positive and far-reaching programs which will provide for us a viable and vibrant partnership in this new and impressive developing area.

The very able and distinguished administrator of our Agency for International Development, Mr. William S. Gaud, clearly and ably sets forth three basic reasons for the United States to divorce itself from a myopic vision of the Far East which places Vietnam and its kind of problems in the dominant position. History will prove that this conflict will only have importance and understanding when seen in relation to the great awakening of one-half of the world population, and the direction in which the tremendous energies and resources of this region are turned.

Our concern, I am convinced, must be for regional improvements based on regional cooperation which will weave the basic fabric for peace within a framework of freedom. If Vietnam is not an important part of this great endeavor, then I misread the history of our times badly.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the article on New Opportunities in Asia to the membership, and suggest that it be read with critical appreciation for a constructive, progressive policy of the United States for the Pacific community.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN ASIA

(By William S. Gaud, Administrator, Agency for International Development[1])

It is no exaggeration to say that in the United States today, the Far East and Asia are constantly in our minds. But many of us take too myopic a view of that part of the world. We tend to see the Far East largely in terms of conflict in Viet-Nam. We tend to equate the problems of Viet-Nam with the problems of Asia. They are related, yes, but they are clearly not synonymous.

I do not mean to downgrade the importance of the struggle in Viet-Nam. But it is only part of the Asian picture. And we must not let it blind us to new developments in Asia which are creating new opportunities for Asians and Americans alike: opportunities for better understanding, for higher living standards, for continued economic progress, for more trade and investment. Indeed, one can hope, opportunities that will bring closer our dream of a peaceful future.

These new opportunities arise out of three separate but related trends. One is the trend toward regionalism—the growing ability of Asians to work together. The second is the growing strength of many of the region's national economies. The third is a better understanding of the food and population problem which threatens Asia's future, an increased willingness to deal with that problem, and a growing ability to do so.,

In the past, the colonial presence tended to direct Asians not toward each other but out toward colonial parents. Today, colonialism is dead and the attitudes of colonialism are fast disappearing. The distances of culture and space which have diveded the region are closing. Asians are becoming more aware of each other and more used to each other.

Young people studying in each other's countries show this new consciousness and are strengthening it. More than 2,300 non-Japanese Asian students—Taiwanese, Indonesians, Thais, and Malaysians—were studying in Japan a year or so ago. On Taiwan, there were about 2,000 foreign Asian students—overseas Chinese, Vietnamese, Koreans, Japanese, Thais, and Malaysians. In Australia, Americans were studying next to 4,000 Malaysians, Indonesians, Thais, and Vietnamese.

Asians today grow up knowing more about their neighbors and their region. One of the byproducts of this knowledge is what we bureaucrats call regionalism. This is as much an attitude—a knowledge of neighbors and a sense of community—as it is pacts and meetings.

But in the Far East today regionalism also means formal cooperation between nations. ECAFE, the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, has been a leader in this direction. These days, ECAFE has a lot of company. A continuing stream of meetings and associations now focuses on Asia and the Far East as a region. For example:

ASPAC, the Asian and Pacific Council, joins nine nations with varying views in cooperation on practical problems.

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, is a new five-country combination with an economic orientation.

Agreements on trade and for joint export promotion are multiplying.

Recent meetings have drawn together Asian and Pacific foreign ministers, labor ministers, and development, banking, and planning officials—all focusing on the Far East as a region or one of its subregions.

All this is only a beginning. There is still a long way to go in terms of both economic and political cooperation. But cooperation requires a starting point—a way to get off dead center. As Macaulay pointed out, "there cannot be efficient cooperation if men proceed on the principle that they must not cooperate for one object unless they agree about other objects." In the Far East, Asians are following this precept, taking an empirical and practical road that is leading them steadily on to closer cooperation.

MOVING SPIRIT WITHIN ASIA

The United States is deeply interested in this trend toward regionalism. The peace and stability of Asia and the Pacific are inseparable from world peace. And regional cooperation and regional strength offer the best chance of peace and stability in the Far East. It is United States policy to support regional development by backing cooperative Asian initiatives. We also encourage international organizations and other developed nations to support such efforts. But the initiative, the moving spirit, the drive, the real urge to get on with it—these can only come from within the region.

And they are. For example, seven nations in the region have already joined together in SEAMES, the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Secretariat. Their purpose: to strengthen education in fields closely related to the development of the region. They have planned a number of regional projects which are beyond the capacities of the individual countries of the Far East. Among them:

A regional center for education in science and mathematics, to be inaugurated in Penang, Malaysia, this coming January.

An Asian institute of technology in Bangkok, Thailand, to raise the level of Asian engineering.

A regional English language center, due to open in Singapore next summer. (English continues to be the international language—and the language of business—in much of the Far East.)

A regional center for graduate study and research in agriculture at Los Baños in the Philippines.

The United States has informed the education ministers that it is prepared to join in supporting these projects, provided others contribute their fair share. Here is an excellent example of Asian enterprise that deserves support from non-Asian sources.

Perhaps the outstanding example of regional initiative in the Far East to date is the Asian Development Bank. Regional members subscribed 60 percent of the Bank's capital. Non-Asian nations subscribed the other 40 percent. The United States subscribed 20 percent—the same amount as Japan.

The Bank is moving ahead. It is almost fully staffed. It is considering loan projects. It is already furnishing technical assistance to some of the countries of the region.

The main purpose of the Bank's ordinary capital is to finance the foreign exchange costs of projects that will return investment quickly and directly. In its regular lending operations, the Bank must remain a hard money institution. Only by using conventional banking standards can it preserve its credit standing and procure funds from conventional market sources.

However, the foreign exchange resources of the Bank's prospective borrowers are limited. Some projects—though they may be worthwhile and sound—would necessarily be ineligible for financing by the Bank if they had to proceed on hard loan terms. This means that the Asian Development Bank, like the Word Bank, must be in a position to make some development loans on easy terms. The Asian Bank needs a soft loan window to fulfill its whole purpose in the region.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK SPECIAL FUNDS

It is planned to carry out this soft loan function by providing the Bank with Special Funds to meet critical needs in the region. The Bank has already agreed to administer a Special Fund for Agriculture. Other Funds have been discussed informally—one for development of the Mekong River Valley, another for regional transportation and communications.

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[1] Address made before the 1967 conference on Asia of the Far East-American Council at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 4.

The Fund for Agriculture is the result of Japanese initiative, specifically, the initiative of Foreign Minister Takeo Miki. Japan has announced she wil contribute $100 million to this fund, subject to matching contributions. Other countries—Canada, for one—have also indicated they plan to contribute to this Fund.

There are also hopes for a Special Fund to develop the Mekong Valley. The valley is as large as the combined area of California and New York. Its population—30 million—is expected to double around the turn of the century.

Much of the area is undeveloped and poor—drought ridden and choked with dust half the year, threatened by floods the other half. But the Mekong could generate two or three times as much power as our Missouri. With irrigation and flood control, agriculture in the valley could support a substantial export trade as well as twice the present population.

The Mekong Development Program is an excellent example of international cooperation in the region. Over 25 nations, 13 international agencies, and four foundations have been involved to date. Contributions from all these sources have totalled some $113 million, much of it for construction. The United States contributed $26 million of this, roughly one-quarter.

As many of you know, the Mekong Development Program long ago passed the talking stage. Extensive work and planning have gone forward in the fields of irrigation, power, flood control, soil conditions, and the like. Two small dams in northeast Thailand are already producing electric power. Engineering has begun for a dam on the Nam Ngum, a tributary of the Mekong in Laos, about 40 miles north of Vientiane. Seven nations from outside Southeast Asia are involved in the Nam Ngum project—plus Laos, Thailand, and the World Bank acting as administrator. Laos will sell power from the dam to Thailand. Thailand is to supply cement and power to build it.

Plans for a third Special Fund—to finance regional transportation and communications—were discussed last month in Kuala Lumpur. The historical routes in Asia and the Pacific lead out instead of binding the countries of the region together. Development of the area will require improved transportation and communications between countries as well as within countries. The Kuala Lumpur meeting proposed a survey of regional needs. In time, it is hoped, the Asian Development Bank will provide some of the financing to meet those needs.

Last week the President sent to the Congress a proposal for a $200 million United States contribution to the three Special Funds of the Asia Development Bank.[2] His proposal envisaged that this contribution would be less than half the total amount of these funds, which, as I have said, will be loaned on concessional terms to finance priority projects. I hope the Congress will act favorably on the President's proposal. The Asian Development Bank is in a position to play a most important part in the development of the region, and it is very much in our interest to support it.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

There are no doubt many factors which account for the growing spirit of cooperation and neighborliness in the Far East. But one of the most important, it seems to me, is the new assurance—the new self-confidence—which has come with the growth and success of one national economy in the region after another.

Japan is of course the outstanding case in point. The United States today knows Japan not only as the strongest free nation in Asia—indeed, one of the fastest growing nations in the world—but as a trader setting new standards of commercial competition. The growth of Japanese exports has been breathtaking. We also know that the peace and stability of the Far East will require close cooperation between the Governments of Japan and the United States.

Japan has joined the ranks of the aid donors. We expect to see a steady increase in her contributions to the development of her neighbors. She is beginning to share the skills which have made Japanese agriculture a model for much of the Far East. As I have already said, the Special Fund for Agriculture was a Japanese suggestion.

Many of Japan's neighbors are also well on their way to self-sufficiency. Exports are up throughout most of the region. In 1966 Korea's reached $250 million—seven times the level of 1960. Taiwan's exports, which are on a relatively higher level, rose 17 percent last year alone. Taiwan and Korea are both outstanding examples of the progress that is possible when a strong, knowledgeable government combines effective self-help measures with adequate outside aid.

Many Asian nations are enjoying high growth rates. In 1966 the economy of Korea showed a growth rate of 13 percent. Thailand was next with 9 percent. Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Pakistan also all made substantial progress in the past year.

One of the denominators common to all countries high on the growth list is a vigorous and growing private sector. On Taiwan, the private sector now accounts for over two-thirds of total industrial production. Thailand, Korea, Malaysia, Singapore—all these nations show what can be done by stimulating private enterprise and private investment.

Recent events in Indonesia offer new hope not only for the Indonesians themselves but for Asia as a whole. Two years ago the Indonesian economy was headed for total collapse—the result of years of mismanagement. Today, Indonesia is headed in the direction of progress and growth. A new government is realining her foreign relations and working resolutely and intelligently to solve her economic problems.

The United States, together with Japan and a number of European nations, recently resumed aid to Indonesia. Indonesia has taken the self-help measures prescribed by the International Monetary Fund. The World Bank is taking a more active part in planning her development. We hope and expect that Indonesia will continue to follow a course that will justify and encourage continued aid from the nations of the free world and from the World Bank. Indonesia already is joining the trend toward regional cooperation. She is now a member of both the Asian Bank and the SEAMES. She has rejoined the IMF and the World Bank. Quite a change from the position she occupied not very long ago.

There are already indications that foreign private investment is ready to move into Indonesia. This is a reflection of Indonesia's enormous wealth of natural resources and of the efforts the Indonesian Government is making to attract foreign investment and create a climate favorable to private enterprise. But it seems to me this new interest in Indonesia also reflects increased confidence in Asia as a whole. The improvement in the business and investment climate throughout Asia works to the advantage of Indonesia as it does to that of the other nations of the region.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Let me now say a few words about the third area of opportunity in Asia: the opportunity which exists in the fields of agricultural development and family planning.

In many parts of Asia the outstanding problem is to secure food for a fast-growing population. Some say the problem is insurmountable—that Asia faces a Malthusian catastrophe of enormous proportions. This year, a popular book by two brothers, William and Paul Paddock, came out, predicting just that—"Famine 1975!"—in its title.

The Cassandras say there is now no way to avoid the food-population squeeze. Time is against us, they say—the issue is closed. I disagree. It is not too late to meet this problem and bring it under control—provided that Asia prepares today to meet her needs 10 and 15 years from now.

We do have some leeway. The United States, Canada, Australia, and a few other countries with surplus food capacities should be able to meet the Asian food problem for the next 10, 12, or 15 years. But the time will come when this will no longer be true. The demand for food will ultimately rise to the point where it can only be met if the nations of Asia and the developing nations in other parts of the world move to increase substantially their own agricultural production.

There is, in fact, real movement in this direction. Through the greater use of fertilizers and pesticides, increased attention to research, more effective use of water and irrigation, more adequate provision for agricultural credit, wiser price policies, improved distribution systems, more equitable land tenure programs—in these and many other ways, the nations of Asia are beginning to tackle this immense problem.

There is the new "miracle rice," for example, developed at the International Rice Research Institute at Los Baños in the Philippines. With proper irrigation, fertilization, and care, this short-stemmed variety can produce several times the yield of conventional strains. Pakistan, the Philippines, India, and others are already putting it and other improved seeds into wide use. In July, Philippine Vice President [Fernando] Lopez said that "miracle rice" would solve the Philippines' food shortage by 1969.

There are also the new varieties of wheat developed in Mexico primarily through the efforts of the Rockefeller Foundation. These, too, are now beginning to be widely used in India, Pakistan, and Turkey, and will greatly multiply the yield per acre.

Let me cite a few of the additional positive developments in agriculture in the Far East in recent years. In Korea since 1960, fertilizer, irrigation, and reclamation have increased grain production by more than one-third. The Koreans are looking to end their dependence on grain imports under P.L.–480 by 1971.

On Taiwan, only a quarter of the land is arable, but half the people are agricultural. Raising farm income by 90 percent between 1955 and 1965 was an extraordinary achievement. Extensive land reform and farmers associations helped. Farm incomes on Taiwan are now close to the national average.

In Thailand, agricultural output has been going up 4½ percent yearly since 1960. This is well ahead of Thailand's population increase; she is gaining in the war on hunger. Last year, Thailand helped to meet food deficits in India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Viet-Nam.

In five recent years, Pakistan tripled her use of fertilizer. The water supply in West Pakistan was expanded by 15 percent. In 1966 droughts and war interrupted 5 years of healthy production gains. But this spring, another bumper wheat crop came in. The Pakistanis are shooting for grain self-sufficiency by 1970.

This sort of progress is essential if we are to avoid the catastrophe which the Paddock brothers foresee. It is far too early to predict success. But it is also much too early to proclaim failure.

POPULATION TRENDS

Improvements in agriculture, however, are not the whole story. Unless population curves turn downward, well below the levels predicted by the Paddock brothers, the food-population squeeze will become acute in many parts of Asia.

Japan is a nation which conquered its

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[2] For text, see Bulletin of Oct. 16, 1967, p. 508.

problem in a decade. After the war, Japan had one of the world's highest birth rates. Today, she has one of the lowest. But the Paddocks, stressing Japan's special characteristics, put her to one side as an exception. They write: "no government in any one of the hungry, soon to be starving nations is physically capable or psychologically prepared to duplicate . . . Japan's success." Rather, they say that "India is the bellwether that shows the path which the others, like sheep going to slaughter, are following."

The fact is that more than half the people in the world now live under governments that have policies of reducing birth rates. Eleven of these governments are in East and South Asia.

Since 1963, the Koreans have cut their rate of population increase from about 3 percent to 2½ percent. They expect to reach their target of 2 percent by 1970. On Taiwan, the government program has been steadily lowering the birth rate for 10 years. The Government of Pakistan is thoroughly committed to a well-administered program that relies heavily on incentives to promote the distribution of contraceptives. Singapore and Hong Kong are beginning to get their problems under control.

The Paddocks make a special point of ruling out hope for India. They write that "Indian agriculture is too antiquated. Its present government is too inefficient to inaugurate long-range agricultural development programs."

Again, I do not agree. India is now tackling her agricultural problem as she has never done before. The two worst monsoons of the century have prevented her from reaping the benefits of new policies. This year, nearly 16 million acres are being planted with new high-yielding wheat and rice. This year's Indian grain crop, with a good monsoon, now seems almost certain to be the largest in her history.

Another conclusion by the Paddocks is that the Indian Government has not only failed to do anything on its own to increase the fertilizer supply, it has also prevented private industry from doing the job. Here the charge is out of date. The Indian Government has opened up the fertilizer industry to private enterprise. It did not act as soon as we had hoped. However, one new privately operated plant is producing fertilizer, another is under construction, five more have been licensed and are in various stages of negotiation, and still others are under discussion.

Indian agriculture is on the move. Our Ambassador in New Delhi, Chester Bowles, reports that "many American and Indian economists are persuaded that with normal rains and continuing foreign aid, India may become self-sufficient in food grain by 1972."

The Paddock brothers also assert, "the Indian population tidal wave is too overwhelming . . ."—i.e., hopeless, uncontrollable. The facts do not support them. It is true that the problem is not yet being met adequately. Also, it may well not be under substantial control by 1975.

But it is also true that there is now strong Indian leadership for cutting the birth rate. Dr. [S.] Chandrasekhar, the Minister of Health and Family Planning, keenly understands the need for education and promotion.

The Paddocks see the ascending curve in India. We see it, too. But we also see growing Indian action to deflect it: A major program using education, advertising, the IUD, pills, and conventional contraceptive devices is building momentum.

The Paddocks say India is beyond redemption: famine—1975. We say the issue is still open. There is still time and opportunity to beat the problem if India shows the necessary will. We stand ready to continue to give what help we can.

In summary, I repeat that regional awareness and cooperation hold new possibilities for peace, stability, and security—for Asians and Americans alike. Regionalism is also opening new possibilities of greatly expanded trade and investment. Also, the growth of national economies means that the nations of the Far East are not destined to semipermanent economic dependence. Finally, as these nations increase their determination and ability to grow their own food and reduce their birth rates, the possibility of world famine recedes.

The Far East is by no means out of the woods. The region faces some difficulty, worrisome years. However, Asians are overcoming the obstacles that have held them back so long and steadily strengthening their ability to handle their own problems.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a most penetrating and thought-provoking letter on Vietnam. The analysis is particularly valuable because it comes not from a scholarly study from afar but from firsthand experience. I think this kind of comment deserves a broader circulation than merely a constituent to his Representative so I would like to place the full text of this letter from Mr. Peter L. White, of Hayward, Calif., in the Congressional Record, as follows:

Hayward, Calif.,
September 15, 1967.

Dear Sir: I am new to your constituency, having decided to settle here in Hayward when I got out of the army in May. Consequently I'm not as familiar with your views as are most of your constituents. However, there is a matter of such great concern to me that I feel compelled to write to you as my representative. This concerns the war in Vietnam. Recently there has been much publicity about the President's request for a tax increase to further pursue the war. Also there is to be an increase in the number of troops to be sent there. I feel strongly that this money and many of the lives of the servicemen in Vietnam are being wasted. I am convinced that the war is unwinnable and that we stand on extremely questionable moral grounds in pressing it as we do. I recently returned from Vietnam and, as a matter of fact, had volunteered to serve there because a year and a half ago I was sure that the war was a necessary part of our foreign policy. However, while there, I saw that any resemblance between the government of South Vietnam and a democracy was purely coincidental. I could not help but be impressed with the courage and dedication of the enemy and the lack of motivation (cowardice in many cases) of the Vietnamese army. It was distasteful to see villagers taken from their home and moved to "safe" areas against their will. These unfortunate people are refered to as "refugees" when the term "displaced persons" would be more appropriate. Of course the death of many of my comrades, who I now feel died needlessly, also influenced my 180° change of opinion. I would like to point out that I was not the only serviceman that came to question our policy. Several of my fellow officers expressed privately the reservations I now feel.

I do not presume to know what the Vietnamese want, and it is a terrible thing to think that these people should live under a communist dictatorship, but I'm certain that our presence there is deleterious to their welfare. Sir, what price victory? Is it worth the money, lives and good will of our allies to pursue this war? I think not. Despite what the President, the Secretary of Defense and other leaders tell us, I'm certain there is no feasible way for us to win as it was my experience that the rural population is either apathetic or actively oppose the government in Saigon. The argument that we must draw the defense line against communism somewhere carries a lot of weight and it is a proper and intelligent policy to contain communism, but I feel strongly we've drawn the line in the wrong place.

I realize that it is sometimes difficult for a public official to take a stand that would seem to imply anything less than whole hearted support of the troops in the field. Also I know that is even more difficult for a public official to be associated in some minds with those people who demonstrate in an irresponsible manner in the streets and who in so doing sometimes violate the law. However, I admire such people as Senators Fulbright and Church and Generals Gavin and Shoup who take a stand that may be harmful to their reputations.

I feel an extremely strong loyalty to the men who fight and particularly to those who served under me, and my idea of responsibility to them is to do my part in bringing them home to serve in a more beneficial way.

While I criticize our policy I'm not in a position to offer a workable solution, but I think that an end to the bombing in the North and opening negotiations directly with the NLF would be a starter.

I wanted to write to you concerning Vietnam only, but since I've started this letter I can't resist putting in my two cents for a couple other matters that I'm interested in. The first—I support the Metcalf-Cohelan plan to establish a national park. The more Redwoods saved the better. The second concerns the problems the Negro citizens are encountering. Since the experts in psychology, biology and sociology tell us that the Negro is intrinsically the equal to the white man in all respects, it disturbs me that we find the colored on the lower rung of the social-economic ladder. I can only conclude that the Negro is what we (the whites) have made him. I think that it behooves Congress to take measures to insure that the colored man is extended every opportunity that whites in our society enjoy.

Sir, I know that a congressman has a thousand and one things to do, but I do hope that you will have the opportunity to read this letter yourself and not have it left to be attended to and answered by one of your assistants.

Sincerely,

Peter L. White.

Award to Chicago's Postmaster McGee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the following news article from Alderman Claude W. B. Holman's lively newspaper, the News-Clarion, of November 3, 1967:

Postmaster McGee Helps the Handicapped

Portland, Oreg.—The Chicago Post Office has received national plaudits here "for helping the mentally retarded to become useful citizens."

The National Association for Retarded Children (NARC) presented its "Employer of the Year Award" to Chicago Postmaster Henry McGee in ceremonies at the NARC 18th Annual Convention in the Portland Hilton Hotel, October 21st.

On hand for the presentation was Robert McClugge, Ph. D., 7848 South Paxton, Chicago, President of the Chicago Association for Retarded Children (CARC) which nominated the Chicago Post Office for the nationwide competition. The nomination was cosponsored by the Illinois Rehabilitation Association.

The Chicago Post Office is the largest full time employer of the retarded in Illinois. It began its program in 1964 by hiring seven mail handlers who are mentally retarded and has expanded the number to 146 full time employees with an average annual wage of $5,500.

The Other Side of the Coin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, last week this Chamber was the scene of heated debate over the Air Quality Act of 1967. Of particular interest to all Members was the automobile industry and its current and future role in our national air pollution problem.

Because of this current interest and because of some of the views expressed about the auto industry, I do wish to point out the following editorial viewpoint expressed in the Thursday, November 2, edition of the Saginaw News. The editorial touches on more than just the deserved promotion of Mr. James M. Roche as the new board chairman and chief executive officer of the General Motors Corp. It brings forth the truly human aspects of this organization which, as the editorial mentions, often is unfairly the "whipping boy of labor, government, auto safety critics, the man in the street and sometimes—even the press."

With 11 GM plants in Saginaw, our largest city in Michigan's Eighth District, I can assure you Saginawans are well aware of the many community contributions of this organization. I would further point out that as of January 1967 GM plants in Saginaw employed 19,850 persons and thousands of others are employed in industries and businesses directly affected by these plants. The GM payroll in Saginaw for 1966 totaled $167,626,000.

In closing, I would like to also point out another most unusual fact associated with Mr. Roche's selection. Without the benefit of formal college education, he has ascended into one of the leading positions in the business community. Might I point out, in particular, the closing three paragraphs of the editorial.

The editorial follows:

GM's Wise Choice at Troubled Time

General Motors, giant among corporate giants and favorite whipping boy of labor, government, auto safety critics, the man in the street and sometimes—even the press—chose this week 60-year-old James M. Roche as its new board chairman and chief executive officer succeeding Frederic G. Donner who has stepped aside through retirement.

But not even we can quarrel with the directors' decision on choice of successor to Mr. Donner. They have chosen wisely and because they have, a firm hand replaces a firm hand on the tiller at a time in the company's history when turbulence besets it from all sides as never before.

Mere recital of the challenges and problems confronting the world's largest industrial concern as Mr. Roche takes over are enough to stagger imagination.

Looming immediately ahead, of course, is the confrontation with the United Auto Workers over a new three-year contract which must be satisfactorily settled before normalcy ever returns to the automotive industry.

Beyond this is General Motors' ongoing involvement in such major and controversial issues as auto safety, traffic congestion and air pollution. And as if this weren't enough, comes word now that the federal government may once again have anti-trust designs on the granddaddy of big companies.

All of it together suggests that GM may well be facing its sternest period of testing; a time that will demand the very best in industrial statesmanship at highest level. If this is true, then it is fortunate to have a man of Roche's caliber at the helm.

Mr. Roche's rise to his present position, in itself, portrays a success story in best Horatio Alger tradition. Without benefit of formal college education he has ascended the ranks in startling and steady fashion.

It says that for over 40 years he brought to his assigned tasks the qualities that inevitably add up to personal success—willingness to accept responsibility, a meticulous devotion to detail, lots of ambition and a pleasant personality. It is a tough combination to beat in any field of endeavor.

What is also apparent, however, is that in Mr. Roche's case all of these qualities are mixed with a blend of honesty and integrity.

We think back little more than 15 months ago when GM was embroiled with Senate members during the controversy, with auto safety critic Ralph Nader. Charges had been raised and substantiated that the company had hired private investigators to probe Mr. Nader's private life.

It was a situation with extremely unpleasant overtones which had the potential to great damage to the GM image. That it didn't was due in large measure to Mr. Roche's performance in the glare of national attention.

As president of GM it fell to him to appear before the Senate auto safety committee and explain. Committee members, not the least among them a hostile Sen. Robert F. Kennedy had come to grill him. They never got the chance.

His answers to direct and embarrassing questions came easily and without equivocation. Yes, the company had hired investigators . . . no, he hadn't known about it . . . yes it was wrong . . . and yes, it would cease forthwith with appropriate apology.

We liked that.

Such disarmingly simple and straightforward candor had floored his inquisitors and left them declaring their admiration for the GM president. It had also won him great respect with the public.

As the world's foremost and wealthiest producer of automobiles, General Motors has become the handiest target for critics and their extended challenge that it take the lead in finding solution to the problems in its own technological superiority has helped create on nationwide scale.

Some of the criticism has, perhaps, been warranted. A lot of it hasn't. The fact is that GM is currently spending millions of dollars in research and development and investing millions more in search of satisfactory answers to these problems.

To those who insist GM has been unresponsive, the man who this week assumed the firm's top position of leadership replies: "We accept our social, and as well, economic responsibilities as major industrial citizens and we are far from satisfied with our performance."

We like this, too. Again it reflects the kind of honesty and integrity that has propelled Mr. Roche up the ladder of success with his company. His behavior under fire bears the mark of wisdom and courage.

These are the characteristics that will stand General Motors in good stead during whatever hectic days are ahead. We wish Mr. Roche well.

Hoboken Priest Honored for Heroism in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, Father David J. Casazza is one of the most distinguished citizens of the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey. His record as a priest and as a chaplain with the U.S. Coast Guard has earned him the esteem of all with whom he has come in contact. Recently he received the Legion of Merit for outstanding service in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to insert in the Appendix an article from the Jersey Journal of November 2, 1967, describing his service in Southeast Asia. The city of Hoboken and the State of New Jersey are very proud of Father Casazza and we would like all Members of this House to know the caliber of person produced by this fine old city.

The article follows:

Hoboken Priest Honored for Heroism in Vietnam

Capt. David J. Casazza of 212 10th St., Hoboken, a Catholic chaplain in the U.S. Coast Guard, has received the Legion of Merit for his outstanding performance of duty while stationed in Vietnam.

The award was presented at ceremonies at the Coast Guard Academy, New London, Conn., where Capt. Casazza is now chaplain. Rear Admiral A. B. Engel, academy superintendent, made the presentation.

A native of Hoboken, Capt Casazza is a graduate of Immaculate Conception Seminary in Darlington and Fordham University. He is a veteran of campaigns in World War II and Korea.

He reported to the Coast Guard Academy in August after completing his tour of duty in Vietnam.

The citation accompanying Capt. Casazza's Legion of Merit reads:

"For exceptionally meritorious service as chaplain of the First Marine Division from 24 Aug. 1966 to 21 Aug. 1967, in connection with operations against Communist forces in Vietnam. Through his vital personal ministry and administrative supervision he ensured that religious services were available to all Marines in both the Chu Lai and Da Nang tactical areas. Supervising the work of 28 chaplains, he provided services and counsel to outlying units as well as to those at the division command post. He traveled to forward areas regularly, fearlessly subjecting himself to the danger of enemy mines, booby traps and hostile fire, rendering assistance to all wherever and whenever needed.

"Captain Casazza displayed sound judgment and resourcefullness in assigning his chaplains to units and tactical areas where they would be of maximum effectiveness.

"Capt. Casazza's concern for civic projects greatly enhanced relations between the Marines and local populace. Under his guidance chapel funds were instrumental in establishing missions and assisting charities to aid the people of Vietnam. Capt. Casazza obtained a priest for a group of refugees and assisted them in building a church, a school and an orphanage and organizing a staff to teach and care for the children. As a result, a Catholic parish was established at Chu Lai, symbolizing a permanent token of friendship between the American and Vietnamese people."

Casualty Lists Clarified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I doubt that there is a single, loyal American, from the President on down, who doesn't wince when the weekly American casualty figures are announced. This is true, I am sure, regardless of whether one takes a dovish or hawkish or in between position regarding our involvement Vietnam.

I do not seek to minimize our losses. I believe, however, that the public should be helped to obtain a clearer understanding of what is meant by "casualty."

I think it is important to note that nearly half of American servicemen wounded in Vietnam have not required any hospital care whatsoever; yet, they are included in our casualty figures. Moreover, 85 percent of all wounded servicemen in this war have been returned to duty.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herein a clarifying statement on this matter by Phil G. Goulding, Assistant Secretary of Defense:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this letter to you and some other news executives to request your help in clearing up the public's understanding of the military meaning of the word casualty.

My suspicion is that to the average person "casualty" connotes death. In fact, one dictionary gives as the first definition of casualty, "an accident, especially an unfortunate one." This definition lends credence to the belief of many that "casualty" and "death" are synonymous.

On the other hand, the Military Services have always considered casualties to include deaths, wounded, missing, and captured.

Casualty accounting and reporting is one of the most precise actions that the Department of Defense and the Military Services undertake. Even the most minor wound attributable to the enemy and requiring medical attention is accounted for. A minor wound such as one caused by a small shell fragment that breaks the skin is grouped under the term "wounded" along with extremely serious cases involving the loss of a leg or arm. Thus a casualty may be anything from an insignificant skin puncture to a death.

General Westmoreland's Information Office announces each Thursday in Saigon the weekly and cumulative casualty figures. The announcement gives the number of deaths, wounded, missing, and captured. Recently the Saigon announcement began breaking down the wounded figure into two parts: those requiring hospital care and those not requiring such care. Hopefully this will give the public, including families of servicemen, a better understanding of these definitions.

It is of absolute importance that the Department of Defense report to the American people every single casualty suffered in this war. This we have done, and this we shall continue to do.

It is also our responsibility to put this data before the people in the most informative way. Nearly half of the U.S. servicemen wounded in Vietnam have not required hospital care. And eighty-five percent of all Americans wounded in this war have been returned to duty. Yet when we speak of 50,000 casualties or 100,000 casualties, those 85 percent who have returned to duty are counted equally with those who have lost their lives.

I will appreciate anything you can do to help create better understanding of the full meaning of casualties and any suggestions you may have on how the Department of Defense can improve the casualty reporting system.

Sincerely,

PHIL G. GOULDING.

Remarks of Hon. W. R. (Bob) Poage on Basic Issues of Vietnam Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague and fellow Texan, the Honorable W. R. "BOB" POAGE, made an address on November 3 before the United Civic Clubs of Killeen, Tex., in which he ably reviewed the circumstances leading up to our present involvement in Vietnam.

With keen perception he discusses the basic issues at stake in that conflict. With restraint he refers to misguided individuals who have attacked the administration. He reminds us of facts once commonly known but which we are prone now to forget or overlook.

I commend the speech to your reading and include it in the RECORD at this point:

THE VIETNAM WAR

Mr. Chairman, these joint meetings of the Service Clubs of Killeen have, for me, developed into a happy tradition. My friends in Killeen have always been most gracious and courteous. I recognize that I cannot begin to measure up to the confidence you have shown in me. I am, however, appreciative of your friendship and esteem, and so long as I have the opportunity to do so, I shall try as best I can to represent you creditably and honestly. I sincerely thank you for this inspiring reception.

In those years when the progress of the Congress permitted it, it has been my custom to speak at a number of points in our District and to try to, in some manner, review the work of the session. This year the session is running on so long that I fear that I will get in only a very few such reports. I have, therefore, felt it desirable that I should cover specific subjects at each meeting.

I realize that just two years ago, at a meeting of this kind here in Killeen, I discussed the Vietnam War. That war is still with us, and is each day touching more and more American families. I don't want to repeat what has been said so often but in the face of the growing criticism of our efforts, I feel that every American who believes in our traditional way of life and who believes in the type of patriotism which activated George Washington, Sam Houston, Robert E. Lee and Abraham Lincoln, must speak out against these efforts to leave our troops without the moral support of the Home Front. At least I must so speak out and I am going to do so.

I do not intend to say all that I would like to say about those who to me seem to be undermining the very men who are giving their all that these unwashed, long-haired "hippies" may march and demonstrate—that they may destroy property and violate all of the laws of trespass and public assembly. I am not going to recount the disgraceful proceedings in the recent march on Washington. I recognize that these misguided people who tread so close to the brink of treason have a right to their views and a right to express them so long as they do not give aid and comfort to the enemies of our country, although I must confess I feel that a good many have been doing exactly that already. But I have no patience with those ultramodern judges who have sought to excuse any kind of conduct when committed in connection with a "demonstration." Clearly our constitutional protection of the right to speak one's views was never intended to confer the right to interfere with the property of or right of movement of others. But enough about these social seed-ticks who exist only by the work and on the blood of others.

Let us examine the genesis of the Vietnam conflict. Often we find that erroneous views have grown out of an erroneous understanding of history. I think that one of the great misunderstandings of this conflict to the acceptance of the Communist claim that they are fighting a war for "National Liberation." They are fighting no such thing. On the contrary, they are doing their best, or their worst, by murder, bribery, threats and torture to destroy every vestige of local self-developed government. One of their most effective techniques is to mutilate and kill every elected official they can get hold of. This is not the way to establish either democracy or home rule. It is the clear road to anarchy.

There is, of course, a historic background for this. The present war is but a continuation of a war which has been going on ever since the Japanese took Indo-China over from the French. At that time there developed a group of so-called National Freedom Fighters. They had our general support and blessing, as did any group who was fighting our enemies.

After the Japanese surrender there was a very widespread attitude in this country that we should not interfere with anybody who professed to fight for "independence." There was much sympathy for these "Indo-Chinese" when they humiliated the French at Dien Bien Phu, as well as for the Red Chinese when they destroyed the Republic of China on the mainland.

It took us until 1954 to begin to realize that North Vietnam was indeed completely controlled by the Communist apparatus. Then it took us another ten years to realize that if we were in fact going to stop Communism in South Asia, that we were going to have to fight it on its own grounds. General Eisenhower apparently never learned it. President Kennedy never learned it—and Bobby Kennedy hasn't learned it yet.

It was left for President Johnson to recognize and do something about the harsh realities of the situation. His predecessors knew, just as his critics know today, that for us to desert the 17 million people who have relied on us in South Vietnam would plunge that country into the kind of blood bath which has not been seen since Hitler's massacre of the Jews. These critics try to excuse themselves by saying that there are corrupt officials in South Vietnam. Of course, there are, and there are corrupt officials in the United States and we have had 400 years of Anglo-Saxon governmental institutions. They say there are cowards and rascals in the South Vietnam Army. Of course, there are. There was even one who ran out of the Alamo and there were dozens of land speculators who died there. But the fact remains that these people in South Vietnam have done a remarkable job of building both a government and an economy during the most trying times. I doubt that any people have ever done better is so short a time and under such difficulties. I might suggest that even General de Gaulle, who likes to criticize eveyone else, was never able to get such a remarkable effort out of the French people during the German invasion. True, the South Vietnamese have all too many weaknesses. So do we. But those who offer the weakness of these people as an excuse for not supporting them are but seeking excuses—not reasons.

They know, as we all know, that you can't run away with your tail between your legs and come out whole. If you think you can, I suggest that you go down on the Lampasas and walk up to some old timer's house. Probably a pack of dogs will meet you. If you run, they will do to you just what the Communists will do to us if we run.

Then they say, Vietnam is not a battlefield of our choosing. Of course, it is not but, as far as I am concerned, it is a whole lot better battlefield than the Cowhouse Valley. And if we leave Vietnam, do we also desert Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Malaysia? If we are going to defend these countries, why leave Vietnam? Are we going to return Indonesia to the Communists? And what about the Philippines? For that matter, what about Free China and even Japan? I know that the "Peace at any Price" people say that these nations will not be invaded. Maybe not at once, but does anyone believe for one moment that if we crawl home from Southeast Asia, that any government friendly to the United States could exist for even two years in any of these countries?

The harsh truth is that we are committed and we cannot extricate ourselves except by winning, and I, for one, am happy to see that our efforts to win have been considerably stepped up in the last few days. I believe we can win. We should win, and we will win this war.

I would not try to say that I know better than those who have the direct responsibility for the conduct of the war just how and where we should apply pressure, but I do know that we must apply pressure and continue to apply pressure until we force North Vietnam to the Conference table. And when we get them there, I want them to understand that if they are unwilling to get out of South Vietnam, that we will go right back to destroying whatever is left of their cities and their forces. At the same time let them understand that when they are ready to live in peace and stay out of their neighbor's business that we will help them rebuild but never, never should we agree to stop that pressure unless and until they actually come to the Peace Table. Never give them a cease-fire to use for regrouping and slipping behind our men.

These people have a philosophy quite different from our own. They have been at war for the last 25 years and most of the last 1000 years. They are quite willing to let the war drag on unless we apply intolerable pressure, and even when we are just about to close the pincers almost to the breaking point, they read of some Senator or Republican Governor, or some "moral" leader in America who suggests that we should be about ready to give up, so they tighten their belt and dig in to kill more American boys.

My friends, we all want to end this war, but God help us if we run. Every American would be happy to negotiate—but who with—with whom would the draft dodgers have us negotiate? You can't negotiate with someone who won't talk with you. Apparently, the real question is how do you get Ho Chi Minh to negotiate. President Johnson has repeatedly offered, and he still offers, to meet with the North Vietnamese any time any where. The new President of South Vietnam has offered to negotiate. They are brushed aside, but our timid statesmen say "Just quit and come home, then we are sure that Mr. Ho Chi Minh will be polite and fair." On the other hand, some of us who were not born yesterday believe that only by showing Ho Chi Minh that it will not pay to continue the fighting can we ever win this war, and win it we must.

Americans Boycott Russian Circus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with thousands of our boys dying in Vietnam in defense of constitutional government and individual liberty it was a genuine gesture of patriotism that no American attended the Russian circus at the Boston Garden last month.

Reports may have indicated the attendance at 10,000 people—but we know they were not Americans.

I insert in the Record an editorial from the October 19 Manchester, N.H., Union Leader:

The 10,000 Traitors

Of course they probably weren't conscious traitors, but nevertheless the 10,000 people who were supposed to have gone to see the Russian Circus at the Boston Garden Monday night were really traitors to the American boys who are fighting and dying in Vietnam.

The money these naive, simple-minded Americans paid for their tickets went directly into the treasury of the Soviet Union and it is the Soviet Union that is using that money, along with other funds, to manufacture the anti-aircraft guns, the machine guns and the rifles which are killing American boys in Vietnam.

When newspapers, magazines, TV, radio and political leaders do not emphasize to the people that the Russians are into this war up to their necks in Vietnam, the people, of course, can't be expected to realize the seriousness of the Russian involvement.

Yet common sense should tell Americans that the North Vietnamese couldn't keep this war up for more than a few weeks if they weren't supplied with ammunition and weapons by the Soviet Union. The amount of weapons that come through from the Chinese Communists are not as important as the more than billion-dollar contribution a year from the Russians.

Of course the State Department and the Russian leaders mislead the people by having such charades as the meeting between Johnson and Kosygin at Glassboro. Again the American people ought to have enough hard common sense to realize that Russia is the real enemy of this country and that the Russians are out to conquer the world.

If the Russians succeed, those 10,000 suckers who supported the Russian Communist Circus at the Boston Garden the other night may some day be working in the salt mines of Siberia or be enslaved right here in our own country as they work for their Soviet slavemasters.

If the communications media and our political leaders in Washington don't have the brains to wake up the nation, it is about time the average American got wise to the facts of life and stopped subsidizing our enemies by attending the cultural shows which are put on by the Russians in this country.

You can bet your last buttons that there weren't any fathers or mothers of boys who are fighting in Vietnam who sat in the seats at the Boston Garden and applauded the representatives of the country which is trying to murder their sons in the jungles and on the beaches of Vietnam.

Pan Am's 40 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago there appeared in the Washington Star a brief but entertaining article written by that newspaper's talented and enterprising aviation editor, "Chick" Yarbrough, and it concerned itself with an event which was handled with a modesty long associated with the company involved—the 40th anniversary of Pan American World Airways.

Forty years seems like a short time for a giant of international transportation to be in business, but October 28, 1927, must be considered in contemporary history as significant as Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic, Calvin Coolidge's choice not to run and the Yankees' world series victory in four straight games over Pittsburgh. A vintage year indeed was 1927.

Juan Terry Trippe, who conceived of ocean-flying aircraft during his undergraduate days at Yale, and in his World War I service as a Navy pilot, hardly imagined that his fantastic brainchild would, 40 years later, be flying into 121 cities in 84 different countries around the globe.

Juan Trippe was a pioneer when pioneers were being passé. His belief in himself, his objectives, and in the dedicated men and women who have grown with him and Pan Am has been more than vindicated. Today, numerous other U.S.-flag airlines, along with Pan Am, are successful international route operators. This is significant and impressive, because in no other field of transportation is the competition so severe and demanding. Without exception, our free enterprise carriers' competitors find themselves opposed by a myriad of airlines, owned and/or controlled and financed by their respective governments.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Pan Am as it begins its 41st year in business, and sincerely hope that Pan Am and our other lines in the ocean-flying business are allowed a measure of continuing prosperity before being saddled with the problem of duplicate foreign services, from within or without.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Yarbrough's

brief article in the Star at this point in the Record:

Forty Years Ago: Pan Am Took to the Air With Mail to Cuba

After 40 years, Pan American World Airways is explaining, with an apologetic grin, why the inaugural flight which took the American flag into international skies was delayed 25 minutes.

A train was late.

Pam Am began international flights 40 years ago yesterday and the "big" tri-motor Fokker F–7 waited at Key West, Fla., 25 minutes past scheduled departure time because the train carrying Capt. Hugh Wells from New York was also delayed.

The inaugural flight to Havana took an hour and 20 mintues, leaving the Key West Citizen newspaper only slightly impressed:

"There was a crowd of several hundred on hand this morning to witness the plane's first mail flight," the Citizen reported. "This was a surprise to many who were inclined to feel that 7:45 was too early for most folk to be astir even for an unusual event."

Statisticians have pounced on the 40th anniversary for a figurative field day:

In the 40 years, Pan Am has flown more than 70 million passengers—about equal to the populations of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Denmark.

Since the first eight-passenger Fokkers through the oceanspanning flying boats to today's 575-mile-an-hour jets, Pan Am clippers have flown more than two billion miles.—Yarbrough.

Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, today, in the midst of a troubled world, when the ideals and institutions of the free peoples in every corner of the globe stand out in shining contrast to the autocratically controlled domains of the Communist empire, it is well to pause for a moment in reaffirmation of our conviction that man's basic freedom lies in his right to self-determination.

At a time when communism exerts the dominant influence over three-fourths of the land area of the world, inhabited by more than 1 billion people in some 15 countries, it is a solemn reminder that in the first 50 years following the Bolshevik revolution, the survival of freedom has come only at great cost and sacrifice to those who believe in it.

This particular day, in addition to being the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, has an ironic significance. Mr. Daniel Marchishin, writing on behalf of the Captive Nations Committee of New Jersey, observes:

> It is a tragic irony that this date corresponds with election day here in the United States. We will be exercising a basic right which is denied the peoples of the captive nations.

I commend to your thoughtful consideration the committee's resolution which follows:

Resolution, Captive Nations' Committee of New Jersey

We, the delegates of Czech, Bulgarian, Byelorus', Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Slovakian and Ukrainian organizations representing our peoples who are citizens of the United States of America and who at the same time preserve cultural and spiritual ties with the peoples of our original homelands, do solemnly declare:

1. The forthcoming 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution fills our hearts with anquish for it represents the beginning of the Imperialist movement which has culminated in the military conquest of our original homelands and in the serfdom of our peoples.

2. Our peoples held under the alien Communist yoke have been deprived of all freedom. On the soil of their own homelands our peoples cannot benefit from their own natural and human resources. The wealth of the land and people has been confiscated by the Communist rulers to perpetuate their positions of power and by brutal suppression and to extend the boundaries of Communist Imperialism by international subversion.

3. The unrelenting resistance by our peoples to Communist oppression in our original homelands is a continuing source of inspiration to us in our new homeland. In recent years we witnessed repeated attempts to regain greater freedom in the development of their national identity and culture. Particularly persistant efforts were made to restore the cultural achievements of their nations and to impress the youth with the feeling of nation pride. The entry into the cultural life during the recent years of hosts of nationally-minded, patriotic men and women clearly reflects a powerful reservoir of resistance to Communist oppression.

4. The Communist tyrants have reacted in typically brutal fashion to crush the persistant aspirations of our peoples to regain the benefits of national liberation and cultural freedom. They have recently suppressed several leading literary persons by imprisonment, bullying, humiliation or by depriving them of their rights of citizenship. They have produced an increasing number of pseudo-historical works degrading our national movements, distorting our political and cultural leaders and deriding the activities of our immigrants in their adopted homelands. They continue to deny all religious freedom in our original homelands and have increasingly interferred with the affairs of our emigrant churches. The increasing sharpness of these attacks serves as a measure of the Communist rulers' apprehension regarding the tenacious yearning of our peoples for freedom.

5. For the above stated reasons, we firmly resolve to persist in our efforts to alert the government and people of our new homeland to the continuing fight of our peoples remaining in their original homelands, and to increase cooperation in our efforts in a brotherly manner. We further pledge to maintain and strengthen moral and material ties with our peoples subjugated within the Communist Colonial Empire.

6. We fervantly hope that the government of the United States of America, chosen by us and our fellow citizens, will fulfill our aspirations which are embodied in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence by giving its moral support for the liberation of our enslaved peoples from Communist regimes' attempts to conceal its true totalitarian nature behind a facade of pseudo-democracy.

7. We solemnly implore the government of the United States of America to refrain from sending congratulations to the Soviet Empire on the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution, but to join us in mournful silence remembering the millions of our peoples who have perished from Communist brutality. We also implore our government to refuse to send official representatives to any official observances sponsored by the Soviet Empire, its colonies or protectorates for we deplore the thought that our representatives will be greeting Communist brutes whose hands are smeared with the blood of our peoples.

On behalf of the Captive Nations' Committee,

Daniel Marchishin,
Chairman.

Maria Sklodowska Curie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, today, the attention of the world is turned on the regimented display of festivity commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, and a half century of Communist rule in Russia. However, I prefer to remember, and want to remind my colleagues, that November 7 is the anniversary of a far happier and more meaningful event—the birth of that great scientist and great woman, Madam Maria Sklodowska Curie, 100 years ago today.

In tribute to her memory, I ask permission to reprint a letter from Mr. Theodore A. Kowaleski, of Middletown, Conn., to the editor of the newspaper, Sokol Polski, which contains a moving account of her life and her outstanding contributions to her fellow men.

Editor,
Middletown Press:

Within a number of weeks the commemoration of the birth of a baby girl who later in life became the greatest woman scientist of all ages will be celebrated throughout the world by her fellow scientists of this present day.

Marie Sklodowska was born Nov. 7, 1867, in Warsaw, Poland, the youngest of five children in a highly intellectual family. Both parents were professors; and her father taught physics.

Volumes of her achievements have been written. And many honors were bestowed upon her. Marie was the recipient of two Nobel Prizes: one in 1903 in physics and one in 1911 in chemistry. The latter subject she taught and became a co-discoverer of the substance known as radium.

During her teenage the Russian occupied Poland. Under the occupation of the Russian forces life for the Polish peasants became unbearable. Marie risked prison by teaching them the language of their forefathers and the history of their beloved country, despite the fact that educating the Polish people was forbidden.

At the age of 18 she was a governess and a tutor for a rich family. Her earnings were used to help an older sister to obtain a medical degree. While employed by the wealthy family she became engaged to the young man of the House. The engagement was broken after his parents persuaded him that a wealthy boy of a wealthy family does not marry a governess. This, of course, was below the dignity of a high toned family.

Marie became down hearted and renounced all men. She then devoted all her energies to scientific studies which became her great love.

She moved from Warsaw to Cracow and then on to Paris where she was a student existing on 60 cents a day. Her diet was one of nearly starvation with a working schedule of 14 hours daily.

From sheer exhaustion and starvation due to her terrific drive she finally collapsed. After being nursed back to health by her physician sister, Marie resumed her studies. She then earned a master degree in physics. Her struggle was eased somewhat after winning a scholarship which led to another masters degree in mathematics. At this turn of events in her hard life she met a French Physicist, Pierre Curie.

Though in his middle thirties he was a tall and handsome man with a beard. Marie was impressed with Pierre at their first meeting.

After a year of courtship she and Pierre Curie were married in a simple civil ceremony.

When Madame Curie returned to Paris from her honeymoon, she immediately began to experiment with radioactive materials. Her husband showed a profound interest in her work and collaborated with her in all projects in which she attempted to solve in a scientific manner. They worked together as inseparable partners until Pierre's death.

In July 1898, Pierre and Marie announced the discovery of Polonium which she named for the land of her birth. They believed that still another new element remained to be found. And several years later the Curies joyfully announced the existence of radium. Marie isolated a decigram of the pure material.

Tragedy struck this devoted couple. Pierre was fatally injured when the wheels of a horse cart crushed his head while crossing a street in the City of Paris.

To Madame Curie it seemed as though her world had eneded after her husband's death.

But for the love of science this brave woman accepted a chair at the Sorbonne Faculty of Science, which was created for her husband.

She continued on with radium research under adverse conditions and was awarded a second Nobel Price in chemistry.

Just before World War I her health began to fail. Though the nature of her illness was not made known, it no doubt was caused by the effects of radiation. She made a remarkable recovery.

When the dark war clouds finally exploded, Madame Curie did not remain idle. She organized French corps of ambulances equipped with X-ray facilities. And she personally manned one ambulance unit.

After the war Marie returned to research; she traveled widely throughout the world and lectured at various universities. In 1921 she came to the United States where more honors were bestowed upon her. At the White House President Warren G. Harding received her on behalf of the American people. At Harvard University, President A. Laurence paid tribute to her in his remarks by comparing her to Copernicus and Newton. According to reports the reception was a memorable occasion. She was presented by Professor Duance of Harvard who had studied with her in Paris.

Being shy and aloof she cancelled half of her American tour and sailed back to her laboratory in France.

Now in her middle sixties her health failed again her eyesight became poor; her hands were repeatedly afflcted with radiation burns. Marie Sklodowska died on July 4, 1934. She was buried next to her Pierre in the village cemetery at Sceaux France.

Madame Curie left two daughters, Irene and Eve, who were very devoted to their mother. Both girls were almost always side by side, with her whenever she traveled. Eve became a noted lecturer and writer and wrote a biography of her mother's life which expressed the hardship and joy of a scientist's family.

One night a number of years ago, as a lieutenant in the police department, this writer had the honor and privilege to be introduced to Eve Curie who came to this city during a speaking tour. I found her to be a very delightful person. We spoke in Polish, the language of my father, which was also the language of her mother. I well remember her words as we parted. She said very softly and firmly: "Jeszcze Polska nie zginela!" (meaning yet Poland is not lost).

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE A. KOWALESKI,
City, Treasurer,
Middletown, Conn.

Soviets Bend Space Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the announcement that the Soviet Union is testing an orbital bomb—the fractional orbital bombardment system—represents potentially a very serious threat to the security of the United States.

What makes the matter even more serious is Secretary of Defense McNamara's efforts not only to downgrade the military significance of the orbital bomb but also his arbitrary assertions that the Soviet orbital bomb does not violate the Outer Space Treaty, designed to bar the orbiting or stationing of weapons in outer space which was ratified by both the United States and the U.S.S.R. less than a month ago.

The Los Angeles Times commented on this matter in an editorial which appeared in the Times today, November 7. The reservations expressed, and implied, in the editorial over Secretary McNamara's performance in connection with the orbital bomb are in my view well taken.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

SOVIETS BEND SPACE TREATY

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara may or may not be right in his conclusion that the Soviet Union's orbital missile poses no substantial new threat to American security. That point needs some looking into.

But it is nothing short of incredible that the Johnson Administration seems unwilling to challenge Russian actions as a violation of the U.N. treaty bahning nuclear weapons from outer space.

Certainly the American people are unlikely to be satisfied with McNamara's explanation of why Soviet development and testing of the new weapons system does not violate the treaty, which the Russians signed only last January.

"They agreed not to place warheads in full orbit," said the defense secretary. "This is a fractional orbit and hence not a violation."

Sen. Henry Jackson's atomic energy subcommittee, which opened hearings Monday into the whole subject of missile defense, should explore Administration thinking on this point, as well as on the military threat posed by the so-called "Fractional Orbital Bombardment System," or FOBS.

Unlike conventional inter-continental missiles, which follow an up-and-down ballistic trajectory reaching a peak altitude of 800 miles, the orbital missile is fired like a satellite into a low orbit perhaps 100 miles high.

There is no way of determining what the FOBS target is until retro-rockets are fired to bring it down to earth, some three minutes before impact.

Existence of the Soviet weapon has been known for at least two years. The Russians have paraded it through Red Square several times, and Soviet military leaders boasted in November, 1965, that it could deliver nuclear warheads "on the first or any other orbit around the earth."

However, there was no evidence of extensive tests until the past few months. Now, McNamara says the Soviets could achieve an operational capability with the new weapon during 1968.

The United States at one time considered an orbital missile of its own, but then decided that it had serious disadvantages compared with conventional ICBMs. Pentagon experts believe, for example, that the FOBS is less accurate than an ICBM, and is capable of carrying only a small warhead.

McNamara has heard nothing to change his mind.

"I am not concerned," he says.

In strictly military terms, McNamara's confidence may be well founded—although this is a proposition which neither Congress nor the American people should accept unchallenged.

There remains the strong possibility, however, that the Soviets may plan to use the orbital missile as a psychological warfare weapon—a sort of Sword of Damocles which could be dangled over American (or Chinese?) heads at a time of acute crisis.

Obviously, the Pentagon should not be stampeded into developing an American FOBS if it is not needed. But we should be very sure that we do not underestimate the threat—military or psychological—which the weapon poses in Soviet hands.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union should be condemned in the strongest terms for violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the space treaty.

Hon. Richard H. Poff Honored for Distinguished Service as a Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 28, my very good friend and colleague, Representative RICHARD H. POFF, from the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia, which adjoins my district, was honored for "distinguished service as a Congressman" and "for leadership in attacking the problem of crime in America," at the Roanoke College, Salem, Va., honors convocation.

It is a pleasure for me to insert for the RECORD an article from the Clifton Forge Daily Review as a tribute to the Honorable RICHARD H. POFF:

POFF GIVEN COLLEGE ALUM HONOR

Roanoke College has honored alumnus Richard H. Poff for "distinguished service as a Congressman" and "for leadership in attacking the problem of crime in America."

Poff, who has represented Virginia's Sixth Congressional District in Washington since 1952, received the Roanoke College medal at an Honors Convocation Saturday (Oct. 28) on the college campus at Salem. The convocation honored the 125th anniversary of the founding of the college.

Poff entered Roanoke College in 1941 where he undertook a pre-law course of study. He was called to the military service in World War II and received the Distinguished Flying Cross after having flown 35 missions over Europe.

He graduated from the University of Virginia Law School in 1948 and was elected to Congress four years later.

Poff was given special recognition at the college ceremony for his position as chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime. He is also vice-chairman of the Presidential Commission on the Reform of the Federal Criminal Statutes. Former California Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown is chairman. Speaker at the convocation was Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler.

Distinguished Service Cross Awarded Posthumously to Army Hero From Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute again to a hero from Hawaii, Sgt. Edward N. Kaneshiro. Sergeant Kaneshiro, who was killed in battle last March in Vietnam, was a member of the Army's 1st Cavalry Division. On October 20, 1967, Mrs. Kaneshiro accepted the Distinguished Service Cross, which was awarded for the heroism displayed by her husband in combat. It is a fitting tribute from a grateful nation to this brave soldier, who is survived by his gallant widow and four little children.

The story of Sergeant Kaneshiro's extraordinary heroism and the posthumous award is found in thet October 20, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and I respectfully submit the article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

WIDOW ACCEPTS DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS FOR HERO

The nation's second highest military award for bravery, the Distinguished Service Cross, was presented posthumously to Army Staff Sgt. Edward N. Kaneshiro of Pearl City today.

With tears in her eyes and her infant son in her arms Mitsuko Kaneshiro, the Island hero's widow, accepted the award from the commander in chief of the U.S. Army in the Pacific, Gen. Dwight E. Beach.

The award was made for the extraordinary heroism displayed by Sgt. Kaneshiro on Dec. 1, 1966, when he was serving as a squad leader during a search and destroy mission in Vietnam.

Sgt. Kaneshiro, 38, was killed in later action in Vietnam last March.

The action which won the DSC for Kaneshiro occurred when his squad was guarding the open terrain around a heavy fortified village.

Two squads of his unit had deployed to the center of the village, not knowing North Vietnamese troops were already there in vastly superior numbers.

A fully bunkered and concealed trench system ran the length of the village. Machine gun and rifle fire suddenly came against the two squads at the center of the village and killed the platoon leader and wounded four others.

Sgt. Kaneshiro moved his men toward the sound of the firing.

Kaneshiro deployed his men to cover, then crawled forward to attack alone. He began by throwing grenades and his first round silenced the machine gun to his front.

That done, with five grenades and his M-16 rifle, Sgt. Kaneshiro jumped into the trench to sweep it with rifle fire where the enemy had the two squads pinned down.

Over the distance of about 35 meters, he worked the ditch alone, destroying one enemy group with his rifle fire, and two others with grenade fire.

Sgt. Kaneshiro's assault enabled the removal of the men and reorganization of his platoon which was beginning a larger action. The action was successful.

Sgt. Kaneshiro was recommended in January for the Medal of Honor. He had already been awarded the Silver Star medal for gallantry.

Formerly with the 25th Infantry Wolfhounds, he served in the Army more than seven years.

Besides his widow he is survived by four small children, John, Tom, Doris and Naomi, of 2402 Aniuniu St., Pearl City.

His mother, Mrs. Tama Kaneshiro, also lives in Pearl City. He has 15 brothers and sisters.

America Must Wake Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, a warning that is going forth from concerned citizens in this country—America must wake up—is also the alarm voiced by some of our world neighbors. A recent editorial broadcast by WBIR radio station, Knoxville, Tenn., is noteworthy of each Member of Congress, for it calls to the readers' attention our national "malady" and the views of Historian Arnold Toynbee who says:

> We are witnessing a struggle in America for the American people's souls.

The editorial follows:

AMERICA MUST WAKE UP

Fatal diseases occasionally are painless until the terminal stage is reached. The ill person becomes adjusted to his condition and even may deny that he is ill. At the cost of his life, he avoids diagnosis which only a qualified adviser can give him. So it is with nations.

Arnold Toynbee, the eminent British historian, recently returned home from the U.S. He has written of his visit much as a doctor diagnoses an ill patient. For one thing, he believes the American people have lost their way. He views the U.S. as a semi-socialist country in which the public sector of the economy is gaining ground at the expense of the genuinely private sector.

"The American taxpayer," he says "and even the American congressmen who vote the tax money, can no longer keep track of how the money is being spent and what it is being spent on. He no longer believes that the Administration is telling him the truth. He is shocked by startling revelations of an official 'hidden hand' spending the taxpayer's money for objectionable purposes. The taxpayer's money has even been used to 'condition' the taxpayer himself. We are witnessing a struggle in America for the American people's souls, and this struggle is fateful for us all."

The national malady that afflicts the U.S. is not beyond cure. If the people have the will to do it, inflation and supergovernment still can be brought under control. But the hour is late, perhaps later than we think. It seems clear that the American people still have to prove what other democracies have failed to prove in the past—that people are capable of self-government. Historically, democratic governments have lasted relatively few years in the course of time. The big hurdle, it seems, is the failure of the people to see the inherent danger in voting for politicians who promise them free food, free housing, free price supports and free security of various kinds without realizing that they have to pay for these "benefits" through taxation. The people's money is the only kind of money that the politicians have to spend. If the American people can turn the trend, it will be the first time in history that it has been done.

The Changing Aspects of Federal Deposit Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which was established in 1933, has served this country well in restoring public confidence in banks through the provision of insurance coverage for deposits and protecting the money supply of its member banks. Today the deposit insurance fund totals over $3.4 billion and insures deposits to a $15,000 maximum.

Recently, the distinguished Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, K. A. Randall, addressed himself to a review of the changing aspects of Federal deposit insurance as a part of a continuing series of lectures in banking and monetary policy sponsored by Ohio State University and the Ohio Bankers Association. I wound the address by Mr. Randall to be of great interest and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

THE CHANGING ASPECTS OF FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE

(By K. A. Randall, Chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Washington, D.C., at the 1967–68 series of distinguished lectures in banking and monetary policy, sponsored jointly by Ohio State University and the Ohio Bankers Association, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, October 19, 1967)

Over the past two years, the Federal bank supervisory agencies have been operating in an environment that has presented them with critical problems demanding new solutions and with major challenges associated with an expanding economy. The banking agencies have been called upon to discharge their responsibilities to support a vigorous and sound banking system during a period of intense pressure in the financial markets.

Shortly after the Federal Reserve, the FDIC, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board took action in September 1966 under the flexible interest rate regulatory powers granted by Congress, these pressures moderated. A slackening in the pace of economic expansion and a lessening of competitive pressure helped to bring about an easier tone in the financial markets. The subsequent slowdown in the rate of economic growth was not accompanied, however, by any significant easing in the money and capital markets. Corporations and financial institutions took advantage of the opportunity to build up their liquidity positions to withstand any recurrence of the "credit crunch" experienced last year.

Now the economy may be on the verge of resuming a strong expansion. With appropriate monetary and fiscal policies, the expansion can be balanced and sustainable, and financial pressures can be kept within controllable limits. The economy may be embarking on another major expansionary phase.

But irrespective of one's views on the immediate prospects for the economy, from time to time it is essential to pause and stand back from close involvement with day-to-day concerns in order to get a better perspective of the total situation.

Because the FDIC was so deeply involved in developments in the money and capital markets in the past year or two, I should like to take this occasion to talk with you this afternoon about the Corporation's overall role and responsibilities in the economy. I don't expect to be able to give definitive answers to the many hard questions that you may want to ask, but we might usefully explore the implications of the basic issues involved.

The Federal deposit insurance system was established in 1933. It was designed to help restore public confidence in banks through the provision of insurance coverage for bank deposits and to protect the money supply furnished by the banks covered by deposit insurance. It differed from earlier deposit insurance plans because it was nationwide—as opposed to geographically limited state systems. It therefore was able to mobilize the financial resources needed to assure a substantial measure of safety to bank deposits and to provide sufficiently comprehensive coverage to be workable.

The Corporation's initial capital resources of $289 million were provided by the U.S. Treasury and by the Federal Reserve Banks, but both the principal as well as interest for the use of the funnds was subsequently fully repaid out of accumulated revenues from assessments on banks and investment income. A deposit insurance fund—totaling almost $3.4 billion as of June 30, 1967—constitutes the chief financial backing for Federal deposit insurance. Since 1950, the Corporation also has the authority to borrow up to $3 billion from the U.S. Treasury to supplement its resources, but this authority has never yet been exercised.

The temporary deposit insurance plan introduced in 1934 provided protection only up to $2,500. The coverage was increased to $5,000 in July 1934 and to $10,000 in 1950. About a year ago, on October 16, 1966, the maximum coverage was raised to $15,000.

The introduction of Federal deposit insurance in the early 1930's was motivated by several objectives. Most immediate, of course, was the determination to create a system that would prevent recurrence of the financial crises that characterized the early years of American finance and snowballed into major proportions during the Great Depression. Not only was there concern for the bulk of the despositors in banks, who held relatively small amounts, and the adverse reactions on the larger deposits but also concern for the affected communities whose money supply, consisting of bank deposits, had been extinguished. Loss of the medium of exchange and the involuntary freezing of previously liquid assets forced economic activity to a standstill.

The establishment of a deposit insurance system that covered all depositors—and the bulk of them up to the full amount of their accounts—in effect recognized the overriding public interest in stabilizing the financial structure. Over the period extending from the later half of the 1930's and up through the end of World War II, Federal deposit insurance clearly demonstrated its abilities to accomplish its initial objectives. The number of bank failures dropped sharply, and their impact was significantly reduced. This was achieved by rapid pay-offs of depositors in failing bank cases and by the introduction of substantial improvements in the quality and scope of bank supervision. Stress was placed on importance of sound banking practices, on cooperation with other Federal and State banking authorities, and on strengthening of the capital structure of banking in general, wherever necessary.

As Federal deposit insurance emerged from the war and moved into the decade of the 1950's, a new aspect or focus of its activities came to the fore. That was the contribution that the FDIC and the deposit insurance system could make to economic stabilization. At the end of World War II, many anticipated a major depression once wartime production demands tapered off. The Employment Act of 1946 in effect recognized this fear and attempted to forestall its realization by soliciting the cooperation of all sectors of the economy. The FDIC, for instance, was expected to bear its share of the task within this framework. Eventually, fears of a major postwar depression receded as the demands of a peacetime economy and the demonstrated capabilities of our economy succeeded in maintaining high levels of output and income.

During this period it became evident that deposit insurance had a useful role to play through its efforts to maintain the public's confidence in the banking system. No longer were there wild scrambles by depositors to achieve liquidity when a bank closing was feared—or even if a bank failure actually occurred. In combination with other agencies of government—both Federal and local—the FDIC was helping to establish a stable economic environment. In addition, there were many new lessons that had to be learned concerning the maintenance of an environment conducive to economic growth and widespread prosperity—such as the flexible use of monetary and fiscal policies. But it was possible to experiment with minimum disruption and disturbance to the expansion of the economy.

With the advent of the 1960's, it has become increasingly clear that the Federal banking agencies—such as the Corporation—have the responsibility to assist banks in adjusting to changes in the economic environment. The complexity of the economy—both national and international—and of the financial mechanism has made it difficult for individual institutions to seek and find individual solutions to externally generated problems. In the first place, our economy is being continually exposed to influences emanating from international developments abroad as well as from developments at home. Secondly, in an economy such as ours, which is continuously pressing close to capacity levels, there is less room for maneuver and less room for error. Furthermore, there is less scope for experimentation by individual banks in testing out solutions for problems. The significance of these constraints is yet to be fully realized. Finally, banking is recognized—rightly—as but one segment of the broader financial market, although a most important one.

It is in this arena that the Corporation can increase its contribution to banking in the public interest—by easing the pains of the transition period for banks and by encouraging flexibility and innovation within an acceptable institutional framework. On its own part, the Corporation must also remain ever-responsive to changing needs and to the need for change and flexibility.

To sum up then, since its inception, the FDIC has passed through two rather clearly distinguishable stages in the orientation of its activities. In its early years, a paramount consideration was the need to husband resources—to stand prepared financially to pay off depositors where necessary and minimize bank failures. There was little emphasis on innovation. The second—and somewhat longer—phase has consisted of efforts to build up our deposit insurance fund to serve as the "symbol of confidence" for bank depositors. This objective could only be attained during periods of relative economic stability and through effective bank supervision that stressed the adoption of good banking practices.

It seems to be that we are entering now a third—and new—phase or aspect of deposit insurance. Deposit insurance provided the institutional support that allows banks to fit into the modern environment. But, in the process of evolving this institutional support, various regulations and restrictions have been imposed by the supervisory authorities in protection of the public interest, by the development of institutional rigidities in the economy, and as a consequence alone of the increased magnitude of the economy. Regulation has been substituted for decisions previously reached in the marketplace in a number of instances.

Because changes in the economy are also occurring more rapidly than before, it is essential that the financial institutions under our supervision receive every encouragement to innovate and to adapt to change. Nevertheless, it is harder to innovate successfully, and the penalties of failure tend to be greater than before. The consequences to the individual institution and the community can, moreover, be far reaching. On the other hand, limitations imposed by the bank supervisors on full freedom of action can in turn result in undue dependence of the regulated on the regulator—at the same time that the regulated are protected from the full impact of their own actions.

This then is the essence of our current dilemma. Within this environment, what should be the role of the supervisor and the role of the regulated? Our present position is the end result of developments over a period of years. As a consequence, there is still time to ponder the direction in which we might go from here, some of the issues that face us, and pose some of the questions that we must be prepared to answer—whether as a bank supervisor, a banker, or the general public.

For example, undue reliance of the regulated institutions on the "protection" of the supervisory authorities—as in the case of interest ceiling regulations—could disrupt the traditional channels of policy decision by management. The flexible interest rate authority granted the financial supervisory agencies in 1966 and extended for one year last September proved most helpful in dampening excessive rate competition. But once the rate pressures eased a number of banks found themselves in an awkward position. The competition for savings was still so intense that it was difficult for a single institution to lower its rates. In these circumstances, hope was expressed in some quarters that the supervisory authorities would adjust the ceiling rates to conform with the easing in market rates. But it is not the responsibility of the supervisory authorities to set market rates paid on time money. Nevertheless, we do recognize the existence of a problem—and are most desirous of helping banks find a solution that will permit maximum scope for individual initiative as well as adequate safeguards for the public interest. Beyond question, it is necessary to modify the old bases for policy decisions. Criteria heretofore satisfactory are in many cases becoming outmoded.

Even through the free play of private initiative should be maximized, the realities of the marketplace preclude a return to the free and unrestricted competition we knew in the past. The economy has changed—in structure, in the number of viable participants in the market, in the magnitude and complexity of its problems, and in the existence of various barriers to the free movement of financial resources, people, and institutions.

Nevertheless, whatever we can do to strengthen the forces of competition—to facilitate the maximum interaction and interplay of market forces—is healthy. Such an environment will provide the greatest support possible to the solution of problems as they arise. Otherwise, the inefficient are shielded from the consequences of their own actions or indifference, dullness and mediocrity are encouraged, and banking would be gradually displaced through failure to discharge its role effectively.

The increasingly complex financial interrelationships of the modern world make it imperative that banks have the vigor to respond in an enlightened way—not just in the old terms of dollars-and-cents accounting but in the broader context of the economy as a whole. Failure to respond appropriately would eventually force banks to the sidelines as more vigorous and alert competitors adapted more rapidly to the new environment. Consequently, banks must remain ever sensitive to the environment in which they operate if they expect to retain and expand their role as financial intermediaries. If banks are lax in discharging this function, their major problem could be not disintermediation—or, for banks the diversion of funds *from* banks into the market that occurred last year—but what might be called "nonintermediation"—or complete circumvention of banks or other financial intermediaries by savers.

One means whereby banks can forestall nonintermediation is to know more—about themselves, the financial system, and the economy as a whole. It may now be incumbent on banks—more than ever before—to cooperate with others, such as the supervisory authorities, in areas formerly considered solely within the province of a profit-oriented and profit-motivated management.

The bank supervisory agencies can help to ease the transition by acting as a "communicator"—of knowledge and tools—to the institutions they supervise. In the absence of deposit insurance, both large and small institutions are obliged to cloak their operations to a considerable extent with secrecy in order to create an image of great strength irrespective of condition. With deposit insurance, it becomes possible for banks to make full and fair disclosure of information regarding their resources and liabilities to the public authorities in substantial detail and to their shareholders. By this means banking emerges from the shrouds that have been considered an essential part of its facade in the past.

The FDIC itself could well find itself increasingly ineffective and inefficient if it did not recognize this problem and also have a thorough understanding of its implications. As institutions grow in size—as even the smallest has had to in response to the general growth of the economy and advancements in the banking system, our perspective must change. Previously, there was little or no need to view banking in its entirety; the emphasis was on individual institutions. Now we need to understand the system as a whole and pursue policies dictated by the needs of that system—whether it is banking, the financial community, or the whole economy—rather than focus on the needs of particular units within that system.

How this perspective may be achieved is one of the major questions that we should be asking ourselves today. What we should be doing in turn basically depends on how we want the future to look—and its needs. Do we want—or need—financial supermarkets or a checkless society? Or do we want a "less check" society only and the preservation of various specialized institutions? These are major decisions deserving serious thought and extensive exchanges of view. It is not too early to begin thinking.

For the purpose of emphasis, let me summarize and restate the elements of our current predicament. Deposit insurance is now recognized as a vital element in supporting the environment essential for the operation of a modern banking system in the United States. Experience has demonstrated that modern banking requires a substantial amount of supervisory regulation and control to guide business decisions into the proper channels. In the absence of supervision, the historical profit maximization calculations can produce answers incompatible with stability in the financial community immediately and in the economy generally.

Deposit insurance has engendered confidence in the soundness of banking and the stability of its operations. The present-day banking environment therefore is conducive to the necessary free exchange of information between the individual banks and the public authorities. On this basis, bank supervisors can assist in developing guides to improve the quality of bank supervision and business decisions in banks.

In the development of the type of environment most conducive to an effective and modern banking system, it is well to remember that, as a practical matter, deposit insurance and the related supervision and regulatory activities should cover all institutions that perform a banking function. It also follows that departures from the well-recognized and time-tested channels of regulation and supervision should be made only with great reluctance and only after convincing evidence has been offered that a change is for the better.

Notwithstanding the favorable elements in our current situation, there is evidence historically, that the heavy hand of regulation has always deadened the energy and ingenuity of the regulated. Perhaps it will be impossible to reverse this lesson of history. But certainly if we recognize the situation for what it is, and if we accept the reality that there may be no alternatives to these regulations, the inducement for devising new solutions for the old problems is indeed great.

Harry Dillin Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, Harry Dillin is retiring after 25 years of distinguished service as president of Oregon's Linfield College. It is fitting that one who has brought to that institution a strengthened undergraduate curriculum, a strong graduate program, an impressive physical plant, and a well-rounded athletic program should now be honored upon his retirement.

I could do no better in this regard than present herewith the honest and expressive tribute to Harry Dillin as presented on the editorial page of the Salem, Oreg., newspaper the Capital Journal. Here, then, is that testimonial to a fine man and great college president:

LINFIELD'S HARRY DILLIN YEARS

Harry L. Dillin's retirement as Linfield College president probably will be accepted with mixed emotions. But the Baptist-sponsored school has progressed under his leadership.

Those who have known Dillin indicate that he has been at odds at times with some of his faculty. He probably could have handled situations with more diplomacy, they say.

Several incidents reflect this attitude. Dillin last year, for example, ordered a controversial display of paintings out of the Linfield Student Commons after some parents who saw them disapproved. About the same time the college administration was slow in disclosing the reprimand of several Linfield basketball players who got into trouble with the team in Alaska.

Despite these incidents, Dillin was the McMinnville institution's best salesman and supporter.

Probably his best forte has been his uncanny ability to get money for campus construction and to build new structures at low cost. The campus has tripled in size during his 25 years as president.

Dillin, who has a strong background in economics and a love for the stock market, found those all important dollars through personal contacts, alumni, various foundations and businesses, church outlets and elsewhere.

And, to cut corners, Dillin promoted the practice of the college building its own buildings without letting outside contracts. A new $450,000 art center is the latest testimonial to his ability at making things grow and go.

Academically Dillin has helped establish a graduate program especially strong in education and with offerings in arts and sciences.

While in the presidency, Dillin saw the start of the Linfield Research Institute, which grew out of a healthy physics offering and spawned the McMinnville Field Emission Corporation, now a world wide manufacturer of X-ray equipment.

He has always kept his administration office door open to students and visitors. A sight which many won't soon forget is Dillin's dog Christy, a cocker spaniel who is always by his side.

Dillin always maintained a personal interest in all the college's students and knew many of them personally.

Dillin also tried to build Linfield sports. Football and basketball teams have reached national finals in recent years.

One of the better stories about Dillin goes back two years. He took $1,000 out of his own pocket to pay the difference for a jet plane flight when the Linfield basketball team played Sul Ross State in national championship finals in Texas. The slower prop plane the team would have taken crashed in Utah that same weekend with 13 persons aboard, most of them Brigham Young University rooters.

Nabisco President Hailed as Marketing Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Lee S. Bickmore, president of the National Biscuit Co., was honored by the Sales Executives' Club of New York as its "Marketing Statesman-of-the-Year."

Mr. Bickmore used the occasion to make a stirring appeal to his fellow businessmen for a commitment to value, a dedication to quality, as a marketing philosophy for successful business-consumer relationships.

The high standard of business principle expressed in Mr. Bickmore's speech is carried into practice in my own congressional district where, at Buena Park, Nabisco has built a $12 million bakery that has been called the most modern plant of its kind in the world. The empolyees and executives of this facility are a model of the ideals expressed by Mr. Bickmore.

I join my constituents, the several hundred employees of the Buena Park Bakery in expressing my pleasure and pride in the honor paid to Mr. Bickmore.

In view of the increasing importance of consumer affairs, I am confident that our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, will be interested in Mr. Bickmore's views. I commend his speech to their attention:

A Commitment to Value

(Address at Sales Executives' Club of New York Upon Receipt of Award as Marketing Stateman-of-the-Year, October 10, 1967, by Lee S. Bickmore, President, National Biscuit Company)

Mr. Chairman . . . (Ladies and) Gentlemen:

Thank you very much indeed. For me it is an honor of the highest order to be cited as "Marketing Statesman of the Year" by such a distinguished group of marketing professionals. History has proven that to be recognized by one's contemporaries is the greatest compliment a man can receive. Therefore, as a student of marketing during my entire working life, I can tell you that there is no recognition I value more than this. Also, I am particularly mindful of the fact that now I join a distinguished group of men whom you have chosen to receive this tribute in the past. Again, let me say thank you. I am very grateful.

In preparing for this occasion I felt a real sense of obligation to make some contribution . . . no matter how small . . . to the collective thinking of your group in return for the compliment you have paid me here today. In thinking about what I might say in these next few minutes, I tried to remove myself from the close, intimate and pressing problems of the day in order to be able to view the present business environment in broad perspective. By so doing, it was my hope that I could bring to you one or two thoughts and observations which might prove helpful in the discharge of your responsibilities.

In order to establish the validity of any thoughts which I have to offer, it seemed to me to be necessary, first, to describe and to define broadly, the environment in which we are working. This I will attempt to do.

Business and economic environment in any part of the world, and at any point in time, can be characterized in many ways. This, of course, is manifestly true today. However, with all of the numerous forces and factors at play, I think I can point to two elements which override all others in coloring our current domestic commercial climate. Although we are aware of both, and although they are constantly discussed, in the press of our daily work we lose sight of the rapidity of their development, and their degree of impact . . . impact not only upon the business community as a whole but particularly upon the function of marketing within it.

The first element is the rapidity of change in the world today . . . . change in philosophies, change in social relationships, change in the basic tenets of physical sciences, change in every aspect of human life, endeavor and behavior. Never has the rate of change been faster.

Our technology is turning out a profusion of products that confuse the mind and dazzle the eye. These products must be sold in the face of strong competition to increasingly wary consumers. The life cycles of these products will become shorter and shorter. In the not-too-distant future, a company may be turning out products with the certain knowledge that they will be on the shelves, or in the catalogues, for only a few weeks, or months, before they are consigned to oblivion. Already, for some considerable length of time in the food industry, snack items have had to be changed constantly to meet the ever shifting consumer demand for the new, the different, the novel. We are accepting this as a way of business life. Few products will enjoy the long and happy reigns in the marketplace of the old and familiar Ivory Soap, Jello and Ritz Crackers.

As my comments on the shorter life span of products may have suggested, this one force will have an increasingly critical impact on the function we call marketing . . . this force of the pervasiveness of change.

Everywhere we look we can witness its implications in terms of marketing. It is all around us. It has a profound bearing on how we live, what we wear, what we eat, the cars we drive, and on just about every facet of our daily lives. In much the same way, all aspects of business, government and labor—all, are subject to this driving force of rapid change. Social orders throughout the world are undergoing wholesale revision. Economic theories, deemed valid for centuries, are now exposed to new and severe tests of a new and different world . . . because the circumstances in which these theories were born simply no longer pertain.

In startling contrast, let's pause for a moment to reflect upon the fact that leading into this current era of sweeping change . . . as a people . . . our basic concepts of *value* and *worth* have remained remarkably constant. At least, and until very recently, they have, I believe, provided us with a much needed stability. Traditionally, we Americans have sought the Jeffersonian ideals of Life, Liberty and Happiness in a characteristically pragmatic way. Over a span of 150 years we can see the fruits of this practical approach in steadily rising standards of living and in the related social wealth which has accompanied it.

But now even these deep rooted mores of American life are being challenged. Today we tolerate conduct and relationships which our mothers and fathers would have looked upon as unthinkable . . . . conduct and relationships among adults and teenagers, by public servants and private citizens. As groups and as individuals in every walk of life, we seem to be breaking away from a sense of responsibility. . . . responsibility to family, community and to the society to which we owe our very way of life. In the same vein, I am deeply concerned that we as marketeers may also be abandoning our responsibility to provide consumers with the true value which should be theirs and which we can produce. I am concerned that in many instances, under the pressures of the day, we may be taking the easy way out by supplying merchandise which, in every instance, is not quite all that it should be. Quality control in mass production is often a perplexing problem, which industry has generally solved. But it pales into insignificance when compared to the acceptance of the concept of true value before ever a wheel is turned. Have we as marketing men compromised our standard of value of the product of the service we provide?

As I am sure you must recognize by now, I believe that the severe impact of the rapidity of change on the science of marketing cannot be over-emphasized. Although great strides will continue to be made in the development of mechanical marketing tools through the use of computers, the refining of research techniques and automated production, the demands upon the marketer . . . . upon his integrity, his human and personal skills . . . . upon his imagination and ingenuity will also increase proportionately. This rapidity of change is affecting, and will continue to affect, the area of marketing more than any other element of business in today's society. In the eye of this storm—this tornado—is the marketing man.

The second major element in today's business environment is the advent of a feeling of uneasiness, resentment and even distrust among consumers. This complex and surging force is often characterized by the oversimplified term "consumerism." The entire thrust of this many sided swell of public opinion is a demand for our economy to provide necessities and luxuries alike at prices which the consumer perceives to represent true value. Because the consumer does not know nor understand the many interrelated and interacting causes of any given price level, she reacts against business and the businessman as the single culprit. She does not appreciate, nor does she particularly care, that he is operating in a climate effected by many elements over which he has little or no control.

The legitimate businessman of today can no longer be guided by the laws of pure and relatively simple economics. He must operate in a climate which is an uncertain admixture of innumerable social *and* economic forces. Although well meaning, the ever increasing multiplicity of consumer protective groups, both public and private, often confuse and hinder, rather than protect. However, at the same time the businessman is still expected to perform the near miracle of returning a profit since this is the basis of our entire system.

In view of these conditions, over which the businessman has little or no control, what can a marketer do to insure the ongoing success of his enterprise? In short, he must make a commitment to value.

In our thinking as marketers in any industry, I believe that, first, we must start with the consumer, whoever he or she is, and work backwards toward the production of those goods and services which that consumer, not only needs, and wants today, but what he will need and want tomorrow. To be successful over the long term we should not think in terms of our wishes and our desires but in terms of the wishes and desires of the marketplace. Inevitably, this kind of thinking will lead us to become involved in imaginative long range planning for the most productive use of our total resources. . . . with manpower and money leading the list of considerations.

I firmly believe that delivering a dollar of *value* for every dollar received is the foundation of good business. Hence, it must be the key to sound marketing as well. And I feel that if American business is to meet successfully the challenges it now faces, marketing leaders are going to have to make a firm and sincere commitment to the concept of value!

I am not going to pretend that there is anything new about this—there isn't. Most manufacturers do not have to be sold on the concept of value. Certainly, you, as marketing people, have recorded your most significant successes when you have worked with products which have had their basis in value and quality.

My belief now, however, is that renewed emphasis on value is fast becoming mandatory in this period of rapid change, and sometimes justifiable consumer suspicion. Make no mistake about it, Mrs. Consumer is an extremely wary shopper. She is alert, intelligent, but woefully uninformed of the hows and whys of what costs what to provide her with products her mother or grandmother never dreamed of. She is very reluctant to settle for anything less than what she considers to be the best. Value is her watchword, value—as she understands it—is her battle cry.

Now, value itself is an elusive quality and difficult to define. It means different things to different people. Housewives in the supermarket, for example, place different values on identical products. People purchase a product for a multitude of reasons. They judge its value in the light of their own individual needs and requirements. But it is surely true that the personal satisfaction to the user is the major common denominator of product value.

Unless I be misunderstood, I would like to be more specific in defining what I mean by making a commitment to *value*. To the consumer—

If performance is the overriding consideration, *value* is a product that performs well.

If reliability is the primary concern, *value* is a product that is reliable.

If durability is most important, *value* is a product that is durable.

If freshness and taste are vital, *value* is a product that is fresh and tasty.

If features are particularly significant, *value* is a product with many desirable features.

If style is paramount, *value* is a product that is stylish.

If servicing is the dominant concern, *value* is a product that can be serviced conveniently.

Finally, to the consumer, if uniqueness is most significant, *value* is a product that is one-of-a-kind.

However, from this list I think you can readily see that, to the producer, value is a coat of many colors. Value is a combination of many factors with at least one or two being paramount.

Although consumers seek complete satisfaction from every purchase that they make, there is usually one consideration which outweighs all the others. If they fail to get this satisfaction, for whatever reason, there is a very good chance they will not try the product again, at least in the immediate future. Every one of us working in the marketing area knows that this buying decision on the part of individual consumers is the exercise of the democratic process in its purest form. The marketplace is the place where every day is election day. The ballots cast by consumers on every shopping trip determine the success or failure of our products. The wants and needs of consumers so expressed form the basis of our businesses. We must work back from them to supply the principal value which they seek.

In addition to providing the qualities I have just enumerated, making a commitment to value also implies a definite price-product relationship that is fair to everyone in the marketing chain from the producer to the ultimate consumer. At this point, you may well ask what is a fair price . . . fair to whom . . . and how is it established?

These, of course, are basic questions to which there are no absolute answers in terms of per cent of formulae. Nevertheless, we can take the positive position that it is management's responsibility to so use the resources at its command that products will be produced at maximum efficiency and minimum cost. The make of a modest increment of profit is the single energizing force of the entire system. Without profits, business cannot re-invest in the sinews of growth, in people, facilities, research, markets and more new products . . . all to the end of continuing to improve our standards of living.

Attaining this maximum-minimum relationship is the responsibility of management . . . all elements of management in which the marketer plays a major role. It should be exercised imaginatively, adroitly and with aggressive leadership. To be sure, government and labor share in this responsibility by providing the climate, understanding and cooperation which is clearly required. Nevertheless, it is business management's responsibility first. Only by making a commitment to value will the other partners in the system be ready to cooperate and contribute in carrying their share of the burden.

In the final analysis, consumers themselves exercise the ultimate control on what are acceptable levels of price. However, the greatest mistake industry can make is to increase those levels to the point where consumers have no choice but to exercise their prerogative of simply refusing to buy at all.

In this respect, business has an obligation to explain, educate and inform consumers about the levels of price and how they are established. Uninformed consumer groups, such as the "ladycotts" of last year, can do unfair and serious harm to an industry, although, through lack of information and understanding, they may be acting in what they believe to be a justifiable manner. In short, the final price will be determined by consumers. It is, however, our responsibility to provide value and to inform them fully so that their ultimate decision will be enlightened and rational. They must understand the value delivered for the price required. And we must tell them!

Finally, the course of my suggestion is not an easy one in an environment of rapid change and within the limitations imposed by today's environment. It will require men of intelligence, imagination and integrity. It will require youth and energy. The continuing vitality of our commercial life will depend more on those we choose to succeed us, than upon those in this room here today. We must provide them with the insight to appreciate business as way of life; the contributions it has made to the most affluent society the world has ever known; and the importance of the role of marketing. For our part we here can begin by reaffirming our obligation to deliver value for every dollar received. For if American business reaffirms its unserving commitment to value, our free economic system will be unassailable in its ability to provide our society with the standards of living we seek for all.

Losing Our Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, today as never before in our history, it is imperative that we as Americans stop and take stock of what is happening to our country. America is fighting for her very life against crime, civil disobedience, and immorality, and it is long past time that we pause to consider the principles and values upon which this Nation was built.

I agree with the following editorial from the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle, and I feel that it is worthy of the thoughtful consideration of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD:

LOSING OUR GREATNESS

With crime rampant, with moral standards crumbling, it is time for America to take stock of its values.

Materially, we are the affluent society. There can be no question about this.

But, spiritually, we may have lost the way. Many believe we have. There are abundant indications that we have.

Speaking bluntly, the American people are not as moral as they once were and not as good as they once were. And troubles are piling up.

Let us give heed to the words of a great writer:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in fertile fields and boundless forests; it was not there. I sought for it in her free schools and her institutions of learning; it was not there. I sought for it in her matchless constitution and democratic congress; it was not there. Not until I went to the churches of America and found them aflame for righteousness did I understand the greatness and genius of America. America is great because America is good. When America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."—Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

Economy Needs Spending Cut, Tax Increase, American Banking Association Official Declares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, this morning our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CONABLE], and I participated in a panel discussion at the National Frozen Food Convention at the Americana Hotel in New York City. Mr. CONABLE and I discussed the fiscal and monetary outlook from our vantage points here in the House of Representatives.

We appeared at the invitation of Mr. Robert W. Grant, Jr., president of the Grant Grocer Co. of Saginaw, Mich. Another participant in the panel was Dr. Charls E. Walker, executive vice president of the American Bankers Association.

In a news release, prepared for distribution today, Dr. Walker called for spending cuts and a tax increase. I believe Dr. Walker's comments will be of interest to members of the Congress.

The news release follows:

ECONOMY NEEDS SPENDING CUT, TAX INCREASE, DR. CHARLS E. WALKER TELLS FOOD PACKERS CONVENTION

NEW YORK, November 7.—The U.S. economy needs a Federal spending cut and an income tax increase. And because we need these actions, the people of this country, through their elected Federal officials, are being put to a severe test. The test is whether we can face up to the hard realities and do the unpopular but necessary thing.

Cutting spending and raising taxes are never popular. But what must be got across to the American people is that the alternatives to this responsible course are totally unacceptable.

One of the alternatives is an even faster rate of inflation than we now have. Another is a possible return to the extreme tight money conditions of 1966, with another severe jolt to the housing industry. Still another alternative is additional weakening in our international accounts and new threats to our gold supply.

Three arguments are being made against the tax surcharge as part of the program of fiscal restraint. First, it is argued by some that the economy is not in danger of overheating, as evidenced by the absence of boom pressures at time time. This overlooks the fact that the vast majority of the nation's economists foresee an exceptionally strong 1968—and in fact overheating might be now emerging if it hadn't been for recent major strikes.

Second, it is argued that inflation is not a threat but is already with us—inflation resulting from inaction of the Administration in raising taxes and cutting spending in 1965 and 1966. This is true; inflation is a fact, and the Administration is to blame. But the inflation we now have is beyond our control; it is the cost-push reaction to last year's demand-pull—another name for the classical inflationary situation of "too much money chasing too few goods."

We can't stop that part of this year's inflation that resulted from last year's mistakes. We can do something about later cost-push by acting now to avoid another round of demand-pull in 1968. We should not cry over spilled milk. But above all, let's not spill the milk again.

The third argument against the surcharge is that it would not relieve inflationary pressures but instead would bolster them as businesses attempted to increase prices to offset the impact on costs of the tax itself. This argument won't pass muster—and in fact would earn any freshman a failing grade in the beginning course in economics. The cutback in disposable income and after-tax business profits resulting from the tax would swamp any direct impact on costs. This is not only my view, but the solid opinion of the vast majority of the nation's economists.

The fact is that the proposal for a spending cut and tax increase is the other side of the coin as represented by the case for the big income tax cut in 1964. Those who supported that cut as a means of stimulating the economy should today, in all consistency, support an income tax increase in order to cool off the coming boom.

The lesson of modern economic history is that inflation can't be rolled back in an economy such as ours. Once price increases have occurred, they're ground into the economic fabric. But our postwar experience proves that taxes can be rolled back—and in fact they have been, in 1948, in 1954, and in the series of tax reductions between 1962 and 1965.

I have sufficient faith in the wisdom and courage of the American people to believe that, once they know the alternatives, they will willingly go along with what is necessary. But time is running out. Positive action in this session of the Congress, propelled by a strong joint effort on the part of the Administration and the Congress, is highly desirable.

The current stalemate can and must be broken.

Marie Sklodowska Curie: Centennial of Her Birth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today is the centennial of Marie Sklodowska Curie's birth.

A daughter of Poland, she was one of the great intellects of history. Her research and discoveries unlocked the door to many of the scientific wonders of our 20th century, wonders which expand and appear infinite each day.

Twice she was awarded the Nobel Prize for her outstanding work. Her scholarship and humanity were acknowledged throughout the world—she was a legend come to life.

Her dedication to science and to uncovering truth and sharing the enormity of her discoveries with her fellow human beings provided an example that has never been surpassed in our history on earth.

A warm and generous human being, a brilliant and original scientist, Marie Curie brought honor to her parents and to her native Poland.

It is a pleasure to join with my colleagues in commemorating the life of this spectacular woman today on this 100th anniversary of her birth.

The Bolshevik Revolution: A Tragedy for Mankind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, today when so much attention is being focused on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, I think it is important to keep in mind the true nature of this revolution and the hardship it has caused mankind.

The accompanying editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch validly points out the Russian revolution was captured and subverted by the Bolsheviks, a small group of men who placed an iron yoke on Russia and its people. It has spawned not only slavery and bloodshed, but has become a force of tyranny and oppression that plagues mankind.

Because it depicts the Bolshevik revolution for what it really is, I wanted to bring to the attention of other Members of the House this editorial from today's Richmond Times-Dispatch:

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION: A TRAGEDY FOR MANKIND

The Bolshevik Revolution's fiftieth anniversary finds the Soviet Union looming ominously as a threat to world peace. The dominant theme of the Supreme Soviet's recent meeting was support of Communist aggression throughout the world and increased military buildup at home. There are also apparently authentic reports that the U.S.S.R. is testing an orbital bomb system that might be combat-ready next year.

Of course, all this is "in self-defense," if you ask the Kremlin. But its long record of aggressive actions throughout the globe, either by direct attack or by internal subversion, belies any such claim.

And if millions of Russians who were illiterate under the Czars are now literate, and large numbers of others have a better level of living, these accomplishments have been erected on a foundation built in large part on the bones of millions of Russians put to death by Lenin, Stalin and their successors.

MURDEROUS STALIN

Stalin's monstrous massacres and his system of mass starvation far surpasses anything in modern history. His "liquidation of the kulaks as a class" was a systematic wiping out of an entire class of relatively prosperous farmers, simply because they were prosperous. His "purges" in the late 1930's were well nigh inconceivable to any civilized mind. Thousands of officers in the Red Army were systematically executed—for no reason at all. Stalin's paranoia extended to his oldest Communist Comrades, it also included members of his own family, as his daughter Svetlana makes plain in her recently published book. One relative after another disappeared into his horrible death camps, never to be seen again.

It is argued that the U.S.S.R. is now under much more enlightened leadership, and moving steadily toward a more relaxed society? Undoubtedly there is less terror in the Soviet Union today than there was under Stalin. It would be impossible to have more. On the other hand, there has been retrogression of late—since the ousting of Khrushchev.

This is testified to by Svetlana Alliluyeva, who says this retrogression is a major reason why she left Russia for good. There is great dissatisfaction among the intellectuals and the younger generation, and efforts to obtain greater freedom of expression are causing much ferment beneath the surface of Soviet affairs.

STILL, THE LABOR CAMPS

It has been widely claimed that the forced-labor camps where tens of thousands of political prisoners were tortured or killed are a thing of the past. But Eugene Lyons seems to have undermined this legend, at least partially, in his new book, *Workers' Paradise: Fifty Years of Soviet Communism*. He cites experiences described by Alexander Dinces, a foreigner who was released last January after serving two years in a Soviet prison and three years in a concentration camp. Lyons writes:

Mr. Dinces had found himself in a complex of 14 labor camps, three of them for women, called "Dubrovlag," near Potma, 250 miles east of Moscow. (From other sources we know that the Potma operations actually embraces 36 camps, with a total of over 70,000 prisoners.) His own camp, for foreigners and stateless convicts, held about 1,500 men. Other such complexes, he learned from inmates through the years, exist in all parts of the country. The conditions he described—overwork, undernourishment, lack of medical attention, prevalence of scurvy, ulcers and other diseases, inhuman punishments, and the shocking death rate—suggest that little genuine improvement has been made in these penal institutions. In the last of 1966, Mr. Dinces reported there was a large influx of new poltical prisoners, evidently as a result of the harsher law against "anti-Soviet elements" decreed in July and September, 1966.

It is greatly to be hoped that the Soviet Union's ruling clique is moving toward a wider degree of freedom and a genuinely peaceful attitude toward the rest of the world. But convincing evidence of this is slight.

Be it noted, too, that in all the countries overrun by the Soviets since 1917, or seized by subterfuge, not one has been allowed to have a free election. Nor is there a single example anywhere of a free nation's voluntarily choosing to adopt communism.

The Soviet Union's constantly reiterated pious professions of a determination to "liberate" oppressed peoples are complete nonsense. No greater oppression is practiced on the globe than in those lands which have been "liberated" by communism.

So the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution finds Soviet Russia firmly entrenched as a great and menacing world power. Millions of its people have undoubtedly achieved greater creature comforts than they formerly enjoyed, but millions of others are beyond both pleasure and pain, for they were shot, tortured, starved or otherwise put to death.

Undoubtedly, the Soviet people are earnestly desirous of peace, since their losses in war have been almost inconceivable. The best hope for the future lies in the knowledge of their rulers that nearly all Russians yearn for peace above everything.

SOVIET PEOPLE MISLED

But citizens of the U.S.S.R. have been so drugged with propaganda, and misled as to the true facts concerning international relations that they have no sound basis on which to form a judgment.

Given the manner in which the Kremlin depicts the United States as warmongering and imperialistic, the Soivet citizen has no way of appraising the situation intelligently. Consequently, the Breshnev-Kosygin regime probably is under relatively little internal pressure to make a meaningful agreement with the United States—as to armament limitations or anything else.

Certainly the prospects for such a pact appear far from bright at this time, despite the frightful danger that thermonuclear war will somehow break out. The ruling clique in Moscow must know what a catastrophe for mankind such a conflict would be, but little or no progress toward an agreement is being made.

It is noteworthy that a number of the more liberal commentators are no longer expressing the belief that the Soviet Union is trying hard to build a peaceful world. It is gratifying, in a wry sort of way, that these observers have ceased to look hopefully upon the intentions of the men in the Kremlin. But it is also alarming, for this means that the aggressive and uncompromising policies of Soviet Russia are becoming more and more obvious.

Consider the words of Tom Wicker, writing in Sunday's Times-Dispatch. He points to the announcement of Defense Secretary McNamara that Russia is building something called a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System. Wicker speaks of "the enormous danger to humanity" which lies in this development, since such orbiting nuclear bomb could, with only three minutes' warning, destroy New York in "one apocalytpic burst." He foresees that the United States will try to counter this weapon with similar ones of its own, and that "the threat of war will be immensely increased."

RESTON IS PESSIMISTIC

James Reston, also writing in this newspaper on Sunday, is similarly pessimistic. He said:

"The liberal tendencies of the Johnson administration lead it to believe that Moscow is coming around to a more moderate view of the cold war, but the evidence in Vietnam, in the Middle East and in the development of weapons systems, suggests that the trend of Soviet policy is still going in 1967 against the West and in favor of revolutionary action, as it was from the beginning in 1917."

Possibly the widening breach between Moscow and Peking will somehow serve as a damper on the aggressive tendencies of the Soviet Union toward the West. But nobody can foretell what will happen as a result of the split between Russia and China.

Such is the none too hopeful situation which confronts the civilized world today, as crimson banners wave above Lenin's tomb, and the thud of marching feet echoes across Red Square on this, the fiftieth anniversary of that great tragedy for mankind, the Bolshevik Revolution.

Denver Great Place To Visit and Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on November 2, 1967, the Voice of America broadcast to the world a program entitled "Portrait of an American City—Denver, Colorado, USA." The program did, indeed, incisively portray to the world the dynamic story of the city which I have been privileged to represent in Congress for the last 17 years.

The program relates that in 1893, Katherine Lee Bates, a teacher at New England's Wellsley College, accepted an invitation to lecture at the University of Colorado and was spellbound by the grandeur of the countryside. She stood on the eastern slopes of the Continental Divide and faced southward toward the old Spanish valleys of the Rio Grande. Over her right shoulder, majestic Pike's Peak. Over her left shoulder, the fertile lands that enveloped the mushrooming city of Denver. Thus inspired by nature's bold pageantry, Miss Bates wrote a poem which in time became the lyrics of "America the Beautiful", "Oh, beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain, for purple mountain majesties, above the fruited plain."

The program featured appearances by Denverities from all walks of life, including Fred Mazzula, Denver historian and lawyer who told of the early days of Denver's struggle to become a city, the arrival of the railroad, the gold rush of 1858 with its famous cry "Pike's Peak, or Bust."

The program states:

> Denver is a wonderful city to visit, the people are warm, outgoing and hospitable.
>
> The people of Denver's interest goes far beyond the confines of the city, beyond the State of Colorado, and even beyond the boundaries of the United States. Denver is truly a world-minded city.

The program features Dr. Josef Korbel, former Czechoslovakian Ambassador to Yugoslavia who, for the past 18 years, has been dean of the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver, who says:

> I have travelled throuughout the Country and I have given hundreds of lectures in various areas and I can say the Denver audience is more responsive to various complex problems of world affairs than any other city between the East and West Coasts.

The program features statements from such distinguished Denver citizens as Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the Denver Post, Mr. Jack Foster, editor of the Rocky Mountain News, Mr. Eugene Cervi, editor and publisher of Cervi's Rocky Mountain Journal, State Senator George Brown, Attorney Richard Young, the volunteer non-paid chairman of the Metropolitan Danver Fair Housing Center, Bill Hosokawa, associate editor of the Denver Post, Charles Kendrick, manager of the Department of General Services for the city of Denver, Peanuts Hucko, world-renowned jazz clarinetist, Johnny Smith, world-famous jazz guitarist, James D. Braman, director of planning for the city and County of Denver, and Thomas G. Currigan, whom the program describes as "the young, aggressive mayor of Denver" and who describes Denver as a "city that cares." "I think perhaps that in using the word 'care' in the truest sense of the word . . . Denver, for the most part, would certainly qualify as a 'city that cares.' "

The Voice of America reporter sums up his personal enthusiasm after his visit to Denver agreeing with the mayor and stating:

> After just a short visit there, I would add my small voice to endorse the Mayor's statement fully. You know, there is a hackneyed expression used when describing some cities . . . "it's a great place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there." I left Denver with a different feeling. It is not only a great place to visit, but I'd really like to live there.

Mr. Speaker, I join on behalf of all of the citizenry of Denver in thanking the Voice of America, the broadcast arm of our U.S. Information Agency, for the wonderful program "Portrait of a City—Denver, Colo., USA," and invite all not only to visit but, indeed, to come live with us in our beautiful mile-high city.

The Soviet Union: 50 Years Since the Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, on November 7, 1917, in the capital city of Petrograd—now Leningrad—the military forces of the Bolsheviks took over the reins and apparatus of the Russian Government. Russia had been in the throes of collapse and revolution for the past year. Moderates had overthrown the czarist regime in March 1917, but had not been able to consolidate forces or to act in a positive way to alleviate the economic dislocation and suffering caused by the country's inability to cope with the prolonged First World War. When on November 7 the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets convened with a clear Bolshevik majority, it set about immediately to organize a government which would ease the harsh conditions in the country.

Today, 50 years later, it is appropriate that we stop to look at the results of what some have called "the greatest political event of this century." No one can doubt that progress has been made—in education, science, social services, industrialization, urbanization, military power, missile and space technology. In total volume of economic production, Russia has moved up from fifth rank in the world in 1917 to second under that of the United States. However, since the Soviet regime has given first priority to building heavy industry, the general standard of living is sorely behind that of other countries. Soviet leaders have not yet solved the problem of feeding the nearly 234 million people within Soviet borders. Educational facilities in the Soviet Union are improving, but Communist propaganda, censorship, and lack of academic freedom lessen prospects for true education and creativity.

Mr. Speaker, in a country like the United States where the term revolution brings to mind our American Revolution and its emphasis on the necessity for freedom, even in the face of death, we still hope that one day the Russian people will know genuine freedom—of speech, or religious worship, from arrest without due cause. We also must recognize, however, that the Soviet Government is turning more and more to the use of capitalistic incentives to accomplish her goals in the domestic economy.

Idaho Engineer Returns From Sudan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, with both the conference report on the foreign aid authorization bill and the foreign aid appropriation bill coming up soon, I thought it might interest the Members to read a summary of the assistance program in the Sudan by one who has seen the program firsthand. He is Dwight S. Hoffman, assistant dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Idaho. His statement confirms the opinion I have had for some time now that we must seek a fresh approach to foreign aid, and that the billions of dollars we have sent overseas have, for the most part, been ineffective.

His statement, as distributed by the University of Idaho press service, follows:

IDAHO ENGINEER RETURNS FROM THE SUDAN

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO, MOSCOW.—Dwight S. Hoffman, assistant dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Idaho, believes the U.S. must discontinue its "give-a-way" program to the Sudan if that nation is to make eventual progress.

The Idaho engineer made these observations today following his removal from the African-Arab nation at the outbreak of the Middle East war in June.

Professor Hoffman had been hired by Northwestern University under a contract with the Sudanese government and the U.S. Agency for International Development. He was to help start up a new chemical engineering department at the Sudan's University of Khartoum. While there he was to instruct some of the courses and install equipment in the new laboratory for the first time. Hoffman and his wife lived on campus in an apartment.

Because the Arab peoples do not like to do technical work, they hire foreign help.

"If the Sudan is ever to become an industrial nation, someone must get the people to overcome this attitude of not being disgraced when working as technicians. The people in the Sudan are very capable, but they visualize themselves as managers behind desks," reported Professor Hoffman.

"The Sudan recruits easily from the European communist bloc nation because the latter countries pay lower salaries. Unfortunately the salaries at the University of Khartoum are lower than salaries paid professors in the U.S. Therefore, it is harder to lure Americans to the Sudan, but the U.S. State Department will arrange a contract through a respective American university to pay travel and other expenses to get our people over there," explained Professor Hoffman.

He says that when the Sudanese see more technicians from the European communist bloc nations they say to themselves—"Why these people really want to help us!"

Because fewer Americans are in the Sudan, the people over there don't take into consideration that their government is paying a full price for a communist educator and getting an American for half the cost, said Hoffman.

"The Sudanese balance sheet doesn't show this!" he exclaimed.

While in Sudan, the larger number of communists become friendly with the Sudanese people and are able to spread the communist ideology. The communists want to make the Sudan a communist state.

"I think the U.S. should continue to supply manpower to develop countries, but we should ask a price for it. If countries like the Sudan want our help bad enough, they should be willing to pay for it. I don't think we gain the respect of these countries when we pay the bill. We'll be ahead in the long run, and so will they, if we practice our way of living when dealing with these nations.

"But it is necessary that the U.S. send carefully selected people who make and will create a good American image," concluded Professor Hoffman.

A member of the Idaho faculty for 23 years, Professor Hoffman earned his B.S. and M.S. degrees at this institution. He is a member of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, American Chemical Society, National Society of Professional Engineers, American Society for Engineering Education, and Sigma Xi.

National Flood Insurance Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1985) to amend the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, to provide for. a national program of flood insurance, and for other purposes.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Chairman, the legislation which the House of Representatives is considering today, the National Flood Insurance Act, is vitally important for eastern Iowans, and for residents of every area of the Nation who are faced with the recurrent and devastating costs of flood damage.

Flood losses have reached an estimated annual level of $800 million in the Nation, as compared with less than $100 million in the 1930's. Twice since 1950, the national losses have exceeded $1 billion.

I sponsored this legislation because the problem has been particularly acute in our area, where nearly every year the floods on the Mississippi, and the smaller rivers which empty into it, force families from their homes and result in expensive water damage to them.

Because there is no adequate flood insurance which companies can reasonably offer in these high-risk areas, of which residents can afford to purchase, these costs must be borne by property owners themselves, with extensive direct assistance in the way of disaster relief from local, State, and Federal governments.

By establishing a sound national insurance program at reasonable rates, and combining it with effective State and local land management, we can help to reduce these recurrent expenditures.

The legislation before the House today has been carefully written to provide help to those property owners who are least able to sustain the costs of damage, and at the same time to prevent additional people from coming into high-risk areas once insurance is available.

It was purposely limited to one- to four-family residences and small business properties, with the intention that if our initial limited experience warrants it, the program could be extended by Congress to other types of property.

Furthermore, it would be available only in specifically designated high-risk flood areas, where the costs of regular insurance are too high for private companies to provide it.

As reported from the committee, insurance at less than actuarial costs would be limited to $17,500 liability for a single-family home, and to $30,000 for a two- to four-family structure and for small business properties. Contents of the building could be insured up to $5,000 per dwelling unit or individual business.

Additional insurance could be obtained, but only at full actuarial costs.

Individuals who build or substantially improve property in an area where such insurance is available would have to pay the full cost of the insurance, since they would be fully aware of the risks involved before they made such an investment.

In addition, State and local governments would be encouraged to adopt and enforce appropriate land use provisions to restrict the future development of land where the risk of loss exceeds the prospect of gain from use of the site.

The details of the program would be worked out by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in consultation with private insurance companies, so that insurance could be made available at the earliest possible time after enactment of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, a national flood insurance program has received the support of State and local officials as well as representatives of both the insurance and the homebuilding industries.

It is an appropriate example of the type of cooperative effort of the public and private sector which is vitally important to finding solutions to critical national problems, consistent with our fundamental belief in free enterprise and a creative Federal system.

An effort is being made in the Congress to eliminate the provision of the bill which authorizes Treasury financing of the program. This authorization is no new departure, but merely continues the provision of the original Flood Insurance Act of 1956.

This type of financing is necessary because no one can predict with any certainty what the level of flood losses might be in any given year. Understandably, the insurance industry has indicated that it cannot afford to participate in such a program unless there can be reasonable assurance of a commitment of adequate Federal funds, and this cannot be done if we have to depend solely on an annual appropriation from the Congress.

I would emphasize that this would not take control of the program out of the hands of the Congress, because the Secretary would still have to come back to the Appropriations Committee to replenish the fund and to repay any Treasury borrowing. But he would have the necessary flexibility to operate the program in a flood emergency.

Mr. Chairman, if this financing provision is eliminated, then for all practical purposes, there will be no flood insurance program, unless the Federal

Government is prepared to do it alone, without the participation of the private insurance companies. I do not think that there is anyone here who would prefer that alternative, which would not only be much more expensive, but would be an unnecessary and unwarranted intrusion of the Government into the private sector.

I urge the House of Representatives to reject such a change, and to enact this most significant legislation to provide help to those homeowners who suffer the repeated burden of flood losses.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, today, November 7, 1967, marks the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russian. It was exactly five decades ago that the Communists overthrew the government, headed by Alexander Kerensky, which had assumed power after the downfall of the Romanoff dynasty.

During the 50 years that have elapsed since the revolution, the Soviet Empire, with the godless philosophy that it represents, have made great advances in some fields, while in others they have failed miserably. While they have done well in the space race, they have not made good on the promises to give the masses of people the better things of life. They have, to a great extent, done a poor job of delivery, even the bare essentials, such as food, clothing, and shelter.

In 1917, the Communists were a little band of conspirators, but today they rule over vast areas of the Old World, including Russia—which absorbed Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—China, Poland, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. Many other nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa are under the influence of the Soviet Union and Red China.

Here in the Western Hemisphere, the Communists are firmly entrenched in Cuba and have infiltrated many of the other nations of Latin America. Much of the present turmoil in our own Nation is being aided and abetted by international communism—the breakdown of law and order and the obstruction of America's efforts in Southeast Asia.

During the 50 years that have gone by since the forces of bolshevism took over in Russia, the United States has on several occasions bailed out the Communists when they found themselves in trouble. Thus, in 1921 and 1922 when 7 million Russians died of starvation, it was the United States that sent food supplies and saved many others from a similar fate. In 1933, just as a rival form of socialism was establishing itself in Germany under Adolf Hitler, the United States for the first time gave dignity to the Soviet Union by granting it diplomatic recognition.

The two rival powers, Communist Russia and National Socialist Germany, signed a pact on August 23, 1939, whereby they divided Poland and most of Eastern Europe between them. Having been given the green light by his powerful rival, Hitler invaded Poland 8 days later, thus ushering in World War II.

On June 22, 1941, the Nazi invaded Russia. Had it not been for the $8,800,000 worth of war material that the United States gave the Soviet Union during World War II, it would have been much more difficult for the Red army to turn back the Nazi invaders.

After the end of World War II, the United States gave billions to various Communist nations in the form of foreign aid. Today, when both Red China and Communist Russia are helping North Vietnam to kill American fighting men, many of our leaders talk about increased trade with the Soviet Union, peaceful coexistence, building bridges of understanding, and cultural exchanges. The United Nations organization is headed by a Marxist and a Communist, both of whom receive backing from the United States.

Mr. Speaker, today may well be a day for celebration in Moscow and in its colonies and in the capitols of other Communist nations, but here in the United States it is a day of shame, humiliation, and disgrace. Our soldiers, sailors, marines, and fliers are fighting in Vietnam against an enemy that is allied with Communist Russia and Red China and is receiving considerable help from them.

Let there be no more appeasement, no more talk about increased trade with Communist countries, no more nonsense about peaceful coexistence, no more wishful thinking about building bridges of understanding, no more flights of oratory about cultural exchanges. Let us, instead, get on with the job of defeating our Communist enemies in Vietnam.

How To Delay the Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Washington peace march did receive tremendous coverage and obviously legitimate editorial commentary. An editorial appeared in the October 26 edition of the Chicago Heights Star which I believe very appropriately points out some of the unfortunate aspects of that demonstration, which did more to serve international communism than to produce peace.

The editorial follows:

HOW TO DELAY THE PEACE

All good Americans want peace in Viet Nam and peace throughout the world, and they don't have to demonstrate or wear a badge to let us know it. But how to achieve peace with honor and without inviting brush-fire wars in other areas is something else again.

One sure way to delay an honorable settlement, we believe, is to demonstrate in the fashion of those who sought to storm the Pentagon last week-end. What they accomplished was predictable. They told the world that America is divided and, like other such demonstrators, they told Hanoi to continue the fight until unconditional surrender can be had.

Reports from Washington related the story of how American soldiers were spat upon and subjected to unprintable obscenities, and how the inevitable beat-niks seized the opportunity to demonstrate their love of freedom—freedom from the bathtub. Perhaps a great number, even a large majority, of the demonstrators were simply idealists, persons so idealistic that they didn't expect the scene to be stolen by the show-offs and the benefits reaped by Communists and others among our enemies.

As an abuse of freedom and personal privilege, however, the Pentagon debacle might rank second to the boycott staged at the University of Wisconsin, also in the name of peace. Here was disturbing evidence of the notion that students should run our universities. They could be disabused of the idea by being given a permanent vacation.

Cooperative Photographic and Arts Exhibition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, North Carolina sent a selection of its excellent crafts and three of its craftsmen to Washington, D.C., during October for the Cooperative Photographic and Arts Exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution.

This display of the real American craftsmanship was one of the Washington activities for Co-op Month 67—an observance sponsored this year by 11 Federal departments and agencies, nine national cooperative organizations, and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The crafts shown were prouced by individuals; then their cooperatives and guilds help market and set standards of excellence for their products.

I was highly gratified to see the large number of North Carolina crafts selected by the Smithsonian and the co-op month committee for display. One of the exhibit people pointed to one section of the exhibit and said that they called this their North Carolina wall.

North Carolina had on display handcrafted clocks, wrought iron work, hooked rugs and chair seats, dulcimers, wood pieces, pine needle work, hand-tied hammocks, apple-headed and cornshuck dolls, crewel work bell pulls, and many other items.

I also was glad for the opportunity to visit three people from my district as they displayed their skills as craftsmen—William Crowe, of Cherokee; Glen Hofecker, of Etowah; and Mrs. Mark Reno, of Canton.

Bill Crowe brought his 16-year-old son

to Washington's historical sites while he deftly carved his wood animals. Born and reared on the Cherokee Reservation, he and his wife are leaders there. He works for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but continues his interest in wood carving.

Mr. Crowe helped organize the Qualla Arts and Crafts Cooperative back in 1948 to promote handicrafts produced by Cherokee Indians and help them get better prices for their work. He is now vice president of this co-op.

Mr. Hofecker had three of his clocks on display—a large grandfather's, an Eli Terry, and a Wag on the Wall.

He told me he had just come off the "crafts fair circuit." He and the other two North Carolina exhibitors had spent a week in the Village of Yesteryear at the North Carolina State Fair and then he had gone on to the large craft show at Gatlinburg, Tenn.

Mrs. Reno demonstrated how to make the Christmas wreaths from pine cones and nuts that she had on display. These are her specialty.

North Carolina crafts had a special honor at the opening ceremony for the exhibition—one of its crewel work bell pulls rang the official opening bell. Mrs. L. Herman Sawyer, Elizabeth, had sent in this pull and two others on display.

Cooperatives and others in North Carolina who sponsored the trip of these three people to Washington are to be commended. Mrs. Reno and Mr. Crowe were sponsored through the Farmers Cooperative Council of North Carolina by the State Grange, the Northwestern Bank at Statesville; FCS, Inc., Raleigh; and G. D. Arndt, of Raleigh. Mr. Hofecker was sponsored by the Tarheel Electric Membership Association, Raleigh. He is a member of the Haywood Electric Membership Corp., Waynesville, N.C.

Two extension employees, Mary M. Cornwell, of Waynesvile, and Majorie Shearin, at North Carolina State University, also played at big part in getting these North Carolina people and crafts to Washington. They helped choose both and worked closely with the Washington committee on final selections.

North Carolina has established a fine reputation for the skill and artistry of its craftsmen, many of them recognized as among the best in the Nation. Their selection to participation in the Smithsonian Exhibition is an added achievement.

Vietnam Causing Budget Confusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent previously obtained, I submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article, "Vietnam Causing Budget Confusion," which appeared in the Detroit Free Press on November 1, 1967. It also has appeared on the financial pages of other metropolitan dailies. The author, Allen M. Smythe, a financial columnist, specializes on defense business problems.

I was impressed with the article except for the second paragraph which indicated the Democratic leaders of Congress are making more than an ineffective gesture toward reducing Federal spending or holding down the frightening deficit. It is the Republican leadership which has "carried the ball" in trying to get the administration to reduce the level of expenditures for fiscal year 1968.

The article follows:

VIETNAM CAUSING BUDGET CONFUSION

(By Allen M. Smythe)

The "mass confusion" in Congress over the nation's critical federal budget situation is not as great within Congress as between Congress and the White House. The fiscal problem is because arithmetic escalation of activity and troop strength in Vietnam forces a geometric rise in military costs.

The Democratic leaders are trying to cut the White House estimate of $136 billion this fiscal year to $131 billion and hold the deficit to $8 or $10 billion, with the aid of an income surtax.

Rep. George H. Mahon, D.-Tex., chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, wants a 5 percent payroll cut, a 10 percent cut in research costs, and a hold-up on all contracts for a month to study for further reductions. He expects Senate action and the final bill to reflect his views.

Rep. John J. Rhodes, R.-Ariz., chairman of the Republican policy committee and key member of the House fiscal group, believes federal spending this fiscal year will be "well over $140 billion" because of ballooning defense costs. At that rate the deficit could be $35 billion.

He points to the $10.5 billion in defense contractual obligations signed in June. He dislikes the surtax and would force the President to keep spending within $131 billion.

He tells his colleagues that this amount in $100 bills when placed end-to-end would more than circle the earth five times.

The last six months of defense obligations including those of the "low vacation months" of July and August, total $42.4 billion. This is at a rate far above the recent $70 billion appropriated by Congress for fiscal 1968.

Rep. Mahon is chairman of another fiscal group, the joint committee for the reduction of federal expenses. This group has the responsibility of overseeing the federal stockpile now valued at $9.2 billion.

The annual cost of warehousing these defense metals and supplies and the agriculture commodities is $160 million although much of it is stored on federal property.

In January 1961, President Kennedy announced his intention to drastically reduce the then $14.2 billion stockpile. Political pressures blocked most of his plans to sell surplus defense metals.

Since then the stored farm products have decreased from $5.2 billion to $1.9 billion. This has been in give-away projects for India and other impoverished and unappreciative nations of Asia and Africa.

Mahon points out that this year's bumper grain crops could require a great increase in funds for storing in federal inventories.

He has just released and would like to have the Administration speed up the sales of strategic metals now listed as surplus to our nation's needs.

Among these are 1,561,875 tons of aluminum, valued at $682,016,800; 16,739,848 long tons of bauxite, aluminum ore, valued at $257,040,700; 1,201,840 tons of lead, valued at $346,238,900; 1,198,580 tons of zinc, valued at $333,558,400, and 523,660 long tons of rubber valued at $404,847,400.

The Pointless War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon by John W. Cyrus, minister of the First Unitarian Church on the war in Vietnam:

Mary McCarthy, Vietnam: ". . . the immense American superiority of arms *in itself* becomes an argument for staying in Vietnam; indeed, at this point, the only argument."

Day by day the tragic dimensions of the war in Vietnam grow greater. The steady escalation of American power, the steadily widening field of action, are the measure of its tragedy. With no end in sight, this vast and unrelenting exercise of power moves on toward impossible and unknown goals. Since the spring of 1965 the dollar cost has increased from 2 million a day to 2 billion a month. Since the fall of 1965 the number of our men engaged has grown from 200 thousand to upwards of 500 thousand. The number of the enemy is greater than two years ago, and his fire power is greater, too. In the meantime, there is no convincing assurance that the pacification program, the "other war" so-called, has had any significant success. The repetitious insistence of our government upon its peaceful and innocent intent has become a frustration of emptiness. Yet it is the only major war in our history from which we might withdraw without danger to the nation and without betrayal of allies. Day by day the terrible feeling grows in me that we are fighting a major war to no end at all.

I suggest, as quickly as you may say, that this is an awful thing to say, and it gives me no pleasure. But I feel an obligation to disclose my own changing mind on anything that cuts so deep into the national life and into our national role in the world. Many of us have become speechless about it, either in mutual opposition or in simple dismay, and many others, I suspect, have attempted no moral evaluation of it but have tried to be content with the reiterated assertion of our government that it will go anywhere in the world to talk peace. I thought from the beginning of our engagement in combat that it must come to an early end or pass a point beyond which it would have no point at all. I think it has passed that point.

If the point of the war has been the protection of the South Vietnamese people against an aggressor from the north, that point is lost in the uprooting and disruption of the southern population by the war itself. For some months the news has emphasized the bombings of the north, and less has been written about our bombings in the south which continue without letup. Many, many South Vietnamese villages have been bombed and burned—scores, hundreds, more? One doesn't know—not by the enemy, but by us in order to deprive the enemy of refuge or hiding places in them. The non-combatant peasants who die in these cleansing operations are part of the cost of getting at the enemy. Those who escape are relocated in new strange villages, or are gathered in wire-bound refugee camps, or thrown into the swelling numbers of the cities where, as in Saigon, the filth and confusion are incredibly awful.

Moreover, the largest enemy force remains the largely indigenous Vietcong, which shows no diminution in size and strength and strikes anywhere and everywhere. To determine, in these conditions, the actual protection that is being provided one needs a measure to establish the amount of protection that is not fatal. The question arises whether the cure is worse than the disease.

If the point of the war is self-determination and the establishment of a stable and acceptable government, one must wonder whether this point has not already been lost in the government which has most recently been established. The new Constitution itself is full of holes through which every form of suppression of freedom can be driven. It is wide open to censorship, control of the press, the denial of religious freedom, the harsh control of labor organization and political parties, and the abolition of free speech, while professing the opposite in every instance. The new government, we are well assured, was elected by scrupulous election procedures. Of course, there were some who were excluded from the franchise, but the authoritative word of many observers is that those who voted, voted fairly. The result is another matter. The winners were elected by 35 per cent of the 84 per cent who voted, and while an 84 per cent turnout is better than America does, 35 per cent of that vote is a small plurality indeed for choosing a head of state. In fact, the election has been widely interpreted as a vote for peace. The runnerup, who was an ardent peace candidate drew a heavy vote. But the president elect, for whom Marshal Ky had stepped aside to run for the second office, though an army man, was known to differ from Ky in his wish for negotiations. If there was a mandate expressed in the election, it was a mandate against the Ky government though it elected no one.

If the point of the war is to reach the negotiating table by escalating the war, then that point seems lost. For North Vietnam requires that the bombing stop before it will negotiate, while our government requires some reciprocal act by North Vietnam to justify a halt in the bombing. Thus the issue of the bombing is not subject to any condition acceptable to both sides. It stands squarely in the way of any possibility of negotiations. To stop it requires an initial concession by one side or the other which neither is willing to make. Meanwhile our government continues to say it is for negotiation. U Thant, who has said for many months that an unconditional halt in the bombing is necessary to the beginning of negotiations, has most recently been joined by the Canadian foreign minister in that opinion. This is the first clear open disagreement Canada has expressed with United States policy. And thus it may well come about that the bombing of the north, which was proposed to shorten the war, is in fact the longest way to the end.

If the point of the war is Vietnam for the Vietnamese, then this point also seems lost. It is lost in the fact of those hundreds of thousands of Americans, both military and civilian, who are there. It is lost in the billions and billions of American dollars spent for Americans and by Americans there, and in the wild economic stimulus this produces. It is lost in the corrupt fortunes of an old and new Vietnamese business class. It is lost in the massive military installations, the miles of concrete runways, the poisoned rice fields, the defoliated forests. It is lost in the tin garbage that so great a force of American strews about. It is lost in the sheer size and consequence of the American intrusion. So long as we are there, it will be Vietnam for the Americans. "Many South Vietnamese," says Mary McCarthy, "have a double fear of the Americans; . . ."

If the point of the war is to reduce the future Chinese threat, then, I think, this point is lost, too. Two years ago, it was the Chinese threat that determined our policy of not bombing or invading the north. Since then the Chinese upheaval has occurred and continues, and today we have bombed within a mile of the Chinese boundary. Thus, it would seem that the Chinese threat has diminished. But we are not content with that. Presumably also the overwhelming display of American military power, while keeping its distance from the boundary, was also meant to deter the present or future threat from China. Now that is not enough either. Though our power in Vietnam is greater than anyone has dreamed it would be at the beginning of the war, we have determined to spend five billions—it may well go to ten or more—to build a light system of anti-ballistic missile bases in our own country which will be oriented—there is a fine poetic sense in the selection of the word—toward China. A former Deputy Secretary of Defense has expressed the fear that this means our future world strategy will be one "of conflict more than accommodation." Threat or not, it suggests that we are determined China shall be a threat. One looks in vain for any evidence that we plan anything else. And thus a tangent result of the escalation of the Vietnam war is a menacing act directed toward China, and an act which risks setting off an escalation of world armament as well.

If the point of the war could ever have been said to be to strengthen an international order, that point has been lost in the increasing tensions within the international community resulting directly from the war. No other nation—none could afford it—has ever launched forth in so great a unilateral display of power. No other nation has succeeded by a determined unilateral decision in reducing the United Nations to impotence. As the war lengthens, world-wide disapproval of it mounts. As it lengthens the flow of Russian equipment to the north increases. As we approached a likely decision to bomb Haiphong, the north's great port of supply, the danger of that decision becomes the greater. We may well reach a point at which we will stand wholly outside the growing international order with China, as our lone companion in isolation, from the rest.

From time to time all of these points have been argued in favor of the war, and one has had to listen because they have been argued by men whose political and personal integrity was not in question, indeed, by men of intelligence. Yet it reminds me of my friend who wrote winning supreme court briefs for several years who said to me that all through those years he had a disturbing feeling that though there was no fault in their logic they argued to the wrong conclusion. So all the logic for these points argues for the continuation and escalation of the war. Indeed, it is much like the President's logic in his most recent speech to the nation in which he argued that the real peacekeepers of the world were the men out on the combat line. I have, I hope, no lack of sympathy for them. I hope you have none. But this, I think, misrepresents the role of the soldier both to us and to him. The role of the soldier is to force the national will on an enemy. Peace is something else. Nothing is more moving to me than the face of the soldier, not even the refugee's or the face of the child-victim of war. It is a terrible use of the best young men. Mr. Johnson's logic is the same as George Orwell's Unthink. "War is peace," it says.

More and more, however, it has seemed to me that all these arguments have been left behind for the single and authoritative statement that this war is "in the national interest." But that is a phrase which has the sound of vagueness and unreason. Indeed if these other points have been lost, what can the national interest be? It remains quite unclearly defined and less than convincing.

By contrast, there is one point which emerges from the war as it lengthens and expands: that it is a huge, growing, destructive technological adventure with its own gathering momentum, a great mechanical beast thrashing through the jungle and rice fields and forest, and dragging with it or tossing out of its path hundreds of thousands of people, a machine monster served and fed by men. The single unvarying emergent purpose of its action has been to grow larger, to increase the force with which the enemy is struck. Here it sends men into the mud and the night on foot to be exposed and to expose others to the deadly flashes and deadly sounds of gunfire. Here in another place and on another day it sends men out on wings in an unbelievable trial of their fortitude which is a balance hard to sustain between fear and skill. There it sends them lurching through trees and over obstacles in the bellies of great machines that cough a heavier fire. And to the loyalty it exacts of them all it attaches an unrelenting burden of boredom and fatigue. "Thus," as Mary McCarthy puts it, "the immense American superiority of arms *in itself* becomes an argument for staying in Vietnam; indeed, at this point, the only argument." You just can't let the machine down.

Moreover, nothing stimulates the development of new weaponry like war itself. New weapons are, so to speak, the children of the great machine of war, and war is the perfect and real spawning and testing ground.

It is in part the gigantesque technological aspect of the war which raises the doubt as to whether so destructive a means can lead to any hopeful or creative end, whether the political goals which are crucial to the nation and the world can be achieved at all by an instrument so inhuman, so destructive of meanings as well as lives, whether, in this new kind of war, any genuine and rightful national interest can be served.

But my chief alarm is for something else. (I may be wholly wrong about it.) It is that as the war lengthens, and widens, and goes on gathering new intensity, a subtle demoralization of this country and this people is taking place. It is two years since Pope Paul stood before the United Nations and said, "No more war, ever." His words, solemn and measured, caught our imagination for a brief and passing moment. One heard in them the sound of moral judgment and moral power, and felt their touch upon the affairs of men.

Now it seems to me that I hear no one who measures it in that way. I hear no one express doubt of our right to be there, to wage this kind of war, or any other kind of war in this world except from a few young men who are regarded as queer, cowardly, and immoral for thinking so and saying so. Warm and gentle men, bright and loving women, apparently do not doubt our right to be there, do not attempt to make the judgment that it is wrong, and therefore ought to be abandoned. One hears its legality argued and doubted, but not our right to do it. One hears its chances of success argued and doubted, but not its morality. Indeed, the doubt one hears most often expressed is whether, considering its announced purposes, it is worth the cost, whether, in short, it is overpriced in dollars and deaths, as if they might have no doubt about it otherwise. Indeed, we are quite ready to make the sophisticated judgment that since nations are not and never have been moral—which is to say there is some totally other kind of right to claim for them—are there not good nations and bad nations? Christian nations and non-Christian nations? godly and godless nations? developed and underdeveloped nations? peace-loving and aggressor nations?—no moral judgment of their actions is relevant.

But there are *men* and *women*, if not nations, presumably moral and immoral, who exercise moral judgments in their own lives, who must stand consenting or resisting or silent in the judgment of their nation's cause. War is a great wrong which can only be justified as unavoidable tragedy, as the unspeakable last resort, as the thing most unwanted. Yet it cannot even be known as tragedy without some moral judgment passed upon it. My own alarm is that we have forgotten how to make that judgment, or have lost the courage to make that judgment, and can identify only the resolute duty of the soldier, a moral value quite apart from one's total judgment of the war, to fight on to victory or death, to bring down death upon the enemy, even if he brings it on himself as well, until his will is broken and his capability destroyed and his total destruction made certain.

"Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday night, October 17, CBS–TV presented one of the finest dramatic broadcasts I have ever seen: "Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night."

Mere words do inadequate justice to the acting quality as well as the sharp impact of the play.

Great credit should be given to Sylvania color TV and the parent corporation, General Telephone & Electronics, whose enlightened attitude sponsored the entire drama free of interruption by commercials.

Mr. Speaker, on October 20, I wrote Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, commending CBS and General Telephone & Electronics on the program, I, therefore, include the letter and Dr. Stanton's reply in today's RECORD:

OCTOBER 20, 1967.

Dr. FRANK STANTON,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR DR. STANTON: Bravo! May I congratulate CBS–TV for your superlative venture into television drama with the performance of "Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night."

If the quality of the acting and the impact of the play wasn't so high, I'd be tempted to say that the best part of Tuesday's show was the absence of the everpresent commercial for which General Telephone and Telegraph Company deserve the highest accolades.

You have truly added to the quality of TV entertainment with the inauguration of the series and I would offer you every encouragement to continue to uplift and educate your millions of viewers with programs of equal stature.

Yours sincerely,
RICHARD D. MCCARTHY,
Member of Congress.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.,
New York, N.Y., October 27, 1967.
Hon. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCCARTHY: I am delighted to know of your enthusiasm for "Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night," and for the enlightened patronage of General Telephone & Electronics. Your encouragement will reinforce our determination to bring such quality drama to our audiences, and will reach those responsible for that mission.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,
FRANK STANTON.

Congressman Burke Salutes Students in Broward County, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, 7 years ago the Frances Broward Chapter of the DAR inaugurated a Constitution Week Essay Contest in the schools of Broward County, Fla. This annual contest has been recognized as a great event by the students, their parents, the schools—and indeed, by all those who would assure a continuing emphasis on the basic freedoms which Americans are privileged to enjoy.

This year marked the seventh series of awards made in connection with this Constitution Week Essay Contest. In sponsoring such a contest, the Frances Broward chapter is actively seeking the fulfillment of the stated objectives of the DAR, which are to perpetuate the memory and the spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence; to promote the development of an enlightened public opinion and to foster patriotic citizenship. In my opinion, the essays written by these outstanding young people certainly reflect clear thinking and an encouraging spirit of patriotism which should bring hope to us all.

The title of this year's essay was "My Individual Freedom Under the Constitution." All entries were limited to 500 words. The contest was open to all students in Broward County, fifth through 12th grades, except seniors graduating in 1967. The winners of the 1967 Constitution Week Essay Contest are as follows:

Senior high division: First place, Jill Douthett, Cardinal Gibbons High School; second place, Carol Ann Marra, Madonna Academy.

Junior high division: First place, Barbara Throckmorton, St. Elizabeth School; second place, tie, Kathy Reccordi, St. Coleman's, and Tom Wick, St. Coleman's.

Elementary division: First place, Elizabeth Dickey, Bayview Elementary; second place, Pam McMahon, St. Coleman's.

I sincerely want to congratulate all of these winners, and to assure them that I consider it a privilege to be able to have their essays reprinted in the RECORD of this date. I would also like to mention the names of several other students who deserve recognition for their essays: Miss Mary Miciak, Fort Lauderdale; Mr. Michael J. Miciak, Fort Lauderdale; Miss Cynthia Ruth, Fort Lauderdale; and Mr. Ronnie Lehmann, Fort Lauderdale.

Special mention should be made, too, of a new award which was created this year. I understand there was one essay in particular which the judges felt was most outstanding, and an exceptional example of literary achievement, but which did not quite fill the requirements of the essay contest. This has happened occasionally in the past, and has presented a problem to the judges who felt that they must stay within the established rules, yet wished to provide deserved recognition to the writer.

This led to the creation this year of a new award, the Robert Lee DeBold Memorial Award, which was presented to Darcy Shean of Cardinal Gibbons High School in recognition of her literary accomplishment and to encourage pursuit of a writing career. Darcy's essay will also appear in today's RECORD.

In addition to the essay contest, the Francis Broward chapter of the DAR also sponsored an art contest. I would like to congratulate the winners of this contest:

Elementary school division: Vicki McCoy, Hollywood Hills; Chris Goody, Hollywood Hills; Lynn Ann Linderman, Bayview; and Johnnie McCray, Jr., Coleman Elementary.

Junior high division: Sandra Wood, St. Elizabeth's.

Senior high division: Darcy Shean, Cardinal Gibbons, and Kassie Strawcutter, Cardinal Gibbons.

And now, in order to share with my colleagues in the House of Representatives the privilege of reading the thoughts and words of some of the most outstanding youth of our Nation, I place the winning essays in the 1967 Constitution Week Essay Contest sponsored by the Francis Broward chapter of the DAR at this point in the RECORD:

[County grand prize, elementary division, first place]

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION: "NO ONE PREVENTS MY PRAYER"

(By Elizabeth Dickey; Mrs. Dane, teacher; Bayview School; grade six)

The quotation "No one prevents my prayer" was made recently by Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, when she defected from Russia where she had lived most of her lifetime to the United States. She, the daughter of a former Russian leader, had to give up her citizenship and her family in order to enjoy the freedoms that are the birthright of every American citizen under the Constitution.

I was born Elizabeth Bell Dickey almost eleven years ago in the State of Florida, in the United States of America. I inherited my freedoms from my ancestors. Unlike Svetlana in her land of Communism, or Socialism, or Marxism I can worship as I please, speak as I please, read whatever I choose. I am entitled to trial by jury. I can live in my own home and know that I will not be disturbed or invaded by government officials. I have the privilege of voting as I please for whichever political party I choose.

I think that the people in Russia like you and me must be good people, but their government does not permit them the same freedoms that I am fortunate to have. They are not allowed to speak against their government or its leaders. Their opportunities to worship are limited.

Stalin's daughter is a well-educated woman who is able to compare her country with ours, and she felt that she could have more freedom in America than in Russia. I am glad that I was born with my freedom and will not have to go to another country to find it.

[County grand prize, elementary division, second place]

My Individual Freedom Under the Constitution

(By Pam McMahon, grade six, Miss Strawcutter, St. Coleman)

The constitution brings happiness to all. I hear my mother singing in the kitchen, I know she is happier taking care of us than working in a factory. When my father kisses me, I know he is happier working in his office than being a slave. After school I am happy because I may go to the school of my choice.

Freedom of Speech states that we may publish or say what we want. Freedom of Religion states that we may belong to any religion we choose.

Freedom of Assembly states that we may organize peaceably for any aim. We should ask our government to change conditions that need to be changed.

The Bill of Rights protects us aaginst government officials who might invade our houses. Who ever (comes) commits a crime has a right to a speedy trial before the jury.

The early citizens won their independence by fighting. Freedom is so important to Americans that they understand how people feel who want to be free and live in a free country.

We, the citizens of America, should be thankful that we have freedom and live in a free country. Those in Viet Nam have very little freedom. Most people there are in need of food, shelter, and clothing.

We owe so much to the past. If it wasn't for the past we wouldn't be here. I, as an Individual would like to thank those in the past for writing the Constitution and also for (wril) giving us our rights and our Freedom in America.

Thank you!

[County grand prize, junior high division, first place]

(By Barbara Throckmorton, Grade Eight, St. Elizabeth School, Mrs. Jones)

My individual freedom under the Constitution of the United States is the goal that sets the pace for me as an American citizen. In the Constitution is written my privileges and duties and how to obey them. These lead me to a better, safer, and freer United States.

To me, as an American citizen, I think individual freedom means the guarantee in the Constitution of my rights, duties, the laws of the United States and how to perform and obey them. The Constitution is my guide in how to respect my country and be patriotic toward it. Every American citizen should realize what their freedom is under the Constitution and how to use it correctly to better this nation.

My freedom under this great document can be partly explained in one word: justice. Justice is fair treatment or fairness. Justice should be for all excluding race, creed, or color. Justice is to speak or write as I please, but to remember the good names of others. Justice is to worship as I please, but not to degrade other religions and their beliefs, and justice is the right to vote as I please and to remember my duty to vote and vote correctly. This is just part of my freedom under the Constitution.

More of my freedom under the Constitution is the right to be able to have a well-armed Militia (the Army, Navy, or Air Force) to protect my country, my home, and my life.

I also have the freedom to remain silent when I am accused of an offense against our country's rules and to obtain an attorney and speak or plead my case.

I can own a car or boat, but I must drive carefully and with full attention or my license can be revoked at any time.

Our freedom under the Constitution also includes the law of morality. This means that, for example, we cannot appear in public intoxicated or nude. This law should be obeyed most strictly because it is one of the most important laws of God.

There is so much freedom we have under the Constitution that it is hard to explain all of it in one essay. But the freedom we have can be attributed to one being and that is God. God gave the helping hand our forefathers needed while writing the Constitution for the present and future generations. By doing this, God made us the luckiest people on earth.

Some people of the United States are hurting this country which God created by mixing their freedom with their rights. If the citizens of America would realize the difference between their rights, duties, and their freedom under the Constitution, and if they would observe all laws of the Constitution, the people of this wealthy nation could stand up and say proudly and patriotically, "We are a democracy, guided by our Constitution and above all, God!"

[County grand prize, junior high division, second place tie]

My Individual Freedom Under the Constitution

(By Kathy Riccardi, Grade Eight, Mrs. Strawcutter, St. Coleman's School)

As an eighth grader I do not have as many privileges as an adult. Such privileges as voting or driving a car. These are only a few of the hundreds of things our constitution permits us to do.

As an eighth grader, I go to school, the school of my choice. When I am at the age of a decision as to what I want to do, I may choose it freely. The school which I am now attending is a Catholic school. This is another privilege, one may believe and worship as he desires.

In this country one is free and proud to talk out and express their opinions. We should talk out and not be frightened to say "I am a Catholic," "I am a Protestant," or "I am Jewish." At least everyone should be proud to say one of those things. There is no need to be frightened to talk out in this country of ours, "America."

America is a country where you are not obligated to live in one place all your life. A person has the right to move to any location they wish. This freedom has been denied to many people in other countries. In this country the rights of another man should be respected. You should respect your fellow man as you would want them to respect you.

Freedom of the Press is another great factor in our country. Our constitution says that all men have the right to write what they wish. In this way the people were and are informed of the present events taking place in their every day lives.

Another privilege Americans hold is the right to like or dislike who they want. For instance, we may vote and choose who we want to lead our country. Also, who we want to represent us in Congress and in the Senate. The second part to this privilege is that we may like or dislike what we want. For example, just because a friend or your leader likes a book does not mean you must also like it.

Without our Constitution our country would not be as high ranking as it is today. Of course all these things are limited to a certain degree. Just because we are gifted with the freedom of the press does not mean we are allowed to tear our neigbhors apart and ruin their reputation or property.

I myself am very grateful to our forefathers for writing our Constitution. The foresight invested in them was tremendous. They left each one of us with many valuable gifts to be used as we desire. Gifts that are the envy of many other countries and their people. I just hope I have the knowledge to use these privileges and to be a credit to my country.

[County grand prize, junior high division, second-place tie]

My Individual Freedom Under the Constitution

(By Tom Wich, Grade 8, Mrs. Strawcutter, St. Coleman)

Sitting on the dock near the canal, with my old straw hat shading my eyes, and my fishing pole in my hands. I began to think of how lucky I am.

I am free to fish, play ball, go camping, ride my bike, take my boat out, without worrying about a voice of authority saying, "You aren't allowed to do these activities, you must do what I say!" Of course the voice of my mother saying, "No" is only my permission being taking away from me not my freedom.

My individual freedom under the constitution gives me the right to attend the church of my choice which in my opinion is a wonderful rule.

To be able to say I'm a Republican or Democrat and agree or disagree with our government and leaders, is a very valuable right. However, I must always remember to do these things without disobeying the law or my superiors.

[County grand prize, senior high division, first place]

My Individual Freedom Under the Constitution

(By Jill Douthett, junior, Sr. John Edwards, Cardinal Gibbons High School)

"And so, to every man his chance.
To every man, his shining, golden opportunity.
To every man the right to work, to be himself, and to become
Whatever his manhood and his vision can combine to make him.
This, seeker, is the promise of America."

These words of Thomas Wolfe express what I and other young Americans can expect from the Constitution of these United States. The Constitution does not guarantee me success in my career, or happiness in life, or a guaranteed annual income. It does, however, assure me of equal opportunity under the law, of freedom of choice—the right of self-determination. The Constitution, drawn up so long ago by men I never met, never saw, gives me the protection of law to use my God-given free will to determine my career, religious philosophy, political creed, and brand of soap and mouthwash. I have as much freedom to read the Communist Manifesto and the Quotations of Mao Tse-Tung as I do to read the biography of any great American. Consequently, I am able to view my world objectively and fearlessly. Because I can see the truth about oppression and tyranny, because I can converse and debate with people from Hungary, from Poland, from Cuba, my decisions will be founded on fact and on truth.

All my life I will have choices and decisions to make. Sometimes I will make the wrong ones. But one free decision, even a wrong one, is worth so much more than no decision at all.

[County grand prize, senior high division, second place]

My Individual Freedoms Under the Constitution

(By Carol Ann Marra, 12th grade, Sister Mary Corda, Madonna Academy)

Under America's greatest written work—the Constitution—I am free to be free. In truth, I am living in a democracy where my conscience is able to grope into the truth of Americanism: freedom. To understand the Constitution, and to see its intense function within today's society, I have attempted to relate it to my personal life.

I, as a young citizen, am able to recognize the great need each person has for individual expression and creativeness. The Constitution outlines, but most important, protects those certain unalienable rights which I am granted.

To begin, my right to obtain information about matters that concern me and to express my thoughts freely is protected by our Constitution. And so has developed freedom of speech and of the press. By this the national government cannot deliberately keep the people from finding out the truth. I may read the publications of my choice and utilize my intelligence and judgment concerning selection. I may form opinions about the things I read and hear and am free to incorporate other's ideas into my own.

After I am accomplished in the educational aspects of my interests, I will be free to pursue a career and improve upon my personal well-being. I have the right to engage in self-analysis, to volunteer my services, and to use my initiative and creativity when seeking employment in today's affluent society.

Play, as defined by an outstanding psychiatrist, is an activity which we choose freely—without necessity or outward pressure. Under the Constitution I may engage in the leisure activities which appeal to me, challenge my skill, and stimulate self-expression.

In a society such as our own, it is the educated man that makes a better world. While Communist education aims at unquestioning obedience and service to the state, the American ideal focuses on providing a comprehensive general education for all. In America's public schools I may acquire skills which I will need to function as an effective citizen in a free society.

America, founded on principles of religious toleration, did not overlook this fact when documenting the Constitution. Every day I am made aware of this as I pass churches and places of worship belonging to the many now existing religions. In these United States, no dictator reigns as my god and no cabinet of men predestine my future.

Ours is an economic society, founded on the theories of supply and demand. I am a consumer and under the protective wing of the Constitution I am able to save and invest to help provide for my own financial security. Like our other freedoms, freedom of enterprise is limited so that it will not infringe on the rights of other individuals.

Johann Von Goethe said that what you have inherited from your father, earn over again for yourselves, or it will not be yours. In truth, I have inherited the Constitution. Now it is mine, and I must be free to accept it.

[Robert Lee De Bold Memorial Award]

VERDANT LIBERTY

(By Darcy Shean, Cardinal Gibbons High School, Sister John Edward, 12th grade, senior)

Come perch yourself on a limb and peer into my world ....

I live in a tree and when I look up I see blue peeking shyly from between massive patches of vibrant green. My tree has branches that stretch so high they seem to puncture the cottony clouds. A huge network of roots anchors the mighty trunk to fertile soil. The leaves of my tree so densely wrap its boughs, only slivers of sunlight filter through.

All nature has its seasons and my tree is no exception. With fall the leaves change their hue painted by the nip of autumn. Then, the bleak winter wind plucks the myriad of color leaving the limbs bare to be blanketed with a cloak of snowy white. Spring brings life with tiny buds of green emerging from seemingly barren branches, nourished by refreshing showers and warming sunshine . . . then adorned with bursting blossoms of delicate pink. Finally, breaking into full dress, summer's glow favors my tree. Her branches overflowing with vast canopies of billowing greens . . . and at summer's end the joy of juicy red apples.

My tree is strong! My tree is fruitful. Her branches protect me. Her spaciousness opens to me. My tree is my country . . . my individual domain. Seeded originally in the minds of a few, rooted in the blood of many, grafting every race and color together in the mightiest figure ever cut against the historical sky.

She does not grow alone, there are others planted in the same earth. But, some grow weak for their roots are shallow. Some sprout in the spring only to die with the fall. My tree stands straight in the light of God where others swayed with the ill wind of His death. Rain showers my tree with clear water to refresh my soul, deepening my intelligence with superior education, while others lack precipitation causing stagnant minds stifled by blinding sun. Where others have yielded to the chopping of communism, my three triumphs against the hatchets of dissension. As the willow weeps with drooping boughs, despondent under tyrannical rule my tree spreads branches wide to ideals nurtured by democracy. Lightning may strike the bulk of another singeing the tongues of a people and dismembering their minds. But, it won't silence mine!

When autumn confines the spirit forcing the leaf to fall on foreign soil, my country embraces it regardless of color, holding high the torch of freedom, offering protection among her boughs.

Now my tree stands in the summer of prosperity where others wilt, parched by the drying sun. She stands in a fertile valley protecting me. Her leaves covered in a glistening dew, tiny birds twittering chants of freedom. She abounds with luscious wine red apples . . . sweet to the taste . . . for anyone venturing to sample them.

My tree insures freedom by the roots of its constitution. So, come swing on a limb . . . stretch your toes to the sky and reach the shiny leaf of hope . . . the blossom of democracy . . . and the fruit of peace. This is my verdant liberty!

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Outstanding Mason: Bill Hollis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, Scottish Rite Masons in Florida have a new sovereign grand inspector general.

In naming William M. Hollis to this office, the supreme council of the Scottish Rite for the southern jurisdiction selected a quiet and modest man who typifies the finest ideals of the Masonic fraternity.

In this position, Bill Hollis will direct the activities of the present 12 Scottish Rite consistories or any new consistories in the State of Florida for life. Those of us who know him best are convinced that his record will be outstanding.

We know that his record will be outstanding because he has distinguished himself in every task he has ever been called upon to perform, whether it be public service, business, or the Masonic fraternity.

He served as grand master of Masons in Florida in 1966–67 and it was one of the finest years in the history of our grand lodge. I took personal pride and interest in his work which set another high-water mark for the Masons of my State.

Since becoming a master Mason in Lakeland, Fla., Lodge No. 91, on April 8, 1935, Bill Hollis has carved an exceptional record. He served as worshipful master of his lodge in 1942.

The following year he served as district deputy grand master of the grand lodge, serving in that post again in 1944. In 1947, he was named senior grand deacon and has held a host of difficult committee posts in grand lodge. His selection as grand master was a mark of the respect the Masons of Florida have for his ability and hard work.

In business life he is vice president and director of Publix Super Markets with headquarters in Lakeland, Fla. He is active in civic affairs in the State and gives tireless service as a member of the Southside Baptist Church.

He served as mayor of Lakeland as well as a city commissioner, and for 13 years was on the board of trustees of the public schools.

Born in Georgia, he moved to Florida in 1928—a move which befits a man of intelligence—and, since 1930, has resided in Lakeland.

He and his charming wife, Nina, have three children: William Mercer, Junior, Mark C., and Marjorie Ann—and take particular pride in their three grandchildren.

The passing of Frank H. Thompson, who was like a father to Bill Hollis, left the post of sovereign grand inspector general vacant. He had served as personal deputy at large to the late revered Mr. Thompson, who would have taken great personal pride in his successor.

In addition to many other Masonic honors, Bill Hollis is a member of the York Rite, the Shrine, the Red Cross of Constantine, the Royal Order of Scotland, and the Eastern Star.

The 32 members of the supreme council direct the activities of Scottish Rite Masonry in the southern jurisdiction—the area south of the Mason-Dixon line and west of the Mississippi—along with Japan, the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, Taiwan, and Okinawa.

It is no small task.

Few people realize the good works of the Scottish Rite as an organization through its charities and endeavors. Needless to say, this Nation is richer for their contribution.

My purpose here is to pay tribute to a great man and a good friend.

I cherish my membership in the Masonic fraternity.

I take great pride in having Bill Hollis for a friend.

His selection was not a matter to be taken lightly. A sovereign grand inspector general is elected for life.

For Bill Hollis it will be a life of service. In everything he has done, service to his fellow man has been uppermost. He has a quiet humility that endears him to the great and the lowly. Few men have been so liked and admired as was Bill Hollis when he served as grand master.

I predict that the same will be true of his new position.

Some men make big footprints on the road of life. Bill Hollis makes some very big ones.

Scottish Rite Masons are proud that he was named to serve as their leader. I take pride in his selection and predict that the future will prove this to have been a wise decision.

When Bill Hollis tackles a job, he is outstanding. Scottish Rite Masonry and this Nation will be richer for his having served.

Hibbing High School Wins National Bellamy Flag Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President the Hibbing High School has long been considered an outstanding institution, and I am pleased to report that it recently was named to receive the National Bellamy Flag Award in 1968.

This award is given to a representative school each year on the basis of academic excellence, respect for American heritage, and good citizenship. The award is made in memory of Francis Bellamy who, in 1892, wrote the pledge of allegiance. I ask unanimous consent that a news story and the editorial in the Hibbing Daily Tribune, regarding the award and the record of the Hibbing High School be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIBBING HONORED

From its very beginning, and particularly since being established in the present building constructed in 1922, Hibbing High School has gained constant national recognition.

Today, another award of national significance has been given Hibbing High School. It is the Bellamy Flag Award for 1968.

The Bellamy Award program was established 26 years ago and gives conspicuous acknowledgement to the vital role the public school plays in helping to mold and to realize the ideals of our nation.

A Minnesota school was designated to receive the award for 1968 and Hibbing High School was selected over all other Minnesota schools to be the standard bearer for the state for the next 50 years.

It is a great honor and a tremendous tribute to Hibbing's school system, its present and past administrators and faculty. Hibbing never has stinted in its educational program, thus attracting the best among educators to handle its students, and the best among administrators to map the courses of study.

In announcing the 1968 award for Hibbing at Tuscon, Ariz., today, the National Bellamy Award committee pointed out that "Hibbing High School has earned the Bellamy Award as the result of the realization that this is a challenging opportunity to be in an exemplary position to honor and preserve some of the foundation values of our great American heritage."

There was a tremendous amount of research required of Hibbing's faculty in preparing a history of the school system to present for consideration by the Bellamy Award committee.

And, it's interesting to note that in an introduction to the voluminous report, the Hibbing research committee commented: "We on the committee realize that it was actually very beneficial to take time and review past accomplishments and history. Certainly there were many items unkown to us that proved most interesting. The committee feels that if Hibbing High School is not the recipient of the National Bellamy Award, this documentation will be of value to those who follow."

In other words, the present school administration, while mindful of the great accomplishments of Hibbing education through the years, didn't realize just how tremendous those accomplishments were.

We're happy and proud to be a part of a community that goes all out for education and happy and proud that new national recognition for that educational program has been received.

Education System Lauded: High School Wins Bellamy Award

Tucson, Ariz.—Hibbing High School, long lauded as one of the outstanding schools in the United States, has been named to receive the 27th annual National Bellamy Flag Award, it was announced here today.

The announcement came during ceremonies being held at Flowing Wells High School in Tucson—this year's award winning school.

The Bellamy Award is one of the nation's highest honors given to secondary schools in the United States.

Hibbing High School will represent the state of Minnesota for the next 50 years as the standard bearer for all Minnesota high schools.

The citation is in memory of Francis Bellamy—author of the Pledge of Allegiance.

He wrote the original Pledge in 1892 for a national public school celebration of Columbus Day.

Officials said here today, however, that the award committee does not select the "best" school—it simply picks the school that is "representative" of all fine public high schools in the chosen state.

A different state is selected each year to receive the award.

It was announced last June that Hibbing was one of three finalists for next year's award.

Hibbing was chosen over high schools in Fairmont and Fairbault, Minn., on the basis of academic excellence, respect for American heritage and good citizenship.

The actual award will be presented in Hibbing Oct. 12, 1968 with state and national officials participating.

The award is a large outdoor flag that has flown over the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C.

Miss Margarette S. Miller, Portsmouth, Pa., director of the National Bellamy Award said that:

"Hibbing High School has earned the award as a result of the realization that this is a challenging opportunity to be in an exemplary position to honor and preserve the foundation of values of our great American heritage."

She lauded the performance of the school's administration: "Loyalty and determined leadership are shown by William Lah, principal; Kenneth Pederson, director of instruction and curriculum; and George A. Eddie, superintendent of schools."

Other factors considered for the award were:

(1) The school's program for blind students.

(2) The educational philosophy of Hibbing High School.

(3) A dedicated and professional staff of teachers that works to secure top level education for all its youth.

(4) The accomplishments of its alumni and consistently high standards of education.

(5) A strong program of patriotic and good citizenship training.

(6) Direct contact with parents of students attending the school and the school's relationship with the press.

But the Bellamy Award is not the first national honor Hibbing High School has received.

Look magazine in 1946 picked Hibbing High School as one of the outstanding high schools in the United States.

And Holiday magazine in 1950 carried a story on the Iron Range—featuring Hibbing High School.

A Ford Foundation Grant study was made in 1955 at Hibbing High School to find out why students representing 33 different nationalities and religions "got along so well."

In 1958 Hibbing High School was one of two Minnesota high schools visited by Dr. James Conant, a famed educator.

He then cited the school as "keeping curricula that meets the new trends of the times."

Deither Von Rosenberg, Germany, another famed educator, spent a month during 1960 studying the school system with special attention to the democratic processes in operation.

In making the announcement, the award committee also commended the local press for "doing an excellent job of promoting an outstanding educational system."

The school's athletic department also received praise.

Of the 11 sports sanctioned by the Minnesota State High School League, Hibbing High School offers 10, and previously offered all 11.

And the school's drama and speech department has won numerous state championships.

The biggest drama award came in 1961 when the high school Thespian Club earned first place in a National Play Contest held at the University of Indiana.

Hibbing High School attracted such nationwide interest that until five years ago student guides were hired for the summer months to guide visitors through the school.

The building complex is situated on four city blocks. It dates back to 1922 when construction was completed at a cost of $3,927,325.

Hibbing High School is 420 feet long, 265 feet wide and 93 feet high (four stories).

And inside it houses an auditorium which is actually a replica of the old Capital Theater of New York City.

To date the school's alumni list numbers more than 14,000.

Hibbing High School, at the present time, also houses Hibbing State Junior College. The college will be moving to its own building next year with completion of the million dollar complex on East Beltline.

The school has been accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools since 1909.

William Lah, principal, said that "throughout the 46 years that the school has been in existence, it has been well kept and up-dated as needs arose.

"Today the halls and rooms have acoustical tile, room lighting has been changed to fluorescent, the entire heating system has been modernized and repainting goes on continuously."

The administration believes in the philosophy that curriculum development is an important responsibility of every school.

Other schools in the area have noticed the strides Hibbing has made in curriculum development and because of this many visitations are made by school personnel of neighboring areas, school officials said.

As an example of its high scholastic standing, 51 members of the 1965 senior class were offered college scholarships totaling more than $158,000.

The senior class of 1966 had 46 students who were offered scholarships totaling $109,450. Those students maintained scholastic averages of "B" or better.

But the school works hand-in-hand with the parents in continually improving the quality of education.

Miss Miller, in her evaluation, said that "the parents of Hibbing not only help to set the rules for the school's educational objectives, but they endeavor to help carry them out."

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following memorandum presented by the American League for Russian Jews. I am pleased, as an honorary cochairman of the league, to make the information in the memorandum available to my colleagues. It is titled "Let Our People Go," and is a Jewish reply to 50 years of Soviet rule.

The memorandum referred to follows:

The Soviet Union is preparing for a massive propaganda display in celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Millions will be spent throughout the world to "showcase" Soviet achievements in industry, agriculture, science, technology, education and the arts in the half century since Tsarism was toppled. Nothing will be spared to convince the global community of the blessings of socialist realism, Soviet style.

The world Jewish community has a different tale to relate on this historic occasion—not of five-year plans, rural electrification programs, atom smashers or automobile production statistics. Ours is the tragic story of the persecution and cultural enslavemen of three million Jews residing in the Soviet Union. We have chosen this Fiftieth Anniversary of the Revolution to make it known.

It will be our unpleasant but necessary task during the coming months to inform the world that however imposing the achievements of the Soviets may be in other fields, in the sphere of human relations, they have plunged backward into the dark ages. Civilized men of all persuasions must know that to live as a Jew in Soviet Russia, is to be marked for a special kind of purgatory through which the body passes unscathed while the personality is eradicated. The name for this crime is cultural genocide.

The world must be told, all physical evidence to the contrary, notwithstanding, that three million Jews are being liquidated in the Soviet Union as surely as they were once liquidated in places like Auschwitz and Treblinka—and not with less efficiency. The willful destruction of a people's identity is an exercise in mass murder.

The time has passed when we Jews will view the destruction of our people in any manner with quiet despair. We are no longer concerned with Soviet "sensibilities," as we were once concerned with National Socialist "sensibilities." We no longer ascribe to the philosophy of "tread lightly" and hope for the best where Jewish life is concerned. We have lost our faith in the magic of "secret diplomacy." It is an elixir that has too often proved a cup of hemlock for our people. We will speak out for those who have lost the power of speech, yet pray to be spoken for, in the new hard, honest Jewish language of the post-Sinai era.

Witnessing murder being committed, we will call the murderer by his right name. Seeing fundamental decency violated, we will name the defendant and state the charges. Having a concrete solution to the dilemma of Soviet Jewry, we will have no fear in enunciating it. We have such a solution: *the unrestricted right of emigration to Israel for all Soviet Jews who wish to settle there; the unqualified application of the principle of family reunion for all Soviet Jews who wish to join their families outside the USSR.*

In pursuance of these aims, the American League for Russian Jews will hold a mass rally at New York's new Madison Square Garden on Monday evening, March 4, 1968. The theme of this event will be: "Only Emigration Can Save Russian Jewry!"

The evening will be highlighted by the presentation of a pageant depicting the disaster that has befallen three million Russian Jews in the recent half century of Soviet rule. This contemporary human tragedy will be portrayed against the historical backdrop of other attempts in the past to extinguish Jewish life, the Jewish faith and Jewish cultural identity.

The Madison Square Garden pageant will be produced by Zvi Kolitz, the man who brought "The Deputy" to the New York stage and produced the noted Israeli film, "Hill 24 Doesn't Answer." It will be directed by John Stix, who directed the Broadway adaptation of Alan Paton's, "Too late the Phalarope." The performance will be given by a distinguished Broadway cast and will include original music written and conducted by the brilliant young composer, David Amram. The rally will also feature brief addresses by high ranking representatives of both the United States and Israel governments.

We believe this rally and pageant will be an achievement of singular historic and dramatic significance. It will, in effect, be a national call to arms in a campaign to rescue Soviet Jewry from cultural extinction.

In conjunction with the Madison Square Garden rally and pageant, a special publication on the state of Soviet Jewry fifty years after the Revolution will be distributed, bringing together for the first time the views of the most respected authorities in the field of Soviet-Jewish relations. It will document the utter failure of the Soviet Union to find a modus vivendi with its national Jewish minority and project the true dimensions of the calamity that has befallen nearly one-fourth of our people.

The New York rally will be supported and publicized in every major city with a substantial Jewish population and where the Soviet Union maintains an embassy, consulate or trade center. It will also be supported throughout Israel. The Fiftieth Anniversary celebration will be used to confront the Soviet Union with its crimes against the Jewish people and to expose the fraudulence of its pretensions to being a civilized nation.

In setting forth this program, the American League for Russian Jews and its friends are motivated by the presence of several new factors that have taken shape in Jewish life during the past five months:

We believe the spirit of the Jewish Diaspora during the recent Six-Day War in the Middle East transcended an obvious sense of unity with embattled Israel to encompass a new awareness of the totality of problems facing world Jewry.

Aside from the future security of Israel, the unresolved problem of our time is the future of Russia's three million Jews.

The Six-Day War unmasked the Soviets as the enemy not merely of Israel but of the entire Jewish nation. Their shrill anti-Semitic polemics in the U.N. are as much testimony to this fact as the aid, comfort and encouragement they have given Israel's foes. We face an opponent as vicious and relentless as any since Hitler.

In the Soviet power struggle between the liberals and the neo-Stalinist "hard liners," the liberals appear to have lost ground since the Middle East war. The new military aid given the adventurist regimes in Algeria, Syria and Egypt indicates a resolve to expand Russian influence in the Middle East at any cost, not excluding the destruction of Israel.

The Arab military debacle and the stunning diplomatic defeat suffered by the Soviets in the General Assembly have already had repercussions among the Jews in the USSR and some of the East European satellites. An ugly campaign is under way in these countries to tar Jews with the brush of disloyalty. In some instances Jews have been subjected to physical assault and in the Soviet Union a Georgian rabbi was beaten to death. Soviet and other East European Jewish communities en masse have been forced to denounce Israel and all manifestations of Jewish solidarity with the triumph of Israel over its enemies have been forbidden.

There is a real danger that concern with the new problems now facing Israel may cause us to forget or put aside prompt action on the Soviet-Jewish question. The American League for Russian Jews will make a supreme effort to keep the hopes of Soviet Jews alive. We will pursue the demand for Jewish freedom, encompassed in the theme "Only Emigration Can Do It" as the only means to an effective solution of the Soviet-Jewish impasse.

The broad mass of world Jewry demonstrated during the Six-Day War that it is capable of rising above the limitations of its professional detractors when a crisis arises. Israel's finest hour was also world Jewry's finest hour. We believe the idealism, self-sacrifice and courage manifested in that response can and must be enlisted in the cause of the three million Jews in Russia.

The Madison Square Garden program offers a banner under which Jews of every political persuasion can rally in the fight to save their Russian coreligionists from cultural genocide. We believe that only emigration can do it. We are pledged to give the masters of the Kremlin not one moment of rest, to spare them not one moment of embarrassment and difficulty until this struggle is won.

Communism for 50 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the so-called Socialistic Republics of Russia celebrated their 50th year of power exploitation of its people and enslavement of the minds and bodies of millions of fellow humans in overrun countries. To the Russian people, I extend my deepest sympathy.

A day for weeping and prayer by free men everywhere that we, not under the Soviet boot, still have a chance. It is not too late if we awaken to think for ourselves and maintain independence—not interdependence.

But fear and lack of faith causes many collaborations. On hand in Moscow to aid the international gangsters were such as Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and Marshal Tito, the Communist dictator of Yugoslavia.

And even a "heartfelt greeting" was dispatched by the President of these United States "in the name of the people of the United States." I dissent and give notice the greeting was not representative of my feelings which coincide more with the proclamation of the Association of Veterans of Russian Descent of World Wars I and II, 2041 Lyon Street, San Francisco, Calif., which I include following my remarks en toto. I also include the news release of November 7 from the Washington, D.C., Evening Star, along with the release of the U.S. Anti-Communist Congress, in the RECORD:

Association of Veterans of Russian Descent of World Wars I and II, San Francisco, Calif., Proclamation

On November 7th The Soviet Government will triumphantly celebrate the 50th anniversary of communism in Russia. But we, the free citizens of America, should ignore this jubilation, because the Soviet Government was never chosen by the Russian people but came to power by fraud and violence.

We, the free citizens of the United States, should note how the Russian people would react to the 50th anniversary of communism. Here is what communism gave the Russian people; 50 years of religious persecution and denial of private property, free initiative and freedom of labor; 50 years of shortages of food, clothing and housing; 50 years of torture, suffering and death in prison and concentration camps for millions of citizens; 50 years of slavery under a gang of godless self-styled rulers, who established a communist dictatorship against the will of the people.

In view of the above stated facts it would be a mockery to congratulate the Russian people with 50 years of misery under communism but we do have a moral obligation to express sympathy with the people for their 50 years of tragedy. It would not only be purely illogical but below the dignity of official representatives of the U.S.A. to congratulate the Soviet Government with its 50th anniversary of communism, against which Americans fought in Korea and are actively fighting in Vietnam.

It should be remembered that all friendly relations with the Soviet regime enhance its prestige and this is completely undesirable, because the Soviet Government stubbornly seeks to establish communism by force in the entire world and Soviet aid to N. Vietnam is proof of the Soviet Government's intentions.

As long as communism exists in Russia there will always be a threat to freedom in the United States of America.

Parade Marks 50 Years of Communism: Moscow Displays Might and Bit of Nostalgia

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

Moscow.—The Soviet Union marked its 50th birthday today with a bit of nostalgia and a parade of armed might including several new missiles.

Although the new weaponry received major attention, the atmosphere created on the day was not particularly martial and Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko's speech was restrained.

Military attaches said they detected six new weapons, including a 100-foot intercontinental ballistics missile. Soviet commentators used the word "new" only in referring to this ICBM, saying it was powered by a "new, highly efficient type of propellant."

READY FOR FIRING

Tass said these rockets "need little time to to be readied for firing and can be launched both from silos and other launching ramps," indicating it may be similar to the solid-fueled U.S. Minuteman.

Making their appearance for the first time in a major Soviet military parade was a contingent of marines. There were about 600 of the marines, dressed in new black uniforms and wearing black berets.

Paratrooper units in red berets accompanied by artillery and light tanks attached to the airborne units also were a striking feature of the parade.

ATTACHES LIST WEAPONS

The new weapons reported by the military attaches were:

A reconnaissance vehicle that mounts a gun and has an anti-tank rocket next to the mount, a tracked vehicle that carries a new kind of anti-aircraft missile, a Polaris-type submarine-launched strategic missile, a tactical missile, and intermediate range missile and the 100-foot ICBM.

The red-nosed ICBM came just before a missile first shown on May Day 1965 that has been claimed capable of striking from orbit. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara said Friday the Soviet Union was testing an orbital bomb system.

Official accounts of the parade repeated the boast that mammoth Soviet rockets—the biggest is about 115 feet long—"can deliver nuclear warheads of tremendous power" and that "no other army in the world has such warheads."

Moscow Television's commentator called attention to "an unusual special warhead" on one rocket shown in earlier parades which he said could destroy clusters of enemy planes.

The parade culminated five days of speeches and ceremonies honoring the 50th anniversary of Lenin's Bolshevik Revolution.

GRECHKO REVIEWS TROOPS

The marching units from various military academies were at attention when Communist party General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev, followed closely by Premier Alexei N. Kosygin and President Nikolai V. Podgorny, mounted the steps to the platform above Lenin's mausoleum near the Kremlin Wall. The rest of the Politburo filed up also. Top ranking military officers were on a lower tier.

Promptly at 10 a.m., Defense Minister Grechko was driven out of the Kremlin in an open steel blue Zil convertible and, with the commander of the parade in a matching vehicle, he inspected the troops who roared as he drove by.

Following the inspection Grechko delivered a brief speech which routinely attacked the United States, Israel and West Germany. U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson didn't feel that salvo against the "criminal war" being waged in Vietnam was heavy enough to force him to depart.

Grechko avoided mentioning China, regarded by many as Russia's main concern these days, and so the Chinese charge d'affairs remained also.

The defense minister praised Soviet economic development and, in routine fashion, said the military forces were armed with the most modern equipment.

To the delight of the crowd, several companies of young men, dressed in 1917 style uniforms, began marching through Red Square—the famous Red Guards, the Bolshevik Commissars, the Red Cossacks and several ranks of matched horse cavalry, some of them pulling machine guns and light artillery pieces of World War I vintage.

A dozen World War I armored cars with their oval turrets and anti-imperialist slogans painted on their sides also chugged through.

The last 30 minutes of the military parade were the most important for the military attaches who were grouped together near the mausoleum with their wives, frantically snapping pictures—the one time in the year when the Soviet government encourages foreigners to photograph military hardware.

First came the troops—units from the military academies led as usual by the Frunze Academy for staff officers—followed by various branches including the paratroopers marching with the bravado of the U.S. airborne divisions.

The hardware came at the end.

Some parade standbys—T62 heavy tanks and varieties of artillery pieces—were whisked through.

CIVILIAN UNITS MARCH

Following the military show, the festivities were turned over to sportsmens groups and scores of work brigades, young Communist leagues, and delegations from everything from Intourist to Writers Unions—all of whom marched through in good spirits even if their ranks became a little disorganized.

The over-all mood of the parade was not martial perhaps because everyone seemed to be looking forward to a good time afterwards. And the civilian demonstration was the complete opposite of the armed show.

But for the world at large the military demonstration is what will be seen on television and it is the image of Soviet might that leaders here want to present abroad.

The streets of the capital were jammed early this morning by Russians and tourists crowding the downtown part of the city hoping to catch a glimpse of the parade on its way into Red Square.

Millions of others watched it on live television—but the 2,000 owners of color sets were disappointed because the infant system broke down and only black and white was transmitted.

Later today there will be a Kremlin reception while ordinary Russians will celebrate the holiday in the accepted fashion—lots of friends, vodka and food and no care about the morrow especially when you have the next five days off.

Last night traffic was halted downtown because of the heavy flow of strollers and there is an order banning traffic for the next two days to permit people to walk in the streets.

(Greetings from President Johnson were published in Izvestia, the Soviet government newspaper, as part of a two-page spread of messages from Communist and non-Communist leaders, the Associated Press reported.

(Johnson's note said: "In the name of the people of the United States of America, I am sending heartfelt greetings and best wishes to the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for their national holiday which this year marks the 50th anniversary of the creation of the Soviet government.

("I hope that the good will of the peoples of both countries will find its expression in joint efforts toward a firm and lasting peace in the whole world."

(Among those not present in Red Square was the one surviving leader of the revolution, V. M. Molotov, the former foreign minister and premier who has lived in secluded retirement since he lost a power struggle with Nikita Khrushchev in 1957.

(Also absent were the other three living former premiers—Khrushchev, George M. Malenkov and Nikolai A. Bulganin. It is not customary for those who have lost out to appear in public on such occasions.)

U.S. ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS INC.,
Washington, D.C.

"Responsible anticommunism."

On the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, we say: Commie, go home!

Go home and give your people political freedom, by allowing a two-party system, so that they can choose whether or not they want communism.

Go home and abolish Article 70 of the Criimnal Code of the U.S.S.R., so that your people can criticize the communist government and one-party monopoly without being sent to concentration camp for five to seven years.

Go home and free the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners jailed under Article 70, including the writers Daniel and Sinyavsky, whose only crime was to express mild displeasure with the politicians running Russia.

Go home and tell your communist rulers to stop sending war supplies to the Ho Chi Minh invaders of South Vietnam. Better yet, demand that Ho Chi Minh stop the war. If we stop fighting, the war will not stop. Only Ho Chi Minh can stop the war. Otherwise it is you, and not the United States, who are warmongers.

Go home and remove the KGB (Soviet Secret Police) whose members are guilty of extreme police brutality against the workers and people of Russia.

Go home and do these things first, before you presume to tell us what is wrong with the United States.

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK,
National Director.
WILSON C. LUCOM,
President.

P.S.—On the other hand, if you really like freedom, and prefer the two-party system rather than the one-party monopoly, why not defect now? Telephone us at 638-6010 and we will treat your call in strict confidence.

P.P.S.—You lucky Americans, who do not have to defect to enjoy freedom, are invited to join our organization of responsible anticommunists. If you agree unity against communism is vital, we have a hard hitting action program. Just send $10.00 to me at the above address for a one-year charter membership.

HERB PHILBRICK.

Indifference Rots National Fiber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego, Calif., Union of October 15, 1967:

INTEGRITY, COURAGE MUST PREVAIL: INDIFFERENCES ROTS NATIONAL FIBER

The great American disease of 1967 is not drink. Nor is it dope, nor pornography, nor crime. It is none of these individually, bad as they are. It is all of them and so much more.

The great American disease is a compound of human indifference, laziness, apathy and downright criminal negligence.

It is most clearly expressed in the defeatist, nihilistic admission of failure in the statement: "I don't want to get involved."

The malady shows itself in diverse and damaging symptoms as undercurrents to the honest, upright and principled American way of life.

It is physically demonstrated with all the abandonment of responsibility of the hippie. And whenever a citizen sidesteps his duties, it shows its grip on a society too satiated with self-indulgence for the good of its moral health.

The early onset of the disease could be a simple domestic connivance—the parent who allows a child to stay home for the World Series and then sends him back to school with a note that he was sick. The example of petty untruth is set.

From this it develops into the high school student who refuses to inform on a campus dope pusher. He doesn't want to get involved, although knowing it is wrong, intrinsically evil and against the law.

These are the early steps. Later comes the time when citizens as groups turn their backs while assaults, murders and robberies take place. They attack the forces of law instead of helping them.

These are the symptoms of a sick age and the early signs of decadence. Fortunately for the United States of America the outlook is not all bleak. There are vivid outposts of integrity and courage in the path of the forces which undermine our very existence.

There are those who do not hesitate to help policemen in trouble. Others who stop on the highway to give succour to the injured and perhaps save a life. These are important, but basic actions.

Most of all there are those who still believe that moral principles are the very guidelines of existence, and who are prepared to stand or fall by them.

Moral courage needs its quotient of physical courage. Playing a full part as a citizen makes exacting demands on our courage—to make the right decisions and to uphold them. It means having the courage to care and to be responsible. It includes faith in our cause in Vietnam.

Too many give up too early. To them almost any effort is too much. For them it is easier to ignore religion, faith, morals and the dignity of stature of a human being. The paths of ease and enervation away from the true meaning of life are tempting and slippery.

It takes courage to be a power for good in a world bent on self-destruction through evil. But the reward for people and for nations is worth every stress and every setback.

This great nation must stand up and be counted—as a true force for good.

A Resolution for a Citation to Prof. William Mumford Tuck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago on October 19 while we in both Houses were engaged with the many problems which beset a nation in conflict, there was commemorated in my district of Virginia the concluding effort of the conflict which brought independence to our Nation. This was the 186th anniversary of the victory at Yorktown of the Continental forces and their allies under the leadership of Gen. George Washington.

As is its patriotic custom, the Thomas Nelson, Jr., Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, singled out a great living American for special honor. The honor is annually bestowed to a present-day patriot whose devotion to the principles of liberty have made him a true and noble descendent of the Founding Fathers of the Republic.

We in this great House were honored this year by the selection of the Honorable WILLIAM MUNFORD TUCK, the distinguished Representative of the Fifth District of Virginia and a former Governor of the Commonwealth. Congressman TUCK was the recipient of the Thomas Nelson, Jr., medal presented in memory of that distinguished Member of the Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and likewise Governor of Virginia.

October 19, 1967, was a great day at Yorktown when Representative TUCK received the award, responding in his time-honored fashion which has both thrilled and delighted us in this House on so many occasions. It was by reflection a great day here in Washington because Representative TUCK is the third Member of the Congress to be so honored. The late Senator Harry Flood Byrd and the Honorable Howard Worth Smith, the former dean of the Virginia delegation, were previous recipients.

We of the Virginia delegation take exceptional pride in this tribute to "the Governor," the title by which we shall always know and respect our esteemed colleague, and on behalf of the other Representatives of our great Commonwealth I take particular pleasure in including in the RECORD the citation to Representative TUCK and his response in which he rededicated himself to the principles of American liberty:

A RESOLUTION FOR A CITATION TO REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM MUNFORD TUCK

(By The Thomas Nelson Jr. Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution)

Who: in a life of devoted service to his beloved Commonwealth, early forged the fundamental principles that would guide him through forty-six years of unswerving dedication to the esteemed values of the Founding Fathers: and thereupon set a course which would take him to the House of Delegates, the State Senate, the Lieutenant-Governorship, the Governorship, and the Congress of the United States.

Who: personifying the axiom that responsibilities gravitate to those who best can direct them, implacably steered the Commonwealth through the wrenching changes in political directions by eschewing opportunism and by hewing to the solid doctrines of The Constitution.

Who: while devoting the latter years of his public life to bulwarking the rights and privileges of the individual, comported himselt throughout with an engagingly frank good humor while agonizing over the ever-increasing encroachment of the federal stablishment.

And who: through this dedication to the American tradition of man's dignity, best exemplifies the Sterling Virtues of Thomas Nelson, Jr.

Who: served in the Virginia House of Delegates, was a member of the first General Convention, signed the Declaration of Independence, was Governor of Virginia and led Virginia's forces in the Battle of Yorktown and whose patriotism led him to pledge his own credit in raising funds for the Revolution since it was a surer guarantee than that of the National Government: advocate of sound government and of strong national defense, and devoted Patriot.

ACCEPTANCE REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN WM. M. TUCK AT "SURRENDER DAY" CEREMONIES AT YORKTOWN, VA., OCTOBER 19

You have paid me a great honor today. To be chosen as exemplar of the sterling characteristics of Thomas Nelson, Jr., is a distinction indeed to be cherished. I do not consider myself worthy of such, and I do not find words to express adequately my appreciation for this honor which you bestow upon me.

However, I can assure you of my deep gratitude to the Virginia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution for such recognition. I understand that it is the third award of its kind that the organization has made and that the two previous recipients were my friends, the late Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., and the Honorable Howard W. Smith, gentlemen for whom I have always had the highest admiration.

In accepting this presentation of the tribute expressed in your citation and so fittingly symbolized in the medal you have struck, I recognize the occasion as one for rededication to the great American principles for which Nelson fought and for which the Sons of the American Revolution stand.

Thomas Nelson, who as the third Governor of Virginia succeeded Thomas Jefferson in that office, perhaps gave more of his time, talent and wealth to his state and country than any other man in history. He gave so much of himself that his health was broken; he gave so much of his wealth that he was threatened with poverty. In fact, he gave so much that, as you know, the epitaph on his tomb here at Yorktown reads: "He gave all for liberty."

He was a statesman, a soldier, and a benefactor in the cause of American freedom. History has shown him to be a man of selfless patriotism, a gentleman with the highest order of personal integrity.

He it was who introduced the Virginia Resolutions of 1776 calling upon the Continental Congress to declare the Colonies free and independent. He was one of the immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence. He served in the House of Burgesses and in the Continental Congress. He raised troops for the Continental Army and he served as commander of the Virginia Militia. The fact that he ordered the bombing of his own home in the Battle of Yorktown is a clear demonstration of his patriotism.

In view of this Virginia patriot's completely admirable qualities, no award could be more appropriately named. It serves as a pledge on the part of all of us to preserve and protect free constitutional government.

The Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution have always supported and defended the fundamentals and principles of our form of government, the very essential foundations which have made this country great. Thus I shall ever cherish and appreciate the citation and the high honor which you have bestowed upon me today. I hope and trust that I may always be worthy.

Let's Not Play Politics With Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives will soon be called upon to make a historic decision—whether to move ahead in solving the problems of the underprivileged or to turn its back on the plight of the poor.

Of the 700 witnesses who appeared before congressional hearings, the overwhelming majority recommended that the Johnson antipoverty program be kept intact and that more—not less—funds be appropriated.

While the war on poverty has made mistakes—as any large-scale attack on a pervasive problem will—its success is demonstrated by the enriched lives of millions of Americans.

If the House of Representatives dismantles OEO or severely reduces funds for its operation, we will have robbed the poor not only of help but of hope.

If we turn a deaf ear to cries from the slums, if we deny the reasonable expectations of the poor, if we undo the good that has already been done, we will invite violence by the forgotten and hopeless.

Those who wish to punish the poor for their poverty may, as the Washington Post states, "find political comfort. But they will deserve the country's condemnation and contempt."

If we fail to continue the war on poverty at full speed, we will have written a sullied chapter in the proud history of the House of Representatives—one that future, more enlightened, generations of Americans will never forget.

I insert into the Record the Washington Post editorial which attacks those who play politics with poverty:

THE WAR AGAINST THE POVERTY WAR

Only because there are so many more rich people than poor people in this country, and because the poor are clustered in small pockets of abject poverty, is it possible for so many members of the House of Representatives to mount so cruel and reckless an attack on the war against poverty. If their assault prevails in the voting that begins today, they may find some comfort in the damage this will do to President Johnson's Great Society. But it will be a cold kind of comfort. For, in the words of OEO Director Sargent Shriver, they will be engaging in both a "delusion . . . and a fraud."

It will be a cruel delusion for the poverty-stricken who had come to believe that help in increasing quantities was on the way. And it will be a highly dangerous fraud. For there is at home, as Adlai Stevenson once said of the less developed world, a "revolution of rising expectations" which will almost certainly be translated into wider violence and greater disorder if reasonable expectations are denied.

The Administration is seeking $2 billion in poverty funds, an increase from the $1.6 billion it received last year for such projects as the Job Corps, Community Action Programs, and Head Start. The Senate has approved this, and a bit more. But a motley coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats in the House is trying to slash this year's appropriation down to $1.2 billion, a figure that OEO believes would cripple its activities—cripple them in real terms and in terms of the psychological impact such a cut would have on the hopes and aspirations of the poor.

There was, at an earlier stage, some rational quality about the House attack on OEO, some sense that the program wasn't working well and ought to be overhauled or even scrapped, with its projects turned over to regular Government agencies.

A logical case can be made for conducting the poverty war differently; the art is not all that far advanced. But only three, of some 700 witnesses who have appeared before Senate and House hearings, were prepared to advocate dismantling of OEO. The vast majority recommended more funds, not less. None suggested the sort of senseless hacking which now threatens the poverty bill. Only the worst sort of partisan politics, on the part of many Republicans, and sheer indifference on the part of many Southern Democrats can explain the kind of irrationality which led the House to exempt OEO from Federal pay increases and which has left much of the poverty war without funds since Oct. 23 for failure to pass normally routine appropriations to maintain present programs until the larger appropriation question is resolved.

By Nov. 23, some 35 Community Action Programs will be in much the same shape as the project in Jersey City is in right now—completely out of money, with workers on a volunteer basis, and forced to borrow or beg to continue aid to some 10,000 families.

A belated move was made yesterday to appropriate money for the OEO payroll through Nov. 9, by tacking this on as a rider to the District Appropriation bill. But this is only a brief stop-gap. The point, very simply is whether there is to be an effective povery program, or not. A cut to the $1.2 billion level would not be effective. In the District, for instance, it would mean $20 million in poverty funds, compared with the $35.8 million which would be provided under the President's request for this fiscal year, and almost $30 million last year. This is not just robbing the poor of help. It is robbing them of hope. Those who conspire to do so may find political comfort. But they will deserve the country's condemnation and contempt.

New Honor for Distinguished Veteran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, one of our distinguished Connecticut veterans has just been elected commander of the Disabled American Veterans, Chapter 6, of Meriden and Wallingford. He is Walter Brys, a veteran of two world wars, and a prominent citizen of the Silver City. Mr. Brys' career is well summarized in an article which appeared in the Meriden Record on a recent date.

The career of Commander Brys is worthy of emulation by our young people today, and I am honored to include in the Record this newspaper article and to add my word of commendation for this outstanding citizen and veteran:

DAV ELECTS WALTER BRYS COMMANDER

Walter E. Brys, veteran of two world wars, was elected commander of the Disabled American Veterans, Chapter 6 of Meriden and Wallingford Thursday evening.

Other officers elected to serve with Brys were: Attilio Ceneviva, senior vice commander; Earl Blanchard, junior vice commander; Anibal Gomez, treasurer; Raymond Sittnick, chaplain; John Gregor, sergeant at arms; James Curtin, service officer, and Walter Gomez, officer of the day.

Appointments made by Brys include Alfred A. Hoffman, adjutant; Harry T. Young, house chairman, and Atty. Thomas Grigiun, judge advocate.

Commander Brys enlisted in the U.S. Navy during World War I at the age of 16. Serving two years overseas with the 6th Battle Squadron on the U.S.S. Wyoming with the British Grand Fleet, he participated in the surrender of the German Navy at Scapa Flow in 1918.

In 1941, Brys again enlisted in the U.S. Navy and served overseas with the First American Expeditionary Force in the South Pacific. He was in charge of provisions and the supplying of all ships and shore stations in the early part of World War II.

Twenty-five years ago on Oct. 19, Brys welcomed the 43rd Division, Connecticut National Guard at the South Pacific islands who were to relieve the First Division of U.S. Marines, at Guadalcanal. He recalls that the first man he met was Major Wayne Robison of Meriden who was later killed in the islands during combat.

Brys received three commendations during World War II and was honorably discharged in 1945.

A member of the D.A.V. since 1946, Brys is now serving on the building committee and was commander in 1950.

Born in Meriden, he is now constable of the City of Meriden, a position he has held for four years. He retired from the State Comptroller's Office in 1956 after 27 years.

Brys resides at 156 Stoddard Drive with his wife, Lillian. The couple has one daughter, Mrs. Eleanor Bartlem and two grandchildren.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, after 8 or 9 or 10 months of working on this legislation, the issues have now been distilled, despite all of the talk we may hear in this Chamber, to just two major issues that should attract the attention of this body during the remainder of the debate.

The first major issue is on the question of money. How much money and effort are we going to put into this program?

The second major issue revolves around the Green amendment—the amendment that my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Goodell], refers to as the boss and boll weevils amendment, and as to which he said, as I understand it, there just were not any real responsible governments in the South to carry out a constructive program.

I am going to devote my time to those two important issues.

First of all, apparently, tomorrow the first thing we are going to be faced with is a motion by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres] that we commit hara-kiri with this program; that we take this program and we slit our own throats; that we take this program and allow it to continue on a month-to-month basis, with $101 million.

All that that would do to this program is to kill it, without the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres], and the Members who will vote with Mr. Ayres tomorrow, accepting the political responsibility for killing the program.

That is all it would do, because the program would deteriorate in Washington, and on every street in the United States where it is working effectively. That is all that the Ayres motion would do. If Mr. Ayres wants to kill this program—and I am sure that he does because he has submitted motions to strike out the enacting clause in the past—then I would suggest to him that he take the straightforward approach that he has always taken in the past—just attack the program. Do not merely strangle it to death. Do not let it commit suicide by itself.

I would urge those who are truthfully opposing the program not to vote for the Ayres amendment but just vote to kill it when final passage comes.

On the money issue, the bill that the committee brought to this floor was in the President's budget. Many people may wonder how much of the need is actually met by this program; let us talk about the need in America for a little while and contrast it with what our actual support is. Actually, the need in this country is about 10 times as great as the effort we are carrying forth in this program. If we had the money available, if we had the trained people to carry out the program, to actually do something about the amount of poverty that we have in this country, it would take in addition to this program, and all the other programs ongoing now that we have in this country, $12 to $13 billion a year to really make a substantial impact on poverty in the United States. The need is that great. Contrast it with the figure we will probably come out of here with next week when we vote on the bill. So the need is much greater than we have ever been willing to put up.

I think America has the capacity and the skill, but, I am afraid it does not have the determination to attack and solve this problem. But the need is there and the money can be spent and spent wisely.

As to the "bosses and boll weevils," first, I take strenuous objection to calling Mrs. GREEN's amendment by that title. It was an amendment that many of us had talked about for a long time. I do not think I need to apologize for my support of that amendment.

I support Mrs. GREEN's amendment because I think it is a constructive step. It would bring back into the program what we had originally conceived the program to be—a responsible program, administered wherever it can be by a local government, a local government that would put some money into the program and put some of their own effort and some of their own reputation on the line. That is what I meant it to be when I voted for the program 3 or 4 years ago and when I have supported it ever since. That is what the Green amendment does.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. GIBBONS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CAREY. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Is it not true that your familiarity with the guidelines that were published by the OEO to translate the intent of Congress in the present bill into implementation at the local levels, that those published guidelines actually carry the same kind of provision that we now have put in this bill, namely, on page 17 of the guidelines it states—

> The minimum standards for representation, either on the governing body of the community action agency or on a policy advisory committee are:
>
> A. Representation from private and public agencies shall include at least one representative of the chief elected official, or officials, of the community, the board of education, the public welfare agency—

And so forth.

Thereafter, in subparagraph (b) it states that there shall be—

> Representation form the leadership of important elements in the community, such as labor, business, religious, and minority groups—

Just as we provide in this bill.

Finally, Congress decided to include the poor to be served, which we call the indigenous corps, and which has been characterized as the maximum feasible participation by the poor.

Is it not true that if these boards that were set up had followed the guidelines laid down by the OEO, and had followed them as published in the OEO pamphlets, they would not have to reconstruct or try to revise the boards to meet the language of the bill? Is this correct?

Mr. GIBBONS. The gentleman has accurately described the situation.

Let us talk about the Green amendment a little more. I think, as I said, there are only two major issues. One is money, and the other is how we are going to control these community action programs. I think Mrs. GREEN of Oregon put her finger on the issue when she said we did not intend in 1964 to create another whole level of government in the United States, a level of government that had no clearly defined constituency and a level that did not have to levy any taxes, and a level that was not responsible to any electorate.

It seems to me that somewhere along the line the objectives of title II were perverted by the establishment of numerous so-called private, nonprofit corporations to administer Federal funds.

There are many of us on both sides of the aisle who have a great deal of respect for local government, for the process of people standing for election, and that is all we are asking that we go back to.

If there is any irresponsible government in this country, there is adequate provision in the Green amendment for the bypassing of this operation.

So I would urge, as we consider how we are going to vote tomorrow, to remember there are only two really major issues: One is on money—and we are not doing enough, and we have a great deal of capacity to do more—and the other is on how the program should be managed.

Revolution by OEO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while we consider the so-called antipoverty bill in the House, the mayor of Nashville, Tenn., has testified on the Senate side that in his city the politically oriented fund-handling agencies have mishandled payrolls almost to the point of fraud.

I suggest the present title for the agency is a misnomer. It would be more accurate in description if entitled "Office of Hate Opportunity."

One may well question the motives of those affluents who urge more taxpayers' subsidy of anti-Americanism by blaming everything on poor people. When in actuality the poor themselves hardly receive the coffee grounds out of the pot.

The OEO handbook may reveal the program's real aim—it is called OEO: The Quiet Revolution.

I insert a release from the November 8, Washington, D.C., Post following my remarks:

MAYOR HITS OEO ACTION AT NASHVILLE

Nashville Mayor C. Beverly Briley charged yesterday that the Federal antipoverty agency in his city had mishandled payrolls "almost to the point of fraud."

Briley also told Senate investigators that applicants for posts with the agency, accused previously of financing a "hate whitey" school, were told to lie about their qualifications.

The Mayor gave the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee a copy of a letter he had written to the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity Oct. 30. It was addressed to Dr. Ralph A. Phelps, Jr., the regional director.

"This is the only agency of the Government," the Mayor's letter said, "that has a staff that advises job applicants to lie on their applications. We can also point to abuse and mishandling of payrolls, involving, almost to the point of fraud, and in fact, if necessary, I think we can prove fraud."

Briley did not document his charge of payroll mishandling. But he told the subcommittee that applicants for jobs with Nashville's antipoverty agency were told to fabricate experience records to justify hiring them for jobs and salaries they could not qualify for.

The subcommittee heard Briley as it continued hearings on the causes of riots that swept urban ghettoes last summer.

Briley insisted, as he did in testimony in August before the Senate Judiciary Committee, that the "hate" school had been financed by the OEO. The agency denied the charge at the time. But Briley said the facts had been documented.

He said the school taught Negro children to hate whites and also to hate their own parents for permitting conditions of racial oppression to exist.

He said the school was quickly shut down and a shakeup of the antipoverty agency got under way.

Speech by Charles F. Palmer to Georgia Association of Housing Authorities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, recently the Georgia Association of Housing Authorities held its annual meeting at Jekyll Island, Ga. Main speaker was Mr. Charles F. Palmer, prominent Atlantan, who is well known in the housing field. He formerly served as president of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, formerly held the office of U.S. Defense Housing Coordinator, as well as serving as a special assistant to President Franklin Roosevelt. I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House his speech dealing with our Nation's slum problems.

The speech follows:

THE JOB AHEAD

INTRODUCTION

This annual meeting of the Public Housing Authorities of Georgia brings back happy memories of more than a quarter century. In our field we have always led. Our state had the first public housing project of the nation. Our Southeastern Region has more Authorities and more projects than any other.

To accomplish this we have had dedicated leaders. Some have gone before us. One such was Brown Nicholson, Executive Director of the Columbus Housing Authority from its inception in 1938. He became President of our National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials in 1952. Had he lived to attend its 1963 Convention in Denver, Colorado, which reviewed our first 25 years of existence, I am confident Brown would have been as disappointed as I.

PUBLIC HOUSINGS OF PAST

There we viewed a film which at first seemed an encouraging record. But on analysis I became ashamed. Twenty-five years of public housing! 500,000 public units built when 5 million should have been. An average of 20,000 housing units per year for 20 years. A miserable record! Something needed to be done to shock the nation from its apathy. 1963 was a time of peaceful protest marches. Might a parade of slum dwellers do the trick?

Suppose they came down Park Avenue, one of the most diabological streets of the world. From 40th to 90th Street it is beautiful. It represents hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth in buildings and occupants. From 90th to 125th it is horrible. It is ugly. It should be wiped from the face of our nation. There, and in other places of New York, a million five hundred thousand slum dwellers live in hovels with their rats.

Now, in mind's eye, let's watch them pour into Park Avenue from the north. There are more than a million of the sick, the halt and the blind. Most nations of the world and most colors of all people are represented. That is the kind of march the whole world would see in its most affluent nation.

Such a demonstration would so shock all citizens and Congress that we all would go to town in a big way, I thought. Such marches might even sweep every major city of our nation.

That was my reaction to our 25 year film which I shared with fellow delegates. But how naive to believe such a mere, peaceful protest, by some of our 22 million slum dwellers Have-Nots, would shock the 170 million of us Haves and the Congress into action!!

STAGNATION

Of course the hypothetical march never took place. Instead riots did. Here's how Urban America reports them. They "happened because we have kept a large group of Americans from their share in the rewards of our society so long that a sub-group has formed that is quite ready to fight, loot and burn—every urban program that we have is a demonstration program, showing what could be done if the nation decided to put money behind it . . . twenty years from now the youths who threw rocks and burned will have learned more sophisticated use of power. What they failed to do in 1965 with the torch they will succeed in doing in 1985 with the vote."

There is no need to enumerate the riots from coast to coast. You all know what happened in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Newark and many smaller cities too. The scores of lives lost, the billions in property damage, the hundreds and hundreds of city blocks now lying in complete rubble as though bombed by Hitler merely mark the preliminary skirmishes of the Have Nots against the Haves.

My, how futile that Park Avenue march would have been when even riots haven't waked us up. More than two years have passed without needed action by Congress.

CIRCUMLOCUTION AND POSTPONEMENT

Instead, same old records are being played as they were thirty years ago. They say let Private Enterprise do the job. Nonsense. We all know the families of the 22 million now in slums are so poor they can't feed and clothe their children and still have enough money left to pay the return on the capital for a decent, safe and sanitary house. Federal subsidy must furnish that.

Insurance companies, realtors and others who originally opposed subsidy for public housing now say subsidize us instead and we may do the job. Isn't that just dandy? A billion dollars *may* be advanced the first year by big lenders to see if Uncle Sam can make it profitable but action now is needed.

Public Housing per se, is no more the field of private enterprise than private schools were. Just recently George Meany, head of the AFL–CIO, related how their predecessor unions a century ago supported the battle for public schools when private school owners fought public education tooth and nail. It was the same story with public roads opposed by the owners of the toll roads.

To subsidize private industry to produce public housing for the Have Nots is like subsidizing private schools to teach all children, and toll road owners to provide our highways!

Actually no matter which way you do Public Housing Private Enterprise is going to furnish the materials, build the buildings and reap the profits. The big difference is that Uncle Sam, with Emergency powers, can put the job together faster and get it done quicker.

DANGER OF PRESENT CALM

Make no mistake about it, the seeming calm we now enjoy may be but the eye of the hurricane. We are in dire straits. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish Sociologist-Economist who knows America well, states we have created a disadvantage group, lower than the lower class, where conditions are so bad that even motivation for betterment has been lost.

The world's leading authority on race questions, he states our problem of the ghetto is not a race problem. Only a third of the desperately poor in America are Negroes. The balance are a large number of poor whites as in Appalachia, Indians, Mexicans, Asians and immigrant groups from eastern and southern Europe.

He finds it "shocking to see how much easier it is to get appropriations for war and war preparations than to make a modest start on the development of a more wholesome urban life."

No nation of the world since Rome so flouts the affluence of the Haves in the faces of the Have-Nots. Before Rome fell it built its Coliseum in the midst of slums, just as we in America are now doing in city after city. Both those ancients and we have our priorities hind-most. Housing should come first.

The rioting Have Nots are not anarchists. They do not seek destruction of our government. Instead they are reacting much as our forebears did against Great Britain. The colonists merely wanted their rights. Our Have-Nots only seek the same for themselves.

Never before in history has our form of government lasted so long. Twice it has faced failure. The first time was under Lincoln who recalled to us that "our fathers brought forth on this Continent a new nation conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great Civil War testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure". With great valor and at great cost we survived that test.

The second time we were on the brink was in 1933. Then we had riots as now. The Battle of the Depression, though less bloody than the Civil War, was a tough fight to win. But win we did against great odds.

Before Roosevelt took office, Morris Markey, skilled reporter, published in 1932 "in every part of the country I found an acceptance of the fact that our government has broken down. More than once, I drew a clipping from my pocket and handed it to men to read. It was a letter written by George Washington to John Jay in 1787 and it ran: "Among men of reflection few will be found, I believe, who are not beginning to think that our system is more perfect in theory than in practice; and that not withstanding the boasted virtue of America it is more than probable we shall exhibit the last melancholy proof, that mankind are not competent to their own government without the means of coercion in the sovereign".

When Markey asked what we should do about it most viewed any change in our system as "the first awful step toward the nationalization of women, the murder of all self-respecting burgers and the looting of banks". Time and again though, the cry was "we must have a leader. We can't get along much further without a leader".

Summed up, as of the latter part of 1932 Markey wrote, "The ideals and the aims upon which our country was founded have disappeared. They no longer occupy our minds privately or publicly. Freedom and equality, self-government and the pursuit of happiness survive only as phrases for Fourth of July orators. Nor have these worthy desires been replaced by other ideals, other aims".

It was not long before a leader came with the shout "We have nothing to fear but fear itself!!". Once he took the helm with Congress and the people, forming a loyal, rugged crew, our Ship of State was brought through the storm, rough weather though it was. Again we had been tested and *not* found wanting.

CRISIS

The crisis of our inaction now is not unlike the crisis of the inaction early in 1932. Words, words, words are piling up but men are not doing things. Months ago the dramatically publicized Urban Coalition of business, church and civic leaders trumpeted a call to action. It met with rebukes. Nothing happened.

The Congress is getting more and more letters about the rioting in the cities and doing less and less about that problem. One public official states that "people are frustrated, they are unhappy and it is getting worse". Instead of acting, recesses and long weekends are increasing.

The excuse for inaction is that "the Dodd censure case took a lot of time—almost two months used up debating campaign financing—long discussions of Vietnam policy".

The anti-poverty program is still bogged down, so is civil rights, social security, increase in taxes, foreign aid with some Public Servants saying "Why rush when we will be here all year?" Others even inquire "Why not call it quits now and finish up next year?"

Believe it or not since the riots the Congress has not had a single bit of legislation before it to solve the problem of our cities in a big way. After being roundly defeated when trying to open that door, Senator Clark remarked, "I am not unaware that it will appear that many Senators are falling away from their compassion for the urban poor. *But this is just a minor skirmish in the war that has just begun.*"

During the depression the people milled like bewildered cattle. They were ready to stampede in any direction. It's lucky some Dictator didn't take over before Roosevelt came to the rescue. He mustered his forces and fought through to victory.

Once more that *milling* is taking place. But now there is an ominous difference. Some of them have the loco-disease caused by eating the loco-weed. It drives beasts crazy and causes them to strike out insanely in every direction. In our population today many have the loco disease from feeding on the false doctrines of the Stokely Carmichaels and hundreds of others.

We, the Haves, have provided them with most of their fodder. Lincoln proclaimed we could not survive half slave and half free. Today he would say "with so few so rich and so many so poor." As President Kennedy put it "A free society that will not help the many who are poor, cannot save the few who are rich." No wonder anger is boiling over into riots.

But it is not because of the riots, but in spite of them, we *must* act and act now. For more than thiry years the tools we have to clear slums have been little used. The two thousand Public Housing authorities in all states have built but 650,000 units. That's about 20,000 units per year for our entire nation. This graph shows the sorry record. We should have built six million instead.

SOLUTION

Our Congress is milling too. Not eager for action, as are the people, but listlessly hoping some fortuitous event may take them off the spot. They lack the courage to take a stand. Someone must act to stop the drift toward possible destruction.

No matter what the politics of any President might be today—Democrat—Republican—Liberal or Conservative—it is as much his duty to call a joint session of Congress immediately and declare a National Emergency to fight the slum battle of our cities, as it was the duty of President Roosevelt to call a joint session of Congress to declare war against the Axis Powers in December 1941.

We know the results of his call to arms. We rolled up our sleeves and did the job. If called upon now we'll do the slum job too.

The declaration of a National Emergency in our cities to rehouse the Have-Nots will again furnish the tools successfully used to house defense workers. The President then was empowered to declare Defense Areas wherein war workers had top priority.

With similar powers today Emergency Areas can be designated wherein (1) obsolete restrictive building code provisions could be waived (2) land condemnation expedited (3) zoning and land use patterns made to harmonize with practical needs (4) mobile and demountable houses provided for displaced Have-Nots until new homes are built (5) schools, community facilities, playgrounds, sewers and streets must be provided in Emergency Areas by Uncle Sam, too.

War Housing built in four years proves it can be done. Uncle Sam provided 804,675 housing units or an average of 200,000 per year.

Only Emergency powers made such a crash program possible. Without it the slum owners, the petty politicians, the quarrels between governmental units on the local level and apathy of citizens will continue to make the whole program fail. Atlanta, Georgia is a perfect example.

I quote an editorial from the October 8th Journal. "The drive hopefully undertaken early this year to have 9,800 good low cost housing units by the end of 1968 is lagging badly. It will fail unless we have new approaches. The effort began eight months ago when Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. called a housing conference, to appeal for help from business and finances to accomplish the task, and set the numerical goals.

"Unfortunately others have not given the task the priority attached to it by the Mayor, who called the housing shortage Atlanta's number one problem. The Mayor realized the results of the cities' concentration in recent years upon commercial development on urban renewal land thus displacing many of the poorest people without providing low cost housing units.

"The import of all the city progress is to make poor people more reliant than before upon public housing for which many cannot qualify, and upon the worse kind of slum housing, for which they must pay exorbitant rent—Atlanta is a slum owner's heaven. This is a slum owner's market—one of the greatest obstacles to solution of this problem is the apathetic attitude of the community as a whole."

With emergency powers in Federal hands, as during the war, the petty local filibustering can all be by-passed. By declaring Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Newark and other victimized cities Emergency Areas Uncle Sam can swing into action through local Housing Authorities, school boards, and municipal governments. Construction can start on hundreds of blocks of areas cleared two years ago by fire bombs and dynamite.

Some columnists say the wars of the slums and the war in Vietnam can't be fought at the same time. Such talk is nonsense! This graph proves it. In one war year, 1941, with Federal Funds we built more Public Housing than in any year before or since.

Our Gross National Product—the total of the nation's goods and services which forms our economic barometer—averaged 201 billion dollars during four war years while our last four years 1963–1966 averaged 610 billion dollars. The year 1966 itself was 743 billion dollars.

Estimates by economists state the GNP for 1967 will have increased more than twice the annual cost of the war in Vietnam. Who says Uncle Sam can't fight both wars at the same time!!!

Our forebearers gave us our heritage by winning the war against Great Britain. They held our nation together with their blood through the outcome of the Civil War. We all overcame the depression threat of final destruction with bold measures courageously taken and implemented.

Time for decision is again before the nation! Only forthright action, bold action, immediately taken can suffice. Let not future historians compare us to those men who failed as depicted in Archibald MacLiesh's "The Fall of the City" when he recorded "the long labor of liberty ended, they lie there".

Had President Roosevelt lived one day longer his clarion call to the nation would have been, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith".

RESOLUTION

Whereas: The Georgia Association of Housing Authorities at its Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting believes the seeming calm we now enjoy may be but the eye of the hurricane of riots yet to come, and,

Whereas: The inaction of the Congress is like its inaction during the crisis of 1932, and,

Whereas: The present threat to our form of government is as great a test of our survival as were the Civil War and the Depression.

Therefore, be it resolved: We respectfully urge the President of the United States to call a joint session of Congress to declare a National Emergency to fight the slum battle of our cities, believing it to be as much his duty as it was the duty of President Roosevelt to call a joint session of Congress to declare war on the Axis Powers in 1941, and,

Whereas: By similar action now the tools then used successfuly by Private Enterprise and Government working together to house Defense Workers can again be employed to house quickly our Slum Dwellers and to rebuild the vast areas of more than 80 cities which still lie devastated by the fire bombs and dynamite of riots, and,

Whereas: Our forebears gave us our heritage by winning the war against Great Britain, held our Nation together with their blood through the outcome of the Civil War, and overcame the Depression threat of final destruction with bold measures courageously taken and implemented, we believe time for decision is again before the Nation! Only forthright action, bold action, immediately taken can suffice.

Be it further resolved: That this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States.

This Resolution unanimously Adopted this 17th day of October, 1967 at Jekyll Island, Georgia by The Georgia Association of Housing Authorities.

BROWN NICHOLSON, Jr.,
President.

"Old Reliable" Atlas Rocket Merits Community's Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, a few years ago, one of our famous astronauts, John Glenn, remarked to a group of engineers at General Dynamics' Convair Division in San Diego, that in their work they should remember that—

> It's what's up front that counts.

Glenn was speaking of the safety of our astronauts as they are hurled into space by the Atlas missile in combination with other boosters. He went on to say that he and astronaut Scott Carpenter had the greatest confidence in the Atlas missile that pushed them into outer space on their memorable three-orbital flight. This is only one of the many praises heard about the Atlas missile, the workhorse of American rocketry. We in San Diego are proud of the record the Atlas has achieved in the space age. Her outstanding performance is a credit to the technicians, engineers, machinists, and electricians who have turned out the 521 Atlases which the General Dynamics' Division in San Diego has delivered to the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to include in the RECORD a recent editorial from the San Diego Evening Tribune concerning the performance of the Atlas missile in the space program, as follows:

"OLD RELIABLE" ATLAS ROCKET MERITS COMMUNITY'S PRAISE

In a general way, San Diego's contribution to the nation's space effort has received considerable recognition. But there also is reason for special recognition and that is the dependable performance of the Atlas booster rocket built here by General Dynamics' Convair Division.

The Atlas sometimes is described picturesquely as the workhorse of rocketry. It has earned the designation. But it is by no means a dead horse. It continues to do the job with extreme accuracy and reliability. Furthermore, it is scheduled to stay on that job for several years.

The record is most impressive. Convair has delivered 521 Atlas vehicles to the United States Air Force, and 343 have been used in launchings.

As a workhorse, the Atlas also has proved extremely versatile. During the 12-month period from Oct. 12, 1966, to Oct. 11, 1967, the score was 34 successful launches—a string of victories involving six different rocket categories.

There were the D, E and F series vehicles, first built as Air Force weapons system missiles. These were part of the Strategic Air Command's deterrent arsenal. They were refurbished and used as launch vehicles for scientific payloads. The company calls them "bonus birds" since they have served twice for different purposes and represent a bonus use for the original weapons purpose.

Also developed from the original weapons system are the Atlas Standard Launch Vehicles, SLV–3. These are designed for high reliability as scientific space boosters.

There is the LV–3, designed expressly for boosting the upper stage of the Centaur, which also is made by Convair, and the Surveyor moon exploration payload.

Then, there is the Atlas SLV–3C, a new version for boosting Centaur, which is longer and more powerful than LV–3. Just one flight of this latest vehicle has been attempted, thus far and it was successful. One of its purposes is to launch Surveyor space probes.

The launches during the past year included a variety of endeavors which are critically important to U.S. Space missions. These included Air Force classified missions, Lunar Orbiter, Centaur research and development missions, an operational missions, Gemini target vehicles, technological satellite missions, orbiting satellites, precision re-entry and advanced ballistic re-entry systems, the Mariner Venus flyby and three Surveyor exploration missions.

The list is impressive, and in fact about one-fourth of all the nation's space missions so far have been launched by Atlas.

The payloads naturally receive most of the attention and publicity. But rockets made in San Diego put them on target, and that is an achievement which reflects credit on the company and the community.

The highest commendation, however, belongs to the engineers and scientists at General Dynamics. Theirs was the knowledge, the talent and the teamwork that provided such a successful boost for the space program and for San Diego.

Truth in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most precious attributes of any man or any business or any government is a reputation for honesty. The importance of this is well stated in a recent editorial which appeared in the magazine, Steel, over the signature of its editor, Walter J. Campbell.

I include it in the RECORD as an extension of my remarks:

TRUTH IN GOVERNMENT

We have to endorse the Truth in Lending program, sponsored by the government and designed to require lenders to tell would-be borrowers the facts about the interest rates and other charges they are paying. We have known too many innocents who thought they were getting a 6 percent loan only to find they were paying several times that much.

We like equally the Truth in Packaging drive. We, too, have opened a box of cereal and found it only half full. Even though the net weight may have been printed on the package, we felt cheated.

And the Truth in Advertising campaign has great merit in principle. Perhaps because of our association with the business, we are deeply offended by those ads which make false and misleading promises—and we are thankful they are rare in industrial advertising.

We think the Truth programs designed to prevent citizens from being hoodwinked are just great.

In fact, we propose another.

Our Truth proposal was suggested by conversation with a group of Marine fliers just returned from Vietnam. Often, they said, when they were about to start a mission they found they had lots of bombs but no fuses. At other times, they had more than enough fuses but insufficient bombs. One captain claimed that in nine months he could not remember starting a mission with a full load of what he was supposed to have. The officers were bitter, not so much because of the supply foulups but because at the time they were reading stateside statements by top defense officials claiming no shortages of munitions existed. The ex-fliers didn't expect perfection; they did expect integrity.

Our Truth proposal further evolved during the pleas for a surtax increase to offset a threatened $29 billion deficit. We recall the White House budget message of January predicting a $2.1 billion deficit. That predicted deficit was based upon the national income accounts budget; the administrative budget (which indicated an $8.1 billion deficit) was discredited.

Now, that it's time to ask for more taxes, we've shifted back to the administrative budget, which promises a larger deficit.

Confusing, isnt it?

That's why we offer our proposal—Truth in Government.

WALTER J. CAMPBELL,
Editor.

A Report on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, it is a long established custom of the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce in my district to salute at an annual banquet the men and women of the Armed Forces establishment who are located in the Hampton, Newport News, and York County area. At the Armed Forces banquet held on October 25, 1967, we were privileged to hear an address by Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, who was recently assigned as Deputy Commanding General, U.S. Continental Army Command, with headquarters at Fort Monroe, Va.

Having recently returned from a tour of duty in Vietnam where he continued a career as a distinguished combat soldier and commander, General Larsen greatly sharpened the view of our business community by a most graphic description of the situation in Southeast Asia. It was such a vivid firsthand account to people who are sometimes starved for accurate information that I believe the entire Nation could benefit from it. Therefore, I am pleased to include it in the RECORD:

A REPORT ON VIETNAM

(Address by Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, to the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce, Chamberlain Hotel, October 25, 1967)

The war in Vietnam is constantly on the minds of most Americans. Nearly all with whom I have talked, after returning from two years there, have shown an acute concern in our activities in this small nation, either in the very broad aspects of our involvement, or in specific facets of our contributions. While their concerns may vary, most of them have a common complaint: They are confused. Having been home for more than two months I should like to commiserate with my confused friends because what I have read about the war at home is a hodgepodge which contributes little, if anything, to painting a clear picture for the reading American public.

Of course, what I have to report to you this evening is given through military eyes, and after I have completed my time with you there may, undoubtedly, be many unanswered questions concerning our involvement in South Vietnam. I believe my time will have been well spent, however, if I can show you some positive results of the United States effort to date.

Just a little more than two years ago the United States began sending combat troops to Vietnam in answer to its request for immediate assistance. At that point in time the North Vietnamese had already committed troops to the assistance of the Viet Cong. The Government of Vietnam forces had suffered many, and increasingly humiliating defeats throughout their country. Their military leadership had suffered from repeated coups and changes in government, each change signalling switches in military leadership, the replaced leaders either going into exile or retirement. The Army was tired and the prospect of ever seeing victory was, indeed, a very dim one. The enemy controlled practically all the road nets and railroad lines outside the large towns. Most of the rice growing areas and salt beds were enemy controlled. The snowball was rolling down the Communist hill.

Against this background the first U.S. troops arrived in Vietnam in March-April of 1965.

My area of responsibility was in the Vietnam II Corps area, roughly the middle half of Vietnam; more precisely, 46% of the land mass and about equal in size to the State of South Carolina.

Our area included the highlands adjoining Cambodia and Laos where a North Vietnam division had invaded Vietnam. On the coastal plain (in Binh Dinh province) there was another North Vietnam division consisting of two NVA regiments and one hard core Viet Cong regiment. Along the coast to the south of Binh Dinh, in Phu Yen province, was another North Vietnam division, at first with only one regiment, later with two.

The enemy units had to be located and fixed before sensible operations could be developed against them.

The first opportunity came in mid-October 1965 when three North Vietnam regiments attempted to knock out one of the Vietnam outputs called Pleime in the highlands. My instructions at that time were to reinforce Vietnam units only after they had committed all resources at their disposal against the enemy.

It became quickly apparent that the Vietnam forces were in no condition to carry a meaningful offensive operation against the North Vietnam units by themselves.

After Vietnam II Corps forces had cleared the area around Pleime, the 1st Cavalry Division was committed through them and, in a series of sharp engagements near the Cambodia border, decimated major elements of all three North Vietnam regiments.

In January 1966, in conjunction with one Vietnam regiment and a Korean brigade, we began pressure against one, and later two, North Vietnam regiments in Phu Yen Province. Over the next several months these regiments were so badly mauled that, between June of '66 and July of 1967, neither regiment sought combat, but licked their wounds, carefully avoiding contact with any of our forces.

To the north, in Binh Dinh, in September 1966 the 1st Cavalry Division, working closely with a Vietnam division and a major portion of a Korean division, enveloped and all but destroyed two enemy regiments and a separate battalion. Pressure continued unabated in this area and gradually moved northward where the 1st Cavalry Division and Vietnam units have attacked and all but destroyed the third regiment of the North Vietnam division in that region.

Elsewhere in this corps tactical zone similar attacks and pressures from U.S., Vietnam and Korean troops have reduced enemy *strength, influence,* and *effectiveness* to the point where a prediction was made seven months ago that in the Vietnam II Corps area along the coastal plain, where 80% of their people live, there would not be any more major combat. To date, this has been borne out.

Against the pessimism of some of our responsible Americans, against spectacular reporting of many of our news representatives in Vietnam, against the confusion that has been allowed to cloud the true story that has evolved in Vietnam, I should like to enumerate some statistics which show progress that has been made in two years in the area I am describing.

From almost no control over the main roads in 1965, there are now more than 1000 miles, or 90% of the highways, that are open and safe for military and civilian vehicles during daylight hours.

From almost no railroad traffic in 1965, there are now 65%, or more than 200 miles of railroad open and being used.

From more than 60% of the rice land being under Viet Cong domination in 1965, the government now controls more than 90% of the rice growing area.

In '65 the Viet Cong controlled nearly all the salt bearing land. Now the government controls about 95% of these areas.

In '65 the Viet Cong controlled more than 1.3 million of the 2.9 million people. Today they control only about 300,000, and these are mostly montagnards who are scattered in the hills and back country.

Last month even the skeptics were impressed by the turnout of voters in the national election, both in the cities and in the countryside.

Where people have been shut off from the rest of the country for years they can now travel relatively safely to neighboring communities, to contact their friends and relatives and to develop trade.

Terrorist incidents have been reduced impressively during the past two years.

Let us see what Vietnam faces in the way of problems.

Two and one half years ago she was on the verge of collapse in every sense of the word. Her military forces were tired, demoralized, and their leaders had been purged through successive coups in government.

Most of her eligible manpower has been in uniform for many years. In spite of criticisms to the contrary, the Vietnam forces have taken losses, in proportion to her size, commensurate with those of the Germans or Russians in World War I and World War II.

This is an underdeveloped country which we are trying to build into a modern nation, while a war is going on. For all practical purposes we started from scratch. The French left an *exploited, impoverished* country.

Her people live in thousands of local hamlets, sort of closely knit family groups, loyal unto themselves, and politically caring little about the communities around them. This condition has made it difficult to develop a sense of national pride because they have never known what that term means.

Corruption has been a serious problem. Many people in responsible positions, who ten years ago had nothing, have not been able to resist the temptations of easy money through graft. These persons are being weeded out as fast as evidence can prove their guilt.

After our troops had been in Vietnam about one year a newspaperman commented that after this length of time there were still so many unsolved problems. My reply was: "Of course we still have problems. That is why we came here. But the problems we have today are not the same ones we had last month, and last month's problems are better off today."

General Westmoreland has been cognizant of the deficiencies that have existed in the Vietnam armed forces. For various good reasons the timing for correcting them has not been uniform.

I should like now to enumerate to you some of the changes in the Vietnamese armed forces which are, and certainly will be in the months to come, improving their effectiveness:

1. It is becoming easier to give direct commissions to deserving non-commissioned officers in order to make the most of proven leadership abilities.

2. Battlefield commissions are being presented to demonstrated leaders to tap the worthy reservoir of combat leadership.

3. An officer candidate school has been established to supplement the shortage of officers.

4. An overhaul of management practices has begun to give more effective: personnel procurement, training, financial management, and logistical support.

5. An increase in advisory effort is giving more assistance at lower levels.

6. Better living conditions through more family housing and more allowances for soldiers with large families, plus wider commissary availability for dependents, are all contributing to better standards for the armed forces.

7. Improvements throughout the school system are producing better qualified and more experienced leadership.

8. Several methods of closer working relationships between U.S. and Vietnamese units have been fostered, with the ultimate goal of preparing indigenous forces to take over responsibility for major areas where U.S. units now are predominate.

Solid leadership is developing among both the military and civilian organizations. A younger, more vigorous generation, with a dedication toward nation building, is evolving.

The fact that the current government has existed for two and one-half years lends support to continuity of solid programs and progress now under way.

To the criticism that the Vietnamese have not contributed enough to make it worth our cost and sacrifice I would say that one of the best sources to judge the worthiness of our efforts in Vietnam would be the *American troops, themselves,* who serve their country there. I would say that for every uniformed man who agrees with the critics, there are 20 who feel that our mission, our cause, and the promising results justify our efforts.

Those who serve in Vietnam, who work closely with the Vietnamese, who fight with them and support them logistically, who see their strengths and their weaknesses, their sincerity and warmth as individuals, their stubborn willingness under adverse conditions to stand against the enemy; those who know about the Vietnamese soldiers' separation from family for long periods of time, and the hardships of the dependents left alone, those who know the simple honesty of the farmer, and his appreciation for help that is given him; those who have witnessed the courageous attitude of whole communities who now side with the government against bands of guerrillas who try to take over control by assassinating hamlet chiefs and other local officials; those who know these things are our officers and men who have fought for the salvation of these worthy and struggling people, believe in what they are doing, *what America is doing.*

I might add that the young men in the service of their country today are the finest we have ever had in uniform. As teenagers they might worry you and me as parents, but put them in uniform, cut their hair, teach them to stand up straight and say, "Yes, sir;" then throw every challenge in the book at them and their response is tremendous. Don't ever worry about young America.

Some of our anti-Vietnam critics seem to want instant results, instant success, instant solution when a problem arises. Take Korea. In 1950 the Korean forces were ineffective. It took many patient years to develop both a viable government and strong armed forces. Look at Korea today, fighting proudly beside the U.S. and RVN forces in Vietnam. There was nothing instant about their development, but observe the results when the product emerged.

The Vietnam war has no front line. It can be all around you or in your midst; or it can fade away as fast as it appears. While the Viet Cong and North Vietnam armies were winning, they would continue their battles sometimes for as long as five days against the Vietnam troops. Today, however, they seek no on-the-ground confrontation with U.S. forces, except under conditions they consider favorable to them.

Contact is usually short in duration. Almost always in dense jungle, with two or three avenues of escape open to them when they must break contact. The enemy concentrates his efforts on small outposts of Vietnam units, called popular forces, or regional forces, which have minimal artillery support and communications.

In recent months even these local units have punished their adversaries to such an extent that attacks on them are becoming fewer and less intense.

Two years ago we did not believe we could ever cause the enemy to be short of food, but this is exactly what has happened. By controlling the large rice growing areas and by selectively destroying, with chemicals, the small rice patches and other remaining food growing acreage in enemy held areas, we have forced the major North Vietnam commands to spend most of their time looking for food.

Roads are no longer available to the enemy. Therefore, carts and trucks cannot be used by them. All supplies must be carried on the backs of men. From captured documents, prisoners and returnees, we have learned that, whereas two years ago the enemy had ample local sources to get carrying parties to move their supplies, today, since nearly all people are under government control, there is no ready source for such labor. In fact, Viet Cong losses today exceed recruited gains by about three or four to one, and the difference must be made up by NVA replacements, if they are made up at all.

I believe I can honestly describe the enemy morale in Vietnam today as low. He is short of food, medicine, ammunition, replacements. His contact with local people is infrequent. Local people avoid him, although he is told when he leaves North Vietnam that the Vietnamese will welcome him as a liberator. He receives no mail from home. There is no rotation policy, so he has no assurance when he can be rotated back home.

Since we have methods of knowing generally when and where he concentrates his units, he is hounded and pursued, and he must constantly be on the move to avoid annihilation.

In the II Corps area, alone, we developed 64 airfields throughout the zone. They are so located that we can support a major military operation anywhere in the zone by air, if the roads are not satisfactory. I will pay tribute to the Viet Cong and No. Vietnam soldiers by saying that they continue to fight well when fight they must. They are effectively and well led and their discipline is commendable. But their hearts are less and less inclined to be aggressive.

On the other hand there has been a noticeable improvement in the esprit, the aggressiveness and willingness to close with the enemy on the part of the Vietnam troops.

Are we winning the war?

I would say that the snowball is on the Government of Vietnam hill, now, and that it is gathering momentum. Yes, I would say we *are* winning the war and I think there is plenty of back-up, to insure that conditions will get better each month.

Militarily, the U.S. participation is getting into high gear. Our own effectiveness is increasing each day. I would say the same about the two and one third Korean divisions fighting alongside us. The Vietnamese armed forces are becoming more professional, and the results of their efforts are cause for optimism among the U.S. advisors.

More and more of the population is coming under government control. Protection of villages and hamlets is becoming more efficient. Revolutionary development teams, organized to assist pacified populated areas, are steadily increasing and gaining experience. More roads are being opened, repaired and put to commercial use.

The first national election for a president has taken place successfully, and the concerted efforts of the VC to disrupt the process was a dismal failure.

In the highlands, which is populated mainly by Montagnards, ethnically different from the Vietnamese, there is now the first specific agreement between these people and the Government to guarantee them equal treatment and assistance to speed up their development toward modernizing their way of life. In the past the disagreements between these people and the Vietnam Government has been a serious problem. The Vietnam Corps Commander, General Vinh Loc, has been responsible for rapid strides in the right direction with these people.

Except, perhaps, in the immediate area of the DMZ the enemy cannot hope to match the grinding down of their efforts by U.S., Vietnamese, and other free world forces.

Unfortunately, what has been reported here in the States throughout the Vietnam war has been the daily spectacular, the news that makes headlines.

The slow, deliberate progress of nation-building is not spectacular. And yet, in the two and one half years that have transpired since U.S. forces entered the conflict there has been a dramatic change taking place throughout this small, war torn but emerging country. Let there be no mistake about it, the officers and soldiers who serve in Vietnam see the progress, feel the results from week to week. In my judgment the Vietnamese have all the stuff that it will take to emerge from this war a *proud, successful* nation, just as Korea has.

If what I have just described to you were not true, do you believe for one moment that the tremendous enthusiasm of the American soldiers in supporting the Vietnamese could be possible?

America has made a commitment to the Vietnam people to come to their assistance and to protect them against North Vietnam military invasion. We as a nation are bound to live up to this commitment. The war goes far deeper than merely protecting Vietnam. Our presence there spells the difference between a Southeast Asia oriented toward the free world and one which is oriented toward the Communist world. Our critics know this.

Dedicated citizens will see to it that our commitment in Southeast Asia will be honored in whole measure. The raw fact is that, our having made the courageous decision to act in Vietnam, those who are not *for* it are, in effect, against it.

Although fighting in this war, in any war for that matter, is a young man's burden, the moral and political burden of support rests on the shoulders of *all* Americans.

Your young, superb soldiers, sailors, marines, airmen, have earned and deserve that full measure of support *from all* Americans.

Ground-Breaking Ceremonies of the Michael Kirwan Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the remarks by Gov. Ralph M. Paiewonsky, of the Virgin Islands, at the ground-breaking ceremonies of the Michael Kirwan project on September 29, 1967:

There are few public ceremonies from which I derive more personal satisfaction than one such as this. This administration accepts the fact that providing sufficient and adequate housing remains the No. 1 problem of the islands. And every move we make toward a solution of that problem is an accomplishment which I find most gratifying.

In breaking ground for the Michael Kirwan housing project, we are starting work on the actual construction of a complex which will provide homes for about 500 of our fellow Virgin Islanders.

This marks a phase of progress which all can see—as the landscape is rearranged, foundations are laid, and walls rise. But I would like to remind you that before the bulldozers could start to roll, years of effort had to be invested by dedicated men and women, in both our local government and the Federal Government, to make this day possible.

This will be the fifth housing project to be launched in the islands since 1961, representing a total of 962 units to accommodate approximately that number of families.

I am happy to report that the official figures indicate an acceleration of progress, for in the previous 10 years, subsequent to the initiation of the program in 1951, the total number of units provided came to only 530.

I consider the name selected for these apartments to be a particularly appropriate one. Congressman Michael Kirwan has proved to be a most understanding and helpful friend of the Virgin Islands in the U.S. House of Representatives.

It is unfortunate that the press of duties in Washington has prevented him from being here today, but I am sure he is with us in spirit.

I visited this site with him during his last visit to St. Thomas, and I can report to you that he was deeply moved that this project, so in keeping with his compassion for people and his devotion to the welfare of the family, would bear his name.

Mr. Kirwan's years in Congress extend back to the New Deal era, and he shared with Franklin Delano Roosevelt the concern of that great President for what he termed "one-third of a nation, ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed."

The Roosevelt philosophy of providing government support for the people who need it most is one that thas been perpetuated in the public career of this fine Congressman. And the housing program we advance today fits within the design of the far reaching goals of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

As I have said, it is a thrilling experience to look out over this site and visualize the dreams that soon will become a reality here for so many people.

And it is a pleasure to contemplate the fact that a number of events similar to this are scheduled for the near future.

Hopefully, shortly after construction starts here, we will be breaking ground for an addition to Berg's Home at Hospital Grounds. The two projects are related, and the one at Berg's Home will give us 24 more units of modern housing.

Looking over to St. Croix, we see the housing site at Mon Bijou, where 300 units of new housing will stand upon the completion of work soon to get under way.

Due to start by the middle of November or in the closing weeks of the month are two separate projects in St. Thomas for people of moderate income. They will be constructed at Estate Nadir and Estate Bordeaux, and each will add 100 units to the housing accommodations of the islands.

The FHA has approved construction of 300 units of turnkey housing at Tutu to be added to the 319 new homes already occupied there.

What we are doing here in Lindberg Bay and what is in the immediate offing in the other areas I have mentioned will enrich our culture, elevate our community standards, and advance our campaign to provide decent housing for everyone on these islands.

We are determined, through this program, to offer the people of the islands, new hope, new aspirations, new opportunities.

I want to commend all the personnel involved in the planning which has led to this groundbreaking—the people in Washington, their representatives in the federal offices in Puerto Rico, and the director and staff of our own Housing Authority here.

I congratulate you and I encourage you to carry on with enthusiasm so that the task may be completed and the doors thrown open to tenants at the earliest possible date.

What remains to be done in housing in our islands still presents a challenge to us all. But the people of the Virgin Islands are equal to that challenge. And together we will meet it and solve it in a time not too distant.

The Kee Report: Russian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's pulic service radio and television newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report is the Russian revolution.

The report follows:

This is Jim Kee, bringing you the Kee Report.

A few days from now, official ceremonies will commence to mark one of the most tragic events in human history. That event was the coming to power of the Communist Government in Russia 50 years ago.

The best way to assess the value of our Democratic institutions here at home is to review what happened in Russia. The uprising against the Czar in the Spring of 1917 was a genuine revolution. Its sponsors believed in Democracy. A constituent assembly was called to form a permanent Government, based upon the popular will.

Then came one of the most cynical acts in history. On the eve of the first assembly meeting, a group of conspirators seized control of the Government. Their first act was to dissolve the duly-elected assembly. Next, they announced publicly that they were compelled to take over the Government in order to protect the rights of the Russian worker and the Russian peasant.

Let us see how well they redeemed that sacred pledge. The Communists, or Bolsheviks, as they were known then, pretended to favor popular rule. Yet, within hours of taking over, they abolished freedom of the press. The public was assurred that this was only a temporary measure but it was never repealed and never will be. The Communists then set up a bureau of secret police that was even more efficient and deadly than the secret police force of the Czar. By these two measures, the Communists established a rigid system of thought control throughout all of Russia which exists to this day.

What about the pledge to guard the rights of the workers and peasants?

One of the first acts of the Communist regime was to outlaw labor unions. The result was a vicious form of enforced servitude. When workers are forbidden the right to strike, they are helpless to protect their basic rights. Naturally, the ban on strikes was labelled a temporary measure, but it has never been lifted.

The laborer in Russia today works where he is told to work. His wages and working conditions are fixed by bureaucrats, and if he rebels against this tyranny, he is subject to the most serious reprisals. In the last half century, the free world has made wonderful strides in raising the living standards of those who toil for a living. Wages have gone up and the hours of labor shortened. The worker enjoys better food, better transportation, and better housing than he ever did before. In addition, a hundred innovations have been made to make life easier for the mass of citizens.

What about Russia? In 50 years of power, the Communist regime has failed to initiate a single measure designed to improve the lot of those who toil with their hands. On the contrary, the Moscow planners have plowed the substance of Russia into military weapons intended to convert the whole world into a Communist prison.

The farmer in Russia has fared no better than the laborer. Promised the land for themselves, the peasants have been herded on to collective farms where they remain prisoners at the will of the Government. As a result, the Communists have made a ghastly failure of agriculture because they fail to understand that free men work better than slaves.

The Communists betrayed the Russian people 50 years ago. Since then, they have betrayed the whole human race by turning the world into an armed camp.

Thank you for listening.

Eighteenth Anniversary of the Telephone Loan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to salute the Rural Electrification Administration on the 18th anniversary of its telephone loan program. In particular, I would like to cite the tremendous contribution made by REA engineers toward reducing construction costs so that more people may enjoy telephone service. I commend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, for his splendid leadership in being the author and moving force behind REA telephone legislation in 1949.

During the 18 years since the REA telephone loan program was launched, the cost of nearly everything from wages, to raw materials, to manufactured products has risen. Yet, the cost of constructing a circuit mile of rural telephone line has actually gone down.

Credit for this achievement goes almost entirely to engineering breakthroughs in equipment design and construction advances of REA engineers working in close cooperation with the telephone industry.

Rural people enjoy a quality of telephone service almost undreamed of 18 years ago.

Today, the crank telephone has all but been replaced in rural homes. Modern dial telephones provide instant communication anywhere in the world at a minimum of inconvenience.

Overhead telephone lines are being placed underground at a rapid rate, helping to beautify the general area and provide better systems—free from the hazards of weather. And, through newly developed techniques pioneered by REA engineers, the cost of these and other changes is consistently being lowered.

For example, voice frequency designed to meet REA engineering standards boost the strength of signals going over rural telephone lines and allow rural systems to use less expensive cables in new construction. Last year more than 30 percent of all circuits constructed by REA borrowers used this smaller wire and saved as much as $38 on each circuit mile of line constructed.

The cost of these repeaters has also been brought down. Today, three manufacturers, by following REA engineering specifications, are producing repeaters at half the cost of previous models.

REA borrowers make further savings by utilizing existing construction to serve new subscribers rather than build new lines. Low-cost subscriber carrier equipment designed to REA engineering specifications is now being used throughout the telephone industry. Embodying the latest concepts in electronic design, this equipment is simple to install and maintain. The wire formerly used to serve one subscriber can now serve up to six rural households simultaneously.

By using finer gage cable and changing existing equipment REA borrowers were able to save more than $6 million last year alone.

Engineering achievements in the REA telephone program have contributed substantially toward realization of two long-term objectives of REA—area coverage and telephone service for rural people comparable in quality and rates to what people in adjacent urban centers enjoy. Lower construction costs contribute greatly to the ability of the systems to reach out and serve less populated areas.

In this brief summary, I have touched on only a few of the engineering advances. Others include the design and testing of plastic pipe that will reduce the cost of this type of underground construction by nearly two-thirds; the virtual elimination of costly and sometimes scarce copper in many phases of telephone system construction releases this vital metal for defense and other purposes. Advances in design of central office equipment, it is believed, will permit rural systems to extend their radius of operation by more than 30 percent.

On this, the 18th birthday of the REA telephone program, I feel that we should recognize that the REA engineering advances have contributed greatly to the success of this program and were made possible by the excellent cooperation the agency has received from all segments of the telephone industry.

While the REA telephone program has been a success in bringing service to areas that would not have received this service, we should not overlook the great work of the gentleman from Texas, Hon. BOB POAGE, who fought tirelessly for the enactment of his bill which created and authorized the REA telephone system.

Those Remarkable Boyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, American perseverance is almost as characteristic of the United States as applie pie. Today with automation and pushbutton living, there are rare instances of the Horatio Alger kind of success story. There is much talk of the downtrodden individual and how America is no longer the land of golden opportunity. Yet, the spirit of perserverance still exists as it did in the lives of Climmie and Ethel M. Boyer, residents of my district. They are Negroes who worked as domestics—they dreamed of having a good education, yet Ethel reached only the sixth grade while Climmie managed to get as far as the ninth grade. However, their dream has been realized in their children.

There are seven Boyer children, and among them are 12 college degrees—five hold both bachelor's and masters, one is working toward a Ph. D., and the two youngest have bachelor's. Through the efforts of their parents, they all received an excellent education. They have even amplified their parents' original goal—they are now all teachers helping others to receive an education.

The children helped each other, and the parents sacrificed their own desires for those of their children. Education has always been their main objective, and in 1963, after an absence of 44 years from school, Ethel returned to finish the sixth grade. I insert a story published in the Orlando Sentinel, which describes the life of the Boyers, in the RECORD as a means of applauding the efforts of this couple and of illustrating the existence of American perseverance. It should be an inspiration to all Americans.

THOSE REMARKABLE BOYERS

(By Jean Yothers)

Since one-half of knowledge is knowing where to find it, the other half must be to thirst for it in the beginning.

The remarkable Boyers, five brothers and two sisters, who were born and brought up in this area, bear this out. From an early age, the seven children of Mr. and Mrs. Climmie Boyer Sr., Clark Street, Eatonville, burned with a powerful quest for knowledge, a handed-down desire from their parents who had never had the opportunity for formal education.

The young Boyers ran such a fever for college degrees that today, as adult men and women, there are 12 degrees represented among them. Five hold bachelor's and master's degrees and the two youngest members hold bachelor's. One of the Boyer men is now working toward his Ph. D.

All are outstanding educators, a credit to their race, church, community and proud parents.

Was it happenstance that the seven Boyers successfully scaled the tree of knowledge when family finances were against them, when it would've been easier to file and forget their academic ambitions?

To understand their unified aspirations is to know the senior Boyers, Climmie and Ethel M., a noble couple who dreamed, prayed and worked as domestics in hopes that one day their children could make up for their lack of learning. "I always dreamed of being a school teacher," said Mrs. Boyer whose education was interrupted in the fifth grade. "Both of us should have been educated people," Boyer concurred. His education stopped after the ninth grade.

Climmie Jr. (also known as Clem), 35, has a B. S. degree in mathematics from Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach; a master of arts for teachers from Rollins College and is currently studying math in the graduate institute at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge.

James, 33, is former assistant principal at Carver Junior High. He has a B. S. in business education from Bethune-Cookman, master's in education from Florida A&M University; and is now working toward his Ph.D. in school administration at Ohio State University, Columbus.

Horace, 32, has a B. A. in music from Bethune-Cookman; M. A. in music from Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester. Today, he is assistant professor of music at Brevard Junior College, Cocoa.

Joe, 27, has a B. A. in music from Tennessee A&I University; master's in music education from University of Illinois and is band director at Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Timothy, 26, has a B. A. in religion and social studies from Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C., and is now teaching English and social studies in Enfield, N.C.

Minnie (Mrs. Claude Woodruff), 30, received a B. A. in social studies and English from Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.; an M. A. in elementary education and supervision from Indiana State University and is currently instructor in the reading laboratory at McCoy Elementary School. Her husband, Claude Woodruff, is on the faculty of Jones High.

Edythe Boyer, 22, recently obtained her B. S. in biology from Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. She now teaches science and mathematics at Wheatley High School, Apopka.

Obtaining the 12 degrees wasn't cheaper by the dozen for the Boyers. "We didn't always go to the colleges of our choice," said Minnie Woodruff. "We went where the scholarships were." Even with scholarship aid, it was tough sledding to meet financial obligations and all the Boyers worked during collegiate days.

When one finished college and began to teach, he assisted the others in covering their college expenses. "They sort of pushed each other along," said Mrs. Boyer.

A closely-knit, happy family, the Boyers are bound by other similarities.

All were born in Winter Park with the exception of Clem Jr., who is a native Orlandoan. All were toddlers at the Winter Park Day Nursery. "We left them there when we went to work," said Mrs. Boyer. All were graduated from the old Hannibal Elementary School in Winter Park. All were graduated from the old Hungerford High School in Eatonville. All seven grew up in the same Sunday school at the Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal), corner of Lyman and Canton, Winter Park. All are musical. Today, all are school teachers.

Two of the boys teamed together at an early age and began performing gospel songs in churches and auditoriums. James and Horace (known as the Boyer Brothers) helped themselves tremendously to get through college almost by singing their way through. They still occasionally offer gospel concerts in churches.

All the brothers are now married: Clem Jr. to the former Juanita Nelson, Eatonville; James to the former Edna Medlock, Orlando; Horace to the former Gloria Blue, Cocoa; Joe Louis to the former Patricia Bramlette, Nashville; Timothy to the former Orace Lockett, Louisiana.

Mr. and Mrs. Boyer also are the proud grandparents of five (three boys and two girls).

Whereas the Boyer children credit their parents with instilling them with academic aims, their mother attributes it all to the Lord. "I gave them back to the Lord as soon as they were born and He's done right by them" she said softly. "My dream was always to see them go to school as I had wanted to. Now it's been realized. If I should leave tomorrow I'll leave happy."

The Boyers are strong personalities with an equally strong faith. Boyer Sr. is manager of Reb's Barbershop, 118 N. Parramore, and "an all 'round maintenance man at the Maitland House of Beef restaurant." He also has the title, "reverend," and at one time served as pastor in Pentecostal pulpits in Orlando and Seville, near Palatka. Mrs. Boyer, for many years prominent in church and civic work, still is a missionary for her church but has given up much of her community activities after suffering two heart attacks.

The senior Boyers, who have been married 39 years, came to Orlando from Georgia. He was from Tifton, she from Statesboro. In 1933, they moved from Orlando to Winter Park where they resided until 1962 when they moved to Eatonville.

Home in Winter Park for the nine Boyers was a small four-room house on Douglas Avenue with double-decker beds. "There were just too many people per square foot," laughed Edythe, the baby of the family.

"But we never went hungry despite our circumstances," chimed in Minnie (Boyer) Woodruff.

"Speak for yourself," said Mrs. Boyer. "Once when your father was out of town, between jobs, I went without in order to feed your children . . . and lost 10 pounds."

Mrs. Boyer is widely known throughout Central Florida as "mother of all those Boyers." She is also much admired for her scholastic record as probably the nation's longest drop-out. In 1963, after an absence of 44 years from school, she returned to finish the sixth grade. "Everybody thought it was so funny when I registered for enrollment . . . last time in school, 1919," she said.

But back she went. With her sons and daughters away from home she resumed her neglected education, enrolling in the adult education (night) class at Jones High. She was graduated from the sixth grade and if a magna cum laude citation had been given, it would've been hers.

Unflagging Support for Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, my congressional district, the Third District of Texas, is blessed with some very fine newspapers, of sensible and patriotic editorial policy.

I should like to submit to the consideration of my colleagues in the House today editorials from papers in my district, the Irving Daily News and the Dallas Morning News. These publications have lent unflagging support to the efforts of our fighting men in Vietnam and I believe these two editorial statements are worthy of the attention of each and every Member of Congress.

The Irving Daily News commends a recent spontaneous show of support for our men in uniform, in contrast to the elaborately planned march on the Pentagon on October 21. The Dallas Morning News astutely emphasizes the many warning signals we have received, underlining the necessity of U.S. perseverance in Vietnam. The editorials follow:

[From the Irving (Tex.) Daily News, Oct. 31, 1967]

FINALLY!

Today's adult generation can take heart that some flame of patriotism still burns in the hearts of the youth of our nation.

Such speculation could have been considered at a low ebb no longer than one week ago, when thousands of bearded youth—and adults—gathered in Washington to scream obscenities at President Johnson and generally disgrace our nation with a protest against the war in Vietnam.

It also bothered a fellow in Wakefield, Mass., named Paul P. Christopher, a 19-year-old former high school dropout. But Paul did a lot more about his anger and relieved his frustration by organizing a pro-Vietnam war demonstration.

Over 25,000 high school students and other young adults—including some infamous hippies and Hell's Angels—gathered in the Boston suburb and articulated their support for our servicemen risking and sacrificing their lives in Vietnam.

Perhaps our servicemen can take some solace in the fact that young Christopher took only one week to organize his rally in Mass., while it took months of planning and organization by various "peace groups" around the nation to attract approximately the same number of demonstrators to the Washington rally.

Response to Christopher's appeal for a display of support from the young people of Mass. was heartening because the area has had a reputation of opposing President Johnson and his efforts in the Vietnam conflict. It seems to demonstrate what many have felt for a long time despite what the polls say. The American people—and a vast majority of them—support the struggle for freedom in the Southeastern Asian nation and back the Administration's efforts and the servicemen.

While the "peace lovers" dominate the national press and television, they are not truly representative of the mood of the American people and their attitude of the war. But perhaps Ho Chi Minh does not know that. After all he doesn't get much of a view of the real grassroot American.

It is doubtful that the anti-war demonstrations have done anything more than prolong the conflict by giving the North Vietnamese false heart in the lack of courage and perserverance of the American people. And the demonstrations have not done a great deal for the morale of the Americans who are fighting the dirty thankless war.

Young Christopher did, what many Americans have probably thought about doing but "just never got around to."

The Daily News hopes that the successful demonstration accomplishes what Christopher desires—rallies supporting our nation's efforts in Vietnam all over the United States.

Perhaps it would not hurt if some adults took some time to articulate their patriotism and support of the war. It's our country too, you know.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Nov. 2, 1967]

We've Been Warned

"If we lose the war, it's not going to be out there—it's going to be here at home."

Lt. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, until recently commander of the Marines in Vietnam, explained to a Dallas audience the strategy by which the Communists expect to defeat America—let America defeat itself.

Gen. Walt wasn't dropping any "top secret" information. No high-powered James Bond spy operations were required to determine the Reds' plan for winning this war. The plan was published 30 years ago by Mao Tse-tung; and various Red Chinese and North Vietnamese leaders have explained it over and over again, in books, in broadcasts and in interviews within the press.

By this plan, the Reds do not go all-out to win the shooting war, they merely make sure that it keeps going. Dragging out a war is much easier for a dictatorship than a democratic government. The former does not require popular support to maintain the war effort. The latter does.

The protracted shooting war is necessary for the communist plan but not decisive, for Reds' strategy is to win victory on the psychological and political fronts. And the primary battleground is in the enemy's own country.

Many years ago Mao declared that communist people's war involves:

1. Undermining the morale of the enemy's forces.
2. Mobilizing world opinion in favor of the "underdog" Communists and against the Communists' opponents, who are portrayed as imperialists and oppressors.
3. Finally, using the discontent and war-weariness of the enemy's people to cause the collapse of the home front and the war effort.

There are signs that the Communists are having some success with this strategy now. The Gallup polls have shown that majorities in four Western nations—and pluralities in two others—want the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam.

In the U.S. itself, the Communists have found enough willing and unwitting allies to stage noisy and well-publicized demonstrations against the war. More significantly, large numbers of average citizens are lashing out against the administration, and calling on it to get the war over, either by winning or quitting.

And this declining support for the President's Vietnam policy is beginning to cause some understandable bitterness and discouragement in those who fight for freedom, evidenced in the feature by Mike Engleman on this page.

At Indiana University the other day, a small number of hecklers tried to shout down the secretary of state during a speech. In Washington, Vietniks stormed the Pentagon, shouting obscenities and cursing the President, his family and his policy of resisting communism.

Premier Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam hailed these Americans as the communist aggressors' "companions in arms" and he was dead serious. The Reds have told us their plan for victory and the Reds' "companions in arms" are trying to carry it out. The active American allies of communism are the vanguard of a movement that the Asian Reds expect to win the war for them.

Tragically, the movement now seems to be gaining support from politicians who hope to make political gains by playing on frustration with the indecisive war. And its numbers are increased by the apathy of those citizens who, as one Vietnam Marine put it, "are too comfortable" to support the defense of a small, remote republic.

The Communists have won before with their well-known plan. They believe that they are winning with it now. And, if they are successful, we can be sure that they will try to win again with it in other places.

America has never been beaten in a war. But it can be beaten in this war, in America and by Americans. We have had warnings. We would do well to heed them before it's too late.

The People Understand What Is at Stake in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, one fact about the controversy here at home over Vietnam that has received little attention is that while many self-proclaimed experts oppose the President, millions of plain, old-fashioned, solid citizens support him.

The great armchair strategists may issue their brilliant pronouncements, but most of us seem to understand very well and very clearly what this war is all about.

A case in point, Mr. Speaker, is a recent editorial in a Philadelphia trade paper, the Building and Realty Record, which seems to have little difficulty in citing the major reason for American involvement in the struggle.

Call it Vietnam or what you will—

The paper declares—

the forces of the opposition are Communist. You can sit back and let them piece by piece take possession of the world and finally surrender this country to them, or you can oppose them at every turn in the name of liberty.

I cannot think of a better explanation of what Vietnam is all about. It seems that the voice of the people is still the wisest voice of all.

I insert this editorial in the Record:

Since everybody is getting into the act, we might as well have our say . . . Vietnam is the one national worry that bothers most Americans, most of all.

During the Eisenhower years the United States had a military-economic mission in Saigon. The first major involvement took place under President Kennedy. During this period, President Diem was overthrown and killed.

And Johnson inherited this mess.

Our President has been criticized for optimistic statements that now seem unjustified . . . and there some confusion about the purpose of U.S. participation.

Was it to save "that poor little land"?

Or is the uppermost problem, American security in a world where Communism is still the enemy?

We cannot go back to 1965 when we could have withdrawn without grievous damage to the U.S. interest.

Now, in 1967, it appears that while the war may be a calamity, any kind of abrupt withdrawal would be equally calamitous—and may be more so.

If the truth be told we re fighting a holding war to contain communism.

Call it Vietnam or what you will, the forces of the opposition are communists.

You can sit back and let them piece by piece take possession of the world and finally surrender this country to them, or you can oppose them at every turn in the name of liberty.

For the communists are taught that they have liberty when . . . in fact it does not exist for them.

"Workmen of the world unite, cast off your chains." That is their slogan but they fail to add, "and let us forge new chains for you."

For indeed in communist countries there is not only the stifling of means of expression, but also the people are regimented no less than slaves.

Indeed some people may like this, but the history of our country proves that our citizens have not hesitated in the past to defend their liberties.

When Patrick Henry said "Give me liberty or give me death" he voiced the sentiments of a people who knew and understood the meaning of bondage.

In our country, where every man is an individual and the owner of his own Island, he is devoted to the idea of promoting liberty for all mankind and especially to the defense of his own freedom.

It is unpatriotic to criticize our Government by holding mass meetings and publishing advertisements to promote further opposition because, above all it gives great comfort to the enemy, for it indicates a divided nation, which is definitely not true.

This Nation is not divided in its intent to hold communism.

Look back and study what Stalin did to his people.

This is in your own lifetime.

And the present regime is not much better.

Consider the writers in jail in Russia for voicing their opinions.

And Tito in Yugoslavia and in China where you have to carry the holy book of Mao and recite the silly ritual at every opportunity.

Look about you at your own land where every man is a King, where opportunity is unlimited.

True, there are some that fall by the wayside for one reason or another, but the entire body of our citizenship is trying to find ways and means to rehabilitate the fallen.

Citizens, you have every reason to uphold the hands of our President at this time, for he is devoted to the promotion of every blessing that our situation affords. He has proved a calm and considerate leader and our duty is to stand by his side with encouragement and not with abuse.

Responsible Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. WYDLER, Mr. Speaker, the recently formed National Committee for

Responsible Patriotism is dedicated to putting the U.S. image in proper perspective.

According to Charles W. Wiley, executive director of the committee:

> A society cannot survive without respect for law—and a nation cannot survive when it fails to honor its heroes.

With this in mind, the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism launched Operation Gratitude on the weekend of October 21-22.

The effort, dedicated to support for U.S. servicemen in Vietnam, was described in a Newsday editorial, which follows:

Let There Be Light

A few motorists on the highways and parkways of Long Island during the weekend may have been puzzled by the number of cars with their headlights on in broad daylight. There was no reason to be puzzled. These were people registering, in the quietest and most effective way possible, their support of our soldiers in Vietnam. A little rally at Battery Park in New York City, a few mentions on radio and TV, and the mass of Long Island citizens responsed. The call was, "Turn on your headlights to show that you support our troops." These activities were tagged Operation Gratitude and former Vice President Richard M. Nixon rightly called them "commendable and timely."

What a contrast all this represented to the pushing and shoving that marked the demonstrations at Brooklyn College on Thursday and at the Pentagon over the weekend. For mob scenes will not end the war, and fists and clubs will not end the war. Indeed, the headlights on the cars were evidence that a great many people in our community are not willing to end the war unless, and until, it can be done honorably.

The Brooklyn College violence was an example of stupidity, and in part calculated provocation, engendered by students dedicated to the extreme left. Two Navy recruiters set up a table on the campus so that students who wished to go into service could obtain information. The result was a near riot, the summoning of the police, and some unpleasant confrontations. Calling in the police has been the last resort on the campus, but in this instance it apparently was unavoidable. The interference with the recruiters, to quote City Council President Frank O'Connor, was unconscionable, "and cannot be tolerated . . . on or off any campus in this city."

The so-called march on Washington was handled admirably by the District of Columbia and the federal government. It is worth noting that one of its key leaders, leftist David Dellinger, has twice visited Ho Chi Minh and has once visited Fidel Castro in Cuba.

But all of this means less than the lights that shone during daylight this weekend on metropolitan area roads. These were the quiet citizens speaking, those who believe in the American purpose. "Let there be light," it says in the Bible. The lights lit our consciences and they spoke to our patriotism.

Guaranteed Annual Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, last week's announcement that the Office of Economic Opportunity was experimenting with the guaranteed annual income proposal did not come as a surprise to readers of the Caldwell News-Tribune in my district. Last August, it editorialized that such a move was in the works.

Because of its pertinency to the current debate on poverty legislation, I include the text of the editorial at this point in the Record:

Threat to Our Nation

Beware the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

This bureaucratic pet of the Johnson Administration may be brewing trouble for the nation's hard-working taxpayers—and for the democratic structure of the United States.

An administrative employe of the Idaho Department of Public Assistance, told us this week he fears that HEW is preparing to push through a plan for a guaranteed annual income for families.

This state official said a movement is under foot by HEW to separate the services portion of welfare from assistance.

He is afraid this means that HEW is getting ready for direct payments to families, possibly through a negative income tax.

Such a tax might work this way: a family that didn't earn more than a specified amount (possibly $3,000 or more, depending upon the government's interpretation of the poverty level in an area and upon the size of a family) would receive a direct payment much as we now receive refunds from the Internal Revenue Department.

This is nothing short of socialism.

We don't care how respectably such action is disguised, a guaranteed minimum wage would lead our nation down the road to ruin.

The United States has flourished because of the free enterprise system. Any such move to stifle free enterprise by promoting laziness would be welcomed by the Communists.

If there are Communists in key federal government jobs, we know of nothing they'd rather push through more than a guaranteed annual income.

We must not allow this to happen.

Apples Important Factor in Connecticut's Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in this abundant harvest season, I am sure that my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will agree that the apple is a most delectable fruit. And in my home State the apple is particularly important to the physical and economic well-being of our citizens.

I call your attention to a report prepared by Roy E. Norcross, of the Connecticut Pomological Society, which describes the apple's role in our State's economy:

Apples—Important Factor in State's Economy

Connecticut fruit growers produce an average crop of 1,250,000 bushels of apples, plus peaches, pears and small amounts of other fruits. Their worth in the market is nearly 5,000,000 dollars of which apples account for eighty percent of this value. The production items that go into producing the crop include machinery, fertilizer spray materials, seeds and plants, labor and many miscellaneous items.

Economists tell us that for every dollar value of fruit crop other business is generated to the value of 62¢. The effect on the over all economy of the State, therefore, is about $8,000,000. From the point of view of the average citizen, however, there are other values of equal or more meaning than these dry facts. A tree is a beautiful thing at any time but 100 acres of apple trees in bloom or laden with red, golden or rosy cheeked fruit is beauty at its best. Then too, open areas and country atmosphere is being crowded from day to day and a Connecticut orchard well attended, as most are, is like a snug harbor in a storm offering a tranquility and an air "that all's well with the world," so hard to experience elsewhere.

Another advantage, of course is that the local orchards are within easy reach of the local consumer and the roadside stand, and packing house sales room are normal part of the sales mechanism of the average modern fruit business. This is demonstrated particularly well with the brochure produced this year giving by map and text the direct route to 30 different producer-operated fruit stands that welcome the local and itinerant consumer.

We must wonder at time if orchards and other agricultural pursuits are coming close to being classed as ancient history in this highly industrialized area. It is true that acres of land involved in the farm business have decreased, but because of increased technology, improved machinery and important research, production on all fronts has been maintained remarkably. The production of apples is a case in point with the bushes about the same year after year with variations accounted for by the vagaries of weather.

Fruit growers have many sources of information and like many groups have their own Connecticut Pomological Society, now in its 77th year. Probably ninety-nine percent of the commercial fruit growers in the State are members of the Society which gets to them, by bulletin, letter, pamphlets and a variety of meetings, the latest information from sources in and out of the State concerning their job of producing the best fruit in our markets. With such organizations behind them as the State experiment Station, the State Department of Agriculture, the University of Connecticut and their own Society, as well as good relations, year after year with suppliers of their tools of the trade, the future bodes well for this important segment in Connecticut's economy.

A Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the Record the following letter, printed in the November 6 issue of the Garden County News of Oshkosh, Nebr., from Woodrow M. Hedlund who is stationed in Vietnam. This is an extremely intelligent letter which sets forth the reasons why we are fighting in that country in Southeast Asia. I hope that all of the Members will take the time to read it.

October 15, 1967.

Gentleman: It would seem that all the literature that we receive here in Vietnam tends to show a large split in the feelings on the popularity of what the allies are trying to achieve in Vietnam, and why we are over here. Justification of these acts in the minds of the American people is rather ominous. War and destruction are not an ideal condition for a country where we cherish above all peace. What I hope to show is our real reason for Vietnam.

The role of the military in South Vietnam and in the air over the North is not particularly directed against a people of any race whether it be Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian or Chinese, but forwardly and directly pointed at stopping Communism. The goal is not easily achieved, as we have found to be true in the last 20 years. We have also found the Communist to be an effective opponent and dedicated to his cause.

Looking back to the early 50's we see a similar, and I place emphasis upon the word similar, because again we were fighting Communism but under different conditions. In Korea we achieved no complete military victory but we did accomplish one large thing, the Communists were stopped and South Korea still remains a free country. A country that knows the effects of the Communist, and the ever present threat that shadows any free country. Korea has shown its feelings by sending two of her finest divisions, the Tiger and the White Horse, to Vietnam to help in this conflict.

Getting back to the original topic and justification of the war in Vietnam let's look at how this conflict is progressing. Most of the actual fighting has been left to the American and allied forces, with a limited number of Vietnamese troops in the field. Currently strong emphasis has been placed upon the Vietnamese troops to lead in the pacification of the Vietnamese people. This delegation of duty may be good and it may be bad, but one thing is true, it's working. The American troops in Vietnam have been labeled American Imperialist, War Mongers, and War Lords, but the fact remains that there is a job to be done here and the results of which we can see a little more each day. With the American military knowledge, equipment, and communications the effects upon the North and the Viet Cong are starting to be rigorously felt. The fact that they are no longer fighting the French has become quite evident and extremely costly to them. Maybe this is why some 30,000 of them have come over to our side this year alone.

The fact remains that the United States Government has not sent her troops to Vietnam for a clear cut military victory but to stop oppression by the North and keep the country free to govern themselves. This oppression takes varied forms from terrorism on the village hamlets, slaughter of the Vietnamese nations, stealing of rice and young people for the thinning units. When I speak of young people I refer to boys of 12 being inducted into the Viet Cong ranks; this is not an uncommon practice. There is also taxation of a people already so poor that they cannot meet the basic needs of survival, and of course slavery which many Vietnamese have felt from their Viet Cong brothers. The United States military has given the people food, clothing, medicine, education, and a safe place to live in many locations in Vietnam, but the job is only started, and now the people are starting to see for themselves the true results in turn causing the hold from the North to slip, a good sign that maybe we are winning. Again I would like to stress that we are here to assist these people and by every means available to us, even if this means an armed conflict.

In closing I would like to say one thing: Peace as we know it in our country is worth fighting for even if we have to do it here in Vietnam or any other country of the world. You may ask yourself, "Why should I care about that place, it's 12,000 miles away and I don't owe them anything." This is not an unfair question and I've asked myself this many times, but of this I am sure. If we don't stop Communisn when and where it starts, life as we know it today and the life we hope to leave our children will not be the same, it will not exist. Democracy will be a meaningless word and forgotten in time.

Sincerely,

WOODROW M. HEDLUND.

U.S. Officials Toast 50 Years of Organized Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, today's Washington, D.C., Post society page carried a picture of Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk toasting the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist revolution of the Soviet Union in the company of the old conspirator himself, Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

How coldly cruel and inhuman have our unelected rulers become?

While the souls of liberty-loving individuals the world over pray for and seek escape from the Bolshevik tyrants—while sons of fellow Americans languish in Communist prisons, seek recovery from wounds in military hospitals, and far too many are at permanent peace in graves all over America—countrymen in high places fraternize and laud the enemies of freemen.

Has tolerance now replaced common decency? Can this be other than a brazen repudiation of free world leadership. The photos and propaganda should serve of great value to the Soviets in their power prestige movement over other nations, and likewise be invaluable to Ho Chi Minh, the Vietcong, and the Communist criminology in North Vietnam.

Could this be why the State Department is opposed to bombing the harbor at Haiphong? They might not be invited for pepper vodka?

Also listed as present and toasting the Soviet task force that have sworn "to bury" us were Mr. James Symington, Chief of Protocol, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Stoessel, Deputy Assistant Under Secretary of State and, of course, Justice and Mrs. William Douglas.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the news account by Dorothy McCardle, Post staff writer, followed by the additional news accounts from the same paper, showing the regard the Commie host and his establishment in Moscow hold for we of the United States.

RUSK TOASTS THE REVOLUTION WITH RARE RUSSIAN SPIRITS

(By Dorothy McCardle)

Secretary of State Dean Rusk last night broke his usual rule against attending 6-to-8 cocktail parties and joined 1300 other guests at the Soviet Embassy for the 50th anniversary celebration of the October Socialist Revolution.

He was accompanied by Mrs. Rusk, who usually goes to such parties alone. Both were promptly given the rare, red vodka treatment by their host, Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy F. Dobrynin.

Ambassador Dobrynin had already welcomed two other members of President Johnson's Cabinet, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and their wives.

Ambassador Dobrynin promptly broke from the receiving line and escorted the Rusks into one of the two jammed dining rooms for toasts to the Golden Anniversary of his country's regime.

First the three tried white vodka. Then Ambassador Dobrynin hurried over to one of many bars and asked for a special bottle of what looked like red wine.

"What is it?" the Ambassador was asked.

"It's pepper vodka, and the Ambassador knows it's my favorite," interjected Secretary Rusk.

Afted spending a half-hour at the party, the Rusks were ready to leave. Ambassador Dobrynin had more glasses brought and poured out more pepper vodka. In the manner of Soviet protocol, both men drained their glasses in a gulp. Then the Ambassador followed the Rusks down the red carpeted staircase to the front door.

A waiter tagged along, with more red vodka and considerable persistence. Secretary Rusk finally put his arm around the waiter's shoulder and said firmly "No, thanks."

Asked why he violated his usual rule against such parties, Secretary Rusk explained, "Well, for the 50th anniversary, I make an exception."

Ambassador Dobrynin was congratulated not only on the half-century of his country's history, but also on his own impressive uniform. It was the first time he had worn the dress uniform of Soviet ambassadors in Washington.

"My wife sent it to me from Moscow," the Ambassador explained. "She sent it instead of herself. She has not been at home for one of these celebrations for years and she especially wanted to be there for this one. She will be back here the end of November."

The uniform was dark blue serge with gold braid on the cuffs and gold braid outlining a pale green insignia on each lapel.

Blazing on his chest was a single decoration, the Order of Lenin, given him a year ago for his distinguished record in diplomacy. Until last night, he had not been able to display the honor for lack of a uniform.

Mrs. Dobrynin has been in Moscow since April because of the serious illness of her mother with whom the Dobrynins' only daughter lives.

Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia W. Averell Harriman came by cab from the State Department, expecting to meet his wife, Marie, at the Embassy. She was coming with a neighbor, Mrs. John Sherman Cooper, wife of the Kentucky Republican Senator.

When the women did not arrive, Ambassador Harriman called home to find there had been an accident in which the Coopers' chauffeur-driven car had been smashed. The women were not hurt, but decided to stay home.

Former Ambassador to Moscow Foy D. Kohler and Mrs. Kohler congratulated Ambassador Dobrynin on his uniform.

"Congratulations on being able to wear your uniform," said Ambassador Kohler. "Most diplomats seem to outgrow them."

French Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Lucet and British Ambassador and Lady Dean, like so many of the other envoys, dropped by briefly, but found the crowds in the many rooms almost overwhelming.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Presidential Assistant Walt W. Rostow and Sen. Ernest Gruening, of Alaska, followed.

A flurry of security caused a jam at the embassy entrance when most guests arrived minus their large white engraved invitations, topped with the gold hammer and sickle insigna of the Soviet Union, 1917–1967, dates in gold, and these words in brilliant red print: "In celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

(A switch from the Julian to Gregorian calendar now puts the October 17 anniversary at Nov. 7.)

Some 1600 invitations had been sent and 1300 acceptances received. The invitations did not say that they must be shown at the door.

Lady Dean, wife of the Briitsh Ambassador, had forgotten to bring hers and was held up until her husband produced it from his pocket.

The Ambassador of Saudia Arabia left his behind, but pointed to his goatee as his card of admission.

"I guess they all know this beard," said Ambassador Ibrahim Al-Sowayel.

The crowd was unexpectedly large, with many lower echelon officials from both the State Department and the United States Information Agency. There was also unusually heavy coverage from all news media. One reporter had been invited by phone by an Embassy secretary, and then was called back and dis-invited by the same embarrassed official.

"There are so many more people coming than we had expected," said the Russian with an apology.

In the crowd were Marjorie Merriweather Post, escorted by former Secretary of the Navy Fred Korth, Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio). Mrs. Ernest Gruening on crutches because of arthritis, joined by her husband in the throng. Ambassador of Ceylon and Mrs. Oliver Weerasinghe hurried on next door to the University Club for a dinner on behalf of Choate School. Their son is a student there with the older son of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

The new Ambassador of Yugoslavia and the Ambassador of Finland and Mrs. Olavi Munkki came in when the Dean of the Corps, Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa arrived. The Ambassadors of Germany and of the Netherlands came, as well as envoys from many of the African and Far Eastern nations. In and out among the throng passed the embassy chef in big white hat and uniform, making sure that the large buffet of Russian dishes was constantly replenished.

SOVIETS DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY IN PARADE OF ARMED MIGHT

(By Anatole Shub)

Moscow, November 7.—The Soviet Union celebrated the 50th anniversary of Communist rule today with a display of flexible military capability, including "Red Beret" and "Black Beret" elite forces and five new rocket systems.

The Red Berets were paratroopers, clad in new jungle-green uniforms. The Black Berets were marines in smart, gold-trimmed black jackets seen for the first time in today's Red Square military review.

Although Russia has had both marines and paratroops for years, their distinctive new garb seemed a clear response to the "Green Beret" Special Forces John F. Kennedy sent to Vietnam six years ago.

CHANGE IN STRATEGY

The new missiles, one for every major class, dramatized the Soviet high command's conversion to Robert S. McNamara's doctrines of balanced capability for all sorts of conflicts.

Most awesome looking of the new weapons was a 120-foot intercontinental ballistic missile. Western experts said the new rocket, like its predecessor the Scrag (first displayed in May, 1965), could probably be used to launch nuclear warheads into orbit in the manner described by Secretary McNamara last Friday. While the Scrag is a three-stage missile, the new rocket's exterior showed no clearly defined stages.

There were two other new weapons in the all-out war or deterrent class: A new submarine-launched missile somewhat larger than the American Polaris, and a medium or intermediate-range missile mounted on mobile launchers which the Soviet news agency Tass said would be "nearly impossible to detect and destroy."

Most intriguing of the new weapons, however, was a mobile antiaircraft system which seemed designed for difficult terrain like Vietnam. Three slim, silvery surface-to-air missiles, mounted behind a quick-moving tracked vehicle, possess, according to Tass, a "special" warhead which can destroy a cluster of incoming planes at far distance. and low altitudes if necessary. The general assumption was that the "special" warhead is nuclear.

Finally, there was a new mobile surface-to-surface missile in the tactical range, somewhat larger than the previous Scud model. A new combination seen for the first time was an armored reconnaissance vehicle with an antitank missile mounted above the traditional cannon.

Western observers said they were not surprised by any of the new weapons, as the last substantial Soviet display of new rocketry was in May, 1966. The new aircraft and hovercraft displayed at last July's Moscow air show were said to have been more impressive in terms of rapid development and improvement of weapons systems.

DEFENSE MINISTER CRITICIZES UNITED STATES

Moscow, November 7.—Soviet Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko, in a speech from atop Lenin's tomb before today's parade, said that the war in Vietnam causes "deep" alarm and the Soviet Union is doing everything to strengthen its defense capacities.

Grechko charged the Americans with a "criminal war," but his address was generally mild in tone compared with earlier anniversary speeches by defense ministers.

He made only brief mention of the war in Vietnam and no mention of Communist China. He spoke once of Israeli "aggression" against the Arabs.

U.N. SESSION CONVERTED TO SOVIET EVENT

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., November 7.—Speakers in the General Assembly today converted a session called to discuss a proposed declaration on the status of women into a sounding board for congratulations to the Soviet Union on the 50th anniversary of the Communist Revolution.

A few delegates grumbled privately about Soviet pressure, yet most Communist and many nominally nonaligned delegations joined in the praise.

But not all went well from the Soviet standpoint today. Albania accused the regime in Moscow of "hypocritical and demagogic attempts" to exploit the anniversary, concealing "their total betrayal of Marxism and Leninism . . . as well as their collusion with the American imperialists."

This morning a group of 12 White Russians, all said to be American citizens, staged an impromptu demonstration in the Assembly by shouting and unfurling a banner reading "Freedom for Russians—Down with Soviet Slavery." The demonstrators were escorted out by guards.

HANOI'S GIFT IS PART OF U.S. PLANE

Hanoi has offered Moscow a fragment of what it said was the 2500th American plane shot down over North Vietnam as a gift to mark the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The North Vietnam News Agency, monitored in Hong Kong, reported that the Hanoi Administrative Committee and the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party made the offer in a telegram to Moscow Monday. The telegram said the plane was shot down that day over Hanoi.

Meanwhile, President Johnson sent anniversary congratulations to the Russians and called for joint efforts by Russia and the U.S. to establish a stable world peace. His call came in a message to Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny.

Communist China sent only a one-sentence message of "warm greetings" to Moscow and pointedly ignored the Soviet Communist Party. The message was addressed to the Presidium of the Soviet Parliament and the Soviet Council of Ministers and referred to the Soviet people rather than the Party.

In Geneva, the World Jewish Congress marked the Russian anniversary with an appeal for an end to "disabilities and inequities" facing Soviet Jewry.

The appeal was sent by Congress president Dr. Nahum Goldmann to Gennadi Kiselev, Russian Ambassador to Switzerland.

"Cactus Jack" Garner, a Distinguished Son of Texas

SPEECH

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, our Lone Star State of Texas mourns the death of a great and distinguished native son, John Nance Garner.

His accomplishments, during a long and illustrious career, are legendary. He was, as his nickname "Cactus Jack" implies, as rough and rugged as the Uvalde land that he loved so well.

We, in Texas, are proud of our many sons who have left their mark on the course of world and national events. Ours is a strong land, and the strength of the land and the people is bred into these great men.

My colleagues know the distinguished background of this great statesman, of his battle to overcome educational shortcomings to become an outstanding lawyer, judge, Member and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Vice President of the United States. His was a career to rival the greatest of our leaders.

A few years ago, I had the great privilege to visit with John Nance Garner in his home in Uvalde. He had celebrated his 92d birthday. I found a man who had not sat idly by in retirement, letting the world and events pass him by. His mind was alert, brilliantly so. He discoursed on current events with a knowledge that only a full career at the fountainhead of action could have given him. He regaled us with tales of his years as Vice President, as Speaker, and as a Member of this great body. He set out in detail the facts of his opposition to the proposed "Supreme Court packing plan" which led to the deep split between him and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. His strength of body and mind at this great age of 92 was phenomenal. I recall one story he told of his first campaign for U.S. Representative. He stumped his district, as we all have done, soliciting votes from his constituents, for he was a relatively young attorney seasoned by a term as county judge of Uvalde County, and a term as State representative. And when he finished his speech, he pointed his finger at the crowds and added:

And one more thing, he said. If you vote to send me to Washington to handle your affairs—don't you write me any letters telling me how to do my job. If you don't have confidence enough in me to do this job without being pestered with a lot of postcard advice—then I don't want your vote.

He said he got their votes, and less mail than any Member of Congress, which he rarely answered.

Mr. Speaker, we are privileged to sit in a Chamber where the great men of history have left their imprint. None, in my judgment, has been greater than "Cactus Jack" Garner. His passing will be mourned by all, and I extend deepest sympathy to his many close friends and relatives at this great loss.

When Press Is Not Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 1, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle points out most frighteningly what happens when freedom of the press is not guaranteed as it is in America.

Under unanimous consent I insert this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHEN PRESS IS NOT FREE

In America, a citizen can lambast his government any time he feels like it—and he generally feels like it often.

Because of constitutional guarantees of free speech and a free press, we are not afraid to speak out against our public officials.

It is not that way in countries where the press is not free. This being National Newspaper Week, a look is in order at what happens in countries where there is control of voice and print.

Greece is a good example.

In that unhappy land; a courageous publisher, Mrs. Helen Vlachos-Loundra of Athens, has been put under house arrest for calling the men who run Greece's military dictatorship "mediocrities." A word like that does not raise an eyebrow in the United States. If our top officials could be assured they would be called nothing worse than that, they would be deliriously happy.

Mrs. Vlachos-Loundra has defied the ruling junta ever since it seized power last April. She has resisted pressures for tight censorship, refusing to print her papers under such conditions. She made her "mediocrities" statement in an interview she gave a publication in Italy.

Since placing Mrs. Vlachos-Loundra under house arrest, the government has appropriated her private papers, including a diary in which she jotted down some thoughts about the political situation.

Dictators and would-be dictators fear nothing more than a free expression of ideas. Lenin once said that ideas were more powerful than guns, and he was right.

We predict that the thoughts and ideas of the lady publisher in Greece will prove more powerful than all the repressive measures the ruling powers can bring to bear against her. One of these days the people of Greece will rise in their wrath and re-take their government.

The American Scene

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, quietly in many parts of our country people are making significant contributions to the greater understanding of America by people from foreign countries.

One such contribution is described in an article by David Klugman, of Oakland, Calif. I insert this article from the Cooperative Review in the RECORD at this point:

ENTENTE CORDIALE

(By David Klugman)

On a radiant Sunday last May, the small town of Red Lake Falls, Minnesota, in the centre of an ocean of grain, dotted by elevators, took French-speaking Africa to its heart as represented by 24 rural development officials from Senegal, Togo, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Upper Volta and the Malagasy Republic, who were touring American cooperative enterprises. Arriving at Red Lake Falls to the strains of the high school band, they were warmly greeted by farmers and townsmen, headed by the mayor.

During the following three weeks, the Africans became involved in the farmers' daily lives and visited specialized cooperatives—grain, dairy, credit, supply and rural electricity.

The result was a nearly ironical compensatory contrast, an osmosis, so to speak, between hosts and guests. The farmers found it extraordinary that the well-educated and competent visitors originated from countries with generally primitive agriculture. The Africans found agriculturists easily handling complex equipment, conversant with the latest techniques, keeping strict accounts, yet possessed of a rustic outlook. The relationship, a sociologist's delight, was made up of unlimited hospitality on the one hand, and of frank spontaneity on the other—an attractive combination. There was more, for the farmers were unused to Negroes in the area, even American ones. Further, farmers and townspeople, ordinarily apart, found unity in a common endeavour.

THE ORGANIZATION

The African agricultural tour in the U.S.A. is an implementation of the amendment to the Foreign Aid Act, introduced in 1961 by the then Senator Hubert Humphrey, a son of the Minnesota co-operative way of life. That amendment specifies ". . . it shall be U.S. policy to encourage the development and use of co-operatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations." To enact the law, the U.S. Government contracted with competent agencies, such as the Co-operative League, Farmers' Union, Cuna International (Credit Union Association) and others, for specific projects in Asia (mostly Vietnam), Latin America and Africa. Farmers' Union, which vigorously strives for co-operative development, focused its action on Latin America and Africa.

The participants visited New York and Washington (where they called on Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee), and proceeded to Pine Bluff, seat of the technical section of the University of Arkansas (Negro students and faculty) for a two-week introduction to American life.

Led by an expert, Robert Moses, they journeyed to the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolis in Minnesota, touring enormous co-operative achievements: elevators, refineries and supply facilities. A courtesy call on the Governor and the Legislature underlined the French past of the State of 10,000 lakes to which the trappers left the motto "L'Etoile du Nord" (Star of the North).

Also visited was the world's first co-operatively owned electric power station fueled by nuclear energy, located at Elk River. The station is a pilot project for the Atomic Energy Commission as a feasibility study.

The town of Red Lake Falls was chosen for its linguistic affinity with the visitors and its striking co-operative achievements. The farmers, of Quebec descent, form a French linguistic island, the language of which goes back to the 18th century. They have names such as Vautrin, LaPlante, Brunelle, and live in communities named Terrebonne, St. Hilaire, Gentilly.

ALL RACES

Led by Maurice Benoit, a pillar in the regional co-operative movement, these farmers formed a reception committee and put their time, knowledge and homes at the Africans' disposal. Others followed their example. Danish-born Paul Petersen, head of an agricultural service network, put his experience at the trainees' service. Dean Vatthauer, of German origin, to his own surprise, easily communicated with his Senegalese guest. Ellsworth Robertson, a lusty Scottish septuagenarian, contributed unsparingly. Co-operative managers, directors, technicians, all dedicated themselves to meeting their guests' requirements.

A call on the Chippewah Indians, whose chief carries the Molieresque name of Jourdain, provided the insight that, in the case of the Indians as in that of the Africans, there is a juxtaposition of two cultures and a realistic adaptation. Upon leaving Minnesota, the trainees enrolled at the International Co-operative Training Centre in Madison, Wisconsin, a service of the University of Wisconsin.

National Grange Celebrates 100th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 100th anniversary of America's oldest farm organization—the National Grange. Certainly this great organization is deserving of our tribute as it convenes its centennial session and celebration in Syracuse, N.Y., November 13 next.

Mr. Speaker, the development of the National Grange has paralleled the growth and progress of agriculture in the United States since 1867, and the progress being made in rural America today is attributable in large part to the work of the Grange and other farm organizations.

I want to commend and congratulate the Grange, its master, Mr. Herschel D. Newsom, and leadership, and its thousand of members throughout the United States for their great work and contribution to the growth and development of rural America.

Milwaukee FHA Director Encourages Private Enterprise To Move Into Slum Rehabilitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Milwaukee Journal praised the efforts of Wisconsin Federal Housing Administration director, Lawrence Katz, in encouraging 21 large home building and brokerage firms in the Milwaukee area to join with the FHA in slum rehabilitation.

Mr. Katz's initiative has been made possible by the relaxation in August of FHA restrictions on the kinds and locations of properties on which it would insure mortgages. Previously, tight FHA restrictions had ruled out FHA insurance in a large portion of Milwaukee's inner core area.

Mr. Katz's proposal nicely complements a project being undertaken by the Northside Citizens' Neighborhood Conservation Corp., a local nonprofit corporation formed last June, to rehabilitate houses in Milwaukee's inner core using Congresswoman SULLIVAN'S 221(h) housing rehabilitation program. This section provides for 3 percent, 30-year FHA-insured loans to low-income purchasers of housing rehabilitated by a nonprofit corporation.

I am confident that a large part of the answer to the severe shortage of decent low and moderate income housing lies in Government-supported private rehabilitation activities, like those now beginning in Milwaukee.

The October 12, 1967, Milwaukee Journal editorial follows:

HOPEFUL MOVE TO GET PRIVATE INDUSTRY INTO SLUMS

The growing movement of private industry into slum rehabilitation as a commercial venture is now sought to be stimulated here. The federal housing administration has opened the door and is optimistic about its specific invitation to 21 large local home building and brokerage firms to come in. Others show interest.

The open door is a significant softening of FHA restrictions on the kind and locations of properties on which it will insure mortgages—restrictions which had previously ruled out much of the core. The stricter policy, with its almost commercial emphasis on risk avoidance, was unbecoming to a government agency anyway.

State FHA Director Lawrence Katz says that private operators can now profitably buy up rundown core houses, put them back in good condition, and find people who could not have financed the repairs themselves but can then afford to buy with insured mortgages. The market appears ripe. Of more than 500 core area houses found to be for sale just recently, only a scant dozen were beyond redemption, while nearly two-thirds could be profitably renovated, says Katz.

One flaw in the idea is "discount points"—the added payments that lenders demand to make up the difference to themselves when interest on insured mortgages is at less than commercial rates. In the Katz scheme, sellers presumably will have to absorb this item in the price of a house, which means the buyer will be paying it in the long run. The FHA will have to be on guard that houses are not overpriced and buyers exploited as a result.

Government alone can hardly keep up with blight, much less get ahead of it. Something like this in the private sector will have to succeed if anything can.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, there is one of the amendments the committee has written in that gives me concern to a degree, and that is the 10-percent contribution by local subdivisions.

I propose to offer an amendment to this when the bill comes on the floor to exempt Headstart from this particular requirement. I believe it is a good requirement generally, with a lot of the programs. I agree that if the community itself does not want to put up 10 percent, then they might not want the program. But I have communities in my district that cannot afford kindergartens. I know from personal knowledge that if you start a child in school who does not have the background, the vocabulary and the ability that the other children in first grade do, that that child will be handicapped not only through school in the grades, but right on into and through high school.

I know in my community Headstarts have been most successful programs. We have had a great many contributions in kind not in cash, and by that I mean interested people who are willing to volunteer their services as teachers' aids and so on in these Headstart programs.

I think it would be a shame to take it away from the already deprived communities, Headstart, that they would only have because they can get it on a basis of personal contributions and not cash.

I sincerely hope that this amendment will be considered.

I have no objection to the amendment involving the local political subdivision. As a matter of fact, I fought against the amendment on the legislation a year ago which said that a majority of the people on those boards should be from a poverty area, and I pointed out then and I think now that the House will agree with me, that it would be just as logical to say that you have to have 51 percent of the directors of a bank being people who are failures and had been bankrupt in business.

You have to have some people obviously who are in the area of the poor being served, but you also have to have some people who know how to run a program. I think we will see to it that this is done in that way.

Eulogy to VA Psychiatrist Solomon B. Meyerson, M.D.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the death of Dr. Solomon B. Meyerson has taken from our midst one of Hawaii's dearest sons, and it is with sadness that I rise to honor the memory of this distinguished citizen of the 50th State.

A compassionate and dedicated physician, he spent nearly 25 years of his life in loyal service to our Nation on the medical staff of the Veterans' Administration in Honolulu. Only 1 week before his untimely passing in June, Dr. Meyerson was cited for his outstanding work as he approached retirement. Upon news of his death, his colleagues wrote of him:

> His keen intelligence, outstanding medical talent and abilities, and great compassion for his fellow man made him admired and respected by everyone with whom he came in contact.

Dr. Meyerson's concern for the welfare of his fellow man carried over from his professional life into community service. He had an enduring interest in community mental health, and he served on numerous State planning committees in this area. His passing has, indeed, stilled an authentic and respected voice in the area of mental health, whose needs he championed so effectively.

Dr. Meyerson's passing leaves a void in the island community that will not readily be filled, and Hawaii and the Nation have suffered a great loss. I know my colleagues would wish to join me in extending heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Meyerson and the bereaved family. Dr. Meyerson was a personal inspiration to me, and I will long be grateful for his help and guidance.

An eloquent tribute written by Dr. Meyerson's daughter, Linda Meyerson Tillich, appeared in the October issue of the Hawaii State Medical Journal. I wish to insert this tribute, "In Memoriam—Solomon B. Meyerson, M.D." in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

SOLOMON B. MEYERSON, M.D., 1900–67

It was love at first sight between Dr. Solomon B. Meyerson and the Hawaiian Islands where he was to make his home, when the old Lurline arrived in Honolulu harbor under wartime conditions on April 1, 1943, and the love affair continued until the day of his death. He loved Hawaii's people, its vivid colors, and its beautiful beaches. He loved the informality which made it possible for him to practice his profession in its finest sense.

Dr. Meyerson, 66, Veterans Administration psychiatrist and a Honolulu resident for nearly twenty-five years, died June 4 at Tripler Hospital after a heart attack. Upon his death his colleagues at the V.A. wrote of him, "His keen intelligence, outstanding medical talent and abilities, and great compassion for his fellow man made him admired and respected by everyone with whom he came in contact." A modest, reserved man with a quiet sense of humor, he took a personal interest in his patients and his work. As a loyal civil servant with an abiding concern for good medical practice, he worked under the principle that the welfare of the patient must be the primary consideration in all administrative decisions. He had a ceaseless scholarly curiosity about his own specialty as well as all phases of his profession, particularly diagnostic medicine and pharmacology. He enjoyed medicine with the same enthusiaasm that he enjoyed the beach, where he took a swim at the Uluniu Club and chatted with friends daily after work.

Born in Bialystok, Poland, he studied at its theological seminary until the age of twelve when he came with his family to America. He received his medical degree from the University of Illinois College of Medicine in 1925, interned at St. Margaret's Hospital in Hammond, Indiana, and began his medical career as Assistant Surgeon at the Illinois Steel Mills.

Dr. Meyerson was a psychiatrist and neurologist, a diplomate of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology since 1948. He got his psychiatric training as a fellow at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research from 1931 to 1938, where he specialized in child psychiatry, juvenile delinquency, and criminology. As physician at the St. Charles School for Boys, he strove to implement his conviction that humane treatment in a school-like setting would serve best to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents.

For four years he served as a member of the Illinois Pardons and Parole Board, and as Superintendent of the Diagnostic Depot at the Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard, where he did pioneer work in the use of metrazol shock therapy. With the advent of World War II, he was commissioned as an officer in the Army and was separated from his wife and two small children upon assignment to the 76th Station Hospital for service overseas. In Hawaii he served as a psychiatrist at the North Sector General Hospital at Schofield Barracks and at the old Tripler Hospital, and as commanding officer of a rehabilitation center for military criminals, one of two such services in the United States. At the height of the war, he set up an after-hours consulting service where servicemen with problems could drop in for guidance.

In 1947 the Veterans Administration requested his release from military duty to join the medical staff of its new regional office here. He continued in that post until his death.

A man with deep roots in his community, Dr. Meyerson had an enduring interest in community mental health and served on numerous state planning committees in this area. He championed the urgent need for child and family treatment centers both on Oahu and the other islands, urged expanded use and licensing of clinical psychologists in the state of Hawaii, and was interested in the establishment of state facilities for the detention and treatment of the so-called criminally insane and severe character disorders.

Dr. Meyerson was a member of the American Medical Association, the American Psychiatric Association, the University of Illinois Medical Alumni Association, the American Orthopsychiatric Association, and the Hawaii State and Honolulu County Medical Societies. He was an Elk and a Mason, and one of the founders of Temple Emanu-el. He was a charter member of the Hawaii Psychiatric Association.

He is survived by his wife, the former Ida Edith Fisher; a sister, Mrs. Emma Boss of Long Branch, New Jersey; a son, Harvey Meyerson, a journalist and foreign correspondent; and a daughter, Mrs. René (Linda) Tillich, a doctoral candidate in Clinical Psychology.

LINDA MEYERSON TILLICH.

Time To Take a New Look at the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, our esteemed and beloved colleague, the gentleman from Florida, Representative BOB SIKES, has voiced a feeling that many people have, but hesitate to express. He has suggested a reevaluation of the operation of the United Nations and has suggested withholding additional payments to the United Nations until that reevaluation is completed. Congressman SIKES points out that there is little reason for the United States to continue to pay half of the costs for running the United Nations when the organization is failing in the recent past to make a meaningful contribution towards world peace and when the statements of the head of the organization are so consistently critical of the United States.

An article outlining Representative SIKES' views appeared in the November 5 issue of the Mobile, Ala., Press Register, and I include it in the RECORD at this point for the benefit of all my colleagues in the House.

To the suggestion of this great American, patriot, and statesman, I say thanks and amen:

WHY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT U.N.

Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes, a veteran member of Congress from Florida, whose home is in neighboring Crestview, is suggesting that the time has come for the United States to take a closer look at the United Nations before pouring additional money into it.

He should not be surprised if he hears a chorus of "Second the motion" of nationwide proportions. Many Americans obviously are bcoming disillusioned over the United Nations. Disappointment in its performance inevitably will grow unless it does an about-face and begins to function more in keeping with what the American people were led to believe they could expect when it was founded.

Mr. Sikes suggests "in all candor that the United States withhold further payments to the United Nations pending a reorganization and reevaluation of the operating procedures and objectives of the agency."

He serves notice that his purpose is to "introduce a resolution calling for a cessation of all payments by the United States" when Congress convenes in January for its 1968 session, if by that time "there are not more realistic reports in prospect from the operations of the U.N."

Mr. Sikes says payments to the United Nations or its "affiliated organizations" during the past year totaled $113,000,000. He also says the "futility of U.N. deliberations in recent years has contributed to frustration with world affairs both in the United States and abroad."

The Northwest Florida congressman ripped into the U.N. and its Secretary General U Thant with these words:

"In its attempts to deal with the explosive Mideast problem, the U.N. obviously is simply seeking to avoid stepping on anyone's toes. It was quick to demand sanctions against one of the few responsible governments in Africa—Rhodesia—but walks past the serious and demanding Vietnamese with averted eyes.

"To make matters worse, the statements of the man who heads the organization, U Thant, give aid and comfort to the enemy but no encouragement to the peaceseeking efforts of the United States."

As Congressman Sikes sees it, "There seems little reason for the United States to continue to pay half the bills for an organization which makes few meaningful contributions toward a peaceful and stable world."

The United States is entitled to—and should insist upon—a much better accounting from the United Nations than it has given in the past and is giving today. Lately the U.N., instead of improving, has indicated a worsening trend in its performance. The situation is so unsatisfactory that Mr. Sikes' sentiments are certain to be widely echoed.

If the United States is to remain in the United Nations and pay so much of its cost, it should call for better performance as a "must" condition.

Puerto Ricans Want To Help Buffalo, and Themselves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is heartwarming today to see people immigrating to our great country much in the same spirit as those who came here in the 1700's and 1800's. They come with a purpose—to start a new life in a promising Nation, to work hard, and to contribute to its continual growth.

One such group is the Puerto Ricans who have settled in our city of Buffalo, N.Y., and who have taken a firm grip in becoming a part of our community. Despite hardships caused by language difficulties, unfamiliarity with our laws and customs, and inability to obtain suitable employment, these resourceful people look forward to carving a useful niche in our society. We not only need to assimilate them into our community life, but we must help them to learn our language and provide them with the tools that will enable them to qualify for meaningful jobs.

Their goals and aspirations are praiseworthy, and they have our blessings.

With permission, I include the following article that appeared in the Buffalo Evening News on October 28, 1967, "Puerto Ricans Want To Help Buffalo, and Themselves," by Lee Coppola, which tells the story of their struggles in their newly adopted land, and what they hope to accomplish:

PUERTO RICANS WANT TO HELP BUFFALO, AND THEMSELVES

(By Lee Coppola)

Buffalo's 7000 Puerto Ricans have set about joining the mainstream of city life. Long beset by problems confronting newcomers to a strange land, the city's Spanish-speaking residents feel an urgent need to pull themselves "up by the bootstraps" and contribute to the betterment of Buffalo.

"We want to become socially, culturally and politically involved in everything that's happening," explains Pedro Mauras, the articulate spokesman of a far-sighted band of Puerto Ricans leading the charge.

For a start, a group of 125 residents known as the Puerto Rican-American Community Organization is breaking ground for a multipurpose community center at Chicago and Swan Sts., on the city's East Side.

Plagued by a shortage of funds, the members plan to build the center themselves "in the evenings and on week-ends," explains burly Augustin Olivencia, club president.

"Hopefully, we'll finish sometime next summer."

The center has become a visible goal for local Spanish-speaking citizenry to erase what one calls the "ugly American" image many non-Latins have of Puerto Ricans.

Other ambitious projects include dances, a youth education center, language instruction and voter awareness programs.

Puerto Ricans began filtering into Buffalo early in the 1950s. The first influx settled on the city's East Side, but "the majority now lives on the lower West Side," note Mr. Mauras, a West Side co-ordinator for the Community Action Organization.

Burdened by language difficulties and the foreign ways of an infamiliar society, Puerto Ricans have had trouble through the years blending their culture with another.

Some contend the giant melting pot that is the United States has repeatedly rejected the ingredients they offer.

Buffalo's Spanish-speaking residents now seek, as Mr. Mauras puts it, "an equal footing" with native-born Americans. But Puerto Ricans at the same time must maintain their proud Caribbean heritage, he adds hastily.

Rafael Perez recognizes the need to preserve the Puerto Rican culture. As a talented master of ceremonies, he oversees the Puerto Rican community's contribution to the annual cultural series of the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society.

Mr. Perez describes the show as a depiction of the history and heritage of Puerto Rico through dance and song. He presides over another Latin American civic club that he says wants Puerto Ricans to "get along in the American community so that they can help themselves."

As Mr. Mauras reasons: "The idea is not to lead, but to contribute. But to contribute, you have to lead."

Because newcomers to the United States sometimes appear "ignorant," he says established citizens "try to use these newcomers and pull the wool over their eyes."

Such actions have hampered many efforts to advance, Mr. Mauras reports. Difficulty in understanding court procedures, poor relations with Buffalo police and ill will from some non-Latin citizens have hindered Puerto Ricans in the city, he contends.

As a neighborhood coordinator, Mr. Mauras, 32, daily devises methods for Puerto Ricans to combat the foreign aspects of American life.

"The majority of my people come to the United States not knowing the language," Mr. Mauras says of his biggest headache.

Mr. Perez, who was taught English in his native land, says teachers in Puerto Rico, although well-versed in English grammar, fail to convey the accents and pronunciations of the language.

Collegians from Buffalo area schools offer volunteer tutoring in the CAO's West Side office for youngsters having difficulties.

For adults, Mr. Mauras has been talking to Buffalo's International Institute in hopes of setting up English instruction. Otherwise, he explains, Puerto Ricans must learn the language from other Puerto Ricans.

Martin Santiago, Jr., 20, one of approximately 15 Puerto Rican collegians in Buffalo, feels the language barrier "disillusions" youths. The high school dropout rate is high among Puerto Ricans because, he says, "not enough" counselors and teachers in the Buffalo school system "are interested in the problem."

"Life moves too fast" for language-troubled youths, he believes.

Martin majors in English at Canisius College. He hopes to obtain a master's degree, then "go to Puerto Rico to teach."

Martin, James Vazquez, 24, Mr. Mauras's aide, and Steven Santiago, 23, a Buffalo State University College business student, help spread the urgent education message to Puerto Rican teen-agers and young adults.

Under CAO auspices, youths receive constant counseling on the importance of staying in school or striving for equivalent-education diplomas from correspondence courses.

Mr. Vazquez attends high school at night. Puerto Rican radio announcer Juan Texidor, another community leader, was graduated from the same course last year, at the age of 42.

Martin heads the Latin American Youth Organization, a group of earnest young adults that has been "fighting City Hall" to establish an education youth center downstairs from Mr. Mauras's CAO offices at 381 Niagara St.

To date, he says their efforts have been blocked by what he calls "stalling tactics" of the city's Youth Board.

Hampered by language difficulties, many Spanish-speaking citizens have trouble obtaining decent jobs, Mr. Mauras reports. Discrimination also plays a part in the poor labor opportunities he says Puerto Ricans are offered.

"The only time employment agencies call us is when they want to use us to write proposals to get money for employment programs."

He says the agencies "never live up to the promises they make."

Most Puerto Ricans thus must accept jobs in factories, restaurants and hotels, Mr. Mauras notes. He cites individuals who have risen to responsible supervisory positions, but admits most perform unskilled labor for poor wages.

Many, unable to find work, turn to welfare aid, a damaging blow to a Puerto Rican's pride, says the CAO aide. He says welfare destroys strong family ties and "respect for parents," what he calls two inbred characteristics of Puerto Rican households.

If Buffalo's employment agencies would hire counselors to help Spanish-speaking citizens, "we will emerge as skilled as anyone," Mr. Mauras argues.

"You know," he ponders, "I've always felt that 'capability' was the wrong word. I think it should be 'cope-ability.'"

Despite the shortage of good-paying jobs, Puerto Ricans in Buffalo generally maintain trim, well-kept homes.

Informal research conducted by the CAO staff indicates Buffalo's Puerto Rican population has "stabilized in recent years," Mr. Mauras notes.

"That means just as many are going back to Puerto Rico as coming to Buffalo." Mr. Mauras, a dedicated worker who seems constantly on the go, and tales of wealth and "good living" lured most Puerto Ricans to the U.S.

Mr. Mauras hopes the proposed community center can unite the city's Puerto Ricans to "keep alive their heritage." Martin Santiago's youth group has pitched in already with a scheduled dance to raise funds for the building.

His father, Martin Sr., a soft-speaking industrial painter who brought his family to the U.S. in 1955, says the community group hopes for aid from local businessmen and citizens to raise the $65,000 necessary to complete construction.

About $2500 has been raised so far.

Plans for the one-story building, made of "anything we can use," call for meeting rooms, an auditorium and a restaurant. Mr. Olivencia hopes the restaurant will support the center's upkeep.

Martin, with the chairman of the fund drive, Mrs. Sylvia Rodriguez, has made several forays to local agencies to obtain funds.

In politics, Mr. Olivencia and other community leaders recently completed vigorous voter registration drive among Puerto Ricans that reached "300 to 400" voters.

One recent week-day afternoon, Mr. Mauras was talking with the Board of Elections in the hope of obtaining a voting booth to teach first-time voters how to use the machine.

Through political activity, the Puerto Rican community, leaders seek to create an effective voter block that might some day help a Puerto Rican into public office.

One pioneer Spanish-speaking resident in Buffalo, Marcos Lopez, belongs to the city's Human Relations Commission, an appointed post.

Mr. Mauras has a simple philosophy when it comes to helping Puerto Ricans. He feels that the more Spanish-speaking residents progress in education, political, social and cultural fields, the more Buffalo benefits.

That's why he says the job of improving the Puerto Rican's lot in Buffalo must continue zealously without letup.

The resourcefulness shown by these ambitious people has led them to undertake construction of a major community center without funds or a tentative completion date.

Perhaps as 'cope-ability' replaces 'capability' among Buffalo Puerto Ricans, a much-sought community center will replace a former playground at the corner of Chicago and Swan.

Tribute to John Nance Garner: Legend in His Own Time

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me to join with my colleagues from Texas and others in paying a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of the late Speaker and Vice President, John Nance Garner—a great leader who became a legend in his own time.

John Nance Garner was a great Texan, a great American, and a rugged frontiersman popularly known as Cactus Jack. He went far in public life—and rose to great heights and yet he retained his humble spirit. John Garner saw America and its problems through the eyes of its people.

At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1940, I had the privilege of meeting John Nance Garner and Sam Rayburn with the Texas delegation. At that time Garner was considered a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President following his service as Vice President for two terms. Judge Cordell Hull, of Tennessee, was also being considered for the nomination. Although President Roosevelt chose Henry Wallace as his Vice-Presidential running mate for an unprecedented third term, Jack Garner, of Texas, never lost his place in the hearts of his countrymen.

He lived a long and useful life and was a great American.

The Centennial Anniversary of Madam Sklodowska-Curie's Birth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of one of history's most illustrious women, Maria Sklodowska-Curie.

Born in Warsaw, Poland on November 7, 1867, Madam Curie became one of the world's greatest scientists. It was her work with radium which helped unlock the secret of the atom and made possible the atomic age in which we live.

But more than just a great physicist, Madam Curie was a woman of outstanding strength of character and unflagging energy. Her life of dedication to her family and to her work provide a model for the full and productive life.

Born into the great Polish tradition of preeminence in the physical sciences and mathematics, she struggled against obstacles of poverty, political oppression, and prejudice against women in the sciences to win the Nobel Prize in Physics on two separate occasions.

In honor of the centennial anniversary of the birth of Marie Sklodowska-Curie, the Polish American Congress has prepared an excellent account of her life and accomplishments. At this point, I include the biography in the RECORD and urge the attention of my colleagues to it:

SKLODOWSKA-CURIE CENTENNIAL

In June of 1921, the then President of Harvard University, A. Laurence Lowell, spoke during a scholarly convocation of three outstanding scientific discoveries of all times: The Copernican theory of heliocentric universe, the Newtonian law of gravitation, and the discovery of radium by Madame Marie Sklodowska-Curie. Thus, he stated, up to that time, two of the three discoveries that changed the course of scientific thought were made by scientists of Polish birth.

This year the Polish nation together with scientific communities throughout the world will observe the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mme. Sklodowska-Curie.

Poland's contribution to the knowledge and use of physics is personified in two geniuses who unlocked the secrets of macrocosm and microcosm.

Mikolaj Kopernik (Copernicus) founded modern astronomy when he "stopped the sun and set the earth in motion."

Marie Sklodowska-Curie discovered and defined the fundamental properties of atom. In the words of Soddy:

"The brilliant generalization, at once clarifying and simplifying the whole subject, was made quite early, in the face of much apparent evidence to the contrary. . . . In spite of discovery of new phenomena, at first sight quite out of keeping with it, it has survived and remains the central pivot on which the whole science turns."

As early as 1900 Sklodowska suggested that, if the energy evidence by the radiation did not come from an external source, it must result from the breakdown of the atom, since radioactivity is an atomic property.

In 1903, Rutherford and Soddy announced their theory of atomic disintegration, thus giving corroboration to the theory advanced by Sklodowska-Curie.

Marie Sklodowska-Curie, one of the greatest scientists of all time, was born in Warsaw, Poland, on November 7, 1867, the youngest of the five children of Wladyslaw and Bronislawa (nee Boguska) Sklodowska.

Her childhood destined her for scientific research; she spent much time in the laboratory of her father, who was a professor of physics. At the age of nine she lost her mother.

The Sklodowskis suffered many tribulations under the Russian tyranny. Young Marie, like other Polish youth of her time, followed intellectual pursuits in the firm belief that through hard work and cultural eminence rather than through futile fight against the overwhelming force of the occupying power they would gain victory.

Completing her early education in the schools of Warsaw, she graduated from Gymnasium at the age of 15. She earned a very modest living doing private teaching, while preparing herself for the University by self-instruction.

In 1891 she was finally able to undertake the study at Sorbonne, thus realizing one of the fondest dreams of her youth.

In 1893 she graduated with first rank as "licenciee es sciences physiques," and the following year with second rank as "licenciee es sciences matematique."

In her own words, these were the years "entirely absorbed in the joy of learning and understanding." Poverty was of no concern.

"It was a familiar experience of many Polish students whom I knew, "she wrote in later years. "The room I lived in was a garret, very cold in winter, for it was insufficiently heated by a small stove."

There was a time when she became ill through lack of food.

Marie Sklodowska was 24 when she went to study in Paris.

In 1894 she met Pierre Curie, a very promising physicist, Professor of Physics in the School of Physics and Chemistry in Paris. Their mutual scientific interests drew them together. In the following year they were married—she at the age of 28, he at 36.

Those were the years of pioneering discoveries in physics.

In 1895, Roentgen discovered the now familiar x-rays. In 1896 Becquerel discovered that a compound of uranium affected a photographic plate in the same manner when it had been kept in dark as it did after it had been exposed to the sunlight. Thus radioactivity had been discovered though not yet defined or named.

In 1897, Madme Curie determined to make a study of the phenomenon and had chosen radio-activity as the subject of her doctoral thesis. Professor Curie followed suit, abandoned his study of crystals and joined his wife in the new pursuit, the completion of which was to bring them world-wide recognition and lasting fame.

Using a variety of compounds of uranium, Madame Curie ascertained that they emit the same rays and the intensity of radiation depended only on the quantity of the uranium in the compound. From these observations she reasoned that the radioactivity in the uranium compound was a fundamental property of the uranium atom.

For further investigations, the Curies chose an ore of uranium known as pitchblende. With the progress of purification, the chemical identity of pitchblende components became apparent.

In July, 1898 the Curies announced the existence of Polonium, named for Marie's native Poland, and a search of the second new element was pressed. In December of 1899, the existence of Radium had been announced.

Evidences for these two elements were conclusive but it still remained to separate them from bismouth and barium and to obtain them in free forms.

This was accomplished in a shed with a leaky roof and the most primitive equipment.

"Yet it was in this miserable old shed that passed the best and happiest years of our life, devoting our entire days to our work. I shall never be able to express the joy of untroubled quietness of this atmosphere of research and the excitement of actual progress with the confident hope of still better results," wrote Mme. Curie in her memoirs.

In 1900, Pierre and Marie made a general report on Polonium and Radium to the Congress of Physics in Paris.

In 1902 Mme. Curie succeeded in preparing a decigram of pure uranium and in 1903 she completed her doctorial thesis on this subject.

In 1903 the Curies jointly with Henri Bequerel received the Nobel prize in Physics.

During these years of research, two children were born to the Curies—Irene in 1897 and Eve in 1904.

In 1906 Pierre Curie died in a traffic accident.

In tribute to his memory and in recognition of his scientific status, Prof. Curie's chair at the Sorbonne was offered to his wife. Thus Marie Sklodowska-Curie has been honored as the first woman in history to hold the chair of Professor of Physics at the Corbonne. However, the full Professorship was not granted to her until 1908.

In 1912 Marie was again awarded the Nobel prize, this time alone, for her preparation of pure uranium and defining its atomic weight. That same year a Radium Institute had been established in her honor in Warsaw and in 1913 Marie returned to her homeland to receive a heroine's welcome.

Similar institute had been founded that same year in Paris and Madame Sklodowska-Curie devoted much time to its direction and organization.

During the World War I she and her daughter Irene worked tirelessly in setting up radiological ambulances for the purpose of taking x-rays of the wounded.

Although she never lived in Poland after 1891, her interest in her beloved native land never flagged and she rejoiced that she lived to see her dream of a united and free Poland come true. Her loyalty and her love for the land of her origin were deep and abiding.

In 1921, Madame Sklodowska-Curie came to the United States and American women presented her with a gram of radium and with a fund for her private use. Marie used the money for the rental of another gram of radium for the laboratory in Warsaw. When she visited the United States again in 1929, to dedicate the Hepburn Hall of Chemistry at St. Lawrence University, American friends presented her with money to purchase the gram of radium for Warsaw, thus freeing the original fund for her use.

In 1932 she paid her last visit to her beloved Poland to attend the dedication of the Radium Institute of Warsaw.

Marie Sklodowska-Curie died on July 4, 1934, in Paris.

Marie Sklodowska-Curie is one of several women Nobel laureates. But she is the sole recipient of these highest rewards for her attainment in two disciplines—chemistry and physics. Other great honors came to her from all parts of the world—from learned societies, universities and colleges.

It is somewhat ironic that she was refused admission to the French Academy of Science solely because she was a woman. And the medical faculty in Paris hesitated for a long time to nominate her Professor of Physics because she was not a Frenchwoman by birth.

A deeply moving and forever memorable tribute to this great scientist and humanitarian was paid by President Sykes of St. Lawrence University when he conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Science on her. He spoke of Mme. Sklodowska-Curie:

"Self-effaced and devoted scientist, teacher and author, exemplar of the art of living while directing to beneficient ends powerful forces of nature, single and persistent in purpose, triumphant in research, hastening the march of civilization by the discovery of radium, inspired and inspiring idealist, practical dreamer."

The War on Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, while looking for complicated solutions to combat crime, we sometimes overlook the most direct and most meaningful.

Law enforcement is only as strong as the strength of the local police force and the effectiveness of the individual policeman. If he is not given the tools and the incentive with which to do a good job, it is the law-abiding public that ultimately suffers.

Therefore, it is interesting to learn the thoughts of Attorney General Ramsey Clark along these lines in a Parade magazine article by Jack Anderson that appeared on November 5, 1967. In it, Mr. Clark states:

> Never have good police been so important to people.

He goes on to say that money is desperately needed to pay policemen adequate salaries, to give them intensive training, to provide them with modern equipment and to reorganized the antiquated local police system.

Mr. Clark is also quoted as warning that "as long as the public is willing to spend only $4.2 billion for police, prisons and prosecutions, as contrasted with $12 billion for alcohol, the streets and parks will continue to remain unsafe at night."

This is sage advice, and I commend its meaning.

As the first session of the 90th Congress draws to a close, I urge my colleagues to assign a high priority to the proposed Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act. This legislation will not only aid local communities in the fight against crime—but it will serve notice that the Federal Government will not tolerate efforts to undermine the law and order upon which our society is founded.

This bill will not in and of itself put an end to criminal activities in the United States. It will, however, aid in the development of the skills and manpower necessary to reduce crime in our streets—to increase respect for law and order—by better equipping and making our police more effective.

The legislation allocates Federal funds to States and units of local government for the continuation and innovation of programs to deal with crime. In so doing, it retains where it properly belongs—the responsibility for action, namely on the States and political subdivisions, which are charged under State law with the responsibility for law enforcement.

The House has passed a crime bill. In the closing weeks of the Congress. I hope the Senate will act favorably on this important legislation.

Address by Deputy Attorney General Warren Christopher, Rice Institute, Houston, Tex., November 2, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker—

> When violence erupts, any city that planned to play it by ear will find that it is tone deaf.

This warning was given recently by Warren M. Christopher, Deputy Attorney General, in an address at Rice University in Houston, Tex.

Mr. Christopher's credentials for analyzing civil disorder are impressive. In 1965 and 1966, he was vice chairman of the California commission which investigated the Watts riots. Since joining the Department of Justice, he has dealt extensively with problems surrounding the violence at Newark and Detroit.

It is with this notation of his background that I call attention to the Rice University address, which contains perhaps one of the most illuminating and thoughtful insights into the vital task of preventing and controlling civil disorder.

I include this address in the RECORD and further urge that it be heeded by all in positions of leadership in our great urban areas:

ADDRESS BY DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL WARREN CHRISTOPHER, RICE INSTITUTE, HOUSTON, TEX., NOVEMBER 2, 1967

Last summer we witnessed domestic violence, which was national in scope and unprecedented in intensity. Riots caused the death of 85 people, injury to more than 3,200, and the arrest of 16,000. Destruction of property far exceeded $100 million. The riot-related expenses of police and troops also ran into the millions.

More important was the social cost of these disorders. The fear, bitterness and hate they generated cannot be measured with dollars, but surely they represent the kind of loss America can least afford.

The hate-brokers—both black and white—are the beneficiaries of this domestic violence. It is their status that is enhanced by these disturbances; it is their power that thrives on death and destruction. The racism they preach cannot compete in the market place of ideas. Their theories cannot survive rational analysis. Only in an atmosphere of violence can their philosophy of hate gain acceptance.

The extremists in the Negro community welcome these violent outbursts. They fit in with their assertion that the Negro must take to the streets to achieve political and economic power. While these extremists give lip service to the concept of violence as a last resort, violence is the only method they advocate. They have no other program.

White extremists also thrive on riots. Large scale destruction of property, looting, and arson give a false credibility to their assertion that the races can never live in peace. This has long been the philosophy of the radical right.

The white and black extremists reinforce each other but they benefit no one else. They do not aid the Negro in securing his goals. They do not contribute to the community at large. They exacerbate rather than alleviate the conditions which cause civil disorder.

Every civil disorder or riot reflects deep underlying causes and antecedent conditions. The factors which contribute to an eruption of violence in the ghetto have been developing for over three hundred years. The only permanent solution is to eliminate these deep-rooted conditions.

Tonight I do not intend to speak of these underlying causes. The President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders will have a statement on this subject in the near future. I assure you their recommendations will be worthy of the most careful consideration and study. Without forecasting their recommendations, it is already plain that we must take urgent and expensive new measures to open up our society.

Tonight, however, I will limit my discussion to the short-run means of controlling riots. I do so in the conviction that unless we find short-run solutions, we may forfeit our opportunity to probe the deeper causes and to achieve long-term reforms.

It would be misleading to suggest that there is such a thing as a typical riot, any more than there is a typical murder or typical kidnapping. Yet a pattern has emerged over the last three years of domestic violence.

In this pattern, the cycle of violence begins with an incident involving the police. Having racial overtones, the incident is soon distorted by rumors which flood the ghetto. As the rumor spreads, a crowd gathers, and there is an angry confrontation between the crowd and the police.

In a flash of violence, the crowd explodes and launches a spasm of missile throwing and looting. Frequently, this initial violence erupts at widely-separated places, and sometimes it occurs without our being able to identify the antecedent events. Soon thereafter, the violence turns a sinister corner, and arson and sniping ensue.

Our goal is to break this cycle of violence. Best of all, we would keep it from commencing.

To prevent the occurrence of a triggering incident is a tall task indeed. In the slum area of every major city, there are each day hundreds of arrests or other incidents which have a potential for distortion.

Whether an incident begets violence depends, in the largest measure, on the state of communications and understanding between the community and the police. This is sometimes referred to as "police-community relations", but that shorthand expression is a misnomer if it implies a kind of arm's length bargaining, as if between two sovereign powers.

What it must encompass is an open and easy channel of communication and a friendly and sympathetic understanding of common problems. Police and community must talk together. There must be a conversation not a lecture. Fear and hostility must be replaced by respect and understanding.

Community relations is a two-way street in which both police and community bear a deep and challenging responsibility. But in the end, society will depend heavily on already over-worked, woefully-underpaid policemen. Whether a routine arrest may become the spark for a conflagration will so often depend on the quality of the man with the badge.

We need to build excellence in law enforcement but we have not been willing to pay for it. The government estimated last week that it now takes $9,000 per year for a family of four to maintain a moderate living standard. Yet the average policeman's salary is only $5,300 per year.

Those simple facts speak with an emphatic voice. No more effective step could be taken to prevent riots than to build excellence in our police forces by paying competitive salaries. I should say in passing that this is a principal purpose of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act which was proposed by President Johnson and is now pending in Congress.

The spreading of rumors is the second stage in the cycle of violence. There is evidence that rumors have played an important role in every major disturbance in the last three years. Those who riot tend to share a deep-felt animosity, a high level of frustration, and a strong desire to let off steam. Rumors of alleged police brutality and other provocations which fit their preconceived notions are embraced immediately and reinforce the violent pattern of behavior.

During the Watts riot, for example, at the time of the initial incident a woman who was arrested for assaulting an officer was wearing a barber's smock. The totally false rumor was soon circulating that she was pregnant and had been roughly abused by police.

In another major city last summer, a policeman shot a young man who was slashing him with a knife. The rumor soon circulated that the officer had shot the boy three times while he was lying face down and helpless on the ground.

What can be done about these provocative and destructive rumors? First, it is clear that they could not flourish in a city in which there is a high level of communication and understanding between police and community. In such a situation, the rumors would not be believable or believed.

In less ideal circumstances, we must develop special means to dispel and counteract the rumors.

The first imperative is for the local officials to get the facts. A blind, uninformed defense of official conduct can be as inflammatory as the rumor itself. If there is evidence of misconduct by law enforcement officers, a prompt investigation and effective disciplinary action should be guaranteed. If the rumor is without foundation, urgent and extraordinary steps should be taken to communicate the true facts. Frequently, it will be desirable to make all the evidence available to leading Negroes who have the confidence of their community.

For example, in one city a Negro man was found dead in his cell. Word spread throughout the Negro community that he had been shot. To counteract these rumors, the County Sheriff initiated a tour of the cell area and reported to five Negro clergymen whose spokesman subsequently appeared on TV. In a parallel television interview the County Coroner indicated that the cause of death was definitely not the result of any external physical injury. These immediate actions by local officials greatly lessened the possibility of trouble.

The press will play a vital role in the rumor problem. There can be no doubt that, on occasions, overreporting of inflammatory incidents during the initial stages of a riot have contributed to its growth. Recognizing this fact, ground rules have been voluntarily adopted by local media in several cities for the coverage of stories that are likely to contribute to racial disturbances. One of the valuable rules adopted in some communities has been an agreement to hold for 30 minutes news related to racial violence. Such a rule is designed to give police an opportunity to establish control and preclude entry by others into the troubled area.

While voluntary ground rules are desirable, we think that a complete ban on reporting incidents with racial overtones would be most unwise. If an event is newsworthy, it must be reported to retain the confidence of all the communities involved.

That confidence is an essential foundation for the role which the media can provide in debunking rumors. When public officials have the facts, they should make them available for prompt dissemination by TV, radio, and newspapers. Fast, accurate reporting of the true state of affairs is probably the best antidote to poisonous rumors in the ghetto.

If the police are skillful, if there is communication and understanding between police and community, if the press has been informative rather than inflammatory, if the rumors have been stopped in their tracks—the catalyst may be absent and there may be no explosion.

Should the explosion come, it will be a stern test of a city's preparations, a grim challenge to its capacity to survive. There is no choice but to prepare. When violence erupts, any city that planned only to "play it by ear" will find that it is tone deaf.

A vital part of the advance preparation is an intelligence operation. Once disorder arises, there will be no time to develop sources of information or devise methods for evaluating it. Sources and methods for systematic evaluation should be developed now.

During the critical hours, sound decisions will require that the police identify the volume of riot-connected activity, the trends in such activity, the critical areas, and the deviations from normal patterns. In Detroit, one of our first acts was to establish an incident barometer so that we could measure each half hour of riot activity against an earlier riot period or against normal conditions.

Advance preparations must also focus on legal questions. Doubt about the legal powers of public officials has often contributed to confusion and delay in a riot situation. Among the legal questions which ought to be resolved in advance are these: By whom and under what circumstances can a state of emergency be declared? What is the power of local officials to prohibit the sale of guns, of gasoline, of liquor? What needs to be done to call for assistance from police forces or fire department in adjacent communities, from the state police, from the National Guard, or from the Federal Government? And what legal powers do these outside personnel have to detain suspects or make arrests? What legal papers should be drawn in advance?

When a riot comes, the time is past for poring over the law books or enacting new legislation. The responsible officials must be ready to choose quickly, and the legality of the various alternatives must be clear.

The command structure of law enforcement forces must be worked out in advance. Controlling a riot is likely to require the joint efforts of city police, county sheriffs, state police, and perhaps National Guard. The tense scene at a command center will be complicated by the presence of high elective officials.

In the circumstances, it is imperative that riot control forces should be under a single command with a single headquarters, all agreed to long in advance. There is no time for bickering or indecision, no room for confusion or controversy among the leadership.

Advance preparations must include plans for coordination and communications among law enforcement agencies. Some cities have been greatly hampered in riot control because the different law enforcement forces were on separate radio networks with no means of intercommunication. This can produce great delay and duplication when law enforcement is stretched thin and a city can least afford it.

Preparation would not be complete without the development of a tactical plan. Any plan must be flexible, but there must be advance consideration of the following items:

The deployment of the maximum number of men using the required amount of force but no more than that;

The sealing off of areas of violence and establishment of perimeter check points;

The imposition of a curfew;

The closing of liquor, gasoline, and gun stores;

The contingent use of water or chemical agents;

Arrest and detention procedures.

In a riot, when looting gives way to arson and arson is joined by sniping, the problem of law enforcement is severely aggravated. We have learned much from our early responses to this deadly and dangerous sniping. It is not a useful technique to employ massive firepower against many high buildings. Nor is it useful to plunge whole areas into darkness on the theory that this provides protection against snipers. These techniques endanger lives and aggravate tensions without being effective.

Effective action against snipers must begin with a realistic evaluation of their location and numbers. Because sniping is a phenomenon of the late riot period, fear and fatigue often combine to produce a vastly exaggerated estimate of the amount of sniping.

Once the location of the sniper has been identified, the best technique developed to date has been to surround the building involved and to go into it to root the sniper out. If sniper fire is to be returned, it should be done by an expert marksman who has visual contact with the sniper.

In the unhappy events of the last three summers, law enforcement has learned valuable lessons in the tactics to be employed in controlling domestic violence. There is not time to discuss them in detail tonight. Earlier this week the Attorney General announced that at the direction of President Johnson a series of conferences will be held this winter to share the knowledge developed. Before winter is out, these meetings will involve police and public officials from every major metropolitan area in the United States.

By way of summary, I have offered these thoughts as ways for a city to enhance its ability to break the cycle of violence which marks a riot.

First, a city should build excellence in its police force by a financial commitment which reflects the true importance of law enforcement to the community.

Second, every effort should be bent to improve the communications and understanding between the community and the police.

Third, we must devise new mechanisms to dispel and counteract the rumors which fan the flames of disorder.

Fourth, intensive advance preparations should be made for dealing with domestic violence. Such advance plans are necessary in the fields of intelligence, legal proclamations and emergency orders, command and coordination of law enforcement agencies, and the tactics and strategy to be employed.

As I conclude, may I note that we hear these days, from sources which should know better, the quixotic idea that riots serve a useful purpose in drawing our national attention to urban problems. Indeed we even hear the riots excused and defended on the ground that they are an articulate cry for help from the ghetto. This is both pernicious and foolish. We can no more condone the violence than we can acquiesce in the conditions which spawn the violence.

The simple fact is that everyone loses when there is a riot. Violence makes it much more difficult, not easier, to address the urgent urban problems. The legacy of hate and bitterness and fear which follows in the wake of violence is an impediment, sometimes a fatal obstruction, to progress in education, in employment, in housing, in all the areas where remedial action is so essential.

The improvement of ghetto conditions through reform in education, employment, and housing is a difficult and demanding road for all segments of society. But there is no shorter route. The avenues of violence and lawlessness all lead to a dead end. If we are to travel this difficult road, we must take every precaution to insure that violence and disorder along the route do not prevent us from reaching our destination together.

Carrier Adm. J. J. "Jocko" Clark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues a book that has recently been released entitled "Carrier Admiral," written by a great naval hero of this Nation, Adm. J. J. "Jocko" Clark USN, retired. In his book Adm. "Jocko" Clark states that he endeavors to "call the shots as he sees them" and may I say he did just that. Adm. Arthur W. Radford was quoted as saying:

> I can think of no living naval officer more qualified to discuss the qualities of combat leadership than "Jocko" Clark.

Another great American, Gen. Mark Clark, was also quoted as saying:

> If I were to order my friend "Jocko" Clark to take his flagship the U.S.S. *Missouri* up the Yalu River his answer would be: "Aye Aye, sir."

I recommend this book to any student of naval airpower and I applaud Admiral Clark for bringing this important subject so factually to the attention of the American public.

Mellons Add $20 Million to Art Gift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert in the RECORD the article from the Pittsburgh Press, of Tuesday, November 7, 1967.

The American people, as well as we Pittsburghers, are grateful for the fine patriotism, civic spirit, and dedication to the arts, education, and many good causes of the Mellon family.

The article follows:

MELLONS ADD $20 MILLION TO ART GIFT

WASHINGTON.—The son and daughter of the late Andrew Mellon of Pittsburgh have donated 20 million dollars to build an addition to the National Gallery of Art here.

The new endowment comes from Paul Mellon of Upperville, Va., and Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce, former wife of the U.S. ambassador to Britain.

It was a gift from their financier father of his 50-million-dollar art collection, plus 15 million dollars in construction funds, that established the National Gallery 30 years ago.

Andrew Mellon was U.S. treasury secretary during the 1920s.

The addition being built by his children will house a center for advanced study in the visual arts for teachers and scholars from all parts of the world.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Maryland Bridge Named for Former Maryland Governor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ADDRESS BY GOV. SPIRO T. AGNEW AT DEDICATION OF WILLIAM PRESTON LANE, JR., MEMORIAL BRIDGE, SANDY POINT, MD., NOVEMBER 9, 1967

Today, we officially dedicate in name a bridge that in inspiration and spirit has long been dedicated to William Preston Lane, Jr., Governor of Maryland from 1947 to 1951.

When this imposing span across the Chesapeake Bay opened to traffic on July 30, 1952, it marked the first physical connection between Maryland's Eastern and Western Shores, a feat of unprecedented engineering genius. Even more, it signified the successful culmination of over a half century of vision and struggle to achieve this purpose.

Even before the advent of the motor vehicle, sketchy preliminary studies were made to span the Bay by bridge. It was the unfulfilled dream of private interests during the first quarter of this Century, and of State officials during the Ritchie and Nice administrations in the 1930's. America's entry into World War II caused a shelving of plans to finance and construct such a span.

To William Preston Lane, Jr., assuming office immediately after the war, the construction of a single, mighty span uniting Maryland's shores was not to be forgotten or postponed. For he had heroic dreams for Maryland, and a hero's courage to transform the ideal into the real.

Governor Lane was faced with the challenge of moving Maryland out of the postwar lethargy; of providing services in many fields and modernizing facilities delayed by the war emergency; of helping a people and an economy adjust from wartime production to peacetime consumption.

The leadership and courage he displayed in bolstering the State's financial structure, in the face of public bitterness and even hostility, will long be remembered. So will his vision in building the Chesapeake Bay Bridge, which was his greatest dream and aspiration . . . for no man better understood what a Bay bridge could do for Maryland.

Today, the impact of this bridge in terms of added convenience to Maryland's citizens and added impetus to Maryland's economy is self-evident. Since the Bay bridge opened to traffic in 1952, almost 48 million motor vehicles have travelled across it; over $67 million in toll income has been collected.

Even more significant has been the economic growth on the Eastern Shore, generated to a tremendous extent by the bridge. The development of Ocean City—the Eastern Shore's resort mecca—offers evidence that the bridge has been a catalyst to Maryland's tourist industry. In 1952, Ocean City's assessable base was approximately $10.7 million. Today it is $58.6 million—a growth of almost 600 per cent. Admission and amusement receipts from Ocean City reveal identical results. Since 1952, consumer volume has leaped almost 600 per cent.

So great has been the success of Eastern Shore resorts and commerce, so tremendous the increase in summertime traffic, that the present bridge has been unable to sustain the demands placed upon it, especially during the tourist season. Within a decade of its opening, the traffic volumes nearly doubled; and as the traffic grew so did the frequency and duration of delays. The very same tourists who had first been attracted to the Eastern Shore by the convenience of the Bay bridge suddenly found themselves repelled by traffic jams that transformed the dualized access highways on each side of the Bay into vast parking lots.

Twelve successful years had brought the bridge to the point of diminishing capability and the State Roads Commission was challenged to revitalize Governor Lane's vision. Governor Tawes and the 1966 General Assembly acted immediately and decisively, providing authorization to construct a parallel span. Their efforts merit recognition and tribute.

Fortunately, the newly apportioned General Assembly, the new administration, the State Roads Commission, and every member of Maryland's Congressional delegation—save *one*—were also heirs to Governor Lane's vision of the future and courageous commitment to progress. There was to be no retreat to the past of the Sandy Point-Matapeake Ferry, nor even any temporizing in the present—pretending like ostriches that if we ignored the problem it would dissolve or disappear.

In the enactment of legislation authorizing the construction of three additional Bay bridges and a second Baltimore Harbor Tunnel, the 1967 General Assembly echoed and exemplified the heroic vision and courage of Governor Lane, the perception of Governor Ritchie, and the perseverance of Governor Nice, whose administration started developing our present comprehensive network of toll facilities.

The legislation reviving the State's bridge and tunnel plans this year—after a careful second look—was, in my opinion, in the finest tradition of representative democracy . . . a tradition brilliantly expressed by the Eighteenth Century jurist, Edmund Burke, when he wrote: "Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

Governor William Preston Lane, Jr., always acted on this tradition. He never betrayed his constituents and constantly justified their confidence by refusing to compromise his conscience. But to preserve his conscience, he forfeited his political future and paid the heaviest penalty an electorate can exact—political defeat. He sacrificed his political life to strengthen his State, to do what was right and necessary. Historians will never record that William Preston Lane, Jr., governed his state the longest, but they may very well judge that he governed Maryland the best.

A passage in the Book of Mark reads: "A prophet is not without honor, but in his own country, and among his own kin. . ." and perhaps it should have been added "within his own time." Such was the political fate of William Preston Lane, Jr.

But, I believe that Governor Lane understood that in time his programs would be vindicated, his vision appreciated, his record honored. Much of the progress that he generated was intangible, for the Lane administration was preoccupied with recovery, with shoring up the past and building foundations for the future. Yet one great, tangible monument stood to honor this man who dared to "dream the impossible dream" . . . and Governor Lane cherished this steel and concrete symbol of all he had accomplished.

It is told that shortly after his defeat for a second term, he took several members of his staff on a boat ride. As the State Yacht sailed beneath the Bay bridge where the superstructure was grandly rising, he surveyed the massive expanse of steel with great pride and emotion. With tears in his eyes, he told those closest to him, "That's one thing they can't take away from Pres Lane."

In that hour, he knew that recognition, appreciation and gratitude—like progress and the future—were inevitable. Present and future generations will recognize his name and remember—above all else—that it was Governor William Preston Lane's vision that united Maryland's shores.

Today, in renaming this great span—The William Preston Lane, Jr., Memorial Bridge—we formally and officially commemorate his wisdom, strength and courage. In this act his State pays him honor long overdue. Even more, today Maryland acknowledges and assures at last—in name as well as in spirit—that the first Bay bridge "is one thing that they can't take away from Pres Lane."

Tribute to Gov. John J. McKeithen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday, over 1 million voters in Louisiana, approximately 75 percent of the total registered voters, went to the polls to cast their vote for Governor.

Of the million plus who voted, over 800,000 cast a vote of confidence for Gov. John J. McKeithen, over four opponents. Thus, Governor McKeithen will become the first Governor in this century to succeed himself as chief of state in Louisiana.

This massive vote was not only a vote of confidence in a young, aggressive Governor, but a vote of approval of the manner in which he has conducted the chief executive office of this State. History will undoubtedly record him as one of Louisiana's greatest Governor and, indeed, a well-merited recordation.

On Monday night the people of New Orleans poured out more than one thousand strong at a testimonial dinner to pay tribute to him. Former Gov. Terry Sanford, of North Carolina, an old friend of Governor McKeithen, was the principal speaker. He paid just tribute and poured admiration upon his friend. It was Governor McKeithen, however, who, in a brilliant speech, sounded the tocsin of the future and lighted the way to a new Louisiana—Louisiana proud of its past but prouder of the hope it places in the future.

I was privileged to attend the testimonial in honor of Governor McKeithen, and was so taken by his inspirational address that I want to share it with the Members of this body.

Therefore, I am placing it here in the RECORD so that all who desire may read and be inspired as I was when I heard Governor McKeithen deliver it:

GOV. JOHN J. MCKEITHEN'S REMARKS AT NEW ORLEANS TESTIMONIAL

Thank you for leaving your families and your homes on this cool November evening. I would be less than honest if I did not tell you I am deeply moved and greatly honored that you have done so.

On behalf of my own family and myself, may I acknowledge our gratitude and our feelings of warmth for you all, feelings that the simple language which I possess makes it difficult to truly express.

Louisiana is at last a new force to be reckoned with in the affairs of this nation. Finally have we demonstrated a political maturity that proclaims to all the world that we have come of age and that never again will appeal to the differences in men, never again will the false call for a return to the good old days, lull our people into a Rip Van Winkle sleep, always to be followed by the tragic awakening and realization that the exploitation of our differences have held tomorrow from us, and the knowledge that the good old days will not suffice in a world geared for *action* and for *now*!

Yesterday is a luxury that Louisiana cannot afford. Never again must we burn ourselves out like meteors trying to turn back the hands of the clock. Time is the most relentless of all forces and heaven help that people who do not march unafraid to the beat of her drum.

Our past is a noble one. *But it is the past!* Thus let us revere it and celebrate it, but let no man take haven in it. For the past can all too easily become a romantic graveyard of meaningless contemplation and wishful thinking. It is proper that there be dreamers in our society, but let us be on guard that society itself does not become a dreamer.

Yes, we have come of age, restless in determination, burning with zeal, straining at the bit to make up for the wasted years, the spent energies, the useless bloodletting that memorialized our past, making of it a tragedy of men climbing anthills while mountains stood waiting; of a people crossing brooks while rivers went wanting; of a society satisfying itself with the ceiling of a room, while beyond lay the very stars.

Never again must we allow ourselves to be torn apart, compartmentalized away from each other, transformed into a sad species that looked with suspicion upon those who differed from us or whose color or politics or religion was not our own. Louisiana is big enough for all men who love their country and who love Louisiana! Let us fuse together the strengths and the talents of our society and let us proceed upon our way as one great people.

The time has come for the empty cliché, meaningless mumbo-jumbo couched in pseudo philosophy or frenzied invective, to be silent forever. For while we love with our hearts it is with our minds that we must reason and think and give meaning to our own existence.

Nor will this state be a haven for those who would disrupt the law—or those who would be the law. There is no place in Louisiana for the mob regardless of the cause it espouses, the costumes it wears or the color of its skin.

Because we are a state re-born we say to the rest of these United States that never again may Louisiana be safely put into a bottle like some biological speciman because of where we lie upon a map. Nor can anyone safely give to us attributes that belong to a yesterday, that we did not forge and by doing so deny to us a tomorrow that we have earned with blood and toil.

Nor must any political entity or party look for Louisiana to blindly join in a game of follow the leader based on historic precedent or geographic locales. Louisiana is a part of this union, but within those constitutional confines we must follow that course that is best first for America but also for the people of Louisiana.

Thus must the Governor's race which was decided in this state only three days ago have as its inevitable result no victor and no vanquished. If wounds remain let us bind them up. If anger exists let us extend the hand of good will. Our past is pocked with unending vendettas, let us not be guilty of similar sin.

We ask only that those who love this nation and this state join with us so that if elecions must have victors, let it be the people who have won.

The mountain tops are not beyond us. Louisiana's long night has ended. The sun breaks in the heavens. Let us then stand together unafraid, determined, proud! No long satisfied with the promise of tomorrow but anxious to get to our task which must be to claim the day at hand.

There is nobility in our cause. There will be right in our method. Our state stands poised on the launching pad of earth and the countdown is ending. Let us go now to claim the stars.

The Ten Commandments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a splendid column which appeared recently in the Bronx Home News. Written by a constituent of mine, Mr. Dennis Willinger, the column quotes an inspiring set of "Ten Commandments of Good Will." In these days when the Nation is so divided and hatreds run rampant, these particular Ten Commandments are worth reading, studying, and remembering.

Mr. Willinger's column follows:

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

(By Dennis Willinger)

The pictures of agonizing human suffering and pain which we are seeing on television and in the newspapers are shocking, saddening, and heartbreaking. The world is in a sickening turmoil and convulsion inflicted by the germs of hunger, hatred, and prejudice.

Poverty, hopelessness, and despair are the breeding hotbeds for all these ills. No infant is born with these afflictions. These are man-made conditions which are now endangering man's body and soul . . . every man's body and soul. Nobody can turn his head to careless isolation nor concernless passivity. The whole atmosphere is poisoned and polluted with violence, destruction, conflict, and distrust.

The spirit of good will and the will to seek solutions and reconciliation seem to be almost forgotten virtues. These are sober days of rededication for all men of good will. Only with every individual's determination, interest, and participation in community affairs and human efforts can we right the wrongs. All of us are responsible for the state of the nation and the world.

Let us remember that after our momentary indignation and anger die down, after the ugly and cruel pictures are moved away from our eyes, after our outraged consciences simmer down to normalcy . . . then the sufferings and causes are still there. And these problems will not be solved, and will not go away without our personal awareness and involvement.

We must feel the burdens and the pains of others, and also the guilt. If we renounce the feelings of compassion and concern for fellow human beings, we must feel the burning pain of shame. If we choose to be indifferent, mute, and silent when we could reach out to help, speak for responsibility, and call for understanding and action . . . then also must we feel the burning pain of shame.

On July 31, the Monday after the day of prayer for racial peace, the New York Times had a solemn report about the services in the churches, synagogues, and other places of worship. Temple Emanu-el at Fifth Avenue and 65 Street was open for a special service. There, the Rev. Dr. Julius Mark, senior rabbi of the congregation, said that all responsible citizens, whatever their race, creed or nationality, are agreed that the rioting, the burning, the looting, the shooting, the sniping, and the senseless murders that have erupted in the cities throughout the land must be stopped whenever and wherever they occur.

Dr. Mark called for a massive program, a crash program to right the wrongs of the last three or four hundred years. During the service Rabbi Roland B. Sobel read "The Ten Commandments of Good Will" which were composed during World War II by the late Rev. Dr. Walter M. Kirk, Methodist official of the National Council of Churches. They are as follows:

1. I will respect all men and women regardless of race and religion.

2. I will respect and defend my neighbor and my neighbor's children against the ravages of racial and religious bigotry.

3. I will exemplify in my own life the spirit of good will and understanding.

4. I will challenge the philosophy of racial superiority by whomsoever it may be proclaimed, whether they be kings, dictators, or demagogues.

5. I will not be misled by the lying propaganda of those who seek to set race against the race or nation against nation.

6. I will refuse to support any organization that has for its purpose the spreading of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, or anti-Protestantism.

7. I will establish comradship with those who seek to exalt the spirit of love and reconciliation throughout the world.

8. I will attribute to those who differ from me the same degree of sincerity that I claim for myself.

9. I will uphold the civil rights and religious liberties of all citizens and groups whether I agree with them or not.

10. I will do more than live and let live—I will live and help live.

These "Ten Commandments" express with clarity and simplicity the moral responsibility of every individual. They give an ethical guiding point to a personal conduct and behavior for the common good against evil. They call for personal action, crystallizing the scope and importance of the powers of each man. They call for deeds, for doing, for implementing for helping.

These Commandments should be reprinted and distributed in our churches, synagogues, schools, institutions, banks, unions, stores, and homes. Everywhere they should remind us of our moral responsibility every day.

Without good will there can be no good deeds. Without a citizenry moved and influenced by good will on the individual level, no law for the good of all can be inspired or implemented. Yes, we are our brothers' keepers and no man is an island unto himself. The spirit of good will is our reservoir, our fortress. It can alarm our conscience and can give us strength and courage to turn the tide.

How To Get To Know Your Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress has been confronted with the questions, "How can I make my views known to my Congressman?" "What influence do I have as an individual?" "Does my one vote really matter?"

These and other questions have been ably discussed by a veteran employee of the House of Representatives, Louise Maxienne Dargans, before the National Council of Negro Women on Wednesday, November 8, 1967.

By virtue of her many years of experience on Capitol Hill, as administrative assistant to a Representative, as chief clerk to the House Committee on Education and Labor, and in her current position as director of research for that same committee, Miss Dargans is eminently qualified to provide expert answers to those questions.

I am pleased to insert the text of her informative and interesting remarks in the RECORD, for they offer valuable guidelines to aid and stimulate the individual citizen toward a fuller participation in his government:

HOW TO GET TO KNOW YOUR CONGRESSMAN

(Delivered to the leadership-training seminar of the National Council of Negro Woman, Wednesday, November 8, 1967, by Dr. Louise Maxienne Dargans, director of research, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives)

There is no more important person to a Congressman than *you*, his constituent. It is to represent *you* that he was sent to Washington in the first place, and he knows that to stay there he must continue to learn *your* views and attempt to meet *your* needs. Or, as a prominent Senator has said, "The most powerful lobby in the Nation is *you*."

But, like any lobby, you will have no influence at all if you don't take an active interest in local and national affairs and let your Congressman know what your views are. Too many people think that the process of government in this country is so huge and so complex that their individual voices will have absolutely no effect. But this is like a mechanic who throws up his hands in despair over a car which is not in good running condition, all because he doesn't realize that one new spark plug may make a great deal of difference in the cars performance. Every voice—and every vote—does count, and the only way our democratic system of government can work is for citizens like yourselves to become interested in and involved with the affairs of their community.

You can influence decision-making in Washington. A visit to your Representative and two Senators can be a very rewarding and satisfying experience. It can be the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship with your elected Representatives. Or it may be a frustrating experience. But whatever the results, you will have taken an important step in bringing your views before those who help to make the life and death decisions facing our world today. It can be the first step in your own political career.

You may ask, then, what this has to do with government at the national level. Every so-called "national problem" is in reality a patchwork quilt of local, community issues. And the only way the problems can be solved is by solving them in each community. The Federal Government can provide incentives for local action—and money is a good one—but it can't take the place of the good citizens and the local leaders who must actually tackle the problem with their ideas and energy.

The late President Kennedy once said: "Today the complications of national and international politics make politicians of all of us. Today, every citizen, regardless of his interest in politics, 'holds office'; every one of us is in a position of responsibility; and, in the final analysis, the kind of government we get depends upon how we fulfill those responsibilities."

As I indicated at the outset of my remarks, one of your most direct lines of communication with government officials in Washington is through your Congressman. He was elected to represent your interests in the naitonal government, and he will want to help you out if he can. But, you may ask, how do you go about getting in contact with your Congressman?

Remember, first of all, that he *wants* to have your honest and thoughtful opinions—they can be most helpful to him in indicating how he should approach a given issue or problem in Congress. But, remember, too, that he is a very busy man and do not be disapopinted if, when you visit his office in Washington, he is unable to take time out from his scheduled activities to talk with you. He will if he can, but this is not always possible. In this case, a chat with one of his office aides may be just as good away of convenying your views to the Member—and often a lot faster!

THE INTERVIEW IN WASHINGTON

Making the appointment

It is best to write in advance, telling your Congressman when you will be in Washington and asking for an appointment. Give him alternatives. The address:

Senator ——— ———, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515; and Representative ——— ———, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

The House transacts most of its major business Tuesdays through Thursdays. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are the least likely times for interviews.

The best hours to see your Congressman are usually before he goes to a Committee meeting at 10 a.m., or in late afternoon, after the session has concluded. The House and Senate usually convene about noon and may meet for a few minutes or for 10 to 12 hours, depending on the legislative schedule. If you cannot see the Member in his office, you may call him off the Senate or House floor.

During the closing days of a session, Members of both Houses are extremely busy and it is very difficult to see them. Some are in town even when Congress is not in session.

When you arrive in Washington

Telephone the Member's office, at CApitol 4–3121, to confirm your appointment, or to make it, if necessary.

Planning the interview

General conversation is a good opener, but let your Congressman know soon that you want to discuss specific ideas or legislation.

As a rule, no more than two or three subjects should be discussed in one interview. Be prepared with background information and know something of the Member's voting record. You have a much better chance of affecting the Congressman's thinking on a subject if you talk to him before his opinions have been formed.

The staffs of your local NAACP, Urban League, or League of Women Voters will try to help you be informed on the issues and the Member's voting record if you stop by their office before visiting your Congressman.

The interview

Be on time. Be positive. Be constructive. Be friendly. Begin with areas of agreement. Commend him for stands he has taken of which you approve.

State your views clearly and concisely. Tell of personal experiences you have had which illustrate your points. Congressmen are interested in what people back home are thinking. Tell him if your church, organization or club has taken a stand on the issue under discussion. Many Members are especially interested in what high school and college students are thinking.

Don't be afraid to take a stand based on religion and morality, and state it forcefully. Often the depth of conviction behind the words can be more persuasive than the words themselves.

Suggest that he do some specific thing, like voting for or against a pending bill, sponsoring a bill, inserting an article in the Congressional Record, or meeting with some particular group when he returns home.

If possible, leave the Senator or Representative some printed material which summarizes at least some of the points you want to make. This might be your own statement, a statement of an organization, or a reprint of a newspaper or magazine article. Don't assume that because you have seen the article he has.

If the Senator or Representative is not available, talk to his assistant. These people are often very knowledgeable, and quite influential in helping form the Member's views. At the very least you will have a better opportunity to hear where the Member stands on particular issues as reflected by his assistant's comments.

Most people, though, will not have the opportunity to come to Washington to express their views in person. For them, then, a letter is the most satisfactory means of communicating their opinions. Here are a few basic ground rules to follow, which will help make your letters as effective as possible.

1. First of all, make sure that you're writing to the right man. Your letter won't carry much weight if it's had to be readdressed simply because the man to whom you're writing has no jurisdiction over the subject in which you're interested! (Or if he doesn't even represent your district!) Remember that a Congressman cannot do anything about *State* laws.

2. Secondly, write legibly—a Member is unlikely to be influenced if he can't read your letter.

3. Know your subject—and don't try to cover every possible issue upon which you've ever had an idea in one letter. Read the newspapers, editorial comments, and news magazines intelligently, and inform yourself on *both* sides of the issue. Watch the public affairs programs on television and discuss your views with your friends and neighbors.

4. Be specific—tell the Congressman *in your own words* how a particular piece of legislation or an administrative action will affect you and your family.

5. Be reasonable—and don't threaten the Member with discourteous language or by saying, "I'll never vote for you again if. . . ." The Congressman is much more likely to pay heed to a courteous, well-thought-out message than to a "crackpot letter," which gets thrown into what many Members call their "nut letter files," or File 13, the wastebasket.

6. Time your letters to be most effective. If there is a particular bill in which you're interested, write to express your views either in support of or in opposition to it while it is still in committee. After the bill has been reported out of committee, it is much more difficult for the Congressman to suggest changes in it (although if it is still possible, of course, provided the House Rules Committee is permitting floor amendments to

the bill). Recognize, too, that the Member has much more influence over legislation considered by one of his own committees than on measures which are before other committees.

7. Finally, don't expect to win every battle. Your legislator is not representing you alone. Others among his constituents may have just as strong views and vital interests on the *opposite* side of the issue. His job is to weigh these often conflicting interests and try to achieve a fair compromise. Then, too, the Congressman's personal judgment must come into the picture. On some occasions he may feel it is his duty to buck the prevailing sentiment of his district. As the 18th century British statesman Edmund Burke put it in his rebuke to the voters of Bristol: "Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

A Member of Congress, more recently and in more earthy terms, phrased the same thought this way: "If they just wanted me to weigh the mail, they should have elected a butcher."

Don't let your interest flag once you've put your letter in the mailbox; follow through on it. If it's a particular Federal-aid program you're interested in which you feel could benefit your community, see that appropriate local action is taken so that your city or town can take advantage of it. Often applications have to be filed or certain reports have to be made. If you feel the Federal agency administering the program on the national level lacks some information it should have about your community, contact your Congressman and ask him to set up an appointment with an appropriate official in that department so that you can explain the local situation to him. These men are interested in doing the best job they can, and this kind of extra information, which only local citizens can supply, is often invaluable to them. Once the program has been started, make sure that it is helping those it is meant to help. If it is not, let those in charge *know* that it is not. If leaders and aides are needed to make the program a reality in your locality, try to interest your friends and neighbors in the project.

WHY NOT VISIT HIM AT HOME?

Many Members maintain offices in their State or District. You may wish to become acquainted with the Member's field representatives and alert them to your concerns. These people are often in almost daily telephone contact with the Washington office and can pass along information to the Senator or Representative.

If the Member has a home office, you can arrange for an appointment through it, or write directly to the Member in Washington and arrange for a meeting the next time he is home.

In an interview at home, you may want to bring in representatives of other organizations so that there is a broadly based citizens group. This will entail more preparation in terms of choosing issues and selecting a spokesman, but the results can be rewarding. You will be bringing to the Senator's or Representative's attention a viewpoint shared by many responsible people.

You may also wish to invite the Member to speak to your Church, organization or club on a particular subject related to your concern. In preparing his remarks, the Member may become more aware of the issues than he would have been through an interview.

During campaigns you may wish to base your interviews with the candidates on questionnaires. By comparing and publishing the answers, you and your fellow citizens have a sounder basis for casting your vote on election day.

Visiting hearings

A major part of Congress' work is done in Committees. While in Washington you should try to attend at least one Congressional Committee hearing. The Washington Post prints a daily list of Committee hearings. You can visit any "open" hearing; no pass is needed. You cannot visit executive hearings. About one-third of Congressional hearings are executive and therefore closed to the public for security or other reasons.

Visiting the gallery

You will need a pass to listen to Senate and House debate from the galleries. Pick up your passes from the office of one of your Senators and of your Representative.

You can see, then, that there are many, many ways in which *you* can participate in our government. Or, if you do not have the time to become so actively involved, at the very least you can make your views known to the men who represent you in Congress. You may be a very small cog in a very big wheel, but the malfunctioning of one cog can have disastrous effects on the whole wheel.

We have the best system of government in the world here in the United States—but we need *your* help to make it function most effectively. And I know we can count on it.

A General's Judgment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared recently in the Washington Evening Star:

A GENERAL'S JUDGMENT

General Omar N. Bradley wears five stars. He was a World War II commander and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Korean war. He is the highest ranking officer to have visited the fighting fronts in South Vietnam. And his report of his findings, which appears in the current issue of Look, is a decidedly hopeful one.

No one, we suppose, will say that General Bradley was brainwashed by the diplomats or the soldiers. So it should carry some weight when he says he is convinced that the war in Vietnam is "a war at the right place, at the right time and with the right enemy—the Communists."

After talking with the men in the foxholes, the junior officers and the commanders, General Bradley was convinced that we are making progress. "We are gaining, often dramatically, in the military struggle," he says, "and in the even more difficult task of healing the social ills on which the Communists feed." A stalemate? Not when "the other side is getting weaker and we are getting stronger."

Why fight in Vietnam? This is his answer: "If we fight in Vietnam, and win, it is *possible* we may have to repeat our effort elsewhere. If we pull out it is *certain* that we will face more and tougher Vietnams."

Why does Hanoi keep fighting? "Ho Chi Minh's one hope is to hang on in the expectation that the American public, inadequately informed about the true situation and sickened by the loss in lives and money, will force the United States to give up and pull out."

How will the antiwar extremists respond to this? They can hardly attack General Bradley on the ground that he is a mindless military man, for it was he who said in 1951 that to carry the Korean war to Red China by crossing the Yalu "would involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." It would be absurd to say that he is indifferent to the dangers of a major-land war in Asia.

But he does believe this: "History will judge that, alongside Berlin, Greece, Cuba and Korea, Vietnam was one of our finest hours. We did not flinch. Or it will say that the Communists are right, and History will belong to them."

Rhetoric? Perhaps. The truth? We think so.

Veterans Day Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, in these days when there is so much debate about why we are in Vietnam and whether or not the war is properly conducted, it is refreshing to know that there are those on the Indian reservations of South Dakota who are proud of their heritage and who recognize their obligation not only to their people but to their Nation. I insert a Veterans Day resolution passed by the tribal organization on the Cheyenne River Reservation of South Dakota:

RESOLUTION No. 87-67-CR

(By Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council, Eagle Butte, S. Dak., November 7, 1967)

Whereas, The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe would like to honor the young men and women of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe who serve in the Armed Forces of the United States, and

Whereas, Members of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe believe it to be an honor to serve ones country in time of peril or distress, or in the defense of theirs and other people's freedom and when the honor of our country is at stake, and

Whereas, There has been criticism of the President of these United States in the press giving the impression that the President is carrying out the War in Vietnam without the consent of Congress, and

Whereas, The members of the Tribe do not believe this to be so as Congress continues to appropriate monies to carry out the War in Vietnam, and

Whereas, The members of the Tribe do not pretend to know all of the answers as to why we are in the war in Vietnam, but do believe that the President and Congress have the interest and the general welfare of the people of these United States at heart or we would not be so committed, and they deserve our loyalty, and

Whereas, Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower has stated that we should do more thinking and less quarreling over the Nation's Policy in Vietnam, that we asked President Johnson to be our leader we should support him in carrying out his duties under the Constitution of the United States, and

Whereas, The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe believes that we as Americans, the First Americans, should support the Leader of our country and the Congress of these United States for as Layman we do not know all of the implications that concern Foreign Policy, and

Whereas, we also believe that the people of these United States should not create dissension, but should recognize the fact that it is an honor to serve one's country. That dissension only encourages and comforts the enemy, and

Whereas, We believe that the fact of honoring and giving recognition to and to be boastful and proud of those who serve our country is long overdue, and

Whereas, We recommend to the people of these United States that when our young men and women are called to duty that we honor them in one way or another, also when they have returned after having served their country,

Now therefore, be it resolved, by the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council this 7th day of November 1967 that we go on record as being grateful and would like to thank the young men and women who are now serving their country and those who have returned for one reason or another that we are proud of them and

Be it further resolved, that we ask the President and the Governor of South Dakota to ask the people of the United States and the State of South Dakota to show their gratitude to the young men and women who are now serving or have served in this armed conflict on November 11, 1967, Veteran's Day, and

Be it further resolved, that those members of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe who have served or are now serving in the Armed Forces of the United States in the armed conflict in Vietnam are hereby given $25.00 as a token of gratitude and appreciation and the thanks of the Tribe is extended for their loyalty and patriotism, and we would like it to be known that our young men and women who have been called to duty do consider it to be an honor to serve his or her country.

Attest:

HAZEL GARREAUX, *Secretary*.

Veterans Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday the American people will commemorate Veterans Day, the anniversary of the ending of World War I, by paying tribute to the heroes of past wars and by rededicating themselves to the cause of world peace and to the principles of justice, freedom and democracy.

The holiday was originally proclaimed Armistice Day, "set aside in memory of a moment of peace," as President Johnson has said. It commemorated the victory of 1918 which was to have made the world "safe for democracy" and war forever impossible. In 1954, recognizing that the United States had been involved in two other major military conflicts, Congress approved an act to change the name of the holiday to Veterans Day, in order to honor all the men and women who have served America in the Armed Forces.

On this solemn day, we can reassert our pride in being Americans and pay homage to our soldier-citizens who have served this Nation well. Our heritage of freedom and liberty has been preserved through the sacrifices of these veterans, and we shall always remember our debt of gratitude to them.

However, in honoring our veterans and the ideals for which they fought, we must not for a moment forget the soldiers fighting and dying today in Vietnam. November 11 takes on greater meaning as we think of these gallant defenders of our freedom.

Hoover Says Fast Action Needed To Curb Civil Disobedience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have just read a very fine editorial from the Fort Lauderdale News concerning civil disobedience.

The editorial, authored by Harvey A. Call, editor of the News, points out what I consider a very salient point and quotes J. Edgar Hoover, the very able Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is a point which I have long tried to stress.

I would like to quote Mr. Hoover:

> Stern, decisive action is needed when a street disturbance begins. Justice is not served when a growing horde of vandals and looters is appeased and their pillage overlooked lest a show of force might provoke a greater violence.

I would like to include this editorial for the interest and information of my colleagues and thank Mr. Call for his efforts in bringing home the point that civil disobedience and lawlessness cannot and should not be tolerated under any circumstances. The editorial follows:

BLUEPRINT FOR RIOT CONTROL URGES STERN AND DECISIVE ACTIONS AT BEGINNING

Militant agitators, hatemongers, and publicity-seeking rabble rousers have no fear of overexposure.

This is an observation made by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, in that organization's October Law Enforcement Bulletin.

He noted that those who incite riots and cause disturbances seek out the news media and strive to spread their inflammatory words as widely and quickly as possible.

Because of this, Mr. Hoover maintains there is a need for balance and journalistic objectivity in reporting riots.

He hastened to stress that no one can quarrel with the all-important role of keeping the public informed as quickly and as completely as possible. He does not believe riots should be played down nor that salient facts be withheld.

But he sees the need in riot reporting for objectivity and balance, the need to help expose the distortions of the rabble rousers and avoidance of special treatment for those who advocate violence.

In short, the FBI chief points up one of the problems in this age of fast communications—the dangers stemming from overexposing and exaggerating the importance of individuals who step forward into the limelight only to feed their own ego.

Mr. Hoover stressed that riots instigated by such individuals have no victors. "The losers include everybody—the rioters, the community, the state and the nation."

He suggests also that the widespread violence throughout the nation "to some degree is a direct outgrowth of the civil disobedience movement. In recent years, some leaders of dubious stature have made a grandiose gesture of wilfully violating laws they deem to be unjust. For the most part, these individuals, although admittedly guilty of breaking the law, have gone unpunished."

Mr. Hoover might have added, also, that some of these dubious leaders have cloaked themselves in clerical attributes to give their actions a pseudo holiness.

In any event, one must agree with Mr. Hoover's observation that young thugs and misguided tennagers, seeing others defy authority and the courts, have been led to believe that any crime under the banner of complaints is justified.

The FBI director maintains "the doctrine of civil disobedience is a doctrine of self-destruction."

That certainly was the result of many riots this past summer. In displaying civil disobedience, the individuals of numerous communities brought upon themselves the self-destruction of homes, businesses and in many instances, lives.

We must concur with Mr. Hoovers' admonitions: "Stern, decisive action is needed when a street disturbance begins. Justice is not served when a growing horde of vandals and looters is appeased and their pillage overlooked lest 'a show of force might provoke a greater violence.'

"Quiescence does not satisfy rioters. Procrastination or uncertainty on the part of authorities denotes weakness or concession to the mob. Thus, the offenders are encouraged, and their violence gains momentum," he warned.

This appears to be the best of all blueprints for authorities to follow in handling disturbances, and it might be well for officials to make it clear, in times of calm, that this will be the course followed.

The Late John Nance Garner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial which appeared in the New York Times November 8, 1967. The editorial follows:

SON OF THE HOUSE

John Nance Garner was a true son of the House of Representatives. He was "a thirty-year man," as House veterans call themselves. He knew and loved the House and its unique ways, and was a keen judge of its moods. When he was elected Speaker in 1931, his career reached its peak—or so he always thought, and few members of the House would disagree.

He gave up the Speakership the following year to run for Vice President on the ticket headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. By releasing his delegates from Texas and California, he had made Roosevelt's nomination possible and opened the way for strong national leadership in a time of crisis.

Mr. Garner's willingness to strike an honorable bargain was in the best Congressional tradition. Like every master legislator, he knew that sooner or later personal ambitions, partisan passions and regional interests have to yield to some reasonable accommodation. It is such men who have made the American constitutional system work successfully for nearly two hundred years.

Mr. Garner made more skillful use of the Vice-Presidency than most occupants of that honorable but powerless office. For the first several years of the Roosevelt Administration he was a shrewd, effective worker behind the scenes in the Senate in putting through major pieces of social legislation.

Disapproving of a third term and in disagreement on other issues, Mr. Garner broke with President Roosevelt and retired from public life in 1940. His dignified years in retirement were a model of good humor and good sense.

The nation has reason to be grateful for the character and the disinterested devotion of John Nance Garner. Speaking to a young reporter several years ago, Mr. Garner said, "Remember, our Government is not run by ugly men." As passions rise over the war in Vietnam and as another political campaign approaches, Americans of every political viewpoint would do well to recall a wise old man's homely truth.

Navy League: Don't Tip Off the Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, recently, Maj. Gen. Charles F. Duchein, Navy League president, addressed the Columbus, Ohio, Navy League, and his remarks were of such significance, all Members of Congress should have them in mind while considering an involvement in Vietnam.

Some of the "experts" on foreign policy would do well to heed the remarks of this Marine Corps Reserve major general as reported in the Columbus Citizen Journal and the Columbus Dispatch as follows:

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal, Oct. 24, 1967]

NAVY LEAGUE PRESIDENT WANTS SHIPS ARMED WITH ANTIMISSILES

(By George Roberts)

Maj. Gen. Charles F. Duchein, Navy League president, would like to see the "thin line" anti-missile system of the U.S. filled out with sophisticated weapons aboard ships.

"Thank what a sea-based missile on a destroyer could do in destroying missiles. It could knock out a Chinese missile as it raises off the pad and the fallout would be over China," he said.

Duchein was in Columbus for a pre-Navy Day observance. Regular ceremonies will be at noon Friday at the West Broad-st Bridge.

In comment on the naval anti-missile system, he said:

Russia has a multiple head system for their missiles. If these reach or come near the U.S., it would require one anti-missile missile for each warhead. If we had them over there, it could be one for one . . ." he noted, before the warheads split.

He emphasized his claims civilians are overruling advice of military advisers. He said the North Vietnamese moved three divisions into the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) as soon as the statement was made the U.S. would not invade North Vietnam.

He was also critical of an announcement the U.S. would not use atomic weapons in Vietnam. "I'm not advocating the invasion of North Vietnam or the use of nuclear weapons—but let's don't tell them that."

Duchein also outlined a plan which will be promoted by the Navy League to push development of undersea research as well as advance the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps fighting forces.

"We would like to reach the intellects in colleges and universities and the think-tanks of industry to get young people to develop maritime thinking," he said.

The only former Marine to ever head the Navy League, he sees more uses and challenges in undersea development than in any other field. He noted food and water could come from the sea as well as military advantages.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Evening Dispatch, Oct. 23, 1967]

"KEEP THEM OFF BALANCE": NAVY LEAGUE LEADER OFFERS VIET STRATEGY

The United States should mine Haiphong harbor; steam up the North Vietnamese coast with warships loaded with Marines and even "do something around Laos"—anything to keep the North Vietnamese off ballance, the president of the Navy League of the U.S. says.

Charles F. Duchein of Baton Rouge, La., a Marine Corps reserve major general, is in Columbus to address the Columbus Navy League at 6:30 p.m. Monday in the Defense Construction Supply Center Officers' Club.

"This is a big poker game," Duchein said. "I'm not advocating the invasion of North Vietnam or the use of nuclear weapons—but let's don't tell them that. Let's do something to keep them off balance all the time."

Duchein said, "We should simply tell everybody we're going to mine Haiphong harbor. We should notify all the capitals of the world it is mined and the mines will be armed in six days. If they move on the seventh day, they will be blown to kingdom come.

"Some say this is a confrontation, that it's a chance of escalating into World War III. Russia is not going to get into a nuclear war. If we given proper notice, I don't think we'll have any trouble," he said.

Duchein said Haiphong harbor is not a sea harbor in the classic sense—that the route to it is a torturous, winding one.

He said he sees no difference between bombing Russian trucks carrying ammunition and supplies on the highway and doing something about Russian ships in the harbor.

Duchein said the Russians are building ships faster than the U.S.; that the U.S. is 16th in shipbuilding capacity in the world and 9th in Merchant Marine capability.

"In the event of war, we would have to lease merchant ships from foreign countries." he said.

"But we can take on Russia anytime. We are still far superior," he added.

Duchein was outspoken in his criticism of the Department of Defense being run by civilian and land-minded personnel. He said more ships are needed—that 98 per cent of all troops and material going to Vietnam goes there by sea.

While not criticizing Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara in so many words, he indicated he did not think the Defense Department is heeding the advice of military leaders.

The President "hasn't looked to the military to come in and talk with him. I don't think he is in a position to make a thoughtful decision until he does this," Duchein said.

It Is Safe To Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the Congressional Record of today an editorial which appeared in the Kentucky Labor News, written by my good friend, Mr. Sam Ezelle, executive secretary of the Kentucky State AFL–CIO. Mr. Ezelle for many years has represented the viewpoint of organized labor in the editorials appearing on the front page of the Labor News. It is my thought that my friends, who are interested in automobile safety, would like to read this excellent editorial, as follows:

IT IS SAFE TO SAY

Since the staff of the Kentucky State AFL-CIO drives over 100,000 miles a year, we have more than a "passing" interest in automobile safety.

We are convinced that those who design and engineer the American automobile should be required to spend at least forty hours in each model before they are finally adopted. Some of the items we complain of are trivial to a person who drives five or ten miles a day, but they become important to those who use the automobile for long trips.

Take the clock on the dashboard as a simple example. Round clocks are easier to read than square clocks. Square clocks are easier to read than rectangle clocks. Naturally, the automobile industry uses the rectangle clock, placing it to the far right on the dashboard where it is next to impossible to read. By the time you have the time, you are midway through a cornfield!

Outside rear view mirrors are a classic example of stupid design. They were once on the fender, where a slight shift of the eye brought the driver a glance behind his car. The automobile industry moves them back on the door, where a 40 degree turn of the head is necessary, and where door slamming adds to the maintenance problem.

Once upon a time you could see a car from the side at night by the front and rear lights. The automobile industry now places sheet metal blinders on the front lights (as if to prevent the car from being distracted by rabbits) and recesses the rear lights. To compensate for this foolish engineering, they are now adding additional lights to the side fenders! This will bring more service charges, of course, as the parking lot door openers will guarantee!

Horn rings have been cleverly designed to obstruct the gauges on the dashboard. You must peep over or under while your car sails along. Dimmer switches are located for those who play basketball. If we get the seat adjusted so that our foot reaches the dimmer, the steering wheel is poking our liver!

The dials and gauges on a boat are always easy to read. They are always eays to read on an airplane. Only the American automobile has the Picasso control panel designed for art(?) instead of service and duty . . .

Fire extinguishers are required on all but the smallest motor boats. They are required on airplanes. You seldom see them on an automobile, but those of us who drive a great deal will see a number of automobiles destroyed by fire each year on our highways. Most of them could be quickly extinguished with a $10 extinguisher, but this expense is used for a wall to wall taillight!

On many of the new cars the anxious grill extends over the bumper. This thoughtful arrangement saves the bumper from becoming scratched while $400 worth of damage is sustained by the radiator, hood, and lights . . .

We hit a fat hen a few years ago ("grilled chicken") and when the feathers quit falling we discovered that the aluminum grill looked like a minnow bucket . . .

Car jacks are in four parts and difficult to assemble quickly on a busy highway with tandem trucks flapping your coat tail . . .

The age old method of lubricating a front wheel with a grease "pack"—which many owners don't understand and so never have it done—is responsible for accident reports of a car "suddenly, without warning, veering into oncoming traffic," and adding to the nation's growing mortality rate . . .

These are our own ideas on automobile safety. We are not engineers. We just drive and drive and drive.

Congratulations Are in Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride and a great deal of pleasure to join in the congratulations and good wishes that have been extended to three leading executives of the General Motors Corp.—Joseph E. Godfrey, Robert W. Decker, and Donald L. Boyes—on recent news of their advancement within the GM management group. The following stories from recent editions of the Saginaw News, November 3 and 6, include the details and well-deserved words of praise.

We in Saginaw and Michigan's Eighth District are particularly proud of these individual accomplishments as all three men have strong ties to the Saginaw industrial scene. As the editorial mentioned, all three "cut their management teeth" in Saginaw.

The editorial concluded:

> Each of them represents a compliment to Saginaw's high standing with industry when it comes time to fill tough and demanding jobs.

It has been my personal pleasure to know Joe Godfrey well in his former position as general manager of GM's Saginaw Steering Gear Division. I have yet to meet a more dedicated individual—not one just dedicated to his job, but to his community and its people. It has been a constant source of amazement to me that, though holding a demanding, important position, Joe has always found the means to contribute his time, effort, and ability to numerous civic undertakings.

To all three—Joe Godfrey, Robert Decker, and Donald Boyes—continued good health and success.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Saginaw (Mich.) News, Nov. 6, 1967]

JOE GODFREY STEPS AHEAD

(By Ed Miller)

It would be an empty thing to say that the Detroit officialdom of General Motors had better look well to its laurels while welcoming another able arrival in the person of Joseph E. (Joe) Godfrey.

They know all about that or Joe Godfrey, former general manager of GM's Saginaw Steering Gear Division, wouldn't have been summoned to Detroit for his promotion to the post of a corporation vice president and executive in charge of the manufacturing staff.

In the careful scrutiny GM uses to choose leaders for the greatest and most successful industry in the world, Joe Godfrey was a marked man long ago. And he may have been a time realizing it. GM can be quite inscrutable in its way before comes the imperious tap on the shoulder, the handshake and invitation to step up.

For 3½ years Godfrey headed Saginaw Steering Gear Division and had a confident and enterprising hand on the controls during some of its greatest progress and growth. And he saw to it there is bountiful promise for the years immediately ahead.

A graduate of Purdue University, he joined Steering Gear's tool engineering department in 1940. A year wasn't over before he became an assistant foreman, then a foreman.

His steady record of promotions was interrupted by three years of service in the Navy as a commissioned officer. On his return to SSG in 1946, he was made assistant production superintendent of SSG's Plant 2.

As a reporter it was our satisfactory lot to know Joe Godfrey from his early days on the industrial scene here. We knew that his father, Edward R. Godfrey, also was a GM executive vice president, who had earned quite a name as a production expert.

And we also were aware of Joe's determination not to be known as a man who would trade on his father's reputation—that whatever he made he would make on his own. This he did.

"I never knew anybody who worked longer or harder than Joe and who enjoyed it more than he did," a subordinate told us. "Getting to work at 7 a.m. wasn't uncommon for him nor was leaving his desk at 7 p.m. I've got there more than once at 8 a.m. to find him waiting to ask me a question. I don't know how he found time to do all the extra things he did in the way of community betterment and still tend to his regular job the way he did."

Joe's sense of humor could be as dry as it was nimble. Newsmen knew him often to understate his own role in some Steering Gear triumph. In reply to a reporter's query he always was direct. He talked in a lucid, sometimes terse way which saved your time and his. When you got a Godfrey answer it was right on the money.

For years his golf game has been much better than acceptable. As another friend and working associate put it: "If Joe gave the game much of his time, he'd be a parshooter. As it is, he can give a lot of the boys fits the way he hits the ball. Tell you something, though. He's always clung to the somewhat old-fashioned idea of his that if one of us wanted to play golf with a customer we ought to be able to work it in weekends instead of on work days. We used to chuckle about that.

The same man thought a minute before adding: "And I don't think I ever saw a much better wing shot than Joe Godfrey but he never gave bird hunting much of his time, either. He never hunted deer."

Joe is quite a family man—the father of five children—and has been an active churchman and leader at First Congregational Church.

When he reads this we can imagine him grinning and saying something like: "Please not another word. I think I feel my halo slipping."

So we'll end this with an auf wiedersehen to Joe Godfrey and a welcome back greeting to his SSG successor—Robert W. (Bob) Decker who rejoins friends here.

[From the Saginaw (Mich.) News, Nov. 3, 1967]

PROMOTIONS REFLECT WELL ON OUR CITY

No mention of the General Motors executive changeovers this week would be complete without a tip of the hat to a top-level move which has bearing of more than usual significance to the entire Saginaw area.

Reference, of course, is to announcement Thursday that Joseph E. Godfrey, general manager of the company's Saginaw Steering Gear Division, has been named vice-president in charge of the GM manufacturing staff.

Mr. Godfrey's promotion, along with two others in a series of executive and reorganizational changes announced this week by newly elected GM Chairman James M. Roche, gives a strong Saginaw flavor to the story of corporate advancement. The other two changes are assignment of Robert W. Decker as Godfrey's successor and new, greater responsibilities for Vice President Donald L. Boyes. Like Mr. Godfrey, they cut their management teeth on the industrial scene here.

Mr. Decker, who formerly served as manager of Steering Gear Plants 3 and 4, comes here from the AC Sparkplug Division's Flint operation. Mr. Boyes, one-time Saginaw Malleable Iron executive, now shifts from vice president in charge of the Automotive Components Group to Group Executive of GM's newly designated Nonautomotive and Defense Group.

This says again, as it has so often over the years, that Saginaw enjoys a reputation for producing excellent industrial executives and that when GM, and others, are casting about to find the right men for important jobs they frequently turn our way.

It's a reputation this industrial center is proud to claim, even though there's a price to pay for it. This is just another way of saying that it hurts to lose a man of Mr. Godfrey's capabilities because his contributions to Saginaw's betterment have ranged far beyond the confines of industry.

Almost all of his 30-year career with General Motors has been spent with Saginaw Steering Gear. Significantly, it was a period during which the plant rose from "shop" status to a position of eminence in the automotive world. It was time marked by fantastic growth and production capacity and one which thrust upon it great responsibility in the field of research and development.

To meet this challenge it has been necessary for Steering Gear to do big things in big ways at an ever-increasing tempo. This it has done, and although the Purdue engineer would be the last to want it said, he has been one of the prime movers and doers during its period of greatest growth and attainment.

It is also fair to say that he learned well under the tutelage of his predecessor, W. H. "Bud" Doerfner who established the foundation of industrial executive leadership upon which the success of the GM facility has been built over the past 15 years. Godfrey carried on in the best tradition.

The major expansion projects have been undertaken at Steering Gear since 1952 and employment between then and now has risen from 2,000 to close to 7,000—a sizable amount of this growth happening during Godfrey's tenure of management.

It hardly bears saying that Steering Gear's growth during these years has been beneficial to this community, not merely in terms of prestige and image, but far more importantly—economically—in ways that are measured in more jobs and bigger payrolls.

Today SSG is recognized as the pioneer in work that has brought power steering and the adjustable and collapsible steering columns to the world automobile market. In doing so Steering Gear has contributed significantly to both increasing pleasure and safety in motoring.

And if it just happens to stand as a showpiece of modern technology at work in an atmosphere of order and efficiency, the guiding hand of Joe Godfrey has had much to do with it.

Yet his value to this community can be counted off in more ways than merely his business accomplishment. Over the years he took a profound and active interest in countless civic undertakings, not the least among them, Saginaw's United Fund Campaign efforts. Always he brought to them the same intense drive and enthusiasm that attended his career here with the GM facility.

We are sorry to lose Joe Godfrey but we congratulate him for excellence rewarded and wish him well in his new position. At the same time heartiest best wishes go to Mr. Decker and Mr. Boyes in their new assignments.

Each of them represents a compliment to Saginaw's high standing with industry when it comes time to fill tough and demanding jobs.

Secretary Robert C. Weaver: Charting a Pathway to the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, today Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, addressed the annual convention of the National Council of Negro Women meeting at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. He called upon the members of the national council to "continue to champion the cause of the disadvantaged, to protect against injustice, and to aid the voiceless to be heard."

In his address Secretary Weaver noted:

> The Johnson Administration has given this Nation by far the most generous helping of breakthrough social legislation in modern history. Think only of Medicare and the poverty programs, and Federal aid to education. Think only of mass transportation, and rent supplements, and Model Cities and the civil rights bills . . . and you will agree.

And he pointed out that the last 81 months of uninterrupted economic prosperity which this Nation has enjoyed since the spring of 1961, has offered many benefits for Negroes. But he cautioned:

> None should be content until we have eradicated poverty in this rich Nation. This country will not be strong and secure until we succeed in providing means for involving all of our people in the mainstream of society. The racial discrepancies in income, unemployment, quality of housing, and associated indices must be closed. This is the promise of America, and we shall continue to press for its realization.

In addition, Secretary Weaver noted that this administration has made other changes which are seldom mentioned—"restructuring of old, traditional programs to meet changing needs in changing times." In this regard he spoke of the changes in urban renewal which, today, is placing great emphasis on relocating of displaced families. The urban renewal program is also emphasizing more rehabilitation and more low-income housing in urban renewal areas. Secretary Weaver spoke of the new directions in public housing—the attempts to move away from the concept of public housing projects as Government-sponsored ghettos. In this regard he spoke of this administration's efforts to upgrade the quality of management with more concern for the human problems in the projects; of efforts to end whatever discrimination exists in public housing with full enforcement of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; of efforts to employ private enterprise and private nonprofit organizations in building and managing public housing projects.

Mr. Speaker, Secretary Weaver's speech is one of the best descriptions of how a Federal department is responding to the changing and demanding needs of our low-income citizens. For that reason, I would like to share the Secretary's remarks with my colleagues by including it in the RECORD:

CHARTING A PATHWAY TO THE FUTURE

(Address by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, at the annual convention of the National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D.C., November 9, 1967)

For several reasons my thoughts tonight harken back to the early 1930s and the decade which followed.

First, because you have an illustrious history, one that reaches back to the harsh depression years when Mary McLeod Bethune organized the National Council of Negro Women. I feel a personal involvement in this history since I had the privilege of working closely with Mrs. Bethune for over a decade.

I have other personal involvements. From the beginning, this Council fought for national programs in housing and urban affairs, and in human rights. These programs have been part of my own past; in fact, most of my working life has been devoted to them.

The National Council supported the first slum clearance and low-rent public housing programs, and it has supported every progressive housing and urban program since, right up to last year's Model Cities Program and such recent administrative innovations as the Turnkey programs in public housing. So in a way we have all grown up together.

This is not a convocation of strangers.

But there is yet another reason for my thoughts to dwell upon the past.

Shakespeare said that "what is past is prologue." And I strongly believe that in these national programs we have, to an unusual degree, prepared ourselves for our urban future.

Without the housing and urban programs now in existence, we would not have the tools even to begin solving the urgent problems that exist in our cities today.

Without the confidence in one another and in our fellow citizens that we have built up by working together, we would lack the faith we will need in facing a difficult future.

Without the experience of these formative years, we would not have the maturity today to appreciate the potentialities that lie ahead.

But with the experience, we are able to face the future with a record of achievement and an appreciation for the magnitude of the tasks that lie ahead. I will not go into extensive detail, but I want to point out a few of the most important programs that now exist.

We have a public housing program which has made 670,000 decent housing units available to more than 2½ million Americans;

We have three different programs which are providing 190,000 housing units for the needy elderly;

We have a Rent Supplement Program under which 33,000 poor families will be able to move into decent housing with help in their rent. And this is just a beginning.

We have the first national program of housing for moderate-income families. Already over 43,000 units are completed, some 16,500 units are under construction or ready to start construction, and over 33,500 units are being processed by FHA. Appropriately enough, one of the first developments to be completed was Bethune House in Washington, D.C.

We have a Model Cities program in which we will soon be able to get some 70 cities started on programs to rebuild and revitalize whole major slum areas—the people as well as the real estate;

We have a program under which 145,000 acres of open space land have been furnished our urban people for parks and playgrounds.

Other programs which have enormous impact on urban people and on the poor are Social Security, and Federal Aid to Education, and Medicare, and Head Start, and the Job Corps, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

I needn't remind this audience that this is only a sampling of Federal aids for all Americans. And I want to impress on you that these major programs, which cut across the whole spectrum of human need and across ethnic and color lines, were not born in a vacuum.

These programs, as in the case of most of our people-oriented activities, were conceived and placed before the Congress by great American presidents, men named Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman, and John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

They were voted into law and funded and made a part of the fabric of American life by Senators and Congressmen who believed in the inalienable right of all their fellow Americans to share in the wealth and abundance of this rich Nation.

But, as President Johnson observed when he signed the appropriation bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the recent cuts in the appropriations for my Department "represent a distorted sense of priorities and a blindness to human needs. And, in the process our American cities and the American people have been shortchanged." The President added: "Despite these setbacks, however, we will not allow the programs to falter, although they are much smaller than we would like them to be."

The Johnson Administration has given this Nation by far the most generous helping of breakthrough social legislation in modern history. Think only of Medicare and the poverty programs, and Federal aid to education, and the civil rights bills, and you'll see what I mean.

But there is another development which is often taken for granted. It is the 81 months of uninterrupted economic prosperity which this Nation has enjoyed since the spring of 1961. Frequently, it is said that this prosperity has had no benefits for Negroes. That is simply not true.

The ratio of nonwhite to white family income rose from 55 percent in 1960 to 60 percent in 1966. And the greatest increase in any one year occurred between 1965 and 1966.

The growth was from 55 percent to 60 percent. The discrepancy is still too great. But it is closing—and at a significant rate last year.

In 1950, five percent of nonwhite and 22 percent of white families earned annual incomes equal to $7,000 or more in terms of the buying power of a dollar in 1965. By 1966, these figures had risen to 28 percent for nonwhites and 55 percent for whites. Here, too, we are catching up.

At the other extreme, in 1947, 65 percent of nonwhite and 27 percent of white families had annual incomes equal to $3,000 or less in terms of the buying power of a dollar in 1965. By 1966, these figures had dropped to 32 percent for nonwhites and 13 percent for whites.

These and other figures recently released in a government report indicate that many Negroes did share in the recent prosperity. But they are offset by data that show what we all know; namely, that there is a segment of the population, with a disproportionately high ratio of nonwhites, which did not share in that prosperity. It is to that segment of our people that the most of the programs of the Great Sociey are addressed.

No one of us should be content until we have eradicated poverty in this rich Nation. This country will not be strong and secure until we succeed in providing means for involving all of our people in the mainstream of society.

The racial discrepancies in income, unemployment, quality of housing, and associated indices must be closed. This is the promise of America, and we shall continue to press for its realization. Meanwhile special attention must be paid those who are at the bottom of the economic scale. Those among us who have enjoyed a measure of prosperity cannot disassociate ourselves from the problems of the poor.

As first steps in achieving these realizable goals, this Administration has brought into being the most important breakthrough legislation in housing and urban development in our generation, and that means in any generation. Think only of mass transportation, and rent supplements, and Model Cities, and you must agree.

But this Administration has made other changes which are seldom mentioned. These have to do with the restructuring of old, traditional programs to meet changing needs in changing times. They mean the replacement of old methods in management and administration by concepts more relevant to our needs, and in keeping with a new methodology.

One of these programs is urban renewal. It was not too long ago that this program was attacked by conservatives for being socialistic, and by liberals because it involved too much clearance without adequate consideration for the poor. It was said to be Negro clearance.

Today there is not only an insistence on humane relocating of families displaced by urban renewal, but there has been a redirection toward more rehabilitation, and more emphasis on housing the ill-housed. We are currently programming a larger volume of rehabilitation than of demolition. And we are providing more and more housing available to Negroes.

We now say that renewal must respond to these national goals:

It must conserve and expand housing for low- and moderate-income families.

It must develop new employment opportunities for the unemployed and the underemployed.

It must emphasize renewal of urban areas that have the most critical needs.

Thus urban renewal today is concerned with balanced programs in our cities. It is rapidly becoming a principal instrument for upgrading areas of nonwhite concentration and for providing housing for poorer Americans in decent and viable neighborhoods.

But I think what you in this audience will be more interested in is the change that has taken place in public housing. This redirection will soon accelerate the production of housing for low-income Americans.

There are two reasons for your concern with this:

First, the National Council of Negro Women has always taken a strong interest in the public housing program. I was not at all surprised when your Housing Director in Mississippi, Mrs. Duke, pointed out that in the Housing Act of 1949 we had authorization to build 810,000 units of public housing and that now, almost two decades later, we have built less than 700,000 of these units. This is the kind of knowledge I have come to expect.

The other reason is that you not only have interest in the program, but are now deeply involved as an organization in one of the most promising innovations in public housing.

I would like to describe this process briefly. It is an example of how an old program can be taught new tricks. It means that more housing can be built faster at lower costs. And as I have mentioned, since you as an organization are deeply involved in this experimental program, there is no reason you shouldn't be able to put the techniques you learn in Mississippi to good use in other localities as time goes by.

First, however, let me make this point about public housing. When this program came in during the 1930s, two years after the National Council of Negro Women was organized, it was a different program from what it is today.

In those years, most Americans were down on their luck. Public Housing was one of several programs designed to put people to work and to revive the housing industry. Public housing was also intended to clear slums and make better housing available.

And in its early years, the program worked well. It gave decent housing to the middle class who were victims of the depression, and then to war workers, and then to college students. All these were mobile groups which moved upward in the economic scale and out of public housing.

But now the public housing image is different. As the downtown areas, where public housing was primarily located, became impacted ghettos, the "projects," as they came to be called, were no longer way-stations for mobile groups on their way to better things. Instead they became dead ends for the old, for the poor, and for groups blocked by discrimination from employment and other housing because of color or ethnic background.

In order to break this deadlock, we are moving in three directions.

First, we are moving to upgrade the quality of management. This will involve more concern for the human problems which have long been neglected. It will require concern for employment opportunities, greater tenant involvement, and an ungrading of existing projects.

Second, we intend to end whatever discrimination exists in public housing. None of this housing should ever have been developed on the basis of white projects and Negro projects—but that did happen. We are determined that this shall no longer be the dominant pattern. And, of course, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, provided the statutory basis for the new approach. So early this year we put out new directives dealing with the selection of sites and the assignment of tenants. We are saying that there should be a balanced public housing program with developments outside as well as inside current areas of minority group concentration. We are saying that no tenant assignment policy is compatible with Title VI if it permits a prospective tenant to go on forever rejecting vacancies until he comes up with one that fosters segregation.

Our next effort is simply to get more public housing built, and that is where the Turnkey process is becoming more and more valuable.

There are now three separate Turnkey processes.

Turnkey I is the building of low-rent housing. In this process a local housing authority asks private developers to come in with bids on a certain number of units. The developer provides the site, and designs and builds the project to housing authority standards. This saves time, and time is money. It also makes more sites available for such housing, thereby easing the problems of site selection which has become very difficult in recent years.

This program is well underway and we are already confident it will make a far greater volume of housing available than if we had gone on only in the traditional way.

Turnkey II is experimental. It calls for private management of housing projects, rather than the traditional method of the local housing authority's acting as manager. We are hoping non-profit groups will become involved in this program, groups willing to give more attention to the economic and social advancement of residents, groups willing to give greater responsibility to the tenants themselves.

Turnkey III is so new that it may very well be that the National Council of Negro Women will be the bellwether group in this experiment. Indeed, the unprecedented involvement of your organization in the initial Turnkey III development in Mississippi marks you as prime innovators in this field.

In this approach, tenants will build up an equity in their own units by maintaining them themselves, and by increasing their rental payments as their incomes rise. Eventually many of them will own their homes. We are watching this experiment closely, and we are hopeful that the benefits will far outweigh the inevitable problems that arise. There will not only be decent new housing, but social and economic advancement, and pride in ownership. The Mississippi project combines all three Turnkey approaches.

I am told that the effect on people in Gulfport has already been electric. Working on the project has kindled hope and pride. And since it involves Federal, state and local governments, as well as private homebuilders, and banks, national foundations, and your Council, quite a partnership of interest has evolved.

But I think the most important lesson to be learned is that the Gulfport project would never have started if it hadn't been for the interest, and the whole-hearted involvement of the National Council of Negro Women. This is doubly impressive when you consider that yours is not a technically-trained housing group.

Motivation, concern, and knowledge of an old traditional housing program that is in the process of making an innovative turnabout, as well as the dedicated leadership of Dorothy Height and her associates—that is what it took in Gulfport. I would suggest that private organizations across the country follow this project and learn from it.

But I believe the singular contribution of this very large and very dedicated group can be even more important. It has been made clear to me that in Mississippi, a state with its own unique problems of poverty and prejudice, the National Council has acted as a catalyst. It has brought the established economic and governmental groups together with people who have never before had a voice in their own destinies. It has brought black together with white.

Change is coming in our country in a number of ways. It is coming in our cities. It is coming to the poor. It is coming to those who suffer from discrimination. And if democracy is to become a reality, these are irreversible trends.

The question is whether these changes will come peacefully, without leaving scars on American society.

Events of the last several years point in several different directions. President Johnson and his Administration, together with a responsive and responsible Congress, brought in essential civil rights bills, and a mass of good legislation. But implementation of this breakthrough legislation has been difficult, both because of the inherent difficulty of changing social mores, and because of lack of money.

There is a new climate in the Nation, and aspirations have risen in direct proportion to the intent of these legislative and moral victories. Riots in our cities are a legacy of centuries of neglect, and of these rising aspirations. This does not excuse the rioters, but it does explain their emergence. And it suggests that as we act to restore law and order, we must also act to translate rising aspirations into rising status and significantly increased participation.

As women, you are concerned with your homes and your children. As a national organization several million strong, you have power and prestige. As intelligent and persuasive human beings, you have already acted as a bridge across what were once impassable gaps in Mississippi. I strongly believe your greatest contribution to America today can come about through this same thing—as advocates of understanding between Americans.

And I know as you continue this course of action, you will also continue to champion the cause of the disadvantaged, to protect against injustice, and to aid the voiceless to be heard. Understanding requires interpretation and interpretation involves articulating the hopes and aspirations of the neglected and disadvantaged. It is accelerated when its advocates are dedicated not only to justice but meaningful participation of the least among us.

You have long recognized these facts. And I salute you for your understanding and performance. It is my hope that together we shall be able to raise the housing standards of American people.

Sound of Scandal Music to Some

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, last night's Washington Evening Star contains a commentary by William F. Buckley on the charges which have been dredged up concerning ex-employees of the State of California. Because of the magnification of the national spotlight focused upon these allegations, it is interesting to note how easily the entire matter is reduced to life size, or more appropriately "human," proportions. The article, which follows, is commended to the attention of my colleagues:

Sound of Scandal Music to Some

Let us back up for a moment. The aides of Governor Ronald Reagan resign—or are fired. There is general discussion—why did they leave Sacramento? It is most widely rumored that they were being dispatched outside Sacramento in order to work more freely for the nomination of Reagan for president. But the rumor atrophies. Mystery.

And then fresh rumors begin. About two weeks ago they distilled in the report that the aides were practicing homosexuals, that the governor had found out, and had promptly secured their resignation. And then, of course, Drew Pearson entered the picture. His report was not merely that the aides were homosexuals, but that Governor Reagan had known that they were, and yet put off firing them until the pressure from some of his "right-wing backers" became intolerable.

It isn't clear exactly why the affronted Pearson insisted on identifying those who advised the firing of the aides as "right wing." Did he mean that "left wing backers" of Reagan would not have advised the dismissals? If that is so, and considering that Pearson would by any conventional measurement be considered as among "left wingers" if that is the opposite of "right wingers," then are we to assume that Pearson, if he had been an adviser to Governor Reagan, would have advised against the firing of the aides?

But that too is difficult to understand in the light of Pearson's salacious ruminations on "whether the magic charm of Governor Reagan can survive the discovery that a homosexual ring has been operating in his office." The liberals are truly mixed up, are they not? On the one hand, their spokesmen seem to adopt the position that homosexuals shouldn't be fired from government in the first place. ("It is," said one prominent Eastern liberal, "primarily a reminder of the primitivism of our politics in dealing with the matter of homosexuality"). On the other hand, they are lewdly delighted at the opportunity of damaging Reagan on account of his alleged failure to observe "right wing" standards!

A couple of observations.

1. Do you remember the reaction of Joseph Welch when Senator Joseph McCarthy during the televised army hearings asked him whether it was true that one of his junior partners had belonged to the National Lawyers Guild, a Communist front? Welch, a counsel for the army, produced perhaps the most melodramatic moment in contemporary political theater, best remembered by his copious tears, which evoked sympathetic cloudbursts in every liberal eye in Christendom, and his withering declamation:

"Have you no sense of decency left, Senator?" As recently as a year ago, that sentence was heralded in an anti-McCarthy documentary as signalling the senator's downfall, and the choruses intoned Amen, Amen. Their point was—is—that the young lawyer (who by the way was not damaged in any way; and indeed had repented his ideological indiscretion most convincingly) was after all not in government service, so what was the use of drawing public attention to his earlier aberration?

Drew Pearson not only did exactly the same thing concerning the two aides, but did so concerning a kind of abberation which, unlike the joining of Communist fronts, is not so easily outgrown. So that the two aides may well, thanks to Pearson, suffer, as also their families, and until the end of time the smirks of those who, as ever in the name of righteousness, clap and drool as Drew Pearson drags his victims naked into the campfire.

2. Assuming it were correct, which has not been proved, and very likely is not provable, that the two aides were sexual deviants, what is the proper attitude of the executive who, judging them to be security risks, lets them go? I once wrote a book about Senator McCarthy in which I argued strongly that a proper security program precisely required the total protection of employes dismissed as security risks, except insofar as they might approach other government agencies for employment.

Assuming then, that the two aides are homosexuals, who should fault Governor Reagan for saying flatly that to his knowledge they are not? His duty, on discovering a security risk, is to oust that man from government: not to ruin his life. I do not know whether the gentlemen were in fact security risks, but if it should ever be established that they were, my esteem for Governor Reagan would rise for having refused to exchange their futures for the momentary satisfaction of being complimented by the prurient for his candor.

Grazers Claim Predator Work Fails in Hills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife is charged with the conflicting responsibilities of propagating wildlife, including the predators, while attempting to control predators so that they do not destroy domestic animals. As a consequence, the Bureau uses every excuse for not keeping down the coyote and fox population. The result is, as pointed out in the following news release, sheep and lamb losses to coyote in the Black Hills of South Dakota were 22 percent as compared to 17 percent a year ago. The situation will be worse unless some changes are made in the Federal policy of predator control. The news release follows:

Grazers Claim Predator Work Fails in Hill

Custer.—The Black Hills Livestock Protective Association, a group of national forest grazing permits holders meeting here Friday, declared the present system of predator control in the Black Hills a failure.

It was reported sheep and lamb losses to coyotes in the Black Hills were 22 per cent, compared to 17 per cent a year ago. Several permittees said they were being forced out of business because of the losses. It was also stated that predators are causing a decline in ruffed grouse, wild turkey and deer.

The members voted to continue a per head assessment to furnish bait material for government trappers.

Members generally agreed predators could no longer be tolerated and unless control methods are made available, the loss of sheep, lambs, calves and game will increase.

Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM S. GETTYS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial under date of November 7 in my hometown newspaper, the Rock Hill, S.C., Evening Herald, is pertinent to the debate in the House this week on the OEO bill, the so-called poverty program.

While I do not necessarily agree or disagree with the import of and the conclusions reached in the article, I think it is well written and presents the editorial viewpoint of a responsible southern newspaper on the subject which is worthy of the attention of readers of the Record:

[From the Rock Hill (S.C.) Evening Herald, Nov. 7, 1967]

Antipoverty Battle Grows

The war on poverty, and specifically the anti-poverty bill now being debated in the House, is a new and dramatic approach to an age-old problem. Like any great departure from tradition, the anti-poverty program has borne its share of mistakes—and more than its share of criticism.

There have been some overly ambitious efforts, some waste and some failures. But much of the criticism centered on the Office of Economic Opportunity seems to be motivated by politics, rather than a reasonable attempt to evaluate the program's aims and accomplishments. Some of the critics, too, are repeating time-worn phrases, calculated to strike a responsive chord with folks weary of massive Federal spending, but with no particular relevance here.

Congressman Tom Gettys of Rock Hill, is one of those opposing continuation of the OEO anti-poverty program. He is somewhat vague as to why.

CHARITY, ON SELF-HELP

Rep. Gettys feels OEO is based on a "misguided philosophy" that government is a charitable agency. That's the theory which has been back of welfare, as we have known it, for 30 years. Unlike such "give-away" programs which serve to perpetuate and proliferate poverty, the OEO aim is a radical departure from charity. The aim has been to provide educational and job-training opportunities to those who would otherwise be left to an uninterrupted heritage of poverty, uselessness and despair.

The anti-poverty bill has been signaled out as the target for a growing anti-Johnson campaign, and caught in a cross-fire of Vietnam, economy and riot backlash. Critics have seized on individual instances—like the rate of dropouts in one particular Job Corps camp, or individual, isolated disciplinary problems in others—and presented these as representative of the entire program.

The criticism is not applicable in this four county area, where Carolina Community Actions has been the administrative agency. CCA has made an excellent start in preparing some of our people for a more productive life. Education and counselling, to improve job skills and make the individual self-supporting, is the only effective approach to poverty. This is the OEO approach in this area.

Those who suggest that poverty can be eliminated by an appeal to individual responsibility are ill-informed on the poor, and on their problems. This is the old nonsense that being poor is the fault of the individual, rather than the result of his environment and lost opportunities. It is the philosophy of the dole of the 1930's, perpetuated by "give-aways" which provided just enough to keep the patient alive, but not enough to effect a cure.

OEO: A GOOD BEGINNING

Nationally, despite some mistakes and admitted inefficiencies, here is OEO's record: More than 3 million received individual health services; two million participated in Head Start; 300,000 received legal help; 23,000 participated in the Upward Bound (adult education) program; 800,000 young men and women participated in on-the-job training. The Job Corps—focal point of the critics—provided training to 109,000, of whom 59,000 are now working and 9,150 of whom are back in school.

The results OEO has achieved in this area, previously given wide publicity, are even more encouraging.

These are the demonstratable facts on OEO.

OEO's anti-poverty program is the one effort in three generations which seems to have a chance to bring young people to productive, tax-paying status. It would be misguided philosophy, indeed, to scuttle a self-help program in favor of continued "give-away" welfare subsistence.

Rep. Gettys has made the point that he had no representations made to him in favor of the OEO, except by those connected with the program. Since appropriations for the poverty war now are being debated in the House, with a showdown vote likely Thursday, this would be a good time for those who do favor OEO to let the Congressman know of their feelings. The OEO has been particularly helpful socially and economically to the Fifth District and it would be a shame should the District be hurt by any curtailment of the program.

Foster Grandparents Give, Receive Love

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, I think the article in the Los Angeles Times entitled, "Retarded Youngsters' 'Foster Grandfolk' Give, Receive Love" will be of great interest to my colleagues.

The retarded children of the Pacific State Hospital in Pomona are receiving love in a unique manner. Under the OEO-funded foster grandparents program, 48 men and women 60 years and older are giving love to these children.

To qualify for the foster grandparent program, a person must be 60 years old or more, able to read and write, physically well, mentally alert, and have an annual income of no more than $1,500 if single or $2,000 if married.

The foster grandparents received $1.50 an hour. Their work is fulfilling and important. They read to the children, play games, take them to the canteen, rock them in their laps—in other words, they provided much needed love and attention.

The hospital staff feels that the program will benefit the children and prevent the misbehavior which frequently comes when retarded children receive too little personal care.

The children selected have the capacity to respond to enriched personal contact. In fact, 50 percent have a good chance of someday leaving the hospital altogether.

The elderly people involved are benefiting tremendously. They are people that need to have someone need them. One 60-year-old grandmother said, "We're just doing what comes naturally—giving love."

Mr. Speaker, this is but one of a number of marvelous innovations which OEO has made part of its community action program. I know my colleagues will be interested in the full text of the Times story, which follows:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 24, 1967]

RETARDED YOUNGSTERS' "FOSTER GRANDFOLK" GIVE, RECEIVE LOVE

(By Harry Nelson)

"We're just doing what comes naturally—loving children."

The 60-year-old grandmother who uttered those words meant what she said—she has eight children and 19 grandchildren at home.

But the children of whom she spoke are not her own. They are mentally retarded children with whom she and other "Foster Grandparents" spend four hours a day at Pacific State Hospital in Pomona.

A mutual interest in love, with the help of a novel antipoverty program, has brought the two together.

Mental retardation hasn't diminished in any way the children's need for love, according to the hospital staff.

But having 2,600 mentally retarded patients in one place spreads thin the love the staff can give.

So the state hospital and the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Los Angeles (EYOA) held meetings to see if they could come up with a way to use antipoverty funds to help solve the shortage of love.

The answer was Project Foster Grandparents. To qualify a person must be 60 years old or more, able to read and write, physically well, mentally alert and have an annual income of no more than $1,500 if single or $2,000 if married.

They receive $1.50 an hour and in exchange they read to the children, play games, take them to the canteen, rock them on their laps—in short act as a source of love.

The program will hire 48 foster grandparents to work with 388 youngsters over the next year. Applications should be made through the State Department of Employment, 105 East Arrow Highway, Pomona.

The seven grandfathers and 12 grandmothers already employed in the program have a total of 60 children, 156 grandchildren * * * nurse in charge of one ward that has 15 youngsters in the program, said she saw the potential for the program as soon as it was announced.

"The kids will do nearly anything they are capable of if they think grandpa or grandma wants them to do it," she said.

The project staff, headed by Steve Bromfield, said that children who have the capacity to respond to the enriched personal contact were selected for the children of their own.

"We need it as much as the children," says Mrs. Pearl Walker, 60, of Montclair. "I know I need somebody. I have a constant fear of being tied down behind four walls. Bosses won't hire women over 40.

"This is a windfall for me and it lets me do what comes naturally—love children."

Roscoe McGuire, 64, has four adopted grandchildren aged 8 to 12 at home in Pomona. Before retiring he worked at the hospital as an exterminator.

"I used to walk through the wards and I saw things then that made me want to come back," he said.

Mrs. Carrie Sanger, 61, of Upland said her husband died recently. "I was important to him, but all at once I wasn't needed any more. Now I'm needed again," she said.

Mrs. Betty Gifford, the * * * program. Most are under 10 years old. Some, perhaps 50%, stand a good chance of someday improving to the point where they can leave the hospital.

Most of the children have not been in the hospital long. It is hoped that the attention they will receive from the grandparents will prevent the kind of misbehavior common in hospitals because the children crave attention.

Attempts have been made in the past to get volunteers to do similar work, but the hospital has never been able to get enough for its needs.

"They could do remarkable things if they had a mother's attention," said one staff member.

Funds for the present program are available through the end of this year and it is expected that the program will continue through 1968.

The Fractional Orbital Bombardment System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, Secretary McNamara's sudden announcement that the Soviet Union may be testing an orbital bomb has prompted speculation as to the integrity of the Outer Space Treaty ratified only a month ago. If the Secretary has gone so far as to say the Russians "may" be testing such a weapon, past experience would indicate that indeed they are.

The fractional orbital bombardment system, as the Secretary calls it, is now the subject of considerable debate on whether or not it violates the treaty. Part of the discussion revolves around the meaning of the word "orbit." Secretary McNamara said that "They have agreed not to place warheads in full orbit," while Murrey Marder, writing in the Washington Post, speculates that the Russians might well be challenged on whether the term orbit applies to parts of a full orbit or not and noted that the State Department has sidestepped all questions about the legality of the Russian tests.

The Space Treaty used the word orbit in the following manner:

> States Parties to the treaty undertake not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

The word orbit is used in its noun form, and according to Webster's Dictionary is defined as "a path described by one body or object in its revolution about another." To place an object "in orbit" then, is placing it "in" this path, and it does not require that it travel one complete revolution.

Perhaps each Nation has its own definition. Regretably there is no legal interpretation of the word available. To my mind, however, the Russians have not only violated the spirit of the agreement, but the word as well.

Administration officials testifying before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy concluded that there was no violation because a full orbit was not achieved and because there was no proof that a nuclear warhead was attached.

But Marder's column adds a most disturbing footnote:

> Once a warhead was attached . . . it could be a moot point whether the space treaty was violated, because the world could then be in the midst of World War III.

During debate on the treaty it was said that a philosophy of openness and broad applicability permeates the treaty. A statement prepared by the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee said:

> The policy of the treaty *may* deter some nations from attempting to acquire the technological capability to orbit weapons of mass destruction.

Let me emphasize that one word "may," because I think that characterizes the hope that underlies the treaty—the hope that the Soviets will not take advantage of this aggressive possibility—the hope that they will live up to the spirit of the declarations of the treaty—a hope that we should have known was merely self-delusion—a hope that has now been shattered.

When Senate ratification occurred last April, the American people were given the usual assurances that the treaty was a reliable guarantee against the hostile use of space. Leading the debate at that time was the senior Senator from my State, FRANK CHURCH.

Senator CHURCH recalled that both the Soviet Union and the United States had issued statements several years ago saying that "each would not station or otherwise place weapons of mass destruction in the orbit around the earth."

In the light of subsequent events, such statements are remarkable for their naivete.

Speaking of the "open access" provision by which one party to the treaty may insure that other states are complying, Senator CHURCH said:

> There are no comparable inspection provisions with respect to objects in orbit. The treaty, however, places no restriction on our right to observe. It guarantees freedom of access to all parts of space. Thus we must rely on our unilateral capability to monitor compliance by other parties. Our capability in this respect has been thoroughly reviewed by our very best military authorities. We have been clearly and forthrightly assured that we prefer to rely on our own monitoring capabilities and that we can do the job. I am, therefore, satisfied that our national security is in no way jeopardized by the lack of an inspection provision for orbiting objects.

To bolster his own conclusion, the Senator also offered this reassurance:

> The conclusion reached by the Joint Chiefs of Staff was that we can rely on our unilateral capabilities to monitor the no-bombs-in-orbit provision. The security of the United States will be fully preserved.

In view of such assurances, I was rather surprised to read an article in the November 7 issue of the Christian Science Monitor. The article discussed the impact of the orbital bomb on the current hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, saying:

> In view of the propect of new terror weapons cruising far overhead, administration witnesses will be pressed to thoroughly explore the rationale behind the nation's present strategic stance.
>
> Many persons, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, believe the administration should develop a heavy ABM defense to cope with Soviet strategic missiles.

Without going into the need for development of a heavy ABM system, I cannot help wondering about the relationship between this statement and the pleasant reassurances we were given last April.

If monitoring is so effective, why the sudden cry for building the heavy ABM system? Our experts in evaluating the tests must have come to some rather ominous conclusions.

The treaty provides in article XI that all parties shall "inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the nature, conduct, locations and results of activities in outer space."

So let us ask the United Nations to make inquiry under this provision as to the exact nature of these experiments and let the U.N. determine whether the Russian missile is in reality a weapon of mass destruction. Should the Russians refuse to cooperate, then the treaty will have served a useful purpose in holding up to the world the folly of negotiations with the Communists.

I have written to Ambassador Goldberg today requesting that he take the initial steps toward implementing this provision.

If there is a certain consistency in broken Russian agreements, it is counterbalanced by the series of paradoxes by which such acts are greeted in this country.

A few days ago, thousands demonstrated outside the Pentagon against American "warmongers." Where are the protesters now?

And those who deplored the decision to build a thin antiballistic missile system—where are the protesters now?

What a strange sight it has been to see the administration in effect defending the Russians in this matter. Secretary McNamara said, "I'm not concerned"—a rather startling statement from the man charged with the responsibility for defending the American people.

Those who negotiated the treaty knew that three tests occurred while talks were in progress. Six more took place between the time that the Senate ratified the treaty and its implementation October 10, and there have been two more since then.

Instead of reality, our country's leaders have fed us dreams. They want so badly to be friends with the enemy that they ignore the fact that it is Russian weapons which kill American boys in Vietnam. They wanted the treaty so badly that they were willing to ignore the fact that even as the Russians negotiated a peace-in-space agreement, they were testing a weapon of war in space. On such fond hopes is man's destruction built.

If a robber came up behind you and jabbed a gun in your back, you would not really know whether or not it was a gun. But it would be foolish to assume that it was not. By the same token, the fact that Russia has signed a piece of paper saying they will not put a nuclear warhead in space is hardly proof that they are not preparing to do just that. Based upon the evidence and on our past experience with the Communists of bad faith and broken treaties, we had better take whatever steps are necessary to counter this threat.

Government-Financed Books

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, the American Library Association is concerned about recent revelations regarding Government-financed books.

The association has adopted the following statement:

STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE ALA COUNCIL, THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, AT THE ASSOCIATION'S 86TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 30, 1967

At San Francisco, during the 86th Annual Conference of the ALA, the Association expressed its conviction that the cause of democracy is best served when the operations of government are fully revealed. In the sensitive area of public opinion, secret influence can only contaminate truth and corrupt the fundamental concepts of free speech and a free press.

The American Library Association takes note of the fact that, during the second session of the 89th Congress at a hearing before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, the United States Information Agency revealed under questioning that it had been subsidizing and otherwise encouraging authors to write, and publishers to print, materials useful to and harmonious with Agency programs of information to foreign readers. It was further revealed that many of these publications were also sold commercially without any disclosure to the reader of the source of the subsidy or other form of encouragement.

Subsequently, on February 9, 1967, the Assistant Director of the United States Information Agency indicated that no manuscript would be commissioned without the approval of the Director.

However, almost at the same time, and from another direction, public revelations were made of covert activities by the Central Intelligence Agency with respect to private, non-governmental organizations, in which public moneys were employed to develop and influence opinions and actions consonant with governmental objectives.

The American Library Association expresses the concern of its members that disclosure of the sources of influence and subsidies in the forging of public opinion has not been freely offered by agencies of the Federal Government. The American Library Association asks that governmental sponsorship, subsidies and other forms of direct encouragement which lead to the generation of points of view designed to influence public opinion be disclosed in a suitable manner, and that any publications carry an acknowledgment of financial assistance, if the source of such assistance is from public funds provided by an agency of the government.

This statement is to be forwarded by the President of the American Library Association to the President of the United States, the Secretaries of the Departments, and the members of Congress.

Cater Outlines Progress of Government Efforts in Health Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend the national convention of the American Public Health Association and share the platform with Douglass Cater, special assistant to the President.

In his speech, Mr. Cater touched upon some very interesting and informative points of the makeup of our efforts in providing the American public with better health care and facilities.

At this time, I would like to include in the RECORD, a copy of his speech for the information and interest of my colleagues. I feel that the speech will be of benefit to all of us who are interested in the progress the Federal Government has made in assuring that the people of this country have the best medical attention that can be provided.

REMARKS TO ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION BY DOUGLASS CATER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER 23, 1967

One commentator on the social scene has written, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair; we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way." That was Charles Dickens, one of the early warriors against poverty and injustice. He was portraying a period nearly 200 years ago. And he added, "The period was . . . much like the present period . . . " He wrote in 1859.

Many would find in his description similarities with today, for we look out on a scene of contrast in America.

As a people, we have never been more prosperous. Our Gross National Product has risen to $790 billion—and the median family income in America is nearly $7500 per year.

Yet we have never been more conscious of poverty in our midst.

More Americans than ever before are in school today: one-third of the nation's population. More people are going to college—more to adult education classes, more to job training and all the other forms of education from post-cradle to post-graduate.

Yet never have we been more restless about the condition of our schooling; never have we been more eager to extend the opportunity for education to those who have been neglected.

Our nation's health standards are at an all-time high, measured by any index we can devise: life expectancy, infant mortality, incidence of disease, delivery of health services.

Yet never have we as a people been more anxious—and more eager to extend the quality and the reach of health care.

There are some despairing critics who look at this gap between achievement and expectation and claim to discern a sickness in our society.

To me, the fact that we recognize a gap—a gap between achievement and expectation—represents a symptom of health.

It is a sign of self-renewal.

It is a sign that a prosperous nation has not yielded to the fatal tendency toward complacency and self-indulgence.

It shows that our future can be even brighter than our past.

The ills that agitate every community throughout our land did not arrive suddenly on the scene. The awful burden of poverty was always there. The trouble was that too many of us failed to see it.

Bad schools, inadequate health facilities, pollution of the air and water, the decay of our cities, the uglification of our countryside—all have had an ancient ancestry, but nobody really tried to do anything about them.

The difference now is that the right people are worrying about the right problems—and working to find the right solutions.

Today, after too many years of debate and delay, we are on the move.

In the areas of my own particular interest at the White House—education and health—the statistics tell a dramatic story.

Over the past three-and-one-half years, the President has proposed and Congress has passed over forty major measures for federal aid to education and health.

In the past three-and-one-half years, the President has recommended and Congress has allocated more funds for education and health than in the previous history of American government.

Today, more manpower—and more brain power—than ever before have been mobilized for the effort in these two vital areas of activity.

But new laws and money and manpower, by themselves, can hardly measure the scope of our nation's effort.

Even more important, I believe, is a new concept underlying the initiatives in these fields—the concept of partnership. President Johnson described it quite early in his Administration as "Creative Federalism".

The President declared that, "The solution to our problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. It requires us to create new concepts of cooperation—a Creative Federalism—between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities."

Those words gave a new meaning to an old Constitutional understanding.

Our Founding Fathers wisely understood that freedom could be buttressed by separating the institutions which exercise power: federal, state, and local—public and private—state and church. No one appreciates more deeply than the President who leads this nation today the strength which federalism has imparted to our system of government.

But President Johnson has also recognized what was also basic to our Constitution. James Madison, an author of the Federalist Papers, was one of the first to dispel the notion that Federalism must mean a sterile system of separations—designed to frustrate rather than to fulfill the public interest. And his co-author, Alexander Hamilton, first described the duty of the nation's Chief Executive to play an energizing role in supplying purpose to the federal system.

Creative Federalism, as President Johnson has given meaning to that term, seeks to build a working relationship among the many separate institutions that share a capacity to affect the public good. Creative Fedefalism seeks to stimulate new arrangements among old institutions and to build new institutions when they are needed.

It does not intend to supplant state and local and private agencies. Quite the contrary. The purpose of Creative Federalism, as the President defines it, is to strengthen the capacity of these agencies to respond to the challenges confronting them today. By promoting partnership, it prevents the growth of monolithic institutions.

Nowhere is this new partnership more evident than in the field of health. I would like to mention this morning two of the major health programs passed by the 89th Congress and now moving into the program stage. Each adds a dimension to Creative Federalism.

The first stems from the Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments of 1965. It was a direct outgrowth of the brilliant work of the Presidential Commission headed by Dr. Michael DeBakey. Under its auspices, alliances have been formed in 49 regions of the country covering 91 percent of the nation's population. Federal planning money is already supporting these alliances. Program grants have already been made to five of the regions.

The key to this program is cooperation—cooperation among the diverse institutions for research, training and demonstration in the field of patient care—to bring the latest advances in diagnosis and treatment of disease to the greatest number of citizens in the shortest possible time. No one in Washington dictates the terms for this cooperation. It must depend on the imagination and energy of health leaders in the communities. The federal role is to support this enterprise in institution building.

The second program, of even more direct interest to this meeting, is based on the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Amendments of 1966. This is the Partnership for Health Program.

It represents a major effort to shift program responsibility away from Washington. It provides direct support to state and local leaders as they make plans, set priorities and carry out comprehensive health programs.

The evolution of this program in the year since its enactment gives good evidence of partnership at work. Eleven days after enactment the Surgeon General set up a Task Force to draft regulations. Meetings were held with hundreds of groups representing government at every level, the universities, professional organizations, including the American Public Health Association, and a great number of voluntary organizations.

Since January every Governor has been visited personally to consult on this program. To emphasize its importance, the Surgeon General has located the program in his own offices, under the direction of a man of great ability, Dr. James Cavanaugh. Correspondingly, most of the Governors have placed the program planning functions within their offices or at a high level of state government.

As an added effort to decentralize decision-making, authority to review and approve grants has been transferred to nine regional offices of the Public Health Service.

President Johnson in his health message to Congress called this a program "designed to strengthen state and local programs and to encourage broad gauge planning in health. It gives the states new flexibility to use federal funds by freeing them from tightly compartmentalized grant programs. It also allows the states to attack special health problems which have special regional or local impact."

I believe Partnership for Health represents a great promise. If it can be made to work successfully, it will have enormous impact on programs in other areas where the federal government is being called on to make a growing contribution. It represents the rational way to develop an effective partnership—to maintain our system of federalism.

We should be wary of those who offer easy alternatives. Some claim that at long last they support federal assistance in health and education. Only they would do it differently. They propose to abolish existing programs on the vague promise of substituting aid with "no strings attached."

As a long time observer both inside and outside government, I have strong doubts that any Congress or any President would long be satisfied with such an approach. Simply to put the federal money on the stump in the dead of night is not the answer. Congress has a real and abiding interest in helping shape national priorities. To abdicate that role would be a sure formula for arresting the growth of support programs. Those of us who are strongly committed to this support must not be misled.

A recent issue of *Daedalus* devoted to the year 2000 reported, "The only prediction about the future that one can make with certainty is that public authorities will face more problems than they have at any previous time in history. . . . The problem of the future consists in defining one's priorities and making the necessary commitments."

How to develop effective plans? How to schedule-priorities? How to commit the necessary resources? This calls for skills of a sort which are in extremely short supply. More important, it calls for wisdom—and that is always in short supply.

As we consider the future, we must look beyond the experience of Charlie Brown, the youthful philosopher of the comic strip, "Peanuts." You may recall Charlie Brown's admonition to his baseball team, "You know what our team lacked last year? It lacked organization! Well, this year it's going to be different! I have written down the name of each player and what position he plays and I've attached the paper to a clip board . . . and if that isn't organization, I don't know what is!"

Creative Federalism must take us farther than that. More than simply identifying the players and positions, we seek to build a sturdy partnership, designed to get the job done, not to prevent the job from being done.

We must face the future with the spirit attributed to Winston Churchill in a story which is surely apocryphal. It seems that the Prime Minister was visited by a delegation of Temperance ladies who came to complain about his consumption of brandy. One little lady addressed Mr. Churchill and declared, "Why, Mr. Prime Minister, if all the brandy you drank in a year was poured into a room it would come up to here." Mr. Churchill solemnly looked at the floor and the ceiling and the little lady's hand somewhere near the midway mark. Then he muttered, "So little done and so much to do."

Polish Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, November 11, we will pause to pay proper reverence to the American veterans of all wars who have fought to keep our country independent.

At the same time, the people of Poland will be prevented by their Communist dictators from commemorating the anniversary of their independence November 11, 1918, a day on which Polish independence was proclaimed at the close of World War I.

In the period from November 1918, to September 1, 1939, when Poland fell victim to the Nazi invasion, the country underwent a steady building process and had developed into a flourishing democracy.

Since the close of World War II, the Polish people have found themselves under the heel of a Soviet-imposed Communist dictatorship.

Polish Independence Day, which cannot be celebrated in Poland, is, nevertheless, celebrated by Poles scattered throughout the free world who conscientiously and properly continue their efforts on behalf of freedom and look forward to the day when a legitimate government and true freedom will be restored to Poland.

Peking, Hanoi Count Heavily on U.S. Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following excellent and very timely article appeared recently in the Washington Evening Star:

PEKING, HANOI COUNT HEAVILY ON U.S. DISSENT

Nothing, of course, infuriates critics of President Johnson's Vietnam policies quite so much as the suggestion that these critics may be giving encouragement to the Communists in Hanoi and Peking.

Yet, in fact, there is almost no aspect of the war in Vietnam that is more easily documented than this one. Johnson's suggestion that the American public might pay a bit more attention to the reactions of Hanoi to some of the things being said in this country is very much to the point.

Consider, for example, the announcement by Radio Hanoi on October 17 of the formation of "The South Vietnam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People."

The prime objective of this committee, according to the official communique, is "to unite and coordinate with the American people in the struggle for peace, justice, freedom, democracy and civil rights and in demanding that the U.S. government put an end to its aggressive war in Vietnam."

To accomplish this, the committee proposes "to establish relations with and contact all progressive organizations and individuals in the United States . . . who want to acquaint themselves with the situation in Vietnam and to join the Vietnamese people" in demanding an end to the war.

In several thousand well-chosen words, the new committee hails the plans of the "American People's Movement" to demonstrate throughout the United States.

"Our struggle will certainly grow more powerful," the statement concludes, "and in coordination with your struggle, it will certainly be capable of compelling the U.S. government to put an end to its aggressive war in Vietnam."

Throughout the following week, daily broadcasts and statements in Hanoi and Peking paid glowing tribute to the riots and demonstrations in American cities. Of the march on the Pentagon, the New China News Agency commented:

> "Johnson himself was so seized with fear that he stayed in the White House all day. This fully showed up the Johnson administration's fear of the people and its true color as a paper tiger."

Communist propaganda differentiates sharply, of course between what it describes as "people's" protest movements against the war and President Johnson's political opposition. There is a tendency to assume that Republican and Democratic doves—regardless of what they may say—are in fact committed to the war.

The Communists apparently have some trouble swallowing the idea of serious dissent within the Congress or the major political parties—an idea which is hard to square with the stereotype of entrenched and viciously reactionary "ruling circles" in the United States.

Nevertheless, the finer points of the administration's political situation are not lost on the leaders in Hanoi and Peking. There is hardly a statement made, a poll taken, an editorial written, a vote in Congress or the United Nations that is not turned to use as grist for the Communist propaganda mill.

Thus Defense Secretary McNamara himself is duly misquoted in North Vietnam's Nhan Dan on November 1 as saying that "Americans had no grounds to believe that an indiscriminate bombing campaign would shatter the North Vietnam people's determination or shake the spirit of their leaders."

The New York Times is cited as authority for the claim that "more and more people in American political circles realize the Johnson clique's failure in Vietnam." The UPI is credited with the discovery that "the number of those opposing the war in the United States has nearly doubled in the past two years." And columnist Clayton Fritchey is quoted as opining that the elections in South Vietnam "have not so much resolved old problems but have introduced new ones."

Even such random and fragmentary quotes as these suggest that the leaders in Hanoi do in fact derive substantial encouragement on a day-to-day basis from the critics of the war in the United States. Given a free and democratic society it is, indeed, inevitable that this should be so. To pretend that it isn't may possibly ease the conscience of the critics. But it will not change the fact that dissent in the United States is a very important factor in the calculations being made today in Peking and Hanoi.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. GARDNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I know of no one in this body today, or any member of our Education and Labor Committee, who is not deeply concerned about the problems of poverty. We heard the statement made before this body that everyone is concerned about poverty, and I think this is a very true statement. However, there is an honest and basic difference in how we should approach the methods and the effectiveness of being able to eliminate poverty in America.

As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, I had an opportunity to sit and listen at great length to what I consider was a Broadway production staged by the Office of Economic Opportunity, telling us day after day of the wonderful merits of this program. But during these very long weeks of hearings we heard very few people who came before this committee to testify as to the faults in this program. And yet I know throughout America in each city there are many people who have seen firsthand the ineffectiveness of the OEO and the OEO employees.

I think it is quite legitimate as we come before this body that we do have debate today to discuss the pros and cons of the best method that we can possibly have to eliminate poverty throughout America.

We have heard many discussions already today—and I will not dwell on them any more. I only wish to talk quite briefly about an area that I am very deeply concerned about, and that is the political activities that are now so deeply entrenched in our poverty program.

It was said just recently by my colleague in the well that we have spent over $4 billion in the war on poverty. I say that too much of this money and too much of the time spent by the Office of Economic Opportunity has been politically motivated and politically thought out by those in Washington. I can list city after city where massive voter registration drives have been conducted for some time: Durham, N.C.; Houston, Tex.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Memphis, Tenn.; Syracuse, N.Y.; Gary, Ind.; Atlanta, Ga.; Reading, Pa.; and the list goes on and on and on. And when I speak of voter registration drives, let me give this body an example of what happened in Durham, N.C.

An antipoverty agency in Durham, through three of its employees, spent over 3 months copying the registration books in the city of Durham. They went out in a nonpartisan election and carried people to the polling places to register. They then carried them back on election day, and provided them with marked ballots telling them exactly which candidates to vote for. In this city election, this nonpartisan election of the city of Durham, N.C., in an election that the mayor won by a 2-to-1 majority, these precincts in which the OEO workers were deeply involved carried for the opposite number by as much as 10 to 1.

I feel—and I have never had anyone to be able to convince me otherwise—that massive voter registration programs will in no way help the poor or bring up their level of living. I think everyone in this House knows that we have many honorable groups who are making a major effort to impress on every American citizen that they have a right and a responsibility to participate in local governments, the Junior Chambers of Commerce, and many, many other agencies that spend many long hours trying to get people to go out to register and to vote. But I think we tread on very thin ice, and we are setting a very dangerous precedent, when we have a Federal agency, sponsored by the American taxpayers' dollar, out conducting massive voter registration drives.

In the city of Houston, Tex., it has been told that OEO agencies there have registered over 50,000 voters. And I would only point out to this House that if we had another national election like 1960, the Office of Economic Opportunity could very easily control the political destiny of America.

This brings me to another very dangerous precedent that I think the Office of Economic Opportunity and the war on poverty has been engaged in, and this is massive protest movements and picketing that employees financed by the American taxpayer have been doing in far too many cases. I have brought here today stacks of material that came out of newspapers, not only in North Carolina, but throughout every section of America, and I would only take a brief time to read you a few.

This is from the Baltimore paper, entitled "Top U.S. Official Backs VISTA Group Picketing."

It says:

> George Lord, National Field Representative of Volunteers in Service to America said VISTA workers in Baltimore broke no rules in organizing a picket against a citizen and taxpayer.

One of our own Members of Congress, speaking in California, was heckled and and interrupted numerous times during a speech by OEO employees.

In Pittsburgh, Pa., we find OEO employees staging a massive downtown demonstration that disrupted business and traffic.

We go back again to VISTA and we find the regional director, James Cox in Austin, Tex., said:

> VISTA volunteers here can participate in marches and demonstrations . . .

We go back again to Houston and find testimony by the Houston police chief, who testified that riot attempts by OEO employees had been attempted and set a dangerous precedent.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The gentleman again mentioned my district. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I will yield if the gentleman will allow me to finish.

Again I quote from a letter I received on November 3, 1967, from two members of the Newark, N.J., City Council. I am quoting certain parts and I will put the entire letter in the RECORD.

> The United Community Corporation took a public stand against the proposed medical center in the City of Newark after conducting two surveys . . . which showed that the people wanted the center.

They also went into descriptions of how the area board of UCC demonstrated in picketing against a local grocery store, and that because of this, this man was forced to go out of business.

The letter referred to follows:

NEWARK MUNICIPAL COUNCIL,
Newark, N.J., November 3, 1967.

Hon. JAMES C. GARDNER,
Longworth Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GARDNER: If what happened within the Poverty Program of the City of Newark is in relation to political activities is similar in other cities and communities across this nation, then it is imperatve that amendments to prohibit political action by O. E. O. formed agencies and its employees be enacted.

1. Many militant individuals have used the Poverty Program in the City of Newark to further their own political ambitions and foment unrest. James Kennedy who is a Community Researcher of Area Board 2 of the United Community Corporation called a mass meeting in front of the Fourth Precinct Police Headquarters after he was advised that such a meeting could set off trouble in the City of Newark. He disregarded the advice. The meeting was held on July 13, 1967 and the riots ensued. All printed matter subsequent to this event was printed by his poverty board. Mr. Kennedy's statements were on television and can be verified through C. B. S., Channel 2.

2. Kenneth Gibson, a Vice President of the United Community Corporation, used the Poverty Program as a means of obtaining political projection and then ran for Mayor of the City of Newark on a so-called negro ticket with the help of Poverty Program officials.

3. George C. Richardson, a very active Trustee of the Poverty Program, used the program as a means of obtaining projection and ran for Councilman in the Central Ward in the City of Newark. Mr. Richardson who opposed the creation of a medical center in the City of Newark fought the City Administration again using Poverty Program staff and distributions. Mr. Richardson is presently running for Assembly in the state of New Jersey and is using the Poverty staff to mimeograph his campaign literature.

4. Earl Harris, a member of the Trustees Board and presently Co-Chairman of the Personnel Committee of the United Community Corporation, ran for Councilman in the City of Newark and used the Poverty Program as a means of projection and used the printing facilities of Area Board 3 to print literature.

5. William Payne, a member of the Board of Trustees and the Poverty Program, used the program to gain projection and ran for Councilman in the City of Newark.

6. The United Community Corporation took a public stand against the proposed medical center in the City of Newark after conducting two surveys (using the Poverty Program staff) which showed that the people wanted the center. They used the mimeograph equipment to circularize the community and try to incite the people to protest the medical center. When this failed, they brought people in from New York City and other communities to load the hearing room and protest the center. On the attempted appointment of a new Secretary to the Board of Education, they used the mimeograph machine to cause social unrest in the City of Newark.

7. The U. C. C. voted to grant amnesty to all those arrested during the riots in Newark.

8. U. C. C. through its Legal Aid Program supplied lawyers free to defend the rioters.

9. The U. C. C. staff has involved itself in every business action taken by the Council, example K–9 Corps, rent control.

10. Area Board 3 of the U. C. C. is dominated by Students for Democratic Society. They

decided a local grocery store merchant was overcharging his customers and they picketed him out of business. Ironically, at the same time eight negroes lost their employment and many people who depended upon this merchant for credit lost this source of help.

11. Area Board 3 has gone out of its way to provide any and all welfare information to prospective welfare clients to aid them in getting every possible dime "due them." They encourage welfare.

12. Area Board 3 has set up a Corporative Food Program to compete against the same grocery stores in the neighborhood which ironically are now primarily negro operated.

13. Small business administrations under the Poverty Program sent individuals around; to help the merchants. Instead, they tried to organize the merchants at a $10.00 membership charge contrary to O. E. O. intent. Thurmand Smith was the paid staff man involved.

14. Play Street Program has been accused of sending children to camps that have Communist ties. Funds were cut off by O. E. O. for this aspect of the Play Street Program this summer, apparently for this reason.

If you desire any further information or personal presentation, we will be happy to appear in Washington.

Cordially,

LEE BERNSTEIN,
Councilman South Ward.
FRANK ADDONIZIO,
Councilman West Ward.

Mr. GARDNER. I go again to our own committee report, prepared by the majority and minority investigators, who went in, and on section 5 they said:

> Whatever the intention, the facts concerning the role of UCC personnel in publicizing and organizing a "Police Brutality Mass Rally" at #4 precinct the evening of July 13th did significantly contribute to the volatile climate which prevailed.

I have a copy, before us today, of the literature that was passed out by poverty workers, printed at poverty headquarters, which says:

> Stop police brutality. Come out and Join us at the Mass Rally Tonite at 7:30 p.m. 4th Precinct, Located on 17th Avenue and Livingston Street.

From this mass rally the riots in Newark, N.J., were sparked and started.

At the appropriate time I plan to introduce amendments I feel are absolutely necessary if we are to remove poverty workers in the future from voter registration, from picketing, and protesting, areas I feel they have absolutely no business in. I hope by doing this we will be able to help redirect this program so the people living in the poverty areas will be able to better their conditions.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARDNER. I yield now to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, is it the gentleman's position that enlargement of voter registration among the electorate in some way undermines democracy in the South?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, my position is clear. I feel OEO, financed by the American taxpayer, has no job or responsibility whatsoever in going out and registering large numbers of voters.

Mr. ECKHARDT. In my portion of the South, we welcome enlargement of the electorate as an aid to democratic process.

Mr. GARDNER. Financed by the American taxpayer?

Dr. "Dynamo"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the New York Post recently had a warm and sympathetic article about one of New York City's most dynamic citizens, Dr. Ruth Lewis Farkas. In her roles as sociologist, educator, delegate to UNESCO, civic leader, wife, and mother, Dr. Farkas truly embodies the ideal of the educated and idealistic woman who puts all her talents to use for the benefit of her family, the community, the Nation and the world.

I insert the following article for the interest of my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD:

DR. "DYNAMO"

(By Hope MacLeod)

Asked how she finds time to get everything done, Dr. Ruth Lewis Farkas replies, her dark eyes twinkling, "I have a 26-hour-day. I hide two from everyone else."

Then she adds, more seriously, "I rarely have the pelasure of having time just to spend, even on Saturdays and Sundays." Furthermore, making the most of one's time requires organization and she concedes that she's "very organized."

Now "Dr. Dynamo," as she has been called, has added still another activity to the astonishingly long list she has compiled through the years.

As a sociologist and educator she has always been outspoken about her interest in people and how to help them. So when Secretary of State Dean Rusk named her to the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) "I figured I'd better put up or shut up," she says. "And I enjoy it thoroughly." (The 100 members of the commission serve three-year terms without pay.)

In addition to being involved in numerous health, education and welfare organizations, Dr. Farkas is the wife of George Farkas, founder and board chairman of the Alexander's Department Stores chain, in which she has been active since its beginning in 1928, mother of four sons and a grandmother seven times over.

Ruth Lewis Farkas, born here 59 years ago, was the next to youngest of five children—three boys and two girls—born to Samuel and Jennie Bach Lewis.

Both parents had a great deal of influence on young Ruth. "Community living and sharing, that was my mother; intellectual pursuits, that was my father," she says.

Both were in the real estate business and each had an office. "My mother was an amazing woman," Dr. Farkas says. "She was very strong—I had to be engaged a year and a half because she said, 'You have to finish college'—warm, well read and knowledgeable. My father? He was the student. He ran his business well. His office was always quite in order. But he always studied. When he came here at 21, his father, who was a merchant in Russia, gave him something like $1,000, a lot of money in those days, to go into business. Instead he used the money to go to school and study English and American history." Later he became a sewing machine salesman and that led him in time to real estate.

Ruth Lewis got her first real insight into poverty accompanying her mother into tenements. And she never forget her mother's advice: "No matter what your station in life, no matter what you grow up to be—always try to contribute to those less fortunate than you."

She met her husband-to-be when she was 10. The two families lived in the same apartment building at 107th St. and Fifth Av. and as his father had died, he, at 16, took on duties as head of the family, keeping a close eye on his little sister, Ruth's best friend. "I didn't like him at first because he was such a boss," she recalls.

Ruth got her bachelor's degree from NYU in 1928 and three weeks later married George, continued her education by adding a master's degree from Columbia and, in 1958, a PhD in education from NYU, meanwhile rearing her children, helping out in the family business, and teaching sociology courses at NYU. For relaxation, she plays golf "some," enjoys concerts and opera, and art galleries. Home is a duplex overlooking Central Park.

Among her many activities she is president of the Beth Abraham Hospital for the Chronic Ill, chairman of the president's advisory council of NYU's Graduate School of Social Work, NYU trustee, Child Study Assn. of America vice president, a director of the William Alanson White Psychoanalytic Institute, and recently was named president of the National Women's Division of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

The Facts About the Latest Effort To Sabotage SBA and the Antipoverty Loan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current discussion and certain misrepresentations being made in regard to my recommendation that sections 404 and 406 of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 be deleted and stricken, I want to make certain additional information available for the benefit of my colleagues, the Nation's 5 million small businessmen and the American people.

I want to reiterate the position of the House Small Business Committee—and my position as chairman—that sections 404 and 406 should be stricken because they constitute an assault upon the independence of the Small Business Administration and the effectiveness of the antipoverty small business loan program.

There are those who are attempting to make it appear that the recommendation to delete these provisions is an effort to destroy the antipoverty loan program. Nothing could be further from the truth—nothing could be further afield—nothing could be further removed from the facts and experience.

The deletion of these provisions will continue the operation of these programs of SBA on an orderly, efficient and effective basis rather than create divisive, wasteful duplication between the Small Business Administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Commerce.

A review of the history of the antipovery loan program is in order to put the matter in perspective.

This program was established in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, an act which included the provision that the Director of OEO would establish criteria to assure an equitable distribution of the antipoverty programs between urban and rural areas. Authority in the program was divided between SBA and OEO.

To make a long story short, testimony before our Small Business Committee showed that this arrangement was inefficient, created long delays, resulted in an inequitable distribution of loans, and in effect established a monopoly on antipoverty loans in our big cities.

Our committee received reports and testimony in regard to the fact that the establishment of organizations known as small business development centers in our major cities had excluded small town and rural areas.

All antipoverty loans approved by SBA first had to receive the endorsement of these centers.

Efforts by rural communities and rural small businessmen to obtain such loans were repeatedly rejected.

This matter was studied thoroughly in our committee hearings in July 1966.

At that time I asked the then SBA Administrator Boutin this question:

> Under prevailing policies a small businessman cannot get a Title IV (antipoverty) loan unless it is processed through the small business development center?
>
> Mr. BOUTIN. That is correct.

In other words, OEO refused to approve these centers in rural areas, with a few exceptions. The result was that 75 percent of the antipoverty loans were being made in the urban areas and only 25 percent in rural and small town areas—in violation of the letter and the spirit of the OEO Act.

There was testimony before congressional committees by OEO officials indicating they did not consider themselves competent to direct this business loan program and that SBA should assume sole responsibility.

An amendment was introduced to this effect and was adopted in 1966. And, I understand, OEO is not asking for the current proposal to revert to divided authority.

The performance of the program before and after the passage of this amendment is proof that Congress was correct in vesting this authority in SBA.

Before SBA was given sole authority, the program was administered on an inequitable basis and many areas of the Nation were excluded. Since SBA was given authority to administer the program, there has been a more equitable distribution with an estimated 60 percent of the loans made in urban areas and 40 percent in small town and rural areas.

The volume of loans under the program has increased substantially, since SBA was given sole authority to administer the program. During the 22-month period prior to the passage of the amendment vesting the authority in SBA—under the small business development center program—antipoverty loans totaled 2,800 for $29 million.

After SBA was given sole authority, 3,112 loans were made in the 12-month period ending last month for a total of $32 million. In other words, SBA in a year of direct authority was able to achieve substantially better results than were achieved in 22 months with divided authority.

SBA has the knowledge—the know-how—and the expertise to administer the program properly—and is doing so. We should not revert to inefficiency and duplication.

In regard to section 406 there is another danger. Over a period of 2 years there have been repeated efforts to shift SBA and its operations to the big business-oriented Department of Commerce.

This too has been tried before—and its failure is reflected in the fact that Congress created the Small Business Administration to give the small businessman an effective voice and an effective agency to represent his interests in Washington.

Let us not dilute the independence of SBA—let us not return the small business assistance functions to the big business-oriented Department of Commerce.

These are the facts.

Pending Economic Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in a recent report to residents of the 13th Congressional District, Illinois, I discussed the pending economic crisis. The text of the report follows:

TAXES AND INFLATION—ECONOMIC CRISIS

Our country faces a serious economic crisis. The President requested too much Federal spending. The Congress authorized and appropriated too much. The Administration is now spending too much. The result is that a deficit in excess of $30 billion is a probability. The result is that a deficit in excess of $30 billion is a probability. This promises inflation, tight money, high interest rates, and an increasingly serious balance of payments problem.

The failure of the Federal Government to establish priorities in spending has brought about this economic crisis. *What does it really mean?* It means that the inflationary spiral has now reached an annual rate of 4.4 percent. It means the cost of living has risen 12.6 percent since January of 1961. It means a serious hardship on all citizens, but, particularly, the poor and the elderly living on fixed incomes and forced to stretch a fixed number of dollars to purchase food, clothes, and housing—the barest necessities of life—which cost more each month. And it can't be done. It means a cruel, unfair, and unnecessary tax on all.

The deficit—a gap between *expenditures* and *revenues*—could be narrowed or closed by increasing revenues (more taxes), by reducing Federal expenditures, or by both. The President pleads for a 10 per cent increase in individual and corporate income taxes to narrow the gap, and he criticizes Congress for not promptly responding. The Administration tells Congress to continue to provide excessive authority to spend and also to provide additional tax revenues and then the Administration *may* reduce the deficit. This is strange logic. To meet a fraction of the promises made, the Administration could spend *all* additional tax revenues without reducing the deficit a dime, and then ask for yet another tax increase.

NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

This is the same Administration that received front page publicity on a *proposed* $3 billion freeze on spending in the fall of 1966. Today, if one checked on what actually happened, it would be found that the publicized "cut" of $3 billion was spent by the spring of 1967. The "cut" never happened. Administration promises of frugality obviously cannot be relied upon when the checkbook is handy, regardless of whether or not there are sufficient funds in the bank.

The President has the power to reduce expenditures, *let there be no doubt about it*. But he has not done so. In fact, to show he will not, he has not only asked for new taxes, but he has failed to veto any of the appropriations bills thus far passed. Congress, therefore, must restrict the Administration's power to spend by imposing a limit on *total funds* to be spent. Such an attempt to restrict total expenditures was passed by the House on October 18 in an amendment to the Continuing Appropriations Resolution of 1968, which would require that the President reduce expenditures in this fiscal year by more than $5 billion. The amendment, however, has not been approved by the Senate.

Congress also has the power to reduce specific appropriations to sums below the requests of the Administration. Unfortunately, amendments to five of the major omnibus appropriations bills to restrict expenditures to 95 per cent of the total amounts appropriated have been approved by the House in only two of the five instances, and both of those provisions were rejected by the Senate.

BUCKPASSING MUST STOP

The buck cannot be passed much longer. Congress and the Administration are both responsible. Failure to act will inflict the doubly cruel tax of inflation on all Americans. The Majority leadership of the Congress professes a desire to cut spending *if* the President will provide the guidelines as to where the cuts should be made. The Administration promises some spending cuts if the Congress goes along with a tax increase. The Congress appropriates, the Executive spends. The real power to control inflation and to control the size of the deficit must be exercised by the Executive Branch *controlling the rate of expenditures* in a given fiscal year and seeing that it relates to revenues. *If both the Executive and Legislative Branches fail, the people will suffer the serious effects of inflation—and they should know why.*

The Legalize Marihuana Push

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, having recently been caught in the middle of some rather emotional discussion on the question of the effectiveness of current laws on marihuana, I was pleased to see an editorial in the Los Angeles Times, Sunday, October 29, 1967, which delineated a most reasonable line of thought in this respect.

I want to recommend the editorial to my colleagues and include it at this point in the RECORD:

THE LEGALIZE MARIHUANA PUSH

Should marijuana be legalized?

Legislation outlawing the sale, use or possession of the drug is being challenged in a number of states, and in time the Supreme

Court will probably be asked to rule on this question. The push behind the legalization idea is formidable. We strongly believe, however, that marijuana poses a threat to society, and that legislation outlawing it should remain in force.

To many persons the idea of lifting the restrictions on marijuana might seem too foolish even to be considered. But what gives present efforts to remove restrictions on the drug some impetus is the fact that a number of presumed authorities have views on marijuana different from the traditional one, which is that it is physically, mentally and morally debilitating.

Marijuana, obtained from the Indian hemp plant, has been known for thousands of years, but only in this century has it come into use in the United States.

Marijuana is categorized as one of the phychedelic drugs, though it is chemically distinct from the best known of the hallucinogens, LSD. Its mental effects are most commonly listed as a sense of euphoria, dreaminess, and a distortion of the senses of time, hearing, vision and distance.

Most medical authorities agree that marijuana does not produce physical addiction, although many of them argue that there is not enough long-term knowledge about the drug to rule out completely possible physical damage resulting from its use.

Psychological dependence upon the drug is something else.

"Persons who use marijuana continually, and as the symptomatic expression of psychological conflict, a means of gaining social acceptance, or a way of escaping painful experiences of anxiety or depression may be said to be psychologically dependent on the substance," a statement in the AMA Journal noted recently.

Another authority has written that "prolonged use of marijuana constitutes a sensual addiction in that the user wishes to experience again and again the . . . feeling which the drug produces . . . Marijuana is essentially in the service of the hedonistic elements of the personality."

Marijuana seems to be primarily attractive to youth, in some cases for reasons that are obvious. Because it is illegal and generally frowned upon by adults, the drug becomes a symbol of independence and a further way to defy authority.

Marijuana smoking is usually a group endeavor. It is often used, as one report puts its, "for the sake of conviviality and sociability, and because it affords a temporary feeling of adequacy in meeting disturbing situations."

Experts note that marijuana smoking, though not a true addiction, quickly become a habit. In some cases it leads to experimentation with genuinely addictive agents, such as heroin, and from there to crime to support use of that expensive drug.

Habits, of course, must begin in some way.

Increasingly, there is evidence that marijuana smoking is taken up in the schools, not just in colleges but in high schools and sometimes even junior high schools as well. It requires little imagination to see how young people can be dared or challenged or teased into their first marijuana cigarette.

Proponents of legalizing marijuana argue that the drug is no worse than alcohol. Young people frequently rationalize that so long as their parents drink liquor, they themselves should be entitled to smoke marijuana.

The vice chairman of the State Senate Public Health Committee, Louis Sherman, has properly remarked that this is hardly a positive argument for changing existing laws on marijuana. The legal use of alcohol has, after all, created enough problems for individuals, families and society.

At the same time it might be useful for the Legislature to look at current marijuana law penalties from another angle. These penalties are severe, and in some cases it appears juries have been willing to acquit defendants in marijuana violation cases rather than impose the stringent punishment called for by the law. Would the laws, in short, be more effectively implemented if penalties were made more acceptable to juries? This is a matter for serious review.

The Times strongly believes, however, that nothing should be done with present laws that could be construed as making more permissive, and thus encouraging, the use of marijuana.

We also believe that greater research is needed on the question of possible long-term physical damage from marijuana. At the same time we urge a greater program of education in the schools, to acquaint young people with both the dangers and the very severe legal consequences arising from the use of the drug.

The gravity of this problem should not be minimized. It is a real threat to individual and public health, to the family, and to society as a whole.

Callous to Rural Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I have an editorial from the Des Moines Register which I would like to submit for the RECORD. I would like to point out that this editorial comes from an area of the country which has traditionally been less than enthusiastic in their support of Government spending for the poor. Moreover, the editors are expressing support for a program which would not affect their area.

This newspaper has indicated that they are willing to shed regional parochialism and respond to people in need. Can we as Members of Congress do less?

The editorial referred to follows:

CALLOUS TO RURAL POVERTY

The Senate moved quickly this summer in response to reports of hunger and untreated disease in various parts of the country. Senator John Stennis (Dem., Miss.) on July 21 introduced a bill to furnish emergency food and medical aid. All 16 members of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee approved the measure the following week, and the Senate sped it to the House by voice vote on Aug. 2.

Last week—more than two months later—the House Agriculture Committee got around to acting on the emergency measure and voted to put it aside for now The committee's only affirmative action was to tell the Agriculture Department and Department of Health, Education and Welfare to report on nutritional problems of the poor within six months.

The Senate-passed bill also called for a study "of the incidence and location of serious hunger and malnutrition and health problems incident thereto" but the Senate voted to provide emergency help to the poor meanwhile.

The Stennis bill allocated $25 million the first year and $50 million the second for emergency food and medical programs to be worked out where indicated by the secretary of agriculture, secretary of health, education and welfare and governors of the states involved. The Senate bill limited the emergency assistance to persons who are not helped by existing health and welfare programs.

The extent of malnutrition and lack of health care is uncertain, but there is no doubt about the grim existence of these conditions. A team of physicians, among them pediatricians and doctors practicing in the South, reported to the Senate recently on findings in Mississippi:

"We saw children whose nutritional and medical condition we can only describe as shocking—even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering.

"In child after child we saw evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases; also unattended bone diseases; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic diseases as well as severe anemia with resulting loss of energy and ability to lead a normally active life . . . in boys and girls in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition, with injury to the body's tissues—in muscles, bones, and skin as well as an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness and exhaustion."

As shocking as this recital is the refusal of the House Agriculture Committee to act on the emergency help bill. We are dismayed that among those voting to block the Senate bill was an Iowan, Representative Wiley Mayne of the Sixth District.

The committee vote is another illustration of that body's preoccupation with the commercial aspects of food production and insensitivity to the human problems associated with agriculture.

Signing of H.R. 5894

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, as a Member of Congress, I had the privilege of attending the signing of H.R. 5894 by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Women from all over the United States were present to salute this forward step in the ever-continuing battle against discrimination, and it is with a great deal of pride that I place in the RECORD today the remarks of President Johnson on this day.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT UPON SIGNING H.R. 5894, THE WOMEN'S OFFICERS LEGISLATION, NOVEMBER 8, 1967

Mr. Vice President, distinguished members of the Secretariat and the Armed Forces, members of the Congress, Mrs. Hobby, Governor Hughes, ladies and gentlemen:

We have come here this morning to strike another blow for women's rights. At long last we are going to give the dedicated women of our Armed Forces the equal treatment and the equal opportunity that they should have had from the very beginning.

We took the precaution this morning of asking the ladies to supply the Honor Guard. That is in case there are still some diehard traditionalists who do not approve of our action.

As our good friends Senator Margaret Smith and Congresswoman Bolton, Mrs. Hobby, and many others can testify, women in uniform have had to fight on more than the battlefield of war. I well recall when one of my male colleagues in the House of Representatives, back in 1942 when we were debating the bill to create the WAAC, had this to say:

"I think it is a reflection upon the courageous manhood of the country to pass a law inviting women to join the Armed Forces in order to win a battle.

"Take the women into the armed service, who then will do the cooking, the washing, the mending, the humble homey tasks to which every woman has devoted herself?

"Think of the humiliation! What has become of the manhood of America?"

But the ladies won their battle—the manhood of America has survived. Colonel Hobby got her women's Army Auxiliary Corps and the school opened in Fort Des Moines, Iowa. All of you who may have been there will remember what she said on that day:

"You have a debt to democracy, a date with destiny." I think history has recorded how magnificently our American women have lived up to that obligation and have kept that date. They are still keeping it.

There are more than a thousand women in our Armed Forces in Vietnam today. There are some here this morning to witness this ceremony who have returned from Vietnam.

I think you would like to see them, express your appreciation to them, and give them a hand. If they will stand up, I will appreciate it.

Our Armed Forces literally could not operate effectively or efficiently without our women. Yet, we nearly lost them at the end of the Second World War. In 1948 the House Armed Services Committee voted to retire the WACs and the WAVES to the Reserves. There was to be no place for them in the Regular Services.

But that action was reversed. The ladies of Congress—and perhaps a few female allies in the Press Gallery—changed that action.

Our gallant ladies were assured permanent status in the military services. But they even then were not assured equal opportunity. From that day to this day women choosing a military career could expect to do her job with fewer promotions and therefore, with less pay than a man who was doing the same type of work. Furthermore, she had only about 10 percent as much chance of being promoted above the grade of Mayor—and she had no chance at all of being promoted above the grade of Colonel.

With the signing of this bill this morning, we are going to end that inequity.

This bill will give the career women of our Armed Forces no special privileges. But it does relieve them from some very special handicaps.

The bill does not create any female Generals or female Admirals—but it does make that possible. There is no reason why we should not some day have a female Chief of Staff or even a female Commander-in-Chief.

I realize that a few of our gentlemen officers may not be too enthusiastic about this possibility. And I can understand why: As Dr. Samuel Johnson once observed, "Nature has given women so much power that the law has very wisely given them little."

But from now on, the officers and men of our Armed Forces will just have to take their chances in open competition along with the rest of us.

This is a free country. This is a democratic country. I think the time has now passed when opportunity can be denied to anyone.

We gave the women the vote and somehow the country survived. In this Administration we have passed laws that provide that women in industry must receive equal pay for equal work. The economy seems to continue to prosper.

We have brought women to ever higher and more influential positions throughout the land—and the Government has improved. Women are leaders and doers today in our Congress and throughout our Government.

So here today in the East Room of the White House we will end the last vestage of discrimination—I hope—in our Armed Forces.

So both as President and as the Commander-in-Chief I am very pleased and very proud to have this measure sent to me by the Congress.

I can think of no better company in which to sign it. For in a very real sense that law belongs to every one of you who are here in this room this morning.

It is also a great pleasure before I engage in the signing ceremony to take this opportunity in the presence of this very distinguished audience from the Congress, Government services and the country to honor two very brave ladies of our Armed Forces for very outstanding service in connection with the conflict in which our Nation is engaged in Vietnam.

To Air Force Nurse Colonel Ethel A. Hoefly we are going to award this morning the Legion of Merit. And to Army Nurse Major Marie L. Rodgers, we are going to award the Bronze Star.

Colonel Kobach and Colonel Hayes will read the citations.

Our Vice President has just spent 11 days in Southeast Asia and has just completed a report to the National Security Council, the Cabinet, and the appropriate leaders in the Congress in connection with his observations on that trip.

The one outstanding thing, and the most important of all that I know will give all of you great pride, was his observation that the military leaders in that area—the best men that we have been able to produce—feel that we have never had a better trained, or better equipped fighting force and we have never had better morale found anywhere in the uniform of the United States than in those men and women who are holding high our flag in Vietnam today.

I know you join me in expressing gratitude—thanks to all of them and to the Vice President.

It was also our good fortune and our privilege to witness the citation by the President with the Bronze Star Medal to Maj. Marie L. Rodgers, Army Nurse Corps, and the presentation of the Legion of Merit to Col. Ethel A. Hoefly, Air Force Nurse Corps.

I place the President's statements in the RECORD at this time.

CITATION: BY DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, THE BRONZE STAR MEDAL IS PRESENTED TO MAJ. MARIE L. RODGERS, N2654, ARMY NURSE CORPS, U.S. ARMY

For distinguishing herself by outstanding meritorious service in connection with ground operations against a hostile force in the Republic of Vietnam during the period October 1966 to September 1967.

Fully aware of the innumerable dangers and sacrifices which make up a greater part of everyday life in a combat zone, Major Rodgers volunteered for duty in Vietnam and was assigned to the 24th Evacuation Hospital in Long Binh where she served as Operating Room Supervisor. A model nurse, leader and administrator, she worked tirelessly to insure the finest possible nursing support for the great number of combat casualties treated at the 24th Evacuation Hospital, and she immediately became one of the most valuable and respected members of the hospital's patient-care team. She provided brilliant supervision in the planning, organizing and equipping of the operating room suite as well as the central materiel section to insure the finest surgical nursing support at this hospital when it began receiving patients in January 1967. The 24th Evacuation Hospital was designated as the neurosurgical and maxillofacial surgical treatment center for Vietnam in March 1967, and it bore the brunt of the patient load in these highly specialized categories. During her entire tour of duty in Vietnam, Major Rodgers exhibited the selflessness, compassion and genuine concern for human medical welfare which are the true hallmarks of a professional nurse, and she served as an ideal representative of the Army Nurse Corps in action. Through her dedicated efforts, she contributed significantly to the success of the Army Medical Service in providing outstanding medical support to American forces engaged in combat. Major Rodgers' performance of duty throughout this period was in keeping with the most cherished traditions of the military service and reflects great credit upon herself and the United States Army.

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF THE LEGION OF MERIT TO ETHEL A. HOEFLY

Colonel Ethel A. Hoefly distinguished herself by exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service while serving as Chief Nurse of the Fifth Air Force, Pacific Air Forces and Chief of the Nursing Division, United States Air Force Hospital at Tachikawa Air Base in Japan from 23 June 1965 through 20 June 1967. During this period, she played a major role in the care of military casualties resulting from the conflict in Vietnam during their evacuation and hospitalization. Under Colonel Hoefly's expert direction the already high quality of nursing care was improved, in Fifth Air Force Hospitals located in Japan and Okinawa, despite an increased number of patients ultimately averaging over 1,500 monthly. Particularly significant were her efforts in the initial period, when her inspiring leadership, diligence and professional competence enabled an appreciable increase in the capability to provide medical care with the existing staff personnel. She worked closely with other units in reviewing and improving the quality of patient care in the Southeast Asia aeromedical evacuation system. Her foresight, extraordinary devotion to duty and her abiding concern for patient-centered care were instrumental in the establishment of a new medical staging facility, with a capacity of up to 40,000 patients annually, to provide better medical treatment for transient patients. Her exemplary efforts were also directly responsible for the establishment of the first Intensive Care Unit at Tachikawa Hospital, providing improved medical care for the most seriously ill personnel from Vietnam and leading to the opening of another Intensive Care Unit. The singularly distinctive accomplishments of Colonel Hoefly are in keeping with the finest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon herself and the United States Air Force.

Every woman present, I know, felt as I did, a deep thrill not only for the legislation, but for the citation of these two brave and gracious young women serving our Nation.

Police Brutality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, if we do not soon stop police brutality in our country we may not be able to induce good men to serve as law men.

The beating given two District of Columbia police officers last night may have been directed at the uniformed officers, but in actuality the attack was toward us members of organized society.

The lawman represents us. He wears our gun and assumes our duty to defend life and property. When the lawman is attacked it is we, the silent, compliant citizens who are brutalized.

How much longer, Mr. and Mrs. America, before you grow weary of brutality against yourself by handcuffing our peace officers and letting them be used as whipping boys.

Under unanimous consent I submit the news release from the November 8 Washington Post for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

TWO POLICEMEN BEATEN AT BENEFIT IN THEATER

(By Lawrence Feinberg)

Two patrolmen were beaten last night as rock and roll music blared at a $25-a-head benefit in the Ambassador Theater.

Pvt. Charles Sullivan, 27, was knocked unconscious and carried out of the theater on a stretcher. He was revived an hour later in Washington Hospital Center, where a spokesman said he had suffered a concussion but was in satisfactory condition.

The other patrolman, Pvt. Edward Ehrmantraut, was bruised about the head. He summoned help, but his assailants, whom police described as "obvious party crashers," fled.

The benefit, a cocktail party and buffet preceding the local premiere of the movie "Camelot" at the Warner Theater, was sponsored by the Adams-Morgan Community Council.

About 100 persons were in the Ambassador when the assault occurred about 6:45 pm. Apparently few were aware of what was happening because of the dim psychedelic lightin gand the loud music, played by a rock group called the "Urch Purch."

The Ambassador, at 18th Street and Columbia Road nw., has been operated as a psychedelic dance hall for the past year. All its seats have been removed.

Among the guests at the benefit were Sen. and Mrs. Edward M. Kennedy, Mayor and Mrs. Walter E. Washington, Mrs. Gwen Cafritz, Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd and Atorney General Ramsey Clark.

None of them was in the hall when the two policemen were assaulted. The party continued after the incident.

Police said the patrolmen were assaulted by six to eight young men, one of them whom was wearing a Marine Corps uniform.

They said the men had been making noise in a rest room off the main hall and the patrolmen had told them to be quiet. As the group left the room, the policemen noticed one man was carrying a drink and asked him about it. The men started cursing the police and jumped them.

In the confusion after the fight, the men slipped out a side door. No arrests were made.

A General's Judgment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Omar N. Bradley, during his long and active life, has demonstrated himself to be an outstanding military leader and a compassionate and thoughtful citizen. In an article in a national magazine, General Bradley recently outlined his position in support of U.S. efforts in Vietnam. In an editorial in its November 7, 1967, edition, the Washington Evening Star commented favorably on General Bradley's statements. So that my colleagues will be aware of the editorial, under unanimous consent I submit it for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Nov. 7, 1967]

A GENERAL'S JUDGMENT

General Omar N. Bradley wears five stars. He was a World War II commander and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Korean war. He is the highest ranking officer to have visited the fighting fronts in South Vietnam. And his report of his findings, which appears in the current issue of Look, is a decidedly hopeful one.

No one, we suppose, will say that General Bradley was brainwashed by the diplomats or the soldiers. So it should carry some weight when he says he is convinced that the war in Vietnam is "a war at the right place, at the right time and with the right enemy—the Communists."

After talking with the men in the foxholes, the junior officers and the commanders, General Bradley was convinced that we are making progress. "We are gaining, often dramatically, in the military struggle," he says, "and in the even more difficult task of healing the social ills on which the Communists feed." A stalemate? Not when "the other side is getting weaker and we are getting stronger."

Why fight in Vietnam? This is his answer: "If we fight in Vietnam, and win, it is *possible* we may have to repeat our effort elsewhere. If we pull out it is *certain* that we will face more and tougher Vitenams"

Why does Hanoi keep fighting? "Ho Chi Minh's one hope is to hang on in the expectation that the American public, inadequately informed about the true situation and sickened by the loss in lives and money, will force the United States to give up and pull out"

How will the antiwar extremists respond to this? They can hardly attack General Bradley on the ground that he is a mindless military man, for it was he who said in 1951 that to carry the Korean war to Red China by crossing the Yalu "would involve us in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." It would be absurd to say that he is indifferent to the dangers of a major land war in Asia.

But he does believe this: "History will judge that, alongside Berlin, Greece, Cuba and Korea, Vietnam was one of our finest hours. We did not flinch. Or it will say that the Communists are right, and History will belong to them."

Rhetoric? Perhaps. The truth? We think so.

Retired Hawaii State Comptroller Val Marciel Honored by Lions International

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, it was a distinct honor for Hawaii to have the eminent president of Lions International, Mr. Jorge Bird, visit the Aloha State last week. The November 3 issue of the Honolulu Advertiser carried news of President Bird's visit and of his speech to the Oahu Lions Club.

In his speech, the Lions International president from Puerto Rico remarked that he was particularly impressed with Hawaii's renowned East-West Center which, he said, reflected so laudably the Lions theme of "Better Understanding Through World Peace."

At the meeting, President Bird also presented a Lions International Presidential Award for Outstanding Service to Lionism to Mr. Valentine U. Marciel, the recently retired Hawaii State comptroller.

As a fellow Lion, I am particularly pleased that this high honor was conferred on one of the most respected public servants to hold high office in the island State. Mr. Marciel's devotion to the work and goals of Lionism is widely known and appreciated, and I join his many friends in congratulating him for this well-deserved recognition from the international organization.

Helen Altonn, staff writer for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, summed up Val Marciel's long and useful career in an article appearing in the October 3, 1967, edition of the paper. It gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues in Congress this interesting profile on Mr. Marciel, written on the eve of his retirement from his State cabinet post. I also submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news report on Lions International President Jorge Bird's recent visit to Hawaii.

These two items follow:

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, Nov. 3, 1967]

LIONS CHIEF LAUDS EWC, HAWAII

Jorge Bird, president of Lions International, said last night he was particularly impressed with the East-West Center during his current visit to Hawaii.

Bird spoke at a dinner meeting of the Oahu Lions at the Willows Restaurant. About 100 persons attended.

He said the Center reflected his organization's theme of "Better Understanding Through World Peace," and he lauded the Federal Government and University of Hawaii for jointly sponsoring it.

He said he was "delighted" with Hawaii and compared the Islands with his own home of Puerto Rico.

Bird then presented a Lions International presidential award to Val U. Marciel, retired State comptroller, for outstanding service to Lionism. Marciel is a former international director of the organization.

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Oct. 3, 1967]

RETIRING MARCIEL LOOKS BACK ON 40 YEARS OF SERVICE

(By Helen Altonn)

Valentine U. Marciel didn't display his usual exuberance as he glanced around his office and quietly commented, "I've enjoyed sitting in this spot . . ."

For five years he has occupied the cabinet post of State comptroller of the Department of Accounting and General Services—but he hasn't had much time for "sitting."

The walls of his office are decorated with pictures of big State building projects and Hawaii landmarks. The State Capitol and Civic Center plan are featured with prominence, and perhaps a little pride.

They reflect, in small measure, a man devoted to his job and his boss.

His solemn expression reveals how difficult it is for him to walk off the job Friday.

He is retiring at the urging of Gov. John A. Burns, his close friend as well as his employer, who is concerned that he will lose substantial benefits under the retirement system "if I die in my boots."

A prized possession is the "very nice" personal letter he received from the Governor following his decision to leave government service after more than 40 years.

Marciel looked back on those years during a recent interview. It was 7 a.m., his usual starting time. And he was reflective and somber in the stillness of the fifth floor rooms in the old State Office Building.

TREMENDOUS PRESSURES CITED

He spoke of "tremendous pressures" during his term as director of the State's housekeeping agency, but said, "It was never nerve-wracking."

Marciel was born on the Big Island, one of 13 children. Twelve are living, all in Hawaii.

He attended public schools and went three years to the University of Hawaii. He couldn't afford to continue and, at 21, began his long government career by sheer chance. Friends steered him into a vacant position as stenographer to the medical staff at the Territorial Hospital.

Marciel took night courses in accounting and purchasing methods and climbed to a junior executive level in the Territorial Health and Budget Departments.

He was account clerk and later chief clerk to the budget officer for the Board of Health. He returned to the Territorial Hospital as business manager in 1938 and worked there through World War II. In 1946 he became budget analyst with the Bureau of the Budget.

Marciel headed the development of the government's surplus property program in 1956 and in 1959 became head of the State Purchasing and Supply Division.

APPOINTED COMPTROLLER IN 1962

Gov. Burns appointed him comptroller in 1962.

"Since then I've been sitting here at this desk doing nothing," Marciel quipped, with a spark of his customary humor.

He added, "Anything I have done is reduced to the rules and regulations drafted since I've been in."

These generally involved improved procedures and methods of conducting government business to stretch dollars and provide better service.

While not very glamorous—like dusting and doing dishes—they are the things that keep the government's house clean, orderly and economical.

They include such items as parking on State lands, the preference act for Hawaii products, improved bidding procedures for State contracts, an amended fee schedule in the land survey division, the motor pool operation for State-owned vehicles.

As a sample of the lesser known activities of his office, Marciel noted that when he moved in as comptroller the government had fleet insurance coverage on all of its 2,000 cars at an average cost of $42 per car per year.

The local companies had been negotiating with the State for the plan, he said.

An opinion was requested from the attorney general, and he ruled that bids must be sought on projects involving expenditures over $4,000, Marciel continued.

DROPS TO $21 A CAR

"We went to bid and it tumbled to $21 a car. The City-County fell in line, calling for bids, and they also saved money."

Marciel's department has nine divisions, ranging from audits to automotive management, plus the Kamehameha Day Celebration Commission.

Nearly $1 million flows out of the agency each day in payments on capital improvements, trust funds, special and general funds, he said.

The greatest share of the directors' attention probably goes to public works, an ever-increasing responsibility.

Marciel said he reported to the Governor for the month of August that the department awarded $10 million worth of contracts. This did not include school construction, which will be added to the September list.

School construction was transferred to Marciel's department from the counties under terms of Act 97.

And Marciel considers it a good move. He said the Department of Education is doing the master planning and his department has charge of schematic designs and bids.

"I think there will be less politics involved and less wrangling between the user agency and the service agency, which is us."

He said this applies in all areas where his department handles building projects "whether it's a library, irradiation plant or animal quarantine station."

Marciel is especially pleased with the development of data processing to simplify and speed up some of his department's work.

He is also happy with the expansion of centralized purchasing efforts, which he has strongly pushed.

He said, this was about a $1 million operation when he came in and it is now $3 million. "We foresee $5 million in the year ahead and, in time, something like $9 million."

Marciel's most satisfying experience as comptroller "was working with what I refer to as my Civic Center policy committee."

Gesturing to the master plan for the downtown development, he said, "It's heartening to know we had three levels of government sitting here in my office with the citizens advisory committee discussing items of concern to everyone.

"It's good to see the plan—some of it—moving along."

Marciel, whose forthright manner is one of his disarming qualities, was asked whether the taxpayer gets his money's worth from the State Government.

"I think so," he said. "Sixty per cent of the tax dollar goes to education. So ask if the children are getting a proper education. Yes. They are.

"Of course the standards in public schools are not as high as at Punahou. But there is no question that the kids in our schools are moving right out to be leaders."

THE OTHER 40 PERCENT OF THE DOLLAR

The remaining 40 per cent of the tax dollar also brings high returns in service from the health, labor, transportation, land and other agencies, he feels.

Marciel commented briefly on Hawaii's rapid growth.

"There is plenty ahead for this department and the State. With the right type of direction, we will move ahead. And I think we have the right type of direction."

He said Gov. Burns keeps close watch over the agencies' activities. "It's amazing what he knows."

Marciel obviously doesn't relish the thought of retirement, although he won't be idle.

He plans to spend a few weeks on the Big Island, in the Volcano area, with his wife Helen. "She's been egging me on," he said, smiling.

Then he faces a busy agenda with Lions Club activities. He is one of 16 Lions International directors and is trying to promote Hawaii as the site of the Lions International Convention in 1970.

The Marciels have two children, Val Jr., who lives in Kailua, and Mrs. Robert (Kuulei) Flores of King City, Calif.

The Battle for SBCD's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the fight for the maintenance of the small business development centers is a mismatched battle with the potential participants of the program—low-income Negroes and Mexican Americans—clearly on the weaker side. The forces arrayed against the SBCD's and the history of this effort to shuttle the program are clearly explicated in the recent article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Negro Entrepreneurs in City Slums Imperiled by Small Business Lobby." The gentleman from Wisconsin, Congressman STEIGER, has certainly credited himself by leading the forces in the House, and he will find many Democrats and Republicans alike in support of him when this test comes. A very important endorsement of the program came in the recent recommendation adopted at the poverty hearings of the Cabinet Committee on Mexican American Affairs in El Paso, Tex.

At this point in the RECORD, I ask unanimous consent that the Evans and Novak column and the legislative recommendation be reprinted, as follows:

NEGRO ENTREPRENEURS IN CITY SLUMS IMPERILED BY SMALL BUSINESS LOBBY

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Amid the debris of the current House debate on the poverty program, aid for struggling Negro businessmen in the big city slums is likely to be stomped to death by the muscular small business lobby.

That lobby is a rare combination of trained lobbyists, crafty bureaucrats, and senior members of Congress who can and do get things done. Since mid-October, it has been operating with immense success to strip from the poverty bill a special program of loans and technical assistance for slum entrepreneurs.

What makes this so important is that Negro ownership of slum businesses is becoming even more important than job creation as the economic issue of the slums. For instance, a new slogan in Harlem is: "We had full employment on the plantations, too." Yet, in the malaise of the Great Society today, the White House seems utterly oblivious of this important question.

A special program of helping slum entrepreneurs was put into President Johnson's original poverty bill in 1964. It grew rapidly with establishment of some 50 big city offices where slum businessmen could get help and apply for loans.

This quickly aroused in the small-business lobby fears that the more Federal money poured into Negro slums, the less the white Main Street merchants would receive. Moreover, the Main Street merchants have steadfast allies in both the bureaucracy and Congress for reasons that are not entirely unselfish.

The 14-year-old Small Business Administration (SBA), cherishing its independent existence, is always jealous of any other Federal agency. Protecting SBA are members of the House and Senate Small Business

Committees, which can justify their existence (and their patronage) only as long as SBA remains an independent agency. This coalition of back-scratching interests succeeded last year in transferring the entire slum small business program from the anti-poverty agency—the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)—to the SBA.

The results were calamitous. SBA quickly announced its intention of closing down all the small business development centers that had been established as part of the poverty program. This would mean, for example, a Harlem shopkeeper having to take himself by subway and his shoebox full of receipts all the way down to the SBA office in Wall Street to apply for a loan.

Sen. Jacob Javits of New York, senior Republican on the Senate Labor Commitee, forced SBA to suspend its order closing down the centers. But in the uncertainty their number dwindled by about 20.

Consequently, when this year's poverty bill came before the Labor Committee, Javits put through an amendment transferring the slum business program from SBA to the more socially conscious Economic Development Agency (EDA), which would view loan applications with a less strict banker's eye than SBA.

It was then that the small business lobby really got cranked up for action. The National Federation of Independent Business with headquarters in San Mateo, Calif.—key pressure group for small business—fired telegrams and letters all over Capitol Hill. With SBA officials calling signals behind the scenes, members and staff members of the congressional Small Business Committees lobbied their colleagues. The Congressional Record was spattered with speeches of protest.

The administration has reacted not at all. Sargent Shriver's OEO never has been much interested in Negro ownership of slum businesses and harnessing the profit motive to the anti-poverty program.

Rep. Carl Perkins of Kentucky, manager of the poverty bill, agreed in advance to an amendment sentencing the slum business program to strangulation inside the SBA.

For a time, it appeared the only opposition to the small business lobby in the House was 29-year-old freshman Republican Rep. William Steiger of Wisconsin. But after meeting late last Monday with officials of several slum business development centers, more senior House Republicans joined Steiger's cause.

Although unlikely to beat the small business lobby in the House, these Republicans may have a chance in the eventual Senate-House conference. But it is symptomatic of the madness in Washington today that neither the White House nor the OEO but a handful of Republican Congressmen are left to defend a small but important element of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society blueprint.

POVERTY HEARINGS: LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

(Cabinet committee hearings on Mexican-American affairs, El Paso, Tex., October 26–28, 1967)

Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs: Honorable Vincente T. Ximenes, Chairman, Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Honorable Sargent Shriver, Director of Office of Economic Opportunity.

RECOMMENDATION NO. 11

"It is recommended that legislation be enacted that *continues Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act—Employment and Investment Incentives* and that the Title call for *local, community operated*, small business assistance programs to the minority and disadvantaged community."

The unanimous decision of the Report Committee was that business and economic development assistance be available to the 4–5 million Spanish-surnamed population of the nation by providing resources to *local, non-profit organizations* to serve that population.

The existing method of attempting to render direct service through federal agencies was severely criticized as inflective and inadequate.

The Welfare Capital of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now that two of the unelected Federal judiciary have stricken the wisdom of the people's elected Congress by turning Washington, D.C., into a welfare camp we can well expect a rapid growth in population.

From every State in the Union, freeloaders can be expected to head for our Nation's Capital—tourism and sightseeing subsidized by immediate qualification for welfare checks.

What a judicial vote of confidence for the peaceniks, the Commies, and other disloyal tribes. They can now be grouped into ready task forces here in the District of Columbia, financed by welfare checks payable upon arrival—no waiting period, no qualification of residency.

Washington, D.C., once the capital of free men, the symbol of pride and dignity, soon destined to become the bastion of rebels and anti's.

It would be interesting to learn under what theory of constitutional law, such emotion-packed social revolution is based.

The court decision is more than an indictment of the American people—it is an indictment of the runaway Federal judges themselves.

I have earlier introduced House Joint Resolution 841 proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing that all appointed Federal judgeships must be reconfirmed each 6 years and calling for 5 years' judicial experience as a prerequisite for appointment.

Mr. Speaker, I place the news release on the welfare decision from the Washington Post for November 9 and a copy of House Joint Resolution 841 in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post]

WELFARE CURB IS VOIDED—COURT UPSETS CITY RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT

(By David A. Jewell and Carol Honsa)

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia yesterday struck down as unconstitutional an act of Congress that requires persons to live here for one year before they may receive welfare payments.

This means that indigent persons moving to Washington may immediately begin receiving welfare payments if they qualify as bona fide residents.

Last year the District Welfare Department turned down the applications of 203 persons for welfare on the grounds they had not lived here for one year.

Payments to these persons would have totaled between $250,000 and $500,000 annually.

APPEAL LIKELY

It appeared evident last night the present law will not be suspended until the question of an appeal to the Supreme Court has been settled.

District Welfare Director Winifred G. Thompson said she would seek an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Corporation Counsel Charles T. Duncan said he would consult with Miss Thompson before deciding whether to appeal.

The appelate court said that the residency requirement violated the right of welfare recipients to equal protection of laws guaranteed them under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

HOLTZOFF DISSENTS

Chief Judge David L. Bazelon concurred with Judge Charles Fahy, who wrote the majority opinion. District Court Judge Alexander Holtzoff dissented.

The majority opinion held that even though welfare recipients receive gratuities, they are entitled to the same constitutional safeguards as anyone else.

This point is considered significant by attorneys for the Neighborhood Legal Services Project who successfully argued the case that resulted in yesterday's opinion.

They expect to use it to buttress an attack on the practice of welfare workers searching the homes of relief recipients to insure that they are complying with District welfare regulations.

Welfare Department officials have contended that relief payments are a gratuity and not a right of the recipients. Hence, they say, certain rules must apply and the searches are necessary to see whether the rules are being obeyed.

Federal courts in three other states—Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania—have ruled similar welfare residency laws unconstitutional. In each state, welfare authorities have lodged an appeal with the Supreme Court. All are pending.

The majority opinion held that residency requirements have no direct relation to welfare laws which have the purpose of helping persons in need and keeping together families that would otherwise break up.

In his dissent Judge Holtzoff said that "if the decision of the majority stands, the provisions for aid to dependent children will be thrown into confusion and possibly be destroyed."

"Members of the judiciary must not be influenced by their own views of the wisdom, expediency or desirability of legislation, or by their own attitude toward charity," Holtzoff asserted.

He also noted that since the states surrounding the District of Columbia gave smaller payments to persons on welfare, there might be a danger that people would come here for the higher payments.

Attorneys for the Welfare Department had argued that aboltion of the residency requirement would make Washington a "Mecca for the transient poor," Miss Thompson said she had "no way of knowing" whether that would occur.

Recent welfare statistics indicate that most of the city's welfare recipients were long-term residents here before asking for public assistance.

As of June 30, the welfare caseload of more than 30,000 persons included 8048 persons who were not born here. More than half of those born elsewhere, or 4054 persons, had lived here 20 years or more before applying for welfare. Only 260 persons who had lived here between a year and two years were on the welfare rolls.

H.J. Res. 841

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that appointments of judges to the Supreme Court and judges to all other Federal courts, as established under section 1 of article III, be reconfirmed every six years by the Senate and to require five years' prior judicial experience as a qualification for appointment to said offices

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress:

"Article—

"Section 1. No person may serve as a judge of a court established under section 1 of article III unless the Senate reconfirms his appointment to such office during the last year of each six-year period after the year of his initial appointment, except that for the purposes of this article a judge of a court established under section 1 of article III holding such office on the date of the ratification of this article shall be deemed to have been initially appointed to such office on the date of ratification.

"Sec. 2. No person may be appointed as a judge of a court established under section 1 of article III who, at the time of his appointment, has not served for at least five years as a judge of a court of record of a State or as a judge of a court established under section 1 of article III, except that no person whose appointment to a court established under section 1 of article III is not reconfirmed by the Senate as prescribed in section 1 of this article, may be appointed to any other court established under section 1 of article III.

"Sec. 3. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article with appropriate legislation."

Livingston L. Biddle, Jr.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of regret that I call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the resignation of Livingston L. Biddle, Jr., as Deputy Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Few men have played a more decisive, although often "backstage," part in the successful creation of the national program to provide assistance to the arts.

Liv Biddle came to Washington as an assistant to Senator Claiborne Pell, of Rhode Island. Senator Pell gave him the challenging assignment of shaping the legislation which eventually passed both the House and the Senate and became Public Law 89–209—the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

When President Johnson signed the act into law on September 29, 1965, it was a triumph for many people who had worked long and vigorously for an intelligent program to encourage the arts in America. It is a good measure of Livingston Biddle's contribution to that effort that, after the President chose Roger L. Stevens to serve as chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, Mr. Stevens immediately named Liv Biddle to serve as his deputy.

I can think of no better testimony to Liv's effectiveness as an administrator, working with Roger Stevens, than the thoroughly admirable performance turned in by the Endowment and its staff during its first 2 years of existence. As a new agency of the Federal Government, the National Endowment for the Arts has worked closely and in harmony with private foundations, with the State arts agencies, and with local arts councils to create a significant and successful record of progress in the arts.

Livingston Biddle's extraordinary grasp of the realities confronting this first major venture in Federal aid to the arts, his understanding of the various arts disciplines, his intelligence and practical commonsense approach to solving the problems of arts organizations have played a pivotal role in the impressive record established, thus far, by the National Endowment for the Arts.

He is leaving his post with the Endowment to become chairman of the new Fine Arts Division of Fordham University in New York City. The administration of that great institution of higher learning has placed in Liv Biddle's hands the responsibility of establishing the new division, recruiting its faculty, and administering a school which will have an enrollment of 3,000 students or more.

I know that he will bring to his new work the same dedication of mind and spirit which have left their imprint so indelibly on his Federal service.

The Members of the House of Representatives and the people of this Nation owe Liv Biddle a debt of gratitude.

Coming from a family which has always devoted itself to public service, Livingston Biddle, Jr., has more than met the challenge of his heritage. He has added a chapter to that history of which his descendants may be justly proud.

I wish him well in his new duties at Fordham University.

Robert Joseph McEwen: Market-Minded Priest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Robert Joseph McEwen has long been an advocate of meaningful action to protect the interests of consumers. It was with great interest, therefore, that I read an article about Father McEwen's activities in the November 3, 1967, issue of the New York Times. So that my colleagues will be aware of the outstanding public service activities of Father McEwen, I insert the New York Times article in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

The article follows:

Market-Minded Priest: Robert Joseph McEwen

Washington, November 2.—St. Thomas Aquinas posed an ethical question to a 13th-century audience on whether it was morally right knowingly to sell someone a horse with a hidden defect.

Seven centuries later, the Rev. Robert Joseph McEwen cites St. Thomas's moral interest in economics as a historical precedent for his deep involvement in the secular business of consumer protection.

"There's a long historical line of writing centering on what is a just price," Father McEwen explains.

"I am writing in the context of moral right and wrong for buyers and sellers. My work has been in dealing with the context of what's fair for buyers and sellers to do to each other."

Father McEwen, whose many appearances before Congressional investigating committees have made him a familiar figure in Washington, was here to attend Consumer Assembly '67, a two-day gathering of national, state and local consumer organizations. He put forward proposals for consolidating numerous consumer protection agencies under the leadership of a Central Consumer Federation of America.

ACTIVE IN CONSUMER AFFAIRS

The soft-spoken Jesuit describes his activity in consumer affairs as a "concrete example of the church's attempt to make its doctrine relevant to the problems of the world today."

One colleague, who welcomes Father McEwen's participation in traditionally secular politics as "action, not just words from the pulpit," aptly rejects any suggestion that a priest in politician's clothing might cause some professional resentment.

"General Motors makes cars; Father McEwen and I have people as our product," said Evelyn Dubrow, legislative representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Father McEwen notes that it has taken some time to gain this acceptance.

"About 10 or 12 years ago," he said, "there was a great deal of opposition to the clergy's involvement in secular affairs coming from Catholics, non-Catholics, clergy and the general public.

"I used to run constantly into politicians who would say: 'The priest has no business telling us anything about this field.' "

RECALLS DEPRESSION

Father McEwen, whose eyeglasses, sparse black hair and perpetual shadow of a beard suit his scholarly demeanor, traces his interest in both the priesthood and economics back to the depression.

He was born in Dorchester, Mass., in 1916. He recalls reading of the Wall Street crash while in high school.

"The depression made an indelible impression on me. All through high school I questioned my father on the gold standard and other economic matters. I wondered why he couldn't answer me.

"When I had decided to enter the priesthood, during my sophomore year at Boston College, I felt I should take my teaching concentration [at the Jesuit Theological College located in Weston, Mass.] in economics."

Father McEwen has since received a master's degree in economics from Fordham University and a Ph.D. in economics from Boston College, where he is now head of the economics department.

His interest in consumer problems began in 1957, when he became involved with researching fair trade laws in conjunction with his doctoral thesis.

He now includes several courses on business social responsibility in his teaching curriculum at Boston College and serves on the President's Consumer Advisory Council.

What Do We Want From Our Schools?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the observance of National Education Week, and it is fitting that we pause to consider the vital role of a strong educational system in our American way of life.

While we hear quite a bit today about computerizing the classroom, we must not lose sight of the fact that teachers and students are still the most important components of any school system.

The following editorial from the Bristol, Tenn., Herald-Courier emphasizes the contributions of our teachers to American education, and it is a pleasure for me to insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHAT DO WE WANT FROM OUR SCHOOLS?

It is impossible to reduce the process or the purpose of education to simple statements; the complexities are as varied as the individuals who teach and the individuals who learn.

But, basically, education centers on the answers to three questions: What has happened? What is happening? What will—or, more correctly—what might happen?

Even more important than these three basic questions, however, is a fourth: What does it mean?

The answer to that fourth question and, indeed, to the third basic question, comes only from young men and women who have learned to think. This is, as it ought to be, the greatest goal of good education. All else is only a foundation, an accumulation of knowledge, upon which the ability to think clearly and logically stands.

This means, simply, that the process of education ought not to stop. And it must be the purpose of our institutions of learning, at every level, to instill in each student not just a willingness to acquire knowledge for short-term goals, but, more importantly, a desire to know.

This desire is not going to come from computerized classes; it is not going to come from projectors; it is not going to come from closed-circuit television; it is not going to come from any mechanical device.

Valuable though they be. these good innovations are only aids The teacher is still, and probably always will be, the repository of ultimate responsibility for whatever future success his or her charges will enjoy. And, because of this, the teacher also is still the repository of responsibility for the future of the nation. though it is shared with home and church and community.

The teacher, then, is the highest common denominator in the process of education. And only those teachers who recognize students as individual human beintgs, not as names or numbers or parts of a mass, are going to honor the trust placed in them.

During this American Education Week, all of us who are not part of the educational system have an opportunity to observe, at least, the surface manifestations of the job being done by our teachers in our schools. Deeper insight into the effectiveness of our school systems can be gained by parents and others only through continuing coincern expressed by involvement, in every possible way, in the quest for excellence.

Those who have not previously shown this concern can begin this week. To do less is to reflect indifference or disinterest. And to do this is to perform a disservice to the boys and girls, the young men and women, who constitute our schools' only reason for being.

Housing Market Tied Directly to Supply of Available Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of Congress well know, interest rates in the United States have now reached—or even exceeded in some instances—the levels which prevailed during the "credit crunch" of 1966. And we all remember quite clearly the effects of that crunch on the homebuilding industry.

Obviously, we must make every effort to avoid another heavy blow to the Nation's homebuilders just when they are beginning to recover from the effects of last year's tight money situation.

The homebuilding industry has repeatedly urged the Congress to act favorably on the President's surcharge proposal so that its experience of 1966 will not be repeated. The latest statement by an industry representative urging enactment of the surcharge is an excellent article by Michael Sumichrast, economist for the National Association of Home Builders and professor of real estate at American University.

I recommend that the Members read carefully Mr. Sumichrast's article, which appeared in the Washington Post of October 29. The text of the article is as follows:

HOUSING MARKET TIED DIRECTLY TO SUPPLY OF AVAILABLE MONEY

(By Michael Sumichrast)

Money, man, is bread. An apt hipster description. Both have much in common. Both are commodities which can be bought and sold at a profit or loss.

Problems arise when money gets as tight as stale bread. Tight money is usually a general barometer of an economy, expanding too rapidly signal of a declining housing industry.

It will occur when industry takes a look at demand and the order backlog and shoves ahead with new plant construction, new equipment when it sees there's going to be a "run" on money.

The price of money (interest rates) goes up. There's a competitive scramble for money—and over the years the ordinary American saver and investor has become a very sophisticated one. He puts his money where it will give him the biggest return, usually by taking it out of savings and loan institutions and mutual savings banks, the source of most of the funds for home building and buying.

The housing market depends on borrowed funds for long-term financing, and available money—unlike water—flows up, to where it finds its highest reward.

Why would anyone put money into savings institutions and receive, say 4¼%, if he could do much better somewhere else? Last year, for instance, certificates of deposit at commercial banks paid as much as 5½%. Stock market appreciation plus dividends, a hedge against inflation, look substantially better to many people than passbook savings.

STUCK WITH INVESTMENT

An investor in mortgages is pretty much stuck with his investment for a very long time. He does not have the liquidity other investors have. They can turn over their money rapidly, invest in a more lucrative venture at short notice, or cash in their investment when they need money. Mortgages are difficult to sell. There is no national market for them such as there is for securities traded on the stock exchange. It is impossible to estimate what the mortgage rate will be, say 10 or 20 years from now, although it will be fixed during that period. Today, many investors still carry loans at 4¼% to 4½% which is at least 2% below the current mortgage rate.

The homebuilding industry has traditionally borrowed money for two purposes:

To build houses—for a short period of 6 to 12 months.

Permanent mortgage—to finance homes when they are sold—usually for 20 to 25 years.

One depends pretty much on the availability of the other. Construction loans usually are repaid from the proceeds of permanent mortgages. A builder must have some assurance that the purchaser of a home will be able to obtain a mortgage before he starts building a house and borrows for its construction.

Tight money in housing really means two things: (a) less money available (or no money at all), and (b) higher interest rates.

VIOLENT SHIFT OF FUNDS

Last year it meant violent shifts of funds away from S&L's and Mutual Savings Banks. S&L net new savings declined last year by 56 per cent from 1965, and mutuals 30 per cent. These institutions had over $12 billion net new savings in 1965 and only $6.2 billion in 1966. As a result of this they drastically cut mortgage lending. In many instances they stopped lending at all.

A "loss" of $1 billion in savings available for residential mortgages means a decline in housing starts of 25,000-30,000 units. The home building industry expected to build about 1.6 million housing units in 1966. But as a result of tight money it built only 1.2 million, or 400,000 fewer units. This involved a loss of $7 billion in costruction expenditures. It also means a loss of 800,000 man-years of employment.

This, of course, is only part of the story; into each new house go more than 3,000 different items. A new house, therefore, spurs activity in thousands of factories, creates work for hundreds of thousands of suppliers, bankers, insurance people and others.

And this is not all: when new houses are built other construction follows: schools, roads, churches, recreational facilities. highways. This "multiplier" effect is about two, meaning that for every $1 direct expenditure in housing another $2 are spent on directly related activity.

An increase in taxes, of course, would slow consumer spending, and it would certainly not develop a climate in which it would be easier to sell houses—new or old. But the alternative, not raising taxes, would strain financing markets further and would be more damaging to the overall economy and to homebuilding in particular.

LSD: Chemical Russian Roulette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. T. R. Van Dellen has referred to the use of LSD as comparable to playing "chemical Russian roulette."

The herd instinct to follow the crowd, to accept a dare, or to have a good time with the mob—a revolt against parental discipline—may be social tolerance, but LSD can kill.

In July of 1967, I introduced House Resolution 823 to form a committee to investigate LSD, STP, and other psychedelic drugs, their sale and effects on our youth. Such an investigation and report becomes more urgent to enlighten our youth and their parents as to the threat of chemical Russian roulette.

Mr. Speaker, I place Dr. Van Dellen's account from the November 5 New Orleans Times Picayune and House Resolution 823 at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, Nov. 5, 1967]

HOW TO KEEP WELL: LSD USE "CHEMICAL RUSSIAN ROULETTE"

(NOTE.—To the limit of space, questions pertaining to the prevention of disease will be answered. Personal replies will be made when return stamped envelope is enclosed. Telephone inquiries not accepted. Dr. Van Dellen will not make diagnoses or prescribe for individual diseases.)

(By Dr. T. R. Van Dellen)

LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide) is our most potent hallucinogenic drug. It affects the central nervous system producing changes in perception, thought, mood, and behavior. The Food and Drug administration considers the substance ap investigational drug and regards its unsupervised use comparable to playing "chemical Russian roulette."

LSD is taken as a small white pill, crystalline powder in capsules, or as a tasteless, colorless, and odorless liquid. The drug is no longer disguised in sugar cubes, cookies, or crackers. Unlike narcotics, physical dependence upon the drug may not develop; the user may take it when available but when it is unavailable there is no serious craving.

The mood effects of LSD run the gamut. Some feel no emotion, whereas others burst into tears or laughter. Others claim to be in a state of total relaxation and happiness which is not apparent to the observer. In contrast, when LSD produces a feeling of intense loneliness, anxiety and fear, panic may ensue. An experienced user may come to the rescue with an antidote (Frenquel or niacinamide) to prevent flight, suicide, and dangerous reaction to panic or impulsive states.

Some describe a feeling of enhanced creativity and inspiration but rarely are objective results produced. LSD advocates frequently use the "insight phenomenon" as a reason for using the drug (taking a trip.) Perceptual changes involve the senses of sight, hearing, touch, body image, and time. Colors are intensified, and objects change shape, or pulsate.

Sound sensitivity increases but its source is illusive. Conversations are heard but not always comprehended. There are auditory hallucinations of music and singing. Sensations of lightheadedness, emptiness, loginess, and vibrations occur.

The effects dissipate after a few hours, but psychological changes may persist for indefinite periods. One of the main dangers is that a delayed mental condition (psychosis) may develop as long as two years after taking LSD.

H. RES. 823

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Four members shall be appointed from the majority party and three members shall be appointed from the minority party. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of all aspects of lysergic acid dethylamine (LSD), 5-methyloxy-NN-dimethyltryptamine (STP), and other psychedelic drugs in the United States, including the individuals and agencies responsible for the introduction, promotion, manufacture, distribution, sale, and the short-term and long-term effects of LSD, STP, and other psychedelic drugs.

The committee is also authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation into the possible causes and effects on users and addicts relating to crime, licentiousness, insanity, perversion, antisocial behavior, abnormal sexual behavior, and chromosomal damage by these drugs.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution, the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House, as soon as practical during the present Congress, the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

Nongovernment Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me in these days when the interests of the United States are directed toward assisting developing nations toward self-help, determination, and growth, that it should be pointed out that nongovernmental voluntary agencies, based in the United States, are making some tremendous contributions to our national goals.

Let me cite an example—the Medical Mission Sisters, whose American Provincial House is at 8400 Pine Road, Fox Chase, Philadelphia, Pa. They were recently asked by the Government of Ghana, West Africa, to expand and upgrade the nurses' training school in their Berekum Holy Family Hospital. Theirs is the only school of nursing and midwifery in the Brong-Ahafo region, with a population of nearly 600,000.The average life expectancy in Brong-Ahafo is 38 years, with a particularly high infant and maternal mortality rate. The Medical Mission Sisters' school of nursing has an average of 300 qualified applicants each year, but can presently accommodate only 20. The Government of Ghana is unable to assist the expansion efforts financially, but has promised communal labor.

Even more interesting to me is that the people who will be educated in this upgraded program will be the indigenous people of the Brong-Ahafo region. They in turn will join the teams fanning out from this institution to bring medical aid and health education to the thousands out in the "bush." All of these services give to the people of Ghana not only health care and health education, but also give a sense of personal dignity and hope for development to a people trying to forge out a new nation.

This organization of Medical Mission Sisters has worked long and hard under trying circumstances in this area. They have won the respect and confidence not only of the people they have nursed and doctored, but of Ghana's leaders who are striving for gains in every field of governmental endeavor. The Sisters' know-how, not only in medicine but in the daily lives of these people, their hopes and aspirations, has come to be a security to the people of Ghana. In changing times this group of women remains steadfast in its dedication and service to the needs of people everywhere and particularly now in developing nations.

Our country and its legislators should be aware of these efforts and the efforts of many other groups from the United States who have gained the confidence of the people of the emerging nations. It seems to me that if other countries and private foundations—the local governments and corporations involved in the area—are interested in the work of these groups, the U.S. Government through its AID program or other extensions of assistance on the part of our Government, should focus particular attention on practically adding our backing to the projected efforts of such groups wherever we can. We can only gain good will by such well-organized and recognized sources of help.

We here in the House, in meeting our responsibilities of following up on the expenditure of our appropriations, might do well to "count our blessings," back them up, and increase their yield, rather than to cry over misadventures which are past history and beyond second chances.

Mr. Speaker, this work of the Medical Mission Sisters may not be world shattering, but it is consistent, dependable and always yielding friends. I am compelled to call it to your attention and to that of my colleagues here in the House. It is an impressive contribution, not only in Ghana, but also in six other countries of Africa, and in India, Pakistan, the

Philippines, Indonesia, Jordan, Venezuela, and South Vietnam. I personally wish to commend this group of sisters in particular, and all such groups in general for the contribution which they make to their country as well as to the country in which they operate.

The 1968 Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in the traditional manner the attention of the country is turning increasingly to the 1968 presidential campaign and the general elections. Speculation is rampant; anticipation is rising in a crescendo that will culminate just a year from now.

A recent article in the New leader discusses the 1968 outlook with clarity. It sounds a warning that demands to be heard.

I commend this article to my colleagues' attention.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the article from the New Leader in the RECORD:

THE LIBERAL CRISIS

(By Gus Tyler)

As the nation moves toward the 1968 elections, American liberalism faces the most serious crisis of this century. The peril to the liberals arises from dark and destructive forces at work in the country, and from deep divisions within the progressive-minded community. Unless liberalism can close political ranks to check the onrush of reaction, America can be swept into a dismal abyss of prolonged reaction.

The drama of the 1968 elections will be played against a double backdrop: violence and Vietnam. Both will profoundly affect the outcome in the voting no matter what the Johnson Administration does either in urban America or in Southeast Asia.

The racial riots of 1967, like other riotous moments in America, are part of a continuing and developing movement with its own momentum and inner dynamic. What started many years ago as spontaneous and sporadic outbursts has, in recent years taken on form and direction. Riot and threat of riot are used as conscious instruments to win demands—specific and vague. Out of the cauldron is emerging a political coalition of black revolutionaries. Muslims and the Negro underworld which seeks to use violence as a tool of purpose. The most irreconcilable elements in this loose combine are the extremists who do not believe that America is a viable civilization, who feel the only hope lies in a nihilistic and uninhibited destruction of the society.

The riots of 1967 are a prelude and rehearsal to those of 1968. While a massive program for the ghettos would undoubtedly do much to dampen the explosive materials of riots, even the most generous effort is unlikely to have meaningful impact by 1968. And it is far less likely that the present Congress will enact any program—massive or midget. The fuel for the fire will be on hand next summer. The leadership for the systematic use of violence will, by 1968, have established its authority—in no small part as a result of operations run in 1967. If one is to trust knowledgeable rumor, the next move will be to carry the flames outside the ghetto to adjacent neighborhoods.

But whether or not riots, inside or outside the ghetto, are on the drawing boards of the "revolutionaries," there are enough combustibles around for the most accidental spark in 1968 to set off the explosion. The response to such an explosion can be predicted from several centuries of American experience with social conflict. Riot makes counter-riot; violence makes vigilantism. In 1968, the ever dormant spirit of vigilantism is likely to arise brutally—both on the streets and at the polls.

If the spirit of violence should flag either in the ghetto or in the surrounding white community, there are racist and reactionary forces to whip up the fury. Legislators can do it by callous disregard; Right extremists can do it by financing the sparks to set the fire; parochial politicians will do it as a cheap and easy way to fame and fortune.

In 1968, there will be a vigilante vote—as well as vigilante violence. It may prove the pivotal power for putting a like-minded man in the White House.

Peace in Vietnam is not apt to reverse or check racial conflict. Indeed, quite the opposite is probable. If peace were made in Southeast Asia before the first of the year, the most immediate impact on the American economy would be a dip in employment. Demobilization of Negro soldiers, fewer job openings, a higher rate of Negro joblessness—especially among the young—could only add fuel to the flame. While it is entirely possible and desirable for America to work out "peacetime" plans to take up the slack, such plans would get little backing in the present Congress—and in no event could they have an effect in time to provide needed employment before the fall of 1968.

For the militant Negro idealogue or demagogue, American withdrawal from Vietnam would provide conclusive proof that this civilization is on the way out, about to be pushed into oblivion. This conviction would be incendiary propaganda in the mouths of militants.

Thus whatever the merits may be for hastening a settlement in Asia, it is a vast misjudgment to assume that the fate of the ghettos will be settled in Vietnam. The notion that peace over there means peace over here is a self-delusion induced by incantations in a dovecote.

Regardless of Johnson's actions in Vietnam between now and Election Day, moreover, the issue will be with the country on that fateful Tuesday. If he makes a settlement it will, of necessity, be frayed with loose ends: boundaries, role of the Vietcong, presence of guarantors, etc. The Republicans will grab each loose thread to unravel the Administration, wrapping their yarn around the accusative query: "Is this what our boys died for?" If Johnson continues on present course, he will be hit from both sides: either "get out" or "go all out" or both.

Johnson would overcome both these obstacles—violence and Vietnam—with a united liberal front. But this unity is lacking . . . at the moment. Within the progressive community in 1967 there is a group whose basic strategy is negative: "beat Johnson." Its logic runs in three steps:

1. Any Republican, including Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan, is more likely to settle Vietnam than Johnson, in the same way that Eisenhower settled Korea after Truman.
2. Even if this does not happen, in 1972 the Democrats could oust the Republicans.
3. At that time, the Democratic party will be in the hands of its liberal wing.

For a brief moment, this faction in the liberal community toyed with a third-party movement: the Spock-King ticket. The Negro nihilists knocked that notion out of their heads at last month's National Conference for New Politics in Chicago. So the "beat Johnson" faction now turns to the Democratic party: a) to name convention delegates to nominate someone or anyone other than LBJ; b) to undermine Johnson in the election of 1968; c) and then in 1972 to use this movement to name a true liberal to take the White House.

The strategy is simple and suicidal.

The first victims of this "beat Johnson" movement will be the Representatives and Senators in the "peace wing" of Congress. A battle over convention delegates will deeply divide the Democratic party ranks. Congressmen and Senators will not escape the conflict unscathed. In the case of a George McGovern (D.-S.D.), or others like him, who are already in deep trouble because of their "dove" posture, a further division within their party is a guarantee of defeat. Put otherwise, in a divided and splintered liberal coalition, the first to suffer will be the men who are liberals on domestic issues and who are foreign policy doves. But they will not be alone. The resolve of the peace-at-all-cost people to defeat the Johnson crowd will also hit the liberals who back the Administration on Vietnam. In short, the "beat Johnson" movement inevitably, if not intentionally, becomes a beat-the-liberals-for-Congress movement: both liberal doves and liberal hawks.

A conservative Congress—much more conservative than the present—will not only affect legislation but may very well turn topsy turvy all calculations on the presidency in 1968. In this regard, 1968 could be unlike any other election in American history.

A George Wallace candidacy would have a peculiar effect on the *electoral*, as distinguished from the *popular* vote. In terms of *popular* vote, Wallace would help LBJ win a plurality. Johnson's liberalism—especially on civil rights—has lost him many voters who in 1968 would go Republican. If Wallace runs, however, many of the same voters would vote Dixiecrat instead of GOP, thereby cutting into Republican strength.

But in terms of the *electoral* vote, the Wallace candidacy could have an altogether different impact on 1968—and on the future of American politics. If he carries as much of the South as predicted, he will garner some 100 electoral votes. In that event, it would be necessary for either the Democratic and Republican candidate for President to win at least 270 electoral votes out of the remaining 438—to be elected. Had this happened in 1948, or 1960, neither Truman nor Kennedy would have had enough electoral votes to win.

If neither Democrat nor Republican get a majority of the votes in 1968, then the contest goes to the House of Representatives—at which point the political complexion of the House becomes decisive because it is the body that will now pick the President out of the top three runners.

In the House, the balance of power would be in the hands of the South. Indeed, its power is heavily exaggerated since each state including the thinly populated states of the South, casts only one vote: Louisiana equals Illinois; Mississippi equals New York; and Alabama equals California.

Southern strategy in this situation must be envisioned against the background of riots in the summer of 1968. The first impact of such disturbances would be to swell the Wallace vote—both North and South. The second impact would be on the Southern Congressional delegations that would *normally* vote for the Democratic candidate for President if the contest went to the House. In 1968, they might do otherwise.

The South may now lead America down the path to reaction—by playing an independent role. Discussing 1968 at a political action meeting of the AFL–CIO, Bayard Rustin recently said: "The nation moves toward 1968, a year of historic importance, in a mood of confusion, unrest, uncertainty. Exploiting Vietnam and the Negro's agony, the Right wing prepares to launch a comeback. If successful, it will profoundly alter the direction of American politics and most grievously set back the Negro." In setting this altered direction, the South would be in the driver's seat.

Given the choice between a Johnson and a Reagan, the Southern delegations could decide to go for Reagan or—if wooed by LBJ—to succumb at a devilish price: my body for your soul. Given the alternate choice between a Johnson and a Rockefeller, the South could say, "a plague on both your houses," and cast its vote for Wallace to elect NO President. (This is constitutionally possible, since the top *three* names for President go before the House and a *majority* is needed for election.)

The latter course, a stalemate in the House, is unlikely because as matters stand right now the GOP candidate will not be Rockefeller but someone more congenial to the Southern spirit. But if Rockefeller (or someone like him) is the candidate and the South should decide to stalemate the election, the political potential becomes bizarre: The Senate chooses the Vice President on a one-man-one-vote basis, and if the House cannot agree on a President, then the Veep becomes Prexy.

This improbable, but possible, freak could put a Reagan directly in the White House, although he runs for Vice President rather than President. At present, the strongest ticket the Republicans can field against Johnson is Rockefeller-Reagan. Should it turn out that the Senate—and not the House—chooses the President, Reagan becomes a real possibility for the Presidency, riding into the White House on Rocky's coattails.

The Southern Democrats in House and Senate would normally not bolt their Presidential candidates. But 1968 will not be normal. The election is apt to be run against a background of flaming cities, with a reactionary South discovering new allies in the North and a last best hope to run America. The year 1968 may be as abnormal as 1860, when a new party on a newly realigned base came to power. In terms of issues, 1968 could be 1860 played backwards.

Ordinarily, if Southern Democrats bolted their party they would be jeopardizing the prized seniority and chairmanships that the Dixie solons enjoy. But in a "realignment" the South could easily make a deal with GOP leadership—and the President-to-be—to "organize" both houses in an overt conservative coalition thus preserving Southern superiority in the Senate and House committees. (In the New York State Legislature just a couple of years ago, it was the Republicans—together with "Wagner" Democrats—who gave Anthony Travia and Joseph Zaretski the necessary votes to head the Legislature. There is no constitutional provision to prevent the same from happening in the U.S. Congress.)

Such an eventuality would be a bit of historic irony for liberals who have long urged party realignment. So far, the liberals have failed to convert the New Deal coalition into a "party." In Congress, the conservatives have long had such an informal "party" on Capitol Hill, voting in consistent concert. In 1968, this Congressional coalition of conservatism may have its first chance to elect its President by its own acts—with the South holding the power and mapping the strategy.

In discussions about the forthcoming elections, 1968 has been analogized with other recent contests, particularly 1948 and 1952, with pro-Johnson people pointing to the former and liberal anti-Johnson people the latter. In fact, both analogies are right—and wrong.

In 1948, Harry Truman—like Lyndon Johnson today—appeared to be in trouble. His "left" wing was being torn away by Henry Wallace and the Progressive party; his "right" wing by Strom Thurmond and the Dixiecrats. The "left" Democrats were hitting Truman because of his cold war policy, the "right" Democrats were hitting him for his pro-civil rights policy. Americans for Democratic Action started a "dump-Truman" movement and turned to Dwight Eisenhower as an alternative, just as some individual liberals (though not ADA this time) are now involved in a "dump-Johnson" movement that seeks another General as a possible candidate, James Gavin. In the election itself, Truman came galloping up to win—with liberal backing, as may happen with LBJ.

This far the analogy holds, but not much farther. The support for George Wallace is much greater than that for Thurmond. If Truman had lost the whole South, he would have lost the Presidency. A Reagan is not an Eisenhower—especially if a Republican President is elected in the House with Southern aid. But above all else, the mood of the country is different: Black "revolution" is stirring white "counter-revolution," an atavistic return to a dark dead past.

The "dump-Johnson" people, such as James Wechsler, prefer to parallel 1968 with 1952. That was the year Truman decided not to run, allegedly because he was scared off by the New Hampshire primary. Anti-Johnson liberals hope to scare LBJ off from running in 1968.

If this is carried one step further, though, it becomes most unappetizing. Upon Truman's withdrawal, the Democrats named Adlai Stevenson, the liberal's dream boat, for the Presidency. He ran a bright, brittle campaign in which he restored the English language to its proper place in Western civilization. But it was not he—it was Ike and Dick—who ended up in the White House. And four years later there was more of the same, only more so.

Should the history of 1952 repeat itself, liberals would have a chance to relive the agony of the Ike age in a time of trouble and turmoil. Ike put the New Deal on ice; a Republocrat President in 1968 and beyond would put the nation on fire.

The liberal community has not, until recently, been even dimly aware of the dangerous potential. The great preoccupation has been with Vietnam—both pro and con—almost exclusively. The far greater danger arising from the political crisis *within* the country has gone almost unnoticed.

Until recently, some of the loudest voices in liberal circles spoke out for a third party. The big moment was to be the meeting of the National Conference for New Politics in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend. Whatever evils issued from that confab, it was an ill wind that blew some good. It killed a national third-party, for this year. The formal burial took place at the ADA national board meeting in September, when the organization formally went on record as opposed to a third party. Nobody spoke for the corpse, including those who—in the recent past—were for it.

With the collapse of third-partyism, some of its sponsors together with other anti-Johnson elements began to beef up a "dump-Johnson" campaign. The plan is to run anti-Johnson delegates to the Democratic national convention.

At the September meeting of ADA—the commonly alleged establishment of the liberal community—the question of a "dump-Johnson" movement was at the core of the agenda. Although the press reported this as a gathering to formulate policy on Vietnam, the ADA board was actually without any authority to act on that subject because the Spring convention of the organization had already mapped policy. The board meeting dealt with *political*—rather than *foreign*—policy, concentrating on matters such as third-party, "dump-Johnson," convention and endorsement strategy.

The heaviest blow against the "dump-Johnson" movement was struck by Joe Rauh—Mr. ADA—in a memorandum he had circulated on July 28, 1967. He opposed the movement on practical grounds; it would fail, and it would discredit the movement for peace: "Just as the Kennedy-Fullbright draft will fail to produce delegates because Kennedy will repudiate it in most dramatic form, so any other similar effort in behalf of anti-Johnson delegates will fail because no responsible people inside the Democratic party will allow their names to be connected with a drive against a Democratic President, and especially so hopeless a drive. Here, too, the net result is bound to be few, if any, delegates and a minimization of the peace strength in America to a fraction of its true proportions."

The positive alternative proposal in the Rauh document was a drive to write a peace plank into the Democratic party platform. There were several attempts to reverse the Rauh approach at the ADA board, probably the best attended in its history. The first proposal—to have ADA back the "dump-Johnson" movement—was defeated 73 to 12. Two other moves were defeated: one to allow chapters and individuals to join the dumpers in the name of ADA; the second to instruct ADA to seek an alternative candidate to LBJ.

The board decision, however, has not inhibited a handful of individuals in ADA (though without ADA authority) from going ahead with their "dump-Johnson" effort. From their view, they cannot lose: If LBJ is beaten at the convention, they will have won; if LBJ is defeated in 1968, they will also have won. They talk about 1968 but they mean 1972. They are thinking like Louis XV standing on his head: *Après le déluge, moi.*

If one must look for historical analogies for 1968, it is less in the America of the 1940s and 1950s than in the Germany of the 1930s. Then the great danger was Hitler. But to a sector of the Left—the Communists—the real enemy was social democracy. The coalition that might have halted Hitler was torn with fratricide. The Communists termed the Social Democrats "social-fascists"; they turned the "main fire" against those closest to them; they welcomed Hitler to power with the proclamation: *Nach Hitler, Kommen Wir.*

No doubt this analogy—like most historical parallels—is faulty. But in terms of long-range historic impact, what happened in Germany in the '30s may be closer to the danger we face in 1968 than what happened in America in either 1948 or 1952.

SCEF and Ford Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the RECORD for March 14, 1967, pages A1250, A1255, A1259, and H1267, I had remarked on the frauds and scandals arising out of the SCEF fruitcake cooperative thriving on OEO funds at Lafayette, La.

Now the Ford Foundation apparently feels that corruption and un-Americanism is meritorious and has rewarded these disloyal persons who have preyed on the poor with a $578,000 grant.

Strange that these giant foundations, that pay no taxes but accumulate wealth from working people are always dedicated to raising of taxes of "pore folks" and even encourage disloyalists.

I place the news release from the September 8 Baton Rouge State-Times at this point in the RECORD:

GRANT OF $578,000 AWARDED SCEF IN LAFAYETTE

NEW YORK—A $578,000 grant has been awarded by the Ford Foundation to the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation

(SCEF), a Lafayette, La. based group which assists in developing cooperatives among low-income groups in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Southwestern Tennessee.

The Rev. A. J. McKnight, a Negro Catholic priest, formed SCEF in 1963, and it now operates in 30 Louisiana communities.

The new grant will be used for educational services and technical assistance to develop cooperatives among the poor in farming and manufacturing.

Participants will be taught basic business and financial practices and be given advice on market development, crop diversification, livestock production, small manufacturing processes, accounting and business practices and credit.

The grant will provide a revolving fund of $75,000 for small loans to cooperatives that have raised some funds, though not enough for operations.

Protectionism and Foreign Policy

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on October 30 the House passed H.R. 10915, a bill which would reduce the world quota of extra-long-staple cotton by the amount of the quotas assigned to countries with respect to which diplomatic relations with the United States have been broken—the United Arab Republic and the Sudan—and permanently transfer their portions of the quota to domestic producers in the Southwestern States.

The purpose was protectionism—pure and simple—although the sponsors tried to disguise it by taking advantage of our fully justified feeling of outrage toward Nasser.

The fact that the Agriculture Committee was motivated by a desire to protect the special interest of domestic cotton producers and not the least bit interested in using the foreign quotas diplomatically to influence the situation in the Middle East was revealed when the committee voted down amendments which would have suspended the quotas until diplomatic relations were resumed and until the President found that it was not contrary to the interest of the United States and in the interest of peace in the Middle East to restore the quotas.

If the President were given this discretion and flexibility, the foreign cotton quotas might serve as leverage to help achieve stability in the Middle East. But the committee's bill makes this impossible. In fact, it completely disregards the possibility that hopefully someday there will be a new regime in Egypt which will be willing to live in peace with its neighbors.

Editorials in both the New York Post of November 1 and the New York Times of November 2 point out the protectionist purpose of this mischievous legislation and how it was presented as a pro- or anti-Nasser matter which it obviously was not. Free trade was the issue, and the administration's opposition to the bill was in the interest of a liberal trade policy.

The editorials follow:

[From the New York Post, Nov. 1, 1967]

COTTON POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Employing diversionary arguments largely made up out of whole cloth, the House has hastily run up a bill cutting off all imports of cotton from Egypt and the Sudan. It is one of the cheapest pieces of legislative goods ever made in Congress.

Its protectionist sponsors, many from rural districts, attracted considerable support from some urban, if not urbane, members who were so incautious as to accept the measure as a form of justified economic retaliation against Cairo for cutting diplomatic ties with Washington.

But any member who seeks political credit for supporting the cotton bill on the grounds that it is either an anti-Nasser or a pro-Israel gesture is deluding either himself or his constituents. It is patently a special-interest measure, and the special interests are the cotton farmers of west Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California. They would be awarded the cotton quotas stripped from Egypt and the Sudan, a gift enabling them to double their current production.

The protectionist drive has already invited serious retaliation from abroad: restriction of foreign markets. But such considerations carry little weight in the House, where the cotton bill vote reflects the greed and shortsightedness which make protectionism so sterile a doctrine. The Senate's Agriculture and Forestry Committee has the immediate duty of rescuing responsibility by killing the indefensible cotton bill.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 2, 1967]

AGAIN, THE PROTECTIONISTS

At the very moment when a broad counterattack seemed to be making headway against the protectionist tide in Congress, the House has again gone off the track by voting to eliminate cotton imports from the United Arab Republic.

An unusual coalition of members from cotton-growing states of the Southwest, chronic protectionists and big-city Congressmen engineered this result. The lopsided (274-to-64) vote showed that even members who usually support freer trade were unwilling to take a stand that might be construed as assisting Gamal Abdel Nasser.

This is not the issue, though if it were it would be worth considering whether the fall of Nasser at this stage would be likely to produce in Cairo a regime even more hostile to the interests of the United States and of peace in the Middle East.

What is really at stake is the attitude of Congress and the country toward trade barriers in general and the limited but substantial tariff reductions of the Kennedy Round in particular. If it persists on the course of the House action, Congress will not merely damage relations with many other countries; it will call into serious general question the good faith of the United States in the Kennedy Round negotiations.

If producers of extra-long staple cotton get added protection from imports, what about producers of commodities ranging from steel to strawberries, from mink furs to olives? The span of goods for which import quotas are being demanded is even wider than this list indicates.

Instead of spiting President Nasser, Congress would do far better to recall the words spoken on Capitol Hill last week by a friend and neighbor, President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico: "Before you act, it might be well to stop and consider just what effects your action would have on the rest of the world." President Diaz might have added, "and on yourselves, as well." For foreign retaliation against any protectionist binge by Congress will be swift and widespread. Every American exporter will be a victim, and so, as Senator Percy reminded his colleagues the other day, will every consumer.

It will be up to the Senate to knock out the House ban on imports of Egyptian cotton; but meanwhile representatives of business, consumers and labor might adopt the suggestion of Senator Javits that they form an "emergency coalition" to battle the protectionists and hold the line for a liberal trade policy that has served this country well.

Senator Earl C. Conway, of Guam, Has Varied Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Earl C. Conway, a distinguished former resident of Hawaii, and now a senator in the Legislature of Guam, visited Honolulu the other day while returning to Guam after attending the National Legislative Conference in San Antonio, Tex.

This Guam legislator has the unique distinction of being the first "mainlander" ever elected to that unicameral body. I would like to bring Senator Conway's interesting career, as spotlighted in an interview with Joe Arakaki of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress as a means of commending him and setting him up as an inspiration to others.

Mr. Conway lived in Honolulu during World War II, where he worked for the Hawaiian Air Depot at Hickam Air Force Base and for the War Finance Division of the U.S. Treasury Department. After the war, Mr. Conway also served as a trade specialist, and then as senior representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. He moved to Guam some 20 years ago, and today engages in a very successful business career in addition to his duties as a member of the legislature. He is a shining example of what sincere, dedicated, and well meaning Americans can do to help other Americans of an entirely different racial background and be completely accepted as being one of them.

The Senator stated that although they have no elected governor as yet, there is strong sentiment among the people of Guam for the right to elect their own governor. This is a sentiment in which I strongly concur, and I reintroduced a bill in the House early in the session, H.R. 7097, to provide for the popular election of the governor and lieutenant governor of Guam. I believe that this legislation will provide for the long-delayed extension of a basic American right to a people who have been citizens of the United States for the last 17 years, and who have been American in their hearts for more than half a century. I hope that positive action can be taken on this legislation during the 90th Congress.

I wish to submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at this point, the news report of Senator Conway's visit to Honolulu, as

it appeared in the October 20, 1967, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

EX-HONOLULU RESIDENT MEMBER OF GUAM SENATE

(By Joe Arakaki)

Earl C. Conway, a former Honolulu resident, today is a successful politician and businessman on Guam.

He is a senator in Guam's unicameral Legislature, the first and only Caucasian to be elected to that governing body.

He is also manager of Scandia Motors, the Datsun automobile distributor on the island.

"We outsell all other cars on Guam by a 2 to 1 margin," he said. His firm sells between 90 and 100 Datsuns a month.

Conway arrived yesterday after attending the National Legislative Conference in San Antonio, Tex.

A resident of Guam for some 20 years, he lived here during World War II.

While in Honolulu, he worked for the Hawaiian Air Depot at Hickam Air Force Base and later the former War Finance Division of the U.S. Treasury Department where he pushed the sale of savings bonds.

He also worked for the property management division of Bishop Trust Co., for nine months.

At the end of World War II, he was assigned as a trade specialist and later senior representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

After four years as chief of purchasing and supply for the Guam government, he went into private business.

Conway said the Guam Legislature is made up of 21 members, all belonging to the Democratic Party.

Before the 1966 elections, he said the Legislature was made up of eight Democrats and 13 members of the Territorial Party.

"We made a clean sweep of the Legislature in the last campaign," he said.

Conway said three other Caucasians ran for the Legislature last year, but "I was the first haole and first Mainlander to be elected to the Legislature."

He said Guam's Legislature holds a 60-day session each year, 30 days in January and 30 days in June.

"The unicameral system works out just fine for Guam," he said. "I think it's more economical and efficient than a bicameral one."

Guam legislators receive a salary of $6,000 a year and get no extra compensation during a special session.

Conway said the people of Guam are not pushing for statehood, but they want the right to elect their own governor.

A bill calling for an elective governor, he said, has cleared the U.S. Senate and is now before the House.

"President Johnson is supporting this measure," he said. "There is a very good chance of passage."

Conway thinks that Guam will have an elective governor by 1970.

Export Sales for American Business

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 25, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, last month Secretary of Commerce Alexander B. Trowbridge visited a number of countries in the Far East, including Nationalist China, where he opened a Commerce Department exhibit of American industrial machinery. The Department informs me that this 10-day exhibition attracted more than 75,000 visitors. American exhibitors made sales of $282,000 on the spot, and are negotiating on orders for an additional $452,000. The exhibitors estimate their 12-month projection at $2.2 million in additional sales as a direct result of the exhibition. The Commerce Department is doing a great service for American businessmen in staging such exhibits as this one. The day after the exhibit opened, Secretary Trowbridge made a speech before a group of Chinese and American businessmen in Taipei. He discussed the trade policies of President Johnson's administration. Because of the great interest in world trade and U.S. trade policy, I insert the speech in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE ALEXANDER B. TROWBRIDGE BEFORE A JOINT LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY CLUB AND THE TAIPEI AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN TAIPEI, REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1:30 P.M., FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1967

It is indeed a pleasure to be here today.

I especially appreciate this opportunity to speak to a combined audience of both Chinese and Americans. Together you symbolize the close cooperation between our two countries that has helped make the Republic of China one of the world's great success stories.

As you know, my main purpose in coming here was to open the United States Industry Machinery Exhibition. But I am also looking forward to informal talks this afternoon with Vice President Yen, Minister of Economic Affairs Li, and other government leaders. The continued development of the Republic of China and other free nations of the Pacific is one of the keystones of American foreign economic policy, and we jointly explore with their leaders areas of mutual interest at every opportunity.

The exhibition we opened yesterday is designed to further Taiwan's development. Seventy-seven American firms are participating in this outstanding show, making it the largest U.S. trade fair ever held in the Far East. It will run through November 4, and I sincerely hope that you will all have an opportunity to see it.

There is a story behind this exhibition that involves both our countries. It is a story of faith and logic, of dedicated leaders and hard-working people, of cooperation between the private and public sectors, and of the joint efforts of our two governments.

All of this, and much more, makes up the dramatic story of the fifteen years that the United States worked with the Republic of China, in an economic aid program that provided more than $1.5 billion to place Taiwan's economy in its expansionist position. During this period we have seen the Republic of China's real Gross National Product grow at an average annual rate of more than seven percent.

The significant improvement in the well-being of the Chinese people—better housing, better schools, better health facilities—could result only from energetic, determined efforts of your government and private businessmen, including many of you here today.

You have demonstrated how economic assistance can result in a rapid rate of highly productive development when based on intelligent planning, forceful and skillful execution of those plans, a will to succeed and hard work—all within the framework of private enterprise.

Traditional Chinese skill and craftsmanship is being turned to the manufacture of highly sophisticated industrial products by the growing ranks of foreign investors, including, of course, a large number of American firms.

The demand for imports here has been increasing steadily. In 1963, when the first steps were taken to phase out the U.S. economic assistance program, imports were valued at $360 million; last year they reached $624 million. And this demand will grow as the Republic of China's extraordinary rate of economic growth continues.

Our Commerce Department realized several years ago that a much stronger U.S. commercial effort would be required as the Republic of China's economy advanced on its own. A greatly expanded program to promote U.S. trade here was drawn up in 1964 and launched the following year when a seven-man trade mission visited Taiwan. This group blazed a trail which has since been followed by nearly a dozen other American trade missions organized by various industries, by state governments, and by several large American cities.

A U.S. Mobile Trade Fair featuring scientific instruments also visited Taipei early this year. And at home we have begun an intensive research and publications program, to lay the facts about the outstanding trade and investment opportunities here before the American business community.

The new machinery exhibition, however, is our best and most ambitious promotion venture in this country to date.

The theme is especially fitting: "Quality Machines Build Quality Products for Exports."

What is being shown is a carefully selected array of machinery and equipment designed to raise the quality, while lowering the unit production cost, of the Republic of China's own export products. This is what American equipment does best. The greater efficiency of our machinery combined with greater dependability in terms of less frequent breakdowns can mean only one thing for Taiwan—greater competitiveness for your products in the world market. Our exhibition, then, is designed both to expand U.S. exports to this market and help the Republic of China increase its own exports by using the latest American methods and technology.

A unique innovation we've introduced at this exhibition represents an effort to encourage and facilitate more American direct private investment in Taiwan. The many opportunities for investment in the Republic of China were featured prominently in all of our publicity on this show to American industry and we have set up a special investment area as part of the exhibition. Representatives of a number of West Coast banks are here to discuss investment possibilities moreover, many of the manufacturers represented will also be interested in direct investment opportunities, or in licensing or technical assistance arrangements.

This, then, is a balanced exhibition, representing our balanced approach to the whole subject of international business. While we have many programs to encourage our exporters to win their share of the growing world market, it would be a mistake to interpret the American interest in trade as being one-sided. Our objective is for freer trade among all free nations, and I know of no other country that has worked harder toward this goal than the United States.

Ample proof of this fact, I think, lies in the size and range of the tariff concessions which we helped negotiate in the recently concluded Kennedy Round. As a result of those negotiations, the United States will reduce tariffs over the next five years on nearly two-thirds of its dutiable imports by an average of thirty-five percent.

As you know, the negotiations were carried on among the member nations of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. But in keeping with our most favored nation policy, the United States will also make these reduced tariffs available to non-GATT members, like the Republic of China.

We have calculated that some thirty-eight percent of this Republic's exports to the

United States will profit from the Kennedy Round trade concessions. This means that these concessions will apply to some $40 million worth of Taiwan exports. The most significant items to be affected include canned mandarin oranges, hardwood, television and radio receivers and parts, furniture and parts, toy animals and artificial flowers, and rubber or plastic household furnishings or articles, to name just a few. In addition, an increased amount of exports from Taiwan may now enter the United States duty free.

In this connection, I believe that it is in the interest of the Republic of China to try to diversify its range of export items destined for overseas markets including the United States. Concentration on a few export sectors does not provide the wide base capable of withstanding varying patterns of market access, and can arouse fears among the domestic producers most affected by competition.

Meanwhile, I am pleased to note that the Republic of China is also making important strides towards the liberalization of its own import controls. I sincerely hope that these efforts can continue, not only for industrial goods such as those now being shown at the U.S. exhibition, but for consumer goods as well.

There are always, of course, forces which would like to halt, or even reverse, the movement toward freer trade which has meant so much in recent years to the world's free nations.

These forces exist in the United States, and we are witnessing a resurgence of them at the present time. There have been introduced in the Congress a number of bills which are so all-encompassing as to bring into question the entire direction of the foreign trade policy which our Nation has followed for more than thirty years.

It must be obvious to all of you that the Johnson Administration will firmly resist this new wave of protectionist thought in Congress. As you have read in the newspapers, I was one of four cabinet officers who testified against a whole package of these bills in the Senate last week.

The plethora of restrictive bills which have been proposed stem from the fears of American businessmen—some of which are real and some only imagined. But there is clearly an excessive concern—unsupported by the facts. And we are determined to defend the advances in world free trade which the United States has advocated for thirty years.

When we appeared before the Senate Finance Committee last week, we warned that American trading relations with the rest of the world would suffer a serious setback if the proposed measures became law. Surely, enactment of these bills calling for import restrictions on a wholesale basis would provoke very severe counter-moves against our exports.

These counter-moves would come at a time when we will be trying to eliminate the many nontariff barriers to our exports, and when so many American businesses are cooperating with our government in extensive programs to promote exports and to resolve our balance of payments problem in a constructive fashion.

If protectionism becomes rampant, the result could be a very large and destructive trade war that could do extensive damage to the relationships, the financial structure, and the defense capability of the free nations of the world.

We are not letting this situation distract us, however, from important work that must continue our policy of liberalized trade. We are working on new legislation which in effect would improve and extend through 1970 the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, out of which the Kennedy Round grew. We also have been exploring with other industrialized countries the feasibility of a system of tariff preferences to be extended by all the industrialized countries to all the less developed countries.

Trade, of course, is only one form of economic cooperation between nations. The Asian Development Bank, of which the Republic of China is a member, and which has been encouraged and supported by the United States, is another form which holds great hopes for continued economic progress in this area.

Still another possibility is the arrangement that is being contemplated by the Republic of China and Korea. I understand that the discussions underway are on possible areas for industrial cooperation, such as in the field of petrochemicals, whereby one country would produce for both markets, thus enabling the individual plants to achieve greater economies of scale.

If such arrangements could be worked out, they would constitute a very important step towards the concept of a regional market. The United States has encouraged the formation of such common markets in Europe, where the European Economic Community has been tremendously successful, and in Central and South America. I would hope that these discussions with Korea for cooperation in a few key areas could, therefore, eventually develop along broader lines.

It would be another step toward the goal of a peaceful, progressive, prosperous Asia. I am happy on this visit to reaffirm that policy and to pledge our continued support of this great movement, which holds so much promise for the people of this part of the world.

Hon. Jamie L. Whitten Presented Reserve Officers Association Minuteman Award

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, one of the senior Members of this body was singularly honored last Saturday evening by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States at its 45th anniversary banquet in Biloxi, Miss. The Honorable Jamie L. Whitten, who has so ably represented the Second District of Mississippi since 1942, was given the ROA Minute Man Hall of Fame award at a meeting which attracted Reserve officers and their ladies throughout the United States.

Congressman Whitten has contributed significantly to preserving and maintaining strong Reserve components in our defense forces, and all of us well know the sterling character and outstanding record during his quarter century of service in the Congress. Few men have served with greater distinction. He is very highly regarded on both sides of the aisle in Congress, and I am sure that the Members of this body will applaud the decision of ROA's National Awards Board to present this well-merited recognition to Congressman Whitten.

The presentation to Congressman Whitten was made by Capt. R. E. B. Stewart of Portsmouth, Va., an active member of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve who is the national vice president of ROA representing its Navy, Marine, and Coast Guard membership. I submit for reprinting in the Record the remarks made by Captain Stewart, a copy of the citation which accompanied the award, and following that, I submit Congressman Whitten's speech:

INTRODUCTION OF CONGRESSMAN WHITTEN BY CAPT. R. E. B. STEWART, NATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT, RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

We are especially honored this evening to have with us—and to have the opportunity to pay tribute to—one of the outstanding statesmen of this nation.

Much of his career has been devoted to the cause of national security and the development of sound defense policies.

I should point out here that he is in a position to do so since he is the second ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee and is the vice chairman of the Defense Appropriations Committee.

ROA—the Reserves—and the Nation—have been very fortunate that he has been in this focal spot during these past three years when the Congress has repulsed the most persistent and significant efforts to reduce—and/or destroy—the Reserves in modern history.

Our honored guest tonight is a native of the State which is our host at this meeting.

Born in Cascilla, Mississippi, little more than a half century ago, he has represented the Second District in the Congress of the United States for the past twenty-six years.

We should note also that today is the anniversary of his election to the Congress, which occurred on November 4, 1941.

After graduation from the University of Mississippi he was admitted to the bar in 1932 with honors. He served one year as a school principal, at the age of twenty-one being elected to the Mississippi House of Representatives, and then to the office of district attorney at the age of twenty-three, being reelected twice and serving as district attorney until elected to the Congress.

Our honored guest is the father of two lovely children (and I understand either just has or is about to become a grandfather for the first time), and he has his lovely wife here with him to share the honor that we seek to pass on to him this evening.

It is my great privilege to call to the rostrum at this time the Honorable Jamie L. Whitten.

The citation follows:

"RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

"Recognizing that the Honorable Jamie L. Whitten by precept and example, has sacrificially devoted his genius and leadership to the cause of national security, and both in war and peace, has given meaning, substance and effectiveness to the citizen-soldier tradition, vital to the safety and welfare of the United States of America, this association claims for him a place in this nation's

"MINUTE MAN HALL OF FAME.

"VINCENT A. PRIMERANO,
"*Captain, USNR-R, National President.*
"JOHN T. CARLTON,
"*Colonel, USAR, Executive Director.*

"Approved:

"The National Awards Board.

"Presented by Army, Air Force, Navy-Marine Corps-Coast Guard Sections, 45th Anniversary Banquet, Biloxi, Mississippi, November 4, 1967."

IT IS TIME TO CHANGE OUR COURSE

(Speech of Congressman Jamie L. Whitten, to the Fall Services Affairs Conferences, Reserve Officers Association, Biloxi, Miss., November 4, 1967)

Members of the Reserve Officers Association and guests, in my years in public office no notice or recognition has meant as much to me as the honor you pay me tonight in including me as one of you by naming me to your Minute Man Hall of Fame, for, as you have termed it, "having the courage to stand up to pressures." It is a source of great pride to be listed with those to whom you have given this award in years past, and it means much to me, too, that your presentation comes at your annual meeting held here in my home State. I know that General Grant, General Johnson, and other Mississippi Members of the Reserve including the National Guard join me in welcoming you to our State. I particularly welcome Captain Primerano and your other officers, many of whom I have worked with through the years.

It is of course pleasing to take note of the presence of several friends from Washington; and, of course, no meeting could possibly succeed without the presence of your executive director, Colonel "Jake" Carlton. As all of you know, "Jake" is the one who keeps us all on our toes year after year, with regard to matters pertaining to the Reserves, and he will be the one to move this meeting along.

I regret that my colleague and close friend in Congress, Honorable Bob Sikes, of Florida, was unable to be here tonight, but this is a time of tight schedules in the Congress. Bob has contributed greatly to the Reserves, as you know. Together with our colleagues on the Appropriations Committee, and in the Congress, we have worked to make the case for the Reserves; and with the fine support your organization has throughout the United States, so far we have won.

My friends, we meet here at a time when there are many problems facing us at home and abroad. You know of the continuing fight we in the Congress have to save the Reserves and the Guard. What is even more frightening to me is that this effort to absorb or otherwise destroy the identity of the Reserves appears to be part of an overall effort to centralize all power in Washington, with all its inherent dangers.

As a lawyer, as a student of history, as a Member of Congress, I would like to review with you what most of you already know. The American Military Reserve system has its roots in the militia system which existed in England during the 17th Century and whose concepts were transplanted on the American continent by the English settlers. The militia in England were localized defense forces consisting of shire's freeman who were liable for service between the ages of 16 and 60 and also required to supply their own weapons if called to duty. Each of the original 13 American colonies followed the model of the English militia system and promulgated laws making military training and service compulsory for all able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 60. It was the militia of the colonies that provided the major portion of the manpower serving in the Continental Army under General George Washington in the Revolutionary War.

The colonists had also brought with them from England a fear of large standing armies, a fear which their experience with British colonial rule served to reinforce. This experience bred in them deep suspicion of and distaste for strong central government and its agents and agencies, especially those associated with the military, which to them symbolized tyrannical rule; and it strengthened their belief in the desirability of maintaining localized militia forces for defensive purposes. The persistence into the 20th century of the American belief in the citizen-soldier concept is attested to by President Woodrow Wilson's statement in 1914 that, "We must depend in every time of national peril . . . not upon a standing army . . . but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms." This belief was a fundamental tenet of American military policy throughout the greater part of our history. This policy was one of maintaining a small Regular military establishment in peacetime to be augmented by volunteers and a Reserve of militia forces.

When the Constitution was drafted by the Founding Fathers, they gave to the Congress of the United States the power (Article I, Section 8) "to provide for the common defense," "to raise and support armies," "to provide and maintain a Navy," "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," and the power:

"To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

"To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress, . . ."

In recent years, we have seen why it was that the founding fathers had ingrained in them the fear of large standing armies, not because they feared a take-over of the Presidency by a General or an Admiral as happens in countries in South America, Asia, and much of the world, but because they might set up a military caste, become dependent upon military spending, or be controlled in our local affairs by troops from Washington. You and I know there is the further reason, for the citizen soldier knows about taxes, about business. He knows the many phases of military needs in time of war, for pulling the trigger or pressing the button is only a small part of the production of all the elements of warfare and of having them at the right place at the right time.

In the last few years about 70 percent of our total national budget has gone to "Military" spending, leading a national magazine to carry an article under the title "After Vietnam, What?" and a sub-title "Will Our Economy Tumble if Peace Comes?"

The article went on to state that plans were being made to meet the problem. The writer had this to say:

"If the United States were suddenly plunged into peace, what would happen to war-buoyed economy? A staggering $350 million a day now being poured into the Vietnam war would go begging. Hundreds of companies geared to war production would be disrupted. Thousands of youths now employed by the armed forces would be turned loose on the streets to hunt for civilian jobs."

I replied to that article on the floor of the House of Representatives, on August 30, 1966, pointing out that with all of us sincerely for peace, I felt it simply could not be that it takes a war, or preparation for war, to continue such prosperity. I was certain in my own mind that there must be some other answer.

After thinking the matter through, it dawned on me that it is not war or preparation for war, as such, which has been the basis for our material prosperity; but it has been the 15- or 20-percent extra effort our people put forth because of war, or preparation for war, which resulted in such material prosperity. Thus, I could see that if we could have peace, but continue that extra effort, we could maintain our prosperity and be an even richer nation.

In war and preparation for war a large part of our extra effort consumes our raw materials, which are destroyed as shells, worn out as military vehicles, planes, equipment, guns, warships, while we increase wear and tear on our railroads and our highways. The extra food and fiber are either given to our allies, or given to them in money with commodities sold to them for the return of our money. Our lands are used to a greater extent, our timber and natural resources are further depleted.

Where the extra effort due to war or preparation for war is the basis for our material prosperity, we end up a poorer country, for our real wealth decreases. However, if only we had peace so we could put forth that extra effort—not in needed defense expenditures which use up our raw materials, but in work that will improve our basic resources, in reforesting our lands, harnessing our streams for electricity, reclaiming our lands through soil conservation, building the highways and the schools we need, and in those things that develop and restore our country—we would end up a richer country.

The answer to the recent magazine article, "After Vietnam, What?" is that if we will only bring that war to a successful end we will be equally or more prosperous; and in the long run our country will be a hundred times richer, if we only put forth the extra effort now going to support the war on the things we need at home.

We must give to our men in service what it takes to win.

Prosperity or the threat of depression has no place in the consideration of Vietnam.

In recent years we have seen a further reason to be skeptical of too much dependence upon a large standing military establishment, for it has led to efforts to abolish or absorb our Reserve System of Citizen Soldiers. As you know, I served on Naval Appropriations throughout World War II, and was in practically every theater of the war, where I saw the value of the citizen soldier, a value which was appreciated by the regulars. Subsequently I was off the Committee for a few years.

As I told the Mississippi National Guard a few weeks ago:

"Soon after I returned to this Defense Appropriations Subcommittee I realized that many . . . officials in the Department of Defense, . . . wish to federalize or abolish the Guard and the Reserves—so far as organization is concerned. The pressure became so great that our House Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations for fiscal year 1959 had to write language providing for a:

"'. . . mandatory minimum strength level of 300,000 for the Army Reserve and a mandatory minimum level of 400,000 for the Army National Guard.' (Public Law 85–724).

"We had to provide similar language for every year since then . . . if there ever was a time to strengthen your forces, including new equipment and special training, it is now . . .

"Where would we be in the war in Vietnam if our regular military services had not been able to 'borrow' National Guard and other Reserve Units to substitute for the regular military in many functions such as transport?

"My friends, if it had not been for the materiel which was requisitioned by the regular forces from the Guard and the Reserves, our troops in Vietnam would have been short of equipment and supplies. Whatever you and the public may have been told, the facts are that we were literally caught with our britches down so far as adequate reserves of many items were concerned."

You are citizens and soldiers, and thus I welcome the opportunity to discuss with you some of the serious problems we face at home and abroad.

VIETNAM

On the foreign front, having served on the Committee on Defense Appropriations and listened to all of the key witnesses—to the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and subordinate officers—I must say in the understatement of the year, that things do not go well with us in Vietnam.

Never in history has a war of this size been carried on so long without a plan for victory. Never have we faced a situation where the Secretary of Defense can only claim, as our Secretary does, that "we plan to win by proving to the enemy that he can't win."

From a modest beginning—300 military assistance and foreign aid advisors in 1955—we escalated our involvement to 692 advisors in 1957, and to 10,000 by the end of 1962. In 1963 the Secretary, who each year estimated when our "involvement" would be over, joined by former Senator Lodge, said the maximum number we would need was 16,500. By July 1965 this number had gone up to 72,000; by November 1965 it had increased to 165,700, and an admitted military operation was on. No longer could the fantasy that our military personnel was there only to counsel and advise be maintained. Today, we know that we have more than 464,000 Americans in Vietnam engaged in combat up to the hilt. The latest plan, according to the President, is for an increase to 525,000 men by June, 1968.

As I have said many times in our hearings, the Department of Defense finds it most difficult to admit errors; however, to me it appears they have been trying to play poker with Orientals where the game of poker was played thousands of years before our Nation was founded. In appearances before our Committee the Secretary does not seem to realize that every day that this tiny nation of North Vietnam keeps us tied down, spending from 20 to 30 billion dollars a year as we are today, its leaders as well as those of Russia believe they are winning. Our Secretary is a brilliant man, but you can't memorize experience.

Most of our people do not seem to know just how little united support we have in South Vietnam, where our enemies "hide among the people" which means that the South Vietnamese on our side won't report the other South Vietnamese, the Viet Cong who each night war against our men.

Recently I have studied still further the history of Vietnam, of both North and South Vietnam. According to all the records, the South Vietnamese, allied with us, have historically managed to get by with others doing most of the fighting, even during the French occupation. In the early days of the present war, when our men were there to counsel, to advise and then to supervise, the South Vietnamese of course carried the brunt of the fighting, which was sporadic. But as time has passed, more and more the full weight of the war has been placed on the shoulders of our American boys.

I know you, like me, find it difficult to accept the fact that a hundredth-rate power such as North Vietnam, supported by the Viet Cong, has our Nation, with all its power, tied down half-way round the world! To me, every additional day such a condition continues increases their claim to victory and further weakens our position.

I say here and now we must call on North Vietnam for an immediate peace. If this is not forthcoming, we must knock out every vestige of military power or supporting strength in North Vietnam. We owe to the more than 464,000 Americans we have there now, and to the others who are expected to be assigned there soon, this all-out action. Then, as soon as the job is done, we must turn to local officials in South Vietnam and say:

"We have developed your country. We have built you roads, harbors, and airfields. We have brought you almost unlimited military equipment and taught you how to use it. We have provided more supplies and set up more reserve supplies than your country has ever known. We have virtually knocked your opposition out. Now that we have put you in the saddle, it is up to you to carry on, for we have done our part."

And then we need to come home!

After listening to the detailed testimony of our top-flight military leaders and civilians in the Department of Defense through the years, I am convinced this is our only solution.

Any course of action which leaves us involved in a land war in the swamps and jungles of this small nation on the continent of Asia, half-way round the world, for years to come is one of failure. We cannot continue to fight indefinitely for people of another far-away country, a large number of whom only half-heartedly fight for themselves.

GOOD INTENTIONS GONE ASTRAY

My friends, after World War II this country did much to relieve the suffering left by the war. Then we set out to remake the world. We were going to teach the peoples of other nations the value of our system of government, and the value of the right to a trial by jury and of a government of laws and not of men. We were going to teach them that it is unsound to overthrow established government authority and have mob violence in the streets.

Since then we have dissipated our wealth in nations around the world, even to the point where we must borrow from those we help. We have put copper in our silver coins, sold the notes we hold to keep from borrowing more. We say we are "selling gold" when the fact is that other countries question our money and demand gold instead of currency. We have violated nearly every lesson of history.

We insisted that France and England give up the Suez Canal, and as a result, we are now faced with the demand that we give up most of our rights to the Panama Canal. We opposed Batista in Cuba, and ended up with Castro and his Communist regime right off our coast. In practically all areas we are having difficulty and in most countries we now wonder how we can get out.

We ran the stable influences out of practically every section of Africa and now we see many of these tribes drifting back toward anarchy. We largely caused these numerous small African nations to spring up like mushrooms. Now we have to bargain for their votes in the United Nations, where each has a vote fully equal to the single vote of the United States, though we pay the major share of the cost.

I have seen the United Nations in action. I was there when Khrushchev ran the length of the floor to embrace Castro. It would shock you to see just how little influence we do have.

WE TURN TO FOREIGN WAYS

We have seen the unfortunate and tragic death of an American President, on the order of what occurs in the turbulent countries which unfortunately we seem to copy. It is in our country where we see the right of jury trial gone. It is in our country where we see minority groups issue dictatorial orders and see the Government back them up. Yes, it is in our country where we have riots, mob violence, including murder, where property is destroyed without restitution or payment. It is in our country where people lie in the streets, block the highways, force their way into businesses, loot, kill, and burn to get what they want.

No longer are people being taught to work, to save, to accumulate capital so they may improve and get ahead in the future. We have accepted foreign ways. We accept their policy of force, of the shortcut, of violence. Many of our people have been led to demand and to take what the other fellow has worked for and has accumulated. The real tragedy is that a whole new generation has seen evidence that many times this has seemed to be the way to get results.

Now it is said by many that individual rights must come ahead of property rights. My friends, if there are no property rights, there will be no individual rights to enjoy.

Laws protecting person and property, with few exceptions, are local laws and we must depend upon local officers to enforce them. Yet, beginning with pictures showing U.S. soldiers with bayonets moving against local law enforcement officers and students in 1957, a whole generation of youth has seen our Government and our Federal Courts berate and belittle local law enforcement officers, restricting them by injunction and making them almost defenseless in their encounters with murderers, robbers, and rapists. They have seen the Supreme Court free defendant after defendant on technicalities, turning them loose on a helpless public to continue their robbery and rape.

In the guise of protecting individual rights, on more than 35 occasions the Courts have endangered the rights of the people of the whole community. Our youth has read accounts of these actions in the press, heard them over the radio, and from the pulpit. They have seen them on the screens of television sets. In the process, respect for and thereby obedience to local law has been largely destroyed, although as I have said, it is to local law and its enforcement officials which we must look for protection.

We see a complete breakdown in law and order in city after city. On every hand we see crime running rampant, topped perhaps by the Watts Riot in 1965.

The National Guard has been called out many times in our history, but never like the present. Our Reserves not only are absolutely necessary in time of conflict, but are the last bastion of defense at home.

We find, as we search to see how this Nation came to such a sorry pass—to such a dangerous situation at home and abroad—that primarily it all goes back to recent actions of the Supreme Court. Through usurpation of the power of the Legislative and the Executive Branches, members of the Supreme Court have made of themselves a "Supreme Department" exercising power over and above the other two equal and co-ordinate branches, all in violation of the Constitution and all because the other two branches have let them get by with it.

In more than 10 cases the Supreme Court has weakened the ability of police officers to carry out their duties. Newly found personal rights have been placed ahead of the rights of the people. Certainty of punishment, the greatest deterrent to crime, has been set aside. Punishment has become not only uncertain but unlikely, under present Court rulings. The Justices have, in effect, written into the Constitution and into the law meanings previous Justices had said were not there. They have written a new Constitution and they have gotten by with such usurpation of power only because the other branches—the Legislative and Executive—have gone along with it.

They have denied to Congress powers it was long assured it possessed, and which had seemed and now seem clear in the Constitution. The Court has upset State laws, State courts, and even State constitutions. The present Court has broken all restraints, reaching out boldly with revolutionary doctrine.

To make conditions worse, some inferior Federal courts, the Courts of Appeals and even some District Courts, have even gone further than the Supreme Court. Such courts say they are bound to go as far as the Supreme Court decisions. They have shown no feeling of restrictions, however, which would prevent them from going further than the Supreme Court decisions themselves.

It is perfectly clear to anyone who reads the Constitution that the founding fathers created the three branches of government as equal and co-ordinate. It is to be noted that the Judicial Branch consists of a Supreme Court and "such inferior Courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." Nowhere is it set up as a "Supreme Department" with overriding or dominant power over the other two branches. Instead, while it is equal and co-ordinate, it is significant that it is listed last in the Constitution, whereas the arm of government which is closest to the people, the Legislative, is listed first.

Remember, the Supreme Court does not have a single dollar to pay itself, nor a single official to enforce its orders. Thus, it is within the power of the people to restore sanity to our government, to make it safe to walk our streets.

We must stop the Supreme Court from its actions of setting itself up as a "Supreme Department." A country may be saved and once again the individual who destroys, who robs, who kills will be held accountable for violating the rules of society—the laws so necessary for the general welfare. Once again the rights of the great majority will prevail and the Supreme Court will again become a court as the founding fathers intended it, and not a 5-man dictatorship as the Congress and the President have let it become.

To this end I have introduced H.R. 904, providing for a standing Committee on the Constitution. If we can get hearings on that resolution, all we need do to indict the actions of the Court before the people of this Nation is to read the dissenting opinions of individual judges of the Supreme Court as to their colleagues.

I hope that you and other members of the Reserves, and other interested citizens will do what you can to urge the support of a Standing Committee in the House of Representatives on the Constitution, in the hopes that such a committee may help us to again become a Nation where the rights of the general pubic are paramount; a Nation where the person who works and saves to accumulate property will be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor; a Nation whose Constitution once again guarantees to our people freedom of religion—not freedom *from* religion—as it was intended by our forefathers.

My friends, you have honored me beyond measure. I shall always treasure the memory of this occasion and my service with you, the finest group of citizens, real soldiers, the group to which we must look if we are to have victory abroad and contain turmoil at home—a group whose support we must have if we are to restore constitutional government.

May I again say, thank you!

Insured Loans for Students To Attend College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, no Congresses in the history of this country have been more aware of our needs in and done more for education than the 89th and 90th. In terms of manpower, costs and facilities the higher education community is in need of and is receiving increasing support from the Federal Government. New ways to maximize opportunities for both students and colleges and universities are being supported.

In an excellent article in the Baltimore Sun of November 5, Dr. Benjamin Fine discusses a number of these programs. He cites the millions of dollars of aid now available to needy students. Some $190,000,000 are available annually under the national defense student loan program alone. Other fellowship, scholarship, grant, loan, and job programs are available from Government and private sources.

Dr. Fine points out, however, that many students from middle or upper income groups have been unable to borrow under these programs because they were in the higher income bracket. And yet, education costs place a financial burden even on the upper brackets, particularly if there are several children in college. A plan for loans for all students who need financial help to enter or remain in college is being worked out by the U.S. Office of Education. This is the guaranteed student loan program, now 1 year old. A series of amendments to encourage wider participation in the program on the part of financial institutions despite tight money conditions has been proposed.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Dr. Fine's article to my colleagues and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

INSURED LOANS FOR STUDENTS

(By Benjamin Fine, Ph. D.)

A plan for loans for all students who need financial help to enter or remain in college is being worked out by the United States Office of Education.

Under the guranteed loan program, the Federal Government pays half of the interest charges, about 3 per cent, while the students pays the rest. However, because money is tight, not all banks are willing to participate. So the Federal Government plans to expand its program in many states that have not as yet participated in the loan project.

A schedule of fees has been proposed to strengthen further the program's appeal to private lenders. The fees, which would be in addition to interest on the loans, has been recommended by a Treasury Department-sponsored task force studying the lagging program.

The suggested changes provide that private lenders be permitted up to $35 for processing each student loan application approved, and up to $35 for work connected with the scheduling, consolidation or conversion of a student's total insured indebtedness when the repayment period begins. Both fees would be paid by the Federal Government.

By the beginning of this semester, more than $400,000,000 in loans have been made to 480,000 students. Dr. John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, estimated that by 1972 "more than 2,000,000 students should be benefiting each year from loans made under this program."

VOCATIONAL STUDENT AID

The Government's proposals also call for the merging of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 into the Higher Education Act insured loan program. This would make vocational students eligible for the more generous insured loans now available only to college students.

The Federal Government provides $190,000,000 annually to some 250,000 students under the National Defense Student loan program. However, many students from middle or upper-income groups have been unable to borrow under this program because they were in the higher income bracket. However, education costs place a financial burden even on the upper brackets, particularly if there are several children in college.

The Guaranteed Loan Program was initiated last year. Under it, a student may borrow from a bank or other financial institution, and the money is guaranteed by the Government. An undergraduate may borrow up to $1,000 a year, a graduate may borrow as much as $1,500 a year.

A student from a family with a net income of less than $15,000 a year pays no interest while he is in an eligible college, university or technical school. Repayment of principal and interest begins when the student has ceased his course of study. At that time the Federal Government pays one-half the interest and the student the remainder. A student from a family with an income higher than $15,000 pays the entire interest but may borrow under the Guaranteed Loan Program at 6 per cent simple interest.

LOANS FOR NEEDY

Millions of dollars are available to the needy students, not only from public but from private sources. Most colleges and universities provide a revolving loan system, usually at a low interest rate. To help students locate the sources of loans and scholarships, I have prepared a series of bulletins describing how and where to get money through scholarships, fellowships, loans, jobs and grants. If interested, write to Benjamin Fine, 375 Brower avenue, Rockville Center, N.Y., and enclose a long, self-addressed stamped envelope, plus 25 cents for each bulletin desired to cover handling costs (all five for $1.) Ask for:

Bulletin No. 1, "College Help for Veterans and Children of Veterans;" No. 2, "Where to Get Federal, State and Private Loans;" No. No. 3, "Major Scholarship Sources;" No. 5, Scholarships Available Through Business and Industry," and No. 7, "College Scholarships and Fellowships."

More than $22,000,000 in grants to help developing colleges and universities reach their scholastic potential have been announced by the United States Office of Education. The funds will finance student and faculty exchanges, cooperative use of visiting scholars and consultants and a variety of special academic programs.

TEACHING FELLOWSHIPS

The grants include funds to establish 1,213 National Teaching Fellowships among these colleges and universities. Teaching fellows are junior faculty members or qualified graduate students at established institutions who spend a year at developing institutions.

The grant award will underwrite the salary of the fellows to $6,500 a year, plus $400 for each dependent. Recipients must have at least a master's degree.

The Washington Internships in Education, an experimental program to foster future leaders for American education, will be supported for the next three years with a $634,500 grant from the Ford Foundation. The program enables promising young educators to spend a year in the nation's capital, observing and working in public and private agencies which help shape national education policy. Interns are recruited from among graduate students in education and practicing educators from all levels of education in all parts of the country. The program is administered by George Washington University.

Compensation may total up to $14,000 a a year, depending on age, background and experience. Information about application procedures and forms can be obtained by writing to the Director, Washington Internships in Education, 1925 K street, NW., Suite 507, Washington, D.C.

Washington Post Praises President Johnson on Forthright Free Trade Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the President's forthright statement to the consumer assembly leaves no doubt that the Johnson administration will marshal its full resources to protect free trade.

As a Washington Post editorial approvingly quotes the President:

> I think that these protectionist bills must not become law, and they're not going to become law so long as I'm President of this country.

The erection of trade barriers would invite severe retaliation from other trading nations. Domestic prices would rise, our world market would shrink, and the range of goods from which American consumers choose would be reduced.

Protectionism is the hallmark of bygone days of isolationism. The pledge of our generation must be the elimination of barriers to cooperation.

Congress must join President Johnson and—in the words of the Post—"reassert America's role as the leader in the struggle for free world trade."

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following Washington Post editorial of November 6, 1967, which supports the administration's attempts to secure free trade:

L. B. J. ON PROTECTION

If the protectionists still entertain any hope of increasing the number of commodities now subject to import quotas, they will have to muster sufficient strength to override President Johnson's veto. Mr. Johnson left little room for doubt on that score when he told the Consumers Assembly: "I think that these protectionist bills just must not become law, and they're not going to become law so long as I'm President of this country."

It would be difficult to frame a more forthright statement of opposition or a more succinct explanation than the one the President gave of why protectionist legislation is inimicable to the public interest. "Those proposed quotas," the President said, "would invite massive retaliation from our trading partners abroad. Prices would rise. Our world market would shrink, So would the range of goods from which American consumers choose what they buy."

Much of the congressional support for import quotas is motivated by a desire to placate specific constitutents rather than any genuine affinity for the protectionist philosophy. Now that it is clear that the President is determined to exercise his veto power, the energies once consumed in devising protection for such vital commodities as Chinese gooseberries ought to be redirected. They can more profitably be used in repairing the damage done to the country's image abroad and to reasserting its role as the leader in the struggle for freer world trade.

U.S. Economy Continues To Expand

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago this country entered the 81st consecutive month of economic expansion—the longest period of steady economic growth in our history.

To insure a continuation of this expansion—to keep our economy on an even keel—the President has asked the Congress to pass his tax surcharge proposal. In 1962, 1964, and 1965 we lowered taxes to stimulate the economy. Now we must raise them to slow the economy to a more moderate and maintainable pace.

In this regard, I commend to you a well-reasoned analysis of the issues involved in the current tax debate by Herbert Stein, a noted economist of the Brookings Institution. Mr. Stein's analysis appeared in a recent issue of the Reporter magazine, and is a comprehensive and excellent discussion of the issues involved.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place Mr. Stein's entire article in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CASE FOR THE TAX SURCHARGE

(By Herbert Stein)

The new economics and the old Puritan ethic have converged this fall to recommend a tax increase. The New Economics says that when inflation is forecast, taxes should be raised, and inflation is now commonly forecast. The Puritan ethic holds that when the Federal budget is going to be in deficit, taxes should be raised to balance it, and this year the Federal budget is going to be in substantial deficit. Even so, the President's proposal to levy a ten per cent surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes is in trouble. The odds are that there will be a tax increase, but that it will come later than the President wished, be smaller than he asked and require him to pay more in expenditure cuts than he would like.

The difficulties that the President's tax proposal have encountered should have been no surprise. Increases of the Federal income tax are very rare. Except for the special case of 1932, there have been general increases only during the two World Wars and the Korean War. Relative to the Federal budget and the national income, even the Korean War was much larger than the current conflict. And in all three of those wars the Presidents had to settle for smaller increases than they wanted. The plain fact was and is that people do not like to have their taxes raised.

The modern standard view of fiscal history does not prepare us for the difficulties in the way of the tax increase. This view teaches that before 1963 the country was dominated by the idea that the budget should be balanced—if not always, at least almost always. But in 1963 we were converted by the New Economists to the view that taxes should be reduced when expert analysis and prognosis indicate a deficiency of total demand and should be raised in the contrary circumstances. This conversion led to the tax reduction of 1964. If the conversion had lasted, there would be no problem about raising taxes now when the economists warn of inflation. And even if the country or Congress has retrogressed to the budget-balancing idea, that should be an equally powerful force for raising taxes in 1967.

But this view of the history greatly exaggerates both the force of budget balancing as a guide to policy before 1963 and the extent of the conversion to the notion that the economics profession could tell us reliably how to manipulate taxes to produce high employment, price stability, and steady growth.

The 1963-1964 tax fight was not a contest between budget balancing and the flexible use of taxation as a stabilizer. The fight was over expenditures. Before the House of Representatives voted on the tax cut, President Kennedy sent up a letter promising a tight budget for the next fiscal year. Then Wilbur D. Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, delivered a powerful speech to persuade the House that in voting for tax reduction it would be voting for restraints on expenditures that would make possible more tax cuts later. The Senate would not act on the tax cut until it saw the budget for the following year. When President Johnson sent up a surprisingly small budget in January, 1964, he promptly got the tax cut.

This is the background against which the tax increase is being considered. It is a background of little confidence in expert advice, only marginal devotion to the principle of the balanced budget, a general reluctance to raise taxes, and a feeling of disappointment and resentment that Congress is faced with this choice after the expectations created during the discussion of the 1964 tax cut. Presidents can sometimes override these difficulties, but Mr. Johnson's leadership is less powerful than it once was. A war would ordinarily be sufficient to assure some increase in taxes, but the Vietnam War is special, and its influence works against as well as for the proposal. Therefore, Congress is in a mood and position to bargain hard before granting the President a tax increase.

ADMINISTRATION ARGUMENTS

The case for raising taxes, as presented by the administration, rests on three points:

Inflation. During the latter part of 1965 and most of 1966, the U.S. economy was under strong inflationary pressure. Rising expenditures for the Vietnam War, added to the vigorous upswing already in progress, caused the total demand for output to rise faster than could be matched by the supply, even though production rose substantially. The average rate of price increase, which had been running around one to 1.5 per cent a year, rose to three or 3.5 per cent.

In the first half of 1967 the economy entered a period of lull. This was mainly due to a drastic decline in the rate at which businesses were building up inventories. The slow-down was also due to tight monetary conditions, caused in part by the Federal Reserve's efforts to curb the inflation. Probably to a smaller degree, the government's action in suspending the tax credit for business investment also contributed to the pause in the economy.

The pause is expected to be temporary, and indeed may already have ended. The decline in the rate of inventory investment, which was the main element in the pause, can hardly go much further and will probably turn into a rise. The relaxation of credit conditions has produced the beginnings of an increase in residential construction. Meanwhile government spending, defense and nondefense, state and local as well as Federal, continues to grow. By 1968, recovery of the economy will give a boost to investment spending by business. And the increased income resulting from increases in all these lines of activity will accelerate consumer spending. So by the end of 1967 the growth of total demand will again exceed the growth of production and prices will rise more rapidly.

People complain about being asked to pay higher taxes on top of high and rising prices. But the taxes will not be in addition to higher prices; they will be a substitute for higher prices. Failure to raise taxes would leave more money in our pockets, but the larger amount of money would not buy more. Real consumption and investment, the administration insists, must and will be held down to real production in some way, and if that is not done by higher taxes it will be done by higher prices. The tax route is fairer, or can be made so, because we can decide who pays the taxes. The inflation route imposes the sacrifices mainly on the weak.

Tight Money. Advocates of a tax increase recognize that the predicted inflation could be checked by a tight-money policy, but they argue that this would simply make for higher interest rates, which in turn chiefly penalize small business, state and local governments, and, most severely, purchasers of houses, builders, and construction workers. Such an allocation of the sacrifice would be unfair and economically disruptive.

To this argument some add another which is, or sounds, even more ominous, namely, a recurrence of the financial "crunch" of 1966. The rise of interest rates in money markets, including rates on Federal securities, led many individuals holding savings and loan association shares, and corporations holding time deposits at banks, to take their money out and invest it directly. There was a danger that the financial institutions would be unable to meet the drain of funds if it continued, or at least be unable to meet the drain without liquidating assets at a loss. Financial markets in 1966 were, it is said, as near panic as at any time since the Second World War. However, the Federal Reserve and other financial agencies of the government came to the rescue and relieved the situation. Some advocates of a tax increase fear that without it the "crunch" would be repeated, but this time if the Federal Reserve is fighting a strong inflation it would be unable to relieve the financial markets as well.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT

Economists who argue for the tax increase are likely first to swear that they haven't the slightest concern about the budget deficit "as such," and that the deficit is relevant only as, together with a lot of other conditions, it throws light on the problem of inflation and interest rates. However, President Johnson is not bucking for appointment to the Harvard Economics Department. He has not hesitated to appeal to what is left of the Puritan ethic in this country and invoke the size of the prospective deficit as an independent reason for raising taxes. In fact, he and his aides have presented the deficit picture in the most dramatic possible light.

There are several ways of defining and measuring the Federal budget, and these different ways show different surpluses or deficits. In his January Budget Message the President made a point of emphasizing what is called the National Income Accounts Budget, which is generally recognized to have much greater economic significance than the traditional Administrative Budget and usually has a smaller deficit. But in the argument for the tax increase this summer and fall, the President and his officials have talked almost exclusively in terms of the Administrative Budget. This has enabled them to talk about a deficit of $25 to $29 billion, rather than the $15 to $18 billion apparently in prospect in the National Income Accounts Budget if there is no tax increase.

GROUNDS FOR DOUBT

The Congressmen who express reluctance to raise taxes don't deny what the supporters say; they only complain that the administration has not made its case. In particular, they express reservations about the administration's forecasts and about forecasting in general.

The economic case the supporters have to make is indeed a hard one. They must show not only that the economy will be rising but also that the rise will exceed some critical rate that causes serious inflation. If the forecast is wrong by an significant amount, so is their recommendation. There is little margin for error.

The forecasting basis of the 1963–1964 tax-cut proposal was quite different. Then the economy was running about $30 to $40 billion below its potential annual output, and had been doing so most of the time for five years. The tax cut was justified not by the forecast of a change but by the forecast of no change in the economy. Furthermore, it was expected to close only part of the gap between desired and actual output, so that there was some margin for error before the tax cut would overshoot the mark and cause inflation. And it was to take effect gradually, over a period of a year and a half as originally proposed, so that there would be opportunity to correct for errors in the forecast if they became apparent.

Plenty of reasons can be found for skepticism about the ability of economists to make such a precise forecast reliably. As Congressman Mills has reminded expert witnesses before his committee, the experts told Congress in the summer of 1957 that it was not a good time for a tax reduction. This was about one month before the 1957–1958 recession began, and in retrospect it looks as if a tax cut would have been most opportune. Economists made a similar error in 1960. To come much closer to the present, we may recall that after mid-1965 inadequate information on the pace of the Vietnam buildup led to a serious underestimate of its inflationary impact. Also, the administration's request for suspension of the investment credit in September, 1966, followed by a request for restoration of the credit within a few months, did not suggest that policy was guided by a very clear view of the future.

The administration's current recommendation that taxes should be raised to prevent inflation rests not only on the proposition that there would be inflation if taxes were not raised. It also rests on the proposition that the tax increase would stop—or substantially reduce—the inflation. On this proposition also there is skepticism in Congress, with eminent, although not widespread, support in the economics profession. What is at issue is whether a tax increase that is expected to be temporary will cause the taxpayers to reduce their spending or to reduce their saving. In the latter event there would be no anti-inflationary effect. The increase would simply reduce the government deficit and equally reduce the private saving that would have been invested in the government debt; everything else would remain unchanged. As for the effect on spending, some economists, notably Professor Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, interpret the available evidence as showing that people adjust their spending to what they expect their income will be on the average in the long run, and that they respond to variations of income which they expect to be temporary by changing the amount they save. If this is true, it casts a great deal of doubt on the anti-inflation argument for a tax increase.

The tight-money argument for raising taxes depends upon the inflationary aspect of the case. If the forces in the economy do not add up to inflation in the absence of a tax increase, there will be no need for monetary tightness or higher interest rates. And if a tax increase will not restrain inflation, because it reduces private saving rather than spending, then a tax increase will not prevent tight money either. But there are other reasons for doubt about the tight-money argument. During the spring and summer of 1967, interest rates rose substantially in anticipation of government and private borrowing expected to come later. Present interest rates many be already adjusted to the conditions that would exist if there were no tax increase, so that there would be no further rise if the tax proposal were rejected. If so, a repetition of the "crunch" is unlikely. Anyway, a "crunch" is not the inevitable consequence of high or rising interest rates; it results from lack of preparation by private financial institutions and by governmental financial policy. To ask the American people to pay $8 or $9 billion in taxes to avoid this seems extreme to some economists.

As for the effect of tight money in restraining private investment, notably residential construction, this diversion of resources may be the best way to meet the expense of the Vietnam War, opponents of the tax increase say. It may be more sensible to defer part of the addition to our stock of capital, which can be made up later and which has little effect on current living standards, than to curtail consumption at once.

To complete the list of doubts, the size of the prospective deficit carries little weight as an independent reason for raising taxes. Even when we were much more devoted to balancing the budget than we are today, we did not expect to balance it during a war. And while the figures for the deficit are impressively large, so are all other dollar figures in the American economy. So goes the argument against the administration's proposal.

THE EXPENDITURE ARGUMENT

Still, the probabilities are on the side of the administration's short-run argument. The evidence that we would face serious inflation if taxes were not raised may not be overwhelming, but it is stronger than the evidence that we would have a recession if we did raise taxes. Moreover, after the inflationary episode of 1965–1966 it is probably time for us to lean in the direction of stopping inflation, even at some risk of slowing down the rise of production and employment. And one does not have to share the common fear of or bias against high interest rates to believe that it would be better to restrain the rise in the affluent level of American private consumption by raising taxes than to repress private investment by tight money. Moreover, if the argument is correct that a temporary tax increase does little to hold down private spending, it also means that the temporary tax increase can do little harm.

The point is not the absence of a case for raising taxes on grounds of short-run economic effects. It is rather that the arguments are not strong enough to compel the decision to be made in terms of short-run economic effects alone. Hence other consequences must also be considered and may dominate the decision.

The most important of these have to do with Federal expenditures and the future of Federal taxes, and are believed to flow from two laws—one political and one economic. The political law is that the higher taxes are, the higher expenditures will be. The economic law is that even though higher expenditures do not necessarily require higher taxes in the short run and may not require higher taxes in 1967–1968, in the long run and on the average, the higher expenditures are, the higher taxes have to be. Therefore, the decision about taxes now is also a decision about expenditures and future taxes, and should be influenced by preferences about them.

Basically, the Congressmen are saying that they want expenditures to be lower, not only this year but also over the longer term. Representative Mills wants to fulfill the promise and prophecy of a downward trend of taxes that he made in advocating the tax cut in 1963. Congress fears that if it gives the President the tax increase he asks now, spending will be higher than otherwise, not only now but also later. Indeed, Congressmen are highly skeptical of the idea that the proposed tax increase would in fact be temporary. They remember that many of the taxes that were supposed to expire automatically after the end of the Korean War were extended step by step for a decade, under the seemingly inexorable pressure of rising expenditures. They can foresee something like that happening again after the Vietnam War. They feel that the only sure way to make a tax increase temporary is not to enact it.

Congress is not terribly impressed with the risk of inflation if it doesn't raise taxes, and is impressed with the risk that expenditures and taxes will be permanently higher if it does. Because it evaluates the risks in this way, it is able to make a credible threat of refusing to raise taxes unless the President cuts expenditures. And because the threat is credible, and because the President wants some tax increase very much, he will make a strenuous effort to meet their demands. This would be a close parallel to events of 1963–1964 when Congress forced the President to cut expenditure by threatening not to enact the tax reduction.

The ranks of the perennial Congressional "economizers" will probably be joined today by some who are usually "spenders" but who now object violently to one particular expenditure—that for the war in Vietnam. They will oppose the tax increase to show their intense opposition to the war and also to make prosecution of the war more unpopular by preventing it from being financed in the best way. In either terms, the tactics seems unlikely to be very effective. Those who oppose the tax increase because they are against the war will hardly be visible in the crowd of people who oppose it for other reasons.

Whether refusal to raise taxes would increase the real cost of the war, by causing inflation or other adverse economic consequences, is a question we have already discussed and answered "Probably yes, although probably not much." For the anti-war people the more significant question is whether the public and the President will *think* the cost of the war is higher if taxes are not raised than if they are. For the public the answer is probably "No." For the President the answer is affirmative, but not so strongly as to influence his policy toward the war.

Then there are those who support the tax increase because they are all for the other war—the war on poverty, including even some who normally favor lower government spending. They may not regard the tax increase as the best of all possible alternatives. Some would prefer to hold down certain expenditures (agriculture, highways, the space program, and the supersonic transport are the common list), to manage the welfare programs more efficiently, and to rely on monetary restraint as necessary to prevent inflation. But this is a world in which we seldom get the best of all possible alternatives. Politics, prejudice, ignorance, and inertia in the budgetary process make niggardliness in the urban-poverty programs the more probable consequence of a failure to raise taxes.

This case for a tax increase is not an argument for throwing money around. It does not imply that spending money will cure all our social ills, or even avoid the necessity for making hard decisions. It does say that time cannot be stopped in America because a war is going on in Vietnam. At this point in time, it would be both unwise and dangerous to force extremely difficult decisions to be made within the confines of an unnecessarily stringent budget, through refusing to raise taxes or threatening to do so. In my opinion, this is the compelling reason for a tax increase.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Spirit of Service Displayed by Santa Rosa Medical Team, San Antonio, Tex., in Hurricane Beulah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the tremendous disaster which was inflicted on Texas by Hurricane Beulah and her accompanying high wind and driven rain hit very hard along the Rio Grande, where it struck a double blow to Texans and Mexicans who joined their friends north of the border for protection. It was some time before help from the outside reached these people, but many courageous acts were performed during those days of emergency, amid increasing shortages of every kind of supply. One of the outstanding acts of kindness and care was performed by the volunteers of Santa Rosa Medical Center, of San Antonio who served the people of Rio Grande City and thousands of evacuees from bordering towns in Mexico during those days. It is through such selfless service as this that the world is made a better place to live in. I am very proud of my fellow Texans.

In the special edition of Rosa Scope for October, the team which served so tirelessly, saving many lives, tells the story of those days and their struggle to help these people gathered in Rio Grande City. I hope that Senators will find encouragement in this story of people's willingness to help the unfortunate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the short newsletter, Rosa Scope, the official publication of Santa Rosa Medical Center, San Antonio, Tex., be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Special Message to All Personnel Who Volunteered Their Services in the Valley Following Hurricane Beulah

I know I speak for the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word and all members of the staff of Santa Rosa Medical Center when I extend our sincere appreciation to each of the wonderful people who gave of their own time to assist the needy citizens of South Texas during the recent hurricane and the subsequent flood. We have received many complimentary letters and telephone calls from those who benefited from the kindness and medical support of the personnel from Santa Rosa and the staff physicians who responded to the call for volunteers. It is certainly gratifying to know that Santa Rosa Medical Center is an organization composed of wonderful human beings who have sincere feeling for their fellowman and who respond to their needs when an emergency arises. It is also commendable to know that the number of volunteers from Santa Rosa far exceeded the numbers required and I know many were disappointed because they could not go, but we wish to assure them that their offer of assistance was truly appreciated and they, as well as those who went, will always be remembered as loyal and dedicated professionals who were willing to give themselves in a time of need. The fact that busy practitioners left their private offices to respond to this need also is certainly reflective of the true spirit of professional service that they render to patients. We are proud to know that they are members of the Santa Rosa medical staff. To each of you who went as well as to each of you who volunteered but could not go, please know that Santa Rosa Medical Center is deeply indebted to you and will long remember the service you rendered. I know that each of you will remain in the prayers of the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word and will be remembered for your service to mankind.

Sincerely,

John A. Bradley, Ph. D.,
Administrator.

Special Recognition

We wish to gratefully acknowledge the supplies donated and sent to Rio Grande City by White Laboratories, Ross Laboratories and Abbott Laboratories. Congratulations to the nursing students of Incarnate Word College for assisting in the San Antonio shelters for flood victims. Certainly, those who stayed behind at Santa Rosa to organize the volunteer teams and "covered" for those who went to the Valley deserve our gratitude. Lastly, thanks to Colonel Charles E. Quist and his 149th Fighter Group of the Texas Air National Guard for transporting our teams to and from the Valley.

Santa Rosa Volunteers Serve Beulah Victims

On Friday, September 22, Santa Rosa Medical Center officials offered a volunteer medical team of physicians and nurses to Disaster Headquarters of the Civil Defense Agency in Austin to serve where needed. The Team consisted of Dr. Josue Teran, Dr. Connor Devine, Dr. Pauline Wallace, Miss Gloria Cadena, RN; Miss Maxine Cadena, RN; Miss Betty Valdez, LVN; Miss Patricia Ingle, LVN; and Jack Coughlin, Director of Public Relations.

We were assigned to the Roma-Rio Grande City area and placed on alert. Late Friday evening, Sister Philomena, Assistant Administrator of Santa Rosa, received notification the team would be picked up by the Air National Guard at Santa Rosa at 6 A.M. Saturday, for a 7 A.M. Air National Guard flight from Kelly Air Force Base to McAllen, Texas.

The flight was routine until over Corpus Christi when rainstorms and wind squalls made things a bit rough. About 9:30, the C-47 touched down at McAllen. From the air, it appeared hundreds of thousands of acres were under water.

We were taken to Roma by Army truck where Dr. Mario Ramirez, the Area Medical Coordinator, had several shelters for evacuees from Mexico and Texas. The Mexican Natioanls were returning to their homes by order of Mexican military authority. The situation was well under control in Roma under Dr. Ramirez's able and competent leadership.

Our team was returned to Rio Grande City. The town was in complete chaos. Twenty-five shelters had been established housing over 10,000 refugees from Camargo, Mexico with only two registered nurses to take care of the medical needs.

No plans had been instituted to establish a central receiving station or infirmary. Mrs. Jean Neal, the Rio Grande City High School nurse, drove us to the Rio High School where the meager supply of drugs was stored in her office. Local authorities wanted to divide the drugs among the twenty-five shelters and establish a clinic in each. We dissuaded them by suggesting medical teams visit the shelters and send the more seriously ill or injured back by school bus to the 70-bed infirmary we established in the school.

Several Mexican physicians from Camargo offered their services but were not permitted to practice medicine due to Texas law. Two teams composed of a Mexican doctor and Santa Rosa nurse toured the shelters. The doctor determined who should be returned to the infirmary for treatment but did not treat.

By 4 PM Saturday, the Infirmary was in operation with three treatment rooms staffed by a doctor and nurse. Despite the masses that appeared within hours, a medical record was established for every patient seen, indicating his name, address, complaint, diagnosis, treatment prescribed and notation if he was to return on an out-patient basis for further treatment. The records were kept in alphabetical order. The Medical Records Clerks, local Spanish speaking volunteers, also assigned admitted patients to wards designated obstetric-gynecology, female adult medical, male adult medical, pediatric and later, geriatric. When a tuberculosis case was admitted, we established an isolation ward in a small locker room area.

Before the staff realized, it was midnight. Neither patients nor staff had dinner. The team hadn't eaten since a 6:30 AM breakfast at Kelly Air Force Base. The school cafeteria had been feeding over 10,000 refugees three times a day. It was a monumental task for these people. They were closed so no food was available until morning.

Sunday, the first replacement team arrived from Santa Rosa. They were Dr. Katherine Rodgers, Dr. Gloria Abraham, Dr. C. P. Garcia, Sister Mary Josephine, RN; Sister Mary Leo, RN; Sister M. Benignus, MRL; Miss Grace Dilworth, RN; Miss Terry Boyd, RN; Mrs. Luz Cisneros, RN; Miss Rosa Garcia, RN; Miss Daisy Alberthal, RN; Miss Kay Zimmerman, RN; Miss Sarah Dennis, RN; Miss Hercilia Landez, LVN/ST.; Mrs. Rita Jiminez, RN; Miss Judith Morin, W/C; Miss Barbara Jolly, LVN; Mrs. Catherine Clasby, LVN; and Mr. Tom Keefe, Administrative Resident.

A Fourth United States Army field kitchen from Fort Hood set up in the cafeteria to assume the responsibility of feeding the evacuees. The first thing we did was to arrange for food to be brought to the infirmary in Melmac containers for patients and staff. The patients were served first by members of the Rio Grande City R.O.T.C. Cadet Corps. The food was served in disposable products. The cadets policed the hospital immediately following the meal to gather refuse. The fly and mosquito problem was becoming acute.

Trash and refuse had not been picked up for several days. A call to Mr. Rodolfo de la Garza, superintendent of the Rio Grande Consolidated School District, solved this problem in a hurry. We explained the sanitation problem. He arranged to have garbage trucks at the Infiirmary within minutes. From that time on trash and refuse was picked up twice daily.

It appeared the situation was well in hand until we learned the main water pumps at the Rio Grande Water Works had become inoperative. The system was operating on auxiliary pumps. Due to the excessive load on the water system, it was doubtful we would have water for much longer than 12 hours unless the main pump could be repaired.

In anticipation we began planning for the location of outside latrines and rationing of water. The sewage system was very sluggish. We requisitioned fresh water supplied to us in quart bottle by the Pearl Brewing Company. A carload of this was unloaded at the Infirmary. Late in the afternoon we received word the Army, in their own inimitable way, again solved the problem by getting the pumps back in operation.

On Moday, a new team arrived consisting of Dr. Ramon Rubio, Mrs. Lucia Rubio, RN; Miss Nora Saenz, RN; Mrs. Sybil Yates, RN; Mrs. Beatrice Barron, RN; Miss Velia Esquivel, RN; Miss Dorothy Fournier, RN; Miss Louise Biediger, LVN; Miss Gloria Guerra, LVN; Miss Teresa Rodriguez, LVN; Mrs. Joyce Watkins, LVN; Mrs. Jean Tigrett, LVN; Miss Gloria Guerra, LVN; Mr. Victor Sanchez, orderly; and Father Charles Brower, OMI.

By now those of us who had been at the Infirmary since it opened seemed to have lost all track of time. In Rio Grande City the war in Vietnam and the unrest in Milwaukee were non-existant. The only thing real to us was the mass of never-ending patients coming through the Infirmary.

For the first three days we were always short of drugs, baby formula, medicines disposable syringes and other items. They were secured from a local druggist or came in from Edinburg by helicopter. Fortunately, the people back at Santa Rosa anticipated the need and sent the largest shipment thus far received of baby formula, penicillin toxin, and other badly needed drugs.

The number of dehydrated babies with pneumonia and diarrhea began to mount. Dr. Rodgers and Miss Dilworth asked for fluids. I.V. stands were fashioned out of 4" x 4" posts and fluids started dripping. There were only a few bottles in the area. Dr. Ramirez sent all of his hospital's medical supplies to our Infirmary in Rio Grande City keeping only those needed for extreme emergency. The fluid situation was becoming critical. Miss Dilworth manufactured her own using sterilized Coke bottles as containers.

On Monday afternoon, we were informed by the Border Patrol we could anticipate an influx of several hundred aged people. The local Civil Defense Director gave the Infirmary priority on available cots and blankets for the in-patients. We told him our requirement in anticipation of these new arrivals and were sent an additional 200 cots, 200 sheets and 500 blankets. At this point we did not have the personnel to establish the unit nor a building to convert.

The Rio Grande City Junior High School building was adjacent to our Infirmary. We asked Mr. John Hinojosa, principal of the school, if we could convert it. Practically every building in the area that would hold people was in use as a shelter. He evacuated the people to the laundry and we were ready to establish a 200-bed geriatric hospital.

The secondary problem of housekeeping was solved when Cadet Lieutenant Colonel Frank E. Field, Commandant of the Texas A & I R.O.T.C. Cadet Corps, reported to the Professor of Military Science at Rio Grande City High School. He had been relieved in another area by the National Guard and was offering the service of his cadets at Rio Grande City. He was assigned to us and the Rio Grande City Corp of Cadets was also placed under his command.

These young men mopped and disinfected the junior high school and set up the beds. Cadet Col. Field served as registrar for the geriatric unit. The facility was ready to receive patients in a matter of hours. As the final beds were set up on the first floor, aged patients were moved into the unit. Sister Benignus became the supervisor for the geriatric hospital. The first patient admitted was a 108-year-old lady from Mexico. With these 100 new beds, our total bed capacity was 170. If required, we could expand an additional 100 beds in as long as it took to set up the cots.

The cadets were actively engaged in a mosquito control program and other sanitation activities. They maintained guards on all entrances to the geriatric facility to control visitors. The entire family of the patients wished to stay in the wards but returned to the shelters once they were satisfied the patients were being well cared for.

Monday evening the number of patients being seen began to slack off. We began to think about such things as washing the accumulated soiled bed sheets, towels, and blankets. But most of all, we were thinking quite seriously about baths for ourselves. Most of the staff had only a few hours sleep, fully attired on cot and Civil Defense blankets. We did not enjoy the luxury of sheets as these were reserved for the aged patients and infants.

The infirmary had not been mopped or disinfected since it was opened. Pink eye was beginning to hit the staff. On Monday night all our people who could be relieved were sent to bed. After they retired, with the help of Mexican nationals we completey scrubbed, mopped and disinfected the infirmary with strong solutions of Lysol, detergent and water. Periodically through the night, a patient would be brought in.

By 8 AM Tuesday we were ready to receive patients again. They began arriving before breakfast so many of the staff didn't eat.

The Dietary Department of Santa Rosa sent boxes of sandwiches and fruit with each team but most of this went to patients. Our Mexican patients were not used to the diet supplied by the field kitchen and wouldn't eat it. They did not complain but we knew they were hungry.

About noon on Tuesday, the final Santa Rosa medical team was flown in. They were Dr. Josue Teran, back for his second tour, Dr. Ben Moore, Sister Angelica, RN; Sister Doris Marie, Pharmacist; Miss Mary Elizabeth Cabrera, RN; Miss Susanna Cunningham, RN; Mrs. Barbara Hemmi, RN; Miss Helen Walters, RN; Miss Margaret Menchaca, RN; Mrs. Sabina Santoscoy, RN; Miss Carmen Arredondo, GN; Miss Minerva Serna, LVN; Miss Lupe Garza, LVN; Miss Maria Trevino, LVN; Daniel Castillo, LVN; Miss Irene Urrutia, LVN; and Mr. George Schreiner, Orderly.

Also on Tuesday, we began to be visited by congressmen, officials of the different agencies involved in a disaster such as this and senior military officers in charge of Operation Bravo, the military designation for the assignment. It seemed for a while we were receiving as many congressional and government officials as we were patients but despite these additional demands made of the Army and Air Force for helicopter transportation, they still managed to do an outstanding job bringing evacuees in from Mexico and other isolated areas.

Dr. Ramirez and other doctors decided we should evacuate our more seriously ill patients to hospitals in Roma, Edinburg or McAllen. A baby was delivered at our Infirmary, however, expectant mothers ready to delivery were transferred to Roma then returned to the Infirmary after delivery. One such patient needed blood desperately. The first three soldiers Mr. Keefe could round up with Type O blood were loaded in an ambulance and rushed to Roma. The patient's life was saved by these three anonymous soldiers.

A fifteen-day-old, two-pound premature baby was received at the Infirmary from Mexico. Dr. Rodgers and Miss Dilworth fashioned an incubator from a pasteboard carton, plastic bags and desk lamp. This youngster and a set of infant twins with diarrhea and pneumonia were air evacuated to McAllen.

Throughout the day on Tuesday, helicopter crew members were bringing urgent pleas from physician in isolated villages in Mexico for drugs and serums. Penicillin was urgently needed but the donors of the supply on hand indicated it could be used only for American nationals. Santa Rosa sent several cases of penicillin to Dr. Ramirez to be allocated as he saw fit. The penicillin was flown to Mexico with teams of doctors and nurses to assist.

Father Charles Brower, OMI, and Sister Mary Josephine made the mercy flight to the Mexican Village of Comales. As Sister assisted in innoculation of the children, Father Brower circulated among the people. The towns people were delighted when they learned he spoke fluent Spanish. It was most touching to see the people kneeling in the center of the school playground to receive Father Brower's blessing.

After several trips, we were told no additional flights to Mexico with supplies would be necessary and all requests for aid should be referred to the Mexican military command in Reynosa. The general in charge indicated the Mexican government would have food, clothing and supplies enroute to these communities.

We continued to see patients from the shelters which were consolidated reducing the number to ten. This greatly reduced the demands made of the doctors and nurses enabling the staff to go on 12 hour shifts.

On Tuesday afternoon, a team of two physicians and several medical students arrived from the medical school in Galveston. Dr. Ramirez told us the United States Public Health Service was sending a team of several physicians and nurses to Rio Grande City. It appeared the Santa Rosa team could now be relieved.

It was agreed all of us would return to San Antonio on Wednesday morning. The Santa Rosa supplies flown in were consigned to Dr. Ramirez for use among the Mexican nationals or as he directed.

From the first time we saw our first patient at 4 PM on Saturday until the last patient was seen by our staff at 8:30 AM Wednesday, we processed 2,175 patients through the Infirmary and accumulated a total of 211 in-patient days. It is impossible to estimate the number of patients given first aid in the shelters. During the five days, 57 members of the Santa Rosa Medical Center staff volunteered for service in Rio Grande City. Many more volunteered to go but the privilege had to be denied to maintain the hospital's needs at home.

When we left Rio Grande City Wednesday morning, it was with mixed emotions. It seemed a part of us was staying behind. We were leaving a joint effort of the Santa Rosa team and the wonderful volunteers who helped make "our" hospital possible. The team was exhausted but each had a feeling of fulfillment making the strenuous efforts worthwhile. In addition, we worked with and made friends of some wonderful people whom we are not likely to forget. In particular, Dr. Ramirez, Mrs. Frank Anderson, Mrs. Jean Neal, Mrs. May Gay, and Mrs. R. N. Ireland.

During an interview by a CBS reporter on the flight home, Miss Sarah Dennis, RN, summed it up most eloquently. She said, "If I had three wishes they would be in this order, first, a bath; second, a steak; and third, the opportunity of going back."

Medical Care in the Valley

(By Grace Dilworth, RN, Assistant Director of Nursing Service)

The second team of doctors and nurses left San Antonio Sunday morning from Kelly Air Force Base. Our destination was McAllen but due to rising waters we were forced to land in Harlingen. Army helicopter took us to Rio Grande City.

Mr. Coughlin met our group at the helicopter which, by the way, landed in ankle deep water. He insisted we tour the hospital before we did anything else. As we went through this makeshift hospital I realized the tremendous work this first team had done with such meager medical supplies at hand.

We were there only about five minutes before we were put to work. Sister Benignus came down to set up the medical record department but was appointed Head Nurse (and only nurse) in the 100-bed geriatric unit. Some of the other nurses were sent to auxiliary shelters and the rest of us were assigned to the hospital in medical, obstetric, gynecology or pediatric wards.

As the day drew to a close our problems increased. Instead of the minor lacerations and conjunctivitis, we were seeing older patients with serious medical problems and young ones with diarrhea and pneumonia. As the number of children increased we realized we would soon be out of milk if we did not do something very rapidly. I asked for one hundred empty Coca-Cola bottles to be used for electrolyte solution and skim milk for feedings. Infants arrived so badly dehydrated we knew we were going to have to set up a diarrhea ward. We had a case of 1000 cc 5% glucose and water the Army had sent in but we knew glucose water would be almost as bad as nothing. We decided to make a saline solution by adding table salt to the I.V. solution. I would have given a week's salary for a few scalp vein needles that first night.

The next morning our diarrhea ward had grown to about 12 babies all on intravenous feedings. We had the carpenter from the school make I.V. poles out of lumber. The cots were lined up so we could place two infants on a cot. We had these babies head to head and toe to toe so each I.V. pole could take care of four.

The Civil Defense Office sent us bed sheets we tore up for diapers. The babies arrived all day. Late that night we had twenty-five on intravenous fluids. The silver-lining to all this were our scalp vein needles and the cheese sandwiches from home.

The next morning a helicopter landed with a 15-day old infant from Mexico weighing about two pounds. We made a make-shift incubator out of a card board box. We cut out windows and lined the box with plastic so we could see our baby without disturbing him. A goose neck desk lamp was used for warmth. Two infants with pneumonia became progressively worse and we realized they needed oxygen. The local welder sent in 18 tanks of oxygen. We made tents out of cardboard boxes and Baggies. We hung a Baggie in the head of the box and taped this to the top and filled it with ice. We then cut holes in the Baggies and placed the oxygen tubing into the ice. The oxygen flowing over the ice picked up moisture and escaped through the holes into the tent proper. Oxygen, being heavier than air, settled down around the baby's face. Our babies did well in our makeshift croupettes.

There were many other things I can remember, but I don't think anything impressed me as much as the tears on the faces of the mothers of those infants treated when we told them we were going home. Since I have worked at Santa Rosa, I have heard the philosophy of our hospital many times: "Serving God's children in a Christ-like manner". Never has this meant so much to me and never was I so proud of working for Santa Rosa as I was those two days.

South African Solidarity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while the so-called emerging black nations of Africa are proving to be anything but nations or stable governments, the equalitarians are dumbfounded that the established, self-sufficient nations of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique continue to progress and prosper.

One just cannot fight success. Perhaps the anti's should reconsider their faulty philosophy and admit that Africans—not outsiders—are best suited to plan and provide for Africans.

Despite sanctions and pressures from the defunct shells of world leadership, these nations represent the only governments on the continent able to safeguard the lives of their citizens and offer peace of mind through a chance for a stable future.

Many find it ridiculous for some newsmen to continue to attack the success of these nations; almost as if extremists who would prefer bloodshed and chaos in lieu of peace and advancement.

I insert the Washington, D.C., Star release of November 12, 1967, by Gordon Lindsey in the RECORD, followed by Andrew Borowiec's column from the same paper on November 10, 1967:

"WHITE" SOUTHERN AFRICA PROSPERS

(By Gordon Lindsay)

JOHANNESBURG.—The "white" nations of southern Africa should, according to predictions of a few years ago, be on their knees pleading for economic mercy from the Western world.

Instead, the white minority governments of South Africa, Rhodesia, Portuguese West Africa (Angola) and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) are riding the crest of new found solidarity.

Constantly under pressure from the rest of the world, especially independent Black Africa, the four states have gradually moved closer together to form a united front that shows no sign of being breached.

EXTINCT VOLCANO

Many see southern Africa as a racial volcano to erupt in a bloodbath of fighting between white and black. This couldn't be further from the truth. If there is a racial volcano in this part of the world it is dormant, probably extinct.

Each country, obviously, has its problems. All are engaged in fighting terrorist activity—South Africa indirectly.

South Africa, the wealthiest of the four, justifiably likes to brag of a state of calm almost unprecedented since World War II.

South Africans find it hard to believe as they sip their sundowners while overlooking their backyard swimming pools that South Africa is a "threat to world peace." They are also safe in their knowledge that, as Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster said, South Africa "could eat any Black African state for breakfast."

Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front is crowing after two years of "illegal" independence from Britain. When Smith declared independence on November 11, 1965, Britain maintained Rhodesia would be crippled by sanctions within a month. It is now generally agreed that sanctions against the "British colony" have failed.

In the past few months terrorists have infiltrated into Rhodesia. The majority have either been killed or captured.

Last month South Africa sent a police unit to help combat terrorists north of the Limpopo river. Vorster, stating the unit had gone with Rhodesia's approval, said: "We are doing it openly because it is our downfall they (the terrorists) are after and it is our duty to protect ourselves. We are doing this as a police action because it is the police's duty to eradicate subversion and terrorism.

DETERMINED PORTUGAL

The terrorist war in Angola, which started six years ago, possibly helped spark the Portuguese government away from its 18th century attitude toward Angola and prompted the present program of economic and social development.

The Portuguese became more determined than ever to retain Angola and at the same time improve the living standards of Angola's four million Africans.

Mozambique, also with the constant problem of combating terrorism, is under the tightest political control of any territory in Africa. Opposition political parties are not allowed and at none of the many crowded sidewalk cafes in the capital of Lourenco Marques can there be heard any criticism of the government.

On the financial front, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique are forging ahead.

Rhodesia remains an economic enigma. Since independence, there has been a security clampdown on where Rhodesia stands financially.

Because of sanctions, Rhodesia has been forced to stockpile 350 million pounds of tobacco. Tobacco was Rhodesia's biggest single export product and in good years has earned the country more than $100 million in foreign exchange. King tobacco has been dethroned in Rhodesia after 30 years of undisputed rule. The country's chief agricultural crop and export commodity since 1936 is giving way to beef, maize and wheat.

SMITH SEES BENEFIT

Smith has said it is no use denying that sanctions have contracted the economy, but he maintains the country will benefit from this in the long run. Rhodesians claim that time is on their side.

South Africa is as financially stable as any country in the world. Foreign investors are obviously not worried about South Africa's position in world affairs. Outside investment capital for the first six months of this year is put at about $850 million.

The mainstay of South African wealth is her mineral production. According to latest figures available, South Africa mineral production in 1964 was $1,458 million, compared with $1,365 million in 1963.

THE ANGOLA CASE

Angola is the most important territory to Portugal economically.

Although Angola is richly endowed with natural resources, comparatively little has been done to exploit them and give the territory the economic thrust that it needs to compete with its wealthy southern neighbors.

Mozambique, the lagging giant of southern Africa, is about to get a $560 million shot in the arm to help it catch up with the 20th century. It is an imaginative six-year development scheme. The $560 million—a massive sum by African standards—will include state funds from Portugal and Mozambique, foreign loans and private capital from South Africa, West Germany, France, Japan and Britain.

AFRICAN PARLEY SITE BITTERLY APPROPRIATE

(By Andrew Borowiec)

KINSHASA, THE CONGO.—Africa's statesmen are again airing their problems at a summit meeting and the setting is bitterly appropriate.

This time the host country is the Congo, Africa's proverbial problem child. Perhaps more than any other African town, the Congolese capital of Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville) symbolizes Africa's plight and problems and its hopeless, half-hearted search for unity and power.

Few African officials at the fifth summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have illusions about the conference's possible accomplishments. Like the previous four summits, the Kinshasa event that began yesterday promises mainly to increase the already impressive collection of African resolutions and slogans.

In fact, a number of African newspapers and politicians have expressed the hope that the fifth summit should also be the last one—at least for a few years.

Participants of the summit are fully aware that it will not solve any of Africa's problems and will contribute little toward solutions.

The conference, above all, is a prestige operation on the part of the Congolese military boss, Gen. Joseph Mobutu who wants to show Africa that his government is capable of organizing a show of this size.

But most Africans realize that the Congolese strongman, who has survived many ups and downs of his country's erratic, irresponsible independence, is at a loss on how to cope with the defiant rebellion of 200 white mercenaries occupying a portion of the Eastern Congo.

His 34,000-man army on which millions of American dollars were spent is incapable of fighting or obeying orders.

Kinshasa is seething with unrest and threatening to erupt again, like it did on Aug. 14 when mobs sacked the Belgian embassy and attacked Europeans and Americans alike.

Weighing over the usual speeches, parties and festivities are the civil war tearing Nigeria, the racial struggle in the Sudan, the little publicized frontier war between Somalia and Kenya and the revolt of white mercenaries holding a portion of the Congo itself.

Three colonial wars in the Portuguese territories show no sign of ending, white-ruled Rhodesia has survived nearly two years of its defiant independence and South Africa is more prosperous than ever.

Also weighing over the summit are more than 700,000 refugees of Africa's strife, the declining health standards, overpopulation of some areas and, to put it bluntly, "a return to the trees" in others.

Of course, not all has been negative in Africa since the Charter of African Unity was adopted in Addis Ababa in 1963.

New universities in such cities as Accra, Lagos, Dar-es-Salaam, Dakar, Abidjan and Kinshasa have turned out thousands of graduates. Hospitals, port installations, schools and hotels have been added throughout the continent. But most of them represent the effort of the former colonizers, of international agencies or big powers seeking influence in Africa rather than of the Africans themselves.

More than ever, Africa is relying on the help of the developed nations. Economic development on the continent has generally followed the pattern set during the colonial period. The emphasis continues to be on the dependence on Europe—mainly Britain and France—rather than on inter-African cooperation.

It is unlikely that the summit will affect Africa's most serious problems. Nigeria has indicated that it considers its civil war an internal affair. Little concrete action—if any—will be taken to step up the war effort in the colonial territories.

There will be other issues, such as the fate of former Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe, whose extradition from an Algiers prison is demanded by the Congo. Many of the former French colonies are favorable to Tshombe and are likely to oppose his handing over to Mobutu.

The June war between Israel and the Arabs will also have its repercussions in the expected demand by Egypt and Algeria for sub-Sahara solidarity with the Arab cause.

But none of the important African heads of state is attending the summit and all that can be said here will be marginal. Besides, many black African states have a debt of gratitude to Israel whose small-scale but effective aid effort has won recognition.

The only issues that always muster African solidarity are colonialism and racism. The Kinshasa summit, undoubtedly, will make a few resounding pronouncements on these subjects.

The strength of "neo-colonialism" will most likely be blamed for the weakness and shortcomings of the OAU.

Don Williams Wins Rockefeller Public Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join others in the House today in congratulating Don Williams, Administrator of the Soil Conservation Service, this year's winner of the Rockefeller Public Service Award in the category of administration.

Those of us who have had the opportunity to work closely with Dr. Williams know that he is one of our truly great career public servants, and surely in a class by himself as the national leader in soil and water conservation on the private lands of this Nation.

Don Williams' career as head of the Soil Conservation Service closely parallels mine as a Member of this House. I came to the Congress after being elected in November 1954, just a few months after he came up through the ranks in SCS to become the third head of the Soil Conservation Service.

At that time, legislation authorizing what was to develop into the greatest soil and water conservation program since the enactment of Public Law 46 launched the entire movement in this country in 1935—the small watershed program—had just been passed by the Congress.

That was the beginning of a most pleasant and rewarding official and personal relationship with Don Williams. His agency was assigned Federal responsibility for the watershed program and I had the honor to become chairman of the Subcommittee on Watershed Development of the House Committee on Public Works.

In that capacity it was my duty to carefully study this program and to pass on certain watershed projects developed by the Soil Conservation Service in cooperation with local and State agencies.

I learned what this program is all about and why it is one of the most successful conservation developments in our history.

I learned what sort of person Don Williams is. And I learned also of his ability to translate plans into action, to administer a growing, constantly changing, and complex program to the complete satisfaction of the Congress and of the local people with whom the Soil Conservation Service deals directly in this work.

What I have learned about this man as a person and administrator in the past 14 years adds up to this: No one in the public service is more deserving of the Rockefeller Public Service Award than Don Williams.

The support of this program in the Congress in no small way results from the confidence we have in Don Williams' judgment. His proposals are always sound. He never ducks issues or sidesteps questions. He is invariably forthright and plain spoken. He has the virtue of patience and the courage to stick by his convictions when it might be easier to do otherwise.

I take great pride in this program, and in all the fine works in which the Soil Conservation Service is engaged under Don Williams. I have watched the small watershed program grow from its infancy into a vigorous nationwide effort that has meant millions of dollars in benefits to my State alone.

We must not only push forward in this good work, but there are other needs to meet in the soil and water conservation field. I have the honor to be author of a proposed Antisediment Water Pollution Act, which has also been introduced in the Senate.

This legislation would enable us to more effectively deal with critical problems pertaining to erosion of roadsides, streambanks, and surface mines that are contributing greatly to pollution of our rivers and streams.

It would provide for Federal technical and financial assistance in these areas on a cooperative basis with State and local groups in much the same manner that other Soil Conservation Service activities are carried on.

Don Williams had more than a little to do with creating an awareness of the need for this addition to our soil and water conservation efforts, and he has collected the facts upon which decisions can be based and actions taken just as he has in devising other additions to the national soil and water conservation movement in recent years—the Great Plains conservation program tailored to the special problems of the 10-State plains region, and resource and conservation development projects—to name but two.

I am proud to work with Don Williams and the fine agency he heads, and I am delighted that he has been given this recognition for his skills as a public administrator. I would hope that he will continue to be Administrator of the Soil Conservation Service for many years to come.

Inter-American Press Association Seminar in Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Inter-American Press Association's technical center is currently holding a seminar in Miami for newspaper managing editors. The technical center has successfully endeavored through the years to provide educational programs which add to the technical, administrative, and editorial skills of newspapermen throughout the United States and Latin America.

I join "Diario Las Americas," an outstanding newspaper itself, in extending best wishes to the many journalists gathered in Miami to participate in and contribute to this seminar. The article follows:

A IAPA SEMINAR IN MIAMI

This Wednesday, November 8th, started another seminar of the prestigious and efficient Technical Center of the Inter-American Press Association, this time for newspaper Managing Editors. Here in Miami are journalists from twenty-four newspapers who represent eleven Latin American countries and the United States. They are persons occuping important positions within their respective publicity organs.

IAPA's Technical Center is directed by the distinguished Bolivian journalist, of world renown, Mr. Guillermo Gutierrez, who has given to that center an extraordinary projection with the backing of the Inter-American Press Association in general and of a group of concerns in particular, that have been able to understand the special importance of that Center and give their economic support and human enthusiasm to it.

The mission of the Technical Center constitutes one of the highest goals of the IAPA because through its educational seminars the technical capacity of continental journalism is perfected in benefit of that journalism and also of the peoples who need to be well informed and well oriented by a dynamic and independent press. And the improvement of the technical capacity of the newspapers, in the administratve as well as in the editorial and information aspects, contributes to consolidate the independence of the enterprises, so fundamental for the freedom of the press.

The Seminar that is now being held at IAPA's Technical Center, that has its headquarters in New York and other offices in Miami, as we say at the beginning of this brief editorial, is aimed at the Managing Editors of newspapers. A few days ago another was held for the pressroom and stereotype workers. Like these, many others seminars have taken place, not only in Miami but in different cities of the Western Hemisphere, on administrative matters of vital meaning for the operation of the modern journalistic concerns.

IAPA renders a great service to its members and to the civilized community in general with these courses that it periodically gives in its Technical Center, and in which take part as lecturers and instructors persons of high professional capacity and which are attended by renowned journalists who are extremely interested in improving their skills.

Diario Las Americas cordially salutes those who in one way or another take part in this important seminar of the IAPA Technical Center and wishes them much success in the mission that has gathered them in this friendly city of Miami.

The Key Word in South Vietnam Is Not "Peace" but "Freedom"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, November 10, the New York Times printed a full-page advertisement of an article written by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers.

The article was written by Mr. Hearst in Saigon and was published originally in the Hearst newspapers on November 5, 1967.

Seldom have I come across a more penetrating or more enlightening discourse about why we are in Vietnam. Nor have I read elsewhere a more devastating denunciation of what the "peace at any price" Americans are doing to our efforts to win in Vietnam.

For the benefit of my colleagues who may not have had the chance to read and digest Mr. Hearst's outstanding article, I insert it at this time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NOT PEACE, BUT FREEDOM

SAIGON.—To people who live over here—Asians and Europeans alike—it is inconceivable that Americans don't seem to realize:

1—That they are winning this war, and

2—That the seek-and-destroy tactics in the South and the bombing of military targets in the North is the proper—if not the only—way to make the Communists from North Viet Nam leave the free people of South Viet Nam alone.

It won't be over tomorrow, or next week, or before the Presidential election next year. But we're winning.

No facts or statistics from the war could conceivably lead Ho Chi Minh to think HE was winning.

Yet he fights on, refusing to so much as indicate a willingness to even discuss a peaceful solution.

No words or deeds of the U.S. or South Viet Nam could make Ho think that peace would cost him a square inch of his land or that he might lose face by having to agree to any "unconditional surrender" terms.

Where then—you might well ask—lies the key to this "inscrutable oriental mind"?

The answer, ladies and gentlemen, lies in the words and deeds of a minority of well meaning but faint-hearted peace-at-any-price Americans.

Supporting this view are a goodly number of students who in all honesty don't want their tranquil young lives interrupted, perhaps prematurely ended.

Bringing up the rear—but noisily—in this anti-war formation are the bearded, bedraggled beatniks. They recognize no obligation to their country—nor to their parents either, for that matter—and avoid service to anybody but themselves with as great an abhorrence as they do soap.

Here, then, is the American key to the "inscrutable oriental mind" of Ho Chi Minh. He firmly believes that we will repudiate President Johnson at the polls next November and that LBJ's successor—in answer to the demands of a majority of the (now "peace-loving," heretofore "imperialistic") American people—will take French leave from Viet Nam.

People love peace—the world around.

A very wise world observer once noted that "there has never been a popular war nor an unpopular peace."

Revolutions are more popular than other wars, but even our own revolutionary war almost died aborning through lack of popular support.

Americans don't think of themselves as quitters, but unfortunately the record is full of facts indicating that were it not for the leaders in the White House and the Departments of State, War and Navy, the "people" would several times have thrown in the towel when the going got rough or the encounter drawn out.

The very existence of the U.S.A. is due importantly to the participation of the admirals and generals of France—Lafayette and Rochambeau didn't come from Brooklyn or Berkeley.

But even during the crucial days most Americans wanted "peace."

Lincoln wasn't really appreciated until Americans realized—tardily—that he had almost single-handedly supplied the leadership that held our Nation together until we could secure liberty and justice and freedom for all.

Americans in the South wanted out and Americans in the North thought it was "good riddance to bad rubbish."

Both sides wanted peace.

Most Americans didn't want to get into either world war and only stayed because anybody and everybody could see we were winning almost from the start.

The barriers President Truman raised to Communist aggression in Greece and Turkey, and again in Korea, were widely unpopular. Why, when our outnumbered forces were driven down to the toe of Korea and almost into the sea, do you know what the majority of the American people (according to Dr. George Gallup) wanted most?

Cut and run! Get out.

Only the word they used was "peace," and they wanted it "at any—or almost any—price."

So it is not un-American to want peace.

But it has never been the policy nor the belief of our leadership that we should buy peace with our pledged word, or our treaty commitments, or our honor.

The reasons for the unpopularity of our present predicament are plain and understandable.

Until a very few years ago most Americans didn't even know where South Viet Nam WAS and even today don't know a single Vietnamese by sight, let alone to talk to. Also, militarily, there is no front, no pushing back of the enemy in conventional terms. So what the hell are we doing over there at all?

The key word, my friends, is not "peace" but "freedom."

Our background—religious, political and social—has taught us to cherish freedom.

You can buy peace.

Today the price is a broken promise; tomorrow, honor, the next day, world respect—and one day, freedom.

Not your freedom.

You'll be gone.

But your children's.

And even they won't get what you paid for.

Can a Disorderly Society Survive?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the near anarchy which swept parts of the country this summer have drawn voluminous commentaries, but often the commentary has touched the dramatic rather than fundamental problems.

A very thoughtful, timely, and practical commentary appeared in an editorial of the "Des Plaines Valley News" on November 9, which I enter into the RECORD, recognizing that it will interest many of the Members:

CAN A DISORDERLY SOCIETY SURVIVE?

Can any thoughtful person reasonably believe that a disorderly society can survive? In all recorded history, none ever has.

On the contrary: History shows that every society which became lawless soon succumbed, and that the first evidence of each society's decay appeared in the toleration of disobedience of its laws and the judgments of its courts.

These are ancient and universal lessons. Yet, in recent times, all of us have daily seen and heard an ever-increasing number of accounts that show, with unmistakable clarity, the rapid spread of a planned course of lawlessness in our land that threatens seriously to get out of hand—and, hence, to destroy law and order.

While, of course, all of our crime is not due to any one cause, it can hardly be denied that a large part of our current rash and rapid spread of lawlessness has derived from planned and organized mass disrespect for, and defiance of, the law and the courts, induced by the irresponsible and inflammatory preachments of some self-appointed leaders of minority groups "to obey the good laws, but to violate the bad ones"—which, of course, simply advocates violation of the laws they do not like, or, in other words, the taking of the law into their own hands.

The remedy is as plain as the threat.

Charity Begins at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Canton Repository commented Sunday on the foreign aid issue, under the title "Charity Begins at Home." I feel certain the Repository expresses the views of most of its readers and millions of other Americans in this editorial, which I extend with my remarks as follows:

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

More attention than normal has been focused on congressional handling of the foreign aid authorization bill this year—and with good reason.

Foreign aid is controversial by nature. Specific problems in the United States heighten controversy at this time.

The United States is in an economic crisis and desperately needs to chop its spending to a level equal to its income.

Domestic problems are crying for costly assistance which Congress says is unavailable.

Foreign aid critics fail to see the logic in a congressional approach that authorizes $2.67 billion in foreign aid while talking about $2.2 billion for the antipoverty program.

Foreign aid has to be looked on as an international welfare program carried on by the United States. It hasn't won us friends. Many aid-recipient nations have turned their backs on us.

In many cases it has made countries dependent on handouts rather than self-sustaining. It has compounded their problems. It has been wasteful.

Some countries blackmail the United States diplomatically to get aid by threatening to ask Russia for help if Uncle Sam doesn't come through with the help.

With few exceptions all phases of the foreign aid program add up to charity. The United States wants to help under-developed, needy countries.

Charity is laudable. But if an individual's economic situation is tight it is reflected in his giving habits.

If the foreign aid program were halted completely, the United States still would spend sizable amounts in help projects abroad. The United Nations—heavily supported financially by the United States—has projects set up around the world. It covers areas of agriculture, population control and civic improvement.

Peace Corps workers are scattered around the globe, trying to help others help themselves.

Many American dollars find their way to peoples of other nations through individual and organizational philanthropy.

To say the United States is losing its sense of charity if it reduces foreign aid output substantially is unfair.

To say the United States would be wise to put a realistic limit on foreign aid spending in the interest of a healthy economy would be more correct assessment of the facts.

A sound American economy means continued assistance for foreign nations that need help; a sick American economy will please no one.

Rent-a-Commissioner Plan Proposed for Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I do not suggest a two-platoon system for the Atomic Energy Commission, but some thought should be given to filling the numerous vacancies occurring in Commission membership with some semblance of promptness. If no improvements in the pace of appointments can be devised then, perhaps, some kind of a rent-a-commissioner plan can be devised whereby one or two qualified and security cleared persons are on tap to fill in temporarily whilst the administration is dallying over a new appointment.

There has been a vacancy on the five-man Commission since August 1 when Commissioner Samuel Nabrit resigned. The vacancy is now going into its fourth month. He had served for only 1 year, almost on the nose. There were 13 months of vacancy in this commissionership between his appointment in August 1966, and the departure of his predecessor, Dr. Mary Bunting, who left June 30, 1965, after serving for only a year and a day. There was a 6-month vacancy between her service and that of her predecessor. Since January 1964, this membership on the AEC has been filled but slightly over half of the time.

The functioning of this important agency, which controls expenditures each year amounting to about $2½ billion, inescapably is chronically impaired by such extended periods of below-level manning.

AEC has the task of making nonweapons nuclear policy for the Nation. It administers the entire peacetime atomic activities of the country and oversees the national laboratories. It is responsible for the laboratories which are concerned with nuclear weapons research, development, and production. The Commission has many other important functions, not the least of which are to carry out a vast domestic and overseas public information program which requires Commissioners to travel widely throughout the United States and the world. The problem of licensing and regulating ever-increasing numbers of nuclear power reactors is becoming ever more vital.

The Commission's tasks are such as to consume the full time/overtime attention of its full five-man membership at all times. This fact should become understood and appreciated by appointing authorities.

The repeated vacancies on the Commission for lengthy periods appear to spring from two causes: First, lack of planning ahead and diligence in filling the posts; and, second, inattention to getting nominees who will serve for any length of time.

In most cases it takes a new commissioner almost a year to learn his job and start carrying a full load. The time of more experienced commissioners is consumed in teaching him the ropes. Yet, in the case of Dr. Bunting, the administration was fully aware she had no intention of staying in Washington for more than a year. She only agreed to take the job on that basis. Apparently Dr. Nabrit was not even asked about his tenure intentions. During his confirmation he was questioned about it and said he was thinking only in terms of a year. He did agree to stay longer "if needed," but his resignation after a year was accepted without complaint so far as I am aware.

W. J. Raney, of Memphis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, Memphis lost one of its most valuable citizens with the death of W. J. "Bill" Raney, veteran police officer and nationally known criminologist.

Bill Raney served his community for over 30 years on the police force before his retirement in 1955, after which he founded and headed his own private detective agency.

While on the force, Bill Raney participated in the capture of George "Machine Gun" Kelly in 1933. He was also responsible for the training of 2,000 rookie city policemen.

He joined the Memphis police force in 1925 as a motorcycle policeman and was promoted to detective that same year. He was selected as a special investigator for the Tennessee Bureau of Criminal Identification in 1958.

Raney was a veteran of both World Wars. He served as an enlisted man in the cavalry in 1917–18, volunteering when only 17. In 1943, he served as a first lieutenant instructor in the provost marshal general's school at Fort Custer, Mich., and then was sent overseas to serve in Brisbane and Sydney, Australia. He was promoted to captain and was named assistant provost marshal in charge of criminal investigation.

In 1944 he served as provost marshal in Biak, Netherlands, East Indies, and helped set up the provost marshal's office and prisoner of war stockade in Leyte. In 1945 he was promoted to major and served as chief of police in Manila after its recapture. He became a lieutenant colonel in 1946 in the Active Reserves. He taught for 7 years in the sociology section of the extension school at the University of Tennessee.

Bill Raney was a fine police officer, a true patriot, a citizen of Memphis whose contributions will long be remembered and who helped to make our community a better place for all our citizens. Memphis will miss Bill Raney, but we are glad that he was one of us, and his deeds will live on in the hearts of his fellow citizens.

The Crisis in Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Union, Oct. 28, 1967]

THE CRISIS IN CONFIDENCE

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—The "crisis of confidence" that confronts President Johnson over Vietnam could have been anticipated. It was almost certain to develop as soon as the Communists realized that they couldn't win a military victory.

At that point the propaganda drums could be expected to beat a "call to quarters" for every doubter, pacifist, fellow traveller, dupe and dope. Make no mistake the men in Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi will not give up their dreams of conquest easily. They have marshalled, encouraged, goaded and sold every conceivable argument to stop the United States before it crosses the threshold of victory.

Communists are clever. Their word war is not a crude frontal attack it's an insidious offensive that takes advantage of the traditional American urge to help the underdog, to promote free and democratic government, to aid those in misery and want, to give even their worst enemy the benefit of the doubt.

The topics are common—usually the bombing, democracy, China, Greece, Latin America. The arguments follow familiar patterns:

Stop the bombing unconditionally and start negotiations on the threshold of military victory. No one explains, of course, how they propose to get Communists to negotiate, when they have flatly refused time after time.

The Saigon government is dictatorial. The elections last month, conducted in the midst of terror and intimidation, are dismissed.

Recognize Red China and give it China's seat in the UN. Ignore the fact that that country doesn't make sense anymore and is falling apart at the seam.

Withdraw all support from the Greek government and squeeze it until it topples. But don't discuss what will happen if chaos sets in in Athens. Don't discuss the fact that Communists are waiting for just an opening. Don't discuss Greece's strategic position in the Mediterranean and its value to our Sixth Fleet.

How does one fight this 1967 parlor game?

As President Johnson put it so well, he must "ride the tiger."

He must keep hammering away at the real stakes involved, the real nature of this contest.

No one likes to send bombers over North Vietnam; no one likes sometimes autocratic actions of the men in Saigon; no one likes the fact that China and its 750 million people are isolated from the mainstream of world conversation; no one likes the fact that constitutional democracy in Greece sank to such depths that military men regarded a coup as the only alternative to chaos.

But in each of these situations there is chance for improvement.

There is a promise of daylight and hope at the end of dark tunnels.

Would there be any hope if we surrendered the people of South Vietnam to Communist terror, if we permitted a paranoic Peking regime to set fire to what is left of the UN, if we abandoned Greece, tore a huge hole in NATO and gave the Russians their long-sought gateway to the Mediterranean?

It's better to ride the tiger than to jump off and be devoured.

Riots at Taxpayers' Expense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, riots will not cease until the profit from riots and violence is removed.

Now we learn that the insurance companies, who have already suffered unnecessary losses from the freedom to riot—losses already reflected in your insurance premiums—are asking the Federal Government to share the damage loss from civil disorder.

In other words, the taxpayers of the United States are being asked to underwrite the insurance company losses from riots.

And the insurors are probably right—the Federal Government has handcuffed our police officers, encouraged civil disobedience, and all but subsidized riots and violence through many Federal agencies.

The only trouble is that the Federal Government has no funds to underwrite riot losses—the Federal Government is the taxpayer, and any such move is but another move against taxpayers by increasing taxes.

But the taxpaying people did not destroy the law—the people have never voted on, nor given their approval to riots and violence.

The door to Pandora's box was opened by the unelected Federal judges.

Why not then a simple solution—assess the political judiciary for the riot losses and let the black-robed judges come up with the $42 billion losses occasioned through their progressive attacks on law and order.

I insert the feature article of William Reddig, Jr., from the Washington Sunday Star for November 12, in the RECORD for all to read:

UNITED STATES CALLED ON TO AID IN MEETING RIOT INSURANCE RISKS

(By William Reddig, Jr.)

The specter of further urban ghetto riots haunting them, members of the insurance industry told a presidential panel here last week that the federal government must share the risks of civil disorder.

"There is little to indicate that urban social unrest is subsiding," said Seymour E. Smith, senior vice president of the Travelers Insurance Companies of Hartford. "However removed it may be, there appears to be a very real possibility of more rioting in the future—including the possibility that such could be massively planned rather than spontaneous—with resulting damage that conceivably be measured in billions of dollars.

"It is believed that time is of the essence and that a program of federal reinsurance is needed—and is needed now."

His plea for the government to stand behind the $42 billion property and liability insurance industry was echoed by nearly a dozen other insurance executives appearing at two days of hearings before the Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot Affected Areas. The seven-man panel, headed by Gov. Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey, was set up to counsel the president's commission on civil disorders created in the wake of the Detroit riots.

The panel is expected to file a report next month. It already has developed a plan which would involve the pooling of riot risks by the companies.

Insured losses in last summer's riots, which included Newark and Detroit, are estimated at $100 million, with uninsured losses between $25 million and $100 million.

Once an urban area has been hit by a riot, businessmen often can't get insurance against property damages, Robert C. Moot, head of the Small Business Administration, told the panel. Insurance is either not offered in a riot potential area or offered on prohibitive terms, he said.

Moot noted that, in the two years since riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles, rates for property coverage have doubled, with some estimates showing a 300 to 500 percent increase.

The tentative plan of the panel would call upon the insurance industry to bear "to the limit of its resources" the costs of the program. To ease the burden, taxes on reserves in the pools would be eased. The states would provide reinsurance, and if the cost rose above their resources, then the federal government might step in.

Industry plans put more emphasis on the federal role. T. Lawrence Jones, president of the American Insurance Association, presented an eight-point program which had government reinsurance as "an absolutely essential ingredient." The association represents 170 stock property and casualty companies.

Another basic element would be use of an "urban areas inspection plan," which requires that buildings to be insured be inspected before a turndown can be made. Pool insurance might cover those that don't pass.

He failed to back a tax deferral scheme now.

"It will provide no immediate funds to pay riot losses which we are now facing and which we may have to face in the months ahead," Jones claimed.

Suggestions also were made that insurance company funding pools might pay the government a premium for the reinsurance protection, bringing in $50 million to $100 million a year. The reinsurance should apply only for riot-related losses which were in excess of 3 percent of the premium volume of the pool companies combined.

A slightly different plan was set before the panel by Paul S. Wise, general manager of the American Mutual Insurance Alliance, which represents 122 mutual companies. He urged that an Interstate Civil Disorder Reinsurance Facility be created.

The facility, operating as a reinsurance body, would get its funding from payments by the states based on the amount of property insurance premiums written in each state. Wise suggested that the money might be raised by a special civil disorder assessment on all property insurance policies in a state. The cost could be less than $1 a year per homeowner.

Pooling of losses would allow states to handle up to $150 million in civil disorder losses in any one year, he said. Beyond that, the unit should be able to borrow from the treasury.

Moot argued that focusing the program just on riot-prone areas would bring higher premiums there. If the program was spread out through the cities, insurance costs would come down within reach of the small businessmen, he said.

In addition to Hughes, members of the panel include former Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania, vice chairman; Walter Washington, mayor of the District; Aubrey A. Roberts, president of the Reliance Insurance Co. of Philadelphia; Frank Farwell, president of the Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. of Boston; George S. Harris, president of the National Insurance Association of Chicago, and Frank Wozencraft, assistant attorney general, office of legal counsel, Department of Justice.

Government and Industry: Research and Development Partners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, for a long time I have believed that great benefits might be attained through more widespread use of cooperative arrangements between the public and the private sector for the joint conduct of scientific research and development.

Obviously, I am not referring to the development of new products or studies into specific proprietary problems. What I have in mind is research which is of general interest to an entire industry or which is important to the Nation's broad technological posture.

One outstanding example of what can be done is the research associate program of the National Bureau of Standards. It is not unusual for Government scientists and engineers to spend time in a university laboratory or a private research institute to get experience in specialized fields. The National Bureau of Standards, however, has put a new twist on this familiar pattern. Under the research associate program, scientists and engineers from industry and technical trade associations come into NBS laboratories and work for a year or longer, right alongside their Federal colleagues. The parent organization of the research associate pays his salary. The only requirements are that the research be of broad interest to both Government and industry, and that the results be made widely available to everyone through publication.

The benefits go both ways. Research associates and their sponsors get research results and new work experience using Government research facilities, and the Government gets important research performed which probably could not be undertaken with Federal funds alone. As a side benefit, Government and industry get a new appreciation of the other's problems and point of view. This plan might well serve as a model for future cooperation in other fields of interest.

VFW Post No. 49 Supports Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Robert L. Bullard Post No. 49, Veterans of Foreign Wars, located at Mobile, Ala., has adopted a resolution in support of a policy of victory in Vietnam.

The resolution expresses the feeling that the armed services must be given greater leeway for using their resources to attain a military success. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a member of Post No. 49 and I share the feeling expressed in the resolution.

The text of the resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the United States of America is engaged in a Military Conflict in Vietnam, Robert L. Bullard Post No. 49 VFW urges a military victory in the War in Vietnam without further delay, and

Whereas, the membership of Robert L. Bullard Post No. 49 believe that we have sufficient manpower, firepower and hardware in Vietnam to win provided all military targets in North Vietnam are made available for our troops to strike, and

Whereas, we feel that the Commander in Chief should remove current restrictions placed on field commanders and give the Commanders a clear mission to WIN the conflict. And that civilian direction of the conflict by Sect. of Defense and the State Department be terminated and,

Whereas, our membership is limited to Veterans of the Armed Forces who have served the United States of America on foreign soil during Wartime. It is in the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to our country that we feel compelled to sound off and speak out when we see our fighting forces gagged in the field of combat with a NO WIN policy and handicapped by civilian directed whims and political considerations, and

Whereas, we do not question WHY we are in Vietnam or HOW we got there, for that is a matter of responsibility on the shoulders of our duly elected leadership, who must answer to the American people, and of course when history is written let us hope that this matter will be factually and truthfully recorded.

Be it resolved, by the membership of Robert L. Bullard Post No. 49 Veterans of Foreign Wars at a regular Post meeting held on 28 September 1967 in Mobile, Alabama, that the Generals and Admirals be allowed to win this war and bring our fighting forces home. When this is done then will come the time for our diplomats and politicians to enter the stage.

This resolution was adopted by Robert L. Bullard Post No. 49 on 28 September 1967.

F. MAURICE DRAIN,
Commander.
CLARK W. BOOTH,
Adjutant.

Indiana University Enforces Campus Discipline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the last few weeks have seen what is almost an epidemic of bad manners and disgraceful conduct on the part of a small, noisy minority of students at many college campuses across the country. Supposedly acting in the name of "free speech" and "dissent," the rights and privileges of the rest of the student community have been abridged and common courtesy to university visitors has been ignored.

It is nothing less than ridiculous to see those who have not as yet made any contributions to society, and many of whom are being supported by their parents and the American taxpayer, attempt by force and violence to dictate university and national policies, disrupt academic routine, and enforce their will on the majority of their fellow students.

Indiana University, my alma mater, suffered two such outbreaks recently. A disruptive "sit-in" against job recruiters from Dow Chemical Co., because Dow makes napalm—one-half of 1 percent of its total volume of business—was first, then when Secretary of State Dean Rusk appeared he was jeered and insulted when he attempted to speak.

I am proud to be able to say that the officials and student body at Indiana University took instant and correct steps to right these wrongs. The following editorials—"Discipline on the Campus," from the Indianapolis Star, of November 11, 1967, and "The Majority Speaks" from the Indianapolis News on the same day, describe what was done:

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Nov. 11, 1967]

DISCIPLINE ON THE CAMPUS

Indiana University has taken a wise and healthy move in disciplining the 40-odd students who demonstrated with a rowdy "sit-in" against Dow Chemical Company recruiters on the campus.

We commend I.U. President Elvis J. Stahr, Dean of Students Robert H. Shaffer and other university administrators for their sound judgment and quick action in enforcing rules made to preserve order and protect the rights and safety of students, faculty and visitors at this tax-supported state institution.

The students involved, possibly taking a cue from the intellectual rabble rousers at

Berkeley and other hot-beds of the New Left, seem to have considered themselves above and beyond the law.

It should be clear to them now that they are not.

Two students and a policeman were injured in the outbreak at the I.U. School of Business where the protest was staged because Dow makes napalm used in the Vietnam war. Thirty-five persons were arrested, 27 of them students.

The Dean of Students is placing on critical disciplinary probation approximately 40 of those who took part in the fray, and warning them that if they break the rules again they will be suspended immediately and steps will be taken toward their permanent expulsion.

Shaffer warned that future demonstrators who break the rules will be suspended at once and that if their actions disrupt university process, they face permanent expulsion.

He also warned that prompt discipline awaits any future offenders.

He emphasized that he will not drop charges against those arrested because of conflicting evidence which he said should be heard fully in court. The future of those students awaits the results of their trials and action of the Student Conduct Committee.

Radical critics will howl: "Oppression! Students who disagree with the U.S. Vietnam war policy or do not share majority views are being persecuted, muzzled, stripped of their rights of free speech and assembly."

This is nonsense.

The I.U. rebels can go on making speeches, painting signs, peacefully picketing, printing and passing out their propaganda, marching, talking, getting names on petitions and doing just about anything else so long as they do not break the rules laid down for all students and the laws which everyone must obey.

Most Hoosiers will applaud loudly the I.U. administration's disciplining of the delinquents and setting up hard-line policies for dealing with students who may be toying with the idea of unleashing campus anarchy and brawling in the future.

A university is supposed to be a place of learning and research, not a sanctuary for adolescent revolutionists.

We can say with pride and knowledge that most I.U. students are serious, alert, imaginative young people, with above average intelligence and energy and a healthy salting of humor, who are increasing the value of their own lives—and who are going to make exciting contributions to Indiana's and America's future.

We hope that the administrators of other universities and colleges in the state and nation will follow I.U.'s example of keeping the rowdy minority of rule-breakers and scofflaws firmly in hand.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, Nov. 11, 1967]

THE MAJORITY SPEAKS

The minority of Indiana University students who insulted Secretary of State Dean Rusk as he sought to present the administration's views on Vietnam has more than had its say.

Now the majority of I. U. students has spoken, too.

In a petition of apology presented to Secretary Rusk, more than 14,000 students expressed regrets for the disturbance caused by "a small minority of individuals who forgot temporarily what it means to be part of a university."

The apology, handed to Rusk personally by two leaders of the petition drive, reads: "We the undersigned would like to express our deep regret and sincere apologies for the great discourtesies shown by certain members of the university community at the time of the visit of the secretary of state of the United States to Indiana University. "The right of free speech has long been a tradition at I.U., but this does not include the deprivation of the right of others to listen. We must strive to perpetuate this tradition."

The students who insulted Rusk numbered no more than a few hundred. The fact that 14,000 students signed the apology is impressive evidence that most young people remain unconvinced by the fanaticism of the "new left."

Need for United States To Improve Trade Relations With Latin American Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we all know that a sound, stable economy is the only base upon which a viable political organization can thrive. This is particularly true of our Latin American neighbors.

A very important way that the United States can contribute to the growth and stabilization of the Latin American countries is through a wide program of trade. A recent editorial from Diario Las Americas, which has long been in the forefront advocating strengthening and betterment of United States-Latin American relations suggests the need for greater emphasis within the United States for developing its inter-American trade relations:

THE PRICE OF THE BASIC PRODUCTS FROM LATIN AMERICA IN THE UNITED STATES

One of the most effective ways for the United States to help the Latin American countries in their development is the good price that is paid in the American market for the basic products exported by the sister nations of the Hemisphere.

The Government and commerce leaders of the United States should carefully study, with a sense of international justice and with the marked desire to strengthen hemispheric solidarity, everything related to inter-American trade. If the countries could receive reasonable income from the basic products they export to the great American market, they could derive many benefits from that traffic. On the other hand, the United States would also benefit because, in one way or the other, by increasing Latin America's economic capacity, its exports to that region of the world would be more. And though it is true that those countries may buy in other markets, it is equally true that they are within the zone of American influence and that, therefore, the greater part of the commercial exchange would be done within the Western Hemisphere.

The Latin American nations pay high prices for merchandise manufactured in the United States. Therefore, the Latin American nations contribute to the maintenance of a high standard of living in this gigantic North American country. And logical and fair is that if Latin America pays high prices for articles produced by the United States industries, it should also place its basic products in this market at prices that would allow an economic situation compatible with modern progress. The more money the mentioned nations may get from their trade with the United States, the greater will be the purchases they will make in this American market.

Many times it can be asserted that much more important than the direct economic aid through the Alliance for Progress or other similiar collective or individual projects, is the purchase at fair prices of the basic produccts that the Latin American communities export to the United States.

In the United States should be created a transcendental and firm awareness of the importance of trade relations in the inter-American field. And when it may perhaps prove necessary to do a small sacrifice—by the way a very relative one—in behalf of a good price for the Latin American basic product, that small sacrifice should be done in the conviction that something positive, convenient for all, is being done. And it should not be forgotten that the American market, through its exports, benefits from the greater buying capacity of the mentioned countries.

Soviet Fleet Growth Alarms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union is developing a growing challenge to naval and maritime leadership which is evidenced by almost every yardstick.

Soviet submarine forces and surface fleets continue to be improved in quality. Recent reports even disclose that the U.S.S.R. is building its first aircraft carrier.

Soviet naval missiles of all types are being improved in both quantities and in quality. And on October 21, 1967, it was a Soviet-built patrol boat in the Egyptian Navy which sank an Israel ship with a Soviet-built missile.

A recent editorial in the Glendale, Calif., News-Press calls attention to the fact that throughout the world the Soviet naval presence is increasingly noted and felt. Patrols by Soviet naval units are increasingly extended farther from the U.S.S.R.

The alarming growth and extended influence exerted by surface and submarine units of the Soviet Navy and also by the Soviet maritime fleet should provide a warning, because, as the editorial says:

> The warning to the United States of America is as clear as a ship's bell or the sounding of "general quarters" to face the enemy at sea.

I commend to the Members the editorial from the Glendale News-Press of November 4, 1967, which follows:

SOVIET FLEET GROWTH ALARMS

To call the Soviet fleet build-up "maritime aspirations" is almost euphemistic. The current and determined increase in the strength of the Soviet navy is a demonstration of belligerence.

The staid term is used by Jane's Fighting Ships in its 70th annual report on world naval strengths to describe the expansionist Red fleet. The lack of drama in the observations should not mislead us.

These Soviet "maritime aspirations" are also described as a navy "on the move as never before." Says Jane's: "It is evident that the Soviet navy will for years to come be a force to be reckoned with, deployed on a worldwide scale and capable of exerting a strong maritime influence on universal affairs."

While the United States Navy relies on a battle fleet which has seen little in the way of modern "maritime aspirations" out of the Pentagon, and a Merchant Marine which is in the doldrums, the Russians are enlarging both fleets.

"The Soviet Union is expanding her Merchant Fleet on an unprecedented scale," says Jane's. It is also "increasing the number of paramilitary ships and the number of auxiliaries thinly disguised as commercial, fishing, hydrographic and research ships."

Since 1958 the Soviet Union has advanced from 21st to 5th place among the maritime nations. That is an indication of the Reds' objective.

The warning to the United States of America is as clear as a ship's bell or the sounding of "general quarters" to face the enemy at sea.

Soldier-Public Relations Up in Brong-Ahafo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the Daily Graphic of October 26, 1967:

SOLDIER-PUBLIC RELATION UP IN BRONG-AHAFO

From time immemorial, soldiers have been regarded by the public as bullies.

In the cities, where soldiers are not strangers to the inhabitants, the story is however, a little different. But in the rural areas where they are seen once in a while and sometimes for specific purposes, people are scared and agitated whenever they see soldiers in their midst.

At certain places, people playing draughts under trees along the streets abandon their game and retire to their houses as soon as they see soldiers approaching, though, the soldiers have no intention of interfering with their games.

Other civiilans, too, keep mute during arguments or debates on current topics as soon as soldiers enter into the debate.

FACTORS

While these factors result from abject ignorance on the part of some members of the public, some soldiers are also blamable because since they know that they are feared, they usually take the law into their own hands and with, or without the least provocation, perpetrate acts of brutality on people in the rural areas.

The usual accusations are that in the rural areas, young men who are unlucky to clash with soldiers over women at night clubs are often beaten up severely.

While these allegations are yet to be investigated and believed or rejected as untenable, there are stories that actual brutalities and intimidations were often perpetrated by some members of the army on people in some parts of the rural areas immediately after the coup.

Those incidents are still imprinted on the minds of those who, for one reason or the other, became victims or witnesses to those acts. Therefore, to these people, soldiers constitute a nuisance in their community.

This is why "Abongo Omo," of the Sunyani army barracks should be commended for its unique operations being carried out in some parts of the Brong-Ahafo Region.

"Abongo Omo" consists of 40 members of the Third Battalion Infantry of the Ghana Army stationed at Sunyani.

RELATIONS

These "Abongos," under Lieutenant Larbi Okyere, have been detailed to "whitewash" (Omo) the relations between the soldiers (Abongo), and the civilian public in the rural areas by going to the people, mingling with them, dwelling among them, and assisting them in their day-to-day deliberations so that the public may feel that soldiers are not bullies as they mistakenly take them to be but they are friends and saviours in the real sense.

It is interesting to learn that "Abongo Omo" has already participated in the construction of school blocks for the Methodist, Presbyterian and the Catholic missions at Teppa during communal labour days. Furthermore, "Abongo Omo" assisted workers of the state farms corporation at Ayerede on the Nkoranza-Ejura motor road in harvesting the corporation's 300-acre maize farm.

According to Lieutenant Larbi Okyere his men are not only limiting their activities to the construction of school blocks and harvesting of maize. He explained that they are prepared to undertake any projects which the inhabitants of places they would visit would be undertaking.

This exercise has actually achieved high dividends in the region and is worthy of emulation in the other regions where people do not see eye to eye with soldiers.

CREDIT

But if there is any commendation or credit, it must go to Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Twum-Barima, Commanding Officer of the army at Sunyani. For it was Lt. Col. Twum-Barima who mooted the idea when he was chairman for the region's committee of administration.

He feels that a nation's defense against external or internal aggression lies on the shoulders of her army. The purpose of maintaining any army is to guarantee the protection of a nation and its people.

It is therefore out of the way for the very people who are being protected by the soldiers to think that their protectors are rather arch-enemies and should be avoided like the plague.

The operations of "Abongo Omo" in Brong-Ahafo have proved successful in all aspects and have further improved the relations between the civilian public and the soldiers.

Charge of the Vet Brigade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, November 11, we commemorated Veterans Day. The attached editorial, which appeared in the Suburban Life, a publication serving numerous suburbs in the Chicago area, is a very timely and thought-provoking commentary which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

CHARGE OF THE VET BRIGADE

Disgraceful and treasonable demonstrations have been held throughout this nation to protest our involvement in Vietnam. Unwashed, unshaven kooks with their female counterparts have been shown in their placard carrying and rabble rousing escapades on television and in the news media.

There is the right to dissent; there is no right to preach sedition which has been giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Communists, including the Viet Cong, have seized the latter type of demonstrations for propaganda and to prolong the war.

Veterans who feel they have ended their service couldn't be more mistaken. More than 20 million of them should be a big nucleus around which pressure for law enforcement and patriotism should be built.

If Veterans' Day hasn't lost its meaning and if we are to prevent further subversion at home the veterans, with the support of the populace, should take the lead in silencing the seditionists who would destroy them and the freedoms for which they shed their blood.

We should have a charge of the vet brigade.

Victory in the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, during his short time in the Senate, the Honorable HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., of Tennessee, has demonstrated himself to be one of the most outstanding Members of that body. I take great pride in the fact that Senator BAKER is from my congressional district, and his father and mother both formerly represented my district in the House of Representatives. I would like to call my colleagues' attention to an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post on November 10, 1967, which reflects well upon Senator BAKER's ability and leadership, as follows:

VICTORY IN THE SENATE

The Senate's rejection of the discredited conference report on the congressional districting bill was a major victory for good government and common sense. It was also a great achievement for two promising young men in the Senate—Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee. The fact that the Senate responded to the call of these two younger Senators by a whopping vote of 55 to 22 may hold a good deal of significance for the future.

The vote was also in very considerable measure intended as a rebuke to Senator Ervin and the other senior conferees who betrayed the policy that the Senate had approved. This, too, is a salutary outcome. The Senate had passed the Kennedy bill in preference to the loose and unsatisfactory version that had come out of the Judiciary Committee. The conferees designated to represent the Senate had an obligation to support that bill in the negotiations with the House. Instead, those conferees (with the exception of Mr. Kennedy himself) discarded the Senate bill and fought in conference for the discredited provisions which the Senate had repudiated.

Their action was a bid for legislative anarchy. It threw down the principle of majority control and asserted a minority right to substitute personal preferences for the will of the Senate. That crude distortion of democratic principle could not have been allowed to stand without gravely impairing the capacity of the Senate to function as a legislative body. The Senate could not have bowed to this sabotage without exposing itself to lusty contempt.

We wish the Senate had followed up this remarkable victory by sending the bill back to conference with a new set of conferees, willing to stand by the Senate bill. Such a group would probably have had little difficulty in working out a compromise with like-minded conferees from the House. Instead, the Senate passed (as a rider to a private citizenship bill) a prohibition on the election of Congressmen at large.

We think this restriction is desirable so far as it goes. In their zeal to protect the rights of voters, courts should not resort to the undemocratic at-large-election device in any circumstances. Congress may well abolish this penalty for the failure of the states to equalize their congressional districts. If this rider is approved by the House, the courts could not order states to elect their representatives at large in the absence of valid district lines. In order to get a constitutional districting when the legislatures fail to provide it, the courts themselves would have to draw the district lines.

The major task of setting up districting standards for the states still remains. Unfortunately, the notable defeat of an inept and mischievous districting bill is not equivalent to the enactment of a good one. Presumably that major task will now have to wait until next year, but it should be vigorously pursued until the equivalent of the Kennedy bill has been written into law.

Milwaukee Bank Promotes Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago the First Wisconsin National Bank, of Milwaukee, began a vigorous effort to expand and improve its international banking services.

This effort was aimed at assisting Wisconsin industry in the development and expansion of export markets. The measure of its success can be seen in the dramatic increase in the volume of export financing by the bank. It increased from $19.1 million in 1963 to $71.4 million in 1966.

This achievement received national recognition a few days ago when the First Wisconsin National Bank was awarded the President's "E" Award for export expansion. It was my privilege to be present at the award ceremony in the Office of Secretary of Commerce, Alexander B. Trowbridge. The "E" Award was accepted by Mr. Joseph W. Simpson, board chairman of the First Wisconsin National Bank.

In order to expand exports, the bank took a number of important steps—

It dramatically expanded its staff and facilities in the area of international banking.

To help customers receive more rapid payment for the export shipment, it introduced a factoring service which enabled an individual firm to liquidate its current export receivables through sales to the bank at competitive rates.

In order to provide better service for export customers, the bank created its own foreign exchange trading department.

In order to stay close to worldwide money market developments, it opened a representative office in New York in 1964 and another in London in 1965. These offices, in addition to providing up-to-date reports on money matters, have been useful in developing foreign contacts for customers and in uncovering export opportunities.

In addition, the bank has used its expanded staff to disseminate among Milwaukee and Wisconsin corporations a wide variety of information concerning export markets and economic conditions abroad. This effort includes an active advertising campaign designed to bring the services of the bank to the attention of exporters and potential exporters.

Officers of the bank have traveled to other cities in Wisconsin to inform smaller firms of the opportunities which exist in the export market. They also have participated in a number of promotional functions in Milwaukee designed to foster foreign trade.

As previously noted, this vigorous campaign has paid off, for the bank, for our Wisconsin industries, and certainly, for our Nation in the form of expanded exports and a plus for our trade and payments balances.

This success story demonstrates once again the "go-getter" attitude of our community's business and financial leaders. I have confidence in their ability to use to the fullest those new export opportunities which the Kennedy round agreements will make possible. I am confident too of further accomplishments by the First Wisconsin National Bank in the export field during the months ahead.

At this time I would like to include in the RECORD the citation which was included with the "E" Award to the First Wisconsin National Bank:

THE CITATION

"The First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee has undertaken aggressive action to promote exports from Wisconsin through a substantially expanded network of foreign correspondent banks. Also by providing international finance expertise and factoring services, establishment of a foreign exchange trading department, and wide dissemination of export trade opportunities, the Bank has stimulated interest in, and furnished vital tools for, increased foreign trade. These resourceful export promotion efforts reflect credit on the management and staff of First Wisconsin and on the American free enterprise system."

The American Dream

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE AMERICAN DREAM

(Lawrence Welk Introduction)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am just as disturbed as you are about the amount of unfavorable publicity given to the youth of our nation. Working with so many young people on our show, I am very much impressed with their fine attitude and dedication to their work.

I would like to introduce a young man who feels very much like I do about our younger generation. He is Dick Capen, a neighbor of ours from down Escondido way near our Country Club Village.

Dick is director of public affairs for the Copley Newspapers, and a winner of two Freedoms Foundation awards. Recently, he was also named San Diego's Outstanding Young Man of the Year.

Ladies and gentleman, Dick Capen.

Thank you, Mr. Welk. I very much appreciate this opportunity of being with you and your many friends tonight.

As Mr. Welk mentioned, there are many fine things occurring among young people in America and we can be very proud of their accomplishments.

So, tonight I would like to share with you some of my thoughts about our country—not what is wrong with America, but rather what is right with it.

I think we make a serious mistake when we judge the entire younger generation by the irresponsible acts of a few. Most of the young people you and I know are responsible and conscientious. They have a deep sense of morality and common decency. They also study hard and participate, effectively, in many worthwhile community projects.

So, you and I have every reason to have confidence in their energy and determination. Naturally, all of us are concerned about our country's problems of crime and immorality. Certainly, we all criticize those who demand their rights but refuse any responsibilities.

However, let's emphasize the fine work of the millions of patriotic young Americans who are accepting their obligations. Most respect the fact that our forefathers came here with an abiding faith in themselves and, for the most part, nothing more.

They dreamed of building a better life for themselves—just as we do today. Most succeeded, not by demanding something for nothing, but by working to earn for themselves.

Today's young people have this same potential for self-reliance. They appreciate how fortunate we are to have been born in America, free to build our futures as our talents permit.

Let's remember that America is great today, not because of what anyone else has done for us, but rather because of what we have done for ourselves.

In short, this is the American Dream. This is the ideal that built our nation. This also is the dream that Abraham Lincoln cherished. By sheer determination, he rose above poverty and ignorance and, today, Lincoln's name is immortal—not because he was born in a log cabin, but because he got out of it.

Our children, today, can live by this very same dream if you and I are willing to preserve it for them, realizing that America's freedom is never free.

The Table Is Beginning To Turn on President Johnson's Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that a quick and easy way to get a headline is to criticize the President.

Many opportunists, promoting themselves and their special interests, have played this criticism-for-the-sake-of-publicity game for all it is worth. And for a long time, they have gone unchallenged.

However, there are signs that this cozy game is getting more difficult to play. Lately, other voices are being raised defending in print the often unfair and vitriolic attacks upon President Johnson that question not only his judgment and wisdom, but his honesty and patriotism as well.

Now, a growing number of columnists and editorial writers are challenging the motives and wisdom of some of these irresponsible Presidential critics.

I, for one, rejoice in this development. For if those who seek to malign the President through sensational press releases know that they are going to be challenged by more responsible voices, perhaps they will think twice before attempting to pick up some easy publicity.

I might add that some of the Republican Presidential contenders are also learning that reckless attacks bring prompt publicity one day, but some pointed editorials and uncomfortable questions on the next and succeeding days.

Yes, the press will print these attacks because it makes news and helps to sell papers. But the press is absolutely right in following up by asking of the President's critics just what exactly do they propose as alternatives to what they criticize?

And it is this question—perhaps more than any other—that has made many a belligerent, self-righteous critic look pretty meek indeed.

I insert into the RECORD a sampling of press reaction to some of the criticism we have been hearing, that asks some good questions of those so quick to criticize:

[From the Carolina Times, Durham, N.C.
Oct. 21, 1967]

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLITICAL EXECUTIONERS

The hatchet men of the Democratic party, both in the north as well as in the south, have apparently already sharpened their instruments of destruction and are awaiting orders to begin the political execution of President Lyndon B. Johnson. It is only necessary for one to keep his eyes on the daily press to know the direction in which the political winds are blowing. In the south, as well as the north, the principal reason given for the "get Johnson" conspiracy will be the Vietnam war. It should be plain, however, to even the most stupid among us, that the real reason behind the "get Johnson" movement is his effort to raise the overall status of the Negro citizens of this nation. Thus the Vietnam war will only be used as the curtain behind which the dirty work will be plotted and carried out.

As one watches the moves of the political executioners, within and out the Democratic party, it will be interesting to note how many Negroes of consequence will be sucked into aiding and abetting the heinous attempt to politically execute the greatest presidential benefactor the Negro has had since Abraham Lincoln. What Lincoln did in freeing Negroes from slavery cost him in his life.

Certainly no loyal American citizen of sound mind is happy at the cost of the Vietnam war in American lives and dollars. We think, however, there is more at stake than at first meets the eye of the conflict in which this nation is now engaged, as is so plainly brought out in an article entitled "Vietnam—The Charges And The Facts," appearing in the October issue of the Readers Digest.

As far back as human history records men who have gone to the rescue or tried to befriend the downtrodden have usually had to pay—often with their lives. It was so 2,000 years ago when the Son of God came to this earth and declared for a truth that "God is no respector of person." The words had hardly fallen from His lips before the high priests and other holier-than-thou gangsters set in motion machinery for His death and did not rest until they had crucified Him, under a phoney charge of blasphemy. It so happens, however, that since that black and dirty deed the world has been unable to get rid of His name.

So the nation may witness in 1968, the political crucifixion of one of the greatest presidents the nation has ever had and this fact will be attested to by the indestructible determination of history to record it so.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Spokesman,
Oct. 19, 1967]

THOSE WHO BETRAY THE WAR ON POVERTY

The effort to block the nomination of President Johnson for re-election strikes us as reckless and irresponsible.

Those who are carrying on this campaign in the name of civil rights and the war on poverty just do not make sense, and the debate becomes crazier and crazier. Not only is Lyndon Johnson the biggest, brightest hope for progress in these fields, but everything that dims his chances of re-election strengthens the chances that Richard Nixon will be the Republican nominee.

In other words, these people who profess to be civil rights and anti-poverty warriors are willing to chance the possibility of having in the White House a man whose understanding of civil rights is vestigial, and whose career has been marked by indifference to the problems of the slums. It is difficult to think of anything more reckless than this.

Many of our critics have phoned to tell us, anonymously for the most part, that they consider our position on Johnson "reactionary". And this is just part of the nonsensical nature of the debate. We have never considered it "reactionary" to support public figures who go to bat for civil rights and the correction of such evils as poverty. It is about time that those who are attacking and trying to undermine our political friends come forward, identify themselves, and explain where they stand on civil rights. Do they want Nixon in the White House?

The debate, of course, is beclouded by the Viet Nam issue, and by the fact that those who oppose U.S. policy with respect to the resistance of Communist aggression are so almighty cocksure that they know all the answers.

Yet in this area of the debate the argument has become so zany that it fairly takes our breath away. Robert Vaughn, the TV intellectual, came out the other day with the pronouncement that the United States would have to pull "entirely out of Asia". Shades of the America First isolationists, and the Herbert Hoover concept of the oceans as a moat around the American castle!

But these eccentrics are nothing if not competitive. Novelist Pearl Buck went before a University audience and proved that it was possible to be even crazier. The Chinese, she said, are the peacemakers of the earth. They not only make peace, they go to the rescue of people whose peace is violated by the aggressive and violent Americans. They went into Korea, she explained, as peacemakers and rescuers of the Korean people, who were being violated by the Americans.

Maybe it is necessary, for the record and to try to inject a little truth and sanity into the dialogue, to point out that it was the United Nations that went into Korea, that it did so to stop the aggression of the Chinese-backed Communists against the south, and that when the cease-fire came, there was no rush of Koreans to escape into the Communist paradise but quite the contrary.

The fact that the Bucks and the Vaughns are helping Communist foreign policy may or may not be coincidental. The fact that these people, in fighting Johnson on civil rights are in effect taking the Communist posture that is, against on civil rights may or may not be coincidental. Whatever is the case, it is perfectly obvious to anybody with ears to hear and eyes to see that at this point in history opposition to the President's re-election is a flagrant betrayal of the civil rights movement and the war on poverty.

[From the Ithaca Journal, Sept. 28, 1967]

HISTORY ON JOHNSON'S SIDE

(By James Marlow)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson has been denounced in and out of Congress for using the Gulf of Tonkin resolution to justify America's deepening involvement in the war in Vietnam. But history is on his side.

He has congressional blessing for doing what other presidents have done, some with, some without such approval. There have been only five declared wars in American history but six undeclared ones.

Altogether the armed forces have been used 137 times without a formal war declaration and in most cases without any say by Congress. In some actions, presidents at first had hearty public and congressional endorsement. Later, when enthusiasm cooled, they were attacked or politically ruined.

On Aug. 7, 1964 Congress overwhelming passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution when Johnson requested it after North Vietnamese torpedo boats attacked U.S. destroyers in the gulf.

It said Johnson, as commander in chief of the armed forces, could take all necessary steps to repel any armed attack on those forces and "to prevent any further aggression."

While the Constitution says the president is commander-in-chief, it also says Congress alone can declare war. It doesn't say who can use the armed forces without a declaration.

But presidents all the way back to George Washington thought they could do so when they felt they should. It became a custom, not always followed, to ask Congress for approval or authorization.

There were five declared wars: 1812—war with England; 1846—Mexican War; 1898—Spanish American War; 1917—World War I; 1941—World War II. Three of them might have been avoided.

Two days before Congress declared was in 1812 England had yielded to American demands but Congress didn't know it—there were no transatlantic cables or telephones.

In 1898 Spain yielded to American demands two days before President William McKinley sent his war message to Congress He was informed of it but went ahead because he was weak and yielded to the country's war fever.

And President James K. Polk baited the Mexicans into war in 1846 by sending troops into territory claimed by Mexico. He wanted California from them and, as a result of the war, got it.

Here are the six undeclared wars: 1798-1800—naval war with France; 1801-1805—war with Tripoli pirates; 1815—brief war with Barbary pirates; 1916-1917—war with Mexico; 1950-53—Korean war; and now the Vietnamese war.

In 1798 Congress approved the naval war, authorizing U.S. ships to seize French vessels which had been preying on American shipping. Sentiment for this boiled when it was learned the French foreign minister, Talleyrand, asked for a $250,000 bribe. Later the public mood changed and helped wreck President John Adams politically.

Presidents Adams and Washington had already paid almost $2 million in blackmail to North African pirates not to pick on American ships and to release American captives. But Tripoli got greedy and rough. Congress authorized action. It did the same against the Barbary pirates in 1815.

When Pancho Villa, a Mexican rebel, massacred Americans on both sides of the border, there was great American indignation and demand for action. President Woodrow Wilson sent almost 6,000 men into Mexico with Congress' okay. The mood changed to wanting out as full war with the Mexican government got closer. Wilson was glad to pull out.

President Harry S. Truman neither asked nor got congressional approval for going into the Korean War. But the United Nations, of which the United States was a member, asked quick action. At first he got big backing. This turned to harsh criticism as the war dragged on.

Johnson neither asked nor got congressional approval for sending troops into the Dominican Republic because, he said, it was necessary to protect American lives and prevent a Communist takeover. But this kind of action was an old story.

He was doing what presidents, starting with Washington, had done when they thought it necessary, ranging from crushing a whisky rebellion, to bulldozing Japan into opening up trade. Some of the Actions were arrogant and inexcusable.

Nor did President John F. Kennedy in 1962 ask congressional endorsement when, in his showdown with Moscow, he forced the Soviet Union to take her missiles out of Cuba.

[From the Reporter, Nov. 2, 1967]

THAT MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE

In this country, where interest in politics is traditionally subnormal, a strange thing has been happening: the frenzy of a Presidential campaign at its peak has been with us for months. Yet the great day will be not next Tuesday but a Tuesday a year from now. As usual, the noisy activism is the hallmark of the professionals or the parasites of politics, while the concern of most people is casual. But this has not deterred the pollsters from scanning the inclinations of the unconcerned.

There is no outstanding Republican candidate on the horizon, and, so we are told, not even one Democrat will seek to wrest the nomination from Lyndon Johnson. Yet this weird, unseasonable electioneering is aimed at defeating Lyndon Johnson, not in the primaries or at the convention, but now. In fact it is the closest equivalent to an impeachment campaign.

The movement is bipartisan, though the Democrats are by far the most vehement. Those who wish the elimination of Johnson could be instant, if not retroactive, treat him as the evilest man who ever had his residence at the White House. He alone, they say, is responsible for our participation in the Vietnamese War. He alone has lost the war on poverty, failed to bring about the Great Society, and isolated our country from its allies. In vain the poor man and his few remaining friends can try to prove that he is not the President who brought this country into a new Asia war, and that it is he who has suffered the most, at home and abroad, by keeping it limited. The radical programs for domestic improvements were presented to the nation as demanding a sustained national effort for a much longer period than one or two Presidential terms. True, he is not popular abroad, but what other opinion could foreigners have if they listen to what so many Americans say about their President?

There is something sick and sickening in this anti-Johnson fury. The howls against him do not change; they just get louder: "Hey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" With endless variations, they come from men of certified wisdom as well as the ranks of the New Left.

What has he done to make himself the object of such revulsion? It is impossible to know how the majority of the electorate might feel about him one year from now, and the data provided by the pollsters are as irrelevant as the primaries being run in some special estate, such as the one of the intellectuals. But it can be said that his very person, the man he is, goes against the grain of certain categories of citizens and arouses the latent meanness in a fairly large number of articulate people. Even his notorious sensitivity to what is said and, above all, written about him is provocation to poison tongues and poison pens.

The outsize features of his person and of his mind are offensive to many who cannot stand a President who thinks big, acts big, and so untiringly pursues the goals he has assigned himself. Moreover, his bigness could turn out to be greatness, and this fear may be lurking in the minds of those who have taken most advantage of his unusual vulnerablity to detraction.

The war on poverty and the Great Society are vast though still cloudy programs in the President's mind, and the fancy names they have been given are probably the contribution of some of the scribes who now sneer at him. But certainly the prosecution of the war in Vietnam is the riskiest and weightiest of his undertakings. He could have stopped it at any time, just as his predecessor could have done but didn't; he could stop it today by accepting a cessation of the bombing, followed by perfunctory negotiations. South Vietnam would be ruled by a coalition government with a large Communist participation, and our soldiers could be brought home. Briefly, it would be like Laos, but minus large U.S. forces at the border.

We have been reminded of the Laotian precedent by Mr. Theodore Sorenson, who further suggests, with self-protecting qualifications, that a good example of the way to get out of Vietnam may be derived from the experience of the Bay of Pigs. This is exactly what the enemy wants us to do, and no American President would later have to pass any ransomed South Vietnamese prisoners in review.

In the last few months the pressure on Lyndon Johnson to stop the bombing and bring the war to an end has been ever mounting. Then the President decided that the time had come to restate our country's position as clearly and forcefully as he could. In his San Antonio speech on September 29, he said: "It [Vietnam] is the arena where Communist expansionism is most aggressively at work in the world today. . . ." Two weeks later, at a press conference on October 12, Dean Rusk followed suit. He is the one member of the cabinet who, because of his loyalty and fearlessness, seems to be made to order to take much punishment.

The most skillful baiters of Johnson and Rusk could not believe their ears or eyes. There is an old French saying: This animal is so mean that, when attacked, it defends itself. Haven't those two men had enough? Of course not. More punishment will be inflicted on both of them, and there will be no respect for their office or personal lives. After Dean Rusk dared to speak out forcefully and well, the counterattack against what was called his Yellow Peril mania was furious, though among the colmunists there was a noble competition to exempt him from the suspicion of racial prejudice.

Or perhaps there is nothing particularly new in this anti-Johnson, anti-Rusk rampage and these two Southerners must have found the right name for it; It is just a lynching party.

City of Miami, Fla., Endorses Economic Opportunity Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues further evidence of the tremendous popular support in my district for the continuation of the war on poverty. On November 6, 1967, the commission of the city of Miami, after citing the successes of the war on poverty in Miami, submitted the following resolution to the Congress:

RESOLUTION 39117

Resolution expressing hope that the Congress of the United States will enact the necessary appropriations for the continuation of the local economic opportunity program; that in the interim before final congressional action regarding said appropriations the Congress will provide the required appropriations to enable said program to continue until December 31, 1967; and requesting an immediate audience with the Florida delegation to the United States Congress, including both Senators and Representatives, for the purpose of expressing personally the grave concern of the city commission over the imminent demise of the local economic opportunity program.

Whereas, the Economic Opportunity Program, Incorporated, was established pursuant to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to eliminate poverty in the United States; and

Whereas, the goals and values of the Economic Opportunity Act, implemented in Dade County, Florida, through the Economic Opportunity Program, Incorporated, have had a constructive effect upon the lives of thousands of poor people in the community; and

Whereas, through its many services and programs the lives of approximately one thousand (1,000) children in our Day Care Centers are rapidly overcoming their previous handicaps; and

Whereas, the On The Job Training Programs, New Careers, Direct Placements and other employment training programs have enhanced the status of employment among the unemployed or underemployed; and

Whereas, though its block clubs, tenants leagues and other community organizations there has been the establishment of a forum where target residents may voice many of their frustrations and grievances, thereby minimizing intergroup tensions and disturbances; and

Whereas, the abrupt discontinuation of the Poverty Program will only further frustrate the hopes and aspirations of thousands of poor people in Dade County; and

Whereas, the abrupt discontinuation of the Local E.O.P.I. Program will further depress the living standards of the lower income groups in the geographical area of Miami, Dade County, Florida;

Now, therefore, be it resolved: That the Commission of the City of Miami:

1. Communicates its hope that the Congress of the United States of America will enact the necessary appropriations for the continuation of the local Economic Opportunity Program.

2. That in the interim before final congressional action regarding appropriations for the Economic Opportunity Program the

Congress of the United States provide the requisite appropriations to enable the continuation of the said program until December 31, 1967.

3. That an immediate audience be requested with the Florida delegation to the Congress of the United States of America, said delegation including both Senators and Representatives, for the purpose of expressing personally its grave concern in view of the imminent demise of the local Economic Opportunity Program.

Passed and adopted this 6th day of November, 1967.

STATE OF FLORIDA,
County of Dade,
City of Miami:

I, F. L. Correll, Clerk of the City of Miami, Florida, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing pages numbered 1 and 2 contain a true and correct copy of a resolution passed and adopted by the City Commission of Miami, Florida, at a meeting held on the 6th day of November, 1967, and designated Resolution No. 39117.

Witness my hand and the official seal of the City of Miami, Florida, this 8th day of November, 1967.

F. L. CORRELL,
City Clerk.

Cooperation and Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is substantial interest in the Chicago area in the problem of pollution of Lake Michigan and public concern is stimulated by provocative editorial commentaries such as radio station WIND carried last Monday, November 6. This commentary dwells on the need for various governmental units to cooperate on the battle of water pollution. I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

COOPERATION AND WATER POLLUTION

When Harry Truman was President, he had a sign on his desk which said "The buck stops here"—a gentle rib about the universal practice of passing the buck instead of solving problems. For some time, we were losing the war on pollution because of buck-passing. Indiana and Illinois were at odds over where to dump dredgings from the Indiana harbor. The Corps of Engineers was caught in the middle and other federal agencies folowed a hands-off policy.

The Metropolitan Sanitary District, itself a major polluter, was busy suing industrial firms both in its own state and in Indiana. There was a lot of wheel-spinning, but very little forward motion. In the past several days, however, there are hopeful signs that we've finally gotten an effective go-ahead. The attorneys-general of Illinois and three adjoining states have agreed on a program of enforcement against pollution.

Indiana has withdrawn its objection to use of land fill for dredging. The Sanitary District has assigned a top expert to tackle the air pollution nuisance at its Stickney plant.

This is an excellent start because it underscores the fact that pollution is everybody's fault and everybody's responsibility. The water that is being polluted doesn't belong to industry, to Illinois government nor Indiana officialdom—it belongs to the people.

The solution to water pollution is cooperation at every level. The alternative is a fight that nobody wins.

Prejudiced Judges Stand Judged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, can any American conceive of any judge being so prejudiced against law and order that he be accused of derogatory and slanderous expressions in open court against his own officers?

Perhaps the action of the District of Columbia Police Wives Association is but an indication of things yet to come as society awakens against the dictatorial personal whims of the unelected judiciary who represent no one except their personal vendetta against giving society peace of mind.

If a lawman is wrong, he is wrong. But certainly there is no conceivable justification for a political ward boss, who has been made judge, criticizing our defenders by calling them stupid and incompetent.

Rather it would more clearly seem the judge stands judged.

How would you like to have this appointed giant of the Great Society serving on a world court, sitting in judgment on you? Our policemen are our public servants—attacks on them are in reality attacks on the citizen.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the Washington, D.C., Star report of November 12 following my comments:

ANTIPOLICE BIAS LAID TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA JUDGE BY WIVES

(By Charles Conconi)

A group of wives of Metropolitan policemen has demanded that Congress investigate General Sessions Judge Harry T. Alexander for being "racked with a prejudice against policemen."

The women, members of the D.C. Police Wives Association, further charged in a prepared statement yesterday:

"We have monitored Judge Alexander's court during formal sessions and find that his attitude towards policemen of both races is prejudicial, crude, abusive and irrational to the point that justice is not being served nor the stature of the court being maintained." Alexander is a Negro.

Mrs. Mary Gannon, a spokesman for the group, further accused the judge of contributing to the department's morale problem as a "result of the derogatory and slanderous expressions Judge Alexander uses from the bench when our police husbands, in the course of their duties, appear before him."

Judge Alexander declined yesterday to comment on the accusations.

The controversial judge has frequently accused police officers and prosecutors appearing in his courtroom of lacking courtroom dignity and coming in with ill-prepared cases.

Mrs. Gannon, whose husband, Thomas, is a sergeant in the 11th Precinct, said she is representing a group of more than 200 wives. She charged that on occasion the judge has publicly called police officers "stupid" and "incompetent."

The wives have talked to several congressmen, she said, and said several were very interested.

Mrs. Gannon said the women are appealing to Congress because "Judge Alexander is a creature of the Congress . . ." He was nominated by the President last year and confirmed by the Senate.

Mrs. Gannon argued that police wives have compiled numerous instances of "police abuse" on the part of Judge Alexander, both from their husbands and from eye-witness observations.

"As police wives we have had enough," she said. "Our husbands, straight-jacketed by rules and regulations and almost total public apathy, are discouraged and angry."

Winning the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Alabama Federation of Republican Women approved two resolutions by unanimous vote at their third biennial convention at Huntsville, Ala., on October 21. These resolutions speak for themselves and are very forthright and to the point.

I think all Members should read these resolutions and give heed to their content.

The resolutions follow:

ALABAMA FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

RESOLUTION

Whereas, The United States is now engaged in the third largest war in its history as measured in terms of manpower and resources.

Whereas, We have been committed to this war for seventeen years, beginning with advisors in 1950 and building up to over 500,000 combat troops today.

Whereas, The casualties now exceed 100,000 men.

Whereas, the cost of this war is 25 to 30 billion dollars a year.

Whereas, With the no win policy of the present Administration this war is being used as the excuse for more and more controls over the lives of the American people, as higher taxes, wage and price controls, and rationing.

Whereas, The present Administration is encouraging and promoting trade with, and aid to, the very nations supplying the materials of war to our Communist enemies in Vietnam.

Be it resolved. That Congress declare war on North Vietnam, that we stop trade and giving aid, directly or indirectly, to our Communist enemies, and that we take whatever military measures are required to achieve victory.

Be is resolved, That a copy be sent to each member of the Alabama Congressional delegation, a copy to Rep. Jack Edwards to be entered into the Congressional Record and a copy to board members to be submitted to the press.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, The high courts of this nation through usurpation of powers have tended to foster and encourage civil disobedience and widespread lawlessness.

Whereas, the attitudes and actions of said courts and government agents seek to intimidate local police forces and destroy public confidence.

Be it resolved, That the local police departments be unmolested by outside influences so that they may carry out their prescribed duties as delegated to them by the citizens.

Indianapolis Project Shows How To Eliminate Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, helping a low-income family get out of slums and into a home of its own is one of the most pressing domestic problems we have today. The following story from the November 13, 1967, Wall Street Journal shows how it is done in Indianapolis. The program has been highly successful and has attracted wide attention all over the country. The story follows:

INDIANAPOLIS NEGROES BUILD THEIR OWN HOMES WITH ASSEMBLY LINE—SWEAT EQUITY TAKES PLACE OF CASH DOWN PAYMENTS BY LOW-INCOME RESIDENTS

COLOR-CODED, PRE-CUT WOOD

(By Stanford Sesser)

INDIANAPOLIS—One way to conquer slums: Take up hammer and saw and do the job yourself.

Several hundred Negro families here have done just that. Their low incomes might have doomed them to lifelong slum existence. But with the aid of an ingenious system for group-building houses, they have transformed dozens of blocks of rotting wooden tenements and rubbish-strewn lots into neat rows of attractive frame and brick homes.

And they did it without a cent of Government subsidy (though one is being sought now).

The people involved don't claim that their effort is a panacea for the nation's slums. But in a struggle that often seems a series of inconclusive skirmishes, they have scored a triumph. Urban planners and politicians have been flocking here to see their work.

SURPRISES

The project consists of two groups of houses on opposite sides of town. It is run by Flanner House Homes, a private self-help organization formed in 1945. Most impressive to visitors here is the fact that 397 men, many of whom had never used a tool, built their own homes from scratch. But there have been these other surprises:

—The normally conservative Indianapolis business community rallied behind the project. Businessmen contributed much of a $200,000 revolving fund used to purchase construction materials, and the city's largest banks made most of the necessary mortgage loans.

—The creation of solid communities from slums produced a dramatic increase in political organization. The residents got 98% voter registration and formed neighborhood groups that persuaded city hall to provide an elementary school and a new swimming pool.

The transformed neighborhoods became attractive to private developers, who stepped in to put up houses on adjacent land. They found that a number of middle-income Negroes wanted to move to the area.

There still are crumbling slums around the two neighborhoods, but the ranch-type homes in the Flanner House projects look like those in a first-rate suburban housing development. Although some are 16 years old, none shows signs of deterioration, in contrast to the "instant slums" that critics contend urban renewal projects often produce.

The resident families had meager incomes, ranging from about $3,500 to $4,200, and most of them hadn't previously owned anything more expensive than a second-hand automobile. So what made the project possible?

ASPIRATIONS AND ENERGY

One answer comes from Cleo W. Blackburn, executive director of Flanner House and of its parent organization, the Board for Fundamental Education, a non-profit corporation that conducts a number of self-help programs. "They were people with aspirations who didn't want to live in public housing," he says.

Mr. Blackburn, a 59-year-old Negro who began drumming up support for a home-ownership program in the late 1940s, gives all the credit to the residents. Their fight to "upgrade themselves" was the key factor, he suggests.

"The simplest part of the whole process is building the house," Mr. Blackburn declares. But a tour of the Flanner House "factory" leaves the impression that a minor miracle of engineering has taken place. Some of the residents note that they "knew which side of the hammer is up, but that's about all." However, they began building homes without a day of instruction.

The key to the program is an elaborate assembly-line process developed with help from Purdue University. The men in families accepted by Flanner House must be able to work 20 hours a week at night, in addition to holding a regular job. Groups of at least 20 persons build the houses, each performing a specialized task on each home.

Completion of a house (there are four types) takes nine to 12 months. Most components are prefabricated at the factory on large frames. One, for instance, represents the side of house. Lumber is ordered pre-cut to specified dimensions and is color-coded, so that often there is no need to read blueprints.

Supervisors give instructions and handle technical details. The functions requiring highly developed skills—plumbing, heating and electrical wiring—are done by contractors hired for the job. Local construction unions have given their blessing to the Flanner House methods.

EVERYBODY WORKS

The women are active too. They get class instruction in how to reupholster furniture, and they organize discussion groups that later can make sure the new communities aren't being slighted by the city. This kind of concern is a prerequisite for getting into the Flanner House project.

What makes the whole thing possible financially is "sweat equity." Labor is a major factor in the cost of building a home. "There are families across the nation who have sufficient income to pay for a home mortgage," Mr. Blackburn notes, "but they don't have an income sufficient to save for the down payment."

At the Flanner House Homes there is no down payment. The 900 hours of labor contributed by each man make it unnecessary. A finished home is worth $14,000, but the owner needs a mortgage loan of only $9,500 to return construction costs to the revolving fund.

The residents get mortgage loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration. Payments, including the mortgage, taxes and insurance, generally have been about $90 a month—less than most of the home owners previously paid in rent.

"The truth is that it was very good business for us," says William P. Flynn, retired chairman of the Indiana National Bank, which made many of the mortgage loans. "There wasn't any real risk about it. If we had to do it over again we'd grab it."

The residents say the sweat equity principle represented the only way out of the slums. "We couldn't have continued paying rent and at the same time saved up $2,000 for a down payment," says one home owner.

The Flanner House method produced another kind of saving. Because the homes are built in large groups, the project gets discounts of up to 40% on products ranging from lumber to appliances. Theodore H. Simpson, director of the housing program, says private industry is eager to make the mass sales. "Sometime you can't get into the office, there are so many salesmen," he says. "They're calling all day long."

Flanner House has run into one difficulty. The $90 a month mortgage payments were made possible by interest rates far below the current average of 6½%. The Flanner House program had to be suspended in late 1965 due to rising rates and scarcity of land.

Another large tract of land has been assembled this year, but home-building can't start again without a subsidy to offset high mortgage payments. This time, Mr. Blackburn is turning to the Government for help. He hopes the Model Cities program will provide funds.

Demand from Indianapolis Negroes to get into the project is rising steadily. "We could build as many self-help houses as we wanted to if we had the land," Mr. Blackburn says. Flanner House competes in the market for land; it must submit bids for areas cleared by the Indianapolis Redevelopment Commission.

Flanner House hasn't been able to make a large dent in the housing problems of the city's 110,000 Negroes. The slums of the Indiana capital are growing, like those of other cities. And urban renewal experts note that single-family homes on the Flanner House type couldn't be put in crowded cities like New York.

But planners nevertheless consider the Indianapolis project a heartening initiative. "Here is a place where the public and private sectors can join hands," says Mr. Blackburn. A home ownership bill recently passed by the Senate housing subcommittee could spawn other similar projects. It would provide Federal funds to lower interest payments on mortgages.

"What we're involved in is an effort to get people to uplift their aspirations," Mr. Blackburn says. It seems to work; he notes that many of the families have doubled their incomes since moving into the new homes. Many have added rooms, garages and air conditioning units.

"These people are interested in their property values," says one home owner, and he suggests a reason why: "I know something has to be done about the slums, but things can be given on too much of a silver platter. We've had to work for everything we had."

Aw, Come on, Secretary Boyd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, "Death on the road is largely the result of human error now." With this simple sentence the Canton Repository brings into focus and back down to earth all of the talk about unsafe automobiles. I extend my remarks with the Repository editorial:

AW, COME ON, SECRETARY BOYD

Alan S. Boyd, U.S. secretary of transportation, strikes us as a no-nonsense guy with a firm grip on the realities of his job.

But when he says new tire standards issued by the all-seeing federal government are going to be a vital factor in highway safety, we wonder who is writing his official pronouncements.

The day is coming, he is reported as saying in Washington, when "injury and death on the road will largely be the result of human error and not of design and equipment deficiencies."

Death on the road is largely the result of human error now.

Millions of us have been driving autos all our lives without a design or equipment deficiency coming to our attention. Our tire troubles have been so rare we scarcely think of tire trouble as a thing to worry about. Our autos have worked perfectly year in and year out.

What we have worried about, with good cause, are chronic drunks, damfool speeders, dozing truck drivers and Sunday motorists.

We have worried about chronic smashup-causers, fools with no judgment and a special kind of nut that comes loose on superhighways—the self-destructionist hell-bent on destroying himself and taking someone with him.

We have wished and wished again that the element of human error had been expunged from highway records as completely as design and equipment deficiencies.

Doesn't Secretary of Transportation Boyd feel the same way—and if he doesn't what makes him different from millions of the rest of us?

My God, How Can It Be

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item from the San Diego, Calif., Dispatch of October 27, 1967:

OCTOBER 27, 1967: NAVY DAY

My God, how can it be.

That one boy lies rotting from malnutrition and torture in a jungle prison camp in North Vietnam; and another boy spits and tramples on the flag of this country on the steps of a university of learning.

That one boy lies sightless in a U.S. Naval Hospital from communist inflicted face wounds, and another boy uses a communist flag to drape himself in defiance of the laws of this country.

That one man of medicine begins his thirtieth straight hour standing over an operating table in pursuit of life for men serving this country; and another man of medicine implores crowds of young men to refuse to serve their country.

That one negro holds the face of his dead white comrade in his arms and cries pitifully in a dirty mud hole in Vietnam; and another negro screams with hate against his white brother on the streets of countless American cities.

That one boy lies in a coffin beneath the ground because he believed in duty to country; and another boy lies on a dingy cot giving blood to the enemies of his country.

That one man of God shields a wounded boy from an enemy bayonet with his body and dies; and another man of God uses his cloth as a shield to preach hate, dissension and lawlessness.

My God, how can it be?

—JOSEPH R. HOLMES.

Upward Bound Experiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Upward Bound program has been an enormous success in the St. Louis area and has won repeated praise in responsible segments of the press. An article by Al Delugach concerning the excellent Upward Bound project at Washington University appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on November 5.

In order that my distinguished colleagues may learn more about this exciting and successful antipoverty program, I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

UPWARD BOUND EXPERIMENT: A LOOK AT A PROGRAM DESIGNED TO INSPIRE YOUTHS TO CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION

(By Al Delugach)

"Upward Bound" is a happy phrase. And it seems to set just the right tone of optimism for some 75 high school juniors and seniors taking part in an experiment at Washington University.

Right now, they are attending their regular high schools on weekdays and going to the university for special instruction and activities three Saturdays a month.

But for seven weeks last summer the participants (35 boys and 40 girls) lived right on campus in an atmosphere as remote from their customary environment as the surface of the moon.

"I have the impression since they returned that they feel their grades in high school are going to improve," commented John A. Whitfield, director of the Upward Bound program at Washington University.

If so, it will doubtlessly be because of attitudes and motivation that were not present before the financial-handicapped youths were exposed to their novel experiences of the last few months.

For these boys and girls were selected for the program because they were not performing in school at a level anywhere near their potential. Under-achievers is the common description.

A detailed evaluation of the summer phase gives indications of progress toward the goal of preparing and inspiring the youths to continue education beyond the high school level.

Questionnaire responses by the students, the teaching staff and the tutor-counselors also point the way toward strengthening the program in the future.

Funded for a year by a $101,981 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (the federal poverty war agency) and $11,331 from the university, the project began last June. (One has been established longer at Webster Groves College).

LIVED ON CAMPUS

From June 25 through Aug. 11, the youths, selected from around the metropolitan area, lived in residence halls at Washington University. Mornings they attended classes in social science, English, mathematics and business orientation. Afternoons were devoted to recreational and cultural activities of wide variety.

Tutor-counselors, called the backbone of the program by associate director Mrs. Gloria White, were available to the students on a 24-hour basis.

"They are very close to the students," Mrs. White said. "They are crazy about them and the kids know it."

The tutors, young men and women college students, are modestly paid—and for but a part of the time they put in. Two are seminarians, Mrs. White said, and "they even use their own dimes to call the kids."

Since Sept. 16 the Upward Bound students have been engaged in a follow-up phase of the summer phase. (74 of the 75 returned).

Individual tutoring and counseling is a key part of this phase, Mr. Whitfield said. Academic areas of concentration will be on such basics as math and verbal skills.

In order to help orient the youths to possible vocations, the group will be taken on visits to industries. The students will also be assisted in preparing for college entrance examinations (there are 28 seniors in the group, the rest are juniors).

One young man due to graduate high school in January is going into the work-study career scholarship program at Washington U., Mr. Whitfield reported.

However, the Upward Bound leaders recognize that not all their charges want to go to college.

"That is why we are touring industries," Mrs. White said, "to give them some ideas on what vocation they want to follow. Some have unrealistic occupational aims, because they don't know what it takes (for a particular job or profession)."

OUT OF SHELLS

For example, one said he wanted to be a nuclear physicist. Examination showed he got the notion from a tv program and he had no idea of what a nuclear physicist does.

Outside cultural activities will be continued during the school year, too. On their first day back, the students were taken to East St. Louis for a performance of the nationally known Murray Louis dance company.

It was during the summer that the boys and girls had the concentrated exposure to an environment that cannot but change their lives.

Perhaps the most dramatic development during the seven-week residence phase was the emergence of many of the students from the shells they had built around themselves.

"The kids are listening," commented Mrs. White. "They are saying that maybe somebody has something worth listening to."

A formal evaluation of the summer-in-residence phase, based in large part on questionnaires submitted to students, teachers and residence hall staff, sheds some light on the attitudes of the boys and girls selected from 15 high schools for the experience. (Of the 75, all but 15 are Negroes).

"They became more confident in what they wanted to say or ideas they wanted to express," commented one tutor-counselor, who added with a frankness that was noticeable in the responses, "In some classes the teachers let them become too friendly and too expressive."

Another residence hall staff member observed:

". . . Most attitudinal changes were positive, and any others were normal reactions to authority . . ."

STUDENT COMMENTS

One tutor-counselor's observation reflected another side to the effects on the students: "They picked up the college dress, speech and manners and were disturbed to find it hard to re-enter their own environment."

Here is a sampling of the student comments at the summer's end:

"I can truthfully say that I had a good time this summer, and I can say that I have learned a great deal from my studies and much about people. I never really let myself be seen as much and never saw so much out of other people."

"This program gave me a chance to more or less 'grow up.' I had more responsibilities and I had to manage my own money."

Not surprisingly, considering the program had sought out students with motivation that did not match ability, the Upward Bound teachers were not without problems.

After four weeks the program structure was alerted because of "a general lethargy and lack of interest among the students."

TEACHER COMMENTS

Instead of daily 50-minute classes in business orientation, English, math and social science, students had 90-minute sessions in two subjects twice a week and the other two subjects on alternate days. Fridays were optional and students could attend seminar or classes of their choice. Instead of 8 a.m., daily academic work began at 9 p.m. Afternoons, as before, were spent in organized recreation activities, including sports.

Student responses to objective-type questionnaires showed a majority favored the revised plan.

Teacher comments showed a division of opinion on long versus classes, as well as on student attitudes toward the teachers' own area of study.

"As in all things," one teacher said, "some students were indifferent, some positive and others negative . . ."

Another teacher said "a good many" students were inattentive in class and did not prepare assignments. When questioned, the teacher said, the students "claimed their attitude would have improved if they were forced to be involved."

"Attitudes varied in a range from complete apathy to enthusiastis reception," reported one teacher. "Most students appeared, however, to be intrigued by much of the Social Science material and willing to expend effort toward understanding and often mastering the ideas introduced."

Data from the survey showed more students preferred Social Science to any other subject offered. The reason for its popularity may be found in its challenging format as a "game."

URGED TO THINK

Each student was given a role as a citizen of Midcity, a hypothetical community facing problems of overpopulated slums. The students formed various interest groups—such as business, labor, religious and civil rights—and took part in practical politics on the city council level.

As a follow-up to the summer program, Mrs. White said, Upward Bound personnel have visited the students' high schools and talked to the principals about the project's aims toward supplementing their regular studies.

The Upward Bound students have an IQ range of 98 to 159, Mrs. White said, and some had been actually working in the gifted program "but not at the gifted level." She expressed hope that their motivation and determination have been stimulated, adding: "Whether the program is a success will be determined when these kids becoming contributing members of the community."

Homecoming at Iowa Wesleyan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the weekend of October 27 and 28 as homecoming at Iowa Wesleyan College in Mount Pleasant.

The activities were varied and stimulating. Gen. Lucius Clay was a convocation speaker. A new hall, the George B. McKibbin Hall, was officially named. Awards were made to community leaders.

As usual "Pat" Patterson of the Mount Pleasant News wrote an excellent column on the activities. The column follows:

HOMECOMING AT IOWA WESLEYAN

Those responsible for putting together a highly concentrated and exceptionally fine, program at Iowa Wesleyan the past week-end deserve medals. This was a four-threat presentation (one more than the best of the football players.)

This was Homecoming with all its activities. This was the time for naming of the George B. McKibbin hall. This was the third major event as planned in the 125th anniversary observance of the founding of Iowa Wesleyan. The observance of the 450th anniversary of the Reformation was the fourth major segment of the busy week-end.

When you have a General Lucious Clay in your community, when you have other distinguished visitors who came to participate and when you have the many alumni and other friends of the college return, you have brought into Mt. Pleasant a large group of persons who have come because the college is here. This community was honored and should be appreciative as I believe it is.

A surprise announcement at the Associates Dinner met with acclaim, particularly for those of us who personally know the recipients of the James Harlan award. Those receiving the honor, William O. Sater and W. Ralph Taylor, had been persuaded to come to the dinner without knowledge of why. President Franklin H. Littell in presenting the awards said:

"The James A. Harlan Award is given in recognition of high achievement and service in the tradition of James A. Harland—American, outstanding citizen, leader, statesman and president of Iowa Wesleyan College during days of trial and decision."

Sater's service to Mt. Pleasant includes 13 years as president of the Midwest Old Threshers Reunion, called by some one of the top 20 tourist attractions in America.

After organizing a local Blacksmith's Association, Sater went on to become president of the State Association. He had been a member of the Volunteer Fire Department for 25 years and currently serves as assistant fire chief. Sater is also a member of the board of the Southeast Iowa Antique Car Club and a member of the Mt. Pleasant Rotary Club.

A member of the Session of the First Presbyterian Church, Sater serves as a member of the building committee of that church.

Rotary Club has kept Taylor busy since coming to the Mt. Pleasant community in August, 1951. He became president of the Mt. Pleasant Rotary Club in 1954 and has continued to be active in the local club and Rotary International.

In 1959, Taylor became Rotary International District 600 Governor. The following year, he was chosen to become a Rotary International Counselor for five districts. He has also headed the District 600 committee for Rotary Student Exchange.

Taylor is past president of the Community Chest for the local area, past president of the Mt. Pleasant Chamber of Commerce and past president of the Henry County Industrial Development Board of Directors. He is presently a ruling elder of the First Presbyterian Church of Mt. Pleasant and is chairman of the building committee.

A 1936 graduate of the University of Illinois, Taylor has kept an active interest in education. The Taylors have been hosts to foreign exchange student Elsa Parviainen from Finland and are now hosting exchange student Jill Abbott from Australia. The Taylor's daughter Barbara spent a year in school in New Zealand as an exchange student from Mt. Pleasant.

Rhodesian Independence Day, November 11, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, November 11, the Rhodesians celebrated their second year of independence from British rule.

They were besieged with congratulations from friends, patriots, and well-wishers, but notably absent and silent was the diplomatic corps from our State Department.

What could the State Department have feared? U.N. censure?

Only 4 days earlier Dean Rusk and other top figures had toasted with vodka the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution at the Soviet Embassy here in Washington, D.C.

Or perhaps the discrimination in protocol was over the difference in the two revolutions—Rhodesia's independence was obtained without loss of blood.

The State Times, of Baton Rouge, La., for November 9, carried an editorial recognizing the Rhodesian anniversary.

And already the British have resumed trade with Rhodesia.

I insert the State Times editorial and the Rhodesian Ministry of Information release of September 28 following my comments:

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State-Times, Nov. 9, 1967]

RHODESIA'S SECOND ANNIVERSARY

Come Nov. 11 and Rhodesia will observe the second anniversary of its withdrawal from colonial ties with Great Britain via a declaration of independence.

Rhodesia looks very little the worse for wear after two years of going its own way. It has been hurt less than expected when economic sanctions were slapped on by the Labor government.

Portugal and South Africa aren't even paying lip service to the sanctions. The hot air in the United Nations on the subject has proven to be just that—hot air.

The United States has played wagon dog for the government of Great Britain, trotting along amiably on the path of economic reprisal against a little country that has dared to do what 13 North American colonies did, and with hardly more cause, not quite 200 years ago.

Ian Smith, Rhodesian prime minister, has said that his country would be stark mad to accept any settlement with Great Britain that would alter the political course on which Rhodesia has launched itself. Still, some talks are slated this month with the British commonwealth secretary, George Thompson.

Eventually, Great Britain will compromise its boycott of Rhodesian trade.

It might as well get on with it.

Ian Smith is no more going to accept an unsatisfactory deal than would have Sam Adams, the great Virginian named Washington, or Dr. Ben Franklin.

British Trade With Rhodesia

The Minister of Finance, Mr. J. J. Wrathall, commented today on Mr. George Thomson's reported denial that the British Board of Trade were conniving with traders in the United Kingdom to breach sanctions against Rhodesia.

Mr. Wrathall said: "The figures which I revealed last week-end were perfectly correct. During the period January to July 1967, the value of imports into Rhodesia of goods manufactured in Britain was £5,871,000. Broken down under the Standards International Trade Classification the details are as follows:

[Amounts in pounds sterling]

Food	69,000
Beverages and tobacco	64,000
Crude materials	34,000
Mineral fuels and lubricants	18,000
Animal and vegetable oils and fats	2,000
Chemicals	481,000
Manufactured goods classified by material	1,065,000
Machinery and transport equipment	3,430,000
Miscellaneous manufactured goods	681,000
Total	5,871,000

"Some of the major items were internal combustion engines and parts, motor vehicles and parts, industrial machinery, tractors and parts, electric power machinery, yarns and fabrics, paper and paper products."

Mr. Wrathall added: "One can only conclude from Mr. Thomson's statement either that the British Government are adjusting their figures to bamboozle their Afro-Asian friends or that they do not know what is going on in their own backyard."

Negro Psychologist Discusses Black Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I think the remarks made recently by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark and reported in the New York Times on November 5 deserve the thoughtful consideration of every citizen:

Negroes Warned on Black Power—Dr. Clark Calls It Shoddy Moral Product for Race

Atlanta, November 4.—Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the Negro psychologist, has denounced black power as a "shoddy moral product disguised in the gaudy package of racial militance" but grounded in a genuine Negro fear of the removal of racial barriers.

In a long analysis of the movement at the annual dinner of the Southern Regional Council this week, Dr. Clark called on thoughtful Negroes to refuse to be "cowed into silence by unrealistic Negro racists." He warned that they could become accessories in leading the nation back to the racial separatism and white advantage of the post-Reconstruction years.

The cry of black power represents a bitter retreat from racial integration and is today's equivalent of Booker T. Washington's willingness to accommodate to white racism, he said.

Dr. Clark, who is president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York, laid principal emphasis on the need for Negro intellectuals to "Choose sides," to reject the idea that the enemy may be understood in terms of color, and to take aim at "human irrationality, ignorance, superstition, rigidity and arbitrary cruelty."

"NAME-CALLING" CITED

Whites and Negroes together, he said, must combat "the name-calling verbal racial militants" by effectively dealing with problems of bad schools, poor housing, unemployment, filth and drabness in the ghettos and "the adversary relationship between police and the residents of the ghettos."

Negroes have always faced a basic dilemma over whether to persist in seeking their rights as human beings or to accommodate to resistance and withdraw from the struggle, Dr. Clark said, adding:

"The walls of segregation are not only humiliating—but given this type of chronic humiliation there develops self-doubt, subtle and flagrant forms of self-hatred, personal and group frustrations, internalized hostility, aggressions, self-denial or bombast."

Under these conditions the walls of segregation become pathetically protective. Within them the subjugated individuals need not meet the tests of free and open competition—need not expose vulnerable egos to single standards of competence. The demand for racial justice on the part of American Negroes is balanced by an almost equal psychological reality of the fear of the removal of racial barriers.

WITHIN CONTEXT

It is within that context, he said, that recent developments in race relations must be seen.

"In many ways the problems of race relations in America today are similar to those of the post-Reconstruction period of the late 19th century, which continued and intensified through World War I," he said. "This period culminated in the institutionalization of rigid forms of racism. This retrogression in racial democracy in America was imposed by white segregationists with the apathy, indifference or quiet acceptance of white liberals and moderates as necessary accessories."

Dr. Clark said he saw a "stark and frightening" parallel between that time and the present. Whereas moderate whites in the post-Reconstruction era were bullied by white extremists, he said, the thoughtful Negro today may be covered by Negro racists into becoming "an active partner in fastening the yolk of impossible racial separatism more tightly around the neck of America."

That would give black racists what generations of Negroes have fought to prevent at the hands of white racists, he said "and we through our silence would make this possible."

Antipoverty Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, many citizens of my congressional district have expressed concern and dismay at the way in which the antipoverty legislation is being handled in this Congress.

OEO-initiated programs in my area have begun to inspire some hope in the hopeless and despairing life of the urban poor. Moreover, these programs have involved private enterprise, community leaders, Government, and individuals working together in a partnership. Through this new partnership the target area residents are developing new leadership by active participation in the democratic process. The concept of community action has brought about leadership on the part of many low-income persons and has been a stimulus toward self-help.

As I have said before, Mr. Speaker, I conceive it as our duty to profit by our past mistakes, to strengthen the antipoverty program where it is weak; to refine the mechanism we have devised, not throw it away; and above all, to rise above the temptations of partisanship and continue to attack the desperate problems of the slums.

I recently received, Mr. Speaker, a letter from Mr. Albert Fenster, president of Albany County Opportunity, Inc., who, I believe, sets forth very succinctly the concern voiced by many people in my district. He makes an impressively detailed case, Mr. Speaker. He points out what a mockery the war on poverty will appear to the children in the Headstart program in Albany and their parents "if we are forced to tell them that class is, once and for all, dismissed." He urges Members of Congress to "press for an increase in funds," rather than cut the program back, which, he feels, would result in a disaster to economically and culturally deprived families in the Albany area.

Because Mr. Fenster's letter raises issues that are so critical nationally, I am inserting it in the Record at this point and commend it to the close attention of all Members of this House:

Albany County Opportunity, Inc.,
Albany, N.Y., November 6, 1967.

Hon. Daniel E. Button,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Button: We of Albany County Opportunity, Inc., a private, nonprofit corporation designated by the Office of Economic Opportunity as the Community Action Agency for Albany County, wish to express our dismay at the present status of anti-poverty legislation in the Congress and to indicate to you, our Congressman, what we, as a Community Action Agency, feel ought to be done.

Most immediately disturbing, of course, is the failure since October 23rd of the House and Senate to agree at least on a new continuing appropriation for OEO. The continuing appropriation approved by the Senate at last year's rate (1.6875 billion dollars) is meagre enough, considering the sum that would, in the noble words of the Economic Opportunity Act, be required "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity." The reduced rate of 1.2 billion dollars passed by the House, however, which would require cutbacks of nearly half a billion dollars, is disastrous. It is already threatening the very existence of our Headstart Program in Albany, which began in September and has been successfully serving 45 children from economically and culturally deprived families. We urge you to impress upon your colleagues what a mockery the "War on Poverty" will appear to these children and their parents if we are forced to tell them that class is, once and for all, dismissed.

Even more disturbing in the long run, however, are some of the amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee October 27th. The provision, for example, that Community Action Agencies must be public bodies or designated by public bodies (i.e., states, counties, cities, or combinations of them) threatens to destroy the authority of the Office of Economic Opportunity to bypass such public bodies when they are obviously antipathetic to the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act, in order to fund private, non-profit agencies instead. Unfortunately, it is not necessary to point to so extreme an example as Philadelphia, Mississippi, to illustrate what the consequences of this provision might be. We urge, therefore, that when the Education and Labor Committee's legislation comes before the House, it be amended so as to restore to OEO the authority to bypass public bodies when necessary and fund private, non-profit agencies whose first concern will be with poverty rather than political patronage.

The provision limiting "community action boards" to 51 members, ⅓ of whom must be public officials including chief elected officials or their representatives, is contrary to the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act, which defines the term "community action program" as a program "which is developed, conducted, and administered with the *maximum* feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served." It is also contrary to CAP Memorandum No. 57, which reaffirms the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act and specifically provides that "any representative group of the poor, such as minority racial or ethnic groups, the elderly, rural and migrant families, etc., which may feel itself inadequately represented on the CAA's governing body" may "petition for such representation." The provision, moreover, that where a CAA places policy determinations for a subsidiary program with another agency, such an agency must have a governing body similar to that required for CAAs, also subverts the principle of "maximum feasible participation." Neighborhood Centers, for example, might under this provision be required to take on entirely different (and probably more politically subservient) character.

Other objectionable features of the Committee's legislation are: 1) the requirement of a 20% non-Federal share, 10% of which must be in cash (we support the Senate's provision for a 10% non-Federal share, with no specific cash requirement); 2) the deletion of the Senate's provision indicating that CAAs will be the sponsors of community manpower programs; 3) the failure to provide for additional funds to make proposed new programs in Follow Through, Day Care, Family Planning, Senior Citizen Opportunities and Services, Small Business Assistance, and Emergency Food and Medical Services meaningful; and 4) the deletion of the Special Impact Program. We urge you to vote, and to encourage your colleagues to vote, against each of these objectionable features.

The deletion of the Special Impact Program, which (particularly if coordinated with programs for urban renewal or rehabilitation) combines the advantages of Operation Mainstream and New Careers, the manpower programs under Title II, Section 205 (d) and (e), is especially discouraging. Operation Mainstream, which has been carried out with great success in Cohoes, and the New Careers Program, which Albany County Opportunity, Inc. is presently seeking to develop, are unusually forward-looking programs in that they create jobs instead of merely training people for jobs that may or may not materialize. Both programs are natural sequels to the Neighborhood Youth Corps; and New Careers is a natural sequel in particular to the Out-of-School Neighborhood Youth Corps. New Careers offers school drop-outs, who constitute what is probably the most frustrated and therefore most potentially explosive segment of our society, 1) the immediate motivation of a job with a salary; and 2) through a structured channel of promotion in the most rapidly expanding sector of the economy (i.e., services) a long-range motive to seek whatever additional training and education may be required to move up the promotional ladder. We urge you most emphatically, therefore, to press for an increase in funds for the New Careers Program, and enclose for your information a copy of Frank Riessman's pamphlet, which is an extraordinarily succinct and convincing exposition of the concept.

Respectfully yours,

ALBERT FENSTER,
President.

New Department of Journalism at East Tennessee State University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, a long-sought dream will become a reality in the very near future when East Tennessee State University at Johnson City launches its new department of journalism.

Realizing the ever-growing demand for competent reporters and editors, ETSU has taken steps to create a major-minor program for aspiring journalists. The university has been encouraged and aided toward this goal by many of the finest daily newspapers in the area, and particularly by the Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

My good friend, Mr. Tom Hodge, managing editor of the Press-Chronicle, has written an article on the proposed new department for the current issue of the Tennessee Press, the official publication of the Tennessee Press Association. Mr. Hodge, who before assuming the post of managing editor did a magnificent job of covering the Tennessee General Assembly while I was a member of that body, has worked extremely hard to get this program started, as have many of his fellow newsmen throughout east Tennessee, and it is my pleasure to insert his very fine article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

My congratulations to East Tennessee State University, to Mr. Hodge, and to all who have had a part in the realization of this goal.

ETSU PLANNING JOURNALISM MAJOR

(By Tom Hodge)

To meet the growing need for journalists, East Tennessee State University has moved to inaugurate a Department of Journalism.

With the encouragement of such Upper East Tennessee daily newspapers as the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, Greenville Sun, Kingsport Times-News, and Bristol Herald Courier, the university has taken steps to create a major-minor program in journalism.

Max Marshall will be chairman of the new academic area of journalism, President Burgin E. Dossett has announced. His duties will be to direct the new program and to coordinate public relations at the University in Johnson City.

Marshall's actual work will be delayed until he completes his study leading to a doctorate in journalism at the University of Missouri. However, prior to his arrival next year, a program of study equal to a minor in journalism will be set gradually in motion.

He received his B.S. degree at West Point in 1944, his M. A. degree in journalism at Missouri in 1953. For 12 years, Marshall was in various phases of public relations as an officer of the U.S. Army.

ETSU has offered a few courses in basic newswriting for several years in the English Department. John Pitman, who will be a member of the new Department of Journalism, taught these courses.

And several of his students turned to newspapering with outstanding results at such Tennessee Press Association member papers as the Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

With assurances from area newspapers that there is a great need for more graduates trained in journalism, the university, under the auspices of President Dossett and Dean Mack P. Davis, began its study more than a year ago into what new programs it could offer.

With this start, tentative catalog recommendations for 1968–69 now call for 51 hours for majors and 36 hours for minors.

Required courses will be history and principles of journalism, evaluation and gathering of news, newswriting, reporting, copy editing, newspaper organization and management, advertising principles and practices, advance reporting and copy editing, and a study of the community newspaper, its role and responsibility.

Elective courses will include feature and editorial writing, advertising salesmanship, press photography, reporting of public affairs, the literature of journalism, high school journalism, radio and television news, public relations, public opinion, publicity media and methods.

Marshall and Pitman say they plan a laboratory, fully equipped with typewriters, copy desk, teletype machine, etc., for the practical end of the program.

Plans now call for production of a newspaper by the journalism students, separate and apart from the ETSU Collegian, present student newspaper.

The course offerings are patterned after those constituting the news-editorial sequence offered at the University of Missouri, Marshall says. These courses are designed with eventual accreditation in mind.

The department will also offer a sequence of three public relations courses for students from other departments who desire to familiarize themselves with the public relations aspects of the fields they desire to enter.

A course in high school journalism will be offered for future high school teachers who may be assigned part-time responsibilities with student publications.

Pitman, who has been on the ETSU faculty for more than 10 years, has a background in the profession, too. He received his journalism degree in 1939 from Washington State. He added a master's degree in English at the University of Florida in 1950.

Pitman has worked as a reporter for the Santa Barbara (Calif.) News-Press and the Carpenteria (Calif.) Chronicle. He also served as program director for the Santa Monica Broadcasting Co.

He was in public information with the Air Force from 1942 to 1948. He was director of public relations for Henderson State College, Arkadelphia, Ark., 1950–51, and ETSU director of public relations, 1957–58.

In addition to his duties on the faculty of ETSU, Pitman presently serves as a night copy editor for the Johnson City Press-Chronicle.

The 1967 Four Freedoms Foundation Award to the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished and prestigious Four Freedoms Award was conferred upon a great American and my good friend, the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, in a most impressive ceremony in New York City last Wednesday, November 8. In making the presentation, the Honorable Ferdinand Pecora, president of the Four Freedoms Foundation and program chairman, stated:

> The annual Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Award this year is being conferred upon the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, distinguished citizen of the world. His devotion to the cause of peace and the finest aspirations of mankind make him a most appropriate recipient of this award. Statesman, cabinet minister, learned professional advocate and eloquent spokesman for our nation in the United Nations, Ambassador Goldberg is representative of all that is best in American life.

Of special significance, Mr. Speaker, were the deeply moving remarks of that esteemed and dedicated public servant, Ambassador Harriman, whose speech I commend to the attention of my colleagues, for it sums up so ably the achievements and ideals of Ambassador Goldberg:

Address by Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador at Large, at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Award Dinner Honoring Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, November 8, 1967

We have gathered here tonight to pay our respects to a friend, a colleague, a leader in the great cause of freedom, not only to honor him and applaud him for his outstanding achievements, but to express our complete confidence in greater things to come. He is a living and vital force in our nation and international life.

Few men have contributed more to the achievement of President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms at home and in the world. His vigorous championship of the first Freedom—Freedom of Speech and Expression—comes from the depth of his convictions that it is the foundation on which other Freedoms rest. By his acts and his statements, he has rallied to its defense against all who would weaken it. I believe his words will be permanently recorded as an expression of American life and ideals.

Nothing could be more vivid than his amplification of Jefferson's famous statement, when he said, "We cannot have free government without a free press, and we cannot have a free press without a free government." And then he pointed out that a free press must be a responsible press, but the "prime responsibility" for assuring that this is so "rests not with the government, as it does in many parts of the world, but with the press itself."

In a striking Supreme Court opinion, Justice Goldberg went further than the Court majority in arguing that under the First Amendment, citizens and newspapers "may not be barred from speaking or publishing because those in control of the Government think that what is said or written is unwise, unfair, false or malicious."

Furthermore, he insists that "real devotion to liberty of expression requires also the willingness to listen and to have open and not closed ears." To me this expresses one of his great strengths. Over the years that I have known him I have at times turned to him for advice, and I have always found that he understood the other fellow's point of view. This quality of mind has made him a successful negotiator in all types of disputes. Now it is a quality that has made him a superlative U.S. representative in the United Nations.

At the White House, announcing to the press his decision to accept the U.N. post, he said, "It now comes that the President has asked me to join in the greatest adventure of man's history—the effort to bring the rule of law to govern the relations between sovereign states." Later on, he explained that he had "an obsession" for peace. But he has pointed out, "The peace I talk about is not the peace of the grave; it is a peace in freedom . . . a world where conditions of peace exist in free institutions."

At home he has fought for freedom from want throughout his life. He is a seasoned campaigner in the furtherance of what was to become under President Johnson the "War on Poverty." Perhaps one of his happiest moments was late one night, when as Secretary of Labor he reported to the President that Congress had raised the minimum wage to $1.25 and expanded its protection to millions of additional workers.

Truly, Arthur Goldberg has lighted the path by which millions of his fellow Americans have found the way out of the dark and ugly corners of our economy.

In speaking of American responsibility to the developing nations, he has stated that though we proclaim that *all* men are created equal, we are not faithful to this commitment "when we show concern for human rights at home and yet appear indifferent to the same rights abroad." Again, he declared to the U.A.W., "We cannot long survive—and are not worthy to survive—as an island of affluence and smug contentment, surrounded by rising currents of hunger, disease and privation." On another occasion, he quoted from President Johnson's speech at the United Nations ceremonies in San Francisco, in which the President spoke of the need for "the promotion of better standards of life and larger freedoms for all of the human race" and "a whole generation of mankind for whom our promises must be kept." Arthur Goldberg summed it up in his own words by saying, "The Great Society cannot be guaranteed in this land unless it comes about in all lands."

And so we honor this evening one of that gallant group of Americans of whom it can be truly said that there runs through their careers a deep commitment to further the cause of freedom "everywhere in the world."

Mr. Speaker, the program pamphlet carried the following background explanation of the Four Freedoms Award:

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

The Four Freedoms were enunciated for the first time by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in an address to Congress, January 6th, 1941 when he stated:

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms."

"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world."

"The second freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world."

"The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peaceful life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world."

"The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of aggression against any neighbor—everywhere in the world."

The Four Freedoms Foundations, Inc., a non-political, tax-exempt membership corporation, was organized in 1951 under the laws of the State of New York to implement the principles of the Four Freedoms throughout the world. The activities of the Foundation include distribution of literature through the schools, essay contests and other similar projects.

An award is given annually by the Foundation in recognition of distinguished service in the cause of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, previous recipients of the award are Hon. Alben W. Barkley, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Hon. Ralph Bunche, Gen. George C. Marshall, Hon. Harry S. Truman, Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Hon. Carlos P. Romulo, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, George Meany, Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, Hon. John F. Kennedy, and Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

Japanese-American Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in September of this year, I had the pleasure of participating in the Japanese-American Assembly, at Shimoda, Japan.

This conference, sponsored by the American Assembly of Columbia University and the Japan Council for International Understanding, was attended by many able and eminent men, including Representatives Brademas, O'Hara of Michigan, Rumsfeld, and Wyatt, Senators Mansfield and Muskie, business leaders, Government officials, and professors. The meetings were most worthwhile, and were provocative of many excellent ideas. For this the sponsors and participants of the meeting are to be commended.

These meetings not only generated improved understandings of the Japanese and American concerns and cultures, but they also produced several insightful news articles. One of the most interesting of these articles was done by Mr. William E. Giles for the National Oserver.

Mr. Giles recounts the events of the conference and offers a view on the difficulties Americans and Japanese experience in communicating.

On the nature of Japanese-American relations, he observes:

> Part of the problem is that most Americans don't really think much about Japan, except perhaps in terms of Hondas, Nikons, sukiyaki, and shoji. And as Mr. Passin (Professor Herbert Passin of Columbia University and an expert on Japan) says, "Americans are in general less attentive to Japan, but they are more tolerant. Japanese are more attentive . . . too much so, I would say — but less tolerant."

Mr. Giles offers several points worthy of the attention of our colleagues. They are particularly noteworthy now, as Japan's Prime Minister Eisaku Sato confers here with U.S. officials, and I would like therefore, Mr. Speaker, to insert his article in the Record at this point:

The Japanese, Like Hamlet, Have a Hang-Up—To Be a Far East Power or Not To Be—That's a Question for United States, Too

Shimoda, Japan.—The talk around the table was about a possible military role for Japan, particularly if the United States ever pulled back from the Far East. A Japanese participant suddenly stopped talking in mid-sentence. There was an awkward pause. "I do not know if I should say this here," he said hesitantly. "But as one who was in Hiroshima and survived, I feel I cannot talk about this."

In the brief silence that followed, Americans and Japanese around the conference table thought their own thoughts. But that fleeting bit of personal candor was memorable because it was rare. Although relations between Japan and the United States generally have been close and cordial for nearly two decades, Americans and Japanese still find it difficult to be candid with each other.

The reason is not hard to fathom. An American extolling the charms of Japan to some Japanese companions noted it was his first visit and blandly added, "I had been slated to come 22 years ago but I'm glad I didn't make it then." Another, strolling along the sea wall of this ruggedly beautiful coastal resort, remarked on the formidable mountainous terrain and wondered aloud where he would be if there had been no Hiroshima and a U.S. invasion had become necessary.

Remembrance of things past, things that are mostly personal and kept private.

Herbert Passin, a professor of sociology at Columbia University and an authority on Japan, makes a good point. Sketching the dramatic changes since World War II, he recalls that Japan was a dangerous enemy in 1945 and China a friend to be protected. "It is good to remember the past," he says, "but not to let it hang us up."

The trouble is we are hung up, the Japanese as well as the Americans. And that was one reason for holding a Japanese-American Assembly here at Shimoda.

For four days the Japanese and Americans tilted at issues that mean much to both countries—the Vietnam War, U.S. occupation of Okinawa, Red China's nuclear threat, U.S.-Japanese trade relations. But the delegates mostly talked *at* one another. Instead of conversations, they were lengthy monologs.

A pity—because the fortunes of both countries sorely require something more.

Part of the problem is that most Americans don't really think much about Japan, except perhaps in terms of Hondas, Nikons, *sukiyaki*, and *shoji*. And as Mr. Passin says, "Americans are in general less attentive to Japan, but they are more tolerant. Japanese are more attentive—too much so, I would say—but less tolerant."

The conference was sponsored jointly by the Japan Council for International Understanding and the American Assembly, a nonpartisan educational institution at Columbia University. Among the 70-odd participants were professors, politicians, businessmen, writers, and editors—Shintaro Fukushima, president of the Japan Times and the Kyodo Press; Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute; Ryuji Takeuchi, former ambassador to the United States; Newton Minow, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission; Sueyuki Wakasugi, vice president of Mitsui & Co., Ltd.; Edmund S. Muskie, Democratic Senator from Maine.

All the participants had achieved stature within their chosen fields. They were also middle-aged to elderly. Like the man at Hiroshima, they had lived through, and well-remembered, World War II. A Japanese political leader had been an administrator in conquered lands in China and Southeast Asia during the 1930s and 1940s. An American official had been a naval officer in the Pacific during the war. A Yank businessman with an attractive Japanese wife first learned to speak Japanese as an Army officer preparing for the invasion of Japan.

BACK AGAIN AS A POWER

Backdrop to the discussions here is the fact that Japan—energetic, imaginative, hustling Japan—is emerging again as one of the world's great powers. It now ranks third, behind the United States and Russia, in industrial output, and the only question about its continued economic growth is how much how fast. With such economic strength flows political power. But the Japanese, like Hamlet, have a hang-up. They cannot make up their minds whether to accept the burdens and responsibilities of leadership or continue to eschew them. And this rankles U.S. strategists who could use a stalwart ally in the Far East.

What rankles the Americans even more is the growing Japanese nationalism that seems to select U.S. policy in the Far East as its major target of criticism. The Japanese have an infuriating penchant for sideline criticism that became most obvous here during discussions on Vietnam.

Influential Japanese see a parallel between U.S. action in Vietnam and Japan's imperialistic actions in Asia during the 1930s and 1940s. They call it "over-involvement," and with the wisdom of their experience, they're convinced the United States is making a colossal mistake.

DOVES AND HAWKS TANGLE

The point made, the Japanese—out of courtesy or extreme delicacy of language—decline to say or do anything more, leaving the American doves and hawks at the conference to flail away at each other. (The doves, here at least, seem to have lost fewer feathers in the arguments than the hawks.) Pressed to tell what might be done in Vietnam, specifically how Japan might assist in ending the conflict, the Japanese would only agree that it was all very regrettable indeed.

Less regrettable, at least in the view of some Japanese businessmen, is the fact that the Vietnam War has been a stimulus to Japan's economy. It has been estimated that Japan's exports last year to the United States and other countries attributable to the war ran to more than $1 billion.

There was no such minueting by the Japanese for the return of the Bonin Islands and the Ryukyus, which includes the huge American base on Okinawa. Political pressure has been building up in Japan to get the islands back, and Japanese leaders are as sensitive about that issue as the Americans are about Vietnam.

In the postwar settlements, the United States retained administration of the islands. While there is some dispute over the military usefulness of the Bonins, there is no question that the Okinawa base is valuable, if not essential, to American forces now. In recent years, U.S. strategists have downgraded Japan as a springboard in any possible Far East emergency and concentrated on building up Okinawa. Today, the United States has something over $400,000,000 in facilities on Okinawa, and it is the keystone in the supply line for American forces in Vietnam.

Equally important Okinawa would continue to be a potent base in any long-term security arrangement in the Far East—for the defense of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, as well as Vietnam. Most knowledgeable Japanese are aware of this, but their overriding interest, nurtured by domestic political considerations, is to get the islands back.

MANSFIELD PROPOSAL WELCOMED

The official American response to the Japanese demands has been one of subdued inaction. When Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana proposed here that the Bonins could be returned fairly quickly and that a conference, including Russia and perhaps Red China, be called to settle the future of Okinawa and Soviet-held islands, the Japanese press played it very big. But to some Americans here, such a conference looked like a stacked deck with which the United States could only lose.

And again, the remembrances of things past: "We had 13,000 casualties taking Okinawa," one American remarked privately. "We paid for it. Now we have to pay a second time?"

Although Washington has not yet said what, if anything, it intends to do about Okinawa, the sentiment of most participants here was that the island should properly revert to Japan at some future time. The suggestion was that work should be started soon on setting up some sort of timetable for the return of the island.

Okinawa then, as a chunk of real estate, is a bit of unfinished but manageable business between Japan and the United States. The "Okinawan problem," however, is something else again and no doubt will continue to be a source of friction. It has to do with the long-term security of the Far East. The issue comes down to this: If the United States eventually pulls back, symbolized by by a withdrawal from Okinawa, will Japan shoulder some of the burdens of a regional defense?

Japan, at this point, shows no desire or intention of doing so. Under its constitution, formulated during the seven years of American occupation, Japan is barred from rearming. Its defense is guaranteed by the United States. In effect, the Japanese have the best possible defense available at practically no cost to themselves.

The United States, of course, has made a great many such commitments around the globe since the end of World War II—one of the reasons our annual defense expenditures are now running to $70 billion a year. The point was made here that some time, probably sooner than later, the American people are going to rebel against such mammoth outlays and compel Washington to reappraise all U.S. commitments abroad.

The Japanese don't really believe this will ever happen. They don't take it seriously, in any case, even though many American congressmen, businessmen, and editors tried to convince them that "neoisolationism" could become a potent force in America.

For all their worldliness, the Japanese tend to be very insular. In all the discussion about Red China's growing nuclear capacity, for instance, the Japanese talked only about its possible consequences for Japan. Looking to history, they argue that China has seldom posed a military threat to Japan. And the "threat" today, they insist, has been largely magnified by the United States. Seeing no real threat to Japan, they see no reason to be much stirred to do anything about it. When an American suggested the Chinese military threat might be quite real to such countries as India, Vietnam, Taiwan, and South Korea, only silence came from the Japanese participants.

MORAL REVULSION TO WAR

In discussions about Far East security, the Japanese make a large point—at least partly genuine—about their moral revulsion to war and armaments. It is worth noting, however, that the Chinese nuclear tests caused only a ripple in Japan while earlier U.S. tests produced a clamorous negative response.

It is easy, too, to be fairly cynical about Japanese pacifism because the stance has helped work wonders for the Japanese economy. As one authority points out, the rehabilitation of Japan's economy was largely possible because its annual expenditures on defense have been kept to less than 2 per cent of the country's gross national product (against nearly 10 per cent for the United

States) and less than 10 per cent of its annual budget, compared with nearly 60 per cent in the United States.

In the end, then, it is perhaps just as well that Americans and Japanese cannot yet be absolutely candid with each other. Candor has busted more than one good working relationship, and correct cordiality is probably more desirable than carping criticism.

Maybe the New York Times Will Find the Missing Piece to the Economic Jigsaw

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I have been perplexed by the New York Times' editorials on the state of our economy and completely baffled by their opposition to the President's call for a tax surcharge.

I was, therefore, delighted to read in this morning's New York Times an incisive letter by Prof. Richard A. Musgrave, of Harvard University, who seems to share my puzzlement.

I suspect that both the professor and I would be delighted if we could help the Times find the missing piece to the economic jigsaw. That missing piece, it seems to me, resembles the outline of a map of South Vietnam. The New York Times really does not believe that the missing piece should be quite that size.

I would like to enter Professor Musgrave's letter to the Times in the RECORD so that it can be shared by my colleagues also mulling the state of our economy. The letter follows:

TAX INCREASE BACKED

To the EDITOR:

I share the concern expressed so well in your editorial of Nov. 7 that the burden of anti-inflation policy should not be permitted to fall on the poor through cutbacks in social services; but I am appalled by the muddled thinking in your editorial ("Inflation Myopia") of the preceding day.

You hold that the Administration has erred in reducing excess demand, but complain that is has caused inflation by excessive spending. You say that the proposed income tax surcharge will not check inflation but may raise prices, while suggesting that an increase in excises would be the most effective defense. You maintain that the surcharge will be inequitable, but conclude that an increase in excises would lessen the burden on lower incomes. This, I submit, is confusion compounded.

As reflected in the common appraisal by economists from all quarters, demand is likely to outrun available supplies. This will add to pressure originating from already existing tendencies for cost-push. There is no question that the proposed surcharge, which is largely in the personal income tax, will reduce demand and that this will lessen inflation pressure; and there is every reason to expect that prices will rise less if the restriction is through income tax, mainly individual, than if it is through excises.

MORE EQUITABLE THAN EXCISE

The proposed income tax surcharge will be more and not less equitable than the excise increase. The surcharge would not affect taxpayers with low incomes. Thus, a family of four would pay no surcharge unless its income exceeds $5,000. For the rest, it would raise income tax liability by 10 per cent. It would not, as some mistakenly believe, impose an additional tax of 10 percent on income. Thus, the additional tax would be the larger, the greater a taxpayer's present liability. I fail to see how this adjustment falls mainly on low-income recipients.

There is something to be said for postponing nonurgent public spending, although it is not evident why nonurgent private spending should not be postponed as well. Be this as it may, I too favor postponing the highway program and discontinuing the supersonic plane but the scope for reduction is limited, and the blame for not doing so cannot be placed on the Administration alone.

Given Congress's unwillingness to undertake these cutbacks, the Administration's proposal for a fairly distributed and temporary income tax surcharge is the responsible and sensible approach. The Ways and Means Committee position which proposes to trade economic stability against the politics of expenditure reduction, especially in reduction in social services, is not.

It is unfortunate then to see your continued opposition to the tax increase, thereby undermining your valid case against the scuttling of the poverty program.

RICHARD A. MUSGRAVE,
Professor of Economics,
Harvard University.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *November 8, 1967.*

Foreign Aid—An Urgent Mission To Share With Millions in Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a most eloquent and moving invocation given at the luncheon session of the recent International Development Conference by the Rev. James L. Vizzard, S. J., Washington office director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

Father Vizzard's invocation is a powerful and prayerful reminder of affluent America's deep obligation to assist our millions of less-fortunate fellow men around the world—so that they, too, may begin to live a life of decency and human dignity.

The invocation follows:

INVOCATION GIVEN AT THE LUNCHEON SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 7, 1967

Almighty God, our Nation and we here assembled need wisdom and courage and strength and generosity beyond our own resources, and so we pray them of you. Your blessings we have received in great abundance. We in this country enjoy a kind of new earthly paradise where the good things of life are not an unfulfillable dream but an attainable or, for most of us, an already attained reality.

But, in sinful selfishness, we are tempted, indeed, we seem to be yielding to the temptation, to build a high wall around our paradise so that we can enjoy our abundance to the exclusion of all others. We seem to have grown weary; we seem no longer to be willing to pay the price, small as it is, to justify our affluence in your eyes and in the eyes of a needy world.

Yet, no one in this country, we trust, is monster enough as to be able to look upon the hollow eyes and swollen belly of a starving child and, while having the means to answer his needs, would pass him by. But, in this world, there are millions of starving children, and adults, starving for food, for opportunity, for human dignity and decency, and because they are out of sight and because they have no voice and no vote, too many of our fellow citizens and too many of our legislators seem, in fact, to be prepared to pass them by.

Our times, to our shame, have witnessed what may be the ultimate horror of human evil—six millions of the people of God murdered in Hitler's gas chambers. But by our careless, or callous, refusal to share our abundance with those in need, we would just as surely and just as cruelly be guilty of the murder of countless millions of our fellow human beings.

O God, let not your judgment and that of a rightly angry world descend upon this Nation. Give us mercy. Give us strength. Give us vision. Give us an unwearying generosity which matches the needs we must meet, the burdens we must bear. Give this assembly the wisdom and the words it needs to enkindle once more in our fellow citizens and in our legislators the burning conviction that sharing our substance with our brother in need is the highest, the most urgent mission with which this Nation has been entrusted. O God, let us not fail that trust. Amen.

"Queen Mary" Sails to Long Beach and Home

SPEECH

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the RMS *Queen Mary* is on her final cruise to her new and permanent home. The enterprising city of Long Beach has bought the ship and will use her as a maritime museum, hotel, convention center, and dignified attraction to the city.

Remarkable in many ways is this final voyage of the *Queen Mary* as she sails from Southampton, England, to Long Beach, Calif., with stops at Lisbon, Las Palmas, Rio, Valparaiso, Callao, Balboa, Acapulco, and home.

She is the largest liner ever to sail around Cape Horn. Her skipper, Capt. J. Treasure Jones, is rounding the Horn for the first time, as well as her crew, and with 1,200 passengers, it is the largest group of people in history ever to sail around the Horn. The *Mary* is the first and the last three stacker to make the trip. And in making the voyage to southern California, she is avoiding the scrap pile.

Most remarkable is that the *Queen Mary* will start a whole new life in Long Beach and will reign on for many years to come.

Remarkable and strange, too, is the fact that Europe's leading astrologist, the late Lady Mabel Fortescue-Harrison, predicted of the *Queen Mary* on the day she was launched in 1934:

> Most of this generation will be gone, including myself when this event occurs, however the *Queen Mary* launched today will know its greatest fame and popularity, when she never sails another mile and never carries another paying passenger . . .

There is no doubt that the *Mary* is the most memorable passenger vessel in all of man's going down to the sea in ships. Over her 31 years of voyaging the oceans of the world she has variously been referred to as the True Queen of the Seas, a state of mind, a triumph of British shipbuilding, a symbol of an era, a gallant fighting lady of World War II with Hitler's $250,000 price on her life, a rampart, the inevitable ship and just about the most beautiful craft afloat.

Perhaps the most memorable words spoken of her, as well as her sister ship, *Elizabeth,* were those of Sir Winston Churchill, who said at war's end:

> They challenged the fury of Hitlerism in the Battle of the Atlantic. At a speed never before realized in war, they carried over a million men to defend the liberties of civilization.

Those war years were when the *Mary* became a little bit of the United States; for she carried more than three-quarters of a million troops—mostly Yanks—at a clip of a 15,000-man division at a time. Over the years, including those before the war, most of the voyagers aboard the *Mary* have been Yanks, which is why New York Mayor John Lindsay said recently, "You don't have to be English to love the *Queen.*"

In a sense, then this queen of the seas is going home—home to a regal resting place in the tranquil waters off the city of Long Beach.

What will this retired queen mean to this city, which has been called the Riviera of the West?

Too costly to operate on the trans-Atlantic run in competition with the jets and too large and expensive to sail as a seasonal cruise ship, the *Queen Mary* is truly behemoth of the seas. From the waterline to the top of her stacks, she towers over 145 feet—a wind-sail factor which caused her severe rolling problems until stabilizers were installed.

When she sailed out of Southampton on May 27, 1936, on her maiden voyage to New York, she was the largest vessel man had ever put to sea—1,019½ feet in length, 118 feet wide and weighing 81,237 tons. Not until the early days of the war when the *Queen Elizabeth* took to the waves were these dimensions topped—then only minutely.

In a way, the *Normandie* was a sliver larger but sea buffs discount any French claims—out of sentimental logic.

Queen Mary was for many years the fleetest of the liners in the Atlantic service. She did not really grab the bone in her teeth until she knifed through the waves at 28-plus knots, never needing a convoy during the war years, and only relinquishing her speed title to a smaller and newer U.S. vessel in the 1950's.

The history of the *Mary* is one of preseverance. Plans for her were drawn up in 1929, construction began in 1930 and then work on her stopped for lack of funds on December 11, 1931. Many people never thought she would be completed. Work began again on April 3, 1934 and she was launched September 26, 1934 from the John Brown shipyard to Clydebank, Scotland.

The teeming wolfpacks of the North Atlantic were never able to touch her even though a fortune and an iron cross were offered to the submarine skipper who could sink her.

And that same dogged perseverance continues today as she readies herself to float on intact into history.

The only tragic incident involving the *Mary* occurred off Iceland during the war when she rammed and sank a British light cruiser. Three hundred and thirty-eight British sailors were drowned; for the *Mary's* captain, responsible for the safety of 15,000 troops aboard, could not stop because of lurking German U-boats.

Impressive as the *Mary's* seagoing history is, so too are her statistics. She has 27 public rooms, ranging from dancing salons to gyms, an indoor swimming pool, playrooms, libraries, restaurants, and even a dog hotel complete with hot and cold running water, an exercise deck and a leg-lifting post.

It would take 40 miles of freight cars to carry the weight of the *Mary*. She has 3 acres of deck space for recreation, 6 miles of carpeting, 2,000 port holes, and a theater that can seat 200.

The vessel has four propellers, weighing 35 tons each and extending 20 feet tip to tip. So delicately balanced are these props that they can be turned by a touch of the hand.

Some 10 million rivets hold her together. Her rudder alone weighs as much as the good ship *Mayflower* did—140 tons—and has doors in the sides and ladders inside to permit inspection.

Her two anchors weigh 16 tons each and have nearly 1,000 feet of chain. Each link is 2 feet in length. The forward funnel is 70 feet high, 44 by 33 feet across, large enough for three locomotives abreast to pass through it.

Each time the Cunard Line has painted the *Mary* they have used 30 tons of paint.

The *Mary* can generate enough power to light a city of 150,000 people, has 30,000 electric lights, and 4,000 miles of wiring.

Aboard, there are 500,000 pieces of china, glassware, and silver to serve 10,000 meals daily. The linen supply includes 210,000 towels, 30,000 sheets, 31,000 pillow cases, and 21,000 tablecloths.

The main restaurant contains 16,874 square feet and can accommodate 768 people at one sitting.

Now steaming "home" on this final, remarkable voyage, the *Queen Mary* is truly following her destiny as it was predicted in the stars so many years ago, and was also told in the final quatrain of a poem written especially for the launching of the *Mary* by John Masefield, the late poet laureate of England:

> May shipwreck and collision, fog and fire.
> Rock, shoal and other evils of the sea,
> Be kept from you; and may the heart's desire
> Of those who speed your launching come to be.

And it was the desire of her owners that she go to Long Beach.

National Cemetery Requested

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Michigan, urging establishment of a national cemetery at Fort Custer.

The entire Michigan delegation has long been in support of this and it appears highly desirable that such should be done at an early time.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS,
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Lansing, Mich., October 4, 1967.

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: The enclosed Resolution(s) was unanimously passed by Convention action at the annual Convention of the Department of Michigan, Veterans of Foreign Wars, held at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, June 22 through 25, 1967, and is being forwarded to you for your consideration.

With kindest regards, I remain,
Respectfully yours,
CLARENCE E. SCHUMACHER,
Quartermaster Adjutant.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE
UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF
MICHIGAN,
Lansing, Mich.

EDWARD CLIFF,
Department of Agriculture,
U.S. Forest Service,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLIFF: The Veterans of Foreign Wars, of the United States, Department of Michigan has gone on record supporting the continuation of our present National Cemetery System.

It is understood by the Veterans of Foreign Wars Department of Michigan that U.S. Forest Service has all surplus land and property within the Fort Custer Michigan complex frozen.

The portion of this complex which the V.F.W. desires set aside for a National Cemetery within the State of Michigan is located in sections 35 and 36 of this complex.

The attached fact sheet will cover this in detail. We are requesting from the State of Michigan a resolution stating their desire for a National Cemetery to be located within the complex. This will be forthcoming.

We are one of two states in this great nation that does not have a National Cemetery for its 1,200,000 Veterans of all Wars.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the State of Michigan hope that in your deliberation on this matter, you allow this part of the Fort Custer Complex to remain hallowed ground and the final resting place for those who gave so much.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES L. MILLIRON,
Legislative Chairman.

FACTS SHEET FOR A PROPOSED NATIONAL CEMETERY AT FORT CUSTER, MICH.

1. The Department of Defense has declared as excess those portions of sections 35 and 36 of Ross Township, Kalamazoo County, State of Michigan, lying north of Dickman Road and west of Armstrong Road, and with-

in the present boundaries of the Fort Custer Military Reservation.

2. This tract is approximately 700 acres and contains an existing Military Cemetery of 4,438 grave sites. Presently, 130 persons are buried there.

3. Development of the proposed National Cemetery will not affect planning for further Federal, State, or private use of other portions of the military reservation.

4. A post chapel and administrative buildings, suitable for temporary use, are available.

5. The area is served by two four-lane highway approaches, as well as numerous smaller roads connecting with Interstate Highway I-94.

Biography of the Reverend Robert G. Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, the Reverend John E. Huss, has just completed a biography of one of our country's most famous preachers, Dr. Robert G. Lee. This is one of the warmest, most moving books I have ever seen. I hope that other Members of this body may find the time and inclination to read this book. They will never regret having done so. I am including at this point a brief review of this work from the Charlestown, S.C., News & Courier:

LEE BIOGRAPHY WARM, MOVING

Advice often heard by the author of this well-written and compelling book was: "Keep Dr. Lee human. Don't deify him." It obviously was difficult to follow the advice, but Dr. Huss' struggle for objectivity is admirable. He has chronicled the life of one of the world's most famous Baptist preachers with a story that is warm, moving and at times powerful.

Huss proves himself a skillful biographer. But the man about whom he writes has lived such a remarkable life that any story about him is bound to have widespread reader appeal.

Lee's life is traced from the time he was born in a log cabin in York County in 1886 to the present day. Life was hard on the farm where Lee lived until he left home and went to work on the Panama Canal in 1907. He went to earn enough money to attend Furman University where he studied for the ministry. The decision to become a preacher was made when Lee was a farm boy.

As a college student and later as a struggling young preacher, Lee encountered one financial crisis after another, but financial difficulties and other kinds of trouble as well only helped strengthen Lee's resolve to be a great preacher.

Accounts of his experiences in the various churches he served expose the reader to a wide range of emotions, from high drama and tears to humorous incidents and the kind of deep-seated joy that is the elixir of Christian experience.

Lee's powerful sermons led thousands of persons to accept Christ as their personal saviour. He was a masterful money raiser. Throughout his ministry he worked at a pace which few other men could stand. He never hesitated to attempt the seemingly impossible because his faith in God is unshakeable.

Space Costs Are Worth It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, at a recent meeting of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics in Anaheim, Calif., the world renowned economist, Prof. Oskar Morgenstern, expressed his view that "Space Costs Are Worth It."

Many years ago Professor Morgenstern and the late Dr. John von Neumann wrote a book which became a major foundation for the application of scientific methods to modern decisionmaking: "The theory of Games and Economic Behavior."

The opinions of men with the stature of Professor Morgenstern are worth listening to. The following is a summary of his remarks which appeared in the New York Times on November 5, 1967:

SPACE COSTS ARE WORTH IT

(Excerpts from a paper in defense of large investments in the American space program. It was presented last week by Princeton economics professor, Oskar Morganstern, at a meeting of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics in Anaheim, Calif.)

Whether the goals are good, whether it is more important to explore space or the ocean or to clear slums is not an economic question. Perhaps the country can even afford all? So it is important to realize that annual space expenditure is but a fraction of one percent of G.N.P., only about four percent of the Federal budget, only a quarter of the annual sales of General Motors, and that it costs less than two months of the war in Vietnam. Clearly, the country can afford a high degree of space exploration, even if the hopes of results are uncertain, as they must be. . . .

ECONOMIC IMPACT

First there is a conventional and needed manner of analyzing the economic impact of the space program. It consists in determining the expenditure streams of large amount of money, of analyzing their regional impact, the good and bad effects of concentration of high activity in a few highly specialized industries, of estimating the multiplier effects of money added to some regions or income groups, etc. Such analysis gives valuable information, but does not touch on many crucial matters. It could illuminate the fact, of course, that spending 5-billion on space has a very different and technologically a far more stimulating influence on the economy than spending the same amount on slum clearance.

In the first case, entirely new skills have to be created, new materials must be found, new devices are to be invented and developed, which radiate through many other industries, while in the second case these effects are minimal. The same $5 billion left in the pockets of the taxpayer—i.e., scattered among millions of people—would also be spread through private consumption and savings, but in our country they would only slowly and indirectly lead to innovations as decisive as those which are due, and will be further due, to highly integrated programs. It would at first mean mostly the making of more of the same things we already have in plenty; the space program on the other hand, working under the pressure of the constraints of a highly hostile environment, is forced to produce entirely new things, many of which, we hope, will be beneficial to mankind.

At this point I want to mention . . . important economic features of the space program. The investment already made is such that it cannot easily be turned off. A space program without continuity would be an absurdity. The time span, e.g., the duration of preparatory work, even the time needed to evaluate the observations, is so great that a commitment for decades was made when the program was first started, where we like it or not. . . .

When we ask what the economic effects of space exploration are, we must first look at the output so far obtained. Thus far, no basic discoveries as great in importance as atomic fission have been made. Nothing comparable to the transistor or the laser could be attributed to space exploration. . . .

NEW PRODUCTS

It is a well-know phenomenon of the last 25 years that most of our important companies find that the majority of their currently offered products did not exist 25 or even 10 years ago. Their profits stem mostly from the new products. So they push research and development as far as their means will allow. The Government, constantly prodded by the scientific community, also begins to believe that research is needed for the purpose of the general well-being of the community. It is then difficult to see why these expectations should not also apply to space exploration, especially when one remembers that some of the most vital discoveries ever made by man derive precisely from watching the stars and planets. Now that we are able to break through the obscuring shield of the earth's atmosphere how could we but expect that discoveries will not be made of a magnitude that will astonish even this generation which has seen so much and is prepared to expect that our knowledge will increase without limit.

Merger of Penn-Central Railroads To Include New Haven Is in the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD J. IRWIN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, for years now, I have been working hard toward a solution of the New Haven Railroad's problems. The merger of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroads, with the inclusion of the New Haven, is one of the last roadblocks to a successful Government effort to help rehabilitate the New Haven's ability to serve southern New England. The following editorial from today's New York Times properly expresses our needs:

A VITAL RAIL MERGER

The proposed merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads continues to be held up by legal roadblocks. But the strong decision of the New York Federal District Court calling for an end to the delays and the subsequent joint statement by the Justice Department and the Interstate Commerce Commission declaring that they say "no obstacle to immediate consummation" indicate a growing official consensus for speeding the amalgamation.

The public interest, rather than the special interests of the affected railroads, clearly favors a merger. There is no doubt that a marriage will result in a monopoly, but a monopoly under regulation is the only way to provide efficient and cheaper service throughout the East and to resuscitate the ailing rail transportation system now operated by the bankrupt New Haven Railroad.

A new plan may be needed to help the Norfolk & Western Railway, which had wanted to delay the merger until its own future could be settled. But its problems must not stand in the way of the Pennsy-Central merger and the blueprint for a rail system geared to the needs of the public. It is time that the merger go through.

Latin American Paper Commends Herbert J. Waters and U.S. War on Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, millions of people throughout the world, but particularly in Latin America and Asia, suffer today from hunger and malnutrition. Without the most vigorous effort to prevent it, this scourge will spread, leaving its marks most visibly upon babies and preschool children, on pregnant women and nursing mothers.

Recognition of the good work already being done by the United States in this area and of the need for still greater effort is contained in a recent editorial from La Prensa of Panama.

The writer commends the work of Herbert J. Waters, Assistant Administrator of the war on hunger, and comments:

> Five thousand men like Herbert J. Waters working around the world would be a more effective army than five thousand soldiers.

I should like to call this editorial to the attention of the Members:

[Translation]

War on Hunger

The Press informs that during the coming week, Mr. Herbert J. Waters, Assistant Administrator, War on Hunger, will visit Panama. His stay will be brief since Mr. Waters is on his way to Lima, where he will attend the "Operacion Niños" Conference.

It is a pleasure to be visited by a representative of the great northern nation who is not coming as a "military advisor", "antiguerrilla advisor", "hemispheric safety advisor", or an "expert on continental unity."

People like Mr. Waters instill in us great satisfaction since he dedicates his time to analyze the real scourge of the under-developed countries, where the primary cause of social disturbances is "hunger." Children are the future of America and to a large extent they are abandoned to their own fate. In some countries of Latin America—not to be mentioned here—it causes great pain to see how children are so unprotected from hunger, diseases and illiteracy.

If the United States would spend on the war on hunger a tenth of what they spend on wars, such as the war in Vietnam, they would not have to send their sons to die in far-away countries. Five thousand men like Herbert J. Waters working around the world would be a more effective army than five thousand soldiers.

Initiating a war on hunger on a large scale would immediately stimulate Russia and China—not to be left behind—as it is presently evidenced by the display of their military power. Humanity would, with pleasure, approve of such a war on hunger between these powerful nations.

The bombardment of food and tools would successfully replace atomic and hydrogen bombs.

This is a daydream, of course, because human beings of all latitudes who have been successful scientifically have not improved their souls at the same rate and remain an easy prey to the ambitions of political and economical powers.

While the arrival of distinguished military officials is welcomed with excessive honors, it is possible that the arrival of Mr. Waters will amount only to a more protocol call.

When countries learn to react in a different manner, that is by welcoming the fighters on hunger with due receptiveness and turning their backs to emissaries of gunpowder and thunder; then they will show the true road to the leading nations, which still remain blind.

Imbalance in Handling of Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD correspondence between myself and the Honorable Alan S. Boyd, the able Secretary of Transportation.

In the correspondence referred to I point out an imbalance that exists in the handling of transportation by the Department of Transportation.

A real crisis is approaching in air space and in the use of air space. Aircraft traffic is so heavy in areas such as the New York-Washington, D.C.-Philadelphia area, commonly called the Gold Triangle, that desperate measures will shortly be necessary to control it.

What is needed at this time is great attention to the development of high-speed ground transportation and additional encouragement of not only the establishment of that mode of transportation, but also real effort to shift some of the potential airline passenger growth and aircraft congestion into high-speed ground transportation by rail.

Failure to accomplish this goal can result in great hazard to the traveling public and the American public, and excessive costs in areas where high-speed ground transportation is not only more suitable but urgently necessary, such as the Washington, D.C.-New York-Philadelphia area and other major metropolitan areas up and down the eastern seaboard and in the Middle West. The correspondence follows:

AUGUST 17, 1967.

Hon. ALAN S. BOYD,
Secretary of Transportation, Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have noted your testimony in the Senate protesting the cut in the 1968 appropriations made by the House, particularly in the field of transportation research. I also have noted in the press a proposal made by Trans World Airlines for reducing traffic into National Airport through the transfer to Friendship and Dulles Airports of some presently scheduled planes.

Naturally, I have followed for some time the problems of the Federal Aviation Administration, now part of your Department, in its attempt to relieve congestion at Washington National Airport, the upshot of which essentially was a proposal, now slightly mitigated, to allow almost unrestricted capacity between nearby cities on the eastern seaboard and Washington and to reduce, if not eliminate, the use of Washington National as a terminal for flights originating some distance away.

The authority for engaging in research in high speed ground transportation results from a statute enacted in 1965, with which you are familiar as you then were Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, which then gave such authority to the Secretary of Commerce and which authority has been transferred to you, and which you exercise in part through an Office of High Speed Ground Transportation.

In transmitting the proposed legislation to the Congress in a message on March 4, 1965, the President referred to the increasing demand for transportation in certain densely populated areas, specifically to the so-called "North East Corridor", and stated: "It is clear that we should explore the feasibility of an improved ground transportation system for such heavily traveled corridors".

In the statement of purpose and need for legislation submitted by the Department of Commerce, it was said:

"The President has emphasized that we must improve ways of transporting people and goods safely, reliably, and economically over relatively short distances in densely populated areas."

House Report No. 845 accompanying the House bill, H.R. 5863, submitted by then Chairman Harris on August 23, 1965 states:

"It is unnecessary to set forth here at length the evidence respecting the overburdening of these facilities. Every Member of the House personally has experienced the inadequacies of our crowded air terminals and facilities, has observed the overcapacity loading of our highways, and is well aware of the demand constantly being made for the enlargement of both types of facilities. But what every Member has experienced and what he has observed is as nothing compared with what lies ahead.

"The time has come to see whether passenger traffic on the ground can be made attractive to people; to see whether it is possible to provide facilities that are convenient and economical and which people will use; to see whether this kind of transportation might relieve air congestion and save on the cost of additional air facilities."

I think it is unnecessary for me further to document the fact that the authorization made by the Congress at the request of he President for the expenditure of $90 million, much of which was for research in high speed ground transportation and the operation of certain demonstration projects, was predicated on the desire to relieve aviation and highway facilities from overcrowding, and attempt to meet transportation demands by increased use of rail facilities, especially in the north east corridor.

It is my recollection that you were wholeheartedly in support of this position.

It is my understanding that the Congress has appropriated the funds for demonstration projects in this corridor, specifically that between New York and Washington, and that such project will go into operation this coming fall. I understand also some demonstration soon is to be made between New York and Boston.

It is with continuing amazement, therefore, in view of the policy carried out by your left hand, that I view the policy protion Administration, namely that the aviation facilities here should be enlarged on the one hand, and the airline scheduling should be altered, on the other, so as to continue the bringing into National Airport of these north east corridor passengers and the forcing to other airports of passengers from longer distances. I am certain that you will recognize that any such policy ~~is~~ directly contrary to that established into law following the Presidential message and the sponsoring of the Under Secretary of Transportation for a project putting these people onto the rails.

I should welcome your early comment on this matter for I think it is important before we authorize appropriations which will permit you to engage in directly antithetical operations contrary to the policies you hitherto have urged before the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN D. DINGELL,
Member of Congress.

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION,
Washington, D.C., September 28, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DINGELL: I have your letter of August 17, 1967 in which you raise questions of the consistency of our policies regarding air transportation and ground transportation in what is known as the North East Corridor.

The high speed ground demonstration project, which we hope will begin passenger operations between Washington, D.C. and New York City this fall, is designed as a test facility for the development of a safe, reliable, convenient and economic means of moving large numbers of people in areas where cities are closely spaced and population density is thus relatively high.

There is no intention, indeed no possibility, of developing a ground system that will serve as a complete substitute for air travel in these heavily travelled areas of dense population. On the contrary, we expect air travel to increase and the need for aviation facilities in these areas to grow. At the same time, we believe that a significant amount of the strain can be taken off the airports and other aviation facilities if an attractive ground transportation alternative is made available. Thus what we are attempting to develop is a balanced system of transportation facilities.

Sincerely,

ALAN S. BOYD.

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Appendix

Here Is Your Indiana National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the entire Hoosier State is proud, and justifiably so, of the 38th Combat Infantry Division, Indiana's National Guard.

It is among the best trained Reserve Forces in the United States. The Indiana Guard has a proud and honorable history, and I know its noble traditions will be carried on into the future.

The following story from the November 12, 1967, Indianapolis Star is an excellent summary of the 38th Division's history and capabilities:

THE 38TH DIVISION HITS FITNESS PEAK

(By George Lindberg)

The 38th Combat Infantry Division—Indiana's National Guard—is in its best "fighting trim" ever, in the judgment of the state's chief military officer.

And, whether the guard is left intact as the 38th, or split into smaller units as now proposed by the Department of Defense, the Indiana forces will remain among the best-trained reserve troops in the nation, according to John S. Anderson, the Indiana adjutant general.

The 11,500-man division just ended stepped-up training as one of the Selected Reserve Force (SRF) divisions. After two years of training with 50 per cent more than the regular number of drills, the 38th in September began reverting to the normal schedule.

The Indiana militia—50 years old this year—has regained the look of the active-duty division that earned honor for Indiana in World War II.

Activated in 1940, even before the attack on Pearl Harbor that signaled the formal start of the war, the 38th had a share in Gen. Douglas MacArthur's triumphant return to the Philippines.

As men of the 38th aided in the island-hopping campaign that led to Manila and the liberation of the island of Luzon, they accounted for 34,000 enemy dead. The 38th listed 1,430 of its own battle dead; another 2,034 were wounded.

Anderson rates the 38th Division of 1967 fully ready to take its place in combat, to back up the regular Army as is its role. That was the aim and product of the last two years' training.

Today's Indiana guardsman is unlike the caricature—the weekend warrior who must leave his soda-fountain stool or sports car for a few hours of half-hearted drill at the local armory.

He resembles little the bumbling civilian who frustrates Army regulars at summer encampments.

Men like him, from Indiana, Kentucky and West Virginia, made up the first 38th Division at the start of World War I. The division itself never left the states, but some 6,000 of its men went to France as replacements.

Some units, such as the 150th Field Artillery Battalion, distinguished themselves in battle as parts of other divisions.

Through the peacetime years, the division was left intact, but was less active. In 1947 it was made an all-Hoosier division, as it still was when chosen for the SRF development in October, 1965.

On SRF status with the 38th were the 28th (Pennsylvania) and 47th (Minnesota) guard divisions. Each of the three was filled to 100-per cent strength and outfitted with modern equipment. At the end of two years, other divisions were to replace those three for the intensified training.

Then came the latest of several proposals to reorganize the nation's reserve forces. The plan was announced to some 150 generals meeting here in June as the Adjutants General Association of the United States.

Instead of 23 divisions, there were to be eight divisions and 18 combat brigades. Guard strength was to be cut from 418,000 to 400,000. Army reserves were to be cut from 260,000 to 240,000.

The 11,500-man all-Hoosier 38th was one of the eight divisions chosen to be saved.

But it was to be made again into a tri-state division, with a combat brigade from each of the states of Ohio and Michigan. Indiana would provide the men for the division's headquarters and one of the 3,200-to-3,400-man brigades—8,128 men in all.

The rest of the Indiana guardsmen would be assigned to other combat or support units that are not parts of the division.

The proposal as it now stands would give Indiana a battalion each of mechanized infantry, engineers and transportation troops, a broad-skills company of maintenance men and two companies of long-range combat patrol specialists.

Anderson has asked for and expects to receive another company of military police.

With both divisional and non-divisional troops under him, Anderson would function as a corps commander, next over a division in the command echelons.

On paper, the Indiana guard would lose nearly 1,000 men, down to a new level of 10,560 authorized strength. The reduction was provided for in attrition, as enlistments in the guard expired.

There were objections. Some governors protested the reductions of force would leave them unable to cope with possible disorders in their own states. And interstate divisions present command problems.

Unless a guard unit is called into Federal service, its men may not be sent or called from one state to another.

Some governors involved began talks on interstate compacts to solve the problem when they met at the recent Midwest Governors' Conference in The Ozarks.

All of the proposed changes were spelled out in H.R. 2, a bill still pending before Congress.

Most of the manpower cuts have been nullified, according to Anderson, as members of Congress traded concessions for support. Still the bill languishes among the unpassed legislation of this session.

And commanders of the 38th are moving slowly to comply with the original SRF plan. It will not revert to 75-per-cent manning as existed until two year ago, but will level off at 93 per cent of full strength. It will lose only "soft skills," according to Anderson. These, he said, are military specialties readily replaceable from their civilian counterparts, such as truck drivers or mechanics.

But, however cut or reformed, the Indiana Guard will remain a capable force, Anderson assures. It will be fully able to represent Indiana in defense of the nation, replacing or reinforcing the regulars as it is intended to do.

Or it can protect the state from civil disorder or natural disaster, as it has in its history.

As part of the 38th, Indiana Guard units battled floods in 1937, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1963 and 1964. They fought labor violence in 1922, 1932 and 1936—an unpopular role for the guard. They aided north central Indiana communities struck by tornadoes on Palm Sunday, 1965.

Last January, guardsmen helped northwest Indiana dig out of massive snowdrifts that paralyzed strings of communities. Last July 1,000 guardsmen were on standby near South Bend when civil disorder wracked that city for four days. They weren't needed.

First World Congress of Free Ukrainians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, among the most patriotic American citizens are those of foreign origin. I know of no group that is more patriotic and anti-Communist than the Ukrainians and those of Ukrainian descent. Later this week they will be holding the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians at the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter and an editorial which I received from one of these highly respected and patriotic Americans, Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the State branch of North Dakota, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., in which he calls attention to the formation and purposes of this new organization.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC., STATE BRANCH
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
Steele, N. Dak., November 7, 1967.

Hon. MILTON R. YOUNG,
U.S. Senate Office,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: It is our great pleasure to inform you that on November 16, 17, 18 and 19, 1967 the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians will be held at the New York Hilton Hotel, New York City.

The Congress is being convened in the year of the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution which led to the establishment of free and independent Ukrainian National Republic.

Also it will be held in the month of November on the 50th anniversary when "Central Rada"—Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev, Ukraine, passed in 1917 its "Third Universal" the basic law of modern time on which the Ukrainian National Republic was founded.

Delegates from 22 countries of free world will take part in the Congress, including high-ranking clergy, civic and political leaders. Also delegation from our state of North Dakota representing over 25,000 American of Ukrainian descent will take part in the Congress.

This historic gathering will be also held at the time when Communist Russia is observing 50th anniversary of its Bolshevik revolution or like it is known—fifty years of Russian Bolshevik tyranny in Eastern Europe.

Therefore the World Congress of free Ukrainians will reject the Communist "thesis" that Bolshevik revolution brought freedom and social equality to the Ukrainians and other Captive Nations in the Russian prison house called U.S.S.R.

Furthermore the World Congress of free Ukrainians will appeal to the United Nations and its members for support in the struggle for the legitimate rights of Ukrainian people to freedom and national independence.

There is no doubt that under present international circumstances especially at the time when Moscow is giving full support to North Vietnam and is mounting new offensive against the Ukrainian people for the destruction of their national and cultural attainments, this Congress should have a special significance for the entire Ukrainian Community in the free world and for the United States specially.

The aims of the Congress, as stated in the Manifesto announcing its convocation are as follows:

1. To demonstrate before the world the Ukrainian people's unwavering will to continue its struggle for the restoration of their free sovern and unite state;

2. To manifest the solidarity of the Ukrainian community in the free world with the struggle of the Ukrainian people and its readiness to help them with all means at our disposal;

3. To unite all the forces and resources of Ukrainians who are the citizens of the various countries of the free world to secure closer cooperation among themself;

4. To determine a proper source of action in strengthening and further developing all spheres of our activity and diverse pursuit in the free world.

In order to give you more information in regards to the Ukrainian National Revolution, I am enclosing a short pamphlet entitled "Facts about Ukraine and the Ukrainian People" and an excellent article "Fifty years of Russian—Bolshevik Tyranny" by Dr. Ctibor Pokorny printed on November 2nd, 1967 in "America" Ukrainian Catholic Daily, Philadelphia, Pa., which I believe would be of interest to you and to the American people.

Therefore, speaking in behalf of 25,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent we shall be grateful to you if you could bring this matter to the attention of the U.S. Congress and to read your message into Congressional Record in commemoration of these outstanding events in the modern history of Ukraine.

This will give us assurance, that our fellow Americans would join with us in marking this historic event of Ukraine and will demonstrate to both the captive Ukrainians and their captors our unity and determination in upholding the cause of freedom everywhere.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,
President.

[From America, Nov. 2, 1967]

FIFTY YEARS OF RUSSIAN-BOLSHEVIK TYRANNY

(By Dr. Ctibor Pokorny)

This year is deeply overcast by the 50th anniversary of a disastrous historical event and its catastrophic consequences: on November 7, 1967, a half century since the Russian-Bolshevik seizure of power will be completed.

Fifty years ago, on November 7, 1917, when the Russian-Bolshevik Party assumed power in the Russian territory of the former tsarist empire through a coup d'etat, the world was astonished, without grasping the meaning and full implications of this event. It was inclined to look upon this historical fact more as an episode in the general process of decay of the Russian empire than as an attempt to save this empire.

How would it have been possible at that time to recognize the imperialistic character of this coup d'etat, in view of the fact that the Party which came into power pretended to have a Socialist and international orientation, and that its leaders explicitly acknowledged the full right of self-determination of all the peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire, including their right to seccession?

At that time the world had no basis upon which to distinguish between the tactics and aims, agitation and reality, theory and practice of the Bolshevik rulers. It held the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia to be a social Revolution. In fact, however, it was an imperialistic counter revolution, a state-capitalistic reaction.

The non-Russian peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire had wide historical experience with Russian imperialism and colonialism. They, therefore, had no illusions about Russian Bolshevism. They were not in the least interested in saving the disintegrating empire. A change of regime meant nothing to them. They did not overthrow the tsarist regime in the victorious March Revolution to replace it with another Russian regime, but to achieve their national freedom and independence. These peoples were set upon free and independent nation-states!

The non-Russian peoples of the former Russian tsarist empire countered the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia by declaring their independence and by establishing democratic nation-states!

In the years 1917 and 1918, the following peoples and countries declared their independence: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Turkestan, Siberia, Cossakians, and North Caucasians. In short, these peoples and countries achieved their right of self-determination. In most cases, however, it was not a matter of establishing new states, but of re-establishing old states.

The Russian-Bolshevik government, having gained sufficient strength, sent out its newly formed Red army to conquer these peoples who had become independent and to incorporate them forcefully into the Russian empire. Under one pretext or another Soviet Russia waged wars of conquest against these states. These wars went on for years because the peoples tenaciously defended their freedom against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. But by 1922, the Soviet Russian government had succeeded in almost restoring the old empire. Only Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland held out against the Russians at that time, with the help of the West.

In 1922, the Bolshevik rulers changed the official name of the restored Russian empire to "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," to deceive the world as to its true character. The main purpose of this renaming was to make the Soviet Russian empire appear as if it were a free union of peoples.

The non-Russian peoples of this empire were robbed of their freedom and right of self-determination. Their areas received various positions within the Soviet Union; some were designated as sovereign "Union Republics," others as autonomous Republics, still others were divided into several units, or completely dissolved. In fact, however, regardless of the formal organizational construction of the "Soviet Union," all non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union are subjugated and exploited by Russia. The federative facade of the Soviet Russian empire is merely an attempt to conceal Russian foreign rule and the centralized dictatorship of the Russian-Bolshevik Party.

The forceful reincorporation of these peoples into the Russian empire not only deprived them of their national independence, but also of their political, economic, cultural and religious freedom. Over and above this, their fundamental human rights are continually violated.

Their free states and social organizations were usurped by an unprecedented dictatorship and rule of terror. The free economy of these peoples was also destroyed and replaced by a colonially-centralized, collective-planned economy. A modern slave system, adorned with Socialist slogans, was constructed and imposed upon the populace. The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Russian empire were and are the victims of a colonial exploitation.

An additional aftermath of Russian-Bolshevik foreign rule is the mental enslavement of the subjugated peoples. With the loss of their independence, these peoples also lost their spiritual and cultural freedom. Soviet Russia's official state ideology, known as Marxism-Leninism, was and is imposed upon them in all spheres of life; it is propagated both within and outside of schools. Scientists, artists, writers, journalists, teachers, state officials, judges and all persons engaged in public activity have to profess this ideology. No one is permitted to criticize it, let alone reject it.

The culture and national traditions of the non-Russian peoples of the "Soviet Union" are ignored or suppressed. These peoples are systematically subjected to a cultural and linguistic Russification.

All religions are suppressed in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. Russian leaders make no effort to conceal the fact that the uprooting of all religions is one of the aims of the Bolshevik Party. In the realization of this aim, the Russian-Bolshevik dictatorship had countless priests murdered or thrown into concentration camps, numerous churches destroyed and closed, or turned into museums, cinemas or warehouses.

The peoples subjugated within the Soviet Russian empire will never renounce their freedom and independence. They never were and are not willing to accept Russian foreign rule and colonial exploitation, Bolshevist barbarity and slavery. Uninterruptedly, from the moment of their subjection, they have offered active and passive resistance to the Russian-Bolshevik colonial power.

Soviet Russia was never willing to recognize the national right of self-determination of the peoples ruled and exploited by her and to surrender their countries. On the contrary, she always aimed at incorporating more and more peoples and countries into her sphere of influence and at imposing her Bolshevik system upon more and more peoples and countries!

In this connection Moscow-controlled Communist Parties and their collaborators and agents continue to offer valuable help to Soviet Russia throughout the world.

Soviet Russia never fails to exploit every opportunity to expand her power and influence.

Violating international law during World War II, Soviet Russia occupied and annexed the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in 1940. Against the will of the populace, these states were incorporated into the

"Soviet Union" as "Union Republics." This was not only a violation of the rights of self-determination of these peoples, but also a breach of various international treaties which Soviet Russia had concluded with these states. Moscow also occupied West Ukraine and West Byelorussia in 1939.

In the last months of World War II, between 1944 and 1945, Soviet Russia succeeded in occupying the following countries in the process of its war operations: Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Crotia, Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Bohemia, and parts of Germany and Finland. The peoples which possessed nation-states directly before Soviet Russian occupation were robbed of their sovereignty and independence. Their states became Russian satellites. Communist dictatorships disguised as "People's Democracies," were imposed upon them by the Soviet Russian occupying power. The Russian Red army also re-established the artificial states of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia against the will of the Croatian and Slovak people. In 1949, Soviet Russia declared the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany a separate German state, against the will of the German populace, under the deceptive name, German Democratic Republic.

All these peoples wanted neither Russian domination nor the Communist system. These peoples were and are not willing to renounce their national cultures and freedom, their own statehood and independence. With all their might, they resist Russian imperialism and colonialism.

But Soviet Russia is determined to crush by brute force every trace of resistance to her absolute rule.

Thus the Soviet Russian empire has become the largest colonial power, threatening the freedom of the entire world.

Even outside of the immediate Soviet Russian sphere of power, Communism was able to come into power only with Russia's help. Without Russian help Communist dictatorships would not have been established on the Chinese Mainland, in North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba.

Every new conquest, every new acquisition of power serves Soviet Russia as a base of aggression for new conquest, new expansion of her power and influence. Therefore, all self-respecting, freedom-loving men and women the world over are charged with the moral responsibility of defending themselves against this danger, of vouchsafing freedom, culture and moral values, and of fighting Russian colonialism and imperialism.

Especially the governments of the free world have the supreme task of liberating the world from the onslaught of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, and of supporting the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism.

Only by the dissolution of the entire Soviet Russian empire into independent, democratic nation-states of the subjugated peoples and by the overthrow of all communism will the Communist danger be permanently crushed.

Freedom will be victorious everywhere, when all freedom-loving forces unite in the fight against tyranny!

Neutrality Not the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, far too many who are concerned refuse to use their freedom to defend their freedom. They seem to feel neutrality—out of the struggle—is the safest way. Do not get bruised and cussed, or rock the boat.

Some justify their neutrality by claiming to be middle-of-the-roaders—and probably do not even know where the middle of the road is, else they would know the only thing to be found in the middle of the road are yellow stripes and dead skunks.

Leave it to George? George is doing all he can but he needs help—at least a kind word and moral support.

Abe Lincoln said:

> You do not help a man when you do for for him what he can and should do for himself.

Mr. Dewey H. Wollstein had an interesting article in the November issue of the New Age which I insert here following my remarks.

NEUTRALITY IS NOT THE WAY

(By Dewey H. Wollstein)

What causes a nation, which from its very inception, has held firmly to religious and moral principles, to suddenly find itself in a period of moral dissolution?

What brings about a total disregard for all that man has recognized as the only genuine security of a nation, the moral strength of its citizenry?

What is the cause of our ever-increasing crime rate?

Let us not fail to put ouselves in the picture when we seek the answers. It seems that many have assumed a position of neutrality in the long struggle between Light and Darkness, between Morality and Immorality.

What we face today is the result of so-called intellectual liberalism becoming libertinism.

Freedom, academic or by any name, is generally understood and is acceptable. But freedom has never meant the right to change the rules of the game to suit the actions of the players and impose such rules on society.

What is the obvious answer? How can we stem the tide of destruction? One answer is, Masons must be the leaders of thought and action. Neutrality is certainly not the answer. Let us not ask what stand will Masonry take. Rather let us ask what stand will I take as an individual Mason and citizen?

Support for the Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, I speak in favor of continuing our war on poverty and the funding of every dollar necessary to win that war. Having served as mayor for 4 years of one of our largest cities, I can say to you that the poverty program has been successful in my city, Louisville, Ky. As a matter of fact, on our own initiative we started our program before the Federal bill was passed. Our "learn more-earn more" project was a joint effort with the city, the school boards, and the employment service all cooperating. When the poverty bill was passed in Congress, Louisville was one of the very first cities receiving a grant. We presently have almost 25,000 people involved directly, or indirectly, in the program. I cannot turn my back on the people in my community who have benefited and who will continue to benefit under this plan. I refuse to be influenced by scandals and improper management in other cities. I can only say to you that we should individually assess the programs in our own districts and be guided accordingly.

Well Done, WICS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the role of volunteers in the war on poverty is one of the program's most important and unprecedented achievements. Among the many volunteer groups who are playing crucial roles in national and local antipoverty efforts, none have contributed more to helping young Americans from poverty backgrounds to find the road to opportunity than Women in Community Service—or WICS—a national organization established by the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Council of Catholic Women, and the Church Women United, a Protestant group.

On October 30, the Denver Post included a very fine editorial tribute to WICS, entitled "Hats Off to Women of WICS," which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

HATS OFF TO WOMEN OF WICS

Let us, while the think of it, doff our hats to some 600 women in Colorado who for two years now have been quietly performing a tremendously useful service for girls who desperately need help.

The 600 are members of WICS—Women in Community Service, a national organization set up by the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, National Council of Catholic Women and the Church Women United (Protestant).

What they do is recruit girls from age 16 through 21 for the Women's Job Corps. This sounds like a simpler job than it is.

It is a hard fact that many of the people who most need a chance to break out of the hopeless cycle of poverty—poor, uneducated parents raising poor, uneducated children—are so beaten down by life that they don't believe things can ever be different. Either they don't believe any chance for betterment is real; or they don't feel they are competent enough personally to take advantage of a break.

Someone has to talk to such people personally, persuade them that an offer of education or job training is real; that there will be a job at the end of it—and that the poverty-stricken person is capable of hacking it if he or she tries.

The women of WICS have been doing this job in Colorado for the last two years. The toughness of the task can be judged from the fact that they have contacted 1,500 girls in 40 counties, only 500 of whom eventually went to Women's Job Corps training centers. Of the 500, only 65 have stayed the full course and graduated into jobs. Another 200 are now in the training course.

In addition to the 500 sent to Job Corps training centers, the WICS volunteers have encouraged many other girls who were not eligible for the Job Corps to finish their schooling and have helped them find jobs. And they follow through with girls coming back from the Job Corps, counseling them on job possibilities and helping them find jobs that suit them.

It is real work; WICS officials estimate that the 600 women in Colorado have put in more than 15,500 hours at their task so far, for which none is paid a dime. What they do get is the satisfaction of knowing that, because of their efforts, a small but increasing number of Colorado girls have broken out of the cycle, do have a real chance of becoming prideful, self-supporting, self-reliant citizens.

Kansas Beats Them All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, so much publicity and attention is given these days to the younger generation accentuating the negative. The headlines seem to go to the "few bad apples" in the barrel. I contend we can be proud of today's youth and feel secure that America's future will be safe in their hands.

Today, permit me to cite 11-year-old Susan Bunyar, a sixth-grade student in Wichita, Kans. Susan recently sat down to write how she felt about Kansas which has been printed in the Boeing Co.'s publication, Planetalk. A discussion she had with her mother, a Boeing employee, inspired her to put into words her feelings for her State and her appreciation for the works of God.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include her essay on Kansas:

ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD SUSAN SAYS: "KANSAS BEATS THEM ALL"

From sunrise to sunset, Kansas is the most beautiful land in the country. With the rolling plains and waving wheat fields, with the hills, streams and lakes, Kansas can beat them all. When I get up of a morning I see the brightest, most brilliant, wonderful sunrise anyone can imagine. The air is full of crisp clean fresh air and when you breathe, it makes you glad to be alive. The dew on the early morning grass feels like soft clean leaves padding your feet when you walk. When you see the dew, it looks like stars have fell from heaven and dropped onto the green grass. At noon the soft cool Kansas breezes are so lively and brisk, the beautiful sky with a few white fluffy clouds blowing by makes you feel so proud and big that you feel you can touch the soft clouds above.

Then at sunset you can see the most beautiful, wonderful sight God ever created in this world. The brilliant display of colors that even the best artist cannot paint, only nature itself can do it. I have seen the ocean, I have seen the mountains but nothing can ever be more beautiful than a Kansas sunset.

Kansas is really where the west began and it is famous today because of our golden wheat, famous cowtowns and Indians. Much history is written in this great state.

Yes, Kansas can really beat them all with its spectacular sights. God created this land for us so we shouldn't take it for granted, and let us thank God for this wonderful land He gave us.

Young People Support Our Fighting Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, not all American students have forsaken pencils for picket lines. There are still many who do not feel it necessary to embarrass our country by joining antiwar demonstrations. There are some who are not ashamed to back our boys in Vietnam and, in doing so, admit to being patriotic—a quality that is often not "camp" nowadays. One hundred and thirty-one students from Daytona Beach Junior College in Daytona Beach, Fla., sent me a letter apologizing for the actions of the anti-Vietnam demonstrators. These students not only act constructively but hasten to make amends for some of their more irresponsible members.

I include their letter and signatures in the RECORD as evidence that there are young people at home who support our fighting men abroad:

DAYTONA BEACH JUNIOR COLLEGE,
Daytona Beach, Fla., November 2, 1967.

Hon. ED GURNEY,
Florida State Representative,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GURNEY: We, the undersigned students of Daytona Beach Junior College, wish to apologize for the actions of the Anti-Vietnam Demonstrators. Some of us may not agree with the United States involvement in Vietnam, but we realize that such anti demonstrations only aid the propaganda machines of the nation's enemies. It seems to us that the majority of the demonstrators want to enjoy the benefits of our country without fulfilling the obligations these benefits necessitate.

Robert Jacobs, Donald Kartzmark, Lee P. Raden, Lydia Parker, Ronald Ellis, Peter J. Zgezensh, Ronald C. Heida, Juliet Fonlds, Jamse E. Straley, Curtis Carey, Cynthia Gordon, Ron Capany, Sherry Hargett, Thomas A. Williamson, Ginny Parker, Richard Laurens, Floridene E. Babcock, Jerry R. Collins, Delores Buffington, Albert Tucker, Dean L. Kroncke, Mark Garguilo, Lyle Thatchens, Kathleen McCarter, Linda Bower, Sam Millar, Horace F. Mathi III, David Davis, Brooks B. Ellwood, Carlton N. Kehrley, Abed Shatch.

Ed Jensen, Joe Ricci, S. Robin Graham, Gary J. Edwards, Don Quinn, Michael Lo Aureaux, Richard Alan Smith, Bill Slovick, Jr., Robert Wolfe, Larry Balewski, John Rice, Lynn Carnwell, Charles W. Roush III, Norman Francis Orel, Sally Anne Irvin, Roseann Monzel, Lee W. Carver, John Grover, Linda Bearden, Marie Moland, Pamela Tuffers, Frank R. Hegenwald, Helen Johnson, Luis A. Leorza, Joyce Zucoaro, Joe Coupas, Stephen Lancaster, Lloyd Sponerbergh, Walter E. Rivers, Jr., Dennis Burgoipre, Paul H. Otis, Thom McGuin.

Barbara Fox, M./Sgt. Forrest A. Butt, Fred G. Lindsay, Karen Reid, Richard E. Reid, Fran H. Gray, Edward G. Hantz, Carl Simicich, Niles L. Mallius, Richard M. Odom, Robin C. Lennon, Steve W. Hayman, Janice Cunningham, Glen Martinez, Steve Johnson, Cindy Gaddy, Dave Johnson, Don Schilling, Gary Rodarrice, Chuck Holman, Walter B. Smith, James La-Vecchier, Jeff Gerard, Robert Riley, Burt Goodnough, Jeff Smith, Ron Mikesell, Keith Smiley, Rodney Coleman, Joe Strickland, Davis Maryes, Dennis Bertone.

Buddy Klepper, Horace D. Tranor, Dotty Puckson, Elaine Rano, John Mahhaffey, Joanne Cunningham, Janice Cunningham, Becky Comer, Chuck Moore, Larry Ames, John F. Harvey, William S. Peacock, Jr., Thayan B. Craft, Bob Dye, Raymond F. Lang, Michael Henderson, Jean Fleishel, Dave Murray, Billy Simmons, Butch Bales, Craig Selby, David Janecko, Thomas E. Owens, Eilene A. Brady, Rita C. Garrit, Thomas R. Melvin, Jr., Mel Pace, H. Paul Entrekin, Joe Baldavff, Bill Stafford, Conrad E. Schatte, Jr., Gene Hoglt, Steve Goffrey, Vinny Cassidy, Patricia Bobbitt, Emory Smith, Mary Freland.

Remarks of the Honorable Raymond P. Shafer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, on November 12 I had the privilege of attending the ceremonies associated with the dedication of the William Saunders plaque at the Visitors' Center, Gettysburg National Park, which is located in my congressional district.

The background on the development of the Gettysburg National Cemetery is a very interesting one, and, as we know, one of the great, decisive battles of American history was fought at Gettysburg, Pa., on July 1–2–3, 1863.

Approximately 75,000 Confederate and 97,000 Union troops were involved, suffering nearly 6,000 soldiers killed in action, with approximately 20,000 wounded.

Shortly after the battle, the Governor of Pennsylvania—Hon. Andrew Curtin—visited the battlefield, offering assistance. The Governor appointed Mr. David Wills, a prominent attorney of Gettysburg, a special agent to arrange for an appropriate cemetery.

Mr. Wills purchased 17 acres of ground for this purpose and engaged William Saunders to design the cemetery.

William Saunders, who later became the first master of the National Grange, was recognized as an eminent landscape gardner. He designed the Gettysburg Cemetery, making 40 copies of the design. His diary tells us of being summoned to President Lincoln's office to discuss the design of the cemetery, and of being present when the cemetery was dedicated, at which time President Lincoln gave the world-famous Gettysburg Address.

Although Mr. Saunders was an employee of the U.S. Government, his expenses in connection with the Gettysburg Cemetery were borne by him personally. He considered a note of thanks from President Lincoln as ample compensation.

The William Saunders plaque will inform the thousands who visit this national shrine each year of the story of the beginning of the Gettysburg National Park, which is more than a memorial to the brave soldiers who died here. It is—and it must be—an inspiration to the living, that these honored dead may not have died in vain.

Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Raymond P. Shafer, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was present for this ceremony, having made remarks for the dedicatory exercise. Because this presentation carries a message that is timely and full of real meaning, I insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Governor Shafer's comments follow:

We come here today to honor a founder of the National Grange and the role he played in one of the most important moments in the history of our Nation.

William Saunders, to whom we dedicate this plaque and exhibit of a few historical items, was the designer of the National Cemetery here that stands as a sad monument to the tragedy that occurred on the fields of Gettysburg a century ago.

Through this dedication, we rub elbows with a part of history that is inscribed across the mind of every citizen in the world who cares about the freedom of men.

For William Saunders not only discussed the Gettysburg Address with President Lincoln before he gave it, he sat one chair away from the President as he spoke.

This moment in history is only one of the many in which members of the National Grange have had a part. But it is certainly one of the proudest moments.

And as we call attention today to the work of Mr. Saunders, we cannot help but be reminded that the times in which he lived are not unlike our own.

An unpopular war divided our people.

Patriotism was a questionable virtue.

Even the 272 words Lincoln spoke at the dedication of the National Cemetery were not recognized for the greatness they contained and the future hope they would give all men who battle against prejudice, and against the extremes.

Today, the American people are searching for the kind of leadership Lincoln was able to provide—a leadership that faced the reality of its time and made decisions that were necessary—regardless of their political popularity—to hold the Union together.

To bring this Nation to the center of thought again—away from the extreme poles that are developing and jeopardizing our inner strength is a task of the highest magnitude.

What to believe is a daily challenge as each of us faces the mass of information and wildly varying opinions.

We hear a prominent historian tell us that "those who have the most affection for the country are those most alienated from its present policies. Those who are not affectionate are those who are selling out the cities and failing to educate the poor. It doesn't show any love for the country to be spending all our money on bombs and ignoring the rest of our problems."

Then we hear a prominent member of the National Farmers Organization say:

"Although they (the people) do not understand all that is involved in Viet Nam, they do understand one thing: We as a Nation have a commitment. They support the country because of their heritage. They want to see protected what they are part of and the heritage they are proud of."

And we look to the boys at home as they stampede the Pentagon shouting "Hell, no, we won't go."

Then, we look to the boys running through the rice paddies and hostile jungles of Viet Nam where ware and revolution have been a way of life for centuries because man has never been free there to taste the fruit of liberty.

Our agony is clear. It is an agony as deep, if not deeper than that faced by the times of Abraham Lincoln and William Saunders.

For when we look closely at ourselves, we see Americans far more complicated than those who fought against each other on this bloody battlefield.

We have become more technically proficient on our farms and in our cities. We have become better educated and politically more sophisticated. We have become middle-aged and self-critical.

And our children have learned to question what was once American dogma. They are repulsed by superpatriotism and questing for a new patriotism that will permit each man a pride in his own country and in a world where each man may pursue his own ideal of freedom.

There are those carrying the banners of peace in our Nation today who care not for peace, but for the dissolution of the American idea and the American community.

But our weapon against them is not superpatriotism, or the jail cell.

For in a free society our only true weapon against such an enemy is strength and faith in our own good sense. Whether we maintain this good sense is up to us and the leadership we provide for ourselves.

We have grown weary of war, but not weary enough to realize that we cannot have peace until all the peoples of the world rise above their national prejudices to achieve a people's peace. And in many nations this will mean rising above the leaders.

And this can be done without a destruction of patriotism.

It can be done with the kind of patriotism William Saunders heard Abraham Lincoln so eloquently describe on this battlefield—a patriotism that did not claim that God was on its side, but one that prayed that God was on its side.

Thank you.

Unfortunate Farmworkers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, at the last session, when a good many of the Members from rural areas warned of the consequences of bringing agricultural workers under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, we were not heeded. Later, when we sought to impress on Federal officials in the Wage and Hours and Public Contracts Division of the U.S. Department of Labor that their regulations based on this amendment would be detrimental to the economy of the Nation and to the very families all of us sought to help, our opinions and pleas in the interest of reason were disregarded.

Today the unemployment in rural areas is high. The rural workers are being driven off the land, just as we warned, and those who remain are subjected to the galling embarrassment of seeing their work taken over by machines or migrants from other areas who are exempt and not subject to the provisions of the act.

Today I have received a letter from a fine, knowledgeable lady which tells the story far better than I have seen it told before. Because I have not asked her permission to make public her letter, I am not giving her name but am quoting only that part of the letter which pertains to these unfortunate farmworkers, made idle by Central Government statute and regulation.

CONGRESSMAN GATHINGS: Is there anything you can do to help these poor people on our farm who are suffering so because of this dollar-an-hour mess? They are totally out of work all fall and winter unless maybe one man in the family can drive a big truck or a picker or combine. There isn't any way possible my husband can pay them a dollar-an-hour to hand pick cotton, he just goes on and machine picks it all. But he is hurting inside because he would rather the farm hands had something to do to help feed their families.

A nearby farm has hired some hand picked cotton. The pickers are brought in on buses from other towns while the tenants have had to sit on their porches and watch—not allowed (by their government) to work on the farm they live on. Now, I ask you to forgive me, but "Isn't that a Hell of a Mess?" Who could have dreamed such a thing could happen?

The Right To Lie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, what many Americans have known for years has now been confessed by the culprits.

A top Government official admits to the use of deliberate lies to the American people and defends such untruths with the rationale that newspapermen do not concern themselves with the truth anyway.

And then the newsmen counterattack—accusing the Government of deliberately distorting facts—that is, lies—but defending their opinionated right to saturate the public with half-truths they call editorializing.

It all boils down to where each feels it has the exclusive right to lie.

We have pure food and drug laws, weights and measures, codes of ethics, and are now working on a law to protect the buying public against unwholesome foods. Perhaps what this country needs is a law to safeguard its citizens from impure, adulterated, and half-true news and reports—all of which can be most injurious to public consumption and opinion.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the articles from the Saturday Evening Post for November 18 and the November 13 Washington, D.C., Evening Star following my remarks:

THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE RIGHT TO LIE

(By Arthur Sylvester)

If I had been living in the early 19th century in what was then our country's West, and had been a religious man, I am sure I would have taken my stand with the Lying Baptists against the Truthful Baptists.

The issue that created the two sects arose at Long Run, Ky., in 1804, and posed the question whether a man with three children captured by marauding Indians was justified in lying to the savages to conceal the presence nearby of a fourth child. The Lying Baptists argued that under the circumstances he had the right, indeed the duty to lie. But the Truthful Baptists shook their heads, uh-uh: Tell the truth and sacrifice the child.

The sects have long since disappeared. But during six years as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs I often found the self-righteous descendants of the Truthful Baptists wandering in the same old moral fog.

As the Defense Departments' spokesman I espoused the thesis that the indisputable requisite of a government-information program was that it be truthful. But I also stated that on occasions (such as the Cuban missile crisis when the nation's security was at stake, the Government had the right, indeed the duty, to lie if necessary to mislead an enemy and protect the people it represented. For months the news industry, and others, distorted my remarks beyond recognition, howling that they were proof the Government was not to be believed under any circumstances. How hypocritical can you get? I know that it's axiomatic that fog hangs longest over the low places, but I can't bring myself to believe that fog alone accounts for the misinterpretation, misrepresentation and downright lying that tarnish the American news industry, written and electronic. I don't know a newsman who has served the Government as an Information Officer who hasn't been dismayed at the evidence of shabby performance by what he used to think of with pride as his profession.

If, as the news industry properly insists, the Federal Government has a complete obligation for truth, you would think the newsmen would abide by that rule for their own first principle. But they don't. As a wit has said, their motto is: "Don't get it right, get it written." Add to this a handout psychology, an incurable desire to prophesy and interpret, plus a failure to ask the right questions. Is there any surprise that much information about Government is misinformation?

Currently the news industry likes to explain its shortcomings by blaming the Johnson Administration for a "credibility gap." Every sophisticated newsman knows the Federal Government puts its best, not its worst, foot forward; after all, the newsman's best friend, his club, his business, his city, county and state government all do things that way. That being so, it is his function to penetrate this protective coloration behind which all men attempt to mask their errors. If there is a credibility gap, it measures the failure of newsmen to do their job.

I was the Defense Department's spokesman during the Cuban missile crisis. President Kennedy was to make the fateful decision to force the Soviet Union to remove its missiles from Cuba, come what may. The overriding requirement was surprise.

During that momentous week of Oct. 15–22, 1962, President Kennedy interrupted a political tour in Chicago and returned to Washington. The reason given was that he had a cold. I didn't know whether the President had a cold or not, but on the basis of my 37 years' experience as a reporter and news executive, I doubted it. But because the explanation was simple and not easily refutable—who is going to say to the President of the United States, "No, you don't have a cold"?—it was as good as any and better than most of the cover stories I heard in Government. I shudder to think of the flimsy explanations held in reserve to cover some current and vital activities of our Government. But I could be wrong. For six years I watched cover stories go down smooth as cream when I had thought they would cause a frightful gargle. It was well that some, dealing with intelligence, did survive, but some others should have been exposed.

Certainly President Kennedy could not, and should not, have informed news representatives of the true reason he was returning to Washington: that for the first time the United States had proof positive—pictures, plenty of pictures—that contrary to their denials the Soviets had installed offensive missiles in Cuba, and that he was returning to Washington to consult with his advisers on how to counter the nuclear threat. President Kennedy was not dealing with some Indians about the life of a child, but with the lives of millions of his countrymen. If he thought the first step in fulfilling that obligation required him to contract a cold, he was joining the Lying Baptists, and so did I, and so be it.

On October 19, after consultation, I authorized a Defense Department release responding to questions about Cuba. The release read:

"A Pentagon spokesman denied tonight that any alert has been ordered or that any emergency military measures have been set in motion against Communist-ruled Cuba. Further, the spokesman said, the Pentagon has no information indicating the presence of offensive weapons in Cuba."

A case can be made that the first sentence was technically correct. But the second sentence was untrue. The man who issued the release did not know that. I did. I knew that some of the Soviet missiles were operational. That meant that nearly the entire U.S. soon would be vulnerable to a sudden strike. I knew the President and the Executive Committee of the National Security Council had decided on a confrontation with Premier Khrushchev and were completing plans for it. I had been alerted that within 72 hours President Kennedy, in a report to the American people, would publicly demand that the Soviets withdraw the missiles and that he would announce the imposition of a blockade.

Newsmen, insisting they speak for the public, have argued that a response of "no comment" can avoid such untruths as our denial of knowledge that the Soviet missiles were in Cuba. But like all general statements, the assertion that Government information must always be truthful requires qualification, because these programs do not and should not operate in a vacuum. Government information may be addressed to the American people, to their adversaries, their friends, to the neutrals, or to any combination of them or to all of them at once. The newsmen's argument that the Government can easily say "no comment" is disingenuous because "no comment" is not a neutral term. Under the circumstances of the missile crisis, any good reporter would have been correct in interpreting "no comment" as a confirmation that we knew the Soviet missiles were in Cuba. An alternative would have been to take the inquirer aside and acquaint him with the facts on the understanding that nothing would be printed. Unfortunately that system works only sometimes. Without reflection on the inquirer's patriotism, it was decided not to risk the country's safety, in the name of the people's "right to know" and the Government's duty to "tell the truth." After all, newsmen *are* gabby.

It is really not the missile-crisis type of event that causes credibility problems. Nor does the refusal to discuss intelligence activities or new weapons systems, although holding the line on the latter is always difficult due to both industry and military pressures. It is the problems created in the Vietnam war by the absence of censorship and the presence of television that produce difficulties. I have often wondered whether critics think we should have called a press conference on certain tense Vietnam situations that have never before come to light. For example, early in 1964, with Vietnam already a very hot war, more than 600 Air Force F–105 fighter planes were temporarily grounded due to deficiencies in their propulsion system. My guess is that if questions had been raised we would have taken the gamble and leveled with newsmen and asked them to lay off. My experience is that in those circumstances the Pentagon reporters would have honored the request. But some itinerant newsman on the scene might have written the story, just as some itinerant newsmen damaged their country's interest by revealing U.S. Air Force combat planes were flying out of Thailand against North Vietnam at a time when the Thai government threatened to deny us the bases if any publicity developed. Newsmen in Saigon who had been briefed honored the request for silence, only to be beaten by the blabbermouths.

Government officials as individuals do not have the right to lie politically or to protect themselves, but they do always have the duty to protect their countrymen. Sometimes, even apart from military considerations, a program may be too tentative to reveal or there may be a question of timing the announcement. Sometimes, and those times are rare indeed, Government officials may be required to fulfill their duty by issuing a false statement to deceive a potential enemy, as in the Cuban missile crisis. I believe the Bay of Pigs was also such a time. But the fact is that this operation was carried on with such ballyhoo that the news media later accused the Government of Madison Avenue publicity tactics. So sensitive to the charge was the Kennedy Administration that it went to the other extreme in the missile crisis.

My personal notoriety as an alleged exponent of the Government's "right to lie" developed as a result of distorted reporting of my answer to one question put to me December 6, 1962, at the end of a two-hour give-and-take dinner meeting of the New York chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, a national journalism society of which I am a member. The news industry, even after six weeks, was still angry over the shutdown of news during the height of the missile crisis, and Jack V. Fox, a United Press-International reporter, asked, in view of my assertion that "the people must be able to depend on what the Government says," what I thought about half-truths, citing President Kennedy's "cold." My answer seemed to uncap hidden, foolish furies; the newsmen mostly flocked to the Truthful Baptists. Mr. Fox's story read: "He [Sylvester] said that the Government must not put out false information, but later added, 'I think the inherent right of the Government to lie to save itself when faced with nuclear disaster is basic.'" I haven't found another reporter who coupled the rule with the exception as he did. Certainly *The New York Times* didn't. Its headline next morning read, U.S. AIDE DEFENDS LYING TO NATION, and its story began: "'When a nation's security is threatened . . . that nation's leaders are justified in telling lies to its people,' Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, told a press gathering here last night." One need not be surprised at this from a paper that didn't hesitate to attribute faked quotations to a U.S. official in a page-one story of a meeting that hadn't taken place (I happen to know about the fakery since I was the official who did not hold the reported meeting); or put a phony date on a letter that the management tried to suppress because it nailed the paper on one of its untruthful reports from Vietnam (I know about this because I wrote the letter and checked on it later). The *Times* was not alone in distortion. It has had newspaper, magazine, electronic and congressional company across the nation, all adding to the "credibility gap."

In a world of nuclear weapons we can stand more candor and less hypocrisy about the relationship between press and Government. Unfortunately the news industry hasn't caught up with its changed role, much less acknowledged it.

The late Gen. George C. Marshall, who served as both Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, and was known for his probity, once gave an enlightening dissertation to newsmen on the strategic advantage to the military of confusing the enemy by deliberate leakage of misleading information to the press. Former President Eisenhower expressed the idea in simple form during a TV interview with Walter Cronkite who, referring to me, asked General Eisenhower what he thought about the thesis that the Government had a right to lie in behalf of its people when facing a nuclear threat.

The former President replied that in times of crisis "you develop elaborate systems of deceit. . . . So you can't just say that in such situations the truth, the whole truth, must be given instantly, because that would be terrible."

President Kennedy got to the heart of the matter when he told a meeting of publishers: "Every newspaperman now asks himself with respect to every story: 'Is it news?' All I suggest is that you add the question: 'Is it in the national interest?' " I would add only that when there is uncertainty whether the national interest is involved, the question to ask is: "Is this something that you, if you were on the enemy's side, would like to know?" I know from reading the Defense Department mail that most citizens—despite all the lamenting about the credibility gap and the Government's right to lie—upbraid the Department for releasing information they fear is helpful to our antagonists. They don't want their children surrendered to the savages merely so that the Government could boast it always told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

WHITE HOUSE DISTORTS FACTS, NEWSMEN SAY

CHICAGO.—Sigma Delta Chi, the 18,000-member professional journalism society, has criticized the Johnson administration for "deliberately misleading the public, press and the Congress through flat lies, through half-truths and through clever use of statistics that distort."

The attack came in a report yesterday by the society's national Freedom of Information Committee which accused some of the highest officials in the administration of "inaccurate and misleading statements that contradicted most of the fine words" President Johnson has spoken on freedom of information.

The report leveled some of its sharpest thrusts at the State Department, Department of Defense, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the President's news conferences.

The report, released in advance of the society's convention Wednesday in Minneapolis, said a continuing major problem is the President's refusal to conduct regular press conferences with "reasonable advance notice."

"SNOW JOB" ALLEGED

"His style of press conferences makes it impossible for any but the White House regulars (reporters) to be present, and it makes it unlikely that he will face any pattern of consistent hard questioning on any subject. He has it well organized for "a White House snow job," even though it is doubtful if he is as successful in accomplishing his purpose as he was a year or more ago."

The report accused the State Department of "misusing a claim of national security for purposes of hiding or obscuring the record."

The committee, which included Washington correspondents, questioned the State Department decision in conducting a "secret hearing" in the case of Otto F. Otepka, former chief security evaluator. He was accused of improperly leaking information to congressional committees.

The report said: "The Defense Department continues to be the Washington reporter's biggest single challenge." But the report praised the department for abolishing a 1962 rule requiring Pentagon officials to report all contacts with the press.

INACCURACIES CHARGED

The Pentagon continues, the report said, to "pour out inaccurate information on everything from the controversial TFX plane matter to the question whether there was joint chiefs disagreement over the conduct of the Vietnam war."

NASA was described in the report as "infamous for holding back a report which warned of shoddy work by private contractors building the Apollo space capsule, the one that killed three astronauts in a launching pad fire." It has changed little under pressure from the Freedom of Information Act, the report said.

The committee warned of "dangers inherent in the American Bar Association's efforts to restrict information on arrests, trials, and the whole criminal law enforcement area."

The report said the ABA's Fair Trial and Free Press Committee wants to forbid lawyers from releasing information on pending criminal cases, including prior records, existence of a confession and indentity of witnesses.

OPEN BID SEEN

The SDC committee said this is "an open invitation for arbitrary actions by courts that are corrupt or blind to the necessity of avoiding undue restraints on information. . . ."

The Sigma Delta Chi committee was headed by Clark Mollenhoff, Washington correspondent of The Des Moines Register and Tribune and The Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

Vice chairmen are Murray Seeger of Newsweek magazine, Washington; L. L. Sisk of the San Diego (Calif.) Evening Tribune, William J. Small of CBS, Washington, and Alvin E. Austin, University of North Dakota.

Congratulations on an Impressive Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join with my colleagues in taking note of the interim report on the organization of our foreign service community, rendered last month by the committee on career principles of the American Foreign Service Association.

Looking to the future, the committee has attempted to tackle some of the largest and most pressing issues which will be facing the foreign affairs community during the next decade. The committee's statement of general propositions and first principles provides a promising base for studies and recommendations in this field.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD the conclusions and recommendations of the interim report, and congratulate the committee on career principles upon its achievements to date.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Almost a Foreign Service generation ago, those who had entered the Service before World War II were confronted with something akin to the present Service crisis of identity, role, and purpose in a rapidly changing external environment. That period of ferment and creativity inside the administration led to the formulation of many of the concepts of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Today the problems if not entirely dissimilar, involve, in much greater degree, not the Foreign Service alone but the foreign affairs community.

In summarizing its work to date, the Committee hopes that it has rescued from the past a number of ideas which have relevance for the future—and many have formulated a few suggestions of its own for more effective planning, coordination, and budgeting in the foreign affairs process at home and abroad.

We believe that the case for sweeping reorganization of the foreign affairs community is less persuasive than getting on with the significant improvements that are possible in the present system. We think the Association can and should play an active role in considering and proposing these improvements. None have greater stake in foreseeable changes than its members, and few can make as substantial inputs to the consideration of these fundamental problems of organization.

The Committee intends shortly to present to the Board a more detailed study of the operational implications of the foreign affairs environment anticipated over the next decade. The Committee believes that it is now in position to develop its general propositions and principles into specific recommendations for the consideration of the Board and the membership of the Association on:

The uses of "commonality" for a more effective integration of the several foreign service personnel systems.

Implications in newer distinctions among foreign affairs functions for recruitment, examination, assignment and training.

Future organization of the foreign affairs community and its planning and coordination requirements.

Applications of programing techniques and information handling systems in foreign affairs.

The Committee recommends that the Board approve the general directions it has taken, direct it to continue on these lines, and indicate the priorities the Board attaches to the tasks outlined above.

WILLIAM LEONHART,
Chairman.

The following people participated in the work of the Committee during February-October 1967, although not all of those listed were still active when this report was prepared:

William Leonhart, Chairman; Outerbridge Horsey, Vice Chairman; Richard W. Aherne, M. R. Barnebey, Adrian A. Basora, William Belton, Charles W. Bray III.

Gerald S. Bushnell, Frederick L. Chapin, R. T. Curran (USIA), Curtis Cutter, Morris Draper, Robert Duemling, John E. Harr.

Norris Haselton (Ret.), Thomas J. Hirschfeld, William E. Knight, Charles Nelson (AID), W. Haven North (AID), Mary Olmstead, Hewson Ryan (USIA).

William Sherman, Richard L. Sneider, Peter Tarnoff, Sheldon Vance, Carol Westenhoefer, Frank S. Wile, Larry Williamson.

The U.S. Economy: Critical Decisions Lie Ahead—An Address by U.S. Senator Robert P. Griffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on November 2 my good friend and colleague from the State of Michigan, Senator ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, addressed the Detroit chapter of the American Institute of Banking.

I believe Senator GRIFFIN's views on the current economic situation are particularly noteworthy, and I commend them to the attention of my fellow Members:

Distinguished guests and friends, it is a distinct privilege to meet with you this evening.

Several months ago, when your Committee first invited me to speak, I felt certain that Congress would be adjourned by this time.

Which just goes to prove how wrong a politician can be, even about his own profession.

I know that the matters which keep us in session—taxes and spending—are very much on your minds.

The noted British author, C. P. Snow, once wrote a book, which discussed a gulf that separates scientists from literary intellectuals.

Between these two groups, he said, there "exists a gulf of mutual incomprehension—sometimes hostility and dislike, but most of all a lack of understanding. They have a curious, distorted image of each other. Their attitudes are so different that, even on the level of emotion, they can't find much common ground."

It occurs to me that a similar gap in understanding sometimes separates businessmen from politicians. Although it may not be as formidable, a gulf of "mutual incomprehension" is often evident, particularly when discussions focus on taxes, spending, and the state of the economy.

When the prestigious Business Council met recently at Hot Springs, Virginia, the *New York Times* reported that businessmen were angered about the stalemate over the President's tax proposal.

"In their private conversations," the *Times* noted, "the business chiefs said that Mr. Johnson and Congress were both being irresponsible in attempting to force each other to take the lead in cutting the budget.

"They feared extreme inflation and crisis in the financial markets if Congress adjourned this fall or winter without passing the tax bill."

I do not doubt the validity of that assessment.

However, it is revealing that members of the Business Council do not take into account the *political* realities of the economic dilemma.

I know that the standard formula for obliging an audience of this type is to analyze the economy, and to refer nonchalantly to a dizzying array of statistics.

But I should like to escape that precedent this evening and to explore, instead (on a non-partisan basis, of course) some of the political consideration which seem to have us entrapped on Capitol Hill.

Regardless of what your professional view may be, there are still many members of Congress who are not convinced that it would be in the public interest to grant President Johnson's request for a tax increase.

It is true that the House Ways and Means Committee did hear testimony from an impressive parade of economic specialists. And the Committee did receive a statement signed by 260 of the Nation's leading economists, including Walter Heller, urging enactment of the tax bill.

Monetary officials, led by William McChesney Martin, have appeared and warned of the inflationary consequences of Congressional inaction.

An enormous budget deficit approaching $30 billion looms as a distinct possibility. And *most* economic indicators are pointing upward.

Yet Congress still refuses to budge.

Indeed, as Senator John Williams of Delaware pointed out the other day, the President's tax proposal is so unpopular that no one has yet introduced the measure in either House of Congress. With a wry expression of sympathy, Republican John Williams said he would volunteer to introduce the bill for the President since it appears that he can't get anyone from his own party to do it.

As you read, the House Ways and Means Committee, by an overwhelming vote of 20–5, decided recently to put the tax issue aside in the absence of concrete evidence of meaningful co-operation from the White House to cut back on spending. I can assure you that Congressman Mills and the other members of the Ways and Means Committee are very much concerned about the economic trends. But Chairman Mills is very much aware of the temper of the Congress, and the American people; he is not about to push a bill out on the House floor until and unless there is a climate in which the bill can be passed.

It is interesting to note that before the President's surtax request was announced, the Democratic Congressional leaders were summoned to the White House for a briefing session. Mr. Johnson mustered and presented all the fearsome economic statistics to defend his request for the 10% surtax.

It is reported that a wise old politician, Speaker John McCormack, counseled the President *against* trying to sell the propositision purely in economic terms. He contended that neither the people nor the Congress would be moved by heady statistics concerning excessive demand, cost-push, price inflation, and inventory adjustment.

The only way to achieve the tax increase, McCormack told the President, is to talk about Vietnam and patriotism—and "wrap it in the flag."

In the end, as you know, Mr. Johnson rejected Speaker McCormack's advice. He decided to stick to his economic data and to play down the war.

But in so doing he was also refusing to recognize something referred to as the "credibility gap." It is quite apparent to almost everyone but President Johnson that Congress has grown suspicious of Administration forecasts and statistics.

When Treasury Secretary Fowler unveiled impressive charts and diagrams before the House Ways and Means Committee, calculated to instill fear of impending economic calamity, they were treated rather casually by Committee members.

During each of the past three years, the Administration drastically underestimated the costs of the Vietnam war. Last year it was finally discovered that the military spending estimates presented in the budget were based on the misleading assumption that war would be over by this past summer. The result was a $10 billion underestimate in defense outlays.

In January, 1967, the President told Congress and the American people that the budget deficit would run only $8.1 billion for the current fiscal year. But later, in August, the Administration suddenly seemed to "discover" that the deficit would reach $29 billion if the 10% surcharge were not enacted.

Congress has not appreciated this confusing pattern which has plagued budgetary planning. Such abrupt shifts in direction have seriously eroded confidence in the Administration.

As Senator James Pearson, of Kansas, has pointed out, there is at work in the country something which could be described as the opposite of "crying wolf" too often. After too many false alarms have been sounded, a point is finally reached when people will not respond to a genuine alarm.

And the reverse is also true. In this case, the Administration had told Congress and the people, over and over again, that we can have *both* guns *and* butter, without any serious dislocation of our economy. President Johnson has "pooh-poohed" concern about deficit spending for so long that people are now skeptical when he suddenly reverses himself.

Needless to say, the budget process is immensely complicated. Its impact upon economic growth, and ultimately upon the private decisions of millions of people is substantial. But instead of providing a reliable guideline for rational planning, the budget has become a propaganda tool which is manipulated along with the news.

There is widespread resentment that the January budget figures cannot be relied upon by Congress—that the budget has become an instrument of propaganda, rather than an honest handbook to guide the appropriations process.

Obviously, overuse of the budget as a tactical, short-term political weapon seriously threatens its integrity, as an influence for long-term, balanced growth.

It seems obvious that resistance to the President's tax bill is closely related to his fading influence as a leader within his own party. His failing popularity has had serious reverberations in Congress, where his pet programs are either stalled in Committee or manhandled by members of his own party on the floor of the House.

Keep in mind that there are 248 Democrats and only 187 Republicans in the House of Representatives. In the Senate the margin is 2 to 1. After all, Mr. Johnson wouldn't have to convince Republicans in Congress of his credibility—if only he could convince the Democrats.

Really,—I do not particularly want to present a partisan discourse.

But there *is* a crisis of confidence in Washington. And it has affected the fortunes of every legislative issue, including the tax proposal.

I have attempted to sketch the political climate which, to a large extent, has undermined the force of the President's tax recommendations.

But it would be wrong to conclude that members of Congress are therefore indifferent to the economic warning signals on the horizon.

But most members of Congress—and most of the Americans believe that meaningful cuts in domestic spending can be made. They know—perhaps instinctively—that a $1 reduction in spending carries nearly twice as much anti-inflation impact as a $1 increase in taxes.

While attempts to cut the budget and legislate expenditure ceilings are necessary, in the face of a massive federal deficit, I want to point out that Congress needs to make some changes in its procedures if we are to do a thorough and responsible job of appropriaiting funds.

It may come as a surprise but, under present procedures, Congress never has the opportunity to consider or vote on the budget *as a whole*. Congress passes one appropriation bill at a time. It may cover one or several Departments and agencies. Congress proceeds in a hit-or-miss fashion. This is no way to run a business enterprise, and it is no way to direct government finances.

I have proposed that Congress reform its own appropriation procedures so that no single appropriation bill would be finally enacted until after all had been considered, and a resolution carrying the total amount of expenditures were adopted.

I have already alluded to the prospective federal deficit and the lack of rational budgetary planning.

Without adequate restraints, government spending will spur the inflationary psychology which is already gaining momentum. Since March of this year, the consumer price index has risen at an annual rate of 4%. Cost pressures are accelerating, with wage demands far exceeding the now defunct wage-price guidelines.

Moverover, I want to emphasize that if Congress should give way to the protectionist pressures which are now building up rapidly on Capitol Hill, the situation can become much worse.

In this session of Congress, no less than 90 Senators have already introduced or cosponsored bills to impose rigid import quotas on a wide variety of items ranging from textiles to strawberries. Although I have not added my name to any of these measures, you may be sure that I am acutely aware of the pressures as well as the problems involved.

Taken together, the various quota bills would affect nearly 50% of our total imports.

Needless to say, Secretary of State Rusk has received mountains of diplomatic notes indicating that, as surely as night follows day, retaliatory action will follow if we move unilaterally to clamp down on imports. As everyone in this room knows, the United States depends heavily upon a favorable trade balance in helping to narrow the deficit in our international payments.

It is apparent, of course, that trade barriers serve to distort the market mechanism. They create artificial economic terms for potected industries, which then have a shield against the hard discipline of competition. Such restrictions generally operate to seal off protected industries from technological innovation—which is the hallmark of American industrial greatness.

This is no time to forget that everything we do in this field must be framed with reference to the world around us. Trade policy is part and parcel of our foreign policy. The shape and scope of the Nation's economic relations are intrinsically bound up with our international relations.

We would be foolish to ignore the effect that such moves would have on the Kennedy Round of tariff agreements recently concluded—or on the whole forward thrust of our trade policy during the past three decades.

In general, our policy has been based on the proposition that competition is a strong, healthy stimulus for world trade, and that expanding world trade is the surest path to real economic growth for all members of the international community.

This lesson was born from the global depression of the nineteen-thirties. We should keep in mind that it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a massive return now to rigid trade restrictions could once again spark the kind of economic dislocation that proved disastrous in an earlier age.

Traditionally, we have prided ourselves as exponents of the free-market system. Americans continue to believe in the existence and the importance of competition—despite the protests of the John Kenneth Galbraiths.

We are often reminded that jobs here at home can be affected when foreign-made goods are introduced in our markets. But, we should not overlook that millions of jobs in America depend upon international trade.

Exports provide employment for one out of every eight farm workers in the country. In Michigan alone, where the St. Lawrence Seaway is so important, eight out of ten industrial workers are employed by firms which are actively engaged in international business. One out of every seven workers in our State depends upon international trade for his job.

I am suggesting, therefore, that we take a long, hard look before we move unilaterally to erect rigid, across-the-board barriers which stifle international trade.

Instead of taking refuge behind trade barriers, I suggest that we had better come to grips with the tough economic problems which confront us on the domestic scene.

More trade barriers will serve only to hide us temporarily from the difficult decisions which we should be facing up to here at home.

To meet the problem of imbalance in our international accounts, we must sustain a margin of exports over imports—which means that our goods must remain competitive in world markets.

And the underlying, related problem is the accelerating wage-price spiral in our country, which threatens inflation that is unacceptable—unacceptable from the standpoint of the consumer, unacceptable from the standpoint of our balance of payments.

Recent wage settlements are nearly double the rate at which productivity is increasing.

As you well know, higher costs—for labor, for capital goods, for credit—are ultimately passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices. I need not remind you that inflation is the cruelest form of taxation which penalizes millions of consumers while it operates to price our goods out of world markets and our workers out of jobs.

Mr. Henry Bodman, chairman of the board of the National Bank of Detroit, expressed the problem in this way:

"Wage levels which put severe pressure on profit margins will always result in higher prices and, sooner or later, higher unemployment. The federal government interprets these results as calling for new spending programs to employ the now unemployed, and for vast injections of new credit and money to clear the market of the new higher priced goods. Then the whole dreary process starts over again."

Recent wage settlements hold out little hope that we can escape from this vicious cycle.

The monopoly of union power—the imbalance of power—has already undermined the process of collective bargaining. The classic ideal of free, collective bargaining, which we were told about in school, is not very much in evidence today.

The value of contemporary collective bargaining procedures, as an equitable means for resolving labor-management disputes, is highly questionable in many industries.

This conclusion is inevitable in reviewing the history of last year's airline strike, as well as the more recent railroad impasse which required Congressional intervention.

The contract just negotiated at Ford must be viewed from the standpoint of the national pattern it tends to establish, and not just the impact it may have on the prices of Ford automobiles.

Balanced wage agreements are essential if we expect to curb inflation and to promote *real* economic growth.

The breakdown of traditional methods in the labor-management arena cries out for a thorough and searching review which will point toward reform.

To date, the President has never fulfilled the promise he made in January, 1966, to recommend reforms in the available legal machinery which is applicable to crippling strikes and the collective bargaining process.

But, even though the President has refused to provide any leadership, there is no excuse for Congress. We should be considering a number of proposals, including legislation which I have introduced to abolish the National Labor Relations Board and replace it with a U.S. Labor Court.

I believe we will have to move toward limited compulsory arbitration in an area like transportation, where competition is limited and rates are already regulated by the government.

In other segments of the economy, the answer—or at least a part of the answer—is to apply anti-monopoly principles to labor unions.

I have focused a good deal tonight upon unsettling factors in the economic situation.

Ironically, our economic troubles arise at a time when the country is enjoying a long period of sustained expansion, uninterrupted by recessions.

We should not overlook that is, in and of itself, is an historic achievement.

But we are finding out that prosperity—or affluence—produce problems as well as rewards.

As a nation, we face a critical test: Will we be wise enough and strong enough to heed the warning signals that are before us? Will we take the actions that are essential to restore needed balance and discipline at home so that we can keep alive the hope for peace and prosperity abroad.

It will not be easy to arouse interest in such decisions and actions, particularly when so many seem to be lulled by soft comforts into a state of complacency.

Of one thing I am certain: Your help is absolutely essential. The wisdom and the influence of groups like the American Institute of Banking are very much needed today.

Community Centers Answer Poverty's Complex Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal about alleged failures in the war on poverty, but all too little about the countless achievements and advances which this crucial program has made. A very informative column by Steve Ames, entitled "Community Centers Answer Poverty's Complex Challenge," appeared on October 25 in the San Mateo County Peninsula Midweek.

Mr. Ames provides an excellent report on the heartening and entirely constructive role which community action centers are playing in the poverty neighborhoods of San Mateo County.

With permission, I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

COMMUNITY CENTERS ANSWER POVERTY'S COMPLEX CHALLENGE

(By Steve Ames)

Opportunity does knock, and residents of San Mateo County's "War on Poverty" target areas are finding that they can unlatch the door to respond.

There have been successes, although for now, at least, they must be measured in modest terms—in terms of individuals, not of whole populations.

The problems of poverty are frustratingly complex and interrelated. But some heartening progress is being registered at a number of community service centers set up to meet poverty or its own complex terms.

As one report of the Office of Economic Opportunity (the agency that runs the War on Poverty) put it, "in poverty, no factor exists alone. The family living in a foul hovel most likely needs medical attention. They live in such conditions because the head of the family is unemployed; and he's probably unemployed because he's unskilled and uneducated. He has to be trained for a decent job, but poor health may keep him from such training—and so may his color.

"Wherever you start in the poverty syndrome, you find a whole network of social and economic problems."

The centers have different names, and they do not all perform precisely the same services, but the overall task is to provide a single source where people of a target area may ask for information and referral for help.

In East Palo Alto, it is the Information and Referral and Service Center ("Info," for short) at 1849 Bay Road.

In the Redwood City area, it is the "Probe" Community Center, at 2615 Fair Oaks Ave.

In San Mateo, it's the Community Service Center at 15 N. Claremont St.

The need for such centers had been demonstrated by many a survey, poll and public meeting. But the tragic fact remained, until a year or so ago, that those who most needed help often were totally ignorant of what help was available to them through public agencies.

Even after the centers opened, there remained some who were unable to ask for help, simply because they lacked transportation or telephone.

"The need for centers such as ours is apparent from the volume and variety of services we are called upon to provide," says Mrs. Velma McCrary, director of the San Mateo Center.

The three centers, in their first year of operation, received more than 4,500 requests for help.

(A fourth center opened at 6634 Mission St., Daly City, earlier this month.)

The problems, as has been said, are complex. It's not always enough to want to work in an age of automation. A person must have a skill, and even obtaining that skill is difficult, for example, for someone who cannot read. A sizable number cannot qualify for jobs where a written examination is required.

Another complication is the fact that there is considerable turnover in the population of the target areas. Poor continue to move into target sections at about the same rate as a neo-middle class moves up in the world—and out.

No matter what their race (a high percentage, but not all, are Negro), when target area residents need help, legal aid, information on welfare application, food, clothing, or information on employment, it is to the OEO center that they go.

A young mother of three, for example, deserted by her husband, may be about to be evicted. She may not be able to obtain welfare aid.

The center may be able to halt the eviction, get emergency aid, and get her enrolled in a basic education class where she can learn stenography, sewing or some other job skill.

One Peninsula family's home was wiped out by fire. "I lost everything but the clothes on my back," declared one member. He received assistance from the Red Cross, Goodwill and St. Vincent DePaul Society, as well as a service center. "I thank God for people like them," he declared.

When dealing with the individual problems of the people they serve, the center staffs must recognize that many of them are from the South and have made their homes in California only for the past four or five years.

The needs of these people are in community orientation, education into the dangers of buying beyond one's earning capacity, and information on low cost housing. Many are completely bewildered by their surroundings, and ignorant of the community services available to them.

Centers provide financial counseling in a variety of areas, including consumer purchases, saving, borrowing, and shopping for credit.

In the area of health and welfare they:

Serve as liaison between poverty-target area and existing agencies through referrals, information on programs, coordination with other groups, provision of transportation when necessary, giving moral support to those who need it.

Demonstrate and document needs of the community, such as low-cost housing, improvements in public transportation, legal services and better utilization of skills, or potentials of area's residents.

Educate and inform citizens of poverty areas about school requirements, health and welfare programs, functions of governmental agencies and voter registration, and encourage citizens to make use of existing educational opportunities.

Seek to put money in the pockets of poor by providing jobs for non-professionals as community aides to carry out programs.

The centers also are involved in providing information on medical care for needy citizens, and assisting minority and poverty area members on dealing with public assistance agencies.

The centers also work in close cooperation with senior citizen groups, school counseling services, deaf and blind services, preschool programs (Head Start and others) and public school administrators. They cooperate with churches, recreation departments, and children's groups.

"Credit must be given to the ministers of the area," says Mrs. McCrary. "For instance, in San Mateo they have gone out of their way to let us use their facilities free, assisted in financial contributions and do counseling when called upon."

The centers maintain information files on recreational resources, and available camperships. They help in establishment of pre-teen and other neighborhood clubs in schools and churches. Community aides take children on excusions to parks, playgrounds, baseball games and the like, as a way of broadening their horizons. They also conduct story hours and arts and crafts programs.

Centers maintain liaison with labor unions and the State Department of Employment, to keep tabs on job opportunities and training programs. They're in touch, also, with schools and private firms which have or plan training programs, and with some employers that have frequent job openings.

Another task for the centers is to teach clients proper modes of dress for job interviews and work, and to help them in filling out job application forms.

Employment is not, of course, a complete cure for all the problems of a poverty area population, but it is one of the most important factors.

In the past few years many companies have revised their hiring standards to provide a better opportunity to those who have had little formal education.

GETTING AROUND TEST "ROADBLOCK"

One of these is Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. Don Taylor, employment supervisor at the firm's San Jose office, frequently visits the service centers. He says the company is now training target area people as linemen and operators if they can pass the qualification test.

"But," he adds, "our test throws a lot of people. It is almost impossible to pass without a high school diploma. If a person has a lower score but otherwise shows promise, he will be conditionally hired. If he can 'cut the mustard' he stays."

PT&T also has a program of assisting employes with half the costs if they take college courses and get at least C grades.

It is not enough to ask for opportunity. Unlatching that door, taking advantage of opportunity, requires acceptance of responsibility.

Mrs. McCrary, of the San Mateo center, has an answer for those who complain that "you're not making the people responsible enough to provide for their own needs."

"I've got news. We ran into some little problems that were monumental.

"Two 17-year-olds obtained employment that grew out of our summer job conference, but they had no money for transportation to the job for the full month they had to work before they were paid.

"The center was able to provide the cash necessary and the youngsters were told they should pay this back at the end of their working experience.

"We had no guarantee that this would be done, but we explained this was their way of not only helping themselves, but someone else within the community who might need this same kind of service.

"The day those young people walked through our office door and put 'cash on the barrel-head' was the day they began to really understand the words 'responsibility' and 'pride.'

"They're gonna make it because we kept the faith."

"Keeping the faith" requires genuine dedication and commitment from center staff members.

"We are available from the time when the people in the target area wake up until they go to sleep," says Edward Becks, director of the East Palo Alto center.

"Our emphasis here is to help the community organize itself. We have to assume that the poverty program will not be around forever."

Becks adds that the organization will only come as the "Info" Center enlightens people on how to deal with their own problems.

Not only is the director's day long, but his life is one of constant interruption.

He may be in a conversation dealing with racial unrest at Menlo-Atherton High School. The phone rings. It is a client wanting to discuss a case with the director. In the meantime, the bookkeeper knocks and walks into the office to verify an expense on last month's statements.

"You learn to get used to this," says Becks. "It goes the same for everyone in the office. One moment we are discussing an issue in the community at a medical center, the next moment we are dealing with the Human Resources Commission.

"It is difficult to find a person with the special qualities needed to work in an office such as this. You have to deal with the clients individually, working in the tempo or philosophy of the community.

"However," he emphasized, "this is an interesting assignment. You become physically tired. But it is a rewarded tiredness. Certainly this goes for the whole staff, or they wouldn't stay here to see this thing through."

In legal assistance, the OEO has made a substantial contribution. The Legal Aid Society staff has gone from one attorney working a half day a week to 10 attorneys working a full six-day week.

The Legal Aid Society now has offices in East Palo Alto, San Mateo, Redwood City and South San Francisco.

LEGAL AID FOR CIVIL MATTERS

The society deals in civil—not criminal—matters, usually concerning debt problems, installment sales contracts, administrative agencies such as Welfare, Employment, Veterans Administration, and Social Security, and domestic matters.

Simon M. Rosenthal, executive attorney, says the most rewarding aspect of working with the Legal Aid Society is that "for the first time the poor have access to the courts and justice.

"In the past, most business and professional organizations had a paid lobby in Sacramento and Washington to represent their respective special interests.

"For the first time, some Legal Aid attorneys hope to make governing bodies aware of how some areas of the law are onerous as applied to unorganized, low income citizens."

He adds, "Now the poor can think in terms of rights and obligations, looking to law as a solution to frustration and grievances."

And Rosenthal points out, "We provide a service beyond an individual client. If a merchant knows that even the poor have a legal arm, the merchant is not likely to abuse the rights of the public."

Beyond the economic and legal opportunities that the OEO has generated, there is a special opportunity for participation in and learning about the democratic process of decision-making.

Speaking as a loud voice in how the OEO community service center operates is the target area's Community Action Council. Meeting monthly, as partial fulfillment of the principle of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor, they served as the policy advisory group to all OEO programs operating in that target area.

The CAC has a right to review and make recommendations to the County Human Resources Commission and delegate agencies regarding program goals, progress, impact on the community, program changes, community relations and other appropriate matters.

Meetings are open to the public, and the CAC elects target area community representatives who are to make up the one-third elected target area representation on delegate agency boards of directors.

Some of the topics discussed at one recent meeting of a CAC on the Peninsula were the high school tutorial program, handling of domestic relations cases, policing of teenage children at night in target areas, a community recreation program, and employment.

"Most gratifying aspect of the program," says Mrs. McCrary at San Mateo, "is seeing and helping the young children and the teen-agers. They have pure, honest, unbiased reactions."

Nancy Thurston, director of the Redwood City program, echoes the enthusiasm of Mrs. McCrary.

"The most exciting part of the program is that the people who benefit from the program are working in it."

As Mrs. Thurston pointed out, 75 per cent of the officer staff are in the needy category and a third of the board are potential recipients under the program.

The whole idea of the centers, of course, is to help the poor help themselves.

As Rosenthal put it, "Don't look for instant change. Most of the OEO programs are an investment in human values. Compare the cost of the Vietnam War for three weeks. The amount is about the same as the entire OEO program.

"Society must be willing to invest more in itself. Otherwise, we have a false economy."

The OEO hopes to go further in revitalizing and rebuilding the target areas, and at the same time to discover more about the causes of poverty.

Members, the centers themselves are hardly operating at a luxury level. In fact, George Riley, acting director of the County Human Resources Commission, feels that they have scarcely enough to provide adequate service in the target area.

"Too often," he said, "we have to make a choice of who or what not to include in a program."

The centers are financed 90 per cent through federal OEO funds; the rest is provided by local agencies or individual sponsors.

The annual budget for the San Mateo center, Riley said, is $40,000; Redwood City, $42,000; and East Palo Alto, $52,000. The new Daly City center has a $17,000 budget.

Dr. Atkinson Assesses Strategic Balance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Prof. James D. Atkinson of Georgetown University is one of the Nation's internationally recognized experts on nuclear strategy. In the magazine Ordnance for November-December 1967, he lucidly and authoritatively assesses the current and evolving strategic balance between the United States and the U.S.S.R. His evaluation is particularly timely and significant in the context of continuing hearings by the Joint Atomic Committee's Military Applications Subcommittee on the antiballistic missile question. Dr. Atkinson's article follows:

The Strategic Balance: Rather Than Seek Mere Nuclear Parity With the Soviets, the United States Should Use Its Technological Resources To Develop a Variety of Offensive and Defensive Systems To Limit an Enemy's Capabilities

(Dr. James D. Atkinson)

It has been said that U.S. military-technological progress forces the Soviet Union to react to a particular development. But is this, in fact, correct? Do our strategic patterns set the pace for Soviet developments, or do the Soviets pursue their own strategic goals quite independent of us?

It can be argued that in some areas we may be able to influence Soviet policy. We of the United States might be able to convince the U.S.S.R. that we can and will maintain superiority in the production of long-range missiles.

But it is unlikely in the extreme that the Soviets can be convinced that *they* are precluded from achieving scientific and technological breakthroughs in particular areas—such as reentry vehicles or advanced antiballistic missile (ABM) systems—which might lead to a high level of weaponry and give them superiority over the United States at a given moment in time.

Indeed, authoritative Soviet spokesmen and military journals bluntly indicate that the Soviet effort is directed toward the attainment of superiority. Thus *Communist of the Armed Forces* (No. 3, 1966) has stated that "winning and maintaining technical superiority over any probable enemy while there is still peace is today of decisive importance."

Especially under the impact of long lead times, the essence of strategy today is not so much the new; it is, rather, the *5 years* from now—and the *10 years* from now.

It is important, of course, whether or not we now have over-all strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. But it is even more important to understand the trends in the military-technological competition, for upon these depends our future security.

The July 1967 study of a special subcommittee of the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council, "The Changing Strategic Military Balance: U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R.," gives a blunt warning with reference to trends in the power equilibrium. The study states:

". . . For 1971 it appears that a massive megatonnage gap will have developed. U.S. delivery capability is estimated to range between 6,000 megatons and 15,000 megatons, whereas the estimated high for the Soviet delivery capability is 50,000 megatons, and the projection of the established Soviet range-curve indicates a low figure for the Soviets of approximately 30,000 megatons. On the basis of this projection, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will have reversed these roles in a 10-year period."

This study also points out a continuing strategic problem for the United States—the high yield of Soviet ICBM's and the resulting possibility of electromagnetic pulse or other unexpetced weapons effects that might neutralize an entire U.S. ICBM complex however we might harden or shield it.

Allied to this is the possibility of a complete blackout of communications and the consequent transmission failure of a retaliatory order by the President. This is so since, as a result of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, "the United States can only guess at what unique effects might occur when very high-yield weapons are exploded. But the Soviets *know*."

Because of these and other serious questions raised, the study has received wide attention in the American press. *The New York Times*, for example, in a front-page story on July 12, 1967, stated that "the Defense Department did not directly contradict the study's findings, but argues that deliverable megatonnage was not an accurate indicator of 'true military capability.'"

The Christian Science Monitor—in an extensive analytical article on July 20, 1967—stated that "there is growing concern that the Soviet capability may exceed, now or soon, that of the United States. Allied with that is a concern that the United States is taking insufficient steps to maintain its position."

In an important public address in San Francisco on September 18, 1967, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara announced "a light deployment of U.S. ABM's" against the possibility that, in future, the Chinese Communists "might miscalculate" and launch a nuclear attack against the United States.

The Secretary of Defense rejected large-scale ABM deployment by arguing that this would be directed against the Soviet Union and that the Soviet response would be a step-up in its offensive capabilities which would "cancel out our defensive advantage."

Although Mr. McNamara stated that "there is no point whatever in our responding by going to a massive ABM deployment to protect our population, when such a system would be ineffective against a sophisticated Soviet offense," the Joint Chiefs of Staff—as well as a number of informed Senators and Congressmen on the Senate and House Armed Services Committees—believe that a large-scale missile defense is a requirement in view of the rising Soviet military-technological threat.

Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the Soviet economy is capable of reacting fully to a large-scale U.S. deployment of ABM systems; for example, one which would include both land-based *and* sea-based missile-defense systems.

The evidence of more than two decades following the Second World War suggests that it has been the stabilizing factor of U.S. military-technological superiority which has prevented a general nuclear war. Today, primarily under the impact of the Soviet military-technological thrust—but to some extent from Chinese Communist efforts—that stability appears to be threatened.

If, for example, the Soviet strategists can achieve, or believe they have a very high percentage of achieving, an area-kill factor of incoming missiles (so that there is no problem of discrimination with reference to decoys and live warheads), they may at some point in time be tempted to launch a surprise nuclear strike upon the United States.

The deployment of a large-scale American ABM system or systems is one answer to the stabilization of power in the world. But it is not an end in itself.

If the military-technological revolution of our times teaches us anything, it is that there are no permanent plateaus in military technology. Instead there is constant change and rapid development.

To avoid a nuclear war and to safeguard the national security, therefore, we need to move forward with a mixture of both defensive and offensive weapon systems and to consider, for example, new types of air and sea-based strike systems made feasible by technological advances. The variety of our possible choices of action adds immeasurably to an enemy's planning problems if he attempts to prepare responses to a broad spectrum of capabilities.

A mixture of options—not reliance on one or two—compounds the task of the enemy and makes deterrence meaningful to him. There are many uncertainties and unknown factors in working out the problems of offense and defense alike, since the acid test is—and only is—actual war.

Those things—such as too great reliance on fixed missile systems—which simplify the problem—also reduce the uncertainties and unknown factors posed to the opponent. Simplification of our options may, in fact, tempt the enemy to consider a surprise attack.

Most of all, however, a "mix" of options is significant in the load factor which it places on a potential enemy's military structure. The Soviet Union is faced with a number of constraints. If we make the Soviet leaders consider a new option, it tends to limit their capabilities—as well as blunting their desires—for playing the game of strategic blackmail in world politics.

Your Congressman: Bill Scott Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter for November 1967:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN: BILL SCOTT REPORTS, NOVEMBER 1967

DISTRICT VISITS

It is difficult to determine when Congress will adjourn although I had hoped it would be by the middle of this month and had made tentative plans for visits in each County in the District. Those plans have been revised to include Friday and Saturday visits this month and all of the first two weeks in December. Hopefully we will adjourn by the end of the month. The full schedule follows:

November 17, Fredericksburg.

November 18, Hanover.

November 24, King William, King and Queen.
November 25, Lancaster.
December 1, Spotsylvania.
December 2, Caroline.
December 4, Loudoun.
December 5, Fauquier.
December 6, Prince William.
December 7, Louisa.
December 8, Goochland.
December 9, Charles City and New Kent.
December 11, Northumberland.
December 13, Richmond and Essex.
December 14, Westmoreland and King George.

If you have any suggestions for me or if I can be of service to you, please contact me during these visits. The Fredericksburg visit will be in my District office at the Post Office, and the other locations will be announced through the news media. There will be no visit to Fairfax County because I have lived there for more than 20 years and see these folks daily.

ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

Twenty boys took the Civil Service Designation Examination November 4th, and 25 took the test in July. When the November 4th list of grades is received from Civil Service, we will merge it with the July list and use this as a basis for the nominations which will be made after the first of the year. There are a few boys who have not sent me three letters of recommendation, a picture, and a transcript of high school records. I would like to have these as soon as possible. The Coast Guard Academy does not require Congressional appointment, but uses the College Entrance Examination as the basis for selection. Further information on entrance requirements may be obtained from my office.

POVERTY BILL

The House of Representatives is spending a considerable period of time considering the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. The bill, commonly known as the "poverty program," is one of the most controversial to reach the floor of the House.

All of the members appear to want to alleviate poverty, deplore substandard living conditions and lack of opportunity of many citizens in our affluent society, but many feel that the Office of Economic Opportunity is poorly administered and that what the President refers to as the "War on Poverty" is not being won. In fact, statistics show that there are over a million more people receiving welfare payments now than a year ago.

Among the programs included in the bill are the Job Corps, Community Action and VISTA programs. The goals of these organizations are all worthwhile. However, it does cause you to wonder when you see an amendment in the bill to require that the operating cost for each Job Corps enrollee be reduced from $7500 to $6500.

The committee report indicates that poverty workers have spent portions of their time reviewing county records to determine who is and who is not registered to vote and then going in government vehicles to take people to places of registration so that they will be qualified to vote. Poverty workers have been accused of particpating in riots and violence in our cities and their officials accused of lobbying to obtain favorable action by Congress in violation of a Federal Criminal Statute.

In the last few weeks we have received a considerable number of personal visits, telephone calls, telegrams and letters urging that I support the bill without any Amendments. These contacts would ordinarily be persuasive. However, as you know, we had a questionnaire early in the Spring in which 93% of you said to cut government spending, and 80% said to cut the Poverty Program. There are few more unpopular programs and I'll vote to restrict it. Of course I'll try to pick and choose as various amendments are offered, and will vote in favor of the Headstart Program and others which seem beneficial in helping people to help themselves. We all must be seeking ways in which we can be truly helpful to the deserving poor.

NO NEWSLETTER IN DECEMBER

In view of the holidays and the visits throughout the District, there will be no December newsletter. However, in January I want to seek your views on next year's legislative program and so I will send the newsletter and a questionnaire to all homes in the District.

SUMMER JOBS

The Civil Service Commission has announced an examination for Summer Jobs in Federal Agencies for students next year. The examination will be for GS–1 through GS–4 typists, stenographers, clerks and engineering and science aides, and for seasonal assistant jobs in the postal service. Candidates who achieved eligibility for summer jobs this past summer must compete again if they wish to be considered for summer work in 1968.

The exam will be given throughout the nation on December 9, January 13, February 10, and March 9. Federal agencies will begin making selections after the second test has been processed, so the Commission urges interested persons to apply early. Complete information about the summer job program and complete application procedures may be found in the Civil Service Commission's Announcement No. 414, "Summer Jobs in Federal Agencies." The announcement is available at high school counseling offices, college placement offices, the Civil Service Commission and many Post Offices.

AGRICULTURE PUBLICATIONS

A limited supply of the 1967 Agriculture Yearbook, "Outdoors: USA" is still available through my office. Also available are the bulletins "Your Child from 1 to 6" and "Infant Care" which may be ordered by title.

A RECENT BILL

I have introduced a bill limiting to 10 the number of questions to be asked by the Bureau of the Census in 1970, with authority to ask additional questions only if they are specifically approved by the appropriate Committees of each House of the Congress. A census has been taken since time immemorial, but the first American census was taken in 1790 and contained only five questions. This number has grown to 165 in 1960 and additional questions are proposed for 1970. Many of the questions are of a personal nature, and it does not appear essential for the government to have the answers to all of them, but rather it seems an invasion of the privacy of our citizens. In a column published in most of our weekly papers last month, this proposal was mentioned and constituents have been unanimously in favor of the bill in their responses. Certainly if anyone is going to keep the government from continuing to invade the private lives of individuals, it should be their elected representatives. Not only will this bill, if enacted, prevent intrusion by the government, but it will also cost considerably less than the anticipated questionnaire.

WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA TRANSIT AUTHORITY

On Monday the staff of the MATA briefed me on the proposed rapid transit system. I am not entirely satisfied with the proposals for Northern Virginia, and hope, therefore, that people in Fairfax and the surrounding counties who can, will attend public hearings and make their views known to their rapid transit representatives. Transportation in and out of Washington is a vital problem, and an informed citizenry can assist in providing a better system.

SOMETHING TO PONDER

Communications is the beginning of understanding.

Secretary Freeman Addresses Outlook Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN G. DOW
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, the 45th annual outlook conference opened at the Department of Agriculture on Monday. This outstanding event, attracting agricultural specialists from all over the United States, was keynoted by the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman.

In his remarks Secretary Freeman pointed out the close relationship between domestic agricultural policy, foreign trade and aid to the less developed nations, and cited some of the dangers to all three posed by those who would abolish our domestic farm programs.

I believe Members will read the Secretary's remarks with the greatest of interest. I submit them as follows:

A NATIONAL FOOD BUDGET—CAN WE MAKE IT WORK?

It is always a pleasure to be in the company of courageous men. I use the word advisedly for many of you—including the speaker—will hazard prophesies during the next three days. This takes courage, for as Samuel Butler once said:

> "New Jerusalem, when it comes, will probably be found to resemble the old in that it will stone its prophets freely."

Josh Billings was even more pointed:

> "Don't *never* prophesy," he said, "for if you prophesy wrong, nobody will forget it, and if you prophesy right, nobody will remember it."

With these admonitions, let us proceed.

Saturday I returned to the Uniteed States from the 14th conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome.

This meeting brought home most forcibly the close, inseparable relationship between agriculture in the United States and the needs of a hungry world. We live in a world of compressed space, one in which it is no longer possible to separate agricultural policy into tidy compartments—label them "domestic farm programs," "foreign aid," "commercial sales"—and deal with them as separate entities

All are inseparable parts of the whole. There is a word for this—synergism—meaning, roughly, that the whole is greater than the sum of the separate parts. This word describes my own thinking on a national/world food budget, and the agricultural policy that can make it a reality. I will have more to say on this in a few moments.

The FAO meeting also allowed me to view American agriculture through the eyes of others . . . in this case, agricultural experts from nearly every nation on the globe. It was a stimulating and thought-provoking experience, one that sharply etched both the opportunity and the peril facing American agriculture in a revolutionary era.

The challenge is no less than the cause of peace itself. American agriculture has the opportunity to make a major contribution to world peace by providing food to hundreds of millions of people around the globe while—at the same time—it exports the technology so desperately needed by the poorer nations to feed themselves. We must do both, for unless we do, the War on Hunger will end in ignominious surrender to famine. Unless we win that War, our children will inherit a world wracked by chaos and misery.

This is the challenge, and, like most great endeavors, it is fraught with peril. For unless we can maintain the economic health of our own agriculture, there is little chance that this Nation can meet the challenges ahead.

You are agricultural professionals, intimately aware of these challenges, and the complicated interplay of domestic farm policy, world trade and world economic development. You know, far better than most, that there are no simple answers, no instant solutions, to the problems facing this Nation and the world. This is why I am here today, to continue a fruitful dialogue the Department began some 45 years ago, and one in which I have participated since 1961.

In 1961, shortly after assuming my present job, many of us in this room began working toward the goal of a national food budget, an agricultural policy that would allow us to produce what we needed while avoiding continued buildup of the surpluses that had depressed farm prices and income during the fifties. In addition, the policy had to prevent equally disastrous shortages that blunt our leadership in the War on Hunger. and blunt our leadership in the War on Hunger.

This was our stated goal. At the time I pointed out that I had no magic formula to accomplish it—to bring into balance demand and supply so that we could meet our objectives at home and abroad. But I did express confidence that—given some time, determination and elbow grease—we could develop the necessary machinery to do the job.

In the six years since 1961, by dint of trial and error, with considerable political strife and many close votes in the Congress, I believe we *have* developed the necessary machinery to make a national food budget a reality. It is now possible for the United States, as a matter of national policy and with the cooperation of government, farmers and the trade—to avoid the boom and bust of surplus or scarcity; and to produce the kind of agricultural products we need, in the right amounts.

This year, 1967, marks the beginning of the third year of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, one half of the machinery that makes possible our goal of a national food budget. The other half, Food for Freedom, is now in its second year. Thus, passage of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 and Food for Freedom in 1966 has made *possible* a true national food budget for the sixties, seventies, and beyond.

But the mere fact the machinery exists doesn't automatically mean success. That depends on the wisdom and leadership we apply to make the gears go round. Whether we have *these* crucial elements remains to be seen. Some groups are throwing sand in the gears right now. The concept of a national food budget is being severely tested—if not threatened—as we meet here at this historic Outlook Conference.

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (which I'll call the *"Act"*) and the Food for Freedom Program (which I'll call the *"Program,"* hereafter), are twins. They complement each other. Neither can be effective in isolation, nor can a true national food budget be viable unless the Act and Program are closely coordinated.

The *Act*, of course, is designed to prevent surplus or scarcity through a working balance between supply and demand, one which will result in farm prices at as high a level as possible consistent with remaining competitive in world markets. If world prices are too low to return parity of income prices, the difference is to be made up to the farmer in direct payments.

These payments, in turn, can be used when necessary to withdraw acreage from production to avoid surpluses.

The Act traces its immediate lineage to the five major commodity bills enacted in the sixties, and its remote ancestry to the New Deal legislation of the thirties.

But it is fundamentally different from its progenitors. One of the single most outstanding differences between this legislation and that which preceded it *is a recognition that stabilization of market supplies of basic commodities is a continuing—rather than a temporary—problem*.

This was evident in the authorization of a four-year bill, rather than a one or two-year bill, as in earlier postwar legislation.

And there are other fundamental differences: The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 provides for price supports at near-world levels for the major crops, with the stabilization and acreage adjustment programs necessary to avoid surpluses. This is in sharp contrast to earlier legislation with prices supported at higher than world levels.

How *much* acreage is to be withheld depends upon world production, domestic needs, dollar sales and the needs of aid-recipient countries—for the Secretary, under P.L. 480, is to make food available to those needy nations that act in good faith to meet the self-help requirements of the *Program*.

This is very different from the way Food for Peace operated for more than a decade in the past, and marks another departure from past programs. Under earlier P.L. 480 legislation, foods moving in aid programs had to be in surplus. This requirement was removed in the 1966 *Program*.

Removed in the 1965 *Act* (and earlier) were the mandatory acreage restrictions and the large export subsidies that accompanied high-level price supports. Adjustment programs for almost all the major crops are now on a voluntary basis; government payments are used to achieve adjustments, export subsidies are minimized.

Thus, the 1965 Act gives the Secretary some flexibility in adjusting annual programs as necessary to meet both commercial market and food aid needs at stable prices. At the same time, United States producers can be protected against sharp price and income drops if supplies exceed market needs for short periods.

There are still those—an influential and sizeable minority—who deny the necessity for a National Food Budget. They deny the necessity for farm programs and would abolish them. But to do this, in my considered judgment, would drastically affect our domestic agriculture and commercial and aid shipments because of the close interrelationship among them.

The basic disagreement, I think, is between those who would put their faith in random conduct of our affairs, versus those who would seek to shape events through conscious action.

Certainly most of the problems which precipitated farm programs in the first place have not changed. American farmers still have the capacity to produce more than the market can absorb at a fair price to them. Our experience this year, with production up substantially in almost every commodity, ought to drive home this point dramatically once again.

Other things haven't changed either. No one has discovered, over the past 37 years, how to control the weather and its impact on production. World trade is still an absolute necessity to a healthy U.S. agricultural plant, and world prices cannot be established by fiat. Although we often hear that "farm prices are made in Washington," in fact, they are also determined in Ottawa, the Chicago pit, Canberra, Buenos Aires, and a hundred other spots around the globe.

Finally, of course, the relentless march of agricultural technology continues unabated, with its advances immediately and widely diffused throughout the developed agricultural world.

These are very fundamental conditions that existed at least four decades ago, continued seven years ago, when I became Secretary, and still exist today. According to every indicator I have studied, they will still exist tomorrow and for a long time to come.

What I have called the "New Era" farm programs were designed to allow farmers to cope with these bedrock problems; to allow them to participate in the shaping of their own destiny through the mechanism of government, just as Food for Freedom was designed to meet the bed-rock problems of a hungry world which needs desperately to develop its agriculture and its economy.

The New Era programs, in a short seven-year period, have made notable progress. In contrast to the close of the 1960–61 crop year, when 1.4 billion bushels of wheat and 85 million tons of feed grains were stockpiled, only about 500 million bushels of wheat and 40 to 45 million tons of feed grains are expected at the end of this marketing year. Compared to the peak CCC years of 1956 and 1959, investment in farm commodities is down $5 billion this year, and down almost $2 billion from last year. The nasty label of "surplus and subsidy" has been largely scrubbed from the farmer's back.

U.S. products are moving freely in world trade, at competitive prices. Compared to fiscal 1961, total agricultural exports were up nearly 40 percent—to $6.8 billion—in fiscal 1967, and sales for dollars were $5.2 billion, a gain of more than 50 percent over 1961 and higher than our *total* agricultural exports—commercial and concessional combined—in any year prior to 1964.

The U.S. now accounts for 37 percent of world wheat trade, about half of world feed grain trade, and over 90 percent of world soybean trade.

Favorable world weather and near-record crops in virtually every nation for two years have had their effect on our exports, and on domestic farm income. But this year and last have been exceptional weather years worldwide, not likely to continue uninterrupted.

Last year (1966) gross farm income set an all-time record, as did net income per U.S. farm. National net farm income climbed to $16.4 billion, the second highest in the history of the United States, a 40 percent rise over 1960 and 18 percent higher than a year previous.

This year, net farm income will decline some 10 percent from last year's high, although it will still be substantially above levels of most years of the 1950–1960 decade.

This, of course, is terribly disappointing, and no one is more disappointed than the Secretary of Agriculture. As Mr. Dooley once said to his friend Hinnissey:

"When you build your triumphal arch to your conquering hero, Hinnissey, build it out of bricks so the people will have something convenient to throw at him as he passes through."

The bricks hurt, gentlemen.

What has taken place over the past year is ironic—but we have always recognized the danger. A year ago the evidence on world food production and supplies was most unfavorable. The monsoons in India were failing for the second successive year, short crops in the Communist countries had required large purchases from Western exporters. The disappearance of excess stocks in the United States and an unfavorable wheat yield outlook contributed to the uncertainty. The world was clearly in a short grain supply position.

As a result, after a careful assessment of probable world needs in the 18 months ahead, the national wheat acreage allotments for the U.S. 1967 crop were increased sharply. Action was taken to increase acreage in feed grains and soybeans as well.

Then within a few weeks after these decisions were made, the world outlook changed sharply with favorable prospects in almost every major grain-producing country.

Canada, Australia and the Soviet Union harvested record wheat crops. Argentina and Western Europe harvested good crops of both wheat and feed grains. Feed grain harvests in Eastern Europe were good and a few months later South Africa produced a record corn crop.

In the U.S. we have a record grain crop in 1967, with an overall increase of from 4 to 5 percent. The 1967 feed grain crop is up 12 percent, wheat crop up 19 percent, and rice and soybeans are up 7 percent over 1966. Cotton, on the other hand, is down 16 percent and there's been a substantial drop in the 1967 fruit crop.

Although demand expansion and somewhat lower prices will lead to some increased domestic use—particularly in feed grains and soybeans—as well as larger exports, some increase in carryover stocks will occur for these two commodities, as well as wheat.

The cotton crop, down some 5½ million bales below expected utilization this year, may well reduce next year's carryover to under 7 million bales, compared to 12½ million bales this year.

Until milk utilization prospects become clearer, it is difficult to make production and price projections. The five percent drop in commercial utilization this year is the greatest in U.S. dairy industry history. If any of you have a theory as to the "why" of this situation, I would like to hear from you. As you know, I am deeply concerned over the low milk prices farmers are receiving. Yet consumption has dropped while our population continues to climb.

This, in short, is the situation in the major commodities. Now, what are we doing about it?

As I said earlier, we do not yet have control of the weather, nor do we even have an absolutely foolproof system of predicting it. As a result, we realize that our best estimates of production may, at times, miss the mark. Someday, with a global system of satellite stations reporting daily on crop conditions around the world, we will do better. But for now we have to work here on earth to refine our forecasting and to take action—based on the best information available—to bring supply and demand into closer balance.

This is what we're doing this year with our New Era farm programs. In contrast to a year ago, the world grain position is strong. Therefore, we are acting to tailor supply to demand in order to increase farm prices and prevent costly surpluses.

The first of these adjustments, for wheat, was announced on July 7. The 1968 program should reduce the harvested land by some 5 million acres below this year's level.

This will assure us an ample supply of wheat to meet all needs, foreign and domestic, commercial and concessional. It should result in total wheat income for 1968, some 500 to 600 million dollars higher than in the years prior to the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

Two weeks ago last Friday, I made a similar announcement for the feed grains. Our target is to divert about 30 million acres from production—some 10 million more than in 1967—in order to change this year's 2 to 3 percent overproduction to a 2 to 3 percent underproduction in 1968.

Fulfilling this target, of course, depends upon a great many factors, not the least of which is grower participation. With good cooperation, we estimate producers will receive more than $400 million more feed grain income than in 1967, and nearly $200 million more than they did in 1966, which was an all-time record income year.

We're also making changes in cotton.

When the four-year cotton program authorized by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 went into operation, we had an all-time high carryover of 16.6 million bales of upland cotton. We wanted to reduce this to normal carryover levels, to improve producer income, keep cotton competitive and reduce government expenditures.

We had extremely high farmer participation in both 1966 and 1967 programs. This—coupled with an abnormal weather cycle and insect infestation—accomplished the supply adjustment in two years rather than the expected four. At the same time, cotton has been kept competitive with other fibers, farm income has improved and, as you also know, government expenses have been materially reduced.

The national marketing quota for cotton has been increased to 16.1 million bales, to encourage more production of the medium and longer-staple cottons that are in highest demand. With the new cotton promotion program now manned and getting underway, the outlook for producers is looking up.

I have gone into some detail on our recent actions for this reason: I feel that our programs, domestic and Food for Freedom alike, are in a critical period in a number of ways. It is of greatest importance that they be more completely understood. In contrast to 1961 through 1966, a period of acreage reductions and stock drawdowns, 1967 marked a turn-around point. Modest rebuilding of stocks was thought to be necessary, for with surpluses eliminated we are operating our programs without the cushion of security those stocks provided. For those who don't follow world conditions closely, such a turnaround may be hard to understand—especially when unexpected weather intervenes and we are forced to reverse field and again reduce acreage.

The market has been jumpy for over a year. In my opinion, it over-reacted to last year's rumors of shortages and over-reacted again this year, when supplies are ample, but not burdensome.

Clear understanding is vital if we are to achieve a workable national food budget. So is improvement. These are two areas in which I solicit your help and that of your colleagues.

I am most anxious to receive your suggestions for strengthening our present programs to make them more effective. I had hoped to be able to discuss such an action today—the Purcell bill for strategic reserves, that would have enabled us to raise the incomes of grain and livestock producers in 1968. Unfortunately, this legislation was killed in a subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee two weeks ago.

It has been evident for some time that there is a limit to the amount of grains the commercial trade will carry without forcing prices down. Millers and exporters are naturally reluctant to buy and hold grain when bumper crops might lead to lower prices. It is equally evident that there are limits to what the present New Era voluntary farm programs can do in tightening down oversupplies, the proximate cause of recent price slumps. Obviously we can't take a chance of running out of grain completely.

Had the Purcell bill been enacted, in the future the Secretary of Agriculture could have adjusted annual supplies more closely to market needs—with resultant stronger prices for the farmer and with no danger of shortage for domestic consumers or overseas' markets. Both must concern him now. In bumper crop years the government would have been able to buy grain, firming up prices; in short years, supplies could have been sold under the most carefully prescribed conditions. It would have been another valuable tool to make our national food budget system work effectively.

Unfortunately, it was voted down. The statements of those who killed it make it clear that partisan politics, rather than the welfare of American farmers, carried the day.

If the bill had passed, I believe it would have strengthened market prices not less than 10 cents per bushel for wheat and feed grains, resulting in from $300 to $500 million in additional income for farmers. It is significant that, upon its defeat, the wheat market reacted sharply downward.

I hope that every farmer in the United States noted this partisan action and will remember it, for the negative vote has the widest implications.

On March 16 of this year, a bill was introduced to abolish price supports, acreage allotments, and base acreages for wheat and feed grains—in effect, to abolish the present programs altogether. Since this time, 20 additional bills, identical or virtually identical to this bill, have been introduced. Clearly the enemies of farm programs are poised to strike.

At the time the wheat and feed grain programs expire, around the end of 1969, so do the wool payment program, the dairy milk base plan for federal order markets, cropland adjustment, and some provisions covering cotton diversion and price support payments.

Anyone who thinks these other programs will stand if the wheat and feed grain programs are abolished is, I believe, badly mistaken. They won't, and this goes for the rice, tobacco, and several others as well.

And so the classic choice facing us next year and the year after, is between workable programs and no programs at all, with the deepest implications for farm income, commercial sales and Food for Freedom.

I don't think we should seriously pursue the chimera of a return to mandatory programs. It is true that if we had them, they would cost far less than the present voluntary programs, with strict controls on a bushel, bale, and poundage basis. But both the Congress in 1962, and farmers, in 1963, have rejected this approach. As a practical matter, for most commodities, it's a dead issue.

So there aren't three choices ahead, there are only two.

Most of you are familiar, I'm sure, with the recent study by Dr. Wilcox and his colleagues titled "Farm Programs Needs, 1968–70," and so I won't repeat it in detail. Its main findings point to an approximate one-third drop in net farm income in the absence of support and diversion programs for wheat and feed grains.

I'm sure you're equally familiar with the study done by the Center for Agricultural and Economic Development at Iowa State University upon commission by the Food and Fiber Commission. This report says that by 1980, in the absence of programs, wheat would sell for $1.27 a bushel with no certificates, corn at 75 cents a bushel with no payments, cotton at 17 cents with no payments, and soybeans for around $1.23 a bushel.

I have seen no serious refutation of these findings, but there are a great many who feel that, somehow, we can find our salvation in an unlimited overseas concessional market. Unfortunately, this isn't true.

First of all, the amount of food that can move in aid programs is limited by several very practical factors. These include the ability of the developing nations to handle such food—dock, storage and distribution facilities—the amount that can be absorbed without complete disruption of their own agricultural development, and the extent to which political leaders in these nations will permit their countries to become dependent on U.S. food.

On agricultural development rests all subsequent economic development in the less-developed nations. The Congress wisely recognized this basic truth when they wrote self-help requirements into the new Food for Freedom legislation, making it very clear that aid must help—not hinder—development. Hence, food aid must be used with skill and economic understanding as well as compassion.

Second, the mirage of an unlimited overseas demand overlooks the findings of a recent USDA long-range study of the world food situation through 1980, one that showed more continuing world capacity to produce grain than effective world demand can absorb at stable prices. Strong competition in commercial markets will continue and so will the potential for overproduction, for a long time to come.

Some of you may disagree with my analysis this morning of the world and national agricultural situation, and the tools we have devised to deal with the problems besetting us. But few of you, I suspect, would minimize the magnitude of the problems themselves, or believe that blind change, slogans or dogma, are sufficient to meet and solve them.

And so I would close by impressing upon you, to the best of my ability, the strong sense of urgency I feel for the two years immediately ahead. In 1968 the Nation will make its decision on whether or not to extend existing P.L. 480 legislation. In 1969—or perhaps in 1968—it will similarly determine the fate of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. Both are—and will be—under heavy attack. The President's position—and my own—are clear. We stand in support of these measures for the reasons I have listed this morning.

By using them, and by improving them, I am confident that we can meet both the Nation's obligations to its farmers and our obligations to a hungry world. In the debate that will rage in the next months and years, I would ask for your leadership—that you separate the wheat from the chaff, the emotional from the intellectual, the fact from the fancy. If we do this, I am confident that a national food budget—viable, workable, economic—can and will be a reality. And as it does, the Nation will meet its responsibilities to its producers and to the world.

My fellow prophets, thank you.

George M. Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened recently by the untimely and sudden passing of a distinguished Kansan, George McKibbin Brown, of Wichita. George Brown was a tireless worker in behalf of many civic causes. He was devoted and active in his church, St. James Episcopal, in Wichita. He was a hard-working and loyal Republican and served with distinction as chairman of the Sedgwick County Republican central committee. George Brown was president of the Kansas State Network which owns and operates television stations in Wichita, Garden City, Great Bend, and Oberlin in Kansas.

Mrs. Shriver and I join with many others in Kansas who mourn the loss of Mr. Brown, and we extend to his wife, Mary; his mother, Mrs. George M. Brown, Sr.; and to his children our heartfelt sympathy.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wichita Eagle, and I wholeheartedly agree that "every community badly needs people like Mr. Brown," and in Kansas we were fortunate to have George Brown with us, if only for a little while.

The editorial follows:

GEORGE M. BROWN

The untimely death of George M. Brown, Wichita business and civic leader, has shocked the community.

An able executive, Mr. Brown didn't like the public spotlight, but he never shirked a public duty, and the list of his contributions of time and effort and ability would be a long one.

Virtually every organization for the improvement of conditions for the needy or for youth has benefited over the years from the sensible counsel and devoted interest of George Brown.

He was a native of Wichita, and he invested many hours of his time and energy to the improvement of this community in a variety of activities in which his quiet enthusiasm and willingness to undertake any job inspired other people to match his efforts.

His recent activity in politics and service as Sedgwick County Republican chairman was another facet of his many interests.

Every community badly needs people like Mr. Brown. His loss will be keenly felt in Wichita.

USIA Head Sees New Era in Communication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leonard Marks, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, recently addressed the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in Denver on a subject of vital importance to the peoples of the world. He pointed out how the technological revolution in communications will, in a very few years, permit the dissemination of knowledge, of culture, of information, of scientific discoveries to all of mankind. Think what that could mean in terms of banishing ignorance, prejudice, suspicion, and tyranny over the mind of man.

Mr. Marks further points out that it is the responsibility of the United States, as the leader in this revolution, to see to it that it develops along constructive lines.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a digest of Mr. Marks' address as reported in the Rocky Mountain News of November 9:

USIA CHIEF VISUALIZES GLOBAL MENTAL PARTY LINE

The head of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) said Wednesday in Denver mankind is on the threshold of World-shaking communications advances which will permit each home to tap into the minds of billions of other men in a sort of global party line.

But Leonard H. Marks warned the World's store of knowledge is increasing so rapidly there is a danger that an information overload "could turn out to be a cancerous disease."

In an address before the 43d convention of the National Assn. of Educational Broadcasters, Marks, USIA director, called for creation of a World information grid—a nonprofit sharing and pooling of the World's knowledge and cultures for the benefit of all.

Marks harkened back to a statement by the late President Herbert Hoover made when Hoover was commerce secretary, which visualized the potential of radio "as it could have been but which it never fully became."

Hoover said: "It is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service and for news, for entertainment and education and for vital commercial purposes to be drowned in advertising chatter."

Marks said passage by Congress of legislation to set up a Public Television Corporation (PTC) "will at last turn from fancy to fact" Hoover's vision as it could be applied to television.

PTV, Marks added, "is to our century what the land grant act was to the last century. . . It is a huge, horizonless resource with vast riches waiting to be mined."

Among new tools for broadening man's ability to communicate knowledge will be the electronic video recording (EVR) device, he said.

"Here is a black box with a very bright promise," he added.

"It will allow us to play back videotaped material through a TV set in a home or a classroom . . .

"It immediately resolves the rigidity of single-channel educational TV scheduling and permits the teacher—or for that matter, the parent—to use videotapes at will."

Several hundred of the devices will become subject of experiment next year in British, Italian and German schools and "will be in our own classrooms soon enough . . . my guess is the black boxes will be ready for us sooner than we will be ready for them," Marks said.

"BLACK BOX" BLESSING

"Black boxes—especially those with the potential of EVR—can be a blessing," he added. "But blessings have been known to turn into curses. It is clearly not so much the black box that matters—but what we put in it.

"If there is any single truth that the advance in communication technology has taught us, it is this: The machine originally was an extension of man's muscle. Now it is increasingly an extension of man's mind."

Marks, noting that Telstar went into orbit only five years ago to provide 200 circuits across the North Atlantic, said Telstar "is a kind of primitive tom-tom compared to what will be coming soon.

"Not only is the number of circuits going to multiply, but we will soon have direct microwave connections between the United States and Africa, Latin America and South Asia."

Marks said World peace and understanding are direct function of communication, and war is communication "of a very inefficient sort."

He said only a change in human beings will lead to a World without war.

"Such a change is not out of the question—no matter what the pessimists say," he said. "War is a man-made problem. Peace is a man-made solution.

"And despite what Communists say, man is a free being; he can do what he makes up his mind to do; and he isn't a victim of history—he is history's maker."

Man today has a big advantage over his ancestor of a million years ago, Marks said.

"And that advantage is that he can plug his mind into the minds of billions of other men—he can connect up his central cortex with the central cortex of billions of other men—he can, as it were, pick up the phone and tap in on a kind of global party line in which everyone can pretty well talk to everyone else," he said.

600 books are published daily and hundreds of thousands of journals and magazines are printed regularly, he pointed out. Within a dozen years, he said, the amount of additional information man will collect will equal in volume all data produced in the previous 2000 years.

USE OF COMPUTERS

He said the computer must be used to automate and harness, as well as miniaturize, this knowledge "before it devours us." He said man must learn to route knowledge sensibly or "it will surely rout us."

In calling for creation of a World information grid he said all centers of learning should be linked and each should deposit and draw from the pool as needed.

Radio and television are only part of the improving communications network which will offer all men the best in literature, dramatic presentations and front row seats in history-making events, he said.

Others, he pointed out, are telex, telephone, facsimile and high-speed data transmission.

"Leaders of nations should state their positions to the home viewers as they today explain their attitudes to United Nations delegates," he said.

". . . The cultures of all lands must be circulated through the houses of nations as freely as our technology permits.

WON'T ENDURE

"Wise leaders know that manhind will not long endure in peace in a World that is half rich and half poor, half ignorant and half learned.

"Illness of mind, like disease, infects the healthy and soon epidemics become the scourge of humanity."

He said educators should be given a chance to freely exchange information between nations via the satellite system, much in the means that dams now are being constructed in South America on information cranked out by computers in Massachusetts or Britain's Library of Medicine uses computers to abstract 250,000 medical articles a year and make them instantly available.

Who Are Some of the Protesters?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, just to keep the record straight and to remind some of the youngsters who are so sure their country is wrong of the facts of history, I would like to call attention to a column by Richard Wilson in the Washington Evening Star of November 13.

The column, "Antiwar Protests by Intellectual Rif-Raff," follows:

ANTIWAR PROTESTS BY INTELLECTUAL RIFF-RAFF

(By Richard Wilson)

Recently several hundred young people demonstrated at the Department of Justice against the Vietnam war and made a great occasion of turning in what they said were more than 900 "draft cards" of war protestors.

When the bag was opened, however, it was found to contain a pitiful miscellany of real and phony draft cards and notices of classification, letters, statements, photostats of military discharge papers.

Both registration certificates and notice of classification were found for 60 persons. The rest was a hodge podge of Xerox copies, photostats and other doubtful material.

The FBI ran a check on a group of names from about 250 seemingly authentic registration certificates and found that 17 in that group had a history of mental disorders, two with suicidal tendencies. Among the protesting group were four college professors who had been classified 4-F for mental reasons.

This is the kind of intellectual riff-raff with which sincere and rational war objectors have become involved, and the kind of tactics to which they have lent themselves.

We have never been in a war against which there was not objection, from the Tories of the American Revolution through the Copperheads of the Civil War, the protesters against putting down Aguinaldo, and the pacifists and conscientious objectors of World War I and II. War is immoral. Most people, like Roosevelt, hate it.

It is interesting to rediscover also that even in the war against Hitler there were people in western countries who sympathized with the Nazis, thought they would win, objected to American involvement. Much of that changed when Hitler attacked Russia.

Harold Nicolson's absorbing diaries of the World War II period when he was parliamentary secretary for the Ministry of Information reveal the fatalism, irresolve and discouragement of the British people before the London blitz, and the sentiment for a separate deal with Hitler. Winston Churchill ended all that when he succeeded Chamberlain.

Young protesters who think history began the day they were born know nothing and care less about the discouragement and alarm in this country at the time of Pearl Harbor and later at the Battle of Midway.

They know nothing and care less about the agonies on Guadalcanal, Wake and Tarawa, and the grave public misgivings about the sacrifice of many thousands of men in what seemed no more than island-hopping in the Pacific for no fixed or planned purpose.

Even adults tend to look back on World War II as a triumphal march of victories. They have forgotten that they awoke every morning with the nagging fear that maybe we were not winning.

They have forgotten that 100,000 men lie dead for the sole purpose of reasserting and maintaining American power in the Pacific. There is no historical reason to believe that the Japanese would have invaded Hawaii and the west coast after the attack at Pearl Harbor. The Japanese wished to immobilize American military power in the Pacific so that they might carry out their master plan of occupying and controlling all of South Asia and the Western Pacific.

The United States would not permit that, and there is historical reason to believe we would have acted in the Pacific without the provocation of Pearl Harbor.

By contrast, the war in Vietnam is an expression of the highest American idealism. It is puzzling that the war protesters of this generation give no weight to the simple and clear purpose of the United States in Vietnam. That purpose is to create the conditions in wihch a small nation can develop its own institutions and government without having them imposed by terrorism and force by a neighbor. Winston Churchill would surely have classed this, along with the Marahall plan, as one of the most selfless acts of history by a great nation.

It is equally puzzling why so many intellectuals supported a land war in Asia on the Korean Peninsula but now oppose a land war in Asia on the Indochinese peninsula.

An invasion of South Korea by North Korea had to be turned back, even though it also involved fighting an army of a million Chinese. But the penetration of South Vietnam, organized, financed and supplied by North Vietnam, is considered by some of the same intellectuals to be no more than an internal revolution.

It is understandable in view of these contradictions why, after listening to their elders, so many of the young protesters are in a confused state of mind when they take part in demonstrations like the recent one at the Department of Justice.

Halt Aid To Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the November 9 edition of the Citizen, a publication serving the residents of southwest suburban Cook County, Ill., emphasized the folly of aiding the enemy. In so doing it pointed up the participation of the committee to End Aid to the Soviet Enemy and a statement by our colleague, Honorable Harold R. Collier. I feel that this editorial is of special significance and, therefore, place it in the Record at this point:

Halt Aid to Enemy

As we give special attention in our thoughts and prayers this weekend to citizens in service, we might also reflect (and, we hope, act) upon reports from the U.S. department of commerce that American ships are delivering both finished goods and raw materials, including electrical testing instruments, boring and drilling machines, transmitter radio beacons, rotary combustion engines, rocket engines, and computers to Russia and other communist countries.

These shipments, which also include steel, rubber, petroleum, copper, tin, lead, zinc, aluminum and manganese to Soviet ports, are being made while American men are dying in Vietnam. And the fact is that about 80 per cent of the war supplies being used by the communists in Vietnam are coming from the Soviet Union.

Reflect on this, too: that during the initial threat of the Mid East crisis, three votes were taken in Congress on Republican motions to halt the sale of American wheat to President Nasser of Egypt.

Believing (rightly, we say) that an army travels on its stomach, and that American wheat would only serve to strengthen the Egyptian president's war potential, Republicans from Illinois consistently voted against such aid. In contrast, Democrat Congressmen from Cook county and Illinois backed the President's plan.

As the Committee to End Aid to the Soviet Enemy (CEASE) illustrates: "Any American who has ever read a book or seen a Western movie can tell you that the lowest and most despicable of all creatures in nineteenth century America were those greedy and conscienceless men who sold guns to the hostile Indians.

"There was, of course, a very good reason for this; the Indians were certain to turn right around and use those guns to kill men, women, and children. Therefore, any man who sold guns to the Indians was, in actuality, killing his fellow Americans, and our forefathers had the good sense to recognize this and to deal with those who traded with the enemy with great harshness. How times have changed!"

Times may have changed, but the greediness that goads a man to profit by killing his neighbor, or his neighbor's son off in Vietnam, has not. The only thing that has changed, it seems, is our willingness to permit this outrage.

There is some hope, however. The formation of CEASE, headed by a former Connecticut governor and U.S. ambassador, John Davis Lodge, is a tool that citizens are offered to use in making their elected representatives in Washington understand their sentiments.

CEASE national headquarters are located at 1061 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. A local man, Joseph A. Marland, who heads the Marland One-Way Clutch Co., Inc., La Grange, also is involved in the organization. He remarks, "We have refused to do business with the Soviet's Amtorg and other Commie countries and are enjoying growth without Communist orders. We intend to continue this policy and be happier without suicidal blood money profits."

We agree also with Rep. Harold R. Collier (R-10th, Ill.) who said recently, "With the war in Southeast Asia escalating each day, it is ridiculous to promote trade with nations supplying in Vietnam. With casualties suffered by our men on the increase in South Vietnam and the Soviet Union and Communist China supplying substantial aid to North Vietnam, it seems to me that Congress should give immediate attention to this problem. If we send strategic goods to nations behind the iron curtain, they will be converted to instruments of destruction and reshipped to North Vietnam to be used against American fighting men."

If you agree, let CEASE know, or tell your Senators and Congressmen directly.

Old Newsreels Would Beat Old Shows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the Record an editorial from the Corson County, McIntosh, S. Dak., News which should make interesting reading for every Member of Congress. The editorial is as follows:

Old Newsreels Would Beat Old Shows

During the summer we have been seeing a lot of old movies and programs on TV. While they are entertaining re-runs of old newsreels would be even funnier. Let's have some.

Replay the scene in Eufala, Oklahoma, Sept. 25, 1964, when campaigning for reelection President Johnson said, "We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for the Asian boys . . . to get tied down to a land war in Asia."

Rerun the presidential press conference of December 1965 when Johnson promised to "reduce the number of federal civilian employees."

Another entertaining clip would be that of 1966 with Secretary McNamara saying how we were winning the war in Vietnam and how "draft calls next year may be cut in half."

There are dozens of prospective stars who could be found campaigning in the last election about how Senator Goldwater's suggestion of bombing Vietnam was warmongering.

Re-show the pictures of Governor Romney leading a march down the streets of Detroit in sympathy with the negroes of Selma, Alabama. Later show the pictures of Detroit burning.

Show us Dick Nixon after he got beat in California for governor blaming his loss on the press and telling how they would never get a chance to do it again. Then show him today campaigning for President.

Or for laughs give us candidate Lyndon Johnson in Sioux City in 1964 telling how he is the farmers friend and would prevent all the evils visited upon them by the Republicans.

There could be a thousand laughs.

OEO's Legal Services Program: An Effort To Provide Equal Justice for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, a very thoughtful and concise article on the antipoverty program's effort to provide the Nation's disadvantaged citizens with at least a minimum of essential legal services appeared in a recent edition of the Washington Evening Star.

This excellent article by Star staff writer Dana Bullen entitled "Washington Close-up: Low Blow at Lawyers for the Poor?" is particularly important at this time when Congress is considering authorizing legislation to continue to support America's war on poverty.

For that reason, I would like to include this fine article in the Congressional Record:

Washington Close-Up: Low Blow at Lawyers for Poor?

(By Dana Bullen)

One attack on this year's poverty bill is a claim that there is something wrong about providing government-paid lawyers to represent poor people in lawsuits against federal, state and local agencies.

It is upsetting to important local interests, it appears, and the unhappiness seems to be reaching all the way to Capitol Hill.

In California, for example, poverty lawyers recently made successful attacks upon shortcuts in tomato growers' importation of cheaper Mexican bracero labor and upon claimed unfairness in welfare programs in Sutter County.

Before long, Sen. George Murphy, R-Calif., was citing the cases on the Senate floor, maintaining that poverty lawyers "have begun to challenge our laws all too often."

Thirty-five other senators joined Murphy several weeks ago in support of a proposed amendment to the poverty bill that would have stripped the OEO Legal Services Program of authority to go to court to challenge any government agency's way of handling things. Although Murphy's proposal failed in the Senate, it is likely to be introduced again when the controversy-ridden poverty bill reaches the House floor.

The strength of the support given the unsuccessful Senate amendment, however, has made it clear that much more light is needed on just what it is that the poverty lawyers are about.

On the other hand, they are using the law to curb unfair business practices that milk the poor of what funds they do have. The targets here are the unscrupulous merchants, lenders and landlords who jack up prices or interest charges unfairly.

Such cases, along with domestic relations and other private legal matters, in fact, accounted for over 90 percent of the OEO lawyers' business last year. In all, a total of 320,000 cases were handled by government lawyers for poor people.

No less important, however, are so-called "test" cases brought by OEO lawyers against government agencies.

In Hartford, for example, the Legal Services Program has won a pace-setting ruling by a special three-judge federal court that Connecticut's one-year residency requirement for welfare payments is unconstitutional.

Some 40 states have similar laws. If the lower federal court ruling survives an expected state appeal to the Supreme Court, the shape of welfare laws across the country could be changed.

Over 25 years ago, the late Justice Robert H. Jackson said restricting poverty-bound people to the very places where they have been unsuccessful was exactly the wrong way to carry out this country's promise—yet this is just what welfare residency requirements mean to a poor person who, in effect, is being paid to stay poor where he is.

In other cases, OEO lawyers are challenging public housing practices, school procedures—such as expelling a girl shortly before graduation for pregnancy—that no one else is contesting and a host of similar things that, if unattended, provide fuel for urban and rural unrest.

An estimated seven million people depend on public assistance checks to protect them from hunger, eviction and other deprivations. In filing lawsuits against public bodies, poverty lawyers are only asking courts to decide whether such programs are being operated properly.

Just this term the Supreme Court agreed to hear a small mountain of cases involving a controversy between gas companies and the Federal Power Commission without a ripple of concern that the firms were suing the government.

Poverty lawyers, such as OEO Legal Services Director Earl Johnson Jr., argue that poor people rate representation too in their dealings with government agencies.

"It would make a mockery of attempts to provide equal justice," says Johnson, if poverty lawyers are limited to legal action only against private parties.

"As a practical matter," says Johnson, "since most poor people have access to the courts only through legal services lawyers, a ban on their representation in certain classes of cases is equivalent to denying the poor a legal remedy in these disputes.

"That is no better than seeking to disenfranchise your opponents in an election because they beat you at the polls. And it is no less a threat to American democracy and the preservation of law and order."

Against this, an argument that government lawyers representing poor people "have begun to challenge our laws all too often" seems to need some shoring up if it is to be seriously advanced.

Multiracial Racism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the weekend events at tax subsidized Howard University here in the District of Columbia stagger an American's imagination. Some of the so-called leftwing liberals have now progressed to the status of libertines.

These extremists are not poverts nor suffer from any lack of opportunity. They are but educated, well-financed anarchists—using their talents and prejudices in the "anti-everything-American" party line. As late as June of this year, Julius Hobson was an economist with the Social Security Division of the U.S. Government. The other intellectuals' occupations are given. And the meeting was sponsored by the Wesley Foundation—a Methodist youth movement.

I ask the account from the Evening Star for November 13 be here inserted in the RECORD for all our colleagues to read and then ask themselves: Could this be in the United States tolerated as freedom under the so-called guarantees of the first amendment, financed by U.S. taxpayers and tax-free foundations?

HOBSON URGES BLACK POWER SWING TO LEFT

(By Betty James)

A weekend symposium on black power heard Negro militant Julius W. Hobson urge Howard University students to give leadership to the "confusion" of the black power movement by directing it toward the downfall of capitalism.

"Go left, young man," he told the students.

The same symposium at a local church saw about 40 students cheer another kind of militant, Dr. Nathan Hare, fired assistant professor of sociology at Howard, and boo Charles H. King, Jr., an adherent of nonviolent protests who resigned Nov. 6 as a program analyst with the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

King resigned in protest of what he feels are the commission's cloistered policies, and his experiences at the symposium illustrated his reasons, he said.

URGED TO SEE GHETTO

Commission members are getting secondhand reports on the reasons for riots and aren't going themselves to the ghetto to see the intensity, anger and frustration seething there today, he disclosed.

"I challenge the commission to open its eyes to what's going on around them," he said.

King is on leave as executive director of the Gary (Ind.) Human Relations Commission.

The civil disorders commission is holding closed hearings when it should be holding public ones with men like Hare and Hobson appearing, he said.

Of Hobson's remarks Saturday, King said, "He's leading them down a one-way street. And Friday night (when Hare spoke) they (the students) hooted me out of there and called me an Uncle Tom."

"MASS SUICIDE"

He added, "some Negro has got to say, for God's sake operate within the structure or we'll be annihilated. It's a mass black suicide venture. And the only blood that is going to be shed is black blood."

The session was sponsored by the Wesley Foundation, a Methodist youth group at Howard. It was held at Petworth Methodist Church.

"I thought it was going to be an assembly of college students looking for a sense of direction in the ghetto," King said. "I had my nice little middle-class notes and programs. Instead, I ran into an anarchist and a revolutionary."

He declared, "The only hope for survival of black people in this country are men like Mr. Eaton (The Rev. David Eaton) who is just militant enough. He's been forced out there by the intensity of men like Hare. He's got to deliver or Hare will deliver."

Eaton was one of the four speakers at the symposium, sharing a session with Hobson which was attended by about 12 students on Saturday afternoon. It was competing with a football game at Howard.

Undismayed by the small but attentive audience, Hobson reminded it that revolutions are started by "six men in a dark room, not a mob."

Hobson said he isn't against riots but against losing riots. He predicted force will be necessary to overthrow the economic system saying no system has ever allowed itself to be destroyed through democratic consent.

Hare told the group Friday night that black power should be viewed as a last-ditch effort for independence from whites. At best, white people will only integrate Negroes on a token basis, he said.

MARX CITED

Hobson told the students: "Go left, young man." He said Stokely Carmichael is dramatizing the worldwide, interracial nature of the true conflict, which Hobson said, is between the oppressors and the oppressed.

He urged the students to look to the socialist economics of Karl Marx for answers to injustice. Instead of spending time in street-corner protests, Howard students should be acquiring "the tools of understanding" that can give the black power movement the philosophical base it needs, he said.

"You can learn, even in Howard, the citadel of white power, enough to come out and lead the black power movement. This should be your life's work," he said.

We Must Act in Our Maritime Crisis

SPEECH

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the importance of a new and forward-looking maritime program is well known to all of us. For too long our merchant marine has been permitted to decline. Recently my colleague, Hon. JAMES R. GROVER, JR., of New York, pointedly discussed our maritime crisis in a speech before an AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Council seminar. I submit his speech for the interest of my colleagues, as follows:

I am happy to be able to come here today, to review with you the progress we have made—and the problems we still face—in trying to come up with a national program to meet our maritime needs.

The fight for a maritime program is in the traditions of our American political system—because we in Congress are attempting to find solutions to problems which directly affect *all* Americans.

In many respects, though, the current struggle bears a marked resemblance to the collective bargaining process, too—because all parties concerned are trying to balance equities and to reach agreements on some middle ground that is fair to everyone.

There are no precise analogies in life—and certainly this holds true for comparing the maritime situation with collective bargaining.

For one thing, both maritime management and maritime labor—or at least major segments of management and labor—find themselves on the same side of the bargaining table.

You have to admit that's pretty unique.

For another thing, Congress finds itself on the same side as maritime labor and management—we haven't been called in to adjudicate a deadlocked situation, and so there's no danger of anybody proposing "compulsory arbitration" or "arbitration to finality" as far as getting labor and management to agree on a program.

And that's pretty unique, too.

And yet, Congress *does* find itself in the position of trying to break a deadlock on our maritime program—and so far, Congress has given every indication that it means to do just that.

When the House and Senate, earlier this year, voted to put the major responsibility for maritime budgets into the hands of the House Merchant Marine Committee and the Senate Commerce Committee, we were trying to end a stalemate which has existed for years—a stalemate over getting adequate funds to carry out our maritime program.

I know that there is an urgent need for fiscal responsibility in this country—but it has continually amazed me that about the only place the Budget Bureau has been willing to cut away at appropriations requests has been in the area of our merchant marine and the Coast Guard.

When it comes to spending money on rockets to the moon—or on supersonic passenger planes—or on new highway construction—or on experimental high-speed trains—why, the Budget Bureau has asked for money like it was going out of style.

But when it came to maritime—well, that was another story.

The Maritime Administration last year asked for funds to build 20 ships—the Secretary of Commerce cut this back to 15 ships—and the Budget Bureau cut it back again—to 12 ships.

There was no consideration here of need—there couldn't have been—it was just a case of the Budget Bureau looking for the most likely victim, and settling on the merchant marine as the logical scapegoat.

This is roughly like a father, faced with the need for tightening the family purse-strings, and making the budget cut in the family's food—not in the funds set aside for liquor and cigarettes, for golf and the movies, and the like.

This is the situation that Congress was determined to correct when it passed the annual maritime authorization legislation—because from now on, maritime budgets are going to be determined by Congress, and they're going to be determined on the basis of our very real national need for spending money to beef up our merchant fleet.

The recent overwhelming House vote on the creation of an independent Maritime Administration is another example of the mood of the Congress—of its determination to break the maritime deadlock that's stifling our country.

For far too long, the whole question of our merchant marine's future has been hung up over this question of where the Maritime Administration is going to be housed.

The Administration, I'm afraid, has allowed itself to become so caught up in its passion for having an orderly administrative arrangement for our transportation affairs, that it has refused to do anything about a substantive maritime program until this question is resolved.

More than that, all of the press reports indicate that the Administration's idea of how you resolve a dispute like this is for everyone to let the Administration have its own way.

The trouble is, that when there seemed to all of us to be the possibility of reaching agreement on a program—which would make the question of *where* the Maritime Administration was located rather academic—the Administration drew back, and refused to come up with any program at all.

Again, if you can put any reliance in the newspaper accounts, this decision to put the prospective maritime program back on the shelf was made out of hurt feelings—because the House was preparing to act on the bill for maritime legislation.

I would hope that the press reports are wrong—because I'm sure no American would like to think that his government was being run on the basis of one person's hurt feelings.

I have seen it suggested in the press that perhaps the White House decision not to come forward with a maritime program this year involves the differences of opinion between Congress and the President over the proposed tax cut and the proposed cutbacks in some government spending.

If this is so, then someone has been misreading the signs.

When Congress debated the independent agency bill, there were very clear expressions—on both sides of the aisle—that while some Members of Congress may be concerned over some spending programs, they have no disposition to tighten the belt as far as our merchant marine is concerned.

Anyone who can read, need only check the Congressional Record's report of that debate to see that there is overwhelming sentiment for making an increased commitment to our merchant marine—and making it right now.

So any argument about the merchant marine program being put aside because of the debate over spending simply is not based on fact.

After all, if the maritime budget is cut anymore, there won't be anything at all left for ship construction or ship operation—and the kindest thing we could do would be to open the petcocks and let the whole commercial fleet sink to the bottom tomorrow.

As a matter of fact, with all the differences of opinion about federal spending—and there *are* differences of opinion, make no mistake about it—I have never heard anyone seriously suggest that we should spend less on our merchant marine.

The fact of the matter is, we're in trouble right now because we've refused to face facts—because we've refused to spend *enough*—not because we've spent too much.

If we had been spending the proper amount to reinforce our merchant marine, we wouldn't today be in the position of having foreign-flag ships carrying some 93 percent of all of our export-import cargo—and thus contributing to the serious imbalance in the payments deficit.

If we'd been spending the proper amount on our merchant marine, we wouldn't have a fleet, 80 percent of which is overage and should have been put on the scrap heap a long time ago.

If we'd invested wisely in our merchant fleet in the years since World War II, we wouldn't find ourselves in the position of having to take rusting old hulks out of the mothball fleet, refitting them, and sending them back to sea to keep the Vietnam sealift in operation.

No, the fact of the matter is that we've appropriated too little—and we've spent even less than we've appropriated.

For the past two years, Congress has authorized funds to build more than 25 new commercial vessels for our fleet—yet only two of these have actually been built.

Now there's talk about the Administration agreeing to a program that will involve the construction of about 30 ships a year—just about twice what we've appropriated in the past, and 15 times as much as we've actually spent.

And what gets me is that the people who propose the 30-ship-a-year program act as though they're doing the maritime industry a big favor.

Just consider this fact:

Today, we have about 900 ships in our privately owned fleet—and these 900 ships carry about 7 percent of our cargo.

By 1985—according to the government's own estimates—our waterborne export-import cargo is going to almost double.

That means that if we still hope to carry just the same 7 percent of the cargo we're carrying now, we're going to need a fleet, with a capacity twice that of our present fleet.

You're not going to get that on a 30-ship-a-year construction program—even allowing for the larger size ships that would be constructed—because after all, most, if not all, of the new ships are going to replace old, worn-out vessels that will be withdrawn from service.

I must tell you that, as ambitious as the Maritime Trades Department's own 20-point maritime program may look to many people, not even your own program is large enough to double the cargo capacity of our fleet to keep pace with the sharp upward swing in waterborne exports and imports.

We will need a program many times larger than anything that has yet been suggested—just to stay even with our present position—and our present position, carrying a mere 7 percent of our cargo, could hardly be called an enviable position.

An all-out building program, coupled with the investment of a substantial amount of tax money to help keep our merchant ships operating, is necessary if we're going to get the job done.

Sure, it's going to cost a lot of money—but that's the price we'll have to pay to make up for the years of neglect of our merchant fleet.

What's more, it's just about the sum we should have been spending all these years since 1946, but which we didn't spend because some slide-rule experts somewhere decided that we could cut corners on our merchant fleet.

But it's a lot less money than we'd have to spend if we were to go into a crash ship-construction program similar to the ones at the start of World War I and World War II—and those crash programs resulted from the same kind of empty-headed neglect to which we've subjected our merchant marine all these years.

No, the 30-ship program which the White House is reportedly willing to agree to amounts to another case of too little, too late.

It's like putting a Band-Aid on a mortal wound—it might soak up some blood, but the patient is going to continue to die.

The temper of this 90th Congress, insofar as our merchant marine is concerned, has already been demonstrated in the votes on the maritime budget and in the overwhelming House vote on an independent Maritime Administration.

I think this temper is going to be demonstrated further—in the form of a sweeping merchant marine program originating on Capitol Hill.

When this program is developed, I hope it will be intensified enough to meet our urgent present needs—and sweeping enough to meet the long-range goals of our country on the high seas.

Much has been said about what a maritime program should contain—but nothing sums it up better than what the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 said should be the guideline for our merchant marine.

That legislation—now 30 years old, but still capable of doing the job if it only were properly implemented—called for an American-built, American-owned and American-manned fleet—one that could carry a substantial portion of our peacetime cargo, and one that could serve—and serve effectively—as our fourth arm of defense in time of crisis.

And to do that job, my friends, you need far more than a Band-Aid—and I predict Congress will give you far more than a Band-Aid.

New England Regional Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, since 1932, with the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, we have been aware of the need for regional development. We have seen the benefits that result from comprehensive planning and Federal, State, and local cooperation.

In 1965, as title V of our Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Congress created the New England Regional Commission. The six Governors of the New England States and the Federal Cochairman, John J. Linnehan, began work immediately, planning for the development of the region.

Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday, November 8, I made a statement before the Massachusetts State hearing of the New England Regional Commission. Because I think this Commission is doing an excellent job, and because I think its work is so vital to the growth of our area, I would like to include that statement in the RECORD at this time:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR., MEMBER OF CONGRESS, EIGHTH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE HEARING OF THE NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL COMMISSION, BOSTON, MASS., NOVEMBER 8, 1967

(Submitted to the Honorable John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth, and the Honorable John J. Linnehan, Federal Cochairman of the New England Regional Commission)

It is indeed a pleasure to see the New England Regional Commission actively planning for New England's future. The steps that have been taken in previous hearings and that are continuing today will help to end the polarization of State versus Federal Governments and to create a synthesis of Federal and State resources to help stimulate the region's economy.

In voting for the legislation authorizing the designation of the New England Regional Commission (title V of our Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965), I, as a Member of Congress, made my commitment to strengthening the bonds of Federal-State cooperation. The time and work involved in getting the Commission established, by six busy chief executives, togther with the Federal Cochairman, John J. Linnehan, clearly indicates the excellent promise and potential for developing a more viable Federal-State relationship.

Today's hearing will go still further on the road to progress by helping the Commonwealth and the commission in establishing their priorities for the investment of funds and in the identification of key problem areas. These areas are limited neither to Cambridge or Boston alone, nor to the State of Massachusetts. Many of them transgress legal boundaries and are truly regional in scope and importance.

As an excellent example of a truly national as well as regional problem, we have only to look upon the blight of the Charles River Basin in Boston. Water pollution is indeed one of the problems that are common to all of the New England States and which should be attacked in unison.

The supply of high quality water is an important industrial and municipal asset for all of New England. Over the years, however, increasing abuse has imperiled not only the quality of river waters, like the Charles, but also our great fishing industries. We need to develop comprehensive plans so that our rivers and streams may be fully utilized for recreational, navigational and other purposes.

In the Charles River Basin, the beauty of the water and that of the land go hand in hand; one cannot exist without the other. By attacking these problems comprehensively and collectively, we can restore the beauty of one of our most prized river basins, one of Boston's greatest assets. Instead of a discolored blight running afoul into the sea, we can reverse the trend of continuing decay and preserve one of the most majestic and splendid natural resources the greater Boston area offers.

This is only one of the many problems that the commission must face. They are numerous and are woven into the fabric of our lives.

Transportation. The problem of mobility, both within the cities and in the suburban areas, confronts us today as never before. It is not an insoluble problem. An improved regional transportation network is essential for the development of the region's economic growth.

Just as important as our concern for the natural resources of the area, we must also act to improve our *human resources*, which we have in abundance, not only in Boston but throughout New England. Giving the underprivileged a chance at a good education, decent jobs, a chance to do something constructive with their lives and not have to face a future of poverty, illiteracy, and ghetto humiliation is our obligation. It must be done. A hard look at the current status of job placement in the greater Boston area could help to lessen some of the confusion that exists today in this area.

Hospital facilities and services need to be modernized and improved to meet the demands of today's urban age. The elderly must be provided with new and improved nursing care facilities.

The few problems that I have mentioned are not peculiar to Cambridge, or to Boston. We can find them anywhere if we have the courage to look for them. I know that this hearing will certainly get us started on the road to improvement. It shows that we are trying to pinpoint our trouble areas and, through a concerted federal-state effort attempt to alleviate them.

This much can be done. It must be done. This is only one step on a long and difficult road. But if we are to improve the quality of life in the New England region, we must all go down the same road—together. Thank you.

President Johnson's Remarkable Tribute to a Remarkable Labor Leader—George Meany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, two remarkable leaders came together last week at a testimonial dinner given by the Jewish Labor Committee in New York—President Lyndon B. Johnson and President George Meany of the AFL–CIO.

President Johnson had come to join a well-deserved testimonial for Mr. Meany.

Yet, it seems to me, reading the text of the address, that the President in honoring Mr. Meany was also honoring a larger group of men and women, in Government and out, who have embodied the idealistic and responsible tradition of American social and economic reform.

In tracing the achievements of reform, the President was also tracing the history of the achievements of the Democratic Party.

We all know that many of the gains of labor, the gains of the workingman, the gains of the poor and the minority, the gains of the vast majority of the American people, are attributable solely to the heroic efforts of leaders like Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson.

When the President recited the litany of social security, minimum wage, child labor laws, the right to organize, medicare, the war against poverty, civil rights—he was talking about established facts in the history of the Democratic Party.

I insert in the RECORD the remarks of the President at the meeting of the Jewish Labor Committee in New York City, November 9:

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT MEETING OF JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 9, 1967

Mr. Meany, Secretary Wirtz, Senator Javits, Mr. Randolph, Mrs. Meir, David Dubinsky, Members of the AFL–CIO Executive Council, ladies and gentlemen:

I am delighted to be here tonight to join with the Jewish Labor Committee in honoring a great American. The fact that I am here bears out an old New York advertising slogan: "You don't have to be Jewish to enjoy George Meany."

When Mr. Dubinsky had told me that he and George Meany were going to be here in the same room together tonight I naturally assumed it would be for a gin rummy game.

That game, you know, has been played for many years under very special rules. The really special thing is that George doesn't know Dave's rules and Dave doesn't know George's rules.

Someone once called this contest "the oldest, established permanent floating gin game in the world."

It has, in fact, been going on for almost 30 years in every convention site in America, wherever men who speak for labor have gathered. But one very important thing should be pointed out here tonight: Between gin sessions, American history has been remade—always to the benefit of all the American people.

George Meany has been busy remaking American history since his young manhood.

Some of you may remember what life was like in New York in those days when George Meany was a young man. It was in 1910—two years after I was born—when Mike Meany's 16-year-old son George became a plumber's apprentice in the Bronx. Downtown that year—in the garment district—six-year-old children were working in the sweatshops, and when the workers asked for a day off every week, the bosses said: "If you don't come in on Sunday, don't come in on Monday."

I am glad to say that things are different now—and they are different in part because George Meany has fought the good fight. He has fought it in good company—he has fought it with a band of dedicated men and women across this country who knew that America could not become great unless its workers could live and labor in dignity. There were men like Mr. Dubinsky, Mr. Stulberg, Mr. Hillman, Mr. Rose, Mr. Bill Green, Phil Murray, Phil Randolph, John L. Lewis and a number of others who I don't have time to mention tonight.

These men fought and worked—and in time, their dreams came true: the minimum wage, the forty-hour week, the right to organize, the right to bargain or strike, the child labor laws, safer working conditions, social security.

But there is more to the story—there is very much more.

By the time George Meany became President of the AFL in 1953, some critics were saying that the labor movement had gone soft. They said that it had lost its fighting spirit—that it sold out for a few more dollars, two weeks of vacation, and a house in the suburbs.

George Meany had a different idea. He saw new battles to fight. He believed that what is good for America is good for American labor—and that is why we have come here to honor him tonight.

Tonight we can look back—although George Meany never looks back—but we can look back and we can count our victories. Tonight I can report to you, not about how labor has fared under George Meany's leadership—I think all of you know that—but what I want to report to you is how America has fared in a time when labor has put its shoulder to the work of social justice.

I have played some little part in these efforts. Together—

We have fought for and we passed through the Congress of the United States and through the law of the land one civil rights bill; and a second civil rights bill, and a third civil rights bill. George Meany and the American labor movement backed every single one of them to the hilt every time.

We fought for and we passed Medicare. George Meany was there for the battle—and he was there for the victory.

We fought for and we passed the greatest series of education bills in history—36 in all—and George Meany's leadership helped that cause to triumph.

We fought for and we launched a war on poverty. When that war began, George Meany was already a five-star general.

Now, the struggle for progress and reform in America has never been easy. George Meany will testify to that. And I can tell you tonight that it is not easy going now.

On the one hand is the old coalition of stand-patters and nay-sayers.

They never wanted to do anything. But this year they say they can't do it because of Vietnam. That is just pure bunk.

This crowd was against progress before Vietnam. They are against progress tonight and they will be against progress tomorrow. And they will be against it when the war is over and when it is nothing but a dim memory.

And far off at the other end of the political spectrum, there are those who say, "What America has built is rotetn. Let's tear it apart."

I say they are wrong. They will be wrong tomorrow.

I ought to tell you and tell the country tonight that we can meet our commitments, and we can keep our word at home and abroad—and we will.

The world has lived through two remarkable decades since World War II. In those years, two hundred million Americans and hundreds of millions of other men in other countries have found a measure of dignity, security, and freedom. Why? In great part, because this nation will be willing to make—and to meet—commitments far from our shores.

Tonight as we meet here in peace and safety our commitment to a small and distant country in Southeast Aisa is being tested. And along with it, America itself is being tested on the anvil of war.

If we fail, we may forfeit our hope for world stability. We may risk a far more terrible war in the future because we didn't see this one through.

The same kind of issues are at stake tonight in the Middle East.

The last thing I did before I left my office and kept my people waiting for 15 minutes was to review a series of messages that have great importance to the world in which we live.

There in the Middle East, we see the agony of men struggling toward peace amid the great danger of war hovering all around them. We see people who have been threatened by war—hot and cold—for more than 20 years. Peace—even meaningful negotiations—may seem remote where there is so much tension and where there is so much ancient hostility.

But we know we must try for peace until it is established. We know that we must help make it possible for men and women to live together in dignity and in mutual respect. We know that failure in the Middle East can condemn the children of that region to endless—and to senseless—warfare.

What we want in that troubled region—America wants all over the world.

I believe that Americans can defend these precious principles abroad without relaxing and giving up on the job we need to do at home.

This year at home we won only partial funding of a Model Cities Bill. But before long, with your support, we are not only going to have a Model Cities Bill: We are going to have model cities—cities that are a credit to this nation, cities where the races can live together in friendship; where a life of poverty is not the inevitable fate of children who are born in it; where men and women can walk their streets without fear—day or night.

Americans want—and Americans should have—cities and a countryside where people drink clean water and where people breathe clean air; where children study in schools that are worthy of a prosperous and a hopeful land where our gross national income will be $850 billion next year.

All of this will come—it will come in time—but it will never come easy. It will not come at all if we ever yield to the forces of division and the forces of paralyzing dissension. And let me tell you, my friends—tonight, those forces are abroad in this land at this hour. They are the enemies of constructive action. Men who want to move this nation forward must join up in resisting them.

Our problems are great. But America's resources are much greater—and they include the great human and moral resources of the American labor movement. We can, if we will, find the means to answer the most pressing human problems in America and the world tonight.

Let me give you one example:

Last year, under the leadership of that great American, Willard Wirtz, the Labor Department contracted for the first of a series of programs to recruit and to prepare young men to qualify for apprenticeship training. That pilot project—begun right here in New York by the Taconic Foundation in partnership with the Workers Defense League—showed great success. It enabled very poor boys to qualify for apprentice slots in unions, and it worked, because New York union officials helped to make it work.

Earlier this year, on the basis of the New York story, 10 new apprenticeship training programs were launched in 10 other cities scattered all over America.

Tonight, I came here to tell you that we are moving forward still more. Within the next few days six more cities are going to have these programs—Dayton, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Denver, Milwaukee, Atlanta.

Broadening the horizons of opportunity has always been a matter of great concern for the man who you honor so widely tonight, George Meany. He understands that America's most urgent problems are also the union's most urgent problems. Civil rights, the rights of the poor, the rights of the consumers, the rights of citizens to a pure and safe environment—all of these constitute the human rights of human beings and of our fellow Americans. We came here to honor this great champion of human rights this evening.

In the morning a little after 7:00 o'clock I will take off for a trip that will carry me to the Aircraft Carrier *Enterprise* out on the shores of California. I will visit the Americans in the Navy, Army, Coast Guard and the Air Force before I come back on Sunday.

We will see veterans who have protected our freedom tomorrow. But we came here tonight to see the veterans in civilian clothes who protected it for this century.

I am so happy to say that George Meany has realized all along with most trade unionists that as we stand at the outer frontier of disorder in Southeast Asia, we stand also at the inner frontier of disorder in our cities.

This is not merely a question of fighting in Vietnam or not merely a question of policing our cities.

A leader is always impelled by a vision that is driven by an inner conviction that a new world can be built.

Thus, George Meany, and the other pioneers of the great American labor movement, have never taken the time to relax in a record of the past accomplishment.

They are not concerned very much with what has happened in the past two centuries. They are concerned with that century that is coming up that begins in 1976 and what happens in the next one hundred years.

They are constantly driving the road forward into the unchartered wilderness:

They are working to solve the novel problems of the world's great urban industrial society.

A society of many peoples, a society of many religions, a society of many and varied dreams and hopes—

A society of strong minded free men and women who have time and time demonstrated—despite the recurring prophesies of disaster—and the voices of calamity, the critic and complainer—that their dedication to the principles of democratic life is stronger than their economic and social interests—stronger than their social and religious prejudices.

As I walked through my plane this evening I had a letter delivered to me from a friend of mine in another branch of the Government.

He said: "My Dear Mr. President: The Lord should feel good about this Nation's achievements exhibited this last week—

One, two Negroes elected as mayors of two of our greatest cities;

Two, the first Negro Justice of the United States Supreme Court politely and wisely questioning the Assistant Attorney General of Alabama who was arguing a segregation case before the Court;

Three, just now the Negro Senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts moved the admission to the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States of his friend, a white lawyer,

and I know that when on October 21 standing on the stage of Constitution Hall Pablo Casals embraced a Negro girl who was a member of the fine Howard University Chorus the Lord must have smiled.

Only a few years ago the stage was barred from Marion Anderson. I hope, Mr. President, you feel good deep down in your heart about helping to make all of this possible. I am sure history will recognize that part and that unique role in the great progress that mankind has made."

I feel deeply in the debt of the Jewish Committee for recognizing that role that this great leader of social justice has courageously carried on all these years throughout this country.

That is why I came here tonight at the end of a long day—and the beginning of another one—to say that much has been written about him, about his being tough. He tries to look that way sometimes I think when he is talking to me.

About how hard-boiled he is—well, he said of himself and of his trade union, "that anybody who has any doubt of the ingenuity and resourcefulness of a plumber never got a bill from one."

In adversity, the family will always come a little closer together and as the lower clouds hover around us and when we seek peace throughout the world we seek prosperity at home, and we have all the problems—of health, conservation, and human rights—I think it is good that we could be here and be in the same room together tonight.

You and I know George Meany. We know him pretty well. We know him better than those who think he is so tough and hard-boiled. He is a kind man. He is a warm man.

He is a thoughtful gentleman. I never made a note on anything he ever told me because he always told me what he meant and meant what he told me—and kept his commitments up to the last.

I may be telling some secrets to the men who he negotiates with. But to his fellow workers in the labor movement, to his great friends, the Jewish Committee, I tell you no secret when I say that he has a soft touch when the people's welfare is at stake.

He is a great labor leader. He is a greater American leader. And I feel a lot better because I took the time to come here tonight and to salute him.

Income Tax Manipulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a new approach. Interest rates are soaring—solution: Raise taxes.

Would not it be simpler to raise taxes on interest income or to freeze interest rates rather than use interest bugaboo to justify raising the workers' taxes?

Or what result if some of the lavish Federal spending were abolished or at least controlled to regulate corporate expansion?

I include the feature article from the Washington, D.C., Evening Star for November 13 following my remarks:

MARKET HAS JITTERS: THE INTEREST RATE ESCALATES

(By Lee M. Cohn)

Key interest rates are soaring out of control and soon may zoom to heights not reached since the 19th Century.

The trend is most evident in bond markets, but also threatens to spread into the everyday world of mortgages, bank loans and consumer credit.

Rates have been rising since last spring, and the increases have accelerated sharply in recent weeks.

Furthermore, most financial analysts see no end in sight, no reason for expecting rates to stabilize—let alone decline—any time soon.

This feeling that interest rates are out of control has given the markets a bad case of jitters. Government officials are worried because there is little they can do to slow the rate escalation.

Treasury Undersecretary Frederick L. Deming expressed the mood of near-panic in a speech here Saturday, saying:

"The high interest rate wolf is . . . in grandma's bed, grandma's in his stomach, his jaws are wide open, and Red Riding Hood hasn't got a chance without the tax increase wolfbane."

One good example of the interest rate trend is the performance of the 4.25 percent Treasury bonds sold in 1962 and scheduled to mature in 1992.

Unlike savings bonds, marketable bonds are traded and the interest rates earned by successive purchases fluctuate with the prices they pay.

The price of the 1992 bonds hit a 1967 high of 97, or $970 for a $1,000 bond, in January. Lately they have declined sharply, dropping to record lows almost daily.

When trading closed Friday, the price was about 81, or $810 for a $1,000 bond.

The Treasury, of course, will continue paying 4.25 percent interest on the face amount of the bonds, or $42.50 a year per $1,000. The annual payments of $42.50 would give an effective interest rate, or yield, of 5.65 percent on the $810 investment of anyone who bought a $1,000 bond Friday and held it to maturity.

Yields on other Treasury securities ranged as high as 5.82 percent Friday.

When market yields rise, the Treasury must match or exceed them to borrow money by selling new securities. Late last month, for example, the Treasury had to offer 5.75 percent on a new issue of seven-year notes.

Although that was the highest comparable rate since 1921, the price of the new notes already has dropped below $998 per $1,000, raising the yield to a new purchaser to 5.79 percent.

Market analysts warn that the Treasury may be compelled to pay 6 percent or more to borrow money next year.

The Treasury last paid 6 percent in 1920. A search of the records indicates that was the highest Treasury rate since the Civil War era.

Corporations selling bonds and debentures are suffering along with the Treasury.

Underwriters last Thursday offered $30 million of 30-year Pennsylvania Power & Light Co. bonds yielding 6.55 percent, or one-fifth of a percentage point more than a comparable issue marketed only two weeks earlier.

Despite the high yield, there were few buyers.

Yields on some types of corporate bonds are higher than any time since shortly after the Civil War.

Bond rates inevitably influence interest rates throughout the economy, after time lags.

Mortgages are especially vulnerable. If market rates rise far enough above rates paid by savings banks and savings and loan associations, savers divert their money into bonds and notes.

The loss of savings deposits forces the banks and savings and loan associations to curtail mortgage lending, and a scarcity of mortgage money pushes rates up.

When that happened last year, the housing industry nose-dived into a severe recession.

Although current market rates on securities with intermediate and long maturities surpass the 1966 peaks, savings deposits still are flowing heavily into the thrift institutions.

A major reason is that market rates on short-maturity securities still are below 1966 peaks and have not yet risen far out of line with rates offered on savings deposits.

It is the short-term securities that compete most directly against the savings banks and savings and loan associations.

If intermediate and long-term market rates continue rising, they almost inevitably will pull short-term rates up. If that happens, the thrift institutions will lost savings deposits and the supply of mortgage money will dry up.

Interest rates on bank loans have not yet risen sharply, mainly because the Federal Reserve has kept pumping large amounts of reserves into the banks—expanding their lending capacity—and because demand for business loans is sluggish.

Corporations are concentrating on sales of bonds and debentures to raise money, instead of borrowing at banks.

But most bankers predict business loan demand will pick up early next year, and many of them expect the "Fed" to tighten credit by curtailing the flow of reserves.

If these forecasts are correct, banks probably will raise their prime rate—the interest charged on loans to the biggest corporations with the best credit ratings—from 5.5 to 6 percent.

Rates charged less credit-worthy borrowers are scaled upward from the minimum prime rate.

Bond market rates have soared basically because the current and prospective volume of borrowing through securities sales is huge. Heavy demand for credit boosts the price paid by borrowers, which is the interest rate.

The federal budget deficit this fiscal year is expected to exceed $20 billion—some estimates run as high as $29 billion—so the Treasury will have to borrow heavily in the market.

State and local governments are selling record amounts of bonds to finance their growing needs.

Corporations are marketing bonds in huge volume partly to finance current requirements and partly because they fear a shortage of credit later.

Corporate treasurers are afraid that heavy Treasury borrowing may squeeze them out of the market, and that credit-tightening moves by the Fed may dry up bank lending capacity.

They expect to need plenty of money next year to finance inventories and expansion as the economy booms.

To the chagrin of monetary authorities, high bond interest rates have not yet deterred corporations from increasing bond sales sharply. Corporate treasurers apparently are convinced that rates will rise still higher, so they see no reason to postpone bond sales.

What would it take to halt the escalation of interest rates?

An economic slowdown would do it, by curtailing corporate demands for credit to finance inventories and expansion, and by reducing chances that the Fed may tighten monetary policy.

But most forecasters predict the economy will boom next year.

A tax increase probably would at least slow the rise of interest rates.

Higher taxes would hold down the budget deficit and thus the amount of Treasury borrowing.

A tax increase also would dampen the economic boom, so business demand for credit would be curbed.

And a tax increase would curb inflation, minimizing the need for credit-tightening moves by the Fed.

President Johnson's tax-increase proposals are practically dead for this year, and prospects for action in 1968 are uncertain.

Maryland Soldier, Marine Die in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, two servicemen from Maryland, Army Pfc. Robert E. Scharon III and Marine Pfc. John M. Joyce, were recently killed in action in Vietnam.

I wish to commend the courage of these young men and to honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

CITY GI, BETHESDA MARINE KILLED IN VIETNAM FIGHTING

A Baltimore soldier and a Bethesda marine were killed in action last week in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

They were identified as Army Pfc. Robert E. Scharon 3d, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Scharon, Jr., of 3525 Wild Cherry road, Baltimore, and Marine Pfc. John M. Joyce, son of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick C. Joyce, Jr., of 5405 Huntington parkway, Bethesda.

Pfc. Scharon, 20, was killed Thursday in the Central Highlands of Vietnam, where he was a Signal Corpsman attached to an artillery unit.

Pfc Scharon left California for Vietnam September 14 and was reported missing in action Thursday. Members of the family were notified Saturday that he had been killed.

Pfc. Joyce, 19, died Wednesday of head wounds from an enemy explosive, according to a Defense Department telegram to his family.

A member of the 3d Marine Division, he was hit while defending his unit's position near Danang. He had been in Vietnam 40 days.

Pfc. Joyce had been attending language school in Vietnam and had only recently gone into combat, his mother said last night.

In a letter the family received yesterday, the marine said he was being taken out of language school because the Marine Corps was suffering many casualties. He said he thought he would be assigned to duty aboard a ship.

"A HAPPY MARINE"

"He was really a very proud and happy marine," Mrs. Joyce said. "He loved it."

Pfc. Joyce, a 1966 graduate of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, entered the University of Pittsburgh in September, 1966, but left school early this year to enlist in the Marine Corps.

He is survived by his parents; three sisters, Maureen, Julie Ann and Mary Ryan Joyce; and a brother, Patrick C. Joyce 3d.

An Official Greeter Bids a Regretful Farewell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, all of us, I am sure, have a few acquaintances who have made what we believe to be an immense contribution to the well-being and development of our country without ever having received in full measure the credit that was due them.

Some of these individuals are in the conservative spectrum and some in the liberal, but whatever their views they work conscientiously for what they believe to be the best for our country, for our people, and for the world.

In my district, one such individual is Dr. Hubert Phillips, a real, died-in-the-wool liberal of long standing, who at the ripe young age of 82 is relinquishing his role as the Fresno representative of the State Department's Governmental Affairs Institute.

It is not my purpose here to eulogize Dr. Phillips, whom I count as a friend of many years, but rather to place in the RECORD the story of this man's accomplishments as reported by Eli Setencich, of the Fresno Bee.

The story follows:

AN OFFICIAL GREETER BIDS A REGRETFUL FAREWELL

Those were happy, gratifying days for Dr. Hubert Phillips, even in spite of a few unsettling instances.

Like the time the State Department insisted all 18 pieces of luggage accompany an Indonesian official on his one-night stay in Yosemite National Park.

Or the time the Argentinian vanished while on a tour of the Fresno State College farm school.

Or the time the vistor from Thailand broke his tooth at a dinner.

Or the time a local capitalist was called upon to introduce a visiting Communist at a meeting.

After 10 years of squiring around and tending to the care of more than 100 visitors from 37 countries as the local representative for the State Department's Governmental Affairs Institute, the 82-year-old Phillips has turned his duties over to Mrs. Stanley T. Lee "who will be able to give our foreign visitors' program much more dynamic direction than I can do at my age."

Actually, the experience does not appear to have aged the FSC professor emeritus of social science a bit.

"How could it?" he says. "Human beings are the most interesting things in the world.

"People say this is the greatest of all countries. But we haven't produced any better men or women. I always thought now here's a product of a different world than mine, but a pretty nice product. It made it endlessly fascinating."

What the visitors thought of what they saw, so far as Phillips was concerned, was their own business. "I never asked them what they thought or told them what I think of their countries," he said. He gave them the chance to make up their own minds.

"I tried to show them every place," he says. "From Fig Garden and its big homes to where I live and to the West Side.

" 'We're not proud of it,' I told them. 'But this is part of it.' None went home thinking we all lived in $100,000 houses. I sensed they liked that. Governments are inclined to show only the good side."

VIP BURDENS

Governments also are inclined to place unnecessary burdens, as the State Department did in the case of Dr. Mohammed Hatta of Indonesia and his 18 pieces of luggage. While in New Mexico, Hatta and his party wanted to make an overnight trip to Yosemite and return to New Mexico. Phillips suggested they bring a minimum of luggage.

"Nothing doing," replied the State Department.

"These are VIPs." Phillips scurried around, found a station wagon and got the visitors to Yosemite, luggage and all.

For the man from Thailand who had broken his tooth, Phillips had to scurry around and find a dentist. "He pulled out what was left. But that's the closest we came to having anyone become ill."

GRAY HAIR

The only other time a guest's behavior resulted in another gray hair for Phillips was when he took Dr. Patricio Vacas, an Argentinian editor, to the FSC farm school during the grape-picking season.

"The dust was up to our shoe tops as we walked through the vines," he said. "Pretty soon I looked up and he had disappeared. We found him a little later, surrounded by a group of Mexican farm workers. They were all talking and waving their arms and having a glorious time.

"They gave him something he couldn't get from the officials," Phillips laughed.

FSC MEETING

And he laughed some more recalling the time Lazar Latinovich, a foreign relations officer from Yugoslavia, was the guest at an FSC meeting. Called upon to introduce the Communist official was Melville E. Willson, a local Republican leader.

"There was this conservative introducing this Communist," said Phillips. "I couldn't help chuckling to myself there in my chair.

"But that's what made it all so interesting. Not a single unhappy experience the whole time. I'm going to miss it."

The Life and Death of Casey Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, history's most celebrated railroad wreck happened in Yazoo County, Miss., in the district I have the privilege to represent, and I am most pleased to invite my colleagues to read a fine article in railroad history by a great writer, Mr. Tom Mahoney. His article is captioned "The Life and Death of Casey Jones," and recently made its appearance in the Reader's Digest after having first been seen in the American Legion magazine

The article by Tom Mahoney in the American Legion magazine follows:

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CASEY JONES

(By Tom Mahoney)

Come all you rounders, if you want to hear
A story 'bout a brave engineer—
Casey Jones was the rounder's name
*On a six-eight wheeler, boys, he won his fame.**

Thus begins what Carl Sandburg, the poet, calls "the greatest ballad ever written on the North American continent." Who was Casey Jones? Just about everybody knows that Casey was a railroad engineer who was killed in a wreck. But the chances are that your facts are hazy unless you are a railroad history buff or live in Jackson, Tenn., where his old home has been converted into a museum and keeps his memory green for around 30,000 visitors a year.

Casey Jones was born Jonathan Luther Jones in southeastern Missouri on March 14, 1863. When he was a boy, his schoolteacher father moved the family to the village of Cayce, Ky., and because of this Jonathan Luther became Casey. He was one of five children, four boys and a girl. Three of the boys became Illinois Central locomotive engineers. His sister and two of his brothers died violently, but none so dramatically and spectacularly as Casey in 1900.

A handsome, blue-eyed, 37-year-old man, 6 feet 4 inches tall, Casey was then one of the best engineers of the Illinois Central Railroad. The airplane had not yet been invented. There were just a few automobiles, mostly around New York's Central Park, and no highways. Railroads were the only means of getting about the country. Many passengers schedules were as fast or faster than they are today. The engineers who handled the big steam locomotives that pulled the crack trains were the most glamorous men in the land.

As jockeys carry their own saddles from mount to mount, many of the engineers had their own steam whistles that they took from locomotive to locomotive. A St. Louis admirer gave Casey his whistle, a six-lute calliope affair that played a "whippoorwill" tune like no other. He was so famous for being on time that people up and down the railroad set their watches to the lonesome wail of his whistle. He did not drink, but had a reputation for speed and recklessness dating from his fast freight days. He had been suspended nine times for rule infraction, but there had been no complaint against him for three years and no passenger was ever killed riding with Casey Jones. He also was known for his kindness and consideration for the Negroes who fired and cared for his locomotives.

The caller called Casey at a half past four
Kissed his wife at the station door
Mounted to the cabin with his orders in his hand
_And he took his farewell trip to that Promised Land._*

The Illinois Central had four fast passenger trains a day running between Chicago and New Orleans. Going south, they were No. 1 and No. 3. No. 1 was called the New Orleans Special or Cannonball Express, and No. 2 the Chicago Fast Mail; but they were the line's fastest trains and were all popularly called the Cannonball expresses. Casey drew the assignment early in 1900 of helping pilot these trains over the fast 188-mile stretch between Memphis, Tenn., and Canton, Miss., on a 50-mile-an-hour schedule. He was assigned a worshipful, young Negro fireman named Sim T. Webb and given a new locomotive, No. 382. It was not "a six eight wheeler." There is no such thing in railroad terminology. No. 382 was a fast ten-wheel McQueen with six driving wheels six feet high.

Casey and No. 382 brought No. 2 north into Memphis exactly on time at 10 p.m., April 29, 1900. He was scheduled to rest there and take No. 1 south at 11:35 p.m. the next day. But at the roundhouse he learned that Sam Tate, the engineer due to take No. 1 south that same evening, was ill.

He needed the extra money. Thirteen years earlier, when he was 22 and she 16, Casey had become a Catholic to marry Jane Brady, the daughter of his rooming-house keeper, in St. Mary's Church at Jackson, Tenn. They had three children. Because of his new run, Casey was planning to buy a house in Memphis and move his family there.

His only condition for "doubling back" was that he use his own engine, No. 382, with the whippoorwill whistle. As the southbound Cannonball was running late, there was time to give Casey's engine the usual servicing. In fact, it was not 11:35 p.m., but 12:50 a.m. when Casey Jones "mounted to the cabin" and the 12-coach Cannonball, at least 75 minutes late, moved southward out of the Poplar Street Station in Memphis. Sim Webb later said the train was 90 minutes late.

Put in your water and shovel your coal,
Put your head out the window, watch them drivers roll
I'll run her till she leaves the rail
'Cause I'm eight hours late with that Western mail.

"We'll have a pretty tough time getting into Canton on the dot. Sim, but I believe we can make it." Casey told his fireman. Sim shoveled the coal. With the whippoorwill whistle wailing at stations and crossings, they began to make up time as No. 382 roared southward. Casey poured on the steam. With bursts of speed more than 90 miles an hour, Casey made up 55 minutes of time in the straight, level 102-mile stretch to Grenada, Miss., his first stop.

Milestones and telegraph poles flew by as he kept up his blazing speed through the murky night. In the 23 miles from Grenada to Winona, he made up 15 minutes more. It was a single track railroad, but he had to watch out for only only scheduled train coming the other way, the northbound No. 2, so he continued to highball southward.

"The old lady's got her high heel slippers on tonight!" Jones shouted to Sim across the cab.

The switchman knew by the engine's moan
_That the man at the throttle was Casey Jones._*

He was almost on time when he made his last scheduled stop at Durant, 30 miles to the south of Winona. He took the siding at Goodman a little farther on to let No. 2, the northbound Cannonball, pass. This delayed him just five minutes and he sped onward at 75 miles an hour over a supposedly clear track. He was only two minutes behind schedule as he approached Vaughan, 22 miles south of Durant and 14 miles north of Canton.

Incredibly, Cannonball No. 1 had made up 73 minutes of lost time in 174 miles. "This means," wrote Fred J. Lee, an Illinois Central engineer of the time, "that there were times when she was driving through the night considerably in excess of 100 miles per hour, and hardly below 65 miles per hour at any time!"

Twelve minutes more at the same speed and Casey would have arrived in Canton on time. But as he swept around an "S" curve into Vaughan, the red light of a freight train caboose loomed up ahead in the foggy night.

"We're gonna hit!" shouted Sim Webb, the fireman.

Casey Jones reacted swiftly. He shut off the throttle, applied the air brakes, pulled the reverse lever, opened the sand dome wide and sounded a blast on the "whippoorwill" whistle.

"Jump, Sim!" he shouted. "Unload!"

As the express slowed from 75 to perhaps 50 miles an hour in a few yards. Sim jumped, Casey Jones stayed at the controls and just failed to brake his train short of collision.

With a crash heard for miles, his locomotive splintered the caboose at 3:52 a.m. It also plowed through a car of hay ahead and on into the next one which was loaded with shelled corn. Tons of corn were scattered over the scene. No 382 then left the rails and turned on her side. The tender and all of the coaches of the Cannonball remained on the track.

Casey Jones was the only person killed. He was found with an iron bolt driven through his neck and a bale of hay crushing his body.

Slim Webb was picked up unconscious where he jumped, but was only bruised. He accepted $5 in full payment of any claim against the railroad. An express messenger who was badly bruised accepted $23. Two postal clerks and a lady passenger accepted $1 each for their hurts. Cleaning up the wreckage, according to Illinois Central records, cost only $3,323.75, including $1,396.25 for repairing Engine 382 and returning her to service under another number.

How had it happened?

Two freight trains, one northbound and one southbound, had been ordered to a siding at Vaughan, but their combined length was four cars longer than the 3,148–foot siding. To let passenger train No. 2 pass, they had executed what railroad men call a "saw by." They moved north on the siding until No. 2 stopped alongside on the main track. Then, they pulled back until the way was clear ahead. They repeated the maneuver to let a local passenger train into a spur on the other side of the Vaughan station.

They were preparing to do a third "saw by" to let Casey Jones through when a rubber air hose broke and froze all the wheels of one of the freight trains, leaving four cars on the track in the path of onrushing Cannonball No. 1. What happened next has been a matter of controversy ever since.

Regulations required that warning torpedoes be placed on the track "30 telegraph poles away," that a fusee be lighted and a trainman be sent with a lantern to intercept the oncoming train. A flagman named John M. Newberry was dispatched from the southbound freight to do all these things. According to an official investigator's report, Sim Webb and the crews of the three trains waiting at Vaughan agreed that Newberry had done his job and the torpedoes exploded.

"Engineer Jones was solely responsible for the collision by reason of having disregarded the signals given by Flagman Newberry," concluded this report by A. W. Sullivan, then general superintendent of the Illinois Central.

For many years before his death in Memphis on July 13, 1957, Sim Webb told and recorded a different story, insisting: "We saw no flagman or fusee! We heard no torpedoes."

In any event, admirers of Casey rallied to his defense. This is what made the mishap different from the 27 other rear-end collisions on U.S. railroads that month. First detailed news of the wreck was a story in the New Orleans Times Democrat from a former employee, Adam Hauser, who was one of the passengers on the Cannonball who may have owed their lives to Caseys' heroism.

"Engineer Jones did a wonderful as well as an heroic piece of work, at the cost of his life," wrote Hauser. "The marvel and mystery is how Engineer Jones stopped that train. The railroad men themselves wondered at it, and of course the uninitiated could not do less. But stop it he did, in a way that showed his complete mastery of his engine, as well as his sublime heroism."

Hauser predicted "the Vaughan wreck will be talked about in roundhouses, lunchrooms, and cabooses for the next six months." It was talked about for years. One of Casey's friends, Wallace Saunders, a Negro engine-wiper at the Canton shops of the Illinois Central, composed a chantey about the wreck and began to sing it.

"Casey Jones," sang Saunders. "Casey Jones. He was all right. Stuck to his duty both day and night. Casey Jones . . . Fireman say. Casey you're runnin' too fast . . . Out run yo' signal last station yo' passed . . . Casey Jones, he died at the throttle, with the whistle in his hand!"

Saunders, who could neither read nor write, allowed his ballad to be copied by William Leighton, an Illinois Central engineer. Leighton passed it along to his brothers, Bert and Frank Leighton, who were vaudeville performers. It is said that Saunders first refused to allow the song to be written, but changed his mind when an engineer friend of William Leighton's gave him a bottle of gin. The vaudevillians sang variations of the ballad to a tune close to *Steamboat Bill* and spread it throughout the land. Somebody else had Casey "a no-good scab who refused to strike with the Southern Pacific boys."

A professional song-writing team wrote the best known version and copyrighted it in 1909, with words by T. Lawrence Seibert and music by Eddie Newton. It was superior in tune and rhyme, but much less accurate than that of Wallace Saunders. In fact, they placed the wreck on a Western line near San Francisco and added a verse suggesting that Mrs. Jones had another husband "on the Salt Lake Line." It was a best-seller just before World War I. Both Seibert and Newton were dead when their original copyright ran out in 1937, but their heirs renewed this and it has been a steady seller in records and sheet music.

From Casey's death, Mrs. Jones received the money from two $1,500 policies with the Locomotive Engineers Mutual Life & Accident Insurance Association, a benefit of Casey's belonging to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. To rear her three children she turned her home in Jackson into a boarding house for railroad men. One son, John Lloyd, sometimes known as Casey Jr. (his Catholic mother wouldn't call him Luther).

became an automobile truck repairman mechanic and served in the Army in World War I at Knoxville. He died in 1934. The Jones' daughter, Helen, married D. C. McKenzie, a Gulf, Mobile & Ohio storekeeper. They live in Mobile. The other son, Charles, retired at 72 in 1960, after 43 years in the Illinois Central shops as a pipefitter. He lives in Jackson, Tenn. His son, Charles, Jr., Casey Jones' grandson, is an Illinois Central diesel mechanic in Fulton, Ky.

As a rebuttal to the Seibert-Newton song, Mrs. Jones, with the help of Lysle Tomerlin, a local man, in 1938 wrote and published a song, "My Husband Casey Jones." Few copies were sold outside of Tennessee but it spurred a revival of interest in Casey. She was present that year when Sen. Alben Barkley sang Casey's praises at the unveiling of a monument erected to him on Highway 94 at Cayce, Ky., by the Hickman Lions Club. The bronze plaque said that Casey's mishap was "by no fault of his."

Fred J. Lee, a retired Illinois Central engineer who had known Casey, wrote a book about him the next year. Only one edition was printed in Tennessee and it is now a collector's item, but it added to the lore. Mrs. Jones was a guest at the 1939 New York World's Fair. A motion picture and a series of radio dramas based on the Casey Jones story followed. In 1947, Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg, railroad historians, replaced the simple wooden cross marking Casey's grave in Jackson's Calvary Cemetery alongside the I.C. tracks with a granite monument.

The top shows Engine No. 382 and the inscription on the side says: "To the memory of the locomotive engineer, whose name as 'Casey Jones,' became a part of the folklore and the American language: *For I'm to run her till she leaves the rails or make it on time with the soundbound mail.*"

Activities in connection with the approaching centennial of the Illinois Central resulted in a 1950 commemorative stamp, not for the railroad but in honor of Casey Jones! The first-day-sale ceremonies for this brown three-cent stamp on April 29, 1950, the day before the 50th anniversary of Casey's last run, drew the biggest crowd in the town's history to Jackson, Tenn. Postmaster Roy Gilbert sold a million stamps and canceled 440,000 first-day covers. Mrs. Jones and Sim Webb received the first sheets. The late I. B. Tigrett, president and chairman of the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio, for which Casey had worked as telegrapher and fireman before joining the I.C., and other speakers compared him to Paul Bunyan and Johnny Appleseed.

Five railroad presidents were present, though not the president of the Illinois Central. C. J. Corliss, historian of the railroad, however, dealt generously with Casey Jones in its centennial history, "Main Line of Mid-America," but naturally stuck to the official account of the tropedoes exploding at Vaughan. A locomotive of the type of No. 382 was given to the Casey Jones Museum by the City of Jackson and many other railroad relics were given to the Museum by the Illinois Central.

This was opened with ceremony on April 30, 1956, after the city purchased the home were the Jones' had lived at the time of the accident, and installed one of Mrs. Jones' friends, Mrs. Martha Vance Gilland, as manager. Mrs. Jones gave Casey's watch and many other personal relics of the engineer to the museum before her death in a Jackson nursing home on November 21, 1958. His original "whippoorwill" whistle is now owned by a collector of railroad relics in Bonne Terre, Mo., but Charles B. Jones has made and given a duplicate of it to the museum in Jackson. As nearly all steam locomotives and steam whistles have followed Casey to "the promised land," museum visitors study the whistle very intently.

There is also a memorial marker to Casey Jones at the Vaughan, Miss., wreck site. Placed there by the Mississippi Historical Commission, it reads: "Casey Jones: A famous ballad, the folklore of American railroading and a postage stamp commemorate the colorful and courageous engineer who was killed in a wreck here in 1900." Corn grows each year at the scene, self-seeded from the grain scattered by Casey's locomotive.

A New York International Realtor Looks at the Common Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT TENZER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished New York-based international realtor, Mr. E. René Frank, was a speaker at the 60th Annual Convention of the National Association of Real Estate Boards being held in Washington this week. Mr. Frank spoke on "The European Common Market: Help or Hurt?"

Mr. Frank is a member of the American chapter, International Real Estate Federation. His remarks are certainly enlightening and I place the text of Mr. Frank's remarks in the RECORD at this point for the information of my colleagues in the House:

THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET: HELP OR HURT?

(By E. René Frank, of New York City, to the National Association of Real Estate Boards' 1967 convention held in Washington, D.C.)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman, at about 11:06 A.M. November 20th, the population of the United States will have reached 200 million—or approximately the total population of the countries comprising the European Common Market. This makes the European community second only to the United States as a free and powerful center of economic and social well-being.

At first glance, the relationship and impact of the European Common Market (and the recently completed Kennedy Round) on the functions of the American realtor may seem far remote. However, my opening remark, together with the following facts, as well as my own experiences over the past few years, should clearly evidence a need for a closer look and better understanding of the European Common Market.

1): Approximately 3,600 American companies are doing business abroad.

2): 16,000 American business concerns are already engaged in international commerce.

3): And direct U.S. business investments in European countries amount to approximately $20 billion—and let us not forget that this includes real estate.

Before I dwell on the topic itself, I would like to briefly report to you on the permanent committee to the European Common Market on which I have had the pleasure of serving for the past two years. The permanent headquarters are in Brussels, since Brussels, as you well know, houses the executive branches of the ECC. Our committee is fortunate to have the assistance of the most capable and devoted general secretary, Mme. De Croo.

I should like to briefly outline the four principal areas of interest and concern of this real estate committee.

1. The right of a real estate professional to establish himself anywhere within the common market area—under the same conditions as apply *their* nationals.

2. The simplification of many legal aspects of real estate in the member nations. This will eventually be beneficial to all those who conduct real estate transactions within the ECC countries. All too often in the past, a maze of restrictions, legal roadblocks or other quasi-legal traditions have delayed real estate projects and have been a source of frustration.

3. The right of *non*-nationals to transact and own real estate. This could have far-reaching impact not only on the European market community, but also on all countries joining the market or emulating their precepts. In fact, this will give the right to *one* national to own property in *another's* country. Today, many countries, including Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and a host of others, still have such restrictions which impede the free flow of real estate transactions and ownership.

4. Mutual reciprocal recognition of real estate diplomas, certifications and other qualifications. This is a point that should induce us here in the U.S. to take a second look at our own license requirements and particularly at reciprocal license recognition between our own States. In fact, the way I see it, the European Common Market Committee is endeavoring to accomplish something which we have not yet been able to do within our own 50 states. On the other hand, I should be quick to point out that this ideal goal of the European diploma equivalency seems still some way off.

During my last trip abroad, I met with Mr. Carl Franzen, the president of the German RDM, (which is the equivalent of our own NAREB), who admitted regrettably that Germany still lacks a professional license examination. However, some other European countries, particularly the Netherlands, have already well-organized and stringent license laws and France, as president Jean Bailly can tell you, has also made some great strides in this direction. Indeed the committee hopes to set an exemplary pattern for the over 50 nations who have actively participated in many of the Brussels and Geneva meetings. They are hopeful that perhaps someday, there will be a more standardized form of professional requirements which will add to the world-wide recognition and prestige of our profession. Here again, the purpose goes far beyond the six member nations of the European Common Market.

Now that I have finished the brief report of our committee, I should like to come back to the topic—"European Common Market—Help or Hurt?"—To answer this question is tantamount to asking the same question of a young child who has just received a vaccine injection.

As you know, the EEC is composed of six west European nations with several other countries having applied for membership. There is also EFTA—the so-called seven outer nations which for the purposes of our discussion, can be considered closely related.

The Kennedy Round, which had its origin under the sponsorship of the European Common Market, completed its negotiations with over 50 countries participating, so that when we think of the EEC, we must keep our eyes on the horizon of many watchful and highly interested industrialized—as well as developing nations, who may well utilize or profit by the hard negotiated, much thought-through decisions and plans of sophisticated nations.

A cloud which in most recent weeks has marred the success of the Kennedy Round can be ascribed to protectionist thunder on nearby Capitol Hill. Without *any thought* of political overtones, I deem it most regrettable that some Senators have found this subject timely to exploit conditions which could, at best, profit some few industries—and at that, only for a very limited time. We should remember that the original U.S. objective—in 1962—was to assure U.S. access to the Common Market and under its authority, the U.S. entered negotiations for the round of discussions under GATT, which came to be known as the Kennedy Round.

At this point, I should like to point out that the narrowing of the U.S. trade balance is not so much attributable to freer trade—as is commonly supposed—as to supply-demand conditions in the domestic economy that moderated export growth and stimulated imports. Overheated activity during 1965–66 helped keep potential exports at home and encouraged importation of some major items. Despite these developments that narrowed the trade surplus during 1965 and 1966, the fact that the U.S. *still* maintained a trade surplus provides support for the argument that U.S. exports are competitive in world markets. U.S. encouragement of the Kennedy Round reflected our desire to maintain and improve that position.

Undoubtedly, it was as a result of a stable European Common Market community that many U.S. firms have been encouraged to invest and establish plants and subsidiaries in Western Europe. However, as companies leapfrog national boundaries in pursuit of profits, they face a number of new problems, not the least of which are office facilities, plants and various other real estate accommodations for their overseas operations. Although U.S.-owned firms comprise only a fraction of total business in European countries, U.S. companies are operating abroad on a large basis—indirectly. U.S.-owned or U.S.-controlled businesses account for 40% of the oil industry in Britain and Germany . . . 35% of the British tire market . . . 40% of France's tractors and farm machinery, 70% of its sewing machines, 75% of its electrical and statistical machinery, and 90% of its synthetic rubber.

As I had mentioned before, the astonishing direct U.S. business investments in European countries amount to about $20 billion. Plant and equipment expenditures alone by foreign affiliates of U.S. corporations in 1966 amounted to $8.8 billion—17% more than in 1965.

The acquisition and financing of international real estate requires specific know-how, which at present is difficult to obtain, but indispensible to a successful enterprise. The internationalization of business presents very real difficulties and problems, directly related to real estate. However, these are not insurmountable if there is a real desire to learn, explore, and expand.

There are untold opportunities for realtors in the U.S. because the same client who has a plant in Kalamazoo, may well have or contemplate a subsidiary or an affiliate in an industrialized West European country and while a thorough knowledge of local conditions, laws and customs is essential. American clients still prefer our home-grown knowledge and expertise and look to a familiar business approach and relationship.

To sum up my views, as you may have guessed by now, I am a firm advocate of the imminent and long-range benefits of the European Common Market. Already, other far-away nations have formed similar trading communities. These include LAFTA—comprised of 11 South American nations and Mexico, and CACM (Central American Common Market)—comprised of five Central American Nations, all of which are already beginning to show signs of economic and industrial benefits.

Most recently, the Atlantic Council, which is composed of outstanding international figures, including Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler; former Prime Minister Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium; David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan, and General Electric Board Chairman, Gerald L. Phillippe, have recommended the establishment of an American-European market. In a booklet recently published by this Council, specific proposals were presented for the shaping of a world-wide *$1 trillion market!!*

All of these far-reaching concepts are the direct result of the birth of the European Common Market.

To our real estate fraternity, this can and will only mean more business—for those who want it, and for those who get with it.

There are those who visualize the gradual evolution of the world as an economic whole and to whom national frontiers loom as irritating frustrations. It is to those I have addressed my remarks this afternoon.

Editorial Support for the Administration's War on Poverty

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN YOUNG

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, as an avid reader of newspapers, I have taken note of the significant support in the Nation's press for the poverty bill now under consideration in the House.

The editorial opinion to which I make reference speaks for itself and will, I believe, be of interest to every Member of the House. Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a sampling of the same, as follows:

PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEWS

(By Huntley, November 7, 1967)

The news off Capitol Hill yesterday, in its cumulative effect, gave clear the impression that Congress is determined to close down the War on Poverty. We can only speculate what the result will be in the slum and ghettos.

Representative Gerald Ford, the Republican leader in the house, has served notice that he and his party are prepared to call off the anti-poverty war. Congressman Ford called the various programs "tragically weak, reckless waste, and ineffective."

Some of Mr. Ford's colleagues in the Congress, including Democrats are not quite as forthright. They appear to favor a kind of guerrilla warfare against the anti-poverty program. They seem to hesitate going on record in opposition to it and therefore seem determined to strangle it to death somewhat surreptitiously.

The various programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity are closing down throughout the country. The money is running out and there is grave doubt that much more will be forthcoming and there is every sign that it may be many weeks before Congress will move to appropriate the funds, whatever they may be. The VISTA Program, for example, is now out of money and in some localities, including New York, private business and industry are being asked to contribute enough to pay the volunteers. The Head Start Program, perhaps the most successful undertaking of the entire anti-poverty effort, is closing down in one community after another, and the related follow through program is being phased out. The Government has run out of money for the Job Corps . . . the trainees cannot now be paid the $30 per month. It is, indeed, difficult to defend the anti-poverty program on the grounds that it was a highly efficient undertaking . . . that every penny spent brought 2 cents in return. Social and economic gains of this nature are forever difficult to measure. It could well be that there has been waste.

But the gain may have come in another way . . . an awareness in the ghetto that something was being done or that something was being tried. The evidence is very clear and striking here in New York, for example, that several of the programs were registering successes. Several of the programs involving the training of youths has not registered solid achievements in numbers of youngsters trained and numbers of youngsters employed. The Head Start Program and the follow through program had worked well and their gains were not entirely matters of guess work or estimate.

So the word is about to go through the slums and the ghettos that the War on Poverty is ending. The reaction will make itself manifest in the weeks ahead. The reaction could be ugly.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Nov. 8, 1967]

VICTIMIZING THE POOR

The poor, it has been said, are always with us. There are a good many members of the House of Representatives who apparently think that the poor and their problems can be made to disappear by simply not looking at them.

They are intent on cutting the Federal anti-poverty program to less than $1.4 billion instead of granting the $2.06 billion asked by President Johnson, or the $2.25 billion approved by the Senate.

House members who are keen to cripple the anti-poverty drive have put together dissatisfaction with various elements of the program, resentment caused by destructive rioting in a number of cities and desire to reduce Federal expenditures to form a coalition of strong opposition to any increase in the appropriation.

Meanwhile funds available to the Office of Economic Opportunity have been exhausted, projects such as Head Start have been suspended, many community action agencies are without money, Peace Corps volunteers and members of Neighborhood Youth Corps are off the payroll or threatened with loss of jobs and allowances. Sargent Shriver is so disgusted with what he calls a "gross deception" of the American people that he has threatened to quit as head of the OEO if the anti-poverty program is stripped of the funds needed to do the job.

There can be differences of opinion on how a war against poverty should be waged to obtain the best results; there can be more efficient handling of anti-poverty funds to make sure the poor receive the benefit of them; there can be plans set in motion to help the impoverished help themselves by job training and other means. But gutting the anti-poverty program by withholding funds essential to its operation is not helping anybody. It could end up being a waste of money. It certainly would not obliterate the poor, and their ever-present problems, no matter how fervently some Congressmen might wish it so.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 7, 1967]

WHOSE OPPORTUNITY CRUSADE?

"Tragically weak . . . reckless waste . . . ineffective." The words ring forth in the statements of Representative Ford of Michigan, the House Republican leader, as he denounces the antipoverty program.

It is strange that Congressmen who would not dare break faith with cotton and tobacco farmers over price supports or with the Rivers and Harbors Congress over a navigation project have no compunction over breaking faith with the nation's poor.

Because of Congressional irresponsibility, the work of the Office of Economic Opportunity has been seriously disorganized. Projects are stopped and started, funds slashed arbitrarily, hopes raised and then dashed. The agency's employes are becoming demoralized and its politically feeble clients—the unorganized poor—are increasingly disheartened. It is a shameless performance.

Because Congress has not acted on this year's appropriation and has allowed the temporary continuing resolution to expire, OEO has had to cut off the $30 a month paid to each Job Corps member. The 4,000 VISTA volunteers are deprived of their pittance of $50 a month. Community action programs that run day-care centers for working mothers and provide legal and health services have folded. The Head Start program for preschool youngsters cannot be made into a year-round program. The Follow Through program which was intended to capitalize on the achievements of Head Start now looks like a budgetary casualty.

Bitterness and social unrest in the urban ghettos and the rural slums can be the only consequences. Those who are guilty of this planned disaster are Representative Ford, his senior Republican colleagues in the House, and their allies, the reactionary Southern Democrats. They are guilty of killing the continuing resolution that is shutting down antipoverty programs across the country as funds run out. They are guilty of the political guerrilla warfare against the antipoverty program which is now underway in the House.

Representatives Goodell of New York and Quie of Minnesota, the principal Republican spokesmen on the antipoverty bill, insist they are all for the aims of the program but just want to improve it. But their voting record makes their substitute "Opportunity Crusade bill" look suspect.

In every year since the antipoverty program started in 1964, Messrs. Goodell and Quie have voted against final passage, for recommittal, and for every crippling amendment. The weight of their influence is not to improve or strengthen the program. They are willing to kill it but not accept the responsibility. The "opportunity" they are seeking is their own political advantage. It takes a lot of gall to vote against the poor and then call it a "crusade," but many a gentleman in Congress is brave when it comes to defeating the defenseless.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 7, 1967]

In the Nation: Poverty in the House

(By Tom Wicker)

Washington, November 6. — President Johnson declared "war on poverty" three years ago. The resulting program may be reduced to a helpless invalid, without money or power, when this week's shouting, table-thumping, posing and meat-axing have been completed in the House of Representatives.

Already the Office of Economic Opportunity's funds are exhausted and many of its projects around the nation are shutting down; already its employes are having to work as volunteers—despite the insulting fact that this House has specifically excluded them from a Federal pay raise.

EVIL IF LEGAL

(The latter action, if legal at all, simply shatters the Civil Service Act; once establish the principle that Congress may punish this agency or that for its policies by manipulating its workers' pay, and Government service becomes nothing but political servitude.)

This single-minded hostility toward O.E.O. and its projects is not apparent in the Senate, where a liberal poverty bill has been passed; it would provide $198 million more than the President requested.

Ironically enough, the House's contrary attitude can be partially traced to a summer of rioting in the cities, which not only raised the question whether the poor should be "rewarded" after engaging in violence; it also brought wild but largely unsubstantiated charges that O.E.O. employes had helped foment the riots.

No doubt the House also is influenced—again ironically—by the fact that the $25 billion being spent in Vietnam is threatening to produce a huge deficit and therefore forced President Johnson to ask for a tax increase. The result was no tax increase but a determined drive to cut expenditures—like poverty funds—which have nothing to do with the war.

But these influences operate in the Senate, too, and the worst troubles of the poverty bill trace straight to the fact that last year the Democrats lost 47 seats in the House and no longer have much control of it or of the Education and Labor Committee.

These seats were filled mostly by Republicans from the South and the suburbs, and in neither of these constituencies does the poverty program—which in the nature of the case aims at helping lots of Negroes—have much support.

These newcomers joined Southern Democrats and some other Republicans in antipathy to the poverty program. They found some strange allies in big city Democrats who owe their seats to powerful machines like that of Mayor Daley in Chicago and who wanted poverty projects brought under local political control.

The Republicans came forward with a program that would spread poverty programs through other Federal agencies—the Job Corps into the Labor Department, for instance—and which would drastically reduce funds for the program. This would all but end the usefulness of O.E.O., which would have retained control only of community action programs.

VOTE-BUYING

Democrats on the Education and Labor Committee then decided to "buy" votes from the Southerners and the big-city Republicans. They did this primarily by supporting an amendment by the unaccountable Representative Edith Green of Oregon, whose great talents are often placed at the service of Southern Democrats; the amendment delivers political control of community action programs to state and local public officials, a drastic change from the concept of encouraging the poor to take the lead in solving their own problems.

This strategy was not blind; the Democrats' aim is to get a bill—any bill—through the House, in the hope that it can then be made acceptable in a conference with the more liberal Senate. But the Republicans are opposing the Green amendment, apparently with the aim of forcing the Democrats to accept part of the Republican bill in order to keep the poverty program alive, even if gutted.

THE POLITICAL GRAB BAG

In most of this, of course, there is little concern for the poor; and although opponents of the program love to charge that it has been nothing but a political grab bag, the political grabbing in the House of Representatives obviously is a lot worse than anything yet proved to have happened in the poverty program.

But whatever happens to the program itself, the poverty question is not going to disappear. That is the real achievement of O.E.O.; it has aroused some of the poor themselves, and called the attention of a nation to their plight. Poverty is going to haunt American politicians for years to come, and if the men who vote in the House this week don't know that yet, they will find it out the hard way.

[From the Charlotte Observer, Nov. 6, 1967]

House Would Be Foolhardy To Cripple Poverty Agency

The House of Representatives would be making a grave mistake if it did anything to substantially cripple the Office of Economic Opportunity and its antipoverty programs.

This country will pay for poverty one way or another. It's far better to invest in programs that represent about a month's cost of the war in Vietnam. To desert the poor now and to remove one of the chief defenses of the cities against agitation and violence would border on political insanity.

OEO is far from perfect. There are flaws in some programs at a number of localities that must be cleared up. But the nation and the agency are breaking new ground. There's no sure-fire blueprint and the job of ending the cycle of poverty will be neither a short nor easy one.

This past summer the nation had major riots in 27 cities. Many persons were killed and damage to property was estimated at more than $270 million. Yet the overwhelming testimony from mayors, police chiefs, city judges and civic leaders in riot and non-riot cities is that the situation would have been far worse without antipoverty programs.

There has been some testimony on the other side about agitation by OEO employes and members of antipoverty boards. Newark, Houston and Nashville come to mind. But even there good arguments can be made on the other side.

Republicans mayors of 22 cities in the over-100,000 category have urged their party to "encourage members of Congress to support the OEO budget so that these dynamic and imaginative programs may be carried on in a successful manner." Yet both Republicans and Democrats are involved in efforts in the House to slash the OEO budget by amounts ranging from $400 million to $800 million.

The grandstanding and vote-huckstering in the Committee on Education and Labor and in the House itself have been bipartisan. Republicans sought to destroy OEO altogether with their "Opportunity Crusade." Democrats have tried to cripple community action programs by putting them under the control of local politicians.

All this ignores the findings thus far of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders. Its principal findings to date is that city government must strengthen its services to the poor to prevent violence. And certainly the antipoverty programs have done the most in recent months to help city government prevent disorder.

Politics as usual in the House on this critical issue could be a disastrous thing to the country. Congressmen from North Carolina and South Carolina will have much to answer for if they help emasculate these needed programs.

[From the Charlotte Observer, Nov. 4, 1967]

Charlotte Needn't Apologize for Its Antipoverty Support

There is no good reason for the people of Charlotte to be timid about voicing their support for efforts to combat poverty in their midst.

And that goes for the Mayor's Community Relations Committee, which stopped short of endorsing continuation of antipoverty programs because the action was viewed in political terms.

This committee in the past has been viewed more as a mediating than an activating body. But the more Charlotte does to overcome poverty, slum, crime, education and employment problems, especially for its Negro population, the less the committee is going to have to mediate.

The arguments in Congress today are chiefly over methods, not the need of antipoverty efforts. The severest critics of some of the Office of Economic Opportunity's efforts have high praise for the stated ends of the programs.

Certainly there is widespread, bipartisan support for Head Start and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The linking of community action groups with police departments to stage "long, hot summer" programs for youth has been successful right here in Charlotte. The Job Corps has recovered from a shaky start and, working primarily through private contractors, is now reaching a great many of the young males who otherwise would be focused upon by agitators in the cities.

Enrollees known as Volunteers in Service to America are doing useful work in poverty neighborhoods. Job training and placement groups have gotten off to a slow start for a number of reasons, including rivalry for funds and programs, but some of the unemployed can be reached in no other way. Neighborhood centers are doing a useful counseling and referral job.

There is no reason under the sun that Charles Lowe, chairman of the board of the Charlotte Area Fund, and CAF executive director John Zuidema should have to thrash around for local support when the antipoverty programs are jeopardized in Congress.

The City Council should go on record Monday backing the programs authorized by the Charlotte Area Fund and urging their continuation. The Mayor's Community Relations Committee could well do the same, stressing that it is the duty of both political parties to furnish help and hope for those who suffer because of the lack of opportunity in many years of life.

One thing Charlotte dare not be guilty of is allowing the poor and disadvantaged to conclude that this city didn't really care after all when the opportunity came to invest more than lip service in their behalf.

Indonesian Newspaper Says: United States, Do Not Retreat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial by a noted columnist advocated withdrawal from the perimeter of Asia to positions we fought so hard to defend some 25 years ago. I am pleased to note that a recent editorial in Djakarta, Indonesia, not only offers an Asian rebuttal to this thesis, but states that the U.S. forces in Vietnam and the South China Sea, "apart from being a deterrent to Communist attacks, are a shield against the Chinese People's Republic's expansion to Southeast Asia."

I offer for the RECORD an editorial from the Djakarta, Djakarta, Indonesia, November 1, 1967:

[From the Djakarta, Djakarta, Indonesia, Nov. 1, 1967]

IF JOHNSON ACCEPTS LIPPMANN'S SUGGESTION

The US had better withdraw from Vietnam and move its military bases to Australia and New Zealand. This would be very profitable and may produce good effects. It would not only end the war in Vietnam but also eliminate the contingency of war with Communist China.

That was the idea proposed by the well-known columnist, Walter Lippmann, writing in the International Herald Tribune of October 23.

As an American citizen it is apparent that Walter Lippmann based his suggestion on the interests of his own country. It is well for us to write on this idea and consider the interest of our country in particular and that of Southeast Asia in general.

Regardless of attitudes that are in favor or against the war in Vietnam, one thing is evident and that is that not a small number of US military land, sea and air forces is stationed in Vietnam and the South China Sea. Apart from being a deterrent to Communist attacks, they are a shield against the CPR's expansion to Southeast Asia. If the Vietnam war were ended, and US military forces withdrawn to Australia and New Zealand, it would be very easy for the CPR to continue its aggression and expansion to the south. This is not an illusion or a nightmare, but an assumption based on conviction, bearing in mind the CPR's subversion and political guerrilla activities in Southeast Asia as, for instance, on the border of Thailand and Malaysia, the PGRS in Sarawak, the Khmer gang in Burma, and the Hukbalahap in the Philippines, and the still potentially strong remnants of the Pki/Gestapu in Indonesia.

Another consequence of the suggested transfer of US troops is that Southeast Asia would find itself squeezed between the two big powers, the CPR and the US. Should a big war break out between the CPR and the US, all Southeast Asia and Indonesia in particular would be transformed into a battlefield. It is highly probable that each of the Southeast Asian countries would subsequently find it hard not to commit itself to either of the contending sides. The country so committed would then split into two or more "states," one turning Communist and the other, or others, non-Communist, just like Korea, Germany and Vietnam. Considering the present situation, however, it is very likely that the greatest part of Southeast Asia would fall into Communist clutches.

Our conclusion is that acceptance of Lippmann's suggestion by Mr. Johnson would not bring such favorable results to the US as estimated by Lippmann. On the contrary, it might result in greater loss, even a fatal setback to US interests in Southeast Asia.

The better tactic for the US, in our opinion, is not to retreat to the south. It would be more profitable to conduct peace talks with Hanoi, followed by close cooperation with Asian countries to halt Communist expansion. This is easy to accomplish provided the US is willing to transfer its billion-dollar expenditures in Vietnam to economic development projects in the Asian countries. Strong and prosperous Asian countries can afford to help the US check and obliterate communism in Southeast Asia.

Francis Vandeveer Kughler and the Arts and Humanities

SPEECH

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Francis Vandeveer Kughler, a president of the Salmagundi Club, an outstanding group interested in the arts and humanities in my district, testified on August 15, 1967, before the Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States, 90th Congress, first session, on S. 2061 to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

His testimony appears at page 455 of the hearings.

I am pleased to bring his testimony to the attention of my colleagues, because it presents for consideration some sage advice on the program.

The testimony follows:

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FRANCIS VANDEVEER KUGHLER, AMERICAN PORTRAIT PAINTER AND MURALIST, NEW YORK, N.Y.

(NOTE.—The following statement was submitted by Francis Vandeveer Kughler, American portrait painter and muralist. Mr. Kughler was President of the Salmagundi Club of New York City, the oldest professional art club in the world, from 1964 to 1966. From 1951 to 1954 he was President of the Artists Fellowship, Inc. During his Presidency of the Salmagundi Club, Mr. Kughler headed the United States Navy's Civilian Art Program (NACAL). His works is represented in museums here and abroad. In 1954 he was commissioned to paint fourteen large murals for the Institute of Government, Knapp Building, at the University of North Carolina. He has been commissioned by the Associated Press to paint portraits of their war correspondents killed in action. Mr. Kughler is also a member of the National Arts Club, and has judged art shows throughout the country. He is President of the Hotel Des Artistes, at which he has his studio.)

I would like to thank this Committee and its Chairman, Senator Claiborne Pell, for this opportunity to express my views on this matter of vital national interest.

May I state, first of all, that the case for today's traditional artist has been made most ably by the Council of American Art Societies and by its spokesmen. Michael Werboff and Frank C. Wright. The Council of American Art Societies is a most reputable group which speaks for a great many artists. I know from experience that this is so, for about five years ago I was asked to be an officer of their organization but had to decline because of my duties as President of the Salmagundi Club.

For this record I speak only for myself, although I believe that thousands of artists and many art collectors, museum directors, and a vast majority of the general public share my views.

It is indeed a worthy cause to encourage artists to attain their highest expression. It is, therefore, one that demands the most serious consideration. Many mature artists, as well as young ones, are sorely in need of assistance. Who should get that assistance is naturally a bone of contention. To get to the root of the fundamental problems which you must face, I would like to first go into certain aspects which must concern every artist in a visual medium from the very beginning of his career. It is only by understanding these that one can go into the practical aspects of the grants, themselves.

It has been said that much of the so called "modern art" today is disordered in character because it expressed a disordered state of the world. It is certainly obvious to this distinguished group that disorder and chaos in art is never an expression of anything.

Art is essentially the highest expression of the senses. For that very reason, every art work, no matter what field, must essentially combine both order and sensual quality. Neither can be absent in any fine art expression.

It should be noted that the basic conflict in visual art, over the generations, comes not from transient and superficial causes, but from the elemental fact that each artist must decide technically, what degree of form or light he will express on his canvas. What the painter knows from the experience of his tactile sense and what he sees with his eyes, are continually in conflict. An artist, therefore, must be soundly grounded to deal with this fundamental problem. He must know the elements of his technique just as every writer must know the alphabet. A young artist who hopes to attain a shortcut to success by following the popular mode of the moment is without the background of knowledge to crystallize his own personal vision. He is committing intellectual suicide.

Sincerity and knowledge is absolutely essential to the creation of fine art. Getting rich quick by pandering to the fashion of the moment has become the keynote of our times. This attitude is fostered by individuals and organizations concerned primarily with promoting what is commercial, and, therefore, profitable.

The National Endowment of the Arts has, since its inception two years ago, had a program of grants to encourage artists in various fields.

It is my understanding that $300,000 is being allocated in the field of graphic arts, in the form of sixty, $5000 grants. These, I believe, are being given to encourage promising painters and sculptors who are in need of financial support to continue working in their particular field. It is also my further understanding that the great majority of the money allocated is going to so called 'modern artists' rather than representational artists.

One of the reasons given for the disproportion in the amount is that modern art is what is being shown and sold in the New York art galleries. It is, therefore, the field that more young artists want to go into. The National Endowment may feel that, because of this, it should consider giving grants to artists who are interested in a field which will be commercially profitable, as the artist matures. If this is the case then it is tantamount to saying that the Government should support what is most commercial and not what is most artistic. It is making the market place the arbiter for what is art and the Government the funnel through which money and encouragement may be poured to perpetuate that marketplace. This, even though the public may not agree with the commodity being sold and despite the fact that time may well prove that commodity to be of little lasting importance. That the painting an artist produces will be saleable should never be the reason for Federal funds to be given as a grant. Only the true worth of the artist should determine this, and judges who represent all areas of the art world should be the arbiters of what grants to give, to whom.

It is, therefore, my contention that the greatest of care should be taken in the selection of judges to see that they truly represent a cross-section of sincere art.

Certainly I see no reason that so called modern artists should not be represented. Only do I ask that representational artists receive the same consideration.

At the present time three judges have the task of deciding who shall be the recipients of sixty grants. This is a large order for such a small panel. It is my feeling that the number of judges should be increased to five and also that established professional artists of realistic visual approach, be well represented on the jury.

I further recommend that the National Endowment of the Arts advertise and publicize its grants in all established art societies and groups. These may be found listed in such books as Who's Who In Art. In this way the greatest number of artists, of all persuasions, will be made aware of these grants and have an opportunity to apply for them.

These grants should not be allowed to become the personal property of a small group of men with fixed ideas as to what constitutes fine art. This is the very way to throttle free expression.

In many ways the intellectual security of a nation can be threatened by a controlled or subsidized art. Giving grants to what happens to be momentarily popular to art dealers is insideous government intervention in the true flow of a nation's art spirit. It encourages the artist to compromise his art principles and stifles the initiative of men who are soundly oriented to the enduring in their field of endeavor.

Mr. Michael Werboff, who is an artist of outstanding integrity and accomplishment, should be complimented on taking the public stand that he has, for the benefit of the arts. Let me assure this Committee that there are thousands of other working artists who feel as he, and I, do, about the art principle. Many millions of the art loving and buying public share these same feelings despite high pressure salesmanship and exploitation of the wierd and the unsound.

Let us not mistake eccentricity for originality. Representational art may seem to some to be "old fashioned" because it has been around for a long time. But, it is in good company. Things that stand the test of time are those that are nobly inspired and motivated, and their worth recognized by the generations.

May I thank this Committee again for the honor it has bestowed on me in allowing me to appear before them to express my views on art.

A Thoughtful and Enlightened Approach to the Problems of Administering Our Foreign Policy

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend the Committee on Career Principles of the American Foreign Service Association for its very thoughtful and indeed exciting interim report on the organization of our foreign service community.

In submitting this report, the committee has rendered significant public service. This service can be augmented as the committee pursues its work and gives us the benefit of its further findings and recommendations.

Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which I have the honor to chair, has devoted considerable effort to the study of the complex processes of our foreign policy.

We have sought to improve the efficiency and the effectiveness of our foreign policy undertakings.

The Committee on Career Principles of the American Foreign Service Association obviously shares these objectives. At the same time, its findings and recommendations on such subjects as policy planning, allocation of resources, and information handling in foreign policy closely parallel our subcommittee's views on these issues, outlined in our reports on "Ideological Operations and Foreign Policy," "Modern Communications and Foreign Policy," "Behavioral Sciences and National Security," and others.

Mr. Speaker, I note that the text of the interim report of the committee on career principles is already in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I commend it heartily to the attention of the membership of this body and I again congratulate the committee for this auspicious beginning of a project which can prove of great importance to our entire Nation.

The report follows:

INTERIM REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CAREER PRINCIPLES

(NOTE.—The Board of Directors has authorized the printing of this supplement to the November issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. The supplement contains, principally, the interim report of the Committee on Career Principles. The membership is urged to consider this report, which the Board of Directors considers the most important document to have come before the Association in many years, with care and imagination.

(Since events may require that the Association take positions on one or more of the issues raised therein, members are urged to make known to the Association their views and suggestions—both on the general principles, established in the report and on the specific topics on which the Committee is about to embark.

(Communications on this subject should be addressed to the Career Principles Committee in care of the Association.)

LANNON WALKER, Esquire,
Chairman of the Board of Directors,
American Foreign Service Association,
Washington, D.C.

On behalf of the Association's 1967 Career Principles Committee, I transmit to the Board of Directors a report of the main findings and tentative conclusions of the studies we have undertaken during the year.

This interim report summarizes our present thinking on general propositions and first principles. These are not specific proposals for organizational change but postulates concerning the identity and structure of a foreign affairs community organization and a personnel system that might best be suited to foreseeable needs. While some of us have reservations about one or more of them, there was a surprising Committee consensus on what the future might—and should—bring. We believe these propositions and principles deserve careful consideration within the Association.

We have found, in preparing this report, that our discussions have led us to accept most of the broad principles and many of the specific proposals which characterized, among others, the Foreign Service Act of 1946, the program of Wristonization begun in the mid-1950s, the Herter Report of 1963 and the Hays Bill of 1965. They have also led us to a better awareness of the problems of shepherding proposed changes through the executive and legislative machinery—much less of gaining their acceptance by those affected. While the membership of the Committee has been greatly enlarged this year, we believe it most important in this connection, that the membership of the Association be involved as actively as may be possible in discussing the content and implications of our report.

I. THE YEAR'S AIM

As the 1967 Committee began its work, there were portents of change in the air. There were debates internal to the Foreign Service on present role and future purpose. There were stirrings elsewhere in the Executive Branch on new forms of reorganization and amalgamation. There were intimations from the Congress that the time might have come again to study the larger question of how the foreign affairs of the United States should be organized and conducted.

There were also strong views inside the Committee that the Association should be in position to make recommendations of its own in these matters or to participate in the shaping of proposals that others might advance. And there were subsequent informal indications that senior officers in the Department would welcome Association views.

So the Committee set itself a large and basic task, realizing that the product of a year's work could at best be only the end of a beginning. Two sentences from one of its earliest working papers defined its aim:

"The fundamental question to be considered is how the foreign affairs of the United States can best be organized and conducted consistent with NSAM-341 and various other directives related to the pre-eminent authority and responsibility of the Secretary of State. . . . [The Committee] believes that the psychological moment is at hand for a reexamination of the role of the Department of State and the Foreign Service in the overall 'foreign affairs community' and the structure and organization of the career service or services required to carry out that role."

II. EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT AND INTERNAL IMPLICATIONS

The Committee began its work by attempting to make some general statements about the environment in which foreign affairs might be conducted in the 1970s. The assumptions we derived are not startling. The main ones, included here, set a framework for much of what follows and helped shape many of our conclusions about first principles:

1. The central process of dealing with power and influencing the relations of states will remain. The problems will become increasingly complex and technical. Risks of nuclear proliferation, threats of rural insurgency, equations of food/population and development, decrease in psychological distance and reaction time between nations, and the impulse of a growing number of problems to require solutions which violate traditional geographic boundaries are a few of the parameters.

2. US responsibilities as a world power will not substantially diminish but the exercise of its authority will be more circumscribed by domestic and international constraints.

3. There will almost certainly be a greater number of independent players abroad and a larger number of agencies and institutions active in foreign affairs at home.

4. National resources available for foreign affairs will be scarce relative to demands. Claims on available resources inside our society will be more competitive.

5. Throughout the foreign affairs community, there will be requirements for wider ranges of functional competence and more advanced planning and programing tools to deal with instability in the world order, increasing scientific and technological information, and more rapid and more frequent national interactions.

6. In interagency matters, there will be more emphasis on integrated overseas programs, rapid response capabilities, and contingency planning. This emphasis will be reinforced by increasing demands upon the energies of the President and the Secretary of State and further centralization of responsibility at the Presidential level.

7. For the Department of State, new requirements will be levied for interagency leadership and coordination in the tasks of developing more orderly and lucid objectives, more rational allocations of resources, and more effective policy audits of the use of available assets.

8. Demand for sophisticated leadership in foreign affairs will grow. Supply of special skills required to deal effectively with foreign power structures will remain short.

III. A SET OF GENERAL PROPOSITIONS AND FIRST PRINCIPLES

1. *Those who do not recall the past are condemned to repeat it.* This was perhaps the basic conclusion which emerged from our review of reform movements in the US foreign affairs community since the end of World War II. There were some in the Committee who drew a corollary: those who recoil from the future are likely to regress in the present.

2. *The Department of State has primary responsibility for direction and coordination of the overseas activities of the US Government.* The Committee found no persuasive arguments for a sweeping reorganization of the Executive Branch. It was not impressed by the case for an omnibus Department of Foreign Affairs. It believes that the Department of State will almost certainly share foreign affairs functions in the 1970s with a growing number of agencies, institutions, and individuals—if it continues to develop the role envisioned in NSAM 341.

3. *The authority of the Secretary of State and the Chief of Mission are the central elements in foreign affairs community architecture.* Nothing in the Committee's view of the period ahead suggested that the role and function of either would or should substantially alter in the 1970s: The new vigor being given the SIG/IRG concept in Washington and the continuing validity of the Country Team concept in the field seemed to us to mark the right forward movement. But both the Secretary and the Chief of Mission will need to be supported by greater use of managerial tools, more subtle and pertinent planning mechanisms, more sophisticated techniques of coordination, greatly increased technical skills among personnel, and qualitatively different ways of handling information. A few illustrations follow.

a. *The planning function* is now both too close to, and too removed from, operations: *too close* because so much of policy is made on an *ad hoc* basis in response to emergent and volatile situations and *too removed,* because planning institutions are not sufficiently related to operational concerns. As operations must increasingly be disciplined by well-defined and communicated objectives, so the policy-making mechanisms must be related more directly to the imperatives and deadlines of operational urgencies. If the SIG/IRG structure is the crucial element in the foreign affairs decision-making system, then it may be that both the SIG and the IRG should be supported by small but skilled analytical staffs drawing on resources now available in INR, the Bureau of Economic Affairs, the Policy Planning Council and other agencies in foreign affairs.

b. *The budgetary process* is now not systematically related to national policy objectives. There is only the loosest and most inefficient mechanism for the allocation of increasingly scarce resources across a widening range of critical problems. The Committee believes that some form of program budgeting (which is not simply administrative gimcrackery) is essential to the rational conduct of foreign affairs and indispensable to the discharge of the Department of State's responsibilities under NSAM 341.

c. *Information-handling* is a much neglected area. Better coordination of policies requires as a minimum a common data base among participating agencies. The agencies in foreign affairs are already late in automating their information-handling facilities and have not yet begun to attack the related and even more fundamental problem of deciding what information is relevant to their tasks.

4. *Policy-making is a centralized function; operational control a decentralized responsibility.* In the Committee's view, these considerations strengthen the case for a programming system for foreign affairs—with the regional Assistant Secretaries as the pivotal offices for the integration of policy, programs and resources. In the field the role and the responsibility of the Chief of Mission should be extended and staffed to provide a strong link between policy planning and budget execution. The mission abroad should be expected to participate in a better definition and audit of US objectives in the country to which it is accredited. In Washington, the role and function of the Office of Country Director needs new attention, substantial upgrading, and broader interagency representation—as the basic support element of the IRGs and as the primary organizational equivalent in Washington of the Country Team in the field.

5. *The foreign affairs community in the 1970s should ideally be able to satisfy most of its personnel needs by recruitment at junior levels and promotion from within but it must remain open to regulated entry from the outside at all levels.*

While the Committee is deeply committed to the concept of a career foreign service, it believes the demands of the 1970s will require increasing numbers of professional and technical personnel from outside. The Committee sees no reason to blink this fact.

The public interest in seeking and finding the best man for each job will remain for the agencies in foreign affairs the overriding consideration of any durable personnel system—whatever the competitive claims of career mobility or security. And we doubt that the Department of State can perform its indispensable functions of interagency leadership and coordination without enlisting—by TDYs exchange tours, or regulated lateral entry—larger numbers of qualified personnel from other departments and agencies.

We think certain innovations or extensions of present practice deserve new attention. A few follow:

a. An increasing use of professionals detailed from other actual or potential foreign services, such as those of the Departments of Agriculture or Treasury, seems to us to present few structural problems. We think the principle should be strengthened, however, that experts seconded to missions abroad—from whatever agency—report to the Ambassador and through him to the Secretary of State and their parent agencies. This was the solution devised by the Plowden Commission in its reform of the British foreign services, and it appears to have worked well in practice.

b. A good deal of the hostility and fear aroused by temporary appointments to a career service—and some of the abuses of the reserve category—might be avoided by more extensive use of the contracting mechanism for the employment of scarce or temporary skills. Both AID and USIA seem considerably ahead of the Department of State in this respect.

c. Not the least of the causes of what has been called "organizational ineffectiveness" has been the closed nature of the foreign services. One can argue that the value of, for example, the Rand Corporation to the United States Air Force was less the research performed than the exchange of ideas and people back and forth between the bureaucracy and a more contemplative environment. The foreign services have no Rand Corporation, have tended to be isolated from outsiders with new or unorthdox ideas, and have wished (or been obliged) to maintain a guild-like structure out of keeping with the newer methodologies in foreign affairs. Our ability to recognize and reverse this process may be more indicative of our capacities to deal with the problems of the future than anything else we might do.

6. *Present distinctions between "generalists" and "specialists" (whether functional or language and area) and between "line" and "staff" are increasingly obsolescent.* Our discussions led us to suggest that more significant distinctions might be made among those in foreign service (a) whose role is to deal directly with foreign power structures, (b) whose role is primarily to analyze and interpret those power structures, and (c) whose role is to provide staff support or technical assistance. This distinction may have relevance for a reconsideration of present recruiting techniques and the examination process. Beyond entry criteria, it cuts across existing agency boundaries and may further reinforce the arguments in favor of broadening the selection and promotion base at all levels. Our attempts to define the older terms led only to the conclusion that the best "generalist" is likely to have the depth of training and the analytical capacities that characterize the "specialist"—plus the ability to deal effectively with people and operate systematically in policy terms.

7. *The problem of senior officer over-supply has far too long been regarded too nega-*

tively. Too much of the discussion of this question has concentrated on the construction of freer exit systems for what has been regarded as a temporary post-Wristonization phenomenon that hardened promotion arteries throughout the system. There is a good deal to be said for the encouragement of voluntary early retirement—just as there is need for an honorable and recognized career goal within technical or functional fields short of the DCM level.

But we doubt that senior congestion is short-term. We think it more likely an inherent and persisting characteristic of the 1970s. We are reluctant to conclude that a superabundance of senior officers—short of retirement age but with a foreign affairs experience upwards of 20 years—should be viewed as either a national disaster or an institutional embarrassment. These officers may in fact be an under-exploited asset of considerable importance.

We think the possibility deserves new explorations. And, just as we suggest that personnel systems in foreign affairs be more open, so we urge the wider use of senior officers on tours outside—in details to other federal, state, and local agencies; to foreign policy associations or research institutions; to universities and staff colleges. The gains to foreign service, to our public relations, and to the officers concerned seem to us worth testing.

8. *"The Foreign Service of the United States" remains the goal*. It was formulated as a first principle in the Rogers Act of 1924. It was reaffirmed in the Foreign Service Act of 1946. On both occasions it was strongly supported by the Foreign Service officer corps. It has not yet been achieved.

The Committee generally and strongly favors the type of integration which would ultimately produce—from the several principal foreign services now extant—"The Foreign Service of the United States." It considers recent proposals to bring certain AID employees under the Foreign Service Retirement Plan and to establish a career service for the USIA steps in the right direction. It believes the three principal foreign services should move more rapidly and energetically to eliminate superficial and artificial distinctions among the *de facto* career services and to achieve the longer term goal of effective integration of the foreign services of the Department of State, AID and USIA.

To the Committee, the case for this finding rests on (a) reducing the more obvious inefficiencies, inequalities, and frictions inherent in the present separation of career personnel systems; (b) broadening the career base from which senior officers—and those at other levels—can be selected for program direction responsibilities; and (c) making the foreign services a more flexible and dynamic instrument at the disposal of the President and the Secretary of State.

In reinstating "The Foreign Service of the United States" as the ultimate goal, it is important that the Committee's concept of integration be understood. We *do not propose* a single service without distinctions between kinds of skills or levels of responsibility. We *do believe* that the public interest requires a foreign service separate from a civil service. The Foreign Service's distinguishing elements—rank-in-man, operational effectiveness abroad, and world-wide availability will be no less indispensable to the pursuit of national purpose in the 1970s. We *also* believe, however:

a. that a given levels of skill or responsibility there are more similarities than differences across the boundaries of agencies which operate overseas;

b. that the extent of "commonality" should be thoroughly explored; and

c. that a start should now be made by establishing common standards of recruitment, promotion, and assignment for comparable levels of skill and responsibility.

In its own discussions the Committee has referred to these concepts as "commonality" within the foreign services. We consider there are now practical limits to the process of integration, but we believe that the elements of commonality should be pressed as far as they can logically be carried. We have no doubt that the personal and intellectual standards of the Foreign Service officer corps will make this process easier to accomplish. We believe that officers of comparable ability and background in the other services can help us take these further steps in the transition to "The Foreign Service of the United States."

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Almost a Foreign Service generation ago, those who had entered the Service before World War II were confronted with something akin to the present Service crisis of identity, role, and purpose in a rapidly changing external environment. That period of ferment and creativity inside the administration led to the formulation of many of the concepts of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Today the problems if not entirely dissmilar, involve, in much greater degree, not the Foreign Service alone but the foreign affairs community.

In summarizing its work to date, the Committee hopes that it has rescued from the past a number of ideas which have relevance for the future—and may have formulated a few suggestions of its own for more effective planning, coordination, and budgetnig in the foreign affairs process at home and abroad.

We believe that the case for sweeping reorganization of the foreign affairs community is less persuasive than getting on with the significant improvements that are possible in the present system. We think the Association can and should play an active role in considering and proposing these improvements. None have greater stake in foreseeable changes than its members, and few can make as substantial inputs to the consideration of these fundamental problems of organization.

The Committee intends shortly to present to the Board a more detailed study of the operational implications of the foreign affairs environment anticipated over the next decade. The Committee believes that it is now in position to develop its general propositions and principles into specific recommendations for the consideration of the Board and the membership of the Association on:

The uses of "commonality" for a more effective integration of the several foreign service personnel systems;

Implications in newer distinctions among foreign affairs functions for recruitment, examination, assignment and training;

Future organization of the foreign affairs community and its planning and coordination requirements;

Applications of programing techniques and information handling systems in foreign affairs.

The Committee recommends that the Board approve the general directions it has taken, direct it to continue on these lines, and indicate the priorities the Board attaches to the tasks outlined above.

WILLIAM LEONHART,
Chairman.

The following people participated in the work of the Committee during February-October 1967, although not all of those listed were still active when this report was prepared:

William Leonhart, Chairman
Outerbridge Horsey, Vice Chairman
Richard W. Aherne
M. R. Barnebey
Adrain A. Basora
William Belton
Charles W. Bray III
Gerald S. Bushnell
Frederic L. Chapin
R. T. Curran (USIA)
Curtis Cutter
Morris Draper
Robert Duemling
John E. Harr
Norris Haselton (Ret.)
Thomas J. Hirschfeld
William E. Knight
Charles Nelson (AID)
W. Haven North (AID)
Mary Olmstead
Hewson Ryan (USIA)
William Sherman
Richard L. Sneider
Peter Tarnoff
Sheldon Vance
Carol Westenhoefer
Frank S. Wile
Larry Williamson

OCTOBER 14, 1967.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: On behalf of the Board of Directors, I wish to acknowledge receipt of the interim report submitted by the Association's Career Principles Committee.

The Board has had an opportunity to consider and discuss the report, and has asked me to convey to you our warmest congratulations for a job well-done. We believe your report constitutes a milestone in the Association's history; for the first time, the Career Principles Committee has devoted its attention to the largest and most pressing issues now facing the foreign affairs community. The Committee's statement of "first principles" is lucid and forward-looking. I hope that it will stimulate the kind of discussion among our membership which will enable the Board of Directors to take a reasoned and reasonable position on these important issues.

The Board has asked me to inform you that it approves the specific projects recommended by the Committee at the end of its report. We hope that these supplementary reports will be available to the membership shortly after the first of the coming year.

Our warmest thanks to you personally and to the members of your Committee.

Sincerely,

LANNON WALKER,
Chairman of the Board.

A Soldier's Honesty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, my heart was filled with pride when I read the following story written by my good friend, Herman Robinson, for the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle.

If Chester Salyers is representative of the young men who serve in our Armed Forces, and I am sure he is, then, America has nothing to fear. We will survive.

While this story is in some ways humorous, it points out so clearly the unswerving honesty of this young soldier, and I want to bring it to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD:

TURNED SELF IN: AREA SOLDIER, BOUND FOR VIETNAM, KILLS WRONG DEER, WILL NOW HUNT WITH JUDGE

(By Herman Robinson)

ELIZABETHTON.—A young Kingsport soldier who was fined for a game-law violation has found a hunting companion—the judge!

The soldier, Chester Brown Salyers Jr., appeared in General Sessions Court yesterday to face a charge of recklessness resulting in the killing of a doe deer.

Judge Arden Hill assessed young Salyers with the minimum fine of $25 and costs. The judge suspended $10 bringing the total to $28.75.

Salyers is home on a 30-day leave from the Army before reporting to Vietnam. He likes to hunt and was in the Laurel Fork Management area Monday deer hunting when he saw a buck run behind some underbrush and when the animal appeared on the opposite side, he shot.

Instead of it being the buck, he recognized it as a doe after he had shot and crippled it.

He told the judge he went ahead and killed the deer after he had crippled it, then brought it to the station and told the conservation officer what he had done.

The conservation officer cited him to court. Salyers brought the deer to the county jail where it was cooked and fed to the prisoners.

Judge Hill told the soldier, "I am going to let you pay about what it cost to replace the deer because the fine from the game violation goes to the Game and Fish Commission."

Salyers replied, "That's okay, Judge. I just made a mistake and you have to do your duty."

But when the judge found out Salyers would have to serve time in jail in lieu of his fine, Judge Hill then gave the youth permission to send the fine back to the clerk of the court when he reports to his base.

The boy refused to allow his father to pay his fine because he said it was his obligation and he would "lay it out in jail before letting someone else take the responsibility."

As young Salyers started to depart, Judge Hill remarked, "That's a fine young man." Then he called to him, "Say, Salyers, are you going hunting again?"

Salyers replied, "Yes, judge, I'm going Saturday if I can find someone to go with."

The conversation went something like this:

Judge Hill: I'm going Saturday. Would you like to go with me? I don't know though, since I've had to fine you.

Salyers: You just did your duty. Yes, judge, I'd like to go with you.

Judge Hill: OK. Where shall we go?

Salyers: I'd like to go back into the Laurel Fork area. I saw a number of deer in the flats, but I had to keep moving and didn't get a chance at them.

Judge: Keep moving? What do you mean?

Salyers: The regulations do not allow you to stand in one place.

Judge: Are you sure?

Salyers: Yes, judge. That's the regulation.

Judge: I think you're mistaken, but I'm going to find out for sure before we go Saturday!

The Dream We Lost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mississippi is typical of other southern States in treating its Negro citizens with respect and understanding. Arkansas does the same thing. There is a bond of friendship that has existed and does exist between the races. It is mutual, too.

Paul Harvey's column, "Our Way of Life," carried a most meaningful letter from a taxi driver from Chicago who was born and reared in Yazoo City, Miss. The article appeared in the Paragould Daily Press, Paragould, Ark., and is most ininteresting and informative. It is included herewith:

THE DREAM WE LOST

(By Paul Harvey)

I'm a Negro hack driver in Chicago, homesick for Yazoo City, Miss.

Paul Harvey hailed my cab the other evening at the airport. He'd been where I'd lived, and we got to talking and he asked me to write it out.

I grew up and married in Mississippi. All I knew about the world beyond the river was what I'd learned in school or seen in movies or been told by outside preachers who sometimes came to our church.

And no matter how poorly the cotton crop or how scant the peanuts or how tedious my post office job back home, we always had a dream to live with. Someday we'd make it north. Someday there'd be plenty for us and equality for our kids.

Someday we'd pick up and head north to where wages are $5 an hour and everybody shares everything together and sits together and there's no difference.

Well, here I am in the Promised Land.

But wages are not $5 an hour. I average $2—before deductions.

In Chicago we got a walk-up in a dingy South Side apartment house. The big city doesn't segregate you because you're black; it segregates you because you're you.

So I moved from the back of a bus to the front of a cab.

Back home we had a patch of green to play on and a patch of blue to breathe in. Weather like everybody wants, we had.

We rarely locked our doors in Yazoo City. We were never afraid. Here we lock ourselves in and we're still afraid.

Chicago Negroes don't get it when I tell them how we had better schools and churches in the South than here, how poor folks down there eat better than most anybody up here, how we always had the camelias and azaleas and magnolias in the yard.

I can't afford flowers now, even one at a time. Besides, cut flowers wilt. I don't blame 'em.

I went home for a family funeral last month and the kinfolk still live with the dream. I asked them to keep it. Live with that dream. Everybody ought to have one dream. "Don't wake up," I said.

They tell me we got self-respect up here, but I don't feel it.

And our two just out of grade school got no creek to fish in and no yard to play in and from somewhere they're pickin' up more resentment and ugly hate than I ever remember.

I can't explain to anybody, even my own kids, who've never lived with our Southern ways about the way white people back home call me "Jesse" with more respect than people up here call me "Mister."

Why don't I move the family back to the South again? We talked about it.

But Mississippi can't be the same again. We can have the green and the blue again. And the good cookin' and the "Mornin', Jesse, how's your family?"—we could return to that.

But we can't get our dream back; it's gone. And that's bad. Everybody ought to have a dream.

America: Greatest Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the furor that was caused in Washington some weeks ago by the 35,000 Americans who staged a demonstration against our national interest, I am especially pleased to insert into the RECORD a column written in a very personal sense by the noted international columnist, Dumitru Danielopol, who is a naturalized citizen and whose views are in a context which I feel are quite inspiring:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union, Nov. 6, 1967]

AMERICA: GREATEST COUNTRY—"DELAYED PILGRIM" ASHAMED OF CURRENT ATTITUDES

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dumitru Danielopol, former Romanian banker and diplomat, refused to return to his native country after the 1947 Paris peace conference. Instead, he came to the United States. Here, he reminisces on 20 years in America and the changes in the American spirit.)

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—Twenty years ago today I set foot for the first time on American soil.

On that gray, misty morning New York harbor was crowned with low dark clouds. The Manhattan skyline was a forbidding sight. It looked more like a barrier than a gateway to a new life.

This was not a city I was looking at; it was a world.

And from the deck of the Holland-America liner Nieuw Amsterdam it looked foreign, cold, ruthless, cruel.

IMAGE CHANGES

Then suddenly the image changed. We came within sight of the Statue of Liberty holding aloft her torch to: "Your tried, your poor, your huddled masses . . . the wretched refuse . . ." The statue softened the stark reality of the brick and stone skyline.

New York could not be so tough. How many millions like myself had fled Europe's troubles to find a new life.

Suddenly fear and awe gave way to a sense of challenge. Those tall buildings seemed to say, "Show us what you can do."

As I reminisce now 20 years later, I remember, too, the gratitude. Those of us who arrived by the thousands after World War II were grateful just to be here.

It never occurred to us to ask for favors. We had been granted the greatest of all favors: The freedom to try.

Thirteen years later President John F. Kennedy put it all in one sentence:

"Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

It wasn't easy, believe me. We—the "refuse" of World War II and postwar failures—were not the usual type of immigrant who came to stay and were immediately absorbed.

We were political exiles or refugees from communism. We were "DP's" (displaced persons). Often we were resented by our ethnic groups, the immigrants of long ago.

"DP" was not a pleasant term. It described a person adrift.

But we did not accept this.

"DP doesn't stand for displaced person," we quipped, "it stands for 'Delayed Pilgrim.' "

Today, many of those who arrived with me still cling to the hope that one day they can go "home."

Others, like me, have found "home." We have become citizens. We love to be here.

Those of us who continue to preach against communism and totalitarianism do it in the hope that we can protect our new home against this 20th Century disease.

It never occurred to us in 1947 but in a few short years we would see Americans expecting to live on the efforts of others: Refusing jobs because they could do better on relief; refusing to serve their flag, demonstrating against their duty elected President.

NOT OWED LIVING

It never crossed our minds that anyone owed us a living.

Free speech and the right to dissent were two of the riches that America gave me. I do not for one moment challenge the right of others to these riches but on this important anniversary in my life I claim the right to speak, too.

For the first time, I'm ashamed of some of my fellow Americans. I'm ashamed of the draft-dodger and draft card burner; of the youngster who lives in filth and claims to be "pure" in spirit; of the puppets who follow high-sounding, but often questionable leadership and go about inciting disturbances, sit-ins, riots, civil disobedience and demonstrations; of the self-styled intellectual who wants to bring communism to this country.

I'm also ashamed of the politicians who blind themselves, who apologize for enemies of our freedom, who describe the fight for freedom as "arrogance of power;" of the columnists who have made defeatism and appeasement their credo.

Certainly America is not perfect. But this is a country which has come closer to perfection than any other.

Impatience with technical, social and educational shortcomings is fuel for progress. But those who preach communism know nothing of progress.

For many in America, their tragedy is that they were born here. They don't realize how much they have to be thankful for. They have never experienced the thrill of becoming an American.

To those who would despair, who would capitulate to tyranny, who would renounce this heritage, I have only this advice:

Audi alteram partem: Listen to the other side.

Look around you. Look around the world. You live in the greatest country man has ever put together.

Be proud of it.

In Honor of Our Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to point out that this past weekend we honored our country's veterans in ceremonies around the country. But in fact we have continually honored our veterans, and rightfully so, by materially demonstrating our gratitude through the passage of numerous veterans' benefits measures.

We know that the entire fabric of American life is strengthened by adequate veterans' assistance. Forty-three percent of all Americans are veterans and their families. By insuring that such an overwhelming portion of our population receives in just one example, adequate assistance for resuming educations interrupted by the call to arms, we better insure that America's educational advancement is sufficient to support its accelerated progress in all fields of human endeavor.

We in Congress, then, adhere to that most basic duty which from the time of the American Revolution has been defined and is still defined, as caring "for him who shall have borne the battle and for his orphan." When we perform this duty, we are acting on behalf not only of veterans, but of all America.

During the last months of World War II, while the Allied armies were pouring across the Rhine, Congress added an entire new dimension to the concept of veterans assistance by enacting the GI bill of rights. The bill embodied the novel, and previously unheard of plan of helping veterans readjust to civilian life by granting them educational assistance. To say that the investment in our veterans has more than paid for itself is an understatement.

The original cost of the bill was $14.5 billion, yet in terms of the skills and increased national income produced by his investment, it is estimated that the GI bill has paid for itself at the rate of close to $1 billion a year. This return comes in the form of higher taxes paid by better educated, higher earning veterans.

Since the enactment of the GI bill, we have demonstrated time and again that we will not forget the veterans. We demonstrated this again just a few weeks ago, during this present session of Congress when we again improved upon the original act. At that time we increased the amount of educational assistance so that it corresponded to the increased cost of living. Furthermore, the new law just signed by President Johnson provides that veterans who return to high school, not just those who go to college, will receive the assistance. Many of the future veterans now entering the service have not finished high school. Surely, they should not receive less educational opportunity simply because they answered the call to arms at an earlier stage of their educational careers.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, this area is but one thread in the total fabric we here have woven to cover our veterans. We must not, and I am sure we will not, for one moment forget those who have placed their lives on the line in defense of their country.

Industry's Stake in Equal Job Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I believe the increasingly progressive spirit of the American business community is well illustrated by a recent address by Mr. Courtlandt S. Gross, director and chairman of the finance committee of California's Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

Mr. Gross' excellent speech, entitled, "Industry's Stake In Equal Job Opportunity: The Job Ahead" is of special interest to Members of Congress because it indicates a high degree of sensitivity to the problems of urban America, as well as a genuine willingness on the part of the business community to shoulder a share of the burden of responsibility for finding adequate solutions to those problems.

In outlining some of the features of the civic role Mr. Gross envisions for U.S. industrial firms, he states:

> I think it is inescapable that one of the fundamental solutions to these troubles, as well as one of the great social, moral, and economic needs of our time, is more job opportunities for those who, because of race, cultural background, lack of training, lack of motivation, or lack of past success, have been excluded from any meaningful employment or perhaps have been excluded themselves.

But Mr. Gross warns that full and enthusiastic management support is a must before our commercial business concerns can expect to achieve the degree of success in helping solve the problems of urban America that the times require:

> There is, however, one necessary precondition for success in these programs as in others in business, and that is sincere and active management support that extends down throughout the entire supervisory chain and into every nook and cranny of the organization.
>
> I think you know well the power and effectiveness of such support. This is what makes for the success or failure of every program, whether it is a Savings Bond drive or a United Fund drive or whatever. It is time now for management to support Equal Employment with the same fervor and the same dedication that we support, say, cost control or new product development.

Finally, Mr. Gross looks ahead with a healthy optimism to the day when the business community will have made a substantial contribution toward solving "those problems that it is within our power to solve."

He predicts:

> The historians of the future, I believe, looking back on these troubled times, will be able to write, "And so the American businessman of that era, confronted by agonizing problems and not always distinguished by a talent for public service, rose to new heights of responsibility and placed his full efforts and resources squarely behind the task of securing equal opportunity for all the nation's people."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the entire text of this fine address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

INDUSTRY'S STAKE IN EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY: THE JOB AHEAD

(An address by Courtlandt S. Gross, director and chairman of the finance committee, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., annual conference, National Urban League, Portland, Oreg., August 22, 1967)

In the minds of all of us is the sober realization that we are met here today in a time of troubles—troubles that appear so great from the immediacy of our vantage point in time that we may be tempted to conclude that they threaten not only to undo the work that has gone before but even to tear apart the fabric of our entire society.

I think this is too melancholy a view. Certainly all of us regard the current rash of rioting with horror and certainly none of us thinks it will aid the cause of greater opportunity for which all responsible men strive.

WE ARE PART OF HISTORY

But we must remind ourselves that we are part of history, not apart from it, and history poves that mankind moves forward not by a steady, upward progression but by a difficult, uneven course, accompanied oftentimes by, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, "blood, sweat, and tears." It would be strange if the civil rights movement did not have its own difficulties. Progress always seems to come grudgingly and slowly, but it does seem to have something of an inevitability about it that cannot be negated either by excesses on the one hand or complacency on the other. The waves that pound on the shore may command our attention, but underneath the tide of progress is surely coming in.

All of this is not to excuse the current excesses or not to admit that the tide seems unconscionably slow. But it is an effort to put into perspective the events of the movement and to redirect our thinking to the basic, long-term work that we must do.

There is much that must be done by all of us. Certainly there is much to be done by minority group leaders and communities in combatting the lawlessness we are witnessing. I thik it would be inappropriate for me to comment in this area, and indeed I feel unqualified to do so. I know only that there are good and capable men, some of them here today, who have assumed this responsibility.

But I realize, as I am sure all of us here do, that they cannot do it alone. They need help from all of us. They need evidence of vast good will and solid progress to which they can point to justify the course of moderation and their faith in the long but peaceful road to progress. Without such evidence their work will be extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible.

BUSINESS MUST HELP

Much of the help they need must be given by businessmen—by me, by you businessmen here today, and by businessmen throughout our entire nation.

I know no more than anyone else all the causes that lie behind the recent troubles. But I think it is inescapable that one of the fundamental solutions to these troubles, as well as one of the great social, moral, and economic needs of our time, is more job opportunities for those we have learned to call "disadvantaged"—those who, because of race, cultural background, lack of training, lack of motivation, or lack of past success have been excluded from any meaningful employment or perhaps have even excluded themselves.

How far does business responsibility extend? How much must we do?

It seems to me the answers are that our responsibility extends much further than most of us have thought and that we must do much more than we have done so far. We have shared in creating the problem, we suffer because it exists, and we have within our hands one of the keys to its solution—the key to greater job opportunity. I do not say that we alone have the complete solution. But we can help very significantly, and there is every reason why we should do so.

MORE RESPONSIBILITY NEEDED

By this I mean tha we can offer more help than many of us, well intentioned as we are, have so far found means to extend. We must, I think, first strengthen our resolve to assume an even greater measure of responsibility than we have so far done. And, having done this, we must then find ways to be as ingenious in developing new job opportunities as we have been in developing new products. As businessmen we justly pride ourselves on our ingenuity. Surely here is an area that is crying for ingenuity and innovation. We must be equal to the task.

Just a word on the first suggestion—our own attitudes. I know it is always easy for us to justify our own attitudes, even while decrying those of others. And I know also that there is some reason for this justification. Many of us have indeed been making sincere and even fruitful efforts. Some of us have done much. Now, I think, we must do more.

Now is the time for all of us to do some intense soul-searching about the extent and depth of our responsibilities and the adequacy of our involvement to date. You will remember that it was said of the French Bourbon kings that they had two outstanding characteristics—they never forgot anything and they never learned anything—and with these remarkable but quite human traits they brought down upon themselves the French Revolution.

I would hope that American businessmen are wiser than the Bourbons. We have, I think, some things to forget—old concepts of what equal opportunity means, old ideas that we have done enough when we have simply opened our doors to members of minority races, old beliefs that once a disadvantaged employee is hired we can forget about him, old misconceptions that tend to classify people in stereotypes, old corporate policies that look nice on paper but that haven't filtered down into the plant, old traditions that limit our thinking and blind us to the greater possibilities that lie within our grasp.

SOME THINGS TO LEARN

We have also some things to learn. High among them is the fact that we are facing new conditions posing new questions. Old answers will not suffice. We must search for new ones. It is a constant business theme, reiterated over and over from platforms throughout the nation, that we are living in a time of change and that we must adapt to change or perish. Usually when we repeat this earnest message we refer to the technological changes that are remaking our markets and our organizations, or the managerial changes occurring under the impact of technology and the computer.

Equally as important, and perhaps more so, are the immense social changes taking place in the environment around us, and we must recognize these changes no less than the others. If we pride ourselves, as we so often do, on our ability to adapt to and even initiate technological changes, surely we cannot ignore our responsibility to show the same concern with and develop the same skill in adapting to and even initiating social change.

"WHAT CAN I DO?"

"Well," you say, "this is all very well, and I am prepared to make all these adaptations and to assume all these newer responsibilities. But all of this is generalization. What specifically can I do?"

This is the difficult question, and I must tell you it is with some humility that I approach it. I do not think American industry has found any final answers yet, and perhaps we have not found very many good ones. I rather hope that the innovative genius of industry will come up with better and better ones as we get more deeply involved, and I am fairly confident that we will. Once the commitment is made, once the challenge is taken up, answers will follow. It has always been so in other fields. I am sure it will be so in this one.

Thus, instead of answering the question, "What can we do?" directly, I will counter by a few suggestions, themselves phrased as questions, to emphasize my own appreciation of the magnitude of the problem and the inadequacy of the answers.

Simply stated, the problem facing American business and industry is to get more qualified, underprivileged men and women on the payroll in meaningful jobs and to give them every assistance in progressing to the full extent of their abilities. I say "underprivileged" people, and you will understand that I am talking chiefly about Negroes because they are our most underprivileged group, but not exclusively about Negroes because there are others who by reason of poverty, cultural lag, past records of ill success, and even physical handicaps, must also be ranked as underprivileged. And it is with these, too, that we must be concerned.

And now let me pose a few questions that I think we in industry must be asking ourselves when we consider how to achieve this objective. I will concentrate particularly on industry rather than on business as a whole because it is industry with which I am most familiar, and I think this is true of many of you here today. But I do not mean by this to suggest there is no need for similar or other approaches by the large commercial concern or the small shopkeeper on the corner. Indeed, it is my impression that many of the most significant gains can be made by the small businessman who has at least the advantage of flexibility over the rest of us.

LET'S CREATE ENTRY JOBS

Are we doing all we can to create entry level jobs? We have for many years tended to believe and to accept the idea that new technology tends to upgrade our need for job skills and that automation is lowering needs on the beginning level. And perhaps all this is true. I do not doubt the upward thrust of technology nor do I doubt the increasing need for highly skilled, highly trained workers. But must we accept this concept entirely? Are there not some jobs that can be deskilled, broken down into components, made available as starting positions for those with less skill and training? Instead of job enrichment, perhaps we should be thinking in some areas of job simplification to provide opportunity to many who cannot now avail themselves of it because we demand too much.

Or perhaps we should take a look at the requirements we set up for existing jobs. Do we *really* need a college graduate—or even a high school graduate? Or five or 10 years of experience? Perhaps we should take another look at our job requirements. Perhaps we should re-examine what we really mean by a "qualified" person.

DO WE KNOW WHO IS QUALIFIED?

As an example of what I mean by re-examining our idea of what is meant by "qualified," let me cite a case that has recently come to my attention—and I am sure you can match it with hundreds of others. It concerned a highly competent Negro woman applying for a secretarial position. She made a tremendous impression on her prospective employer—she was attractive, poised, well educated, an excellent typist. He was anxious to hire her when it developed that she was weak in shorthand. Reluctantly, he decided that she was ineligible because, of course, every secretary must measure up to certain shorthand standards. It did not matter that his own dictation needs were slight or he could get by very well for the short time it would take her to improve. For all practical purposes she *was* qualified, but not in his mind and not on the requisition.

Another question. Are we doing all we can to work within the community, to cooperate with all those government agencies—federal, state, and local—that are working in the field, all the minority group organizations—such organizations as Dr. Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization centers and, of course, the Urban League—that are seeking productive solutions and responsible answers? Are we associating with other businessmen, forming and participating in Management Councils such as the ones that now exist in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area, to place the resources of business at the disposal of the community in constructive, job-finding ways? We need the help of others no less than they need ours.

WHAT ABOUT TRAINING?

Are we doing all we can to make use of existing training opportunities and to develop new ones to help qualify those who are truly not qualified? One of the surprising things we are learning is that there is a world of ability and talent among the underprivileged—ability that lies dormant because of low training or low motivation or, perhaps more accurately expressed, no opportunity to develop it. Must we not now engage in scores of imaginative training approaches to free this ability and put it to use in productive rather than destructive ways? I know the task is not easy, but it is possible because, in isolated instances, it has been done.

If you will permit a reference to a corporation I know something about, Lockheed, I should like to tell you that two of our divisions have experimental programs for training the hard-core unemployed—those for whom employment opportunities have been severely limited because of racial or cultural background, inadequate education, low motivation, or police records. We began developing these programs in the fall of 1966 and began them early this year. We restrict our recruitment for these programs generally to those who have no or an unstable work record during the last five years, have been unemployed for most of the past year, who have a low yearly income, and who are school dropouts. In addition, we try to see that at least 75 per cent are members of a minority race and that at least 25 per cent have police records.

TRAINING THE HARD-CORE

One of our divisions will train 100 such hard-core people this year and next year plans to train 200. Trainees are recruited wit hthe help of the Urban League and other organizations. Those that come to us from the Opportunities Industrialization Center West are given three weeks of pre-vocational training. We put them on the payroll, give them a four-weeks training program, and then move them into our plant.

To date 25 have been graduated, 27 are in training, and the balance of the 100 remain to be inducted into the program. Although the program is still in the beginning phase, results have been good. We have lost only two out of the program, and three of the graduates have already been upgraded into higher level jobs. Supervisors receiving these people have been agreeably surprised, and we have had comments like these: "Best trained and most productive men I have ever received," or "These men really want to work. They work hard, and the quality of their work is very good."

I do not know that we have any magic formula for success. Those who are running the program tell me that they think the fact that trainees receive pay while in training makes a big difference in their attitude and self-esteem. And, though we try not to set them apart as a special group, it is true that we do recognize that they may have difficult adjustment problems to overcome, and we instruct our supervision to give them special consideration in helping make these adjustments. In the early phases of their training or even work experience, for example, attendance may be a problem because many of them have never been used to the habit of getting to work day after day, and we may have to work with them patiently in building up this habit.

ATTITUDES CAN BE CHANGED

This is encouraging, if nothing else. It suggests that much more can be done, not simply with the young but with the more mature. Attitudes, we are finding, are not locked in brass but can be altered if we are able to find the right tools. Some of those tools are patience and understanding and the slow substitution of hope for frustration and despair.

This suggests another question—are we giving encouragement and opportunity for advancement? A deskilled entry job is a start, but it is far from enough. It should be something to build on rather than rest on, and the responsibility for building on it is at least a shared one between employer and employee.

We must not forget that for many disadvantaged people, getting used to what are to us the familiar ways of corporate life is a devastating and psychologically disturbing experience. It is an experience to which most of us have been conditioned over the years and even by the facts of our family life before beginning our careers, but it is an experience that many have never known before. It takes some getting used to, and I think it is clear that we must help the underprivileged get used to it—with tact, with understanding, with counseling, with patience, with encouragement. If we do, we can put their feet on the path to advancement. If we do not, they are apt to fall by the wayside.

I could continue with other suggestions, but I could not begin to exhaust the possibilities, nor could I, in all the myriad of ideas, come up with definitive answers. The hard truth is that no one of them alone will serve, together all of them will help, but, in addition, more ideas are needed. The challenge now is to American business to make use of what is known and to explore still other avenues that are not.

MANAGEMENT SUPPORT IS A MUST

There is, however, one necessary precondition for success in these programs as in others in business, and that is sincere and active management support that extends down throughout the entire supervisory chain and into every nook and cranny of the organization. I think you know well the power and effectiveness of such support. This is what makes for the success of failure of every program, whether it is a Savings Bond drive or a United Fund drive or whatever. It is time now for management to support Equal Employment with the same fervor and the same dedication that we support, say, cost control or new product development. If we do not, we may find we have no costs to control and no products to develop.

But I do not want to end on a pessimistic note. My faith in the conscience and good sense of the American businessman is such that I believe he will arise to this challenge as he has arisen to so many others. My faith is that we will draw from the difficulties that beset us not sentiments of discouragement or thoughts of withdrawal but increased resolution to persevere in the only path that offers promise—indeed, the only sensible path that is open to us.

And I think I can assure all of you here from the Urban League that this is what we will do.

I have a confession to make. I planned at this point in my talk to pay a well deserved tribute to Mr. Young and all the rest of you in the Urban League for all the long years of dedicated and often frustrating effort you have spent.

NEEDED: NOT WORDS BUT EFFORT

Nevertheless, I realize that what you want and need now is not tributes but support, and I will therefore forgo the flowery words. I do think I can promise the support—much more than you have had in the past. I think that American businessmen are at last beginning to realize that you need and must have—as indeed, all of us need and must have—a much greater effort on our part than we have ever made before.

I think we will make that effort. We must redouble our efforts to work with you and with all men of good will to help solve those problems that it is within our power to solve. The historians of the future, I believe, looking back on these troubled times, will be able to write. "And so the American businessman of that era, confronted by agonizing problems and not always distinguished by a talent for public service, rose to new heights of responsibility and placed his full efforts and resources squarely behind the task of securing equal opportunity for all the nation's people."

Disturbing Blotch on American Scene

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Fred Christopherson of the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Argus Leader which is most thought provoking.

The editorial is as follows:

DISTURBING BLOTCH ON AMERICAN SCENE

(By Fred Christopherson)

This will go down in the records as the year in which many Americans defied the normal process of law and order and got away with it. It has been an unhappy, ugly and revolting spectacle.

The violations have been numerous and varied. Mobs have destroyed property in the cities. Speakers have urged civil disobedience. Others have advocated violence to accomplish their objectives. Students have blocked campus buildings and offices.

The U.S. flag has been trampled upon and desecrated. Draft cards have been burned. Members of the clergy have advocated the use of their churches and temples as a sanctuary for lawbreakers. Hoodlums have urinated on government buildings and defecated on public property.

It had been something akin to a reign of terror—an outbreak made more frightening because many persons in government were so craven that they chose to look the other way.

AN ABUSE OF RIGHTS

Much of this has been done under devious excuses and wrapped up in pompous expressions.

"We have exercised our freedom to dissent," some have chortled. "It is our right to disobey a law that we consider unfair," others have proclaimed. And other have said: "Conditions are so bad that we have a right to riot."

Only one of these rights has a validity. It is based on dissent. But the right is limited to an orderly dissent. A citizen may criticize a public policy. He may find fault with the activities of a mayor or governor or even the President. But when his dissent takes the form of destruction, he is violating the law.

The man who burns his draft card violates the law. So does the man who tramples on the flag. That is the case as well of the man who blocks entry to a public building or defaces public property.

It is a violation of the law to harbor a criminal knowingly, whether he be sheltered in a church or in a farm home. And no one, of course, has the legal right to decide which laws he elects to obey or disobey. He must respect all laws whether he considers them just or not. All would be confusion obviously if each citizen could do otherwise. Though the existence of deplorable living conditions is an occasion for complaint, it doesn't justify violence.

PEOPLE ARE UPSET

The sordid violations of the customary pattern of law and order have been tolerated in some areas for flimsy reasons. One is a contention that the U.S. Supreme Court has been too tolerant. Perhaps it has been and perhaps it has given too much leeway to the lawbreaker but in the main this explanation has been primarily a shifting of responsibility.

Another reason—usually not expressed—is a fear of voting reprisals in the 1968 elections. This has been a factor more significant than realized but it is a sorry and pathetic one.

It may be said the American people are tolerant. That they are. But there's a point at which they arise in indignation and exercise their collective power. We are at that point or close to it.

STRONG LEADERSHIP NEEDED

It has been a hard year for President Johnson and also a difficult year for many mayors and governors.

But they have been in many instances the victims of their own cowardice and lack of leadership—their unwillingness to do what their oath of office and their common sense should tell them to do.

President Johnson, for instance, could stir among many millions of Americans a fresh respect and pride if he would take it upon himself to deliver an emphatic declaration.

Let him say: "As long as I am President, the law will be obeyed. No one will be allowed to trample upon the flag with impunity. No one will be allowed to burn a draft card. Public processes and the spirit of law and order will be maintained with all the power at my command. The man who practices civil disobedience and those who advocate violence to overthrow our public institutions will be prosecuted. Those who deface public property will be prosecuted. I was not elected President to preside over the liquidation of our legal processes and I do not intend to permit their dissolution."

And, if he should speak thusly, the President would arouse in the hearts and minds of the people a sense of respect, pride and the feeling that they have in the White House a man strong enough to lead the nation.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I would like to direct my remarks to one particular aspect of the poverty program, and that is the Job Corps. The Honorable Sargent Shriver was kind enough to send me a copy of a cost-benefit study on the Job Corps conducted by Mr. Glen G. Cain and other economists at the University of Wisconsin. This cost-benefit study can well be studied in conjunction with the Parks Job Corps Center review conducted by the GAO and the committee report on the bill. I would like to share with you the results of some of my research, especially with regard to this cost-benefit study.

Like most cost-benefit studies, the conclusions reached by this study depend upon the definitions of cost and benefit.

This study assumes that the benefit ratio of one is a good measure for evaluation. If the ratio is less than one then the study states that direct relief payments might be desired. If the ratio is greater than one, increased investments in the program may be desirable.

The finding of this study is that the ratio is a favorable one, that is, greater than one. The average Job Corps experience based on a 5-month stay costs $3,510. Benefits for the same period are $3,700.

$$\frac{\text{benefits } (\$3{,}700)}{\text{costs } (\$3{,}510)} <1$$

Benefits are defined as the increased earnings of the corpsmen, over a lifetime above what earnings would have been in the absence of the program. Excluded from benefits are certain psychological and sociological gains. The study has two different measures of benefit, or earnings improvement. One is a comparison with similarly situated noncorpsmen. The other is based on educational gains achieved in the Job Corps. For a 5-month period, these gains under both assumptions range from a low of $2,205 to a high of $5,915. The ratios are 0.63 and 1.69. Thus even under the definitions of the study there are certain situations where the ratio is unfavorable.

Costs are defined as reported statutory costs, $3,300 for 5 months; capital costs, $341 for 5 months; administrative costs, $293 for 5 months; and foregone earnings, $644 for 5 months. Not included in costs are transfer payments—$804 for a 5-month period. Deducted from costs are the value of work projects—$264 for a 5-month period.

The procedure of this study regarding the calculation of costs is as follows for a 5-month period:

Statutory costs	$3,300
Capital costs	341
Administrative costs	293
Forgone earnings	644
Gross costs	4,578
Transfer payments	804
Work projects value	264
Net cost	3,510

The definition of costs can be questioned on several rounds, but especially with regard to the treatment of transfer payments and the value of work projects. The author of the study maintains that the transfer payments represent amounts of expenditures which would have to be incurred by someone if there were no program, for example, the corpsman himself, his parents or relatives, or even the Government if the corpsman were receiving welfare, that they are consumption costs rather than investment costs, and should, therefore, be excluded.

It is interesting to note that transfer payments amount to $1,930 per corpsman per year. The breakdown is as follows:

Clothing	$269
Subsistence	441
Medical and dental	262
Supplies and materials	244
Morale, recreation, and welfare	104
Subtotal	1,320
Unaccounted for	610
Total	1,930

It can seriously be questioned whether it is justifiable to exclude all transfer payments from costs. It is difficult to believe that absent the program, a typical corpsman would spend the above amounts for the categories indicated. Even if the typical corpsman should spend the above amounts as indicated, it is questionable whether for purposes of a cost-benefit study it is proper to exclude such amounts.

The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1966 directed that operating costs of the Job Corps centers not exceed $7,500 per enrollee man year, and that this $7,500 was to include all direct operating costs of the center including maintenance, food, clothing, supplies, and services, as well as the enrollee's direct costs such as salary, allowances, and travel. I would like to know how these items which Congress determined to be costs can be treated otherwise for purposes of this study.

Mr. Chairman, this study excludes $262 per corpsman for medical and dental supplies under a rationale that they would be otherwise incurred. Yet the report of the House Committee on Education and Labor points out that 80 percent of the enrollees had not seen a doctor or dentist in the previous 10 years. Certainly we should provide medical and dental care, but it is just as certain that these are costs of conducting the Job Corps program.

If all transfer payments are included for a 5-month experience then the ratio becomes unfavorable:

$$\frac{\text{benefits } (\$3{,}700)}{\text{costs } (\$4{,}314)} <1$$

With respect to the work projects performed by the corpsmen, it should be asked whether this work would have been performed at Government expense absent the program, and if the quality of the work is acceptable. If the amounts attributed to work projects are not deducted from costs, the ratios become even more unfavorable.

$$\frac{\text{benefits } (\$3{,}700)}{\text{costs } (\$4{,}578)} <1$$

I also have certain reservations about the treatment of benefits in this study. In the first place, benefits are measured in this study on the basis of successful corpsmen who have been in the program 9 months or a year. Benefit measurements for those staying for a lesser period of time are assumed to be proportional. Such a benefit measurement fails to take into account the large number of dropouts who have received little or no benefit. I would like to see an aggregate benefit measurement which takes into account the failures and dropouts as well as the successes.

In addition, in the measure of earnings improvement based on a direct comparison of wages currently earned by ex-corpsmen with the wages of a comparable group of youths who had no Job Corps experience, the study states in one place that the unemployment rate of ex-corpsmen in February 1967 was 36 percent, yet the study in computing a benefit amount considered an unemployment rate of only 18 percent. I would like to know why.

The committee report points out:

> Of the 38,000 youngsters in the Job Corps studied in June 1967, male enrollees had completed an average of 8.8 years of schooling and female enrollees 9.8 years. Even though the young men had completed over 8 years of schooling, the average reading level was at grade 4, and for young girls at grade 6. The math levels were at grades 4 and 5 respectively.

The committee report goes on to say that:

> Studies indicate that for every 10 months in public schools, the average pupil gains one grade level, but the average Corps member gained only 0.6 grade level in reading

and mathematics for every 10 months they spent in school. The rate of achievement in the Job Corps is considerably accelerated, as for every 10 months in the Job Corps, the average Corps member gains 1.5 grade levels in reading and 1.8 grade levels in mathematics.

On the other hand, the Parks Job Corps Center review stated that:

> The effectiveness of the program appears to be adversely influenced by a training day that provides only five hours of classroom and laboratory work . . . and an absence rate which in some sections has reached 20 percent.

I would like to know if the Office of Economic Opportunity has considered the possibilities of changing to an 8-hour day and securing full attendance so that these educational gains could be made in one-half the time at lesser cost, or doubled with the same duration with equal costs.

It is my understanding that in August 1966 consultants from the University of California were retained to evaluate the Parks Job Corps Center and that they concluded that the lack of demographic, attendance, dropout, testing, counseling, and other data impaired the effectiveness of any attempts to do a center evaluation. I would like to know if similar difficulties were encountered in the instant study.

I have written a letter to the Honorable Sargent Shriver asking these and similar questions with respect to this cost-benefit study. Under unanimous consent I place this letter at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. Chairman, I welcome section 113 of the commmittee bill dealing with evaluation as a necessary first step. This section provides that—

> The Director shall provide for the careful and systematic evaluation of the Job Corps program, directly or by contracting for independent evaluations, with a view to measure specific benefits, so far as practicable, and providing information needed to assess the effectiveness of program procedures, policies, and methods of operation.

For Congress to act intelligently and responsibly on legislation such as this, it should have the best objective information obtainable—information which is the truth itself. Here, the cost-benefit study which I have discussed and the majority views in the committee report justify one set of economic conclusions regarding the Job Corps while the Parks Job Corps study by the GAO and the minority views in the committee report justify opposite economic conclusions.

On July 13, 1967, I introduced H.R. 11458, which is a bill to establish the Office of Legislative Auditor who would perform such crucial evaluations. Subsequently many of my colleagues cosponsored this legislation. I believe that the debate here today indicates that such legislation is greatly needed.

The letter mentioned above follows:

NOVEMBER 7, 1967.

Hon. SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHRIVER: I would like to thank you for sending me a copy of the Job Corps cost-benefit study. As you know, I am particularly interested in accurate and reliable evaluation of all aspects of the Job Corps program, as the Custer Job Corps Center in Battle Creek, Michigan, is in my district. I have examined this study with great interest.

As I have indicated to you previously, I have at times been critical of the Job Corps, yet I have welcomed and acknowledged improvements when they have been made. I had hoped that the cost-benefit study would give me some concrete and empirical evidence of the economic value of the Job Corps. While the study has been helpful, it has raised additional questions.

I have particular questions relating to the elements of cost, the measurements of benefit, and the general conclusions. I would be most pleased if you, or the author of this study would answer the following questions.

A. WORK PERFORMED

1. Regarding the deduction of the appraised value of the work performed while in the Job Corps, what kind of work has been done, other than that mentioned in the Committee Report on the Economic Opportunity Amendments Act of 1967?

2. Based on your estimate of 25,348 total man years in the Job Corps in the year ending April 1, 1967, and your estimate of an average $633 worth of work performed per Corpsman, over $16 million of benefit was conferred in this one year. Is this amount reasonable when compared with the work performed?

3. Absent Job Corps labor, would this work have been performed at all, and if so, at governmental expense?

4. What was the quality of the work performed, not in relation to the attributed wage, but in relation to the objectives to be attained?

B. EXCLUSION OF TRANSFER PAYMENTS FROM COSTS

1. How can the exclusion of transfer payments be justified, other than the justification in Appendix A?

2. The Economic Opportunity Amendments Act of 1966 directed that operating costs of the Job Corps Centers not exceed $7,500 per enrollee man year, and that this $7,500 was to include all direct operating costs of the Center including maintenance, food, clothing, supplies, and services, as well as the enrollee's direct costs such as salary, allowances, and travel. How can these items which Congress decreed to be costs be excluded from costs for a cost-benefit study?

3. What precedent does the author have for excluding such a large cost in a study such as this?

4. How can it be maintained that $1,930 in transfer payments per year would be incurred by the Job Corpsmen absent the program?

5. Table 3 excludes $262 per Corpsman for medical and dental supplies, yet according to the Committee Report page 5, 80 percent of the enrollees had not seen a doctor or dentist in the previous ten years. How can it be claimed that these costs would be otherwise incurred?

6. Table 3 also lists $104 per enrollee year for "Morale, Recreation, and Welfare", yet at the Parks Job Corps Center in California the GAO found it to be over $250. How can this be explained?

7. What constitutes the transfer payments between the subtotal listed in Table 3 of $1,320 and the amount used in Table 1 of $1,930?

C. WAGE MEASURE OF BENEFITS

1. In the measure of earnings improvement based on a direct comparison of wages currently earned by ex-Corpsmen with the wages of a comparable group of youths who had no Job Corps experience, the study states in one place that the unemployment rate of ex-Corpsmen in February 1967 was 36 percent, yet the study in computing a benefit amount considered an unemployment rate of 18 percent. Why?

2. To arrive at a real wage comparison don't you have to consider a group of ex-Corpsmen as against the control group with employment as it really is?

D. EDUCATIONAL MEASURE OF BENEFIT

1. How are the gains in reading and mathematics by Corpsmen measured?

2. How exactly is the equivalent educational gain of 1.625 years achieved by a 9 month stay in the Job Corps?

3. Have you considered the possibilities of changing to an 8 hour day and securing full attendance so that these educational gains could be made in one-half the time or doubled with the same duration?

4. According to this study, the normal stay with the Job Corps is 5 months. What facts do you have that the educational gain is faster or slower in the first five months?

E. OVERALL NATURE OF THE STUDY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Are you satisfied with the ratios found in this study?

2. If "different assumptions about the appropriate concepts and measures of the costs and benefits lead to ratios that range between .58 and 1.88", how can the broad conclusions be reached (a) that we have been given the signal for greater investment, and (b) that the intervals from 1.05 to 1.69 are the "most conservative and realistic" set of ratios?

3. If the ratios were to be determined without the exclusion of transfer payments from costs, what would be your opinion of them?

4. If the ratios were to be determined without the deduction of the value of work performed from costs, what would be your opinion of them?

5. How much did this study cost, in what capacity did Mr. Glen G. Cain conduct this study, and to what extent was the University of Wisconsin involved?

6. It is my understanding that in August 1966 consultants from the University of California were retained to evaluate the Parks Job Corps Center and that they concluded that the lack of demographic, attendance, dropout, testing, counseling and other data impaired the effectiveness of any attempts to do a Center evaluation. Were similar difficulties encountered in the instant study?

I would appreciate answers to these questions and if you have it, a more complete report on the whole project.

With best regards,
Sincerely,

GARRY BROWN.

Toward "The Foreign Service of the United States"—An Excellent Report of the Committee on Career Principles of the American Foreign Service Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the November issue of the Foreign Service Journal, the monthly publication of the American Foreign Service Association, features a special supplement which contains the interim report of the association's committee on career principles.

This is indeed a remarkable document and I want to commend it to the attention of the Congress.

My interest in problems relating to the organization and administration of the Foreign Service spans nearly two decades. On the basis of experience, I believe that the lucid and forward-looking analysis of the largest and the most pressing issues facing the foreign affairs community, embodied in the interim report, should be read by every person interested in the operations of our foreign policy.

For this reason, I am placing the interim report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and shall look forward to receiving and reading the future reports of the committee on career principles.

Interim Report of the Committee on Career Principles

(NOTE.—The Board of Directors has authorized the printing of this supplement to the November issue of the Foreign Service Journal. The supplement contains, principally, the interim report of the Committee on Career Principles. The membership is urged to consider this report, which the Board of Directors considers the most important document to have come before the Association in many years, with care and imagination.

(Since events may require that the Association take positions on one or more of the issues raised therein, members are urged to make known to the Association their views and suggestions—both on the general principles established in the report and on the specific topics on which the Committee is about to embark.

(Communications on this subject should be addressed to the Career Principles Committee in care of the Association.)

LANNON WALKER, Esq.,
Chairman of the Board of Directors,
American Foreign Service Association,
Washington, D.C.

On behalf of the Association's 1967 Career Principles Committee, I transmit to the Board of Directors a report of the main findings and tentative conclusions of the studies we have undertaken during the year.

This interim report summarizes our present thinking on general propositions and first principles. These are not specific proposals for organizational change but postulates concerning the identity and structure of a foreign affairs community organization and a personnel system that might best be suited to foreseeable needs. While some of us have reservations about one or more of them, there was a surprising Committee consensus on what the future might—and should—bring. We believe these propositions and principles deserve careful consideration within the Association.

We have found, in preparing this report, that our discussions have led us to accept most of the broad principles and many of the specific proposals which characterized, among others, the Foreign Service Act of 1946, the program of Wristonization begun in the mid-1950s, the Herter Report of 1963 and the Hays Bill of 1965. They have also led us to a better awareness of the problems of shepherding proposed changes through the executive and legislative machinery—much less of gaining their acceptance by those affected. While the membership of the Committee has been greatly enlarged this year, we believe it most important in this connection that the membership of the Association be involved as actively as may be possible in discussing the content and implications of our report.

I. THE YEAR'S AIM

As the 1967 Committee began its work, there were portents of change in the air. There were debates internal to the Foreign Service on present role and future purpose. There were stirring elsewhere in the Executive Branch on new forms of reorganization and amalgamation. There were intimations from the Congress that the time might have come again to study the larger question of how the foreign affairs of the United States should be organized and conducted.

There were also strong views inside the Committee that the Association should be in position to make recommendations of its own in these matters or to participate in the shaping of proposals that others might advance. And there were subsequent informal indications that senior officers in the Department would welcome Association views.

So the Committee set itself a large and basic task, realizing that the product of a year's work could at best be only the end of a beginning. Two sentences from one of its earliest working papers defined its aim:

"The fundamental question to be considered is how the foreign affairs of the United States can best be organized and conducted consistent with NSAM–341 and various other directives related to the pre-eminent authority and responsibility of the Secretary of State. . . . [The Committee] believes that the psychological moment is at hand for a reexamination of the role of the Department of State and the Foreign Service in the over-all 'foreign affairs community' and the structure and organization of the career service or services required to carry out that role."

II. EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT AND INTERNAL IMPLICATIONS

The Committee began its work by attempting to mak some general statements about the environment in which foreign affairs might be conducted in the 1970s. The assumptions we derived are not startling. The main ones, included here, set a framework for much of what follows and helped shape many of our conclusions about first principles:

1. The central process of dealing with power and influencing the relations of states will remain. The problems will become increasingly complex and technical. Risks of nuclear proliferation, threats of rural insurgency, equations of food/population and development, decrease in psychological distance and reaction time between nations, and the impulse of a growing number of problems to require solutions which violate traditional geographic boundaries are a few of the parameters.

2. US responsibilities as a world power will not substantially diminish but the exercise of its authority will be more circumscribed by domestic and international constraints.

3. There will almost certainly be a greater number of independent players abroad and a larger number of agencies and institutions active in foreign affairs at home.

4. National resources available for foreign affairs will be scarce relative to demands. Claims on available resources inside our society will be more competitive.

5. Throughout the foreign affairs community, there will be requirements for wider ranges of functional competence and more advanced planning and programing tools to deal with instability in the world order, increasing scientific and technological information, and more rapid and more frequent national interactions.

6. In interagency matters, there will be more emphasis on integrated overseas programs, rapid response capabilities, and contingency planning. This emphasis will be reinforced by increasing demands upon the energies of the President and the Secretary of State and further centralization of responsibility at the Presidential level.

7. For the Department of State, new requirements will be levied for interagency leadership and coordination in the tasks of developing more orderly and lucid objectives, more rational allocations of resources, and more effective policy audits of the use of available assets.

8. Demand for sophisticated leadership in foreign affairs will grow. Supply of special skills required to deal effectively with foreign power structures will remain short.

III. A SET OF GENERAL PROPOSITIONS AND FIRST PRINCIPLES

1. *Those who do not recall the past are condemned to repeat it.* This was perhaps the basic conclusion which emerged from our review of reform movements in the US foreign affairs community since the end of World War II. There were some in the Committee who drew a corollary; those who recoil from the future are likely to regress in the present.

2. *The Department of State has primary responsibility for direction and coordination of the overseas activities of the US Government.* The Committee found no persuasive arguments for a sweeping reorganization of the Executive Branch. It was not impressed by the case for an omnibus Department of Foreign Affairs. It believes that the Department of State will almost certainly share foreign affairs functions in the 1970s with a growing number of agencies, institutions, and individuals—if it continues to develop the role envisioned in NSAM 341.

3. *The authority of the Secretary of State and the Chief of Mission are the central elements in foreign affairs community architecture.* Nothing in the Committee's view of the period ahead suggested that the role and function of either would or should substantially alter in the 1970s. The new vigor being given the SIG/IRG concept in Washington and the continuing validity of the Country Team concept in the field seemed to us to mark the right forward movement. But both the Secretary of the Chief of Mission will need to be supported by greater use of managerial tools, more subtle and pertinent planning mechanisms, more sophisticated techniques of coordination, greatly increased technical skills among personnel, and qualitatively different ways of handling information. A few illustrations follow.

(a) *The planning function* is now both too close to, and too removed from, operations: *too close* because so much of policy is made on an *ad hoc* basis in response to emergent and volatile situations and *too removed,* because planning institutions are not sufficiently related to operational concerns. As operations must increasingly be disciplined by well-defined and communicated objectives, so the policy-making mechanisms must be related more directly to the imperatives and deadlines of operational urgencies. If the SIG/IRG structure is the crucial element in the foreign affairs decision-making system, then it may be that both the SIG and the IRG should be supported by small but skilled analytical staffs drawing on resources now available in INR, the Bureau of Economic Affairs, the Policy Planing Council and other agencies in foreign affairs.

(b) *The budgetary process* is now not systematically related to national policy objectives. There is only the loosest and most inefficient mechanism for the allocation of increasingly scarce resources across a widening range of critical problems. The Committee believes that some form of program budgeting (which is not simply administrative gimcrackery) is essential to the rational conduct of foreign affairs and indispensable to the discharge of the Department of State's responsibilities under NSAM 341.

(c) *Information-handling* is a much neglected area. Better coordination of policies requires as a minimum a common data base among participating agencies. The agencies in foreign affairs are already late in automating their information-handling facilities and have not yet bgun to attack the related and even more fundamental problem of deciding what information is relevant to their tasks.

4. *Policy-making is a centralized function; operational control a decentralized responsibility.* In the Committee's view, these considerations strengthen the case for a programing system for foreign affairs—with the regional Assistant Secretaries as the pivotal offices for the integration of policy, pro-

grams and resources. In the field the role and the responsibility of the Chief of Mission should be extended and staffed to provide a strong link between policy planning and budget execution. The mission abroad should be expected to participate in a better definition and audit of U.S. objectives in the country to which it is accredited. In Washington, the role and function of the Office of Country Director needs new attention, substantial upgrading, and broader interagency representation—as the basic support element of the IRGs and as the primary organizational equivalent in Washington of the Country Team in the field.

5. *The foreign affairs community in the 1970s should ideally be able to satisfy most of its personnel needs by recruitment at junior levels and promotion from within but it must remain open to regulated entry from the outside at all levels.*

While the Committee is deeply committed to the concept of a career foreign service, it belives the demands of the 1970s will require increasing numbers of professional and technical personnel from outside. The Committee sees no reason to blink this fact.

The public interest in seeking and finding the best man for each job will remain for the agencies in foreign affairs the overriding consideration of any durable personnel system—whatever the competitive claims of career mobility or security. And we doubt that the Department of State can perform its indispensable functions of interagency leadership and coordination without enlisting—by TDYs, exchange tours, or regulated lateral entry—larger numbers of qualified personnel from other departments and agencies.

We think certain innovations or extensions of present practice deserve new attention. A few follow:

(a) An increasing use of professionals detailed from other actual or potential foreign services, such as those of the Departments of Agriculture or Treasury, seems to us to present few structural problems. We think the principle should be strengthened, however, that experts seconded to missions abroad—from whatever agency—report to the Ambassador and through him to the Secretary of State and their parent agencies. This was the solution devised by the Plowden Commission in its reform of the British foreign services, and it appears to have worked well in practice.

(b) A good deal of the hostility and fear aroused by temporary appointments to a career service—and some of the abuses of the reserve category—might be avoided by more extensive use of the contracting mechanism for the employment of scarce or temporary skills. Both AID and USIA seem considerably ahead of the Department of State in this respect.

(c) Not the least of the causes of what has been called "organizational ineffectiveness" has been the closed nature of the foreign services. One can argue that the value of, for example, the Rand Corporation to the United States Air Force was less the research performed than the exchange of ideas and people back and forth between the bureaucracy and a more contemplative environment. The foreign services have no Rand Corporation, have tended to be isolated from outsiders with new or unorthodox ideas, and have wished (or been obliged) to maintain a guild-like structure out of keeping with the newer methodologies in foreign affairs. Our ability to recognize and reverse this process may be more indicative of our capacities to deal with the problems of the future than anything else we might do.

6. *Present distinctions between "generalists" and "specialists" (whether functional or language and area) and between "line" and "staff" are increasingly obsolescent.* Our discussions led us to suggest that more significant distinctions might be made among those in foreign service (a) whose role is to deal directly with foreign power structures, (b) whose role is primarily to analyze and interpret those power structures, and (c) whose role is to provide staff support or technical assistance. This distinction may have relevance for a reconsideration of present recruiting techniques and the examination process. Beyond entry criteria, it cuts across existing agency boundaries and may further reinforce the arguments in favor of broadening the selection and promotion base at all levels. Our attempts to define the older terms led only to the conclusion that the best "generalist" is likely to have the depth of training and the analytical capacities that characterize the "specialist"—plus the ability to deal effectively with people and operate systematically in policy terms.

7. *The problem of senior officer over-supply has for too long been regarded too negatively.* Too much of the discussion of this question has concentrated on the construction of freer exit systems for what has been regarded as a temporary post-Wristonization phenomenon that hardened promotion arteries throughout the system. There is a good deal to be said for the encouragement of voluntary early retirement—just as there is need for an honorable and recognized career goal within technical or functional fields short of the DCM level.

But we doubt that senior congestion is short-term. We think it more likely an inherent and persisting characteristic of the 1970s. We are reluctant to conclude that a superabundance of senior officers—short of retirement age but with a foreign affairs experience upwards of 20 years—should be viewed as either a national disaster or an institutional embarrassment. These officers may in fact be an under-exploited asset of considerable importance.

We think the possibility deserves new exploration. And, just as we suggest that personnel systems in foreign affairs be more open, so we urge the wider use of senior officers on tours outside—in details to other federal, state, and local agencies; to foreign policy associations or research institutions; to universities and staff colleges. The gains to foreign service, to our public relations, and to the officers concerned seem to us worth testing.

8. *"The Foreign Service of the United States" remains the goal.* It was formulated as a first principle in the Rogers Act of 1924. It was reaffirmed in the Foreign Service Act of 1946. On both occasions it was strongly supported by the Foreign Service officer corps. It has not yet been achieved.

The Committee generally and strongly favors the type of integration which would ultimately produce—from the several principal foreign services now extant—"The Foreign Service of the United States." It considers recent proposals to bring certain AID employees under the Foreign Service Retirement Plan and to establish a career service for the USIA steps in the right direction. It believes the three principal foreign services should move more rapidly and energetically to eliminate superficial and artificial distinctions among the *de facto* career services and to achieve the longer term goal of effective integration of the foreign services of the Department of State, AID and USIA.

To the Committee, the case for this finding rests on (a) reducing the more obvious inefficiencies, inequalities, and frictions inherent in the present separation of career personnel systems; (b) broadening the career base from which senior officers—and those at other levels—can be selected for program direction responsibilities; and (c) making the foreign services a more flexible and dynamic instrument at the disposal of the President and the Secretary of State.

In reinstating "The Foreign Service of the United States" as the ultimate goal, it is important that the Committee's concept of integration be understood. We *do not propose* a single service without distinctions between kinds of skills or levels of responsibility. We *do believe* that the public interest requires a foreign service separate from a civil service. The Foreign Service's distinguishing elements—rank-in-man, operational effectiveness abroad, and world-wide availability will be no less indispensable to the pursuit of national purpose in the 1970s. We *also* believe, however:

(a) that at given levels of skill or responsibility there are more similarities than differences across the boundaries of agencies which operate overseas;

(b) that the extent of "commonality" should be thoroughly explored; and

(c) that a start should now be made by estabilshing common standards of recruitment, promotion, and assignment for comparable levels of skill and responsibility.

In its own discussions the Committee has referred to these concepts as "commonality" within the foreign services. We consider there are now practical limits to the process of integration, but we believe that the elements of commonality should be pressed as far as they can logically be carried. We have no doubt that the personal and intellectual standards of the Foreign Service officer corps will make this process easier to accomplish. We believe that officers of comparable ability and background in the other services can help us take these further steps in the transition to "The Foreign Service of the United States."

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Almost a Foreign Service generation ago, those who had entered the Service before World War II were confronted with something akin to the present service crisis of identity, role, and purpose in a rapidly changing external environment. That period of ferment and creativity inside the administration led to the formulation of many of the concepts of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Today the problems if not entirely dissimilar, involve, in much greater degree, not the Foreign Service alone but the foreign affairs community.

In summarizing its work to date, the Committee hopes that it has rescued from the past a number of ideas which have relevance for the future—and may have formulated a few suggestions of its own for more effective planning, coordination, and budgeting in the foreign affairs process at home and abroad.

We believe that the case for sweeping reorganization of the foreign affairs community is less persuasive than getting on with the significant improvements that are possible in the present system. We think the Association can and should play an active role in considering and proposing these improvements. None have greater stake in foreseeable changes than its members, and few can make as substantial inputs to the consideration of these fundamental problems of organization.

The Committee intends shortly to present to the Board a more detailed study of the operational implications of the foreign affairs environment anticipated over the next decade. The Committee believes that it is now in position to develop its general propositions and principles into specific recommendations for the consideration of the Board and the membership of the Association on:

The uses of "commonality" for a more effective integration of the several foreign service personnel systems;

Implications in newer distinctions among foreign affairs functions for recruitment, examination, assignment and training;

Future organization of the foreign affairs community and its planning and coordination requirements;

Applications of programing techniques and information handling systems in foreign affairs.

The Committee recommends that the Board approve the general directions it has taken, direct it to continue on these lines, and indicate the priorities the Board attaches to the tasks outlined above.

WILLIAM LEONHART,
Chairman.

The following people participated in the work of the Committee during February-October 1967, although not all of those listed were still active when this report was prepared:

William Leonhart, Chairman; Outerbridge Horsey, Vice Chairman; Richard W. Aherne, M. R. Barnebey, Adrian A. Basora, William Belton, Charles W. Bray III, Gerald S. Bushnell, Frederic L. Chapin, R. T. Curran (USIA), Curtis Cutter, Morris Draper, Robert Duemling, John E. Harr.

Norris Haselton (Ret.), Thomas J. Hirschfeld, William E. Knight, Charles Nelson (AID), W. Haven North (AID), Mary Olmstead, Hewson Ryan (USIA), William Sherman, Richard L. Sneider, Peter Tarnoff, Sheldon Vance, Carol Westenhoefer, Frank S. Wile, Larry Williamson.

OCTOBER 14, 1967.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: On behalf of the Board of Directors, I wish to acknowledge receipt of the interim report submitted by the Association's Career Principles Committee.

The Board has had an opportunity to consider and discuss the report, and has asked me to convey to you our warmest congratulations for a job well-done. We believe your report constitutes a milestone in the Association's history; for the first time, the Career Principles Committee has devoted its attention to the largest and most pressing issues now facing the foreign affairs community. The Committee's statement of "first principles" is lucid and forward-looking. I hope that it will stimulate the kind of discussion among our membership which will enable the Board of Directors to take a reasoned and reasonable position on these important issues.

The Board has asked me to inform you that it approves the specific projects recommended by the Committee at the end of its report. We hope that these supplementary reports will be available to the membership shortly after the first of the coming year.

Our warmest thanks to you personally and to the members of your Committee.

Sincerely,

LANNON WALKER,
Chairman of the Board.

Russian Seapower and U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have supported legislation and programs which would modernize our merchant marine in order that the United States could continue to compete with other nations in world trade.

The need for such support of our merchant marine and a fresh look at the shipbuilding policy of the United States has been no more graphically presented than was done on Saturday, November 11, 1967, by Mr. Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America in an address to the 34th annual banquet of the Progressive Club at Old Point Comfort, Va.

I believe that my colleagues would benefit from his remarks and I include his address in the RECORD:

RUSSIAN SEA POWER AND U.S. POLICY

In the present state of world and domestic affairs—with the many uncertainties of the Vietnam conflict prominently in mind—with the social turmoil which has engulfed many of our cities over the past year—with the continuing indecision which surrounds the development of a national maritime policy—it is not easy to find a subject which would universally appeal to a gathering of knowledgeable shipbuilders.

Nevertheless, you who have devoted your life work to the art of shipbuilding and related activities have every reason to be optimistic about the future. I have every confidence that you and your counterparts in other shipyards throughout this great nation of ours possess the skills and know-how to produce the ships which are now so urgently needed to carry our commerce and to protect our national interests. I am equally confident that shipbuilding will soon emerge as one of the growth industries of the United States.

There is one among you—a native of this area who has been privileged to represent the First District of Virginia in the Congress of the United States for nearly 12 years—who has been in the forefront in endeavoring to bring order out of disorder and to give meaning to this optimism. His efforts to crystallize a constructive and long overdue maritime program are especially noteworthy and are, even at this moment, producing results. I, of course, refer to your distinguished Congressman, the Honorable Thomas N. Downing.

Tom Downing has gained the respect and high regard of his colleagues. Several months ago, he was selected along with the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, the Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and the Chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to mediate differences between the Administration, the maritime community, and the Congress on solutions to the serious problems facing the American merchant marine. Though his colleagues enjoy far greater seniority, Tom's vast knowledge of maritime and shipbuilding matters, combined with his extensive legal background, found valuable expression in this sensitive situation.

This was simply another illustration of the right man being in the right place at the right time. His thoughtful contributions are a tribute to the man and his abilities, and a tribute to the wisdom of the voters of the First District who have repeatedly returned him to Washington. The select group of Senators and Congressmen, I mentioned, are providing the leadership so necessary to rescue the American merchant marine from the morass of indifference, indecision and inadequacy which for too long has frustrated the restoration of the United States to a position of prominence on the high seas. And, they will see this serious problem through to its logical solution!

As a kind of footnote to what Congressman Downing and his colleagues are striving to achieve, and in an attempt to emphasize a factor which should significantly influence the shaping of our national maritime policy, I would like to discuss with you this evening the rise of the Soviet Union on the oceans of the world, for, in the judgment of experts, Russian maritime policy is designed to achieve supremacy at sea in a relatively few years. Some authorities contend that the challenge of Soviet sea power mandates a drastic revision of basic Cold War strategy. The tide of events strongly supports the conclusion that a major, long-term policy of the Soviet Union is to stay out of a great war, by developing a massive sea potential for strategic, political and commercial purposes.

In the Soviet Union, the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution is now being commemorated. With the possible exception of Red China and Albania, all other satellites in the Communist empire are similarly celebrating a half century of world socialism. Though political relationships may have varied considerably, the long range goals, as defined by Marx and Lenin, have remained unchanged for 50 years. From a position of vulnerability and weakness in 1917, the Soviet Union has moved to a position of threatening populations with a weapon of mass terror in 1967.

Less than 10 days ago, it was announced that the Russians are probably developing a "fractional" orbital bomb which could be dropped to earth on a signal from the Kremlin in Moscow. The announcement was no doubt predicated on conclusive intelligence data, and because of its fearful implications, would not have been made without solid backing in actual fact. It is not clear as to whether or not a "fractional" orbiting space bomb might be a flagrant violation of the recently signed Space Treaty which intended that outer space would be a zone of peace. We are also told that this latest development poses no "immediate military" threat. We are told that this new orbital bomb "is less of a threat" than Russia's ICBM's. For the layman, the political, propaganda and psychological repercussions of this single action are difficult to assess, but it can be reasonably expected that the peace of mind of all mankind has been gravely disturbed.

Obviously, a nation that 50 years ago was concerned primarily with defense of its own borders has now adopted a global strategic concept. Orbital bombs are only one example of this shift in approach or emphasis. Industrial-economic progress, aerospace power, land strength, weaponry development, naval power and maritime strength are among the assets of the Soviet establishment which have been steadily developed. The challenges to the free world in general, and to the United States in particular, thus take on entirely new dimensions of vast proportions and infinite importance.

As to the challenge of Russia's steadily increasing maritime strength I can do no better than quote a recent statement by the noted military editor of the *New York Times*, Hanson W. Baldwin:

". . . the architects of modern Soviet maritime power appear to have adapted the doctrine and the theories of Alfred Thayer Mahan, the American apostle of sea power. Soviet sea power today is no longer a shoal-water, land-locked force; it is looking outward upon all the oceans of the world and has become an important factor in future history."

While much valuable time has been consumed in this country questioning Admiral Mahan's proven doctrines, the Russians have been putting together a merchant marine which already exceeds the American shipping fleet in numbers of vessels and within a relatively short time will surpass us in tonnage. From a feeble and unassuming position in 1945, the Soviet Union has ascended to a position of awesome and threatening strength on the oceans in 1967. But, as with the oribtal bomb, we are told not to be concerned! It is said by those who fail to recognize the durability of Mahan's words that the Soviet merchant marine will never be large enough, in relation to the balance of the world, to cause any great havoc on traditional shipping patterns or to exercise any great leverage on ocean shipping rates. Fortunately, this point of view is not shared by the overwhelming majority of the Congress.

One Russian orbital bomb or a brace of ICBM's could, of course, destroy a large segment of our population in a flash. On the other hand, with a superiority of merchant ships capable of strangulating essential trade routes, the Soviets could slowly suffocate the commerce of free nations and thereby attain their goals in a less costly, more humanitarian, manner. But, only the orbital bomb will receive the degree of notoriety and publicity that will motivate public reaction and hopeful antidotes. If past history is any yardstick, the maritime problem is destined for only fleeting and superficial attention.

Setting aside the larger issues, let us therefore examine in some detail the U.S. versus U.S.S.R. maritime situation.

It should be stated, at the outset, that our country is today the world's leading sea power. It must also be realized that, in keeping with the teachings of Admiral Mahan, the future strength and affluence of our nation will be largely determined by the priorities we now assign to the correction of any weaknesses or deficiencies which presently limit our power at sea. By sea power, let it be understood, I mean not only our naval fleet, but also our merchant marine, supporting shipyards and the full spectrum of industrial capabilities needed to use the seas, in the national interest, during times of emergency as well as during times of calm.

The United States, by all standards, is indeed a great sea power, but it is important to note that the margin of sea power superiority which sets us apart from other nations is only slight. Moreover, there is an alarming imbalance between the quality and effectiveness of our naval and maritime strength. While we boast of the most powerful Navy the world has ever known—and this is more than a boast, it is a reality of which our people can be justifiably proud—we at the same time, have a merchant marine not only grossly inadequate in terms of numbers of ships, but composed predominantly of vessels built during World War II. The latter are frequently described—and properly so—as obsolete "rust buckets." As a consequence, the U.S. flag shipping fleet is too small, too slow and too uneconomic to serve our rapidly expanding trade movements or to provide satisfactory logistic support to our military forces spread throughout the world.

Nearly 75% of the 1,080 merchant ships in our active fleet are 20 or more years of age. Their physical infirmities, high operating and maintenance costs, and inability to compete against modern foreign-flag vessels dictate that they be scrapped or laid up within a very few years.

Last year, the United States' volume of world commerce again exceeded all other nations. A total of 404 million tons of commercial cargoes moved to and from our ports. Yet, only 7.2% of that enormous trade movement was carried in U.S. flag ships. The balance of nearly 92% moved in foreign bottoms, and we can never be certain, at any time, of the reliability of this grossly disproportionate dependence on other nations. For proof, I need only mention certain of the transportation policies of some of our allies affecting Vietnam and the Middle East.

In spite of our economic affluence and vast natural resources, the United States is a "have not" nation with regard to certain minerals and materials which are necessary to sustain our military and industrial might. 66 of 77 basic strategic items must be imported from foreign sources. These include:

Nearly 90% of the cobalt we use for the production of high-temperature alloys, jet engines, and so on.

100% of the chromite we consume in the production of ammunition, armorplate, stainless steel, and so on.

88% of the bauxite, the principal ore in the production of aluminum so vital to aircraft manufacturing and other military hardware components.

100% of our rubber needs, and

99% of the manganese ore we must have to produce steel.

Since these items are all essential to our survival, you would think they are brought to our shores in American flag ships. Not so! By volume, 96 percent of these imported materials—without which a great segment of America's industrial complex could not function—is today carried aboard ships flying the flags of other nations. In other words, even now, we are at the mercy of foreign powers—many of which are openly hostile to our objectives in Southeast Asia. I say to you this is wrong—it is contrary to our best national interest—and I suggest that it is a practice which should be reversed promptly.

I am not advocating that all U.S. trade and commerce should be moved in American bottoms. But, I do contend, along with many others, that we should reserve a substantial portion of our cargoes for our own ships, and in this category, I would most certainly include those strategic or critical items which are the lifeblood of survival. To do otherwise is to undermine the national security and to contribute to the deterioration of our shipping capability. That is exactly what has been taking place over the past two decades!

The decline of the U.S. flag merchant fleet from a position of overwhelming world leadership in the post World War II period has been uninterrupted. The American flag fleet—both active and inactive—which numbered more than 5,000 ships aggregating over 50 million deadweight tons at the end of World War II, now consists of slightly more than 1,000 ships totaling about 16 million tons. And, nearly three fourths of these vessels are 20 or more years of age and in need of replacement.

Now, let us examine the Soviet maritime picture.

Russia emerged from the War with a nondescript fleet of only 432 vessels totaling less than 2 million tons. As late as 1953, the year in which Stalin died, her fleet tonnage remained near the 2 million mark. Shortly thereafter, she became engrossed in the development of her maritime resources, and by 1958, the Soviet fleet had grown to 3.6 million tons. Since 1958, the rate of growth has been even more spectacular. By 1960, nearly 5 million tons were flying her ensign, and by the end of 1965, her tonnage had reached nearly 10 million tons. Her current five year plan (1966–70) is programmed to attain a fleet totaling 15 million tons by the end of 1970.

There seems to be little question of this goal being met, since in May of this year, Russia had 526 merchant vessels totaling 4.3 million tons under construction or on order. As a point of reference, on the same date, only 45 merchant ships totaling 600,000 tons were under construction or on order for the U.S. merchant fleet. Whereas Russia has taken delivery of more than 100 ships per year for the past several years, deliveries of U.S. flag merchant ships have averaged only 15 ships per year.

The Soviet Union's impressive merchant fleet expansion program is but one facet of her ambitions on the seas. Her Navy, already second only to the United States, is undergoing enormous improvement. Her fishing fleet is acknowledged to be the most modern in the world. More than 100 Russian vessels are engaged in oceanographic research. These ships as well as her fishing vessels are equipped with sophisticated electronic equipment and serve the dual purpose of observing our military and naval deployments and space shots. The Russian underwater fleet of submarines already possesses a capability to launch ballistic missiles, and it has now been revealed that the first aircraft carrier for the Soviet Navy is under construction. In the opinion of Admiral Ephraim P. Holmes, USN, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, for NATO, and Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, this latter development "signifies awareness of what it takes to project forces forward."

That Russia's growing inventory of ships in all categories contributes to her sea power should be patently obvious. Is she using this latter day strength to fill a void in world shipping capacity? indeed not! Is she following Admiral Mahan's philosophies? Indeed yes! Is she using sea power for prospective international extension of her heretofore landlocked isolation? Indeed so! Some instances are pertinent.

There have been reports that Soviet timber vessels are, during the winter season, appearing on the world market, and contrary to the usual idea of making a profit, often seem willing to accept rates so low that western owners cannot compete and are forced to lay up their ships. Less than two years ago, a European shipping operator declared that "western shipping companies must be prepared for a fight in certain trades," and warned that the making of a profit or a "return on capital" should not be regarded as a "prime motive" for Russian maritime operations.

Only last month, Vadim Kornilov of the USSR Trade Delegation, announced in London, that the Soviet Union will initiate cruise ship service from Britain next year. It was indicated that Russia plans to offer rates 20 percent below those charged by British cruise lines. In a press interview Mr. Kornilov said that the turbo-electric vessel *Baltica* which is to inaugurate such a service probably will not make a profit during her first three cruises. He explained that profitable operation was of secondary importance to "sounding the market." One British writer said Russia's plan to undercut rates could spell financial disaster for some of the British cruise lines.

The contrasting priorities which the United States and Soviet Union have assigned to maritime affairs are all to apparent from the foregoing. It doesn't require any vivid imagination to discern that if our nation permits our merchant marine to disappear from the seas while our avowed adversary rapidly achieves a dominant position on world trade routes, the day may soon come when we will find ourselves depending upon Russian vessels, plus other foreign flag ships as well, to not only supply us with essential raw materials but also to carry all of our goods to the world markets.

Some high officials in this country discount such a possiblity on the grounds that there will be sufficient Free World shipping to fill our needs. There are also those in the academic world who say that sea power now counts for little. Such judgments fail to recognize that the Russian fleet as an instrument of Communist objectives can be used to undercut Free World shipping rates. This tactic has, in the past, been used by the Soviet Union to drive Western suppliers of petroleum out of traditional markets by selling oil at discount prices. Other instances in which Soviet ships have made uneconomic voyages to some of the newly emerged nations merely to achieve political inroads, have already been cited.

What more evidence does one need to fathom the goal of the Russians on the high seas! Like the orbital bomb, it is intended for some long range objective—an objective which, you can be sure, is not intended to promote the general welfare of western civilization. These developments offer compelling reasons for the immediate start of a sustained merchant marine program to ensure that the United States will never have to play second fiddle to Russia or any other country in the movement of its essential cargoes. We have, to this point, been fiddling, while our merchant marine has been deteriorating—and while the Soviets have been building. The time is past for more fiddling—let's get on with the job of building the ships we so desperately need.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses cleared air quality bill for White House.

Senate passed military construction appropriation bill and took up social security bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 16359–S 16386

Bills Introduced: 1 bill and 2 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2653; and S. Res. 184–185.

Pages S 16359–S 16360

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 12080, proposed Social Security Amendments of 1967, with amendments, and with minority views (S. Rept. 744);

S. 2447, making the Secretary of Transportation a member of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission in place of the Secretary of Commerce (S. Rept. 745);

S. 322, providing that no land can be transferred from the national wildlife refuge system without approval of the Migratory Bird Commission, with amendments (S. Rept. 746);

H.R. 480, extending for 8 years the period during which funds may be appropriated for acquisition of wetlands, with amendment (S. Rept. 747); and

H.R. 12910, to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy, with amendments (S. Rept. 748).

Page S 16359

Mangla Dam: Vice President appointed Senator Bartlett to attend the dedication of Mangla Dam, West Pakistan, on November 23, 1967. Page S 16369

Social Security: S. Res. 184, an original resolution providing for printing of additional copies of report of Committee on Finance accompanying H.R. 12080, proposed Social Security Amendments of 1967, was adopted.

Page S 16386

Air Quality: Senate adopted conference report on S. 780, authorizing funds to improve and expand programs designed to eliminate air pollutants. This action cleared bill for President's signature. Pages S 16392–S 16396

Committee Expenditures: By 49 yeas to 25 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Senate adopted S. Res. 130, providing an additional $35,000 for Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Committee on the Judiciary. Pages S 16396–S 16398

Military Construction Appropriations: By 71 yeas to 3 nays, Senate passed with amendments H.R. 13606, fiscal 1968 appropriations for military construction, after rejecting, by 44 yeas to 31 nays, Javits motion to move to suspend rules for purpose of proposing modified amendment No. 437 to continue fiscal year 1968 appropriations until November 30, 1967 (a two-thirds affirmative vote being necessary to suspend rules for this purpose). This amendment had first been ruled out of order as legislation on an appropriation bill.

Senate insisted on its amendments, asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Bible, Russell, Ellender, Mansfield, Proxmire, Yarborough, Hayden, Young of North Dakota, Kuchel, and Symington (ex officio).

Pages S 16386, S 16390–S 16392, S 16398–S 16413

Social Security: Senate began consideration of H.R. 12080, proposed Social Security Amendments of 1967.

Pages S 16427–S 16428

Private Bill: Senate cleared S. 1556, a private bill, for President's signature by concurring in House amendment thereto. Page S 16427

Nominations: One judicial, and numerous Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps nominations were received.

Pages S 16428–S 16431

Record Votes: Three record votes were taken today.

Pages S 16398, S 16409, S 16412

Quorum Call: One quorum call was taken today.

Page S 16404

Program for Wednesday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 6:04 p.m. until noon Wednesday, November 15, when it will consider H.R. 12080, proposed Social Security Amendments of 1967. Pages S 16386, S 16428

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

MEAT INSPECTION

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry: Subcommittee on Agricultural Research and General Legislation continued its hearings on S. 2147, 2218, and H.R. 12144, to

Appendix

Address by Dr. James Roy Smith, Before Arlington Methodist Ministers' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, Dr. James Roy Smith, the minister of the Mount Olivet Methodist Church, in Arlington, Va., recently delivered an address to the Arlington Methodist Ministers' Association on the war in Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

VIETNAM: A REASONED VIEW

(Address by Dr. James Roy Smith, minister of Mount Olivet Methodist Church, Arlington, Va.)

Increasingly the church today is speaking its mind in ever-increasing statements on the war in Vietnam. To read some of these statements makes one wonder just how responsible is the church. Some believe that to be against war is equivalent to being against sin. Would to God that the choices involved in Vietnam were as clear cut and sharply focused as so many statements imply.

I believe the responsible churchman must try to see the Vietnam conflict in its right perspective if he is to understand the present dilemma of Vietnam for the Christian. To try to be helpful, let me begin with a bit of history.

Vietnam came under the French control in 1863 and from that time until World War II was a part of Indo China. Cambodia and Laos were the other two parts.

When France fell in 1940, Vietnam was occupied by the Japanese. This occupation continued until 1945 when the Japanese granted them independence under Bao Dai. Meantime, a group of anti-French Vietnamese formed in South China under a dedicated communist named Ho Chi Minh, who entered Hanoi in 1944 with the intent of taking over Vietnam in the name of communism.

In 1945, following the defeat of Japan, Ho's forces became known as the "Vietnam Liberation Army" and the government of Emperor Boa Dai soon fell to the communist leader's well-organized onslaught. The emperor abdicated, handing his powers over to Ho. At the same time a "Provisional Executive Committee For South Vietnam" with 7 communists and 2 non-communists took control of Saigon.

Like most people, the Vietnamese wanted independence, and when Ho Chi Minh, like Castro in the hills of Cuba, pretended to be a Non-Communist leader fighting for the independence of the country, the people followed him.

In 1946 the French tried to regain a foothold in Vietnam, and they were attacked by the Ho Chi Minh forces, now believing they were fighting for their independence. So began the eight year Indo China war that ended in July 1954 with a division in the country:

The southern part, a free nation, called the Republic of Vietnam, under Ngo Dinh Diem, with its capital in Saigon, and the northern part, known as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, ruled by the communists under Ho Chi Minh, with its capital in Hanoi.

It was at this time in 1954 that South Vietnam first asked the United States for help.

In October 1955 the people of South Vietnam held a referendum to determine their choice between Emperor Bao Dai as chief of state patterned on the old regime and Ngo Dinh Diem as chief of a republic. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of Diem, and the the republic was proclaimed under Ngo Dinh Diem as President. A constitutional assembly was elected in March 1956, and on July 7, 1956, a national constitution was adopted.

North Vietnam had expected the South to collapse under Diem and to fall into their hands. When it did not, the Communists in 1959 launched the Viet Cong Guerrillas on an intensified campaign of guerrilla warfare and terrorist activities in the South. Infiltration began in the South, aided by arms and aid from Communist China. They attacked villages, torturing, killing, or kidnapping those who refused to cooperate. Thousands of local officials, teachers, and health workers were murdered. Crowded trains and buses were bombed, roads destroyed, bridges and schools burned.

In 1954 the United States sent a MAAG (Military Assistance Advisory Group) to help improve the military effectiveness of the South Vietnamese Armed Forces. As the Viet Cong stepped up its terror and guerrilla tactics it became evident that more U.S. help was needed.

In 1962 the MACV (Military Assistance Command, Vietnam) was established. Since then, the build-up to protect and defend the South has continued. The U.S. is not alone, for 36 other free world countries have also sent aid, both military and economic.

During the period 1956–63 South Vietnam was governed under a constitution patterned much after that of the United States, but its leader, President Diem, became dictatorial and in 1963 his government was overthrown and Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu were killed.

Since 1963, political instability has been the mark of South Vietnam, although during the past year partial stability has returned, a national election has been held while fighting a war (which is no easy task), a constitution has been adopted, and relative stability has been in evidence.

OUR POSITION

I am persuaded that we have more than a legal right to be in Vietnam—indeed we have a MORAL obligation to be there. If we had not gone into Vietnam as advisors in the late 50's and with large numbers of combat troops in 1965, every Communist nation in the world would believe that it had found the formula for taking over any territory it had set its mind to have. The lesson in Korea had not been very clear to them.

Every one of the five respective governments of South Vietnam have asked us to assist their struggle to maintain independence and three successive American presidents consistently have responded to their pleas for help. The reason the South Vietnamese requested our help was that a deliberate, piecemeal, invasion from the North was occurring, jeopardizing self-determination and making it less and less possible for the free government of South Vietnam to survive.

When the call of the free people cried out for help, all the lessons of history and of Christian conscience said to us that we could not turn our backs and run out on our responsibility, and that voice is still calling loud and clear.

From the very beginning, our policy toward Vietnam has been and still is that:

"We have no intention of overthrowing Ho Chi Minh's or Mao Tse-tung's governments, or to capture their territory."

Our policy is to communicate the message: "You cannot take over someone else's territory by force. We will not allow you to do this." We have spoken this message in a successively louder tone of voice and in carefully measured words. Everything we have done, including the bombings, has been consistent with this original policy.

BASIC PROBLEM

The basic problem in Vietnam is still a brutal and sustained attack from the North upon the South. This attack is marked by terror and sneak attacks and by the killing of women and children in the night and mass infiltration in large numbers across the DMZ.

North Vietnam is apparently not ready to come to the peace table. Three times—1–for 5 days and 20 hours in May 1965; 2–for 36 days and 15 hours in December 1965; and 3–for 5 days and 18 hours in February 1967—the bombings have ceased; but each time the North not only has not sought peace but used the lull to re-supply and reinforce. Many attempts, including attempts by Ambassador Goldberg to bring the United Nations into this matter, have failed. Repeatedly Hanoi has refused to come to the Security Council. Britain has tried to re-convene the Geneva Conference; but Hanoi and Peiping told the British they are not interested. Apparently Hanoi insists on two conditions prior to cessation: 1–Withdrawal of American forces, and 2–A Hanoi government in Saigon. In other words, they require surrender and a defeat on our part.

OUR TERMS OF PEACE

I am persuaded that we seek a peace that will assure

1. An end to aggression and subversion,
2. Freedom for South Vietnam to choose, shape, and determine her own destiny,
3. As soon as aggression has ceased, the removal of foreign military forces from South Vietnam, and
4. Effective guarantee of the independence and freedom of the people of South Vietnam.

In August 1964, the Senate by an 88–2 vote and the House with no negative vote passed a bill authorizing the President "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States."

BASIC ISSUES

What are the basic issues? The goals of our Government in Vietnam have always centered around discouraging aggression throughout the world so as to prevent a larger war from developing. This, to me, is the basic issue in Vietnam—but one that is being clouded by emphases on lesser objectives, and much of the public debate today is centered around the lesser objectives.

These lesser objectives usually proclaim that the Vietnamese people don't want us there, that the Vietnamese election was rigged, that South Vietnam will not fight with her own troops, that if we give in to the North Vietnamese claims, peace will come. None of these, I believe, is the basic problem.

The main reason we cannot quit—why we have got to stay and finish the job—was outlined by President Johnson when he said:

"I cannot tell you tonight as your President that a Communist conquest of South Vietnam would be followed by a Communist conquest of Southeast Asia. . . .

"Neither can I tell you with certainty that a Southeast Asia dominated by a Communist power would bring a third World War much closer to terrible reality. . . .

"But all that we have learned in this tragic century strongly suggests to me that it would be so. And as President of the United States, I am not prepared to risk the security—indeed the survival—of the American nation on mere hope and wishful thinking. I am convinced that by seeing this struggle through now, we are greatly reducing the chances of a much larger war—perhaps a nuclear war."

To me, this is the basic issue—not the defense of Vietnam or the rest of the world, but the defense of our own homeland.

To be sure, the tremendous might of America could break the back of the Ho Chi Minh government at any time it so desires; but Ho Chi Minh is not the real enemy. The real threat comes from mainland China who aggressively believes in the support of "War of National Liberation" as a cheap and riskless method of conquest. If China succeeds in assuring North Vietnam victory, it will simply add fuel to their fires and Thailand will be next. Recently the President said, "I do know there are North Vietnamese troops in Laos. I do know there are North Vietnamese-trained guerrillas tonight in northeast Thailand. I do know that there are Communist-supported guerrilla forces operating in Burma. And a Communist coup was barely averted in Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world."

When you add to this statement one made by President Eisenhower, this point becomes even sharper in its focus. President Eisenhower in 1959 said:

"Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement. The freedom of 12 million people would be lost immediately, and that of 150 million in adjacent lands would be seriously endangered. The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom."

Those who contend that we should stop the bombing and withdraw from Vietnam are simply preaching withdrawal without cognizance of the main issue. They are suggesting that the peoples of Southeast Asia be left to struggle with their own problems no matter what the consequence.

The basic issue in Vietnam as far as America is concerned is American security. A withdrawal or defeat threatens that security. The willingness to stay and deter the militant march of Maoist power is the basic issue, and if we believe in our system, it is an issue for which we must be willing to pay the price. As far as the Christian is concerned, the basic issue is human freedom and worth. The South Vietnamese are children for whom Christ died; and being forced against their wills to be taken over by an invasion from the North, they have appealed to us for help. We cannot allow them to be taken over against their wills. We do have a moral responsibility which we cannot escape.

I see America as a strong nation without any desire for territorial gain responding to the call of a weak nation who needs protection against the ravages of an aggressive government who seeks to dominate and claim her soil and her souls. To me, our response is in accordance with our Christian teachings.

CHRISTIAN POINT OF VIEW

The great St. Augustine laid down three basic rules which he contended justified war, and I believe the response we have made to the conflict in Vietnam is consistent with these three basic rules. They are as follows:

1. War should be waged only as a necessity.
2. Its only legitimate objective is to achieve a just and stable peace as quickly as possible.
3. It should be fought with mercy, avoiding all needless brutality and restricting use of violence to the minimum that will serve the purposes of preventing a "greater evil."

In principle the American involvement in Vietnam has been within this framework. The President has stated it again and again and each added step of increasing strength has been done with hesitancy, with reluctance, with responsible judgment and has been minimal in nature.

So long as North Vietnam continues to be used by the Communists to force its will upon South Vietnam and so long as South Vietnam calls to us to prevent this forceful take-over, I believe we have no choice but to see the conflict through to an honorable solution that assures the world that forceful aggression will neither be rewarded nor tolerated.

Economic Opportunity Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM D. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Walker Cisler, the distinguished president of the Detroit Edison Co., has been in the vanguard of leading American businessmen who have for many months been dedicating their efforts and devoting much of their time to making a success of the war against poverty. As chairman of the Business Leadership Advisory Council to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Mr. Cisler has made a continuing contribution of great importance and value to our national antipoverty effort. On November 7, Mr. Cisler sent a telegram to several of my distinguished Michigan colleagues conveying his sense of concern for the pending legislation. In order that every Member of this body may appreciate the commitment which this outstanding member of the American business community feels toward a successful war against poverty, I insert his telegram at this point in the RECORD, with the hope that all Members of the House will heed his urgent and timely message:

In August I wrote you of my deep concern for the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act which are now before the House. As Chairman of the Business Leadership Advisory Council for the Office of Economic Opportunity, I have seen firsthand much of the work and operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity. As a Detroit businessman and a member of the new Detroit committee and other organizations dedicated to enhancing the well-being of those disadvantaged, I know full well as do you of the great task we have before us here and in other of our large cities. It is a task to which I give much of my time and service.

It is from this personal knowledge and participation in these matters that I urge with deep conviction that you give your support and approval to the House Education and Labor Committee bill and that you vote to keep intact the role of the Office of Economic Opportunity. To do otherwise at this crucial time would most surely weaken not strengthen our endeavors to bring economic opportunity to all sectors of our citizenry and to help eliminate the causes of poverty and unrest in our Nation. This is a matter of national, State, and community concern and the best interests of all will be served by the enactment of the committee bill.

WALKER CISLER,
The Detroit Edison Co.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce has recently sent to its members a questionnaire designed by the National Chamber of Commerce. I would like to spread upon the RECORD the questionnaire, along with a letter addressed to Dwight Havens, the outstanding president of the Detroit chamber, from John P. Casey, which points to the flaws in the chamber's questionnaire. Mr. Casey, vice president of M. G. Advertising, Inc., is an accomplished public relations man, very gifted in analyzing public opinion. I therefore value his comments.

The material follows:

M. G. ADVERTISING, INC.,
Detroit, Mich., October 30, 1967.

Mr. DWIGHT HAVENS,
President, Greater Detroit Board of Commerce, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR DWIGHT: As a long-time observer as well as occasional taker of polls, I took pencil in hand to take part in the U.S. Chamber's survey printed in the October 23 edition of the Detroiter. It stated that the poll is "to determine trends of business opinion on questions currently important."

The subject matter certainly is important. But I question the validity of the survey in determining the opinion of the business community.

Implicit in the entire survey is the conviction that businessmen want to cut federal spending, which is hardly an objective approach to opinion research.

The "selected programs" section is especially tilted.

It so happens that I personally believe we should spend considerably more federal money for some programs, cut the spending on others and, in general, redistribute federal spending. But the survey will only let me check boxes to cut severely, moderately, slightly, stay the same or admit that I have no opinion.

I suppose the U.S. Chamber intends to use the survey results as a lobbying and publicity vehicle. Therefore, I urge the Greater Detroit Board to review carefully the validity of the survey and the Board's participation in such an unprofessional approach to opinion research.

Perhaps the Detroit Board would be interested in restructuring the U.S. Chamber's survey to give it objectivity and validity and to compare the results of the two. As suggested in the Detroiter, I am conveying my views to Congresswoman Martha W. Griffiths.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN P. CASEY.

LEGISLATIVE LIAISON BULLETIN

To Members of the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce:

In cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which is polling its members, your Congressional Action Committee is asking for your opinion about government spending—and about the proposed tax increase.

As you know, Congress has shelved the President's request to raise added tax revenues of $7 to $9 billion annually via a 10 percent surcharge on the current tax liability of corporations and individuals. Instead, Congress is looking first for ways to reduce federal spending by about $6 billion in fiscal 1968—in other words, to try to have the government tighten its belt about as much as the taxpayers are being asked to tighten theirs. Congress seems to be in no mood to ask the taxpayers for more money until there is more effective expenditure reduction and control.

But this objective is difficult to attain because every spending program has its supporters. So, the problem is more than just pin-pointing instances of waste or inefficient management. It's also a matter of establishing priorities—of determining *which* programs might be deferred or cut back, until our financial situation is more favorable for their continuance.

To help us represent your views in this situation, I hope you will complete and return promptly the enclosed questionnaire. It asks a number of pertinent questions—and also lists selected spending programs, so you can indicate *those you approve and those you would cut.*

After you have completed the form, let me suggest that you consider writing Representative Martha W. Griffiths, member of the House Ways and Means Committee, your Representative and your two Senators, to tell them how you feel about the tax increase proposal and also where you think appropriations should be reduced or supported. I know they would appreciate this kind of specific information.

Cordially yours,

DONALD E. YOUNG,
Chairman,
Congressional Action Committee.

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

ABOUT SPENDING

1. Do you favor a reduction in Federal spending for fiscal 1968? (It is now estimated that spending will be about $140 billion; the deficit estimate ranges as high as $29 billion.)
   a ☐ Yes b ☐ No c ☐ No opinion
2. How much reduction in appropriations do you favor?
   a ☐ $2 to $4 billion
   b ☐ $5 to $7 billion
   c ☐ $8 to $10 billion
   d ☐ More than $10 billion

ABOUT SELECTED PROGRAMS

[Here are selected domestic-civilian spending programs, with the requested appropriations for fiscal 1968. Would you approve these requests—or would you suggest some reduction? Check the block that reflects your opinion]

	Appropriation request (billions)	Cut severely (a)	Cut moderately (b)	Cut slightly (c)	Leave alone (d)	No opinion (e)
3. Department of Agriculture: Principal spending programs are Commodity Credit Corporation (farm price support activities), foreign assistance and special export activities (Public Law 480), Consumer and Marketing Service and Rural Electrification Administration	$5.0	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Peace Corps: Covers estimated expenses of some 19,000 corpsmen serving abroad, who train teachers, teach school, assist farmers and small businessmen, establish health facilities, and aid community development generally	.124	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. U.S. Information Agency: Carries out efforts to influence public attitudes in foreign countries, regarding U.S. policy and actions; principally through the use of radio, television, motion pictures, and libraries	.194	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Office of Education: Includes grants to strengthen analysis and planning for State education programs—school assistance in federally affected areas—National Teacher Corps, student loans, construction of academic facilities	4.1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Urban grant-in-aid and loan program: For neighborhood facilities, urban renewal, urban planning grants, low rent public housing, and college housing loans	1.9	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Office of Economic Opportunity (poverty program): Finances Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, and community action agencies, including Headstart	2.1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. National Science Foundation: Activities largely concerned with basic research and education in the sciences; carried out through grants to individuals and educational institutions	.526	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Economic development assistance program (Department of Commerce): Includes Appalachian development highways, grants and loans to development centers, and other aid to disadvantaged areas	.425	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Civilian and military pay increases: Preliminary action already taken by Congress could nearly double appropriation request	1.0	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Military construction: Covers training and troop housing facilities, and includes $240 million for Southeast Asia emergency situations	2.1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Space program (NASA): Includes funds for manned space flight beyond the lunar landing program, and for manned flights in earth orbit of up to 1 year's duration	5.0	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Supersonic transport: Funds for further development of a supersonic civil aircraft. (Total estimated development cost $4.5 billion—Government's share $1.25 billion)	.198	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Foreign aid programs: Economic assistance only, including loans for purchase of U.S. exports and grants for technical assistance to private business. Does not cover military assistance, food for peace, the Peace Corps, and other foreign assistance programs	2.5	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. National Institutes of Health: Wide range of health research programs, principally cancer, heart, arthritis, neurological diseases, and general medicine	1.2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Other Public Health Service activities: Construction of educational facilities, loans to students, grants for curriculum improvement, disease prevention, and environmental control	1.7	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Military family housing: Provide 12,500 new units and additional leases to support unit relocations overseas	.814	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Corps of Engineers—Civil: Construction funds for 254 projects, including 9 new starts; preconstruction planning for 103 projects; survey and study money for 271 flood control, navigation, and beach erosion projects, including 41 new starts	1.3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation: For promoting coordination and development of effective outdoor recreation programs. Includes $32 million advance appropriation for Federal acquisition of recreation lands and assistance to States	.146	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Ocean shipping—Ship construction: Request is for 50-percent subsidy for construction of 13 new ships	.143	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

ABOUT TAXES

22. With regard to the proposed tax increase, check which of the following most closely corresponds with your personal position:
   a ☐ For a tax increase, without qualification
   b ☐ For a tax increase, provided spending can be reduced by an amount that is comparable to the revenue gained by the tax increase
   c ☐ Against any tax increase
   d ☐ No opinion
23. If a tax increase is voted, what amount of the surcharge do you think should be applied?
   a ☐ 1 to 3 percent
   b ☐ 4 to 7 percent
   c ☐ 8 to 10 percent
   d ☐ Over 10 percent
   e ☐ No opinion
24. Do you think the surcharge should be:
   a ☐ The same for corporations and individuals
   b ☐ More for corporations than for individuals
   c ☐ No opinion
25. If there is a tax increase, do you feel it should be enacted:
   a ☐ For a 1-year period
   b ☐ For a 2-year period
   c ☐ For so long as United States efforts in Vietnam require higher revenues
   d ☐ No opinion
26. Check 1 of the following to indicate your firm's major activity.
   a ☐ Mining
   b ☐ Construction
   c ☐ Manufacturing
   d ☐ Transportation
   e ☐ Communications and utilities
   f ☐ Wholesale and retail trade
   g ☐ Finance, insurance, and real estate
   h ☐ Services
   i ☐ Other
27. Approximately how many regular employees do you have?
   a ☐ 1 to 25
   b ☐ 26 to 100
   c ☐ 101 to 300
   d ☐ 301 to 1,000
   e ☐ 1,001 to 5,000
   f ☐ Over 5,000

Optional.—The following identification is optional and is not required for this survey of opinion.

Name and Title ____________________

Firm ____________________

City, State ____________________

Do Congressmen Respond to Your Letters?

To a question often asked—"Do our letters have any effect on a Congressman's views?", the answer is—"Yes, letters often help influence Legislative action."

Congress' firm resolution to force a cut in domestic spending is probably due, in large part, to the fact that they are hearing from many voters back home. In connection with the proposed tax increase Congressman Tom Meskill (R-Conn.) said: "I hope you don't get the idea that your opinions don't count in government. Congress is demonstrating loud and clear how much public opinion counts. The Administration is feeling the effect."

Recently, Dwight Havens, president of the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce, wrote each member of the Michigan Congressional Delegation concerning Uniform Monday Holiday legislation. He told them the Board of Commerce had adopted a policy statement favoring enactment of legislation similar to S-1217, which provides for Monday observances of certain nonreligious holidays, and asked for their support.

A number of the replies to his letter were noncommittal. Several Congressmen made such statements as: "appreciate having the details of the Board's views on this issue," and, "I appreciate receiving your views on this subject." Others indicated support of the Board's position with "I agree entirely and will strongly support this bill when it comes to the House Floor," and, "You can count on my support."

Havens' letter to the Michigan Delegation did not specifically request a reply; however, most of the Detroit area Delegation did respond. As an example of the kind of response you can expect to receive when you write to your congressmen, here is a "Boxscore" on replies to Dwight Havens' letter on Uniform Monday Holiday legislation:

	Favor Board position	Oppose Board position	Undecided	No reply
Senators:				
Philip A. Hart	X			
Robert P. Griffin	X			
Representatives:				
John Conyers, Jr			X	
Marvin L. Esch	X			
Garry Brown			X	
Edward Hutchinson				X
Gerald R. Ford			X	
Charles E. Chamberlain				X
Donald W. Riegle, Jr				X
James Harvey				X
Guy Vander Jagt			X	
Elford A. Cederberg				X
Philip E. Ruppe				X
James G. O'Hara			X	
Charles C. Diggs, Jr				X
Lucien N. Nedzi			X	
William D. Ford				X
John D. Dingell	X			
Martha Griffiths	X			
William S. Broomfield			X	
Jack H. McDonald			X	

Note: Representatives listed in order of districts 1 to 19.

NAACP Sued by Police Officer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the pendulum has swung.

In Lafayette, La., a police officer has reversed the trend and sued the NAACP for a change, accusing them of violating his civil rights.

Before too long we may behold like suits against the ACLU and other intermeddling groups.

Perhaps a few judgments may put their tax-free bank accounts back into circulation and right their many wrongs against individuals and society, and dampen the spirits of their wealthy benefactors.

I insert the news account of November 11 from the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate in the Record to offer suggestive advice to anyone else deprived of his or her rights who may need encouragement in seeking legal redress:

Fired Officer Sues Mayor, Iberia NAACP

Lafayette.—A damage suit for $1.5 million was filed in federal district court here Thursday by Henry Dorsey, former New Iberia policeman, against New Iberia Mayor J. Allen Daigre, the area chapter of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and members of New Iberia Civil Service Board.

The suit, filed by attorney J. Minos Simon for Dorsey, claims the man's civil rights were violated. The action stems from Dorsey's dismissal from the force April 8 for "failure to perform the position of his duties in a satisfactory manner."

The suit claims the board, the mayor and Police Chief Lee Fournet entered into a conspiracy with the NAACP to deprive and deny Dorsey of due process of law and the protection of state laws.

Dorsey's letter of dismissal stated that he had intentionally seized Rose Mary Harris from her residence and transferred her to police headquarters without her consent and without a valid reason. It said he returned the woman to her residence in a police car unaccompanied by any other officer in violation of the rules and regulations of the police department.

The Municipal Fire and Police Civil Service Board, after a hearing, ordered Dorsey reinstated as of the 31st day following the effective date of his discharge.

No Spinoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the editors of the New York Times presented, in an editorial of November 10, an effective and succinct rebuttal to those who would "save" the war on poverty by emasculating OEO.

The editorial, entitled "No Spinoff," deserves the careful consideration of every Member of this body, and I insert it at this point in the Record:

No Spinoff

The Republican substitute for the antipoverty authorization bill now pending in the House of Representatives would transfer several of the more successful and less controversial programs from the Office of Economic Opportunity to various regular departments. This reorganization would leave O.E.O. with nothing but the much-disputed community action program.

Under the G.O.P. plan, sponsored by Representatives Goodell of New York and Quie of Minnesota, Head Start and its follow-up program, Upward Bound, would be shifted to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Neighborhood Youth Corps, which consists of two programs, in-school and out-of-school, would be split. The in-school program would be assigned to HEW and the out-of-school program to the Department of Labor. Finally, the Republicans would phase out the residential Job Corps centers and rely on the state-administered vocational education programs.

No administrative arrangement is sacrosanct. What counts is how a program functions and whether it is run in the simplest, most responsive fashion. On paper, it may sound logical to consolidate educational programs in HEW and manpower programs in the Department of Labor. But experience does not bear out so plausible a theory.

The state-run vocational education programs have not done the job of reaching Negro youths in the slums and preparing them for jobs; if the states had been succeeding, the Job Corps would never have been necessary in the first place. Local school systems are cooperating in many instances in running Head Start and the in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps, but in other instances they have proved to be rigid and unresponsive bureaucracies. Settlement houses and community centers are often more willing to innovate and to make flexible arrangements, and there is no reason to freeze them out of Head Start and Upward Bound.

Flexibility and experimentation are at the heart of the antipoverty effort. More experience is needed before a decision is made to spin off these new ventures to the old-line agencies. Two dissenting Republicans on the House Education and Labor Committee—Representatives Reid of New York and Bell of California—give their party sound advice when they declared in their separate minority report: "This is not a time to cut back or restructure the antipoverty program."

The Cost of Cutting Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, in our debates over the wisdom and the effectiveness of our foreign aid policy, one factor of great concern to all of us has been the cost of this program to our Nation. Particularly at this time, with the Vietnam war placing a heavy burden on our budget, the temptation is strong to reduce our expenditures in other areas which might be considered of lesser importance than our immediate war effort in Southeast Asia. Before we consign our foreign aid contributions to the category of low-priority expenditures, however, I think we might take heed of the warning expressed in an article in the New York Times of November 15, a warning which underlines the potentially greater longrun costs of short-term economizing efforts in our foreign aid program.

The article reports the conclusions of two experts on world food and population problems regarding the grave consequences in terms of social unrest leading to political instabilty that may result if the advanced nations persist in failing to appropriately respond to the pressing economic needs of the less developed countries. I should like to place the entire text of the article in the RECORD, for the information of my colleagues, prior to our consideration of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act:

Food Experts See New Vietnams as Want Rises: Two Scientists Call on United States and Other Rich Lands To Act Before It Is Too Late

(By Harold M. Schmeck, Jr.)

CLAYTON, Mo., November 14.—Situations like Vietnam could be popping up all over the world unless the United States moves wisely and fast, two experts on world food and population problems said here today.

The new Vietnam could rise from the social unrest that stems from hunger, the speakers told a meeting sponsored by the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing and by Washington University, St. Louis.

One of them, Dr. Harrison Brown of California Institute of Technology, said that the world's food picture was sure to get worse before it gets better and would not even get better in the long run without massive technical assistance from the United States and other advanced nations.

Neither birth control measures nor direct agricultural aid to the hungry nations will suffice, Dr. Brown said.

Major economic development of the poorer nations is the only way to cope with the world problems, he said, and this is "absolutely hopeless" unless the rich nations help in amounts much greater than are being given for this purpose now.

Attempts to cope with the problem must be much more sustained and more comprehensive as well as much larger than at present if disaster is to be avoided, he said.

The greatest need, Dr. Brown said, is for major increases in the quality and number of technically trained persons in the developing nations.

This is a matter that rests ultimately on education, he said and may take a generation to achieve even if the advanced nations move quickly to aid the process. He declared himself pessimistic about the outcome.

But, Dr. Brown said, science and technology, if properly used, are fundamentally capable of coping with the world population and food problem and perhaps of bringing both under control within a generation or so.

The other speaker, Dr. Lester Brown of the Department of Agriculture, described both some bright and dark spots in the outlook.

Since the late 1930's North America has moved from a position of one of three major food exporting regions of the world to one of a near monpooly on exportable food supplies, he said.

Of the other two one-time leading exporters, the scientist said, one—Latin America—is to day barely self sufficient, while the other—comprising Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—has become a major importer of food.

Meanwhile, North American surpluses, largely from the United States, have prevented any major famine in the world since World War II. The scientists foresaw no such famine in the next 15 years, provided India remains stable politically and Communist China is able to cope with its huge problems.

PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS

New strains of wheat and rice, new methods of manufacturing fertilizer and using chemical additives to increase the food value of grains all are promising current developments, the scientists said.

The two Drs. Brown who spoke at the meeting here at the Colony Motel are unrelated.

Dr. Lester Brown said that none of the much-publicized unconventional means of developing new food sources could be brought to fruition in time to rescue the increasingly hungry world.

He listed among these unconventional methods the production of food from algae, plankton and other one-celled organisms; the manufacture of artificial food from petroleum, and the desalting of seawater on a large enough scale to make the deserts bloom.

All are possible in theory, he said, but they are unlikely to achieve large-scale feasibility soon enough to mitigate the present crisis.

Many millions of people will be added to the world's population within the next 15 years and four-fifths of these will be in nations already hungry, he said.

Wilderness Use

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months, many Members of Congress have been actively concerned with proposals advanced by the Federal public land agencies to designate wilderness areas in accordance with the requirements of the 1964 wilderness law. This wilderness-review work must be completed within a 10-year time schedule set by the 1964 act of Congress. Its purpose is to round out the national wilderness preservation system which Congress established in skeletal form with the immediate inclusion in 1964 of the wilderness and wild areas within the national forests. Additional wild lands in the national forests and within the national park and wildlife refuge systems may be added to the wilderness system by Congress.

In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, conservationists have actively sought the designation of a wilderness system unit within the Monomoy National Wildlife Refuge on Cape Cod. The opportunity for the establishment of a wilderness area here has led to a very healthy involvement of citizen groups as well as our public land agencies. The administrative hearing record indicates that there is overwhelming support, both within my district and over the Nation, for the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife proposal to designate Monomoy Island as wilderness.

I am hopeful that the forthcoming Monomoy Island Wilderness proposal will receive the prompt and favorable attention of the Congress. Also, certain undeveloped portions of the magnificent Cape Cod National Seashore—such as roadless Great Island—may well qualify for inclusion in the national wilderness system, and thus be given additional protection from future development.

Many of those Members of Congress who were vitally interested in the passage of the 1964 wilderness law and who have been watching the progress of this work, were also numbered among the most active supporters of both the 1964 Multiple Use and Reclassification Act, now being applied to the vast public ownerships administered by the Federal Bureau of Land Management, and the 1960 National Forest Multiple Use Act applying to those lands administered by the U.S. Forest Service. Both of these important statutes provide for the establishment and preservation of wilderness areas within the "multiple use" concept. They clearly call for the dedication and preservation of wilderness lands as one of the many "multiple uses" of our public lands, and make clear provision for placement of wilderness lands within the national wilderness preservation system within the context of our public land agencies' and multiple-use plans.

Wilderness itself, of course, provides a multiplicity of public uses. The same unit of wilderness—Monomoy Island as an example—provides for many public use opportunities that could not be offered in the absence of a program assuring the protection of the wilderness of this wild coastal island.

The protection of the very important wildlife resource that is found here certainly is of primary concern, because this area is administered by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. At the same time, the unparalleled opportunities for the public to hike, to study nature, and to enjoy some of our finest coastal fishing are all represented here. Also the scientific value of Monomoy refuge, with its great abundance of resident and migratory bird life, is one of its most significant values. The value of the opportunity wilderness areas provide for people to find escape from the busy places in which they work and live is only beginning to be realized.

The wilderness law leaves us with a great opportunity to complete a national wilderness preservation system encompassing some 40 to 50 million acres. This job was begun by the 1964 Wilderness Act, in the creation of a wildernes system of some 9 million acres, but the main task of rounding it out lies before us. It is a great encouragement to see the progress made by the House and Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committees in reporting out the first wilderness system addition proposal, to establish the San Rafael Wilderness Area in California. Both bodies have now approved versions of this proposal.

I am heartened by an editorial entitled "Wilderness Use," in the November 1967 issue of Salt Water Sportsman magazine, published in Boston. This comment is one of the finest I have seen in its presentation of the opportunity which the wilderness law brings to us, especially with regard to Monomoy Island. Mr. Speaker, I include this article in the RECORD at this point:

WILDERNESS USE

Conservationists for the past decade or more have been stressing the need for multiple use of natural areas. By pointing out that a stretch of beach, marshland or highland will be utilized by a wide cross-section of the public, they have often been successful in saving such lands from commercial development for future generations to enjoy.

Although we applaud the success of these conservationists in their efforts and basically endorse the multiple use concept, it is apparent that this course of action may have been over-sold. Multiple use, if followed to its logical end, might well include establishment of a complicated system of highways, recreational facilities, accommodations and similar monuments to alleged civilization. It would deteriorate into maximum use by a maximum number of people, with the result that the basic idea of preservation of an area in its natural state would vanish.

There is great danger in trying to be all things to all men and in attempting to please every segment of the population of America. Straws in the political wind indicate that various groups of conservationists are beginning to regret the multiple-use emphasis, for they find themselves bombarded with their own arguments even from their own kind. Although this situation pertains in various areas, the major trouble spots concern the Wilderness Preservation System.

In 1964, the U.S. Congress passed the Wilderness Act and it was signed into law. Very briefly, the measure authorizes the U.S. Government, through the Department of the Interior, to acquire and administer areas in the country so that said areas are maintained in their natural state insofar as is possible. Obviously to keep such lands and waters in a basically primeval condition, human activities must be limited by a substantial amount. The extent of this limitation is the cause of the trouble.

One example from several epitomizes the difficulties. It has been proposed that an isolated stretch of beach in the northeast—namely Monomoy Island off the Massachusetts coast—which is presently part of the Wildlife Refuge System, be made a true Wilderness Area. Those in favor of the plan—and we are among them—find themselves confronted with several dedicated groups, all pleading the multiple-use argument. These groups variously want the area abandoned as a refuge and thrown open to all hunting and fishing; maintained as a refuge, but with beach vehicle tours permitted by a limited group; abadoned as a refuge and incorporated as a part of the park system at the local, state or national level.

The island itself is unique in its isolated charm near a heavily populated section of the country. Only by including it in the Wilderness System can this uniqueness be preserved. We admit freely that multiple use would be restricted. Only those who are physically active and who enjoy walking, watching and fishing in comparative isolation could take full advantage of the area, but, we submit, there are all too few places along our coasts where the coming generation can have such an experience even if desired. Monomoy's value should not be limited to any social or organized division of the population: it should be open to the feet of the young men and to those of us who are older, yet able to trudge the sands.

Multiple use has its place in the conservation scene, and it is a strong place indeed. However, we sincerely hope that parts of this country will be set aside in their truly natural state so that those who follow may learn about what has been destroyed and, hopefully, may strive to restore at least some part of that which is lost.

Air Quality Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 780) to amend the Clean Air Act to authorize planning grants to air pollution control agencies; expand research provisions relating to fuels and vehicles; provide for interstate air pollution control agencies or commissions; authorize the establishment of air quality standards, and for other purposes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of S. 780, the Air Quality Act of 1967. I support this legislation basically because I believe air pollution is a nationwide problem requiring a nationwide Federal program.

The harmful effects of air pollution on the health of our citizens has been well documented. I have only to cite the singularly tragic incident of Thanksgiving 1966 which resulted in the death of 40 to 80 people in New York City. A stagnant air mass played havoc with the residents of our largest city for 4 days as we stood helplessly by. My own 19th Congressional District is in the very heart of New York. The people there can well attest to the effects of air pollution.

Air pollution affects more than just the public health. It can be put in more basic economic terms, in dollars and cents terms. It has been estimated that air pollution will result in an economic loss of over $11 billion annually. Air pollution means less healthy people, which results in more time away from the job.

But the effects of air pollution are not only local in nature. Polluted air masses hold no city, county, or State boundaries sacred. Pollution in New York, for instance, will directly affect the surrounding areas of New Jersey and Connecticut, and vice versa.

In my opinion, the Air Quality Act offers a positive program for combating air pollution. It authorizes the Secretary of HEW to set up interstate air quality control regions with the Federal Government paying up to 100 percent of the cost for up to 2 years. It further directs the Secretary to establish air quality criteria and to provide the latest information on air pollution control techniques to the States.

The States are expected to carry the fight against pollution. As participants in the air pollution regions, they could set air quality standards and adopt a plan for their enforcement and implementation.

There is a great need for a comprehensive research effort on air pollution. The bill authorizes the Secretary of HEW to initiate a program of research and training. It further directs the Secretary to make the results of this research available to State and local agencies. Such a program prevents duplication of efforts among State and local agencies, yet provides for a responsible and responsive research program on the national level.

Some Members of the House have proposed an amendment to the section establishing Federal motor vehicle emissions standards. This amendment would exempt the State of California from these Federal standards. I oppose this amendment. I oppose giving any one State a special exemption. If any exemption should be made, it should be one exempting all States to establish more stringent standards to take care of special local problems. Essentially, though, I believe establishing motor vehicle standards remains a Federal Government job.

Mr. Chairman, the Air Quality Act provides for a coordinated effort between local, State, and Federal governments to combat air pollution. It authorizes a total of $362 million for a 3-year period to meet that end. I support this bill and urge passage of this important social legislation. We cannot allow air pollution to go unchecked.

Hudson Marking 20th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the industrial growth in my district and I am particularly proud to have the opportunity to pay tribute at this time to a particular industry.

Putnam County and the people of Florida are justly proud that this month is the 20th anniversary of the Hudson Pulp & Paper Co. plant at Palatka. From a small beginning in 1947, it now employs over 2,000 people.

Hudson is not only a great company, but she is a great citizen. The management of the plant is outstanding and the people appreciate Hudson.

I would like to join in extending my personal congratulations to the management and personnel of Hudson. As part of that tribute, I include the following news article from the Palatka Daily News, as well as an editorial which appeared recently.

We are proud of Hudson and its progress. The items follow:

HUDSON MARKING 20TH ANNIVERSARY

(By Jackie Feagin)

"Hudson Pulp and Paper Plant Makes Initial Test Run Producing Good Quality Kraft" the headline declared. "Employ 250 Now; Will Add More."

The date was Thursday, Nov. 6, 1947, two days after what was to become an industrial giant in Putnam County began initial production. Puly and Paper Corporation will celebrate 20 years of production in its Palatka plant, which has grown from the $6 million mill to a facility which today employs some 2,500 persons.

Employees celebrated the 20th anniversary with refreshments a day early since most of them were on the job today.

Clearing and construction got under way at the Palatka site in mid-October, 1945. Records of the payrolls department at the mill show that the first payroll checks were made out Oct. 24, 1945, for construction workers Miller, Chapman and Scott Construction Company of New York, N.Y., were contractors for the new plant, which housed one paper making machine and needed machinery to support it.

Today there are four paper-making machines in operation at the local plant, located on a 97 acre site. Newest expansion was dedicated last year, on Oct. 20.

"For present Production Will Be Confined To Kraft But Will Later Convert To Gummed Tape Etc." read the sub-head on that November, 1947, article. As predicated then, the operation now produces a complete line of household tissues, including facial tissues, paper towels and napkins, tinted delicate pastels, multi-wall bags, gummed tape, and bags for use in the kitchen, as well as the original heavy kraft paper the plant made.

According to A. M. Lund, vice-president in charge of operation of the four Hudson plants at the time production began here, all the "bugs" were expected to be ironed out in a week or less after that initial run and 24-hour-a-day operation begun. At that time, production was expected to peak at around 170 tons of paper a day.

In those first weeks, payroll at the plant was from $8,000 to $10,000 per week, according to Lund's statement to the Daily News. Today, the plant's annual payroll is about $15 million.

Hudson's 20th Year

Free enterprise, the system by which private business operates at a profit with a minimum of federal control, is well exemplified by a Palatka firm which is marking its 20th anniversary.

The system has enabled Hudson Pulp and Paper Company to grow remarkably since its founding in 1947. In turn, this development has been a strong contributor to the growth of Palatka and Putnam County.

In the years that Hudson has been in operation here its employment has increased from less than 300 to over 2,000. The plant has been expanded extensively three times. Millions of dollars have gone into these expansion programs. Annually, its payroll is about one-third of the entire wage income from all other sources in the county. Salaries at Hudson are higher than in many other industries. As a result of Hudson's operatiton here, businesses in the area have grown and it contributes greatly to the area's economy which is year around and solid.

Such an operation should be an example to those who scoff at or do not understand free enterprise. At Hudson, raw materials (logs) are turned into paper which is sold for a profit. Workers are paid a wage agreed upon by them and the employer. The government has a minimum of controls upon the business. From the profits, the business is expanded, providing more products for sale and more and more employment for more and more workers.

Under free enterprise, Hudson has grown and so have Palatka and Putnam County. May the system continue forever. Hudson is to be congratulated upon its progress and its contribution to the community.

How To Play Russian Roulette and Win

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on many occasions I have taken the opportunity to direct the attention of automobile purchasers to the special problems that relate to the purchase of a new automobile. On other occasions I have directed attention to the need in America for a really economical American-made automobile to compete with products made abroad which have a growing popularity in America—approaching almost 10 percent of American purchases during the month of October.

I am also very much concerned with the special problems confronting the purchaser of a used automobile. Following is a very effective article, setting forth consumer advice, by Paul Hatmon, which appeared in the Veterans of Foreign Wars magazine for November 1967. The article is entitled "How To Play Russian Roulette and Win."

The article follows:

How To Play Russian Roulette and Win

(By Paul Hatmon)

UNLESS YOU KNOW WHAT YOU'RE DOING, BUYING A USED CAR CAN BE FINANCIAL SUICIDE

Buying a used car sometimes resembles Russian roulette. The car you buy may be loaded—with grief for you.

It stands to reason that if you are buying a used car your financial situation is the prime reason. If you were filthy with lucre, naturally you buy a new Jetmobile. Before you climb out of that tired transportation you're now driving, decide what your budget can stand.

If you are going to pay cash, allow a bit of leeway for an extra good buy, possibly a year newer than you planned or with more geegaws than you figured on. You will need money for license transfer, sales tax, insurance, etc. Supposing it is some down and so much a month, allow about 10 to 15 percent for financing in addition to these costs in figuring what you can afford to pay.

Naturally you're going to do a bit better with cash, maybe a year or two newer model or possibly an air conditioned model as against the standard job you figured you could afford. Try to set your sights on a certain model, year or style with the equipment you would like in a price bracket you can stand.

In any locale a good bet is to check the newspapers, see what your current desire sells for, the high and the low. Access to a friendly garageman or car dealer who can give you the original cost of the car with the accessories added is a boon.

Many banks and other lending institutions subscribe to the National Automobile Dealers Association's guides to new and used car values. These may be available to you. Several guides to used car prices also are on newsstands.

Another way to find out the worth of the car you want to buy is to borrow a friend's car similar to the one you're after, approach a few car buyers and see what they will give you for the car.

The difference between what a car buyer will offer and the average price you've established from reading the paper and the retail prices on the lots will give you an approximate idea of the profit involved on the car you want. This information can be gold in your pocket when the final pencil sharpening stage is reached immediately prior to purchase.

The net result as to whether this car hunting safari will succeed depends primarily on patience. Don't be too embarrassed to shop, and shop, then shop a bit more.

A simple sheet drawn up to compare the cars that might suit your purpose will enable you to sit down, rest your tired feet and pick the best available car at the most reasonable price. The thing that cannot be stressed too strongly: do not buy the first car you see. If you do you're playing Russian roulette without any empty chambers.

There are several preliminary steps that will help you winnow the hopeless clunkers from the probables. Look the car over from a few feet away, far enough to enable you to see how the car sits. Is it level? Are the bumpers in line with the ground? Does it seem higher in front than in the rear or vice versa? Any of these could mean suspension trouble, signs of heavy usage or trouble with the front end.

Look at the front wheels; see if they are parallel. Do they lean toward each other as if they were lonely? Do the tires show normal wear? Tires worn on one side indicate alignment problems; out of balance tires show cupped signs.

Are hood, trunk lid, door cracks evenly spaced? A bad fitting hood or trunk lid could be the clue to a poorly rebuilt wreck. All lights and glass should be free of cracks.

Failure of the car to pass any of the preceding tests should be noted on your chart. If it flunks several, forget it and on to the next car or lot.

Evidence of wavy lines reflected in the sunlight points to body damage. Never stop for a used car after dark. That slick looking blue job under the lights may be a battered old dog in the daylight.

Assuming that your choice has passed the visual test with flying colors, walk completely around the car slowly trailing your fingertips across the surface of the sides of the fenders, both front and rear. Almost any body repair will reveal its secrets to the touch, even the ones you did not see before.

Peer at the front suspension. Look for any fresh oil or grease that might indicate leaky transmissions or dribbling rear ends.

While your face is down that low give each of the tires the old eagle eye. If they're a bit ancient the tread will be low; there will be weather cracks visible. Transmitting that information into money means from $25 to $35 each for replacement or over $100 for the whole car.

Now is the time to get behind the wheel and start the car. Don't be surprised if it starts instantly. They may have been warming it up for you before you showed on the scene.

Now is the time to check the housekeeping department inside.

Look at the mats, the seats, the door sills, the foot pedals for badly worn rubber or suspiciously new, unsullied covers, which mean the same—lots of mileage.

Don't put too much faith in the speedometer mileage reading. The world is full of deception and a true deceiver may have traded in this very car or, more likely still, the gentleman in the little white house on the lot may have had it set back.

With the car running at a fast idle, check under the hood for anything fishy. A moderately dirty engine is normal, an engine spotlessly clean means the dealer has doctored it, not always to hide something, but it is possible. A good bet is to take a mechanical friend along. Two heads are always more inquisitive than one and being snoopy now may save you a bunch of shekels later.

Now's the time to drive the car. It it a sure bet that any unusual noises, clattering, wheezing, blue smoke in any but minute quantities, difficulty in handling means a short drive right back to the lot.

Have your friend stand and watch the car coming toward him and away from him, if it makes tracks like a hound dog or a beach crab it has been whanged.

Pick out a dandy hill, slow down to almost a stop, then try to pull the hill in high. If it is an automatic, does it shift quickly and easily?

On the way back down again make a few panic stops. Brake fade will quickly show. Another brake test is to hold the wheel loosely in both hands to see if the car will stop in a straight line without pulling to one side. If you have gotten this far with a car, you are beginning to know most of its innermost secrets and the preliminaries are over.

When the car has been returned to the lot, check under the hood again. If the radiator is in bad condition, she should boil over nicely by now or any fresh oil on a clean engine means a probable expensive leak. While you're under the hood, check the date on the battery. That is an expensive item that frequently goes to pot on a dealer's lot.

Holding the salesman at bay with one hand, it is on to the next lot or lots. Chances of selling that particular car you just looked at in the next couple of hours are slim. After you have checked the cars available or the ones you have time for, you are ready for the final selection.

No doubt by this time the choice has been narrowed down to three or four cars, maybe just one. Now is the time to spend a few bucks having your favorite mechanic wring it out, give it a compression check, a tilt of his educated ear, the benefit of his experience. Most neighborhood mechanics will be kind to you on charges. After all you are a potential customer and they don't care about working on a dog any more than you care to own one.

Putting the potential family car on a lift and looking at it from the bottom is another excellent way to eliminate the crates from the chariots. Some dealers who camouflage the "baddies" fail to take into consideration that the underside of a vehicle is very revealing. Fresh undercoating nearly always means they have something to cover they didn't wish you to see.

If the mechanic gives it a clean bill of health, coupled with your own findings, then the car is for you.

Depending on the type of car you are looking for, the franchised dealer generally is the best bet on where to find a good one. He wholesales the decrepit ones, and they generally wind up in the hands of the small hand-to-mouth used car dealer, a fellow that even the loan companies avoid.

To sum up, find your price class and stay there. Take your time, seek a bit of professional help and don't be afraid to dicker down to the last nickel. After all it is your nickel you're spending.

Try to buy in the winter or when the new cars are out and the trade-ins are flowing in. Prices are better then.

After all this preparation, if you buy a lemon—it is either your fault or you were born under an unlucky star.

Mr. Reston, the President, and the Public Broadcasting Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure the other day to attend the White House ceremony at which President Johnson signed into law the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

In his remarks, the President anticipated a time when we will use all of the resources of communications—radio, television, computers, and satellites—to further the cause of education around the world. He suggested the creation of an electronic "network of knowledge."

As James Reston noted in a column published last week in the New York Times, this is something the President cares about, something he has started that will continue long after many other issues are forgotten.

I include Mr. Reston's perceptive column at this point in the RECORD as an extension of my own remarks:

WASHINGTON: PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND EDUCATION

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, November 7.—President Johnson is now working on what he calls an electronic "network of knowledge" for the United States, and on a world university that will store and eventually transmit information by satellite over large areas of the world's surface.

"Think of the lives it could change," he remarked in the East Room of the White House today. "The student in a small college could tap the research resources of a great university. The country doctor could get help from a distant laboratory or teaching hospital. . . . A famous teacher could reach into a far-off classroom so that no child need be neglected. . . . and such a system could involve other nations, too, in a partnership to share knowledge and enrich mankind."

PARADOX AND CONSOLATION

This is Lyndon Johnson's consolation in his running battle with the intellectuals. And also the greatest paradox of his Administration. For in the field of education he is a practical dreamer, and it may very well be in the end that his greatest achievements will be recorded precisely in the field of education, where he has been most severely criticized.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is probably the most significant accomplishment of his Administration. For in this he found the political formula that broke through the church-state barrier and enabled the Federal Government not only to help neglected children in poverty areas, but to provide supplementary services to poor schools, regardless of religious affiliation.

UNPRECEDENTED AID

Despite the war in Vietnam, the extent of Federal aid to American education in the last three years has been unprecedented. The Federal commitment for education and training has risen from $4.7 billion in 1964 to $12.3 billion this year. And in the last three years Congress has passed more laws and committed more funds to education and health than in all the previous history of the Federal Government.

The President's latest achievement in this field is the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. This was what he signed in the East Room of the White House today, and if he had not taken it in hand personally it is doubtful that this legislation would ever have got through the Congress.

The objective of the legislation was clear enough. It was to create a noncommercial television network that would be free of the tyranny of the advertiser, the mass audience and political control. But it came up during an economy wave in the Congress and Mr. Johnson insisted that the main thing was to get Congressional authorization first and leave the question of financing it to some later and more propitious time.

Here again, as in the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, his knowledge of the Congress paid off. The project was authorized by both houses without any dispute over money, and the prospect is that, once a distinguished and responsible board is appointed, the new Corporation for Public Broadcasting will get the necessary funds through a supplemental appropriation bill.

Accordingly, his mind is now going forward to these other projects for exploiting modern scientific developments for educational purposes.

"I believe the time has come," he said, "to stake another claim in the name of all the people; a claim upon the combined resources of communications. The time has come to enlist the computer and the satellite, as well as television, and radio, in the cause of education. . . . A wild and visionary idea? Not at all. Yesterday's strangest dreams are today's headlines, and change is getting swifter. I have already called upon my advisers to explore the possibility of a network for knowledge and to draw up a blueprint for achieving it."

THE OTHER JOHNSON

There is something very quiet and moving about the President when he talks in this way. All the yearning of the old frontier comes out in him. He wants the small and lonely colleges to have the best teaching available. He sees education as the ultimate hope of race and poverty, and he looks to modern communications and Federal aid as the means of achieving equality of opportunity.

This is something he really cares about and he has already started something in the schools and in television that will go on long after his other controversies with the intellectuals are forgotten.

U.N. Frantic With Hate Toward Portugal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now the infamous U.N.—who really represents no one since it does not contain the first elected official—has turned its hate guns on little Portugal.

Poor little Portugal, a devoutly religious country that in its centuries of existence has never caused a war, is now branded as a threat to world peace by a bunch of hotheaded fronts called emerging nations that would go bankrupt if the United States of America would cut off foreign aid.

And give credit where credit is due—our beloved United States and even the British joined in opposing the attack by these irresponsible puppets of the Reds. For one time our leaders, even though with the minority, are right.

The purported condemnation is over Portugal's colonialism. At least there has been no report of people eating people in Portugal or their colonies. And if that is what it takes for individual safety, I would suppose colonialism may soon be returned by popular vote.

I ask that the Associated Press report of November 11 follow my remarks:

PORTUGAL IS CONDEMNED IN U.N. RESOLUTION

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The General Assembly's 122-nation Trusteeship Committee approved Friday a resolution condemning Portugal's refusal to free its African territories and calling on the world to halt military and economic aid to Portugal.

The vote on the measure sponsored by 52 nations was 80 for, 8 against and 15 abstentions.

Supporters were mainly African, Asian, Latin American and Soviet bloc nations. Abstainers included Canada and several countries of Western Europe.

The United States, Britain, Australia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain and South Africa joined Portugal in voting against the resolution. Nineteen members were absent.

Most of the abstainers and some opponents of the resolution explained that they too disapproved of Portugal's colonial policies but had reservations about the wording of several sections.

The resolution is sure of final adoption in the assembly because the same countries sit there. The document supports "the inalienable right" of inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea "to achieve freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve this right." The resolution specifically notes that Portugal receives aid as a member of the North Atlantic alliance—NATO.

It condemns Portugal's refusal to comply with U.N. resolutions against colonialism, military efforts to put down nationalist rebellions in the territories and alleged violations of "the economic and political rights of the indigenous population."

Aid to Dependent Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in the hassle over the ADC provisions of the social security bill, I wish to draw your attention to an article appearing in the Sunday, October 29, issue of the New York Times, regarding the rising rate of children drawing aid to dependent children. Take a look at who is getting it:

DESERTION ON RISE IN BALTIMORE AREA

BALTIMORE, October 28.—Businessmen with $15,000 incomes who desert their families are adding to the public welfare rolls in suburban Baltimore County.

John T. Farrell, chairman of the county welfare board, said that a large number of deserted wives with children have applied for funds under the Aid to Families of Dependent Children program. He called the new factor one of the chief reasons for a 28.6 per cent rise last year in welfare cases in the county, one of the fastest growing subdivisions in the United States.

Most of the victims, he said were left by business executives making about $15,000 a year and making mortgage payments of $250 a month. "Keeping up with the Joneses is one of the chief reasons these men are dropping out of suburban life," Mr. Parrell told the welfare board's annual meeting.

The Kee Report: Veterans Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is Veterans Day.

The report follows:

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

During the course of each year, there are just seven days designated by the President and the Congress as legal holidays in the United States. The last one so designated is Veterans' Day on November 11.

Congress, of course, can declare a holiday only for the District of Columbia and Federal employees. But the states have responded with enthusiasm so that Veterans' Day is now observed in every state in the Union.

On this day, we pay our respects and devotion to the men and women who have worn the military uniform of the United States in time of war. On this occasion, we recall that the courage and sacrifice of brave men won freedom for America nearly 200 years ago, and that these same virtues of courage and sacrifice have kept it free ever since.

On this day, we remember that there are living veterans in every community in the Nation who deserve our gratitude. We recall our debt to the 100,000 sick and disabled veterans in the nation's hospitals. And, above all, we pay our deep devotion to the one million American war veterans who died for their country in time of war. It is our sacred duty to make sure that these heroic dead are never forgototen.

Veterans' Day has a special significance for West Virginia. The latest figures compiled by the Veterans Administration disclose that our State has nearly a quarter of a million veterans, a splendid showing in relation to our State's total population. Included in this number are 123,000 veterans of World War II and 20,000 veterans of World War I.

There are three hospitals in West Virginia operated by the Veterans Administration and two other service centers. The Veterans Administration expended more than 93 million dollars in the State during the last fiscal year. This sum included compensation and pension payments, funds expended on education and loans, plus administrative expenses.

I mention these activities of the Veterans Administration on our State for a special reason. After World War I, thousands of sick and disabled veterans returned from Europe only to find that provision for their peacetime care and treatment was either inadequate or totally non-existent. This was especially true for those suffering from shock or other psychic disturbances. There were no veterans hospitals and the military hospitals were filled to overflowing. The truth is no one had anticipated the need. Then it was that the organizations of veterans aroused the conscience of the American people. As a result, I believe there is no country in the world today where the sick and needy veteran is better cared for than he is here in the United States.

This is only one of the peacetime services performed by our organizations of veterans. Another one is to insist upon the maintenance of a strong defense force for the United States. There is a natural tendency to let down after every war. After two World Wars, many people hoped that mankind at last had learned the folly of war and that a long period of peace might set in. But Communist aggression after World War II upset that dream almost immediately.

The military power of the United States is the only force strong enough to prevent a Communist take-over of the whole world, and this strength results in large part from the timely warning given by our war veterans.

Thank you for listening.

Isolationist Again?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker one of the most thoughtful and sensible of all those who write on political affairs is Kenneth Crawford of Newsweek. His latest column which appeared in the November 20 issue of the magazine is below. It is well worth the reading of all those interested in some of the facts of the U.S. position in the world.

The column follows:

ISOLATIONIST AGAIN?

(By Kenneth Crawford)

If self-criticism and reproach are signs of moral health, then we must be the healthiest of nations. What we Americans thought and did yesterday we almost always regret, even repent, today. Our recent history as a world power is a record of revulsion against past mistakes, or what we come to consider mistakes. But in our determination not to repeat yesterday's mistake, we sometimes revert to the day before yesterday's mistake, which we have now had time to forget.

Anyone old enough to remember the Wilson Administration can see the pattern by looking over his shoulder. We took our initial plunge into global affairs to make the world safe for democracy in a war to end wars. That war won, we decided that we had been fools to get into it at all—that it accomplished nothing beyond the enrichment of munitions makers and sutlers. So we became fiercely neutral and isolationist. In this mood we were pleased to consider early Hitlerism none of our business.

We had about decided that this isolationism was senseless and impossible when Pearl Harbor resolved any lingering doubt about it. That war also won, our Soviet ally started behaving like an enemy. The resulting cold war was so preoccupying that we didn't have time to regret the second world war and to revert to isolationism, as we had after the previous war. Our concern with the rest of the world persisted longer than might have been expected, leading us into two Asian wars, first in Korea, then in Vietnam. We are only now feeling the full force of delayed reaction to the violent consequences of concern.

WEARY OF WAR

Revulsion against war—any war for any cause—has set in. The heroics of the second world war, which defeated the man who had eliminated 6 million Jews and overrun Europe, are now burlesqued even in movies. The Korean War is all but forgotten, conveniently by those who approved it at the time but now like to think they have always considered U.S. involvement in any war on the Asian mainland the ultimate folly. The war in Vietnam can't be forgotten. It is on television every day. It bears blame for everything unpleasant, from race riots to high tax rates.

In the vanguard of the movement back to isolationism via pacifism are the liberal intellectuals, who think of themselves as humanitarians; the youth, which goes in for simplistic idealism, and the Negro militants, to whom the war is just another device by which the evil white power structure avoids true racial equalization. Public opinion polls show how deeply these attitudes have penetrated the populace. But certain tests, like San Francisco's almost 2-to-1 vote against withdrawal from Vietnam, also suggest that a floor of resistance still exists. People want to get out of Vietnam but not by default.

DECLINE OF THE UNITED STATES

A lot of worrying is now going on in public about the effect of this latest war on the American future. Sen. William Fulbright thinks the war has brutalized the country and that it will behave brutishly. Edwin Reischauer of Harvard, ex-Ambassador to Japan, argues in his latest book for seeing it through in Vietnam, even though he thinks our intervention a mistake, because the consequence of defeat would be total U.S. detachment from Asia. Richard Rovere, in the Oct. 28 issue of The New Yorker, foresees a pacifistic America renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and leaving the field to less fastidious antagonists. He proposes withdrawal from Vietnam on the theory that this will happen, win, lose or draw there.

If these forebodings are justified, then the U.S. will soon be finished as a world power, unwilling to help less fortunate nations and incapable of protecting its own world interests. Peaceful diplomacy, in the pinches, is only as effective as the potential force backing it up. Military might is to diplomacy what the strike is to organized labor. It means nothing if everybody is sure it will never be used. Island bases would have no influence on the course of events in mainland Asia if they were just military parade grounds.

War is all it is called: cruel, wasteful, barbarous. Yet if we are resolved to quit this one and never fight another, we shall surrender the world to armed predators with fewer scruples. This is not what the intellectual bellwethers want, but this is where their logic leads. This time, possibly, hopefully, the American people won't repeat the mistake of following them over the isolationist cliff.

Ford Foundation Funds OEO Lobby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as per usual the tax-free Ford Foundation is at its old tricks of pressuring elected Representatives to raise the taxes of the working American.

The Ford Foundation was exposed this time lobbying to prevent passage of an amendment to shift control of a section of OEO to locally elected officials.

Perhaps this big multibillion-dollar, tax-free foundation, that scoops its money from the sweat of working people, is just plain afraid the control of poverty funds might get into the control of the representatives of the people who pay taxes. Elected officials are much harder to manipulate by the gillionaires than appointed stooges.

Imagine Ford Foundation giving $125,000 a year to a front called National Association for Community Development—a so-called public relations outfit—to raise the peoples' taxes by promoting poverty funds for the educated and rich. Quite a gimmick, eh?

Enough to make Henry Ford turn over in his grave. Why raise taxes when tax-free foundations like this pay none. The equitable solution: Tax the foundations to fund the poverty program.

I insert the Evening Star account of November 14:

Mrs. Green Asks IRS Probe on Tax-Free Poverty Group

(By Shirley Elder)

The Internal Revenue Service will be asked to investigate alleged lobbying by the tax-exempt National Association for Community Development, a non-profit group of anti-poverty workers and community action agencies.

Rep. Edith Green, D-Ore., said she is concerned that NACD's activities may violate federal tax laws. She said she will ask IRS to investigate.

Mrs. Green is author of one of the House committee amendments most distressing to NACD. It provides for shifting community action control to locally elected officials.

The association make no secret of its concern over the fate of antipoverty legislation now being debated by the House.

"In some respects, the future of real community action is at stake," NACD president David G. Hill said in an Oct. 28 memo. "It is even conceivable that in a fit of anger the House could defeat any bill to continue the war on poverty."

Hill urged antipoverty boards to stress the "damage already done" when discussing the future of the legislation with congressmen.

"Our NACD staff has followed this legislative session very closely," the Hill memo said. "Our work with the Senate committees paid off and we have an excellent Senate bill. It was only by keeping in close touch with the House committee action that compromises were worked out which kept an even worse bill from emerging from the committee. . . .

"Through the leadership of NACD a broad cross-section of strong national organizations are marshalling their forces to improve this measure and save the programs."

NACD is financed by a Ford Foundation grant and by membership dues. Approximately 20 agencies, each paying from $50 to $250 according to size, are members. There are some 800 individual members who pay $5 to $20, according to their salaries.

The Office of Economic Opportunity reimburses local community action agencies for dues paid to NACD.

This partial federal financing also raises a possibility of conflict with the federal criminal law which says that no money appropriated by Congress shall be used "directly or indirectly" to influence a member of Congress without "express authorization by Congress."

Richard Winter, NACD staff director, denied that any direct lobbying is done by association personnel. He said they talked with congressional staff members, not senators and congressmen personally. Letters and visits to congressmen, stimulated by NADC, he said, are acts of individuals, not of the agency.

CALLED PRIVATE GROUP

Winter added that open agitation such as mass meetings and the march on Washington this week by Baltimore antipoverty workers, have been organized by an "Ad Hoc committee to Save the War on Poverty." Winter also is a member of that committee.

Winter described NACD as a private, professional organization of persons interested in community affairs. Many also are involved in poverty programs and are members of community action agencies, he said.

The Ford grant of $125,000 each year for two years is aimed at providing training and informational seminars for community action workers, Winter said.

Dollars and Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently the Chicago Tribune wrote capably on the present state of inflation and outlined the causes for this drain of economic power from our citizens.

The New York Daily News, in an editorial carried in its November 13 edition, comments on these series of articles and condenses the lessons to be learned from history.

If we are to learn from these lessons this Government must proceed immediately—now—to retrench, drastically curtail expenditures and make substantial and continuing reductions on domestic Federal spending programs. Waste and extravagance need badly to be eliminated. The fiscal stability of this Nation and its people must be maintained.

The Daily News pleads editorially for our citizens to call on Congress for such frugality. My correspondence indicates that the people are doing this and it is my hope that in ever-increasing numbers others will join in this fight against inflation.

The editorial, entitled "Dollars and Disaster," follows:

Dollars and Disaster

Our esteemed colleague, the Chicago Tribune, recently filled its spacious editorial column for seven days in succession with a series of masterly editorials on inflation.

The pieces were printed under the title "How Sound Is Your Dollar?" They discussed the current creeping inflation in the United States from every angle, and the danger that it may leap from a creep to a gallop before long.

We borrow some of the Tribune's points for use in this space today. There are few if any things more important to the American people just now than maintenance of a reasonably sound and solid dollar.

There are two kinds of inflation: (1) demand-pull inflation, when goods are scarce and money over-plentiful; and (2) cost-push inflation, when goods are plentiful, but labor unions keep driving wages higher and higher and corporations pass these ballooning production costs along to consumers.

We are suffering from cost-push inflation now, and have been for some years.

In 27 years—since January, 1940—the dollar has sagged from 100c to 41.5c in buying power. It is sagging faster now than in most of those 27 years—meaning inflation is speeding up already.

Ever since President Franklin D. Roosevelt's time, the U.S. government has run up yearly deficits far oftener than it has balanced its budgets: This deficit financing is dangerous, contributes to inflation, and can generate an inflationary whirlwind if it continues long enough.

The man responsible for it is long dead, but his soul goes marching on—to cadge a line from an old Civil War song.

He was John Maynard Keynes, an Englishman and an alleged economist whose theories are still popular with many politicians.

Lord Keynes' basic theory was that governments can and should spend themselves rich and their people prosperous; that deficit financing is a governmental virtue oftener than not.

Private citizens can't live indefinitely beyond their incomes, but Keynes believed governments could, by some magic which ordinary minds cannot grasp.

The United States is now approaching the logical results of living for decades beyond its income so far as its government is concerned.

The President himself fears a deficit of up to $29 billion in fiscal 1968 (ends next June 30). Some European bankers think the deficit may hit $35–40 billion.

The $29 billion gap between government intake and outgo would be bad enough; a $35-40 billion deficit could bring financial disaster.

PERILOUS DEFICITS

It would destroy much of the world's confidence in the dollar, lead to increasing foreign demands on our shrinking gold reserve, and drive interest rates on the home-front to business-paralyzing heights.

How about the 10% surcharge which the President keeps begging Congress to clap on most income taxes? Wouldn't this increased revenue help stave off inflation?

It would—if—if the federal government would radically cut down its spending on foreign aid, domestic giveaways and handouts, and Great Society projects of one kind and another.

If the added revenue is to be used only to help finance ever-bigger government spending, we can expect inflation to speed up and become not only cost-push inflation but demand-pull inflation as well.

What can individual citizens do to head off a disastrous inflation?

COMMUNICATING WITH CONGRESS

Individual citizens have elected senators and representatives in Congress. Those persons pay close attention to their mail—believe it or not.

Hence, citizens can best hope to insure against inflationary calamities by flooding Congress with letters, telegrams, telephone calls, demanding drastic cuts in federal nonmilitary spending—prompt and lasting cuts.

Better get busy. This can be a matter virtually of financial life or death for us all.

Continuation of Antipoverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished comptroller of the city of New York, the Honorable Mario A. Procaccino, has added his voice to the many among our great cities' leaders who are strongly urging the continuation of the President's antipoverty program without crippling amendments.

I insert herewith a copy of a letter dated November 10, 1967, addressed to "the Leaders of the House of Representatives":

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
November 10, 1967.

I sincerely believe that in the main, and if properly administered, the Anti-Poverty Program is a good one. The funds are desperately needed to improve ghetto areas and improve the morale and confidence of a people trying to lift themselves out of the desolation and despair in which centuries of neglect have left them.

The program has done infinite good, and has helped establish a social conscience of which Americans have every right to be proud.

A reduction of these funds now would hurt too many people too quickly and, instead of helping the present economy, would have the opposite effect. The withdrawal of these funds by the Federal Government is false economy. It would shift the burden to other areas, such as education, job training, social services and other forms of assistance, and would cost the Government many more millions of dollars.

Accordingly, I respectfully urge that action be taken in this matter without delay, and that the necessary appropriations be made to save this program.

Very truly yours,

MARIO A. PROCACCINO,
Comptroller.

VISTA: The Doorway to the Urban Battlefield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, when we speak of youth these days the natural thought that comes to us is of an unmanaged, rowdy, and unkempt group of individuals. But even to these ideas, there are exceptions.

These exceptions are the literally thousands of young men and young women who are devoting their time and energies toward the betterment of mankind. They serve in overseas posts as Peace Corps volunteers, or in the United States as Volunteers in Service to America.

These young men and women volunteers deserve our plaudits for the job that they are doing in their own sphere of action, giving up their normal home life and the possibilities of a more lucrative position in the employment field.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the stories of two New Jersey residents who are presently serving with the VISTA units. Both of them are residents of my congressional district and I wish to commend them for their devotion to their work in the poverty stricken areas of our Nation.

I realize that my colleagues are proud of their constituents who are performing these tasks, just as I am proud of Edward Majewski, of Paterson, and Sharon Hamm, of Hackensack.

Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I would like to include a story written by Susan Dooley and Eileen Willanski on these volunteers and which was published in the Record magazine section of the October 21, 1967, edition.

Mr. Speaker, the story also contains a report on the activities of Mary Ann Viliganti of Pearl River, N.Y. Miss Vigilanti is a constituent of my dear friend, Congressman JOHN G. DOW, and I feel that it would be unfair to the authors of this piece on VISTA volunteers to omit a portion of their work.

The story follows:

BECOME A VOLUNTEER AND SEE THE WORLD: IT MAY LOOK A LITTLE DIFFERENT WHEN YOU'RE THROUGH

Long hours, hard work, low pay. Dirt and rats, crowded rooms . . . headaches, frustration:

A pay check of $50 a month.

A chance to devote a year of your life to the fight against poverty.

That is what Volunteers in Service to America, the volunteer corps of the Office of Economic Opportunity, offers to any one who is interested.

So far about 5,000 Americans have joined this phase of the War on Poverty in which the individual is pitted directly and personally against the despair and misery of poverty.

This Domestic Peace Corps, as it has been called, had a rough time getting through Congress until it was incorporated as part of President Johnson's antipoverty program in 1964. Congress authorized the program in August 1964, but it didn't really get moving until July 1965, when 1,000 volunteers went into the field.

The volunteers, who are called Vistas, have come from large cities and small towns, from the campus and the business community. The youngest is 18, the oldest 85. Some have advanced degrees and some never earned high school diplomas.

These volunteers have more than a nodding acquaintance with poverty. They live under the same conditions as those they are trying to help. Their $50-a-month pay is banked for them until their year of service is up. During that year Vistas are given a minimum living allowance for the area to which they are assigned. Free medical and dental care is also provided.

They get first-hand knowledge of poverty and the many faces it assumes. Their efforts to eradicate it take just as many forms.

On the Navajo Indian reservation in Arizona at a place called Fort Defiance, Dr. Jane Skillen launched a major tuberculosis program that surveyed and skin-tested more than 6,000 Indian children.

Herb Alvarez, a lifelong resident of New York's lower West Side, pitted his special knowledge of poverty against the problems of his community. He and five other volunteers launched a campaign to rehabilitate an entire block of slums. The rental agent refused to make repairs because rents were too low to be profitable and the buildings were soon to be razed.

The landlord turned out to be the United States Post Office, which had bought the property as the site for a garage and then turned it over to a rental agent for management.

Alvarez organized a block campaign. At his urging a resident got his neighbors together and persuaded them to sign complaints. Letters were sent to the agent, the Mayor, Congressmen and Senators, and the Post Office.

As a final step they threw a picket line around the Post Office building with signs that charged: "Uncle Sam is a Slum Lord".

That same day the Post Office canceled its contract with the rental agent, hired another firm, and agreed to make the needed repairs.

In the South, in an Atlanta slum sardonically dubbed "Blue Heaven", Eric Metzner, a graduate of the University of Arizona, turned his apartment into a combination library, employment center, information exchange, and community gathering spot. He moved into his apartment in midsummer and recalls:

"The first night I opened my door, put my T.V. set on the table, turned it on, and the next thing I knew the place was wall-to-wall kids."

The kids were still coming months later, along with their older brothers and sisters and their parents. The library now has more than 3,000 books and the children serve as librarians.

There are no special requirements to join Vista, but volunteers must be at least 18 and have no dependents under 18. Married applicants are welcome, if they apply together and if both qualify.

After a year of service 32 percent join for another year, 37 percent find full-time posts in other phases of the War on Poverty or other social service professions designed to help the poor, 24.2 percent return to college or graduate school, and the remaining 6.3 percent choose other pursuits.

Who volunteers?

Army veteran and research chemist Edward Majewski of Paterson, for one.

"I don't know what the Army did to him," says his mother, Mrs. Xavier Majewski, "but he signed up before his discharge. He came home in February 1966 and in March he was with Vista."

Ed started out working with Negroes in the South Side of Chicago and now is working with Southern whites on the North Side.

"My Eddie doesn't talk much about his work," his mother said. "But he signed up for a second year, so there must be something in it.

"When he came home last Christmas, I had a lot of trinkets in the house that I had no use for. Eddie said, 'Oh mother, may I have them? These people have so little. You have no idea how poor these people are.'

"He likes it much better than being a chemist. When he leaves Vista next March, he plans to change his field. He wants to continue working with people. He's already written to the United Nations about working with Unicef, but he hasn't heard from them yet."

Mary Ann Vigilanti of Pearl River is another.

"I think what she's doing is marvelous," says her mother, Mrs. Anthony Vigilanti.

"Of course, as a mother, I worry a little, with what goes on these days. She's only 19 and it's her first time away from home. But as for her aspirations and inclinations, I think it's wonderful."

Sharon Hamm of Hackensack is another. Her story is told along with Ed Majewski's and Mary Ann Vigilanti's.

WHY AM I HERE? SOMEONE HAS TO BE

The young man zipped his quilted parka before leaving the Wilson Avenue storefront that houses Chicago's Uptown Center. Though it was late spring there was a chill in the air and there were few people on Wilson Avenue, Chicago's port of entry for Southern whites.

At 25, Ed Majewski makes the transient, low-income Uptown area his home. He is a Vista (Volunteer In Service To America) assigned to the Hull house Association, a social agency with numerous neighborhood affiliates.

He explained why he chose to live in slum housing on a minimum income:

"When I was in school I was really patriotic, a right-wing person. I read 'The Ugly American' and I burned inside. I thought, 'How can we have a concept of America that's like that?'.

"I was grounded in basic ideas of what America was. I found out that they weren't so," he said.

Because of the difference between what he felt America should be and what he felt it was, Ed joined V.I.S.T.A.

As he left Wilson Avenue, he cut through an alley where gutted cars were piled precariously on top of one another, where a leveled building provided a space for children to play, a space covered with piles of bricks and broken glass.

"Lovely playground isn't it? Great open space for the kids. So there's a little glass, so what?"

He broke off the sarcastic flow of words as a woman approached, her blonde hair skewered back so tightly that her face looked pasted to the bones. She seemed worried and Ed stepped aside to talk to her.

The woman is one of the people Ed is trying to help. She has lost three of her six children to foster homes because she is unable to care for them. Ed spoke to her for awhile before continuing on down the alley.

"I used to want a Triumph," he said, watching three small boys take an imaginary trip in one of the rotting cars. "Sometimes I still do. One of the nice middle-class things you learn to want. But whenever I think of leaving. I walk through this alley. It reminds me why I'm here."

Ed, who recently signed up for a second year as a volunteer is one of 11 Vistas working in the Uptown area. They are frequently frustrated by the fact that they are working with people who are as transient as they are poor. Wilson Avenue, Chicago, is a code word that floats through the Appalachian Mountains, luring Southern whites who want to make it in the big city. For most it is a dead end, offering only day labor, higher rents, and conditions that are different but not better. Many settle into a pattern of ricocheting from mountains to city and back.

Said Majewski:

"The families always refer to the south as 'back home'. There's a family next door to me that's been up here for 8 years and they still say that their home is Virginia."

Of the five families that Ed works most closely with, only one has a father. To the children, Ed is a male image. To the mothers, he is someone who will listen to problems and interpret the maze of a large city's welfare structure.

"The majority of the families I work with have been here a year, but I've had to get emergency welfare funds for two," he said.

"I get them medical help, too. Whenever I see a child squinting, I'll say, 'Hey, where are your glasses?' If they don't have glasses I'll tell the mother how to get them.

"Right now I'm trying to help a family of five relocate, trying to find them an apartment. Another mother that I work with is trying, to get her little girl into a school for the retarded."

In the latter instance, Ed is guiding the mother to agencies that can help her. "I think the mother is as emotionally disturbed as the child," he said. "She was telling us that the girl said, 'I want my rights. I want a good apartment. I hate my father.' But that isn't really the little girl talking. It's what the mother feels."

Ed does his case work in the mornings. In the afternoon he runs a neighborhood Outpost in a basement on Clifton Street. The Outposts, usually in storefronts or basements, provide convenient neighborhood recreation centers for area youngsters.

The large game room in the Clifton Street Outpost is furnished with tables, chairs, games, and toys picked up at rummage sales. When school lets out for the day, the neighborhood children overrun the room, painting, playing ping pong, meeting friends.

"Ordinarily, we have 20 to 25 kids in the Outpost group," he said. "But this varies because of the transient nature of the neighborhood. Two weeks ago we lost four children when their families moved. A month ago another family with seven children left."

Ed also works with a group of boys, ranging in age from 5 to 12 years old. He takes them on trips out of the neighborhood, plays ball with them, chaperones dances for the older ones.

"The kids really dig it when some one older participates in their activities.

"Sometimes you feel overwhelmed and think, 'What am I doing here?' But some one has to be here."

As he left the alley he said, reminding himself, "We live in a world of instant change and we wonder why this situation doesn't change as quickly. You have to get rid of this feeling—this feeling of instancy."

THERE WON'T BE ANY GREAT CHANGE

From a distance the scene looked like a Norman Rockwell painting—a teen-age girl, surrounded by younger girls with fishing poles, as they walked toward a lake.

But the lake was in Washington Park on Chicago's South Side and the girls were residents of the sprawling Negro ghetto of Woodlawn. The teen-ager with them was Sharon Hamm, a 19-year-old Vista assigned to the Parkway Center, an affiliate of Chicago's Hull House Association.

The girls were members of a recreation club that Sharon runs for youngsters in the area. Fishing is one outlet for them, a way of finding the country in the middle of the city. Another is a trip to the swimming pool at the Jane Addams Center on the North Side. Field trips to museums provide another chance for Sharon to show the girls, who are between 10 and 12 years old, that there is more to life than the ghetto with its invisible boundaries.

"When there is no activity planned, I just let them run wild in the gym," she said. "This is what they need. Most of the time they're told to shut up and sit down."

Sharon shares an apartment down the street from the Parkway Center with another Vista. Together the girls have covered the aging plaster with posters of favorite heroes and immense Vista signs. The apartment, with its sagging furniture and scuffed floor, is part of being a volunteer, part of living on a minimum income in the area where you're assigned.

Three days a week Sharon works with Learn, a Head Start project which holds classes in the center. She pours out juice, matches children with coats, encourages a child who holds up a drawing and, as she put it:

"I give them affection. They need to be held. They're so intelligent and active."

She is also working with older people in the area and recently helped stage a senior citizen's fashion show, featuring clothes from the late 1800s to the present day. Sharon, representing the 1960s, wore a miniskirt.

"The older people," she said, "really liked it."

In addition to her regular work with young girls, she holds a cooking class each Friday.

"Last week we made a complete dinner," she said. "Meat loaf. It was fabulous and they couldn't have blamed me if it hadn't been because they did it themselves."

The girls bring the ingredients, Sharon writes the recipe on the blackboard, and each girl prepares a part of the meal. The girls are now making cookbooks, using the recipes copied from the blackboard.

Having the girls bring the ingredients can cause problems.

"One week," said Sharon, "we were going to make a great big salad. Only three girls showed up. We had a head of lettuce, a grapefruit, an apple, and a jar of mayonnaise. We improvised and it was pretty good."

Sharon also does case work in the area. She talked of a 14-year-old girl whom she worked with for 4 months. The girl, whose mother was an alcoholic, ran away from home. They found her after 6 weeks, beaten up in an alley.

When the girl was released from the hospital, she was sent to a juvenile home, then released in the custody of her mother. Sharon worked with the girl, but even so, she ran away again.

Sharon was depressed about the girl. She wondered where she was, what would happen to her. She felt that what she'd had to offer had been too little and had come too late for this particular youngster.

Jim Wolfe, VISTA coordinator for the Hull House Association, tried to console her.

"You're not God," he reminded her "There are so many factors against you. If you can be a good guy, if you can give some one some kind of exposure to a good guy, then you're lucky. There aren't going to be any great changes."

That's a hard answer to accept at 19, but unless you accept it you have to leave. Sharon Hamm is still there.

YOU MUST KILL THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM

It was the view from her office window that made a 19-year-old secretary leave her comfortable Pearl River home and join VISTA.

"The bank was in a pretty run-down section of New York," said Mary Ann Vigilanti. "I couldn't help noticing the difference between my plush office and the shabby street. It made me sensitive to the poor people walking by my window. I knew I wanted to be outside, helping them."

Last February, after completing 6 weeks' training at the University of Oregon, Mary Ann was assigned to work with poor Spanish-American families in La Junta, Colorado, under the Tri-County War on Poverty program. She lives and works in the town of Rocky Ford in Otero County.

"When I first arrived," said Mary Ann, "I wondered why they needed a Vista. I had only seen the south side of town."

The community of Rocky Ford is divided in half by a highway running east to west. The southern section formed by this partition is predominantly Anglo-American, middle-class, and prosperous.

And not all of northern Rocky Ford is poor. There are still some white families with a steady income living there, several older residents with generous retirement checks, and a few families employed at the Ordnance Depot.

However, a field survey taken by the Tri-County program revealed that well over 50 percent of the residents in the target area live in poverty conditions. Most of these poor are Spanish-Americans.

The north side does not suffer from the conditions usually associated with poverty. The city provides water and sewage facilities, and most urban homes, at least, have running water. Every city block has street lights.

But there is poverty nevertheless. Some of it is obvious: rundown adobe houses with dirty clay floors and cockroaches. Most of it is quiet poverty: frame houses in poor repair, kept clean but unpainted. There are few paved streets, curbs, or gutters.

Mary Ann soon discovered plenty of work for a Vista.

"My job as one of the first volunteers in Otero County was to break ground for the projects and establish a working relationship with the people here," she said. "I thought I'd make friends easily. I found a lot of caution toward me because I was an Anglo."

Although the Spanish-Americans care very much what happens to their children, and family ties are strong, the juvenile delinquency rate in Rocky Ford is high.

This is partly due to the fact that many of the parents find it difficult to function in an English-speaking community. Others cannot spare the time away from too-large families. The one city-provided recreation program is pitifully weak. Shortage of facilities and inadequate adult supervision force the youngsters onto the street with too much spare time and nothing to do.

One of Mary Ann's first efforts was to help organize a teen center. Under her leadership, the teens raised money for a building through four very successful dances and a raffle. They even persuaded a local disc jockey to provide music for a dance in the park. Now, with the money problem solved, the next step is to find a place to house the center.

"The center would keep the kids together and off the streets," said Mary Ann. "We've gotten them organized and excited, and now we've got to spark the adults. So far, no one is willing to give us a lease."

Another early project was to help start a tutoring service for the younger children. The Catholic parish donated classroom space, and Mary Ann recruited volunteer instructors from among the city's residents. The program had good results and was resumed again when school started in September.

Currently, Mary Ann is working with a Head Start program for migrant children between the ages of 6 and 12. The program, which will continue through this month, includes instruction in the alphabet, arithmetic, reading, and spelling. There is also a supervised recreation program.

Mary Ann became known to the parents through her VISTA-sponsored activities for their children. Now, she tries to encourage parent participation through Motivation Against Poverty, the local neighborhood council. She finds topics for interested parents to discuss. One such topic was the possibility of free school lunches for children whose parents are on welfare. To date, these children have been allowed to simply go hungry.

When asked what she's learned from her experience, Mary Ann gets very serious.

"I was familiar with poverty before," she says. "I saw poverty, but I wasn't really exposed to it.

"For two summers I worked at a camp for underprivileged children. I did my best to give them a good time. But I was helping their immediate needs instead of getting at the root of the problem. VISTA and Rocky Ford have shown me how to seek out the real problems.

"If you can kill the root, then the weed won't grow back."

At the end of her year with VISTA Mary Ann plans to return to New York. She hopes to enroll in college, with a psychology major and a sociology minor.

Secretary Resor Speaks at Fort Jackson, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on November 11, 1967, I had the great privilege and honor of introducing the distinguished Secretary of the Army, Mr. Stanley R. Resor, at the 50th anniversary ceremony of the founding of Fort Jackson, located in Columbia, S.C. The Nation is indeed fortunate to have a man of Secretary Resor's stature, dedication, integrity, and intelligence as the chief civilian of the Army.

More than 5 million officers and men of the U.S. Army have gone through the gates of Fort Jackson since it was founded in 1917. It is a great and vital part of our defense structure, located near a friendly, cooperative, Army-oriented, lovely city, Columbia, S.C. But even more important is the attitude of the leaders of Fort Jackson, expressed by the Secretary with respect to the men who are trained there.

As Secretary Resor so eloquently stated:

> The Army's training philosophy is that men will respond with their best if they are treated as men—as individuals—and that they then will continue to give their best on the battlefield or wherever they are assigned.

I commend Secretary Resor's outstanding remarks to the membership of this House, and again express appreciation for the privilege and honor of introducing him, and for being invited to be present on this notable anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD Secretary Resor's address:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE STANLEY R. RESOR, 50TH ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES, FORT JACKSON, S.C., NOVEMBER 11, 1967

Thank you Congressman Rivers.

Mayor Bates, General Perez, Senator Thurmond, Congressman Watson, Congressman Dorn, Mr. Cantey, Mr. McGee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today we mark a double anniversary. In 1917, fifty years ago, the United States Army established what was then called Camp Jackson. It was established as a center for the training of men to fight for our nation abroad.

That mobilization of our country's manpower resources, in which Camp Jackson, with the support of your fathers and grandfathers played a vital part, was successful. The second anniversary we celebrate today, November 11, 1918, marks that success: the victory of the allies in what was called the war to end all wars.

It did not prove to be that. We realize now that as long as some nations seek to conquer and dominate others by military force, trained men must stand ready to give their efforts, and, if need be, their lives, for their country.

And so Fort Jackson again is preparing young men for the gravest responsibility of citizenship. And the state of South Carolina—which once sheltered the guerrilla bands of the Swamp Fox Francis Marion and whose native sons include respected names of our military history like Jackson and Longstreet—South Carolina, has once again given one of her sons to lead our troops. General Westmoreland today commands in Vietnam the finest forces this country has ever committed to battle.

On the home front, at the seat of government, your elected representatives who are here today, are leaders in shaping our defense effort. And here the citizens of Columbia are once again giving the men of the Army support, whether they are here at Fort Jackson or across the Pacific in Vietnam.

Last July the Commanding General of the Third Army presented the City of Columbia with the Army's Certificate of Appreciation. Today, I would like to add my personal thanks for all you have done.

Let me cite a few examples: 112 civic groups of Columbia have adopted units in Vietnam under your RSVP—Rally Support for Vietnam Personnel—program. You have mailed countless packages and letters of encouragement to our fighting men. You have even sent four concrete mixers to Vietnam to be used for reconstruction. Ten thousand plastic bags went from Columbia to soldiers in swampy areas of Vietnam to help protect their personal belongings.

For its part, Fort Jackson has responded with support of your civic and charitable organizations; with emergency assistance in disasters, such as the dam built to protect the city from Hurricane Gracie; a dental hygiene program for young school children; and financial support to your United Fund Campaign, in which Fort Jackson's contribution this year exceeded its quota by a considerable margin.

I have learned that you plan an impressive memorial to be erected as a symbol of the bond of good will between this city and this post. This is generous and fitting. I hope that our ties will grow even closer over the years.

It is difficult to single out one particular element of Army activities as more important than all others. But if I had to do so, I would choose training—for training the men who enter the Army from civilian life is the keystone on which successful accomplishment of all the other tasks depends. It is important to the Army, and important to the individual soldier. It is a responsibility which the Army takes very seriously. For a few minutes I would like to speak of the way that responsibility is being carried out here at Fort Jackson.

Each weekday morning at 6:00, in the chill before the sun rises, over 15,000 young men stand on these fields of South Carolina braced at attention to the call of reveille. On their faces are stamped every racial and ethnic background that exists in the United States. In their hearts are every religious faith. In the mind of one is the imprint of a college education; of another, skills and knowledge acquired in high school; in another, the unrealized potential of the school dropout. They wear one dress, and are engaged in one purpose: to become soldiers of the United States Army.

To make a soldier, it is not enough to take away a young man's civilian clothes and dress him in a uniform. He must be taught and trained for his new role. When these men leave Fort Jackson there will be a new quickness to the stride, a toughness to the body, a prouder set of the shoulders. But the most important results of their training will not be visible from the outside. The fundamental differences will be inward.

Perhaps to some of you, basic training suggests mass production, rude or thickheaded sergeants, something to be endured and then forgotten. It is not so in today's Army. The purpose of combat training is to mold a proficient fighting man—one who has the confidence and ability to take care of himself; the motivation and determination to perform any task assigned. Army basic training is designed, not to break men's spirit, but to put spirit—and confidence, and determination, and ability—into men.

The man entering the Army comes to Fort Jackson or one of six other centers, for an eight-week program of Basic Combat Training. There are 50 training companies, of 220 men each, active on the post at one time. Approximately 1,000 men currently complete the basic training cycle each week. Since the Vietnam buildup began in the summer of 1965, an average of 4,000 have completed the course each month. The total training output of Fort Jackson for this period, including advanced training courses, is over a quarter of a millon soldiers.

This year the Army will spend over half a billion dollars for training, not including military pay. But dollars alone do not tell the story. It is skilled leaders who, by their talents and dedication, determine how effectively the training program works.

The average trainee entering the Army today is better educated than those of earlier years. More often than not he has at least a high school education. He is bigger and stronger than the men who fought in other wars: an inch and one-quarter taller and eighteen pounds heavier than the doughboy of World War I; half an inch taller and seven pounds heavier than the soldier of World War II.

We have also given underprivileged members of our society a chance to share the benefits and responsibilities of citizenship by service in the armed forces. In the year beginning in October 1966, through a limited lowering of enlistment and induction standards, 34,000 men, who would otherwise have been denied the opportunity, entered the Army. Seventy thousand will enter in the next year. They are trained with all other recruits, and must meet exactly the same standards of performance. They have done amazingly well. The failure rate of men in this program is only 2.9%, just a shade greater than the approximately 2% basic training failure rate for all recruits.

The Army's training philosophy is that men will respond with their best if they are treated as men—as individuals—and that they then will continue to give their best on the battlefield or wherever they are assigned. The officers and noncommissioned officers who train them are sure of themselves. They know that to show respect for the individual trainee does not prevent instilling discipline and teamwork. In fact, mutual respect enhances discipline, for it causes the trainee to expect more of himself.

The key is individual attention. That is why we have instituted the drill sergeant program, which had its origin here at Fort Jackson in 1964. It is now the foundation on which our basic training is built. Wearing proudly the distinctive campaign hat, and in most cases the combat or expert infantryman's badge, the drill sergeant has the job that often spells the difference between success or failure for the trainee—and may ultimately spell the difference between life and death. Part of his job is to study each trainee, his strengths and weaknesses, and to work with him as much as is necessary to turn him into a capable soldier. The drill sergeant brings the training to the troops. Trainees today, instead of marching to lectures by one stranger after another, receive two-thirds of their 334 hours of instruction from their drill sergeant—who knows them, and is on hand after the formal instruction is over to make sure the lessons he has taught have been thoroughly absorbed. These methods have produced a marked increase in trainee proficiency.

Our drill sergeants are chosen for their leadership ability and experience. They are among the best the Army has. Many are combat veterans. They have valuable lessons to teach from their own experience, and for that reason their words carry added weight. In addition, drill sergeants undergo a rigorous 6-week course of instruction themselves, in which they must give further proof of their combat skill and leadership abilities before the Army will entrust recruits to their care. Here at Fort Jackson is the school which graduates drill sergeants for the entire Third Army area.

Today, the Army gives more realistic training than ever before. Rifle instruction no longer is a matter of simply adjusting the rifle sights to a known distance and firing at a bullseye on a plainly visible target. Training now seeks to simulate combat conditions. In the nine full days he spends on the rifle range, the recruit is introduced to the quick-kill method, shooting with a B-B gun at a small disc tossed into the air. This teaches him to react and shoot quickly, as he would have to if an enemy sniper suddenly appeared. He learns to handle his rifle in the TRAINFIRE course, firing at realistic jump-up targets which he must identify across an uneven terrain. Finally, he progresses to shooting on the move at targets which spring up around him. A rugged obstacle course tests his physical condition and confidence.

The training not only is better, it lasts longer. In World War II and Korea, training time was shortened. Now, for the first time in any major war, we have lengthened time spent in training. Today's training program has paid dividends on the battlefield in terms of fewer casualties, higher morale, and more effective units.

Many men finishing Basic Combat Training at Fort Jackson return, after leave, for nine weeks of Advanced Individual Training. There they learn the advanced combat skills required to perform effectively as members of a fire team, squad, or platoon. Forty-three thousand have received that training here since the Vietnam buildup began. Fifty-three thousand more have been trained in other specialties.

Some men after their advanced training are selected for a new special course to qualify them as noncommissioned officers. It has been nicknamed the "instant NCO" program, but any of the men undergoing these 20 or more weeks of intensive, additional training can tell you that the grueling process is far from instantaneous. Our first Noncommissioned Officer Candidate Course opened at Fort Benning in September. A second for engineer specialists began at Fort Belvoir this week. Later this month, a third course will open at Fort Sill to train section leaders in artillery skills. And in December, the Army will begin the first Armor Noncommissioned Officers Candidate Course at Fort Knox.

Finally, we try to make our training not only better, and more thorough, but also to relate it directly to the job the man will fill. For the soldier with a Vietnam assignment, an extra week has been added at the end of Advanced Individual Training, devoted entirely to preparing him for the Vietnam environment and the conditions of combat he will find there. Fort Jackson is one of four posts in the country providing this instruction.

On arrival in South Vietnam, the soldier receives still more training—first at the replacement center, and then for up to ten days more with the unit to which he is assigned. He learns the unit's mission, and the special requirements of the area of operation. Training continues periodically throughout his tour, making him a more effective member of his unit and reducing the chance of his becoming a casualty.

The training job in Vietnam is one of polishing. The recruit has become a capable soldier before he goes overseas. That accomplishment is something of which Fort Jackson and its civilian friends can be proud. In the jungles, highlands and rice fields of South Vietnam, in some of the most difficult combat situations in which Americans have had to fight, the young men who entered Fort Jackson, and other basic training centers as recruits, have proved themselves on the battlefield as professionals. General Johnson the Chief of Staff of the Army, says he considers them "better soldiers than their fathers and older brothers of World War II and Korea." General Westmoreland has praised them without reservation, saying:

"I command the most professional, competent dedicated and courageous servicemen and women in our military experience. They are sensitive to their mission and, as the record shows, they are unbeatable in carrying out that mission."

During the next 12 months the Army will receive and train approximately 500,000 recruits at its 12 basic training centers. About 45,000 of these men will come to Fort Jackson. For many of them the next assignment will be in Vietnam. They will go to that assignment better trained and more confident than any soldiers in our country's history. That is what has been accomplished at Fort Jackson, and what is going on there each day.

For all you have done to help us in this achievement, I thank you. I thank you not just on behalf of the soldiers in our Army today, but for all the more than 5 million officers and men who have passed through Fort Jackson in these 50 years. Your efforts can be felt wherever throughout the world soldiers of the United States Army stand guard, or fight for freedom. With your continued help and support, the record of Fort Jackson's second half-century will be as distinguished as that of the first.

Thank you.

In Support of Our Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, some people think patriotism is no longer fashionable; that Fourth of July oratory has gone out of style. Recent waves of violent protest, mob action, and cries of "Hell no, we won't go" overshadow reports of those who are still patriotic, and are not ashamed to demonstrate for, instead of against, our country.

A broadcasting corporation, in the Third District of Michigan, recently sponsored and had reprinted in the two largest newspapers in my district, a full-page advertisement which originally appeared in the Chicago Tribune of October 20. The advertisement was an open letter to U.S. servicemen in Vietnam—from the silent millions back home in America—in support of our gallant GI's efforts there.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support the spirit of this message and I commend Gilmore Broadcasting Corp., and particularly its fine, civic-minded president, Jim Gilmore, Jr., for letting our fighting men know that responsible citizens are appreciative of the personal sacrifices they are making.

I hope it will encourage others to speak out instead of standing silently on the sidelines; for public gestures, such as this, are welcome demonstrations that most Americans acknowledge the great debt of gratitude owed to those who have answered their Nation's call—and that we are with our men in Vietnam 100 percent, regardless of where we stand on this grave national issue.

The political and philosophical struggle over Vietnam, now going on in America, represents the very thing for which the administration—the people's administration—has asked our soldiers to fight to keep for the people of Southeast Asia: the right to free speech, the right to criticize, the right to govern themselves.

The decision to become so involved—the decision to continue our involvement—can be reexamined, even criticized. But there can be no faltering of support; no suggestion of lack of appreciation about the commitment of the fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers engaged in this conflict.

They are there because it is our will, expressed through the democratic process. We can do no less than give them our unflinching support.

South Africa Under Communist Attack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with the average U.S. citizen being educated to believe our enemy is China, not the Soviet Bear of Russia, we now learn we have taken the pressure off the Russian Communists. They are cooperating with the OAU—Organization of African Unity—a black, Marxist, extremist, fanatical movement in an aggressive attack on South Africa.

Why Red Russians of 100-percent white Caucasian blood would want to undermine the white, progressive, Government of South Africa is quite obvious—to cause race riots and violence among the minorities just like in the United States. But, thank goodness for the wisdom of the South African leaders, it is a crime to be a Communist in their nation. They do not tolerate the crime, sin, and brainwashing which the American people must suffer in our country.

Mayhap eventually our people will

Mayhap eventually our people will China but unadulterated communism out of Russia—collaborated by agents in our country—and realize that if we must be either free or Communist, they will prefer unbridled freedom over communism—be it called fascism or socialism.

I insert the AP report of November 11 following my comments:

RUSSIA SAID UNDERMINING AFRICAN WHITES

GERMISTON, SOUTH AFRICA.—A deputy minister of police said Friday a radio message from the Soviet secret service that was intercepted here July 30 revealed Russian action against white authority in South Africa.

The message was addressed to Yuro Loginov, 34, alias Edmund Trinka, who was arrested as a Russian spy Sept. 9. Police said he confessed. Loginov had posed as a Canadian national.

The deputy minister, S. L. Muller, said the Russian message, recorded and deciphered by South African police, clearly indicated that the Soviet Union's interests in South Africa are similar to those of the Organization of African Unity.

"The only purpose of the OAU is the elimination of white authority in southern Africa by the use of trained and armed terrorists," he said.

"This message from the Russian secret service to the Russian spy clearly shows corresponding action by Russia against white authority."

Muller released the text of the message, which requested information on the major U.S. and British installations in the country and the possibilities of penetrating them.

Calling for an outline of "areas of organized resistance to the regime," it asked: "What measures can logically be undertaken to render (them) support and to strengthen disturbances?"

Also sought was information on the conditions for the entry and departure of "Negro immigrants." One question asked: "Is a black entry possible off the coast between Port Elizabeth and Durban?"

An explanatory note by the South African security branch said "black entry" meant the clandestine landing of persons.

Loginov was also asked to find "progressive individuals" in South Africa who regularly travel abroad and to determine how contact with them might be established.

Detroit and Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, just to prove to you that Detroit industry and citizens have one of the most international viewpoints in America, I would first advise you that I have had several letters from my district protesting any restrictions on trade; not a single letter asking for restrictions. But, I spread upon the RECORD also a letter regarding the position of the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce on trade:

GREATER DETROIT BOARD OF COMMERCE,
Detroit, Mich., October 25, 1967.

Hon. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE GRIFFITHS: The Greater Detroit Board of Commerce represents approximately 3700 commercial and industrial enterprises in this area, a great many of these heavily involved in international trade. These firms employ hundreds of thousands of people in every part of the world and their total overseas trade is reckoned in billions of dollars. Eight out of ten industrial workers in Michigan are employed by firms engaged in international business and one in seven owes his livelihood directly to imports and exports.

Consequently, it is inconceivable to us that a bill of the implications of the Dent Bill could even be proposed, let alone receive a majority vote in the present House of Representatives. If such is the thinking in the Congress, it is well nigh time that our representatives in Washington learn of our urgent concern over the spate of bills now proposing quotas or other import controls on various commodities. Have we forgotten so easily the disaster of the Smoot-Hawley days and are we blind to the fact that United States exports and imports have risen from five billion to over fifty billion dollars annually since the start of efforts to lower tariffs and artificial barriers to trade, with a healthy favorable balance of trade year after year? Our World Affairs Committee and our Export-Import Committee have both met to discuss what seems to us to represent a trend and this Board of Commerce wishes to advise our representatives in Washington of our urgent concern.

The bills in question, some on their own feet and some as riders, pose a direct threat to the international commerce of the United States, to the industry and agriculture of the State of Michigan at the very moment when our State Government and private enterprises are cooperating with our Federal Government in efforts to expand exports. Expanding exports is certainly a most palatable way to improve our balance of payments position. The threat of imposing quotas already has foreign governments protesting, and we may be absolutely certain of retaliation for any new restrictions.

Several of these bills are about to become the subject of hearings, both in House Committees and Senate Committees, and we would like to go on record by stating that passage of any of them would seriously undermine the patient and determined efforts of the United States, over many years, to reduce trade barriers and expand international commerce throughout the world. These bills all seek to do this by erecting import controls and non-tariff barriers for specific commodity groups or industries.

It is a major U.S. achievement that this nation has led the Free World in substantial tariff reductions at GATT. Legislation to implement some of the tentative agreements reached in Geneva will shortly be introduced. To preserve the gains made in that historic series of negotiations, this type of legislation is essential. The present bills, designed to impede imports in one way or another, are directly in conflict with that goal. The proper course for the United States trade policy in the years ahead is to seek reduction in the remaining non-tariff barriers erected by other nations against American goods . . . not to erect more such barriers of our own.

In light of the fact that our domestic economy is undergoing increasingly severe inflationary pressures, it seems particularly shortsighted to promote additional restrictions on imports. Imports, in addition to any other economic virtue they may have, do provide, in many instances, an anti-inflationary pressure so badly needed.

Therefore, the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce urges you not only to oppose these import-restricting bills with your vote but also to use your influence to develop legislation that will preserve our trade expansion gains. Finally, we would sincerely appreciate receiving your views on the matter.

Respectfully,

DWIGHT HAVENS,
President.

The Governor Is Home—Briefly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an editorial on WJBK-TV in Detroit, Mich., as follows:

THE GOVERNOR IS HOME—BRIEFLY

The State of Michigan is being treated this weekend to a fleeting visit by its Chief Executive. Governor Romney is touching down briefly en route from Portland, Maine, to points west.

Mr. Romney has just completed a nine-day excursion through ten states. This followed a week-long cruise with his fellow governors to the balmy Virgin Islands. Next week, he meets the voters of Wisconsin, to whom he currently has no responsibility, and who will view him only with the curiosity due any Presidential possibility.

In the meantime, the home folks back in Michigan—to whom he does owe responsibility—may be forgiven if they feel neglected by their able and ambitious, but absent, leader.

It must be recognized that travel is essential in modern affairs; but, what corporation—especially one as problem-ridden as Michigan is at the moment—would long tolerate a top executive who pursued personal ambition to the neglect of his basic job.

Some will say, with good reason, that it would be selfishly advantageous for Michigan to see Mr. Romney in the White House. It certainly would; but this is an extremely "iffy" prospect, with the prize at least 14 months away. Michigan's problems are here and now, and they are critical.

WJBK/TV2 urges the Governor to put first things first, exercising *in Lansing* the personal leadership which is his responsibility to the people of Michigan.

They, after all, put him in a position to seek the Presidency in the first place.

Antiwar Protests by Intellectual Riff-Raff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Richard Wilson, in his column printed in the November 13 issue of the Washington Evening Star, further clarifies a recent "demonstration" at the Department of Justice by a group of "peaceniks."

The article will be of major interest to all Members who will be intrigued, as I was, to note that the group included four college professors "who had been classified 4–F for mental reasons." I wonder if the alumni of the colleges were these professors expound their theories to students are aware of their status and rating.

But, the article is of much more interest than just for the mental deficiencies of these professors. It is a pleasure to bring the entire article to the attention of the membership of the House:

ANTIWAR PROTESTS BY INTELLECTUAL RIFFRAFF

Recently several hundred young people demonstrated at the Department of Justice against the Vietnam war and made a great occasion of turning in what they said were more than 900 "draft cards" of war protestors.

When the bag was opened, however, it was found to contain a pitiful miscellany of real and phony draft cards and notices of classification, letters, statements, photostats of military discharge papers.

Both registration certificates and notices of classification were found for 60 persons. The rest was a hodge podge of Xerox copies, photostats and other doubtful material.

The FBI ran a check on a group of names from about 250 seemingly authenic registration certificates and found that 17 in that group had a history of mental disorders, two with suicidal tendencies. Among the protesting group were four college professors who had been classified 4-F for mental reasons.

This is the kind of intellectual riff-raff with which sincere and rational war objectors have become involved, and the kind of tactics to which they have lent themselves.

We have never been in a war against which there was not objection, from the Tories of the American Revolution through the Copperheads of the Civil War, the protestors against putting down Aguinaldo, and the pacifists and conscientious objectors of World War I and II. War is immoral. Most people, like Roosevelt, hate it.

It is interesting to rediscover also that even in the war against Hitler there were people in western countries who sympathized with the Nazis, thought they would win, objected to American involvement. Much of that changed when Hitler attacked Russia.

Harold Nicolson's absorbing diaries of the World War II period when he was parliamentary secretary for the Ministry of Information reveal the fatalism, irresolve and discouragement of the British people before the London blitz, and the sentiment for a separate deal with Hitler. Winston Churchill ended all that when he succeeded Chamberlain.

Young protesters who think history began the day they were born know nothing and care less about the discouragement and alarm in this country at the time of Pearl Harbor and later at the Battle of Midway.

They know nothing and care less about the agonies on Guadalcanal, Wake and Tarawa, and the grave public misgivings about the sacrifice of many thousands of men in what seemed no more than island-hopping in the Pacific for no fixed or planned purpose.

Even adults tend to look back on World War II as a triumphal march of victories. They have forgotten that they awoke every morning with the nagging fear that maybe we were not winning.

They have forgotten that 100,000 men lie dead for the sole purpose of reasserting and maintaining American power in the Pacific. There is no historical reason to believe that the Japanese would have invaded Hawaii and the west coast after the attack at Pearl Harbor. The Japanese wished to immobilize American military power in the Pacific so that they might carry out their master plan of occupying and controlling all of South Asia and the Western Pacific.

The United States would not permit that, and there is historical reason to believe we would have acted in the Pacific without the provocation of Pearl Harbor.

By contrast, the war in Vietnam is an expression of the highest American idealism. It is puzzling that the war protesters of this generation give no weight to the simple and clear purpose of the United States in Vietnam. That purpose is to create the conditions in which a small nation can develop its own institutions and government without having them imposed by terrorism and force by a neighbor. Winston Churchill would surely have classed this, along with the Marshall plan, as one of the most selfless acts of history by a great nation.

It is equally puzzling why so many intellectuals supported a land war in Asia on the Korean Peninsula but now oppose a land war in Asia on the Indochinese peninsula.

An invasion of South Korea by North Korea had to be turned back, even though it also involved fighting an army of a million Chinese. But the penetration of South Vietnam, organized, financed and supported by North Vietnam, is considered by some of the same intellectuals to be no more than an internal revolution.

It is understandable in view of these contradictions why, after listening to their elders, so many of the young protesters are in a confused state of mind when they take part in demonstrations like the recent one at the Department of Justice.

I Am a Loyal American Day Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD E. LUKENS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, November 13, American Legion

Post 218 in Middletown, Ohio—Glenn C. Bewley, commander—sponsored a highly successful Veterans Day program. John W. Brown, Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, and Phillip R. McBride, commander, Department of Ohio, the American Legion, were the featured speakers. During the ceremonies I was presented a petition containing 3,097 signatures collected in a week expressing support for maintenance of law and order and for encouragement of Americans in Vietnam. These names are all from the Middletown area, which is located in the 24th Congressional District. The petition was circulated by the "I Am a Loyal American Day Committee," and reads as follows:

> We, the undersigned residents of Middletown, Ohio, and surrounding area, being loyal citizens of the United States of America, do hereby assert our desire for the preservation of law and order in our Nation. Further, we take this means to express our sincere and patriotic support for Americans in the Armed Forces of the United States, serving the causes of Freedom and Justice. In particular, we reaffirm our support and encouragement for the men and women serving the interests of our Country, and of the Free World, in the present conflict in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I am calling this to the attention of the House to publicly express to our boys in Vietnam the support of a large number of Americans within the 24th Congressional District and Middletown area and to demonstrate the concern of these same people for the rising crime rates. I am proud to be able to represent these people in Washington and to express their sincere concern to this body.

Private Enterprise's Public Responsibility: Alcoa States the Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, 1967 has been the year for talking involvement, responsibility, unleashing the private sector, Federal-local partnership—whether we were discussing the poverty program, aid to education, urban renewal, or crime.

Nowhere have I seen the call for corporate—and individual—responsibility in helping to solve problems affecting all of the public expressed so eloquently as in the address by the president of Alcoa, John D. Harper, published by the New York State Department of Social Services, in the November issue of Outlook. I commend this article to the thoughtful attention of my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

(By John D. Harper)

We at Alcoa have been trying for a great many years to live up to what we regard as our public responsibilities, if for no other reason than our belief that every business organization is part of the society in which it operates, and that all its components, including business, benefit from every advance that society achieves.

The truth is that many of the problems that trouble our society today were created at least in part or aggravated by the very same business enterprise system that has made our society the most comfortable and prosperous on earth. Of course, the several agencies of our society—among them, business—didn't deliberately set out to plague the public with dirty water or air that's barely fit to breathe, nor did they somehow conspire to cause urban congestion, traffic jams, and technological unemployment. All these problems, and more, arose from the very nature of our cultural and economic development, from changing values and standards, from the concentration of industrial plants in advantageous centers, from technological progress, from the sheer size and success of our free enterprise system. And, especially, they have arisen with the growth of our population.

Nobody, for instance, really wanted to poison the fish in the rivers or to contaminate the air that all of us have to breathe, but it happened. It happened in part because we only have such problems with a growing population, in part because we have lacked satisfactory techniques for control of contamination, and in part because responsibility is like a hot poker that nobody really wants to grasp.

In any event, today we have very little choice in the matter. Business is involved right up to the neckline in hundreds of public problems, and the public—that is to say, our customers, our neighbors, our employes and our stockholders—expects us to accept the responsibility of helping to solve those problems. In so doing, we protect the very system that permits us all to prosper.

A viable society in which business can prosper and grow, the kind of society that all of us want, demands the intelligent exercise of public responsibility by the business community itself.

Please note that I said "the intelligent exercise of public responsibility." I did not say that business should go galloping off in all directions performing all kinds of good works at the expense of its primary function—which is to produce and sell at a profit goods of the quality and quantity required by the consumer. We are *not* in business to compete with the Salvation Army. Charity for its own sake is, I hope, a private concern of each of us; it is *not* the task we are paid to perform.

The intelligent exercise of public responsibility is something quite different. It involves, first of all, a recognition that a business is a citizen in a very real sense and must behave like a citizen in return for being allowed to operate within the community.

Quite frankly—and unfortunately for all of us—there are some businessmen who still believe that public responsibility means living up to the letter of the law and not one inch beyond. These are the same fellows whose smokestacks will go right on belching soot into your office windows and on your wife's laundry until the city council passes a law against it. Their disregard for the public interest inevitably leads to public clamor for repressive or restrictive legislation, which may cause problems for all of us.

At the other end of the spectrum is the man who would like to make his company an extension of his own personal social conscience. Sixty or 70 years ago, in the era of family ownership, it was perfectly proper to donate millions of dollars to any charity that appealed to the leader. He owned the business and could do as he pleased with his profits. Today's corporate leader has no such privilege; he cannot dispense corporate funds for social purposes, however worthy, without proper regard for the interests of his stockholders. If he does, the stockholders will find a new manager.

THE ENLIGHTENED LEADER

Somewhere in between those two extreems is the enlightened business leader of today, of the 1960's, the professional executive who balances his company's public and private responsibilities, who undertakes an appropriate range of projects in the public sphere with full awareness of the fact that his company has other public responsibilities beyond its profit responsibility.

Let me repeat: The number one public responsibility of private enterprise is to operate at a profit. That's a cliché, of course, but it became a cliché because it is true. Every last one of us—social worker, scientist, politician, educator, clergyman, union member or corporate manager—should be ready to fight to the last ditch for that profit incentive, because that is what provides our jobs, our taxes, all the wealth that makes social progress possible. Never let us forget that profit is the basis of our free enterprise economy!

There is no contribution that private enterprise can make toward the public good if it fails in its primary responsibility of making a profit. It is profitable operation that enables the corporation to behave as a responsible citizen—that permits the intelligent exercise of public responsibility.

Business—free private enterprise—will flourish and prosper best in a healthy environment, where its employes are educated and productive, where the consumers of its goods and services are sufficiently cultivated and sufficiently well-off to seek a continually higher standard of living.

CONVERTING TO PRODUCTIVITY

If you drive through a brawling ghetto on your way to the office in the morning, and back home again at night, it doesn't take much imagination to recognize that something is wrong. You don't have to be a social scientist to realize that slums don't generate much business for you. The bright young men you want for future executive jobs aren't going to beat a path through crime-ridden slums to get to your door. Nor will they want to live in a deteriorating city in order to work for you.

It makes sense to participate—with corporate money, talent and energy—in a community project to improve conditions in the slums. In the long run, such participation will be beneficial to your own business. Because, if you reduce delinquency, crime and illiteracy, you reduce your own corporate tax load, and you convert welfare cases into productive workers. You may even pick up some new customers in the bargain!

Some may wonder why private business in the United States is contributing over $4 billion a year to education, above and beyond its tax support to the public school system. The answer, of course, is that it is both good business and good citizenship. The technological advances of recent years have generated an almost insatiable demand for better-educated workers who can be trained and re-trained to constantly higher skills. When a business executive uses company funds to support education, he performs a public service that falls within his sphere of public responsibility—he strengthens the community and the country while enhancing the prospects for his own enterprise.

Supporting a symphony orchestra, or a theater group, or an art collection might sound impractical as an avenue of corporate philanthropy. I know some executives who would sooner be caught smoking opium. But it can be good business for the company that is trying to recruit university graduates who seek to live in a community where they and their families can enjoy the arts. Such activities also return benefits in the form of increased stature in the community, an intangible reward of no small value. This can be a contribution to the upgrading of the cultural well-being of the community. It can result in enhancing our reputation as advertising can never do.

In each of those instances, self-interest coincides with public interest. That's the way it should be. The business dollar that goes to meet public responsibility must be a productive dollar if it is to be of real benefit to the society we purport to help. I submit that any dollar spent that successfully meets our dual responsibility to shareholders and to the community *is* a productive dollar.

More and more, American business is recognizing that it has a unique public responsibility, because of the fact that it is the source of all our productive wealth—and because it is the beneficiary of our society. The real dilemma for today's businessman is not whether he should or should not accept that responsibility. His dilemma, rather, is how to identify the public areas in which he can properly and helpfully operate. I suggest that his problem could be greatly simplified by applying the test of productivity.

SELECTIVITY IS NECESSARY

I am not saying that we should put public responsibility on a strictly C.O.D., "What's in it for me?" basis. I *am* saying that we have got to be selective in what we undertake, that we have got to avoid overcommitting our resources. A bankrupt business offers mighty few job opportunities and it makes a mighty poor taxpayer, even if it's headed by the busiest do-gooder in all America.

At the risk of being set down as a hometown booster, I would like to cite the Pittsburgh Renaissance as an outstanding example of the productive exercise of public responsibility by private enterprise.

Not too many years ago, it appeared that Pittsburgh's future was all behind it. We were afflicted with all the industrial city sicknesses you can name. The smoke and dirt and congestion were driving people and business out of town; our brightest young men and women were leaving town as fast as they could raise the fare.

What happened, of course, is history. Those of us who wouldn't or couldn't join the exodus recognized that we were all going down together if we didn't pool our resources to clean up the mess. General R. K. Mellon and the late Governor David Lawrence provided the leadership and inspired us all by their faith and pride in Pittsburgh. After 20 years of hard work, we still have far to go, but Pittsburgh is a busy and attractive city today.

This is a classic example of a partnership effort between the public and private sectors to meet a public responsibility. Local government officials, civic leaders, community institutions, businesses, individual businessmen, and labor leaders invested their time, their talents and their money to transform our town from a disaster area to a thriving metropolis with a big future ahead of it. I can assure you that business participation was an indispensable component in the community effort.

Pittsburgh, of course, is an extreme example, because of the magnitude of the job. But there are thousands and thousands of businesses in hundreds of communities all over America that are undertaking local public responsibilities. The results promise better communities, as well as tangible rewards to these businesses.

In California, John McCone, who turned in his cloak and dagger as Chief of the CIA to return to banking, has devoted time to mobilizing business throughout the state to support a rehabilitation program for the Watts area of Los Angeles, which was all but torn apart by the tragic riots of 1965. Companies like Boeing and Litton Industries have worked up job training programs for under-educated but employable men and women.

We in Alcoa are heavily engaged in the remaking of our cities. We are in real estate to make money. But in so doing, we are meeting one of the prime social responsibilities of our time: urban development. We hope that other companies will join.

Certainly, promotion of opportunities to exercise public responsibility is an area of potential service for the National Association of Manufacturers. The NAM has a responsibility not only to blow the horn for American business, but to get the word around to the whole business community on the thousands of public improvement projects that are under way in the United States, and to stimulate similar action by those who may be hesitant about moving into the unfamiliar waters of public responsibility. This is an area of fact-finding and information-distributing in which an organization like the NAM really proves its worth.

NO REASON FOR TIMIDITY

There is no reason for hesitancy or timidity. Most Americans today are well aware of the importance of private enterprise to their economic and social well-being, and they would welcome broader business participation in the handling of their community problems.

We have no reason on earth to feel embarrassed or guilty, either in the eyes of our shareholders or of the community, when we exercise a public responsibility that promises to benefit our neighbors and ourselves. But if we expect to be loved by everybody for everything we do, we might as well lock up our briefcases and go home, because nothing will ever get done.

I also suspect that a great many businessmen pass up a lot of opportunities for productive public action and dissipate considerable energy in reacting nervously and negatively to social scientists and their proposals. All too often, the social scientist is viewed with alarm as some kind of long-haired fanatic who wants to rock the boat and upset the best system that man has ever devised. But the fact is that the job of the social scientist *is* to study our society, to tell us what he thinks may be going wrong, and to suggest new courses of action. I think we should listen to him more attentively, even if we don't go along with much that he proposes, because we live and work in an industrial society that is increasingly involved in areas of social consciousness. Here again, I see a vital task for the NAM, in keeping abreast of the social sciences and relating them to the efforts of the business world.

We may well find that the social scientist can be of real service in pointing the way to new and productive paths of public action for business, beyond the familiar fields of education, medical research and similar philanthropies. Right now, business has a varity of definiable ways in which to contribute to the public sphere that have not yet been fully explored. I am sure there are others waiting to be discovered.

If the meat packing industry could find a profitable market for all those hoofs, horns and insides that once produced nothing but aroma for Chicago and Omaha, I see no reason why others can't perform a similar public service in facing the problems of today.

For instance, how about the still unsolved mystery of what to do with our abandoned automobiles? So far, we have tried covering them with roses and hiding them behind trees, but we haven't been able to get rid of them. Let's find a way to use these junk piles. There must be a hero's medal and untold millions of dollars buried in our automobile graveyards, waiting for someone to come along with a final solution. I suspect that in the end it will come from a businessman with a talent for recognizing the profit potential in a public responsibility.

Business can seek out logical business ventures that co-incidentally achieve public goals, as Alcoa is doing in its urban development work.

It can contribute money to charitable and cultural activities.

It can lend specialized personnel or facilities to understaffed, poorly equipped nonprofit organizations.

But let's not stop there. So far, we have been talking about ways that business can spend its money or use its personnel to further public projects. There is, however, another aspect of public responsibility that has been sorely neglected by far too many of our top business people.

I am referring, of course, to the responsibility of the business leader to participate personally in all areas of public affairs that affect his organization.

As corporate executives, we have a responsibility to speak out for the interests of our shareholders. We should not delegate that responsibility to the NAM or to our juniors, any more than we can fake our way into heaven by having a messenger boy represent us at church every Sunday morning with a five-dollar bill in his hand.

It would be a wonderful world if somebody else could establish peace on earth, eliminate poverty, ignorance, crime and disease, settle all labor disputes before they start, lower taxes, and guarantee all of us everlasting prosperity—without disturbing our golf game. But it just doesn't come out that way.

Responsibility is something each of us must accept. We must use the resources, talents and energies of business wisely and effectively to advance the public interest and the system of private enterprise upon which it depends. We must accept personal responsibility for our own stewardship as managers of business.

Great tides of change are on the move today, and the business system of this nation must move with them, must help to direct them through the exercise of its public responsibility. We cannot shirk or evade that responsibility.

Appliance, Radio-TV Dealers Insist Revolving Credit and Installment Credit Be Handled Alike in Truth-in-Lending Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as all of the Members know who have been following the course of the controversy over consumer credit and truth-in-lending legislation, the main issue which will have to be resolved by the Committee on Banking and Currency in our executive sessions next week, and by the House thereafter, is the question of the treatment of revolving credit.

This is the method of billing used by department stores, the big retail chains, catalog houses, and so forth, under which the customer usually makes a specified minimum payment each month and then is charged a credit fee of 1½ percent per month on his unpaid balance. There are many different ways of setting up these systems, but they generally require a computer and they are not generally used by smaller retailers. Instead, the smaller retailers customarily sell a "large ticket" item under an installment sales contract.

Under S. 5, the truth-in-lending bill passed by the Senate on July 11, revolving credit enjoys a special exemption from the requirement that all consumer credit transactions be accompanied by a statement of the annual percentage rate being charged. Revolving credit users, under the Senate bill, may state this charge on a monthly basis instead of an annual rate.

But all other types of consumer credit must provide the customer with a statement of the finance charge as an annual percentage rate.

The National Appliance and Radio–TV Dealers Association is one of many trade associations which opposes the special exemption in the Senate-passed bill for revolving credit. The furniture dealers also oppose it. The banks oppose it, too. H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, avoids this discrimination by treating all forms of consumer credit in the same manner, requiring an annual percentage rate in all consumer credit transactions. However, the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs split, 6 to 6, on the question of treating all competing forms of consumer credit alike.

Chairman Wright Patman of the Committee on Banking and Currency has scheduled executive sessions of the full committee beginning next Monday to work on H.R. 11601. Many Members are receiving letters from retailers in their district and from bankers and others who would be adversely affected by the discriminatory exemption which was in the Senate bill and which is contained also in the truth-in-lending bills introduced by the six members of the subcommittee who are not sponsors of H.R. 11601.

VIEW OF THE NONCOMPUTERIZED RETAILERS

Therefore, I think the Members might be interested in the following news dispatch in Monday's Home Furnishings Daily, a Fairchild publication, expressing the strong support of the National Appliance and Radio–TV Dealers Association for the kind of disclosure requirement contained in H.R. 11601:

[From Home Furnishings Daily, Nov. 13, 1967]

Revolving Account Truth Bill Urged

Members of the National Appliance and Radio-TV Dealers Association are being urged to wire members of the Congressional Banking and Currency Committee that any "truth-in-lending" bill incorporate the same "disclosure" for revolving charge accounts as for installment sales.

Jules Steinberg, NARDA executive vice-president pointed out that NARDA president Upton R. Ziesler already has placed the association on record as favoring any so-called "truth-in-lending" legislation, provided the formula for "determining the percentage rate to be disclosed shall be figured on the same basis for both revolving accounts and installment sales."

AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION ALSO DENOUNCES UNWARRANTED DISTINCTION FOR REVOLVING CREDIT

Mr. Speaker, elsewhere in the same edition of Home Furnishings Daily there is an article quoting Charles R. McNeill, director of the American Bankers Association's Washington office, as charging an "unwarranted distinction" between retailing and banking interest-rate disclosures on revolving credit in the Senate-passed truth-in-lending legislation. He urged bankers to take a strong interest in the issue on the grounds that the bill as passed by the Senate, and as endorsed by half of the members of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, would require banks to disclose interest rates on an annual basis while permitting retailers using revolving credit to disclose only the monthly rate.

Legislative Reference Service Expert Reports on Systems Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on October 2, 1967, Mr. Robert L. Chartrand of the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service presented a paper entitled "Systems Technology and Social Imagination" before a George Washington University seminar on "The Impact of Technology on Human Values" here in Washington. Mr. Chartrand, who is the very able Information Science Specialist in the Science Policy Research Division of LRS, discussed the social consequences of systems technology and its means for providing adequate social control in our society. This presentation was part of the fourth in a series of five seminars conducted by the university's program of policy studies in science and technology. While there were a number of people involved in producing this excellent and most valuable seminar series, I should like to mention and commend two in particular; Prof. Louis H. Mayo of the university's law faculty and vice president for advanced policy studies who was responsible to a large degree for the organization of the entire series; and Prof. Harold P. Green of the GWU law faculty who was instrumental in the creation of the law, science, and technology program in the university's graduate school of public law and who was in charge of this particular seminar session during which Mr. Chartrand's paper was read.

Mr. Speaker, systems technology is rapidly becoming an invaluable tool in the private sector of this country and it is high time that this Congress and the Federal Government consider, in an organized way, its use on a massive scale in the solution of nondefense, nonspace problems of the public sector.

I filed a bill on behalf of some 40 Members of Congress in the second session of the 89th Congress and again in this session—H.R. 20—which would create a National Commission on Public Management that would be charged with the job of studying the application of systems technology to Federal programs. Mr. Chartrand was of great assistance in the preparation and continued development of this proposal and his report to this fine seminar series at George Washington University bears directly on the importance of that legislation. I ask that the text of his report be included at this point in the Record.

Systems Technology and Social Imagination

(A presentation before the seminar on the Impact of Technology on Human Values, the George Washington University, Washington, D.C., October 2, 1967, by Robert L. Chartrand, information science specialist, Science Policy Research Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

(Note.—The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Legislative Reference Service nor the Library of Congress.)

Dr. Jerome Wiesner . . . the computer, with its promise of a million-fold increase in man's capacity to handle information, will undoubtedly have the most far-reaching consequences of any contemporary development. The potential for good in the computer, and the danger inherent in its misuse, exceed our ability to imagine.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The civilization of which we are a part is nonpareil in the annals of mankind. Never before have the innovative genius and productive capacity of man combined to offer the populace not only a high degree of security but unprecedented material wealth. The past 25 years are a chronicle of spectacular achievement in a broad spectrum of scientific and technological achievements, including nuclear energy, penetration of the space about us, and the development of automatic data processing (ADP).

The impact upon the institutions, laws, and mores of all facets of society has been significant. Technology has brought countless tangible benefits but also has introduced numerous overt and subtle deleterious effects. The patterns of American life are changing, and changing so swiftly that traditional rules and procedures for coping with the problems of man often do not suffice. In commentary upon this, Judge Thomas Craven, a respected judicial philosopher, has observed:

> "There has always been a process of change in the basic institutions of value systems established by societies, but the changes were slow and man could readily adapt to them, and those changes could properly be called evolutionary. But the transformations now occurring are at such an accelerated rate, it must be called revolutionary."[2]

The struggle to control the very technology which man develops is a long-term one, and will usurp the best efforts which can be put forth by industry, business, government, and the academic world. The machine milieu is not flexible; thus as Robert W. King comments in his monograph on "Technology and Social Progress," . . . as mankind amalgates itself more and more into a machine society it will be the human elements who will make the essential accommodations and adjustments."[3]

Few forums have been organized to discuss the impact of technology on society and human values. The interdisciplinary nature of this gathering underscores the path by which solutions and an acceptable *modus vivendi* may be attained. The best thinking of conceptualists of many academic specialties, synthesized and exhaustively scrutinized, can offer alternatives of action which may be utilized by the decision-makers within the Federal government and their counterparts in the private domain.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Contemporary leadership faces obstacles more enormous and complex than any previously faced by earlier generations. The crux of the challenge is contained in the report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress:

"Our problem is to marshall the needed technologies, some of which are known and some not yet known. If we are to clean up our environment, enhance human personality, enrich leisure time, make work humanly creative, and restore our natural resources, we shall need inventiveness in the democratic decision making process as well as in the needed technologies."[4]

TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETAL PROBLEMS

When one refers to "technology," it is discovered that it means many different things to different people. As a point of departure, the definition of Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover will suffice: "Technology is tools, techniques, procedures, things; the artifacts fashioned by modern industrial man to increase his powers of mind and body."[5] The role of the electronic computer in our society has become a many-splendored thing. Some choose to ignore its existence, others deride the clumsiness and cost of the "mechanical monster;" many distrust its power and implied mastery of previously man-controlled endeavors, and finally it might be said with accuracy that the majority of citizens face its power with veiled fear born of ignorance.

In discussing the implications of the computer to mankind, and its view of the new marvel, Brian Murphy offers this analogy:

"We are vaguely aware that computers are powerful extensions of man's intellect but they are inexplicable to most of us and consequently we stand in awe of them much as primitive man stood in awe of powerful demonstrations of natural phenomena such as thunder and lightning, regarding them as work of gods. Like thunder and lightning, computers are the product of explicable factors; with understanding of these factors, awe fades though wonder may remain."[6]

The problems of our age, called "The Age of Anxiety"[7] by Marshall McLuhan, force a splintering of effort by those who must cope with them. In addition to the oftentimes dominant problems presented in connection with defense of the Nation and the conquest of space, there is a new, seemingly kaleidoscopic conglomeration of problems which is affecting the lives of every man, woman and child. Air and water pollution control, solid waste disposal, transportation network planning, urban expansion and renewal—the criticality of these points of focus increases with each passing day. Technology has caused many of these problems; technology well may provide the antidotes.

The benefits of technological innovation have been chronicled in detail, but perception regarding the converse aspects all too often is missing. An exception is the insight provided in Professor Harold Greens' paper entitled "The New Technological Era in Our Modern Society: A Lawyer's Perspective;" in connection with evaluating the impact of technology, he states:

"Under the best of circumstances, technological advance frequently involves major social disruptions: unemployment, excessive leisure, changes in social or moral standards, and the like. But technological advance may also involve hazards to the health, safety, and security of society."[8]

The severe disarrangements of existing institutions, modes of operation, personal mores, and inter-group relationships have prompted the authorship of books and articles, the sponsoring of lectures and symposia, and increased discussion between thinking individuals. No one is exempt from the impact of technology. Marshall McLuhan puts it this way:

"The medium, or process, of our times—electric technology—is reshaping and restructuring patterns of social interdependence and every aspect of our personal life. It is forcing us to reconsider and reevaluate practically every thought, every action, and every institution formerly taken for granted."[9]

Thus, with ground rules in a state of flux, and options for corrective action being offered on every side, there is a need for logical thinking perhaps as never before.

TECHNOLOGICAL ANTIDOTES TO OUR PROBLEMS

Among the leaders in government who are actively working to cope with the new spate of public problems is Representative F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts. He has opined that ". . . we are on the threshold of an entirely new approach to the solution of these public problems. It will involve an altered relationship between business and government. . . . To accomplish this revolution, there is an increasing interest in . . . systems management."[10]

The result of searching for a realistic mechanism by which to examine public problems and propose utilitarian solutions has been his plan for a National Commission on Public Management. Bills have been introduced in the House of Representaives (H.R. 21 and others) and in the Senate by Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and several cosponsors (S. 467) which would emphasize the use of the "systems approach" in solving public problems. Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, in his Scientific Manpower Utilization Act of 1967, also has recognized the presence of these threatening problems and has proposed (in S. 430) "to mobilize and utilize the scientific and engineering manpower of the nation to employ systems analysis and systems engineering to fully employ the nation's manpower resources to solve national problems."[11]

The use of automatic data processing in the support of research, as well as in administrative tasks, has proven to be of high benefit, and also has introduced new problems. In "Society as a Learning Machine," Dr. Jerome Wiesner of M.I.T. points out that:

"The use of digital computers, both for processing vast amounts of information inherent in many of these studies and for modeling the systems under investigation, offers the promise of a major breakthrough in research in social and behavioral sciences."[12]

The use of the new technology referred to as "systems analysis" or "operations research", when combined with ADP, has affected thousands of business and industrial applications. Also, the entire Executive Branch of the Federal Government now is required to participate in the "Planning-Programming-Budgeting System" (PPBS)[13] which places a premium on methodical, analytical establishment of goals and program priorities, both for short- and long-range planning purposes.

As the use of the electronic computer becomes more widesperad, there is a growing danger that in the desire to utilize its capacious memory and fantastic processing capability, men will delimit that type of information which then is used to make all-important policy decisions. Dr. Donald Michael issues a warning on this subject:

"Already planners and administrators are tending to place undue emphasis on—that is, coming to value most—those aspects of reality which the computer can deal with just because the computer can do so. The individual—the point off the curve—becomes an annoyance."[14]

The upshot of this situation may be, as described in the recent volume *Automated State, that* ". . . normal procedure calls for the making of decisions of incalculable consequence without serious public discussion or comprehension."[15]

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES AND CONTROL

Has man become dangerously disoriented during our own time? The Lord Snow, in meeting with key Congressional and scientific figures concerned with the impact of technology on society, had this to say:

"We need to know more exactly how we are living here and now. We are ignorant of the social life around us; we are more ignorant than is wise, or safe, or human."[16]

In a seminar such as this, it behooves each person—whether scientist, lawyer, administrator, or educator—to once again reexamine the ways in which technology has affected him, his family, his work, and his nation. The goals of society may coincide with the national goals promulgated by our government leadership. Or they may differ in certain essentials.

The laws by which we are governed provide a solid base by which society can function without undue chaos. The relationship between the centers of power in our country, regardless of where they are found, and the laws by which we are governed, are key to our survival and future. To what extent is our way of life being altered by computerization, and how does this relate to the rule of law over man? Robert Boguslaw, in his thought-provoking book called *The New Utopians,* offers the opinion that:

"The exercise of power, which formerly was mediated through conventions of law, custom, 'what the union will stand for,' or 'principles of human relations'—now must be mediated through the current state of computer technology."[17]

Projections of state-of-the-art development in automatic data processing hardware and software reflect capabilities for the future that would be unbelievable if we had not been witness to equally fabulous innovations within our own lifetimes. But whether an advance is made in computer technology or some related realm (such as lasers), there are not the guidelines extant today which can tell us what effect a new development may have upon society. *Prior* to commitment of scarce personnel and implementation monies, there must be careful, intensive assessment of where the new offering will impinge on existing activities and values. Admiral Rickover calls for the type of controls which long have existed in the public health field; in his words: "There is a need for laws requiring that before a particular technology may be used, reliable tests must have been made to prove it will be useful and safe."[18]

The responsibility for creating new tools and techniques resides in many quarters: with the person or group who demands a new product; with the inventor who conceives of that device or process which can fulfill the need; with the sources of financial support; with those skilled human beings who will adapt the invention to the specific need(s) of society; and with those who would market the product so that all may share in its benefits.

Discussion over the social consequences of the technological revolution has run the gamut from rational debate to impassioned dialogue. The proposal for a Federal Data Center to store centrally in ADP form selected economic statistical data has been the focus of public hearings in both chambers of the Federal Congress[19] and a platform for the expression of opinions by discussants from all quarters. Is the "invasion of privacy" a bona fide issue? In the words of McLuhan:

"The older, traditional ideas of private isolated thoughts and actions—the patterns of mechanistic technology—are very seriously threatened by new methods of instantaneous electric information retrieval, by the electrically computerized dossier bank—that one big gossip column that is unforgiving, unforgetful and from which there is no redemption, no erasure of 'early mistakes.'"[20]

The justification for compiling, structuring, and processing information which otherwise would be kept in fragmented

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Footnotes at end of speech.

fashion in diverse data repositories is the crux of many arguments. Is it enough to say that budgeteers and planners must have all of the requisite data brought together in one easily accessible store? Who is to determine what data is essential, and more importantly who is to have access to it, and under what conditions? The controls possible are many,[21] and should be examined and reexamined according to the dictates of our social conscience and the desired balance to be maintained between our guaranteed liberties and the needs of those who must govern.

It has been said that it is too early to assess accurately the full impact of the burgeoning technology on this Nation. Change is constant, and our thinking must respond to the needs of the era. In discussing the criteria by which man must exist with machines Freeman Holmer offers this insight:

"The use of these machines is still ours to shape in terms of the moral imperatives—the fundamental choices of value. There is a logic of the machines that cannot be denied but there is a logic beyond logic which should control the result of this revolution of our time." [22]

Today there is a need for empathetic interaction between individuals, groups, and nations as never before in the existence of the earth. Each new challenge requires a wrenching change in patterns of behavior or institutional modes of operation. Our future rests not only with the innovators and industrial manufacturers of new and better devices. The insight and flexibility of the social planners and inter-disciplinary molders of the morrow may prove to be the *sine qua non* as the civilization of the coming decades is projected and brought to a state of reality.

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Veteran Connecticut Reporter To Retire After 50-Year Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the dean of the Connecticut press corps in the Nation's Capital, Mr. Robert D. Byrnes, is retiring at the end of this year. His distinguished journalistic career extending over a period of 50 years, 24 of which were spent covering the Washington scene, has earned him a reputation for excellence and integrity in interpreting political events. The Connecticut congressional delegation, which has served during his long tenure, can testify to the depth of his perception and his grasp of issues. I am sure that there is not one among us who would deny that he has served the highest ideals of our country, and the State of Connecticut in particular.

I wish for Bob Byrnes all of the rewards of a well-deserved retirement. I am pleased to know that he and Mrs. Byrnes will remain in the Washington area and will be available to comment on the activities of Capitol Hill, at a less demanding pace, from time to time. I wish for both of them many long years together in happiness and good health.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I am inserting an article from the November 12, 1967, issue of the Hartford Courant, the newspaper with which Bob Byrnes has been associated most of his journalistic life. This article ably documents his fulfillment of the finest traditions of the newspaper profession:

[From the Hartford Courant, Nov. 12, 1967]

COURANT'S WASHINGTON REPORTER ROBERT BYRNES TO END CAREER

WASHINGTON.—Robert D. Byrnes, The Courant's veteran Washington correspondent, will retire at the end of this year, bringing to a close a distinguished 50-year career as a reporter. He will be succeeded by Robert Waters of The Courant staff.

Byrnes, the dean of the Connecticut press corps in the capital, has covered the Washington scene for 24 years. His actual work will end with the close of the first session of the 90th Congress, presumably within the next few weeks.

In a city of political experts, Bob Byrnes is regarded as one of the most knowledgeable especially on the oft-mysterious mechanics of the Congressional machine.

TO BE HONORED

This esteem will be reflected Wednesday in ceremonies. Byrnes will be honored at a noon-day luncheon and an evening reception—both at the Capitol.

Hosting both affairs is the eight-member Connecticut delegation to Congress. Guests will include some of the most important leaders in Congress, as well as friends and Courant officials.

Byrnes' 24 years in Washington places him near the top of the list of the most experienced reporters here.

The 24 years, however, represent less than half of his career in newspaper work. His first news writing assignments came in the fall of 1917—when Byrnes was a 17-year-old student at Trinity College.

Byrnes went to work as the campus correspondent for the Hartford Times. He faced formidable opposition. The late Moses Berkman, later a Times editor, was correspondent for the old Hartford Post.

And The Courant's campus correspondent was John R. Reitemeyer, who later became the fourth Courant published that Byrnes was to work under.

CONTACTED BY REITEMEYER

It was Reitemeyer who brought Byrnes to The Courant. In 1920, Reitemeyer contacted Byrnes.

"He hired me right out of the Times city room where I was working during summer vacation," Byrnes smiled in recalling his start with "America's Oldest Newspaper in Continuous Publication."

Byrnes was graduated from Trinity two years later. The following year he started the first of 20 years covering the hectic scene of the Connecticut General Assembly.

That same year, 1923, he also took another big step: He married the former Dorothy Seymour of Cos Cob.

They have one son, Robert S. Byrnes, who is now married, and, like his parents, makes his home across the Potomac River in nearby Arlington, Va.

As a college reporter in Hartford, Byrnes attracted the attention of big city editors. Don C. Seiz, an official with the old New York World, offered Byrnes a job in Manhattan.

"He then advised me not to take it," laughed Byrnes.

Why? "He told me Hartford is the best

newspaper city in the world," recalled Byrnes. "We had two strong, independent newspapers."

HOLDS VARIOUS POSTS

Byrnes' pre-Washington experience wasn't limited to the General Assembly, however. At various times, he served as state editor, political editor and as an editorial writer.

In 1943, Byrnes and his wife made the move to Washington to begin the work he will end when Congress quits later this year.

Over the years, Byrnes has met the great and the near-great. He has covered the last 20 national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties. At one time or another, he has covered nearly every president since Calvin Coolidge. In Washington, he has seen 10 senators and 30 House members elected from Connecticut.

One of Byrnes' most memorable stories came in 1945. It was also a big day in history: VJ Day.

"I went out to dinner that night," he said. "After dinner, I stopped by the White House."

To his surprise, Byrnes learned that President Truman had called a hurried press conference.

TRUMAN WELL REMEMBERED

Byrnes was one of some 50 newsmen at the White House to hear Truman announce the end of World War II. Normally 200 correspondents would have been there if the conference had been scheduled.

Harry S. Truman, as a former senator, as well as President, is well-remembered by Byrnes. "He was a man who would speak first the second time he met you," said Byrnes.

Truman's thoughtfulness was demonstrated even during his VJ Day announcement, Byrnes remembered. As Truman read his statement on the end of hostilites, he suddenly realized the press corps was having difficulty keeping up their notes on the President's prepared remarks.

During one of the most momentous announcements of the century, Truman halted.

"He had read only one or two sentences—and then he stopped," said Byrnes. "He realized what we were up against."

"He looked at us and said: 'You don't have to take this down. It's mimeographed. You can pick up copies on your way out.' "

Other outstanding stories Byrnes has covered included the post World War II legislation on atomic energy. It was a national story. But it has a strong Connecticut flavor.

The late Senator Brien McMahon led the legislative effort that bears his name. Connecticut's other senator, Admiral Thomas C. Hart, of Sharon, was also a member of the Special Atomic Energy Committee. In the House, the bill was handled by the Military Affairs Committee. Clare Boothe Luce, then a representative from Connecticut, played a leading role on this committee.

ATTENTION TO DETAILS

Over the years, Byrnes' coverage of stories has been marked by sharp attention to accuracy and details. An example came in 1937 when the General Assembly passed a bill that concerned the State Police Department.

Byrnes noticed that a comma had apparently been omitted in the text of the bill. The omission had a curious effect on the meaning of the bill: "It seemed to abolish the State Police," Byrnes smiled.

The reporter quickly checked. He contacted the late Clement Hyde, long the principal of Hartford Public High School. Hyde agreed with Byrnes' interpretation of the language.

Byrnes wrote a story. The next day the General Assembly amended the bill.

Byrnes' honors have included election to the Standing Committee of Correspondents of the Congressional Press Gallery. During the past 24 years, he has seen the membership of the press gallery jump from some 500 members to more than 1,000. In addition to his accreditation in Congress, Byrnes is also a member of the White House Correspondents Assn.

FRIEND OF FARLEY'S

One of Byrnes' long-standing friendships has been with former Postmaster General James A. Farley. A photo of Farley and Byrnes hangs on the wall of The Courant's office here in the National Press Building. It was taken in 1943 at a testimonial dinner in Hartford after Byrnes had been named Washington correspondent for The Courant.

Byrnes and Farley still meet at Democratic National Committee meetings.

Byrnes' tenure in Washington has also seen two Connecticut men at the head of national committees. They are: Meade Alcorn former GOP National chairman, and John M. Bailey, the present Democratic national chairman.

Byrnes' pending retirement caught official and unofficial Washington by surprise. A typical comment came in a letter from Senator Abraham Ribicoff.

Ribicoff wrote: "I am filled with sadness and a sense of loss at your forthcoming retirement. While you are certainly deserving, it just doesn't seem possible that your time to retire has come. I can't imagine the legislative scene without your presence. My memory goes back many years to the Connecticut Legislature, the House of Representatives and the United States Senate."

"I have never known a reporter who has been so consistently accurate, so consistently fair and so consistently good. You have performed your tasks in the finest tradition of a great profession. All of us who know and respect you are going to miss you . . ."

BYRNES GIVEN CREDIT

The Connecticut senator, like many others in this city, has good reason to remember Byrnes' standards for "good reporting."

During the rush of Post World War II legislation, Byrnes noted, some language in a bill providing for relocation of industry.

The bill, as written, would have subsidized moves of industry out of New England. Byrnes wrote a story exposing the danger of the bill. Ribicoff, then in the House, organized the opposition in Congress. Ribicoff made a speech crediting Byrnes with spotting the "sleeper" in the bill.

Byrnes is perhaps best known to thousands of Courant readers as the author of the "Washington Report" column. His picture and by-line have appeared over more than 7,000 columns in the daily and Sunday editions.

Widnall Proposes New Program for Urban Renewal: Tax the Delinquent Slumlord

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, among the many problems confronting our Nation, perhaps none is more severe than the blight of our urban centers. Not only are more people crippled by the deteriorating conditions, but as a nation we are all paralyzed when the frustration of living in the ghetto ferments and the slums explode. We look for answers to the problems and we look for leadership from men whose proposals in the past have been tried and proven. One such man is my friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, William B. Widnall.

For many years Members on both sides of the aisle have referred to Bill Widnall as Mr. Housing. And the accolade is not without substance. Some of the most promising programs in the field of housing in the past several years have been authored by him. One of the most successful has been the rent certificate, or leased public housing program. Another is his amendment to the 1965 Housing Act which set a ceiling of 3 percent on loans for college and elderly housing. Then there is the provision in the law for an immediate payment of 75 percent of the appraised value of property condemned by eminent domain; the insistence that suitable relocation quarters be available both for displaced families and businesses; and the new FHA veterans' housing mortgage guarantee program, as well as its extension to include veterans who had already utilized their VA housing benefits.

The list of programs authored by Bill Widnall is long. But, in each we see a design to help the so-called little guy, so often overlooked. And, on more than one occasion, we have supported his efforts to legislate programs to provide decent, safe, and adequate housing for the low- and moderate-income families of this Nation. The 1966 Housing Act, for example, included a Widnall amendment which insisted that a substantial number of such housing units be a part of future urban renewal projects. And his most recent plan to provide home ownership for low-income families, which I am pleased to cosponsor, is aimed at correcting the same inequity.

Now, Congressman Widnall offers for consideration a bold, new proposal. In the November 11 issue of the Boston Globe, Widnall, in effect, poses the question: "Why should the man who improves his home be rewarded with an immediate and much higher property tax bill when the slum landlord reaps benefits from his failure to live up to code provisions and the basic needs of his tenants?"

Widnall's answer: "We should tax the slumlord."

I, for one, believe that this proposal should be given every consideration by this Congress. It is an enlightened approach which could greatly benefit many people.

For the benefit of my colleagues who missed Hugh L. Morris' story in the Globe, I include the full text in the Record at this point:

TAX THE DELINQUENT SLUMLORD

(By Hugh L. Morris)

Washington.—Home owners spend more than $7 billion a year to repair and to improve their dwellings, and a leading Congressional spokesman on housing believes they should receive a little more tangible aid and encouragement in their efforts.

Rep. William Widnall (R-N.J.) ranking majority member of the House subcommittee on housing, believes that a tax break should go to the owner who improves his home and that a tax bill should go to the slumlord who does not maintain his property.

Widnall suggested also the possibility of making available to all low-income homeowners the Federal grants and loans which are now limited to urban renewal areas.

According to a census bureau study of upkeep and improvements by home owners about 40 percent of the expenditures is for painting, 20 percent for heating and air conditioning, 20 percent for plumbing, and 15 percent for roofing.

Owners of single-dwelling homes spent $7.1 billion of the $11.7 billion outlay for upkeep and improvement of residential properties in the United States last year. The annual expenditure has gone up from $6 billion since the survey started in 1962.

Widnall cited residential rehabilitation as an area for much potential benefit, with aid and encouragement by local and Federal governments, if the program is properly carried out by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The New Jersey Republican is a member of the minority party in Congress but his credentials as a leader in housing legislation are attested to by the number of major housing programs which he has sponsored and seen enacted into law.

Rehabilitation has become something of a touchy subject with HUD officials who have switched urban renewal from a bulldozing to a salvaging operation but have been unable to come up with the right tactic to make residential rehabilitation a success.

Widnall stated that under the concentrated code enforcement program, which he sponsored in Congress, more homes have been targeted for rehabilitation in one and a half years than have been done under regular urban renewal since 1954.

Among the Federal aids available in code reinforcement and urban renewal areas are loans up to $10,000 and grants up to $1500 for repairs by low-income home owners.

Widnall said it is hard to justify these loans and grants in limited areas only, and he suggested that consideration be given to making them available first in areas adjoining urban renewal projects and then throughout the entire community.

He urged that in the search for ways to improve neighborhoods there should be a reexamination of the illogical process by which a family is encouraged to improve its home and is rewarded with an immediate and much higher property tax bill.

"Particularly is this true," he added, "while the slum landlord reaps benefits from failure to live up to code provisions and the basic needs of his tenants. We should tax him and not the man who improves his property.

"What we need is some partnership system between Federal and local governments and the property owner that will reward him for neighborhood betterment and penalize him for failing to correct conditions that cause his property to be labeled sub-standard."

The New Jersey Congressman said he did not think that a permanent tax abatement is the answer but, he continued, "I can conceive of one lasting three years that would help immeasurably." In this way, he explained, the local government could still collect its previous taxes and look forward to increased revenues after three years.

However, Congress has no control over local property taxes and to make effective a property tax abatement of the type suggested by Widnall probably would require the stick-and-carrot approach of most federal grant programs—offering financial help if certain conditions are met and withholding it if they are not.

Culver Assails Indifference to Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished friend and colleague, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Culver] has emerged as an increasingly effective and conscientious Member of this body. In addition, he has become a respected voice in behalf of the underdog in our society, including those disadvantaged fellow citizens for whom the war against poverty provides the key to hope for the future.

An excellent article by Roberta West, entitled "Culver Assails Indifference to Poor," appeared in the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald on October 19, reporting on an eloquent and timely address by Congressman Culver before the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary.

As I believe Miss West's article will be of interest to many of my distinguished colleagues, I insert it at this point in the Record:

CULVER ASSAILS INDIFFERENCE TO POOR

(By Roberta West)

America's indifference to the problems of the poor in this country and abroad is a "very real threat to our own strength and security as a nation," U.S. Rep. John C. Culver (D-Ia.) said Wednesday at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary.

Culver, a member of the First Presbyterian Church in Cedar Rapids, Ia., addressed about 50 seminarians and their professors as part of a speaking tour of the Second Congressional District.

In a speech that hit society's neglect of the underprivileged, the Iowa congressman told his audience:

"We are the wealthiest nation in the world, but we are directing less than one per cent of our vast resources to the problems of the disadvantaged, both at home and abroad, who have no share in that prosperity."

He noted that "there are persuasive political arguments for a greater American commitment to the problems of the disadvantaged; to prevent the erosion of freedom in our own society by increasing chaos and disorder, and to avoid an imbalance in international power in favor of communism.

"The United States considers itself to be a Christian nation. Yet we deny the most fundamental teaching of Christ—that 'Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself'—when we turn our backs on the plight of the disadvantaged in our nation, or in the villages of the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"As a consequence, the American society, which is based on justice and peaceful constructive change through established institutions, forfeited much in the ghettos this summer to an irresponsible and lawless few who were able to feed on the very real and tragic frustrations of the disadvantaged for their own purposes."

Culver predicted that "we may see similar outbreaks of violence, stimulated by communist expansionist activity in the emerging nations of the world, if stable economic and political instructions capable of resisting aggression and subversion, are not developed.

"We may also see it here at home in our cities if we do not demonstrate that our system can meet the needs of all our people, rich and poor alike," he asserted.

Culver berated both the church and Congress for their failure to become more involved with the problems of the disadvantaged.

"When the Congress cuts the foreign aid program to less than three-tenths of one per cent of our gross national product, when the House of Representatives refuses to consider legislation to eradicate rats, when rent subsidies and economic opportunity programs are reduced to a level where they can be operated only in the most minimal way, if at all, we should hear a storm of protest from the church which would make the legislature seriously consider its irresponsible action. There has been no such hue and cry."

On a national level, the church should speak out on the public issues and advocate policies and programs that can meet these problems, he said. On a grass roots level, it "must assume its responsibility for educating and leading according to the teachings of Christ."

The church, Culver continued, should be a spokesman on wars, poverty and crime, foreign aid and programs "to improve the quality of life of the individual in a free society."

Quoting Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Culver said: "The test of 20th Century Christianity is not how much the poor enter into the life of the church, but how much the church enters into the life of the poor.

"In just the same way," he continued, "the test for America will be not how much the poor enter into the life of our society but how much our society enters into the life of the poor."

The question of whether churchmanship and citizenship are compatible is no longer relevant in the United States, the congressman added.

"Unlike the Christians of Caesar's time or churchmen today in many areas of the world, we live in a democracy where we are not only free but obliged to speak out on local and political issues.

"We have more of an opportunity as Americans to be truly Christian."

Business Needs You—Symposia Sponsored by American Girl Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, within recent years, we have witnessed an important trend, a growing awareness by business of social responsibilities to the communities served. One good illustration of this is the significant national public service program undertaken by a New York-based corporation, American Girl Service, designed to encourage mature women to return to work.

Aware of the tremendous employment needs facing this country, and aware, also, that a great many mature women possess skills which can, but which have not been properly utilized, American Girl Service, a temporary help firm with offices in my district and in 67 cities, undertook a series of symposia in cooperation with leading department stores in various cities, titled "Business Needs You."

This program has already attracted live audiences of nearly 3,000 women, and has resulted in the return to work of many of the participants. American Girl Service, which itself employs 20,000 women annually, has cooperated fully in the development of this program with various Government agencies, including the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, and has indicated that this significant public service program will be continued throughout 1968.

Recently, in response to many requests, American Girl Service prepared an informational backgrounder describing the "Business Needs You" program. I include it with my remarks in the Record:

BACKGROUND ON "BUSINESS NEEDS YOU" SYMPOSIUM

There are hundreds of thousands of mature women throughout the country who have important skills and years of prior office experience to offer to business, but who, for a variety of reasons, are reluctant to return to work. In a period of a tightening labor market, business wants and needs these women and is prepared to pay them well for their services.

The problem, up to now, has been how to identify these women and assuage their fears, both real and imaginary, regarding their return to work. American Girl Service, a leading national temporary help firm headquartered in New York City, discovered the answer, and as a result, it has helped thousands of mature women interested in working again and scores of firms seeking skilled and experienced employees.

The American Girl answer was its development and co-sponsorship of a public service symposium, titled "Business Needs You," which was specifically designed to encourage mature women to return to work. The first symposium, featuring a keynote address by Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, director of the U. S. Labor Department's Women's Bureau, was presented in cooperation with Stern Brothers Department Store in New York City on January 25, 1967. This program, which attracted an overflow audience of 1,100 enthusiastic women, was so successful that American Girl Service was urged by government officials, program participants, and representatives of several leading national retail organizations, to present similar symposia in other cities.

As a result of this encouragement, American Girl Service developed a national program of "Business Needs You" symposia, presented in cooperation with leading department stores throughout the country. During 1967, for example, the temporary help firm co-sponsored five highly successful symposia. New programs are being presented throughout 1968.

In addition to the New York City program, 1967 symposia included:

Miami, Florida: A July 18th program co-sponsored by Jordan Marsh and attended by 500 women. Mrs. Keyserling was keynote speaker.

Denver, Colorado: A September 12th program co-sponsored by May D&F and attended by 500 women. Miss Rhobia C. Taylor, Regional Director of the Women's Bureau, was keynote speaker.

Rochester, N.Y.: A September 20th program co-sponsored by McCurdy's and attended by 250 women. Miss Evelyn Harrison, assistant to the Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission for Federal Women's Programs, was keynote speaker.

Minneapolis, Minn.: An October 3rd program co-sponsored by Donaldson's Golden Rule and attended by 300 women. Miss Mary Manning, Regional Director of the Women's Bureau, was keynote speaker.

A major factor in the program's success is its pragramtic approach to the problems and fears facing women contemplating a return to work. Virtually no area of concern is left untouched. Secondly, although the program is sponsored by a temporary help firm, it is non-commercial in content and discusses all kinds of work and all sources of employment, including government agencies. In fact, the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor has played a major role in the program by providing helpful materials to attendees and by the participation of its key executives as symposium speakers.

The format used in the symposium presented at Stern Brothers, is repeated in each of the other cities where it is presented, with minor changes made to reflect local needs. The keynote speaker is a government official, at the state or national level, and the program moderator is a top executive of American Girl Service, such as its president, Sabatino A. Russo, Jr. Other speakers, all drawn from the area in which the program is presented, include psychologists, financial experts, personnel executives of leading corporations, and local labor authorities.

How is a typical program conducted? On the day of the Stern Brothers program, for example, women began lining up in the corridor outside the store auditorium more than an hour before the 1:00 p.m. starting time. As each woman entered the room, she was handed a kit of materials compiled by American Girl Service from many sources. The kit featured brochures and pamphlets dealing with various facets of employment.

The symposium, which ran until 5:00 p.m., featured such distinguished speakers as Mrs. Keyserling; Mr. Russo; Dr. Rose Franzblau, a noted psychologist and writer; and Mary Feeley, syndicated financial columnist of the Associated Press.

Representatives of leading corporations spoke briefly and participated in a panel discussion. Among the topics discussed were: the job market today; kinds of work available; the modern office; computer equipment; attitudes of companies toward hiring mature workers; finances; and emotional factors. The panelists and speakers also answered scores of questions from the floor. Included in the program was a simulated job interview and a slide showing contrasting the office of yesterday with the office of today. The program concluded with a make-up demonstration and fashion show, specifically aimed at the mature woman returning to work.

A program ingredient, introduced successfully at the Minneapolis Symposium, was a consultation period immediately following the conclusion of the program. Personnel representatives of thirteen local corporations and organizations met with interested audience members individually and answered their questions concerning employment.

An indication of the program's success in stimulating women to return to work can be gleaned from one of the many letters received by American Girl Service following the New York City program. It said, in part, "I must express thanks for the confidence acquired by listening to the many speakers . . . I had given up. Now I am ready to go job hunting again."

U.S. Military Plane Flights Over Chinese Territory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I spoke before the House today expressing my grave concern over remarks recently attributed to a State Department spokesman—as reported in a recent—October 21, 1967—editorial in the Saturday Review—that the United States was conducting regular military flights over the territory of mainland China.

I believe it to be of some importance to the House that it be provided with teh entire text of this illuminating editorial. This I attach as follows:

THE TRAGIC TRAP

A spokesman for the United States Department of State has politely called our attention to what the Department regards as misleading statements in SR's editorial, "Is the National Honor Being Bombed?" [SR, Sept. 9]. These were the three statements to which the State Department took principal exception:

(1) The editorial made it appear that the United States only recently made a calculated decision to send military planes over Communist China. Actually, the State Department spokesman said, there is nothing new about such flights; United States military planes have been flying authorized missions over Communist China for several years.

(2) The editorial stated that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has said the bombing operations over North Vietnam have had little military value and were being carried out because they helped to boost morale in South Vietnam. The State Department objected to this paraphrase as having gone beyond the actual position of the Secretary. True, Mr. McNamara did not agree with those who held exaggerated ideas about the military efficacy of the bombings, but neither did he suggest that the value of the bombing was as slight as the editorial made it appear.

(3) The editorial referred to missed or spurned opportunities to negotiate, one of which occurred in December, 1966 when United States Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in Saigon took the initiative in asking a neutral third party to urge Hanoi to come to the negotiating table. As a result, the editorial said, approaches to Hanoi were made and the initial response was guarded but affirmative. Exploratory meetings were arranged for Warsaw in the middle of December but were called off when the United States bombed the city of Hanoi just before the talks were to start. The State Department spokesman declared it was not Ambassador Lodge but the neutral third party who took the initiative in seeking negotiations. He also said the projected meetings were less definite than the editorial indicated. Moreover, it was difficult for the State Department to believe that Hanoi, if it genuinely wished to negotiate, would allow the bombings to stand in the way.

SR's editor welcomes the direct and amicable expression of concern by the State Department over information and viewpoints conveyed in this magazine. An editorial page is first of all an exercise in responsibility. Criticism of the nation's foreign policy, especially in a matter as critical as the Vietnam war, must rest on a body of supportable fact. It is against this background that we offer the following points:

(1) We accept without question the State Department's statement that the authorization for military flights over Communist China is not new. However, far from being reassured by this statement, we find it profoundly disquieting. The fact that violations of Chinese airspace have been taking place over a period of time does little to offset the apprehension that the Government has been engaged in provocative actions that could jeopardize the national security. Both President Dwight D. Eisenhower and President John F. Kennedy have recognized the folly of involving the United States in a major land war on the mainland of Asia. Also, almost all responsible statesmen have recognized that miscalculation or accident could touch off nuclear holocaust. When we put these views before the State Department spokesman, he replied that Communist China has had full knowledge and understanding of our military flights over her territory and does not regard them as provocative. We are puzzled by this reply. If Communist China "understands" the reason for the overflights, why did it recently shoot down two U.S. planes—which, incidentally, were officially described by the U.S. Government as having "mistakenly wandered off course"? Is it unreasonable to point out that either the flights are authorized or are accidental, but cannot be both? On one hand, the State Department

declares that the flights are deliberate and that China knows all about them, the implication being that the Chinese do not consider them an act of war; and on the other hand the Government declares that these airspace intrusions are the result of an accident. Is it unreasonable to ask what our own attitude would be toward violations of American airspace by Russian or Chinese planes? How would we react to statements that we are not likely to find such actions provocative, and that, indeed, we "know all about them"?

(2) We regret any imprecision in reporting Secretary McNamara's position on the bombing of Vietnam. We note, however, that he said nothing to encourage those who believe the bombing ca bring about decisive military gains. The main point made in the editorial, it may be recalled, was that one of the major reasons for the bombing of North Vietnam was that it was said to contribute to the morale of the South Vietnam Government. If it is true that the bombing is less effective militarily than is generally supposed, and if reports are true of substantial numbers of civilians being killed or maimed by the bombing, then the conception of bombing as a morale booster continues to strike us as a warped and morally indefensible policy.

(3) The point that it was not Ambassador Lodge but a neutral third party who took the initiative in seeking negotiations calls for correction, although our information had been corroborated by prime sources we had no reason to question. Here, too, however, the main issue is not who took the initiative but the fact that the United States bombed the city of Hanoi just before the exploratory talks with North Vietnam were scheduled to begin in Warsaw, the result being the collapse of the projected meeting. The State Department believes that arrangements for the talks were far less definite than the editorial indicated; even so, it is a fact that the U.S. Ambassador to Poland was brought home hurriedly for the purpose of briefing him on the American position. It is also a fact that after the State Department announced that the bombings had been carried out in error (at first, the Department denied the bombings), the President sought to reschedule talks by assuring North Vietnam that we would refrain from bombing actions within a fixed distance from the city. As for the Government's argument that it was unlikely that the bombing of Hanoi was the specific cause of the cancellation of the talks, the fact remains that the talks were about to begin, the bombing was carried out, and the preparations for the talks abruptly ceased.

One of the main reasons for the growing opposition within the United States to the war in Vietnam is the increasing awareness of a gap between our announced aims and the policies being carired out in the name of these aims. The Government says it wants to negotiate but that it has no one to negotiate with. That situation is certainly true today, as Hanoi's recent statements make clear; but it is far less clear that this has been the case all along. There have been at least four specific instances, one of them involving U.N. Secretary General U Thant, in which approaches to Hanoi produced affirmative responses, only to have the efforts thwarted or blasted by inexplicable military or political moves.

The President has been far more moderate in his policies than the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as Congressional testimony makes clear. But the question arises nonetheless whether, step by step, the aim of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to achieve a military solution may not now in effect be dominant policy in Vietnam. No man has advanced stronger arguments against a military solution than the President, but the American military has evidently not accepted that conclusion. Actions in the field seem to indicate that the argument has been swinging in the military direction.

Vietnam is one of the most tragic traps in history, and we are all caught in it, the Americans no less than the Vietnamese. We may not be able to find a way out, as Theodore Sorensen says in his article in this issue, unless we begin to do these things that are consistent with the ends we seek.

The Prudent—Not Necessarily Popular—Need for a Tax Surcharge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, if the President's proposed tax increase is not adopted, says the administration, the impact on the money market generally and on the mortgage market in particular will be so severe that it will blot out all memory of the credit squeeze of 1966.

On the other hand, say the administration spokesmen, with a tax increase Government and private credit demands will be held to manageable levels and credit conditions will thus be tolerable.

This is what administration spokesmen have been saying. And perhaps they are right. Government borrowing is already competing strongly with the financing needs of industry. States, and cities, and as a result interest rates have been soaring.

There are, of course, many persons—bankers, businessmen, and journalists, for example—who fully understand the special problems of the economy and know how certain sectors are affected by economic developments. I feel it is our responsibility to get the views of many of these competent observers as we continue to debate the necessity of a tax increase.

In the area of economic reporting, many of us read regularly the syndicated column of Joseph Slevin.

In a column which appeared in the Washington Post on November 14, Mr. Slevin talks about the unsettled conditions now prevailing in the money market. One of the major points he makes is that:

> Top Wall Street and Government experts warned Congress that interest rates would soar if taxes were not increased and they are now in the unhappy position of being able to say "I told you so."

In my remarks of August 28 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I said:

> The state of the Nation's money and credit markets provides an overriding reason for the tax surcharge and other tax actions by the President . . . this is simply a matter of the size of credit demands and the size of credit supplies.

I prefer the use of the word surtax to his phrase war tax; however, I commend Mr. Slevin's article at this point in the RECORD to the attention of my colleagues:

BORROWING COSTS RISE, NOW ABOVE HIGH OF 1966

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

The American people are paying a stiff interest rate price for Congress' refusal to vote higher taxes.

Top Wall Street and Government experts warned Congress that interest rates would soar if taxes were not increased and they now are in the unhappy position of being able to say: "I told you so."

Business corporations, local governments and Uncle Sam all are being forced to pay an expensive one-half of one per cent more to borrow now than when President Johnson submitted his Vietnam surtax request on Aug. 3.

Borrowing costs edged up only slightly during the days immediately after the President asked for the war tax. It is clear that interest rates today would be little if any higher than they were three months ago if Congress had voted to boost taxes.

The big interest rate advance started only after House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) announced that the 25-man taxwriting group had voted to pigeonhole the surtax bill.

RATES AT 40-YEAR HIGHS

It has not been generally recognized as yet but key borrowing rates now have soared above the 40-year highs that they touched during the harsh August, 1966 credit crunch.

Local government money costs have jumped to 4.31 per cent in recent days. That's .07 of 1 per cent more than local communities had to pay during the crunch; and the rates are continuing to climb.

The taxpayers will foot the bill for the steeper local borrowing costs. Local communities depend on their tax collections to pay the interest charges on their loans. That means that property, sales, income and other local levies will go higher.

Climbing corporation borrowing costs will come out of consumers' pockets, too. New AA-rated corporate bonds currently carry an average interest charge of 6.78 per cent and that is almost exactly one-half of one per cent above the 1966 record.

Corporations figure that interest rates are a cost of doing business. They will pass along their higher interest charges to their customers in higher prices.

BAD NEWS FOR TAXPAYERS

Federal Government borrowing rates have been climbing faster than anybody's and that is another piece of bad news for the taxpayer. The interest cost of the huge public debt will be many hundreds of millions of dollars larger this year than it would have been if Congress had taken the virtually unanimous advice of the Government and Wall Street Experts and had enacted the surtax.

The saddest part of it all is that the experts can offer little hope of a significant decline in money costs any time soon. Their glum conclusion is that most of the Congressional damage is at least semi-permanent.

One small hope is that the developing business boom may be a shade less powerful than the forecasters have been predicting. If that happens, business borrowing demands will be reduced and interest rates may stop climbing.

Another hope is that Congress belatedly will decide to enact the needed war tax.

Oregon Aviator Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, on the initiative of the Italian Defense Department, 64 American Aviators received awards November 3 and 4, 1967. This marked the 50th Anniversary of American participation on the Italian front during World War I.

I am proud to say that one of my constituents, Mr. Linus V. Windnagle of 901 Southwest King Avenue, in Portland, Oreg., was one of the 64 men so honored.

In ceremonies in Washington, D.C., Mr. Windnagle and his 63 distinguished colleagues were presented the Croce di Cavaliere—Knight's Cross—of the Republic of Italy and the honorary Golden Wings of the Italian Air Force by His Excellency Egidio Ortona, Ambassador of Italy.

In other ceremonies at the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. Windnagle and the other aviators received the Gold Medal of the city of Foggia from the mayor of that Italian city. Count Giovanni Caproni di Taliedo then presented each of the men with a medal from the Caproni Museum.

The pilots all graduated from the 8th Aviation Instruction Center in Foggia, Italy, during World War I, and flew Caproni war planes in the Italian Air Force.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Windnagle on these awards and his past gallant achievements for the Italian Air Force. This high commendation from the Republic of Italy is richly deserved by Mr. Windnagle and his gallant compatriots from World War I.

Another Jolt for the Credit Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the big news this week in the money markets was the decision of the United States Steel Corp. to withdraw a $225 million bond offering because of unsettled and congested market conditions. As Business Editor Hobart Rowen pointed out in the Tuesday, November 14, Washington Post, Big Steel's decision is important evidence of the chaotic state of the financial community.

United States Steel chose not to offer debentures in a market commanding an average 6.78 percent for double-A rated corporate bonds. Long-term U.S. Government bonds have also dropped in price—and risen in interest return to the investor—to levels not seen since shortly after the Civil War. Three weeks ago the Treasury marketed their newly authorized 7-year notes at 5.75 percent. The 5.75 is the highest note coupon since a 3-year issue in 1921.

In the competition for funds, interest rates for conventional home mortgages—the backbone of the construction and lumber industries—have risen to 6.55 percent, and are rapidly approaching the 6.70 percent of last year's credit crunch.

Another indication of the critical condition of the mortgage market is the recent anouncement by the Federal National Mortgage Association that it had purchased six times as many Government-backed mortgages during the third quarter of this year as it did in the April–June period. Mortgage lenders seek Fannie Mae's help when normal sources for funds dry up. The volume and dollar amount of last quarter's Fannie Mae purchases were very close to its all-time efforts during the 1966 credit crunch.

As key interest rates rapidly escalate in the bond markets, the impact is felt in the homebuilding and lumber industries—victims of the 1966 credit crisis. For example, September employment in the lumber and wood products industry of my State of Oregon was the smallest in 20 years. The 69,300-man work force was 9,000 less than September 1965.

Without a tax increase, and without some effective spending control from the administration, the picture next year is indeed bleak. A Federal deficit of $24 billion—which may be a conservative figure—would necessitate $22 billion of Treasury borrowing in the private capital markets. In 1966 the credit market supplied $65 billion to non-Federal borrowers—including Federal Reserve investment. Adding $22 billion to a $65 billion capital market would mean a demand for $87 billion to meet the money requirements of individuals, businesses, and Government. There simply is not $87 billion supply at interest rates the Government, or the ordinary businessman or farmer, can afford.

A return to last year's overreliance on monetary restraint to control market pressures would be disastrous.

Mr. Rowen notes that—

> There is widespread conviction in financial markets that the Fed is approaching a basic decision to alter its recent policy of monetary expansion.

The Fed's Open Market Committee may have taken that action already in their meeting on Tuesday.

Extravagant borrowing costs are not inevitable. As I advocated on the opening day of our Ways and Means Committee hearings on the administration's surcharge proposal, a temporary tax increase is necessary to restore reasonable interest costs for homebuilders and buyers, businessmen, farmers, and all levels of government. I have also called upon the President for firm assurances of spending control. The $40 billion of unobligated funds in the Treasury pipeline present an opportunity for far greater restraint than our appropriations cuts here in Congress. In order to assure our citizens that a tax increase is necessary to meet an emergency situation, I have recommended that the additional collections take the form of a tax loan—to be repaid to the taxpayer with interest when the budgetary crisis is passed.

When United States Steel is unwilling to pay the going interest costs it is more than symptomatic of a serious illness in the credit markets. It is clear evidence that the time has come to operate.

I include Mr. Rowen's article in the Record at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 14, 1967]

Another Jolt for the Market: United States Steel Delays Debenture Offer

(By Hobart Rowen)

A bond market already posting the highest interest-rate yields for some high-grade issues since the post-Civil War period got a further jolt yesterday when the U.S. Steel Corp. announced it would postpone a scheduled offering of $225 million of debentures.

The company said that the offering, which had been due today, would not be made because of "unsettled market conditions."

There was no further elaboration, but the implication was clear: with long-term interest rates soaring, Big Steel was not sure how much it would have to pay to borrow money.

Co-incidentally, Tenneco Corp., for the same reasons, cut the amount of a proposed debenture from $200 to $100 million.

LONG-TERM RATES RISE

Long-term interest rates have been rising because the present and prospective demand for money appears to be larger than the supply generated through savings. Inasmuch as the Government's deficit apparently will not be trimmed in the foreseeable future by a tax increase, financial markets lately have taken on a panicky tone.

Corporations have been heavy borrowers, especially through the sale of bonds and debentures, because they fear they will be squeezed out of the picture later on by the Treasury.

In addition, they are aware of the possibility that the Federal Reserve System may ultimately decide to tighten up the supply of credit at the banks. Until now the Fed has maintained an "easy" money supply, partly to assure economic recovery, and partly in support of the President's demand for help from the fiscal side—a tax increase.

EXPECT FED DECISION

There is a widespread conviction in financial markets that the Fed is approaching a basic decision to alter its recent policy of massive monetary expansion. It may, in fact, have already tightened up somewhat in recent policy-sessions.

The Board did announce yesterday, in its record of the August 15 Open Market Committee meeting, that it had then decided to maintain "about the prevailing conditions in the money market," but also to "moderate" any apparent tendency for bank credit to expand "more than currently expected." Records of the OMC are made available 90 days after the date of each meeting.

A key session of the OMC will be held today. But the group, in making its delicate decisions, will not have to take into account that key economic indicators, such as employment and retail sales, have not looked rosy in the past several weeks.

Meanwhile, short-term rates, in contrast to long-term rates, have been better-behaved.

They are well below the 1966 crisis levels. Thus, savings institutions, which were losing deposits at a fast rate in last year's monetary squeeze, have not been affected so far.

What Government and private experts fear is that if long-term rates continue to soar, they will inevitably pull short-term rates along. In that case, much of last year's "rate war" could be repeated.

Oklahoma Indians Lead in Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday it was my privilege to attend one of the finest Veterans Day celebrations held anywhere in the United States. This celebration was held in Pawhuska, Okla., the heart of the Osage Indian country, and was staged by American Legion Post 198, which has an all-Indian membership. The splendid post auxiliary joined in the all-day program.

Many times I have pointed out the outstanding patriotic qualities of the American Indian, and this daylong Veterans Day program in Pawhuska certainly underscored these qualities.

This point was made recently very eloquently by Frank Spencer, the editor of the Pawhuska Daily Journal-Capital. In his column, "The Thought Struck Me," in the Journal-Capital of November 3, Mr. Spencer reminds us of outstanding history of the American Indian as soldiers and citizens. I would like to have Frank Spencer's tribute to these great people appear in the RECORD, as follows:

THE THOUGHT JUST STRUCK ME

(By Frank Spencer)

A week from tomorrow is November 11th, Veteran's Day. In reading about all the riots and what-have-you over the nation; draft card burners; Hippies flipping their long, unwashed wigs over the Vietnam war and the fear they may have to serve a country which allows such damphool antics—it makes the local Indian Legion Post's all-day celebration stand out like a polished diamond in a coal pile.

Post 198 has planned a huge parade, a dinner, traditional dances, speeches and a full day's program based upon their respect, love for and allegiance to this nation. Actually, if the chips were down on reasoning, the Indian citizen of the U.S. should have more reason to "demonstrate" against Uncle Sam than anyone.

This nation sits atop his home ground. It was taken from him, none too gently, by an invading force from overseas. He was treated as a second class citizen, not even allowed to vote in his own country, herded around and cooped up in reservations, and what have you.

Yet the Indians are now carrying the banner of the nation as high as any group we have, and their love for America is something that has not been questioned in generations.

We don't recall of ever hearing of an Indian draft card burner, hippie, or draft dodger. But we have heard of lots of medal winners and citations for Indian citizens for valor and heroism in the nation's wars.

We hope the celebration coming up on the 11th is a big one and we hope everyone backs it to the hilt.

Most cities are faced with anti-war and anti-U.S. demonstrations. Thank heaven we live in a city where respect and love of country is something that is the subject of a demonstration, not the reverse as is in vogue now.

The Trust Territory Looks to the Future: Union or Independence?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of the House to two recent newspaper articles which take note of the mounting political foment in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and which present two different sentiments on what ought to be done about its future political status.

In a news report on a United Nations Day speech in the Marshall Islands, a very respected and influential Member of the Micronesian Senate, Senator Amata Kabua, is quoted as stating that the trust territory should become an independent state. I am personally acquainted with Senator Kabua and I know him as a man of sincerity and deep convictions. In another report from Saipan, Bob Trumbull of the New York Times News Service indicates that, following extensive interviews conducted during a 4,000-mile tour of Micronesia, he found most Micronesians prefer union with the United States.

Micronesia is being viewed more and more as the Asian doorway to Hawaii and to the American mainland, and I believe my colleagues would do well to consider the political soundings from this no-longer isolated region in the Pacific.

This is not a time for wistful regrets about our roundly criticized 20-year administration of the trust territory. It is rather a time for the United States to consider how it may best discharge its responsibilities, both political and economic, to this highly strategic Pacific outpost.

The two newspaper articles from the November 3 and November 6 editions of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin follow:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Nov. 3, 1967]

TRUST TERRITORY SENATOR SEEKS INDEPENDENCE FOR MICRONESIA

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands should become an independent nation.

Amata Kabua, a member of the 12-member Micronesian Senate and former chairman of the Senate Ways and Means Committee, made the plea in a United Nations day speech at Majuro in the Marshall Islands.

"We dream now of future UN days when we will be able to celebrate our own freedom," Kabua said.

The Trust Territory should become a "United Micronesia, standing no longer under a foreign governing authority, but alongside those foreigners as brothers, in the great organization of world states that is the United Nations," Kabua said. The Trust Territory is administered by the United States at the present time.

"Micronesia . . . is going ahead with plans for a Micronesian Federation that will bring all Micronesians together," Kabua said.

A viable economy for the Federation can be built on the marine resources the islands have to offer—provided that the United States will finance their development by paying for its use of Bikini and Kwajalein islands as military bases.

The United States has done little to develop the Trust Territory islands, Kabua charged.

Funds have not been provided for the development of marine resources "perhaps for subtle political reasons that favor a dependent people in this, one of the most strategically important areas of the world," he said.

Micronesians are now studying ways to obtain payment for U.S. bases in the islands commensurate with what the United States has paid for bases in Turkey, Asia or Spain, he said.

Kabua represents the Marshall Islands, one of the Trust Territory's six administrative districts and the site of major U.S. defense installations on Kwajalein, Bikini and Eniwetok.

He and other Marshallese delegates to the Congress of Micronesia have in the past sought controls over military use of their home islands, many of which are still the sole property of hereditary leaders.

Military use of the islands is permitted under the United States' trusteeship treaty with the United Nations.

Himself a hereditary chief, Kabua is regarded as one of the shrewdest members of the Congress of Micronesia.

He is president of the Marshall Islands Import-Export Co., largest, if not wealthiest, in the Marshalls.

He is a graduate of Hawaii's Maunaloa College, a former member and president of the Marshall Islands Congress, and a former member of the United States' delegations which reports to the United Nations on Trust Territory affairs.

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Nov. 6, 1967]

MOST MICRONESIANS PREFER UNION WITH UNITED STATES

(By Bob Trumbull)

SAIPAN, MARIANA ISLANDS.—An extensive sounding of political opinion in Micronesia indicates that the majority of leaders in these Pacific islands would prefer a union with the United States to independence.

However, many interviews with Micronesian officials, traditional chiefs, businessmen, students and others in a 4,000-mile tour of more than two dozen islands in all six administrative districts, revealed a general reluctance to "rush" a decision on future political status.

"The question is far more complex than a simple choice between independence and joining the U.S. or another country," said the Reklai (high chief) Lomisang of the Northern Palau Islands.

Complicating all political considerations in Micronesia, he explained, are the cultural differences, feuds, suspicions and vast distances that separate the 2,141 islands.

And rule by foreigners throughout Micronesia's known history—Spanish, Germans, Japanese and Americans, in turn—has left the 90,000 Islanders with little national consciousness, he added.

President Johnson has proposed that the Islands hold a plebiscite on their political future by 1972, a date that all Micronesians interviewed considered "too early."

Captured by American forces in World War II and awarded to the U.S. as a United Nations trusteeship in 1947, the Islands extend across the central Pacific in a broad arc about 2,400 miles long and 1,000 miles deep.

Micronesia ("tiny islands") is referred to in the U.N. as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, its official name.

Spread over four main archipelagoes—the Marshall Islands, the Eastern and Western Carolines and the Marianas—the Islanders are in different stages of advancement.

This cultural gap is yet another devisive influence, working against efforts to form a viable federation among a widely scattered people speaking nine different languages.

The sophisticated inhabitants of Saipan in the Marianas, most of whom have Spanish names, are rivals for commercial leadership in Micronesia with the Palau Islanders of the Western Carolines, who change their names periodically under a complicated system.

The less westernized majority, some still in the grass-skirt stage of development, is said to distrust both the Saipanese and Palauans.

Many Saipanese, who speak a language called Chamarro, clamor to have that island detached from the Trust Territory and joined to nearby Chamorro-speaking Guam, an American possession since 1898.

This move is opposed by some Guamanians because of potential economic complications, and personal animosities lingering from World War II, when Saipanese aid to the Japanese was resented on pro-American Guam.

"We are Yapese, not Micronesians, and we want to remain that way," High Chief Roboman, political boss of relatively primitive Yap, said bluntly. He favored retaining Micronesia under American trusteeship for "at least 10 more years."

Like most hereditary nobles in Micronesia, the high chief of Yap is said to set the political tone in his area.

"I was elected by the ballots of all the voters," said Francis Nuuan, a senator from Yap in the Congress of Micronesia, "but in reality I just represent High Chief Roboman."

We need unity within Micronesia before we try to decide a common political destiny for all the Islands," said Petrus Mailo, the hereditary chief, political leader and biggest businessman of Moen Island, Truk.

"There's no rhyme or reason why Micronesia should be governed as six districts," said Jacob Sawaichi, the leading businessman of Koror, Palau, who leans toward a division of Micronesia into eastern and western halves.

Most of the Micronesians interviewed said that some of the older generation, remembering more prosperous times under the prewar Japanese, would vote to rejoin Japan.

"The Japanese always kept their promises," said an elderly chief on Babelthuap Island, Palau. He recalled that he and others had cut down valuable coconut trees to make way for a promised road that a new American administrator in the district apparently forgot about.

Charlene Todd: VISTA Volunteer—Another West Side Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, those who question the VISTA program might do well to take note of a very fine article by Leroy Aarons, entitled "A 20-Year-Old Girl's Battle," which appeared this past Sunday in the Washington Post. The subject of the aricle is Miss Charlene Todd, a tremendously able and dedicated VISTA volunteer who is helping the poor of Manhattan's West Side to help themselves. I believe Miss Todd to be representative of thousands of fine young people who are making invaluable contributions to progress against poverty in communities all across the Nation.

Mr. Aaron's article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 12, 1967]

A 20-YEAR-OLD GIRL'S BATTLE

(By Leroy Aarons)

NEW YORK, November 11.—Charlene Todd's friendly face flushes and her eyes darken when she talks about the threat to the anti-poverty program.

"I simply can't comprehend how Congress can cut poverty funds when for the first time indigenous people all over the country have had a chance," she said. "It's very frustrating. I haven't had more than three or four hours sleep a night, calling people on the phone, sending telegrams, trying to get this thing through Congress."

For an instant, there is the vision of House Whip Charlene Todd storming through the aisles of Congress cajoling, haranguing recalcitrant Congressmen to vote "yea" for anti-poverty.

But this is a small, storefront anti-poverty office on Manhattan's West Side and Charlene Todd is a 20-year-old VISTA volunteer living on $52.50 a week and—unless Congress acts—perhaps about to go broke.

The VISTA program nationally—a kind of domestic Peace Corps—is among many anti-poverty projects that face pennilessness—temporarily and/or permanently—as the poverty bill threads its precarious way through the Congressional thicket.

VISTA workers are assured one more payday—next Wednesday. After that their meager pay ($105 every two weeks in New York) will be cut off temporarily (if Congress doesn't extend emergency funds) or permanently (if a threatened one-third cutback in the House is applied to the VISTA program).

But most of New York's 200-member VISTA community—working throughout the city in housing, job placement, job training, welfare and education—intend to stay where they are not matter what happens.

"I don't intend to go," said Charlene who pays $70 a month rent in an apartment shared with two others. "If I have to get a part-time job, I'm staying."

Charlene has the deceptively clubby look of a college sorority president down to the short blond hair, the blue eyes, the straight teeth, the beige, properly hemmed skirt.

But she left her well-to-do home in Detroit against the wishes of her mechanical engineer father and plunged into the trough of self-induced poverty. She came to the W. 84th St. storefront in August and began setting up a one-woman job placement service for young Negroes and Puerto-Ricans.

By November, to the amazement of everyone, she had placed 200 people in part-time or full-time jobs—many of them previously unemployable.

"I went around to corporations," she explained in a cheerful voice, "Gimbels, Sloan's Supermarket, Woolworth's, Food City, and sold them on my program. Mr. (X) of (X) was the hardest to move. I called him up and he said I don't want anything to do with these rotten kids. I asked for 15 minutes and we went out for coffee, and I told him you're complaining that kids steal, well of course they steal, because they don't have a job and can't get one.

"Well, two hours later we came out and he sent notices to his 11 stores to get in touch with me whenever they have an opening. So far I've placed about 35 people there."

Other merchants followed suit, apparently impressed by a combination of femininty, salesmanship and steely determination. Now 50 young people a day trail into the W. 84th st. office, confident they can find work.

Charlene has big plans for the future. She has drafted a $20,000 proposal for hiring two full-time teachers to tutor neighborhood youngsters in reading and job-related skills. She plans a teen center where young people can learn how to apply for jobs and how to act on the job. She hopes to expand the placement service, which now has another VISTA worker.

She intends going forward even if her paycheck does not turn up. When word started to circulate that the VISTA volunteers might go broke, a couple offered to take Charlene in with their four kids, a cat, a dog, and a rabbit in a two room apartment. Congregation Rodeph Sholom pledged $300. Associated Food Markets offered free food. Residents in the neighborhood fired off telegrams to their Congressmen.

That's what keeps me going," said Charlene. "My faith in the poverty program may be shaken in Congress, but the people in the neighborhood are real to me."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Untapped Riches of Botswana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, one of the newest of the emerging African nations, the Republic of Botswana, has buckled down to the task of nation building with a calm, levelheaded determination and energy that bodes well for that young country's political and economic future. Recent economic discoveries show great promise of making the country economically independent in the foreseeable future. Under unanimous consent, I insert an article, "Botswana Has Untapped Riches," in which these encouraging developments are discussed by Joseph Sterne, the Baltimore Sun's African specialist, who is now a on a reporting trip to Africa.

The article referred to follows:

BOTSWANA HAS UNTAPPED RICHES—BUT NEEDS ASSISTANCE TO REAP WEALTH STILL UNDERGROUND

(By Joseph R. L. Sterne)

GABERONES, BOTSWANA, November 10.—Diamond fever, nickel fever, copper fever, even soda ash fever, are afflicting this brand new capital of the year-old Republic of Botswana.

Officials concerned with the problems of a country whose poverty is proverbial hardly know how to cope with such glittering prospects.

They know that the riches are still under ground. They know that Botswana, with a per capita income of ony $60 a year, depends heavily on the earnings 10 per cent of its work force makes in the gold mines of South Africa.

They know that Britain will have to supply half the current budget for the next three years and that Botswana is late getting in the queue for aid from other nations, including the United States.

NEEDS ARE KNOWN

Most especially, they know that big-scale mining will require roads, power, water and a supply of manpower that could lure a pastoral people from their most enduring economic asset—the land.

In a world obsessed with the population explosion, Botswana's development problems present jolting contrasts.

Rather than too many people, it has too few—if its livestock industry is to grow the way it could or if mineral riches are to be dug from the earth.

LACK MANPOWER

Rather than worry about unemployment, it cries out for anyone with any kind of education. The nation's 60-odd college graduates are assured a top government job for the asking. Those with five or seven years of schooling are placed willy-nilly into teaching, agricultural extension and other middle echelon posts.

Although Botswana continually gripes because British development aid totals only $3,000,000 a year, its officials confess they lack the manpower to staff projects that could be built even with that meager amount.

"We are the opposite of India," said Christopher Hermans, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Development and Planning. Born a white South African, he has taken Botswana citizenship and is deeply concerned over how his adopted country will fare in the next critical five or ten years.

Unless the moderate, multi-racial Government of President Seretse Khama produces concrete evidence of economic development, Hermans is fearful it may be replaced by the kind of racist black nationalism seen in some other African countries. This, in turn, could attract a devastating reaction from South Africa.

POLITICAL BROADSIDES

Khama's opposition, particularly the Botswana National Front led by Communist-trained Michael Koma, is turning out its political broadsides demanding the ouster of white civil servants.

Should they grow in volume it could undercut the non-racial policies of Khama, thus reinforcing the belief in neighboring South Africa that apartheid is the only answer.

While officials here would like some immediate economic aid from the United States and other donor countries, their more realistic expectation is World Bank financing for the railways, roads, power, water and other requirements for large-scale mining.

DIAMOND FIND

Probably the year's most exciting discovery was a diamond find by De Beers Consolidated, Ltd., near Letlakane in northeastern Botswana.

Responsible sources said there is evidence that this may be the biggest diamond strike since the Premier Mine in South Africa. The diamonds are not alluvial, but are found in a number of kimberlite pipes offering hope of a concentrated, abundant supply.

CHAIN REACTION

Equally important, but with a more distant payoff prospect, was the proving out of two copper deposits in the northeast by Roan Selection Trust.

If copper mining could begin, this would create a demand for coal, which in turn would be available for the drawing out of brine from the Makarikari Pan for the production of soda ash.

Such is the *Cinderella* spirit around Gaberones, however, that there are some people with a hunch that the mineral to watch closely is nickel.

This is a metal, unlike copper, that is in very short supply. Hence, it could attract private money in amounts sizable enough to get Botswana going.

LUCKLESS YEARS

This country, five eighths of which is covered by the Kalahari Desert, had an inauspicious half decade before its sudden rush to independence in September, 1966.

Drought struck the vast, sparsely populated land, killing off one fifth of the livestock and causing so much hunger that starvation was averted only by World Food Program emergency relief.

The United States provided $12,000,000 in foodstuffs, but got comparatively little thanks or credit because the food was distributed on an international basis.

With independence, Botswana's luck changed for the better. In addition to the diamond, nickel and copper discoveries, the rains came at last.

CROPS SPROUT

Crops sprouted, livestock fattened and Khama's party received 82 per cent of the vote in local elections.

Among the three former British protectorates of southern Africa—Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland), Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) and Swaziland—this one suddenly emerged as the land with greatest potential.

Khama has felt strong enough to resist Soviet efforts to establish an embassy, to recognize Nationalist China and to stand far above the political debate sought by his opposition.

The President's strength, however, lies in the countryside, where his position as an hereditary ruler still has enormous weight.

Tough nationalists are operating mainly in the big towns of Botswana, and as the influx continues, they are likely to gain some strength.

Bernard Kilgore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Bernard Kilgore," which was published in the Washington Post of November 16, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BERNARD KILGORE

It was the day after the United States went off the gold standard, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was many things but not an economist, was being hard pressed about the implications of this momentous event. In exasperation, he finally told his questioners: "Read Barney Kilgore in this morning's *Wall Street Journal* and you will get the answer." It was in this city, as the *Journal's* Washington Bureau chief (at the age of 26), that Bernard Kilgore first made his name as a reporter of the national political and financial scene. But it was as managing editor of the *Journal*, and subsequently president of its parent company, Dow Jones, Inc., that he became one of the authentic creative geniuses of the publishing world.

What he created was the first national newspaper and he founded it on the stunningly simple premise that people who are in business, or have some sort of stake in it, are still people, and therefore interested in war and peace, in education, in the arts and religion, in the World Series and in the state of affairs in Lichenstein. That was part of it; the other part was his belief, as his own newspaper has put it, that "the Nation at work is the same everywhere." He was restless, driving, creative, perceptive. He was convivial, in one sense, and in another, withdrawn. He never traveled beyond this hemisphere or mixed a great deal with the movers and shakers of the world. But he had a rare talent for getting quickly to the nub of things even when what he knew about them came second-hand.

Though William H. Grimes had much to do with the beginnings of the revolutionary change which the *Wall Street Journal* was to undergo, the prime mover and guiding spirit was Kilgore. When he became managing editor, 26 years ago, the *Wall Street Journal* was a financial paper, with advertisements on the front page, and a circulation of 30,000. There was a West Coast edition, but it was much smaller, and in no sense a duplicate. Yesterady's *Wall Street Journal* was simultaneously produced in eight plants across the country. In addition to stock market tables, it contained articles on the commercial use of nuclear energy, on problems besetting American exports, on polo as a growing sport, on Congressional reapportionment—and on poetess Marianne Moore. Its circulation was just a bit above 1 million, which makes it the second largest newspaper in the land. In a very real sense, this is Bernard Kilgore's monument, and in a day when many newspapers are withering away, it is monument enough for any man.

Committee's Action Upheld

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, November 13, 1967, the Wall Street Journal published an editorial commending the Livestock and Grains Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture for defeating the so-called strategic reserve bill.

This editorial presents a good synopsis of the majority opinion of the subcommittee, and I insert it in the RECORD at this point.

A SURPLUS OF INCREDIBILITY

That the U.S. should maintain some sort of food reserve against the threat of war or famine seems only prudent. Yet the House Agriculture subcommittee that rejected a bill to set up a new reserve tailored to the Administration's specifications hardly can be called imprudent.

Although the Administration's proposal authorizing the Government to purchase about $1 billion in wheat, feed grains and soybeans ostensibly was intended to set up an emergency stockpile, it had behind it a couple of less obvious purposes. These were, however, evident to the combination of Republicans and Southern Democrats who defeated the plan by an 8–6 vote.

One short-term result of the bill would be the propping up of grain prices in rural areas. And farm-state Democratic legislators, with an eye on the 1968 elections, want to soothe farmers in a rebellious mood against Government farm programs and low prices.

Moreover, the subcommittee majority was mindful of past instances in which the Agriculture Department had exerted downward pressure on grain prices by releasing—or "dumping," if you choose—grain from surplus stocks at strategic moments. The legislators were unable to get from the Administration any concrete assurance that the proposed food reserve would not be so used again when it seemed politically expedient.

Some wheat-state Senators, declining to accept the House committee action as final, hope to advance a food reserve program of their own. But it will be hard to overcome the damage that has been done, not just by this but by other Federal farm proposals.

For no matter how sound a proposed program may be it is likely to be automatically suspect. What has accumulated over the years and now stands in the way of even a good marketing idea is a surplus of incredibility—the kind of surplus that is awfully hard to get rid of.

A Tribute to the Late Frances McMinn on Her Completion of 32 Years of Service to Sam Houston State College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Miss Frances McMinn, who died in August of this year deserves recognition for the outstanding contribution she made to education in the State of Texas, both as a public school teacher and as a history teacher at Sam Houston State College.

Miss McMinn was my history teacher at Tyler High School, Tyler, Tex., and it was my pleasure to continue our acquaintance on many visits to Sam Houston State College during the past years.

Her love of history and her devotion to teaching allowed many students who studied with her to obtain a unique appreciation of the study of history and its role in the development of our civilization.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article relating the contributions of Miss McMinn which appeared in the Sam Houston Alumnus for October 1967, under the caption "Frances McMinn: 32 Years." It was written by Mary S. Estill, who is a distinguished college teacher in her own right and the daughter of Harry Estill, author of a textbook on Texas history and former president of Sam Houston State College.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANCES MCMINN: 32 YEARS

(By Mary S. Estill)

Those who knew Miss Frances McMinn, for many years teacher of history at Sam Houston State College, and recently deceased (August, 1967) may recall her abiding respect for Dr. Walter Prescott Webb, distinguished University of Texas professor whose lectures and personal friendship she had enjoyed.

Like Dr. Webb, Miss McMinn possessed that scholarship regarding Texas history which made the past of the Lone Star State vivid in her listener's mind. She knew the lore of the Great Plains and of the pine-treed acres of East Texas and was familiar with the frontiersmen and the later heroes of the State. Her familiarity with earlier years of her native State and the colorful past of England and western Europe made her invaluable as a history teacher first in high schools of Texas and later, in one of the colleges of the State.

Frances McMinn's glowing love of history and her respect for scholars' accurate pages were contagious, and many young men and women who across the years enrolled in her classes at Sam Houston caught her spirit. Therein lay her legacy to the future. Her friends often heard her speak with fondness and great expectations of certain students, kindred spirits whose imagination and fervent scholarship her own enthusiasm had sparked.

For those whose paths did not cross Miss McMinn's and for those whose acquaintance with her was slight, a few facts in her useful life are here recorded.

Born in Tyler, Texas, in the late nineteenth century, she attended public schools in that old East Texas town. After her graduation from Tyler High School, she attended Baylor University where she secured the bachelor's degree. Further education was achieved through classes at the University of Chicago and the State Universities of Colorado and California. Her master's degree was awarded by the University of Texas in 1928, the subject of her thesis being "Napoleon's Polish Campaigns." Thus, the area of her chief interest and inquiry was European history.

From 1912 until 1925 she taught history in the high schools of Weatherford, Tyler, and Paris; in 1925 she was appointed to the faculty of Sam Houston State Teachers College, where she served the youth of Texas until her resignation in 1957.

Frances McMinn's modesty prevented her from recognizing the imprint which her instruction made on some of her history-minded students. Indeed, she would have been surprised and deeply moved to hear words of gratitude later uttered by mature men whose ambition she had awakened in creating for their lively imagination vistas of achievement through further scholarship.

Only her intimate friends were aware of her unswerving loyalties and her quiet generosity and were confident that her selfless service to others extended far beyond the classroom and often took tangible form.

In her family to whom she was closely attached are a brother and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Hudson McMinn; a sister, Mrs. Hoyt Jenkins; a nephew (a physician) and his family; and a niece and her two young daughters. The Alumnus wishes to convey to her relatives a recognition of the contribution made by the mind, the character, and the personality of Miss Frances McMinn to many lives during her sojourn in Huntsville.

Won't Accept Old Boundary, Israeli Vows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune carried an excellent article by its United Nations correspondent, Mr. William Fulton, which places into proper perspective Israel's position regarding withdrawal of her troops from hostile Arab territory.

I believe the position taken by the State of Israel is correct and consistent with precedents and similar situations, and I agree that any discussion of future boundaries between Israel and the Arab States must be based on a recognition that Israel is entitled to permanent boundaries and not the neubulous lines of demarcation heretofore discussed by the major powers.

It is my hope that the opinion of the world will stand behind Israel in her firm determination to bring a lasting peace and social order among nations in the Middle East, based on justice and equity.

The Chicago Tribune article follows:

WON'T ACCEPT OLD BOUNDARY, ISRAELI VOWS—EBAN STATES POSITION IN U.N. COUNCIL

(By William Fulton)

NEW YORK, November 13.—Israel vowed in the United Nations today that it would never return to the "danger and vulnerability" of the frontiers before it won last summer's lightning war against its hostile Arab neighbors. Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban called upon the Arabs for direct negotiations.

Speaking in the U.N. security council, Eban made it clear that his government would make no withdrawal of troops from the United Arab Republic [Egypt], Jordan, or Syria until peace settlements and new protective boundaries had been established. He declared the Arabs had to recognize his country's existence, sovereignty, and right to use international waterways.

ADJOURN UNTIL TOMORROW

Members of the council adjourned until Wednesday without a decision on an India-Mali-Nigeria resolution calling on the Israelis to "withdraw from all territories occupied as a result of the recent conflict."

Left hanging also is a United States proposal suggesting that withdrawal be linked with an end to the 19-year-old declaration of belligerency by the Arabs against Israel and to the establishment of secure boundaries.

Eban said Egypt, which demanded the current round of debate on the middle east crisis, came to the council chamber "saturated with war guilt, heavy with responsibility for 19 years of purposeful aggression, to lay complaint and accusation against Israel."

NO BASIS FOR PROPOSAL

"It is our firm resolve never, never to return to the danger and vulnerability from which we have emerged," he stated. "This resolve will prevail over every other consideration.

"The suggestion that Israel should move from the cease-fire lines without a peace treaty defining permanent and secure frontiers is unacceptable. There is not a basis for such a proposal in international law or tradition."

Eban pledged Israel to give constructive attention to any proposal based on a directly negotiated peace which would not prejudice its vital interests in advance. He scoffed at the U.N. role in handling the situation in the past.

The 100th Anniversary of Hampton Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Hampton Institute's Hundredth," published in the Virginian-Pilot, of Norfork, Va., November 10, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAMPTON INSTITUTE'S HUNDREDTH

To the right of Interstate 64, near the entrance to the Hampton Roads Tunnel to Norfolk, is a spreading tree, almost a grove on one trunk, the Emancipation Oak. Under the tree, according to legend, slaves gathered nearly 105 years ago to hear the Emancipation Proclamation.

To the rear of the tree is a $2.7 million complex of yellow brick buildings, first phase of the Centennial expansion of Hampton Institute. The college is as firmly rooted as the oak in Hampton Roads and as sturdy in its growth with the times.

Hampton Institute's founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, was a disciple of the New England educator, Mark Hopkins. To Negroes seeking to make a place for themselves after the Civil War, General Armstrong advised: "Do what you can do well and do it as well as you can." A protege, Booker T. Washintgon, nurtured Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Hampton Institute's success in educating Indians, along with freedmen, prompted the founding of schools for Indians on the West Coast.

From the beginning the Institute's board has drawn on national leadership, ranging from President William Howard Taft early in this century to Dr. Frank Porter Graham and Margaret Mead in these times.

A survey last March in the *Harvard Educational Review* cited Hampton Institute among a handful of Negro colleges "near the middle of the national academic procession." Current evidence of Hampton's progress is its non-graded laboratory school for elementary pupils, its cultural swap of faculty and students with those of the Nation's larger colleges (including a Federally financed exchange with Cornell University), and its support of rural training institutes in West Africa.

In 1874, General Armstrong wrote that "it is simply barbaric to whip the South and go home rejoicing to build monuments of victory, leaving one-third of their countrymen in the depths of distress." Something of Hampton Institute's growth was mirrored in a recent speech by its president, Dr. Jerome H. Holland, assuring students of a positive role for the individual in the changing social scene: "The question is, are you prepared to undertake an assignment, and how well are you prepared? Within this contemporary social complex, there is a dire need for those who can excel."

Hampton Institute, which has served Tidewater and the world well for 100 years, deserves Tidewater's support in its continuing effort to equip its students, and itself, to excel.

World Congress of Free Ukrainians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, this weekend, from November 16–19, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians will be held at the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City. Delegates and representatives from 21 countries, including many thousands of American citizens of Ukrainian descent, will be present. A freedom rally is scheduled for Madison Square Garden on Saturday, the 18th of November.

It is significant, I think, that this World Congress is being held at the same time that Communist Russia is celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, for there is a close connection between the two events.

The Bolshevik revolution has been a revolution of tyranny which has enslaved millions of people behind the Iron Curtain. Many of the Ukrainians in this country have friends and even relatives who live today under the oppressive heel of Soviet totalitarianism. For them, this year is the 50th anniversary of the captive nations, and hardly a cause for celebration.

But I think we can find encouragement in this gathering of free Ukrainians; it is a symbol, I think, of a desire for freedom that is felt throughout the captive nations. Although such freedom is brutally repressed in Russia, the fact that the yearning is there should be cause for hope.

Let us take this opportunity, therefore, to pledge our support to the captive nations in their struggle for freedom, and let us also reaffirm our own commitment to freedom here at home.

Minneapolis Shows Strong Support for Peace Offensive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, tabulation of the results of my latest questionnaire indicated that a 28.3 percent plurality of those who responded would like to see the United States "carry out a major peace offensive by using any possible means short of withdrawal" in Vietnam. A slightly smaller number, 26.5 percent, said that we should "withdraw completely and immediately."

The two answers, comprising a majority—54.8 percent—of those responding to the question, were a clue, I thought, to the increasing unhappiness of the American people with the course the war is following.

The question was this: "The major international problem facing the country is the war in Vietnam. Which of the following positions best describes your own feelings?" Seven choices were offered.

Least popular choice, 4.7 percent, was to "maintain the present level of involvement, but limit any increase in commitment."

These were the other four choices, and the percentage answers:

Continue to increase our commitment slowly with as many armed forces personnel and as much material as the President deems necessary: 8.4.

Escalate our bombing of North Vietnam to include cities, using conventional bombs, and increase our armed forces in Vietnam: 12.8.

Use nuclear weapons on North Vietnam and China if necessary: 7.7.

Other: 11.8.

The questionnaire, Mr. Speaker, was mailed to 45,000 homes in Minneapolis, the 5th Congressional District of Minnesota, between August and November. Every part of the city was reached with the periodic mailings. About 2,500 persons, or 5.4 percent of the number of questionnaires mailed, responded. Many added personal comments on one or more of the six questions. By far the most comments expressed concern about the war. An optional additional question asked for party affiliation. Of those who answered, 62.1 percent said they were Democratic-Farmer-Laborites, while 37.9 percent said they were Republicans.

Question 2 asked: "What should we do with such Great Society programs as the war against poverty, aid to education and aid to housing, if a tax increase is required to finance them?" The answers:

Increase these programs: 32.8.
Maintain them at present levels: 27.2.
Cut them back: 24.2.
Eliminate them: 15.9.

Question 3 asked: "Where would you favor saving money to reduce pressure on the budget?" The answers:

Vietnam: 16.8.
Space and moon program: 18.6.
Aid to education: 2.2.
Foreign assistance—economic: 14.4.
Foreign assistance—military: 23.1.
Public works—highways and waterways: 3.2.
Agriculture programs: 5.1.
Antipoverty programs: 9.0.
Aid to cities: 4.7.
Other: 2.9.

Question 4 asked: "Do you favor Federal truth-in-lending legislation which would require banks and loan companies to disclose the total interest a consumer must pay on a loan, and the real rate of interest paid?" The answers:

Favor: 91.6.
Oppose: 3.3.
Undecided: 5.0.

Question 5 asked: "Do you favor any of the following items as part of a 1967 civil rights bill?" The answers:

Prohibiting discrimination in the selection of State and Federal jurors: 39.1.
Providing Federal protection for civil rights workers: 17.9.
Prohibiting discrimination in the sale and rental of housing: 24.2.
Providing Federal incentives to correct racial imbalances in big-city school systems: 18.7.

And question 6 asked: "What is the greatest problem facing Minneapolis?" The answers:

Narcotics: 9.8.
Crime: 28.0.
Schools: 11.1.
Housing: 6.7.
Recreation and cultural activities: 2.9.
Poverty: 7.6.
Transportation: 13.4.
Air and water pollution: 13.4.
Other: 7.0.

Project Transition Begins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, last year it was my privilege to sponsor a bill to improve mail service to our men in Vietnam.

The Congress passed that bill, President Johnson signed it into law, and our fighting men in Vietnam are now receiving the best postal service in the history of our Nation's Armed Forces.

Our concern for our men in Vietnam must not stop when they leave the battle zones. Those who return to civilian life should be assisted in qualifying for and obtaining good jobs.

I am pleased to report that Postmaster General O'Brien has taken a most commendable step in this direction by establishing a program to train veterans for jobs in the career postal service.

Next week, one phase of that program, called Project Transition, will begin at Walter Reed Army Hospital with a special course for hospitalized Vietnam veterans.

The training program has been tested in actual practice and it was so successful that it will be established at 85 military bases throughout the country.

The Project Transition training course for postal jobs is an excellent response to President Johnson's statement in his 1967 manpower report to the Congress that:

> We must make military service a path to productive careers.

I know every one of my colleagues is interested in the welfare of his constituents who served in the Armed Forces and are returning to civilian life.

With permission, I insert in the Record the Post Office Department's report on the progress to date and the future plans of its Project Transition training program:

PROJECT TRANSITION BEGINS

Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien today announced that the first Project Transition course for hospitalized Viet Nam veterans will begin Monday at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington.

About 30 recuperating servicemen are enrolled in a 40-hour course designed as preparation for postal employment. After the program is completed on December 4, participants will have the opportunity to take the civil service examinations leading to employment as a postal clerk, letter carrier or mail handler.

Similar training and testing opportunities will be offered to an estimated 30,000 returning veterans during 1968, Mr. O'Brien said. Experiments have been so successful that courses will be established at some 85 military bases, he said.

If results of the pilot project at Walter Reed are as promising, courses may be instituted at other military hospitals, Mr. O'Brien said.

Project Transition is a cooperative venture with the Department of Defense. It is an endeavor to assist returning veterans in finding gainful employment and to help them make the transition to civilian life as swiftly as possible. The program is keyed to the theme set forth by President Johnson in his 1967 Manpower Report to the Congress when he said that "we must make military service a path to productive careers."

Project Transition courses provide an introduction to postal regulations, procedures, skills and traditions. For Walter Reed participants, there will be two four-hour observation tours of the Washington, D.C., post office.

After trainees pass the appropriate examination, they are eligible for employment at any postal installation. Individuals may state their preferences when they take the tests.

Persons who trained earlier this year at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and the Louisville post office, for example, have been placed in such cities as Minneapolis, Atlanta and Kankakee, Ill.

Clerks and letter carriers start at salaries of $5,331 annually and mail handlers at $4,919.

Fort Knox was the site of the original experiment last June. Of 36 servicemen who enrolled in that first class, 29 passed civil service tests and became eligible for appointment.

Already, Fort Knox and the Louisville post office have provided training to 172 veterans; the number expected to complete the 40-hour course before the end of the year is 250.

Other projects now under way are at the Marines' Camp Lejeune and Wilmington, N.C., post office and at San Francisco Naval Base and the city's post office. Some 39 servicemen have enrolled at Camp Lejeune. An estimated 1,800 Navy veterans will be given a special six-hour orientation program in San Francisco; the concentrated course is tailored to meet the needs of discharged naval personnel who want to leave for their homes as soon as possible.

About 35 of the 85 Project Transition locations will offer the condensed training program; the remaining 50 will have the 40-hour course.

Views of Prince Souvanna Phouma of Laos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE BUSH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing a lot lately about pulling out of Vietnam and ending the war, but this letter representing the views of Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of Laos, gives us all food for thought. Those who say pull out now should take a long, hard look at this kind of viewpoint.

The letter follows:

NOVEMBER 13, 1967.

Hon. GEORGE BUSH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GEORGE: On October 20th I had the occasion to meet Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of Laos, here in Washington.

I must say that the Laotian statesman—and that is what he truly is—made quite an impression on me as well as on the other people who had the opportunity to talk with him. Besides being immensely charming and very intelligent, he lent in no uncertain manner his strong support to our position and our mission in Vietnam.

Prince Souvanna Phouma in fact made three essential points, and I understand that he emphasized these to all the persons with whom he had contacts in Washington.

First of all, he stated unequivocally that Laos has and is being subjected to a real invasion from North Vietnam.

Secondly, that in spite of agreements which he has signed both with the Communist Chinese and North Vietnamese Government, Laos territory is being used by the Communists to transship both arms and men to Vietnam.

And, finally, Prince Souvanna Phouma said that should we abandon Vietnam it would mean that the whole of Southeast Asia, including India, would be lost to communism. He is convinced that neither Laos not any other country in that part of the world, will be able to remain truly independent.

Unfortunately, there has been practically no publicity given to the views of Prince

Souvanna Phouma expressing his support of our cause in Vietnam.

With every good wish, I am,

Cordially yours,

CHARLES T. MAYER.

The Risk Russia Is Running

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, during the current debate concerning our Government's policy in Vietnam, I believe that it would be helpful to take note of an unusually penetrating article that recently appeared in The Economist, entitled "The Risk Russia Is Running." The article states:

> Mr. Kosygin can't expect the Americans to meet him halfway in Europe if he doesn't meet them halfway in Asia.

Because of the timeliness of the article, I am pleased to insert it at this time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE RISK RUSSIA IS RUNNING

(NOTE.—Mr. Kosygin can't expect the Americans to meet him halfway in Europe if he doesn't meet them halfway in Asia.)

It is time for President Johnson to draw up a balance sheet of his relations with Russia. It may seem curious to say that there is a connection between the letter that Herr Kiesinger of west Germany sent to Herr Stoph of east Germany last weekend, and an article that appeared in North Vietnam's official newspaper *Nhan Dan* on Tuesday. But there is a connection. It lies in the policy that Mr. Johnson has been following since his speech in New York last October 7th—exactly a year ago—in which he held out the offer of "peaceful engagement" to the Russians. For the past year Mr. Johnson has in effect been offering Mr Kosygin an exchange: I will try to persuade my German friends to accept the status quo in central Europe, if you will try to persuade your Vietnamese friends to accept the status quo in south-east Asia.

Herr Kiesinger's letter to the east German prime minister with its offer of a high-level official to talk over the problems of partition shows how far the west Germans have moved towards accepting the division of their country. The *Nhan Dan* article shows how little the Russians have been willing or able to deliver their side of the proposed bargain. The North Vietnamese paper flatly rejects Mr. Johnson's latest offer to stop bombing North Vietnam if only he could be assured that this would lead to "productive discussion," and if only he could "assume" that the North Vietnamese would not take advantage of the end of the bombing to send more men and arms into the south, Mr. Johnson is saying that he is now willing to take on trust what he was previously asking North Vietnam to give him a specific assurance about. It is another distinct concession. But the North Vietnamese have rejected it; and the Russians have apparently done nothing to dissuade them.

Nobody else but America and Russia could conceive of a bargain of global proportions; that is what being a superpower means. The question is whether the Russians are ready to act like a superpower. They have certainly come a long way since Mr. Kosygin, a year ago, called it a "strange delusion" to think that there could be closer co-operation between Russia and America while the Vietnam war went on. The two countries have reached agreement on several important things since then. But it is essential to realise what has made even this degree of co-operation possible. There are two different reasons for the improvement in Russian-American relations over the past year. The first is the superpowers' common interest in maintaining their nuclear superiority over lesser powers. This is why they have co-operated in the search for a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and it is one of the reasons why they have separately decided to build anti-missile defences that might be able to ward off an attack by a nuclear minipower. Here is something with an equal appeal to both of them; they would probably have pursued their common interest in this field no matter what had been happening elsewhere.

But the second reason for the improvement in their relations undoubtedly dates from what Mr. Johnson said about Europe in that New York speech a year ago. And here, so far, the advantage is almost wholly on the Russians' side. Mr. Kosygin has swallowed his claim that the hope of co-operation was a "delusion." But in return he has won a major strengthening of Russia's international position precisely where it is weakest: in east Germany.

Not many people realise how much the west Germans have changed their policy towards east Germany since Herr Kiesinger and his coalition took office last December. They have not made this change just because Mr Johnson invited them to; the old policy had not worked, and they wanted to try an alternative. But it is unlikely that the change would have gone as far as it has, or as fast, if Mr. Johnson had not given the green light last October. Like Mr Johnson, the west Germans now say that the reunification of their country—if it ever comes—will have to wait until there has been a general European detente. They have virtually abandoned the claim that nobody can have diplomatic relations with both parts of Germany at the same time; now it is Herr Ulbricht who is trying to stop the other east Europeans sending ambassadors to Bonn. The west Germans, in short, are no longer trying to isolate east Germany in the hope of making its communist regime collapse. They still cannot bring themselves to offer it full recognition. But if the conditions of life in east Germany were to improve—if it rose towards the level of relative freedom that Yugoslavia enjoys—it is quite possible that the west Germans would accept it as a separate political entity with a special status of its own, *weder inland noch ausland*, "neither internal nor external." This is still some way short of what Herr Ulbricht wants. But it would be a very big step indeed towards that practical acceptance of the status quo, for a long time ahead if not for ever, that the Russians and the other east Europeans are chiefly interested in. It is a striking change on the part of the west Germans, and it has happened within the last nine months.

This would be fine, if it had been matched by a similar change on the Russians' part in south-east Asia. This is just what the world needs: it needs a period of truce in these two centres of tension, during which the communist and non-communist systems can compete to see which of them is more likely to produce the sort of society most people want. This is what "peaceful coexistence" is supposed to be all about. But it begins to look as if the western world's offer of a truce in Europe is not being matched by a Russian willingness to work for a similar truce on the other side of the world.

The Russians, whose aid to North Vietnam was recently estimated by the Americans to be running at the level of a billion dollars a year, have now agreed to send a great deal more: maybe twice as much. It has been argued, by this paper among others, that North Vietnam's growing dependence on Russian supplies ought to increase Russia's leverage in Hanoi. So it ought; but there is no evidence that the lever is being pulled. In their official statement the North Vietnamese are still saying exactly what they said a year ago: that if the Americans want negotiations they must not only stop bombing the north but agree to get out of Vietnam completely. Their friends claim that in fact they would start talking if the bombing stopped, without other conditions. But the North Vietnamese themselves decline to confirm this; they also decline to give an assurance that the negotiations would be anything else than a means of wasting time while they build up a bigger army in the south. Either the Russians have not tried to use persuasion on them, or they have tried and failed. In either case the conclusion is plain. The Russians, while gaining from the West's willingness to abide by the dividing line in Europe, are increasing their support for an armed assault on the dividing line in Asia.

The Americans, looking from Europe to Asia and then back again, are unlikely to let this curious Russian conduct pass in silence. It may be that American public opinion is gradually getting tired of the Vietnam war: the latest Lou Harris poll, published on Monday, shows a further rise in the number of those who want to get out of Vietnam "as quickly as possible." It may turn out that the United States is unable to hold the dividing line in Asia. But, if that happens, many Americans are going to ask some pointed questions about the price that Mr Johnson will have paid in Europe for an unsuccessful attempt to win the Russians' co-operation in Asia. The Americans know that their attempt to work out a non-proliferation treaty with the Russians has already offended many west Europeans. They also know that the Germans are likely to get very frustrated indeed if their new approach to Herr Ulbricht produces neither reunification nor an improvement in the lot of the east Germans: and it may well produce neither. Sooner or later, if Mr Kosygin pushes his luck in Asia too far, the Americans are going to wonder why they have been running risks with the loyalty of their European allies for the sake of a fruitless attempt at accommodation with Russia.

The danger is not that the Americans will urge the Germans to start their own "war of national liberation" in the territory Herr Ulbricht controls. The Americans and the Germans are not like that. But the basic fact about Europe is that this is one part of the world where the forces of western democracy undeniably have the wind blowing in their sails. In most of western Europe capitalist democracy works pretty well; in most of eastern Europe the communist system does not. If political forces were allowed to take effect in anything like a normal way, the government of east Germany would not last a minute, and one or two other east European governments might not last much longer. This is the place where the advantage is with the West. There are many ways in which this advantage can be used without resorting to arms. It is because the communists are on the defensive in Europe that they want the western world to forgo these potential advantages; they want it to accept the status quo. There is a good case for doing just that provided Russia is willing to accept that coexistence should apply to Asia as well as Europe. But if it does not, there will be many people, both Americans and Europeans, who will ask why they should not hoist their sails into the prevailing wind. This is the risk that Russia is running.

Veterans Day, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, patriotic holidays usually provoke some lucid, penetrating press comment on the meaning of words like "the American dream," "patriotism" and "freedom."

The recent November 11 Veterans Day observance prompted some rather thoughtful editorial comment on these subjects in many Kansas newspapers.

I submit herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the texts of five of these editorials from the Wichita Eagle, the Topeka Capital, the Ulysses News, the Ellsworth Reporter, and the Bird City Times:

[From the Wichita Eagle, Nov. 9, 1967]

Veterans Day Is Saturday—A Time for Contemplation

Wichita's several veterans organizations are cooperating to present a parade through the downtown district, beginning at 10 a.m. on west Douglas. It will proceed east on Douglas, pausing at 10:15 for a minute of silence in tribute to those who died in battle. It will resume and follow a route east on Douglas to Topeka, south to William, and west to Main. The reviewing stand will be on Douglas at Main.

The veterans are inviting the public to join them in this patriotic observance, and also urging that every home and business display the flag on Saturday.

As outspoken patriotism has become unfashionable since the end of World War I, so has public observation of our three patriotic holidays. Perhaps it is time for a revival of this outward display of reverence for the American tradition.

Most citizens are no less loyal to their country because they have abandoned public proclamations of their loyalty. Despite some noisy dissent over policy, the vast majority of us continue actively to support law and order and the positive purposes of the government that make our freedom possible. We continue to appreciate that our system, despite its imprefections, has given us the largest measure of liberty and justice ever known on earth. And on the rare occasions when we pause to think about it, we are grateful.

That's what such holidays as Veterans Day, Independence Day and Memorial Day are for—to let us take the time to consider our heritage and express our gratitude to those who conceived it and fought to preserve it.

The patriots in the 18th Century who framed the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence were convinced that life was less dear than liberty. So were the men and women who have since given their lives to preserve our system.

Patriotism should never be unthinking, and ours today is perhaps more thoughtful than it ever has been before. The dissent, which often takes distasteful forms, and which many people decry, is proof of that. But it also is proof that the dissenters have an abiding concern for the preservation of our tradition as they conceive it.

For the rest of us, we could do no better on this Veterans Day than to display our flag with pride, to stand reverently as the parade symbolizes the sacrifice that goes with freedom, and to consider for a few moments how truly blessed we are and reaffirm our determination to preserve our priceless freedom.

[From the Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 11, 1967]

For the Fighting Men

It was on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month when hostilities ceased in one of the bloodiest wars in history.

High hopes were held that the armistice ending World War I a year less than half a century ago would mark the beginning of prolonged and universal peace, for President Wilson had called it a "war to end wars."

Rejoicing was mingled with sorrow as fighting ceased on the Western Front. There was rejoicing that the carnage had ended, sorrow that so many thousands of lives had been sacrificed.

While most of the world observed the end of the war, thousands had to delay their celebrations, for one of the worst epidemics of influenza was scourging Kansas and much of the United States at the time.

To mark the anniversary, Armistice Day was declared a holiday in this country. For more than two decades nearly every city, town and hamlet celebrated. The order of the day was a parade of doughboys in spiral puttees, a patriotic speech by a golden-throated politician and one of the season's major football games.

Then came disillusionment as Hitler's hordes swarmed across Europe and the infamy of Pearl Harbor embroiled the United States in World War II, an even deadlier war which enveloped more of the globe than had World War I.

Not so naive as they had been in 1918, Americans continued to celebrate Armistice Day, as such, until still another war claimed even more lives in the Korean conflict.

On June 1, 1954, President Eisenhower signed a bill designating Nov. 11 Veterans Day and proclaimed it as an occasion for honoring veterans of all wars.

Now—today—with still another war claiming American lives—we observe the date once again.

Older, wiser and more disillusioned, we no longer believe Nov. 11 marks the end of all wars. Today, as we honor our dead of too many wars, we hope and pray that sometime, somehow the world will learn the futility of killing as a means of settling international problems.

[From the Ulysses News, Nov. 9, 1967]

Can We Wave the Flag Too Much?

(By Sidney L. DeLove)

Is it possible to wave the flag too much? Provided, of course, that you wave it with integrity? Is it possible to study Lincoln or Shakespeare too much? Is it possible to read the Bible too much?

The great, the good, the true, are inexhaustible for inspiration, example and strength. I believe that we are not waving our flag enough, not nearly enough.

It seems to me that we are developing a tendency to be timid or even apologetic about waving the stars and stripes. Walk up and down the streets on July 4th and count the flags. It is our nation's birthday, a scared day in world history, the most important day of America. Why isn't the flag flying on every rooftop and from every home and building? This complacent attitude is strong evidence of cancerous patriotic decay. The flag is a symbol of our national unity. It is the spirit of our undying devotion to our country. It stands for the best that is in us . . . for loyalty, character, and faith in democracy.

Isn't our flag a synonym of the United States of America? Does it not represent man's greatest, noblest, most sublime dream? Is it not the zenith of achievement, the goal to which generations have aspired?

Ladies and gentlemen, I believe it is time for us . . . for the mad, rushing Twentieth Century American . . . to stop for a moment and think. Let us arrest our near reverential admiration of material success and return to the spiritual and ethical values. Let us imbue and rekindle in ourselves and our children the so-called old-fashioned way of patriotism, a burning devotion to the principles and ideals upon which our country was founded.

Should not every home own and proudly display the colors on holidays and other such occasions? Isn't the flag Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Nathan Hale, Gettysburg and Valley Forge, Paul Revere, Jackson and other great men and women who have given us our heritage? When you look at the flag can't you see the Alamo, Corrigedor, Pearl Harbor, The Monitor and The Merrimac? Lest we forget, isn't the flag Flanders Field, Bataan, Iwo Jima, Normandy, Babe Ruth and Davy Crockett? The great events of our past and present are wrapped up in our flag.

It is a symbol of this blessed nation, a giant in industry, education and commerce. Millions of fertile square miles, wheatlands, coal mines, steel plants. Our great republic, the chosen infant destined to be man's last remaining hope for suffering humanity, a shining beacon of light, noble and glorious, the haven for the oppressed and persecuted and truly God's gift to mankind.

That is what the flag means to me. Can we wave it too much? I don't think so.

[From the Ellsworth Reporter, Nov. 9, 1967]

Veterans Day

This Saturday, November 11 will be Veterans Day. We observe this day now as Veterans Day because it originally was intended to celebrate Armistice Day, the end of the "war to end all wars" in 1918.

However, we had another World War, Korean War and the Viet Nam what-ever-it-is in between, so Veterans Day is certainly better nomenclature.

We have become a little sophisticated in our celebration in recent years. We don't seem to have the patriotic fervor that we think of a few years back, in fact in many areas of the country we seem to be suffering for a great deal of "unpatriotic" doings.

Recently several thousand people decided that to demonstrate in front of the Pentagon was the thing to do. Luckily, no one was killed in the demonstrations, which could easily have turned into riots.

Wherever the idea came from that people of the United States could just fail to observe laws because they don't agree with them, we wouldn't know. But we do know that it must come to an end!

If you don't agree with a law, you can't ignore it. Society makes laws necessary, and no matter how unright you might think a law to be, if it is the law of the land it must be observed, and you must bend every legal and rightful effort to have the law changed through due process!

We still have a constitution. We are still granted the right to elections. We can still change things by due process of the law, we cannot resort like animals to riots and civil disobedience. If we do, then this nation is more rapidly on the decline than anyone dares to think about.

We think Veterans Day is a good time to consider these facts. Veterans, for the most part, are perfect examples of those who served their country willingly, but not because it was what they wanted to do.

We would guess that the majority of men who are veterans today were unhappy about having to serve in World War II, the Korean War or whenever, but they did serve and they served well. Naturally they weren't happy to interrupt their schooling, careers, families, etc. to go off to war, many never to return. But it was the necessary thing to do, the "law of the land" required it and to preserve freedom they were willing and able to make the sacrifice.

Those who burn draft cards today might consider that they wouldn't have draft cards to burn if it weren't for the sacrifices of these men. Those who burn American flags in public displays might consider how many men died to make it possible for them to burn an American flag . . . then, after such consideration, if they still want to burn that flag, then there is no hope for them . . . and we must face it, if there is no hope for our young people, there is no hope for America!

We wouldn't say how dangerous the situation is right now. Surely it is a minority situation at present. The vast majority of young people in our world are not these misfits who can't seem to find their place in society. If you drive through one of America's colleges or universities today you will see a few "hippies" but the majority will be those who know where they are going and why. These are the ones who will preserve America in the years ahead.

There is no better time than Veterans Day to consider these facts.

[From the Bird City Times, Nov. 9, 1967]

OUR FLAG IS OUR COUNTRY

It is most appropriate and fitting that the observance of Veterans Day, Flag Day, Memorial Day, Independence Day, and other patriotic holidays should not go unnoticed and every loyal American should stand up and be counted.

Ask yourself, "What is our flag and what does it stand for?" The answer should be that our flag is our country and a guarantee of our way of life and to show disrespect to our flag is to show disrespect to the United States of America.

The happenings in the many countries which use America as a patsy while accepting its generous loans and gifts and then show their gratitude by burning and stepping and spitting on Old Glory must tear at the heart of every loyal American and especially the dear ones of those who gave their all that these nations might survive. Perhaps this could be understandable to some small degree, since a nation as powerful and rich as ours is sure to create envy in the hearts of the others not so fortunate.

More disgraceful are the actions in our own country of the many beatniks, Vietniks, and anti-everythings who demand all the rights and benefits of this great Democracy without accepting any of its responsibility and rave and rant about our foreign policy, and woebe tide those who deny them any of the rights as set down by the Constitution of the United States. It must hurt to the core every right-thinking American to see the demonstrations of draft card burning and dishonor to our flag.

Many of our good citizens believe that the above is due directly to cowardice and lack of manhood. In past years these very same youths would have been ostracized by the community. With the crisis in the Middle East, where our country is deeply involved, the enemies of our form of government draw solace from the actions of these so-called Americans. Be forewarned, you anti-everythings. Remember the true American is a peculiar breed as has been proven many times in previous crises and these good citizens will go all out in support of our country in time of involvement or any danger to our way of life.

We believe, as should every loyal American, that our flag is the symbol of our way of life and should be respected with every ounce of strength within us. We, as veterans, and wives and children of veterans, feel that we are well qualified to speak of the horrors of war. Our wives and children have seen us march off to war and our members have participated in wars from the Spanish American War down to the present conflict in Vietnam and many of us bear the scars of battle with loss of eyes, limbs and other disfigurations. We deplore the thought of war, but still we know it is our duty to support our nation in time of strife.

May our country always be right, but right or wrong still our country, and we pray to God to hear our petition that the nations of the world will remain at peace.

A New Bomb Is Guided to Vietnam Targets by TV Camera in Nose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, extreme pacifists have condemned the Vietnam war saying we are killing innocent civilians. They seem to ignore the fact that every war brings suffering to many—including civilians. However, in this war, the United States is leaning over backward to protect the lives of the innocent.

A company located in my district, the Martin-Marietta Corp., at Orlando, Fla., has considerably reduced the element of risk in bombing missions. The Walleye television-guided glide bomb allows for pinpoint accuracy and minimizes the threat to civilians. It zeroes in on military targets and thereby avoids the loss of civilian life.

Above all else, it is also a morale builder for our airman in Vietnam for it reduces the risk of being shot down by enemy fire. No longer will our fliers have to fly close into enemy antiaircraft for precision bombing. Its accuracy reduces the risk of bombing error and greatly enhances the effectiveness of our aerial warfare. I include an article in the Wall Street Journal describing the performance of the Walleye in the RECORD:

A NEW BOMB IS GUIDED TO VIETNAM TARGETS BY TV CAMERA IN NOSE—ACCURACY IS FACTOR IN BOMBING STEPUP—PILOTS RELEASE IT 3 TO 5 MILES FROM OBJECTIVE

(By Frederick Taylor)

Newly removed from President Johnson's off-limits list, the dry docks and barge-building yards of Haiphong presented a tempting target. Yet, five miles short of the goal, the American pilot released the bombs slung under his wings and veered sharply up and away, headed back to his base.

Mission a failure? No, a pinpoint success, thanks to a new weapon, the Walleye television-guided glide bomb. Its phenomenal accuracy is a major reason for the recent acceleration of the air war against North Vietnam.

Each Walleye carries a TV camera in its nose, and the fighter-bomber pilot has a black-and-white TV set in the cockpit to monitor what the bomb cameras see. As his objective appears on the screen, he focuses the cameras, and they lock on the target. Released, the 1,100-pound high-explosive bombs glide to the bull's-eye, each steered by four tailfins moving in response to signals from its camera.

Most details are secret, but officials in Washington exult over Walleye's accuracy. Gesturing at a four-by-six-foot Pentagon window, one boasts, "We can put a Walleye through that glass." Says another: Air Force and Navy pilots can "lay one right on top of a control tower" on some North Vietnamese airfield.

ADDING TARGETS

Walleye's keen vision, Pentagon authorities say, is responsible for the addition to the approved bombing list of at least a dozen previously off-limits targets in North Vietnam. Among them: Two Haiphong yard-and-dock installations first bombed last month, one 1.2 miles and the other 1.6 miles from the center of the city, and the port of Cam Pha, 40 miles northeast, bombed in September.

According to Defense Secretary McNamara, four factors figure in deciding what to bomb: The value of the target, the danger to U.S. pilots, the threat to civilians and the risk of widening the war—as might result from hitting a Russian ship tied up in Haiphong.

Walleye, with its three-to-five-mile glide path, has somewhat diminished the pilots' danger by lessening their exposure to antiaircraft batteries nestled close to the target, Pentagon strategists say. Even more important to them, in deciding on specific targets to add to the approved list, is that Walleye's accuracy holds down civilian casualties and reduces the risk of bombing error.

Besides the publicly acknowledged target criteria, the selection process also involves another factor: Domestic political pressure. Commander-in-Chief Johnson is the ultimate authority, and it's widely assumed in the Pentagon and elsewhere that the recent intensification of North Vietnam bombing raids was the result of his yielding to hawks on Capitol Hill and in the military establishment who have been critical of the gradual way the air war has been escalated.

Did the President give in first, whereupon the military began using Walleye to reduce the risks surrounding some targets? Or was it his knowledge of Walleye's availability that prompted him to yield? Those are chicken-or-egg questions, according to insiders. What's important, says one, is that "we're definitely hitting some targets with Walleye that we wouldn't have hit before."

A HOLE IN THE CLOUDS

Because Walleye is fixed on the target from such a distance, it can be used only in relatively clear weather, which undoubtedly will hamper its effectiveness during the monsoon season now beginning in North Vietnam. Even so, Pentagon authorities say it can be employed almost any time there is a hole in the clouds big enough for the fighter-bomber pilot to see his target—a condition most bombing raids already require.

The North Vietnamese, from either picking up a dud Walleye or acquiring U.S. technical material, know the bomb is being used against them and are aware of its general characteristics; their government has publicly scoffed at its usefulness. Nevertheless, they have been attempting to thwart it in various ways, including stoking a hydroelectric plant so it would emit thick black smoke over an area they apparently suspected was about to be bombed.

Walleye, 11 feet long and 15 inches in diameter, was developed by the Naval Ordnance Test Station at China Lake, Calif. A ram-air turbine provides electricity for its TV camera and power to move its tailfins. It is being built by Martin Marietta Corp. at Orlando, Fla. One estimate puts production for the Navy and Air Force at 70,000 bombs by next June; at about $3,000 each, that output would be worth more than $200 million.

Insurance, Not Reward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the Boston Herald Traveler, in an editorial entitled "Insurance, Not Reward," rightly criticizes the shortsightedness of certain Members of this body. In unfairly denouncing the President for not extending sufficient aid to the poor, some Members then oppose the very measures designed to reach and help those in poverty. As the editorial says:

> For these House Members to lambast the President for not providing enough funds while they themselves vote to cut the poverty appropriations even further constitutes the grossest political cynicism.

Mr. Speaker, we must remember that it is our moral and legislative obligation to help alleviate poverty. In doing so, we provide not a reward for the lawless or the lazy, but assistance which is vital to those struggling to lift themselves out of poverty. A solid poverty program, as the editorial suggests, is also the best insurance against urban unrest and violence. It is obvious that better living conditions, better education, and more hope for the future give the poor less reason to riot. Furthermore, as the Herald Traveler points out, the poverty program has only been able to provide a partial reimbursement to the poor for the discriminatory treatment they have endured while the rest of our society has prospered.

Mr. Speaker, the actions of this body this session have yet to demonstrate our renewed commitment to a future of progress and hope for the poor. How can our promises to the poor be considered to have been made in good faith when the antipoverty programs are subject to such uncertain treatment as they have been over the last several weeks? The Herald Traveler editorial speaks to this point when it says that:

> No one can be expected to take seriously the Government's promises to aid the poor, or the aged, or the sick, when programs are here one day and gone the next.

I, for one, Mr. Speaker, intend to do all in my power to see that this most worthwhile program is approved and continued.

With unanimous consent, I include the full text of the Herald Traveler editorial at this point:

[From the Herald Traveler, Boston, Mass., Nov. 9, 1967]

INSURANCE, NOT REWARD

The avowed intention of House leaders to cut President Johnson's requests for poverty program funds could not be more shortsighted. The representatives talk about "not rewarding the rioters" with poverty funds while they take the President to task for raising the hopes of the poor and giving them nothing.

What these critics fail to take into account is that the country for hundreds of years has been discriminating against the poor. Rather than being a reward, the relatively meager funds that the "war on poverty" distributes through job training and education programs represent a partial reimbursement for the job discrimination and segregated education that has gone on before and is still going on.

From a more pragmatic standpoint, the poverty funds represent insurance against riots, rather than an incitement to more riots as some representatives imply. No easy cure for riots is available. But it is certain that people who have good jobs, good housing, and good education are far less likely to riot than people who do not have these things. That is where the poverty war comes in, and that is what the House fails to realize.

Despite the blindness of the representatives who look upon poverty funds as a "reward," their position is at least motivated more by lack of understanding than by political considerations. Those representatives, however, who criticize President Johnson for raising hopes without following through are another matter. For these House members to lambast the President for not providing enough funds while they themselves vote to cut the poverty appropriations even further constitutes the grossest political cynicism.

Such actions undermine confidence not only in the poverty program but in all federal aid programs. No one can be expected to work for an agency whose future is constantly in question because of Congressional whims. No one can be expected to take seriously the Government's promises to aid the poor, or the aged, or the sick, when programs are here one day and gone the next. The threat by Sargent Shriver to resign as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity if funds are cut only dramatizes this concern.

House members should weigh these considerations carefully when they take final action on the appropriation for the poverty war this week.

Why I Am Glad To Be an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, for the second time this year, the Roberts Elementary School Parent-Teachers' Association in Morristown, Tenn., sponsored an essay contest to make children more aware of what it means to be a citizen of the United States.

The winner of this year's contest is Miss Becky Jo Weesner, a fifth-grade student at Roberts School, whose essay shows considerable thought and maturity. I congratulate Becky Jo, as well as those other students who entered the contest, and I am pleased to insert the winning essay in the appendix of the RECORD.

I know my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD will agree with me that this fine young lady has expressed her own personal sense of patriotism most eloquently. The essay follows:

WHY I AM GLAD TO BE AN AMERICAN

America is a free country. Men have fought for it and are still fighting.

No kings from any other country can rule us, for we have our own President. Long ago we did have kings from foreign lands but the people couldn't choose their ruler or take part in making taxes. Today we can vote for our presidents. We created our Constitution and Bill of Rights to give us laws to live by.

We have schools that everyone can go to. We have doctors to take care of us in good hospitals. We are free to go to church as we please. We are free to speak as we think and to vote as we choose. We have the freedom from fear and want in our land of plenty.

None of the countries in the world have all the things in nature that we have. I love the trees, plants, insects, animals, birds, flowers, fields, deserts, mountains, lakes, rivers, and seas.

I'm so glad to be an American who can enjoy our government, our nature, our rights and our opportunities.

Peace Corps Wins Approval From Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in the midst of our debate over budget cutting, it is refreshing to find an agency that has made a strong effort to hold down costs. I respectfully draw your attention to Time magazine's recent article on the Peace Corps, which must surely pursue the most frugal spending policy in the Federal family. Not only did the Peace Corps achieve a significant expansion in its number of countries and volunteers this year, in the process it reduced the cost of each volunteer by nearly $500 and still returned $5 million to the Treasury. Mr. Speaker, this is an example by which we all profit. I include this article in the RECORD:

[From Time magazine, Oct. 27, 1967]

PEACE CORPS: MORE FOR MORE

In the annual scramble for appropriations on Capitol Hill, nothing has pleased Congress more than the Peace Corps' stubborn refusal to spend every last cent of its budget. Honoring the idealism of 11,902 volunteer workers in 52 countries, it has shunned frills and pared costs, saving taxpayers roughly $45 million over four years. Peace Corps Director Jack Hood Vaughn, 47, a feisty, compact (5 ft. 8 in.) redhead, was commended by Vice President Humphrey for slashing $495 off the upkeep of each corpsman last year.

But this year Vaughn asked for more money. Amid a rush of requests for Peace Corps volunteers from all over the non-Communist world, he submitted a 1968 budget of $118.7 million, up from last year's $110 million, to put 17,750 workers and trainees into 58 countries by next September. "It costs less money to make peace than war," Vaughn reminded the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "But it still costs a lot." Last week the message got through. While the House panel followed the Senate in trimming 3% from his requested budget, in a period of all-round retrenchment so small a cut represented a solid vote of confidence in the Peace Corps.

Verve & Versatility. Even though the Peace Corps rejects four out of five applicants, it is the country's largest single employer of new college graduates. In the beginning, the corps sought specialists; now it concentrates on volunteers with liberal-arts degrees. Their verve and versatility suit them for tackling villagers' grass-roots problems where experts might feel wasted. Their average age is 24, although an 80-year-old served as a nurse in Turkey and 142 volunteers currently are over 50.

The range of work seems limited only by the Peace Corps' collective imagination. Volunteers are in demand for more than 300 job categories, from agronomy, bacteriology and carpentry to X-ray technology and zoology. A team of corpsmen installed the University of Malaya's first electronic computer; one is a game warden in Ethiopia; Gerald Brown, a volunteer from Douglas, Ariz., conducts Bolivia's National Symphony orchestra, and Lynn Meena's televised English lessons made her one of Iran's most popular performers. The majority teach, and the Corps has even sent blind volunteers abroad to teach the blind.

Twi & Pushtu. Inevitably, some ventures end in trouble. When corpsmen overcame a Senegalese tribal taboo against selling rice, farmers stopped growing it because the crop had lost its religious importance. An instructor watched helplessly while typewriters distributed in Ethiopia turned to junk for lack of care. Language training for the corpsmen was once squeezed into 50 hours, and one slum worker in a Chilean *callampa* did not have enough Spanish to ask how to get to the bus that would take him to work. "At times they miss the mark," Vaughn confesses. "And when they do, it's certain we helped them miss."

To get back on target, Vaughn has upgraded pre-assignment training until it accounts for a quarter of his budget. Instruction has been stretched from eight to 14 weeks, with a minimum of 300 hours of language tutoring. Courses are offered in 183 tongues, including Twi, Tswana, Sesotho, Pushtu, Waray-Waray and Bicolano.

Because they often combine their altruistic attitudes toward service with vociferous antipathy to the Viet Nam war, Peace Corps volunteers have sometimes been accused of dodging the draft. But Vaughn, a World War II Marine officer, ridicules the charge, pointing out that their two-year stint abroad is a deferment, not a substitute for military service. Many are called up when they return home. Draft boards have even recalled 38 corpsmen from overseas, and Vaughn fumes over the money wasted training volunteers who are inducted before they complete Peace Corps service. The real reason so many young people choose the Peace Corps, he says, is to garner a hidden bonus: to discover a deeper maturity in themselves by serving others. "Our nation," reasons Vaughn, "will be the better for it."

Virginia Technology Sells in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the Cooke Engineering Co., of Alexandria, Va., is a small business firm with a large amount of know-how. In June of this year, the company exhibited some of its products at a foreign trade show organized by the U.S. Department of Commerce in Frankfurt, Germany. This was a new market for Cooke Engineering Co., and the main objective of participating in the show was to get exposure of their product line to new business prospects.

The products exhibited by this Virginia business at the Frankfurt show were microtitration equipment; technologically sophisticated instrumentation widely used in chemical and biological research laboratories. What were the results of the trade show? Immediate sales of $6,000 were made on the spot. More important, Cooke Engineering Co. estimated that during the 12 months following the show more than $60,000 in additional sales will be made as a direct consequence of their participation in the Frankfurt exhibition.

At the close of the trade show, the company was also negotiating with a number of representatives to distribute their product line. The world market for scientific instruments is highly competitive, and I am pleased to bring this success story of Virginia enterprise to the attention of other Members.

Curing U.S. Economic Ills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, from the time that President Johnson first called for an income tax increase last January in his State of the Union Message, there has been an almost constant flow of mail into my office on the subject. As with most Members of Congress, I think, it reflects the overwhelming opposition of the people to the President's proposal. One of the leading newspapers in my district, the Marion Star, recently summed up the case against the surtax very well, I believe. I submit this excellent editorial for the consideration of all of my colleagues:

[From the Marion (Ohio) Star, Nov. 13, 1967]

CURING U.S. ECONOMIC ILLS

The most formidable opponent of President Johnson's proposed tax surcharge is the President, himself.

Just about everything he does aids his opponents.

President Johnson first broached the subject in his State of the Union message Jan. 10. He called for enactment of a 6 per cent surcharge on personal and corporate income taxes.

The tax was to be for two years "or for so long as the unusual expenditures associated with our efforts in Vietnam continue."

Then—as if to underline his doubt about the value of the request—he failed to press Congress for passage of the additional revenue proposal.

Congress kept the measure shelved as Republicans called for a $4 to $6 billion cut in federal civilian spending.

When Aug. 3 rolled around, the President brought up the subject again. This time he asked Congress to approve a 10 per cent surcharge on income taxes to avert "an unsafe and unmanageable deficit" in the federal budget and avoid "a ruinous spiral" of inflation.

Members of Congress and taxpayers were supposed to draw the conclusion that increased spending in the Vietnam effort had brought on the deficit and the threat of unbridled inflation.

It is a well-documented fact that free-wheeling spending policies had precipitated federal economic ills prior to the expanded Vietnam effort.

The executive branch of the government is not totally to blame for the financial fix the nation finds itself in. Congress must appropriate funds before they can be spent. The President couldn't spend a cent without the assistance of Congress.

It is likewise true that the executive and legislative branches must also share responsibility for correcting the existing situation.

The President would have us believe the tax surcharge is the answer. It isn't. A payment of only $6 or $7 billion (estimated surcharge revenue) on a federal deficit of nearly $30 billion would be no cure-all.

Recently, in Texas, President Johnson said if the taxpayer doesn't pay the tax he will pay even more through increased inflation.

If the taxpayer believed the tax surcharge would put an end to inflation, he would buy the program—but he knows it won't.

So what the situation amounts to is if the tax increase is approved, unions will demand—and get—more money, manufacturers will raise prices and the spiral will continue.

The taxpayer will pay both the increased tax and higher living costs spawned by rising inflation.

So what can be done?

Cut federal spending. There is no other answer.

The President, legislators and taxpayers must act in concert to get the nation's spending in line with revenue.

It won't be easy—but inaction or half-hearted efforts now will bring consequences of a magnitude no one even dares to think about.

Reelect Ev Dirksen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Rockford Morning Star, which is published in the second largest city of Illinois, has come out openly and unequivocably in favor of the reelection of Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, even before the Senator minority leader has made any announcement of his candidacy.

Indeed, the editorial comment that I shall include at the conclusion of these remarks pays excellent tribute to one of our greatest statesmen-legislators. He has already truly earned for himself an important niche in our Nation's history.

I wholeheartedly agree with the sentiments expressed by the editors and publishers of the Rockford Morning Star. Senator DIRKSEN should be reelected. He will be needed in Washington for many years to come.

The article referred to follows:

REELECT EV DIRKSEN

It's our opinion that Sen. Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois comes about as close to being indispensable these days as any office holder in Washington.

That's why The Morning Star today unhesitatingly recommends Senator Dirksen for re-election for a fourth term in the United States Senate—even though he has made no formal announcement of his candidacy.

In his role as Senate Republican leader, Dirksen's superb statesmanship has earned him the reputation of being one of the most skillful and effective minority leaders in the history of the United States Senate.

Historians will record Everett Dirksen of Illinois among America's great senators—names like Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, William E. Borah, Arthur Vanderberg and Robert Taft.

During his 33 years in Congress—both in the House and Senate—Dirksen has won the respect of our nation's political leaders in both parties. His constructive criticism and sometimes support of Democratic administration proposals and programs have given him true stature as a statesman.

Senator Dirksen has supported, and in some instances made possible, enactment of far-reaching legislation he deemed essential to the best interests of our nation.

He has stood resolutely on the side of individual rights and unwavering adherence to constitutional government. He is an eloquent spokesman for the cause of responsible government, and is widely respected for his philosophy, his courage, his understanding, his perspective, and his deep concern for our nation's problems.

Senator Dirksen is a staunch and unrelenting supporter of the American war effort in Vietnam. Just last week here in Rockford, he said "speeding up our bombing attack" is the "only way" to get the Vietnamese Communists to the conference table. His view sums up the war situation realistically and concisely.

Few men in government can match Senator Dirksen's ability to focus attention on vital issues. He commands respect for what he says—and how he says it.

We recommend that the people of Illinois re-elect Everett McKinley Dirksen—indeed a "gallant man"—to the United States Senate in November, 1968. He will be needed in Washington for many years to come.

Arabs Whistle in the Wind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News carried an excellent editorial on the current situation in the Middle East which I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues.

This editorial puts into proper focus the reason why Israel is fully justified in retaining her newly acquired territories and refusing to withdraw her troops from these territories until permanent boundaries guaranteeing her sovereignty are established and accepted by the entire world, but in particular by the Arab States.

It is folly to suggest that the Israelis withdraw their troops at this time when a cursory study of history clearly shows that it has been an accepted practice for victorious armies to continue their occupation until a permanent peace treaty is arrived at.

I am, indeed, pleased that the U.S. Government has accepted and recognized this principle and is not joining in the demand that Israel withdraw her troops after her spectacular victory last summer.

Regarding King Hussein himself, I strongly object to and resent his comparison of Israel to a "bank robber who steals money and then tries to open an account in the same bank with the stolen money."

This kind of a contemptible analysis by Hussein disrupts any notion that he, indeed, wants to contribute toward a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem.

The Chicago Daily News is to be commended for placing this entire subject in proper perspective, and their editorial follows:

ARABS WHISTLE IN THE WIND

The sooner King Hussein of Jordan and his fellow leaders in the Arab world quit pining for a United Nations settlement in the Middle East, the sooner a settlement can be reached in that area.

While it is true, as Hussein said here Thursday, that the United Nations brought Israel into the world 19 years ago, it is not true, as he suggested, that the UN must now discipline its child. The child is now an adult, a decisive victor in a recent war against its Arab tormentors and the holder of the top cards in the Middle Eastern game. She will play them her way.

Hussein and his fellow Arab leaders contend that the UN and the great nations are duty-bound to restore the "integrity" of prewar boundaries.

"Integrity" means something different to the Israelis from what it means to the Arabs.

Israel says that there can be no integrity to boundaries that invite renewed aggression or, alternatively, leave Israel open to blackmail under threat of attack.

Three wracking wars in 20 years have proved to Israel the impossibility of knowing security behind the old borders. This tiny nation—bafflingly described by Hussein as "the most pampered nation on Earth"—lived too long with its cities exposed to almost instant attack by its powerfully armed, hostile neighbors. It will doubtless trade back much real estate to win a workable settlement. But no settlement can be workable that invites a return to the miserable situation of the past.

So the Arab world had best reconcile itself to the fact that Israel will hang onto the Syrian heights, the Gaza Strip, Jordan's half of Jerusalem and the Sinai bank of the Suez for exactly as long as it takes to establish her security beyond any doubt. Instead of bleating for a restoration of all occupied lands as a condition of peace talks, the Arabs would do better to start thinking of what they need to do to assure Israel the chance to operate as a sovereign nation.

Israel will undoubtedly make concessions in return, but she is in a position to wait until the Arabs approach her with something of value to trade. And as to the UN, after U Thant's desertion of Israel in her time of need. Israel figures she owes that body nothing. She is not far from right.

SBA Expanding Its Programs of Help to Minority Groups

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Small Business Administration, under the direction of its new Administrator, Robert C. Moot, is making commendable gains in its loan programs which benefit minority groups and in its equal employment opportunity programs.

I insert in the RECORD at this point a news story authored by Mr. Moot from the August 12, 1967, issue of the Washington Afro-American entitled "SBA Expanding Its Programs of Help to Minority Group":

SBA EXPANDING ITS PROGRAMS OF HELP TO MINORITY GROUPS

(By Robert C. Moot)

Members of minority groups have had top priorities in obtaining assistance from the Small Business Administration, and they will continue to have them.

In addition, SBA is instituting new and expanded programs to help these groups attain for themselves security and equality in our economic system.

We at SBA believe strongly that nearly anyone with an idea, a talent, or an ambition, can, if he wants to, find a secure place in the world of small business, and his success will be limited only by the limits he places on his own efforts and perseverance.

One of SBA's major programs to accomplish this is the Economic Opportunity Loan (EOL) program, designed to finance new small businesses or to strengthen existing small businesses.

After a slow start about two year ago, it came very much alive last October when Congress changed the rules.

These changes meant that economic opportunity loans were to be made available immediately on a priority basis at each of SBA's 81 field offices which blanket the country.

Prior to the Congressional action, EOL's had been available in only 44 communities throughout the nation.

Within a month the program was in high gear.

Loan funds were increased. Restrictions on qualifications were eased. In short, SBA opened its resources to all minority groups which had previously been denied the opportunity to compete in business on equal terms.

The program is thus available to all who have the talent and the motivation to improve their businesses, or, hopefully, to start new ones.

SBA is attempting, in short, to stimulate the growth of businesses which will have a beneficial economic impact on the communities in which they will be operating as well as to help the individuals concerned.

But we do not wait for the poor, the handicapped, and the otherwise disadvantaged to come to us.

We instituted our "Outreach" program, which sends the SBA staff out into the ghettos, the backwoods, the rural poverty areas where the deprived people often do not even know there is assistance available to them.

In November, 1966, 113 EOL loans were approved, and the number each month has been going up steadily.

During the first six months of the new programs, SBA approved 1,946 loans, compared with slightly more than 2,500 loans granted in the whole previous 23 months of the program.

In May of this year 338 EOL loans were approved, for a total of $3.6 million. In the past six months more than $21 million in loans has been approved, and the average is now 324 loans for about $3.5 million a month.

Our network of offices (in every state as well as Puerto Rico and Guam), is working with a sense of urgency, to do the job the President wants, and the nation's economically disadvantaged need and deserve.

But loans are not enough. We have a responsibility to see that every applicant receives help with regard to those management skills necessary to the efficient operation of his business.

To this end our Management Assistance Officers provide training, periodic reviews, and special guidance services through SCORE, our voluntary Service Corps of Retired Executives.

Every small businessman, either in a new or old enterprise which has problems, can get these counseling services, free, and for a period long enough to help him over his obstacles.

SBA's assistance is not confined to EOL. There are in addition, of course, our regular and development loan programs and, within the past few days SBA has granted most of a

$350,000 loan for a shopping center which may well be the start of a major program.

While these additional loans in no way are limited to such groups, it will provide new opportunities for minority groups.

The loan provides a major part of the financing for the Poplar Plaza Shopping Center which was conceived and will be run by young colored persons in a predominantly colored area of Philadelphia, Pa., at 10th and Poplar Streets.

It is a pilot effort to create greater minority group enterprises within the frame work of SBA's routine activities. Its success will point the way for many other similar projects.

In addition, SBA is bringing its Management Assistance Courses and publications to more and more disadvantaged groups.

SCORE's 3,000 volunteers are actively seeking out small businesses, especially in blighted areas, to help them solve their problems.

Here, incidentally, is where the successful leaders of minority groups can help.

By becoming SCORE volunteers and contributing their services to their own people, they can achieve infinite satisfaction in providing vitally needed know how to faltering small busnesses.

Another of SBA's major area of interest involves assistance to small concerns which wish to sell products and services to the nation's largest buyer, the U.S. Government, or become subcontractors to large prime contractors.

Opportunities in this area abound and SBA's staff is anxious to work with the small businessman in preparing him to take advantage of this huge market.

At SBA we are trying, and, we think, succeeding, in practicing what we preach—to give minority and disadvantaged people more help, more attention, and more jobs.

Our own rate of hiring from minority groups has greatly increased especially in technical and professional categories.

Not the least of our efforts in this direction has been a major expansion of our Equal Opportunity Office, which sends representatives into communities througout the nation and works with local government and business leaders to provide more opportunities for minority workers at all levels.

SBA now has representatives in many of the areas where the problems have been most difficult, and before long we shall have them in every section of the country where they can help create new jobs, build more harmonious relationships, and make our disadvantaged citizens participants in our abundant society, rather than mere spectators.

To sum up, we are trying to make evermore effective our contribution to what President Johnson called "An America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, and in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capabilities."

Speech by J. Vaughan Gary, at McGuire Veterans' Hospital, Veterans Day, November 11, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on November 11, J. Vaughan Gary, a former Member of this body, made the Veterans Day address at the McGuire Veterans' Hospital in Richmond. Mr. Gary was my predecessor in representing Virginia's Third Congressional District and I am sure his many friends here in the House will enjoy reading his remarks just as I have enjoyed them. At this point, I insert those remarks in the RECORD:

SPEECH BY J. VAUGHAN GARY, AT MCGUIRE VETERANS HOSPITAL, VETERANS DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1967

Nearly two centuries ago, Patrick Henry, a distinguished Virginian, stood in the midst of a band of patriots in a small church near this very spot, and with his inimitable eloquence, cried out:

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

That immortal proclamation became the keynote of the American Revolution in which we wrested our independence from England and became a free Nation. It has been the watchword of our Nation throughout the struggles of the past 200 years to preserve that freedom.

We received a warning shortly after Patrick Henry's immortal declaration that "Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty", and how true we have found that prophecy to be.

During my lifetime, we have sent two mighty armies to Europe in two world wars to stop aggression by power-crazed dictators who sought to rule the world. In each instance, we hoped that the war was a war to end all wars, but soon found that was not true.

In less than 2 years after the cessation of hostilities of World War II, it was my privilege to travel in Europe with my congressional committee and, upon my return to the United States, I stated publicly on numerous occassions that the thing which had impressed me most during my trip was the fact that, regardless of the country in which I Traveled—England, Germany, France, Spain, Greece, or Turkey—there were unmistakable evidences coming from behind the Iron Curtain that the rulers of Soviet Russia, our ally in World War II, had embarked upon a program of world domination and that nothing short of that would satisfy them. That opinion has been strengthened by subsequent events.

Immediately after World War II, Soviet Russia began to encroach upon and take over country after country by infiltration, subterfuge, treachery and subversion. Romania, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were forced into the Soviet orbit without the firing of a single shot. Italy, with an election pending, was tottering on the verge of submission and had she fallen, it is possible that the other European nations, which were still weak and suffering from the devastation and destruction of World War II might have toppled also like a sack of dominoes.

At this juncture, on June 5, 1947, General George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, made his famous speech at Harvard University in which he proposed financial aid to any European countries "willing to assist in the task of recovery". Shortly thereafter, the so-called Marshall plan was inaugurated under which our Nation sent some twelve billion dollars to the struggling countries of Europe during the ensuing 3½ years. This action, which was commemorated in Lexington, Virginia, last month, helped to strengthen the resistance of Italy, restore economic health to free Europe and halt the march of communism on that continent. I shall never cease to be thankful for the fact that I was privileged to have a part in that great enterprise as the patron of the Marshall plan appropriation bills and as such to pilot them through the Congress.

With its progress in Europe halted, Soviet Russia attempted to show its power and embarrass the free world by a ground blockade of the city of Berlin, sectors of which were held by the various Allied powers. The United States successfully met this threat by one of the greatest feats in history when it airlifted 2,343,315 tons of food and coal into the city, a sufficiency to sustain all of the Allied sectors.

Foiled again, and having exhausted their efforts to expand in Europe, the Communists then resorted to force in Korea. We met them there and, after a bitter struggle, succeeded in halting their aggressive designs.

Then the ugly head of aggression was raised in Vietnam. Can any sane, reasonable, unprejudiced person doubt that this is just another step in the Communist conspiracy to achieve world domination?

To preserve freedom in our homeland and in the rest of the free world, we have found it necessary to send millions of our boys and girls far from home to participate in war in foreign lands. They have responded to the call with patriotic fervor. They have fought valiantly, sacrificed courageously, and many of them have heroically made the supreme sacrifice. It is this noble band of veterans that we memoralize today.

Their performance is in striking contrast with that of the hoodlums who parade the campuses and streets of our Nation with placards protesting the policy of our Government in Vietnam, engage in the defiant, illegal, and contemptible practice of burning their draft cards and cowardly attempt to escape our borders into Canada.

The contrast reminds one of the disparity between two Americans, one of whom adorns the pages of our history, and the other who desecrates them. Nathan Hale, who gave his life in the service of his country, died a hero with the words on his lips: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." Benedict Arnold, who betrayed his country, died in ignominy and shame in a foreign land.

We pride ourself on the fact that this is a free country and we do not want to discourage legitimate criticism of the Government. We must learn, however, to distinguish between proper criticism and treason.

There can be no doubt that the demonstrations against the Vietnam war is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, prolonging the hostilities, and sacrificing thousands of lives of patriotic Americans. Only last week North Vietnam released three American prisoners, which they said was in appreciation of the demonstrations of the anti-war group in the United States. How long, America, will we permit these reasonable antics to continue?

If the protesters want to right wrongs, why don't they protest the occupation of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia by the Communists who have occupied those countries without reason and suppressed with force every effort of their people to regain their freedom? Why don't they protest the Iron Curtain and the German wall which was built not to stop outside aggressors, but to prevent those within the Communist borders from escaping the intolerable conditions under which they are living. Why don't they protest the unspeakable atrocities and butchery of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese? Are they themselves so wed to foreign ideologies that they are blind to these evils or are they just blatant cowards who are trying to escape the responsibility of defending their country?

We have joined other free nations in our efforts to protect our own freedom, and in the process, we have made commitments. Vietnam is one of those commitments. We may argue the wisdom of the commitment in the first place, but we are now engaged in war and withdrawal at this point would be unthinkable. Thousands of South Vietnamese would be massacred, we would have welched on our agreement, and we would lose the respect of the entire world, including those who are urging us to withdraw.

As we pause today to honor our veterans, let us resolve that their deeds and sacrifices will not be forgotten. Our Government has been generous in its recognition of their services, and we as individual citizens must see to it that their sacrifices are not in vain. Let each of us on this occasion re-dedicate ourselves to the causes for which they fought and pledge to those now fighting our continued loyalty and support in their efforts to bring about peace with honor.

As a towering bastion of liberty, may our Nation rejoice in the great heritage which is ours and stand firm against the forces of aggression "lest freedom perish from the earth".

We must not falter nor become impatient nor be afraid, for truly, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty".

Noise Abatement Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the Borough of Queens houses two of the world's greatest airports—Kennedy and La Guardia. The Borough of Queens has over 2 million people. Few areas in the world are plagued as much by the raucous noise caused by jets and other high-powered aircraft flying, taking off, and landing at these airports. As the years go on, and aviation becomes an ever-growing means of travel, and with the advent of superjets and superpowered planes, the noise levels become more and more of a threat to the welfare and health of not only the millions of people in Queens and its environs, but of the countless others in other heavily populated areas in the country.

I and my colleagues from Queens and surrounding areas of New York have appeared before the Aviation Subcommittee to tell the La Guardia and Kennedy story and to urge approval of H.R. 3400, the bill to establish standards, rules, and regulations, concerning levels of acceptable aircraft noise, giving the Secretary of Transportation the power to enforce these regulations.

All of us have called for speedy action on the bill and, in some instances, we have asked the committee to broaden and strengthen its provisions, particularly in connection with the basic research which is necessary to probe extensively the causes and cures of aircraft noise.

Our borough president in Queens, the able and distinguished Mario J. Cariello, has long been in the forefront of the effort for effective and meaningful airplane noise abatement legislation.

Borough President Cariello has sent the following telegram to Chairman FRIEDEL, chairman of the Aviation Subcommittee, and I am bringing it to the attention of all our colleagues in view of its pertinence to this legislation which affects so many of their own constituency as well:

Congressman SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL,
Chairman, Aviation Subcommittee, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

In connection with the hearing before your subcommittee starting today, I urge prompt and early passage of HR–3400 as the most significant piece of legislation in the Government's noise-abatement program. In my opinion it is essential that the Federal Government exercise the leadership role in noise abatement. This legislation represents the first step in making crystal clear that the Department of Transportation and the Federal Aviation Administration have, by Act of Congress, the specific authority and responsibility to regulate aircraft noise and to make use of the certification process to this end.

I speak for the two million residents of queens in commending you for your statesmanship in calling for these hearings, and in urging that you and your colleagues issue a favorable report on this bill, and that you call for immediate, repeat immediate, passage of this legislation by the Congress. If there is any assistance that I can give you in achieving this objective, I hope you will not hesitate to call upon me. I am forwarding copies of this message to the queens congressional delegation, the Secretary of Transportation and Chairman Staggers.

MARIO J. CARIELLO,
Borough President, Queens County, N.Y.

Address by Charles H. Silver, Chairman, Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner, New York City, October 18, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on a number of occasions we have debated in this Chamber the problem of aid to all schools, including public and nonpublic elementary and secondary schools. Happily, we took a giant step in resolving the vexing church-state problem associated with such legislation when we passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The problem, however, continues to trouble legislators and the people in many of our States. Just recently the people of New York were confronted with this problem, and I would like to bring to the attention of the House the perceptive views on this subject expressed by Mr. Charles H. Silver, distinguished former president of the New York City Board of Education and vice president of the Alfred E. Smith Foundation, which he delivered at the foundation's annual dinner in New York City recently:

ADDRESS BY CHARLES H. SILVER, CHAIRMAN, ALFRED E. SMITH MEMORIAL FOUNDATION DINNER, OCTOBER 18, 1967

You must know how delighted and grateful I am in welcoming you to the high purpose of this twenty-second Annual Dinner honoring the memory of democracy's Happy Warrior.

Again we are met at the crossroads of the year.

Our dais is graced by many distinguished citizens who cope with increasingly serious problems—men and women who lead us in the war against discrimination, unemployment, poor housing, illness, poverty and ignorance.

This leadership is vital to the development of our youth.

Pride in country, respect for law, personal responsibility and loyalty to family and community are violently rejected by growing numbers of young people.

What will stem the tide of abnormal behavior and moral decay?

In the words of His Holiness, Pope Paul:

"One would say that humanity is incapable of saving itself.

"Where is goodwill?

"Where is peace?

"Without the help of God, the great humanitarian ideals of justice, liberty and brotherhood remain faint."

These phrases of the Holy Father remind us that faith, ethics and inspiration are essential to education. Yet prayer, itself, so precious an element in the rearing of a child, has been legislated from our schools.

That is where the unforgivable damage is being done.

We must establish in the classroom some firm expression of the moral and spiritual values of the better world we are trying to build.

And if we cannot build it in our schools, it will never come to be.

These ideals were eloquently expressed by our cherished host, that Prince among the guardians of the faith, His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman:

"We must never forget that the United States is a country whose religious tradition and faith are her granite-like supports and the enduring pledge of her strength and survival."

These were his solemn words, profoundly significant in our times, emphasizing the fact that no state can prosper without the blessings of God—and no child can be truly educated without the knowledge of God.

It is appropriate that we consider these things—particularly because this very day, October 18th, has been designated a national day of prayer—by proclamation of a man who respects the power of prayer, a man for whom our own prayers should be lifted in his desperate hours of decision, our President, Lyndon B. Johnson.

The casting out of prayer from the classroom makes it more difficult to teach those spiritual values fundamental to productive citizenship and decent human relations. We realize that it is the responsibility of the dedicated teacher to inculcate ethical conduct by moral example and to define the difference between right and wrong.

We need more teachers who possess the art and skill to translate into human terms the elementary lesson of doing "unto others as you would have them do unto you" and loving "thy neighbor as thyself."

The public schools are taking many steps in this direction. But it is because the parochial and independent schools have so long provided for this need that I have done everything in my power to help these schools and the children who attend them.

This is the reason I made by plea before Congress—not to enhance the teaching of any particular religion—but to expand and improve instruction with Federal funds for parochial schools. It is the reason I wrote every delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, urging the repeal of the Blaine Amendment.

And I say here and now—once again—that the State must not shirk its responsibility for the education of every child—nor restrict a parent's right to send his sons and daughters to any school of his choice.

The time has come—it is only a few weeks away—for us to discard outworn laws that slam the door of full opportunity in the face of a million children in our State.

In our five boroughs there are a half-million pupils at more than 500 non-public schools. Since our public schools spend approximately a thousand dollars per pupil, this means that parochial schools save the City at least a half-billion dollars per year.

If we had to replace them with public buildings, it would take another half-billion dollars.

But even if the parochial schools did not lift this burden of billions . . . if they did not save a single dollar . . . they must still enjoy the same benefits of a State Constitution—one which will underwrite our responsibility to the parochial school as well as the public school—and most of all to our children—for it is the child who counts—and not the label on his school.

We do not ask an Astronaut pushing back the limitless boundaries of the firmament whether he learned fundamental science in a public or non-public school.

We do not screen the early schooling of a soldier defending the frontiers of freedom.

And we are certainly not concerned—at Beth Israel or St. Vincent's or any other hospital where tireless doctors and research technicians labor to cure the ills of humanity—whether they were first inspired to serve mankind while attending a public or parochial school.

I feel sure that all of us are agreed that youth is the area of highest priority. This is our most precious human resource—where our most urgent obligation begins—but it does not end there.

I am confident that this is the sentiment of that noble advocate of enlightenment and understanding—our honored Guest tonight—America's voice in the councils of the world's great powers, an earnest defender of the rights of man, this nation's Permanent Representative to the United Nations—Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg.

Let us meeting the approaching hour of decision with strong resolve. Let us make our votes and our voices count, standing together to protect the right of every child—to strengthen all educational structures everywhere.

To tear down no walls except the unholy wall of unfounded suspicion and misunderstanding. To shatter no standards except the false double standard of discrimination against the children in our parochial schools.

The way ahead will not be smooth. The road to any of history's Holy Grails has never been easy.

But we will follow it steadfastly—with courage—and with the conviction that a basic quality of American character is the stamina to see things through.

We will strive for such good causes, for the betterment of our country and the world, let by men and women of principle who do what they deem right even if multitudes clamor for the wrong—men and women who follow their conscience instead of their fears.

We have many here tonight.

We need many more to prove to the world—when the going gets tough—the tough get going.

Farm Prices Alarming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the extent to which prices of farm commodities have fallen has reached alarming proportions. Unless there is a radical reversal in this downward trend, our Nation, particularly rural America, is in grave economic danger.

Unfortuniately, in my opinion, this administration has and is willfully ignoring the plight of our farmers.

Wheat prices in particular have suffered severely the past few years. One aspect of the overall problem which goes largely unnoticed is the proposed International Grains Arrangement. The ramifications of the proposed arrangement are the subject of a penetrating editorial, "Following Agriculture's Example," which appeared in the November 7, 1967, issue of the Wall Street Journal. The editorial is based in part on a speech by Mr. Richard J. Goodman, an expert economist of Cook & Co., international cotton and grain exporters.

I place the article in the Record at this point:

FOLLOWING AGRICULTURE'S EXAMPLE

Administration officials are trying, almost desperately, to head off a push by a number of industries for a wide-ranging system of import quotas. So far, however, they're passing up one powerful counterargument.

The Federal men might note that agriculture already has gone far down the road that the steel, textile, oil and other industries propose to follow. Then they might ask the protectionists, "Do you really want the agonies of world agriculture?"

Those troubles were described in a recent speech by Richard J. Goodman, vice president of Cook & Co., a U.S. grain-export firm. On the pretense of dividing the international market fairly among themselves, most of the world's major nations are deliberately wasting their resources.

The situation was, in one large respect, substantially worsened by the trade negotiation that ended this year in Geneva. Originally the talks were supposed to liberalize trade not only in industrial products but in farm goods as well; the way it turned out, the principal agricultural upshot was a proposed new world wheat agreement—the antithesis of liberalization.

Far from freeing farm markets, the agreement, as Mr. Goodman says, is an experiment in international wheat collusion. Its complex terms try both to divvy up the world's wheat business and to set minimum and maximum prices for the countries involved.

That result, of course, was no great surprise. The U.S. and other nations long ago decided that their farm producers should be protected from the rigors of competition. Accordingly all sorts of quotas and other barriers have been set up to keep foreign producers from intruding unduly into the various domestic markets.

The restrictions have been rationalized in various ways, all of them reminiscent of the pleas now being advanced by one quota-eager industry or another. Import curbs are needed, one argument goes, to protect domestic sources of supply in case of war. Another line of reasoning is that the restrictions preserve domestic jobs. Still another is that it's only fair to deny foreigners access to the domestic market if they deny domestic producers access to them.

Some of the rationalizations naturally contain elements of truth. Even so, it's well to ask whether the advantages purchased with farm market controls have actually been worth the price.

In the proposed wheat agreement, for example, the minimum export price for U.S. wheat was set a good deal higher than it had been under the old wheat pact. At the time there was concern about a world wheat shortage, so the planners decided production needed the spur of a higher price.

As often happens, the planners misguessed the market. The outlook now is that the U.S. domestic wheat price in the current marketing year will fall well below the minimum export price. To comply with the agreement, slated to take effect next July, the U.S. thus will either have to sharply curtail wheat output—raising the domestic price—or levy some kind of export tax to boost the price to be charged foreigners.

One way or the other, consumers somewhere will be penalized by higher-than-necessary prices. The arbitrarily high world export price, moreover, will push many countries into uneconomic increases in domestic wheat production, limiting the demand for U.S. wheat. The consequences, then, will be burdens for consumers, distortion of markets, a widespread squandering of resources.

If it be objected that the steel, textile and other industries propose no such messy setup, we would contend it is only a matter of degree. Once an industry acquires official protection it has little incentive to get rid of it; its usual desire is for more. Strong political pressures build up for the system's enlargement. And just how long a step is it from controlling the quantities of goods that flow in foreign trade to controlling, or trying to control, their prices?

As we've said before, we sympathize with industries troubled by foreign competition. If those troubles are in fact great enough to dictate Government help, consideration might be given to direct, above-the-board cash subsidies, which at least might stand less chance of achieving permanence.

We doubt that the companies in question need such aid, but it would be better than pushing the nation's major industries down the dreary, protectionist road now trod by agriculture.

Hospital Benefactors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Evening Times of West Memphis, Ark., on November 10, 1967, carried a splendid editorial with respect to the contributions of individuals to community projects that should serve to remind us all that long before the Federal Government entered many areas of Federal support, our good people were busy in developing their own programs and projects.

In Crittenden County, Ark., Hugh M. Brinkley is such a man. A farmer and civic leader, Hugh Brinkley took the lead in the project to build a community hospital. He led the campaign to obtain the local bond issue to finance the medical facility and served as the first chairman of the board of directors. He never ran out of time or enthusiasm for the effort needed to build and maintain the best hospital facility possible.

And with his time, his effort, and his ability, he put huge sums of his own personal funds into the program. And his sister, the late Mable Brinkley Smithers, joined in this effort. The Brinkley-Smithers Wing of the Crittenden County Hospital recognizes the abiding support and concern of this brother-sister team of good Samaritans. And now the son of Mable Smithers, R. Brinkley Smithers, continues the work of his mother.

But the Times article tells the story more completely, and it is a pleasure to place in the Record this tribute to these splendid Americans, as follows:

HOSPITAL BENEFACTORS

Crittenden Memorial Hospital and those it serves owe much gratitude to many people, but two names stand out whenever the history of this fine institution is discussed. One is that of Hugh M. Brinkley, humanitarian, and philanthropist.

Mr. Brinkley and members of his family have gained a synonymity with Crittenden Memorial Hospital by virtue of their unstinting moral and financial support.

Mr. Brinkley worked to obtain passage of the bond issue that was necessary to build the hospital. He was chairman of the hospital's Board of Governors at the outset and has continued in that position to this day.

Although the contributions of Mr. and Mrs. Brinkley have totaled more than $68,000 in the past 16 years, others closest to the hospital realize it is the deep concern of such people for the welfare of others that contains the true example of the unselfish spirit.

The second part of the name of Brinkley-Smithers Wing at Crittenden Memorial Hospital has traveled a long distance to appear on the memorial plaque there. But the distance from West Memphis to New York City has in no way diminished the results of the interest of the Christopher D. Smithers family in the medical institution.

For the hospital, the Smithers family has been a collective friend and benefactor of long standing. The late Mrs. Mable Brinkley Smithers, sister of Mr. Brinkley, made the first in a continuing series of annual donations to Crittenden Memorial in 1950. Financial assistance has continued to come from that segment of the Brinkley-connected family since that time.

At the time of Mrs. Smithers' death in 1957, the Christopher D. Smithers Foundation was established and has contributed regularly to the support of the hospital. Other donations have been received from the Smithers' son, R. Brinkley Smithers, to bring the Smithers' total contributions to more than $67,500. The senior Mr. Smithers was at one time chairman of the Board of International Business Machines.

Early this year, R. Brinkley Smithers presented Crittenden Memorial with 20 shares of his personal stock in IBM, accounting for a total of $9,153.81 in the one transaction. That donation, coupled with contributions from Mr. Brinkley, was used to develop the new cardiac intensive care unit at CMH.

Plan to attend the open house at the hospital Sunday and see the many improvements which have ben made there. And when you see Mr. Brinkley among those present, be sure to say "thank you."

He's Still Trying To Understand Nature of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam is producing a new crop of heroes, whose valor and courage equals that of other heroes of other conflicts in which Americans have been engaged.

Recently I had occasion to read about another hero of Vietnam, a 21-year-old helicopter pilot, who does not consider himself heroic, but only one who was doing his job in Southeast Asia.

I would like to call attention to an interview published in my hometown paper, the Greensboro Record. Writer Barbara Ross drew from this young man, WO Fred Startz, some of his opinions of the war being waged in Vietnam, and I think his responses are worth reprinting.

The article follows:

Vietnam Pilot: He's Still Trying To Understand Nature of War

(By Barbara Ross)

What does a guy do when he survives Vietnam and comes home to such questions as "What's it really like?" . . . "How does it make you feel?" . . . "Would you go back?"

Fred Startz, Grimsley graduate and medal-winning warrant officer in the Army, is still trying to understand the impact of his year in that controversial destination of many.

"It had its effect," he said thoughtfully during an interview at his home, 511 Mayflower Drive, as he prepared to leave for New York and a new assignment in Germany.

Vietnam gave Startz a lifetime of thrills and chills.

But if you expect the 21-year-old helicopter pilot to tell you how it felt as he hovered over the dense Vietnam terrain waiting to find the "dustoff" (wounded soldier to be evacuated), it might be a long wait.

Startz does not volunteer information. "I'm just like lots of other guys over there," he explains. "What's so special about me?"

But a news story in a military newspaper describes his "impossible" rescue of a dustoff by turning his chopper upsidedown and mowing off the tops of the brush to clear the view.

"Vietnam was just like I had heard," Startz said. "It is hours of boredom interrupted by moments of stark terror."

The interruptions of such large scale operations as "Attleboro, Cedar Falls, Gadsden and Junction City" or any other of Startz's total of 2,000 search, supply or rescue missions in 11 months proved his worth.

The results are the Distinguished Flying Cross (Startz was the first in the 196th Light Infantry Brigade to receive it in Vietnam), the bronze star medal, the air medal with V device and 31 oak leaf clusters.

When he left Vietnam in August, no other pilot in his brigade has logged more than Startz's total of 1,100 flying hours in 11 months. His reaction to this, "That probably isn't true now."

Startz does not volunteer information or opinions. Call it modesty, a distaste for so much he has heard or read about the war or maybe just a reluctance to speak as an authority until he is completely aware of what kind of person he is as a result.

But the opinions are forming in his mind.

"Vietnam? . . . I haven't had so much fun since I broke both legs in a skiing accident . . .

"I didn't give them (the wounded) transfusions. I didn't save lives, except for getting them medical attention . . .

"The morale over there is exceptionally high, it's amazing. Maybe it's the generation or the times. A majority of the guys there are 25 and under. They adjust to the war : . ."

As for "peaceniks," Startz is not as concerned about them as "hearing somebody in a position to do something about Vietnam be a dissenter."

"The congressman or official in Washington who dissents . . . that bothers me. There are people who are affecting our policy, not John Doe or Sally Jones marching around the post office," he explains. "But for a person who really feels what he's got to do, all I can say is it's alright with me, knock yourself out."

The citation presented to Startz along with the Distinguished Flying Cross commends him for "outstanding skill and courage" during a medical evacuation mission from "an extremely difficult landing zone," rescuing two men and bringing in badly needed ammunition and demolitions.

This misison was followed by repeated trips to another area under fire where he "effected the evacuation of six additional U.S. casualties," the citation continues.

The bronze star medal and citation presented by his brigade the day before he left Vietnam represented his total effort during the year.

According to the citation, Startz "resupplied combat units and evacuated countless wounded soldiers under fire saving many lives through immediate delivery to medical facilities . . . (he) inspired his comrades to optimum performance and gained their lasting admiration and respect."

Startz considers himself no hero, just one among 500,000.

Forest Insect and Disease Research Laboratory Dedicated at Hamden, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, October 23, 1967, I participated in the dedication and official opening of a new Forest Insect and Disease Research Laboratory at Hamden, Conn. This Laboratory is operated by the Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. It is an excellent three-story building located on an attractive site in the outskirts of Hamden. The building contains 23 offices for scientists and supporting personnel with space for a total of 45 employees. It also contains 11 laboratories specifically designed for forest insect and disease control research, and electron microscope, a library, a conference room, and several special service facilities needed for research. Much of the necessary scientific equipment still must be provided, for example, growth and environmental chambers, before the new facility becomes fully functional.

The new laboratory is dedicated to finding better ways of controlling and eliminating serious pests of our forests and trees. Protection from destructive agents is necessary for mankind to obtain the full benefits of all forest resources. The specific mission of scientists at the Hamden Laboratory is to develop biologically sound, practical forest insect and disease control system for New England that yield the minimum of ill side effects.

The Hamden Laboratory and the research program there is a fine investment of Federal funds that will, I am confident, pay handsome returns to the public. This work has my complete support and merits the full support of the Congress.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the Record my printed remarks at the dedication:

Remarks of Hon. Robert N. Giaimo at Dedication of the New Forest Insect and Disease Research Laboratory, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, Hamden, Conn., October 23, 1967

As a part of its national forestry effort, the Forest Service operates a forest insect and disease research program at Hamden, Connecticut. Scientists at this location have and are continuing to develop biologically sound, practical methods for controlling serious pests of forests and trees in Connecticut as well as in the other New England states.

Currently, the Forest Service staff at Hamden consists of 16 scientists and 18 others who provide administrative support services. Approximately $425,000 of Forest Service appropriations are used annually to support this staff and program.

A new laboratory-office complex, authorized by the Congress, has just been completed at Hamden for the staff and program which was formerly located in temporary quarters at West Haven. This new facility contains modern scientific laboratories and instruments, for example an electron microscope, required for intensive forest insect and disease research.

So, the basic elements—a competent staff and a modern laboratory—for a comprehensive program of research are available. To be most effective these basic elements should be strengthened promptly.

During 1966, the Secretary of Agriculture approved and submitted to the Congress "A National Program of Research for Agriculture." This new, national plan includes forestry research and provides for an annual $1,000,000 forest insect and disease research program at Hamden as well as for expansion of the research facilities at the location. Thus, an increase of $575,000 over program funds now available would be required to meet the planned level at Hamden. For maximum efficiency the necessary increased funding should be made in two stages: (a) $350,000 as soon as the federal budget situation permits; and (b) $225,000 within 2 years following the first increase.

The first increase, $350,000, would be used as follows:

Equip, operate, and maintain the new Laboratory	$100,000
Strengthen scientific and supporting staff for insect research, with emphasis on hardwood insect control methods	150,000
Strengthen scientific and supporting staff for disease research, with emphasis on hardwood disease control methods	100,000
Total	350,000

Expansion of the present laboratory at Hamden to accommodate the planned program and provide adequate research facilities involves:

1. Construction of a greenhouse complex. A location for the structure has been selected near the Forest Service Laboratory at Hamden. The land is owned by the Federal Government and utilities have been stubbed in at the construction site. Existing architectural and engineering plans can be adapted to this structure.

At current prices, construction costs are estimated to be $250,000.

2. Addition of a fourth story to the Hamden Laboratory to provide the offices and research laboratories needed for the planned program level described above. This expansion can be made without further additions to the present laboratory building.

Construction costs for the addition are estimated to be $250,000.

The greenhouse should be constructed as soon as funds can be provided. Addition of the fourth floor to the laboratory should be made concurrent with the first expansion of the research program as outlined above.

As has been the practice in the past, the expanded research programs would be conducted in close cooperation with Yale University, the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, the Connecticut State Forester, and other interested groups in the state and region.

Much of the research at Hamden is directed to the development of non-chemical control systems for forest pests. These lines of attack will be followed when the program is strengthened.

Continued reliance on direct suppression of insect infestations by chemicals alone cannot be tolerated and seems unnecessary. Some alternative biotic control methods have already resulted from research and still others appear possible. These methods can be more efficient biologically, more advantageous economically, and safer to man and wildlife (including fish) than chemical methods now used generally. Biotic controls may not replace chemicals entirely but the two approaches can and should be integrated into effective and sound systems.

Possible biotic control methods encompass the following: (1) insect parasites and predators; (2) microbial agents—viruses, bacteria, fungi, and protozoa; (3) sterilization and release of male insects into infested areas; (4) identifying, selecting and breeding strains of trees resistant to pest attack and injury.

Research has already shown tangible results with each of these approaches and practical applications with a high probability of success have been developed. For xample: (1) parasites and predators imported from Europe have become established in New England and play a vital role in controlling the gypsy and browntail moths; (2) a predaceous beetle was recently imported from Europe and released in various parts of the nation, including the Northeast, for control of the balsam woolly aphid; (3) specific viruses have been found, propagated and applied for control of the European spruce sawfly, four pine sawflies, and the Great Basin tent caterpillar; and (4) tree strains resistant to rusts, gall aphids and other pests have been found and are being propagated. These few examples clearly illustrate that scientists, if adequately financed and equipped, can discover new, natural ways of controlling forest pests that have a minimum of ill side effects.

Northeastern United States has about 71,000,000 acres of hardwood forests. These forests contain large volumes of some of our most valuable hardwoods. For example, essentially all of the black cherry, 80 percent of the yellow birch, 65 percent of the sugar maple, 73 percent of the beech, and 33 percent of the ash timber resources of our nation are found in these forests. These species along with several other hardwoods supply large volumes of raw materials for many wood-using industries located in the Northeast and other parts of the nation. Such industries, ranging from pulpwood plants to furniture factories, provide employment opportunities, markets for timber and other economic benefits to many communities.

At the same time the northeastern hardwood forests of Connecticut and elsewhere in New England are highly prized for their other resources such as recreation, water, wildlife, and beautification of the landscape. So, forests make substantial contributions to the economic and social well being of the region as well as the nation. Current trends in uses of these multiple hardwood forest resources clearly indicate that demands upon them will climb steadily in the years ahead.

Insects and diseases have and are continuing to reduce sharply the capacity of northeastern forests to meet even the present demands upon them. Defoliating insects, trunk borers, cankers, stains, rots, and other pests have rendered worthless and even killed large volumes of otherwise valuable timber. Tree pests also have made unsightly large areas of forest land and, often, made them unsuitable for recreational uses. Furthermore, they take a heavy toll of trees in our cities. For example, the Dutch Elm disease has killed practically all American elm in many cities of eastern United States.

Protection against such destructive agents is necessary to obtain the full range of benefits from the forest resources of Connecticut and other New England states. The Forest Service research program at Hamden is directed toward developing sound, practical protection systems. Prompt strengthening of this work will reduce the time required to develop reliable control systems and lead to full realization of production potential of New England's forests.

A Chance To Earn, a Chance To Teach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, one of the most unfortunate facts about the war on poverty is that while virtually every program failure or fault gets the most widespread attention, very few of the program's countless achievements receive the publicity they so richly deserve. I am, therefore, delighted whenever a favorable account of antipoverty activity appears in the press. Just such a report appeared in a New York Times article of November 10 entitled, "A Chance To Earn, a Chance To Teach."

Mr. Speaker, this article, by Judy Klemesrud, describes a highly effective and successful day care program in New York City called "Operation Living Room." This program, as Miss Klemesrud points out, "provides day care in the homes of welfare mothers for the children of other welfare mothers who want to go to work." As a result, all involved are positively benefitted, and a road to economic opportunity is opened.

I think this heartening story deserves the attention of my distinguished colleagues, and with permission, I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

A CHANCE TO EARN, A CHANCE TO TEACH

(By Judy Klemesrud)

Where is thumbkin, where is thumbkin, here I am, here I am . . ."

The singers were three pre-school Negro children whom Mrs. Susanna Smith was teaching to tell their fingers apart. They sat around a tiny table in Mrs. Smith's apartment in a Brooklyn public housing project, raising and lowering their fingers until they had sung their way through "thumbkin," "pointer," "tall man," "ring man" and "pinkie."

Then Mookie the cat strolled in, and learning was momentarily disrupted as the children took turns petting him.

Mrs. Smith, a 45-year-old welfare recipient with two grown children, is not a certified school teacher. She couldn't be, with her eighth-grade education. She's what is known as a "provider" in a new program for New York City welfare mothers dubbed "Operation Living Room."

The program, funded with a one-year $3.5-million grant from the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, provides day care in the homes of welfare mothers for the children of other welfare mothers who want to go to work.

It is thought to be the first program of its kind in the nation. Similar OEO projects have been criticized in the past because the administrators are said to have wound up with more of the benefits than the poor, and because the programs are only budgeted from year to year, thus making necessary long-range planning next to impossible.

Here is how it works in Mrs. Smith's home:

Every weekday morning around 8 A.M., Mrs. Betty Dunn gathers up her three youngest children, Anthony, 5, Michael, 4, and Katherine Ann, 2, and takes them across the hall to Mrs. Smith's neat, two-bedroom apartment at 177 Sands Street in Brooklyn's Fort Greene area.

The two older Dunn children, Rosalyn, 9, and Larry, 8, join them as soon as they get out of school. Mrs. Dunn picks up her family around 6 P.M., when she returns from her new job as a $73-a-week long distance telephone operator.

"It's just a wonderful thing," said Mrs. Dunn, 24, who is separated from her husband and was on welfare for a year before she enrolled in New York Telephone's job training program. "I hope it lasts. A lot of welfare women who want to work can't because they can't afford to pay someone to stay with their kids."

MOTHERS ARE TRAINED

On the surface, the program sounds like a glorified baby-sitting service. But it is apparently more than that. The providers are trained to teach their charges such things as reciting the alphabet, writing their names and drawing pictures.

"You have to work hard to squeeze everything in between the snacks, lunches, naps and playing in the park," said Mrs. Smith, who is unable to hold a regular job because of a back injury.

"You know," she added softly, "I've always dreamed about being a second grade teacher."

For her services, Mrs. Smith is paid $75 per child per month, plus an additional $15 per child per month for lunches and snacks. She is allowed to keep the first $155 in monthly earnings with no reduction in her regular welfare allotment of $130 a month.

The mother who like Mrs. Dunn takes a job is not cut off welfare immediately. ("The fear of this has been one of the biggest drawbacks of the program," said Bobbi Hollon, the program's Brooklyn field coordinator.) Instead, she is allowed to keep the first $85 of her monthly earnings, plus 30 per cent of the remainder. Her Aid to Dependent Children payments continue until her income rises above $4,900, the cutoff point.

The program, officially titled Head Start Family Day Care Career Project, began in early October under the auspices of the city's Human Resources Administration. It is now operating in every borough except Richmond.

So far, about 100 welfare children are being cared for in 40 homes while 50 mothers are at jobs or job training programs. No more than five children are assigned to a home.

GOAL BY SPRING

Jerome Sampson, director of the program, said the H.R.A.'s goal was to enroll 1,600 children in the program by spring. He said that based on the $3,000 figure needed to support one family on welfare in New York City, the program could eventually result in an annual saving of $2.5-million for the city as the mothers work themselves off the welfare rolls.

Mr. Sampson estimated there were about 100,000 welfare mothers in New York City who are able to go to work but don't because they have no place to leave their children.

"Finally I feel like I'm doing something to support myself, instead of just waiting on them [welfare caseworkers]," said Mrs. Evelyn Taylor, 46, who gives day care to four children in her apartment in the Walt Whitman housing project in Brooklyn.

Mrs. Taylor, who has two school-age children, said she used to sit around all day with nothing to do before she joined "Operation Living Room."

"Frankly, I think I do a pretty good job," she said. "The kids don't leave here at night without kissing me."

Why L. B. J. Cannot Let Up the Bombing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, amidst the protests, statements, counterstatements, and countercharges we hear these days, it is with pleasure that I bring to your attention an article by Mr. Philip Goodhart, a British MP, who has just completed his second visit to Vietnam. In his report, Mr. Goodhart states:

> The statistics certainly do not support the argument that there is a stalemate in Vietnam, and I found no suggestion of stalemate on the ground.

Mr. Goodhart also writes that "there is ample evidence that the Hanoi political bureau is pinning its faith on a crumbling American resolution."

I include an article entitled, "Why L. B. J. Cannot Let Up the Bombing," published in the October 30, 1967, London Evening Standard, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHY L. B. J. CANNOT LET UP THE BOMBING

"This map has been drawn by a computer," said Ambassador Robert Komer with a proud smile, as he unfolded a map of South Vietnam's 12,000 hamlets. "From this we can see where we are." The map was covered with a rash of red and blue squiggles that might have been applied by Picasso. The red squiggles were Vietcong villages. The blue squiggles were friendly hamlets.

Six months ago Bob Kromer left his desk in the White House to come to Saigon as the senior American responsible for bringing a degree of order into the multitude of American civilian assistance programs in South Vietnam. Since then he has won an enviable reputation as a dynamic operator, but energy in the centre can produce a crushing burden of staff work in the field.

INFORMATION

Tens of thousands of hours of manhours had gone into collecting the information that produced the computer map I was looking at. "I have spent 65 percent of my time on American staff work and only five percent teaching the Vietnamese how to do things—which is what I was supposed to do," one American operational liaison officer said to me at the end of his 12-month tour with the Vietnamese provincial forces.

The preoccupation with staff work and figures and statistics is easy to understand. In earlier wars the American public has been able to follow the tide of battle without difficulty. The loss of lives and the financial cost of the conflict could be measured against recognizable results on the ground.

In June 1944 any sane American could appreciate that the invasion of the Continent was a significant milestone on the road to victory. Even in Korea, definite battles produced definite results.

But in Saigon there are only statistics to balance against the daily cost of 20 American lives and 100 million dollars—and statistics about infiltration rates or weapon losses or Vietcong desertions mean little enough to American voters.

The figures themselves generally support the restrained optimism of General Westmoreland, Ambassador Komer and other senior Americans. In 1965, when I first visited South Vietnam, 800 government officials of all sorts, including hamlet chiefs and teachers, had been assassinated in the first eight months of the year.

Obviously no pacification programme, however brilliantly planned, can possibly succeed if the officials concerned are so vulnerable. During the first eight months of 1967, 160 Government officials were murdered. This is hardly an acceptable figure, but it does suggest that there has been a vast improvement in the last two years.

The statistics certainly do not support the argument that there is a stalemate in Vietnam, and I found no suggestion of stalemate on the ground. I have just spent a week in the strategic province of Binh Dinh, which is bigger than Yorkshire and has a population of almost 1,000,000. It was the main source of rice for the North Vietnamese forces in Central Vietnam, and much of the province had been under Communist control for almost 20 years.

At the beginning of 1967 the Vietcong could still claim control of 75 per cent of the population. The number of votes cast in the September election does provide confirmation of the American claim that the Vietcong now control less than one-third of the inhabitants.

Within the province there are 9000 North Vietnamese regular soldiers, backed by 12,000 local Vietcong. Because of the effectiveness of the bombing of the supply lines, about two-thirds of the local Vietcong have no weapons.

This force is faced by 75,000 American, Korean and Vietnamese soldiers, ranging in quality from the mighty American First Air Cavalry Division to independent companies of the Vietnamese Popular Force, the local militia, who come at the bottom of the scale for pay, equipment, and leadership.

The provincial capital of Qui Nhon is now a thriving port, handling up to 10,000 tons of military stores every day. The main routes out of the city seem to carry almost as much traffic as the M.4.

"What would happen if you were to take 5000 American troops out of this province?" I asked Ben Wood, the senior American provincial advisor, who gives calm, intelligent direction to the energies of a first-rate American team. We were sitting in a district headquarters at Binh Khe, and our conversation was interrupted by a distant burst of firing.

ATTACK

A village that we have driven to that afternoon reported an attack by two companies of Vietcong. Minutes later an explosion down the road and more bursts of rifle fire were identified as an attack on the pipeline that carries fuel up to the Air Cavalary base camp at An Khe.

A lull in the firing was followed by a Vietcong attack on a Popular Force platoon post two miles up the road. Two militia men were killed and five were wounded.

"Maybe you've got your answer about what would happen if we pulled out 5000 men now," said Ben Wood as we threaded our way through the stream of traffic on our way back to Qui Nhon. "But it's also true that the really high-powered units like the First Air Cavalary have virtually run out of worthwhile targets here."

Back at Provincial Headquarters, reports were coming in of more Vietcong activity during the night. Two companies of Vietcong had attacked a Popular Force platoon position near Highway 1. In fact, the platoon had been reinforced by a company of Regular Vietnamese soldiers.

The attack was poorly planned and poorly executed. The result was a catastrophe for the Vietcong.

No American troops were involved, but within five minutes of the first attack American aircraft had illuminated the area with flares. Within ten minutes American helicopters and "spooky" gunships had raked the attack positions with rockets and 0.50 calibre bullets.

Why had the Vietcong chosen to attack a hard target, when American trucks were rolling through the district night and day with minimal protection? Part of the answer lies in the lack of intelligence and the lack of adequate offensive training that is increasingly evident among Vietcong commanders. Part of the answer is ideological.

OVERWHELM

According to Mao Tse-tung's teaching, guerrilla forces should combine into large units in order to overwhelm the regular forces of the opposition, as a prelude to final victory. This redeployment is known as Phase 3 and the Vietcong leaders had concentrated their forces for Phase 3 shortly before the American buildup began.

In living up to Mao's definition of Phase 3, the Vietcong units have been too rigidly organised and they have sought too many direct confrontations with allied military units.

At last it seems that the Vietcong are about to return to Phase 2, of limited guerrilla fighting. But even this transition will not be an easy one.

The North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam are not trained or organised for guerrilla fighting. There are doubts about their ability to reorganise in the field, while the defection rate among Vietcong forces could shoot up still higher—since the beginning of 1967 more than 10 per cent of the Vietcong in Binh Dinh province have surrendered.

There is little likelihood, however, that the Vietcong will melt away before the American Presidential election in November, 1968. Last week the North Vietnamese Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, publicly thanked the leaders of the American protest movement for their activity, and there is ample evidence that the Hanoi political bureau is pinning its faith on a crumbling of American resolution.

The American forces in the field know this as well as the Vietcong. After the broadcast of one recent poll that showed Bobby Kennedy leading President Johnson in popularity, I watched two American liaison officers spit on the ground in anger. They realise that the Vietcong's will to kill is strengthened by the belief that the Americans may eventually just give up.

Paradoxically, a mounting tide of criticism of the war also strengthens the hand of those Americans who wish to intensify the war. Rightly or wrongly, President Johnson is being advised that the bombing of the North is now doing real damage to the whole structure of the Vietnamese state.

Rightly or wrongly, he is being advised that lengthy bombing pause could increase the flow of supplies to the South ten-fold, with a four-fold increase in American casualties.

President Johnson knows perfectly well that if he relaxes the pressure he will get scant thanks from the protesters, who could well be encouraged to redouble their efforts. If American public opinion really is going to erode, the hawks argue then it is essential to get quick result,s even if the military evidence calls for steady pressure rather than frenzied efforts.

PRESSURE

A real build-up of pressure now will, at the worst, give the President scope for popular reductions in the size of the American forces during the election campaign. At the best, increased pressure could bring Hanoi to its knees—particularly if it becomes plain that the Republicans will nominate a candidate who supports the war.

It is just one of many contradictions in the Vietnamese situation that at this moment protests against the war actually reinforce the will to kill of both the Vietcong and the American administration.

Landmark Case for Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, certainly Judge Skelly Wright's erratic court decision destroying parent's control over the Washington, D.C., schools must be an important milestone in the Red blueprint.

Otherwise they would not waste their funds on having the case pushed by their No. 1 hotshot attorney, muckster William Kunstler, whose reputation and agitations are internationally known.

Kunstler is not a mere attorney—he is a revolutionary. Now there should be little speculation as to who wrote the judge's decision against little children. Kunstler is an important cog in the Red wheel—if he does not have a peg to hang his hat on he whimpers and his friends in Washington give him a readymade law for him to hide behind.

Kunstler, Kunstler & Kinoy—the left-wing KKK are not just attorneys, but specialists in using legal argument to destroy the law. And Judge Wright—affectionately remembered by his Louisiana subjects as "Ole Smelly"—allowed himself and his court to be exploited by this mob.

I include the stories from the November 15 Evening Star and Post, of Washington, D.C., following my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 15, 1967]

Hansen, Others Open Fight To Appeal Wright's Decree

(By Ellen Hoffman)

Carl F. Hansen, former Washington school superintendent, went to court yesterday to fight for the right to appeal Judge J. Skelly Wright's school decision.

Hansen's motion for an appeal was one of three argued before the U.S. Court of Appeals. Carl Smuck, a School Board member, and a group of parents also submitted appeal requests.

The Wright decision abolished the track system and ordered the schools to bus youngsters from crowded buildings to schools that were under capacity.

The issue before the Court was whether these persons have legal standing for an appeal. The arguments were presented by Thomas S. Jackson who represented Hansen, Smuck and the parents, and by William Kunstler, representing Julius W. Hobson, who filed the suit against the schools in January, 1966, that resulted in Wright's decision.

Kunstler argued that Hansen should not be allowed to appeal because he was ordered in a vote by the Board of Education last July not to appeal. The Board vote resulted in Hansen's resignation.

Since the suit named Hansen as a defendant in his capacity as school superintendent, he should not be able to appeal as an individual, Kunstler said.

Hansen has said he believes his professional reputation has been damaged by the Wright degree.

Kunstler contended that Smuck should not be allowed to appeal because it would create a precedent for "havoc" if an individual Board member could come to the court whenever he disagreed with the Board's decision to carry out a court order.

Jackson said Smuck is bound by the Board's decision to carry out the Wright decree although he views the decree as illegal. Furthermore, Jackson argued, the decree has taken away the discretion of the School Board in making educational policy.

Kunstler disagreed.

"All Judge Wright has done is set a chart for the School Board," he said, "Within these limits there is a wealth of alternatives."

On the question of the standing of the parents who want to appeal, Jackson said they are particularly concerned about Wright's abolition of the track system and the order to bus children across town to relieve crowding.

Kunstler said the parents who want to appeal want relief for poor Negro children but fail to show they represent them. Jackson repied, "I don't think the atmosphere of this case should be guided by . . . one side representing poor black people and one side representing white affluent people."

If a motion for appeal is accepted by the Court, it would probably result in a full-dress discussion of the action ordered by the Wright decree. The school system has already taken steps to put the decree into effect, and is due to report its progress to Wright Jan. 2.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Nov. 15, 1967]

Wright Decision Appeal Right Argued for Hour Before Court

(By John Mathews)

Seven judges of the U.S. Court of Appeals yesterday heard opposing sides argue the question of whether the de facto school segregation decision of Judge J. Skelly Wright can be appealed.

The one-hour hearing dealt mainly with the legal question of who has a right to appeal, but also touched on some of the key controversial aspects of Wright's decision: abolition of the track system of pupil grouping and busing of Negro students to predominantly white schools.

The judges took under advisement a variety of motions to allow an appeal proposed by lawyers for former school Supt. Carl F. Hansen, Carl C. Smuck, a school board member, 20 white and Negro parents and a music teacher.

Counter motions that would prevent an appeal were argued by lawyers for Julius W. Hobson, who brought the racial and economic discrimination case against Hansen and the school board.

NO QUICK DECISION ASKED

There was no indication when the judges would rule, and neither side requested a quick decision.

The appeals court could take a variety of actions that would lead to an immediate appeal or delay further the question, or bar an appeal at this time.

The court could grant a standing to appeal to one appellant, all of the appealing parties or none of them. It could remand the appeals issue to Judge Wright who in July considered most of the issues debated yesterday. The court could also grant a motion of the appellants to overrule Judge Wright's entire decision and order a new trial.

Seven of the eight appeals court judges sat for the unusual full court hearing on the procedural matters.

Judge Wright, appeals court judge who issued the decision in the Hobson case on the District Court level, did not participate. The ninth seat on the appeals court is vacant.

QUESTION ON GRIEVANCE

The key issues of abolition of the track system and busing came up when Chief

Judge David L. Bazelon asked Thomas Jackson, the chief lawyer for the appellants, how the 20 parents were "aggrieved" by the Wright decision.

"Any parent is affected by the judge's prohibition" of the track system, said Jackson, and by Wright's order to the school board to bus volunteering Negro students to predominantly white schools.

"To say it doesn't affect parents of school children is to neglect the obvious," the lawyer added.

Jackson also asserted that Judge Wright had, in effect, barred any system of ability grouping. But William M. Kunstler, the trial lawyer for Hobson and the other Negro plaintiffs, answered later that Judge Wright had barred only Hansen's track system "as presently practiced in the District of Columbia."

Other ability grouping systems could be adopted by District schools, possibly without having to get Judge Wright's specific approval, Kunstler said.

Judge Carl McGowan questioned both counsel on the effect of the Wright decision on school board policy.

SEES POWERS USURPED

Jackson argued that the Wright decision had usurped the powers of the school board. When the board voted 6 to 2 not to appeal the Wright decision, it prevented minority board member Smuck from challenging what he considered was an unconstitutional invasion of board powers, Jackson said.

Supt. Hansen, who retired July 31 after the board forbade him to appeal the Wright decision, should have the right to challenge the decision that injured his professional standing, Jackson argued.

Kunstler maintained that Judge Wright had not assumed school board powers, but had found that some board policies were unconstitutional by denying students equal educational opportunities.

"Within these limits there is a wealth of discretion for the school board," he said.

To allow Smuck, a dissenting board member, and Hansen, a retired employee, to appeal the decision would create a "havoc situation" for any public body that makes decision by majority rule and has administrators bound to it, Kunstler said.

Asked by Judge John A. Danaher who would have had a right to appeal the decision, Kunstler answered that only the school board as a body and Hansen, if he had been permitted by the board, could have appealed.

Johnson Scores Triumph at Gridiron Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Walter Trohan, the chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau, has written an excellent column which depicts so poignantly the real spirit of President Johnson.

I believe that this appraisal by Mr. Trohan is worthy of more than just passing attention because Mr. Trohan on occasion, has been among President Johnson's most frequent critics. I believe Mr. Trohan is to be commended for his complete spirit of fairness in drawning this penetrating word picture of a great President.

Mr. Trohan's excellent column follows:

JOHNSON SCORES TRIUMPH AT GRIDIRON DINNER

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, November 14.—President Johnson is a man of many facets. Among the least known, unfortunately for him, are his humor, his innate courtesy, and a genuine love of his fellow men.

Already I can hear the roars of derision from those who do not like him and never will like him, but if they could have seen and heard him last Saturday night, they would have been forced to like him in spite of themselves. Mr. Johnson scored an outstanding personal triumph at the extraordinary Gridiron club dinner in colonial Williamsburg.

It is to be regretted that rules of the organization, which is limited to an active membership of 50 capital newsmen, do not permit publication of his pointed quips and gentle humor. But even if they did, it would not have been possible to capture his delivery and timing, worthy of a Bob Hope or a Red Skelton, without radio and TV, which also are barred.

The chief executive demonstrated clearly that humor is the greatest weapon ever devised by the mind of man, and that includes the fearsome nuclear weapons. He tossed piercing shafts at his political foes, quipped about issues of the day, and laughed at himself in the finest tradition of the 82-year-old organization. And he laughed at himself, enjoying quips of the club in the skits.

Everything favors a President in speaking before the Gridiron club, but few, if any, have ever delivered a better speech than Mr. Johnson did last Saturday night. And because I sat beside him I can offer testimony that the best wisecracks were his own, because I saw him compose them as something in the club's skits struck his fancy or sparked thinking on issues of the day.

GODWIN BLENDS HUMOR, GRACE IN ADDRESS

At the gridiron dinners it is customary for speakers to represent the two major parties. These speakers have very little to gain and much to lose. They are expected to be good, but if they are not, the reaction spreads, like the ripples of a stone in a still pond, to damage their image.

Saturday night Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. of Virginia, who spoke for the Democrats, blended humor and grace to deliver one of the finest speeches ever made by any party representative. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas, spokesman for the Republicans, was most effective.

Obviously President Johnson was elated by the number of laughs and bursts of applause he received during his short speech and the warm reception at the end. But the man who may have received the greatest lift out of the dinner was Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

RUSK RECEIVES SPONTANEOUS STANDING OVATION

When he was introduced he received a spontaneous standing ovation rivalling anything of its kind in the history of the club. It is to be expected that any President gets a rising ovation before and after his remarks, but for a man to get it on being introduced to take a bow is rare indeed.

No doubt Rusk would not have been surprised by some indication of displeasure with his conduct of a foreign policy which has American troops dying in Viet Nam. Yet the audience of men and women—for the first time in 50 years women were guests at a Gridiron dinner—rose to their feet simultaneously to cheer and applaud a man who carries a great weight.

When world and national problems can be placed in better perspective by humor, it is to be regretted that our own personal problems cannot be resolved with the aid of more laughter and smiles.

Campus Hoodlums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, as a boy, I was taught to respect authority and observe the law.

I was taught that when constituted authority established a rule it was to be observed in its entirety.

No one ever suggested that I could avail myself of the benefits of a law while at the same time ignoring its corresponding obligations.

I am certain that every Member of this body shares with me this same fundamental view of the law.

Yet today we are confronted with a small, but nonetheless vocal, minority who would depart from this traditional concept.

I have reference to those dissident voices who now assail and attack General Hershey's recent recommendation that local draft boards reconsider the deferred student status of those registrants who have made every effort to obstruct the implementation of the draft law and the procurement of manpower for our Armed Forces.

The Selective Service Act of 1967, as well as every other enactment of this kind in the past, has been predicated on the concept that every American has an obligation to share in the military burden of our Nation. Therefore, every young man, under the law, is considered to be available for induction and assumed to be 1-A unless the President, in the implementation of this law, ascertains that it would be "in the national interest" to defer or exempt certain registrants from performing military service. This determination is made by the President through the various local draft boards under regulations prescribed by him and applied on an individual basis in the case of each registrant.

The Congress has—in writing the draft law—attempted to establish specific criteria for each of these deferred or exempt categories, and particularly in the case of undergraduate students permits their deferment if the student so request, in order to enable them to complete their college training. In other words, registrants under the Draft Act are afforded the "benefit" of completing their undergraduate college training and deferring their entrance into military service only because the Congress itself has determined that such action generally speaking would be "in the national interest."

Now some of these same registrants who have been given, at their request, a benefit provided under the draft law resulting in a deferment of their military obligation, now seek to use this period of grace to subvert and obstruct the administration and operation of the same law.

I have reference to those campus demonstrators and others who have tried to prevent service recruiters from appearing on campuses and who have tried to prevent drafted men from boarding buses scheduled to take them into induction centers.

These activities, in my view, clearly constitute a violation of section 12 of the Selective Service Act, as well as section 2388 of the Criminal Code of the United States. It is therefore obvious that the national interest that was being served in permitting these young men to complete their undergraduate training is now far outweighed by their deliberate effort to impair the national interest by their interference with the procurement of manpower for our Armed Forces.

Despite the fact that the Department of Justice has failed to prosecute these young men for obvious violations of the law, it nonetheless is quite evident that these registrants have forfeited any possible entitlement to a continuation of their student deferred status.

General Hershey has, therefore, acted in a positive and forthright manner and has instructed local draft boards throughout the country to give appropriate recognition to these activities and to the possible reclassification of student registrants who have very deliberately and flagrantly interfered with the processes for the procurement of military manpower.

Let there be no mistake about it, the draft law is primarily designed to insure the survival of our country. Let us not permit these malcontents to utilize its provisions to both destroy the draft law and America.

The overwhelming majority of Americans applaud General Hershey's forthright and positive actions. If the Attorney General of the United States and his minions believe this action to be "illegal," let him say so in terms equally forthright and positive. I, for one, am sick and tired of equivocation. If there exists the slightest doubt in the Attorney General's mind that General Hershey's action is not fully supported in the law, he need only say so and I am certain the Congress will correct any deficiency.

Indicative of the temper of America—and its growing resentment of the failure of the Department to enforce the law—is an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Monday, November 13, 1967, entitled "Time To Get Tough." I completely concur in the content of the editorial and include it in the Record at this point:

Time To Get Tough

Selective Service officials in Washington have decided that it's time to lower the boom on deferred students who deliberately refuse to carry their draft cards or who resort to illegal methods to obstruct the operation of the draft.

Recommendations to this effect have been sent to all local draft boards by Lieut. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service director. General Hershey says this was done after "consultation" with the White House and with the understanding that top officials of the Department of Justice would cooperate.

A Selective Service spokesman makes the point that there is "nothing new" in this. It's been in the law all along, he said, but the attitude now is: "Let's enforce the law."

Our reaction is that it's about time. Student deferments are granted on the theory that they are in the national interest. It is destructive of the national interest, however, for deferred students, in violation of law, to try to prevent service recruiters from appearing on campuses and to endeavor to prevent drafted men from boarding buses scheduled to take them to induction centers.

Anyone with a deferment who engages in this kind of activity most certainly should have his deferment revoked and be inducted at the earliest possible moment. Exposure to military service may straighten him out. The Selective Service Act also provides severe criminal penalties for those who violate it. General Hershey does not want to apply these penalties to students with deferments unless they refuse to report for induction when ordered to do so. But they should be applied to those without deferments who violate the law. This, we suppose, is where the Department of Justice gets into the picture.

The Moon Seems a Little Closer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday—November 9, 1967—the world was witness to one of the greatest technological achievements of all time—the first, unmanned, test flight of the Apollo-Saturn V, the space vehicle the United States will use for our manned missions to the moon and for the exploration of space for years to come.

At 7 a.m.—exactly on time—the engines of the mighty first stage ignited and Apollo IV lifted off the pad at NASA's Kennedy Space Center. The next 8½ hours saw a truly incredible demonstration of American technology and will.

The Apollo spacecraft and three-stage Saturn V launch vehicle is by far our largest and most complex space vehicle. In addition, NASA had chosen to launch the entire space vehicle in the first mission rather than follow the step-by-step approach of earlier programs. Among the myriad of firsts recorded by the Apollo IV mission were:

The first launch from the Kennedy Space Center Launch Complex 39;

The first flight of the "all-up" Apollo-Saturn V space vehicle;

The first flight of the first stage and second stage of the Saturn V launch vehicle;

The first engine restart in orbit of the upper stage of the Saturn vehicle;

The first orbital flight of the Apollo spacecraft;

And the first demonstration of the Apollo spacecraft's performance returning through the earth's atmosphere at lunar mission reentry speeds of 25,000 miles per hour.

The launch vehicle and spacecraft, the far-flung network of ground facilities, the launch and flight teams, all performed flawlessly. All primary and secondary objectives of the mission were accomplished. All systems and subsystems appear to have performed as planned. All ground support equipment appears to have performed satisfactorily.

The Apollo IV mission is the culmination of more than half a decade of intensive effort. The success of the mission is truly a vindication of everyone who has a part in building our bridge to the surface of the moon. This mission is further evidence of the dedication and skill of the total Apollo team—NASA, the industrial contractors, and the university and scientific communities.

The Nation rejoices with the Apollo team in this great accomplishment. It is a giant step forward, a key milestone on the lunar journey.

There is still much work ahead of us if we are to insure that our brave astronauts have not died in vain. In the years to come we will see other milestones completed—the first lunar module test flight, the first manned flight of the Apollo-Saturn I, the first manned flights of the Apollo-Saturn V, and manned simulations of the lunar mission, leading to the planned lunar landing.

NASA has set extremely high standards. Let us all continue to strive to live up to these standards.

Today, the moon seems a little closer.

Congress Should Enact Aircraft Noise Abatement Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, with permission I wish to insert in the Record for the attention of my colleagues in the Congress, my testimony recently before the House Commerce Committee on my bill, H.R. 618, to authorize aircraft noise abatement research and regulations. This is a matter of great concern to residents of my district and to residents of most of our large cities, and I have urged the committee to action on this legislation without delay:

Aircraft Noise Abatement

(Testimony of Representative Jacob H. Gilbert, of New York, before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, November 14, 1967)

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I commend you on the thoughtful consideration you are giving to this bill to abate the terrible noises of jet aircraft in the areas of our nation's major airports. This is far-seeing legislation. It falls well within the tradition that has been recently established of giving attention to the environment in which Americans live. We are fighting air pollution to cleanse the air we breathe and water pollution to cleanse the water we drink and in which we swim. Such programs are aimed at restoring the integrity of American life. They are aimed at permitting us to enjoy the benefits of our technological society without paying an intolerable price in human values. I think the aircraft noise abatement bill has the same objective. I believe it stands with water and air pollution legislation as essential correctives for the excesses of modern civilization.

I have been pressing for this legislation for several years, because my own constituents suffer severely from the noise generated by New York's jet air traffic. Last year I received a petition signed by 2,000 residents of the Castle Hill area of my district. I quote from the petition: "The noise caused by low-flying planes makes it impossible for us to sleep, to hear normal conversation, or to enjoy radio and television." Many of my constituents, some ill and elderly, tell me of the strain on their nerves, of the impairment to recovery from illness, of the reduction of their efficiency at work. I would by no means claim that Kennedy and LaGuardia airports are not necessary to New York, Mr. Chairman, but I do not believe that the people who happen to live near them or within the limit of their flight patterns should have to pay this grievous price.

I live in the area myself, Mr. Chairman, where we are constantly subjected to the noise of jet motors. I can personally testify to the discomfort that this noise creates. We have never computed how many thousands of Americans are affected by this problem. But I'm sure that it runs into the hundreds of thousands. And as we all know, there will not be fewer jets in the future but more, just as there will be more airports to service them.

My bill, which closely resembles the committee bill, authorizes the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe standards for aircraft noise. But this is a complex problem and does not lend itself to an easy solution. Aircraft manufacturers have not yet solved the problem of quieting the jets. So my bill directs the Secretary of Transportation to undertake research in noise suppression devices for aircraft engines and ground baffle systems, as well as to develop procedural techniques for bringing planes in and out of airports more quietly. It authorizes the Secretary to perfect noise measurement methods so that we know whether the rules are being observed. It provides penalties in the amendment, modification, suspension or revocation of aircraft certificates.

Mr. Chairman, this is a problem with which our local communities cannot deal alone. It is a Federal responsibility. Congress must stand at the head of the attack against aircraft noise. The state and local governments, as well as private industry, will cooperate. But the leadership must come from us. I commend you for taking this leadership by these hearings and I look forward to enactment of jet noise abatement legislation in the very near future.

Al Wiman, of Los Angeles Radio Station KLAC: A Key Man in California's Clean Air Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, one of the unsung heroes of the recent sensational victory in the House of Representatives for the cause of clean air in California was Mr. Al Wiman, of radio station KLAC in Los Angeles.

Mr. Wiman's persistent and remarkably successful efforts to alert the public to the vital importance of the Air Quality Act of 1967—and particularly to the California amendment to that act, designed to preserve the Golden State's right to continue its pioneering auto-smog control program—deserve the highest commendation from all our citizens.

Radio station KLAC's letter-writing campaign, motivated and sustained in large part by Al Wiman's dynamic enthusiasm, resulted in some 300,000 individual letters being sent in from interested and concerned residents of the Greater Los Angeles area—in support of the California amendment.

In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, this KLAC effort on behalf of clean air in California represents the finest kind of public service programing in the best tradition of America's communication media.

It also made a substantial and effective contribution to the cause of good government by helping create a well-informed and active citizenry—willing and able to participate directly in the democratic process by raising a strong voice in favor of positive congressional action to protect the health and well-being of our State's nearly 20 million residents against the increasing threat of deadly car exhaust fumes in the Los Angeles Basin, as well as in California's other urban metropolitan areas.

As a Member of Congress from Los Angeles, I believe the unanimous 362-to-0 passage by the House of Representatives of the Air Quality Act of 1967 was a major milestone in achieving our long-term objective—in which we in California have played an outstanding leadership role—of organizing a truly national program to eliminate, once and for all, the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe, and to create the kind of clean, wholesome atmosphere we want for ourselves and for our children.

I was particularly happy about our success in obtaining overwhelming approval, on a 152–58 teller vote, of the California amendment to allow our State to enforce, and to continue to strengthen, our own auto-smog air pollution control regulations.

It was a tremendous legislative victory for the people of California—for which a full measure of credit is due to the outpouring of individual expressions of personal concern on this subject.

By helping stimulate this interest and concern, representatives of the various news media, like Al Wiman, of KLAC, also share in this historic victory.

They should feel a sense of genuine, and well-deserved pride in having played a key part in advancing the cause of clean air in California—and in the rest of the Nation.

For, this action by the House of Representatives will go a long way toward promoting a cooperative local-State-Federal-private industry approach to establishing a healthy living environment in America's increasingly crowded metropolitan centers like Los Angeles—where some 80 percent of the country's population will soon reside.

Communist Party Line Parroted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American people have nothing to fear from the Russian Communists—the enemy is Red China. So the Russians tell us and want us to believe.

The threatening Chinese. Less than a life span ago, we literally gave China to the Russian Communists to set up the classroom buffer-state idea to defend Southeast Asia. The idea possibly being that China was so big, so populated and poor that Russia, as had conquerors of the past, could never subdue the sleeping giant.

So the Chinese today, who can barely feed their population, propelled with Soviet capital, arms, and Communist teaching are the real enemy? If China is the real enemy, ask yourself why the U.S. establishment does not turn Chiang Kai-shek and his U.S. armed and fed troops loose to liberate the mainland? Or why does the State Department forbid the use of Chinese Nationalist troops in Vietnam to save the loss of American lives?

Who is kidding whom? And why? Because Russia is having trouble with her onetime puppet satellite?

Make no bones about it. There is but one enemy, and its domicile is in Moscow—the Communist international conspiracy—which includes its dupes and card carriers right here in the United States of America. If you need more confirmation remember that it is the Russians who are supplying four-fifths of the munitions killing our American boys in Vietnam.

The informed American people just are not buying the party line that China is the real enemy.

Mr. Speaker, I include a column of Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the Washington Post—the U.S. Pravda—for November 15, to show the propaganda control of the enemy of free men:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 15, 1967]

WORLD LEADERS AND RUSK AGREE THAT PEKING'S THE REAL ENEMY

When Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, and President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia are in agreement—that's something.

When they are in agreement, specifically and in detail, about the danger of the aggressive purposes and power of Red China—that is indeed news.

It should help alert everybody to what is at stake in Southeast Asia today.

This remarkable agreement in pinpointing the common peril has come into focus in the past few days.

However much they may differ in their reasons for reaching this conclusion, these five men cite the same threat to world peace and describe that threat in almost the same words.

Rusk, Ehrenburg, Gavin, Bourguiba, and Lee have each spoken separately at different times and under different circumstances. But all sound exactly the same warning.

Taken singly, the warning from each of these five could conceivably be dismissed as having some ulterior motivation. Taken together, these warnings cannot rationally or safely be dismissed.

Secretary Rusk, at a recent press conference, spoke of the danger of "a billion Chinese armed with nuclear weapons."

Mr. Ehrenburg, a leading Soviet author and journalist, talked with Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times just before

Ehrenburg died last summer and used almost exactly the same words as Secretary Rusk.

"The root of the problem," Ehrenburg said, "is their population. They have so many people and the population continues to grow. The larger China gets, the greater the danger."

Gen. Gavin, a critic of the American defense of South Vietnam, said on "Meet the Press" Sunday that he agreed with Secretary Rusk that Communist China is "the real enemy." He said that "China is the power that is providing the means for Ho Chi Minh to fight."

President Bourguiba, the moderate leader of a North African Arab nation, warns directly against the danger of Red Chinese expansion.

"China," he said recently, "has entered the (cold war) contest and, by inciting Hanoi to intransigence, it seeks nothing less than to confound its opposing Soviet brother, and to prove to him that guerrilla warfare can get the better of the American army.

"China would then be able to entertain any hope and nothing would stop the unleashing of its masses upon Vietnam, Asia, and Russia itself. What's more, China would assume the leadership of the Communist world."

This is why Bourguiba joins in warning that unchecked Chinese expansionism threatens "the equilibrium of the world."

This is why Prime Minister Lee of Singapore joins in warning that unchecked Chinese expansionism imperils the independence of all the nations of Southeast Asia and the freedom of their 260 million people.

Reagan Book Is Great

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a year from now the American public will have voted upon its choice for the 37th President of these United States.

But, as of today, there are many potential contenders for that great honor. One of them is Gov. Ronald Reagan, of California. He is a newcomer in the public eye of politics, and many Americans have not had an opportunity to learn of his life, his career, and his many earlier contributions to our society.

Lee Edwards, a highly respected public-political relations consultant and astute political observer, known to many of you, has written an outstanding biography of Governor Reagan. It was released only this week and is entitled "Reagan: A Political Biography."

"Reagan" is an outstanding book about a fascinating and complex man. The book contains a wealth of original information about the Governor—and I commend Mr. Edwards for the thoroughness of his research. He has delved into Governor Reagan's life by interviewing members of the Governor's family, boyhood friends, high school and college professors, and individuals who worked with the Governor immediately after he was graduated from Eureka College in Illinois. Mr. Edwards, I might point out, has interviewed those who consider themselves foes of the Governor as well as those who are supporting and working closely with him in California. Mr. Edwards has also made some most interesting observations regarding Governor Reagan's prospectus for the White House. I, as I know all of you will, find "Reagan: A Political Biography" a most significant political book and one that everyone and anyone involved or interested in politics should read.

Message of the President of the Polish Government in Exile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on November 11, the anniversary of the day on which Poland's independence was proclaimed at the close of World War I, his excellency August Zaleski, President of the Polish Government in Exile, issued a statement from London to Poles throughout the world, in which he paid tribute to Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, an outstanding leader in Poland's fight for freedom.

Starting with a quotation from the law passed in prewar Poland in respect of the proclamation of the country's independence day, the President's message reads as follows:

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE POLISH NATION ON THE OCCASION OF POLAND'S INDEPENDENCE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1967

"The 11th day of November, as the anniversary of the recovery of independence by the Polish nation and as the day linked for all time with the great name of Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, the victorious leader of the nation in its fight for the freedom of Poland, shall be solemnized as Independence Day, a national holiday."

Imprisoned by the Germans in Magdeburg, Pilsudski, the Commandant of the Polish Legions, regained his freedom after Germany's defeat in 1918 and arrived in Warsaw on November 10th. The Regency Council, the Polish war-time transitionary authority, knew how vastly popular he was with the whole Polish nation and at once began negotiations with him with the result that all its authority was vested in his hands the very next day.

It is indeed difficult to realize how enormous was the task which faced the first Chief of State. Poland's frontiers had not yet been fixed; there was no Administration, and the country was exhausted by the prolonged war waged upon its territories. True, the valour and devotion of the Polish army was very great, but it was relatively not numerous and inadequately armed.

During the next two years under Pilsudski's leadership, the Polish nation overcame the difficulties it had to face and created such a strong State that a Russian invasion was repulsed and Europe defended against being over-run by the Communists.

This year, as we celebrate the hundredth anniversary of Pilsudski's birth, it is fit to recall that he guided us through a period of our history fraught not only with difficulties but also with glory.

We beseech the Almighty that we be granted to rebuild what we had once rebuilt under Pilsudski's leadership.

Post Office Department Gives the Highest Award to Assistant Postmaster General William M. McMillan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding public servant from Texas, Assistant Postmaster General William M. McMillan, recently received the Benjamin Franklin Award, the Post Office Department's highest honor for its top management officials serving in noncareer appointments. Mr. McMillan has spent more than 40 years in the postal service, working his way up from the ranks to his present post as head of the Department's Bureau of Operations.

I know of no one within the Department who would have a greater knowledge of postal operations than Bill McMillan. I have known him for better than 30 years, inasmuch as he was working as a postal inspector while I was employed in the College Station, Tex., post office. He has had personal contact with virtually every facet of postal operations during his lifetime career with the Department.

I can think of no one who deserves the award more than Bill McMillan, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include the Department's announcement of the award:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT GENERAL RELEASE
No. 163

Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien today presented the Benjamin Franklin Award to Assistant Postmaster General William M. McMillan of Ben Franklin, Texas.

The award is the Post Office Department's highest honor for its top management officials serving in non-career appointments.

Mr. McMillan heads the Department's Bureau of Operations and has direct responsibility for the daily work of the nation's 32,000 post offices and more than 700,000 postal employees.

In presentation ceremonies today at the Department the Postmaster General said:

"Never before have our post offices faced such great challenges; rarely before have they had leadership of a man like this who has devoted four decades to building the quality and efficiency of the Postal System."

Mr. O'Brien added that "it is a particular pleasure for me to mark my second anniversary as Postmaster General today by honoring a man who has so ably aided me during these past two years in meeting the many complex responsibilities incident to the office of Postmaster General." Mr. O'Brien's appointment was announced by President Johnson on November 3, 1965.

The award cited Mr. McMillan for:

"A lifetime of distinguished public service, dedicated to the finest traditions of the Post Office Department and marked by skillful administration, prudent management and zealous application of policies of progress and responsiveness to the needs of the people."

Mr. McMillan is the sixth recipient of the annual award, established in 1962. Past recipients have been Deputy Postmaster General Frederick C. Belen, former Special Assistant to the Postmaster General James F. Kelleher, Assistant Postmaster General Ralph W. Nicholson, Special Assistant to the

Postmaster General Ira Kapenstein and Assistant Postmaster General Richard J. Murphy.

A walnut plaque symbolizes the award, and a miniature bust of Benjamin Franklin as well as a Franklin postage stamp of 1847, (the first issued by the United States) decorate the plaque.

The 1967 winner began his career in the Postal Service 40 years ago as a substitute clerk in Albany, Texas.

He was Regional Director of the Post Office Department at Dallas, Texas, supervising all postal operations in Texas and Louisiana, when President Johnson nominated him for his present position on February 18, 1964. He was confirmed a month later.

Mr. McMillan's place of birth foreshadowed his career. He was born May 8, 1905, in a town named after the first Postmaster General—Ben Franklin, Texas.

He attended teachers colleges at Denton and Commerce, Texas, and taught school for three years before entering the postal service.

Mr. McMillan rose steadily through the ranks to become a postal inspector in 1935, and Inspector-in-Charge of the Fort Worth Inspection Service Division in 1946.

He spent 26 years in the Postal Inspection Service, and distinguished himself as an outstanding investigator working out of Fort Worth and Dallas during most of this period, between 1946 and 1964.

At Dallas, he successfully investigated insurance and uranium fraud cases involving millions of dollars.

As Assistant Postmaster General in charge of Operations, Mr. McMillan's responsibilities include functional direction of all post offices, branches and stations and a staff of more than 700,000 Field service employees. He also has direct responsibility for the collection, processing, dispatch and delivery of more than 80 billion pieces of mail annually.

He administers an operational budget of more than $5.3 billion this fiscal year—equaling or exceeding budgets of many of the nation's corporate giants.

In 1965, the Postmaster General selected Mr. McMillan to be Chairman of the Mailers Technical Advisory Committee. This group is composed of top-ranking representatives from industry and business who are consulted by the Department on major postal programs, policies, and procedures as a part of the Department's partnership with its customers for greater efficiency and better service.

Mr. McMillan is married to the former Ella Watson. They have two sons and live at 1200 North Nash Street, Arlington, Virginia.

State Bar of California Supports California Rural Legal Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the California Rural Legal Assistance, an agency designed to provide legal assistance to the rural poor, has found an honorable and prestigious supporter in the board of governors of the State bar of California.

The board of governors has urged in a recent resolution that Congress continue its authorization and approval of the legal services program under the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity. They further maintain that an outright legislative prohibition of all activities of the CLRA aimed at bringing action against any public agency of the United States, any State, or any political subdivision thereof, would be "clearly contrary to the public interest and urges the Congress of the United States not enact any such legislation."

I applaud the State bar of California for their courageous and progressive stand. I believe we ought to pay some special attention to what they have stated in their resolution, which follows:

RESOLUTION, ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, STATE BAR OF CALIFORNIA, OCTOBER 20, 1967

Whereas, it has come to the attention of the Board of Governors of the State Bar of California that certain legislative proposals have been or may be made in the Congress of the United States affecting the program of legal services for the poor under the Economic Opportunities Act, including a proposal that no agency under such program be permitted to bring any action against any public agency of the United States, any State, or any political subdivision thereof; and

Whereas, the principal functions and responsibilities of the State Bar of California, being an integrated bar association with approximately twenty-nine thousand members, are to aid in all matters pertaining to the advancement of the science of jurisprudence or to the improvement of the administration of justice, and to maintain the high legal and ethical standards of the legal profession to the end that the public interest be served and promoted by members of that profession; and

Whereas, in furtherance of these responsibilities the State Bar of California has heretofore expressed its approval in principle of the legal services program under the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity, has urged the Congress to continue its authorization and approval of such programs, and commends the Congress for its continued support thereof; and

Whereas, the State Bar of California, while recognizing that there are inherent in the day to day operations of such programs various social, moral and economic issues as to which reasonable persons including responsible officials of our State and Federal Government may and do differ and as to which this State Bar expresses no opinion, nevertheless believes that the public interest demands that lawyers give faithful and vigorous advice and representation to their clients and that legislation affecting such duty should not be enacted; now, therefore, it is

Resolved that The State Bar of California expresses grave concern that certain of the proposed legislative changes relating to the subject legal service programs may seriously impair the independence and obligation of a lawyer to his client, and to that extent are unwise and inimical to the public interest, and therefore urges that any such legislative proposals be defeated; and it is

Further resolved that it is the view of The State Bar of California that eligibility of indigent persons to receive legal representation by lawyers serving in programs operated under the Office of Economic Opportunity should not be made to turn upon the party or entity as to whom a potential client may have a legal problem or claim, and that while The State Bar of California does not approve of the seeking out, instituting and maintaining of any class suits by such lawyers except as they affect the rights of a particular client who has voluntarily and in good faith sought legal representation under such a program and further, does not approve the institution or maintenance by such lawyers of any and all kinds of suits or claims against various and sundry agencies of the federal, state or local governments relating to various types of moral, social or economic problems affecting large classes of persons other than the particular client, this State Bar believes that an outright legislative prohibition of all such actions would be clearly contrary to the public interest and urges the Congress of the United States not to enact any such legislation.

You Do Not Like Riots—Well, Neither Do We

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to a well-reasoned petition to the Congress of the United States which many Members have received. The petition is sponsored by the members of the Communication Workers of American, AFL–CIO. Hundreds of constituents of my congressional district, who are members of this fine union, signed and delivered these petitions to me personally.

It was the intention of the membership of the Communication Workers of America to indicate their strong support for programs "to eliminate the causes which lead to riots and civil disturbances in our Nation." In signing these petitions, they requested Congress to act on programs in the areas of jobs, housing, and education—as a means to cut deeply into the basic causes for the civil disturbances which have occurred throughout our country.

These union members are to be congratulated fo their forthright stand on this important matter. I heartily concur with the substance of the petition, which I received today.

Mr. Speaker, the text of the petition is as follows:

PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—YOU DON'T LIKE RIOTS?—WELL, NEITHER DO WE

Americans everywhere agree that action must be taken now to eliminate the causes which lead to rioting and civil disturbances in our nation.

The recent lives lost and property damaged in riots that ravaged our cities proved that the cities and states cannot carry the burden alone.

Only the Congress of the United States has both the responsibility and authority to pass the laws and appropriate the funds for jobs, housing and education needed now by the millions of impoverished Americans.

History itself has taught us that where these three basic needs are left unmet, all races are trapped in filthy, rat-infested ghettos ripe for rioting or in deplorable conditions which are "deadend." The answer is a creative, constructive, practical program that will benefit *all* Americans directly or indirectly—not a giveaway!

Therefore, we, the undersigned, believe Congress must act by providing:

1. Jobs: Put people to work. As recommended by the President's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, the government should become "the employer of last resort" by providing

public service employment opportunities for workers who are unsuccessful in competing for jobs in private industry. This would put every American who is able and willing to work on a job.

2. Housing: Slum housing in this nation must go; unsafe, infested buildings must be cleaned up or closed down and decent shelter must be built. Money appropriated for this purpose must be spent carefully and efficiently, and new funds must be appropriated as needed.

3. Education: A policy should be adopted and implemented to provide free public education from pre-kindergarten up to and including the doctorate level for all, with only ability and motivation serving as qualifying factors.

By means of this petition, we make known to you that the American public demands the action that is needed now to solve the problems of the cities.

(Please sign on the reverse side of this petition.)

(This petition sponsored by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO.)

Baltimore Soldier Killed in Vietnam on Third Tour of Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. James L. Beyerling, a soldier from Baltimore, Md., was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

BALTIMORE SOLDIER IS KILLED ON THIRD VIETNAM TOUR OF DUTY

A Baltimore soldier who returned to Vietnam last summer for his third tour of duty there has been killed in action, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Staff Sgt. James L. Beyerling, who had been in the Army since his graduation from Patterson High School in 1963, when he was 17, was listed earlier as missing in action, but was placed yesterday on the list of soldiers killed by hostile forces.

WOUNDED TWICE

His father, LeRoy Beyerling, of 3613 Roberts place, in Highlandtown, said yesterday that he would not believe his son was dead until the Army shipped the body home.

On his earlier tours in Vietnam, Sergeant Beyerling was wounded twice by shrapnel.

He was first wounded in 1965, while he was flying as a gunner on an armed helicopter. In 1966 he stepped on a mine while on a ground patrol near Cu Chi.

Although he joked about his wounds, they were serious—the mine blast caused him to be hospitalized for five months in Saigon and Japan. It sent shrapnel into his arms, legs and neck, and tore open his left wrist and little finger.

"I was told I went up in the air like an Atlas-Agena rocket when I hit that mine," Sergeant Beyerling told an interviewer last summer while he was preparing to go back to Vietnam.

After he recovered, he was sent back to the United States and spent a few months at Fort Dix, N.J., which he described as "too calm, too quiet."

He was sent to jungle warfare school in Panama, then ordered back to Vietnam.

Astronaut Gibson Speaks to Buffalo Advertising Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the United States had a great day in space progress last week when we accomplished a soft-landing on the moon just a few hours after a successful launch of the huge Saturn-5 rocket.

Scientific progress in space in the past decade has been tremendous. While each step is a major achievement in itself, yet it is just one more move on a long path, in this case toward a manned landing on the moon.

Just a few days before the successful Saturn-5 test, Astronaut Edward G. Gibson, a former Buffalo resident, was in Buffalo to speak to the Greater Buffalo Advertising Club about the space program.

Dr. Gibson gave a very interesting and timely explanation of the Apollo program and how the revelations of this program can be applied in further space development.

The text of Dr. Gibson's talk on "Utilizing Our Apollo Capabilities" follows:

ASTRONAUT GIBSON SPEAKS TO BUFFALO ADVERTISING CLUB

I'd like to discuss with you the capabilities we are developing for the Apollo program and the methods by which we plan to utilize them in Apollo applications.

Mainline Apollo, the program which is developing hardware and techniques to place men on the moon is a major goal of the space program, and the one about which the American public has received the most information. In the course of obtaining this goal, many capabilities have to be developed that will be put to good use in other types of missions—in particular, long duration earth orbital missions.

As you will recall, the manned part of our country's space program began with project Mercury. The Mercury program provided us with valuable experience in many different areas. Primarily, it proved that man can adapt to the environment of space and that man is a useful, dependable, and very necessary part of our space systems.

Project Mercury was our first stepping stone to landing a man on the moon. Bridging the gap between Mercury and our manned lunar mission was the recently completed, highly successful, Project Gemini which I will summarize briefly for you.

When originally planned, the Gemini program's major goals were threefold: To formulate and refine rendezvous and docking techniques; to determine how astronauts could live and work safely in space for extended periods; and to develop the systems to bring a spacecraft back to earth in a predetermined landing area. These goals were accomplished on the ten manned flights in the Gemini series, representing almost 2,000 manhours in space.

Five of the flights involved extravehicular activity enabling astronauts to spend more than 12 hours outside the spacecraft. Rendezvous was accomplished on six of the flights—four of which also included docking and multiple docking maneuvers.

The Apollo launch vehicles can put large payloads into earth orbit. The uprated Saturn I can place 36,000 pounds in low earth orbit; Saturn V, 250,000 pounds.

All of these demonstrated and potential capabilities will be required and put to good use in the Apollo applications program. Also, to some degree, we must extend these capabilities in AAP in order to achieve certain scientific and technological goals. At present, plans are in progress for manned measurements directly related to astronomy, weather forecasting, agricultural studies, investigation of water resources, mapping, ocean surveys, and, of course, the continued exploration of the lunar surface.

The changing technical nature of these activities, that is their operational and increased scientific requirements, is evidenced by the selection of flight crew members with matching capabilities. The original group selected for space flight had a high proficiency in flying and a good engineering background. Some selections since then have stressed a higher proficiency in science and less in flying. Particularly, the group of which I am privileged to be has a relatively extensive scientific background, but we have also had to attain a useful level of flight capability. Three of the five of us had no jet flight experience and obtained AF wings in the AF 13-month program.

To develop the capabilities to carry our scientifically useful missions, we must learn much more about man's capabilities and limitations in space flight. We must determine, for example, how long he can operate effectively in space without returning to earth. We must learn the most effective means of accomplishing extra-vehicular activities such as those which would be required for the assembly of large structures in space, and we must develop the most efficient and economical means of flight control and communications.

The Apollo capabilities will give us the means to economically study these areas by not only direct use but also by the reuse of Apollo hardware, by revisitation of hardware in orbit, by resupply, and by minor modification to provide expendables for longer duration of the spacecraft themselves. Basically, the space vehicle hardware developed to conduct the Apollo program will be used for Apollo applications.

New development requirements to adapt this hardware for Apollo applications missions are minimal and center primarily on increasing the life span of basic systems and subsystems to meet the requirements of longer duration missions.

At present there are three Apollo application flights under development. The objective of the first flight is to perform many experiments in the space sciences and advanced technology in a low altitude earth orbit for a period of up to 14 days. Earth resources is one important area which will be studied.

The second flight will establish an orbital "workshop" in space by orbiting an empty upper, or S-IVB, stage from a Saturn I or Saturn V launch vehicle, with an "airlock" which will permit easy access to the workshop and egress to the space outside.

This combination of workshop and airlock will provide an economical and convenient sheltered area for many operations in space, and will provide us with a major step toward an understanding of the requirements for a space station. In the empty tank of the S-IVB stage we will have a working and living area of some 10,000 cubic feet—the size of a small two-story home; it will be fitted with a floor to separate it into two levels; one story will serve as living quarters for the crew and the other level will be used as a laboratory and maintenance area. It will have movable work stations, sleep stations, food preparation stations, waste management stations, and exercise stations.

The plan is to place the airlock plus the spent rocket stage into an orbit of more than

200 miles: An orbital altitude that has a lifetime of more than 3 years; to rendezvous in that orbit with a manned command and service module, thus providing the crew for the embryonic space station; then to activate the airlock, pressurize the stage, and build (inside the stage) the orbital laboratory, or workshop. Much of the equipment will have been folded and stored in the airlock, much as we store camping equipment in an automobile trunk or trailer.

In this workshop, the crew will conduct a variety of biomedical, technological, and scientific experiments. We expect to carry sufficient expendables along with the airlock to provide for an operation of the workshop of up to 28 days.

We have emphasized the medical experiments area because one of the major objectives of the Apollo applications program is to gain a better understanding of the effects of the weightless environment on the physiology of man. Incidentally, we would expect that this understanding would help us to learn much more about the physiology of man here on earth.

The third Apollo application flight that is being developed is the Apollo telescope mount, or ATM. In this experiment we will use a part of the basic hardware developed in the Apollo program—the lunar module ascent stage—together with a rack to carry into orbit a set of some 8 major instruments, mounted in a telescope tube. The telescope tube will be some 80 inches in diameter, 150 inches long, and weigh more than a ton—65 times the weight of the first U.S. satellite, launched just over nine years ago.

The ATM will be a "solar telescope" designed to provide solar observations close to the peak of the sunspot cycle. It will be the most comprehensive array of instruments that has ever been assembled for observation of the sun in orbit. The results of such a wide spectral view of the phenomena that occur during the next sunspot cycle should yield information of considerable value to our understanding of the basic processes of the sun.

Taken together, the second and third flights will provide us with a large cluster of equipment in orbit. First, we will have the living quarters, repair and maintenance quarters, and workshop with its airlock in orbit. Then, we plan to send the ATM up to the workshop and attach it to the workshop.

After a mission duration of up to eight weeks, we would again return the astronauts, leaving the workshop and the ATM in orbit. Thus, we will have an embryonic space station and solar observatory in orbit, both with a limited capability of reuse and resupply for carrying on continued operations.

One may ask, how do we do astronomy from orbit—isn't it much easier to use the equipment we have on earth, for example, the 200-inch telescope, and do our work in more comfortable surroundings rather than in the expensive and inconvenient environment of a space station? To be sure, there are several important advantages to operating outside of our earth's atmosphere. The first and perhaps the most rewarding payoff is that we can see all of the radiation which comes from a star or from the sun. Underneath the earth's atmosphere we only see a very small fraction of the light which comes from any source; just the visible and the few regions in the radio spectrum reaches on earth. The real signatures of high energy events both on the sun and on the stars are lost to us because the X-rays and ultraviolet are absorbed by our atmosphere. Secondly, we will be able to see objects with a very high resolution. Presently, we are limited on earth by the waviness induced by the turbulence in our earth's atmosphere. And thirdly, very faint objectives can be seen since the background from light scattered by our atmosphere is nonexistent.

ATM has the specific objective of understanding physical processes which occur on the sun. Again, we might ask, what is so special about the sun? It looks like it will go on for quite a little while, and we can do nothing about it anyway, so why study it?

Of direct practical importance is the long-term medical effect of man in space due to the radiation coming from solar flares. Harmful high energy protons, and, in some cases, X-rays are produced. We must devise methods of predicting how much and at what time this radiation will occur, which implies that we understand the mechanism of a solar flare—at present, we do not.

A second reason for studying the sun is that in reality it is a nearby star, and we can observe details of the surface and its activities and, thereby, understand other stars.

In a more general sense, the sun is virtually the source of all heat and light a planet receives, including the earth. It influences our weather, the evolution of our life, and the possibility of life outside of the earth in our solar system. To this end, we'd like to be able to know the radiation history of our solar system so that we can better understand what life forms have and can exist elsewhere.

Apparel Industry Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, the apparel industry was recently given an extraordinary opportunity of hearing a prominent economist present his views about the outlook for general business activity for the rest of this year and in 1968, as well as the prospects for retail trade and the apparel industry.

The remarks of Dr. George F. Frey, vice president of the Lionel D. Edie & Co., Inc., at the American Apparel Manufacturers Association sixth annual apparel industry economic outlook seminar, in New York City, puts together in a few pages the general business climate during the early part of this year, the forces now working toward a very strong business expansion, the outlook for the rest of this year and 1968, the need for fiscal restraint, and a general discussion of what is ahead for retail trade and the apparel industry.

I also think it is important for those outside the apparel industry—in particular those of us in Congress who must make responsible fiscal decisions which affect the course of our economy—to have the benefit of Dr. Frey's cogent analysis.

For this reason, I place Dr. Frey's speech of November 2 in the RECORD:

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR 1968

(By Dr. George F. Frey, vice president, Lionel D. Edie & Co., Inc., at American Apparel Manufacturers Association sixth annual apparel industry economic outlook seminar, November 2, 1967)

The focus of my remarks today will be on: (1) The outlook for general business activity in the remainder of this year, and in 1968; and (2) The prospects for retail trade and the apparel industry.

Business activity is now in the early stages of a very strong expansion. The rise in the price level is already assuming serious proportions. Long-term interest rates are moving up from already record levels, and the further rise of short-term rates cannot be far behind. The developments in the money and capital markets are paralleling those in early 1966. Seldom in our history has the country been confronted with more difficult fiscal and monetary policy decisions.

My remarks today will be divided into five parts: (1) A brief discussion of the reasons for the pause in general business activity during the first half of this year; (2) The forces now working toward a very strong business expansion; (3) The general business outlook for the remainder of this year and in 1968; (4) The urgent need for fiscal restraint; and (5) The outlook for your industry.

THE "PAUSE" IN GENERAL BUSINESS ACTIVITY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1967

After a record period of economic expansion begining in the first quarter of 1961, a "pause" in the advance began last autumn and continued through the first half of this year. The GNP increase in the first half was $13 billion in current dollars and only $3.6 billion in real terms, i.e., expressed in 1958 prices. Some economists have used the term "minicession" to describe the pause.

The main reasons for the pause in business activity during the first half are fairly clear, as follows:

1. The "credit crunch" which occurred the summer of 1966 and early autumn administered a severe shock to the economic system by drying up all sources of credit. Home building was severely curtailed and, along with it, expenditures for durable consumer goods and automobiles. The boom in capital spending by business and industry was brought to an end.

2. From the latter part of 1966 through the first half of this year, we experienced a large inventory correction. During the fourth quarter of 1966 business inventories were being accumulated at a seasonally adjusted anual rate of $18.5 billion. By the second quarter of this year the rate had declined to $0.5 billion. The huge inventory swing exerted a serious drag on production during the first half, but fortunately the bulk of the correction is now behind us.

3. Uncertainty on the part of consumers was an important factor in holding down consumer expenditures during the first half of the year, especially for durables and automobiles. Personal income continued to rise strongly and employment remained very high, but during the first half personal saving averaged 7 percent of personal disposable income at an annual rate, a very high figure compared with the 5.4 percent average in 1965–1966.

4. With the "credit crunch" and the suspension of the 7 percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation last autumn, capital spending leveled out.

5. As the monetary authorities took steps last year, continuing to the present, to ease commercial bank credit, and as funds flowed strongly into nonbank lending institutions, all of the lending institutions concentrated heavily upon rebuilding their liquidity position by repaying last year's borrowings and by adding to their liquid assets. During the first half they were cautious about making illiquid long-term investment commitments.

These and other factors explain the comparative sluggishness of business activity in the first half of this year. These forces are now being replaced by strong forces toward expansion.

THE FORCES TOWARD STRONG ECONOMIC EXPANSION

The pace of business activity picked up considerably in the third quarter, with the GNP increasing $15 billion, nearly half of which was due to rising prices. An even more vigorous expansion is occurring in the current quarter, and business activity will continue to gain momentum in the first half of 1968. Several forces are powering this expansion:

1. The Federal budget, on a national income accounts basis, swung from a *surplus* of $3 billion at an annual rate in the first half of the calendar 1966 to a *deficit* of $13 billion at an annual rate in the first half of 1967. In the second quarter of this year the NIA deficit was running at a $14.7 billion annual rate. It was in excess of $15 billion in the third quarter. Without the 10 percent tax surcharge proposed by the Administration, it is estimated conservatively that the NIA deficit will rise to $15–$18 billion in fiscal 1968. This is particularly significant because it occurs under virtually full employment conditions. At no time previously since the Korean War has the Federal budget on a national income accounts basis been actually in deficit under high employment conditions. During the Korean War period the peak deficit rate for any half-year period was $5½ billion, about the same as the $13 billion rate in the first half of this year when viewed in relation to GNP. So, the economy is today receiving a very powerful fiscal stimulus.

2. Since late last year the monetary authorities have pursued a policy of active credit ease, and this policy continues today, although the latest Federal Reserve statistics suggest possibly the beginning of a move by the authorities to slow down the expansion of bank credit. The money stock, which includes currency held by the public in addition to private demand deposits, has increased at a seven percent annual rate over the past six months, about the same rate as for the year as a whole so far, compared with a four percent rate from 1964 to 1966. Time deposits of the commercial banks, which many economists would today include in the monetary stock, have been expanding at a 17 percent annual rate since last January. Adding the money stock plus time deposits of the commercial banks, the annual rate of increase since January has been 12 percent. Total loans and investments of the commercial banks in the first nine months of this year increased by $29 billion on a seasonally adjusted basis, or at an annual rate of nearly $39 billion, or 12.5 percent. The largest prior increase was $27.2 billion in 1965. The strength of monetary ease is evident when it is realized that under full employment conditions, such as exist today, the economy has the capacity to grow in *real* terms about 4–4½ percent per annum. *The combined expansionary power of fiscal and monetary policy has seldom, if ever, been matched in the modern history of this country.*

3. Personal income has been increasing strongly at a nine percent annual rate since May. Total employment has been increasing at a six percent annual rate. Personal saving rose to the unusually high rate of 7.3 percent of disposable personal income in the first quarter, but the rate dropped to 6.7 percent in the second quarter and seems likely to fall further in coming months. The liquid asset position of the consumer is strong and the index of consumer confidence compiled by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan is rising after a decline last year. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the consumer is coming back strongly. Retail sales expanded at a 15 percent annual rate from May to August, primarily due to increased purchases of durable goods. Sales rose further in September, but the rate of increase slackened somewhat. Retail sales have increased at a 12.5 percent annual rate since February compared with a 2.4 percent rise during the previous year. Consumer spending on durable goods rose markedly from the first to the third quarter, compared with a downdrift in the previous four quarters.

4. We are now in the early stages of a stepup in the rate of accumulation of business inventories, after a sharp drop in the inventory accumulation rate from the fourth quarter of last year to the second quarter of this year. This inventory adjustment during the first half exerted a severe drag on production, but in coming months the rebuilding of inventories will add strength to the rate of output.

Final sales (i.e., total production sold to final users—consumers, home buyers, government at all levels, business fixed investment, and net sales abroad) were very strong in the first half of the year, rising $15½ billion per quarter during the first two quarters. The $31 billion total for the first half was an all-time record. During the same period, however, as noted earlier, the rate of business inventory accumulation fell by $18 billion, so that GNP increased by only $13 billion in the first half. The seasonally adjusted annual rate of business inventory accumulation bottomed out at $0.5 billion in the second quarter, and then rose to $1.5 billion in the third quarter, according to early estimates. The inventory adjustment has already been pretty well completed at the retail and wholesale levels and the remaining excess of inventories at the manufacturing level should be cleaned up readily as demand rises.

Reflecting the strong demand and improved inventory situation, the FRB index of industrial production has increased at a 10 percent seasonally adjusted annual rate from June through August after declining at a 3.4 percent annual rate from last October to June of this year. The FRB index declined sharply in August, primarily due to the Ford Motor and steel haulers strikes. The increase in final sales continued strong at $14 billion in the third quarter. We may expect that the rate of inventory accumulation will rise further to a more normal level in the current quarter of this year and early next year. Thus, the expansion of GNP will not be dragged down by inventory correction but will be further increased by a more normal rate of accumulation.

5. Since the first quarter of 1966 the annual rate of state and local government spending has been rising in excess of $2 billion per quarter and there is no reason to expect that this strongly expansionary force will diminish in the months ahead.

6. Residential construction has been rising and should continue to increase in the months ahead. Private nonfarm housing starts have moved up from a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 845,000 at the low point last October to 1,457,000 in September. Permits have also risen markedly and, after a slow start this year, the home mortgage loan commitments of mortgage lending institutions have increased strongly. In general, vacancy rates are low and the dearth of new construction last year has built up a sizable backlog of unsatisfied demand. The rate of homebuilding may be expected to increase gradually during the balance of this year and in the first half of 1968 if not choked off by decreased availability of mortgage credit.

7. Finally, although most economists are not expecting more than a moderate increase in capital spending by business and industry in the balance of this year and next, it is likely that such spending will, in fact, expand more strongly than currently anticipated in view of the other powerful forces for economic expansion which have already been enumerated. Rising labor costs, the buoyancy of the current expansion, and business confidence in strong economic growth over the longer run are likely to make capital spending in the next several months a stronger force for general business expansion than currently expected. This is borne out by the results of the Lionel D. Edie survey of plant and equipment expenditures completed last month which indicate that such expenditures will increase by 6 percent in 1968. Our survey, which we have been conducting for fourteen years, has had a high batting average for accuracy. Like all surveys of capital spending plans, it has tended to underestimate the increase in capital spending in the early stages of a period of general business expansion. Because of this, I am inclined to the view that business expenditures for new plant and equipment will rise to about $67 billion next year, or about 8 percent.

THE GENERAL BUSINESS OUTLOOK

Based on the forces enumerated, I expect that general business activity will rise very strongly in the fourth quarter of this year and that a vigorous rate of expansion will continue in 1968, with some slowing down in the second half. We expect a very big fourth quarter, with GNP increasing from $792 billion in the third quarter (after revision) to $811 billion in the fourth quarter, a jump of $19 billion. This rate of expansion in the second half, starting from a virtually full employment level, will place serious pressures of demand upon the economy. I should say that these estimates assume that the proposed surcharge on personal and corporate income, possibly at an 8 percent rate, will be enacted in the current session of Congress, but that it will not become effective until January 1. The picture, as we see it, is one of strong upward pressures upon the price level from both "demand-pull" and "cost-push" forces.

We anticipate that general business activity will continue its vigorous advance in 1968, with GNP rising to about $828 billion in the first quarter and to about $846 billion in the second quarter. The strong expansion in the first half of 1968 will be bolstered by a buildup in steel inventories and a sharp stepup in automobile production after the strike.

We expect that the surge in business activity in the first half, bringing with it an acceleration in the rise of prices, will not be sustainable and that the rate of expansion will slacken in the third and fourth quarters of 1968. Tightening credit conditions, especially curtailing resdiential construction, will be an important factor in the slowdown.

Our GNP forecast for 1968 as a whole is $852 billion, compared with $787 billion in 1967. This is an increase of 8 percent of which about 5 percent will be "real" and 3 percent a markup in prices.

Time does not permit me to detail the sectors of GNP, but we anticipate that all of the major sectors—personal consumption expenditures, Government purchases, and gross private domestic investment—will participate in the advance. In particular, we are assuming that the annual rate of national defense expenditures will continue to increase about $3 billion per quarter through the first half of next year and then rise only gradually the rest of the year. We expect the annual rate of business inventory accumulation to rise to about $5 billion in the current quarter and then to about $10 billion in the second quarter of next year.

THE URGENT NEED FOR FISCAL RESTRAINT

As you can see from the prospects for business activity as I have sketched them, I believe that the case for a substantial measure of fiscal restraint by the Federal Government is very strong. There are four principal reasons why it is urgently needed:

1. To prevent the spreading of serious inflationary pressures in the months ahead. We are already witnessing an acceleration in the rise of prices. From April to August consumer prices rose at a 4.0 percent annual rate, compared with a 2 percent rate from August of 1966 to April of this year. Wholesale prices rose at a 2.3 percent annual rate from April to August, compared with a 2 percent rate of decline from August a year ago to last April. Inflationary pressures are bound to be strong with wage costs rising 5–6 percent this year and with business firms seeking to escape narrower profit margins by raising

prices. We tend to think of the current inflation as "cost-push" inflation, but it must be remembered that a strong demand situation is required to permit the shifting of higher costs onto the consuming public.

2. Greater fiscal restraint is urgently needed to head off a new "credit crunch" like the one which dealt the economy such a severe blow in the summer of 1966. The renewed upward movement of long-term interest rates during the past few weeks is ominous. If continued, it is likely to pull up short- and intermediate-term interest rates and ultimately set in motion a flow of funds out of the commercial banks and nonbank institutions—the all-too familiar "disintermediation" of last year. The only way to prevent it is to increase fiscal restraint so that the monetary authorities can avoid having to apply the credit brakes too strongly as inflationary pressures strengthen.

3. We also need a greater measure of fiscal restraint to avoid a serious deterioration in the deficit in our international balance of payments. So far this year we have experienced an encouraging rice in our export surplus which we are counting upon to offset the increased foreign exchange drain of Vietnam. However, if the economy expands at too high a rate in coming months and develops inflationary excesses, imports will rise because of higher domestic demand and exports will decline, thus narrowing our export surplus. We cannot be complacent about our continuing large balance of payments deficit. Surplus countries are becoming increasingly impatient about adding to their holdings of dollars and we cannot count upon them to refrain from buying gold indefinitely.

4. Finally, a greater measure of fiscal restraint is needed to permit and encourage a better-balanced and healthier expansion of business activity—free of serious inflation and painful dislocations such as occurred last year.

There is broad agreement, of course, that greater fiscal restraint is needed for all of the reasons I have cited. The debate centers on how to obtain the restraint. President Johnson has proposed a program designed to reduce the Federal deficit by $9.5 billion on an annual basis, $2.0 billion of which would come from a cutback of Federal expenditures and $7.5 billion from increased revenues, the bulk of which would be derived from a 10 percent surcharge on personal and corporate income tax liabilities. The House Ways and Means Committee, and probably a majority of the Congress, argue that the cut in Federal spending should be much deeper and that the tax increase should be smaller. In addition, many Congressmen favor tax reform as a means of obtaining additional revenues.

At the moment, the prospects for any substantial amount of fiscal restraint in the near future—either through increased Federal revenues or through cuts in Government spending, or a combination of both—are not bright. However, it is hard to believe that, with the need for fiscal restraint so urgent, Congress and the Administration will fail to work out their differences. I believe that there is still a good chance that, before the end of this Session, Congress will enact the President's proposed surcharge on personal and corporate incomes, effective January 1, and perhaps scaled down to 8 percent and accompanied by a somewhat larger total of Federal spending cuts or holdbacks. The total restraint package may approximate the $9.5 billion figure required by the Administration.

The danger, as I see it, is that fiscal restraint on this timetable and in this amount may be too little and too late. The rise of business activity had already picked up considerable force and momentum and this will accelerate in the current quarter. The proposed 10 percent surcharge probably has already been discounted by wage and price increases in the past several months.

There is serious danger, therefore, that in coming months the degree of fiscal restraint which is imposed will not suffice to prevent an unsustainable rate of expansion of business activity. This will place a greater burden upon the Federal Reserve authorities to employ credit restraint as a means of curbing the rising price level. But, the monetary authorities are likely to be very slow in taking any determined steps to curtail credit availability in view of the heavy borrowing requirements of the U.S. Treasury. Their unwillingness to precipitate another "credit crunch" will also delay any move by the authorities to tighten credit.

THE OUTLOOK FOR RETAIL TRADE AND THE APPAREL INDUSTRY

As I indicated earlier, consumer confidence about his economic position has been increasing and this has been reflected in rising retail sales.

Total retail trade should reach a level of $316 billion this year for an increase of about $12 billion over the level of 1966. We estimate that retail trade will increase approximately 6 percent in 1968 to reach a level of $336 billion.

Among the reasons contributing to this strong surge will be the rebound of the automobile market after the down-turn of this year, however, we can see 6 percent more in the nondurables sector to a level of $229 billion. Nondurable retail trade at an annual rate should be close to $220 billion during this fourth quarter and we estimate that the fourth quarter of 1968 should show a rate of $233 billion. Note, then, a strong retail environment in 1968.

One of the more interesting paradoxes of the period we have just passed through is the point that apparel sales have done relatively well during the correction. To date, food store sales are only 1 percent above last year. Part of the situation in apparel of course has been the price factor. In September, the apparel sector of the consumer Price Index (Nationally) was up 1.1 percent from August, a 12 percent annual rate and in New York City it was up at a 30 percent rate. Looking at the wage element of apparel manufacturing—wages in 1966 increased 2.8 percent over 1965. For the first six months of this year wages were 5.7 percent above last year's average.

We think the best and clearest way to look at 1968 is to ask the question "How much will the American Consumer spend for apparel in 1968". Despite the surtax we estimate the consumer will spend 8 percent more than he did this year. He will spend $36 billion this year and $39 billion next year in 1968. Furthermore, we believe that spending for apparel as a proportion of total consumption spending will continue to show a modest rise.

1968 will be a period in which you will bring your inventories into balance as consumer demand surges. We believe that present inventory sales ratio of total retail trade is low—in fact, it is at the third lowest point in the entire postwar period. This means strong demand during the first half of next year will move the FRB Apparel Index up 5 percentage points over the 1967 levels. This year, output of 145 will be about 3 percent below the 1966 level.

Job Corps Ripples Reach All Shores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, in the October 1967 issue of the VISTA Volunteer there was a most interesting article entitled "The Ripples Reach All Shores," by Mr. Francis Tighe, a retired machine shop superintendent from Torrance, Calif., now serving as a VISTA volunteer teaching welding at the Pine Knot Job Corps Center in Kentucky.

Mr. Tighe believes in the old adage, "When a rock is dropped in the center of a lake, eventually the ripples reach all shores."

His experience with the Job Corps has convinced him that this program is one of "the best and cheapest ways to eliminate poverty at the grass roots, educating and teaching trades to boys who otherwise would face a life of poor pay and welfare checks."

Mr. Tighe seems to express the meaning of the Job Corps in moving human terms when he says:

> It is a wonderful and satisfying experience to see boys from slums or other poverty-stricken areas come here half-cowed, with a deep feeling of inferiority, and see them three months later having gained poise and confidence.

I would like to insert the text of Mr. Tighe's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

THE RIPPLES REACH ALL SHORES

(Story by Francis Tighe; photographed by Joan Larson)

(NOTE.—Francis Tighe, who retired in 1963 from his job as machine shop superintendent in a large plant in Torrance, Calif., has spent the last year as a VISTA teaching welding at the Pine Knot Job Corps Center in Kentucky. Describing his background, he says, "I saw some combat service in both World Wars, have done some writing, painting and song writing. I presume I could be classed as a semi-professional in both song writing and writing for publications, as I sold one song and one story. I am always willing to talk about VISTA and the Job Corps. I have spread that gospel from coast to coast by letters, newspapers and plane and bus conversations.")

When I arrived at the Job Corps Center at Pine Knot, Ky., a year ago, like a new recruit I was slightly apprehensive as to my reception. I need not have had the least concern. Everyone—VISTA, Corps staff and Corpsmen alike—has spoiled me rotten.

I have my own private room with bath in the corner of the mess hall building and the food is wonderful, a far cry from my Bronx, N.Y.; training period where I lived and worked in conditions that I never before realized actually existed.

A year ago, this Center had been in operation but seven months. I was amazed at what had been accomplished in that short time. I found over two hundred Corpsmen here, all busy with education—both classroom and vocational—and dedicated teachers whose main interest was in the boys. All

Corpsmen are school drop-outs and most of them can barely read when they arrive here.

In this Job Corps Center, the boys alternate a week of classroom education with a week of work. The classroom instruction includes trades; the work week is spent in the beautiful areas of "Daniel Boone" National Forest, making picnic grounds, building roads and trails or doing camp maintenance.

Going full blast were the following principal vocational courses: a truck driving school where the kids learned to tool big semi-trailors over the highways and a heavy equipment school that was a revelation. Watching the boys handle the big bulldozers, back-hoes and fork lifts is like watching poetry in action.

In addition there were classes in appliance repair, brick work and masonry, concrete work, maintenance training, which includes plumbing and electrical procedures, carpentry, blue-print reading, auto mechanics, typing and office procedures as well as welding.

When a Corpsman graduates from here, he has the equivalent of an eighth grade education, while those who wish can work for a high school diploma.

The physical part of the Center consists of four large dormitories, each with a television room, an education building, an administration building, numerous shops, a laundry where clothes are washed free, counselor's offices, a large gymnasium and playing fields.

Every weekend shuttle buses run to the small towns around here, and there are frequent bus trips to Knoxville, Lexington or Louisville. Field trips are taken to points of interest and there are campouts when weather permits. Our baseball and basketball teams go as far as North Carolina to play and our boxing team won honors in the Golden Gloves Championships. We VISTAs go where the Corpsmen go.

This is beautiful country and it is no wonder to me that the Indians made this "This Dark And Bloody Ground." Neither is it hard to figure why Daniel Boone and his people fought so hard to take and keep it.

After three weeks of teaching carpentry, I was put in charge of the welding school. Each day I have four classes, two hours, with seven students in a class. The two groups of 28 boys alternate their week of classes with a week of working.

I am proud of the forty-four students who have graduated from our welding school, all competent combination welders, capable of going out in a world which demands job skills and confident that they can wrest a living from it. Those who desire advanced training are encouraged to go to an Urban Center where that advanced training can be had.

I am enthusiastic about the fine work which is being done at Job Corps Centers all over the country, 119 of them as of now. In my opinion, this is the best and cheapest way to eliminate poverty at the grass roots, educating and teaching trades to boys who otherwise would face a life of poor pay and welfare checks. Furthermore, I defy anyone to discount the effects of the impact these boys will make on our society when they re-enter the life of their communities. I believe in the old adage. "When a rock is dropped in the center of a lake, eventually the ripples reach all shores."

It is a wonderful and satisfying experience to see boys from slums or other poverty-stricken areas come here half-cowed, with a deep feeling of inferiority, and see them three month later having gained poise and confidence.

In addition to our other duties, each staff member acts as advisor for five to ten boys. We try to help them solve their problems, write letters for them and help them with their studies. This, too, is gratifying.

When I leave here. I plan to take a trip down to Cape Kennedy to see the sights and then, if my time and money hold out, I shall go to Counce, Tenn., where Cal-Metal, my old company, is building a new plant. There I hope to place some of my welders.

The Honorable James Webb, NASA Administrator—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article on the Honorable James Webb which appeared in Fortune magazine for August 1967.

Jim Webb has an illustrious background, born the son of a North Carolina county school superintendent, he worked his way through the University of North Carolina, graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1928. In 1936 he went to work for Sperry Gyroscope, rising to vice president in 7 years. In 1946, he was President Truman's choice for Director of the Budget, the youngest—39—in history. He played a major role in the postwar reorganization of the Government—in such things as the creation of the Defense Department and setting up the financial structure for the execution of the Marshall plan. From 1949 to 1952, Jim Webb served as Under Secretary of State leaving as his mark another important governmental reorganization. At the time of his appointment to NASA, Webb was assistant to the President of Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc., of Oklahoma.

The article follows:

MANAGEMENT OF SPACE

(NOTE.—With politics here, philosophy there, NASA's boss runs a conglomerate-type operation reasonably well. But where does the program go next?)

(By John Mecklin)

The nation's civilian space program, the largest single technological undertaking in history, has come upon difficult times. In this tenth anniversary year of the first Soviet Sputnik, formidable critics are calling the $23-billion Apollo project to land a man on the moon before 1970 "a can of worms" and a "needless gamble." There is deep indecision in Washington about proper long-term goals after Apollo. And perhaps most basic, in view of suggestions of questionable management decisions and even gossip of scandal, Congress and the nation are asking: how well has the U.S. been served by the program's management, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and its boss, James Edwin Webb?

Despite the rancor and doubt of the moment, the evidence is persuasive that the nation has been well served indeed. This is, for example, the view of Dr. T. Keith Glennan, NASA's first administrator and Webb's predecessor. Glennan had favored a much slower approach to a moon landing than the crash program ordered by President Kennedy in 1961, but he regards Webb's performance in carrying out the effort as "amazingly effective." Says Glennan: "In 1961, I would not have given him a Chinaman's chance to come this close to success." The Russians may still be ahead in very large rockets, but in most other respects NASA appears to have closed the Soviet lead so dramatically revealed by the first Sputnik flight a decade ago. The U.S. has logged some 1,994 man-hours in orbit, for example, compared with 533 for the Russians. In achieving this, moreover, NASA has created a mighty new technological capability of incalculable significance to the U.S.

This is not to suggest that the complaints about NASA are groundless. The fire that claimed the lives of three astronauts last January during ground testing of an Apollo command module was a byproduct of deplorable negligence. The subsequent congressional investigation revealed not only that North American Aviation, the prime contractor for the module, had performed less than ideally, but also that NASA, though aware of what was happening, had failed to move effectively in some areas to correct the situation. Webb himself concedes that this neglect was caused, in part, by inadequate management feedback on conditions in the field. Even now it is the widely held view that NASA still has not achieved sufficient control of its seventeen field facilities—some of which are described by one Johnson Administration official as "pockets of sovereignty." In addition, NASA's situation has been aggravated by shortsighted public relations; lack of candor has antagonized a number of Congressmen and newsmen (NASA, they quip, stands for "Never A Straight Answer").

The NASA shortcomings visible to date, however, are no worse than might be expected in an undertaking of such colossal magnitude and unprecedented complexity, in the view of management specialists. Says Simon Ramo, vice chairman of TRW Inc., who himself managed the crash program to provide the U.S. Air Force with a missile system in the 1950's: "I defy anyone to define a system of management to land a man on the moon before 1970 that does not invite charges of incompetence sooner or later. It's a science Olympics in which you're supposed to do the 100-yard dash in three seconds. If you're not beaten by the Russians, you're beaten by accident, or you find you can't make such an arbitrary deadline anyway."

To try to overcome the odds, Webb, now sixty years old, has developed a managerial doctrine as extraordinary as the space mission itself. Essentially it is a bold extension of the systems-management principle first applied in the Pentagon for weapon development. This approach means that the Pentagon tries to relate design and procurement plans to the weapon system's maximum potential, to other weapon systems, to cost effectiveness, to foreseeable strategic situations, and to other special considerations. In NASA's case, the "system" is usually an exotic research objective, like landing a package of instruments on Mars. Such an undertaking, of course, requires management consideration of costs and engineering feasibility, but NASA also tries to relate it to the social, economic, and even political impact the new knowledge may have on some of the most basic mysteries of human life. In one sense, the system becomes an exercise in applied philosophy. To master such massively complex and expensive problems, the agency has mobilized some 20,000 individual firms, more than 400,000 workers, and 200 colleges and universities in a combine of the most advanced resources of American civilization.

AN OBJECT OF CONTROVERSY

This approach to an undertaking that already has cost the taxpayers some $28 billion has made Webb an object of controversy. His admirers say he is making NASA a "wave of the future," a monumental research project itself in management of the accelerating interdependence of industry, science, and government. Indeed there is talk that, in addition to the space program, NASA should become a sort of technological service agency to be employed in other governmental problems—e.g., for systems management of urban congestion, air and water pollution—which have remained beyond the competence of other agencies. Webb's detractors say that NASA—together with the Pentagon—is creating a sinister "contract state" in which government and an elite of industrialists are acquiring a monopoly of scientific know-how that could someday be turned against the people as in George Orwell's concept of Big Brother. Whatever the case for or against Webb, NASA's space program is likely to have a lasting impact on American life, forcing the evolution of management techniques of vastly broader scope than ever before devised.

Like a corporation created through a series of mergers, NASA came into being on October 1, 1958, as a union of disparate groups. It was built primarily on the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA), with subsequent additions of the Army's Ballistic Missile Agency at Huntsville, Alabama, and its staff of German rocket specialists, the California Institute of Technology's Jet Propulsion Laboratory at Pasadena, which had also been working for the Army, and a number of other military projects. The resulting management problems involved in the consolidation of all these military, scientific, and governmental forces have never been entirely resolved. The alumni of NACA have retained a dominating influence, commanding eight of NASA's field facilities, including the critical Manned Spacecraft Center at Houston. There have been some troubled moments in their relations with the agency's corps of ex-Germans, who now run the launch facility at Cape Kennedy as well as Dr. Wernher von Braun's enormous rocket establishment headquartered at Huntsville. The conversion of former NACA research men into managers of multimillion-dollar development projects has not been uniformly successful. Says an executive of a major NASA contractor: "Research men are big on theory and design, but in this business you also have to know how to build the damned thing and make it work."

It is generally agreed that Glennan, former president of Case Institute of Technology and a personable, low-key conservative, did a good job in getting such a mixture of troops to march in the same direction. He achieved this in part by his deference to Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, director of NACA for eleven years and a universally respected aerospace scientist. Glennan created a managerial triumvirate composed of himself, Dryden, and Dr. Robert C. Seamans Jr., a former M.I.T. engineering professor and top engineer for R.C.A. whom Glennan hired in 1960 as his principal administrative officer. Operationally, Glennan pushed the Mercury man-in-space program, which had just got under way. During his tenure, NASA launched twelve earth satellites (compared with nine launched by the Russians). In 1960, Glennan also started Project Apollo, obtaining an initial study appropriation of $1 million as part of a ten-year plan. As Glennan saw Apollo, a moon landing would not be made until the Seventies and NASA's over-all spending during the decade would be planned for no more than $1.5 billion annually. The policy at the time is best characterized by a remark attributed to President Eisenhower: "The moon has been up there for a hell of a long time. If we don't get there tomorrow, it won't go away."

INTO THE THICKETS

In 1961, however, President Kennedy committed the U.S. to "the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth." Now the man on the spot was Jim Webb, whom Kennedy had appointed to succeed Glennan. The President had overridden suggestions that the job should go to a scientist, and the new situation more than vindicated his decision. The new assignment was a monumental problem in management, and Webb was a professional manager with broad experience in business as well as in Washington's political thickets.

The Kennedy moon-landing mandate confronted Webb with a sudden, comprehensive government-agency expansion without precedent in peacetime. NASA's budget jumped from just under $1 billion in fiscal 1961 to $3.7 billion in 1963, reaching a peak of $5.2 billion in 1965. The NASA payroll shot from 17,500 to 36,000 in five years, and contractor employees from 57,500 to a peak, in 1965, of 377,000. The two-man Gemini flight program was added to NASA's plans as the intermediate step between Mercury and Apollo—at a cost of $1.3 billion. Some $2.5 billion went into new facilities, including three big establishments started from scratch: the Manned Spacecraft Center at Houston (cost to date: $250 million), the 88,000-acre launch complex at Cape Kennedy ($1 billion), and, more recently, the Electronics Research Center now under construction at Cambridge, Massachusetts (estimated cost: $60 million). A bewildering profusion of enormous contracts was spread around the aerospace industry, eventually committing more than $1 billion worth of business apiece to four companies (North American, Grumman, Boeing, and Douglas) and more than $100 million a piece to nearly a score more. A worldwide flight tracking network was also set up to permit simultaneous voice communication with twenty-seven stations in sixteen countries at a cost of $687 million.

Concurrently, Webb's political and administrative skill was taxed by repeated crises. One of the messiest was a bitter falling out with D. Brainerd Holmes, an able young R.C.A. executive whom Webb hired in 1961 to boss the manned space-flight effort. The battle was complicated by an internal power struggle among Holmes and other top officers, eventually including Webb, and the showdown came on the most fundamental NASA problem, one that still exists. It was—and is—the danger that the burgeoning Apollo program might so drain NASA resources as to undercut such critical scientific research as unmanned interplanetary probes. Holmes pressed so hard for $400 million in additional funds for Apollo that Webb appealed to President Kennedy and got him to kill the proposal (see "Now It's an Agonizing Reappraisal of the Moon Race," Fortune, November, 1963). In 1963, Holmes resigned to take a $90,000 job as a senior vice president at Raytheon. Webb's willingness to take the unaccustomed role of penny-pincher reflected his skill in Washington infighting; it also helped to establish for sure who was boss.

Renaissance Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Washington Post had a feature article on Mark Talisman, administrative assistant to my colleague, Representative CHARLES VANIK, of Ohio. The article points out yet another of Mark's talents:

FLAMING DESSERT LIGHTS UP BACHELOR'S DINNER PARTIES

(By Elinor Lee)

You don't have to spend a lot of money to serve an elegant meal, says Mark Talisman, administrative assistant to Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio).

"Let's get rid of the myth that everything good is expensive," Mark said as he made crepes Suzette in the kitchen of his Capitol Hill home. He likes to serve crepes for dessert, an after-theater supper, or an entree with chicken or seafood.

The sauce he makes for the dessert crepes adds drama to the dinner table. "There's no trick to flaming the sauce," he pointed out. "Just make sure the curacao or cognac or whatever liqueur you're using is warm before you light it."

Mark, who is a charter member of Les Amis du Vin (friends of wine), says his taste in wines is not based on price or label.

"Get some friends together for a wine tasting, take notes and determine by your own taste which wines you like," is his advice. "Don't be buffaloed into buying a nine dollar bottle of wine just because of its label."

He has his own wine cellar and claims that a beginner can set one up for $50.

For an elegant dinner for 10, Mark figures on spending about $2.50 per person. "For groceries, I'll spend about $25, but it takes careful shopping."

He goes shopping on Saturday and makes nine or ten stops. He likes to go to Eastern Market for produce and meats, to a Greek store for orange sausages, to Maine Avenue for fresh seafoods, and to the Calvert liquor store for wines.

He prefers sit-down dinners, but says the dining table in the house he shares with two other men will seat "only 13½ people, and our dinner parties have a way of growing. They're like a 'happening.' Everybody chips in some dough and brings a guest . . . or maybe two."

The group of men and women who get together for frequent Saturday night dinners at Mark's house now includes several married couples who were among the original group of bachelors and their dates.

Mark's idea of a proper meal includes an aperitif (no hard liquor) with hors d'oeuvres—maybe shrimp stuffed with blue cheese or oysters or a pate. He has a very special original recipe for pate.

A cold or hot soup, depending on the weather, would follow the appetizers. Onion soup is one of his favorites. Then a fish dish—maybe fresh sole or snapper or salmon—"prepared very simply, and not overcooked." One of his favorite fish dishes is marinated swordfish kabobs flamed in curacao.

For the main course he would serve a chicken dish, boneless pork roast, roast rack of lamb or New York strip steaks flamed at the table. With it, a simple green salad with olive oil and lemon juice dressing.

For dessert, if not crepes Suzette, he likes fresh fruit and cheese, or a sweet dessert such as fresh blueberries with powdered sugar and Kirsch or any favorite liquer (he flames this mixture for about two minues, then pours it over cake or ice cream).

Does Mark do all the cooking for the group? "I have tremendous assistance in the kitchen," he said. "I'll admit that when I'm preparing a meal I can devastate a kitchen."

Who does the dishes? "Dishwashing after one of our dinners is a collective effort; but I don't participate."

How did he become such an artist in the kitchen? "I grew up in a home of good food and wine. My mother is an excellent cook."

Born and reared in Cleveland, Mark was graduated from Harvard. When he was in college he "messed around with cooking in friends' kitchens." But not until he came to Washington in 1963 did he become seriously interested.

"To eat well, you have to know how to cook and shop these days," he declared.

Friends are always asking for his recipes, so Mark has compiled a booklet of cooking and wine notes. He plans to expand it into a cookbook which will be illustrated with both color and black and white photographs he has taken. Photography is another of his hobbies.

"My recipes allow for creativity," Mark explained. "It's frightening to be too specific when writing recipes. The goal of a good cook should be the ability to taste and understand flavors."

News Analyst Notes Clear Indications of Democratic Gains in Recent Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA EILBERG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the perceptive news columnist, Robert C. Spivack, has recently written a newsletter which analyzes the results of the recent elections. He demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that the Democrats—and President Johnson in particular—have much to be happy about.

> Before the votes were counted, if the commentators were correct, the nation was in an angry, vengeful mood—

He writes.

But, he adds, this did not happen at the polls.

The Nation did not "lose its cool." Neither civil rights nor Vietnam caused Democratic loses. In Philadelphia we reelected our Democratic mayor, and the people of San Francisco overwhelmingly endorsed the American presence in Vietnam.

I agree with Mr. Spivack. We Democrats can be well satisfied with the election returns of last week.

Under unanimous consent I insert the Spivack report in the RECORD:

THE ELECTIONS OF 1967: WHAT THEY TELL US ABOUT 1968

Herblock was modest about interpreting the results. He pictured a puzzled Elephant and an equally puzzled Donkey leaving a theatre where the marquee announced " '67, An Off-Year, Off-Beat, Election Drama."

"I'm sure," said the Elephant to the Donkey," it has a lot of significance if I only knew what."

To wide-eyed columnist Joseph Kraft, however, everything was clear. "The voters have spoken, and for once what they said is not in doubt," he wrote. What was their message? That the year ahead is going to be "exceedingly difficult" in the area of race relations in the North. Undoubtedly after deep thought, Kraft solemnly announced there's going to have to be "some concern, some respectable concern" for the feelings and interests of Negroes, along with low and middle-income whites. An original observation? Well, hardly.

Off-year elections usually are concerned with so many local issues and personalities and produce so many cross-currents they are no guide to what might happen in a Presidential election. In this respect 1967 could be an exception. While the voting was local, the issues were national and, in one case, international. Whether it was Cleveland, or Boston, or San Francisco each city had become a symbol and each had a special message.

There were vote patterns in New York and also Gary that had significant meaning.

The over-all message, though, was altogether different from what the public opinion polls, as well as many columnists, were describing as the national mood. Consequently the results were not what many expected them to be.

Before the votes were counted, if the commentators were correct, the nation was in an angry, vengeful mood. Some worried about a sharp swing to the Right in the aftermath of the summer riots and the Pentagon anti-war protest. Republicans of all persuasions were expected to sweep out Democrats everywhere. The anti-Vietnam feeling was so strong there would be a sharp repudiation of an "unpopular" President. None of this happened.

While feelings on all the big issues were undoubtedly strong, the nation did not lose its "cool." Despite fierce verbal assaults from the Far Left and the Far Right, moderate Democrats managed to survive. Republican victories were few and far between and relatively inconsequential: Governor of Kentucky, the N.J. Legislature.

Under the most trying circumstances the big cities remained Democratic—although by small margins. It was white voters in Cleveland and Gary who provided the victory margin for Messrs. Stokes and Hatcher. It was white voters in Boston who decided the Hub would not become a "Hicks town."

If the elections of '67 are not remembered for anything else they were a historic nationwide demonstration of political maturity and rationality at a time when powerful elements were whipping up emotions that could have become uncontrollable. The fact that the voters were not swept off their feet did not mean they were in a state of euphoria, or unconcerned. They were so deeply concerned that they moved deliberately everywhere, including Louisiana, to head off a domestic explosion.

THE PHILADELPHIA STORY AND OTHERS

In terms of what all this means for 1968, perhaps the Philadelphia story is the most important. For the Democrats the outlook was bleak. The party was deeply divided, between its Old Guard and the unspectacular, but hard-working and decent Mayor, James Tate, a sort of Philadelphia version of N.Y. former Mayor Bob Wagner. Tate had to fight hard to win renomination.

Then he came up against a bright young Republican District Attorney (Arlen Spector, a former leader of A.D.A. and a liberal Democrat. But Tate had the support of organized labor, as well as Sen. Joe Clark, who announced he would have no part of a "dump LBJ" campaign. It was the unions, however, who delivered the vote.

Spector's campaign was smart, until the last moment it became smartaleck. In a TV broadcast Spector said he was running to "fill a vacancy" in City Hall and that "vacancy" was Mayor Tate himself. It was this kind of Main-Line snobbishness the labor leaders could exploit without having to draw any diagrams. They did and the result is one Spector is no longer haunting City Hall.

But the Phila. campaign produced a side-effect, very damaging for moderate Eastern Republicans. They were counting on a Spector victory to provide the kind of psychological boost they would need at the Miami Beach G.O.P. convention next year, to nominate Romney or Rockefeller. Without it the Penn. Republicans now are likely to go for Richard Nixon, favored by Governor Shafer.

The referendum in San Francisco turned out to be an unexpected dividend for President Johnson, although national Democrats refused to have any part of it, or to allow their spokesmen to explain, or defend, Administration Vietnam policy. Although some anti-war elements now complain about its language, the referendum was clearly worded and that's what made it significant. The voters were asked to register their opinion on this:

"Declaration of policy: Shall it be the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can settle their own problems?"

The answer was equally clear: No—132,406 (63.34%), yes—76,632 (36.66%). If it had been fuzzed up, with talk of a phased withdrawal, the results would have meant much less, since everybody says he is for that.

What remains to be seen is whether Hanoi gets the full meaning of the vote. Since S.F. is the center of anti-war protest, the results in other parts of the country would likely run from 5 to 1 to 20 to 1 in support of the Administration. Undoubtedly that will be the margin if Hanoi waits until the 1968 elections to lay down her arms. A cease-fire now would appear to be in everyone's interest.

In New York City and upstate voters demonstrated once more the kind of political independence that produces a LaGuardia or a John Lindsay. They simply ignored their political "leaders" when it came to voting on the proposed new state constitution, advocated by Cardinal Spellman, supported by Sen. Kennedy, with no hesitation, and Gov. Rockefeller, after long hesitation. It was attacked from two sides: by liberals who felt it posed a threat to continued separation of church and state, by conservatives who felt aid for parochial schools and other proposals would mean huge new taxes. Yet NYers went along with Rockefeller on a state transportation bond issue, demonstrating an ability to distinguish one issue from another.

WILL THE REPUBLICANS TRY TO OUTBID WALLACE?

In Cleveland, the Republican candidate, Seth Taft, was moderate and low-key on the race issue. In Gary, Indiana, the G.O.P. candidate was a genuinely frightened man who saw a Negro take-over with bloodshed and violence an imminent possibility. On the other hand, Mayors-elect Stokes and Hatcher both viewed their campaigns as a blunting of the Black Power appeal. Whether they are now given a fair chance to prove themselves, or whether white and Negro extremists will make both cities a battleground remains to be seen.

There is little doubt that the big G.O.P. vote in both cities immensely strengthens the chances of former Vice President Nixon becoming the 1968 nominee. From what has been described as the mood of those voters who supported the defeated candidates, a Rockefeller or Romney would have no appeal. Some want a blood-and-guts candidate; they would settle for the "old" Nixon.

The question that Republicans must now answer for themselves is whether they will try to capitalize on this race feeling. A subtle kind of Republican appeal to racism might win some marginal states, if there was a sizeable anti-Negro vote in the big cities coupled with the rural and small community vote which is likely to lean toward the Republicans.

If the Republicans decide to be "the white-man's party" many strategists think they could make the 1968 election a tight two-way contest against a Johnson-Humphrey ticket. On the other hand, if they shun this approach there seems to be little doubt that former Gov. George Wallace will be on the scene, with consequences that have frightening possibilities.

The Republicans are of two minds about Wallace. If he runs, there is little doubt that he will hurt the G.O.P. candidates in the South. On the other hand, in the North it will be Democrats who suffer. His appeal will be to low-income workers and small home-owners. There is also the possibility that there will be a "peace" candidate next year.

THE BATTLE OF THE POLLTAKERS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SURVEYS

Columnists Evans and Novak are the latest to join the clamor against release of a private poll "leaked" out by high Administration officials after the Harris and Gallup Polls showed that the President's popularity had declined. This has somehow become a sign of White House "weakness" and "Texas-style" politics.

There were four polls taken by Political Surveys and Analyses, Inc. of Princeton, N.J. headed by Archibald M. Crossley. These private studies flatly contradict the public findings of the competitive polling organizations who found that LBJ's popularity has levelled off at 38% or that anyone of the current field of Republicans could defeat the President if the election were held today.

What gives the furor in the polling fraternity an amusing aspect is that many of the same local poll-takers are employed by more than one company. There is also the point that the election is not being held today but a year from now.

Although the news stories have concentrated on the contradictions between the findings of the Harris organization and Crossley studies and the latter's embarrassment that his studies have been leaked, some of the more interesting findings have not been mentioned at all.

For example: In the California sampling of Johnson vs. Rockefeller there were these results:

[In percent]

	Lyndon B. Johnson	Nelson Rockefeller	Undecided
By age:			
21 to 39 years	45	44	11
40 years and over	40	43	17
By income:			
$7,000 and over	32	52	16
Under $7,000	50	36	14
By religious preference:			
Protestant	37	48	15
Catholic	51	34	15

(In this sampling of 608 persons interviewed there were only 16 of the Jewish faith, seven for each candidate and two undecided. Of other faiths there were 21 for LBJ, 17 for Rockefeller and seven undecided.)

Against Nixon, Percy, Reagan and Romney, the President did even better in the below-$7,000 group and among young voters than against Rockefeller.

These were the full California findings (interviews conducted Oct. 11–18):

[In percent,

Johnson	51	Nixon	34	Undecided	15
Do	42	Rockefeller	43	Do	15
Do	47	Romney	31	Do	22
Do	53	Reagan	30	Do	17
Do	48	Percy	29	Do	23

The Pennsylvania poll (Oct. 6–15) showed:

[In percent]

Johnson	51	Nixon	37	Undecided	12
Do	45	Rockfeller	41	Do	14
Do	48	Romney	35	Do	17
Do	51	Reagan	33	Do	16
Do	50	Percy	29	Do	21

Again in Pennsylvania, Johnson's strongest appeal was to younger voters and to those in the lower income brackets.

In N.Y., where Rockefeller was not included, Johnson's appeal was also to the same groups against the other four G.O.P. possibilities. Among Jewish voters LBJ polled 81% to Nixon's 7%, Percy's 22%, Reagan's 11%, Romney's 20%. Romney and Nixon were strongest among Protestants, with 34% each. Nixon's support among Catholics was 36% to LBJ's 47 percent.

Congressman Horton Lauds Electro Surgical Instrument Co. of Rochester, N.Y., as Symbol of Small Business Which Contributes to Major Advances in Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the history of small business in this country, with our system of economic opportunity for the creative and energetic, has much romance.

As a member of the Small Business Committee of the House, I have seen many examples of small companies which make great contributions in their fields without attracting the notice and recognition they deserve.

It is also true that a small company may make significant contributions to science and the arts without its beneficiaries ever knowing or hearing of the time and effort spent for their benefit.

I am familiar with a unique and creative company which has done pioneer work in the field of lighted diagnosis of the interior of the human body.

I would like to share with you, Mr. Speaker, and with our colleagues, the story of Electro Surgical Instrument Co.

This company led the way in the first part of this century in providing illumination for medical diagnosis in body passages and has now resumed, through serving the needs of creative and imaginative physicians, creating new instruments and devices for the combating of cancer and other dread diseases of the human body.

In recognition of the contribution that this company has made to medicine, the Academy of Medicine, a few years ago, cited the Bausch & Lomb Co., for its optics, the Eastman Kodak Co., for its photography work, the Taylor Instrument Co., for its temperature devices, and the company of which I now speak, the Electro Surgical Instrument Co., for the development of illuminated surgical and diagnostic instruments.

The discovery and development of electricity in the 19th century was a creative source of enormous size. One of the minor points of use with major benefits was the use of electric current and illumination in endoscopes, those instruments that are introduced into body passages for medical diagnosis. Two Rochesterians, a physician and an electrical genius, joined their skills to create a urethroscope with a lighting system which showed an astonishing absence of heat. Two men with their special interests drew together with others in the city and the Electro Surgical Instrument Co. was formed.

Others in Germany and France had attempted illumination with incandescent platinum wires to the disappointment and discomfort of everyone, including the patients. Now, with the nearly cold lamp and a resourceful management, the foremost medical minds and skills in leading institutions of the country were linked to the engineering and developing capabilities of the Electro Surgical Instrument Co.

The past two decades have brought ample proof to ESI that change is the only constant. The company is now working in new frontiers of lighted instrumentation with new materials and techniques which are making it possible for physicians throughout the world to become more accurate and more effective in their diagnosis and treatment of the human body.

One of the great new areas of materials and techniques is the exciting field of fiber optics for endoscopic diagnosis. The remarkable capabilities of optical glass spun into fibers which transfer both light and vision around curves, permit the doctors to see through body curvatures never before exposed for internal diagnosis. The company is working on the development of taking biopsy samples of suspect tissue which promises to extend the discovery of malignant pathology well beyond current capabilities.

Another field in which ESI is now making new progress is that of plastic disposable devices on instruments related to endoscopy. These offer obvious advantages of saving time and costs in the great hospitals and clinics in the country. The main point of these new products which are recent advances of traditional diagnostic concepts is that they increase the effectiveness of medical personnel in handling and examining more people more effectively than possible before.

The new group which has been charged with the direction of the Electro Surgical Instrument Co. headed by President Henry T. Maljgren is enthusiastic about the breadth of opportunity to serve medicine and the growing population. The increase in health hazards in the natural environment is an important reason for the company's existence and development. The increased interest which governments take in the health of their citizens has created a new environment for medical research and practice.

Recognition for these achievements has been largely absent except, perhaps, from a few specialists. Specialized fields of medicine accept the instrumentation now available as part of the day's work. The rest of the world both knows and cares very little except perhaps in times of critical health emergencies. I am pleased to tell you that our Government has shown interest in Electro Surgical by selecting a set of bronchoscopic instruments for presentation to the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, by the President of the United States. This presentation was made in Washington last spring and is now performing usefulness in the Tsehai Hospital in Addis Ababa, a gift of the Emperor and his wife in honor of their daughter, Princess Tsehai. It is of real interest to myself and the people of Rochester that the request originated in the country of the Emperor, and that this gift could be made in the name of the people of Rochester by ESI who made these instruments first of anyone in the field.

In this record of giving, I am informed that Electro Surgical makes its instruments available to medical teams working in remote and technically deprived areas of the world and to medical missionaries who cannot afford them.

In summing up the record of achievement of the Electro Surgical Instrument Co., I may truthfully say that seldom in the history of corporate history and business enterprise has so much been accomplished for the medical benefit of so many by so few and by so small a group.

In October, Electro Surgical Instrument Co., announced to the American College of Surgeons at their annual meeting in Chicago, that its entire line of instruments has been greatly changed and measurably improved by the use of fiber optic lighting. This very brilliant cold light from a strong but separate source of light which is "piped" to the working end of the instrument by the miracle of optical fiber glass is a great advance for a company on the way to being again great.

The past has been full of progress, especially in the early part of this century. As Electro Surgical moves toward the end of its first century, the future of its work for diagnostic medicine may be even brighter and more promising.

Mr. Speaker, this case history of a small, growing business which has made a major contribution to a vital field of human endeavor is solid evidence of the ability of the American economic system to foster new blood.

It is this element of constant regeneration of the American business system which has led to the high standard of living in this country.

There are many examples of the opportunity for creative people to develop ideas and enter the mainstream of American economic life; prominent among those examples is the Electro Surgical Instrument Co. of Rochester, N.Y.

Communist Fishing Rights in U.S. Coastal Waters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the United States-Soviet Communist talks in Moscow on November 14, 1967, to consider giving the Russians fishing rights off the U.S. Atlantic coast is too much bridge building.

If the American people swallow this betrayal they might as well declare the Potomac River, the Mississippi River, St. Lawrence Seaway, and the Great Lakes international waterways and let the Reds steam in with submarines and landing craft for sightseeing excursions.

If the people run this country as supposed in a democracy, wonder who has authorized the State Department to negotiate this sellout? Or were we blessed by U.N. peace negotiations?

I include the Associated Press release from the Washington Post for November 15, and a recent newsletter from the National Oceanography Association, which deals effectively with the proposed sellout of our mineral rights, following my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 15, 1967]

FISHING RIGHTS TALKS OPEN IN MOSCOW

MOSCOW, November 14.—U.S.-Soviet talks opened here today on fishing rights off the U.S. Coast in the Atlantic Ocean, a U.S. Embassy spokesman said.

A 13-man U.S. delegation, led by Donald L. McKernan, who holds ambassadorial rank, met twice with officials of the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries and scheduled more talks for Wednesday, the official said.

NATIONAL OCEANOGRAPHY ASSOCIATION LEADS FIGHT TO HALT U.N. TAKEOVER OF SEA RESOURCES—PROPOSAL FOR U.N. CONTROL OF DEEP-SEA MINERALS IS FOUGHT

WASHINGTON.—The National Oceanography Association, a private organization, voiced opposition today to what it termed "a move by an international organization of lawyers to have the United Nations take control of all deep-sea mineral resources beyond the Continental Shelf."

It said Rep. Richard T. Hanna, D-Calif., is introducing legislation to oppose any U.N. take-over at this time.

The NOA said an organization called the World Peace Through Law Center, at a conference in Geneva, had passed a resolution calling upon the United Nations to take over the ocean resources by proclamation.

The lawyers group is headed by Charles S. Rhyne of Washington, D.C., a former president of the American Bar Association.

Terming the action "shocking to most Americans," the NOA also issued a statement by its own president, John H. Clotworthy of the University of Miami.

"This is a serious threat," said Clotworthy. "Mr. Rhyne has told us that the international law organization is doing everything it can to bring the deep ocean mineral resources under control of the U.N.

"Furthermore, we have been reliably informed that the move has behind the scenes support within our own State Department."

The NOA said oil companies in the United States already have the technology to recover oil from the sea bed at a depth of about 600 feet. But it said the action urged by the lawyers' group would not let American oil companies drill beyond that depth without going to the United Nations for permission.

[From the Journal of Commerce, Sept. 27, 1967]

BIG POWERS FACE POLITICO-LEGAL QUESTIONS: OCEANIC CONTEST MAY MATCH SPACE RACE

(By Sidney Fish)

The race to the moon, now under way between the United States and Russia, may be matched soon by another struggle, in the depths of our oceans. Deep-diving submarines of the leading powers may seek to stake their claims to the great wealth of manganese, cobalt, nickel and other minerals that lies beneath the seas beyond territorial waters. But in the deep ocean, beyond 3,000 feet, some form of internationalization may result.

The politico-legal issues involved in the underwater sea hunt are complex. Unless they are resolved by agreements of the powers, discovery and development of the seas' great resources will be retarded.

GARMATZ AGAINST U.N. CONTROL

Representative Edward A. Garmatz, chairman of the House Merchant Marine Committee, has urged congress to prevent the United States from agreeing to put control of deep ocean resources under the United Nations. Speaking on the so-called Malta Resolution, affecting resources in the ocean beyond the Continental Shelf, Mr. Garmatz said a majority of his committee is opposed to vesting control of the deep ocean resources in any international committee.

Under the Malta resolution, introduced into the U.N. by the Republic of Malta, the mineral wealth of the ocean floor would be reserved for the poorer nations of the world.

U.S. NOT ALONE

The Johnson Administration at one time appeared to be leaning towards ownership of the deep open resources by "all human beings." This would entail administration of such resources by an international organization, perhaps the United Nations.

President Johnson once said, for example, that "under no circumstances must we allow the prospects of rich harvest and mineral wealth to create a new form of colonial competition among the nations." He warned against a new race to grab and hold the lands under the seas.

NEW LOOK TAKEN

But the State Department and the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development appear recently to have taken a new look at the idea of quickly turning over all resources beyond the Continental Shelf to an international organization. Private corporations and trade associations have been voicing strong opposition to the Malta resolution.

Until a report is made on our national goals in oceanography in 1968 or 1969 by the year-old national council, it would be premature to turn the deep sea over to the U.N. opponents to the Malta resolution are saying.

Opponents of the Malta resolution include the National Oceanography Association, in which 700 American corporations hold membership, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and several other large business groups.

This opposition appears to be getting results in Congress. The National Council on Marine Resources recently denied that it is prepared to recommend turning all deep ocean resources over to the U.N., while it is in the process of drafting its report to President Johnson.

COMPROMISE PROPOSED

Appearing last Friday before the Senate Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organization and movements, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State David Popper indicated that since the government is developing its policy objectives, it could not at this time support the Malta resolution. What the government will propose at a later date is still not clear, but a compromise may be reached with the oceanographic industries, under which depths over 2,500 feet would be internationalized.

The National Oceanography Association points out that U.S. oil companies already have the technology to recover oil from the sea bed at depths of well over 200 meters. But the Malta resolution would not let them drill beyond this depth without permission from the U.N. Industries looking for other raw materials below 200 meters would also have to seek U.N. permission for such a quest.

NOA said that "placing industry in a position where it would be uncertain as to ownership and licensing arrangements for mineral rights beyond the Continental Shelf would most certainly stifle the technological development which is permitting us to go deeper and deeper into the ocean in search of resources. This would work to the detriment of all peoples everywhere."

Opponents of the U.N. resolution point out that the nations have shown willingness to enter into bilateral and multilateral agreements on fishing rights. Similar solutions may be found in connection with deep ocean resources, beyond the Continental Shelf and even beyond the 2,000- to 3,000-foot depth.

The U.N., it is pointed out, is probably not the right body to administer deep ocean resources, in view of its frequent ineffectiveness.

Although the United States will soon have over 30 deep-diving submarines probing the oceans and their bottoms, it is not the only country involved in this effort.

A year ago, Russia offered to buy a deep-diving submarine from an American corporation, but the offer was rejected.

Russia has been extremely active in submarine construction. Its interest in oceanography have been disclosed by the far-ranging fleets of Russian fishing boats.

Disputes over jurisdiction on the seas are increasing.

The principle of the freedom of the seas has been accepted for over 300 years. Except for the narrow belts of territorial waters, no nation has claimed sovereignty or jurisdiction over the resources of the ocean. But as a result of increased appreciation of the wealth possessed by the seas, nations have shown a tendency to claim larger areas of the adjacent ocean for their exclusive use. Formerly, most nations claimed three miles of the ocean bordering their shore as "territorial sea," but in recent years, an increasing number have extended their claims to 12 miles and even to 200 miles from their coasts, according to Francis T. Christy Jr., of Resources for the Future, Inc.

The United States recently claimed exclusive rights to fishing nine miles beyond its territorial waters.

FLEXIBLE DEFINITION

The resources of the sea bottom belong to the adjacent coastal nation, to a depth of 200 meters, or beyond that limit "to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits to the exploitation of the natural waters," according to the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Continental Shelf. This is an extremely flexible definition, and it is likely to result in varying interpretations, as new types of submersibles extend their range downward.

In the absence of meaningful guidelines over who owns the resources under the high seas, private enterprise may be shackled in its efforts to exploit this wealth. Both Canada and France, for example, have leased the same area on the Grand Banks for oil exploration to two different companies. It is not known yet how such controversies can be resolved.

IDEAS ON GUIDELINES

Several suggestions have been made to clear up jurisdictional disputes. Under one proposal, a coastal state's boundaries would extend out to the midpoint of the oceans. But the existence of islands in the Atlantic and the Pacific make this suggestion seem impractical. Russia, moreover, having a small coastline on the oceans, would oppose such a division.

Another proposal would permit a discoverer of minerals or other resources to appeal to his government to protect his claim to exclusive rights. If submarines of many nations are seeking discoveries, this could ininvolve disputes at the national level.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Sept. 17, 1967]

U.N. Control of Sea Bottom Is Fought by Shore States

(By William Reddig, Jr.)

A proposal by the little island country of Malta to let the United Nations take control of the ocean floor and pay profits from any developments to the poor nations has made some Congressmen and would-be ocean explorers a bit queasy.

A representative of the 95-square-mile island in the Mediterranean said here yesterday that the country was prepared to press home its ocean bottom resolution when the 122-member General Assembly convenes in New York on Tuesday.

The resolution calls for the U.N. to declare the ocean floor outside of the continental shelves to be a peaceful land and to set up an agency which would control and develop this resource-rich area covering about 70 percent of the earth's surface. Any net income would be used "primarily to promote the development of poor countries."

PRECEDENT HOPED FOR

"We see it as tending to prevent future legal conflicts over the use of the ocean bottom," said the Malta representative, noting that the island is on a hefty continental shelf itself.

Reports of the move brought a stir last week among Congressmen from states with large fishing industries and sharp words from the National Oceanography Association, which represents more than 200 firms in the underwater field as well as oceanography scientists.

Rep. Richard T. Hanna, D-Calif., introduced a bill in the House which would register congressional opposition to any proposal for turning over the ocean floor to an international body. He said he had support from Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, who heads a new federal marine resources council.

The Vice President's office on Friday termed as "completely erroneous" reports circulating earlier that the administration would back a resolution for the U.N. to oversee the ocean floor, but said that the country would have "positive proposals" to make on the question of ocean jurisdiction during the General Assembly session.

SPEEDY ACTION

When the House Subcommittee on Oceanography heard about the Malta move Thursday, Chairman Alton Lennon, D-N.C., got Rep. Howard W. Pollock, R-Alaska, to circulate a similar resolution of opposition. It picked up five names right away, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce sent the committee notice of opposition.

Already pending with the House Foreign Relations Committee is a bill introduced by Rep. Abraham Multer, D-N.Y., calling for U.N. control of the sea bottom. It's said to have administration support in keeping with efforts to maintain the international seas and outer space free to all. Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations last year, also has voiced support of the resolution.

Congressmen from shore states see the U.N. move as a threat to their fishing industries and development of offshore oil and natural gas industries. The continental shelf around the U.S. runs in as close as a mile off California while slanting out to some 200 miles off Florida. U.S. territorial waters extend 3 miles and fishing rights go out 12 miles. But technology for drilling has advanced to take resources from more than 600 feet down and in ready to try digging over the continental shelf.

LAWYERS FOR IT

International lawyers like the idea of U.N. control, seeing it as a way to prevent legal tangles if individuals claim title to patches of the sea bottom. The World Peace Through Law Center, headed by Charles S. Rhyne of Washington, former president of the American Bar Association, called at its summer meeting for the U.N. to take control of ocean resources.

"This is a serious threat," said John H. Clotworthy, president of the oceanography association and a professor at the University of Miami. "Rhyne has told us that the international law organization is doing everything it can to bring the deep ocean mineral resources under the control of the U.N. Furthermore, we have been reliably informed that the move has behind the scenes support within our own State Department."

Rhyne denied that the lawyers' organization was pressing hard for the resolution. "We think it's a good thing and that it should be thoroughly considered. It's in the same category as keeping Antarctica, or outer space or the moon free for all."

DISCUSSION URGED

The State Department also denied it was backing the Malta resolution. "We're not particularly enthusiastic for this individual resolution," said a department spokesman, "We feel there should be U.N. discussion of the question, but we're not encouraging the world body to take over the sea bottom."

The Malta resolution may die aborning in the U.N. But the poor and underdeveloped nations in the General Assembly outnumber the rich ones. And oceanographers say that they can't even measure the mineral and food wealth which lies below salt water.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 14, 1967]

U.N. Control of Sea Resources Opposed

(By J. V. Reistrup)

The Johnson Administration has apparently committed itself to turning all the world's deep-sea mineral resources over to the United Nations, a Congressman said yesterday.

In a move aimed at arousing public opposition to the idea. Rep. Richard T. Hanna (D-Calif.) introduced a resolution in the House calling such a move "premature and ill-advised."

An aide said it was understood that a similar resolution would be introduced in the Senate this week.

Hanna said he has been told that at the U.N. General Assembly session opening next week Malta plans to introduce a resolution giving the international body control over mineral resources on the part of the ocean bottom that lies beyond the offshore area known as the continental shelf.

The Congressman said he was also informed that the United States would go along.

Hanna, who represents California's coastal Orange County and serves on the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, told a news conference that "one of the most far-reaching decisions involving the whole body" of international law was about to be taken without any public debate.

His criticisms were echoed by the National Oceanographic Association, whose literature describes it as a broad-based organization representing industry, the scientific and academic communities and the general public.

"This is a serious threat," Association President John H. Clotworthy said in a statement distributed yesterday to coincide with Hanna's move. He said it "would most certainly stifle the technological development which is permitting us to go deeper and deeper into the ocean in search of its resources."

Hanna argued that there still is disagreement even as to how far out the continental shelf goes. Further, he said the extent of minerals on the ocean floor has not yet been discovered.

The idea of the United Nations' taking title to the ocean floor is based on two arguments: raising money and avoiding international conflicts.

"The greatest untapped reservoir of the world's wealth lies, beyond national jurisdiction and under title to no nation, at the bottom of the seas," Sen. Frank Church (D. Idaho) told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a report last February. Church was a member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. at its last session.

"As the population vise tightens, national rivalries for the exploitation of the deep ocean's resources could easily become a new threat to peace."

Church went on to suggest that an international agreement giving the U.N. title to the minerals in the ocean's floor "might not only remove a coming cause of international friction, but also endow the United Nations with a source for substantial revenue in the future."

The idea was supported by international lawyers meeting at a recent World Peace Through Law Conference in Geneva.

The group recommended that the General Assembly proclaim U.N. jurisdiction over the ocean bed beyond the continental shelf.

The proposal follows the "same general principle" as agreements internationalizing Antarctica, the moon and outer space, according to Washington lawyer Charles S. Rhyne, chairman of the World Peace Through Law Center.

The Price of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the Paris Beacon-News is a strong force for sound public policies in Edgar County and throughout its circulation area in east central Illinois. This should not surprise those of us who know that its editor is our former colleague, the Honorable Edward H. Jenison, who ably represented his district in Congress from 1947 to 1953.

In the following Veterans' Day editorial, the Beacon-News drives home the truth that—

> Strength is needed at home as well as abroad if we are to achieve our goals of freedom, victory, and security. To contend that we can tolerate disorder, squander our resources—present and future—on a business-as-usual plane and support both a Great Society and a great global effort at the same time is "pure bunk," to use the words of the President himself.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the complete editorial so that we all can benefit from the wise insights of Editor Jenison:

THE PRICE OF PEACE

Today is Armistice day—if you are a senior citizen—or Veterans' day, if your recollection of global events began with World War II. But by either name, it is a suitable hour for both tribute and reflection.

Under the original name, it marked observance of the cease-fire that terminated World War I on November 11, 1918. Then came World War II with 2 days of triumph—VE day for the victory in Europe and VJ day with the surrender of Japan. Veterans' day merged all three into an annual hour of homage to American fighting men of all wars.

At eleven o'clock this morning, Paris paused for a solemn ceremony in front of the memorial on the square where are enshrined the names of more than 2,000 men—and women—from Edgar county who served their country in two World Wars. The ceremony was repeated similarly in every town and city across the land, as Americans everywhere paid tribute anew to the sacrifices of heroes of the past.

The hallowed moment of eleven o'clock is an hour of memory. Or is it? The sparse attendance at our local observance from year to year causes many to feel with reason that we do not remember, that we have forgotten or we do not care. Such an attitude would be discouraging in normal times. It is unpardonable in 1967, when the nation once again is locked in mortal combat with an enemy half a world away.

For the names within the War Memorial tell only the story of the past. Other names will be added—and soon. Inevitably some will bear the Gold Star. A hundred young men from Edgar county are deployed on the battle line at this moment. More will follow. Some will not come back. It is as grim as that at this very hour.

So where are our thoughts on Veterans' Day, 1967? And what are our goals? Well, obviously, our thoughts are divided between homage for the gallantry of the past and tribute for the courage of the present. And the goal of the moment is victory and peace, in that order.

President Johnson, in his two day swing across the country to visit returning troops and those in training for future duty, has voiced the anguished conscience of Americans everywhere in stressing the need for a rebirth of patriotism, not on the fighting front, but here at home.

No one ever accused us of being an enthusiastic supporter of the Johnson administration on the home front, but on the perimeter of battle it is another matter. There is room for a difference of opinion in the domestic domain, but not elsewhere. With a nation committed to halting aggression and preserving freedom, and with half a million young Americans in the zone of combat, there can be no retreat at home.

Greeting returning Vietnam veterans at the El Toro Marine Corps Air Station in California yesterday, the President said:

"On this field there are men who have just returned from Vietnam where they brought courage to the flight line of freedom. Without your heroism, without your dedication and your sacrifices, there would be no freedom, no security in America and no peace for the world."

Most Americans believe this to be true, and most Americans are willing to make the sacrifices necessary to see such a course through to victory. But to do so, the home front must become as disciplined as the fighting front. And it is all too apparent that such a situation does not prevail.

All across the land there are pockets of dissent and disturbance undisciplined by a White House with an anxious eye on the next election. If such a situation developed in the military establishment it would be called mutiny. But at home it is condoned and even coddled. Protest marchers, draft card burners, potential fugitives to other lands vie for publicity and justification in the name of constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. But while freedom of speech may countenence dissent, it does not embrace disloyalty. And freedom of assembly does not license disorder.

While we applaud President Johnson's stirring words to returning Vietnam veterans and military men on their way to the battle zone, we deplore his silence in the face of the motley marchers at home who are a tiny but noisy minority. Where, for instance, was White House indignation when an invading mob of the misguided camped at the shrine of Abraham Lincoln in the national capital and then marched on the Pentagon to undermine the security of gallant Americans under fire of the enemy at that very hour?

Rep. Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana congressman who until reapportionment represented our adjoining district across the state line, summed it up effectively in this way:

"We are being cleverly conditioned to accept any outrage under the description of 'protest,' 'dissent' or 'civil disobedience'. America desperately needs some leadership with the courage to enforce the law and make it stick. A little 'guts' would go a long way in Washington today."

We come down to this: strength is needed at home as well as abroad if we are to achieve our goals of freedom, victory, and security. To contend that we can tolerate disorder, squander our resources present and future on a "business as usual" plane, and support both a "Great Society" and a great global war effort at the same time is "pure bunk," to use the words of the President himself. First things must come first, and in this critical hour the first thing is to support our military effort and our military men with the maximum effort required for the goal to be achieved. The cost will be great but the cost of failure will be greater.

Perhaps these are some of the things we should be thinking about on Veterans' day, 1967. Failure to do so would be to turn our backs on gallant heroes, past and present, and render their sacrifice futile in a fragment of history.

Keep Canal, Roosevelt Kin Urges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the crisis at Panama caused by the formally expressed willingness of our high officials to surrender U.S. sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal, in three recently negotiated but unsigned treaties, I have noted that the people of our country are far ahead of their Government in understanding the dangers involved.

A recent news story in a Wisconsin newspaper summarizes the highlights of the canal situation in an address by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, granddaughter of former President Theodore Roosevelt, before the College Women's Club of Milwaukee, as published in the Milwaukee Journal, an important newspaper of my State, as follows:

KEEP CANAL, ROOSEVELT KIN URGES

"What we need is more control over the Panama canal, not less," declared Edith Kermit Roosevelt, Granddaughter of the president responsible for building the canal. Although Theodore Roosevelt was known for his advice, "Speak softly, and carry a big stick," Miss Roosevelt, who spoke at the College Women's club Saturday, used no soft words on the subject of the Panama canal.

In an interview earlier she said the canal was still vital to American security. She predicted that it would remain so for the next 50 years, at least.

Three proposed treaties, which would replace the original United States-Panama pact of 1903 governing the canal, would give the Panamanian government substantially more control over operations in the canal zone.

A number of American congressmen have expressed concern over the apparent willingness of the United States to surrender absolute control over the canal.

"Two-thirds of the canal's customers are American ships," Miss Roosevelt said. "During the Korean war, more than 1,000 ships bearing military supplies used the canal. The canal is not only of military importance, but of economic importance."

Miss Roosevelt criticized what she called "the great feeling that the United States' use of power is obsolete, that we must get people to love us rather than fear us."

She suggested three steps toward reasserting American authority in the canal zone, the scence of many recent demonstrations urging United States withdrawal.

"We should stop infiltration of Panamanian farmers into the canal zone; buy back the railroad system turned over to the Panamanian government; develop friends for ourselves among the Panamanians who are members neither of the oligarchy nor the left wing element."

Miss Roosevelt, of Washington, D.C., writes a column "Between the Lines" which appears in about 50 newspapers.

Mrs. J. W. Bird: Mother of a Marine Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, every now and then a Member of Congress receives a letter which reinstills his faith in the American people and the patriotic sense of duty which should be inherent in all of us. Today I received such a letter from Mrs. J. W. Bird, of Waxahachie, and I would like to share it with all the Members of this body:

November 13, 1967.

Hon. Olin Teague,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: We would like for you to know that we are *very much opposed* to any proposed "cease-fire" in Vietnam! We feel that that's when the V.C. are able to marshal their forces for an all-out offensive!

We have a son, Cpl. W. J. Bird, Jr., U.S.M.C., over there now on Marble Mt. Another son, Sgt. Phil M. Bird, U.S.M.C., just returned from a 13 month tour of duty in Vietnam We lost my husband's nephew, S/Sgt. R. L. Womack, U.S.M.C., 2 years ago over there when he was shot while riding guard in a helicopter. And, in all probably, we will have a 3rd son to see service in Vietnam the minute that he graduates from high school! So, you see, this is not just a "crank" letter, we have a vital interest in this war.

Our children have been brought up believing that this wonderful country of ours is truly a gift from God, and they are to serve it to the best of their ability, while trying to do the best for posterity! If you think that this is a "flag-waving"—you are correct. And we need more of it!

Sincerely,

Mrs. W. J. Bird.

Waxahachie, Tex.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers. but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Gardner Ackley on the Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, on November 10 an excellent speech on the administration's income surtax proposal was made before the Union League Club of New York by Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Mr. Ackley points out that continuation of our economic expansion—now in its 81st straight month—is seriously threatened by the impasse over the President's tax bill. He warns that the Nation is threatened by an unhealthy boom which would intensify inflationary pressures and raise the prospect of a financial crunch like that of 1966.

Mr. Ackley's speech outlines just what the President has proposed, tells how a moderate tax increase would affect the gross national product, and reviews what is being done to cut Federal expenditures.

Mr. Speaker, the information Mr. Ackley has provided is of interest and importance to every American. The text of his speech follows:

GARDNER ACKLEY ON THE TAX BILL

(Remarks by Gardner Ackley, chairman, Council of Economic Advisers, at the Public Affairs Luncheon of the Union League Club of New York, November 10, 1967)

These are days filled with problems and crises—on the international scene and at home. Their presence fills our TV screens. Their analysis constitutes the bread and butter of our daily editorials and columns, and our weekly news magazines.

Yet we concentrate too much on our problems. At least once in a whole we need to count our blessings, measure our progress, recognize our strengths.

This happens to be a time when we have a good excuse to reflect on one particular aspect of our success. Before I turn your attention to some of our problems, I'd like to say a word about a notable achievement.

November marks the 81st month of continued economic expansion in the United States. Over the past 113 years—as far back as our records will permit us to go—we can distinguish 26 previous periods of economic expansion, each ending as the economy slid into a recession or plunged into depression. The average duration of these expansion periods was just 30 months. There was one 80-month expansion—until now the longest—that began in 1938 and continued through World War II. There was an anemic 50-month expansion from 1933 to 1937 which barely returned total production to the level of 1929. There was a 46-month expansion during the Civil War, and a 45-month expansion that embraced the Korean War. The post-Korean recession was followed by expansions lasting 35 and 25 months, the latter ending in the recession of 1960–61. Since the low point in February of 1961, expansion has faltered but never failed.

At the beginning, there was no reason for confidence that this expansion would break any records. For the expansion began at a time when many were wondering whether the economy had lost its vigor, after a decade in which our economic growth, interrupted by three recessions, was among the lowest of all major countries. In mid-1962, when the new expansion began to sputter, many feared the ominous sequence of 45-, 35-, and 25-month expansions might continue with one of 15 months. But expansion was maintained, and later began to accelerate, largely under the influence of stimulative fiscal actions: the investment credit and the liberalization of depreciation schedules in 1962; the major income tax reduction of 1964, and the excise tax cuts of 1965. Together these tax cuts were worth $24 billion to taxpayers, at today's income levels.

In mid-1965, the expansion was given further impetus—unplanned and unwanted impetus—by the major commitment of forces in Vietnam. Now the task became that of containing an overexuberant expansion—through tax increases in 1966 and through a progressive tightening of monetary policy.

The expansion had become unbalanced, driven not only by rising defense spending, but by an unsustainable plant and equipment boom. Slowing it down created further imbalances—a veritable depression in residential construction, and a staggering pile-up of inventories. The process of restoring balance gave us a sluggish first half year in 1967. But balance has been essentially restored and expansion has again speeded up.

That, in a nutshell, is the history of the past 80 months of expansion. As we move into new territory, we can ask what we have accomplished beyond keeping expansion alive. Quite a bit. For this expansion has not merely been long, but incredibly rewarding.

Our real growth has been at a rate twice as fast as during the 80 months preceding.

The 28% rise in per-capita consumer income after taxes, corrected for price increase, was 3 times the percentage rise over the preceding 80 months.

More than 12½ million persons have been added to nonfarm payrolls—almost 3 times the gain in the preceding 80 months. These 12½ million new jobs exceed the total present employment in our three largest labor market areas—New York plus Chicago plus Los Angeles-Long Beach.

Had the growth of our real output after the 1960–61 recession traced the path of sluggish and unsteady growth that followed the recession of 1953–54, our real output today would be $108 billion lower than it now is, and we would have lost a total of $308 billion of output over the 1961–67 period. This is enough to pay the entire cost of the Federal Government—including all Social Security and other trust fund expenditures—for 1966 and 1967 combined. Such are the benefits of sustained rapid growth.

I could go on, but that is enough to cheer about. In my view, it was well worth the cost: rather frequent tax rate changes—up and down, though so far overwhelmingly down; the suspension and then restoration of the investment credit; fluctuating and now painfully high interest rates; a rate of price increase faster than we like although still a bit less than the price increase during the preceding 80 months of sluggish growth; and even the $4.1 billion increase in outstanding Federal debt held by other than the Federal Government itself. (By contrast, the net financial savings of individuals rose $335 billion from the beginning of 1961 to the end of 1966.)

But now I return to the problems. Continuation of the incredible economic gains of these years is seriously threatened by the impasse over the President's tax bill. I don't mean that without the tax bill we will have a recession which will bring the expansion to an end in the near future. Nor would the economy explode in a galloping inflation. But we are threatened by a renewed unhealthy boom which would revive and intensify inflationary pressures. We could face another financial crunch like we had in 1966, and a further increase in interest rates, which—at the long end—are already above last year's peak. Our export surplus could come under serious pressure. And renewed economic imbalances, arising in part from the boom itself and in part from an attempt to curb the boom through monetary policy, could ultimately bring not only the boom but prosperity itself to an end. Moreover, we could in the process discredit for a decade the flexible use of fiscal policies to restore and preserve prosperity, and could prevent or delay a return to a long-run policy of tax reduction once Vietnam is over.

You can see that I attach great importance to the tax bill. I want to explain why. Let me do it by asking and answering a series of questions.

Question: *How can we be positive we'll have an unhealthy boom without new restraint?*

Answer: We can't be positive about any forecast. But we cannot escape the necessity to forecast if we are to make sensible and responsible decisions. Conditions in the economy all next year will be heavily influenced by what we do—or fail to do—in the next few months. Refusal to act on the basis of a solidly-grounded and widely-shared expert forecast is surely irresponsible when the consequences of that failure can reasonably be expected to expose the Nation to unacceptable dangers.

Certainly the health of the Nation's economy is seriously threatened. Even when we are not 100% positive a threat will materialize, a rational individual or society acts to protect itself. We should do so now.

Economists both in and outside the Government who have studied the outlook project an increase of gross national product over the next four quarters that could easily reach $70 billion—about 9%—or more, in the absence of new measures of restraint. If prices increased 3%, this would mean a real growth of 6% or more. But since such an expansion would place heavy strains on our resources, we would probably have a real gain of much less than 6% and a price increase well in excess of 3%.

The over-all productive capability of the American economy rises by about 4% a year, reflecting our growing labor force and its enlarging productivity. A modest margin of slack has emerged as a result of the slower expansion since mid-1966. That margin is fairly sizable in manufacturing capacity, but much smaller elsewhere. The recent burgeoning of labor force growth also provides some margin of teenagers and women available for work, but little or none among adult males. A growth of 4½% in the next year would gradually take up the limited slack now available. A faster rate of expansion would simply put too much pressure on our resources.

Question: *How does this forecast square with the recent sluggishness of the economy?*

Answer: First, the sluggishness is already over. A faster advance began gradually this spring, with a clear and accelerating upturn coming around mid-year, as we forecast last January that it would. This was fully confirmed by the preliminary GNP for the 3rd quarter, which showed a $15 billion gain, even though the Ford strike knocked off $2 billion.

Despite a disappointing 6.8% rate of increase of over-all prices, real output rose at a rate of more than 4%. Thus, we are already growing about as fast as we safely can, and wihout a tax increase, the rate of growth will surely accelerate.

The sluggishness that ended around mid-year can be traced almost entirely to a massive decline in the rate of inventory accumulation. The rate of sales in the economy normally calls the tune on production, because goods and services have to be produced in order to be sold. But in the latter part of last year the growth of goods production substantially outran the growth of sales. As a result, we had a tremendous accumulation of inventories.

Final sales have risen all during 1967 at a very rapid rate. But in the first half of 1967, production grew by less than half as much as final sales, while inventories were being adjusted.

The drag of excessive inventories on production is now over, and the rate of inventory accumulation has begun to return to its normal level. The inventory adjustment has affected primarily the goods-producing industries, especially manufacturing. The end of the inventory adjustment will have its largest impact on those same industries.

Question: *What has the President proposed?*

Answer: The President has proposed—and is already putting into effect—substantial cuts in that rather small part of spending that is subject to executive discretion. He strongly urged the Congress not to add to the budget through an excessive Federal pay increase or in other ways, and some threatened Congressional additions have thereby been successfully resisted. He has invited Congress to make cuts of [and I quote his news conference of last week] "$5 billion, $6 billion, or $7 billion. Whatever their judgment is."

And he has recommended enactment of a temporary 10% surcharge on income taxes, and certain other tax changes.

In view of what is obviously a widespread misunderstanding, I want to make very clear that the recommended income tax increase is not 10% of taxable income, but 10% of present taxes. For individuals, the surcharge averages about 1% of income. There is a complete exemption for low-income taxpayers. A family of 4 with $5,000 of income would pay no surcharge. One with an income of $10,000 would pay about $9.00 a month more—a bit more than 1% of its income. One with an income of $25,000 would pay about $37 a month more—less than 2% of its income.

Individuals would still retain about ⅔ of the Federal tax reductions of recent years. With the ending of Vietnam hostilities, the temporary surcharge will be withdrawn, and the downward trend of Federal taxes—to which the Administration has a demonstrated commitment—can again resume.

Question: *How can so moderate a tax increase make all that difference?* In an $800 billion economy what crucial difference can arise from a tax bill designed to raise $7.4 billion in fiscal year 1968, especially since delay in its enactment will undoubtedly reduce that yield substantially?

Answer: *First,* the impact of the tax is most accurately viewed in relation to the $50–$60 billion per year increase in GNP that the economy can absorb, rather than to the GNP level of $800 billion. *Second,* at an annual rate, the tax bill will raise Federal income and excise tax collections (before so-called "feedback") by $12 billion at an annual rate, once it is fully in effect. *Third,* because of well-understood "multiplier" effects, such a tax increase could alter the annual rate of GNP by considerably more than $12 billion within a few quarters after it becomes effective—say, conservatively, that, by the end of 1968, the annual rate of GNP will be reduced by $15 billion, below what it would otherwise have been.

Fourth, that $15 billion more or less advance in GNP can make a tremendous difference for the economy—it can make the difference between one which is healthy, balanced, and noninflationary, on the one hand, or one that is overexuberant, unbalanced, unhealthy, and that generates a monetary and financial crunch, on the other. A $60 billion GNP advance over 4 quarters is at the upper limit of what the economy can tolerate without undue strain. A $75 billion advance would clearly greatly exceed that limit.

Let me put the importance of the tax increase in another way. The additional revenues from the tax increase would cut roughly in half the rate of Federal net demands on financial markets, beginning at once. Since Federal demands are the principel "swing item" in credit demands, the size of the Treasury's demands will make a tremendous difference in the financial market conditions that private borrowers will confront next year. If there is no tax increase, not only will the Treasury's demands be larger, but we can be fairly sure that—sooner or later—the Federal Reserve will feel compelled to reduce the growth of the *supply* of available credit.

If we don't have fiscal restraint, then, we will surely have monetary restraint, both as the natural impact of larger Treasury borrowing and through Federal Reserve action. As we saw in 1966, monetary restraint can have a powerful dampening effect on the economy. By the end of last year, its effect on over-all output was about the equivalent of a 10% surcharge on corporate and individual income taxes, effective at the start of 1966. But, as we also saw so painfully last year, tight money accomplishes its effects primarily by depressing homebuilding. Housing starts in the fourth quarter were nearly 600,000 below their annual rate a year earlier. To approximate the over-all impact of the President's current tax proposals, monetary restraint would have to do that again in 1968.

Thus, in every respect, the presence or absence of the tax increase is the single most important factor we can now foresee which will determine what kind of an economy we will have next year.

Question: *Why don't we cut expenditures enough to avoid the need for a tax increase?*

Answer: A dollar of expenditure reduction is, of course, at least as powerful in restraining the economy as a dollar of tax increase. But expenditures are being cut and will be cut—*with* a tax increase—and they could not be cut a great deal more *without* a tax increase.

I know that there are a lot of kinds of Federal spending that you would like to see severely cut. There are some kinds that I would be happy to see cut—which might or might not be the same as the kinds you would be willing to sacrifice. And there are some kinds that I—and maybe even you—would like to see raised. But I want to make four essential points about this matter of spending cuts.

1. In the short run—I mean for fiscal 1968—by far the largest part of civilian spending cannot be cut by executive discretion or by Congressional action on appropriations. It is fixed by substantive provisions of law or is under firm contract. Major slashes would have to come out of a relatively small proportion of the budget, totalling only about $21 billion, heavily concentrated in the areas of education, health, poverty, and some urban programs. Reductions in a number of these programs can and will be made. But even if the controllable element of these programs were further slashed to the bone, it would not save as much as the tax increase would raise, and would not preclude the need for high taxes.

2. You or I—if we were dictators—might relish the opportunity to cut some programs—both in the short run, and, more significantly, by legislative changes that would have much larger long-run effects. But we aren't dictators. Government spending programs reflect, in large measure, the desires of the American people, expressed through their representatives in the Congress. While every American—and every Congressman—sees plenty of places where *he* would like to cut Federal spending, these individual desires rarely coincide. Last year, for example, the President proposed to the Congress fundamental reforms and reductions in a number of older programs which he judged to have become obsolete. Not a single one of these basic reductions was approved by the Congress.

3. I am sure there are better ways in which the full costs and benefits of Federal programs can be measured so that all of us—in the Government, and in the Nation—can set more intelligent priorities. The recent effort to require the more precise identification of program objectives, and to introduce a systematic analysis of the costs and benefits of all alternative ways to meet those objectives—often including more effective ways to enlist private action—should, in the next few years, permit more conscious and intelligent judgments to be made. For promoting this new approach, I think we all owe a great vote of thanks to Secretary McNamara, to Budget Directors Kermit Gordon and Charles Schultze, and to President Johnson who has so firmly supported it. But whether the judgments are poorly informed or well informed, Government programs do respond to the choices of the American people.

4. There has been a lot of public confusion over the extent to which Federal expenditures have grown. They have, indeed, increased, but essentially in line with our expanding population and our rising output. On an administrative budget basis, Federal expenditures during the last six years of the Eisenhower Administration averaged 16.3% of GNP. In fiscal 1968 administration budget expenditures, *excluding spending for Vietnam,* will equal 14.2% of our estimated GNP. Even including spending for Vietnam, 1968 expenditures will only slightly exceed 17% of GNP. In effect, two-thirds of the cost of Vietnam has been absorbed *within* the historical ratio of Federal spending to GNP—only one-third has added to the ratio. That is why the proposed tax increase can accomplish its objective, and still represent less than half the added costs of Vietnam.

I happen to think that, apart from the unpredictable requirements of national defense, it is unlikely in the longer run that the choices the American people will make will require that Federal spending rise as fast as Federal revenues will grow, with fixed tax rates, in an expanding economy. Thus we will have room to return to a long-term policy of Federal tax reduction.

But whatever the longer-term prospect, we now need a temporary tax increase. And I regarded it as far-fetched to expect that, before we enact such a tax bill, we can or will settle the basic differences that may exist in the Nation about what the scope of Government activities should be or will be.

Indeed, if we now fail to enact a temporary increase in taxes to meet a clear and present danger to our economy, I can see a strong reluctance to cut taxes again when the present crisis has passed. Rather, the tendency will be to meet a future shortfall of total demand in the economy by "temporary" increases in Government spending—that have a way of becoming permanent.

Question: *Won't we have inflation and high interest rates whether or not we raise taxes?*

Answer: I wish I could promise that we will promptly achieve price stability if we do raise taxes. Unfortunately, we are bound to suffer a continuing price level creep in the year ahead, simply as a result of what has already happened. The recent rate of increase in the cost of living, and the too great pressures that developed in some of our labor markets in 1965 and 1966, have established a wage-increase pattern that appreciably exceeds the growth of productivity. And last year's rich profit margins have established new targets that many firms—those with some discretion in their pricing policies—may seek to regain.

We will continue to preach restraint on wage and price increase, both publicly and privately. And I am convinced it has an important impact. But prices will still rise. What we must avoid is piling on top of this inevitable price creep a further margin of price increase due to too much demand. This is what the fiscal proposals are designed to avoid.

Last year's price rise, and the continuing rise it has built into this year's price level, were the clear result of an excessive expansion of demand between mid-1965 and the spring of 1966. If there is another excessive expansion in the year ahead, it will not only mean considerably higher prices in 1968, but it will doom us to further built-in price increases in 1969 and beyond. Once the wage-price spiral begins to turn, it takes a long time to slow it down. It is already turning too fast. We must not give it another shove.

Likewise, one cannot promise that interest rates will come down even if we have a tax increase. They could begin gradually to fade off, particularly at the long end. Or they could even rise a bit further.

I don't want to predict. But I can predict that, whatever interest rates will be with a tax increase, they would be a good deal higher without it, and we would find it very hard to avoid a severe "crunch" in one or more segments of the credit market.

Part of the recent rise in interest rates has surely reflected doubts—or fears—about whether we would have a tax increase. This has affected rates directly, and indirectly by spurring anticipatory demands for credit. Once the tax increase becomes a reality, expectations will be altered, and any earlier anticipatory borrowing will have reduced credit demands below what they otherwise would have been. On the other hand, a still advancing economy will generate new credit demands, and Federal borrowing will still be sizable, although substantially reduced.

Unfortunately, too, interest rates move up more readily than down. Thus, some of the ground we have lost in recent months is lost for some time to come.

Despite my enthusiasm, I am not, then, promising that the tax increase is the complete remedy for every ill, including the common cold. Unfortunately, it is not.

One problem it won't solve is the perennial inflationary bias that exists in every economy when operating at reasonably high levels of employment. This bias inheres in part in our wage and price-making institutions. Against that, I know no remedy other than a continuing program of education and a continuing appeal for responsible restraint. Certainly, I do not regard any form of mandatory controls on wages and/or prices as a meaningful way to deal with this problem. Other biases reflect imperfections of labor and product markets, and the inefficiencies built into some aspects of our economic structure—sometimes as the result of Government programs designed to achieve worthwhile purposes but with inadequate attention to their impacts on price levels. There are many areas for slow but constructive work to help remove these structural barriers to price stability—through manpower training, through removing obstacles to supply, through improving the efficiency of backward industries and services, and so on.

In this same connection, I want to refer briefly to the relevance of our international commercial policy for prices.

Recently and currently a strong effort is being made in the Congress to obtain legislated quotas on a wide range of American imports. So far these efforts have not succeeded, but we must be fully aware of the dangers they pose—among other things, to price stability.

Relative freedom to import commodities from abroad serves as a significant barrier to inflation. Of course, in a fundamental sense, two-way foreign trade lets us acquire many goods which we could conceivably produce ourselves, but produce only at higher costs, and therefore higher prices.

Quite apart from this fundamental benefit, freedom to import has been especially helpful during periods when we have experienced a sudden upsurge of demand. Whereever there has not been sufficient spare capacity in our economy to handle such bursts of demand, increased imports have moderated the resulting inflationary pressures. Thus price increases have been minimized or averted and costs held down. In a nation increasingly committed—and increasingly able—to operate for long periods at high employment, this safety-valve is all the more important.

The anti-inflationary benefits of freedom to import have not been confined merely to crisis periods. Our economy gains great rewards from the large business enterprises of modern industry; but great size also creates dangers. Fortunately, other countries have industries which do compete with American firms—either as actual or merely as potential suppliers of imports. Relative freedom to import has permitted us to enjoy the economic benefits of large firms while moderating the risks of excessive concentration of economic power.

Some of the bills now pending before the Congress would establish general or across-the-board quota systems. Others would provide specific quota systems for textiles, apparel and other textile products, steel, meat and meat products, mink furs, lead and zinc, watches and watch movements, ground fish blocks and fillets, baseball gloves and mitts, petroleum and petroleum products, dairy products, consumer electronic equipment and parts, footwear, strawberries, honey, hardwood-plywood, glass, and stainless steel flatware. Proponents of these specific bills are trading their support for one another's proposals.

What would happen if these bills were adopted? Some of these bills would have little or no immediate effect, because they would allow existing import levels or even import shares to be maintained. But certainly quotas would not be considered unless some reduction of either the current or future level of imports was being sought—below what imports would otherwise be. So—to the extent imports were restricted—the first effect would be to raise domestic prices.

Second, the moderating function of imports in filling temporary gaps between demand and supply would be lost for the protected products. Quotas, even ones calculated on a moving base of production or consumption, are essentially inflexible barriers. To alleviate shortage situations, immediate increases in imports are required—not years later when larger domestic production gets reflected in the quota base.

Third, domestic industries so protected would tend to become insulated from external competitive pressures, because quotas—unlike tariffs—do not permit imports to respond either to domestic or foreign price changes or product improvements. History is full of stories of industries, resting comfortably behind high protective barriers, which lost their ability to compete and eventually succumber when the protective barriers were relaxed or because their indolence encouraged other domestic industries to develop substituted products.

Quite apart from the impact on prices, there are other, and perhaps more serious consequences which would flow from a reversal of our 30 years of progress toward trade liberalization and a clear repudiation of the major accomplishments of the Kennedy Round. We would immediately open ourselves to retaliation by foreign governments—already, 40 countries have officially expressed their concern. With our large and growing export surplus, we can only lose from a new round of commercial warfare. Our main hope for the solution of our balance of payments problem would be lost.

Clearly this new revival of protectionism must be resisted. And President Johnson has indicated that he fully intends to resist it.

I have spoken today of some of our economic problems. We have and we always will have, difficult economic problems. During a radio interview in Los Angeles on Wednesday, I asked how I could always be so cheerful in the face of such problems. Was I a perennial optimist? This is how I tried to respond:

"Yes, I am an optimist, but I think my optimism is more than a state of mind. It is based in my confidence in the world's strongest and most successful economy. Its amazing productivity rests on the efficiency of its essentially free markets and the powerful incentives of private gain which it provides for workers, managers, and investors. With reasonable guidance from Government policies—particularly fiscal and monetary policies—it can continue to produce economic miracles. And I am confident that the American people and their Government have the growing economic knowledge and good sense that will enable Government policies to provide sound guidance."

I hope and expect that the response to our current fiscal prolems, and to the new wave of protectionism, will continue to justify my optimism.

Challenges Facing Organized Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a straightforward address, something we do not receive often enough, was given October 31, 1967, in Houston, Tex., by former Governor of Texas, Allan Shivers, now president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Mr. Shivers addressed himself to the challenges facing organized labor and predicted an economic boom if some of the present problems in this area can be overcome.

While all of Mr. Shivers suggestions and opinions may not coincide with my own, I do wholeheartedly agree that the key to many of the problems in the U.S. labor picture lies in reform of the National Labor Relations Board. I have long argued this point and will continue to do so.

I ask unanimous consent this address be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Boom Times Ahead

(By Allan Shivers, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, before the annual meeting, Independent Petroleum Association of America, Houston, Tex., October 31, 1967)

Since I have been chosen as a sort of clean-up batter on your Convention program, I'll aim for the deep outfield. I will try to produce something of long-range interest for you to take away with you when you leave here.

Of all the amazing changes of the past generation, I can think of none more complete than that in the oil industry. And the story is nowhere better told, I think, than in the oil industry. And the story is nowhere better told, I think, than in a "then and now" glimpse of the industry's labor force. When I—and some of you—landed our first oil company jobs, the symbol of our trade was the grimy roughneck waving from a rig. Today it's a white-coated scientist bent over a test tube, or a dude in an ascot tie peddling petrochemical fibers to a fashion house in Paris.

Oil's progress, from stinks to cosmetics, represents the kind of struggle man has been engaged in since the dawn of civilization. And just look how much has been accomplished within the working lifetimes of many of us in this room!

Yet plans and predications of the world of tomorrow give us reason to hope that we haven't seen anything up to now. Not in this or any other industry, not in this great city, this nation, or this or other planets, or even beyond this in far outer space. Our future prospects are overrunning the imaginations of science fiction writers.

You will notice most of the time, though, that behind the rosy predictions there is an "if" lurking around somewhere. We'll do all those unbelievable things "if" we can keep our system free; and "if" we keep our social conflicts in bounds, and "if" our economy stays strong.

I shall devote my talk to one of those "ifs."

This one has to do with the labor force again, and I approach it in a "discussin' ", rather than a "cussin' " frame of mind. I think we can afford to—indeed I think we must—be willing to spend a few minutes here looking calmly and honestly at the role of labor in our society, trying to make sure that our own judgments are fair and our attitude constructive, because the way things stand, there isn't going to be much improvement until public opinion rises up and demands it, and in taking a case like this to the public, our motives must be absolutely unassailable.

Let's look at it this way: We have reached the stage in our national development where we are waiting on a lagging member of our economic family to catch up. Labor is a part of our team, but it's behind the times.

Capital has grown wiser, management more efficient, the customer more discriminating, but labor clings to its old-time privileges like an insecure child hanging onto a familiar toy.

You and I needn't kid ourselves about what's wrong. We know that labor-management dealings should be based on: first, equal justice to both sides; second, due regard for the public welfare; and third, the rule of reason rather than force. We know that each of these three essentials is partially lacking today and that reform is overdue. But let's be honest with ourselves in placing the blame.

We should begin with a sincere acknowledgement of labor unions' contribution to our better way of life. Unions earned their place among us by overcoming obstacles that were often severe in the early days. They have advanced our economic and social progress by providing organization and contractual responsibility to our labor force.

The organized American worker has shown a loyalty to his job and a capacity for hard work and self-improvement that has seldom been exceeded by men anywhere. To be sure, we can think of exceptions, but by and large our worker has adapted to readily to all the new tools and processes that his rising productivity helps to offset the higher cost of his wages, and permits the products he makes to compete on world markets with those of foreign workers who get only a fraction of his pay.

We have no cause for complaint, in a basic sense, against labor unions. It's easy to find fault with some union leaders—in fact, it is sometimes hard not to blame them for practically all the trouble. But we should not let that feeling become an easy way out of our deliberation here today. In the first place, blaming the leaders still leaves us with the question: how do union officials get that way? To which the only answer is that we, the people, encourage their excesses by our tolerance. And in the second place, putting all the blame on the leaders does not account for such incidents as the wildcat strike which left 80,000 Long Island commuters stranded, away from their jobs in New York recently.

Can it be that the unhealthy attitude so evident in other social problem areas of our big cities is found also in the labor movement?

Does an idea prevail that membership in a labor union carries special privileges overriding everybody else's most elementary needs?

Does this account for such strikes as those by nurses, teachers, policemen, firemen, garbage collectors, transit, airline and missile site workers?

Is our society failing to assert properly that its own broad interests are greater than those of labor—or of management?

Apparently we, the public, do have something to answer for here, and in a spirit of candor, let's see what it is.

Unions are not endowed with privileges by any economic god. They get them from law and from the sufferance of public officials. They get them ultimately from the people.

An old concept of organized labor as an underdog is still deeply imbedded in the mainstream of modern thought. Because unions demonstrated weakness in the Great Depression they were given advantages which they still enjoy in today's boom times. They have been encouraged to keep seeking special favors instead of being required to grow up more responsibly.

We are at the point now where these favors are obstacles to some of our material and social progress, and are contradicting some of our other national purposes.

For example, with the federal government now reaching out to protect consumer interests, how can it logically condone the monopoly power of unions which is driving up costs and prices? The Administration seems to have abandoned its wage-price guidepost method of fighting inflation, because of labor's refusal to cooperate, but it has not asked for any legislation to curb excessive union power.

To take another example, our war on poverty stresses education and training of the poor for productive work, but unions continue to restrict Negroes' access to jobs.

We have a government program to help small business, but the small businessman is easy prey to wealthy union monopoly, which government protects. Not only is the law on the unions' side; enforcement is also biased, and this is particularly hard on small firms which can't afford big legal staffs.

We have seen here recently how, in the view of people well placed in Washington, labor unions can do no harm on the farms. We've seen a Senate subcommittee go down to the Rio Grande Valley to try to help organize farm workers even in the absence of any indication that the workers wanted a bargaining election.

Most of you are also familiar with the unmitigated one-sidedness of the National Labor Relations Board. It has punched loopholes in the laws against secondary boycotts and blackmail picketing. It has invaded employers' right to run their own businesses. It has even been criticized by the U.S. Supreme Court for usurping the powers of Congress.

Well, do we blame labor leaders for this kind of thing? Or do we attribute some of the blame to those whom we elected to make our labor laws and to establish national policy toward labor? And do we, perhaps, feel that we, the electorate, have a share in the guilt?

Labor must grow up!

The times demand it.

Science and technology have swept through the production and service sectors of our economy. Products are new. Processes are computerized. We have had to develop a new breed of management, capable not only of coordinating all the new skills a company needs, but also able to deal with the social side-effects of industry's giant growth, such as the human side of automation and pollution problems, and the influence of widespread stock ownership.

It's long past time for organized labor to modernize. One development alone—the enormous growth of their pension funds—gives unions a high degree of responsibility for the general good.

With a slightly broader concept, labor can also do much more to serve its own interests. It has yet to learn, as business has learned, the advantages of being more customer conscious and more stockholder conscious—of being a better all-around partner in the business enterprise.

Why should labor in these times continue to be a belligerent, rather than a mature economic force, and feel the need to rely on violence as an ultimate weapon?

How strange it will seem to future generations when they look back and see that employees at our sophisticated missile sites were still, at this late date, trying to assert their position with the picket line and the club—the weapon of the Cave Man. Just think of it! Ball bats barring the way to missile installations where enough modern power is harnessed to destroy much of the earth at the push of a button!

Labor is capable of adding greatly to our general progress. The contribution it is already making should not be slighted; every successful business reflects skill and cooperation by its employees. The problem is that today's conditions require greater effort by all.

For a whole generation, now, labor has not been dealt with firmly by national labor policy. Its sense of responsibility to the rest of society has not been adequately challenged. By being excused so often, unions have had less need to adjust. Hence, as community life changed, union participation in the whole of it became more typed, less innovative, and less prominent than it should be.

This is not to say that the individual union member stands apart from society. He doesn't at all. It is only as a collective force that labor hangs back, and in this respect the blame does fall mainly on the leadership. In fact, a recent poll of union members, taken by the AFL–CIO itself, gave a pretty clear indication that the leaders were losing their hold over the membership.

More than half the union members were found now to be living in suburbs, where they attend PTA meetings instead of union meetings, and are more concerned with local affairs like tax assessments, zoning, garbage disposal and school bond issues, than with labor's main national causes. The poll also showed that 46 per cent—almost half—of union families are now in the $7,500 to $15,-

000 a year class, and that support for unionism is lowest among younger workers whose percentage is increasing rapidly.

However, we need to be on closer terms not only with the individual workers, but also with the labor movement in general, and we can help bring this about. We can promote the change in public attitude that is needed in order for labor to be treated like a grown-up. We can help others to realize that we will have a far better society when labor law, and the administration of it are brought into balance. We can demonstrate by our own attitudes and actions, that business is not seeking the upper hand; that it wants only equal rights.

There need not be any confusion about what, precisely, needs to be done to the law. The National Chamber, with expert outside help, has devised a labor law reform package which would rid us of a 30-year accumulation of abuses. I will send you literature if you are willing to use it.

The key is to reform the National Labor Relations Board, by turning over its judicial authority to the courts. And by no means a minor benefit would be to restore rights that employees themselves have lost. For example, their right to vote in a secret election on whether they want a union to bargain for them is often swept aside by NLRB's practice of certifying a union on the basis of so-called "authorization cards" that the employees have been induced to sign.

There are other NLRB infringements on basic job rights, such as the authority given unions to fine members who cross picket lines or exceed production quotas fixed by unions. Unions are even permitted by NLRB to fine members for seeking an NLRB election.

Given the incentive of balanced law, labor and management in these enlightened times can then be relied upon to develop a new relationship based on mutual respect.

In a setting like this we could expect to see voluntary, rather than compulsory forms of arbitration; picket lines used to advertise grievances rather than as a means of intimidation; and rules worked out to immunize the public welfare against labor troubles without any help from government.

Then a great new force—a completely united economic family—will be added to our national strength and to our better way of life.

I hope we can look forward to that day.

Bolsheviks Fail To Observe Fairness Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Soviets now have an estimated 12 clandestine radio stations in full operation beaming hate and revolution propaganda around the world.

There should be no doubt in any American's mind who is the No. 1 enemy of free men and free countries. The aim of the Soviet conspiracy for total world domination remains unchanged from 50 years ago.

I insert the AP report of Lewis Gulick for November 13 following my remarks:

REDS BROADCAST PROPAGANDA FROM 12 HIDDEN SITES

(By Lewis Gulick)

WASHINGTON.—U.S. radio monitors believe that Communist governments are running about a dozen clandestine broadcasting stations which beam propaganda at foreign audiences.

These are in addition to Radio Peace and Progress, an increasingly busy broadcaster using Radio Moscow facilities and frequencies though the Soviet government disclaims official sponsorship.

Some of the more covert stations operate from unannounced locations and have been beaming sharp-tongued political commentary onto the airwaves for years.

The "National Voice of Iran" is an example. U.S. sources said this radio has been broadcasting attacks against the shah of Iran since April 1959, from a site somewhere in the neighboring Soviet Caucasus.

"The Voice of Truth" is another. Its Greek-language programs are said to carry, among other things, resolutions of the central committee of the exiled Greek Communist party.

"Bizim Radyo" reportedly hits at the Turkish government and at its ties with the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"German Freedom Station 904" was reported to have aimed broadcasts at West Germany from somewhere in the Communist East since the Bonn government outlawed the Communist party in 1956.

Veteran "Radio Espana Independiente" which spews forth violently anti-Franco material at Spain, was described as the only clandestine station broadcasting to Western Europe before the East-West propaganda war swung into a high pitch after World War II. REI began in 1941.

"Oggi in Italia" (Today in Italy) was recently put off the air by agreement between the Czechoslovakian and Italian governments after a controversial anti-Italian career. The Italians at one point accused the Czechs of broadcasting from a sneak transmitter in the Czech legation in Rome.

Moscow's Radio Peace and Progress, a relative newcomer born in 1964, is less clandestine in that it does not try to hide its location. But it claims to be run by groups like the Novosti News Agency and Soviet peace women's and youth organizations, rather than by the Kremlin.

Radio Peace and Progress is therefore more akin to Radio Free Europe—the Western station openly broadcasting to Iron Curtain lands. Radio Free Europe gets public contributions, but congressional testimony has indicated it also receives secret funds from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Radio Peace and Progress was said to have cranked up its output from 25 hours to more than 90 hours a week since the start of the year. New Delhi has complained of its attacks on the Indian government and the ruling Congress party.

But most of the "Peace and Progress" step-up is clearly aimed at Peking. The U.S. sources said the radio added 52½ hours a week to its broadcasts in Mandarin.

America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, recently I received a copy of a letter written by a constituent of mine, Sgt. Charles E. Carte, of Dunbar, W. Va., who is presently serving in Dong Ha, South Vietnam.

Sergeant Carte's letter to his parents is entitled "America," and is an expression of deep sentiment and conviction and, while it may not be entirely grammatically correct, is heartfelt and sincere.

Sergeant Carte writes:

> To me America is a word of beauty. A word that means freedom, a place where my son can grow up and choose his way of life. I love America, a land where the mountains touch the sky and the streams flow with easyness, where a person can walk with his chest out and his head up and say I am an American.

Enclosed with the copy of Sergeant Carte's letter was a poem written for Sergeant Carte's mother, Mrs. E. E. Carte. The poem is entitled "The God of Vietnam," and is an expression of the kind of feeling of which we need more these days.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter entitled "America," and the poem entitled "The God of Vietnam," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and the poem were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From a letter Sergeant Carte sent his parents, Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Carte, Dunbar, W. Va.]

AMERICA

(By Sgt. Charles E. Carte)

When you hear the word America, it seems to stand out above all other words. To me the word America means Freedom, A Choice of Worship, Free-Press, A Right to Vote, Schooling, A Chance to Live and Enjoy Life.

To a lot of people America is a place where they have everything that life can offer, and yet they feel that the country owes them a living, for just living in that Great Country of mine. If you don't believe me just look at the ones that are able to work and yet they draw unemployment or is on relief. They feel that the laws aren't made for them to obey, that they have the right to run down the Country, to lower and burn the flag, to burn their draft cards, that their sons are too good to serve in my Great Country's Armforces, to make a mockery out of my Government, to demonstrate against my Country for the things that are right, that a lot of women has the time to try and undersell my Great Country by going to the Commies and give apology for our bombs that may be saving one of our mens life, instead of staying home and cleaning up their own back yards.

I just wish that half of these people would just stop and think for a minute and realize just how good that they do have it. I wish it was possible to give them a tour of Viet Nam so that they can see for theirself that there is other people in the world that want freedom too.

To me America is a word of beauty. A word that means Freedom, a place where my Son can grow up and choose his way of life.

The next time you see the Flag being raised just watch and see how many of the people run inside so that they don't have to salute or put their hand over their heart, how many will stand and take their hat off? These people are really proud of their Flag and Colors. So proud that they are afraid they might have to stand still or they might break their arm if they salute or put their hand over their heart.

To me it is a Great Honor to be able to stand and salute my Flag, to watch it being raised, and when it hits the top to see the Red, White and Blue shine brightly against the sky.

If America tries to help another country to gain freedom, you find people against it. These people are the first to undersell our country. They are the ones to make a mockery out of Our Government, they are the first to run down God, and to try to sell the fact that God don't belong in the American system. To take the Bible out of the school, they are afraid to get caught with their head bent when a prayer is being given, they are the one to run when the flag is being raised. Yet they don't say anything about the killing and the high death toll that occur on the highways. You won't find them flying a Flag, or singing a verse of America.

To me I am proud of America, it is a land that I love. My parents, brother and sisters and my wife and son and my in-laws love America. I may never live to see them again, but as an American I feel that it is only right to fight for the right and freedom of mankind wherever my Country may send me. Sure I want to see my parents, brother, sisters, wife, son and in-laws, but I want to do my duties to insure that mankind can live in freedom.

Being here in Viet Nam I am trying to do my job so that these people can live free and choose their choice of worship, their type of government. I also hope how soon peace comes for I have a son that I don't want to have to come over here. If it takes my life so that mankind can have freedom then as long as people are free, I will be repaid. For to have freedom the price comes high. Here in Viet Nam men have given their lives so that freedom may live. For these people here want what the true American want.

I love America a land of beauty where the mountain touch the sky, and the streams flow with easyness, Where a person can walk with his chest out and his head up and say I am an American. So it is time to get together and pray and sing, to lift our voices so that the other country know that America still lives. Yes I love America, Land where I live, where a Flag that waves so proudly in the breeze. Yes, I love America.

THE GOD OF VIETNAM: ISAIAH 41:10

(Written by Mrs. Flora Dawson at request of Mrs. E. S. Carte, for son, Charles, who is in Dong Na, Vietnam)

Anywhere neath heaven's dome
  Dear heart, no matter where.
In foreign lands or safe at home
  God is surely there.
The one who stilled the boisterous wind
  And bid the sea be calm.
Is God from beginning to the end
  And He's there in Vietnam.

There is no "God forsaken" land
  No "far away places" he knows.
Twas all created by His hand,
  He conquered all when He arose.
Above the roar of bursting shells,
  Or the din of falling bombs,
His presence can all gloom dispel.
  Yes, God is there in Vietnam.

Do not repine, the light still shines
  His promise is to all.
Would He not keep His trusting child
  Who notes the sparrow's fall?
Anywhere your pathway leads
  He has before you trod. (St. John 10:4)
He is not dead (as some concede)
  In Vietnam, there is a God.

War and Suffering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, from time to time articles of national interest appear in the local newspapers in my congressional district in South Carolina. The following is one such article, and it has deservedly received attention at the local and State level. Several radio and television personalities in Greenville, S.C., have utilized the material. Mr. Monty Dupuy has read the letter on WFBC. Mr. Frank Cope of WMRB has made recordings of it and will distribute them to other stations. Mr. Milford Forrester sent a copy to the American Legion magazine, and has been told that it will be published. The letter follows a background explanation by Mr. Gil Rowland in the Greenville-Piedmont newspaper of Friday, November 10, 1967. It follows:

WAR AND SUFFERING

Sermons are sometimes dull because words are used to cover up rather than state what the speaker really feels.

But sometimes a preacher steps into the pulpit and talks about the thing he is deeply and personally concerned about.

Rev. Walter E. McDaniel, pastor of the Piedmont Methodist Church, did just that recently. It concerned his son.

Lt. Walter E. McDaniel Jr., son of Rev. and Mrs. McDaniel, finished Greenville High School and Wofford College before going into the Army infantry.

"The training is excellent," he wrote his parents from Panama where he was receiving special jungle training. "I am doing fine, so don't worry about me."

"We have learned a great deal about the jungle," the letter continued. "It is always wet and muddy. The only time our boots dry is when we put them beside the fire. I take plenty of dry socks and use a lot of foot powder . . . We got to sample various fruits and animals—Monkey tastes like roast beef. We got to play with boa constrictors in the snake class . . . Someone killed a coral snake the other day. Someone else caught a six-foot boa constrictor and is keeping it as a pet."

"You wonder how I feel about this war over there," Rev. Mr. McDaniel told his parishioners.

"One of the reasons that our country is in the mess that it's in today is because our citizens have taken America for granted too long," he continued. "The wars and sufferings that we have come through have been because of our commitments not only to ourselves but to other nations as well. It is a shame and disgrace before Almighty God what is taking place on the campus of the University of California and the Pentagon. You ask me why: And I tell you that for no other reason, and this is reason enough, American blood has been shed in Vietnam. This should stir the blood and feelings of every single American even though the President and perhaps the Congress are not very popular in the hearts and minds of many of our people today and the war that we are in is not well understood.

"We are told by those who make our policy that if this war is not won it will open the door to communism in all of Asia. I can't answer that, and perhaps you can't either. But this I do know: Our country has committed itself and if I love this country and this land I have to commit myself to the decisions that have been made by those who make the laws."

"Now the church has always taught that war is wrong," Rev. McDaniel continued, "and so it is. Man should be able to live in peace with his fellowman, but sometimes this is not possible. With fascism it was not possible. With communism it is not possible because it is not compatible, nor can it reach up to this thing called liberty."

The minister did not have to tell his congregation that Walter junior soon will be in the jungles of Vietnam—using what he learned in training in the jungles of Panama.

"DEAR SON: I sat down the other night and tried to sum up my feelings in a letter to a son in Vietnam," he said, and he read the following to them:

"Dear Son:

"Yesterday you left for Viet Nam. Your Government sent you to a war that you don't understand. Some say that it is political; others ideological. Maybe it is a little of both. Some think that we have a knack for sticking our noses into other nation's affairs, and this is partly true. Never-the-less, you were called and you went.

"I was glad to hear you say that you were proud to go. This has always been the difference between America and other lands. Yes, you were proud to go in spite of what you've seen and know.

"You've seen destruction between the white and black people in the land that is the birthright of both. They call it a struggle for opportunity. You weren't dismayed, because you know that our land was born in a struggle for both opportunity and equality. And soon or late, this will be a reality.

"You've seen industry and labor grow and in dispute among themselves try to overpower one another while letting the Government and the people pick up the high priced tab.

"You've seen the rich become richer and the poor become poorer.

"You've seen inflation all but take away the bread of the elderly, retired, and the lame. You've seen those who could help turn away their faces without shame.

"You've seen a part of youth rebel at times and burn their draft cards. And yet, you hold this land in highest regards.

"You've seen some civic and religious leaders abuse their purpose with man, and you forgive their deeds because you know that they neither love nor understand about our land.

"Yes, we were proud to hear you say that you were proud to go. It was fun for your mom and me to watch you live, and laugh, and grow.

"Yes, and this you understand, you may have to give your all in a rice-paddied, muddy jungle land. If this be so, and your last breath should be in a foreign soil, you'll be a part of a long caravan that journeyed in freedom's toil.

"You may not get a medal, except the Purple Heart. Of this we can be sure, because of you and others, millions tomorrow can get a brand new start.

"This is what America stands for. It's how we've stood the test. When we stand for liberty for others, we're always at our best. And those who see our flag unfurled, know all around the world—the best is yet to be.

"Well, I better close. The roof is leaking a little, and the ink is smearing. Good night, and may the good Lord watch over and keep you!

"Love,

"DAD."

Youth's Mission: Accepting the Challenge of a Changing World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there recently came to my attention a stimulating address delivered at the Amherst College graduation luncheon by a distinguished New Yorker, Samuel J. Lefrak. Mr. Lefrak is a well-known authority on urban planning and city problems. He is the builder of a great housing and business complex in Queens, New York City, called Lefrak City, and he has served as adviser to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. This address, from so knowledgeable a source, reflects his knowledge and concern regarding the future of our cities, and it is timely.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Youth's Mission: Accepting the Challenge of a Changing World

I am an architect, engineer and businessman by training and profession, and by avocation, a publisher, art collector, and fancier of thoroughbreds. Regretfully, my background in philosophy, public speaking, guidance counseling, preaching or teaching is limited. Moreover, I am not unmindful of the fact that countless middle-aged moralists like myself are using various platforms all over the country during the commencement season to tell thousands of young captives the score.

Nevertheless, I am grateful to have this opportunity to tell such a distinguished group of graduates, one of whom is my son Richard, how important you are as individuals in our free society. I welcome the opportunity to say how much I admire you as innovators. I applaud you as skeptics who decline to accept traditions passively without thinking them through for yourselves. You are . . . and will be . . . the innovators, and innovators will not always find the going easy.

More than one hundred years ago, a group of French painters decided to break from the artistic traditions they inherited. These rebels became known as "Impressionists". From the beginning, the critics denounced them as if they were attacking the very basis of French life, instead of merely trying to capture on canvas the effects of light as they saw them.

It took twenty years before their works became popular, and, by that time, the movement had come to an end . . . but not without having achieved a permanent and honored place in art history.

Seventy-five years ago new ideas were being broached and old frontiers were being breached in music, literature and science as well as in art. In music, Debussy was paving the way for the sounds of the 20th Century and audiences more than once broke up concerts in his music with noisy demonstrations and riots. Men like Emile Zola were bringing a new realism to fiction and a rebirth of zeal for social justice in a society that had grown all too tolerant of injustice. In physics, Ernest Rutherford was beginning to unlock the secrets of the atom. And soon afterwards, Sigmund Freud would open new windows on the inner conflicts of man.

In short, this period was much like our own, but with one significant difference—and this difference has a vital bearing on the graduates gathered here today. For you, the intellectual vanguard of your generation, are the impressionists of today. You have shown this same refusal to accept traditional values—not only in art, but throughout the entire spectrum of political, social, economic, ethical and psychological truths which your parents—my generation—accepted at face value.

It is precisely your assertion and your demand for freedom of expression to evaluate any and all aspects of traditional dogma that have distinguished your generation from all others.

Recall for the moment the work of one distinguished innovator born over 300 years ago—that "Jack of all sciences": Galileo. In a dramatic demonstration, Galileo climbed to the top of the leaning Tower of Pisa and dropped objects of varying weights to the ground to prove that the mass of an object had no effect on its velocity under free-fall conditions.

Yet, for two thousand years, man had believed the reverse, because Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, had said so! Before Galileo, no one had asked for proof or sought to disprove Aristotle's theory. Perhaps we, too, have been lulled into accepting genius in toto, without dissecting and analyzing the thoughts of genius.

More recently, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg's decision on due process of law gave new depth and meaning to the Constitution. In 175 years of accepting legal interpretations affecting our rights as citizens, no one had dared question the law until one imaginative mind, together with the Supreme Court, challenged the very basis of our civil liberties.

Step by step, inroads on accepted thoughts are made. New questions are raised and, hopefully, answered.

Your generation seems ready to demand even greater changes. For today, we are moving through periods of extreme danger, yet splendid hope. Your forms of artistic and social expression seem to represent one of the only areas left in democracy where truth and absolute freedom exist with no holds barred.

You have dared break with the past, to question attitudes and probe for answers. You hear the beat of a new drum today, and, you strive to make us listen. We, in turn, must respect your rejection of valueless concepts, hypocrisy and superficiality. We should endorse and encourage your skepticism, your demands, your desire for independence.

You seek to bring new flavor into our lives. You ask to be directed and guided in a manner that will not turn you into carbon copies of previous generations, for you are tomorrow's leaders. Yet, the proliferation of knowledge required today by our highly technical society demands that you think fast, run fast, write fast and act fast.

If there is some segment of our population that refuses to understand you, it is only because you are a generation of Galileos poking holes inthe Aristotles of the older generation. However, you face difficulties Galileo did not encounter, for after all, no one's life then depended upon relative velocities of falling objects. In a sense, mankind could afford to wait two thousand years for Galileo.

Today's world being what it is, we cannot afford to wait 2,000 or 500 or even 50 years for answers to problems facing our society. This urgency will create added burdens and tensions. But you cannot let this deter you from your intended course.

Moreover, do not expect to have only one crucial confrontation with truth as Galileo did. Your problems will not lend themselves to simple solutions. You will have to take that lonely walk up hundreds of towers; and even then the results will often create contradiction and uncertainty.

No one knows, no one can be sure, what great talent lies within you. The reinforcement and nourishment you derive from the academic world is only the foundation upon which you must build the superstructure of your future lives.

Never has youth been so assertive, articulate and well educated. You are not just the new generation, but the new kind of generation. Yet, you remain honestly curious and curiously honest. You must be applauded for your readiness to break with traditions and standards when you no longer find them appealing or stimulating. We of the older generation don't have to appreciate your point of view, but we must defend your right to express it.

You, however, must appreciate that our country gives you every right and every opportunity for complete freedom of expression.

We, of our generation, recognize full well your almost limitless creative potential. Poetry and art, philosophy and science, church and state will be affected by you, for you are the men who will eventually land on the moon, cure cancer and the common cold, lay out blight-proof, smog-free cities, enrich the underdeveloped world and, hopefully, write "the end" to poverty and war.

And yet, a paradox has developed.

On one hand, man is blessed with inventions, discoveries, and innovations. On the other hand, he is driven beyond frustration as automation displaces workers, progress in medicine and health helps create an ever growing senior population, and an affluent mechanized civilization hurls more than 100 million tons of aerial pollution into the atmosphere each year.

Most of my life has been spent in pursuit of the answers to these and other problems facing our cities. I have seen the need for and hopefully, at times, applied the Galilean approach to these problems. We are planning to go to the moon, yet on earth astronomical crises are effecting all of our cities and large urban centers.

I firmly believe that the future of the American city with its enormous problems is one of the most important—indeed one of the most inspiring—challenges of our time. Everyone talks about our urban problems—the expert planners, the amateur planners, Senate committees and state and local legislators. Yet, it may be up to you, with your creative ideas and the will to carry them out, to reach workable solutions to air and water pollution, over-crowded streets, decaying parks, crime and disease.

This situation will grow worse, not better. Our cities and their suburbs are growing so fast that by 1985 it is expected that 180 million people will be living in America's 216 large cities. In the next 20 years, we will add at least 54 million people to these 216 metropolitan areas.

Imagine a super-city—extending from Milwaukee through Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and New York. One continuous city, from the Great Lakes all the way to the Atlantic Ocean. This vast urban sprawl cannot function on its present pattern.

The problem we now face, and one which you can help solve, involves the great, adventurous task of providing new buildings to replace obsolete areas. This must be achieved at a pace that will keep up with the steady upsurge in population. Otherwise whatever improvements are made will be overwhelmed by new problems.

Despite the great scientific and technological advances of the last 50 years, the large city is becoming a less and less efficient physical structure. This circumstance cannot continue. It is obvious that as the physical location for the major part of a nation's productive activity, the urban area should be efficient and should encourage, rather than hinder, the production of goods and services.

Yours is the generation that will be called upon to correct the effects of this vast urban explosion, as well as to satisfy man's ever growing needs for education, health, culture and improved living conditions.

Even now, I can foresee over $100 billion a year being spent to lift the smog, clean the rivers, rebuild the cities, unsnarl the traffic and educate and re-educate young and old alike. Slum clearance, urban renewal and the preparation of our cities for the inevitable and dramatic population changes which will convert America to an almost completely urban society will require several trillions of dollars.

To tackle this great urban problem, there must be an end to haphazard planning, an end to conflict between units of government and between government and business. All must work together, using the best and most enlightened talents—your talents—to transform chaotic, stifling urban complexes into proud, liveable cities, worthy of the American dream. No other generation of Americans has ever had so great an opportunity and so great a responsibility.

Historically, our past generations have depended upon hard work and resourcefulness. It was this resourcefulness that helped our forefathers develop America. Their ingenuity and enterprise enabled our people to enjoy those luxuries we now take for granted.

The entire world is now looking for your help, your resourcefulness, your ingenuity, and for this reason you must be ready to lead.

The leaders will not be those noisy young people who want to succeed without trying and the hippies who whine about the miserable world they were born into and who demand a living without hard work. Our leaders will be the smart and patriotic young people, who are willing to sacrifice, perspire and inspire and who will follow the advice of Browning by boldly greeting the unseen with a cheer.

For better or for worse, the world today is committed to accelerating change—radical, wrenching, erosive of both traditions and old values. You, its inheritors, have grown up with rapid change, and are better prepared to accommodate this change than any young men in history.

With your skeptical, yet humanistic outlook, your disdain for fanaticism, and your scorn for the superficial, you will infuse the future with a new sense of morality, a contemporary ethical concept that will enrich the "empty society".

Mark Twain once said: "All you men have won your places, not by hereditities, and not by family influence or extraneous help, but by the natural gifts God gave you at your birth, made effective by your very own energies."

So, remember this well—your energies and abilities have brought you this far. It is even more important that you rely on these same energies and abilities from this point on! Each of you can make something of yourself because by your very presence here today you have proven that you have something in yourself.

The responsibility is yours. You have demanded it. It is up to you to know all, . . . it is up to you to dare all.

Tomorrow's challenge is the greatest reason for your existence. You are our hope for the future.

A Republican Role in Social Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting and significant article recently appeared in the Washington Post written by Mr. F. Clifton White.

The article, "A Republican Role in Social Progress," clearly enunciates what many of us in Congress have been saying for a number of years.

We have developed legislative proposals and recommendations that are directed toward this end. Our opportunity crusade, developed as an alternative to the problem-plagued war on poverty, is one of the lead examples. As one of the coauthors and members of the Republican task force on poverty, I am deeply disturbed over the fact that the Congress did not accept some of our amendments to initiate our Industry Youth Corps concept, which would have provided incentives to involve the private sector more extensively in the poverty effort.

My positive program for decentralization is also directed toward expanding the State and local government assumption of domestic responsibilties, with tax revision recommendations to carry it out and using tax incentives to encourage a broader, more innovative participation of the private and independence sectors in advancing the social progress of our country.

This provides the Republican Party with an unlimited opportunity to become a dynamic and dominant force on the American political scene—if they have the wisdom and determination to take advantage of it.

I herewith submit a very appropriate and interesting article which every Republican in this Congress and the country should read: "A Republican Role in Social Progress."

A REPUBLICAN ROLE IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

(By F. Clifton White)

Every so often American politics enters an era which delights political theoreticians, reassures thoughtful voters and gives real meaning to the democratic process. It's a time when political ideas, not personalities, become paramount.

We're entering this kind of critical transitional period now, and you can be certain that the leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties are aware of just how high the political stakes will be. They know that the political party that can capture the imagination of the voter in the next six years is likely to be the dominant force in American politics for at least a generation afterward.

Controversial as the Vietnam situation may be, I do not see it as one of the key divisive issues between the major parties. Though painfully long for all those involved, the Vietnam crisis must be regarded as just that—a short-term, emotionally charged issue unlikely to have a long-range effect on politics.

The enduring issues are those which will be contested in the great urban complexes of this country. A successful new political thrust must therefore necessarily be attuned to solving the multiplicity of problems posed by inertia-ridden core cities and their ghetto populations while at the same time dealing with the concerns of the rapidly expanding suburban populace.

To succeed at the polls, the Republican Party must demonstrate a willingness to add a new dimension of social responsibility to its basic philosophy. It is not enough to say that the private sector can handle problems better than the Government can. It must be emphasized that Republicans intend to get the private sector involved solving social problems hitherto handled only by government.

Elected Republicans should have little trouble enlisting leaders in the private sector for do-good programs. Much of the new social awareness in the independent sector can be attributed to the increasing number of top executives in their middle years who came into the business world during or just after the Depression of the '30s.

Self-interest will, of course, also play a large part in the motivation of the private sector. Businessmen know that slum rehabilitation and the rebuilding of cities will create an enormous market for construction materials. They know if they are to get the skilled employees they need they will have to do their own recruiting and training. And they know it takes prosperous customers to buy the goods they produce.

Before this new concept can take root, however, it will be necessary for the GOP to hold political power for an extended period. This was true of the Big Government idea which gained increasing acceptance in the minds of voters during the long Democratic entrenchment.

Republicans have this chance to turn the tables now that the era of Pavlovian response to the word Democrat is coming to an end. As we approach 1968, three of the major blocks that traditionally have supported Democrats are breaking up.

They are: the trade union movement, whose top leadership is squabbling and whose members have moved to the suburbs and are now full shareholders in the affluent society. The newer and younger trade union member is even challenging, in local elections, the older leadership, and is evidencing the concerns of the union itself.

The big-city organizations, many of whose leading personalities have died or retired and whose members cast fewer "ethnic" votes, have lost control of the governmental machinery in many of their former areas of strength; i.e., the Tammany machine in New York no longer controls City Hall; Philadelphia has been seriously challenged by the Republicans.

The community of the intellectual left, whose independence from the Democratic Party line is evidenced in part by their persistent criticism of President Johnson.

Another serious concern to Democrats is the likelihood of the rupture of party leadership in 1972. A bipolarization of the party hierarchy seems certain—with Robert Kennedy the focal figure on one side. It is too early to tell exactly who his opponents will be, but you can be sure that the RFK personality will inspire hostile forces.

With the Democratic Party's objectives unchanged, its voting coalitions disintegrating and its leadership undecided for the first time in many years, the GOP will have an unparalleled opportunity to determine the kind of society we will live in for the next 25 years.

Doctrine of Communist Internationale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a recent report in the U.S.A., a biweekly magazine, contained excerpts of Communist doctrine taken from transcripts of the Communist Congress of 1920.

This doctrine should be studied by all informed or concerned citizens to better understand the Bolshevik mind and objectives.

Fifty years have lapsed since the revolution, but the aims, directives—and other programs of the conspiracy remain unchanged to date.

Mr. Speaker, every Member owes it to himself and his constituents to read the brief article as taken from Barron's for November 13, 1967, which follows my remarks:

DOCTRINE OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE

Under the heading, "Moscow's Anniversary and the Perils of History," Harry Schwartz of The New York Times, recently wrote: "The present celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution comes perilliously close to being a performance of Hamlet with no mention of the melancholy Dane." Mr. Schwartz went on to say that the Soviets' desire to let sleeping dogs lie has blotted from the record the real history of the Bolshevik Revolution and its leaders, most of whom were murdered by their Red colleagues. He predicts that "some day the Soviet people and their leaders will have to come to terms with their own history, with the truth. . . ." For the time being, he concludes, "Moscow is still in the era of the Orwellian memory hole triumphant."

Among the main documents buried deep in the memory hole dug by Communist revisionism (an operation in which the past is tossed into a pit of oblivion to wipe out all memory of it, and to prevent the victims of totalitarianism from being aware of the machinations that enslaved them), are the official records of the early Congresses of the Third International, in which Lenin and all the leading Bolsheviks, as well as foreign Communists, took part.

One cannot understand 20th Century history and the 50-year record of Communist progress toward world domination since 1917 without a thorough study of the transcripts of the Third International Communist Party Congresses. Tragically—as the great French historian, Pierre Gaxotte, of the Academie Francaise, points out—few Western statesmen and heads of state are students of the transcripts.

The editors of U.S.A. magazine believe the greatest service it can render to freedom-loving people in November 1967 is to inform them about the basic doctrines, strategy and tactics set forth in the early official Red records, since the Soviet Union never has departed from them in any way. Mr. Harry Schwartz rightly says the Russian people some day will have to come to terms with their history, including, as he says, "documentary materials, such as the transcripts of the early Communist Party congresses."

The following verbatim extracts are from those official Red transcripts, notably the 2nd Congress of III International, July 1920:

"As we begin the work of the Congress we should remember that in a few months we shall have the fiftieth anniversary of the first great uprising of workmen who pointed out the road for us. We should remember the Paris Commune which wrote the first page of the history of the international workmen's movement. . . ."

". . . The revolutionary movement in Europe is absolutely dependent on the course of the revolution in the east. Without the triumph of the revolution in the Eastern countries, the Communist movement in the West may be brought to nought. . . . The destiny of World Communism depends on the triumph of Communism in the East."

"When you have worked as we have, when you will organize parliamentary scandals, when in the parliament you will begin violating parliamentary rules of procedure, when they begin arresting you and turning you over to be tried by courts, and when you will use the parliamentary rules of procedure not for agitation and propaganda, but to organize the workmen for the purpose of 'direct action' and other forms of revolutionary struggle—then you will understand what revolutionary parliamentarism is. . . .

"You speak of the necessity of abolishing and not using parliament. The Russian Communist Party can refer to the work which it did. We dispersed our Constituent Assembly; we already had no parliament, but we did this after the conquest of authority, after the victory over the bourgeoisie, and after the peasants and backward workmen. who were formerly represented in parliament and believed in it, had come over to our side because of our agitation from within and because we destroyed that belief."

"In a country where the bourgeoisie, or the counter-revolutionary Social Democracy is in power, the Community Party must learn to coordinate its legal work with its illegal work, and the legal work must always be under the effective control of the illegal party."

"The front of the proletarian culture should not be forgotten even at the moment of the highest tension in the bloody struggle for the establishment of proletarian authority. Just as it is impossible to conduct a war outside of definite economic circumstances, so it is impossible to expect a complete destruction of the bourgeois world without developing the struggle for a proletarian culture. It is impossible to destroy the class division of society without overcoming the individualistic culture. . . .

"Art, a proletarian poem, a novel, a song, a musical composition, a play, are means of agitation possessing tremendous power. Art organizes feeling in precisely the same manner as ideological propaganda organizes thought, and feelings determine the will to act in no smaller degree than do ideas."

"The bourgeois governments of the whole world have long been accustomed to frighten the imagination of their citizens with underground conspiracies of revolutionists to bring about a social revolution. A conspiracy of the socialist proletariat against world capitalism is unquestionably now at hand. But how different is this conspiracy from the pictures drawn by the frightened imagination of the petty bourgeois citizen.

"Not in a dark cellar with artificial lighting but in the clear light of day with full publicity on an international tribune, in the face of all mankind, the international proletariat through its best representatives (the Communist Party) now discusses the plans and tactics for the overthrow of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. . . .

"The Communist International takes civil war as the point of departure for all its acts.

"In this war it wishes to triumph.

"It must triumph if it does not wish to be destroyed physically and morally. Victory in this war can mean only one thing—the replacing of the dictatorship of capital, which prevails throughout the world, by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"To triumph one must be strong. To be strong one must be organized . . . Yes; this is a conspiracy. But it is a conspiracy that cannot be crushed . . . and which, therefore, is destined to triumph in the end."

"Soviet Russia, as the first labor republic, inspires and gives a mighty impulse to the Communist International. As standard bearer of the world revolution, the III International serves as a pledge of the victory of Soviet Russia when it will expand into a world federated Soviet Republic."

"The Communist movement in the United States in particular, and the Communist International in general, must intervene actively in the movement in Latin America. This movement and the movement in the U.S. must be regarded as a single whole. Our strategy and tactics must be in accordance with a plan for an American revolution throughout all of America. The main task of the Communist International, the realization of which would guarantee victory of the world revolution, is the destruction of imperialism in the United States; and this destruction is only possible as the result of a gigantic revolutionary movement throughout all of America. . . ."

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Chairman, I understand that a motion to recommit the bill and cut the authorization to $1.6 billion will be offered. I will support that motion for several reasons.

First, although we have not made enough major improvements in the Economic Opportunity Act, we have made some changes which I feel will result in a better, more effective, and more efficient war against poverty.

On balance, the House has tightened up the antipoverty war in several major respects. There will be less politics involved, there will be closer supervision of programs, and more money should go to the poor now that we have eliminated supergrade positions and $100 per diem consultants. Community action programs which have elicited a good deal of controversy, such as voter registration drives, have been prohibited, and we have added penalties for inciting to riot, picketing, and demonstrating.

Unfortunately, efforts to promote closer cooperation with existing agencies and organizations, such as the United Fund, failed. I am also very concerned about the possible consequences of putting "city hall" in charge of poverty programs—enabling local politicians to use the poor as pawns in their struggle for power.

One program which I particularly wanted included in the bill we are about to vote on was the Industry Youth Corps. It would have enabled private industry to participate more in job training, at greatly reduced cost to the Federal Government, and provided productive jobs for our underemployed and unemployed. More money would have been available for the crucial area of job training than is currently available—at less cost to the taxpayer.

The second reason I can support the $1.6 billion figure is that this is the same amount of funds currently being utilized by the Office of Economic Opportunity. With cuts in administration costs, this $1.6 billion should go a lot further in combating misery and poverty in this Nation. In addition, it is nearly certain that the House and Senate conferees will come up with a compromise authorization somewhere between $2.3 billion and $1.6 billion—and I plan to support that increase in the House figure. Of course, Mr. Chairman, we all realize the vulnerability of an authorization figure to the appropriations process—and the House Appropriations Committee has already served notice that it does not intend to appropriate more than $1.6 billion for fiscal year 1968.

Mr. Chairman, two outstanding editorials which summed up my feelings on the povery program appeared recently in the New Bedford Standard Times. These editorials stress my point that although the war on poverty must be continued, and adequately funded, several aspects of the program could be much improved. I include these two editorials with my remarks:

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, Nov. 8, 1967]

OEO VERSUS CONGRESSIONAL IRRESPONSIBILITY

Undermined by ulterior motive, provincialism, partisan politics and evasive foot-dragging, the Congress pious declarations notwithstanding, has dealt a severe blow to the Office of Economic Opportunity by failing to provide promptly either funds or reform for OEO. As a result, thousands in the nation's trouble spots are on the threshold of bitter disillusion and OEO's director may resign.

At the moment, with no continuing resolution and no appropriation, OEO is out of funds. Its employes for the past week or two have been working as "volunteers," and between now and Nov. 30, approximately 50 community action agencies will have to close their doors unless Congress ends its anti-antipoverty harangue and acts.

The truth of the matter is that OEO has some good programs that have produced results, including the Job Corps, Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps and Upward Bound, for example.

It also is true that sensible reforms would insure more service per dollar. The original law creating OEO was loosely written; experience has shown that some programs consequently suffer from poor administration; others, such as legal services, compete with existing agencies or, in the social welfare areas, suffer from lack of professional competence.

OEO ought to be funded and reformed without delay and congressional reforms ought to concentrate on achieving greater community involvement and cooperation with existing private agencies, a need to which many OEO leaders would subscribe. There also ought to be increased recognition of the fact that no two communities are alike in need or makeup. For example, Small Business Development Center (SBDC) worked fine here, although this was not a national pattern, and perhaps also reflects variety in quality of leadership. Care also has to be taken in applying broad federal yardsticks of what is "good" for a local area.

As an example of the kind of OEO-community partnership that should be the national goal. New Bedford's Head Start program is outstanding.

OEO provides funds for health services and feeding in this preschool program; through HEW funds, the city's public school administration provides the other necessities, including professional services. This not only guarantees synchronization of school and preschool systems, as well as professional competence—it also means, because they share expenses, that both OEO and the schools have more dollars to spend elsewhere.

The basic weakness of OEO seems to have been rooted in the belief that since local agencies had not been able to eliminate community problems, it was necessary to set up totally new structures to cope with the same problems.

This ignores the fact that what frustrated most local agencies was lack of money. It also overlooks the fact that, in most cases, the best and cheapest way to handle a program is by supplementing the local agency and its professional staff—through making federal funds available to it—rather than competing with it, as has occurred in the case of legal services and other UF functions.

One of the biggest assets existing agencies and local professionals could give to OEO embraces (a) specific experience in the area, and (b) general experience in the professional field. Had OEO exploited these more fully from the beginning, much of its painful and wasteful experimentation—and the Job Corps is a good example of this—would not have been necessary.

Thus, proposals for OEO reform to which Congress should give serious attention are those, for example, that call for:

Consultation with courts, schools and other local authorities in Job Corps recruit screening.

Affording the community a "meaningful voice" in Job Corps center affairs;

Encouraging participation of employer and labor organizations and "capable public and private organizations" in work and training organizations, and authorizing programs to provide incentives to private profit-making employers to train low-income people.

Illustrating the area in which sensible reform can take place is the statement of purpose of OEO's community action programs. In the present law, it is stated very generally that the aim is to provide stimulation and incentives for communities to mobilize resources to combat poverty.

But the House committee spells this out, to include within this purpose "strengthening local capacity to relate assistance to local needs . . . and securing involvement of business, labor and private groups."

This is the key to a better OEO and more help for those who need it. Involve the community, and utilize its existing assets to the fullest.

Congress, which appears to have forgotten last summer's violent demonstrations in 27 communities and their obvious relationship to the hopelessness of the underprivileged, ought to wade out of the muddy waters of politics and get to work on a strengthened and improved OEO.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, Nov. 10, 1967]

A MORE EFFECTIVE WAR ON POVERTY

The nation's war on poverty ought not to be thwarted by congressional tightening of the purse strings, because the need for this type of effort is more, rather than less, critical than it was a year ago.

The general effort ought to be funded at the same, or even at a slightly higher level, that is, between $1.6 billion and $2 billion.

However, the evidence suggests that the new congressional appropriation ought to be accompanied by tighter and more competent Office of Economic Opportunity administration and the transfer of some OEO programs to existing federal or local agencies.

The OEO act of 1964 states: ". . . no funds appropriated to carry out this act shall be used to establish any new department or office when the intended function is being performed by an existing department or office."

It may well be, for example, that some of OEO's concern with education, such as the Head Start program, would be more appropriate in the Office of Education.

Onboard's legal services nationally might be turned over to legal aid societies or bar associations on a judicare concept, aimed at aiding low-income groups and giving them a choice of attorney. OEO already has done this in some Wisconsin counties.

There is insufficient critcal analysis of OEO programs and their impact, locally and nationally. Present law requires Job Corps officials to "try to secure" information concerning "employment, etc." from former enrollees. The House Committee on Education and Labor bill would require "careful and systematic evaluation of the Job Corps program, including costs and benefits," and this is needed.

Similarly, with regard to OEO work and training programs, there is no provision in present law for program data and evaluation.

The House committee bill properly recommends "development and implementation of program data system and publication of results; continuing evaluation of programs as to effectiveness" and requires "comparative studies with other work and training programs; development and publication of standards of evaluation and achievement, to be used in decisions on financial assistance."

There is need within OEO for more coordination and cooperation with existing local welfare and service agencies. Purchase of services from existing agencies by OEO should be required, thus providing private agencies with new funds to acquire the expanded staff that would be needed.

The original purpose of OEO was to stimulate the private war on poverty, to utilize local resources—not to create a new federal structure to take over the job from already established agencies.

The United Fund spends approximately $600,000 yearly in this community. So does Onboard, Inc. Theoretically, this should mean twice the amount of service that UF alone could provide, but it does not because we now have competition, rather than coordination between the two.

In considering amendments to the OEO act, Congress should:

Place the emphasis on programs that educate and train for jobs, enabling the poor to help themselves;

Revise the community contribution formula. Communities now pay 10 per cent of OEO costs, in kind only. It is not unreasonable to increase the community contribution to 20 per cent, 10 of which could be in kind, and 10 in cash. This cash contribution would make taxpayers more concerned with the success or failure and general efficiency of OEO projects, which they now feel "cost us nothing." If OEO were required to purchase services from existing agencies, it might be possible to pay the 10 per cent in cash to UF agencies, for services provided for OEO programs.

Make it mandatory that officials of community action programs, such as ONBOARD, meet OEO's own professional and experience requirements. This is not always the case at present.

Keep Onboard and other war-on-poverty community action programs in independent non-profit corporations free of direct local political control. A House amendment would put local community action programs under control of local government and politicians.

Some OEO programs work reasonably well, including Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Head Start, Small Business Development Center, and Upward Bound, at least as far as our local experience is concerned.

In other areas, such as legal services, Operation Mainstream, and Neighborhood Centers—especially bearing in mind that administrative salaries were listed as consuming an estimated $250,000-plus of New Bedford Onboard's fiscal 1967 appropriation—program purposes are intangible and results indefinite.

Further, it might reasonably be asked whether Onboard's Neighborhood Center information, referral and education functions are duplicating those of school and private agency programs.

Let's have money for OEO—but a tighter, more efficient OEO that serves more people more effectively.

The Private Recruiting Campaign of Sailor Joe Cavanaugh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a young sailor stationed in my district will soon leave for his second tour of duty in Vietnam. His name is Joe Cavanaugh, he is 20 years old and he is headed back for 11 more months aboard a minesweeper in the Tonkin Gulf. He realizes that he is leaving his wife and 9-month-old son for a second time because of the "beatnik and hippie draft dodgers" who refuse to meet their responsibility even once.

He was plenty sore about it and wanted to say so. But instead of lowering himself to the level of the protestors, Joe Cavanaugh made what I think is a rather eloquent plea for those who are not afraid of responsibility to lend him a hand with an unpleasant job. He placed a classified ad in the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram to say what the regular naval recruiting officers feel but cannot say. The story of Joe Cavanaugh and his private recruiting campaign follows:

DRAFT FOES JUST COWARDS, VOWS TONKIN-BOUND FATHER

When Joe Cavanaugh learned he would be leaving for a second tour of duty aboard a Navy minesweeper bound for Vietnam, he placed a "help wanted" ad in The Independent, Press-Telegram.

Joe was mad—"damn mad," he says—that he was returning to combat while "beatnik and hippie draft-dodgers hide their cowardice behind fake morality or some new-found religious principle they didn't own six months ago."

Joe didn't want to picket the pickets or demonstrators, though. So he placed a classified ad in the I, P-T. The ad said:

"Men needed. Not particularly guilty. Not strong. Not tough. Just citizens who recognize responsibility. I'm making another tour of Vietnam because draft dodgers, peaceniks, hippies and other assorted creeps have managed to escape their responsibiltiy. My family needs me. Apply nearest Navy recruiting office."

You think Joe's newspaper condemnation of the antiwar demonstrators is a little strong? You should hear him in person.

"They stink," he says. "They're plain disgusting."

Joe, who's 20, left Long Beach Friday night to take his wife, Lynda, and their 9-month-old son, Arthur, back to the family's Philadelphia home.

Mrs. Cavanaugh had flown out with young Arthur when Cavanaugh's minesweeper, the USS Pluck, returned home from an 11-month tour of duty in the Gulf of Tonkin.

The Cavanaugh family hoped to resume seminormal living conditions while Joe completed his tour of duty with the Navy. That hope was jolted when Joe was informed he had been transferred to the minesweeper USS Impervious which heads out of Long Beach sometime this month—bound for Vietnam.

"Other guys are getting even worse deals than me," said Cavanaugh. "Five of them left Thursday on other minesweepers for WesPac (the western Pacific)."

"It just gripes me terribly that some of these beatniks and hippies feel so little regard for their country that all they can do is criticize it."

Mrs. Cavanaugh is deeply disappointed in losing Joe to another overseas tour. He had told her of close brushes with Viet Cong and North Vietnamese aboard junks and sampans flushed by the Pluck—after he had returned home from what he believed was his only venture against the enemy. The Pluck won't head back to the war zone until April of 1969 but that's not going to keep Cavanaugh and many of his shipmates in the States.

"I saw a demonstration in Seattle and it disgusted me so much I didn't even try to talk to them.

"And I know a draft dodger back in Philadelphia but he always was a kook, always trying to be nonconformist.

"These guys sit here ripping away at the United States while we're overseas, trying to keep it in one piece."

Cavanaugh shrugged.

"They know—just as I know—what they are. They have to live with that."

The 50th Anniversary of Ukrainian National Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, this week the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians is meeting in New York City to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution. I include in the RECORD the following letter from Dr. Anthony Zukowski, president of the North Dakota Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., together with my reply to him:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC.,
November 7, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS S. KLEPPE,
U.S. Congressman, U.S. House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KLEPPE: It is our great pleasure to inform you that on November 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1967, the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians will be held at the New York Hilton Hotel, New York City.

The Congress is being convened in the year of the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution which led to the establishment of free and independent Ukrainian National Republic.

Also it will be held in the month of November on the 50th anniversary when "Central Rada"—Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev, Ukraine, passed in 1917 its "Third Universal" the basic law of modern time on which the Ukrainian National Republic was founded.

Delegates from 22 countries of free world will take part in the Congress, including high-ranking clergy, civic and political leaders. Also delegation from our state of North Dakota representing over 25,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent will take part in the Congress.

This historic gathering will be also held at the time when Communist Russia is observing 50th anniversary of its Bolshevik revolution or like it is known—fifty years of Russian Bolshevik tyranny in Eastern Europe.

Therefore the World Congress of Free Ukrainians will reject the Communist "thesis" that Bolshevik revolution brought freedom and social equality to the Ukrainians and other Captive Nations in the Russian prison house called U.S.S.R.

Furthermore the World Congress of Free Ukrainians will appeal to the United Nation and its members for support in the struggle for the legitimate rights of Ukrainian people to freedom and national independence.

There is no doubt that under present international circumstances especially at the time when Moscow is giving full support to North Vietnam and is mounting new offensive against the Ukrainian people for the destruction of their national and cultural attainments, this Congress should have a special significance for the entire Ukrainian Community in the free world and for the United States especially.

The aims of the Congress, as stated in the Manifesto announcing its convocation are as follows:

1. To demonstrate before the world the Ukrainian people's unwavering will to continue its struggle for the restoration of their free soverign and unit state;
2. To manifest the solidarity of the Ukrainian community in the free world with the struggle of the Ukrainian people and its readiness to help them with all means at our disposal;
3. To unite all the forces and resources of Ukrainians who are the citizens of the various countries of the free world to secure closer cooperation among themselves;
4. To determine a proper source of action in strengthening and further developing all spheres of our activity and diverse pursuit in the free world.

In order to give you more information in regards to the Ukrainian National Revolution, I am enclosing a short pamphlet entitled "Facts about Ukraine and the Ukrainian People" and an excellent article "Fifty Years of Russia-Bolshevik Tyranny" by Dr. Ctibor Pokorny printed on November 2nd 1967 in "America" Ukrainian Catholic Daily, Philadelphia, Pa., which I believe would be of interest to you and to the American people.

Therefore, speaking in behalf of 25,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent we shall be grateful to you if you could bring this matter to the attention of the U.S. Congress and to read your message into Congressional Record in commemoration of these outstanding events in the modern history of Ukraine.

This will give us assurance, that our fellow Americans would join with us in marking this historic event of Ukraine and will demonstrate to both the captive Ukrainians and their captors our unity and determination in upholding the cause of freedom everywhere.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,
President, UCCA State Branch of North Dakota.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
November 17, 1967.

Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,
President, North Dakota Branch, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.,
New York, N.Y.:

It is a great honor to be invited to join with delegates to the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians in marking the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Freedom is indivisible and so long as even one man remains in bondage our common goal of a free world will not be achieved. The devotion of the Ukrainian people to the realization of that goal is an inspiration to free men everywhere.

Best wishes for a most successful meeting.

TOM KLEPPE,
Member of Congress.

Brockton, Mass., Starts Work on New Art Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Monday next groundbreaking ceremonies will be held for the $600,000 Brockton Art Center, known as the Fuller Memorial. The center is the gift of Myron L. Fuller, Brockton geologist who died in 1960. He left a million dollars to establish and maintain this cultural center for the benefit of all the people of the Greater Brockton area. The center will feature all kinds of cultural events, works of art, both old and contemporary, and will give to the people of the area an opportunity to attend art classes, see educational films, and attend lectures.

The Fuller family have been leaders in the community life of Brockton.

This wonderful gift that has been bestowed on the people will do a great deal toward advancing the knowledge and also give the people a chance to enjoy the cultural arts of the past and the present.

I wish to congratulate all who are working on this great endeavor. I am hopeful that the community, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and our National Government will avail themselves of the many opportunities in the future to join with the Fuller family and those connected with this worthwhile project by extending every cooperative step possible.

I include a news article relating to this event that appeared in the Boston Globe today, as follows:

BROCKTON STARTS WORK ON NEW ART CENTER

(By Edgar J. Driscoll)

Brockton is to have its first art center.

Next Monday afternoon ground breaking ceremonies will be held for the $600,000 Brockton Art Center—Fuller Memorial. It will be located on an 11-acre site in the city's Fields Park.

Designed by J. Timothy Anderson & Associates, Boston architectural firm, the center will consist of a series of wood and glass buildings surrounding a lagoon. Three galleries, an outdoor sculpture court, three studios for art classes, a tea room, a library with fireplace, administration and storage areas are included in the plans.

The center is the gift of Myron L. Fuller, Brockton geologist, who died in 1960. He left a million dollars to establish and maintain it.

The figure is now up to $1,300,000.

The center will feature travelling shows of various works of art, both old and contemporary; hold art classes, film showings, lectures, demonstrations and so on.

It's executive director is Edouard Du Buron, former director of the art gallery at the Grover Cronin Store, Waltham, where he staged many important exhibits including those of Francis Bacon, Picasso, Eugene Berman and Ivan Mestrovic.

The center's trustees include Kenneth E. Sampson, chairman; Merton Tarlow; Edwin A. Nelson, Brockton's Superintendent of Schools; Isaac Kilbrick; and Charles A. Fuller, nephew of the donor. The center is expected to open in a year with a showing of three centuries of New England art from New England museums.

More closely, one finds lithographs by such well known contemporaries as Jasper Johns, Helen Frankenthaler, Jim Dine, Lee Bontecou and Larry Rivers opening to the public tomorrow after a preview tonight at the Eleanor Rigelhaupt Gallery; Rockport husband-and wife team Arnold W. Knauth and Jerri Ricci opening Monday at the Guild of Boston Artists; bronzes by Tony Paterson at the Tragos Gallery; an exhibition of "Arts of Africa—Young and Old" opening Monday at the Cohen Arts Center, Tufts University; a showing of works by Italy's renowned and very versatile artist Gio Ponti opening today at the Gallery of Boston University's School of Fine and Applied Arts; Flora Natapoff opening a showing of drawings and colleges at the Shore Galleries tomorrow.

Peace Corps Appreciated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a remarkable letter I have just received from inmates of a Colombian prison. These men are participating in a Peace Corps project under the direction of my constituent, Rolando Intrator, a volunteer from Santa Monica, Calif. Their words, here translated from Spanish, speak most eloquently of the depth of their appreciation to the people of the United States:

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA, MINISTRY
OF JUSTICE, JAIL OF DISTRICT J,
LYRIC-LITERARY CENTER, CUSTODIO GARCIA ROVIRA,
Malaga, October 30, 1967.

Hon. ALPHONZO BELL,
Representative to the Congress of the United States, Santa Monica, Calif.

SIR: Of our highest consideration.

We are a group of inmates in a Colombian prison located in Malaga, Santander, Colombia.

Approximately two months ago we had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Rolando Intrator, a Peace Corps Volunteer from the U.S.

Never before in the history of the Colombian prisons has such valuable help been received in all aspects as the inmates of this prison have received from Mr. Intrator.

The acquaintance with the aforementioned Volunteer has been valuable not only in its technical, but also in its cultural, sociological and practical aspects. To our knowledge, Mr. Intrator, and through him that Great Country, is giving us more help than we would ever hope for, and free of charge.

We consider it just and proper to give our testimony of appreciation for the noble work being done in our behalf and to express our gratitude to the Government of the United States for making possible this progress among the inmates in Colombia. Also, we respectfully request the Congressman's interest in the continuity of this program as far as possibilities will permit.

Without further particulars and wishing for that Great Community continued success, we remain,

Your True Colombian Servants, Lyric-Literary Center "C. Garcia R."

JOSE CALDERON,
President.
JAVIER GIL CARVAJAL,
Secretary.

(And 30 other signatures.)

Textile Imports: Who Gets the 400,000 Jobs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I was very much inteersted to receive some material from Mr. T. M. Corbett, who has been a longtime employee of Springs Mills, Inc., in Lancaster, S.C. Commenting that he was not in favor of the proposed 10-percent surtax and that he did not favor the President's stand on liberal import policies, he included the material which follows with his letter to indicate why he feels as he does. I believe the following information, which consists of a series of articles, will be timely reading for my colleagues and the general public:

TEXTILE IMPORTS: WHO GETS THE 400,000 JOBS?

Springs Mills has thrived on competition in the American textile industry. Springs competes for business in the market and is affected by various economic factors. This is the free enterprise system at work in a framework that is fair to all companies in the industry.

But a factor which is not part of the competitive American system also is affecting the company and its employees.

This is a rapidly growing volume of textiles imported from foreign nations not subject to the same competitive conditions.

Imports of textiles have tripled since 1961, while U.S. textile production grew by only one-third. Imports now take 10 per cent of domestic sales. Including made-up apparel, imports of textiles now amount to more than three billion square yards annually.

This is the equivalent of about 400,000 American textile jobs. Every yard of cloth imported displaces a yard that could have been produced by an American wage-earner.

That is one of the factors making foreign competition cutthroat for the U.S. market—low wages.

The American textile industry has been building itself up independently for 175 years and the going has not always been easy. Most foreign textile industries have been built up since World War II with the assistance of American tax money.

There can be no competition on wages. American textile employees earn an average of more than $2 an hour, with a wide range of fringe benefits. The average hourly wage of the Japanese textile worker is 36 cents an hour. In Hong Kong it's 25 cents. It's as low as 14 cents in some countries. Japan and Hong Kong account for 60 percent of the textiles sent into the U.S.

These are not new, underdeveloped, struggling nations. They are highly industrialized and tough competitors. Their textile wages would be immoral and illegal in America.

Continued mass imports can weaken our national defense—textiles have been termed second only to steel in importance to the nation's defenses.

Imports undermine further stability of the dollar. They can hamper the textile industry's efforts to stay modern, efficient and strong. No growth means no jobs created. A failing industry means no jobs at all.

It's a simple picture:

The American textile industry is asking its government for a reasonable measure of protection from continued increases in mass imports from low-wage countries.

Fifty-nine nations refuse entry to American textile goods. Those which allow U.S. textiles to be imported place prohibitive tariffs and-or other stringent controls on them to protect their home industry.

SPRING MILLS NOTE DROP IN SALES, INCOME

FORT MILL, S.C.—Springs Mills, South Carolina's home grown giant of the textile industry, reports a drop in net sales and income for the first half and second quarter of 1967.

JAPAN TEXTILE LEADERS TO TURN PUBLIC RELATIONS GUNS ON U.S. QUOTA LAW DRIVE

(By Tsukasa Furukawa)

OSAKA.—Japanese textile industry leaders are readying a high-powered public relations campaign—aimed at public opinion in both the United States and here—to counter the United States move to impose stiff textile import quotas.

The public relations campaign is part of a four-step Japanese plan to marshal massive opposition to the restrictionist drive in the U.S. Congress.

LTA AGREEMENT NOT EFFECTIVE

Focus was sharpened on the difficulties of the U.S. textile industry last June 30. That's when results of the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations at Geneva, Switzerland, were announced.

The United States, already bound by a Long Term Arrangement (LTA) on cotton textiles with 28 other nations, agreed to cut tariffs on various textile imports—20 percent on cottons and an average of 21 percent on man-made fibers and products manufactured from them.

The Long Term Arrangement is a quota system under which the 29 nations agreed to limit imports of cotton textiles to specific yardages or poundages each year.

The total imports taken by the U.S. have been far above the specific quotas through "bilateral," or individual, treaties among the nations. There has been no consistent enforcement of the LTA terms. And they do not cover man-made fibers or woolen textiles, the area of greatest import increases.

Cotton textile imports have almost doubled since the LTA went into effect. William J. Erwin, chairman of Dan River Mills and immediate past president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, warned:

"There is a serious and immediate need for the government to open negotiations now to implement its long-range textile program which calls for effective quantitative controls on textile products of all fibers."

Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department and administration in Washington continue to encourage an expanding volume of textile imports.

Japan also announced boldly that it will try to sway American opinion on expanding textile imports and has begun a massive public relations campaign to push its objectives as a usurper of American jobs.

FIFTEEN MILLION INVOLVED

The textile industry is a major American industry. It consists of 7,000 plants in 42 states. The apparel industry, a primary textile customer, employs one million people.

A total of 15 million Americans depend directly or indirectly on textiles for their livelihood. About 75 per cent of South Carolina's economy depends on textile and textile-related businesses.

Springs Mills, Inc., is one of the largest textile companies in the U.S. There are 18,000 Springs employees in 18 plants in the two Carolinas. Their payroll is more than $72 million a year.

The ability of Springs Mills to compete in national and world markets controls its ability to grow and expand facilities, provied more jobs for more people, pay better wages and add to fringe benefits for employees.

If the equivalent of 400,000 textile jobs continues to be given to foreign low-wage competition each year, through lack of enforcement of import regulations by the U.S. government, such employment, pay and benefits cannot be continued by Springs or any other American company.

So—each employee has a vested interest in the import problem. It has something directly to do with his job, his pay, his family's standard of living—and ultimately maybe even his livelihood.

And the problems of the textile industry affect a widespread area of the economy. The industry spends more than $15 billion a year—that's right, $15 billion—with other businesses.

COMMITTED TO CONTROL

The Southern Governors' Conference meeting at Asheville, N.C., endorsed federal legislation to control textile imports in order "to serve the best interests of our national economy and security, the welfare of labor and management and the consuming public."

The resolution, passed unanimously by the 17 governors, recommended passage of textile control bills pending in Congress. Such legislation has been introduced by 65 senators and 171 members of the House.

Tracing the 32-year commitment of the federal government to develop reasonable textile import limitations, the resolution said, "To date effective steps have not been accomplished by our government to equitably control access to the United States market by foreign suppliers of textile fibers and products made therefrom and the need to do so is all the more apparent in light of the conclusion of the Kennedy Round of tariff cutting negotiations."

The resolution pointed out that tariff reductions will have an adverse impact particularly in the Appalachian Redevelopment Area, where 26 percent of the manufacturing employment is in textile, apparel and man-made fiber industries.

The governors said the Federal program for limiting cotton textile imports has been only "partially implemented" by import quotas on raw and processed cotton fiber.

KAKE Instant Televote—KIT

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate KAKE TV in Wichita, Kans., for its latest venture into its already highly regarded program of public service to the people of Kansas. KAKE TV has instituted a new service, KAKE Instant Televote—KIT—which is designed to reflect the feeling of its audience on important and controversial issues of the day.

On the KAKE 5:30 Evening Report, a question of the day is announced; and on the 10 p.m. Night Report, "yes and no" votes on the question are given in percentages. Thousands of calls are automatically tabulated each night on "yes" and "no" phone numbers.

As an example of how KAKE Instant Televote works, I would cite their Friday, November 3, program. The question was:

> Do you favor a 10-percent surcharge on income tax as recommended by President Johnson to help fight inflation?

Of the thousands of KAKE viewers voting on the issue, 69 percent voted "no" and 31 percent voted "yes."

Again I congratulate KAKE TV for its interest in serving the people of Kansas.

Resor Sure Choice on All-Opponents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Morris Siegel, of the Washington Evening Star, as usual, is ahead of the pack. He has expressed what is in the minds of so many Americans today.

I submit his column so you may read his comments about the Secretary of the Army's decision against Army's bowl participation, as follows:

RESOR SURE CHOICE ON ALL-OPPONENTS

(By Morris Siegel)

Given the ball for the first time this season, Army Secretary Stanley Resor made a regrettable bid for dubious football acclaim.

By ruling out any possible post-season trip for Army's deserving team yesterday, Resor sewed up a place on West Point's all-opponents team.

If his own institution fails to pay him this proper recognition, Resor is a cinch to be named captain of Rep. F. Edward Hébert's squad.

Hébert, the New Orleans Democrat so determined to deliver Army to his constituency in the Sugar Bowl country, also made Gen. Harold K. Johnson, Army chief of staff, his No. 2 pick. Johnson, he charges, is a co-conspirator in the Pentagon sabotage of Army's post-season hopes.

Hébert, an experienced broken field runner, called the Resor-Johnson decision "a body blow to the morale of the West Point football team, the Corps of Cadets and the entire Army."

What the congressman from Ramos Gin Fizz country really was saying was that the no bowl edict is really a body blow to his Sugar Bowl people, who were counting on Army breaking an archaic tradition.

Why not? Navy has gone bowling five times and Air Force, the baby of the service academies, was tapped twice for New Year's Day assignments and answered muster both times. They seem to have survived quite nicely the contagion Secretary Resor obviously sees in the extension of the football season by one game.

Exposed to the sinful bowl games, Navy and Air Force still manage to graduate the best sailors and fly boys in the world. Also not to be overlooked is the fact that we haven't lost a war despite the football transgressions of Navy and Air Force.

"Accepting an invitation to play in a post-season game," the secretary's order of the day stated, "would tend to emphasize football to an extent not consistent with the basic mission of the Academy, which is to produce Army officers."

The announcement also confessed that the Vietnam war was another deterrent, "but it was not a major consideration."

Army has been playing football since 1890 and Secretary Resor would have to admit that West Point somehow has managed to produce thousands of career Army officers despite its football program.

A couple of recent examples are Bill Carpenter, the "lonely end" who received the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism in Vietnam, and quarterback Don Holleder, who was killed leading his battalion into action.

Football is no small part of the West Point curriculum. Army made this concession eloquently several years ago when it raided Louisiana State University and made off with Paul Dietzel, who still had several years to go on his contract at Baton Rouge.

I wonder if the Secretary regards this kind of conduct as being "consistent with the basic mission of the Academy, which is to produce career Army officers."

The mere acknowledgement that Vietnam was considered as a reason, "even if it was not a major consideration" in Resor's disappointing veto, indicates lightweight thinking.

What possible effect could a football game in Dallas, New Orleans, Jacksonville or Pasadena involving Army on New Year's Day have on the fighting in the Vietnam boondocks?

Army and Navy, beefed up with the Blanchards, Davises, Pooles, Minisis, Scotts and others, continued their rivalry without a miss during World War II and the country managed to win the war somehow.

As far as playing in a bowl resulting in "further heavy demands on the players' time," as the secretary's knock-off-bowl-talk-this-instant manifesto charged, the footballing Cadets have done nothing except thrive under this burden for the last two years under Tom Cahill.

These last two West Point teams have been something special under Cahill, the last-minute coach. They have lost only three games in two years.

Every West Pointer from Hanoi to Hartford is as proud of the accomplishments of this gang as he is of any Army team in history, and that takes in a lot of crackerjack Army units.

"They are proud of the accomplishments of the team this year and would like to see them recognized," the statement said. "However, they understand why the decision has been made."

Then how about passing on the real poop to the civilian troops, Mr. Secretary? We have a tax paying interest in West Point, at least.

The Honorable James Webb, NASA Administrator—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert part II concerning the Honorable James Webb, Administrator of NASA, as follows:

JIM WEBB'S EARTHY MANAGEMENT OF SPACE—II

THE BEST ADMINISTRATOR I'VE GOT

On top of all this, Webb has had to live precariously for years with the explosive potential—which finally erupted in the North American affair—involved in the sheer danger of manned space flight and the unprecedented quality standards that space flight imposes on NASA and its contractors. A congressional subcommittee blistered NASA and General Dynamics/Astronautics in 1962 after the Centaur rocket blew up on its maiden flight. In its early stages the Mercury program verged on collapse because of NASA complaints about the workmanship of McDonnell Aircraft, the prime contractor; delays were so numerous that John Glenn's historic first orbital flight was twenty-two months behind the original schedule; and only the remarkable success of the program's four one-man orbital flights averted a nasty public explosion. Failure of the first six Ranger moon probes (to take pictures before crashing) led to a prolonged dispute about Caltech's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, including a congressional inquiry into J.P.L.'s capability of building and managing its own hardware. Webb eventually instructed J.P.L. to increase its subcontracting of hardware development. The decision stirred a segment of the academic community to charge him with selling out to big business.

How Jim Webb has survived six years in this kind of atmosphere is regarded as one of the true marvels of Washington. It has, of course, been helpful that Lyndon Johnson, one of the Kennedy Administration's space enthusiasts, had originally pushed for Webb's appointment. According to a capital gossip column, Johnson recently remarked at a dinner that "the best administrator I've got is Jim Webb." But Webb's remarkable personality has also been an asset.

A stocky, bejowled man with a florid complexion and an intense manner that gives his blue eyes a permanently pleading, worried look, Webb's trademark is a memorable, gesticulating, humorless volubility, with frequent interjections of a tic-like rhetorical question: "Do you follow me?" Says a NASA official: "Trying to make conversation with Jim Webb is like trying to drink out of a fire hydrant." Says a top executive of another government agency: "If you ask a question, you get fifty facts when two or three would do, but he has the knack of getting large numbers of people moving. I'm damned if I can understand how he does it." Most people react initially to Webb with bewilderment, but then find themselves captivated by his intensity.

Almost nobody is neutral on the subject of Webb. Cynics say his garrulity is an act, that he tries to stay out of trouble with congressional committees, for example, by talking so long that it is lunchtime when he finishes. His detractors say he is a slippery, corny, insincere opportunist who pushes space because it provides him with a bureaucratic empire. Webb is a true believer in space exploration as a vital force in the social, economic, and intellectual evolution of the nation; he averages nearly a speech a week, promoting his ideas before civic and academic audiences. He believes strongly that "Russia sees space as a major arena in its competition with the U.S.," as he recently remarked, making NASA a central force in U.S. defense. He has communicated some of this conviction to his people; little American flags appeared on computer consoles in the Houston control center when word came that two Gemini spacecraft had achieved history's first rendezvous in space.

Whoever may be right about Webb's motivations, there is general agreement that he runs a tight agency. The Budget Bureau and most Congressmen admire the exceptional tidiness of his annual budget. Aerospace executives, even in private, have a high regard for Webb and his unusual ability not only to pick good men for his staff but also to generate a degree of loyalty and dedication that is rare in government service. He makes a point, for example, of avoiding television cameras, inviting his men to take the credit for successes.

EVER-CHANGING MANAGEMENT

Webb's controversial management techniques are designed to meet three basic problems. First is the familiar need to maintain management "visibility"—i.e., up-to-the-minute information on what goes on, especially in trouble areas—while also permitting the decentralization required for such a gigantic undertaking. At the same time, NASA has two special dilemmas that are not familiar to industry. One is how to create and preserve the free-wheeling academic climate essential to effective scientific research, while also controlling its costs—currently running at $200 million annually—and limiting it to goals related to NASA programs. The other stems from the fact that items manufactured for NASA are all one-shot development projects. McDonnell built only thirteen Gemini spacecraft, for example. This makes costs unpredictable and complicates normal contractual relationships with industry—e.g., incentive arrangements—while also requiring extraordinarily high-quality work. Says one NASA official: "The problem is to find a way to make the contractor do it right the first time when we lack the 'carrot' of the big follow-on production contracts that come from successful weapon development."

Probably the main reason why Webb has not been swamped by all this has been his deliberate policy to be ready and quick to change his management structure, personnel, and procedures. During his six years in the job, there have been four major NASA reorganizations, including a shake-up last March after the Apollo disaster. He has employed management-consultant teams to study his problems, and has encouraged outsiders to provide him with advice through a profusion of special advisory committees and panels set up by the National Academy of Sciences. Webb's concept of his job, in effect, is to adjust management procedures as often as necessary to keep up with the ever changing nature of NASA activities. He has moved away, for example, from the practice of giving one agency center sole responsibility for each program; the increasing magnitude of NASA's undertakings has become too much for one center to handle. While Mercury was run entirely from Houston, now there are program managers based in Washington to coordinate Apollo, Voyager (landing an instrumented package on Mars), and Apollo Applications (further work in manned flight after the moon landing). The field responsibilities are in each case divided among three centers.

In cautious recognition of NASA's mixed origins, Webb also has applied the play-by-ear principle to his use of the two top lieutenants he inherited from Glennan. Initially he carried on Glennan's triumvirate scheme, bringing in Dryden and Seamans on all critical decisions and requiring them to join with him in the final judgment on major contract awards. Webb operated particularly as the "outside man," who dealt with Congress and the White House to maintain support for the agency; Dryden was the main link with the scientific community and adviser on technical questions, and Seamans acted as the general manager. One reason for this technique was that Dryden's prestige, both personally and as former director of NACA, had to be recognized. Since Dryden's death in 1965, however, Webb has asserted his own authority, eliminated the triumvirate structure, and make Seamans his deputy and general manager.

Webb has also evolved a carefully balanced, three-cornered relationship among NASA, the aerospace industry, and the nation's universities. His policy, like modern Pentagon practice, has been to avoid the so-called "arsenal" principle of creating manufacturing facilities owned and operated by the government, and instead he has farmed out as much work as possible to private enterprise.

Webb has insisted that NASA, unlike the Pentagon, retain a high degree of "in house" technological and scientific capability. Some 14,000 of its 36,000 employees hold college degrees. This means that NASA can never become "the prisoner of any one contractor," as Webb puts it, and—unlike the Air Force—it does not depend on nongovernment minds for its extraordinarily complex decision-making processes. Combined with the enormous proportions of NASA programs, however, the policy requires that Webb train and staff an elite corps of people with both technical and managerial know-how. To achieve this, Webb assigns promising young technical people to subsidized study of management at universities, encourages aerospace companies and universities to detach men for a year or two to work for NASA, and borrows scores of top-notch armed-services officers with technical training and procurement management experience. The result has been the creation in a government agency of what amounts to a new managerial species: the project manager. Webb casually describes this as "a man who can run things at the $100-million level." NASA now has about 200 such men on its own payroll, and another 200 assigned to NASA projects by private contractors.

Through successive reorganizations Webb has evolved a command apparatus roughly comparable to that of a big corporation. At the top of the pyramid in Washington, he has installed four "line" offices headed by men with responsibilities similar to group vice presidents with direct authority over specific programs and clusters of field centers. Alongside the line commands, Webb has established "functional" offices that operate much like staff vice-presidencies with the mission to coordinate and monitor over-all operations from various viewpoints—e.g., policy implementation. The functional offices, in theory, also provide independent reporting to Webb and Seamans on field activities, spotting trouble areas much as a corporate financial vice president receives independent readings from division finance officers.

The mechanics of command vary widely among the four line offices. The office for advanced research permits its centers so much freedom—for fear of inhibiting scientific curiosity by excessive paper work—that a laboratory may work on a new project for as long as six months before it must be reported to Washington. By contrast, for programs requiring major hardware development, most of which are related to manned space flight. NASA has developed one of the world's most sophisticated management systems. It incorporates the techniques developed earlier in military programs, including particularly "PERT" (Program Evaluation and Review Technique), which was worked out for the Polaris missle system. PERT provides managerial control by computerized monitoring of immensely complex projects—for example, the 40,000 "key events" on the work schedule for activation of the Saturn V launch complex at Cape Kennedy. A form of "management of exception," PERT's main value to NASA lies in alerting its human masters quickly to problems that need managerial attention.

Freedom Is Not Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, it was my very great privilege to participate in the dedication ceremonies of the Veterans' Memorial Building at Point Arena, Calif., on Veterans Day, November 11, 1967.

Comdr. Don Fraser, of the VFW Redwood Post, his members, and the auxiliary did an outstanding job in presenting the program. The entire post membership and the Mendocino County Board of Supervisors have cooperated magnificently in advancing this building program, that will not only provide the veterans and the community of Point Arena with a fine facility that will serve greatly to benefit the people, but it appropriately recognizes the veterans of all wars for the extraordinary service and sacrifices they have made in the defense of our cherished freedom and liberty throughout the world.

The spirit of patriotism, which prevailed throughout the ceremony, is so desperately needed in this country today. Having recently observed so much focus of attention on television of the very undesirable elements of our society, I just wish it were possible to have had TV coverage of this very inspirational program. All America would have been similarly stimulated, as I was, to observe this well-received display of patriotism and appreciation for the efforts of our servicemen.

It made me very proud to be a member of this great organization, the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

During the ceremony, a particularly effective and appropriate speech was presented by Mr. T. R. "Toby" O'Bayley, Jr. Its contents were excellent.

In correspondence to me, Mr. O'Bayley advised me:

> This speech was first given by the national commander of the American Legion, Mr. William E. Galbraith, and because of its contents and their import thought it should be heard by more people.

Having been present to witness how well these remarks were received, I announced my intention to the audience to place this excellent speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—to be shared with my colleagues in the Congress and to record its contents for posterity.

I herewith submit the speech for the RECORD and urge my colleagues to read it and refer it to all American citizens—this message is very timely—"Freedom Is Not Free."

FREEDOM IS NOT FREE

(Dedication speech, November 11, 1967, Point Arena, Calif., delivered by T. R. O'Bayley, Jr., Mendocino County veterans service director)

On every hand we hear of public apathy, moral decay and a growing lack of respect for law and order. Indeed, these are signs of our times. These signs were magnified this summer by civil strife and civil disobedience throughout the land.

These are the deadly banners which have marked the beginning of the end for many of the great societies of recorded history. They *cannot*, they *shall not*, be permitted to mark the beginning of the end for this great Republic.

Every veteran knows that when you're under fire, life itself depends upon your comrades. It is then that an ounce of loyalty is worth a pound of cleverness. In coping with our troubled times, an ounce of truth is worth more than all the good intentions ever conceived.

In these next few minutes I will speak the truth to you as I believe it to be. We will speak freely and openly of both the good and the bad. Surely it is necessary to spotlight our shortcomings and expose them to discussion, for our citizens must be sufficiently aroused to correct those shortcomings, and to correct them in the American way—legally and peaceably.

Name calling contributes nothing to the solution of our problems. To counterbalance the ill effects of the futile process of charge and countercharge, we must provide a program of emphasis on the many positive aspects of our national life. Our job now, as I see it, is to promote a program of positive progress while we strive with equal vigor to eliminate the evils of apathy, self pity and greed.

Freedom, as we know it, was purchased by the blood of our forefathers.

Each new generation of Americans, and at least three generations are represented in this hall, has been called upon to add to the initial purchase price. You have assumed a certain responsibility for protecting that original investment, and no one is more aware than you that "freedom is not free."

I challenge you to make young Americans wholly aware that the task before them—the task of maintaining their great heritage of freedom—never has been, and never will be, free of pain—free of struggle—or free of individual and collective effort.

Our stock in these United States of America was purchased on dozens of battlefields around the world, in the skies and on the seven seas. Now the opportunity is ours to tell the true meaning of our priceless heritage to all of our people, and to awaken them to the grave responsibilities that are theirs to keep that heritage alive.

By every means available to us, we must strive this year to drive home to every American the fact that this precious freedom, which too many take for granted, bears a high price tag. During the year ahead it becomes our duty to make certain that every citizen understands that "freedom is not free."

We can strengthen America by insuring that all people know what this great country stands for—the things that have made it great and kept it great. It must be known and understood by all of our people that America's enemies seek to weaken us through insidious attacks against the freedoms for which a million Americans have died.

Our enemies are on the move. They are bringing pressures from within and without. It is both startling and sickening to note that a number of Americans appear to be willing to do their work. The subtle forces directing the attack against freedom have, unfortunately, enjoyed some degree of success.

They have persuaded some misguided individuals to alienate themselves from the democratic ideas and processes which are the foundation of this great Republic.

There is a growing hostility toward law and order, toward accepted standards of decent behavior—indeed, to the very concept of liberty under law. These negative factors become increasingly apparent with the growth of movements which flout the very institutions that support our government.

Embers of anarchy smoulder, and are fanned by a small minority of malcontents with nothing to offer to replace the social structure they seek to destroy.

The American people are deeply concerned to note the efforts of small groups promoting demonstrations which amount to civil disobedience. Americans are more concerned, shocked and angry over the destructive demonstrations and devastating riots that have rocked many of our major cities in recent months.

All of us recognize the inalienable right of every citizen to petition and to peaceably demonstrate on behalf of the cause which he supports. All of us recognize the difference between *rights* and *riots*. It is identical to the difference between *liberty* and *license*. "Freedom is not free," for without exception, freedom places upon every individual the responsibility for his acts.

F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover recently made this observation on the devastation and ruin in the wake of riots, and the burden these acts impose upon law enforcement. He said:

"Police officials, as well as the general public, are becoming weary of persons who, for self-aggrandizement and monetary gain, exploit noble causes and agitate peaceful groups into rioting. Some so-called leaders seem to blow hot and cold with the same breath. Their preachments are beginning to have a hollow ring. They claim to support non-violence, but do they? For instance, to publicly pinpoint certain cities where riots and violence may occur seems to be inconsistent with the doctrine of non-violence. Rather, it is more like an open invitation to hotheads and rabble-rousers in those areas to move them into action on clue. It puts them on notice that they are expected to riöt. Where are the reasons and judgment in this type of leadership?"

To repeat Mr. Hoover's question: "Where, indeed, are reason and judgment?"

There is no limit to the variety of exploiters on the American scene today. Let's take a look at the so-called "New Left" whose members harangue us day-in and day-out about peace, their freedom of speech, and all of their other inherent rights.

These people conveniently ignore the fact that the rights and freedoms they enjoy are inherent in the social structure which they seek to destroy. The distorted logic of this group, if needed it is logic, offers a fascinating study. In their eyes, America is the disturber of international peace, the oppressor, the power-mad giant. They will never admit that American power has been used only to counter direct any active communist threats to peace.

Some would have you believe that the activities of the "New Left" student group are merely college high jinks comparable to the panty raids of the past. They are raids all right, but the trophy they seek is authority—authority which has been vested in, and must remain with, the faculty and officials of our institutions of learning.

Some of these campus groups have asserted the right to come and go as they please and to say and do what they choose. In some instances they have vehemently, and sometimes violently, resisted permitting those who hold opposing views to speak on their campuses. This is very peculiar behavior for rabid defenders of free speech.

This tiny minority of students in rebellion would have us believe that their voice is the voice of young America. Well, it isn't, and their arguments and their attitudes are both illogical and irrational. If they lack the imagination to grasp what would happen to them should they seek to launch such movements to Russia, Red China or Cuba, there is little hope for them. I believe the vast majority of American college students are smart enough to avoid being taken in by the sham that some of their contemporaries would foist upon them.

The communist party sees a tremendous opportunity in that segment of today's young people whose primary motive in life seems simply to stand in opposition—opposition to anything. The party will overlook no opportunity to capitalize on the seeds of dissent which these groups are sowing.

Among the loudest and most militant of the malcontents are the Students for a Democratic Society and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. The involvement of some young Americans in efforts so destructive to America must raise the questions: Where have we failed? What have adult Americans neglected to do? Why do some of our young people revolt against the values on which the American system is founded?

First, I believe we have gone, too far in accepting the concept of permissiveness. There has been an overemphasis on *rights* and too little emphasis on the *responsibilities* that accompany those rights. We have not given proper emphasis to the fact that where individual rights are not recognized, anarchy reigns. Even though many have seen it with their own eyes, too many Americans seem incapable of grasping that fact.

Some seem to think that the ills that beset America can be purged by the fires of destruction and violence, yet they have not proposed any type of government to replace the constitutional system they seek to destroy. Is this vital matter to be considered only after our system lies in ruins under vicious attack?

The second point I would make is this: We who know that "freedom is not free" have failed to impart the knowledge as widely and as fully as we should have to the present generation. Every adult citizen of this country must shoulder his share of burden of blame for this failure, and for permitting a very real and deadly threat to develop in our midst, because we didn't take the time to make our children aware of the realities of life.

In this respect, I am reminded of a comment by the late President Hoover during the time young Americans were fighting the communist menace in Korea. He said: "Our greatest danger is not from invasion by foreign armies. Our dangers are that we may commit suicide from within by complacence with evil. Or by public tolerance of scandalous behavior. Or by cynical acceptance of dishonor. These evils have defeated nations many times in human history." Then he added: "The redemption of mankind by America will depend upon our ability to cope with these evils here at home."

These statements of our late President are all to prophetic. They support our theme: "Freedom is not free." There can be no freedom without sacrifice, no rights without responsibilities, no rewards without effort.

We have, in the past, and with striking results, linked arms with other veterans organizations, with the National Education Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and other equally outstanding groups, in the advancement of programs to promote our country's welfare. We can do so again, and we must make every American aware that "freedom is not free."

I ask only that you pledge to join me in this crusade to teach the unknowing, to awaken the apathetic, to remind the conscientious that the precious freedom which we cherish is not free.

African Dispute Settled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is certainly no secret that the arbitrary boundaries carved out by the colonial powers in Africa left the newly independent countries on that continent a legacy of thorny border problems to complicate their already very difficult tasks of nation building. What seems to be overlooked all too often is the fact that responsible African leaders, in the face of great odds and in spite of strong internal pressures resulting from age-old feelings of hostility between segments of their own peoples, have steadfastly and courageously continued to seek peaceful solutions to problems the colonial powers could keep under control only by force of arms. Such an example of statesmanship can be found in the recent meetings between President Kenyatta of Kenya and Prime Minister Egal of Somalia. Encouraged by good neighbor President Kaunda of Zambia, these two distinguished African leaders recently met at Arusha, Tanzania, to seek ways to solve the very difficult inherited border problems which have poisoned relations between the two countries since the very first days of their independence.

I am very happy that at least one great American newspaper has taken note of the event and it pleases me to insert the following into the RECORD:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Nov. 3, 1967]

AFRICAN DISPUTE SETTLED

The long border conflict between Kenya an Somalia is ended.

For four years, almost unnoticed outside Africa, Somalis and Kenyans battled over an area claimed by Kenya and peopled primarily by 200,000 somali nomads. Somalia was aided in its fight by millions of dollars in Soviet military assistance.

Efforts in December, 1965, to reach a settlement were broken off by Kenya when it learned that the price of peace then would be one-fourth of Kenya's territory.

Now, however, the two parties have agreed to a cease-fire, resumption of diplomatic relations and encouragement of trade. They are pledged to gradual reduction of emergency measures on both sides and an end to hostile propaganda.

The border question is still to be resolved, but the disputants have agreed to establishment of a committee composed of representatives of Kenya and Somalia, plus Zambia, to work for a solution.

It is encouraging to reflect that when peace is desired strongly enough by both sides, agreement is possible.

Ex Post Facto South African Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the nightmare quality of the present South African regime is presented in all its horror by the current trial in Pretoria of 36 black tribesmen from South-West Africa. Apart from the fact that South Africa no longer has any right to rule South-West Africa, these men are being tried under a law which was enacted shortly before their arrest and which makes punishable by death acts which were not illegal when committed. The defendants are also required to prove their innocence "beyond a reasonable doubt."

I insert herewith an article from today's New York Times on the subject of this trial:

PRETORIA PRESSES TRIAL DESPITE U.N.—THIRTY-SIX TRIBESMEN FACING DEATH UNDER EX-POST FACTO LAW

South Africa is prosecuting 36 black tribesmen on terrorist charges under an ex-post facto act that forces them to prove their innocence "beyond a reasonable doubt."

Under the antiterrorism statute, adopted last June, a long list of acts of political or social dissent can be termed crimes for which the maximum penalty is hanging.

Although the trial has been condemned as illegal by the Committee on Colonialism of the United Nations, it is today in its 27th day in the Supreme Court of Pretoria.

The tribesmen, from the Ovambo section of South-West Africa, which is administered by South Africa, are charged with conspiring to launch a "full-scale attack" on South-West Africa.

In October 1966, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to terminate South Africa's mandate under the League of Nations to administer South-West Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA BALKS

But South Africa has refused to accede to the decision, and the United Nations has been unwilling to use force to back up its order.

South Africa's apartheid policy—strict racial separation—has been rigidly enforced in South-West Africa, which, with an area of 317,725 square miles, is about twice the size of California. The area has a predominantly black population of 550,000, including 75,000 whites.

The 36 defendants had all been jailed long before enactment of the antiterrorism statute, which was made retroactive to June 1962. It permits suspects to be arrested without a warrant and to be held in solitary confinement.

It also authorizes the indefinite detention of those accused, dispenses with requirements for bail and preliminary hearings, and prevents any court from interfering with this detention.

The new law allows the holding of mass trials of persons charged with different offenses. Further, it makes any joint action by the mass of defendants at one time or another sufficient cause for them all to be considered guilty of acts committed individually by anyone in the group. The minimum sentence for those found guilty is five years.

Reports from Pretoria yesterday said that the state prosecutor, P. Oosthuizen, was expected to complete his case in a few days. The Ovambo tribesmen are accused of being members of the South-West African Peoples' Organization, whose leadership is in exile in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

DOCUMENTS ARE SUBMITTED

Mr. Oosthuizen submitted documents to the court yesterday that he said were subversive materials of the organization outlining a course of armed revolution.

One of the documents quoted the organization's president, Sam Nujona, as having said, "we shouldn't rely on others to liberate us—we must do it ourselves." The organization's news letters, in the Ovambo language, told of victories by its "freedom fighters," the prosecutor said.

There were 37 defendants when the trial began, but one has died.

Last March, South Africa announced the offer of self-determination and the prospect of complete independence to Ovamboland, the most populous part of South-West Africa.

The 240,000 Ovambos make up slightly less than half the population of South-West Africa, but the territory designated as Ovamboland consists of less than one-quarter of the territory, and is in the extreme north.

Apollo 4 Won a Battle, Not the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Hines of the Washington Evening Star has, on many occasions, demonstrated great perception in connection with the Nation's space program. Yesterday, once again, he sounds a note of rational judgment in the aftermath of the successful launching of a Saturn V rocket on November 9. It is good to have the situation put in perspective. Hardheaded, rational decisionmaking is especially needed in connection with such a challenging technological and engineering program.

I commend his article to the attention of my colleagues:

APOLLO 4 WON A BATTLE, NOT THE WAR

(By William Hines)

One swallow does not make a summer nor one test flight a successful space program. Last week's Apollo-4 mission is a case in point.

The flight was a success in every important respect, and as such was viewed with gratification by those who follow America's sometimes faltering progress on the road to the moon. But while the flight's significance should not be shrugged off, it should not be overemphasized either.

Mainy editorialists and commentators, immediately after the flight, yielded to the temptation to exaggerate what Apollo-4 had demonstrated. The commonest interpretation was that America's ability to land men on the moon and bring them home again at last had been proved.

It is regrettable that this should have happened, but quite understandable. Television commentators, by and large, are show-biz folk whose function is to enrich the joy of a happy occasion with enthusiastic burblings of their own. Editorialists, for the most part, are naive, reclusive souls who rarely know anything except what they see on TV.

America's ability to land men on the moon, far from being proved by Apollo-4, was not even tested on the flight. A partial test of the lunar landing module will come next year when the first "bug" is flown unmanned in earth orbit, but the real trial will not occur until astronauts try to land on the moon early in the 1970s.

It is important to the space program and to the taxpayers who support it that the public not be misled about either the capabilities or the shortcomings of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Otherwise the country will simply be set up for another K.O. punch like the one last Jan. 27, when fire sparked by carelessness and shoddy work killed three helpless astronauts and set back the program 1½ years.

The effusive reactions to Apollo-4 were more to the liking of Space Administrator James E. Webb than most of the publicity he and his agency have received in recent months. Webb, who has shown an almost pathological sensitivity to adverse comment since Jan. 27, took the opportunity of Apollo-4's success to castigate those whom he called "carping critics" of the space program.

Besides being churlishly out of place in a moment of triumph. Webb's remark was about as inappropriate as combat boots at a transvestite ball. The death of three astronauts was hardly canceled out by the flight of one unmanned rocket, and the on-time liftoff of Apollo-4 last week does not eliminate the fact that the flight was originally planned for early last January.

Webb has made it clear that he strongly objects to press criticism—however well founded—and finds onerous the annual dickering and bickering with Congress for funds. His testimony before the House Space Committee last April indicates that he believes in a closed-door, blank-check policy. On the basis of NASA's past performance, the agency neither merits such treatment nor is likely to get it.

A sober assessment of the Apollo-4 flight, and of the Apollo program in general, is in order.

The flight proved—gratifyingly on the first trial—that the Saturn-5 super-rocket will fly. Saturn-5 is an extrapolation from several earlier generations of rockets, and had innumerable rehearsals, computer runs and simulations behind it. It should have worked as well as it did if the public is to believe even a fraction of what it is told about "technological excellence" and "American know-how."

On the other hand, the flight really did not prove very much new about the Apollo spacecraft in which men are supposed to travel from Cape Kennedy to lunar orbit and back. And as mentioned above, it proved absolutely nothing about the lunar landing bug, which was not even carried on Apollo-4.

The integrity of the heat shield and accuracy of the guidance machinery were encouraging results of the test. But by contrast no one has yet proved the spacecraft to be habitable by three astronauts for long enough to go to the moon and back. This test will come next summer, NASA hopes, when the first Apollo team will fly in earth orbit. It should have come last February with Grissom, White and Chaffee in the command module.

There are many hurdles to be overcome before astronauts return from the moon. Some are operational, some procedural, and some psychological. As Deputy Space Administrator Robert C. Seamans pointed out in the aftermath of the Apollo fire, continued success can dull awareness of the possibility of failure.

The worst thing one can do with laurels, someone once remarked, is rest upon them.

Private Ownership of Individual Property Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of Real Estate Boards deserves the thanks of the American people for their courageous and upright position in favor of private individual ownership of property.

These realtors announced they oppose and condemn socialism and destruction of private ownership under the so-called "open housing" laws.

They also sounded the tocsin for the American people to speak out and defend their homes.

Compulsory equality is not an American aim—the goal is individual liberty.

I include the Associated Press release from the Washington Evening Star for November 16, following my remarks:

U.S. REALTY GROUP DENOUNCES POLICIES FOR OPEN HOUSING

The National Association of Real Estate Boards approved today a strong statement opposing open housing policies such as the Johnson administration has backed to integrate American neighborhoods.

The statement, approved unanimously at the annual meeting of the NAREB here, says:

"We oppose and condemn the enactment of laws and the use of illegal force and harassment which would compel a property owner to sell or rent real estate to one not of his choice."

Robert C. Weaver, secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, spoke to the convention yesterday, placing new emphasis on the viewpoint that an open housing policy is imperative.

PUBLIC OPPOSITION URGED

The NAREB resolution said: "We call upon government at all levels to reject such legislation." It also says: "We urge the American people to voice their objections to legislation which would so override liberty in the name of equality."

The NAREB also said civil disorders in American cities are intertwined with "inadequacy of existing social and political mechanisms to cope with the reality of our urban problems."

It proposed that members cooperate with other groups to work out "broader elements affecting housing and living standards."

But it said existing programs for low-income families "have become mired down by controversy, sacrificed to the goal of residential integration."

PUSH PRIVATE INITIATIVE

The real estate men proposed that private initiative take over more of the task, rather than government. They also said there should be more emphasis on providing the poor with rent subsidies and on providing tax incentives to private housing developers.

The resolution said there should be either new laws or administrative directives that would "end the myth that integrationist measures bring better housing to low-income families."

It said this can be done by terminating administrative policy requiring "low-income housing projects to be located in areas where they will serve an integrated tenancy."

It said the public housing program in its present form should be terminated but that low interest rates should be provided for low-income families who want to become homeowners.

Tax Stall Clouds Economic Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, in every quarter these days there is alarm over the trends in the economy. The wide consensus of those most active in the field is that we urgently need steps to stem inflation—steps both on the spending side of the ledger and on the revenue side as well.

To my way of thinking, it is unfortunate that some would still stand on the argument that we cannot endorse a tax increase until there are cuts in spending. The best we can do now is to hold appropriations down, and this is exactly what we have been doing. The timelag before these cutbacks will be felt on spending is still some months, and with all money bills except the supplemental now past the House, I believe we have substantially complied with the point that spending should be cut. It is now time to move quickly on the tax bill.

Our men in Vietnam are doing a heroic and gallant job of stopping aggression in the Far East. I wonder sometimes if Americans really appreciate the sacrifices they are making. Surely if they give all they have, and are doing it so splendidly, we at home ought to be willing to pay the small price necessary to see this venture through. It is mighty little to ask. It is also shocking and shameful that some would oppose our Government.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article by William S. White from the Washington Post, dated November 16, 1967. Mr. White makes a pointed and effective analysis of this situation, and I think it is one of the most straightforward and challenging articles to appear in recent date, and I submit it for the RECORD:

TAX STALL CLOUDS ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

A growing body of national opinion, most of it nonpartisan in both attitude and motive, is beginning to question whether the moral and economic burdens of the Vietnamese war can much longer be fairly borne without demanding some sacrifice from the country at large.

As to economics, the persistent refusal of the Democratic chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Rep. Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, to allow the House of Representatives itself even to consider the merits of a tax increase is plainly feeding an inflationary movement now more a fact than a mere fear.

Irrationally escalating interest rates are in consequence rising into what is no longer a looming menace but rather into a here-and-now reality which is worrying both the professional economists and a very large part of the American business community.

The conclusion that something must be done here to stabilize the economy and to lower the heat on the whole monetary system is, in fact, recognized not only within the Administration but actually within a wide group in Congress itself. Many there who are being permitted by Mills' irresponsibility to duck their duty to meet these issues are still not made entirely happy thereby.

Obviously, the orderly way would be the application, however painful, of temporary tax increases plus, of course, additional reductions in Government spending. But Congress has been made powerless to act, not by any studied decision that a tax increase would be bad but instead sheerly because Rep. Mills has put down a personal veto. His stated position is that he will not permit any action in the Ways and Means Committee unless the Administration—and not Congress—cuts national outlays. This extraordinary attitude rejects the undeniable Constitutional truth that Congress itself bears the final and conclusive responsibility for appropriations. That Mills can get away with it is an interesting commentary on our times.

Still it is a condition; and that is that. This being so, it is difficult to see how the alternative imposition of some kind of wartime controls can be much longer avoided, profoundly unwelcome though these would surely be. And it is precisely this circumstance that causes a majority of business leaders, notwithstanding their Republican background, to come forward in support of the Administration's tax bill.

As to the national morale, the case for a goodish dose of forced austerity is even more compelling. The plain and tragic truth is that a vast majority of Americans have never humanly identified themselves with the rarely equalled gallantry and suffering of our troops out there. These people are neither beatniks nor peaceniks—that little noisy group is off to one side—but for a variety of reasons they have seen the war as distant and unattractive and thus something to let George Q. Infantryman do. While they do not identify with the small fragment of American appeasers, they also do not really identify with the harsh and necessary national struggle.

The country at large is living it up. Is it not time to require at least some small, if only largely symbolic, sacrifices from us, the safe civilians?

Galbraith and the Hippies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, no one would ordinarily accuse Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith of being a hippie. Professor Galbraith is noted as the author of an amusing commentary on economics, "The Affluent Society," and a slashing satire on politics, "The McLandress Dimension."

But the good professor has come up with a tedious work, "The New Industrial State," which humorist Al Capp believes will achieve immortality.

Mr. Capp brilliantly dissects the new Galbraith tone in the September issue of Nation's Business. He finds that the hippies and the professor "were made for each other" because they both believe that after the rest of us have worked to make this country rich and prosperous we should turn it over to them to assure the achievement of certain "esthetic goals" at the expense of our industrial expansion.

Al Capp's words should be read by every Member of Congress and by every American who wonders just what the Great Society is getting us into.

The article follows:

GALBRAITH AND THE HIPPIES

The late John Fitzgerald Kennedy, to whose speeches John Kenneth Galbraith contributed so many sonorous passages, once said that no known wit could hope to be chosen President of the United States or of any small-town bank.

Americans, he felt, are reluctant to trust their money—or even their nation—to a funny man. And that makes sense.

To be funny, a man must be unpredictable, startling, lighthearted. And none of us wants anything unpredictable or startling—or, worst of all, lighthearted—done with our savings or our national safety.

We feel safer with a dull man.

And so, said JFK, any man who has won the affection of the public with his wit—but who wants then to win its trust—must make folks forget his past by becoming a profound, or better, crashing bore.

This theory is borne out by any collection of speeches by successful Presidential candidates, and by John Kenneth Galbraith's new book, "The New Industrial State" (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass.). Clearly Galbraith aspires to a higher level of public trust than he now holds as National Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and Warburg Professor of Economics at Harvard. Those people will trust anybody.

"The New Industrial State" ends by stating that what this country needs to pull it out of the mess it's in (the richest, most powerful, most generous, most liveable place on earth) is a "strongly creative" hand. And there are some mighty broad hints where we can find that hand; such as that it's mighty close to a certain tall economist's strongly creative wrist.

But Galbraith has one fatal handicap, and he is courageous enough to face it. He is a known wit. What's more, he's been witty about things that no man who expects the public to take him seriously should be anything but grave about. "The Affluent Society" established him as the most amusing commentator on economics; "The McLandress Dimension" revealed him as a merciless satirist of politics; there were passages in "The Scotch" that Mark Twain, in his most disrespectful observations of respectability, has not surpassed.

Clearly, Galbraith, remembering the advice of President Kennedy, decided what was needed to make the public forget his delightful past was a massive dose of dullness. Some may consider "The New Industrial State" an overdose, but no one who has tried it can ever again think of Galbraith as funny—or readable.

And since unreadability is the essential ingredient of a deathless classic, "The New Industrial State" is certain to endure forevermore on the bookshelves of serious public men, and on the recommended reading lists of conscientious colleges. Once it's a classic, all thoughtful people will assume that all other thoughtful people have read it, and this will make it unnecessary for anyone to give it another thought. That will assure its immortality.

And so now is the time, when it is merely a best seller, to find out what Galbraith's "New Industrial State" really shapes up as. When it becomes a classic, and that could happen any minute now, it will be too late. All we can do from then on is revere it, and avoid it.

You can't talk about John Kenneth Galbraith and his "New Industrfial State" without talking about Louis Abolafia. Abolafia is the "hippie" candidate for President. His campaign posters show that he has quite a bit of hair, but no clothes at all, except a hat, which he uses to cover an area other than his head. Other posters show him after he has thrown his hat into the ring and is saying "What Have I Got To Hide?"

Right here I must disenchant my admirers who may hail Abolafia as one of my fantastic creations. Abolafia is real—all too real. And I recently had him on my TV program.

Abolafia thinks it's fine for one class to produce things and another class to run things. He simply suggests that a different class take over the running end, namely those who, like himself, have not had their creative strength drained by producing anything but poetic suggestions.

Abolafia's platform is this: Now that inferior, unimaginative men (in hippie language, "the straight people," "the guys in neckties,") have created an America superior to any society anyone dared to imagine, it is time to turn over the running of it to the hippies or "flower-children."

The flower-children are the children of a generation which flowered in the Depression, and worked and fought to protect their young from the bitter deprivation they knew, and the menace of facist and communist domination they feared. The flower-children bloomed untouched by the necessity to struggle for personal survival, and now won't touch the struggle for national survival. And Louis Abolafia is their leader.

A couple of months ago, I asked Abolafia what he considered his chief qualifications for the Presidency.

"I'm younger than any other candidate," he replied, "which means I am not as cynical about things. And I'm cleaner than they are. I have never dirtied my hands in politics."

When I asked Abolafia what, as commander-in-chief, he'd do in case of enemy attack, he said, "Make love, not war."

Confronted with such a tactic, I asked him, what he thought the enemy would do.

"What could they do? They couldn't fight us. They'd have to join us. That would turn all wars into love-ins. You know—Group Gropes—they feel good and don't hurt anybody."

Who would he run with—as Vice President?

The Candidate said he would run with a chick.

Could he give me a name? He asked a nearby blonde in a miniskirt her name. It was Janet, I think, or it may have been Sandy, which proves how easily we forget our Vice Presidents.

I asked him who he would choose as his Secretary of State.

It must be, he said, a cat who digs that the time is now to grab the scene from the Man in the Necktie, tell him to either cool it or flake out, and give the flower-children the chance to produce something groovey from our national grossness (or Gross National Product) and did I have any suggestions?

At the time, I didn't. How could I know that, a few blocks from my home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, an old and cherished friend was adding the final flourishes to a manifesto demanding everything the hippies were demanding? How could I know that as the first hippie President was flowering in East Greenwich Village, the first hippie economist was flowering at Harvard? How could they know about each other? How could an Abolafia, with no suits at all, dare to dream that a Galbraith, who has several, would be perfectly in tune with him?

I don't suggest that Abolafia reads "The New Industrial State." I don't suggest that Abolafia reads. But if he will take the word of one who proved his friendship by putting him on my TV show when I could have had Harold Stassen, he will offer the State Department job to John Kenneth Galbraith. He couldn't find anyone more devoted to hippie ideals. This may be a surprise to Galbraith, and to Abolafia, too, and it may not be a pleasant one for either of them, but every shred of evidence proves that they were made for each other.

Hippies claim that Beauty and Art are more important to the national welfare than material things, and those who devote themselves to Beauty and Art (hippies) at all times, except when they're cashing their unemployment or allowance checks, should outrank those who merely produce (the straight people, the Joe Sinceres, the hubcaps, the Daddy Warbucks; in a nutshell, the whole non-hippie bit). The hippies, however, don't go along with those who believe that producers should be beaten up and all their productions burnt. That's the Non-Violent movement.

On Abolafia's campaign posters his qualifications for being Chief Executive are listed as: Artist, Poet, Philosopher.

Does Galbraith support Abolafia? Let his book answer: The perfect "New Industrial State" will exist says Galbraith, when we realize that "beyond the area of goods and services, however supplied, and the demand for them, however contrived, is the future world of Aesthetic Experience. This is served not by factories or engineers, but—by artists."

No Harvard professor ever gave any Presidential candidate a more unqualified endorsement.

Would anyone but Abolafia suit Galbraith? Let him answer, in his own words, from his own classic:

"Aesthetic achievement is beyond the reach of the industrial system—in conflict with it."

Is Galbraith bitter about a society not yet run by Abolafia? If it's bitterness you want, try reading this aloud, as it must have been written, with clenched teeth:

"Aesthetic goals (today) must usually prove that they yield economic advantage."

But if Abolafia gets in, would Galbraith feel better? Read his answer:

"Aesthetic goals would be accorded priority—and industrial efficiency would be subordinate to them."

He concedes, as Abolafia does, that this "would be inconvenient" and "usually achieved at some cost to economic growth." But he stands shoulder to shoulder with the hippie candidate, and with all the hippies in the world, when he declares that "Beauty is worth the sacrifice of some increase in the Gross National Product."

We haven't had an economist like that since Edna St. Vincent Millay. We haven't had an economic theory that made as much good, old-fashioned sense since she stated:

My candle burns at both ends;
  It will not last the night;
But, ah, my foes and, oh, my
  friends—
It gives a lovely light.

Galbraith says it better, of course, and Abolafia says it even better than Galbraith. But it is the sort of thinking that made the Insull empire, Farouk, and Billie Sol Estes the household words they are today.

Mrs. Eugenio Cuaresma is Hawaii's Top Career Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of Hawaii's foremost community workers, Mrs. Eugenio "Connie" Cuaresma, has been selected as the top career woman of the year by the Kauai Business and Professional Women's Club.

Mrs. Cuaresma was honored by her local club during a recent observance of National Business and Professional Women's Week, and it is a pleasure for me to join her many friends in extending congratulations on this well-deserved recognition.

A lifelong resident of Hawaii, and a native of my home island of Kauai, Mrs. Curasema is a graduate of Waimea High School and the University of Hawaii. She has been a schoolteacher for the past 18 years, and at present she teaches the sixth grade at Kaumakani School.

"Connie" is the only woman member of the Kauai County Charter Commission. Her deep interest in community affairs is evidenced by her service as a member of the Kauai County Office of Economic Development, and as a Director of the Kauai County Community Chest Campaign. She serves, also, as a member of the managing committee of the Kauai Veterans Memorial Hospital.

The mother of a 6-year-old son, Mrs. Cuaresma, has taken a keen interest in counseling the youth of her community and in combating juvenile delinquency.

A noteworthy article about Mrs. Cuaresma, who has given so much of her talent and time to the betterment of her community, appeared in the October 25, 1967, edition of the Garden Island. I take pleasure in inserting this article in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues in Congress:

MRS. EUGENIO CUARESMA IS KAUAI'S TOP CAREER WOMAN

BPW members honored Mrs. Eugenio (Consuelo) Cuaresma of Kekaha, who was selected as Kauai's top career woman during the observance of National BPW Week at a cocktail and dinner gathering Saturday, October 21, at the Wailua Country Club.

Mrs. Don Tada was mistress of ceremony and as she introduced Mrs. Cuaresma, a maunaloa lei was presented her by Mrs. Jack Reynolds, president of Kauai BPW. Mrs.

Cuaresma thanked members for honoring her.

Mrs. Cuaresma was born on Kauai and lived in Hawaii all of her life. She is a graduate of Waimea High School and the University of Hawaii where she majored in education. She has taught for the past 18 years and teaches sixth graders at Kaumakani School. She has also conducted classes in adult education since 1946 and assisted individuals to become naturalized citizens and to take their role as better citizens in the community.

As active member of the Kekaha Methodist Church she serves as chairman of the board and as Sunday School teacher and spends much time in civic work and takes keen interest in counseling and combating juvenile delinquency. A past president of the Kauai BPW Club, Hawaii Education Association, Kauai County WYCA Association and she is currently serving as vice president of Kauai Filipino Women's Club, Kekaha Community Association, and president of the Kauai Veterans' Hospital Women's Auxiliary.

The only woman serving on the Kauai County Charter commission, "Connie" also serves on the Office of Economic Development, County of Kauai. She is a director of the Kauai Community Chest, Kauai Crippled Children and on the managing committee of the Kauai Veterans' Memorial Hospital.

Kauai's nominee is also listed in Who's Who of American Women. In her leisure she enjoys reading, collecting records and baking. She is also talented in music, drama and always called to serve as mistress of ceremony.

The Eugenio Cuaresman are the parents of a six year old son.

"Bum Raps" Possible, Even in Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Eugene, Oreg., Register-Guard, which was published November 2. I commend to my colleagues this perceptive editorial:

"BUM RAPS" POSSIBLE, EVEN IN OREGON

Congress is considering a big anti-crime bill. Some of it is aimed at crime and would do such useful and necessary things as help beef up local police departments. But much is aimed squarely at the Supreme Court and decisions that the Court's detractors insist coddle criminals. Among those decisions are rulings on the right of an accused person to have an attorney at all times and on the admissibility of his confession.

The Court's critics can rummage through the cases and find horrible examples of peope who were let out of jail only to commit new crimes. A favorable example is that of Danny Escobedo, a Chicago hoodlum whose name graces one of the signal cases of this kind. Sprung after his conviction of killing his brother-in-law, he's been in trouble ever since.

However, the Court's critics have not been able to show, statistically and in a cause-and-effect manner, that these controversial decisions have had any marked influence on the crime rate. Many citizens, presumed innocent until found otherwise, are treated more fairly today, thanks to those decisions. And many were imprisoned under conditions that hardly square with the American system of justice. Among them is a certain Gideon, who was railroaded into prison in Florida and who later gave his name to another of the landmark decisions on the rights of the accused.

But one need not look to Florida for a horrible example. Klamath Falls offers the example of a certain McWilliams who in 1958 killed his wife's boy friend. A federal court has just set aside his conviction of second degree murder, for which he was sentenced to life. The facts are these:

This McWilliams, his estranged wife and the boy friend were drinking whisky and beer and playing cards. In the course of these amenities, the boy friend pulled a knife on McWilliams. McWilliams took it away from him. They drank and played cards some more until the boy friend invited McWilliams to step outside.

Outside, the boy friend began swinging a rake at McWilliams. The estranged wife ran out with a shotgun. McWilliams took it away from her and with it hit the boy friend under the chin, killing him. The gun was not fired.

Still drunk, McWilliams drove to the police station and confessed what he had done. The wife came down, too, and gave testimony damaging to her husband. So passed Saturday night in Klamath Falls. On Monday, the district attorney charged McWilliams with first degree murder, offering to knock the charge down to second degree if McWilliams would plead guilty, which he did. The district attorney also told him he could be paroled in from six months to two years, which was not true. After waiving his right to a lawyer, he was sentenced, on Wednesday, to life in prison.

Nobody told him he didn't have to testify when drunk or that he had a right to a lawyer at that time. He heard his wife make a statement damaging to him, but did not know that she could not testify against him without his consent. Nobody advised him of the legal definitions of first and second degree murder or manslaughter, nor of the possibility of a plea of self-defense. The judge did not question his plea nor his waiver of a lawyer.

Thanks to Oregon's public defender and the American Civil Liberties Union this man got justice. But it took nine years. Congressmen who speak so readily of "emptying the jails" should look more carefully into the kind of bum raps the Supreme Court is trying to prevent.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Chairman, debate in the House regarding the Economic Opportunity Act has occupied the broad attention of the entire Nation. In Hartford, Conn., where the public has been closely concerned with the opportunities and problems of the poverty campaign, a fine editorial appeared last week in the Catholic Transcript, publication of the archdiocese.

It warned of the dangers which might grow from the destruction of the program and of the bill. The Committee action removes those fears, but I believe the editorial deserves attention to show this domestic issue in balanced form. I therefore offer it for the RECORD, as follows:

FALSE ECONOMY IN THE HOUSE

The federal government's anti-poverty program is in immediate danger of assassination in the House of Representatives. The President has asked for an appropriation of about two billion dollars to fund the program for another year. Some leaders in the House propose cutting this by at least a half. Already, with available funds exhausted, anti-poverty projects are closing down in various parts of the country. The program as a whole is doomed to crippling, perhaps termination, if its enemies in the House prevail.

What is being requested by the President is roughly equivalent to what the Vietnam war is costing us each month. It is an anomaly, if not an obscenity, to contend that a country which can afford an outlay of two billion dollars a month for the prosecution of an apparently endless and bootless war on the remote Asiatic mainland, cannot afford a like sum for a whole year's effort to grapple with the root causes of the povery which is blighting our cities and poisoning our society.

The attack on the anti-poverty program is being made in the name of economy. The program is said to be wasteful. Even if one grants that the Vietnam war is not, in its entirety, a monstrous waste unparalled in our history, there is still incalculable waste involved in it. Vietnamese profiteers have made fat fortunes at our expense. Huge amounts of supplies have been stolen. Hardly are they on the docks when the wholesale thievery begins. Other sizable amounts go into the black market. There have been allegations that some of our supplies expeditiously find their way into the hands of the forces we are fighting. The American taxpayers are taking a scandalous rooking. But the House economizers appear unconcerned. There is an occasional yelp of complaint, but nothing like the clamorous, concerted drive to kill the domestic anti-poverty program.

Why such stoic indifference to the greater waste, and such stern and self-righteous opposition to the lesser? And why, for that matter, such determination to economize at the expense of the desperately poor on the part of people who abruptly abandon concern about economy when it comes to legislation which reeks of the pork barrel and to tax legislation notoriously unjust in the favor it shows the richest of their constituents? It is small-mindedness, which fails utterly to grasp the critical situation in the cities and its fateful bearing on the health, stability, and future of the nation as a whole.

Some of the absurdly false economizers see their denial of adequate funds to the anti-poverty program as punitive. It is in some sense politically punitive, aimed at hurting the administration now in office. But this intention, although certainly operative, they would not admit. They do admit a wish to visit chastisement on those responsible for rioting in the cities. Yet the refusal of sufficient financing for the anti-poverty program is calculated not to quiet unrest but to increase and further embitter it. The punishment devised by the economizers will fall upon all the American people, as the consequences of a partial, pinchpenny address to the vast and critical problem of poverty begin to unfold.

Undoubtedly there have been mistakes in the anti-poverty program, some of them whoppers, most of them venial. But the program is still new, still experimental. There have also been mistakes in the space program, and far more costly ones. Is this a reason for abandoning or degutting the space program? We hear no such demands from the House or from any other quarter.

The conquest of poverty is incomparably more urgent than the conquest of space. A massive, sustained, imaginative, and expensive attempt to eliminate poverty, to give the poor means and incentive for self-betterment, to bring life and hope to a segment of our society which is turning gangrenous—with inescapably fatal consequences for the whole social organism: this is imperative. It is imperative not only in the interest of the poor, not only in that of the urban sector, but also in that of the country at large. It is probably the most important order of business now before the nation. But powerful forces in the House of Representatives are making monkey business of it.

Air Pollution Control

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 780) to amend the Clean Air Act to authorize planning grants to air pollution control agencies; expand research provisions relating to fuels and vehicles; provide for interstate air pollution control agencies or commissions; authorize the establishment of air quality standards and for other purposes.

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Chairman, 4 years ago we launched a national attack on air pollution with the Clean Air Act of 1963. Under this act and its 1965 and 1966 amendments we made great strides in air pollution control. We initiated several interstate abatement actions which will ultimately benefit millions of people; we published standards which are bringing all new automobiles under control beginning with the 1968 model year; we have begun to increase our research efforts and have begun to make progress toward the control of sulfur oxides and other important gaseous pollutants which were once clearly beyond our reach. Through the matching-grants provision of the Clean Air Act, State, and local control programs have been able to increase their budgets from less than $13 million before its passage, to approximately $26 million during the current year.

But as the administration was the first to point out, we have only begun. Last January, in recommending that the Congress adopt the Air Quality Act of 1967, the President said:

> The pollution problem is getting worse. We are not even controlling today's level of pollution. Ten years from now, when industrial production and waste disposal have increased and the number of automobiles on our streets and highways exceeds 110 million, we shall have lost the battle for clean air—unless we strengthen our regulatory and research efforts now.

In the years ahead, air pollution will worsen in direct proportion to the Nation's economic growth, increases in urban population, demands for heat and energy, use of motor vehicles, disposal of refuse, and production and consumption of manufactured goods. Given the fact that all these factors are rapidly increasing, it is reasonable to assume that it will not be long before air pollution reaches truly critical proportions in many parts of the country. To avoid the impending dangers to the Nation's health and welfare, both our research efforts and our regulatory activities must be strengthened. Strong regulatory programs are needed to insure full application of economically feasible methods of controlling pollution at its sources.

The proposed Air Quality Act would strengthen regulatory measures to prevent and abate pollution of the air, and would provide for expanded research on the causes and control of pollution of the air. The bill would also empower the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make certain that State governments meet their responsibilities.

The Air Quality Act of 1967 would provide the tools and the impetus, the fuel and the thrust to move ahead in a desperate race against catastrophe. The approach is sound. The need is urgent. I strongly support enactment of this bill and urge my colleagues to join in passing it.

Priorities and the 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, many Members of the House have shown a lack of compassion this week while considering the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. The majority party, resisting the battering attempts to cut the guts out of the program, did manage to keep the scope of the war on poverty intact.

The House vote to cripple the war on poverty is a sad, sad commentary on the irrational priorities set by the 90th Congress. Our Nation's health—the hungry, the undereducated, the unskilled, and the underprivileged should have received primary consideration in the House.

After approving nearly $5 billion for the space program, nearly $5 billion for public works and an appropriation to develop a supersonic transport which will eventually cost $5 billion, the 90th Congress regrettably made drastic cuts in the poverty program.

Mr. Speaker, I believe there is an urgent need to cut spending on the space and supersonic transport programs the public works projects which can be deferred until the war in Vietnam is over, and other nonessential programs.

The President should set the priorities which the House has failed to do.

Many in Congress also fail to realize that the withdrawal of these funds is false economy. The House action will merely shift the burden to other areas such as social services, job training programs, education and several other forms of assistance. The end result would cost the Federal Government many more millions of dollars.

Many people have been restored to the group of taxpayers from the ranks of taxeaters. They have been taken off the relief rolls. On-the-job training programs and training to upgrade job capacities have been most successful.

A reduction in war on poverty funds would adversely affect too many people too quickly. It will affect programs already in progress. How can we forget the disturbances and riots which have increased steadily from 1961 through the summer of 1967. I fear that repercussions in the summer of 1968 will not be easily subdued and that the 90th Congress will be haunted by their unrealistic order of priorities.

Acceptance Speech Given by Thornton W. Owen Upon Receiving the Distinguished Service Medal Presented by the Cosmopolitan Club of Washington, D.C., October 26, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the Cosmopolitan Club of Washington recently conferred its distinguished service medal on Mr. Thornton W. Owen. In his acceptance of this award, Mr. Owen made a number of comments which I believe are worthy of consideration by all of us. While we may or may not agree with all of the things Mr. Thornton suggests, the points he makes are certainly valid and his speech focuses attention on some of the more critical problems of the District of Columbia.

I insert the text of Mr. Owen's speech in the RECORD at this point:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH GIVEN BY THORNTON W. OWEN UPON RECEIVING THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL PRESENTED BY THE COSMOPOLITAN CLUB OF WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 26, 1967

It is indeed an honor for me to have been chosen to receive the Cosmopolitan Club's Distinguished Service Medal. I feel quite humble considering the long list of distinguished individuals whom you have previously honored. Whatever honor falls on me likewise must fall on my associates who have made it possible for me to participate in many activities.

I also feel that you not only honor me but also my wife, Collette, whom many of you know, as behind whatever success I may have had, she stands. She has been nearly as active in various activities as I have been—particularly in the work of the Florence Crittenton Home and the D.C. Society for Crippled Children—her pet projects.

I would like to take this opportunity to talk to you about the City of Washington. It is a great community. I feel privileged to live in it and fortunate to be one whose family has resided and operated a business here for four generations—my two sons now being associated with the family firm.

By most American standards, we are the envy of a great many people all over the nation. We enjoy the fastest rate of growth of any major urban area. We have the highest per capita income. With 300,000 Federal employees, we have the most stable economy of any major city. We have the finest airport in the world. We are getting ready to inaugurate 150 mile an hour train service to the northeast. There is no sign of let-up in the type of development by which we normally measure a community's progress.

Unfortunately, this Capital City has its share of social, economic, cultural and political problems. Some of them are real and widely acknowledged; others are projected guesses. Still others are largely conditions and forecasts based on emotional applications of outmoded guidelines which are no longer valid in Washington or any other expanding concentrated urban center.

Nevertheless, business and professional leaders who mainly comprise this audience must recognize that the time has come when more thorough, courageous, dynamic, and effective solutions for our city's problems must be developed.

The change in the District of Columbia form of government indicates that now is the time when there must be more detailed attention to local problems by all of us. Some of these are going to be local District of Columbia matters which will not concern suburbanites, but most of them will affect, in some measure, this entire metropolitan area—the market place—or the social and economic entity which comprises the City of Washington.

The inner-city, the Federal City, is the reason for the existence of the entire community. It gives the whole community its character, its vigor, its reason for being. Washington, like every metropolis no matter how well its suburban areas are planned and built and run, will not grow and develop and prosper if its central area becomes sluggish or ineffective or dies.

On the whole, we believe intelligent community leaders throughout the entire area subscribe to this principle. There are some, however, who take the opposite point of view. It is important that there be general acceptance of the basic premise that there can be no Montgomery or Fairfax Counties or Falls Church in their present happy and growing state without a healthy and active District of Columbia serving as a nucleus to hold this entire organism together.

The Metropolitan area of Washington, like many other cities, is the victim of obsolete political boundaries making coordinated planning difficult if not impossible, and encouraging both people and business to seek tax shelters in the surrounding suburbs. The various parts of the Metropolitan area all face in general the same problem of providing common services for their people—sewer, water, transportation, education, land use planning, police and fire protection, etc., while the District faces the problem of furnishing the same services not only to those who live within its political boundaries but also to those who work in the District during the day returning to the suburbs at night. How much more sensible to provide such services through common agencies or authorities. An attempt at solving the mass transit problem through the creation of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority by means of a three way state compact is a step in this direction. How much better if the various political areas united to solve some of their other common problems. The Council of Governments, commonly referred to as COG, is a beginning but it does not go far enough. The suggestion has been made that Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties unite to provide certain common services.

In the meantime the major challenge we face in the District today is to make the newly appointed commissioner-council form of government work. Regardless of whether we were for or against the change. The fact remains we have a new government. There are some who think it won't work and who will, therefore, just ignore the new setup and try to dodge any association with it. Certainly there are going to be some rough spots until the new procedures take form and win acceptance. Even strong advocates of the plan admit that this settling down period may be protracted and troublesome in a number of respects, which is only natural whenever the top structure of an organization is changed. The duration of these conditions can be shortened if all of us will put our shoulders to the wheel and cooperate in eliminating the rough spots and making the system work more smoothly.

There are also many various independent government agencies whose activities directly affect the District. Every effort must be made to make them more responsive to the District Goverment and the needs of the community.

I am one of those who believes that this Federal City very much needs voting representation in the Congress if it is to be run and developed as I am sure all of us want it to be. There is now, for the first time, every indication that the Congress will adopt another amendment to the Constitution giving us such representation.

Congressional representation, it seems to me, will give us an opportunity to deal with many of the formidable problems confronting us more effectively. With one or more voices in the Congress, we should be able to get quicker and more positive recognition of the Federal Government's special responsibility for helping to solve many of our local problems—most especially our financial ones. Voting representation will have great practical value in handling District legislation in committee and on the floor. I appeal to all of you here today to lend your personal support to the campaign for voting representation in the Congress.

This city (the District) must be designed and equipped to do more than just provide sites for federal buildings. It must serve the people employed in these buildings with superior city services. It must develop a modern transportation system—including not only rapid rail transportation but also freeways as well as parking—to move people and goods. It must move toward a more efficient use of land. We need to abandon the low density development pattern of many years if we are to solve present housing problems and broaden the economic base necessary to sustain vigorous and healthy growth and increase the tax base.

Why must Washington let slums and substandard housing occupy the most valuable areas of the city? There is no reason why we should waste most of our land, our streets, our waterfront areas, our parks, when by raising the height limitation and increasing the permissible density in the "close in areas", we can create at much less cost additional housing and at the same time help to control much of the sprawl taking place in the suburbs. We waste this "Third Dimension". Modern air conditioning as well as the modern elevator have the opportunity of changing the potential for urban living as much as the automobile has contributed to suburban sprawl. People who enjoy high density living will be able to enjoy it much closer to where they work and shop, while those who want suburban living will not have to travel so far to enjoy it. There is no more reason why the central city should be abandoned to the poor and the disadvantaged, than that they should be burdened with the solution of problems they are incapable of solving. Let's be practical—the only way to bring low density areas closer in is to develop higher densitiies at the center by increasing the height limitation.

Now let me briefly comment on one of the major problems facing Washington and all urban communities today—the maintenance of law and order.

It is a shocking thing when people fear to go out at night and run the risk of being yoked or molested. Everybody losses—the city, the businessman, the employee—when residents are afraid to shop after sundown. Efforts are moving ahead to increase the size of the police force, strengthen the prosecution and probation staffs, and increase the number of judges. Accomplishing these things takes time but they are being done. These matters require the concentrated attention of the leadership of this national capital area.

Like the riots which have plagued other cities—but which fortunately have not occurred here—the basic elements leading to crime reduction are education and jobs. They go hand in hand.

I am sure you have heard the estimates that in two of our ghetto areas—lower Cardoza and Anacostia—the unemployment rate runs to 10 or 15%. This would indicate that in these two areas there is an important portion of the 2 to 2½% of the unemployment in the District reported by the Department of Labor. These are the areas of great lawlessness. Some 80% of the violent crimes reported are committed by Negroes against Negroes and overwhelmingly in the ghetto areas. These are also the kinds of areas where major riots have occurred in other cities.

Private employers, both in the inner city as well as in the suburbs, can play an important role by improving their internal training procedures and by employing these people when trained. Many employers have already adjusted their requirements in the light of current job market conditions. Without a growing trained labor force business will stagnate. Low income employees must be able to live closer to where they work.

A most meaningful effort is the Concentrated Employment Program. About $5 and one-quarter million has been allocated for the training and counselling of the unemployed in these two ghetto areas. Vigorous efforts are being made to train and equip these people to hold decent jobs.

Our big problem today is to educate and find jobs for the youth of this community. Our principal law breakers are youths, many 14 and 15 year olds. There are also a large number of dropouts who absorbed little or nothing in the school system which equips them to be self sustaining, law abiding citizens in a congested urban area. One of the major efforts of the District of Columbia must be to improve the public education system. The proposal for an elected school board may help.

Big improvements are underway. The new Federal City College, as well as the new Washington Technical Institute, authorized by Congress last year are being staffed and plans are being made to have them in operation before another year passes. Over a period of years these are going to be extremely important institutions. They will provide the training that will enable the young people of the city to get jobs and hold them—moreover to get better ones than they now can qualify for.

But the public elementary and high schools are the ones that need to be improved the most. It simply is not reasonable in this community and in this time and age that we should graduate from high school students who, for all practical purposes, have no reading or writing ability. Let's teach fundamentals first, then educate. Let's not put the cart before the horse.

Personal experience qualifies me to testify to the high quality of public education in the District in years gone by. Somehow we must restore such status to our school system. It will be expensive and it will be difficult, but in the long run it will prove to be an exceedingly good investment.

Poverty is a matter of degree—what is poverty to one person is not to another. Slums in the center city are not the cause of poverty but rather the evidence. Jobs—

the result of proper training and education—will go a long way toward eliminating poverty. Give a man a job he is qualified for and you give him self respect and a stake in the community. Every job means one less person on the welfare roll—something businessmen are most interested in. Every job means another consumer and the whole community profits as a result. Unfortunately, the illusion has been created that poverty can be eliminated over night. This has built false hope. If we all try poverty in the long run can be largely eliminated. However, do not expect it to disappear over night or entirely. There will always be some one at the bottom.

I have attempted to highlight some of the problems we face both within the city as well as in the suburbs. We are not just residents of the District, or Maryland or Virginia, but of the "greatest city" in the world. Without a vibrant, growing community united to solve our common problems we shall surely fail. Without a pulsating active and healthy central city, the suburbs will wither on the vine. Let's remember we are residents of one large community—*Metropolitan Washington*. Let's solve our problems together. We must all help to build a better city.

"Operation Gratitude" Is a Welcome Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has been engulfed by demonstrations protesting the presence of American troops in Vietnam.

Many of these demonstrations have been crude, riotous, and certainly have given comfort only to the enemy.

That is why it is refreshing to call attention to a different kind of demonstration—a patriotic type showing some faith in our Nation—sponsored by the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism.

This is the organization that recently organized the highly successful Operation Gratitude across the country.

At that time, thousands upon thousands of loyal Americans took part in Operation Gratitude, a program dedicated to respect for law and support for the men and women in our Armed Forces, especially those serving in Vietnam.

Operation Gratitude unquestionably lifted the morale of the men fighting in Vietnam, for it made clear to them—and to the world—that we love and honor the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States.

There should be more Operations Gratitude and the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism will be glad to help, if asked, to organize them.

The committee acts only in an advisory and coordinating role. It does not sponsor and can help only if asked.

The committee was formed by those who organized the "Support Our Men In Vietnam" parade in New York City last May—the longest parade in two decades.

Charles W. Wiley is the executive director of the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism, which has its headquarters in the Commodore Hotel, 109 East 42d Street, New York City 10017.

Mr. Wiley points out that the committee's efforts are nonpartisan and nonpolitical; that it takes no stand on administration policies and does not dispute the right to responsible dissent.

Peace, Mr. Wiley says, is not the issue—all sane men, he adds, are for peace.

Every community in America, I believe, should become associated with the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism. The least we can do is show our fighting men in Vietnam that we, the people of the United States, are behind them every inch of the way.

Edith Bowles Cited for Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my constituent, a 25-year employee of one hospital, formerly named Manhattan General Hospital and then Beth Israel Medical Center, has received the coveted award of the Anticrime and Antinarcotic Committee of the Upper Park Avenue Baptist Church "in recognition of meritorious service performed in combating drastic problems facing our city, State, and Nation, promoting human dignity and good will toward all men regardless of race or religion, and securing total protection and total equality for all people in these crucial times."

As admission officer for the drug addiction service of the Norris J. Bernstein Institute, everyone agrees she is the "right person in the right job."

The New York Daily News recently detailed her valuable work, and I am pleased to bring that article to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

ALL THESE ADDICTS NEED IS URGE TO KICK THE HABIT

(By Lyn Johnson)

Desire for a "clean" start is the only qualification needed to kick the drug habit at Manhattan General Hospital, where 85% of those who walk in looking for help are off narcotics completely when they walk out.

Since its founding with 35 beds in 1961, the drug addiction service has admitted nearly 32,000 addicts. The service has grown to a capacity of 320 beds in the 500-bed hospital, a division of Beth Israel Medical Center.

The "gatekeeper to the doorway of hope," admissions director Edith Bowles, interviews addicts at the rate of 135 to 200 a day. Many addicts are put on a waiting list, as the service always is filled.

Last year Miss Bowles admitted 6,820 addicts. She says more than 85% were withdrawn successfully. In the last six months, she admitted 4,008 with 85% success.

This success is attributed to setting an attainable goal: "We're not reaching for the moon trying to remake an addict into a new person. We simply aim to take him off dope and give him a fresh start, if he wants one," Dr. Harold Trigg, service director, says.

That's the catch. If an addict isn't ready to kick the habit, he doesn't have to, and in some cases won't.

NOT MANDATORY

The drug addiction service at Manhattan General is not mandatory: "The unsuccessful cases signed out on their own before they were detoxified," Miss Bowles states.

"That's the only disheartening part of my job. When one leaves without a medical discharge, I feel that we failed him somewhere."

The treatment program is the only one of its kind and the fastest in the city. Detoxification takes an average of seven days.

GIVE SHOTS RIGHT AWAY

As soon as an addict walks in off the street, he gets doses of Methadone, a synthetic drug. He receives shots in equal proportions to the amount of drugs taken outside.

The amount of Methadone is cut down gradually. If an addict goes through withdrawal pains after the last dose, he just feels uncomfortable, as if he had a cold.

"There's no real pain of withdrawal. We don't have anyone clutching the bed or crawling the walls in agony," Dr. Trigg points out.

Spirits are high in the addiction service. Patients wander around on the floors or cluster in groups to discuss their problems and help each other.

LONGTIME ADDICT

In the center of a small group on the fifth floor is Joe. He has been in the hospital two weeks and will stay three weeks more in the rehabilitation program.

At 30 years old, he was hooked for six years: "This is my 10th time back here, but for the first time now I can see and cope with my problems.

BEGAN IN CRISIS

"I failed the program here when I went back on drugs—the program didn't fail me. Now I know I'm to blame for what happens to me; the rest of the world isn't. I'm responsible for what I do."

Joe grew up in a broken home in Harlem and saw "too much of life too soon." At 10 years old he knew about "pot" and heroin. Yet he had no desire to touch it until his wife left him when he was 24.

He showed the "tracks" on the veins of his arms: "These will never go away. I've paid for my mistakes. People don't like to hire an ex-addict even though he's clean."

Charlie agreed. He, like Joe, has finished a year in college. Charlie wants to go back to school this fall.

STARTED FOR "KICKS"

Charlie started on heroin for "kicks" six years ago when he was 22. His "associates" told him how great it was: "It didn't take too long to get hooked, and those guys are no friends of mine now."

Like many addicts, Charlie wants people to understand that the problem is psychological, not criminal.

"We're not freaks with horns and a tail. It's an escape from responsibility for many of us. For those like me, it starts with curiosity about the 'high, beautiful feeling.' Then it's a habit that's murder to kick."

Many visitors who go through the drug addiction service are surprised that the patients are not "different-looking."

There are numerous activities for the addicts. They have access to television, arts and crafts materials, basketball courts and punching bags.

On the 80-bed women's floor, therapy includes sewing, knitting, leatherwork and art projects.

The drug addiction service is large in number and wide in scope. The profit comes from "helping an addict get a fresh start and watching him stay on the right side of the path," Miss Bowles says.

Civic Action Resolution Endorsed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, with 37 colleagues—Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BRASCO, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DADDARIO, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. DOW, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. ERLENBORN, Mr. FINDLEY, Mr. FINO, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. HALPERN, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. JOELSON, Mr. KARTH, Mr. KUPFERMAN, Mr. KYROS, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. LONG of Maryland, Mrs. MINK, Mr. O'KONSKI, Mr. OLSEN, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. REES, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. TIERNAN, and Mr. WRIGHT—I have introduced the following resolution:

H.J. RES. —

Joint resolution to establish a joint investigatory committee on the United States Civic Action Program in Vietnam

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) there is hereby established a joint congressional committee, to be called the "Committee on Civic Action in Vietnam" (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "committee"), to be composed of—

(1) nine members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

(2) nine members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate.

(b) Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect its powers, and any such vacancy shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original appointment.

(c) The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members.

SEC. 2. The committee shall conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the pacification program in South Vietnam, including—

(1) the Civil Operation and Revolutionary Development Program;

(2) the Commodity Import Program;

(3) black market activities; and

(4) such other programs and factors as the committee deems important.

SEC. 3. The committee shall first report to the House of Representatives and the Senate the results of its investigation and study, together with its findings and such recommendations as it deems advisable, six months after the date of the enactment of this resolution, and annually thereafter. Such report shall be filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives if the House of Representatives is not in session and with the Secretary of the Senate if the Senate is not in session.

SEC. 4. For the purpose of carrying out the investigation and study authorized by this resolution, the committee or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress as such times and places within or outside the United States, whether the Congress or either House thereof is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

SEC. 5. (a) The committee is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and clerical and stenographic assistants, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures, as it deems necessary and advisable.

(b) The committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, and facilities of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States, and of private research and other agencies.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Tran Van Dinh, head of the Overseas Vietnamese Buddhist Association here in Washington, has written an interesting letter to me relevant to this resolution. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include that letter in the RECORD at this point:

OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE
BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., November 16, 1967.

Hon. LESTER WOLFF,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLFF: I have read with interest and admiration in to-day Baltimore Sun your proposal for a legislative plan to set up a joint congressional committee to probe into non-military aid for South Viet Nam. I am happy to know that already there are 30 of your Colleagues who support your initiative. You have done a great service for your country and mine. As a Vietnamese citizen who is paying taxes in this country, I have been very much concerned, especially for moral reasons, for the waste which has been so obvious in the conduct of the AID program in my country. The Vietnamese in the past held very high the virtues of austerity, integrity and honesty and it would be a tragic irony that the Vietnamese officials are now corrupted by the assistance from the US which holds the same principles.

Please send me a few copies of your proposed plan so I could forward them to my friends in the Vietnamese Congress.

Sincerely yours,

TRAN VAN DINH.

"My Georgia"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, in every generation there are men whose lives are touched with the ability to inspire their fellow men. This talent may be great or small, but we are the richer for all of it.

Such a man is Robert M. Shepherd of the friendly and fast-growing city of Warner Robins in my district, whose poem, "My Georgia" makes the Georgia sojourner wish to turn homeward again, to the strong land of his birth. It is with a mixed spirit of pride and longing that I share this poem, by permission from the author, with my colleagues:

MY GEORGIA

My Georgia,
Such beauty under God's great sky,
Where blossoms of springtime make robins cry.
Where God and man join hands at birth,
Its beauties equal nowhere on earth.

Her rolling hills and winding streams,
Through beautiful green meadows, of such a sight are dreams.
Her giant oak trees stand tall as the hills,
Her restless rivers, to the ocean spill.

Where magnolia blossoms and dogwoods blooming bright,
Gives a touch of heaven to a moonlit night.
In a forest of azaleas blooming wild, honeysuckle vines lace the trees,
Sending exotic fragrances into the evening breeze.

A touch of God's heaven for man
To see, this beautiful land,
My Georgia.

Thailand and Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the November 1 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reprint—on pages S15669–70—an article on the security situation in Thailand by Dr. Robert Buckhout, of Washington University in St. Louis. Much of Dr. Buckhout's article, which originally appeared in the Nation on October 2, is balanced and factually correct, but it contains certain errors of fact and it makes a fundamental argument which is seriously misleading: namely, that the situation in Thailand today is comparable to that in South Vietnam a few years ago.

The fact of the matter is that Thailand is and has always been very different from Vietnam, and that the conditions which contributed to the development of Communist insurgency and hamper its suppression there are not those that prevail in Thailand. For one thing, Thailand has no colonial past. This is of utmost importance, as the Communists invariably derive much of their support in former colonial countries by associating themselves with the independence movement. In South Vietnam, the Communists and nationalists together fought the French for years, and had a popular cause and widespread support. When the French left, the Communists had thousands of trained, experienced, and equipped guerrilla fighters on the spot. In Thailand, on the other hand, the Communits must create the cause, win the support, and build a guerrilla force from scratch.

Thailand is a united country—not divided as was Vietnam into north and south, or fragmented by a division colonial divide-and-rule policy into a multiplicity of religious and political sects and groupings. The King, popular and respected scion of a 186-year-old dynasty, is the focus of national unity; well aware of his popularity, the Communists have carefully avoided attacking him in their propaganda. The Buddhist religion, to which some 95 percent of the Thai adhere, is supported by a vigorous and unified church, firmly and actively opposed to the spread of communism.

Never having been under colonial administration, the Thai have developed over the years a respected, experienced, and well-trained body of civilian and military administrators at all levels. Dr. Buckhout's description of the regime as a military dictatorship is a gross and inaccurate oversimplification of what is, in fact, a rather loosely structured, responsible, and benevolent oligarchy of both military and civilian leaders under whose guidance the Thai people have enjoyed stability and economic progress while democratic government is gradually evolving. Municipal elections are scheduled for December, provincial elections for the following month, and promulgation of the new Constitution, which has been ip preparation for several years, is also scheduled. Several months after the Constitution takes effect, national elections are to be held.

Thanks to careful management of its resources, the Thai economy is one of the fastest growing in the developing world, with an average annual GNP growth rate of 7 percent since 1961, rising to 9 percent last year. Still primarily agricultural, with rice exports as its major foreign-exchange earner, Thailand is expanding its industrial sector by some 15 percent a year. And, unlike some other Asian nations, Thailand has no land-reform problem; 85 percent of its farmers already own their own land.

As Dr. Buckhout points out, the northeast has not in the past shared adequately in the prosperity of the rest of the country; its per capita income is one-third to one-half less than that in other areas, and it continues to suffer from periodic drought, poor soil, and lack of roads. The Government is energetically trying to make up for past neglect, however, and is focusing great attention on improving conditions in the depressed regions. For years, what Dr. Buckhout characterizes as a military dictatorship has expended little more than 15 percent of the overall national budget for defense, while allocating nearly 60 percent to economic and social development. In the current budget, defense and police expenditures are higher, reflecting increased attention to the insurgency problem. The Government's northeast development plan, which seeks to coordinate its efforts in the depressed areas, covers public health, education, roadbuilding, irrigation, and other agricultural services, and community development.

In sum, Thailand is a true nation, with a long history and tradition of national independence and unity, strong cohesive influences, a stable and growing economy, and an effective government which traditionally has been the major force for innovation and modernization in the country and is doing an effective job of dealing with them.

A point reflecting considerable confusion is Dr. Buckhout's suggestion that the external support and Communist domination of the insurgents and their use of systematic propaganda and selective assassination techniques are "debatable," since, as he says, "banditry and rough politics are common in the northeast." Such a suggestion is hardly compatible with the armed propaganda meetings which are the most characteristic feature of insurgent activities in the northeast. A terrorist band will surround an isolated village, herd its inhabitants together, and put on a program of several hours duration involving lectures, song-and-dance routines, and crude plays, all attacking the Government and the Americans, extolling the virtues of communism, and urging the villagers to join or at least lend their support to the terrorists. On occasion, these shows end with the public assassination of a village leader, volunteer defense worker, or alleged Government informer. This is indeed rough politics—and with an unmistakable Communist flavor.

Interrogation of captured or defected rank-and-file insurgents and known Communist leaders, as well as examination of documents and other materials found at insurgent camps or taken from prisoners, provide clear evidence of massive external Communist involvement in the insurgency. The Chinese transmit every day hours of radio propaganda, both from Peking and from the clandestine "Voice of the People of Thailand," attacking the Thai Government and urging the violent overthrow of that Government. Since 1962, hundreds of Thai have been trained in China and North Vietnam in the techniques of sabotage and terrorism, and have then infiltrated through Laos back into Thailand. The headquarters of the major insurgent organization, the so-called Thai Patriotic Front, and its subsidiary group the Thai Independence Movement, ostensibly led by Thai defectors, are both located in Communist China. It is hardly coincidental that terrorism and insurgency began to reach significant levels of intensity in the northeast in late 1964 and 1965, just when the Chinese Communists began organizing and publicizing these alleged patriotic organizations, and that Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi's January 1965 comment to a Western diplomat that guerrilla warfare might soon spread to Thailand proved a remarkably accurate prophecy. It might be noted that the Thai insurgency is even now on a vastly different scale from that in Vietnam even years ago; true, incidents of terrorism went from 41 in 1965, to 1968 in 1966, and 124 in the first half of this year—but in South Vietnam, there were 3,300 such incidents in 1960.

Dr. Buckhout states that it is "unclear" how Thailand's independence can be preserved by "converting [it] into a forward base for U.S. strategic policy," and fears that a Thai Government "totally committing itself" to U.S. policy can be exploited by "insurgents who remain identified with nationalistic symbols." However, this is clear enough to Thailand's leaders. Deputy Prime Minister Praphat Charusathien told the press in August that "all free countries must cooperate" with the United States in resisting Communist aggression, stressing that—

> This is of the greatest importance for the Thai people and for the people of all free countries.

Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman told a group of American social scientists the same day that, if the United States does not meet the challenge in Vietnam—

> The challenge will go to you—in New York, Kansas City, San Diego . . . It will go there sooner than you expect.

He added that—

> Thailand was playing host to 35,000 U.S. troops because they are brave enough to fight Communist expansion in Vietnam. They can't go to Burma, Laos, Cambodia, India, Malaysia, or Indonesia but they can come to Thailand to do a gallant job.

Thailand's young men also seem to be in little doubt as to the threat to their country's independence; when the government called for 1,000 volunteers for Vietnam early this year, some 40,000 men responded.

As for the allegation that the Thai Government is totally committed to the support of U.S. policy and that its natural independence is thereby undermined, anyone with a close acquaintance with Thailand and its long history of independence, and anyone who has had to deal with its frank and outspoken leaders, knows that this is just not so. When the Thai disagree with us, as they did at times during the Geneva negotiations on Laos, or when they are concerned about U.S. public criticism of our stand against Communist aggression in Southeast Asia, as Foreign Minister Thanat was during his recent visit to the United Nations, they say so in no uncertain terms. And it was Thanat who told the first ministerial meeting of the recently organized Association of Southeast Asian Nations—to whose formation he made a major contribution—that—

> What millions of men and women in our part of the world eagerly want is to erase the old and obsolete concept of domination and subjection of the past and replace it with the new spirit of give and take, of equality and partnership. More than anything else they want to be master of their own house and to enjoy the inherent right of shaping their own destiny.

Surely this is a voice of enlightened nationalism—hardly an abandonment of national interest for total commitment to the United States or any other alien policy.

Thailand has been aware for many years of the threat represented by expansionist Communist aggression, and of the need for free nations in Southeast Asia to stand beside the United States in working together to oppose it. Thailand has a deep and serious commitment to collective security. When the North Koreans crossed into the south in 1950, Thailand was the first country to follow the United States in offering ground troops to the United Nations to meet the invasion. In 1954, when the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization—SEATO—was formed, Thailand was the first country to ratify the treaty, and it has strongly supported the organization ever since.

A final question Dr. Buckhout raises is whether we are not committed to defend the "stability of the Thai military dictatorship" against both an outside military threat and an internal political one. Again, the question is loaded by an oversimplified and inaccurate description of the regime with which we are dealing, and to this extent does a disservice to the type of serious examination of a critical question which Dr. Buckhout and his colleagues are attempting. Of course, our commitment to help Thailand defend its freedom and territorial integrity against a foreign invader is not in question; it is clearly spelled out in the SEATO Treaty and the Rusk-Thanat communique of March 6, 1962. As for an internal political threat to the regime, we have agreed, at the request of the Government of Thailand, to help the country suppress internal terrorism and insurgency which, under external direction and with external support, are striking at its stability and security. Of course, we recognize that a government unable or unwilling to permit the evolution of the political status quo may be extremely vulnerable to internal instability and insurrection. As was pointed out above, however, such a description is not applicable to the present Thai Government, which is scheduling a series of elections and is soon to promulgate a carefully drafted Constitution. In addition, it should be noted that over the last year or two there has been considerable decentralization of authority to Provincial Governors, and active programs have been initiated to train local leaders in self-government at the local level.

The primary objective of both our military and our economic aid to Thailand is to increase the capacity of the Thai to meet the insurgency threat. Since its inception in 1950, the military assistance program has significantly improved the equipment, training, and effectiveness of the Thai Armed Forces; currently, it is designed to help the Thai combat insurgency, maintain their ability to meet a conventional external threat, and train and equip their present and projected force in Vietnam. Our economic aid has helped meet the needs of people in depressed rural areas through the accelerated rural development—ARD—program, which assists the Thai in digging village wells, building roads and small dams, improving agricultural output, and generally contributing to improved rural living standards. In addition, a public safety program has helped train and equip the provincial police in order to enhance rural security, and has helped make the border patrol police into an elite security unit, which is not only combating insurgency in the border regions but also carrying out extensive civic action programs.

It should be stressed that, although our aid has reached substantial levels, the Thai themselves finance most of the counterinsurgency and rural development programs with their own funds, and rightly insist that these must be their programs and under their control. As for our military presence in Thailand, it emphatically does not mean that we are directly involved in fighting insurgency there. Most of our forces are engaged in or supporting operations directed at North Vietnam and Vietcong infiltration, and fewer than 1,500 officers and men are involved in Thai programs, most of them as military instructors and trainers. Despite the New York Times story quoted by Dr. Buckout, none of them is attached to a Thai unit below regimental level, and all are stringently enjoined from accompanying the Thai on antiguerrilla sweeps. For a time, a U.S. helicopter unit was ferrying Thai security and development personnel; this unit was withdrawn in January when Thai helicopters and pilots took over the job. The insurgency is a Thai problem which they wish and expect to resolve themselves with our help but not with our participation. Our people on the spot are convinced that they can do it.

To sum up, the risk of ever-increasing American involvement which Dr. Buckout's article has conjured up simply does not accord with the facts. Thailand is not Vietnam: it possesses powerful forces for unity and stability which Vietnam has not yet developed; it faces a level of insurgency far lower than that already prevailing in South Vietnam long before the United States became significantly involved; it is governed by an effective regime which, if not popularly elected, enjoys wide support and respect; and it is proudly determined to put its own house in order and take care itself of preserving its freedom. There is good reason to believe that, with continued selective help from us, the Thai Government and people can do just that.

Secretary Trowbridge Sounds Note for Pittsburgh Businessmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, during our recently concluded debate on the war on poverty I commented that jobs are the key to the dilemma of the poor—and that the war on poverty is an investment in people, designed to transfer individuals from the liability side of the Naton's balance sheet to the asset side, from tax-eating recipients of welfare to tax-production workers. And I said that I was proud that Pittsburgh has already established a comprehensive employment program, an OEO and labor partnership, to find and develop jobs for nearly 2,000 hard-core unemployed, with 350 jobs pledged by the city, and private industry asked to respond with the rest. Industry will respond, I know, as they always have in the past in solving public problems with private responsibilty.

I am very pleased, therefore, to note that Secretary Trowbridge has sounded the same "Investment in People" theme in his luncheon address before the Pittsburgh Commerce Institute, an institute initiated by the businessmen themselves in pledging the expertise and services of the Department of Commerce to create employment and develop talent and skills in the untapped labor force.

Under unanimous consent I submit the remarks of Secretary Trowbridge for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE ALEXANDER B. TROWBRIDGE, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT THE PITTSBURGH COMMERCE INSTITUTE, PITTSBURGH, PA., NOVEMBER 17, 1967

I am delighted to be with all of you today, and to thank the people who have made this Institute possible—for this has been planned and in large measure executed by the businessmen of Pittsburgh. It is good testimony to the sparkle that has always characterized the Pittsburgh business community.

At the outset, I'd better state that it is *not* true that the Commerce Department is moving to Pittsburgh—it just seems that way. However, I hope that we have moved enough of it here to give you a flavor of the many services the Department provides to the business and the public.

I have both business and sentimental ties to Pittsburgh. In my business and governmental experience, I have built many friendships in the corporate community here; but long before that, I spent a very pleasant half-year at Shadyside Academy. In those carefree days, I can't recall that I worried a great deal about such things as air pollution, structural unemployment, city planning, or urban renewal—but I am now grateful that some of your businessmen and civic leaders *were* concerned about them. At that time, this city was making its first moves along the road to becoming the renaissance city—the showplace of responsible urban planning.

This city has always taken a do-it-yourself attitude toward economic problems. Only last week I learned that two European concerns are interested in establishing plants in Pittsburgh as a result of some intensive spadework by Bill Boyd of the Pittsburgh National Bank. On his own initiative, Bill arranged a meeting in Paris of 50 bankers and industrialists representing eight countries. I think the prospective benefits should be obvious: It will mean increased business for Pittsburgh and the Nation; it will mean more jobs; and, it will enhance our balance of payments accounts.

Pittsburgh is still in the forefront as America's major cities struggle with a new wave of problems that threaten to strangle out great centers of business and social life. Mayor Barr helped organize the conference of mayors and businessmen which will give greater coordination to your efforts to cope with these problems. I would like to devote most of my time today to a discussion of the predicament of our cities, and in particular, the role of the businessman as a problem solver.

But first, let me say a few more words about what is transpiring here today. In the meetings with Commerce officials, you hopefully are finding some new, specific ways in which the Department can be of help to you in your business. Our mission is to serve business and the public, and we have thousands of experienced, talented people and a great deal of sophisticated equipment at your disposal. In terms of credentials, we boast of nearly 600 Ph. D.'s, 1,300 persons with masters degrees and 475 lawyers. Perhaps more important to your needs is that many of our employees have previously enjoyed productive years of business experience. Our activities include sending probes to the ocean floor and weather satellites into space; we gather the great bulk of statistics on business and the economy; we disseminate scientific and technological data; we supervise the issuance of patents; we forecast the weather for the next day and the economy for the next year. After today, I hope the Department will seem somewhat less distant to you. It's your government—your Department—and if you haven't found what you are looking for, drop us a line or come visit us—the door is open.

Next Monday our great Census clock in the Department will register the arrival of our Nation's population at the 200 million mark. Even with heavy immigration, it was not until 1915 that we reached 100 million population; we added another 100 million people in about 50 years. It is entirely within the realm of possibility that the U.S. population will have grown by another 100 million in the next 23 years.

We still have ample land and abundant opportunity for coming generations. If they take stock of themselves next Monday morning, most Americans can look forward to a firm financial future—a means of earning a living and the prospect of higher income, adequate diet, suitable housing, education for the children, with some money to spare for luxuries and some income in their advancing years. We can also take stock as we come through our 81st month of steady economic expansion during this month of November.

The American businessman, be he an independent entrepreneur or a salaried executive, has grown and prospered with the economic expansion of the last 80 months. Indeed, he has been a vital element in fostering our unprecedented prosperity, as well as beneficiary of its rewards.

Probably the highlights of this expansionary period have been the scope and confidence reflected in the increase of our productive capacity—a 39 percent gain in real production matched with a 63 percent increase in real business fixed investment.

Businessmen saw the American market potential and rose to meet the needs and capabilities of that market. With real personal income expanding by 37 percent, the American economy demanded more of its producers—and those demands were met. Manufacturing production rose 53 percent, mining output gained 25 percent, utilities produced 55 percent more; with an overall average increase in consumer prices of only 1.8 percent.

The rewards of this expansion have been large and widespread. The workers and the executives of America gained 60 percent in total wages, salaries and other forms of compensation during the past 80 months. Corporate profits rose 91 percent after taxes, and dividends increased by 71 percent. The value of outstanding shares climbed by 80 percent or some $365 billion. Hence we gained, and gained handsomely, for a job well done.

What we have seen is continuing evidence of the American businessman's basic credo—"There must be a better way." The past 80 months have brought forth many better ways, and we are economically, socially and physically stronger as a result. As we look back, we surely gain confidence for the future. Our government's ability to enhance the economic climate, and business' capacity to enrich our Nation—both key partners in progress—are proven in strength and in resiliency. Our task is to keep it moving in a sustained and sustainable upward line.

There is widespread agreement among business and government economists that the growth will continue, with strong indications that the rate of increase will be excessive and that inflationary pressures will be all too obvious. It is to curb these pressures, and to relieve the dependence on monetary policy, that the President has urged the 10 percent tax surcharge and a program of non-defense expenditure cuts. The Federal deficit, potentially at a $25-$30 billion level for the fiscal year, simply must be brought into more manageable proportions. The money market today is all too clearly showing the need for prompt and positive tax action by the Congress. On the expenditures side, I can assure you that the pressure is on—from top to bottom—to cut back and trim and defer expenses in the Federal budget. The President, and all those who are in charge of managing governmental programs, are taking this responsibility seriously.

A moment ago I said that we have lots of room and lots of opportunities for coming generations. But even though our economic expansion has pulled millions of people above the bare subsistence level, it is not enough. Some 16 percent of the people in this country still live at or below the poverty line—in congested slums, on obsolete farms, or around wornout mines. The reason for the unemployment of these people is *not* because there are no jobs; it is because there are not enough jobs which fit the qualifications of those in the poverty pockets, or because they don't know where to look for suitable jobs, or because there is a lack of adequate transportation between the jobs and the jobless. President Johnson's anti-poverty programs have made considerable progress in dealing with these root causes of unemployment, as well as other aspects of poverty.

Perhaps the most vital of all these programs are those which train people for jobs or create jobs for them so that they can become self-supporting with a self respect which can only come from a firm place as participating members of society. And there are tangible benefits as well. It costs about $2,500 to keep a man in jail for a year, and it costs about $2,000 per year to sustain a mother and one child on welfare.

The President has asked me to coordinate a Test Program for Job Development. It offers broad Federal asistance to encourage business to hire the hard-core unemployed by underwriting part of the extra risk and extra cost. Two days ago. the Avco Corporation became the first participating company in this test program. The government will asume part of the cost of training 232 unemployed men and women in the Roxbury area of Boston who will be trained for jobs in a printing plant which Avco will build in that area. Twenty-one other major corporations—several of whom are represented here today—have expressed support for the program and are formulating plans through which jobs for the hard-core unemployed can be developed.

This is not a question of encouraging businessmen to engage in charity work. We recognize that most of the permanent jobs will be created by profit-seeking businessmen. We do ask that you consider the ghettoes and other marginal areas as potential fields for new business—and that you consider the people who live there as an untapped labor force. If there are unusual obstacles or abnormal risks involved, this program may be able to help surmount them by use of a Federal capacity to share some of the special risks.

As a test, this program is being focussed first on five cities: Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Washington, D.C. The range of business ventures to be considered will be limited only by the imagination and energy of businessmen. My special representative for the test program, William E. Zisch, is the single point of contact for companies seeking government help, and he can arrange what we call "one stop service" for the business man who wants to deal with the government.

We also would like to encourage larger corporations to team up with small businessmen who operate in economically deprived areas. Plans for this phase of the program have not been completed, and we will welcome any suggestions. This spirit was demonstrated in this conference. I understand that Gulf Oil and some other corporations were most energetic in encouraging some small businessmen to attend this Institute.

While our test program is limited to the cities I have named; because it is a pilot program, there are of course unlimited ways in which the business community and individual firms can join the fight against poverty and despair—and to their own economic advantage. Companies of every size and description have recently inaugurated a broad range of enterprises in slúm areas.

We in the Federal governmet fully understood that profits provide the chief motivating force for business. Naturally, any corporate manager must consider profits as a prime objective in fulfilling his obligations to his stockholders. Moreover, if we are successful in creating profit-making opportunities and jobs in a few neglected areas through our test program, other firms in other places with hard-core unemployment problems will get the word and launch projects on their own initiative.

Right here I want to say that I have a profound respect for the ingenuity of American business, its awareness of the social and economic problems that confront us in so many big cities, and the imagaination it can bring to bear upon the solutions. As I have said I am not appealing for charity but for the application of tough business thinking—and shrewd business criteria—to these problems. This is an opportunity for forward-looking businessmen to make a very considerable public service contribution, and—at the same time—to plan projects that can spell profits as well as good citizenship. To put it another way, righting the social and economic scales will create not only human dignity but also purchasing power.

Recently I made some inquiries to determine how deeply businessmen have become involved in the anti-poverty campaign. Even this informal survey, conducted in only a couple of dozen cities, turned up numerous instances of business participation. Some businesses, of course, are working in job training and other government programs under contract; others are working voluntarily with the Federal government, local governments, foundations, Negro leaders, and labor unions; and, more importantly, many of them are going it alone or in cooperation with other businesses.

The very largest corporations, with huge amounts of resources at their disposal, are participating. As you will recall, President Johnson recently announced that a group of insurance companies have set aside $1 billion for investment in construction in the slums.

And some very small businesses have figured out ways to participate. One resourceful American entrepreneur whose name is doubtless unknown to you—Charley Head of Phoenix, Arizona—sharpens saws and other tools for only a penny if they are used in slum improvement. His personal crusade for better housing started when a church group volunteered to help with new construction on an Indian reservation.

This hardly matches in magnitude the contribution of the insurance companies, but it is a human and dramatic example of one man's initiative and business acumen. I suspect that Charley is doing pretty well sharpening tools for non-slum work at his regular prices.

Unfortunately, I haven't many Charley Heads to point to. But our random survey turned up an amazing number of firms concerned about community problems—and doing something about them.

For example, companies in Hartford, Connecticut, are involved in 38 social programs involving commitments of money, manpower, and facilities.

So are the automobile companies which have been moving into ghettoes in Detroit in an active search for new employees from deprived neighborhoods. The response has far exceeded their expectations.

Alcoa and Reynolds have completed or have under construction urban renewal projects in Washington, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Richmond, Hartford, Providence, Syracuse and, of course, here in Pittsburgh. Some of these projects have been sold to non-profit organizations or cooperatives.

U.S. Gypsum has invested $1¼ million so far in a rapidly expanding project to rehabilitate tenements in East Harlem. The purpose is to test the market for new building materials and to explore the feasibility of renovating slum housing. The company also is rehabilitating six slum buildings in Cleveland and is studying similar pilot projects in Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Oakland.

The National Association of Manufacturers had documented some 70 cases in which companies have inaugurated programs to provide employment and education and training programs. These programs include part-time jobs and counseling for high school dropouts; special academic instruction, ranging from basic courses for illiterates to high school subjects; and special efforts to create jobs for persons with prison records and others with no work experience.

Smith, Kline and French operates an information center in Philadelphia to help slum residents acquire knowledge about education, credit, and consumer problems. The company is also engaged in rebuilding rundown apartment houses.

In Cambridge, Massachusetts, KLH Research and Development Corporation is working with the government in establishing a pilot program for an all-day, year-round school for young children whose fathers and mothers work in a plant nearby.

Seven hundred companies in the Boston area are participating in a Jobs Clearing House which compiles an inventory of vacancies as a means of facilitating the matching of men and jobs. This type of program is gaining in popularity. In Kansas City, 43 firms participated in a successful program to find underprivileged youths and steer them into jobs or job training. At a job fair in Houston, businessmen found jobs for more than 1,000 young people in two days of intensive work. In Los Angeles, employers pledged to hire 25,000 persons during a special television program, and the next day state employment offices were swamped with applicants.

In addition to the aluminum companies and U.S. Gypsum, other building materials firms are becoming active in slum construction. Johns-Manville has offered to experiment with the construction of 125 low-cost homes in Phoenix; the homes would cost about $6,000, including the price of land. Some enterprising companies came with the idea of stacking mobile homes to provide low-cost townhouses or apartments.

Finally, there is the venture which was managed by Bill Zisch, the Watts Manufacturing Company in Los Angeles. This operation, established as a subsidiary of Aerojet General, employs residents of the Watts area as workers and in some superivsory positions, and it is about to go into the black two years after it was inaugurated.

These are only a few examples of how private business is engaged in public problem solving, but I hope you get the idea: business is already participating on a substantial scale. And it is doing so with both public responsibility and private profits in mind.

Extending economic opportunity to the neglected areas is a joint responsibility of business and government. The Federal government provides less than 4 percent of the jobs, and state and local governments another 12 percent; the remaining 84 percent are employed in the private sector. We all have a common stake in blotting out poverty in America. But the resources in your hands are often greater than those we have in Washington. We hope we can provide the stimulus, but we look to you for much of the inspired practical leadership which we always count upon.

The census statistics on poverty tell us that a steadily expanding economy, plus these special government and business programs I've mentioned, have made significant inroads into the poverty ranks, but we still have a long way to go. The high Negro unemployment reflects the extent of poverty because because so many of them are trapped in the central cities or on small, marginal farms.

We need to create less than 350,000 jobs to bring the rate of unemployment among Negro men down to the national average for whites, This task is not insurmountable for an economy which has been creating 1.5 million jobs a year.

In the past few years we have demonstrated to the world an unprecedented pattern of economic sucecss; a system which will soon be turning out $800 billion worth of goods and service a year. In the not too distant future, I hope, we can show the world that our system extends economic opportunity and holds out the hope of personal dignity to everyone, and that this Nation of 200 million people still regards individual initiative, talent, and skill as our most precious resources.

Thank you.

Gala Premiere Benefits Hope School for the Mentally Retarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we here in the Congress have long demonstrated our concern for, and interest in, the welfare of the mentally retarded. Through legislation such as the Community Mental Health Centers Act, we have provided facilities and services to the retarded. As great as the Federal effort in this area has been, there is more than can be and will be done. Fortunately, the Federal effort has been augmented by many State, local, and private programs.

In this light, I would like to call to the attention of our colleagues the work of the Hope School for Mentally Retarded Children, which is located in Miami, Fla. The school is a private, nonprofit, nonsectarian organization. Under the guidance of its very capable executive director, Mrs. Judy Holland; an outstanding staff of professional men and women; and a dedicated board of directors, Hope School endeavors to train exceptional children to more readily face the world around them.

Since its inception in 1954, the goal of the school has been to prepare prenursery, and elementary school-age children for family living through concurrent programs for resident and day students regardless of their economic needs. For those who are unable to pay, a program of scholarships has been established.

Thus it was that the world premiere of the motion picture "Tony Rome" was of particular significance to Hope School since the premiere was a benefit for the school. A glittering audience gathered at the Caribe Theater in Miami Beach for the premiere which was followed by a late supper at the Fontainbleau Hotel.

A highlight of the evening was the school's presentation of plaques to Frank Sinatra, who is star of the picture, and Mario Noto, who is Associate Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service here in Washington. Mr. Noto's citation acknowledged the assistance he has given to the school over the years.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to salute Frank Sinatra and Mario Noto and, at the same time, to wish the Hope School continued success in its efforts for mentally retarded children.

Cummings and Goings: Thought of Nuclear Warheads Circling Over Los Angeles Upsets Scribe, Ridgely Cummings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have consistently urged the exploration of every possibility for international agreement on stopping the spread of nuclear weapons.

Unless we move rapidly to work out a nonproliferation treaty, with adequate safeguards and inspection control provisions, we may miss civilization's last real chance to avoid nuclear destruction.

We have no time to lose in this effort, for, as President Kennedy said, "Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind."

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I was encouraged to read a very thought provoking article written on this subject by Columnist Ridgely Cummings in the November 9, 1967, edition of the Highland Park News-Herald & Journal, one of the Los Angeles northeast newspapers.

I would like to take this opportunity not only to congratulate Mr. Cummings on his excellent article, but also to commend the broadminded editorial policy of northeast newspapers, which allows its columnists to express themselves freely on controversial subjects.

Under unanimous consent, I include the text of Mr. Cummings' fine article in the RECORD at this point:

CUMMINGS AND GOINGS: THOUGHT OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS CIRCLING OVER LA UPSETS SCRIBE

(By Ridgely Cummings)

I have long been convinced that the people who make high level decisions on the details of some future nuclear war between or among the U.S., Soviet Russia and Red China are slightly off their rockers.

I figure they are sane enough to leave their homes and climb into limousines and be driven to their non-bomb-proof offices, there to carry on the ordinary routine of government.

It is only when they begin to make plans for nuclear warfare that could turn our little planet into an uninhabited cinder that sanity departs.

Consequently I have a tendency to skip headlines with the word "nuclear" in them. This is done on the assumption that sensible people out-number the nuts and nobody is going to be so foolish as to drop nuclear bombs on the other guy.

That's why I missed one of the big news stories of our time.

BOMBS IN ORBIT

It broke Friday afternoon, Nov. 3, 1967.

Not until the following Tuesday, when I heard a radio discussion of FOBS, which stands for Fractional Orbital Bombardment System, did I become concerned.

After hearing the radio discussion of this frightening development of FOBS—nuclear-armed orbital missiles circling overhead—I asked my bride to dig out back papers to find out more about it.

She found a Nov. 4th paper which carried a story quoting defense secretary Robert McNamara as saying not to worry.

Turned out I had read that particular newspaper fairly carefully. I recognize stories about the Kirschke murder trial, a landslide in Santa Monica, the Pope recovering from prostate gland surgery, the search for a wealthy man's daughter among the Hippies.

But in line with my blind spot I had completely overlooked the story about the new Soviet weapon.

RUSSIA VIOLATION

From the news accounts it appears that it is not yet in orbit, although the experts on the radio seemed to think it is and were upset about Russia's violation of the United Nations treaty which bans nuclear weapons in outer space.

McNamara described the possible Soviet weapon as a nuclear warhead blasted into orbit and capable of being kicked out of orbit by retrorockets which could bring it down on designated targets.

There is supposed to be only a three minute interval between the firing of the retrorockets on the orbiting missile and its impact 100 miles below on some earthly target.

McNamara is quoted as saying the FOBS doesn't violate the treaty banning nuclear weapons in space because the warheads are only in fractional orbit and not full orbit.

SHORTER FLIGHT

He admits that a fractional orbital bombardment system warhead would be 10 minutes shorter than the 30-minute flight of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) on which the U.S. is pinning its faith.

It would give only a three minute and 500 mile warning, he admits.

But he says the FOBS has disadvantages of less accuracy and smaller payloads than the ICBM.

So we are not to worry.

And anyway by 1972 the U.S. will have manned orbiting laboratories in space with astronauts ready to shoot down the FOBS as they appear.

This is insanity piled on insanity.

If we explode these nuclear warheads 100 miles above the earth, it seems logical that the atomic radiation will poison upper space and soon fall down to poison us all.

TIME TO SPEAK

Normally I devote my column space to writing about local news. Certainly enough happens on that level to keep me plenty busy.

But it seems the time has come to speak out against the fools and nuts who obviously are planning to blow up the world.

Since we have been lucky enough to get a treaty signed banning nuclear weapons from outer space, we should use every means possible to make sure nobody breaks this agreement.

And that means us as well as them.

I have been told by civic leaders who have been briefed by the military that we have huge silos, big holes in the ground, scattered all over the nation, with crews on standby, waiting for the word to release their big birds of destruction on our so-called "enemies."

I've also been told that we have huge planes flying around on constant alert, armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs, ready for the word to proceed and drop.

THE JITTERS

If this is true—and various movies like "Dr. Strangelove" and "Seven Days in May" have been made on this assumption—then it is no wonder that the target areas are a little jittery.

I can understand their feelings because it upset me to hear that an orbital bombardment system, even if it is only fractional, may be put over my little flat in L.A.

I don't know the difference between a fractional orbit and a full orbit—a difference which seems to mean a lot to Mr. McNamara.

But I know one thing. I don't want nuclear warheads orbiting around over me and my family.

Nor does Ivan in Russia or Chang in China like the idea of an armed intercontinental ballistic missile pointing in his direction, only 30 minutes away.

GATHERING OF NUTS

It seems if civilization is going to survive then our slightly nutty leaders who dreamed up this situation must get together with the other nutty leaders of other lands and decide to stop all this foolishness.

Otherwise one paranoid among them can blow up the whole works.

The little people who stand to be blown up are going to have to demand patient negotiations to stop this nonsense.

We are going to have to speak up. It's a crime to remain silent any longer and by cur silence give consent.

To Set Standards for Redistricting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, the road to redistricting has been a long and tiresome one. As a member of the House-Senate conference, I can testify to that fact. The managers of both Houses spent many a day discussing the intricacies of this most complex problem. It is with some regret that I say that the conference was unable to produce a bill with permanent redistricting standards. No less disappointed than I was Congressman CHARLES MATHIAS of Maryland, for his efforts in this regard were unsurpassed. He has worked continually toward the end of achieving some accord on redistricting. His recent bill, H.R. 13691, is simply one more in a long line of commendable efforts on his part. He has written a very incisive and thought-provoking letter to the New York Times, which it is my pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues. The letter follows:

TO SET STANDARDS FOR REDISTRICTING

TO THE EDITOR:

I commend The Times for keeping before the public the complicated question of Congressional redistricting.

Public education includes indicating clearly were the problems lie. On the second conference report on the Celler bill it is evident from your news columns that the principles of equitable districting were maimed, but not by the House.

In regard to permanent standards to take effect after the 1970 census, the House conferees did accept the Senate provisions, including the Kennedy amendment emphasizing compactness. The eventual rejection of this cannot fairly be laid at the door of the House Judiciary Committee, since its chairman and members have fought for such standards for many years and were simply outvoted in a difficult conference.

In regard to interim standards, the House worked from the obvious fact that one-man, one-vote, in practice, depends on up-to-date statistics. The 1960 census figures are seriously obsolete. To require widespread redistricting on this basis could subvert the principles of fair representation rather than advance them. Rapidly growing areas, in particular, would be denied adequate voice, especially in states which have already redistricted since 1960.

CONFUSING FOR VOTERS

We must consider also the stability of political processes. Continual redistricting is extremely disruptive, as it confuses voters and candidates and complicates the communication between elected and electors which is the key to real representation. At-large elections in populous states can undermine the principles of sound government even more.

My own experience as a conferee convinced me that House rejection of the second conference report would be like mailing a directive to a dead-letter office, since the conference committee would probably never meet again.

House adoption of the report had more positive results. The report was forwarded to the other body, where it appeared that continued debate could produce new instructions for the Senate conferees. At least it might prevent disruptive at-large elections in 1968 and 1970, and avoid the new inequities resulting from applying panaceas in the absence of reliable statistics and any Congressional mandate at all.

The recent House debate did have the depressing atmosphere of a funeral, but the House conferees attended this funeral not as murderers but as mourners. Understanding and empathy are in order. We should not bemoan the unfortunate past, but rather continue to advance the principles of equitable, orderly redistricting. I, for one, have introduced a new bill (H.R. 13691) incorporating the Senate-passed permanent standards previously accepted by the House conferees. I hope that you will join me in encouraging passage of such a measure.

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

Chronic Alcoholics Are Victims of Disease: Court Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent State court decision has further advanced the judicial interpretation that chronic alcoholics are victims of a disease and should therefore be wards of public health rather than law enforcement authorities.

In view of the increasing interest in the problems of alcoholism, both nationally and in the Nation's Capitol, I believe my colleagues would be interested in a decision rendered by the criminal court of Fulton County, in my own State of Georgia. The decision follows:

The State of Georgia *v.* A. L. Burger, Case No. 65537, Criminal Court of Fulton County

Order Nunc Pro Tunc. Entered this 18th day of August, 1967.

The Court finds that A. L. Burger, the Petitioner, is a chronic alcoholic, and that at the time of the original sentence, and at the time of the revocation of the sentence imposed by said Court, the misdemeanor offense for which the Petitioner was convicted grew out of the habitual use of alcohol and as a result of the Petitioner being a chronic alcoholic within the purview of Section 88-401, and 88–402, of the Code of Georgia (Acts of 1964, pages 499 to 523).

The revocation of said sentence grew out of the habitual use of alcohol and as a result of the Petitioner being a chronic alcoholic within the purview of Sections 88–401, et. seq. of the Code of Georgia, (Acts of 1964, pages 499–528).

The Court finds that the Court has authority to vacate and change the original sentence, nunc pro tunc, upon the grounds set out in the Special Motion even after the term has expired, because the original sentence was imposed as a result of a mistake of fact.

The Court further finds that there are facilities, under the Department of Public Health, to which the prisoner may be committed for treatment and rehabilitation as an out-patient and that the Court at the time of the imposition of the original sentence had not been notified by the Department of Public Health that said facility was under its control and direction for the treatment of alcoholics.

The Court further finds that it would be illegal to penalize and confine the Petitioner in jail because of the Department of Public Health's failure to give such notice to the Court, and that the Court may now order said Petitioner to the care, custody, control, and treatment of the Department of Public Health as an out-patient or for such other care or control as may be deemed proper by the Department of Public Health, including confinement according to the opinion of the persons charged with the duty of rehabilitating or treating chronic alcoholics convicted for misdemeanors growing out of the chronic and habitual use of alcohol, as provided in Sections 88–401, 88–402, 88–403, and 83–408.

The Court finds that the Court at the time of the imposition of the revocation of the original sentence, in accordance with Georgia Law, i.e., Sections 83–401, 88–403, and 88-408, should have found that the Petitioner was guilty of violating the conditions of a probated sentence imposed for being "Drunk on a Public Street"—Section 53–608 of the Code of Georgia, and that said offense grew out of the habitual use of alcohol and was the result of chronic alcoholism, and should have ordered the Petitioner placed in the care of the Department of Public Health, in lieu of the imposition of a sentence. The Court finds that the order revoking the suspended sentence was void and inadvertently entered upon a mistake of fact on the part of the Court resulting from the failure and neglect of the Department of Public Health to give the Court the notice provided for in Section 88–403 of the Code of Georgia, supra.

The Court, upon being advised that the Department of Public Health does operate a facility under the provisions of Section 88-402, Subsection E, of the Code, supra, finds that it has the authority to enter a nunc pro tunc order and commit the Petitioner to the Department of Public Health for treatment, employment, rehabilitation, as an out patient, or under confined conditions as the Department of Public Health deems advisable in a clinic, hospital, or facility maintained by the Department of Public Health for the duration of the Petitioner's sentence.

The Court finds from the evidence (affidavit of the Director of the Department of Corrections) that the Petitioner is now confined at the Fulton County Jail under Section 27–2506(A) of the Code of Georgia, and that if for no other reason the Court does now retain jurisdiction to change; modify and correct the said original sentence.

The Court finds that the Petitioner has been confined for more than one-half (½) of the time he would have to serve under confined conditions.

Therefore, it is considered, ordered, and adjudged: That

1. The original sentence imposed upon the Petitioner be vacated and set aside, nunc pro tunc, and that the Petitioner be committed, in lieu of said sentence, to the care, custody, and control of the Department of Public Health for hospitalization and treatment for the remainder of his said sentence; that is to say, until November 5, 1967, or until discharged by the Department of Public Health.

2. In the alternative, if the Petitioner cannot be treated for alcoholism due to the lack of facilities of the Department of Public Health of Georgia in a facility maintained by the Department of Public Health of Georgia in accordance with Section 88–408 of the Code of Georgia, supra, that the Petitioner's sentence heretofore imposed be modified and changed and that the Petitioner be probated upon the terms and conditions imposed by the Fulton County Probation Department for such treatment for alcoholics as is available to it and according to the discretion of the Probation Department, subject to the approval of this Court.

Let this Order and this Judgment be entered, Nunc Pro Tunc, This 18th day of August, 1967.

Daniel Duke,
Judge.

Lack of Boldness: Is It Destroying Our National Heritage?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, an excellent, thoughtful article on the need for Americans to demonstrate their pride in their country has recently come to my attention. The article, entitled "Lack of Boldness: Is It Destroying Our National Heritage?" was written by Mr. C. V. Stanton, editor emeritus of the Roseburg News Review, a leading paper in my district. I wish to share this fine article with the House and include it in the Record:

Lack Of Boldness: Is It Destroying Our National Heritage?

(By C. V. Stanton)

I'm proud to be an American!

From the time of my earliest recollections I was taught to be proud of the country of my birth. I learned of its history and its achievements. I gloried in its strength. I studied its form of government, which I believed to be the best in the world.

I think most people in this country are proud they are Americans. Yet we find enemies at home and abroad seeking to make us ashamed of our heritage and our history. They seek to weaken, even to destroyed, our military might—not through direct attack but by insidiously undermining our national pride and determination.

POLICIES PROMOTE DISTRUST

While our enemies are boring from within, they have influenced many people to place idealism ahead of reason. Then, as still another factor, we may well ask ourselves how many of our current national problems stem from wishy-washy policies of federal government and to what extent those policies promote distrust and loss of pride?

Let's put it this way: For whom do you have the greatest respect, a virile he-man or a simpering milksop?

The he-man need not be a bully. He may in fact, be charitable and helpful in his attitude toward the weak. Normally thrifty, vigilant and courageous, he is at all times ready to resist being pushed around. He is constantly ready to defend himself, his family, his home and his good name.

On the other hand, there is the person who, to use an old phrase, seems afraid of his shadow. He professes an idealism which refuses to accept experiences and lessons of history. He shudders at the very thought of violence and demonstrates against it. He seeks security at all costs. He believes the world owes him a living and that he should have a share of the wealth without working for it.

Again, let me ask, for which would you have the greater measure of respect?

STRENGTH EARNS RESPECT

What is true of people individually also is true of people collectively. Thus the respect of nations goes to those radiating strength and determination.

This being true, would it not lead to questions concerning some of our existing policies and motivations?

Once we took great pride in our military prowess. Our military leaders were national heroes. We neither knew nor accepted the thought of defeat. We were confident in the ability of our armed forces to meet any contingency. We were not too proud to fight for the things we thought to be right.

Propagandists today preach a policy of surrender. They stage spectacular demonstrations for what they call "peace" but which, in their lexicon is synonymous with abject capitulation.

Yet, curiously, to whom do these same demonstrators show their favor—and why?

It has been proven time and again that much of our trouble at home is spurred on by communist influence. Russia, the home of communism, has been hard-boiled in its determination to spread its ideology. It has imprisoned its own people, and people of subject countries, behind its iron curtain. It has not hesitated to slaughter those who had the courage to combat communism at home. In Vietnam the communist enemy uses terror, murder, mutilation, extortion and robbery as it seeks to prevent establishment of neighboring democracy.

SERVE COMMUNISM

We find demonstrators at home and abroad protesting our own restricted bombing while condoning the atrocities of the ideology with which we are at war. Isn't it rather strange that the very people who seek to sap our own strength seem to respect the strength of communism and, at the same time, either willingly or unwittingly, serve its strategy?

Is that peculiar situation in any way related to our own policy of limiting our military action? Is the failure of this country to win a war it is capable of ending almost in days, if it should exercise its power, resulting in a loss of pride and faith? Is our disinclination to unshackle our military might, once the pride of this nation and respected throughout the whole world, impairing our image?

SAMARITAN ROLE BACKFIRED

We profess to be concerned with world opinion. World opinion treated us respectfully when we had no hesitancy in demonstrating our strength. Then we scattered our dollars with lavish hand throughout the world as a means of cultivating international friendship. What has been the result? Are we not liberally hated by the people toward whom we have been most generous? So why should we concern ourselves with world opinion?

Did not Israel gain respect when it so quickly beat down threatening enemies? Conversely then, are the people of the world losing their respect for the United States because we are reluctant to be bold?

Should we not as prideful Americans be demonstrating our pride?

Hawaii's Sister Mary Albert Makes Both Her Childhood Dreams Come True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, not too many of us realize our childhood dreams, particularly a two-pronged one. One such rare person made two of her childhood dreams come true—as a nun and as a nurse. That unusual and fortunate personality is Sister Mary Albert of the Order of St. Francis in my home State of Hawaii. In the hope that her story may inspire others to reach out for a realization of their dreams, I insert in the RECORD a most interesting article about Sister Mary Albert, which appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser of November 11, 1967:

SISTER MAKES BOTH DREAMS COME TRUE AS NURSE-NUN

As a girl, sister Mary Albert Kramer was not sure she would be able to pursue her dream of becoming both a nurse and a member of a religious order.

Today she is a nun-nurse who serves on the State Health Planning Council for Comprehensive Health Planning.

Three weeks ago she became the first nurse and the only member of a religious order to receive a permanent commission from Gov. John A. Burns to the new council.

"I wanted to be a nurse when I got out of high school, but I was too young to enter a nursing school and my father objected to such a career," said Sister Mary Albert, who also is chairman of the education department of Chaminade College.

"He didn't want any nurses in the family—the hours were too long, the pay poor, the duties objectionable."

Sister Mary Albert then decided to major in elementary education at Western Reserve University. Before getting her degree she entered the Third Order of St. Francis at Syracuse. "My religious superior allowed me to become a nurse," she said.

After receiving her bachelor of science degree in nursing from the University of Dayton, Sister Mary Albert went on to the Catholic University of America for a master of science degree in nursing education.

For 16 years she was director of the nursing school and nursing services at St. Francis Hospital, New York. She served for another four years in the same capacity at St. Elizabeth Hospital in New York.

From nursing administrator, Sister Mary Albert became registrar and later admissions and records director at Maria Regina College in Syracuse.

During her years in nursing she contributed at least a dozen articles to professional and scholarly periodicals.

In 1965 Sister Mary Albert was appointed to the administration at Chaminade's Wailae campus. She succeeded former faculty member Mother Viola Kiernan, now Superior General of the Order.

Initially as director of student services, she set up a student counseling program with voluntary faculty participation, as well as a health service. In August, Sister Mary Albert was named education department chairman and supervisor of the student teacher program at Chaminade.

As department head, she teaches two education courses in the day session and one in the evening. She oversees the programs of some 25 education majors.

"It looks as though we'll have about 40 next year," she said, "and I'll be spending more time here at the college."

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

November Friday, 17, 1967

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate worked on social security bill, agreeing to limit debate on its further consideration, and passed six measures, of which four were on calendar call.

House passed Foreign Assistance Appropriations.

See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 16643–S 16684

Bills Introduced: Four bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2671–2674; and S. Res. 186.

Page S 16646

Resolutions Referred: Three House-adopted concurrent resolutions were referred to Committee on Rules and Administration.

Page S 16708

Calendar Call: On call of calendar four measures, of which one was private, were passed as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

Foreign claims: H.R. 3474, to require the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to determine amount and validity of claim of Ike Ignac Klein against the Government of Hungary.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

Courts: S. 2349, providing for the appointment of additional circuit judges (this bill had been inadvertently shown in DAILY DIGEST as having been passed on calendar call on November 16, p. D1039); and

Merchant marine: S. 2152, authorizing the vessel *Orion* to engage in coastwise trade.

Resolution adopted without amendment:

Private resolution: S. Res. 154, private resolution.

Pages S 16643–S 16646

American History: Senate concurred in House amendments to S.J. Res. 26, designating February of each year as American History Month. This action cleared bill for President's signature.

Pages S 16708–S 16709

Judicial Center: H.R. 6111, to establish a Federal Judicial Center in the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, was passed with committee amendment, as amended by perfecting amendment of Senator Mansfield.

Pages S 16722–S 16730

Fishing: Senate passed without amendment S. 2324, to amend the act prohibiting fishing in the territorial waters of the U.S. with respect to the penalties provided thereunder.

Page S 16730

Social Security: Senate continued its work on H.R. 12080, proposed Social Security Amendments of 1967, taking the following actions on further amendments thereto:

Adopted: Metcalf amendment of a perfecting nature to section 443 on "collection of State share"; and by 34 yeas to 20 nays (motion to reconsider tabled) Metcalf amendments en bloc respecting definition of disability; and

Rejected: By 6 yeas to 62 nays, Prouty-Cotton amendment No. 445 providing for maintaining financial balance of social security trust funds; and by 12 yeas to 55 nays, Prouty-Cotton amendment to advance the date for payment of benefits to March 1 from January 1, 1968.

By unanimous consent, it was agreed that on Monday, November 20, during further consideration of the bill, debate on any amendment, motion, or appeal (except motion to table) shall be limited to 1 hour, equally divided, except as to two amendments to be proposed by Senator Williams of Delaware on which there will be 2 hours, equally divided; that if third reading has not been reached by conclusion of business on Tuesday, November 21, debate on further amendments will be limited to 30 minutes each, equally divided; and if third reading has been reached by then, vote will be taken on final passage of the bill at 11 a.m. Wednesday, November 22; that debate on final passage will be limited to 6 hours, equally divided; and that no nongermane amendment to the bill will be received.

It was also agreed that when Senate completes its business on Monday, November 20, it will adjourn until 10 a.m. Tuesday, November 21, and when it completes its business on that date it will recess until 10 a.m., Wednesday, November 22.

When Senate reconvenes at 10 a.m. on Monday, November 20, the pending amendment will be one to be offered by Senator Kuchel after a quorum call, to be fol-

Appendix

Massachusetts Physician Receives National Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. William Winick, director of the Brockton, Mass., Veterans' Administration Hospital, recently received the Physician of the Year Award of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. He has also received a similar award from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Dr. Winick was recognized for his work with the patients with severe mental illness, demonstrating they could be treated to lead a more full life and to become employable.

Dr. Winick has developed an outstanding rehabilitation program for the mentally ill in the Brockton Veterans' Hospital. The physician's award is presented annually by the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped to one physician in the Nation who has made an outstanding contribution to the employment of the handicapped. Dr. Winick, and other members of the medical profession who have been honored by this award, are dedicated to doing everything possible to help the handicapped persons under their care in assuming productive roles in our economy, and in leading a happier life for themselves.

Because of the significance of Dr. Winick's work, and the honor that Dr. Winick and his work has brought to Massachusetts, I am pleased to include in my remarks a press release made on September 25, 1967, by the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped:

MASSACHUSETTS PHYSICIAN NAMED PHYSICIAN OF THE YEAR BY PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

William Winick, M.D., Director of the Brockton, Massachusetts Veterans Administration Hospital, today received the Physician of the Year Award of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped for his work in demonstrating that patients with severe mental illness can become employable.

The presentation was made by Milford O. Rouse, M.D., President of the American Medical Association, and Harold Russell, Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, at the AMA's Occupational Health Congress in Atlanta, Georgia. This annual Physician's Award is sponsored jointly by the President's Committee and the American Medical Association to honor one physician who has made an outstanding contribution to the employment of handicapped workers.

The program for which Dr. Winick was honored is known as "CHIRP"—or Community Hospital Industry Rehabilitation Program. Begun in 1961, this work-therapy program is designed to help prepare patients for gainful employment upon release from the hospital and to demonstrate to employers how the mentally ill can be successful employees.

Under this program, employers provide jobs which the patients perform in a hospital building converted into a shop. The employers pay the prevailing minimum wages which are deposited to the patients' special accounts and which act as a monetary incentive toward recovery.

As a result of the favorable reaction from employers, the program has expanded each year to include more patients, additional employers and a wider range of occupations. In addition, many patients trained in "CHIRP" have become sufficiently skilled, while in the hospital, that area employers have put them on their payrolls as regular employees rather than trainees.

The success of this rehabilitation endeavor has brought teams of industrialists, physicians, therapists and social workers to Brockton for orientation.

Dr. Winick has devoted his entire professional career to government medical service. Born in New Castle, Pennsylvania, July 15, 1909, he received his Bachelor's Degree from Geneva College in 1931 and his Medical Degree from Jefferson Medical College in 1935.

After internships at Montefiore Hospital in Pittsburgh and the U.S. Public Health Service in Atlanta, Dr. Winick was appointed Associate Medical Officer at the Veterans Administration's Hospital at St. Cloud, Minnesota.

He served the VA in various capacities for the next 21 years—with the exception of a little more than two years when he was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army Medical Corps from 1944 to 1946—and was named to his present post in September, 1959.

Dr. Winick was on the faculty at Women's Medical College and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School from 1948 until his appointment to Brockton.

He is a diplomate of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology and is certified by the American Psychiatric Association as a Mental Hospital Administrator. He has received numerous honors and awards and is a member of many professional scientific organizations.

Leader in Poverty Fight: Carl Dewey Perkins

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal reasons for our success in passing the bill to continue the war on poverty in the face of a concerted drive to kill or badly cripple this vital program was the outstanding leadership of the tenacious and hard-working chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Congressman CARL PERKINS, of Kentucky.

I believe that an article published in the New York Times on November 16, 1967, to be most interesting in the tribute it pays to the dedicated efforts of the distinguished chairman of this committee, and I therefore insert the article at this point in the RECORD.

LEADER IN POVERTY FIGHT: CARL DEWEY PERKINS

WASHINGTON, November 16.—When the political world of Adam Clayton Powell of Manhattan crumbled last January, a big, seemingly bumbling man from the mountains of eastern Kentucky fell heir to one of the most sensitive jobs in Congress—chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee.

"Carl's no leader, that's for sure," one committee member said at the time. "But what could we do? He was in line for the job."

This week, Carl Dewey Perkins proved his critics wrong as he and key members of his committee steered the Administration's anti-poverty program through the House virtually intact.

There were concessions, to be sure. The program was trimmed about $400-million. The control of community action programs was shifted to city halls and county courthouses.

But, for the most part the program was held intact against repeated Republican efforts to dismantle the anti-poverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity.

COALITION RETAINED

Most of the concessions had been made in committee to lure needed Southern Democratic votes in turning back the Republicans. But even then, painstaking work went into keeping together such an unlikely coalition of conservative and liberal Democrats.

For months, Mr. Perkins wandered around the House chamber and the Democratic cloakroom, placating some Democratic liberals unhappy with the concessions and assuring Southern Democrats that the concessions made the program more politically palatable to them.

"Boys, I need your help," he told Southerners.

He got it.

He is an unobtrusive, unsophisticated country lawyer. His tastes are simple, his clothes are usually a little rumpled. He is conscientious, often working far into the night.

He commands an almost worshipful following in his 23-county Congressional district, one of the poorest in the nation. Frequently, he drives all night from Washington to tour the lonely hollows and villages and hillside farms of the Appalachian region he calls home.

Born 55 years ago (Oct. 12, 1912) on a farm just outside Hindman, a small town in Knott County, Ky., Carl Perkins got his law degree in Louisville at the Jefferson School of Law and then went back home to practice law.

He became commonwealth attorney four years later, served in the Kentucky General Assembly and then became Knott County attorney.

In 1948, when the Congressional seat became vacant in midterm, he was picked for the job by Gov. Earl Clements. He has won every election since.

GENUINE LIBERAL

A genuine liberal, probably the most liberal politician in Kentucky, Mr. Perkins is one of the stanchest Administration supporters in Congress.

During the last two years, when most of President Johnson's Great Society programs were born, Mr. Perkins voted with the Administration 95 per cent of the time.

He is the most persistent education advocate in Congress. For years, he has pressed for general Federal aid for sceool construction, and he plans to renew that fight next year.

A serious, earnest man, he avoids Washington's cocktail circuit.

He is married to the former Verna Johnson, a first grade teacher in a Washington school, and they have one son, Carl Christopher, 13 years old. They own modest homes in suburban Alexandria and on the outskirts of Hindman, a typical eastern Kentucky town that is just four blocks long.

His one hobby, aside from politics, is horseback riding. Last year, he sheepishly appeared in the House with his arm in a sling. He had broken it in a tumble from a horse.

President Chiang Kai-shek: Christian and Patriot of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, President Chiang Kai-shek, the Christian martyr of the East, was 80 years old November 16.

His faith, loyalty, dedication, and perseverance is without equal.

In tribute to him and his persecuted millions, I include his autobiography, "Christian Faith Keeps His Hope Alive," as printed in Dr. Carl McIntire's Christian Beacon on November 16, 1967, following my remarks:

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AT 80: CHRISTIAN FAITH KEEPS HIS HOPE ALIVE

(NOTE.—Few if any men alive have lived as much history as President Chiang Kai-shek, who is 80 years old today—the overthrow of the Manchu empire, the battles against warlords, the struggle with communism that has persisted over four decades, the war with Japan, and his current preparations on Taiwan to recover the Mainland. In the following article, obtained by the religion editor of the North American Newspaper Alliance, Roland Gammon, the generalissimo proclaims that his Christian faith has enabled him to withstand the tragic events that befell his country.)

(By Chiang Kai-shek)

Taipei—Against a natural mountainous backdrop of China's remote Chekiang province and against the sterner invisible background of her Confusian ethics, I was born into a poor, yet traditional, family of farmer-scholars in the gateway town of Chekow.

The date was October 31, 1887, during a decade when China suffered military defeats at the hands of both France and Japan, and even then the whispered laments of my elders were beginning to rise against the misrule of the Manchus. Thus, very early as a boy brought up in an atmosphere of national humiliation, I came to understand that Western technology and Western education would be essential if China were to regain her power and prestige.

MOTHER WAS BUDDHIST

Although today I am a Christian, my mother was a devout Buddhist. She was a strict vegetarian and never omitted daily worship, becoming increasingly fervent as the years went by. Frequently she lectured me on the Buddhist Sutras, discoursing on such noble texts as "All beings seek happiness, so let your compassion extend itself to all" or "Let a man overcome anger by love, evil by good, greed by liberality and lies by truth."

"All that I pray for you," she once said, "is that you should love your country, practice the Buddhist virtues of benevolence, fortitude and meditation and preserve the good name of your ancestors, who were men of reputation."

Even while learning to love the mountain trails and fish-filled streams near our home, I was never allowed to shirk the burden of work. In fact, when I was a little boy, I was required by my parents and teachers to do many tasks such as sweeping and mopping the floor, cooking rice and preparing food in general, and even washing dishes. If I carelessly dropped a few grains of rice, or failed to fasten my clothing properly, I was severely taken to task.

After the death of her husband, my mother was exposed to the most ruthless exploitation by neighboring ruffians and the local gentry.

The efforts she made in fighting against the intrigues of these family intruders certainly endowed her child, brought up in such an environment, with an indomitable spirit to fight for justice. I felt throughout my childhood that mother and I were fighting a helpless, lone war. We were alone in a desert; no available or possible assistance could we look forward to. But our determination was never shaken, nor hope abandoned.

Such an environment inevitably molded the shape of my personality. There is constantly a smoldering fire burning inside me, although I am reticent in giving vent to my emotions. Throughout my life, I have always been surrounded and sometimes overpowered by enemies; but I know how to endure. This is one of the peculiar characteristics of one who has learned to work, study, sacrifice and rely in the end on God's guidance.

LEARNED TO STRUGGLE

And yet, in the long view of what was ahead of me, a life of hardship was an almost ideal upbringing. In my youthful wanderings, I often sat by limpid streams and watched schools of fish fighting their way upstream like soldiers advancing against a hostile force. In the same way, I concluded, men have to fight against the odds of life, often repulsed but never despairing. Religion was for me, even as a boy, a source of deep strength for the struggles of life.

So it continued as I became a man—my high school years at Fenglu and Liangching, my military training at Paoting Academy, my first trip to Japan in 1907 and my first momentous meeting with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was to become my mentor and friend and father of the revolution to overthrow the decadent Manchu regime. I soon joined his secret Kuomintang movement, and began preparing myself consciously and unconsciously for my role in the long-simmering revolution.

It was during the next two turbulent decades—checkered with military campaigns against the Manchu warlords and Communist conspirators alike—that I began to study Christianity. I was encouraged in this by a beautiful, American-educated young lady, Mayling Soong, who in 1927 became my bride and who in war and peace to this very day shares my morning and evening prayers and reading of the Bible.

Since my baptism in Nanking in 1928 by the Rev. Kiang Chen Chun, my Christian faith has become such a heartening personal experience that not even the most urgent state business is permitted to interrupt my prayer periods.

MEANING FOR LIFE

Without faith we are constantly in danger of being overwhelmed by adversities. With faith we unite ourselves with the deep stream of the Eternal's purpose and meaning, and are thereby enabled to accomplish the impossible.

China's epic defiance of Japanese domination between 1937 and 1945 is a striking instance of the efficacy of faith. When Japan hurled its military machine upon us in 1937, opinion in the outside world gave China little more than a few weeks of possible resistance. But the unshaken faith of my wife and my loyal co-workers galvanized China to achieve the unbelievable. The miracle of Chinese resistance was prolonged for eight years, four of them unaided and alone, and in the end, it was Japan that failed.

Faith points out to us that the one irretrievable attitude for men and for nations is the attitude of passivity and fatalism. If we accept defeat we become frustrated. Then we are indeed lost. But if we refuse to accept defeat by pressing onward in the face of external setbacks, then we develop an inner, integrated wholeness of character which is invincible.

NO COMPROMISE WITH EVIL

Thus, in the present awful struggle of my country, with the evil forces of communism, the Christian attitude is not—as some Christians have mistakenly believed—one of submission and expedient compromise. One cannot compromise with evil and remain unsullied. In China today there are countless instances of unpublicized Christian martyrdom at the hands of communism. From the blood of such martyrdom will spring the seeds of the reborn China which will arise in the future.

Christian faith means that we must and can fight for our principles even at the risk of temporary defeat, and perhaps death. There can be no opportunistic bargaining, anytime, anywhere, between right and wrong. Only this indomitable determination of man to make the supreme sacrifice for the substance of its faith has kept Christian right alive in this world through tortuous nights of human history. And, because there are men and women ready to live and die for their convictions, the victories of communism will prove transient and ineffectual.

On March 29, 1911, seventy-two courageous young patriots staged an uprising in Canton by attacking the Manchu troops and proclaiming Dr. Sun Yatsen's Three Principles of the People as the basis of a democratic government. Although this first uprising failed and the 72 lads died a gallant death, their martyrdom watered the seeds of revolution which did succeed in October of that year. During the past half century, national independence, democratic freedom and social and economic well-being of the Chinese people have become the universal common goals of mankind.

ON WITH STRUGGLE

The purpose of our national revolution is the implementation of the Three Principles of the People. First we overthrew the despotic monarchy and established our republic of democracy. Next we won victory in our war of resistance against Japanese aggression in fulfillment of the principle of nationalism. Today, we are fighting communism to ensure the successful realization of the principle of the people's well-being and of our national cause of recovery and reconstruction.

Today we Chinese at home and abroad are a nation of more than 700 million people. In terms of armed forces alone we have more than 600,000 men on Taiwan. This figure, 600,000, is nearly 10,000 times the total number of the martyrs, namely 72, who by their utmost sincerity aroused the nation into action to end despotic rule and found the Republic of China. This anti-Communist manpower is the reincarnation of the undaunted spirit of these very martrys, and is the inheritor to their spirit of sacrifice for carrying on the struggle for the salvation of our nation and people.

Fellow Christians! The darkness and fetidness of the Communist regime on the mainland today warrant a bright, pure, renovated China for us tomorrow.

Address By Hon. Basil L. Whitener, at the Watauga County Democratic Fundraising Dinner, Boone, N.C., November 17, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the Honorable BASIL L. WHITENER, addressed the Watauga County, N. C., Democrats, on Friday, November 17. During the course of his speech, he set forth the great contributions that Democratic Presidents have made to the security and to the economic well-being of the United States and the free world.

He also drew an interesting parallel between the administrations of Presidents Harry S. Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson. I believe my colleagues will find his address to be most interesting, and I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. BASIL L. WHITENER, FUND-RAISING DINNER, BOONE, N.C., NOVEMBER 17, 1967

I am delighted to be with the Democrats of Watauga County this evening. It is high honor and a great privilege to have the opportunity to talk with you for a few minutes concerning the traditions, the accomplishments, and the future of our great Democratic Party.

It is always a pleasure for me to be with people who share my pride in the great record of our Party and who have worked down through the years to retain Democratic leadership in the domestic and international affairs of our nation.

The Democrats of Watauga County have an outstanding record of service to their party and to their country. I am grateful for the honor of being in Watauga County tonight, and I am looking forward to working with you for a Democratic victory next November.

We meet tonight at a very crucial period in the history of our nation. We are living in a period of great industrial and technological progress, a period of prosperity, and in a time of acute consciousness of individual rights. We are also in a time of war and in a period during which there is much agitation, disagreement, and turmoil in the land.

Our great party is in charge of the affairs of the nation. We must, therefore, shoulder the responsibilities and the burdens which this leadership places upon us.

There are many in our land who never overlook the opportunity of calling the Democratic Party a war party, a party of spenders, and a party of social planners. These people apparently are ignorant of the history of their country.

A close examination of the record of Democratic leadership in this nation reveals that the security of our people has never been more secure than under Democratic leadership. Social and economic progress of every American has never been greater than when our party was in power.

Are we a "war party"? Let us examine the record. In his day our own great Andrew Jackson, a Democratic president, was maligned and criticized on every hand by detractors who resented his dedication to true democracy.

They called him a "warmonger", a "frontier soldier". Had the word been in vogue then, he probably would have been called a socialist. But what did this Democratic soldier-president give to his nation?

For one thing, he had defeated the British at the Battle of New Orleans and brought victory to his country in the War of 1812. Through war he had suppressed Indian uprisings in Tennessee, Alabama, and Florida.

And when he was elected to the presidency by a grateful nation he returned the government to the people. Today his detractors' names are, for the most part, lost in the dim mists of history. The name of Andrew Jackson will live forever.

And then there was James K. Polk, another great Democratic president of Tar Heel birth. He came to the presidency at the time when the economic interests and the lives of our settlers in Texas and the far West were threatened by Mexico.

His enemies raised the cry of "warmonger" and "renegade." He held firmly to his principles in spite of criticism. Because of his leadership in fighting the 1845 war with Mexico, Texas was made secure for the United States, and other vast areas of the Southwest were opened to American settlement. No one today would repudiate the record of Democratic James K. Polk.

We are all familiar with the inspiring story of Woodrow Wilson. That scholarly Democrat, educated in North Carolina, was called to lead his nation against the first threat to the world of German imperialism. Wilson was a man of peace, and he held out the olive branch to the Germans until to have avoided war would have meant surrender of our principles and dishonor to our Flag.

He was bitterly assailed by those who had no faith in the common cause of humanity to which the Democratic Party under Woodrow Wilson was dedicated. Under Wilson's leadership, however, American courage and economic might brought victory to the Allied cause in World War I. Today all parties and all segments of our people look upon Wilson as one of the world's great statesmen.

Now we come to another Democratic president whose memory and accomplishments are very personal to many of us tonight. Many in this room were called upon to wear the uniform in the second great World War—a war of military, economic, political, and social dimensions of undreamed proportions.

A much-maligned president, whose enemies called him a "warmonger," a "socialist," and nearly every other defamatory name, led us to victory in World War II.

Had it not been for the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt the free world might this day be under the tyrant's foot.

The name of Franklin D. Roosevelt will live forever for his accomplishments in peace and in war. Not only did he lead his nation from the goom of a great economic depression inherited from his Republican predecessors; he gave his people the courage, vision, and determination to crush the Nazi dictatorship.

It fell to Harry S. Truman, another great Democrat, to firmly resist communism in Korea. And here we find a most interesting parallel in the history of our nation. Harry S. Truman was constantly criticized and maligned by many of his fellow Americans.

There were those who said then about Harry S. Truman what many throughout the land today are saying about Lyndon B. Johnson. The highly reputable "U. S. News & World Report" had this to say about Mr. Truman on December 7, 1957: "Now eleven months before election Mr. Truman holds the approval of only twenty-nine per cent of the voters for the way he is doing his job . . . As it now stands, however, less than a third of the nation has approved of Mr. Truman's actions for more than a year and as much as three-fifths have registered active disapproval."

On January 4, 1952, "U. S. News & World Report" said that: "President Harry S. Truman is the unhappy warrior of 1952. Whatever way Mr. Truman turns he faces nothing but troubles. He begins the New Year discouraged and distressed."

"The New Republic" magazine said on February 4, 1952: "Harry Truman is a spent force politically . . . Those who live by his patronage may issue press releases in his praise, but they and those they are supposed to represent know that he cannot win back the support he once enjoyed."

And in May, 1952, "Harper's" magazine said of President Truman: "Whether Truman has been a great president, a merely passable one, or a national catastrophe, he has been in his seven years in a high office a bigger man than he was before the lightning struck and a bigger man than nature seems to have intended him to be."

In rereading these articles and statements made 15 years ago one cannot resist comparing what was said then with what is being written and said about the present occupant of the White House. The fact of the matter is that a vocal minority had convinced themselves that Harry S Truman had no place in American history.

The American people, however, expressed their confidence in his leadership and vindicated his administration. How many times have we heard in recent years the grudging admission from Truman's former critics that he was a great president after all?

My friends, history may very well be repeating itself today. Lyndon B. Johnson is carrying on the Democratic leadership of his country. He is the commander-in-chief of all the military, economic, and human resources of a great nation engaged in a war to halt the further spread of communism in Southeast Asia.

It is not a war of his choosing. It was not a war of his predecessor's selection. If we examine history, we will find that our commitment in Viet Nam was made during the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is to General Eisenhower's credit that he has never repudiated his belief that our presence in Viet Nam is justified and that our position is right. The detractors of the President should give thought to this matter.

I firmly believe, when the time comes for for the American people in 1968 to pass judgment upon the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson, that the story of Harry S. Truman will be repeated. The American people have an uncanny ability to see through the distortions, the misrepresentations, and the promises of a party whose leadership they have repudiated.

I mentioned earlier that we were living in a time of dissension and tumult. This is not something that is peculiar to the United States. The world is undergoing great changes in every conceivable field of human endeavor. Every nation, including the communist countries, is experiencing change and difficult problems of adjustment to the new economic, religious, social, and political forces at work throughout the world.

These great changes will continue to go on regardless of the political party in power within our country. We Democrats can take pride in the fact, however, that by reason of experience, ddication, and outlook our party is more capable of giving the type leadership the changing world conditions demand.

In spite of war and the great financial demands that our national security places upon the nation, the Democratic Party has been able to create an outstanding record of social and economic progress for the American people. It is a record unequaled in the history of the nation.

In the past few years the American people under Democratic leadership have been given legislation to construct more and better housing, to provide for new public works and economic development, to broaden the participation of the American farmer in the economic growth of the country, to guarantee voting and other civil rights for our citizens, to combat poverty on many broad economic fronts, to improve the health of our people through the establishment of regional medical centers, and programs to train additional nurses, medical technicians, and physicians.

We could stop here, and it would be an impressive record of economic and social accomplishment. But let us go on. The Democratic Party in the last few years has given us legislation strengthening education in the country at all levels, legislation to control air and water pollution, laws to remove discrimination in immigration, laws to place stricter control on the possession, distribution and disposal of drugs.

In addition, the lot of our elderly people has been vastly improved by the medical care program; and pending in the Congress at the moment is a bill to increase Social Security benefits for our people.

Just this year alone, we have enacted legislation to give our fighting men more pay, to extend to them the rights, privileges, and benefits of our veterans' laws. We have also passed legislation this year to remove some of the inequities of the Selective Service System.

I could continue to call the roll of legislative achievements under Democratic leadership. In nearly every field of human endeavor the nation has forged ahead under the direction of our great party.

As a result, we have the lowest unemployment rate in the history of any nation in the world. Our Gross National Product far exceeds that of any other country. New businesses are being incorporated throughout the country at the rate of approximately 200,000 each year. Common stock prices, investment earnings, and corporate profits have grown more than 80% during the past several years. Personal income since 1961 has increased from $120 billion to over $530 billion.

Our party has consistently supported the exploration of space. The support given to our space program by President Kennedy has been continued and expanded under President Johnson.

Our party is making an impressive record in behalf of the American people. As we move along on the high road to a better life, we must not overlook, however, the heavy responsibilities and obligations which have been placed upon our generation of Americans.

We should always realize that our party is the one political organization in the nation in which every American can participate. We are the party of all classes of society and of every political philosophy; the party that represents every section of the nation. We are the party of the liberals, the party of the conservatives, the party of the independents. We are the one political organization wherein every American who believes in fundamental democracy, social progress, and our great heritage of freedom can find a home.

The Democrats of North Carolina and Watauga County have supported the great traditions of our party through the years. As a result, we have a marvelous record of service to the people of our state. The Democratic Party has given North Carolina good government, magnificent schools, splendid roads, fine state-supported hospitals, and countless other benefits which have been a blessing to our people.

The Democratic Party has stood firm in the face of communist efforts to enslave the world and has consistently advocated social and economic progress for the American people. Under the leadership of our party we have extended a helping hand to nations beset by famine, hunger, and disease.

The American people are aware of our great record. In time of war and economic distress they have entrusted the leadership of the country to our party. We have little for which to apologize but much for which to be proud.

We admit we have made some mistakes. It is a recognized fact that any man, any political party, or any business organization which has the hope of accomplishing anything must run the risk of making some mistakes.

In the final analysis, however, the American people will examine the issues and the records of the the two major political parties in this country. I, for one, feel confident that next year they will again call upon the Democratic Party to lead the nation.

I want to say it has been a rich and rewarding experience to be with you this evening. You have a strong and dedicated Democratic Party in Watauga County. I eagerly look forward to working with you for the election of Democrats to township, county, state, and national offices.

You have a great Democratic team, and I feel confident that the people of this area of the state will give Democratic candidates their strong support next November. Best wishes for every possible success?

Veterans Day, in 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, in the November 12, 1967, of Our Sunday Visitor, a national Catholic weekly, printed at Huntington, Ind., there appeared an excellent story by Patrick R. Moran. Pat Moran is the editor of Indiana Combat Veteran, the official publication of the Department of Indiana, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. His excellent article pertains to Veterans Day. I feel that it will be of interest to all Members of Congress and, therefore, include it in the RECORD, as follows:

ARTICLE BY PATRICK R. MORAN

Veterans Day, 1967, like its predecessor, is received with mixed emotions by American citizens, but to the ex-servicemen—"Rough Riders" of the Spanish American War, "Doughboys" of World War I, "GI's" of World War II and Korea, and the present "Grunts" of Vietnam—this is their Day.

Following in the wake and wallow of numerous anti-American exhibitions or anti-war demonstrations, and preceded by a lengthy summer of civil unrest and racial violence—Veterans Day is a soothing reminder to all citizens to lift their hearts and hands in prayer, to take courage, be militant and above all maintain a true allegiance to the United States of America.

LIVING SHIELD

The nationwide display of Red, White and Blue on parade, enacted by 25.7 million ex-servicemen and servicewomen on November 11, is a panoramic spectacular of loyal Americans—those veterans, so proud of their flag-waving and super-patriot heritage. Compare those, if you will to the draft dodger, defector, flag burner, and the anti-Vietnam war agitator—those sorry spectacles of humanity—a fluffy marshmallow-hardened crops of posey panderders who flaunt the laws and pervert justice by their claims to freedom and its guarantees. By what right does this segment of society assume such guarantees? They certainly don't deserve it. Did they earn the right of freedom?

The veteran does not consider freedom an outright gift. It was earned through devotion to country and service on foreign battlefields. The veteran would be the first to remind society that more than a half a million Americans died in pursuit of liberty and freedoms. Also, more than 25 million servicemen fought as a "living shield" in wars between the U.S. and her enemies. This was the veterans' price for freedom!

PROCLAMATION

In a Veterans Day proclamation to the nation, President Johnson wrote: "We can never repay in full the debts we owe to the veterans of this Nation's wars. Yet we can show our appreciation of their service and sacrifice. . . ." One such token of appreciation was the establishment of the Veterans Administration as a federal agency. Ex-GI's also are aware of the treasured value of the GI Bill of Rights.

The VA administers laws and provides benefits for honorably discharged members of the Armed Forces and their dependents, as well as beneficiaries of deceased veterans. Major benefits are: death and disability compensation, pensions, dependency compensation, vocational rehabilitation, education and on-the-job training, insurance, hospitalization, domiciliary care, and GI loans. Additional or increment benefits are provided for veterans of World War I and Spanish American War survivors. In 1966, the VA also assisted 70,000 members of the Armed Forces in Vietnam.

The veterans' clan is one of camaraderie, often they're called "brothers of the battlefield." To perpetuate this legacy, numerous associations and organizations were chartered by U.S. Congress to assist the ex-servicemen. Generally these organizations are fraternal, patriotic, historical, charitable and educational associations, open only to those who have served their Country's wars.

SEVERAL GROUPS

The Jewish War Veterans (JWV's) is the oldest chartered group of veterans organizations, dating back to 1896. Following in chronological order is the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW). This second largest group, with a membership of one and a half million, was founded in 1899, following an amalgamation of several Spanish American War veterans units. The VFW is often referred as "the foreign service man."

Doughboys of World War I banded together to form the American Legion in 1919. This is the largest veterans organization with a membership of three million. Two years later, an association comprising of those wounded in action, gave rise to the Disabled American Veterans (DAV's). In 1935 another spiritual element, induced by the fame of New York's Chaplain Duffy and the Fighting 69th Regiment, formulated the group known as Catholic War Veterans (CWV's). Their ranks number 107,000.

American Veterans Committee (AVC), the smallest of the organizations, was chartered in 1943. Another World War II-originated group is the American Veterans (AmVets), who also opened their membership to veterans of the Korean conflict. The latest veterans group is the Veterans of World War I, reorganized in 1949.

There is no conflicting interest or objective among the organizations. Their compatibility is evidenced by the fact that a veteran will simultaneously belong to a number of organizations. Primarily their programs and services are those dedicated to "God, Home and Country." Too, spiritual significance is found in their rituals and emblazoned on their insignia. The Cross of Malta is the VFW emblem, while the Celtic Cross is featured by the Catholic War Veterans.

The veteran's devotion to his country is first and foremost. A definition of Americanism, was drafted by executives of the five major veterans organizations on February 18, 1927. All veterans learn that "Americanism is an unfailing love of country; loyalty to its institutions and ideals; eagerness to defend it against all enemies; undivided allegiance to the Flag; and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty for our ourselves and posterity."

TEMPERAMENT OF EAGLE

On Veterans Day we pose this rebuttal to the anti-war elements in our nation. . . . Veterans are not warmongers. They are neither hawks, ready to swoop, pillage and destroy, nor doves, those cooing birds of a feather who seek to crucify as they pacify.

The veterans' temperament is that of the American Eagle as shown on the Great Seal of the United States, wings expanded ready for flight, its talons clenching the olive branch on the right and on the other talons grasping a sheaf of arrows.

The veterans fought and will continue to fight when needed, as well as seek peace and freedoms when presented to him—not forgetting that both were essential in the history of the world.

Postal Life: A New Publication for Career Postal Employees

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring the attention of the Members to the fine job the Post Office Department has been doing with its new publication for career postal employees.

Postal Life, as the new magazine is called, is earning an appreciative following among the 610,000 dedicated workers who are responsible for the movement of more than 200 million pieces of mail per day.

In an army of employees as large as that in a postal system as widespread as ours, it is vitally important that there be a communications system capable of reaching all postal employees, regardless of job or level.

A magazine like Postal Life serves to counteract the sense of vastness and impersonal relations which can be overwhelming in an operation the size of the postal service. Employees need a feeling of direction and identity, and Postal Life represents a much-needed personal touch.

It brings the employee firsthand information on happenings and policies that affect his career and the mail service of the United States. It acts as a necessary liaison between Washington and postal employees throughout the Nation.

The best evidence of Postal Life's success is the mail the magazine has been receiving.

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I insert at this point in the RECORD a letter to the Postmaster General from Mrs. Mary J. Blanchard, of South Bend, Ind., who is a postal employee from my home district, commenting on Postal Life:

SOUTH BEND, IND.

Mr. LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN,
Postmaster General,
Washington, D.C.:

I very much appreciated and enjoyed the new magazine, Postal Life.

It seems to me to be a step in the right direction which will inform the employees that something is being done to put the service in step with the rapid increase of the volume of mail.

It was most interesting to me to learn that schools will be conducted to properly train people using the new equipment, for I feel that in this particular field, probably due to the lack of funds, that many areas have been sadly lacking in sufficient training. In particular, the window clerks are put on the windows with the minimum of training and that, to me, seems one area of great importance, for they are the "Face and voice" of the postal service. There are few individuals who ever have contact with any postal clerk other than the mailman or the window clerk.

Your magazine was refreshing, for it revealed insights into the Postal system without having to mull through pages of gripes about wages, hours and so forth. These are things which people knew when they accepted the postal appointment but because (as a whole) they were not qualified for any specific skill, they were glad to accept and be trained at government expense. The other publications consist primarily of this.

Thank you again for the magazine. I shall look forward to receiving the next issue.

MRS. MARY J. BLANCHARD.

A New Political Ball Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, at exactly 11 a.m. last Friday, President Johnson stepped before the television cameras at his press conference and completely rewrote the rules for next year's presidential election.

From now on, the Republicans are going to have to run against more than a man with the greatest legislative record in history. They are going to have to run against more than a man who had the courage to stop Communist aggression in its tracks.

Now they are going to have to run against a superbly effective television campaigner as well. And I must say, I do not envy them.

The Republicans have their actors, their industrialists, and their self-styled elder statesmen. They even have Harold Stassen—for whatever that may mean.

But we Democrats have the ultimate weapon—Lyndon Johnson.

And after last Friday's press conference, no one can doubt that he is the most effective thing we have going for us.

I think the polls are going to be telling us that very soon, too.

Robert Strange McNamara: An Indictment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the idea that while fighting wars we can disarm is as hazy as the concept that we can end wars without a victory.

Because our colleagues should know the record, or lack of a pro-American record, of Mr. Robert Strange McNamara, I insert the publication Liberty Lowdown at this point in the RECORD.

How can we Americans tolerate such a quiz kid scorecard—100 percent against the Unted States and our fighting boys?

His actions against our people are criminal. Should he not be indicted and tried as a derelict or incompetent?

ROBERT STRANGE MCNAMARA: AN INDICTMENT

Robert Strange McNamara, Lyndon Johnson's "Secretary of Disarmament", is, more than any other individual, responsible for the present condition of America's defense establishment. An examination of his strange record indicts him for intentionally disarming America at a time when the strongest possible defense is essential to our survival. Any one of the counts in this indictment would be sufficient to warrant McNamara's dismissal. The record taken as a whole shows beyond any doubt that, if America is to survive, McNamara must be fired now!

1. *Skybolt*. In early 1963, Secretary McNamara ordered cancellation of the Skybolt air-to-ground missile, which would enable our bombers to strike enemy targets without flying over enemy soil, or within range of enemy anti-aircraft weapons.

2. *Dyna-soar Orbital Spacecraft:* This valuable weapon, designed at a cost of $400 million to carry nuclear weapons into orbit and glide back to earth under its pilot's control to land on airfields, was cancelled by McNamara ten days after Lyndon Johnson became President.

3. *Pluto Supersonic Missile:* Described by space experts Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward as the "most powerful single weapon yet conceived," it was designed to fly around the world ten times at 2000 miles per hour, at an altitude low enough to avoid anti-aircraft and anti-ballistic missile defenses. Development cancelled by Robert Strange McNamara!

4. *Atlas Missile:* These missiles, capable of carrying powerful nuclear warheads, are being scrapped by McNamara. Their supposed replacement, the Minuteman Missile, can carry warheads only one sixth as powerful as the Atlas.

5. *Minuteman Mobile Missile Bases:* McNamara cancelled the plan to have Minuteman intercontinental missiles mounted on mobile launching sites so as to be safe from enemy attack. The only Minuteman we have at present are exposed to attack by more powerful Soviet missiles.

6. *COIN-LARA Aircraft:* McNamara inexcusably delayed production of this airplane, designed for close support of ground troops in spite of repeated requests from military leaders, starting as far back as 1962. Lack of any airplane designed for this purpose has caused needless loss of life among American troops in Vietnam.

7. *B–70 Bomber:* Developed after ten years of work at a cost of $1.5 billion, this bomber would have been three times faster than the B–52. It was cancelled by McNamara!

8. *Presently Existing Bombers:* Meanwhile, production has been stopped on the B–58, B–52, and B–47 bombers. No new bombers are under development or construction.

9. *Grounding of SAC:* Robert Strange McNamara has ended the Strategic Air Command's airborne alert, which has kept 10 to 30 percent of our nuclear bombing force in the air on a 24-hour basis. He did this in the face of a unanimous Joint Chiefs of Staff recommendation that the airborne alert be continued.

10. *Phasing Out SAC:* Not satisfied with reducing SAC's effectiveness, McNamara plans to phase it out entirely by 1972. Rep. Craig Hosmer (R-Cal.) points out that this McNamara cutback of strategic bombers "will reduce the country's strategic nuclear power to the point where it may not be enough to deter the Soviet Union from attacking."

11. *TFX–F–111:* To replace the multitude of planes he is scrapping, McNamara proposes the F–111, supposedly an all-purpose fighter and bomber. Actually, the F–111 is merely another name for the notorious TFX, otherwise known as McNamara's Flying Edsel. The plane has turned out to be virtually useless, as it is too heavy to be used on aircraft carriers, and its speed and range are less than those for presently existing aircraft. Gen. Curtis E. LeMay points out that it is "too small and too slow for the job."

12. *Anti-Ballistic Missile:* In spite of the fact that the Soviet Union has apparently developed an effective anti-missile defense, Robert Strange McNamara refuses to permit development of an American ABM, which could save 70 million American lives in the event of a Soviet nuclear attack. While refusing to develop the advanced Nike-X system, McNamara now proposes to waste $5 billion on a 'limited' ABM system which even he admits would be useless in the face of Soviet attack.

13. *Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons Systems:* In the words of Adm. Cecil Coggins, former Chief of Atomic, Bacteriological and Chemical Warfare for the Navy, McNamara has "neglected to develop an offensive capability in chemical war" and has "no defense worthy of the name . . . In biological warfare . . . we have neither an offensive nor a defensive capability."

14. *Nuclear Powered Fleet:* In spite of repeated demands from Congress, and from naval experts such as Adm. Hyman Rickover, McNamara has blocked the construction of vitally needed nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers. As a result, vessels presently being constructed, such as the USS John F. Kennedy, are obsolete before putting in a day's service.

15. *Scuttling of the Savannah:* Secretary McNamara is desperately attempting to deactivate the nuclear-powered freighter Savannah, built at the cost of $100 million, even though the cost of operating it is less than that of maintaining it in mothballs, and it is badly needed to transport supplies to Vietnam.

16. *Typhon:* Robert Strange McNamara was responsible for development of the Typhon weapons system, which turned out to be so large that it could not be installed in any of the ships for which it was intended. According to Rep. Robert Sikes (D-Fla.) this McNamara failure means that "the Navy still does not have a first-class air defense system with which to cope with modern aircraft."

17. *Withdrawal of Missile Bases:* As part of a deal with Khrushchev, McNamara dismantled American missile bases in Turkey, on the border of the Soviet Union, thus needlessly giving up the vital time advantage which these bases afforded us.

18. *Closing of Shipyards:* In 1962, Secretary McNamara told a House committee that ships had become largely unnecessary for defense transport purposes and stated that future wars would be supplied by air. Today it is estimated that 98 percent of materiel bound for Vietnam goes by ship and cargoes bound for Vietnam are piling up in American ports, but McNamara's solution is to close more shipyards and further weaken the American Merchant Marine.

19. *Reserve Forces Reorganization:* Secretary McNamara has kept our Reserve and National Guard forces in a state of confusion for the past several years. His refusal to cooperate with Congress in building up the reserve forces has kept these forces drastically short of equipment, low on morale and unready for combat.

20. *Regular Army Reserve Strength:* Secretary McNamara has let Regular Army strategic reserve strength in the continental U.S. deteriorate to the lowest level since the early days of the Korean War. So large a portion of the Army is either in Vietnam, or engaged in training replacements for Vietnam, that only one full division remains in the U.S. ready to meet emergencies which may develop elsewhere in the world.

21. *Vietnam: Weapon and Ammunition Shortages:* The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee has found that some weapons and equipment for Vietnam are in dangerously short supply, particularly mortars, trucks, troop carriers, aircraft warning systems, bomber guidance systems, and helicopters. Much ammunition being sent to Vietnam is defective. According to Hanson Baldwin, military analyst of the *New York Times*, this situation is due to McNamara's reduction of defense stocks, and his failure to provide adequate funds.

22. *Vietnam: Pilot Shortage:* American forces in Vietnam are suffering a severe shortage of both helicopter and aircraft pilots. Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) points out that the blame for this falls on Robert Strange McNamara's failure to authorize pilot training levels requested by the armed services, and his refusal to call up fully qualified reserve pilots.

23. *Unparalleled Waste:* Behind his carefully developed image of "economizing," McNamara is the most wasteful Defense Secretary in American history. Rep. Porter Hardy (D-Va.) has shown how McNamara claims "savings" even when he pays more than he has to. A typical example of McNamara economy is the purchase from a German firm, at $21.00 each, of bombs sold by the Defense Department to the same firm for $1.70 two years ago.

24. *Public Commitment to Unilateral Disarmament:* Secretary McNamara has been described by liberal columnist James Reston as "more interested in disarmament than any other Secretary of Defense in the world today." The official *Defense Department Digest* of February 1, 1965 quotes McNamara as saying: "I think it would be a tremendous opportunity for us economically and socially to eliminate defense entirely. It would be a social good."

25. *Support of Nuclear Test Ban Treaty:* In actively supporting this treaty, McNamara intentionally deceived Congress by hiding the results of high altitude nuclear tests which revealed unexpected threats to our national security in the form of "Electromagnetic Pulse" effects.

26. *Paul Nitze:* McNamara harbors as his Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Nitze, who is on record as stating, among other similar things, that "the U.S. should suspend nuclear tests, unilaterally if necessary," and that "U.S. nuclear superiority over the Soviets was not an advantage to the U.S."

27. *Punishment of Top Officers Who Tell the Truth:* Many of our most valuable military and naval officers have been lost to the service of their country because they dared to differ with Robert Strange McNamara. Adm. George W. Anderson, Chief of Naval Operations, got the axe because he told the truth about the TFX to a Senate subcommittee. Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Curtis LeMay and NATO Commander General Lauris Norstad were also victims of McNamara's demand that his disastrous policies be blindly supported.

28. *Censorship of Patriotism in Officers' Speeches:* The American people lost the services of Gen. Edwin Walker because he dared to inform the troops under his command about the nature of the Communist menace. Other officers have had such seemingly innocuous phrases such as "Soviet military aggression" and "victory by the free world" censored out of their speeches.

DOCUMENT TELLS "WHY" AND "HOW"

The strange record of Robert Strange McNamara is thus exposed. A report prepared for the House Committee on Armed Services states that his policies are responsible for the United States dropping from a strategic superiority of ten to one over the Soviet Union in 1961 to a projected *inferiority* of ten to one in 1971. An examination of his policies and his record reveals an amazing explanation!

I Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, the northern Virginia mother of a son who is fighting in Vietnam took a letter to an Arlington printing firm to have it reproduced.

It was a rough draft, written in long hand, and she asked that it be rewritten and printed so that she could mail a thousand or so copies to acquaintances at her own expense.

The patriotic idea presented by this devoted mother and proud American is one worthy of the attention of all Americans, and I commend this method of making their voices heard to all who read this RECORD:

I HOPE

"I hope to find my country in the right, however, I will stand by her *right or wrong.*" Thus spoke John Jordan Crittenden about the Mexican War.

Isn't it about time for some nationwide effort to emphatically illustrate to the world and our fighting men that the vast majority of Americans are proud of our country and are strongly supporting our armed services. Especially those fighting in Viet Nam . . . . Not just a weekend demonstration, but one that will show support and faith in our country for the duration of this tragic war in which we are involved.

We suggest that a silent, but vibrant method of accomplishing this could be done if every proud American citizen would signify his or her support of our fathers, husbands, and sons in Viet Nam, on other foreign shores as well as here at home, by flying a small American flag from the radio antenna on their automobiles. This to be done every day until peace prevails and our men are home.

Indeed, it would be a heart warming experience if in every town, city and on every highway throughout this great country, we could see millions of flags so quietly, but so strongly imparting this inspiring message of support, faith and hope.

This unique concept is from the heart of a patriotic American citizen who is confident there are millions of people who feel the same way and desire to make their voice heard.

Will you help to make this method of "speaking up" a reality with simultaneous impact from coast to coast? A true, red blooded citizen who is proud to be an American does not have to be urged to participate. He need only be informed of this concept to gain his support as well as help in passing these ideas on to others.

May we suggest that—

Individuals.—Join us today and show this message to your friends and associates.

Public Officials.—Join us today and voice your support at every opportunity.

Veterans, Civic, Fraternal and Social Clubs and Organizations.—Join us today and mail this message to your membership or read it at your next meeting.

Radio & Television Networks & Stations.—Join us today and broadcast this message from coast to coast as a public service news item. Give progress reports of national participation.

Newspaper and Magazine Publishers.—Join us today and publish this message as front page news. Give progress reports of national participation.

Those who wish to do so may make reprints of this message for distribution as they desire.

We can think of no better way of saying "thank you" to our armed forces than by starting this silent message on Thanksgiving Day.

May the rustle of countless flags whisper our message so loud that it will echo around the world.

Small New Jersey Company Finds Good Export Prospects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, this past summer the U.S. Department of Commerce organized a commercial trade fair in Frankfurt, Germany, so that American manufacturers could display their products before potential buyers in Europe. The show featured measuring, recording, and control instrumentation used in the chemical industry. One of the participating firms was the Kane Air Scale Co. of Glassboro, N.J., a small company which has exported its products, but which was new to this particular market. The New Jersey firm had two purposes in mind when it entered the trade fair. First, it wanted to expose its products to prospective purchasers from the Common Market countries and member-nations of the European Free Trade Association. Second, the firm wanted to establish licensees or agents for its products in European countries. Mr. Donald E. Stein, vice president of Kane Air Scale Co., said, at the conclusion of the show, that both of these objectives had been met. Furthermore, he estimated that in the 12 months following the show his company would make sales of about $200,000 as a direct result of the Frankfurt exhibition. This is the kind of Government-industry cooperation that benefits both the public interest and the private interest, and I congratulate Kane Air Scale Co. for its fine showing.

Gradepoint God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the following article certainly makes sense to me, as I am sure it will to other Members of Congress and the country in general.

We hear so much about education, and I am convinced, through some personal experience and through observation, that our educational system seems to depend too much upon the grade rather than on learning. I commend the following article to all those interested:

GRADEPOINT GOD

(By Bob Spann)

"To Him I will bow and pray."

This sign hangs above the desk of a prospective engineer trying to learn his craft at North Carolina State. It is hung with as much reverence as a sacred picture might be displayed on a church wall.

Each morning and afternoon the student looks at it and gives it a reverent nod, for the magic number, the grade is truly his god. He must constantly try to achieve its image. He must constantly conform to the standards the gradepoint god sets for him. He must constantly try to please the demigods of books, quizzes, assorted facts, test tubes and other heavenly apparatus that will give him the grace to achieve the image of this great god.

Why does a supposedly intelligent young man do such a thing? Certainly an 18 to 22 year old could not have set up such a religious system by himself. It is set up by a much more clever apparatus, namely the great American society, the clergyman of the god's religion.

The student worships society's god because since childhood he has been told that a college degree is the key that will open that golden door called the great American Way. And the God of 2.0 determines whether or not he will be privileged to receive this golden key.

And what does the student get with this golden key? It opens the door to many wonders his parents may or may not have and he almost definitely does not have. It will give him a nice house in a nice suburb or subdivision that looks like all the other nice people's nice houses. It gives him a plain desk or drafting table in a plain room that looks just like all his plain co-workers' desks. It gives him the opportunity to keep up with the Joneses and buy everything they buy. It gives him the opportunity to marry the girl back home and have 2.7 children and a car he probably can't afford.

Grades, not learning are too often the god of a technical school. The querry "How did you do last semester?" is almost never met with a reply such as "I learned a lot," or "I had some real good courses," but rather with a grade point average.

Students become addicted to pleasing the god of 2.0 or whatever magic number may be their particular god. Students are not really concerned with the knowledge gained while taking a particular course, but concentrate on memorizing enough for formulas that can be churned out on a quiz to achieve the good grade.

Unfortunately, instructors are not immune from worshipping the gradepoint god either. A student usually learns what will determine his grade before he is told what he will learn in a particular course.

However, this worship of grades is not really surprising. Grades determine whether or not a student graduates, they determine whether or not he will be target practice for the Viet Cong, they determine whether or not he can participate in many student activities, they determine whether or not a student can take certain courses and they make many other decisions for the average student.

The result of such a system is inevitable. Learning fades into the background. Students will do anything to achieve the magic grade. The amount of cheating exposed during recent Air Force Academy scandals should not be viewed with alarm or considered uncommon. The only unusual thing about them was the fact that someone was honest enough to blow the whistle. How sweet it is!!!

Review of the Proposed Tax Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal topics of discussion these days among those interested in the financial affairs of the Nation is the availability and cost of credit. As we know, the increasing demand for financing by both Government and private borrowers is being reflected in record interest rates.

Closely related to the subject, of course, is the tax increase the President has proposed. The question here is whether the tax surcharge is needed to achieve a better balance between the demand for funds and the ability of the private credit markets to supply them.

While I am not committing myself to support for the tax proposal, I do believe that as the dialog continues about the question of a tax increase, we should have the views of many thoughtful experts, both pro and con. For this reason, I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an interesting and articulate review of the proposed tax increase and the present money market situation that was presented to the real estate profession a few days ago by the Under Secretary of the Treasury, Frederick L. Deming.

I insert into the RECORD Mr. Deming's remarks at the 1967 legislative conference of the Enlarged Realtors Washington Committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE FREDERICK L. DEMING, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FOR MONETARY AFFAIRS, AT THE 1967 LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE ENLARGED REALTORS WASHINGTON COMMITTEE, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BOARDS, WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 11, 1967

My thesis today is a simple one—*a tax surcharge, as recommended by the President, is needed badly and is needed now.* The real estate industry has a direct interest in this matter and should support the recommended tax action. That, in essence, is my message. Now let me develop it more fully.

There are two fundamental points to keep in mind. *One,* the housing and real estate sectors of the economy do better under conditions of balanced economic growth than they do under conditions of inflation or deflation. The problems of feast or famine in the housing and real estate industries are too well known to you to require me to discuss them further. You, who work in these fields, know them at first hand.

Two, tight money hits hard and disproportionately at these segments of the economy. This point I do want to develop much more fully—although you have had recent and, I expect, convincing experience of this fact—in the Summer and Fall of 1966.

Let me turn first and briefly to the state of the economy. Most of the forecasts for 1968 see an economy rising rather strongly but in reasonable balance—assuming a tax increase. They see quarterly gains in gross national product averaging just short of $15 billion. This would produce close to a $60 billion increase over four quarters—a gain right at the upper limit of what most economists believe the economy can tolerate without undue strain.

In this setting, prices will be increasing faster than we would like. While much of the upward pressure will be coming from the cost increases of 1965 and 1966, GNP growth of the magnitude expected will hardly contribute to price weakness. But, with reasonable balance in the economy, we would have a chance for better price performance, which would make it easier to continue healthy real growth in 1969.

I want to underline the point that this fairly optimistic outlook has a tax increase built into it. Without that tax increase, there would be more expansion—too much more for any comfort. That overexuberance would require restraint—and that restraint, almost inevitably, would mean tight money.

If there were no additional restraint, prices would rise more strongly. Inflation is a tax in itself—the cruelest tax of all, since it bears most heavily on those who can least protect themselves from it. The recommended temporary 10 percent surcharge really means a tax—on the average—of about 1 percent of income, and those least able to pay escape the surcharge entirely. If prices rise 1 percent, unless money incomes also rise, average real income is reduced by the same amount as through a 1 percent tax increase. The impact on different income levels varies.

Now, some may say—then I'll gamble that prices won't rise enough more without a tax increase to make me as badly off as a tax increase would. After all, if the higher prices, without a tax increase, come out less than 1 percent higher then they would with a tax increase, I'll win. And, anyway, I'll have higher income. That kind of a gamble usually has not been a good one—certainly not a good one for the little fellow, for the retired, for the saver who finances housing. Anyone who is thinking about that kind of a gamble needs to keep in mind (a) that high prices tend to be sticky—and they stay around and build bases, through cost increases, for future higher prices; (b) there obviously is no guarantee that the price rise can be held to even a good temporary tradeoff level, and (c) it's hard to repeal inflation—but taxes can be repealed and the surcharge is a temporary one.

I'd sum up the broad economic picture this way. Some people see the inflation wolf slipping through the woods; some hear him scratching at the front door; some find him already in grandma's bed. Wherever he is, this Red Riding Hood economy needs a little wolfbane in the form of a tax increase. It is too plump and tempting for the inflation wolf.

Now I want to turn to the financial picture—both because it is of more direct concern to you and because there is no question of where the high interest rate wolf is—he's in grandma's bed, grandma's in his stomach, his jaws are wide open, and Red Riding Hood hasn't got a chance without the tax increase wolfbane.

Interest rates for intermediate and long-term securities in the United States today are higher than they have been since the very early 1920's. Less than two weeks ago, the Treasury issued a 7-year note at 5¾ percent—the highest coupon on a Treasury issue since June, 1921, and it is trading slightly below par. Except for short-term securities, most interest rates today are higher than they were in the money crunch of August-September, 1966—long-term Government and corporates are more than ½ percent higher, municipals just a bit higher.

I am sure none of you like to remember the August-September, 1966, period. The crunch that occurred then was broken by a series of actions. Money became available and interest rates fell. From the highs of the Summer of 1966 to the 1967 lows in the early and late Spring, Treasury bill rates dropped 2¼ percent, one-year Treasury notes and agency securities declined about 2 percent, 5- and 10-year Governments dropped 1 to 1½ percent, corporates more than 1 percent, and municipals ⅞ths percent.

But since the lows of last Spring, rates have moved up again quite sharply. We will get to the reasons for this movement later. Meanwhile, the figures are as follows. As of yesterday, Treasury bill rates were up 1¼ to 1½ percent from their Spring lows; short-term Governments and agencies and long-term corporates were up 1½ percent, longer-term Governments up 1¼ to 1½ percent, and municipals up .9 percent. Much of the increase—between one-third and one-half—has occurred since the President's Tax Message went to the Congress on August 3. And all of these increases have taken place against the background of an easy monetary climate.

While I'm talking about interest rates, let me note that they have effects on both the domestic and international economies. And let me note further that these effects concern countries other than the United States,

In January, 1967, the finance ministers of five countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy—met at Chequers in England in what became a widely-publicized effort to de-escalate the so-called interest rate war. The Communique issued after that meeting said, in part:

"The Ministers agreed that they would all make it their objective within the limits of their respective responsibilities to cooperate in such a way as to enable interest rates in their respective countries to be lower than they otherwise would be." The whole point of the Chequers meeting was that all felt that undue dependence in the past had been placed on monetary policy, that, while this had produced needed restrictions on their economies, it had also produced distortions in their economies.

By and large, monetary cooperation proved successful through the Spring of 1967. And, even since then, despite the sharp upward rise of interest rates in the United States, most of the European countries have continued to follow relatively easy monetary policies. The German rediscount rate has been reduced from 5 to 3 percent in a series of moves. Belgium has cut its bank rate five times—from 5¼ to 4 percent, the latest move coming at the end of October. In the Netherlands, bank rate has been reduced from 5 to 4½ percent. France and Italy have continued their bank rates at 3½ percent; Austria reduced its rate again at the close of October.

All of these moves were in full keeping with proper domestic policy—they were not done out of altruism. The point is that the moves were taken in the face of rising rates in the United States, and there may be real question whether these policies can be continued as rates rise here.

We already have seen recent upward bank rate movements in the United Kingdom and Canada that were clearly defensive and reflective not of their domestic situations but developments in the international money markets, which are strongly influenced by U.S. interest rates. Early in 1957, the Bank of England cut its bank rate from 7 to 5½ percent in three steps. In the past three weeks, it has gone back up again to 6½ percent in two moves. The Bank of Canada cut its rate ¾ percent in two moves earlier this year; in late September, it went back up ½ percent.

More than a year ago, President Blessing, of the Bundesbank, said publicly that high interest rates abroad hamper the German Federal Bank's efforts to bring down rates at home. At about the same time, in a speech here in Washington, Governor Carli, of the Bank of Italy, said:

". . . if one deludes oneself into thinking that a more elaborate policy mix can be successful without the operational techniques and sufficient forcefulness to put them into effect quickly, then it will, sooner or later, still become necessary to employ the credit restrictions which are characteristic of a cruder approach. In the end effect, their belated application leads the economy into more serious stagnation, the external deficit persists, confidence is lost, speculative pressures grow, and, ultimately, unemployment ensues."

On October 9, 1967, the French Minister of Economy and Finance told a group of French businessmen that "a rise in interest rates in the United States, with the risk of spreading to other countries, and the corresponding risk of a slowdown in economic development" was a negative factor in evaluating worldwide economic growth prospects.

I need not go on with this part of my story. The point I think is quite clear. Tight money and high interest rates in the United States are disturbing influences not only in the United States but also abroad.

Now let me return to the domestic scene and come down harder on the supply-demand picture in our capital and credit markets. While economists were debating the economic outlook earlier this year, the Members of Congress were expressing concern over the economy, participants in the credit markets seem to have had few doubts about the basic trend of economic activity. Even though capital needs for financing inventories were lessening the needs to finance current fixed investment outlays held about steady, corporations have racked up record amounts of borrowing in the capital markets this year.

New long-term corporate issues in 1966 totalled $17.6 billion. Based on what has been done and is in prospect, that total will be beat by $7 billion, or 40 percent, this year. New state and municipal securities in 1966 totalled $11.3 billion. It looks as though they will be $2.5 billion higher, or up 22 percent, in 1967. And in neither case was 1966 a slack year—in fact, it was the record year before 1967.

What has caused this heavy volume of borrowing through the capital markets? Underlying the demand was a combination of conviction and fear—conviction that liquidity positions run down in 1966 should be restored and dependence upon short-term borrowing from banks reduced, and fear that failure to tie up some available funds while they *are* available might mean inability to get funds later on when they are needed.

A special source of concern for corporate, state and municipal financial officers has been the possibility of an oversized Federal Government deficit. They, too, remember the tight markets of the Summer of 1966.

But, at that time, the Federal Government's demands were quite modest. Now they contemplate a period of heavy private demand *augmented* by an overgrown Federal deficit. That makes for sleepless nights.

Let me put the picture in simple and stark form by contrasting fiscal year 1967 and fiscal year 1968. In fiscal 1967, net Federal demands on the private credit markets, as measured by the increase in outstanding Treasury issues, agency issues, and participation certificates, *less* the increase in the holdings of these obligations by the Government Investment Accounts and the Federal Reserve, was actually negative by $6 billion. Even after adjusting for the decline of $5 billion in the Treasury cash balance, it is clear that there was *no net demand* from the Federal sector in fiscal 1967—instead, there was net supply.

Contrast this with fiscal 1968. Assume the tax program and expenditure control, as recommended by the President, produces an administrative budget deficit of $14 to $18 billion. This will be financed by direct Treasury borrowing. Add to this sales of participation certificates and agency securities. Subtract prospective purchases of the Government Investment Accounts and the Federal Reserve. We estimate the *net* take from the private markets to be $10 to $12 billion, in contrast to a *net supply* of $6 billion last year. Without a tax increase, the fiscal 1968 figure becomes $17.5 to $19.5 billion net demand.

We believe we can manage—with difficulty, of course, but manage—a net demand of $10 to $12 billion. But another $7.5 billion would put great strain on the markets.

Put the picture in this perspective. Last fiscal year, the total demand for funds flowing through the markets was about $60 billion.

The Federal sector *put in* about $5 to $6 billion, so private *satisfied* demand was $65 billion. This fiscal year, total supply should be higher—perhaps $70–$75 billion—maybe more, depending on bank credit expansion. But Federal net demand of $10–$12 billion would use up the increase. And net Federal demand of $20 billion would use twice the prospective increase. And, incidentally, these are the figures which show pressure on the markets and on interest rates. It is not just $7.5 billion more borrowing against a GNP of $800 billion. The relevant figures are $16 billion *more* net Federal credit in fiscal 1968 as against fiscal 1967 demand, or $26 billion more relative to a total supply of, say, $75 billion.

Now, let me finish the story of Federal credit demand in fiscal 1968. Direct Treasury borrowings, gross of new money, in the markets in the last half of calendar 1967 will total a bit more than $16 billion. All of this has been done or announced; there will be no more market borrowing by the Treasury in 1967. Yesterday, we announced a $1 billion participation certificate sale—the only one so far in this half year—and we will do no more in 1967. There will be some more agency issues, but they are essentially rollovers—no new money. So we are finished for 1967.

Because of seasonal factors relating to revenues, most Treasury new money borrowing comes in the second half of a calendar year.

Remember I said that, in fiscal 1967, *net* Federal credit demand—direct Treasuries, agencies, and participation certificates—was a minus $6 billion. But we took $5 billion out in the last half of calendar 1966 and put back $11 billion in the first half of this year.

With a tax increase and expenditure control, we would expect to put back net about $2.5 billion in the first half of 1968. With expenditure control and no tax increase, we would take out net about $5 billion. So the swing from the first half of this year would be $16 billion more net demand.

The process through which the market would allocate a limited supply of credit among an excess of would-be borrowers can be described, ahead of time, only in qualitative terms and generalities. The particulars might work out differently under slight variations in circumstances. In general, though, it may be predicted that the Federal Government's credit needs would be met, one way or another, as would also the credit needs of larger business firms. The cost might be high—even in comparison to the high rates prevailing today—but the supply probably would be there because some other borrowers would be "pushed off the end of the bench" and unable to find money, except at rates that were considered exorbitantly and prohibitively high.

Consumers might fare unevenly in the scramble for available credit. Funds for installment purchases, and other short-term credit, would probably be available—but money for home mortgages would quite likely be a major victim. Business might also fare unevenly, with large firms getting their needs filled, and small ones having to make do with less—drawing on every last ounce of spare liquidity in the system, leaning on trade credit, and cutting corners wherever possible in cash management. State and local governments would also feel the pinch, especially if bank credit expansion potential was under some restraint. In the Summer months of 1966, this was one of the areas where we seemed closest to the stark possibility of non-functioning credit markets in which funds were unavailable at virtually any price.

Let us look more specifically at housing and real estate. Any threat of serious imbalance in the pattern of funds supplied and demanded in the credit markets is necessarily a matter of special concern to those associated with the housing industry. When interest rates are bid sharply higher in a scramble for funds, someone is sure to be the loser. And, if our earlier bouts with tight money are any guide, the housing and real estate industries will feel the first and hardest blows. Certainly, that was the case last year.

In the span of a very few months, the housing industry moved last year from relative prosperity to severe adjustment. Suddenly deprived of a steady inflow of new savings, the mortgage and real estate markets were caught in a tightening squeeze. The main financial causes were clear enough. Total demands for credit, swelled by a rising tide of business borrowing for plant and equipment outlays, far outran potential supplies. Interest rates were driven up and a balanced pattern of financial flows was badly distorted. Thrift institutions lost out to commercial banks in a hectic race for a limited pool of savings, and neither could match the lure of the higher yields that soon appeared on market instruments. As a result, the home financing, residential construction, and real estate sector experienced a period of extreme financial stringency, and the effects fanned out to material suppliers, the construction trades, specialized financial institutions, and the general public.

Loan commitments were cut back sharply as mortgage lenders were hit by heavy withdrawals of funds moving to obtain higher yields. New housing starts plummeted from a rate of 1,430,000 units in March to 845,000 units in October—a decline of more than 40 percent. As you know all too well, the problem was not limited to the financing of new homes.

In a typical year, the share of the real estate market accounted for by the purchase and sale of existing homes may be nearly twice that of new homes, with some 2½ million existing homes changing hands. According to your own figures, transfers of existing houses in September, 1966, was 23 percent smaller than in September, 1965. The markets for new and existing homes are linked and interrelated with the purchase of a new home frequently dependent upon the availability of financing for the sale of an old home. And, last year, with mortgage money uncommonly scarce, the financing of both new and existing homes was difficult, expensive, and at times, in some regions, nearly impossible. None of us wants to see those conditions again.

So far the story this year has been one of solid recovery. From some standpoints, the pace of the recovery has even exceeded expectations. In September, the seasonally adjusted annual rate of new private housing starts reached 1,457,000 units, the highest since December, 1965. Third quarter housing starts were 17 percent above the second quarter and more than 50 percent above the fourth quarter, 1966. Savings inflows at thrift institutions and commercial banks have continued in record volume. In the first 9 months, this savings inflow totalled a massive $31.5 billion, in contrast to a mere $14.6 billion in 1966 and an average $21.4 billion in 1963 through 1965. New home sales have been running at high levels.

The inventory of unsold new homes is only about 170,000 units, about 100,000 fewer than at the 1964 peak. In the face of rising incomes and favorable demographic factors, all this suggests a solid basis for a continuing revival in home construction and the real estate business *if* financial factors permit.

That, I hasten to add, is a mighty big "if." Already, the mortgage market is feeling the impact of high and rising long-term interest rates. Mortgage rates are sluggish, but they have been moving up. On the basis of historical relationships with other long-term interest rates, they could go still higher. Discounts in the FHA market are larger than we like to see for the smooth functioning of that market. But, to this point, financial factors have not arrested the housing recovery. While possibly less than ideal, the financial environment for housing and real estate this year has been one of credit availability, although that availability has been at a high price.

As we look to the future, the problem is whether we can assure the continued availability of credit that real estate markets require. Over the longer pull, the money will be there. But, in this difficult period, while net Federal credit demands are swinging from net supply to sizeable net demand, there is a real risk that total credit demands will again outpace supply—as they did in 1966, although for different reasons.

If an over-all imbalance were allowed to develop, there is little doubt in my mind—or, I am sure, in yours—as to where the heaviest burden of adjustment would come to rest. Once again the residential construction, home financing, and real estate sectors would be near the end of the line when the credit windows were closed.

Some financial problems are complex. This one is essentially very simple. The problem is simply to insure that total credit demands are scaled down into reasonable correspondence with probable supplies. This can be accomplished through the President's fiscal recommendations—a 10 percent surcharge on personal and corporate taxes, coupled with reductions in Federal expenditure. The effect would be to reduce the net Federal credit demand from an intolerable $20 billion or more to the $10 to $12 billion range, and also to trim down silghtly the net private demand for credit.

Credit demands *will* be cut back to available supplies by the operation of the market, make no mistake about that. The choice lies between the exercise of fiscal responsibility or letting nature take its course. And we saw last year the course that nature takes. Without fiscal restraint, interest rates and the market processes will equate the total demand and supply for credit—they always do. But that cutting back of demands will surely hit the housing sector with special force.

The course of wisdom, in my opinion, is to apply a badly needed degree of fiscal restraint, so that over-all demands and supplies will be brought into reasonable balance. In that way, the markets will achieve a more even and equitable distribution of credit supplies, and the 1966 experience can remain only as an object lesson of what we are determined to continue to avoid.

The tax increase is needed and is needed now. The question is a right now question—not one for the indefinite future. Markets don't wait, as is evidenced by the interest rate rise that has taken place so far—particularly the increase since August 3. To put off taking action is far too big a gamble—and a gamble that is almost sure to produce some—perhaps many—losers—and housing and real estate are likely to be among those losers.

Again, I say—the tax question is a right now question—and we need your support to get it answered right now.

Socialist British Money Flops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the great Laborite progress of Prime Minister Harold Wilson and his party has come home to roost in Britain—the bottom has dropped out of their inflated pound. Of course, the working Britisher has never had it so good; viz, made so much—in wallpaper money—they will buy little or nothing.

Wilson will go down in history for his contribution to England—pockets full of paper money worth next to nothing.

It is a shame to see a great people—a great Western civilization go to pot—all because of the brainwashing of socialism.

But the wealthy—they have American gold and British silver—will stave it all off by the black market route. After all, the special interests have always progressed in Britain.

The British cry, "Boycott Rhodesia." Fantastic. Rhodesia prospers while Britain goes bankrupt.

In a few years on the same course, Rhodesia will either be called on to bail out Britain or buy Britain at a fire sale. The only thing wrong with Britain is socialism. But the British people can still save England from bankruptcy, if they act now.

I include the account from the Sunday Evening Star of Washington, D.C., for November 19, and the Rhodesian commentary of recent date following my remarks:

BRITISH CUT POUND 14.3 PERCENT: $2.40 MADE NEW RATE FOR STERLING

(By Smith Hempstone)

LONDON.—Britain devalued the pound last night by 14.3 percent from $2.80 to $2.40, announced its intention of procuring $3 billion in new credits to shore up sterling and imposed drastic new economy measures.

The first devaluation since 1949 followed four days of intense speculation during which hundreds of millions of dollars fled from sterling.

The government announced that all banks and stock exchanges will be closed tomorrow.

The bank lending rate will be hiked from 6.5 percent to the crisis level of 8 percent, the highest since the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

The new austerity measures tacked on to Britain's already bleak economy are calculated to save the country $1.2 billion.

GREAT COST TO WEST

But the savings will be made at great cost to both Britain and the Western alliance.

Defense spending, already pared to the bone, will be cut another $280 million. Another $120 million will be cut from other spending and will be saved by scrapping export rebates to manufacturers and withdrawing premiums granted to them under the payroll tax.

The announcement of the Labor government's measures to save the nation's economy came from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer James Callaghan. Prime Minister Harold Wilson will address the nation on television and radio tonight.

Both men consistently have denied that Britain would devalue and a rebellion among Labor backbenchers in the House of Commons could cost Callaghan his job.

SWEEPING REPERCUSSIONS

The move was expected to have sweeping repercussions throughout the world since the pound along with the United States dollar is the currency most widely used for international transactions.

The world's major banking nations, led by the United States, made near simultaneous announcements that they would not devalue their currencies.

But devaluation will have a ripple effect among Britain's trading partners. Denmark has announced that it will devalue the kroner and Israel is to consider devaluation tomorrow. Ireland devalued its pound to the same level as Britain's.

Conservative party leader Edward Heath "utterly condemned" the Labor government for "reducing the standard of living at home and discrediting Britain abroad."

Britain has made formal application to the International Monetary Fund for an immediate standby credit of $1.4 billion and has been assured this will receive "prompt and sympathetic consideration."

The rest of the loan will come from foreign central banks.

The government statement said Britain needs an improvement in its balance of payments of "at least" $1.4 billion and that it intends to "insure that this is achieved." For the first 10 months of this year, Britain's balance of payments deficit was $840 million.

Corporation taxes on industrial profits are to be hiked from 40 to 42.5 percent and credit terms for car purchases made stricter.

The tightly kept British secret is said to have been made by Wilson's cabinet on Thursday.

Devaluation could improve Britain's chances of getting into the Common Market. France has insisted that Britain right its balance of payments deficit and divest sterling of its reserve functions before opening negotiations for membership in the European Economic Community.

Finance ministers of the Common Market countries meet in Paris today to discuss the implications of the British devaluation.

Britain spends about $5.6 billion annually on defense. Peeling $280 million from this could well mean premature abandonment of the mammoth British bases in Malaysia and Singapore, with a consequent increase in U.S. responsibilities in Southeast Asia.

In July, Defense Minister Denis Healy announced that Britain would pull out of Singapore and Malaysia by "the middle 1970s." Some 6,000 British troops will be withdrawn from Aden by the end of this month.

EUROPEAN ARMY CUTS

Some cuts might also be made in the British Army of the Rhine, which comes under NATO. But it is thought likely that Britain will cut down in Asia rather than Europe to emphasize its identity with the European Common Market upon which its economic future depends.

Since last summer Britain has been trimming its military manpower, which stands at 417,000 (fewer troops than the U.S. has in Vietnam) by 20 percent.

Domestic reprecussions of devaluation in the Labor party's future could be severe. While George Woodcock, secretary general of 8,750,000-member Trades Union Congress last night pledged his loyalty to the Government after talking with Wilson, reaction among rank and file trade unionists is certain to be bitter.

LABOR SUFFERS DEFEATS

Their opposition to Wilson's economic policies this year have produced an almost unbroken skein of Labor defeats in municipal and by-elections.

A split in the Labor party, with perhaps as many as 30 backbenchers refusing government whip, cannot be ruled out.

The reaction of businessmen to devaluation was predictable. John Davis, director general of the Confederation of British Industry, which has about 40,000 firms as members, met with Wilson after Woodcock and described devaluation as "a black day for Britain".

Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe cut short a weekend visit to Gibraltar. Liberal officials called for Callaghan's resignation.

RAISES LIVING COSTS

While devaluation will make it easier for Britain to sell its goods abroad, it will raise the cost of living at home.

Nearly half of Britain's food and raw materials for consumer goods come from overseas. Now they will cost more because the pound sterling will buy less abroad.

The reduced value of the pound will make it almost impossible for Britons to travel abroad, since they are restricted at present to an annual allowance of 50 pounds.

This was Britain's third devaluation of the century, all three of them carried out by Laboriate prime ministers—the first in 1931 by Ramsay McDonald, the second in 1949 by Clement Attlee.

CALLAGHAN STATEMENT

Chancellor of the Exchequer Callaghan said in his announcement of the emergency measures.

"This change brings with it fresh opportunities—but at a heavy cost. The main opportunity is that our exporters should be able to sell more goods overseas such as motor vehicles and tractors, ships, aircraft, chemicals, textiles, and much else.

"But if we are to derive the full benefit from it, we must reduce the growth of demand by consumers at home in order to shift the use of our resources to exports and import saving."

"The major disadvantages of the change in the exchange rate is that it will cause a rise in certain prices, though this will not happen all at once," Callaghan said.

LIMIT PRICE INCREASES

He emphasized it was essential to make sure "price increases should be confined to those unavoidable cases brought about by increased import costs."

"It is essential, equally, to ensure that these price increases do not result in large wage claims and settlements, for such action would mean that industrial costs would go up once more and the competitive benefits of devaluation would be frittered away," he added.

To avoid this he said the government would open talks immediately with the Trades Unions Congress and the Confederation of British industry to seek their cooperation in holding steady both wages and prices.

WORSENED FEW WEEKS AGO

The present crisis blew up early this month when it became clear that Britain would end 1967 in a balance-of-payments deficit for the sixth year in a row.

With austerity measures already biting hard but not building up reserves, it became equally clear to foreigners that the British government could not tighten the nation's belt any more.

Huge international loans were arranged. The first was a short-term credit of $3 billion in November, 1964, to fight off speculation. This worked and was soon paid back.

Between December and the following May, a total of $2.4 billion was drawn from the International Monetary Fund to finance balance of payments deficits.

So far $750 million has been paid back, and another $250 million is due next month. The rest is due between 1968 and 1970.

Last July, following a shipping strike, another crisis blew up for the pound.

Wilson reversed his policy and ordered a wage freeze, stiffer taxation, and other curbs to cut down on imports.

After a year of this, the economy was leaner, but the balance of payments problems remained. An autumn dock strike and the closure of the Suez Canal last summer again hit the highly vulnerable British economy and forced the present crisis.

REINFORCEMENT OF CONFIDENCE: £11M. LOANS ARE OVERSUBSCRIBED

Subscription lists for two Rhodesian Government loans totalling £11m. were oversubscribed.

A £4m. loan at 5¼ per cent. for local registered stock matures in 1975 and a longer-term loan at 6¼ per cent. for local registered stock of £7m. is to be redeemed in 1992, with an option on the Government's part to redeem it at any time during the preceding five years.

This is the second time during the present financial year that the Government has gone to the local market. On October 2, a £5m. loan maturing in 1970 was also oversubscribed as soon as the lists opened.

During the last financial year the Government successfully floated loans totalling £15m.

The success of the latest loans is seen in financial circles as further reinforcement of confidence in the country's economic future.

The proceeds of the medium-term loan will be used to help development of economic, social, general and administrative services, while those of the long-term loan will be applied to the financing of expenditure from loan account including the improvement of roads and other communications, agricultural development, the extension of the educational and health services and other projects.

Fly the Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, recently I was deeply honored to participate in a sincere and inspiring ceremony to honor veterans of the city of Garfield Heights—living and dead—who have served in the defense of our country.

The community of Garfield Heights, under the leadership of the Veterans Memorial Committee, developed an inspiring program which made Veterans Day 1967 Fly the Flag Day. The response was overwhelming.

Because of the splendid leadership in this effort by Mr. August E. Kleinschmidt, publisher and editor of the Garfield Heights Leader, the southeast suburban post of the Catholic War Veterans presented Mr. Kleinschmidt with a civic award for "his patriotic efforts and for spearheading the drive to have an American flag displayed in every home and business." The chairman of the event, which occurred on November 11, 1967, was Dick France, and the chairlady was Lillian Wasko.

A similar award was presented to Mr. Charles Lindecamp, former superintendent of Garfield Heights Schools, for his outstanding achievements for the benefit of youth and for the public welfare of Garfield Heights.

The patriotism and pride of the Garfield Heights community is gratifying to all America.

Important to All of Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, while we are all aware of the valuable contributions that our area chambers of commerce make to our communities, we sometimes tend to take them for granted and not give them the public recognition and thanks they deserve. On Saturday, November 18, the Lawrence Eagle-Tribune reversed this trend in an editorial entitled "Important to All of Us." The editorial singles out the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce for special praise. The Lawrence group is one of only 19 chambers around the country accredited under the more stringent standards set out by the U.S. chamber a year ago. This distinction is the tribute to the work of executive director Justin Horan and the current president of the Greater Lawrence chamber, George Stern.

I wish to join with the Eagle-Tribune in congratulating the chamber on its achievement and include the editorial in the RECORD:

IMPORTANT TO ALL OF US

There are in the United States 4,000 Chambers of Commerce. Of this total, during the past five years only 117 have been accredited by the United States Chamber of Commerce. A year ago the national chamber set new standards for accreditation. Since the new standards were set, only 19 local chambers have been accredited. The Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce is one of these 19.

This is a fact important to the entire Greater Lawrence community.

The importance is solidly established in the nature of a chamber of commerce.

A chamber of commerce is fundamentally an organization of business and professional people who unite to strengthen their position in the community by working together for mutual advantage. An essential ingredient of success is recognition of the truth that their individual success depends on the vigor and prosperity of the community and therefore on determination to strengthen the entire community as the best and indeed the only means of bringing into being the environment in which they can achieve success.

A chamber of commerce is as necessary to the development of a community as the local government. Government provides certain services that individuals cannot effectively provide for and by themselves. A chamber of commerce is the principal local organization offering a medium for the exercise of civic responsibility in fields outside the scope of government. When good local government and a good chamber of commerce work in close cooperation, as they do in Lawrence, they bring into being and maintain a vigorous, thriving community.

The quality of both community forces is of highest importance. The accreditation that the Greater Lawrence Chamber has received is an insigne of highest quality. It means that our community is endowed with a first-class chamber. This is not a suddenly developed fact. Greater Lawrence for years has benefited from high quality chamber of commerce service. The accreditation, however, puts the Greater Lawrence Chamber in an elite class, thereby giving the people reason for greater pride in the chamber and stronger assurance of superior community service by the Chamber.

A Blow to Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the decision of Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor which refused the participation of the U.S. Military Academy in a bowl game, has drawn quick and stern reaction from all over the country.

Today I would like to present the reaction which the decision received from two sportswriters on the Washington Post.

Mr. Bob Addie, who is nationally known and respected for his knowledge and ability as a sports expert, devoted his column to this issue in the Washington Post of November 18, 1967.

I am also including an excerpt from the column of Shirley Povich of November 19. His "This Morning" sports column is probably one of the most read items in the paper by individuals in all walks of life.

The writings of these two sportswriters are indicative of the feelings on the decision by sports people and the general public, and I include them here for your attention:

THIS MORNING, WITH SHIRLEY POVICH

The Sugar Bowl invitation to West Point, which was vetoed by Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, was worth more to the Academy than the $250,000 guarantee. Before Navy went to the Sugar Bowl in 1955 that Academy's heads were moaning that applications for admission were running only 2 to

1 ahead of openings. After Navy got exposure in two bowl games, the ratio leaped to 8 to 1.

A Blow to Army

(By Bob Addie)

At a time when the Army could have made a lot of points, the United States Military Academy has been told that it cannot play in the Sugar Bowl.

Already, the voice of the postseason pigskin parade is being heard throughout the land. The bowl scouts have been drumming up attractions for their games, which have become winter television spectaculars.

The arbitrary ruling by the Pentagon in denying the Cadets a chance to play a postseason game has ruffled a few legislators, including Rep. F. Edward Hébert (D-La.). It is only coincidence that Hébert is a former sports writer, but it would seem to give him additional stature as an expert on sports—something Army Secretary Stanley R. Resor and Gen. Harold K. Johnson, Army chief of staff, admittedly are not.

What possible deleterious effect a bowl acceptance by West Point could have on the Vietnam policy is hard to understand. The decision should have been left to the West Point authorities and the boys involved—the football squad.

Let's back up a little on this bowl business. No bowl season passes without some criticism from some bystanders who worry that the college boys may be subjected to too much football.

There are something like nine bowl games certified by the National Collegiate Athletic Association, in addition to four all-star games.

The bowl games start Nov. 25, which is only a week from today. On that day an all-star game sponsored by Sudan Temple of Raleigh, N.C., will share the early bird slate with the Mineral Water Bowl at Excelsior Springs, Mo.

The other all-star games certified by the NCAA include the Blue-Gray game at Montgomery, Ala., and the East-West Shrine game at San Francisco, both on Dec. 30.

The list of college bowl games also includes the Bluebonnet, Junior Rose Bowl, Liberty Bowl, Cotton Bowl, Orange Bowl, Rose Bowl, Sugar Bowl, Gator Bowl, and Sun Bowl. There you have them.

There has been some pressure put on the NCAA to cut the number of bowl games, but the colleges which comprise the governing body are not too eager to abandon such huge paydays. The Southeastern Conference, particularly, will always vote down any suggestion to eliminate bowl games. It's easy to understand why. Last season's Orange Bowl game between Alabama and Nebrasa saw the two teams split over $500,000. That will buy a lot of shoulder pads.

Are the bowl games worthwhile? There is no question about the financial benefits. Many people still seem to be unaware that the athletic programs in our service academies do not cost the Government one inflated cent. The programs are supported by private athletic associations in all three service academies—Army, Navy and Air Force.

The Army Athletic Association is a self-supporting organization composed of some 13,000 West Point graduates. Practically all of the association's income is derived from football game receipts and the taxpayers' money is not used to support the school's intercollegiate athletic program.

The association finances 18 varsity sports, maintains the athletic facilities, provides equipment, employs the required coaching and administrative staff, and supports in part extracurricular activities of the Corps of Cadets.

A factor often overlooked is that a bowl game involving a service school stimulates recruiting—and there is a rumor that recruiting needs considerable stimulation at the moment.

The service academies believe in physical fitness—and it was not too long ago that physical fitness was more popular on college campuses than demonstrating.

It is always a thrill to see the young men of the academies marching at a football game. It's a great show and one that brings the old-fashioned lump of pride in one's throat. But this doesn't seem to be the season for virtues.

There is an interesting footnote to all this. Gen. William C. Westmoreland, commander of our Vietnam forces, always was a sports buff. It was he, as superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, who appointed Paul Dietzel as head coach to improve Army's football image.

Hiring Dietzel was one of the few mistakes the general made. The Vietnam commander was in town when the bowl veto was handed down, and one wonders at his reaction. The over-all reaction seems to be that somebody in the Pentagon pushed the panic button.

Rose Kennedy at 76

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, this week's issue of America magazine contains a reflective and moving editorial entitled "Rose Kennedy at 76."

The editorial comments on Mrs. Kennedy's appearance on a recent CBS program. It also quotes some passages from Mrs. Kennedy's remarks which convey her convictions and attitudes on such topics as family life, child rearing, and one's faith.

To those who have not seen the CBS program, I would very much like to commend America's editorial. It is very brief, but it manages to convey much about one of the truly outstanding personalities of our era—her philosophy, her wisdom, and her great inner strength which without doubt have played a vital role in shaping the character of the several members of her remarkable and distinguished family.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial ends with a wonderful tribute to Mrs. Kennedy—a tribute in which many Members of this body would readily concur. It says:

> With a mother who can perceive such truths, teach them and live by them, John Kennedy's truest claim to fame, and that of his brothers and sisters, may well be that they are Rose Kennedy's children.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to add my personal tribute to this fine lady by placing America's editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

Rose Kennedy at 76

Last week, Harry Reasoner interviewed Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy on "J.F.K.—The Childhood Years," a reflective CBS program that synchronized with the fourth anniversary of the late President's assassination. In a smoothly paced, 30-minute exchange, Mr. Reasoner tactfully assisted Mrs. Kennedy in reminiscing about her life. Many mothers and fathers today are looking for something to guide them through the welter of sociological and psychological cant on family life and child rearing and the feminine mystique. For such parents, Mrs. Kennedy's candid wisdom is like new rain, a refreshment and a cleansing.

Her first lesson was that of parental patience. During "a particular phase," when Jack was in prep school, he was a fractious child, "generally a nuisance, and wasting his time and the time of a lot of the masters." So the patriarch intervened. "His father was called in," she said, "and things did begin to pick up then. Jack paid more attention to his studies and applied himself. It was really a turning point in his life. I say this to give courage to other mothers, because so many people are discouraged about their children. And so many boys are perhaps discouraged."

Asked about the religious training of her youngsters, Mrs. Kennedy said that she felt religion gave them "a sense of responsibility and a sense of security." She stressed that religion brought her offspring "the confidence of stability which some children do not have and which older people do not always have." This was true partly because they "knew exactly what they were expected to do."

Her insights into motherhood were arresting. "Every mother can influence her son to a great extent. You hold your baby in your arms the first time and you think of all the things you can say and do to influence him. What you do with him and for him, of course, can influence not only him but everybody whom he meets." The responsibility of the parent is "tremendous," she added. "What you say has influence for not a day or for a year, but for time and for eternity."

Mrs. Kennedy's obiter dicta on the children were honest and self-reflecting. On Teddy: "He's got *joie de vivre* . . . really loves to meet people." On Bobby: He's got wonderful discipline over himself." On Jack: "Nothing material bothered him very much. He was just interested in the book he was reading, or the speech he was going to make, or the fun he was going to have. . . . I think he exulted in the power he had to do good, to effect changes."

A woman of graciousness, candor and muted strength, Mrs. Kennedy at 76 seems to have accepted life and the world and God, unconditionally. Yet she has had to bear heavy crosses. It is her faith—deep and intense—that seems to buoy up her character. "I always told [the children] that if they were given faith when they were young, they should try to nurture it and guard it, because it's really a gift." She then added with some emotion: "Older people value it so much when sorrow or difficulty come."

With a mother who can perceive such truths, teach them and live by them, John Kennedy's truest claim to fame, and that of his brothers and sisters, may well be that they are Rose Kennedy's children.

A Long Overdue Letter to U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam—From the Silent Millions Back Home in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the many Americans who fear that our brave men in Vietnam will be disillusioned by the activities of the peaceniks and the other protesters, will take heart from an open letter to all U.S. servicemen in Vietnam which was published in the Junction City, Kans., Daily Union on November 10.

I commend all of the citizens of Junction City who participated in this effort. I pass the suggestion along to my colleagues with the thought that other communities will want to do the same thing. This message in a letter to a relative or friend in the frontlines in Vietnam could do a great deal to lift his spirits at this time of year.

A LONG OVERDUE LETTER TO U.S. SERVICEMEN IN VIET NAM—FROM THE SILENT MILLIONS BACK HOME IN AMERICA

Today must be a sad day in Viet Nam—

Because today, we are ashamed to admit, some of your own countrymen are marching on Washington.

The marchers' sponsoring group has announced:

"We will shut down the Pentagon. We will fill the hallways and block the entrances. Thousands of people will disrupt the center of the American war machine."

It must be a little discomforting for you fellows ducking sniper bullets in the rice paddies to learn that some of your "fellow Americans" are trying to foul things up at your headquarters.

You must wonder what the folks back home really think.

THIS LETTER IS TO LET YOU KNOW THAT MOST OF US ARE WITH YOU—100 PERCENT

We want you to know that you are not the forgotten men.

You are in our thoughts every day.

You may not realize this, because normally we don't spout our feelings. In fact, we are typical of the Silent Millions of non-demonstrators—those who back you with quiet concern and prayerful pride. We are painfully aware of the personal sacrifices you are making for the cause of liberty.

For a long time we've been meaning to write to you—but haven't. Finally, this march on Washington did it. We've decided we could no longer remain silently on the sidelines.

Those who are marching in protest, those who desecrate our flag, those who burn draft cards—all make a lot of noise. They also make the headlines. And they present to the world a distorted picture of America. But, thank God, they are not typical.

At best they are a misguided minority whom we'll just have to ask you to defend along with the rest of us. Granted, the motives of some of these people may be pure. But they seem to think they have a unique right to protest in any way they take a notion—with faint respect for fellow citizens or servicemen, for their country's laws, for their elected authorities or even for others' opinions.

There is room for honest differences and doubts, but when demonstrations stir up sabotage, vandalism, and violence parading under the banner of rightful dissent, they threaten to tear our country apart.

These protesters act as if they're the only ones who possess any morality. But we all have a conscience. And it might not be too surprising to find that some of us ordinary guys have even a little more conscience than some of the sign bearers.

Let's face it: Nobody we know wants war.

Everybody we know hates war.

Everybody we know wishes this war were over.

Everybody we know wants you home as soon as possible.

We can't think of one person who enjoys war.

We don't.

Our friends don't.

Obviously, the protesters don't.

You don't, that's for sure. Yet—some of these people call you names like "murderers" and "hired killers," implying that you're having a sadistic field day.

Government officials don't enjoy war either. So it's ridiculous for anyone to chant vulgarities like: "Hey, hey, LBJ—how many kids did you kill today?"

But there's one thing that all of us do enjoy.

That's the freedom of the most fortunate land in the world. It is a historic privilege to be a free citizen of America. This freedom is part of the heritage we cherish and for which we have and always will pay any price, including our lives.

Despite our country's admitted shortcomings, most of us appreciate the opportunity of living here. Most of us wouldn't trade places—or systems—with the people of any other country.

Most of us are grateful to the brave men of other generations who have fought and died to preserve this priceless freedom.

Most of us today are humbly indebted to you and to our sons and brothers and husbands and fathers who are fighting—and dying—in Viet Nam for freedom. And for us.

YES, THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS LOVE AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN WAY

Even the protesters enjoy their unearned freedom—although they might not admit it. They're too busy shouting about the virtues of "the other side."

But no one knows better than you about "the other side."

You know—and we do, too—that international communism is determined to obliterate us and enslave the world. Communism must be contained. This is vital to our world, our lives, our future, and our children.

You know—and we do, too—that Hanoi's blind hunger for the subjugation of the free people of Viet Nam has made peace negotiations impossible to date, even with several bombing pauses.

You know—and we do, too—that "the other side" has deliberately assassinated and tortured many, many more innocent civilians in the South than our air raids have accidentally killed near military targets in the North.

You know—and we do, too—that if you and your companions were to leave Viet Nam today, the iron hand of communism would clamp down tomorrow. And South Viet Nam would become another East Germany—another cowed Cuba.

You know—and we do, too—that your presence in South Viet Nam is a guarantee to freedom-loving people everywhere that they will not be forsaken. And so a remarkable number of you have voluntarily re-enlisted to return to Viet Nam.

You know—and we do, too—that a strong stand in Viet Nam by the champions of human rights reduces the chances of a larger war. And it is holding off communist takeovers of other nations in southeast Asia.

You know—and we do, too—that appeasement has never worked and never will.

We hope that all who read this letter over here and feel the way we feel will do three things:

1. We hope they'll tear out this page—and airmail it to you, maybe with a letter of their own—to give you a bit of moral encouragement.

2. We hope they'll write letters—and express their points of view to their Government officials, to their friends and relatives, and to all the news media.

3. We hope they'll speak up—and quit apologizing for how much they love this country. Get off the defensive. On to the offensive.

We believe that when sound-thinking people want to say something, they should say it. When they want to do something, they should do it.

If more solid citizens would speak out to the protesters, perhaps we could even set them straight.

We believe the time is here for the voice of responsible patriotism to be heard.

The sooner this is done and the sooner we present a united front, the sooner you'll be coming home from a peaceful Viet Nam.

In behalf of the Silent Millions:

Fred Bramlage, Don Coates, Melvin L. Cowen, Preston Craft, William L. Deppish, D. D. Dreiling, D.D.S., Ramon N. Dunn, Robert J. Fegan, Thomas B. Fegan.

Howard L. Goad, C. L. Hoover, Lee Hornbaker, Mrs. James V. Humphrey, Ed Jackson, Max Johnson,. Deb Jones, Monsignor T. Keogan, Dan B. Loeb.

Maurice Meseke, John D. Montgomery, Jack North, Lee Rich, Ed Rolfs, R. A. Schermerhorn, S. T. Schicktanz, Ed Schoenbeck, Alex Scott, M.D.

John A. Seitz, U.S. Army (ret.), Don Sjohnolm, Dan S. Spencer, E. Carl Ware, Robert G. Waters, Bob Weary, Bud Weir, Merrill Werts, Harold Wilson; plus hundreds of other patriotic Junction Citians.

Oscar N. Hultman Cited for Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House an article from the Council Bluffs Nonpareil on one of my distinguished constituents, the Honorable Oscar N. Hultman. "Hult," as he prefers to be called, has a long and distinguished record as a public servant. Yesterday the town of Stanton, Iowa, presented a plaque to him in recognition of his past services. I wish to join in saluting my friend on this occasion:

OVERDUE RECOGNITION FOR "HULT'S" YEARS OF SERVICE

(By Donald K. Patton)

STANTON.—There are several things for which this Montgomery County community is noted—its huge stone Mamrelund Lutheran Church, its all-white houses, its Swedish hospitality.

But it is also known as the home of Oscar N. Hultman who, in his 80 years, has become about as close to being an "institution" here as have the other notable features of the town.

Hult, as he is known here, marked his 80th birthday Nov. 2. He worked all day at his lumberyard, "just another day," he said.

A pioneer Stanton businessman, veteran Iowa legislator, former mayor and councilman, Hultman has been a prime mover in numerous projects in "The Little White City."

Next Sunday, he is going to receive overdue recognition for this service. He will be presented a plaque from the community at ceremonies at Mamrelund Lutheran Church which he helped construct in 1939–40 while chairman of the building committee.

State Rep. Conrad Ossian of Red Oak, who succeeded Hultman in the Iowa House in 1956, will be speaker and make the presentation on behalf of the Stanton Chamber of Commerce.

At the same service dedication of the new Halland Village, a low-rent housing project, will be held, followed by open house at the Village from 3 to 6 p.m.

Hultman was born in a small frame home adjacent to the large, comfortable residence in which he now lives with his wife, Lola.

He started working at the age of seven in a general store, handling eggs, butter, fruit and doing numerous other odd jobs.

He finished high school here in 1905, then for five years worked fulltime in the store.

In 1911, he moved down the street to the Anderson Lumberyard and a short time later, was named assistant manager and acquired an interest in the firm.

By 1920, he decided this was to be his vocation so he purchased the yard from F. O. Anderson. He has been active in the management of the business since that time.

In his early years here, he served on the town council and one term as mayor. He recalls that he "probably wasn't the most popular mayor Stanton ever had.

"When someone came to me with a complaint, I told them to put it in writing and sign it. Funny . . . their complaint didn't seem nearly so important then," he mused.

In 1933, Hultman was urged by a group of Montgomery County Republicans to seek the state representative seat in the Iowa Legislature. He did, and won. He was one of 32 Republicans in a House of 108, dominated by Democrats after the Roosevelt victory.

He recalls that the pay of lawmakers then was $10 per day or a total of $1,000 per session. "If we didn't get done in 100 days, we didn't get paid for any over that."

Hultman served that session and their people were fighting just as hard as I was.

"I had a little edge, though," he smiled. "You see, I was chairman of the highway committee but I was also on the conservation and appropriations committees.

"During this session, the legislature appropriated $25,000 for an engineering survey to find a suitable location for the lake and park. Being on the conservation committee which recommended the survey and the appropriations committee which allotted the money needed, I sort of had an upper hand."

The bill, Senate File 502, came to a vote April 13, 1949, and passed, 45–0.

Two years later, Hultman was chairman of the 54th G.A. Senate Conservation Committee and again on the appropriations committee. During that session, $115,000 was appropriated for purchase of land for the park and lake. "I was still sitting in the driver's seat," he said.

He gave up politics during the 55th G.A. but in 1955, was sent back to the House by Montgomery Countians to finish the job he started in 1949—get the money for construction of a dam and further improvements in the park and lake. The appropriation was $275,000 and Montgomery County had its recreation center.

This was the end of Hultman's political career. "I finished the job I started," he nodded.

Today, the 1,300-acre Viking Lake State Park with its 160-acres of water draw thousands of fishermen, campers, swimmers and picnickers each year. A concrete road has been completed to the area and traffic increases with each summer.

"Mr. Hultman was the man who did the job for us," observed Chamber of Commerce President Richard Anderson.

Now plagued with a crippled leg, Hultman takes it as easy as he can and still operate a successful business. His sense of humor and mental agility draw admiration from all who deal with him.

He still keeps a finger in the political pie. His youngest son, Calvin,, is assistant to Republican Congressman William J. Scherle in Washington and is currently at home, working in the 7th District until Congress reconvenes in January..

The Hultman's other son, Don, is an air space engineer with Boeing Aircraft Corp., in Seattle, Wash.

Ted Koppel Reflects on a Year in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, reporting on Vietnam is an immense challenge to the perception and perspective of any correspondent. Achieving a comprehensive, temperate understanding of a conflict with so many fronts—military, diplomatic, social, and political—is a physically difficult and intellectually overwhelming assignment. While we cannot realistically expect any single reporter to attain and communicate full understanding of the war, I believe that we can take pride in the extent to which American journalists, as a group, have been able to transmit to us both the events and the emotions of the tangled, frustrating situation in Vietnam.

One such correspondent is Mr. Ted Koppel, who has just returned from a year in Vietnam for ABC News. In a recent broadcast on the ABC Radio News series, "perspective," Mr. Koppel presented some of his reflections and conclusions on Vietnam. His perceptive remarks on Operation Junction City, on the South Vietnamese political situation, and on the role of American journalists should be interesting to all Members of Congress.

I insert in the RECORD at this point Mr. Koppel's "Reflections on a Year in Vietnam":

REFLECTION ON A YEAR IN VIETNAM

(NOTE.—Mr. Koppel has just been named ABC News' Latin American correspondent, having spent the past year in Viet Nam covering many facets of the war. He has been with ABC four years. Previously, he was a news correspondent for WMCA, New York.)

The Vietnamese make it very easy for you to say goodbye. My last recollections of Saigon will be linked for ever and a day with food poisoning, and all that that entails; having our car stall on the way to the airport in the middle of a Saigon traffic jam; having three Vietnamese porters carry my suitcase—struggling, not with the weight of it, but rather with the effort of convincing me that all three of them deserved to be paid; and then, the final crowning blow when our sleek Air Viet Nam jet had to turn back a half hour out of Saigon because someone had forgotten to re-fuel.

Yet, I shall miss Viet Nam, and in particular I will miss the Vietnamese. In part, that's due I'm sure to the same feeling of satisfaction, or even elation that comes when you begin to understand any confusing set of circumstances. The first time you were able to let out the clutch without stalling the family car; the first time you really understood why the whole equals the sum of all its parts; the first time you ordered something in a foreign language—and got what you ordered.

Those are all moments in which frustrations are forgotten. The difficulty of reaching that brief moment of fulfillment, enhances rather that detracts from the experience. And so it is with Viet Nam. On its very simplest level, Viet Nam is confusing. It has a will-o'-the-wispish quality about it which leads you to believe that you could really understand the puzzle if you were only going to be there just a few months longer. That appears to hold true no matter how long you"ve been there.

I know newsmen and photographers who've been in Viet Nam for four and five years and they still feel the same way. And then along come the five-day wonders—be they visiting congressmen, minister or newsmen. They see, they grasp, they expound—and the permanent corps of newsmen in Viet Nam is once again subjected to the critical barrage that explains them away as a bunch of young, cynical, reputation-seeking opportunists.

During the course of America's involvement in Viet Nam, the press has served as a much more reliable barometer of the war's progress than any of the official outlets; and frequently, young newsmen in particular have placed their careers in jeopardy by being skeptical, by not accepting official pronouncements, even when they have been under considerable pressure to do so. Ironically, one of the easiest ways to get ahead nowadays in Viet Nam, is to play the game: accept the official versions, don't be critical, don't even be too inquisitive, and stories will have a way of reaching you before they reach your less cooperative colleagues.

NEWSMEN ARE VALUABLE ASSETS

Viet Nam is still full of a remarkable number of newsmen who do not compromise. They are in many ways one of the most valuable assets that the American people has in Viet Nam. Perhaps the greatest danger of Viet Nam as a news story is that reporters tend to become terribly possessive about it. They are aided and abetted in this tendency by visiting firemen who frequently jump to such ludicrous conclusions about Viet Nam that the newsman on the scene is bolstered in his belief that no one outside Viet Nam has the slightest notion of what the war is all about.

It is very easy though to start looking on it as "your war." You cover it from the battlefield to command headquarters. You sit in an air-conditioned stateroom aboard a helicopter-carrier while a battalion commander briefs you on the overall operation, and then you slug out the operation on foot with a company of Marines. And after it's all over you may be back at the "Five O'Clock Follies" in Saigon listening to the official military spokesman tell you that you just saw didn't really happen.

You sip drinks with a disgruntled AID official in Da Nang and have him tell you privately what he would deny in public. You sit for an hour or two with one of your own Vietnamese technicians and listen to stories of how it was under the French, and how little things have really changed. Wherever you go, every day, you are living the story; because as long as you are in Viet Nam, everything is pertinent, everything is part of the story.

HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS

When I first came to Viet Nam, Operation Junction City was in full swing. It was getting a lot of press coverage, because it was the biggest operation of the war. Logistically the Operation was with units of the 173rd Airborne. In terms of esprit de corps they make a bunch of eagle scouts look like high school dropouts. They slogged their way through the jungle carrying packs that would make a camel sway-backed. They were bronzed and they were fit and they were raring to go. They came swooping into a jungle clearing on a never-ending line of helicopters, and every third man seemed to be carrying a radio, so that they were in constant touch with one another.

Shortly after three that first afternoon we stopped right in the middle of a dense section of jungle. Out came the buzz-saws and the axes. In less than an hour the first supply helicopters were dropping in with water and ammunition. Then came the next relay with hot food, chilled tea and ice cream. Even as dusk set in, the gun-fire started; but it was all outgoing. Still, some of it was awfully close. I remember a couple of pieces of shrapnel falling just a few feet from my tent. Some of the older hands reassured me that it was, nevertheless, just outgoing fire.

I asked what they were shooting at, and was told that this was H & I fire—harrassment and interdiction. They weren't shooting at anything, precisely, but if anything was out there, they'd either hit it or discourage it from coming any closer. The next morning, moving out with a battallion of men, we got some sniper fire. There may have been as many as five Viet Cong snipers in the jungle ahead of us. The battallion stopped dead in its tracks and the commander called in air strikes and artillery fire.

It was like this for four days. Ostensibly we would be chasing a Viet Cong unit. No sooner did we make contact, however, than we would pull back and call in the air strikes and artillery. A colonel explained the theory to me as being very simple. "We've got all kinds of money," he said, "and all kinds of ammunition; and all the artillery shells in the world aren't worth the life of one American boy." That kind of logic is indisputable as far as it goes; but it doesn't go far enough. If it's a choice between expanding ammunition and sacrificing your men, then the answer is simple; but so often in Vietnam I was able to see U.S. fighter planes and artillery blasting away literally millions of dollars worth of ammunition, with no appreciable results; except temporarily to drive the Viet Cong off. But the whole purpose of the operation was to engage the VC, not chase them around the jungle.

VICTORY CANNOT BE BOUGHT

The U.S. army is blessed with almost inexhaustible means; but in the final analysis, wars still have to paid for in blood. There are still many people in the United States who believe that victory can be bought in Viet Nam—technologically bought. Just step up the bombing pressure on the North or evacuate huge sections of the South and create more free-fire zones. These people may of course be right but from everything that I've seen, I don't think so. The war will be won or lost in the South, not in the North.

The recent elections could provide a beginning to the solution. At the moment, most South Vietnamese don't trust their government and they have no reason to; but they are a remarkably courageous and optimistic people. They would have good cause to be more cynical than any other people alive but they are still ready to try again. If their government doesn't come through for them this time, however, there may not be another chance.

The election was hardly a spontaneous affair; it was written, directed and produced in Washington, but all things considered, it came out a good deal better than anyone had dared hope. The election by itself is not going to end the war. The fights that lie ahead will very likely extract a heavier toll than any that have gone on before. One of the great dangers in all the ballyhoo that accompanied South Viet Nam's elections, is that it may have left American onlookers with the feeling that if only the elections were reasonably honest, that the end is finally in sight. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The South Vietnamese government now has a chance to demonstrate its willingness to do something for the people. If it makes good, the people may respond by accepting the government and with acceptance may grow a willingness to help root out the Viet Cong; when that day comes, no amount of infiltration from the north will turn the tide again for the Communists; but until that day comes all the king's horses and all the king's men won't put South Viet Nam back together again.

(NOTE.—This report by Mr. Koppel was taken from the ABC Radio News series "Perspective," broadcast Sunday mornings on the ABC Radio Network. His reports are also heard regularly on ABC–TV's evening news program "Peter Jennings with the News" and the hourly news broadcasts of the ABC Radio Network.)

Lies on Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on August 17, 1967, by an overwhelming vote of 414 to 3, the House passed the Social Security Amendments of 1967, H.R. 12080. This bill, which tremendously increased the benefits for those covered, is currently being debated in the Senate with a view toward even more liberal benefits than voted by this body.

In the past 2 months, I have received numerous letters from constitutents who have been deceived into thinking that the social security amendments are to their detriment. This deception stems from a campaign by some sadistic person or persons which tells the people that their social security benefits will be contingent upon the discretion of an administrator in Washington, D.C.

The following editorial, appearing in the November 19, 1967, edition of the Chicago's Sunday American, sets out this senseless deception very effectively:

Lies on Social Security

We have been receiving some agitated calls from people who are convinced that a sinister campaign to sabotage the whole social security system is under way in Congress. Who convinced them of this astonishing story is still a question. The main source of the rumor seems to be a flood of mysterious, unsigned flyers that have been appearing on company bulletin boards in Chicago and other cities. Something like a widespread, underground scare campaign, in fact, seems to have been launched about social security—by whom and for what purpose we don't yet know.

The gist of the anonymous flyers is that a bill now before Congress, identified as House resolution 5710, would "destroy the social security act"; it would divert money paid for social security into welfare programs, with "the administrator empowered to determine what retirement benefits, if any, you would receive, based on his determination of your need." The message goes on:

"If in his opinion you did not need it, he could reduce the amount or deny you entirely. . . . The opportunity for corruption and abuse of this plan is obvious."

The statement concludes by urging those who do not agree with this program to write their representatives in Congress. Many people have been doing that, to the mystification of their congressmen.

The whole message is so thoroughly false that it cannot be called a mistake. It is a purposeful lie.

To start with, H.R. 5710 does not exist. It was killed last Aug. 2 and a revised but similar measure, H.R. 12080, was substituted for it. Neither bill contains anything remotely resembling the anonymous charges or the fears expressed by our callers.

H.R. 5710 was an administration measure that sought a 15 per cent increase in social security benefits; to provide that it called for gradually increasing the amount of earnings subject to social security taxes, from $7,800 in 1968 to $10,800 in 1974 and thereafter. The substitute bill, H.R. 12080, is still subject to change, but at present it provides for a 12.5 per cent increase in benefits and sets a different schedule for increasing the wage base. Under President Johnson's bill the minimum benefit would have been $70 a month; the bill now under consideration would make it $50.

In no bill is power given to anyone to make arbitrary changes in anyone's social security benefits. These are fixed by a formula and tables which are established by law, and are the cornerstone of the whole system.

The only section of this bill that grants any additional powers has to do with the aid-to-dependent-children program. It is a House rider [a bad one, we think] under which federal officials could compel some women now receiving ADC to attend school and get jobs. But this has nothing whatever to do with social security funds or benefits.

We cannot imagine any congressman seriously suggesting that anyone be given discretionary powers over social security benefits, or that money from social security taxes should be used for any other program. Any hint of such an attempt would set off a nation-wide howl of protest in which Chicago's American would wholeheartedly join.

The net result of this underhanded campaign of misinformation is that many people are now protesting a substantial raise in their own social security benefits. For whose gain? Whose purposes are served by misleading the public and stirring up panicky opposition to this bill?

Certainly H.R. 12080 is not perfect. But attacks on it should be made on the basis of facts, not lies, and made by people who are not afraid to identify themselves.

The Dissent of Americans of Ukrainian Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, when thousands of Americans of African descent march, it is front-page news—progress and dissent.

But when thousands of Americans of Russian descent marched on the Soviet mission at the U.N., it was criminal—police were called and the news made section B, page 6, of the Washington paper—as if in disgust that anyone would protest communism.

Glory be for the spunk and liberty of our Ukrainian Americans. They are wide awake and recognize the Communist regime for what it really is: totalitarianism.

I insert the UPI report of November 19, 1967, following my remarks:

March of 2,000 to Red Mission Encounters Police

NEW YORK.—Two thousand Ukrainian-Americans clashed with police yesterday as they marched on the Soviet mission to the

United Nations to protest celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

Several persons were reported injured as police wielded clubs to control the crowd surging around the Russians' converted apartment house on East 67th Street. More than 100 police reinforcements were rushed to the scene.

Witnesses said about 2,000 of the 10,000 persons assembled at Ukrainian rally in Madison Square Garden marched across town to the mission at midafternoon, shouting anti-Soviet slogans and brandishing placards accusing the Soviet regime of oppression. They sang patriotic Ukrainian folk songs.

A number of demonstrators burned Soviet Union flags and waved placards labeled "Russian Concentration Camps the Shame of the 20th Century."

The rally was sponsored by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

Finance the Poverty Programs Now, Reap the Benefits Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, there has been much editorial comment recently about the actions of this Congress in regard to the poverty programs.

Much of the comments that I have seen have been statesmanlike, but perhaps none has been better expressed than the editorial broadcast by WCAU-TV, Philadelphia, last week.

The fight in this House on the basic authorization is over. Now it is matter of how to appropriate the funds.

For a considered and responsible opinion on the entire subject, I offer for reprint the editorial I referred to previously:

Finance the Poverty Programs Now, Reap Benefits Later

As Philadelphia walked the tightrope between violence and non-violence this past summer, we all hoped that we would somehow come through the summer without the destruction which hit other cities. Somehow we made it.

Part of the deterrent force was a promise for a better future here in Philadelphia. The governor opened neighborhood offices to get closer to the people.

There was the jobmobile, talk of more low income housing. All stops were out to get us through the summer. But what now?

In reality, these days are the critical days because these days determine the racial climate for next summer.

Congress is and has been holding up poverty funds. It's part of an overall cut back. For example, millions were cut from NASA's budget. But the war on poverty should be different. It deals with the plight and conditions of human beings. It is a fight which should not be diminished but increased.

The war on poverty takes many forms. They're all getting hurt.

President Johnson visited one battlefield in the war on poverty last summer: Leon Sullivan's OIC. The President was well advised to visit OIC personally and lend the importance of his office to it. OIC started in an abandoned jailhouse. Quietly Leon Sullivan and a handful of people began a retraining task of overwhelming proportions. Big government had failed in many such tasks before, but evidently Mr. Sullivan and his people had found their own way. OIC is now being duplicated in about 70 cities across the country. It has become an important instrument in the war on poverty.

OIC started with not one penny of federal funds, but federal funds became a necessity for expansion.

But right now, the on-going program of OIC is threatened by the lack of congressional action. Leon Sullivan told us he has the cash to meet his $70,000 payroll through the 24th of this month only because private industry and private individuals have come to his assistance with donations.

We have sought out possible state sources for funds as a stop-gap measure until appropriations are approved in Washington, but so far with no success.

And obviously in Washington, every program from OIC to Headstart to the Neighborhood Youth Corps to VISTA is crying for funds to keep the programs going.

OIC is a prime example of what a war on poverty can accomplish.

By training workers, OIC has added over eight million dollars in wages to the Philadelphia area economy. But even more important than that, it has cut welfare costs by a million and a half dollars a year.

When Congress delays on funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity which funds OIC, it delays the progress of people. If it cuts back funds, it cuts back in the scope of programs trying to reach the people.

Long delays and heavy cutbacks now would be fuel for next summer. If people know something is being done, if they can see progress, if they can see some kind of improvement in their lot, perhaps they'll be patient. If they can't see forward motion, who can expect them to stand quietly?

First, the House must pass authorization for the poverty programs. Then the appropriations requests must be passed.

Appropriation requests for poverty funds are already in a House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Pennsylvania Daniel Flood; they are there just waiting for final House action. Congressman Flood's office indicated that no real action could be expected until after Thanksgiving. By Thanksgiving, OIC may be one day away from bankruptcy. By Thanksgiving, programs designed to help people will be grinding to a halt all over the country.

WCAU-TV urges, first, that the House reach agreement on the authorization for poverty programs and, then, that Congressman Daniel Flood mobilize his committee to the poverty funds on their way.

For many people, it would give Thanksgiving more meaning.

Letter of Commendation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Clinton Warfield, serving with the 84th Engineer Company, 1st Logistical Command, in Vietnam, has received a letter of commendation from Col. James S. Miles, Infantry, commanding Dong Tam Base.

The letter reads:

It has been reported to me that at 2359 hours 5 October 1967, you volunteered to fight a disastrous fire located at the booster station midway between Dong Tam Base and the Dredge New Jersey, where several men fighting the fire had been overcome from intense heat and smoke.

Your actions in this instance are commended. Had the fire been allowed to burn unchecked, several thousand gallons of gasoline would have ignited compounding fire fighting efforts. Additionally, it would have inflicted irreparable damage upon dredging equipment. Your conduct is the epitome of a good soldier. Please accept my sincere thanks for a job well done.

I wish to commend Private First Class Warfield for his courage and to congratulate his mother, Mrs. Katie Warfield of Perryman, Md., for having such a fine son.

The Information Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a number of Members have been concerned in recent months with the problems of obtaining accurate and consistent information from the executive branch, particularly on issues relating to the war in Vietnam. This week in his regular Capitol Comment report to his constituents, Mr. Mathias of Maryland, calls attention to two recent experiences of his own and suggests that "we need a new spirit and conscientious effort—at every level of Government—to halt the decline in trust and insure real communication between the people and their national leadership on the most important issues we now face."

His remarks are very timely and I include the full text of Mr. Mathias' statement in the Record at this point:

The Information Gap

"Credibility gap" may be a somewhat tired phrase, but it has become the shorthand for one of the most serious problems plaguing American government today—a crisis of confidence. On one hand, the people are losing faith in what government spokesmen say. On the other hand, popular suspicion and mistrust are intensified every time officials refuse to make hard information available, or persist in offering only vague, generalized or contradictory statements.

To some extend these failures of candor and clarity by official spokesmen are generated by political considerations. But sometimes an official will simply withhold or distort information because releasing it would create problems of explanation which he would prefer to avoid. In either case, the American people and our entire representative system of government are hurt.

The Congress has already taken a long step toward guaranteeing that the public will have access to information about public business. The Freedom of Information Act, which went into effect on July 4th of this year, provides that only certain types of government data—such as personnel records and material classified for security reasons—may be withheld from the public and the press.

Recently the Freedom of Information Committee of the honorary journalism fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, published a report on the operation of this Act. The report cited the progress which many agencies have made in giving the public more information than ever before. However, the committee also found that at the very highest levels of government, specifically in the White House and at the Pentagon, there is still a great reluctance to make accurate, full information available.

Recently I myself have encountered in two cases an excessive reluctance on the part of Federal officials to provide facts to me and my constituents.

In a recent speech, the President, citing signs of progress in Vietnam, declared that 65% of the South Vietnamese population was now under the control of the Saigon government. A week ago, retired General James Gavin stated that of the 12,500 hamlets in South Vietnam, only about 5000 were "in friendly hands," while some 7500 were "assumed to be" subject to the Viet Cong. These two figures—one based on population, the other on numbers of towns regardless of their size—may or may not be contradictory. But when I asked Defense Department and State Department officials whether the two measurements could indeed be reconciled, I was told that no figures beyond those used by the President were available for public discussion.

Again, last month I read a press report, based on "reliable new evidence gathered by American intelligence sources," which indicated that small numbers of North Vietnamese army regulars for the first time were being trained in Red China to fight in South Vietnam. This would be a development of some importance, so I sought to secure official comment on the reports, to be relayed to my constituents. Although the report had been publicly discussed in the first place, I was denied any quotable material to confirm, deny or qualify the statement.

These two cases are extremely discouraging. Such nervous, restrictive and defensive information policies are not only inconsistent with the spirit of the Freedom of Information Act hailed by the President last year. More basically, they are incompatible with the principles of a free government. While legitimate boundaries of national security must be respected, it is self-defeating to try to stretch the cloak of secrecy over material which it is simply not convenient or advantageous to release.

The crisis of confidence has already become so great that some Americans, unable to believe what they hear from government, have simply stopped listening. Clearly we need a new spirit and a conscientious effort—at *every* level of government—to halt the decline in trust and insure real communication between the people and their national leadership on the most important issues we now face.

People's Anticrime Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in these days when there seems to be a growing barrier developing between police departments and the very people they are working hard to serve and protect, I am proud to point out the people's anticrime effort—PACE—program which has been developed in my congressional district in the city of Monterey Park, Calif.

Monterey Park Police Chief Everett F. Holladay, who originated the idea for PACE, describes it as "a practical crime prevention and control program promoting community cooperation by means of maximum personal involvement."

As a former mayor and city councilman of Monterey Park, I am doubly proud that this community is leading the Nation in this effort. I know, and Chief Holladay concurs, that the immediate and spirited efforts by community leaders and civic organizations in adopting the idea have been the principal reason for its rapid development and success.

The PACE program is spreading already to nearby cities in the Los Angeles area, and recently received nationwide attention in the Police Chief, the official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Inc., issue of November 1967.

Neighborhood discussions on techniques for providing greater security to persons and property, dissemination of literature by the police department, coordinated, and detailed reporting of incidents from throughout the community by both citizens and police officers, photographic slides demonstrating security measures and preventive ideas, and analysis of incidents that do occur with recommendations as to how they could have been prevented for the benefit of the rest of the community are among some of the methods utilized by PACE.

Chief Holladay has designated one of his officers, Sgt. Joe Durban, as crime prevention coordinator, and Monterey Park residents who are interested in participating by hosting a small neighborhood gathering and discussion in their homes have been keeping Sergeant Durban's phone busy.

I know that we would all agree that this type of cooperation and personal involvement will reap rich rewards for the community. They will not only benefit in a decrease in local crime figures, but should soon note greatly increased understanding between the public and the police, who have too often failed to receive proper credit for the thankless tasks they perform on our behalf—tasks that so many of us would not touch with a 10-foot pole as long as we can find someone else to do them.

I would certainly recommend that every one of my colleagues read the following article describing Monterey Park's PACE program in detail. In fact, they may want to make certain that police departments in cities within their own congressional districts are aware of the pioneering efforts being made in this suburban city in Los Angeles County.

PEOPLE'S ANTICRIME EFFORT

(By Everett F. Holliday, chief of police, Monterey Park, Calif.)

Many citizens remain aloof, indifferent, apathetic, and unconcerned relative to the problems of crime and disorder. Non-thinking, non-committed, and non-involved, many haven't the foggiest idea of the threats to ordered liberty which exist within a half-mile of their residence or business. Such alienation and withdrawal is explainable, at least party, by the past failures of police agencies to harness the basic good will and potential usefulness of the individual citizen.

A glance at the spiraling crime rates since World War II and the staggering crime cost of some $27 *billion* dollars per annum should convince even the most myopic mind that the panacea of purely punitive and repressive police action will no longer suffice—no matter how much is added by way of needed facilities, equipment, and personnel. Certainly, law enforcement agencies must ever be strengthened, but, as inidcated by the President's Crime Commission Report, new programs must be developed to create public awareness of crime causation, and to encourage public participation in the elimination of criminal opportunity.

The $27 billion annual crime cost means an invested $146 per year for every man, woman, and child in this nation—to say nothing of the ever-rising costs of business, automobile, and household insurance.

The citizens of Monterey Park weren't too concerned when violence of riot proportions was reported in Harlem and Rochester, some 3500 miles away. But adrenalin coursed when looting and burning occurred in South Los Angeles, some five miles from the city limits. It wasn't that the citizens doubted the authenticity of the eastern reports—but community security and individual freedom became alive as concepts when citizens smelled the smoke and observed the falling ashes. Few people in the community were apathetic during those hours of horror; departmental phones were busy answering the citizen's query, "What can I do to help?" And such was also true in surrounding communities. Obviously, however, the need is for *continuous* citizen cooperation, note merely during emergency situations. The concept of PACE: people's anti-crime effort, was born.

Since 1963, the Monterey Park Police Department has analyzed its field of operations by means of electronic data processing. Such a program, based on reporting districts, deploys manpower on a priority basis, according to time, location, and type of crime. In response to the many citizen calls, "What can I do to help?" during time of riot nearby, the idea was developed that in each reporting district there be recruited a responsible citizen to develop communication and cooperation with the department—by and for the local neighbors.

In March, 1966, the service clubs and churches of Monterey Park responded to a request that they nominate members for this kind of police/citizen program. Since that time, the participants in PACE have been steadily increasing in number and extent of involvement. In each reporting district (31 in number), chairmen are encouraged to invite their neighbors to discussions of the common sense techniques by which *they* can provide greater security for their person and property, by which they can cooperate more effectively with the *department*, and by which they can remain up-to-date on matters of mutual concern. Handout material provided by the department covers a wide range of subjects—door/window locking devices, lighting, automobile key security, personal identification of valuables, reporting of suspicious persons and vehicles, and the like. The "chain reaction" results of these private home discussions is quite similar to the invitational party merchandising schemes which have been utilized for years by vendors of various household items. To those who become involved, the feeling of mutual purpose and pride of accomplishment is most rewarding as a distinct personal contribution to the creation of a socially concerned community.

Now, in its second year in Monterey Park, the PACE union of technology and sociology is providing a practical crime prevention and control program which promotes maximum community cooperation by means of maximum personal involvement.

The citizen chairmen from the reporting districts are called together quarterly at police headquarters to discuss new developments, and, specifically, to review: 1) the kinds of incidents which are occurring within their respective districts, whether related to crime, traffic, or delinquency; 2) what could have been done by police or public to prevent such offenses which have occurred over the past three months; and 3) what activities of both police and public can be most effective during the coming quarter.

The Monterey Park police officer is required to thoroughly investigate all reported crime. In his report, whether the crime is against person or property, he is required to indicate the prevention technique which, in his judgment, could have prevented the offense. This procedure creates an easy atmosphere within which to discuss crime prevention with the victim, and is responsible for an ever-expanding citizen participation in PACE. Information on prevention techniques, taken from crime reports, is made available to the chairman of the reporting district, and serves as a basis for discussion at neighborhood meetings.

The Monterey Park staff officer assigned to the coordination of crime prevention programs has developed 35mm. slides which demonstrate recommended security measures and preventive ideas. These are made available to the citizen chairmen within the reporting districts. The film, "The Door Was Locked," distributed through the IACP, which emphasizes the security of personal premises, was purchased by the Independent Insurance Agents of Monterey Park for use in the program. That organization has also underwritten the cost of bumper strips (with catchy crime prevention advisories) to be displayed by city-owned vehicles, and changed from time to time.

The people's anti-crime effort—PACE—has both immediate and long-term goals. The immediate goal, obviously, is to generate concerted police/public action to increase community security and personal freedom and decrease the incidence of crime and disorder. The long-term goal is to involve *every* citizen in the dialog and action so that a police/public *partnership* is a working reality.

Hats Off to Our Young People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, too often in the newspapers today we read of young people who have rebelled against society, and we tend to forget the many, many fine youngsters who are making worthwhile contributions to the world in which we live.

The following editorial from the Newport, Tenn., Plain Talk, tells a story of some of these fine young people who gave of their time and energies to make Christmas a little happier for some other young men serving their country in Vietnam.

I am happy to see the efforts of these young people recognized, and I insert this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

HATS OFF TO OUR YOUNG PEOPLE

A great deal of attention has been focused upon juveniles and their actions during recent years . . . some say it is the beat generation . . . others feel there is a great unrest based upon insecurity . . . many feel it is the demands of a fast living pace or perhaps the constant threat of international crisis. Too much publicity has been given to scenes and acts of our young people in the areas of riots, demonstrations, hippies, addicts, etc. We need to offset some of this adverse publicity with truthful coverage giving a true perspective when opportunity presents itself.

Here's a good example . . . In Newport and Cocke County, during the month-long drive for "Operation Christmas Vietnam". . . our young people called and volunteered their services . . . various clubs in the schools . . . Sunday School classes . . . Scout troops and many other youth organizations had a part in making the Christmas program most successful.

Many of the service boys requested comic books be sent them . . . the schools held a Funny Book Week. Other schools donated pencils . . . many held various drives and marched to the City Hall with their gifts to be sent overseas.

These acts of concern and consideration for others on the part of our young people bear out the truth in an old saying, "Look for the good and you will find it."

We believe that if equal space and time was given to reporting the countless good things done by our youth, the good will by far outweigh the bad.

A little faith and trust will go a long way in encouraging our young people to find their rightful place as responsible leaders in the future.

Distinguished Educator To Retire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, one of Georgia's most prominent and beloved educators has announced his retirement next June 30 as president of Georgia Southern College in Statesboro, Ga.

A tribute to this fine Georgian was published in an editorial of the Savannah Evening Press of November 15, 1967, as follows:

DISTINGUISHED EDUCATOR TO RETIRE

Dr. Zach S. Henderson, one of Georgia's most distinguished educators, plans to retire next June 30 as president of Georgia Southern College.

He has reached the retirement age of 65 after a long and fruitful career at Georgia Southern, first as dean of the college and then as president.

When he became president of the college in 1948, the institution had an enrollment of 724 students and was identified chiefly with the teaching field. Today, as Dr. Henderson plans to retire, the college has an enrollment of 4,400 and confers ten degrees. The college has branched out in too many fields.

Dr. Henderson not only has led the forward surge at Georgia Southern but also has helped lift standards for the Georgia public school system. Long active in the Georgia Education Assn., he is a past president of the organization in which he continually worked for better salaries for teachers and for improved school conditions.

Dr. Henderson has not been a college president who stays behind a big desk and remains aloof from his student body. He gets to know his students and keeps Georgia Southern on a personal faculty-to-student relationship.

Dr. George Simpson, chancellor of the University System, has stated that Dr. Henderson after his retirement will continue to advise in the field of education.

We wish Dr. Henderson all the best in retirement and he can rest assured that his name long will be associated with Georgia Southern and public education in Georgia.

The Bitter Tea of Dr. Tsien

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Milton Viorst, a well-known and highly respected author who resides in the Nation's Capitol, wrote an article for the September issue of Esquire magazine which deserves special attention from all those who are concerned about the conduct of this Nation's affairs. Mr. Viorst's article, "The Bitter Tea of Dr. Tsien," concerns the career of Tsien Hsue-shen, a rocket and missile expert and educator, who was the director of the research center at the California Institute of Technology, and bore the title of Goddard Professor of Jet Propulsion. Dr. Tsien was a permanent resident of the United States who has applied for U.S. citizenship.

"Caltech's jet propulsion center became the focus of the world's most advanced research in aeronautics," points out Mr. Viorst in his article. Not only was Dr. Tsien's contribution to this country enormous, It had great military importance as well. But in 1949 many people looked askance at someone whose elder family remained in mainland China and who, it was discovered, had attended a discussion group during his college days, some 10 years earlier, which was later labeled as subversive. In 1950 Dr. Tsien's security clearance was revoked, and thus began a history of harassment that led to the eventual departure of Dr. Tsien and return to his native country. He is now one of the foremost missile experts in Communist China and is devoting his talents and energies on behalf of the nation that welcomed him instead of the Nation that turned him out.

I believe there is a great lesson to be learned from this episode, and I commend Milton Viorst's article to the attention of my colleagues. Part I of two parts follows:

[From the September issue of Esquire magazine]

THE BITTER TEA OF DR. TSIEN

(By Milton Viorst)

Who wants a Chinese Comsymp scientist working on our missile program? Not us—so Tsien Hsue-shen is in Peking, now, working on theirs.

Doctor Tsien's not the type to be vindictive. That, at least, is what his friends have said—his friends at Caltech, in the Air Force, at M.I.T., even at Aerojet, where he used to help build ballistic missiles to defend the United States. But when Robert S. McNamara, the Secretary of Defense, announced recently that the Red Chinese would, by the end of this year, have a nuclear-armed rocket they could lob into Honolulu or, for that matter, Los Angeles—where Tsien spent some seventeen years of his life—none of those friends would have been surprised if Tsien experienced a certain satisfaction. Sitting in his laboratory in Peking, Tsien, they figured, could be excused if he saw poetic justice in the sweat that glistened on the Secretary's brow.

Tsien Hsue-shen is what some would call the evil genius behind Red China's missiles—though those who knew him remember him as a quiet, courteous fellow who wouldn't hurt a fly in the won ton soup. His claim to distinction is that for a quarter of a century he has been acknowledged as one of the world's most original minds in the science of aeronautics. A theoretician rather than a builder, he sits down with paper and pencil and, from fantastic resources of mathematics and physics and engineering, he comes up with prodigious plans for the propulsion, guidance and design of virtually anything that flies. As an architect of lethal rockets, few men rival him. More than anyone else, Tsien is responsible for China's creating the missiles that one day may be tumbling down on our heads.

But it was a long trip back to Peking, and not a pleasant one. During World War II, Tsien helped transform American rocketry—which lagged severely behind that of the Germans—from utter primitiveness to relative sophistication. Having lent an essential hand to construction of the first successful missiles, he put on a uniform and followed Allied armies into Germany to study the formidable aerial weapons devised by Hitler's engineers. On his return, he became a key man in planning the long-term transition of the Air Force from propeller service to the jet engine and, finally, to unmanned craft soaring through space. The worth of Tsien's services was acknowledged again and again by official commendations. Tsien was a bright star in the galaxy of scientists who were helping to make the United States into the world's foremost military power.

Tsien Hsue-shen, born in Shanghai of middle-class parents, came to this country in the fall of 1935, when he was twenty-six years old. He had made an excellent record in his university studies but, because of China's technological deficiencies, he could go no farther in his chosen field, mechanical engineering. When he won a scholarship from the Boxer Rebellion indemnity fund, a small American atonement for the days when China was a province of Western civilization, he decided to leave his homeland to do graduate work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There he shifted to aeronautical engineering and in a year received a master's degree. Then he moved to the California Institute of Technology, in Los Angeles' lush suburb of Pasadena. In the ensuing years, he began to think of home not so much as China but as Caltech.

Acadecimally, Caltech's chief attraction was Dr. Theodore von Kármán, a transplanted Hungarian who was, without question, the world's outstanding authority in aeronautics. During the three years in which Tsien worked for his doctorate, von Kármán became more and more impressed by the young Chinese. Tsien became his most favored student, then his protégé, then his disciple. A bachelor, nearing sixty at the time, von Kármán lived with his elderly maiden sister; he took to Tsien as father to son. Finally, Tsien became acknowledged as von Kármán scientific peer. The two men, mentor and pupil, now worked together as one. Von Kármán, by his genius, earned the title "father of the supersonic age" and in the science of aerodynamics he stands in singular eminence. But just below him ranks Tsien Hsue-shen. When von Kármán was making his revolutionary discoveries in almost every phase of aeronautics, Tsien served as his indispensable adviser and collaborator. Tsien was the heir apparent to von Kármán aspirations and responsibilities. Since the old man's death, he has been unsurpassed in his field but, as if by irony, he has gone on to attain the pinnacle of his career not by pursuing von Kármán's ends but, in effect, by seeking to thwart them.

The germ of the metamorphosis was introduced in Tsien's days as a graduate student at Caltech. In contrast to most other Orientals on the campus, Tsien mixed quite easily with Americans. To be sure, he was proudly, almost defiantly, Chinese. If he was embarrassed by China's backward technology, he nonetheless gloried in the grandeur and sweep of its ancient culture, and he behaved as if he were custodian of the honor of Chinese civilization. But he was not a racist and preferred Americans with whom he had common interests to Chinese with whom he did not.

Frank Malina quickly became Tsien's friend at Caltech. They both were students of aeronautics, Malina a few years more advanced. Malina, with von Katnan's encouragement, pursued an interest which was then regarded as highly eccentric. He was a buff for rockets and before long he transmitted his enthusiasm to Tsien. With fascination, Tsien followed the makeshift experimentation in which Malina engaged. But that was not all the two had in common. Both loved serious music. In Shanghai, Tsien had regularly attended symphonic concerts, and at M.I.T. he rarely missed an opportunity to hear the Boston Symphony. Since coming to Caltech, Tsien had attended faithfully the performances of the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Malina was his steady companion. The interests the two men shared, aeronautical and musical, made them very good friends indeed.

Among Malina's other friends were some graduate students at Caltech, all in science or engineering, who played musical instruments together in an amateur string quartet. He introduced Tsien to them. Tsien, who had never before encountered chamber music, liked what they played and collected albums of their favorite pieces. Sometimes he visited these friends even without Malina. Before long, Tsien found himself a part of this stimulating group of young people, drawn together by a common affection for science and music.

As it turned out, they also had a passion for politics and this, too, intrigued Tsien. He was deeply troubled by what was happening to China, crumbling as it was beneath the attacks of the Japanese. He found that his new friends were sympathetic to China's agonies, as they were to Ethiopia's and Republican Spain's. They told him that only the Soviet Union cared about stopping Fascist conquest and indeed that appeared to be true at the time. At their suggestion, Tsien read some Marxist philosophy and subscribed to a Communist newspaper. He enjoyed talking over with them his observations, as he took comfort in sharing with them his indignation. Though he knew little about politics, he had a Chinese scholar's fascination for moral philosophy and moral abstractions. Today his views are remembered—as best they can be, after almost thirty years—as having been "progressive," theoretical and somewhat naive. Tsien later described these evenings as "bull sessions," which he considered pleasant enough as diversion from his work but hardly very significant in the overall scheme of his life.

Tsien's circle of friends met irregularly, both for music and discourse, throughout the last months of 1938 and most of 1939. Then its members started going off, either to war or to scientific jobs associated with the war. Malina himself began a serious research project on military rockets and, because it was secret, he could no longer discuss his work with Tsien, who, as an alien, was ineligible for clearance to classified material. The two friends drifted apart. By mid-1940, wartime austerity prevailed at Caltech and the old crowd, too busy with war work for frivolity, unceremoniously broke up—presumably never to be heard of again.

Tsien continued to teach and study until 1943, when the government thought better of its restrictions and approved him for military research. He went to work immediately with Malina on the rocket project and, by the end of the year, the two of them, under von Kármán's supervision, completed the designs for America's first military missiles. Then with von Kármán's guidance Tsien spread out into related fields. He did important work in jet propulsion, in which the United States was also behind the Germans. He became a consultant to Aerojet, the company formed by von Kármán and several other Caltech scientists to manufacture the new rockets. Near the end of the war, he took on the task of exploring nuclear energy as a possible power source for aircraft. To meet his commitments, he commuted between the Pentagon and Malina's jetpropulsion lab in Pasadena. On V-E Day, Tsien was in Germany. When the war was over, the Air Forces commended him for his "invaluable contribution" to victory. Tsien's work was regarded as important to the country's military victory and even more important to its military future.

But as a theoretical scientist, Tsien's place was at a university and, after the war, he accepted an offer to become, at thirty-seven, the youngest full professor on the faculty at M.I.T. Being in Massachusetts, however, did not cut him off from California. He and von Kármán remained on as Air Force advisers and traveled frequently together to military installations throughout the country. Later, Tsien joined von Kármán on some N.A.T.O. projects. In 1949, when aircraft manufacturers began to realize that a deficiency in theoretical knowledge about jet propulsion was seriously hampering practical advances, the Guggenheim Foundation established two major research centers, at Princeton and Caltech; Tsien was offered the directorship of either one. He chose to return to Caltech, with a substantial salary and the title of Goddard Professor of Jet Propulsion. The arrangements proposed to him were ideal and the prospects appeared unlimited.

While he was still at M.I.T., Tsien had made a visit back to China to see his family. Some of his friends predicted that he wouldn't return and, indeed, there was some reason to believe that he would become president of his alma mater. Chiaotung University in Shanghai. But the appointment didn't work out and, after three months, he did return, with a pretty wife named Yin who, though selected for him by his family, happened to suit him superbly. Yin, daughter of a diplomat, had been raised in the West, was a student of music and an accomplished singer, and spoke English fluently. She adjusted, perhaps more easily than Tsien himself, to college life in Cambridge, then to the gaudy subtropics of Pasadena.

Tsien and Yin, as far as one could tell, were a happy couple. Insulated at Caltech from the anti-Oriental prejudices of the region, they were warmly received wherever they chose to go. They lived in a spacious, unpretentious old house, in which they were presently joined by two children—both, naturally, American citizens by birth. In his role as father, Tsien soon found himself attending meetings of the P.T.A. and repairing broken toys for the nursery school, but he seemed to enjoy his responsibilities. The Tsiens entertained a great deal in their big house. Many of Tsien's old colleagues remember fondly the evenings in which Tsien himself, with great flourish, cooked a Chinese dinner at the table, while Yin, who had spent all day on the preparations, sat self-effacingly at his side. But Yin was not intimidated by her husband. She alone made jokes about his tendency to be stuffy. Unlike him, she even took a drink now and then and if she became a bit giddy, she paid no attention to his grimaces of disapproval. "I don't know what happened after we left," said one old friend; "perhaps he gave her hell. But we always had fun there and felt relaxed with them. I'd say the marriage was very successful." The Tsiens, apart from being Chinese, seemed indistinguishable from hundreds of families living in an academic environment.

In his professional relations, Tsien was held less in affection and more in esteem. Perhaps because he was a Chinese among Westerners, he was unduly competitive. He made excessive demands not only on himself but on the Chinese students who worked under him. He was profoundly intolerant of mediocrity. Tsien often broke the rules of academic etiquette by his open contempt of inferior work; more than one colleague was left limp by some witheringly candid comment. But the corollary was that Tsien was known as a man totally ungiven to cant: There was nothing of the inscrutable Oriental about him. He was, if anything, too free with his judgments. His colleagues considered him rather arrogant but they agreed it was not so much a character failing as a by-product of his own honesty, self-discipline and rigorous intellectual perfectionism.

Given this unfettered but conscientious spirit, Tsien was made for the kind of arrangement he had at Caltech. He served no boss but his own sense of responsibility. He could do what he chose, teach what he wanted, pursue the research that interested him. He had an ample staff of his own selection and generous funds with which to finance his favorite projects. He had his pick of the best graduate students in his field and he could train them as he saw fit. Once, dissatisfied with a course, he sat down and wrote a completely new textbook, so difficult, it was said, that only the brightest students could understand what it was all about. But as if his work at Caltech were not enough, Tsien continued to serve as a consultant to Aerojet and an adviser, with von Kármán, on national defense and security problems. In December, 1949, Tsien received widespread attension—including a picture story in *Time*—for some designs he had made, almost as a whim, for a coast-to-coast rocket airliner. Under Tsien, Caltech's jet-propulsion center became the focus of the world's most advanced research in aeronautics.

It is clear that by now Tsien, with Yin's consent, had made up his mind to remain permanently in the United States. He was probably no less devoted to China than before and it was only with difficulty that he rebuffed the pleas of his ill and aging father to return. But by now he had spent most of his adult life in the United States and his children knew no other home. Perhaps more important, he knew that in China he could never work with as much satisfaction as he did at Caltech. His specialty, after all, demanded a highly technological society for its full exercise. In China he could, at best, perform only on a much lower scientific level. So, in mid-1949, Tsien executed the rite demanded of aliens who wish to remain indefinitely in this country; he went to Canada, acquired a permanent resident's visa and reentered with it. Shortly afterward, he made application to become a citizen of the United States.

But this was the very period when a strange malaise was beginning to infect the country. In quick order, a series of crises bred growing nervousness and distress. In September, 1949, the Russians ended the American nuclear monopoly by exploding their first atomic bomb. In November, Alger Hiss went on trial to contend with the assertion that he had been, while a State Department official, a Communist spy. In December, Chiang Kai-shek fled before Mao Tse-tung's victorious armies to the island of Formosa. In February, 1950, the British announced that Dr. Klaus Fuchs, one of their top scientists, had passed on to the Russians some of the West's most important atomic secrets. That same month, Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin told the Women's Republican Club of Wheeling that he held in his hands the names of two hundred five Communists in the State Department. The country began to see betrayal everywhere; anxiety verged on panic.

Inevitably, Caltech felt the effects of the mood. Federal agents suddenly discovered that the discussion group in which Tsien had participated with his friends more than a decade before had actually been Professional Union 122, the Pasadena section of the Communist Party. Malina, on temporary leave of absence, simply resigned as director of the jet-propulsion lab and took up permanent residence in Paris (where, it might be noted, he has since become a very successful modernist painter). Some of Tsien's other friends of former days fared less well. One was indicted for denying Party membership and shipped off to jail. Others lost their jobs at universities. Some left science altogether, usually to go into business, where they never again made use of their talents. At no point was it alleged that the cell members, as Communists, did anything more serious than talk. But in these days, talk was more than enough. Tsien learned of impending trouble when F.B.I. agents began poking around the campus, asking questions about him. In June 1950, he was notified that his security clearance had been revoked and that he was no longer welcome to perform services for the Government of the United States.

Tsien was shocked. More damaged than his career, which could thrive nicely without classified work, was his pride. He felt he had given every bit of his energy to the United States and in return had been dismissed in incredibly shabby fashion. He took no consolation from being treated no worse than many others, including some of his own friends. "I am apparently an unwelcome guest in this country," he told one of his colleagues. Out of his indignation emerged the reflection that he had, quite possibly, made a mistake in deciding to become an American. It was at this point, according to all evidence, that he began to contemplate returning to China.

Washington Evening Star Calls It the President at His Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's news conference last Friday has drawn rave reviews from newspapers across the country, and deservedly so.

I think that editorial reaction to the President's performance was best summed up by the Washington Evening Star:

> It is difficult to recall any White House news conference more impressive than the one staged yesterday by President Johnson. . . . It was a memorable performance.

I congratulate the President for a masterful job. Those of us who have often attended meetings at the White House know that the President was doing nothing more than being himself. This relaxed, informative and utterly charming Lyndon Johnson is the kind of man Americans will want to keep around for another 4-year term.

Under unanimous consent I insert into the RECORD the excellent editorial from the Washington Evening Star:

THE PRESIDENT AT HIS BEST

It is difficult to recall any White House news conference more impressive than the one staged yesterday by President Johnson. The TV cameras covered him from better angles than usual, and a "necklace" microphone let him move about freely, away from the pulpit-like podium. He spoke without notes, in good, strong, simple English.

His defense of American policy in Vietnam was masterful and eloquent. His recollection of the faultfinding, backbiting and censorious attacks suffered by many of his predecessors was instructive. So was his own Lincolnesque comment on the White House: "The important thing for every man who occupies this place is to . . . try to find out what is right and then do it without regard to polls and criticisms."

Polls, Mr. Johnson made clear, do not make him feel faint of heart, for they merely reflect public moods that are as fickle as the wind. Ask Harry Truman. As for the critics, the President was relaxed, good-tempered, but devastating in what he had to say in distinguishing between the honest ones and those who claim to be peace demonstrators but whose outrageous conduct—like that displayed against Secretary Rusk the other night—amounts to something more like hoodlumism. It is "storm-trooper bullying and howling and taking the law into their own hands"—an "extremely dangerous" sort of thing that is "not very helpful to the men who are fighting the war for us."

All this came through to the TV viewer with striking forcefulness. It was a memorable performance. Some people keep saying that the President has a serious communication problem with the general public, and especially with the so-called liberal community. If so, he should be pretty well able to solve it by resorting more often to the kind of discourse he has just given.

A Charleston Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to place in the RECORD a moving story from the Charleston News & Courier of October 22 concerning the success story of Charleston's own Joe Fike. At an age when most men would be definitely afraid of change, Joe Fike launched into a new business which has not only been a success but an inspiration for both Joe Fike and his son and for Douglas Wyatt, a young man who though blind has helped to write the success story.

The article follows:

INSIDE PIANO STORE—SUCCESS STORIES

(By Claire M. McPhail)

"It is all started three years ago. I suddenly decided to quit my job, and go into business for myself."

As a result of his decision Joe Fike launched a new business, inspired his teenage son, and brought to Charleston a remarkable young man whose technical ability makes his blindness seem inconsequential.

For 33 years, Fike had worked in the same factory, and one might have supposed the pattern too firmly established to make a change—but he was luckier than some men with the same urge. He had a hobby which had turned into an avocation through the years.

His interest in music dated back to his high school days when he played piano with the band and orchestra at Charleston High. It was during this time, in 1928, he started his own dance band which he had for a number of years.

For nearly 40 years Fike has been a familiar and popular figure with the local musicians and bands as he played piano and organ at many civic affairs. His evenings have been filled with many engagements and activities with the local Musicians Union, of which he has been secretary for 17 years.

Thus it was that his avocation became his vocation when he decided to learn the piano business—the technicialities of rebuilding pianos and selling them.

Fike is the first to admit that it was tough at first—he had to learn things the hard way. "Experience was his best teacher" he relates. After tearing a few old pianos apart, he and his then, 12-year-old son took a trip and visited several piano factories. He gathered all the ideas and knowledge he could, and came back with renewed enthusiasm which he imparted to his young son. Joe Jr., became an eager student, and soon learned the fine art of tuning and adjusting pianos. Two years ago, he was written up in a national technical magazine as the "youngest piano tuner in the nation". Today, his father is quick to tell you that he is "one of the best". Not only is he a good technician, but he has learned from his Dad the art of refinishing fine wood, and takes much pride in his work.

"Little" Joe has inherited his dad's musical ability. His musical education began with his father teaching him chords. A few lessons with other teachers failed to inspire Joe to more formal teaching, so he used the chord foundation and an uncanny ear to become a "self-taught" pianist. He hears a popular tune once or twice, and has the ability to play it from ear. Today, he too plays with a dance band, and fills in for his father upon occasion. Just 15 years old now, he is a sophomore at Rivers High School. He works after school and on Saturdays in his father's workshop and store.

When asked if his talent in playing the piano shouldn't be given a more prominent place in his program right now, Joe responds: "No, my real interest is in the business and helping Dad. I don't feel that I will lose my ability to play and can develop my talent later if I want to."

This is no bored, frustrated teen-ager. Joe is a young man with a hobby and an avid interest in the business world.

Hard at work in the back of Fike's shop you will find another bright young man Douglas (Doug) Wyatt, is 24 years old and comes from Crossville, Tenn. Five years ago, when Doug was hunting, he leaned his shotgun against a tree. The gun fell catching the trigger on a stump as it went down. The blast caught Wyatt, both barrels, in the face. He will tell you that he feels lucky to be alive, as the doctors said a fraction of difference in the direction of the shot would have killed him instantly. As a result, Wyatt, at age 19, had to learn to live in a world of darkness.

After a long period of recovery, he attended the School for Rehabilitation of the Blind in Little Rock, Ark. There, during his last year of high school he was given the opportunity in five hours each Saturday to gain experience in many fields so that he might discover an interest to enable him to earn a living. As a result of a twohour tuning observation. Wyatt became fascinated with the piano and went to the Talladega, Alabama Institute for the deaf and blind to study to become a piano technician. Here he learned tuning, restringing, reconditioning, regulating, salesmanship and "everything he needed to know to completely overhaul" a piano.

He came to Charleston in September of 1966 when he was hired by Fike. Fike says: "Just tell him where the piano is. He carries on from there." His expert fingers, and unusually keen ears help him accomplish much that those with two eyes might find impossible. Wyatt lives alone, keeping house and cooking for himself, enjoying his stero records, his reclining chair and his TV. Just recently he called the repair shop to complain that his TV picture tube was not working. He enjoys his TV even if he can't see it, and wants it in good working order so his friends can enjoy it when they stop in.

At the end of a day, when the shop on John Street is closed up, it might very likely be Wyatt who closes the large doors in the workshop and secures things for the night. He too, has caught the enthusiasm of Joe Fike and his son, and shares their pride and satisfaction when a worn, out-of-tune piano is overhauled and reconditioned and leaves the shop as a useful instrument.

U.S. Search for Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 20, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on August 31, 1966, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a chronological list of negotiation attempts in Vietnam, dating from 1960 until July 23, 1966. In order to update the initiatives taken by the United States and other governments in the quest for a permanent and peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese conflict, I am inserting another chronology which lists the free world's continuing efforts to search for peace in Vietnam from August 3, 1966, until September 29, 1967:

August 6, 1966: The Foreign Ministers of Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines signed a joint statement calling for Asian nations to join in a peaceful appeal to the leaders of all countries involved in the Vietnam conflict. Seventeen Asian countries received diplomatic notes as a followup to the joint statement.

August 7, 1966: A Peking broadcast denounced this appeal as a "peace in Asia committee to peddle the U.S. 'peace' fraud."

August 8, 1966: A Nhan Dan commentary also denounced this same appeal as a "cheap farce staged by third-class henchmen of U.S. imperialism."

August 31, 1966: The U.N. General Secretary U Thant proposed three steps to end the war: cessation of bombing of North Vietnam; mutual reduction of hostilities; willingness to negotiate with all participants in the fighting.

September 19, 1966: Pope Paul VI issued an encyclical containing a plea for peace. President Johnson issued a statement in support of the Pope's plea.

September 24, 1966: Hanoi scorned U.S. Ambassador Goldberg's speech for the conditional nature of the bombing cessation offer, for failure to recognize the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as "sole legal representative of the South Vietnamese people," and for attempting to use the U.N. as an "instrument for their aggressive policy in Vietnam."

September 26, 1966: Philippine President Marcos announced in Honolulu that in consultation with the President of the Republic of Korea and the Prime Minister of Thailand an invitation had been extended to the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United States to join in a conference with the Government of South Vietnam to review prospects for a peaceful settlement.

September 1966: Secretary of State Rusk carried U.S. basic message on negotiations to more than 100 representatives of ministerial rank at the 21st U.N. General Assembly.

October 1, 1966: North Vietnam termed the upcoming Manila Conference a "war conference" convened to intensify "their aggressive war in Vietnam and to cover up the bitter isolation of the United States in this war." The NLFSV denounced the meeting as a "conference of criminal leaders."

October 6, 1966: British Foreign Secretary Brown announced a six-point peace plan aimed at ending the Vietnam war and asked Minister of Foreign Affairs Gromyko to join him in reconvening the 1954 Geneva Conference.

October 8, 1966: Hanoi and the NLFSV "sternly rebuffed" the Brown proposal as a "rehash" of the recent U.S. peace initiatives, charging that the proposal demonstrated Britain's delinquency as a Geneva cochairman.

October 11, 1966: Ambassador Goldberg said United States welcomed the proposal of British Foreign Secretary Brown for an immediate reconvening of the Geneva Conference and was prepared to discuss the constructive proposals of the Foreign Secretary as well as other proposals.

October 24, 1966: The United Arab Republic, India and Yugoslavia at the conclusion of their meeting in New Delhi issued a communique voicing concern over the dangerous situation in Southeast Asia and calling for an immediate end to the bombing of North Vietnam without any preconditions.

October 25, 1966: At the conclusion of the Manila Conference, the seven participating countries—Australia, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, the United States, and the Republic of Vietman—issued a communique asserting their determination to continue the defense of South Vietnam and renewed their commitment to finding a peaceful solution to the conflict. The Government of the Republic of Vietnam listed six essential elements of peace. The other governments endorsed these views and declared that their forces shall be withdrawn, after close consultation, as the other side withdraws its forces to the north, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence subsides. The forces will be withdrawn, they agreed, as soon as possible and not later than 6 months after "the above conditions" have been fulfilled.

October 27, 1966: Peking accused Indian Prime Minister Gandhi and President Tito of Yugoslavia of trying to "peddle the peace fraud concocted by the United States and the Soviet Union," and labeled the communique of October 24 from the United Arab Republic, India, and Yugoslavia as a "reproduction of U Thant's three-point 'peace proposal.'" The Chinese Communists—Chicoms—failed to mention Nasser's role at the conference.

October 28, 1966: Both Hanoi and the NLFSV gave a cold and hostile reception to the Manila communique. The NLFSV described the proposal as equivalent to "a demand for our people to lay down their arms and serve as slaves of U.S. neocolonialism." The Chicoms labeled the 6-month withdrawal pledge an "out-and-out swindle."

November 9, 1966: The Canadian Secretary of External Affairs, Paul Martin, who held talks in Warsaw previously, today began several days of talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow. On his return he told the Canadian House of Commons that he had put forth to the Polish and Soviet leaders suggested steps which might be taken "to lead us away from a military toward a political settlement."

November 15, 1966: Peking noted Martin's visit to the Soviet Union and described it as part of the Soviet plot for "peace talks fraud."

December 8, 1966: Pope Paul VI in referring to the holiday ceasefire expressed the hope that "this truce becomes an armistice and that the armistice be the occasion for sincere negotiations which will lead to peace." U.N. Secretary General U Thant and a White House spokesman endorsed the Pontiff's appeal on the same day.

December 10, 1966: A NLFSV radio broadcast implied that the Pope's appeal was designed to take advantage of the NLFSV's original "humanitarian" offer.

December 15, 1966: A Chinese Communist Government statement commented that the Pope has "always served U.S. imperialism in its peace talk swindles."

December 19, 1966: Ambassador Goldberg sent a letter to U.N. Secretary U Thant which referred to Pope Paul's appeal of December 8 and requested that Secretary General take whatever steps are necessary to "bring about the necessary discussions" which could lead to a cease-fire. The letter contained an assurance that the U.S. Government would cooperate fully with the Secretary General in getting discussions started promptly and bringing them to a successful completion.

December 30, 1966: Foreign Secretary Brown addressed messages to the United States, North Vietnam, and the Republic of Vietnam proposing a three-way meeting to arrange a cessation of hostilities and offered to make facilities available in any suitable British territory to help with the preparatory work.

December 30, 1966: U.N. Secretary General U Thant, in replying to Ambassador Goldberg's letter of December 19, reiterated his three-point program and also urged that the United States stop the bombing of North Vietnam "even without conditions."

December 31, 1966: Ambassador Goldberg in reply to U Thant's letter of December 30 reaffirmed U.S. willingness to cease the bombing in North Vietnam "the moment there is an assurance, private or otherwise, that there would be a reciprocal response towards peace from North Vietnam." Ambassador Goldberg noted, however, that an end to the conflict cannot be attained by appeals for or the exercise of restraint by only one side. He welcomed the idea of an extended holiday ceasefire and regretted that "the other parties concerned have shown no interest so far in such a ceasefire."

January 1, 1967: President Johnson, responding to a question concerning the British proposed peace talks, said:

> We have heard from the British. We are delighted to have their views and their suggestions. We are very agreeable and rather anxious to meet as I have said over the past months, anywhere, anytime, that Hanoi is willing to come to a conference table. We appreciate the interest of all peace-loving nations in arranging a ceasefire, in attempting to bring the disputing parties together, and in an effort to work out a conference where various views can be exchanged. . . .

January 2, 1967: Pope Paul VI welcomed the December 30 proposal of Foreign Secretary Brown for a three-way meeting to arrange a cessation of hostilities in a message to Prime Minister Wilson.

January 3, 1967: Hanoi denounced the same British proposal as a rehash of the "deceitful shopworn clamor of the U.S. imperialists," condemned Brown's failure to include the NLFSV as a participant at the proposed meeting, and claimed that the British initiative runs counter to Britain's responsibilities as a Geneva cochairman.

January 5, 1967: The Chicoms labeled the British initiative as a "new trick of the great peace talk conspiracy pursued by the United States in collaboration with the Soviet Union."

January 17, 1967: The Government of the Republic of Vietnam offered to discuss an extension of the 4-day truce with representatives of the DRV.

January 18, 1967: A NLFSV broadcast strongly criticized this proposal pointing out that no discussions were necessary since the NLFSV had already made a unilateral decision on a 7-day truce and even if discussions were in order, they should not be held with the North, "which has nothing to do with military situation in the South."

January 28, 1967: DRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh in an interview on Hanoi radio stated:

> It is only after the unconditional cessation of U.S. bombing and all other acts of war against the DRV that there could be talks between the DRV and the United States.

February 2, 1967: President Johnson said that he was not aware of "any serious effort that the other side has made, in my judgment, to bring the fighting to a stop and to stop the war." He reaffirmed the deep interest of the United States in a prompt and peaceful settlement of all problems in Southeast Asia.

February 8, 1967: Replying to another message from Pope Paul VI, the President said:

> We are prepared to talk at any time and place, in any forum, with the object of bringing peace to Vietnam. However, I know you would not expect us to reduce military action unless the other side is willing to do likewise. We are prepared to discuss the balanced reduction in military activity, the cessation of hostilities, or any practical arrangement which could lead to these results.

February 9, 1967: In a press conference, Secretary of State Rusk stated:

> For some time now there has been evident a systematic campaign by the Communist side to bring about an unconditional and permanent cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam without any corresponding military action on their side in exchange for the possibility of talks—talks which are thus far formless and without content. We cannot accept a situation in which men and arms move, without interruption by us, to cross the 17th parallel and attack Allied armed forces and Vietnamese civilians in the South. They must not expect us to stop our military action by bombing while they continue their military action by invasion. No one has been able or willing to give us any information on this subject.
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> * * * * *
>
> Let me say quietly and sincerely to all capitals on the other side: Let good sense take charge for all of us in this situation. Recognize the necessity for elementary reciprocity. Join with us in a common search for peace. Let us make use of the means available to us to exchange views and to search for those common interests upon which peace can be built.

February 8–13, 1967: During the lunar New Year truce, the United States suspended bombing for 5 days and 18 hours after many prior weeks in which the U.S. Government had communicated to Hanoi several possible routes to peace, any one of which the United States was prepared to take.

February 8, 1967: President Johnson wrote President Ho Chi Minh and proposed to order the cessation of bombing against North Vietnam and the halt of further augmentation of U.S. forces in South Vietnam as soon as he was assured that infiltration into South Vietnam by land and sea had stopped.

February 13, 1967: Ho Chi Minh declared that "real peace" could be restored in Vietnam if the "U.S. imperialists end unconditionally and definitively the bombing and all other acts of war against the DRV, withdraw from South Vietnam all American and satellite troops, recognize the NLFSV, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs."

February 13, 1967: The White House released a statement by the President announcing the resumption of full-scale hostilities, after the lunar New Year truce. The President said:

> Unfortunately, the only response we have had from the Hanoi government was to use the periods for major resupply efforts of their troops in South Vietnam. Despite our efforts and those of third parties, no other response has as yet come from Hanoi.
>
> Under these circumstances, in fairness to our own troops and those of our allies, we had no alternative but to resume full-scale hostilities after the cease-fire. But the door to peace is, and will remain, open, and we are prepared at any time to go more than halfway to meet any equitable overture from the other side.

March 28, 1967: U.N. Secretary General U Thant made public a text of

March 14 aide-memoire which he presented to the parties directly involved in the Vietnam conflict proposing a general stand-still truce, preliminary talks, and reconvening of the 1954 Geneva Conference. On the same day the United States made public its interim reply of March 15 and its final reply of March 18 accepting the Secretary General's three-step proposal and stating its readiness to enter immediately and constructively into discussions on the details of such a general cessation of hostilities as the first element in this three-point proposal.

April 5, 1967: Hanoi vehemently attacked the three-point proposal of U Thant stating that the proposal was advantageous to the United States because it "placed the aggressors and the fighters against aggression on the same footing," did not call for an end to U.S. "aggression" or for U.S. withdrawal, and contained no clause dealing with the NLFSV.

April 10, 1967: The Ceylonese Prime Minister issued a peace plan calling for a meeting between the Saigon Government, the NLFSV and Hanoi to discuss the preconditions for a cease-fire.

April 12, 1967: The Government of the Republic of Vietnam—GVN—expressed its willingness to meet with representatives from the other side, and to send a representative to Ceylon to participate in discussions to resolve the conflict.

April 11, 1967: Canadian Minister of External Affairs Paul Martin presented a four-stage proposal for a cease-fire in Vietnam, based on the 1954 Geneva agreements.

April 16, 1967: The Hanoi radio described Martin's plan as a "crafty scheme of the U.S. imperialists."

April 18, 1967: The GVN welcomed the Canadian plan of April 11, 1967, as it felt it raised many matters worthy of attention.

April 19, 1967: The U.S. Government supported the GVN statement of April 18, 1967, which described the Canadian proposal as a plan which offered "considerable promise for deescalating the conflict in Vietnam and for moving toward an overall settlement." The U.S. Government issued a statement calling for an extension of the Demilitarized Zone—DMZ—through a withdrawal of DRV, United States, and GVN troops 10 miles, respectively, north and south of the DMZ.

April 21, 1967: Hanoi cited the U.S. proposal as an attempt to set up "a vast no man's land perpetually partitioning Vietnam."

April 23, 1967: Peking's People's Daily supported the DRV's rejection of the DMZ plan as a "sinister truce" aimed at rising plans for further escalation.

May 12, 1967: U Thant appealed for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, and Ambassador Goldberg replied that the United States was ready to stop the bombing if there were "appropriate de-escalation on the other side."

May 23–24, 1967: The United States and Vietnamese Governments declared a 24-hour cease-fire in order to observe Buddha's birthday. Hanoi and the Vietcong refused to observe the cease-fire. This marked the sixth suspension of bombing since May 1965.

September, 1967: The United States again explored the possibility of United Nations Security Council action with members of the Council; however, the United States found a widespread reluctance to act in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, in the face of opposition to U.N. involvement from the Soviet Union and North Vietnam.

September 2, 1967: Ambassador Goldberg again asked whether North Vietnam conceives that the cessation of bombing should lead to any other results than meaningful negotiation under circumstances which would not disadvantage either side. Ambassador Goldberg also asked how Hanoi's supporters would use their influence and power to move the Vietnam conflict promptly toward a peaceful solution, if we were to take the first step. No helpful answers to these questions have yet been received.

September 29, 1967: In San Antonio, Tex., President Johnson stated:

> As we have told Hanoi time and time again the heart of the matter really is this: The United States is willing to stop all aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We, of course, assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation.

Possession and Use of LSD To Be a Criminal Offense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which would amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to make it a crime for anyone to possess LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs except pursuant to a prescription issued by a duly licensed practitioner.

I am pleased to announce that the following Members join with me in sponsoring this bill: Chairman Staggers, Mr. Kyros, Mr. Kornegay, Mr. Friedel, Mr. Devine, Mr. Moss, Mr. Dingell, Mr. Nelsen, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Broyhill of North Carolina, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Van Deerlin, Mr. Pickle, Mr. Watson, Mr. Carter, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Satterfield, Mr. Brown of Ohio, Mr. Ronan, Mr. Kuykendall, Mr. Blanton, Mr. Stuckey, and Mr. Skubitz.

Under existing law it is not illegal for a person to possess LSD for his own consumption. This legislation would close this gap in the law by making such possession illegal except when the drug is prescribed by a duly licensed practitioner.

Of all the drugs available to our youth, Lysergic acid dythalamide, otherwise known as LSD, is the most dangerous, simply because we know so little about permanent adverse effects of the drug.

But, we do know some the the immediate effects on the human body after taking a dosage: dilated and unequal pupils, increases in heart rate, blood pressure, and body temperature; local sweating and salivation. Nausea and vomiting are common effects, as are muscular tightness and distorted sensations. Subjective and emotional effects, including the flight of ideas, are highly varied, but unfortunately are the effects sought in the nonmedical use of the drug.

Other complications or adverse reactions from the indiscriminate use of LSD include schizophrenic and paranoid reactions, psychotic depressions, antisocial behavior, convulsions, and the acting out of suicidal tendencies.

We do not yet know clearly what permanent damage may be done to the brain tissues or to chromosomes. The possible mutation of chromosomes from the use of LSD may well result in deformed offspring.

It is estimated that abuse of LSD by young adults ranges from 3 percent to 10 percent, but it is acknowledged that chronic use or habituation is on the increase.

The only official and legal repository of LSD is the National Institute of Mental Health where the available supply is in the order of 18 grams, or about 180,000 average human doses. This is also the only known source of the pure form of the drug.

The shocking fact is that the quantity located in the National Institute of Mental Health is only a fraction, perhaps one one-hundredth or one one-thousandth of the total amount in existence from other sources.

The problem is further compounded by the knowledge that most of the LSD from other sources is impure and thus when taken usually produces much more harmful effects. It is this poor quality form of LSD which is readily available to the young adults of this Nation.

We must deter the use of this dangerous drug and I believe this bill, when enacted into law, will do just that.

The 200 Millionth American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the ticking off of the 200 millionth American by the census clock today was a symbolic moment when all of us can reflect on the history, the growth, and the future of this great Nation. In the 177 years since the first census, we have grown by more than 196 million people—we have attracted and absorbed millions and millions of immigrants—we have spanned a continent, and with the admission of Hawaii we have gone part way across the Pacific. We have shown the world that the great democratic experiement can work, that we Americans can thrive and prosper on diversity.

I do not suppose that anybody in the past saw his times as particularly easy or problem free, or that his age was the golden one. Through improved communications, through the change of attitudes and events we Americans have become more sensitive to many of the problems that exist in our land—particularly the social ones.

If we continue to grow at our present rate—about 1 percent a year—we will add another 100 million people by the end the century. We will have doubled our population in 44 years. Where will our problems be then, if we do not work to solve them now? How much uglier will life in the slums be? How many more schools will be needed? How many more miles of highways will there be? How many concentric circles of beltways will be required to handle the traffic around our big cities? How much open space will be left in megalopolis for the recreation and the health of the millions of Americans who will then live in this solid sprawl from the North Carolina line to New Hampshire?

The decisions we make today will go a long way to answer those future questions. No one is more aware of this than the President of the United States, who in observing the census clock's ticking off of the 200 millionth American, said the following:

TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT COMMERCE DEPARTMENT CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE 200 MILLIONTH AMERICAN, NOVEMBER 20, 1967

Back when we began, in 1776, there were around two and a half million Americans in the thirteen colonies—about the number of people who live in Brooklyn today.

The first time an American census counted heads on this continent—in 1790—there were not quite four million of us. That is about the population of the Detoit area now.

As the years passed—as our numbers climbed to two hundred million—we began to work out a new idea of man and nation on this continent. We said that all men—of all ethnic backgrounds, of all religions, of all races—ought to be free—truly free—to stand as tall as they could stand.

To an unparalleled degree, we have been succeeding:

We see a nation today rapidly approaching a time when more of her young people will attend college than will not. That is a most revolutionary concept in the history of man.

We see a nation of unimagined wealth and increasing opportunity for most of our people. Sometimes we forget that the term "middle class" used to be a term that described a small minority.

We see a nation ready to fly to the moon and explore the depths of the ocean. We see a nation—that, having begun its own climb up the mountain, has neither forgotten nor forsaken those throughout the world who want to grow and prosper in their own ways.

We see a nation catapulted to world leadership: A nation that has exercised leadership without thought of conquest or enrichment, but only to establish a free and stable world, for ourselves and for others.

To put it into a sentence, we have seen success beyond our dreams.

And we owe it to ourselves to note and remember that—as we welcome this 200 millionth American into our midst on the eve of our third century as a nation.

But if we only congratulate ourselves on what we have done, we will miss its meaning: which was, that for two hundred years, our people said "Make it better. Work for the future. Don't quit until the doors are open for everybody."

We've asked ourselves three fundamental questions in these past two hundred years.

At the beginning, we asked: "Shall we be a free nation?" A hundred years ago we asked ourselves, "Shall we be one nation?" Thirty-five years ago, we asked, "Shall we be a humane nation?"

We answered each of those questions once. But once was not enough. They had to be answered again and again by each succeeding generation.

To this hour, the answer has always been the same: "Yes! We shall be free; we shall be one nation; we shall be a humane and responsible people."

Now we are coming to grips with a fourth question. It may be the hardest one we have ever tried to answer. It is this: "Shall we be a great nation?"

That is the question for the third century—and for the next hundred million Americans.

We know we are going to be an urban people for a long time to come. What about the quality of life for the millions who will inhabit the cities of the future? If it is good—if it is life-enhancing—then we shall be a great nation. But we'll have to find a lot of answers to a lot of hard questions before we can be sure.

We know that our young people get more schooling than any others in the world, but we have not yet seen whether mass education can be quality education.

We know that two races can live in the same country, but we have not seen yet that they can live constructively and harmoniously among each other in the same country.

We know that we can produce the steel and the cars and the chemicals to make us a mighty and wealthy nation. But we have not yet seen that we can keep our air and our water pure and healthy while we do it.

We know that we can tame the wilds of nature so that men can farm them and build upon them. But we do not know yet that we can preserve the wilds of nature so that city men and their families may know the release and refreshment of the earth as it was made.

We know that we can, if we will, provide decent housing for all our families, and transform our cities. But we do not know yet how to help people find a sense of community in the impersonal life of cities.

Those are some of the challenges that will confront us as we go from 200 million Americans to 300 million—as we begin our third century of life. They are mighty challenges—hurled at us by the past, and by the swift march of progress.

I cannot tell you this morning that we will meet all these challenges. I can only tell you that when men are free, and prosperous, and educated as they are in America—it makes sense for them to try; to work, not just for progress, but for greatness.

Thank you.

Abe Kofman Selected To Head California Highway Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the publisher of three newspapers in California, the Alameda Times-Star, the San Leandro Morning News, and the Fremont News-Register, has been selected to head the important California Highway Commission.

Mr. Abe Kofman has served on the commission with distinction for many years and this latest honor, with the heavy duties it imposes, is in part recognition of his past service.

California spends more money on its highways than is budgeted by half of the States of the Union for their total operating expenses.

I incorporate herewith an article which appeared in the newspaper of November 16 pertaining to Mr. Kofman's appointment:

KOFMAN HEAD OF HIGHWAY COMMISSION

Abe Kofman, publisher of the Alameda Times-Star, San Leandro Morning News and Fremont News-Register, yesterday was unanimously elected chairman of the California Highway Commission.

Kofman, who has served on the Commission since 1961, succeeded Gordon C. Luce, State Secretary of Business and Transportation, who had served in the post since his appointment to office by Gov. Ronald Reagan last January.

Reagan-backed legislation passed this year transferred the chairmanship from a post automatically filled by the Secretary of Business and Transportation to an office filled by an election among Commission members.

The legislation followed recommendations of the California Little Hoover Commission. The group said the secretary should be free from the duties of the chairman to devote more time to activities required of the governor's cabinet member.

Kofman, who was appointed to the Commission in 1961 by Gov. Edmund G. Brown and reappointed in 1964, has served as vice-chairman of the group in 1964 and 1966. A Democrat, his current term expires in January.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Commendation of United States by Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I invite attention to a commendation and a challenge spoken by the Foreign Minister of Thailand, the distinguished Mr. Thanat Khoman, in a recent meeting with members of the touring Los Angeles World Council in Bangkok.

Speaking as one whose nation's life is directly threatened by Communist aggression, he said:

> In Thailand and in the whole of free Asia there has never been any doubt that Americans, as free people and as the standard bearers of freedom, you know where your responsibility lies.

Mr. President, we do know where our responsibility lies, and we must not let those who would deny this responsibility prevail. When those who are most affected by our efforts in Southeast Asia, can say, as Mr. Thanat does—

> We strive on, our hearts filled with hope . . . and we do not despair.

Can we do less?

I ask unanimous consent that an article published in the Bangkok Post, November 3, 1967, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES WELCOME TO JOIN ASEAN: THANAT—RULES OUT ASPAC ROLE

(By Bandhit Rajavatanadhanin)

The United States would be welcome to join the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) as an equal partner but not the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) because "you are too big and too great," Foreign Minister Thanat Khomam said yesterday.

Thanat told 34 members of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council at the Royal Hotel: "What we envisage is a much larger Pacific community from whose western shores you come.

"Our hope and desire is that the water which washes your shore at Los Angeles, California, and the whole shore of the western United States will be the same water that will keep together the good friendship and the good understanding between the members of a large Pacific community."

Thanat said a happy family of Southeast Asian nations had now joined in the group called ASEAN. "It is only a beginning but we hope that the cooperation will expand and that all free nations in this part of the world can contribute to their own safety, their own security and to the advancement, preservation and maintenance of peace.

"America will be welcome to join, not as a superior member of the family but as an equal partner who would receive equal prerogatives and benefits."

ACHIEVE

"This is what we hope and maybe one of these days, perhaps not too distant in the future we shall be able to achieve that."

Thanat said he did not want the United States to join ASPAC now because "you are too big and too great and we are too small and too weak.

"Therefore let us develop our strength first. And then in the future our dream will reach fruition."

Thanat said it might be too daring to hope that one day even the great mass of the Chinese mainland might also forsake its ruthless and expansionist ideas and join with the nations who want to live in peace.

CONFIDENCE

Thanat said Thailand had complete confidence in United States Policy in Vietnam in spite of the dissension which had been sown by a minority in America.

He said: "Here in Thailand and I may say, in the whole of free Asia we have never had any doubt that as free people, as the standard bearers of freedom, you know where your responsibility lies."

He added: "We also do.

"That is why even in those dark hours some three years ago in this part of the world, we cast our lot with the free people of the world—with the United States in particular—and ran the risk of being looked upon as a satellite or a stooge.

"We know that we are not a satellite, which is not exactly a flattering term but are trying to do our part in upholding our heritage.

Thanat said that in the United States "there were many wise people, many expert people who advocate the withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam to either Australia, or the Antarctic . . . or simply to Fortress America. . . .

"I know that in America there are many armchair Generals and Secretaries who try to advise on everything even though they might know the least about South Vietnam or about Asia. The less they know the more they talk.

"Here we listen with great interest, sometimes with a smile.

"However, we here are a small nation. We strive on, our hearts filled with hope . . . and we do not despair.

"Perhaps some of our people have doubts, have fears, but I think all our hopes prevail over our doubts and fears."

Thanat said Thailand was glad to be working with the great American nation, the generous American people even though some Americans might try to deride their countrymen's efforts.

Thanat said the Thais had never been a subject race and therefore had no desire to lose their God-given right to live a free existence. "That is why we accepted our responsibility."

He continued: "We have to fight now because we don't want to fight later, in a fight which we will be handicapped and at a disadvantage."

Thanat said for this reason American soldiers had been allowed to come to Thailand, which was perhaps the only place they could go in Southeast Asia, but he added: "I hope that you will not misunderstand and think we asked American troops to come to Thailand. They come to fight another war, the war in Vietnam."

The 1967 Powder Puff Derby Final

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, 71 sleek race aircraft in the 21st All-Woman Transcontinental Air Race were flagged from Bader Field, Atlantic City, N.J., on July 10, headed for the terminus in Torrance, Calif. A Stearman towing a banner announcing the 21st birthday of the Powder Puff Derby preceded the takeoffs, which were completed in 31 minutes.

Of the 52 crews who qualified by terminus deadline TAR No. 9, Judy Wagner, of Palos Verdes Estates, flying solo, coaxed top performance from her Beachcraft Bonanza K–35 to win the race. Her elapsed flying time was 12 hours, 27 minutes, and 59 seconds. Second was seven-time winner, Fran Bera, TAR No. 50, with copilot Barbara London, both of Long Beach, Calif., flying a Mooney Mark 20. Another California team, Tig Pennock, TAR No. 40, with copilot Virginia Chandler flying a Piper Comanche 260, placed third. Only nineteen one-hundredths of a point separated the third and fourth places, with Gini Richardson, TAR No. 22 of Yakima, Wash. and Copilot Marian Banks, San Diego, flying a Mooney Mark 21 in the latter position. Fifth place went to TAR No. 63, veteran racer Margaret Callaway, and Virginia Seaver flying a Cessna 172.

Highlighting the 21st Powder Puff Derby was the participation by 16 pilots from seven countries other than the United States. All but one completed the grueling trek to Torrance.

The race was one requiring great skill and good judgment. Officials flying the route during the same period reported that an unusual degree of sportsmanship was exhibited. More experienced pilots taking off first from the designated refueling stops called back first-hand reports to those still on the ground, thus contributing to the safety of the 42 percent of the pilots who had never before flown the race.

Mrs. Kay Brick, chairman of the board of directors of the All-Woman Transcontinental Air Race, Inc., commeeting on the 1967 Powder Puff Derby said:

> The comradeship that aviation provides is unequalled on a national level and in achieving world understanding. The race, known round-the-world, has truly come of age.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with this 21st Powder Puff Derby I insert in the RECORD the remarks of Mrs. Kay A.

Brick, which appeared in the program of this memorable event.

The article follows:

THE CANDLES' WORTH

When the 21st birthday candle is lighted for the 21st running of the race known around the world as the Powder Puff Derby, the All-Woman Transcontinental Air Race will reflect two decades of successful competitions.

In my Grandmother Swift's home in New England hung a sampler which read:

> "How far that little candle throws its beam
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

The ancestral candlepower of the Powder Puff Derby has accumulated its influence through the 1662 entries and race stops in 122 different cities. Miles flown during the competition itself have equalled 135 trips around the world!

What does a birthday represent? It signifies experience, recognition, friendships. In order to enter the race, participants must already have made substantial achievements in aviation. The imagination and interest in the communities touched by the race have been captured. They become aware of women pilots, of Ninety-Nines in their area who are members of this organization of licensed women pilots whose first President was Amelia Earhart. Each year hundreds of Ninety-Nines give their devoted attention toward the smooth operation of this national activity. Radio and TV cover all aspects of racers and workers/officials as well, benefiting the community through this opportunity to expose the airport and the extent of general aviation to the public. Also the community is proud to display its own assets to racers and outside visitors attracted by the derby.

As one mid-west Ninety-Nine expresses it: "To me the really great thing the Powder Puff Derby has done is to make every one, not just the people who have airplanes, aware of general aviation and how important it is to the growth of a community. Not until this event could you possibly have gotten everyone to think aviation. This city now has a VOR, and a previously defeated bond issue for an instrument runway has been passed."

The candles have flickered beyond the boundaries of the United States, danced across the seas, served as a stimulus to other women and those sponsoring them. With two more weeks until the entry closing date, there are already ten pilots from countries other than the United States entered. In addition to the two Australian and one Canadian teams entered to date, there are four U.S.-Australian and U.S.-South African international teams. Ninety-Nines across the country are offering the hospitality of their homes, both before, during and post race.

Our government spends lavishly to further good will abroad, striving to achieve world understanding. Unequalled is the comradeship aviation provides.

KAY A. BRICK,
Chairman, Board of Directors.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to take this opportunity to direct the attention of my colleagues to House Joint Resolution 452 and others which would designate May 12 as the Amelia Earhart-Joan Merriam Smith Aviation Day. It also directs the issuance of a commemorative airmail stamp in honor of Joan Merriam Smith, a pioneer in women's activities in aviation.

We already have an annual Wright Brothers Day to honor all aviation, the annual Lindbergh Day honoring all men pilots. Because of these observances, it is altogether fitting and proper that we take some action to honor our lady pilots, and their two distinguished pioneers.

Not only have our lady pilots made a valuable contribution to civilian aviation, but they were very active during World War II in ferrying our big bombers to our forces in Europe. For their contribution to aviation we should act swiftly on the resolutions so that we can observe the first annual Amelia Earhart-Joan Merriam Smith Aviation Day on May 12, 1968.

Lawlessness Dims Modern Achievements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, few people are as aware as are the news editors of our great daily newspapers. Usually, these men do not write the news. They merely read what others have written, sort it, and decide what to use and how to use it. They have a tremendous responsibility because much of the information we receive depends upon their skill. Thus, it was with a great deal of interest that I read a recent item written by Byron Drinnon, news editor of the distinguished newspaper, the Knoxville Journal. Mr. Drinnon is a sincere, patient, soft-spoken newsman who is not easily aroused to wrath. He is a devout Christian. He has held the position of news editor at the Knoxville Journal for several years. Since Mr. Drinnon's views accurately reflects an attitude shared by many Americans, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWLESSNESS DIMS MODERN ACHIEVEMENTS

(By Byron Drinnon)

In the tedious task of sorting the daily news dispatches we become increasingly weary. Dramatic events of history unfold like the crescendo of an opera when all the characters (good and bad) reappear on the stage for the grand finale.

During the past few years it would seem that the best and the worst of history, repeating themselves in magnitude, have marched across the stage and the tone and tint of events has left us tired and exhausted.

The past two decades have brought an increase in knowledge in all fields of human endeavor and greater strides have been made in the conquest of space and in agriculture, medicine and metallurgy than in all previous history. But it is the preponderance of deleterious dispatches which leave us distressed.

We are tired of seeing an ever increasing number of young people make it obvious they expect all the privileges of grownups, but who refuse to shoulder the responsibilities of adults.

We are tired of the increasing segment of the "beat generation" who would attempt to make sloveliness and filth (of body, mind and speech) as something to be desired and who boldly brag about the "achievement" of degradation.

We are weary of being told that "disadvantaged" individuals and groups with "righteous causes" should be excused from prosecution for criminal acts. The same newspages which quote the "turn 'em loose" judicial philosophers are full of accounts which indicate a new and unparalleled era of lawlessness is sweeping the nation.

We are dismayed to read how three of these "disadvantaged" youths in Chicago attacked a policeman, seized his gun and in all probability would have killed him had it not been for the chance appearance of another police car. Blase and hardened as we are to accounts of violence, we were almost moved to tears at the words of a 21-year-old assistant football coach in Dayton, O., mortally stabbed by a school dropout: "Tell Kathy I love her."

We are tired of leaders of so-called "righteous causes" telling us that "civil disobedience" (and the subsequent violence, burning and looting) has something to do with creating a better or greater society. In fact, we are suspicious that someone is out to destroy rather than to improve communities.

We are appalled when the leader of a flock publicly speaks to an unruly crowd of demonstrators and says of the city's officials, "Let the city councilmen burn in hell."

We are truly distressed at the injustice done the Negro but we are sorry that the "burn, baby, burn" minority has nullified some of the progress which more level-headed leaders of both the white and colored races have slowly accomplished. We are tired of seeing progress in race relations erased by extremists.

We are skeptical of religious leaders who would make right and wrong a matter of the "expediency of the moment" and thus destroy the structure of morality.

We are distressed at those who advocate sexual freedom and undermine the foundations of the home. We are suspicious that those who talk of great "Liberty" are actually "slaves of corruption."

We are tired of theologians expounding the "God is dead" theory and we are sick when we note that they are allowed to remain in positions of power and to continue as instructors of our ministers of tomorrow. A parallel would be to allow avowed Communists to instruct the youth of the nation in citizenship.

We are tired of the philosophy that any problem, no matter what, will go away if only we "throw a little money at it." We stand aghast and see billions sent abroad to "buy" friendship and we read of mobs in foreign lands burning the American Flag and chanting "Yankee, go home." We see billions spent to fight poverty and wonder why so many news dispatches indicate that the rich still get richer and that "the poor we have with us always." We see millions voted to fight juvenile delinquency and we are informed that serious crimes of young people have increased in fantastic proportions. Fred F. Inhau, Northwestern University law professor, recently told an audience in Chicago that serious crimes in the nation increased by 11 percent last year and "Since 1957—just 10 years ago—serious crimes in Washington, D.C., has increased 252 percent."

We are confused by the issues evolved by the bloody war in Vietnam but we are aware that three successive Washington administrations have pledged to protect the territorial integrity of South Vietnam. And when "peaceniks" engage in activities which jeopardize the lives of our men on the fighting front, when they invade government offices, burn draft cards and desecrate the American Flag, we suddenly grow weak with dismay and, yes, we are ashamed!

Force, Not Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned about the irresponsible demonstrations which are taking place on many of the college campuses today. In their dissent and activities, these students seem flagrantly to disrespect the rights and freedoms of others in their efforts to capture attention. Therefore, I thought that the meaningful editorial written by Mr. Dale Peffley, editor of the Goshen News, Goshen, Ind., merited the attention of my colleagues in the House.

The editorial follows:

FORCE, NOT POWER

With militant students storming into college presidents' offices, immobilizing military and industrial recruiters and shouting down visiting speakers they dislike, it might seem they are exercising a certain amount of power.

Force, not power, is the proper word. Obstruction, even if it does not involve physical contact, is a kind of force. Unauthorized invasion of space—office, corridor or whatever—is the same.

While they deceive themselves that this is not so, the young militants talk excitedly about gaining "student power."

They obviously have sufficient numbers in many places to make themselves heard and felt. What is it they want power for?

On the broad scene, militants want to stop the war in Vietnam. Their favored method—a complete withdrawal of U.S. armed forces.

Many have pursued this goal for two years or more. They have made no headway at all. Votes like San Francisco's 2 to 1 balloting against withdrawal offer them little encouragement.

They do not, in fact, have the "power" to do anything about it. As this has been increasingly borne in upon them, the student militants (not to mention sizable numbers of sympathizing adults) have become frustrated, angry, gripped by a sense of impotence.

Thus thwarted, they have turned, with surprising speed, to techniques of opposition which grade from shout-down dissent to outright violence. Confrontation and resistance are the new words in their lexicon.

The young militants are on record with countless utterances indicating the only "debate" they care about is argument which they win. Again and again, they have emerged disgustedly from discussion with a defender of U.S. policy and said:

"We didn't get through to him."

The arrogant core of this comment is the automatic assumption that proper communication with the man would have brought his total capitulation to their viewpoint.

This attitude, expressed less and less now in discussion and more and more in obstructionist tactic, is a kind of junior totalitarianism which makes some of its more aggressive practitioners' resemble frighteningly Hitler's young bully boys of 30 years ago.

The student militants spend so much of their time in the role of angry rebels against American policy that it is perhaps a bit surprising that they still find moments to contend they should have "power" within the university apparatus itself.

These claims are not exactly unrelated to their broader endeavors. They seem to want a bigger voice in university affairs to a large extent so they can use the schools as base and sanctuary for their assaults on the war and the government "establishment."

Consumed by emotional furies, the militant college minority appears to be demanding freedom to attack anything it chooses while insisting on immunity from any requirement of self-control, reasonable standard, fair play.

The detached observed has to wonder, what with all their charging about, when they find the time to read, study, listen and discuss—coolly and dispassionately in the true learning manner. Presumably, all these things are still central to getting an education.

The observer can only wonder, too, where—in their brief years on earth—they acquired the epertise that qualifies them either to run or have a large hand in university affairs whose management is often supremely technical, complex and subtle.

Proudly they style themselves "impatient." But impatience is a destroyer of freedom if it sanctions using any means to an end.

High School Summer Intern Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, this past summer I conducted what I think is a unique experiment here on the Hill. Because my district is within commuting distance, I was able to institute a high school summer intern program for 40 high school seniors who were recommended by their principals. During their 3-week internship, the students, in committees of four studied one bill that was before Congress, attended committee hearings on the bill, did research at the Library of Congress and discussed the issue with Congressmen, Senators, and staff members.

After observing these students at work during their internship, I am gratified by their interest and achievement. They have emerged from the program with a good working knowledge of our Government, and their appetites have been whetted to learn more. I am sure that in future years they will use the knowledge that they have gained to good advantage.

The depth and scope of the research that these students pursued was exceeded only by their enthusiasm. The quality of their work is well illustrated by the following paper submitted by Steve Metalitz, who is a senior at Albert Einstein High School in Kensington, Md.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967

(Report on State and local fair housing laws)

(By Steve Metalitz)

In 1966 and again this year, Congress has considered Administration-backed civil rights bills containing strong fair housing legislation. In this year's bill the fair housing proposals are found in Title IV of S. 1026. Thus, Federal action is being contemplated in a field where legislation is already on the books in nearly half the states of the Union, as well as in many municipalities. This study will concentrate on exploring state fair housing laws, and will suggest some tentative conclusions regarding Federal legislation in this field.

As of June 30, 1967, 23 states and Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the District of Columbia had enacted some sort of fair housing legislation. These state laws vary widely in coverage, strength and execution. In addition, by September 1964 (the latest figures obtainable), 28 cities and one county had enacted fair housing laws, and over 40 other other cities had prohibited blockbusting tactics.

The varying coverage of the state laws can best be seen on the following chart, which classifies the laws in order of increasing exemptions (decreasing breadth of coverage):

No exemptions	Minor rents exempted	Minor sales and rents exempted	Broader sale and rent exemptions	All sales exempted
4 States—Michigan, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.	8 States—District of Columbia, Iowa, Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, Colorado, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.	5 States—Minnesota, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.	3 States—New Jersey, California, and Maryland.	2 States—New Hampshire and Maine.

On this chart, minor rents are the rentals of a limited number of rooms (usually four or less) in an owner-occupied house, or the rental of one unit of a duplex. Minor sales are the sales of such housing with slightly looser definitions in most cases.

In addition, three States—Illinois, Montana, and Washington—ban discrimination only in public and/or urban renewal housing. These state laws have been virtually superseded by President Kennedy's Executive Order of November 20, 1962, which forbade discrimination in transactions involving Federally-assisted public and urban renewal housing, and in housing purchased with Federally provided or guaranteed loans. (Washington at one time had a slightly more comprehensive law, but it was struck down by the State Supreme Court.) Oregon, a unique case in open housing legislation, is not included on the above chart, but is discussed below.

Where does S. 1026 fit into this? According to Sec. 415 of this year's bill, where Federal and state law coincided in their coverage, the state law would remain in force. Federal law would supplant state law only if the latter "required" or "permitted" a discriminatory housing practice." I know of no state or local law which would fit into the first of these categories, although one may exist. As for the second category, this clause means that where state law did *not* ban discriminatory practices, Federal law would, as it took effect.

To relate this to the gradualist approach adopted in this year's bill (sec. 403), it should be noted that, immediately upon enactment, S. 1026 would supersede or broaden (i.e., supersede in part) state legislation in 34 states, most sweepingly in those 27 states which now have no open housing laws whatever. The other states affected—Illinois, Montana, Washington, Maryland, Maine and New Hampshire—would all have their limited coverage broadened. In 1968, the broadened Federal coverage would affect the California and New Jersey laws, which presently exempt some houses not occupied by their owners. And when Federal coverage is complete, on the last day of 1968, the laws of twelve more states and of the District of

Columbia would be similarly broadened, so as to cover virtually all housing in the United States. Only Michigan, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands would retain their fair housing legislation intact, because their present statutes are already broader than the Federal proposals.

The various state laws also differ in enforcement and execution, though not so widely as on the question of coverage. Nearly every state fair housing law enpowers a governmental commission to investigate allegations of discrimination, and to enforce the law through the issuance of cease and desist orders. All actions of the commission are subject to appeal in the state courts. This is analogus to the pattern followed in the 1967 Federal proposals, which vest such powers in the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, abandoning the severly critcized plan of enforcement through the Federal courts, suggested in 1966. State laws differ widely in the delegation of authority to file complaints of discrimination. In a few states, such as Michigan, only an aggrieved individual may file. In many states, however, the attorney general may institute such proceedings; and in such others as New York, several government officials are empowered to file complaints of discrimination.

Now that these state laws have been sketched briefly, several questions arise which are of relevance to any Congressional consideration of fair housing legislation. First, of course, how effectively have these state laws achieved their ends? What has been the reception accorded them in the states? And finally, what impact should these state laws have on any proposed Federal legislation?

Because only a limited amount of statistical information is available, accurate evaluation of the effectiveness of state fair housing laws is very difficult. A fairly informative study was undertaken in 1965 by the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH), which studied the effects of 15 state laws of widely varying scope. In the years 1959–65, about 7300 complaints of discrimination were filed. 43% of these were dismissed, mainly because of insufficient evidence. In only 12% of the cases did the complaints actually obtain the housing accommodations they were originally denied. Often they simply could not wait until a decision had been reached, and had secured other housing. Most complaints were settled through conciliation, which the state is normally required to try as a first step.

The NCDH study also revealed that 90% of the complainants were Negro, and that most of them were middle-class people who wished to move into a desirable urban or suburban area. In other words, the people who utilized and who benefited most from the laws were members of the small but rapidly expanding Negro middle class. The laws were apparently designed to enable these people to obtain better housing, and were in no significant way directed toward improving the lot of the Negro slum-dweller. The NCDH verdict was cautiously favorable—

> Fair Housing laws in states and cities have been an important factor in the slow but steady movement of Negro families of predominantly middle-class status into the general community in recent years . . . on the other hand, the growing body of Fair Housing legislation has had little impact thus far on the restrictions faced by the overwhelming majority of non-white Americans. Even the most comprehensive statutes have failed to halt or to substantially deter expansion of the racial ghettos.

This conclusion was supported by hearings held by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Cleveland in April 1966, approximately a year after Ohio adopted a relatively strong open housing law. Here the problem was not only that the scope of the law was limited, but that in some cases the law itself was not working well. The Commission was told that the Negro population in the suburbs of Cleveland had quadrupled since 1960, but it also heard testimony from several witnesses who were denied in their quest for better housing, despite the law. This occurred because of an abundance of red tape and an apparent toothlessness of the execution of the law. Furthermore, a 1949 city ordinance outlawing segregation in public housing in the city was criticized by the Commission for having "failed to produce a pattern of occupancy which reflects a non-discriminatory tenant assignment."

This limited attack of state fair housing laws is one of their chief weaknesses. Another is the ineffectiveness of their application. The NCDH report points out that every state law studied was under-utilized. Surprisingly few complaints were being filed, even where discriminatory housing practices apparently still existed. The NCDH attributed this major weakness to cumbersome complaint procedures and to a lack of public faith in the laws. The states relied too much on individuals investing time and effort in filing and following up complaints which they often felt would be worthless anyhow. Particularly in states where only an individual may file an allegation of discrimination, there is a tendency not to do so, especially in the face of widespread public skepticism. The public attitude often holds that relief, if it ever comes—and the large percentage of dismissals speaks eloquently of the difficulty of proving discrimination—will be years in coming and may not be vigorously sought by state authorities. This major operating weakness of the state laws, coupled with their limited attack on the problem of housing, led the NSDH to recommend that a national fair housing law be enacted.

Since the subject of fair housing is admittedly quite controversial, Congress should also consider the reception which has been accorded the state fair housing laws, beginning with the reaction of the most directly concerned special interest group—the realtors. On the whole, of course, realtors have opposed fair housing as an infringement on their business and on the "property rights" of their clients. One very interesting exception ought to be considered, however—Oregon.

Oregon has a unique open housing law because it defined its jurisdiction by sellers and lessors exempted, not by dwellings. The Oregon law (1959) makes it illegal for anyone "in business" of selling or leasing real estate to discriminate in any transaction. Non-professionals are free to discriminate in any transaction. Thus the law is aimed more directly than any other at the realtors. However, according to Oregon's Secretary of State (now Governor) McCall, the real estate interests actually lobbied for a broader law. They felt that the proposed law, by singling them out for regulation while leaving individual homewners free to discriminate, was itself discriminatory against their business. Although the economic reasons for such a stand were probably the most compelling, it seems important to note that the real estate interests are not always opposed to all fair housing legislation.

In most states, however, there was significant opposition, which often led to court tests of the law. Two of these cases stand out—those of Washington and California.

In 1957, Washington outlawed discrimination in transactions involving any public or public-assisted (e.g. FHA-loan-supported) housing. The law thus affected all public and much private housing in the state. In 1961, the law was struck down by the Washington Supreme Court in a 5–4 decision. However, three of the majority judges based their votes on the opinion that an improper and unjustified distinction had been made between publicly-assisted private housing and other private housing. It appears likely that had the law covered all private housing, the court would have upheld it. The ramifications of the Washington decision are thus far from clear.

In California, a complicated chain of events led to decisions by the California and United States Supreme Courts upholding the Rumford Fair Housing Act. California's voters originally repealed this weak fair housing law by a constitutional amendment adopted by referendum (Proposition 14). It was this repealer that the courts declared unconstitutional. In the U.S. Supreme Court's 5–4 decision, the main point of contention was over the interpretation of the significance of California's move to a neutral position on discrimination, from its previous position of prohibition. The majority, concurring with Justice White, said that although California was not constitutionally bound to forbid housing discrimination, it had associated itself with discrimination as a "basic policy of the state" by repealing the Rumford Act. The importance of this case (Reitman V. Mulkey) is that it constitutes the only instance of Federal review of a fair housing law, albeit indirectly. By striking down Proposition 14, the Court may have given tacit constitutional blessing to fair housing legislation, although it certainly has not bound itself to sustain a Federal statute.

It should be noted that, excepting the ambiguous case of Washington, no court has ever overturned a fair housing law. It would seem that the judiciary has overwhelmingly approved fair housing.

If the judgment of the courts, so crucial to any fair housing law, is clear, the judgment of the people, which is even more important to Congress, is not. I have found little information on popular reception of fair housing statutes. Certainly compliance has not been complete, although it should be noted that one school of thought on the subject explains the universally light complaint loads by assuming generally wide-spread compliance. In a few instances open housing laws have been submitted for popular approval at referenda. To my knowledge, in every case the law was overturned or rejected, usually by healthy majorities (e.g., 65% of California voters supported Proposition 14). Although the verdict of the people is still unclear, I would be surprised at even tepid support for Federal fair housing legislation. Congress undoubtedly realizes this, which helps to explain Congressional inaction.

I have now examined the effect of state laws and how they have been received. What conclusions should Congress draw from the experience of the states when considering fair housing legislation?

The evidence can only be described as inconclusive. The experience of the states does not point clearly to any good solution, since nothing seems to have been demonstrably effective. Even the question of whether Federal legislation is necessary can well be answered either way. I'm inclined to believe the evidence supports the case for a Federal law. Although over half of the population of the country, and probably the great majority of the Negro population, is already covered, by some state or local statute, many of these laws are weak, some are inefficient, some poorly enforced, and none of them appear to inspire strong public trust and concomitant resort to them for redress of grievances. A strong well-enforced, broadly-interpreted Federal law would be more likely to be more effective in solving the problem of discrimination in housing.

As for what sort of Federal fair housing law should be enacted, I would draw heavily on the experience of Oregon. Many Oregonians on the Hill, such as Senator Hatfield and his legislative assistant, Ray Underwood, are enthusiastic boosters of their state's unique statute. Its policy of covering only professional sellers or lessors would remove virtually all reservations I may have about the constitutionality of Federal action in this field, since it would apply only to those exercising a public function, and thus has precedent in the public accommodations title of the 1964

Civil Rights Act. Such a bill would be more palatable to a large segment of Congressional opinion than previous Administration proposals have been. If it were interpreted with both liberality and understanding, as seems to have been done in Oregon, it would include a nearly automatic exemption for Mrs. Murphy's famous boardinghouse, while opening a substantial majority of housing to those who are presently the victims of callous discrimination.

Yet the Oregon plan, despite its many advantages would make only a weak basis for Federal legislation. The plan has been enacted into law in only one state, one with a very small non-white population, and the law is almost never utilized (100 times in 1959–65, according to the NDCH). The evidence supporting even this apparently advantageous plan can only be regarded as inconclusive.

Although the evidence obtained from examining the history of state fair housing legislation is equivocal at best, it is my opinion that Federal action is necessary. The problem of discrimination in housing is closely related to the more ominous problem of America's urban ghettoes. Both problems are with us, and both may get worse if Federal action, including a fair housing law, is not taken. As census figures will readily show, there are today more middle-class Negroes than ever before, wishing to move out of the ghettoes or into the suburbs, often finding their entry blocked by discriminatory housing practices. Yet at the same time the problem of the ghettoes is also worsening, as the ghettoes get more crowded, more volatile, and relatively no richer. This trend can be expected to continue, but it would be greatly alleviated by the passage of a Federal fair housing law to allow the more prosperous Negroes to leave the central city more easily.

The problem is pressing. The most effective solution, I believe, would be the passage of a limited Federal Fair Housing Act, perhaps modeled on the Oregon plan. I see such a law as an indispensable provision of any program to grant to the Negro American, as well as to the other minorities in this country, the true economic equality to which they have always been entitled, and which they must acquire if the awesome problems of our cities are ever to be solved.

U.N. Loses Direction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the leadership of the grand experiment in world peace, the United Nations Organization, has now gone defunct in direction and leadership.

Its left of center leader, U Thant, representing by appointment, Burma, addressed the "U.N. Terror School" held at Kitwe, Zambia, in July of this year.

Can you imagine the unelected spokesman for a nonrepresentative one-world body inviting such love fronts as SNCC, RAM, and the NAACP to this hate rally to denounce colonialism, minority government, and slavery?

Yet, not one denunciation of the minority government of the Soviet Union, not one word suggesting the outlawing of Russian colonialism in the Baltic States, Eastern Europe, or the colonial designs on the free world through the Communist conspiracy. Not one denunciation of slave labor in Siberia or in many of the favored African emerging nations.

What a strange maneuver in guided world agitation.

To U Thant, intellectual and ideological agitation of the masses is necessary to guarantee the Communist ideology prevails.

No one has ever accused the Rhodesians of slavery or colonialism. U Thant denounces colonialism—then why does he not laud Rhodesia? Did not the Rhodesians just overthrow the colonialist yoke of Britain? And contrary to the slavery standards in some African nations Rhodesia offers one of the highest standards of living to colored on the continent.

Slavery? Has anyone ever reported Rhodesians being prohibited from leaving Rhodesia? Regardless of the color of their skin? Can you say the same for freedom of Russians to leave Russia? The greatest bulk of complaints come from white people—who complain not of slavery but that they cannot overthrow the government of Ian Smith.

Nor has anyone remotely suggested that the South Africans who carved a civilization out of a wilderness and chaos—who are free of British colonialism—have imperialistic designs.

U Thant's speech reads like any other revolutionary's—merely racist extremist babble. It may win him friends in Russia and votes from the OAU emerging nations—but any informed person knows it is nothing but so many cliches and rabble rousing.

U Thant suggests it is truly "darkest just before the dawn." Let us hope that free people will see through the emotional smear of apartheid to the motivating apparatus—the effort is not to advance blacks but rather progress Reds.

Mr. Speaker, I include the United Nations Organization press release of July 24, 1967, comprising U Thant's speech at Zambia in the RECORD that all our colleagues may better understand the strange leadership and behavior of the U.N. gang:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY-GENERAL TO INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM AT KITWE, ZAMBIA

Following is the text of a statement by the Secretary-General U Thant, to the International Seminar on *Apartheid*, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa:

"Mr. President, your Excellencies, distinguished guests and delegates. It is my honour and privilege to welcome all of you who have responded to the invitation to attend the international seminar on *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism. A special debt of gratitude is owed to you, President Kaunda, for having risen to the occasion at such short notice and offered Kitwe as a venue for the seminar. The promptness with which countries, organizations and delegates responded to the change of site has been most encouraging and a sure indication of the importance which they attach to the subject before us.

"While there are many causes of tension and unrest, those that have been deliberately imposed upon man by man easily take first place in their seriousness and persistence. Apart from such major disasters as wars and slavery, the history of the world recounts many instances of organized exploitation of man by man. The Spartans had their helots, the feudal lords their serfs, the masters their slaves. I make reference to the historical background because in the struggle against *apartheid* racial discrimination and colonialism one may sometimes wonder whether the poor are not always with us; whether the strong will not always lord it over the weak; whether it is not part of human nature for men to attain success by exploiting their fellowmen. These doubts and misgivings assail the best and most resolute of us with varying intensity and at different times. It was such doubts and misgivings that troubled Wilberforce and Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, Lobenguala and Mosheshoe. Several thousand years ago it was said and I quote 'Where there is no vision, the people perish.'

"The same is true today. Nations, organizations and individuals have gathered here because in spite of the dark clouds that hang over the horizon they see a future in which the complexion of man's skin will no longer be regarded as the most significant thing about him. They see a brave new world in which there is one race and that is the human race.

"The United Nations Organizations, representing as it does, the morality of the international community, has been interested in the question of *apartheid*, racialism and colonialism from its inception. One of the fundamental aims for the achievement of which the founding Members of the Organization resolved to combine their efforts in San Francisco was, 'To reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women . . . .' The United Nations in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that 'Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.'

"The United Nations Organization has never lost sight of its basic aims and objectives, but has at all times maintained that freedom is the inalienable right of all men, that it is indivisible, that it cannot truly flourish if it is enjoyed by some and denied to others.

"These principles, so basic to the purposes of the Organization, are not rules of conduct arbitrarily devised by the founding fathers, but are fully justified on moral grounds, because peace and freedom are in the last analysis inter-dependent. Moreover, the founding Members in their determination 'To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind', were fully aware that since wars begin in the minds of men it was not sufficient to lay down rules of conduct as between nations, but that it was imperative to define certain basic rules of behavior between man and man without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

"No association or organization can exist without rules and regulations. Throughout its existence the United Nations Organization has without fear or favour stoutly upheld its fundamental principles and passed judgment on those who have violated these rules. The resolutions passed by the General Assembly abound with instances where *apartheid*, colonialism and racial discrimination has been roundly condemned by the international community as vestiges of a bygone era which should be eradicated thoroughly in the same way as slavery and the slave trade.

"Confronted as we are by seemingly unyielding systems of *apartheid* and colonialism in the southern part of the African continent, I suggest that it is opportune to dwell for a few moments on some of the positive gains that have been achieved.

"Without enumerating the various resolutions that have been passed by the Organization of practically every session condemning the concept and practice of *apartheid* and the existence of colonialism in any of its forms, I will mention only instances which may be regarded as landmarks in the Organization's struggle to put the welfare and dignity of man above the prejudices and greed of races and nations.

"The right of peoples to self-determination is enshrined in the Charter as a basic human right. The year 1960 saw the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration provided not only for the exercise of the right of self-determination but also specifically enjoined all States to observe faithfully and strictly both the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. In 1961, a special committee was established by the General Assembly to watch over the implementation of the Declaration.

"The General Assembly has been concerned with racial discrimination from the outset. Its efforts culminated in the establishment of the special committee on *apartheid*. The successful imposition of an arms embargo by the Security Council on South Africa in 1963 is of special significance not so much because of the results that have been achieved but more as an indication of the awareness on the part of the world community of the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation in South Africa and of its readiness to adopt measures designed against South Africa.

"The establishment of the special committee on *apartheid* was a recognition by the international community that the struggle for human equality and dignity must continue and that the last vestiges of racialism and discrimination in the municipal law of Member States must be eradicated.

"The latest addition to these far-reaching measures designed to end once and for all the myth of inequality of races and peoples was passed last year when for the first time in the history of the Organization the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter were invoked against the illegal minority regime of Southern Rhodesia which had seized power to forestall the establishment of democratic institutions. The imposition of economic sanctions against a regime which had violated the commonly accepted principles of nations was a major step with far-reaching consequences in international relations.

"The establishment of educational and training programmes for South Africans, South West Africans and persons under the Portuguese administration of Angola and Mozambique is also relevant in this context. The community of interest which has been displayed by the Member States in educating those victims of *apartheid*, colonialism and racialism so as to enable them to play an effective role in the future of their country is a testimony to the faith in the success of the efforts towards a new world order.

"In recent years the winds of change have swept right across the continent of Africa from west to east and from north to central Africa but they seem to have come up against a stony wall running somewhere across the southern part of the African continent. Not only have the winds produced no change beneficial to the non-white people living in this part of Africa but the attitude of the white minority groups that have settled in these areas seems to have hardened and the attainment of self-determination of the non-white inhabitants of these regions indefinitely deferred.

"In these circumstances one may only hope that as often happens in human affairs it is a case of its being darkest just before the dawn. The intensification of racial intolerance and the gradual erosion of the basic human rights is only equalled by the determination of the people of these regions to rid themselves of the shackles of *apartheid* and colonialism and racial discrimination in all its manifestations, and of the world community to assist them in their struggle."

Watershed Activities and Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to further inform and enlighten my colleagues on the importance of the watershed program in Mississippi.

I call attention to a speech made at the 10th annual meeting of the Rivers and Harbors Association of Mississippi:

WATER-RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN MISSISSIPPI

(Address by Maj. Gen. T. J. Hayes, division engineer, U.S. Army Engineer Division, South Atlantic Rivers and Harbors Association of Mississippi, Jackson, Miss., November 1, 1967)

INTRODUCTION

It is a pleasure for me to be here with you today. I appreciate the opportunity this meeting affords to meet with people whose informed interest and vigorous support of an expanding program of water resource development have contributed so much to sound progress in the Magnolia State.

It is good to be back here and renew the friends made, before the War when I was at Camp Shelby, later when I was involved in the development of NASA's awe inspiring Mississippi Test Facility, and more recently during my first visit to Pascagoula.

THE CHALLENGES

Today, as you would expect, I plan to talk about water resources, but more particularly, I plan to discuss some of the challenges confronting us in this field, locally as well as nationally. The job of water resource development grows bigger, encompasses more areas, and acquires new complexities each day, since the resources remain constant while the demands multiply. Hence, the need for informed, conscientious, cooperative, and farsighted civic leadership in helping to meet today's new challenges is more urgent than ever before. You are in a position to provide an increasingly important measure of that leadership.

Basically, as we all know, our Nation is faced with a serious and rapidly growing water problem. It is true that the potential supply is large enough to meet our essential needs for a long time to come. In fact, it's been said that each day the clouds carry forty trillion gallons across our nation. Of that, only four trillion gallons a day, or about 10%, falls on the U.S., and of that we presently use or consume about forty billion gallons, or about 1%. Nevertheless, too often water is not available in sufficient quantity, or of acceptable quality, or at the time needed, or at the desired place. On other occasions, there is too much water, and no way to store it adequately, at best resulting in waste, or at worst resulting in destructive floods which cost lives and property.

Meanwhile, demands upon our water resources are increasing much faster today than ever before in our history. This is due primarily to our rapidly growing population. It's been said that there are more people alive today than all who lived between Christ's birth and 1900. Another factor is the phenomenal growth of urban areas, where the per capita demand for water is greatest and hardest to meet. Inidividual consumption grows with our standard of living. In addition, we are becoming increasingly dependent upon industrial production, which requires immense quantities of water. Thus, it's not surprising to hear that total U.S. water needs are expected to triple within the next forty years. Meanwhile, much of the available water is being polluted or wasted, and corrective measures take years to develop. It's no wonder that there is concern! The challenges must be met and the problems solved, for effective engineering development of our Nation's water resources is a necessity for the continued growth and progress of this State, or this region, or this Country.

CURRENT SITUATION IN MISSISSIPPI

Here in Mississippi we start with a real bonus—a plentiful supply of water to satisfy the immediate and even the foreseeable requirements if this water is properly managed. The impact of current water resources development in Mississippi clearly points up the importance of water management.

The State's fine deep-water ports of Pascagoula and Gulfport, its famed fishing port of Biloxi, its bustling river ports of Natchez, Vicksburg and Greenville, the Yazoo River and various smaller waterways—all of which depend upon channels constructed and maintained by the Corps of Engineers—together handle a total annual commerce of over 15 million tons. Along your southern boundary, the Gulf Intra-coastal Waterway connects the State with the other ports and channels along the Gulf. Along your western boundary the lower Mississippi River connects you with the vast inland network of the Mississippi River system and, by way of the Calumet-Sag Channel, with the Great Lakes. The stimulus to trade and industrial expansion provided by these waterways has contributed substantially to rising prosperity and higher standards of living. And there is more to come.

The Corps' flood control works on the Mississippi River and its tributaries and on lesser streams in the State protect agricultural and industrial development worth billions of dollars and encourage further economic growth by removing the inhibiting threat of flood. Some of these projects, such as the flood control reservoirs in the headwaters of the Yazoo, also provide substantial benefits of other kinds, such as irrigation, water supply, water quality control, and outdoor recreation. Still other improvements being constructed or planned, will make further substantial contributions to the economic health of the State.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

In part, these projects highlight a new fact of life: merely supplying the utilitarian needs of the American people is not enough today. Environmental considerations and problems are becoming increasingly prominent. Traditionally, American cities have looked to the surrounding countryside primarily for raw materials and resource support. To an increasing degree today they are looking for much more. Urban dwellers want to be able to get off their paved streets. They want to find green fields, wooded hillsides, and clear, free-running streams somewhere nearby. They want wholesome outdoor environments within easy reach for a weekend outing, if not for an afternoon picnic. They deplore what has happened to the air they breathe, the scenic landscapes of yesterday, the old-time rivers and creeks.

Thus, in the field of water resources development, we see increasing emphasis on the enhancement of esthetic values, the preservation of natural beauty, the provision of recreational opportunities, and the conservation of fish and wildlife.

Such invironmental factors are largely qualitative. They are difficult and sometimes impossible to express in measurable quantitative terms. Their evaluation is largely one of judgment. Nevertheless, people today expect that these factors will be given due weight in all future water resources planning. That means they must be considered from the very start of the planning process.

To this end, the Corps of Engineers has been employing specialists in wildlife, park development, outdoor recreation, and a variety of other fields on our planning staff, as well as seeking the expert advice of other agencies. Now we are further strengthening our capability, both in-house and by contract, to respond to the growing need of preserving environmental resources while meeting the essential needs of development to satisfy our expanding economy. We have established Environmental Resources Branches within the planning organizations of our Civil Works Division Offices, in order to assure that adequate consideration of environmental values is included from the start in our planning and program-formulating activities. We are seeking, and securing, improved working relationships with conservation agencies and organizations—and not just to explain our activities to them, but to acquire a better understanding of their views in order to better serve the conservation needs. The new public appreciation of conservation and esthetic values has enabled us to obtain the authority and the funds to give careful consideration to the environmental effects of projects under study and to modify our engineering plans accordingly.

Some other actions the Chief of Engineers has taken to further this recognition of environmental values includes the institution of an annual award to recognize the conservation of natural beauty in our construction; the establishment of a Construction Research Laboratory with a program which will include research on ways to enhance esthetic and living aspects of structures; and the initiation of a graduate fellowship program to promote research in engineering and other disciplines, such as water-oriented recreation, preservation of natural beauty, and related conservation features.

WATER POLLUTION

Another challenge with a considerable impact on water resources planning and development is in the field of water pollution. This has led to broad efforts to secure high level treatment of municipal and industrial wastes through State and Federal programs. However, despite the best that can be accomplished currently through treatment and control of these wastes at the source, pollution also has to be combatted to an increasing degree through the augmentation of stream flows during low-flow periods.

The Corps of Engineers has long been concerned with this phase of pollution control. In Mississippi, for example, several reservoirs now supply extra flow in dry seasons for water quality control. Others are being considered in the Big Black, Pearl, and Pascagoula Basin studies.

Obviously, pollution control will play an even more important role in comprehensive river basin planning in the future than it has in the past.

DREDGING AND SPOIL

One major aspect of this, of great concern to the Corps, is the potential pollution resulting from the disposal of dredged material.

This problem arises when deposits are moved to keep harbors and channels open for navigation. Much of this work is necessary because cities and industrial plants have been discharging organic and chemical wastes in rivers and harbors for many years, and continue to do so.

We are working toward solutions to the dredging aspects of this problem in cooperation with agencies in the Department of the Interior. Of course, the best solution is to keep contaminated materials out of the water in the first place. In addition, however, more acceptable ways and places must be found for the disposal of the sand and mud already contaminated. Unfortunately, most alternatives to present disposal methods cost more money.

A related problem arises from the deposition of industrial waste solids in harbors and channels. This impedes navigation and requires excess dredging to maintain authorized channel dimensions. Hence, we have instituted a general and vigorous enforcement program providing for:

1. Abatement of such depositions in navigation channels where feasible; or

2. Financial reimbursement to the United States or applicable dredging costs; or

3. Assumption of the dredging responsibility and cost by the offending establishment.

Fortunately, these problems in connection with channel dredging have not yet become acute in Mississippi, altho they are beginning to be encountered in such growing industrial areas as Pascagoula. However, as Mississippians continue their vigorous courting of industry, these problems can be expected to grow.

In addition, the problem of spoil disposal already has become serious at Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Gulfport. In fact, throughout the country, this problem presents an increasing serious impediment to channel widening and deepening, both in original construction and regular maintenance. Residential and industrial developments along many channels have created an acute shortage of suitable shore disposal areas within the range of economic feasibility and esthetic acceptance. Concern about the damage being done to the ecology of estuarine areas by using spoil to fill in marshlands is making such disposal methods increasingly unacceptable in many locales. In some open-water areas where spoil from repeated dredging operations has been placed alongside the navigation channels, man-made islands the length of the channels are restricting lateral navigation and diverting natural current and tidal flows. Finding acceptable new disposal sites will require imagination and the full cooperation of local citizens. And good long-term programs. The alternatives are rising costs for disposal which could endanger some projects.

PERMITS

We are tackling related problems in connection with permits for private dredging and filling and other private operations in navigable waters in close coordination with the appropriate agencies of the Department of the Interior and in accordance with a recent joint agreement between the Secretaries of the Army and the Interior. Of course, we are also continuing to coordinate our permit activities with other interested Federal and State agencies as we have always done.

FLOOD LOSSES

Rising flood losses pose another major challenge which is receiving sharply increased attention today. Flood damage nationwide now amount to $1 billion annually, and is on the upswing despite the investment of over $7 billion in flood control facilities. As more protection is provided, the risk of occupying flood plains is correspondingly reduced. Under the pressures of burgeoning populations and increasing land costs, new industries and new homes are attracted to these flood plains—where they never would have been located had the flood works not been built. To make it worse, the mushrooming new construction tends to spread even beyond the protective limits of such flood control structures. As a result a flood, which is reduced by the protective works to a relatively minor flood in historic terms, may now cause extensive damage to these new areas built-up in the flood plain.

The report of a Federal task force, outlining a unified national program for reducing flood losses, emphasized that as a result of such factors the continuation and expansion of the established flood control program is no longer enough. In addition, alternative and supplementary means now are needed to reduce flood losses to a practicable minimum.

One important means to this end stressed by the task force was strict State and local regulation of future flood plain use and development to insure optimum use of the land, taking into consideration all costs associated with its use, including flood reduction costs. Thus, in many areas the problem could be solved by requiring that buildings be specifically designed to survive expected flood conditions without damage. Other areas might best be utilized for recreational purposes or wildlife conservation. In still other areas, it might be advisable to protect the plain from floods and develop it.

In support of this approach to the control of flood losses, the Corps is greatly expanding its Flood Plain Management Services program. One important element of this is the preparation, on request, of detailed flood plain information reports delineating the flood hazard in any given area. We are also prepared to provide technical advice and guidance to State and local governments to assist them in local decision-making concerning land use, in drafting appropriate flood plain regulations, and in connection with flood-proofing new and existing buildings. In this connection we have prepared some booklets on flood-proofing and other means of reducing flood damage, and these too are available to community officials on request. Incidentally, this program does not contemplate the direct involvement of the Federal Government in flood plain zoning. That is strictly a State and local matter.

I need hardly add that flood plain regulation is no substitute for the construction of suitable flood control facilities where these are economically justified. The established flood control program will not be curtailed; but flood plain zoning, where it is locally effected, will be a valuable supplement to it.

We have made one flood plain study in Mississippi and expect to initiate another soon. In 1965 the District Engineer at Mobile completed a flood plain information report for the City of Columbus and Lowndes County, and the Jackson City Planning Board is in process of submitting a formal application for a similar study. Applications for these studies are submitted through the Mississippi Research and Development Center, since this organization has been appointed by the Governor to coordinate the program in this State.

RECREATION

Another impressive challenge to all who are engaged in water resources development is the pressing need to provide greatly increased outdoor recreational opportunities of all kinds, especially for the millions of people who live and work in our crowded cities.

During recent years there has been a phenomenal rise in the utilization of water projects—especially reservoirs—for such water sports as boating, swimming, water skiing, fishing, hunting, picnicking, and camping. During 1966, 190 million people found recreational enjoyment at Corps of Engineers reservoirs and about 100 million more visited the reservoir projects of other Federal agencies.

About 5 million visitors a year flock to the four completed Corps lakes in Mississippi; other thousands make use of the navigation channels for recreation. The beaches are popular too, but many of the adjacent waters are not suitable for water recreation. For example, Biloxi waters are turbid, receive waste effluents and have a mud bottom. Local citizens there have said that they have the world's finest beaches, but foulest waters.

The Okatibbee Dam nearing completion above Meridian will add another attractive lake to the State's recreational resources. And major emphasis is being placed on the creation of recreational opportunities in the comprehensive inter-agency studies the Corps is leading in the Big Black, Pearl, and Pascagoula basins.

The growing demand for more and more water-related recreation is reflected in fundamental changes in the planning and carrying out of Federal water programs. In plan formation, economic evaluation, and cost allocation, recreation is now treated as a full partner with other purposes of water resources development. Recent legislation has provided strong incentives for greater participation by State and local agencies in recreation planning and development. The Federal Government bears all of the cost of features of multiple-purpose projects which serve all authorized purposes across the board, including recreation. It also bears up to half of the added cost of exclusively recreation features—and of fish and wildlife enhancement measures—sponsored by, and cooperatively planned by, State or local governments.

USE FEES

As a means of helping to finance the purchase of additional land for recreational purposes, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 provides that fees may be charged at Federal reservoir and other recreational areas at the discretion of the President. Under this authority, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation establishes uniform nationwide criteria for designating those Federal reservoir projects at which these fees will be charged. Corps reservoirs are included.

BASIN PLANNING

The new challenges and changes which are transforming our water resources development programs underscore the fact that we must all work together, and act together, with full cooperation among all levels of government and private interests if we are to solve the difficult problems involved in meeting the broad demands of the future.

Great progress has already been made in this direction. At the top of the effort is the Water Resources Council and the comprehensive "framework" studies which are to be carried out under its charter in the eighteen regions into which the Nation has been divided for this purpose. Nine of these studies are underway and we hope the rest can be launched by 1970. The interagency basin studies currently being conducted in Mississippi in the Pascagoula, Pearl, and Big Black basins are part of this program.

The 18 "framework" studies will provide projections for economic development and for water-resource needs and developments throughout the Nation. I believe their importance can hardly be overstressed. They offer our best opportunity yet to escape from the frantic game of catch-up in which we now seem to be engaged—a game in which we keep reacting to floods and droughts and shortages and the rapid loss of one value after another on a crash basis—all too often with little common sense of direction. The framework studies will enable us for the first time to seize the initiative against our water problems across their full front, and to plan our future cooperatively.

CONCLUSION

I appreciate this opportunity to be with you. This Association, representing the whole State, is in a particularly advantageous position to help keep the people of Mississippi informed about water-related problems affecting their present lives and their future hopes, and to generate a genuinely unselfish and cooperative effort to deal with them on a fully realistic basis. May you continue to carry on with foresight and enthusiasm.

The Preferred Minority: The Untouchables

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, many times those who talk equality disbelieve the people are even qualified to govern themselves.

In a statement to the House of Representatives in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 7, 1967, under the title of "Walt W. Rostow: Another Alger Hiss?" I quoted an illuminating article in the November 3 issue of the Herald of Freedom, a fortnightly periodical published at Zarephath, N.J., which recommended a "thorough investigation" of the subjects background and activities.

In the November 17 issue of the indicated publication there is a sequel on "The Untouchables" which supplies additional documentation on Rostow, Isaacs, and others.

While they talk brotherhood and a world ordered under the law, they exempt themselves because they regard themselves in the king clan—they are the untouchables, above the law, above the people, and above criticism or comment.

For that very reason I insert Mr. Frank Capell's "The Untouchables" here in the RECORD:

THE UNTOUCHABLES

Behind the public figures who make the speeches and decisions stands a shadowy group of individuals who avoid the limelight. They prepare the speeches mouthed by the important personages. They "advise" on the decisions which means they make the decisions. They prepare "studies" on which these "advisers" base their "advice." In this group which operates behind the scenes, pulling the strings on the puppet politicians, are individuals whose affiliations with Communist causes and history of activities in aiding the International Communist Conspiracy are a matter of public record, as well as others who are secret agents. They work to further the objectives of the world conspiracy.

These individuals have already rendered service to the Communist Conspiracy and are thereafter "taken care of" in one way or another due to their established dependability and competence. A large number of these people were involved in the long range program for the Communist takeover of China. This was well documented during the Senate investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations. These people are protected and have become "untouchables," getting security clearance from "higher up" in spite of their known subversive records. Often their names are quite unknown to the general public but their influence is great. One of these "untouchables" is Harold Robert Isaacs, and his subversive record is well documented.

Isaacs was born in New York City on September 13, 1910, the son of Robert Isaacs and the former Sophie Berlin. He graduated from Columbia University with an A.B. Degree in 1930 and was married to Viola Robinson on Sept. 14, 1932. They have two children, a son—Arnold R., and a daughter—Deborah S. Harold Isaacs' employment record, as reported in "Who's Who in World Jewry" (1965), is as follows:

Reporter, N.Y. Times, 1928–30; city editor, China Press, Shanghai, China, 1930–1; city editor, Havas News Agency, Shanghai-N.Y., 1935–40; writer-reporter CBS, 1940–3; associate editor, Newsweek, 1945–50.

Isaacs received a grant as a Guggenheim Fellow in 1950, write books and, from 1953 on, became affiliated with the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he was associated with Walt Whitman Rostow among others. Isaacs' wife also became associated with the Center as a researcher. This Center was established with CIA funds and does research with federal grants to finance these projects upon which decisions of our high government officials are based.

At the time Harold Isaacs was working in the Orient a spy ring was in operation there which changed the course of history. Not too well known to the American public is the fact that, except for the successful operation of the Richard Sorge Spy Ring in Japan, we probably would never have been catapulted into World War II with the resulting Korea and Vietnam tragedies. Robert Morris, who was counsel to the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee at the time it held the hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations, which was instrumental in the fall of China to the Communists, stated in his book, "No Wonder We Are Losing" (p. 132–3):

"General Charles A. Willoughby, who had been General MacArthur's Intelligence Officer, testified about the machinations of Sorge's ring. Sorge, we learned, had two missions: 1) To obtain intelligence information regarding Japanese military intentions and 2) to influence Japanese policy in such a way as to avert an attack on the Soviet Union and to induce an attack on the United States, the Dutch and the British to the south.

"In other words, during the crucial months of October and November 1941, Soviet agents were trying to involve the United States in war with Japan. . . .

"On November 26, to the surprise of many people, Cordell Hull rejected the truce (A three-month truce had been sought by the Navy and War Dept.) and issued the ultimatum to the Japanese which was answered by bombs on December 7. I learned during the IPR hearings that a basic memorandum that constituted the Hull statement of November 26 was written by Harry Dexter White." (White was later proved to be a Communist and Soviet agent.)

General George C. Marshall testified during the Pearl Harbor Congressional Hearings that, if the 90-day truce had been effected, the United States might never have become involved in the war at all. Major General Charles Willoughby, USA, Ret., who probably knows more about the Sorge Spy Ring, its machinations and agents, than any other living (loyal) American, recently informed us personally that the 134,000 American casualties in Korea can be directly attributed to the activities of the Sorge Spy Ring which involved a number of Americans. He stated that, except for the fact that this Soviet intelligence operation convinced the Japanese government to attack the United States instead of the Soviet Union, there would have been no U.S. involvement in World War II, Korea and Vietnam, and China would still be free; even the Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe would probably never have happened.

In August 1951, General Willoughby, who had been General Douglas MacArthur's Intelligence Officer for eleven years, testified before the House Committe on Un-American Activities and introduced into the record many G–2 military intelligence records which exposed the Sorge Spy Ring and the American aspects of the case. Also testifying was Mitsusada Yoshikawa, former Japanese Procurator (District Attorney) and official of the

Ministry of Justice of Japan. From these hearings and documents we learn the following:

Richard Sorge, a master Soviet spy who held the rank of Colonel in the Soviet Army, using the cover of being a German journalist, had become the top adviser to General Eugene Ott, the German Ambassador to Japan. Hidemi Ozaki, a Japanest national, was a member of a secret section of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Ozaki was the principal assistant to top Soviet spy, Sorge. Ozaki had also become the top political adviser to Prince Konoye, the Japanese Prime Minister, and was considered the brains of the Konoye Cabinet. Through the influence of Sorge and Ozaki over the high German and Japanese officials, they were able to convince the Japanese Government to move its forces south for an attack on U.S. and British territory, rather than north for an attack on the Soviet Union.

Agnes Smedley, alias Alice Bird, alias Mrs. Petroikos, was an agent in the direct service of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Third (Communist) International or Comintern. She received orders directly from the Central Committee in Moscow (E.C.C.I.) and Richard Sorge and Hidemi Ozaki were involved in espionage activities with her. Harold Isaacs was the editor of the China Forum, an English language Communist periodical first published in 1932. Isaacs was a close associate of Soviet agent Smedley and worked with her.

In his book, "Spies, Dupes and Diplomats," Ralph de Toledano states (P. 63):

"Egon Erwin Kisch, a Comintern agent, agent, organized the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union, of which Agnes Smedley was an important member. Harold Isaacs was editing the China Forum, attacking the imperialists, and at Smedley's suggestion publishing such unbiased writers as Ozaki Hosumi 'Hilaire Noulens' was arrested carrying telltale documents, jailed, tried. . . . Isaacs and Smedley were busy setting up the Noulens Defense Fund, weeping that the spy had been picked up out of the sheer malice of fascist police."

References to Harold Isaacs appear in the following publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

Hearings on American Aspects of the Richard Sorge Spy Case, August, 1951: pp. 1219, 1220, 1221, 1223, 1236, 1246, and 1247.

Testimony of Oliver Edmund Clubb, March and August 1951: pp. 1980, 1981, 2033, 2034.

The Role of the Communist Press in the Communist Conspiracy, January 1952: pp. 2186 and 2196.

Annual Report of the Committee for 1951: p. 21.

References to Harold Isaacs appear in the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee Hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations, Pages 748, 749, 753, 2483, 2607, 2916, 3138, 3627, 3628, 4103, 4104, 4136, 4824, 4831, 4847, 4848, 4861, 4872, 4882, 5219, 5556, 5557, 5624; also in the Report on the Institute of Pacific Relations, Pages 14, 46, 90, 91, 118, 126, 145, 167.

The Senate Internal Security Sub-committee in its Report on the I.P.R. identified Harold Isaacs as a Communist of the "Trotskyite variety." Although the references to Isaacs in the House and Senate hearings are too numerous for us to include them all, among the more interesting are the following:

Testimony of Oliver Edmund Clubb (HCUA), p. 1980–1:

"Mr. Clubb. The only people that I can remember offhand who were alleged to be Communists but Trotskyist Communists were a couple of journalists who visited Hankow in flood year, 1931. They were not known to me at that time to be Communists of either camp, but subsequently it appeared that at least one of them might have been a Communist.

"Mr. Appell. Who was that?

"Mr. Clubb. Harold Isaacs. But he is known, as I believe, to be a Trotskyist Communist.

"Mr. Appell. Outside of Harold Isaacs, you never met with anyone during your tour of duty in China whom you knew to be a Communist?

"Mr. Clubb. There was that second journalist, as I say, who was traveling with Isaacs at that time, a South African. Both of these people were connected then or subsequently with Shanghai newspapers. His name was Frank Glass. I met him." (Note: C. Frank Glass, the British subject from South Africa, was a known Communist and suspected Soviet espionage agent.)

Institute of Pacific Relations, part 3, p. 748:

"Mr. Mandel. This is a translation from the book entitled 'Eighteen Years in Prison,' the last chapter written by Yoshio Shiga, pages 159 to 161, published by the Japanese Communist Party in 1948 and translated by Andrew Y. Kuroda, Japanese Section, Orientalia Division, the Library of Congress.

"Mr. Morris. Will you read the episode to which we are referring, Mr. Mandel?

"Mr. Mandel (reading):

THE DOOR OF FREEDOM

"At last the day came when we could become active again.

"By the end of September (1945), a reporter of the American Army had come three times to investigate. He asked the warden if he still kept political prisoners in his jail. The warden's answer was always 'No.' On September 30, however, Mr. Isaac of Newsweek, and M. Marukyusu and M. Giran of a French news agency came to the prison. They did not ask about the political prisoners. Instead, they merely requested to see the prison. The prison authorities reluctantly showed them first the work shop. Next they requested to see the wards. After they went through the wards, they requested to see the solitary cells. . . . As they came to the section which contained the solitary cells, the three newsmen asked the prison authorities point-blank: 'You have political prisoners here, don't you?' . . . So finally the prison officials admitted holding such prisoners . . . The three newsmen came rushing to our section, M. Marceuse shouting aloud, 'Where is Mr. Tokuda? Where is Mr. Shiga?'

"From that day on, until we came out of the jail—about 10 days—war correspondents of various newspapers came to see us. . . . On October 10, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we came out of the prison . . . We were all moved very deeply when we were met by those comrades who, with red flags in their hands, were waiting for us in the rain . . . Then we plunged into our new (communist) activities with renewed spirit."

Institutte of Pacific Relations, part 10, p. 3627:

Exhibit No. 601, "A Pessimist in the Orient, No Peace For Asia," by Harold R. Isaacs, Reviewed by Owen Lattimore.

"Some years ago Mr. Isaacs published a book called The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, with a preface by Leon Trotsky. No book dealing with the events of 1925–28 in China rivals it in vituperation of both the Communists—the Stalinist Communists, that is—and Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintan of Chiang Kai-shek. Mr. Isaccs' dislike of both Stalin and Chiang, and of the political parties associated with both of them, continues in his new book.

"In addition, Mr. Isaacs does not like the colonial policies of Britain, France, and Holland. Nor does he like American policy in the Far East . . ."

Institute of Pacific Relations, part 12, p. 4136:

Exhibit No. 692, Letter from Owen Lattimore to Frederick V. Field (both Communists):

"Dear Fred: Enclosed I am sending a copy of a recent letter from Snow: also a copy of a recent letter I wrote to Harold Isaacs, who suddenly wrote to apprise me that his history of the Chinese revolution is about to be published by Seoker and Warburg in London. He particularly requested me not to have it reviewed by any of the 'next of Stalinists' in our New York office!

"If you are interested I should like very much to send you occasional samples of correspondence like these. I hope it might help to keep us in touch both personally and perhaps for the occasional benefit of Pacific Affairs and Amerasia . . ."

Institute of Pacific Relations, part 13, p. 4847:

Opinion of the Loyalty Review Board, Case of John Stewart Service, re Service's association with Philip C. Jaffe,

"It was also notwithstanding the fact that on April 25th in New York one Harold Isaacs, known to Service to be a former Communist, in response to an inquiry made by Service told Service that Jaffe was 'bad business' or 'bad medicine,' and that while on the week-end party with the Bissons on May 19th and 20th Jaffe in conversation with Service took what appeared to Service to be the 'party line' by telling Service that 'they had real freedom of the press in Russia, that they did not have real freedom of the press here.'"

Institute of Pacific Relations:

Report of the Committee on the Judiciary Hearings held by the Internal Security Subcommittee), p. 167:

"Motylev had been greatly aroused by the publication of an article on the Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution by Harold Isaacs, a Communist of the Trotskyite variety . . . Lattimore proffered most profuse apologies . . . He raised no question as to the possibility that Isaacs might be an objective scholar despite his Trotskyite sympathies . . .

"Motylev particularly expressed indignation about a review by the well-known anti-Communist writer, William H. Chamberlin, of a book by Stalin. Lattimore replied that he had not realized the writer's position, but that as soon as he learned of the Soviet's opinion of him, he had canceled an article he had ordered from Chamberlin."

Hearings on American aspects of the Richard Sorge spy case (HCUA), p. 1219:

"Smedley (Agnes) was an active member of the Shanghai branch of the notorious Noulens Defense Committee, a world-wide Communist-front organization set up by International Red Aid (MOPR) specifically to free Paul and Gertrude Ruegg, more commonly known as Noulens, the leaders of the Shanghai FEB (Far Eastern Bureau), tried and convicted for espionage. With Harold Isaacs, she was a member of the China League for Civil Rights, and of the local Friends of the U.S.S.R., a Communist-front group, directed by the Comintern through local agents . . ."

"(d) Associations.—Agnes Smedley was an associate of Harold Isaacs, and C. Frank Glass, locally classified as a card-bearing Communist. Isaacs was for some time the editor of China Forum, an English-language Communist periodical first published in 1932. She was also in close contact with the German woman, Irene Wiedemeyer (Weitemeyer), a secret Comintern agent and distributor of Communist publications, who was involved in the Sorge espionage case. Edgar Snow and his wife, who wrote under the name Nym Wales, were associated with Smedley both in Shanghai and later in Peiping . . . Shanghai police authorities knew that she was closely connected with the Soviet propagandist, Anna Louise Strong. . . . Her (Smedley's) house became the rendezvous of Sorge's ring; it was here that Ozaki and Kawai were given espionage missions and their reports were, in turn, received . . . Smedley became a member of the Soviet spy ring headed by Richard Sorge and became one of his principal and most trusted assistants . . .

"1931: . . . She (Smedley) joined the Noulens Defense Committee . . . Associated with

Smedley on the committee was Harold Isaacs, as well as many other prominent leftists . . .

"1932: Smedley and Isaacs with a group of leftist sympathizers were members of the First League of Civil Rights in Shanghai . . . Smedley also became very friendly with a British Communist, C. Frank Glass, a suspected Comintern agent. With the aid of Ozaki, Smedley set up a spy ring in Peiping and Tientsin . . ."

General Douglas MacArthur wrote a preface for the book written by General Willoughby, "Shanghai Conspiracy," which includes the story of the Sorge Spy Ring, in which he states that the book "is of the gravest importance because it presents a clear delineation of a world-wide pattern of Communist sabotage and betrayal *which is still being practiced today*. (Emphasis ours—Ed.)

"Sorge's story did not begin or end with Tokyo but was only a chip in the general mosaic of Soviet Far Eastern strategy. It deals with a sinister epoch in the history of modern China and must be viewed against the vicious background of world conspiracy. Shanghai was a vineyard of communism for men and women of many nationalities who had no conceivable personal stake in China, but an almost inexplicable fanaticism for an alien cause—the Communist subjugation of the Western world. Here were sown the dragon's teeth that have since ripened into the Red harvest of today."

Harold Isaacs is a product of this "vineyard" and has now transferred his activities to a government-sponsored think-factory which is supplying ideas for the world conspiracy. He is one of the key persons at the CIA-created and financed Center for International Studies at M.I.T. where the cleared from on high security risk, W. W. Rostow also toiled in the vineyard for many years. Isaacs has been conducting studies in "Political Change, Perception and Identity." The 12th Annual Report of the Center shows that Isaacs has been conducting investigations concerning "Political change" in a number of countries, supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Among the groups studied by Mr. Isaacs, according to the Report, are "American Jews in Israel who are trying to become 'Israelis' without ceasing to be 'Americans.' "

The records of the Department of Health, Welfare and Education show that in 1963 a direct grant was made to Harold R. Isaacs #M.H.—09179–2 for "A Comparative Study of Personality Development," further defined as "Stress, Social Change, World Politics, Comparative Study."

The M.I.T. Center has published numerous books and studies by W. W. Rostow, Isaacs and others with policy forming purposes. For example, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency made a grant to Dr. Lincoln P. Bloomfield, a member of the Center's staff, for studies in "Regional Arms Control Arrangements." and "Soviet Interests and Attitudes Toward Disarmament." Dr. Bloomfield worked out plans for U.N. Peace-keeping Forces to occupy parts of the United States for inspections. Assisting Dr. Bloomfield was Amelia Leiss of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She will be recalled as the editor of the study, "Apartheid and United Nations Collective Measures"—an analysis financed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of which Alger Hiss was the President in 1947. This study showed the forces necessary for a United Nations invasion of South Africa and was reported in detail in the Herald of Freedom issue entitled, "The Conspiracy to Destroy South Africa." Dr. Bloomfield, an associate of Walt Rostow and Harold Isaacs, has been active in formulating plans for the disarmament of the United States and the setting up of U.N. "Peace-keeping" stations all over the United States.

It is interesting to note that one of the books published by the Center was originally published by the I.P.R. The Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report #2050, on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, cited the IPR as follows:

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives." "Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist." The American Communist Party and Soviet officials considered the organization "an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence." (pp. 223 and 225)

Harold Isaacs, in spite of his documented record of service to the International Communist Conspiracy, is financed by the U.S. Government. The Center at M.I.T., through such persons as Isaacs, Rostow, Bloomfield, Wiesner and others, has been formulating policies for the Defense Department, the State Department and the CIA. All these men have been able to get the necessary security clearances and ample government funds to plan for a Soviet America. These men are among the untouchables.

Hard Road to Academic Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I have recently had occasion to point out the great effort that Hillsdale College is making to try to remain free of any governmental subsidies or support. In this connection, another recent editorial in the Fort Wayne, Ind., News-Sentinel is of interest.

It follows:

HARD ROAD TO ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Hillsdale College, up in neighboring Michigan at the northern edge of The News-Sentinel's circulation area, has a venerable academic tradition that goes back to the college's founding in 1844. But its spunky outlook, currently, belies its almost century and a quarter age.

Hillsdale has become nationally known for its "Operation Independence," launched some months ago to divorce the college from any Federal or state funds which might interfere with its insistence on complete academic freedom.

The Michigan college may well be the archetype in its field. Its student body hovers around the 1,000-mark. Its faculty currently stands at 60, making for an excellent student-teacher ratio. And its spirit, certainly, is one which could well be emulated by its peers.

Not that the path chosen by President J. Donald Phillips and his trustees is an easy one. In a recent interim report on "Operation Independence," Dr. E. C. Hayhow, vice-chairman of the board of trustees, had this to say:

"Hillsdale College historically has found no easy roads. We keep reading that the road is growing even rougher for independent educational institutions. With this, we agree. We also read predictions that because of rising costs and economic competition from tax-supported or assisted colleges and universities, the small, self-supporing colleges will disappear.

"We challenge such predictions. There is ample evidence that a few colleges like Hillsdale will continue to fill a vital educational need as truly independent institutions and that their demise woud be disastrous.

"Our unyielding stand against accepting Federal aid makes our job considerably more difficult. This position means we must 'do it the hard way.' But the hard way is the free way, and that is the way we prefer."

President Phillips announced a campaign to adopt an alumni "declaration of Independence" patterned after the original trustee declaration. The college hopes to have 125 signatories for the document as part of the alumni contribution to the 125th Anniversary Fund.

We wish the college well. We think the Hillsdale spirit of independence is vital, necessary and worthy of emulation.

Land Transfer to University of Maine

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. KLEPPE].

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, maybe I can throw a little light on this bill, at least as I look at it.

Those who have read the report will know that it involves 1,748 acres of land in 20 separate tracts and these tracts range in size from 2 acres to 419 acres.

Talking about what this land may have been worth when the Federal Government acquired it is the question—I do not know the answer—but I do know that the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act allowed the Secretary of Agriculture permission to rehabilitate such lands acquired thereunder. These were called submarginal lands. The fact that they were submarginal, I think, is indicative of the fact that the value was questionable. Just exactly what the value might have been, certainly, I do not know. But the terms of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act specifically authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct a program to rehabilitate these lands. It also authorized him, under title III, as the report indicates, that he could dispose of these lands.

This bill provides that this disposal can be made under terms of the provisions of the bill as long as the lands will be used for public purposes. This is exactly what the provisions of the bill contain, that the land will be used primarily for university purposes, for the development of the lands of the university, and that the proceeds from the sale of these lands shall be maintained by the university in a separate fund.

Interestingly enough, this land has been used primarily in the development of a program at the University of Maine which has been in connection with cattle, dairy, and other agricultural products, which certainly has been along the line of rehabilitating this land.

Because this area has become greatly urbanized, and because there is a need for this land to be used by the University of Maine, and because the Secretary of Agriculture has previously been given authority to make such a transfer, this bill seemed to be in order to provide—and we do not want to call it a windfall—but it does perform a purpose in connection with all the provisions previously provided under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. It seems to me that the bill is very much in order.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know whether the 1,748 acres of land involved in the bill is submarginal today or not, but at least the report states that it is rapidly becoming urbanized, that is, the area in which it is located. Is that not correct?

Mr. KLEPPE. That is very specifically what we have been told.

Mr. GROSS. Evidently the land is enhancing considerably in value. If it was submarginal in 1940, it is evidently becoming valuable now. Is that not correct?

Mr. KLEPPE. That very well may be true. But may I suggest to the gentleman that if the Federal Government is going to embark upon programs in a period of time when land has questionable value, and the Federal Government embarks on a program to rehabilitate that land, and then the land becomes of value, and 20 years ago or 30 years ago, when the stipulation was made that they wanted to rehabilitate this submarginal land, that the Federal Government then gives it away for public purposes, it seems to me that that is a requirement here, and it is being met in this bill.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. You can read this report backward and forward and you cannot get any idea of the value of this 1,748 acres of land.

Mr. KLEPPE. That is correct. I admit to that. I do not know the value of it.

Mr. GROSS. Then the gentleman would not question my use of the word "windfall" would he?

Mr. KLEPPE. No, I would not.

Mr. GROSS. The committee has offered no information to refute it.

Mr. KLEPPE. Does the gentleman from Maine wish to speak on this particular question?

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. HATHAWAY. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I would like to say to the gentleman that the land which was granted by the Northwest Ordinance in 1789 to various Territories in the United States, including the territory which is now the State of Iowa, the State of the gentleman objecting, has undoubtedly increased in value since that time. I do not suppose the gentleman from Iowa would want us to take all that land back at this time, would he? The land in question was worth $1 or $2 at the most of the time it was taken over by the Federal Government.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Is there any reason why this university should not pay the fair market value as we do in Iowa if we get hold of Federal land? Why should they not pay the fair market value for this land?

Mr. de la GARZA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. de la GARZA. The university owns the land now. We are not buying it. They have owned it since it was granted. It is only a reversionary clause that makes the situation such that they cannot dispose of it. The bill allows them to dispose of it and buy other land.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. WATSON. I have given this report a very cursory reading. Perhaps it might be helpful, inasmuch as we do not have all the answers I believe we should have expected here, to say that the gentleman from Maine is correct that, as I understand, this land is owned by the university. However, there are several restrictions. It must be used for public purposes. However, under the terms of this bill there is no longer the requirement that it must be used for public purposes because you are releasing it now for them to sell to private individuals for development.

If I might make this additional point, there is not the reservation, as I read it here, of any mineral rights, as is customary in such transactions as this.

Mr. KLEPPE. Yes, there is.

Mr. WATSON. No. It is left to the determination of the Secretary as to whether or not there are any mineral rights.

Mr. KLEPPE. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. If he decrees there are not any mineral rights, it goes by the board. Frankly, if this is going to be used for commercial purposes, and there are going to be reserved mineral rights, it is going to impair private financing, because no companies will want to go into this if there is a Federal reservation.

Mr. de la GARZA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. de la GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform the gentleman he is mistaken in thinking that there is no protection for the university. We provide that any funds from sale, lease, or exchange of these lands shall be used by the university for acquisition of other lands held permanently for university purposes.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, the gentleman is exactly correct. However, as the gentleman from Iowa pointed out, he asked what benefit will inure to the Federal Government in this regard. They can sell land, and all the proceeds will go to the University of Maine. I am interested in helping every educational institution, but I think the House should know what this bill includes before we vote on it.

Mr. de la GARZA. The Federal Government yielded this land before most Members of Congress were alive. I do not know what is the age of the gentleman from Iowa, but this occurred before most of the Members of the House were alive.

Mr. WATSON. But there were restrictions.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, my age has been brought into question here recently. I do not know exactly what to do about it other than to refer those interested to the Congressional Directory.

Mr. de la GARZA. We will be happy to look it up, Mr. Speaker.

Police Wives Criticize Judges' Abusiveness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement concerning the treatment the metropolitan police officers are receiving when they appear before General Sessions Court Judge Harry T. Alexander. I am also enclosing a letter from the Honorable C. Harrison Mann, Jr., a representative of the Virginia State Legislature, in addition to a statement from the Police Wives Association. I am certain we all can readily understand why it is difficult to retain good, solid Americans on the Metropolitan Public force under the present circumstances existing in the Department and the attitude of the general public toward the Police Department in the Nation's Capital.

I have just read a statement in the press where Marion Barry, who has been arrested on numerous occasions and for some reason or another is always given his freedom without a fine, in addition to resisting arrest was guilty of kicking and scarring up the police paddywagon. Now, I understand the two policemen who arrested Barry will be fined by the Police Trial Board. Of course, I cannot vouch for the truth in connection with this incident as all I have at my disposal here is the newspaper release. However, there is something sadly wrong with the law-enforcement conditions in the District of Columbia at the present time.

The material referred to follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,
HOUSE OF DELEGATES,
Richmond, November 14, 1967.

HON. JOHN L. MCMILLIAN,
Chairman, District of Columbia Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCMILLAN: I enclose a copy of a news story in which District police wives called on Congress to discipline Judge Harry T. Alexander. I call to your attention a letter which I sent you several months ago on the subject of this man, who is not fit for judicial office.

Respectfully yours,
C. HARRISON MANN, Jr.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

POLICE WIVES CRITICIZE JUDGE'S "ABUSIVENESS"

(By Jean Hailey)

A group of District police wives called on Congress and city officials yesterday to discipline General Session Court Judge Harry T. Alexander for what they termed his "abusive" treatment of their husbands.

His attitude in the courtroom towards policemen of both races has created a "continual problem of morale," the D.C. Police Wives Association, Inc., charged.

The wives forwarded their compaints to members of both the Senate and House District Committees and said they would also get in touch with mayor Walter E. Washington.

Judge Alexander said he would not comment on their charges.

The women said they had been monitoring Judge Alexander's court during formal sessions for some time.

They cited as an example, for the basis of their complaint, an incident last March in which the jurist criticized three policemen for not knowing how to testify and threatening to jail them for contempt for "smart" answers:

In two other cases in August, he accused in court a number of policemen for what he called "abusive" and "inhumane" arrest procedures.

"We sat in the court, proud of the uniforms worn by our husbands and proud of the men who wear them, only to witness degrading tongue-lashings, delivered without reason.

"Now, more than ever before the uniform of the policeman is practically all that stands between our citizens and an anarchy of abuse, disrespect and danger," the Association members declared. They called either for discipline against the judge or his removal from the bench.

STATEMENT OF POLICE WIVES ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON, D.C., November 12, 1967.—A group of District of Columbia police wives today demanded official action from Congress and city officials to halt the "crude, abusive and irrational" treatment of their husbands in the hands of Judge Harry T. Alexander of the court of General Sessions.

Mrs. Mary Gannon, spokesman for the D.C. Police Wives Association, Inc., stated: "We have monitored Judge Alexander's court during formal sessions and find that his attitude towards policemen of both races is prejudicial, crude, abusive and irrational to the point that justice is not being served nor the stature of the court being maintained. Of even more importance to us and our husbands is the continual problem of morale as a result of the derogatory and slanderous expressions Judge Alexander uses from the bench when our police husbands, in the course of their duties, appear before him."

Appealing to policemen and wives throughout the Metropolitan Washington area, the D.C. Police wives group called for "collective action and information in an effort to discipline Judge Alexander or remove him from the bench."

Mrs. Gannon said: "Judge Alexander is a creature of the Congress of the United States and it is to the Congress that we are appealing for action. He is also responsible to District officials in his handling of both citizen and police officials of all ranks who are required to appear before him. The question of police morale is a vital one to the new Washington government and we call upon it as well to initiate an investigation of the behavior and attitude of Judge Alexander, which is, by any measure of common decency, far outside the limits of the capacity of our policemen to tolerate let alone the bounds of judicial temperament."

She said the association which numbers several hundred police wives, is apprising both Senate and House District committee members of the situation. She said the police wives have compiled numerous instances of "Police abuse" on the part of Judge Alexander, both in comments from their husbands as well as from eye-witness observations made while monitoring court procedures.

"We have attended numerous court sessions. What we have found is appalling. We sat in the court, proud of the uniforms worn by our husbands and proud of the men who wear them, only to witness degrading tongue-lashings, delivered without reason in a manner and in language that is a disgrace to the judicial robes which covered them. Now, more than ever before, the uniform of the policeman is practically all that stands before our citizens and an anarchy of abuse, disrespect and danger. As police wives we have had enough. Our husbands, straight-jacketed by rules and regulations and almost total public apathy are discouraged and angry. We have made the decision to take the fight into our hands, not only for the sake of our own families but for the protection of all our citizens. We are in the fight to the finish. We will not rest until Judge Alexander has been investigated, as a person, as a judge, and as a man wracked with a prejudice against policemen which has made his service in the name of justice a public mockery."

Seattle-Island of Hawaii Service Inaugurated by Pan Am

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I have been pleased to learn of a service to be inaugurated by Pan American World Airways which will link Seattle with the Hawaiian Islands in a new and special way.

On December 1 Pan Am will start nonstop jet service to Hilo on the island of Hawaii or—as the islanders call it—the "big" island.

The fare to Hilo will be the same as that now charged from Seattle to Honolulu. I am told this service will be put into effect on what is called a common fare basis. Under this plan, round-trip passengers will be able to travel between any point in the islands and Seattle at the same fare that would be charged for flights between Seattle and Honolulu.

Pan Am, which pioneered the air route to Hawaii in 1948 with its clipper ship service, should be congratulated on this new pioneering venture which will bring the unspoiled outer islands in their beautiful splendor within easy access of the Pacific Northwest traveler. It will also bring the spectacular Pacific Northwest within accessible range to all of our Hawaiian friends who live in the towns of the various islands, sprinkled throughout our 50th State.

The new, low fare will be welcomed by all travelers but will be particularly good news to our itinerant young people. We exchange planeloads of students between the two areas as well as their sightseeing parents. Now, even more than ever, Northwesteners and Hawaiians can enjoy the best of both worlds, thanks to Pan Am.

Industrial and Community Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial that appeared in he November 16 edition of the Fordyce News-Advocate. This editorial written by Mr. W. R. Whitehead, the editor and publisher of this reputable weekly newspaper, treats of the impressive community improvements and industrial progress of Fordyce, Ark., during the past 10 years.

Indeed the leaders of this thriving little city are to be commended for carrying out a multitude of improvements in both public and private facilities, which in turn, has resulted in attracting many new industries. I share the pride of the citizens of Fordyce in this phenomenal progress.

Under leave granted to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for insertion in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMUNITY PROGRESS

The industrial progress and community improvements of Fordyce have been near phenomenal in the past ten years as we have attempted to portray in both words and pictures of this edition entitled "Depicting a Decade of Progress, 1957–1967".

Perhaps it was the late C. Hamilton Moses who pointed the way for Fordyce leaders in their quest for industrial development and community improvement. In the early and mid 1950's the late Mr. Moses traveled throughout Arkansas speaking to Chamber of Commerce and civic groups "preaching" the philosophy of—"build your home town, make the package more attractive" and your community will attract more and better job opportunities.

Fordyce leaders apparently took heed as the accomplishments of the past decade reflect. Improvements in both public and private facilities (community development) got underway and industrial development soon followed. Plans were formed through community development clinics under the sponsorship of the Fordyce Chamber of Commerce.

In the community development category a city planning and zoning program got underway in 1957, the following year a new hospital and health center was opened, next a new library building was realized and a municpal-building acquired. School and recreation facilities were improved, the city corporate limits were extended and utilities lines extended to accomodate the many new homes constructed in several additions. More recently a new fire station was erected, the curbs and sidewalks in the business section improved, and a new municipal airport was built and opened. During this time Fordyce was judged the first place winner in the State community improvement contest.

With the "building of the home town and improving the package" came the industrial development being sought. In 1960 the ultra-modern Fordyce Apparel Co. plant was opened in Fordyce. Following, the town's largest industry was closed for conversion from the manufacture of lumber to plywood, thus in 1964 Georgia-Pacific Corp. opened the world's first Southern Pine Plywood plant in Fordyce. With this change other new industries resulted in E. L. Bruce Co. and Moro Hardwood, manufacturers of hardwood flooring. Another new firm, Brown Manufacturing Co., went into operation in Fordyce also in the fall of 1964, and in 1965 the Elrod Company, a wood treating firm, was established in Fordyce.

Another step of major importance and diversification resulted for the community when the Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation plant was opened for the manufacture of telephone wire and cable.

During this decade of industrial expansion other established firms were also in operation in Fordyce. News articles in recognition of the industries of the community as well as advertising messages will be found in this edition. We think you will find them both interesting and informative.

In addition to making Fordyce a more desirable community, the economic factor resulting from the industrial progress is vividly brought about by the fact that during the past decade employment has increased 21.2 percent, manufacturing payroll is up 68.6 percent and the total income of families has shown a gain of 80.4 percent. Thus the results of industrial and community development.

With this edition of the Fordyce News-Advocate, Volume 84, Number 20, we Salute our industries.

Veterans Day in Holley, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, on the recent Veterans Day my colleague, Representative SAMUEL S. STRATTON, and I participated in the dedication of a veterans memorial monument at Holley, N.Y. The handsome granite monument, placed on the grounds of the American Legion, was dedicated in memory of all those from the communities of Holley, Clarendon, Fancher, and Hulberton in the towns of Murray and Clarendon who have sacrificed their lives in our defense of freedom in this century. These small communities in the eastern part of Orleans County on Lake Ontario have always contributed proudly to our Nation's fighting forces. Their sons have given their lives in all our wars, and in the present Vietnam fighting seven men from the area have died. Few communities of this size have given so much in support of our commitments in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I include the program notes for the dedication ceremony as well as newspaper reports of the event which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News and the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle:

VETERANS MEMORIAL DEDICATION, VETERANS DAY, HOLLEY, N.Y.

This memorial is being dedicated in memory of those who made the supreme sacrifice to preserve the freedoms we so cherish. It is also being dedicated especially to those servicemen from the Holley central school district, consisting of the communities of Holley, Clarendon, Fancher, and Hulberton within the townships of Murray and Clarendon.

Like all communities of our great nation, we have sent forth our share of young men to serve in all national crises. They too have been gladdened with local men's successes and likewise shocked and saddened by the news of their friends, neighbors and loved ones who have been wounded or killed in action. These lives were sacrificed so that our great nation might continue and emerge victoriously from the crises of history.

Records are not available to list the war dead, however, this community lost many fine young men. The present Vietnam conflict with all the dreadful aspects of war, now in its fifth year of U.S. involvement, has seen many of our young men go forth to serve their country. This conflict has taken a heavy toll of seven men to this date from our community. The death of Lance Cpl. Ronald P. Sisson of Hulberton, N.Y., the second from our community to die in Vietnam, was the beginning of this Veterans Memorial which will be dedicated today.

A sum of seventy-six dollars was collected by the students and teachers of Holley Central school to be given to his family for their personal need. The money was not accepted because it was the wish of the family that it be used as a memorial to all those who also sacrificed their lives in time of service to their nation. The money was retained by the Student Council under the guidance of Mr. Howard DeBaun who then sought support to bring about some community action.

Commander Neil Hawley at a regular meeting of the Jewell Buckman Post 529, Holley, N.Y. in May 1967 appointed Cochairman Thomas Stazie and Bernard McAllister to organize a committee representing the community and determine what should be done and when. The servce and civic organization of the communities were invited to join in a united effort to plan some type of memorial ing honor of our gallant heroes. After exploring various ideas, a Barrie Granite Stone monument was selected to be placed on the American Legion property in Holley. This site was selected for the present and if future growth of our community presents a more desirable location, it may be moved with the approval of the participating organizations.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

Fancher, Hulberton, Murray Fire Dept., Holley Fire Dept., Holley Central School Teachers Association, Holley Central School Student Council, Holley Rotary Club, Holley Jaycees, Fancher Memorial Post, American Legion, Jewell Buckman Post 529, American Legion, Holley Village Board, Clarendon Town Board, Murray Town Board, Clarendon Fire Dept.

HOLLEY ERECTS MONUMENT TO DEAD OF FOUR WARS

HOLLEY, November 13.—This community with 7 dead in the Vietnam war, made a special observance of Veterans Day Saturday by dedicating a marble memorial on the lawn of the Post Office-American Legion Bldg. to the memory of all servicemen who made the supreme sacrifice in World War I, World War II, Korean and Vietnam.

Two Congressmen were on hand to help note the solemn occasion, one a former Holley resident. Congressman Samuel S. Stratton of the 36th District reminded his listeners he had lived at one time "only a stone's throw from this site." The other was Congressman Barber A. Conable Sr. of the 39th District.

Tom Decker, manager of news and public affairs gave the invocation and the Rev. William H. Diltz of First Presbyterian Church the benediction. Miss Frankie Carselli of Holley sang the National Anthem and God Bless America, accompanied by the Holley Central School Band.

The monument was unveiled by Commander Neil Hawley and Vice Commander Michael LeStorti of the Jewell Buckman Legion Post; Miss Winifred Burns, auxiliary vice president, and Miss Ola Burns, head of the Orleans Salon of 8 & 40.

Memorial wreaths were placed by Wendell Borncamp, Frank Neidert, Charles Padaman and Frank DeFabbio.

Area youths who have given their lives in Vietnam include Army Pfc. Howard L. Bowen; Army Spec. 4 Gary Bullock, Marine Pfc. David D. Case.

HOLLEY HONORS HEROES

(By Merritt Landon)

HOLLEY.—"This Veterans Memorial is a symbol of sacrifice," declared Rep. Barber B. Conable, R-N.Y., in his dedicatory address at the Honney Veterans Day program yesterday morning, attended by hundreds of area citizens.

Asserting that Holley had contributed in fighting men's lives as much as any community in the nation, Rep. Conable said that the way to end all wars is to be prepared to resist all aggression, wherever it occurs.

"We have shown our determination in Iran, Greece, Berlin and Cuba and this country is still the last great hope of the world for peace. We have reason to believe that those who have sacrificed their lives will help avoid World War III. The monument has a lesson that teaches us to strive for that end."

Rep. Samuel S. Stratton of Amsterdam, D-N.Y., a native of Holley, on a nostalgic journey to the scenes of his youth, said that he had lived a stone's throw from this spot. He was regaled with hundreds of requests for autographs from schoolchildren, and adults sought his ear to review youthful episodes.

He told his former classmates and their assembled friends, "Perhaps what this great nation of ours needs more than anything else on this Veterans Day is more of the spirit of Holley to catch on in communities large and small from coast to coast.

"No community in our land has paid a higher price for our commitment in Vietnam."

The ceremonies were preceded by a military procession from the Holley Elementary School, led by color guard units from Holley, Medina, Albien and Rochester, veteran and service organizations, and the Holley Central School marching band.

Eight young men from Holley have died in the Vietnam conflict. They are Howard L. Bowen, Gary Bullock, David D. Case, John P. Davis, Ronald P. Sisson, David P. States and Gary L. Stymus.

Students: The Ministry of Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, there is absolutely nothing honest, moral, or praiseworthy in the actions and motives of those whose demonstrations have blocked industrial and Federal Government recruiting at college campuses across the country.

An editorial in the Indianapolis Star on November 19, 1967, accurately called this what it is: an attempt to exercise naked, dictatorial power and establish a ministry of fear.

The editorial follows:

STUDENTS: THE MINISTRY OF FEAR

It was a major victory, said Stewart Shaw, a senior law student from New York and student protest leader at Syracuse University, after the Central Intelligence Agency canceled campus interviews to avoid risking student demonstrations.

The CIA also called off similar interviews at the University of Rochester in the face of possible student protests.

The Syracuse protest leader gloated: "The CIA was afraid to come here just as President Johnson was afraid." He was referring to the President's cancellation of an appearance at the National Grange Convention after receiving reports that some 2,000 picketers were planning to show up there.

A week ago at the University of Rochester, 100 students picketed a recruiter from the Dow Chemical Company which makes, among other products, napalm for use in Vietnam.

The Rochester demonstration against Dow was more orderly than a similar protest at Indiana University, where some 40 students were put on probation after scuffling broke out, injuring three persons and resulting in a number of arrests, during a Dow recruiter's appearance on the campus.

The CIA subsequently has ordered its recruiters in the New York, Boston and Washington areas to hold their recruiting of college students in Federal office buildings instead of on campus sites, to avert the danger of touching off demonstrations which might embarrass the universities. This news should encourage even more vigorous agitation by campus Castros.

The CIA's reluctance to get involved in the antics of indignant students can be explained in various ways. Such involvement on any scale beyond the most minor would be grist for Communist propaganda mills and so would go dead against the ultimate objectives of this United States intelligence organization.

The CIA is still warm after the scorching it got with the revelation of its secret ties with American student organizations. Efforts to avoid more bad publicity is understandable. At both Rochester and Syracuse, the CIA decided to hold its interviews off campus.

And of course, demonstration of any scope might have diminished the effectiveness of the recruiting effort by scaring off some potential applicants. It is open to question whether individuals who scare easily would be good workers in an intelligence organization.

But that is not the point.

The point is the joy of triumph expressed by Stewart Shaw and his gloating that the "CIA was afraid . . . just as President Johnson was afraid."

Those remaks strongly suggest that Shaw is not a man of peace and man of principle, as many student demonstrators and assorted Peaceniks pretend to be, but that he is a power politician junior grade, a campus Little Caesar who cannot conceal his joy at what he considers his movement's defeat—by means of intimidation—of the President of the United States and of the nation's intelligence organization.

And this inevitably gives rise to the question whether a hunger for power, the power to manipulate and to strike fear into the minds of others, does not permeate most radical student movements, whether the leaders of these movements are not themselves moved by the same psychological drives that motivated Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin and other dictators—power to terrorize, manipulate and control. The same lust for power and use of fear as a weapon is common in Communist hierarchies today.

The disruption of university processes, the anarchy that spreads when unfettered and power-intoxicated "student" protest organizations take over a campus, was seen at Berkeley. It was an intolerable situation. It was an arrogant challenge and insult to the taxpayers of California who pay to keep the state universities going. Governor Ronald Reagan put an abrupt end to this revolution of delinquents.

Indiana University officials have made it clear they will act quickly to chastise and if necessary expel students who break university rules in overzealous demonstrations.

College and university officials throughout the country should examine with all of their wisdom the problem of student rebellion and seizure of power on the campus. Then they should take appropriate action.

They will be doing their institutions, their faculties, their students, their alumni, their supporters, their communities and their county no good by capitulating to a minority of radicals intent on establishing a ministry of fear.

Donald Johanos an Outstanding Young Orchestra Conductor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, Dallas is privileged to have in Donald Johanos one of the outstanding young orchestra conductors in the Nation. During the past year he participated in a widely acclaimed musical tour of Brazil in connection with the Department of State American specialist program.

I would like to insert excerpts into the RECORD from a report to me of that tour by the Honorable William B. McComber, Jr., of the Department of State:

> The Department of State awards some 300 American Specialist grants each year to Americans of exceptional competence in any of several fields to spend a few weeks or months in one or more foreign countries to consult and give talks and demonstrations to local groups. The Program is intended to promote mutual understanding and strengthen the foreign relations of the United States by interpreting American life and institutions and exchanging knowledge and ideas.
>
> Maestro Johanos spent five weeks in Brazil on his American Specialist assignment. During that time he conducted one concert with the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra in Rio and six concerts with the Sao Paulo Philharmonic. Additionally, he met with government officials and leading figures in the Brazilian world of music and with members of the press, appeared on a television program and lectured informally at Rio's foremost school of music.
>
> Local press reactions to Maestro Johanos' prformances were universally favorable, and some were almost embarrassingly laudatory. Probably the highlight of his visit was a special Fourth of July concert at the Teatro Municipal. Before a standing-room-only audience, which included the Governor of Sao Paulo and numerous other Brazilian military and civilian authorities, Mr. Johanos and the orchestra presented the two national anthems, a Bach work, a piano concerto and the first Brazilian reading of Charles Ives' "Fourth of July". The concert closed with Sousa's rousing "Stars and Stripes Forever," which brought down the house.
>
> Our Embassy at Rio de Janeiro considers that Mr. Johanos contributed significantly to brightening the local music scene and to winning new respect for American music and musicians. The Embassy believes that his success is due not only to his professional talents but also to his warm, friendly and unassuming personality, which won the respect and admiration of everyone with whom he came into contact.
>
> The Embassy reports that "Mr. Johanos effectively dmonstrated the high quality of American musicianship, especially as he is one of the very few native-born American symphony conductors. He also displayed considerable courage in the choice of his program, not being afraid to schedule modern and difficult works which were obviously new to orchestra and audiences alike. * * * Undoubtedly Johanos has also boosted the morale of the orchestra members by making them play better than they thought they could. * * * Although obviously exhausted by his work, Johanos cheerfully accepted the invitations extended to him. He was equally at home at an elegant party with the backers of the Philharmonic and playing soccer at a feijoada with popular musicians."
>
> I know that you are as pleased as we are in the Departmnt of State that Mr. Johanos' visit was such an outstanding success. We are delighted that Mr. Johanos could take part in the American Specialist Program and we are most grateful to him for his contribution.

Statement of Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in November 1966, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement of my income as shown by my most recent income tax return—1965. Now, on November 21, 1967, I continue that practice.

My most recent—1966—joint personal income tax return, form 1040, page 1, indicates that my wife and I have two children, one of whom is at home and one at college. We own a 1966 Ford and a 1963 Falcon. Our son at college has a 1963 Ford.

My congressional salary, line 5, is $30,000. My other income, line 6, from page 2, part II, line 8, is $850.45, for a total on line 7, page 1, of $30,850.45, less line 8 adjustment for allowed congressional living expenses attending Congress in Washington, D.C., $3,000. Total income, line 9, is $27,850.45.

Itemized deductions, line 11a are $2,696.72, consisting primarily of State and local real estate and personal property taxes, $1,695.51, and interest payments of $780.21.

The total income tax, line 12, is $5,261.19, and the total tax withheld is $5,368.30 plus $400 paid by estimate making $5,768.30. The tax overpayment, line 23, is $507.11, all of which I requested be applied to my 1967 estimated tax.

The principal sources of income, aside from congressional salary, were interest on savings and loan deposits, speaking fees in excess of travel expense incurred in connection therewith, and income from law partnership. The gross amount of ordinary income received from the law partnership—Hungate & Grewach, Troy, Mo.—was $1,345.59, which was substantially reduced by depreciation and partnership expenses chargeable to me.

Neither my wife, myself, nor the law partnership own any stocks or bonds and we have not bought or sold any real estate since the date of my last report, November 1966.

Campaign funds raised for me are handled by committees, and held in trust so that I have no direct control over such funds.

Appendix

Members Gather for "Last Man" Club Meet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, shortly after World War I, a group of veterans of that war formed a Last Man's Club which has met continuously to preserve the fraternal spirit that was born of common service.

The club originally started with 52 men, 19 of whom are still living.

Many have risen to leadership in their communities and to high office in the Nation; among them is the Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren.

Their membership recedes with time; and may the sands of time run slowly for them.

I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article which appeared in the San Leandro Morning News on November 10, 1967:

FIFTY-TWO MEMBERS, NOW 19—MEMBERS GATHER FOR "LAST MAN" CLUB MEET

(By Mary McAllister)

The "last men" of the famed Last Man's Club of Alameda County come back to San Leandro tomorrow night to meet again in the area where they first assembled in 1932.

At least 16 of the 19 members still living will be here, including Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Earl Warren, who is flying in from Washington, D.C.; General Wayne Allen (Ret.) of San Bernardino, who is enroute from England, and Anthony F. Moitoret, of Seattle, former Oakland newsman who organized the group.

Not coming is Bestor Robinson, 69, of Oakland, who is in Africa.

Tongue in cheek, he writes: "I'm not coming over because I haven't finished the safari that I came here for. I am matching outstanding qualities of animals here with obvious characteristics matching our Last Man's Club members."

The letter listing the personal comparisons—including an elephant to Earl Warren—will be read to the members Saturday night by Paul Heisy, scribbler (secretary) in whose home at 1796 Boxwood Ave. the meeting will be held, with Frank Kester, the skipper, presiding.

Members will begin arriving at 5 p.m., with a catered dinner starring two-pound steaks, being served at 7 p.m.

When the Last Man's Club of Alameda County first met back in the Great Depression era, it was at the Breed Duck Club in San Leandro, owned by the late State Senator Arthur Breed, Robinson's father-in-law.

Moitoret dreamed up the club and picked 52 men all told for membership, each from a different business or social classification. After that it was a closed corporation.

All the members were veterans of World War I. Some later served in World War II.

Each year, semi-annually, the meetings have been held somewhere in Alameda County on the anniversary dates of the beginning and end of World War I, April 6 and November 11.

At first the half a hundred or so men in the prime of life enjoyed their get-togethers in various spacious country clubs.

But as their numbers dwindled, the homes of members were found to have ample room for the nostalgic gatherings.

This Saturday's meeting at the Heisy home will be the seventieth.

Youngest member of the group is Bernard Owens, 67, of 322 Farrelly Drive, San Leandro.

Oldest is Larry H. Taylor, Oakland, still not too ancient at 89 to drive his own car to go duck hunting on occasion.

Also living in San Leandro, besides Heisy and Owen, is Harry T. Machell, 73, of 1205 Glenn Drive.

Hayward member is former Mayor Don M. Leidig, 71, of 22565 Fifth St., and from Alameda, Al Mathebat, 76, of 1546 Broadway.

Judge Homer Spence, formerly of Alameda, now lives in Oakland, as does Judge Monroe Freidman.

The Last Man's Club of Alameda County has made no exception to its closed-corporation rule. But some years ago the members did make their official photographer, Mose Cohen, now 84, their one and only honorary member.

Mose Cohen will be busy snapping pictures again Saturday night.

The Ramblin' Kid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, a man whose own personal story is as colorful and as diversified as the early history of his home State of Idaho was memorialized recently in a little biography by his daughter. Earl Wayland Bowman, lawmaker, writer, and loving father, is the subject of a book by Gladys Bowman Knight of Council, Idaho.

In her dedication, Mrs. Knight writes:

> In this documentary sketch of my father, I humbly attempt to give a homespun account of his life, which I submit in all candor, comes very short of revealing his outstanding talents, and his dynamic God-given personality. To know him was to love him—for he was indeed one of the most understanding, lovable characters I have ever known.

Mr. President, I add my personal assurance to that dedication, that this little biography is truly a beautiful labor of love.

I commend this book, "A Biographical Sketch of Earl Wayland Bowman, the Ramblin' Kid," as a story about a man who is truly as colorful as the State that is his home.

Indicative of both his love for Idaho and of his literary talent is this poem, "And in Them, God", which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AND IN THEM, GOD

I have seen the Sunrise pouring
  Sapphire, old rose, amber gold,
From the Morning's magic chalice,
  O'er the Tetons, grand and bold . . .
I have seen white wavelets dancing,
  On the Payette's breast of blue;
While the vesper-chanting pine trees
  Sang of Love eternal, true.

I have seen the mirrored beauty
  Of the placid Pend Oreille,
While a June day sun was flashing
  On the salmon trout at play.
I have seen Shoshone falling,
  With its o'erwhelming, awesome roar;
Daring Man, with God-given Mind,
  To master Force forever more.

I have seen frost jewels sparkling,
  On Sun Valley's snow-draped walls;
While a lone, mate-seeking coyote
  From a far-off hilltop calls.
I have seen warm Chinooks spreading
  Green carpets on Mount Hindman's slopes—
New Life from winter-death brought forth,
  Giving mortals Immortal hopes.

I have seen slim willows bending,
  To kiss the Blackfoot's tawny cheek—
Sage-hens on the brushy ridges,
  Craned long necks so they could peek!
I have seen the evening's silver
  Gild the Sawtooth's ancient sides;
While above Owyhee summits,
  Lonely, lovely Venus rides.

I have seen the mist wreathes rising,
  From the Black Lake's onyx breast;
To enshroud the Seven Devils,
  Where the proud, free eagles nest.
I have seen Lost River's lavas,
  Smelted deep down in the Earth—
When giant Vulcans served the Mother
  To this Canaan giving birth.

I have seen soft moonlight streaming,
  O'er what once were sterile plains;
While the sly small night winds rippled
  Seas of newly ripened grains.
I have seen black storm clouds broken,
  On Old Cuddy's dauntless peak . . .
In Idaho, all these I've seen,
And in them, God; heard Him speak.

President Johnson Keeps His Promise for Clean Air for All America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, this morning I was privileged to be at the White House when President Johnson signed into law the Air Quality Act of 1967. The new law gives us a bigger, improved battery of weapons for the struggle against air pollution. Under this new law the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will define the atmospheric areas of the Nation and will outline air quality control regions; air quality standards will be developed and applied on a regional basis—each State will be expected to develop standards for its portion of the region; if a State fails to establish standards, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare can see to it that standards are set—a hearing board's decision will be binding; States will be expected to assume the primary responsibility for applying the air quality standards. If they do not, the Secretary can begin abatement action. Mr. Speaker, I believe this is a logical, orderly sequence for action against air pollution. As Secretary Gardner has said:

> Our choices are narrow. We can remain indoors and live like moles for an unspecified number of days each year. We can issue gas masks to a large segment of the population. We can live in domed cities.
>
> Or we can take action to stop fouling the air we breathe.

The Congress and the Johnson administration have now taken action which will insure us of an organized campaign of abatement and control of air pollution which has become a major national menace.

This must be a national response to a national problem.

It is a problem in which every city and every State must cooperate.

It is a problem which will call for the understanding, cooperation, and restraint of industry and all levels of government.

The Johnson administration has added yet another chapter to its grand strategy of maintaining a clean and healthy environment for every American citizen.

I insert in the Record the remarks made by President Johnson this morning as he signed the Air Quality Act of 1967:

Text of the Remarks of the President Upon Signing the Clean Air Act

I would like to begin this morning by reading to you a weather report.

". . . dirty water and black snow pour from the dismal air to . . . the putrid slush that waits for them below."

It is not a description of Boston, Chicago, or New York. It is from Dante's Inferno, a six-hundred-year-old vision of Damnation.

But doesn't it sound familiar?

Isn't it a forecast that fits almost any large American city today?

Don't we risk our own damnation every day by destroying the air that gives us life?

We do. We have done it with our science, our industry, our progress. Above all, we have done it with our carelessness—our continued indifference and repeated negligence.

Contaminated air began as a big-city problem. But in just a few years, the gray pall of pollution has spread across the nation. Today its threat hangs almost everywhere—and it is spreading still.

We are pouring at least 130 million tons of poison into the air each year. That is two-thirds of a ton for every man, woman and child in America.

And tomorrow looks even blacker. By 1980, we will have a third more people in our cities. We will have 40 percent more automobiles and trucks. And we will be burning half-again as much fuel.

That leaves us only one choice. Either we stop poisoning our air—or we become a nation in gas masks, groping our way through dying cities and a wilderness of ghost towns.

We make our choice with the Bill we sign this morning. It is not the first clean air bill—but it is by far the best.

Congress passed the Clean Air Act in 1963. I signed it to establish the Government's obligation and authority to act forcefully against air pollution.

Two years later we amended that Act. Standards were set in 1965 to control automobile pollution.

These were important steps. But they were baby steps. Today we grow up to our responsibilities. This new Air Quality Act lets us face up to our problem as never before.

In the next three years, it will authorize more funds to combat air pollution than we have spent in all 180 years of our history.

It will give us scientific answers to our most baffling problem: How to get the sulphur out of our fuel—and how to keep it out of the air.

It will give Secretary Gardner new power to stop pollution before it chokes our children and srtangles our elderly—before it drives us indoors or into the hospital.

It will help our states fight pollution in the only practical way—by regional "airshed" controls—by giving the Federal Government standby power to intervene if States fail to act.

It will help our states to control the number one source of pollution—automobiles.

But for all that it will do, the Air Quality Act will not end pollution. It is a law—not a magic wand to wave and cleanse our skies. It is a law whose ultimate power and final effectiveness rest with the people—on our seeing the damnation that awaits us if we do not act responsibly to avoid it.

Last January, in asking Congress to pass this legislation, I said:

"This situation does not exist because it was inevitable, nor because it cannot be controlled. Air pollution is the inevitable consequence of neglect. It can be controlled when that neglect is no longer tolerated.

"It will be controlled when the people of America, through their elected representatives, demand the right to air that they and their children can breathe without fear."

Let us strengthen that demand from this day on. Let us seize the new powers of this new law to end a long, dark night of neglect.

Let our children say, when they look back on this day, that it was here a nation awoke. It was here that America turned away from damnation, and found salvation in reclaiming God's blessings of fresh air and clean sky.

International Money Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the manipulation of gold and silver by the international bankers will probably hurt more working, retired, aged, and welfare recipients than any loss that could be encountered.

In some countries devaluation is like inflation of nonmetal coinage by government decree. Those who possess and control the precious metals will be enhanced and will benefit by the action. Those who possess only paper money or bank credit will suffer most.

When stability of money is lost one of the basic responsibilities of a nation to its people ceases and faith is lost not only in Warburg paper money, but in government.

But interestingly enough, many nations, including former British colonies, the United States of America, are trying to maintain their paper currency value.

Mr. Speaker, so that those who are interested may follow the rigamarole, I insert in the Record several articles on the money crisis from the November 21 Evening Star as follows:

The Dollar Stands Alone

(By Sylvia Porter)

For the third time in this century—1931, 1949, and now 1967—Britain has devalued her currency. At $2.40, the once great British pound is less than half the $4.86 value it had in 1931. It is doubtful if it can ever be a reserve currency again. Certainly, its role in world trade has been vastly diminished.

What does it all mean?

To the British man and wife, it means a substantial increase in the cost of living just because so much of what they must buy to live is imported. One estimate is that a loaf of bread—containing imported wheat—will rise a cent to 16 cents a loaf. Another estimate is that dresses containing imported cotton will rise around 4 percent. So it goes—down the line from imported wines to beef to dairy products to gasoline and oil. The average family's cost of living may climb at least 3 percent from this currency change alone. In addition, living costs will rise because an 8 percent bank rate means borrowing money will become astronomically steep. It foretells, in short, a new squeeze on the British worker—and every effort will be made by the government to control wage increases which might swell the prices of goods and undermine the competitiveness in trade Britain is so desperately seeking.

To the British exporter of goods, it means an opportunity to increase his sales abroad and thus his earnings—and when he brings home these earnings and they are taxed, the gains should help bring balance in Britain's accounts. A British car priced at 1,000 pounds could be offered here at $2,400 instead of $2,800 and consequently be more attractive. Or if the British exporter held the price at $2,800, the profits he brought home would be greater. Sales of scotch might particularly respond to lower prices.

To the British traveler abroad, it means everything will cost 14.3 percent more. With the pound at $2.40 instead of $2.80, the tourist will need more pounds this week to live than he did last week.

To the U.S. consumer, it means cheaper prices for goods imported from Britain—and with Christmas ahead this may well give sales of British goods a lift.

To the U.S. exporter of goods to Britain, it means stiffer resistance—because of the higher price on U.S. goods in Britain and Britain's efforts to limit imports. A U.S. car priced at $2,800 which sold in London at 1,000 pounds last week will cost 1,120 pounds this week.

Australia Swings Away From Britain

London.—In a historic decision almost submerged in the furor over sterling, Australia finally came of age.

By refusing to devalue its currency to bring it into line with Britain's 14.3 percent devaluation, Australia weakened its ties with the mother country and turned its face toward Asia.

By sticking to the old rate of exchange of $1.12, Prime Minister Harold Holt's Liberal-Country party coalition government priced most of its wool, sugar, fruit, beef and dairy products (20 percent of Australia's total exports) out of the British market.

Such products now will cost Britons 14.3 percent more than they did Saturday and no longer will be competitive with similar products from countries which have brought their currencies into line with sterling.

Of Australia's $1.2 billion in external reserves, $715 million are in sterling. Previously, Australia always had followed Britain in devaluing.

In effect, Holt is betting Australia's future on its mineral sales to Japan and exports of motor vehicles and other manufactured goods to Southeast Asia.

Australia has been slowly moving in this direction for some time. When Britain last devalued under Clement Attlee in 1949, more than half of Australia's exports went to the sterling area. Today the proportion is only about one-third; about one-quarter of Australia's imports come from Britain.

Britain's decision in 1961 to seek membership in the European Common Market forced Australia to rethink its future by threatening to dislocate traditional trading patterns. Since then Japan has replaced Britain as Australia's principal trading partner.

New Zealand, which last night devalued its currency by 19.45 percent to place it on a par with Australia's, had an even tougher choice to make. While its links with Australia are close and it is geographically part of the Pacific world, 40 percent of New Zealand's exports go to Britain. Failure to devalue could have meant virtual economic ruin for the island-nation.

While New Zealand's decision to devalue is welcomed here since it will help to keep Britain's food bill down, the move will make it more difficult for Britain to gain admission to the European Common Market.

The protected market which Britain gives New Zealand butter has been attacked by the French.

France Inactive for 6 Months in Global Gold Pool

Paris.—France stopped taking part six months ago in the highly secret international gold pool that provides the underpinning for the world's monetary system.

The world's eight richest nations have paid out $700 million in gold bullion since June 1 to keep the gold exchange standard system afloat, but France has refused to participate, financial sources said.

A government source said that France's nonparticipation did not necessarily mean that France had pulled out of the London-based pool.

The pool provides a defense against speculative runs on the gold reserves of trading nations. If buyers are speculating to such an extent that demand might force up the price, the pool puts up the difference to keep the price at $35 an ounce. If there is strong selling, the pool members make up the difference by releasing some of their own gold.

The United States puts up 50 percent of any deficits, which means America has provided $350 million in gold since June 1. France's agreed upon share was 9 percent.

Farm Prices Major Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, not only to people who live on farms, but to all Americans, the question of proper and adequate farm prices is one of concern.

A recent editorial in the Farmer's Exchange, New Paris, Ind., expresses it very well:

Farm Prices Major Concern

Farm prices may be a major issue in next year's Presidential elections.

While most of the national and international attention on the upcoming election has been focused on Vietnam, inflation and proposed tax hikes, the prices farmers are receiving for their products looms as a steadily increasing issue.

It's true that the average non-farming American isn't too concerned about farm prices. In fact, he's delighted that it's one of the sole areas of purchasing which has not led to an inflated pocketbook for him.

Today's average urban resident will never be too worried about the farmers' economic welfare until it affects him personally. He is of the opinion that this country always will have more than enough foodstuffs, and it is of little concern to him about farm prices.

But wait a minute! Practically every major agricultural economist will tell you that the United States no longer has an abundance of food. Certainly, we've passed the point where we can feed the rest of the world without any difficulty. There have been too many demands on our economy for us to continue as food servants of all mankind.

In other words, it behooves all prudent Americans to take a close look at what is happening on our agricultural scene today.

In the face of rising living costs on all phases of our economy, it is unfortunate and almost catastrophic that our farm prices continue to decline.

These price drops aren't consistently showing up in the housewives' shopping bag, either. Somewhere between the farmers' fields and the supermarket shelves, there's gross inequity. In other words the prices Americans are paying for food isn't as much of a decline as the drop in prices for farmers.

Somewhere, somehow, a federal investigation should be ordered to find out what is happening—before it's too late.

We're well aware that the larger, corporation-type farms are replacing the smaller ones in increasing numbers. These big farm producers require smaller profits to show some net increase.

However, even these "big boys" had better look out. The way things have gone this year it has become a case of no one in the farming business—large or small—making a profit.

Every American should be concerned. Yes, the Vietnam War, inflation and the tax hike deserve every thinking man's attention, but so do the farm prices.

It's a serious problem. We don't have all the answers. We're only asking that more attention be given to it at the Congress before it becomes a No. 1 headache for each and every American.

It should be a major issue in the 1968 Presidential elections!

Katie Louchheim Speaks at Fort Worth, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on October 25, 1967, Mrs. Katie Louchheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, delivered the principal address at the United Nations luncheon sponsored by the Fort Worth Association for the United Nations, the League of Women Voters, and the Interfaith Committee.

The speech was well received by leading members of the Fort Worth community who are interested in international relations. Mrs. Louchheim developed a theme that I have long considered vital to our future; the little appreciated peacekeeping and humanitarian functions of the United Nations.

Mr. Raymond Buck, president of the Fort Worth Association for the United Nations, presided over the luncheon.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include the Fort Worth Star-Telegram's report of Mrs. Louchheim's speech in the Record:

State Department Aide Speaks Here: U.N. Peacekeeping Role Stressed

A State Department official in remarks prepared for delivery here today said the United Nations has many critics, most of whom overlook the U.N. efforts to relieve worldwide suffering and misery and also its role in helping keep the peace in many parts of the world.

"By far the biggest part of the U.N.'s effort is non-political and in fact almost unnoticed," Mrs. Katie Louchheim, deputy assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs, said in a speech prepared for a noon meeting of the United Nations Association of Forth Worth. The group met at the Arlington Heights Methodist Church.

She cited the U.N.'s work in refugee assistance, economic development, human rights, family planning, economic sanctions.

"It is significant, I think, to notice that often governments will continue to work together in the field on U.N. programs even though their delegates in New York may be fiercely locked over political issues," Mrs. Louchheim said.

She also cited the U.N.'s work in helping keep peace in the world.

"Let me merely remind you that under U.N. auspices we were able to negotiate the treaty which bans weapons of mass destruction from outerspace. This is another in a series of treaties to make the world safer. The Antarctic Treaty was the first. The limited test ban treaty was the second, outerspace the third.

"And we are now working on a non-proliferation treaty to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons beyond the five nations that now possess them—Britain, Communist China, France, the U.S.S.R. and the United States."

But Mrs. Louchheim pointed out that it is not just in bringing nations together in the signing of treaties that the U.N. has helped preserve world order.

Its peace-keeping forces maintained peace "however uneasy" in the Middle East for 10 years, she said, citing also U.N. action in preventing war between India and Pakistan, between Greece and Turkey and in the Congo from 1960–64.

"And although most people have forgotten, U.N. forces are still in Korea keeping an instable truce from being torn up."

Mrs. Louchheim said people sometimes talk as if the U.N. were nothing but a center of conflict.

"This is much like saying a hospital is only a center of sickness," she said.

"They fail to see the U.N. as a most ingenious design for the peaceful evolution of modern society. It functions both as a safety valve for the tension and a sounding board for the ideas of man.

"It helps solve problems as old as man himself, finding enough food and shelter and clothing and providing protection against outside dangers."

Mrs. Louchheim concluded by saying that, although the U.N. is far from perfect, it shows us "the imperatives of a middle path."

The Kee Report: Air and Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed is Air and Highway Safety. The report follows:

The Kee Report

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

One of the modern wonders of the world is the progress being made in developing fast and efficient means of mass transportation. Most of this development, in fact, has taken place in little more than a century. First, it was the locomotive and passenger train—next, the motor car and finally, the airplane travelling at breath-taking speed.

Before these achievements of scientific and mechanical invention, most inhabitants of this earth lived out their life span close to the place where they were born. The only exceptions were the rich who could afford the high cost of travel and those hardy adventurers in all ages who were determined to see the world no matter what the cost.

The luxury of travel is now well within the means of millions of Americans. But like all scientific advances, the improvement in mass transportation has created serious problems. This is true of highway travel, air travel, and even rail travel because experts believe train travel must be revived in some areas to meet the transportation needs of the next generation.

The trend of the future was indicated recently when President Johnson requested Congress to appropriate an additional seven millions of dollars to provide more safety control officers for air travel. But, with this modest request, the White House warned that air travel is expanding so rapidly that before long, billions will be needed to provide additional safety equipment.

The truth is that air travel has grown up too fast for its facilities. Most airports are already too small to handle the normal daily traffic, let alone the added load on holidays and other special occasions. Perhaps the most compelling need is for improvement in air traffic control. This involves, among other things, the installation of costly radar equipment. However, even with modern equipment, manpower needs will continue to expand.

The Federal Government has given notice that both the flying public and the aviation industry will be expected to pay their fair share of the expanded safety program. Passengers now pay a five percent tax on fares. The industry has indicated a willingness to pick up its share of the burden.

While this new problem is dominating the spotlight, most citizens are wondering about the highway safety program authorized by the Congress last year. I believe that steady progress is being made under the supervision of the Highway Safety Bureau in the new Department of Transportation.

To reduce the appalling death and injury rate in highway accidents, progress must be made in three directions: (1) More safety devices must be included in new cars; (2) the standards for motor vehicle operation must be improved and (3) new highways must include better design and greater improved signaling devices.

It has been said a thousand times that the first factor in highway safety is the man or woman behind the wheel. There are now 50 states in the union and each one has its own standards for licensing operators. This means that safety requirements vary widely from state to state. The maximum degree of safety will be reached when driver control standards are made uniform throughout the Nation. The Federal program is now working towards this goal.

The next generation of Americans will be the busiest travellers in history. Now is the time to make sure that safety standards are adequate to meet the need.

Thank you for listening.

The President's Brilliant Performance on TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many Americans were as moved as I was by President Johnson's earnest and sincere explanation of his policies at last Friday's news conference.

As the Washington Evening Star noted:

> It is difficult to recall any White House news conference more impressive than the one staged . . . by President Johnson.

The Star continued:

> His defense of American policy in Vietnam was masterful and eloquent. His recollection of the faultfinding, backbiting and censorous attacks suffered by many of his predecessors was instructive.

I was particularly glad that the Star quoted these memorable lines from the President:

> The important thing for every man who occupies this place is to . . . try to find out what is right and then do it without regard to polls and criticism.

And the Star concludes:

> It was a memorable performance.

I insert this editorial into the RECORD:

[From the Evening Star, Nov. 18, 1967]

The President at His Best

It is difficult to recall any White House news conference more impressive than the one staged yesterday by President Johnson. The TV cameras covered him from better angles than usual, and a "necklace" microphone let him move about freely, away from the pulpit-like podium. He spoke without notes, in good, strong, simple English.

His defense of American policy in Vietnam was masterful and eloquent. His recollection of the faultfinding, backbiting and censorious attacks suffered by many of his predecessors was instructive. So was his own Lincolnesque comment on the White House: "The important thing for every man who occupies this place is to . . . try to find out what is right and then do it without regard to polls and criticisms."

Polls, Mr. Johnson made clear, do not make him feel faint of heart, for they merely reflect public moods that are as fickle as the wind. Ask Harry Truman. As for the critics, the President was relaxed, good-tempered, but devastating in what he had to say in distinguishing between the honest ones and those who claim to be peace demonstrators but whose outrageous conduct—like that displayed against Secretary Rusk the other night—amounts to something more like hoodlumism. It is "stormtrooper bullying and howling and taking the law into their own hands"—an "extremely dangerous" sort of thing that is "not very helpful to the men who are fighting this war for us."

All this came through to the TV viewer with striking forcefulness. It was a memorable performance. Some people keep saying that the President has a serious communication problem with the general public, and especially with the so-called liberal community. If so, he should be pretty well able to solve it by resorting more often to the kind of discourse he has just given.

A Judge Recuses Himself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas has laid the groundwork for recusing himself in all matters involving military service and the draft by his extremist attack on the venerable Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey.

Judge not lest ye be judged. Yet the villain is a judge and by his exuberance to help the enemy he has exposed his anti-American effort.

Apparently Justice Fortas is so aggressive in his efforts he is unsatisfied to wait until the facts are before him—he prejudes his subject and therefore manifests his unfitness to be a member of the Highest Court of our land. Another untouchable exposes himself.

Mr. Speaker, I insert here in the RECORD the article from the recent Evening Star:

Fortas Calls Hershey "A Law Unto Himself"

Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas says Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, head of the Selective Service, is "a law until himself and responds only to his own conversation."

Fortas made the comment last night at Colgate University when asked his opinion of Hershey's proposal to strip draft deferment from students who interfere with military recruiting.

Fortas also said Hershey's statement probably did not "have the approval of the executive branch of government."

Earlier, James A. Perkins, president of Cornell University, and Ray L. Heffner, president of Brown University, took issue with the proposal in separate actions.

Perkins urged in a telephone conversation with Douglass Cater, a special assistant to President Johnson, that the White House overrule the Hershey proposal.

Hershey recommended three weeks ago that local draft boards finding evidence that students with deferments are interfering with recruiting by U.S. military representatives remove the deferments and make them available for call-up duty.

Perkin's office said he told the White House:

"I would be opposed to this policy if the incident took place off the campus but I am particularly opposed if it involves action on the university campus.

"In this latter case, draft board monitoring of student behavior would destroy the university's power to manage its own affairs and would sustitute uninformed outside authority for carefully developed university judicial systems."

In Providence, R.I., Heffner said he intends to tell Hershey he strongly disagrees with the proposal, considering it possibly illegal and "certainly unwise."

Watershed Planning and Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

WATERSHED PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

(Address by Hollis R. Williams, Deputy Administrator for Watersheds, Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., at the annual meeting Mississippi Rivers and Harbors Association, Jackson, Miss., November 1, 1967)

I am honored by your invitation to speak at this annual meeting of the Mississippi Rivers and Harbors Association. The South is well known for its hospitality, and you have made this native "Arkansawyer", and now from Virginia, feel right at home.

I especially enjoy visiting Mississippi, the Magnolia State. You have beautiful scenery. You have vast water, oil and gas reserves, rich and varied resources including some of the world's most fertile soil, a network of navigable streams, other minerals and extensive forests.

You have good schools, colleges, libraries and museums, and shouldn't I add, good football teams.

As in other southern States you are rapidly becoming industrialized. This will mean higher wages and salaries and higher levels of living for your citizens. The future of Mississippi looks very bright.

Mississippians have distinguished themselves in many fields: notably government, literature, the military, medicine and law. Mississippi is also known for the great public servants it sends to Congress. These include Congressman Jamie L. Whitten, Chairman of the powerful Appropriation Subcommittee on Agriculture; Congressman Thomas G. Abernethy, a member of the House Agriculture Committee; and your fine Congressmen John Bell Williams, William M. Colmer, and G. V. Montgomery.

It also includes, of course, your outstanding Senators James Eastland and John Stennis. These men are dedicated to public service and to Mississippi and the Nation.

My good friend, Swep Davis, Executive Director of the Pat Harrison Waterway District, has suggested that I talk with you about Watershed Planning and Development.

Your association and we who work in watershed planning and development are interested in the same objectives—agricultural, industrial and overall economic growth through the development of our land and water resources for the maximum benefit of all our people, both urban and rural.

Wherever we reside each of us lives in a watershed. Your farm, ranch, home on a townlot, or your business in the city are all within the boundaries of a watershed. All the lands and waters of the Nation are bounded by natural drainage divides.

Watersheds are of all sizes. A few acres in a farm field may drain into a single gully or grass waterway. Or many small watersheds together may include nearly half a continent as do those of the great Mississippi River and its tributaries.

In your watershed, be it large or small, you must share with all others who live within it the tragedies of floods, washed-away land, sediment-filled lakes, debris-choked streams, and water shortages. You also share with others the fruits of watershed protection, development and flood prevention.

Watershed protection and development has an interesting and long history. It was the basic idea in the Executive Order of 1891 which set aside the National Forest reserves. The Soil Conservation Service from its beginning has stressed the need for planning and developing entire watersheds. In 1933, as the Soil Erosion Service in the Department of the Interior, its first erosion-control demonstrations were on a watershed basis.

The Flood Control Act of 1936 was the first Federal recognition of the need for runoff and waterflow retardation and soil erosion prevention in watersheds as a principal means of flood prevention. Under the authority of this Act river basin plans were developed by the Department of Agriculture for a number of the Nation's river basins. These plans concentrated on land treatment and upstream structural measures.

The Flood Control Act of 1944 authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to provide technical and financial assistance in the installation of the needed works of improvement in eleven of these river basin watersheds. The Yazoo and Little Tallahatchie River watersheds are two of these which were authorized by this Act. I am sure you have seen some of the thousands of acres of critically eroding lands which have been stabilized by tree plantings and the establishment of other adapted vegetation within these watershed areas. Over 240 floodwater-retarding structures have been constructed which provide protection to flood plains within these river basins and also greatly benefit the Yazoo-Mississippi delta. These structures have been supplemented by many miles of improved channels which not only increase the level of flood protection but also provide adequate outlets for needed farm drainage.

The next Federal action came in 1953 when Congress appropriated $5 million with which 60 pilot watershed projects were started. We are all aware, of course, of the important role which Mississippi Congressman Jamie Whitten played in making this program possible.

The primary objective of these projects was to demonstrate throughout the Nation the benefits of combining soil and water conservation measures on the land with upstream flood prevention structures as an effective means of reducing floodwater and sediment damages in the tributary watersheds. This gave an opportunity for widespread observation of what was being learned in the eleven authorized river basin watersheds. Another objective of this pilot program was to find out the best ways to achieve local-State-Federal teamwork in planning, financing and carrying out watershed protection and development activities.

In 1954, the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (Public Law 566, 83rd Congress) was passed. It provided a project-type approach to land and water conservation, development and use.

Many of the early Public Law 566 projects consisted largely of land treatment plus single-purpose flood prevention measures. Gradually, the Act was amended to add other purposes, such as storage of water for irrigation and municipal and industrial use, raising the storage limit for flood prevention from 5,000 to 12,500 acre-feet in an individual dam, and in 1962, adding recreation as one of the purposes eligible for cost sharing that may be included in the projects. Soon, I predict, we'll add water quality management or pollution control. Legislation is now pending to make this a part of the watershed protection program. When these amendments are adopted we can plan and install truly multiple-purpose projects.

The success of the small watershed program under Public Law 566, as amended since its inception in 1954, continues to be outstanding. In 13 years the program has acquired nationwide stature and wide acclaim. Its acceptance in every part of the Nation attests to its popularity and its usefulness.

The small watershed program is a self-help program. Local people initiate and help plan the projects. They install the land treatment and structural measures. They help pay for them, and they operate and maintain them. Finally, they reap the benefits the projects provide.

Watershed projects stimulate the economic growth of small cities, towns, and rural areas throughout the Nation. Where projects have been developed for multiple-purposes, both urban and rural areas have benefited directly. Hundreds of communities have taken advantage of the small watershed program and are being benefited by it. Rural and urban groups, communities and local governments are finding watershed projects to be a very useful vehicle through which they can plan and develop their natural resources to meet immediate as well as future needs. These needs include: watershed protection, flood prevention, municipal and industrial water supply, recreation, fish and wildlife, irrigation, drainage, and other purposes.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman recently said: "We must encourage more rapid rural industrialization and expansion of commercial enterprises in rural areas to provide new employment and other non-farm economic opportunities. We must use land, not idle it. We must use our resources in ways that conserve, and serve the needs of all people, rural and urban." Watershed projects are one of the best means yet devised to help bring this about.

A few statistics will help to highlight the magnitude of the small watershed program. As of October 1, 1967, applications for assistance on 2,673 watersheds had been received from sponsoring local organizations.

These applications came from 49 States and Puerto Rico. Of these, 1,334 had been authorized for planning, 823 authorized for operations, and construction had been completed on 190. About 64 percent of the projects have been authorized for operation since 1960. The 2,673 applications include over 196 million acres of land.

Since 1962, there has been a very rapid growth in water-based recreational developments in small watersheds. Developments have been planned that will be used by more than 5 million people a year in about 150 communities in 35 States. Included will be recreational opportunities such as fishing, camping, picnicking, boating, water skiing and many other forms of water-based recreation. In addition, the sediment pools of more than 4,000 floodwater-retarding dams furnish recreational opportunities to local communities where such facilities previously have not been available.

Multiple-purpose projects have expanded rapidly. More than half of the projects now authorized have dual or triple purposes including municipal and industrial water supply, recreation, irrigation, drainage, fish and wildlife, and flood prevention. As mentioned, if pending legislation is approved, groundwater recharge, water quality management, and beautification are likely to become more significant project objectives over the next few years.

Of the 92 watershed work plans completed during fiscal year 1966, 70 (or 76 percent) included one or more purposes in addition to watershed protection and flood prevention. Twenty-five States, accounting for 56 of these work plans, were 100 percent in achieving multiple-purpose objectives.

Construction was first started on P. L. 566 projects during the 1957 fiscal year. By the end of the 1961 fiscal year, a 5-year period, construction had been started on 204 watershed projects.

Since 1961 the rate of new construction starts has increased to an average of 65 per year. During the 1967 fiscal year new construction starts were made on 59 watershed projects, bringing the total construction starts to 589.

The number of floodwater-retaining dams installed under the small watershed program has more than doubled during the last five years. The number increased from 1954 through 1961 to a cumulative total of 4,316 in 1966. The miles of channel improvement have more than tripled during the same 5-year period—from 1,009 miles in 1961 to 3,234 miles through 1966 fiscal year. Most of this channel improvement is to reduce floodwater damages. However, a significant amount provides outlets for needed agricultural drainage systems.

The funds obligated for watershed operations are another easily understood measure of the growth of the program. The total funds obligated increased from approximately $89.7 million in 1961 fiscal year to approximately $168 million in fiscal year 1967. About 39 percent of these funds were contributed from non-Federal sources, that is, local organizations and State governments.

The small watershed dams on tributary streams complement the mainstem dams built by the U.S. Corps of Engineers for effective water control in a river basin. Each has a particular job to do. Each helps control the water flow in a vital segment of the watershed.

More than two million rural landowners are cooperating with local conservation districts and USDA programs to help conserve the Nation's land and water resources. This crusade welcomes recruits.

You may be aware that the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts is asking all districts to update and expand their programs to serve more effectively areas undergoing changes in land use.

An increasing number of districts is doing this. It is a further recognition that town and country are not separate worlds but are part of the same resource community sharing common problems, common needs, common natural resources, and a common charge to cooperate in multiple-use planning and development of land and water resources.

Recently multiple use was emphasized at the Soil, Water, and Suburbia Conference on fringe area development in Washington and at the recent International Conference on Water for Peace, which drew together the Nation Capital's specialists and officials from more than 90 countries to discuss water problems and potentials. The principles of land and water management that we are showing to other nations and advising them to adopt to solve their problems and improve their water supply potentials are those we should be prepared to apply in every part of America where they are needed and applicable.

Broad-based planning is essential if we are to realize the full potential of our land and water resources. The USDA is strengthening its commitment to the regional, multiple-purpose approach to resource conservation through cooperative programs, including river basin studies, small watershed projects, and resource conservation and development projects that accelerate going programs on a regional basis, and other programs.

USDA currently is participating in 52 comprehensive river basin studies. Ten of these are comprehensive framework studies of major water resource regions within which more detailed studies will need to be made. Their purposes include the identification of water and related land-use problems within the water resource regions, and the determination of alternative approaches to the solution of these problems.

The basic reason for USDA participation in river basin studies is to assist in determining how, where and when its project-type programs can be effectively used to meet the needs for water and related land resource developments and to assure that agricultural interests are recognized and protected in such developments. These studies also provide local people with the information needed to make rational decisions as to which project-type activities will make the greatest contribution toward meeting their immediate needs and to the attainment of their long-term objectives.

As a member agency of the Water Resources Council, established by the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965, the USDA participates in a continuing study of the adequacy of water supplies required in each water resources region in the Nation. The Council's first such assessment is being made this year.

The more detailed river basin studies identify project developments which are needed within the next 15 years. In these studies, various water resource development needs are identified both as to scale of development, geographic locations, and purposes to be included.

Detailed river basin studies provide a means of identifying and analyzing competitive water uses, and of determining the economic and social impact of selecting one competitive use over another where both cannot be satisfied.

Four of the detailed basin studies are in Mississippi, two of which, the Pascagoula and the Big Black, will be completed this year. Findings of these two studies already are being used in watershed development work plans.

A major purpose of detailed river basin studies is to identify watershed protection projects and flood prevention projects which can help to meet the total needs of the river basin. In most cases, these studies involve specific project objectives of the State or local agencies. Emphasis is placed on water-resource problems of the concerned State and an analysis of the potentials of Public Law 566 projects in meeting the needs of the State or local agency.

Let me say just a word about the small watershed program under Public Law 566 in Mississippi. You rank among the top half dozen States in the number of projects planned and in the number approved for construction. As of October 1, applications for assistance under the Act had been filed in our office by local sponsors on 77 Mississippi watersheds covering some 5,278,000 acres. Of these, 31 have been approved for construction. Your progress has been phenomenal. The program has received support from people in all walks of life, probably because in most cases it benefits all the people.

I want to say a special "thank you" to the Pat Harrison Waterway District for the help its officials have given in accelerating small watershed planning in Mississippi. I understand they have assisted in at least 4 projects and I have been told they plan to go even further by picking up a substantial portion of the local share of the cost of installing these projects. We can all be especially proud to have the help and assistance of this fine organization. It is this kind of work—with rolled-up shirtsleeves—that gives the watershed program, and all of our resource development effort, the push it needs to solve some of America's most critical land and water resource problems.

Let us continue to look ahead into the future, for the future is where we'll spend the rest of our lives. As I travel around the country in my work it seems to me that more and more people are becoming future-minded. I mean people such as you who are leading a national awakening of the need to protect and develop our land and water resources.

I mean people such as you who know that the interests of town and country are joined in this matter. Who know that when good farmland floods, some of that land may run down Main Street and harm the businessman a few hours or days later. People who know that eroding land can pollute drinking water, silt up fishing and swimming lakes, and raise taxes to dredge sediment from navigation channels, harbors, and reservoirs.

In Mississippi you are leading a big parade in watershed and river basin development. Behind you march many other communities that are planning similar programs.

Already small watershed projects have reduced flood damages by more than $58 million.

Already small watershed projects have resulted in erosion control and grassland improvement valued at $85 million.

Already small watershed projects have reduced sediment pollution by over 6½ million tons.

Already small watershed projects have increased the payrolls in the project areas by about $285 million yearly.

Small watershed projects are playing a successful role in community development in the United States. The watershed program offers a fresh approach to community progress and development. These projects can serve the interests of both town and country people. The multiple-purpose nature of the program accounts for a large part of its success. These projects help to protect existing community resources and bring in new ones that provide more jobs, more business and thus boost the entire economy of the community.

I could go on in this fashion for quite a while, giving you many other facts and figures on these projects. But my time is up.

Let me leave you with this thought: You are engaged in the greatest crusade in the history of this land we love—to protect, develop and improve our soil and water resources. How well you succeed in this noble task will determine, in large measure, whether we and our children and their children will prosper in the years to come or whether we shall go down the road of the lost civilizations that have preceded ours—the greatest one of all. I'm sure we shall not fail.

Congressman Gonzalez and HemisFair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to identify myself with the remarks which have been made in commendation of our colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the Honorable HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee which considered the legislation providing for Federal participation in HemisFair, 1968, I can attest that Congressman GONZALEZ was instrumental in securing its approval in committee and its ultimate passage in the House of Representatives.

His knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, the project were very, very persuasive to members of the Foreign Affairs Committee interested in promoting better relations and closer cooperation among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

I, for one, am confident that HemisFair, 1968 will be a successful demonstration of good neighbor solidarity which will benefit not only our own Nation, but all the Republics of the Americas.

The people of San Antonio—and indeed of the entire State of Texas—can be proud of the fine job which Henry Gonzalez has done for HemisFair, 1968. They are indeed fortunate to have a man of his vision and energy working for them in the Congress.

Penalty of Overproduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, the American farmer this year will pay the heavy price of doing his job too well, a slave to his efficiency. Across the Nation, net farm income will be down 10 percent or more from last year. As the following editorial from the November 2, 1967, Des Moines Register points out, a major portion of the responsibility for this sad situation rests on the shoulders of administration bureaucrats, who seem to feel that the farmer should bear the full burden of feeding the world at his own expense.

I commend this editorial to your attention:

> Penalty of Overproduction
>
> Inflation is becoming a more serious threat every day. Industrial prices are being hoisted. New wage contracts are shoving costs higher. Congress is debating a tax increase and cuts in spending. But you would never know inflation was on the way by examining prices of farm products. Prices received by farmers have been slumping for more than a year. No wonder farmers are unhappy.
>
> Prices of farm products rose sharply from early 1965 to mid-1966. They have been falling most of the time since. On Oct. 15 the U.S. Department of Agriculture index showed a decline of 6 per cent below a year ago. The index of prices of commodities farm families buy rose 2 per cent in the same period.
>
> The reason prices of farm products have declined is an increase in supply. In the summer of 1966, at the price peak, a large amount of irresponsible propaganda was floating around about the world food shortage, the slack reserves of grain in the U.S. and the need for more farm output. Farmers tended to swallow this appeal for awhile, especially when the Administration in Washington increased crop acreage allotments for 1967 and urged farmers to expand production.
>
> The promoters of bigger farm output chimed in, letting out all the stops. These include many sincere believers in helping the needy who haven't thought through the economic and political problems. They also include many of the fertilizer companies, farm machinery makers and other sellers of farm production goods; handlers, distributors and processors of farm products; and even many leaders of the agricultural education-research establishment in the Land Grant universities and the USDA.
>
> The day of reckoning arrived sooner than anyone expected. Large grain crops were harvested in other countries, especially Russia. India showed improved harvests. U.S. feed grain and soybean exports slumped. World prices of grain slipped. United States grain crops for 1967 have been the largest ever. Soybean production also set a new record.
>
> As a result, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has been seeking a way to provide support for prices. One proposal now in Congress is to establish "strategic reserves" of grain and soybeans. Under this program, USDA would buy commodities in the market to withhold for reserves, thus raising prices. It makes sense to increase reserves in a big-crop year, if it isn't overdone.
>
> The government also is getting ready to ship more farm commodities to less developed countries under the Food for Freedom program. A year ago this program was curtailed when the Administration feared a possible shortage. Now that 1967 crops have turned out so well, food aid can be stepped up again. Secretary of State Dean Rusk sent a message to AID missions overseas telling them that they should ask for more foodstuffs, which are now plentiful, to replace "other forms of aid." In other words, since Congress has cut the money for foreign aid, Rusk is suggesting substitution of food aid for dollar aid.
>
> The lesson from all this is that prices and incomes of farmers are extremely sensitive to changes in the supply of farm products. Net farm income is down at least 10 per cent this year in the nation—and probably more than that in Iowa. Demand for food in this affluent country does not vary much year in and year out. Small changes in farm output have an enormous impact on the income of farmers.
>
> Those who have exploited world hunger to promote more U.S. farm production and to get rid of government farm programs should have uneasy consciences.
>
> The hungry would cannot make effective use of all the food American farmers can produce. The U.S. Congress cannot be expected to furnish funds to buy up all the surplus and dump it overseas—nor should it do so.
>
> This is the most costly way of protecting farm income; it is the most costly way of aiding foreign countries. It is a form of aid which is likely to hold back foreign agricultural development, and that, of course, is the only real solution—along with birth control—to the food problem.
>
> Now USDA is calling for a reduction in feed grain acres and in wheat plantings for next year. Meanwhile, the promoters of more farm output and ending controls are working the same story over again as though nothing had happened. University deans of agriculture from Midwest states joined recently in the celebration of a new fertilizer plant at Sioux City, indulging in a lot of loose talk about feeding the hungry world.
>
> It is surely not too much to expect of these educators that they consider the consequences of more agricultural production on the incomes of the people on farms. One line of the promotional material is representative of the tone: "With half the world suffering from malnutrition, does it make sense to pay farmers not to produce?"
>
> As reasonable answer might be, "Yes—unless you expect the American farmer to pay the full cost of relieving world hunger, to the benefit of the sellers of farm production materials and the distributors of farm products."

HemisFair, 1968—San Antonio's World Exposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to add a personal note of congratulations to my good friend and colleague from the State of Texas, U.S. Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, on the achievement of his magnificent dream of HemisFair, 1968, San Antonio's international exposition due to open next April 6.

Originally proposed by Henry Gonzalez in 1962 to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the founding of San Antonio, HemisFair, 1968, will carry out the theme: "The Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas"—a unique and distinctive world's fair keyed to telling the hemispheric story of our heritage of freedom and dignity.

As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I had the honor of supporting the resolution authorizing HemisFair, 1968, both in committee and when it came before the House for consideration.

Under the dynamic leadership provided by Congressman Gonzalez, this proposal was endorsed by the Congress as a showcase of the diversified cultures of Pan America—history, art, industry, commerce, and economic development of each of the nations of this hemisphere, and the significant contributions to its development from Europe, Asia, and Africa.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that President Johnson caught much of the meaning and spirit behind Henry Gonzalez' dream project when he stated:

> The New World nations are brothers in history, friends in commerce, and partners in aspiration. San Antonio's "Fair of the America's", HemisFair 1968, will celebrate this partnership. Dedicated to the advancement of the social, economic, and cultural well-being of all peoples of the Americas, it will be a living example of our nation's policy of Inter-American cooperation.

Abuses in the Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, since the authorization legislation for the antipoverty bill has passed the House, I would like to list some of the alleged abuses that have appeared from time to time in the press in the hope that when the Appropriations Committee has hearings on the supplemental bill for HEW they will be able to look into the validity of these allegations.

At Camp Breckinridge, Ky., the Federal poverty hunters provided the University of Southern Illinois with $9 million to set up and run a Job Corps camp for 2,000 men. The camp initially enrolled only 756, of which 250 dropped out in the first 60 days, leaving two instructors for every job corpsman. The press reported that that program has been troubled with violence and riots. Quotes appeared in the Courier-Journal of job corpsmen who were upset because they had been promised a good time and plenty of women and it had not exactly turned out that way.

In Syracuse, N.Y., the $314,329 program of the community action training center has been described by Mayor William F. Walsh as intended mainly to train agitators. He charged the center taught "Marxist doctrine of class conflict." Serving as a paid consultant and lecturer in the program was Saul D. Alinsky, a self-styled professional radical.

In Jamestown, R.I., the Government hired three Youth Corps administrators to supervise 11 youngsters on a single project. One was paid $120 for a 20-hour week, another $61 for an 8-hour week, and the third $100 for a 20-hour week. After much dispute this program was canceled because so many wealthy youngsters had been employed giving sailing lessons to other youngsters equally as well off.

In Kansas City, Kans., similar violations turned up in the Youth Corps program. Among 75 or so "needy" given jobs were the youthful owner of a 1965 Thunderbird, a girl whose father owns both a service station and a liquor store, and a stepson of the chairman of the Wyandotte County Democratic Party.

In Colorado Springs, Colo., five members of the poverty program governing body there were found to have police records for such offenses as sodomy, burglary, escape from a mental institution, operation of a disorderly house, and suspected assault with intent to commit murder.

In Kalamazoo, Mich., city officials banned Job Corps trainees from visiting the town after a riot there in November 1965. An estimated 60 trainees damaged 19 buildings and battled police in the melee.

At Camp Atterbury, Ind., a $10 million project, seven youngsters were arrested for sexual assault on a 17-year-old trainee. Two of the seven were bailed out of jail with poverty funds, and in nearby Columbus, Ind., Atterbury trainees were caught trying to buy guns while on leave.

In St. Petersburg, Fla., a woman's Job Corps Center was located in a luxury hotel at a rental for 18 months of $225,000—which is $20,000, more than the assessed value. After 1 year of operation, OEO graduated 42 enrollees at a cost of $1,646,601, or $39,205 per graduate.

In the poverty corps at Washington headquarters as well as across the country, officials draw fantastic salaries. Forty-four in Washington alone draw close to $1,000,000 annually in pay. Shriver's deputy receives $28,500 and three other assistants get $27,000 each. Of 40 other aides, nine get $24,400. Eleven get $21,445 and 20 draw $18,935. In New Jersey, the State poverty director gets more than any member of the Governor's cabinet.

In Gum Springs, Va., the poverty program received $82,150 in Federal funds, of which $56,723 went for officials' salaries and $25,427 for the poor.

In Chicago, the Tribune disclosed how the poverty program enabled many Democratic politicians to move into better salary brackets. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., is paid $22,500. He formerly made $14,500 with the Cook County Public Aid Department. A fellow named William Todhunter now making $15,156 earned $6,300 with the Cook County Public Aid Department. They listed many others.

In Boston, OEO cut off more than $5.5 million in Federal funds only after a local newspaper charged larceny of poverty funds and appointment of political hacks to well-paid jobs in the program. The executive director of the Boston poverty program resigned and his deputy was fired as a result of the scandal.

In wealthy Newport, R.I., the Federal Government set up $182,000 for a Neighborhood Youth Corps to aid impoverished youngsters and high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 21. The Providence Journal-Bulletin did an exposé on this and listed many, many students from homes far above Federal poverty standards who were in on the program. There were some 64 in their list out of roughly 300, including children of a prominent surgeon, a restaurant owner, a liquor store owner, a lawyer, a heating and plumbing firm president, a school administrator, and a naval officer. Some of the youths were already in college. The real payoff: Newport's Democratic mayor was the Corps director at an annual salary of $8,000.

At Omaha, Nebr., 90 percent of the youths employed in the Neighborhood Youth Corps were found to be from families with income above Federal standards set for eligibility for the program. Of 153 youths in the nearby Bellvue, Nebr., project, only 10 were from families with less than $4,000 annual income. Poor youths were actually excluded from the program.

In swank Beverly Hills, Calif., Federal poverty fighters awarded the city $82,875 because someone reported 435 poor families lived there. Los Angeles Time columnist Paul Coats did a survey and reported one of the most hilarious stories of the year that gaunt men and women patiently queued up at food counters at Jurgensen's Gourmet Shop, hoping that the escargots would not run out before they got their turn. In his hilarious stories he had young girls in mink stoles gazing pitifully at a full-length ermine coat in Sak's window. Coats said he could only find one poor fellow in all swank Beverly Hills and this fellow was 2 months behind in his Playboy Club dues. After that story the city turned down the OEO offer of funds, declaring it could find only six families and eight children who "could possibly be classified as needy."

One poverty war employee in Washington employed in January 1965 as a $6,000 per year community program worker in a youth employment counseling center working with juveniles, was later promoted to a $8,000 a year job and had a criminal record dating back to 1952 with 11 charges of larceny, false pretenses, and passing worthless checks. In October 1965, he was still on the poverty war payroll and was again charged with passing a worthless check.

Another employee in Washington's local program was employed January 1965, as a $3,900 a year community program worker, later was promoted to $8,650 position, counseling juveniles. This same person deserted the Army in 1944 and since then has acquired a police record which includes soliciting for prostitution, grand larceny, false pretenses, forgery, and being a fugitive from justice.

Another in the same program employed in July of 1965, at $4,140 as a neighborhood worker. His long criminal record began with juvenile delinquency in 1949 and progressed through a sex, crime through larceny, housebreaking, and bail violation.

In Casper, Wyo., an ex-convict with a 17-count arrest record was hired as a supervisor of the Job Corps center. Two months after his employment by the Bureau of Reclamation, which runs the center, the man was arrested and charged with aggravated assault in the savage beating of a Casper businessman.

In a Mississippi Headstart program it was revealed that the poor war people paid to the owner of a church $100 for use of a bathroom toilet, $10 in rent for use of a garbage can, $100 to use a sink, $120 to rent a refrigerator, $110 for use of a stove, and $92 to rent a carpet for an 8-week period. In addition, one of the project's officials rented a twin-engine plane for a 200-mile flight to address a graduating class of 5- and 6-year-old Headstart pupils.

HemisFair, 1968

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in commending our colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] for his outstanding vision and vigor in bringing to reality HemisFair, 1968.

I know how hard Henry Gonzalez has worked for the legislation and all the other steps necessary to keep such a vast and complicated project moving forward.

I know it has been a long and arduous road from his promotion of a dream during his first visit with then Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, 5 years ago, to the steel and concrete structures arising today on the 93-acre fair site.

But it was a road well worth traveling because we have a great deal to look forward to during the 184 days of HemisFair, 1968. This exposition will, of course, be a great boon to San Antonio and a fitting commemoration of the city's 250th anniversary. And for all of us, HemisFair, 1968 promises to be one of the finest, most appealing expositions held in this country.

The fair's emphasis on the confluence of the civilizations in the Americas, the rich historical and cultural heritage of the city and its environs, San Antonio's location at the gateway to Mexico, and the fine bicultural atmosphere make it clear that Henry Gonzalez was right on target when he put his skill and zeal behind this event.

A large number of private and governmental exhibitions at the fair will compete with the Alamo, the Paseo del Rio, La Villita, and other historic and scenic spots in the city for the interest of visitors. With the extension of the San Antonio River into the fair complex, fair-goers will enjoy easy and picturesque travel between the fair site and downtown by gondola or boat.

Many aspects of the cultures of Texas are to be presented in the huge Texas Pavilion and in features of the fair. As a Milwaukean, I am happy to note that the beer gardens which were brought to San Antonio by the German settlers of the last century will be recalled in the nostalgic Pearl Palm Garden.

I believe that San Antonio and the millions who will enjoy a visit to HemisFair, 1968 can take their hats off to HENRY GONZALEZ for a job well done.

The Bilingual Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H.R. 13123, the Bilingual Education Act, which I have joined with a number of Members in sponsoring. The need for intensive programs in bilingual education was underscored recently by a report by the New York City Board of Education, which reveals the continued and increasing correlation between poor school performance and low income background. More than one in five of New York City's schoolchildren are from Spanish-speaking homes. Nearly one in 10 have substantial difficulty with the English language.

If another generation of schoolchildren is not to be lost, we need positive action on bilingual education, and the full funding of programs authorized in my bill.

I include a timely editorial from New York's Spanish-language newspaper, El Diario-La Prensa, of November 5, 1967, entitled "Our Schools":

[From El Diario-La Prensa, Nov. 5, 1967]

OUR SCHOOLS

The shocking revelation that pupils in the city's school system are continuing to lose ground in reading and arithmetic again tends to focus the attention on the needs of the Spanish-speaking students.

The report issued by the Board of Education shows that one out of every three pupils in the City schools, was a year or more behind in reading last spring. The Board made available the reading test results for each elementary, intermediate, and junior high school in the city. The data showed that pupils in higher income communities were frequently two or more years above the national standards. On the other hand pupils in predominantly Puerto Rican or Negro neighborhoods were generally one or two years behind the national standards.

El Diario-La Prensa has been waging a long and sustained campaign in favor of bilingual education. We do believe that it is necessary, especially in elementary and secondary schools, so as to permit our children to progress in their studies, while learning English at the same time.

We feel very proud to have on our side the powerful voices of Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Jacob K. Javits, who are sponsoring national legislation in this connection.

In the meantime, we are glad to see that New York City's Board of Education has adopted a "comprehensive statement of policy" to guide the public school system's professional staff in the quest for continued progress in building a program of quality education for pupils of Puerto Rican background.

The policy statement which, according to the Board's President, Alfred A. Giardino, was prepared after consultation and in cooperation with major Puerto Rican groups, calls upon the City school system's 60,000 teachers and supervisors to utilize the schools system's accumulated experience to help the pupils of Puerto Rican heritage, including the use of Spanish as much as possible in their school careers.

This statement has been hailed "as an important step in the development of a comprehensive program for the improvement of the educational system as it affects the Puerto Rican child", by Mr. Louis Alvarez, Chairman of the Puerto Rican Committee on Educational Policies.

Among the city's 1,110,000 public school pupils, more than 227,000 are of Puerto Rican background, including about 100,000 who are non-English-speaking. We believe that for the Board of Education to fulfill its aims of improving the education of these children, further steps should be taken in the field of bilingual education.

Senator Kennedy had a good idea in this connection. Before the opening of the current school term, he sent a telegram to Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, urging the Board of Education to include recruitment of Spanish-speaking teachers as part of its $70-million poverty program for underprivileged children.

We do hope that the Board of Education will give full consideration to Mr. Kennedy's plan now that it has officially expressed its "concern to utilize Puerto Ricans in the teaching, supervisory, administrative and maintenance staff".

While efforts like those announced by the Board of Education are welcomed, they are not enough. What we need is an effective bilingual education with the use of Spanish-speaking teachers. As a first step, we should follow Mr. Kennedy's suggestion. However, the basic solution to the problem depends on our Congress, which should pass the Bilingual Education Act.

The Test Ban Treaty Reviewed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is good to have company and the numbers of thoughtful people who regard Dr. James H. McBride's new book, "The Test Ban Treaty," as an exceedingly valuable volume grows constantly. This work's 197 readable pages packages together the essence as well as all of the important detail of the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, sometimes called the Treaty of Moscow. Highlights of the testimony of witnesses on the issue of its ratification by the Senate before both the Foreign Affairs Committee of that body and its Preparedness Subcommittee are presented in accurate context. The summer, 1967, issue of Orbis, contains an excellent review of this book written by Dr. Edward Teller. The review follows:

TECHNOLOGY, SECURITY AND THE TEST BAN TREATY[1]

(By Edward Teller)

If the United States had joined the League of Nations, World War II probably never would have occurred. If France and England had opposed with a show of strength Hitler's military occupation of the Rhineland in 1935, twenty million lives would have been saved. These and numerous other shortsighted policies and repeated failures to take a stand against aggression, epitomized by the incredible performance at Munich in 1938, paved the road to the greatest catastrophe of our times.

Are historians of the future likely to find a parallel to the 1930's in the acts of the United States during the 1960's? Will present U.S. policies lead to another general war? These are worrisome questions for American statesmen anxious to avoid repeating mistakes of the past, and they form the framework for the book, *The Test Ban Treaty*, by James H. McBride.

"It is generally agreed that the Test Ban Treaty, signed in Moscow on August 5, 1963, is one of the most important treaties of the twentieth century." The first sentence in McBride's book is not an exaggeration. President Kennedy, in arguing for the Test Ban Treaty, called it a "first step." McBride asks: In what direction does this first step lead us? His answer is given in detail and is supported by thorough documentation.

Enough time has passed to permit an objective and thorough analysis of the discussions that led to the ratification of the treaty in 1963. That many of the relevant facts remain classified impedes the review. The argument is made only implicitly, but in my opinion with considerable force, that our policy of secrecy has interfered in this instance with the proper and enlightened functioning of the democratic process. Yet even on the basis of what is actually available, a great deal can be said.

The first and perhaps most powerful point raised in the book is that the two committees of the United States Senate which undertook the investigation of the proposed Test Ban Treaty—the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee—arrived at opposite conclusions. This fact was expressed in the votes of committee members when the treaty came to the Senate floor for confirmation.

The Foreign Relations Committee heard more witnesses, conducted all its hearings in open sessions, and gave considerable publicity to these hearings. It came to the conclusion that the treaty must be ratified. On the floor of the Senate this conclusion prevailed.

The Armed Services Committee heard a small number of highly selected witnesses, questioned each witness in considerable detail, and conducted most of its hearings in executive session. In this way its members had ample opportunity to get a complete picture of the technical background and the likely consequences of the treaty for the defense of our country. The detailed arguments which led to its conclusion are even today available only in part. At the time of the vote in the Senate, these arguments had been given little circulation and had a strong influence only on the voting of the Armed Services Committee members, most of whom voted against ratification. Those Committee members who supported the treaty were responsible for proposing and putting into effect safeguards designed to minimize possible harmful consequences of the partial test ban.

The strength of McBride's book lies in the voluminous documentation taken from the testimony given both for and against the proposed treaty. The two opposing positions are clearly described in full detail and with considerable and justified repetition so that the reader obtains a complete and reliable account of the discussion.

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[1] *The Test Ban Treaty*. By James H. McBride. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1967. 197 pp. $5.75.

The arguments opposing the Test Ban Treaty derive from the fact that the ban is advantageous to the Soviet Union and correspondingly dangerous for the United States. In fact, this advantage may well become a decisive factor in Soviet-American relations. There are three reasons for the Soviet advantage.

During the nuclear test moratorium (1957 to 1961), the Soviets thoroughly and clandestinely prepared for testing and then violated the moratorium in a surprise move. In the following two years the Soviets conducted numerous tests of various kinds and sizes of nuclear weapons and gathered extremely valuable data. Some time after the Soviet action, the United States resumed testing, but due to lack of preparation the U.S. series was carried out with considerably less effect. While the detailed results of these tests remain classified, the unclassified portions of the testimony before the Armed Services Committee reveals virtual unanimity on the part of the informed witnesses regarding the dangers posed by the Soviet tests in 1961–1962. This point was not refuted by Administration witnesses who, of course, supported the proposed treaty. They in turn maintained that in the natural course of developments it is unavoidable that the two sides should approach parity, and the more rapid progress of the Soviets during their last atmospheric tests should give no cause for alarm.

The second reason for a Soviet advantage is closely related to the first, but is more concrete and therefore more impressive. The opponents of the Test Ban Treaty maintained that the USSR may well have acquired sufficient knowledge to develop a defense against incoming missiles, while the United States will be hampered in a similar effort by lack of information obtainable only through nuclear tests now forbidden by the treaty. This argument was strongly and clearly contradicted by Administration witnesses who asserted that the United States would retain ample superiority for the time being. The question of missile defense is particularly crucial because it bears on the question whether the development of nuclear weapons has reached a saturation point at which no new developments are apt to be significant, or whether we are dealing with a continuously vigorous field of technology in which new points of view and sustained effort can lead to unexpected and fateful future breakthroughs.

In the years that have passed since the partial test ban treaty was signed, missile defense has become a hotly contested issue. The Secretary of Defense, some civilians working under his immediate direction, and a considerable number of scientists who occupy positions as consultants to the government continue to insist that the creation of an effective missile defense is virtually impossible. They do not appear to be shaken in their opinion by evidence that the USSR has deployed a missile defense. On the other hand, responsible military authorities as well as the majority of scientists who work on the hardware of nuclear explosives argue that U.S. deployment of an ABM defense is overdue, even in face of the fact that such a defense will be handicapped in terms of reliability and effectiveness due to existing restrictions on atmospheric testing.

The third reason for a Soviet advantage is the demonstrated willingness of the USSR to change the rules of the game at a moment's notice. This happened during the test moratorium and may happen again whenever secret Soviet developments produce a number of important military devices whose functioning they will want to check and whose consequences they will desire to exploit. While Administration witnesses claimed that test restrictions will affect the USSR and the United States equally, the fact remains that the Soviet closed society and tight security system permits a high degree of secrecy which an open society cannot duplicate. In relation to this point, some of the Senators, together with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a positive contribution to the debate by proposing a number of "safeguards." These safeguards are designed to keep the United States in a state of readiness so that, in case of Soviet violation or abrogation of the treaty, the United States will be in a good position to resume its own testing program within three to six months. This program has been put into effect and one can claim for it a measure of success.

McBride examines many other issues of somewhat less importance. One of these concerns the fact that the Test Ban Treaty rules out many potential benefits of the Plowshare Project, the peaceful application of nuclear explosives. Administration circles expressed the hope in the summer of 1963 that restrictions on earth-moving projects, e.g., building harbors and canals, could and would be removed at a later time. Obviously, this has not been done, and, as a consequence, the much needed sea-level canal across the American isthmus has been delayed.

McBride also probes the one issue charged with the greatest emotional content, namely, radioactive fallout. As far as the public was concerned, this danger was the most important argument for a nuclear test ban treaty. On this point the author quotes Dr. Norris E. Bradbury, Director of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, who supported the treaty in many respects and who is always restrained in his public pronouncements: "I regret that fallout from atmospheric testing has been so played up rather recently in public statements. I think this is an exaggerated situation far beyond the needs of the actual situation. . . . I infer that some of the words which the President has used may arise to haunt us if we return to atmospheric testings, not because they are true, but because they have been said." (p. 131.)

On issues like disarmament or the banning of nuclear tests, most people have made up their minds; reading a book such as McBride's is not likely to change fixed positions that have been maintained through the years. Nevertheless, the book can be read with profit by both proponents and opponents of the Test Ban Treaty. The proponents of the treaty will be reminded of the arguments they must be prepared to answer to uphold their position. It would be especially instructive today, at a time when many of these proponents are trying to take a second step in the same direction by advocating a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Those of us who have opposed the partial test ban treaty will be keenly reminded of the difficulties that arise when one tries to defend an unpopular position. Repetition of unpleasant facts does not suffice. To state the obvious is not enough when one is faced by massive popular opinion rooted in the wish for peace and fixed in the public mind by the enormous weight of the mass media. I cannot say that McBride or those who agree with him have yet found an effective way to set forth the case for strength in the cause of peace. But his book provides a wealth of material and an additional stimulus to those who feel that with each passing year it becomes more urgent to explain the unpleasant truths of our uneasy "cold armistice."

Appreciation of Youth Should Be Shown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, today, the juvenile delinquents, the hippies, the high school dropouts, and the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators, receive vast amounts of publicity which is way out of proportion to their actual numbers. Unfortunately, because of this, most of us have a tendency to overlook and forget about the large majorities of our youth who are becoming productive members of our society. Rather, we spend our time and energies concerned with those of our youth who are a "drain" on our society. We must recognize the accomplishments of our youth and give them the necessary support to make them aware of our appreciation.

I am pleased to note an editorial entitled, "Appreciation of Youth Should Be Shown," which addresses itself to this point. I insert in the RECORD a copy of this editorial which appeared in the Canton, Ill., Daily Ledger, on November 14, 1967:

APPRECIATION OF YOUTH SHOULD BE SHOWED

All of us are too often guilty of over generalizing and oversimplifying and this is particularly true when it comes to our nation's young people. They aren't all good and they aren't all bad.

When you come right down to it, their basic human traits probably aren't much different from those of any other generation. Although their basic intelligence should be about the same, they may be a little smarter because the educational level in the country has been rising.

In the home, they've been trained by parents who are better educated; the schools of today are better and, regardless of what you hear about dropouts, more people are graduating from high school and college.

Better trained minds are inquisitive and tend to challenge traditional ideas and methods and this is why adults find some of the behavior of young people difficult to understand.

Although they get the publicity, the hippies, draft card burners, Vietnam demonstrators and civil rights protestors are still in the minority. Surveys on college campuses, for example, usually show a large majority of the students supporting the nation's presence in Vietnam.

Because the dissenters and the oddballs make news, we tend to overlook conventional behavior and sometimes need to be reminded that we can be proud of most of our young people. There are a great many in service now and many in Vietnam who have answered their country's call without protest.

For these reasons and many others, the Optimists Clubs of the nation and the club here in Canton deserve congratulations for their emphasis on Youth Appreciation Week, now being observed.

I is important for young people to know that their achievements are being recognized and that not all of them are being condemned because of the actions of a few.

Few people will argue with these points but many of them do not realize they are contributing to misunderstanding by showing too much fascination with the strange or even illegal activities of young people.

The same person who criticizes the press for overplaying the misadventures of the young is not interested in and will not take the time to read stories about honor rolls, scholarships, school plays, activities of school social, recreational and welfare organizations.

To show more appreciation of youth, we could start attending the plays and concerts, athletic events and supporting the various organizations and encouraging academic achievement through scholarships.

Things like this would be showing appreciation instead of just talking about it.

Poverty Persists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, last night an editorial concerning the war on poverty appeared in the Escanaba Daily News, of Escanaba, Mich. This editorial, written by the paper's outstanding editor, Mr. Jean Worth, is hard hitting and to the point. I commend it to the attention of all Members of Congress:

[From the Escanaba Daily News, Nov. 20, 1967]

POVERTY PERSISTS

When Congressman Phil Ruppe said last week that the 10% cash contribution proposed in the House version of the Economic Opportunity Act was the kiss of death for the war on poverty in the rural areas, there must have been a rural chorus of "amen" wherever people understood the importance of the Act.

UPCAP spokesmen said that it would require an Upper Peninsula contribution of cash at the local level—in addition to the present in-kind contribution of office space, etc.—that would total about $100,000 and that was unavailable and impossible to raise.

A 10% cash contribution was one of the two proposals aimed at ham-stringing the war on poverty legislation. The other, the Green Amendment, would take the Community Action Programs away from the local board set-up to administer it and turn it over to local political jurisdictions. Both amendments are aimed to turn over the war on poverty to big city political machines.

. . . but for all its shortcomings and failures, the war on poverty is a need of our society and even of our economy and it should not be swept under the rug in Washington, even with a war in Vietnam to be fought.

Dean William Haber of the University of Michigan College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, reminds us of the need for a massive national effort to reduce poverty in America.

"Arson, looting, and murder have no relation to civil rights," said Dr. Haber, "but neither do the riots offer the slightest justification to call a halt to the evils that breed riots. In terms of our wealth, there is no excuse for slums, poor schools, unemployment, lack of human dignity and prejudice".

Economist Haber said that the trillion dollar economy in America is less than ten years away and that Michigan is virtually sure of an even share in it. While he is speaking of lower Michigan, such affluence could not fail to influence the Upper Peninsula.

. . . unemployment is higher among Negro high school graduates than among white dropouts. As Negroes have moved into northern cities, whites have moved out—and so has much industrial activity. Such problems leave cities like Detroit in near desperation, but all the dropouts from affluence should be our concern and we have many of them in the Upper Peninsula.

Support for Army's Appearance in a Bowl Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have received many letters, telegrams, and phone calls from throughout the country supporting me in my stand favoring a bowl appearance for the U.S. Military Academy.

I am presenting a sampling of the letters here so that you may see what the public things about the Secretary of the Army's decision:

DEAR SIR: As a long time Army football fan I wish you all the best in your effort to obtain a reversal of that ridiculous decision of the Secretary of the Army.

History has proven that some of the our greatest field officers were once players for West Point.

Keep up the effort and good luck.

CALVIN L. CLEMMER.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

P.S. Those boys deserve a chance at a bowl.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE HÉBERT: I have never written a letter to a Congressman before but I was so totally dismayed at the idiotic decision to keep Army from accepting a Sugar Bowl invitation that I had to write. These are the same men who 1 or 2 years from now will be dying in Vietnam and yet they can't have the small pleasure of a Bowl Game. I hope you can exert sufficient pressure through the President possibly to reverse the decision.

In addition, individual Army players are permitted Post Season appearances in the North-South, East-West, etc. games, so what is the difference.

I think a bowl game appearance would give a tremendous unifying and morale boost to the entire country.

Sincerely,

JOHN GAFFNEY.

BURBANK, CALIF.

MR. HÉBERT: Though not a constituent of yours I wish to state that I support your attempt to get Army to the Sugar Bowl.

I have written the Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, also.

I hope you will do your utmost to get the ban lifted. I can tell you also that I am not alone in hoping for your success.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN SMITH.

LANCASTER, CALIF.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HÉBERT: As a loyal supporter of the Army football team, needless to say, I was shocked when I heard they were denied a Bowl bid by the powers to be.

Navy, for instance, has been to the Cotton Bowl in 1958 and 1964, the Sugar Bowl in 1955 and the Orange Bowl in 1961.

Air Force, too, has been to Bowl games. They were to the Cotton Bowl in 1959 and the Gator Bowl in 1964.

Surely, using the Viet Nam war as its explanation for not allowing Army to go to a Bowl game, is a weak one to say the least.

Certainly, the Viet Nam war was going on when these Bowl games were played, although probably not with the intensity as it is now.

Thanks so much for backing the Army team. I'm sure they appreciate it as much as I do.

Yours truly,

TOM STEVENSON.

BIRDSBORO, PA.

DEAR MR. HÉBERT: This letter is in regards to your protest concerning the West Point's invitation to play in the Sugar Bowl.

I wholeheartedly agree with you in this protest that "this modus operandi is typical of the Pentagon."

Being a former Marine (1958–62) I have never heard of such a ridiculous thing in my life. I am acquainted with incidences which took men from our company for activities and we had to accept their responsibilities, but we did it without gripe because the men were representing, first of all, themselves as athletes, and as Marines ready and willing to defend their country, which made us very proud of them.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to do a good deed for the men of West Point who are ready and willing to defend our United States.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD W. NECONIE,

ARLINGTON, VA.

DEAR MR. HÉBERT: As an ardent Army fan for twenty-five years, I strongly support your position on the Bowl issue.

I have been disappointed in the past on at least two other occasions of excellent Army clubs not being allowed to participate. Were not the other two service clubs allowed, it could be understood to some extent. It seems that far more good than bad could be achieved by Army's presence in a bowl.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE R. SEBAVIC.

HUNT STATION, N.Y.

DEAR MR. HÉBERT: I am indeed in sympathy with your thoughts about the Army football team not being authorized to participate in the Sugar Bowl.

The boys and the Point have been denied this privilege year after year and it is a crying shame. It seems the least that can be done for a fine body of men who may themselves be dead for the courage to fight for what seems to be an inappreciative country loaded with a lot of hippy students in other so-called colleges.

What the hell has a football game got to do with the war except that a good team can serve to bolster the morale of the men fighting there now, contrary to what the Pentagon may think? Being a former Army man, I know.

It seems to me the boys deserve this right to play and rather than icing on a cake it looks more like a last meal before the serious business of four years in the Army. Let the boys enjoy the game or would the Pentagon prefer they pass around a few needles and rotten cigarettes and fall in line with the worse element.

I am writing to the Honorable Peter Rodino and perhaps the two of you can change the minds of whoever is responsible for this unjust decision. Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH T. D'AMICO,

NUTLEY, N.J.

DEAR SIR: The recent decision forbidding the United States Military Academy football team from participation in a post-season bowl game seems highly inconsistent with the practices of the other two service academies. The main objective given by the office of the Secretary of the Army was that, "over-emphasis of football is not conducive to producing good career officers". Is this an admission by the Defense Dept. that our

Navy and Air Force have suffered because of a post-season bowl engagement? This seems ridiculous.

The only positive argument that I can see in the Secretary of the Army's decision is that it could be a good lesson in frustration for our future field commanders. This is, without a doubt, an asset to any American military commander, considering the manner in which the United States has conducted the cold war. The two more notable examples are the Korean War and the present Viet Nam conflict.

Very truly yours,

DON W. HARD.

LITTLE FERRY, N.J.

Honorable HÉBERT: As ranking member of the Armed Services Committee I implore you to act in behalf of the Army, the nation and the Cadet Corps of the United States Military academy for the Army football team to be permitted to accept the bid to the Sugar Bowl of 1968 that is inevitably forthcoming. I state the following reasons in support of my plea.

1. Urge the powers that be to send the 1967 Army football team to New Orleans to the Sugar Bowl and have it broadcast live to the troops in Vietnam and you will indeed boost the morale of every member of the United States Army, not only in Vietnam but in every corner of the world where Americans are serving.

2. It just isn't fair to penalize the Cadet Corps for a war they didn't cause, didn't start but volunteer by the hundreds every year to go and fight for this democracy, this free nation. Should they be denied the pleasure of one day for the extreme joy of seeing their team that has reached the ranks of one of the mightiest in the nation participate in this post season bowl game.

3. Dedicate the Sugar Bowl of 1968 to the troops in Vietnam, spectators some 80,000 to 100,000 strong at the game standing in memory to those who have died and in support of those who are fighting there now.

4. Were a poll taken of troops in Vietnam I daresay it would be 100% in favor of the Army team being permitted to receive the honor of playing in the Sugar Bowl.

5. Thousands or even hundreds of thousands of dollars as well as United States troops were very recently used to control unruly mobs of beatniks, rabble rousers and protesters of the Vietnam war in a demonstration on federal property. Why should the expense of the Cadet Corps participating in a post season game be denied, if this then be the reason. Is it more patriotic to permit protesting mobs to gather on federal property or for a football team from one of the military academies to participate in a bowl game.

6. Social life continues in all its glitter and glory in the White House, the Embassies and elsewhere across the nation.

7. The United States is not involved in all out war or even a declared war.

8. Since other Academy teams have played in bowl games why should this privilege be denied the United States Military Academy, West Point.

Sincerely,

EVELYN H. BROWN.

OXON HILL, MD.

Mr. Speaker, the following letter is a sample of letters I have received from West Point graduates and Army officers. For obvious reasons, I have omitted his name:

DEAR SIR: I have learned through various sources that the "official" decision on Army's post season bowl bid has been to decline all offers. I am also under the impression that the decision is a result of the mounting dissention in the U.S. over the war in Vietnam. If all of this information is correct, I feel that those who have made this decision have done the team, as well as the Armed Forces a grave injustice.

I . . . played on the varsity basketball team that traveled all over the nation. We played in Christmas Tournaments from Portland, Oregon to Miami, Florida to New York City, and were fortunate enough to play in the National Invitational Tournament (N.I.T.) three years in a row in Madison Square Garden in New York City. Every town or city that we visited turned out to give us a warm welcome and to see if the men who attended West Point were toy soldiers or really human beings. Through various personal contacts and through the actual game itself we proved to the audience that we were in fact human beings and that we had the same emotions and feelings as the hometown team. Also, in every audience, there was always a percentage of people who could in one way or other attach themselves to our team. These people were men with prior service, mothers of sons in the service, girls who loved uniforms, and boys who wanted to be soldiers. All of these people felt that we were "their" team because we represented every state in the union and we were being trained to protect their way of life.

There were a few incidents where some members of a crowd would holler some anti-Vietnam slogan or attempt to degrade us for being soldiers but they were quickly silenced by those around them who were more interested in seeing the game than listening to a fanatic, anti-American protestor. The crowds watching our basketball game, as well as the crowds at nearly all U.S. sporting events, are truly Americans enjoying a sporting event because it encompasses the ideals of our system; fair play and clean competition.

The Army Football Team is faced with the chance of a lifetime, and the Armed Forces have been given an equal opportunity to display on a friendly field of battle the ideals that have gained us respect and admiration throughout the nation. To deprive the team and the services of this chance, by making it known that the team cannot accept a post season bowl bid, is to accept some of the guilt and responsibility for a political situation. It is my opinion that the team, if asked to appear in a post season bowl, should accept and play. The team, the Armed Forces, and the United States would benefit, even if we lose the game. If the Army Team cannot appear in a bowl game because of some public dissention, are we also going to cancel the Army Navy spectacle on national television, or are we merely going to hide it from the public? I can find no justification for the Army not appearing in a major post season bowl game.

(Name withheld.)

DEAR SIR: As a long-time fan of Army Football, was elated to hear that at long last, Army might have a chance to play in a post-season bowl. I am now greatly disturbed by the rumors that the Pentagon would not allow Army to accept any bid that might be extended.

The philosophy behind the Academy's athletic program is summed up in the words of General Douglas MacArthur: "Upon the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds that upon other fields, on other days, will bear the fruits of victory."

These prophetic words have proven true in the combat performances of former academy athletes like Bradley, Dawkins, Eisenhower and Carpenter.

This year's football team does not possess a super-star of the caliber of Davis, Blanchard, or Dawkins, but it does possess a strong team spirit and an aggressive will to win. In fact, the attitude and teamwork of the squad epitomize the characteristics essential to a combat unit.

It seems a pity that this fine team may not be allowed the honor it so richly deserves.

ANONYMOUS.

WEST POINT.

Greece: Two Back, One Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, we are continually reminded, by news emanating from Greece, that that unhappy country still is in the firm grip of a military junta.

A New York Times editorial on November 14 recited a series of events which make altogether too clear the failure of this regime to recognize elementary principles of democratic government.

Even as we review these developments, we learn that the United Nations, with the approval of the U.S. Government, plans to hold the UNIDO Symposium on Industrial Development in Athens.

Mr. Speaker, does this not give the tacit approval of our Government and of the United Nations to the present Greek regime which is denying the most essential freedoms and rights to its people?

Mr. Speaker, I am aware that Members of this House have entered protests to United Nations Ambassador Goldberg to our Government's position on the UNIDO meeting. I wish to join in this protest. I insert in the RECORD the full text of the editorial cited above:

GREECE: TWO BACK, ONE FORWARD

Greece's army-dominated regime has been taking two steps backward for every step forward, while insisting that it is preparing the country for a return to constitutional government and democratic practice.

Item: When five ministers resigned or were fired recently, civilian replacements were named to four of the posts and Premier Kollias simply added the Foreign Ministry to his other responsibilities. At the same time, however, a royal decree greatly expanded—partly at the Premier's expense—the powers of Colonel Papadopoulos, strong man of the junta.

Item: In an unusual move reflecting the regime's concern for American opinion, the Greek Ambassador to Washington last month issued a "timetable" for return to parliamentary government. Then the voluble Brigadier Patakos, Interior Minister, threw the timetable in doubt, reminding a news conference that the regime had not committed itself to a date for elections and saying that they would be held "only when the appropriate conditions exist."

Item: The regime has curtailed jurisdiction of military courts set up after the coup last April. In the same move, however, it abolished trial by jury in Greece, citing "experts" as holding this practice "unsuitable and unfair." It has also arrested for alleged political activities against the regime one of the defense lawyers for Andreas Papandreou, former American economics professor and son of the former Premier, who is still awaiting trial for conspiracy to commit treason after more than six months in prison. And by way of providing not-so-comic relief, a military tribunal has sentenced a Salonika shopkeeper to four years in jail for selling a record of the music of Mikis Theodorakis, the composer who is now also under arrest on a charge of subversive activities.

Item: The regime periodically promises early restoration of press freedom, but instead recently imposed three new bans, one of which prohibits any article on Greek politics and polticians. Meanwhile, two prominent newspaper publishers, Mrs. Helen Vlachos and Christos Lambrakis, remain under arrest, the latter still without charge.

Undoubtedly there are men in the regime who hope sincerely to return Greece to the democratic path, but the heavy hand of the military is dismayingly evident and the overall record to date cannot inspire confidence.

Dissent: A Destructive Spirit Stalking the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, November 12, 1967, the Chicago Sun-Times printed an article adapted from a speech to the Associated Press Managing Editors Association convention in Chicago. The author, Daniel J. Boorstin, is a professor of American history at the University of Chicago. The article is an analogy of dissent and disagreement as we, in America, are experiencing.

His views are most interesting and very timely and I include the text of the article in the RECORD at this point:

DISSENT: A DESTRUCTIVE SPIRIT STALKING THE NATION

(By Daniel J. Boorstin)

(NOTE.—This article is adapted from a speech to the Associated Press Managing Editors Assn. convention in Chicago last month. The author is a professor of American history at the University of Chicago.)

It seems to me that dissent is the great problem of America today. It overshadows all others. It's a symptom, an expression, a consequence and a cause of all others.

I say dissent and not disagreement. And it is the distinction between dissent and disagreement which I really want to make. Disagreement produces debate but dissent produces dissension. Dissent, which comes from the Latin, means originally to feel apart from others.

People who disagree have an argument, but people who dissent have a quarrel. People may disagree but may both count themselves in the majority, but a person who dissents is by definition in a minority. A liberal society thrives on disagreement but is killed by dissension. Disagreement is the life blood of democracy, dissension is its cancer.

A debate is an orderly exploration of a common problem that presupposes that the debaters are worried by the same question. It brings to life new facts and new arguments which make possible a better solution. But dissension means discord. As the dictionary tells us, dissension is marked by a break in friendly relations. It is an expression not of a common concern but of hostile feelings. And this distinction is crucial.

Disagreement is specific and programatic, dissent is formless and unfocused. Disagreement is concerned with policy, dissenters are concerned with identity, which usually means themselves. Disagreers ask what about the war in Vietnam? Dissenters ask what about me? Disagreers seek solutions to common problems, dissenters seek power for themselves.

The spirit of dissent stalks our land. It seeks the dignity and privilege of disagreement but it is entitled to neither. All over the country on more and more subjects we hear more and more people quarreling and fewer and fewer people debating.

One feature of the situation suggests it may not be as desperate as it seems. This is what I would call the law of the conspicuousness of dissent which is another way of saying there never is quite as much dissent as there seems.

It is obvious a sermon is less newsworthy than a debate and a debate still less newsworthy than a riot. The natural bias of the record tends to lead us to emphasize and inevitably overemphasize the extent of dissent.

The very character of American history has accentuated our tendency to dissent. We are an immigrant society. We are made up of many different groups who came here and who felt separate from one another, who were separated not so much by doctrine or belief as by the minutiae of daily life. By language, religious practices, cuisine and even manners. Until the 1930s and '40s, the predominant aim of those who were most concerned in this country with the problem of immigration was to restrict immigration or to assimilate those immigrants who were admitted. To Americanize the immigrant—this was the motto of those who were most concerned with this question.

But in the last few decades we have had a movement from assimilation to integration. And this is an important distinction. In about the 1930s Louis Adamic began writing, and in his book, "A Nation of Nations," in 1945 he began an emphasis which has been often repeated. It was no longer the right of the immigrant to be Americanized, to be assimilated, it was now the right of the immigrant to remain different.

The ideal ceased to be that of fitting into the total society and instead became the right to retain your differences. Symptoms of this were such phenomenal politics as the rise of the balanced ticket, a ticket which consists of outspoken and obvious representatives of different minorities. It brought with it the assumption that the only 100 per cent American is the person who is only partly American.

It led Gen. Eisenhower to make something of his German name and his German background which had not occurred to very many of us before. It encouraged John F. Kennedy to exploit his Irish background, the notion being that one was more fully American by being partly something else.

This sense of separateness and the power of minorities developed alongside two great movements. One, in the social sciences, the growth of literature, much of which stems from universities in this area, the University of Chicago, the literature of the social sciences which came to show minorities who they were, where they were, and what their power might be.

Gunnar Myrdal's book, "American Dilemma," which was quoted by the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954, was a very good illustration of this. The rise of opinion polling also led into this. People in small groups were reminded that they had a power and a locale which they had not known before.

Stokely Carmichael himself has referred to this on several occasions—that he may represent a group which is not very numerous but he knows where they are. They are in crucial places where they can exercise power.

Alongside this change in our thinking and extension of our knowledge came a change in technology which I would call the rise of flow technology. Minimum speed 40 miles an hour. This means that while formerly, in order to do damage to other people, it was necessary for you to set things in motion—to wave your arms or wield a club—that now when the economy and the technology are in motion, if you want to cause damage you need only stop and the other people do the damage.

This is a parable which was illustrated in the blackout in New York, the stall-ins and sit-ins. At a time when certain students seized the administration building at a neighboring university last year, all they had to do was to take the administration building. All the salary checks flowed through the IBM machines in that building and they were able to throw a monkey wrench into the machinery.

This has the effect of developing what I would call a minority-veto psychology. Small groups have more power than ever before. In small numbers there is strength. This results in the quest for minority identity. Whereas formerly people used to change their names to sound more American, to try to fit into the background, now the contrary seems to be occurring.

And we find symptoms of this in the intellectual world, or I should say rather, in a world of those who consider themselves, or call themselves intellectuals, I find in this world today, in this country, a growing belief in the intrinsic virtue of dissent.

It's worth noting that some of the greatest American champions of the right to disagree and to express disagreement—Jefferson, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., William James, John Dewey and others—were men who were also men who were the great believers in the duty of the community to be peacefully governed by the will of the majority.

But more recently dissent itself has been made into a virtue. Dissent for dissent's sake.

Professional dissenters do not and cannot seek to assimilate their program or ideals into American culture. Their main object is to preserve and conceal their separate identity as a dissenting minority. They're not interested in the freedom of anybody else. The motto of this group might be an emanation of the old maxim of Voltaire which I'm sure you've all heard. But nowadays people would say, "I do not agree with a word you say. And I will defend to the death MY right to say so."

Once upon a time our intellectuals competed for their claim to be spokesmen of the community. Now the time has almost arrived when the easiest way to insult the intellectual is to tell him that you or most other people agree with him. The way to menace him is to put him in the majority, for the majority must run things and must have a program, and dissent needs no program.

Dissent, then, has tended to become the conformity of our most educated classes. In many circles, to be an outspoken conformist, that is to say the prevailing ways of the community are not "evil," requires more courage than to run with the dissenting pack.

There is an increasing tendency also to confuse disagreement with dissent. For example, the homosexuals in our society are a group who feel separate—and are in one point of view a classic example of what we meant by the dissenter—articulate their views in declarations and statements. Nowadays, they become disagreers, they have formed a society, they issue declarations. This, I would say, is good.

But on the other hand we find disagreers who are increasingly tempted to use the techniques of dissent. Students who disagree about the war in Vietnam use the techniques of dissent, of affirming their secession from society, and this is bad.

The expressions of disagreement may lead to better policy, but dissent cannot.

The affirmation of differentness and feeling apart cannot hold a society together and in fact these tend to destroy the institutions which make disagreement possible. A sniper's bullet is an eloquent expression of dissent, of feeling apart. It doesn't express disagreement. It is formless, inarticulate, unproductive. A society of disagreers is a free and fertile and productive society. A society of dissenters is a chaos leading only to dissension.

Two Successful Methods for Meeting the Problems of the Inner City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, we have all become aware in the past years, that a great deal of the solution of the problem of poverty in the United States, lies in the urban centers of our country. That is where a great deal of the poverty is, and the problems that are concomitant to poverty. If we can solve the problems of our cities, and help them help themselves, we will be well on the way to ending many of our Nation's problems.

I would like to draw the attention of my colleagues to two statements. The first is a report of the John F. Kennedy Family Service Center, Inc., of Charlestown, Mass. The Kennedy Center, in cooperation with Boston College, the Boston School Department, the Archdiocese of Boston, Boston Catholic Television Center, Inc., Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston Department of Health and Hospitals, and Boston Hospital for Women, has developed a comprehensive program to help families with all those services of health, education, and welfare.

This is a multiservice center that illustrates how much can be done when dedicated individuals work in cooperation with diverse institutions.

The second statement I would like to insert in the RECORD is that of Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board of General Electric. This is an example of the awareness and responsibility demonstrated by a number of leaders of business. These men realize that individuals, families, business, and the entire Nation benefit when we help our disadvantaged citizens take part in those benefits which the majority of us enjoy.

Many programs of the antipoverty program have been praised by leaders in business, for they have found that they benefit by having an increased work force that is trained and educated. I think Mr. Phillippe is an example of many forward-looking businessmen today—aware of the country's problems and willing to spend time and money to end them.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert this report and this statement in the RECORD at this time:

STATEMENT OF THE JOHN F. KENNEDY FAMILY SERVICE CENTER, INC., CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

The Kennedy Center is a private, nonprofit, nonsectarian, charitable corporation established in 1965 as Boston's first multiservice center. It is designed to provide a unique organizational and programmatic framework for delivering coordinated health, education, and welfare services that demonstrate effective ways of reducing and preventing health and social predicaments. The major goals of the Center include:

(1) providing comprehensive services that are available, accessible, and acceptable on a neighborhood level;

(2) reaching out to serve individuals and families who are least able or willing to seek out and use the help of existing resources; and,

(3) making available a battery of services coordinated around the family as a unit.

To help achieve these goals, Boston College and the Kennedy Center originally began collaborating in the development, planning, implementation and analysis of new programs in community, health, education, employment and welfare.

The partnership for service now includes Massachusetts General Hospital, the Boston Department of Health and Hospitals, the Boston School Department, the Archdiocesean School Department and Boston Catholic Television Center, Inc.

The Center is now selected as a training facility for advanced students in psychology, nursing, education and employment by local colleges and universities.

The Center has already established coordinated relationships with over 160 public and private social agencies in evolving the patterns of institutional relationships necessary in accomplishment of the multiservice objectives. This growing "partnership of service" to the individual, the family and the community is the hallmark of the Kennedy Center's operation.

Five thousand, three hundred and ninety (5,390) individuals have been registered and served by the Center during two years and seven months of operation (March 16, 1965, through October 31, 1967). The kinds of services utilized by these individuals during this period of operation are as follows:

Services:	*Number of individuals*
Family counseling services	280
Legal aid services	827
General employment	848
Older worker training and employment	993
Surplus food services	222
Neighborhood services	122
Youth services	15
Tutoring	516
Headstart	432
ABCD summer youth employment	233
Neighborhood Youth Corps	446
Project Life	68
Elderly services (began December 1966)	388
Total	5, 390

The evolution of programs is determined in large measure by the actual and more manifest needs of the community. The identification of these needs has been aided by the Center's acceptance as a new partner of community life. Our recognition of the fact that human problems are multi-faceted dictates the need for effective internal coordination of programs as well as the interdigitation of the services of other agencies. Thus, the Center staff does not act unilaterally on behalf of a client but offers the total resources of the Center to each individual. The principle of assisting people in all their needs is the mandate under which the Kennedy Center operates.

Now with the preparation of *Bunker Hill, U.S.A.*, the next several years will witness new program development for comprehensive health care services and educational innovations.

The objectives of *Bunker Hill, U.S.A.*, are to:

(1) generate new educational opportunities for an entire neighborhood (in cooperation with the Boston School Department, Archdiocese of Boston, Boston College, and Boston Catholic Television Center, Inc.);

(2) provide an entire inner-city community with a comprehensive, coordinated, and continuous child-oriented family health care service (in cooperation with Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston Department of Health and Hospitals, Boston Hospital for Women); and,

(3) development of new methods for providing and coordinating these services for a community in need.

The organizational and administrative details of the program are available in Volumes I, II, and III.

BUNKER HILL, U.S.A.

Volume I: Comprehensive Health Care Service and Educational Innovations Utilizing Tele-communications Systems for Charlestown, Massachusetts, January, 1967

Volume II: Massachusetts General Hospital-Kennedy Center Multi-Service Complex for Child-Oriented, Comprehensive Family Health Care Services for Residents of Charlestown, Massachusetts, February, 1967

Volume III: Educational Technology Network—Innovations in Seven Public and Non-Public Schools of Charlestown, Massachusetts, July 1967.

PHILLIPPE ASKS NEW DEDICATION IN MEETING CRISIS OF THE CITIES

(A statement to General Electric employees by Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board)

The problems of America's cities, long neglected, are mounting up to crisis proportions.

Air and water pollution, strangled traffic, dilapidated housing, declining economic vitality, danger on the streets—the litany of woes in our city centers is long and discouragingly familiar.

Even worse than this physical and economic deterioration is the social disintegration represented by the slums. Increasingly, our city centers are becoming ghettos of the poor, peopled by Negroes and other minority groups who live in poverty and hopelessness.

The frustrations of the poor are piling up into a stack of social dynamite, and it is beginning to explode. In 1965, we saw rioting in Harlem and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco, and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets. General Electric has plants in many of these cities, and so we have had direct experience and real concern with these tragic events.

No American can view such disorders with complacency. Law and order must be maintained, but even more importantly, we must recognize the terrible urgency of the problems of the poor.

Their frustrations are rising to such a point that none of us can consider himself, his family, or his country safe until we can restore hope and dignity to the disadvantaged people. We must get more constructive action started to keep our society from being torn apart. This is a problem we can't just walk away from and leave to the federal government to struggle with. All citizens and segments of our society must do what they can to help.

COMPANY MUST DO ITS SHARE

The crisis of the cities calls for still more local and private initiatives, and General Electric, as one of the country's most important private institutions, has to carry its share of the load.

We have already demonstrated our capabilities in applying technology to the physical problems of the city: electric transit to relieve traffic congestion and air pollution; street lighting and police communications systems to reduce crime and accidents on the street; and many other products that make cities cleaner, healthier, safer places to live in.

But even more pressing are the problems that will not respond to technological solutions: the problems of unemployment and discrimination that have driven the people of the slums to the point of desperation.

Here, General Electric and other private enterprises can and must take more direct and effective action.

Basically, what the people of the slums want are useful jobs, decent housing, a good education for their children, an end to harrassment, and an opportunity to share in the American way of life. That certainly is not unreasonable. But a lot of changes will have to be made, obstacles and barriers will have to be removed, people in all walks of life will have to pitch in and help, to bring about the changes needed in the shortest possible time.

I recently agreed to serve on the Steering Committee of a nationwide organization called the Urban Coalition. It is an organization of about 1,000 leaders in business, religion, labor, civil rights, and local government who have united to genearte more local and private-sector action toward solving the problems of the cities.

The Urban Coalition has a Task Force on Private Employment, and I have agreed to serve as its co-chairman. It is aimed primarily at stimulating programs to develop the attitudes and skills required for productive employment, and find jobs in commerce and industry for the hard-core unemployed. This will involve enlargement of the many programs already underway by companies, volunteer groups, and business associations. It will involve getting action started in communities where little or nothing has been done. It will require the enlistment of cooperation from the five million business firms, large and small, that make up the American business community.

I want to be sure that we in General Electric, as a company and as private individuals, set an increasingly progressive example. As you well know, we have been among the leaders in reducing the formal and informal barriers of discrimination, and have pursued progressive employment policies. But we must do even more, as a pace-setter, because of our almost unique position as an employer with factories in some 129 American cities, and sales and service facilities in hundreds of other cities.

TAKING STOCK OF JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS IN THE COMPANY

Our Employee Relations Service is preparing inventories of what we have underway in terms of training and qualifying disadvantaged people for industrial work. By sharing the experiences of one location with another, we can find out what works, what problems arise, and how to cope with the inevitable difficulties. A preliminary survey indicates that components of the Company are already participating in 64 local programs of this sort, and have hired more than 3,000 graduates of anti-poverty training programs.

One of the most common approaches is through cooperation with institutional training programs established under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Job Corps has been another source of qualified personnel. I have been a strong supporter of the Job Corps, and when I have visited the Job Corps Center that's operated by our affiliate, General Learning Corporation, in Clinton, Iowa, I have seen what fine human rehabilitation work is being done there.

Still other approaches with growing acceptance in General Electric are the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and other local operations like the Opportunities Industrialization Centers under the leadership of Reverend Leon Sullivan. Many of our components are providing financial aid, equipment, and personal assistance in setting up these training centers in the neighborhoods where they are needed.

LOCAL MANAGEMENT HAS ROLE TO PLAY IN JOBS FOR NEGROES

In many locations, General Electric people have taken leadership in forwarding the work of such organizations as Whitney Young's Urban League, which has a long and solid record of opening up employment opportunities for Negroes. More and more, we are learning that General Electric serves best where local management joins local programs of community action in a realistic manner.

We have been making very fine progress in the general task of making equal employment opportunity a live reality in our factories, laboratories, and offices in every part of the country, and I know you are all proud of that. But we must keep everlastingly at it, with continued in-Company training, moving up the promotion ladder those who qualify for advancement so that still more jobs will be available for those who are just entering the industrial labor force.

Nor does the work end with training and jobs for the unskilled. We must step up our efforts to help Negro higher education and bring other companies and associations into greater action on this front, so that we will have a larger body of qualified Negroes for professional and managerial work. And the same goes for other disadvantaged minorities—the Indians, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, and any other ethnic group that has experienced discrimination in education and employment in this country.

ALL EMPLOYEES CAN HELP THROUGH PERSONAL EXAMPLE

This is not just a management problem. We can all help. General Electric employees can help through their personal example: their own attitude of tolerance and helpfulness; their patience with difficulties; their citizenship in voting for constructive leadership, and resisting the demagogues who appeal to prejudice rather than reason. The deepest problem is the problem of personal indifference. Most of us would prefer that somebody else take on the involvement. That will not get the job done. We are called upon, as citizens concerned for our country and our community, to commit our hearts and minds to this task.

I have been stressing the immediate problems of the underprivileged people, but the needs of the cities go beyond that—and herein lies a long-range opportunity for General Electric both to serve and to grow as a business. Our Company has expanded over the years by serving the needs of society: lifting standards of living, increasing industrial productivity, serving the national defense. We know that the problems of the cities—slums, crime, air and water pollution, traffic congestion—are building up a huge need for many of the products and services that this Company can provide.

Now we will have to organize ourselves to turn these needs into broader markets, and serve them on a much more creative basis than we have to date. We are establishing in Services in New York a clearinghouse and consulting group to help energize the Company's approach to urban problems and urban markets. One of its early tasks will be to determine what more General Electric can and should be doing to provide useful jobs for the people of the disadvantaged minorities. But it will also take a longer look at the whole range of metropolitan problems to see how our technology can be applied, on a constructive and business-like basis, to the challenge of improving life in the cities.

SERVING THE PUBLIC INTEREST

For the Company, there has never been a greater opportunity to serve the public interest and the interests of General Electric people at the same time. For more than 300,000 employees of General Electric, there is an opportunity to demonstrate the kind of leadership and citizenship that will add vitality to our cities and tremendous satisfaction to our personal lives.

Our response will have lasting effect on the kind of country we live in and hand on to our children.

Thoughts on Veterans Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, many addresses were made on Veterans Day, and I know that many Members of this House participated in programs on this day, honoring those who served the cause of freedom through the years.

There is particular interest, however, in the annual program at Arlington National Cemetery, and I was impressed by the address made on that occasion by the Honorable Paul H. Nitze, Deputy Secretary of Defense. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include it here, as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: Words are a weak and almost wasted effort in the face of valor.

No one who has ever stood over the ashes of the fallen has not felt the inadequacy of speech to give full meaning to the moment.

The two most famous memorial orations in Western literature were delivered in circumstances not unlike ours here today. One was Pericles speaking in Athens; the other, Lincoln at Gettysburg. The two men were separated by nearly twenty-three centuries; and yet each sensed the same poignant inability to find words worthy of those buried before them.

"To many who have spoken here in the past," argued Pericles, "it has seemed a mark of honor to our soldiers who have fallen in war that a speech should be made over them. I do not agree. These men have shown themselves valiant in action, and it would be enough, I think, for their glories to be proclaimed in action."

And at Gettysburg, the sensitive, eloquent Lincoln felt compeled to utter:

"The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."

Why is it that we feel wordless before the fallen?

Is it the stark fact of death itself? Is it numb and nameless awe in the face of death's finality?

I think not.

All men die. Death is the most certain—the most universal—of all human events.

All men die. But not all men *serve* before they die.

What robs our words of worthiness at a ceremony such as this, is—I think—the realization that it is not we who speak, but they: they who lie here; they who sleep beneath these grassy slopes; they who have served and died.

And what do they tell us?

They tell us—do they not?—that it is they who should rest, but not yet we.

They tell us—do they not[—that it is they who have served this Republic, but not yet we.

They tell us—do they not?—that it is they who have set a seal to their valor, but not yet we.

We lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers.

But it is not they who are unknown.

It is we.

They are known. Not their names. Not their rank. Not their identity.

But they are known in a far more profound sense: they are known for what they *did*. They are known for *why* they died. They are unknown for how they *served*.

Compared to them, *we* are the unknowns.

For we have yet to prove how we shall serve. We have yet to prove what we shall do. We have yet to prove why we shall have lived.

Shall we live for others—as did they?

Shall we do our onerous duty—as did they?

Shall we serve this Republic—as did they?

Only when our lives have run their final course can it be said of us that we are known. Until then we remain but an unknown potential.

Those who lie buried about us proved their potential.

It is we who are the *Unknown*. Not they.

These thousands lie here—as hundreds of thousands of veterans lie elsewhere about the nation, and about the globe—in an ultimate equality.

They died to serve the democracy of the living.

It is in that democracy that we are privileged to live. It is a privilege we must all be prepared to protect. For democracy is not, of itself, perennial. It can grow weak.

There is littered on history's shore many a shipwrecked State.

Some died of over-reaching ambition. Some died of internal decay. Some died merely because they preferred frivolity to vigilance, naivete to knowledge, or weakness to strength.

"Si vis pacem"—cried the ancient Romans—*"para bellum."*

"If you want peace, prepare for war."

It is a lesson that ancient Rome itself came, in time, to neglect.

We here in the United States—and our allies about the world—do not intend to neglect that lesson.

We see freedom as a flame. That is why we bear torches in this ceremony today.

But the flame of freedom—lest it be extinguished—must be fueled. It must be fueled with our dedication. It must be fueled with our sacrifice. It must be fueled with our resolve.

Our veterans—living and dead—have displayed that dedication, that sacrifice, that resolve.

The demands on our persistence, on our perseverance, on our sense of purpose will not diminish in the months that lie ahead.

We face foes whose stubbornness is steeped and seasoned in closed ideological rigidity, and thus who cannot distinguish in our open, free society between dissent and divisiveness—between unity and uniformity.

The totalitarian temptation is always to read into divergence of views a disloyalty to duty.

There is divergency of views in this Republic—and may there always be. It is a Republic founded—and fought over—to protect that very right.

But there is no disloyalty to duty.

If the cermonies we celebrate throughout the Republic this morning—on Veterans Day—symbolize anything, it is loyalty to duty.

Let those who would be our adversaries abroad inspect more closely our national ledger of loyalty. They will find no liabilities listed there, but only vast reserves of readiness to respond to the Republic's needs.

There is no deficit in devotion to duty in this nation.

On the contrary, the assets of allegiance are beyond calculation.

That is the inner and irrefutable significance of Veterans Day: that this Republic stands ready to meet its responsibilities, cost what it may.

The men who lie at rest about us—in this annointed soil—did not count the cost in miserly and meticulous detail.

Nor shall we, the living, do so.

We shall protect this Republic, as it has protected us.

We shall promote its rights, as its rights have promoted us.

We shall preserve its rectitude, as its rectitude has preserved us.

Thank you, and good morning.

Convert the Postal Service Into a Government Owned and Operated Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, Postmaster General O'Brien's imaginative proposal to convert the postal service into a Government owned and operated corporation is now being studied by a Special Commission appointed by the President. We all wait the Commission's report, due to be submitted to the President by April, with great interest. In the meantime, however, Mr. O'Brien's recommendation has failed to generate the public interest and support it must have if it is to have any chance of being put into effect.

The Postmaster General's idea has a great deal to recommend it and, as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch pointed out in a recent editorial, it merits much wider public attention, discussion, and support. I include the Post-Dispatch editorial with my remarks:

SAVE THE NEW POST OFFICE

Though gratified with the extent of favorable public response to his prosposal last April to reorganize the United States Post Office as a Government corporation, Postmaster General O'Brien believes there are as yet too few who are acquainted with the idea. Roper Research Associates found in a poll that response to the proposal is about evenly divided among those who favor it, those who oppose it and those who have no opinion. The pollsters said their study indicates that the more people knew about it the more favorably inclined toward it they became.

Form of organization is inherently a subject of no widespread public appeal. What most people are interested in is prompt mail delivered at low price. A smaller number are also concerned for the Post Office to operate without undue subsidy from their tax payments. The task of marshalling support for Mr. O'Brien's idea will be that of showing that these public desires can be met by a Government corporation but not by a department in the executive branch.

As the executive bureau is our best device for performing the operations of governing, the corporation has shown itself to be our best device for operating those functions of government which are in the nature of businesses. Postal service is a form of business which the Government is obliged to operate. Mr. O'Brien believes a business structure for it would: ease the problem of obtaining funds for badly needed modern facilities by issuing bonds; encouraging initiative and continuity of management; give widened scope to businesslike thinking and methods; free management from archaic restrictions on planning and maximize use of resources and manpower.

To give currency to these principles of business administration as they apply to business functions of government will require more widespread participation than even the Post Office can bring about. There is, furthermore, often an inertia to change if things seem to be going along well. The more pertinent consideration, as the Postmaster General points out, is that the volume of mail is conservatively expected to increase 74 per cent in the coming 20 years. The Post Office Department is extending itself to handle the present unprecedented volume and in Mr. O'Brien's judgment will be unable to cope with the prospective increases with existing methods. A modern business organization for it is therefore of an order of urgency which does not appear on the surface.

Communications Workers of America Petition Congress To Attack Causes of Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, this is a time of national reassessment. The tragic violence and unrest which have torn so many of our great cities have propelled us into a reexamination of our present domestic policies and attitudes, and have driven us to seek better ways to meet the basic needs of all Americans and make available to all the training and education which are prerequisites for individual advancement in our society.

It is most encouraging to find this search for constructive initiatives being undertaken not only in Congress, but by concerned citizens throughout the Nation. One such group is the Communications Workers of America, which has circulated among its membership a number of petitions calling for immediate action and proposing several steps to meet the need for jobs, housing, and education for the disadvantaged.

I would like to call these petitions to the attention of my colleagues, and commend the CWA members who have signed them for their demonstrated concern and their constructive approach to a very frustrating and challenging national test.

The text of the petition follows:

PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: YOU DON'T LIKE RIOTS?—WELL, NEITHER DO WE

Americans everywhere agree that action must be taken now to eliminate the causes which lead to rioting and civil disturbances in our nation.

The recent lives lost and property damaged in riots that ravaged our cities proved that the cities and states cannot carry the burden alone.

Only the Congress of the United States has both the responsibility and authority to pass the laws and appropriate the funds for jobs, housing and education needed now by the millions of impoverished Americans.

History itself has taught us that where these three basic needs are left unmet, all races are trapped in filthy, rat-infested ghettos ripe for rioting or in deplorable conditions which are "dead-end." The answer is a creative, constructive, practical program that will benefit *all* Americans directly or indirectly—not a giveaway!

Therefore, we, the undersigned, believe Congress must act by providing:

1. Jobs: Put people to work. As recommended by the President's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, the government should become "the employer of last resort" by providing public service employment opportunities for workers who are unsuccessful in competing for jobs in private industry. This would put every American who is able and willing to work on a job.

2. Housing: Slum housing in this nation must go; unsafe, infested buildings must be cleaned up or closed down and decent shelter must be built. Money appropriated for this purpose must be spent carefully and efficiently, and new funds must be appropriated as needed.

3. Education: A policy should be adopted and implemented to provide free public education from pre-kindergarten up to and including the doctorate level for all, with only ability and motivation serving as qualifying factors.

By means of this petition, we make known to you that the American public demands the action that is needed now to solve the problems of the cities.

This petition sponsored by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO. The Community-Minded Union.

Rockville, District Heights GI's Die in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Robert R. Groom and Pfc. Michael J. Hoover, two servicemen from Maryland, were recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of these young men and to honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ROCKVILLE, DISTRICT HEIGHTS GI's DIE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

A 20-year-old soldier from Montgomery county, Pfc. Robert R. Groom, was killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Private Groom, a paratrooper from Rockville, Md., was shot in action just south of the demilitarized zone.

The Defense Department also announced the death in Vietnam of Pfc. Michael J. Hoover, of District Heights, Md., though not as a result of enemy fire.

RECOMMENDED FOR CORPORAL

Private Groom, 20, had been recommended for a promotion to corporal, but he was killed November 11 before the promotion came through, a spokesman for the family said.

He attended Western Junior High School in Bethesda, Md., and graduated from West Nottingham Academy in Colora, Md., in 1966.

Private Groom, who was with the 101st Airborne Division, worked as a lifeguard and water ski instructor at Ocean City, Md., before he enlisted. He received his training at Fort Benning, Ga., and at Fort Bragg, N.C.

SURVIVED BY MOTHER

He is survived by his mother, Mrs. Marjorie Groom, of Rockville, who is the chief librarian of the Foreign Studies School of American University in Washington; and a sister, Miss Nancy Groom, a sophomore at Penn Hall School, Chambersburg, Pa.

Funeral services were held today. Burial was at Arlington National Cemetery.

Private Hoover is the husband of Mrs. Barbara L. Hoover, of 2430 Rochelle avenue, District Heights.

The President Vigorously Defends an Enviable Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, in what James Reston, of the New York Times, called "as effective a performance as has been seen at a White House news conference in years," President Johnson vigorously defended the record of his administration before the eyes of the Nation and the press.

What came through was the essential Lyndon Johnson: the man Reston said:

> . . . has extended the Negro's franchise . . . raised the standard of education and of living . . . and . . . has presided over the most spectacular peacetime economic boom in the history of the United States

That record alone would entitle any President to be called a great leader. But what Reston cited was only part of the remarkable Johnson record of accomplishment in 4 years.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson was highly effective in his press conference on Friday not because of some new technique, as some seem to think, but because he was defending one of the finest records ever compiled by any President of the United States.

More has been done in the last 4 years for the education of our children, for the improved health of the population, for the revival of our cities, for the raising up of the Negro and other minorities, for the general good and well-being of this Nation than had been done by some Presidents in a century.

President Johnson's own words are in place here:

> We have made revolutionary strides in education and health and conservation. . . . We feel we have brought a degree of stability in our international relations in this hemisphere through the Alliance for Progress . . . we think we have, working with other nations, made material advances in helping underdeveloped nations in Africa. . . .
>
> We're happy that nine million more people have good paying jobs today than had when I came into this office. . . .

Any man would be proud of a record like that. Any man would be proud to bring it to the American people as President Johnson did last week in the White House.

I hope the American people will not be confused by false rhetoric and glittering personalities in the days ahead.

We do not elect a personality as President of the United States. We do not vote for a face or a name. We vote for a man and his record, and Lyndon B. Johnson has that record.

HUD Centers Bring Services to Poor Areas—Social and Economic Help Provided

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. RONAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 24, 1967

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has asked Secretary Robert C. Weaver to set as HUD's goal "the establishment—in every ghetto of America—of a neighborhood center to service the people who live there." This I considered an important pledge to the millions of Americans trapped in urban ghettos without adequate service facilities.

Recently the Chicago Tribune reported that, today, we have more than 100 neighborhood centers projects underway to carry out this Presidential pledge and to bring much needed assistance to the people of ghetto areas.

These neighborhood centers will provide ghetto areas with a wide range of services such as remedial education, health, welfare, job training, home management, day care, and so forth. As noted by Secretary Robert C. Weaver:

> Bringing such services together where the people live will express in a practical way the community's concern for these people and their needs.

Mr. Speaker, I commend President Johnson and Secretary Weaver for making this pledge to the disadvantaged a reality. It is a great step forward.

So that my colleagues might read about this promising program, I include an article from the Chicago Tribune in the RECORD:

HUD CENTERS BRING SERVICES TO POOR AREAS—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HELP PROVIDED

WASHINGTON, October 3.—More than 100 American cities have neighborhood centers projects under way to bring needed assistance to people in the poorer areas where they live, says the department of housing and urban development.

HUD had approved 29 million dollars for facilities to house 103 such centers thru June 30. Federal grants up to two-thirds of the cost of such facilities were authorized in the housing and urban development act of 1965.

The centers are intended to end the time-consuming, discouraging search that poorer families often face in seeking social and economic help in scattered and often distant locations in the community.

LEFT OUT, FORGOTTEN

"Bringing such services together where the people live will express in a practical way the community's concern for these people and their needs," said Robert C. Weaver, secretary of housing and urban development. "It can offset much of the hostility in these areas that springs from the belief that the problems of the poorer segment have been left out and forgotten."

Services offered will vary in each community, but will generally include such services as:

Remedial education, recreation, health, welfare, employment counseling and job training, day care, voluntary community service programs, housing and home management, legal aid, senior citizens activities, and others.

TWO CENTERS IN CHICAGO

Chicago has two such centers, and there is one in East St. Louis.

The first such center to begin operations is the Leap community service center in Phoenix, Ariz., with a $185,226 HUD grant. Leap [leadership and education for the advancement of Phoenix] is the city's community action agency, operating with office of economic opportunity poverty program assistance.

Other projects are either under construction or in planning.

The Phoenix center, a renovated supermarket, houses 18 public and private social agencies, providing one-stop help or referral service for residents of the area. The center also increases the cooperative action of agencies serving the same people. A central filing system enables any agency represented at the center to have a complete record of a client's problems and any referrals or services already rendered.

PAY CONSTRUCTION COSTS

HUD grants are provided for the construction of the centers [either new buildings or additions to existing buildings, or rehabilitated structures]. The services and staff of the centers will be provided by other agencies—federal, state, local, or public or private groups.

To develop methods for closer coordination between local, state, and federal programs in the services provided for these neighborhood centers, a pilot program was launched in June in 14 cities. This program is a coordinated action of four federal agencies—the department of health, education and welfare, the department of housing and urban development, the department of labor, and OEO.

The OEO Cutback

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have spoken out against the waste and mismanagement in the Office of Economic Opportunity, and I have criticized OEO for failing in its stated purpose of helping the poor.

The following editorial, which appeared in the Kingsport, Tenn., Times-News, provides sound basis for this criticism, and I insert it in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues.

It is disgraceful that needy children are being dropped from the rolls of Headstart programs in order that more adult administrators and employees can have a share of the OEO windfall.

This editorial comes straight to the point, and I feel it is worthy of serious thought. It is as follows:

THE OEO CUTBACK

Since there is not enough money to hire more adults in the Head Start program in this area, 100 children are to be dropped from the rolls.

It appears that jobs for the adults are more important than training children, the reason the agency was organized.

This announcement brings to mind a speech made by Rep. Frank T. Bow of Ohio, the other day in Congress. It was after the Office of Economic Opportunity ran out of ink in the middle of a press run since it had no funds with which to buy more.

"A few days ago an indignant constituent sent me a handsome magazine of 30 pages or more, printed on slick paper, published by the OEO to extol its own virtues. I have asked for a justification," the Ohioan said, continuing:

"In one day's mail last week I received four communications from OEO, some with enclosures, two of them from Mr. Shriver, explaining to me that OEO deserves a new lease on life.

"I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if the OEO spent less money on paper and ink advertising itself and lobbying for its own programs, it might have sufficient funds."

The Ohio Congressman hit the nail right of the head. Should 100 children be cut off from Head Start because of lack of funds?

If the money which is being spent by OEO to perpetuate itself was spent where it should be, there might well be enough for both the 100 children AND the additional workers.

Troubled VISTA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, VISTA is one of the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity which has been hard hit by the irresponsibility of the House in refusing to vote for a continuing resolution, and finally voting a ceiling of $1.6 billion for this fiscal year. VISTA volunteers had to skip paychecks. According to an article by James Wechsler in the New York Post, there was a strong feeling among New York VISTA volunteers to donate their paychecks to local community action programs, which have been even harder hit. One young lady, Charlene Todd, a lifelong Republican, was seriously considering sending her unendorsed check to the distinguished minority leader, as a form of protest.

VISTA has been one of the most successful programs of the war on poverty. The other body has approved $33 million for fiscal year 1968, $2 million more than the administration request for VISTA, the House, on the other hand, would reduce VISTA's budget to $25 million, a million less than the fiscal year 1967 budget for a program which clearly needs to be expanded, not cut back. There are 3,417 VISTA volunteers in the field and another 763 in training. There are 197 VISTA volunteers in New York City. With a cut in the antipoverty budget to $1.6 billion, and a parallel reduction in the VISTA budget, many of these young people could not continue working, or they would not be replaced when they left. Their work is too significant to permit this to happen.

I include an article by James Wechsler from the New York Post of November 15, entitled "Troubled VISTA." It shows not only the successes of VISTA in New York City, but the local effects of the Congress' irresponsibility:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Post, Nov. 15, 1967]

TROUBLED VISTA

(By James A. Wechsler)

In deference to the plea of Labor Secretary Wirtz for accentuation of positive news, it would seem fitting to devote today's remarks to the dedicated efforts of blonde, bright-eyed, 20-year-old Charlene Todd in behalf of Manhattan's underprivileged.

Yet even this story will fail to meet the Secretary's agonized prescription for cheerful reporting. At the moment Miss Todd and most of the 199 other VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) workers assigned to this city are fighting mad.

The cause of their anger is the mindless Congressional rampage against anti-poverty appropriations that has resulted in the temporary shutdown of some projects in New York and other key battlegrounds.

It is no solace to Charlene Todd and her cohorts that VISTA, often described as the domestic counterpart of the Peace Corps, is likely to suffer less from the fiscal onslaught than such indigenous neighborhood operations as Head Start.

"I suppose we may survive because most of us in VISTA come from middle-class families and Congressmen are worried about how such people might react," Miss Tood remarked yesterday.

"But the effect of the whole drive against all the poverty programs could be terrible in the neighborhoods where we work. The people feel it's a war against them."

So outraged are VISTA's young men and women by the "economy" crusade on Capitol Hill that they were meeting last night to discuss the disposal of their own modest pay checks. Their first instinct was to donate this week's stipend to Community Action Program units, but so many have closed down that a new strategy was being formulated.

"My feeling is that we should all send our checks—unendorsed—to Congressman Ford," Miss Todd said.

Her comment should be of special interest to Mr. Ford, the GOP House whip; she comes from his home state of Michigan; during her college years (class of '65 at Western Michigan) she was an active young Republican, and remains a devoted Romneyite. Her father is an engineer for the U.S. Rubber Co.; there is not a subversive in the household.

Miss Todd works out of a cluttered, often tumultuous ground-floor office in a tenement at 101 W. 84th St. (a street of very sad renown). Most of her energies are devoted to obtaining jobs for idle, frustrated Negro youths; she does so by ruthlessly slashing red tape and directly approaching private enterprises.

Some, such as the Sloan Supermarket, have been warmly responsive. In three months, Miss Todd observes in such casual tones that one cannot disbelieve her, she has found employment for 200 kids.

"The older ones just won't go to the New York State Employment Service any more," she says. "They're found it takes weeks and weeks to get anything—or nothing."

When I talked with Miss Todd, Jim Laham, a 22-year-old VISTA worker from Massachusetts, and Richard Thompson, a 21-year-old Negro resident of the area in which she works, were with her. Much of the time she and Laham (who concentrates on rent problems at an office at 73 W. 105th St.) held the floor, discussing their work and the hideous cost of war.

Then, toward the end, Thompson, for whom Miss Todd has just found a research job at the Kauffield Engineering Co., spoke out with sudden emotion:

"People like myself never had anyone take a real interest in us until Charlene and her friends came into the neighborhood," he said.

"That office is the one place we know where we can find human beings—now kids are coming there from all over. Charlene has the trust and faith of the people. That's what counts."

Then the talk turned to the battle of Washington over antipoverty funds, and Thompson exclaimed:

"If they cut it all the way down, we'll

be feeling the whole country doesn't give a damn about people like us. Then there could really be a bad summer—you hear that all over."

One of Miss Todd's major pleas to all those she tries to aid is to continue their education even while working; she has helped Thompson gain admission to New York Community College for the spring semester.

"I don't want anyone to feel satisfied just because he's making a buck or two an hour," she says.

There were some intimations on the Washington wire last night that a semblance of sanity was returning to the House. But the outcome is far from clear, and the warriors against the defenseless have not abandoned the field.

The tragedy is that there is so much decency and concern in affluent America, as exemplified by these VISTA kids, and so much yearning for hope, symbolized by Richard Thompson; and when these two Americas meet, there is fraternity and dialogue. If that vision is shattered, let there be no doubt about who incited the riots; the conspirators are sitting in Congress and the decisive roll-calls are near.

Rogers Says Nation on Verge of Explosive Medical Situation—Renews Call for Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower report is yet another indicator that the Nation is about to face an explosive medical situation if it does not act now.

In the past year we have seen reports stating that the medical price index has spiraled ahead of the rest of the economy. And we have seen reports that the health facilities, although among the best in the world, are not adequate. Now we see again a report which sets out that our manpower is woefully trailing our needs in the field of health.

That all boils down to one fact. We do not have enough, no relief is in sight, and what we do have is costing more and more.

I think this points up the need to look into the matter of hospital and medical care, not only from a cost factor, but from a manpower and facility viewpoint. For the three are all intertwined.

I called for an investigation into the high cost of hospital care last month and pointed out that the cost per day for hospital care has doubled in the past decade and is expected to rise to $100 per day in the near future.

One of the things that bothers me about the setup under which we are now opertaing is that we are constantly talking about appropriating more money for health services, but we are not properly reviewing one of the major concerns—why the cost is continuing to rise at such an alarming rate. I think this should be given a priority position and I urge that hearings be held to look into this immediately.

Hon. James E. Webb, NASA Administrator—Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, herewith Part III and conclusion on the Fortune magazine article on Mr. James Webb, NASA Administrator:

PART III

ASSEMBLY OF 1,500,000 PARTS

PERT is only one of dozens of ingenious systems and procedures that NASA has developed to provide "visibility" and to achieve the exacting reliability standards of space flight, like assembly of the 1,500,000 parts and thirty miles of wiring in the Apollo spacecraft alone. Each of the three centers concerned with Apollo, as well as the five main contractors (Boeing, North American, McDonnell-Douglas, I.B.M., and Grumman), has offices "mirroring" the structure of the Apollo program headquarters in Washington. Regulation is so rigid that a worker who finds a defective part may *not* repair it on the spot, however trivial the problem; he must report the defect through channels, which permits a formal determination of whether the fault, say in design, may require correction all the way back in the contractor's laboratories. At the same time, a computerized system automatically alerts not only NASA but also armed-forces users of that particular part to be on guard against defects. An item classed as "engineering critical," meaning its failure would jeopardize the lives of astronauts, may not be modified without specific authority from a NASA officer.

NASA's control systems are all related to the ultimate managerial effort at Cape Kennedy. Under the direction of Dr. Kurt H. Debus, fifty-eight, a veteran of the von Braun group of Germans whose face still bears the dueling scars of his student years at Darmstadt, the Cape center is responsible not only for the launching of each manned mission but also for assembly of the rocket and spacecraft and for the final checking out of components—all of which must be coordinated with exacting time schedules. The center's 2,750 NASA employees and some 20,000 contractor workers are now concentrating their efforts on the final assembly of the mighty Saturn V rocket, which is scheduled for its first test flight this fall (see "Dr. von Braun's All-Purpose Space Machine," FORTUNE, May). Among innumerable other facilities at the Cape, NASA has created a "management control center" as big as a university lecture auditorium, where NASA managers meet daily to review progress and decisions with contractor representatives (see picture page 82). Walls of the room are covered with computerized presentations of the state of current jobs, with the exact requirements of each contractor broken down all the way from long-term objectives to work shifts for the coming seventy-two-hour period—the latter composed of dozens of specific procedures, each of which may require a document of 400 or 500 pages to explain it.

A GHASTLY OVERSIGHT

Against a background of such thriving for perfection, the stupidity revealed by the fire that killed three astronauts at Cape Kennedy last January seems as unbelievable as it was outrageous. The fire was made possible by negligence that a high-school chemistry student could have spotted—a spacecraft cluttered with inflammable materials, a maze of electrical wiring with inadequate shielding, and a pressurized atmosphere of 100 percent oxygen. How could this have happened?

NASA's answer is that it was a ghastly, but human oversight, that its people were so preoccupied with other, more obvious hazards of space flight that they simply did not adequately consider the possibility of a fire on the ground. In space, in actual fact, the danger is considerably less because of much lower pressurization. One official remorsefully compared the accident to the negligence that led to the *Titanic's* collision with an iceberg. In this sense the fire was freakish, but it nevertheless set off a chain of angry reactions with serious consequences for Webb and his agency.

In the resulting congressional investigation, NASA and North American pleaded guilty to management deficiencies and poor workmanship. The deficiencies were certainly beyond dispute, though the sweeping public blame heaped upon the agency and the contractor, reaching far beyond the causes of the tragedy itself, has probably been excessive. North American replaced virtually all the top management of its Apollo team (see "The Apollo Project: North America's Achilles' Heel," Fortune, June). Similarly, Webb made some major personnel shifts, including reassignment of the program manager for the Apollo spacecraft. NASA also has ordered sweeping redesign of the spacecraft itself to reduce the hazard of fires and instituted new safety controls. To strengthen its immediate Apollo management, NASA has employed Boeing at a cost of $20 million to supervise the mating of the Saturn V rocket to the Apollo command capsule and the lunar landing vehicle—an extension of the work Boeing already was doing to integrate the three stages of the Saturn V. And Webb himself, interpreting the criticism resulting from the disaster as a command to improve his managerial structure, went to work on still another reorganization of his Washington headquarters.

One step was the creation of a new top-level Office of Organization and Management, headed by Harold B. Finger, forty-three, an aeronautical engineer with long NACA/NASA experience and a national reputation in nuclear-rocket research. Finger has been given the responsibility of reviewing all critical decisions in NASA headquarters making him one of the most powerful men in the agency; his job also is troubleshooting and the reinforcement of managerial discipline. Second, Webb has created an Office of Program Plans and Analysis to teighten coordination of future planning with current operations. Third, and perhaps most important, he has ordered his executive secretariat to monitor activities throughout the agency, and to provide what amounts to a third level of "feedback." The over-all objective is to improve management surveillance without altering the existing balance of decentralized authority.

"What we want," says Webb, "is a system for assembly-line decisions in which critical information not only is fed up to us but is timed so that it arrives at the moment when a decision is needed. Or to put it another way, we want to establish over-the-shoulder management to solve the 'localitis' problem. Our managers are pretty sophisticated, but in government service you cannot do things your own way just because you happen to be running a $100-million job."

PORK-BARREL MOTIVES?

As so often happens in issues with major political implications, however, the really significant impact of the Cape Kennedy disaster reaches well beyond the immediate question of management effectiveness. For one thing, the accident has led to a revival of long-standing newspaper charges that Webb's appointment as NASA administrator and some of his subsequent decisions were related to political mischief, or worse. The gist of the charges is that Senator Kerr, with the help of Vice President Johnson, originally pushed

Webb's appointment because of Webb's ties with the Kerr-McGee interests, and that this eventually led to political payoffs. Most important of these is said to be NASA's selection of North American for two major Apollo contracts, despite the fact (which is a matter of public record) that another company, Martin Marietta, was the first choice of NASA's source evaluation studies. The story goes that the notorious Bobby Baker had a hand in pushing North American's interests. And pork-barrel motives are widely alleged to have been behind the selection of Houston for the Manned Spacecraft Center. Newsmen in Washington and elsewhere have worked diligently to try to prove these various stories, but substantial evidence of wrongdoing has yet to be uncovered. Nevertheless, the charges have poisoned the atmosphere around NASA, aggravating its embarrassment over the Apollo disaster.

The charges against NASA have begun to register concrete effects on the agency's programs. They are a factor in the cut Congress currently is imposing on NASA's budget for fiscal 1968. At this writing, its request for $5.1 billion was being cut by about 6 percent. The cut is also significant because Congress has chosen to use the knife on post-Apollo projects and to leave the Apollo program virtually intact. The main victim is likely to be the Voyager program to land an instrumented package on Mars in 1978.

What seems to be happening is that NASA's current rash of trouble has coincided with, and worsened, a deep national uncertainty on what to do next in space. The uncertainty stems from the fact that the U.S. mounted a program of such colossal proportions primarily for negative reasons—to compete with the Russians—and has never really thought out its positive goals in space. Military space projects are directed separately by the Pentagon (on a budget running about $2 billion a year), so the main reason for NASA's emphasis (72 percent of its budget) on Apollo is the political gain the U.S. hope to register from being first on the moon. There is a growing feeling among NASA's critics that a great deal more attention should be given to unmanned space probes—exactly the type of activity that Congress is now cutting back. The critics' simple argument is that the U.S. can collect much more scientific information for much less money by using black boxes than by putting men in space. Their case has merit, but what is really needed urgently is a broad evaluation of the nation's long-term policy. The capability that NASA has built up is running out of work so rapidly—now that most of the Apollo hardware is in the pipeline—that contractors are laying off or shifting workers with specialized space talents to other jobs at a rate of 5,000 per month. This wasting capability is a major national asset, and it cannot be reconstituted quickly or cheaply.

But what to do next is by no means a simple question. NASA itself is divided. One group of officials, reportedly including Dr. George E. Mueller, associate administrator for manned space flight, believes that a spectacular goal comparable with the moon is essential not only to maintain public support but also to preserve the gung ho spirit inside the agency. This group favors a bold commitment now to an eventual manned landing on Mars, which is the most interesting and accessible planet; 1985 is said to be the favored date. Other officials, notably including Webb, think it is too early to make such a decision; besides, some estimates run as high as $200 billion for the cost of landing a man on Mars. NASA's official attitude, as a result, has come to be an unexciting compromise; to defer fixing a spectacular new goal, but to go ahead with major undertakings to determine the feasibility of planetary exploration.

While concentrating on the moon landing as its immediate objective, NASA plans to build its longer-term operations around such unmanned probes as Voyager to study conditions on other planets, the development of nuclear engines for very distant manned flights, and its Apollo Applications program. The applications will include further landings on the moon and long-duration earth orbiting, say for several months, to determine man's capacity for prolonged space voyages. At the same time, Webb wants to undertake extensive earth "sensing" experiments to develop the use of satellites for such observations as surveying crop conditions, locating ore deposits and schools of fish, and even making population estimates by infrared measurement of housing proliferation.

If Jim Webb has his way, the space program will soon enter a phase of considerable commercial utilization, in addition to the advances it already has contributed to communication and weather forecasting. Also, the program he proposes, while less exotic than putting men in space for exploration, will preserve as much as possible of the new scientific and industrial capability and, most of all, the management structure that NASA has created.

Waters of the World Hold Key to the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in view of the great interest in the Chicago metropolitan area and throughout the country in the need to maintain purification of our water, I feel that the following editorial, as carried in the November 16 edition of the Pointer, merits careful review.

The editorial follows:

WATERS OF THE WORLD HOLD KEY TO THE FUTURE

In a Nation's Business article, "Oceans Becoming Everybody's Business," Robert W. Irelan tells what is happening in the underwater world. He states, "Exploration and exploitation of the oceans is no longer a far-off dream. It's happening—and its development is necessity. It's nothing like the space race. There everything is federally funded, federally controlled."

Ocean exploration is being carried forward by investor-owned industry which has taken the lead in undersea exploration and development and is pouring billions of dollars of its own money into the job ". . . as a foot in the door to future profits." Knowledgeable authorities believe that what goes on under the oceans will be far more significant that the exploration of space to the United States and eventually to the rest of the world's nations as well. At the present time, some 750 companies are involved in providing services or products related to ocean science and technology.

What are the attractions that have brought this broadly based interest? Probably one of the greatest forms of wealth in the sea is food—it has been estimated that four fifths of the life that exists on earth is to be found in salt water. Development of techniques to farm the seas will be vital if we are to feed a fast growing world population. The seas, it is thought, will be the source of new medicines which will contribute to the eradication of now incurable diseases.

The mineral resources which the seas contain are literally beyond imagining. Here estimates range widely, one being ". . . that a vacuum cleaning of a square mile of ocean bed surface, in a selected area, could reap 6,000 tons of manganese, 4,000 tons of iron, and 125 tons each of cobalt, copper, and nickel." The posibilities are legion.

Up to this time, of all the useful materials in or under the sea, oil has been the most fully utilized. The petroleum industry has invested $6 billion in development off the coasts of the United States, some 9,000 wells have been drilled and exploration goes forward around the world. Five million barrels a day amounting to over 16% of the free world's petroleum production comes from beneath the sea. Fast expanding demand requires maximum effort in undersea oil development.

Finally, as technology advances, the oceans will become a limitless source of man's most basic need, a plentiful supply of pure water.

As the wealth of the seas becomes more generally realized, there will inevitably be rivalry between nations seeking to exploit these resources and increasing pressure for control of undersea activity. Already a proposal has been made that the United Nations be given control of all deep sea mineral resources beyond the Continental Shelf. The delay and uncertainty resulting from such control could stifle the technological development now permitting us to go deeper and deeper into the ocean in search of its resources. And this would work an incalculable disservice to the world's people everywhere.

In the long run, some general agreement on the allocation of undersea resources may be necessary. Many believe, however, that neither our knowledge of the sea nor the mechanism of the U.N. as an instrument of international agreement are far enough advanced to make such allocation feasible at this time. If the relative freedom of the undersea frontier can be preserved, it is highly possible that the United States' free competitive enterprise economy, by pioneering undersea development, could make an unprecedented contribution to the well-being and future security of burgeoning populations in every corner of the globe.

Dissent or Disobedience—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial broadcast over WDSU–TV and WDSU radio, New Orleans, La., on October 25, 1967:

DISSENT OR DISOBEDIENCE—II

In yesterday's editorial, this station pointed out the breakdown of respect for authority that seems to have entered American life.

As one example, we mentioned the attempt by militant anti-Vietnam demonstrators to storm the Pentagon over the weekend. This incident, although isolated in its ferocity, is somewhat symptomatic of what is happening in other areas of our society.

On college campuses, some students are literally going to pot. That is, the taking of dangerous drugs—against the advice of respected medical authorities—is looked upon as simply the thing to do.

In other facets of American society, there has been a breakdown of respect for law and order ranging from senseless urban riots to attempts by students to dictate how a university should be administered.

What is happening, it seems to us, is that the tradition of dissent and protest are being used more for an excuse than for a reason. Thus, teen-agers decide that they know better than their parents and so, in the name of dissent, they "drop out" and wind up in a society where there are no rules. Adults in the name of protest advocate open defiance of authority rather than seeking redress through courts or Congress.

Are the old rules of respect and an orderly society passé?

We think not. In fact, without certain rules there would be no society—orderly or otherwise. A strengthening of moral fiber is needed if the fabric of our society today is not to be tragically weakened.

Dr. Thaddeus Lubera

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most devoted educators in America, one of our finest men, is retiring on December 1.

Dr. Thaddeus Lubera, associate superintendent of schools in Chicago, Ill., is leaving one of the most important positions in our city. He will be sorely missed.

In the 42 years he has served the school system in Chicago, he has played a key role in developing that school system into one of the finest in the country.

His concern with educating youngsters and preparing them to make adult decisions has provided the spark of enthusiasm to educators who have been fortunate enough to serve in the school system with him and learn from him.

Dr. Lubera cares deeply for the hundreds of thousands of youngsters in his care. He is deeply interested in advancing programs of education to serve the specific needs of the individual student. And his successes in the field are known by school administrators, principals and teachers throughout our country.

Dr. Lubera's results and his record have been outstanding in every detail. Our Chicago community will miss this man—a man wholly dedicated to fostering the ideals of education into workable and achievable goals.

Mr. Speaker, following is a brief news clipping which appeared in the Chicago Tribune this week reporting Dr. Lubera's retirement. We in Chicago have been so very fortunate to have this generous, innovative man to guide our progress in education that I bring this article to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives so that they may share Chicago's pride in his accomplishmens.

The article referred to follows:

DR. LUBERA QUITS SCHOOL POST

(By Casey Banas)

Dr. Thaddeus J. Lubera, associate superintendent of schools and an educator in the city's public school system for 42 years, resigned yesterday, effective Dec. 1.

Lubera, 65, had planned to retire next August but decided to leave early for health reasons. He has been one of the five highest ranking public school officials for 16 years.

School Supt. James F. Redmond commented:

"As he leaves, I find myself thinking of the long and dedicated years he has given to the children of this city.

CONTRIBUTION AS TEACHER

"There is no adequate expression of appreciation for this type of service. I guess it is sufficient to know that a city is richer and lives are more fulfilled because as a teacher and as an administrator, we made a contribution."

SERVED AS INTERIM CHIEF

Lubera had put special emphasis in recent years on holding in-service training sessions to help teachers improve their instructional methods in reading.

During September, 1966, between the terms of Benjamin C. Willis, former school superintendent, and Redmond, he had served as acting superintendent.

When Herold C. Hunt announced his desire to step down as school superintendent in 1953, Lubera was mentioned as possible successor.

Lubera began his career in 1925 as an elementary school teacher.

Extension of Emergency Provisions of Urban Mass Transportation Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 859) extending for 1 year the emergency provisions of the urban mass transportation program.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area in recent months has witnessed the growing construction of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System, the first new system of its kind in the last 50 years.

This system is enormously expensive. It has been financed in part by one of the largest local bond issues of all time. Local communities and their residents have made a considerable sacrifice in order to obtain this system. And still there is a need for more financing. The Federal Government can and should help to meet this need.

Rapid transit may be expensive to build, but in the long run it is one of the best investments we can make. Such systems reduce automobile congestion, are safer, reduce air pollution, and add immeasurably to the ease and comfort of intracity travel and, therefore, to the growth of our communities.

We in the Congress have recognized the advantages of rapid transit and the need for Federal assistance of these systems. In the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 we have created a program to foster mass rapid transit by providing Federal grants of up to two-thirds of the costs of the system which cannot be financed by operating revenues. In this act we have also recognized that not all of our communities will be able to meet the basic statutory requirement that there be an overall area-wide plan before Federal money can be made available. Therefore, we have provided an emergency program under which grants of 50 percent of the "net project cost" can be contributed without a master plan. Under this emergency provision, if a plan is submitted within 3 years, the grantee is then eligible to receive the full two-thirds Federal contribution.

This emergency authority expired on November 1 of this year. For the sake of the one major rapid transit system which is now underway, and for the many others which are in the contemplation and planning stages, it is imperative that we continue this emergency authority.

The committee has unanimously recommended extension of this authority. I join with them in urging that we grant this extension.

The daily commuters and our other smog-bothered constituents need and deserve a more comfortable existence. The extension of this emergency authority can help to provide it for them.

Transit, Planning, and the Quality of Our Environment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, each person interested in the continuing effort to help communities meet the challenge of the times through orderly development and growth will, I am sure, want to read the following article which appeared in the July issue of Mayor and Manager.

Written by Charles M. Haar, Assistant Secretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, it sets forth how HUD is using its urban mass transportation programs to encourage and facilitate comprehensive city planning.

I commend the article to your attention:

TRANSIT, PLANNING, AND THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

(By Charles M. Haar, Assistant Secretary for Metropolitan Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development)

The Essence of a City is communication and transportation.

The type and quality of transportation originally put into an area will have great impact on the manner in which that area develops. Transportation helps developing areas shape their future, determining how scarce land resources are used, where industry develops, where housing goes, where shopping centers flourish. Too often our metropolitan areas miss this opportunity.

HUD, in facing the urban challenge, takes the position that a transportation system cannot be superimposed on a city after all else is planned and built. Transportation systems are a vital component of metropolitan development.

AREAWIDE SIGNIFICANCE

In the light of its influence on urban growth, transportation planning and development are seen as activities of areawide significance within urban areas. Intracity transportation has become crucial to the most efficient utilization of available land

and the maximum accessibility to the city's social and economic amenities and employment opportunities. In serving these functions—maximizing accessibility to the city's amenites, and influencing desirable urban development—urban transportation systems accomplish their higher objective, that of improving the conditions of urban life.

Mass transportation is a vital factor in achieving a desirable balance between concentrated economic development and decentralized residential and commercial development. This is especially so in larger urban areas where the daily movement of people between places of residence and employment has resulted in the "rush hour" congestion which detracts so much form the enjoyment of urban life. Unfortunately, past emphasis on highway development, together with increasing rates of auto ownership, has tended to stifle rather than stimulate intracity circulation.

BETTER URBAN CONFIGURATION

A properly planned mass transportation system, when utilized in conjunction with a properly planned highway system, can bring about a more desirably balanced urban configuration through its influence on development in transit corridors, its ability to relieve congestion on streets and highways, and its provision of improved accessibility to employment opportunities.

It should be obvious that if mass transit is to accomplish the above functions, it cannot be planned and developed in isolation. These functions are intricately interwoven into the fabric of urban life and growth, and are contingent upon the orderly development of all aspects of urban growth on an areawide basis. In more common terminology, transportation planning and programming must be carried on within the larger framework of areawide comprehensive planning.

Local elective and administrative officials must play an intimate role in such planning and programming if the resultant systems are to meet community development goals and standards. This is true whether the process is being carried on for a small independent community or for a community which is part of a large metropolitan complex.

This is where the arsenal of HUD's metropolitan development programs, working in concert with State and local governments, can be and are of significant help.

Initially, each community must articulate its own development goals and standards. In the realm of urban mass transportation it is particularly important that consideration be given to the socio-economic characteristics of neighborhoods and the effect which provision of adequate transportation may have on those characteristics. It is important that consideration be given to employment potential and to housing requirements, and that these be related to the need for utilities, schools, hospitals, libraries, recreational centers, etc.

The linkage between employment, housing, and the amenities is transportation. Each community's objective as to type of industrial and residential development must be related to areawide needs, and these needs must be translated into plans and programs which are in conformance with community objectives.

LOCAL OFFICIALS' ROLE

In the development of acceptable areawide plans, including mass transit, and in the definition of areawide needs, the local officials must play an active and continuous role to insure that goals are being met and that planned develoment meets established standards.

To bridge the gap between comprehensive, area-wide transportation planning of the kind assisted under the 701 Program, and actually providing a safe, economic and reliable transportation system, HUD has a new program of major impact. Under the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1966, the Department is authorized to make grants to State and local public agencies for two-thirds of the cost of planning, engineering, and designing mass transportation projects. This program also aids in the preparation of the technical studies needed in developing transit improvement programs for an urban area. A number of cities, such as Atlanta, Seattle and Great Falls, Montana, are already participating in this program.

The implementation of plans normally rests with various jurisdictions and agencies within an urban area. For this reason, the degree of implementation will probably be in conformance with the degree of involvement by those agencies and jurisdictions in plan development. Based on financial capability and priority of needs, areawide development programs should be established to identify the most desirable time sequence for meeting needs. Such programs should guide each jurisdiction and agency in the development of its own short-range development programming and annual budgeting within the limits of its areal and functional responsibility.

MAJOR GRANT PROGRAMS

To aid such programming, HUD has two major transit grant programs—one for capital improvements, the other to demonstrate, test and develop new or improved mass transportation facilities, equipment, services or techniques. Both programs provide grants of up to two-thirds of the cost. In the case of the capital program, comprehensive and transportation planning is a prerequisite for Federal aid.

Under these grant programs large segments of our urban population are not only riding in safer, more reliable equipment, but are now able to seek and hold jobs, secure adequate medical attention, receive on education and avail themselves of improved shopping and recreation facilities.

This responsiveness to human needs has been the hallmark of an increasing number of grants made by HUD's Office of Metropolitan Development. HUD's function is not to run buses or trains, indispensable as that function may be, but rather to improve the conditions of urban life.

In this context I must also point out that all funded projects have been developed locally, with the Federal involvement restricted to assistance and incentives. And as we advance we will inevitably place more and more reliance on local responsibility stimulated and guided by Federal action and resources. This Creative Federalism will prove the best way to solve many problems. It is also the way we can give all Americans the chance to look to their own efforts for the enrichment of their own lives.

The War on Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent takeover of the country's welfare system by the unelected judiciary constitutes but one more Socialist step toward court legislation of guaranteed welfare rights to insure further enslavement of the recipients.

Next we can expect the Federal judges to equalize the amount of the dole to overcome discrimination in the size of welfare checks between poor and wealthy States. For if such programing is not done the courts "instant welfare rights" will become a magnet to draw the welfare group to Washington, D.C., and other large welfare-paying States. The one offsetting advantage might be buying immigrants for population explosion.

Yet while Washington, D.C., and some Northern States offer fatter welfare checks, the rural welfare recipient should think for himself what the bigger check will buy in comparison with his buying power in his country area.

Program on program, yet no solution. The temporary relief idea until the recipient recovered and went self-sufficient has proven a myth. Welfare has become a way of life to many—in some instances, three generations in a household all employed on welfare. Talk of national commitment sounds fine, but judging from past history will but create additional problems and solve none. After all, the heads of these programs and their well-paid staffs must justify their existence and expand for more power.

I insert the editorial from the Sunday Star in Washington, D.C., for November 19, 1967, which discusses the problem, following my remarks:

The Changing Role of Public Welfare

The decision to appeal a recent federal court ruling which has struck down the one-year residency requirement for public welfare eligibility in the District of Columbia should receive full support from the Washington community.

In its majority opinion, the three-judge court held that this restriction violates the constitutional rights of persons whose need for public assistance is no less acute by virtue of a brief stay in the Nation's Capital than it would be if they were long-time District residents.

Judge Holtzoff, in a vigorous dissent, dealt with quite a different set of rights. Congress' enactment of the residence rule, he argued, was a "reasonable" effort to curtail the likelihood that Washington would become "a Mecca for migrants" from areas where welfare payments are smaller. He contended further that no matter how federal judges may view the merits of this goal, Congress' decision was a "legitimate legislative function" in which the courts have no business meddling.

Quite frankly, while Judge Holtzoff's arguments seem sound to us, we have no firm optimism that the residence rule will survive a Supreme Court review. Certainly the present court has not hesitated on previous occasions to charge into territory regarded as legislative preserves. Under conditions somewhat similar to the Washington case, moreover, welfare residency requirements authorized by state law in Delaware and Connecticut recently have been set aside by federal judges.

Nevertheless, there are other grounds on which the appeal should be pressed.

It is important to the District, in the first place, as a matter of self-protection, that if instant-welfare is to be allowed here it should also be the rule everywhere else as a matter of national judicial policy.

Most welfare officials are of the opinion that if residence requirements should be universally abolished, the impact on District caseloads and on the District treasury would not be great. There is no firm evidence, however, on which to base this view—and it seems to us that its proponents may be exceedingly optimistic. Washington, for various reasons, has always been a magnet to needy migrants from the rural South. It is the first major oasis, moreover, on the route to other northern cities. Is it not logical to assume that substantial numbers of these truly needy families, having for the first time an opportunity to obtain welfare aid, would choose to take advantage of it? Whatever the dimension of the impact in Washington, however, the elimination of the rule would surely add further impetus to the national migratory phenomenon.

The time is past due for Congress and the administration to begin looking at this migration—and to consider means of slowing it down—in terms of its effects on both the problems of big cities and the well-being of the migrants themselves.

It is not our contention that needy families gravitate to cities from rural regions merely to capitalize on liberal relief grants. They move, quite obviously, because the conditions they leave are intolerable. They leave in the hope of finding jobs, decent housing and lives of self-sufficiency. For great numbers of them, however, the end of this dream too often is a life of dependency through welfare which leaves them nearly as isolated from the mainstream of productive life as they were before they left home.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, to his credit, has been trying to sell the idea that a massive national commitment is needed to improve conditions in rural areas. He warns that unless the migration is somehow checked, urban problems during the next decade could reach proportions not now imagined. His words are being echoed increasingly by such groups as the Economic Development Administration.

What can be done to check it?

One approach, advanced by a national advisory committee on public welfare, has urged that the federal government underwrite nationwide standards of welfare payments which would assure needy people everywhere of sufficient funds to subsist. The mechanical problems of adjusting such benefits to varying costs of living in different areas would be difficult but not impossible to solve. There is an appeal to the plan, moreover, as a means of leveling the unconscionable disparities which exist in welfare today—such disparities, for example, as a $168.08 average monthly grant of aid to dependent children in Washington, D.C., as against a grant of only $24.24 under the same program in North Carolina.

It seems to us, however, that this national standard approach suffers the same fatal flaws which exist in other variations of income-maintenance proposals. It is, in short, so expensive that no Congress in the foreseeable future is apt to find it politically feasible. It would not get at the root causes of poverty. Like the negative income tax, it is a negative approach. It would seem to freeze its beneficiaries into a perpetual state of dependency rather than to help them out of it.

More productive approaches lie in the realm of new forms of federal aid to encourage more and better rural jobs, more favorable credit and tax incentives to attract business, better housing and better schools, some means of upgrading the viability of family farms.

There is a desperate need, too, in terms of rural areas as well as cities, for a reorientation of the whole concept of public welfare assistance. Welfare began, quite simply, as a necessary dole to the hopelessly indigent, and no doubt that sort of handout will continue indefinitely to be needed by some segments of the population. As a means of moving any substantial number of recipients out of a state of dependency, however, the traditional welfare programs have proved a dismal failure.

Fortunately, there are indications that this message finally is beginning to filter through.

The Social Security amendments to the aid-to-dependent children program, on which the Senate resumes debate tomorrow, represent a revolutionary departure in national welfare policy. As amended by a Senate committee, the House-passed bill has been, softened somewhat. But it appears that the final bill will require for the first time, as conditions for receiving federal funds, the establishment of mandatory work-training programs, day-care centers and vastly expanded birth-control programs. The bill also is expected to modify the senseless policy that has discouraged welfare recipients from working by deducting from their grants any amounts they are able, independently, to earn.

Secretary Gardner, as part of his promised shakeup of the Health, Education and Welfare Department, has just moved in a similar direction by absorbing the old susbsistence-oriented Welfare Administration into a new Social and Rehabilitation Service. Miss Mary Switzer, its new head, says the service will attempt to gear its activities from the outset to new means of moving people off relief rolls into self-productive activities.

These are immensely encouraging changes of direction. If good intentions can be translated into effective local programs, substantial gains against poverty can be made in all types of communities. Still, in terms of the larger problem, they will remain piecemeal programs.

The sort of total national commitments which is needed to slow down the city-bound flood of legions of migrants, largely unequipped to cope with urban life, still is missing.

Shenandoah Valley, Inc., Celebrates 44th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, recently Shenandoah Valley, Inc., celebrated their 44th annual banquet. Shenandoah Valley, Inc., is a nonprofit, travel promotion organization consisting of those counties in Virginia and West Virginia that are part of the great Shenandoah Valley.

Its membership comprises leaders in tourism, industry, and commerce in both States.

On the occasion of the 44th annual banquet, Shenandoah Valley, Inc., saluted Canada in her centennial year. The speaker was introduced by the Honorable Fred G. Pollard, the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia. The speaker, Mrs. Jean Wadds, is a member of the Canadian Parliament. I submit the following background information on Mrs. Wadds, and call to the attention of the Members of the House her very thoughtful and inspiring address. Her summary of how the Canadian Centennial was observed in various parts of America, I am sure, will be of interest to other Members of the House.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mrs. Jean Wadds, whose husband is Mr. Robert Wadds, is a Member of Parliament for the Ontario constituency of Grenville Dundas. Mrs. Wadds was born in 1920 at Newton Robinson, Ontario. Her father was the Honorable Earl Rowe who was a Member of Parliament for more than 20 years and currently is Lieutenant Governor—Queen's Representative—of Ontario.

Mrs. Wadds was educated at the University of Toronto and Waller Business College. In 1946, she married the late A. Clair Casselman who was a Member of Parliament for Grenville Dundas. Upon his death in 1958, Mrs. Wadds became the conservative candidate in that riding and won election to the House of Commons in a bielection held that year. She subsequently has been reelected in the general elections of 1962, 1963, and 1965. In 1961, she was a Member of Canada's Delegation to the United Nations and the following year was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. Now the senior women Member of the Canadian House of Commons, her service in the House has included work on the Agriculture, Broadcasting, Civil Service and External Affairs Committees. She is a member of the Canadian Authors Association and Vice Chairman of UNICEF of Canada.

The address referred to follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. JEAN WADDS AT 44th ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF SHENANDOAH VALLEY INC., STAUNTON, VA., NOVEMBER 4, 1967

It is very exciting for my husband and me to take a day off from our beloved St. Lawrence Valley to visit for the first time the renowned Shenandoah Valley. Both our Valleys are full of history. This feature of American life—respect and reverence for the great men and events in your past—is one many Canadians admire and seek to emulate. In this, our Centennial Year, we have worked with considerable success to turn our country into one enormous history lesson so in every hamlet, village, town and city you will find new interest and new pride in the story of our country.

We are here tonight—in the long shadow of a history we have shared for hundreds of years. You will know that when you were a British colony we were part of the French empire. The same wave of international discontent which helped Britain capture New France in 1759 had an echo in 1776 when your 13 colonies gained their independence. Flushed with that success, many of your leaders believed Canada would make a worthy addition to the United States of America. A series of skirmishes early in the 19th century ended with British Troops from what is now Toronto descending on Washington and burning down the original White House. The Minister represents in the Canadian House of Commons the riding of Niagara Falls where many of those battles took place adding much to the folklore of both our countries. My own children are direct descendants of those who travelled up the Mohawk Valley in N.Y. State to take advantage of free land offered by the British Government to those who did not choose to follow the path of independence in the newly formed United States.

The Treaty of Paris—which formally ended those hostilities—also signalled for your country and mine the beginning of an unprecedented period of international peace and co-operation. We have been able now for more than 150 years to live side by side with a border defended by nothing more belligerent than an eagle-eyed customs officer and disturbed only slightly by the welcome invasions of tourists moving freely across that line.

It was, in part, the uncertainty created in the colonies of British North America by the American Civil War which persuaded four of those colonies—widely separated and sparsely settled—to unite in 1867. In that year a decree of the British Parliament brought together the colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Lower Canada and Upper Canada into the Dominion of Canada. You have here tonight my husband and myself, born in what was Upper Canada;

and Mr. Gough, Mr. Halley, Mr. Naugler, Mr. Simpson and Mr. Ritcey from the Province of Nova Scotia, a great Province from whence we recently chose a new National Leader for my political party. It is the 100th Anniversary of that event we are celebrating with a year-long program of events and activities which has changed forever the face and nature of our country.

Your nation has grown since 1776 from 13 colonies to 50 states stretching from ocean to ocean and beyond; so Canada has developed from those four colonies with a population of less than 3,000,000 into a nation of ten provinces, two northern territories and 20,000,000 people.

It reaches—as our national motto says: "A Mari Usque Ad Mare" from Sea to Sea—and also from your border to the polar regions. We have endured with you two incredible world wars and the great depression and now, second in geographical size only to Russia, we share with you a standard of living unmatched in the world and a future full of the certainty of great achievements yet to come.

As you approach your bi-centennial year in 1976, you may be interested in some of the things Canada is doing this year. Our Centennial Year celebration began at midnight last New Year's Eve, as our Prime Minister, the Hon. Lester Pearson, lit a Centennial Flame installed on the front lawn of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. Televised on all networks from coast-to-coast, that lighting was the signal for Canadians to usher in, in their own way the 100th anniversary of our nationhood. The expressions they chose ranged from the sublime such as religious Watchnight Services and the pealing of church bells to the merely kooky. One small community Bowden, Manitoba, put itself on the Centennial map by piling up outhouses rendered obsolete by a new town sewage system and precisely at the stroke of twelve putting the torch to them. The list of things people have done is long and full of strongly individual characteristics. Canadians have painted barns, hooked rugs, roller-skated long distances, paddled hundreds of miles, written hundreds of books, built buildings, walked backwards from town-to-town and even—in the case of one town—St. Paul, in Alberta—built a landing field for unidentified flying objects. With typical Canadian canniness however that landing field also doubles as a skating rink in winter.

The government—through a Centennial Commission created by an Act of Parliament—provided a spectacular range of projects with the express objective of involving as many Canadians as possible.

We have sent on a tour reaching every corner of Canada, a mobile exhibit carried by train or by tractor trailer. Using every modern display technique, it tells Canada's story from the Ice Age to the Space Age and as of today nearly 10,000,000 people—half Canada's population—have seen it this year.

We launched a giant construction program which has radically altered the physical landscape of Canada. Nearly 3,000 capital works projects have been supported by Centennial grants designed to contribute to the cultural, historical or recreational life of the communities in which they were built.

Centennial Year is also the occasion for a "Renaissance" in the arts. A multi-million dollar program is helping outstanding Canadian and international artists tour the country; hundreds of new works have been commissioned and contests for authors and artists have resulted in literally dozens of new books and artistic works.

Because we are plagued by vast distances in Canada—5,400 miles from eastern to western tip—the Centennial Commission designed a program of travel and exchange for teen-age Canadians and so far nearly 50,000 have taken part and have seen distant parts of their country.

One of the more colorful events was a canoe race from the Rocky Mountains to Montreal—a distance of 3,500 miles. Teams representing each of the provinces and territories raced by stages along the route of the early fur traders and explorers who opened up our vast hinterland.

The list of Centennial activities goes on and on: A community improvement program designed to spark new ventures in urban renewal and develop a stronger public concern with pollution and conservation; fitness awards programs to help our school population achieve a worthy standard of physical well-being; awards to people reaching 100 years and to babies born on July 1—our national birthday and so on.

No such list would be complete without mention of the two great highlights of Centennial Year. The first is, of course, Expo '67 which I regret to tell you is now closed and if you missed it you lost the opportunity of a lifetime. The second was the visit of Her Majesty the Queen of Canada to take part in our birthday celebrations. As Queen of a bilingual, multi-cultural country like Canada, Queen Elizabeth II holds a very special place in our hearts. With power effectively delegated to her Canadian government which acts independently in all matters affecting Canada internally, the Queen still remains the symbol of our nationhood and our membership in the Commonwealth of Nations.

Those of you who visited Expo will know that on two largely man-made islands in the St. Lawrence River there was created an outstanding testimonial to "Man and His World." More than 60 nations exhibited the finest of their scientific, cultural and artistic achievements. The gates of Expo closed last Sunday and more than 50,000,000 visits have been recorded. It is estimated that more than half—about 27,000,000—were from the United States of America.

I cannot speak of this great influx of American visitors into our country without being reminded that one of the most heartwarming features of Canada's centennial celebration is the way all countries have shared this remarkable event with us; your country, in particular. It has been encouraging to see in Ottawa all international discord set aside momentarily as the nations of the world join with us. This summer and fall dozens of heads of state or their representatives came to Ottawa and to Expo to express their country's good wishes.

Because of the physical proximity and the long tradition of mutual support and respect between our two countries, it is certain that this nation has been most closely involved in our rejoicing. As with any human community it is those closest and dearest to you who join most fully in your heartaches but also in your jubilation.

Your country's participation in our birthday party started in spectacular fashion. Last December the Canadian Government gave to Rockefeller Center a giant 64-foot Christmas tree which, installed and lighted in the heart of Manhattan became a focus for extensive publicity for Canada and its Centennial Year and visible evidence of mutual goodwill in the season dedicated to that goal.

Then—like mushrooms—testimonials to Canada and its Centennial popped up all over the place. Major department stores installed window displays of Canadian goods and artifacts. Every major magazine developed one or more feature articles on Canada. All the big network shows worked in their own expression of felicitations to Canada and journalists from coast to coast found some opportunity to come to Canada and write about it.

In many major cities large-scale Canada Week celebrations were organized. In New York—where it is estimated 400,000 Canadians live—several days of fun and frolic were planned. Every day in Central Park there was some kind of a program whether it was Ontario Police Drill or British Columbia log roller; or stage shows directed by Canadians like Bill Davis, producer of the famous Hullabaloo show and starring Canadians like William Shatner, better known as the captain of space ship Enterprise on Star Trek. That celebration culminated in a Centennial Ball attended by Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay as well as our own Prime Minister. I know our Lady Minister would not mind me mentioning that my husband was Chairman of the N.Y. Canada Week Committee. It was a happy combination because she eased for him much of the government paper work and red tape. They worked together with great enthusiasm, the enthusiasm she has put into this whole year of Canada's celebrating. We Canadians of all political parties have admired her stamina and commend her dedication and determination which have been so instrumental in ensuring success on hundreds and hundreds of projects.

In Los Angeles, too, Americans and expatriate Canadians joined together to organize more celebrations. There is a large colony of Canadians in the entertainment industry there. Bonanza's own Pa Cartwright—better known to us as Canada's own Lorne Greene—headed a long list of Canadian stars—Lloyd Bochner, Paul Anka, Rich Little and others who helped make West Coast Americans aware of this momentous event in Canada's history.

In all the major cities, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, New Orleans, Miami, Houston, San Francisco, St. Louis there were Canada Week celebrations which focussed attention on this great event. If any proof were necessary that all this goodwill is not a one way street, I could point out that Canada was an enthusiastic participant in the Seattle World's Fair and was the first country to sign on the dotted line to support Hemisfair '68 now being built in San Antonio, Texas.

How does all this relate to you and your organization? I believe the answer can be given in two words—"involvement" and "commitment." What Canada sought to accomplish in its Centennial Year was the fullest possible involvement of every citizen in the celebration and the deepest possible commitment on his part to our country and its future. It is obvious from reading your literature that you have the same kind of objectives for your Valley and the people who live and work in it. You are motivated by strong commercial instincts to develop the industries you have here—from fruit-growing to tourism—but there is also a sense of a deeper responsibility. One can feel the determination to make the Valley and its own unique contribution to the American way of life better known to outsiders and more honored by its residents.

One brochure reads in part: "This is a job for every community . . . This is a job for every individual . . . This is a job for the schools and teachers . . . This is a job for every Chamber of Commerce, every civic club . . . This is a job for you . . . ."

If I were asked to find words to describe the attitude of the Canadian government to its Centennial celebration, I could find no simpler or more forthright expression than that. It epitomizes that personal sense of involvement and commitment which is the bedrock of all our democratic institutions and through which (if I may quote Abraham Lincoln) "we shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth."

To you I wish to extend my own very best wishes and the best wishes of the Hon. Judy La Marsh the Governor of Canada for your continued success and the fervent hope that we each shall find—you in your valley and we in our country—the inspiration for that love of land and pride of place which has ennobled mankind's pursuit of excellence through all the centuries.

The Rich Versus the Poor?—Or Will It Be Foreign Aid?

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times and the President of the World Bank have recently termed the 1960's a "decade of disappointment" for the lesser developed nations of the world.

These observations are based in large part on the failure of the developed industrialized countries to devote significant shares of their wealth to assisting the less-developed nations. The United States, despite an internationally favored goal of devoting at least 1 percent of its gross national product for foreign aid, has this year devoted only a little more than half of this figure.

Part of the reason for this reluctance to provide assistance may stem from the attitude that foreign aid is a giveaway—humanitarian and helpful to its recipients, but still a giveaway—bringing little benefit to the donor. However, it is becoming increasingly clear to even larger numbers of people that foreign aid is vital to the preservation of peace in the world and ultimately to the security of this country.

Mr. Woods of the World Bank recently reiterated the point when he argued that the major threat to the world today is not differences in ideology between East and West, but the "wide disparity between living standards of the rich countries of the north and the poor countries of the south."

Following Mr. Woods' views, the New York Times on November 15 announced its view that—

> Until Congress takes more seriously the threat to American security posed by the world poverty gap, the prospects for increased development aid will remain poor.

I urge our colleagues to take the time to read this provocative and sobering editorial; which I include in the Record at this point:

DECADE OF DISAPPOINTMENT

For all the poverty that still stalks the slums, Americans today enjoy an average per capita income of more than $3,000 a year, an unprecedented level of affluence that is rising rapidly toward an estimated $4,500 per capita a year by the end of the century. In contrast, more than two billion people in the underdeveloped areas of the world today barely exist on average annual incomes below $250. At the present slow rate of economic growth, many of them will be lucky to have added $50 to their annual income by the year 2000.

The annual increase of $40 billion in the United States gross national product is only slightly less than the total gross national product of all of Africa or of India, a nation with two and a half times America's population. Yet the annual foreign assistance of the United States and other rich nations to the struggling, underdeveloped world has fallen from a promised 1 per cent of national income to below six-tenths of 1 per cent; the ratio continues to drop, although the need for aid and the ability to absorb it are increasing.

These are some of the stark statistics that lie behind World Bank President George D. Woods's warning that the hopeful Decade of Development once promised for the nineteen-sixties has degenerated into a Decade of Disappointment pointing toward disaster.

Mr. Woods, a hard-headed former investment banker, has been pleading for years with increasing urgency for substantial increases in development aid from the rich nations. But the diminishing effectiveness of his pleas can be seen in this year's United States foreign-aid budget—a modest Administration request that is being slashed to new lows by a hostile Congress.

To try to reverse this drift the World Bank chief has proposed formation of an international committee of experts to assess development results to date. These, he asserts, have not been as inconsequential as many think. His goal is to plan the more intensive future effort which the crisis demands and the developed nations can afford. Such a study, similar to one undertaken before the Marshall Plan was launched, could be useful in refocusing world attention on the scope and nature of the problem and the tools available for its solution.

But the basic problem is one of national priorities in the rich nations. Mr. Woods argues persuasively that the main threat to the world today no longer springs from ideological differences between East and West but from "the wide disparity between living standards of the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South."

Washington, which spends about as much in a month to wage the old East-West struggle in one corner of Asia as it is prepared to spend in a year for the worldwide war on poverty, obviously does not share this assessment. Until it does, or at least until Congress takes more seriously the threat to American security posed by the world poverty gap, the prospects for increased development aid will remain poor.

New Homeowner Grateful for FHA Counseling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a heartwarming letter from a constituent in Milwaukee who found a new home for her family of seven children through an experimental Federal Housing Administration counseling service recently introduced in Milwaukee.

The FHA home counseling service provides prospective homebuyers with information on current listings of low- and moderate-income houses, and helps these buyers to make an informed selection.

I include the letter at this point in the Record because it attests to the importance of this new Federal Housing Administration service:

MY DEAR HONORABLE CONGRESSMAN: With the many tasks that involve your time. It would be a devoted thought to express the compliment to you and our Honorable President Johnson of the FHA-Housing here in Milwaukee. Through the kind and considerate counseling of both Mr. Klemic and Mrs. Schoenerman here in Milwaukee, FHA gave me my husband, seven children, and two parakeets a comfortable home to live in. As you well know I lived in a lower development project which possessed many problems for me and my family.

Through FHA also I found a house within my budget.

It would make me feel proud to know if you would kindly write FHA here and give them a pat on the back—with many thanks for the break they gave us. Enclosed is the picture of the home we purchased. We feel very proud to be the owners.

As for myself—I am trying to encourage others of the kind and considerate understanding that exists at FHA, Commerce Bldg., 744 N. 4th St. I would feel proud if the Honorable President Johnson was aware of his honorable accomplishments.

My children commented: Mama, this is the best house we ever lived in. It don't even have rats. I bursted into tears of Joy that the Country I served in World War II, has finally made things possibly True.

I hope you find my letter of thought will be of some good towards progress of your duties for our State. Thanking you for your full courtesy on this matter.

Socialism and Sound Money Irreconcilable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the November 22 edition of the Chicago Tribune carried an interesting column by the widely respected international columnist, Dr. Melchior Palyi, in which he discussed the relationship between the British devaluation and the Socialist governments which have ruled or, I might add, had misruled that country.

The article follows:

SOCIALISM AND SOUND MONEY IRRECONCILABLE

(By Dr. Melchior Palyi)

Three Labor governments—MacDonald, Atlee, Wilson—three devaluations: 1931, 1949, 1967. Evidently, socialism and sound money are irreconcilable.

For a century, sterling was the foremost currency, literally as good as gold. Since last Sunday's 14.3 per cent cut, its gold value is about one-fourth of what it was 36 years ago, having become the football of the world's gambler-speculators.

At each devaluation, the government did it, the Bank of England being overruled. Each time, before the event, the British authorities assured the world that they had no intention of chiseling on the domestic savers and the foreign creditors; each time, they broke shamelessly their often repeated, solemn promises. ["Governments are counterfeiters at heart," quoting Garret Garett.]

This latest exercise in counterfeiting was not planned like the one in 1949. Similarities with 1931 are striking, but with at least one great difference. Then, as now, foreign credit was available to save sterling, but the foreign bankers requested that Britain put its finanacial house in order.

UNIONS WERE OBSTACLE

Then, as now, the politicians refused to balance the budget by cutting social expenditures. Then, as now, the trade unions were the prime obstacle.

In 1931, the departure of sterling from the gold standard was the shock that roused the British people from their lethargy. It made them understand that the total destruction of their currency was threatening and to accept the sacrifices heretofore refused.

The big difference in 1967 is that now British labor asked for devaluation, in the mistaken notion that it is an alternative to fiscal discipline. The shock therapy worked in 1931. Will it work now? Scarcely so, given the prevailing mentality and Harold Wilson's character, or lack of it.

MORE EVALUATION

In otner words, the world will have to prepare itself for the unpleasant prospect that sterling's via dolorosa has not reached its end, and more sterling devaluations may lie ahead—within a year or two.

To stop the flight of capital is the immediate problem. What matters is the restoration of confidence in the country's solvency. But confidence is undermined by the persistent and everlasting trade deficit that will not be cured automatically by the devaluation.

Exports will be stimulated for a while, but imports will become more costly and domestic prices will rise. The more so, since there is nothing in the prime minister's "cards" that would assure the restoration of discipline on the labor market.

The deflationary measures announced by Mr. Wilson are too vague, and there is no assurance they will be vigorously applied if and when some improvement in the country's trade balance show up.

What happens now to sterling is of deepest significance for the whole world—for the dollar, in particular. The monetary system of the world rested since the late 1940's on the famous "cooperation of central banks."

CREDITORS BALK

But when the emergency turns out to be a permanent one, the European creditor central banks refuse to go along. Hence, the breakdown of sterling. As for the dollar, the handwriting is clear to all who can read. Our money has stood the strain of huge annual payments deficits because the leading central banks absorb the surplus dollars.

Now, they are on record that their financial endurance has its limitations. They will not let their own currencies go down the drain with either sterling or with the dollar. Central bank cooperation is coming to an end, as it must, when it becomes an unbearable burden on those who pay the bill.

POOR COUNTRIES SUFFER

The devaluation of a leading currency is a "beggar your neighbor" policy. It will result in commercial and financial warfare on a global scale. The poorest countries will be the greatest losers. We are heading for the same kind of international chaos that marked the 1930's.

Multilateral tariff reductions and central bank cooperation were supposed to be the earmarks of the Good [international] Society. This time, its breakdown cannot be blamed any more on the gold standard, that had been put "on ice" ever since the early 1930s.

Devaluation is the last refuge of the [political] scoundrel.

Science and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting article by Judith Randal appeared in the Washington Evening Star on November 17, concerning the subject of "science politics," and the allocation of research funds. The concept of politics in science does not tend to arise spontaneously for the average layman since politics seems so much a function of pragmatism and the practical world, and science suggests obscure hypotheses and highly complex formulations.

Thus it is that I think that Judith Randal has performed a real service in reporting the comments of Daniel Greenberg, news editor of Science magazine who pointed out the relationship between these two oddly-mated areas and the serious effect of that relationship on our society. Mr. Greenberg made his remarks to a meeting of the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing on November 16, in Washington.

I think it is useful to clarify that the stated $17 billion yearly outlay goes in large part to research and development programs. Although popularly referred to as science, these are primarily technology and engineering programs—not science.

I commend this thoughtful article to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Nov. 17, 1967]

RESEARCH FUNDS SECRECY IS CHARGED

(By Judith Randal)

CLAYTON, Mo.—Although science costs American taxpayers $17 billion a year, most of the decisions on "who gets what for research" are made without public discussion and behind closed doors, says an expert on the politics of science. .

The result, says Daniel Greenberg, news editor of Science magazine, is that more than 13 percent of the federal budget—amounting to about 3 percent of the Gross National Product—is under control of a scientific community that "is not encouraging public inquiry into its tax-supported internal affairs."

Greenberg, known for his studies of relationships between government and science observations, spoke yesterday at a meeting of the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing here.

Research and development money's have had a tremendous impact, he said. Not only on scientific progress but on American society as a whole.

EDUCATION FIELD CITED

Greenberg cited education as a case in point.

It is a matter of public record, he said, "that 100 universities receive some 70 percent of all federal funds spent in universities, and 10 of these receive nearly 40 percent of the money.

"Until quite recently," he added, "there prevailed the politically useful fiction that when federal research funds were given to a particular university, they were given for the purpose of supporting science and not for the purpose of supporting a particular university. . . .

"The effect of this process was to assure that the rich (universities) got richer while the poor got slightly richer, or, in some cases, simply stood still."

Placing a major laboratory in a given region has social and economic consequences, too, Greenberg said.

"The industrial and academic affluence of California is intimately related to the fact that approximately one-third of all federal funds for research and development" are spent there, he maintained.

ANOTHER AREA SLIGHTED

"Much of the backwardness and misery of Appalachia and the Deep South might have been alleviated or reversed" if social and economic as well as scientific values had been considered, he said.

Greenberg thinks the politics of high-energy physics particularly has been rife with "power plays, coups and intrigues" hidden from public view until the decision-making process is too far alnog to be revised.

At one point, he told the science writers, a leading Stanford University physicist sought $100 million from Congress to build an accelerator that would have to be housed in a 2-mile-long tunnel. Several congressmen pointed out that an abandoned railroad tunnel in their state of Washington might be just the thing, but this did not suit the scientist who wanted it in California. He finally managed to convince the legislators that the struçture's ¼ inch incline made it unacceptable, Greenberg said.

"When I visited it (the Stanford accelerator) some time ago," said Greenberg, "one of the staff scientists who took me on a tour laughingly recalled the tale . . . and then pointed out that the tunnel they had built . . . turned out to have an incline even greater than that of the Washington state tunnel."

This sort of freedom to select a site for multimillion-dollar facilities, said Greenberg, continued unabated until the $340 million cost of a new accelerator made it a matter of public congressional debate. Even then, said Greenberg, the choice of the Weston, Ill., site was made on the basis that it was "the least inconvenient of those that were politically available." Otherwise it would almost certainly have been located in California, he said.

Greenberg blamed the nation's press in part for the current state of science policy, charging that while newspapers have made great strides in reporting the content of science they have largely ignored its politics.

"I would guess," he said "that a good portion of the American public could readily identify any of a number of state governors or congressional leaders of middling to major importance.

"But I would guess that only a very tiny portion . . . could identify the distinguished scence adviser to the President (Donald Hornig)."

Among the few journalists who are making the public aware of science politics, he said, are Victor McElheny of the Boston Globe, Frank Carey of the Associated Press and William Hines of The Evening Star.

U.S. Premier Performance of the Hellenic Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Greek culture is the foundation of western culture. Greek law is the cornerstone of western law. Greek philosophy, literature, art, and government form the base from which all western thought and progress have evolved.

In acknowledging our traditional debt to Greece, we recognize also the lyric beauty and impressive strength of Greek music which, though powerful, has not received the recognition it so richly deserves among the music centers of the world.

An effort has been made to bring the beauty of Greek music to all Americans.

The man primarily responsible for bringing this exciting cultural experience to America is Mr. John Daros, of Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Daros is president and founder of the Hellenic Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. The Hellenic Symphony gave its first performance in America on November 16, 1967, in Chicago, Ill., and premiered the work of Manolis Kalomiris, a brilliant Greek composer.

Through the devoted, highly motivated efforts of John Daros and Mrs. Louis Kuchuris, the symphony received the enthusiastic support and endorsement of prominent Americans throughout the country.

Under the honorary sponsorship of Vice President HUMPHREY, Gov. Otto Kerner, Senators DIRKSEN and PERCY, Mayor Richard Daley, and other distinguished men and women, the Hellenic Symphony became a reality in Chicago last Thursday night.

Mr. Speaker, it is in the finest American tradition that Americans of all nationalities can work together on a project of this magnitude and, by their joint efforts, bring to their fellow Americans the richness and beauty of another culture, another art form.

I was proud to serve as honorary chairman of the Hellenic Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra board of trustees. With civic-minded, concerned Americans such as John Daros and Louis Kuchuris, our American culture will continue to be representative of all that is finest, most enduring, and most beautiful in the world. With the premier performance of "La Levendia" by Manolis Kalomiris, Greek music takes its place with art, literature, philosophy, and government among the outstanding assets of the world.

Mr. Speaker, following is some descriptive information from the souvenir booklet commemorating this performance of the Hellenic Symphony in Chicago:

THE HELLENIC PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

The Hellenic Symphony Orchestral Association was formed in 1967 for the purpose of arranging a professional symphony that would reflect the culture and creative standards of the Hellenes. The Association chose for its chairman Mr. John Daros, a leading Greek-American businessman and civic leader.

Mr. Manuel Piculas, a distinguished Greek-American, was selected as the conductor of the newly formed symphony. Mr. Piculas has a wide and varied experience both in opera and symphonic conducting in the United States and Europe. He is also the only protege of the late internationally famous conductor, Dimitri Mitropoulos.

The Honorary Board of Trustees, whose chairman is Illinois Congressman Roman Pucinski, is headed by Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Governor Otto Kerner, Senator Charles Percy, Senator Everett Dirksen and Mayor Richard Daley, plus many other distinguished leaders of our country.

The first performance in Chicago of the Hellenic Symphony Orchestra will be a benefit performance for the Ypsilanti Greek Theatre Fund. Following this, the Hellenic Symphony Orchestral Association plans to establish a scholarship fund for musically inclined students. The symphony expects to be in regular season by 1968 and will tour the United States by the New Year.

The Hellenic Symphony Orchestra, as the second professional Symphony of Chicago, will be welcomed by an appreciative City to help augment the forward progress of culture in Chicago and America.

JOHN DAROS

Mr. John Daros, businessman and civic leader, recently elected President and Chairman of the Board of Hellenic (Philharmonic) Symphony Orchestra Association has a show business background.

His business interests include Passenger Restaurants, Inc., Pickwick Restaurants, and the Quarter Deck, Daros Realty and Daros and Associates Public Relations.

He came to America from Sparta, Greece, at the age of 13, lived in Boston, Mass., and attended Washington Grammar School in Lynn, Mass., and Lynn Classical High School.

He went into the restaurant business from 1925–35. Later he became a business financier and then went on the road producing shows.

The first concert of the Hellenic Symphony Orchestra will be held in Orchestra Hall, November 16. Last year Mr. Daros traveled in Greece and brought back the score of the great Greek Composer Manolis Kalomiris' master work, La Levendia which will have its American premier in the Orchestra Hall concert.

Mr. Daros lives at 2717 West Argyle. He has two grown children—a son and a daughter—and four grandchildren.

MANUEL E. PICULAS

Violinist-Conductor Manuel E. Piculas, engaged this season as the Music Director of the Chicago Symphonette and Associate Director of the Skokie Valley Symphony Orchestra, has had wide and varied experience in the field of Orchestra Direction.

Born in Chicago of Greek parents, Piculas attended Carl Schurz high school then went on to major in music at Northwestern University in Evanston where he studied under Violinist Franz Polezny. While at Northwestern, Piculas wrote a complete musical score, "The Feast of Molokai," which was produced in Chicago and brought very favorable notices. He studied at the American Conservatory of Music and the Chicago Musical College although he received his Bachelor's Degree from Northwestern. Piculas studied under noted Violinists Alexander Schneider, Sidney Miller and James Kabrin, and is the professor of a J. B. Villaume of Paris violin.

In 1951 Piculas gave up a scholarship for further study at Northwestern University after he had successfully auditioned for famed Maestro Dimitri Mitropoulos who was at that time preparing to select a gifted young musician to study under him as his protege. Piculas was selected from a field of musicians which included the now famous Conductor Leonard Bernstein.

For the next eighteen months the young Maestro toured and studied with the virtuoso Conductor while being instructed in score reading, solfeggio, instrumental choir coloring, and basic hand technique, which included the primary beat system emphasizing phrases rather than measures, a technique perfected by and unique to Maestro Mitropoulos. Great emphasis was put on orchestral acoustics.

While on tour, Piculas had the opportunity to observe and study the Maestro conducting virtually every major Symphony Orchestra in the United States. Preceding each performance, Piculas was given assignments from the scores. After the performance a critique was held which included examinations and discussions of the programic material.

In 1952 the gifted young Conductor had the opportunity to conduct Byron Janis with the New York Philharmonic in the Concerto #3 in C Minor for Piano and Orchestra by Ludwig von Beethoven. Through this experience he received valuable instruction from Maestro Mitropoulos and Mr. Janis regarding the "pitfalls" of conducting a piano concerto.

Dimitri Mitropoulos was universally regarded as a musical genius whose tradition of virtuosity of musical perfection is now carried on by Maestro Piculas.

In 1954 Piculas served as Music Director of the Giessen Stadttheater Symphony Orchestra and Opera Company in Giessen, Germany where he conducted the complete "Ring Cycle" of Richard Wagner in addition to Lohengrin", "Die Meistersinger", "Tannhauser"", "Hansel and Gretel", "Elektra", "Trisan und Isolde", as well as the ballets "Swan Lake", "Les Sylphides", "The Nutcracker", "Billy the Kid." "Pas de Deux", and the complete "Scheherezade".

Maestro Mitropoulos took the opportunity, whenever possible, to visit his protege in Germany whom he considered as a son. The Mayor of Giessen, Rudolph Sommerlad, accompanied Piculas to Heidelberg where he appeared as guest Conductor of the 7th Army Symphony. The reappointment to his position as Music Director in Giessen was declined in 1955 by Maestro Piculas in order to return to the United States to pursue his musical ambitions.

Piculas includes in his repertiore all of the major symphonies of Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Brahms, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and von Weber as well as the waltzes of Johann Strauss and Franz Lehar. He concentrates on research in the Classical and Romantic periods of music, performance standards and techniques, history of musical development, orchestral acoustics, and specializes in the music of Brahms and Wagner. Among his acquaintances are such musical notables as Eric Leinsdorf, Eugene Ormandy, Pierre Monteaux, Antal Dorati, George Ezell, Thor Johnson, Rudolph Bing and Gina Bacchauer.

Being especially proud of his ethnic Greek heritage, Piculas hopes to encourage and promote a Greek Renaissance of Symphonic Music. "It is only fitting that the Greek composers, scholars and musical leaders take an active and leading role in cultural and musical manifestations." Piculas said. "It was the ancient Greek scholars who developed and exploited the physics of sound and tonal wave lengths and the modal systems which are so prevalent in musical structure. It is not unrealistic to believe that in a decade, we will see an upsurge of cultural music in the Greek spirit and I intend to render my best efforts to contribute to this cultural renaissance," Maestro Piculas concluded.

Missing Priorities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, one of the more interesting statements made by the President at that recent press conference of his that has attracted so much attention was this charge—and indictment:

> I feel that one of our failures in the Administration has been our inability to convince the Congress of the wisdom of fiscal responsibility.

Well, of course, the President is entitled to his point of view in this respect but, even so, I would be tempted to take up the cudgel in defense of this House—that in recent months has been trying to walk a tortuous path toward its own but dimly-perceived goal of fiscal responsibility—except for the fact that the Nation has probably already had its fill of pot-versus-kettle type arguments over this particular issue.

Of far more value to all of us, it seems to me, would be an attempt to pursue the basic reasons why neither President nor Congress has, of late, been able to demonstrate much other than lipservice to the idea of fiscal responsibility; and every time I get to thinking about this problem, as I suppose most of us are again in connection with the President's about-face in favor of some sort of attempt at spending restraint, I get back to what has to be the key word toward understanding our problem—which word is "priorities."

In today's Wall Street Journal, Alan L. Otten has a useful column on this which, under leave to do so, I now include with these remarks for the consideration of my colleagues:

Missing Priorities

> Washington.—President Johnson has taken to attacking Congress of late for applying "a disordered sense of priorities" to domestic spending programs, and almost surely the nation will be hearing more of this as the Presidential campaign heats up.
>
> Yet the President has poor grounds for his protest, because the Congressional actions are the natural and quite expectable product of a vacuum created by Mr. Johnson himself: His own reluctance to set forth clearly, and advocate firmly, some very definite spending priorities of his own.
>
> Given this vacuum, Congress was bound to make its own decisions, and almost inevitably it has favored older, firmly established, better-lobbied programs over newer, more controversial ones..
>
> For a long while after the Vietnam war began consuming so much Federal revenue, the President continued to argue that the nation could afford all the guns it needed and all the butter it wanted, too. Gradually, though, he began to admit that perhaps the nation couldn't have quite all that butter but certainly it could afford to give a little more to practically every Federal program, old and new.
>
> Now, with his notice to the House Ways and Means Committee that he's willing to propose some sizable spending cuts, he finally seems ready to concede the butter portions must be reduced—but all signs are that he'll still try to accomplish this simply by taking a little away from each.
>
> Mr. Johnson, in short, doesn't yet seem willing to acknowledge that the times and the Government's money squeeze require a very different approach: The setting of definite priorities among domestic programs, with perhaps large increases for top-priority items and level spending or even sharp cutback for less urgent ones.
>
> There really is no evidence—in the budget or any other Administration pronouncement—that Mr. Johnson has indeed confronted more than the most superficial problems of priority-setting. Where is the evidence that the White House has weighed whether to switch moon-landing money into the reconstruction of rotting central cities, divert dam and dredging dollars into slum children's education and Negro job creation, spend highway and airplane millions on pure air and water instead?
>
> It's possible that the spending cuts the President proposes to Congress next week may seem to deal with a few of these questions, but chances are that any effort in this direction will, at this late date be more sham than real. And the Presidential proposals will almost certainly avoid tackling such other basic questions as whether the Administration is spending too much to help older people and too little to help younger ones or too much to help teenagers and too little on pre-schoolers or too much on medical research and too little on building medical schools.
>
> The President has clearly been ducking these and dozens of other tough decisions. Presumably motivated by a politician's desire to keep everyone as happy as possible (or at least to make everyone as little unhappy as possible) he has encouraged all programs almost equally—model cities and supersonic transports, aid to old folks and aid to young education and pork-barrel projects. First they were increased together. Then the increases were scaled back together. This may all be good politics (although some would argue it's not even that) but it certainly is poor leadership.
>
> It's easy to understand the president's reluctance. The choices are indeed difficult, the competing claims convincing. Politically, it's almost impossible to make the "right" decision, to avoid enraging somebody. And the views of key lawmakers aggravate an already complex chore.
>
> Moreover, the President had an unhappy experience last year when he tried just a mild priority-setting. He proposed cutbacks in school-lunch funds, in aid to land-grant colleges and in a few other programs—and the howls were deafening. First lawmakers accused him of trying to pull a fast one, proposing cuts he knew Congress would reject. Then they proceeded to reject the cuts.
>
> The Congressional system, indeed, almost guarantees fragmented and often erroneous decisions. Long-established programs—such as farm price supports, highway building, health research or aid to aviation—tend to build up widespread, almost unquestioning support. Voting for them becomes a habit with many lawmakers; to convince others, advocates can tick off evidence of accomplishment and progress. In contrast, new programs like model cities have to be taken on faith, or develop early snags that create antagonisms (the war on poverty is an example).
>
> Lobbyists for the older programs tend to be the more influential. Mayors hunting massive Federal aid aren't yet as experienced as Government workers seeking a fat pay raise. People wanting cleaner air and water aren't as well organized as veterans. Little children don't have the political clout of old folks. And so on.
>
> Somehow, too, the Congressional committees handling the older programs push them with more unity and conviction than the committees handling newer ones display; in part, this results from the differences in lobbying impact. The seniority system provides the top members of committees handling older programs more prestige and following among their colleagues. Not too facetiously, one observer suggests that perhaps the surest way to obtain a more intelligent Congressional assessment of competing national needs is to switch committee jurisdictions every year—letting the space committee pass on the farm budget, the education committee on the space budget, for example.
>
> Shortcomings inherent in the Congressional approach make it imperative that the President fix the priorities—not only making the hard choices between competing claims but also dramatizing the decisions and rallying the nation behind them.
>
> The President can take a small step in this direction in the spending cuts he's to propose next week, and a bigger step in the budget he's to send Congress in January. If he ducks again, he must expect that Congress again will fix its own priorities—and that these will be no more to his liking than this year's.

Disregarding, for the moment, the special failings of this particular Congress, Mr. Otten's major point that shortcomings in the present congressional approach to the funding process make it imperative that the President fix priorities—making "the hard choices between competing claims and also dramatizing the decisions and rallying the Nation behind them"—is, I believe, well taken.

At the same time, merely to rest on that point is too much like saying—which is another matter of some division between us—that, in this difficult and dangerous day and age, only the President is qualified to deliberate and determine such foreign policy courses as our Nation is to pursue; and I, for one, would hope that a responsible Congress would reject both such assumptions.

If, therefore, Congress is to regain better control over Federal spending processes—as I would hope we can agree it should—it must find better tools than it now has at hand for doing so. A modernized, and hopefully more realistic, budgetary concept will help—as would some updating of the appropriation process, itself, for the same is no longer adequate to meet the challenges posed by the multibillion-dollar budgets of today.

But, in the end, I suspect Congress will have to reach outside itself for help, doing so perhaps along the lines suggested by H.R. 10520 as introduced by the distinguished and able gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills]. Under this proposal—which is not altogether dissimilar from my own bill, H.R. 82, to establish a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of Government—a Commission to be known as the Government Program Evaluation Commission would be created. As envisioned by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills], the latter would be an independent, bipartisan Commission whose job would be to determine the effectiveness of all old, new, and proposed Federal programs, weighing their relative priorities and recommending their continuation—or discontinuation—and, if the former, their level of funding.

The President, I understand, has indicated he is not averse to having such a task force—as he put it—especially since, I assume, he would have some say in selecting its members, but the critics of this proposal have said, or will say, that this is something the administration is already doing, now, through its programing, planning, and budgeting system—PPBS—and is something Congress, for its part, ought to be able to adequately do through its committee system. But such critics of the Mills proposal—and of its several variations—fail to address themselves, as the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills] did, to the fact that, in his words:

> Congress has far too little time to review and evaluate what is already done . . . (because it is always being) called upon to do something more.

Or to the validity of the warning made by Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor, that it may not be altogether wise for the executive branch to have—now in his words—"a virtual monopoly on evaluation research."

As Mr. Moynihan further said, in commenting on this "monopoly":

> Congress, the State legislatures, the City Councils, are simply told what have been the supposed results of such research. They do not have to agree; but they are hard put to disagree.

There is nothing sinister about this state of affairs. Serious evaluation research is only just approaching the state of a developed, as against an experimental, technique. Inevitably it has been sponsored in the first instance by executive departments. However, precisely because the findings of such research are not neutral, it would be dangerous to permit this imbalance to persist. Too often, the executive is exposed to the temptation to release only those findings that suit its purposes, (and) there is no one to keep them honest.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, the Mills-Moynihan idea—or should it be the other way around?—makes a good deal of sense to me, in that—to borrow another Moynihan phrase—Congress should have a program outside the executive branch to "evaluate the evaluators," and I should think this would remain true no matter how well the PPB system that the Bureau of the Budget has initiated works out, for the challenges of tomorrow are so great as to demand the utmost in vision and informed objectivity of all of us if they are to be surmounted.

I would therefore, Mr. Speaker, urge our early consideration of Mr. MILLS' bill—H.R. 10520—along with its several variations, and also our consideration of bills such as H.R. 131 as introduced by myself, along with numerous of my colleagues, which would create a National Commission on Public Management that would study into and recommend methods by which both the executive branch and the Congress could begin to make better application than we have of our newer technological capabilities—as embodied in the so-called systems analysis approach—for finding comprehensive solution to our manifold domestic problems. I am certain that this tool, which private industry has developed and used with such success, could be adapted to our needs here—and I further believe it is a tool we badly need.

Mr. Speaker, there are undoubtedly several routes leading to fiscal responsibility, but the one we have been following this year does not go in that direction.

Report of General Eisenhower's 32d American Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, last month I was privileged to take part in the American Assembly's 32d conference. There were 72 participants from the worlds of business, education, communications, labor, and Government, as well as persons from the clergy, and legal and military professions. For 4 days, October 26 to 29, we discussed and considered the concept of the ombudsman.

At the end of the assembly the participants adopted a report of their findings and recommendations concerning the ombudsman, and I include the final report as a part of my remarks.

It is noteworthy that the American Assembly was founded in 1950 by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who just yesterday paid another wonderful visit to Capitol Hill. The assembly remains a national educational affiliate of Columbia University where General Eisenhower founded it. It holds nonpartisan meetings at least twice a year and publishes books to illuminate issues of vital public interest.

The report referred to follows:

FINAL REPORT OF THE 32D AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

(NOTE.—At the close of their discussions the participants in the Thirty-second American Assembly on *The Ombudsman* reviewed as a group the following statement. The statement represents general agreement; however no one was asked to sign it, and it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every recommendation.)

Millions of Americans view government as distant and unresponsive, if not hostile. Though often the targets of the resentment which ensues, government officials are usually not the cause of remoteness, but sometimes its victims. Dehumanized government derives from the impersonality of modern mass society. Improving the means by which individual citizens can voice dissatisfaction with governmental action or inaction will make for a more democratically effective society.

Many devices—governmental and private, formal and informal—already serve to amplify the voice of the individual in the halls of government. Administrative agencies may provide him internal avenues of appeal. Courts may hear his case. Elected representatives may handle his complaint. Public legal aid may be available. News media or private organizations may take up his cause.

All these means of access to government are useful. We should strive further to improve them. Because these existing devices have important functions to serve other than handling citizens' complaints, there is a need in today's large and complex government for mechanisms devoted solely to receiving, examining, and channeling citizens' complaints, and securing expeditious and impartial redress. We believe that American utilization of the Ombudsman concept will help to fill that need.

WHAT IS AN OMBUDSMAN?

The Ombudsman is an independent, high-level officer who receives complaints, who pursues inquiries into the matters involved, and who makes recommendations for suitable action. He may also investigate on his own motion. He makes periodic public reports. His remedial weapons are persuasion, criticism and publicity. He cannot as a matter of law reverse administrative action.

WHAT DOES AN OMBUDSMAN DO?

When the Ombudsman receives a complaint which seems to him to have validity, he asks the agency for an explanation. If necessary he consults further with the complainant and again with the agency. He reports his findings to those concerned. He may suggest a specific remedy to correct individual injustices and he may suggest an improvement in agency procedure.

After consideration, if he finds a complaint to be unfounded, he may discover that the agency has failed adequately to explain its action to the citizen. In this case he may urge the agency to improve its techniques of communication. In other cases he may report to the complainant why his grievance was unfounded. In addition to handling individual complaints, the Ombudsman may make studies and recommendations for the improvement of administration.

The Ombudsman proceeds without cost to the complainant. He is able to operate informally and expeditiously without formal hearing procedures.

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OMBUDSMAN

We recommend that Ombudsman offices be established in American local and state governments. We do not recommend the establishment of a single office of Ombudsman for the entire federal government, but we do recommend that applications of the concept be undertaken at the federal level.

The Ombudsman must be selected in a manner which assures public confidence in his independence, impartiality and professional attainments. He should be given a salary which will reinforce his high status in the community.

The Ombudsman should designate his own subordinates. The Ombudsman's term of office should be sufficiently long to minimize his preoccupation with reappointment and should not be coterminous with that of the selecting authority. Provision for his removal from office for cause should be made in such manner as not to interfere with his independence while in office.

The authority of the Ombudsman should extend to public agenceis exclusive of courts, legislatures and chief executives. On the other hand, the experience of California and other states with a commisison on judicial qualifications—an ombudsmanlike institution—should be given serious consideration as a means for reducing the abuse of judicial authority.

Since American local governments vary greatly in size, population, and legal structure, no uniform design need be followed and advantages are to be derived from experimentation. Such experimentation should include meaningful accessibility to the Ombudsman by all sectors of society.

HOW FAR DOES THE OMBUDSMAN GO?

An Ombudsman, concerned with mistaken or imperfect action, is a valuable resource. But an Ombudsman often can not provide all the help a citizen may need when confused by or in conflict with the officials who administer public affairs.

At times the citizen must have recourse to an active advocate who can press a demand on his behalf or plan a defense against governmental action. This need is for adequate legal services. Then, too, citizens require information about governmental services. This need is more properly provided by easily accessible information and referral agencies.

Of course, neither an Ombudsman nor legal and information services can eliminate profound social and economic injustice, which calls for essentially political solutions.

While the Ombudsman does not make policy, his office has two important indirect effects on policy-making. First, the Ombudsman's findings provide the Legislature and the Executive with additional significant information and advice upon which to base major policy improvements. Secondly, the legislative process is enhanced to the extent that the Ombudsman's existence permits and encourages legislators to give increased attention to lawmaking.

CONCLUSION

We urge the prompt enactment of laws to create the special office required to handle citizens' complaints—the Ombudsman.

Baptists Support Our Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Baptists have traditionally opposed aggression, terror, and persecution. Baptists have supported the cause of individual liberty. It was gratifying to see the Baptists here in the District of Columbia overwhelmingly adopt a resolution supporting our men in Vietnam who are fighting so gallantly for the cause of freedom.

The account of the adoption of this resolution appeared in the Washington Post this morning, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and to the American people, as follows:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BAPTISTS VOICE SUPPORT OF VIETNAM WAR

(By Kenneth Dole)

The District Baptist Convention, representing 40,000 Baptists, yesterday declared its support of the United States and its allies in their "heroic efforts to prevent aggression against South Vietnam."

At the Convention's 91st annual session, the 400 delegates adopted perhaps the most strongly worded resolution on war and peace that has come out of any Baptist state session this year.

Asserting that "the only hope of victory for the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese is internal pressure in this country for capitulation," the resolution said:

"We vigorously oppose indiscriminate use of military might, but, while recognizing our personal and national inconsistencies, we support our Nation and those allied with us in the heroic efforts to prevent aggression against South Vietnam, to prevent the suppression of life and liberty of the South Vietnamese and the multitude of refugees who fled from the Communist regime of North Vietnam, and to establish a viable, self-determined rule by the people of South Vietnam."

The resolution went on to urge American leaders to continue their efforts to "negotiate a just and honorable peace." Similar language is found in the bland resolutions adopted last week by the Baptist Conventions of Alabama, North Carolina, California and Maryland.

In a short debate on the District resolution, the Rev. John W. Laney of the Twinbrook Baptist Church, Rockville, called it "a tragic mistake for us to indorse in the name of Christ and in the name of the church what some of the most responsible leaders in government and in the church cannot indorse."

The Rev. James M. Windham of the First Baptist Church of Silver Spring said he could remember Ethiopia, Poland, South Korea and other victims of aggression, and held that "the suppression of life and liberty" is a moral issue of concern to Christians.

The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

Model City Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., was among the 63 cities which have been chosen by the Housing and Urban Development Department for initial participation in the model cities program.

I am grateful that the Department has recognized not only the needs of our community, but also the intelligent and perceptive planning which went into developments of Buffalo's plan for participation.

Mayor Sedita and his staff did an excellent job in preparing the city's application.

And now the mayor has moved promptly to reactivate Buffalo's model city steering committee so the city will have full coordination in this vital community effort.

The enthusiasm of our community is typically reflected by an editorial published November 18 in the Buffalo Evening News, as follows:

MODEL CITY SUCCESS

Buffalo's inclusion in the federal Model Cities program injects new hope, new confidence and new financial resources into the city's efforts to overcome urban decay and alienation.

Congratulations are due Mayor Sedita and the many officials and private citizens who joined in preparing the preliminary plans that impressed Washington sufficiently to make Buffalo one of the 63 communities selected from 193 applicants for Model Cities funds.

Translating these plans into a detailed blueprint for concrete programs is the next and obviously more arduous job. Mr. Sedita, however, has taken a sound first step in reactivating the Model City Steering Committee, which did much to stimulate vital neighborhood participation in preparing the city's successful bid.

The Model Cities program provides for a total, co-ordinated attack on urban blight and deprivation through both social and physical rehabilitation. In proposing the program to Congress almost two years ago, President Johnson stressed the need for urgent new commitments of money and energy to prevent Americans from becoming "two people—the suburban affluent and the urban poor, each filled with mistrust and fear one for the other." Buffalo's plan is concentrated on housing, employment and educational needs in a large, deteriorating East Side area with a population of 61,900 or 13 per cent of the entire city.

The Model Cities approach is not a panacea for the deep seated ills of the inner city. The problems being combatted transcend glib rhetoric and instant, single-package remedies. It offers, nevertheless, a new and hopeful tool for remaking blighted neighborhoods and blighted lives. And it deserves the full and continuing support of the whole metropolitan community.

Milwaukee Antipollution Project Makes Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 3, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, early this year the city of Milwaukee began a $2.3 million demonstration of the use of huge tanks of the Milwaukee River to capture sewage overflows swelled during rainy periods by rainwaters from combined storm and sanitary sewers. These raw sewage overflows are now discharged directly into the Milwaukee River without treatment, and account for a major portion of the pollution of the lower Milwaukee River.

In the city of Milwaukee demonstration program, the sewer overflow will be restored in the retention tanks and processed by the Milwaukee waste treatment plant at times when the plant is not otherwise being fully utilized.

A grant from the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of $1.5 million is helping to finance the experiment.

Marquette University's College of Engineering is working with the city of Milwaukee in this significant effort.

The fall 1967 issue of the Marquette University Magazine describes the project, which should be of interest to my colleagues from other cities which suffer from pollution from combined storm and sanitary sewers.

PERILS OF POLLUTION

In Lake Erie, one of the five Great Lakes, smelly collections of dying vegetation wash up on beaches, clog water intake pipes and interfere with fishing. Along the mighty Mississippi and Hudson rivers, millions of tons of human and industrial wastes tint the sparkling blue water a rusty brown. And in a California city, 18,000 people are suddenly stricken with a severe digestive disorder caused by contaminated drinking water.

The dossier is practically endless, but the culprit in each of these situations is the same. The name of the game is water pollution, and the rules are simple. Find a body of clean water, corrupt it with sewage, then wait for the ugly results.

Unfortunately, it's much easier to dirty the water than to make it clean. Because pollution comes in an amazing variety of disguises, officials who have jurisdiction over public water supplies often are faced with a knotty problem: Which method of pollution control will effectively and economically lick their particular form of this widespread ailment?

Marquette University's College of Engineering has become involved in one of the more novel anti-pollution experiments currently underway in the United States. The project's ingredients include, among other things, a dirty river, a heavy rainfall and a huge cement tank. The dirty river is the Milwaukee River, historically a badly polluted waterway. The heavy rainfall is any storm dumping more than two-tenths of an inch of rain over the city, causing Milwaukee's combined sewer system to overflow into the river and Lake Michigan. And the cement tank is the device that is expected to cut off this overflow, thus measurably reducing one of the chief sources of pollution in the Milwuakee River.

The project is a team effort, combining the knowledge and facilities of the city, a firm of consulting engineers from Chicago and Marquette's department of civil engineering. Estimated cost of the experiment is $2,300,000, paid for by a federal grant to the city of $1,468,000, and city funds.

Essentially, the project will transform a one-square mile area of Milwaukee into a giant laboratory. The area, bounded by the Milwuakee River on the east, is part of a 27-square mile portion of the central city which is served by a combined sewer system, where both storm water and sewage drain into the same pipes. That is the crux of the problem.

AN UNINTENTIONAL POLLUTANT

Raymond J. Kipp, chairman of the Marquette civil engineering department, explained Milwaukee's underground sewage system, and its unitentional role as a polluting agent. Said Kipp: "When Milwaukee, like other major cities in the United States, first began to provide sewer services for its residents, neither the volume of sewage nor the population density were as great as they are now. So the most economical and practical method of waste disposal was to install a network of underground pipes. All types of wastes were discharged into a common pipe which channeled them to a convenient dumping area, usually a nearby river or lake.

"Eventually, this method of tainting public waterways with raw sewage became a nuisance, so the city built a sewage treatment plant to remove objectional material *before* the wastes were flushed into the lake or river. Combined sewers, still one central pipe about eight feet in diameter, were installed to carry the sewage to the treatment plant."

This methods of sewage disposal has proven effective about 85 percent of the time, Kipp continued. However, during peak rainfall periods, nearly all of the waste water in the combined sewer pipes is storm water. The treatment plant simply cannot cope with these unexpected, large volumes of wastes, so relief sewers are used to siphon off the excess water—containing raw sewage as well as storm water—from the combined sewers during heavy rainfalls. These pipes bypass the treatment plant and dump the sewage directly into the lake or river, creating the same pollution hazard as the old-fashioned sewer system.

The newer areas of the city have circumvented the rainfall problem with the installation of separate sewer systems, using one network of pipes to convey domestic and industrial sewage to the treatment plant, and another to carry storm water directly to a waterway. But the 27-square miles of the city serviced by the combined sewer system remain a chief source of pollution for the Milwaukee River. Indeed, city engineers estimate that over the last 14 years, untreated overflow from the combined sewers has been discharged into the river an average of 56 times each year.

The simplest solution to the problem would seem to be replacement of the combined sewers with separate storm and sanitary sewers. But this is also very probably the most expensive solution, carrying a price tag of about 500 million dollars. It has another deterrent: heavy disruption of traffic patterns as streets and intersections are torn up to permit work on the underground sewers.

Consequently, city officials have been shopping around for alternatives that would be economical as well as practical. The principle of holding, or detaining, the storm water during a rainfall seemed a likely possibility. In fact, it is already being implemented differently in several other large cities. Minneapolis is building detention pipes, and Chicago is planning to construct a holding tank in bed rock 700 feet below street level.

Milwaukee decided to experiment with a ground level holding tank that will be built in the test area on the north bank of the river. The tank, 170 feet long, 130 feet wide and 30 feet deep, will have a capacity of 3,900,000 gallons. Because it is in a residential area, it will be covered with a lid to curb the pungent sewage odors. The tank will be designed to catch rainstorm overflow from the combined sewer system, hold it until the storm ends, then gradually drain it back into the sewer system so it can resume its normal course toward the sewage treatment plant.

USE MARQUETTE LABORATORY

Marquette became involved in the experiment because it has the facilities and personnel to provide laboratory studies that accompany the project. To properly evaluate the effectiveness of the detention tank, the engineers must know the characteristics of the river water and the overflow before the tank goes into operation.

"We already know some of the characteristics," Kipp explained. "We know, for example, that the overflow contains raw sewage, but we don't know how strong or weak the concentration is. And we don't know exactly how the overflow alters the pollution characteristics of the river."

In June, Kipp and several members of the civil engineering staff began to collect samples of the river and the overflow. The samples have been brought to a laboratory on the fourth floor of the College of Engineering for physical, chemical and bacteriological analyses. Part of this information will be used to determine the design of the holding tank itself. Construction of the tank is expected to begin next summer, with the tank scheduled to be in operation by the fall of 1968.

Meanwhile, construction has already begun on nine monitoring stations, which are being set up near relief sewer outlets in the test area where there have been reports of serious overflowing. Each station will contain instruments to automatically measure the flow of combined sewage, to take samples of the flow and to gauge rainfall. This data also will help spell out the effectiveness of the holding tank.

Once the tank is in operation, about a year from now, the relief sewers in the demonstration area will be sealed off, and the overflow that occurs during heavy rainfalls will be channeled to the tank. According to Kipp, no treatment of this overflow is planned while it is held in the tank. However, if an extraordinarily heavy rainfall causes even the holding tank to overflow, that waste water will be chlorinated before it spills over into the Milwaukee River.

Laboratory analyses of the river water and overflow by Kipp and the Marquette civil engineering department will continue throughout the duration of the experiment—about two and one-half years. The pollution level of the river prior to the installation of the holding tank device will then be compared to the river's pollution level at the conclusion of the experiment.

"We don't know the answers now," Kipp said. "The results could indicate that the holding tank is neither effective nor economical. Or it could be both effective and economical. More than likely, the answer will be somewhere between these two extremes. Then the city will have to weigh the alternatives, and decide if it is feasible to construct additional holding tanks to service the rest of the 27-square mile area."

Though the cost of the entire experiment is about $2.3 million, Kipp estimated that the tank itself will cost less than half that much. Consequently, if the holding method is successful and the city decides to build more tanks to handle combined sewer overflow, the total cost of such a project would be far less than the $500 million cost of installing separate sewer systems in that area.

PARTNERSHIP WITH CITY

While the pollution abatement potential of the holding tank is the chief concern of engineers working on the project, city officials see other benefits in the exepriment. Any project that reduces river pollution is necessarily a step forward in river beautification. The improved quality of the river water will enable greater recreational use and will encourage the development of additional riverbank improvements, such as boat landings and restaurants. Businesses now located along the river have been forced to literally turn their backs to it because of its unsightly appearance and unpleasant odor. But city officials now anticipate that a clean river will reverse this tendency, and will lead to the placement of some buildings and walks along the river to take advantage of its aesthetic potential.

Marquette's participation in this experiment is still another indication of the University's growing involvement in urban affairs. "The city has the problem and we have the facilities and the personnel to help them solve it," Kipp explained. "It's a mutual effort—the city benefits from our professional services, and we benefit by becoming involved in a real engineering problem."

The entire sanitary engineering faculty will participate in the experiment to the extent that Kipp will consult with them. All the civil engineering students also will be touched by the project because they will study the problem and will follow the progress of the experiment. Kipp plans to devote about one-third of his time during the regular school year to the project, plus three summers as a full-time consultant. A Marquette laboratory technician is also working full-time carrying out analyses of the river samples, and three or four engineering students will be hired as part-time assistants. They will work in the lab and the field, drawing samples from the river and making studies of the river's foundations.

Kipp hopes the project will prompt Marquette's civil engineering department to become expert in at least one aspect of water pollution abatement. "The federal government is always interested in novel ideas for pollution control," he said. "The idea of constructing a holding tank on a river to catch storm water overflow is unique in the country. If this experiment is successful, it will help build our reputation."

Another ingredient in that hoped-for reputation may be contributed by Alphonse E. Zanoni, associate professor of civil engineering. He is developing a related experiment to determine the characteristics of storm water. Working in the same geographical area as Kipp, Zanoni will sample storm water as it washes down the street. He will investigate what happens to the water, what pollutants it conveys and what its components are as it flows into the storm sewers. The results of Zanoni's research could be extremely useful when it comes time to evaluate the effectiveness of the holding tank.

ANTICIPATE OTHER EXPERIMENTS

Storm water overflow is only one source of river pollution, however, and wiping out this source alone will not return the waterway to a state of pristine cleanliness. There are other equally serious forms of pollution that must be attacked with the same forcefulness and ingenuity that mark this project. The holding tank experiment represents a positive effort to clean up the river, and the city anticipates that other pollution control experiments will follow in its wake.

Not too long ago, the term "water pollution" earned little more than a raised eyebrow or a questioning glance from the public. Today, the same term is greeted with knowing concern because the scars of water pollution have become more and more apparent. A closed beach, an unsightly river, a massive fish kill or a peculiar taste in drinking water influence public opinion far more than technical reports or dire warnings from experts in biology and engineering.

Kipp feels this growing public awareness is healthy because it, in turn, spurs federal and local officials to act. The water pollution issue can be reduced to very simple terms, he said: "Clean water is too big a prize to ignore or, worse yet, to lose by default."

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of Senate bill 2388. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the debate on this bill, and I think that with exceptions the one thing that can be noted is the fact that we do have a problem to find ways to create constructively economic opportunities for disadvantaged people.

Many parts of the committee bill recognized the good points of the war on poverty effort and reinforced them. Likewise, many of the bad features of the program were recognized, and the committee made every effort to correct them in the bill it reported to the full House for consideration.

The committee recognized, among other things, the need for a greater emphasis on using existing facilities for the Job Corps, and for the more effective participation of the States in Job Corps programs and the coordination of the program with State-operated programs.

The bill also provides a comprehensive manpower approach with stronger provisions to insure better coordination at the local level and to include more private industry involvement. It gives State and local governments greater control over antipoverty community action programs.

I could go on and on about the good features of this bill but I think my point is clear. The program is too new to operate perfectly. No Federal program, no matter how well established can claim this distinction.

It is my hope that passage of S. 2388 will mean that the echo of the war on poverty will no longer be going against the wind—but going with it instead. As more people hear about it, hopefully more will respond to the challenge it offers—not only to the poor but to all people.

By creating the war on poverty, we have established a means of bringing about social change, not social upheaval. I support the war on poverty because I believe that it is an investment in the future of the Nation. One of the best features of the programs being conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity is the emphasis on education and motivation of the Nation's poor so that they will pull themselves up by their own bootstraps to become productive members of society. Once we do this, the need to spend staggering amounts of money on assistance programs will be eliminated.

I have been deeply disturbed that during the past 10 years of unprecedented prosperity the cost of public welfare programs has almost tripled. This makes it abundantly clear that the welfare programs of the past have not provided the proper solutions. We must remember that after the great depression there was a realization that there was a growing need for the Federal Government to establish broader and more extensive programs for assistance to the poor than had been undertaken previously.

Two of the major principles which were recognized in 1935 in establishing new programs of public assistance to the poor were that, first, the national interest requires all people have sufficient income to maintain a standard of living which is conducive to their health and wellbeing, and, second, all people should have the opportunity to meet their basic needs for living through their own efforts, with the Federal Government only helping where absolutely necessary.

In 1951, long before I was elected to Congress, and also long before the idea of the war on poverty under the Office of Economic Opportunity was conceived, I chaired a committee in Prince Georges County, Md., which looked into the welfare programs then in operation. The objective of this investigation was to determine whether these programs were attaining the objectives for which they had been established. The committee determined, that, as a means of moving any substantial number of recipients out of a state of dependency, these programs were, on the whole, proving to be dismal failures. Therefore, the committee recommended that the county of Prince Georges consider getting out of the Federal-State program and establishing a county program of rehabilitation and vocational training. It is almost 15 years later that we have seen this approach being used and at the same time not penalizing the poor by eliminating the dismal welfare approach of the last 30 years.

A recent article which I read on current trends in Federal aid indicated that during the calendar year ending December 31, 1966, about $3.5 billion in Federal funds had been distributed to the States to be passed on to those receiving public assistance. For this same time period, the States spent almost $2 billion and local contributions amounted to $0.6 billion. In one program alone, the aid for dependent children program, the Federal Government expended almost $1.2 billion, the States $0.6 billion, and the local contribution was $0.2 billion. It seems to me that this is a lot of money to be spending on programs which are doing nothing more than keeping people on the dole rather than providing them with incentives to get off it and become productive members of society.

The Social Security Act amendments to the aid for dependent children program, now being debated by the Senate, represent a new awareness on the part of Congress that there is a need for this program to be redirected. Even though the Senate has softened the provisions of the House-passed bill somewhat, it appears that the final bill will require for the first time, as a condition for receiving Federal funds, the establishment of mandatory work-training programs. This bill would also modify the senseless policy that has discouraged welfare recipients from working by deducting from their grants any amounts they are able, independently, to earn.

By creating a Job Corps, the work and training programs, the community action agencies, the rural area program improvement, investment incentive programs and the VISTA program—all these new approaches—I am sure we in Congress will be watching very closely their operation after the enactment of this legislation. I am not naive enough to think that even with the enactment of this bill we will cure or correct all the problem areas that develop through the operation of a broad fight against poverty. But with the enactment of this new legislation, we are deleting some of the inherent weaknesses and we are buttressing some of the strengths in order to move ahead comprehensively and constructively.

Public TV Stumbles, but Still Delivers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, November 5, the Public Broadcasting Laboratory was inaugurated in Chicago and elsewhere throughout the country.

The PBL received its initial funding from the Ford Foundation. It is fervently hoped such a network will provide a much-needed forum for public debate and inspection of the great and small issues of our Nation.

It is also genuinely hoped by all who realize the remarkable public education potential of television that such a network can, and will, provide a platform from which controversial, exciting and truly interesting subjects can be discussed.

Paul Molloy, columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times, reviewed the first program. It is hoped this highly interesting venture in broadcasting will flourish in the months to come. Paul Molloy, one of broadcasting's most astute critics, has some very thoughtful remarks to make concerning the Public Broadcasting Laboratory.

Mr. Speaker, I bring his remarks to the attention of my colleagues today with the hope they will find them interesting commentary on this new phenomenon in television.

The article follows:

PUBLIC TV STUMBLES BUT STILL DELIVERS

(By Paul Molloy)

The "Public Broadcast Laboratory," billed hopefully as a fourth (noncommercial) network, bowed in Sunday night with a loud, sometimes harsh promise that it will be controversial with a capital C. With a capital "con," for that matter.

The 150-minute program (originally schedued for two hours) was seen here on Ch. 11 in a free-swinging color format set for every Sunday night at 7:30. The premiere, heavy-handed, and occasionally indelicate, made it plain that this new showcase will be talked about—praised as a realistic, in-depth use of television to air out issues in the news and scorned as coming on too strongly in areas that call for a restrained exchange of ideas rather than name-calling.

The opening program was themed almost totally on the racial issue, and for some, this will be sufficient reason for criticism. It was my own impression that PBL planned to range widely on a number of matters affecting the common interests, national and international. But it may be that PBL's producers and its patron, the Ford Foundation, which gave the project a $10,000,000 grant, changed their minds and will attempt to devote what amounts to the whole evening to one specific subject. The subject announced for next Sunday, for instance, is Vietnam.

Be that as it may, PBL was swirling in controversy even before it hit the air. It was scheduled to roll on an interconnected network of 119 cultural-educational outlets, but

29 did not carry it. Among those that turned down the program were all seven non-commercial stations in Alabama, 10 in Georgia and 5 in South Carolina.

One reason, unquestionably, was a 57-minute dramatic segment, "Day of Absence," a fantasy (done by Negroes in white face) about a Southern town deserted by its Negro population, thereby setting off an economic, civil and domestic collapse (how can the Southern homemaker survive without her maid?).

SLEDGEHAMMER SATIRE

The play was about as subtle as a hurricane. Its point, the South's dependence on the Negro, was made, remade and re-remade to the brink of tediousness. The play would have gained from much cutting (a half-hour would have sufficed) and from delivering satire with a needle instead of a sledge hammer.

Another area of controversy is in PBL's "noncommercials" (or should that be anti-commercials?) in which the claims of certain pain remedies and cigarets were assailed. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that a product has been knocked on TV by name and trademark. The Television Bureau of Advertising has already lodged a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission.

PROGRAM SHOWED GUMPTION

It takes a measure of gumption for PBL to do this when one realizes that noncommercial television has been accepting assistance in "grants" and equipment, from segments of the business community and from the commercial networks and stations.

The most explosive section of the program was a long "confrontation" between whites and Negroes which was filmed by Ch. 11 some months ago (and had already been shown three times here). At times it degenerated into a name-calling shouting match and proved nothing—to me, anyway—except that commentator Edward P. Morgan was right in referring to the "awful width of the communications gap." One may question, however, whether such a televised see-how-we-hate pandemonium between whites and Negroes does anything about narrowing the width of that gap.

But PBL did deliver something new and different in its experiment. Even when it stumbled, it offered a real choice—and a choice is what viewers have been asking for years.

An Infamous Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Hairenik Weekly, a journal of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of North America, in its November 16 issue, carried a very thoughtful commentary interpreting the Communist revolution in Russia. I believe this editorial is most appropriate and historically objective and, therefore, direct it to the attention of the Members:

AN INFAMOUS ANNIVERSARY

Anniversaries of memorable events such as a silver or golden wedding, an Avarair, a July 4th or a Bastille are occasions of jubilation over a task well done, a worthy and heroic accomplishment.

Generally, they are associated with a sense of pride and glory.

Accordingly, the sentiment of all anniversaries of honorable events invariably is shared by all peoples of the world who not necessarily are immediately involved, because the sentiment indulged in is not endemic to other peoples or individuals, but it is universal.

The best proof of this is the fact that felicitations are extended to the celebrants—an expression of sympathy and mutual exultation.

Obviously the observance of any anniversary is a biased operation because the meaning immediately involved is unique to one set of individuals, organizations or peoples.

Thus the Armenian Avarair is significant to the Armenians only; the American July Fourth is significant to the Americans and the French Bastille is significant to the French.

It all depends from the angle from where the anniversary is viewed.

But it will take some degree of courage, if not actual arrogance, for any people to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Communication media report that Moscow these days has been decked in holiday splendor in observance of the revolution. Huge meetings, parades and mass demonstrations are being held throughout the city, and that Leonid Brezhnev, the Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR has unveiled a huge statue of Lenin on the public square.

And we begin to wonder where in high heavens is the pride and sense of glory in this infamous celebration which should evoke the sympathy and understanding of the peoples of the world, much less a sense of sharing in their unholy jubilation.

The Russian Bolsheviks may have cause to rejoice that fifty years ago they overthrew a legally chosen government of the people and instituted the rule of the proletariat. But the Armenians, the Georgians, the Ukrainians, the Hungarians, the Czechoslovakians and the peoples of the Balkan and Baltic states will torturously remember quite something else.

They will remember the battle-axings of innocents in the central prison of Erevan, the bloodbath in the streets of Budapest in 1956, the bloody purges of Stalin, Yezhov and the infamous Beria; and they will remember how those imposter "liberators" overthrew legally established peoples' governments and put an end to their independence.

The Leninian concept of true liberation was that a peaceful contest would be held between the capitalist and socialist systems and the side whose argument and proven results prevailed would be the winner.

But the Russian communists never adhere to this principle. There never was a fair and peaceful contest.

Every conquest which the soviets made was achieved by internal subversion and force of arms.

Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and a host of other formerly independent peoples were taken over not by the voluntary choice of those peoples, but by treachery, subversion and force of arms. The divisions of Korea, Germany, and now Vietnam in the process were all achieved by communist treachery, subversion and active military aid. The same illegal means are being assiduously employed now in the Middle East.

This is the "glorious" record which the Russian communists are boasting of today.

The Russian communists may glory in their infamous conquests none of which was achieved in a free and fair contest. However they should experience little surprise if the free world and the host of Soviet-enslaved peoples will neither congratulate them nor share in their unholy jubilation.

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King, Cecil R., *Calif*	
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*	
Kleppe, Thomas S., *N. Dak*	
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*	
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*	
Kupferman, Theodore R., *N.Y.*	
Kuykendall, Dan, *Tenn*	
Kyl, John, *Iowa*	
Kyros, Peter N., *Maine*	
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*	
Langen, Odin, *Minn*	
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*	
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*	
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*	
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif.*	
Lloyd, Sherman P., *Utah*	
Long, Clarence D., *Md*	

Appendix

Mayor Lindsay and Diversity in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the November 5 issue of the Living Church contains the record of an interesting interview with Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York City. Mayor Lindsay, who must cope with the problems of the largest municipal educational system in the world, emphasizes in his remarks the crucial importance of diversity to achieving excellence in any educational system. I ask unanimous consent that the interview be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION: EXCELLENCE, FREEDOM, DIVERSITY

(By Hon. John V. Lindsay, mayor of New York City)

(NOTE.—Mayor John V. Lindsay has had a varied educational background—public grade school, Saint Paul's (Episcopal) Prep School, and Yale, a private and independent university. He now copes with problems in the largest municipal education system in the world. Mayor Lindsay and his family are members of St. James' Church, Manhattan. To questions propounded by Arthur Ben Chitty, the mayor had this to say about education.)

Question. Today in higher education there are several trends. One is the increasing percentage of the total student population in public universities—up from 40 percent in the 1930s to 70 percent today. Do you regard this as ominous?

Answer. No, not at all. The issue is the degree of freedom and the degree of excellence which can be maintained. I would not want to see *all* higher education in the hands of public institutions.

Question. There is a trend toward the urban institution which increases the percentage of commuter students and decreases the residential students. Will you comment?

Answer. The Big City is a fact of modern American life and we must learn to live with it. Sometimes a commuter student living in a happy home with parents might experience greater growth in day college. Normally getting away from home is part of growing up and I would hate to see the rural, residential, or small-town college disappear. As a nation we are wealthy enough to strengthen both types of institutions.

Question. At Saint Paul's School do you recall any particular significant educational breakthrough, any special awakening in you? Do you feel that anything about the school left a mark on you?

Answer. In my small school there was a feeling of community. We felt cared about, not only for our intellectual improvement but for the development of moral and ethical standards. Many of the important directions my life has taken can be traced to college and school—which I might say confirmed or solidified influences I had brought from home and family.

Question. The four-year college was formerly considered terminal education. Now good undergraduate institutions are sending two-thirds of their seniors for advanced degrees. Will you comment?

Answer. In planning today's education the far-sighted youngster will look ahead and see what education he will need ten or twenty years from now. By then, it is perfectly clear that the four-year degree may be only a minimum requirement. In all upper echelon positions the competition will be from men and women with advanced degrees.

Question. Would there be an advantage in all higher education being given in public, tax-supported institutions of the state?

Answer. Most decidedly not. Diversity is the key to vitality, creativity, and progress in our national educational system. We must cherish our private institutions. They not only do superior work themselves with their high standards of excellence but they influence the public institutions.

Question. When we refer to the pluralistic educational system as opposed to the monolithic, do you favor the pluralistic?

Answer. I certainly do.

Question. Today we see a trend against religious influence in higher education. Colleges founded by Churches draw away. Certain types of support are withheld from the religious-oriented college. Would you comment?

Answer. Again I think diversity is important. We need both the religious and the secular influence in higher education. There is more to education than mere training of the mind. Frankly I believe that some Church colleges have been more concerned with indoctrination of the faithful than in providing high quality instruction. Some have placed faith above truth. I think faith should be continually challenged by truth, just as I think faith must speak when, having reached the end of our finite knowledge, we no longer can say positively what is true and what isn't. I am relieved at evidence that our Episcopal colleges have not restricted themselves to denominational bounds and that they have maintained and jealously guarded academic freedom.

Question. There is an almost universal trend toward increased college enrollment. What about the small institution?

Answer. I say again "diversity." Like the teeming cities, the large universities are a necessity. They are inevitable. They can perform services impossible in smaller institutions. On the other hand let us cherish the small ones too. They have a kind of impact the large ones rarely achieve.

Question. Can you be specific about some relative strengths of the public as opposed to the private institutions, or vice versa?

Answer. The implied competition which is always present insures highest effort. Public and private complement each other ideally. The public has quicker access to large resources but also to dangers inherent in monolithic structure. The private fosters freedom, experimentation, flexibility.

Question. You mention freedom. Why?

Answer. Freedom is our most cherished political asset—freedom to speak out, to disagree. In the USA I think of two repositories of freedom, places where freedom has been most effectively safeguarded. They are the press and the campus.

Question. If you were allowed one more word beside diversity to apply to education, what would it be?

Answer. Excellence. I admire excellence because it is a Christian precept and because it is practical. As a nation we must never accept mediocrity.

Question. As an Episcopalian, have you anything to say about Episcopal colleges?

Answer. A Church showing no interest in education, or a Church unwilling to participate in it—well, to me it would not be an Episcopal Church. If a Church has anything to say, I feel education is one of the important means or avenues or structures through which it can say it. I think the Episcopal Church is especially equipped to say something relevant about diversity, about freedom, and about excellence, and I think saying that something through strong colleges is sound for the Church and salutary for society.

The American Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the very distinguished Chicago Sun-Times has started a series of articles by outstanding Americans which will appear in that publication during the remainder of this week dealing with "The American Spirit."

The Chicago Sun-Times is replacing for this week the normal commentary of its regular columnists and, instead, making space available for this impressive discussion by meaningful Americans on certain issues facing America today which transcend the political, economic, and social issues of the day.

The first in this excellent series of articles was written by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who has titled his article "The Evils No Citizen Dares Ignore."

Mr. Hoover's many years of experience in dealing with the day-to-day problems of America makes him a most qualified author of the first article in this very dramatic series started by the Chicago Sun-Times.

It is my intention to place these articles in the RECORD as they appear every day, for I believe my colleagues should have an opportunity to share in this exciting venture in journalism which will bring to all of our people a better understand of the society in which we live.

With this exciting series, the Chicago Sun-Times is charting a new course in journalism which affords the people of Chicago an outstanding opportunity to probe in depth, and to understand to a greater degree, the many phenomena now besetting our Nation.

The Chicago Sun-Times deserves the highest commendation for this outstanding journalistic contribution.

The second article in the Chicago Sun-Times series will be written by Bayard Rustin, and it is my intention to place it in the Record as soon as it becomes available.

Mr. Hoover's excellent article folllows:

The American Spirit: The Evils No Citizen Dares Ignore

(By J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation)

Washington.—When, in his epic wanderings, Aeneas crossed the "river of rippling fire," the great Trojan hero was horrified to learn of the appalling punishments being meted out in the dominion of the dead. Seeking an explanation, he ascertained how brutal are the "punishments of Heaven" falling on those who, while living, postpone the expiation of their crimes.

Surely Americans must feel in some degree they, too, are enduring the "punishments of Heaven." Many, with much bewildered soul-searching, are seeking to learn the reasons why this great Republic is so beset by troubles. Why, they are asking, is this nation being ravaged by such evils that one is reminded in Vergil's graphic words of the hapless victim:

"Whose body lies stretched over nine acres
And a great vulture with its hooked beak plucks
At his undying liver, and gripes his entrails,
Rich source of agony, mining its every meal
From his deep heart perpetually and giving
No respite to the ever-renewing sinew."

This nation presents an equally agonizing picture, its great heart ripped and torn by the hideous vulture of lawlessness. On every hand we see crime rates mushrooming. We are, at the same time, witnessing two frightening portents for the future. The first such portent is implicit in the terrifying numbers of vicious crimes committed by the very young. The second is inherent in the current effort to popularize and promote the doctrine of civil disobedience.

The ominous nature of this portent lies in the fact that some of the individuals instigating this effort are persons in positions of public prominence and of sufficient erudition to fully understand the dreadful danger of violence, with its accompanying threat to free and orderly government, which they are courting in such irresponsible fashion.

In the months just past, we have witnessed brutal rioting, the gutting of great sectors of American cities, and orgies of outright lawlessness unexampled in our national history. When darkness falls, the streets of many of our metropolitan areas become virtual jungles. It is true that perpetrators of vicious crimes often are apprehended; nevertheless, the chances of justice prevailing appear to be lessening.

In instance after instance felons are loosed on technicalities or treated to little more than a slap on the wrist and freed to once more prowl the streets and prey on helpless citizens. At the same time, it is incredibly ironic that many Americans are materially increasing the danger to all citizens by irresponsible charges against law enforcement. Each time an unjustified shout of "police brutality!" is raised, society's safeguards are lowered in terms of protection for the future.

The continuing assault on law and order and on the morality which undergirds the nation's freedom is intensifying. Violence and brutality are prevalent. Both evils mark much of the output of our entertainment media. Unexampled filth pours from the pages of much of our so-called "literature."

The foregoing are by no means the sole affronts to the spirit on which our nation was founded. Cunning representatives of an international totalitarian conspiracy are granted the broadest opportunities to subvert the minds of youthful students before standards of judgment, derived from a basis of knowledge and experience, can be formed. In the area of the home, increasing numbers of parents are abdicating their responsibilities in terms of financial support, discipline and moral training. In many instances, permissiveness has supplanted parental authority with disastrous results. Traditional American attitudes of self-reliance and independence are weakening in the face of increasing demands summed up in the words "something for nothing." Whole groups of young people are rejecting their responsibilities in a pitiable flight from reality too often leading to drugs, degradation and death.

What, then, of America's future? As the dark flood of crime and corruption rolls forward, will we be inundated? Will the silt of subversion being poured over our young people permanently stain them, blotting out forever that in our national life which has served as a spiritual beacon to the world since our beginning? Will we give the lie to the poet who, in the very year that George Washington was concluding 45 years of dedicated service to our country, exclaimed, "If all Europe were to become a prison, America would still present a loophole of escape; and, God be praised! That loophole is larger than the dungeon itself."

Will we—will this generation—reject the tremendous challenge inherent in the very word American? Will our citizens supinely suffer the spiritual light glowing forth from that "loophole" to be snuffed out and, with the death of this Republic, permit our great land to be transformed into a dungeon?

I do not believe that we shall. I am convinced that the heart and spirit of this nation are sound and good. I believe one day the verdict of history will reveal that, in the main, today's Americans rose magnificently to meet a series of most formidable challenges.

Do not misunderstand me. The threats to the survival of our Republic recorded in the preceding paragraphs are real and frightening. They exist. They are ugly. No citizen can fail to feel the terrible effects stemming from them without concern, and strong and positive measures must be taken to meet their challenge. But, while I in no sense want to minimize the danger inherent in such threats, I believe they tend to obscure the superb record which our nation can hold forth with pride to all the world.

What of the vast percentage of our sound young citizens who do not violate the law?

What of our great preponderance of mature, self-respecting students who go to school to study and learn?

What of the unrivaled generosity this nation has displayed in seeking to help underdeveloped nations become self-sustaining?

Foremost of all, what of the magnificent record being written by those superb young Americans in distant swamps and jungles who seek to keep the totalitarian juggernaut of communism from sweeping over the Earth?

To me, the foregoing are only a few indications that the spirit of America is basically sound. I do not believe that the vast majority of Americans have changed greatly from that day when Washington, referring to a confederation of states under the proposed Constitution, wrote to Sir Edward Newenham ". . . the information and morals of our Citizens appear to be peculiarly favourable for the introduction of such a plan of government."

Do Americans of today know enough and are they morally sound enough to continue the great experiment which the Founding Fathers launched so long ago?

Only the verdict of history can determine the answer. I am hopeful.

This nation has encountered real difficulty only when it has strayed from its spiritual beginnings. I can never forget the warning of an ambassador, returning to his home in the Far East after many years in America. He urged, "Never forget, Americans, that yours is a spiritual country." He went on to add that he recognized the fact that we were also practical in our capacity to build skyscrapers, factories and arsenals. It was obvious, however, he did not believe our real strength was to be found in practical things. Writing in a weekly magazine, he said:

"But underlying everything else is the fact that American began as a God-loving, God-fearing, God-worshipping people, knowing that there is a spark of the Divine in each one of us. It is this respect for the dignity of the human spirit which makes America invincible. May it always endure. . . . May God keep you always—and may you always keep God."

We now and then forget that the privilege of being an American carries with it a special responsibility and a unique challenge. When we ignore the charge to posterity made by those early Americans, we flounder and stumble. When we turn from the spiritual fountains, we falter and fail.

The evils ripping at the heart of America today are surface symptoms no citizen dare ignore. They are, in very truth, "punishments of Heaven," for their ultimate source is to be found in the neglect of spiritual duties. But, I repeat, they are surface symptoms, and, for a determined people, they may lend themselves to mitigation and control.

Our American ideals remain untouched. Our national purpose is wholly selfless. The reservoirs of faith from which this great nation drinks in time of trial are undiminished. In the face of immense burdens and overwhelming responsibilities, the American spirit is strong and steadfast and courageous. That spirit will endure.

The Export-Import Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "The Export-Import Amendments," which was published in the Northern Virginia Daily of Wednesday, November 22, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Export-Import Amendments

In August, Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr. successfully introduced in the senate an amendment to the Export-Import Bank bill which denied the use of the bank's funds to any nation trading with another nation with which the United States is at war.

It prohibits the President, who up to now has enjoyed broad powers in this respect, from making such funds available to any nation so engaged.

The Byrd Amendment has since been complemented by two other similar amendments, one by Sen. Mundt and another introduced in the House by Rep. Paul A. Fino. The Fino amendment provides for the modification of the prohibition in certain cases, at the discretion of Congress.

The net effect, if and when a hammered-out version incorporating the sense of all three amendments hopefully becomes part of the bill, will be two-fold. It will probably provide that the prohibition against use of the bank funds to nations trading with our enemies shall stand, but that under certain circumstances the prohibition can be set aside by appropriate committees of Congress.

This possible combined version appears to have the blessing of Sen. Byrd, since it will take the determination out of the hands of the White House and place it in the hands of Congress. The determining factor, according to the Fino amendment, would be whether, in the opinion of Congress, a relaxing of the prohibition would be in the national interest.

The White House is fighting the Byrd-Mundt-Fino amendments down to the wire. The President wants no such restrictions placed upon the Export-Import Bank's usefulness, nor does he wish to surrender the diplomatic leverage inherent in the bank's millions.

This is one of those situations in which a basic choice must be made. For us the choice is not difficult.

We agree with Sen. Byrd. We cannot, in good conscience, condone lending American taxpayers' dollars to nations where there is a very good chance that the goods and services these dollars produce could find their way to North Vietnam, where they could help kill American boys.

It's as simple as that.

Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce Opposes Imports Quota Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many businessmen recognize that if the Congress passes the import quota bills, the result will be a decrease in exports of American manufactured and agricultural goods, as well as prices for American consumers.

One of the examples of the foresighted policy in opposition to import quotas is a resolution of the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

I insert the resolution, which was passed unanimously by the chamber's world trade committee and Board of directors, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF THE GREATER MINNEAPOLIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Whereas, In recent years the United States and particularly the State of Minnesota, has enjoyed a substantial growth in the export of manufactured goods; and

Whereas, The United States and particularly the State of Minnesota is a principal supplier of agricultural products to other markets; and

Whereas, For 25 years the Government of the United States had led the World in a program of reducing barriers to expansion of foreign trade and in particular has encouraged the establishment of regional markets, the stabilization of foreign currencies, the reduction of both tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, the stabilization of internal economies, the expansion of opportunity for improvement of the economic well-being of the common man through the World; and

Whereas, This country is currently involved in important negotiations with members of the GAAT toward further reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade and between members of the IMF toward further stabilization of currencies; and

Whereas, This country has recently concluded the Kennedy Round of GAAT negotiations and since these negotiations have not yet been fully implemented;

Now therefore, Be it resolved, that the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce opposes all efforts now before the Congress of the United States to impose import quotas on various foreign products as being premature.

Further, The Chamber believes that this question of quotas, as well as the questions of tariffs and non-tariff barriers be deferred until comprehensive studies of future U.S. Trade policies are made by appropriate committees of the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives.

Passed unanimously by the World Trade Committee October 31, 1967.

Passed unanimously by the Board of Directors November 21, 1967.

Republic Steel Corp. Endorses Garnishment Ban in H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act (Truth in Lending)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the controversial provisions of H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, on which the House Committee on Banking and Currency has not completed action, is the prohibition in title II of the use of garnishment for the collection of consumer debts.

Our hearing record contains voluminous testimony on the use of garnishment by predatory credit outfits—it is used very seldom by legitimate firms. The unscrupulous merchant or lender frequently extends credit far beyond the ability of the individual to repay. The creditor does it deliberately, knowing that, in most States, he can obtain a garnishment against the worker's pay, taking most or all of the worker's paycheck, even in those cases where there might be overwhelming evidence that the debt is faulty or that unconscionable interest rates and fees have been charged.

During our hearings on truth-in-lending legislation, we received in the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs a statement from Inland Steel Corp., strongly supporting title II of H.R. 11601. This firm has been beset by garnishments obtained by merchants and lenders, and the finance houses which discount such paper, against employees of Inland Steel.

On October 30, 1967, Vice President William G. Whyte of United States Steel Corp. wrote to me expressing the support of his firm for title II of H.R. 11601. I placed that letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Wednesday, November 1, 1967, at pages A5382–A5383.

LETTER FROM REPUBLIC STEEL CORP.

Mr. Speaker, on the day before Thanksgiving, Mr. H. C. Lumb, vice president for corporate relations and public affairs of Republic Steel Corp., Cleveland, Ohio, also wrote me on this matter, and, as did Inland Steel and United States Steel, expressed the support of Republic Steel for title II of H.R. 11601.

He noted that garnishments impose a substantial administrative burden on America's corporations, adding to the cost of doing business. Their damage to employee relations is perhaps even more substantial and frequently leads to discharge. He added:

> We do not believe that the extension of credit fostered by the garnishment laws is beneficial to the economy of the United States. Aside from the disruption caused by individual bankruptcies, the garnishment law encourages the extension of credit which would not otherwise be granted and help to divert an employee's earnings away from the purchase of goods and services into the payment of interest and costs of garnishment proceedings. Thus the prohibition of garnishment laws might well be beneficial for the economy.

BANKING COMMITTEE MEETS TOMORROW ON H.R. 11601

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Banking and Currency is scheduled to meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to continue consideration of the consumer credit legislation; H.R. 11601, with the hope that we can complete action tomorrow. Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, who has been of vast help to me as subcommittee chairman in shaping this legislation for House action, has been working diligently to complete committee action.

I know that he agrees with me and many other members of the committee, and with the President, that the bill we report should be a strong and effective one to give the consumer all of the information necessary to make informed judgments in the use of credit.

Thus, it was a blow to all of us who believe in the importance of this legislation when the committee voted 17 to 14 last Wednesday to set up a special exemption in the bill for open-end, or "revolving" credit, permitting the big chain retailers to express their credit charges on a monthly rate basis. The smaller merchants using installment credit would, nevertheless, have to express an annual rate. This is not only discriminatory among competing business firms but a grave disservice to the consumer in learning about the high rate of finance charges on revolving credit.

I hope, before we complete committee action, we will be able to obtain reconsideration of the vote by which the revolving credit loophole was written into the bill. If not, I can assure the Members, this fight will be made on the House floor—it will be made there in any event.

Mr. Speaker, the letter from Republic Steel referred to above is as follows:

REPUBLIC STEEL CORP.,
Cleveland, Ohio, November 22, 1967.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I am writing on behalf of Republic Steel Corporation to support Title II of the truth-in-lending bill (H.R. 11601) which would prohibit the garnishment of wages.

We believe there are many reasons from the point of view of both employers and employees which favor a prohibition of garnishment laws.

From a company standpoint, the garnishment of an employee's wages imposes a substantial administrative burden. The handling of garnishment orders adds to the cost of doing business with no benefit whatsoever to the employer. Moreover, if a notice of garnishment is not attended to promptly (even though the propriety of the garnishment may be in question) a judgment may be entered directly against the company.

In several instances where legal questions have been involved, the expense to Republic of a garnishment proceeding has been almost as great as the amount being garnished. In one pending lawsuit, Republic and another company are being sued for $10,000 damages for allegedly causing the wrongful garnishment of an employee's wages in the sum of $57.78.

The cost to Republic in terms of damage to employee relations is perhaps even more substantial. While it is difficult to measure, we believe that the garnishment of an employee's wages often impairs the employee's performance on the job. In a few instances repeated difficulties with respect to garnishments have made it necessary to discharge the employee.

The disadvantages of garnishment laws to the employee are also numerous. Aside from paying interest on his debt, the employee is usually required to pay filing fees and other costs relating to the garnishment proceeding which are added to the amount being garnished. Moreover, a garnishment proceeding is often the forerunner of continuing financial difficulties experienced by the employee and is frequently followed by personal bankruptcy proceedings.

We do not believe that the extension of credit fostered by the garnishment laws is beneficial to the economy of the United States. Aside from the disruption caused by individual bankruptcies, the garnishment laws encourage the extension of credit which would not otherwise be granted and help to divert an employee's earnings away from the purchase of goods and services into the payment of interest and the costs of garnishment proceedings. Thus the prohibition of garnishment laws might well be beneficial for the economy.

It is our belief that the prohibition of garnishment laws would remove a burden on interstate commerce. We would appreciate your making copies of this letter available to the members of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs so that our position on this matter will be made known to them. Extra copies of the letter have been enclosed for that purpose.

Sincerely,

H. C. LUMB,
Vice President, Corporate Relations, and Public Affairs.

Test Program To Create New Job Opportunities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago President Johnson announced that the Government would embark on a test program to help create new job opportunities in central city areas for the hard-core poor.

Today, that pilot program is off to a flying start.

Secretary of Commerce Trowbridge announced the signing of a $1.2 million Government contract with the Avco Corp. to build a printing plant in Boston which will eventually employ more than 200 hard-core unemployed in productive and well-paying jobs.

Under the new agreement, Avco becomes the first major American corporation to join the Johnson administration in this new cooperative venture to raise the standard of living of unemployed city residents, and at the same time infuse new economic resources into the great city of Boston.

The Federal Government will defray part of the cost of training these new employees, in line with President Johnson's program to cooperate with American industry across the board in a great new program of urban economic renewal.

President Johnson's test job development program has now moved past the point of talk into the arena of action.

It is a remarkable start for a remarkable program. And it represents the energy and vision of the Johnson administration in its attempt to develop productive jobs for those who seek them.

We in Massachusetts are proud that an American company has chosen our State to initiate this project of hope and vision.

We look for many more American firms to do the same throughout our cities in the days ahead.

The President is to be commended and applauded for having launched this program. I know that the Congress wishes the President the greatest success in its future development.

What we do for the unemployed, we do for our society. What we do for the cities, we do for our country.

Soldier-Public Relations Up in Brong-Ahafo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, from time to time it is my pleasure to hear from one of my former constituents, Ambassador Frank H. Williams, who is now our U.S. Ambassador to Ghana. I find Mr. Williams' periodic reports to me of great interest and I continue to admire the refreshing approach which he takes with respect to his admittedly difficult job.

In our latest correspondence, Ambassador Williams has sent me a clipping from the October 26, 1967, Daily Graphic, a daily newspaper published in Ghana. It shows the intelligent approach which Ghana is taking in its reconstruction efforts by utilizing its armed forces in civic action programs which serve the all-important purpose of developing excellent relations between the military and civilian populations of Ghana.

Thinking that all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would be interested in the article, I submit it herewith, as follows:

SOLDIER-PUBLIC RELATIONS UP IN BRONG-AHAFO

From time immemorial, soldiers have been regarded by the public as bullies.

In the cities, where soldiers are not strangers to the inhabitants, the story is however, a little different. But in the rural areas where they are seen once in a while and sometimes for specific purposes people are scared and agitated whenever they see soldiers in their midst.

At certain places, people playing draughts under trees along the streets abandon their game and retire to their houses as soon as they see soldiers approaching, though the soldiers have no intention of interfering with their games.

Other civilians, too, keep mute during arguments or debates on current topics as soon as soldiers enter into the debate.

FACTORS

While these factors result from abject ignorance on the part of some members of the public, some soldiers are also blamable because since they know that they are feared, they usually take the law into their own hands and with, or without the least provocation, perpetrate acts of brutality on people in the rural areas.

The usual accusations are that in the rural areas, young men who are unlucky to clash with soldiers over women at night clubs are often beaten up severely.

While these allegations are yet to be investigated and believed or rejected as untenable, there are stories that actual brutalities and intimidations were often perpetrated by some members of the army on people in some parts of the rural areas immediately after the coup.

Those incidents are still imprinted on the minds of those who, for one reason or the other, became victims or witnesses to those acts. Therefore, to these people, soldiers constitute a nuisance in their community.

This is why "Abongo Omo," of the Sunyani army barracks should be commended for its unique operations being carried out in some parts of the Brong-Ahafo Region.

"Abongo Omo" consists of 40 members of the Third Battalion Infantry of the Ghana Army stationed at Sunyani.

RELATIONS

These "Abongos," under Lieutenant Larbi Okyere, have been detailed to "whitewash" (OMO) the relations between soldiers (Abongo), and the civilian public in the rural areas by going to the people, mingling with them, dwelling among them, and assisting them in their day-to-day deliberations so that the public may feel that soldiers are not bullies as they mistakenly take them to be but they are friends and saviours in the real sense.

It is interesting to learn that "Abongo Omo" has already participated in the construction of school blocks for the Methodist, Presbyterian and the Catholic missions at Teppa during communal labour days. Furthermore, "Abongo Omo" assisted workers of the state farms corporation at Ayerede on the Nkoranza-Ejura motor road in harvesting the corporation's 300-acre maize farm.

According to Lieutenant Larbi Okyere, his men are not only limiting their activities to the construction of school blocks and harvesting of maize. He explained that they are prepared to undertake any projects which the inhabitants of places they would visit would be undertaking.

This exercise has actually achieved high dividends in the region and is worthy of emulation in the other regions where people do not see eye to eye with soldiers.

CREDIT

But if there is any commendation or credit, it must go to Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Twum-Barima, Commanding Officer of the army at Sunyani. For it was Lt.-Col. Twum-Barima who mooted the idea when he was chairman for the region's committee of administration.

He feels that a nation's defence against external or internal aggression lies on the sholders of her army. The purpose of maintaining any army is to guarantee the protection of a nation and its people.

It is therefore out of the way for the very people who are being protected by the soldiers to think that their protectors are rather arch-enemies and should be avoided like the plague.

The operations of "Abongo Omo" in Brong-Ahafo have proved successful in all aspects and have further improved the relations between the civilian public and the soldiers.

Flexibility: Our Constitution's Greatest Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include an essay by Miss Tevina Benedict, of Poway High School, entitled "Flexibility: Our Constitution's Greatest Strength." I believe this fine essay deserves wide attention, and it is refreshing to realize that our young people are giving such careful thought to the intrinsic values of the Constitution.

The essay follows:

Flexibility: Our Constitution's Greatest Strength

(By Tevina Benedict, Poway High School)

Freedom and law are two mutually indispensable elements of our democratic society. There is however, a constant, necessary tension between the two. Our system has achieved a remarkable balance between absolute freedom and absolute law, because of their very antithesis. In an effort to make society better, good men are constantly trying to pass more legislation on an issue, while other equally good men are trying to prevent or repeal that legislation.

There is no predestined right side—it may not even be the same side that was right twenty years ago. Society's needs are constantly changing, so its legislation must change to fit its needs. Whether or not a piece of legislation is passed should depend upon what is best at the time for the majority.

Take the example of early laws that applied to automobiles. In the early part of this century every man who drove a car, in certain areas, had to have another man walk in front of him with a signal flag to warn horseback riders and farmers driving their wagons to market of the approaching monstrosity. At the time the law satisfied the needs of the majority, but it would hardly be just today.

A more recent example involves compulsory arbitration of labor strikes. In the days when unions were very weak, such a law would probably have unfairly discriminated against labor. Today, however, labor is much more powerful, and capable of rendering harm to the public. Therefore, a large section of the public is beginning to speak out for legislation regulating labor activities.

When legislation becomes necessary to protect the interests of the public, the President or congressmen will get together and draft that legislation. Meanwhile, of course, some labor pressure groups will work to defeat the proposal which they find contrary to their interests. The final legislation may end up as a compromise, satisfactory to the public, labor, and business interests.

It is easy to take for granted the relative ease with which legislation is passed to meet our needs; to take for granted the fact that our system of laws is on the whole up to date with our changing society. And yet we find that all of those laws are passed without violating the basic framework of a Constitution which was drafted in 1787 and has had so few amendments since that date.

The executive and legislative branches of government have had sufficient leeway to keep our laws up to date, and yet they do not have so much leeway that an imprudent Congress or even a power-hungry President could overrule the basic rights guaranteed within the Constitution. The judicial branch, the Supreme Court, acts as a constant defender of our rights as embodied in the Constitution. Overthrowing the Constitution would be equivalent to overthrowing the United States government.

But how is it that a Constitution drafted in 1787 should have so much power in 1967, without hampering necessary modern legislation? No law is as quick to fall as an unenforceable one. Thus, if that great body of law, our Constitution, had been unforceable or inapplicable in our modern world, it would have long since disintegrated, and been replaced; even worse, it might have become a mere figurehead of law, an unwanted appendage, leaving the government in power with no check on its authority.

But the U.S. Constitution is no figurehead. It is in prime operating condition as the legal contract from which the government and the people derive their power and rights. It must be consulted every time a law is tested in the Supreme Court.

Why has the United States Constitution stood for so many years? How did a group of Eighteenth Century statesmen draft a document which is no less valid in the Twentieth Century as it was in their own?

I think that the answer lies in the Constitution's flexibility. Perhaps that characteristic which has been most criticized and most feared is the document's greatest strength. This is not, as it would seem, a contradiction in terms. Strength does not imply rigidity, any more than flexibility implies weakness.

This flexibility derives chiefly from its brevity. The men who drafted the Constitution made no attempt to encompass all legislation in a voluminous document. To enable Congress to keep a very detailed Constitution up to date, it would have been necessary to enable Congress to change the Constitution with as much ease as they now pass minor bills. What would have prevented Congress from repealing one of our basic rights as easily as they repeal a tax bill?

The Bible, which has lasted more than two thousand years, says in one of its Ten Commandments, "Thou shall not steal." It does not go into detail, saying "Thou shall not steal thy neighbor's wood" . . . . and so on. Had it done so it could only have served as a set of moral laws for Medieval Europe. It would certainly not have contained clauses saying, "Thou shall not steal thy neighbor's camera," or "Thou shall not finance your trip to Jamaica with union cards."

The strength and immortality of the Ten Commandments lies in their simplicity. Interpreting their applicability in a modern world is up to the clergy and a morally conscious public.

In the same way the Constitution grants to the people freedom of speech, without listing all of the means by which people could communicate vocally in that day. In their wisdom, the writers made that clause large enough to encompass telephones, and radio, and even Telestar.

Most of the Constitution's wording is generalized, nonspecific, and in many ways ambiguous. It was intended for loose interpretation. In the same way that the Ten Commandments depend on constant interpretation and application by a morally conscious society, so also the Constitution requires a public and government that is constantly alert to the safeguarding of freedom and democracy, or it will die.

The flexibility which makes the Constitution relevant today is also a responsibility. Our forefathers realized that they should not and could not draft a Constitution that would fulfill all the needs of generations to come. Some responsibility would always have to lie with the living. Said Thomas Jefferson of the spirit of freedom, "When that is lost, all experience has shown that no forms can keep them free against their own wills." [1]

Realizing that a flexible Constitution would require a non-partisan group of men to guide and serve as a final authority in its interpretation, our forefathers set up the Supreme Court.

Seeing the disputes that arise over conflicting interpretations of the Constitution, many persons have thought that the Supreme Court was only organized to make up for the deficiencies of a very unclear, outdated document. "Why not create a new Constitution, with much more detail," they might ask? "Then there could be no dispute."

To those who would like to write in the Constitution detailed unchangeable laws, which must be rigidly followed long after their writers are dead, Thomas Jefferson says, "The earth belongs in usurfruct to the living," [2] and again, "We might as well require a man to wear a coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain forever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors." [3]

The Supreme Court is by no means a perfect system. Its fairness depends upon an unbiased, non-political, knowledgeable set of justices.

There are many people who condemn, perhaps quite justly, individual decisions of the Court, and perhaps even individual justices. They are not gods and it is only natural that there will be imperfections in their ranks. But the great majority of justices have risen to the office and make judgments as fairly and impartially as possible.

Those who too hastily condemn the Supreme Court system might do well to look at the possible alternatives to the Court. Perhaps they would have the President or Congress determine a bill's constitutionality. If politics sometimes affects Supreme Court decisions, imagine how it would affect the decisions of men whose business is politics.

The flexibility of the Constitution is indeed a source of strife. But controversy is no sin in a democratic society. This flexibility, allowing for a broad interpretation of its principles to fit our modern world, is the very element which has enabled the Constitution to survive.

It has encompassed tremendous national problems and tremendous growth. Flexibility is the same element which, provided we never lose our "spirit of freedom," will enable the Constitution to continue as our living foundation for centuries to come—guiding our efforts to achieve an even greater democracy.

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[1] Julian P. Boyd, "Jefferson and Marshall," in *Essays on the American Constitution*, Prentice-Hall, 1964, pg 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Mississippi Sesquicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial that appeared in the Newton Record, of Newton, Miss., concerning the sesquicentennial activities of the State of Mississippi. I call the attention of my colleagues to this brief history of my State and to the celebration plans for the 150th anniversary of the statehood of Mississippi:

STATE SESQUICENTENNIAL

It's a world of change, and Mississippi is changing with it. Perhaps our state is changing more rapidly than other places, or perhaps it only seems that way. It may be that we preserved the status quo around here so long that change, when it comes, seems especially dramatic.

But changing we are, and the signs are all around. Seldom has there been so much political restlessness and seeking of new ways to do things. The changes in education, in modes of making a living, in politics all emphasize the need to be well up on the past, for change alone is not enough. The change must improve on the past.

This state on Dec. 10 will be 150 years old, young for statehood, but old in the opinion of the young. In order to fully appreciate this sesquicentennial, one needs to take a look at the past.

Mississippi, the 20th state admitted to the Union, was formed of the Mississippi Territory that was a part of the United States from April 7, 1798, until statehood in 1817. For 425 years the land we know as Mississippi was under seven flags. First the Spanish explorers flew the Spanish flag in 1540. The land remained under Spanish dominion until 1699 when the French flag was hoisted on the Gulf Coast where the first permanent settlement in Mississippi was made—Biloxi. From 1763 to 1779 the British Union Jack and the West Florida flag flew over the Mississippi territory south of the 31st parallel. In 1779 the British surrendered the Natchez District to Spain, and the Spanish flag continued to fly until 1798 after Natchez was ceded to the United States.

On April 7, 1798, the United States Senate signed the law making Mississippi a territory of the United States. Thus after more than two and a half centuries of Old World Colonialism, the flag of the New World became the flag of the United States. There followed the Confederate flag after Mississippi seceded from the Union in 1861, and again Old Glory after the state was readmitted into the Union in 1870.

The first capitol was near Natchez, then more centrally at Jackson and named for Andrew Jackson who signed the treaty with Pushmataha. State offices were moved from Washington, Miss., to Jackson in November, 1822, and the first session of the General Assembly was held in December 1822. The Constitution was revised in 1890 and has not been changed except through amendments.

The state Flag and Coat of Arms were approved in 1894. The Seal dates to 1817. The Seal dates to 1817. The magnolia flower was adopted in 1900, and the tree in 1938. The mockingbird was chosen in 1944. The present song was adapted from Ross Barnett's campaign song of 1962.

For the Commemoration on Dec. 10 Congress has approved a Commemorative Medal bearing the state Emblem and the image of the first governor, Holmes. A Commemorative Stamp bearing the magnolia blossom will be issued on Dec. 11. A special edition of the Journal of Mississippi History was issued in November, and a film depicting the history of the state was completed. Money for a new Archives building in Jackson was approved by the Mississippi Legislature as chief project for the celebration.

As we observe the Centennial we face up to a world of change, recognizing that we must change if we survive in today's world. The only way to go is up, and we can face up to present problems, inherited and of our own making. To change an old society and ourselves will be a startling, jolting undertaking of some anguish, and it will take work and time.

"One honest worker is worth a busload of imported saints."

Need for Disclosure of Government Sponsorship of Private Publications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, an extremely disconcerting statement has come to my office from the American Library Association. The association urges the Government to disclose its assistance or sponsorship of publications. This formal request should serve to remind us of the constant need for vigilance to preserve our constitutional freedoms. The text of this request I attach as follows:

STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION COUNCIL

(Adopted at the association's 86th annual conference in San Francisco, June 30, 1967)

At San Francisco, during the 86th Annual Conference of the ALA, the Association expressed its conviction that the cause of democracy is best served when the operations of government are fully revealed. In the sensitive area of public opinion, secret influence can only contaminate truth and corrupt the fundamental concepts of free speech and a free press.

The American Library Association takes note of the fact that, during the second session of the 89th Congress at a hearing before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, the United States Information Agency revealed under questioning that it had been subsidizing and otherwise encouraging authors to write, and publishers to print, materials useful to and harmonious with Agency programs of information to foreign readers. It was further revealed that many of these publications were also sold commercially without any disclosure to the reader of the source of the subsidy or other form of encouragement.

Subsequently, on February 9, 1967, the Assistant Director of the United States Information Agency indicated that no manuscript would be commissioned without the approval of the Director.

However, almost at the same time, and from another direction, public revelations were made of covert activities by the Central Intelligence Agency with respect to private, non-governmental organizations, in which public monies were employed to develop and influence opinions and actions consonant with governmental objectives.

The American Library Association expresses the concern of its members that disclosure of the sources of influence and subsidies in the forging of public opinion has not been freely offered by agencies of the Federal Government. The American Library Association asks that governmental sponsorship, subsidies and other forms of direct encouragement which lead to the generation of points of view designed to influence public opinion be disclosed in a suitable manner, and that any publications carry an acknowledgment of financial assistance, if the source of such assistance is from public funds provided by an agency of the government.

This statement is to be forwarded by the President of the American Library Association to the President of the United States, the Secretaries of the Departments, and the members of Congress.

Pound of Flesh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item from the newsletter of the National Republican Congressional Committee of November 22, 1967:

POUND OF FLESH

The *New York Daily News* (Nov. 21, 1967), in evaluating the devaluing of the British pound, points out that the U.S. could well learn a lesson from the painful experience of the British. In sizing up the drop of 14.3 percent, a cut from $2.80 to $2.40, the *News* states: "Britain for years has operated a huge, and increasingly expensive, welfare-state program, with all sorts of benefits earmarked for almost every inhabitant of the once right little, tight little isle plus Northern Ireland. Its labor unions have followed 'I'm-gonna-get-mine' policies for a long time, and successfully from their point of view. British industry and business haven't resisted these labor raids as courageously as they might have done. All this drove up costs of production of British goods—the goods which the country must export steadily and in huge quantity to keep its economy rolling satisfactorily."

The paper adds: "Other belt tightening measures, it is hoped, will start Britain living within its income again—or almost so. This is tough on Socialists, who habitually promise to bring Heaven down to earth."

The *News* points out that Senate Democrat leader Mike Mansfield is taking the wrong approach in demanding a huge tax increase to "protect" the dollar and says that wild spending programs here are as dangerous as those that wrecked the British economy.

Rep. Wilbur Mills, speaking in Arkansas, lifted the curtain on the Great Society, when he pointed out that LBJ wants higher taxes simply so he can spend more Federal money. Mills' speech, printed in the *New York Times* emphasized the concern for fiscal responsibility. He stated: "What many of us fear is that tax increases now make more revenue available for expenditure programs in the future. We fear that tax increase not accompanied with very real expenditure control can divert us from this free enterprise road. This is a diversion in which I am unwilling to be a participant."

Citing an economic fact of life, Mills said: "It is also worth noting that if it is consumer spending that is feared from the standpoint of the inflationary pressures generated a dollar of expenditure reduction is likely to have a greater impact than a dollar of tax increase. I say this because the tax increase is much more likely, in part, to be offset by a decrease in savings than is true of the dollar increase in Government expenditures."

Mills said also: "The fanciful notion that a tax increase of the sort proposed will have any significant effect on our balance of payments in the reasonable near future and that it might contribute to the strengthening of the pound is completely without support of fact."

Thus, the British action may have forced the U.S. to make a confrontation with its own fiscal policy—an action Republicans have urged for a long time.

Youth of America, Please Read This—And Adults, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Sunday Star of November 26, 1967, appears a message which ought to be brought to the attention of the greatest possible number of American youths and adults.

It is sponsored by the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the District of Columbia, and is printed by permission of the Reader's Digest as a public service and gesture of good will to parents and youths.

It is at one and the same time an appeal and a warning to youth to live as law-abiding citizens or suffer the consequences throughout a lifetime.

The message represents the remarks of the late Judge B. O. Tankersley, of Marshalltown, Iowa, as he passed sentence on two high school boys who had thoughtlessly made a practice of "borrowing" automobiles to go joy riding.

Judge Tankersley said:

> You come from good homes, both of you. Yet now you have been convicted of a felony—a crime for which you might be sent to the penitentiary. In this case I do not have to send you to the penitentiary. I am permitted to give you a parole.
>
> But even if you never see the inside of a penitentiary or jail, you will not have escaped the penalties of your crime. The record of your conviction will be here as long as the courthouse stands. No amount of good conduct in the future can ever erase it.
>
> Next year, or ten years from now, or when you are old men, if you are ever called to be witnesses in any court of law, some lawyer will point his finger at you and ask: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?" You will hang your head and admit that you have, because if you deny it, the records of these proceedings will be brought from the vaults and read to the jury.
>
> The question will be asked for the sole purpose of casting doubt on your testimony. Convicted felons are not believed as readily as other persons.
>
> Someday you may have a chance to live and work in one of the expanding countries of South America, and you will apply for a passport. You may not get it. You might enter Canada for a fishing trip, but you would not be allowed to stay. No country will allow you to become a resident. Your world is so much smaller than it was.
>
> Someday you may seek a position in the civil service of your state or nation. On the application blank you will find this question: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?"
>
> Your truthful answer will bar you from appointment. An untruthful answer will be detected because appointments are made only after investigation. The record is here to be found by anyone interested.
>
> In a few years you will be 21, and others your age will have the right to vote—but you will not. You will be a citizen of your state and country, but you will have no voice in public affairs.
>
> Someday the governor may pardon you and restore your rights, but it is going to be humiliating to ask him. He'll want to know your whole record. It is a bad one.
>
> I am granting you a parole. A parole is in no sense a pardon. You will report to the men who have accepted your parole as often as they may ask. Your convenience is not a matter of importance. You will also obey your parents. If your parents send you to bed at nine o'clock, you will go without complaint. You will perform such tasks as are assigned to you. Your parole is a fragile thing.
>
> Should the slightest complaint of your conduct reach this court, your parole will be revoked immediately and you will begin serving your sentence. You will not be brought back here for questioning and/or explanations. You will be picked up and taken to prison—without notice to you and without delay.

Manpower for Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this excellent editorial from the Washington Post on the work of the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower.

Those who participated in this important study are to be commended for their diligence, their imagination, and their creative concern with the health needs facing this Nation.

It is gratifying, as the editorial points out, to see that these men, important in their own walks of life, have turned their attention to this growing problem. It is our problem, too, and their advice is to be heeded.

The editorial reads as follows:

> MANPOWER FOR HEALTH
>
> Reports from Presidential commissions appear with such frequency as to make little impact upon the general public. But the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower* cries out for attention from everyone with an interest, however remote, in medical care. If adopted, the substantive proposals in this splendid report would greatly augment the supply of medical personnel—physicians, dentists, medical research scientists, technicians and nurses—and improve the quality of medical care. Moreover, the endorsement of most of its forward-looking proposals by Dr. Dwight L. Wilbur, the president-elect of the American Medical Association who served on the Commission, raises the hope that they will be embodied in legislation.
>
> Perhaps the most important recommendations of the Commission relate to the supply of physicians. The Commission states flatly "that there is currently a shortage of physicians and that this shortage will worsen in relation to growing demand, despite the expected increase in the supply of physicians . . ." After stating that the "production of physicans must be increased . .. . by a substantial expansion in the capacity of existing medical schools and . . . by new schools," the Commission made two major recommendations. Federal funds for medical schools "should be provided in such a way that they create economic incentives for the school to expand enrollment while improving its quality." Second, the Federal Government should made loans available to medical students that would cover "the full costs of tuition and living expenses." If adopted these proposals would do much to raise the number of newly-trained physicians from the current level of about 7500.
>
> Once licensed by state governments with the approval of professional societies, physicians, dentists and other health personnel are privileged to practice their professions for the remainder of their lives, irrespective of how incompetent or ignorant of new developments they may later become. To ensure high levels of competence, the Commission recommends programs for periodic relicensure, either by examination or satisfactory performance in continuing education programs. State governments confer valuable privileges upon those whom they license to provide medical services, and with privileges come obligations. The Commission does not explain how the 50 state governments are to be persuaded to adopt relicensure programs, but there are doubtless ways in which pressures might be exerted.
>
> * Mr. J. Irwin Miller, the chairman of the Commission and Dr. Peter S. Bing, its executive director, have put the public in their debt for a far-sighted and readable report. Its many imaginative proposals provide the basis for a thorough-going reform of the health service system.

The Political Future of the Family of Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week Secretary of State Dean Rusk delivered one of the truly great speeches of our times.

Mr. Rusk bravely and boldly put into proper perspective the great challenge that lies ahead for civilization and how our involvement in Vietnam is helping us meet that challenge.

History will show that Secretary Rusk is one of the most prophetic people in the world today. We as Americans are fortunate that at this critical juncture in our own history, we have had the good fortune of having a man like Dean Rusk carry the heavy burden of Secretary of State of the United States. His counsel and his wisdom are helping this Nation chart a course for man which will lead us to that magnificent day when hopefully we will war no more.

Dean Rusk carries a heavy burden and it would be my hope that this Nation someday will be able to fully appreciate the enormity of his contribution and personal sacrifice so that man will live in freedom.

I hope this speech which I am putting in the RECORD today will be carefully read by every American, for only then can he understand the immensity of the challenge which confronts America and the world and what our own Nation is doing to meet that challenge.

The Secretary's speech follows:

The Political Future of the Family of Man

(Excerpts and address by the Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, before the 50th anniversary celebration of the Foreign Policy Association, New York City, November 14, 1967)

It is a great personal privilege for me to return to the Foreign Policy Association and to be with you in marking the beginning of your Fiftieth year. For a half century you have earned the appreciation and respect of all of our Presidents and Secretaries of State because of your dedicated and imaginative efforts to bring about a better understanding of world affairs. Yours has been a public service of profound importance both to our own people and to the world beyond our borders. But "what is past is prologue"; I wish you strength, resources and resourcefulness as you prepare yourself for the decades ahead.

It is my hope this evening to reflect a bit upon the tasks which are in front of us. But, before doing so, it might be worth asking ourselves a question about your first fifty years. What have we learned since 1918? In your anniversary booklet you said "Today the American people act on behalf of a worldwide constituency. Fod good or ill, we have it in our power as no other people before us to determine the course of man's history." And you pose two questions: "Shall we bear this burden with wisdom and understanding? In a world cluttered with big problems can we summon up the effort to inform ourselves and make our decisions wisely?"

Your emphasis was upon wisdom—and properly so. Surely wisdom includes a sober assessment of the lessons of experience adjusted to the imperatives of change—both the changes which *do* occur and the changes which *must* occur if the story of man is to be worth the telling.

Have we, as a people, learned very much about world affairs since 1918? I think we have learned a great deal, but it is a more complicated question than many might think. It may be interesting for you, during your Fiftieth Anniversary Year, to examine it in considerable detail.

Have we really learned that we are an inseparable part of the human race and that we cannot hope to live our own lives apart from the other peoples of the same planet?

Have we learned that peace must be organized and enforced so long as there are those who would impose their ambitions and their appetites upon their neighbors?

Have we learned that the acceptance of law and agreed rules of conduct, which restricts our "sovereignty", can in fact liberate us through the ability to rely with greater assurance upon what other nations are going to do?

Have we learned that the wealthiest nation on earth has both a selfish national interest and a simple human obligation to assist those who are trying to substitute hope for despair in dealing with the miseries which afflict the great majority of the peoples of the world?

Have we learned that aid does not buy vassals and that power to destroy is not the right to command?

Have we remembered enough of our own history to have a measure of patience and compassion for those who are trying to build new nations under pressures of time and rising expectations?

These are only a few of the many dozens of questions we might be asking ourselves about our experience. The answers will not be easy and the application of the lessons we might have learned to the problems of today and tomorrow will be very complex, but the effort would surely be worthwhile. There are such things as forgetting too much, repeating the same old mistakes, and failing to build upon past effort and sacrifices.

An understanding of world affairs in the years ahead will require us to come to terms with breathtaking change and with growing complexity. Nostalgia for simpler and more leisurely days will give us little help. Communications, science and technology will force a pace to which we are only beginning to become accustomed. The explosion of the number of states members of the international community and the growing interdependence of peoples on a shrinking planet will provide the complexity. If I have invited you to reflect upon our experience, I must also invite you to turn your minds to the problems of tomorrow. The simple fact is that, because of the pace of events, unless we aim for tomorrow, we are unlikely to be able to comprehend the problems of today. Theodore Roosevelt once said that "nine-tenths of wisdom consists of being wise in time."

I would also suggest that the foreign relations of the American people involves almost every aspect of our national life. Foreign policy is more than a painful crisis which dominates the news and more than the disagreements which it is more fashionable to record. It also includes the endless detail involved in a thousand cables a day from the Department of State, the more than twelve thousand primary votes to be cast in the present session of the General Assembly, the adjustments and agreements which go largely unnoticed because serenity is not news. It includes the crises prevented and the continual smoothing out of the jagged edges of relations across national frontiers.

This year of 1967, for example, is a year of pain and violence in Southeast Asia, in the Middle East and in certain other situations of violence with which you are familiar. But it is also a year in which the Kennedy Round was completed, the International Monetary Fund reached agreement on long-term arrangements for international liquidity, the Space Treaty came into operation, the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union was approved, the Presidents of Latin America decided to move to a common market in the coming decade, the Asian Development Bank became a going institution. It is a year of progress for most of the non-Communist nations of East Asia and the Western Pacific—economic, social, and political progress internally, and progress in regional and subregional cooperation. It is the year in which the Soviet Union and the United States tabled a joint draft of a Non-Proliferation Treaty in Geneva, a year in which President Johnson convened a highly successful international conference on Water for Peace and gave new impetus to the War on Hunger. Of course your President is earnestly involved with the problem of peace in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East. But he also commits long hours and dedicated effort to build a more solid basis for peace across the broad range of human affairs.

Pace and complexity mean restlessness and turbulence. If these are to be kept within tolerable limits, we need compass bearings and central organizing ideas. These should be relatively simple because they must be widely understood. Hopefully they can increase the elements of reliability and predictability in the conduct of nations. I have emphasized the need for the United States to remain steady on course because we ourselves must be reasonably predictable both by our friends and by those who might be our adversaries. Were our power, wealth and influence used fitfully and whimsically, present turbulence could easily become chaos.

It seems to me that we can find some of these organizing ideas for the decades ahead by asking ourselves a very simple question: What are the genuine common interests of the members of the family of man—homo sapiens? What binds us together as a single species inhabiting this speck of dust in a vast universe?

We might note in passing that we are rapidly becoming a rather large family. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there will be something like seven billion of us by the end of the century.

Most of this increase seems likely to occur in the countries which are less developed economically, thus aggravating the difficulties of increasing per capita income. If present trends continue, the gap in living standards between the developed nations and most of the less developed nations will widen over the next decades. By one calculation, the average citizen in the economically advanced nations is now approximately twelve times as well off as the average citizen in the less developed nations—and, if present trends continue, he will be eighteen times better off by the year 2000. A world in which three-fourths of the population, even though it makes some economic gains, is left further and further behind by the other fourth, is not a very reassuring prospect. One might expect it to be torn by resentments, social turbulence and outbursts of international violence.

One of the most critical aspects of this ominous trend is the danger of serious famines in some countries within the next decade or two. Population growth is outrunning increases in food supplies. Only a few nations are producing more food than they consume. Only the most energetic attacks on both sides of the food-population problem on the part of the developing nations with massive help from the more advantaged can prevent widespread starvation.

If this is the family we are about to become, are there common interests which tend to unite rather than to divide—despite differences of political ideology, race, religion or cultural tradition? The question needs more exploration than time permits this evening, but I might suggest where some of the answers might be found.

First, the family of a man must surely recognize a common interest in preventing the holocaust of a nuclear war. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, the UN Charter puts it, has become the human problem number one. The power of destruction now resting in the hands of frail humans beings converts an age old dream into an urgent and practical necessity. I am concerned, now that we are twenty years beyond World War II, that the question of organizing a reliable peace recedes into the background and that we become negligent and careless about it. Surely we can agree that it is the central question, even though we may differ among ourselves about exactly how to bring it about—and then commit ourselves to a sober and sustained examination of ways and means.

Has it now become old-fashioned to start with the formula as set forth in Artcile I of the United Nations Charter? The world paid a terrible price for the chance to write that formula, which encompasses effective collective measures for the prevention or removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms? Surely it makes little sense to scrap that formula without something better to put in its place.

To strengthen these rules of conduct required for a reliable peace and the institutional arrangemetns for making them effective must be a consuming commitment of all who understand the stakes involved.

A second common interest ought to be found in limiting and reducing the burden of armaments. Disarmament is postponed because of unsolved political differences; but arms races makes political differences more difficult to resolve. This vicious cycle applies to great powers and smaller nations alike—and the diversion of resources away from urgent human tasks is a mounting burden for all. Limited progress is being made but a major breakthrough has not occurred. One could hope that one major obstacle could be removed—objections to international systems of inspection and verification. The reduction of armaments cannot wait for a condition of full trust and confidence among nations. It should be possible to allow arms reductions to proceed despite mistrust and suspicion—and reliable information holds the key.

A third common interest excites the mind and opens up vast horizons of great hope. In many fields of human endeavor, nature itself makes allies of us all. There is no communist wheat rust, no capitalist potato blight. Viruses cross national and ideological boundaries without political inhibition.

One of man's indispensable needs is fresh water. In many parts of the world, including large sections of our own country, his needs for it are outrunning the supply. This stark reality led President Johnson to convene the International Water for Peace Conference, held in Washington earlier this year. As President Johnson said in his welcoming address, water resource management is made for cooperation. Neither the evaporation of water from the oceans nor its fall from the skies shows the least interest in boundaries. Many of its surface carriers, the great rivers, traverse two or more nations. Equally international is the demand. This first international conference on Water for Peace has set in motion or given new impetus to international cooperation in a wide range of study and planning.

One important means of increasing supplies of fresh water is of course the desalting of sea water.

As you know, the United States is extensively engaged in cooperative studies of desalting water with scientists of other countries, including the Soviet Union.

We can take certain satisfaction from the progress made thus far in the peaceful exploration and uses of outer space. A basic treaty brings man's activities in outer space under a regime of law within ten years of the launching of the first Sputnik. It is our hope that cooperation in space can rapidly expand and there is some reason to believe that much more is possible than we have yet achieved. Cooperation in space has many possibilities both in pushing back the frontiers of knowledge and in using space for the practical needs of all mankind.

The World Weather Watch proposed by President Johnson is moving rapidly in the World Meteorological Organization. More than sixty nations, including the Soviet Union, have agreed to participate. Comprehensive observations, on earth and from outer space, harnessed to automatic transmission, information storage and cooperative prediction will add greatly to man's understanding of his environment. A further stage of cooperation will be opened up as the techniques of weather modification advance and work is now going forward in anticipation of that possibility.

Earth sciences, the peaceful applications of nuclear energy, the common war on hunger, family planning—there are many fields which lend themselves to common action on behalf of the family of man.

There is so much more to be done in enlarging the capacity of man to benefit from the dissemination of knowledge and the enrichment of his cultural life. Here are resources which grow with sharing, about which men do not have to compete because of scarcity. Here is a field in which all of us can be enriched by drawing upon the great diversities within the human family.

I spoke earlier of those common interests which cut across ideological and national boundaries. You should know, for example, that in recent years we have tried to engage the authorities in Peking in the exchange of scientists and doctors and scholars, in the exchange of weather information and in the exchange of plant materials involved in basic food crops. We have been disappointed that the answer invariably has been that there is nothing to discuss until the people of Taiwan are surrendered. I mention this merely to let you know that we take seriously this concept of the family of man and are trying to find ways to apply it, despite the most far-reaching and intractable differences among nations.

As we look ahead we can well reflect upon the main alternatives which are open to us in our relations with the rest of the world. We could attempt to withdraw unto ourselves, pretending that the rest of the world is not there. Such a course would be futile and suicidal. Whatever temporary comfort we think we might get from telling the rest of the world just to go away, it will be with us, and the environment outside will be crucial to the chances of American freedom to survive and flourish.

We could embark upon an attempt to use our fantastic power to impose our own picture of the world upon our fellow human beings—to reach for a Pax Americana. This, too, would be suicidal. We ourselves have no taste for such an undertaking and the rest of the world has not elected us to such a task. We are not the world's policemen even though we have deliberately chosen to accept, as our appropriate share, a portion of the total task of preserving peace.

Thirdly, we could be content to let things rock along more or less as they are and hope that the turbulence will not become too stormy. I do not believe that this course would meet either our aspirations or our necessities.

What is required is an increasing and sustained effort by our own nation, working closely with other nations, in support of the common interests of the human family. This means that there are burdens to be borne. It means that we not reduce the President's request for foreign aid by a billion dollars. It means that we give strong support to the Alliance for Progress and encouragement to the Latin American Common Market. It means that we support constructive regional institutions in other areas. It means that we keep the doors of our universities and our research institutions open for all who wish to come. It means that we give strong support, both in funds and in talent, to the specialized agencies of the United Nations. It means that we do whatever we can, quietly and without ostentation, to help find the peaceful solutions to the disputes which divide nation from nation and produce tensions which block the path to a reliable peace. It means that we set aside our glandular reactions and try to find points of agreement even with those who consider themselves our principal adversaries—on large matters or on small—in order, as Raymond Fosdick said, to spin "the infinity of threads which bind peace together."

You have emphasized the search for wisdom in this your fiftieth Year. Surely wisdom requires that we try to think about major issues with as much precision and clarity as we can muster. I have not talked about Viet-Nam this evening but I do urge that we search for the essence of the problem. It does not clarify the issue to call Viet-Nam "just a civil war" when more than twenty regiments of North Vietnamese forces are attempting to impose their will upon the South. Of course both sides are Vietnamese but it should be clear that the problems of the divided states—Germany, Korea, and Viet-Nam—are to be solved not by force but by peaceful means. It does not clarify the issue to speak of "unconditional surrender" when all that is being asked of North Viet-Nam is that they get their troops out of South Viet-Nam and Laos and stop training guerrillas for Thailand. Those who would "negotiate now" should know that if a representative of Hanoi would make himself available anywhere to discuss peace I would be there. We will negotiate today without condition or about conditions. Those who deplore the violence, as do I, should know that all the violence could end within hours with minimum cooperation from the authorities in Hanoi. Those who are concerned about escalation should know that we have tried over and over again, through diplomacy and by practical actions on the ground, to start the process of deescalation—only to face a categorical rejection from the other side. Those who would brush aside a security treaty as a scrap of paper should reflect soberly on the dangers which would arise if it should be discovered that our security treaties do not mean what they say.

Three Viewpoints on the USMA and Postseason Bowl Games

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the fire of resentment which was lit by the Secretary of the Army's decision denying a bowl appearance to the Army football team continues to flare.

I am determined to let the people know how this precipitous action by the Pentagon was received. Today I am including a commentary by ABC's Howard Cosell, which was aired on November 16, 1967.

In addition, Gene Ward, of the New York Daily News, had an open letter to Secretary Resor in the November 20 issue, and columnist Ron Fimrite, of the San Francisco Chronicle, makes some good points in a column of November 20.

I include these three viewpoints from sports experts here:

HOWARD COSELL COMMENTARY ON THE USMA FOOTBALL TEAM AND A SUGAR BOWL BID

The authorities at the Pentagon apparently decided today that this year's Army football team could not accept a bid to the Sugar Bowl on January 1st in New Orleans, Louisiana; and this would surely have been forthcoming had the Army defeated Pittsburgh Saturday, which, as you all know, is a likely eventuality.

The Pentagon gave four reasons for this decision: First, the war in Viet Nam. Second, they said that acceptance of such a bid would attach an air of professionalism to the Army football team. Third, acceptance of such a bid would cause the Cadets to have to practice for the game in weather too cold to practice in. Fourth, the Cadets would be deprived of their Christmas vacation.

I should like, if I may, to address myself to each of the points.

The war in Viet Nam: What has that got to do with young men in the United States Military Academy who seek, not to draft dodge, but rather to give extended service to their country; and they are committed to this upon graduation.

An air of professionalism: Pure nonsense. Anybody who knows anything about the United States Military Academy knows that its academic standards are as exacting as those of any university in this country, perhaps more so. And anybody who knows anything about Army football and about past policy in this country knows that it is desirable as a reflection of character and leadership to have good Army football teams.

Weather too cold to practice in: I say let the Cadets decide for themselves.

Loss of Christmas vacation: I say let the Cadets decide that; and they did a long time ago. Indeed, these young men who play football for Army have been led to believe, quite rightfully, by their coach, by the authorities of the Academy, that if they kept winning and got a Bowl bid, they could go. In a sense, the Pentagon has betrayed the very young men whom it relies upon for future service to this country.

[From the New York Daily News, Nov. 20, 1967]

Mr. STANLEY RESOR,
Secretary of the Army,
Pentagon,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: What's done is done and the Army football team will not play a bowl game. But I feel a full and honest explanation of your ban is due the members of the team, coach Tom Cahill, the Corps of Cadets, the officers and men of West Point, the officers and men in Vietnam and football fans here at home who have been rooting for this exciting and courageous team.

Fans are people, Mr. Secretary. They are the people of the United States, most of whom support the Army and the war in Vietnam to the best of their ability. One of the great emotional releases is to pick a football team and root it home, and the Army football team has a lot of rooters.

Your statement was no explanation at all. It showed a great unawareness of the sentiments within your own service and of the American people.

YOU BLEW A KING-SIZED MORALE BOOSTER

In refusing to permit the Army football team to play in its first bowl game, Mr. Secretary, I think you blew a king-sized morale booster, and you blew it big.

You also overlooked another factor.

I gather you don't know how vital the game of football is to the making of an officer in the United States Army, in the molding of those qualities of leadership displayed by men like Bill Carpenter, the late Don Holleder and so many before them.

Certainly, you are familiar with the great theorum penned by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the one which says: "Upon the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds . . . That, upon other days and other fields will bear the fruits of victory."

Did you ever take the time to think through the implication of those words?

Evidently you don't realize the sacrifice which must be made by a cadet in order to play football or any other varsity sport at West Point, where the ruggedness of the academic curriculum poses extreme pressure. But it is this very willingness to make the sacrifice which produces the great officers which lead your Army, Mr. Secretary.

ARMY'S GRIDDERS MADE THOSE SACRIFICES

This Army football team has made those sacrifices. It has overcome the classroom work load, the shortage of material and the injuries to key players. It has bounced back time and time again, coming from behind on its skill, courage and determination, as it did in the sleet and cold of Pitt Stadium on Saturday.

Gen. William Westmoreland, Chief of our armed forces in Vietnam, was one of those who watched that Army football team.

One of the leaders on the field was the Army quarterback, Steve Lindell, who has been plagued by an ulcer, a sprained ankle and a bruised leg through much of the season. On the eve of the Pitt game Steve Lindell had spent the night nursing an ulcerated tooth.

There was the fullback, Charlie Jarvis. Two weeks ago Charlie Jarvis was knocked unconscious and suffered a severe cut in the first half of the game with Air Force in Colorado Springs. He came back that day to score the winning touchdown. There's Elwood Cobey, the smallest defensive tackle in major college football . . . and so many others.

Courage and toughness are found on the "fields of friendly strife," Mr. Secretary, by boys who are willing to make the sacrifice to become men.

This Army football team was prepared to make the sacrifice a bowl trip would have imposed. It would have been both an honor and a challenge. The Corps of Cadets, almost to a man, was prepared to sacrifice its Christmas leave, if necessary, to follow its team.

IT'S CALLED "ABOVE AND BEYOND CALL OF DUTY"

The willingness to sacrifice . . . It is called "above and beyond the call of duty" in the battle citations of America's decorated soldiers.

You took that away from them. You hit at the very heart of that process by which we in America develop the leadership which keeps us free.

There are 15 members of this Army football team who will graduate in June and be assigned to Vietnam within the year. By your action you negated their willingness to sacrifice and to accept a challenge.

That was the vital factor in the case; the rest was meaningless. All it needed was an affirmative verdict from you. Somehow you blew it, and you blew it big.

I think you had better forget the "full and honest and explanation," because there isn't one. Just say "you're sorry," Mr. Secretary, "that it won't happen again."

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 20, 1967]

THE ARMY SOUNDS RETREAT

(By Ron Fimrite)

If anyone required further proof that the Pentagon is staffed by round-eyed gnomes who cackle in the night, it was furnished this past week.

This is not to say that the brass ordered an invasion of the Chinese mainland or drafted George Hamilton.

But I ask you, can the war in Vietnam be entrusted to intellectual Lilliputians who won't let the United States Military Academy football team play in a bowl game?

The bowl-ban decision, passed on by Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, serves only to bolster my opinion that the Army itself should be banned.

And I should hasten to add that I'm not one of your draft-card burners. No, by heaven, I was once a corporal—a corporal who, because of unpressed khaki pants and an incident involving an attractive fraulein I was defending against the post-war ambitions of Soviet Russia, was informed by my commanding officer that "Fimrite, you'll never make sergeant!"

I didn't have the heart to tell him I never wanted to be a sergeant in the first place. "Corporal" even sounded a bit fascistic to me.

Well, anyway, Secretary Resor should have let Army go to a bowl. And his conclusion that "a post-season bowl game would tend to emphasize football to an extent not consistent with the basic mission of the Academy, which is to produce career Army officers," just doesn't hold up.

If that's reasoning, we civilians might ask, why does the Army play football at all? The answer, one supposes, would be "to beat Navy."

But if they're going to play football, they should be willing to go all the way. And all the way means going to a bowl game.

There is a basic, high-level hypocrisy here, of course, for the Army makes much of its football history. "The fields of friendly strife," and all that rot. Hell, they decorated a lonesome end, and a halfback got elected President.

The Army likes its people to look athletic. It's very big on competitive spirit and the like. Do you think John Wayne would have been able to beat the Germans and the Japanese without a football past?

Most Army officers read the sports pages before they turn to anything weightier, like Steve Roper or the stock market quotations. And the very nature of their profession—killing people—requires them to be in fighting trim.

My own commanding officer in the Korean War was a bit paunchy—which was probably the reason he was kept 9000 miles behind the lines—but he was quick with the batting averages.

"Musial got three for four yesterday," he would say to me of a morning, "Pick up that orange peel."

The Pentagon's decision, then, does not seem in keeping with the proud traditions of our fighting men. Granted, most bowl games are a wretched waste of time, but if comparably effete liberal arts schools can afford to waste that time, surely the institution that gave us Grant, Lee and Pete Dawkins and kicked out Edgar Allan Poe can do likewise.

Can this be the alma mater of Blanchard and Davis?

As an American, I can only deplore this no-win philosophy. And I wonder if maybe the trouble in Southeast Asia has not influenced the thinking of the men responsible for armed forces football.

Can it be that because LBJ won't let them go all the way there, they won't go the full route on the greensward? Indeed, it's been more than 20 years since the Army's won a war.

And even the one I "fought" in ended in a tie.

Counting the Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, this House was adjourned over the past Thanksgiving Day weekend but, as others have pointed out before, the war in Vietnam is not subject to such periodic pauses, and those brave Americans who have been called upon to fight in it cannot look forward—as we now do—to the further luxury of an adjournment respite over the forthcoming holiday season.

All that those who so serve can do is to count the days until they are due—if providence wills it—to return home and to their loved ones.

But, as all of us are so keenly aware, not all of them make it, and each time one of us here in this body learns of the death in Vietnam of one of the boys from our districts our common burden grows heavier.

Mr. Speaker, I announce with sorrow—and with a deepening sense of the human tragedy that surrounds us—the death, in Vietnam on Friday, November 17, of Sp4c. William C. Bulman, 20 years old, the only child of Mr. and Mrs. Paul W. Bulman, of 11 Taber Street, Johnson City, N.Y.

Specialist Bulman, a graduate of Johnson City High School in 1965, is the 29th man from the southern tier area of New York, and the northern Pennsylvania region around Binghamton, N.Y., to be killed in service in Vietnam. He had been in the Army about 17 months, and in Vietnam for about a year and, last February, was hospitalized there for a time after being hit in the leg by a sniper's bullet. He was a member of Company B, 864th Engineer Battalion, in the Engineer Command, and was apparently killed when a loaded ammunition truck he was driving plunged over the side of a mountain and exploded.

So far, I suppose, there is nothing here to mark William C. Bulman as any different, or set him apart from the thousands of other young Americans who have given their lives in Vietnam for a cause they often seemed to understand and appreciate better than many of us back here at home. But, Mr. Speaker, there were some unusual factors in Specialist Bulman's case. One of those was the fact that, although already once wounded, he had recently signed up for a 6-month extension of his Vietnam tour of duty, which period of extended service would have begun after, as planned, he had come home on leave to be with his family and friends over Christmas and the New Year.

Second, there was a poem he wrote, last June, and sent home to his father and mother. Perhaps, as poetry, it would never have won any prizes, but coming from his heart—such a typical heart of those who, throughout our Nation's history, have stood fast to duty, with courage and high honor—it gives me a better insight into the motivation and the spirit of the American servicemen in Vietnam than any carefully phrased and polished official report could ever do; and, Mr. Speaker, I would like my colleagues to share that poem with me:

Counting the Days

(By Pfc. William Bulman)

Counting the days seems the thing to do;
For when you can once again come home to start anew
A life away from war and fear,
A life at home with ones so dear.
Counting the days until you are on your way;
To a land of freedom so far away
A land so far and yet so near.
A land you have missed for a year.
Counting the days left to serve
In this land where men need nerves.
Yes, a lot of nerves, sweat and blood
To protect what we cherish and love.
Yes, counting the days before you are home
Among the loved ones you left alone:
To ones who have worried for your sake.
Yes, waiting and praying for that date.
Counting the days when we finally leave
And say goodbye to this land of grief.
Wishing the people luck with all our hearts
And knowing we have done our part,
Protecting the land we love so dear.
Yes, we will return to the heart
Of our loved ones so dear.

I deeply regret—as I know all of us here do—the fact that young Bill Bulman did not "return"; and my heart goes out to his parents in their great loss.

Meanwhile, the war goes on in Vietnam, and there are those who say nothing can be done about it—and that, barring some unforeseen event, there will be no change in the policy or strategy we have been following there, at least until after next year's presidential election. These people may well be right, Mr. Speaker; none of us really knows. But I do know that this Congress has not done all it could have—and should have—to inquire into that policy and that strategy; to seek to determine if, in fact as well as in theory, there is no realistic alternative to the present war of attrition both sides are engaged in, waiting for the other to break.

In this Chamber, on October 30, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] suggested that this Congress should not adjourn—for the year—until it had dealt squarely with the unanswered questions we all have concerning Vietnam. The vehicle for our doing so is at hand in House Concurrent Resolution 508, which I have cosponsored along with Mr. Findley and others, though my name is on the companion measure, House Concurrent Resolution 509. This is a bipartisan proposal offered, the last time I checked, by 66 of us—49 Republicans and 17 Democrats—and it simply calls for consideration by the appropriate committees of both House and Senate as to whether or not "further congressional action is desirable in respect to policies in Southeast Asia." But, in so doing, it opens the door to our consideration—as Mr. Findley pointed out—of a rather wide-ranging variety of proposals that have been made, here, from time to time on the part of many of us respecting Vietnam, some of which have not been considered by the administration, so far as I know. The gentleman from Illinois listed, in his remarks on October 30, some 27 such proposals which I shall not attempt to repeat at this time.

But, my point is that, while we now wait for the antipoverty bill, the social security bill, and the like, why could we not—with most of our committees having finished their annual tasks or completed their agenda for this session—begin reconsideration of the one most pressing issue before us, fulfilling our responsibility in that respect in a manner we have not yet done? That issue is, of course, Vietnam—and the broader issue is peace—and we should no more adjourn in the absence of a solution to the former than, during our lifetimes, we could dare postpone our drive to achieve the latter. This much we owe, Mr. Speaker, and a great, great deal more, to Americans like William C. Bulman.

Brotzman Tackles Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the toughest problems facing our Nation today is inflation. Although it will be difficult, the task is not impossible. Awaiting hearing before the 90th Congress are House Resolution 476 and H.R. 9966 which are a step in the right direction. As has been previously pointed out, this approach to the legislative process is gaining nationwide support. I was privileged to be one of the several cosponsors along with Congressman Don Brotzman of Colorado. His efforts have just been recognized by an excellent editorial which appeared in the November 16, 1967, issue of the Boulder Daily Camera.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues, I insert that editorial:

Brotzman Tackles Tough Foe: Inflation

Congressman Don Brotzman, of Boulder, plans to do something about federal fiscal policy that aggravates the inflationary erosion of the citizen's dollar. He has asked the House Rules Committee to schedule hearings early next year on a bill requiring the Budget Bureau to give Congress better information on the possible inflationary impact of appropriations bills.

Despite the passion of some economic theorists for a little bit of inflation, the fact remains that inflation imposes a hardship on the people—especially persons on fixed incomes and those who do not receive cost-of-living wage increases sufficient to keep up with the actual rise in the cost of living.

An Ohio paper quotes investment counselor David Babson as saying inflation is the "cruelest tax of all." For example if the 1939 dollar was worth 100 cents, the present dollar is worth only 41.7 cents in purchasing power. In addition to high taxes everybody has to pay today, the continuous erosion of the value of money imposes an extra burden, sometimes even greater than the taxation.

Even if the citizen today earns $100 for each $41.70 he earned in 1939, and even if taxes were at the same rate today as then—which they aren't—he would have to pay more taxes on the $100 than on the $41.70. In other words, he is taxed heavier merely in order to break even in purchasing power—if he is lucky enough to break even.

Economists who maintain that a little inflation is healthy for the national economy fail to reveal that it is unhealthy for the citizen. The inflation gimmick nicks the taxpayer for a greater share of his earnings even without nominally raising taxes. Since this fact is buried in the morass of economic theory, the average citizen doesn't see this hidden extra taxation. He only knows that it becomes more and more difficult to make ends meet.

It is tempting for government to promote inflation for the extra hidden revenue source that it creates. Tha's one reason why it's like beating your head against the wall to try to promote the principle of keeping spending in line with revenue. For deficit spending is a chief contributor to the inflationary spiral.

Congressman Brotzman has tackled a formidable task in trying to get government to do what the average citizen must do to escape bankruptcy—keep spending in line with income.

We hope he succeeds.

And 50 Years of Capitalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and spoken around the world about the achievements of a half century of communism.

But what about the achievements of U.S. capitalism in the past half century?

Nothing can light a candle to the achievements, the innovations, the progress which have come forth as a result of capitalism in the United States.

Many of the changes which have occurred in American life between 1917 and 1967 are vividly described in a "Time Essay" published in the November 17 issue of Time magazine, as follows:

And 50 Years of Capitalism

The banners in Red Square, the speeches in Bucharest and Belgrade, the dutiful delegations, the flowers and the fanfare—all heralded the achievements of a half-century of Communism. What has happende to U.S. capitalism in the same period?

Compare the imaginary middle-class Mr. U.S. in 1917 with his counterpart today. After breakfast cooked on a cast-iron stove, Mr. U.S. of 1917 wrapped himself against the early autumn chill, went out to his open Model T, hand-cranked the engine into ear-splitting action, and headed for the office at the blazing 15 m.p.h. demanded by the bumpy, unpaved road. Back at the house, his wife kneaded the dough for the day's bread, then took soap and dishcloth to wash the Mason jars in which she was about to preserve apple butter. When she hurried out to get provisions, it meant going to the grocer, the butcher, the druggist, and the hardware store to get all the items on her list. By the time she got home, it was far too late to stop by for a chat with her neighbor Gladys, five blocks away; nor could she phone to explain, for in those days there was only one telephone for every ten people, and someone was always using the party line. Besides, she had to face the laundry stacked beside the hand-powered washing machine. That evening, Mr. U.S. got home to find his wife so exhausted that she fell asleep after supper while listening to the tenor of John McCormack scratching out of the Victrola that stood in the light of the flickering gas lamps in the living room.

Today, Mr. U.S. finishes his breakfast of frozen orange juice and diet-bread toast, pops a vitamin pill into his mouth, steps into his fastback Barracuda, punches the tape deck button for swing or symphony, and heads for the freeway. The six-lane concrete strip lets him proceed at 65 m.p.h. toward his office in town—except when there are so many other cars going the same way that he can listen to all of Beethoven's *Ninth*. By the time he gets to the office, his wife has already called—from the pink, push-button Princess extension in the kitchen—to ask him to stop by the shopping center on the way home and pick up the washing she is going to leave during the day at the Laundromat there. She and Mabel next door are going to a theater matinee in the Mustang, but she will be back in plenty of time to take the lamb chops out of the freezer and fix dinner. And they will get the dishes into the automatic washer before 7:30 so they can watch *The King and I* in color.

PAY & PRODUCTIVITY

That U.S. life has changed dramatically for the better in the past half-century is a commonplace. But some of the statistics that emerge when 1917 is compared with 1967 present a startling contrast. In the period before World War I, the garment industry was emerging from the era of the seven-day week and the $5 weekly paycheck. Today, Muzak competes with the whir of machines, and the average worker gets $2.60 an hour for a 35-hour week. The improvement is reflected throughout industry. Before World War I, the average American factory worker earned the equivalent in today's dollars of $26 a week, while his current yield is, on average, about $115. Put another way, the worker in the earlier period had to work one hour and 35 minutes to buy a dozen eggs; for the same eggs now he spends twelve minutes on the job. A man's suit, which cost him 75 hours of labor then, calls for fewer than 20 hours now.

One key to this unprecedented prosperity is the astonishing productivity—the output of goods and services per man hour—that has trebled since 1917, far outstripping the performance of workers in any other industrial society (in 1960, European workers, for example, roughly reached the level of output attained by the American worker in 1925). In 1917, the U.S. farm worker could feed eight people; today, he feeds 40. In 1917, when the U.S. population was 103 million, the nation's gross national product was about $75 billion (in prices adjusted for inflation) compared with about $800 billion now, for a population of roughly 200 million.

As the nation's wealth has soared, the distribution of that wealth has changed just as strikingly. Before World War I, only 4% of U.S. families earned more than $10,000 a year; today, 25% do. In those days, three out of every five households had an annual income (in 1965 dollars) of less than $3,000. Now that number is down to one in every six.

Owing to the rise of service industries alongside production firms, the number of white-collar employees has long since topped the number of blue-collar workers. Well over 60% of all non-farm families own the homes they live in; in 1917, the figure was 40%. Almost 80% of U.S. families now own an automobile, and one in five families has at least two; in 1917 only 5% had a car. Only 1% of U.S. farms was electrified in 1917; today more than 99% of farms and all other homes have Edison's bulb, not to mention Sarnoff's tube.

There were a mere few thousand holders of company stocks in 1917; now there are more than 22 million with a stake in business. Three million hold shares in American Telephone & Telegraph Co. alone, and one-third of General Electric's shareholder-owners got some of their stock through savings and bonus plans.

Life and death have achieved a new balance in five decades. An infant born in 1916 had a life expectancy of no more than 52 years. This year's child can expect to surpass three score and ten.

COLLEGE DEGREES AND PASSPORTS

The material rise is only part of the story. There have been cultural gains as well. With paperbacks in every drugstore, reading has soared. Thirty thousand titles were published last year, a far cry from the limited book list of 1917. Magazine circulation has multiplied tenfold in 50 years; each month, an estimated 1.2 billion copies of 650 magazines flow out to the farthest corners of the country. Education's reach has lengthened immensely. Early in the century, perhaps 4% of young Americans between 18 and 21 were in colleges and universities; now, roughly 45% are. Last year colleges conferred 650,000 degrees, close to 15 times the number handed out annually just before World War I. The academic year of elementary and secondary schools has lengthend by one-third in the past 50 years. Today 90% of teenagers are in high school, against 60% in the pre-World War I days. The increase in travel is equally spectacular. A trip to Florida or California or New York is within the reach of tens of millions who would not have dreamed of it a half-century ago. A trip to Europe is commonplace for many. In 1915, 23,000 passports were issued or renewed by the U.S. State Department; this year the figure is approaching 2,000,000.

Figures can also be painful reminders of the things that U.S. society has not achieved. Who can calculate the square miles of slums that beg renovation or the poverty that remains a blight on the industrial society? No fewer than 30 million Americans make up families that earn less than $3,000 per year—the figure set by the Government as the poverty level.

Yet just over the horizon, along with a gross national product that seems likely to top a trillion dollars by the early 1970s, is an array of new machines, teaching methods, foods and other tools that will help man cope with such compelling problems. The next 50 years promises to provide even further evidence that the capitalist system is the most productive in human history.

Government Spending and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following newsletter which I am mailing today to the people of North Dakota's Second Congressional District:

Kleppe Comments: A Report From Washington

(By Congressman Tom Kleppe, Second District, North Dakota)

GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND TAXES

Government spending, inflation, and proposed tax increases dominated the news in Washington last week, while abroad attention was focused on fiscal policy, too, with the devaluation of the British pound. Monetary affairs don't make the most interesting reading in the world, but I sincerely believe that several decisions which will have to be made by the President and the Congress within the next few weeks will seriously affect the future of every American.

The "great debate" on taxes and government spending has been underway most of the year but the issues have by no means been finally resolved. Last month the House Ways and Means Committee temporarily laid aside the President's proposal for a 10 per cent surcharge on individual and corporate incomes. That seemed to dispose of the plan for this year. Now the President has proposed a plan under which he would cut government spending by one dollar for every new tax dollar voted by Congress. Ways and Means begins hearings on this November 28.

Meanwhile, the House has voted cuts totaling approximately $6 billion in the President's recommended budget. Most of these reductions I have supported because I do not believe this Nation can fight a major war and at the same time keep pushing non-defense spending higher and heigher. Some of the House cuts were restored in the Senate but savings of about $5 billion have been achieved.

The long-range trend toward bigger and bigger Federal spending has not been checked, however. During the first three months of the new fiscal year which began July 1, government expenditures were 11 per cent larger than for the same period last year. I have yet to see any concrete evidence that the Administration really wants to reduce spending now or in the year ahead.

What many Members of Congress, myself included, fear is that tax increase now would only serve to make more revenues available for increased spending in future years. It would be possible for the President to show susbtantial savings now by postponing some expenditures and using large amounts already in the pipelines for such programs as foreign aid. But these would not be real savings at all. What Congress wants is not bookkeeping "savings" but sharp meaningful cuts in actual spending.

The argument by some Administration aides that the British pound devaluation makes a U.S. tax increase even more vital is nonsense. The argument that such a tax increase would halt inflation also needs some examination.

The fact that the U.S. is not experiencing the classic kind of inflation which comes from too many dollars chasing a scarcity of goods. You don't need a ration ticket to buy a tire, a tank of gas or a steak. What we have, I believe, is inflation threatened by massive, expanding government spending, with the government bidding against the private economy for manpower and services. This opens the door to inflationary wage settlements.

In fact, if it is unrestrained consumer spending the Administration fears, a reduction of one dollar in government spending would have more effect in checking inflationary pressures than a one dollar tax boost. This is true because a tax increase would be offset, in part, by a decrease in personal savings rather than a decrease in consumer spending.

In my opinion, the Administration has failed to make a convincing case for tax increases.

"OUTDOORS USA"

This is the title of the 1967 Yearbook of Agriculture published annually by USDA. I have a limited supply for distribution—free, upon request, while they last.

HOW I VOTED

For a recommittal motion to send the Continuing Appropriations bill back to the Appropriations Committee. (Passed). This was one step in the continuing controversy between the Congress and the President over cuts in Federal spending and the tax increases. It was a very real way for a Congressman to show his opposition to some of the huge non-defense spending programs the President is now pushing, while a war is going on. After going through a number of continuing appropriation fights, a resolution was passed and sent to the Senate, where substantial changes were made. The matter then went to Conference, where it still rests. However, an extended date for these appropriations was attached to the D.C. Appropriation bill when that bill was reported out of Conference, and that passed. The remaining appropriation bills were rushed through the House, and the only major one to act on yet is the OEO bill. The Foreign Aid bill is presently in the Senate. *For* the Conference Report on the 1968 Military Construction Authorization bill. (Passed). *For* motion to recommit the Conference Report on the Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriation bill to insist on cutting Senate amendments which exceed the budget requests. (Agreed to). *For* the Conference Report making appropriations to the Department of Agriculture for 1968. (Passed by a voice vote). *For* the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967. (Passed). This was consistent with my earlier vote on Social Security increases. I think persons on fixed incomes must have increased benefits or pay to offset inflation and increased costs. *For* the Conference Report on the Department of Transportation appropriation bill. (Passed). *For* the resolution making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968. (Passed). I voted for this only after severe spending limitations were placed in the resolution. *For* the Conference Report on the Independent Offices and Housing and Urban Development Appropriation bill for 1968. (Agreed to). I had earlier voted to recommit this bill. (Rejected). *For* a bill to increase the basic pay for members of the armed services. (Passed). *For* a bill to reduce extra-long staple cotton quotas. (Passed). The bill was similar to a bill I had earlier introduced. *For* a Meat Inspection Act. (Passed). The purpose of this bill was to insure the wholesomeness and cleanliness of our meat supply. (I believe the bill will accomplish that purpose. I earlier opposed an amendment designed to extend Federal inspection to meat which did not move across state lines. This was defeated on the House floor as it had been in the Agriculture Committee). *Against* the Conference Report on the Foreign Assistance Authorization Act of 1967. (Agreed to). I voted against this $2.6 billion bill on final passage after a motion to recommit the bill had been defeated. I voted *for* that motion to recommit. *Against* making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related agencies for 1968. ($2.2 billion). (Passed). *For* amendments to the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 which would have redirected the poverty program to well-established agencies, instead of the wasteful Office of Economic Opportunity, and which would limit the program to 1 year. Although the 1 year limitation was agreed upon, the other amendments were not, and I therefore voted *against* final passage of the bill authorizing an additional $1.6 billion. (Passed).

BILLS INTRODUCED

H.R. 13287, making it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while acting under orders of the President. There is presently no penalty under Federal law for these crimes against Federal troops while suppressing civil disturbances. This bill covers that gap. *H.R. 13363*, to reduce imports of all textiles, including wool and woolen goods. From 1961 to last year, the U.S. market for wool declined while imports nearly doubled. My bill would act to reverse that trend.

BUSY CONGRESS

With the first Session of the 90th Congress now certain to run into December, it will be one of the longest in history and also among the busiest. Last week the House had its 400th roll call vote, breaking the previous record set last year. The constant work load here has made it impossible for me to return to North Dakota nearly as often as I would have liked, or to accept more invitations to meetings there. Although I have had to decline many invitations because of the legislative schedule, I have made 14 trips back to the state this year. Even with jet travel, you cannot be in two places at once. It is impossible to know very far in advance when a major bill or conference report will be brought up for consideration. This is due mainly to the way bills are scheduled for debate. I have always considered it my primary responsibility to be here to vote when Congress has important business before it. Up to now, I have been present to vote more than 90 per cent of the time.

OUR GROWING DEBT

This month the U.S. national debt reached $340.8 billion—up $14 billion in the last year. It now costs $15 billion a year just to pay the interest on this enormous and fast-growing debt. I have carefully looked through the $169 billion budget submitted by the President to Congress. Not even one penny is earmarked for retirement of the debt itself. Perhaps the plan is to pay it off later—with 2-cent dollars.

Self-Help for the Thin Blue Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, it is easy for us to overlook the important job the police and law-enforcement officials are doing in their effort to put down the crime wave which is sweeping the Nation. In fact, many times the police have not received the full support and cooperation of the public in carrying out their daily tasks and duties in apprehending the criminals and bringing them to trial. It is true that in many cases the police are underpaid for their dangerous work and civic responsibilities.

Budd Arthur, who is vice president-director of Bonsib, a public relations firm in my home town of Fort Wayne, Ind., has written an interesting article for the publication Nation's Cities. In it, he points out the excellent work the American policeman is doing. He is unselfishly serving the public and is trying to improve his image and obtain economic advancement and recognition from the people he protects without resorting to strikes, slowdowns, or massive demonstrations. I am glad to call this article by Mr. Arthur to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

SELF-HELP FOR THE THIN BLUE LINE

(By Budd Arthur)

(NOTE.—Budd Arthur is vice president-director of Bonsib/PR, a public relations firm in Fort Wayne, Ind. He has helped the public relations efforts of the Cincinnati Fraternal Order of Police and played a role in motivating the voters of Jackson, Mich., to increase their own taxes in order to strengthen the police and fire departments and finance other vital municipal services.)

The American policeman holds a unique position in our society.

In a few ways, he is like the rest of us. He is a man with a wife, children, friends, relatives, a mortgage, auto payments, insurance premiums and taxes.

Unlike the rest of us, he wears a badge and carries a gun. He is a soldier without the benefits of the Geneva Convention. He practices medicine without a license and psychiatry without a couch. He is a do-it-yourself psychologist, a squadroom lawyer, and sometimes a philosopher. Professionally trained in technical and semi-technical fields, he has been classified as a semi-skilled or non-skilled worker. He performs a daily function vital to the survival of our society—a function, it should be noted, that the rest of us would not and could not perform for ourselves—yet, he is often underpaid, overworked and not well enough equipped. He is hated by some (usually those who need him the most), ridiculed by many, and generally regarded as a necessary evil.

The thing that makes him unique is not what I have listed above. It is the fact that he is aware of all these things and still wants to do the job that must be done.

In addition to everything else, the American policeman is under continuing pressure from local, state, and federal officials; the citizenry at large; his family and friends, and his fellow officers. He also must cope with a sometimes hostile press; organized pressure groups representing a variety of ethnic and racial interests; the threat, if not always the reality, of a civilian review board; professional do-gooders and sob sisters; the lunatic fringe, and finally, those outside the law who, at least in theory, are the reason for his being.

Such is the policeman's lot in too many municipalities. While the crime rate soars and racial disturbances erupt in all directions, he continues to speak of his need for better pay, more help and new equipment, greater understanding from both the mass media and the City Fathers, and the respect and cooperation of the community.

In too many instances, his communications leave much to be desired. Too much of what he has to say is addressed to himself and other policemen rather than to municipal officials and the public . . . without whose active support everyone's hands are tied.

Because municipal officials also labor under staggering pressures, the policeman's words, when they get through, do not always strike a responsive chord. And, even when they do the frustrations involved in ministering to all the needs of a city and all its employees sometimes make it impossible for mayors, city managers, councilmen, and commissioners to act as they would like to, when they would like to.

It is at this point, that the policeman's own frustrations take over and prompt him to leave the thinning ranks and seek greener civilian pastures or remain and follow an equally negative course.

His problems are valid, his needs very real. But the solutions to his problems and the fulfillment of his needs are not to be found in strikes or strike threats. Mass sick calls, like no-arrest/no-ticket policies, are exercises in futility. Achieving the understanding he seeks requires better communications. Respect and cooperation must be earned. However, while patience may be a virtue, contrary to the old bromide, it is not always its own reward.

Our recent experiences in Cincinnati have shown us some of the answers to some of the problems. There, the Queen City Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police turned for guidance to the law firm of Keating, Muething, and Klekamp. Charles Keating and Timothy Garry of that firm counseled chapter president Sgt. William Berry and his associates in every phase of a coordinated campaign for increased wages and other benefits. One of the major results of that guidance was that at no time was the city in the slightest danger of being without maximum police protection. There was no police strike. There was no strike threat. There was no mass sick call. In short, there was no negativism. It was a positive campaign that achieved positive results.

Everyone involved was quick to realize that the situation called for a direct approach to be made to the city administration and the county. It was also clear that there will have to be a considerable amount of give and take, and that the police had some homework to do in terms of getting better acquainted with the way in which the wheels of government turn and the problems faced by those who do the turning.

Naturally, it was necessary to get the right story to the right people. In Cincinnati, the right people included almost all the people—city officials, the working press, and the various segments of the community whose support would be meaningful. Self-help began with recognizing the need for professional counsel, both legal and public relations, securing it and following it. It also meant that while outside consultants might create a plan and give counsel on its implementation, carrying it out was a local matter and would have to be handled by the police themselves.

Such is the situation everywhere, at least, from a public relations standpoint. There is no panacea for solving the policeman's problems. There is no magic formula. There is only commonsense, enthusiasm, dedication, drive and responsible action. That is what was exhibited by the men in Cincinnati as they followed a carefully thought-out but flexible plan. They achieved much of what they set out to achieve. And, because good communications is a two-way street, they also came away better able to understand why some things can be accomplished immediately and others cannot.

While there is no panacea, there are some definite guidelines that should be followed, rules of the road leading toward better police-municipality relations.

Though individual grievances are properly communicated through the established chain of command, it is difficult, if not impossible, for a police chief and his senior officers to be both labor and management. FOP spokesmen or others from the ranks must bear the burden of communicating to the city administration the problems, needs and desires of the men—before the mass resignations, strike threats, or even feelings of unrest get started. These spokesmen should be willing and able to resolve problems at the conference table, not in the headlines. They should approach such meetings with the view of accomplishing as much as can reasonably be expected. The key word is *reasonably*. And, it means listening as well as talking.

The working press can be the policeman's strongest ally in his quest for public understanding and support. But, newsmen, like policemen, must be won over by deeds rather than words. Here, the emphasis should not be on department or official policies, but on the policeman as an individual. The strongest message that mass media can impart is that behind the badge, there is a thinking man.

Community, business, and industrial leaders constitute an important target group for any police communications program. They are often willing to lend valuable support, but in most cases they must be asked for that support and given valid reasons why they should help.

Finally, since most of the money with which to raise salaries, buy equipment, and fund other phases of police operations comes from the taxpayers, they almost automatically make up the number one audience that must be reached. They are a difficult audience because in this age of non-involvement, they often do not want to be reached.

The approach should always be simple and direct. (The public may be complicated, but it is never devious.) The single most important fact to be remembered is that the public is not any one thing. It is made up of individual somethings. Therefore, every message should be addressed to the *personal* you, rather than the *collective* you. The *personal* you is rarely concerned with the "big picture"—usually only with self, family, home, security, and environment.

The *personal* you is seldom swayed by statistics. They are impersonal.

The public—every one of those *personal* you's—will not be threatened. The moment a threat is made, whether by a policeman or a city official, every argument that preceded it, no matter how well it was received, is forgotten. Threats beget resentment, not support.

Moreover, the public will not be lied to. At least, not for long. And this is definitely a point at which actions speak louder than words. Dishonesty may be tolerated when it is aimed at the establishment, but not when it reaches down to the *personal* you. A man who seeks respect must show respect. A man who seeks understanding must be understanding. A man whose sworn duty is to enforce the law must personally uphold it—to the letter—no matter how difficult that may sometimes be.

The American policeman is indeed a unique figure. He has unique problems calling for unique solutions. But, one thing is certain. He and his fellows in the thin blue line are going to have to learn how to tell their own story in the right way, in the right places, at the right times. He may look to others to point the way, but he must make the journey.

Medicaid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, title XIX of the Social Security Amendments of 1965, which authorized Federal assistance to States with programs of medical assistance to persons under 65 in or near the poverty bracket, has often been called the sleeper provision. Medicaid was passed by the Congress, apparently without anyone really understanding the possible long-run results of such an arrangement. Letting the States set up their own programs was hailed as an important step toward creative federalism—the Federal Government would supply the money, but each State would decide how it would implement title XIX.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the impact of medicaid is being felt with increasing force—and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is one of the States bearing the full brunt of unpredicted costs. I have received numerous letters from selectmen in my district, complaining that the towns just cannot foot the exhorbitant medicaid bills. The city of New Bedford, in this area alone, is faced with expenditures of $4 million a year—and that figure is rising.

In a thoughtful and timely editorial, the New Bedford Standard Times points out the serious predicament in which Massachusetts now finds itself, after passing one of the most liberal medicaid programs in the Nation. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to both this editorial and a resolution passed almost unanimously at a special town meeting in Cohasset. Although the bulk of the problem is now in the hands of the States, Congress bears a part of the responsibility for the way the program has gotten out of hand.

The editorial and town meeting resolution follow:

MEDICAID—A WARNING IGNORED

The exploding costs of the medicaid program in Massachusetts are an object lesson on the dangers of rushing pellmell into an entriely new field of welfare.

In New Bedford, medicaid expenditures are running at the rate of more than $4 million a year, and still rising. According to the city's budget expert, William S. Mahoney Jr., the great majority of eligible persons have not yet applied for the assistance.

"The program is absolutely going to bankrupt the Commonwealth unless the legislature does something to cut back the broad coverage," said Mayor Harrington.

The mayor is on sound ground in contending that although medicaid is an intolerable burden on the cities, the problem belongs on the legislature's doorstep. The legislature insisted on broadening the program to make it so costly.

A few weeks before the 1966 elections, Gov. Volpe and the then Lt. Gov. Richardson submitted a plan for state participation in medicaid. The program had been established by the federal government and offered aid to states with programs for medical assistance to persons under 65 (medicare applies to over 65) in or near the poverty bracket.

Mr. Richardson, now attorney general, had done more homework on medicaid than anyone in the state. The Volpe-Richardson plan called for a two-step effort: First, to pay medical bills for all welfare recipients and to include 11,000 children of persons on welfare. Second, "when we see where the money will come from," to enlarge the program to include 160,000 children of persons in lower income brackets.

A headline at the time described what transpired in the legislature: "Democrats Lash Volpe, Richardson on Medicaid."

"A do-nothing medicaid plan, a plan to short-change the children," declared Senate President Donahue, D-Holyoke. "A shockingly deficient plan," said House Speaker Davoren, D-Milford. They demanded the entire 160,000 additional children be eligible from the start.

Mr. Richardson warned that the additional cost, then estimated to be $46 million annually, would have to come "directly from already strained Massachusetts state and local tax sources."

The "reality," he said, required keeping in mind "the competing claims of existing programs, anticipated demands, and yesterday's promises, which in all too many cases have not yet been fulfilled."

The legislative leadership did not bother to find "where the money will come from." It gave the Richardson-Volpe plan the heave-ho and substituted its own over-liberal system. And now, unless some new source of revenue is found, it would appear the program must be curtailed, another example of extravagant promises made that cannot be fulfilled.

RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY GEORGE W. McLAUGHLIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF SELECTMEN, SPECIAL TOWN MEETING, NOVEMBER 9, 1967

Whereas the General Court has enacted legislation, presently permitted and eventually required under Title XIX of the Federal Social Security Act, having to do with the program known as Medicaid; and

Whereas such legislation known in Massachusetts as the Medical Assistance Program commits each city and town to budget and initially appropriate indeterminable amounts of money to carry out a limitless program of medical assistance; and

Whereas under such legislation, local Welfare personnel are prohibited from thorough investigation of each application as to financial eligibility for such assistance and lack of control for the dispersement of these funds.

Now therefore, be it resolved:

That the Voters of Cohasset assembled at a Special Town Meeting on November 9, 1967, herewith record their opposition to the Medical Assistance Program as now being implemented.

That William D. Weeks, Senator from the Town of Cohasset in Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, convey this Resolution to the General Court of Massachusetts, and that copies of this Resolution be forwarded to Representative George C. Young of the Massachusetts House of Representatives to Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Edward W. Brooke of the United States Senate, and Hastings Keith of the United States House of Representatives, and request said Senators and Representatives to see that same is spread on the Congressional Record forthwith.

Voted almost unanimous by voice vote in the affirmative.

Voted unanimously by a voice vote at 9:00 P.M. that this meeting be dissolved.

CHARLES A. MARKS,
Town Clerk.

Diamond Jubilee Year of St. Michael's Parish of South Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride that I announce to my colleagues in the Congress that this is the diamond jubilee year of St. Michael's Church of South Chicago, a mighty spiritual citadel in the district I am honored to serve, a church that serves approximately 1,900 families of my constituents with a grade school with 700 children enrolled and a high school with 160 students.

On many occasions since my first election to Congress in 1948, I have attended mass at St. Michael's. To the Reverend Father Robert J. Kash, I am indebted for the following letter announcing the jubilee activities:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: St. Michael's parish is observing its Diamond Jubilee during these days. The Jubilee Banquet was held November 19th at the Sherman House. Among the dignitaries present were the Hon. Henry Lenard and the Hon. Nicholas Svalina, State Representatives from the 30th District. Alderman Nicholas Bohling of the 7th Ward and Alderman John Buchanan of the 10th Ward were also present. Mr. Stanley Zima, 10th Ward Democratic Committeeman was in attendance also. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Grembowicz, Pastor Emeritus of St. John's parish in Harvey, was the main speaker.

The church observance was held on Sunday, November 26th. Bishop Aloysius Wycislo presided and preached the sermon.

You will find enclosed herewith also the history of the parish and the list of our Jubilee Committee members.

Sincerely yours,

REV. ROBERT J. KASH.

HISTORY OF ST. MICHAEL PARISH

St. Michael's parish of South Chicago officially began in February of 1892, when the Rev. Adolph Nowicki assumed the pastorate after his appointment by Archbishop Feehan of Chicago. Property had already been purchased along 83rd Street between the present streets of South Shore Drive and Brandon Avenue. During the very first week the new pastor and his parishioners, who were mostly recently arrived Polish immigrants working in the nearby steel mills, constructed a temporary frame church on the site of the present rectory. Services were held here until the church-school combination building was completed in September of that same year. Father Nowicki then began construction of the rectory and convent. In 1893 on his invitation the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth came to staff the school. They have remained on until the present day.

On October 31, 1897, the Rev. Paul Rhode became the second pastor of St. Michael parish. As the parish continued to grow, there soon became need for a larger church. In 1907 construction began on the present Gothic type church, whose soaring tower dominates the entire neighborhood. It was completed in May of 1909.

While the church was under construction, on June 17, 1908, the news broke that Father Rhode was appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago by Pope Pius X. This was regarded as a great distinction for the parishioners since Bishop Rhode was their pastor, but it was regarded as a greater distinction to all the people of Polish origin in the United States since he was the first American priest of Polish ancestry to be so honored. He was consecrated by Archbishop Quigley in the Holy Name Cathedral of Chicago and served as pastor of St. Michael's and Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago for seven years. He was then appointed Ordinary of the Diocese of Green Bay in Wisconsin in 1915.

The Rev. John Lange, a former assistant pastor of St. Michael's was then appointed to be the third pastor of the parish. He was to serve in this capacity for the next 45 years. Msgr. Lange expanded the school facilities by building the new grammar school on South Shore Drive; he also started the high school which continues to serve the parish and community to this day. It was under his auspices that the Boys' Club began; it has now become a community organization.

The Rev. John Peterson, the present pastor, succeeded Msgr. Lange in January of 1961. Among the many improvements he initiated must be mentioned the new, modern convent for the sisters.

In the 75 year history of St. Michael's there were four pastors and 47 associate pastors. Presently serving in this latter capacity are Rev. Joseph Szumlas, Rev. Robert Kash and Rev. Thaddeus Makuch.

JUBILEE COMMITTEES

EXECUTIVE

Mr. Matt Szwed, Chairman; Mr. Henry Skibinski, Ticket Chairman; Mrs. Marcia Szwed, Ticket Secretary; Miss Mary Zuchowski, General Secretary; Mr. Edward Jamrozy, Book Chairman.

ADVISORY

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Dovick.

TICKET

Mrs. Marie Arendt, Mrs. Balbina Blejski, Dr. Max Brzezinski, Miss Tessie Krasinski, Mr. Walter Maloblocki, Mrs. Bertha Panek, Mrs. Tessie Reformat, Mrs. Vernie Skonieczny, Mr. Edmund Skutecki, Mrs. Claire Skutecki, Mrs. Lucille Staszewski, Mrs. Martha Szczypiorski, Mrs. Stephanie Szpajer.

BOOK

Mr. John Czerniak, Miss Estella Grabowski, Mr. Al Kapczynski, Miss Mary Kapczynski, Miss Bertha Karpinski, Mr. Stanley Kulinowski, Mrs. Stephanie Raczkowski, Mr. John Rolek, Mr. Joseph Rutkowski, Mr. Edward Staszewski, Mrs. Mary Zaremba.

HOSTESS

Mrs. Henrietta Czerniak, Mrs. Charlotte Kielczewski.

HOSTESSES

Rose Badurik, Maria Burda, Karen Jatczak, Marilyn Kijewski, Janice Kleszynski, Sandra Kubiak, Mary Listecki, Betina Odenwald, Mary-Jo Odenwald, Cynthia Rogers, Therese Sadej, Carol Skowronski, Karen Sliwka, Deborah Stephanites, Marcia Swider.

George K. Koon Dies in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. George K. Koon, a young soldier from Baltimore, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend Specialist Koon's courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

George K. Koon Dies in Vietnam—Sparrows Point Alumnus Hit While on Patrol

A 20-year-old Southeast Baltimore soldier who attended Sparrows Point High School has been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Services for Spec. 4 George K. Koon, of the 1000 block South Streeper street, will be held at 9 A.M. Tuesday at St. Casimer's Catholic Church, Kenwood avenue and O'Donnell street.

Specialist Koon's mother, Mrs. Mildred Z. Watts, said she had been told her son was killed by enemy gunfire and shrapnel while on patrol November 16 in the area of Chu Chi.

NINE MONTHS IN VIETNAM

The young soldier, who had been in Vietnam for nine months, was drafted by the Army in August, 1966. His stepfather, Kenneth J. Watts, said there was a possibility that Specialist Koon had been recommended for a Bronze Star about a month ago, but that the family had received no verification.

Specialist Koon, who was known to his family and friends as Butch, served on a special tracking team with the 27th Infantry Division while in Vietnam.

Before he was drafted, Specialist Koon had been employed as a glazier's helper by a Baltimore glass firm.

Besides his mother and stepfather, Specialist Koon is survived by two brothers, Robert P. Koon and Kenneth Watts, and two sisters, Mrs. Beverly Barbagallo and Marsha Koon.

The Late Mrs. Herbert Bayard Swope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Herbert Bayard Swope, my constituent, widow of the late chairman of the New York State Racing Commission and renowned raconteur, is dead.

She was best known to me as the mother of my friend, Herbert Bayard Swope, Jr., but she was quite a personality in her own right.

As detailed in her obituary in the New York Times of Friday, November 24, the essential interests of this fine woman will show my colleagues that her loss to the community in which she thrived, will be great.

Our sympathy goes out to the bereaved family.

Mrs. Herbert Bayard Swope, Outspoken, Witty Hostess, Dies—Editor's Widow Was Noted for Conversational Thrusts at Celebrity Gatherings

Mrs. Margaret P. Swope, widow of Herbert Bayard Swope and renowned as a vivacious and stimulating hostess, died yesterday at the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center. She was 77 years old and lived at Manhattan House, 200 East 66th Street.

Her ebullient husband, who was executive editor of The New York World until 1929 and who was later chairman of the New York State Racing Commission, died in 1958. As a correspondent in World War I, he won the first Pulitzer Prize for Journalism for dispatches that were collected in his book, "Inside the German Empire." The award was given him in 1917.

Mrs. Swope was a slender, petite brunette with brown eyes who possessed a wit and a flair almost equal to her husband's. She was known as Maggie to her family and friends—and these included many of the country's leading writers, intellectuals, sports and political figures who treasured an evening or a weekend with the Swopes.

The daughter of a Long Island Rail Road conductor and station master in Far Rockaway, Queens, Maggie Swope traded jibes and jests with such figures as Franklin P. Adams, Ring Lardner, Heywood Broun, Harpo Marx, H. G. Wells, Ethel Barrymore, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Alfred E. Smith, Averell Harriman, Carmine G. De Sapio, Alexander Woollcott, Bernard M. Baruch, and Raoul H. Fleischmann, the baking company executive who became publisher of The New Yorker magazine.

A DEMANDING HOSTESS

Like her husband, Mrs. Swope had an independent mind, and she shared her views unhesitatingly. Generous in hospitality at all hours of the day, she demanded only that her eminent guests be interesting. Over the years, she presided over a spacious and congenial New York apartment and two Long Island mansions, one at Great Neck and the other at Sands Point. The Great Neck house was immortalized as the setting for Fitzgerald's novel, "The Great Gatsby."

Margaret Honeyman Powell was born on April 3, 1890, in Far Rockaway. She was the daughter of James Scott and Jane Black Powell. Educated in public schools, she went to work at 18 as secretary to James N. Rosenberg, a lawyer and painter. She met the dashing Mr. Swope at a dance at Sherry's about 1910, and the couple were married two years later in Baltimore. The best man was H. L. Mencken, one of the gregarious bridegroom's friends.

Shy in her first years of marriage and overshadowed by her husband's capacity to dominate almost any gathering of which he was a part, the spirited Mrs. Swope gradually developed into a vigorous personality in her own right.

Once, for example, when her husband and a group of celebrities were playing croquet outside the Sands Point home (it has since been sold), she waited with growing impatience for the players to come in for lunch. She made no effort to conceal her distaste for croquet and refused to set foot on the play area.

FORTHRIGHT CONVERSATIONALIST

Finally, the mallets were put aside and the men and women trooped into the 27-room house. As they prepared to eat, Mr. Fleischmann began waving the air to brush away flies and exclaimed:

"For God's sake, where did all these flies come from?"

Mrs. Swope spoke up drily: "They came in on the guests."

At times, because of her tart remarks, Mrs. Swope was believed to be rude. But her son, Herbert Bayard Swope Jr., contended recently that she did not mean to hurt people. She just believed in saying what she thought.

There was the night, for instance, when she was seated at dinner with Mr. Harriman and Mr. De Sapio, and became involved in a discussion of politics. Finally, she turned on the then leader of Tammany Hall and said:

"You see Mr. De Sapio, the thing is that I honestly cannot stand politicians."

Her son is certain she did not mean to hurt Mr. De Sapio's feelings and that, in fact, she liked him.

"She just believed in saying what she pleased and expected others to do the same."

WIT NEVER SLACKENED

Mrs. Swope retained her vivacity and her mind remained sharp, even in recent years, when she was bedridden by arthritis.

One day, a friend was visiting her and noticed by her bedside a book by a mutual friend. He asked her if she expected to finish the book. She replied:

"I certainly am—once I start it."

At times, when Mr. Swope knew she did not like someone he had asked to the house, he would plead with her to be forbearing. She would generally accede and suffer.

But this was out of deep loyalty to Mr. Swope, not out of fear, for she was among the few who did not hesitate to disagree with him, or even to taunt him.

One night at a gathering of the usual variety of important people, her husband paused for breath during one of his typical monologues. She interjected drily:

"I've always been antisemantic."

TEASING A PRESIDENT

Nor was she awed by rank. Indeed, she once bested Calvin Coolidge, well-known for his taciturnity, when they met at a party after he had left the White House.

According to E. J. Kahn's biography, "The World of Swope," the following dialogue took place at that encounter:

Mr. Coolidge: "You're Mrs. Swope, aren't you?"

Mrs. Swope: "Yes."

Mr. Coolidge: "You're not as talkative as your husband, are you?"

Mr. Swope: "No."

One reason for her social success was her love of gambling. She once won $9,000 in a single poker hand. In later years she abandoned poker for canasta. Her love of wagering, however, could not overcome her dislike for the race track. Even when her husband headed the State Racing Commission after 1933, she refused to watch the horses run.

Among her biggest gambles was during their tempestuous courtship, Mr. Swope thought nothing of keeping his dates waiting. One night he arrived very late at a dinner that was to have preceded their evening at the theater. As he came to the table, with his usual aplomb, she tore up the theater tickets and threw them in his face.

Mr. Swope was sufficiently impressed by this display of outrage and spunk to pursue his quest of Miss Powell.

In addition to her son, a film and television producer, Mrs. Swope is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Jane Swope Brandt; four grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

A funeral service for Mrs. Swope will be held tomorrow at 1 P.M. at Frank E. Campbell's Madison Avenue at 81st Street.

Meskill Praises Bristol Eastern's Jim Griffin for Veterans Day Call for Student Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, when the depressing sight of hippies and beatniks fill up the front pages of our newspapers and magazines, and when we hear their cries and extremist slogans troubling the airwaves, it is easy to become discouraged about the future of the country. We see them tearing up draft cards, burning flags, sometimes carrying the flags of our enemies. We wonder if they really represent American youth. If they do, the logical conclusion is that the end of American greatness is simply a matter of time: it will come as soon as these people are old enough to be the majority of the electorate.

I am certain, however, that they are only a minor, if noisy, fragment. Most young people, in spite of the uncertain future which is offered them in these troublesome times, retain their balance. I am certain they are just as appalled as the rest of us at the sights and sounds of this ragtag minority.

In proof of this, a remarkable happening took place in my district on Veterans Day.

On Veterans Day, young Jim Griffin of Bristol, Conn., addressed his 2,000 fellow students at Bristol Eastern High School. Jim, as president of the high school student council, clearly enjoys the affection and admiration of his classmates.

His address was short, uncomplicated, and to the point—a deeply felt appeal to patriotism. The Bristol Press covered the story, and Jim's remarks were taped for broadcast over Bristol's radio station WBIC.

Dick Kilbourn, WBIC vice president and conductor of the station's "Open Mike" program reports that the response was fantastic. He wrote me:

> Within minutes after conclusion of the program the phone began to ring in my office . . . Southington, Bristol, Thomaston. All so very enthusiastic about the young man and his talk.

Through Mr. Kilbourn, I obtained the full text of Jim Griffin's remarks. I salute this young man and thank him for helping to set the record straight on where the young people of America really stand.

I am pleased to submit Jim's address for the Congressional Record, along with the article from the Bristol Press:

Veterans Day Address

(By James L. Griffin)

The times are difficult; the path is uncertain; the people are confused.

These thoughts encompass the very nature of Veterans Day 1967.

Americans all over the nation ask each other which way do we go? How do we show our patriotism, our love for our country in times such as exist today? Do we burn our draft cards in open defiance against our government? Do we participate in sit-ins and anti-war demonstrations? Do we picket the capitol of the United States and before the entire world, denounce our foreign policy?

Maybe we should just stand by and watch these draft card burners and protesters and like hypocrites silently applaud their efforts thinking of these people as the peace lovers of the nation. Or, possibly these "peace Lovers" should, by right, be executed as traitors to our beloved country. It's also your prerogative to shrug off the entire situation as a sign of the changing times. But whatever you do, one fact is quite evident—there has never been a period of United States history like we know today.

Fellow students these are the times that rock the very soul of man.

The Vietnam conflict is certainly a precedent among the military commitments that the United States has made throughout her brief two-hundred-year history. Anyone who dared speak out against United States Foreign War Policy during either World War 1 or World War 2 probably wouldn't have uttered more than a few syllables before being literally ripped into shreds by an incensed group of patriotic Americans. Indeed, any other time that the United States has been involved in a war has been a time in which patriotism has overflowed our shores; when the whole spirit of America united to defeat the common foe. Not so with Vietnam. We read in the papers every day of the hundreds killed or wounded in this conflict and yet Vietnam is not even a declared war.

Who is affected by this war? You? Me? We can't be affected by something we don't really understand, which I think is the case here, today.

Therefore, we should all take time out to think of the young Americans who are serving in the most difficult war in which we have ever been engaged. The issues are not clear cut but nevertheless many are making the supreme sacrifice. For this reason, their display of heroism and patriotism is unparalleled in our history.

This thought of unswerving devotion to our country was summed up by Capt. Stephen Decatur, the most decorated American Naval Officer in the War of 1812. It was to a toast at a testionial given in his honor that Decatur made this statement: "Gentlemen," he said, "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right; but our country, right or wrong."

Such sentiments as this formed the foundation of American prosperity. It was on such sentiments that we have developed from thirteen quarrelling sections of land to the most powerful, most progressive nation on earth in less than two hundred years. Look around you at the world situation and see what is happening in countries plagued by internal strife and civil discord. They're doomed to failure and decay.

Why is it do you think that we have never lost a war throughout our sometimes hostile history? We have never been divided. United we stand, divided we will surely fall.

The bell of man's inhumanity to man does not toll for any one man. It tolls for you, for me, for all of us. It is everyone's personal responsibility to aid our comrades, to boost their morale by letting them know we are behind them 100%.

It's quite possible that some of you have a relative serving in Vietnam; an uncle, a father, a brother. Some of you, I know, carry on correspondence with friends serving in Vietnam. If you do, you have some idea of what is holding our boys together. Our men fight for the day they can throw down their weapons and return victoriously to America. But they will never return victoriously if they are not given a motive for fighting, an incentive that rings out from the shores of America declaring our unmistakable support of their efforts.

So it is on this day that I ask you to resolve yourselves that you will not be a contributing factor to the downfall of our nation. The corruption of a nation starts slowly, gnawing away at the very roots of a country, but once it has gained a foothold nothing can stop it until it has gained its ultimate goal.

We must, it is our duty, to protect this nation for ourselves and for our future generations.

BEHS Student Council President Lauds Young American Soldiers

(By Madeleine Driscoll)

"Our country! . . . may she always be right, but our country, right or wrong."

Strange sentiments to come from a teenage leader these days?

Yet this was the tenor of a speech given Friday by James Griffin, president of the Bristol Eastern High School Student Council, during Veterans Day observances at that school.

As elected representative of the 2,000-member student body, Griffin spoke to the entire school in the three separate assembly programs necessary to reach all. His audiences were quiet, attentive thoughtful.

"The times are difficult; the path is uncertain; the people are confused," he began.

"These thoughts encompass the very nature of Veterans Day, 1967."

Reviewing the "open defiance against our government," the protests, demonstrations, draft-card burning, Griffin stated, ". . . there has never been a period in United States history like we know today."

He spoke of the Vietnam conflict in honest confusion. "Who is affected by this war? You? Me? We can't be affected by something we don't really understand, which I think is the case here, today.

"Therefore, we should all take time out to think of the young Americans who are serving in the most difficult war in which we have ever been engaged. The issues are not clear but nevertheless many are making the supreme sacrifice. For this reason their display of heroism and patriotism is unparalleled in our history."

It was here that he quoted the toast of Captain Stephen Decatur, naval officer during the War of 1812, "Gentlemen, our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right; but our country, right or wrong."

Continuing on the theme of unity, Griffin pointed out that, "It was on such sentiments that we have developed from thirteen quarreling sections of land to the most powerful, most progressive nation on earth in less than 200 years."

And he concluded with the words, "So it is on this day that I ask you to resolve yourselves that you will not be a contributing factor to the downfall of our nation. The corruption of a nation starts slowly, gnawing away at the very roots of a country, but once it has gained a foothold nothing can stop it until it has gained its ultimate goal.

"We must, it is our duty, to protect this nation for ourselves and for our future generations."

Latvian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Latvian Association in Detroit, at its Latvian Independence Day commemoration meeting on November 18, 1967, adopted a statement which I feel will be of interest to my colleagues. Therefore, pursuant to permission granted, I insert the statement in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

The statement follows:

Statement

The American-Latvians of Metropolitan Detroit, assembled at the Detroit Institute of Arts, 5200 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan on the 18th Day of November, 1967, to commemorate the 49th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Latvia, unanimously agreed to issue the following statement:

1. As we pause today to observe the 49th Anniversary of the Republic of Latvia, we again thank the United States Government for refusing to recognize the forcible seizure by the Soviet Union of the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and we urge that this policy be continued.

2. We urge the President of the United States to direct the attention to the United Nations and to other international forums, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, and bring the force of world opinion to bear the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

3. We urge the United States Congress to establish a permanent House Committee on the Captive Nations.

4. We must point out that amid Soviet celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the bolshevik revolution, the world terror unleashed by this movement is being forgotten.

The more than 85 million murdered by this ruthless diabolical system are ghostly witnesses to communist brutality. The fact that Latvia—a peaceloving nation—is no longer free is striking evidence of communist lies, treachery and duplicity. Communism and its handmaiden, Great Russian chauvinism and messianism, is the scourge of the 20th century. Free men should bend their heads in mourning for men and nations killed by these fiends.

5. We deplore the continuation of the Soviet occupation and attempted russification of Latvia by the Soviets. This continuing crime is poisoning international life and world order cannot be built on violence and crime. It should be based on justice. Otherwise, the world would succumb to a rule of violence and a colonial system, as practised by the Soviet Union.

6. As American-Latvians who have seen at firsthand the evil works of Russian communism, we must protest demonstrations by undisciplined youth and naive adults against America's fight for freedom in Vietnam. The struggle there should be endorsed by all freedom-loving men. Those who oppose it in the manner they did at the Pentagon, for example, strike at the very heart of freedom and democracy. They should realize that the evil forces they are supporting are the same ones who would strip them of all the rights we are protecting.

7. Being aware that Latvia and other oppressed nations on our globe are looking upon the United States of America as the country chosen by God to become the champion and guardian of freedom in the world, and bearing in mind that appeasement never brings permanent and lasting peace, we fully support our Government's firm stand against Communist aggression throughout the world.

8. We urge that the Voice of America broadcasts in Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian be increased. These broadcasts carry the message of hope to the Baltic peoples and provide them with proof that they are not forgotten by the Free World. For the same purpose we urge the broadcasts in Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian by the Radio Free Europe, as proposed by the Governor of the State of Michigan George W. Romney, June 18-th 1966.

9. This statement be forwarded to the President of the United States, Vice-president of the United States, Secretary of State, the United States delegation to the United Nations, Senators and Congressmen from Michigan, Governor of the State of Michigan, Mayor of the City of Detroit and United States Information Agency.

Done in Detroit, Michigan this 18th Day of November, A.D. 1967.

Let's Be Sure the Meat Is Pure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, the press and the communications media have set to work to awaken the American people to the serious dangers of poorly processed and uninspected meat sales.

We recently enacted legislation in the House to set about doing something on behalf of the consumer. We believe it is high time the Federal Government take a more active interest in the unregulated sale of uninspected meat within our individual States.

At the present time, the Senate is considering legislation which is even stronger than that passed by the House.

The American consumer expects a great deal from the Congress. Where individual States and cities have indicated they are unwilling or unable to tackle the problem of proper meat inspection, we must act.

The public is concerned that this problem be resolved as quickly as possible. I firmly share that view.

Mr. Speaker, to illustrate the mounting concern being directed toward higher standards for meat inspection, I am pleased to include an editorial broadcast by WBBM–TV in Chicago last week. This editorial has helped keep the interest in this badly needed corrective legislation alive.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

[A WBBM-TV editorial broadcast, Nov. 20, 1967]

LET'S BE SURE THE MEAT IS PURE

The next time you fry a hamburger or broil a steak you can be fairly sure that the meat is clean and pure, and that it came from a sanitary, government-inspected packing house.

That's fairly sure, not totally.

Disclosures at both the national and local levels over the past several days have shown that unclean meat, and even meat from diseased animals is being sold to the public.

Although the practice is not believed to be widespread, any sale of tainted meat is a shocking affront to the public health.

The sale of unclean meat has been possible because of a strange mixture of local, state and national inspection laws.

It may continue to be possible, at least for some time, because of the fumbling approach to the matter now being made in Congress.

Under the present system, all meat transported from one state to another must be federally inspected. Meat sold in the state where it is produced is subject only to inspection by state officials.

Chicago has its own meat inspection standards, regulated by the Board of Health.

A strongly-worded bill pending in the U.S. Senate would require federal inspection of all meat, wherever processed and wherever consumed.

This seems to be a logical move in the interest of protecting the public's health.

But pressure from the meat industry and, strangely enough, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has caused the bill to be watered down somewhat.

The revised version would give individual states two years in which to raise their own inspection standards to match those of the federal government, unless there is a specific complaint requiring federal intervention.

What that means is that you will have two more years to feed your family unclean meat from a packing house that has somehow escaped adequate inspection.

This is a callous disregard of the public interest in favor of private pressure, and we hope Congress will go back to the demand for rigid and thorough inspection laws.

We think you are entitled to meat that is fit to eat right now, not when the politicians and the meat packers want to give it to you.

(Presented by Carter Davidson, Editorial Director of WBBM–TV.)

Localized Purchasing Program Saves Money at Carswell AFB

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, it's always gratifying to see a Government employee take the initiative in holding down costs. A good example of this was described in the November 3 evening edition of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

Delbert Bailey, business writer for the newspaper, told how Miss Dorothy Carroll, deputy chief of the procurement division at Carswell Air Force Base, has saved many thousands of dollars in taxpayers' money through localized purchasing in the Fort Worth area.

To share with my colleagues the story of how Miss Carroll and the Carswell Base procurement chief, Maj. Robert W. Johnson, have curbed costs while at the same time contributing to the economic vitality of the Fort Worth area, I ask unanimous consent to insert Mr. Bailey's article in the RECORD.

LOCAL BUYING BY CARSWELL AIR FORCE BASE HAS PAID OFF

(By Delbert Bailey, Star-Telegram business writer)

Six years ago, Carswell Air Force Base's procurement office dared to be different.

Being different sometimes costs.

But the Carswell dare has saved taxpayers thousands of dollars.

And through this "savings plan," Fort Worth manufacturers, suppliers and service firms have increased profits, added additional personnel and paid more wages.

Being different was the idea of Miss Dorothy Carroll, deputy chief of the base's procurement division.

"I have been in government service most of my career, and I have always felt that as an employe of the government—the people—it is my duty to save money," Miss Carroll said.

Miss Carroll, who has been deputy chief in Carswell's procurement division since March 19, 1942, held a similar position with the Army Corps of Engineers during construction of Carswell and the General Dynamics-Fort Worth plant.

During those years, it was Miss Carroll's chore to be sure the government unit where he worked was amply supplied with necessities and a stock of spare parts.

Up until after the Korean conflict, it generally was government policy to keep large supplies of items on hand in government warehouses.

Since that time, the policy has been to keep only a short supply available only in certain items.

In October 1961, Miss Carroll conducted a survey of the procurement files at Carswell and learned some "astounding" facts.

She found that more than 60 per cent of the annual needs of Carswell were being procured from places other than Fort Worth, about half of them outside Texas.

The idea of the first annual Carswell Air Force Base Purchasing Program was born.

With the help of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, Miss Carroll invited a few area businessmen to the base to "tell them our story and invite their help."

"That first program attracted quite a bit of interest and excitement," Miss Carroll recalled.

"We had a host of businessmen out that didn't even know Carswell had a procurement office. They seemed to believe that our needs were filled from Washington or some other place."

The air base spent about $7.4 million in fiscal 1962 and 37 per cent of that, more than $2.74 million, was spent in Fort Worth.

The base procurement office spent 23 per cent, or $1.7 million in Dallas; $722,000, or 10 per cent in other Texas cities, and $2.25 million, or 30 per cent in cities outside Texas.

"Our costs were increased in many areas because of transportation costs, long distance telephone calls, service problems on items purchased in distant places and from the general breakdown in communications between here and the originating point of the item," Miss Carroll said.

After the second annual Carswell Purchasing Program was held in the autumn of 1962, Fort Worth's share of the procurement office's expenditures jumped to $3.9 million, or about 62 per cent of the annual outlay for fiscal 1963.

Dallas' share in fiscal 1963 dropped to $1.12 million or 18 per cent. Other cities in Texas declined to $302,743 or 5 per cent and purchases outside Texas eased to $916,464 or 15 per cent of that year's total of $6.2 million.

During fiscal 1962 and 1963—July through June—Miss Carroll spent considerable time and effort to keep accurate data on the savings in transportation and long distance telephone calls derived from increased local purchasing.

Her office in 1962 spent $2,976,048 for items from cities other than Fort Worth and Dallas. In 1963 the expenditure declined to $1,219,207, giving a saved difference of $1,756,841.

"The difference of $1,756,841 averaged 3,518 purchase orders," Miss Carroll said. "The average cost for transportation was $3 per order."

Using this average, $10,593 was saved in transportation costs.

"Out of 3,513 purchase orders, approximately 1,500 long distance calls were required at an average of $2 per call," she continued. "This represented a $3,000 savings."

"I found myself with total savings for these years of $13,595," she said with a smile.

"The expedient delivery from local sources is an intangible savings in dollars and cents," Miss Carroll continued. "However, the timely accomplishment of a strategic mission is priceless when considering the defense of our nation."

In the recently completed fiscal year 1967, Miss Carroll's office spent 63 per cent of its funds through Fort Worth firms, 26 per cent in Dallas, 3 per cent in other Texas cities and 8 per cent outside of Texas.

"I feel, along with Major Robert W. Johnson and the buyers of the Carswell office that there are many firms in this area with which we could do business," Miss Carroll said.

Major Johnson is procurement chief at Carswell.

"We feel that the Fort Worth area is a fully qualified location to supply the base with its needs—more than 62,000 line items," Major Johnson said.

"Our problem is that we have no way of seeking out these possible suppliers and providing them with a list of our needs," he added.

"This local area is the life blood of Carswell," Miss Carroll commented. "Especially, since we have found that local procurement leads to vast savings of the taxpayers' money."

Local service to Carswell is particularly important, she noted, "in view of the policy of not maintaining an inventory of daily items."

"We must have local assistance in that we rely on the local firms to provide us with our 'warehouse' needs. In that way they, too, can do their part in the keeping of the nation," Miss Carroll said.

American Banker Daily Newspaper Reports on Big Retailers' Victory in 17-to-14 Vote on Revolving Credit in Truth-in-Lending Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Joseph D. Hutnyan, Washington correspondent for the American Banker daily newspaper, is well known to Members of the House from the years he served as a member of the House staff of United Press International. Since leaving UPI, he has been covering Washington for the only daily banking newspaper published in the United States, retaining the scrupulous respect for facts which is the hallmark of a good wire service reporter.

On Friday after Thanksgiving, Mr. Hutnyan had an article in his newspaper reporting on the actions by the House Committee on Banking and Currency last Wednesday on H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act. The most important action taken that day was the adoption of an amendment which would relieve the big chain retailers using computerized revolving credit from revealing to their customers the annual percentage rate of their credit costs. The smaller retailers using installment credit, and the banks and other lenders, would generally have to state the annual rate on their credit charges, but the big retailers would not.

Some of us feel very strongly that this is completely unfair to small business and is, in addition, misleading to the consumer. A monthly rate of 1½ percent on credit sounds very low to the average consumer, who tends to regard an annual rate of 18 percent as fantastically high, even though, in most instances, they would be exactly the same.

No wonder the independent retailers are firing telegrams into Washington, and particularly to members of the Committee on Banking and Currency, strenuously objecting to the disparity of treatment voted by a majority of the members of the committee on Wednesday last.

ISSUE BY NO MEANS SETTLED; THE FIGHT WILL GO ON

This issue is by no means settled, Mr. Speaker. The fight will go on to achieve the kind of truth-in-lending legislation which gives the consumer the facts he needs in order to shop intelligently among competing forms of consumer credit.

The Sears-Roebuck, or Montgomery-Ward, or Penney amendment, as it is variously called, would permit practices under which department store revolving credit accounts would be made to appear very reasonable when compared to all other types of borrowing or buying on credit. The department store rate would even be made to sound less than the cost of borrowing from a credit union, under the bill as amended.

The Banking and Currency Committee will meet again tomorrow on H.R. 11601. There will be an opportunity for any Member who wishes to change his vote to offer a motion to reconsider. If the Sears-Ward-Penney amendment is not eliminated in committee, then there will certainly be the opportunity—and the obligation—to remove it on the House floor.

Fortunately, we were able to keep such an amendment out of the advertising provisions of the bill. But it is of prime importance to the consumer to learn at the time of purchase what the percentage rate will be on the credit costs, and a monthly rate does not provide comparability with rates charged by other creditors.

AMERICAN BANKER ARTICLE EXPLAINS ISSUE IN DISPUTE

Joseph D. Hutnyan's article in the American Banker daily newspaper last Friday will give the facts on this dispute to those Members of the House who have been receiving telegrams and letters from independent businessmen in their districts protesting the exemption for revolving credit. Under unanimous consent, I include the article referred to as part of my remarks, as follows:

[From the American Banker daily newspaper, Nov. 24, 1967]

RETAILERS WIN MONTHLY DISCLOSURE OF REVOLVING RATE FROM HOUSE UNIT

(By Joseph D. Hutnyan)

WASHINGTON.—The House Banking and Currency Committee Wednesday voted 17 to 14 to permit revolving charge creditors to report a monthly, rather than an annual, rate under the interest disclosure bill being drafted by the committee.

The American Bankers Association is opposed to the provision on grounds that it would discriminate against banks, which would have to list the annual rate under the bill.

The vote on revolving charge coverage Wednesday is likely to result in postponement of House action on the truth-in-lending bill until early next year.

The chief reason for this delay is that the committee action has displeased its chairman, Wright Patman, D., Tex., who probably will delay a House vote for about six weeks in hopes of building up political pressure to reverse the committee action on the House floor.

Coverage of revolving charges in the House committee bill now conforms with that of a truth-in-lending bill passed by the Senate July 11.

However, the resemblance may end there. Although the House Banking and Currency Committee is only about half way through marking up the interest disclosure bill, it already has created a bill tougher than the version passed by the Senate.

Both the Senate and the House bills would require most creditors to list the approximate effective annual rate of the credit cost in each transaction. The one exception is revolving charges which could be shown as a monthly rate.

However, the House Banking and Currency Committee bill was broadened on Wednesday to extend the disclosure requirements to credit advertising. No such provision was included in the Senate bill.

The House bill also takes a tougher stance in its treatment of credit life insurance costs. In cases where the creditor requires a policy, the cost must be figured in as part of the rate. This was exempt from the rate calculation in the Senate bill.

The House Banking and Currency Committee is scheduled to resume closed deliberations Tuesday on the truth-in-lending bill.

Still to be decided by the committees are such controversial issues as whether mortgages should be subject to the disclosure provisions; the effective date of the truth-in-lending law; whether garnishment of wages should be abolished; a proposal to set up a consumer credit study commission, and whether the Federal Reserve Board or the Federal Trade Commission should enforce the disclosure statute.

The 17 to 14 vote on revolving charge coverage Wednesday was a big victory for the retailers lobby which has been fighting hard to remain exempt from the annual rate requirement.

The victory was fashioned with the help of 12 Republicans and five key votes from Democrats: Reps. Robert G. Stephens of Georgia; Richard T. Hanna of California; Tom S. Gettys of South Carolina; Frank Annunzio of Illinois; and Thomas M. Rees of California.

Mrs. Leonor K. Sullican, D., Mo., who led the fight for annual coverage of revolving charges, told reporteds Wednesday that she would take the issue to the House floor.

"Very few Americans are aware of the implications of this exemption," she said. "The people will just have to pay through the nose, not knowing what they are paying for."

Mr. Hanna, who led the fight to put revolving charges on a monthly schedule, insisted that an annual rate would be unrealistic. He said there were so many variable factors in revolving charges that it would be impractical to require them to list the annual rate of the credit cost when the purchase is made.

As it stands, the bill would allow a revolving charge creditor to tell a customer at the time a purchase is made that he is paying 1.5% a month—the usual charge—instead of 18% a year. However, if this same customer went to a bank, the institution would have to disclose the annual credit rate.

The ABA, Mr. Patman, and Mrs. Sullivan feel this is discriminatory. The ABA is convinced that the banking community has a big stake in this fight because of the mushrooming growth in the bank credit card business which someday may challenge department store revolving charges for a big share of the customer's dollar.

The alleged competitive advantage for revolving charges in listing the monthly rate would not be a part of the advertising disclosure regulations adopted by the committee on Wednesday.

This provision states that in all cases—including banks and revolving charge creditors—when a rate is mentioned in an advertisement, it must be described in annual percentage terms.

The advertising provision also requires that where a lender decides to mention the installment payment in his advertising, he must also include the price of the loan or article; the down payment; the number, amount, and due dates or period of payments scheduled to repay the indebtedness, and the rate of the finance charge expressed in annual terms.

This would rule out the practice of merely stating a monthly payment in an advertisement. For instance, it would be illegal to use a phrase such as: "Color television sets, only $25 a month," and * * *

Dedication of New Buildings at the Forest Products Laboratory, Madison, Wis., November 8, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the new wood fiber products research facilities at the U.S. Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wis., were dedicated on November 8, 1967. Over 200 representatives from the forest products industries throughout this country and from many foreign lands, officials from universities and many associations, and those concerned about the increasing need for forest products research attended the dedication ceremonies.

Because of the strong congressional support and interest shown in the Forest Products Laboratory and its expansion program, I would like to present to my colleagues several facts about the new laboratory-office building, along with a self-guiding tour brochure of the new facilities, and a description of the Edward G. Locke Memorial Seminar Room which is named in honor of the late Dr. Locke, a longtime director of the Forest Products Laboratory.

Dr. George L. Mehren, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, was present at the dedication of the new Forest Products Laboratory buildings, and I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dr. Mehren's remarks on this occasion:

FACTS ON THE NEW BUILDING AT THE FOREST PRODUCTS LABORATORY, FOREST SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

LABORATORY-OFFICE BUILDING

Floors and their uses:

Ground—Mainly utilities and storage.

1st—Wood Chemistry offices and laboratories.

2nd & 3rd—Wood Fiber Products offices and laboratories.

Fan loft—Ventilating fans and air-conditioning equipment.

Building size:

Length—167 ft.

Width—51 ft.

Height—62 ft.

Gross area—39,765 sq. ft.

Construction:

Basically reinforced concrete with extensive use of wood products.

Interior partitions—Framed with fire-retardant-treated studs; insulated with acoustic wood-fiber sheet material, covered with painted gypsum board finish.

Exterior trim—Redwood treated with FPL natural finish.

Dimensions of labs and offices:

Offices—Width 11 ft., length 14 ft.

Laboratories—Width 11 ft., length 24 ft.

PILOT PLANT

Floors and their uses:

First—Full building length; generally experimental pulping equipment.

Second—About half building length; experimental papermaking equipment.

Building size:

Length—460 ft.

Width—60 ft.

Height—50 ft.

Gross area—47,652 sq. ft.

Objectives:

To provide greatest volume of unimpeded space possible within fixed cost limits, and

To demonstrate the most up-to-date and economical structural concepts employing wood and wood-base materials.

These objectives were achieved through use of glued laminated wood arches and supplementary framework, stressed-skin lumber-plywood panels, lumber and fiberboard roof deck, and redwood trim.

Arch framework:

A typical 2-story arch consisting of the two legs and connecting beam weighs 20,200 pounds and contains 10,600 board feet of southern pine lumber.

In all, the 24 arches contain 186,000 board feet of lumber.

Wall enclosure:

Walls are enclosed with stressed-skin panels. Nominal 2 by 4 lumber frame adhesive-bonded to ⅜-inch-thick Douglas-fir plywood covers. Internal voids are filled with a polystyrene foam insulation.

The exterior panel face is covered with a beige-colored polyvinyl fluoride film; interior panel face with kraft paper treated with phenolic resin and painted.

More than 800 panels, most of them 4 by 8 feet in size, were required.

A SELF-GUIDING TOUR

The Wood Fiber Products Pilot Plant and Office-Laboratory Facilities.

1. Pulping Pilot Plant—The machinery in this area is used to prepare wood for the papermaking process.

2. Paper machine run—Our small-scale fourdrinier makes paper for the purpose of determining the effects of new pulping or refining methods or of additives applied during various stages of the papermaking process. To show its contentment with its new surroundings, the machine will spew forth today a bond paper made of mixed hardwood (80 percent) and softwood (20 percent) bleached kraft pulp. The fibers that are dyed red represent a portion of the hardwood component and the black fibers a portion of the softwood component.

3. Office-laboratory facilities—A modular arrangement of space accommodates studies of paper properties in the paper physics, bleaching, and optics laboratories. Fundamental studies are also carried out to improve the quality of paper with additives. Reactions of chemicals with wood components are examined to increase the yields of delignified pulps.

4. Edward G. Locke Memorial Seminar Room—This room, dedicated to the nuturing of creative thought and achievement, is given in memory of our sixth Director, Dr. Edward G. Locke. The furnishing of this room is provided by individuals and industries who would join in the futhering of forest products research, an endeavor that was pursued vigorously by Dr. Locke.

A. Broad View of Our Research Program (in the main building):

A. Sawmilling—The study of saws, sawing procedures, and log breakdown techniques leads to increased quality and value of the lumber produced. A new method of sawing 2 by 4 studs from small-diameter logs has been effective in minimizing the effects of degrading warp.

B. Wood drying—Drying wood faster with less degrade will increase its value and utility. Automated dry kiln control, press drying, and fundamental studies of moisture movement in wood mark advances in drying research.

C. Engineering with wood—Wood is examined as a structural material not only in its natural state but in reconstituted forms and in combination with other materials. Many strength properties must be determined—of the basic materials, structural elements, and full size structures—to develop reliable and efficient design data.

D. Chemistry of wood—The chemical utilization of wood is closely allied to the byproducts and residues of the pulp and paper industry. Techniques for the quantitative analysis of resin acids in tall oil are being developed and new and potentially useful extractives from bark are being discovered. Establishing the molecular structure of lignin and recovering it in usable form from pulping processes promises bountiful rewards for wood chemists.

E. Protecting wood from fungi, insects, and weathering—Various treatments extend the service life of wood and wood products by making the wood toxic or unusable to fungi and insects. A first step toward protecting the beauty of wood in outdoor exposures with a durable clear finish has been to determine the effects of sunlight and weathering on the wood surface.

F. Veneer mill—Cutting wood with a knife, as opposed to sawing, increases the yield of usable product. Versatile new equipment has been designed and installed to help solve the problems involved in the cutting of thick veneer or lumber.

G. Particleboard laboratory—The rapid growth of the particleboard industry in this country has prompted the need for basic information on optimum fabrication conditions for both interior and exterior uses of the material. Treatments before and after assembly of the board are studied for their effect on strength and durability.

H. Fire performance of wood—Determining the flammability and fire endurance characteristics of wood and wood products such as paneling, doors, walls, ceilings, and shingles provides a basis for establishing standards of acceptance in building codes. Fire-retardant treatments for wood are developed and evaluated for uses that require high degrees of resistance to fire.

I. Packaging—Pallets, boxes, and cushioning materials are the objects of improvement in package engineering. The quality of new and improved types of construction is observed under simulated conditions of handling, transportation, and storage.

EDWARD G. LOCKE MEMORIAL SEMINAR ROOM

THIS ROOM IS DEDICATED TO THE NURTURING OF CREATIVE THOUGHT AND ACHIEVEMENT IN MEMORY OF DR. EDWARD G. LOCKE, DIRECTOR OF THE FOREST PRODUCTS LABORATORY, 1959–1966

It seems almost providential, as plans for this building were developed, that Dr. Locke personally designated this particular space to be set aside unfinished and to be later developed as a unique room for creative seminar purposes. At the time of his death, December 19, 1966, the completion of this room was conceived as a lasting memorial to Dr. Locke. A memorial fund was established and the thoughtful generosity of many friends and coworkers has now made possible the development and furnishing of this room. Creative thought will be further stimulated here and provide a basis for creative research, development, and productive application for the public good.

The large wood carving symbolizes man's search for products emanating from the earth's resources. It was conceived, designed, and hand-carved by John Killebrew of the Laboratory staff. Two walls of the room are finished with wood-base fiber paper. The press-dried red oak paneling is the application of Laboratory engineer Bruce Heebink's research development, in which Dr. Locke had a stimulating interest. The furniture represents exquisite use of native walnut. The carved walnut on the exterior doors was done by the skilled hands of FPL chemist Wayne Moore. Creative ideas of artist Richard Paynter and the skills of many other dedicated members of the Laboratory staff, all friends of Dr. Locke, have combined to appropriately and effectively complete this room. Weiler, Strang, McMullin and Associates, Architects of Madison, contributed the mechanical and electrical design for this room. Interior designer Don Reppen and Associates of Madison provided the professional planning essential to overall design and the coordination of furnishings.

The Edward G. Locke Memorial Room is dedicated to the memory of one—for appropriate use by many.

ADDRESS BY DR. GEORGE L. MEHREN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, AT THE DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDINGS AT THE FOREST PRODUCTS LABORATORY, MADISON, WISC., NOVEMBER 8, 1967

We have come here today, from many parts of the Nation, to join together in a sincere act of dedication. These handsome new buildings are the immediate reason for our gathering. But it is not wood and glass and concrete and brick, however handsomely put together, that we are dedicating. These buildings represent much more.

It gives me personal pleasure to participate in this dedication, and to bring you the good wishes of Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, who unfortunately could not be here. The Forest Products Laboratory has been one of the prized jewels of USDA research ever since it was founded in Madison in 1910 with the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin.

My personal interest—and I know the Secretary shares it—stems from the fact that these buildings represent a real forward step toward goals which we have been shaping during the past few years for all research conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture. Those goals were worked out as part of an intensive review of the Department's research activities.

Some of you may know about this broad and all-inclusive reappraisal of USDA research. It is the result of a long-range study made by representatives of the Department and the Land-Grant College System. It resulted in a report entitled, "A National Program for Research in Agriculture," which has been submitted to the Congress.

The goals shaped in that report put strong stress on forestry and forest products research as integral parts of the USDA program. I will not recite them all here; but I assure you that forestry and the products of the forest have an implicit place in the attainment of each goal, not just those to which they are specifically referred. Goal No. 1, for example, reads: "insure a stable and productive agriculture for the future through wise management of natural resources." I do not need to remind you that our renewable forests are one of our most precious resources.

These buildings we are today dedicating will play an important role in the attainment of our agricultural research goals. The program, for example, calls for substantial increases in research aimed at more efficient production of farm and forest products—an increase of 22 percent by 1972 and of 53 percent by 1977. I think it goes without saying that those increases will not be attainable unless we provide more such facilities as these—and the necessary staffing of them.

All of us in USDA research have an obligation to keep lifting our standards of excellence. Agricultural research—applied or basic—no longer stands alone; we are a part of the total scientific fabric. This we must understand as fundamental.

Let us look, then, at the specific problems of our mission-oriented USDA research in forest products utilization.

One-third of our Nation—759 million acres—is forested. Two-thirds of that forest land, roughly, is rated as commercial in quality, suitable and available for growing continuous crops of sawlogs and other industrial timber products. In comparison, our total cropland amounts to 448 million acres. From this forest land we must get all the wood products this Nation needs and a surplus for export. The Forest Service estimates that demand for timber products will increase by 80 percent by the year 2000.

This is our No. 1 problem: How to meet swelling demand from a static or actually shrinking timberland base. It is a problem complicated by another Forest Service projection—that recreational forest requirements will triple by the year 2000.

A hard look at our forests of today points up a second research problem—that of our timber quality. We have been raiding our timber resource for many generations. As a result, much of that forest is poorly stocked. This static forest base must yield not only more timber but better timber. The geneticist and silviculturist will be able to do this—but only if guided by specialists in wood science as to the kinds and qualities of wood we will need. Unfortunately, we have found, maximum diameter growth does not necessarily mean high quality or even maximum production of fiber per acre.

And then we have with us a persistent utilization problem—or in reality a whole series of problems. We have been working on them for a long time with the tools and manpower available. Progress has been good. But we are far from final solutions. I refer to such problems as service hazards—fire, decay, weathering, and the like; more efficient utilization of wood from the standpoint of engineering design and construction; improvement of physical and mechanical properties through better seasoning, dimensional stabilization by chemical or other means, and combinations of wood and other materials to attain superior performance.

Utilization must also become more efficient. We must learn how to reduce and eliminate wastes, such as harvesting losses and processing residues. Only half the wood in a tree reaches the primary processing mill; and half of that is again lost in processing. Our most common chemical pulping processes convert half or less of each ton of wood to usable fiber, and the residuals of that pulping all too often contribute to pollution of air and water resources.

These are serious problems, for which solutions are imperative if we are to maintain and share our high standard of living with those less fortunate. They have a direct bearing also upon the success we will attain in solving other urgent problems—problems of a social nature. I refer now to what Secretary Freeman has called the rural-urban balance, or lack of it; that is, the steady drain of human resources from our rural areas as men and women, particularly the young, energetic ones, seek brighter horizons in our crowded cities.

Today, the Secretary has pointed out, 70 percent of our people live on 1 percent of the land, 30 percent on all the rest. Our rural areas—farms, villages, small towns—have been emptied while more and more human beings crowds into our cities, and especially the decaying central cores, the ghettos. This constitutes a social problem of the first magnitude, as evidenced by the past summer's riots, armed clashes, killings, and burnings.

Secretary Freeman has called for a reversal of this human tidal flow, back to rural areas where men can be free from congestion, smog, and existence in multistoried apartments or decaying tenements.

Can we find here some means of helping stem and reverse that tide of frustrated humanity?

I believe we can. I think this building in which we are gathered this afternoon may have some part of the answer to this problem.

The problem admittedly has many ramifications. Today's young people demand opportunity to participate in the many advantages of our civilization—education, culture, the many creative comforts and pleasures made possible by our technology and productive capacity. A paramount reason why youth has deserted the farm and small town, however, is the lack of jobs. Mechanization has reduced the need for human hands and backs to plant, cultivate, and harvest our farm crops. In turn, the shrinking farm population has shriveled farmers' requirements for small town services, and with it the populations of these rural centers. An obvious need, then, is for rural-type industries to provide jobs. With jobs will come the amenities of culture and abundance that are the hallmark of our civilization.

I was interested to learn the genesis of this building which we are today dedicating. I was told, for example, that the laminated wooden arches that support its walls and roof were made in the city of Peshtigo, Wis., population 2,504. The walls consist of stressed-skin panels made of lumber and plywood in the Minnesota town of Lester Prairie, population 966.

I think these facts have more than passing significance. Certainly there is here much food for reflection in the context of our rural-urban problem. They point straight to a basic truth many of us have perhaps overlooked: That forestry and forest-based industries are generally rural-oriented. The processing plants, from lumber camps to sash and door factories, pulp and paper mills, or what have you, are usually located as close to the source of raw material as possible.

Scattered throughout our main forest areas of the South, East, Lake States, and West are many other Peshtigos and Lester Prairies; they provide jobs and incomes to many thousands of men and women who live relatively free from congestion, smog, and the ghetto. Oh, I am familiar with the fragrance that sometimes emanates from a kraft mill; but this is much more amenable to control, I am sure, than the fumes that hang in clouds over our central cities.

And so, for this occasion, I would like to expand somewhat our USDA research goals, especially those directly dealing with forestry and forest products. I would include in this expanded list the following:

1, More productive forests. Not merely faster tree growth, which like excess fat on a hog adds little and may actually depreciate worth, but growth of superior wood—stronger for structural uses, yielding more fiber per cubic foot for pulp and paper, finer textured and more handsomely grained and colored for furniture and other fine woodwork, more durable against weather, moisture, fungi, insects, and other natural enemies.

2. More efficient utilization. Handsome and modern as this building is, I am confident that there is room for improvement. Is the full strength of these rugged arches being utilized, or are we penalizing wood because we lack full knowledge of its capability? Is the structure as durable as we might wish?

3. Reduction of waste and associated pollution. I believe there is much to be gained here. One of the great advantages of wood is its fiber structure. Much of that fiber is now lost in the woods and mills. With appropriate technology, we should be able to utilize the fiber in the now discarded branches, tops and stumps as well as we utilize the main stem. We should also be able to convert more of the total wood substance than we now do through chemical processing. The past work of this Forest Products Laboratory points firmly in that direction. Over the years a series of research developments, each remarkable in its time, have demonstrated that more wood is utilizable—not only more and more species once thought useless, but increasingly greater proportions of the total wood content. As we continue to enlarge the portion that is utilizable, we will reduce the waste of substance and the pollution that so often accompanies that waste.

And finally, I would ask you to look once more at these buildings we are dedicating, and consider why we are doing so. I think you will agree that, in the light of the research problems that confront us and the goals we have set for the men and women who will work here, this is no ordinary ceremony. In these buildings, and especially this pilot plant, I sense an implicit challenge.

This building, in particular, represents the work of many who have gone before us at this Laboratory. Their efforts made possible these ruggedly graceful arches, these paneled walls, and many invisible attributes that add immeasurably to the strength and durability of the whole. The total result expresses what can be done with wood today to create structures of this magnitude, extending their liimts far beyond what was possible not so long ago.

Here is an eloquent expression of the validity of that past research which made it possible.

I want to recognize at this point the special contribution of Dr. Edward G. Locke, late director of this Laboratory. The existence of these new facilities is due in substantial measure to his dreams. He pressed strongly for revitalized facilities that will enable this institution to uphold its long tradition of outstanding public service. His was a guiding spirit and a powerful impetus in the development we see here today.

I charge all who work in this splendid structure to hear and heed its challenge . . . to apply themselves to their tasks with the same clear foresight and scrupulous dedication that imbued those who made its creation possible.

Drawing inspiration from the achievements of our predecessors, therefore, let us dedicate this building and its companion to a continuing diligent pursuit of knowledge—of Science in the Service of Man.

Support of Our Nation's Policy in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent letter sent to the President by my comrades of Sgt. Stanley Romanowski Post 6896 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in support of our Nation's policy in South Vietnam.

I am proud to say that this is my post, and that these veterans and dedicated citizen patriots recognize not only the wisdom of our course in South Vietnam but also the need to stand bravely in the face of aggression.

SGT. STANLEY ROMANOWSKI POST 6896,
Detroit, Mich., November 11, 1967.

The Very Honorable LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON,
The President of These United States,
The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: The Veterans of Foreign Wars—Sgt. Stanley Romanowski Post 6896 with its 1,468 Members and their Families approve of the Resolution passed on August 7, 1964, by our United States Congress. This Resolution gave the President of These United States the authorization to send Armed Forces to help the South Vietnamese People to resist Communistic aggression.

The voting in favor of this Resolution was, as follows: 416 to 0 in the House of Representatives, and 88 to 2 in the Senate House; and the votes stand at 1,468 Members and their Families to 0 in the Romanowski Post, Detroit, Michigan.

Mr. President, we wholeheartedly support your Vietnamese Operation and the Policies upheld by Our Great Nation.

Respectfully yours,
EDMUND P. KOTOWSKI,
Post Commander.

Defusing the Capital's Rush Hours Without a Freeway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the freeway system in the District of Columbia has long been a subject of heated controversy. The most recent skirmish has been over the Three Sisters Bridge.

An important article on this subject by Wolf Von Eckardt appeared in Sunday's Washington Post. The article states that it may be possible to ease commuter traffic jams by better use of conventional streets, instead of resorting to the expense and neighborhood disruption caused by building new freeways.

I commend the Department of Transportation and Secretary Alan Boyd for exploring alternatives to freeways. I place the article in the RECORD at this point:

DEFUSING THE CAPITAL'S RUSH HOURS WITHOUT A FREEWAY

(By Wolf Von Eckardt)

In the late fall of 1967, the history books are likely to record, the Battle of Three Sisters Bridge in Washington, to settle the question whether American cities should be adjusted to automobile traffic or whether automobile traffic should be adjusted to cities, finally approached its climax.

The new Federal Department of Transportation entered the fray with three entirely new contentions. This shifted a befuddling fracas to new ground and revealed it as a contest of fundamental issues.

For some 10 years since a six-lane Potomac highway crossing was first proposed, the fight had raged only between the traditional forces. On one side were the highway engineers, noisily supported by the National Highway Users Comference, an alliance of road builders, gasoline manufacturers, truckers and other interested parties, and by downtown businessmen. They maintained that the bridge was essential to complete an elaborate freeway system of loops and radials, linked with interstate highways, that would set an example for the Nation.

On the other side were what appeared to be a majority of the voteless citizens of Washington, led by the "citizen members" of the National Capital Planning Commission. They not only feared that the scenic beauty of the Potomac Palisades would be ruined by the bridge approaches. They also objected to the freeway's displacement of people, disruption of the city and added input of automobiles.

A FEDERAL PHALANX

Since the NCPC never came forward with any alternatives to solve the city's traffic problems, however, the cause seemed lost when, in May, 1966, the six Federal agencies represented on the Commission formed a coalition against the "citizen members" appointed by the President.

Then in October, 1966, the Department of Transportation was established to coordinate the Nation's transportation services. The Bureau of Public Roads and its massive highway program ($14.7 billion to be spent this year alone), previously under the Commerce Department, was now under the DOT and subject to the coordination that DOT was charged to evolve.

In view of this development, NCPC requested Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd last May to review the need for the controversial river crossing. The BPR had a letter affirming the need for a bridge on Boyd's desk within 24 hours.

But Boyd did not sign the letter. Instead, he is expected to announce shortly that the bridge is not needed. He will also, to the consternation of the highway men, recommend a number of tentative changes in the loop and radial system.

TRAFFIC FORECASTS CHALLENGED

The nature of these changes has been reported in the newspapers. But in the heat of the resulting discussion, the new factors on which Boyd's decision is based is likely to be lost sight of.

As Boyd's staff advisers see them, they are: (1) a provision in the law that established DOT; (2) recent drastic changes in metropolitan development patterns which made questionable the traffic forecasts on which most of the country's urban freeway plans are based, and (3) new studies that open new ways of handling city automobile traffic without freeways.

These premises do not assume that Washington's proposed subway would ever significantly replace the use of private automobiles. The landmark Three Sisters Bridge decision merely implements a section of the Department of Transportation Act which says that the Secretary "shall not approve any program or project which requires the use of any land from a public park, recreation area, wildlife and waterfowl refuge or historic site" unless there is no feasible alternative or the harm done is minimized.

The bridge, says DOT affects five such areas. It would take 53.6 acres of public land and damage the scenic, recreational and historic value of Spout Run Park, the George Washington Memorial Parkway, the C & O Canal, Archbold-Glover Park and the Georgetown waterfront.

Nor do traffic prospects demonstrate the immediate need for this river crossing, according to DOT analysts. The D.C. Highway Department forecast in 1959 that traffic from Virginia into the District would increase by 25,000 cars a year over the next eight years. DOT found that it had taken all eight years together for cross-river traffic to increase by that much.

Another prediction was that between 1951 and 1967, peak-hour river crossings would increase by 26.8 per cent. The actual count was only 2.9 per cent.

These drastic miscalculations were perhaps understandable. The highway engineers' forecasts were based on two assumptions. One was that if the number of homes in a suburban area had doubled in the past 10 years, this growth rate would continue in the next 10. This, of course, was nonsense, since the area might be all built up with no space for any more houses.

The other miscalculation was that if a large number of suburban residents had driven into the city in the past to work, shop or go to the movies, they and all newcomers would continue to do so. That, too, was nonsense because the suburbs are becoming increasingly self-sufficient.

Along with the people, the jobs, department stores, shops and movie houses move out. There is consequently more traffic within the suburbs and less traffic into the city.

This is a national phenomenon that has, according to DOT officials, thrown practically all previous traffic forecasts by America's city highway departments awry by an average overestimate of at least 20 per cent.

A COMMUTER DISAPPOINTMENT

Yet there are still rush-hour traffic jams and people who commute from Bethesda and Silver Spring are likely to be unhappy that Secretary Boyd wants to delete the proposed freeway I-705 that was to run along the B & O Railway tracks from Fort Totten Park to the Beltway near Forest Glen. (This is being recommended not by antifreeway zealots but by the Bureau of Roads, which feels that $25 million a mile is simply too expensive for a four-lane highway.)

DOT experts now ask: Why have a freeway at all? There are ways of speeding commuter traffic that were never exploited because it seemed so much easier to let the Federal highway program pay for 90 per cent of a new interstate concrete ribbon.

Ironically, the forgotten ways were explored by the Bureau of Public Roads itself in "The Wisconsin Avenue Study" published in 1962. It considered that artery as a typical "Any Street, U.S.A."

The gist of the study is that you could triple the Wisconsin Avenue traffic flow to 3600 cars an hour moving smoothly at a 30 mph, average by prohibiting parking; instituting reversible lanes, bus bays and a flexible, electronically controlled traffic light system; blocking secondary side streets in rush hours, and providing vehicular underpasses and pedestrian overpasses at major intersections—all without destroying a single building or tree.

If the capacity of the other avenues leading to the Maryland suburbs were equally improved, the city could undoubtedly handle any traffic volume likely to come along in the next three decades.

A "STAGGERING BLOW"

The Federal highway program, however, could not pay 90 per cent of the cost but only 50 per cent, according to DOT. And the Highway Users Conference is mobilizing its forces across the Nation for the final Three Sisters Bridge battle by warning that "DOT's proposed directive would have far-reaching implications beyond the staggering blow it would strike against the efficient movement of people and goods in the Washington, D.C. area."

Secretary Boyd, according to some of his aides, feels that he is striking a blow only against a single-minded technocratic approach and in favor of better cities to live and do business in.

"Freeways run two ways," one of them said. "The Beltway alone has already lost downtown Washington 10,000 jobs. I don't think the city can afford to lose any more, not to speak of housing, tax income and a lot of human values."

Medal Marking Poland's 1,000th Anniversary of Christianity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 1966 was the year of Poland's millenium—1,000 years of Christianity in Poland.

Throughout America there were celebrations and festivities as Americans of all nationalities joined with their Polish-American neighbors in commemorating this historic year.

In the year 966 Mieszko I, the first historical ruler of the lands of Poland, accepted Christianity and incorporated Poland into the family of the European-Christian nations. From this time on Christian customs were officially accepted, cities started to grow, churches were built, and the first coins of Poland were minted.

In the year 1966, 40 million Poles at home and abroad celebrated the 1,000th anniversary of this event. The Congress of the United States passed a law permitting the U.S. Treasury Department to strike and mint suitable medals marking this 1,000th anniversary of Polish Christianity.

Designs were submitted from all parts of the country. But one medallion design was so exceptional, it was judged superior to all the others. This medallion was the work of the Polish American Numismatic Association of Chicago.

With initiative and innovation, the numismatic association arranged for the private minting of this exceptional medal in bronze, silver, and yellow brass before the legislation to authorize the Bureau of the Mint to sell a similar medal was enacted.

Following are brief descriptions of the obverse and reverse sides of the medal.

In the upper left quadrant of the obverse side, the papal symbol for peace appears. The upper right quadrant has the combined letters PW for "Polska Walczaca"—"Fighting Poland," the sign used by members of the resistance forces in Poland during the occupation in World War II.

The figure of Mieszko I is located in the center of the medal. He unified the lands of Poland with his sword and baptized with a cross. Three nations, which for centuries jointly shielded Christianity in Europe from the assaults by the Mongol, Tartar and Turkish invaders from the east, are symbolized by the three knights on the left. The white eagle, the mounted knight and the angel on the shields represent the national emblems of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia respectively. The three soldiers on the right represent the Polish armies of the 20th century who fought against aggression from the East and West in 1920, and the armies of 1939 which fought Nazi and Communist armies, and also the Polish armies in exile which fought on the side of the allies during World War II.

In the lower left quadrant appears the first emblem of the Piast Dynasty shown on the first historical record of the name of Poland on a coin, "Princess Polonie' struck by King Boleslaus the Brave in the 10th century.

In the lower right quadrant appears the Syrena of Warsaw, which was adopted by certain fighting units as their symbol.

The reverse of the coin commemorates a thousand years of Polish coins, illustrated by four coins. Clockwise, from the top, the first Polish coin, a denarius, issued by the first historical ruler of Poland, Mieszko I.

At the right is the Trojak—three groszy—for Lithuania, issued by King Stefan Batory, 1576 to 1586. Beginning with this trojak, all Polish coins will bear two emblems: that of the Polish eagle and Lithuania's mounted knight.

At the bottom is the commemorative 10 zloty issued by contemporary Poland honoring its great astronomer, Mikolaj Kopernik.

At the left is the denarius of the Polish King Wladyslaw Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who married Queen Jagwiga of Poland.

The center shows two eagles, American and Polish, embracing the first Polish coin—symbolic of historical ties between the United States and Poland.

Mr. Speaker, these medals can be purchased directly from the Polish American Numismatic Association of Chicago, 5029 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60609 at a nominal cost. Further details may be obtained by the numismatic association itself.

In view of the availability of these handsome medallions and their truly reasonable cost, I do not believe it will be necessary for our U.S. Treasury Department to strike similar medallions to commemorate Poland's millenium, as authorized by the Congress in Public Law 89–527. While I am grateful to Congress for making it possible for the U.S. Mint to strike the medallions, I would not want to see the Government in effect competing with the very beautifully designed medallion being sold by the Polish American Numismatic Association.

I am sure the Polish American Numismatic Association deserves our highest commendation for its initiative.

Consumer Credit Protection Bill, H.R. 11601 (Truth in Lending), Includes Cost of Mandatory Credit Life Insurance in the "Finance Charge"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just seen an article in tonight's Washington Evening Star by Robert Walters reporting on a staff study presented to the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on the high return to consumer credit firms in requiring the borrower to purchase credit life insurance.

Under unanimous consent, I plan to insert the text of that article in the RECORD as part of my remarks. I think the Members should know how the credit life insurance tie-in works.

I am happy to say that in H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which includes truth-in-lending provisions as its title I, we require that when credit life insurance is made mandatory as part of a consumer credit transaction, and when the customer has no choice in the selection of a policy of this nature but must buy whatever the credit firm requires, the full cost of such insurance must be counted in as part of the "finance charge" on which the annual percentage rate must be figured.

While this would not interfere with the freedom of consumer credit firms to require the purchase of credit life insurance on which the creditor receives a commission or return, it would discourage excessive charges for such insurance by raising the percentage rate shown as part of the credit costs on a loan or a consumer credit sale.

SENATE BILL EXEMPTED CREDIT LIFE INSURANCE FROM PERCENTAGE RATE TABULATION

S. 5, the truth-in-lending bill passed by the Senate on July 11, does not require the inclusion in the annual percentage rate figure of credit life insurance, but does require that the cost of such insurance be itemized separately as part of the overall credit cost.

We were told during our hearings on H.R. 11601 that the returns on credit life insurance are quite high to the firms in this business and also to the credit merchants or lenders who require that such insurance be purchased and who, in fact, sell the insurance as part of the credit transaction.

In Massachusetts, under their truth-in-lending laws, premiums up to 50 cents per $100 of credit life insurance coverage are considered the cost of the insurance and any premium over that amount must be counted as part of the finance charge on which the percentage rate is figured. It was our feeling, in H.R. 11601, that any Federal law which set a so-called fair figure on a cost of this nature would have to be revised constantly to meet changing conditions, so we agreed in the Committee on Banking and Currency to include the entire cost of credit life insurance as part of the finance charge on which an annual percentage rate must be based if a particular insurance policy is mandatory as part of the credit transaction.

Mr. Speaker, Robert Walters' article in tonight's Star follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Nov. 27, 1967]

PROBERS CITE PROFIT MARGIN IN CREDIT INSURANCE FIELD

(By Robert Walters, Star staff writer)

Only 40 cents of every dollar collected in credit life, health and accident insurance fees by personal finance companies is actually used to cover losses, Senate investigators said today.

The remaining 60 cents is divided between the finance firm and the insurance company which underwrites the borrower's policy in the form of commissions, "experience refunds" and profits, according to a staff study presented to the Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee.

The study showed that in 1966 a selected group of 35 representative finance companies collected more than $201 million in credit life, accident and health insurance payments. Only about $81 million, or 40.3 percent, was paid out as benefits.

The figures were presented as the subcommittee opened the second phase of its investigation into credit life insurance, sold to those who receive loans from banks or finance companies to protect the lender against the possibility that he will not be repaid if the borrower should die or be disabled before completing his installment payments.

A second staff study showed that in 1966 a selected group of 21 finance firms earned almost a third of their income—31.8 percent—on receipts from credit insurance, with the remainder of their income coming from interest charges.

Witnesses for two major finance companies said the subcommittee's estimate of a 40 percent return to borrowers with credit insurance was too low, but said they paid out only about 50 cents for every dollar in insurance income.

They pointed out that the 50 percent guideline was adopted in 1959 by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, the organization representing state insurance commissioners.

Those testifying before the subcommittee last spring charged that the state commissioners were too lax in their regulation of the industry, but Paul W. Boyer, a vice president of the Household Finance Corp., today said the states have done a more than creditable job of regulating both credit transactions and credit insurance for many years.

Rejecting the proposals to enact new federal legislation in the field, Boyer said: "By neccesity, close working relationships have evolved between state administrators of the finance and insurance industry . . . To sever the relationships at the state level by injecting remote federal control on credit insurance can only result in a disservice to our citizens."

Boyer said that during the year ending in September 1966, his firm took in about $21.6 million in credit insurance payments, paid out $10.7 million to meet customer claims and retained the remaining $10.2 million as "dividends earned."

Another witness, Edward A. Dunbar, a vice president of the Beneficial Management Corp., parent firm of the Beneficial Finance Co., suggested that the subcommittee investigate the naton's large insurance companies, not the finance firms.

Referring to increasing tendency of major banks to enter the consumer credit field, then place their credit insurance with insurance companies, Dunbar said:

"Many insurance companies make large deposits or loans to financial institutions. The creditors are naturally inclined to place their credit life with such insurnace companies. Such a use of raw wealth would seem a most logical subject for this subcommittee."

LIFE INSURANCE CITED

Charles V. Walsh, insurance relations director for Beneficial, told the subcommittee that the 50 percent return on the customer's insurance dollar was little different from the standard maintained by the life insurance industry.

He cited a 1965 industy study which showed that insurance firms paid out 53 cents for every dollar of income. The payout has never gone above 53.9 cents during the last decade, the study showed.

Dunbar said "the situation is further complicated by the large insurance companies' fear of federal regulation of the ordinary life insurance business. Many such insurance interests are very happy to have the government regulate or investigate the credit life business instead."

Freedom Is Not Negotiable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the

RECORD, I include the following address by Dr. E. G. Fennell before the Dunkirk, N.Y., Rotary Club, as it appeared in the Dunkirk Evening Observer of November 11, 1967:

VETERANS DAY, 1967: "FREEDOM IS NOT NEGOTIABLE," DR. FENNELL SAYS

Dr. E. G. Fennell, director of placement at Fredonia State University college, was the speaker at the Tuesday meeting of the Dunkirk Rotary. "Freedom Is Not Negotiable" was the topic of his address which follows:

"Just over two decades ago, when the torch of liberty was at one of its blazing heights, the world, as we knew it in our youth, ceased to exist. That fateful day in 1945 when mankind unleashed the power of the atom, we destroyed more than Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We destroyed man's world as we knew it.

"I doubt that few, if any of us comprehended then, or if we comprehend even now, what we did to ourselves in the name of freedom. We fought World War II to preserve the American way of life and the American dream . . . But we destroyed the old way of life. And, in the past two decades, have turned some of that dream into a nightmare. We fought for freedom . . . but freedom of what? Freedom for what? Freedom in what?

"For freedom of choice of staying locked in our homes at night rather than run the risk of being mugged on our streets? For freedom of choice in disagreeing with a member of a minority group and then being accused of bigotry? Freedom of choice in believing in God, so long as no reference to religion is made in a public school classroom? Freedom of choice to assist or stand by while a policeman is thwarted in his duty? Freedom of choice to stand by or even run away, rather than come to the aid of a girl being assaulted? Freedom of choice in permitting my government to tell me what I can do, or telling my government what I want it to do?

"Do I still have the freedom to choose between liberty and license—between Freedom and anarchistic rights? If I still have freedom of choice, I choose the freedom of complete freedom—freedom which is made up of responsibility and rights. Without responsibility we can have no rights. Without freedom we cannot have responsibility.

"DESTROYING FREEDOM

"We have enjoyed in this great nation of ours so much freedom that we are even free to destroy freedom itself—and this is what we are doing to ourselves now.

"I said, a few minutes ago, that the world of our youth ceased to be in the past two decades.

"Since 1945: (1) We have become a mobile society. (2) We have developed neighborhoods and entire communities where none existed before. We built them from the ground up, but without roots, without traditions, without the advantage of several generations around us to aid us in raising our children. We have become anonymous. (3) We have become numbers. (4) We have followed any directions that are printed: Do not fold, bend or staple—open box at this end—to close fold in flap 'A', etc. (5) We have permitted invasions of privacy: wire tapping, credit checks, census—next one has 18 pages of questions while only seven questions are required by law to be answered. (6) We have been bullied by government, by institutions, by people. (7) We have shifted from the positive to the negative. We need to say how well we do things, not to advertise our few faults. We make excuses for them. (8) We have worshipped at the shrine of mediocrity and amateurism. We have permitted our individual freedoms to be slowly eroded.

"NEGLECT FUNDAMENTALS

"We have not only had change, but an increase in the rate of change. The rate of change has made the world almost incomprehensible to us—we are so busy keeping up with the changes we neglect the fundamentals. We do not have or will not take the time to 'season'—to mature—our youngsters.

"We have riots. We are not free to walk our streets in safety. Freedom is not negotiable.

"We let government tell us how to serve it—not how it is to serve us. Freedom is not negotiable.

"We permit nations sill in swaddling clothes to tell us how to act and where to go. Freedom is not negotiable.

"Since I am your guest, I think it only fitting and proper that I tell you I come here today as a member of a minority group. The minority group that I represent is composed of American men over the age of 40. Do you know that, according to the latest census figures, those of us over 40 years of age are outnumbered two to one in this country?

"Members of my minority group remember when . . . it was wrong to be in debt, shameful to be on relief, when a handshake consummated a contract, a guarantee was orally given with the words, 'If it isn't right, bring it back,' when a man had pride—in himself, in doing a full day's work and doing it to the best of his ability, in respecting his neighbor's as well as his own property; when a man could plant as much wheat as he wanted and businessmen were able to determine a profit by their own industry and ingenuity; when free enterprise encompassed both words; a call to the colors was a duty to be fulfilled with honor and dignity; liberty was not confused with license, tolerance with appeasement, security with soul-selling, pursuit of happiness with pursuit of pleasure.

"And we remember the days when, as martial tunes filled the air, we stood a little straighter, our chests thrown out a little more so we could accommodate the heart that was pounding just a little faster, and unashamedly letting our eyes become a little moist as 'Old Glory' went by in all her splendor. And woe be to him, at home or abroad, who would seek to dishonor her. Compromise? Never! Appease? Make excuses? No! Because Freedom is not negotiable. The constitution provides for defense against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

"APATHY IS OUR ENEMY

"If we will examine the situation, I think we will find that the greatest enemy internally is us—our apathy, our failure to realize that freedom must be guarded each and every day, not just as the mood hits us, and our unwillingness to discipline ourselves.

"Let there be no misunderstanding. There is no lament here. We Americans are a compound of minority groups who built the American dream. We have sought from the beginning to emphasize our similarities, not our differences. And this is what has made us different. And, while the headlines today would have us believe our campuses are in revolt, for every demonstrator on our campus there are 500 who are not. For every student showing antisocial behavior there are a thousand who are altruistic.

"If you will cut through the raucous rock and roll, or whatever they call it, in the name of music, you will find our youth also listen to records with such lines as: 'Born free and life is worth living, but only worth living because you're born free' or 'To dream the impossible dream, to fight the unbeatable foe, to bear with unbearable sorrow, to run where the brave dare not go. This is my quest, to follow that star no matter how hopeless, no matter how far. To be willing to give when there's no more to give, and to be willing to die, so that honor and justice may live.'

"The youth of today are willing to serve God, country, and mankind. To us they may seem to be confused, but are they any different from ourselves? Not only has our world changed, but the rate of change in theirs and ours has been awesome. We do not have the luxury of several generations for training our youth. We are accumulating knowledge much, much more rapidly than we ever dreamed possible . . . so rapidly that we do not always know what to do with it all.

"INDIVIDUAL IS IMPORTANT

"The torch of freedom may seem to be waning, but I believe it is about to erupt into a new blaze of glory, for our youth are crying out for recognition of the individual. And, is this not the answer to the American dream? The individual is all important. Each individual must shoulder his own responsibilities as he exercises his rights as a free man.

"Could we but ask the men who left the bloody footprints in the snow at Valley Forge about freedom, would they not reply that a man must be all free—for freedom is not negotiable? Yes, these men were concerned about the rights and responsibilities of free men.

"They made the down payment on freedom. They knew, as each succeeding generation has learned, that freedom is not free—it is not given to you. It must be earned, and paid for. It must be earned each and every day not spasmodically as the mood strikes. You don't get it on credit; you don't get partial ownership. You get all or none.

"We earned it at Bunker Hill, and Valley Forge, and Yorktown, and we have paid for it again and again at Chateau-Thierry, at the Argonne, Normandy and Bastogne, at Anzio and Cassino, Midway and the Coral Sea, at Okinawa and Iwo Jima, Guadalcanal and Saipan, the Yalu River, and Chosen.

"There have been periods in our history when the American dream seems to have faded, and, while many feel today that it is on the wane, there is still time for us to remind ourselves and to teach our children these simple truths: Freedom is not the right to do as one pleases, but the opportunity to do what is right. Our founding fathers sought freedom in law, not from law; in government, not from government; in speech, not from speech; in religion, not from religion. We need not more law enforcement, but more observance and respect for law.

"As we look at our nation today, we find many things which leave us dissatisfied. We have seen dramatic and unparalleled changes in our lives. We see many forces and factors internally that seem to be forcing us to compromise with our freedom. But freedom is not negotiable.

"I do not know if things change that they will be better, but this I do know: That, if things are to get better, they must change. This is one great debt that we, the living, owe to our fallen comrades of the past two centuries, so that 'these honored dead shall not have died in vain.'"

Watching North Carolina Grow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the development of North Carolina in recent years has been heralded throughout the world. This record of progress and growth is not just an opinion; it is a fact.

In the monthly magazine, We, the People, published by the North Carolina Citizens Association, Lloyd Griffin has written an article, "Watching North Carolina Grow." This article appears in the November 1967, issue of We, the People.

Mr. Griffin has been one of the leaders of the development of North Carolina and is an authority on unquestioned credentials as to the government and development of our State. His article will, therefore, be of interest to our colleagues and to people everywhere who are interested in the progress of our country.

I, therefore, insert the article in the RECORD for today, as follows:

WATCHING NORTH CAROLINA GROW

(By Lloyd Griffin)

By what yardstick do you measure the growth of a rapidly growing state? People, property, roads, schools, factories, farms, homes, income, all go to make up a state, but when that state is North Carolina the measuring rod must be lengthened to include such items as pageants, travel in a "Variety Vacation Land," an unusual public school system, a fine highway system, a sound fiscal policy, and a congenial atmosphere in which to live and make a living.

About the only thing which has not grown in North Carolina since World War II is the number of square miles which make up the total area of the State, which remains constant at 52,712. Of this, 3,645 square miles comprise the water area made up of rivers and sounds which provide considerable revenue and recreation for our citizens and visitors.

PEOPLE

The State is peopled with a constantly growing population. In 1950 there were 4,062,000 inhabitants, increasing to 5,000,000 in 1966, and estimated to reach 6,000,000 by 1985. In 1960 the females outnumbered the males by 60,000—and the Whites outnumbered the non-Whites by 2,242,000.

HOMES

The people of North Carolina are a home-loving people. In 1950 they had 994,441 homes, which number was increased to 1,334,000 by 1965. With much home-building going on in all sections of the State during the past two years, it would be safe to estimate that today the total number of homes is approximately 1,500,000.

PROPERTY VALUATIONS

In the brief span of six years the property valuations of the State have increased from $8 billion to $13.6 billion, or 64 per cent. This is a remarkable growth for such a brief period. Since the State does not levy a property tax there seems to be enough taxable property at a moderate tax rate to supply the reasonable needs of local government without having to disturb the tax rates or sources of taxation which go to make up the General Fund of the State.

FARMS

Since World War II there has been a gradual drifting away of farm labor to the urban centers, resulting in fewer farms under cultivation. In 1960 there were 212,000 farms in North Carolina and by 1967 there were only 173,000 farms in the State. However, the size of the farms had increased from an average of 83.4 acres in 1959 to 97.1 acres in 1964. Also the price per acre had increased from $193.44 in 1959 to $257.16 in 1964. Naturally a considerable portion of this land with acreage allotments of cotton, tobacco and peanuts will sell for an above-average price of $500 per acre, and some of it is not for sale at any price.

FARM EMPLOYMENT

Just six years ago there were 418,000 workers employed on the farms, while in 1967 the number had dwindled to 307,000. This loss of 111,000 in six years shows a decline of about 20,000 workers per year. And this farm migration accounts for much of the population pressure on the urban centers. On the farms, however, this loss has been largely compensated by the increasing use of farm machinery. In fact the cash income from the farms of North Carolina has increased from $1,066,000,000 in 1960 to $1,265,000,000 in 1966, with an even larger return expected for 1967. Nevertheless, with the increasing cost of farm machinery, seed and fertilizer, cultivation and harvest costs, we are witnessing a rapidly rising cost of food prices which will continue in the years ahead, giving rise to some perplexing cost problems to be solved by the state and national legislative forums of the future.

EMPLOYMENT AND PAYROLL

One reliable measurement of definite progress in our state in recent years comes from the Employment Insurance Program which supplies the following figures on employment and payroll:

	Monthly average employment	Payroll	Average weekly wage
1950	661,441	$1,608,614,392	$46.77
1960	906,953	3,245,189,233	68.81
1966	1,174,724	5,406,396,620	88.51

The ten largest employing counties of the state account not only for a large percentage of North Carolina's wealth, but a sizeable proportion of its payroll as well. The figures below are for 1966:

	Employees	Monthly average payroll	Weekly wage	Employment tax rate
1. Mecklenburg	124,116	$687,446	$106.52	$1.10
2. Guilford	106,060	545,603	98.93	1.08
3. Forsyth	71,732	384,844	103.77	.87
4. Wake	49,286	243,466	95.00	1.10
5. Gaston	48,899	227,871	89.62	1.16
6. Catawba	39,983	174,454	83.91	1.47
7. Buncombe	39,967	178,008	85.65	1.35
8. Durham	32,829	158,182	92.66	1.20
9. Cabarrus	32,249	137,850	82.20	.59
10. Alamance	31,548	146,643	89.39	1.28

MANUFACTURING

Many of those who left the farms went to the factories, where they were again faced with increasing mechanization. But the number of factories has increased so rapidly during the past few years that, despite more machines and more labor, there is still a temporary shortage of labor in some sections of the State.

In fact, the accelerated growth of manufacturing since 1960 is very noticeable. In 1958 the number of employees in manufacturing in North Carolina was 461,000. Five years later the number had increased to 531,000. In 1958 the manufacturing payroll was $1,488 million, and only five years later the payroll had increased to $2,092 billion. During this period the value added by manufacture was $3,077 billion in 1958, and in five years later this figure had grown to an unbelievable $4,566 billion. In textiles alone, the value added by manufacture was $1,012 billion in 1958 and increased to $1,425 billion in 1963.

In 1960 the mills of North Carolina consumed 2,566,000 bales of cotton, but in 1963 there were 3,605,000 bales consumed. During this process there were 40,039 million spindle hours consumed in 1963.

MANUFACTURE OF CIGARETTES

For each of the past twenty-years periods North Carolina has produced more than one-half of all the cigarettes produced in the United States and about three times as many as its nearest competitor, Virginia.

In tobacco the value added by manufacture was $604 million in 1958, which increased to $850 million in 1963.

HIGHWAY SYSTEM

Today, if you ride across the country from East to West or from North to South and observe the passing landscape with its new homes, factories, hospitals, schools and modern roads, you get a pretty good idea of whether the state you are passing through is an alert and progressive state. Here the roads on which you travel become the first indicator of the local progress, and it is here that North Carolina points with pride to its 69,635 miles of State highway system, of which 45,457 miles are paved.

The coming of this system of paved roads into all areas of the State has made possible the coming of a whole new group of industries, much additional skilled empolyment, greatly increased per capita income, and a general all-round development of the State. In 1966 the travel industry in the State was estimated at $560 million; vehicle registration increased to 1,711,000 cars and 424,000 trucks. Taxes paid by the trucking industry is estimated at $112 million.

SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION

The building of the statewide road system has made possible the functioning of the statewide public school system. During last year in North Carolina, of the 1,200,000 children attending the public schools of the State, 592,318 of them were transported to and from school each day on 9,108 school buses, for a total distance of 61,266,000 miles. Without these roads and buses it would be impossible to operate the North Carolina statewide school system of today.

GENERAL TRAVEL

Using 1,711,000 automobiles on the highways, together with many thousands of out-of-state cars constantly visiting the "Variety Vacation State," spending an estimated $560 million in the State during last year, it is easy to recognize travel as one of our principal sources of income. With the passing of years there will be an accelerated increase in both in-state and out-of-state car travel, necessitating the building of many new miles of roads with the latest safety features for the benefit of the traveler. Also the increase in truck travel will require a third lane of road to accommodate the ever increasing amount of freight moving on the highways in the years ahead. The number of highway miles and highway revenue will both have to be stepped up considerably in the future.

MONEY

In order to build homes, equip farms, construct hospitals, schools or factories, let contracts for bridges, dams or roads, there must be a sufficient amount of money available to get the job done. So it is with pride we point to the ability of our financial institutions to provide ample funds for the capital needs of our institutions. The financial capability in Raleigh of the Fayetteville Street financial institutions for the purposes and needs of North Carolina, can well be compared to the Wall Street of New York in meeting the financial requirements of the nation.

This financial ability of North Carolina is one of the surest indices of how well and rapid has been the growth of North Carolina since World War II. No longer is it necessary for a borrower to go out of the State to make a sizeable loan. Today the assets of the North Carolina banks have grown to $5,641 billion. So the money is available in North Carolina for any reasonable and necessary construction job in the State.

Also during the past five years the 182 building and loan institutions of the State have increased their assets from $1,377 million to $2,385 million. And this assures needed funds for homebuilding for almost every community of the State.

LIFE INSURANCE

The people of North Carolina are great believers in life insurance of every type from the burial policy to annuity and ordinary contracts. For this kind of protection so widely held in North Carolina in 1966, there were 9,255,000 policies in force issued in the amount of $19,851 million. This is another source of considerable borrowing power as well as fine protection in case of real need.

EDUCATION

The one sure and certain mark of progress in any state, and which is pointed to with considerable pride in North Carolina, is the provision made for the training of our Youth.

In the midst of the depression of the thirties, and the closed banks of that period, the Governor and General Assembly of 1933 had the foresight and courage to enact a statewide school system which provided that all the children of the state, regardless of race or residence, should have an opportunity to attend public school for eight months and eleven years (later nine months and twelve years) at public expense. It provided that the vouchers of all teachers should be drawn on and paid by the State Treasury. That in order to provide the money for this service the state should increase the then current tax rates, and add to these funds the revenue from a three-per cent retail sales tax. Today the 50,000 school personnel, including teachers, janitors and school bus drivers, are all paid from this fund. Thus the State undertakes the primary responsibility for the support of the entire public school system without a tax on property. Property taxes are left with the counties and cities for local purposes, including supplementary support of the public school salaries. Most of the states provide only supplementary support for the schools, requiring the local areas to provide the primary support. In North Carolina it is believed that all the children of the State need to have the guarantee of a good high school education, which only the State can provide.

For the current biennium (1967–69) the 1967 General Assembly appropriated nearly one billion dollars for the public schools and the auxiliary agencies. More than $800 million w lilbe spent on public schools alone, which represents 76 cents out of each General Fund appropriated dollar.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In addition to the appropriations for public schools the 1967 General Assembly provided $173 million for the operation of North Carolina's sixteen tax supported institutions of higher education, including the Consolidated University and the newly created regional universities. The Legislature also authorized an additional $135 million for capital outlay purposes as the various institutions of higher education to take care of their most pressing expansion problems.

The Community College system, which is relatively new, has nevertheless been growing by leaps and bounds during recent years and is now approaching fifty institutions in an effort to serve all sections of the State. Each institution is "designed to serve only commuting adult students—persons of any age, race, or sex, who are at least 18 years old and not attending high school."

Approximately 120,000 students will attend these colleges during the current year. The 1967 General Assembly appropriated $45 million for this work. The total appropriation for education, including Primary, Secondary, Higher Education and Community colleges, requires 70 cents out of each General Fund dollar.

Thus in North Carolina heavy emphasis is placed on education from childhood to old age as being a positive public service which can enable our people to lift themselves by their own bootstraps so as to enable them to keep pace with the fast moving economy all about us.

SUMMARY

Acres of buildings, millions of dollars, hospital beds by the thousands, paved roads by the thousands of miles in all directions of the compass, and schools from infancy to college caps and gowns for all who need to attend, are now available in North Carolina. Yet, as wonderful as are these material things for the use of a happy, progressive people, they do not fully measure nor amply describe what it means to be a citizen of North Carolina.

The many places of historical and current interest from the seashores of Dare to the craggy peaks of Grandfather or Mitchell, joined together by thousands of miles of scenic interest all through the mountains, favored by all months of the calendar with tourism weather, makes North Carolina a wonderful place to own a home and make a living.

Hint Cong Aim at Coalition With Saigon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following article recently appeared in the Chicago Tribune and since it went generally unnoticed, I am taking the privilege of including it in the RECORD today for the attention of my colleagues.

I believe this article gives an excellent hint of developments in South Vietnam.

The article follows:

HINT CONG AIM AT COALITION WITH SAIGON—CAPTURED DOCUMENTS OUTLINE STRATEGY

SAIGON, VIETNAM, November 13.—There are signs that hard-pressed Viet Cong leaders may be preparing to seek negotiations with the Saigon regime with the aim of setting up a coalition government.

Newly-captured communist documents indicate the Viet Cong are trying to seize strategic areas and thus put themselves in a stronger bargaining position.

Allied intelligence reports appear to bear out this strategy, a classic communist maneuver.

PREDICTS TALKS SOON

Maj. Gen. Nguyen Van Manh of South Viet Nam, talking with a reporter, predicted: "The Viet Cong will start negotiations soon."

Manh is commander of the 16 provinces below Saigon in the 4th Corps area which embraces the Mekong delta, long-time stronghold of the Viet Cong.

Manh said his prediction was based on documents recently seized by South Vietnamese troops. One document disclosed Viet Cong plans to infiltrate and capture two provinces north of Saigon and on the border of Cambodia.

The document was a directive issued by the Viet Cong's high command, known as COSVN, Central Office of South Viet Nam, based in Tay Ninh province.

DIRECTIVE DISCLOSES PLANS

This directive disclosed plans to launch large scale attacks in Phuoc Long and Binh Long provinces by communist troops infiltrating from Cambodia.

The provinces would be occupied, the directive said, for the purpose of entering into negotiations with South Viet Nam. During the period of negotiations, according to the plan, the troop buildup would continue in both provinces.

If the negotiations failed, Viet Cong troops in the two provinces would be ordered to occupy Saigon, 60 to 80 miles to the south.

An allied intelligence officer, commenting on this document, said: "This corresponds with other reports about the Viet Cong preparing for negotiations on a coalition government." As far as could be learned, there have been no approaches, either official or clandestine, for such talks.

War Protests Mislead Hanoi Into Playing Waiting Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the Dallas Times-Herald recently pointed out in an editorial that nowhere is there a more avid observer of the American political scene than North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh.

The superficial signs of vocal dissension over President Johnson's Vietnam policy have given Hanoi an exaggerated impression of the size, strength, and influence of the war protestors.

Knowing that they cannot defeat us militarily, the Communist leaders in Hanoi hope to outlast us—as they did the French—politically. As the Times-Herald notes, recent demonstrations have misled the Hanoi regime to believe that their "waiting game is paying off again."

But they are wrong. Totalitarian states have never understood the right of free speech in a democratic society. We are a people who believe in open discussion, but who do not equate debate with dissent or discourse with disloyalty.

America's patience in the pursuit of freedom is as great as her military might in its defense. Americans are discontended with all wars—for we believe in the rational settlement of disputes—but we have never settled for a transient peace won at the expense of small nations.

Ho Chi Minh would do well to remember this lesson. It is President Johnson's source of strength.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the editorial in the Dallas Times-Herald.

[From the Dallas Times Herald, Nov. 16, 1967]

HO READS—OR MISREADS—THE POLLS

There is doubtless no more avid reader of American presidential popularity polls these days than North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh. Ho's rejection of President Johnson's latest bid to negotiate coincided in ironic juxtaposition with the release of new opinion samplings which show the President's rating on conduct of the war at a new low ebb.

Superficially, Ho seems to be reading the polls more accurately than we care to admit. He knows he cannot defeat United States forces militarily—at least without vastly increased assistance from his so far reluctant larger Communist allies. But he is counting on the obvious growing national impatience and distress over the involvement among average American citizens to help him attain his objective—or at least a large part of it—through a relatively more favorable settlement.

Certainly the outward signs of U.S. dissension—the peace demonstrations, the growing congressional critics, the noisy radical leftist fringe—have given the North Vietnamese an overblown impression of the war protesters' strength in and out of government and their ability to influence national policy. But the North's leader tends to take the longer view of the decades-old Indochian struggle. The

French tired and pulled out, and there appears ample encouragement—not only from the vocal peacenik minority but from the scientific samplings of the silent mass of U.S. citizenry—that the waiting game is paying off again.

Ho's error is in equating dissatisfaction over the war with the prospect of unilateral American withdrawal. He is relying on coming elections to translate the evident national discontent into a much more peace-minded and, he hopes a peace-at-any-price-minded administration. But although most Americans obviously are not happy over the war, that does not mean they will vote to abandon the commitment to South Vietnam. Even in the peacenik haven of San Francisco only a small minority favored withdrawal in a recent referendum. Ho's waiting game is a risky gamble with the American temperament. If impatience triggers more strenuous U.S. military effort, his strategy may prove disastrous.

Vietnam Protests: There's a Right and a Wrong Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial, entitled "Vietnam Protests: There's a Right and a Wrong Way," which was carried in the November 24, 1967, issue of Detroit's Daily Express.

The editorial follows:

VIETNAM PROTESTS: THERE'S A RIGHT AND A WRONG WAY

(By William V. Sudomier)

You could take your pick of Vietnam protest stories the other day. Two caught our eyes.

One was about the four United States sailors who deserted the aircraft carrier Intrepid in Yokosuka, Japan, a month ago. The sailors, somehow, wound up in Moscow.

The sailors were interviewed at a Moscow television station. They spoke English, and their answers were translated into Russian.

Airman Apprentice Craig W. Anderson, a slender 20 year-old with a bushy mustache, said he hoped he and the other deserters would inspire others to do likewise.

Inspire, that's the word he used.

Anderson continued:

"Through our action, we would like other people throughout the world to follow our footsteps in opposing American aggression in Vietnam. They should realize that this is a war of oppression and not a war to preserve freedom."

We're not going to argue whether our Vietnam policy is wrong or right.

But Anderson is wrong.

Wrong for deserting.

The other Vietnam protest story was about an anti-war demonstration at San Jose State College.

The report is that 50 policemen charged a crowd of 2,000 students after the youngsters refused to disperse. The police fired tear gas and grenades and knocked down three students as the students smashed windows at the college.

The protest was against an on-campus recruiting drive by Dow Chemical Co., which turns out napalm.

Again, we're not going to argue whether our Vietnam policy is wrong or right.

But the students were wrong.

Wrong because they refused to obey a police order to disperse.

Wrong because they touched off violence.

There are, thank God, some absolutes. Desertion is wrong. Refusal to obey an order by a lawfully established police agency is wrong.

The right place to settle real or imagined wrongs is not by desertion or violence.

A long time ago, we established an orderly system to redress wrongs.

In a free society, the right place to redress wrongs is at the polls.

The Draft and Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the National Selective Service Director, recently recommended that college students who interfere with the draft or with campus military recruitment lose their deferment and be drafted immediately. The use of the draft as a penal device is, as the following editorial from the Minneapolis Tribune points out, a clear distortion of its purpose:

DISTORTING THE PURPOSE OF THE DRAFT

The purpose of the Selective Service System is to provide manpower to meet the obligations of the nation's military services. The draft was never intended as a penal device, and the services are not correctional institutions. Although the draft procedure often falls short of absolute equity in its choice of young men, the basic concept is one of attempted fairness.

Such ideas may seem elementary, but the national director of Selective Service, Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, has flouted them with his recent recommendation that college students should lose their deferment if found interfering with military recruiting. Minnesota draft officials say this means illegal forms of protest, such as physically threatening recruiters or scaring off potential enlistees.

It is understandable that draft officials are dismayed when students designated as temporarily immune to the draft because their college work is "in the national interest" are found blocking the recruiting system, which is also in the national interest. Although peaceful protest demonstrations are not to be quashed in a free society, outright obstructionism and threats against legal procedures should not be condoned.

But there are other laws to cope with those disturbing the peace, disrupting offices and intimidating personnel. To use the draft itself as a punitive measure against offending students is a distortion of the meaning of Selective Service, a negation of draft-board judgment as to suitability of inductees, and an insult to America's fighting men in Vietnam and to its veterans of past wars.

The same reasoning is followed in the following editorial from Life magazine:

THE DRAFT IS NO ANSWER TO DISSENT

If there is one man who ought to know all there is to know about the Selective Service system, it is Lt. General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the draft since 1941. By his latest directive to local boards, though, the general seems to indicate that he has lost track of where the draft fits into the American constitutional system.

Bothered by campus anti-Vietnam war protests, Hershey has advised local boards to withdraw deferments and immediately draft students who interfere with the draft or campus military recruiters. Hershey's outrage at the form some campus protests have taken is understandable. But his ill-considered suggestion that draft boards become, in effect, prosecutors and juries must be ruled out of order.

The American Association of University Professors asked Hershey to rescind his directive, pointing out that it "sets down such a vague standard that local board may induct persons for the exercise of constitutional rights. The mere existence of this undefined power to use the draft as a punitive instrument must therefore have a chilling effect upon academic freedom and free speech and assembly as guaranteed by the First Amendment."

A group of congressmen branded Hershey's plan "a flagrant denial of due process clearly designed to repress dissent against the war in Vietnam."

A student does not lose his right to dissent simply because his military service has been deferred. By the same token, a student is as liable as any other American to the penalties that apply to trespasses and disorders that overstep legal bounds.

Whether or not General Hershey rescinds his directive before it reaches a court test, he has done a disservice to the Selective Service system he helped found. The draft, with all its imperfections, is the best system we have yet been able to devise to choose those men who will represent us all by serving when not all ablebodied men are needed.

To use the draft as a form of punishment is to suggest to the men in Vietnam—where draftees make up 37% of the Army troops—that their units are also handy as penal battalions. The suggestion is demeaning to the armed services—even if some draftee veterans of Vietnam might understandably like to have a hand in the basic training of drafted dissenters.

The Doctor's Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to call to the attention of our colleagues an interesting article in the Newark Sunday Star Ledger of November 26, 1967, about one of the most beloved and respected citizens of New Jersey, Dr. Edwin H. Albano.

Dr. Albano is a truly selfless physician whose superb skill in forensic pathology is coupled with deep compassion and concern for his fellow man. Countless persons in all walks of life have benefited from Dr. Albano's professional talents, but more than that they have drawn strength and inspiration from his noble spirit and understanding heart. He sets himself—and meets—what would be impossibly high standards for lesser men, and thus with his incredibly crowded schedule he could find time to carry on the long campaign to create the post of State medical examiner to which Governor Hughes has now nominated him. Dr. Albano is quoted in the article as being determined to have one of the best State medical examiners offices in the country. His fellow citizens are confident that with Dr. Albano's habit of excellence it will be the very best.

The Doctor's Dilemma: Albano's Too Busy To Take Vacation

(By Nancy Razen)

Dr. Edwin H. Albano hasn't taken a vacation in 20 years, which is just the way he likes it.

Last week Dr. Albano, Essex County medical examiner for the past 14 years, was nominated by Gov. Richard J. Hughes to fill the newly created post of state medical examiner. Confirmation of the appointment—considered a fait accompli—will probably keep Dr. Albano, long one of Newark's best-known figures, from a vacation for many years to come . . . and the prospect couldn't please him more.

"I feel like my work gives me all the satisfaction I could ever get from a vacation," the 59-year-old Dr. Albano confessed during a quiet moment in the cozy den of his Short Hills home.

"This new job is going to mean round-the-clock work every day of the week including Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. I guess I'm just one of those people who has to keep working all the time," he smiled, with more than a trace of contentment.

RARE DEDICATION

Around Essex County this dedication, plus a virtually constant availability, has caused Albano to be known as a "doctor's doctor." There are many who add that, particularly in the vicinity of the county offices, he is also the lawyers' doctor, the judges' doctor, the politicians' doctor and, in fact, general practitioner to the man on the street.

It is a situation that must be amusing to Dr. Albano, who practiced medicine privately for only six months before deciding it was not for him.

"I think you have to have a certain temperament and disposition for that," he said, "which I found I did not have."

Francis R. Ginley, Dr. Albano's secretary in the county medical examiner's office, explains the development this way.

"Everyone has confidence in him. The judges or the elected officials will go to a doctor when they're ill, but they usually make a point of going to Dr. Albano for a final opinion which," he adds, "they consider gospel."

There is no doubt that a certain mystique of authority and warm-heartedness has emerged around the heavy-set physician with distinguished looking hair and a thick brush of mustache.

"There's not a person in this world," says one local newsman, "who can say a bad word about Dr. Albano."

ANOTHER ACCOLADE

"He is a dedicated man," says Frank Langella who is chairman of the executive committee of Columbus Hospital on whose board—one of many—Albano serves.

"He is dedicated not only to his profession, but to the community and to his family," Langella continues.

Dr. Albano, whose wife Theresa has been ill for many years, is a frequent visitor to the South Orange home of his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Restaino. And he is an adoring grandfather to their youngsters, Bobby, three and Donna, three months.

His son Arthur, who is with the Essex County Engineers office, resides with Dr. Albano in the four-room house in Short Hills, a cottage of warm red shingles trimmed in black that nestles in grove of evergreens.

OFTEN AT LAB

When he is not at home, or in his office, Dr. Albano can usually be found at his clinical pathology laboratory in East Orange, supervising the administering of blood tests, glucose tolerance tests and other critical services.

It is probably more than a rumor that many a laboratory patient has walked out paying no more than he can possibly afford—at Dr. Albano's insistence.

The profession that now takes up so much of his time and has won him so much respect was, Dr. Albano admits, not exactly his choice. His parents were immigrants, he pointed out, who more or less directed their son into medicine through their drive toward self-improvement. But his eventual specialty in forensic pathology was a field of his own choosing.

Born in Harrison and raised in Newark, Dr. Albano graduated from Barringer High School. He went on to earn a B.S. at New York University in 1929 and his M.D. from the University and Bellevue Medical College four years later. He interned at Newark Memorial Hospital.

DISTINCTIVE HONOR

At the time Dr. Harrison S. Martland was Essex County's Medical Examiner.

"I'd heard about Dr. Martland even while going to medical school," Dr. Albano recalled. "I'd heard his lectures and watched him perform autopsies."

So it was not surprising that after the six months of private practice, Dr. Albano became associated with Dr. Martland. The young doctor then went on to become certified by the American Board of Pathology. He believes he may be the only New Jersey doctor currently certified in forensic pathology.

The speciality is not the only characteristic of Dr. Martland that Dr. Albano chose to follow through.

It was Dr. Martland who tried four times, unsuccessfully, to pioneer legislation creating a state medical examiner's office, a bureau that would correct the the failings of the antiquated coroner system. Since Dr. Martland's death, Dr. Albano has taken up the crusade which culminated last week in the abolishment of the coroner system and the creation of the state office.

"It was a question of timing," Dr. Albano reflected. "I think the Coppolino case triggered the whole thing and made everyone aware of the very essential need for a state medical examiner's office."

Certainly the events of last week have given Dr. Albano reason for "a feeling of satisfaction."

But he sees the months ahead even more as a challenge "to do a good job."

COORDINATE FUNCTIONS

"A lot of my work will be to coordinate the functions of all the counties," he explained.

Since there are not enough specialists in forensic medicine anywhere in the state, Dr. Albano will also concentrate on informing his medical counterparts through films, discussions and lectures, much as he always has been known for doing in Essex County.

"There's nothing new about the work," Dr. Albano noted. "It simply involves a greater territory than the one to which I have been limited in the past.

"I want to vindicate the people's trust and confidence in sponsoring this office," Dr. Albano concluded.

"And I am determined to have one of the best state medical examiner's offices in the country. Otherwise," he said, "I wouldn't even think of becoming involved."

Alarming Facts About Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the problem of high school dropouts is one of the most serious facing our Nation today. In an era when high school education has become virtually a prerequisite to success in life, we have hundreds of thousands of youngsters "dropping out" of high school for a multitude of reasons.

I was shocked and dismayed recently to learn that 28 percent of students who begin the ninth grade in Michigan do not go on to graduate from high school. This startling figure was published in a research monograph compiled by the Michigan State Board of Education.

An excellent breakdown and analysis of this monograph was written by Harry Howard, superintendent of the Wayne Community School District, in my congressional district. It was published in the Associated Newspapers. I include the article in the RECORD, and I recommend it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

School Report: Alarming Facts About Dropouts

(By Harry Howard, superintendent, Wayne Community School District)

In August, 1967 the State Board of Education released Research Monograph No. 7. This research gives some pertinent information regarding public high school dropouts in Michigan for the 1965–66 school year. It is the latest state wide information available. This report is the fourth annual in-depth analysis of public high school dropouts in the state of Michigan.

It is important to keep in mind that the definition of the term "dropout" used in the study was as follows: A student of the Michigan public schools is considered a dropout if he or she is dropped from the school membership roll for any reason except death prior to graduation or completion of a program of studies and fails to make provisions to transfer to another school which would provide courses leading to completion of a high school education.

Some alarming facts that were highlighted in the report are: 28% of students attending the ninth grade in the state of Michigan do not graduate from high school; 7% of the students in each grade, 9–12, dropped out during the 1965–66 school year. This is an increase of .3% over 1964–65. There are indications that the reason for this is the fact that better records are being kept today; the ten intermediate districts with the lowest average annual dropout rate averaged 3.09% or less than one-half of the average for the state; the ten highest intermediate districts averaged 8.4% for the year; the ten intermediate districts with the highest percent of dropouts accounted for 68% of all dropouts in the state; of the 35,210 dropouts in 1965–66, about 53.6% were from the Detroit metropolitan area. This area contains 45% of the total number of pupils in the state; of the ten intermediate school districts with the lowest average annual dropout rates, four are located in the upper peninsula.

It should be emphasized that more complete information is available today on the percentage of dropouts than ever before. Undoubtedly the small increase in the number of dropouts is reflected in better records keeping by local school districts. The impetus for this has been provided by the state through a holding power committee. Staff members from the Wayne Community School District have been involved in a study of the holding power of Michigan schools.

In Wayne County, the following figures are significant. In the Detroit city schools, 9,270 boys and girls dropped out during the 1965–66 school year. 5,152 of these were boys and 4,118 were girls. The dropout rate for the year for the Detroit city schools was 12.8%. The school district in Wayne County with the lowest dropout rate was the Grosse Pointe Public Schools with a total of 1.2%.

In the Wayne Community School District in grades 9 through 12 there were 357 dropouts. Of these, 212 were boys and 145 were girls. This represented a 9.3% dropout rate.

Of the 43 districts in Wayne County, 13,396 pupils dropped out of school. Of this number 7,671 were boys and 5,725 were girls. This represents an average of 9.5% for the entire county. We take little pride in below average in this important matter, 357 future citizens are less than adequately equipped to meet present day requirements for employment. Many of our programs today are designed for this group. In a day when employment opportunities are many however the lure of a job becomes great. A few years ago some of these students would have returned to school after unsuccessful attempts at employment.

The statistics above contain social dynamite for the state. At a time when the demand for services for technically trained individuals is at a peak, some of these students go unemployed for lack of skills. Training programs designed to qualify them for today's labor market are expensive. The main thrust today is to find ways to train these individuals to be productive contributing members of society.

Tax-Exempt Foundations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, we are again hearing a great deal about tax-exempt foundations. In these days of record-breaking budget deficits and demands for a 10-percent surtax, we need all the information we can get on this important subject.

My colleagues will be interested in a letter which A. Chauncey Newlin recently addressed to McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, in which he asked Mr. Bundy for certain additional data.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

DEAR MR. BUNDY: The New York Times of Sunday, October 15th, reporting on your address to the 50th annual meeting of the American Council on Education, says that you criticized educational institutions for lack of "candor" in their financial reports, and that such reports did not contain "clearly stated facts and figures."

In the Ford Foundation annual report for 1966, page 60, "Administrative Expenses" are simply divided between "Program administration" and "General administration," for a total of $8,150,573. In view of your recent comments, presumably in the forthcoming report for 1967 there will be included considerably more detail with respect to these items.

It is respectfully suggested that, among other things, it would be reasonable for the Ford Foundation voluntarily to disclose as much information as to compensation to the highest paid executives and other remunerated officials as is required of private corporations for proxy solicitation purposes.

In your 1966 report, by way of justifying your announced intention not to let the Ford Foundation get any smaller, you stated (page IV):

"We find there is no present reason to believe that the world will have less need of a large foundation in 1980 than in 1967; the forces we help to counterbalance are not likely to be smaller—the need for an independent agency not likely to be less. So we accept, for now, a clear obligation to preserve our endowment for our successors."

It is reported that in your talk last week you said that the average financial report of a university "is comprehensible only to its writer, if to him." We respectfully point out that the above cryptic statement by you in the 1966 Ford Foundation report is not comprehensible to some of us, and we trust that in the 1967 report you will explain it, since apparently it is the way you justify, in your own thinking, the retention of private untrammeled sway over the huge public funds of the Ford Foundation.

It has been nine months since the President, in his economic report to Congress on January 26th, recommended to Congress that it adopt legislation with respect to private foundations. Presumably, this recommendation will be acted upon in due course. It would seem clear that whatever legislative proposals are submitted should include something on the subject of how large a tax-exempt fund (in effect, raised by taxation) should a small group of private individuals have the power to control. Perhaps it will be considered in order to include in the 1967 Ford Foundation annual report a discussion of this question, for the guidance of those who are interested in the subject.

Parent Appreciation Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress is accustomed to receiving stacks and stacks of petitions. Many are responsible; others rail at us to support some proposal and threaten to condemn us to eternal fire if we fail to support their position, no matter how unreasonable.

The other day, however, a very heartening petition arrived on my desk.

The inch-thick stack of papers was signed by 874 members of the student body and faculty of Paul K. Cousino Senior High School, Warren, Mich., which I am proud to say is in my district.

The petition asked President Johnson to proclaim the week of December 10 through 16 "Parent Appreciation Day." I sent the petitions on to the President, and wrote:

> As a parent myself, I appreciate their effort, and give it my unqualified endorsement.

The letter I wrote to the President expresses my feelings about the students' proposal. I submit it to be printed in the RECORD.

I further suggest that it would be appropriate for parents to sponsor a "Teenagers Appreciation Week" to express our appreciation to fine young people such as the 800-plus who signed the petition.

NOVEMBER 22, 1967.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is not often today that teenagers publicly demonstrate their regard and respect for their parents. In fact, we all too frequently read of rebellious acts that tend to indicate youthful disdain for traditional family unity and mutual respect.

Recently, however, the students of Paul K. Cousino Senior High School, Warren, Michigan, in my district, demonstrated that they do indeed think highly of their parents.

A total of 874 students and some faculty members at the school signed petitions, Mr. President, asking that you proclaim the week of December 10 through 16 as Parent Appreciation Week throughout America.

It is true that we do have separate one-day tributes to both Mother and Father. But the students feel that there should be a longer tribute to both parents reflecting the united efforts of both parents to provide for and rear their children.

It is also true that many teenagers, and I am certain this includes all those who signed the petition—try to show their appreciation every day of the year.

Yet, I think it inspiring that these students have publicly demonstrated their devotion to their parents by framing this proposal, gathering this impressive number of signatures, and sending them to me to forward to you.

As a parent myself, I can only say that I deeply appreciate their effort, and give it my unqualified endorsement.

I know that you will give the enclosed petitions every consideration.

Very truly yours,

JAMES G. O'HARA,
Member of Congress.

Nation's Capital City Needs Better Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the Tulsa Tribune's correspondent in Washington, Frosty Troy, recently supplied some badly needed perspective on our prevailing Washington mood in an excellent article which appeared on November 18.

Stressing some of the many "pluses" that are present in our Nation today, and pointing a discerning finger at "the obsession with the 5 percent wrong," Mr. Troy has some timely words that will bear repeating in the RECORD.

The article follows:

AMID GLOOM, NATION ON MOVE

(By Frosty Troy)

WASHINGTON.—After an absence of five years, the most striking change in this city is the pervasive gloom and the almost paranoic hostility toward the President.

Washington was no rose garden for John F. Kennedy five years ago. The sunny promises of his inaugural address had been securely stowed in the Congressional deep freeze.

With all its lack of success, the Kennedy administration brought to Washington a cheerful mystique which kept the town grinning. Kennedy's wit and style were flawless even as his programs crumbled around him.

It is difficult to believe that those Camelot days were a prelude to the aura of Macbeth which engulfs this city at present.

There is an endless litany of criticism here—the Vietnam war, budget woes, civil rights, war on poverty and the status of the man in the White House. Most of the conversation smacks more of disenchantment than of genuine concern. In the case of the President, the tone is usually vulgar.

Some of the more perverse criticism is coming from the Democratic Left, which somehow feels betrayed because the President won't quit in Vietnam.

It is probably to the credit of Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen and his unswerving nonpartisan view of the war that Republicans are sticking to the issues and staying out of the gutter.

This town has always thrived on gloom and doom but even old timers say it has never been quite so bad. And since this is the capital of the most powerful nation in the world, all the sordid sentiments are sifted thoroughly by the press, and millions of Americans are left with the impression they are living on the brink of chaos.

Don't you believe it. We've got our problems but the country is moving steadily ahead. The country is entering its 81st month of expansion. There are nine million more jobs today than there were 80 months ago. Unemployment is about four per cent. There are only 155,000 Americans at present who have been out of work 27 or more weeks. Ninety-eight of every 100 married men, heads of families are employed today. In 1961 five of them couldn't find jobs.

Weekly cash earnings in manufacturing have hit $117. A paycheck buys 17 per cent more than it did in 1961. The real purchasing power of all Americans average 28 per cent more than it did in 1961.

That, neighbor, is prosperity and prosperity is what America is all about. Not just pocketbook prosperity, but the kind of life that gives each new generation a little better housing, education and opportunity.

In Washington the obsession is with the five per cent wrong, not the 95 per cent right. Vietnam, riots, inflation and other problems demand rigorous attention by they hardly reflect the condition of the nation.

The American system is such that an unpopular leader may be retired at the polls with a minimum of disorder. If that is the American mandate next year, so be it. But those who go outside the bounds of decent criticism of the President demean the presidency.

America will surge on with or without Lyndon Johnson. Meanwhile, we ought to keep the honor and the integrity of the office intact, regardless of the spewings from the colossus along the Potomac.

Statement of Congressman L. H. Fountain Before United Nations General Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege, along with my very able colleague, the Honorable L. H. FOUNTAIN, of the Second Congressional District of North Carolina, to serve as a member of the congressional delegation to the 22d General Assembly of the United Nations.

On Tuesday, November 21, my colleague delivered a major address to the United Nations General Assembly rebuffing an attempt by Albania and several cosponsors to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations and seat Communist China in its place. He descriptively, emphatically, and clearly points out the reasons the Communist Chinese have no place in the United Nations.

Congressman FOUNTAIN's speech was an excellent record of the Peking regime's conduct in international affairs as well as its attitude toward the United Nations itself.

I commend it to every Member of this body:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN L. H. FOUNTAIN, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE IN PLENARY ON CHINESE REPRESENTATION, NOVEMBER 21, 1967

Mr. President, distinguished delegates: Once again, as for many years past, the question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been brought before the General Assembly. We of the United States Delegation, while disagreeing strongly with those who have raised this question, welcome the opportunity to state our position on it again.

In this statement I shall direct my remarks primarily to two proposals which now lie before the Assembly.

The first of these is the "important question" resolution of which 14 members, including my country, are co-sponsors. By this resolution the Assembly would affirm again that the decision it took in 1961 remains valid—that is, that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter. The United States will vote in favor of this resolution.

The second proposal I shall discuss is the resolution of which 11 members, led by Albania, are co-sponsors. This resolution calls for the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations and the seating of Communist China. It is essentially the same as those which the Assembly has consistently rejected in past years. It is totally unacceptable to my Government and the United States will vote against it.

Let me now set forth the considerations which continue to guide my Government on these issues.

THE "IMPORTANT QUESTION" RESOLUTION

The "important question" resolution is co-sponsored by 14 members—Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Japan, Madagascar, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines, Thailand, Togo and the United States.

This resolution begins by recalling the Assembly's previous recommendation that, whenever more than one authority claims to be the government entitled to represent a member state in the United Nations, this question should be considered in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the circumstances in each case. The resolution then recalls, and affirms as remaining valid, the decision of the Assembly in 1961 that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question within the meaning of Article 18 of the Charter.

Let me make clear the significance of Article 18 in this connection. It provides that "decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of those members present and voting."

My Delegation's co-sponsorship of the "important question" resolution, now as in the past, stems from a profound conviction that any proposal to change the representation of China in this Organization is a question of momentous political importance; and that such a proposal, consequently, can only be decided in conformity with the two-thirds rule.

The previous history of the debates and votes on this matter clearly demonstrates that this conviction is widely shared—even by some whose attitude toward the Albanian resolution is diametrically opposed to ours. Members whose views differ widely on the substance of the Chinese representation question are very much in accord in recognizing that we are dealing here with a question which as the most serious implications for the rights and privileges of membership; for the functioning of the United Nations; and for the maintenance of international peace and security.

This can easily be grasped by any one of us, I think, if we imagine our own countries subjected to such a challenge. Just suppose any other member represented here, whether small or large, found its membership in the United Nations called into question. What member among us, Mr. President, could conceivably dismiss such a challenge as unimportant?

Surely, in this Organization of sovereign equals, we cannot fail to accord to another member the treatment which we would most certainly claim for ourselves in a like situation.

Mr. President, this indisputable fact—that any proposal to change the representation of China raises an important question—is the premise of the 14-power "important question" resolution. Proceeding from that factual premise, our resolution reaffirms the inescapable procedural conclusion under Article 18 of the Charter.

Let me remind the Assembly that the position taken in this "Important question" resolution is not new. In 1961, the very first time the Assembly held a substantive debate on Chinese representation, it adopted a resolution to the same effect. On two subsequent occasions, in 1965 and again in 1966, the Assembly found that this decision of 1961 was still valid. Thus the importance of the importance of the Chinese representation question, and the consequent two-thirds voting requirement, have been affirmed or reaffirmed by the General Assembly on three occasions. The present resolution simply reaffirms once again this vital procedural point.

Mr. President, as I stated at the outset, the United States will vote for the "important question" resolution. We hope that it will again be adopted by a large majority. And let me stress to all members—including particularly those who may differ with my country on the substance of the Chinese representation question—that the issue raised by this resolution is not a political issue but an issue of fidelity to the procedure laid down in the Charter. It asks only that whatever our respective positions may be on the substance, our decision should be taken in accordance with the proper procedure—for only thus can it be of unchallengeable validity. I hope all members will bear this in mind in determining their votes on this resolution.

THE ALBANIAN RESOLUTION

I turn now to the resolution submitted once again this year, as for some years past, by Albania and other co-sponsors. Like its predecessors, this resolution would expel the representatives of the Republic of China and replace them with representatives of Peking.

It is truly ironic that this proposal is put forward, year after year, in the name of universality of membership. Yet the immediate step which the Albanian resolution proposes is a direct affront to the idea of universality; namely, the summary expulsion of a member of the United Nations.

However it may be disguised by tendentious words, that is the clear intent. Under this resolution the Republic of China—a founding member of the United Nations, a member in good standing whose rights in this Organization are clear, and against whose conduct as a member no serious complaint has ever been made—would be thrown out bag and baggage.

The sponsors of this proposal have referred to the Republic of China, their intended victim, as a "myth." Mr. President, the Republic of China is far from being a myth; it is a very lively and highly impressive reality.

Its government effectively governs some 13 million people—a population exceeding that of most of the members represented in this body.

It has achieved one of the highest standards of living in Asia.

It is recognized diplomatically by a majority of the membership of the United Nations.

And for 22 years it has contributed faithfully to the work of the United Nations, including the specialized agencies and other constructive UN programs.

Yet this, Mr. President, is the member of the United Nations which is nominated for expulsion. That is the penalty which the Charter reserves for persistent violators of its principles. It has never been imposed upon any member in the entire history of this Organization.

No wonder the Assembly has refused so many times in past years to take this step of expelling the Republic of China. Such a step would be a flagrant injustice and an indelible blot of shame on the record of the United Nations.

It would violate the Charter which we are all solemnly bound to uphold, and which contains no grounds whatever for such an arbitrary act of expulsion.

Moreover, it would set an evil precedent which might one day be involved against other members here present—even those who perhaps today may be inclined to support it.

For all these reasons, and in the interest of us all, the rights of the Republic of China in the United Nations must be preserved.

On this ground alone the Albanian resolution should be rejected. Indeed, any delegation that does not wish to expel the Republic of China has no choice but to vote against the Albanian resolution.

The other step which the Albanian resolution contemplates is the seating of representatives of Peking in the United Nations.

In view of this proposal, it seems proper that we should consider, first, the conduct of the Peking regime in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter; and, second, the declared attitude of Peking toward the United Nations itself.

As regards conduct, there cannot be any more widely known fact in international affairs today than the warlike and aggressive manner in which the Peking regime has conducted itself all around its periphery from Tibet to Korea. If there is a political authority in the world today more hostile to international peace and security—more diametrically opposed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter—more contemptuous of elementary diplomatic usage—my Government does not know one.

Of course, as might be expected, the sponsors of the Albanian resolution have painted quite a different picture. It is a picture which bears little relation to reality—and let me add some of the sponsors know this fact from direct experience. I refer particularly to the explanatory memorandum which they submitted last September 8 in support of this agenda item.

Let me quote a few of the assertions in that memorandum to see how they compare with the facts.

Take, for example, the assertion that the Peking regime "has always followed a policy aimed at settling by peaceful means all disputes which may exist or arise between independent states."

Can this possibly be said of the regime that intervened massively in the aggression against South Korea? That has repeatedly launched armed attacks on Indian territory along the Himalayan mountain borders? And that has been deeply involved in the aggression against the Kingdom of Laos and the Republic of Vietnam? And that has intervened to promote subversion as far away as Africa and Latin America?

The behavior of Communist China toward those independent states which have sought its friendship—not just in Asia but in every region—has been characterized time and time again by provocation and insult.

Apparently, to continue in the favor of Peking it is no longer enough to maintain a friendly attitude. Nations whose friendship for Communist China is of long standing—and whose leaders in former years were received in Peking with much pomp and circumstance—now find themselves accused of serving as "puppets of American imperialism."

Physical attacks on diplomatic personnel and installations in Peking have recently become widespread. Abuses of diplomatic privileges by emissaries of Peking have created serious incidents in the capitals of many countries.

These incidents have been front-page news all over the world for many months. Even some of those who exert themselves annually to plead Peking's cause in this Assembly are not exempt from such treatment. It is puzzling indeed how it can be asserted, as the explanatory memorandum asserts, that "the People's Republic of China has always displayed full respect for the independence and dignity of other countries." The burning of embassies, the physical beating of diplomats, and the abuse of diplomatic immunity for propaganda and subversion, are exceedingly strange ways of showing respect.

I would cite only one statement from the memorandum submitted in behalf of Peking's admission. This is the assertion that "no important international problem can be solved without the participation of that country."

This is a strange observation to make about a regime which has long since made clear that it is opposed to international efforts to solve most of the major problems of the day, including those of great concern to the United Nations.

For example, Peking has taken the most extreme possible position on the troubles of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam in particular, in the apparent hope of preventing a reasonable peace settlement in that area.

It has rejected out of hand the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the treaty on outer space, the projected treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and in fact has shown itself generally hostile to the whole concept of arms control.

In its deeds as in its words, Peking has remained faithful to Mai Tse-tung's dogma that "all political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

I leave it to all my fellow delegates to judge for themselves whether the presence in the United Nations of this rigidly fanatical and violence-prone regime would increase the probability of the solution of any international problem.

Let me emphasize, Mr. President, that the United States does not rejoice in Peking's hostility, nor have we sought to provoke it. On the contrary, for more than a decade my Government has made efforts in the diplomatic, arms control, technical, journalistic, humanitarian, and other fields, to find points of common interest and cooperation, however modest, that might penetrate that solid wall of hostility and self-isolation which Peking has erected.

Our efforts thus far have been almost totally unavailing.

Nonetheless we do not cease to hope for a better future. Only last week, on November 15, the President of the United States joined with the Prime Minister of Japan in a communique which said:

"Looking toward an enduring peace in Asia, they further expressed the hope that Communist China would ultimately cast aside its present intransigent attitude and seek to live in peace and prosper alongside other nations in the international community."

But in all realism, such a change still seems remote.

Against this background I now turn to a more specific question, and one which is especially relevant to this debate: namely, the attitude of the Peking regime toward the United Nations.

There is abundant evidence on this subject. Peking has made no secret of its contempt—its utter contempt—for this Organization. It does not seek to enter the United Nations; rather, it arrogantly and blatantly proclaims conditions upon which it would consent to join.

As Premier Chou En-lai said as recently as last June 24: "The United Nations must correct all of its mistakes of the past, must be thoroughly reorganized and transformed." And he went on to say: "If this goal is not reached, then the possibility will increase that a new, revolutionary United Nations will be set up."

Such statements, in almost the same words, have been made by the authorities in Peking numerous times in the past. In addition, these authorities have given some details on what they mean by the "transformation" that must take place, and the so-called "mistakes" which the United Nations must correct, before they will consent to enter this great body.

For example, in a speech in Peking on September 29, 1965, Foreign Minister Chen Yi said that all the states which he classifies as "imperialist puppet states" should be driven out of the UN.

And similarly, in an interview with the Philippine journalist J. V. Cruz on May 9, 1966, the same Mr. Chen Yi was quoted as emphatically asserting that his regime—and I quote Mr. Cruz—"will never go into the United Nations, even if invited by the Organization, unless and until certain conditions set forth by her will have been met first."

Among these conditions were included, and again I quote from the interview, "expulsion of the Taiwan delegation, and a thoroughgoing revision of the United Nations Charter."

As for the expulsion of the Republic of China, as we have seen, this demand is far from new. Peking has made clear many times its refusal to sit in the United Nations unless the Republic of China is first expelled. And it is, of course, in obedience to this demand, that the Albanian resolution proposes precisely this step—a step of abject surrender by the United Nations to a stipulation that is monumentally unjust.

Let me again remind by fellow delegates that whatever your views may be for or against the seating of Peking, you cannot vote for the Albanian resolution without thereby voting to expel the Republic of China. And consequently any delegation which opposes such expulsion has only one way in my opinion to give effect to its opposition: and that is to vote against the Albanian resolution.

And in conclusion, Mr. President, the United States did not raise this issue, but since it has been raised it must be faced. And in order to face this issue, we must first recognize it for what it is.

The issue raised here is not the reconciliation of mainland China with the world. That even lies outside our present control, for the key to it is a change of heart and a new spirit in Peking. Unpromising though the prospects may now appear, my country, together with many others, wholeheartedly hopes for a change.

But the issue we face today is something altogether different. It is whether the United

Nations should, on the peremptory demand of Peking, commit a gross injustice against one of the founding members and against its own Charter.

This is the road not to reconciliation with Communist China but to disaster for the United Nations. For the sake of the future of this Organization and of all for which it stands, and of all who stand for the cause of peace and human dignity, let us again decisively refuse to follow that road. And let us all, individually and collectively, hope and work and pray for the day when a more constructive road may be opened toward enduring peace and security both in Asia and throughout the world.

The Bitter Tea of Dr. Tsien—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on November 20 I inserted part I of Milton Viorst's article, "The Bitter Tea of Dr. Tsien," in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Part II of this article, which was published in the September issue of Esquire magazine, continues the story of Dr. Tsien Hsue-shen, a missile and rocket expert who formerly employed his considerable talents on behalf of the United States before he was forced to leave for mainland China where he now contributes to China's missile development.

Part II of Milton Viorst's article appears here and will be followed by the concluding portion tomorrow:

[From the September 1967 issue of Esquire magazine]

THE BITTER TEA OF DR. TSIEN—PART II

(By Milton Viorst)

In the previous months, Tsien had received letters from his father with increasing frequency. He needed another operation, the old man wrote. Tsien's sister required guidance. Tsien's friends pointed out to him that the new Communist government might be at the source of the intensified pressure. Tsien agreed, but answered that he nonetheless had filial responsibilities—even if he had, until then, chosen to ignore them. Tsien asked Caltech for a year's leave of absence. He then booked passage on an airplane to Hong Kong for himself and his family. He had his personal belongings packed in crates and delivered to U.S. Customs. Tsien told some of his friends that he would try to get his father out of Red China into Hong Kong; he acknowledged to others that this plan had small prospect of success and that he probably would go to Shanghai and take a temporary job as a teacher. While looking after the affairs of his family, he said, he would think matters over and reach a decision on the future.

Dr. Lee DuBridge, the President of Caltech, did not try to persuade Tsien to cancel his plans, much as he wanted to keep him as one of the faculty luminaries. But he believed, like almost everyone else at Caltech, that Tsien's chastisement was a horrible error, which would be corrected as soon as the proper authorities were brought to their senses. He regarded Tsien as too proud to deceive, too straightforward to masquerade. He could no more conceive of Tsien's lying about Communist Party membership than about the properties of a jet engine. DuBridge wanted Tsien to understand that if he did go to China, he would, at the very least, be welcome to return at any time to resume his career at Caltech. Recognizing, however, that Tsien would not contemplate coming back as long as his reputation lay under a cloud DuBridge wanted to make one last effort to set matters straight. A few days before the scheduled departure DuBridge convinced Tsien that he ought to fly to Washington to try for the restoration of his clearance.

In Washington, Tsien's first stop was Dan Kimball's office in the Pentagon. Kimball, while he was head of Aerojet, had become a friend and admirer of Tsien's. Now he was President Truman's Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Kimball, a Democrat and a liberal, looked upon the surging McCarthyite wave as a national folly. He was absolutely convinced that Tsien was not a Communist. He remembers that Tsien broke into tears in his office when he described the humiliation to which he had been subjected. Kimball sympathized with Tsien (he had previously referred him to a prominent Washington lawyer) and tried, to no avail, to use his own influence to reestablish Tsien's good standing. But what shocked him most of all during the visit was Tsien's declaration that he was returning to Red China. In the clash of loyalties between friend and country, Kimball didn't hesitate over priority. As soon as Tsien left his office, he called the Justice Department and announced that this man, with all the knowledge he possessed, must not be allowed to leave the United States.

At midnight on August 23, 1950, Tsien's plane, arriving from Washington at the Los Angeles Airport, was met by an agent of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. As Tsien stepped away from the aircraft, the agent handed him a paper saying that he was forbidden by law to depart the country. Tsien took the paper without protest and returned home to Pasadena. He and Yin talked the matter over and, after a day or two of uncertainty, decided that she and the children would stay with him. Tsien had no idea how long the restraining order would remain in effect. He canceled the plane reservations and, as if nothing had happened, went back to work at Caltech. Meanwhile, F.B.I. agents maintained surveillance over his house and shadowed all his movements.

Down at the Customs office, in the meantime, other agents were examining Tsien's baggage, which had been deposited in anticipation of imminent departure. What they found reduced them to consternation. Tsien's crates contained some eighteen hundred pounds of papers, which they immediately concluded must be highly secret. Customs officials called in the press and announced that the material included "documents, code books, signal books, sketches, photographs, negatives, blueprints, plans, notes and other forms of technical information." From the announcement one was almost forced to conclude that this wily Chinese had all the while been an espionage agent for Mao. But on closer examination, the government discovered that the baggage actually contained, as Tsien had consistently claimed, not security information at all but textbooks, class notes and reprints of articles from scientific journals, many of which Tsien himself had written. It was material which anyone who contemplated teaching a course in his specialty might have been expected to take with him. Weeks before, Tsien had, in fact, gone scrupulously through his files and returned to the government all the classified material that was in his possession. In all the eighteen-hundred pounds, not a single secret document was found.

Bit by bit, in the ensuing months, the government released Tsien's luggage to him, without ever publicly admitting tho spuriousness of its accusations. But, for the moment, the authorities were scared and they determined that Tsein was too dangerous to remain at large.

On September 7, two weeks after the fateful Washington trip, Tsien was arrested by the F.B.I. The charge made against him was that he had, in concealing membership in the Communist Party, entered the country illegally when he returned from China in 1947. The Attorney General had actually issued the warrant on August 25, right after Kimball's phone call. Why it was not executed immediately is not clear. The warrant—oddly, for a man whom the authorities wanted desperately to keep in the country—demanded Tsien's deportation from the United States.

DuBridge and Kimball, separately, undertook immediately to have Tsien released from jail. It wasn't easy. DuBridge flew first to Washington to persuade the Attorney General that Tsien was a man of honor, who would not skip if he gave his word to stay. Both DuBridge and Kimball produced letters from Tsien in which he pledged to remain in the country. Finally, bail was set at the unusually high figure of $15,000. DuBridge, and Kimball, succeeded in raising the money by tapping a wealthy friend of Tsien's in the Caltech community. But despite the word of DuBridge and of Kimball and despite the $15,000 bond, the court still was not satisfied. It set the condition that Tsien could not travel beyond the boundaries of Los Angeles County, which implied a kind of house arrest. Tsien had no choice but to accede. After more than two weeks behind bars, he was set free. DuBridge restored him at once to the Caltech faculty and Tsien, silently containing his shame and anger, went back to work.

The Immigration Service—to the surprise of all—wasted no time in going ahead with deportation proceedings. Even today, it is unclear what the government hoped to accomplish by pursuing the case. Most legal experts believe that the order keeping Tsien in the United States was properly drawn on a valid statute. It could, presumably, have stood indefinitely. As an alternative, a criminal charge of perjury—claiming Tsien had lied under oath about Party membership—would, if successful, have at least had the virtue of keeping him harmlessly in jail. But some bureaucrat apparently recognized that the government would have trouble making such a charge stick in court and, anxious to get some sort of legal judgment against Tsien, settled on deportation proceedings. No evidence exists to suggest that the case was reviewed on a policy-making level. On the contrary, the decisions seem all to have been made by Los Angeles Immigration officials, whose everyday work consisted mainly of chasing wetbacks across the Mexican border. Albert Del Guercio, the agent assigned to the case, says today that he personally ordered the proceedings, to strengthen the government's hold on Tsien. Within two months after Tsien's release on bail, the Immigration Service began hearings for the expressed purpose of sending him back to China. And Tsien, who wanted to return to China, had to fight the proceedings, for the purpose of preserving his honor and his freedom of action.

The hearings were, at best, a travesty. Caltech arranged for Grant Cooper, one of Los Angeles' outstanding trial lawyers, to act as Tsien's counsel. Cooper protested vigorously but in vain at every step in the long confrontation. He was informed that the rules protecting the respondent in a deportation proceeding were far less rigorous than those protecting the rights of a defendant. Cooper conceded the accuracy of the contention. But he did not admit that the rules permitted introduction into the record of every sort of hearsay, gossip, rumor, guess, innuendo and political opinion.

The Immigration Service paraded in, one after another, the members of Tsien's discussion group of a dozen years before. Most said they had known that it was, in reality, a chapter of the Communist Party. Each testified that he recalled vaguely Tsien's occasional presence at the meetings—a fact never in dispute. All acknowledged that guests, especially foreigners, were frequently invited, that these guests had not necessarily known the meetings were Communist. Not one witness could say with any certainty that Tsien had been a chapter member. A former treasurer testified that he did not recall ever collecting dues from Tsien. To wrap up its case, the Immigration Service produced what it widely advertised to the press as a "surprise witness." This witness had himself recently been indicted for perjury, after refusing to testify against his former friends. He admits now that the F.B.I. hinted at generous treatment if he changed his mind and talked. He did talk, but the most damaging statement he could make about Tsien was: "All I can say is that I *believe* he was a member." The witness was in due course acquitted of the perjury charge. Tsien didn't do nearly as well.

The Immigration Service also took testimony from two members of the Los Angeles Police Department's "Red Squad." One of them had infiltrated the Party long before and had come up with documents which purported to be membership lists. Tsien's name appeared in one series. But, on further scrutiny, none were Communist Party documents at all. They were lists in the handwriting of the cops, which the cops claimed had been copied from other lists. Cooper pointed out that the lists, which were not otherwise identified, could easily have been of *prospective* members, prepared by persons who took Tsien's presence at meetings to mean candidacy rather than membership. At no time did the Immigration Service or the "Red Squad" produce any Communist record in Tsien's handwriting, any evidence that he had paid dues or held a card, or even a listing of membership on an official file or piece of letterhead stationery.

Tsien himself, over the course of the hearings, was grilled extensively. He conceded readily that he had attended gatherings which appeared in retrospect to have been Communist Party meetings. He pointed out that they had consisted of nothing more sinful than talk and he argued that, in their informality, the meetings had no sign of any ulterior objective. In any case, he said, he had never joined the Communist Party and he insisted that in denying membership he had not committed perjury.

But it was not enough for the Immigration Service to stick to the accusation against Tsien. Over Cooper's vigorous protests, Agent Del Guercio spent hours questioning Tsien on political matters. Del Guercio explained that he could tell whether Tsien was inclined to communism by analyzing his political opinions.

"Mr. Tsien," Del Guerico asked, "do you believe the United States should recognize Red China?" Tsien answered that he had insufficient information to make a judgment.

"Do you feel that you owe allegiance to the Nationalist Government of China?" Tsien said he was not very enthusiastic about the Nationalists because "we have yet to see" if they are doing any good for China. His allegiance, he said, was to the Chinese people.

"Do you owe your allegiance to Communist China?" Tsien answered categorically that he did not.

"In the event of a conflict between this country and Red China, would you fight against Red China for the United States?" Tsien thought a long time before he came up with an answer. He said finally: "My essential allegiance is to the people of China and if the war between the United States and Comunist China is for the good of the people of China, which I think it is very likely to be, so then I will fight on the side of the United States. No question about that."

But however bizarre its character, the hearing had the outcome which, for all practical purposes, was foreordained. The Immigration Service simply sustained itself on the charges it had itself brought. Tsien was ordered deported. But the paradox intervened, in that the execution was suspended by the prior order which prohibited his departure. Cooper, who contended that he had no judicial recourse as long as the first order canceled the second, planned to appeal the case to the courts as soon as the deportation decision became effective. He said he was confident of winning. But meanwhile, Tsien was in limbo, free on bail but confined to the county, not at liberty to go but not welcome to stay.

Petitions of Communications Workers of America Emphasize Critical Importance of Domestic Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, we hear and read so much about Vietnam that occasionally our thought processes may be numbed to the point where we think "the war" is the only major problem facing our Nation. That this is untrue, and that domestic problems at home are another real concern of many, has been sharply pointed out through petitions that have been circulated throughout the Nation by the Communications Workers of America.

These petitions, addressed to each of us who sits in Congress, deal with the strife that has been manifested in riots during the last summer and several summers before—and that may break into headlines in summers in the future. CWA's petitions urge that Congress provide jobs, housing, and education to ward off future rioting. Several of the petitions, signed by my constituents, have come into my office—so I want the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to reflect my receipt of the petitions—and my acknowledgement that this great Nation does indeed have problems other than ones surrounding the battle in Vietnam—namely, I want the RECORD to reflect my concern that we in the United States have problems also surrounding the battles in our cities.

PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: YOU DON'T LIKE RIOTS?—WELL, NEITHER DO WE

Americans everywhere agree that action must be taken now to eliminate the causes which lead to rioting and civil disturbances in our nation.

The recent lives lost and property damaged in riots that ravaged our cities proved that the cities and states cannot carry the burden alone.

Only the Congress of the United States has both the responsibility and authority to pass the laws and appropriate the funds for jobs, housing and education needed now by the millions of impoverished Americans.

History itself has taught us that where these three basic needs are left unmet, all races are trapped in filthy, rat-infested ghettos ripe for rioting or in deplorable conditions which are "deadend." The answer is a creative, constructive, practical program, that will benefit *all* Americans directly or indirectly—not a giveaway!

Therefore, we, the undersigned, believe Congress must act by providing.

1. Jobs: Put people to work. As recommended by the President's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, the government should become "the employer of last resort" by providing public service employment opportunities for workers who are unsuccessful in competing for jobs in private industry. This would put every American who is able and willing to work on a job.

2. Housing: Slum housing in this nation must go; unsafe, infested buildings must be cleaned up or closed down and decent shelter must be built. Money appropriated for this purpose must be spent carefully and efficiently, and new funds must be appropriated as needed.

3. Education: A policy should be adopted and implemented to provide free public education from pre-kindergarten up to and including the doctorate level for all, with only ability and motivation serving as qualifying factors.

By means of this petition, we make known to you that the American public demands the action that is needed now to solve the problems of the cities.

This petition sponsored by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO. The Community-Minded Union.

Chicago Businessman Speaks on Effects of Vietnam War on American Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a most interesting and articulate address given by Mr. Erwin A. Salk, a distinguished and respected businessman with the Chicago firm of Salk, Ward & Salk, Inc., on the debilitating effects of the Vietnam war on the American economy and society.

Mr. Salk is the Chicago chairman of the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace. This organization, composed of business leaders throughout the country, is becoming increasingly active in alerting the business community to the disastrous effects our continued involvement in the Vietnam conflict has on American life, and in particular, the economic activity of the Nation.

Mr. Salk's remarks are as follows:

OPENING REMARKS OF ERWIN A. SALK, CHAIRMAN, CHICAGO COMMITTEE, BUSINESS EXECUTIVES MOVE FOR VIETNAM PEACE, NOVEMBER 9, 1967, CHICAGO, ILL.

As businessmen you and I are in continuous and close touch with the economy of this nation. For this reason, I believe we bear a special responsibility to keep the American people informed about economic decisions which may affect them. The massive spending for the Vietnam war has been the most significant and unsettling economic factor in determining the priorities of the Federal Budget, and has been the central force in the destabilization and distortion of the

American economy. This spending has brought about a qualitative transformation of the foundations of the American economy: *For the present and the foreseeable future the production and utilization of tools of destruction will constitute the primary occupation of the American people.* I believe this alteration of the business of the American people was undertaken without consultation with the people of this country or their foreknowledge, and that were they to understand these implications of the Vietnam war, they would demand a reversal of the government's present policy.

Allocations of American resources for the design, manufacture and the operation of armaments have risen 60% in just over two years, and have brought the military budget to a level where it represents the largest single sector of the American economy. We are presently spending approximately $2.5 billion on just the Vietnam war each month. Military expenditure in the first three months of fiscal 1968 is running at an annual rate of slightly under $80 billion.

A measure of the size of this trend is that as the military budget rises above $80 billion, it is reaching a level greater than the entire *Federal Budget of 1960.*

I would like to take a minute to tell you what this means from where I sit as a mortgage banker. Modern warfare is the most greedy and barren competitor, as well as the most successful one, in the bidding for investment funds. It has meant that the major sources of funds bearing the brunt of financing the war had to come from the capital market. This is aside from the virtual depletion of great society programs. The result has been a capital shortage of severe proportions and the highest interest rates since the aftermath of World War I, and in some cases the highest since 1877.

Contrary to what many Congressmen, Senators and Economic commentators have argued, the Federal Reserve Board and the high level of corporation borrowing are *not* the root causes of the sharp increases in interest rates. Rather they began to skyrocket at almost exactly the time that escalation of the war took place. Interest rates and bond yields had been on an even keel during the first seven months of 1965, but in August began a steep increase which has almost exactly paralleled our increasing involvement in Vietnam. In the last five months of 1965, U.S. Government bonds and notes rose approximately 6/10's of 1%, after remaining level through the first half of the year, as it became clear that the war would necessitate extensive government borrowing. Three-month treasury bills rose from 3.8 to 4.4%, while three- to five-year notes and bonds rose from 4.2 to 4.8%. In addition, in the last couple of weeks you have read of the billions borrowed by the Federal Government at the amazingly high interest rate of 5¾%. This sharp increase in the cost of government borrowing has been accompanied by an equally sharp increase in rates on municipal bonds, corporation bonds, commercial finance notes, FHA home mortgages, as well as all other types of financing. I can assure you that in both the credit and non-credit oriented areas of the mortgage market the real rates of expected returns are now far in excess of these figures or of anything I've seen in my thirty years in the market.

The direct costs of this competition for investment funds with the Federal Government are tremendous. For all of 1966 there was a 12% decline in the physicial volume of construction, even though the needs for virtually every kind of residential, commercial, industrial and public construction increased rapidly. A further decline appears to be in store for 1967. This is directly traceable to shortage of capital funds.

Of course my business and my clients represent only one segment of a very large business world. I am told similar effects are seen elsewhere. Orders for machine tools, they tell me, are running 30% below the level of the first eight months of 1966. This is important because these orders indicate the general level of capital investment six months to a year ahead of time. And, in another area of competition businessmen are losing to Uncle Sam. Because of their fear that the war would cause shortages of many products, manufacturers built up their inventories by 8% in 1965 and 14.2% in '66. Now they are having a great deal of trouble working off this backlog.

All these distortions of the economy could have been predicted. In fact, I find it fascinating that five years ago the American Government itself saw these effects of war spending. I would like to read you the words of our government to the United Nations in 1962 concerning these problems.

"It must be stressed that the allocation of resources to purely military purposes is not an economically creative process except in an incidental way. It yields relatively few goods or services which contributee . . . the growth of the national economy."

That was the position of our government in 1962. We have surely come a very long way in five years.

That statement at the United Nations went on to say that war spending "prevents or retards the satisfaction of many civilian needs." This is certainly the case in the Vietnam war. As businessmen, we must recognize the inescapable relationship between business and social problems. We cannot properly plan ahead for our business without giving full attention to the existence and the solution of social problems in our midst. Social stability is essential for good, sound economic development.

The results of the recent urban disturbances have had a tremendous effect not only on my industry but on others as well. However, the Administration in Washington has traded the progress of our cities for the Vietnam war. In submitting its 1968 budget to Congress the Administration chopped $600 million from the HUD authorizations of over $3 billion, a cut of roughly 20%, and some programs in the areas of community development, mass transit, pollution control, and housing and rehabilitation were cut by nearly 55%. The Administration likewise cut nearly $3 billion from HEW authorizations, including 50% cuts in higher education and elementary and secondary education.

If the money we are spending in Vietnam on war was simply divided up among the 16,000,000 people we are defending in South Vietnam, they would have the highest per capita income in the world. If we distributed the money among our own 20,000,000 urban poor, think what the difference might be.

Reliable estimates have placed the number of people living in poverty in the United States at anywhere from 30 to 50 million. The reports on debilitated housing and slums are most frightening. The 1960 census reported that some 15.6 million of the 58 million occupied dwelling units in the United States were substandard, representing some 27% of the total housing supply. In Chicago, this substandard housing represents 18% of all-white occupied and 41% of all non-white occuplied units. Many of you have read recently of the admitted error of the U.S. Census Bureau in their calculations in the 1960 census where they had stated that there was some 1.6 million less debilitated units as against the 1950 census. They have found that there probably was no reduction at all. Other reliable estimates have pointed up that it would only take somewhere between $90 and $120 billion to eradicate all slums and provide decent housing in their place. That is only slightly more than a one-year defense budget. Do we not perhaps have our national priorities mixed?

By ignoring the national priorities at home—the social and economic problems of our cities and our country—we plant the very seeds of social destruction and revolution that we feel so dedicated to fighting abroad. I am convinced that an administration which involves us to such a great extent in the single small country of South Vietnam does not understand the nature and extent of the changes in the world in which we live. History is now developing at a geometric pace rather than the arithmetic pace of days gone by. I remember a cartoon in our *Wall Street Journal* picturing a man settling into bed listening to the radio, which said "Do you realize that as you go to sleep, seven hundred million Red Chinese are just awakening?" I am also reminded that the demographers calculate that within just 32 years there will be some 7 billion people in the world of which only some 1.5 billion will live in what we consider western civilization.

We, and the Administration in Washington, must come to terms with what such drastic changes mean. We must take a hard look at the world around us. These problems have no relationship to our likes or dislikes. These problems are not related either to questions of loyalty or patriotism. I have always admired Carl Schurz who said once: "Our country right or wrong. When right to be kept right; when wrong to be put right;" and Mark Twain, who said: "Loyalty to the nation all the time; loyalty to the government when it deserves it." I believe we businessmen must set about to put our country straight. We must distinguish between the policies of the poltical administration in power and the national priorities of our country. We spend billions for destruction and virtually pennies for construction, thus ignoring the development of the most important resource of our country—the human resource. There must be a means for every individual to develop his or her maximum capacity in an environment of encouragement rather than environment of discouragement if our country is to be strong.

The purpose of our group in the next few months will be to involve the business community in these most important problems of the debilitating effects of the Vietnam war on our society. We have found also that we must bring to the business community information on the history and development of this Vietnam war which likewise has developed as mythology rather than fact. Already ministers, lawyers and professors have brought their own analysis to the attention of their professions and the public, and today we in business are working to involve our trade associations, chambers of commerce and other organizations in carrying out our responsibilities to the American people.

Army Training Superb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor to attend the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Fort Jackson near Columbia, S.C., recently. Today, Fort Jackson is one of the great and outstanding basic training areas for recruits and those inducted into the U.S. Army. It has been my privilege on numerous occasions to observe the superior modern Army training methods for young Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the country an excellent article about Army training which appeared in the New York Times on October 29, 1967:

Big Gain Is Found in Army Training—Many Improvements Added to First 8-Week Course

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Recruits and draftees for the Army in the third year of the Vietnam war are receiving rapid but systematized and intensive basic training.

The eight weeks of basic training, and the additional advanced and specialized training, is much better organized and more effective than the World War II and Korea training programs, nearly all authorities agree.

Army basic training has varied greatly over the last quarter of a century—in length from 8 to 17 weeks; in the subjects taught, and above all, in the attitudes and methods of instruction.

At times, after World War II and after Korea, a slackening of discipline and many restrictions placed upon the training cadres as a result of civilian and political pressures softened training.

TOUGH TRAINING

In World War II and Korea it was physically tough but the subjects taught were more or less across the board and the effectiveness of the instruction varied tremendously depending upon the instructor.

Today, there is no attempt in the 8 weeks basic training to make a man a finished soldier. He learns rifle marksmanship, the school of the squad or fire-team, personal hygiene, first aid and other basic subjects.

Military occupational specialties—some of them were sometimes included in the past in basic training—are relegated to advanced training.

Subjects taught have altered as weapons and tactics have changed. The greatest improvement is in rifle marksmanship. Instead of firing against static targets at known ranges, the recruit now shoots at targets that disappear when he hits them at varying ranges simulating battlefield conditions.

A compromise, which on the whole appears to be a reasonable one, between excessive toughness and excessive softness appears to have been reached in basic training, and the instructors are far better qualified than they were in 1940 or 1950.

Yet the more things change, the more they remain the same; the old veteran would have little difficulty in identifying his half-forgotten experiences with the pangs of today's recruit. And the troops still roar out the ancient marching cadences:

Sound off! One! Two!
Sound off! Three! Four!
One! Two! Three! Four!

Present recruit training represents the distillation of United States experience in more than a quarter of a century of wars and crises. Old training methods have been improved and new training aids and educational methods have been employed in a course keyed to indoctrination, transition from civilian to military life, physical conditioning and rifle marksmanship.

The Army training is still keyed to mass; the greatest problem is the large numbers of recruits entering the service and the large numbers of trained men and combat veterans leaving the services.

The Army now maintains 12 training centers at which recruits are given basic training. These centers will graduate 415,000 men this year. But the Army expects that about 400,000 men will leave the service during this same year.

TURNOVER A PROBLEM

A constant large-scale personnel turnover, which affects the training cadres as well as the trainees, hampers continuity and the development of instructor competence.

Still, the basic training appears to be reasonably thorough and it seems to fulfill its fundamental purpose of turning civilians of varied origins and capabilities into soldiers. Though the training is keyed to mass, there is, nevertheless, a little more concentration on the soldier as an individual rather than a serial number. The Army training, to many observers, appears to have improved dramatically.

The Marine "boot" course is still the toughest—physically and psychologically—of all the services. It succeeds, however, in instilling pride of corps. The Army has borrowed the Marines' Drill Instructor method and this has tremendously improved the efficiency of the Army training.

Noncommissioned officers specially selected for leadership qualifications and intelligence are given intensive four- to six-week courses to train them as drill instructors.

The attrition rate in these courses is high, and the graduates, who are assigned as drill corporals or drill sergeants are far more carefully selected than the tough non-com instructor of yesterday, who often believed his fists were his best training aid.

However, the effect of excessive personnel "turbulence" or turnover, because of the Vietnam war, has reduced the experience level in the drill instructor group since it was inaugurated in 1964.

Originally, all instructors were to be drawn from the sergeant rating, with about seven to nine years of service. Today, not enough sergeants are available, so drill corporals with a maximum of 10 to 11 months' service, have been trained to assist the sergeants.

New Rights for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact of our times that equal opportunity must be made available to every American citizen, regardless of sex, age, race, or religion. Legislation we have enacted has already gone a long way toward creating a climate of true equality.

Now it is time to consider vocational skills that will enrich our society, as well as expand it. New emphasis is being placed on educating students in "marketable" skills—skills they will need to find employment and skills that will help them maintain a high degree of competency at home.

Because the women in our society are increasingly called upon to fill dual roles as breadwinners and homemakers, it is vitally important they receive the vocational education and training they need to excel in these diverse areas.

Mr. Speaker, in view of our awakened national concern with this problem, I would like to call the attention of my collegaues to an article I wrote which appeared in the October issue of the American Vocational Journal.

The article follows:

New Rights for Women

(By Roman C. Pucinski)

I believe today's young women will have acquired a new "Bill of Rights" in the legislation which broadens the Vocational Education Act of 1963. It will help them to be better wives and mothers. It will also give them a marketable skill to use in emergencies.

The first "right" should be to abolish the term "housewife" and replace it with something more realistic—like "Domestic Engineer."

Young women deserve recognition as specialists because it takes just about all the technical know-how of an engineer to be the woman of today's home. Cooking involves a myriad of electrical appliances and gadgets which must be kept in working order. Family meals are a combination of foods and recipes. Family health demands some familiarity with sciences, and keeping the home operating on an even keel requires more than an instruction handbook.

It all adds up to a fact long known to women—that considerably more training and skills are needed by a young bride of 1967 than ever before.

The American Vocational Association has been highly effective in its support of the move to broaden the legislation before my House General Subcommittee on Education. The legislation which I sponsored and which I expect Congress to approve will boost from $225 million to $400 million annually, the authorized federal assistance to local school districts to offer important vocational training for young people.

Assistance under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 is available for all types of job training, but I must agree with the American Vocational Association that homemaking education for young girls is one of the important innovations needed in the program under the Act.

I was impressed by the statements of Prof. Elizabeth J. Simpson, chairman of the Home Economics Education Division of the University of Illinois and past president of the AVA, when she said:

"Home economics, through providing a coordinated program in job preparation and homemaking, can help the individual prepare for the many challenges of a dual role. Eight out of 10 women are in paid employment outside the home at some time during their lives, and many of these, and others as well, engage in unpaid work as volunteers.

"Most women who work are married. The figure in 1962 was more than 60 percent."

I might add to this picture some facts gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics which increase my concern about the ability of American women to face emergencies. They are:

In 1966, a year of nearly full employment, the jobless rate for women in the 16- to 19-year age group was 14.1 percent. This figure represents the highest jobless rate for any age group for both men and women.

In March 1966, there were 2.6 million women in the labor force who were heads of families. Of this group of family breadwinners, the jobless rate was 5.0 percent, only a slight decline from the 6.1 percent rate of unemployment for the same group in 1960.

The hardships faced by families headed by women can be seen in the inadequate $4,000 annual average income they received. They had to live within budgets which were 58 percent below those families headed by men.

Finally, families headed by women who are part-time workers had average annual incomes of only $3,300.

It has always been my ambition to provide "marketable" skills to each person who must at some time enter the labor market. I consider this type of education an investment in the community because it may ultimately represent the difference between a family that can live indpendently and one that must rely upon a public agency for its support.

A recent graduate study at the University of Illinois uncovered some 350 new occupationally oriented home economics programs being offered in schools in 1965–66. In 1966-67 this number was more than doubled. The classes in the high schools of one large city range/from food science and child development to nursing arts, merchandising of clothing, laundry-pressing, home institutional management, cosmetology, tailoring and power sewing machine operation, to mention just a few.

A pilot program at the Sikeston, Missouri, high school is entitled, "Housekeeping Technology." Students are placed in selected homes as training stations to learn the skills of housekeeping and how to become an employable person, and to prepare for the dual role of homemaker and wage earner.

It is regrettable that vocational schools have suffered from the emphasis placed on federal aid to higher education in recent years. Too often these schools that teach skills vitally needed by our society are improperly rated as second-class institutions. Not only is this judgment unfounded, but it is also unfair. Vocational schools must meet the same state requirements for a high school education as high schools offering diplomas in academic subjects.

Perhaps one of the least known achievements of our national educational system is the growing number of college and university scholarships awarded to outstanding students of vocational schools.

I believe the need for this type of training—homemaking and other skills to make an individual useful to his community—can be seen best in the estimate that by 1970 one out of every two teenagers will seek some type of vocational study. That is only 30 months away. I hope we will be ready for that day.

Seeds of Tragedy in Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a columnist in the Sunday New York Times summarized very well the current situation in Rhodesia—now celebrating the second anniversary of its Unilateral Declaration of Independence—and the immeasurable long-term threat presented by the "Rhodesian tragedy of errors." The full column follows:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OR TOMORROW WE DIE

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

SALISBURY, RHODESIA.—Shortly before Rhodesia proclaimed its Unilateral Declaration of Independence rustic wits, pleased with their audacity, joked: "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow U. D. I." Rhodesians, that is white Rhodesians, have just celebrated the second anniversary of their gamble, but other tomorrows creep along in their petty pace.

The embattled farmers who pushed Prime Minister Ian Smith to independence sought under freedom's label to bypass the multiracial road mapped by English policy. They have shown they can thumb their noses at London but, by so doing, they intensify long-term racial passions. White Rhodesians shouldn't forget that the present generation of African leaders may well be the best for years to come and when the storm breaks reason will have vanished.

WHITE MINORITY CONTROL

So far Smith has made Britain and U.N. look silly. The British were trying to follow Cecil Rhodes's theory of "equal rights for all civilized men, irrespective of races, south of the Zambesi." But the qualifications fixed for black voters—whose leaders are in jail—were so laced with restrictions that white minority control was guaranteed.

Harold Wilson set Labor policy even before Labor took power as "no question of granting independence under a Constitution where 250,000 people have the right to rule three million." However, since the 1956 Suez disaster, there has been a widening gap between Britain's wish to exert authority and its capacity to do so. London passed the buck to U.N., which called for sanctions and endorsed the paradoxical British effort to return Rhodesia to crown colony status although it has been self-governing since 1923.

NOT SQUASHED BUT SLOWED

Sanctions didn't quash Rhodesia, which gets *sub rosa* help from South Africa and Portugal and even sells Communist China chromium we stopped buying. Nevertheless, vigorous economic growth has ceased and the white minority Wilson mentioned has shrunk below 225,000. The Negroes are over four million, making the proportion of ruler to ruled at least eighteen to one.

Black Africa clamors that white Rhodesia should be eliminated, but is itself too weak to do the job, and Britain won't. Although the Archbishop of Conterbury endorsed force, public opinion polls overwhelmingly oppose it. Furthermore, the cost of such a military enterprise would probably cause Britain to further devalue sterling, ultimately raising the value of gold in South Africa, world's largest producer and Rhodesia's supporter.

Rhodesia thus finds itself able to defy U.N. Even though President Johnson bases U.S. policy on "nationhood to all the people of Rhodesia—not just 6 per cent of them," we have little real leverage. The tragic Congo killings have rallied white doubters around Smith, who runs an autocratic regime in which the press regularly frontpages a notice: "All material in this newspaper has been subjected to Government censorship." Feeble efforts by black nationalists to start guerrilla incursions from Zambia were quashed by Rhodesia's tough armed forces, aided by South Africa.

TIED TO SOUTH AFRICA

Nevertheless the storm hasn't really even started, and it is unlikely Rhodesia can remain an independent lily-white entity forever. It has chosen to spurn a trend toward civilized multi-racialism in which white needs black and vice versa. It must therefore almost inevitably tie itself to South Africa, where, racially speaking, everything is separate and nothing is equal.

The South Africans would prefer a buffer Rhodesia, but the black states to the north are getting angrier. Some day they will also be stronger. South Africa is the only substantial white bulwark and has sufficient troubles of its own.

Smith, whose gift for phrase is hardly Churchillian, promises: "From now on we will paddle our own canoe." Where? Sanctions haven't crippled this country, but they have certainly stultified it. The cost of national defense is rising, while value of exports declines. The African military threat from the north will eventually become more serious because both the Communist and so-called noncommitted worlds are actively behind it.

TRAGEDY OF ERRORS

One can only bemoan the Rhodesian tragedy of errors. Here at least was a small but perceptible effort to work out racial partnership. There were few but increasing black university students, some black voters and parliamentary representatives, and none of the most totally degrading South African "Europeans only" exclusions.

This generation's white Rhodesians have U.D.I., and well may they celebrate it, because it cannot forever endure. Either their children will be drawn into South Africa's racial empire or their grandchildren will be engulfed by a black whirlwind whose seeds their forefathers helped sow.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building,
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Anderson, John B., *Ill.*	
Anderson, William R., *Tenn.*	3006 P St.
Andrews, George W., *Ala.*	
Andrews, Mark, *N. Dak.*	
Annunzio, Frank, *Ill.*	
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill.*	4815 Dexter St.
Ashbrook, John M., *Ohio*	
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*	
Ashmore, Robert T., *S.C.*	
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo.*	The Towers Apts., 4201 Cathedral Ave.
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*	
Baring, Walter S., *Nev.*	
Barrett, William A., *Pa.*	
Bates, William H., *Mass.*	
Battin, James F., *Mont.*	
Belcher, Page, *Okla.*	
Bell, Alphonzo, *Calif.*	
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla.*	3421 Rusticway Lane, Falls Church, Va.
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak.*	118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*	
Bevill, Tom, *Ala.*	6224 N. 35th St., Arlington, Va.
Biester, Edward G., Jr., *Pa.*	
Bingham, Jonathan B., *N.Y.*	
Blackburn, Benjamin B., *Ga.*	
Blanton, Ray, *Tenn.*	
Blatnik, John A., *Minn.*	
Boggs, Hale, *La.*	
Boland, Edward P., *Mass.*	
Bolling, Richard, *Mo.*	307 Warrenton Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.*	2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio*	4101 Cathedral Ave.
Brademas, John, *Ind.*	
Brasco, Frank J., *N.Y.*	
Bray, William G., *Ind.*	
Brinkley, Jack, *Ga.*	
Brock, W. E. (Bill), *Tenn.*	
Brooks, Jack, *Tex.*	
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*	
Brotzman, Donald G., *Colo.*	
Brown, Clarence J., Jr., *Ohio.*	
Brown, Garry, *Mich.*	
Brown, George E., Jr., *Calif.*	
Broyhill, James T., *N.C.*	
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va.*	
Buchanan, John, *Ala.*	
Burke, J. Herbert, *Fla.*	
Burke, James A., *Mass.*	
Burleson, Omar, *Tex.*	
Burton, Laurence J., *Utah*	
Burton, Phillip, *Calif.*	
Bush, George, *Tex.*	
Button, Daniel E., *N.Y.*	
Byrne, James A., *Pa.*	
Byrnes, John W., *Wis.*	1215 25th St. S., Arlington, Va.
Cabell, Earle, *Tex.*	
Cahill, William T., *N.J.*	
Carey, Hugh L., *N.Y.*	
Carter, Tim Lee, *Ky.*	
Casey, Bob, *Tex.*	
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich.*	
Celler, Emanuel, *N.Y.*	The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*	
Clancy, Donald D., *Ohio*	
Clark, Frank M., *Pa.*	220 C St. SE.
Clausen, Don H., *Calif.*	
Clawson, Del, *Calif.*	
Cleveland, James C., *N.H.*	
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif.*	5609 Broad Branch Rd.
Collier, Harold R., *Ill.*	
Colmer, William M., *Miss.*	
Conable, Barber B., Jr., *N.Y.*	
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass.*	5619 Lamar Rd., Washington 16, D.C.
Conyers, John, Jr., *Mich.*	
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa.*	
Corman, James C., *Calif.*	
Cowger, William O., *Ky.*	
Cramer, William C., *Fla.*	6215 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Culver, John C., *Iowa*	
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr.*	
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo.*	
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn.*	
Daniels, Dominick V., *N.J.*	
Davis, Glenn R., *Wis.*	
Davis, John W., *Ga.*	
Dawson, William L., *Ill.*	
de la Garza, Eligio, *Tex.*	
Delaney, James J., *N.Y.*	
Dellenback, John R., *Oreg.*	6903 Crail Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Denney, Robert V., *Nebr.*	
Dent, John H., *Pa.*	
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill.*	
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*	
Dickinson, William L., *Ala.*	
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich.*	
Dingell, John D., *Mich.*	
Dole, Robert, *Kans.*	6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass.*	
Dorn, Wm. Jennings Bryan, *S.C.*	2030 Laburnum St., McLean, Va.
Dow, John G., *N.Y.*	
Dowdy, John, *Tex.*	
Downing, Thomas N., *Va.*	
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y.*	
Duncan, John J., *Tenn.*	
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N.J.*	
Eckhardt, Bob, *Tex.*	
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla.*	
Edwards, Don, *Calif.*	9201 Fox Meadow La., Potomac, Md.,
Edwards, Edwin W., *La.*	
Edwards, Jack, *Ala.*	
Eilberg, Joshua, *Pa.*	
Erlenborn, John N., *Ill.*	
Esch, Marvin L., *Mich.*	
Eshleman, Edwin D., *Pa.*	
Evans, Frank E., *Colo.*	
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn.*	
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn.*	5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md.*	
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y.*	
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla.*	
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*	
Findley, Paul, *Ill.*	
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y.*	
Fisher, O. C., *Tex.*	Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa.*	The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga.*	
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash.*	
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich.*	514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich.*	
Fountain, L. H., *N.C.*	The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn.*	
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.*	3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md.*	
Fulton, James G., *Pa.*	
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn.*	
Fuqua, Don, *Fla.*	
Galifianakis, Nick, *N.C.*	
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*	
Gardner, James C., *N.C.*	
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md.*	
Gathings, E. C., *Ark.*	
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C.*	
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn.*	
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla.*	
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y.*	
Gonzales, Henry B., *Tex.*	200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y.*	3842 Macomb St.
Goodling, George A., *Pa.*	
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill.*	
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg.*	
Green, William J., *Pa.*	
Griffiths, Martha W., (Mrs.), *Mich.*	
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*	
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y.*	
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif.*	
Gude, Gilbert, *Md.*	
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla.*	
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga.*	
Haley, James A., *Fla.*	
Hall, Durward G., *Mo.*	
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind.*	4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y.*	
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind.*	
Hammerschmidt, John Paul, *Ark.*	
Hanley, James M., *N.Y.*	
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif.*	
Hansen, George V., *Idaho*	
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*	
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va.*	
Harrison, William Henry, *Wyo.*	
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*	
Harvey, James, *Mich.*	
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*	
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*	
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio*	
Hébert, F. Edward, *La.*	26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va.*	
Heckler, Margaret M. (Mrs.), *Mass.*	
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J.*	
Henderson, David N., *N.C.*	
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla.*	
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash.*	
Holifield, Chet, *Calif.*	
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa.*	
Horton, Frank, *N.Y.*	
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif.*	
Howard, James J., *N.J.*	
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo.*	
Hungate, William L., *Mo.*	
Hunt, John E., *N.J.*	
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich.*	
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*	
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn.*	
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind.*	
Jarman, John, *Okla.*	
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J.*	
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa.*	
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif.*	
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C.*	
Jones, Paul C., *Mo.*	1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala.*	
Jones, Walter B., *N.C.*	
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo.*	
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn.*	
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*	
Kazen, Abraham, Jr., *Tex.*	
Kee, James, *W. Va.*	5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass.*	5906 Harwick Rd., Woodacres, Md.
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y.*	
King, Carleton J., *N.Y.*	
King, Cecil R., *Calif.*	
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*	
Kleppe, Thomas S., *N. Dak.*	
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill.*	
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C.*	
Kupferman, Theodore R., *N.Y.*	
Kuykendall, Dan, *Tenn.*	
Kyl, John, *Iowa*	
Kyros, Peter N., *Maine*	
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis.*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga.*	
Langen, Odin, *Minn.*	
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*	
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif.*	
Lennon, Alton, *N.C.*	
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif.*	
Lloyd, Sherman P., *Utah*	
Long, Clarence D., *Md.*	

Appendix

Baltimore Aircoil Co. Wins President's "E" Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, many times in this historic Chamber concern has been expressed about the balance of payment and gold outflow problems. It has also been recognized that an expanded foreign trade is absolutely necessary for the economic well-being of our Nation.

With an expanding world economy, a growth of consumer markets throughout the world, stronger and stiffer competition at home, and the dynamic growth of foreign competition in both foreign and domestic markets, it has become evident that American business must expand its activity in foreign markets in order that our country may continue to grow and prosper.

As one of the Representatives in Congress from the greater Baltimore area, and as a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, I am pleased to report that the Baltimore Aircoil Co., a progressive manufacturing firm, has won the President's "E" Award for making a significant contribution to the expansion of the export trade of the United States.

The Baltimore Aircoil Co. manufactures water-saving devices, cooling towers for air conditioning and industrial uses, and evaporative condensers used in ammonia refrigeration. This firm, through its aggressive foreign marketing program, has increased its export sales from less than 1 percent to more than 10 percent in the past 5 years.

International Commerce, of November 27, 1967, a publication of the U.S. Department of Commerce, contains an article about this award to Baltimore Aircoil. Believing this to be of sufficient general interest to my colleagues, I ask that it be reprinted in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

LIQUID CONDENSERS, COMPUTERWARE WIN "E"S FOR BALTIMORE AIRCOIL: LICENSING AGREEMENTS, OVERSEAS SALES ENGINEERS, AND PROMPT SUPPLY OF REPAIR PARTS HELP U.S. FOREIGN TRADE PROGRAM

In a recent "E" award ceremony, Walter A. Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic Business Policy, described the significance of the award:

"'E' stands for excellence in exports . . . for enthusiasm and enterprise . . . for extra effort."

The occasion was the presentation of the award certificate and flag to Baltimore Aircoil Board Chairman John Engalitcheff, Jr., at the company plant in Dorsey, Md. Baltimore Aircoil Co., Inc., was honored for increasing export sales of cooling towers and evaporative condensers by employing trained sales engineers and by negotiating judicious licensing agreements.

The company's aggressive foreign marketing program also included establishment of a European regional office, extensive use of multi-lingual technical bulletins, expedited delivery and a flexible credit policy.

Through these and other means, Baltimore Aircoil has increased export sales from less than 1% to more than 10% in the past five years.

Baltimore Aircoil manufactures water-saving devices: cooling towers for air conditioning and industrial uses, and evaporative condensers used in ammonia refrigeration. The main plant is in Dorsey, Md., with wholly-owned subsidiaries in Madera, Calif., and Brampton, Ontario.

EUROPEAN OFFICE OPENED

Prior to 1966 the firm used a combination export firm in New York for its international sales. In that year Baltimore Aircoil reorganized its international department to handle direct export sales to foreign customers, and also established a regional European office in Brussels. Direct export sales of its product now are accomplished by 18 engineering sales representatives or distributors.

The selection of these representatives has required extensive research in each marketing area. They must be graduate mechanical engineers with background in air conditioning, refrigeration or industrial applications of heat transfer equipment.

To find a representative in Northern Italy, the company placed an advertisement in a leading Milan newspaper. Thirty applicants responded and were interviewed, and one was selected for the assignment.

The chosen engineer is given thorough training by a factory representative in selling Baltimore Aircoil equipment in his territory, and sometimes visits the factory for further technical instruction.

Baltimore Aircoil has found it necessary to develop acceptance abroad for its type of all-metal construction, in competition with lower priced equipment constructed of wood or concrete. To accomplish this, the company contacted consulting engineers and convinced them of the quality and performance of its equipment.

To compete in the market for water-saving devices in countries like South Africa and Australia, where high ocean freight and customs duties make import of U.S.-manufactured equipment prohibitively expensive, Baltimore Aircoil explored the possibility of licensing agreements.

In 1962, Baltimore Aircoil Co. South Africa (Pty.) Ltd., Capetown, was licensed, and in 1963 H.T.C. Pty. Ltd. in Sydney. Income from these agreements increases annually.

Additional foreign licensing and/or manufacturing arrangements are under consideration.

Company executives visit licensees to assist them with the technical problems that occur in manufacturing a product according to U.S. specifications. These visits also include technical presentations to engineering societies, to assist the licensees with sales and to help obtain acceptance of U.S. design concepts in these markets.

MULTI-LINGUAL MATERIAL

To accommodate the European engineer, Baltimore Aircoil makes technical data available in the metric system, and in French, German, Spanish and Italian.

While most equipment of the type manufactured by Baltimore Aircoil is usually sold abroad on a secured basis, such as letter of credit, company management has realized that sight draft or open account terms are reasonable risks, and has extended credit accordingly.

To assure quick delivery, overseas orders get special attention, and component sections of equipment are maintained in stock for quick assembly and shipment. With most orders, the factory is able to make delivery to the Baltimore piers within two weeks after receipt of the order.

As part of the "E" celebration, company employees were given the day off and were invited to a luncheon following the ceremony.

The Challenge to Business and Preservation of Free Enterprise System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, we live in an age today which enjoys the benefits and luxuries of our free enterprise system, but at the same time some consider it fashionable to criticize capitalism and be contemptuous of the institutions upon which this country became great.

Our profit system has been given a dirty name by prominent figures both in Government and out, and the results of such pronouncements may be seen in the findings of a recent survey conducted by the Harvard Graduate School of Business. This survey reported that 88 percent of college graduates prefer careers in Government, education, or welfare agencies to careers in the world of business.

Even the social reformers here in Washington and elsewhere in the empire of government should have sense enough to know that the money they are throwing around, and giving outright in many cases, is available because of the wealth produced by your free enterprise system. This system has flourished in America because we have stressed individual responsibility, initiative, hard work, fair profits, and a good day's wages for a good day's labor.

Several editorials in the South Carolina press recently have recognized the dangers facing our country as a result of the various expressions that business is selfish and capitalism is evil. One such editorial entitled "Challenge of Business" appeared in the Friday, November 24, 1967, issue of the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., and addressed itself directly to what needs to be done to reverse this trend. Another editorial, entitled "Keep the Mare Going," appeared in the October 9, 1967, issue of the Aiken Standard and Review newspaper, Aiken, S.C., and dispelled the disparaging name given profit by pointing out quite convincingly that "profit makes the mare go."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Nov. 24, 1967]

CHALLENGE OF BUSINESS

Criticism of American free enterprise is having a strong impact, if a recent Harvard Graduate School of Business study is an accurate indicator. The study contained the report that 88 per cent of college graduates prefer careers in government, educaton or welfare agencies to careers in business.

Perhaps the figure of 88 per cent is excessive. Nevertheless, it is clear that nonbusiness careers hold increasing attraction for young people these days. They have an idea, for example, that government work is challenging and creative, whereas business is dull, routine and devoid of personal challenge.

The United States will suffer a tragic loss if this notion takes deep root in our society. Business activity is the foundation of American prosperity. The corporation is the key to development of material and human resources.

John S. Knight, owner of the Knight chain of newspapers, recently put his finger on a key principle of economics when he wrote: "Only the private sector produces new wealth, where none existed before."

Government, the foundations and the welfare agencies spend vast sums. The money has been created by the free enterprise system. Without a healthy business system, such public projects or private benefactions would wither or disappear.

It is absurd for anyone to regard business as devoid of excitement and challenge. Consider America's successes in space. These successes must be attributed to hundreds of companies that produce space age hardware and techniques. Government is simply the user of knowledge generated in private laboratories, test centers and factories.

In the last quarter century, U.S. business has created thousands of new products and completely new technologies. It has made possible tremendous new agricultural yields, opening of ocean depths, acceleration of progress in aviation, and fashioning of new forms of housing. Business contains all the challenge that young Americans could want. Why does the public not understand these truths as self-evident?

Perhaps the answer is the barrage of criticism directed against business. Auto manufacturers are blamed as builders of unsafe cars, though U.S. motor vehicles are admired the world over. Business is portrayed as selfish, government as unselfish. Anti-trust suits are directed against progressive corporations.

If Americans want to keep their prosperity, if they want to preserve the system that offers the greatest amount of challenge, they will have to resist the systematic smearing of the business image. An accent on the positive in discussing business is long overdue. If "profit" becomes a dirty word, the country itself is in danger of bankruptcy.

[From the Aiken (S.C.) Standard and Review, Oct. 9, 1967]

KEEP THE MARE GOING

There has been too much disparaging of the role of profit, too much inference that it is selfish gain. If people investing their savings in productive enterprise did not want a return on their money, if the average person holding a job were able to get along on hard work and no pay, if the grocer provided free food, and if local state and federal governments demanded no taxes, profit might not be needed. We would live like the birds. Under such circumstances, it is not likely that much would be done.

It is fortunate that in the real world it is necessary for most of us to work and produce something of value in order to eat, to get ahead, provide for our family and perhaps, most importantly, to achieve a sense of security, satisfaction and personal worth. In the same way, builders of productive enterprises have to produce a useful product or service that people want to buy at a price that will return a fair profit to the owners of the business.

Profit means success to a business in terms of its being able to meet its payroll, pay its taxes, provide jobs and attract investment money in order to expand and develop its ability to produce the kind and quality of goods that growing nation requires.

The competitive, private enterprise, free-market economy developed in the United States has outproduced every other system in the world. In our amazing economic system, profit "makes the mare go," and it always has. Without it, we would lose our independence, self-respect and freedom.

Greeks Grow Quieter Under Junta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of furor, much of it emotional, against the Government of Greece. Therefore, I feel an objective article, which appeared in the National Review on November 20, discussing the situation in that land, merits thoughtful review.

The article follows:

EBULLIENT GREEKS GROW QUIETER UNDER THE JUNTA

(By Edward Flattau)

ATHENS.—The miniskirt is not banned here. The military junta that seized power in Greece last April 21 frowned upon such grab, acording to reports, and even prohibited it for several days. Yet Greek and foreign girls in short skirts now parade boldly by admirers seated in the crowded outdoor cafes that line Constitution Square, the heart of the capital.

To a visitor, the high hemlines provide a pleasant indication that not everything a person reads or hears about Greece these days should be swallowed whole. There are other indications.

Despite the military dictatorship, for example, neither rifle-toting soldiers nor motorized patrols dominate the streets.

Also, through some Greek newspapers critical of the regime have been ordered shut down and the remainder are subjected to heavy censorship, the junta has imposed few limitations on the foreign press. The day I arrived here, newsstands in Constitution Square displayed English-language papers with bold headlines trumpeting the denunciation of the government by Mrs. Helen Vlachos, 55-year-old Athens newspaper publisher.

MORE SUBTLE SIGNS

Once a returning visitor has been around for a while, though, the signs of junta rule become clearer. He notices that beggars, streetwalkers, and unsavory vendors have largely disappeared from the plazas and thoroughfares. And every night prosperous-looking men, women, and children pour out of churches that, in the days before the junta had overflow attendance only on Sundays; the government has recommended that every good Greek should attend church regularly to help recapture the true spirit of the nation.

A more concrete manifestation of the regime can be found on Mount Lykabettus, which rises from the center of Athens to face its stately sister hill, the Acropolis. Near the summit, soldiers now man an artillery piece that could bombard any part of the city.

For me the most dramatic change can be found in the relatively subdued air that permeates the normally ebullient Greeks. There is no aura of tension, but the crowds file quietly after work through streets devoid of din from raucous music, singing, or sidewalk harangues. The drone of conversation at the cafes and university is a soft murmur rather than animated chatter.

Since criticism of the regime has been made a crime against the state, the average Greek, usually so vocal about politics, avoids discussions of the subject unless he trusts his listener and is confident no one can overhear. The junta has an informer system, but one journalist calls it "amateurish". In fact, the ruling triumvirate, composed of Col. George Papadopoulos, Col. Nicholas Makarezos, and Brig. Stylianos Patakos, only recently declared it would no longer accept reports from anonymous informers; anonymous revenge-seeking tipsters flooded the regime with "information" in the early days.

Greece's lower and middle classes are reasonably content with what the junta (commonly termed "stupid but honest") has accomplished. The colonels got credit for eliminating a good deal of the old corruption and governmental footsie-playing with the wealthy classes. They get credit for bringing an end to the occasional crippling and "leftist-inspired" strikes and demonstrations. And they get credit for curbing inflation and improving—at least for the time being—the average man's purchasing power. To top it all off, tourism has recovered sharply from its immediate post-coup plunge, and since July has been back to normal.

The country's intellectuals are divided in their views of the junta. One school hopes the military rulers will remain for several years to give Greece stability before they abdicate to constitutional government. Another faction believes that if Greece is to be saved for democracy, the junta must step down by the end of the year through the efforts of King Constantine and outside pressures from Western nations. This group is vague on just how the junta would be forced to retire if it didn't care to.

The junta's intentions are expected to be clearer by the end of the year, when it is scheduled to release the proposed draft of a new constitution. The real question is whether the colonels will be willing to accept lesser posts of responsibility in the army after governing the country.

Another basic problem is reflected in the observation of a Greek girl.

"Democracy may have been born here, but that was a long time ago. It just doesn't take very well here, and many people, even when they speak of a new constitutional government to replace the junta, talk of the need for a 'strong man' to head a democratic regime."

IRRITATED BY WASHINGTON

This may be a confused approach to democracy, but for many Greeks the confusion lies elsewhere. They are irritated at Washington, for example, for reducing aid to Greece following the coup.

"Withholding aid won't help bring in a democratic government," one Greek journalist insisted to me. "If the junta is toppled as a result of economic collapse, the Communists might very well seize power."

In fact, that journalist and others resent not only official U.S. "moralism" on the subject of democracy; they also resent American journalistic accounts of "moralism" in Athens.

One newsman, for example, seemed to hold me personally responsible for one report that gained currency in American papers.

"There was never any ban on tourists with beards entering the country," he told me. "What the regime did try to do was bar anyone who was dirty and unkempt. They were hoping to keep out the hippies."

Remarks of State Senator George N. Wade at Lincoln Speech Memorial Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the Lincoln Speech Memorial in the Gettysburg National Cemetery was formally dedicated on November 19, and I had the privilege of being on hand for this impressive ceremony.

Pennsylvania State Senator George N. Wade delivered the major address at the dedicatory exercise, and because it carries a meaningful and timely message, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Senator Wade's address:

LINCOLN SPEECH MEMORIAL DEDICATION

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work"—

104 years ago one of America's greatest souls—spoke in simple, plain language and using few words, hallowed this spot with a great challenge and an unending obligation to all Americans—yes all mankind, reminding them of their ever recurring obligations and challenges.

Great obligations, challenges, and responsibilities continue to face us today and tomorrow. This united nation in which we find ourselves, fast changing as it is, seeths and boils with expanding pains. Not pains of aggression or conquest, but appeals from literally dozens of small, young, and struggling nations that reach out to our great country for support, guidance and direction in hope of attaining the high plateau of life and living we have built in our beloved America under the broad base of directed Democracy and the free-enterprise system advocated and stimulated to action by great men such as Lincoln more than a century ago.

We are again engaged in struggle. Why should we not fight to preserve and to carry to the doorsteps of others who long to share our plan of Government, freedom and justice. In doing so, we strengthen and enlarge our own. Our way of life is a combination of original and developed ideas. Ideas are peculiar and quite unlike physical properties or wealth—you cannot share money or wealth without diminishing your own possessions. You can pass on and share your ideas and your constructive thoughts with others and not diminish, but rather enrich and develop your own. Our land has grown great as a leader of all nations by the rich melting and mixing of ideas. But leaders, such as the immortal Lincoln, stand out, ever directing us in our forward and upward surge for greater accomplishments. "It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have, thus far, so nobly carried on."

The great Architect of the Universe reserved for man the honor and glory of sharing in creative work. The Master provides the iron; man manufactures it into forms of power and usefulness. God makes the wild rose; nature and man together make an American Beauty. All in all, it seems to me, they spell challenge and opportunity.

This world, as created, is a mixed world. Poets sing rightly of its charms, but there are regions which have no charm. Side by side with the beautiful are the weird, the grotesque, even the ugly. There are fertile plains to be cultivated and mines to be discovered, but there are also swamps and deserts.

In a word, God has not made a world in which security and ease and happiness are the highest attainments; but rather a world for watchfulness, for work, for struggle, and for suffering as a normal part of the full life. You and I know men and women whose characters have been shaped through conflicts, doubts, hardships, and perhaps defeats. Such was the life of President Abraham Lincoln. Life as the Architect planned it is not to be a nursery for the coddling of perpetual infants, but a school for adult education.

For 7,000 years of recorded history, men have hoped and prayed for the day when all men could compromise their differences around an honest conference table. But, even though we hope and pray for that some day of the future, *we must be realists.* 104 years ago, Lincoln said here "*We must be dedicated to the unfinished work.*" While we are fully aware that one of Lincoln's greatest achievements was freeing a race from slavery, we know the designs, the aggression, and the anticipations of those who are envious of our accomplishments and who would trample us to slavery. Those who would deceive and destroy the pitiful "doves", the weaklings, who are unappreciative of the faith of our fathers, unmindful of the sacrifices of the past, and entirely oblivious to their duty or obligations, cowardly burn their draft cards.

Through life we are surrounded by competitive situations. Men do not think or act alike. This causes contest, and contests enlarge and widen. The great Architect of the Universe created men that way—or caused them to be that way! In America to our good fortune, and the contributions of the great Lincolns of the past, responsibilities are on a broad base—each of us has established responsibilities.

The American politicial framework perhaps is too complex. It is difficult for visitors to America to understand that we are deeply patriotic, but no longer cry as our flag goes by. We are strong in convictions, but unbending in our tolerance of others' intolerance. We have suffered through sit-ins, walk-ins, shop-ins, teach-ins, draft card burning, but recent examples of mutilating and desecrating the American flag is one demonstration too many.

Recently a renowned personage in the entertainment world in a challenge to his son said, and properly so, "If you burn your draft card, my son, then burn your birth certificate as well."

Certainly; "It is for us the living", where the majority rules, to welcome an opportunity to write our story in the pages of history and make our contribution for the future of America along with Lincoln and those "who so nobly struggled here and consecrated this spot far above our poor power to add or detract."

I believe in the United States of America as "a government of the people, by the people, for the people;" whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies. This is our American Creed. And so, with bowed heads and thankful hearts for the lessons he passed to us and to our generation, for his vision of the future, of the accomplishments and continuing possibilities of our great land, we dedicate this Memorial to his wise, comforting, and inspiring words of more than a century ago.

Merchant Marine Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent report of the U.S. Maritime Administration carried the distressing story that more U.S.-owned ships sail under foreign flags than under the American flag.

Be the justification offered taxes, wage standards, or what else—the soul-searching question is whether or not any of the numerous foreign-flag vessels carrying supplies to the Communist North Vietnamese are American owned.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the news analysis of Werner Barmberger from the November 22, 1967, New York Times on the conflict of our merchant marine:

U.S. AGENCY GIVES SHIPOWNING DATA—AMERICAN CRAFT REGISTERED ABROAD ARE IN MAJORITY

(By Werner Bamberger)

More active United States-owned shipping is flying the flags of foreign nations than is registered in this country, the Maritime Administration reported yesterday.

Data released yesterday by the Federal agency on ocean-going, foreign-flag merchant ships of 1,000 gross tons and more owned by United States parent companies showed 15.7 million deadweight tons of such shipping. This compares with 14.9 million deadweight tons of privately owned American shipping under United States registry as of June 30, 1967.

The Maritime Administration report also showed that there had been a slight decline in the foreign-flag sector of American operations since December, 1966.

Figures at the end of last year showed an American-owned, foreign-registered merchant fleet of 448 units aggregating 16,063,962 tons. This was 12 ships and 289,160 tons more than the 436 ships reported for last June 30. That fleet totaled 15,774,802 tons.

DECLINE IN TANKERS

The decline during the half year of 290,000 tons was made up exclusively of tankers. On Dec. 31, there were 363 tankers of 13,624,104 tons as against 351 tankers totaling 13,333,581 tons on June 30.

Dry cargo ships owned here built under foreign flags remained unchanged during the six-month period at 24 vessels totaling 136,380 tons. So did bulk carriers in this classification which at the end of the six-month interval still consisted of 61 vessels of 2,304,861 deadweight tons.

The decline in the fleet, however, is believed to be temporary in view of the increase in the tonnage of new vessels on order or under construction for American parent companies.

43 SHIPS ON ORDER

The total of ships on order last June consisted of 43 ships with a combined tonnage of 2,854,725 deadweight tons. This is an increase of eight vessels and 460,846 tons over the 35 ships of 2,393,779 tons on order or under construction at the end of 1966.

The additional orders include seven tankers totaling 455,946 tons and one bulk carrier of 5,000 tons.

The largest American owner of foreign-registered shipping, the Federal ship agency said, was the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey with 116 ships totaling 4,259,687 tons.

Next in line was Universe Tankships, Inc., a company controlled by D. K. Ludwig, with 31 vessels aggregating 1,848,997 tons, followed by the Standard Oil Company of California with 55 ships of 1,608,435 tons.

OTHER OIL COMPANIES

Other American concerns owning more than 1 million tons of shipping registered abroad were the Socony Mobil Oil Company, Inc., Gulf Oil Corporation and Texaco, Inc.

This type of shipping registered abroad is usually referred to as "flag of necessity" or "flag of convenience" or "runaway" vessels, depending on who talks about it.

American companies active in the international transport and distribution fields consider they must have this form of shipping to remain competitive.

American maritime unions, which prefer the term "runaway," consider such registration as a method of escaping higher American wage standards and taxes.

Support Our Boys in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, great attention is paid by the communications media in this country to acts of disloyalty to the U.S. Government.

Draft card and flag burners, demonstrators, and pickets receive attention beyond their importance and are portrayed as legitimate protesters exercising their right to dissent.

Under the guise of academic freedom, some of our college faculty members and students heap abuse and scorn upon their Government.

Those who engage in these acts are a tiny minority of our total population. The vast majority of Americans, whether they agree or disagree with the administration and its policies, do support our Government and our men in Vietnam who are doing the fighting.

Activities at Butler University in Indianapolis, Ind., are far more typical of America than the overemphasized antics of the great unwashed.

At a recent football game, the Butler University Marching Band used a patriotic theme for a halftime show, complete with flag-bearing Boy Scouts and the unveiling of one of the largest flags in the United States.

The flag, measuring 94 feet by 60 feet, covers a college-size basketball floor. This show was repeated at a following Butler football game—by popular demand.

Butler students later marched with banners and signs, but it was not the usual demonstration found on college campuses these days. This was a march from the Butler campus to a neighborhood drugstore which offered to match ever gift bought by Butler students for the troops in Vietnam.

Nearly 500 students participated in Operation Giftlift, an outstanding example of support for our boys in Vietnam.

Mrs. Earl Simmons Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding lady from my district, Mrs. Earl Simmons, of Ashland, Kans., was recently honored in being included in the latest edition of "Who's Who of American Women."

Leona exemplifies the finest and best in womanhood. This is attested to by the high regard in which she is held by the people of her community and State. She is a tireless worker for those things that count in life. She is and has long been a leader of worthwhile movements and is above all an excellent homemaker. I take this occasion to salute her and include the following article from a recent issue of the Clark County Clipper in the RECORD at this point:

LEONA SIMMONS NAMED TO AMERICAN WOMEN WHO'S WHO

Mrs. Earl (Leona) Simmons is listed in the current edition of Who's Who of American Women, published by the A. N. Marquis Co. of Chicago. Who's Who represents the meticulous efforts of Marquis Editors to keep pace with the steady ascension of women in American life. To be nominated to Who's Who by organizations one has served is proof of the calibre of service rendered.

Mrs. Simmons has worked in some capacity of the Extension service for the past thirty-five years in local, state, and national leadership. She received the Homemaker's Extension Council Award of Merit in 1963.

She served as president of the Kansas Council of Women, 1962–1964. She was a member of the board, Kansas Council of World Affairs, for eight years. Through this group some six thousand Kansas High School youths have gone to Washington and to New York.

She is currently serving on the Kansas Heart Association Board of Directors. She was receipient of the Meritorious Service Award in 1963 from the American Heart Association. She is a member of the country Women's Council and the Associated Country Women of the World; having represented Kansas in two International Meetings abroad.

Locally, some of the organizations of which she is a member are: Better Gardens Garden Club, Sunflower H. E. U., Art Association, Member of the Clark County Fair Board, Business Professional Women, Republican Women's Club, Precinct Committee Woman, and a member of the Methodist Church. Mr. and Mrs. Simmons have two children, Dr. Edward Simmons, Salina, and Mrs. Bill Swearingen, Liberal; they have seven grandchildren.

F–111 Performs Better Than Critics Care To Admit; Prices Up Only 10 Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the noted London Economist recently put the F-111 situation into perspective. In an article November 11, this respected British journal pointed out that the F–111's "performance is a good deal closer to the target than the critics will admit."

What is more, airframe prices "are up no more than 10 percent from the levels at which serious negotiations first started," the Economist reported.

I include the comment from that article in the RECORD:

WHAT'S UP WITH THE F–111

Any custom-tailored design is going to perform better in its chosen role than the general-purpose F–111, which has the disabilities associated with any jack-of-all-trades. But the object of designing the F–111 as a general-purpose aircraft was to incur one single set of development costs, and to get the economies of very long production runs; for that reason alone, cancelling any part of the order for it and substituting some new and better aircraft is not likely to happen—not unless the F–111 itself performs much worse on test than it is doing now. All of which is bad news for the anti–F–111 lobby in America and for those in Britain who want the bally thing to fail because it supplanted their dearly-beloved, not-to-be-forgotten TSR–2.

The quicker General Dynamics gets the F–111 into production, the harder it becomes for the competition to get a hearing. The 23 prototype aircraft have already been delivered, together with the first two production aircraft; they are now expected to come off the line at the rate of eight a month. Their performance is a good deal closer to the target than the critics will admit and prices, for the airframe at least, are up no more than 10 per cent from the levels at which serious negotiations first started. The naval version has nothing like as good a record as the Air Force F–111s; it is later and falls much further short of its desired performance.

But, for better or worse, the U.S. Navy must live with it because the entire carrier defense system from 1972 onwards is built round a missile and a firing system that only the F-111 is capable of carrying. And the Navy is not going to cancel its missile.

None of the three F–111 crashes so far has been caused by malfunctioning of the pivoting wings, although the first did happen because the trainee pilot forgot to push them out into the landing position, killed his instructor and badly burnt himself. The second was a carrier landing accident; and the third, and most recent, a failure of the hydraulics, and this time the crew were high enough to use their ejector capsule (a new gimmick, this, which blows out the sealed, pressurized cockpit a a single unit with the two pilots sitting, unpressure-suited, inside) and lived to tell the tale.

In some ways, it might be better if something did go wrong with the wings; the object of test flying is to pick up design defects before they kill too many people, and it would be optimistic to expect such a radical innovation as swing wings to be introduced without extracting a savage toll of pilots. Better find the flaws now than later, for on the heels of the F–111 is the Boeing supersonic airliner.

Not a bad record, but rumors that the F–111 is in dead trouble are certain to grow louder as the rest of the American aircraft industry gets hungrier. McDonnell tried to snitch some of the F–111 Navy order because the company can see its Phantom orders coming to an end with nothing to replace them, and as a long-standing Navy contractor thought it might stand a chance. The Boeing company has no military aircraft in production; Douglas has nothing serious to speak of; Lockheed is selling freightors, but its beautiful and accident-prone 2,000 mph. all-titanium fighter has no production order in prospect.

Mr. McNamara has been as good as his word; he is not ordering any new combat aircraft of significance other than the F–111, and the implications of just what this means for the rest of the American aircraft industry are only gradually beginning to sink in as old orders run out. It is not only the aircraft manufacturers of Europe who are shrinking.

Chester, Pa., Order of DeMolay Designated No. 1 Chapter in the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ROBERT WATKINS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Speaker, the International Supreme Council, Order of DeMolay, has announced Chester chapter, located in Chester, Pa., has been awarded first place in the worldwide DeMolay chapter-of-the-year competition. The ranking is made once each year by the international governing body which oversees 2,054 chapters in the 50 United States, Canada, and 16 other foreign countries.

The Order of DeMolay is an organization of young men from 14 to 21 years of age, which is sponsored by the Masonic fraternity. It was instituted in Kansas City, Mo., on March 18, 1919. It teaches our teenage community to respect and practice the virtues of filial love, reverence, courtesy, comradeship, fidelity, cleanliness, and patriotism. Impressing upon the minds of youth the value of service to God, country, and mankind, this fraternal body is building responsible men who can take hold of the reins of citizenship and guide well the future of our Nation and the world.

Chester chapter was instituted in 1959 and has 180 members active in its work at the present time. More than 400 boys have knelt at its altar—more than 4,000,000 have passed through the order's ranks since 1919, including many leading U.S. Senators and Representatives.

It is a truly remarkable achievement to be singled out as the "best in the world" from any group, but to be so honored by an organization which accepts into its midst only the best in the community is a rare and coveted distinction.

Quoting Chester chapter's adviser:

This title was won by our boys because of their belief in the principles of the Order of DeMolay and their wholehearted devotion to the practice of virtue in their everyday lives. These are fine young men whose dedication to good works warms the heart and inspires the respect of the entire community. They make one feel confident in tomorrow. God bless them all.

President de Gaulle Spurns His Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial was published in the Copley newspapers today. I believe it deserves the attention of my colleagues:

In the week which has followed the British devaluation of the pound, President Charles de Gaulle, of France, was able to assess with some accuracy the best card he could play in the game of international squeeze.

At the semiannual ceremonial monologue which passes for a De Gaulle press conference, the French leader yesterday confirmed growing suspicions that his consuming hatred of anything American or British has almost got the better of his reason.

Where he could have proved his interest in helping a former ally, he rubbed salt into British wounds.

Again he has dictatorially vetoed Britain's entry into the Common Market. And again he has lashed out blindly at the United States of America for defending freedom in Asia and even impugning our technological superiority. He continued to fan the flames of nationalism in Quebec.

That is the man whose country twice within a generation was saved from complete annihilation by the military and economic aid provided by her friends.

It is certain that if the French president had not blocked, with vindictive determination, Britain's entry into the Common Market, the economic plight which brought the pound devaluation last week could have been avoided.

For months, until the French economy began to run into trouble in mid-year, De Gaulle tried to undermine the United States' economy. By turning his dollars into gold he depleted our gold reserves at an alarming rate.

Now he has in effect served notice that he will continue this policy by demanding a return to the discarded international gold standard.

Meanwhile his political overtures toward the Russians and his prompt support of the Arabs in the aftermath of the June war in the Middle East not only made his politics suspect, but also his very cerebral processes. He did not alter his stand yesterday.

The General must be warned that he is by our standards now an enemy of the West. He is actively engaged in endeavoring to smash all the Western unity and safety built over the years.

He has tried to wreck NATO, which for 20 years held a protective umbrella over his homeland.

He has gone out of his way to hurt the United States' economy and our position in international affairs. At the same time he has refused to pay France's financial debts to the United States. These include $6.3 billion from World War I loans—the figure a fraction of original loans because of negotiation. It also includes about $400 million in debts since World War II, but it does not include the outright aid we have given him since the Marshall plan was inaugurated in 1947.

The time has come for a showdown with the man in the Parisian ivory tower. A good place to begin is to request the payments of France's debts to the United States.

President de Gaulle has shown again that he spurns his friends. This makes it easy to decide whether he is friend or foe.

Equal Opportunity in the Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, equal job opportunity for all is a most important factor in wiping out poverty in America and curing the cancer that infects our cities in the form of slums and ghettos. The Post Office Department, under the leadership of Postmaster General O'Brien, has made commendable progress in opening up better jobs for minority group employees who for years were automatically assigned to the bottom of the labor barrel simply because of the color of their skin or other equally irrelevant factors. Jet magazine has done an excellent report on the Post Office's campaign to eliminate employment discrimination and I include the Jet article at this point in the RECORD:

HOW U.S. POST OFFICE FIGHTS TO END BIAS: NEGROES GET TOP POSTS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES CAMPAIGN

(By Chester Higgins)

Before the late President John F. Kennedy in 1961 issued Executive Order No. 10925, Negro U.S. postal employees faced slow, uncertain, often nonexisting promotion.

In higher echelon policy-making positions, there were almost as many Negroes as there are black residents in the virtually lily-white suburb of Cicero, Ill., say knowledgeable observers.

For years it was a commonplace remark in black communities: "The Post Office is the graveyard of Negro college graduates." Ambitious black high school grads, swarmed to the Post Office and were hopelessly stuck in low-level, clerical jobs. Nevertheless, a kind of black, genteel and snobbishly elite class arose among black postal workers. For while their jobs didn't pay much, employment was steady, something that couldn't be said for many other jobs designated for Negroes.

Since JFK's Executive Order, President Lyndon B. Johnson has issued Executive Order 11245, a refined version of equal opportunity and it now supersedes Executive Order 10925.

Under three Postmasters General—J. Edward Day, John Gronouski and presently, Lawrence O'Brien—equal opportunity machinery was slowly built. But until O'Brien was appointed to the post in November, 1965, Negro promotions in the service were still slow, uncertain, often nonexisting.

Addressing some 450 delegates to the Post Office Equal Employment Opportunity Conference (EEOC) in Washington, D.C., recently, U.S. Rep. Robert N. C. Nix (D., Pa.) a Negro and chairman of the House Post Office Operations Subcommittee, declared: "In 1961, less than 10 percent of the first-line supervisors were nonwhite. Today more than 18 percent of the employees in these jobs are from minority groups." Continued Nix: "Postmaster General O'Brien has personally appointed the department's highest ranking Negro, Ronald B. Lee, director of the Office of Planning and Systems Analysis. He has approved the appointment or promotion of fully one-fourth of some of you here to your present high positions, including ten of you who earn $15,000 or more and five who are above $20,000."

The gathering itself was unique. It marked the first time in the history of a major U.S. department that such a conference was called. A few years ago, such representation would not have been possible, because none of the delegates, many of whom were black, was earning more than $9,000.

O'Brien's efforts, as commendable as they seem, do not escape criticism. In Cleveland, for example, Ervin W. Wilkins, 48, who has three degrees—a bachelor's, a master's and one of law—is stuck in a $6,790 clerical job. Although Wilkins blames token outside job integration, which leaves a vast void of college-trained Negroes concentrated in jobs in hotels, transportation and the Post Office, his obviously superior training says something not so good about the Cleveland Post Office.

In Pittsburgh, a group of black Post Office workers appeared before Nix's House committee to complain that the number of Negroes in the city's Post Office is now 200 less than in 1960 and they (Negroes) are not getting their fair share of supervisory promotions.

Chicago's Negro Postmaster Henry McGee, the city's first (he was named September, 1966), told Jet that in his 38 years as a postal worker, he has seen conditions change from almost complete segregation to the present time "where opportunities for Negro advancement are limited only to ability and drive." He doesn't make a point of telling it, but McGee, according to those with whom he has worked for years, is one of the most militant advocates of job upgrading for Negroes in the Chicago Post Office. Many marveled that his crusading on and off the job on the issue did not get him fired years ago.

Almost everything about the U.S. Post Office is couched in huge figures. The Post Office Dept. has 15 regional offices and 33,000 post offices. Of its 715,000 employees, handling 82 billion pieces of mail yearly, 130,000 are nonwhites, more than 100,000 of these Negro. Its $6.7 billion budget this year will probably not be enough to see it through the fiscal year and officials expect to ask Congress for an additional $200 million to carry through its operations.

IN 12 CITIES WORK PERCENTAGE TOPS POPULATION

New York, the largest postal center, handles 15 percent of the entire mail operation. Chicago, which has the largest single building for mail purposes in the world, handles 19 million pieces of mail daily.

In ten of 12 of the nation's principal cities—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Houston, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Dallas and San Francisco—Negroes comprise a much larger percentage of the Post Office work force than their community population percentage. For example, New York has a Negro population of only 18.5 percent, but 34.1 percent of them work in the Post Office; Chicago has 32 percent Negro, but 63.3 percent in Post Office service; Los Angeles has 17 percent Negro population, but 56 percent in the Post Office. Detroit's 36 percent black population is dwarfed by its 56.6 percent black postal workers. But Negroes in numbers never had much trouble getting jobs in the postal service—not since the big Northern migration of blacks in the early 1940s, officials say. The quality of the jobs and promotions have always been the problem.

Said one white postal official: "You must remember that the Post Office Dept. reflects the general community attitudes. Oh, the system of job promotion was rigged against Negroes all right. This was the attitude of whites, generally, throughout the country. The Post Office, it must be remembered, is older than the U.S. It has been always considered a local facility. Thus, promotion was left to the local postmaster with the advice and consent of some local outsiders. Promotions were largely based on seniority. Since Negroes in great numbers did not enter the system until early 1940s, they didn't have as much seniority as the average white. Redressing the promotion system was a hard, often ticklish task, but Assistant Postmaster General for personnel Richard J. Murphy has the support of Postmaster O'Brien just as he had the support of Day and Gronouski. Without it, the job would have been impossible."

Postal authorities are reluctant to reveal the number of Negro postmasters. They cite the prohibition of racial designation on personnel records as an excuse. But besides McGee in Chicago, John R. Strachan of New York City and Leslie N. Shaw, of Los Angeles, are the publicized Negroes in the posts.

DIXIE FORCED TO DROP BIAS, PRACTICE EQUALITY

However, a postal official later told Jet he was able to unearth information that 47 Negroes hold postmaster posts in the U.S. today. Of these, 26, or more than half, have been appointed since 1961 and most of these were named during the tenure of O'Brien. These posts pay $12,437 and upwards. (Some small, second-class offices pay only $8,000.)

Until 1961, lunchroom and restroom facilities were rigidly segregated in Dixie; nationally, so was the postal union. Contractors doing business in transportation, etc., with the Post Office didn't care a fig about whether they were equal opportunity employers.

Today, all this has changed. Nix urged Negro males to become active in postal union leadership, locally and nationally. O'Brien declared: "There is more wasted energy of mind and body and spirit locked up in America's minorities than in our whole arsenal of atomic weapons." The Post Office is not "resting on its equal opportunity laurels," he asserted.

On June 16 this year, he expanded the equal opportunity staffing in national headquarters and the regional offices, established separate offices in Atlanta, St. Louis, Denver, Minneapolis and New York.

LIST OF 46 NEGRO POSTMASTERS—MISTRESSES—IN THE UNITED STATES

Here is a list of postmasters (mistresses) and location of their departments:

Alabama: Charles W. Thomas, Tuskegee Institute; Ramon N. Days Sr., Magazine; Mrs. Ethel M. Pettway, Boykin.

Arizona: John M. Summey, Nogales.

Arkansas: Harding A. Byrd, Menifee.

California: Leslie N. Shaw, Los Angeles; Mrs. Nancy C. Avery, Pacoima.

Illinois: Henry W. McGee, Chicago; Mrs. Betty B. Page, Lovejoy; Mrs. Nautee F. McCrary, Robbins.

Louisiana: Mrs. Girtherine E. Lloyd, Grambling.

Maryland: Mrs. Sybil N. Waters, Upper Hill; John B. Sewell, Henryton.

Michigan: Simon P. Eaglin, Ypsilanti; Thomas W. Tucker, Bitely.

Mississippi: Mrs. Nellie E. Bass, Piney Woods; Charles L. Thurmond, Mound Bayou; Mrs. Sophie G. Jackson, Tougaloo; Fenchey C. Benson, Winstonville.

New Jersey: Robert F. Kearse, Vauxhall; Mrs. Ellen J. Benson, Lawnside; Mrs. Jeanette B. Richardson, Whitesboro; Joseph C. Thomas, Englewood.

New York: John R. Strachan, New York; William B. Chavis, Long Eddy.

North Carolina: Mrs. H. M. White, Method; T. H. Phillips, Bricks.

Ohio: Claude M. McGee, Wilberforce; George L. Cassels Jr., Emithfield; Mrs. Roberta W. Preston, Rendville.

Oklahoma: Mrs. Jean E. Haynes, Langston; Mrs. Eldria L. Johnson, Boley; Cornell R. Grimmett, Taft; Mrs. Imogene Bruton, Clearview.

Pennsylvania: Paul V. Gibson, Southampton.

Texas: Bishop Sneed, Cuney; Rudolph V. Braxton, Kendleton.

Virginia: Mrs. Doris B. Christian, Ruthville.

West Virginia: Mrs. Miram A. Hamblin, Institute; Mrs. Belle W. Shields, Lakin; Mrs. Marie O. Marshall, Cora.

Virgin Islands: Aubrey C. Ottley, Charlotte Amalie; Gustave E. Frorup, Christiansted; Rupert R. Abramson, Frederiksted; Mrs Ubaldina P. Simmons, Cruz Bay; Rupert A. Williams, Kingshill.

A More Model City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Kentucky Post of November 21, 1967, is worthy of the attention of all those cities who "didn't make the grade" for demonstration cities money. This is a great editorial and expresses some of the principles which have made this country great as opposed to the "Washington can do it better" theorists.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, if more newspaper editorials took this position our country would be better off. The article follows:

A MORE MODEL CITY

Our heart did not bleed for the mayors of Covington, Louisville and other cities in Kentucky and elsewhere who wailed and gnashed their teeth last week when their municipalities failed to qualify for "model city" handouts.

True, some of the city fathers, believing that their need was great enough to melt the heart of a budget bureau officer, must have endured a genuinely traumatic experience. They were like children suddenly informed that Santa Claus had been assassinated.

The dreamed-about funds for replacing their dreary, crime-breeding slums with handsome parkways, decorative plazas and pretty residential districts would not, alas, be forthcoming. Moses could not have been more flabbergasted than they had Jehovah cut off his people's manna and closed the waters of the Red Sea upon their heads.

Actually, though, the moneys for financing the municipal improvements that the mayors longed for are available to the cities from the same source that federal funds come from. Government grants don't fall down from heaven. They come out of the earnings of blue-collar and white-collar workers.

If Covington wants to be a model city, it can become a really inspiring model community through the independent efforts of its own people. Covington has the resources to pay its own way.

If technical and professional services are needed, they are readily available. The same goes for Louisville.

Pikeville will have to program its refurbishing to conform to the ideas of the Washington eggheads. Covington can do the job the way that best suits this city's interests.

Half Pay for Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, it is distressing to note that today, as the result of the nearly unanimous and senseless indifference of the Republicans in this Congress, nearly 12,000 OEO and AID employees will receive half pay.

Apparently, Mr. Speaker, the Republicans believe that some Federal employees deserve to be paid for just half their effort. This pitifully demoralizing treatment must surely, I believe, come back to haunt this body—particularly the pinchpenny conservatives who see economy in robbing workers of their pay.

For the RECORD, I would like to insert an article from this morning's Washington Post that fully puts this shameful episode into perspective.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, with both adjournment and the holiday season nearly upon us, I urge Congress to end this embarrassment to our Government and restore shortchanged Federal employees to a normal pay cycle that any wage earner expects and deserves.

AID, OEO WORKERS TO GET HALF PAY

The 9000 employes of the Agency for International Development will get only half of their pay today.

The Office of Economic Opportunity's 2991 workers will get the same treatment, one week's pay for two weeks' work. Both AID and OEO hope to be able to give employes the other half of their pay in supplemental checks next week.

The reason for this half-a-loaf treatment is the failure of Congress to approve so-called continuing resolutions, which permit agencies to keep on spending—and paying workers—even though their budgets haven't been approved for the fiscal year that started July 1.

The financial fate of AID's employes, 4000 of them in Washington, rests with the Senate. The Appropriations Committee is scheduled to begin "marking up" AID's budget today.

The last spending authority for both agencies was attached to a rider to the District of Columbia appropriations bill. It ran out Nov. 9, which, with the normal time lag in pay periods, is why the agencies can provide only half the pay due workers.

AID workers were given a double dose of bad news yesterday. After printed statements about the half-pay situation were passed out, somebody came around with another notice saying there would be no Tuesday paychecks. AID officials aren't sure who put out that word, but they hope all workers will get at least part of their pay today.

Meanwhile, AID employes have been advised to go to their credit union—early—where they can borrow up to half of one week's net pay.

Supervisors at OEO were chipping in to an Employe Welfare Association, established to make loans to hard-hit, low-paid workers. By the close of business yesterday they had pledged $10,000 to be used to secure loans.

Other Federal Government employes were short-changed on pay day recently because of Congress's failure to approve continuing resolutions. Workers since have received their back pay.

Pentagon Distortion of the Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Pentagon is up to its old tricks again of distorting the facts and feeding misleading information to the news media.

In my letter to Morris Seigel, one of the country's finest sportswriters, can be found a typical example of what is to be expected.

An incident of passing interest is the fact that Indiana is going to the Rose Bowl for the first time in its history. Who is the president of Indiana University? Elvis J. Stahr. And who is he? The former Secretary of the Army.

What a contrast is his position on bowl games to the position of the present Secretary of the Army.

But, oh well, here is the letter which tells what is perhaps the closest thing to the real story that can be developed:

NOVEMBER 24, 1967.

Mr. MORRIS SIEGEL,
Washington Evening Star,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MORRIE: I was rather surprised to read the lead of your Washington column on Monday which has been forwarded to me in New Orleans and I hasten to set the record straight.

You know of course of my high respect for you and, as a matter of fact, you are one of my real favorites among sports writers. It is because of this, and our previous conversations relative to the precipitous action by the Secretary of the Army and Chief of Staff, General Harold K. Johnson, that I feel compelled to put the facts in proper and accurate sequence.

Nothing could be more inaccurate than the caption of your column which says "Politicians Wreck Army Bowl Hope," unless it be the following sentences in your lead . . . "Army Secretary Stanley Resor's order banning the bowl for West Point was forced on him by two unrelating Congressional delegations, one demanding the cadets for the Sugar Bowl and the other just as insistent about the Cotton Bowl. It left Resor with nothing to do except what he did."

I am really amazed that you are allowing yourself to be used to spread the pusillanimous propaganda from the Pentagon, in their effort to mislead the public as to why the Army was denied the right to play in a bowl game.

While I cannot speak for the Texas Delegation, I can speak for the Louisiana Delegation in the House of Representatives in this instance. As you know, I am the Dean of the Louisiana House Delegation and I can tell you here and now that not a single member of the Louisiana Delegation discussed with me the betrayal of the West Point football team and the Cadet Corps, until it had become public knowledge that the Cadets were to be denied not only participation in a bowl game but were also denied a discussion of decision on their part which has been the policy at West Point until this arbitrary and hasty decision by Secretary Resor, for reasons best known to himself and to which I have not been made privy.

Let's put the whole story in chronological order so you can have the benefit of the facts instead of inaccurate statements and rumors.

I did not contact or talk with anybody in the Army, at West Point or at the Pentagon, until after the decision was made not to allow the West Point team to play in a bowl game. The first I even heard of the Army being considered for the Sugar Bowl game was on Tuesday, November 14, when I read an Associated Press story, dateline New Orleans, in which my name was prominently mentioned as urging the Army, on behalf of the Sugar Bowl. When I read the story I called the Sugar Bowl officials in New Orleans to find out what it was all about. I was informed that the Army athletic officials had been asked if they were available for a bowl game and if they would be interested in the event an invitation were extended. West Point replied in the affirmative, stating specifically that they were interested when and if an invitation were extended.

This statement was made by Col. Jerry G. Capka, athletic director.

I heard mothing more, nor did I know anything more about the Sugar Bowl and the Army until the next morning when I received a call from the Sugar Bowl people who informed me they had received a call from the athletic director at West Point, who apologetically requested that consideration of the Army be withdrawn because West Point had been informed they could not participate in a bowl game.

Keep in mind, a decision had already been made and I had not as yet talked to anybody at West Point, the Army or the Pentagon in connetcion with getting Army into a Sugar Bowl game. Obviously, I had no authority to begin with.

It was only after I was so informed, that I spoke with Secretary Resor on the telephone and asked him what this, about Army being denied the right to play in a bowl game, was all about. I was not pressuring nor even suggesting that Army play in the Sugar Bowl game. My only reason for the call which I made quite clear, was why the policy of the Army had been reversed this year. Secretary Resor informed me, and in recalling his words as best I can, said, "After talking with the Chief (Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Harold K. Johnson) and discussing the matter with him, we have decided to adhere to our policy of no bowl games for the Army." I challenged this statement as to policy and referred to the report of the 1955 Board of Visitors which advocated participation of West Point in bowl games if invited.

All I was interested in was that the decision be made by the West Point team as to whether they wanted to play in a bowl game and if so, in which bowl they would play if invited. This has been my consistent position through the years, ever since I was instrumental in having the policy set for the Navy's participation in a bowl game. At that time, when I spoke with the then Secretary of the Navy Charles Thomas, I did not request that the Navy play in the Sugar Bowl. I asked him to do three things:

1. To agree that the Navy could play in a bowl game if invited.
2. That the squad be asked if they wanted to play in a bowl game if invited.
3. That the squad make the determination as to which bowl they desired to play.

At no time did I suggest that I was interested in only one bowl game.

Consistent with this policy, several years ago when the Sugar Bowl was interested in the Navy, I, of course, favored the Navy playing in the Sugar Bowl but when the players decided they wanted to play Texas in the Cotton Bowl, I voiced no objections. They said they wanted to play the number one team in the country which was Texas at that time.

Now, in further reference to the inaccurate statement of Secretary Resor as to the policy at West Point, disregarding the 1955 Report of the Board of Visitors. I must direct your attention and the attention of Secretary Resor, to the fact that when General Kenneth S. Royal was Secretary of the Army, General Maxwell B. Taylor was Superintendent of West Point and Colonel Earl H. "Red" Blaik was Athletic Director and Coach of the football team, the Army was contacted as to their availability to play in the Sugar Bowl game, if extended an invitation. Not only did Secretary Royal agree but he enthusiastically supported the proposal and hoped that North Carolina, his alma mater, would be the opposing team.

Now keep in mind that Secretary Royal occupied the same position that Secretary Resor occupies today and that the policy of Secretary Royal for the Military Academy was definitely to participate in a bowl game if invited. At West Point the proposition was put to the players and they rejected the bowl game, much to the disappointment of Army Secretary Royal, but he had adhered to the West Point Policy in the same manner as did the Navy, when the Navy players selected the Cotton Bowl instead of the Sugar Bowl.

The only thing I asked this year was that the policy be recognized and that the West Point players be allowed to make a decision. This, Secretary Resor and General Johnson did not do, reversing the situation at West Point without consulting the West Point officials.

To further indicate the inaccuracy of the statement that the Texas Delegation and the Louisiana Delegation was attempting to bring pressure on West Point as to which bowl they would play, at the very hour and the very minute that I talked to Secretary Resor and asked him to re-evaluate his position, West Point was not even in consideration for the Texas bowl game. Alabama had already unofficially committed itself to play the champions of the Southwest Conference in the Cotton Bowl. In other words, there was only one major bowl open to West Point at the time with possibly a second one, the Gator Bowl.

Now as far as Texas is concerned, my good friend, Congressman Olin "Tiger" Teague of Texas (also a member of the 1955 Board of Visitors which set the policy at West Point and which Secretary Resor flouted), has long been interested in the service academies playing in the Cotton Bowl. He informed me, however, that at no time did he attempt to pressure West Point into the Cotton Bowl.

Now these are the facts. I am certainly too fond of you and admire you too much to allow you to be used as a dupe to spread such propaganda as that being spewed from the Pentagon after their realization that they blundered and fumbled the ball on the one yard line.

I regret this letter has been as lengthy as it has but I am determined that this action on the part of the Army will not be allowed to die, as long as I am here and able to talk.

My position is well-known to Secretary Resor. I told him I was bitter about his decision and I am even more bitter now when I see to what extremes some people will go to confuse the issue and invent scapegoats. I assure you this is not the end of the matter. It is not going to be brushed under the rug. It will be kept in full and complete view and I am going to use every means at my command to keep the American people informed of the elements behind this betrayal.

Warmest personal regards and my continued admiration,

Sincerely,

F. EDW. HÉBERT.

Journal on Writing the U.S. Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following cleverly written account of the Constitutional Convention by Miss Frances Jaffe, a high school student from my congressional district:

JOHN B. HAMILTON'S[1] JOURNAL ON WRITING THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

(NOTE.—These letters from John Hamilton, reporter on the New York Daily Gazette, to his boss, editor Raymond Howe, were found several years ago by historians eager for more clues of the history of the United States. It appears from the contents of the letters that Hamilton was covering the big story of our nation at the time, the writing of the Constitution. Although the letters have been discovered for some time now, they have been kept secret and this is the first time they have been released to the public.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
May 25, 1787.

EDITOR,
Daily Gazette,
New York, N.Y.

Boss: Have arrived here in Philadelphia amid the throngs of men from all over the American colonies. I finally secured a room at the inn, and even though I'm sharing with two other men, I consider myself lucky. I was almost put up in the stables, so you can imagine the crowds that are here.

I obtained a Press Pass to get into the Independence Hall meeting today and I shall try my best to get every bit of news I can. I plan to send my articles in letters to you in hopes that this is the fastest way it will reach our readers. I would like to have the news printed while it is still fresh.

First of all, I suppose you'd like to know why all these men are meeting here today. You can understand why if you know some things which have happened earlier.

About the same time the Declaration of Independence was written, a plan was supposed to have been devised so the American colonies could become one country. This plan was called the Articles of Confederation.

To understand the Articles of Confederation, you must remember what our country was like then. People did not call themselves Americans, but rather New Yorkers or Virginians. People were jealous of the residents of other states. Each state was almost like a country of its own. These people, remembering that they had had a strong central government in England, did not want one strong government over the colonies. They wanted to be their own bosses.

You can see that there was sure to be trouble. And there was. Congress could not tax people and it needed money. There were only two ways to get it. First, they could borrow it. But, there was no way to pay it back, so other countries wouldn't lend Congress the money. Second, Congress could ask the states to give the money, but could not make them give it, and often the states would not.

But, that wasn't all. There was another reason for trouble. It seemed that both Congress and the states could print or coin money. Many coins were used from other countries. All this money got people mixed up and people wouldn't take Congress' money, because they knew that Congress had no real powers to back it up.

Also, Congress couldn't say anything about trade with other countries or between states. Congress could not tax goods shipped in or out of the country. Often one state taxed goods from another state, and as one state charged more than another, the people quarreled.

Congress tried to make treaties with other countries, but any state could break the treaty and Congress could do nothing about it. Congress could ask for an army, but could not make men be soldiers.

Other countries soon saw how weak the Congress was and so they did as they pleased in America. Congress could do little to stop them.

The men in Congress knew that they must have more power. Three times they asked that the Articles of Confederation be changed and each time one or two states turned them down. All the states had to agree before it could be changed.

People began talking about getting a stronger ruler, maybe a king. Others had had enough of kings, but most people did agree that we needed a stronger government. Congress was ready to try again, so today, May 25, 1787, these men are in Philadelphia. Their job is to change the Articles of Confederation. The change is to give our country a stronger government.

Some of the most famous Americans are here in Philadelphia. George Washington is here and is President of the meeting. James Madison is working so hard that people are beginning to call him the "Father of the Constitution", which is what the new plan is rumored to be called. Robert Morris, who raised money for Washington's soldiers, is here, along with old Benjamin Franklin and young Alexander Hamilton. In all, fifty-five men from twelve states are here, to attend the meeting.

I'm going to sign off now, boss, until the meeting later this morning.

Your reporter,

JOHN HAMILTON.

LATER SAME MORNING.

Boss: We're now in the Independence Hall. I'm up in the Press balcony, watching all the famous men walk in and find seats on the floor below me. The meeting is called to order by President Washington. The men have important matters to discuss. But, before they start to work, these men have a hard question to answer. Should they change the Articles of Confederation or should they make a whole new plan? The men are murmuring and huddling into little groups to discuss this question. Finally, they decide to make a new plan for a strong government. As was rumored, this plan is being called the Constitution.

The job of these men here is to write the United States Constitution. You can see how hard this job is. The little states like Vermont and New Hampshire want to keep the power they have. The big states like New York and Pennsylvania say they have more people so they should have more votes. The arguments often get hot. Some of the representatives become angry and go home. But, the way to stop a fight is for each side to give in a little and compromise.

In this particular instance, during this hot meeting, the men had to compromise. The big states want more votes because they have more people and the little states want as many as the big states. To compromise, they agree that Congress will have two houses. One will be the House of Representatives and the other will be the Senate. In the House, the larger states will have more votes, depending on the number of people they have. In the Senate, each state will have two men, no matter how big the state or the population may be.

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[1] In this story, John Hamilton, Raymond Howe, and the New York Gazette are purposely supposed to be fictional. They are just names picked out to better tell the story of the Constitution.

Well, boss, that's the whole scoop—for now. Will write again when things develop.

Your reporter on the spot in Philadelphia,
JOHN HAMILTON.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
September 17, 1787.

EDITOR,
Daily Gazette,
New York, N.Y.

Boss: Golly, big doings here today. Mark my words, this day will go down in history. September 17, 1787 is the day for signing the new Constitution. But wait, I'm getting ahead of myself. Let me start from where I left off and give you all the news, while it's still news!

After the meeting in Independence Hall, May 25, the men worked hard and long formulating the Constitution, but at last they had most of the work done. All they had to do was give it to a Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania to put it into the best words he could, which is the way it would stay. And after that there was nothing to do but wait for the day for signing the document, which is today.

The new Constitution, if agreed upon, will make a stronger government than the Articles of Confederation did. There will be a President to make the laws work. There will be courts. No one but Congress will be able to print or coin money.

But, even though, the men who want the Constitution ratified are worried. They are not sure enough men will sign. Everyone had had to give in a little. No one got exactly what they wanted. But, as I sit here once more and watch the proceedings, I see thirty-nine men from twelve states come to sign the Constitution.

Truly yours,
JOHN HAMILTON.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
January 1788.

EDITOR,
Daily Gazette,
New York, N.Y.

Boss: Well, now after approximately four months, each state still has to agree to accept the Constitution. The states will have had most of their meetings by now and the arguments should be just about over. Many people thought that a man's own rights were not taken care of in the new plan, and the new Congress took care of that. They sent ten changes, or amendments to the states, These first ten amendments are to protect a man's rights and are called the Bill of Rights.

Will write again soon, as things are soon going to start popping.

Your reporter,
JOHN HAMILTON.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
July 2, 1788.

EDITOR,
Daily Gazette,.
New York, N.Y.

Boss: This is the last part to this exciting drama serial which I have witnessed; more like an epilogue. It seems like everything is all cleared up and now I can come home. I've been a resident of this inn so long, I seem like one of the family. Anyway. . . .

First, I'll explain a little about the Constitution with which I've become so familiar on this assignment. The Constitution has several parts. Article I is the main part and it is about the men who make our laws. These men we call the legislative, or law-making branch, commonly known as our Congress. Article II is about the executive branch—the President. Article III is about our courts and judges—the judicial branch.

Another part says how we pick the people to work in the government and there are also some rules to tell us what the state governments and the United States government each shall do. Another part has the directions for making changes to the Constitution and the last part is the changes, or the amendments.

The men in Philadelphia had agreed that when nine states took the Constitution, it would start working. By today, July 2, 1788, nine states have done so. The United States has a Constitution.

Signing off,
Respectfully yours,
JOHN B. HAMILTON.

Self-Help in Poverty Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, in an age of dependency problems among minority groups, I think the following editorial in the San Bernardino, Calif., Sun, entitled "An Example of Do-it-Yourself" is noteworthy.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the Sun-Telegram editors for bringing this to the attention of their readers. I endorse this editorial and recommend it to my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

AN EXAMPLE OF DO-IT-YOURSELF

Do the job yourself.

Negro slum dwellers, who yearn for better living conditions, are getting this message from Indianapolis, where dozens of blocks of rotting wooden tenements and rubbish-strewn lots have been turned into neat rows of attractive frame and brick homes.

The job was done by the residents themselves. The Wall Street Journal reports that 397 men, many of whom had never used a tool, built their own homes from scratch.

The resident families had meager incomes, ranging from $3,500 to $4,200, and most of them hadn't previously owned anything more expensive than a secondhand automobile. So how did they do it?

First, they had a leader who began drumming up support for home ownership as far back as the 1940s. Then a private self-help organization was formed. Community support was enlisted, and Indianapolis businessmen contributed much of a $200,000 revolving fund used to purchase construction materials, and the city's largest banks made most of the necessary mortgage loans.

But, the residents had no money for down payments on the homes, worth about $14,000 each. The down payment was made by labor.

An assembly line process was developed by Purdue University. Most house components were prefabricated at the factory on large frames. Lumber was ordered precut and color coded, so that often there was no necessity to read blueprints.

Supervisors were recruited to give instructions and handle technical details. The residents then began building homes without a day's training, even though some of them said they "knew which side of the hammer is up, but that's about all."

The men worked in groups of 20, each performing a specialized task. Each man in the program contributed 900 hours of labor.

The "sweat equity" in the homes thus reduced the size of mortgages to the point where lending agencies were eager to accept them.

There have been some side effects. The creation of solid communities produced a dramatic increase in political organization, and residents were able to persuade city hall to provide an elementary school and a new swimming pool. The transformed neighborhoods became attractive to private developers, who stepped in to put up houses on adjacent land.

Most interesting of all, many of the families have doubled their income since moving into the new homes. The confidence and pride that they acquired in the building process have lifted them up the economic ladder.

The single-family homes of the Indianapolis type couldn't be put in the slums of a place like New York City. But the project does recall the suggestion of Eric Hoffer that Negroes teach themselve building trades and "turn the slums into a garden."

Wherever the Negro takes a step toward self-help, he will find support from someone in the white community, just as happened in Indianapolis. Therein lies the moral.

Seattle Port Officials Deserve Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Port of Seattle Commissioners have initiated an employment-training program for Negroes which promises to grow into a highly successful effort which might be started in other areas of the country.

The Port of Seattle program is the first of its kind ever established by a port authority in this country, and it is just a few weeks old. However, the future of this program looks extremely bright, and I insert an editorial from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer in the RECORD:

PORT OFFICIALS DESERVE PRAISE

Port of Seattle officials are to be commended for establishing an employment-training program for Negroes.

The program is only a few weeks old, and that's not enough time for anything as difficult and complex as a minority job-training program to prove itself. But the next few months should see the program grow into a highly successful effort, worthy of imitation.

There are two reasons for our confidence.

First is the fact that the program does not merely provide a menial or meaningless job for a person who otherwise would be on relief. Port trainees will be hired for positions such as clerk, keypunch operator, draftsman or librarian. In addition, they will study job-related subjects at one of Seattle's colleges or universities, with tuition paid by the Port. This coupling of employment and education means the trainee can look forward confidently to the day when he will be ready for more demanding employment, with the Port or elsewhere.

The program's second main advantage is the fact that it's tailored for people who are able and willing to help themselves. A person looking for a handout or an easy ride won't last long in a program which requires him to hold down a job and go to school at the same time. The Port's program is designed to aid people who, given the chance, will work hard to help themselves.

An illustration is provided by a remark of 22-year-old John L. Hayes, the program's first trainee. Discussing his own experience when he was younger, he said:

"When you're in school and you're studying and it's late at night and it gets hard, it's you that's got to do it. It's not the group."

Hayes' ambition was demonstrated before he entered the Port program. Following high school he put in one year at Edison Technical-Vocational School, spent one year in college, and earned sergeant's stripes during his Army service. He will be a supervisor-counselor for the other 14 persons who will make up the first group of 15 trainees. Candidates will be found through the state's Central Area Multi-Service Center and the Chamber of Commerce "Jobs Now" program. It is expected that trainees will be ready to move up to better jobs after an average of six months in the Port program.

The port of Seattle program probably is the first of its kind ever established by a port authority in this country, and that's a distinction in itself.

But it's results that really count, and we're sure this program will become one which will have a strong, positive impact not only on the individual participants but on the entire community.

A National Scholastic Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, November 16, 1967, Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, U.S. Navy, addressed the 30th annual meeting of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce in Mobile, Ala.

The 800 ladies and gentlemen who were in attendance were fortunate indeed to hear a magnificent speech by this great American military leader and citizen.

Admiral Rickover's address, entitled "A National Scholastic Standard," should be read by every schoolteacher in this country. He clearly and concisely documented the need for a national academic standard in public education.

I had the privilege of sharing in that fine Mobile reception given this great American on the occasion of his address, and I know that I share the thoughts of every Member of this body and those of Americans all across the country when I say how happy I am that Admiral Rickover will serve another tour of duty with the U.S. Navy.

After hearing this speech, many of my fellow Alabamians commented to me that they could now understand why the Appropriations Committee pays such great attention to Admiral Rickover's advice. We have learned through many years of experience that he is a person who says what he believes and believes what he says. He knows what he is talking about and deserves to be heard.

He has given our country sound advice and guidance, not only on nuclear propulsion, but on many other issues, such as defense contracting, patent law, education, military training, and so forth. I assure you our committee will continue to seek the advice and counsel of this outstanding gentleman as long as he will consent.

The address referred to follows:

A National Scholastic Standard

(By Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, U.S. Navy, at the 30th annual meeting of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, Mobile, Ala., November 16, 1967)

I am delighted to be here in the home territory of my good friend, George Andrews, and to speak to his many friends. I should like first to pay tribute to him and to the members of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives. As the third ranking member of that Committee he reviews all programs that have to do with atomic matters.

The United States now has a nuclear fleet composed of 74 submarines, a nuclear aircraft carrier, a cruiser, and two frigates. In addition, we have under construction or authorized an aircraft carrier, three guided missile frigates, 32 attack type submarines, and a small submarine capable of exploring the ocean bottom. Much credit for this must be given to Congressman Andrews and to his colleagues.

I speak from personal experience when I say that without the support he and members of the Committee have unfailingly given it is doubtful we would now have a nuclear submarine Navy, which is a major factor in preserving our peace.

Congressman Andrews has constantly and wholeheartedly supported the Naval Reactors Program and has devoted much time and effort to helping us. It is a comfort to be able to go to him for his wisdom, his objectivity, and kindly advice. I am proud to be associated with so fine a gentleman and patriot who does such honor to his State.

Now to the topic of my speech: "A National Scholastic Standard."

It has long been evident to me that the absence of a standard handicaps American education. Our schools and the diplomas they award have always been qualitatively of the most amazing diversity. This was perhaps unavoidable in earlier times when Americans were still engaged in subduing a wilderness. Different parts of the country were then at different stages of development, and education, of course, reflects the state of culture. It was bound to be better in the long-settled communities along the Atlantic seaboard than in pioneer country. But today we are one nation technologically and culturally; we should be one nation in education as well. Our children's educational needs are the same whether they go to school in California or Maine, in Illinois or Alabama.

Everywhere, and at all times, a country's level of culture and technology sets the requirements for education. Of this, the men who direct our public school system seem to be but dimly aware. They subscribe to a philosophy of education, an ideology, which is at odds with reality. They recognize neither the educational needs of children in today's world, nor the reality of their diverse native endowments which necessarily determine what each can accomplish educationally. Nor do they have a clear concept of the basic purpose of a tax-supported public school system.

Schools do not exist in a vacuum. Nor are they set up to serve as laboratories for testing new fangled ideas dreamed up by theoretical educationists. They are established to supplement home, church, and community as educators of the young. Their primary task is intellectual education, a task no other agency *can* do. It matters not how well they serve children in other ways. They will have failed their purpose if they do not transmit to them the knowledge, and develop in them the intellectual skills that children must acquire if they are to become contributing members of their society.

How well then does American public education perform its primary task? Do our young people acquire at school the knowledge they need to understand our complex modern world, the intellectual skills they need to qualify for the kind of work that is available? Have they received the best preparation—commensurate with their ability and industry—for the responsibilities of adult life?

To meet these responsibilities they must have adequate knowledge in the areas of language, mathematics, science, government, history, and geography. Success in adult life—as an individual, a breadwinner, a citizen—is closely linked to the amount of education one acquires at school in these areas of basic knowledge. Have our children learned as much, *have their minds been stretched as far as would have been the case had they gone to school in some other culturally and technically advanced country?*

The world is now so small, so competitive. The economic and political position of nations is bound, in the long run, to reflect so accurately the quality of their people that what is achieved in foreign school systems can no longer be disregarded by us. There is a sort of international Plimsoll mark in education that sets a standard below which it is unsafe to let public education fall.

My work gives me a unique opportunity to judge the products of our schools. Over the last two decades, I have interviewed several thousand top graduates of the Naval Academy and of our best colleges who wished to enter the nuclear program as designers and builders or as operators of atomic-powered ships. I look for bright, well-educated young men with initiative and the ability to think for themselves. I find, though nearly all the applicants have excellent minds, disturbingly few qualify educationally. I constantly come up against the results of poor education; I see how much talent is wasted, how little progress has been made in education, despite the vast amount of thought and money we have expended in recent years. I find that technically the young men are better trained now, but their general education remains inadequate. The schools are letting us down at a time when the nation has urgent need of the *developed* intellectual resources of all the people.

Ours is the most complicated technical society in history. We live in a democracy, hence under the most difficult kind of political system, since it requires so much of each citizen. We need better educated people to manage our society, better educated citizens to assure that it will be well governed.

In the military, we are used to comparing ourselves with other countries, for we know it would be dangerous to let anyone get ahead of us. After extensively investigating school systems in other advanced countries, I must regretfully say that our competitive position in education vis-a-vis these countries is unsatisfactory. There are many reasons why our schools are less effective educators of the young than schools elsewhere, and I have spoken and written of them at length. Underlying them all and perpetuating them is our commitment to standardless comprehensive schooling.

Five years ago, I testified on English education before the House Appropriations Committee. The late Chairman Clarence Cannon asked by what means I thought Congress might help speed educational progress. My reply was: By establishing a National Standards Committee, and I outlined what kind of committee I thought it should be and what specific functions it should perform. In the preface he wrote to the published hearings, Mr. Cannon expressed the hope that they would "stimulate a national debate on the question of whether there shall be set up an agency of some kind to provide permissive national standards." Perhaps my remarks tonight will stimulate discussion; I hope they will induce you to give thought to this urgent matter.

It should be said first off that we are the only civilized country where public education operates without a national academic standard, where neither the names of educational institutions, nor their curricula, nor their diplomas or degrees represent a definitive and known standard of intellectual accomplishment. In Europe—the only area we need to be concerned with since the Europeans (including the Russians) are our only true competitors in public education—in Europe it is taken for granted that children must be tested against an objective standard before they are promoted. Otherwise, there might be gaps in knowledge, or repetition of subjects already studied, or children might embark on new programs before they are ready for them.

Educators and public alike are agreed that study programs must be carefully planned and that they must lead to a variety of educational goals, reflecting the variety of learning ability and of vocational objectives of their pupils. They are agreed that for efficient progress, programs must be sequential, each year building on what has been learned in the preceding one, with the one below and above it—as from primary to secondary and from the several secondary schools to vocational-professional schools, building upon the general education received at the secondary level. None of this would be possible if there were no national scholastic standard. Because *all* European schools concentrate on intellectual education, there are transfer possibilities all along the line for anyone who suddenly develops talents he had not previously shown, *provided* he is willing to make the effort to catch up with programs at a higher level.

Next to the greater length of the European as compared to the American school year, it is this close articulation in European public education that makes it possible for European children—*all* of them, bright, average, and slow—to reach any level of scholastic achievement at a much earlier age than ours. It also accounts for the fact that geographic inequalities due to different rates of economic progress in different parts of the country are not as pronounced there, and transfer from the schools of one locality to those of another is easier.

Though our children would greatly benefit from a national scholastic standard, the prospects are not good that we shall be able to obtain it for them. Theory and practice in American public education are strongly opposed to testing children against objective standards.

There is a school of thought which considers tests irrelevant to the process of becoming educated. But this, as one of England's university examiners aptly remarked, would be true only if one felt it "to be sufficient to expose the pupil to learning and undesirable to discover if there are any results." Many schoolmen object to achievement tests because some children would fail and this might injure their psyche. But in life, all of us are constantly tested against objective standards of performance; all of us at some time or another will fail a test. Would it not be better to let children discover at school what their abilities and limitations are, thus giving them experience in coming to terms with the truth about themselves *before* they have to face the demands of the adult world? Fewer young people would then need to be counseled by "career doctors."

I am inclined to think the main reason why our schoolmen oppose a national academic standard is that it contravenes the "Freudian" or "Social" ethic to which most of them are committed—an ethic which deprecates *individual* responsibility for what one makes of his life, and places responsibility on *society*. Those who accept this ethic tend to look upon education as a "right" possessed in equal measure by each child; in other words, a right with no conditions attached to it. It is not enough that there be *equal educational opportunity;* what is demanded is the right to higher education and to degrees *without* giving proof of qualification. Removing the price tag from higher education has had the curious effect in this country of transforming education into a sort of "consumer good" which a democratic society is expected to hand out equally—"fair shares for all."

At present the American people have no yardstick with which to assess the performance of the schools for which they tax themselves so heavily. A national scholastic standard would give them such a yardstick, but the educational establishment will not even tolerate a permissive standard. We therefore have no way of finding out what, concretely, our children have learned at any given age and ability level, or how this compares with achievements in other school systems.

Such feeble attempts as we have made to evaluate our schools have been warded off by raising the bugaboo of federal control of the curriculum. Comparison with education in other advanced countries is rejected on the grounds that all foreign school systems—including the Russian!—are "aristocratic." We alone, it seems, have "democratic" education. Consequently, so it is said, the objectives of American education, the educational needs it serves, are so unique that what is accomplished elsewhere can be of no interest to us. Consider this statement made by an influential educator before a committee of the United States Senate: "Good teaching of reading beyond the fundamentals," he said, "is one thing in a society where a person is being prepared to read and instantaneously believe government propaganda, and it is an entirely different thing in a society where a person may be expected to enjoy the privilege of reading a free press."

I have thought and thought, but I can't get the sense of it. Does he mean it is more important to be able to read in Russia than here? Or does he mean the opposite? Does he really mean that *how* you teach children to read depends upon *what* they are going to read when they grow up?

One is always tempted to see in this or that defect the root cause of mediocre school performance. My own feeling is that most of the inadequacies of American education can be traced back to misconception of what "democratic education" really is. The schoolmen are passionately committed to the dogma that, to be democratic, education must not only be free but comprehensive as well. I would say that it must be both free *and of high quality*. It must provide public schooling that is as good as the costly private schooling available to children whose parents can pay the fees.

As I see it, the reason we and every other advanced country support expensive systems of public education is that we are determined that no child shall be denied schooling because he cannot pay for it. We socialize the cost of education to equalize opportunity.

Educational inequalities resulting from differences in wealth can be eliminated by shifting the financial burden of educating children from parent to taxpayer. *"Inability to pay" school fees is a removable bar to educational advancement*. There remain then the inequalities of ability and drive that are inborn. Society cannot play God and create children that are identical in mental capacity. Society cannot eliminate educational inequalities resulting from differences in aptitude—*"inability to learn" is an irremovable bar to educational advancement*. Many a poor child is gifted, many a rich child is stupid; either child may be industrious or lazy. The best that society—any society—can do is to make certain that the educational levels a child attains are determined *solely* by his own giftedness or stupidity, industriousness or laziness.

It matters not whether fees are charged or schooling is free, an educational system that takes no account of differences in learning capacity will give neither the bright nor the slow, nor even the average child the education his capacities warrant. When you eliminate "ability to pay" as a criterion for educational advancement you get democratic education; when you eliminate "ability to learn" you get noneducation.

Differences in learning ability, already evident when children enter school, increase year by year, as more difficult subject matter is studied. By about age 11 to 12 *the gap in mental* age in any representative group of children will then be six and one half years overall; three years if the top and bottom two percent of the intelligence range are absent. The *gap in achievement levels* will be greater still; it may be eight years. Studies in geography, history, English composition, literary knowledge, science, arithmetic reasoning, etc., have shown that in every high school grade "the complete range of elementary school achievement is present." Indeed, it *must* be present in a *comprehensive* high school since a substantial segment of the school population is intellectually incapable of advancing beyond the elementary level. Half our children, let it be remembered, are *by definition* below average, they are below 100 I.Q.

Comprehensive schooling in the primary grades is common to every system of public education. Experience has shown that *all* normal children, if properly instructed, *can* master the elementary subjects, though at different rates of speed. So long as the program is the same for all, differences in the *pace* at which children progress can be accommodated. But when mental inequalities affect not merely the speed of learning but its very substance, comprehensive schooling no longer makes sense *in terms of what children need*. They need to be challenged, to stretch their minds, to absorb the maximum amount of knowledge consistent with their endowments. Experience has shown that if they are to have this kind of education, they must separate at the end of elementary school, as indeed they do abroad. On the Continent, especially, there is an adequate choice in types of secondary schools to fit the abilities and goals of bright, average, and below average children.

In this country, comprehensive schooling continues to the end of public education. Abroad, it is discontinued when the point has been reached where subjects which bright children are able to absorb with relative ease have become extremely difficult for average children, and are incomprehensible for those at the bottom of the ability scale who are still struggling with the elementary subjects everybody else has long since mastered. Preoccupied with the comprehensive dogma and the impossible goal of "higher education for all," the educational establishment in this country has failed to develop programs for different levels of ability that are as well thought out, as efficiently organized as the system of secondary schools in Europe.

We have the most expensive public education in the world, yet nowhere can a bright child obtain the excellent academic secondary schooling that European *lycées* and *Gymnasia* provide—usually at no cost or, if a nominal fee is charged, at no cost to those who cannot pay. In these day schools, which are to be found in every town of 10,000 or so, students are carried by age 18 to 19 to a baccalaureate that is fully the equivalent of the B.A. of a first-rate American college, with only the student's "major" missing. No European child is barred by poverty from attaining this educational goal; not a few American children are so barred, for even in a nominally free state university, the cost of room and board may be beyond his financial resources.

Nowhere in our expensive school system can the average child find the excellent secondary schooling below baccalaureate level that is to be found in Europe. Upon the general education that is received in these secondary schools, there is built a network of vocational programs producing competent artisans, technicians of every kind, librarians, nurses, and a great variety of semiprofessionals.

All of Europe has a shortage of unskilled labor and imports large numbers of foreigners; we have a surplus of unskilled labor and a shortage of every kind of skilled technicians and professionals. We go abroad seeking to lure such people with high salaries, a practice which is deplored by countries that have invested much public money in the education of their talented youth and resent this "brain drain."

Nowhere in our expensive school system can you find the equivalent of the "common" school which in Europe provides the absolute minimum of education, the rock bottom below which no one falls who is not hopelessly retarded, since attendance during the period of compulsory education is virtually universal. We still have a serious illiteracy problem. In all of the advanced European countries every normal person is literate and numerate and this has been so for some generations. Speaking of the European "common" school, a prominent French educator, diplomat, and scholar recently said that "a vast amount of experience and understanding," the "imagination and inventiveness" of many great educators had been invested in building it into a school that turns out "youngsters with a real comprehension of their destiny and environment," youngsters who in their early teens already are "equipped with a sense of freedom and a command of verbal expression and communication for which adolescents of other areas may well envy them."

A great deal of nonsense is put forth in support of the dogma that to be democratic, education must be comprehensive, such as that it has never been *proved* that learning proceeds faster in an intellectually homogeneous group, or that it is an *enriching experience* for all if bright, average, and below average children study together, or that it is a *democratic duty* for bright children to be present so that they might act as a sort of "yeast" that will cause the overall level of a heterogeneous class to rise. One senses something of a feeling that nature is "undemocratic" in its distribution of talent and that the school should counteract this. What else but a basic hostility to very bright children can explain the curious American custom of classifying them in the category "exceptional," together with the subnormal, the blind, the deaf, and all others whose distinction from the "norm" is an inborn *defect*?

I am sure educators are kindly people, well-disposed toward the children in their care. Yet, when I read their disquisitions and observe their actions, I cannot help but feel that they sacrifice good education to questionable dogma. In their educational philosophy, social and political objectives appealing to the adult community sometimes take precedence over the need of the school child to be given the best possible chance of becoming an educated person. Does this not "use" the child for purposes not his own? I should like to see the Kantian imperative applied to children, as most of us agree it should apply to adults. He said: "Every man is to be respected as an absolute end in himself; and it is a crime against the dignity that belongs to him as a human being, *to use him as a mere means for some external purpose.*"

One of our most eminent educators says that we are unalterably committed to "a common core of general education which will unite in one cultural pattern the future carpenter, factory worker, bishop, lawyer, doctor, sales manager, professor, and garage mechanic." One wonders whether we are committed to this objective because great educators and scholars, upon mature consideration, and after observing educational experience in many other countries, have come to the conclusion that such comprehensive schooling is the best means to educe or bring out our children's innate mental capacities. Is it not rather a Utopian dream of grown-ups, this vision of children from every conceivable background, bound for every imaginable vocation, all growing up in "democratic togetherness"? A dream that carries us back to the one-room schoolhouse and so to a simpler life when people were friendlier and communities more democratic than today. Those who promise that comprehensive schooling will continue forever, appeal to emotions that run deep in the American character.

Nostalgia for our pioneer past at times assails 20th century Americans, though not to the point of voluntarily relinquishing the sophisticated gadgets that make life pleasant and comfortable. These gadgets are products of a society quite unlike the one where everybody attended the Little Red Schoolhouse. It is a society where differences between people are much greater than in preindustrial America.

People now differ more in what interests them and in the kind of entertainment they seek. The difference has little to do with money. Cost does not explain why only a tiny minority read the *New York Times* or the *Atlantic Monthly* while multitudes enjoy the comics. People now differ more in the kind of work they do. They differ more educationally. Some of the most vitally important work in our technically advanced society can be done only by persons who must be much more intelligent than most others and who have absorbed a far more intellectually demanding education than the majority of children are able or willing to pursue.

What our children need is not "common core" education leading to a single cultural pattern but diverse schooling suitable to their diverse talents and objectives. A genuinely "democratic" school system should encourage all kinds of individuals to run on all kinds of tracks. Slow teenagers need very intensive instruction in the fundamentals of education; bright ones should be getting into calculus, foreign languages, science, etc.; average ones should be encouraged to absorb as much of true secondary education as possible.

Practical necessity has forced the educational establishment to introduce some diversity into the comprehensive school. This has led to a uniquely American kind of secondary schooling in which there is a "common core" program, supplemented by "electives" chosen by the students. The common core program provides the "Education for *All* American Youth" that the schoolmen demand. Of necessity, it must be devoid of all intellectual content, so that all children may attend it together. It is a mishmash of courses in simple skills with which European schools do not concern themselves; they leave it to the home and to the experiences of life itself to provide young people with this sort of "life adjustment education." The electives are intended to provide diversified education. By leaving the choice to boys and girls, the schools abdicate their responsibility to guide the intellectual development of our youth.

The best compromise so far devised between the dogma of the schoolmen and the educational needs of the children is the multiple-track comprehensive school. Its drawback is that the school must be very large—instead of the several hundred pupils of European secondary schools, ours may have several thousand. This is not good for young people. Even college students resent having to obtain their education in gigantic "knowledge factories." Their sense of being "cheated" by the adult world is at the bottom of most of the student revolts on campuses across the nation. And the students are right. *Educational gigantism has no justification in terms of the needs of students.* Its *only* justification, whether in high school or in college, is the comprehensive dogma to which the adult world subscribes.

Though growing in number, multiple-track schools are still under attack as "undemocratic." Many schoolmen prefer to cope with the diversity of human intelligence by easing educational advancement of the less able. We have gone a long way toward automatic promotion and the granting of diplomas that are little more than certificates of attendance. Witness the following remarks of the superintendent of a large city school system: "Regardless of the variation of high school courses and the range of scholastic achievement . . . straight thinking and democratically minded school administrators have long since adopted the idea of the same diploma for all." He notes with approval, that high school diplomas no longer carry "the name of the course in which the student went through school."

I can see nothing "democratic" in promoting a child before he has mastered a prescribed course. He will only *seem* to move up the educational ladder. In reality he will be standing still on the same rung. Nor is there anything "democratic" in granting diplomas that meet no recognized standard. By not setting standards, we have brought our so-called higher education down to what Dr. Robert B. Davis of Syracuse University so aptly terms "creeping lowest denominatorism." All our diplomas and degrees have suffered the fate of paper money that is not backed by gold bullion. They have no *intrinsic* value. Their value can be ascertained only by checking on the institution that has issued them and the study course for which they were granted.

The process of down-leveling must somehow be stopped. This is what my proposal for a National Standards Committee is intended to do. Let me describe what I have in mind.

I suggested to the Congress that it be a small committee, composed of men of national stature and eminence—trustworthy, intelligent, scholarly, and devoted to the ideal of an American education second to none. The committee would have two tasks:

The first would be purely informational; it would act as an educational watchtower announcing danger when it saw it approaching. The members would keep under continuous scrutiny, and periodically report on the state of American education. Does it meet the needs of our times? Is it scholastically as good as education in countries at similar levels of culture and technology with whom we compete economically, politically or militarily? How do American children compare in academic knowledge with children in Europe or Russia, say at age 12, or 16, or 18; taking, of course, into consideration different ability levels?

The committee's second task would be to formulate a national scholastic standard on the basis of its findings; a standard which would make us internationally competitive and would also respond to our specific domestic needs. The committee would do this by means of examinations set at different ability levels. No one would have to take them, but those who passed would receive national accreditation. The committee would in no way interfere with established institutions now granting diplomas or degrees. It would simply set up a higher standard, offer it to anyone who wished to meet it, and certify those who had successfully done so.

Neither the committee's informational nor its standard setting function would represent a radical departure from established practice. Many federal agencies collect and distribute information. We need a disinterested agency to tell us the unvarnished truth about the true state of American education. The committee would help prevent complacency and illusions of superiority, and thus save us from such painful shocks as Sputnik and other evidence of Russian scientific proficency have given us in the past few years. There is precedent, too, for the committee's setting of permissive national standards. We have something very like it in the 1965 Water Pollution Act.

Under this legislation the federal government is authorized—*if so requested by a state*—to research and develop new methods of pollution control and to award grants-in-aid to localities and states wishing to use these federally established methods. We have here a national standard very much like the scholastic standard of the proposed committee, in that it is not *imposed* but merely *offered as a service* on a take it or leave it basis.

Let me interject a word here as to what I mean by the word "standard." It has, as you know, a number of different connotations. I use it in the sense that comes first to mind: a specific requirement or level of excellence deemed worthy of esteem or reward. Not a *law*, enforceable in the courts. Falling below standard does not put one in jail. Nor a *conventional rule* imposed by society. Failure to meet the standard does not get one socially ostracized. No one *has to* live up to the standard. It is simply an *optional criterion* for determining the value of an act or accomplishment. For those who accept the standard it becomes the yardstick by which the worth of these acts or accomplishments is determined.

Water pollution and mediocre education have this in common: they are problems that cannot be solved by local and state authorities *alone*, but require some assistance from the federal government. Population growth and technology threaten us with a severe water shortage unless we devise better means to preserve the quality of our water resources so that they may be used over and over again. Pollution abatement has therefore become a national problem, and we accept a new kind of federal aid, just as we accept federal aid for clean air and for automobile safety. I believe improvement of the quality of American education is at least as pressing as the need for an assured supply of clean water, pure air, or safe automobiles. Education is now the indispensable medium for survival and progress. Education is so basic to the quality of our national life that by steering it in the right direction we can change America's future; we can make it secure. To steer it right we need a new kind of federal aid—the kind of aid that the proposed National Standards Committee would offer.

I hope I may convince you that it would be entirely proper and exceedingly useful for us to have such an agency. Let me make it crystal clear that nothing in my proposal would violate the constitutional separation of powers between federal and state governments, nor go counter to our tradition of control of schools by the local community. I envisaged the rendering of a *service*, not *regulation* in any way, shape, or manner. The proposed committee would not *usurp* the functions of any existing institution.

Its job would be to draw up national examinations going deeply into a candidate's true knowledge and intellectual caliber—not IBM graded multiple choice tests. I suggested to the Appropriations Committee that we might model them on the English national examinations which offer tests in many subjects. Students choose the subject and the level at which they wish to be examined. This is marked on their certificate which will list their so-called "passes."

Our committee might provide one set of examinations at the level appropriate for a high school graduate who aspires to enter a first-rate college; another set of examinations at the level of students who may wish to prepare for a semiprofessional or technician's job not requiring a bachelor degree but still requiring a good secondary schooling. Still another for graduates of various types of colleges, especially those bound for the teaching profession. I stress again that no one would need to take these examinations; but those who did pass them successfully would obtain national certification; perhaps the notation National Scholar stamped on their regular diplomas or degrees. The seal would clearly indicate what the holder had achieved.

There are many occasions when it is important to know what educational level a person has reached. Admissions officers of higher educational institutions or prospective employers have a valid reason for wanting to know what exactly are the qualifications of an applicant. Think how much time and money would be saved if his diploma or degree indicated this clearly! Everywhere abroad it is taken for granted that diplomas and degrees conform to a specific standard—a standard known to everyone. Setting the standard is not regarded as government intrusion or tyranny but as a welcome service to students, their parents, and the taxpayers who bear the cost of public education.

Everyone benefits when there is a standard. At one stroke it does away with misleading educational labels so that any layman has the means of judging whether a school or college is doing its job properly. By offering the reward of a certified diploma to our children, many who now drift through school would be encouraged to aspire to higher academic goals. You can't expect children to study hard subjects such as mathematics, science, and languages when next door others are effortlessly accumulating equal credits by easy life-adjustment courses in "Family Life." It surely isn't "undemocratic" to reward those who exert themselves with a diploma that takes note of their accomplishments. This is what certification by a National Standards Committee would do.

There is no question in my mind that a large sector of the American people wants better education. Public interest has grown tremendously. Every time I speak or write on education I receive a large number of letters.

What strikes me in these letters is the sense of individual helplessness they reveal. Individually, my correspondents have long known that education must be drastically reformed but they don't know how to induce the school system to act. The very size of our nation alienates public agencies from the individual and accounts for much of the political apathy for which the people are frequently castigated. Yet all too often they can find no one in public office to supply the leadership that is needed to carry out their wishes. Especially when this requires tackling, on the local and on the national level, so powerful a lobby as our educational establishment. People like myself can try to bring the truth to the public so that it may be able to reach a consensus—and this I believe has now been accomplished. Enough people want school reform to warrant public action.

The Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset once wrote a book on the thesis—to quote him—that "the most radical division it is possible to make of humanity is that which splits it into two classes of creatures: those who make great demands on themselves, piling up difficulties and duties; and those who demand nothing special of themselves, but for whom to live is to be every moment what they already are." I read this as a young man and it impressed me deeply. And all my life I have unconsciously judged people and institutions by whether or not they set themselves a standard; whether they measure themselves against a criterion that requires effort because they deem it worthy of effort.

Let us in education as in everything else heed Jefferson's advice, to "dream of an aristocracy of achievement arising out of a democracy of opportunity."

Government and Academia: A Mutually Advantageous Relationship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on November 21, the Francis Bitter National Magnet Laboratory was dedicated in Cambridge, Mass., at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Honorable Alexander H. Flax, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force. Research and Development, gave the address. Mr. Speaker, I commend this address to my colleagues.

The Francis Bitter National Magnet Laboratory is sponsored by the Air Force on behalf of the Department of Defense. Its purpose is to conduct research in the area of very intense magnetic fields. It is clear that such research will benefit the work of the Air Force and will aid our country in its defense efforts.

I would like to include Assistant Secretary Flax's address, however, for several reasons. I believe that it shows a deep insight into the special relationship between scientific development and our Nation's growth, and a great understanding of the correlation between research and technological achievement.

Mr. Flax discusses the symbiotic relationship between science and technology. I think the very existence of the Francis Bitter National Magnet Laboratory, sponsored by the Air Force, illustrates the mutual dependence of Government and academia, and the benefits derived from their special relationship. These benefits, as Mr. Flax points out, accrue to the Air Force and its efforts in our defense program, and more generally, to the Nation, as new scientific discoveries are made.

I insert the Assistant Secretary's address in the RECORD as an example of a Government officials admirable understanding of the usefulness of assistance to both pure and applied research, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. ALEXANDER H. FLAX, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE FRANCIS BITTER NATIONAL MAGNET LABORATORY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS., NOVEMBER 21, 1967

It is a pleasure and a privilege to have been invited here to address this distinguished gathering on the occasion of the rededication of the National Magnet Laboratory in honor of Professor Francis Bitter. This laboratory, which is sponsored by the Air Force on behalf of the Department of Defense as a whole, furnishes an excellent example of the relationship between the Government and the universities which has, since World War II, shaped the course of much fundamental and applied research in this country and which has moved us toward a position of world leadership in scientific research. This leadership is an important aspect of our position as a great nation; it serves not only the objectives of national defense but other national objectives and, indeed, international objectives as well. I would like to take this occasion to review with you the underlying rationale for the basic research programs of the Air Force, our view of the relation between science and technology and our appreciation for the aims and aspirations of the scientific community.

It has been said that we are a practical minded people, that we are prone to confuse technology with science and that there is little understanding in the country at large for the meaning and value of scientific research as such. I would not venture to contest the assertion that we are a practical minded people. That is attested to by the remarkable growth of our industry and economy and the parallel growth in the physical and economic well-being of our citizens over the last 100 years. I am not prepared to argue that any significant number of Americans have a deep understanding, or indeed any understanding, of either the philosophy or the mechanics of scientific research. But then neither do the bulk of the citizens of any other country. I will argue, however, that we have recognized, almost from the foundation of this nation (with more optimism than the state of development of science at that time actually warranted), that scientific advances were an essential element of the practical progress we sought.

The possible application of science not only to industry, agriculture and commerce but also to national defense was very much a part of the thinking of the Founding Fathers. Benjamin Franklin (on becoming aware of the progress being made abroad with "aerostatic" machines or balloons) thought that the offensive possibilities of 5,000 balloons manned by two soldiers each might act as a deterrent to war. Thomas Jefferson responded to Fulton's proposal to protect harbors from enemy naval craft by what he called torpedoes, a kind of under water mine, referred to the possibility that "torpedoes would be to cities what vaccination has been to mankind", hoping that they would render cities immune to naval bombardment. Thomas Jefferson was also interested in the possible applications of the balloon which he enumerated as "(1) transportation of commodities under certain circumstances, (2) traversing deserts, countries possessed by enemy or ravaged by infectious disorders, pathless and inaccessible mountains, (3) conveying intelligence into a besieged place, or perhaps enterprising on it, reconnoitering an army, etc., (4) throwing new lights on the thermometer, barometer, hygrometer, rain, snow, hail, wind and other phenomena of which the atmosphere is the theatre, (5) the discovery of the Pole which is but one day's journey in a balloon, from where the ice has hitherto stopped adventures. . . ."

More generally, the optimism and faith in science of that era was epitomized by Jefferson, "science is important to the preservation of our Republican Government—and is also essential to its protection against foreign powers."

Even before the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress had recommended that each Colony establish a "society for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufacture and commerce". The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which the Massachusetts Legislature chartered in 1780 (and of which Francis Bitter was a member), was, in a way, a response to this recommendation. It announced that it hoped "to promote most branches of knowledge advantageous to a community". The Academy hoped to attract papers in basic science, and elected such distinguished European scientists as D'Alembert, Euler, and Priestley, but its emphasis on "branches of knowledge advantageous to a community" clearly showed the utilitarian bent of our society.

The development of a significant national position in basic science in this Country was not to come for over a hundred years from that time, but in the meantime wherever the basic science might originate we were quick to make use of it.

In the light of this background, it is not surprising that even today, when this Country has attained a position of world leadership in scientific research, the larger part of the basic research in this Country is supported by mission-oriented government agencies, including the Department of Defense. The missions of these agencies range over all of the objectives of the Government, indeed over the goals of mankind—health, economic well-being, industrial and agricultural progress, welfare and safety and national security. The merits and logic of this situation have been debated from time to time. Arrangements such as exist in many places abroad, wherein research and development have been made the province of a single government department, have been proposed here. Such proposals have not found great support in the scientific community and I think this speaks well for the manner in which the mission-oriented agencies have administered their research programs with the full understanding of the conditions which must be met if fundamental research is to be successful.

From the standpoint of national defense, there are vast areas of science and technology which must be explored to identify opportunities for ourselves and our allies, and to guard against technological surprise from potential enemies. Much as we may strive to attain a peaceful world by political means, it is difficult to see a time when we will not need to remain on the alert on the scientific and technological front. The size and shape of our military forces in being at any given time will, of course, be conditioned by the contemporary political and military state of the family of nations, but the sensitivity of this state to scientific and technological advance will require watching for as far into the future as one can contemplate.

The effect of support of a substantial fraction of the fundamental research in this Country by mission-oriented agencies has been that they provide, in effect, a means of orienting the research efforts in this Country and of emphasizing some fields more than others. Now by this I do not mean that a physicist doing research in plasma physics under the sponsorship of the Department of Defense will be in any way constrained to orient his research toward some specific conception of a weapons system or a communications system which might possibly result from his work on plasmas. On the other hand, all other things being equal, the Air Force is more likely to be supporting work on plasmas having characteristics like those in the ionosphere or around the re-entry vehicles as opposed to those to be found on distant stars.

At the same time, we are aware that it may, in some future decades, be a plasma like that on some distant star which is relevant to some defense problem. Each mission-oriented agency seeks to stimulate research in those areas deemed most likely to relate to its interests. Looking over the entire field of science, and assuring that no promising area of research is overlooked merely because the vision of the mission-oriented agencies is too short, is the National Science Foundation. However, it is undoubtedly the pressure of support by the mission-oriented agencies which sets the absolute scale of the national effort.

It is interesting to note what a leading British scientist, Sir Gordon Sutherland, who for a time lived in the United States, has said in comparing the American method of financing basic research, through a large number of Government agencies, with the British method, in which there is one government department which controls almost all of the government expenditure on basic research, "A Government department which has the responsibility of providing the science and technology required in the solution of its problems is likely to make more effective use of science than a department of which the scientific needs are met by some central government laboratories which are not under its own control".

Sutherland also had something to say about the relationship between pure and applied science. "Another source of strength to the U.S. university system is that its staff have never been ashamed of the fact that some of the research work can be directed to the solution of current problems of great practical import. This has made the industrialists and the state legislatures more appreciative of *all* of the academic work in the universities and correspondingly more generous in their benefactions and grants". Speaking of the British system, he said, "This can lead to difficulties. How does one justify the size of a national budget for basic research or its apportionment among the various sciences? So long as basic research was relatively inexpensive, it was possible to finance every promising project. Nowadays, however, basic research in physics in Britain costs more than all government research in agriculture or medicine. Perhaps the time has come for us to identify more of our basic research with specific national objectives in order to achieve a more rational distribution of funds among the different sciences."

Sutherland has focused on one of the basic problems of modern science. With rapidly expanding opportunities for many ever more difficult and expensive promising areas of research, how are the priorities for allocation of funds to be determined? This question becomes particularly compelling when it is realized that the allocation process is not self-regulating. The more research is supported in a given area, the more graduate students will be trained and motivated in that area, thereby generating more promising research proposals in that area, and so on ad infinitum. In the language of control engineering, the feedback system is unstable. There are additional destabilizing feedback loops in this system. For example, the greater the funding of a given area, the greater the representation of influential scientists representing that area on Government advisory groups recommending the allocation of funds and the more public attention and support activities and accomplishments in that area are likely to draw. There is no doubt that corrective mechanisms can be and have been devised to stabilize the system, but the tendency to instability is always there to be reckoned with when the system parameters are perturbed.

In choosing to sponsor the establishment and maintenance of a national laboratory for research with very intense magnetic fields, which was made possible by the earlier work of Professor Bitter and his colleagues at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and whose importance for contemporary research problems was highlighted by Dr. Benjamin Lax and his colleagues at the Lincoln Laboratory, the Air Force had in mind not only the many practical applications which might some day result, but also the major contributions which such a laboratory would make to research across the broad spectrum of scientific fields of potential importance in national security.

The importance of a major new instrument or experimental technique can hardly be overestimated. As A. N. Whitehead has said, "The fresh instrument serves the same purpose as foreign travel. It shows things in unusual combinations". And I think we were all aware that the importance of this Laboratory hung not only on those researches which could be defined at the time the Laboratory was established but also, and perhaps more compellingly, on those researches which would later evolve from the work of the Laboratory.

The other significant contemporary phenomenon exhibited by this Laboratory is the symbiosis of science and technology. It is, of course, not accidental that this Laboratory is to be found at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which has pioneered in exploring and strengthening the relation between science and technology. The educated non-scientific public often assumes that the passage of benefits between science and technology is a one-way street—from science to technology. In fact, the situation is not so simple. Whitehead, referring to the famous interferometer experiment of Michelson, relating to the non-existence of the luminiferous ether, said, "Michelson's experiment could not have been made earlier than it was. It required the general advance in technology and Michelson's experimental genius." Expanding on this same subject, he said, "in science the most important thing that has happened during the last forty years is the advance in instrumental design . . . . it is also due to the progress of technological process of manufacture, particularly in the region of metallurgy."

In spite of the obvious benefit to be derived from contemporary technology, not all scientists are at ease with engineers or engineering. In his lectures on *The Two Cultures*, C. P. Snow tells of Rutherford's amazement that Kapitsa, another early experimenter with intense magnetic fields, "had actually sent an engineering drawing to Betrovick and that those magicians had duly studied the drawing, *made the machine* and delivered it in Kapitsa's laboratory."

With industrial experience behind him, Francis Bitter was another scientist who was at home with engineers and engineering problems. In his book for nonscientists, *Magnets*, he recounts how he turned to his engineering colleagues for information on turbulence heating transfer in order to solve the problem of cooling coils for his high intensity magnets. The levels of heat transfer in which he was interested were far beyond those on which engineering data were then available, but with the help of his engineering colleagues, he was soon able to get the information that he needed.

In the modern world, the importance of the symbiosis between science and technology has become even more apparent. Progress in experimental physics: the microwave electron and proton resonance techniques and the billionth of a second timing required for many experiments in high energy nuclear physics have both stemmed from technological advance in electronics and microwave circuitry which resulted in part from the development of radar and in part from the application of advances in solid state physics. In the geophysical sciences, much of the knowledge we now have about cosmic rays, radiation belts and extended solar plasmas is due largely to the development of the rocket as a high altitude and orbital research vehicle. The high speed electronic computer, itself a triumph of modern technology, makes possible not only the solution of complex engineering problems but also massive attacks on theoretical problems in pure science. The computer, in turn, has been a massive beneficiary of advances in solid state physics. Thus there is a cycling and recycling of information, techniques and devices back and forth between pure science and technology.

One of the great strengths of this nation in meeting the scientific, technical and policy problems of formulating and carrying out its research and development program has been the rich diversity of institutions and people on which it has been able to draw. The interaction between the government, universities, non-profit institutions and industry, each of these subdivided into smaller classes having separate and distinct characteristics, has made it possible to pursue programs in both basic and applied science with attacks from very many different points of view, very many different styles of research and very many different kinds of aggregation of competent individuals.

The universities have contributed in a major way to the processes of education and communication which make this diverse system work. Not only has there been participation in the research and development programs in the Department of Defense and other government agencies by the faculties, but the early exposure of graduate students to research in fields of science and engineering of interest and importance in national defense has made available to the nation a supply of competent professional talent which is essential in a modern technological society.

The mechanisms by which the universities have played such a major role in the integration, harmonization, and quality control of the research and development programs of the nation range from the services of individual faculty and staff members on government advisory committees, through on-campus research, varying in scale from individual projects to institutional support in a broad technical area, on to the assumption of responsibility for management of off-campus research centers of various kinds. It is often thought that the university should confine itself to problems of pure science only. However, universities in this country also have the important mission of educating engineers—not just research engineers, but men who will follow the profession in industry, government and private practice. With the rapidity of scientific advance, it is important that engineering faculties and engineering students be exposed to technological problems on the frontiers of engineering practice such as those which Professor Bitter posed to his engineering colleagues.

There is much current debate about how engineers should be educated. Among so distinguished a group of educators, I would not venture to enter this debate, but I think it is clear that engineers must be made aware of the extent and nature of the interaction between modern science and modern technology, preferably by personal observation and experience. Laboratories such as this can make a major contribution to the mutual reinforcement which scientific and engineering education can give to each other.

Francis Bitter's contribution in his lifetime exemplified much of what the nation expects of its scientific community. First and foremost was his pursuit of scientific research for the sheer joy of it and the beauty he found in nature. Then there was his response to the challenge of teaching—in his own words, "How can one be a part of a place full of young people and not concern oneself with what is told to them about the past and the prospect of the future? How can one turn down the privilege of helping to decide what is worth saying and what is not? I could not." And then there were his contributions in applications to industry and national defense—"How can one turn down the privilege of going out into industry or government where what we know is put to work to make things that we want?" Francis Bitter saw, was challenged by, and responded to the esthetic, the human and the utilitarian side of his work in science. He gave of himself to science, to his students, to industry and to his country. It is fitting that this Laboratory which will bear his name should continue to serve in this proud tradition.

An Example?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, in light of the recent debates over South Vietnam's September presidential elections, it is well to keep in mind the brand of people's democracy which is practiced in the neighboring Communist countries of Asia. While South Vietnam's elections could certainly have been improved in the breadth of the electorate and in other ways, its significance as an achievement for the Vietnamese people must be measured against the utter lack of free choice in the regimented nations of Communist Asia.

For the interest of the Members of this body, Mr. Speaker, I am presenting for the RECORD an editorial from the Cape Cod Standard-Times which offers an important perspective. It describes the parliamentary elections which were held this week in Communist North Korea. Apart from the fact that North Korea's ballot offers only one slate of candidates, the Parliament to be elected will never be more than a weak-voiced chorus to the country's Communist dictatorship.

As this editorial so well points out, the empty ritual of North Korea's elections offer a meaningful lesson for us in Vietnam. While democracy in that beleaguered country has very far to go in development, the alternative could be for South Vietnam to fall victim to the totalitarian practices exhibited in North Korea.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

AN EXAMPLE?

The type of election of which South Vietnam may be a victim should the country's present efforts be in vain can be judgedf from North Korea.

Few surprises are expected, or even possible, in the North Korean parliamentary elections on Saturday, Nov. 25. One candidate for each of the 385 seats in the Supreme People's National Assembly is pre-selected by the Korean Workers (Communist) Party or one of its political off-shoots. Upon assuming office the legislators find that real power lies elsewhere. The Assembly meets only about 10 days a year, usually to ratify what has already transpired.

North Korea has been casual about holding these elections. The last two have been five years apart, in 1957 and 1962, although the constitution calls for them every four years. In the 1962 elections it was claimed that more than 99 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls. Though without a choice of candidates, they have the theoretical privilege of scratching the name placed before them.

The Assembly elects a Presidium, whose president Choe Yong-kow is the putative chief of state. But meaningful control has been exercised over the years by Premier Kim Il Sung and the Workers Party Politburo, which he heads. Kim's goal of forcibly seizing South Korea was thwarted by U.S. intervention in the Korean War. His "reunification" theme developed a new stridency this year, and shooting incidents have increased along the demilitarized zone that divides the Republic of (South) Korea from his Democratic People's Republic of (North) Korea. Washington officials are unwilling, as yet, to ascribe any unusual significance to these events.

Lawlessness Must Stop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, senseless rebellion against authority proves nothing except perhaps the poor judgment or immaturity of the rebel. This is particularly true when the rebellion is itself supposed to manifest some type of protest against restraints on civil liberties or civil rights. Two wrongs still do not make a right, and it is the height of asininity to suppose that the cause of civil rights is furthered by persons who engaged in civil wrongs or criminal conduct.

In this sense certain elements of the "new left," together with extremists in the black power movement, urge the taking of the law into their own hands and the substitution of a government of men for a government of law in this country. In so doing, these deliberate activists make a personal judgment that certain laws are no good and hence may be disregarded or disobeyed. In the process of the disobedience there have been brutalities, physical assaults, interference with peaceful pursuits, such as driving a car on the public highways, vandalism, and even arson.

Basically, there is only one way to deal with this sort of criminal activity, and that is by firmness in law enforcement. This firmness is desperately and urgently needed from the Attorney General of the United States right on down to the local policemen in the small towns of America. It should be backed up by the courts paying more attention to the rights of society to be protected against the lawless element. It should be encouraged by frequent, open, public support and appreciation of the sacrifices and dangers in the job of just plain being a policeman these days. Without the cop on the beat, no one would be safe. Without prosecution, criminal conduct runs rampant like an unchecked plague.

In this sense it is encouraging to see a distinguished newspaper like the New York Times urging that the legitimate objectives of dissent not become confused with disorder and criminal conduct. In the issue of Sunday, November 26, 1967, the Times editorial "From Dissent to Disorder" is worthy of the attention of all Americans:

FROM DISSENT TO DISORDER

Advocating a shift "from dissent to resistance," a small but vociferous body of young and immature older war objectors has begun to incite acts of anarchy that could destroy precisely the values they profess to defend. Their contemptible attacks on government officials, physical assaults on police and violent interference with the peaceful pursuits of other citizens—appallingly reminiscent of the behavior of Communist and Nazi hooligans in pre-Hitler Germany—make a mockery of their professed ideals.

Defending such actions which turned a recent local demonstration against Secretary of State Rusk into a nightmare, the leader of a group at Columbia University called The Resistance, declared the other day: "Ending the war in Vietnam" transcends everything else and is therefore far more important "than abiding by all the traditional rules," including preservation of "an orderly America."

Nothing could be more fallacious. A disorderly America would be a disaster for the cause of peace in this world. Peace in Vietnam cannot be won by violence in the streets of America any more than it can be won by violence in the air over North Vietnam. Justice for others cannot be gained by obstructing the essential machinery of justice at home.

If there were not in American society ample opportunity for legitimate protest and machinery for peaceful change, there would be grounds today for vigorous resistance to policies that are profoundly disturbing to many Americans. The key point is, however—contrary to the arguments of resisters—that the channels for dissent are wide open and are being employed with increasing effectiveness by a growing number of responsible and articulate opponents of the war in Vietnam. The machinery for change is working—although slowly—on Vietnam, as demonstrated by increasing opposition in Congress to the President's policies and by Senator McCarthy's challenge to his renomination.

Responsible debate and legitimate political action—these are the ways to change policies in a democratic society. The resisters only retard the cause they seek to advance while threatening the foundation of the freedoms they so recklessly exploit.

L. B. J. Losing Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, columnist Henry Hazlitt, writing in the Chicago Tribune on November 28, discussed the interesting relationship between the President's loss of public support, the furor over the Vietnam war, and the administration's policy of cooperating with Soviet Russia.

His commentary follows:

L. B. J. LOSING SUPPORT

(By Henry Hazlitt)

President Johnson has been rapidly losing public support for his policies in Viet Nam. Paradoxically, he has been losing it from both sides at once, from both the hawks and the doves. This is unjust and alarming. Yet in large part he has himself to blame.

The decline of his support is evident. The most recent Harris survey indicates that public confidence in his handling of the Vietnamese war has dropped to 23 per cent, from 46 per cent last June. On election day, 37 per cent of San Franciscans voted for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam. A Gallup poll conducted for the National Broadcasting company indicated that only 59 per cent of the American people favor continuing our military effort there. The President goes to church, and the minister demands from the pulpit "some logical, straightforward explanation" of our involvement in Viet Nam.

Mr. Johnson has said repeatedly that if he were merely trying to do the "popular" thing it would be easy, but he is determined to do only what is "right." The truth is that he has been trying to be both right and popular simultaneously. He has been trying to please both the doves and the hawks. As a result he has deeply confused public opinion and produced growing distrust from both sides.

In 1964 he wooed the doves by ridiculing Barry Goldwater's demands for escalation. When he escalated nonetheless, he did so gradually, limiting the bombing to a few unproductive targets. This gave the enemy time to install or increase anti-aircraft defense around strategic targets to make our belated bombing more costly in planes and men.

Perhaps the most confusing of all the administration's policies is that of "building bridges" to the communist world. This includes such things as "cultural co-operation," inviting the Soviet Union to set up more consulates and send over more spies to man them and, worst of all, encouraging trade with the Communists to be financed with credit at the American taxpayers' risk.

All these bridges have proved to be one-way bridges.

We should halt all our naive one-sided "co-operation" and make it unmistakably clear to Soviet Russia that we will not resume it until Russia stops supplying the North Vietnamese with arms to kill our soldiers and stops daily and systematically inciting hatred against us all over the world.

The Admirable FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, much publicity over the past years has been devoted to the increasing crime problem in the United States. However, very little publicity has been given to the increased efficiency of our law-enforcement agencies in apprehending criminals. In this regard, perhaps the most competent and efficient law-enforcement agency in this country is the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I hereby insert in the RECORD an editorial, entitled "The Admirable FBI," which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on November 21, 1967:

THE ADMIRABLE FBI

Good work by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation resulted in the arrest of an accused bank robber Saturday, but he probably would have been caught a day earlier if his description had been supplied to the press. Sheriff William P. Schmitt of Kenosha county, Wis., evidently has been reading too many foolish statements by bar association leaders about protecting criminals from publicity before they go on trial.

The bank robbery at Silver Lake, Wis., was at 10:45 a.m. last Friday. One robber was killed in a gun fight with a deputy sheriff. A second robber abandoned the getaway car five miles north of the bank. A posse of 200 law officers began looking for him, aided by two helicopters, but the sheriff

> gave out no description of the fugitive. As a result, he avoided capture for hours on Friday by mingling with the crowd watching the search.
>
> The fugitive was Charles Layton Cox, a federal parolee, whose clothing and disfigured ear should have made him easy to identify. But he was able to borrow cigarets from deputy sheriffs and he conversed at length with newspaper men, including William Jones, a Tribune reporter, who had tried in vain to get a description of the wanted man. On Saturday FBI agents arrested him in Milwaukee.
>
> The FBI also deserves credit for its good work in two other recent crimes. The first of these was a bank robbery in the Chicago suburb of Northlake. Two policemen were killed in a gun fight and one robber was captured. The FBI found the wounded second robber with two women companions in an Indiana lake cottage.
>
> A nation-wide search by the FBI resulted in the arrest Friday of a Naperville man who has been charged with the bombing of a jet liner on which his wife was a passenger. The bomb damaged the luggage compartment of the plane, but it landed safely with its 78 passengers and crew members.
>
> If all police forces were as competent as the FBI, there would be much less crime in this country.

De Gaullism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, we have been seeing and hearing much criticism directed at the strange actions of our former ally, President Charles de Gaulle of France.

The case against the megalomanic French leader was summed up very effectively in an editorial published today by many of the Copley newspapers in California and Illinois.

In lashing out at the United States and Great Britain, General de Gaulle seems to be suffering from an extremely short memory. For, as the editorial points out:

> This is the man whose country twice within a generation was saved from complete annihilation by the military and economic aid provided by her friends.

The reminder of France's unpaid debts to the United States, including $6.3 billion dating back half a century to World War I, is also most pertinent.

This excellent editorial is worthy of the attention of all my colleagues:

> In the week which has followed the British devaluation of the pound, President Charles de Gaulle of France was able to assess with some accuracy the best card he could play in the game of international squeeze.
>
> At the semi-annual ceremonial monologue which passes for a De Gaulle press conference, the French leader yesterday confirmed growing suspicions that his consuming hatred of anything American or British has almost got the better of his reason.
>
> Where he could have proved his interest in helping a former ally, he rubbed salt into British wounds.
>
> Again he has dictatorially vetoed Britain's entry into the Common Market. And again he has lashed out blindly at the United States of America for defending freedom in Asia and even impugning our technological superiority. He continued to fan the flames of nationalism in Quebec.
>
> This is the man whose country twice within a generation was saved from complete annihilation by the military and economic aid provided by her friends.
>
> It is certain that if the French President had not blocked, with vindictive determination, Britain's entry into the Common Market, the economic plight which brought the pound devaluation last week could have been avoided.
>
> For months, until the French economy began to run into trouble in mid-year, De Gaulle tried to undermine the United States' economy. By turning his dollars into gold he depleted our gold reserves at an alarming rate.
>
> Now he has in effect served notice that he will continue this policy by demanding a return to the discarded international gold standard.
>
> Meanwhile his political overtures toward the Russians and his prompt support of the Arabs in the aftermath of the June war in the Middle East not only made his politics suspect, but also his very cerebral processes. He did not alter his stand yesterday.
>
> The general must be warned that he is by our standards now an enemy of the West. He is actively engaged in endeavoring to smash all the Western unity and safety built over the years.
>
> He has tried to wreck NATO, which for 20 years held a protective umbrella over his homeland.
>
> He has gone out of his way to hurt the United States economy and our position in international affairs. At the same time he has refused to pay France's financial debts to the United States. These include $6.3 billion from World War I loans—the figure a fraction of original loans because of negotiations. It also includes about $400 million in debts since World War II, but it does not include the outright aid we have given him since the Marshall Plan was inaugurated in 1947.
>
> The time has come for a showdown with the man in the Parisian ivory tower. A good place to begin is to request the payments of France's debts to the United States.
>
> President de Gaulle has shown again that he spurns his friends. This makes it easy to decide whether he is friend or foe.

A Tribute to the Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert a few words in honor of the anniversary of two very meaningful events in the history of the Ukraine: the Ukrainian declaration of independence and the organization of the valiant Ukrainian resistance movement.

Since 1783, when Catherine II forcefully absorbed the Ukraine into Russia, the Ukrainian people had been politically oppressed, but they had, nevertheless, developed a rich and vital national heritage. This culture sparked their desire for self-determination, so that in 1917, during the Bolshevik revolution, when much of the Russian machinery was in a state of total chaos, Ukrainians were effectively able to declare themselves sovereign and free. Now, as the Soviet Union celebrates the 50th anniversary of Communist rule in Russia, we similarly commemorate the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Ukrainian struggle for independence. How tragic that this glorious period of liberation endured for only 3 years. When the Communist regime was well entrenched in Moscow, Ukrainian nationhood was abolished and the country was once again occupied and governed by Russia.

As we approach the beginning of a new year, we also should acknowledge the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA. The UPA was organized in early 1943 as a reaction to the conquering Germans, whom the Ukrainians had previously hoped would liberate them from the cruel and torturous practices of the war-panicked Russians. Instead, the Germans perpetuated the inhuman system devised by the Russians. This political and armed resistance grew into a vast underground movement, supported by most of the Ukrainian population. With the surrender of Germany came the return of Soviets into the Ukraine. They were met with persistent harassment, sabotage, and military opposition by the UPA. It was not until 1950 that open conflict ceased. Yet the spirit of Ukrainian patriotism and the psychological resistance to Russification continue, though the activism of the UPA has been abandoned.

As we observe these anniversaries and pay tribute to the determined and courageous Ukrainian people, perhaps we can continue to stoke the fire of hope in their land, sealed off from the world and oppressed as it is.

Flammable Fabrics Act Amendments

SPEECH

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1003) to amend the Flammable Fabrics Act to increase the protection afforded consumers against injurious flammable fabrics.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Chairman, I thank the Chair for the ruling, and I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, obviously, this comes as something of a surprise to me, as one who shares the concern of the gentleman from Michigan in this very serious problem which he has highlighted. It is a problem which the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce would be willing to discuss in its sessions and reach a conclusion that I am sure would meet with the approval of the gentleman from Michigan.

But it does seem to me that if we are going to get this legislation on the books, in response to the request of the President—who only the other day at the White House talked about the flammable products legislation and asked for our speedy consideration of it—we ought to put this bill high on the agenda for the concluding hours of this session and put high on the agenda for the opening hours of the next session the proposal of the gentleman from Michigan.

Support for the President's Efforts To Involve Private Industry in Working To End Unemployment in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration is compiling an impressive record of achievement in the involvement of private enterprise into the public sector of the Nation's affairs.

This record was significantly expanded with the announcement by the White House of a major test program to mobilize the resources of private industry and the Federal Government to help find jobs for long-term unemployed Americans.

And as Scripps-Howard Writer Robert Dietsch reports, there are now 200 corporations interested in participating in job-creating programs to help the poor.

President Johnson is to be warmly commended for these efforts. He is the first President who has taken this bold initiative to urge private participation in programs long considered to be the province of Government. And I believe our Nation will be stronger for his efforts.

The administration seeks to encourage private industry to hire the unemployed; it will encourage the development in areas of wide unemployment of new industries; and it will ask large businesses to become a kind of "big brother" to smaller businesses struggling to survive.

As the President said:

> To succeed in this venture will take more than promises or good intentions. It will require—on an unprecedented scale—the concerted action and involvement of the private sector, working closely with the Federal government.

And Mr. Dietsch reports that the President plans to use several government assistance programs to reduce business risks in poverty areas.

This total effort is coordinated by a distinguished American business leader, Mr. William E. Zisch of the Aerojet Corp.

The President has assured the Nation that every assistance will be given to private industry to assist them in recruiting, counseling, training, and providing other needed services for the disadvantaged.

These unprecedented steps by the Federal Government to involve private enterprise in the problems of the cities and of long-term poverty will be supported by the overwhelming majority of Americans who share the administration's concern and compassion, as well as its determination and imagination to defeat the social ills that have been with us for far too long.

I insert in the RECORD Mr. Dietsch's informative article, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Nov. 15, 1967]

HELPING HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED: 200 CORPORATIONS GO WITH L. B. J.

(By Robert Dietsch)

More than 200 corporations have indicated interest in joining the Johnson Administration's test program to create more jobs for the "hard core" unemployed, Administration spokesmen said today.

In most cases, these jobless persons are Negroes living in big-city slums.

Of the 200 companies, about 20 have outlined relatively definite projects.

CHECK PROGRESS

Later this week, Commerce Secretary Alexander B. Trowbridge, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz and William E. Zisch, who is in charge of the program, are expected to discuss its progress. The program was announced by President Johnson Oct. 3.

Mr. Zisch is vice chairman of the Aerojet-General Corp., which has established a successful plant that hired hard-core unemployed in the Watts area of Los Angeles, scene of riots in the summer of 1965.

President Johnson's plan is to use several Government assistance programs to reduce risks which private enterprise would face if it built or expanded plants or other facilities in slum areas and employed persons whose skills or education are normally below industry standards.

The Labor Department, for example, would use Federal funds to help train the "unemployable," the Small Business Administration would guarantee leases on plant and equipment, and the Defense Department and the Government Services Administration might give contract award priorities to simple procurement items produced in ghetto plants.

INVOLVEMENT

The Government's $40 million experiment comes at a time when business is stepping up its own private involvement in Negro joblessness and other urban problems. One of the more notable endeavors is in Detroit, where Ford Motor Co. and General Motors Corp.—among others—are making special attempts to hire and train workers from the areas in which last summer's riots took place.

A major effect by the auto firms also is being made in Pontiac, Mich. And recently, private investors in the Cincinnati area chose the suburb of Avondale—scene of racial outbreaks last June and July—for a multi-million-dollar building project to help the "disadvantaged" learn job skills and become self-employed.

Shortly after the President announced his program, the Administration chose five cities as possible plant sites in slum areas. The cities are Washington, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and San Antonio.

The Bitter Tea of Dr. Tsien—Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am inserting a third and concluding portion of "The Bitter Tea of Dr. Tsien," Milton Viorst's article about a leading rocket expert who was forced to leave the country and return to his native mainland China where he now employs his considerable talents. I think the moral of this story, which appeared in the September issue of Esquire magazine, is self-evident.

[From Esquire magazine, September 1967]

THE BITTER TEA OF DR. TSIEN—PART III

Tsien's status remained in this nether world as month's passed into years. Tsien withdrew deeper and deeper into study and research, working so intensively that his colleagues marveled at his dedication. Among a few old friends, he was still warm and outgoing. They had worked for him, risked their good names for him, even helped to pay his painfully heavy legal fees. Tsien, for all his anguish, did not fail to recognize their loyalty and take comfort from it.

Occasionally, they all spent a happy evening together, usually when von Kármán came to town. The old man now devoted most of his time to N.A.T.O. and lived all but a few months of each year in Paris. When he came to Pasadena, it was for some whirlwind consultation at Aerojet or Caltech. On these occasions, Tsien saw to it that he was regally entertained. Tsien and Yin sometimes held a party for von Kármán at their house. Other times, Tsien arranged a big Chinese feast at a restaurant in Los Angeles' Chinatown. Throughout Tsien's troubles, von Kármán, like the group at Caltech, remained faithful to his former pupil. As near as their friends could tell, the two men stayed as close as ever. If von Kármán went on in his work without Tsien—as committed as he was to the security of the West—the student bore his master no obvious grudge.

But there was no mistaking now Tsien's attitude toward the United States generally. As time passed, he grew increasingly bitter. No one doubted, after the imprisonment and the hearings and the protracted confinement, that Tsien yearned for the day when he could leave America for good, and, among his friends almost no one blamed him.

But in official circles, there seemed to be only a vague understanding of what his departure would mean and an incomprehensible indifference to doing anything about it. Kimball, who in 1951 rose to Secretary of the Navy, has said that Truman never considered the matter. DuBridge, who in the next Administration became the President's chief scientific adviser, says that Eisenhower had probably never heard of Tsien. Del Guercio thought of Tsien—and proudly does, in retirement today—as a trophy on his wall. The case, facing downstream in a bureaucratic channel, seemed to be swept along on its own, as if no officical with real power could intervene to change its course.

The matter reached its quiet culmination in 1955, a year during which the State Department discreetly negotiated with Peking the exchange of Chinese students and scholars detained in this country for American missionaries, educators and businessmen still held in China. It was also the year in which some American flyers were shot down over China and interned. Whatever secrets Tsien once had stored in his mind were by now believed outdated. Though this outdating in no way impaired his creative genius, of course, it presumably rendered him less dangerous. Almost certainly, Tsien was made part of an unpublicized swap for Americans in China.

On August 4, 1955, Tsien was unceremoniously notified by the Immigration Service that the restraining order on him had been lifted and that he was free to leave. Tsien didn't even bother to ask whether the deportation order was still in effect, and the government didn't volunteer the information. But now he cared no more about sustaining his honor among Americans. He was no longer interested in being free to return to the United States. Tsien wanted to get out. That's all he cared about. On September 17, after making the rounds of his friends at Caltech to say a melancholy good-bye, he, Yin and the two children sailed for the Orient.

Grant Cooper was not so indifferent to the procedures associated with Tsien's release. As the Immigration Service knew, he was committed to appealing the deportation order to the courts, whenever it might become applicable. When it did, Tsien would undoubtedly have blocked the plan—but what mattered to Cooper was that the Immigration Service never notified him, as attorney of record, of the change in Tsien's status. Cooper learned of Tsien's departure in the newspaper and was furious. He rejected the Immigration Service's contention it had "inadvertently" failed to keep him informed.

"To say that I was shocked," he wrote in a letter of protest, ". . . is to put it mildly. If I, as an attorney in any proceeding, were to deal with a client on the opposing side without notice to or consent of the counsel for the opposing side, I would be subject to severe discipline and probably even disbarment—and I do not feel that an agency of the government is in any different position." The Immigration Service duly noted the protest and filed it. Del Guercio and his colleagues were far too pleased with their triumph—however suicidal the implications—to worry about the vain gripe of a deportee's lawyer.

It took no special perception to predict the significance of what Tsien would be doing on his return to China. "We knew he wasn't going back there to grow apples," DuBridge said. Kimball, at Aerojet once again, finds its hard to contain his frustration. "It was the stupidest thing this country ever did," he says, "He was no more a Communist than I was—and we forced him to go."

Certainly the Red Chinese were not naïve about what they were getting. On his arrival in Canton, his first stop on the China mainland, Tsien was greeted enthusiastically by public officials and a delegation of top scientists. At Peking, he was officially welcomed home by the government, wined and dined by the university and deluged with honors by the Academy of Sciences. The Academy, the government's chief scienctific arm, offered him the post of chief of research in applied mechanics. In accepting, Tsien resumed at once the work on propulsion and rocketry which he was doing at Caltech. Now he had, in addition, responsibility for supervising research in these fields throughout the country.

Somewhat surprisingly Tsien did not prove reticent about talking of his American experiences. He gave several interviews for Red Chinese papers, in which he recounted past events with remarkable objectivity and expressed his own emotions with extraordinary restraint. "I will never forget those fair-minded, decent Americans who helped and supported me during my five years of detention in the United States," he said of his Caltech friends. "They, like all ordinary peace-loving Americans, are quite different from the U.S. Government. The actions of the U.S. Government are not their actions. The Chinese people have no ill-feelings toward the American people. We desire to be friends and coexist peacefully." But more astonishing to read in the Peking press was Tsien's denial that he had ever been a Communist or had attempted to smuggle scientific documents out of the United States. One would have believed that self-interest demanded his boasting of having been a Red agent all along, or at least a Red sympathizer.

Before long, however, reports coming out of Red China indicated that Tsien was getting in the ideological swing. In January, 1957, in accepting a major scientific award, he declared that American efforts to keep him from returning home had been a vain effort to undermine the "national defense of the fatherland." Instead of fretting during all those years, he said, he had used his time acquiring knowledge that would be important to China. National defense, he said, had been his dominant thought, until "the diplomatic victory won by China, when I managed to return finally to the embrace of the fatherland." Later that year, Tsien showed a new fondness for political doctrine and declared: "America has an enormous scientific and technical foundation, but it has not brought any great benefits to the people. Which, after all, should we choose, capitalist or socialist leadership? Of course, we can only choose socialist leadership." More recently, Tsien was recorded as saying: "Chairman Mao has taught us how to overcome idealistic and metaphysical errors, how to proceed from reality, how to analyze problems in a comprehensive manner and how to grasp the essence of things. . . . As long as we are able to act in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives, victory will surely belong to us."

Step by step with his ideological development, Tsien advanced politically. Almost from the beginning, he engaged—like most Chinese scientists—in active politics. In 1956, he won several honorific public offices. In 1958, in recognition of his support of Mao in one of the recurring sectarian battles, he was awarded membership in the Communist Party. Later that year, he was elected a deputy from the province of Kwangtung to the National People's Congress, China's nominal legislature, and he was reelected in 1964. Meanwhile, he was expanding his influence within the national scientific hierarchy by acquiring more and more offices in technical societies. Within the past few years, Tsien's public statements indicate that China has been looking to him increasingly for guidance on technological development generally. Still, it is clear that Tsien continues to pursue his own scientific research and there is a suggestion, at least, that politics are for him nothing more than a device—as it apparently is for other Chinese scientists—for buttressing his freedom to achieve his scientific ends.

One of Tsien's old friends at Caltech, musing recently, said: "I sometimes wonder how he's able to get along over there. When he was here, he simply would not compromise. I don't think that's a characteristic that can be changed." Then, reflecting: "But he was always obsessed about doing things for China. I suppose this ideology is nececsary to his job. I believe he feels what he's doing is in China's best interests."

Over at Aerojet the consensus is less well disposed toward Tsien. "I think he's an immoral bastard," said one high official, who knew him well. "I believe we had no right to do what we did to him. He was no Communist when he was here. But that doesn't mean he has the right to sell out. He's lost all my sympathy for turning on us the way he has."

Tsien himself has not helped his old friends to clarify their opinions about him. They haven't received a word from him in years. At first, some of his former colleagues at the jet-propulsion center received Christmas cards, decorated with red stars. In recent years, the only news—apart from an occasional press dispatch originating in China—has come from a sister of Yin's, living in Brussels. No one has ever seen Tsien at a scientific meeting outside China.

This, perhaps, explains why so much effort is still put into interpreting the meaning of two communications from Tsien which have arrived in the years since his departure. The first came on von Kármán's seventy-fifth birthday in 1956, an occasion of great celebration. Tsien was asked for a letter for von Kármán's scrapbook. In precise script he answered:

"On this occasion of your Seventy-fifth Birthday, Dr. von Kármán, what would be the proper words for a greeting? Shall I speak about our happy days together in Pasadena, in your house in Pasadena? No, that would not be proper, for I am not just your friend but, more important, your student. Shall I speak about your great contributions to science and engineering, and wish you will do more in the forthcoming years? No, that would be only a restatement of a world-known fact and a repetition of very common birthday greeting. I wish to say more, to say something which may have a deeper meaning—because you are my respected teacher.

"I presume that at the heart of every sincere scientist the thing that counts is an everlasting contribution to the human society. On this point, Dr. von Kármán, you may not feel as proud as you might feel about your contributions to science and technology. Is it not true that so many of the fruits of your work were used and are being used to manufacture the weapons of destruction, and so seldom were they used for the good of the people? But you really need not think so. For, since I returned to my homeland, I have discovered that there is an entirely different world away from that world of U.S.A., where now lives 900 million people, more than a third of the world population, and where science and technology are actually being used to help for the construction of a happy life. Here everybody works for the common dedicated aim, for they know only by working together can they reach their goal in the shortest possible time. In this world, your work(s), Dr. von Kármán, are treasured, and you are respected as one who through his contributions to science and technology is helping us to achieve a life of comfort, leisure and beauty. May this statement then be my greeting to you on the occasion of your Seventy-fifth Birthday."

No one was quite sure what Tsien was trying to say in the letter. Von Kármán himself was offended by it. He was not so much put off by the political diatribe as by the lack of warmth. He felt that Tsien, whatever the pressures, could somehow have transmitted something of the spirit of their old relationship. But some of von Kármán's friends, who were also friends of Tsien, did not agree that any callousness was intended. They pointed to Tsien's positive phrases. They contended that for a letter written under a totalitarian government, where mail is undoubtedly read by a censor, it was considerate and friendly. They maintained that Tsien, behind a thin veil of propaganda that may have been required of him, was actually trying to say something both kindly and respectful to von Kármán.

Seven years passed before another occasion arose for word from Tsien von Kármán's death, just before his eighty-second birthday. As soon as he heard the news, Tsien wired this message: "I learn with deep regret the passing of Doctor von Kármán, but I believe he, as a brilliant scientist, will live in the hearts of all of us. We can further comfort us by knowing that his scientific contributions will be acknowledged by all countries irrespective of social systems." Once again, Tsien could not resist a bit of ideology—but this time everyone agreed that he had been civil and decent and had said the right things. It hardly mattered, however, since no one heard from Tsien again. With von Kármán's death, Tsien and his friends parted, apparently forever.

Still, at Caltech, Tsien's memory is a real presence. His books sit on the shelves, with his personal inscriptions on the flyleafs. His memos remain in the filing cabinets. His course outlines are still consulted. His brilliant scientific *tours de force* continue to thrill his old collaborators. The evenings with Tsien and Yin, over bowls of rice and cups of tea, do not cease to evoke nostalgia. Most of Tsien's friends, to this day, wish him well in China. They believe that, if things had gone differently, he'd be with them now. They regard his reaction to the events that befell him as human, if not laudable. They wish he were working here now. For, quite apart from the warm friendship they feel for him, they do not fancy having a missile dropped on them—nor would they take comfort if it happened to be from Tsien.

Thanksgiving Day Poem Translated Into Armenian by Rev. Nerses Baboorian, of St. John the Divine Armenian Apostolic Church, Springfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Thanksgiving Day has again come and gone. This holiday when we recount our American blessings and recall our American heritage always has special meaning even during periods of stress and deliberation such as we are experiencing now.

The Reverend Nerses Baboorian, pastor of St. John the Divine Armenian Apostolic Church in Springfield, Mass., has translated the poem "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England," for his parishioners in order to enliven the meaning of Thanksgiving Day.

His Armenian language translation was printed in a recent edition of Hayastaniatz-Yegeghesty, the newspaper of the Armenian diocese with headquarters in New York, and was distributed throughout the world to acquaint Armenians with the meaning of the American Thanksgiving Day observance.

Mr. Speaker, with permission granted I include with my remarks in the Appendix a newspaper story in the Springfield Union on November 23 concerning Father Baboorian's translation and the poem:

LOCAL PRIEST'S TRANSLATION WIDELY READ

To point up the meaning of Thanksgiving Day, a local priest has translated a well known American Thanksgiving poem into the Armenian language and the poem has been distributed to parishioners in all Armenian churches throughout the world.

The Rev. Nerses Baboorian, pastor of St. John the Divine Armenian Apostolic Church, 64 Dresden St., said the poem was printed in English and in Armenian in a recent edition of Hayastaniatz-Yegeghesty, the newspaper of the Armenian Diocese headquartered in New York City, and distributed throughout the world.

The poem, titled "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England," was written by Felicia D. Hemans who died in 1835.

The Rev. Fr. Baboorian said he was very much impressed with the poem and decided to "share it" with his parishioners by translating it into Armenian and having it printed in both languages in the local church publication. It made such an impact that the diocesan headquarters agreed to publish the poem in its official publication for worldwide distribution.

The poem reads as follows:

"The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed;

"And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

"Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the roll of the stirring drums
And the trumpet that sings of fame;

"Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear;
They shook the depths of the desert gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

"Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard, and the sea,
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free.

"The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white wave's foam;
And the rocking pines of the forest roared,—
This was their welcome home.

"There were men with hoary hair
Amid that pilgrim band:—
Why had they come to wither there,
Away from their childhood's land?

"There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow, serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.

"What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine,
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
They sought a faith's pure shrine.

"Ay, call it holy ground
The spot where first they trod;
They have left unstained what there they found—
Freedom to worship God."

The 50th Anniversary of Finland

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday of next week the people of Finland will celebrate the 50th year of nationhood. December 6 marks the day in 1917 when the stalwart Finns freed themselves from domination of the czarists.

The history of the Finns goes back to ancient times and contains large chapters of foreign oppression. Yet the responsible individualism of this people never waned and has manifested itself in these last 50 years in both the internal and international development of the country.

Finland, "the land of a thousand lakes," is known for its hard work, its efforts to assure individual rights, and its fiscal responsibility. Those characteristics have been continued in this country by the thousands of Finns who emigrated to the United States.

During and since World War II Finland has experienced renewed pressure from Russia. Nevertheless, her policy has been one of neutrality and friendship with all peoples, and she has succeeded in maintaining her independence and cordial relations with others. It is fitting that we should recognize Finland's excellent record as a nation and wish her many more illustrious anniversaries. I am happy to support Senate Concurrent Resolution 49.

The Development of an Integrated Treatment Program for Drug Dependence in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, drug addiction is one of the most serious health and social problems in our country today. It is a complex disease that requires complex treatment.

Recently, Lawrence D. Gaughan, administrator of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, delivered a speech at the American Public Welfare, Northeastern Regional Conference. He described the integrated treatment program for drug dependence in Massachusetts.

I think this program is worth examining by my colleagues from all States in the Union. It has accomplished a great deal of good.

I insert Mr. Gaughan's speech in the RECORD at this time:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTEGRATED TREATMENT PROGRAM FOR DRUG DEPENDENCE[1] IN MASSACHUSETTS

(By Lawrence D. Gaughan, Administrator, Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 80 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.)

The treatment program of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board currently consists of three units—an inpatient ward and outpatient clinic at Boston State Hospital, Department of Mental Health; an inpatient ward and outpatient clinic at Massachusetts Correctional Institution, Bridgewater, Department of Correction; and a full-time outpatient service located at 20 Whittier Street, Roxbury, conducted by the Department of Health and Hospitals, City of Boston. An administrative office with a research section is located in downtown Boston at 80 Boylston Street.

The Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts came into existence on January 16, 1964, when Chapter 763, Acts of 1963, became law. This Act authorized the setting up of a Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board consisting of the Commissioners of Public Health, Mental Health, and Correction. The Director of the Youth Service Division was added to the Board in 1966. The Executive Secretary of the Board also functions as Administrator of the total program. This administrative structure offers representation from the four departments most concerned with the panoramic problem of drug dependence and, concurrently, also serves to channel the resources of the four departments into one concerted, coordinated effort. Massachusetts was the third state in the nation to enact progressive legislation for the treatment of drug addicts, being preceded in 1961 by California, and New York in 1962. Massachusetts, however, was the first state to introduce the concept of multiple departmental representation within the administrative structure; i.e., the Board.

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[1] The generic term.

The function of the Board is to establish a program for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts in Massachusetts, and shall further coordinate services and activities of other agencies in the Commonwealth, and of its political subdivisions in the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, and shall cooperate with agencies of the Federal Government in developing and coordinating such a program. The Board is authorized to contract annually with any of the departments represented on the Board in order to locate a treatment center within their jurisdiction. The Board is further authorized to contract annually with a hospital or other institution of a public nature, or a nonprofit corporation to provide the facilities and services necessary for a treatment center.

The major features of the law are the following:

(1) The recognition of drug addiction or dependence as primarily being a disease.

(2) The act defines an addict as one who is so dependent on narcotic drugs that he loses his power of self-control and is thereby a danger to himself and to the public.

(3) The program requires an interdisciplinary function, utilizing physicians, psychiatrists, social workers, sociologists, psychologists, public health educators, and lawyers.

(4) The law provides flexible civil commitment procedures for drug addicts to extend for a period of two years. The commitment period will include hospitalization and community care.

(5) Aftercare: Close and continuing supervision of the addict when he is returned to the community—to include anti-narcotic testing.

(6) A treatment center located in an institution or hospital must meet the following criteria:

(a) It must be physically distinct within the hospital or institution having its own separate offices, ward, and identification.

(b) It must be directed by a physician and staffed with professional personnel trained in treatment and rehabilitation techniques.

(c) The pervading philosophy and motivation of the drug addiction center must be one of rehabilitation and treatment, not merely of a palliative or custodial nature.

The concept to develop an integrated treatment program under the aegis of the Board has its legal basis, specifically, outlined in Section 2 of the Act—"The Board may establish or provide for the establishment of such additional centers as it may deem necessary, and may transfer patients from one rehabilitation center to another as it is deemed advisable."

In the first annual report of the Board (1964–65), a total treatment program was outlined which stated: "Within the treatment program, each center or facility will direct its focus to a specific group of addicts and specialize in developing methods of treatment most appropriate to them. Each facility should supplement the function of the other, all working within a total integrated effort. Inpatient and outpatient facilities located throughout the state will serve to implement this program. This may include inpatient treatment units, outpatient services, halfway houses, sheltered workshops, day care centers, etc." Each treatment unit is to be visible to the public and must be viable and capable of being independent.

The hub of this integrated program is the Board functioning through the administrative office. Since the success of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board program lies in the skillful integration of diversified treatment modalities from both public and non-profit facilities, it is imperative that the Board in its actions and deliberations reflect an image of being positive in outlook, balanced in attitude, and judicious in decision. The Board must also avoid a "one-approach mentality." Ideally, administration assists the treatment units to develop synergistically—supervising them for signs of difficulty or need; providing support, consultative services and research assistance; and, in some instances, additional financial aid to develop new techniques and projects. Equally important is that the administrative office also educates the community in recognizing that the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board is an intensive-care program, not only structured for the purpose of treating addicts, but it also must serve as a catalyst for any other existing drug addiction programs in the state. The Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board cannot function in isolation in working with drug addicts but, of necessity, must have its own program reinforced and supplemented by the programs of other existing community resources. In addition, the administrative office must assume the responsibility for pointing out therapeutic gaps in the total community approach to drug addicts.

Perhaps one of the most important responsibilities of the administrative office is to assist the community to develop an appreciation that since drug depedence is a relapsing disorder, suitable and realistic goals must be set for such a program. The community must accept drug addiction as a chronic illness with repeated remissions and relapses, and expect that addicts may not be able to "get off" drugs immediately, but must be gradually tapered off their habit. The community must recognize gradual abstinence as the first step towards a "cure" rather than demanding instant or immediate total abstinence as prerequisite for work with addicts. With intensive treatment and care, the periods of abstinence can be lengthened and ultimately extended indefinitely.

The Board, through the administrative office, develops rules and regulations relating to the operation and management of the treatment centers. The intent of said rules and regulations is conveyed to the contracting department or hospital through the terms of the annual contract. The budget of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board is structured to be "End-Product Oriented" with major emphasis on achieving objectives in the program. Traditional budgeting methods programmed in terms of standard appropriation categories is not readily adaptable for inter-departmental or inter-service programs. The strongest factor militating against the use of traditional budgeting is the fact that responsibility today for a major program is no longer within the exclusive province of a single department but rather, in varying degrees, is shared by all. This is particularly so with programs that fall within the health, education, and welfare field.

The annual budget is representative of the aggregate planning, programming, and financing of the total number of facilities under contract to the Board. Because of the rapid changes in the development of treatment techniques and modalities in the field of drug dependence, the Board only authorizes contracts with a department or hospital for a period of one year at a time. This allows the Board flexibility and latitude in the diversification of its facilities and saves the Commonwealth heavy expenditures on capital outlay.

Education and Prevention: In 1963 President John F. Kennedy convened a President's Advisory Committee on Drug Addiction and Abuse which recommended the development of extensive programs of education on drug abuse. This action was necessitated by the gross misinformation and misconceptions prevalent in the community at that time concerning the abuse of narcotics and "dangerous drugs."

In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as in many other states, the statute books contain a chapter pertaining to the subjects of instruction for school students including narcotics. Chapter 71, Section 1 of the General Laws of 1921 (as amended St. 1966, Ch. 187) reads—"Maintenance: Double sessions; Subjects of instruction—'In connection with physiology and hygiene instruction as to the effects of alcoholic drinks and of stimulants and narcotics on the human system, and as to tuberculosis and its prevention shall be given to all pupils in all schools under public control, except schools maintained solely for instruction in particular branches'." This statute makes it mandatory that all school systems in Massachusetts educate students to the "effects of stimulants and narcotics." The existence of this statute nullifies the necessity for enacting new legislation on this matter.

Although Chapter 763, Acts of 1963, authorizes the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board to structure educational programs, as far as school students are concerned, we feel that our function should be primarily in the role of acting as consultants to personnel in the educational field and helping to "teach the teachers to teach pupils about drug dependence." The Board has primarily directed its educational and prevention efforts to assisting cities and towns with a high incidence of drug addiction and abuse to develop local prevention programs. By coordinating the potentials and resources of local citizens, civic groups, and service programs, the Board feels effective results can be obtained.

Heavy emphasis is placed on the research role of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board, authorizing specialized research programs on the causes of drug addiction. After a period of two years experience, the role of the centralized research section has gradually evolved into the following generic categories:

(1) To provide administration with facts and statistics necessary for planning and development.

(2) To develop studies and surveys investigating the various aspects of the incidence and distribution of drug dependence in various population and geographic areas.

(3) To coordinate the research activities of the treatment units of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board into a total research posture.

(4) To stimulate the professional staff of treatment units of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board to initiate research efforts, and provide them with technical advice, assistance, and consultation.

(5) To set up research instruments to evaluate the effectiveness of the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board program and its various treatment techniques and modalities.

(6) To keep informed of any major research activities in Massachusetts and in the country; collecting and maintaining research material on drug dependence; and, providing interested professional groups and research bodies with information and consultative services.

The following considerations were developed in order to assist the Board in the selection of locations for treatment units. It was appreciated that all treatment and rehabilitation programs currently in existence in the United States at the present time are still very much in the developmental stage and that said considerations should appreciate this fact.

Under Chapter 763, Acts of 1963, the Board was authorized, as before-mentioned, to locate treatment facilities either in a state-supported institution, a municipal hospital, or a non-profit hospital—

(1) Therefore, for purposes of experimentation and research, treatment units should be "tested out" in each of the above-mentioned categories.

(2) Treatment units in each of these categories would enhance the diversification of services offered the drug addict population, also, each facility would have peculiar advantages to specific types of addicts.

(3) Institutions or hospitals that had demonstrated motivation and interest in the drug addict problem and had accrued some familiarity with said population would be high on the priority list for selection.

(4) The geographical location ,of an institution or hospital was to be considered, synchronizing the function of the unit with that of its immediate locale. As a program sponsored by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it is necessary to provide statewide coverage. Although a national trend is gradually emerging of locating detoxification wards, halfway houses and aftercare facilities in urban areas, and facilities servicing long-term patients in rural areas, each state must develop its treatment posture in terms of the peculiarities of its own drug addict population.

(5) Institutions located in rural areas customarily have less of a contraband problem than those located in urban areas where drugs are more in evidence and can be smuggled into "closed wards."

(6) Affiliation of a hospital or institution with a medical school, university or college must also be considered when locating a treatment unit.

An important factor in the selection of these three sites was that each of the three parent institutions had recently undergone, or was in the process of undergoing, a reorganization effecting the escalation of their treatment standards and modalities. The Board was anxious to have the treatment units identified with other new or recently reorganized institutions reflecting growth potential.

The first Drug Addiction Treatment Center and Outpatient Clinic was officially opened on November 9, 1964, at Boston State Hospital, Mattapan, Massachusetts. This hospital was selected as the site for the first Drug Addiction Treatment Center because it met many of the afore-mentioned criteria—specifically, the geographical location of the hospital was excellent, being readily accessible to addicts residing in the Boston area and immediately available to public transportation. The unit was to be part of the total program offered at Boston State Hospital, consisting of medical services, laboratory facilities, intra-hospital vocational opportunities, twenty-four-hour chaplain service for the three major faiths, and is also equipped to handle emergency cases. Additionally, the hospital was an experimentally-oriented hospital providing students and researchers with a stimulating and educational environment. The hospital is also affiliated with Tufts Medical School and works in close conjunction with local universities and colleges.

The role of this first treatment unit was to function as an intensive-care program emphasizing civil commitment and voluntary admission procedures for persons having a problem of drug dependence. The program offered an outpatient clinic and an extensive aftercare program. Patients at the unit were to be accepted from a cross-section of the population of the Commonwealth in order that the staff gain experience from patients representative of all strata of society. After sufficient experimentation and research, the treatment techniques, methodology, and modalities developed at the unit were to be broadly applied in the community through the additional programs sponsored by other treatment units.

Expansion of the existing facilities at Boston State Hospital has just been completed as of June 1, 1967, providing more bed space and larger outpatient facilities. This will allow the treatment unit to utilize one ward exclusively for detoxification and intensive care when the addict is experiencing withdrawal. After three or four weeks when withdrawal is completed, the patient can then be transferred to a "night hospital" ward where he can still receive close supervision and control, but his condition will not necessitate intensive care. The length of hospitalization of a patient at Boston State Hospital varies with different individuals and most patients would be placed on a "night hospital" basis for a period of several months prior to their complete return to the community. This means the patient is allowed ground privileges or, in some instances, will leave the grounds possibly to be employed during the day. He will be encouraged to function normally in the community with the exception that he must return to the hospital in the evening. Supervision and control of the addict during his "night hospital" phase offers him an opportunity to be gradually eased into the mainstream of community life. It further allows him the oportunity to confer with nurses and other professional help during the evening, and to exchange experiences with someone who is sympathetic to him and his problem.

In the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Narcotic and Drug Abuse of 1963, it was recommended that, under ideal conditions, a treatment unit for drug addicts should be located either in a general hospital under the supervision of a psychiatric staff, or in a mental hospital. In setting up the treatment unit at Boston City Hospital on September 1, 1966, the Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Board was working toward the ideal. It was decided, however, that we would initially open the treatment unit solely for outpatient services. The placement of a treatment unit in a general hospital was to evaluate the role and rehabilitative potential of such a clinic when geographically located in an urban area with a high incidence of drug addiction, and to offer an addict an opportunity to secure treatment services voluntarily at an early stage of his illness.

The clinic, which is open eight hours a day, five days a week, offers the addict a pervasive atmosphere of acceptance and understanding. Services at the clinic are to provide a general medical assessment of the addict, a psychological assessment to be made by a psychiatrist and, if indicated, to be followed by periodic psycho-therapeutic sessions.

The clinic works actively with other community resources; including police, courts, hospitals, social agencies, etc. The clinic is presently staffed by a full-time psychiatrist, two full-time drug addiction counselors, a half-time psychologist, a medical secretary, and an attendant.

The placement of the unit at Boston City Hospital was further decided on the basis of the recent reorganization merging the Boston City Hospital and the Boston Public Health Department. Identification of the Drug Rehabilitation Board Unit with this recently merged organization also realized an affiliation with two medical schools—Harvard Medical School and Tufts Medical School.

Young male patients ranging in age from 18 to 22 customarily need a longer period of "drying out" than the usual addict. This type of patient has presented, on occasion, difficult and disruptive behavior at the treatment unit located at Boston State Hospital. It became obvious that the needs of these young, aggressive males demand that they be placed in a facility which was equipped to handle their difficult behavior but, yet, be of sufficient size that hospitalization of the patient can be maintained for an extended period of time.

In order to treat this type of addict, the Board, on January 17, 1967, opened a treatment unit at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Bridgewater, a facility that is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Correction but conducted in conjunction with the Department of Mental Health. This institution is currently in the process of undergoing a total reorganization in order to improve patient care. The treatment program at this facility is well structured, consisting of individual counseling, weekly group therapy meetings and the development of a work program. Since this unit is only eight months old, much remains to be accomplished. At the present time we are in the process of setting up educational and vocational training programs since many of the addicts hospitalized there are school dropouts. The unit is to remain small—25 patients is the maximum due to the difficult pathology of the patients. Close contact with the families of the addict are maintained by the social worker at the unit and every attempt is made toward total family involvement and total family therapy. This unit has also served to reinforce the existing program at Boston State Hospital and Boston City Hospital by making available to them a facility they can utilize for patients who are management problems. With this type of patient, after a period of hospitalization at the unit at Bridgewater they can be returned to the minimum security at Boston State Hospital where they can be helped to adjust to community life under close supervision.

This brief presentation has attempted to outline the existing treatment program for persons with a problem of drug dependence in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Many of the aspects of the program have not been covered in this paper. The program needs further implementation in terms of additional treatment units, particularly in the western part of the state. We do feel, however, that we have set up in Massachusetts a skeleton organizational structure that will allow for a variety of inventive ways to help persons with a problem of drug dependence. We already have reason for optimism about the results of these different treatment modalities with drug dependent persons. Our commitment to any of these treatment approaches, however, is not one of slavish acceptance. In the future, as in the past, we will continue to exercise our imagination and critical ability to develop even more effective programs.

Sagging Mailbag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, in my comments last week on the Christmas mail rush and the extensive preparations made by the Post Office Department to handle it, I called on the public to cooperate by mailing early this holiday season.

Even before I made my appeal, the Buffalo Evening News in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., had led the way by urging its readers to do just that.

Not only did the News emphasize the need for early Christmas mailing, but it also made some very cogent observations about our present postal situation.

With permission, I submit the text of the News editorial of November 18:

Sagging Mail Bag

One reason the Post Office must ask Americans again this year to mail their Christmas cards and packages early is that—figuratively speaking—the postman's legs are buckling under the weight of his mail bag.

Now at 82 million pieces annually, the volume of mail has more than doubled in 20 years, equal half the world's total and seems destined to top 100 billion pieces by 1976.

Yet the system responsible for handling this soaring volume is often archaic. The vast majority (90 per cent) of federally owned office space was built in the 1930s or earlier. Many postal operations are 30 years behind current technology, according to Postmaster General O'Brien. And despite advances made with the ZIP code, the sorting of most mail is still a peek-and-poke operation alongside rows and rows of pigeon holes.

"Unless we face up to the need for quick and far-reaching changes," Mr. O'Brien said recently, "our postal service may collapse under the weight of the fast-growing demands heaped upon it."

With deterioration so prevalent, it's not surprising that the post office reacts to the challenge of delivering a record nine-billion pieces of mail by Christmas a bit like Santa on his big night: with great longing to get an early start.

For the long run, the department has a new Bureau of Research and Engineering, headed by former Buffalonian Dr. Leo Packer, to design the most appropriate types of modernization. But this large investment must be phased over the years. Meanwhile, most Americans had still better heed those plaintive post office pleas to "mail your Christmas cards early this year!"

McCarthyism Used To Shield Subversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the Congressional Record of November 7, 1967, and again in the Appendix of the Record of November 21, I quoted articles dealing with subversion in high echelons of our Government and the modus operandi of the individuals and agencies concerned.

The facts presented in those articles require investigation by authorized committees of the Congress with the spotlight of full publicity—a procedure that will undoubtedly evoke a cry of persecution as an emotional shield to protect those under investigation.

A most enlightening article by Frederick Nelson on how such smear weapons—as used by subversives in the Philby case—was published in the November 25, 1967, issue of Human Events, a weekly newspaper of Washington, D.C.

As the article should be of interest to all Members of the Congress, especially those on investigating committees, I quote it as part of my remarks:

How Cries of "McCarthyism" Aided Philby

(By Frederic Nelson)

Back in 1953 Rebecca West did a pair of articles for the London *Sunday Times* in which she sought to inform the British public that all the talk they had been hearing of how the U.S.A. was in the grip of hysteria in the course of which "people of liberal opinions are dragged before inquisitorial committees to be defamed and insulted on the unsupported evidence of informers of the lowest character," was a lot of bilge.

In the course of her article Miss West reviewed the successes which the Communists had had in penetrating the American "power structure," and then raised the question: Why do people in America and Britain denounce those who seek to expose the Communists as "witch hunters"?

Miss West's answer was this: "The immediate reason is the hypnotic power of the word "McCarthyism": the belief that the United States is at present practically governed by a dictator named Joe McCarthy, that he invented and controls the investigations and uses them as the instruments of his tyranny."

Miss West went on to demonstrate the absurdity of this myth and added that the myth has been of tremendous use to the Communists, for one reason because it caused a large section of the public to "regard persons called before the committees as delicate Davids braving a gross Goliath, and such of them as were Communists would get the benefit of the doubt."

Despite Miss West's thoughtful analysis—to say nothing of what those of us who "lived through McCarthyism" could see with our own eyes—the myth is still routine doctrine among liberals and is taken seriously by too many others who ought to know better.

It is no surprise to find Archibald MacLeish blasting off with the plain fabrication that in the "McCarthy era" to dedicate a public library was "an act of defiance and protest—defiance not of a demagogue in Congress alone, but of the whole miasma of suspicion and censorship he had let loose on the country." This is the kind of fiction which liberals feed each other.

More disturbing is to find a careful historian like A. L. Rowse in *The Churchills* comparing the anti-Papist hysteria in 17th Century England to "that which the United States experienced under McCarthy." However, in the American edition of the book the phrase "under McCarthy" is changed to "a short while ago," and Mr. Rowse concedes that "there was a certain amount of justification for this fear."

And how! Now we have the Philby case, and with it the revelation that the belief in "McCarthyism" is not just something to argue about with liberals, but, as Miss West predicted, a weapon which the Communists have used most effectively in their effort to paralyze the will of the anti-Communist West.

Who doesn't recall the obscene performances of liberal columnists doing their best to be "persecuted" by Sen. McCarthy in order to pose as heroic fighters in the battle for free speech? But how many of us then recognized these exhibitionists as instruments, willing or deluded, in the Communist plan to blunt public authority in its far from determined effort to thwart the conspiracy?

The extent of the damage caused and the number of lives lost because of the success of Soviet agent Harold Philby in worming his way to the top in British intelligence may never be fully known. Through the virtually unimpeded operations of Philby, George Blake and the two dipsodiplomats Burgess and McLean, the Soviet apparatus doubtless possesses an impressive dossier on Western anti-Red activity, supposedly "secret" and otherwise.

We do not know, of course, how many other Communist agents and their local subordinates have managed to carry on without interference because government officialdom has been hesitant to act lest the cry of "McCarthyism!" be raised.

In Great Britain, the former Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan used McCarthyism to explain the outcry against Philby, after our own CIA had tipped off the British on Philby's activities. This was as early as 1955, but Mr. Macmillan fatuously dismissed the matter with the statement that there was "no reason to conclude that Mr. Philby had at any time betrayed the interests of this country."

Old Boy network? Well, Philby and Macmillan are both "public school" Old Boys, but the more probable answer is the same one that Mr. Macmillan gave in another crisis over a suspected spy (Vassall): fear of being sneered at as a McCarthyite. As Peter Simple of the London *Telegraph* put it, "the word McCarthyism [has] the paralyzing effect of nerve gas."

It is indeed a shocking indictment of liberalism that its major contribution to "social advance" was to hand the Communist conspirators a defensive weapon probably more potent than the 5th Amendment's provision against self-incrimination.

The fiction of "McCarthyism," which deluded even some of Joe McCarthy's colleagues in the Senate, has become a sort of Terror operating against anybody in public life, or in the press and education system, who undertook to expose or frustrate the Communist drive to take over the world.

It has been, as Miss West wrote 14 years ago, "much easier, much more popular, much safer, to follow the middle-class fashion of today and repeat what may or may not be true, but is certainly irrevelant: that we are all much superior to Sen. McCarthy."

It's all pretty humiliating, but Americans have a distaste for being "had" twice and we may be fortunate enough to experience a New Wave of McCarthyism. Should that happen, the Communists might conceivably find their erstwhile liberal errand boys really terrified, this time terrified enough to refuse to pull more Communist chestnuts out of the fire. Or is that just too naive?

The M–16 Rifle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Brig. Gen. S. L. A. Marshall recently wrote an article which appeared in the New York Post which takes note of the M–16 rifle in the war, and the congressional study and report it provoked. His article adds much useful background to the discussion and should be available to the Members in providing perspective to their analysis. I offer it for the Record:

M–16 Criticism Called Superficial

(By Brig. Gen. S. L. A. Marshall)

Following a battle, American combat forces do not systematically collect and analyze the data on how small arms have functioned.

The fact is that they have never done so. The death of dependable data on this subject is not more conspicuous in Vietnam than was the case in Korea or in France during either World War.

Artillerymen, on the other hand, insist on knowing. Any failure is a major event requiring searching investigation and conclusive findings. The experts take over and determine whether it was the fuse, the round, the piece itself or human error at the scene that did the damage.

To fault infantrymen for being less concerned about how their weapons perform would be unjust. The fact is that the average junior leader is so overloaded with post-combat problems of a more pressing nature that he doesn't have time to check out weapons performance and methodically report it to higher levels. All he knows about it he learns spottily because now and then a rifleman or gunner happens to complain.

Our average line fighter is more likely to be ashamed that his weapon failed in the heat of action than so indignant that he will report it. Tending to blame himself most of the time, he is right about half of the time.

Due to this lack of system, when in time of war the characteristics of a basic weapon, such as the M–16 rifle now in use in Vietnam, are brought into question, much of what is said in its favor and still more what is said in condemnation, is strictly hearsay. Opinions, whether that of the users or of the experts, are substituted for data.

This is true of the lurid stories about the faults and virtues of the M–16 now appearing in the press. It applies to the more than 600-page report by the special subcommittee of Congress that investigated the M–16 programs. Published several weeks ago, that indictment of the weapon, which charges that the Army was gravely negligent in administering the programs, gave the impulse to the renewed attack on the rifle in the public prints.

There is much solid and sensational stuff in the report. Not less noteworthy are the voids and omissions. Some negative characteristics of the M–16 as a military arm are overlooked altogether. Where the report deals with user experience during combat in Vietnam, there is a painful substitution of hearsay and some spot checking for careful collection of hard evidence across the board.

The data was available. The Congressmen did not dig hard enough. How the M–16 performed through all but one major campaign in 1966 and the early winter of 1967, and approximately 40 battalion-size or patrol actions, is on record. Where and why weapons failed is also known.

For example, in the fight last Dec. 26, all M–16s within two infantry companies from the 1st Cavalry Division failed. However, that was a special situation due to a storm. Nearly all of the machine guns also malfunctioned, as did most service pistols.

In operation Paul Revere IV along the Cambodian border in early December, within three rifle companies of the 4th Infantry Division there was 25 to 30 per cent failure of the M–16. The weather was not unusually inclement. These units did not have cleaning kits for the M–16s at the time and commanders tended to believe that with their arrival the problem would work itself out.

On the other hand, the record also shows that throughout the big battles of the 1966 summer, during the southwest monsoon, the performance of the M–16 in the central highlands was almost beyond faulting. Troops rated the weapon wholly reliable.

Radiation Legislation: Important for the Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, overwhelming support for H.R. 10790, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1967, did not ionize with the conclusion of hearings in October. On the contrary, I have received correspondence expressing support and the need for this legislation from many distinguished representatives of the scientific community, and several notable organizations as well. And this is not to mention the volume I have received from concerned individuals throughout the country.

I would like to take the privilege of inserting in the RECORD but one of these letters of support, Mr. Speaker. It is from Walter S. Snyder, president of the Health Physics Society.

The letter is as follows:

HEALTH PHYSICS SOCIETY,
November 16, 1967.

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to you as President of the Health Physics Society to express the support of that Society for House of Representatives Bill H.R. 10709. The Health Physics Society has approximately 3000 members who are, for the most part, engaged in radiation protection as a profession, either full or part time, and is thus the organization most representative of the views of the profession. The Board of Directors of the Society recently considered the above Bill and agree that its objectives and the implementation the Bill provides for them are timely and important for the public health and urge the prompt enactment of the Bill.

Very truly yours,
WALTER S. SNYDER,
President.

To Breathe Without Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post observed last week, after President Johnson signed the Air Quality Act of 1967, that for the first time America has a comprehensive plan for setting and enforcing standards for clean air.

Progress now depends, as the Post says, "on how seriously the States take the new duties the new law gives them, and how vigorously the Federal Government pushes States which lag."

I want to emphasize the steps which will be taken under the new law:

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will define the atmospheric areas of the Nation and will outline air quality control regions.

Air quality standards will be developed and applied on a regional basis. Each State will be expected to develop standards for its portion of the region.

If a State fails to establish standards, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will see to it that standards are set. A hearing board's decision will be binding.

States will be expected to assume the primary responsibility for applying the air quality standards. If they do not, the Secretary can begin abatement action.

Mr. Speaker, the President has declared the American people have a "right to air that they and their children can breathe without fear." The Post editorial supports his stand:

TO BREATHE WITHOUT FEAR

The Air Quality Act of 1967 gives the country, for the first time, a comprehensive plan for setting and enforcing standards for clean air. In theory this is a great advance. Whether it is also an advance in practice will depend on how seriously the states take the duties the new law gives them, and how vigorously the Federal Government pushes states which lag.

The standards refer to "ambient air quality"—the over-all level of pollution—in a given intrastate region. It would have been far better to have the industry-by-industry "emission standards" which the Administration sought. These would have allowed pinpointing of pollution responsibility. But Federal officials now have authority to define regional airsheds and, in a pollution emergency such as that which struck New York last Thanksgiving, to restrict industry and travel within a region.

Of the $362 million newly authorized, $125 million is explicitly for research. A citizen who looks at filthy waste belching from a smokestack may wonder whether "research" is not a euphemism for irresponsibility. The fact, however, is that the technology of measurement and control is still deficient.

Much can be done through research, public pressure and industry awareness to decontaminate air. Sooner or later, however, the problem becomes economic. Public policy has yet to be set on how the polluter and the public should split the expense. Water pollution is easier in this regard; much of it is due to municipal waste and Washington can help attack it, as it has, by Federal grants to municipalities. But the country is not ready to authorize Federal grants to, say, Pepco, a noted local air polluter. Federal aid for incinerators and landfills would help but private pollution would remain. Tax incentives may be one answer; it has been inadequately explored.

Meanwhile there is the danger that Congress will not appropriate the full amount authorized for cleaner air and that the Budget Bureau will not approve the spending of all appropriated funds. The latter menace is greater. The Budget Bureau should recall one particularly notable expression of the American people's "right to air that they and their children can breathe without fear."

The speaker: President Johnson.

Preserving Our Nation's Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, the preservation of the Nation's valuable natural resources for future generations is a subject to which Congress has and must continue to devote more attention.

Whether it be a national seashore—or the preservation of the redwoods—or the valuable coastal wetlands of Long Island—our remaining natural recreation and conservation areas must be preserved in perpetuity for the benefit of the people. The people must be protected from the ever-present temptation to reap profits through the destruction of these valuable natural resources.

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has made a significant contribution to the achievement of this goal by reporting H.R. 25 to study and preserve the Nation's estuarine areas.

This bill, which I was privileged to cosponsor with our distinguished colleague from Michigan, the Honorable JOHN DINGELL, authorizes a 2-year, $1 million inventory and study of the Nation's estuaries. The bill further authorizes the Secretary of Interior to enter into an agreement with the State of New York and local governments to manage and preserve 16,000 acres of wetlands on the south shore of Long Island.

The importance of this legislation as it affects Long Island's natural resources is in the development of a new concept—that of cooperative management agreements—strictly voluntary—rather than by the Federal acquisition of lands already in public ownership.

There should be no need to expend Federal funds to acquire lands for conservation purposes when such land is owned by a State or political subdivision. H.R. 25 as reported authorized and enables the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with the State of New York and local governments in an attempt to reach agreement on the permanent preservation and management of these valuable wetlands. Nothing in the legislation compels the State or local governments to enter into such an agreement. I want to make it crystal clear that there is no element of Federal control involved in the legislation.

The importance of Long Island's wet lands has been outlined in great detail during committee hearings held in 1966 and again in 1967. The need to preserve them is clear. The Interior Department, in a joint study with the New York State Conservation Department of the Long Island coastal wet lands, 1961, called the then remaining 16,000 acres "the most important" wetlands area in the North Atlantic States. Because of the extensive studies heretofore made with respect to the Long Island coastal wetlands area—an exception was made in the legislation.

In order to determine the feasibility of authorizing preservation agreements in other areas of the Nation, H.R. 25 authorizes an inventory and study of the Nation's estuaries thus it will be possible to select those most appropriate for permanent protection. The Secretary of the Interior is instructed to report to the Congress in January 1970 by which time the results of other studies and recommendations for additional areas will be available.

I call to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial which appeared in the New York Times, November 15, 1967. I place the text of the editorial in the RECORD at this point for the information of my colleagues:

THE LAST WORD

The bays, estuaries and coastal wetlands where the fresh waters of a river meet the tides of the sea were once crucial in the evolution of man. For other species, they are still the survival zone. Here nearly two-thirds of the nation's commercially valuable finfish and shellfish spawn. Here are found oysters, shrimp, clams and crabs. And here water birds live and migratory birds rest on their journeys.

Human beings, forgetful of their own past and heedless of the welfare of other species, think of swamps and marshes as wastelands. They mistakenly believe that oceans and rivers can absorb an infinite amount of abuse. So it is that they pollute the waters and destroy estuaries and adjoining wetlands by dredging and filling.

The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries is now considering a bill by Representative Dingell of Michigan to authorize an inventory of the nation's estuarine areas by the Interior Department.

Originally, his bill was more ambitious. It Included a requirement that those seeking to dredge or fill would have to obtain a permit from the Secretary of the Interior. But the sand and gravel companies, the real estate developers and the Rivers and Harbors Congress mounted a successful lobbying campaign to insure that their perennial ally, the Army Corps of Engineers, will retain the final power of decision.

Despite this drastic downward revision in subcommittee, the bill is still of some value. It authorizes the first comprehensive study of estuaries. Where wetlands are already under local public control, as in parts of the southern coast of Long Island, a provision sponsored by Representative Tenzer of New York would enable the Secretary of the Interior to provide Federal administration if the localities agreed. Federal supervision is the most effective barrier against pressures by the developers on village and town officials.

As the public comes to understand better the unique value of estuaries and coastal wetlands, the time draws nearer when long-term ecology rather than short-term economic interests have the last word on this significant part of man's environment.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 25 will be brought to the House floor under a suspension of the rules on December 4, 1967. Last year a more controversial version of the legislation narrowly missed passage under a suspension of the rules when 208 Members voted in favor of the bill and 108 voted against the measure. See the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 3, 1966, page 23909.

The present bill, H.R. 25, omits all references to a veto over the Army Corps of Engineers and requires further congressional approval before other estuarine areas of the Nation may be made the subject of management agreements.

The Interior Department has requested passage of H.R. 25 and the Bureau of the Budget has expressed no objection to the legislation. I urge my colleagues in the House to review H.R. 25 as reported and to add their support to this measure.

Democratic National Committee Deputy Chairman Address to Mississippi Young Democrats

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, the able and distinguished deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. Louis Martin, recently addressed a group of Young Democrats in Mississippi.

Mr. Martin's political skill coupled with a lifelong concern with the rights of Negroes and other minorities in America is well known in the ranks of the Democratic Party. His speech in Mississippi centered on the very important matter of giving all minorities both the equal right and full opportunity to participate in Democratic politics throughout the country.

Under unanimous consent I insert into the RECORD Mr. Martin's very timely address to the Mississippi Young Democrats, and urge that it be heeded by all Democrats, of all ages, throughout these United States:

REMARKS BY LOUIS MARTIN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AT THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI, JACKSON, MISS., SEPTEMBER 29, 1967

It is a great honor for me to be invited to participate in your deliberations. I am happy to be here and to bring you greetings from the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, John Bailey, and his associates in Washington.

We have been thrilled and excited by what we have heard of the work of the Young Democrats of Mississippi in recent months. You are not only dreaming about a new and better day—and dreaming is important—but you are coming to grips with realities. You are hard at work—working to make democracy and the true American way of life meaningful to all citizens without regard to race or color.

The American genius is being tested today as it was in the middle of the last century by the problem of the relationship between the races. This testing is not sectional but nation-wide. I do not need to review the events of this summer nor dwell on the depth and magnitude of the problems we face.

Despite all the storm-clouds and pessimism, I believe that if I as a Negro could choose a time to be born, this is the most promising and propitious moment. We have a national Government under the leadership of the greatest Southerner in American history, President Lyndon Baines Johnson. Lincoln emancipated Negroes by proclamation but Johnson is emancipating Negroes and Whites in fact from the enslavement of dead ideas, dead concepts and a dead past.

Last Friday in the White House, President Johnson told a group of nationality leaders that all our efforts have been toward one end: "To free men from tyrants who seek to control them. Some tyrants are political; and we take up arms against them. But there are other tyrants: ignorance—ill health—poverty—and discrimination. Each of these has the power to enslave. Each must be fought by a decent society. Each can and will be overcome. We have a tremendous confidence in ourselves—in our capacity to surmount any obstacles—remove any injustice, settle any issue."

Let us focus for a moment on one issue which touches us directly as Democrats and which we must settle. The headline story of the 1964 Convention in Atlantic City revolved around the seating of delegates from Mississippi. As a result of that contest the Democratic National Committee was given a clear mandate, racial barriers to full participation in party affairs at every level must be abolished.

To this end on July 26 this year Governor Richard Hughes, Chairman of our Special Equal Rights Committee, addressed a letter and memorandum to all party chairmen in all the states. The Governor wrote: "The Committee interprets its mandate as insuring an equal opportunity to participate in Party affairs for all Democrats of all States regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. While the Committee has agreed that a quota system for delegations is not feasible in practice, it is determined to make certain that all delegations to the 1968 Democratic National Convention are broadly representative of the Democrats of the State. In the event that there should be violation of the 1964 resolution by the Party of any State, this Committee will recommend that the Credentials Committee declare the seats to be vacant and fill those seats with a delegation broadly representative of the Democrats of that State."

Attached to the letter, Governor Hughes sent the following memorandum which he described as, "Some basic elements in enabling voter participation in Party affairs."

"1. All public meetings at all levels of the Democratic Party in each State should be open to all members of the Democratic Party regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

"2. No test for membership in, nor any oaths of loyalty to, the Democratic Party in any State should be required or used which has the effect of requiring prospective or current members of the Democratic Party to acquiesce in, condone or support discrimination on the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin.

"3. The time and place for all public meetings of the Democratic Party on all levels should be publicized fully and in such a manner as to assure timely notice to all interested persons. Such meetings must be held in places accessible to all Party members and large enough to accommodate all interested parties.

"4. The Democratic Party, on all levels, should support the broadest possible registration without discrimination on grounds of race, color, creed or national origin.

"5. The Democratic Party in each state should publicize fully and in such manner as to assure notice to all interested parties a full description of the legal and practical procedures for selection of Democratic Party officers and representatives on all levels. Publication of these procedures should be done in such fashion that all prospective and current members of each state Democratic Party will be fully and adequately informed of the pertinent procedures in time to participate in each selection procedure at all levels of the Democratic Party organization.

"6. The Democratic Party in each State should publicize fully and in such manner as to assure notice to all interested parties a complete description of the legal and practical qualifications for all officers and representatives of the State Democratic Party. Such publication should be done in timely fashion so that all prospective candidates or applicants for any elected or appointed position within each State Democratic Party will have full and adequate opportunity to compete for office."

We intend to carry out the mandate of the 1964 Convention.

We cannot, however, perform the most important function of all—the participation of citizens in the Democratic process—because that is up to you. No matter how many committees are set up—no matter how many guide-lines are established—and no matter how many statements are issued and well-intentioned pronouncements are made—it will all be to no avail if you fail to meet the most important challenge of all—participation and organization. It is here—in Mississippi—that the fight to end injustice, discrimination, and oppression must be won—and you are the only people that can win it.

The time has come when the black man can no longer tolerate and endure the yoke of second class citizenship—and the white man who dares to speak out against injustice will no longer suffer the scorn and intimidation of bigots and racists. Together you can bring a new day to Mississippi—a day in which all men—regardless of race, creed, color or station in life—can enjoy the sunshine of freedom—and you can take pride in the role you have played in the realization of that day.

I have followed with great interest the activities of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi—and helped when and where I could. I am greatly encouraged by what I have seen here today. I can remember the day, not to long ago, when men like Aaron Henry, Medgar Evers, Charles Evers, James Silver and Hodding Carter stood virtually alone—and now—to see what you are doing—brings a feeling of pride and hope beyond my fondest dreams.

I know that you will be equal to the great challenge that is yours—and I know that your accomplishments will light the way and open the door for many generations to come in Mississippi and throughout the South. I only hope that you will keep your eyes and your hearts and your minds on the larger goals which are so important to the future of not only your State and your region, but indeed to the entire nation.

Do not let internal strife split your ranks and dampen your spirits—and don't substitute the politics of personalities for the politics of reason and conviction. You will find that forces of all kinds, both internal and external, will seek to divide you, to dissuade you, to buy you, to intimidate you, and to diminish your effectiveness. The next few years, will be a time of testing for all of you, both individually and as a political organization. You must meet that test with resolution and dedication—always remembering that in unity there is strength. You must seek to expand your numbers—to attract new voices to your cause—and to keep your doors open to all those who see that great new day dawning in Mississippi—and who want to be part of it. Black men have had the door to the councils of leadership and decision too long closed in their face, to indulge in the same kind of thing. You are organizing in order to open that door—or, if necessary—to kick it down—for all time to come. Let no man—Black or White—ever close that door again. Serve notice on your fellow citizens that all men are welcome in the councils of this Party—and that the criteria upon which all will be judged and leadership chosen—will be on the basis of ability and reason and conviction and justice. What you are building must be a lasting thing—built on a solid foundation—not on prejudice or greed or revenge or fear or intimidations. When you leave this convention—leave it with a sense of pride and unity—keeping in mind the larger goal—the establishment of a new political system which will endure and in which and through which the voices of all the people—Black *and* White—can and will be heard and heeded.

Speak with one voice, one heart, and one mind—and tell your brothers and sisters—Black *and* White—in the Delta and on the Gulf Coast—in the Piney Woods and in the cities and towns—that a new day is coming in Mississippi—and the time has come to join up, sign up, register, and vote—and the time has come to be heard

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Abba Eban: The Voice of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial containing excerpts from the address at the United Nations on November 13, 1967, of Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister, reaffirms Israel's commitment to peace and justice.

I commend Mr. Eban's words to the attention of our colleagues as they appeared in the November 16, 1967, edition of the American Examiner.

The editorial follows:

THE VOICE OF ISRAEL

On Monday morning of this week the voice of Israel resounded mightily in the Security Council re-echoing throughout the globe and men of truth and justice everywhere certainly couldn't fail to be strongly impressed by its ringing tone of righteous indignation.

It clearly exposed the Big Lie so insidiously expounded by the so-called champions of peace.

Foreign Minister Abba Eban spoke at length, every word a gem. The American Examiner finds it fitting to turn this editorial section over to a portion of his eloquent address:

UAR RESPONSIBILITY

There has never been an aggressive war for which responsibility is more explicit and unmistakable than the UAR's responsibility for this recent war.

The representative of the United Arab Republic has told you none of this. His Government now comes here saturated with war guilt, heavy with responsibility for nineteen years of purposeful aggression to lay complaint and accusation against Israel.

What is the Egyptian Foreign Minister's complaint against Israel? His complaint is that Israel energetically refused to be destroyed. What is his proposal? His proposal is that Israel put herself in the position most congenial for the next attempt to destroy her. What is his purpose? His purpose is to refuse negotiation and agreement. To the offense of making war, Cairo adds the offense of refusing peace: For this refusal, the United Arab Republic seeks the Security Council's sanction.

ISRAEL HAS NOT FORGOTTEN

But the dramatic facts which the UAR delegate has wantonly suppressed are not forgotten in Israel. They will never be forgotten there. A new dimension has been added to the national memory, and the exploration of it will long continue. Our nation still lives intimately with the peril and solitude which afflicted it in those agonizing weeks. We still remember the cold horror which that peril evoked in world opinion. We still recall how the imminent extinction of Israel's statehood and the massacre of its population were discussed in wild intoxication of spirit in every Arab capital—and with tormented but impotent sorrow in other lands. We take unbounded pride in the six days of resistance by which the danger was gloriously overcome. And we remember the heavy price exacted in death and bereavement, in mutilation and anguish and suffering.

NO RETURN TO OLD FRONTIERS

These are our memories. I evoke them here in vehement rejection of the attempt by the Egyptian representative to wash his hands clean of his government's sustained aggression against the security of Israel and the peace of the Middle East. I recall them also because these memories lie at the heart and center of Israel's policy today. If you ignore our memories, you cannot understand our policy. That policy can be expressed in a single sentence. It is our firm resolve never, never to return to the danger and vulnerability from which we have emerged. This resolve will prevail over every other consideration. To avoid a return to any of the conditions which prevailed on June 4 is a supreme national purpose, worthy of every effort and any consequence.

THE BIG LIE

In their speeches to the Security Council on November 9, the Soviet and Egyptian delegates sought to persuade the Security Council of two things: First; that Israel's refusal to be strangled and bludgeoned to death was an act of "aggression"; Second; that the way to get peace in the Middle East is to reproduce the precise conditions which brought about the war.

These are the only two ideas which the Soviet and Arab delegates have expressed during the long discussions of the summer and autumn months. There is not a single grain of truth in either of them.

The Gold Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the current spate of rampart speculation on the gold market may have the salutary effect of exposing the "gold myth." I have made a number of statements in the past which have attempted to put the gold issue into its proper perspective. Perhaps the current events will assist in finally exposing the realities of international liquidity, and put to rest once and for all the vain attempts of those who have mistakenly equated the strength of the dollar to the size of our Nation's gold reserves.

It seems to me the real question which must be asked is what would happen to the gold market if dollar support is withdrawn? The answer is a lot of speculators would suddenly find themselves taking quite a loss, for in the final analysis the dollar is actually supporting the price of gold.

Until we recognize that international liquidity must rest on the strength of the economy of the trader nations the fiction of gold will continue to distort the realities of the marketplace.

Monday's Washington Post published a lucid analysis of the present circumstances. I commend the editorial to the attention of the Members:

THE COMMITMENT TO GOLD

Auri sacra fames—the accursed craving for gold—commands the headlines. On Thursday and Friday speculators, convinced that the dollar will be devaluated and that the price will rise far above $35 an ounce, are said to have purchased several hundred tons of gold—worth perhaps as much as $400 million—on the London gold market. Eventually their appetite will be sated from the ample government stocks, principally from this country's stock, just as it was in 1961 and in other periods of great uncertainty. It costs more than $6 in interest foregone, insurance and storage charges to hold $100 in gold for a year, and as prices weaken, particularly on the small, free markets, speculators will disgorge their hoards. But the United States gold stock is shrinking in relation to its short-term liabilities, and while combating speculation is the appropriate policy for the moment, some consideration should be given to loosening the rigid link between the gold and the dollar.

The dollar occupies a unique position among the world's currencies. Our country is the only one which adheres to Article IV of the International Monetary Fund agreement, the only country which freely buys and sells gold so as to maintain its dollar price within plus or minus one per cent of the $35 an ounce parity, that is within a range of $34.65 to $35.35 an ounce All other countries agree to peg their currencies on the dollar, maintaining the exchange rates—or the price of dollars—within plus or minus one per cent of official parities through intervention in the foreign exchange markets. Thus, the fixed price of $35 an ounce is the thin thread by which the monetary system of the non-Communist world is tied to gold.

Since the dollar is the currency in which most of the world's international trade is transacted, the countries that rely on it have a clear interest in protecting the gold stock of the United States, the world's banker. But national politics have triumphed over economic rationality. France has pursued a consistent policy of converting all surplus dollars to gold. President de Gaulle and other French government spokesmen have urged that the price of gold be increased in preparation for a return to a fanciful, pre-World War I gold standard. More recentlly France dropped out of the London Gold Pool, a government group that seeks to maintain the price at $35 an ounce, and it is a fair presumption that her refusal to cooperate hastened the sterling devaluation. In view of this record—and France is not alone among the European countries in failing to cooperate—should the United States continue the dollar-gold link? Should it guarantee gold speculators a one-way option, a virtual guarantee that the price of gold can only rise, and never fall?

Two officials of the Chase Manhattan Bank, Messrs. William F. Butler and John V. Deaver, analyzed the threat to the U.S. gold stock in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*. They concluded that the most effective way of making credible this country's determination not to raise the gold price is to announce that it will never support a price of more than $35 an ounce; that is, if foreign central banks use their dollars to buy all the gold in the U.S. Treasury, we will never agree to repurchase it at more than $35 an ounce. If our gold were then exhausted and the dollar link severed, it would fall upon foreign central banks and governments to decide whether to support the dollar exchange rates and at what levels.

Another intriguing suggestion is implicit in a scholarly paper published by Princeton University, *Changing the United States Commitment to Gold*, by Eugene A. Birnbaum, a Standard Oil (New Jersey) economist who served in the IMF and in the Commerce Department. Mr. Birnbaum points out that there would be no contravention of the IMF articles if the United States discontinued its practice of freely buying and selling gold so long as it supports the dollar in the foreign exchange markets. Indeed, if the gold link were severed, other countries would almost surely want to prevent the dollar from falling in value with respect to their currencies. With such a change, the IMF might assume the task of determining what role gold is to play in monetary affairs.

Calendar of Events at the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am calling to the attention of the Congress and the American people, the excellent program for December 1967, of the National Gallery of Art.

Our good country is indeed fortunate to have this most outstanding cultural institution and its many interesting activities.

The calendar follows:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, DECEMBER 1967

New exhibition: Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art. Central Gallery. December 3 through January 7.

New publication: Catalogue. Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the National Gallery of Art 11"x8½", with preface by Lessing J. Rosenwald, with catalogue notes by Alan Shestack, 267 illustrations. $3.00 postpaid.

1967 Christmas Cards: Reproductions of 48 paintings, sculptures, and prints from the Gallery's collections, in color and in black and white. 25c, 20c, 15c and 10c each, postpaid. Orders under $1.00 add 25c handling charges. Free catalogue with black-and-white illustrations upon request.

Recorded tours: *Acoustiguide*. A 45 minute tour of 20 National Gallery masterpieces selected and described by Director John Walker. A portable unit may be rented for 25 cents for one person, 35 cents for two.

LecTour. A description of every object in 28 exhibition galleries. Talks in each room, which may be visited in any order, last about 15 minutes. A small receiving set may be rented for 25 cents.

Film: *The American Vision* will be shown in the auditorium on Saturdays at 2:15 p.m.

Holiday hours: The Gallery will be open from 12:00 noon to 5 p.m. on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. No concerts will be given. The regular concert programs will be resumed on January 7, 1968. The Gallery will be closed on Christmas and New Year's Day.

The cafeteria will be open from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve.

The Gallery is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Sundays from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. The cafeteria is open on weekdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and on Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3

Painting of the week: Rubens. "Decius Mus Addressing the Legions" (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 41A. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The Genius of Desiderio da Settignano." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1, Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "15th-Century Engravings of Northern Europe." Guest speaker: Charles W. Talbot, Instructor of Art History, Yale University, New Haven. Lecture Hall 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra. Richard Bales, Conductor; Madeleine Malraux, Pianist. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10

Painting of the week: Degas. "Ballet Scene" (Chester Dale Collection). Gallery 85. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The Genius of Titian." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Immortal Eight." Guest speaker: Bennard B. Perlman, Professor of Art, Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore. Lecture Hall 4.

Sunday concert: Charles Castleman, Violinist; Samuel Sanders, Pianist. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17

Painting of the week: Goya, "The Bookseller's Wife" (Gift of Mrs. P. H. B. Frelinghuysen). Gallery 50. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The Genius of Turner." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Venice of Vittore Carpaccio." Guest Speaker: Theodore L. Low, Director, Department of Education, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Lecture Hall 4.

Sunday concert: Carolyn Reyer, Mezzo-Soprano; James Benner, Pianist. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, THROUGH SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23

On Sunday, December 24, Christmas Eve, the Gallery will be open to visitors from 12:00 noon to 5 p.m. but no educational services will be offered.

Painting of the week: Domenico Ghirlandaio. "Madonna and Child" (Samuel H. Kress Collection). Gallery 4. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2.

Tour of the week: "Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe." Central Lobby. Tuesday through Saturday 1.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11 and 3.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 26, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 31

On Sunday, December 31, New Year's Eve, the Gallery will be open to visitors from 12 noon to 5 p.m.

Painting of the week: Reynolds. "Lady Elizabeth Delmé and Her Children" (Andrew Mellon Collection). Gallery 59. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30.

Tour of the week: "The Genius of Rembrandt." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1, Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 11 and 3.

Sunday lecture: "The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters." Guest Speaker: Richard Ormond, Assistant Keeper, the National Portrait Gallery, London. Lecture Hall 4.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737-4215, Ext. 272.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

Statement by Consumer Affairs Subcommittee Chairman Leonor K. Sullivan on Actions by Banking and Currency Committee on H.R. 11601, Consumer Credit Protection Act ("Truth in Lending")

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Banking and Currency this morning, by a vote of 30 to 1, approved with some modifications the bill on consumer credit, H.R. 11601, which I introduced on July 20, 1967, on behalf of myself and a bipartisan group of Members of my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, and which was introduced as H.R. 11806 by the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER], ranking member of the parent committee, with numerous cosponsors.

I am, of course, pleased that the committee completed action on the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which includes truth-in-lending provisions as its title I. This is an issue to which I have devoted many years of effort, and I am gratified that, for the first time since Senator Douglas proposed such legislation 7 years ago, the House committee has approved a bill covering most of the things Senator Douglas originally called for.

H.R. 11601, as approved by the House Committee this morning, has many very good, very strong points. It goes substantially beyond S. 5, the Proxmire bill passed by the Senate July 11.

GOES BEYOND SENATE-PASSED TRUTH-IN-LENDING BILL

For instance, it applies to the advertising of credit; it sets up administrative enforcement machinery so that the individual consumer does not have to institute his own lawsuit in order to obtain redress; it applies to first mortgages, which were exempt from the Senate bill; where credit life insurance is mandatory, it requires inclusion of this cost as part of the "finance charge" on which the percentage rate must be figured; it restricts the use of garnishment in the collection of consumer debts along the lines of the New York State law on this subject; and it creates a National Commission on Consumer Finance to investigate all aspects of consumer credit and make recommendations for further legislation.

None of these things was included in S. 5. Furthermore, we made the legislation effective 9 months from the date of enactment rather than July 1, 1969—the effective date in S. 5—and omitted a provision in the Senate bill permitting firms which extend credit to use a figure representing "dollars per hundred per year on the average unpaid balance" instead of annual percentage rate until January 1, 1972. Under H.R. 11601 the percentage rate would be required to be stated on and after the effective date.

On the other hand, the consumer lost on two very important votes in the committee—one last Wednesday when the language of the Senate bill was adopted exempting department store and similar types of revolving credit from annual rate disclosure requirements, permitting such creditors to state only a monthly rate. This morning the Senate language was adopted to exempt from annual rate disclosure requirements all transactions in which the credit cost is less than $10, meaning loans or purchases up to about $110.

FLOOR FIGHT SET ON LOOPHOLE AMENDMENTS

I serve notice now that I have every intention of fighting both of these weakening amendments when the bill comes up in the House, but I am going to need much greater support from the administration, consumers, and from independent businessmen than I have had up to now. The independent businessmen offering installment rather than computerized revolving credit will be adversely affected by the Sears-Ward's-Penney amendment which gives the big chain retailers the right to conceal the annual percentage rate on their revolving credit costs.

Thus, the bill, as it now stands, calls for truth in lending—the whole truth—for furniture stores, music stores, hardware stores, appliance dealers, small loan firms, and other lenders or merchants offering installment credit; however, it is a half-truth—or rather one-twelfth-truth—bill for Sears, Ward's, Penney's, and other big retailers or credit firms using revolving credit.

Furthermore, every credit firm which can arrange to do so will do its best to crawl in under the revolving credit exemption or under the $10 exemption on as many transactions as possible, so while it is a one-twelfth-truth-in-lending bill on open-end credit, it is a no-truth bill on any credit transaction costing less than $110.

CONSUMERS MUST GET INTO THIS BATTLE

So while I am pleased that we have completed committee action and approved what in many respects is a good, strong bill compared to the Senate bill, I am certainly not expressing any great jubilation until we get a bill through the House which requires that all interest rates and credit costs in consumer credit transactions be set forth in a completely straightforward and undisguised manner, and that means annual rate disclosure across the board, and applying equally to all who give credit.

When consumers pay their monthly bills next week or next month, I hope they will pay particular attention to the credit charges for which they are given little or no explanation, and then wish me luck on this fight. It is their fight. They can help in this fight by writing to their own Members of Congress for a bill that will require the same disclosure for all. It is expected this bill will come to the House floor for vote late in January.

Dr. C. Joseph Delaney's Inaugural Address as President of the Medical Society of New York County, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my constituent and friend, C. Joseph Delaney, M.D., took office as president of the Medical Society of the County of New York and delivered his inaugural address on Monday, October 23, 1967.

As one concerned with the quality of health care in our environment, I was very much interested in Dr. Delaney's remarks addressed to the members of his society and the practical analysis he made of problems confronting his profession in our great urban cities.

I commend his remarks to the serious attention of my colleagues:

Inaugural Address of C. Joseph Delaney, M.D., President, Medical Society of the County of New York

I wish to thank the members of the Medical Society of the County of New York for the confidence they have shown by electing me President of the Society for 1967–1968. With great humility I shall attempt to serve you to the best of my ability. I should like at this time to take the opportunity to comment on the status of the medical profession in this the greatest city in the world.

It is not news to you that our image has been greatly distorted in recent years. Hack writers have found a ready market for books and articles attacking the doctor, and writers for other news media have likewise fashioned profitable careers out of criticizing the medical profession. The charges in most cases have been so broad, and in other instances involved so small a part of medicine, that the leaders of your society have felt that no extensive answer should be made.

Another group, who seem to take much pleasure out of maligning the physician and his work, have been some public officials of both the elected and appointed variety. Again, your officers have felt that speaking out at these times would only lend credence to their statements. It is my belief that medicine as practiced in this city by men and women is better than it has ever been in history. People are living longer and healthier lives. Modalities for treatment and care of disease are known and available in such abundance today, as contrasted to twenty years ago, that one wonders why the physician is held in such disrespect.

In attempting a bit of self-analysis, one must recognize that the physician is the last hold out for the philosophy of rugged individualism in this age of socialization. But, alas, this concept has been gradually softened. If our great social planners have their way, the practice of medicine instead of being what it has been, will eventually become a commodity in the labor market; buffeted about and demoralized in the great power struggle appearing on the horizon.

In New York City we have six medical schools, great university centers, great voluntary medical centers, excellent labor health centers, good proprietary hospitals and a municipal hospital system undergoing constant streamlining and improvement. That is why, I say, we have here in New York the greatest potential for health care in the world.

It is the delivery of this health care as economically as possible to all that has been the unsolved challenge to date. I state publicly that those given the responsibility under the law for directing this health service, namely the Health Services Administrator, the Board of Hospitals and the Board of Health, the Health and Hospital Council of Southern New York, the legislative committees and other commissions of social planners have failed miserably. Their only solution seems to be to cry out for more money to rescue them from their inepitudes.

Hospital costs have gone up as if jet propelled. This is not true of the cost of doctor services, per se. The latter have risen, yes, but only in line with living costs and large numbers of people having their medical costs paid for out of public funds. Again, I challenge a proper breakdown of statements claiming otherwise. Hospital rate increases have been due to the rising costs of labor, material and equipment and the increase in paramedical personnel.

Physicians and hospitals established the non-profit plans for hospital and medical insurance over twenty years ago; a success story which has affected all our lives to the good. Other insurance plans have developed and labor unions and others have obtained for workers health insurance benefits that have given personal dignity to millions of our fellow citizens by giving them personal medical service. The Federal Government through Medicare has continued this benefit to those over 65 who become ill. But along came Medicaid, an ill conceived plan, to take away what people have been trying to obtain for the past twenty years, namely personal dignity. When the people for whom the Medicaid law was written, recognized its tie up with Welfare and its implications, they shied away from it in millions. The payment allowed for Medicaid services was kept below Medicare standards so that no matter what is claimed otherwise, it makes it an inferior service.

I must report to you as of now this plan is in pretty much of a muddle. Your Society together with the Coordinating Council of the First District Branch of the New York State Medical Society has held numerous meetings with officials in an attempt to solve many of these irritating and frustrating problems. Yet at the present time there is still very much to be done. I have heard time and again statements that the Medical Society has been against Medicaid. I wish to correct this and say that it is the poor implementation of the law to which the Medical Profession objects.

The establishment of Medicare has caused a number of problems for physicians employed full or part time by voluntary hospitals and municipal hospitals affiliated with voluntary hospitals. Your Hospital-Physician Relations Committee under the chairmanship of Doctor William B. Rawls has been giving much study to this matter and I know will soon come up with some good recommendations. I would like at this time to accentuate two basic tenets that this Society must insist on. First, the principle that monies paid for individual doctors' services must go to the physicians and not to the hospitals' general fund. The second basic principle is that monies obtained be distributed under the plan agreed upon by the participating physicians without coercion. These tenets refer to the disbursement of fees under Medicare and Medicaid in teaching programs where the public can be educated to participate even though they are being cared for as a private patient. The methodology of teaching our students and house officers, in a time when more and more of our patients seek and will be entitled to care by a personal physician, must be made clear to the public in a most honest way. The medical profession has not only the responsibility for the providing of good medical care but also to the proper education of the young men of our profession. I am sure that good understanding of this matter will lead to the complete cooperation of most of our people in the teaching of doctors. Attempts at deceiving the public as to the doctor-patient relationship in teaching hospitals could be disastrous. This whole field demands from doctors, teachers and administrators clear and honest thinking.

I am not going to dwell longer on Medicare and Medicaid except to say that Medicare seems to be working out well for both physician and patient, and we are awaiting the changes that are bound to come with experience and passage of time in the implementation of Medicaid, and we will try to keep the membership informed of developments.

NURSING EDUCATION

I have alluded on other occasions to the nursing problem that affects our city as well as most cities throughout the country and I should like to repeat what I have said before because of the importance of this issue. My suggestions are as follows:

1. Increase the enrollment of all types of nurses, namely baccalaureate, diploma and associate.
2. Establish nurse career programs in all high schools especially in the third and fourth year.
3. Reestablish the Nurse Cadet Corps.
4. Pay nurses while in training—take the pay scale of the trained nurse out of the category of the domestic.

Your Society's Sub-committee on Nursing will soon have more to say on this subject.

PARKING FOR PHYSICIANS

I am afraid to say that I have the impression that the City does not appear to be persecuting us at this time. However, tomorrow they may be on our backs again. The Medical Profession has been cooperating with the Police and Traffic and I believe the enforcing officers have been understanding of the doctors' responsibilities. Double parking and parking in restricted areas and so forth, I believe, has been stopped. Parking for periods of time while rendering medical service, at which time the location and time have been left on prescription blanks attached to the windshield—in most cases has been honored. The three-hour limit in the vicinity of the hospital seems to be working out well. Good will on both sides can lead to the rendering of good medical care to the people as well as maintaining good traffic flow.

Discussing the affairs of our Society, I should like to point out that a committee was recently appointed that may well have a great impact on our organization and the physician's practice. I refer to the Special Committee on Electronic Data Processing which has been given the task of investigating the uses of electronic data processing in controlling and managing record keeping, and bookkeeping, and other administrative details in the physician's office and in making available to him information and techniques that may help him improve his medical practice.

This pilot program—when it is adopted after study—will be carried out with the cooperation of United Medical Service. How extensive this electronic data processing will affect our medical practice is limited only by the imagination of the individual. I see the day in the future when great electronic libraries will be able to give forth, at the press of a button, data on diagnosis, treatment, incidence and methods of cure. All of this material from not only the practice of the physician but the work of the great universities, teaching hospitals and health services will be available to all who can use it. I know that you as well as I will look forward to this committee's report with great interest.

Another committee was recently appointed as a part of our Medical Economics Committee. Its job is to investigate the possibility of our Society sponsoring and supervising a health station in one of the underprivileged areas of Manhattan. This health station, financed through Federal funds, would be set up so that the physicians in this underprivileged area will be able to have the most modern facilities to provide good medical care to people in the area. This will be a form of group practice and differs somewhat from health centers set up by the Health Services Administration in cooperation with a medical school or a voluntary hospital. This plan we are exploring will be of assistance to the physicians in this area themselves so that they may have all of the latest equipment to render the care in their personal practice which they otherwise would not be able to finance individually. The assistance of our Medical Society in these areas of care of the underprivileged in my mind is a very important part of the work of this Society. The American Medical Association in past statements has asked that local county societies participate in this work.

ABUSE OF DRUGS

Narcotic addiction and abuse of other dangerous drugs continue to be a major problem in this city as well as other areas. Accordingly, our Public Health Committee has conducted a number of excellent studies, the results of which have been widely quoted and reprinted. In fact, its report on the abuse of LSD and marihuana has been used by scores of colleges and universities through the United States which have, with our permission, duplicated and then distributed the document to their student bodies. Of course, no report is ever perfect and so a sub-committee of the Public Health Committee is now reviewing the LSD and marihuana study in the light of new evidence and thinking, and the results should be announced shortly.

Other committees have likewise done yeoman work on behalf of the Society. The Special Committee on Child Welfare issued a significant and challenging report on child pedestrian accidents in Central Harlem. The Committee on History and Archives has bestirred itself and in the past year made substantial progress in preserving the records of our organization that go back to 1806. The Special Committee on Infant Mortality has continued its excellent studies of its field of interest and is now planning an important symposium on the impact of comprehensive health care and community wellness on perinatal survival. The program will be held at the New York Academy of Medicine on Wednesday afternoon, December 6th, and I am sure that it will be well attended. Of course, I could also recite the activities of many other committees from Legislation to Public Relations to Industrial Medicine to Malpractice, Grievance and Review. They all do an extremely capable job and I only wish that the membership were more aware of their contributions.

In point of fact I have become quite concerned about this matter of communicating with our members and letting them know what our Society is doing. As a result, I have recommended a number of changes in our Society's operations and they should hopefully make themselves manifest in the next few months.

I should like to conclude my remarks by referring to a point that I mentioned only tangentially earlier in this address, and that is the tendency of people and institutions in both the public and private sectors of our City to ignore the great amount of talent and knowledge that are available in our Society. To be sure, we are occasionally asked to recommend a physician to serve on an advisory board or a committee but over the years those who shape our major health policy have gone on their way without so much as a nod in our direction.

Where is the Medical Profession in all of this great social planning that is going on today? Rarely is a practicing physician—and I emphasize *practicing physician*—a member of a commission or committee to come up with solutions to these great health problems. Oh yes, some of us sit on medical advisory groups, whose advice is rarely sought and if sought, rarely used. Hardly ever, as Gilbert and Sullivan would say, are they on policy making boards or in such numbers that it is their thoughts that are acted upon. The Medical Society is an untapped reservoir of talent and ability in the field of health services. Why, Mr. Mayor, don't you or your appointees, seek it more fully.

Finally, I would end this report with commendation to the entire staff of our medical society. Our committees of physicians properly set goals and determine policy, but it is staff that implements this policy. Without loyal and dedicated personnel at the executive office our efforts would accomplish little. Our Director, Robert D. Potter, is nationally known in his field of administration and renders valuable counsel to your elected officers. Our Executive Secretary, Elvira A. Tirola, directs the work of our committee secretaries and the many departments at the executive office with skill, dedication and energy that truly makes "the wheels go round." To her and all our staff I acknowledge our debt.

The months ahead in my term of office I am sure will be busy ones and I am certain that we will not accomplish all we hoped to. But with the help of our officers and committees and that of the membership at large, I pray that I will be able to make a small modest contribution to our great Society, to medicine and to the public health of the City of New York.

A Technical Journal Comments on Congressional Overfunding of Space and Defense Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Robert C. Haavind, managing editor of Electronic Design magazine, wrote an important editorial which appeared in the October 25 issue of his publication. The editorial embodied a highly significant proposal which merits serious consideration. Equally important was the accompanying commentary which pinpoints the extreme difficulty in dealing with the budgets of large technical programs which have long been insulated from adequate scrutiny.

Mr. Haavind points out, in effect, that as the question of national priorities becomes more pressing and more prominent, it is unthinkable to allow congressional ignorance of the true nature of large technical budgets to continue to stand in the way of effective action. In a similar vein to my May 4 recommendation to the President for a high-level commission on NASA, he proposes a Hoover-type commission to do a widescale investigation of waste and inefficiency in space and defense budgets. He argues that the job cannot be done from committee rooms in Washington—that it must be accomplished in the field.

I urge all my colleagues to give thoughtful consideration to the editorial which follows:

[From Electronic Design, Oct. 25, 1967]

THE GREAT AMERICAN BRAIN DRAIN: IT'S TIME TO STOP

Congress has been trying mightily in recent weeks to locate soft spots in our burgeoning public expenditures. With sound justification, we believe, they are trying to make sure the budget is fat-free before approving a 10% tax surcharge for next year.

Is it possible, though, that abuses of public spending—particularly on defense and space projects—have become so widespread, yet so well concealed, that for the most part they are invisible to the budget-cutters? As soon as cuts were called for, the Defense Dept. contended that supplies to Vietnam would be endangered. Space officials said the Apollo timetable would be delayed to the early Seventies.

Is this scare talk? Could some defense and space programs be trimmed without causing either war-supply shortages or delays?

Congress can't answer these questions, but it's time that answers were sought. Congress should immediately form a sort of "Hoover Commission" to delve in detail into some common practices on large defense and space contracts.

In the late 1940s the Hoover Commission probed government waste and made many useful recommendations for improving efficiency and reducing costs.

Would such a commission today find many cases of overstaffing on defense contracts so that higher profits can be obtained without taking too high a percentage of the total contract? Would it find that military and space agencies are willing to spend heavily just to keep their own budgets large? Are engineers who are skillful at "milking" contracts getting promotions and raises? Congress will have to get out into the industry—and away from "Washington representatives"—to find the true story.

Many of the engineers we have talked to in industry report that such practices are common. Some have left defense or space work because of these practices, they say. They speak confidentially, though, because no one wants to see thousands of workers—many of them engineers—suddenly out of jobs.

The fact of the matter is that mass unemployment need not occur. We must revise our economic structure anyway once the Vietnam conflict is settled. Why not start now?

Too much public money, we believe, is going into projects carried along by inertia or empire-building, rather than into projects that meet the nation's true needs. Let's look at some of these needs: Our cities are facing decay. Social problems are multiplying. Public transportation is inadequate. Our water and air are becoming polluted. Hospitals are overcrowded, understaffed and underequipped. Crime is rampant.

Yet many bright people, including engineers capable of helping to solve these problems, may be wasting their time on "featherbed" projects. The nation has too much at stake to allow this situation to continue. Congress should get the facts, and then get action.

ROBERT HAAVIND.

F-111 Jet To Play Many Roles in Air War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on October 29, the Oakland, Calif., Tribune carried a story entitled "F-111 Jet To Play Many Roles in Air War."

This is a very interesting story and I am pleased to insert the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

F-111 JET TO PLAY MANY ROLES IN AIR WAR

(By Bill Eaton)

A swinger of an airplane that has stirred more argument than Billy Mitchell joined the Air Force the other day.

It can fly more than twice the speed of sound but it needed five years to get from Fort Worth to Las Vegas.

It hasn't been accorded the courtesy of a name.

This thoroughly modern machine, with its "swing wing" that flicks in and out like a switchblade knife, began life as the "TFX"—for Tactical Fighter Experimental—and it grew up as "the billion dollar blunder" and "McNamara's folly." The latter appelation is a swipe at the U.S. defense secretary who coined the word "commonality" for his notion of one aircraft type that do-all-things-for-all-people.

The airplane is now known as the F-111, and while it lacks a glorious name it is flying in the face of controversy, and flying well.

The first production model of the F–111A, a version designed as an Air Force tactical fighter, joined the 4881st Tactical Fighter Squadron at Nellis Air Force Base, Nev., on Oct. 16.

It flew the 1,047 miles from the General Dynamics Corp. plant at Fort Worth, Tex., in an hour and 48 minutes at a constant altitude of 1,000 feet, guided by its "terrain-following radar" and automatic pilot system. Inside were an Air Force colonel and a major.

Three days later another new F–111A crashed in a pasture 70 miles from Fort Worth after an apparent failure of hydraulic controls. Its two pilots parachuted to safety after ejecting from the aircraft in an escape module that works in supersonic flight, at zero altitude on takeoff, and even 50 feet under water. (Earlier this year another F–111 crashed in tests at Edwards AFB, Calif., killing one of its two pilots who are said to have failed to fully extend the swing wing in a landing approach).

The F–111A has had trouble living up to its design speed but General Dynamics has modified air intakes to prevent recurrent compressor stalls in the F–111's twin jet engines while in the double-sonic speed range of about 1400 to 1600 miles an hour.

Despite slander both personal and aerodynamic, the F–111 program is going ahead.

General Dynamics has been awarded a $1.8 billion contract for 493 airplanes.

The first F–111As are to be evaluated in the Vietnam war late this year or early next.

It is likely to be a highly successful airplane. Pilots find it handles well, and it has the best equipment of any combat airplane in the world.

Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. John P. McConnell flew an F–111A from Texas to Washington, D.C., in two hours and 20 minutes last April. He told the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. House of Representatives, "I think that this aircraft for the purpose it was designed is highly acceptable for the Air Force."

He was talking about the tactical fighter version. The FB–111 is to be a medium range strategic bomber for the Air Force, and the Navy will get an F–111B version for an interceptor-fighter. The Navy has had problems with payload and gross weight, but it has found in tests that the F–111B develops surprisingly high lift from its radical wing.

Actual service, and the critical test of combat, will determine what the F–111 is. More than one maligned jet type has won laurels in the terrific anti-aircraft gunfire over Vietnam, and the F–111A is better designed and equipped for its mission than any of its predecessors.

It is possible, despite the controversy the aircraft engendered, to recall what the F–111 was supposed to be.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is said to have invented the idea of "commonality" early in the Kennedy administration, when he and the president watched a review of sea power from an aircraft carriers' bridge.

McNamara saw on the flight deck eight different types of aircraft from four manufacturers. He believed that the "state of the art" in aerodynamic design and electronics research could produce one basic design that would, with variations, usurp the need for dozens of design and development and production contracts, reducing initial costs, and reduce the complications of logistic support of aircraft in service, cutting costs still more.

The origin of such a belief is not all hard to understand in a nation that reveres the practical genius of Thomas A. Edison, Henry Ford I. and the Wrights, and is so deeply immersed in technology that it has computerized even the selling of life insurance.

Americans have perhaps an infinite ability to mechanize things, and a simultaneous desire to simplify everything. The result is that often a complex problem seems to lend itself to a simple solution, which in its turn becomes complicated during design and production.

Nowhere is this contradiction more apparent than in military aviation. Pilots in Vietnam make excellent use of fantastically intricate electronic devices to find targets, and detect and ward off and destroy enemy airplanes. These same pilots are asking for more specialized equipment—but they also demand specialized but simplified airplanes for precise types of missions.

Thus there is a "complex simplicity" in design and application. It has meant the abandonment of lightweight, very fast air-superiority fighter aircraft in favor of heavier machines with guided missiles, electronic navigation and weapons-aiming systems and countermeasures, and other "black box" weaponry.

Some idea of the problems inherent in the situation is seen in the ten-year development of the F–4 "Phantom" jet used by the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps. It began life as a supersonic, missile-armed Navy interceptor. It became a missile-and-bomb-carrying Air Force tactical fighter. In Vietnam, pilots found they needed a built-in gun for close-range air combat, so the Phantom is being equipped with an internal cannon with the rotating gun barrel principle of the 19th Century Gatling gun.

The Navy has had great success over Vietnam with A–6 "Intruder," a subsonic jet attack plane that has no guns but carries a massive bomb-load on old-fashioned almost straight wings, and is guided to targets at night and in bad weather by its amazing electronic systems.

And yet the Navy is using—and the Air Force will soon use—a now and relatively simplified jet attack aircraft called the A–7 "Corsair II" that has guns and rockets and bombs for daylight attack on ground targets at subsonic speeds, mainly in support of infantry.

Both services have intercontinental missiles with nuclear warheads. The Navy has Poseidon missiles in submarines. The Air Force has Minuteman missiles in underground concrete silos.

Emphasis on strategic missiles implies there is no longer any primary use for the huge, elderly B–52 jet bombers now believed to be too tired and slow to get through to defended targets. In Vietnam the B–52s can't be risked in the north where enemy ground-to-air missiles could get them, but in other areas of the war zone these bombers can slam down 30 tons of bombs apiece on jungle targets.

In general, the Vietnam war has resumed the trend toward specialized military aircraft.

Now comes the F–111 which was conceived to disprove the theory of specialization.

The F–111 was envisioned (1) as a replacement of big, long-range bombers, (2) as a missile-armed interceptor to protect Navy vessels which move around on oceans and thus can be more easily attacked by enemy bomber aircraft than by strategic missiles, and (3) as a tactical fighter for air-to-air combat and low-level bombing attacks.

It was to be adaptable to several roles, and if one such role became impractical—strategic bombing for example—the F–111 wouldn't be obsolete because it could perform other roles.

This seemingly simple concept was complicated as it grew, partly because the concept itself posed design problems, but also because advances in the "state of the art" were constant—and the armed services wanted (and needed) more new things packed into the airplane.

The F–111 is best known for its variable geometry wing which moves between 16 degrees of sweepback for stability in slow speed flight to 73 degrees of sweep for minimum drag in supersonic flight. The French have adopted this concept for a new jet, and the Russians recently flew a "swing wing" jet that is virtually identical with the F–111 in appearance.

General Dynamics calls the wing a VASCAAR, for variable area sweep camber and aspect ratio, and it adapts to various speed regimes with changes in sweep and the use of flaps and other controllable devices.

Critics have wondered "What happens if one wing swings and the other doesn't?" The truth is that modern aircraft are so complex that any one of a hundred other malfunctions could be as fatal.

An F–111A tactical fighter is 73 feet long. Wings extended span 63 feet, and 32 feet fully swept back. It weighs about 41,000 pounds empty and 80,000 pounds loaded with crew, fuel and armament. It is designed to fly at two and one half times the speed of sound at 40,000 feet, and 1.2 times the speed of sound at sea level. It has a radius of action of about 1,700 miles with an eight-ton load—but can be refueled in flight.

The F–111B for the Navy has a shorter nose for pilot vision in carrier landings, but its wing is even feet long in extended position—as is the wing of the FB–111 strategic bomber version—for longer cruise periods up high at speeds of 575 miles per hour.

The FB–111 bomber will carry about 48 conventional 750-pound bombs under its wings, and a few more in its weapons bay, or it can carry an alternate load of nuclear bombs and "stand-off" air-to-ground missiles. The bomber will probably weigh about 100,000 pounds at takeoff.

What about the expected reduction in costs.

For comparison, realize that the F–4 Phantom, now the primary Air Force fighter and principle Navy interceptor, costs about $2.3 million per aircraft.

Initial estimates for the F–111 were about $2.8 million each, back in 1962 when General Dynamics won a two-year design competition.

Average cost of an F–111 today is $3.66 million, but that is only for the basic airframe and some electronics, and doesn't include the major portion of the electronics systems for various missions nor the cost of the two jet engines.

Actual costs now range from about $5 million for the F–111A, to about $8 million for the F–111B, with the FB–111 bomber somewhere in between.

Yet the F–111 has achieved 75 per cent "commonality" in the number of its component parts.

Topsy-Turvy World Warned That It's Heading for a Tumble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Wayne Thomis, one of the most distinguished writers in this country who is also aviation editor for the Chicago Tribune, wrote an excellent review for his newspaper of a book by Hugh Auchincloss Brown, entitled "Cataclysms of the Earth."

I strongly urge the scientific community of this country to read this excellent article by Mr. Thomis.

The author of the special book is an accomplished electrical engineer, and theoretical worker who has been gathering evidence and expanding his theories on dynamics of this planet since 1911.

Mr. Brown places significance on the fact that the huge South Pole icecap is growing rather than waning as previously was supposed and this unprecedented growth of the icecap could tilt the axis of the earth.

I do not believe this theory should be treated lightly.

As a matter of fact, the discovery that the South Pole icecap is growing rather than diminishing may very well explain what is happening to the world's supply of water.

We can all agree that water is one substance which cannot be synthetically created, nor can it be destroyed. There are many ways to change the characteristics of water such as turning it into steam; evaporation into the atmosphere; turning it into ice; and many others. But in each instance, sooner or later, water is recaptured into its normal fluid state and then it begins its various cycles all over again.

In recent years scientists and engineers have been trying to explain what is happening to the world's dwindling water supply; where is it going?

It is entirely conceivable that huge amounts of the earth's water supply are being trapped by freezing onto the growing South Pole icecap and it is the huge change in weight of this icecap that could tilt the axis of the world.

When one ponders these awesome possibilities he begins to realize how relatively insignificant are the problems that currently plague mankind.

I would hope the National Science Foundation and the Atomic Energy Commission would carefully study Mr. Thomis' analysis and also Mr. Brown's theories.

It is entirely possible that we may want to reach some international agreement for breaking up the growing South Pole icecap with huge explosions in order to free the water now frozen back to its normal course around the globe.

Because of the enormity of the icecap, it is entirely possible that science may be asked to find some "clean" method for using nuclear energy to break up this huge mass of ice.

Mr. Thomis and the Chicago Tribune have performed a notable service in calling this information to our attention.

This is journalism at its finest and again proves how often the press can be counted on to provide for us those checks and balances which no government within itself can produce.

Mr. Thomis' excellent article follows:

Topsy-Turvy World Warned That It's Heading for a Tumble

(By Wayne Thomas)

We dwellers on Earth have been blessed by an unchanging axis or rotational tilt for the planet for about 7,000 years, but there is growing evidence that this is an "epoch" that is drawing to a close.

What will end it, according to one school of scientific appraisal, is a world cataclysm in which the poles, particularly the South pole with its ominously growing ice cap already blamed for a pronounced wobble in Earth's motions, will shift from 70 to 80 degrees in a "rollover" and the ice caps now at the axes will lie along a new equator of Earth.

As the predictors of this Earth-shaking and Earth-changing event see it, just such shifts have occurred again and again over the eons of Earth's existence, now established at something over 4½ billion years. Some of these cataclysms have occurred during the period of human existence, too—on the average of about every 6,000 years, with terrible losses of life as whole civilizations were affected by the continental and ocean shifts.

The great flood of Noah's day presumably resulted from the latest careening of Earth. This at least is how the most articulate and convinced of the scientists formulating the "earth-shift theory" sees it. He is Hugh Auchincloss Brown, electrical engineer and theoretical worker who has been gathering evidence and expanding his theories on dynamics of this planet since 1911.

Brown has now published his latest work on the subject, entitled "Cataclysms of the Earth." The book covers all phases of his inquiries, computations, concepts. It forms a fascinating and provocative proposal which points to a solution of geological mysteries that long have puzzled men. It also suggests a direction for global effort if mankind is to retain the Earth we now know.

As an engineer and observer of natural science, Brown says that the free-spinning ball of Earth is held in its present equilibrium by the centrifugal force of its equatorial bulge. Because it is a freely spinning ball the present equilibrium can be upset—and he says indeed that it has many times been upset already—by accumulations of weight at the rotational axes.

This same accumulation is proceeding apace right now, particularly at the South Pole. The size of this ice mass is difficult to grasp, he continues, and suggests that if the polar center were in North Dakota the area of the mass would extend to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, east and west, to Mexico on the south, and to the farthest limits of the Canadian land mass to the north. The ice would be two miles thick in Dakota, and it would take 1,400 cakes of ice each the size of Lake Superior to equal the masses already piled up on the Antarctic continent.

"Discovery that the great South Pole ice cap is growing, rather than waning as previously was supposed, confronts us with an entirely new understanding of the limited time during which our present civilization has been developing and the precariousness of its existence," Brown writes.

"We are faced with the alternative of limiting the growth of the [south polar] ice cap or accepting a limit to the duration of our present epoch. Because the ice cap is the creeping peril, the deadly menace is the divinely ordained executioner of our civilization.

"If we procrastinate and do nothing the flood will occur when the present polar areas move away from Earth's axis of spin and the poles of figure move to latitudes of 10 to 15 degrees, or about 5,500 miles away from the present North and South poles of spin.

[*The axis of spin, as Brown explains it, is an imaginary line in space about which Earth rotates. Its position in space is subject to change but it is constant in relation to Earth itself. The axis of figure is an imaginary line extending thru the center of Earth between the geographic poles. It is subject to change when Earth shifts about the axis of spin.*]

"Earth will tip over like an overloaded canoe towed in a circle behind a power boat, in consequence of the wobble of Earth and the resulting eccentric centrifugal force of rotation.

"Earth today may quite readily be compared to a top-heavy, dying out, wobbling, spinning top, getting ready to fall over on its side."

Brown's attack on the subject is stimulating and broad. River corings, findings of frozen mammoths and tropical animals in Siberian tundra, analyses of glacial movements from rock scourings, and examinations of fossils, both animal and vegetable, all offer proofs to him in varying degrees.

From corings taken by the United States geological survey from the Mississippi river, Brown constructs the epochs "before now" and strata that are generally recognized. First "before now" was the Recent Alluvium period and it lasted 4,400 years. Second "before present," or "B.P." as he abbreviates it, as the Wisconsin Ice age, which lasted 7,000 years. Third "B.P." was the Peorian Life age, period 5,000 years.

Fourth B.P. was the Iowan Ice age, of undetermined time period. He carries this out for 10 such epochs, all recognized by geologists but interpreted somewhat differently. The term "ice age," he says, has been erroneously assumed to mean a change in climate thruout the world. Now it is used to define a relatively small area.

ALL CONTINENTS AFFECTED

"Ice ages," he continues, "have occurred in all the continents of the world, as indicated by the tell-tale scouring marks on successive layers of rocks. These rock groovings always radiate from central points which indicate the locations of the North or South poles of that particular epoch of time. During each successive polar ice age the rest of the globe enjoyed tropical or temperate climates, as at present.

"We know this because the fossils of animal and plant life indicate the climates in which each section of successive earth strata existed, and they tell us clearly that the globe has rotated on many successive axes of figure.

ICE LEAVES SCARS

"Five successive ice ages have left their scars in land areas of Canada and the United States. Glacial markings on rocks, loose boulders, and debris are in evidence over most of this area. But life ages have occurred in these same land masses between ice ages. These life ages were long intervals of time during which these regions were free of glaciers and were warmer than present.

"Each ice age blotted out the life age of a certain area and was in turn succeeded by another life age in the same region. These changes were sudden and without gradation."

SUGGESTED AS PROOF

Proof of this sudden shifting in the climate [accepted by Brown as consistent only with the sudden rollover of an ice cap to the equator] is suggested by finds of animals in Siberia. Among them are huge elephant types or mammoths and also rhinoceroses. Brown says:

"Such animals now being found in arctic regions, buried in lifelike condition in the permanently frozen ground . . . document a gigantic catastrophe in which the climate of a very large area of land suddenly and drastically changed. Only a sudden rotating or careening of the globe could have caused this change."

SUITED TO TROPICS

He then suggests that while mammoths are considered "hairy" their coats were not woolly and they were suited only to tropical climates. Food in the stomachs of the mammoths and of the rhinoceroses was tropical grasses among which they were grazing when the event occurred. A mammoth found in 1901 on the bank of the Bereskovka river in Siberia, 66 degrees north latitude, was found to have 27 pound of grasses in its stomach. All were types similar to temperate and tropical zones; none are found in the arctics.

Summarizing all his findings Brown writes:

"The equator of the last epoch of time prior to our own was a line along the Rocky and Andes mountains.

"During Epoch 1 before present, the Sudan basin of Africa was occupying the area of the North pole of spin. Continents of North and South Americas then lay in tandem on one side of the globe, along the equator, and the eastern parts of Siberia and China were on the opposite side.

FORMED BY ICE CAP

"During Epoch No. 2 B. P., the geological dent of the Hudson Bay watershed contained the North pole and its ice cap while South America, Africa, Borneo, and India lay along the equator.

"The depression now occupied by the Caspian sea seems to have been the location of the North pole during Epoch No. 3, before present, because its bowl, as well as that of the Black sea, was formed by a depression caused by an ice cap."

Later in the book he says: "Following the next careen of the globe the present continent of Antarctica can reasonably be expected to become the center of a land hemisphere, because of the centrifugal force of rotation which will be created by its weight and speed of motion. This force will not only pull Antarctica but also its surrounding ocean floors upward and keep them above sea level, thus creating new land areas.

"The area of the globe now occupied by the Arctic ocean will probably become the center of a water hemisphere, like the Pacific ocean today. What is now northern Siberia, northern Canada, and Alaska will probably become parts of the submerged ocean floor."

And he continues: "The epoch of time in which we now live has run approximately 7,000 years since the last great cataclysmic deluge of Earth. Our epoch will doubtless last longer than the average because we have been fortunate in having only one polar ice cap and not an ice cap at each pole."

AIM IS GLOBAL STABILITY

Brown's proposals for preventing the "next careen of Earth" are simply stated:

"Our objective must be to maintain the stability of the globe on its present axis of spin by controling the growth of the Antarctic ice cap. Such arrangements must be made that eventually the annual flow-off will be equal to the annual accumulation of the glacial ice.

"It is self-evident that the releasing of icebergs is the present safety valve which postpones the onset of the next great deluge. . . . Since discovery of the atomic bomb the detaching of or gouging of channels in the peripheral rock masses of the Antarctic coast line—to permit the natural flow-off of the glacial ice—does not appear to be as formidable a problem as it seemed before."

AWARE OF DANGER

Brown says that the National Science Foundation has become recently aware of the dangers of the growth of the South polar ice cap—altho its membership is not at present willing to concede that this is fact.

He writes: "They wish thoroughly to analyze the detailed reports of yearly precipitation of moisture and to check it against the ratio of ablation and flow-off of icebergs in many areas. They know that a statement to the effect that the ice cap is growing will be the signal for an all-out attack to halt its growth, at a cost equal to that of a war."

The Story of Eric Weile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 30, 1967

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, America has been fabled as the land of opportunity for many generations. We are all familiar with the histories of countless immigrants who fled from oppression and despair in other lands, arrived here without home, money, or friends, and through hard work and perseverence achieved success and prominence as Americans.

Last week, the Washington Post carried the story of one immigrant, Mr. Eric Ignatz Weile, of Hyattsville, who migrated to this country in 1938 from Germany and in 29 years here has become a respected business and civic leader. Owner of a thriving and imaginative ice cream parlor in Langley Park, Mr. Weile is the president of the Argo Lodge of B'nai B'rith, past president of the Langley Park Chamber of Commerce, and last year was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates from the second district of Prince Georges County.

Mr. Weile's story, appropriately printed in the Post on Thanksgiving Day, is both interesting and inspiring. I would like to call this article, by Mr. Willard Clopton, Jr., to the attention of the Congress:

JEWISH IMMIGRANT TURNS ICE CREAM PARLOR INTO A GOLD MINE

(By Willard Clopton, Jr.)

Some might call it fate—that a man could come to this country knowing not a word of English, could make his fortune from a preposterous little ice cream parlor, could go on to become a business and civic leader and, to top it off—something like the way his special red, white and blue-tinted whipping cream tops his fantastic sundaes—get elected to the state legislature.

Eric Ignatz Weile, to whom it happened, won't let destiny steal the credit.

It was all due, he said, to "hard work, good friends and opportunity"—the last uttered with almost reverent, only-in-America fervor.

Weile, 60, is a hyperactive, roly-poly, boom-voiced native of Germany who is proprietor of Weile's Creations, 1325 E. University blvd., where he concocts the most outlandish frozen confections in town, and maybe anywhere.

He is also past president of the Langley Park Chamber of Commerce, president of Argo Lodge of B'nai B'rith and, since a year ago, a Democratic member of the Maryland House of Delegates from the Second District of Prince Georges County.

Weile's Creations, 14 years in its present location, serves all the usual combinations of ice cream and toppings, plus 72 original specialties.

Among these are the $1.35 Washington Monument, a sort of vertical banana split with ten scoops of ice cream; the $2.65 German Paradise—ice cream and a stein full of root beer; the $3.50 Glutton (no charge for refills), and the mammoth of them all, the $35 Lincoln Memorial, which serves 25, takes a full day to prepare and uses 5 pints of ice cream, molded in cylinders to simulate the actual Memorial's 54 columns.

The Cantaloupe Skyscraper, at $1.40, is a less spectacular item, but has historic significance. It was the first of Weile's creations and signifies the one intrusion of chance into his career.

It was 20 years ago and he was running just another hamburger and penny candy emporium then, at 1st and Kennedy Streets N.W.

One day he was submitting his weekly order to his wholesaler and, at the man's suggestion, included a request for six cantaloupes. There was a mixup and, instead of receiving six fruits, he was sent six crates, each containing 40 melons.

"I was too proud to send them back," Weile recalls.

"But I had to do something. So I cut a couple in half, hollowed them out and dressed them up with ice cream and fresh fruit. I had to charge 75 cents apiece for them and I thought nobody would buy.

"But in a few days all 240 were sold. I said to myself, if people are that crazy, I'll figure out something they'll spend $1 for. I came up with the Washington Monument. That was the beginning."

Weile, an industrious and effervescent extrovert, has built his business through a deft mixture of hard work and hoopla. (The sobriquets he has given himself include "the jolly cream giant" and "D.D.S.—doctor of divine sundaes." His place is a family operation in which he is helped by his wife, Helen, and son, Spencer, 17.

For years an offstage fund raiser and organizer for local Democrats, Weile heard his first hurrah as a candidate early last year.

Former Rep. Carlton Sickles, then running for governor of Maryland, phoned him one day and asked if he didn't think it was time for him to take a "more active role" in Party affairs. Weile answered, "If you mean will I run for delegate, the answer is yes."

Although 12 of the other 15 delegates elected from the County rolled up larger margins, Weile won office by more than 3000 votes.

In Annapolis he is known as a hard-working legislator with particular interests in labor problem, recreation and tourism.

It bothers him that Maryland ranks third from last among the states in tourist spending. He feels that Maryland "has more to offer visitors than many other states" and needs a state department of tourism to sell its advantages.

He also thinks delegates should be paid more than $2500 a year.

"My campaign cost me that much," he groused. "And citizens wonder why people in public life go after fees for speeches and articles!"

Weile is 5 feet, 5 inches tall and weighs 225 pounds. His weight has been the same for 25 years and is not, he insists, the outcome of too much Weile ice cream.

Born in Thuringia, central Germany, he attended a business college for three years and was prospering in Berlin as sales manager for a perfume firm when he became triply unpopular with the rising Hitler regime: He was a Jew, sold a French product and drove an American car.

After a short stay in Holland, he migrated to this country in 1938. His first act here was to acquire a middle name.

The immigration people at Ellis Island seemed to think it strange that he didn't have one and, not wanting to seem in any way peculiar, he picked one out of the air. He named himself after Ignace Paderewski, the Polish pianist-politician, whom he admired.

Weile settled in the Washington area and has never left. He does take long vacations abroad each year, but he has not gone back to Germany because his memories are too tender. Twenty-seven of his relatives died in Hitler's gas chambers.

When he arrived in Washington, he enrolled in an Americanization school, became valedictorian of his class and was awarded a certificate by a local civic organization.

The group was Argo Lodge of B'nai B'rith. Fifteen years later Weile was its president and was proud to present a similar award to a newcomer from India.

A few years ago, when he was active in the Chamber of Commerce, Weile went to Annapolis to see Sickles, then a Prince George's delegate. He remembers that he sat on top of Sickle's desk.

"Now I am sitting behind the very same desk. I know it sounds like a platitude," he went on, "but really, in what other country could such things happen?"

Liberals Versus a Liberal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, too often our vision is clouded by the predominance of a single issue. But the irrefutable fact is that this country is faced by a multitude of problems.

It is equally irrefutable that President Johnson has, in 4 years, evidenced strong and productive leadership in traditional areas of social concern. In this regard, I commend to my colleagues' attention an editorial that appeared in the November 26 issue of the Long Island Sunday Press. Because of the clarity and strength with which this article details President Johnson's likely role in history, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

LIBERALS VERSUS A LIBERAL

Few Presidents, regardless of their politics, have endured greater villification from a liberal establishment than Lyndon Baines Johnson. Yet few Presidents have championed—with such great success—so many of the liberals' traditional causes as Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Vietnam has so beclouded the vision of some liberals that they give Mr. Johnson credit for nothing but unmitigated evil. These critics not only fail to acknowledge his domestic accomplishments, but they put total blame for the Vietnam War on him as well.

Even granting the assumption that Mr. Johnson is following the wrong policy in Vietnam, intellectual honesty would acknowledge that the roots of the war are deeper and the responsibility for peace greater than the actions of one man. Just as Lyndon Johnson's great domestic program was given tremendous impetus by John F. Kennedy and the other presidents who were the political descendants of Franklin Roosevelt, so, too, must Mr. Johnson's foreign policy be understood as part of that same heritage. It was Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman who acknowledged in blood our commitment in Asia; it was John Kennedy, following those same premises, who turned that fateful corner in Vietnam when he switched the U.S. from an advisory to an active participant there.

This may or may not be correct policy, depending on one's view, but it should at least serve to take the horns off Mr. Johnson's head so he can be judged as a man, not as a demon, and so that the American Presidency itself is not defamed as an instrument of the devil.

It might be constructive, for instance, to note the President's position this past week in such areas as consumer protection, public safety, social security and other legislation dear to every liberal's heart. If the Vietnam blinders were taken off, he'd be hailed as the leader of a new New Deal.

Either signed into law or well on the way toward final passage in this, his least cooperative of Congresses, were:

A massive, landmark Social Security bill carrying the biggest cash benefit increases in the 32-year history of the system.

The strongest meat inspection bill since Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle" more than 50 years ago inspired the present federal law.

A bill creating a National Commission on Product Safety that can report to the nation on dangerous products, consumer laws and steps to protect families against hazards in the home.

The best bill so far in the federal assault on air pollution.

Mr. Johnson last week was also prodding Congress to act on pipeline safety, truth in lending, flammable fabrics, and sale frauds, in a total of a dozen items of major consumer legislation.

All this, plus his remarkable record of the past four years on civil rights, urban affairs, education, monetary policy, the war on poverty and all the other elements of the liberal tradition.

When the record is finally in—both at home and abroad—we suspect history will be more just to LBJ than his liberal critics.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Statement by Thomas F. Seay, Imperial Potentate of the Shrine of North America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the Honorable Thomas F. Seay, imperial potentate of the Shrine of North America, recently issued a statement extending the wholehearted support of the Shrine to the men of our Armed Forces.

He also expressed "our undying gratitude that they choose to perform their duty to their country in the name of freedom."

A copy of his statement was forwarded to me by Mr. Chester M. Pomeroy, of Wilmington, Del. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For the past 45 years we Shriners have devoted a large part of our time and energy and millions of dollars to the work of our Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children and the Shriners Burns Institutes—an endeavor that has earned the title from many as "The World's Greatest Philanthropy."

The Shrine has, in official policy, remained completely aloof from political matters—urging each Noble to be active in civic affairs, but as his own conscience dictates. This is still our policy concerning politics—our membership roster, as a matter of fact, carries Nobles with outstanding records in both major political parties. For example, you will find such people as Senator Everett Dirksen, Governor Otto Kerner, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the late General Douglas MacArthur, former President Harry S. Truman, F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, and former Governor of Alabama George Wallace, all represented on our rolls as Shriners, just to cite a few. This will give you some idea of the wide divergence of the political spectrum among Nobles of the Shrine. I want to stress the fact that my announcement this morning is not to be contrived as being in the realm of partisian politics, or bi-partisian politics—or politics of any nature. My announcement to you here concerns Americanism and old-fashioned patriotism.

The antics of a misguided minority of our American citizens in the past several months has attracted world-wide attention in the mass media. Their draft-card burning, their unruly and destructive protests, their desecration of our country's flag, and their general civil disobedience has reflected dishonor upon themselves and their generation, and discredit to their country.

Young men serving in the armed forces in Viet Nam and other troubled areas of the world are there because their nation called them to bear arms. These young Americans, acquitting themselves with valor and honor, had no hand in the policy decisions that sent them to their duty stations to serve their country. But they are there. I have no desire to become involved in a discussion of whether or not they should be there—only history can confirm or reject the wisdom of our foreign policy—but I can't help but feel our nation is deserving of our support in every endeavor.

As Imperial Potentate of the world's 851,000 Shriners, therefore, I want to extend to the men of our armed forces the wholehearted support of the Shrine—and our undying gratitude that they choose to perform their duty to their country in the name of freedom.

As you are probably aware, all Shriners are Masons. As such, we have the proud heritage of other Masons who lived and died that freedom and individual liberty could be ours. Nearly all of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of our Constitution were Masons. History shines with the names of Masons who were defenders of our nation's freedom and honor from Bunker Hill to Viet Nam.

We would be remiss in our duty as citizens and as Masons and Shriners if we did not, here and now, let the world know in a loud and clear voice, that we are proud to be Americans, and that the old fashioned virtues of honesty, integrity, compassion and patriotism are not dead in this land—this citadel of liberty for so many years.

Because we believe in these things, and because there are so many Masons and Shriners now serving our country in the armed forces, I plan to visit Viet Nam shortly before Christmas to carry this message of support and gratitude to the troops serving there. We want them to know that they are remembered; that we feel a majority of our citizens are grateful to them for the job they are doing; and that our prayers and thoughts are with them always.

As Americans we can do no less.

Thank you.

A Polish American Newspaperman Takes a Look at Poland Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently four mayors of U.S. cities were in Poland as guests of the Polish Government on a trip arranged by the State Department's Cultural Affairs Bureau.

Mayor and Mrs. Frank A. Sedita, of Buffalo, N.Y., were among those who made the trip.

They were accompanied by Ed Kowalewski, a Buffalo Evening News staff reporter for 31 years who has been assigned to the Buffalo City Hall beat during both of Mayor Sedita's terms.

A Polish American, Mr. Kowalewski has written extensively over the years about the Polish American community in Buffalo and gave particularly fine coverage to our Polish millennium observance last year.

Upon his return to Buffalo from Poland, Mr. Kowaleswski wrote a perceptive series of articles in the News on his personal impressions during his 11-day tour of Poland with the mayors.

Explaining his series, the News said:

> While officials and public documents were consulted, the information in the series came largely from Mr. Kowalewski's own observations and from talks with the Polish man-in-the-street.

Ed Kowaleswski is a very able reporter and observer, and he has done a most outstanding job of spelling out a picture of Poland as he sees it today.

Since there is frequent discussion of Poland in the House Chamber, I urge my colleagues to read the series by Ed Kowaleswski, which I include herewith:

POLISH CITIES SHOW WAR'S SCARS—ALSO HANDSOME NEW FACES—I

(By Ed Kowalewski)

No travel guide or treatise on Communist life can really prepare you for a visit to Poland.

No matter what you've read or heard, the reality turns out to be somewhat different.

From what my wife and I had read before our trip for instance, we had the impression that Poland leads a spartan national existence, with the emphasis on strict utilitarianism just enough of anything, in other words, to make it do.

Our first glimpse of Poland—the Warsaw Airport—convinced us that that impression at least would hold up.

The airport, serving a metropolis of 1.2 million persons, is no bigger, apparently, than absolutely necessary.

It looks like one you might find on the outskirts of a small sluggish American city.

The terminal consists of a single, one-story building no bigger than a small-town bus terminal and the few aircraft, mostly two-engine prop jobs, are parked on nearby grassy spaces.

Your impression of utter meagerness grows as you leave the airport and head for Warsaw.

The road is on the same meager order—a narrow two-lane highway just large enough to accommodate two cars going in opposite directions. You pass horse-drawn wagons.

But neither the airport nor the highway approach quite prepare you for Warsaw itself.

As you stroll from your hotel, you find yourself in a big, modern, magnificent city, a planner's dream came true, with sidewalks as wide as average American city streets and treelined avenues, double the width of Buffalo's Main St.

You find yourself in unexpected parks and great public squares as you walk through the heart of the city, past modern shops, neon lights and imposing new buildings.

You can understand the newness of Warsaw, since it was built up fresh from a sea of rubble just 22 years ago. But as you go through Szczecin, Wroclaw and other war-damaged cities, you find the same emphasis on forward city planning and the stress on large green open spaces to relieve the hemmed-in city feeling.

The most imposing building in Warsaw is the Soviet built Palace of Culture and what strikes you is the acres of parking area in front of the building. In America, you only see such areas in suburban shopping plazas.

The cities are not completely utilitarian either.

A great effort has been made everywhere to restore ancient landmarks, from cathedrals, palaces and opera houses down to the tiniest statuary in the smallest museum.

Polish cities as a result, are mixtures of the very new and the very old. The old—as in the case of Warsaw's "Old City"—sometimes was rebuilt with the original material scooped out by hand from mountains of war rubble, The painstaking restorations bespeak Poland's great pride in its past.

Preconceived notions do not fit Poland.

We had been warned, for instance, of the difficulty in entering or leaving a Communist state. Our experience in getting a Polish visa had conditioned us for this aspect of the trip.

As we disembarked at Warsaw Airport and saw the grim-faced personnel around the immigration and customs desks, all warnings came to mind.

I suddenly became apprehensive of the big, 16-mm movie camera among our luggage and, with a sinking feeling. I remembered the four cartons of American cigarettes at the bottom of a suitcase.

We felt reasonably sure about the camera. We had a permit.

But the cigarettes were a different story. The regulations, outlined in one of the guidebooks, clearly gave the limit as one carton per person.

In virtual panic, we stood amid our luggage in the airport terminal, seeking to delay, as long as possible, the fateful moment of inspection.

A porter bustled up to us, inquiringly.

I addressed him in Polish.

"We're visitors from America."

His face broke out in a wide grin.

"Don't worry," he said. "I'll take care of everything."

The porter then proceeded to tote our baggage past the impassive officials at the various desks.

"Friends from America," he explained. "And the gentleman is of Polish descent."

We were detained just long enough to fill out the required currency declaration.

"That wasn't bad," my wife remarked. "I've had more trouble coming off the Peace Bridge from Crystal Beach."

"Don't worry," I said. "They'll make it up on the way back. First thing they'll probably do is confiscate the film."

Going through on the way back 11 days later, the process was the same. Nobody looked at the camera, inspected our luggage or even bothered to examine our currency declaration very closely.

What they did do was to weigh our baggage and come up with an excess-weight charge of $110. Poland, it became apparent all through our trip, is hungry for "hard" currency, particularly American dollars.

Zlotys Don't Grow on the Trees but They Buy Polish Flowers—II

(By Ed Kowalewski)

What impresses you about Polish cities is the apparent air of prosperity.

The women are well-dressed, with professionally coiffured hair; the men's suits are well-cut and the children are tastefully and immaculately garbed.

Flowers, a luxury almost anywhere, are in evidence everywhere in Poland. The women wear them, the men carry them and you'll find them on the table in the restaurant, your hotel room and in the taxicab that takes you, past flower stand after flower stand, around the city. Polish taxicabs have small vases mounted on dashboards to hold flowers.

The manager of the state-owned farm in Szczecin reported that 25 per cent of the farm's 400 acres is devoted to flower production.

"We could put the acreage to better use growing vegetables," he explained. "But the demand for flowers is great and the profit on flowers is higher than on vegetables. So we give them flowers, too."

You accept the apparent prosperity until you examine prices in stores and shop windows.

Told that the average monthly wage ranges from 1800 to 3000 zlotys, you are amazed to find men's suits priced at 3000 zlotys, sewing machines at 3850 zlotys and apartment-sized refrigerators at 6500 zlotys. You are told that a television set ranges from 8000 to 12,000 zlotys and that an automobile at 70,000 zlotys is a bargain. (The official exchange is 24 zlotys to $1.)

"How do you manage to survive in view of those prices," you ask.

The answer is uniformly the same, whether the question is asked in Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw or Szczecin, or in the hamlets in between.

"Simple," the man-in-the-street says. "Your wife works, your children work and you yourself work two jobs. And then you buy only what you need. You can't afford any more."

The Polish government disputes these allegations of hardship.

Spokesmen point out that deposits in savings banks now total 50 billion zlotys, or more than 1500 zlotys per capita; that refrigerators are common-place in Polish homes and that one out of every four families owns a television set.

"People forget how far we've come," the official said. "We were virtually destroyed by the war and we have to put first things first, housing, schools, industry. There's just so much manpower and material to go around and we have to exercise a tight system of priority."

However, the grumbling goes on unabated.

A Zakopane bus driver reported that he has to work 300 hours a month to earn 2000 zlotys. And an elementary school teacher in Warsaw revealed that her starting wage was 800 zlotys a month.

"Sure, things are tough," a man operating a sidewalk soda-stand in Szczecin agreed. "But you can get by, if you use your head."

He explained that when the soda-pop season ends he will go into other seasonal sidelines, including selling Christmas trees, which add up to a better-than-average income.

The right kind of sideline, apparently, can spell the difference between dire need and comfortable living. As a result, every street corner has a vending stand or two, for soda drinks, ice cream, fresh fruit, vegetables, flowers and even sausage grilled on skewers.

Driving a taxicab is a favorite second-front. A government spokesman said that Poland has more individually owned cabs than any other country in the world. They are operated 24 hours a day, with partners or family members taking turns at the wheel. Even private cars do not hesitate to stop at cab stands or pick up visitors along the street and drive them places for "whatever it's worth to you." Anything to supplement the apparent inadequate basic income.

A good source of supplementary assistance, according to a Krakow cab driver, is to have relatives in the U.S.

"And I'm sorry I wasn't born with some," he added. "Friends of mine who have relatives in America do all right. They always get something, particularly at the holidays."

What the Polish worker can do to have his basic wage increased was discussed by the visiting U.S. mayors at a conference in the state-owned shipyard at Szczecin.

The company official explained that the basic wage, as well as other work conditions, is arrived at in give-and-take negotiations each year between company and union. He outlined the provision for arbitration and appeal in case of impasse.

The official was asked what happens if, after all the negotiations, arbitration and appeal. the employe still refuses to accept the terms; in other words, strikes..

The official pondered the question for several moments.

"I don't know," he said, finally. "The situation has never come up."

People Often Forget Their Fear of Red Police and Speak Out—III

(By Ed Kowalewski)

You remember all you've read about the curbs on free speech in Poland.

Poland, you know, is a Communist-dominated police state and you picture the people as close-mouthed, cowed, living in constant dread of arrest by the big-eared secret police.

Consequently, you hesitate to approach anyone on a public street, or even a private place, and ask any meaningful questions.

The people are so friendly, so hospitable, you don't want to take advantage of their desire to be accommodating and expose them to personal danger.

But you do it, anyway. You lead up to the important questions by degrees. Sometimes they'll answer you on the spot. Otherwise, they'll draw you discreetly away from the main stream and proceed to unburden themselves of their accumulated grievances, hopes and fears.

They'll talk about the Russians, whom they dislike; the Germans, whom they fear; Vietnam, low wages, high prices, political favoritism and nepotism in filling choice jobs and even their secret hopes of someday going to America to live.

An exception to the usual furtiveness was a man we talked to on an overnight train from Krakow to Szczecin.

The train was crowded and the overflow from other cars jammed the corridor outside our sleeping compartment. The beer stand was at the end of the car and the crowd consequently was noisy.

We got out and talked to the couple outside our door.

We introduced ourselves as Americans and, without any hope of a particularly revealing answer, I asked the man how things were in Poland.

After a beer or two, the man began to tell us.

"The country's fine but the system is lousy," he said loudly. "In fact, it stinks."

His wife began to tug anxiously at his sleeve.

"Not so loud," she whispered, "there are people listening."

The listeners nearby included a soldier and a secret agent-type straight out of James Bond.

The man was adamant.

"I want them to hear me," he proclaimed. "They all know what I'm saying is true, anyway.

"You've got to wear a red tie to get anywhere. If you're not a commie, you stay at the bottom. A worker doesn't count for anything. They don't respect a worker. They won't listen to him. You know your business inside out and try to tell them what they're doing wrong. But they just look at you and say you must be an anti-communist to have such ideas."

The soldier went to the end of the car to get another beer and the secret-agent type got off at the next stop. He did so without a backward look.

Church Services Overflowing, Despite Frail Truce With State—IV

(By Ed Kowalewski)

Since World War II, we had read about the suppression of the Church in Poland.

Our only Sunday in Poland, during our tour with Mayor Sedita and other U.S. mayors, found us in the Oder River port city of Szczecin, formerly the German Stettin.

Answering our query, the hotel desk clerk informed us the nearest Catholic Church was in the next street.

We found two churches, on opposite corners.

"Which is the Catholic Church," we asked of a man, obviously church-bound, with a missal in his hand.

"Take your pick," he said. "They're both Catholic."

Both churches overflowed for their respective 10 AM Masses.

The elderly priest who took up the collection in St. Adalbert's, the church we chose, passed down the aisles as if he did not expect much to come of it. He was right. Only a scattered few gave. He acknowledged each donation with a "May God Bless you" and made it a point to pat the head of each child in the congregation.

On this Sunday, other members of our party attended Mass in a Baltic Sea resort town 20 miles away and they, too, found the church crowded to capacity.

The priest there devoted his sermon to imploring parents to teach their children religion despite what he termed "discouragement" on the part of the state.

Despite the restoration of many war-damaged churches by the state and the general freedom of church attendance, there is a definite conflict between church and state.

This has been evidenced in recent years in the outspoken remarks of the Roman Catholic primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and the state's refusal to allow him to leave the country last year to attend ceremonies marking the 1000th anniversary of Polish Christianity in other parts of the world. U.S. sources in Poland said this church-state conflict has now devolved into an "uneasy truce."

The church maintains that the state, in its attempt to suppress religion, has taken a series of restrictive steps, including drafting of seminarians for military service, taxing church property, curbing new church construction and censoring religious publications.

State spokesmen, however, say there is no more oppression against the church than any other institution.

"It's free to do anything it likes within its own confines," the spokesman said. "No country in the world permits a church to meddle in state affairs. Why should the church in Poland be an exception?"

The state, obviously, regards the Catholic Church as its most potent political opponent. And because the church has more adherents than all the political parties put together, it fears the church.

Anyone wishing to get ahead in the ruling political party and the government early eschews a church connection. Politically, being a church member in Poland is like being a Democrat in the U.S. and trying to get ahead in the Republican Party. Few, if any, Polish officials are church members.

Fear of a German Resurgence Weighs on the Minds of Poles—V

(By Ed Kowalewski)

The fear of a new war grips every Pole.

The last war dealt harshly with Poland, and almost every adult you meet has some bitter recollection. He lost members of his family, saw his home destroyed or himself fought.

You drive along with someone and he may point and say: "That's where I used to live."

You look in the indicated direction and see an unlikely-residential building and turn inquiringly to your car companion.

"It was before the war," he then explains. "We lived in a little house there. But it was bombed out. My family . . . well, anyway, it was before the war."

During my tour of Poland with Mayor Sedita and other U.S. mayors, this fact stood out strongly:

Everywhere the average Pole turns, at least in the western cities, he sees reminders of the enormity of war. In every Warsaw street, for instance, there is a building plaque to commemorate some act of Polish valor during the uprising or some act of Nazi atrocity.

And every year thousands of Poles journey to the former Auschwitz camp at Oswiecm, where 4 million of their fellow countrymen were executed in World War II.

The Poles see the danger of war from two directions: a restored Germany, which could again try to conquer Europe, and an escalated Vietnam war which would draw the Soviet Union, and Poland as a Russian ally, into it.

The greater fear is a restored Germany.

Poles are apprehensive about U.S. military and economic aid to West Germany and read significance into our failure to take an official stand on preservation of Poland's post-war western boundary.

One reason for the ovations given French President Charles de Gaulle on his recent visit to Poland was his unequivocal stand in favor of Polish retention of reclaimed German territories behind the Oder-Neisse line.

Vietnam disturbs and sometimes puzzles the average Pole.

The hard Communist line, enunciated in party newspapers and public speeches, condemns the U.S. as an aggressor, pursuing inhuman, imperialistic aims.

The Pole in the street, however, does not buy the official propaganda line.

He has learned to know the U.S. as a humane, selfless state and he feels that the U.S. has a loftier purpose in Vietnam than attributed to it by his officials.

"It's like Korea, isn't it?" a dock worker in Szczecin asked us. "You're trying to stop the Communists from taking over a country."

"That's exactly it," we told him.

"Then why don't you knock North Vietnam out as soon as possible?" he demanded. "You're a great big country. Why don't you do it? Why do you toy with North Vietnam?"

The Pole, it was confirmed in other street interviews, yearns for an early end to the Vietnam war to lessen the danger of Poland's involvement in it. They are certain that if the war drags on, Russia will become involved and suck Poland into it.

A Warsaw cab driver, informed by us that we were Americans, asked that we say "hello" to President Johnson.

"Why?" I asked, "According to what we read in the papers, the Polish poeple don't like Mr. Johnson very much."

"Don't you believe it," the cabman said. "We all pray for President Johnson. He's the only one who's had the courage to stand up to the Communists. If you let them take over Vietnam, they'll go on and take you over, too.

"And then you'll work 16 hours a day for the Communists the way we have to in Poland."

"If the Polish people are so pro-U.S. on Vietnam," we asked a Sunday stroller in Szczecin, "how come you're always demonstrating against us?"

"We read about that in the papers back home," we told him.

"I work in a factory," the man said. "At a certain hour, the boss will say that so many, sometimes hundreds, are to leave work and report in the public square. We go there, they rave, we clap but nobody listens. It's part of the job."

Significantly, we saw only one Vietnam sign in Poland and that was in Warsaw.

This was outside a side entrance to the Soviet-built Palace of Culture and the sign made no reference to the U.S. It simply said: "Vietnam Fights and Will Be Victorious."

Poland Still in Eastern Camp, but Spirit Is Turned to West—VI

(By Ed Kowalewski)

Poles, according to Warsaw observers, no longer seethe with the spirit of revolt that gripped them in the early days of the Soviet-dominated regime.

They now accept state socialism as their vehicle of government—passively, perhaps reluctantly, but they accept it. They realize that nothing short of war can overturn it.

They give the system its due, too, I discovered during my recent tour with Mayor Sedita and other U.S. mayors.

They acknowledge the job it has done in rebuilding the country and in creating new industry, increasing farm production, constructing roads and in rural electrification.

Before the war, all the roads in Poland outside of cities were dirt or gravel. Now concrete highways dot the countryside, even though, by U.S. standards, they may be inadequate.

Rural electrification, according to a government spokesman, is 99 per cent completed. This has resulted in such anomalies as electric lights in ancient, thatched-roof cottages with dirt floors.

Older persons who remember the pre-war days said conditions now are considerably improved and they would never go back to the old ways if given the chance.

Poles pick now on the government, not because of its structure, but because of alleged lack of progress to improve living conditions, balance prices and wages, increase consumer goods, bring the economy up to western standards.

The government is conscious of the subterranean grumbling and seeks to appease it. This year citrus fruits, available formerly only during holiday seasons, are now offered year-round.

The desire for a more abundant life has been fired in Poles by an increased exposure to the West.

More Poles travel abroad now than ever before and they see that life can be richer, fuller and less spartan than they have known it.

They have also been increasingly exposed to U.S. movies and television shows and the bookstores, which dot Warsaw two to a block, are full of U.S. and British books, either in the original or in translation, which whet their appetites for a better life.

Culturally, Poland's face is toward the West.

A Szczecin nurse said the local movie houses are virtually deserted for Polish or Russian movies.

"But when they show a U.S. movie, even a western, you've got to stand in line," she said. "I can't wait to see My Fair Lady and The Sound of Music."

In the Russian-style Troika restaurant in Warsaw's Palace of Culture, the only Russian-resembling number offered by the orchestra was "Dark Eyes."

The other numbers were either Polish or American, with Sonny Boy, Charmaine, My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean, current favorites. And when a wedding party marched through the Troika for a reception in a private room, the orchestra struck up the international classic "Here Comes the Bride."

A Szczecin city official was asked about the suitability of state socialism, with its regimentation of the individual to the Polish temperament, with its intense desire for personal freedom.

"We had no choice after the war," he said. "We had to marshal the whole nation for the job of reconstruction. Complete government control of everything seemed to be the answer.

"Today, even people high in the government, are beginning to ask questions. Some of us have doubts.

"We wonder if we're going in the right direction.

"But we're in no position to change now. The answer will have to come from the next generation.

"We're preparing our young people to think for themselves. We're building schools, training teachers, enlisting every educational aid we know, giving them the mental tools they need to decide.

"When the time comes, if they choose, they can bury the system."

Oklahoma Football Excellence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, yesterday my good friend the distinguished senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and I engaged in a discussion of the merits of the Nation's No. 2 and No. 3 rated football teams, the University of Tennessee and the University of Oklahoma.

These two fine teams will meet on New Year's Day in the Orange Bowl, and the outcome of that game will settle the debate which the Senator and I began yesterday.

Today I invite attention to one outstanding member of the University of Oklahoma Sooners football squad, Mr. Granville Liggins. Mr. Liggins has been named to the All-America team by three different sources and is now receiving the recognition his fine contribution to football deserves.

Granville is a graduate of Booker T. Washington High School in Tulsa, and is Oklahoma's All-America linebacker.

Also, I should like to point out that another winning grid team from my great State, the Golden Norsemen from Oklahoma Northeastern A. & M. College, in Miami, was last week the winner of the Shrine Bowl and crowned undisputed national junior college football champions.

This fine team finished the season with nine wins and a single loss, capturing the national championship under the able guidance of Coach Chuck Bowman.

Like Coach Chuck Fairbanks at the University of Oklahoma, Coach Chuck Bowman at Northeastern A. & M. is in his first year as head coach of a college football team.

These two teams, the University of Oklahoma Sooners and the Golden Norse of Northeastern A. & M. College, are fitting ambassadors of the State of Oklahoma and are helping in a most appropriate manner with the celebration of the 60th anniversary of Oklahoma statehood.

The Education Men Against Parents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, pressure groups and so-called experts promoted by impressive sounding titles and names have the direction of education so muddled that the children have become but a pawn or statistic for experimentation. In New York City, the Urban League, and Harlem, CORE—after years of "crucifixion of black children" as guinea pigs in the race-mixing experiment—now demand separate segregated school systems in Harlem.

While in the South, newly aflame with the blackboard teachings of race homogenation, is being sold and court ordered to abolish dual schools and suspension of individual freedom of choice because the choice might not follow a racial quota or test tube experiment sheet.

Would it not be interesting if the intellectual spoilers would leave the children and schools alone. After all, once the parents have had enough, they go right back to the original school and plan—what they want for their kids. Would it not be nice to again have neighborhood schools for the training of our children instead of warping society.

I follow my remarks with recent news stories from the New York Times, the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, and the Baton Rouge State Times:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 22, 1967]

SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR HARLEM URGED BY TWO CIVIL RIGHTS CHIEFS

(By Leonard Buder)

The New York Urban League and the Harlem Congress of Racial Equality announced yesterday that they would ask the State Legislature to authorize a separate public school system for Harlem.

Dr. Eugene S. Callender, executive director of the league, said that only the creation of an independent school system could end the present "crucifixion of black children" in the Harlem schools.

He said that 80 per cent of the pupils in central Harlem were one to three years behind grade level in reading and mathematics.

"Harlem is a social entity and a truly complete community," said Roy Innis, the CORE chapter chairman. But he added that Harlem residents exercise no real control over the institutions that influence their lives.

The two spoke at a news conference at the Urban League's headquarters, 204 West 136th Street. A large Urban League emblem, showing a white figure and a black figure and the legend, "American Teamwork Works," adorned a wall.

REPORT WELCOME

The two officials said they welcomed the recent report issued by Mayor Lindsay's advisory panel on school decentralization, but asserted that it did not go far enough.

The panel has called for the reorganization of the city system into 30 to 60 largely autonomous, locally governed community school districts, with power to hire personnel, set policy and allocate funds. However, there would still be a central educational agency—either a "reconstituted" nine-member nonsalaried Board of Education or a paid three-man commission.

The panel's proposals were criticized yesterday by the school system's Board of Examiners. The board, which passes on the qualifications of candidates for all teaching and most supervisory posts, would be abolished if the panel's proposals were implemented.

The examiners said, in a statement, that the "proposals for local staff selection would destroy the merit system of selection, set up segregated school staffs, lower standards where they can least afford to be lowered, destroy staff morale and skyrocket administrative costs."

SOME PARTS ENDORSED

However, the board of directors of the New York State Citizens Committee for the Public Schools endorsed "the principles of citizen participation and responsibility" embodied in the panel's report.

In calling for a fully independent Harlem school district, the Urban League and the CORE chapter said that a system "which Harlem residents feel is their own can best rally all of the strengths in the Harlem community to work for meaningful education for Harlem children."

They said that the proposed district would be governed by a school board "chosen by Harlem residents, chartered directly by New York State, with right to enter into its own contractual agreements with staff and suppliers."

The two rights leaders said that detailed plans were being drawn up and that a meeting of Harlem leaders would be held next Wednesday night at the Young Men's Christian Association on 125th Street.

Last September, Harlem's CORE chapter, unsuccessfully tried to persuade the State Constitutional Convention to adopt a proposition enabling Harlem to set up its own school system.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State Times, Nov. 27, 1967]

WHITE PARENTS DEMAND SCHOOL BOARD RESIGN

MADISON, ILL.—A group of parents urged Sunday that a boycott by white students at Madison High School continue until the School Board resigns.

A spokesman for the white parents said picketing will continue at the high school. The group also is circulating petitions to ask the seven School Board members to resign.

The board, in order to end a recent boycott by Negro students reversed a previous decision and reinstated Negro athletes who were suspended over their protest against cheerleading selection methods.

That action precipitated the white boycott last Monday. The white parents had proposed to have the board members recalled. But Madison County School Superintendent Wilbur Trimpe said Illinois law has no recall provision.

[From the Baton Rouge (La) State-Times, Nov. 27, 1967]

PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL HEAD ANSWERS ONE BLACK POWER DEMAND

PHILADELPHIA. — School Superintendent Mark R. Shedd has answered one of 14 demands made at Black Power demonstration outside his office Nov. 17—that Afro-American history be taught in Philadelphia high schools.

About 300 public school teachers are now being taught Afro-American history, Shedd said, and "I think we can foresee, possibly next year, the offering of a separate elective on African history."

What the 300 are learning now, however, is aimed primarily at giving them a broader understanding and for integration into current courses, Shedd said Sunday.

The course consists of a weekly lecture on the Negro's cultural roots, he said, adding that more teachers volunteered to take it than could be accommodated.

The demonstration, which included some 3,500 Negro high school pupils who cut classes to participate, ended in a club-swinging melee between police and demonstrators. More than 50 persons were arrested and more than a score, including by-standers and policemen, were injured.

About 80 of the demonstrators presented Shedd with a 14-point manifesto. Shedd made public only one demand other than the one for Negro history: The right to wear African garb to class.

Shedd defended the wearing of African dress such as flowing, brightly colored gowns, as long as it is worn "in taste with sincerity."

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State Times, Nov. 27, 1967]

Newest Absurdity Is Proposition To Teach Young New York Negroes Swahili Language

(By John Chamberlain)

Everything these days seems to ravel out into absurdity.

There is, for instance, the recommendation, made by a panel headed by McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation, that the existing New York City unified school system be broken down into a federation of 30 to 60 locally governed community school districts.

This column has never been against decentralization. Back in the 1940s, when the disciples of philosopher John Dewey were riding high, it would have been a calamity if education in America had been administered form a central conning tower. Those were the days when they were tossing instruction in the alphabet into the wastebasket in favor of treating words as Chinese ideograms. The Deweyite method of teaching arithmetic was to go to the supermarket and watch adding machines. If certain decentralized suburban school boards hadn't resisted the dominant trends, the cause of American education would have gone down the drain.

So there is value in multiplicity. But if freedom to resist bureaucracy can be a good thing, it does not necessarily guarantee that the residence will always be right.

The most extreme supporters of black power in the New York City area have come up with the proposition that schools in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and the Bronx should pay some attention to the Negro's African heritage. Well, why not? Everyone should know something about his origins. But when the black power enthusiasts advocate the teaching of Swahili in the schools of Harlem, it becomes a trifle ridiculous. Swahili is the lingua franca of the East African coast, but it is a spoken language that is without a literature. Ironically, it is partly Arabic in its origins. The Arabs, historically, were—and still are—the great slave traders of the East African coast; you can still see the dungeons into which they flung thousands of captive Negroes if you visit the ruins of Fort Jesus in Mombasa, Kenya. In honoring the partly Arabic Swahili with the position of "second language" in Harlam schools, the black power advocates would be paying tribute to a historic enemy who enslaved more people than the British ever did along the coast of West Africa. One of the first statistics that you learn in Kenya is that the Arabs took 12 million slaves out of East Africa over the centuries. That's a lot of human flesh.

Unless an American Negro has plans to live in East Africa, Swahili would be a complete waste of time. Culturally, there is nothing to be gained from immersion in a language that is without a literature. And practically, Swahili is worth less to the visitor to Africa than English or French, which are the real "extra" languages of the continent. English is as much a lingua franca of East Coast Africa as Swahili. And French is the "second language" in many of the African West Coast and desert countries. Thus it would make more sense for Harlem students to study French than to study Swahili, which has a strictly limited application.

What the Negro who wants to recover some of his African tradition is up against is the fact that tribal cultures have always had oral traditions, passed along from the elders to the children through ceremony, dramatic story-telling and the quotation of proverbs. Since there are hundreds of tribes in Africa, oral tradition has been enshrined in dialects that are incomprehensible outside of their own circumscribed regions. The American Negro, who has been cut off from his origins by generations, has no way of rediscovering his own tradition. For better or worse, the Negro is, in a sense, American; without access to an ancestral literature, he can really know no other culture than the one into which he has been born.

This doesn't mean that he shouldn't be taught African history. But he might as well make up his mind that he is first and last an American. Without a tribe to absorb him, he would be a foreigner in Kenya or Tanzania even if he spoke Swahili.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, Nov. 22, 1967]

Negroes Urged To Ask Better School Balance

Monroe, La.—Members of the Negro race were urged by a Negro attorney, the only woman on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, to take Louisiana's school system back into federal court to secure a better balance of the races in the classrooms.

Speaking before some 500 members of the Louisiana Education Association Monday night, Frankie Freeman of St. Louis, said the freedom of choice admission used in state schools actually hinders desegregation.

She said freedom of choice is not working because white children will not choose to attend Negro schools. About 2.6 per cent of Negro children are attending previously all-white schools, she told the assembly.

Calling for legal action to force the state's school districts back into federal court, she added the Negro student is often afraid to attend white schools for fear of "reprisal and harassment."

Quoting from a comment she made on a Civil Rights Commission, Mrs. Freeman said, "America is on a collision course," because of a widening gulf between the races caused by dual school systems.

West Point and the Sugar Bowl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the people will not forget the decision refusing to allow Army to participate in a bowl game. And I will not forget it either. I am still receiving letters from citizens who are irate over the Secretary of the Army's ruling in this matter.

I am including some of these letters here to further indicate the resentment which has been created by Secretary Stanley Resor by not allowing the football team and the Cadet Corps to make their own decision about playing in a bowl.

San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Representative Hébert: I am enclosing a marked article from the San Francisco Chronicle dateline today, November 20, 1967. Re—West Point and the Sugar Bowl.

I find it very embarrassing as an individual who supports our government's position in Vietnam to read articles such as this—particularly when I understand that the graduating class of cadets of June 1967 had an outstanding number who volunteered for duty in Vietnam.

There are many of us outside the "Army Circle" who take a great pride in these young men of all academies and support them because we feel they belong to all of us. By that reasoning, while they are preparing for their service careers, let us treat them to the spirit of competition whether it is on the academic level or on the football field.

Let us hope that when the official invitation is given to Army they can accept and thus close the door to these critics who are waiting for any excuse to expand their "verbalization" re Vietnam.

Mrs. Paul Jacobus.

Dunellon, Fla.

Honorable Sir: I am enclosing herewith two articles from the Orlando Sentinel, Orlando, Florida, dated November 17 and November 21 regarding the Pentagon's decision of Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor not to allow the Army football team from West Point to participate in the Sugar Bowl football game.

It seems to me (an old Army veteran) that Mr. Resor apparently is doing his best to belittle the Cadet football team in the eyes of the American people. In all probability in his ignorance of public sentiment, Mr. Resor will probably make an effort to prohibit the annual football game between the Army and the Navy since the same circumstances apply there. It is my thought that Mr. Resor has gone too far in his efforts to prohibit the Cadet team from playing in the Sugar Bowl football game.

Although I am not one of your constituents, I sincerely hope that you will be successful in your efforts to have Mr. Resor's decision nullified.

C. S. Danielson.

Mr. Speaker, the following letter is from a captain in the U.S. Air Force, who displays interest in his sister branch of the armed services. For obvious reasons, I am withholding his name.

Dear Mr. Hébert: From time to time significant events occur that have far-reaching effects on members of the Armed Forces. Too often we are forced to accept such matters as a part of serving our country. But sometimes a prominent member of our Government stands up for us and makes an impression that will not be forgotten. Such is the case regarding your position on sending the Army team to a Bowl game as a reward for overcoming many difficulties and striving on spirit and desire alone.

This is what is so important. As a West Point graduate, I have seen what this spirit can mean to young men in their accomplishing almost impossible tasks against great odds. As an officer, I recognize what significance such a matter as a football team can make to men serving in all ranks.

The Army team does not simply belong to a school and its alumni, as is the usual case, it belongs to the entire Army. At a time when it should be paramount to do everything possible to raise the spirit and morale of those in Vietnam and those yet to go, the Army does just the opposite.

As an officer I realize what harm such an "apparently insignificant" matter as supporting the Bowl efforts of the Army can lead to. Especially when there is no explanation whatever for the brutal crushing of the hopes built so dramatically in the symbolism of a football team.

Enclosed is an open letter to the Secretary of the Army which so beautifully sums up the feelings of all of us concerned with the importance of seeing the Army team fulfill *its* importance to so many men in uniform around the world. It is truly an inspiration to know that men like you and Mr. (Gene) Ward (New York Daily News) care enough to fight arbitrary and unreasonable actions on the part of those unconcerned with the spirit of millions of men serving under them. Please read Mr. Ward's letter as it says what so many of us feel deep in our hearts.

NAME WITHHELD.

Mr. Speaker, the open letter to which the captain refers appeared on page A5756 of the November 27 RECORD. Now I want to include here a letter from an Air Force staff sergeant who is serving overseas. I am also withholding his name. It goes to show that not only Army people are interested in the Military Academy.

DEAR SIR: Although I am a member of the United States Air Force, I am writing this letter to you in regard to the United States Military Academy being prohibited from playing in a postseason football bowl.

Enclosed is an article from the European edition of the Stars and Stripes newspaper. Such inconsistency in Army policy, which allows soccer participation but not football, deserves looking into. The majority of personnel on the Army post where I am stationed feel that by accepting a bowl bid the U.S. Army corps would be showing that, besides learning how to fight, physical fitness and esprit-de-corps is also a part of American life to other people.

Your continued inquiry into the above will perhaps remove policies such as this and improve the idea that military personnel can compete with civilian schools without overemphasis on sports.

NAME WITHHELD.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

DEAR SIR: I have just written the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of Defense on a matter that made me feel very bad . . . I just saw in the Times-Picayune that "Secretary of Army Rules No Bowl Game for Military Team." I wish you would say something to the Secretary of the Army and maybe he would change his mind.

Sir, my heart goes out to the United States GI who is carrying an M–16 rifle. And I hope that Army can come to the Sugar Bowl.

BRUCE F. HENDERSON.

"Arizona": The Ship That Became a Shrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, this moving account of one of America's greatest warships and her untimely end and eventual use as a national shrine is worthy of the attention of all of us. It follows:

"ARIZONA": THE SHIP THAT BECAME A SHRINE

(By John G. Hubbell)

(Out of the nightmare of that long-ago Sunday morning has come a living symbol of the heroism of our fighting men.)

No flag at half-mast here. The colors snap high as you come aboard and you can almost hear the shrill wail of the boatswain's pipe, summoning the ship's company to quarters. And there on deck you can imagine row upon row of sailors in crisp whites, silent, at attention, honoring the flag. Then, suddenly, there are the sights and sounds of that valiant last fight, and you feel your pulse quicken.

You are aboard *Arizona*, a battlewagon 608 feet long, 97 feet abeam, normal displacement 32,000 tons. For a quarter of a century she carried her country's flag to the ends of the earth, and she still holds it high in this hallowed spot, over the tranquil blue waters of Pearl Harbor, her last home port. You are standing in the Navy's proudest place—the *Arizona* Memorial, a national shrine commemorating all the brave men who died here on December 7, 1941.

Here, in that stunning moment 26 Decembers ago, our old concept of a battleship navy died; it is here that an enemy bomb found its way into *Arizona's* ammunition and fuel storage areas, that she was blown out of the water, that she shattered apart and went down in less than nine minutes. Here she still lies, still enfolds hundreds of her sons. The deck you stand on—this lovely, gleaming white structure spanning her hull—is her and her sons' headstone, the *Arizona* Memorial. But memorials are for the dead, and it is not true that *Arizona* is dead: she has never been decommissioned, never will be, no younger ship will ever inherit her name; for you cannot decommission a spirit, and *Arizona* is the Spirit of the Fleet.

You can see her through the clear, shallow water. White poles fore and aft mark her stem and stern; between, ventilator-intake shafts and gun-turret tubs protrude above the waterline. The lady is 51 years old now, dark from rust and a long generation of sea erosion, and her wounds still bleed: down there, somewhere, oil is leaking, probably through tiny pinholes, and small clots, some black, some a silvery purple, rise to the surface and drift away. *Arizona* has bled steadily all these years, and she cannot have much bleeding left to do.

That thick black streak along the rocky shoreline of Ford Island, a few yards distant, is oil, too, from *Arizona* and six of her sisters. They were tied up singly and in pairs to the great mooring quays along the southeast shore of Ford Island. Directly ahead of *Arizona* that fateful Sunday morning, *Tennessee* and *West Virginia* were moored side by side; beyond them were *Maryland* and *Oklahoma*, then *California*; aft lay *Nevada*. This was Battleship Row, and that day, the first in five months when they all were here together, they took scores of torpedoes and bombs and spilled a lot of oil—there was a layer of it a foot thick atop the water on the Row. Brave sailors fought for the lives of these ships, but *Arizona, Oklahoma, West Virginia* and *California* went down and the others suffered greatly. So close were the moored ships to Ford Island that it seems incredible that so many men did not make it; but hundreds were killed instantly or trapped inside.

That was one of those moments by which history sets its watch. Surely there is not an American alive old enough at the time to understand, who will not always remember exactly what he was doing when the word came. For, with the knowledge that a war had begun in this place, everyone sensed that his world had changed. Modern American history began at that moment, and battered *Arizona* was in the mind's eye when we raised the angry battle cry, "Remember Pearl Harbor!"

Never forget *Arizona* and her sons! Their war lasted only a few short minutes, but they were minutes filled with enough gallantry to fuel the nation's spirit forever. She had made ready for church services when the first enemy planes were sighted at 7:56. The call to general quarters was sounded, and the men started for their battle stations.

Almost immediately *Arizona* took a torpedo, and then she was shuddering under the impact of aerial bombs. Fires broke out along the boat deck and quarterdeck and men ran to fight them; others were fighting from the gun turrets and still more were in stifling, fume-filled rooms below, struggling to get ammunition up to the gunners.

Then came the 1000-pound armor-piercing bomb that knifed down through her forecastle and deep into her heart to detonate in the forward powder magazine. The harbor trembled. People ashore stood transfixed as *Arizona* rose, as though in slow motion, two feet out of the water, under a leaping ball of fiery black smoke; they saw her break and fall and begin to settle. In those first tragic minutes, over 1000 men lost their lives. On the bridge, Rear Adm. Isaac C. Kidd, the commander of Battleship Division One, and Capt. Franklin Van Valkenburgh, the *Arizona's* skipper, were killed instantly. Out of the some 1400 men abroad, only 289 survived. Of these, a few were blown into the water, now coated with oil from ruptured tanks, and were able to swim to shore. Those able to carry on fought the raging flames, manned the guns, and helped evacuate the wounded to waiting boats. A few escaped to the *Vestal*, a small repair ship, moored outboard of the *Arizona*.

The mooring lines holding the *Vestal* close were cut. Someone shouted to the repair ship to move away—she could serve in the war that had just ended for *Arizona*. Then *Nevada*, moored singly behind *Arizona* and the only battleship that morning with enough steam up to get under way, began turning out into the channel. She took aboard some *Arizona* men—and nearly brushed against her agonized sister, as though kissing her good-by.

That evening, when it was all over, *Arizona* still burned in the oily water. A small boat came by to haul down the torn colors.

It was decided that this place, where *Arizona* and her crew had fought and died, is where this ship and these sailors belong. So each morning the colors again are raised and each evening they are lowered, as with any commissioned Ship of the Line. And each day *Arizona* receives visitors. She has memories for some, a message for all.

A white-haired gentleman comes, carrying his orders to *Arizona*, dated April 14, 1917, when he was fresh out of boot camp and she was only six months old. His memories are good ones: the thrill of being assigned to the baby battlewagon, the excitement of cruising the seas with her and of sharing the respect and the honors accorded her in the world's great ports. . . .

Another son of *Arizona*, middle-aged now, lays a wreath before the names on the wall. He looks at them for a long time before going to the side to look down at the ship. He was ashore, on liberty, when the enemy struck and he did not get back here in time to die with her. . . .

"You who've served in battleships—
Or perhaps you've shipped with me,
Or you might be mourning a shipmate
Who is resting beneath the sea."

A woman stands before the names on the wall. She crosses herself, bows her head. She dabs at her eyes, moves away. . . .

"Let my story be heard by mothers
Whose sons I still enfold.
And by all the wives of loved ones
Who defended me brave and bold."

Now come some young sailors, not even born when it all happened.

They are on liberty. They salute the flag and the ship, remove their hats, move slowly, quietly, through the Memorial. One wonders how a new generation would perform in the crucible of such a moment. Their faces are sober, thoughtful—and suddenly one knows very well how they would perform. . . .

"Though our worldly days are over,
  Don't for a moment be misled;
The spirit within me is still alive,
  Kindled by the gallantry of my dead."

"Remember Pearl Harbor!" It was a cry for vengeance then; it is a plea for vigilant readiness now. . . .

"If we could ask one thing of you,
  Our sole request would be:
Do all within your power
  To keep our country strong and free."

Someday *Arizona* will stop bleeding, and the oil slick will be gone. It will not mean that her story is old. For here lies a ship and her sons who one long-ago morning gave something to our heritage that can never grow old. Americans will always come to this place, to see, to remember, to draw high inspiration from *Arizona,* Spirit of the Fleet.

Importance of Textile Mills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it is always a great day for rejoicing when a community acquires a new industry. It is time for double rejoicing when an existing industry proves its worth by a monumental expansion. I recently had the privilege of attending open house given by West Point-Pepperell, Inc., for their new mills at Huguley, Ala.—the Joseph L. Lanier Mill and the Homer M. Carter Mill.

In connection with this I am pleased to have inserted in the Record the fall cover of Dixie Business, which is a salute to West Point-Pepperell Mills, and includes information I am sure my colleagues will find interesting.

The material follows:

IMPORTANCE OF TEXTILE MILL: NEW LANIER AND CARTER MILLS, WESTPOINT PEPPERELL

(By Hubert Lee)

There are 7,000 textile mills over America, spending $15-billion for products and services from other industries . . . including $150-million for electric power, half a million for new machinery, $2.4 billion for man-made fibres, $100 million for hauling textiles by the trucking industry, $240-million for paper.

This is the story of two of them . . . the newly completed Lanier and Carter Mills at Huguley in East Alabama, near Langdale where on August 1, 1866 planters and merchants of Chattahoochee Valley pooled their resources to get the Chattahoochee Manufacturing Company launched. This company in 1880 became the West Point Manufacturing Company . . . now the West Point Pepperell Inc.

A great Open House and Fabric Fair slated for November 11 and 12, will attract customers and suppliers from all over the nation, as well as happy employees and residents of the Chattahoochee Valley areas in and around West Point, Ga. and Lanett, Alabama. Also stockholders, the press and leaders from all walks of life—because the textile industry is vital, and don't forget it when you talk with your Congressman and Senator.

When the directors decided to name the $20 million twin mills in honor of the firm's top executives, John A. Sibley, said:

"The new blend mill will be named the Joseph L. Lanier Mill, and the new percale sheeting mill will be named the Homer M. Carter Mill. This is in recognition of the tireless devotion and effective and successful handling of the company's affairs by Chairman Lanier and President Carter."

The sheeting mill, with 518 looms and 36,288 spindles, has a capacity to produce about 7,200,000 combed cotton percale sheets and pillowcases annually. The fine goods mill, with 648 looms and 36,288 spindles, will produce the equivalent of eleven million men's dress shirts per year of 65/35 per cent polyester/combed cotton bastiste and broadcloth.

We salute Joseph L. Lanier and Homer M. Carter for the honors their leadership has brought to the textile industry over the years and Westpoint Pepperell Inc. for returning to them part of the honors due them—in naming the mills in their honor.

A Modern Horatio Alger Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to share with my colleagues the enclosed article which has appeared in the Paterson Morning Call. It shows that the Horatio Alger quality of determination still produces results, and I am pleased that a company such as Acrison, Inc., is in the congressional district which I am privileged to represent.

The article follows:

A few years ago, two local young men, Ronald Ricciardi of Garfield and Charles Frederickson of Clifton got together to form a company for the manufacture of dry materials metering and handling equipment.

Today that company, Acrison Inc. of Passaic, is one of the world leaders in their field with a national and international sales organization; and numbering among their customers, some of the world's largest firms including E. I. Du Pont, Monsanto, General Foods, and General Motors.

Having had some prior experience in the field of dry solids handling, Ricciardi and Frederickson recognized the limitations of the conventional equipment being offered to industry for this purpose and proceeded to develop new and unique machinery representing a great advancement in this field. The beginnings were humble, 2 men and 1 machine, but the concept was sound and business boomed.

And so they began developing volumetric and gravimetric feeder and hoppers for the accurate metering of dry materials. These materials may include pellets, powders, chopped fibers, or even chunck.

The equipment is now being used in virtually every industry and has brought application in the areas of defense, food, pharmaceuticals, plastics, agriculture, and chemistry.

Volumetric units measure in cubic feet per minute or hour; the gravimetric ones measure by weight.

It specializes in eight products: five models of feeders which are further divided into different sizes; storage hoppers; and hopper bottoms.

Future plans call for further expansion into foreign markets beginning with the establishment of Acrison (Australia) Pty. Ltd.

Remarks of Hon. Wayne Hays at the North Atlantic Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the honor of serving as a U.S. representative to the North Atlantic Assembly. As a member of our delegation, I was particularly impressed by the ability demonstrated by our chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Wayne Hays.

On November 23 at a plenary session, Chairman Hays delivered an extemporaneous address which I feel was indicative of the outstanding manner in which he served our Nation.

His remarks, which were made following those of the leader of the French delegation, Mr. Boscher, were an eloquent, yet simple and easily comprehended statement of the relations between the nations of the Atlantic community.

As I am confident that my colleagues will find his statement enlightening and beneficial as I did, the text, taken from the transcript of the meeting, follows:

Mr. Wayne Hays (United States). It gives me great pleasure to follow Mr. Boscher of France who, I think, made a very balanced presentation of the views of his government, as I take it, and the dominant political party in France.

I should just like to emphasize at the very beginning that it seems to me that all of us here have more in common than we have differences. In saying that, I would not wish to paper over the fact that perhaps our differences have been sharper and more apparent in this conference than in others I have attended, but we do have a common concern about the well-being of our countries, of our peoples, and the Atlantic community, and I think this has been evident throughout our discussions.

I suppose it is fair to say that a good many of our problems in the Alliance are similar to the problems we have within our own countries, which are compounded by our mass media communications, because it has been my observation that they will take a molehill and very quickly make a mountain out of it, and they seize upon the sensational because they are in the business of selling advertising and newspaper space, at least in my country, and sometimes overlook the fundamental basic hard work that goes into a lot of the decisions made, not only in national governments but in international organizations. I speak specifically of a headline I saw in the paper yesterday, which says the French are mounting an attack upon the dollar. I said in the Standing Committee that I do not know whether it is true or whether it is not. I would hope that it is not, and until I see more evidence of it I will believe that it is not. But I would say, if it is, that this could be ultimately not only an embarrassment to the United States but a defeat for France as well. It might serve in passing to mention that the gross national product in France, a country of fifty million people, is only equal to the total gross product of the State of California, a state of twenty million people. I think as I said in the Standing Committee, that the international economic situation is so fragile that no country, or group of countries, can stand alone in the free world if someone else in the free world is trying to destroy them economically.

Why do I say this? Well, it seems to me that, if you look at the picture of the rivalry between the free world and the communist world in a balanced way, with the exception of China—and even their former partners in Russia admit they cannot fathom what goes on in Peking, nor does it make any sense to them—but if you look at the struggle outside that it seems any sensible view would be that we have moved more into an economic and political competition, than we at the moment, into a military confrontation.

At the risk of being a bore, I repeat what I have said to this Organization both in Committee and Plenary before, that the free nations of the world have proved with NATO and during World War II and World War I that they could stand together in times of military stress but that they could not stand together in times of economic stress. I think it is significant that some statistician pointed out that 50% of all the people living in Europe cannot remember World War II. If that be a true statistic, certainly it must be true that three-quarters of the people living in Europe and America today cannot remember the great depression of the late twenties and early thirties. Many people say there is a tremendous parallel between that time and what is happening today.

I am not an economist, so I cannot say, but I do know that if economic stress comes we had better stand together or, as the old American saying in the revolution goes, "We had better hang together or we will all hang separately". I do not know whether the governments of any of the nations in the free world could stand another economic debacle comparable to that which occurred in the twenties and thirties, and if they tried to do it alone I think they would not survive. So I am for the NATO Alliance being more than a military alliance, and I guess in that particular degree I disagree with some of my French colleagues, but I think the time will come when they will see this more clearly.

I hesitate to become a prophet, because I am neither omniscient nor omnipotent, but I do think we ought to be making arrangements not to try to destroy each others' countries, not to try to destroy each others' economic well-being, but to help. I would just like to point out that this rising tide of protectionism which Senator Javits spoke about is a real thing in the United States. It is not only because of competition affecting American industries.

I live in a constituency that has been seriously affected by European competition for the whole nineteen years I have represented them, because one of the big industries in my constituency was the making of dishes and glassware. I have heard this over and over again, but it is affecting more industries now, and there will be a serious effort, I think—if we keep reading in the Press about various attacks on the dollar and various schemes to get around the tariff lowering which we have agreed to in the Kennedy Round, as the Senator said, by road taxes and other things which are just as effective as tariffs in barring our products from your countries—there will be a serious effort, and maybe a successful effort, to do away with all the gains of the Kennedy Round. So I think it is to our interest to look at that, and I think it is to our interest as an Alliance to try to see that this does not happen.

I hesitate to speak about Great Britain's difficulties. I can only say this, that if devaluation is more than a temporary solution to their problems—and most economists think it is only a temporary solution—nobody will be happier than the United States, because we have no more desire to see Great Britain brought to the brink of disaster economically than we have to see France or Holland or Norway, or any other country in the free world.

I think it has been fair to say that while my country has accepted a lot of criticism, if you look back over the past history—and we expect no appreciation, let me say that in advance—of the American attitude towards its partners in Europe, starting with our intervention in World War II, succeeded by the Marshall Plan, we have been interested in the well-being of Europe, not only from the standpoint of its political aims, its freedom, but its economy and everything that goes to make life for mankind a better life. I say this, as I said, not expecting any appreciation because this is a commodity that is in short supply in the world, and I am not criticising Europe, because I want to tell you I can turn it around and say it some other way.

The other day I was speaking to an audience in my own constituency. It was a question and answer period, and some fellow got up and said "Where is our European alliance when we are engaged in a struggle with our people dying in Vietnam? Where are they?" I said, "I guess they are exactly where we were, my friend, when Hitler raped Austria, attacked Czechoslovakia, marched into Poland, France fell, and he was standing on the Channel, and we were not interested until the first bomb fell on Pearl Harbour." So when I say that sometimes we feel a little hurt because Europe is not so much interested in our problems, I point out to you that this is a characteristic of people, and a characteristic of nations, and the further you are away from a conflict the less it really interests you. I do not criticise Euroepans for this, because we have a lot of people in the United States who would rather go on with the business of deciding which kind of a third television set they would buy and which model of a second car they would buy than face up to the reality that we are living in a world with two competing systems, and one or the other ultimately, in my opinion, is going to have to prevail. So if you felt any hurt in anything that I said, or felt that I was speaking badly about Europeans, it was not that at all, it is just human nature.

The only thing I can pass on to you that has been of any value in my almost lifetime in politics is a definition which the teacher in the secondary schol I went to wrote on the blackboard on the first day I went to the world history class. She said, "History is a record of the past, a guide to the present and a forecast of the future." All of us here in this organization are literate, all of us have read history, and it seems to me that if we cannot draw the conclusions from it to guide us in the future we really will have failed our people.

I would like to conclude these remarks by just pointing out one simple thing that I think is really overriding in the competition between Communism and Capitalism. The United States has had a problem for many years of producing more than it could consume in the way of food, and we have concocted all sorts of plans for getting rid of it around the world for nothing or for little or for something. Our great competitor in the world, or, as many of you like to call it, the other super power, has more acreage and more potential than we do and its problem in all of my political lifetime has been trying to find enough to feed its people. Now, certainly, Ladies and Gentlemen, that ought to be some kind of a commentary upon the two systems, and all you have to do to find the proof of what I am saying is to look around in any of your own cities—this one, Brussels, Paris, London, Rome, Amsterdam—you name it. When I first saw them before the war and when I first saw them after the war you could cross any street in any city in Europe with your eyes closed and have no fear of a traffic accident or of becoming a statistic. I only cite the automobile as one sign of the tremendous economic recovery Europe has made. I think it is fair to say that before the war the great mass of people in Europe aspired to some day riding in an automobile; today the masses aspire to owning an automobile and most of them do. This has been our system in competition with the Soviet system.

When I first visited Moscow you could walk down the street blindfold and cross it and not be hit by a car, and when I went there two months ago traffic was still no problem and for the first time in many months, for the duration of my stay there, I was not bothered by traffic jams. So I think it is fair to compare our system with theirs and it is fair to say that we ought to do what we can to preserve and protect ours so that it is not overwhelmed by theirs. Thank you. [Applause.]

An Ugly Fact: Inaction Makes Slum Landlords Necessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post:

AN UGLY FACT: INACTION MAKES SLUM LANDLORDS NECESSARY

(By William Raspberry)

Every now and again, someone rips the cover off the squalor in which some Washingtonians are forced to live. We become righteously indignant; housing inspectors start scurrying about like so many ants; slum landlords get their roasting in the courts and in the press.

And through it all we insist on overlooking one central, ugly fact: Slum landlords provide a useful and necessary service.

Obviously one cannot condone squalid, crowded and dilapidated housing. But those who own slum housing are providing a service that government has been unwilling to provide and that private industry cannot.

There is profit in slum housing, to be sure, and the temptation is to put down the slum landlord as a rich vulture. But take the profit out of it by forcing the landlord to maintain his properties at code standards, and the result is not better low-income housing but merely less of it.

The experience of All Souls' Unitarian Church illustrates the point. Some well-meaning church members and their associates decided to prove that it was possible to house poor people in decency.

They formed a nonprofit corporation and bought a rundown apartment house on Girard Street. To make the necessary repairs and bring the place up to code it was necessary to evict the building's occupants. But the ousted tenants were to have first crack at the renovated apartments.

The nonprofit group went ahead with the renovation, but after a few months the truth came home to them:

They could not afford to rent the renovated property at the old rate—even on a nonprofit basis. Reluctantly, they raised the rent, pricing many of the former residents out of the building. Even at the higher rate, All Souls' Church still has to pick up part of the tab.

The nonprofit group learned the hard way what landlords in the slums already knew. There is profit in low-income housing only if you permit the crowding, make almost no repairs and provide as few services as you can get away with. You take what you can off the top and let the building deteriorate. The deteoriation is written off in depreciation for tax purposes, and, when the building is hopelessly gone, you buy another and start again.

Slum landlords make the point that services cost them more than they cost their fellows in better neighborhoods. One complained recently that in one year he replaced a single window 11 times.

Part of the reason windows get broken, stair rails removed and wash basins torn off the walls is that dwellers hate their landlords. The feeling is mutual.

He doesn't give a damn for his property, so why should I? the tenant argues.

The landlord counters: If they want to live like pigs, I'll let them.

Perhaps if either party thought the other cared, the deterioration would slow and the services would cost less. But, as in police-community relations, nobody is willing to move first, and the war goes on.

What Washington's slum landlords are making clear is that there are substantially fewer decent places to live than there are people who need them. This housing cannot be supplied economically on the private market, and the local government hasn't the money to build it, even if space were available in this restricted city.

No relief is in sight until the Federal Government understands the dimensions of the problem and provides the subsidies that will make it possible for poor people to afford decent housing and for landlords to furnish it.

Clifton Terrace, most recently in the public eye, is a mere drop in the bucket. Multiply it by a dozen, throw in a few hundred smaller slum buildings, add the 6000 families currently waiting for public housing, and you begin to see the scope of the problem.

Until the supply of low-income housing is increased massively, forcing slum landlords to bring their buildings up to code does not mean that poor people will have decent housing. It more likely means they will have none at all.

This, then, is the dilemma that faces Thomas Appleby, the Mayor's new housing coordinator: how to both enforce the code and to house the poor decently.

U.S. Flights Over China Are a Danger to Us All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, on November 15, I alluded in both the body and the Appendix of the RECORD, to an editorial in the Saturday Review, based on a statement by a spokesman for the State Department—and I quote the editorial:

> There is nothing new about flights by United States planes over Chinese territory. United States planes have been flying authorized missions over Communist China for years.

Since then, Mr. Speaker, the Saturday Review has published, in its November 28 issue, word of a disclaimer from the U.S. Department of State, which reads as follows:

> The U.S. Department of State has informed *SR* that it was in error in quoting a State Department spokesman ["The Tragic Trap," *SR*, Oct. 21] as saying that U.S. military planes had been authorized to fly over Communist China for several years. The State Department says it was referring to *accidental* flights over China by planes authorized to carry out missions in North Vietnam within specified distances of the Chinese border. The editors are pleased to put this correction on the records.

In order to further elucidate the position of the Department of State on this grave matter of U.S. military flights over Chinese territory, I submit the complete text of a letter to me dated November 21, from Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy. The letter follows:

> ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE,
> *Washington, November 21, 1967.*
>
> Hon. JOHN G. DOW,
> *House of Representatives.*
>
> DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOW: I have noted your remarks of November 15th in the House (H 15285), concerning statements in a recent editorial in the *Saturday Review*.
>
> I read that editorial with some shock, because it completely mis-stated what I (the spokesman for the Department) had said to the editor. As my contemporary record of the conversation reads, with the support of a witness in my office, I said nothing of the sort attributed to me in the editorial. What I did say was that none of our bombing missions had been directed over China at any time, which was the clear implication of the earlier *Saturday Review* editorial of September 9th. I went on to note that there had been accidental overflights of China in connection with our North Vietnamese operations, but that these had taken place over a long period and were not in any sense "recent"—the term employed in the original *Saturday Review* editorial of September 9th.
>
> I went on to discuss Chinese Communist reaction, but in much more sophisticated terms than this second *Saturday Review* editorial quoted me. What I said was that the Chinese have from time to time reported overflights and that, when verified by us, we have confirmed the facts and the reasons—faulty navigation, pilots under fire, etc. I went on to say the Chinese Communists had protested these actions but the sum total of their reaction did not suggest that they regarded them as deliberate intrusions or a threat to China itself. I said that of course the question of Chinese Communist reaction was one that we kept always in mind in framing operations, and would continue to do so. Finally, I said that it was our present judgment—which I believe to be shared by a consensus of China watchers, as reported by the *New York Times* shortly after the first raids nearer the Chinese border, for example—that the likelihood of Chinese Communist major reaction did not appear substantial at the present time, and that it remained our basic view that the Communist Chinese would certainly react if they believed their territory deliberately threatened or if they believed that we were out to destroy the regime in North Vietnam. I said that I did not think they now held either of these beliefs, and that these were certainly not our objectives, as we had tried to make clear both by word and deed.
>
> In view of the substantial degree of misunderstanding and inaccuracy in the *Saturday Review* editorial, I discussed the matter with Mr. Norman Cousins, its editor. As a result of these discussions the *Saturday Review* has printed a correcting box in the issue of November 25, which I enclose.
>
> The record of our bombing operations in North Vietnam, the occasional accidental overflights, and our judgment of Communist Chinese reaction is not a new one. We have repeatedly discussed the subject with the relevant committees of the Congress and will continue to do so. I can assure you that we take it most seriously.
>
> I leave it to you whether you may wish to insert the *Saturday Review's* correction in the Congressional Record. But I wished you have it for your own information in any event.
>
> Since Senator Hartke inserted the whole of the second *Saturday Review* editorial in the Congressional Record, I am taking the liberty of sending him a copy of this letter.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> WILLIAM P. BUNDY.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the State Department's clearly sincere effort to clarify a most difficult issue.

Yet, I cannot understand why our Government will for one instant make it possible for military flights over sovereign Chinese territory to occur or permit flights that could come even remotely close to the Chinese border. Knowing, as we do, that all of the bombing of North Vietnam is of questionable efficacy, then bombing of areas near China must be of slight value. I submit that such bombing is indeed of slight value when compared to the danger it poses of worldwide nuclear war. The judgment in Assistant Secretary Bundy's letter that "the likelihood of Chinese Communist major reaction did not appear substantial at the present time" is all very well, yet scarcely convincing. However competent this State Department judgment may be it is still too slender a thread for us to hang the destiny of the world upon.

Mr. Speaker, I question this judgment. The fate of the world should rest not on speculation, but only upon the most solemn counsel and constitutional checks that are within the power of our democracy to provide.

How To Develop a Foreign Policy—U.S. Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of November 28, 1967, on development of a foreign policy—U.S. style—in the RECORD as an excellent delineation of the problems confronting those charged with the responsibilities of administering our foreign policy.

HOW TO DEVELOP A FOREIGN POLICY—U.S. STYLE

(By Saville R. Davis)

WASHINGTON.—If an ordinary American came to Washington to cover foreign policy, like a reporter, he would be astonished. Most of the notions he had acquired on the subject simply wouldn't fit the facts.

There are neither heroes to be given all the credit, nor villains to be easily condemned.

If he put on his gumshoes and tried to follow some golden thread to an inner chamber where important pressures and forces lurked, his trail would cross so many other golden threads that he would soon be in a daze.

In really big matters like Vietnam, foreign policy leads a life of its own in the United States. It has a massive, slow momentum and can be changed only by great effort or cataclysmic events. It has well established ground rules.

FIRST QUESTIONS ASKED

It is independent of the White House to a far greater degree than most Americans realize. Not even the President with his great powers as commander in chief of the armed forces can, as a rule, decisively thrust it this way or that.

So the questions an ordinary citizen eagerly asks, when he comes to Washington, are good ones, but still wide of the mark.

He wants to know whether Secretary of State Dean Rusk is a fanatic on the subject of Communist China. Whether Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is in fact doubtful about the bombing of North Vietnam. If the military leaders are frustrated by the civilians who make policy on military matters. Whether the President turns to important personal advisers outside his official family, when he has big decisions to make, and if they support the limited war he has been fighting.

Whether his special assistant, Walt Rostow, is a "great eminence" close to the President who whispers hawkish words into his ear. How strong is Senator Fulbright's backing in Congress. If Bobby Kennedy differs more than he pretends from Lyndon Johnson, on the subject of Vietnam.

And, with a shrewd surmise that she is important, what does Lady Bird think.

These are a civilian's nontechnical questions, quite naturally aimed at what a citizen most readily understands: the personalities involved. They are important and fascinating questions, and the answer to them all—excepting the last one about Lady Bird, and removing the barb from the way questions are usually put—is yes. They are all true to a significant degree. The citizen is normally quite well informed on personal matters like these.

But hardly anyone asks the still bigger questions: What is the foreign policy of the United States? What are its ingredients? How was it put together?

Yet if anyone wants to change that policy, or decide whether to vote for it, usually it's a good idea to know what it is, as well as who administers it.

An honest inquirer, here, soon finds out that the things a President cannot do far outnumber those he can do. This is not to say that he is exactly a prisoner of events and forces, but neither is he a mastermind pulling the strings and making the puppets dance.

There is no ultrasecret conspiracy behind the fortress walls of the Pentagon, by which "military minds" twist and manipulate the civilians. Some of them would like to. But they don't get very far.

There are many lesser matters that the State Department can put through an organization meat grinder and serve in aspic. Bu not the really big ones.

There is a lot of secrecy to warmaking, though it's less than the ordinary American might think. Meanwhile the impatient peacemakers have to operate in the open. So war looks like a conspiracy to many citizens and the dissent of the doves like an open and therefore honorable pursuit, by contrast. There is something to this. But it isn't that simple here in Washington.

VIET POLICY DISCUSSED

If many of the well-worn truisms are to be set aside, as only partly true, and apt to be misleading, then what can be put in their place? Is there no simple explanation for so overwhelming a fact as the national policy that led to the Vietnam war?

Certain positive propositions can be gleaned from talks with those who "make" foreign policy today or made it yesterday?

There is a clear line of policy on big issues like Vietnam that has remained stable and largely unchanged under Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. There is more that binds what these men said and did, than separates them.

It was a bipartisan policy that involved the United States in Vietnam, kept it there, and steadily enlarged its effort.

In more recent years there has not been a formal structure of collaboration between the parties. It depends today more on parallel interests and on personal relations like those between the President and Messrs. Dirksen and McNamara. But most Republican leaders today, despite their effort to find an alternative policy for the election year, would not change the limited war in its essentials, and would only modify it.

There is something called the national interest which everyone from the President down has to respect. It has great weight and inertia and changes with something like glacial speed. It is a complex of many forces, actions, opinions, treaties, alliances, military and political positions, official statements and the like, accumulated over many years. Yet people understand its broad outlines in a vague, intuitive way. Let a President violate it at his peril, unless he can persuade the country to a new course.

MIDDLE GROUND WATCHED

There is also a voting position on the big issues, in Congress and in the country, at most any time. It is a compound of actual votes, when they come, polls voting in Congress and the judgment of what are called political animals, who feel politics in their bones and are not loath to talk about what the voters want.

It is the small vote for the two extremes of hawk and dove, at opposite ends of the policy line, that enables President Johnson to hold the middle position.

If a ground swell of change should develop in the great middle ground of American opinion (some think it has but the evidence is not conclusive yet) then the President would have his leadership tested to the utmost in the coming election year.

These are anchor points in the kind of foreign policy that is the subject of this inquiry: not the smaller, day-to-day matters but the really big decisions.

Though they seem like cold, abstract concerns, by comparison with the intriguing subject of personalities and what advisers have the chief's ear, they are the fundamentals.

There is nothing secret about them. It is just that most civilians don't normally make the effort to read and think about them.

What is secret, in the nature of things, is the process by which they are applied.

"Few people have any idea," said one specialist who has often been involved in this process, "of how hard it is to write policy documents, and to make policy. Every direction you turn in, when you are working on foreign policy for the White House, is filled with obstacles and reasons why the President cannot or shouldn't do this or that. He is not spared from taking all of them into consideration, and woe to the adviser or president who overlooks something important.

INTRICATE EXERCISE SEEN

"An exercise in policymaking would frighten the wits out of the average American—it is so intricate and requires such subtle and wise balancing of different factors against each other. Those officials and advisers who are really good at this sort of thing are beyond price. They work behind closed doors, unfortunately for the public, because the very nature of decision-making and considering all the possibilities is bound to be secret."

But any reputable foreign-policy organization in the United States studies and debates and prints material that is the stuff of the big public decisions. To these organizations and their members there are few secrets and they are not important enough to alter anyone's decision. They are open for Americans anywhere to join by mail or in person, and to become one of the makers of policy in the American republic.

Our Changed America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the "Editorial Comment" carried in the Fort Scott, Kans., Tribune, November 18, 1967, is most worthy of the attention of my colleagues. We are well aware that the American people are extremely concerned for the directions being pursued within this country. Many of the courses being struck in the name of the U.S. Government are along paths which we have never taken—but they are well-trodden paths. Unless we soon decide to explore another fork of the road, we will arrive at the same destination as those who have gone before. I should hope, that in the year of 1967, the world has not exhausted all means by which to meet society's problems. Certainly the United States of America has not so depleted its frontiers that we can no longer find a path consistent with our way of life and our form of government. I share the concern which is endorsed by the Fort Scott Tribune and its editor, George Watson Marble.

The editorial follows:

EDITORIAL COMMENTS: OUR CHANGED AMERICA

Most large industries spend money budgeted for advertising in messages designed to sell their products. But there is one well-known concern whose management has such strong convictions about some things happening in this country that it devoted the space it bought for national advertising to its concern over how America has changed and where it is heading.

This is the message, to which we heartily subscribe:

"We talk about Guaranteed Income for everyone, whether he works or not. The British called the same thing The Dole, and it helped make England Socialist and destroy the British Empire.

"We complacently watch unions demand and force unearned wage increases which destroy profits vital to national growth. That's only one step from the Russians who abolished profit in favor of the Workingman's Soviet.

"We watch our central government seizing more and more power, destroying the authority and self-respect of cities and states. That's what Germany did—and out if it came Hitler.

"More and more of our income is taken in taxes to support indolence by people who won't work but who will support whoever gives the most from the public trough. That's what supports Cuba's Castro.

"Criminals are pampered, police attacked. Success is suspect, poverty perpetuated. Government runs amok in spending money it doesn't have, and in destroying thrift and hard-won security.

"All this is the very opposite of what built America. And, continued, this won't be America long."

The Kee Report: Thanksgiving

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include last week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report is the observance of Thanksgiving.

The report follows:

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

Our thoughts this week are centered on the observance of Thanksgiving, the day on which we give thanks to Divine Providence for the blessings bestowed upon the people of America.

By tradition, this is a day of family reunions and bountiful feasting. Thanksgiving is one of the first holidays designated by the Federal Government for national observance. However, before considering the significance of this day, I would like to inform you of a far-reaching change now under consideration in your Congress.

This is a movement to change the dates of five Federal holidays so that each may be observed on a Monday, thus providing a three-day weekend. Under the proposed plan, Independence Day would be celebrated on the first Monday in July, instead of July 4th; Memorial Day on the last Monday in May; Veterans' Day on the last Monday in October; Thanksgiving Day on the 4th Monday in November and Washington's Birthday would be shifted to the third Monday in February and renamed Presidents' Day to honor all of our Presidents.

This radical change can be adopted if the American people want it. However, before taking this step. I think it might be well to review what these holidays mean in the spiritual life of our country.

The observance of Independence Day on July 4th is as old as the country itself. There was wild rejoicing throughout the colonies when the people learned that on that fateful July 4th, 1776, the Delegates at Philadelphia had cast off the yoke of Great Britain finally and forever. This day marked the beginning of freedom for our country. In a larger sense, it marked the beginning of political freedom throughout the world.

We may, if the people wish, convert Washington's Birthday into a day to honor all our Presidents. But, without the courage and determination of George Washington, the Revolution might not have succeeded. A short time later, it was Washington's leadership which held the Republic together during those early days when many believed it could not survive. I think Washington deserves one day a year to honor his memory.

The observance of Memorial Day arose spontaneously from the hearts of the people after one of the costliest Civil Wars in history. This day had a dual purpose in the minds of its sponsors, to honor the dead, and in Lincoln's words, to help bind up the wounds of war. The date of its observance has been fixed for nearly a century.

Our present Thanksgiving is modeled after the celebrated feast of the Pilgrims at Plymouth to give thanks for a bountiful harvest. The traditional family dinner of turkey, pumpkin pie and cranberry pie, had its origin on that occasion. But, while feasting played a prominent part, this was essentially a day of religious observance.

The first Thanksgiving Day proclamation, issued by a President of the United States, was issued by George Washington in gratitude for the adoption of our Constitution. The first proclamation fixing the fourth Thursday in November as Thanksgiving Day was issued by another great President, Abraham Lincoln.

There is no legal barrier to the proposed change of dates. My own view is that certain ones—like the 4th of July—have become sacred in the minds and hearts of the American people. I believe the national holidays should remain as they are, unless there is an overwhelming public demand for a change.

Thank you for listening.

Amendment Related to Drugs Feared Loaded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have been very much interested in the action of the other body with regard to the Long amendment to the Social Security Act dealing with the socializing of the drug industry.

Because of this situation, I was most interested to read the column of James J. Kilpatrick in last night's issue of the Washington Star which should be of interest to all Members of Congress and particularly to the conferees who are considering the social security bill.

I have asked unanimous consent to insert the article in the Record, which is as follows:

AMENDMENT RELATED TO DRUGS FEARED LOADED

Just before it recessed for Thanksgiving, the United States Senate put on a spectacular demonstration of how not to legislate wisely. With only the most cursory debate, in the midst of such confusion that speakers barely could be heard, the Senate voted 43–37 to approve Russell Long's proposal for a price-fixing "formulary committee."

The proposal came in the form of an amendment to the pending Social Security Act. As such, it now goes into House-Senate conference. One can only hope that the conferees will take a long slow look at the Long amendment, and then toss it on the junkheap.

If the senator's scheme actually would accomplish what he supposes it would accomplish, not a word of opposition would be heard. Long's purpose is to reduce the government's drug costs without adversely affecting the millions of patients who benefit from federally aided programs. It is a laudable purpose. Long says his plan would save $100 million a year. If this were true, it would be a significant saving.

If Long's proposal had been carefully studied in committee, if it had been presented to the Senate with an opportunity for full analysis and sober debate, one could accept the Senate's judgment even if the judgment seemed to be wrong.

But none of these things was true of the Long amendment.

Back in August, the senator introduced the first of his formulary committee bills as S. 2299. It was a breathtaking bill. Long was proposing that a committee be created, within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, that would have absolute powers to say what drugs could be prescribed for use in government programs. The bill would have had a drastic impact upon the practice of medicine throughout the United States.

It swiftly became apparent that Long did not have the votes to get S. 2299 out of the Finance Committee. Welfare Secretary Gardner opposed the bill. So did Dr. James Goddard, head of the Food and Drug Administration. Spokesmen for the drug industry, when they finally were able to make themselves heard, testified convincingly to the unwisdom of creating the stifling new bureaucracy that Long had in mind. The senator subsided.

He waited until Monday, Nov. 20, when the Social Security Act was before the Senate. Then he introduced his 21-page amendment. On the following day, before its immensely complicated provisions could be analyzed, he called up the amendment for a vote. Thirty minutes on each side. The chamber was jammed with so many staff assistants and hangers-on that the sergeant at arms twice had to be ordered to clear the floor. Bob Griffin, who was presiding, banged repeatedly for order.

About all that Long said of the amendment was that it "relates to drugs." He said it would save $100 million a year, by requiring under state plans for medicaid, that payment be made, wherever possible, on a basis of generic drugs rather than brand-name drugs. Putting on his country-boy act, Long pretended not even to be able to pronounce the generic names. Opponents of the amendment—Curtis, Hruska, Hartke—pleaded with the rowdy chamber in vain.

Hartke surmised that Long's new and unread amendment was "for all intents and purposes" the same as S. 2299. But this was not so. The amendment is a wholly rewritten version. Some of the most objectionable provisions have been deleted, but other complicated sections have been inserted. Long said flatly that Secretary Gardner "approves the amendment." This was not so, either. What Gardner had said was that "we do not believe that we have enough information at this time upon which to make satisfactory judgment."

If the Long amendment remains in the final bill, a powerful new bureaucracy of unknown dimensions will be created. What it will cost, no one knows. What it will save, no one knows. And it will do no good to inquire of the world's greatest deliberative body. The Senate that bowed agreeably to Russell Long has not the foggiest notion of what it wrought in haste that Tuesday afternoon.

Freedom of Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include a fine essay written by Richard Ruhe, a high school student in my congressional district. I was glad to receive such a well-written essay, and I believe it deserves wide circulation.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH: SAFEGUARD OF THE CONSTITUTION

(By Richard Ruhe, San Marcos High School)

In recent years the Constitution of the United States has endured a great deal of criticism from the American people. Some consider it outdated and undemocratic and believe that it provides for an unnecessarily strong central government. Others believe that it limits efficient government. However, many of the alleged faults of our Constitution are actually the result of apathy on the part of American citizens. The Constitution provides for its own alteration and guarantees the American people the opportunity to demand such alteration by giving them the right of free speech. However, no changes will be made in the Constitution unless the people exercise their right of free speech. Although it can guarantee the people the opportunity to make changes, the Constitution cannot guarantee the execution of such changes. It is the responsibility of the American people to make their desires known and to demand appropriate changes to meet these desires.

One of the most common criticisms of the Constitution today is the idea that it favors the agrarian and rural population. In the early years of our democracy, most of the population was in rural areas and representation actually did favor the rural people. In some places representation still favors the rural areas, despite the fact that the majority of the population is now concentrated in urban areas. However, the Constitution is not responsible for the apportionment of representatives. It simply states that no state may have a ratio of more than one representative for every 30,000 people. Otherwise the state governments determine the apportionment of representatives. Thus the Constitution is blamed for a situation that it did not create. However, since the Constitution does guarantee that the people shall have the opportunity to demand just representation simply by guaranteeing their freedom of speech, it is the responsibility of the people to utilize this opportunity.

The degree to which the American people fulfill their obligation to their country determines whether or not our government is really by the people. The United States Constitution provides Americans with an opportunity of self-government that requires only that they exercise their Constitutional rights, and, most important, their right of free speech. This right of free speech gives the people an opportunity to govern themselves by informing their representatives of their desires and demanding appropriate legislation. The people must also challenge legislation that seems to be unjust or unsuitable, for any government that is uninformed and unchallenged will eventually become undemocratic. Only by exercising their right of free speech can people have a voice in their government. Those who feel that they have no voice are those who do not utilize their opportunity to participate. The Constitution provides the American people with the opportunity to govern themselves, and it is their responsibility to utilize that opportunity.

If American citizens fail to utilize their opportunity to participate in their government, that government will inevitably become too strong. Although the strength of our central government is often criticized, this strength is determined by the very ones who complain about it. The American people have the ability to regulate the strength of their government by regulating its legislation. The central government, as set up in the Constitution, is strong enough to unify the states and to provide for the general welfare of the country, but it lacks the power to be anything but democratic without the consent of the people. However, a lack of protest is usually interpreted as being consent. Therefore, if the people do not utilize their freedom of speech to protest such legislation that increases the power of the central government, such legislation will be made and enforced. Thus the responsibility for regulating the activities of the government falls on the people, for only the American people can challenge their government. To fail to challenge a government, of course, is to encourage the development of power and totalitarianism.

Although freedom of speech is the major element that makes the Constitution effective, it is also the cause of some complaint. Many people feel that the United States government is too slow and inefficient in its actions. This lack of efficiency is caused by freedom of speech, for our governmental system is slow only because people have the right to protest legislation. The greatest delay in legislation, of course, is found in Congress, where each representative has the right to oppose a bill and to criticize the administration in power. If our representatives, as American citizens, did not have the right to challenge the current administration's policies, legislation would be quite rapid and efficient, just as it is in the Soviet Union and other totalitarian nations. However, the country would then be controlled by a few individuals, causing the government to become undemocratic. Any government in which all the participants have the freedom to express their views is certain to be slow and awkward on account of the many differences of opinion found in any group of individuals. Thus American citizens must choose between a slow, inefficient, democratic government and a rapid, efficient, totalitarian one, for inefficiency is an unavoidable but minor fault of democratic government.

The United States Constitution has endured for one hundred eighty years and has survived many crises, both international and domestic. The one element predominantly responsible for this endurance is freedom of speech, which gives the American people the opportunity to participate in their government. Of course the right to vote, the right to petition, the right to assemble, and freedom of the press are all necessary in a democracy, but none of these is of any value without the right of free speech. As long as the people of the United States can inform their representatives of their wants and needs and can challenge any unjust legislation, our government will indeed be a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." However, the Constitution can only guarantee the people an opportunity to govern themselves through freedom of speech. If the people fail to utilize this sacred right, they are not fulfilling their obligation to their country. It is the responsibility of the people, not of the Constitution, to guarantee a democratic government. Should the people of the United States fail to fulfill their responsibilities, our Constitution, our democracy, and our liberty will ultimately be destroyed.

Changes Coming in Police Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, John H. Colburn, editor and publisher of the Wichita, Kans., Eagle, participated recently in a 2-day seminar at Southern Methodist University in Dallas on "Police and Community Relations" sponsored by the Southwestern Legal Foundation. Mr. Colburn made some very important remarks and observations concerning the role of the police that could lead to better police-community relations. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following "Personal Observations" of Mr. Colburn, which were published in the Wichita Eagle:

CHANGES COMING IN POLICE ROLE

(By John H. Colburn)

One of the toughest jobs in the nation today is that of a policeman. He is the symbol of law and order in an era of disorder when many people interpret the law in their own way. He has been given unprecedented responsibilities without adequate public or financial recognition.

One of the top police chiefs in the country, Thomas Reddin of Los Angeles, in a recent talk to the graduating class of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said:

"Never in the history of law enforcement have the pressures, duties and demands been greater on those charged with enforcing the law . . . Law enforcement is attempting to cope with problems far beyond what was ever conceived to be its area of responsibility."

Against this background of new, broader responsibility, the dedicated policeman still ranks low on the pay scale totem pole. His public image has gotten worse, not because of his work in crime prevention or as a peacemaker in sociological disputes, but largely because of his efforts to enforce traffic regulations on a highly mobile society.

The changing role of the police departments and some of the problems that can be anticipated in the future attached 150 police officials from southwestern states for a two-day seminar at Southern Methodist University at Dallas last week. It was one of a series on "Police and Community Relations" sponsored by the Southwestern Legal Foundation.

Discussions covered prejudice and discrimination, riot prevention and control, civil disobedience and police-press relationships. There was an acute awareness that enforcement of law and order would pose new problems, require new police techniques and demand a more professional attitude if policemen were to successfully fulfill broader responsibilities.

To this participant in the discussions, it was a pleasure to report to the group what the Wichita Police Department has been doing in pioneering better police-community relationships. Wichita's program to promote a better understanding among policemen and citizens of the changing role of the police department was made possible when Police Chief Eugene Pond obtained a federal grant through the Department of Justice.

In an effort to erase some of the negative images of the "old-fashioned cop," or the image of inefficiency, corruption and so-called police brutality, Wichita's 300 policemen undertook a special training course that stressed the roles, skills and attitudes of the new type of law enforcement officer. They include:

1—The role of sociologist. In that role the policeman must understand the total community, its people, its prejudices, its weaknesses and its strengths.

2—He must understand the "nature of human nature," the psychology of communication and develop a keen awareness of his own prejudices.

3—He must, in part, be a criminologist, who understands conditions that breed criminal behavior; a social psychologist, who can rceognize the unique characteristics of different groups in our society; and who also can recognize that the teen generation needs help in adjusting to a new environment.

4—Finally, he must become an expert in

race relations, qualified to come to grips with this controversial, highly emotional and still potentially dangerous problem in a way that will improve the public as well as police image.

Many other police departments are taking a look at programs similar to that undertaken in Wichita as a way to prevent or stifle social unrest. The riots in the Los Angeles area of Watts, in Rochester, Newark and Detriot provided clear evidence that proper preventive steps are essential to best protect the welfare of the entire community.

The problems of social unrest not only embrace the possibility of riots but of civil disobedience. Police officials have found they are poorly prepared to deal with either. They are not equipped properly to cope with armed violence on a broad scale. Neither have they been trained adequately in recognizing the gray areas between peaceful civil disobedience and disturbances that jeopardize the public welfare.

In other words, when does an incident become an incipient riot? A recent example was a demonstration against Secretary of State Rusk's appearance in New York that within a few hours became a full-scale disturbance that jeopardized the safety of citizens in a 10 block area of New York City.

Police officials are worried about how to command a greater respect for the authority the policeman represents. This factor also has become a concern of Congress. Legislation now is pending that would appropriate millions of dollars to enable police departments to finance innovations in procedures and training programs. It would aid the fight against crime through utilization of the products of science and technology.

Among the innovations being explored are suggestions that traffic law enforcement be divorced from crime detection and prosecution. For the average citizen, the image of a policeman is the man who tickets you for running a stop sign, a red light or exceeding the speed limit. Few citizens stop to realize traffic law enforcement is for their own safety. Too many are quick to subscribe to the erroneous belief that the policeman has a quota to make to increase revenue for the city.

Such a diffident attitude on the part of the public often leads to the withholding of information that could help police in crime detection.

With the new areas of responsibility facing police departments, officials are examining better administrative procedures. Perhaps traffic enforcement should be separated from other law enforcement, with the groups being identified by different uniforms. Today, detectives and vice squad men in civilian clothing seek information on crime violations; tomorrow, other non-uniformed policemen may form a new intelligence unit to watch for—and to prevent—social uprisings in our communities.

Such is the changing role of the policeman.

Is Marihuana Dangerous?—The Answer Is a Qualified "Yes"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, this letter on James L. Goddard's remarks on marihuana speaks for itself and many other Americans. Mr. Lasley, the author, is well known for his frank and articulate descriptions of the current American political scene:

LELAND BISBEE BROADCASTING CO.,
Phoenix, Ariz., October 30, 1967.

Congressman SAM STEIGER,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SAM: I was absolutely shocked that the head of the United States Food and Drug Administration would make remarks such as those made by James L. Goddard in Minnesota. I urge you to add your voice to those who have already called for his immediate resignation.

As I understand Goddard's remarks, he said in effect, that he didn't believe marijuana was any more harmful than alcohol; he would just as soon his daughter smoke "pot" as drink a cocktail and that possession penalties are too severe.

For a person who is supposedly an expert on drugs to make such statements is unforgivable. I don't care what excuses Goddard may offer, the damage has already been done and all of his explanations will not undo it. Goddard is either totally ignorant about the potential danger and harm marijuana can do, he chose to ignore it or he intended to mislead the American people. In any case he should not be holding any government post let alone that as head of the Food and Drug Administration.

Perhaps you have read about the increasing number of Valley teenagers who have been apprehended for possession of and smoking marijuana during a recent police crack-down. The number now stands at over a hundred and is growing daily. Parents need remarks such as those Goddard made like they need a hole in the head.

I can hear the conversations that took place in a million American homes now. Parents are warning their children about the potential danger and harm in marijuana. And the kids answer back with something like this: "Dad, you have an occasional cocktail and the head of the Food and Drug Administration says that he doesn't believe smoking 'pot' is anymore harmful than alcohol, in fact, he said that he would just as soon his own daughter smoke marijuana as drink a cocktail. Certainly the head of Drug Administration is an authority on drugs and would know more about them than you do". What answer can a parent give? As far as I am concerned Goddard has knowingly or unknowingly contributed to juvenile delinquency. No ifs, ands, or buts about it.

Reader's Digest, November 1967, published the following about marijuana: "Is marijuana dangerous? The answer is a qualified yes. A person under its influence tends to lose coordination, yet often has a feeling of omnipotence. The marijuana user behind the wheel of an automobile is more dangerous because he is less likely to be detected than a drunken driver".

During more than 20 years of news coverage I have personally seen the damage and harm one marijuana cigarette can do. I have heard first hand reports of its danger and harm from hundreds of law officers, danger and harm that is greater than a cocktail.

In Michigan, a young man, after smoking a marijuana cigarette, hung himself on a dare. Under its influence he believed he couldn't die. I have never heard of a single, or for that matter, several cocktails causing the same hallucination.

In Phoenix a young man after smoking one marijuana cigarette sat in the middle of the street rocking with laughter and pointing to his friend's severed head. He told law officers that it was the funniest thing he had ever seen. He honestly believed his friend's head could be put back on his body and everything would be alright. I have never heard of a single cocktail, or for that matter several, ever having the same or similar effect on a drinker. Have you?

There are thousands and thousands of documented cases where a person under the influence of marijuana killed himself because he believed that he could fly, step from one building to another one or take a curve in a car travelling at 100 miles an hour.

Not every marijuana user uses heroin but an exceptionally high percentage of "hard" drug addicts use marijuana and openly state that their first experience with drugs was marijuana and that they advanced to heroin seeking a bigger kick than they could get from "pot". I have never heard of a drug addict who said that he was started down the path to addiction by alcohol.

I have never heard of a single case of a single cocktail causing hallucinations and a feeling of omnipotence but there are thousands of cases of these resulting from one marijuana cigarette.

If marijuana presented a danger only to the user I would not object to its use. We should have the freedom in a free society to be damn fools if that is what we want to be. But we should not have the freedom to be a fool if being one endangers the life, health, liberty and property of other people. Clearly, marijuana is dangerous and harmful not only to the user but to others he may injure and harm while under the drugs influence. Its sole use and distribution therefore, should be controlled and penalized.

Very truly yours,
GEORGE P. LASLEY,
Vice President.

Pride and Prejudice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following from the New York Times of November 24, 1967:

PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

(By Robert Lipsyte)

The sports establishment has always enjoyed patting itself on the back for its treatment of Negroes. In 1936, Jesse Owens was allowed to win four gold medals in the Berlin Olympics; in 1947, Jackie Robinson was allowed to start the revitalization of baseball, and several southern football conferences have been "integrated" recently for the sake of a few extraordinary black players.

This is not to say that sports is unjustified in its pride, even though its motives are usually economic. The sports establishment has often been ahead of the rest of the nation, and, more important, has given thousands of Negroes personal fulfillment, college educations, wealth. Millions of Negroes have been able to cheer, to be exalted by, to try to emulate, black heroes. William Bradford Huie, the author and an acute observer, said recently that "the poor whites who value a man who can win a football game, who can fight" have also been educated by seeing Negro athletes on television.

Perhaps it is the strength, the sense of personal worth, the feeling of obligation to the black community and the confidence engendered by sports that produced the announcement from Los Angeles that a number of leading Negro athletes, including Lew Alcindor, might sit out the 1968 Olympics, as well as competitions involving South Africans and the New York Athletic Club. It is a great sacrifice for an athlete to give up a chance to test himself against the best competition in the world.

SENSE AND SENSIBILITY

The athletes who announced their intention to support this so-called boycott are all college students, all involved in the tremendous pressure being exerted upon campuses these days by black activists. The resolution is an old one from last July's National Conference on Black Power in Newark. At that time, a resolution was passed calling for an Olympic boycott unless the heavyweight boxing title won by Cassius Clay and stripped from Muhammad Ali was returned.

The behind-the-scenes politician of that resolution was said to be Dick Gregory, the civil rights activist and comedian, who had starred in track at Southern Illinois University but couldn't buy a meal in downtown Carbondale. An effort by Gregory several years ago to persuade Negro athletes to boycott a U.S.-U.S.S.R. track meet failed. The suggestion was a little too early in the game.

PERSUASION

The stripping of Ali's title was symbolic, to Floyd B. McKissick, among others, of the nation's intent to "castrate any black man who stands up for the truth." To many Negro athletes, it was proof that sports status was a fragile platform the white man could always snatch away. It was already very well known that Negroes usually make less money than whites of comparable talent, in salary as well as outside endorsements for the professional athlete, in post-college jobs for the man who remains an amateur.

Perhaps most important, however, for this new generation of black athlete is the sense of obligation to the black community. Competing for the United States in such an ideologically-merchandised event as the Olympics might seem hypocritical to those who believe that this country has offered black Americans only "tricks and tokenism"; civil rights legislation that doesn't work, an antipoverty war that doesn't help the poor, political oppression and police-state tactics on the street.

What would a boycott accomplish?

It would, at least, give many young Negro athletes pause to re-evaluate their own goals, their own identities, whether or not they finally, and painfully, decide to try to make the team.

It would, at best, embarrass the country into taking more positive steps toward improving housing, education, job opportunities for black Americans.

You Don't Like Riots?—Well, Neither Do We

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to acknowledge and record the receipt by my office of petitions directed to me by constituents of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey. The subject of these petitions is the stated need for action on a larger scale than ever before, to provide jobs, housing, and education as long-range solutions to the riots in American cities. It is my understanding that these petitions were originated by the Communications Workers of Amerca, a union widely known for its concern with problems beyond the plant gates. It is my feeling that, through the act of affixing their signatures to these petitions, American citizens are showing their alertness to the dangers of future rioting in our cities, and hope to see something done about it before it is too late. I should like to make known by this means my own appreciation for this expression of public opinion in a matter of the utmost importance to our society as a whole.

Petition to the Congress of the United States of America: You Don't Like Riots?—Well, Neither Do We

Americans everywhere agree that action must be taken now to eliminate the causes which led to rioting and civil disturbances in our Nation.

The recent lives lost and property damaged in riots that ravaged our cities proved that the cities and States cannot carry the burden alone.

Only the Congress of the United States has both the responsibility and authority to pass the laws and appropriate the funds for jobs, housing and education needed now by the millions of impoverished Americans.

History itself has taught us that where these three basic needs are left unmet, all races are trapped in filthy, rat-infested ghettos ripe for rioting or in deplorable conditions which are "deadend." The answer is a creative, constructive, practical program that will benefit *all* Americans directly or indirectly—not a giveaway!

Therefore, we, the undersigned, believe Congress must act by providing:

1. Jobs: Put people to work. As recommended by the President's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, the government should become "the employer of last resort" by providing public service employment opportunities for workers who are unsuccessful in competing for jobs in private industry. This would put every American who is able and willing to work on a job.

2. Housing: Slum housing in this Nation must go; unsafe, infested buildings must be cleaned up or closed down and decent shelter must be built. Money appropriated for this purpose must be spent carefully and efficiently, and new funds must be appropriated as needed.

3. Education: A policy should be adopted and implemented to provide free public education from pre-kindergarten up to and including the doctorate level for all, with only ability and motivation serving as qualifying factors.

By means of this petition, we make known to you that the American public demands the action that is needed now to solve the problems of the cities.

(This petition sponsored by members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO—the community-minded unions.)

The Edge of Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker—

> Men are qualified for civil liberties in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains on their appetites—

Wrote Edmund Burke two centuries ago.

> Society cannot exist—

He continued—

> unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the internal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

We are confronted today, in the United States, with a situation which inevitably calls our attention to these eminently practical words of counsel. I mean, specifically, that we are faced today with a crisis testing the durability, the very capacity to survive, of our democratic process—a crisis identified by the name Vietnam. I do not mean that the conflict itself is a threat to our security; it never has been. I mean, rather, that by a curious paradox, our system of democracy, which guarantees as a sacred right the voice of dissent, is threatened as it seldom, if ever, has been in our history—threatened by the appetites of intemperate minds, which know the meaning of neither restraint nor commonsense, and who are using the democratic system to force their own private opinions upon a freely-elected and duly-invested government. Those who do this defy constituted authority in order to usurp the right to dictate public policy in the name of private morality, thereby ignoring the voice of the corporate social ethic. What we have, in effect, is the destruction of dissent by the triumph of demagoguery, the yielding of argument to brutish force, the inundation of reason by primitive emotion.

We are forced every day, by means of the news media, to witness the "dissent" of those who claim to be concerned and responsible citizens—"dissent" which is conceived at best in ignorance and at worst in malevolence. In a democracy such as ours, to be sure, dissent of the proper sort is not only tolerated, but encouraged by the very nature of the system. The concept of democracy is one which inherently demands of its citizenry responsible interest in political issues and the expression of that interest through rational discussion. It follows that dissent is an inevitable concomitant of the democratic process which implements the will of the people through constitutional government—if we mean by dissent its dictionary definition: "difference in sentiment or opinion, especially from the majority; disagreement; withholding of assent." Too many people, however, apparently do not apprehend the proper meaning of dissent, as it applies in the context of democratic government. I do not think that what has recently been passing as "dissent" is conformable to the accepted definition of the word. Nor do I think that much heed is being paid in certain quarters to the meaning of discussion and the place it should occupy in a free society. Discussion, if I may remind you, is defined as "consideration or examination by argument, comment, debate." And discussion, if it is to serve the purpose of human accomplishment, must be characterized by reason—a uniquely human quality, and one which was valued highly by the inventors of democracy—the ancient Greeks. Reason is "the power of intelligent and dispassionate thought, or of conduct influenced by such thought."

And it is upon the efficacy of rational discussion that the process of constitutional government depends for success. Without reason, there is no order, and in the words of Othello, "chaos is come again." The alternative to reason is anarchy.

We have come to the point where we are faced with at least the possibility of that alternative. We have come to that point because a highly vocal, though proportionately small, segment of the population is, for whatever reasons, wittingly or unwittingly, devoted to the destruction of our system—a system which assumes that reasonable discussion is the most effective means by which to achieve justice through law.

There are those, of course, who disagree with the President's Vietnam policy, who dissent through the process of rational discussion. This is as it should be. Then, there are those who dissent through the process of civil disobedience—those who, it would seem, are misinformed as to the nature of the constitutional democracy and the way in which it functions. I quote from a recent article in Look magazine by Robert McAfee Brown, a professor of religion at Stanford University, to illustrate my point:

> I will "counsel, aid, and abet" . . . students to find whatever level of moral protest is consonant with their consciences, and when for them this means refusing service in the armed forces, I will support them in that stand. In so doing, I am committing a Federal offense, for the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 specifically states that anyone who "knowingly counsels, aids and abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces" opens himself to the same penalties as are visited upon the one he so counsels, aids and abets, namely up to five years in jail or up to $10,000 in fines, or both.

Professor Brown states that he is so moved to act because, in the final analysis, "the vacuum within the two major parties leaves voters opposed to our Vietnam policy with rather bleak alternatives." What he means by that is that none of the major contenders for the office of the Presidency—including not only the President but also his most serious challengers—that none of the major contenders for the Office of the Presidency is in agreement with his—Professor Brown's—point of view.

It seems to me that Professor Brown, and others like him, are forgetting that the alternative open to them is to dissent through rational discussion, and then to vote as they see fit, in support of their point of view. If no candidate is available who expresses their views, they are at liberty to put one up who does, and if enough people agree with what they believe, they will triumph at the polls. It is as simple as that. What Professor Brown and others like him really mean, is that the majority does not agree with them, and since this is the case, the minority must disobey the laws in order to force their opinion upon the majority. This attitude is hardly consonant with the ideals of our democratic heritage. This attitude can serve only to erode and destroy the system by which the majority at any given time is entrusted with making policy but which at the same time must vindicate the rightness of that policy or face defeat at the polls.

The Nazi regime of Adolph Hitler forfeited its claim upon the allegiance of the German people not only because it violated every known tenet of the code of human morality but also because its totalitarian nature precluded discussion and free choice. The tragedy of Germany was that so many Germans did not realize this. Our tragedy is that so many Americans today seem to feel that their country has likewise forfeited its claim upon their allegiance. When men defy the constituted authority of our Government—which unlike the Hitler regime, has gone out of its way to protect the rights of dissenters and to assure the equity of its laws—when men defy the constituted authority of our Government through illegal action, they imply that Jefferson was wrong when he predicted:

> I have much confidence that we shall proceed successfully for ages to come, and that . . . it will be seen that the larger the extent of the country, the more firm its republican structure, if founded . . . in the principles of compact and equality.

I do not believe that Jefferson's hope has been vitiated. Nor do I believe that refusal to cooperate with Government policy is anything but inimical to the national interest—which is, after all, a collective expression of all the individual interests which comprise that national interest.

More serious, however, than the threat posed by these illegal critics who assume a posture of moral superiority, is the threat of those who willfully and maliciously violate the boundary between dissent and demagoguery—the threat of those who earnestly desire and consciously attempt to destroy the social order which allows them the very freedom which they utilize for their destructive purposes. I have in mind, in particular, demonstrators like those who recently invaded Washington and the Pentagon, in a concerted and obviously organized attempt to disrupt the machinery of Government processes. In regard to their actions I quote from a recent newspaper editorial which was inserted in the Congressional Record, and which puts the issue clearly:

> If the cause of dissent is the obscenity and violence of war, one does not make a good case against it by committing obscenities and violence.

It holds further, as Senate majority leader Mansfield recently pointed out on the floor of Congress, that "the right of dissent guaranteed under the Constitution should always be allowed, but that right does not entail license, anarchy, or a breaking of the law. . . . Insofar as the Office of the Presidency is concerned," continued Senator Mansfield, "it should be treated with respect and courtesy, and that applies to the individual who happens to hold it at a given time. In other words, all Presidents, who only hold the office temporarily, should be entitled to the respect which the permanent Office of the Presidency calls for and is entitled to."

It would be naive to assume that the intention of some of these violent demonstrators is anything less than the destruction of the United States itself. It is tragic that although this is not the intention of many other of these anarchy-minded people, they are nevertheless contributing to that very cause. For it is patently clear that with each new demonstration, and each new lawless protest, the enemy receives aid and comfort and is strengthened in its resolve to continue the conflict in the hope that American resistance will weaken and finally collapse. It need not be reiterated that the longer the conflict endures, the greater the number of American soldiers who will lose their lives. In this connection, Speaker McCormack recently noted that a high-ranking North Vietnamese official calls opposition to the war in the United States a "valuable mark of sympathy" to the Communist cause. A recent article in the New York Times serves to vindicate the accuracy of Speaker McCormack's perception. This article in the New York Times reports that the official newspaper of the North Vietnamese Government considers the "campaign in the United States for an end to Johnson's aggressive war in Vietnam" to have "entered a stage of active resistance"—and that "an important aspect of the Washington rallies was that they marked the end of protest and the start of a 'fierce struggle' against the war." Thus, because of evidence within the United States itself, observes the British Daily Telegraph:

> Ho Chi Minh [cannot be] blamed for insisting on American withdrawal or for making it a point of honour not to reciprocate in any way for the cessation of bombing.

As the Telegraph concludes, however:

> The sooner Ho realizes that he cannot win on American campuses and boulevards the war he is losing in Viet Nam, the sooner will he come to the conference table.

I therefore submit that in the interest of preserving both our democratic system and the American lives which protect it; in defense of both reason and the national security—the American people must address themselves to adopting a position in support of the President of the United States and the policy which he, as the duly elected head of state, has implemented toward what he considers a necessary course of action. So long as other countries are able to condemn us on the basis of what our own citizens say and do—in violation of the principles on which our system of government is predicated—so long as force and unlawful action are allowed to replace reason and legal dissent—so long will the credibility of our own faith in our country and all that it has ever stood for be counterfeit in the eyes of the world. Worse still, when we shall allow democracy to be trampled under foot by the rampant mob, our civilization shall have run its course. Let us hold fast to the judgment of law and civilized dialog. Benjamin N. Cardozo said:

> For law is restraint, and the absence of restraint is anarchy.

"An American Gives Thanks"—Sermon Delivered by Rabbi Howard A. Simon, of Baltimore

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, the United States celebrated Thanksgiving Day by going to church, temple, or synagogue; by special feasting; and watching important football games or engaging in other activities.

Although, I am sure, many excellent sermons were delivered in places of worship throughout the country, I was particularly stirred and inspired by one that stressed patriotism and denounced the present wave of lawlessness.

This sermon called upon us to appreciate the American way of life and to reflect upon the blessings which are ours as U.S. citizens. It came as a fresh breeze to reaffirm our heritage as free men living in the greatest and best nation—our own United States of America. It was delivered most eloquently by Rabbi Howard A. Simon, associate rabbi of Har Sinai Temple, Baltimore, Md., the oldest continuous Reform congregation in America.

In order that this message may reach a greater audience and touch the hearts and minds of more people with its plea for law, order, and love of America, I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

AN AMERICAN GIVES THANKS

(Sermon delivered by Rabbi Howard A. Simon, November 24, 1967)

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shores. Send these the homeless, tempest tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door." Emma Lazarus wrote those words and each of us has seen them clearly inscribed on the Statue of Liberty which proclaims the American promise to all people. This nation, under God, stands for liberty and justice for all. We pride ourselves on being the bulwark of democracy in a world bent upon the subjugation of man. We are Americans, living in freedom, blessed by our creator with the opportunity to work and study as we attempt to improve ourselves. We are governed by the voice of the people, and we share in that voice, we speak for the democratic way of life.

At no time in the calendar year does the American sense his true identy more than at this season. The Thanksgiving holiday, replete with prayer, football and feasting, speaks to us more reverently than the political haranguing of the fourth of July or the lengthy parades for Veteran's Day. The essence of the American heart is touched at Thanksgiving time, for then we do take a few precious moments to pause and think about our land and to offer thanks to God for the privileges that we possess. What may be taken all too much for granted every other day of the year is paused over on this day and the pause is one that is needed by all of us, especially when we see the reflection of America shining forth from the pool of present day experiences.

This Thanksgiving there is a great deal about America that causes us to think, and cries out for our reaction. Our flag, the symbol of these United States, has been bravely borne by the soldiers of our nation who labor on behalf of democracy in every corner of the globe. That flag has been raised to new heights by the heroics of the American G.I. This, however, is but one side of the coin. The flip side shows that this same flag has been subjected to humiliation and disrespect on the part of non-thinking, self centered persons who fail to see the importance of having a symbol of this nature with which they might identify, and so the flag has been burned, trampled upon and torn to shreds. Acts of this type are labeled protests and are hailed as expressions of ones democratic right as a citizen of this nation. I do not share this broad definition of man's basic rights. We can go too far and the desecration of the symbol of America is, in my opinion, going beyond the boundaries of proper conduct. It should not be countenanced.

The retort made to such a statement is—I wish to protest and this is the vehicle of my expression. Such an answer is not strange, for this has become a year of protest, of marches, speeches and outcries of human rage. I do not disapprove of the principle of protest, for this is a basic right of every citizen, but there is such a thing as dignified protest and meaningful assembly. Several weeks ago the bottom of the barrel was scraped by those who wish to speak out against the policies of their government. When the Pentagon building can be surrounded and subjected to treatment the likes of which man does not generally consider appropriate for a dilapidated barn, let alone a building as vital to American welfare as this, something is drastically wrong. Unfortunately, the tail has now begun to wag the dog. By this I mean that the art of protest, which was originally designed for special use to emphasize a particular point before the government of our country has now become the cause of celebre. It is the protest that is important, not the issue—get the people out, garner the lion's share of headlines, be arrested. The protest is the center of attention and the issue of the day now takes a back seat and is rarely considered by the press or news media. We have become subjected to protest, but not to understanding.

I do not approve of every act engaged in by my country, but I do feel that an element of respect is owed to this land that has nurtured and cared for me in a manner that has produced a healthy and happy individual. The right of assembly does not mean that I deface government buildings. The age of protest does not mean that I throw eggs at speakers who say things to which I am opposed. Loyal opposition does not mean the bringing of shame upon my nation and my fellow citizens. Actions such as these show a complete disregard for the ideals that served as the foundation of our land, and they cut away the essence of patriotic spirit as it has existed for centuries.

Patriotism is a word rarely referred to today. It is generally defined as being happy and supportive of the government, so long as that government does what I think is correct and proper, but what happens when this is not the case? What happens when that government engages in a war that is not particularly pleasing to me? The answer of today, protest, but the method chosen does not allow us to present ourselves before our fellow citizens in the best fashion. Patriotism is the exercise of placing one's country on a level that is higher than most considerations. I do not mean my country right or wrong, but I do wish to underscore that before decisions are made to fault and condemn the nation a great deal of thought must precede such an act. Before one storms the Pentagon he should pause to reflect on his actions.

Yesterday, we paused, yesterday we remembered the beauty of America. Our land became filled with patriotic people. The Pilgrim heritage was rehearsed again for all to hear. The importance of a family sitting together at prayer came home to us as we clasped hands at Temple Emanuel or around the bountiful dinner table. We felt a sense of pride in our nation and its practices. We once more believed in the ideal of the American way of life. It was good to stop and to think about this land of ours, think about it in the calm and quiet of the sanctuary. We were wise to reflect on the growth and development of our nation, to see that even though we are relatively young in years we have still become the most advanced nation the world has ever known. This is a great and wonderful country, but we think about this and reflect upon it all too rarely today.

So we gather together to give thanks. But can I give thanks for the present and ignore the toll of human life that allows me this life of peace and contentment? Can I engage in the practice of my profession freely, without fear or concern and not think about the glory of a founding people that believed in the rights of man and therefore assured every person his place in the sun? Can I see my children reaping the benefits of freedom and a democracy and not be grateful for the governing authority of my city, state and nation that has taken the time and expended the effort to guarantee that my family will be given certain basic rights and that no one can forcefully take these from me? All of these must be considered when we add up the sum total of this nation's greatness. Certainly we have weaknesses, everyone knows this, but is it for us to exploit these areas or should we not realize the glory that is ours and then redouble our efforts to constructively deal with the ills that afflict our age. As Americans I believe it is our responsibility to think about our land and express our thanks for the opportunity of being here and living in freedom.

You know the strong and uplifting points of our country as well as I. I do not have to tell you that you are free, that no pogrom will be waged against you. I do not have to remind you that our stock in trade is the very freedom we guarantee to all peoples. And I do not have to rehearse in your ears the deep and abiding meaning that our constitution has for you and me. All of this is known and appreciated by you and by every American who thinks about his land. Then we ask what is the problem, what is the trouble that has led to the defacing of America's image and to the desecration of our flag? We have become hoodwinked by the headlines of our day. We have come to believe that what a small minority of people do is the blatant belief of all. We read of riots, wild youth, blood spattered college steps, American defectors and we say, see this is what America thinks of her land, this is what is happening to our great nation. The headlines, which represents sales to the news media, headlines which happen to be the gory and outlandish things that people seem to want to read have now been seen so many times that many of us believe that this is the way all of our fellow citizens think and behave.

This is not the case, it simply is not true. Most Americans are proud of their land and are willing to do what they can to improve it. Most Americans turned from the business of making a living yesterday to reflect upon their country and God. This is what has made our people great. Not the bizarre, not the headline maker, but the staid, thoughtful prayerful person who strives to improve his life and to create an atmosphere of love between himself and those he knows. This is the beauty of our land, and it is to this person I bow my head in thanks this day, for he represents the image of this nation, an image that is looked to for strength and guidance by free men everywhere.

And so we have prayed together this year. We have reflected on this land and upon the sacrifices made for it. May we remember to do so throughout the year, at moments of crisis as well as during the calm of a holiday. May we reflect with thanks upon that which is ours, a land, a people, a faith that stands for the glory of all and the greatness of God. This is our country, we are the descendants of the tired, the huddled masses yearning to breathe free, we are the once homeless who now belong. May we ever remember this and conduct our lives in gratitude for this greatest of all gifts—a land of freedom and hope—our home the United States of America.

The Devalued Pound a Warning to Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, when the House debated the 1968 foreign aid appropriations bill 2 weeks ago I stated that our Nation's gold stock has fallen to the lowest level in 30 years, $13 billion. Of this $13 billion, $10.3 billion is required for commitments to our Federal Reserve note currency and to international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, leaving only $2.7 billion available to honor potential foreign demands for $30 billion in U.S. gold. At the time I said that foreign aid has added, and continues to add, to our negative balance of payments and this was reason enough for drastic cuts in the AID program.

Since our foreign aid debate 2 weeks ago, there have been significant economic developments, including the devaluation of the pound by the British Government, which help drive home the importance of the economy action taken by the House on foreign aid spending.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the McPherson, Kans., Sentinel sounding a fiscal warning worthy of our attention. The editorial follows:

THE DEVALUED POUND A WARNING TO US

A devaluation of a nation's currency seriously weakens the strength of that nation in international trade, to put it mildly and simply. Britain's present devaluation of the pound reminds us of the French franc and the German mark when they were devalued a generation ago.

International trade is essential to all nations, including the United States. Whenever a nation's trading strength is weakened, it rapidly affects the prosperity of the whole nation.

Great Britain had to take this drastic and dangerous step because it was buying more from other countries than it could sell to them. Those nations started demanding gold in payment instead of pounds. Great Britain was running out of gold.

There is the warning for us. For years, thanks to billions we send to foreign nations each year, we have had to sell gold. Today our gold reserve is the lowest it has been in years and still falling.

Only a reduction in our foreign giveaways can stop the gold drain before we also must devalue our dollar.

This warning must be heeded before we get into the extremely desperate situation of Great Britain today.

How Much Profit in a Bushel of Corn?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, because the general economics of farming are so misunderstood, I am including in the RECORD an article from the Des Moines Register, written by James R. McGuire:

HOW MUCH PROFIT IN A BUSHEL OF CORN?

CENTERVILLE, IOWA.—Ted Harbour's corn acreage is small compared to the corn acreage on most farms, but this year's crop provides a good example of the cost-price squeeze that farmers are in.

Harbour, 40, a biology teacher at Centerville Community College here, has 35 acres of corn on an 80-acre farm that he purchased three years ago for $250 an acre.

So far, Harbour has only harvested 20 acres of the crop. Half of this was sold and the other half was stored at an elevator in the hopes of getting a higher price.

Although the corn sold for cash brought $1 per bushel (which is 5 or 6 cents more than many Iowa farmers have been getting), a 25-cent discount for excess moisture brought this down to 75 cents. After subtracting 6 cents a bushel for hauling costs and 10 cents a bushel for combining the crop, Harbour had 59 cents a bushel left.

Production costs paid out earlier in the season amounted to 35 cents a bushel, leaving a net profit of 24 cents a bushel.

These production costs are based on custom rates in order to make allowances for Harbour's labor and the depreciation on his equipment. For the 20 acres harvested, they include: Plowing $80, disking twice $40, harrowing $20, planting $30, seed $54.40, rental of spraying equipment $20, herbicide $147.50, insurance $30, taxes $100 and fertilizer $184. These total $705.90.

Harbour is luckier than most farmers in this area because he harvested 100 bushels per acre—an exceptionally high yield in Appanoose County this year.

If he had harvested only 50 bushels per acre, as many farmers in this area expect to do, and if he had sold the entire production from the 20 acres at the same price and discounts, he would have had a net loss of $520.

Harbour's return on his investment, of course, depends on what value is placed on the corn ground itself. Obviously, it is worth more per acre than the 52 acres that Harbour has in pasture, hay and lots. H. B. Howell, extension economist at Iowa State University, said last week that $450 an acre would be a reasonable value to place on this kind of corn ground.

On the basis of this estimate, Harbour's return on his investment for the 20 acres is about 5.3 per cent. If he had harvested only 80 bushels per acre his return would be only about eight-tenths of one per cent.

Harbour is not in the feed grain program this year so he is not eligible for price supports on his crops.

"As far as the corn placed in storage is concerned," Harbour said, "it's just a gamble on corn prices from now on.

"If the price goes up, I'll make a little money. If it goes down very much, I could lose money."

In addition to 51 cents a bushel spent on production, combining and hauling costs, Harbour has to pay 5 cents a bushel for storage for 100 days, 8 cents a bushel for drying, and he must count on 7.7 cents a bushel shrinkage, bringing costs on the stored corn to 71.7 cents a bushel.

There will be a storage charge of 1.1 cents a bushel per month if the corn is kept beyond the 100 days and there will be an additional 5 cents a bushel handling charge if Harbour sells the corn to someone other than the elevator that is storing it.

"I think this illustrates the plight of the farmer and the risks he has to take," Harbour said. "Many farmers in this area will be lucky to get half the yield that I got and many of them are certainly going to get into the hole."

McNamara's Strange Promotion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the strange promotion of Mr. McNamara from the position of muzzler of our military to the exalted throne of the World Bank is difficult to explain.

He was a dismal failure in the war effort—putting dollars before lives. Let us hope he will continue his so-called economy drives and completely disarm the World Bank.

But the American people—those mothers and dads who pay taxes and grieve from the loss of their boys—wonder why promote him? Why not dump him once and for all?

The Washington Evening Star report for November 28 and their editorial follow:

ACCEPTS OFFER TO BE CHIEF OF WORLD BANK—CONNALLY, VANCE AMONG POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS

(By Orr Kelly)

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has been offered and has accepted a new job—president of the World Bank.

It is not clear just when McNamara will leave the Pentagon, but it is expected to be before next year's presidential campaign, informed sources said.

McNamara was selected for the World Bank position by President Johnson and formal approval of the nomination is expected shortly.

Among those prominently mentioned as possible successors as defense secretary are Texas Gov. John Connally, who served as secretary of the Navy in the Kennedy administration and has long been a political ally of President Johnson; Cyrus Vance, who was McNamara's deputy until last June 30 and is highly regarded by the President; Paul Nitze, former secretary of the Navy and Vance's successor as McNamara's deputy, and Air Force Secretary Harold Brown.

There also is speculation that Johnson will want another Republican for the job.

"NO COMMENT"

Spokesmen for the Pentagon, the White House and the World Bank all declined to comment officially.

In previous months, reports that McNamara would leave had been quickly denied.

McNamara has served for nearly seven years, longer than any of his predecessors.

He would succeed World Bank President George D. Woods, whose 5-year term expires Dec. 31. But Woods has agreed to stay on for up to one year so it is uncertain when McNamara would take over.

There are indications that an effort was being made to keep the choice of McNamara a secret so that he could continue for some time at the Pentagon without the liabilities of being a lame-duck secretary.

The choice of McNamara for the new post was revealed Sunday in a report by Francisco Aguirre, Washington correspondent for a Spanish-language newspaper, Diario Las Americas, and on Monday in a dispatch from John Graham, Washington correspondent for the influential London Financial Times.

MODERATING INFLUENCE

Sources at the Pentagon emphasized that McNamara's departure would give no reason to expect a change in U.S. defense policy or in the conduct of the war in Vietnam.

McNamara has, however, exerted a moderating influence in high-level councils of the government.

He has firmly opposed those advisers, both military and civilian, who have urged an effort to end the way by more intensive bombing of North Vietnam. But he has defended the bombing as an important element in the conduct of the war, which he beleives will have to be won eventually on the ground in South Vietnam.

McNamara also has firmly resisted pressure to go ahead with a $40 billion anti-ballistic missile system to defend the U.S. against Russian attack because he feels such a system would provide no real defense to the country. He has, however, approved the construction of a $5 billion system to defend against a small-scale Chinese attack.

It is on bombing policy and the anti-missile defense that McNamara has been most obviously in conflict with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other military leaders. But his relations with the Joint Chiefs on most issues reportedly have been quite amicably despite rumors to the contrary.

A FRUSTRATION

The defense secretary has made no secret of his desire to leave one of the world's most demanding jobs, and there is no doubt that the war in Vietnam has become a major frustration for him.

The war has thwarted two of the major goals McNamara set when he took the post at the urging of President John F. Kennedy in January 1961.

He wanted to bring a measure of order to the department, building the nation's military capability and at the same time reducing defense costs. And he wanted to make a genuine contribution to world peace by bringing about an agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to slow down or stop the arms race.

McNamara has brought the department under the most firm civilian control in its history and has intsituted a number of management reforms to hold down costs.

But the war has caused a steady upward spiral in defense expenditures.

The continuance of the war has made difficult any solid moves toward mutual efforts by the Soviet Union and the U.S. toward an end to the arms race.

NEW SALARY: $40,000

McNamara had just been named president of the Ford Motor Co. when President Kennedy asked him to give up an assured income of $3 million to take over the post at the Defense Department which now pays $35,000 a year.

In his new post as head of the World Bank, McNamara would receive an annual tax-free income of $40,000.

THE NOMINATION

McNamara's name was submitted to the World Bank with Johnson's approval. The 20-member executive board of the bank is reported to have met in secret session last week to receive the nomination of McNamara. Informed sources said another meeting is scheduled for tomorrow, at which approval might be completed.

Although the 20 members of the bank's executive board have the votes to select a president—who has always been an American because of the large U.S. contributions to the bank—25 percent—all 107 members of the bank must be notified of the appointment before it becomese formal.

Premature disclosure of the nomination of McNamara could cause difficulty because McNamara is, in the eyes of many, a symbol of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

If McNamara leaves the Defense Department in the near future, presumably there would be problems of transition to a new leadership.

It is at this time of year that Pentagon budget proposals are drawn up both for the next fiscal year and for a 5-year period.

McNamara has made it a custom to appear before Congress each January with what he calls his "Posture Statement" in which he explains in great detail his plans for the coming year and the succeeding four years.

SUCCESSORS

When he was asked about reports he might succeed McNamara, Connally, who recently announced he would not seek re-election as governor, said: "I don't think I would be offered the job."

When Vance left the department at mid-year, he was suffering from a painful back injury incurred in his school days. But friends said his back had improved considerably since then. He has twice been called on by the president for special assignments—during the Detroit riots last summer and now as a mediator in the Cyprus dispute.

Vance, whose relaxed, easy-going nature is in contrast to McNamara's intense manner, was a close associate of the President during his days in the Senate and probably has a more intmate knowledge than anyone else of the top-level workings of the defense department.

Second to him in a grasp of the intricacies of the Pentagon is Nitze, who has served for a number of years in the Pentagon and in defense-related positions.

Others who might be under consideration as successors to McNamara are McGeorge Bundy, until recently a key White House advisor who now heads the Ford Foundation; Walt W. Rostow, the President's chief foreign policy advisor who has had an important voice in Vietnam policy; Robert Anderson, former secretary of the treasury; Charles Thornton, president of Litton Industries, and Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

McNamara is 51. He was born in San Francisco and attended the University of California at Berkeley and the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

During World War II, he was one of a small group of young officers who helped the Air Force establish a statistical control system to control its wartime growth.

He went to work for Ford in 1946 and became president on Nov. 9, 1960.

In the Defense Department, he has pushed programs to break down discrimination against Negro servicemen, to train servicemen for civilian jobs and to train young men who would otherwise have been rejected for military service.

In two recent public statements he has bitterly criticized those who argue that the country cannot afford to do what it needs to do at home while the Vietnam war is going on.

And in one recent speech he spoke at length about the problems of under-developed nations. This is an area the World Bank deals in extensively.

Have the Hawks Won?

(By Mary McGrory)

The report that Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara will leave the Pentagon to take over the World Bank has shocked and shaken the Capitol. His departure would be considered a triumph for the hawks and widely interpreted as a signal that all-out escalation is about to begin.

McNamara is no dove, but he is regarded as the last human barrier within the government against the harsh and drastic steps recommended by the generals for the war in Vietnam.

It always has been assumed that McNamara, who participated in every decision on Vietnam since he joined the Kennedy cabinet in 1961, would stay on until the war was somehow resolved.

But lately President Johnson has been parading his military as his closest advisers, and on Nov. 17 at the White House he ominously omitted McNamara's name from the list of those he consults before making his decisions on Vietnam.

CITIES ARE HIS INTEREST

Johnson prized his brilliant secretary of defense as highly as did John F. Kennedy, who considered McNamara the supreme find of his cabinet. Now, however, Johnson apparently has grown impatient of McNamara's advocacy of restraint and is ready to risk the political implications of his removal from the Pentagon.

The circumstances argue that McNamara's transfer from the Department of Defense to the World Bank is not his own idea. His interests lie in American cities, in the improvement of race relations and other humanist endeavors. The World Bank is hardly a challenge for his prodigious talents. It is not even a graceful exit for a man who prides himself on social vision.

McNamara's fall from presidential favor seems to have begun with his successful opposition, early last summer, to an increase in the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam, estimated variously as from 100,000 to 200,000 men. On his return from Vietnam, he also made sharp comments about the deployment of troops, an implied criticism of Gen. William C. Westmoreland's tactics, which he was later at pains to deny.

THE FIGHT WAS LOST

He had, until then, played with impunity his role of loyal and lonely dissenter. He made public statements and speeches in which he, unlike other cabinet officers, encouraged protest. This was taken to mean that public clamor strengthened his position in the war councils and gave him a stronger hand against the generals.

McNamara's proudest achievement as secretary was his absolute mastery of the military. But that was destroyed in August when he lost the fight over expanded bombing targets.

Called before the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, he repeated his claim that wider bombing would not end the war. President Johnson sent Adm. Ulysses S. Sharp, the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, to Capitol Hill with a new list of approved targets in his pocket.

News of McNamara's removal has coincided with comments by Westmoreland on the "threat" of enemy camps and supply routes in Cambodia. This has been interpreted as the overture for possible action against Cambodia. McNamara, it is said, once again dissented.

The President is increasingly desperate to end the war which has cost him popularity and prestige and a split in his party. McNamara's removal would presumably make a decision to intensify and hopefully end the war in 1968 unanimous within the government.

WHY?

The question remains why, McNamara, his credentials gone, the argument lost, did not resign on principle and take his case to the public. Presumably he has stayed on through repeated escalations because he felt his presence was mitigating force. He has intimated to his friends that his replacement could be putty in the hands of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are now so plainly in the ascendancy.

But his acceptance of the World Bank post not only takes him out of the mainstream of national activity, it guarantees his silence during the election campaign. Government bankers do not speak out against national policy from the international countinghouses.

It would be a curious finale for a man who once brought the generals to their knees and kept congressional committees at bay with his superior information.

His departure might bring a certain immediate calm to the inner councils of government. It seems certain to set off a new storm in the country.

Speech by U.S. Senator Joseph M. Montoya, Democrat, of New Mexico, to Students of Inter-American Defense College, November 9, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, on November 9, the distinguished junior Senator from New Mexico, the Honorable Joseph M. Montoya, addressed this year's class of the Inter-American Defense College. As the Members of this body are no doubt aware, each year the Latin American countries are invited to send their brightest young military minds to this college headquartered at Fort McNair. This year's class includes outstanding young men from 15 of our Latin American neighbors, and I know of no person better qualified to address such an audience than Senator Montoya. His ability to give this speech in both English and Spanish was prima facie proof to those in attendance that we here in America share much more with them than simply being members of the Western Hemisphere.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to call his remarks to the attention of my colleagues because I think the course he has mapped for these future leaders is one which must be followed by them and supported by the American people if our hemisphere is to continue its joint progress and understanding.

I include Senator Montoya's remarks at this point in the Appendix of the Record:

What the Future Will Demand of You

(Speech by U.S. Senator Joseph M. Montoya, Democrat, of New Mexico, to students of Inter-American Defense College, Washington, D.C., November 9, 1967)

General Henry, General Garcia, General Molina, my friends, a revered American and sincere friend of Latin America once said: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

Thomas Jefferson was no lover of war or believer in everlasting conflict. He was aware of the realities of international life. He knew human progress is never fast enough for some, and there were those who would destroy freedom and injure liberty in order to attain their idea of a better world.

He knew these men often masqueraded behind slogans of liberty in order to impose upon others a rule of tyranny. So he warned us against such men.

He spoke of a need for vigilance if we are to protect and retain for all men the precious rights so many have struggled for. In our western hemisphere, we have learned painfully how precious our rights are.

Every nation in this hemisphere has had to fight, often bloodily, to be free. Each nation, once free, has had to defend its nationhood against aggressors from without who have sought to enslave them.

We have been successful up to now in repelling these challenges from abroad.

We have been eternally vigilant in defense of our respective nationhoods.

Each nation of our hemisphere has also been successful in repelling threats confronting them from within. There are always elements within society that seek power for themselves rather than orderly progress for all.

Our era has seen a new ideology confront us from without and challenge us from within. It seeks to take advantage of every geographical feature or political mistake on our part.

It cleverly seeks to exploit internal turmoil and dissatisfaction among our populations.

While national governments devote increasing efforts and resources to peaceful internal progress, these disrupters seek to defeat progress, even if it means hurting the prospects of those most in need.

They are willing to see the underprivileged suffer even more, rather than allow democratic regimes time to bring about reforms.

Seekers and fomentors of violent revolution, bloodshed and destruction, they thrive on hate and arousing of passions. They are not interested in building, as democratic regimes are. They have no vocabulary that includes roads, schools, hygiene, trade and honest international dealing.

They pay lip service to these ideals and goals, speaking of them to disadvantaged people. But they have in mind only power, war and aggrandisement. It is up to us to defeat their purposes, and to frustrate their schemes and ambitions. It devolves upon us to bare our breasts to their challenge. We dare not fail. Slavery for generations to follow is the cost if we do not succeed.

Free men and progressive regimes must, therefore, prepare themselves for any challenge. A call to struggle may come at any time, as recent events have shown.

It is regrettable that we must speak of force and be ready to meet might with might. But it is essential to the future of our hemisphere.

Fidel Castro has drawn us a graphic picture of what awaits those who fall prey to such men. See how free Cuba is! Note how fat the Cuban people grow on one egg a month! Watch how much they enjoy the Russian military presence among them! Mark how free their press is! Observe the liberty they enjoy under Fidel!

Freedom-loving men never take up a sword gladly. But every time a tyrant or potential tyrant has seized the sword of enslavement and sought to bend others to his will, another has taken up the shield of liberty and interposed it between him and his victim. That is your duty, responsibility and permanent task.

Intelligent, politically knowledgeable and progressive military men are what nations of our hemisphere must have. A blind obeyer of orders is not enough. A political professional lacking military knowledge who is not master of his craft is inadequate.

Modern military professionals in our hemisphere must be tacticians and skillful leaders. But they must also be students of the history of their countries and our hemisphere. They must possess understanding of new currents moving in Latin America. They must exercise compassion for and understanding of yearnings and needs of their countrymen. Yours is therefore a double task.

Provide security, but possess understanding. Be able to defend, but be every ready to instruct. Stand firm, yet be versatile. Set examples but never lose sight of your prime task.

Be nation-builders as well as nation-defenders.

The Fidel Castros are waiting and hoping for you to fail. Like so many vultures they await an opportunity.

As I look at this group, I have a feeling they will wait in vain. You impress me as a new, progressive breed.

Everywhere change is on the march. It need not be change that levels cities and decimates populations. Latin America's people are aware of these rising expectations. They ask to share in them.

Your continent bursts with vitality, resources and eager hands. Nations are emerging one after the other into a new age.

They require talents, ideas and leadership men like you can and must provide. We look to you with hope and a desire to help. No reasonable request by progressive men would be rejected unthinkingly.

We take pride in your progress and suffer if you sustain temporary setbacks. We share your aspirations for a better life for all under the umbrella of democratic institutions.

We have created a new world together. We have suffered together and glared at one another across our borders. Now we must stand united in the front ranks of freedom, determined to make our new world the best of all possible worlds. This we shall do without the lash of enslavement or the sword of dictatorship.

Your behavior and accomplishments will be a foundation to build and live on. It is my hope, as I know it is yours, that our names will be praised rather than cursed. Let us get to work, secure in the knowledge that we are free men in free countries, struggling towards attainable goals.

Ukrainian Anniversaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, this year the Ukrainian Community of Greater Buffalo, N.Y., under the auspices of the Buffalo chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, observed a double anniversary—the 50th of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, and the 25th of the creation of the UPA—Ukrainian Freedom Army.

The objective of this observance by the Ukrainian communities is threefold:

First, to give manifest expression of their strong ties with their kin in the Ukraine who are oppressed by the Russian occupants, and with their national aspirations for freedom and independence.

Second, to publicly take a stand supporting stability, strength, and security of the United States and our Government in all just endeavors to guarantee the right for freedom, justice, and national independence for all people and nations in the world.

Third, this is meant as a Ukrainian-American manifestation against the 50th anniversary of the Russian Communist imperial system.

The week-long double anniversary observance began with a Freedom Festival on Saturday, November 25, at Buffalo's

Kleinhans Music Hall. Mrs. Iryna Lawriwska was the toastmaster, and Dr. Nestor Procyk, chairman of the observance committee, greeted the enthusiastic gathering at the festival.

With permission, I wish to include Dr. Procyk's introductory remarks and a copy of the Freedom Festival program at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY DR. PROCYK

I am honored and privileged to welcome you, on behalf of our "Freedom for Ukraine" Week Obeservance Committee to this opening program of the week-long observance in tribute to the Ukrainian people on the 50th Anniversary of Ukraine's struggle for liberation and 25th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Freedom Army—U.P.A.

Shakespeare once said: "While you live, tell truth and shame the devil". The truth of Ukraine has been told again and again and must be repeated till the chains will fall and Ukraine will join the family of free nations. For the past fifty years, the struggle to attain sovereign nationhood was marked by suffering, martyrdom and sacrifices. Fifty years of dedication in the service of the Ukrainian nation has claimed millions of nameless victims. Not only the great in spirit were willing to pay the utmost sacrifice, but also the humble nameless masses willingly gave their lives in their effort to achieve the ultimate of a people—a sovereign and independent life.

A half a century of dire oppression from the heavy hands of the Russian Communist rulers has taken its toll—the infamous symbol of their "progress".

The tide, however, is slowly but surely turning. The surge toward independent national life could not be stemmed by modern and no matter how efficient suppression. Yet, neither jails, deprivation, hunger or Siberian exile could permanently extinguish the steady Ukrainian flame for freedom. It is to this magnificent spirit that we are dedicating the evening of Ukrainian music, songs and dance tonight. This musical tribute to the undying spirit of the Ukrainian Nation is a token of our support in their rightful quest for liberation. Tonight we pay homage to a a sturdy people who created a valiant Freedom Army—UPA, a people who refuse to bend to the Russian despot and steadfastly adhere to their own image of a deeply Christian people.

God and Country is the rallying call and in the name of this everlasting truth—we shall prevail!

FREEDOM FESTIVAL, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1967—6:30 P.M., KLEINHANS MUSIC HALL

I

1. Introductory Remarks: Dr. Nestor Procyk, Chairman, Observance Committee.
2. American and Ukrainian National Anthems—Choir "Dnipro" from Cleveland, Ohio.
3. "Counting Days and Nights in Confinement"—Music by D. Sichynsky—Choir "Dnipro".
4. Opening Remarks: Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski, United States Congressman.
5. Piano Solo by Claudia Hoca: a. "Baida," O. 26 Ukrainian Fantasy, by A. Karalis; b. Prelude in F-Sharp, by W. Barvinsky; c. Intermezzo in D-Minor, by N. Nyzhankivsky; d. Prelude in B-Minor, O. 7, No. 2, by L. Revutsky.
6. Women's Choir "Dnipro" from Cleveland, Ohio: a. "Evening Song," Music by Stetsenko; b. "O, Don't Wink Girls," Music by E. Kozak; c. "Kiev, O, Mine," Music by I. Shamo.
7. "Hutsulka"—Ukrainian Folk Dance, Performed by "Verkowyna", Ukrainian Youth Association Dancers from Toronto.
8. Male Choir "Burlaky" from Buffalo, New York: a. "Let's Sing Together, Brothers," Music by S. Worobkewycz; b. "The Carpathians," Music by I. Shamo, arranged by M. Hrynyschyn; c. "I Will Never Dance Again," Music by O. Nyzhankivsky.

Intermission—10 minutes

II

9. Male Choir "Dnipro": a. "Hetmans, Hetmans," excerpt from "Haydamaky," by T. Schevchenko, Music by M. Lysenko, arranged by E. Sadowsky; b. Medley of Ukrainian Freedom Army Songs, arranged by E. Sadowsky; c. "My Ukraine," Music by E. Sadowsky.
10. "Hopak"—Ukrainian Folk Dance, performed by "Verkowyna".
11. Mixed Choir, "Dnipro": a. "On the Dnipro River" Music by M. Dremluha; b. "O, Sheep, My Sheep," Music by M. Hrynyschyn; c. "Evening Mist," from the Opera, "Utoplena," by M. Lysenko.

Program Announcer: I. Lawriwsky; Stage Decorations: M. Boraczok; "Dnipro": Director of Choir—E. O. Sadowsky; "Burlaky": Director of Choir—Y. Lawriwsky; Soloists "Dnipro": Y. Oryschkewycz, R. Kassaraba, N. Jakymcow, O. Kondratenko; Soloists, "Burlaky": T. Pryschlak, R. Ciolko, M. Stasiuk, I. Matwijiszyn; Director of Dancing Ensemble "Verchowyna": Y. Klun.

It was my privilege to participate in this opening observance, and my remarks follow:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE T. J. DULSKI

Mr. Chairman, members of the Buffalo Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, distinguished guests, and friends.

To say I am glad to be here this evening at the opening of your double anniversary observance would be a gross understatement. It is always a distinct pleasure to be with a group such as this, but it is even more so today because of the occasion for this observance—the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian Liberation struggle, and the 25th anniversary of the creation of the UFA (the Ukrainian Freedom Army).

I commend you for arranging this week-long observance in our community to focus attention on the plight of the oppressed peoples of the Ukraine. It also serves to emphasize our country's awareness of the continued national aspirations of these peoples for freedom and independence. We need to let the world know that we will not waver one bit in our endeavors to guarantee the right for freedom, justice, and national independence, for all peoples and all nations of the world.

During the ninth observance of Captive Nations Week last July, our City of Buffalo fittingly commemorated the subjugation of the countries of Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world.

The expansion and increased fervor of these observances is indeed encouraging, but we must nonetheless be concerned that the plight of the captive nations of the world is always before us and that we must look for solutions to their problems. It should be indelibly clear that we are *not* just concerned during Captive Nations Week, but that we are continually dedicated to assisting them in regaining their freedom.

And this is what you are doing here this week.

The 50th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution is not the *only* "50th". Free Ukrainians, and many other non-Russians will be observing 50th anniversaries of independence and freedom, which Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism snuffed out.

Their free voices will be raised in behalf of captive Ukrainians and the other captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R.—yes, equally, and also in behalf of the freedom and open opportunities of the long enslaved Russian nation itself.

In every sense, this oncoming period is a real occasion for us to make a special effort to obtain authority to establish a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. Early in this session of Congress I again sponsored a resolution to establish such a Committee.

I feel strongly that this would be a constructive first step in bringing freedom to these unfortunate people. Such a Committee would symbolize our free answer to the basic fraudulence of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and the real tragedy of this 50th anniversary of that deceptive revolution. It would also pay shining tribute to the non-Russian "50ths", for the non-Russian revolutions in the years of 1917–23 were of the same essence and nature as our own American Revolution nearly 200 years ago.

Let me give you renewed assurance that I will continue to press our leadership in the House, for positive action on legislation to create this special House committee. Several of my colleagues in the House are joining me in this effort.

I am grateful for the support of the Ukrainian Congress Committee. It is heartwarming to see the efforts being made by your Chapter here as well as elsewhere in our country.

Yours is a continuing concern for the oppressed in your homeland. It is also a reflection of the support of the American people for every endeavor aimed at guaranteeing the right of freedom and national independence for all people.

I also include below a copy of the schedule of activities for the remainder of the week of this double anniversary observance, along with a copy of the proclamation issued by the mayor of the city of Buffalo, the Honorable Frank A. Sedita:

OPENING OF EXHIBITION—LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE

NOVEMBER 26, 1967, 3:00 P.M., UKRAINIAN HOME "DNIPRO"

Address: Hon. Henry P. Smith, III, Congressman of the 40th District; The Exhibition Open Daily During the Week; Arrangements: Mr. Marian Borachok, Artist.

NOVEMBER 29, 1967

Meet With The Ukrainian Students of the Norton Conference Theatre, SUNYAB; Contemporary Ukrainian Literary Trends Under Soviet Russia, Resumes—Poetry—Translations.

DECEMBER 2, 1967

Buffalo Athletic Club, 69 Delaware Ave.; Dinner Banquet; Speakers: Hon. Yaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, President, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; Hon. Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, Former High Commissioner for Displaced Persons.

Featuring Female Quartet: Verkhovyna, Toronto, Canada; Recitation: Miss Renata Wolynec; Master of Ceremonies: Mr. Andrew Diakun, Atty.

DECEMBER 3, 1967

Ukrainian Home Dnipro: Festive Program Concluding Observance Week in Tribute to Ukraine and Her People.

Speakers: Wasyl Potishko, Member of the Ukrainian Central Rada; Lev Futala, Commander of Ukrainian Freedom Army—UPA; Presentation of Ukrainian War Veterans; Ukrainian Youth participating in the artistic part of the program.

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the year 1967 marks fifty years of continuous struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national independence and against Communist Russian occupation and oppression of their land; and

Whereas, this half-century-long fight against the fraudulent Russian Communist Revolution brought millions of victims to the cause of freedom; and

Whereas, during World War II, while in the throes of two giants, Nazi-Germany and Communist Russia, the Ukrainian people arose again and created the Ukrainian Freedom Army—UPA with the ultimate aim to regain long sought freedom from the two adversaries; and

Whereas, these two anniversaries—the 50th Ukrainian struggle for national independence and the 25th of the creation of the UPA Army constitute milestones in the history of mankind's eternal quest for freedom and human dignity,

Now, therefore, I, Frank A. Sedita, Mayor of the City of Buffalo, do hereby proclam this week of November 26 to December 3, 1967 as "Freedom for Ukraine Week", and urge all people of greater Buffalo Metropolitan Area to pause and participate in the activities planned to pay tribute to the Ukrainian nation's struggle for freedom and national sovereignty.

FRANK A. SEDITA,
Mayor of Buffalo.

Mr. President: From Mrs. Dale Clinton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, I have the pleasure to insert in the RECORD a most provocative and stimulating letter from Mrs. Dale Clinton to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mrs. Chilton, an antipoverty aide in Long Beach, Calif., writes in a clear, concise, and knowledgeable manner as a practical expert on Negro slum-ghetto living. She exhibits the strengths that make some people noble despite their environment.

I agree with Mrs. Opal C. Jones, the project director of the neighborhood adult participation project, under whose inspiration I am confident Mrs. Clinton has emerged as a truly great and inspired new leader, that this woman "identifies the problems and sharpens the issues as they are in the real world where we all live."

Again, if Mrs. Clinton's letter fails to give the missing link or solution to the problems that she describes, it at least challenges this Congress to halt in its retreat from the war on poverty before it is too late.

To me, it seems that Mrs. Clinton is saying something that all of us should hear and understand; and unless we do, I am afraid there will be a lot more bloodshed.

The letter follows:

LONG BEACH, CALIF.,
September 16, 1967.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C.

MR. PRESIDENT: As I sit at my desk at work, I cannot help but think of the turmoil that these our United States of America are in. In my thinking, somehow the thought of a parable came to my mind. We have a terrible stomach ache. How can we smile internally? We are in hell and are trying to smile externally. We are trying to win a war in Viet Nam and wars in the streets of the United States. How can we demand or command leadership over the world? We cannot lead from behind.

My name is Dale Clinton. I was born in Mississippi and raised in Chicago, Illinois in the streets of the ghetto like most ghetto Negroes. I now live in Long Beach, California. I have five children and no husband. I am writing this letter because I want you to know that some good has come of the poverty program that most people do not know about. There have been some things done, and I know there will be many more.

Mr. President, being a grassroot Negro from the inner city, having worked in the poverty program with people like myself, and having come in contact with other people of all levels because of the poverty program, I want to express my feelings and my thanks for what has been done by you and others who had a mind and the insight to organize the poverty program. I want to express my hope for what may come in the future.

In Chicago, Illinois, I attended Wendell Phillips High School and graduated, not with honors, just graduated. I lived in a neighborhood where there were gangs. There were many liquor stores and churches just like it is today. I lived in a kitchenette apartment where the landlord kept the key to the basement. In winter, he would cut off the lights, gas and water at a certain time every night. If we had anything to do, we had to do it before the deadline time to cut off all utilities. One such apartment house had community kitchen and bathrooms. So, you can see how miserable it was. I also came from a fatherless family. Hardknock, I am use to. Where I lived, there were never enough trash and garbage cans. In winter, the trash and garbage was thrown all around and covered by rain and snow. When the snow and rain were gone in the summer, it would smell. Rats and roaches multiplied. At night if we mopped the floor and put papers down to keep from tracking the clean floor, it would sound like people walking across the paper when the roaches came across the floor.

Work was always slow in many work areas in Winter and Summer too. Consequently, there were never enough jobs to go around. Before graduation, I worked part time, but that was not enough to support my three brothers and sick mother, who had to be taken care of. When I graduated, I got a full time job, hoping to go back to school in the Fall, which I did. I entered a business college, but I could not complete it. I could not afford to go to school. My mother was ill and the money I used at school was needed at home, so I quit. The next year I tried again to go to school. I entered another business college hoping to finish early and get a better job to help support my family. Seeing how things were going at home, I gave up school one more time. By this time, I was throughly disgusted. No more school; that was out. I had to go to work and do the best job I could. Mother was worse, and, eventually, she died. The motivation and any other notion for an education was over. I worked on different jobs, acting and doing just like all others I knew. No incentive to do anything other than what my environment was doing, and that was nothing. I got married and had children. As it has worked out, I will be raising my children the same as I was unless something is done.

That is why I am writing this letter. Not just for me and my family, but for all people who may feel like me and may have some of the same interaction if only given the chance. New opportunity and new exposure. No longer can we afford to lose human resource regardless of race, creed, color, status, grassroots or middleclass. This does not matter anymore. Have we really put forth all efforts to do something for deteriorating people. The blackness of the United States has contributed and with some help more will be able to do even a better job than before.

I came to Long Beach in 1959. I have worked in industry here until 1961. I had to take a leave of absence because of pregnancy. The baby was born in January of 1962. My job was held for a whole year, but I could not find anyone to keep my five children. I worked, then, for Packard Bell Electronics in Los Angeles. When the year was up and I could not go back to work, things were even worse at home. My husband and I separated in 1963. My only way of support was to get on the welfare, which hurt very bad, because I felt that I was capable of holding a job. This was my last resort. Knowing that you are looked upon as being different or having a feeling within yourself that you are different, because you are on welfare changes a lot of things for you. I had been around people on welfare most of my life and I felt that I knew what some of it was about. I felt stripped of my very hide. I had seen this, lived with it, and I knew just what it bred—more welfare. Even the children, because they live with it become third and fourth generation on it, and I did not want it. At least the rent was paid and some food bought. The price I paid for being a welfare recipient made me wonder if it was worth it. In many cases the social worker was so nasty, I felt dirty, knowing that I was there because of an emergency, but I did not have a chance. My freedom was stripped, and I was not allowed many things. Most of all, I was not allowed to be human. If I was going to the store I was treated different; in school my children were different from the principal, teachers and students. I could not buy anything on welfare. I sold my citizenship, so I could eat and pay rent.

Sometimes for small changes such as a change in address, my check would be cut off for a while and I would be left holding the bag with nothing in it. There could be a period when a check could be cut off without any way out. In the area in which I live, many homes are headed by women for many reasons. I suppose you know this. Working for the poverty program, I have had a chance to hear many dreams expressed, but I do not want to get ahead of myself. Anyway, I took the welfare way out, until I could do better. At this time, I did not care too much about anything. I washed, ironed, cooked and sent the children to school. I attended church because this was something that I had to do. This was home, I felt, but nothing else phased me. I felt that the bottom of my world had fallen out a long time before, and there was no help. It was over. I was doomed.

One day in February of 1965, the principal of the elementary school that my children attended called me. Not knowing how to ask me, he finally came out and asked if I would sit in on a committee and represent people from my area. I said yes, and later on I found out what it was, a poverty committee, a community action committee. There I met Earnest Preacely, who was then the person to direct the first Neighborhood Adult Participation Project here in Long Beach. After talking with him, he asked if I was interested in a job and I said yes. He explained what the job was about and I was very excited. I felt that it was late, but better late than never. I took the job and I was trained in two and half days. Six of us began with the director on the last half of the third day. We took to the neighborhood. We talked to people, asked questions, got answers and complaints and were asked many questions which we could not answer, but we said we would be back. Many homes that were headed by mothers were fearful of the teenagers. The parents no longer could communicate with the children. Many had hope, but it had turned into despair because of the lack of motivation. In visiting these homes, I could place myself in almost everyone's place that I visited. I had been there.

Many places were overcrowded. Many did not have enough food or beds or clothing for the children or the parents. There was no area for studying and everyday the children were getting further behind and dropping out of school for these and many other reasons. We would go out into the street, come back into the office and discuss what we could do about what we found out (rats, roaches and poverty) and what we could correct. We had a community meeting and many came, but when we finished, there was still much doubt. We were still far from any kind of solution. During this same year, we had a plan. We solicited money and took some of the youngsters to Catalina. Then we formed a youth group. This gave some of them something to do that they wanted to do. Later the Teen Post was founded.

We then began to talk to existing agencies about placing community people in their agencies. The school was the first to take an aide as a pilot. I was the first person to walk in an agency from the community level from this new project, I went into the school after a meeting that was called between the assistant superintendent and four elementary school principals, the director of NAPP and myself. It was agreed that I would go in as a liaison person between the schools and the community. It proved to be very valuable. After that, other aides were put in other agencies. That has also proven to be very worthwhile. We have been able to interpret many things between the community and the existing agencies. In many cases, the school had problems and the parents felt like the school administration talked down to them. I would be called and after the problem was worked out, satisfaction was gained. Many of the people that we serve, like myself, are migrants from the South or Southwest. Many did not go to school. They are embarrassed because of this. Then, they go to the schools and do not understand what is said and nothing is explained. It is a complexity of problems. Here is where it is my turn to educate the principals and teachers. Sometimes being from a different kind of background, the school felt that the children were not trying, but faking. This was not true.

At home, the children have no one to help them. They have no area to study in. Other children and teachers make fun of their ignorance, so it is the hurt they feel that turns into hate, fear and withdrawal. They go from elementary school to junior high school to high school with this feeling and there is not any help along the way. What happens is they become drop outs. They are the corner holders. The ones who throw the first rock and fire bomb. There is need for more community people to help out in situations like this. Now, more than ever there are more little children in the streets hungry, dirty, untrained, unloved and ignored. That is a potential for bigger revolts. Children in the ghetto have seen the police in one and only one capacity—that is arresting someone. Never in any other way. The police means violence to people in the ghetto, nothing else. Humanity classes are needed all around.

Mr. President, I am trying to relate a story that I have lived. I am trying to say what I feel and others like me. I am telling of frustrations that people like me and others have; now we have hope, fear and anger; how slow progress seems; how funny things like rat bites are to people who head our country. It is very serious to us. Mr. President, because of opportunity and new exposure, I have a different feeling about people and life itself. I have spoken to audiences of fifty or more and have been understood. I have been on committees and boards. I speak and eat with people who possess degrees from AA to PhD. I have been in their homes and they in mine. I am a member of a seminar group conducted by U.C.L.A. I am a part of many talk groups or neighbor to neighbor groups who are really trying to understand each other and bring about better communication and understanding here in Long Beach. I try very hard in a positive way to teach the professors, social workers and others from the outer community about the ghetto. In some ways I am an expert, because I have lived it all my life. Humanity is universal kindness and righteousness. It knows no races or social status. Isn't this what we are saying when we go abroad to help? This charity will have to begin at home first, and then spread abroad. First things first.

Like many Negroes, I have a dream. That is equality for all people. Here in the United States we preach brotherhood, brotherly love and freedom for all men. Go to any church and talk to anyone who feels that he or she is a Christian and you will hear this. We preach it, but we do not practice it. We do not believe in it, nor do we practice what was fought for a long time ago. Unless we are going to do what we preach, let us quit pretending. Why not drop Viet Nam now? How can we go away from home with a clear conscience to fight for freedom now? How can we go away from home with a clear conscience to fight for freedom for all over there, and we are not doing it here. Today, the young Negro stands on the street and cannot think of anything positive but many things that are negative.

Youngsters who have gone through the educational system also have doubts because of many things that happen to them in the process of trying to get an education. They, too, are screaming against our way of life. They are denouncing parents, because the feeling is that nothing was done by them and nothing is still being done. The process is too slow. Many parents did what they could with what they had. They did the best that was known to them. Jobs were not much, but somehow we all made it through. It is not enough for todays young adult. A way has got to be made so that an explanation of getting an education is important to them. They want jobs or positions with dignity and worth, but as yet, the explainers have not explained it in the right way. Simply saying go to school and get an education means nothing to them. In talking to the youth about education, quickly you get the answers. There is nothing in those books that relate to me. It does not tell me a thing. Sure this is negative, but it is true.

Children have been told by Counselors that they are not college material. Why aren't they? Shouldn't we find ways to make all children, if we can, college material? From birth to now, we the Negro have been taught to have a negative attitude and everybody has been pleased. Jim Crow has been practiced in one form or another from the North, South, East and West. Word of mouth has been practiced, but nothing too much has been put into reality. This must stop. We now are at the crossroads. Are we going to have hand-to-hand combat in the streets between the white community and the black? Are we working ourselves into another civil war? Are we really going to do something about our problem? A welfare check will not get it. Remedial classes will not get it. A few projects here and there will not make it. We must unify families. This is the one thing that no one has done yet. It cannot be done on a small scale but a large one if we want to start solving problems.

I am very proud of Head Start, Teen Post, NAPP, and all the other programs, but let us think about the unity of a family. Why are so many families headed by women? Because husbands cannot support their families for many reasons. They leave and the wife goes on aid. Why can't they get good jobs? Because they have not been trained. They feel ashamed. Some become frustrated, so much so, we have skid rows full of runaway husbands who turned into drunks. We need our husbands, our children and they need their fathers. The best reason of all is so our sons will someday know how to become men, household heads and fathers for their children. Most families in my community do not know what it is to eat together. This is something that many people take for granted, because it is a part of their lives. Not ours. Glasses to drink from is a part of many households but not ours. Beds to sleep on is a must and clean sheets but not in our homes. Material things we do not have. The time has come when this is important. That is why things are taken after a revolt. Our country is a commercial country on television commercials. Tracts of homes are aired for no money down, but it is a lie when you come down to the brass tack. Almost anything is advertised for no money down, but try and buy for no money down, especially if you are receiving a welfare check twice a month or if you are a domestic worker with no husband. We like nice things for our families too.

Mr. President, the people who are so far removed from our way of life must be contacted. They must also understand that all poor Negroes are not lazy, shiftless. We are not all wanters of a welfare check. We do want an education and we want to work for it. We are not looking for handouts like so many feel and express. We are not dirty, nor are we thieves and crooks. No longer are we going to stand still for this kind of treatment. Does it have to be an all out bloodshed before the Negro in America can be heard and understood?

Because of the poverty program, I now have faith, but there is yet more to come. I am now crawling. I want to walk. Back to my dream—that will include all people who are prosperous, people who have gained wealth from black labor, among other ways, and labor and industry who can help to promote finance and jobs and training. My dream is the family skill center. A center that handles everyone in the family from parent to baby, is going to take money, effort, time, tolerance, and attitude changes on the part of all people. I am putting my dream on paper for you to see. I do hope that you will be so kind as to read my letter and give, also, some thought to the family skill center. To me, it is important. A Home divided in many ways is a home mixed up, and very few positive things can come from a mix up. Please give opportunity to many rather than a few, and where we are spending billions on revolts and ways of stopping them. Let us do some spending on an all out training program for all who need it and get some payment back. If some money is spent this year on more training in the next year, it will be repaid from the jobs we hold. We can count our assets not our liabilities. Then all people will be ready to fight for freedom. They will know what it will mean to be free and equal.

Mr. President, someone had a dream. A very good dream. You, as head of our government, gave the money. Mrs. Opal Jones and all of her wisdom, along with her administration, gave the program. We, who thought no one cared, but found out later there were those who cared, carried out to the best of our abilities what was taught to us. This dream of Mrs. Jones has spurred me on. It has caused me to dream, also. My dream, the Family Skill Center, will train all in all basic needs. You see what the poverty does. It causes us, the non-academically trained, to think and to act, even if it is not accepted. At least we had the same chance as those who have the opportunity and the right exposure. Continue to help us to help ourselves. Do not give with one hand and snatch it back with the other. Do not help people, even our own, to manipulate and exploit us. We go to church and our ministers are preaching brotherhood, brotherly love and love thy neighbor. Yet, they do not practice it. Who can you trust?

Through the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project, I saw the light. If this has been proven to be good, why not go all the way? Can't we spend what we really need to make this what we say it is—Great America? Can we again say this and know it to be true? We must care for all of our aches and pains called poverty, revolts and anything else. Can we continue to talk about white supremacy and black power and hate each other for what we think each of us are doing to each other? Are we always going to preach and never practice? Can we afford it or has the time come for action?

America is beautiful, because in America I am writing to the President of the United States. I own nothing. I possess nothing. I have not reached any heights. I live in a ghetto and I am a Negro. America the beautiful. Can we keep it that way?

Thank you for listening.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. Dale Clinton.

The Mirror of Vietnam: Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw attention to a very perceptive article by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times of October 22 on the effect of the Vietnam war on our policy in Latin America.

I think it is important for the American people to realize that among the areas of the world where our policy is affected by the war in Vietnam, none is more vital to us than Latin America. Mr. Sulzberger's article goes a long way toward explaining this.

I am sure all my colleagues will be interested in this pertinent and penetrating analysis and its inescapable conclusion:

Foreign Affairs: The Mirror of Vietnam

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

Rio de Janeiro.—Our future in Latin America is likely to be decided by the outcome of the Vietnam war as much as by the Alliance for Progress. The connection is discounted and largely unseen in the United States, but our enemies are more perceptive. They proclaim an intention to ignite several "Vietnams" on this continent, turning it wholly against us.

Some brands of Communism are content to coexist with us in peace, but all aspire ultimately to reduce us. And they agree that Latin America, with its geographical proximity, its markets and materials, is vitally important to the U.S.A.

FRANCE'S EXPERIENCE

When France was smashed in Vietnam one could easily forecast repercussions in Algeria, whose nationalists gained obvious encouragement and learned from Ho Chi Minh's techniques of revolutionary warfare. France, of course, was fighting for colonial reasons to stay in Indochina and Algeria while we hope to get out of Vietnam once it's stabilized and we aren't even in Latin America.

Power rests in the myth of power, and when the latter is destroyed, the former fades.

Through all its vicissitudes, the United States has been the power of the Western Hemisphere and were that power's myth erased the reality couldn't long endure. Our humiliation in Vietnam would persuade guerrilla nuclei here of the efficacy of "national liberation" wars.

Jean Larteguy, former French paratrooper and novelist of revolutionary warfare, recalls a conversation in Danang two years ago when a U.S. lieutenant in the special forces said: "After Indochina we also will have our Algeria. It will be Latin America."

The French distort our global experience to suit their own. As Karl Marx said: "Men make their own history but they do not make it just as they please." Our position in Latin America is less imperial and more beneficent than Paris concedes, but it is not as beneficent as we imagine.

We rule no country south of the Rio Grande, yet our influence is enormous. In some capitals our Ambassadors have almost the prestige of viceroys. U.S. interests are blatant and U.S. investors control perhaps 40 per cent of South America's production.

Our policy seeks to encourage reform and progress but the process is tedious and faces local frustrations. To avoid the dangers of revolutionary regimes hostile to us we urge rapid social evolution within a framework of stability. But this requires exertion of U.S. influence, from price support to military aid.

This feeds Communist gristmills and it will be decades before immature Latin America rebalances its illiterate poor masses and privileged rich few, gaining sufficient self-confidence to shrug off the shadow of U.S. strength and the record of U.S. intervention.

ON THE MINUS SIDE

Until then we cannot escape embarrassing reminders: manifest destiny, Guantanamo, Panama Canal, dollar diplomacy, Bay of Pigs, Dominican Republic. Castro has lost his early lustre and Communism has been weakened by the Peking-Moscow schism, the Soviet attitude on Israel and Che Guevara's death; yet this doesn't automatically make us popular.

Vietnam is not an obsessive issue in South America but if a guerrilla army there defeats the world's greatest power (which is also an often resented neighbor) guerrilla movements here are bound to spread.

Castro proclaims: "The Vietnam war shows the Americans are powerless in face of a truly revolutionary force." Chinese and Vietnamese strategy of revolutionary warfare, based on the theory that the countryside should first be taken over and the cities encircled within it, already is being gingerly tested on this continent in guerrilla pilot projects.

For the moment U.S. efforts to maintain continental stability are succeeding although they are complicated by the existence of military regimes that belie democracy. But Castro, while his subversive efforts have faltered, continues to school guerrillas for export, and South America's impoverished millions are ready to heed the promises of agitators.

THE VOLCANO

If both the myth and reality of U.S. power are maintained we can persevere with the objectives of the Alliance for Progress—evolution. But if our prestige is diminished by defeat in Vietnam, our goals are bound to be defeated and mortified here, much as the Bay of Pigs brought on the Berlin Wall. The Latin-American volcano, which has so far only belched and simmered, would then erupt. Our adversaries know, even if we do not, that revolutionary warfare in Vietnam is directly linked to the fate of South America.

Capt. David L. Wiseman Receives Navy Medal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Capt. David L. Wiseman, son of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth L. Wiseman, of Baltimore, Md., was recently presented the Navy Commendation Medal for meritorious service in South Vietnam. Captain Wiseman previously won three Purple Hearts while serving with the 1st Marine Division in Vietnam.

I wish to commend Captain Wiseman for his service to our country and to congratulate his parents on their fine son.

Letter From a Private Citizen Serving in the Armed Forces of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is my wish to enclose herewith for insertion in the Appendix of the Congressional Record a copy of a letter I have received from a serviceman in the Armed Forces of the United States following the riots in Newark and Detroit. However, the writer is concerned, as a private citizen, over the safety of his family while he is on duty overseas protecting this Nation. I feel that the comments made are thought provoking and deserve publication in the Record:

July 27, 1967.

Dear Congressman Brown: I am writing this letter as a private citizen serving in the Armed Forces of the United States.

The objective of this letter is to point out a matter of extreme personal urgency, the safety of my family and friends. The urgency is only compounded by recent events in Newark and Detroit.

I am dismayed at the current rampant disregards for law and order, willful destruction of property and senseless loss of life in the United States. I look on these acts as anarchy and feel that my country is in a state of siege.

I feel inadequate to state my feelings. I have been raised and educated in an environment where law and order, decency, respect, devotion to duty, honor and love of country were the only worthwhile personal goals, yet I see my family and home threatened with rape and pillage at the hands of the unlawful. I see minority groups encouraged to violence by admitted anarchists who are afforded the protection of law enforcement agencies. Every indication is manifested that this rioting and destruction is condoned as a special right of any minority group.

I am amazed by an official attitude that tolerates this disobedience of law and order. I cannot understand how individuals or groups that blatantly refuse to contribute to their own welfare or that of society, who refuse to take up arms for their country, offer succor to their country's enemies and who disavow any allegiance to their nation are pampered as special citizens of the United States and held up to other Americans as semi-heroes in a portion of the intellectual community and news media. I do not understand why x billions of dollars must be spent, untold millions of damage be incurred, and God only knows how many lives needlessly sacrificed to end this era of carnage while my family lives in fear of atrocities yet to be committed by irresponsible U.S. citizens.

I ask that you act for me to ensure the safety of my home and family, to offer me at least a semblance of hope that the efforts I make in Vietnam for the freedom of my country are not in vain. That I can return to find my family as I left them, not to a home destroyed or to loved ones destitute and maimed, all because my country could not or would not act to protect them in my absence.

This anarchy must be met with strength and determination not with platitudes and promises. I can see no right to the writ of *habeas corpus* for those individuals who mockingly destroy all that I am fighting for. Please ensure me and all my fellow soldiers that we will have something left to fight for and a home and family to return to, that law and order can and will be restored, maintained and preserved in the land we have sworn to defend.

Sincerely yours,

———.

Public Opinion of Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 6, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Thiokol Chemical Corp. over the past several years has undertaken to survey the general public in selected cities throughout the country to examine the public's opinion of our national space program. Trendex, Inc., a well-known polling firm, has conducted nine such surveys since July 1963 for Thiokol Chemical Corp.

Mr. Robert E. Davis, vice president of Thiokol, has provided me with their latest survey conducted in September 1967 in the cities of Cincinnati, Ohio; Pasadena, Calif.; Des Moines, Iowa; St. Paul, Minn.; Sandusky, Ohio; and Bryan, Tex. Because of the significance of this study, I am including excerpts of this interesting analysis in the RECORD:

A PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY—ATTITUDE TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT SPACE AND MOON PROGRAM

(By the Thiokol Chemical Corp., Bristol, Pa., September, 1967)

PREFACE

An assessment of the public's opinion of the government space and moon exploration program has been measured over a period of time. This report covers the ninth survey to be conducted since July, 1963.

The study consisted of telephoning men and women in six cities in September, 1967: Cincinnati, Pasadena, Des Moines, St. Paul, Minnesota, Sandusky, Ohio and Bryan, Texas. The first three of these cities were queried in the last survey; and sampled again to discover if there have been any changes in attitude towards the program. The second three cities were added to see if cities and towns of different sizes had any different attitudes from those previously measured. The questionnaire has essentially remained consistent in order to be able to make comparisons. However, to make the results viable, additional questions have been added from time to time to gain more meaning into peoples' attitudes toward the moon program.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MOON PROGRAM

On an overall basis, people in favor of the moon program are at a level lower than at any previous measurement in this series of studies going back to July 1963. Respondents actually opposed to the program are well above the level of the last previous measurement in January 1967 but below the negative levels encountered in 1963. The most significant change in attitude, however, is in the number of respondents who just "don't know." (Table 1.)

As far as the newer city measurements, Bryan, Texas tends to be more favorably inclined than the average of the regularly measured cities with St. Paul about the same as the average and Sandusky somewhat below the average. (Table 2.)

Question: As you know, the United States is involved in a very competitive race to be first in space exploration, and the government has a program to put a man on the moon by 1970. Are you in favor of this program?

TABLE 1.—ATTITUDE TOWARD MOON PROGRAM (BY YEAR)

[In percent]

	September 1967	January 1967	November 1966	June 1966	September 1965	September 1964	February 1964	September 1963	July 1963
Yes	51	71	69	71	77	69	64	59	61
No	35	24	27	25	20	25	31	39	38
No opinion	14	5	4	4	3	6	5	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	653	600	643	600	819	1,197	1,288	599	615

Question: As you know, the United States is involved in a very competitive race to be first in space exploration, and the Government has a program to put a man on the moon by 1970. Are you in favor of this program?

TABLE 2.—ATTITUDE TOWARD MOON PROGRAM—TOTAL OF PREVIOUSLY MEASURED CITIES COMPARED TO NEW CITIES

[In percent]

	Previous cities[1]	1967		
		St. Paul	Bryan	Sandusky
Yes	51	49	60	44
No	35	42	32	45
No opinion	14	9	8	11
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	653	220	207	226

[1] Pasadena, Cincinnati, Des Moines.

SPEED OF THE MOON PROGRAM

Well over half of the respondents polled appear to be reasonably satisfied with the speed of the program to put a man on the moon. This is a somewhat higher figure than in January 1967 and corresponds most closely with the attitudes of June 1966 and September 1966. Sentiment to speed up the program, is, however, at the lowest point of all measurements taken. (Table 3.)

Respondents in the newer cities appear to be more polarized in their desires for speeding up or slowing down the program with Bryan showing the most interest in speeding up the program. (Table 4.)

Question: Do you think the Government should try to:

A. Speed up the program to put a man on the moon?

B. Slow down the program to put a man on the moon?

C. Neither.

TABLE 3.—ATTITUDE TOWARD PROGRESS OF MOON PROGRAM

[In percent]

	Total								
	September 1967	January 1967	November 1966	June 1966	September 1965	September 1964	February 1964	September 1963	July 1963
Speed up	18	25	20	24	25	29	31	25	39
Slow down	18	16	13	14	7	18	17	17	30
Neither	63	56	65	61	67	48	47	50	28
No opinion	1	3	2	2	1	5	5	8	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	653	600	643	600	819	1,197	1,288	599	615

Question: Do you think the Government should try to:

A. Speed up the program to put a man on the moon?

B. Slow down the program to put a man on the moon?

C. Neither.

TABLE 4.—ATTITUDE TOWARD PROGRESS OF MOON PROGRAM—TOTAL OF PREVIOUSLY MEASURED CITIES COMPARED TO NEW CITIES

[In percent

	Previous cities[1]	January 1967		
		St. Paul	Bryan	Sandusky
Speed up	18	22	28	19
Slow down	18	23	16	22
Neither	63	54	55	59
No opinion	1	1	1	----------
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	623	220	207	226

[1] Pasadena, Cincinnati, Des Moines.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SPACE EXPENDITURES

The percentage of respondents who say the Government is spending enough (half of all respondents) is exactly the same as it was when these measurements were started. The number who say the Government is spending too much is well above the level of 1963 and the number saying not enough is well below 1963. (Table 5.)

In keeping with the preceding findings, Bryan is less inclined to desire a cut in spending than either St. Paul or Sandusky. (Table 6.)

Question: Do you think the Government is spending enough, spending to much, or not spending enough on the space exploration program?

TABLE 5.—ATTITUDE TOWARD SPACE EXPENDITURES (BY YEAR)

[In percent]

	Total								
	September 1967	January 1967	November 1966	June 1966	September 1965	September 1964	February 1964	September 1963	July 1963
Spending enough	49	53	47	53	60	51	43	55	49
Spending too much	41	34	42	37	29	30	34	30	34
Not spending enough	7	6	6	5	7	11	14	11	14
No opinion	3	7	5	5	4	8	9	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	653	600	643	600	819	1,197	1,288	599	615

Question: Do you think the Government should try to:

A. Speed up the program to put a man on the moon?

B. Slow down the program to put a man on the moon?

C. Neither.

TABLE 6.—ATTITUDE TOWARD SPACE EXPENDITURES—TOTAL OF PREVIOUSLY MEASURED CITIES COMPARED TO NEW CITIES

[In percent]

	Previous cities[1]	January 1967		
		St. Paul	Bryan	Sandusky
Spending enough	49	43	51	40
Spending too much	41	44	33	47
Not spending enough	7	9	13	11
No opinion	3	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	653	220	207	226

[1] Pasadena, Cincinnati, Des Moines.

PROGRESS OF THE SPACE PROGRAM

For the first time since this particular measurement was taken in September 1965, there appears to be a change in the public's satisfaction with the speed of the space program. There has been a definite upward trend in the number saying the program is moving too slowly, and a corresponding drop in the number who feel that the program is moving ahead faster than expected. (Table 7.)

Question: Do you think the overall space program is:

A. Moving too slowly?

B. Moving about as quickly as it should?

C. Moving ahead faster than you've expected?

TABLE 7.—ATTITUDE TOWARD PROGRESS OF OVERALL SPACE PROGRAM

[In percent]

	September 1967	January 1967	November 1966	June 1966	September 1965
Moving too slowly	11	9	8	8	7
Moving about as quickly as it should	54	54	54	52	55
Moving ahead faster than you've expected	29	32	33	35	34
No opinion	6	5	5	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Total number of respondents	653	600	643	600	819

ATTITUDE TOWARD FUTURE SPACE ACTIVITIES

There is little strong feeling to stop all future space exploration. Rather, over half the respondents express a positive opinion to continue our efforts to be first in space. The balance of the remaining respondents are not opposed to our continuing efforts but apparently do not have any strong opinion on the direction our efforts should take. (Table 8.)

The basic reasons given for continuing our efforts in space all involve the benefits to be derived from increased knowledge of our own planet and its nearest neighbors. The reasons given for stopping future space exploration are primarily economic particularly at this time.

Q. 6. After the U.S. astronauts have landed successfully on the moon and returned safely, which of the following would you prefer us to do next in our space program?

TABLE 8.—ATTITUDE TOWARD FUTURE SPACE ACTIVITIES

[In percent]

	Pasadena	Des Moines	Cincinnati	Total	St. Paul	Sandusky	Bryan
Stop all future exploration	15	16	12	14	13	13	8
Continue efforts to be first in space (net)	53	42	56	50	50	44	58
Thoroughly explore the Moon	16	16	15	16	18	16	21
Consider space labs that circle the Earth to gather more knowledge about our planet	22	18	24	21	18	16	20
Immediately start a program to explore Mars	9	4	12	8	10	8	8
Other	3	2	3	3	2	2	6
Don't know specifically	3	2	2	2	2	2	3
Don't know	32	42	32	36	37	43	34
Total number of respondents	215	219	219	653	220	226	207

NEW AREAS OF QUESTIONING

As is shown in Table 9, the public's level of interest in seeing the government spend more on space exploration is well below that of any of the other five current issues measured. It must, of course, be kept in mind that the public's willingness to favor government spending is usually in proportion to the direct self-benefits derived therefrom. (Table 9.)

In terms of areas which might benefit from the space program, those mentioned most often are weather prediction through the use of satellites, national and international communications, and the advancement of science and technology. When these areas are considered in terms of benefit to the respondent himself, response is much lower overall, with most mentions given to the advancement of science and technology, improvements in the field of medicine, and on-the-spot coverage of international events by TV satellite.

Q. 1. Would you like to see the Government do more, do less, or do about the same as they are doing in each of the following areas:

TABLE 9.—ATTITUDE TOWARD INVOLVEMENT BY GOVERNMENT IN SPECIFIC PROGRAM

[In percent]

	More	Less	Same	Don't know	Total
Water pollution	83	2	14	1	100
Air pollution	82	2	15	1	100
Job training for the unskilled	68	8	23	1	100
Programs to keep America beautiful	51	11	37	1	100
War on poverty	45	25	28	2	100
Space exploration	26	29	44	1	100
Total number of respondents	------	------	------	------	1,306

SUMMARY

In September, 1967 interest in the space program dropped to a level lower than any previous Wave of this survey. Only half of the sample are in favor of the competition to be first in space.

The pace of the space program seems to be satisfactory. The desire to speed up the program has decreased; there is not, however, a corresponding increase in desire to slow the program down.

Respondents are more inclined to say the government is spending too much on the space program now than in January. Figures on this issue are more closely parallel to those of November, 1966.

Opinion of the way the space program is moving is about the same as it has been all along, with slightly more than half of the sample satisfied.

Attitudes toward future activities have changed considerably from earlier Waves. Although the number who want to stop all future space exploration is lower than in November, 1966, it is higher than in January, 1967. More importantly, there is a decided increase in respondents who do not know what we should do. Specific interest in moon exploration has decreased sharply.

Space exploration is least often mentioned as a target for greater government involvement (a new area of questioning with this Wave). Air pollution and water pollution are way out in front of the other areas. Job training for the unskilled is also of high importance here, while keeping America beautiful and the war on poverty are of only moderate interest.

Charles de Gaulle and a Coward's Revenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, Charles de Gaulle has acted in recent years with no consideration for history. A brief and even superficial glance at French history shows how utterly dependent France has been on the United States for its very survival. Yet De Gaulle ignores history and French indebtedness to the United States, and in a most unappreciative and ignorant manner attempts to undermine the U.S. economy.

I have called upon the United States to freeze French assets in this country, end tourism to France, and suspend planned purchases of the Concorde in response to De Gaulle's mockery of history.

Columnist Pete Hamill, an articulate writer with an infinitely better sense of history than De Gaulle, wrote an excellent column that appeared in yesterday's Newsday. This column places De Gaulle's rantings in proper perspective and I congratulate Mr. Hamill for a powerful presentation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include that column in the RECORD at this point:

CHARLES DE GAULLE AND A COWARD'S REVENGE

(By Pete Hamill)

WASHINGTON.—At Omaha Beach, the landing craft were ripped by the fury of the German artillery. On the beaches, the dead were piled like cord wood. Hundreds drowned in the rough surf. But they kept coming through the barrage, crossed that beach seeded with mines and death, and dug in to stay. Those were Americans at Omaha Beach in Normandy. They had come with the British to free the French. They did it with blood and courage. Charles de Gaulle was not at Omaha Beach.

The airborne landed behind the German lines, in the hedgerow and swamp country. Some drowned in swollen rivers, weighed down by equipment. Gliders crashed, killing others. Some were cut to pieces by machine guns as they floated down over places called Ste. Mere-Eglise and Carentan and Douve. Charles de Gaulle did not land behind enemy lines.

The American dead were scattered across the face of France before it was over. The British and the Canadians fought with their great reserves of courage and discipline. If you think they did not, go to Normandy some day and see the white crosses spread out across those green silent hills, while the sea eddies quietly around the twisted wreckage of the landing craft. In 1944, the French did not talk about keeping Americans out of France. They were happy to see the British Sixth Airborne, and the British commandos with their bagpipes playing and their green berets cocked brazenly as they moved on the Caen Canel. There were 10,000 Americans, British and Canadians killed on D-Day alone, and they still stormed bravely on into France. Charles de Gaulle was not in France on D-Day.

BULLETINS FROM A MAD PALACE

But he is with us now, all right, sitting in his mad palace in Paris, sending out bulletins every few weeks that seem crazier and crazier. He is an old man, stooped and yellow-eyed, dying a little every minute, and still determined to destroy everything he hates before he dies completely. That includes the U.S.

You cannot understand de Gaulle without understanding that France has not won a fight on its own since Napoleon. The Prussians beat them in 1870. Their stupid generals and corrupt politicians sent an entire generation off to be slaughtered in World War I, and they ended by breaking and running and mutinying before the Americans arrived to bail them out.

In 1940, the French quit like pigs while the British showed the entire world what bravery and honor was about. That must eat at de Gaulle still. The despised British held out under the blitz, daring the Luftwaffe, showing them what a little iron in the spine could do against a giant military machine. The French cried and wept and begged bread from the Wehrmacht while their politicians clicked to Hitler. It is a habit the French come to easily. If you want to understand why the South Vietnamese army is such a motley collection of cowards and women, you must understand that its officers were trained by the French.

So now de Gaulle is having his coward's revenge. He refuses to allow Britain into the Common Market until it changes its ways. I suppose what he wants is for the British to become cowards. He has helped wreck the economy of the British, snickering at their humiliation, and now he wants to do the same for the U.S. and Canada. He is against our involvement in Vietnam, but not for the reasons—most of them moral—that the rest of us have. De Gaulle simply does not want us to win anything in Vietnam because the French could not win there either.

But this I know: the British will survive and come back stronger. It will be a different Britain. There will be no British Empire. But those people have the courage and the intelligence to know how to make themselves whole again. They will do it without breaking any laws, without arresting anyone or violating anyone's civil liberties and they will do it without becoming cowards. De Gaulle would never understand: he is, after all, a French general.

TIME TO SIT HARD

I think he has made a mistake tangling with the U.S. Americans have died for his country twice in this century, and if the French had not shot their way into Indochina in the first place, if they had not established the white man in that part of the world as a murderous plunderer, we would not be there today. I think it's time to sit on de Gaulle, real hard. For years now we have tolerated him and hoped he would go away. But while we tolerated him and waited for him to go away, he has wrecked NATO, he is trying to break up Canada, he is heaping scorn and abuse on the British, he is attacking the American dollar.

I say it's time to start staying away from his country and the burglars who make up his citizenry. Any American who goes to France as a tourist, and spends dollars there which de Gaulle can then use as a weapon against us, is agreeing with de Gaulle that all those men who died at Omaha Beach and Normandy and in all those other forgotten towns in France were nothing. Those were good men. They did not die to let this old fraud play the bully with their sons.

There are other things: we can pull back all the soldiers we have stationed in Germany to protect France. We can start presenting the bills for the Marshall Plan. We can close up the French-owned breweries and brothels in Saigon. We can give away their rubber plantations to the South Vietnamese. We can put a 200 per cent tariff on all French goods. And if I were going on vacation this year, I would spend my money in England. They can use the money, of course, but besides, if we ever had bad trouble again anywhere, the British would be there besides us. The French would be out in the street crying and learning the language of their conquerors. It's an old French custom, and I say, the hell with them.

The Ideal of Excellence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, with the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which I was proud to cosponsor in the House, a new era of communications has truly begun. It will involve effort, imagination, and risk, to be sure, but I think it has already demonstrated that it has the potential to complement and provide a meaningful alternative to commercial television.

A recent editorial in the Washington Post describes the mandate set for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, who will have the challenge and the opportunity to bring professionalism, sophistication, and diversity to this invaluable national resource.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

THE IDEAL OF EXCELLENCE

The public television bill signed last week by the President may well be the most important piece of legislation to come out of this session of Congress. If the new Corporation for Public Broadcasting lives up to only part of the promises and the dreams of its supporters, the Nation will be immeasurably enriched by this single Act. For the promise of public television is that it can open up for every citizen the vast store of information and knowledge available in the world which existing television touches only occasionally. Perhaps E. B. White explained this best in a letter to the Carnegie Commission whose report triggered the action concluded at the White House lastt week:

"Noncommercial television should address itself to the ideal of excellence, not the idea of acceptability—which is what keeps commercial television from climbing the staircase. I think television should be the visual counterpart of the literary essay, should arouse our dreams, satisfy our hunger for beauty, take us on journeys, enable us to participate in events, present great drama and music, explore the sea and the sky and the woods and the hills. It should be our Lyceum, our Chautauqua, our Minsky's, and our Camelot. It should restate and clarify the social dilemma and the political pickle. Once in a while it does, and you get a quick glimpse of its potential."

The charge, then, of the new corporation is great. It is authorized to channel funds into noncommercial television and radio stations, program production groups and educational networks for developing programs of high quality. But the President obviously sees it eventually going beyond this to a time when every citizen's home is tied through electronics to a vast "knowledge bank," when a student on a remote ranch in the West can have access in his living room to the Library of Congress or the Louvre.

The road for the new corporation will be a difficult one. There is the obvious danger that the men who run it will not open their minds wide enough and the new television will be only a different version of the old. There is the more important danger that public television will be turned into a vast vehicle of propaganda for some philosophical or political cause. There is the blatant danger of pressure on the corporation by Government or by politicians or by other groups to avoid controversy and escape criticism.

All those must be fought and the 15 men selected by the President to run the corporation must be men whose integrity and wisdom will allow them to make the right fight. He has done well in his first two choices—Milton S. Eisenhower and James R. Killian Jr. He must do as well on the other 13.

Still remaining for Congress is the question of financing. The new bill authorizes the appropriation of $9 million for the corporation's first year of activity. Congress should pass that appropriation promptly, and be prepared to take up the matter of permanent financing early next year. The President has promised his recommendation, probably in January, and a National Citizens Committee for Public Television is working up its proposal. The problem is difficult for the needs are great. Probably $100 million or so a year will be necessary if the corporation is to do the job its mandate requires.

A great start has been made. And the first taste of the new public television, given to the Nation last Sunday by the Public Broadcasting Laboratory, was a pleasant one. We hope a new era of communication has really begun.

Charles County GI Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Richard E. Hayes, a young soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam.

I wish to commend Private Hayes' courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

CHARLES COUNTY GI KILLED IN WAR—RICHARD HAYES SHOT WHILE SERVING WITH CAVALRY

BRYAN'S ROAD, MD., November 28.—A 21-year-old Charles county soldier, Pfc. Richard E. Hayes, was killed in action in Vietnam Sunday, the Defense Department reported today.

Pfc. Hayes, whose family lives in the country about 12 miles from this Southern Maryland community, was shot to death while his 1st Cavalry Air mobile Division unit was defending its position in a night action, according to a telegram received by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin L. Hayes.

Pfc. Hayes had been in Vietnam about two months and had sent home pictures of himself in battle dress with his rifle on his shoulder.

He was a 1966 graduate of Lackey High School.

Pfc. Hayes is survived by his parents, four brothers, Benjamin L. Hayes, Jr., and Kenneth Edward and Robert Hayes, all of the Bryans Road area and five sisters, Mrs. Marjorie Buchanan, of Oxon Hill, Md., and Mrs. Carol Ann Ridner, Miss Susan Hayes, Miss Marilyn Hayes and Miss Teresa Hayes, all of the Byrans Road area.

Personal Attacks on the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, presidential criticism has for generations been one of America's favorite national pastimes. But criticism which seeks to demean the President rather than debate the issues hurts, not helps, our Nation to solve its problems.

The Beaumont Enterprise has recognized that the time has come to clearly condemn "the increasingly unreasonable attacks against the President."

The latest fanciful notion of the extremists is that the President can end the war at any time and is awaiting a politically expedient opportunity to do so.

Such irresponsible attacks are not constructive, and they should be condemned. As the Enterprise notes:

> Attacks on this level are totally foreign to the American sense of fair play. And they are music to the ears of the Communists.

It is a tribute to President Johnson that he has maintained his composure and firm convictions in the face of these vituperative attacks. He has warned Hanoi in clear terms that no American President—at any time or under any circumstances—will waiver in his resolve to honor our solemn commitments.

No amount of personal attacks against the President can obscure this simple truth.

The following are two recent editorials from this outstanding Texas newspaper which condemn irresponsible outbursts, and praise the President's firmness:

WE KEEP OUR COMMITMENTS

"I want to disillusion him this morning. We keep our commitments."

This was, in effect, President Johnson's latest message to Ho Chi Minh and any other Communist leader who might think that American anti-Vietnam demonstrations and public opinion polls are assurances that the United States will accept anything but an "honorable peace."

We applaud the Chief Executive's pointed restatement of position, especially his warning to the enemy not to expect easier terms from another American president.

This is straight thinking. And the reasoning behind it is what makes so frustrating the Republican search for a way to capitalize on Vietnam in the 1968 election. As Clare Booth Luce once pointed out, rarely is there political expediency in being softer in wartime than the man in the White House.

ABUSE OF THE PRESIDENT

We commend the two senators who spoke out last week against the increasingly unreasonable attacks on the President.

Burdens of the presidency are heavy in any year and any administration, but the responsibilities that rest upon the shoulders of the present occupant of the White House are awesome when compared to those of many past chief executives.

Lyndon Johnson and the country are in enough trouble as it is. Those who constantly engage in verbal abuse of the President and members of his family are only making matters worse.

As Sen. Frank Moss of Utah points out, these vicious attacks degrade the office of the presidency and hence the nation.

Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, like the Utah lawmaker, defended dissent that is constructive and reasonable, but charged that a small minority "has gone beyond the bounds of decency."

We agree with Moss that the most appalling thing of all is to hear supposed responsible citizens charge that the President can end the war in Vietnam any time and is only waiting until it is politically opportune to do so.

We do not approve all the policies and programs of Lyndon Johnson, and many times have said so. However, we do not permit disagreement to degrade us into innuendo, personal vilification, blanket indictment and wholesale questioning of motives.

Attacks on this level are totally foreign to the American sense of fair play. And they are as music to the ears of the Communists.

Today's Story Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, since the time when the commerce of man was extended beyond barter the importance of the medium of exchange has played a key role in trade within individual nations and between nations of the earth. The two basic attitudes that can be found relative to any currency in use in any society remain the same: They are an attitude of confidence and an attitude toward convenience.

The first attitude relates to the sought-for need for deposit of value for the holder and the other relates more to the velocity of transactions which as volume grows trade is encouraged. Paradoxically these two attitudes are inconsistent. Actually wealth as such relates to goods and services valued in their own right and wealth has no necessary relationship to convenience. The wealth of a nation is certainly directly tied to the goods and services both in the quality and quantity it produces. The wealth of a nation is certainly not related to the amount of currency it has available. Therefore, when hard currency or metal coinage is involved it has a dual role; one in which it is part of the wealth picture and the other as a medium of exchange. It is demonstrably true, however, that the greater role it plays as wealth the lesser role it plays as convenience and vice versa. As the volume of trade rises the pressure for convenience will also rise and in the choice between confidence resting on value and service resting on convenience, option will be exercised in favor of convenience. That is today's story in relation to gold.

Let us examine this proposition in greater detail keeping in mind the distinction of wealth per se and money as a medium of exchange; and the distinction between the requisite attitudes relative to currency. One being confidence which rests on true wealth or value and convenience which rests upon velocity and volume.

As long as man has known the existence of gold, it has served as a medium of exchange. As with any commodity, the value of gold is measured by its desirability in relation to its availability. No one doubts that gold is a desirable material because of its beauty and its workability. It is easily extracted in a pure form and is easily alloyed with other metals to achieve the desired durability. Gold does not tarnish and is divisible without loss of value. Yet its scarcity means that not everyone may possess as much as he desires. It is, therefore, a measure of one's wealth and a most logical medium of exchange.

Gold is, however, a heavy metal and is not easily transported in great quantities. Even though an individual found it easy to carry bits of raw gold or pieces of worked gold to handle day-to-day transactions, he found it cumbersome and unsafe to carry enough for large transactions. The problem was solved by leaving the bulk of one's gold with the goldsmith or someone else who was willing to keep it safe and by writing a note to him to deliver upon request a certain amount of that gold to a named person in possession of the note. Today it costs more than $6 in interest foregone, insurance and storage charges to hold $100 in gold for a year.

In the past everyone felt it safe enough to accept such notes addressed to "bearer" as long as they had confidence in the financial stability and integrity of the man whose signature appeared at the bottom of the note. Often, no gold actually changed hands, but was transferred on paper.

Still, when one traveled outside the community where his name was not known, he had to carry his gold with him. Soon the policy of issuing notes was taken over by large banks and eventually by governments who could assure the validity of gold notes over greater areas. Soon this became the exclusive dominion of government and the notes became universally acceptable; in some cases, even for foreign trade. Thus, the change from gold as a medium of exchange to gold as an exchange standard.

It soon became apparent that there was not enough gold available to back up 100 percent of the increasing number of notes needed as the economy grew. Thus governments issued notes in excess of their gold stock but kept enough to assure the occasional doubter that his paper money was "as good as gold." This policy was adequate as long as there was no "run" on the gold stock. When this did happen, the Government had no choice but to abandon the policy of redemption and assure the validity of the notes on the strength of the Government alone.

Both world wars and the depression vividly demonstrated the weaknesses of the gold standard in times of extreme difficulty. Countries found that a paper standard was not the solution, nor was any other form of the metal standard. The key to a solid monetary system depends upon a stable economic system and these times were not the best in which to experiment. Virtually all governments felt, however, that although the gold standard was far from perfect, it had been in a process of development over the centuries, and belief was widespread that the best hope of the future consisted in the further improvement of this standard, rather than in the substitution of something new in its place.

Today, there is dissatisfaction with the restraints posed by the gold standards and efforts are being made to recognize what the difficulties are and what can be done to alleviate the strains that are beginning to show. These strains are the end result of a long and highly involved development of many monetary standards which go under the name of the "gold standard" and the one which we have now is by no means the end or even desired product of this development.

In the United States, gold monometallism did not actually exist until 1879. Nonetheless, from the beginning of colonial settlements here, gold served, at least to some extent, as basic money. The early experience with gold can be divided into four periods: First, the period prior to the National Mint Act of 1792 which is roughly the preconstitutional period, during which a scattering of gold circulated in the country along with many silver and copper coins and with large amounts of inconvertible paper money; second, the period of bimetallism which dated from 1792 to the long suspension of specie payments at the end of 1861—omitting brief suspension from 1814 to 1817; third, the period of the greenback standard from 1862 to 1878, during which the only circulation of gold money was a limited amount on the Pacific coast; and, fourth, the period of the gold standard, from the resumption of specie payments in 1879 to the First World War.

With the advent of the war, the gold standard and every other kind of monetary standard in the world broke down. During the war and the years immediately following, depreciated and managed paper money standards were adopted everywhere. With few exceptions—principally in the United States—they were terrible failures. As soon as the smoke of battle had cleared away and the work of reconstruction had moved substantially forward, nearly all the advanced countries of the world began readapting their economies to the gold standard.

The United States had suffered less than any country from the war and in June 1919, removed the embargo on gold exports and from this time on the dollar was taken as representing gold. At the Brussels Conference of 1920, recommendations were made that all countries attempt to steady the internal purchasing powers of their own currencies and at the Genoa Conference of 1922 countries were urged to return to the gold standard. The enthusiasm with which countries returned to the standard was met by almost immediate disillusionment.

Countries had price levels harmonized with that of the dollar and had stabilized foreign exchanges, but had not gotten the world's gold properly distributed. It was becoming clear that, as things were, there was not enough gold available to maintain the world level of prices at its existing height, and that the world was threatened with continuously falling prices and an indefinite period of trade depression. The United States, with a surplus of gold, could possibly maintain its position and level prices; any other country which by hook or by crook could obtain enough gold might be able to do the same. Hence the fear of a scramble for gold, which would mean a bidding up of the price of gold making it more valuable. This means essentially reducing commodity prices and a general depression.

The return to the gold standard was made in most cases under trying circumstances, and, before the newly created standards could be firmly established and put in good order, the postwar economic crisis beginning in 1929–30 shook the world. The gold standard everywhere was again swept away. Likewise were all the remaining silver standards and practically all of the paper money standards.

The U.S. Congress in 1933 under the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to require every person in the United States to relinquish, in exchange for dollar currency, all gold coins, gold bullion and gold certificates in his possession. The whole operation was carried through quickly and expeditiously. The President declared that all title to gold rested with the Government. Gold could, however, be employed by the Federal Reserve System for international payment. The monetary authorities, under the provision of the Gold Reserve Act of 1945, were empowered to sell gold for industrial uses and for export at one-fourth of 1 percent above the declared par value of $35 per ounce, and to buy gold at one-fourth of 1 percent below $35 per ounce. Gold for export was to be delivered to foreign central banks. With minor changes, this is the policy as it is today.

However, gold no longer makes up all of each nation's reserves, although the United States holds virtually all of its official reserves as gold bullion. So long as gold constituted the whole of international reserves, the problem was simply a matter of the aggregate quantity of the world's monetary gold and how it was distributed. The question was whether there was enough gold available to tide countries over temporary imbalances when foreign exchanges ran unfavorably. Imbalances could have been due to seasonal, cyclical, or special episodic events, or structural changes in demand and supply conditions.

Now two developments have greatly altered the picture. Causes of imbalances are no longer related merely to demand and supply conditions arising in the private sector. Since 1914, vast funds have been transferred across international borders by governments as war loans, reparation payments, foreign aid, grants and loans, military expenditures abroad, and so forth. These amounts have been so vast as to preclude the possibility of quick adjustments in the trade balance or in the private capital balance. Second, as became evident after World War I, the world's gold supply has not been increasing rapidly enough. For one thing, much of it was hoarded. Even allowing for this, gold production has not kept pace with the growing needs of world trade and other international transactions. Several measures were taken to economize on gold. It was freed for international use by being withdrawn from circulation and by reducing the gold cover on domestic currencies. More significantly, at the Genoa Conference of 1922, countries were encouraged to keep a part of their international reserves in the form of foreign exchange, specifically in liquid dollars and sterling holdings.

This latter device is the center of the controversy today. The United States and the United Kingdom are, of course, compelled to stand ready to pay out gold or the whole structure of stable exchange rates is in danger. The United States has assumed almost all responsibility for this policy due to England's current difficulties. Thus, since gold production is inadequate, the system can only function if surplus countries are prepared to take payment not in gold, but in liquid dollar holdings. The more they do this, the greater the ratio of foreign exchange holdings to gold holdings and the more shaky the gold-exchange structure becomes. One escape route from this is to end dollar and sterling deficits. But if this is achieved, the international monetary system would have to regress to the bare bones of the gold standard with its inadequate growth of international reserves.

In the future, it is not expected that accumulations of foreign exchange will make so large a contribution to the growth of aggregate reserves, because certain countries will take less of their reserve assets in the form of reserve currencies. Moreover, the United States will wish to raise its holdings of reserve assets in some relation to any increase in its liquid liabilities. Long-run plans for reserves will have to make allowances for a cessation of the decline in U.S. reserves and indeed for an increase in them.

Real negotiations for the creation of new reserves have centered around drawing rights within the International Monetary Fund. The principal choice in the form that these new reserves will take is between these two; first, the creation of a reserve in asset form—a "reserve unit"—through an exchange of claims between a reserve-creating institution and the countries to which the newly created reserves are initially distributed, and second, creation of additional drawing facilities of a quasi-automatic nature in the IMF. In these negotiations within the European Common Market, the Group of Ten, and the IMF, France has led the field of those nations which insist upon a "creditlike" asset and the United States has held out in favor of a moneylike asset.

Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler, in all negotiations, insists that the expansion of world trade and investment will be progressively hampered by restrictions unless the world's supply of reserve assets grows. To accomplish a solution, he feels that it is necessary to have a moneylike asset that will be regarded by monetary authorities as a supplement to gold and dollars and will be treated by them as reserves. Credit facilities which carry fixed repayment obligations, as France insists, will not meet countries' desires to increase their reserves. Nor will increased credit facilities be as effective in convincing the gold markets that we have broken our dependence on gold to increase free world reserves.

I applaud the efforts of Secretary Fowler in maintaining a strong commitment in the negotiations, but I question his firm resolve to maintain the gold standard when he professes to desire breaking from its restrictions. Perhaps he has in mind a long-range plan to make this reserve unit something that will eventually replace gold. However, I feel that we must involve ourselves immediately in basic discussions of the gold standard with a mind to more immediate and conclusive reform.

The recent statement of the American Bankers Association on U.S. gold policy demonstrates how we can be trapped into support for an economic policy that is detrimental to our own interests and, for that matter, the interests of the entire free world trade area. Prompted by growing sentiment for breaking the link between gold and the dollar, the ABA extolled the virtues of fixed exchange rates under the dollar-gold standard and warned against the consequences of failing to honor claims on gold at the established rate of $35 an ounce. The statement warns that a change in the gold policy would risk destroying the international monetary system without any replacement other than a worldwide network of exchange controls, as immediate reactions or as eventual responses to the deficiencies of floating exchange rates.

These observations are based upon a highly questionable historical analogy to the 1930's when severe domestic deflation forced countries off the gold standard. It is doubtful, however, that the experiences of the depression would be repeated today when all countries are committed to the maintenance of high income and employment. Furthermore, in abandoning the gold policy, nations were reacting to an immediate crisis whereas current prosperity will allow deliberation and flexibility—including maintaining current policies—in policy decisions.

The ABA's statement continually refers to the responsibility of the United States to nations who have "helped finance a long string of U.S. deficits" by adding to their dollar holdings. The statement says that a number of nations have thus put their national interest on the line in failing to press for conversions of dollars into gold. I wonder how much of this so-called sacrifice is magnanimity and how much of it is sound policy?

We must remember that, as the distinguished president of the Bank of America, Rudolph A. Peterson, says:

> Dollars are not forced on their foreign holders. The dollar is a major trading and reserve currency because it is desired by foreign claimants.

Private bankers outside the United States are happy with the reliability and stability of the dollar. In addition, assuming that the United States did impose an embargo on gold and private holders decided to get rid of their dollars, what would they change them for? Other currencies are much more difficult to invest and would certainly not bring a better return than dollar investments.

Private holders of dollars cannot, of course, exchange them for gold. That is the privilege of central banks only. What the central banks would do in the event of a gold embargo is a highly academic question. Whether they like it or not, the world monetary system is heavily tied to a dollar standard. Gold has a value, not because of some intrinsic quality, but because the United States alone is willing to buy gold at a set price.

A metal of varying value is incapable of being an accurate standard of value or of currency. Under skilled supervision, and in favorable circumstances, it may provide a medium in which a standard of currency is fixed and maintained. But it is the fixed value, and not the metal, which is the standard of currency. The merit of the gold standard is its logic, not its gold.

Unfortunately, the tie to gold is not merely on paper. Psychologically speaking, breaking from gold would be, for some, as traumatic as leaving home for the first time. Granted, the first few steps would be a little shaky; but the departure is imperative. It is time we applied the same kind of logic and skill that we expend maintaining the gold standard to searching for a way out.

National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12603) to supplement the purposes of the Public Buildings Act of 1959 (73 Stat. 479), by authorizing agreements and leases with respect to certain properties in the District of Columbia, for the purpose of a National Visitor Center, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, at this point in the RECORD, I insert a statement by Hon. J. J. PICKLE concerning the National Visitors Center Act. Mr. PICKLE served on the National Visitors Center Study Commission and has long had an active interest in this subject:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN J. J. PICKLE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, after many months of hard work, and after many proposals and counterproposals have been hashed over, I am glad to see that the House has before it today a good, comprehensive plan by which the visitors in our Nation's capital will no longer be subjected to the kind of confusion and anxiety that has prevailed in the past.

The National Visitors Center Facilities Act of 1967, H.R. 12603, at last proposes a system to take care of our visitors and, at the same time, to cut drastically the disruption caused on the surrounding government offices and businesses.

With more than 15 million American and foreign visitors coming to Washington this year, and with that total to increase to 30 million by 1980, I believe we can ignore the problem no longer. As a member of the National Visitors Center Study Commission, I met with my colleagues many times in the past year to review the problems. The plan set out in the National Visitors Center Facilities Act is good both for the government and for the tourist, and I am glad to have sponsored a companion bill, H.R. 12693.

The proposal calls for the present Union Station, which is located only a few blocks north of the Capitol, to be converted to a reception center where tourists can park, receive briefings, and see movies on the near-by tourist attractions, and on area hotels, restaurants, and other accommodations. The new train station will adjoin the Visitors Center and scheduled helicopter service will be available from the roof of the parking garage which is to be constructed. Five-minute local bus service is to be available to all points on the Mall, and for those who wish to see the major points of interest, the Visitors Center would provide a one-stop means of doing just that.

On the question of the location of the central visitors center for the entire city, I personally prefer a location between 14th Street and the Washington Monument. This was recommended by some of the prominent architectural firms, and it was a point I raised in my testimony on H.R. 12603 before the House Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds. Still, I must be realistic, and in light of our current financial problems, I know that we cannot undertake to build an entirely new facility involving large sums of money. I still maintain, however, that a major facility is needed in the location I mentioned, since that area is in fact and in truth the hub of tourists' Washington. It is within easy walking distance not only of all major points along the Mall, but also of the White House.

The Union Station proposal is the best possible alternative at this time. It will satisfy a need that has been growing steadily over the past years. Many times, I have visitors from my own district complain that the parking, traffic, and congestion is so bad around the Capitol and Mall that they were unable to see nearly all that is offered. I think this denial to our citizens is a disgrace, and I say we must act quickly. It is for this reason that I endorse the bill before us.

As I have said, the Union Station proposal will be an aid to the tourist. But it is also good from the government's point of view. The present owners of Union Station have agreed to make all improvements necessary to convert it to the proposed center, and the rents to be paid by the government will almost entirely be recouped from parking fees, and sales and services provided in the center.

Many people have worked hard on this project. But I believe a special word of commendation is due to some who have been particularly imaginative. Representative Ken Gray, the leader of the House delegation to the Study Commission, and the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds, has been especially effective in securing the consensus needed to secure the the endorsement of the Commission. Also, Representative Fred D. Schwengel served on the commission, and on the Subcommittee, and was another moving force behind the bill.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, and the Administrator of the General Services Administration, Mr. Lawson B. Knott, Jr., are to be commended for their success in obtaining agreement to the proposed lease on the renovated Union Station, on terms which are fair and workable both for the government and for the station owners.

Mr. Speaker, I believe my voice was one of the first raised on the Hill for better tourist facilities. When I first came to Congress, I was amazed and shocked at the inadequate facilities offered in the Capitol Building itself, and I made several speeches to my colleagues and other groups on the deplorable situation. I would like to see some kind of visitors center in the Capitol Building itself, since it is the single largest attraction, and since it now offers virtually nothing in the way of restrooms, water fountains, and restaurants.

Even if the bill before us is passed, I believe the problems in the Capitol are the most urgent we face. With the Visitors Center well on its way, I would hope that this will be the next item for consideration.

A Study in Contrasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Livermore, Calif., Herald & News presented what I thought was an interesting study in contrasts about America's youth.

As my colleagues will see after reading the editorial, our Job Corpsmen are not storming the doors of the Pentagon—nor are they burning their draft cards or turning them in.

They are, on the other hand, learning to accept all responsibilities of good citizenship—from financial independence to serving their country in the Armed Forces.

My colleagues will understand the study in contrasts upon reading the editorial which I insert in the RECORD at this time:

CONTEMPORARY CONTRASTS

Two current developments in Alameda County provide an interesting study in contrasts and inspire comment on a variety of topics, such as "rights," "patriotism" and "moral right."

One development is the besieging of the Northern California Induction Center at Oakland as part of a nationwide "antidraft" movement. These protesters are exercising their "right to assemble," and their "right of free speech."

The other development is that of about 40 Park Job Corpsmen enlisting in the first Job Corps paratroop platoon. They are part of a goodly number of corpsmen enlisting at Parks in all branches of military service.

One of the contrasts began with a comment by a corpsmen when he was asked how he felt about the protests at the induction centers: "I don't think most of them even know what they're protesting about."

This was from a young Los Angeles white man. He sat with two other paratroop enlistees, a Negro from Philadelphia and a Georgia-born Negro from Cleveland. All were from the ghettos, all from areas where protests have occurred and violence has flared, all high school dropouts, all considered by many Americans as "hoodlums."

It's an odd commentary that patriotism, which some claim has all but passed from the American scene, should be sounded so strongly from the throats of the minority which has made "organized protests" and "civil disobedience" watchwords of the 1960s. This is quite a contrast. Certainly it proves that all members of the vociferous minorities are not at the induction centers protesting.

But the corpsman's comment and the youths' actions in enlisting to fight in a war so many detest also provides a starting point for a commentary on the more basic issues of "rights" and "right."

The commentary is simply this: Does the "right" to protest against the Vietnam war include the "right" to prevent another man from exercising his right to be patriotic and serve his nation? Isn't the right to protest merely the legal privilege to give voice to one's conscience? And isn't that right distributed equally among all men—especially in a democracy?

The contrast between "underprivileged hoodlum" boys exercising simple, old-fashioned and strangely welcome patriotism and the literate, articulate citizens joining a mass protest is one we can perhaps take heart from. But then, simple things often bring the most hope.

Nice Plug for Roz Russell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Waterbury and the State of Connecticut are proud of Rosalind Russell. Not only are we proud of the success which she has attained in her professional career, but we are also gratified that success has not changed Miss Russell in the slightest degree. She has always remained the same kind, generous, and friendly person whom we knew in Waterbury as a girl.

I was pleased to find a warm and understanding Russell profile by Hal Boyle in the November 20 issue of the Waterbury American, and as a friend of Rosaline Russell, I am proud to include it herewith so that it may have the benefit of a larger audience:

ROSALIND RUSSELL HAS BEAUTY, BRAINS, HEART

(By Hal Boyle)

NEW YORK.—You never hear anyone bad mouthing Rosalind Russell.

This is unsual because she is one of those rare women who have beauty, brains and a heart and other human beings sometimes find it difficult to put up with anyone that gifted.

An actress with a sense of humor as engaging as her dramatic talents, she seemed amused the other day when asked how she could explain her own enduring popularity.

"Well, if people like me," she said lightly, "it must be because I like people, all kinds of people. I come from a large family."

As a slender somewhat tom-boyish girl in her home town, Waterbury, Conn., where her mother had been a schoolteacher and her father a wellknown trial lawyer, Roz dreamed of a career on stage and screen.

Now at age 54, some 30 years a star, the list of her achievements is awesome.

She has made 48 films—the latest is Universal's "Rosie"—in which she played 20 different types of career women ranging from a mother superior to a judge. Her memorable portrayals include those of "Sister Kenny" and "Auntie Mame."

She has received 97 awards and citations, including three nominations for an Oscar, and election by the Costume Designers Guild to its Hall of Fame of "all-time best dressed women."

Generous with both her time and money, Miss Russell has participated in some 75 civic and philanthropic activites.

Through it all she has avoided any taint of smugness or stiffness. She is still frank, friendly, warm-hearted and merry of spirit.

"I really love to laugh," she said. "People don't laugh enough, and they should. After all, it takes so much more energy to be angry and pan things.

"My biggest problem is time, as it is with most anyone. That's what we are all really looking for, more time to try everything."

SYMBOLIC TO LIGHT

To Roz life is symbolic with light.

"It isn't darkness, it is enlightenment. What goes with poverty and ignorance is darkness. What goes toward making life better is light.

"My philosophy can be summed up in one of the phrases Auntie Mame used 'Life is a banquet, and most poor suckers are starving to death.' "

What do you feel is your own best quality, Roz?

"That I am myself, I suppose, I don't try to be anyone else. It isn't always easy to be yourself. I was in my 30s before I was sure of who I was.

"But I sure don't know everything yet. I'm still guessing."

Your biggest fault, Roz:

"Procrastination. I hate to make an unpleasant decision. But I don't procrastinate about my work. I've never been late to the set or shown up without knowing my lines."

These are things Roz likes:

"My country, I'm terribly pro-America—white picket fences in front of a house—collecting rocks, I must have at least a ton of Quartz—vegetarian meals—my religion—working in a garden, I have flowers that bloom all year long—and home and the unity of the family. I've been to a lot of parties and places, but never had more fun than in my own home with my husband and son."

And here are Miss Russell's dislikes

"What frustrates me is indolence, indifference, and the general attitude of noncaring. I also don't like people who use personal shyness as an excuse for not doing things. We're all shy, but we ought to give the other fellow a break. He may be shy, too.

"I also dislike tardiness. Your whole life can be changed by getting up half an hour early. That's why God gave us the period from 5 to 7 a.m.—so we could get up and beat the traffic."

L. B. J.'s Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of November 26, 1967, carried an article by Mr. Adolfe Berle, entitled "L. B. J.'s Record Will Show He Did His Damndest," which I feel will be of interest to my colleagues. Therefore, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting the article in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

L. B. J.'s RECORD WILL SHOW HE DID HIS DAMNDEST

(By Adolfe Berle)

(NOTE.—A retired Columbia University law professor, Berle was an adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1932 campaign and an Assistant Secretary of State under Roosevelt. He also served President Kennedy as head of his inter-American task force.)

When John F. Kennedy was assassinated Nov. 22, 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson was catapulted into the White House and thereby into world power. After four years as a historical figure, his record will be passed on and his position determined by next year's election.

Owing him nothing and being beyond the age of political ambition, I think I can offer an objective view. Overcoming my rage at the abuse leveled at him by propaganda and his enemies, and forgetting personal friendship for some of his Republican opponents, here it is.

BOTH FLANKS EXPOSED

The 1968 race will be President Johnson's first real campaign; the real issues were not presented in 1964. He goes into it with both flanks exposed. The left wing hates his foreign policy and blames him (as it blamed Franklin D. Roosevelt) for not reforming overnight. The right wing opposes the whole social program. Votes of the American center will make the decision.

Mr. Johnson's 1964 majority represented not consensus but his heirship to the tragic drama of his brilliant predecessor, to a deep American feeling that a man so placed should have a chance to speak his piece and to temporary seizure of the Republican Party by a reactionary wing whose program and attitudes had been obsolete for 30 years.

A more normal balance appeared in 1966 as Southern Democrats and Northern conservatives combined against him in Congress. But in the two intervening years, he had carried through two unrealized Kennedy programs: civil rights for Negroes and stimulation of the economy by tax reduction.

More importantly, he had also added a powerful new conception to American politics, giving it a new dimension and direction. This was the Great Society. He had pushed through some bills giving it a measure of reality. In domestic affairs, his 1968 campaign will seek a solid mandate to carry this conception forward.

In foreign affairs, Mr. Johnson inherited and for four years has traversed as dangerous and difficult a period as America has ever encountered. As public opinion is running, the liberals support his domestic policy and oppose his foreign policy; the conservatives support his foreign policy and oppose the Great Society. On this combination he must make his campaign.

SUBSTANCE FOR A DECADE

The current low level of American political debate cannot obscure the historical significance of the positions President Johnson has taken or the fact that his forward policies will be the grist of American campaigns for a decade to come.

Civil rights became statutory law in 1964. But law alone cannot bring the American Negro population into economic and social equality. President Johnson tackled the rest of the problem by proposing all-out war on poverty, black and white alike.

One factor in poverty is the city, where poverty is most concentrated. Reorganization of urban life was seen to be essential—not merely for "the poor" but for all city dwellers. If in process of reconstruction the sheer ugliness of its towns could be conquered, American civilization might be put on the road to a great expression.

So remodeling of cities was thrown into the political arena, bringing direct Federal aid to endless projects for urban reconstruction. The beginnings of these programs are in effect and no city in the country will tolerate their discontinuance. Controversy there will be, but the odds against abandonment are enormous.

A STATE OF MOTION

Foreign affairs have presented a vaster issue. In 1963, the United States was in the throes of a virulent cold war. President Kennedy had checked it in the Western Hemisphere by going to the verge of nuclear war in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. He had maneuvered with it in the Far East, relinquishing Laos and Cambodia, but resolving to resist in Vietnam, where he sent 25,000 American troops. In the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict, Mr. Kennedy's answer had been to work with NATO and keep the Sixth Fleet near Suez.

President Johnson in 1963 found the whole scene in a state of motion. Mr. Johnson's basic problem was whether the United States should attempt to maintain a world balance or should withdraw from difficult areas, leaving the Communists to guide the course of events.

His decision was to attempt to maintain the balance. He met the threat to Vietnam by escalation to the scale of North Vietnamese attack. He responded to the threat to the Dominican Republic when that country fell into chaos by swift action, establishment of a popularity based Dominican government and prompt withdrawal of the inter-American force.

CONFRONTATION AVERTED

His least recognized exploit was in the Arab-Israeli war last June. Soviet arms and diplomacy had engineered a shaky Arab unity and a Soviet flotilla moved through the Dardanelles to the fighting front. At that point, Mr. Johnson used the "hot line" to Moscow to reach agreement with the Soviet leaders that neither the Russians nor the Americans would participate in the conflict. A confrontation carrying the possibility of a world war was avoided.

Mr. Johnson's political troubles stem more from his foreign policy than from any other part of his program. Most Americans are inherently pacifist and many are latently isolationist. Many advocates and beneficiaries of his social programs joined in reviling him for his actions in Santo Domingo, in Vietnam, in the Congo and, though in less measure, in the Mediterranean.

AN HONORABLE RESULT

Nevertheless, the possibility of bringing the world disarray under at least temporary control has been preserved. Power-political probes to determine the steadfastness of the American President seem to have ceased. Despite all the shouting against him, this is an honorable result.

Mr. Johnson's limitations are obvious. He is not the young, appealing, liberal-aristocratic, dramatic youth ideal that President Kennedy was. He has not the golden gift of laughter of FDR. He is not the darling of the press. Especially in foreign affairs, his case has been badly stated and worse pleaded.

He has not constructed in his government a close-knit team of personal friends. He is not a faithful supporter of his political allies outside Washington. He has thought in the simplest terms, a dogged, roughhewn Texas politician who nevertheless comprehended the problems of America at home and abroad. He simply did his damnedest to see her through on all fronts.

The man may have been wrong in some of his decisions. One may dislike him, or like someone else better. But it would be nonsense not to assign him historical status of the first importance.

City Colors To Fly in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, on Thanksgiving Day the Johnson City, Tenn., Press-Chronicle carried a heartwarming story about a young man in Vietnam who, when asked by a friend what he would like to have for Christmas, replied that he wanted a flag of his hometown to fly on the newly erected flagpole over his company area.

Friends in Johnson City were successful in their efforts to grant Pfc. Robert Wagner's request, and the flag of Johnson City, Tenn., will soon be waving proudly beneath the American flag in at least one area of Vietnam. Flags of the hometowns of other members of Pfc. Wagner's company will fly alternately with the Johnson City flag.

Last Sunday, the Press-Chronicle printed an editorial pointing out the lesson in appreciation which Pfc. Wagner has taught all of us, and it is a pleasure for me to make available to my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD both the article and the editorial about this fine young soldier's loyalty, not only to his country, but to his hometown as well:

CITY COLORS TO FLY OVER VIETNAM: A REQUEST, A FLAG, A SMILING GI

(By Jean Lewis)

A homesick plea for a bit of home in the form of an official flag of Johnson City and the flag of the State of Tennessee, by a Johnson City serviceman stationed in far off Vietnam, is now in the process of being fulfilled.

Pfc. Robert Wagner, 23, nephew of Mr. and Mrs. George Parker, 114 E. Watauga Ave., in a letter to his friend, Romulus Johnson, Rt. 1, Jonesboro, said "You wanted to know what you could send me for Christmas. Well, it just occurred to me that you could go to city hall and get me a large city flag. We just erected a flagpole in our company area and we are allowed to fly our flag for a day at a time. There are several boys from near Johnson City in this unit and I think it would be a welcome sight to all of them."

So great was the Johnson Citian's desire for the flags of his native area that he said he would bear any expense. "If city hall cannot send one free, I will pay for it. Also if there is any way to get a state flag it would be of great help. These two flags would be the only thing I could use besides maybe a discharge, a one way ticket home, and a million dollars. It sounds like I am joking but I have never been more serious in my life," Wagner concludes.

Johnson, 30, who owns and operates his own landscaping business here, reports he and Wagner, then a sophomore at Boones Creek High School, met over a cup of coffee in a local eating establishment. During the succeeding six years their friendship grew and together they solved many of the problems besetting boys in their teens, such as the successful completion of a high school education.

The two friends have been in constant contact since Wagner left for his tour of duty in the army. In addition to writing they also keep in touch through tape recordings, since a pair of tape recorders were purchased and they can exchange voice tapes.

On one of his more recent tapes, Wagner talked of the war in Vietnam. He stated most emphatically, "I will be very hard to live with when I get back home if I hear anyone protesting the war in Vietnam. The rioting, marching, protesting and burning of draft cards doesn't do much for the morale of the fighting man in Vietnam. Those people haven't been over here. They do not know what it is like and they certainly do not know what the war is about. If they haven't been here and don't know for sure what is actually going on then let them keep their noses out of it."

A companion search turned up only a smaller flag of the State of Tennessee but further efforts are being made by Johnson who has enlisted the aid of Senator Marshall Nave of Elizabethton.

[From the Johnson City (Tenn.) Press-Chronicle]

A SOLDIER IN VIETNAM: A LESSON IN APPRECIATION

When Pfc. Robert Wagner writes from Vietnam that what he wants for Christmas is a flag of his hometown and a flag of his home state, he humbles us.

How many of us yearn for a flag of Johnson City or a flag of Tennessee at Christmas time, or any time?

But then we are not in Vietnam. We are here in the good old United States and good old Tennessee and good old Johnson City going about our businesses and pleasures as usual.

There is a difference, a vast difference, as Robert Wagner so poignantly brings out in that letter to his friend, Romulus Johnson. When a fellow is on the other side of the world in a forbidding environment where danger lurks and he knows not what fate is in store, things that once seemed so tritely casual now seem urgently, even obsessively important.

The soldier's thought now turn to dear friends and dear places, and he longs for a little bit of home right where he is—like the flag of his hometown and the flag of his home state, which he will fly proudly by way of remembering what used to be and dreaming of what he so fervently hopes will be again. Yes, that's what he wants for Christmas!

There is a sermon here—a sermon in appreciation.

Most of us are so taken in the rotes and routines of our days that we are not adequately grateful for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—nor for home, friends, town, state and nation.

Sometimes one small happening, perhaps just a flick or a speck on the changing panorama of time and space, causes us to pause and give some thought to what is really of value in life. When this happens, we often realize we are missing the wheat because we are so busy with the chaff.

Pfc. Robert Wagner has shown us the wheat.

Attorney General Clark Reports on Campaign Against Organized Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government, under President Johnson's leadership, is waging its most effective campaign in history against organized crime.

The campaign has resulted in an increase from 19 in 1960 to 1,197 in 1966 of indictments returned in cases handled by the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Justice Department.

Of the 182 Federal indictments or convictions of known Cosa Nostra members during the past 12 years, 66—more than one-third—have come within the last year.

The Federal campaign, already the most intensive and effective yet undertaken, is being bolstered through development of new strategy. The "strike force" concept, involving special intra-agency teams of Government prosecutors and investigators, is a promising new technique.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark reported on the campaign in an address in New York City this month. The address, delivered before the National Emergency Committee of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in New York on November 14, 1967, also contains a thoughtful analysis of the problem of organized crime. I respectfully include the address to be printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

Crime in America has many faces. Each exists because we are what we are. Our national character and condition create these capabilities for crime, cause us to suffer them, inhibit commitment to their control.

The motives of most are economic. Ninety percent of all serious crimes are against property. Many of the crimes against persons—muggings, kidnappings, assaults and murders—are incidental to property crimes.

White collar crime—embezzlement, fraud, swindling, price-fixing, tax evasion—often the acts of respected and successful people, wrests millions annually from the public. The consequences to its victims are often as dire and direct as those that follow the thief, the burglar and the robber; frequently more so, because white collar crime can dig deeper than the purse in the bureau drawer or the wallet in the pocket to wipe out the savings of a family or a firm and its stockholders. Few crimes so corrode moral standards.

Crime in the streets, as it has come to be called, the widespread occurrence of general crimes, plague the nation. A steady rise in reported crime is a source of deep concern to our people. Over three million serious crimes were reported last year with perhaps as many unreported. Here is our most pervasive and dangerous crime. It strikes capriciously, frequently; anywhere, anytime, anyone. But mostly it strikes the poor and the defenseless. It enlists our youth by the tens of thousands and sets them against society. It creates an atmosphere of fear that can destroy the self-confidence of a nation and the freedom of its people. It is by far the greatest challenge crime presents America today. It will be by far the most difficult to control.

An emerging defiance of law to demonstrate dissent or to disrupt is often a cause more of inconvenience than of injury. It has rarely elevated human dignity or the worth of the individual. Perhaps more significantly it lends to an atmosphere of contempt for social stability.

Extremist groups of the right and left—the Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen, the Revolutionary Action Movement, Deacons for Defense and Justice—present another face of lawlessness. Capable of violence and intimidation, they are a concern to law enforcement and a threat to the public.

Rioting with vast property destruction, looting and sniping, injury to thousands and death to scores has visited the nation over four consecutive summers now. It threatens our quest for equal justice, our ability to build great cities where every American child will have his chance for fulfillment. Wild and irrational, riots destroy property, people, opportunities and dreams alike.

Today we examine organized crime. Here is planned, systematic continuous criminal activity: organizations, large and small, loose and tight, that live at the expense of society through the violation of its laws by force and stealth.

As with the other faces of crime, it must be viewed in context. All are interrelated as social phenomena, as criminal activity and as crime control problems. Each must be approached with perspective and balance.

Many find it difficult to believe there is organized crime. But of course there is, as history, experience and reason all prove. The Mafia made its presence known in the United States in the last decades of the 19th Century. Each decade of this century has known various conspiracies of professional criminals. In a society in which nearly every form of human activity is organized, is it realistic to believe criminal activity will not be? Crime has proven to be far too profitable in our society to expect an absence of organization in its execution.

No simple definition or description of organized crime is possible. Our society is too complex for that. There is no single massive organization that manages all or even most planned criminal activity throughout the country. There are cohesive groups exhibiting similar patterns of criminal conduct, with deference for the interests and areas of each other, that reach major parts of the nation. There are many small groups active in particular geographic areas that are independent of outside control. Together, these professionals constitute a major problem for law enforcement and an important challenge to society.

President Johnson's Crime Commission surveyed 71 cities in its study of organized crime. Nineteen acknowledged the existence of organized crime in their city. Nine failed to respond. Of these, six are known to have some organized crime. Four of the five cities with more than one million citizens indicated the presence of organized crime. Of the cities surveyed, only one in five with populations between 250,000 and 1,000,000 acknowledged any organized crime. More than half of the handful of smaller cities surveyed between 100,000 and 250,000 thought they had organized crime. Federal intelligence indicated the presence of organized crime in some cities where local reports denied it.

Of the 19 cities reporting the presence of organized crime, only 12 had specialized police units to deal with it and only six had prosecutors specifically assigned to it.

The activities of organized crime are wide ranging, but gambling is by far its greatest source of income. Gambling lends itself to criminal conduct.

Loan sharking, often called shylocking or juice, is generally believed to be the second most significant source of income. Here, as with gambling, organized crime must deal with large numbers of people. To protect its interest and accomplish its purpose, as in collections, pressure and violence are used as necessary. The end justifies any means.

Extortion, blackmail, and shakedowns are frequent practices. Importation and wholesaling of narcotics engage many groups in organized crime though in recent years the retail trade is often left to the small time pusher. Prostitution, bootlegging and related alcoholic beverage violations are common enterprises.

Increased sophistication and affluence have led organized crime into many legitimate businesses, labor activities and government services and contracts, licensing and zoning. Here they bring all the strong-armed tactics, violence and unprincipled conduct they practice in illegal areas. Firms have been bilked of assets, fraudulent stocks issued, planned bankruptcies executed, trust funds and loan accounts manipulated, and competitors driven out by unfair trade practices and criminal acts.

Generally organized crime as distinguished from ordinary crime supplies goods or services wanted by a large number of people: the chance to gamble, the loan of money, narcotics, prostitutes. An aroused community leadership can do much to limit its sales.

Because it is an on-going business, with payrolls to meet, dealing with hundreds or thousands of people, organized crime cannot flourish without protection. At the very least local law enforcement must be neutralized because major organized crime activities cannot be effectively concealed. Significant continuing gambling, shylocking, narcotics traffic, prostitution, extortion and other widespread organized criminal acts cannot long escape the notice of law enforcement.

Perhaps the greatest harm to come from organized crime is the corruption of officials. This affects a community in ways well beyond the reach of the criminal activity itself. Where some police are corrupt, law enforcement generally is likely to be bad. Where government officials are bribed, the moral climate of the whole community is likely to be affected; public confidence is undermined, cynicism takes hold.

Organized crime is a major concern of federal law enforcement. For seven years the federal government has waged an intensive campaign against a tenacious and deeply rooted enemy.

The current drive is the most comprehensive and successful yet undertaken. The Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Department of Justice which, directly and through U.S. Attorneys' offices, handles organized crime cases, has the largest legal staff of its history now working exclusively in organized crime.

Indictments returned as a result of its efforts have risen from 19 in 1960 to 1,197 in 1966. Convictions over the same period have risen from 45 to 477. Between fiscal years 1964 and 1967, convictions or organized crime and gambling figures resulting from FBI investigations have risen 300 percent, from 64 to 197. Of 182 federal indictments and convictions of known members of the Cosa Nostra in the last 12 years, 66, more than one-third, have come in the last 12 months. Included are some of the highest ranking members of this major crime syndicate ever caught.

Criminal intelligence supplied to local law enforcement by federal agencies has had an even greater impact on organized crime. In fiscal 1967, the FBI disseminated over 250,000 items of intelligence regarding organized crime resulting in 3,600 arrests for violation of state law. Criminal intelligence supplied by the FBI has resulted in 174 raids of organized crime operations and 674 arrests in the past four months.

A new and highly effective technique already tested in a major northeastern city involves the "Strike Force" concept. A special team, the "Strike Force," staffed by Organized Crime and Racketeering Section attorneys and selected federal investigators from several key agencies, carefully coordinate with state and local law enforcement. An intensive correlation of intelligence guides special investigation, raids, grand jury investigation and action followed by prosecution. Superimposed on regular law enforcement and with no other assignment than to find and prosecute organized criminal conduct, the "Strike Force" can deliver major blows to organized crime and leave local law enforcement in control. A series of strike forces are being planned for centers of organized crime.

For better than a year now, the Department of Justice has conducted meetings in major cities across the country to alert local law enforcement and to intensify and better coordinate local, state and federal action directed at organized crime.

The Department will continue its efforts against organized crime in the months ahead. This is an area where the federal government must play a major role. The interstate nature of much of the more extreme organized crime activity and its ability to neutralize local law enforcement make this imperative.

But we must not look to the federal government to eliminiate organized crime any more than we can look to it to control crime in the streets, or riots. Excellence in local law enforcement is the *sine qua non* of any effort to eliminate organized crime. Without this, little can be permanently accomplished. It is local police that patrol the streets and alleys and see and know the activities of the people. It is local police that are present in adequate numbers to deal with organized gambling, shylocking or prostitution. It is state and local laws that are violated by most organized crime activity. It is the duty of local police to enforce those laws.

Crime in the streets can only be controlled and reduced. Organized crime can be eliminated. There are whole nations and societies relatively free of its scourage. A key will be the professionalization of local law enforcement: raising standards, training officers to meet the varieties of criminal conduct committed, paying salaries that will attract the best among us, providing adequate force, research and development, organization and leadership to bring excellence to local law enforcement throughout the nation. It is a happy fact, though no coincidence, that fulfillment of this same great need will aid in the arrest and reversal of the trends toward lawlessness in the other faces of American crime.

Vietnam and Military Hardware

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, November 9, 1967, Gen. Bruce K. Holloway, Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, delivered an address at the National Security Industrial Association luncheon in New York City on the subject of "Vietnam and Military Hardware."

Among other things in his address, he cites what I call lessons learned from Vietnam and other lesser conflicts of the past 10 years. Study of these lessons learned leads to conclusions that will help to plan strategy, tactics and military hardware for the future. General Holloway has identified nine areas of importance and suggests some of the influences they may have on the development of weapons and supporting systems to meet military requirements. General Holloway's address follows:

Some people will tell you that military strategy and tactics are largely a result of the hardware that technology can provide the military planners. Others hold that the reverse is true—or should be true; that decisions on which items of hardware to build are determined by strategy. Actually, neither the hardware proponents nor the strategy proponents are entirely right or entirely wrong. There is a continuous interaction between strategy and technology, with each influencing the other. It's a sort of closed loop system.

At any given point in time, the scales may be tipped in favor of strategy or of technology, but over the long term, the weighting of these two elements balances out pretty evenly.

For about 15 years after World War II, it seems to me that technology—nuclear and supporting technology—was the heavier factor in the strategy/technology equation. Since 1961, strategy has been ascendant, especially in the area of counterinsurgency and limited war. This new balance is likely to continue, at least as it relates to the kind of aggression we and our allies are combatting in Vietnam.

While a successful outcome to the Vietnam War undoubtedly will have some constraining influence on communist enthusiasm for their so-called wars of national liberation, it isn't an absolute guarantee that other similar wars will not occur. And it is no guarantee that the United States may not find it necessary either unilaterally, or as a member of a regional organization, or as a member of the United Nations to help prevent or to turn back limited aggresion that is not Communist-inspired. Remember that Communists have been involved in less than half of the serious insurgencies of recent years, though they are generally ready to exploit a chaotic situation if possible.

It is therefore worth looking briefly at some of the unique characteristics of the Vietnam War before discussing the effects it has had on hardware requirements. I believe these areas of difference from earlier wars will be broadly applicable to the conflicts most likely to take place in the future, and therefore pertinent to our future hardware requirements.

Overshadowing all other differences is the potential consequence of uncontrolled escalation. In this respect, the war is even more complex than Korea because the potential for destruction is considerably higher on both sides than it was in the early 1950's. The possibility that the Vietnam conflict could escalate to a nuclear exchange must always be in the minds of responsible officials. I think that is a very remote possibility, however, in view of our present margin of nuclear superiority over the USSR and Communist China.

A second significant difference is that of objectives. We entered both World Wars after they had been in progress for many months and had grown to hitherto unimagined proportions. Both wars had become total wars by the standards of their times. In both, the situation already had progressed to a point where the only acceptable solution seemed to be the destruction and surrender of the enemy. Vietnam is not a total war. Our objective is a limited one; to assist the Republic of Vietnam in freeing itself of the aggression which has been inspired by and supported by North Vietnam and its Communist backers. The President has stated many times that our intent is not the overthrow of the North Vietnamese government or even necessarily defeat of its army in the field so long as that army gets out of South Vietnam and stays out.

Still another difference is that we are not in direct confrontation with the ultimate supporters and suppliers of enemy forces as we were in both World Wars. Most of the weapons and a large part of the supplies used by Viet Cong and Communist main forces come from China, the USSR, or other Communist-controlled countries. The enemy's logistic support therefore has to be reduced by interdiction of supply routes. This is a more difficult process than it would be to neutralize a few war supporting industrial plants in North Vietnam, if the main source of military supplies were actually in North Vietnam.

In World War II, our military operations and our ability to continue or increase those operations were addressed to a single audience in each theater of operations: Germany, Italy, or Japan. In Vietnam, everything we do is addressed to a variety of audiences, often with dissimilar or even conflicting objectives. Among these audiences are the Hanoi government, China, the USSR, U.S. allies—both those who are and are not engaged in the war—and other nations not closely associated either with us or with the two Communist powers.

In this intricate web of actions and interactions between and among nations, most of them not directly involved in the fighting, it is always necessary to evaluate operational alternatives in terms of our national objectives. Almost every decision has political implications that affect our relationships with friend and foe alike. This includes many decisions that traditionally have been considered purely operational and hence the province of military commanders. While the situation is not entirely new, the level at which operational and policy considerations may merge is much lower than in earlier wars—particularly those of the pre-nuclear era. Military people understand quite clearly that their recommendations on operational matters have to be tempered by political, economic, social, and psychological considerations.

Although Vietnam has provided some important lessons in dealing with insurgency, I am not suggesting that it serves as a detailed blueprint for similar conflicts that may happen in the future. If others do occur despite our efforts to deter conflict at all levels, each would probably have unique aspects—geographic, social, or political. But Vietnam and other lesser conflicts and incipient conflicts of the past ten years have provided a considerable body of empirical evidence that has been given careful study by the defense community. I believe we can draw some conclusions that will help us plan strategies, tactics and hardware for the future.

I would like to talk briefly about nine areas that seem to me particularly important, and suggest some of the influences they may have on the development of weapons and supporting systems.

First, it is essential that the United States maintain its strategic superiority over any potential enemy or combination of enemies. If we were to lose this superiority, we would be subject to nuclear threats or blackmail whenever the support of our own national interests or those of friends and allies ran counter to the interests of the Communist powers. Hence strategic nuclear superiority bears a direct relationship to counterinsurgency or limited war actions. In order to maintain this superiority, we will soon introduce the Minuteman III intercontinental missile into the Strategic Air Command's missile force and replace some of our earlier B-52 bombers with the FB-111. The Air Force is also doing developmental work on on advanced ICBM and an advanced bomber, an AMSA.

Second: The strategic bomber has proved beyond question its usefulness in limited, non-nuclear war. The B-52 has been used against area targets and other military targets that require a high concentration of firepower. The number of B-52 sorties flown each month has increased four-fold since late 1965. Interrogation of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese prisoners shows that of all weapon systems they fear the B-52 most. Our planning for an advanced bomber to follow the B-52 and B-58 will take account of the extensive experience we have had with B-52 operations in Southeast Asia.

Third: Air superiority is essential in limited wars. Since there has been relatively light enemy fighter opposition in North Vietnam, we tend to forget the importance of air superiority. Try to picture how different the course of the war might have been if enemy air forces had been free to attack our port facilities, logistic net, air bases, carriers and troops in the field.

In order to assure air superiority, we believe there is a need for a fighter specifically designed for air-to-air combat. This is particularly important in a Korea or Vietnam-type war, since the enemy probably will always be able to operate from sanctuaries; hence the possibility of destroying his interceptor forces on the ground may be greatly reduced or even eliminated. An air superiority fighter that we are studying—an F-X—must have performance as good as anything a potential enemy is likely to produce, range that can be converted to loiter or combat time, electronic sophistication, and night and all-weather capability with both air-to-air missiles and guns. It should be able to do other jobs such as interdiction and close support as secondary missions. We have not yet gone into Contract Definition for an F-X, so it is too early to say just what it would look like.

Fourth: In a combat situation where the bulk of enemy materiel comes from outside the theater of operations, interdiction of supply routes becomes extremely important. In my judgment, our operations against military targets in North Vietnam have been very effective in increasing the cost to North Vietnam of infiltrating men and supplies—as well as the cost of the war in general.

The effectiveness of air interdiction can be increased by an improved ability to locate, identify and strike small moving targets in any weather, day or night. One of our most active research and development program areas, known as SHEDLIGHT, includes 68 related programs aimed at denying an enemy the cover of night and bad weather. The effectiveness of interdiction also can be increased by improved planning of entire interdiction campaigns, which will result from our study of the on-going campaign; and by an improved ability to predict accurately the short and longer term results of interdiction operations.

Fifth: All of our aircraft, but particularly those designed for interdiction and close support, must be designed for survivability in a hostile sky. The greatest threat is likely to come from ground fire. There are a great many options for improving survivability in future tactical fighters: new materials for lightweight armor, design features to include alternate control and hydraulic systems, warning devices against both radar and visually directed ground fire, an accurate standoff missile for use against well-defended targets, fuse deactivators that will neutralize hostile projectiles, devices to prevent or suppress fire aboard the aircraft. Obviously the combination of survivability measures selected for any aircraft will have to be related to its intended mission. A relatively inexpensive close support fighter like an A-X, which we are now studying, would need less sophisticated equipment than would a deep-penetration tactical fighter like the F-111. In all cases, survivability technology is on the rise. In time, tactical fighter survivability and response time will be further enhanced by a V/STOL fighter, but that is not yet on the near horizon.

Sixth: Accuracy of weapons delivery is a must in limited war. We want to reduce collateral damage to a minimum in any environment, but especially in the case of targets lying in friendly territory. Also, our experience in Vietnam has shown that close support of ground forces often has to be *very* close. Errors of even a few feet cannot be tolerated when the safety of friendly ground forces is at stake. Beyond these considerations, the ability to destroy a target on the first pass, day or night and in any weather greatly reduces the vulnerability of our tactical fighter to ground fire.

Seventh: Rapid reaction is a prime requisite for counterinsurgency or limited war operations. This requirement includes both strategic and tactical mobility. Getting the right mix of forces to the right place at the right time may enable us and our allies to nip a developing pattern of aggression in the bud. Our strategic airlift forces, which are responsible for that job, are in good shape today and will be even more effective when the C–5A comes into the operational inventory.

But the requirement for mobility doesn't end there. In the areas where insurgency or small-scale war are most likely to erupt, combat operations are quite likely to resemble certain characteristics of most of the ground fighting in South Vietnam: scattered, small unit actions in remote areas that have poorly developed road and rail nets. In such a situation, the rapid intra-theater movement of ground forces and supplies is essential. In the future, we are going to need STOL transports—preferably some of them with a vertical take-off ability—compatible cargo handling equipment and an all-weather aerial delivery system that will operate without ground aids. A Light Intra-Theater Transport, or LIT, which we are proposing as a replacement for the aging C–7 and C–123, should have a STOL payload of about 20,000 pounds and a vertical take-off payload about half that size. It could be available in the early 1970's.

Eighth: Control of combat forces is essential to the success of any military operation. It becomes particularly important in a type of warfare where a great many operational decisions have strong policy implications. Centralized command and control is particularly necessary in the air war since our aircraft operate at high speeds and deliver tremendous concentrations of firepower. Reliable, survivable, high capacity command and control systems are a must.

Finally: Research and development in the areas of counterinsurgency, and limited conventional warfare must be continued at a much higher level than that of the 1950's and early 1960's. R&D in these areas is very active today. Since July 1965, the Air Force has received a total of 273 requirements for research and development from our people in Southeast Asia. 189 of these requests have been approved and either have been completed or are in various stages of development. In total we are now managing more than 700 programs in the limited war area. I have mentioned only a few of these projects since my purpose was to discuss trends rather than specific programs.

The limited war area is a fertile field for the American scientific and engineering community. It covers every area pertinent to airpower: airframe design, propulsion, fuels, materials, electronics, ordnance. Many of the hardware needs that I have suggested present challenging problems, but given adequate funding they should not exceed the capacity of a nation that pioneered nuclear technology and soon will put men on the moon.

Evading the Constitution

SPEECH

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, on October 26, Gen. Lewis Hershey issued a directive to local draft boards recommending that violators of Selective Service provisions be subject to immediate or accelerated induction. Shortly thereafter, in response to a press inquiry, I joined several colleagues in characterizing that action as "a flagrant denial of due process" which "demeans the Constitution, discredits the Selective Service System, and contributes to a growing disregard for civil liberties during a time of war abroad and disorder at home".

In the past weeks, evidence that local boards have been following the General's recommendation has been accumulating around the country. The most flagrant example of this took place recently in Tulsa, Okla., where a student at the University of Oklahoma was reclassified 1A because the local board, in the words of its letter to the young man, "did not feel that your activity as a member of the Students for a Democratic Society is to the best interest of the U.S. Government." Not only, therefore, are local boards themselves dispensing punishment for violation of the Selective Service Act. Now they are setting themselves up as judges of which political organizations are in the national interest. This action is totalitarian and intolerable. It is an indication of the direction events may take if General Hershey's directive is not rescinded.

Life magazine, in its editorial of November 24 entitled "The Draft Is No Answer to Dissent" argued that—

> The general seems to indicate that he has lost tract of where the draft fits into the American constitutional system.

It characterizes his action as "a disservice to the Selective Service System." I insert this editorial in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The entire policy of the October 26 directive is contrary to the Constitution and represents a serious and dangerous step toward open repression of political dissent. I strongly urge my colleagues to take note of this danger.

The editorial follows:

THE DRAFT IS NO ANSWER TO DISSENT

If there is one man who ought to know all there is to know about the Selective Service system, it is Lt. General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the draft since 1941. By his latest directive to local boards, though, the general seems to indicate that he has lost track of where the draft fits into the American constitutional system.

Bothered by campus anti-Vietnam war protests, Hershey has advised local boards to withdraw deferments and immediately draft students who interfere with the draft or campus military recruiters. Hershey's outrage at the form some campus protests have taken is understandable. But his ill-considered suggestion that draft boards become, in effect, prosecutors and juries must be ruled out of order.

The American Association of University Professors asked Hershey to rescind his directive, pointing out that it "sets down such a vague standard that local boards may induct persons for the exercise of constitutional rights. The mere existence of this undefined power to use the draft as a punitive instrument must therefore have a chilling effect upon academic freedom and free speech and assembly as guaranteed by the First Amendment."

A group of congressmen branded Hershey's plan "a flagrant denial of due process clearly designed to repress dissent against the war in Vietnam."

A student does not lose his right to dissent simply because his military service has been deferred. By the same token, a student is as liable as any other American to the penalties that apply to trespasses and disorders that overstep legal bounds.

Whether or not General Hershey rescinds his directive before it reaches a court test, he has done a disservice to the Selective Service system he helped found. The draft, with all its imperfections, is the best system we have yet been able to devise to choose those men who will represent us all by serving when not all ablebodied men are needed.

To use the draft as a form of punishment is to suggest to the men in Vietnam—where draftees make up 37% of the Army troops—that their units are also handy as penal battalions. The suggestion is demeaning to the armed services—even if some draftee veterans of Vietnam might understandably like to have a hand in the basic training of drafted dissenters.

Preachers in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, day by day, public opinion turns more and more against politics and politicians to where the terms are made almost synonymous with evil, crookedness, or immorality.

The statesman-patriot image has disappeared—and does not appear sought after or missed.

On the other hand, the promotion people are hard at building the leadership image in other spheres. Titles such as "Doctor," "Commissioner," "Reverend," are exploited to project all-seeing knowledge and complete confidence.

The great equality movement is thus shattered by the wide disparity between the common man and the so-called intellectual and his academic labels.

Politicians—elected officials—in politics are treated as undependable and untrustworthy, yet preachers—unelected by anyone—in politics become fine and dandy. Anyone can swear at and disagree with a politician, but none can find fault with the wearers of the cloth, especially if the reverend "me-toos" the right party line.

An interesting report on religion and politics appeared in the November 17, 1967, Weekly Crusader published by the Christian Crusade of Tulsa, Okla., which I include following my remarks:

RELIGION AND POLITICS

There has been much discussion in recent years over the question of religion and politics. The Johnson Administration has entered the controversy in a big way. While it has encouraged the National Council of Churches and its ideological allies, the Administration's Internal Revenue Service has decided that Christian Crusade is guilty of advocating "a political viewpoint on a variety of topics." (IRS letter to Christian Crusade dated September 22, 1966)

On the other hand, President Johnson told a liberal Methodist group: ". . . in this age the Church cannot afford to stand aside from the great problems of our times . . . Because if the preachers in this country step aside from politics and community life and leadership and social problems, then who steps in? If the good men of the Church have no business in these causes, who is left to do that business?" (Quoted by David Lawrence in the Manchester (New Hampshire) Union-Leader, October 3, 1966) Obviously, LBJ see church involvement in "politics" as a one-sided affair.

The liberal, modernist church groups began involving themselves in political activities many years before Christian Crusade even existed. In the foreword to the 1927 Handbook of the Churches, official publication of the Federal Council of Churches (predecessor to the National Council of Churches), Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, who was Council president at that time, wrote, "The American Churches are going to grapple courageously with great social and international questions . . ."

A "NEW FRONTIER OF CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY"

Some of the "liberal" leaders in Protestant church circles considered a 1934 meeting of the General Council of Congregational-Christian Churches to be a major breakthrough in political activity aimed against the American free enterprise system. The September 12, 1934, issue of Christian Century summed up this meeting as follows: "Congregationalism is the first of the Protestant bodies to accept the social gospel as ecclesiastical responsibility. By the action of the Oberlin meeting of its national council last June . . . that denomination . . . opened up a new frontier of Christian activity . . ."

The July 26, 1934, issue of The World Tomorrow, a socialist publication founded by Norman Thomas, long-time head of the Socialist Party in the United States, greeted this Congregational meeting with an editorial which stated, "this new organization [the Council of Social Action founded by the Congregational-Christian Churches at this meeting] may set the pace in awakening, educating and directing gospel churches in the application of the Christian gospel in the crucial areas of economics, politics, and race. Verily the churches are beginning to move!"

It was only a couple of months later that this socialist publication combined with Christian Century. The merging of these magazines was announced on the front cover of the August 22, 1934, issue of Christian Century.

The resolution adopted at the Congregational-Christian Churches meeting, which was so pleasing to socialists and religious "liberals," indicated the type of political action that was contemplated. The resolution demanded "the abolition of the profit system, the elimination of its incentives and habits, the legal forms by which it supports and the moral ideas by which it justifies itself." It described the form of government which would replace our free enterprise system as "a thoroughly planned and organized social economy" which would eventually "eliminate private ownership of the means of production and distribution wherever such private ownership interferes with the success of a planned social economy, making profit unnecessary and impossible." The resolution advised members of the denomination to "cooperate with the forces and groups [working] for the above changes in our society." ("Church Issues Red Manifesto" by E. C. Lampson, editor, Jefferson (Ohio) Gazette, in National Republic, July-August, 1934, page 12).

Almost eight years after this meeting, an important conference was held at Ohio Wesleyan University under the sponsorship of the Federal Council of Churches. According to the March 16, 1942, issue of *Time,* "Every local Protestant church in the country will now be urged to get behind the program" which was adopted at that meeting. *Time* further reported: "'Collectivism is coming, whether we like it or not,' the delegates were told by . . . Dr. William Paton, co-secretary of the World Council of Churches. . . . The Conference . . . urged taxation designed 'to the end that our wealth may be more equitably distributed.' It urged experimentation with government and cooperative ownership. 'Every individual,' the conference declared, 'has the right to full-time educational opportunities . . . to economic security in retirement . . . to adequate health service. . . .'" In other words, this meeting announced a further large step by "liberal" church leaders into politics aimed at a socialistic welfare state.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS

During 1950 the Federal Council of Churches was succeeded by the National Council of Churches, which took up where its predecessor left off in using the churches for ultra-left political purposes. In fact, during 1965 Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, a leading figure in the ecumenical movement as well as the National and World Councils of Churches, bluntly admitted that "The church has entered politics." (*The Houston Post,* March 6, 1965.) Of course, as we have seen, these liberal church groups had been in politics for many years before Dr. Blake's 1965 admission of that fact.

Church figures affiliated with the National Council of Churches have blatantly and openly operated in the political field in support of a variety of liberal causes, such as socialized medicine, civil rights, federal aid to education, reapportionment, etc.

One of the highly prized goals of all socialists (including communists) in our nation has been socialized medicine. However, they have recognized the necessity of working for foot-in-the-door measures of which medical care through the Social Security system was considered to be a major step. At its meeting in Syracuse, New York, on February 22, 1961, the General Board of the National Council of Churches "gave unanimous approval" to the Social Security approach to medical care. (*Congressional Record,* April 6, 1961, page 5145.) This eventually became known as "Medicare" and "liberal" churchmen and church groups were influential in bringing about its passage. Obviously, anti-communist conservatives who are well aware of the dangers of socialized medicine were not so influential.

The National Council of Churches and other left-wing church groups also went all-out in support of the so-called Civil Rights Bill. In a call which it issued to churches that participated in the massive and expensive August 28, 1963, "March on Washington," the National Council of Churches referred to the power-creating Civil Rights Bill being pursued as "a national moral issue." Speaking in the White House on April 29, 1964, President Johnson backed up this viewpoint when he told 150 churchmen that "justice and morality" demanded passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

The President has not always looked upon such an enormous grant of power as a moral issue. In a speech on the floor of the U.S. Senate on March 9, 1949, regarding an FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) proposal, Mr. Johnson said: "As I see it, such a law would do nothing more than enslave a minority. Such a law would necessitate a system of federal police officers, such as we have never before seen. It would require the policing of every business institution, every transaction made between an employer and employee, and virtually every hour of an employer's and employee's association while at work. I could only hope sincerely that the Senate will never be called upon to entertain seriously any such proposal again," Of course, it is different now that Lyndon Johnson is the President and thus is the major recipient of such dangerous power grants.

In the *Chattanooga News-Free Press* of March 23, 1964, Thurman Sensing wrote, "It is fantastic that the NCC, the Methodist Youth Conference, or any other church group would lend support to this legislation. To find religious organizations supporting a bill that would impose totalitarian measures on the United States is as incredible as it is tragic . . ." The results of this increasingly totalitarian type civil rights legislation are showing up more and more in America's cities each summer.

The NCC's Commission on Religion and Race, in a letter dated March 15, 1966, called for readers to "write, telephone or visit their congressman" in support of minimum wage legislation and NCC representatives have appeared in Congress to urge repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. These are just a few examples of this tax-exempt organization's attempts to influence legislation.

As most readers are aware, the only specific legislation the Internal Revenue Service has accused Christian Crusade of promoting was the Becker Amendment. However, it was the National Council of Churches, not Christian Crusade, that had paid lobbyists in Washington, D.C., and they were working against this Amendment. Christian Crusade cannot afford paid lobbyists nor can most other anti-communist religious organizations.

During 1966 the Oklahoma Council of Churches published a document entitled "Perspectives for Legislative Action." This pamphlet revealed that the Council sought to involve its members in "support of legislation" that the Council considered to be good. Needless to say, the legislation supported was generally welfare state legislation. The pamphlet stated, "We support the enactment and/or the implementation of legislation which provides for slum clearance and adequate housing for every family . . . state-supported public housing . . . supplemental rentals, urban renewal and . . . creating more inclusive housing patterns . . ."

The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* of September 20, 1967, quoted a statement made by evanagelist Billy Graham to a group in Washington which included about 100 Congressmen: "This is the first time in seventeen years that I have come to Washington to speak for or against a government program . . . I have come to speak . . . in favor of the poverty program." Does anyone think that the IRS and the Johnson Administration would consider this political activity? We hardly think so, since it happens to be on the left-liberal side of the fence. In short, it follows the Administration's line of thinking that the government should take care of all problems encountered by the American people.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE 1964 ELECTION

During 1964 left-wing clergymen and church organizations went all-out in striving for the defeat of Barry Goldwater for the Presidency. An article in *The Houston Chronicle* of September 21, 1964, disclosed that a group of Protestant theologians headed by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr had endorsed President Johnson for re-election and "asserted that a vote for Senator Barry M. Goldwater would be 'a vote for irresponsibility, recklessness and reaction.'"

Included in this group were Dr. John C. Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, professor of religion at Stanford University; and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, president emeritus of Union Theological Seminary. These and others in the group mentioned in this article were all members of the editorial board of *Christianity and Crisis,* a weekly journal, and their political announcement "took the form of an editorial in the issue of the magazine published Sunday."

Naturally, *Christian Century* endorsed Lyndon Johnson for President and, according to the October 9, 1964, issue of *Time,* "It has also published an anti-Goldwater editorial in almost every issue since the G.O.P. Convention last July . . ." We might add that the communists put the defeat of Goldwater at the top of their 1964 objectives.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN SUPPORT OF KEY COMMUNIST GOALS

Leftist church groups and religious figures in those groups who have been allowed to retain their tax exemption have been very active in fighting for elimination of two thorns in the side of the communist conspirators. These consist of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. On December 28, 1962, the Department of Church and Society of the Council of Churches, National Capital Area, issued a "Statement Regarding the House Un-American Activities Committee" which called for elimination of the Committee. The Statement accused the HCUA of being a propaganda agency which was "interested in furthering its own concepts but with no attention to scholarship and with only scant attention to accuracy." This, of course, is a flat lie. The information on the international communist conspiracy issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities is highly accurate in comparison with the propaganda of "liberal" churchmen and their organizations.

A letter dated January 3, 1963, signed by Rev. David Colwell, chairman of the National Capital Area Council of Churches, was sent to members of the House of Representatives urging them to vote for abolition of the Committee. Has the Internal Revenue Service taken any recognition of this blatant political act by the Council of Churches operating in the home city of the IRS' national office?

Earlier in this article we quoted from the 1927 *Handbook of the Churches,* which declared that the churches were going to "grapple courageously" with "international questions." Vietnam is certainly an international question and for several years it has had top billing as a major goal of the international communist conspiracy. This goal is complete surrender by the United States to Red demands that we pull out of Vietnam and let the communists have it. The National Council of Churches has been "grappling courageously" with this issue in that they have followed along with the same demands—that is, that the United States surrender to the Reds. The communist conspirators in the U.S. have been so enthused over NCC support on this important issue that they have given them top front-page billing several times in their official newspaper, *The Worker*. For example, in *The Worker* of December 7, 1965, the headline read, "Church Council Demands U.S. End Escalation." An editorial in this issue referred to "Christians" who would be led into action by this NCC Vietnam pronouncement as "a mighty army of reserves."

The conspirators were given more to rejoice over at a meeting called the "Conference on Church and Society," which was sponsored by the National Council of Churches. This group's support of the communist objectives in Vietnam was reported in a front-page article in *The Worker* of October 31, 1967. Red conspirators were told:

"A general strike, picketing, and boycotts were urged by 800 members of a Conference on Church and Society, if the U.S. escalates the Vietnam war. A Vietnam study group of the national conference here [Detroit] sponsored by the National Council of Churches made the recommendation to the Council and its member churches throughout the U.S. If any of four acts of escalation occur then the general strike, boycott, and picketings should take place, it was said, with an appeal made nationwide by the churches to labor and all others for a one-day general strike. The four acts are: use of nuclear weapons; land invasion of North Vietnam; international direct military offensive against [Red] China; [and] bombing of the Red River dikes in North Vietnam . . .

"The report also called for refusal to pay federal income taxes; to set up draft counseling service for conscientious objectors; [and] abolition of the draft . . . Details of how the strike would be organized were spelled out for newsmen by church leaders. First, all regular church programs would be cancelled and churches would open for 'penitential' prayer. Second, on the following Sunday all churches would hold penitentail services and take offerings to support protest actions. Third, the nation's religious leaders within thirty-six hours would call on peoples of all faiths to close their businesses and industries, transportation and school facilities for one day. Fourth, an emergency conclave of religious leaders from all over the nation would be called in Washington to plan further action." We assume that all this constitutes "grappling courageously with great . . . international questions," as stated in the 1927 *Handbook of the Churches.*

Another "international question" which is also an important goal of the international communist conspiracy is the matter of a UN seat for Red China and it's recognition by the United States. The controversy between Red China and the Soviet Union over the most appropriate means of destroying our nation has not weakened support of Red China's admission to the UN by the Soviet-led wing of international communism. Obviously, this is a very important political goal of this world-wide conspiracy. And who do we find supporting this Red objective? In *The Tulsa Tribune,* February 23, 1966, we read:

"The General Board of the National Council of Churches is on record today as favoring the admission of Red China to the United Nations. Members of the Board approved the wide ranging policy statement 90–3, on the first day of a four-day conference at St. Louis. The Board's statement also proposed that a study be made of possible diplomatic recognition of the (Red) Chinese government . . ."

A STRANGE CONCEPT OF "LOYALTY TO GOD"

Leaders of the National Council of Churches and other left-liberal clergymen apparently feel that their activities are religious, not political. The general viewpoint of these left-oriented clergymen was expressed by Rev. J. Quinter Miller, associate general secretary of the NCC at that time, during 1965 when he told the Vanderbilt University Divinity School that the Council engages itself in these issues because "we are under orders from Christ to do so." (*Tulsa Daily World,* April 23, 1965)

In the December, 1965, statement issued by its General Board, the National Council of Churches contended that Christians should support its suicidal position on Vietnam because they "have a loyalty to God which must transcend every other loyalty." If these ultra-left clergymen have ever given any explanation as to what "loyalty to God" has in common with pursuing objectives which would place more people in other countries under communist slavery and advance international communism substantially along its road toward eventual conquest of our own nation, we have not seen it. Obviously, they are depending upon keeping people in U.S. churches blinded to the facts through the techniques of whitewash, straw men and smoke screens. (See Chapter 13 of our book, *The Facts About Communism and Our Churches.*)

Actually, these misguided churchmen have the basic issue completely turned around. Communism is a moral issue, but it is not moral to pursue objectives which help the communists maintain their enslavement of the millions now suffering under this tyranny. Nor is it moral to help promote the the future enslavement of many more innocent people. Communism denies the truth of God and deprives human beings of freedom. These facts alone make it a moral problem and one which Christians should oppose on moral grounds. Informed Americans are well aware of the fact that millions of Christians have been murdered, persecuted and condemned to the unbelievable miseries of communist slave labor camps. One would think that a "loyalty to God" would require Christians to pray for these people and do all in their power to help awaken their fellow citizens to the facts about communist dictatorships.

THE "MOST IMPORTANT" CHURCH FORCE IN POLITICS

While anti-communist, conservative religious groups are being harassed and persecuted by the Johnson Administration for advocating "political" viewpoints, the real political influence stems from left-wing religious groups. We have not heard of any of these groups having their tax exemption revoked.

Paul D. White, Houston Post religion editor, commented on the political influence of the National Council of Churches and other left-wing church groups in the March 6, 1965, issue of that newspaper:

"Church groups are dealing directly with . . . numerous . . . issues once relegated to politicians, business, civic, trade, and labor groups . . . The churches, by every account, played a decisive role in the civil rights struggle in Congress. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, who was Democratic floor manager during the uphill fight, termed the churchmen involved in the fight for the bill 'the most important force at work.' The leader of the Southern forces, Georgia's Richard B. Russell, blamed the bill's passage on pressure from President Johnson and many of the nation's clergy.

"This is readily admitted by leaders of the powerful National Council of Churches, who played an important role in the effort. It is accepted that church groups applied the weight that tipped the balance for passage of the Civil Rights Act, and religious pressure killed the Becker Amendment on school prayers . . ."

An article in the May 21, 1965, issue of *Christianity Today* discussed the political influence of left-wing church groups at that time and revealed that these groups planned to increase that influence: ". . . Encouraged by the decisive role they are credited with playing in the Civil Rights Bill lobby, many churchmen now are ready to step up their activities in Washington. The church lobby seems to be expanding substantially, and some Congressmen and other government officials are reluctantly obliged to take it more seriously.

"There are now more than a dozen church-related agencies with offices in Washington that are lobbying or information liaison centers . . . the agencies frequently reflect a solid front on specific issues. Thus Washington now finds itself with a religious coalition that represents collectively an ecclesiastical lobby of growing pressure and influence. Those who view this development with concern are often critical of its chief characteristics: a leftist tilt . . . Although there has been much public concern over the impact of the religious and theoretical right wing, none of the religious groups identified with this viewpoint has Washington offices . . ."

In light of these facts concerning the true sources of political influence, the activities of the Johnson Administration in persecuting and harassing conservative religious groups merely pave the way for greater influence by those who are actually guilty of violating the requirements for tax exemption. In short, they are swatting at a mosquito on the bear's back instead of paying attention to the bear, which is wielding such enormous influence in Washington, D.C.

The United States of America is in real trouble when the ruling powers in our government operate under a double standard in which they bring their efforts to bear against organizations which oppose the goals of communism and socialism but ignore and even encourage the activities of religious groups promoting these goals, the achievement of which would eventually result in the establishment of a socialist government and later a communist dictatorship in our nation.

For more background information on the activities of liberal church organizations and their leaders, read *The Facts about Communism and Our Churches*. This documented book sells for $1 per copy. Order from Christian Crusade, P. O. Box 977, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74102.

Citizen's Home Bombed—Not in Mississippi—in Oceanside, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, in the dark of night on November 17, 1967, a pipe-encased, homemade bomb was thrown through the window of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Revander, at 463 Chelsea Road, Oceanside, N.Y., in my congressional district.

It is not my privilege to know the Revanders personally, but I am told that they are respected citizens and have been good neighbors, during the 8 years they have resided in the community.

I am thankful to God that no one was injured and there was only minor destruction of property. However, the bomb was capable of taking lives and destroying property. So what appears to be involved is a conspiracy to commit assault and battery with a dangerous weapon—trespass upon property, and other violations of New York State penal statutes.

Those guilty of perpetrating this monstrous act, are extremists who are a danger to our American way of life. Their criminal act is all the more reprehensible because it represents the ABC's of conspiracy to undermine the Government of the United States.

ANARCHY, BIGOTRY, AND COWARDICE

Anarchy, because it strikes a low blow against the basic principles of law and order and undermines the Constitution of the United States.

Bigotry, because such an act is inspired by hatred of one's fellowman and could not have been perpetrated by one who believes that one God created us all.

Cowardice, because it was committed with stealth—against people who could not defend themselves, and committed in the dark of the night.

Being shocked by the incident of the bombing of a neighbor's home, however, is not enough. We must not be parties to a conspiracy of silence. We must speak out and call upon each and every self-respecting elected official to do likewise. We must call upon every organization of men and women of goodwill to speak out against this dastardly un-American act.

The conscience of an aroused community must do more than be shocked. All men of goodwill must stand together. We must strengthen the hands of our law-enforcement agencies and do nothing to hinder or hamper the investigating authorities. We must support and assist the clergy of all faiths who have taken a stand on moral and spiritual grounds and the groups who have spoken out on patriotic and legal grounds. We must all join in expressing our revulsion to the incident.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD at this point a series of newspaper articles and editorials on the bombing incident:

[From Newsday, Nov. 21, 1967]

A MEAN LITTLE VICTORY

The cowardly bigots who have harassed Negro Edward Revander and his family ever since they moved into a predominantly white neighborhood in Oceanside have won a mean little victory.

Friday night they tossed a bomb into Revander's home. It proved to be a dud, but Revander has decided to move away to safeguard his two young children. The night raiders, who had previously stoned Revander's home, littered his grounds and burned a cross on his lawn, have also won. But the good people of Oceanside may yet turn this ugly victory into a defeat. For in terrorizing the Revander family, these raiders have aroused the anger of many persons in Oceanside. Already there is a move to mobilize community organizations to express the revulsion and anger felt by fair-minded residents. As one of Revander's white neighbors put it, this incident is "shocking" and "damnable." We agree and we hope that the community will fight this demonstration of bigotry.

BOMB THAT FIZZLED JARS OCEANSIDE

(By David Andelman)

OCEANSIDE.—With arguments, petitions and resolutions, 75 Oceanside residents tried last night to "save the reputation of our community" after the attempted bombing Friday night of a Negro real estate banker's home here.

They jammed into a small, cinder-block assembly room at the First Methodist Church to hear Rabbi Benjamin Blech lament that "We the community have sustained a black eye." They heard Maurice McNeil, a Negro Baldwin school teacher recently cleared of charges that he molested a female student, term the proposed measures "to late—after the fact." And they heard the Rev. Clayton L. Williams, executive director of the Nassau Council of Churches say he would urge all member clergymen to take positive stands on the incident from their pulpits.

The meeting was called after a bomb was thrown Friday night into the home of Edward Revander. The bomb fizzled and caused no major damage, but police officials said that "it could have killed a couple of people." Revander, who has lived at 463 Chelsea Rd. here for eight years and on whose lawn a cross was burned two years ago, has a wife and two children. He said he would sell his house and leave the area if he was offered "a fair market price of $62,000."

At the meeting in the hot, crowded room, the residents, including four Negroes, vented their anger at Friday's incident. Some called for formation of a citizen patrol for the area. Moderates settled for a request to Nassau County Executive Nickerson and Police Chief Francis Looney for more police protection in the area. They set up a reward fund which, by the meeting's end totaled $500 for information leading to the capture of the vandals. They circulated a petition "deploring the horrible bombing of the home of our neighbors last Friday and believing that this was a shocking act which does not represent the view of our community."

McNeill was one of the dissenters who urged even stronger action. He said that a statement "will not assure that man (Revander) that something else will not happen when the statements are over. Only capture of the culprits and a positive education program in race relations can reach people who have no real contact with Negroes." McNeill said that the bombing "was done out of fear and ignorance."

But Rabbi Blech, of Temple Young Israel in Oceanside, member of a four-man committee who will call on Revander to urge him to stay in Oceanside, said: "To the world at large, we are still a community that does not believe in people living together in peace. We must strive to get rid of the black eye that we the community has sustained."

[From the New York Times, Nov. 24, 1967]

OCEANSIDE LEADERS TRY IN VAIN TO PERSUADE NEGRO NOT TO GO: VICTIM OF BOMBING ATTEMPT ASSERTS HE WILL MOVE BECAUSE OF TENSION—CLERGY SEEKS SUPPORT OF LONG ISLAND COMMUNITY

(By Agis Salpukas)

OCEANSIDE, LONG ISLAND, November 24.—Community leaders and residents have failed to persuade one of the few Negro homeowners here not to sell his home after a bomb was hurled through his dining room window.

The homeowner, Edward Revander, said in an interview that he appreciated the effort being made by the community but that he was still determined to move because of the bombing attempt Friday. The bomb sputtered and did not go off.

"I haven't been able to conduct my business because I've been so tense," he continued. "On some nights I've been getting up at 3 and staying up until 5 just looking and listening at the windows."

Mr. Revander, who is a real estate broker in Queens, recalled that he had received a threatening letter on Wednesday signed by the "White Knights of Oceanside" telling him to leave the community.

FOR THE WHITE PEOPLE

Mrs. Revander read part of the letter which said: "We think you got the message. Leave Oceanside. Should you change your mind, we advise you to increase your fire insurance. We want Oceanside for the white people."

She said that he had lost her appetite since the incident and that she feared for the lives of her two children, Bernice, less than a month old, and Edward, 3 years old.

"We're a fighting people," she added, "but they just took all the fight out of us."

"I'm showing my home to a Puerto Rican family from Brooklyn this Sunday," Mr. Revander said. "There's nothing vindictive in this; it's just that they have made the best offer so far."

Four clergymen and the Superintendent of Schools met with Mr. and Mrs. Revander in their living room last night and urged them not to sell their $62,000 ranch-style home at 463 Chelsea Road, which they bought eight years ago.

"We told them that this was an isolated incident and that in no way reflected the sentiment of the community," the Rev. Ernest Callandro, pastor of the First Methodist Church, said today.

On Monday, more than 75 residents crowded into the Methodist church and pledged $500 toward a reward for information leading to the capture of the bomb throwers.

Mr. Callandro said that a petition was being circulated throughout the community of 30,000 that the Revanders not sell their home.

REWARD OFFERED

The citizens of Oceanside have established a reward fund. It is their hope that one of the coconspirators or someone with knowledge will come forward with information leading to the arrest and conviction of the guilty persons.

I commend the move on the theory that just as "there is no honor amongst thieves"—there is no honor among co-conspirators. If we make it worthwhile, someone will talk.

I am adding $500 of my personal funds to the reward fund which I hope will soon reach the sum of $10,000. It is anticipated that men of goodwill and organizations in the community will support the fund. The reward fund will be used exclusively for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the guilty persons.

The committee is asking that anyone with information about the guilty persons should not remain guilty of silence. They owe a duty to their community, to their State, and to their Nation to come forward.

I have been in touch with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with the Nassau County police commissioner, with the Nassau County district attorney, and with other State and local officials. Information can be made available to any of these persons as well as to any priest, minister or rabbi.

CRY FOR JUSTICE HEARD

On Thursday evening, December 7, 1967, a public meeting will be held at the Walter S. Boardman School in Oceanside, when the residents of Oceanside and neighboring communities will be present to express their revulsion of this shocking incident.

The committee of sponsors for this public meeting consists of Congressman HERBERT TENZER, honorary chairman, Mr. Arthur Iger, trustee, Oceanside Board of Education, ad hoc chairman, Rabbi Philmore Berger, Temple Avodah, Father Joseph Buccafola, St. Anthony's Roman Catholic Church, Rabbi Benjamin Blech, Young Israel of Oceanside, Reverend Ernest Caliandro, pastor, First Methodist Church, and more than 50 individuals and civic, religious, and educational organizations in Oceanside and neighboring villages.

Citizens who take pride in their community and who are anxious to see that justice is done will so indicate by their presence.

Mr. Speaker, the conscience of Oceanside will express itself against this act of hatred, and it will answer the cry for justice from the Revanders.

A Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have received a poignant letter from Mr. J. W. Payne, of Bloomingdale, Ga., who recently lost his son, Sgt. Ronald H. Payne, in Vietnam. Mr. Payne enclosed a clipping from the newspaper of Groves High School—a letter from Sergeant Payne to "Santa Claus." It explains very well, I believe, how our boys in Vietnam feel about the demonstrations in this country against the very principles for which they are fighting and dying.

The letters, written by Mr. Payne and his son, follow:

NOVEMBER 25, 1967.

G. ELLIOTT HAGAN,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAGAN: Having recently lost our son in Viet Nam, I am sending you a clipping from his school newspaper containing a letter he wrote concerning what he believed and died for.

Why can't Congress pass some laws to stop this demonstration, draft card burning, and rebellion against the service and give our sons all the support and courage they need over there?

It would be greatly appreciated if you would look into this.

Sincerely,

J. W. PAYNE.

BLOOMINGDALE, GA.

SOLDIER WRITES LETTER FROM VIETNAM

DEAR SANTA: This Christmas, I have decided to ask for only one present. Since there is no snow here in South Vietnam, you can't land so just please wrap it and I am sure the postal department will take care of the delivery.

Santa, can you imagine the joy on my face when I open your gift and find the one thing that I want most in the world, an Anti Vietnam Demonstrator and draft dodger.

At least I'd have someone, all mine, to share my excitement and experiences with, and Santa, I promise I'll take special care of him.

I'll give him a haircut (they all seem to need one) but I can't promise to keep him clean because baths are pretty scarce over here, besides dirt seems to be a prerequisite for protesters. (He should feel right at home.)

I'll share my bed and sometimes my inedible food with him.

I'll share the disgusting disease and the impossible steaming jungle heat with him.

I'll share with him the heartbreak of seeing my buddies blown apart.

I'll share the misery of trying to identify the mutilated and tortured bodies that the Cong leave behind.

I'll let him sit beside me for hours waist deep in mud and water filled foxholes. And Santa, I'll be warm with the joy of giving a little hell to this Christmas present you were thoughtful enough to send me.

And I promise Santa, to always give him his own way for as long as he lives, of course, that won't be long if he insists on saying the things he said in the States.

The next time one of our patrols is attacked by the Cong I'll let him run to the front to tell them he loves them and wants to help them.

Santa, for New Year's this year, I've decided to ask for another present. Do you think you could perhaps send all my buddies a demonstrator of his very own?

Sincerely,

RONALD H. PAYNE,
3rd Platoon, Charlie Co., 1st Battalion, 26th Inf., 1st Infantry Division, "Big Red One"

P.S.—This is the way we all feel.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Shortly after receiving the above letter, word was received that Sgt. Payne was killed in action in Vietnam. Groves High School offers its deepest sympathy to the family of Sgt. Payne.)

Robert Warren Barnett, "Diplomatic Untouchable"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Robert Warren Barnett presently holds the delicate position of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

This Bureau includes the Vietnam area where we have now lost thousands of our sons in a police action felt necessary to halt Communist aggression.

Just how many parents and servicemen know who Robert Barnett is? How did he attain his position and who—knowing his background—would allow him to continue?

The December 1, 1967, issue of the Herald of Freedom entitled "The Untouchables (Part II)" carries shocking documented revelations of who is in our State Department and the obvious inference of what is wrong with it, it is what is in it.

Robert Warren Barnett must go. The American people demand a halt to subversive aggression in positions of leadership in our Government.

I include the Herald of Freedom paper following my comments:

THE UNTOUCHABLES—PART II

"The Soviet international organization has carried on a successful and important penetration of the United States Government and this penetration has not been fully exposed.

"This penetration has extended from the lower ranks to top-level policy and operating positions in our Government.

"The agents of this penetration have operated in accordance with a distinct design fashioned by their Soviet superiors.

"Members of this conspiracy helped to get each other into Government, helped each other to rise in Government and protected each other from exposure. . . .

"Members of this conspiracy repeatedly swore to oaths denying Communist Party membership when seeking appointments, transfers, and promotions and these falsifications have, in virtually every case, gone unpunished." (From "Conclusions" contained in the Report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments.)

The fact that these individuals have gone "unpunished" and that others with serious security risk backgrounds are able to remain in their government positions puts these particular people in the category of "The Untouchables." Walt Rostow is an untouchable, as is Harold Isaacs. So also is Robert W. Barnett.

Robert Warren Barnett is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, which bureau includes the Vietnam area. He works under William Bundy, who is an Assistant Secretary of State. Bundy, who is married to Dean Acheson's daughter, Mary, was active in raising funds for the defense of Alger Hiss whose brother Donald (an identified Communist) has worked for years, and is still working, in the law firm of Dean Acheson. Donald Hiss was identified by Whitaker Chambers as a member of an underground espionage group in Washington and forced to resign from his job (but not prosecuted) as Assistant Legal Advisor in the State Department. He thereafter found refuge as a partner in Dean Acheson's law firm. Acheson would obviously not turn his back on "dear Alger" or his brother either. Bundy and Barnett have both been closely associated with Alger Hiss.

Robert W. Barnett was born in Shanghai, China, November 6, 1911, the son of American Parents. His father, Eugene Epperson Barnett, was a YMCA official in China and a member of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches. His mother was the former Bertha May Smith. Barnett graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1933. In 1934 he received his M.A. and became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University (1936–7). He became a General Education Board Fellow at Yale (1937–9) and from 1940 to 1941 he had a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship. He married Patricia Robertson Glover on April 26, 1940.

His left-wing orientation manifested itself during his college days and he became associated with Communists, Soviet agents, Communist sympathizers and out-and-out traitors. He was affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States and Congressional Committees as Communist and subversive. He wrote articles for a number of subversive publications.

One of these publications was Amerasia, the publication in whose offices the FBI found hundreds of top secret documents stolen from various government departments. Amerasia is cited in the Guide To Subversive Organizations as a "Communist-controlled magazine which was so closely linked into the Institute of Pacific Relations system that the I.P.R. family ordinarily treated it as simply another of their own publications. Barnett wrote also for Pacific Affairs, cited on Page 196 of the Guide To Subversive Organizations in their list of publications named as "Communist or Communist-front by federal authorities." He wrote for Far Eastern Survey, publication of the IPR, listed on Page 187 of the Guide To Subversive Organizations.

Robert W. Barnett was a paid employee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, first as a research associate, then as Secretary of the Washingfton, D.C. office, located at the time at 700 Jackson Place. His career in the service of various agencies of the U.S. Government is as follows:

After service in the Army, he was appointed Assistant Adviser for Japanese Economic Affairs of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Nov. 7, 1941. On Feb. 9, 1947 he was made Economic Adviser and U.S. Member of the Economics and Reparations Committee, Division of Japanese and Korean Economic Affairs. On Sept. 12, 1947 he was made Acting Adviser of Occupied Area Economic Affairs and on May 2. 1948, full Adviser. On October 3, 1949 he was made Officer in Charge of Economic Affairs in the Office of Chinese Affairs. After China fell (was pushed) under Communist control, he moved along and was put in charge of Western European Economic Affairs. In 1956 he was made Economic Counsellor at the American Embassy in the Hague, Netherlands. He was detached Sept. 20, 1959 and went to Harvard University until June 26, 1960 when he was assigned to Brussels, Belgium. On Nov. 26, 1961 he was made Deputy Director Foreign Economic Advisory Staff, Washington, D.C. and then became Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern (Economic) Affairs.

Barnett's activities are documented in the Hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations held by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations began on July 25, 1951 and ended June 20, 1952. After taking public testimony from 66 witnesses, and examining 20,000 documents the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee came up with the following "Conclusions:"

"Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist.

"The effective leadership of the IPR often sought to deceive IPR contributors and supporters as to the true character and activities of the organization.

"The IPR disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources.

"It was the continued practice of IPR to seek to place in Government posts both persons associated with IPR and other persons selected by the effective leadership of IPR.

"The effective leadership of the IPR used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States.

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives.

"The net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been such as to serve international Communist interests and to affect adversely the interests of the United States."

Among the "Recommendations" of the Committee after the IPR Hearings was:

"That consideration be given to investigation by some appropriate agency of the following:

"(c) The extent to which persons actively associated with the pro-Communist core of the IPR have been employed by an agency of the Government, and the activities and influence of any such persons still so employed . . ."

One of those still "so employed" is Robert W. Barnett, part of the "effective leadership of the I.P.R.," about whom the following information appears—IPR testimony.

Barnett got his government job through the recommendation of the I.P.R.

(IPR Hearings, Part 1, P. 32—Testimony of Edward C. Carter who had been Executive Secretary and a Trustee of I.P.R.):

Senator Eastland. I would like to ask you this question, sir: did the institute, or did you as an official of the institute, recommend people to the State Department of the United States for employment?

Mr. Carter. Several times we had requests from various agencies of the Government to suggest a man for this or that job.

Senator Eastland. I asked you about the State Department, we will get to the others later.

Mr. Carter. A number of our people, more of our junior people, were employed by the State Department during the war and since.

Senator Eastland. Who were those people?

Mr. Carter. I think more of the people who went into the Army of the State Department, Robert W. Barnett is in the State Department at the present time. He went from us, however, to General Chennault's staff in Kunming.

The Chairman. Your answer stands thus: the only one whom you recommended was a man by the name of Barnett.

Mr. Carter. I think we must have given him a letter to OSS, if he was in OSS with Chennault.

Barnett acted as intermediary for Alger Hiss and carried out assignments. (IPR Hearings, Part 1, p. 137):

The Chairman. The question was: did you confer with Mr. Hiss?

Mr. Carter. I don't remember, but it is likely.

Mr. Morris. I offer you a telegram sent by Robert W. Barnett, to you, Mr. E. C. Carter, the date is November 17, 1942, and it reads:

Hiss expresses admiration of Rajchman's incisive mind. Sees no objection his participating conference. Robert W. Barnett.

(Rajchman became an official of the Polish Communist government.)

P. 140 EXHIBIT NO. 20, NOVEMBER 20, 1942

RWB from ECC. We extended the Mont Tremblant invitation to Rajchman and he was very much pleased. He called to see me today to say that he believes that it would be unwise for him to accept.

His immigration status is such that he would have to get a reentry permit. It might take an unduly long time to get this, and he fears there might be some embarrassment because apparently someone in Mr. Breckenridge Long's office is not terribly keen on Rajchman and there might be complications.

You might pass this message on informally and orally to Hiss.

Mr. Morris. Why was it necessary to send this message to Mr. Hiss through Barnett?

Mr. Carter. Barnett was in Washington, and I was in New York, and Barnett had talked, apparently, about this Rajchman man, and so it went to Hiss just as, frequently, if I had a communication from Mr. Hull, I would send it through Mr. Sumner Welles.

(IPR Hearings, Pt. 2, P. 390) Barnett states in a letter dated Nov. 26, 1941: "This may prove to be the long-awaited Japanese-American war . . ." This was the desired result of the efforts of the Sorge Spy Ring and not expected by the American public in general which was astonished by the attack on Pearl Harbor eleven days after this letter was written.

The I.P.R., under the direction of Barnett, planned to maintain contacts in government departments and thereby influence policy.

(IPR Hearings, Part 2, P. 397) Letter dated January 12, 1942 from Miriam Farley, Editor of publication Far Eastern Survey, an organ of the IPR, to Hugh Deane, Editor of a publication in Communist China:

You will be interested to know, in case you have not already heard, that we are about to open an office in Washington for the purpose of keeping in touch with all of the various departments of the government which are working on the Far East. Bob Barnett is to be in charge and some of the rest of us will doubtless get down occasionally. I know that Bob will want to look you up as soon as he gets established . . .

Barnett was kept advised of the activities involving key government people, some later shown to have been Communists and espionage agents.

(IPR Hearings, Part 2, P. 445–6) Letter dated October 21, 1942 from William W. Lockwood, Research Secy. and Executive of the American Council of the IPR and affiliated with AMERASIA magazine, to Robert W. Barnett, I.P.R. 700 Jackson Place, N.W. (Washington, D.C.):

Dear Bob: The interviews with conference invitees yesterday were quite successful on the whole. (C.R.) Remer and (Ralph) Bunch definitely will come unless OSS policy prevents . . .

Harry (Dexter) White is in London, I am told, though I didn't call his office, I am mailing a formal invitation to him and suggest that you call his secretary to say that this is something about which we should like to talk with White on his return . . .

In the opinion of Hiss, (Frank V.) Coe (Communist), and Despres, we ought to try to get Berle or Acheson, or both . . .

Another possibility we might consider is someone from Knox's office or Stimson's. Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevens (Stevenson), one of Knox's special assistants. Hiss also suggested with some approval Harvey Bundy (father of McGeorge and William P.), former Assistant Secretary of State and now special assistant to Stimson . . .

Barnett was the pay-off man in a scheme to obtain a slanted manuscript to be sent from China to the United States via official diplomatic pouch to an identified Communist.

(IPR Hearings, Part 2, P. 651) Message dated April 29, 1944 for Prof. Chien Tuan-sheng, Southwest Associated University, Kunming, or care of Lt. Robert W. Barnett, Headquarters, Fourteenth Air Force, Kunming Airfield, from W. L. Holland. Message requested the professor to do a study for the IPR for which he would be paid $1100.00, part of it to be paid through Barnett. The message suggested that the manuscript might be brought to the United States "by some American or sent in a diplomatic bag, perhaps to Mr. (John K.) Fairbank (identified Communist)."

The I.P.R. negotiated for an identified Communist who was acquainted with Barnett to write for them.

(IPR Hearings, Part 2, P. 670–1) Letter dated May 23, 1940 from Howard C. Carter to W. L. Holland concerning Andrew Roth doing some writing on behalf of the IPR.

Roth knows Barnett and Rosinger and is working under Peffer and Peake at Columbia. He hopes to stay in the Far East field . . .

Note: Lt. Andrew Roth was arrested on June 6, 1945 and indicted in August 1945 in connection with the theft of secret documents in the "Amerasia Case." He has been identified as a Communist. Lawrence K. Rosinger of IPR also has been identified as a Communist and took the Fifth Amendment when questioned under oath.

Edward C. Carter of the I.P.R. shared an important letter from an identified Communist with Robert Barnett.

(IPR Hearings, Part 2, P. 681) Letter dated May 27, 1940 from Edward C. Carter to Edgar Snow, Worcester House, Baguio, the Philippines:

Dear Snow: Your very important letter of May 3, with several enclosures has just arrived. I am sharing your letter and that of Mrs. Chuan with the following: Miss Ida Pruitt, Harry Price, John Hersey, Frederick V. Field, Robert W. Barnett. . . .

You give me credit for more work on behalf of the industrial cooperatives than I am entitled to. . . . I shall continue to do all in my limited power to get you to come to the United States for the purpose. You and you alone have the ability to raise money for progressive China from out and out capitalists. . . .

Note: Miss Ida Pruitt was a writer for Far Eastern Survey, Indusco and Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, all subversive. Harry B. Price was affiliated with IPR, American Friends of the Chinese People and was a writer for China Today. John Hersey was a trustee of IPR and affiliated with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Frederick Vanderbilt Field is an identified Communist now living in Mexico City.

An identified Communist felt he would incriminate himself by admitting he had visited Barnett in the State Department. (IPR Hearings, Part 8, P. 2486) Lawrence K. Rosinger (identified Communist) being questioned under oath:

Mr. Morris. Did you ever visit Robert W. Barnett in the State Department?

Mr. Rosinger. I respectfully decline to answer, relying on the constitutional privilege in the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

An identified Communist wrote favorably concerning Barnett's analysis of American policy. (IPR Hearings, Part 8, P. 2511):

Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record a letter from Frederick V. Field, dated January 23, 1940, to the members of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Mr. Mandel, will you identify that letter and read the last paragraph?

Mr. Mandel. This is a letter from the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations on the letterhead of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, dated January 23, 1940, from Frederick V. Field. The last paragraph reads as follows:

You may be interested to note that two other newly published American Council pamphlets are now off the press. Deadlock in China, by Lawrence K. Rosinger, provides a vivid and up-to-date picture of the Sino-Japanese War in its international setting, and America Holds the Balance in the Far East, by Robert W. Barnett, analyzes the present issues in American policy against the background of Far Eastern history and of America's relations to Europe.

Barnett was advised by an I.P.R. official that an I.P.R. invitation had been tendered to and accepted by an identified Communist. (IPR Hearings, Part 8, P. 2625):

Mr. Mandel. This is a carbon of a letter found in the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, dated October 21, 1942, written to Mr. Robert W. Barnett, Institute of Pacific Relations, from William W. Lockwood, secretary. . . .

I also invited Len Decaux (identified Communist), CIO publicity director and editor of the CIO News. He immediately gave his tentative acceptance. I got a very favorable impression from conversation with him, and Michael knows him.

Barnett advised a Chinese official of an I.P.R. discussion with an identified Communist and Soviet agent presiding.

(IPR Hearings, Part 8, P. 2832) Exhibit No. 451—a letter written by Robert W. Barnett to Dr. Kan Lee, China Defense Supplies, Inc., 1601 V Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lee: The Institute of Pacific Relations will hold the second session of its round table discussion of Chinese postwar reconstruction on Friday evening, October 2, in the Colonial Room of the Cosmos Club. Dr. Harry (Dexter) White will be in the chair. Dinner will be at seven: Drinks being served from 6:30.

There are enclosed an agenda for this meeting and a summary of the last. Please indicate on the enclosed card whether or not you can attend . . .

Note: The record shows that others who received similar invitations were: Lauchlin Currie (involved in Soviet espionage), Frank V. Coe (Communist), Alger Hiss (Communist), Ludwik Rajchman (Polish Communist agent).

Barnett wrote to an I.P.R. official concerning the securing of government documents for I.P.R. use. (IPR Hearings, Part 12, P. 4228) Exhibit No. 722, a letter from Robert Barnett to William Lockwood:

(T. A.) Bisson (identified Communist and member of a Soviet espionage apparatus, employed by the Board of Economic Welfare) says that Jessup has fought through red tape succeeded in getting a whole file of BEW (Board of Economic Welfare) pattern of occupation reports for use at Columbia. Bisson sees no reason why the IPR should not have the stuff, too. The approach should be made through Jessup who now knows the ropes.

Robert Barnett and his wife, Patricia, were contributing writers to a Communist-front publication. (IPR Hearings, Part 13, P. 4616) Exhibit No. 1336—China Today, Official Organ of the American Friends of the Chinese People—Contributors associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations. . . . Barnett, Patricia Glover, Barnett, Robert . . .

Notes: The American Friends of the Chinese People has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report, March 29, 1944, pages 40 and 147.

China Today has been cited as a magazine "published by the Communist front, Friends of the Chinese People, at 168 West Twenty-Third Street, New York City" by the California Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report, 1948, page 198.

China Today has been mentioned by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report, 1938, page 281, as distributed by the Communists' progressive book shop in Boston, Mass. Typical quotation from China Today—"If the people of the United States know what is happening in China, if they know the glorious history of the Chinese Communists * * * there will rise a storm of protest against American and European aid for Chiang Kai-shek * * * thus in telling the story of China to our people, your magazine is helping to protect the future of the Soviet Union." (Waldo Frank in China Today, December 1934, page 43.)

Barnett cooperated with leftist smear writers to discredit an anti-Communist.

(IPR Hearings, Part 14, P. 4934–5) Exhibit No. 1321–C, Mr. Alfred Kohlberg's affidavit of April 16, 1952 to refute charges that he was making "irresponsible charges," connected with a so-called "Christian-front," the man behind Senator McCarthy, and in the pay of Chiang Kai-shek:

Alfred Kohlberg, being duly sworn, deposes and says: . . . .

That I have written evidence that in April 1950 one, Robert W. Barnett, formerly Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and in 1950 Chief of the Economic Section of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, advised certain reporters of the above alleged facts about me and further advised them that more details could be obtained from an organization in New York called the friends of democracy, headed by Rev. Leon Birkhead: and that Friends of Democracy had prepared a three page statement entitled "The Case Against Alfred Kohlberg."

Identified Communist, Edgar Snow, praised Barnett's writings concerning a Communist-front activity.

(IPR Hearings, Part 14, P. 5210–13) Exhibit No. 1146, a long letter from Edgar Snow in Baguio (Phillipines), dated May 19, 1940 to Edward C. Carter:

Dear Mr. Carter: I have read Robert Barnett's article, China's industrial cooperatives on trial, and the comments of Rewi Alley and Miss Cholmeley on this presentation. I am amazed that Barnett could have drawn such a clear picture of both the strength and weakness of indusco, from such a distance. He is to be congratulated for his understanding of both the potential significance of the movement (with which he is obviously in sympathy) and the dangers which confront it with possible failure. . . .

I wish you would express my profound appreciation to Robert Barnett for his brilliant statement on C.I.C. despite the points of disagreement made above, I think it is the best objective summary I have seen. . . .

Alger Hiss congratulated Barnett, with whom he seemed to be in frequent contact, on his planning a round table discussion.

(IPR Hearings, Part 14, P. 5272) Exhibit No. 1268 letter from Barnett to Edward C. Carter, dated September 12, 1942:

Dear Mr. Carter: I hope that you will be able to attend all four of our round table discussions on Chinese post war reconstruction. Alger Hiss congratulated me on securing you as the wind-up chairman calling you a "whiz-bang" at that fine art.

The I.P.R. numbered among its members and associates many persons who were eventually identified as Communists and Soviet agents. Three who were members of the infamous Sorge Spy Ring were Agnes Smedley, Gunther Stein and Hotsumi Ozaki. Robert Barnett was not only a member and a writer for the I.P.R., but an actual paid employee in a position of leadership. John W. Powell, publisher of pro-Communist material used to brainwash U.S. prisoners of war in Korea, took the Fifth Amendment when asked if he had visited Robert Barnett. The fact that Robert Barnett, with his publicly documented subversive background, still remains in government service, places him among the ranks of "The Untouchables."

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Appendix

Small Business Administration Keeps Up Its Good Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, one element of the fine aid being furnished U.S. small businessmen by the Small Business Administration is recounted in the following column by Lawrence A. Collins, Sr., which appeared recently in the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram:

SMALL BUSINESS AIDS

(By L. A. Collins, Sr.)

The Small business operator may find at his disposal the advice and assistance of men who have been outstanding sucesses in that particular business. They are men who succeeded in their own operation or direction of such a business—then at age 65 or so were forced to retired or who did so voluntarily. Now they are taking part in the Small Business Administration program to aid small business concerns. The Orange County News describes it as follows:

"One of the principal reasons for the mass migration from Europe was that opportunity existed in the New World. Out of this opportunity as time went on, developed the millions of business enterprises that today make up the 'free enterprise system.' Without these millions of enterprises, the system and the opportunities it offers would atrophy.

"Such agencies as the Small Business Administration of the federal government exist for but one purpose—to serve the cause of small business. Many have feared that as the country has grown the inevitable expansion of industry to meet the needs of an exploding population would almost automatically mean the demise of small business. But, as is so often the case, events seem to be contradicting the prophets—and in the most unexpected manner.

"As a result of early retirement policies, there is coming into being a vast reservoir of top management talent. A highly interesting story describes how this talent is now being brought to bear in an advisory capacity to small business through an organization known as the Service Corps of Retired Executives. SCORE operates in conjunction with the Small Business Administration to assist ailing small enterprises. To qualify for aid, a concern must have no more than 25 employes.

"When such an enterprise is in financial trouble, 'free counseling is offered for as long as it's needed, the client agreeing to reimburse the SCORE counselor for out-of-pocket travel expenses (or $5 for a visit within 25 miles). In practice, many SCORE men refuse to ak for the $5.'

"In one case a truck driver had given up trucking, mortgaged his home and withdrawn all his savings to buy a $15,000 diner in Denver. Business was brisk from the start, and prices were reasonable. But, the first month showed a $100 loss. The next month was worse—$200 in the red, though customers multiplied. The truck driver and his wife called on SCORE.

"A few days later an elderly restaurant-management specialist dropped by. After sampling the food he watched the couple serve the noontime throng—with awesome portions on the 90-cent blue plate and a free cup of coffee.

"His advice was simple: 'How can you expect to make money when you provide a feast for only 90 cents?' He suggested smaller servings and a modest charge for coffee and predicted, 'With this excellent cooking, the regulars will stick with you.' Losses soon gave way to net profits of $500 a month. Cost of the advice—nothing.

"The case load of this service corps of retired businessmen is presently nearly 1,000 a month. The organization plans to expand its membership to 5,000 counselors and to establish 1,000 more offices to handle at least 25,000 cases by the end of the year.

"It is impossible to pinpoint in dollars how successful SCORE has been to date. But there is Dun & Bradstreet evidence that in 1965, a year after SCORE began, business failures had declined in those cities where strong SCORE officers are located."

Those in this area seeking such advice can receive it by getting in touch with the SCORE division of the Small Business Administration, 312 West 5th Street, Los Angeles, telephone number 688–2903. There is no charge except for transportation cost if a call is needed. Call the office for an appointment and further information.

Thanks to People of Ralls, Crosby County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in Texas, down on the farm, there is a great deal of old-fashioned neighborliness that would be a real boost to our country if it could only be spread around some more. It is an outgrowth of the closeness and community spirit of the small town, which forms a great contrast to the alienation of people living in the cities. Secretary Freeman has recognized this very desirable quality in his recent encouragement of those trapped in the city to return to small town life, as a solution to the bitterness and frustration of city ghettos.

I was recently greatly encouraged by the report of an event all too uncommon in our rapidly urbanizing country. For on Thursday, November 23, 1967, in Ralls, Tex.—which some here may not have heard of—there was reported a true illustration of the real, warm neighborliness of rural life. A Ralls farmer, James Southward, due to recent illness, was unable to harvest his crop—a potential tragedy of large proportions, as this is his living for the coming year. Yet in Ralls, Crosby County, Tex., people do not just stand and watch while a neighbor starves—just as they would not stand and watch while a neighbor was mugged, robbed, or beaten. In the article "Neighbors Lend Helping Hand," the Ralls Banner reports on this proud event in their town, when all the neighbors pitched in and lent a helping hand, along with their equipment and farmhands, to bring in the crop that will support James Southward's household through this coming year.

This spontaneous action on the part of his neighbors has made it possible for one farmer in Ralls, Tex., to continue operating. More than that, though, it has once again proved that Americans retain the Christian spirit of their founders and forefathers. I thank all the farmers of Ralls, Tex., and ask unaimous consent that the report from the Ralls Banner, entitled "Neighbors Lend Helping Hand," be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, are article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARVEST FRIEND'S ENTIRE COTTON CROP: NEIGHBORS LEND HELPING HAND

A group of Ralls area farmers and some from the Crosbyton area joined forces in furnishing men and machines to harvest the cotton of a sick friend Monday afternoon. A total of 25 machines and at least 66 people joined in gathering the crop and delivery it to the gins.

The cotton was harvested from the James Southward farm 2 miles east of Ralls. Southward only recently was released from Methodist Hospital in Lubbock where he had been hospitalized.

Herschel Roye, who spearheaded the harvesting operations, reported to The Banner Tuesday morning that approximately 175 bales were harvested in a three-hour period Monday. And by 2 a.m. Tuesday, every bale had been ginned.

"The boys did an exceptionally good job of harvesting the crop," Roye stated, pointing out that some of the men had instructed their machine operators to try to do an even better job than they had done in their own fields.

Following is a list of the farmers, machine operators and throw-back men who cooperated in an earnest effort to help a friend:

Garland Jones, A. N. Sessom, Thurman Flowers, Lawrence Binder, Byron Powell, Jimmy Kinney, Jude Flournoy, Marvin Heinrich, Bob Wilson.

Julian Salas, Tom Reyna, Epifanio Salas, Claro Salazar, T. G. Kirkendoll, John Perez, Albert Moore, Roy Warren, Bisiste Salas, Frank Robeledo, Fred Luna.

Eugen Balis, Vic Robeledo, Joe Chron, Leanord Parker, Cisco Valdez, Thomas Valdez, Berente I. Salas, E. W. Balis, Raul Zamaripa, Augin Mendez, E. E. Terry, Nibol Samarriks, Herschel Roye, Vernon Roye, Bobby Harris, R. H. Huddleston.

Buddy Payne, Frank Casarez, Donnie Powell, J. W. Payne, Jonny Cavazos, Cecil Elam, V. G. Miller, Armando Casarez, H. C. Richards, Jim Holman, Paul Leuabno.

Ronnie Ragland, Bill Boyd, Leland Mosley, Joe Copeland, E. O. Boyd, Dewey Wells, Jr., Marvin Jones, Junior Lopez, Gerardo Leon, Juan Luebano, Wayne Wells, Billy Ray Evatt.

Elvin Evatt, J. L. Cornwell, Buzz Parkhill and Hands, John L. Haynes, C. A. Verett, Leanord Sedillo, and Isabel Gonzalez.

Soviet Strategy Against the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, despite all propaganda, lipservice, and smokescreens, Communist Russia remains the real enemy to free people in its conspiracy to rule and dominate the world.

The November 27 issue of the U.S. News & World Report carried an interesting report confirming the fears and worries of many of our American people.

I insert the story following my remarks:

RUSSIA'S STRATEGY IN TODAY'S WORLD: THE VIEW FROM EUROPE

VIENNA.—What is Russia's game in today's world?

Does the Kremlin really want U.S.-Soviet tensions eased?

Or is trouble for the U.S., wherever and however it can be stirred up, the true goal of the Russians?

The Johnson Administration, with a policy of "building bridges to the East," appears to believe that the Soviet Union does indeed want a deal with the U.S.

The Russians, the reasoning goes, want to increase trade, halt the arms race, check the spread of nuclear weapons, create a partnership for exploration of outer space. The one real obstacle, it is often contended, is the war in Vietnam.

From European experts on Soviet strategy comes this point-by-point analysis of the concept that Russia genuinely desires a mutually beneficial working relationship with the U.S.

Argument. Russia needs better relations with the U.S. for the sake of more trade and a free exchange of technical know-how.

Fact. Russian-American trade never has amounted to much and probably never will, because the Soviets have little—other than vodka, caviar, and furs—to hold up their end. Russia does have gold, but is unwilling to part with it except in an emergency, such as purchase of wheat from the West to make up for poor harvests at home. Also, most of Russia's trade needs can be met by Western Europe. As for U.S. technical secrets, many of them already reach Russia through European channels.

Argument. Russia wants to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Fact. The Soviets do, in principle, agree with the U.S. on this point. Opposition comes from U.S. allies, such as West Germany, Italy, Japan, France. But Russia is doing little to persuade these countries of the need for a non-proliferation treaty. Indeed, the Kremlin seems more than content to let the United States and its allies bicker on the issue.

Argument. Russia would like a halt in the international arms race.

Fact. The Soviets ignored U.S. proposals that both countries refrain from putting up costly antimissile systems. The Russians are increasing their spending for arms. Soviet weapons keep pouring into the Arab world. The Red Navy has been stepping up its activity in the Mediterranean.

Argument. To save money, Russia would prefer co-operation to competition with the U.S. in space exploration.

Fact. Russia's recent landing of a space vehicle on Venus shows that the Soviets are driving for "firsts" in outer space, regardless of cost. Scientists say that the feat cost 200 million dollars, compared with a cost of 37 million for the U.S. Mariner fly-by of Venus. Russia is willing to keep spending lavishly in the space race, even though, with a gross national product of 350 billion dollars a year, the Soviet Union cannot afford space expenditures as easily as the U.S. with a GNP of 800 billion.

Argument. Russia must aid the North Vietnamese Communists, for to do otherwise would lend support to Red China's charge that the Kremlin is in cahoots with U.S. "imperialists"—and this would undermine the Soviet position of leadership in the Communist world.

Fact. Russia's status as Communism's No. 1 power does impose an obligation to give some help to Hanoi. But it does not obligate Russia to pour in a billion dollars' worth of aid a year—including modern weapons—to keep the war going.

The peoples of Communist Eastern Europe, and the satellite governments, have shown no enthusiasm for the Soviet Union's support of a faraway country in which they have no direct stake.

As for Red China: Peking has rudely rebuffed all of Moscow's attempts at reconciliation. Further, Communist China has become almost totally isolated within the Communist world as well as outside it. Russia has no real need either to placate the Red Chinese or to counteract Peking's propaganda.

Argument. Regardless of any other considerations, Russia wants to see the war in Vietnam ended because of fears that it might escalate into a nuclear war.

Fact. The restraints under which U.S. forces are operating in Vietnam make any such escalation most unlikely. Moreover, say analysts, crises in Berlin and Cuba have in the past involved far greater risks of U.S.-Soviet nuclear confrontation than exist in Vietnam today. Also, in arming the Arabs for the recent war in the Mideast, Russia risked a clash with the U.S.

Main point made by the experts is that if the war in Vietnam were to escalate into a conflict between the U.S. and Red China, nothing could please Russia more.

The U.S. and Communist China are the two great rivals of the Soviet Union today. China's emergence as a nuclear power constitutes a formidable threat to the Soviets. From Russia's point of view, it would be highly desirable to see China's nuclear potential smashed by the U.S.

The Soviets, Kremlinologists say, would feel no obligation to intervene on Red China's side.

During the Korean War, Russia aided the Chinese Reds with arms but took no active part in the fighting. This is stressed: If Russia chose to take a sideline role when Peking was a friend, why should Moscow involve itself now that Communist China has become an enemy of the Soviet regime?

Argument. Russia has been unable to bring pressure on Hanoi to end the fighting in Vietnam.

Fact. There is much that the Soviets could do to exert such pressure. Many Europeans are convinced that the mere threat of termination of military and economic aid from Russia could compel the North Vietnamese to seek peace. But Russia keeps stepping up this aid.

Flaws in the reasoning. Reasons advanced in attempts to show that Russia wants the war in Vietnam to stop do not stand up under examination. On the other hand, there are many grounds for belief that the Soviet Union wants to see the conflict continue indefinitely.

The U.S. remains the major barrier to Russian Communism's ambition to dominate the world. Therefore, specialists in Russian strategic thinking emphasize, anything that adversely affects the U.S. is welcomed by the Soviet Union. For example—

War in Vietnam ties up 500,000 U.S. troops in an area far removed from Russia's borders.

Besides the mounting toll in casualties, the war is costing Americans more than 25 billion dollars a year, diverting money which could be spent to strengthen the U.S. militarily against Russia or to attack domestic problems which cause unrest. Spending on Vietnam has raised the prospect of increased tax burdens upon the American people.

The war has brought bitter debate and deep divisions among Americans. It has forced the Johnson Administration to delay "Great Society" programs to which President Johnson had tied his political future.

The heavy U.S. involvement in Vietnam causes friction between the U.S. and its allies. Europeans friendly to the U.S. complain that Washington, preoccupied with Vietnam, is turning its back on Europe. Europeans who tend to be critical of the U.S. in any circumstances harp on the "moral issue" of bombing North Vietnam. The U.S., in turn, is irritated by refusal of its European allies to do anything to help end Communist aggression in Vietnam.

In their propaganda, the Soviets try to picture the U.S. as a giant slugging a weak little country. At the same time, the Russians seek to project their own image as peacemakers and conciliators.

All of this, in the European view, is bad for the United States and good for Russia, which, it is pointed out, can maintain the situation at a cost of only a billion dollars a year in aid to North Vietnam—a tiny fraction of what the U.S. is spending to fight the war.

As Kremlin watchers in Europe see it, Russia's game in today's world can be described this way:

Promoting every possibility of adding to the troubles and burdens of the Americans, at home and overseas, while being careful to steer clear of any direct confrontation with the U.S. that would risk nuclear war.

Defense Procurement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, on November 16, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] addressed a luncheon of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York City. More specifically, his remarks were directed to the Defense Committee of the NAM. His address on the topic of "Defense Procurement," was most timely and impressive.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE PROCUREMENT

(Address by Senator STROM THURMOND, Republican, of South Carolina, at a luncheon of the National Association of Manufacturers, Plaza Hotel, New York City, November 16, 1967)

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members of the Defense Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, it is a pleasure to meet with you today and to share with you some of my views on the affairs of Capitol Hill. The National Association of Manufacturers enjoys a fine reputation with the Congress. The NAM representation of industry's views on national and international problems to government are highly respected.

I note that your membership now exceeds 17,000, and that among organizations of this kind, yours is one of the oldest, having been founded in 1895. Through the years the NAM has performed commendable service in the field of education, and has promoted cooperation with industry through scholarship and apprentice awards, guidance and counseling, preparation of educational aids, and the maintenance of a high school and college speakers' bureau. More closely connected with my field, the NAM reviews legislation, judicial decisions and administration rulings and interpretations, as they affect industry.

While your Vice President, Mr. Ralph Compton, was kind enough to give me considerable latitude in the choice of subject matter for this occasion, I understand that you are most interested in Defense procurement. As a member of the Senate, and particularly in my various committee responsibilities, which include the Armed Services, Judiciary, and Appropriations, I can assure you that I, too, am quite interested in the Department of Defense. This interest exceeds the limitations of Defense procurement alone, and while I shall devote the greater part of my talk to that subject, I am sure that you wil bear with me for an excursion into a few future Defense problems that are vital to our national security.

It is perhaps an understatement to say that the Legislative Branch of the government is intensifying its interest in the procurement practices of the Department of Defense.

I think that we have seen enough evidence recently in the news media, particularly in the matter of possible favoritism in defense contracts, and excessive costs of some procured items.

Let us examine, for a moment, the basic reasons for Congressional interest in government procurement, in which DOD is the major partner.

The Federal procurement bill for goods, services, equipment, and facilities now runs about $60 billion a year. The Congress is responsible for raising the tax dollars to pay this enormous procurement bill; it also has to make the dollars available on a yearly basis through the appropriations process; and it has the responsibility to see that these dollars are well spent. After all, we members of Congress have to answer to our constituents, and they are the ones who foot the bill.

I should like to point out at the beginning that a Congressman's interest in government procurement is not from the standpoint of personal or private concern. You are all familiar with the "boiler plate" that forms a part of a government contract—this contains stipulations, rules and procedures that your contracting officers have to wade through. In the fine print of that boiler plate there is a measure that prohibits a member of Congress from contracting with the government or deriving any benefits therefrom. I am happy to state that this is the oldest mandatory clause in government contracts, and that it dates back to a law of 1808.

While my colleagues and I do not have any personal interest in government contracts, you can be sure that we each have a very keen public interest—legitimate and proper—over the award of contracts to our respective States. Defense business means better employment, bigger payrolls, and general economic improvement. Although no Congressman should use his influence to aid a particular company or individual, he nevertheless has a responsibility to see that his State or District is not discriminated against in the awards of government contracts.

Of course, a Member of Congress has more to do than to look out for his State and to help his constituents. Each Member has legislative duties through his committee assignments. These duties involve authorizations for new programs, money bills for the government agencies, investigations, and a variety of other legislative tasks. This committee work is important, for this is the means where a few members of the Congress can investigate a subject in depth and make a knowledgeable report to their colleagues.

The Congress has several committees and subcommittees which are responsible for making legislative recommendations on defense expenditures to the entire Congress. Some of these in the Senate and House are the Armed Services, Government Operations, Joint Economic, and the respective Appropriations committees and subcommittees. There are also several more. With this many hands in the act there is bound to be some confusion, gays, and even overlapping interest. For example, let us take a look at the jurisdictional issue.

The Committees on Government Operations of both Bodies have jurisdiction over the Federal property and Administrative Services Act. The respective Armed Services Committees have jurisdiction over the Armed Services Procurement Act, but jurisdiction over the Renegotiation Act, which bears on Defense and other procurement, is under the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and the Finance Committee in the Senate.

Furthermore, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act and the Service Contract Act of 1965, also involving procurement and contracting processes, are under the jurisdiction of the Education and Labor Committee of the House and the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate. The Banking and Currency Committee handles small business legislation, but there is also a Small Business Committee that investigates procurement problems from the small business—not the government's—side of the street. Patent and claims legislation, which also influence procurement and contracting matters, are within the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee. At the same time there are separate and different committees responsible for atomic energy legislation on the one hand, and for space legislation on the other.

With this organization, or lack of it, for such an important function as Government procurement, there is small wonder that the Congress should be considering a bill to establish a special commission to study all phases of government procurement. I will come to this bill a little later.

In my own experience, I remember well acting as Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee's Subcommittee on Procurement during 1959 and 1960. Some of you here in this audience may have participated in those hearings. These represented an exhaustive inquiry into the procurement policies and practices of the Department of Defense and the Renogiation Act of 1951. In this study we concentrated on the procedural aspects of military buying. Our findings were, briefly: (1) Most of the procurement problems of Defense could be solved administratively; (2) All of the major contract types in use could produce undesirable cost, price or profit if they were used inappropriately or not carefully negotiated or administered; (3) Some contracts had to be negotiated, but that negotiation did not necessarily mean absence of competition; (4) Procurement law did not necessarily retard the availability of advanced weapon systems, but programming decisions and administration of laws frequently caused delays; (5) The volume of military procurement made it impracticable to unduly centralize procurement authority; and (6) That military procurement was so complex that it would be impossible to preclude exercise of judgment by procurement officials.

As a result of our findings we made several positive recommendations for changes in the Procurement Regulations, procedures and in the training of procurement personnel in the Department of Defense. Judging from the recent criticisms leveled at Defense procurement by Congressman Pike, Senator Dominick and others, it would seem that the departments did not follow through on all of our recommendations, particularly the one which warned that they should train their personnel to do a better job.

The size of the Defense budget is such that it has tremendous impact on the economy of the country. The total Defense budget accounts for over fifty percent of all appropriated expenditures for the entire federal government. For Fiscal Year 1968 the total administrative budget for national defense is estimated at $75.5 billion which is 8.9 percent of the gross national product. This comes very close to the country's previous maximum which occurred in 1945—then military expenditures ran $80 billion, or 36.7 percent of the GNP. The Defense procurement share of the 1968 budget is estimated at $21.6 billion, and this indicates a slow but steady rise over defense procurement expenditures of the two previous years; in 1966 this was $14.3 billion, and in 1967, it was $18.5 billion.

The accent on defense procurement swings from one manufacturing area to another, according to the times and international situation. Experience shows that in wartime (taken from examples of Korea and Vietnam) there is a decided swing toward ships and conventional ordnance and a corresponding decrease in the more sophisticated products such as aircraft, missiles and electronics. On the basis of past performance, I should think that after the Vietnam War is over, we would see the pendulum swing back. The statistics behind this observation are as follows: In 1962, 70.4 percent of military procurement was in the sophisticated category—in 1968, it is estimated that this will be only 53 percent. Also, in 1962 only 29.6 percent of military procurement went into the more conventional items, but in 1968 this rose to an estimated 46.8 percent. It would appear that with the ABM underway, and with the drawdown of the Vietnam War in our inventory of aircraft, the more sophisticated Defense items will get a strong play as soon as the Vietnam War ends.

During the fifteen years since the Korean War there has also been a decided shift in the geographical pattern of Defense Procurement awards. The South and Far West have increased their share of Defense orders while the Midwest and Middle Atlantic areas suffered a decrease. However the immediate effect of the Vietnam War with its increase in conventional war requirements caused an upswing in the Midwest last year, where most of the conventional armament is produced, and a falling off of defense orders for sophisticated equipment, most of which is produced in the Far West.

Another interesting geographical characteristic of Defense procurement is that the top ten States received over 60 percent of the prime awards and 70 percent of the subcontract awards. In the event that you are interested in the top ten States, they are: California, New York, Texas, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey and Indiana; . . . with Michigan, Illinois, Maryland, Georgia and Florida following close behind.

I am sure that in this audience it is no secret who are the top ten manufacturing companies. Just for the record I will say that on the basis of military prime contract awards in Fiscal Year 1966, the top ten companies are: Lockheed Aircraft; General Electric; United Aircraft; General Dynamics; Boeing; McDonnell Aircraft; American Tel. and Tel.; Textron; Raymond International; and North American Aviation. Of the 100 top companies listed for 1966, there are 23 new names which did not appear on the 1965 list. The largest increase in category is, understandably, ammunition; there were 13 new ammunition companies among the 23 new names. The largest decreases were in missiles and petroleum products, each losing 5 companies from the top 100.

Small business firms have increased their share of Defense contracts. During the first nine months of fiscal year 1967, small business firms received $5.7 billion in Defense prime contract awards—almost $1 billion more than in a comparable time in 1966.

Now before I proceed into some of the details of the proposed Procurement Commission being considered by the House Committee on Government Operations, and the reasons for its establishment, let me say a few words about the commendable cooperation of industry to meet urgent military requirements. Granted that there have been cases of excessive costs, which were well-publicized, I might add that there have been a number of cases where industry went all-out to help, sometimes at considerable risk of their own assets. At my request, the Department of Defense has furnished me with a few examples.

Very early in the Vietnam crisis the communications industry unselfishly applied its resources to achieve early implementation of the initial communications requirements of the military departments. They promptly moved people into the area—conducted surveys—modified and rehabilitated military telecommunications equipment without formal contractual assurances of reimbursement.

About a year ago the Eureka-Williams Company made an all-out effort to fill an urgent requirement for a very complex fuse. The Army had had difficulty in obtaining a supplier willing to undertake the contract on the basis of producing extremely high production quantities of this complex item. Through the efforts of this company the Army requirement was met.

The Stewart-Warner Corporation began production of metal parts for the 60mm mortar projectile from a standing start and made first deliveries in five months. This included setting up production equipment and fabricating and buying the new tooling.

Another outstanding example of American industrial determination and ingenuity involved the M-39 aircraft machine gun. The Allison Division of General Motors made delivery of a production weapon within 8 months after orders were placed, one month ahead of schedule, including reactivating a plant which was not in production and providing the necessary personnel and facilities. The first gun delivered as a result of this effort met the Army's quality assurance requirements of 100%.

With regard to Vietnam, the accomplishments in transporting supplies to South Vietnam have been without precedent. Two years ago there was only one deep water port there—Saigon. There were no railroads nor roads to move supplies from that port to our forces up-country, yet in the first six months after the major deployments began, 200,000 troops were moved into the country and supplied with the thousands of items needed for combat operations and their health and welfare. Airfields and port complexes now exist where before there were only sand dunes and rice paddies.

Industry, together with military construction groups, has undertaken a gigantic construction effort in South Vietnam. This includes 6 deep draft ports which provide 29 new berths involving a total daily cargo input of 21,800 tons. In the construction of these ports 26 million cubic meters of dredging was required. Increased storage capacity includes 10.2 million square feet of covered storage, 2½ million cubic feet of refrigerated storage, 4 million square yards of open storage, over 100 acres of ammunition storage and 3 million barrels of POL storage. Further, 6 million square feet of maintenance facilities have been constructed, as well as hospital capacity of 8,780 beds. Eight jet-capable air bases have been built, along with 80 auxiliary air fields. Cantonments sufficient for 500,000 men have been established, and electrical power has been increased by 300,000 kilowatts. The above does not include air bases, hospitals and other support activities constructed throughout the Western Pacific.

There are many more such examples of military-industrial cooperation, but I cannot take the time to recite them.

Having described the nature of government procurement in general, with special emphasis on industry's role with the Department of Defense, I shall now move on to the proposed bill (H.R. 12510), introduced by Congressman Chet Holifield, together with a companion bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Jackson of Washington.

The purpose of this bill is to establish a temporary Commission on Government Procurement, to make a broad and searching inquiry into nearly every aspect of government procurement. The Commission would be required to make a report within two years after the date of enactment of the legislation, on its findings and recommendations for changes in present statutes, regulations, policies and procedures necessary to promote economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in the procurement of goods, services and facilities by the Executive Branch of the Government. In short, the Commission will try to improve Government procurement and contracting procedures and practices. It will examine the laws, regulations, organizations, throughout the whole structure of government involved in procurement, and try to bring more order to the present hodge-podge and mixture.

The Commission will have twelve general courses of action prescribed for it. These are:

(1) To establish a method whereby the Government may acquire the goods, services and equipment needed, of proper quality and within the time needed at the lowest reasonable cost, using competitive bidding to the maximum extent possible.

(2) The quality, efficiency, economy and performance of Government procurement organizations and personnel should be improved, and

(3) through (12)—briefly summarized, are: to avoid overlapping and duplication; to cover gaps, iron out inconsistencies, provide for uniformity and simplicity; fair dealing; and to avoid possible disruptive effects in certain areas, industries, and occupations.

The Commission would be composed of fourteen members, including four appointed by the President of the Senate, four appointed by the Speaker of the House, and six appointed by the President of the United States. It appears that industry will undertake its share of the task. For example, in the provisions for membership, there are the following stipulations: Of the four appointments by the President of the Senate, two will be Senators, and two will be from outside the Federal Government; of the four appointed by the Speaker of the House, two will be representatives, and two will be from outside the Federal Government. Of the six appointments by the President of the United States, three will be from the Executive Branch of the government and three will be from outside the Federal government. The members appointed by the House and Senate, respectively, will not be of the same political party. I note that members from outside the Federal Government will receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day for actual service and for other expenses. The Commission will also be empowered to procure the services of experts and consultants, and it may make contracts with private organizations and non-profit institutes to carry out studies and to prepare reports to assist the Commission's work.

I note also a refreshing provision for the demise of the Commission: 120 days after the submission of its report the Commission shall cease to exist.

The official hearings for the establishment of a commission on government procurement are over, and a bill is ready to report out of the House Committee on Government Operations. However, while the bill has bi-partisan support, there are certain considerations that lead me to believe that H.R. 12510 will not be enacted in this session of the Congress. Without going very far out on a limb, I do think that it is safe to predict fairly early passage next year. I should think that your organization would maintain its interest in this legislation, because for the first time, industry will have an established forum in which to make its views, opinions and recommendations known on this issue.

I said earlier in my talk that I wished to spend some time discussing future defense problems. Those of you who know me will understand what I mean when I say that not all of the problems of DOD are in the procurement area. However, for the purposes of this meeting I shall confine my remarks to certain problems of military hardware—as I see them.

It has been said that the Vietnam War is the most non-cost-effective endeavor that the United States has ever undertaken. We see such military elements as the Air Mobile Division and aircraft carriers (both previously critcized as not being cost effective) doing splendid, necessary jobs in Vietnam.

In my opinion, cost effectiveness, as it is now used in the Pentagon, is short-sighted. This is not a new science, anyhow. Both the military and industry have used cost effectiveness techniques for many years—but these techniques were not used as a means of procrastination. Today's Defense analysts are studying problems to death while our sworn enemy, the Soviet Union, goes ahead and produces new weapons systems. In this regard, I have consistently urged that we get on with the business of ensuring the security of this country through adequate foresight and military preparation.

Limited wars do not threaten our very existence nor our freedom, in the same direct way that general nuclear war does. To me, the blue chips of national defense have to be our strategic warfare forces. Next in importance, come the forces for conventional warfare. I cannot understand why we let limited wars drag out, at an unacceptable cost in men's lives and equipment, to the extent that we are forced to give our blue chip forces less than the necessary attention. This is exactly what we have done with a very important element of our own nuclear deterrent—the Anti-Ballistic Missile defense system.

While we were procrastinating, the Soviets deployed an ABM system, worked on the orbital bomb, and probably other space weapons, too. With lead time as important as it is in the development of weapons systems, it appears that we almost missed the boat in our own parallel efforts. We should, without further delay, move promptly into the production and deployment of the full ABM defense recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. At the same time, we should be perfecting a reliable anti-satellite defense system, together with long-range tracking systems to calculate orbits and pinpoint satellites in outer space. In view of the Soviet development of the multiple warhead missile (MIRV), we should proceed on an urgent basis to develop a defense that will destroy multiple warhead missiles soon after they leave the launching pad, and before the warheads separate. Both the Air Force and the Navy have such a system under development.

Moving down the warfare spectrum, I wish to cite a few problems that affect our ability to conduct conventional warfare. We need to replace the equipment taken from our Reserves and National Guard and sent to Vietnam, as well as that borrowed from our forces in Europe. The wartime mission of these forces is to fight, and they cannot do that without equipment.

I am very concerned that the Navy does not have a surface-to-surface missile similar to the Soviet missile that sank the Israeli destroyer Eilath last month. Moreover, the Navy badly needs new antisubmarine aircraft and sensors to combat the growing Soviet submarine threat.

And finally, we should profit from the lessons learned by all of the armed services in the Vietnam War, which showed the important of a mix of different weapons systems and troops. The value of tactical air, gun support, the Air Cavalry, artillery, the helicopter, shallow water patrol craft and reliable communications was well documented. At the same time we should never get so obsessed with hardware that we forget the importance of the combat man and his rifle.

The role of industry in solving the problems that I have mentioned is an important one, and the government will look to men such as you here today for assistance. Judging from industry's past response, I am confident that you will respond nobly.

With regard to industry's role in the future, let me close with a suggestion. From my own point of view, and this is shared by many of my colleagues in .Congress, it would appear prudent for Defense contractors to diversify into commercially-oriented products to a much greater extent. I have heard the warnings against the creation of a defense-managed industry, but I think that there is another consideration that is closer to the point. This is the decline of profits in doing business with the government. For example, twelve years ago Defense contractor profits were 6.5 percent; six years ago profits were 4 percent; and last year they were 3 percent. If your marketing Divisions will project that curve a few years ahead, I think that your top management will see compelling reasons for more civilian diversification.

A Young American Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to an article which appeared in the York, Nebr., Daily News-Times on October 18, 1967. In this day of hippies and draft card burners, we are too often prone to criticize the entire younger generation. However, during my last campaign I came to know and admire a number of fine and dedicated young people. The article which follows is an example of what can and is being done by our youth today. Ron Skaden, without thought for his own personal safety, by quick thinking and a football block, saved a human life. His courage is a good example for all of us.

The article follows:

VIEWS FROM THE PRESS BOX

(By Hub Foster)

You've often heard and read about the values of football in regard to character building, practicing co-operation, learning the values of team work, and so forth.

But did you ever think of football in terms of life saving?

There is a man in York today who probaply owes his life to a football block and the quick thinking ability of a 1964–65–66 grid star and '67 graduate of York High school.

And Eldon James is the first to credit the young man with his life saving effort and reports that "I'll be forever indebted to him."

The hero of this story is Ron Skaden, popular young man who trained vigorously and with extreme dedication in order to prepare himself for football and track, only to see injuries hamper his efforts to perform on the gridiron.

Late last summer Eldon and Ron were doing some sheet metal work at the York Country Club. James was reaching around a steel post holding a piece of equipment when the post suddenly became electrically energized.

Eldon was literally frozen to the pole as the electric current surged throughout his body. He was practically paralyzed, unable to call for help, unable to tell Ron what the trouble was. Skaden suddenly realized that something was amiss when Eldon's head fell back as he began to lose consciousness.

He also realized that he had to do something to get his boss loose from the pole. Without regard for the possible consequences, he hurled himself at Eldon, breaking the hold with a solid football block.

James fell loose and lived to tell the story of his narrow escape. He is lavish in the praise of the young hero and credits his earlier sports training with his ability to react quickly under emergency situations.

Everyone in York should be extremely proud of Ron. Special credit to the teachers, school administration, coaches, to L. Dale Hanna who has taken a special interest in this young fellow, and to his mother, Mrs. Myrna Skaden.

Incidentally, Ron is today attending Peru State College where he is also playing football. His only injury to date has been a broken nose!

A 20th-Century Iran Under Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Develops 20th-Century Technology and Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the country of Iran has been much in the news lately, and the news is all of the greatest encouragement to the advanced and advancing nations of the world. Recently came the coronation of the Shah, who remained an uncrowned Shah for 25 years and refused to allow the ceremony to be performed until his country had emerged from the grips of poverty in which it had so long been held. Not only did this impressive ceremony have symbolic significance, however; under the modern Shah of Iran, the ceremony became a double coronation, including the official office of Empress, for the Shah's wife, for the first time for that nation.

Now comes news from Iran which is of special interest to Americans: for the great and rapid growth of Iran has enabled it to give up U.S. economic development aid, and proclaim its economic self-sufficiency.

The country of Iran has much to be proud of, and this is one move which inspires the admiration as well as the gratitude of all Americans. I commend the present Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, for the great service that he has done his country, in bringing it, in such a short time, up to the technological and economic standards of 20th-century competition.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that articles on this event, from today's New York Times and Washington Post be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 30, 1967]

UNITED STATES AND IRAN CELEBRATE THE END OF AID PROGRAM

WASHINGTON, November 29.—The United States and Iran celebrated today the official end of American economic development aid to Iran, which began in 1951 under President Truman's Point Four technical assistance program.

Washington's warm tributes to Iran's "success story" were coupled today with an "open invitation" by the Iranian Government to American private industry to invest and trade more heavily in Iran.

Hushang Ansary, Iran's Ambassador in Washington, told a luncheon gathering at the State Department that his country represented a $1-billion market—"one of the handful of huge markets among the developing countries"—that would double in size in the next five years.

Both President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk heaped praise on Iran as the second non-European country to "graduate" from the American aid program since World War II. The first was Taiwan, which in 1965 concluded its economic aid program with the United States.

"We are celebrating an achievement—not an ending," said the President. "This is a milestone in Iran's continuing progress and in our increasingly close relations. What we mark today is Iran's success. What we celebrate is Iran's economic and social progress."

Secretary Rusk, amplifying that theme at a State Department luncheon given in honor of the Iranian Ambassador and American agencies and private companies that have taken part in the economic aid program for Iran, said a celebration was in order "because Iran has arrived at the point where it can support its own continuing economic development."

American development and budgetary aid to Iran has totaled $605-million since Iran became the first country to sign a technical assistance agreement under President Truman's Point Four program, so named because it was the fourth point presented by Mr. Truman in his Inaugural address in 1949.

The United States has also provided roughly $900-million in military aid to Iran and $122-million more in shipments of surplus food under the Food for Peace program. Both these programs are continuing despite the end of the economic development aid.

The United States has promised to provide Iran with two squadrons of F4 Phantom jet fighter-bombers, used extensively by American forces in Vietnam. These planes and other military equipment are being financed by roughly $250-million in easy credit loans, primarily those arranged by the Defense Department through the Export-Import Bank, a procedure recently under fire in Congress.

Government officials said that American military aid to Iran would be terminated by the end of June, 1969. They also said there would be an early end to the Food for Peace program, which, in the year ended

June 30, provided Iran with $3.2-million worth of wheat, dehydrated milk and high-protein concentrate.

Economic aid to Iran has passed through a number of phases. Initially, in 1951, the United States provided direct economic support to the Iranian budget to keep the Government financially afloat. Gradually, as the Iranian oil industry returned to normal operation, American aid was funneled into development programs.

Mr. Rusk noted that the United States had provided $77.5-million in development loans to help finance a national highway network, had helped build and improve schools at which 100,000 Iranians were enrolled this year, helped immunize 95 percent of the people against smallpox, built new port facilities at Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf and helped establish an agricultural extension service and water conservation programs.

He also observed that American aid was reduced as Iran's oil revenues took over an increasingly large share of the development program.

Last year, he said, oil revenues yielded more than $600-million, adding that since the American aid program began Iran had invested $3-billion of its own funds on development.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 30, 1967]

SUCCESSFUL IRAN LEAVES AID'S FOLD

(By John Maffre)

President Johnson rejoiced yesterday that the U.S. is going "out of business" in Iran after 15 years of economic aid to that Asian country, which can now finance its own development.

His message was read at a State Department luncheon at which the United States and Iran, represented by Ambassador Hushang Ansary exchanged good wishes over that country's "graduation" from Agency for International Development lists.

The ceremony in the John Quincy Adams Room, presided over by Secretary of State Rusk, was in marked contrast with the end of other AID programs in the Near East this summer, when seven Arab states abruptly severed relations with the U.S. over the Arab-Israeli war in June.

But although the economic development phase of aid to Iran officially ends today, the Military Assistance Program that has totalled $895 million since 1950 continues. So does the Food for Peace program that has amounted to $122 million since 1954.

The total of economic development aid since 1950 has been $605 million, $225 million of it in repayable loans. Other countries with major AID programs that have terminated include Greece, Israel and Taiwan. South Korea and Turkey are expected to reach that point early in the 1970s.

"We are celebrating an achievement, not an ending," the President's message said in reference to today's cutoff date for development funds to Iran. "Now is the time when even stronger ties become possible . . . With one milestone behind us, we begin planting for a new harvest of friendship, trust and shared hopes."

AID officials say the volume and value of U.S. aid to Iran far exceeds that of Russian aid, which began to improve its relations with Teheran only in the early 1960s. Much of Russian assistance has been of the barter type, such as the Soviets getting Iranian gas in partial return for the planned construction of a steel mill south of the Iranian capital.

Rusk recalled that as a junior State Department officer in 1946, he was with the U.S. mission to get the Soviet troops out of northern Iran.

The Secretary said that while Iran could now finance its own development, the end of AID programs would not affect the Export-Import Bank's large loan program in that country, and that American private enterprise would continue there.

Buffalo Area Marks Marine Corps Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 192d anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Marine Corps was observed at an impressive ceremony at Memorial Hall in Kenmore, N.Y., on November 10.

The officers and enlisted marines of the Marine Corps recruiting station in Buffalo were joined at the affair by their families and special guests.

Wearing their colorful full dress uniforms, the marines opened the ceremony by providing the traditional guard of honor during the playing of the National Anthem and the presentation of the Marine Corps birthday cake.

Maj. Daniel F. Trenski, USMC, officer in charge, recalled the founding of the Corps and read a birthday message from the Marine Corps Commandant, Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr.

The principal seaker was Dr. Nestor Procyk, of Buffalo, who is one of our champions for the freedom and independence of his native Ukraine.

The subject of his address was the menace of communism and, with permission, I include Dr. Procyk's address below:

ADDRESS BY DR. PROCYK

It is indeed a great honor and privilege for Mrs. Procyk and myself to be with you tonight on this happy and solemn occasion—192nd anniversary of the founding of the valiant and highly respected Military Corps—the United States Marines.

It gives us, therefore, a great deal of pleasure to dine tonight with you—the bravest men and women of the area. And when I say "women" I don't have only in mind the charming and spirited Marinettes, but I also mean the wives of the Marines. For, aside of good taste and affection, let us admit, it takes a great deal of courage and patriotic understanding to marry a Marine and to share his often hard, but always honorable destiny.

Frankly, I was a bit surprised when I was asked to talk to you tonight. My surprise was due to the fact that it has been apparently your tradition on such occasions to have a military person on the speaker's rostrum. My surprise was therefore mixed with apprehension, for I was well aware that being a non-military man I couldn't even fake one. However, my good young friend and known champion for the Marine Corps Recruiting Western New York, Sergeant Walter Kowalyk assured me of your awareness of my status. and—here I am. And—I am thrilled to be in your company.

I cannot see how one could fail to be thrilled having the opportunity to talk to a group of Leathernecks or Teufel Hunde (devil Dogs) or—as I would prefer to call you—"Freedom Angels". I would choose that name because the ultimate goal of the Marines has always been, as I see it, somebody's freedom. True, very often, before you could reach the gates of freedom you had to pass through the fires of hell. But this was and is, and shall remain the fortune of the Marines—the avantgarde for the strength and security of the nation.

One couldn't fail, therefore, to be filled with justified pride while speaking to a group of men, who represent a part of the backbone of our nation's security and—our nation's vigilance! For, the U.S. Marine Corps has been such a part of the backbone of our Nation's strength, security and vigilance since its birth—192 years ago—since the passage of the Continental Congress Resolution on November 10, 1775 in Philadelphia, Pa. The Tun Tavern was the site where the young men gathered to sign up into the Corps we hail today as the Marines. It was the Tun Tavern's proprietor, Robert Mullan, later Captain Mullan, whose spirited declaration: "Surely every man of spirit must blush to remain at home in inactivity and indolence when his country needs his assistance", became immortal. (Capt. Mullan asked where else can a man find a better opportunity of reaping glory as in the Marine Corps, where he "once embarked in American Fleet finds himself in the midst of Honor and Glory, surrounded by a tete of fine fellows, strangers to fear and who strike terror through the hearts of their enemies wherever they go.")

That was the spirit in the beginning of the U.S. Marine.Corps, that is the spirit which has been embodied in each and every Marine through the entire—almost two centuries long—history of the Corps, each member of which has served to protect the liberty of the United States, while—and I quote Captain Mullan again—"the hearts and good wishes of the whole American people attend him, pray for his success and participate in his glory."

In the past 192 years the Marines have distinguished themselves with a highly inspiring tradition of outstanding soldierly repute carried with honors from one generation to the next; tradition that has won for the term "Marine" the meaning of all that is most noble and highest in military virtues as well as in soldierly initiative, ability and efficiency.

It would be too time consuming in tonight's program if I should try to enumerate a multitude of historical events and war battles the Marines excelled in. It should suffice to recall just a few names and events as the rest is known to all of you as facts of history.

The Marines fought under George Washington (1776) and sailed with John Paul Jones (1777); they earned a battlefield citation from Gen. Andrew Jackson (1812) and they marched through the "Halls of Montezuma" (1846); they undertook the voyage with Commodore Perry to Japan (1853–54); landed twice in Korea (1871–1950) and in the Philippines (1898); they opposed the Chinese for "55 days at Peking" during the Boxer Rebellion (1900) and they secured Guantanamo Bay in Cuba (1903). The Marines excelled during World War I. in some of the most critical battles. They were the only American unit that earned three times the French Citation with Croix de Guerre, as, on the other hand, they were given the nick name of "Teufel-Hunde" or "Devil Dogs" by the Germans in "recognition and appreciation" of their fierce fighting.

The Marines developed their own aviation which started with Lt. Alfred A. Cunnigham and later they organized the Marine Corps Air Ground teams (Nicaragua 1918, etc.) They developed the art of amphibious warfare, and amphibious landings constituted the first American operations in World War II. Afterwards numerous and successful landings were mastered by Marines in many spots of the globe. In 1947 the Marines began to develop a Helicopter unit which entered into rescue work during the Korean conflict and is in full use now in Viet Nam. The Marines, finally, produced such men as Major General John A. Lejeune, a Marine to command a U.S. Army Division, Lt. Col. John H. Glenn who, as a Marine aviator had shot down three MIG's during the Korean conflict, broke the transcontinental speed record in 1957, and became America's spaceman in 1962 by orbiting the earth three times, and Gen. Chesty Puller—the Marines' Marine, and last but not least the distinguished General Wallace M. Greene Jr. your present Commander.

As it is apparent from that very short spotlighted resume, the Marines have been everywhere on this earth, wherever they were needed or called upon to defend people's freedom or the liberties of their own people. They were "Freedom Angels" in principle, but when the situation required they were quick to turn into Devil Hound or Teufel-Hunde. No wonder that General of the Armies, John J. Pershing said "a Marine and his rifle is the most dangerous weapon in the world." And Fleet Admiral Nimitz asserted that for a Marine "uncommon valor was a common virtue". For, the Marines have always lived and acted according to their motto "Semper Fidelis"—they always remained faithful to their cause.

Now our Marines are doing their best to prove their value and their fidelity to the cause of liberty and freedom in far off Vietnam. The United States is at war against Communism there. The U.S. Marines, along with our Army, Navy and Air Force, have a historic mission to fulfill: to secure freedom for the South Vietnamese people, or, for that matter, maybe for all Vietnamese people and the free world.

This mission is certainly not an easy one, the main reason being that there—in reality—is not a war between South and North Vietnam, but rather between the United States and Soviet Russia. The only difference is that the U.S. is more directly involved and in a defensive war, while Russia wages cunningly, as usual, an aggression by proxy.

For the students of history of the Russian empire, there is nothing strange about it, and nothing new. Russia is doing the same in the Near East as it is doing in Southeast Asia and has been doing it in many other areas over the past 50 years under Communist regime and as it had been doing for several centuries under the Czarist regimes.

For, we ought to know that Russia's ultimate objective was and is to destroy physically as many Americans as possible; to make our country tired and exhausted by means of all kinds of so-called "national liberation wars" and aggressions by proxy, by means of all kinds of internal upheavals, and then to attack this nation, if necessary directly, thus to fulfill its plans for total world domination. Therefore it seems only logical that in these times we all ought to be on guard and extremely vigilant. Yet—look around: all varieties of Vietniks and Peaceniks or other "conscientious objectors" are organizing their demonstrations against our national interests, and (wittingly or unwittingly) spread confusion within and outside this nation. One wonders only that our news media consider it apparently proper and patriotic to contribute to that confusion by giving these demonstrators wide coverage, complete with front page headlines, while often neglecting to give proper attention to the events and activities aimed at preserving the strength and security of this country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am certain you'll agree with me that the right to dissent is a mark of democracy—and must be preserved. But, mob violence, subversion, and outright refusal to obey one's patriotic duty, urged upon our youth by Communist conspiracy, must be properly labeled as treason. For, we are at war, Ladies and Gentleman, a *total war* for our very survival. And war is not a "live and let live" proposition. No matter how cruel it may sound, and how unfortunate it is, the fact is: this war is a "kill or be killed" proposition, which is nothing new to the Marines.

And the war in Vietnam is not a moral issue for us either. For our Vietnam policy is well justified and right. The United States is fulfilling there its solemn duty of international fidelity and a work of true international humanitarianism—aside of fighting in the interest of our own security—and all of these are most honorable and highly moral tasks. The conflict of moral conscience is one the side of the enemy—but they neither care about moral issues, nor have they any conscience. Thus, we are fighting for the right cause in Vietnam—and it must have our Nation's full and active support.

Another matter to consider is our policy in Vietnam. It would seem necessary that some of our policies there be changed. As the war is a "kill or be killed" proposition, we certainly do not wish *our boys* to be killed. And, sitting in fox holes, waiting for Viet Cong mortar fire, and artillery shells and bombs, permitting the Viet Cong to exterminate one South Vietnamese village after another—or, in other words, to conduct only a defensive war, will not bring a success.

In order to win this war in Vietnam, we must give a free hand, and free initiative, to our trained military leaders. To conquer the enemy we must launch an offensive attack on the enemy's own territory, without limit. Our Air Force should be permitted to bomb and destroy military supply establishments of the enemy, regardless of where they are located. For, it seems absurd to keep sacrificing the lives of our boys in order to preserve those of the enemy. I am confident that giving a free hand to our military leadership and our Marines there, would save many lives of our men and bring about our victory much sooner.

Knowing the Russians and their tactics, we may rest assured that force is the only argument which they understand. Fortunately, it appears that our Government has begun to change tactics in Vietnam toward that of positive offense. Let us hope and wish that this change will take a faster and a more thorough turn.

As I said before, we are in a total war with Communism and Russia—no matter how many deceiving smiles we perceive on Russia's face, no matter how many "peace treaties" Moscow offers or concludes. It is a historically proven fact that Russia concludes treaties or gives promises not to keep them—but to delude their counterparts.

Thus—having realized that we have got to conduct a total and all-out war—we have to develop and strengthen our positive offenses in all areas of the globe. This would be a guarantee or alternative to a holocaust of nuclear war, which we all would like to prevent.

The Vietnam war is only one "hot" area of conflict between the free and enslaved worlds. There are, however, many other areas where this conflict not only exists but is in a boiling state.

I have in mind among others the vast areas and lands belonging to nations oppressed by Russia in the so-called Soviet Union. These nations, somehow, are not given as yet proper attention by the Western World.

The free Western World has paid, and continues to pay today, a heavy price for failing to respond, favorably and with support in the proper time, to the alarming voices of the Liberation Movements of the peoples and nations held captive by imperial Russia.

The Western Governments, and their leaders, kept their eyes and ears closed, when the gallant Ukrainian Freedom Army, known as the UPA, was tangling with two armored giants—Nazi Germany and imperial Soviet Russia—and later, in 1947, was engaged in combat against the combined armies of the Soviet Union, Red Czechoslovakia, and Communist Poland. They didn't lend either their eyes or their ears to the meaningful and courageous uprising by the Germans of East Berlin in 1953, or when the valiant Hungarian youth were slaughtered in the streets of Budapest in 1956, or when the brave Polish workers rese in protest in Poznan in 1956. The question arises: Why?

There are some encouraging signs like Public Law 86–90, or Captive Nations Week. But this in reality is only a token. Yet in these nations we find the most dependable and reliable allies and partners in our efforts to bring about peace with justice in the world. The free world ought to make every effort to bring into our partnership the liberation movements of the nations oppressed by Russia, nations who are aspiring to their national independence.

At this time, I'd like to make it clear that such assistance on the part of the free world to the liberation movements of the Captive Nations could never properly be construed as an intrusion into the internal affairs of Soviet Russia. For Russia has artificially created a verbal image only of a union of sovereign states. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Not one of them joined voluntarily or by free plebiscite this so-called Soviet Union. There can be no comparison, for instance, between the Soviet Union and the United States concerning the politico-legal aspects. The United States is a nation composed of many states each having entered voluntarily and willingly into a larger united community for reasons of mutual interests and the welfare of their people. The so-called Soviet Union is an artificially created "union" of many once-independent nations unwilling to belong to this union and kept there by force of chains, bayonets, terror and fear; many nations kept in bondage by one "master nation" the Russians. The non-Russians become privileged only when they change their allegiance and adopt Russian Communism as their own creed.

In other words: in the U.S.A. we all—regardless of national origin, creed or race—are free to think, speak, write and live the way we prefer. We are truly free. In the Soviet Union—the people are constrained to do as the oppressor wills it.

In spite of 50 years of Bolshevik tyrannic rule, there are more and more people who refuse to respond to the Russian Bolshevik conditioning. There are such people in all walks of life: Labor, youth, students, intellectuals, primarily among the non-Russian people. These people—patriots of their enslaved lands—have conquered fear and have begun to work and march toward freedom and liberation, toward establishing an independent life for their nations.

To quote Wasyl Symonenko, the contemporary poet of my native Ukraine:

> "Those hunted down, those killed and torn to pieces,
> Are getting up! They march to bring the trial's day!"

Yes! They march holding the torch of freedom even on the 50th anniversary of the Russian faked triumph of oppression. They march toward freedom and justice for all human beings and for their enslaved nations.

Let us, then, permit them to march along with us, let us begin to march along with them. For, they need our help and assistance and we, certainly, shall and do need theirs. Let us remain faithful to the freedom principles for all nations and men.

In conclusion, may I take this opportunity to express Mrs. Procyk's and my own most heartfelt congratulations on this 192nd Anniversary of the birth of your Corps, to all of you Officers and Men of the Marine Corps Recruiting of Western New York, to all 300,000 valiant Marines dispersed throughout the world today, and last but not least to your very distinguished leader, General of the United States Marine Corps, Wallace M. Greene, Jr.!

May I add and assure you that in these congratulations I am joined by all the Liberation Movements of the non-Russian peoples held captive by Communist Russia; the members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, the World Anti-Communist League, the Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations, and the interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, as well all are united by one idea of freedom in peace.

Along with our congratulations go our best and most sincere wishes of success in the days to come. Our special wishes and "God speed" go to those members of your Corps who are fighting our battle in the rice paddies of Viet Nam for the freedom of others and the security of our nation.

Let us all join forces in support of our fighting men wherever they struggle and fight for the cause of freedom. Let us all remain faithful to the cause of freedom to all nations and men, and peace with justice for all in the world.

Let us remain faithful with our Marine's proven virtue—Semper Fidelis!

Postal Employees Help Their Members in Wake of Beulah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in the recent disaster in Texas, few people in the area of the hurricane escaped financial loss and damages. In various ways, through varied means, these people are now seeking to rebuild their homes and places of business, and to recoup the losses which they all suffered together. One group that has been especially fortunate in its seeking for help is the postal service—for they are members of a governmental group, that has shown great concern for the well-being of its members who suffered loss in Hurricane Beulah in September of this year.

The members of the postal service of Texas have once again shown their great closeness and concern for the many men and women who see that the mail does indeed go through. Texas' postal workers have formed a committee for the assistance of its members who suffered from the disaster, and is seeking to put its workers back on their feet again through the efforts of their own fellow employees.

I wish to commend the post office employees all over Texas, and Dallas Regional Director B. M. Myers, Jr., for his leadership, in helping their members in their recovery from our State's great disaster. I ask unanimous consent that the list of the Hurricane Beulah Postal Employee Disaster Fund Committee and the letter of November 20 which announced their purposes be printed in the appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the list and letter were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Post Office Department,
Dallas Regional Office,
Dallas, Tex., November 20, 1967.

All Employees, Dallas Regional Office.

My Dear Coworkers: The sense of brotherhood existing between those of us who work in the Postal Service is, I believe, one of the rewards of our Postal careers.

Some 95 Postal employees in the disaster area of last September's Hurricane Beulah incurred very extensive losses to their homes and personal possessions—losses exceeding $100,000. Because of the nature of the damage, rising water, insurance coverage was minimal.

The Post Office Department authorized the setting up of a special fund for the alleviation of the financial burden placed on these employees. An announcement of the fund was made in the Postal Bulletin of October 26, 1967.

Many individual employees and employee organizations have made substantial contributions to the fund. In total, however, contributions have been less by far than was expected.

I want all employees of the Regional Office to know of my personal concern for the welfare of these Valley employees and of my interest in seeing that each of us is aware of this opportunity to be of assistance to the members of our Postal family who suffered this loss. Contributions will be disseminated by a committee made up primarily of Post Office craft representatives from Post Offices in the Valley. Chairman of the committee is Mr. Oscar Kilcher, letter carrier, Harlingen. Secretary is Mr. Eleuterio Galvan, clerk, Brownsville. Treasurer is Mr. H. M. Pendleton, rural carrier, Edinburg.

A small gift from each of us can result in significant aid to those relatively few employees who suffered heavy loss as a result of the Hurricane. This Regional Office effort will be concluded Monday, November 27, 1967. Your Division Director will provide a receiving facility for your contribution or it may be sent direct to Hurricane Beulah Disaster Fund, P. O. Box 2601, Harlingen, Texas 78550. Your gift will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
B. M. Myers, Jr.,
Regional Director.

Hurricane Beulah Postal Employee Disaster Fund Committee

Oscar C. Kilcher, Chairman, Letter Carrier, Harlingen, Texas 78550.

Eleuterio Galvan, Secretary, Clerk, Brownsville, Texas 78520.

H. M. Pendleton, Treasurer, Rural Carrier, Edinburg, Texas 78539.

Mario Hinojosa, Maintenance, McAllen, Texas 78501.

G. M. Thornburg, Mail Handler, Harlingen, Texas 78550.

Marion Emig, Special Delivery Messenger, McAllen, Texas 78501.

G. R. Marrs, Supervisor, Harlingen, Texas 78550.

H. G. Post, Regional Office, Dallas, Texas 75221.

R. E. M. Gilbert, Postmaster, Harlingen, Texas 78550.

The committee met in its first session, October 4, 1967, at the Harlingen, Texas post office.

All the above members were in attendance except Mr. Emig. Also in attendance were the following:

Mr. Shelby Owens, Office of Special Assistant for Employee Relations, Dallas Regional Office.

Mr. Glenn Hodges, NALC, Dallas.

Mr. Robert Whitman, UFPC, West Monroe, La.

Mr. M. P. Rivera, UFPC, Brownsville.

White River National Wildlife Refuge in Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently I received some correspondence expressing concern that the forest management practices on the White River National Wildlife Refuge in Arkansas needed immediate review and study.

Accordingly, I took up the problem at once with the Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife in the Department of the Interior, and I have received a most comprehensive report from the Acting Director, Mr. A. V. Tunison. Because the report also is indicative of the forest-wildlife management activities of the Bureau in the national wildlife refuge system, the Congress will find the pertinent information on the White River National Wildlife Refuge of particular interest; and I feel certain it also will allay the concern expressed to me by a number of hunters and sportsmen in that area.

The specific report given by Mr. Tunison follows:

The National Wildlife Refuge System offers excellent examples of sound multi-purpose management of our renewable resources. Compatibility of forest and wildlife management, as demonstrated in the National Wildlife Refuge System, serves as a guide for other governmental and private land managing agencies.

The history of the White River Refuge bottomland hardwood forest shows that in the late 1930's and early 1940's the total area was subjected to high-grade logging operations prior to government ownership and control. Our Bureau's management efforts on the remaining low-grade forest consisted of "protection only" through 1958. Natural forest regeneration appeared over much of the area, and the wildlife population maintained status quo until the closing forest canopy contributed to a decline in the late 1950's.

The White River Refuge is a major wintering area for waterfowl. This is the primary purpose of the refuge and the management of these lands is aimed mainly at improving it for this purpose. Over 70 percent of the refuge is used extensively by waterfowl when flooding occurs. An 800-acre block was clear-cut of all trees to build a water storage area. This water is used to flood forested lands during the winter months, thus providing food for waterfowl. We are pleased that the refuge through our management also provides for other wildlife use, recreational use, and contributes to the economy of the State of Arkansas.

Foresters and wildlife biologists developed a forest-wildlife management plan in 1958. This plan was developed after a complete inventory of all the natural resources had been made, including wildlife, fish, soils, and forest. The primary objective of this plan is geared to meeting wildlife needs. Only by meeting these needs can a continuous harvest of surplus wildlife be assured.

A review of the high sustained yields of surplus forest products and wildlife, and high recreational use over the past 10 years is quite impressive. During this period the local area received a good economic boost from both timber sales and allied hunting programs conducted on the refuge. In the two previous years, 543,000 people visited the White River Refuge. We anticipate that greater numbers will seek wildlife-oriented recreational opportunities in the future.

Based on planned objectives, 30 percent of the low-grade sawtimber volumes, which is of little value to wildlife, will be selectively harvested over a 20-year period. Since the plan was activated 10 years ago, 56 million board feet have been removed. Receipts have amounted to $1,695,367; 25 percent of these annual receipts are returned to the local counties to be used for schools and roads. Logging and milling payrolls, equipment purchases, etc., directly related to the harvest program, account for several more millions of dollars.

A 1,000-acre natural area exists where no cutting of timber is allowed. This has been set aside to show future generations conditions comparable to a virgin forest and will serve as a study area for naturalists.

Following timber harvest activities initiated in 1958, the wildlife population increased greatly and the surpluses have been harvested through public hunting. Annual managed deer hunts for the last 6-year period yielded a total of 10,200 deer. Prior to timber harvest activities only a few turkeys were present. The current turkey population exceeds 2,000 and public hunting is now permitted. In addition, the State conducts two trapping programs on the refuge for stocking of turkeys on other conservation areas throughout the State. Black bears have responded favorably to our forest management practices and have increased from 30 in 1958 to 50 in 1967.

Sixteen days of squirrel hunting during September 1967 yielded 2.9 squirrels per hunter-day for a total harvest of 30,000 squirrels. Last year hunters harvested 38,000 squirrels in 10 days. This slight drop was also noted throughout the State. Wildlife biologists know that population cycles are normally associated with good and bad acorn production years rather than current harvest practices.

The 13 major refuge forest types, containing 31 commercial species, are managed under an individual tree selection system and no hardwood tree smaller than 16 inches in diameter is cut. Based on wildlife and forest management studies, persimmon trees over 13 inches in diameter are harvested in special sales. These studies revealed that when persimmon trees reach this size, fruit production declines rapidly, and decay is more rapid, thus the lumber value is decreased. Also, persimmon fruit is available for only a very short time and occurs when other wildlife foods are abundant. Persimmon sales from White River Refuge have made a direct contribution to the U.S. export market.

Timber harvesting practices as used on the refuges are designed to benefit wildlife. The openings in the forest canopy, resulting from harvest, provide space for proper development of the remaining trees. Because of these openings more sunlight reaches the forest floor; thereby improving vigor of seed and berry producing plants making the total wildlife food supply greater.

At times, aesthetic values are temporarily reduced by timber harvest; however, due to the harvesting techniques and fast tree growth, these values are restored in 3 to 5 years. Some cutting of trees along the banks of waterways has taken place. This was done only in areas where the removal of a tree with low vigor, low wildlife value, and low aesthetic value would encourage the growth of species having higher wildlife and aesthetic values. Some tree tops from this timber stand improvement work have been placed in the water. This was done to provide for better fishing. Houseboat owners have also placed tops in the water to improve fishing near their favorite anchorages. The Corps of Engineers cut brush along the banks and on some islands, and when the water is at flood stage much of this brush floats down stream and some is deposited on or near the refuge.

Sound multi-purpose resource management techniques are being applied at the White River Refuge. The standards used in coordinating wildlife management and forest management have the endorsement of State game biologists. We have frequent requests for field trips and planning procedures from schools and other resource managing agencies. Wildlife and forest sustained yields, along with economic, aesthetic and other related values, indicate that the White River management program is one of the finest in the country.

We appreciate your continued interest in the White River Refuge and thank you for this opportunity to explain the wildlife and forest management program, of which we are justifiably proud.

Sincerely yours,

A. V. TUNISON,
Acting Director.

Meat Inspection or Fear of States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the meat inspection law clearly violates the Constitution insofar as it invades into State control. Yet the news media which has been stampeding Members of Congress into a vote against dirty and unsanitary meat refuses to concede that there is a sound constitutional position in opposition to the bill.

I have received a self-explanatory wire of opposition from a State commissioner of agriculture which I here insert for all Members' consideration:

ATLANTA, GA., *November 28, 1967.*

Congressman JOHN R. RARICK,
Member, House Argiculture Committee,
Washington, D.C.

Congressmen Smith and Foley, and Senator Mondale, with Complete cooperation of C&MS of USDA along with Nader and Betty Furness as spokesmen, have made every effort to smear State meat inspection programs with Betty Furness and above mentioned Members of Congress, stating that for sixty long years States have done nothing and sixty years is too long to wait. Actually C&MS and its supporters were not perturbed about meat inspection and consumer protection at State level until last three or four years following passage of State meat inspection laws by State legislatures. Why have above Congressmen and C&MS become frantic in smearing State inspection only after many States began meat inspection? Only after tremendous efforts of States to protect consumers have these Congressmen and C&MS shown any interest in protecting meat consumers at State level. It is now self evident that their belated efforts to protect the consumer are only pretenses. Real ulterior motive is complete federalization of meat inspection and have panicked at the idea of States setting up adequate meat inspection programs.

PHIL CAMPBELL,
Commissioner,
Georgia Department of Agriculture.

Let's Explode the Expression "Oil Depletion Tax Loophole"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a brief speech by William Jackman, president of the Investors League, Inc., before its annual meeting on November 14, 1967.

Mr. Jackman is presenting a condensation of the talk by the Honorable SYDNEY HERLONG, Democrat, of Florida, given on the floor of the House on August 21 of this year, on the subject of oil depletion.

The information is very timely, but fails to some extent to present the true facts of the depletion allowance on the extraction of natural resources. The general public is prone to look at the percentage of depletion which is based on the market value of the products at a certain point.

For example, oil and gas depletion allowance of 27.5 percent is based on the market value at the wellhead and excludes all processing. No multiplier is used, and it remains at 27.5 percent. On the other hand, practically all of the other minerals which have from 5- to 23-percent depletion are permitted to base their allowance on the market value of the product after several refinements. For example, depletion on limestone is taken on the market value of the limestone at a point where it goes into the kiln. Salt has a fairly low depletion allowance—approximately 5 percent—but the producer is entitled to take that depletion percentage on the value of the salt after it has been mined, transported, refined, packaged, retransported, repackaged and ready to go on the dining room table. Thus the producer of salt actually receives a higher percentage of depletion than the oil producer, because of this complicated multiplication table.

For these reasons, the public should not be misled by the simple rate of percentage depletion without considering the point where this depletion is allowed.

The address referred to follows:

LET'S EXPLODE THE EXPRESSION "OIL DEPLETION TAX LOOPHOLE"

There are many demagogic vote-seeking politicians and a bunch of uninformed columnists who keep seeking to make oil companies stand out as a privileged group of wealthy taxpayers. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

To abolish or drastically reduce the mineral depletion allowances which apply to petroleum and natural gas, would result in sheer confiscation of capital assets. It would greatly curtail incentives for exploration for new energy resources so vital to the needs of the nation and result of necessity in higher prices to the consumer.

Congressman A. Sydney Herlong (D) Florida, an important member of the tax writing House Ways and Means Committee has made an extensive study of this problem which he reported in an extensive address before the House on August 31, 1967.

He most ably summarized his findings as follows:

"Reducing or eliminating percentage depletion can only have the effect of increasing the cost of both ingredients. And the consumer will pay. In fact, I can think of no step that could do more to increase the cost of living—to make all our constituents pay more for everything they buy—than a cut in the rate of the mineral depletion provision.

"Let me briefly review the main points I have covered:

First. Percentage depletion is not a tax loophole. It was deliberately devised by Congress more than 40 years ago and is consistent with the policy of not taxing capital value as income.

"Second. The phrase 'oil depletion allowance' is a misnomer. This provision applies to more than 100 different minerals important to our national welfare and to the economies of every State.

"Third. Ours is an energy-based economy—with oil and gas supplying nearly three-fourths of that energy. Percentage depletion is essential if the industry is to meet the anticipated tremendous future demand for petroleum.

"Fourth. The petroleum industry pays its fair share of domestic taxes—exactly the same percentage of its revenue as other industries, according to authoritative studies.

"Fifth. Percentage depletion has not produced excessive profits for oil companies; in fact, their profits have averaged slightly less than those of manufacturing industries as a whole.

"Sixth. The real beneficiary of percentage depletion is the American consumer. If the mineral depletion provision were deleted from our tax laws, the consumer would have to pay more for his every purchase since the cost of both the raw material in the product and the energy required to produce it would be more expensive.

"Seventh. Percentage depletion has worked. It has enabled the petroleum industry and other mineral producing enterprises to meet the rapidly rising demands of an industrial civilization in peacetime, wartime, and the cold war area. It has helped keep our standard of living the highest in the history of the world. And, if we want an especially timely reminder of the value of percentage depletion, all we have to do is read any morning's headlines about what is going on in the Middle East.

"Eighth. We have just seen the nationalization of oil properties of several American companies in the Middle East. How much more of a warning do we need that we cannot afford to let ourselves become dependent on foreign oil any time or anywhere in the world? We need percentage depletion because we need to maintain our national independence and our vital fuel supply. It is as plain and simple as that. And if we learn anything at all from the news of the day, it is that percentage depletion—far from being a loophole is a lifeline for America."

Congressman Herlong also presented a list of percentage depletion allowances of other extractive industries as follows:

TWENTY-THREE PERCENT DEPLETION APPLIES TO THESE MINERALS

Antimony.
Anorthosite (to extent alumina and aluminum compounds extracted therefrom).
Asbestos.
Bauxite.
Beryl.
Bismuth.
Cadium.
Celestite.
Chromite.
Clay (to extent alumina and aluminum compounds extracted therefrom).*
Cobalt.
Columbium.
Corundum.
Fluorspar.
Graphite.*
Ilmenite.
Kyanite.
Laterite (to extent alumina and aluminum compounds extracted therefrom).
Lead.
Lithium.
Manganese.
Mercury.
Mica.
Nephelite Syenite (to extent alumina and aluminum compounds extracted therefrom).
Nickel.
Olivine.
Platinum.
Platinum Group Metals.
Quartz Crystals (Radio Grade).
Rutile.
Block Steatite Talc.
Sulphur.
Tantalum.
Thorium.
Tin.
Titanium.
Tungsten.
Uranium.
Vanadium.
Zinc.
Zircon.

FIFTEEN PERCENT DEPLETION APPLIES TO THESE MINERALS

Aplite.
Barite.
Bentonite.
Borax.
Calcium Carbonates.
Clay, Ball.*
Clay, China.*
Clay, Refractory & Fire.*
Clay, Sagger.*
Copper.
Diatomaceous Earth.
Dolomite.
Feldspar.
Fullers Earth.
Garnet.
Gilsonite.
Gold.
Granite.
Granite (Flake).*
Gypsum.
Iron Ore.
Limestone.
Magnesige.
Magnesium Carbonates.
Marble.
Metal Mines (not otherwise named).
Mollusk Shells (when used for chemical content).*
Molybdenum.
Phosphate Rock.
Potash.
Quartzite.
Rock Asphalt.
Silver.
Slate.*
Soapstone.
Stone (dimension or ornamental).*
Talc.
Thernardite.
Tripoli.
Trona.
Vermiculite.
Other minerals not covered elsewhere.

TEN PERCENT TO THESE MINERALS

Brucite.
Coal.
Lignite.
Perlite.
Sodium Chloride.
Wollastonite.

SEVEN AND ONE-HALF PERCENT TO THESE MINERALS

Clay and Shale (used for sewer pipe or brick).*
Clay, Shale, and Slate. (used as lightweight aggregates).*

FIVE PERCENT TO THESE MINERALS

Clay (used for drainage and roofing tile, flower pots, etc.).*
Gravel.
Mollusk Shells.*
Peat.
Pumice.
Sand.
Scoria.
Shale.
Stone.
If from Brine Wells—Bromine, Calcium Chloride, Magnesium Chloride.

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* Note differing rates, depending on use.

A Thought for Navy Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the president of the Navy League of the United States, Mr. Charles. F. Duchein, of Baton Rouge, La., in his Navy Day message, paid tribute to the "Sea Breed" this year.

In a sense, the significance of Mr. Duchein's message is a sincere and genuine counter to the march on the Pentagon by the peaceniks who, however well intentioned, in action are pawns of the people who would destroy the Republic.

The maritime march of the Navy League, in its celebrations of Navy Day throughout the United States and abroad, is in substance a salute to the patriotic and selfless young citizens who this Navy Day gained the admiration of the entire Nation serving as they are to protect and preserve the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Duchein's remarks here for all to read:

A THOUGHT FOR NAVY DAY

(By Charles F. Duchein, national president, Navy League of the United States)

"Honor the Sea Breed for on them the wealth and security of the Nation depend." (Senator Claiborne Pell, "Challenge of the Seven Seas.")

Today, we salute the naval people of the Nation. Distinctive, daring and dedicated, the men and women of the Navy and Marine Corps serve their country with patriotic resolve from their home shores to the far reaches of the water world.

Their service proclaims the true significance of Navy Day. The "Sea Breed," in accomplishments and dedication, provides the real substance for Navy Day. With leadership borne of adventurous involvement on, around, under and above the seas, these men who man the fleet herald a message of maritime might for our people.

The amphibious breed, such as King, Nimitz, Spruance, Vandegrift, Holland Smith and Halsey have carved out and projected the maritime destiny of the nation. The ideals and ideas, the deeds and decisions of our Arleigh Burkes, Rickovers, Wally Greenes and the like will continue to mold the maritime power of the future. Those who gave the

United States the military advantages of nuclear propulsion, radar and the Polaris weapons system helped move the arena of combat into the vast oceanic expanses, well away from our shores.

As we celebrate Navy Day 1967, a fresher breeze is blowing. There is a forward-looking and zestful interest in the maritime world. But the involvement is deeper. The high barometer reflects a positive action to preserve American control of the seas. As Vice President Humphrey, chairman of the Nation's highest council on maritime resources, has pointed out: "We stand at the threshold of the most fruitful use of ocean resources in history." Through the intellectual initiative and scientific resolve of the maritime community, unprecedented oceanic opportunities are unfolding.

Today, our mighty Navy-Marine Corps Team patrols the world oceans. Recorded each day are the courageous actions of our men in the Viet Nam conflict, their dedication and selfless sacrifices to preserve the security of the Nation. Their task is to apply maritime pressure from the sea, and on the land, at the time, the place and to the degree needed to prevail. While fighting to preserve our freedom, these men are subjected to inordinately long separations from their families and loved ones. Yet, working for what they believe in, they ask but the firmness of our resolve and the support of those whose protection they provide.

This Navy Day, the leadership of the Navy League salutes our special citizens of the sea and pledges with renewed resolve to provide the nation with the fullest understanding of its maritime future.

Ill-Advised Canceling of Camp Perry Rifle Matches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the recent action of the Defense Department in canceling the Camp Perry rifle matches as most ill advised in my view. This letter from an Apache Indian marine demonstrates but one situation in which the Camp Perry matches have real value. This letter was addressed to Mr. Tom Hawes, of Globe, Ariz., who kindly forwarded it to me.

HI BOONE: I want to drop you a few lines to let you know that I'm at Camp Pendleton just ½ mile away from Pacific Ocean and mountains on the other side, not the Ocean. I'm between the Ocean and the mountain. You have taught me everything in shooting so I showed my cards to my Platoon Commander and I told him I've been to Camp Perry so he let me work with the P.M.I. Preliminary Marksmanship Instructor and I check every Private with everything like sitting and Prone Position and etc., and I don't take any test on windage and elevation movement like that. Last Thursday we on the Pit. shoot and I got 80's and 24's at 6 o'clock and my elevation is 22 and 6 left from the 300 meters. I want to be on the P.M.I. If we fire 220 out of 250 we can easily make PFC and wear Blue Uniform. Everything is going faster and faster before we know it we'll be finish. What do you think about that?

J. R.

Panama Canal Treaty Opposed by Colombia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Colombian Government reportedly refuses to surrender its interests and toll exemptions extended by the 1914 treaty.

The position was contained in the November 10 Star and Herald, published at Panama, Republic of Panama, which I insert following my remarks:

CANAL TREATY UNACCEPTABLE, SAYS COLOMBIA—NEIGHBOR REFUSES TO RELINQUISH PROFITABLE RIGHTS GRANTED UNDER TREATY OF 1914

BOGOTA, November 9.—Colombia has notified the United States government that it won't give up the rights and toll exemptions it has on traffic through the Panama Canal, it was reported today by official sources.

This might become an insurmountable obstacle for the new treaties which the United States are negotiating with Panama, recognizing Panama's full sovereignty over the waterway, it was reported.

High government sources said U.S. Ambassador Reynold Carlson has been informed that the Colombian government will not accept the derogation of the Urrutia-Thompson treaty, signed in 1914, under which Colombian warships transit the Panama Canal toll-free and other privileges are provided for Colombian vessels and cargoes using the waterway.

Ambassador Carlson, these sources said, unsuccessfully attempted to convince the Colombian government that the new status recognizing Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal prevents the United States government from making concessions which could be granted only by the Panamanian government.

The U.S. Embassy here, replying to inquiries, said: "The question of the 1914 canal treaty between the United States and Colombia has been discussed with the Colombian government. There is no impasse with the Colombian government on this question."

Responsible sources, however, assured the Associated Press that Colombia has refused to budge from its opposition to the new treaties, unless they are modified or clarified in order to protect Colombia's special rights under the 1914 treaty.

Under the 1914 Urrutia-Thompson treaty, Colombian produce and goods transiting the Canal are free from any imposts levied on the same type of United States goods; Colombia troops, war materiel and warships transit toll-free; Colombian citizens crossing the Canal Zone are exempt from any levy to which United States citizens are not subject; Colombian coal, petroleum and salt enroute from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific Coast may be transported on the Panama Railroad, free of charge.

At present, the oil for the industrial centers on the Pacific coast of Colombia is refined in Cartagena, on the Atlantic coast, and transported by naval tankers which transit free.

If Colombia were required to pay tolls on such transits, officials say, industrial costs would increase substantially.

The matter has been kept in strict secrecy to avoid affecting the cordial relations with Panama. But highly qualified sources have quoted President Carlos Lleras as stating that the government will not permit the loss of rights on Panama Canal traffic obtained under an international treaty.

Auburn University Grads To Share Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, recently two graduates of the Veterinary College at Auburn University, Auburn, Ala., which is located in my district, received Albert Schweitzer medals for their outstanding contributions in animal welfare. Dr. Francis J. Mulhern, Deputy Administrator for Regulatory and Control, Agricultural Research Service, and Dr. Earl M. Jones, Senior Staff Veterinarian, Laboratory Animals, ARS, Animal Health Division—U.S. Department of Agriculture, were awarded the medals in recognition of their contribution in implementing the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act—Public Law 89–544. I am pleased to insert an article which appeared in the Birmingham News on November 26, 1967, about these outstanding gentlemen.

Drs. Mulhern and Jones are to be congratulated on their outstanding service as well as contributions in animal welfare. They are indeed career men of the highest type, and I am happy to share with my colleagues this information on these outstanding gentlemen. The article follows:

SCHWEITZER MEDAL—AUBURN UNIVERSITY GRADS TO SHARE HONORS

(By James Free)

WASHINGTON.—Auburn University is to be doubly honored here Monday.

Two graduates of AU's Veterinary College—Dr. Francis J. Mulhern and Dr. Earl M. Jones—will share the 1967 Albert Schweitzer Medal for outstanding contributions to animal welfare.

The late Dr. Schweitzer himself was the recipient of the first award by the Animal Welfare Institute in 1954. Other winners include the late Rachel Carson, author of "Silent Spring"; Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who as a senator the first humane slaughter (for meat animals) bill introduced in Congress, and Ann Cottrell Free, author and journalist (and wife of The News' Washington Correspondent).

TWO WINNERS IN 1966

In 1956, Schweitzer Medal winners were Sen. Warren G. Magnuson and A. S. (Mike) Monroney, who sponsored and fought for the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act.

This year's winners, Dr. Mulhern and Dr. Jones, are honored for their leadership in launching the administration of that Laboratory Animal Act and for their work over the years in preventing animal suffering through eradication of animal diseases.

Dr. Mulhern, 48, is director of the animal health division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture. Dr. Jones, 43, heads the staff that administers the Laboratory Animal Act, which is designed to cut down on petnaping and mistreatment of many animals destined for animal research.

Dr. Mulhern worked as a teenager for a Veterinarian in his native Wilmington, Del., and decided that he wanted a career in this field. He chose Auburn because of its reputation as a veterinary college, and because of the prospects of help in working his way through.

"When I got there," he said, "I discovered that due to the large number of applicants—about a thousand—they were giving priority to residents of Alabama. So I worked for a year in Mobile and in Camden to establish Alabama residency.

"While going through school, I earned my meals at Mrs. Bessie Bailey's boarding house by waiting on tables. At night, I slept in one of the laboratories. I knew it was clean, for one of my jobs was cleaning it." (Mrs. Bailey's son, Wilford Bailey, is vice president of the university.)

HONORED TWICE BY AUBURN

Twice Dr. Mulhern has been honored by AU. In 1955 he received the Phi Zeta Award of the Veterinary College for outstanding achievement in eradication of foot-and-mouth disease. In 1960 Omega Tau Sigma veterinary society cited him for meritorious service.

Dr. Earl M. Jones was born and grew up in Birmingham. He is a one-time route carrier for The Birmingham News and attended Avondale Elementary and Woodlawn High School. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ross S. Jones, have lived since 1930 at 3623 Fifth Avenue South.

"When I was 10 years old I found an abandoned mongrel pup," Jones said. "He was ill, couldn't stand and could hardly breathe. At the time, we had no money to take him to a vet. So the choice was to either put him to sleep or try to nurse him back to health.

"My parents, bless 'em, let me nurse 'Popeye' until he grew well and strong. It took some doing, and from then on I knew I wanted to be a veterinarian."

After a tour of duty in the Army Air Corps in World War II, Jones went to Auburn. "The GI bill helped," Jones said, "but not nearly as much as my wife did. She is Melba Etheredge of Ozark. She was a trained nurse, and when I got through the Veterinary College, I awarded her the GHT degree. That's 'Got Husband Through.'

"I met Melba in Birmingham. She telephoned me, blind as they say, to make a date for a girl friend. It was a double date, but I don't think either of us paid much attention to the one we were supposed to be dating. We got married after we'd known each other six days—after a lot of warnings about marry-in-haste."

Early in his career, Dr. Jones worked for about six months at the veterinarian hospital on First Avenue North in Birmingham that is now known as Alabama Animal Hospital. After several years in several locations with the Agriculture Department, he returned to private practice for several months in 1957 in Pell City, then went back in the federal service for good.

ARDENT ANIMAL DISEASE FIGHTER

He has worked in several highly successful animal disease eradication programs, notably that against the painful screw worm fly infestation. This has kept him on the move, and the Jones' three children were born in as many states: Barabara, 16, in Tennessee; Earl Jr., 14, Georgia, and Margaret, 12, in New Mexico.

In one of his more recent assignments Dr. Jones, as chief veterinarian, headed the Animal Health Division's disease control services staff charged with enforcement of the "28-hour law." This was a federal statute requiring humane handling of livestock being moved interstate by rail and water.

The Laboratory Animal Welfare Act, which Dr. Jones and Dr. Mulhern are largely responsible for administering, authorizes the secretary of agriculture to get and enforce humane standards of care and housing of research animals in scientific institutions prior to actual research and in premises of their animal suppliers and in transit. It went into effect last May 25, and the Animal Welfare Institute reports that already some dealers have spent from $10,000 to $25,000 to build better facilities for animals.

The institute calls this "a dramatic contrast to conditions common prior to enactment of the law, in which food and shelter ranged from inadequate to non-existent and many animals died of disease, starvation and exposure."

President and active leader of the animal welfare institute is Mrs. Christine Stevens. Her husband, Roger L. Stevens, is treasurer. He is also chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts and chairman of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

"Gotterdammerung, 1967"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, certainly we have reached a sad state of affairs in this country when it is reported that the President of the United States has canceled a speaking engagement because of reports that there were plans in the making to confront him with a demonstration that would disrupt the meeting and prevent him from speaking. We are all also familiar with the recent incident which found the Secretary of State in the position of being forced to "sneak" into a hotel by a back entrance, hours before he was scheduled to speak in order to avoid being harassed and—who knows—perhaps being physically abused by a mob of these so-called demonstrators.

These antiwar groups and other protest groups around the country have apparently adopted a policy of "either things are done the way we want or there will be violence, disruption, and general chaos inflicted upon our whole society." This viewpoint is graphically described in an editorial from the Peoria Journal Star, entitled "Gotterdammerung, 1967" and I include the editorial at this point in my remarks:

"GOTTERDAMMERUNG," 1967

We take due notice that a U. of I. professor of petroleum engineering, far from spreading his speciality—oil—on the troubled waters of a demonstration against Dow Chemical company recruiting on campus, has announced that he will resign from the university because some students were expelled.

Specifically, he said, he was resigning in protest against "the direction this university and this country are taking."

He has not yet made it clear whether he also intends to resign from "this country" as well as "this university."

He has a lot of company in people who are beginning to dislike the direction which some folks are taking . . . folk like himself and the expelled students.

These are the folks who say that they want things done their way, and then if this is not done by the democratic process, or by the institutions for reaching such decisions within the democracy, sadly report that they have been given "no alternative" but violence or to try to enforce their views by physical action of one kind or another.

This is a wierd and completely unreasonable point of view, in that it presumes the absurd.

Any cooperative system for an orderly, peaceful and secure society requires some method of resolving disagreements and reaching working decisions.

Any such method, inevitably, results in somebody winning, and somebody losing (or a compromise in which everybody wins something and everybody loses something of his own desire as to what should be done.)

It is absurd to presume that a system, an institution, a university, a board of education, a city administration, or a national administration has failed, and that rights have been violated, unless your ideas are the ones that win in that process.

It is absurd to say that when a disagreement has been put to the process, and decision made, you cannot and must not lose . . . and if you do, your "only alternative" is drastic action!

No system on earth can guarantee that everybody wins every disagreement. Any system worth having provides a way to settle it without violence or physical confrontation.

That is all that is physically, mathematically possible.

When anybody accepts any system, he agrees to abide by its decisions.

He has his hearing, and he plays the game by the rules. He has his chance, but that chance includes the chance to lose as well as win his own way.

This is the only alternative to constant physical contests and violence as the only and proper "last resort" for whoever loses. Since there's always somebody that loses, and this is his right, there then become no decisions except decisions of force.

In such cases, the democratic system—or any other—is a waste of time. We might as well go straight to the headknocking and see who wins!

In short, back to the Dark Ages.

We submit that this is absurd, uncivilized, and places those who advocate such a "method" in the hopeless position of heading down a dead-end road. If they win, and take us all into such a "method"—they lose.

Everybody loses.

This is Hitler's philosophy of "Gotterdammerung"—"If I go, to devil with it, I'll pull the German nation down with me!"

That is arrogance, not tolerance.

It is unbelievable inflation of self.

As to the question of dealing with these disturbances, I am in complete agreement with the sentiment expressed in an editorial written by David Lawrence which appears in the December 4 edition of U.S. News & World Report.

The time is long past for courageous leadership in this area of our national life and I urge the President and the Attorney General to come forward and assure the American people that positive action will be taken to reverse this distressing trend toward a collapse of authority in all parts of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that the text of these two editorials might be included in the working papers of a conference now underway in South Carolina involving the Rev. Martin Luther King and his followers as they are allegedly making plans for a series of "nonviolent" demonstrations to be held next spring in a number of American cities, including Washington, D.C., as their main points of interest.

I include the editorial from U.S. News & World Report in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

IT'S TIME FOR COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP

(By David Lawrence)

It's time to stop passing the buck between the federal and the State governments.

It's time to use the police power of the nation to enforce the laws of the land.

It's time to put an end to the riots, "demonstrations" and violence which are plunging us into anarchy.

It's time to abandon the excuses and political alibis which argue that the outbursts of looting, arson and vandalism in the cities are due to lack of education or conditions of poverty.

We have had poverty for many decades. We have long had inadequate educational facilities for a growing population. But, ostensibly to achieve reforms, irresponsible groups have adopted a guerrilla type of tactic—a rebellion which never would have gone unchecked if it were not for the indifference of our law-enforcement authorities.

It's not merely that the streets of the cities are unsafe because of the boldness of the criminal elements, but that disorders are deliberately planned in the name of political expression and freedom of speech.

Certainly it is true that the maintenance of law and order is primarily the responsibility of the States. But while racial problems have always existed in some areas, they now are being intensified and exploited on a national basis.

Presidents in the past have not been timid about using federal powers to prevent the breakdown of either communications or transportation. They have not hesitated to assist local governments in preserving order.

But today we find the President confronted with a collapse of authority in many parts of the country.

Congress within the last few years has passed a law, under the "interstate commerce" clause of the Constitution, invoking federal authority against a restaurant owner who asserts his right to choose whichever customers he pleases. He now can be punished for interfering with "interstate commerce."

The Federal Government, on the other hand, is not using this power to regulate "interstate commerce" as a means of protecting the people against violence.

Disturbances are rampant. Property damage amounting to millions of dollars has been inflicted and many lives have been lost in riots which were plotted outside as well as inside the State where the "demonstrations" occurred. National organizations were behind several of these tragic episodes. "Target cities" were announced in the press long before the disturbances broke out. More than 100 cities have been the victims of insurrection. Defiance of authority is common on college campuses.

It is, of course, insisted that all this comes under the head of "freedom of speech." But there's a difference between speech-making in arenas or auditoriums or other meeting places and the use of the city streets to champion a cause while actually stirring up trouble.

It's easy enough to quibble about the limits of the federal authority and to say that responsibility for maintenance of order is just a local affair. The Supreme Court has ruled that, while the Constitution grants freedom of speech, this does not take away the power of government to punish trespass on private property and acts of violence.

Why, therefore, doesn't the Department of Justice enforce these principles? It has gathered plenty of evidence of instigated disorders, and some of this is now being revealed in testimony before congressional committees. Why aren't the organizations which fomented the various "demonstrations" exposed to public view and brought to court to answer for the lawlessness they have created by their conspiracies?

Is mobocracy in America to take the place of democracy? Shall we condone injuries to innocent people just because reforms to help the poor or the uneducated haven't yet been fully achieved?

The Constitution, as stated in its Preamble, was established to "insure domestic tranquillity." Also, the Fifth Amendment declares that no person "shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." What further definition of federal authority to deal with crime is needed?

When will the President and the Congress carry out the mandate of the Constitution which the members of both the executive and legislative branches of our Government have taken an oath to preserve, defend and support?

The American people want the anarchy ended. The Federal Government and the States must act together. It's no longer merely a local problem when even the President and his Secretary of State have had to avoid addressing some meetings in person because of a fear that "demonstrations" might interfere with their freedom to speak without interruption. Is this free America?

It's time for courageous leadership.

A Correspondent's View on the Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, last month in an address at Lincoln, Nebr., Bob Considine, the Hearst syndicated columnist and radio-TV news commentator gave what I consider an excellent analysis of the Vietnam situation. The occasion was a homecoming banquet given in honor of the new American Legion National Commander William E. Galbraith, who I am proud to claim as a constituent.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly recommend that my colleagues read the remarks given by Mr. Considine:

ADDRESS BY BOB CONSIDINE, HEARST SYNDICATED COLUMNIST AND RADIO–TV NEWS COMMENTATOR, AT THE HOMECOMING BANQUET HONORING THE AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL COMMANDER, WILLIAM E. GALBRAITH, LINCOLN, NEBR.

Thank you V. J. I wrote a piece here about a year ago. It started out—Ah, to be in Nebraska again now that Indian Summer is here. The Omaha World Herald gave it a wonderful illustration, put it on the front page. Illustrated it with a plate of steaks. It's the first time a steak ever made the front page. After all these years of praise of the Nebraska steak, I finally got it recognized. I have no other claim of fame, but it's trite I suppose and a cliche to say it's wonderful to be here, but it really is.

It gave me a feeling of being at home being a part of this tonight, looking at Jim O'Neil, my old pal from New York. I'm glad Miss Anderson finally got around to Eastside Westside, Jim, but I was giving her the whammie. Don Johnson, a former Commander, I didn't know Don was from over in Iowa, West Branch. I went to West Branch on Herbert Hoover's birthday.

It was a wonderful day really. He was kind enough to invite me to ride back to New York with him in Pat Patterson's plane, an executive model convair, and there this great old man sat with a blanket around him, it was kind of chilly on the plane. August 10th was his birthday, and his secretary was reading marvelous letters and telegrams of congratulations. Many of them were from former enemies, and political figures who had excoriated pilloried this fine old man from many a political lectern, so I asked him, I said, "Mr. President, do you have any bitterness over the way you were kicked around for 15 years or so?" And he said, "No I have no bitterness."

I had the honor to sit between the Galbraiths, and walk into this hall with them. Of all the years that I have been around this sort of banquet circuit, I've never seen such warmth for a couple when you two walked in the room and threaded your way to the first course here. It was a very touching and very wonderful thing. Marvelous to have generated such respect Bill, and you dear.

Bill's fresh back from Vietnam. I was there about a month ago, and he knows more about it than I ever will. In reading the Omaha World Herald today, I was impressed with one thing particularly. In an interesting interview with Bill, Bill mentioned a word you seldom hear anymore. I haven't heard it for a long, long time, and that's the word winnnig. We're winning this lousy war. It doesn't seem to get on the air, and it certainly doesn't get into most of the papers I read. This is a strange cynicism and semicontempt among many of my colleagues and foreign correspondents about this whole war.

They never get around to the fact that we're winning. We're winning with the greatest troops ever to wear the uniform of this country. The highest morale imaginable.

They don't give a damn about the card burning and the Fulbright speeches, and the hippies and the card burners, and the protest marchers. They're over there to do a job and they're doing it. I had a chance to talk with General Westmoreland, and some of his officers, and they were very frank in laying out the facts to me, as they did to Bill, and it's so conclusive that we are making headway.

It's not encirclement of the Ruhr; it's not a march on Berlin; or capturing Rome, or crossing the Rhine, or the Remagen Bridge. It's a totally different kind of ball game, and we have to look at it as if we're learning the rules of a whole new sport.

We're winning inch by inch by inch, and it doesn't show up in the way of sensational new headlines, but it's progress all the time.

In the bombardment of the North, we destroyed 50% of all railroads and railroad trackage; 55% of all their ability to repair busted railroad equipment. We've destroyed 5,000 trucks and 5,000 ships.

The United States Navy has put an embargo, put a blockade around South Vietnam that absolutely prohibits their running anymore ammunition in there. Our men in the Central Lowlands and in the Highlands have done such a job on the Viet Cong that many units of Viet Cong in the hills are facing starvation. They have had to buy their rice from wicked Chinese rice merchants in Cambodia with most uncertain deliveries.

Recruitment of the Viet Cong have fallen to 3,000 a month from 7,500. Infiltration from the North is about the same. We're killing about 13,000 of the enemy every month. As of August 31st there have been 22,000 defections. We're winning, and we somehow can't seem to get it in the paper.

I think President Eisenhower said something yesterday, on the eve of his birthday, and that is that there are so many damn experts second guessing this war if Red Schoendiest had that many backseat drivers he would have lost 4–0 to the Red Sox. Everybody's an expert in this damn war. Everybody knows more about it than Bill Westmoreland, and he's one of the greatest soldiers of our time. He's one of the best Generals I've met since MacArthur.

I think we've been unkind to the South Vietnamese. I think the average American figures these are a bunch of no good jerks, who won't fight, who run. As a matter of fact, they are darn good soldiers. They're still losing more people than we are, and God knows that's tough. They don't have the equipment as good; they don't have leadership as good as ours; they don't have our one year service rule; they don't have our five days rest and relaxation in some of the gayer capitals of that part of the world; and, they have about one-tenth of the salary of our people. They have been at war since they were born, most of them, and yet they get in there and fight and they die. They're not dying for nothing, they're dying for their liberty. They're dying to be free. If we pulled out of there we would say to 40 nations of the world, with whom we have mutual defense pacts, we're your pals until you get in trouble, and then we are going to quit on you. If we pulled out of there, we'd spit on the graves of 13,000 dead Americans who fought there and believed in what they were fighting for.

It's a difficult, tedious and treacherous type of war. There's no thought of pulling out, of course. There's no thought of dropping the big bomb. It's not a war that could be won with the dropping of an H-bomb, or a hundred H-bombs. We could dig a big hole and we could make a lake out of North Vietnam, and yet the trouble would exist. The trouble would remain, it would seep around the edges of the lake. It would start once more for that rich rice bowl which the Communists are out to get.

I think we should give the newly elected President and Vice President of South Vietnam a little time. We give our own Presidents and Vice Presidents a little time to feel their way and get along. But, to say that the elections were crooked, per se, is a terrible thing to say. It's a terrible responsibility to take upon ourselves as so many of our editorialists did.

Senator Robert Kennedy, my Senator in New York, said this is going to be crooked. This was two weeks before it happened. My other Senator, Senator Jake Javits, said let's hold it off for a month to see that it's honest, or something like that.

I saw, naturally I didn't see all of it, but I was there during the time of the election, and it looked like any election that we've ever gone through. Except, perhaps, the voters were a bit braver than even we. In order to vote in South Vietnam this past September 3rd, a man had to take a chance on his life; that of his wife and his children. Particularly in the hamlets and the smaller cities. They were distinctly told by the Viet Cong that if they voted they had better not come back from the polls because there might not be a house or a family when they got back.

And yet, 83% of the people of the eligible voters turned out and voted. A lot of guts, and so many of us said it was going to be crooked.

I hope that there's some way when this thing is over, assuming that it will be over, that the whole world, particularly the Communist world, will know that we've won.

We lost 35,000 men in Korea; 100,000 casualties; much treasure, and we wound up at the 38th Parallel. Exactly where the whole thing had started.

I was there last December, and the arrogance, the hatred, and the manner and posture of the North Koreans gives every indication that they won. They held the heavy weight champion of the world to a draw. And, that's a victory in the Asiatic's eye.

They goosestepped the Honor Guard there at Panmunjom. Goosestep occasionally up to the little shack where we have our monthly meetings, and spit on the window panes. Like crazy kids, and then goosestep away with big smiles. They held the United States, the great white father, to a draw.

There was never any confusion in the minds of the Germans, the Italians, or the Japanese that we won. I hope there isn't in the minds of the North Vietnamese.

Living in New York I hear probably more the antifeeling, the antiwar feeling, damn the policy feeling, than perhaps some of you all who live in this area. It's a pleasure and an inspiration to be with people who believe we have some purpose in life. That we are as good as our word; as good as our pacts, and have the courage and charity to reach out our strong hand to help a weak ally. I've been living on smog for a long time in New York—it's nice to breath the fresh free air of Americanism.

Congratulations Bill and God Bless!

Native Kansan Nurtures Political Roots in Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, in my section of Kansas, we hold the gentleman from Arizona, the Honorable JOHN RHODES, in as high esteem as do his own constituents. An article in the Wichita, Kans., Eagle-and-Beacon for Sunday, November 26, tells why.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert this article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

NATIVE KANSAN NURTURES POLITICAL ROOTS IN ARIZONA

WASHINGTON.—The young ROTC lieutenant from the Middle West had just graduated from Harvard Law School and was assigned to an air base in the Arizona desert.

John J. Rhodes, a native of Council Grove, Kans., had high hopes it would be a temporary assignment and a stepping stone to overseas service.

The assignment to Williams Air Force Base, about 27 miles from Phoenix, lasted four years and nine months. And the move to Arizona proved to be a permanent one for the young lieutenant, now Rep. John J. Rhodes, a Republican who has represented Arizona's 1st Congressional District since 1953.

Rhodes, whose short-cropped hair helps him to look much younger than his 51 years, is dean of Arizona's three-man delegation in the House. He has climbed in the party hierarchy and now is considered one of the top GOP leaders in the 90th Congress.

From his spot as chairmana of the influential 28-man Republican Policy Committee, Rhodes is instrumental in shaping official Republican policy positions on various legislation, His group, in effect, is the voice of the Republican congressional delegation.

The Kansas native, who now lives in Mesa, a suburb of Phoenix, meets at least three times a week with Rep. Gerald Ford of Michigan, minority leader, and Rep. Leslie Arends of Illinois, Republican whip, to discuss party positions. In addition, his committee, which includes Arends and Rep. William Springer of Illinois, meets once a week.

"The secret is to gain a consensus and then try to articulate it," explained Rhodes in an interview. "Occassionally, the committee doesn't agree with the leadership on a particular issue, and then we don't issue a position paper at all.

Rhodes was elected chairman of the Policy Committee in 1965.

He was vice chairman of the policy group before that, serving under Rep. John Byrnes of Wisconsin.

Rhodes was Barry Goldwater's representative on the platform committee during the 1965 Republican convention, which nominated Goldwater for the presidency. He and Goldwater have been good friends since 1950, when Rhodes made his first attempt at public office and was defeated in his quest for Arizona attorney general.

During that campaign, Goldwater was campaign manager for Howard Pyle, who was elected governor and was the only Republican to win a state post that year.

Two years later, Rhodes ran for Congress and Goldwater ran for the Senate. Both were elected.

Their philosophies are similar, said Rhodes. "We're both devoted to the free enterprise system and feel the government should do only what people can't do for themselves," he said.

While the work on the Policy Committee takes much of his time, Rhodes spends about two-thirds of his time during the first six months of each session on work connected with his spot on the prestigious House Appropriations Committee.

He is the sixth-ranking Republican, among 21, on the committee and is the ranking Republican member of the Public Works subcommittee.

Rhodes loves Arizona as though he were a native. He brought his high school sweetheart, the former Mary Elizabeth Harvey, there after they were married in 1942. Although he sought overseas assignments during the war, he remained at Williams Air Base and was discharged as a lieutenant colonel in 1945. Later he was a colonel in the Arizona National Guard.

He passed the Arizona bar examination while in the Air Force and on his release set up a general law practice in Mesa, which he maintained until his election to Congress.

The Rhodes have four children. Two are students at the University of Arizona.

Rhodes got his first taste of politics when, as a student at Kansas State University, he managed his father's campaign for state treasurer. His father, the late J. J. Rhodes, served two terms as state treasurer under Gov. Alf Landon, who later ran for president.

Rhodes denies having ambitions outside the House. He scoffs at talk of his being nominated for vice president and he says there will be no openings in the Senate after Goldwater is elected in 1968. The state's other senator, Sen. Paul Fannin, is a Republican.

Social Security Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

(Mr. BURTON of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, during the closing minutes of the consideration of the Social Security Amendments of 1967, the proceedings of the other body will indicate that the Governor of California urged, and without debate there was accepted, an amendment to the social security amendment that, if adopted in the conference, will result in 400,000 Californians who are aged, blind, or crippled not receiving 1 penny of increase as a result of the action of this Congress with reference to improvements in the social security bill.

This action of the Governor of California is unconscionable. He is making an effort to rob California's neediest citizens in some lamentable effort to beef up the California State treasury.

I would hope that the conferees on this side would reject this amendment. It is an amendment that applies uniquely and exclusively to the State of California, and I would hope that we would not permit the aged, the blind, and the crippled of our State to be denied the pittance of an increase that is proposed in the bill because of the fiscal needs of the Republican Governor of our State.

Mail Still Cheap at New Price

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, pending legislation to adjust postal rates has brought vivid recollections of earlier days of rural free delivery—RFD—to columnist Ralph McGill.

> There is romance, no doubt, in much of today's mail—

Said Mr. McGill.

> But to a boy in the country years ago, the RFD mail was excitement, recreation and romance.

With permission, I include the article by Mr. McGill as published in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star on November 28:

(By Ralph McGill)

The Senate soon will enact a bill that will set the cost of an air mail stamp at 10¢ and a regular letter stamp at 6¢. This will be a ridiculously cheap price if one considers all that goes into the transportation of mail and the many hands which touch it, directly or indirectly. Soon all mail will go by air.

There is romance, no doubt, in much of today's mail. But to a boy in the country years ago, the RFD mail was excitement, recreation and romance.

There was the weather-stained old white oak post and the metal box, dulled with rain and winter sleets, where a boy waited.

In summer, honeysuckle grew about the post and bees hunted honey from the blossoms. You could put a cheek against the box, or your forehead, and it wolud be a cool, clean feeling. You remember its coolness, seeing it in winter with snow covering one side of it, or ice frozen on the leafless vines.

The mail came late in the afternoon. In winter this was always that mysterious time of day when the light seemed to be waiting, standing at the door of night, leaving a glow that was not yet dusk.

Far down the road, in this light, the mailman was coming. He and his horse and buggy were a dark, moving mass that slowly took on identity and became horse, man and vehicle. As it came on one could see the mud rope off the wheels and hear the gritty, light grinding sound of the wheels in the ruts.

In summer it was different. Then you could run toward that dark mass far down the road, see it separate itself into its parts of man and buggy and horse. It was possible to ride back to the mailbox, with one's feet by the old saddlebags that dated to the time the mail was delivered from horseback.

Always there was the agony of waiting and of doubt.

Would there be any mail for the house in that mysterious and exciting collection of letters, magazines and newspapers in saddlebags?

Every week, of course, on a well known day, "Grit" came. Its ads were more exciting then than a bazaar in some town in the Orient was to be years later. There were opportunities to get a magic lantern, a camera, a spyglass—all wonders. All things one normally would ask for if given Alladin's lamp to rub and wish. When the magic lantern came it smelled loudly of its alcohol lamp and the heat of it made the paint give off an acrid hot smell that would remain in the memory forever. Its glass slides and painted figures thrown on a screen were more magic than the present wonders of Hollywood or television. The magic lantern was well named.

"Grit" came. But would there be any mail? Would the far-off aunt write from Texas? Had the baby lived or died? What was the news? The letters would be opened and read in the kitchen in winter, on the front porch in summer, so that news always seemed to be associated with the smell of bread and cooking vegetables or with warm sun and the smell of green vines and the fields.

The mail—the rural free delivery—the RFD—the mailman—before telephone and radio, were the great link with the world. It brought the news. It brought news of aunts and uncles and cousins. It brought good news and bad news. In summer when the mailman had passed and gone you could see men and women standing by their boves reading their weekly papers, getting the news. In winter they hurried in by the kitchen stove to read the news from paper or from letter.

And later, at the crossroads store, or a neighbor's, there would be talk of what had come in the mail. The world came to the back rural farms in an old buggy. It was not delivered to the door in the morning and afternoon newspaper. It did not leap out at one every hour on the hour, from a radio box. Nor did it come to one from the lips of some man or woman speaking learnedly or with a frentic frenzy from a television screen.

There is still anticipation in mail . . . and sometimes joy and sorrow. It is not like RFD. But it will still be cheap at the new price.

Fifteenth Annual Christmas Greens Exhibition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the advent of our holiday season is being beautifully portrayed at the Botanic Gardens this week in the 15th annual Christmas greens exhibition which is presented as a gift to the city of Washington from the more than 130 federated garden clubs and plant societies in the metropolitan area. The handsome and striking displays which line the hallways and exhibition rooms represent the efforts of more than 5,000 dedicated citizens of the greater Washington area.

Mrs. Clyde E. Romig, president of the National Capital Area Federation of Garden Clubs and a member of the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, appropriately set the theme for the 1967 exhibition as "Christmas in Our Capital."

This is a rare opportunity for everyone who has the occasion to live, work, or visit on Capitol Hill to enjoy the rare beauty which is shown in a collective array of wreaths and swags along with arrangements for hearths, mantels, altars, and tables.

Of special interest to the very young are replicas of store window displays. There are even special Christmas arrangements which the blind may touch, smell, taste, and hear. The scenes capture the beauty of many traditional Washington locales.

I am especially grateful to the women who continue year after year to bring this spirit of Christmas to us in such a beautiful fashion, and I urge everyone to imbibe of this spirit this week.

The exhibition will be open through December 3, with viewing hours on Friday and Saturday from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., and on Sunday from 9 a.m. to 3:45 p.m. It is a most pleasant way to start the Christmas season.

The 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the U.S.S.R., on November 7, celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, which seized control of the democratic government to establish a Communist brand of government.

This brand of government gave the Russians 50 years of religious persecution and denial of private rights, free initiative, and freedom of labor. These past 50 years of Communist rule brought shortages of food, clothing, housing; 50 years of torture, suffering and death in prisons and concentration camps for millions of citizens. For the past 50 years the Russians have lived under a gang of godless self-styled rulers, who established a Communist dictatorship against the will of the people.

In connection with this anniversary, the Assembly of Captive European Nations has issued a declaration which was adopted at the meeting of the plenary assembly held in New York on November 4, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, because of our continued battle against communism, I feel that my colleagues should have the benefit of the gist of the European captive nations resolution, and I include it as part of my remarks, as follows:

Declaration by the Assembly of Captive European Nations, on the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Adopted at the Meeting of the Plenary Assembly Held in New York City on November 4, 1967

I

On November 7, 1917, a small group of Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky seized control of the Russian State from the democratic Provisional Government set up eight months earlier. This event set into motion forces which have shaken the world and kept it in turmoil to this day. The Bolshevik Revolution provided a base of operations for spreading an ideology, which is the official creed of oppressive regimes ruling over one-third of the world's population.

In Russia, before Lenin's death in 1924, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" had evolved into a dictatorship of the Communist Party leadership. Non-Communist parties were suppressed and any opposition to the Party line became a punishable offense. The same pattern, has since been applied in any state or territory that has fallen under Communist domination, where small minorities imposed by force came to power. The Communists enforced Russian supremacy over the non Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. The attempts of peoples long enslaved by Tsarist Russia to attain freedom and work out their own destiny were mercilessly crushed.

The Soviet-Nazi Pact of 1939 paved the way for Hitler's attack on Poland which started the Second World War. The Pact extended Soviet influence to the Baltic States, and the USSR promptly availed itself of this new latitude in 1940 by forcibly annexing Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Soviet Communist imperialism was on the march and made a thrust into East-Central Europe.

The Soviet Union emerged from World War II with its armed forces in command of all the strategic positions from the Balkans to the Elbe. Lassitude among the Western allies and the prevalent desire to avoid antagonizing the Russians left the Soviets a clear field for action during the crucial postwar years. The Soviets reoccupied Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and directly or indirectly foisted Communist regimes on Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and East Germany.

Moreover, the Soviets had annexed territories totaling 146,000 square miles belonging to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania, and by 1953, the Communist rule had extended to China, Tibet, Mongolia, and North Korea. North Vietnam's turn came the following year, and that of Cuba six years later.

Until the death of Stalin in March 1953, the monolithic aspect of the Communist orbit was disturbed only by the defection of Yugoslavia in 1948, while the other countries were under strict Soviet control. There was continued resistance to Soviet rule: guerilla warfare in the Baltic States, underground fighting in Poland, workers' strikes and riots such as in Pilsen and Poznan.

It was the fateful year of 1956 which, in addition to Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech, also witnessed the Polish October and the Hungarian Revolution that shook the Communist regimes. Since 1956 a number of ameliorative measures have taken place in Communist-dominated Eastern Europe under the pressure of popular discontent and the terror of Stalin's day has assumed a more refined form.

These changes, however, have not been substantive. Fundamental human rights are violated or denied. The people have no voice in government. Freedom of speech and of the press is nonexistent; freedom of worship and conscience severely restricted. Trade unions protect the regime's interests at the expense of the worker. Forced collectivization has deprived the farmer of his dignity and individuality.

II

After analyzing the record of fifty years of Communism, the Assembly of Captive European Nations lays the blame and responsibility upon the architects and heirs of the Bolshevik revolution for the following conditions in the captive countries of East-Central Europe:

1. *Terror.*—The Communist carried out in cold blood deliberately calculated destruction not only of enemies, but of potential opponents or elements unwanted in their system. The Soviets have applied genocide and intensive Russification in order to change the ethnic composition of annexed territories. Communism from 1917 to 1967 has been directly responsible for millions of deaths through armed aggression, starvation, "liquidation of kulaks and bourgeoisie," purges and the very high mortality rates in forced labor camps. The Communist regimes spawned gigantic organs of surveillance, punishment, censorship and intimidation. The individual has no protection against the all-powerful and arbitrary police state.

2. *Thought control.*—The Communist regimes have tried to seal off their countries from foreign printed matter and radio. They parcel out information through absolute control of news and ideas. Censorship guards against the leakage of forbidden ideas through the press, books, on the stage and screen and on the air, in school rooms and lecture halls. Never before in history has there been such a massive enterprise in shaping and regimenting the thought of whole nations.

Some people have broken under this psychological strain, others have bowed meekly or paid lip-service. Yet, the overwhelming majority resisted Communist propaganda. The indoctrination of youth was a complete failure. Now more than ever before in the fifty years the writers, students and intellectuals rise to criticize and even to protest the methods of the Communist regimes.

3. *The political oppression.*—The self-perpetuating bureaucratic oligarchies exercise absolute power over the small ruling parties and through them over the rest of the citizenry.

Soviet Communism and its models in East-Central Europe have stamped out free speech, press, and assembly. "Elections" are limited to a single list of names, drawn up by the Party or by organizations under Party control. The citizen has no semblance of any role in government, in law-making and decision-making.

4. *Economic exploitation.*—In the economic field, the Communist regimes have unswervingly adhered, and still adhere, to a policy of strong preferential treatment of heavy industry and of boosting the power sector of the economy at the expense of consumer goods production. This policy, coupled with a waste of resources characteristic of the Communist economic system, has resulted in a failure to secure a proper growth of the real income of the population.

The burden on the peoples of East-Central Europe is aggravated by extortion of illegitimate profits for the benefit of the Soviet Union through price discrimination in trade, and by granting of credits by the satellite regimes for the development of Soviet basic industries.

5. *The moral cynicism.*—The humanitarian principles of Western Civilization have been rejected by the Communists in their vain attempt to reconstruct human nature in the pattern of their philosophy of historical materialism. A deep immoralism has marked Communist ethics from the start. It has turned the person into an object, a bloodless statistic. Solemn promises and treaties trodden underfoot, flagrant interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, unlawful seizure of power—all these are part of a record the protagonists of the Bolshevik Revolution and their heirs have added to the history of mankind.

III

In an era when old-style colonialism has been virtually ended, Communist imperialism has emerged as the largest colonial system in existence. There is hardly a major crisis anywhere from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean, from Africa to the Middle East, in which the expansionist ambitions of Moscow are not involved. The Communist drive for world domination creates international tension and keeps alive the fear of nuclear war. This drive has resulted in the division of countries and continents.

When measured by its costs in life suffering and moral depravity the fifty years of communism is demonstrably the most tragic failure on this scale in all history.

The Assembly of Captive European Nations, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, reiterates its firm belief that only complete national independence, personal, political and religious freedom is the answer to the hopes and aspirations of the people of East-Central Europe, who will never accept Communist domination.

The Assembly therefore condemns the Communist totalitarian system, which has shackled the nine nations of East-Central Europe as a consequence of Communist aggression.

1. The Assembly profoundly believes that the restoration of freedom and independence to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania, is a prerequisite for establishing a durable peace in Europe.

2. This can be only achieved by:

(a) Putting an end to interference by the Soviet Union in the internal and external affairs of the East-Central European countries;

(b) Withdrawing Soviet troops and bases and agents from the territories of the captive nations;

(c) Re-establishing democratic institutions through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people.

On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution the Assembly of Captive European Nations pays tribute to the everlasting memory of the countless victims of Communist tyranny: to those who fell before firing squads; to those who died in prisons; to those who perished in forced labor camps and to the victims of mass deportations. The Assembly rededicates itself to the restoration of independence and freedom for which so many have given their lives in East-Central Europe. Peace with justice and freedom for all Europeans shall prevail.

Door to Door in Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, one of the most familiar and beloved groups of people in the Nation is our neighborhood letter carrier. Postal Life, the Post Office Department's fine employee magazine, saluted all the Nation's letter carriers recently with an article about a typical day in the working life of Brooklyn Mailman Barney Corso. Postal Life could not have chosen a finer community or a better public servant for its story. As a tribute to the more than 180,000 letter carriers who deliver the mail in more than 6,100 American cities and towns each day, I insert the Postal Life article in the RECORD, as follows:

DOOR TO DOOR IN BROOKLYN

"It never rains on a Brooklyn letter carrier," Barney Corso said, as the rain pounded relentlessly on the roof of the Brooklyn, N.Y., General Post Office. "It either quits before we leave the building, or we walk between the drops."

Then, just in case the gods left Brooklyn to its own devices, he stuffed a raincoat into his mail satchel.

It was 9 o'clock in the morning when Barney stepped out of the post office and headed toward the Pierrepont Street leg of his mail delivery route. The rain quit just as he hit the pavement.

Barney Corso's day had begun at 4:45 a.m., when he climbed out of bed, shaved, showered and dressed, taking care not to awaken his wife, Josephine, or his three daughters, Jeanette, Connie and Lenora.

"I'm lucky," he said. "I don't have to get up too early. I live close in, near the post office. And I've got a one-trip route. Some of these guys have multiple trip routes and live way out. They have to report at 5 a.m. That means they've got to get up at 3 or 3:30 in the morning to get to work on time."

Barney, a career letter carrier, is one of America's most familiar figures. In Brooklyn, he and 2,600 others like him render two and a half million persons the unique and indispensible service of hand-to-hand communication. In 6,100 cities and towns throughout the United States, more than 180,000 letter carriers serve 115,000 routes, making nearly 54 million stops each day.

Mail delivery is perhaps the nation's most comprehensive personal service. It is available to anyone with a door stoop or a mailing address, and it is a daily part of the lives of countless millions of persons. To each patron, mail has its own importance: business correspondence, a Social Security check, news from home or any of the other good things that come in the mail.

Every day there are householders in the doorways, glancing down the block, awaiting the arrival of one of the best known individuals in the neighborhood. With Barney Corso and his thousands of fellow carriers rests much of the responsibility for the efficiency and success of the delivery service.

Barney is checked in by his supervisor, Harry Ratner, as he "hits the clock" at the Brooklyn General Post Office. Ratner's immediate concern is how many carriers are out on sick leave, what kind of a carrier force he has on duty. Attendance on this particular day is above normal, and Supervisor Ratner is happy.

Corso swigs a fast cup of coffee, then begins sweeping his primary case and the route 16 box in the "dunderhead"—a semi-circle of metal cases in which clerks rack up small parcels. The clerks toss the parcels into open bins on one side of the dunderhead and the carriers remove them through individual doors on the other side.

Within three hours, Barney has sorted, cased and sacked some 3,900 pieces of mail which he will deliver between 9 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. to the residents of Pierrepont and Willow Streets.

"I have what they call a heavy route," Barney says. "My mail count will run 800 to 900 pieces above the typical Brooklyn residential route."

It has been said a letter carrier must commit to memory 6,000 separate items of information to serve a route in Brooklyn.

"I can believe it," Barney Corso says. "For example, at any given time, 50 people on my route will be away from the city. Some of them want no mail while they're away. Some want only first class mail. Some want their first class mail forwarded, but second and third class delivered to their homes. Some are expecting checks or other important mail which they want handled in a particular way. I must remember all of this while I'm casing my mail and when I'm making delivery."

His buldging satchel loaded on a three-wheeled mail cart (adapted from the caddy carts used on golf courses), Corso leaves the post office, goes south to the next corner, then turns west on Pierrepont Street.

Barney's route consists primarily of multiple-family dwellings—sky-high apartment buildings—along Pierrepont Street and large brick row-houses on Willow.

"Most of my people are actresses, actors, writers, professors, Wall Street tycoons, lawyers, bankers and retirees," he explains. "Norman Mailer (author of *The Naked and The Dead*) is on my route. Arthur Miller used to live on this route, but he's gone now."

The first stop on Barney's route is a medical building, where he leaves several letters in individual looby lockboxes.

As he walks up the steps of a next-door apartment house, an attractive blonde, who had just left the building, turns, pauses, then goes back up the steps to join the mail carrier at the door.

She waits expectantly as Barney flips through the mail for 81 Pierrepont, and smiles appreciatively as he hands her a letter. Not a word is exchanged.

As Barney leaves the building, he stops briefly to chat with Mrs. Palmer Webber, antique shop operator, who is out walking her dog, "Goldfinger."

Goldfinger is a monster of a dog, who looks as though he could tear a mailman's leg off with one bite.

The carrier reaches down and pats Goldfinger on the head and the dog wags his tail in friendly appreciation.

There are many dogs on Barney Corso's route, but he has no trouble with any of them.

"That's what I like about this neighborhood," he said, "the dogs are quiet. They never chase you. Some of them have better manners than people!"

As he spoke, Mrs. Gordon Bradford approached with her dog, Gray Gordon McCracken.

"We call him Schultze, for short," Mrs. Bradford said. "He's the terror of the neighborhood!"

Schultze looks about as dangerous as a two-week-old kitten.

At 75 Pierrepont, Corso lifts a key ring from his belt, pushes a doorbell button, then inserts a key in the lock and opens the door.

"Many of these apartment buildings are locked all the time," Barney says. "In some cases, the superintendents provide us with keys, so we can get in to deliver the mail without disturbing the tenants. It's convenient for us and it helps them."

As the door to 75 Pierrepont swings open, a cherry feminine voice rings out from somewhere upstairs, "Good morning. Who is it?"

"Postman!" Barney responds, "Registered letter for you, Mrs. Awad."

Mrs. Alice Awad comes down the steps to the lobby, where Barney is depositing mail in the various lockboxes.

"Looks important," the carrier says, as he hands Mrs. Awad the registered letter, a pencil and a receipt to sign.

"From my nephew," she says as she signs the form.

Philip Dunn, a retired businessman, comes out of his first floor apartment to receive a batch of first and third class mail from the postman as Mrs. Dunn calls out, "Is that you, Barney?"

"Yes, Mrs. Dunn," Barney answers, and she asks, "Is it still raining?"

"No, it's stopped."

Barney pulls his first relay box at the intersection of Pierrepont Street and Pierrepont Place, removing mail that he had sacked before leaving the post office, and which had been trucked out ahead of him to await his arrival at this corner.

As he reloads his satchel, another letter carrier calls to him from across the street and Barney waves a friendly greeting.

"That's my brother, William," he says. "He delivers on the south side of Pierrepont Street and I deliver on the north side. He taught me just about everything I had to know to be a carrier."

William has 29 years of service as a postal employee; Barney is going on his 20th year, the last six of which he has served Route 16. He is a long-time member of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

"Smile, Barney," William yells. "You're on Candid Camera!"

Number 1 Pierrepont is the last stop on this part of Barney's route. It overlooks the Brooklyn Narrows Promenade "where the Hudson and East Rivers meet to form New York Harbor and the Atlantic Ocean."

The Manhattan skyline rises majestically across the water. Huge ships steam out past the Statue of Liberty toward the open sea.

As Barney prepares to reverse his steps, east again on Pierrepont to Willow Street, a motorist with a thick German accent pulls over to the curb to ask the Postman how to get to the 36th Street docks. Barney leans into the car window to direct the motorist, overcoming the language barrier with waving arm and pointing finger.

Having satisfied the lost motorists, Barney moved east on Pierrepont to Willow, turned north, and began delivering mail on the east side of the tree-lined street.

The first block boasts several red brick row houses which, a brass plaque says, are fine examples of 19th century Federalist architecture.

When he reaches mid-block, Barney pauses in front of a tall building, removes his cap, wipes his forehead with a handkerchief and says, "We're going to be in here awhile. There are 114 families in this building and I've got to box the mail for all of them."

As he is stuffing the lockboxes, an elderly woman calls out from the other end of the hall, "Anything for me, Barney?" "Yes, dear," Corso replies. "Stay there. I'll bring it to you."

This is one of many reasons why the people on Route 16 are fond of Barney Corso. "He's always so courteous, and he goes out of his way to be kind to the old folks," a greyhaired woman said.

"People help me, too," Barney replies.

Another woman stops to tell Barney she has some books for him, which he can pick up at her apartment house.

"That's Mrs. O'Sullivan," Barney says. "She and I both like murder mysteries. Mrs. O'Sullivan saves them up for me and leaves them with the doorman."

Barney crosses over and starts back south on Willow Street, hitting the even-numbered addresses.

A maid signs for a registered letter at 116 Willow. "Put it in a safe place, now," Barney cautions the maid. "It's important."

Rose Telemacaque leans out of a window at 138 Willow to ask if there's anything from her relatives in Jamaica.

Finally, Barney is back at the intersection of Willow and Pierrepont.

"That's it," he says.

He has completed his route for the day. But that doesn't mean he has completed his day's work.

He will return to the post office now, turn in his registry receipts and keys "before I forget them," have lunch in the employees' cafeteria, relax briefly with a cigarette, then begin preparing for tomorrow.

He will do more or less the same thing this afternoon that he did this morning—sweep his primary cases and the "dunderhead"; case the mail that has come in since he left the post office earlier in the day; note "removal" cards—instructions for the disposition of mail for people who have moved or gone on vacation—in his Removal Book.

At 1:45 p.m. he will punch out on the time clock and head for his home in Ridgewood.

"By 3 p.m. I can hardly hold my eyes open," he comments, with a grin.

As the carrier re-enters the Brooklyn General Post Office and heads onto the workroom floor he passes under a transom which bears the inscription:

"Through these portals pass the most wonderful people in the world."

That's pretty much how the people on Route 16 feel about 45-year-old Barney Corso.

Kings County Democratic Party Wages War on Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of the most urgent problems in the Nation today is crime. The Democratic Party has been in the forefront of the fight against crime both at the local and national level. The Kings County Democratic Party, under the outstanding leadership of Stanley Steingut, chairman of the executive committee, Meade H. Esposito, chairman of the community services division, Ken Auletta, executive director of the community services division, and Barbara Heyman, recently invited a distinguished cross section of citizens to serve on a Citizens' Strike on Crime Committee to explore and recommend to the Democratic Party a crime prevention and control program for the citizen-volunteer. The result of their study is a significant contribution to the fight against crime, and I include the text of their study for the benefit of my colleagues:

CITIZENS' STRIKE ON CRIME COMMITTEE REPORT, SEPTEMBER 1967

Few issues arouse more public concern and less public diligence than crime. The *President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice* recently reported that crime was the second most pressing domestic issue on the public's mind. A 1966 Louis Harris survey found that each year the number of persons expressing concern for their personal safety grows. One-third of all Americans are said to feel unsafe walking alone at night in their own neighborhood. Some large cities report that 43% of their residents "say they stay off the streets at night because of their fear of crime."

New York City taxi drivers place protective glass in their cabs to shield themselves from their passengers, people bolt and imprison themselves in their own homes, shopkeepers purchase iron fences and private police protection, gun sales grow menacingly, libraries go unused at night, parents fear to attend PTA meetings, suspicion replaces trust as people compulsively fear "strangers." A sense of community is replaced by a sense of fear.

And the loss is incalculable. Democracy is predicated on the assumption that man is a reasonable being; on mutual trust, not fear. People trust their laws, their institutions, the good intentions of their elected officials, their fellow citizens. Certain values are held in common; there is general agreement on what is permissible and what is not. But with fear and irrationality replacing trust and reason, the social order, and thus democracy's delicate balance between individual rights and individual responsibilities, between liberty and order, is threatened.

We become a nation of onlookers—morally neutral. Warily we watch strangers, we watch and enjoy television violence and lurid newspaper headlines, we watch Kitty Genovese as she is brutally murdered. We wait to be entertained, or we allow observance to replace involvement.

In a nation where Big government and Big business and Big institutions and Big problems dwarf men, the individual at first despairs, then docilely accepts, that he can do little. A sense of helplessness replaces a sense of responsibility.

Thus the burning issue of crime threatens the basic fabric of our society—threatens what is called the "public morality." As the President's Commission stated in their *Task Force Report, Crime and It's Impact—an Assessment,* "the costs of the fear of crime to the social order may ultimately be even greater than its psychological or economic costs to the individuals."

Though the figures are in dispute, there is no question that crime is a major problem in America. Last year, the FBI reports there were nearly 325,000 serious crimes. The President's Commission reported that approximately 40% of all American males will be arrested for a non-traffic offense during their lifetime. New York City ranks second in the nation in the number of crime complaints per each 100,000 people. Criminal homicides in Kings County were approximately 20% higher in the first three months of 1967 than the previous year.

Yet we know that crime is the product of failure. The failure of American institutions, the family, the government, the school, the church, the community, the political party—to meet the needs of the people. The failure of people who care too little for themselves, or for their neighbor.

To halt the growth of crime requires a renewed dedication by people and their institutions. This report is an attempt by one insitution, the Kings County Democratic party, to be more relevant to the problems of our times. It represents, we trust, a recognition that the function of a responsible political party is not to capitalize on the inflated fears of its public, but to educate and to lead. For the responsible political party is a social service organization, not as anachronism of primary and election days.

The chief thesis of this report is that there is a new role—for the political party as for the citizen—to perform in the area of crime prevention and control. It is designed to recommend an *immediate* program of citizen participation to control crime. The long-range—and more important—program of crime prevention awaits the education and new policies of our people and institutions. To this end, responsible public officials must make a major contribution.

What, then, can the citizen do? First, we must recognize that the cry for more police is not the answer to rising crime. Our dedicated police forces did not create, and should not be expected to resolve, the social conditions that stimulate crime. The President's Task Force report on *The Police* forcefully states this point: "The police are only one part of the criminal justice system; the criminal justice system is only one part of the government; and the government is only one part of society. Insofar as crime is a social phenomenon, crime prevention is the responsibility of every part of society." Indeed, the citizen is perhaps more deeply involved in the fight on crime than he realizes: he approves and pays for all public expenditures, he reports crimes, he reduces the opportunity for crime, he elects public officials, he creates the atmosphere in which law enforcement operates.

But the citizen must care about, not just fear, crime. We must concern ourselves with the deprivations that cause many crimes. We must support public policies which seek to arrest the growing despair in our cities. We must recognize, as Aristotle did many centuries ago, that "Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime." Perhaps the day is not too distant when police departments, as part of their concern with crime prevention, announce support for Headstart and job training projects and rat control legislation as measures that will in the long-run ease their crime burden.

The citizen can also reduce the opportunities to commit crime. He can check that he did not leave his keys in his car (according to the FBI, 42% of all auto thefts result from such carelessness), that his front door was locked, his home and business property lit.

The citizen can convey a proper respect for law and order by supporting and cooperating with the police, by refusing to wink at violations of the law.

The citizen can better educate himself, and thus help dispel many of the facile myths and fears which contribute to the "crime problem" in America. For instance:

a) Contrary to popular belief, "Safety in the streets" is not as serious a danger as safety in the home. Available studies demonstrate that the risk of serious attack from family members, friends or acquaintances is approximately twice as great as the risk of attack from a stranger on the street.

b) Contrary to popular belief, the poor, not the affluent or the middle class, are most often the victims of crime.

c) Contrary to popular belief, most crimes are not interracial. A crime committed against a member of one race is usually committed by another member of that same race.

There is still another, and largely ignored, role that the citizen can play in crime prevention and control. He can supplement the police function in law enforcement. Strained municipal budgets resist the recruitment of more police. A recent national survey shows that this year, alone, there is a need for 50,000 new police recruits just to fill already authorized positions. New York City, which is in admittedly difficult financial straits, is already paying far more for police protection than other American cities. The 1962 U.S. census of Governments showed that New York City was spending $26.22 per person for police protection as against the national metropolitan average of $13.32.

New York City thus faces the predicament of finding it difficult to afford substantially more police protection, yet recognizing the value of more police in reducing crime (in 1966, for instance, the number of crimes committed in New York City subways was reduced 36.1% after a uniformed transit patrolman was assigned to each train during the late night hours). The way out of this predicament is to turn to new resources in the war on crime. And what better new and inexpensive resource than the *citizen-volunteer*. As Police Commissioner Leary has stated, "law enforcement is everybody's business. Public safety on our streets and in our homes require total commitment—not only of police, courts, District Attorneys, correction, parole and probation services, but also of the community as a whole."

The citizen-volunteer would by not means represent a new approach to the problem of policing crime. It was the English volunteer system of Alfred the Great that was father to the American law enforcement system. In that day it was decided that a professional police force was too expensive, so a "mutual pledge" system which required private citizens to report all crimes and make arrests was instituted. A fine was levied on those who failed to cooperate. It is from this system that America borrowed the volunteer sheriff, with his citizen deputies and possee. In fact, it should be noted, it was not until 1844 that New York State created the first full-time professional police force in America.

The citizen-volunteer has found other ways to aid in crime prevention and control. The Big Brothers have long given voluntary counseling to deprived children. Church groups initiated the first half-way houses for released prisoners. The Vera Institute of Justice in New York sparked a national bail reform movement with law school volunteers. The City of Chicago sponsors "Operation Crime-Stop," with one million citizens and 300 organizations joining in a pledge to call police about any suspicious occurrence or crime. Each month, those citizens whose information led to an arrest are publicly honored, and Chicago police estimate that this program has assisted in 7,000 arrests. A few years ago Brooklyn had the short-lived Miccabees in Crown Heights, and this year there is ECCO in East Flatbush, both of which used citizen-volunteers to patrol the streets. Washington, D.C. has a React program on weekends, with citizen-volunteers patrolling three high crime precincts in private cars and reporting any suspicious activity to the police by way of their ham radios. The Auxiliary Police in New York City, now 2,000 strong, has long complemented and worked closely with the Police Department. The New York City Police Department has developed an energetic community relations program which invites community participation and has created a dialogue between the public and police in neighborhoods where there had been no communication.

Indeed, the movement in America is in the direction of greater citizen participation and involvement. We are striving to decentralize government and bring it closer to the people. The Federal anti-poverty program's community action arm requires "maximum feasible participation of the poor." There are new efforts to involve the private sector in the rebuilding of our slums. Parents are demanding and receiving a voice in the operation of their public schools. The primary system is replacing the convention system as a method of selecting political candidates. Be it the government, the church, the school, the university or the political party, the public is demanding a new and more involved role in decision-making. We are beginning to realize that the benevolence of good intentions is no substitute for personal participation and involvement.

With the backdrop of invigorated citizen involvement in mind, it is regrettable that the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which otherwise performed such a valuable service, devoted so little attention to exploring programs for citizen participation in combatting crime. "The Commission," said the report, "had neither time nor resources to survey and evaluate specific programs for community assistance and law enforcement. . . ."

"No. 1 Hero of Omaha Beach," by J. Porter Reilly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, with Veterans Day past and Pearl Harbor Day in the offing, I thought that my colleagues would find most apt, the article by my constituent and friend J. Porter Reilly, entitled "No. 1 Hero of Omaha Beach."

This article appeared in Argosy magazine, September issue, at page 67, and while fiction, it has the compelling quality of truth. I am pleased to bring it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

NO. 1 HERO OF OMAHA BEACH

(By J. Porter Reilly)

"This way to the war, you heroes! Hurry along. Get a move on. Take cover in the hedge. Move it, men. This way to the fighting!"

D-Day, June 6, 1944, held surprises for everyone on Omaha Red Easy Beach. It was a tiny corner of France, too tiny for all of us who clawed across the beach and up the cliffs to shoulder the German out of his concrete-lined emplacements. From the tide, right up to the German resistance, nothing seemed to work on schedule. Nothing went like our dry runs. Our own debarkation was held up because the vehicles couldn't be fitted onto the shingle beach. Later on, mines and mud snafued the timetable. And of course, there was our reception committee, the enemy. But the single most surprising sight, even stranger than seeing Red Holland riding a bicycle along the sea wall, was that single MP at the top of the cliffs. By the time we'd crawled up Colleville Draw, the little exit road out of the beachhead, past the concrete blockhouses being used as aid stations or beachmaster's headquarters, we could expect just about anything at all.

So the sight of that lonely American MP, standing with his back plastered to the farmhouse wall, facing the exit Draw, seemed natural enough. This kid stood straight as his skinny frame could be, straight as an illustration in his MP manual. His ODs blended into the lichen streaks like stains. Only his white-arced helmet insignia stood out, as from a shadow. His face, I remembered, was stiff, hungry-looking. Straight as a traffic cop he stood staunch as any cop can stand in the middle of a battle.

He was doing his best, the job he'd been trained to do, facing us as we crested the Draw. His left arm pointed west, up the road, into the lowering sun. His right arm swung forward, then crossed his chest, pointing to the sun. He stood like no man I'd ever seen before, totally controlled, totally admirable. And I wondered how he kept his sanity.

Until, closing up to him for the right turn, I heard:

"This way to the fighting. This way to the fighting. This way to the shooting gallery. This way, you heroes. Hurry along. Keep right. Step along lively. Follow the car ahead. Keep your distance. Take cover in the hedge. Get a move on. This way to the fighting. . . ." His chant continued monotonously, it seemed as we passed in low gear, thinking only of ourselves and our caulked-up engine beginning to overheat. You heard the words, like the Lucky Strike tobacco-auctioneer's commercials on the radio back home, but the humor escaped you. Comforting, soothing, but meaningless until you stopped to think. But that pause came later, years later.

That night and next morning you saw other Combat MPs, some still standing, some still alive, guiding the fighting men toward the front—if you could say there was a front line that day. And the following day you appreciated Combat MPs even more because you had a close-up view of one in the crossroad, almost hidden by the hedge.

He lay there like a man enjoying a well-earned rest, snoozing in the June sunshine. His brazzard, that clean navy blue armband with white MP letters, showed bright in the morning sun. Only his head was hidden. And when you got closer, you wanted to turn away, but could not. Because where his head should have been was the red badge of his courage, the fast rusting stain of his glory, the fertilizing blood of his youth, still oozing into the sun-warmed dusty road, the liberated road of La Patrie. Though you knew not this man for a brother, he was kin, quiet in the sun, except for the gently buzzing flies that would soon burst their guts with the gluttony of his sacrifice.

There, at that moment in history, time stood still. There was no MP to direct us to the fighting. But the rattle of small arms told us that Jerry was withdrawing.

Ten years later, the world would make a big fuss about D-Day. The news media junketed like mad to cover beachheads and hedgerows. Generals spoke. Politicians waved flags and arms. And from the fantasy world of advertising, I let my mind roam back to the reality of Omaha Beach, and spoke tiredly to the artist seated at the last drawing board near the windows in our busy New York advertising outfit. He was a tall, skinny, bespectacled man with a quiet voice and receding hairline.

"Heroes all," I grunted.

"For the birds. Strictly," we agreed. It was my first "military reunion."

"Were you there? What beach did you make? What time?"

Our questions were keen, to the point. No frills. No bull. Our answers, too. No speeches of gore and glory. No cognac. Just recognition. Acceptance. Equality. The brotherhood of survival. Perhaps it was the first time an MP had met someone who understood. And as we talked of little things, details, place and time, I recognized him: the kid MP, the chanter in uniform, the perfect traffic cop. The perfect target for every German on the beach. My personal choice for Number One Hero of Omaha Beach.

Legal Services Makes Poor Man Equal Partner in Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the anti-poverty Legal Services Organization was discussed recently by a widely respected journalist.

In a column titled "Legal Services Organization Gives Poor Legal Equality," which appeared November 27 in the Indianapolis News, Mr. Fremont Power quoted U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Abe Fortas.

The Associate Justice, in commenting on the relationship of law to the poor, has stated:

> To them (the urban ghetto dwellers), the law has been an alien force. To them, it has not represented a compact to which they are parties.

And Mr. Power, dismissing LSO critics who would rather rely on traditional—and inadequate—voluntary legal aid for the poor, stated:

> Such critics should not be allowed to obscure what the game is all about, which is to make the poor man an equal partner in the law.

Because of the constructive and balanced analysis Mr. Power brings to this important aspect of the war on poverty, I insert his column at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

LEGAL SERVICES ORGANIZATION GIVES POOR LEGAL EQUALITY

(By Fremont Power)

The subject is the Legal Services Organization, the agency by which the nation's anti-poverty program is attempting to make the law work on the side of the poor as well as those with means.

The speaker is U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Abe Fortas:

"To them (the urban ghetto dwellers), the law has been an alien force. To them, it has not represented a compact to which they are parties.

"It has been the system devised by the establishment, of the establishment, for the establishment.

"To them, the law has been their enemy. It has been the power behind the arresting policeman's tyranny as it appears to them. It has provided the mysterious arsenal of the probation officer and the juvenile court official. It has been the powerful weapon of the money lender, the landlord, the installment dealer.

"THE LAW EVICTS THEM

"It is 'the law' that evicts them from their homes, 'the law' that repossesses their furniture, 'the law' that seizes their children and spirits them away, 'the law' that withholds their social welfare payments. . . .

"Similarly, they regard lawyers as the tool of the establishment—of the loan shark, the money lender, the furniture dealer, the cop . . .

"Obviously, this situation must be changed if we are to have the rule of law, if we are to be able to bring the millions concerned—who number at least 5 to 10 per cent of our population—to the point of involvement and identification with our society, instead of hostility and antagonism—and if we are to convert these people into productive members of our community instead of persons who represent a perpetual burden and menace.

"These people must begin to feel that the law is part of their heritage, too. . . ."

The American bar has traditionally sought to fill this need, not only through the personal services which many lawyers give but for which they're never paid, but through support of the Legal Aid Society.

C. Wendell Martin, president of the Indianapolis Bar Association, said "as far as I know, it (the local Legal Aid) was" a sufficient answer to the needs of the poor, plus the counsel which courts must appoint for those without means who are accused of felonies.

On this point, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr. has said: "It isn't that the successful lawyer gave no thought to representation of the poor. It's just that he contented himself with an annual, often liberal contribution, to the local Legal Aid Society and went on doing his best . . . for his paying clients.

VOLUNTARY AID INADEQUATE

"Legal Aid certainly did more than its part for the indigent and we are all very proud of its record. But the system of voluntary legal aid was simply totally inadequate for the purpose.

"The vacuum was not to be tolerated in a society which proudly boasts of its devotion to the ideal of equal justice for all citizens . . ."

Prosecutor Noble R. Pearcy may huff over an LSO card, "What to Do if a Policeman Stops You," claiming it discourages citizen co-operation with police. Circuit Judge John L. Niblack may complain that the LSO here has served some who could have paid.

But these half-time acrobats should not be allowed to obscure what the games is all about, which is to make the poor man an equal partner in "the law."

Enrico Fermi Writes His Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, December 2, 33 of the 42 persons present December 2, 1942, when man first initiated a self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction and controlled it, will gather together again to commemorate the historic event. The ceremony will be at Chicago where, in a squash court beneath the stands of University of Chicago's Stagg Field, Enrico Fermi and his associates, in deepest secrecy, ushered in the atomic age. Coded word of the success was telephoned to then President Roosevelt's science chief as follows:

> The Italian navigator has landed in the New World.

In the quarter century since Enrico Fermi, the "Italian navigator," first succeeded, tremendous progress with nuclear reactors has been made. In 1967 more than half the new electric capacity of the United States was ordered from nuclear reactors. But to build a nuclear reactor today requires a long and complicated licensing procedure. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is ever zealous to insure that the licensing fully provides for the public safety. The Atomic Energy Commission Licensing and Regulation Division carefully reviews all reactor construction permits. It is assisted by the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards. Much other formal and informal procedural matters have come to entwine peaceful nuclear developments and competitive energy sources, such as coal, occasionally seek to roadblock them.

Had the Italian navigator of 1942 taken on his task under the circumstances and conditions of 1967, perhaps he might have been inspired by frustration to write his Congressman and detail his plight. One knowledgeable participant in today's nuclear game comes up with the following suggested letter:

> DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have been having a bit of difficulty with the Atomic Energy Commission, and I was hoping you could help me deal with these people. I have come up with an interesting idea that it might be possible to initiate and control a chain-reaction fissioning of the uranium atom. I've borrowed a squash court under the stands of the football stadium at the University of Chicago to conduct my experiment.
>
> I thought that the U.S. government might be able to give me some financial support for this project, so I called a Dr. Seaborg, the AEC chairman. He said it sounded like a wonderful idea and asked if I'd ever thought to trying to use this process to desalt seawater. He also suggested that I might be able to use this water to grow crops around the football field. I told him my interest was more in the area of physics than agriculture.
>
> Then I called Commissioner Ramey, and he asked if I had ever thought of using an organic coolant in my machine. I was then referred to a Mr. Shaw, who heads AEC's Reactor Development Division. He couldn't give me any money, because it would detract from his own programs. With such a selfish attitude, this boy will never get anywhere.
>
> I then talked to another commissioner, a Dr. Tape, and he was more encouraging. He said that a football stadium was not a suitable place for so important an experiment and offered to help me find a new site. He said he would ask all the states to make proposals, just like he did with the 200 BEV Sweepstakes. Then he would get the National Academy of Science to review them on the basis of some site criteria which would be changed from time to time, after which the commissioners would pick a winning site, possible by drawing lots. He said this process would probably take a couple of years, but it is necessary to make sure I can attract the best possible staff. I told him I only needed 41 other people and to forget it, but he refered me to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.
>
> I talked to a Congressman Holifield, but he said my project sounded like a cowbird who was trying to force other AEC programs out of the nest. Then I called Senator Pastore and all he wanted to know was whether or not there is equal housing opportunity at Stagg Field. Senator Anderson asked if I had ever been to New Mexico, whatever that has to do with anything. Congressman Hosmer wanted to dig a hole and put my reactor along the DMZ.
>
> Then I talked to JCAE's Executive Director, a Mr. Conway, who used to be with the FBI, I understand. It shows. He told me the Joint Committee probably would want to hold some public hearings, and that these can stretch on forever because the members never show up on time. He said the committee probably would want me to design this machine so it can be expanded, and that maybe locating it in the Rose Bowl, if one of the members had it in his district, would be more suitable. Or maybe the Joint Committee would insist on designing my reactor itself.
>
> He also said that if Congress approves the funds for the project, I would have to submit a construction permit application. So I called AEC's Harold Price, who licenses reactors, about that. He was very helpful. Sort of like Smokey the Bear.
>
> He told me that I could submit the application as long as the Joint Committee knows about it. So I submitted an application which was 100 pages long. He sent me back 200 pages of questions.
>
> He asked all sorts of questions, like whether or not I had ever operated a reactor before, whether or not I would permit squash ball games while the reactor was operating, and about my redundant engineered safeguards. He didn't like my balloon containment system, or having one of my scientists pull out the control rod with his hands. And he said that a rope and an axe wasn't much of an emergency shutdown system. He suggested three ropes and four axes might be better.
>
> Then he asked me about the population density in the area. When I told him that the site was in downtown Chicago, he almost had a heart attack. He finally recovered to say that he doubted that he could recommend construction of my reactor at that site. He suggested that I might try Malibu or Bodega Head or building an artificial island in the middle of Lake Michigan and leaving part of it for an airport.
>
> Finally he sent my application over to the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards. Now that's an interesting group. They held a lot of meetings then finally issued a letter giving their opinions, all of which were different. Unfortunately, I can't understand their comments. Nor can Harold.
>
> Then they said I would have to go through a public hearing. Well, no one showed up at this public hearing except one fellow—a union guy, I forget his name. He kept ranting and raving that I was building a monopoly in fissioning the atom and that I might cause thermal pollution.
>
> A few pickets outside the hearing passed out Ban the Bomb dodgers and some tracts written by a conservationist claiming my reactors will ruin the landscape and change the ecology of Stagg Field. He said all this had to be preserved for future generations of Americans.
>
> But finally, after several appeals and provisional permits, I finally got my reactor built. I put in three emergency cooling systems and emergency diesel power and an ice-cube condenser system and emergency diesel power and an ice-cube condenser system and a big silver dome and every thing else they

could think of when they gave me my license.

And you wouldn't believe what happened. When I started it up, I found a beer can and a pair of galoshes floating around in the primary coolant system. And then some guy from the coal company came around and asked if I thought this atom fissioning business could ever have any practical value. In a moment of inspiration I told him that I doubted it.

When it was all over, I poured myself some Chianti and told one of my associates to go make the phone call. He dutifully reported that "the Italian Navigator had landed in the New World."

Someone on the other end of the line asked, "How were the natives?"

"They ate him alive," he answered.

I hope that maybe you can do something to straighten this mess out. With the trouble that I've gone through on this experiment, I doubt that this uranium fission process will ever become very popular. I think that if they had just left me alone, it might have worked. But we'll never know.

Yours truly,

THE ITALIAN NAVIGATOR.

Maryland GI Killed in Hill 875 Clash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. George M. Mattingly, a paratrooper from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

STATE GI KILLED IN HILL 875 CLASH—PRINCE GEORGES PARATROOPER DIED ON NOVEMBER 20

SILVER HILL, MD., November 29.—A 19-year-old paratrooper who left high school to enlist in the Army was killed November 20 on Hill 875 in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported today.

He was Pfc. George M. Mattingly, son of Joseph E. Mattingly, Sr., of 3417 Fairhill drive, in this Prince Georges county town.

Private Mattingly had been in Vietnam since July, apparently in his first combat action in the battle for Hill 875 in the Dak To area. He was a member of the 173d Airborne Brigade.

LETTER FROM PLEIKU

The young soldier's father said the last letter his son had sent was from Pleiku, where he had been originally stationed. That was in September and Private Mattingly was on rest leave, Mr. Mattingly said.

After attending high school to the eleventh grade, Private Mattingly enlisted in the Army in April, 1966. He was trained at Fort Benning, Ga., Fort Bragg, N.C., and Fort Gordon, Ga., before being sent to Vietnam.

"He took a lot of pride in being in the Airborne," Mr. Mattingly said tonight. "He thought it was superior to the regular Army."

Private Mattingly was born in Temple Hill, Md., and grew up there. His father moved to Silver Hill about a year ago. The soldier was known to his friends as Mike.

Besides his father, he is survived by his stepmother, Mrs. Cecile Mattingly; a brother, Joseph E. Mattingly, Jr., of Atlanta; and two sisters, Mrs. Anita J. Bane, of Fairfax, Va., and Mrs. Kathryn Wood, of District Heights, Md.

The Ombudsmen Speak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of discussion has recently centered around the value of creating the office of ombudsman in an effort to strengthen the representative form of government that we are fortunate to have in our country. Just recently, in fact, an appeal has been made by interested citizen groups to the District of Columbia urging the establishment of the office of ombudsman to handle various citizen complaints and inquiries that have, it is alleged, often gone unattended by District officials. The fact that the 800,000 people of the District still do not enjoy the privilege of voting for local elected officials gives, I suppose, merit to this suggestion; however, I am of the belief that the ombudsman's role at other governmental levels, where officials are responsible to the electorate, is a role that should properly be one for the legislator, at whatever level.

I am in general concurrence with the conclusions of Mr. Michael Dufinecz, who has written an article appearing in the November 1967 issue of the American Bar Association Journal. Mr. Dufinecz examines the achievements of ombudsmen as they are explained in a book entitled "The Ombudsman." As to the real value of ombudsmen, Mr. Dufinecz concludes that they are "just another species of bureaucrat," and he suggests a return to the traditional idea that a public official is a public servant, who should be responsive to his constituency in such a way as to preclude the necessity for creating the position of the ombudsman.

I commend this article to Members of this body and insert it in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OMBUDSMEN SPEAK

(By Michael Dufinecz of the New York Bar)

Without a first appearance as a cloud the size of a hand, the sentiment in favor of an ombudsman as the citizen's defender is rapidly covering the American sky. Those in favor rarely cite authority or experience but are full of enthusiasm for this remedy for the oppressions by bureaucrats of John Q. Public and of Jane, too. There are a few publications, some of which have studied the ombudsman (which I shall abbreviate OM) in his native lair; all are uniformly enthusiastic.

This is a critique of a book, *The Ombudsman*, subtitled *Citizen's Defender* (edited by Donald C. Rowat, professor of political science at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada; University of Toronto Press, 1965). The professor is all in favor of every country's having an OM.

The value of the book is that OM's, or close associates thereof, of Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and New Zealand—those countries having an ombudsman for civil affairs—describe the institution from inside. Each of these is sold on the merits of the system, its purpose and its strength. Each illustrates the important achievements of OM by citing cases. An examination of some of these important achievements is illuminating as to the probable real value of OM.

1. SWEDEN

Here two speak separately—the present OM and a former deputy OM. Since 1809 OM has had the power "to supervise how judges, government officials and other civil servants observe the laws, and to prosecute those who have acted illegally or neglected their duties". OM is a representative of the Parliament and publishes an annual report—"usually 400–500 pages long"—which contains an account of the work he has done, including "a summary of the most important cases upon which the JO [short for the Swedish word *Justitieombudsman*] has made a ruling during the past year". The report "is distributed to all administrative officials, and is probably the JO's most important means of influencing the application of the laws in Sweden."

With respect to judges: "When the JO has intervened, it has been a case of clear and obvious infringement of the law, delay in trying a case, or improper conduct by the judge against the parties or witnesses concerned." The sentence immediately following the above reads: "A few years ago, for example, a judge was condemned after the JO had indicted him for extensively helping a lawyer friend in cases which were outside his jurisdiction as a judge." (Into which of the proscribed categories this offense falls is not given; I think it is outside any of them, yet the judge was condemned.)

A judge sentenced "two boys—aged 15 and 16 years—to six months, suspended sentence for theft of a pair of unlocked motor scooters of little value" (emphasis added). Swedish law provides that persons under 18 years can be sentenced to prison only under aggravating circumstances. OM intervened and, on finding the judge wanted by his sentence to show the boys the error of their ways, succeeded in having the judge criticized.

In another instance, an arrested person had been "unjustly ordered" to pay costs of his return from the United States to Sweden for trial. Since the law was "not clear", the judge could not be held responsible "for the error". OM succeeded in having the government reimburse the arrested man.

Swedish officials are not bound by precedent, yet the OM intercedes in cases of deviation from uniformity of application of the law, even though such deviation is not a punishable error and even though the instructions given his office do not specify such action.

Police power: In order to curb noise caused by motorcycles without mufflers, police barred these motorcycles "during the hours of darkness, except when traveling to and from work or other necessary purpose" (emphasis added). The OM overruled this bar because it had been issued for a purpose other than traffic security.

The Church: In Sweden church officials, priests and bishops are paid by the state. It is against custom, but not law, for a priest to work for his own election to rectorship of a parish. A priest printed posters urging his own election; his bishop ordered him to stand aside. OM heard of the incident, and the bishop was fined for exerting unauthorized pressure on the priest.

Letters of complaint, explanations and OM's own minutes and decisions are public papers. "It has happened that grave accusations have been reported in the newspapers which afterward have been found groundless."

2. FINLAND

Here a former OM speaks. OM was introduced in 1919 as a representative of Parliament. He has the right to superintend the activity of the whole body of public officials, the courts, municipal and church organs of self-government and all the state's highest officials except the president.

Academic officials complained that a cabinet minister had not complied with the law giving state officials the right to negotiate on salaries before budget proposals were made to Parliament. OM criticized the minister for not giving the officials sufficient time to prepare for negotiations, even though OM conceded the menace of a strike called for rapid action.

One of the mathematics problems in an examination was taken from outside the school course. OM criticized the school board.

Several instances are given of actions against high government officials which would have been taken care of in the United States by public prosecutors.

Of great interest to the Danish OM is the final sentence in this article: "Finnish experience, therefore, does not coincide with the practice of the Ombudsman in Denmark where the activity of officials is sometimes criticized solely because it is considered unjustifiable or unreasonable."

3. DENMARK

A woman judge speaks. The OM was created in 1954 as a representative of Parliament "to supervise the civil and military administration of the state".

"These powers of summary investigation and rejection are of course neccessary. Otherwise there would not be sufficient time for the Ombudsman to concentrate on the really important cases, on matters of principle." (In other words, if OM is not interested, your complaint is not important enough to bother with.) "But the Ombudsman has made critical comments even in cases where the authorities were under no statutory duty." (Denmark is a civil code country.)

A civil servant was dismissed because he had committed theft; he lost his right to a state pension. OM intervened but the ministry refused to reverse itself. OM in his annual report commented that he did not agree with the viewpoint of the ministry.

It is stressed that the OM "has been able to raise matters of principle even in cases where no formal complaint has been made."

4. NORWAY

OM was introduced in 1962 as a representative of Parliament. His province is the administrative agencies of the government with the right to scrutinize the exercise of discretion but only insofar as he finds it to be unlawful or clearly unreasonable.

In the first year of operation, 1963–1964, the major number of complaints came from civil servants against superiors for failure to give pay raises or promotions.

5. NEW ZEALAND

OM, under the name parliamentary commissioner, took office in 1962. His powers are limited to work done within departments, but he has no direct power over ministers. He is authorized to publish results of his investigations at any time and need not wait for an annual report. His actions reach any decision, recommendation, act or omission which he is satisfied appears to be contrary to law, unreasonable, unjust, oppressive or improperly discriminatory, based on a mistake of law or fact, wrong or involving the exercise of a discretionary power for an improper purpose, etc. (Enough leeway to hang any civil servant, in a close case.)

In his second report, OM mentioned cases "where Departments showed a too close-fisted approach toward minor claims [he is in favor of spending the people's money!] and a disposition to apply a predetermined rule or practice rather than exercise their discretion on the merits of each case [he is opposed to a play-it-safe, follow-the-rules policy!]".

COMMENT

It must be noted that OM has been put into being only by parliamentarian countries. Some problems must arise in separation-of-power countries, as is indicated by the squabble in the Massachusetts legislature over whether the proposed OM should be responsible to the legislature or to the governor.

All the OM countries are recognized to be social welfare states, where the impingement of government agencies on the individual is very great and the rights of individuals as we know them are not legally recognized to the same degree. In all these countries a high percentage of the complaints were made on the OM's own motion. In Sweden more than one half the cases were. In the important cases cited in the essays, almost all were taken on OM's own motion—only a few of these cases have been set forth here.

In all the essays, it is urged that the high percentage of dismissal of complaints is proof that the OM is demonstrating that agencies are in fact doing a good job, *i.e.*, OM is not persecuting the agencies, rather he is doing them a favor by his investigating operations. Conversely, it can be urged that OM is not really effective and that the general public pays him little or not attention, as the number of complaints on a population basis is small. (It was recently reported that in New York City complaints to the present police civilian complaint review board alone are 2,000 a year.) The high number of dismissals may be due to selectivity, as openly admitted by the Danish OM, or to crank complaints such as are received by all government bodies.

The boast that there is no persecution of government officials is not supported by the important cases reported in each country. The cases cited in themselves show that OM charges into areas of oppression, not on complaint of an outraged citizen, but on his own motion. The cases demonstrate a do-gooder, busybody attitude on the part of the OM's in all countries and over their entire period of existence.

The use by OM of criticisms to rebuke officials is petty tyranny, because the official is helpless to overcome the position of the OM. It is no rebuttal to say the official could insist he be prosecuted for the criticized offense; how many of us would risk a fine or worse from a judge? No, I think we would rather accept a piece of paper placed in our file.

In summary, the record of OM taken from the cases set forth in these essays is one of molehills and trivia, mostly generated by a lust to save the people, even if they don't ask to be saved. All of this proves OM is just another species of bureaucrat.

The following observation from the New Zealand essay is a caveat that needs to be remembered by those espousing OM as the answer to bureaucracy's infringement on individual rights: "It cannot be emphasized too strongly that practices successfully adopted in one country must be closely examined before being transplanted to another."

To the writer it appears that a better and surer solution to the problem of bureaucrats and citizens is afforded by a return to the once traditional behavior expressed by these seeming clichés:

(a) A public official is a servant of the public.

(b) Each person must respect the dignity and rights of all other persons.

Foreign Assistance Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I stand to oppose the Foreign Assistance Act. Although the bill now before the Congress is a great deal less than the amount requested by the President, I do not believe it is small enough.

Many of my distinguished colleagues have spoken that they are in favor of the principle of foreign assistance, and then went on and qualified their statements with "buts" and "howevers."

I am not convinced that foreign aid of military arms and money is automatically a good thing, and I have very serious doubts about the wisdom of such a course when the United States must increase its national debt by borrowing from future generations in order to give to other nations.

We have learned the lesson, or should have learned it, that money, or even overt military liberation will not win a nation's lasting friendship. France, the recipient of an estimated $20 billion since 1945, today threatens to undermine our currency by making arbitrary and unwarranted demands on our gold reserves.

Just a few years ago we witnessed the alarming spectacle of two large recipients of American military and dollar assistance, India and Pakistan, using their new-found strength and stability to go to war with each other over trivialities.

Just a few months ago we saw the peace of the entire world threatened when Israel went to war with the Arabian bloc of nations. All of the combatants had received large amounts of U.S. aid, and even today the United States is planning to ship new jet fighters to Israel and to five Arab States at the same time.

At this very moment, we see two of our allies, Greece and Turkey, the recipients of $4.6 billion in military aid, on the very brink of war over tiny Cyprus. It is the least that President Johnson should do to send Mr. Vance to mediate. After all, if war breaks out between these two nations, the United States will have made it possible, and we must share a part of the blame for giving them the means.

With the bitter lessons of history before us, I think the principle of foreign aid itself is open to question. The greatest of Greek historians, Thucydides, said that those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat its mistakes. It is high time we learned something from our own mistakes. I believe we should restrict our foreign assistance to technical, industrial, agricultural, and person-to-person programs such as the food for peace and Peace Corps programs.

We who must vote for or against foreign assistance must consider the lessons of history. We must also consider the $30 billion budget deficit which appears inevitable unless spending is cut. We must consider that the American taxpayer is already paying a $76 billion defense budget which enables us to patrol and protect the entire free world, so why pay more to give them weapons to fight each other?

We should also consider that large gaps in our own society still exist which should be given first priority. As long as there continues to be underprivileged persons and underdeveloped regions, and as long as we have ghettos and undernourished persons within our own Nation, it is my belief that we cannot afford continued foreign aid of arms and dollars.

Congressman Horton Praises Heroism of Marine L. Cpl. Roger I. Duffett as Typical of the Spirit and Patriotism of Amercan Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam is too often presented to us as a kaleidoscope of statistics, hill numbers, statements and counterstatements, which ignore the critical accomplishments of the most important element in the war—the American fighting man.

This was brought home to me clearly again recently when I learned of the award of the Bronze Star Medal to L. Cpl. Roger I. Duffett, 2184897, USMC, now stationed at the U.S. Marine Air Station, Beaufort, S.C. Lance Corporal Duffett is the son of the distinguished immigration inspector of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Buffalo, N.Y., Inspector Paul Duffett.

I would like to share with you and our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, the citation which accompanied the award of the Bronze Star Medal, and which so graphically describes Lance Corporal Duffett's heroism:

U.S. MARINE CORPS,
San Francisco.

In the name of the President of the United States, the Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific takes pleasure in presenting the Bronze Star Medal to Private First Class Roger I. Duffett, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For heroic achievement in connection with operations against insurgent communist (Viet Cong) forces in the Republic of Vietnam while serving as an Aviation Crash, Fire and Rescue Crew Member with Marine Air Base Squadron Sixteen, Marine Aircraft Group Sixteen, First Marine Aircraft Wing.

During the early morning hours of 28 April 1967, the Dong Ha Airfield came under a heavy enemy rocket attack. Subsequently, a rocket round struck a vehicle which was parked near the Delta Medical Company Hospital, immediately engulfing the vehicle in flames and causing the ambulance jeep alongside to burst into flames. After learning of the burning vehicles and realizing the danger to the hospital which was located nearby, Private First Class Duffett unhesitatingly rushed to the side of the burning vehicles despite the hostile fire bursting around him. As he began extinguishing the blaze, he was seriously wounded by fragments from an exploding rocket. Ignoring the pain of his wounds and disregarding the enemy fire, Private First Class Duffett continued fighting the fires until they were extinguished. By his immediate and courageous action in the face of an extremely hazardous situation, he undoubtedly prevented the fire from spreading to the hospital building and endangering the lives of his comrades. Private First Class Duffett's bold initiative, fearless action, sincere concern for the welfare of his companions and selfless devotion to duty at great personal risk inspired all who observed him and were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

Private First Class Duffett is authorized to wear the Combat "V".

Lt. Gen., V. H. KRULAK,
U.S. Marine Corps, Commanding
(For the President).

Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my commendation to L. Cpl. Duffett for his unselfish, courageous act, and to point out that the example set by this fine young American stands in sharp relief to the better publicized activities of a handful of draft card burners and violent protesters.

Although the latter are small in number, we hear a great deal about them, and do not hear enough of men such as Roger Duffett who stand heroically in the front lines of defense of this Nation. I am proud to have the opportunity to tell the story L. Cpl. Roger Duffett, Mr. Speaker, and to publicly thank him for his devotion to duty and his country.

Operation Hospitality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, regardless of one's feeling about the war in Vietnam, most Americans support those who wear the uniform of the United States. The loud and often irresponsible dissent of a small minority tends to obscure this fact. The National Committee for Responsible Patriotism was formed to organize support for our men in uniform, and particularly those in Vietnam. They organized the Support Our Men in Vietnam Parade last May and such similar activities as Operation Gratitude. Operation Hospitality is another of their projects, and I think it deserves our strong support.

I am including an explanation of this project for the benefit of my colleagues:

OPERATION HOSPITALITY

We must make it clear that all Americans firmly support those who wear the uniform of the United States—despite any honest differences of opinion on government policy. The actions of a tiny minority of lawless, disloyal people have confused many men and women in the Armed Forces, especially among those serving in Viet Nam. A small group of irresponsible dissenters have given the false impression to these G.I.'s, and to much of the world, that Americans do not honor their heroes. We must set the record straight beyond any doubt.

We urge that families invite servicemen and women quartered at nearby military hospitals and bases, especially those returned from Viet Nam, to their homes on Thanksgiving and Christmas. We must let all gallant young Americans in uniform know that they are in our hearts and minds during these traditional holidays—and that they always have our love and respect.

ACTION

Request elected officials, religious and civic leaders, etc. to endorse Operation Hospitality. Get all non-controversial well-established organizations involved. Set up such projects as car pools to pick-up and return the servicemen. Announce Operation Hospitality at sporting events, in schools, at meetings and other public events, etc. Use TV, radio and the press—news stories, editorials, letters-to-the-editor, disc jockeys, morning show announcers, telephone conversation programs, interview shows, public service announcements, etc.

SUGGESTIONS

Extend invitations through the hospital or base commander. When unknown, the location of the nearest military site can probably be obtained from the local Chamber-of-Commerce or newspaper.

France, a Former Friend of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, it is inequitable and illogical to propose to increase domestic taxes and reduce Federal spending in certain essential areas while France, a former friend of the United States, owes this country $6.8 billion in World War I debts.

French President de Gaulle has forfeited the right to a continuing moratorium on France's 50-year-old debts by raiding our gold reserves in an overt attempt to undermine the American dollar. The very dollar, I should add, that paid France's bills for two World Wars and rebuilt France in the decade after World War II.

To propose a $7.4 billion tax increase while France is so deeply in our debt places an unfair burden on the American taxpayer. In effect, certain of De Gaulle's actions are contributing to the supposed need for a tax increase and yet France is not even beginning to do her share.

I oppose the recommended tax increase and will continue to oppose it as long as such a tax increase is being used to subsidize French debts to this country.

In this vein I commend to my colleagues' attention an editorial from the November 27 issue of Newsday. Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include that editorial in the RECORD at this point:

DE GAULLE'S GOLD RUSH

Having withdrawn France last summer from the international "gold pool," formed to assure the stability of currencies tied to the dollar and the price of the gold that backs it up, President de Gaulle is now doing his subtle best to encourage the present run on bullion.

In a conference with newspapermen yesterday, he offered his judgment that the dollar is inflated; complained that exports of inflated dollars have led to increasing American take-overs of European business firms, and charged that the American balance of payments deficit over the last eight years is equal to the total of American investment in western Europe.

Instead of cooperating to maintain the price of gold at a reasonable level, de Gaulle is doing his best to make trouble for the U.S. This is in opposition to the rest of the west

European bloc, whose six banks have joined the U.S. unit's guarantee of a fixed price of $35 an ounce for gold. Certainly, the U.S. needs to put its fiscal house in order, but that doesn't seem to be what de Gaulle wants.

What de Gaulle wants, unless everybody is badly mistaken, is to down-grade the value and strength of the dollar as a world currency. He won't succeed. Despite British devaluation of the pound, the dollar is still the strongest currency on earth. Keeping it strong will require the U.S. to reduce its balance of payments deficit and to curb inflation by trimming federal spending and raising taxes. Then, the future soundness of the dollar will be assured.

Danny Kaye

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the question is often asked, "What can one man do?" It is one thing for the Government or a giant corporation or an established private organization to make gradiose plans and perhaps even carry them out, but what can one lone individual do?

There lives in my State of California today—or on those rare days when he is actually home—a slim, Brooklyn-born redhead who, with no formal education to speak of, has made his name an internationally known symbol of peace, of children's happiness, of laughter, of music, of dedicated devotion toward solving the ills of the world.

His name is Danny Kaye. He is supposed to be an actor, a clown, an entertainer—and in each of these quite professional roles he has reached the very top in his industry. But Danny Kaye is a great deal more than this. He is a humanitarian in the deepest and most responsible sense of the word. He does not make speeches and pronouncements. He does not hold court.

Danny Kaye does just one thing and he does it simply and well. He works hard at what he believes in.

Presently he is contributing his services to, and is appearing with, the Israel Symphony Youth Orchestra in 12 different countries on a good-will tour which brings as much glory to America through its beloved "clown" as it does to Israel through its talented musicians.

Every October for the past 3 years, Mr. Kaye has made a whirlwind trip, flying his own plane, to dozens of cities throughout the United States and Canada in support of UNICEF's annual "trick or treat" fundraising campaign.

Each year for the past 14 years Mr. Kaye has served willingly, without pay and at his own personal expense, as unofficial but highly effective "ambassador of good will" for UNICEF. UNICEF's high regard for Mr. Kaye is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that when, in 1965, UNICEF was named the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, it was Danny Kaye who was asked to travel to Oslo to accept the award in UNICEF's name.

Every year for the past dozen years Danny Kaye has made one or more appearances as the guest conductor of symphony orchestras all over the world, ranging from London and Stockholm to New York and San Francisco and Toronto, for the purpose of raising pension funds for the musicians. Again, he serves without fee.

Somewhere along the line, perhaps in his spare time, I understand that Mr. Kaye also works for his living.

We of California are very proud to count Danny Kaye as a citizen of our State. We are grateful to Brooklyn and the great State of New York for having spawned him and sent him our way. But we are even prouder to have been able to share his great talent and his warm heart not only with all those in the United States, but with all the citizens of the world who speak his two common languages—laughter and compassion.

Pan Am Employees Promote Airline Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues who share my concern for airline safety, will be interested in the fact that the industry is emphasizing this aspect.

Awards for achievement in the field of airline avionics have recently been presented to three Pan American World Airways' pilots and four Pan Am electronics engineers. These men have been cited by the Airline Avionics Institute for their outstanding contributions and their "promotion of advanced airline avionics technology with the fundamental aim of increasing safety, reliability and maintainability."

Robert M. Richerdson, chairman of the AAI board of directors, presented AAI's first annual Volare Award to Capt. Samuel H. Miller, vice president, flight operations; Ben F. McLeod, director, electronic engineering; Harry L. Samuelson, superintendent, communications engineering services; John H. Olds, assistant director, electronic engineering; Capt. Francis L. Wallace, project director, all-weather program; Capt. W. Ross, project director, self-contained navigation systems; and Robert R. Bohannon, project electronic engineer.

The awards were presented in Rome recently at the annual fall meeting of the Airlines Electronic Engineering Committee, a commitee of Aeronautical Radio, Inc., of Annapolis, Md.

AAI, based at Dulles International Airport near Washington, D.C., is an informal organization made up of representatives of 17 U.S. airline avionics manufacturing firms.

The Pan Am recipients were among 60 electronics engineers and pilots selected by the AAI board of directors to receive the inaugural Volare Awards.

The Volare Award consists of a trophy and certificate of achievement. The Italian word "volare" means "to fly."

Job Corps Takes Business Away From Police

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, an article describing the constructive role played by the Job Corps in our society appeared recently in the Police Chief, monthly publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

The article, written by Jack L. Birkenstock, a veteran of many years of law enforcement and security work both in military and civilian life, is entitled "The Police and the Job Corps."

Because of the general interest and importance of this article, I include it at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE POLICE AND THE JOB CORPS

(By Jack L. Birkenstock)

Each time I visit a Job Corps Urban Center and see the Corpsmen and Corpswomen in their dorms or in their classrooms I think to myself, there—with the grace of an enlightened program—go some of the teenagers who have appeared before my police desk over the years. Whether we are parents of teenagers or citizens paying the taxes to support it, the Job Corps' success, as with all the other War on Poverty programs, is dependent on your active interest and mine.

Those of us who have made law enforcement our career should be especially interested in a successful future for the Job Corps. Take, for example, the case of Jerry, who entered the Job Corps from Whitesburg, Kenutcky, at age 20. Jerry had completed six years of school and had served in the Army for six months but was discharged because of behavior problems. At his assigned Job Corps Center he is taking the culinary skill course and is working in the Center's kitchen to gain practical experience. Right now he looks toward opening his own restaurant some day. One can only speculate that, given free rein, Jerry's "behavior problems" might have degenerated into a police record. At any rate, as a Job Corps volunteer who is anxious to learn an employable and needed skill, Jerry can see his way to becoming a valued member of his community. And, in all probability, you will not have cause to enter his name on your blotter.

With a tenth grade education, Richard, at 17, joined the Job Corps in Baltimore. As a youngster in a family of ten children he had continuous difficulties with school personnel and law enforcement officials, and, on several occasions, was placed on probation. The Baltimore Job Corps screener felt that Richard was a "good risk" and strongly recommended him for acceptance. He is doing well both in his educational and vocational training and this good risk will likely turn into an adult "good citizen." As policemen and policewomen we know that good citizens as such, represent a minority of our clientele.

Or take Lola from Harlem who quit school after the 9th grade for lack of enthusiasm and parental direction in a family of eight. With neither a basic education nor work skills Lola was unable to find a job and she was, in her own words, reduced to "hanging around on street corners." She got tired of her aimless life and volunteered for the Job Corps where she was found to have an aptitude for stenography. Lola is presently studying for a high school diploma in addition to completing her secretarial course. After graduation from the Job Corps you will not find

Lola loitering on street corners. She will only be there waiting for the light to change as she walks to work.

I cite Jerry, Richard, and Lola solely to illustrate how the Job Corps program can benefit the police community. By volunteering—a responsible first step toward full citizenship—in the Job Corps, these three young people took potential business away from you. They are typical Corpsmen and Corpswomen not as potential police cases, but as young people who sincerely desire a better life, who are willing to learn and work for it and who come from backgrounds of the four *U's: undereducated, underprivileged, unskilled* and, often, *unwanted* by their teachers, families or society in general.

More than 41,000 young people from all sections of the country are now enrolled in the Job Corps. They come from farms and cities and include a cross-section of all racial and ethnic groups. A typical Job Corpsman is 17.6 years old, has stayed in school through the ninth grade and then dropped out, has a fifth grade level of reading, writing and arithmetic, and has been out of school for more than six months. He or she comes from a family living in substandard and overcrowded housing, is unemployed but looking for work on entry into the Corps.

The Job Corps is a voluntary national residential training program for out-of-school, out-of-work, underprivileged young men and women. To enroll, they must be: 16 through 21 years old; citizens or permanent residents of the U.S.; school dropouts for three months or more; unable to find or hold an adequate job; underprivileged from having grown up in impoverished surroundings; and in need of a change of environment in order to become useful and productive citizens. The goal of the Job Corps is simple—to prepare young men and women for jobs in which they can earn a decent living.

After screening and enrollment the Corpsman or Corpswoman is assigned to one of the three categories of Job Corps training centers where they *work* on useful and productive public resource conservation projects, *learn* job skills and basic academic subjects, and *earn* a modest monthly living allowance.

The Conservation Centers, operated by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, are located in national parks, forests and grasslands. They accommodate 100 to 225 enrollees and the young men perform long-needed conservation work while acquiring a basic education. These young men also learn basic skills, such as surveying, forestry, weed and pest control, fire prevention and control, and hand and power tool operation. In addition to basic education courses conducted by experienced teachers and counselors, the enrollees receive training in nutrition, personal hygiene and physical fitness.

The Urban Centers for Men offer intensive and specialized vocational training. These centers accommodate 600 to 3,300 enrollees and are established on unused federal installations and other facilities near urban areas. Urban centers are established and operated under contracts with businesses, state agencies, and universities. These organizations recruit and employ all center staffs.

Youths assigned to these centers are being trained for jobs for which there are demands for workers—now and for the predictable future. Vocational training programs vary from center to center. Some centers feature training for particular occupational specialties, such as automobile repair work or data processing machine operation. Some of these programs include on the job training in local community businesses.

Enrollees are being trained for employment as office machine operators, data processing machine operators, accounting clerks, automotive repairmen, cooks, waiters, hospital orderlies, farm equipment operators, and for numerous other jobs to meet the labor market demands.

The Urban Centers for Women, each accommodating from 250 to 1000 enrollees, are located in or near urban areas and like men's centers, are operated under contracts with business organizations, universities, and educational and social services agencies. In addition to basic education, vocational training and work experience, programs in these centers include training in family responsibility —how to establish a stable home, budget management and fundamentals of good grooming and good health.

The vocational program for women includes training for employment in: business and clerical occupations, household services, food preparation, health services, clothing services, graphic arts, recreation, various electronics technician occupations, and others.

The centers span the entire country from Bar Harbor, Maine to Hawaii; from Bismarck, North Dakota to Puerto Rico.

Each Corpsman and Corpswoman receives room and board, medical and dental care, work clothing, a nominal allowance to be used toward the purchase of dress clothing, and a monthly living allowance of $30. In addition, each enrollee receives a terminal allowance of $50 for each month spent in the Job Corps. He or she may allot up to $25 per month of the terminal allowance to a qualified needy dependent. Each month, Job Corps matches the allotted sum with an equal amount. In March, 76 per cent of all Job Corps enrollees made voluntary allotments out of their allowance to assist dependents back home, with allotments running at more than $1 million a month.

Corpsmen and women are encouraged to participate in the Center's sports program and other extra-curricular activities, as well as to attend religious services of their own choice, usually located in the nearest community. While enrollees are encouraged to volunteer and participate—and they do—in local community activities, they are not allowed to leave the centers indiscriminately. They are issued occasional passes to visit nearby communities and are given periodic leaves for longer trips.

The success of the Job Corps residential center is, to a great extent, dependent upon the vitality of its relationship with the adjacent community. To build cooperation between the Job Corps centers and their neighbors each center has a Community Relations Council composed of interested local leaders and center representatives.

It goes without saying that the centers and the local communities have had—and will continue to have—problems very similar to the "town and gown" variety experienced in college communities. This is a fact of life wherever large numbers of people are introduced into an enviroument alien to them and, conversely, where they are alien to the locale. It is true that in these first two years of operations several of the Job Corps centers have had serious disturbances. We here in Washington along with the center directors are working to solve these problems by effecting closer liaison with law enforcement, fire and other public officials.

A harmonious center-community relationship therefore depends on you and me. It will pay dividends for both the Corpsmen and the community not only by providing an example of good citizenship but effecting opportunities for on-the-job training and participation in community service projects.

The 10-Percent Surtax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the administration's renewed effort for the surtax should be viewed in the light of certain economic indicators. Unemployment in October is up for the third month in a row. Nonwhite unemployment has risen from 6.9 to 8.8 percent in just 3 months.

The recent rise in the rediscount rate designed to offset pressures caused by the devaluation of the British pound results in the same deflationary effects which were offered as the rationale for a tax increase.

The 10-percent surcharge on income tax would in practice hit middle-income persons hardest and may raise unemployment. The administration should present a plan to reform the inequities in the tax system. In this way it has been estimated that $5 billion in revenue could be obtained without incurring the drag on the economy that would result from reducing middle-income purchasing power.

I include, at this point, an extremely perceptive article from the October 7, 1967, New Republic by two economists with the Brookings Institution, Dr. Martin Carnoy and Dr. Dennis Mueller, entitled "More Soul Searching on a Tax Increase":

[From the New Republic, Oct. 7, 1967]

MORE SOUL SEARCHING ON A TAX INCREASE

Joseph Pechman argued in these pages two weeks ago for an immediate tax increase to combat inflation and preserve social welfare programs in the face of this country's largest deficit since World War II. His case is derived from the "new economics" of smoothing out the boom and bust of the business cycle by appropriate monetary and fiscal policies. In time of boom this requires cutting aggregate demand, private or public or both. Pechman believes that given the political "facts of life," public expenditures for social welfare are likely to be cut without a tax increase. He and other economists assert that a tax increase is a more equitable way to reduce aggregate demand than reducing welfare programs or increasing interest rates (as threatened by Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board).

This analysis assumes a great deal. First, even if we accept Pechman's economics and a continuation of the Vietnam war as given, equity would suggest that expenditures in *both* the private and the public sectors be reduced, not simply private expenditures. The logical place to start cutting the government's budget is the $50 billion in non-Vietnam defense expenditures. There is no reason why Congress cannot do this, or why the Administration cannot refuse to spend some of the money the Congress already has appropriated. Such cuts can be supported on the basis of the Administration's own foreign policy rhetoric. Since we are spending more to prop up our domino in Vietnam, thereby preserving the world from communism, we should not have to spend as much supporting dominoes in other parts of the world or protecting ourselves from communism at home. Other programs Pechman lists as being sacrosanct (like the supersonic transport, the manned space flight to Venus, the $2.5 billion in farm income stabilization, etc.) also seem to be in need of careful review. By refusing to increase taxes, Congress would pressure the Administration to do just that.

Pechman is "practically certain" that Congress could not be talked into passing any tax reform measures this year. He probably is right. Economists are so quick to compromise on this issue that it is not surprising to find congressmen joining them in sloughing off responsibility to reform the tax laws, even though eliminating the oil depletion allowance would raise $1.5-billion, and removal of the capital gains loopholes another $5 billion in tax revenues. This would give the President more than the $6.3 billion he is asking for from the proposed 10 percent tax surcharge.

All these measures, however, assume that a decrease in spending is called for at this time. The chief economic reason given for higher taxes is to avoid inflation and the "distortions and injustices" it would bring. The injustices come from the drop in real purchasing power of people with fixed incomes; the chief distortions would come in the financial and housing marks as a result of another round of tight money similar to that experienced in 1966. Implicit in this argument is a value judgment regarding the social cost of rising prices and the benefits of lower unemployment.

The United States always has been inflation-sensitive and unemployment-insensitive. In postwar years, the US has had the *lowest* rate of inflation of any major industrial country, at the cost of one of the *highest* rates of unemployment (only Canada's has been higher). Between 1961 and 1966 our unemployment rate fell from 6.7 percent of the labor force to 3.9 percent, as we enjoyed our longest period of sustained growth in the postwar period. But although the rate of unemployment for nonwhites dropped by the same relative amount as that of whites, the rate for nonwhites still stood at a high 7.5 percent in 1966. There is no reason to believe that nonwhite unemployment cannot be made to continue its decline if aggregate demand is allowed to increase still further. This is a far more satisfactory method of attacking poverty than trying to maintain current levels of social welfare programs.

Many economists who favor the Administration's tax proposal point to the record for 1966 as an example of what can happen when spending increases "too much" and causes "inflation" (most of these same economists favored a tax increase in 1966). A close look at the structure of this price increase, however, suggests that it was not entirely brought about by a rise in aggregate demand.

In 1966, the price index of all good produced rose 3 percent. One of the most significant increases in the index was registered by government purchases of goods and services (4.1 percent). While this may have resulted in some redistribution of purchasing power from the public to the private sector, such a redistribution is not one of the injustices which is usually cited in discussions of inflation.

The personal consumption component rose 2.8 percent. This increase resulted from the combined effect of a *fall* in the prices of consumer durables of 1.5 percent, a rise in consumer nondurable prices of 2.7 percent and a rise in the cost of services of 3.4 percent. The major factor affecting the price rise of nondurables was the 3.7 percent increase in food prices. However, as Gardner Ackley (the President's chief economic adviser) pointed out in the summer of 1966, the rise in food prices was caused mainly by a sharp decrease in the supply of some important commodities and not so much as a result of the crease in aggregate demand. Service prices were pulled up by a whopping 8.1 percent increase in the cost of medical services (due largely to Medicare). Would an across-the-board tax increase have curtailed the rise in doctor and medical fees?

Over a quarter of the rise in the consumer price index during 1966 can be accounted for by the rise in medical costs and the rise in interest, property insurance and taxes. Mortgage interest rates rose 12.4 percent. The fact that a tight money policy, which is intended to curb inflation, may result in a large increase in the consumer price index because of the rise in consumer borrowing costs would be alarming to anyone less devoted to restrictive monetary policy than Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board. In retrospect, one can argue that the Board overreacted in its efforts to cool off the economy in 1966, and thereby brought about the distortions economists fear will come again if we do not have a tax increase. However, there is nothing in the "new economics" which says that bad monetary policy has to be accepted as a "fact of life" and countered with bad fiscal policy. In short, the record sugggests that a tax increase would have done much less to avoid the price rise of last year than its proponents would have us believe, and that many of the distortions they fear lie ahead could be avoided by a more enlightened monetary policy.

In the last analysis, the economist wears two hats: one as a professional and the other as a citizen. It has been argued here that from an economic point of view, the unemployment rates seems to be too high to warrant a tax increase. Nevertheless, as citizens, the appropriate questions to ask relate not only to the short-run effect of the tax bill on the economy and welfare programs, but what its passage or rejection implies for the continuation of the Vietnam war. [See the correspondence on this subject from economists Richard Du Boff and Edward Herman, page 38—The Editors.] What does even several billion dollars less in social welfare in 1968, assuming that such cuts are even necessary in the absence of the surcharge, mean tothe poor in comparison with a prolonged Vietnam war? The Administration has shown clearly that domestic spending and the poor will have to wait for the war to end.

It is becoming clear that President Johnson and the public see the tax bill as a test of the President's Vietnam policy. It is likely that rejection of the bill will be interpreted as a rejection of this policy and a repudiation of increases in spending on the war. In weighing the "injustices and distortions" connected with the surcharge, we must also consider the injustices of a continued escalation of the war and the distortions to our economy of a further expansion of the military sector.

MARTIN CARNOY and DENNIS MUELLER.

(NOTE.—Mr. Carnoy and Mr. Mueller are research associates at the Brookings Institution.)

Executive Briefing on United States-Russia Fisheries Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in October of last year the Congress passed a law which would prohibit foreign vessels from fishing within 12 miles of our coastal waters, except as expressly provided by an international agreement to which the United States is a party.

On Saturday of last week, the United States and Russia entered into a fisheries agreement concerning our Atlantic coast fisheries. Similar agreements concerning our Pacific coast fisheries were entered into between the United States and Russia and the United States and Japan, respectively, in February and May of this year.

On Monday, December 4, 1967, at 10 a.m., in room 1334, Longworth House Office Building, before the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, there will be an executive briefing by representatives of the State Department and the Department of the Interior on the abovementioned agreements. There will also be a discussion on fishery negotiations between the United States and certain South American countries and the United States and Mexico.

Because of the importance of this meeting to our U.S. fishing industry, I would like to invite all Members of the Congress to attend this classified briefing.

Peace at Any Price?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 14, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Bill Gordon, news director of television station WPTV, Palm Beach, has recently editoralized on an important aspect of the Vietnam conflict—the question of a bombing pause. I believe his comments will be of interest to all Members of the Congress, and insert them to be printed at this point in the RECORD:

THE BILL GORDON REPORT

Over and over again we keep hearing the argument that President Johnson should be willing to "take the risk" and call a halt to the bombing of North Viet Nam . . . or even call a unilateral ceasefire . . . in the hopes it will lead to negotiations to end the war.

Let's not bother to reiterate again that such bombing halts have been tried without result before. Let's instead face the fact that it wouldn't be President Johnson who would be "taking the risk". Instead he would be risking the lives of many of the 300,000 American troops now in Viet Nam should it not work.

Time and again . . . during ceasefires called for Asian holidays and other reasons . . . North Viet Nam has used the freedom of movement such pauses allow to move men and material into position to further endanger our troops.

It's all very well to advocate taking risks . . . when your own life is not on the line . . . when you can assign the risk to someone else and let them bear the consequences should you be wrong.

Once in a while . . . let's face the facts and call down those who continually blame the continuation of the war on the United States . . . conveniently ignoring concession after concession on our part to get Hanoi to the bargaining table.

From the President on down it's been made painfully clear that we will stop the bombing when the other side makes what can hardly be called a concession.

That is . . . to agree in advance that the halting of aerial attacks will result in some sort of good faith reciprocal action. Some sign that it would be a step toward peace.

And . . . it seems obvious that we would even accept some sort of token reciprocity.

But the answer continues to be "no" . . . that only a surrender to Hanoi . . . via a total American withdrawal . . . is . . . to them . . . an acceptable path to peace.

Yet . . . in some peculiar manner their position appears completely reasonable to some . . . while ours is not.

We submit that the "peace at any price" crowd has lost sight of reason by trying to equate surrender with peace.

Veterans Day in North Tarrytown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, one important consideration which tends to be obscured in the controversy over our policy in Southeast Asia is that we have a continuing responsibility to support our servicemen in the field until such time as their return becomes possible. This must be so, regardless of one's views on the proper course of our efforts in Vietnam.

This was the theme of the keynote speech by Lt. Col. John F. Carroll at the Veterans Day ceremonies held in North Tarrytown, N.Y., earlier this month.

I insert in the RECORD at this time a news article which appeared in the Tarrytown Daily News describing the memorial ceremonies:

An appeal "to give our full moral, physical and financial support to our fighting men be they on defensive outposts in Korea, Vietnam or along the Berlin Wall," highlighted Veterans Day ceremonies Saturday at Patriots Park. Lt. Col. John F. Carroll of North Tarrytown delivered the address which took its theme from statements by Gen. George Washington and Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Col. Carroll quoted from our first president's address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1800 the sentence, "To be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving the peace." Then he selected Gen. MacArthur's remark, "In war, there is no substitute for victory."

CONDUCTED BY CVC

The service was conducted by the Central Veterans Committee. Veterans groups participated as did the Sleepy Hollow High School Band. Prayers opening and closing the ceremony were given by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Anthony Ferrarelli, pastor of Immaculate Conception Church, North Tarrytown, and the Rev. William R. Buitendorp, pastor of the First Reformed Church.

Mr. Carroll said:

"The recent publicity about the Soviet achievements on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, should remind us that today is also the 49th anniversary of the first Armistice Day. Rolling back our memories, some will recall the day very well, the pealing of church bells, the blowing of whistles and sirens as children were released from school. Things were less complicated in those days. As a cub scout, it had been my privilege to escort each of my older brothers as they marched off with the recruiting sergeant to the train, to fight the Kaiser and make the world safe for Democracy. One was wounded in a poison gas attack; the other lost a leg to shrapnel the morning of the Armistice Day.

"Thus in the Eleventh Month on the Eleventh Day at the Eleventh Hour in 1918. Peace fell on the Western Front and hopefully came to the World, except in Russia where Communism was taking over."

After discussing the poor treatment accorded returning veterans of World War I, Mr. Carroll said:

FALSE SECURITY

"But while the American people were being lulled into a false sense of security believing that there would be no more wars, the Nazis, Fascists and Communists were preparing the training for World War II.

"In contrast to the 25 years of relative peace following World War I, very little appears to have been settled by the tremendous sacrifices of World War II, be it in the form of the return of captured territories or peoples. The world got rid of the Hitlers and other Fascists. The Nuremberg Trails established a precedent for the punishment of War Crimes, but it also appears to have reestablished the age-old formula, to the victors belong the soil and spoils.

"Today, also calls to mind another marathon Armistice in effect since 27 July 1953. It is along the 38th parallel in Korea. In that euphemistically called 'U.N. Police Action,' the United States lost 54,246 men killed in action, roughly four times the casualties in Vietnam. Our staunchest allies in the Korean War are still sending troops to fight alongside our G.I.'s in Vietnam,—they are the South Koreans, the Australians, the New Zealanders and the people of the Philippines.

WHERE ARE OUR ALLIES?

"It may be diplomatically ungracious to ask, but it seems a proper question to raise on this Veterans Day, where are all those other nations to whose aid we went with the best of our youth in World War II or with our billions of dollars in foreign aid since? Remember, too, that after 14 years of fruitless discussion, our men are still being killed along the Korean Armistice line, while beyond it some of our comrades are still languishing in Communist prisons.

Mr. Carroll touched on the illegal flag-burnings and nonpeaceful marches on the Pentagon and the menace to our country presented by the Fractional Orbital Bombardment system developed by the Soviets.

It was then he made his call for support of our national leaders, Col. Carroll said.

RENEW SUPPORT

"So, on this Veterans Day, let all renew their support for those who administer and enforce the laws of our land and our community. As citizens and veterans, let us give our full moral, physical and financial support to our fighting men be they on defensive outposts in Korea, Vietnam or along the Berlin Wall.

"Let us not hesitate to make known our support of our service academies; West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force and Coast Guard Centers whence will come those future leaders trained to work and die for the security of our country.

"Let us make known to our State and National legislators a desire for educational and financial assistance to our returning G.I.'s so that they will not be at a disadvantage when they take their places in our competitive society. Let us make certain that our legislators do not neglect the thousands of our wounded, maimed and ill in Veterans Hospitals across the land.

"Let us also pledge to honor and care for the families and final resting place of those comrades who paid the supreme sacrifice on hostile, foreign soils that others might live as free men."

Recommendations of Citizens' Strike on Crime Committee of Kings County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to combat crime at the local level, the Kings County Democratic Party invited a group of distinguished citizens to study ways for individual citizens to assist in the fight against crime. Based on their study, the Citizens' Strike on Crime Committee recommended a series of measures to strengthen the role of the individual in fighting crime. Because of its importance to the entire Nation, I am including the text of their recommendations for the benefit of my colleagues. I am also including a list of those distinguished citizens who served on the committee.

After a series of meetings and consultations with the New York City Police Department and their Office of Community Relations, as well as other concerned citizens, it is the considered view of the members of the Kings County Democratic Party's *Citizens' Strike on Crime Committee* that the citizens of Kings County, and indeed, New York City, must perform a larger role in crime prevention and control. It is also our belief that the citizen-volunteer can perform such a role without at the same time contributing to a vigilante spirit. Admittedly, there is always a danger that zealous citizens will overstep the boundaries of propriety, but this danger, we believe, is offset when citizens work closely with law enforcement agencies. It should also be noted that the *real* danger of growing crime must outweigh the *potential* danger of overly eager citizens. The committee therefore recommends the following *action program* to the Kings County Democratic Party and to the Citizens of Brooklyn:

1. *We encourage further citizen support for the N.Y.C. Auxiliary Police.* The Auxiliary Police are an outgrowth of the New York State Defense Emergency Act which empowered the Police Commissioner to confer police powers on trained volunteers. Today, there are more than 2,000 of these men who volunteer four hours each week to patrol the streets of New York in cooperation with each police precinct to which they are assigned. They are under the supervision of the police department and they do not carry any weapons. Membership should be encouraged by:

a) Democratic officials and club members might volunteer their services as Auxiliary Policemen, thus setting an example.

b) Seeking federal, state and city funding for auxiliary uniforms. Each uniform costs approximately $125.00. This funding should come from outside the normal police department budget, as does New York City's commendable policy of underwriting the cost of each auxiliary policeman's official shield.

c) Seeking free public transportation for auxiliary policemen to and from their tours of duty. In this regard, he should be treated no different than the regular police officer who travels free of charge.

d) The Police Department should consider using auxiliary policemen to ride in patrol cars as the "third man." Where qualified, perhaps the auxiliary policeman can serve as the driver.

e) The city should undertake a broad program to encourage membership in the auxiliary police. The city will soon issue a shield to each auxiliary policeman. This should be done in a public ceremony. A week should be set aside and designated "Auxiliary Policeman's Week."

2. *We encourage the Auxiliary Police to support a cadet corps to complement their adult corps.* The members of the cadet corps can perform valuable duty within the police precinct station as aids to the police. An auxiliary cadet corps might also stimulate police recruitment. With nearly half our population under 25, we must constantly strive to involve our young. Their idealism and energy are well suited to this activity.

3. *Each local Democratic organization should make the use of its clubhouse available for the recruitment of auxiliary police or other police helpers, and make space available to these groups when necessary.* The Dem-mobile truck should be made available for recruitment efforts.

4. *In each of the 23 Assembly Districts of*

Brooklyn the local Democratic organization should encourage a "Lights-On-Campaign" among local businessmen and in private dwellings. By leaving lights on at night (in the storefront, the driveway, the rear yard) the police burden is lightened (both figuratively and literally) and the public's fear of walking on dark streets is relieved.

5. *Each local Democratic organization should encourage a series of community forums, in cooperation with the police, on crime.*

6. *Each local Democratic organization should encourage its members to participate in the Police Precinct Community Council.*

7. *Each local Democratic club should encourage its members to work with the police in determining how volunteers could help ease the police's administrative burden, especially at Central, borough and division headquarters.*

8. *The Kings County Democratic Party should encourage and assist a county and city-wide program similar to Chicago's successful "Operation Crime-Stop."* This program would enlist citizens and organizations in the fight on crime by encouraging them to report all suspicious occurrences and crimes to a special police number. Perhaps New York City's emergency police number could be changed from 440-1234 to the four digit H-E-L-P (4357). The telephone company already uses three digits to dial Information. As in the case of Chicago, those citizens whose on the spot alert led to the apprehension of a criminal or the prevention of a crime, should be publicly honored. Police call boxes should be prominently displayed and well lit for emergency public use.

9. *The Kings County Democratic Party, in cooperation with other organizations, should organize a one-day conference to explore the citizen's role in crime prevention and control.* This is a relatively new and unexplored subject, and a conference which attracted a wide range of participants could make a major public contribution.

Obviously there is much more than can be done to encourage and create citizen participation. The Mayor of New York should lead the way in this regard, and harness the tremendous resources of our city's government. Our churches and businesses and schools and other institutions must join in this effort. But above all, it must be recognized by all citizens that the above recommendations are merely short-range palliatives for crime control, when what is really needed are long-range answers for crime prevention.

MEMBERSHIP—CITIZENS STRIKE ON CRIME COMMITTEE

Ken Auletta, Executive Director, Community Service Division, Kings County Democratic Committee.

Shirley Chisholm, Assemblywoman, 55th A.D.

Patrick Curran, Board of Directors, Brownsville Community Council.

Robert Fitzpatrick, Executive Director, N.Y.S. Joint Legislative Committee on Child Care Needs and Administrator, St. Vincent's Hall, Inc.

Gail Hellenbrand, Assemblyman, 54th A.D.

John Hilley, President Bush Terminal Company and past President, Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce.

Wilfred Jorge, Executive Board, PROBE.

Margery Matthews, Member, Local School Board, Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Elizabeth O'Daly, Assistant Superintendent, Board of Education.

Basil Pollack, Attorney, and past Executive Board Member, Brooklyn Civil Liberties Union.

Edward Rogowsky, Director of Student Activities, York College of the City University.

Joseph Saladino, President, N.Y.C. Transit Patrolmen's Benevolent Association.

Graham Mark Schneider, Assistant Corporation Counsel, N.Y.C., and President, Auxiliary Police Benevolent Association.

Dr. V. Simpson Turner, Chairman, Board of Directors, Area Three Neighborhood Board, Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Robert Walsh, Assistant District Attorney, Kings County.

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Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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1967/68

Appendix

Wounded Servicemen at Great Lakes Naval Hospital Support President's Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 1, 1967

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Wounded Servicemen at Great Lakes Hospital Support L. B. J.'s Vietnam Policy," published in the Charleston, Mo., Enterprise-Courier of November 16, 1967.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOUNDED SERVICEMEN AT GREAT LAKES HOSPITAL SUPPORT L. B. J.'S VIETNAM POLICY

Marine Lance Corporal Andrew Hess of Charleston was one of seven servicemen singled out at the Great Lakes (Ill.) Naval Hospital for a story in the Waukegan (Ill.) News-Sun on attitudes of American fighting men toward the war in Vietnam.

Hess, age 22, is recovering from wounds inflicted when a land mine exploded near him in Vietnam. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Hess, Word Ave., Charleston.

In his interview with the seven Marines and sailors, Jim Martin of the News-Sun wrote:

"While anti-war demonstrations stir campuses across the nation and politicians play the Vietnamese conflict to the vote-getting hilt, about 800 college-age young men joke about the situation.

"And the fact that they can joke should offer hope for the future of this nation. They are combat-seasoned Marines and sailors wounded in action in Vietnam.

"They occupy several wards and make up more than half of the 1,300 bed patients at Great Lakes Naval Hospital."

"The majority of the wounded men said they feel the war is necessary and that they are ready to return whenever they become able. A cross-section of the group, including officers and enlisted men talked freely during a survey by a News-Sun reporter. All those interviewed said the U.S. is right in being in Vietnam and certain members of Congress are wrong in talking about de-escalating the conflict.

"Lance Corporal Hess said he could care less about opposition to the Vietnamese conflict. 'Let them demonstrate,' Hess said, 'and ignore them. We know what we're doing is worthwhile, and the ones stirring up the trouble are in the minority.'

"Hess suggested that the demonstrators be sent to Vietnam and be permitted 'to demonstrate until their hearts are content or they get their heads blown off. I was sent to Vietnam to do a job,' Hess said, 'and all that stuff didn't change my opinion. No sense worrying about what's going on at home. Hell, we had enough to worry about!'" he said.

Other servicement echoed these feelings, although some felt more strongly about the demonstrators. One, Marine Private Jerome Pfliger, Norwalk, Ohio, age 19, said he felt demonstrators give up their rights as citizens "when they act like that."

Pfliger said, "I had a lot of buddies lie over there. They didn't want to go either, but it's the price you sometimes have to pay for freedom." Pfliger, a truck driver, was wounded when an exploding grenade sent his vehicle toppling off a 200-foot cliff.

"If anything," Pfliger said, "the race riots, draft card burners and anti-war demonstrations might have helped bring men in his outfit closer together.

"I have several buddies who are Negroes," Pfliger said. "They'd say they didn't particularly want to come home. Over there they were men, they said, 'but when we go home we'll be just another nigger.'"

PFC James Shelton of St. Louis, age 21, said he admired President Johnson for "taking a stand for what had to be done." Shelton suffered a gunshot wound in combat Oct. 15. He admitted that the draft card burners and the use of the war as a political football were hard to endure, "but the attitude of the guys over there sort of makes up for it," he said. "The morale is high. It's kind of one big, happy family."

This newspaper is indebted to Mrs. Charles Lucas, the former Jane Lett, 201 South Lake, Grayslake, Ill., for sending us a copy of the article.

Healthy Climate for Private Investments in Ghana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the text of a superb speech by Lt. Gen. J. A. Ankrah, chairman of the National Liberation Council of Ghana, to the African-American Chamber of Commerce in New York on October 12, 1967, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY LT. GEN. J. A. ANKRAH, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL, TO AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, I greatly appreciate this opportunity to meet and discuss with you our economic and trade prospects. My thanks go to you, Mr. Chairman, and the officers of the African-American Chamber of Commerce who have made this possible. I would like to thank you also for the warm words of welcome that you have so graciously extended to me.

Men of business sometimes, in spite of themselves, have always played a vital role in world affairs in view of the fact that industry and commerce constitute the lifeblood of every nation. The crucial importance of commerce is felt even more by a government like my own which is faced with the difficult task of repairing an almost shattered economy. It is our belief that the role of business, especially in the developing world is of crucial importance, an importance which should bridge the two worlds of business and government in the developing world.

It is not my intention to plead with businessmen for charity since such a plea could hardly be said to be businesslike. I am fully aware that the world of business survives and thrives solely on economic propositions and ventures. My chat with you this evening would therefore be aimed at explaining the economic situation in Ghana at present and the opportunities which exist for sound and profitable investment. It is when business flourishes that we can generate the many new products that can enter the flow of international trade.

Ghana has always been known to possess a basically strong economy. We are blessed with rich agricultural and mineral resources which can form the base of an expanding and self-sunstaining economy. Indeed when we achieved our independence in 1957, it was widely anticipated that Ghana would be the first country in Africa to achieve a self-sustaining growth. The failure so far to vindicate this estimate is due, not to any miscalculations about the basic strength of our economy, but solely to the economic mismanagement of the former regime.

I do not think it is a mere chance that there has, in the past, been only a small foreign private capital flow from the United States into Ghana. This situation is undoubtedly linked with the economic policies of the old regime, which while paying lip service to the virtues of private capital, undercut private capital by loading the state with a monopoly of almost all economic activity. The result was virtual economic chaos for the country.

Businessmen in this country must have been disturbed by the fact that for several years the budget of Ghana had been in deficit, with the gap growing wider each year, and the method of finance becoming increasingly inflationary. It was certainly no encouragement to foreign investors to hear of the rapid depletion of our foreign reserves which at independence stood at 560 million dollars, nor of our simultaneous contraction of large external debts amounting to some 750 million dollars by the beginning of last year. During the former regime our real gross domestic product, which had increased only slowly for many years, was rapidly becoming stagnant and although large investments had been made, yet the productive capacity created by the investment had remained largely unutilised, because of a lack of raw materials and spare parts, resulting partly from foreign exchange shortage and partly from an inefficient and haphazard system of allocation of import licenses. Businessmen, concerned about sound investments under favourable economic conditions, could only have been put off by this state of affairs in Ghana.

It was this chaotic economic situation, into which the former regime had plunged the country, that constituted one of the major causes of the overthrow of that regime by the National Liberation Council. Since the takeover our principal objective has been, among other things, to rehabilitate the economy, to remove the uncertainties which prevented the inflow of foreign private capital into the country, to take the necessary financial and economic measures which could restore foreign confidence in our economy, and to unleash the individual liberties and initiative of our people without which private enterprise itself cannot flourish.

As an emergency measure, my government received an IMF grant of 36.4 million dollars to assist us in our immediate balance of payments difficulties. We also renegotiated and rescheduled our foreign debts. This has given us some respite to resuscitate the economy. I must pay tribute here to the governments of the United States of America, Canada, United Kingdom, West Germany and other friendly states which came to our aid with either emergency supplies like food consignments or loans on generous terms for the importation of essential commodities.

We have also adopted drastic measures to reduce government spending by examining all avenues for effective savings. The management and operation of state enterprises has been thoroughly examined; some have been sold to private enterprise and others offered for joint government and private participation. We have reduced our expenditure on diplomatic missions in order to save additional foreign exchange. To alleviate further the pressure on our balance of payments, certain projects have been abandoned, pending thorough appraisal. As a result of all these measures, we were able, for the first time in the history of Ghana, to obtain a budget surplus at the end of the last financial year, after the huge deficits of recent years. We have also been able to achieve a balance in our budget for the financial year 1967/68.

The first six months of office of the National Liberation Council were thus taken up with drastic emergency measures which were so efficient that we were able to launch the next phase of our economic reconstruction, the period of economic consolidation and stabilization, stretching from mid-1966 to mid-1968. As a result of the rescheduling of our foreign debts and various assistance measures from international financial organizations and friendly countries, the foreign exchange situation of Ghana has improved considerably and our consolidation policies have had a favourable effect on industrial production. Thus, each of the three industrial sectors, mining and quarrying, manufacturing and power rose by as much as 18 per cent in 1966 as compared with 1965. By February 1967 the inflationary trends had been reduced and consumer prices had dropped by nearly 10 per cent. Our policies have, therefore, justified themselves and we are confident that by the end of 1968 the economy will have been sufficiently rehabilitated to be able to advance into the development phase.

In spite of the continued pressures on the foreign exchange position of Ghana, however, and even because of the strength which the consolidation policies have achieved for us, we were in a position to devalue a few months ago the foreign exchange rate of the Ghana currency in order to attract more foreign investments into the country and stimulate the production of exports, particularly consumer goods. We were further able to introduce soon after the devaluation, a realistic and balanced budget which further extended the already liberalised fiscal policy of the Government.

As far as trade promotion is concerned we have liberalised, for example, our open general licensing policy to extend it to include virtually all industrial and agricultural spare parts, chemicals and insecticides and pharmaceuticals and a few other commodities. We have also liberalised the law under which dividends and profits can be repatriated by private enterprise because we are anxious that foreign private enterprise should contribute not only capital towards the development of the country, but also technical know-how and managerial skill, the supply of which are rather short. The Capital Investments Act offers incentives for approved projects including tax holidays up to 10 years, various tax exemptions and other benefits. Indeed prior to February 1966 these incentives were not being granted. It is a measure of our determination that we have been able to grant some benefits under this Act.

To reduce the strain on companies, the Government recently decided to abolish the withholding tax which imposed a tax of 20% on profits which were repatriated. The reason for this decision is obvious in the sense that we cannot cry out for foreign investment and at the same time penalise those foreign investors who are already established in the country and doing extremely useful work, by imposing an additional tax on normal profits which they intend to repatriate for payment to their shareholders. We would have wished to reduce taxation further, but in view of our present economic and financial difficulties, it has not been possible to abolish the tax immediately. For profits earned as from July 1, 1967, the tax has been reduced from 20% to 12½%. This will subsequently be reduced, step by step until the tax is removed altogether by the end of the third year. Capital Gains tax has also been abolished.

What is needed more than ever before is for foreign capital to take advantage of the prevailing healthy climate to finance the establishment of a wide range of factories in Ghana to process local products into finished goods for both internal consumption and export. Such factories could have expatriate management while training local employees in the productive and management process to take over at some future date. We are convinced that in the long run it is in the interest of both foreign firms and the country that such local participation in management be encouraged.

Attractive prospects exist in various sectors of both the agricultural manufacturing and processing industries in Ghana, such as meat and dairy products, food canning, rubber, plastic and textiles, metal products. We have decided to establish a Capital Investment Centre to provide information about investment opportunities as well as advice to prospective investors about their chances of obtaining import licenses. Only by more foreign investment can we diversify and expand the volume of our foreign trade.

One of the difficulties that has stood in the way of expanding our trade has been the lack of foreign exchange to guarantee the 180-day letters of credit obtained by importers. Nearly 90% of Ghana's imports are financed on this basis. With the contraction of our foreign exchange resources and the consequent pressures on our balance of payments, we have had little flexibility in meeting these payments or importing according to the real needs of the people. It is here that our foreign exchange earnings from traditional foreign trade products, particularly cocoa, are so vital for us and it is for this reason that we press strongly the necessity of an early achievement of an international cocoa agreement to stabilize the prices of cocoa. It is our hope that the United States Government will do all in its power to accelerate such an agreement.

We consider that we have done all that is possible and even more to make foreign private capital feel welcome. I know some private enterprises in Europe and the United States have already taken advantage of this new climate to enter some sectors of the Ghanaian economy.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, in conclusion I want to assure you that the old economic order no longer exists in Ghana. All uncertainties have been removed and the investment climate is now favourable. My government is committed both in word and in deed to an economic policy which accords a high priority to the private sector. We are particularly interested in United States private investments in the fields of manufacturing industries, technical services, commerce, agriculture and mining.

As I stated earlier, our economy is basically sound, and the opportunities for private investment, particularly in industry, are immense. We have idle capacity, cheap and abundant hydroelectrical power and adequate infrastructure in the form of efficient transport and water as well as skilled and semi-skilled labour force. Ghana offers the most concentrated markets to be found anywhere on the continent of Africa. Since we took over the reins of government, we have taken steps to normalise our relations with out neighbouring sister African states, thereby opening the way for increasing levels of trade and wider markets.

I know that one question which is uppermost in the minds of all foreign private investors is what guarantees the prospective host government offers. Let me assure you that our laws carry adequate provisions which guarantee the safety of private investment. One of the first steps we took in our efforts to remove uncertainties of foreign private investment was to accede to the World Bank's new Convention for the Settlement of Investment Disputes. We have also streamlined the machinery for implementing the Capital Investments Act and made its concessions more liberal in order to make the process of investment in Ghana more convenient and expeditious. We have rejected any rigid ideas about the sphere of the public or private sector based solely on ideological or theoretical considerations. Our approach is pragmatic, based on the most fruitful possible cooperation between the public and the private sectors, with the sole objective of ensuring the quickest possible economic growth.

I think I have said enough to emphasize the importance which my government attaches to private investment and the opportunities which exist for profitable foreign investment in the new Ghana. If you feel that it might be of advantage to your Chamber to consider the possibility of sending a mission to Ghana, representing different types of business interests, which could establish fruitful relations with Ghana in banking, manufacturing, fishing, farming and commerce, you can be assured of a warm welcome from the Ghanaian people. Our people are engaged in the exacting process of development. We are participating in this process in the revitalizing atmosphere of our new-found freedom from dictatorship and restriction. Let those who value free enterprise and private initiative prove their faith.

The War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 1, 1967

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, a very interesting letter was published in the Northwest Arkansas Times on November 27, 1967. It was written by Mr. Arthur Hobson, of my hometown of Fayetteville, Ark.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The War in Vietnam

To the Editor:

I see that the military is once again making optimistic predictions about the war. According to General Westmoreland, "we have reached the third phase of our four phase plan in Vietnam, and the end begins to come into view. The fourth phase is supposed to come when the South Vietnamese are so strong and the communists so weak, that the U.S. can withdraw from the war. Westmoreland sees this occurring within two years.

In order to put Westmoreland's speculation into its proper perspective, I would like to list a few previous predictions about the war in Vietnam.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson believed in 1951 that "in Indochina—the tide is now turning." In 1953, French and U.S. officials predicted French victory over the Viet Minh within two years. As late as February, 1954, Defense Secretary Wilson said that the war was going "fully as well as we expected it to at this stage," the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff thought that "the French are going to win," and Secretary of State Dulles stated that the upper hand would probably be gained "by the end of the next fighting season." French defeat occurred three months later, in May, 1954.

Admiral Felt, commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, declared in January, 1963, that he was "confident the South Vietnamese are going to win their war." But the South Vietnamese weren't able to win it: instead, we have half a million troops in there trying to win it for them.

In 1963, General Harkins (U.S. commander in Vietnam) assured the nation that the South Vietnamese armed forces "had all that was required for victory;" Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester thought that "the corner definitely has been turned" toward victory in South Vietnam; McNamara and Gen. Maxwell Taylor announced that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965;" General Harkins prophesied that "victory is—just months away."

A sampling of more recent speculation includes the following:

"The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army are on the run" (Premier Ky, March, 1967). "I believe the purely military aspects of the war—will make tremendous progress in 1967 and that the percentage of American casualties will start declining" (Henry Cabot Lodge, former ambassador to Saigon). "The enemy forces have been broken up, if not defeated" (Ambassador Lodge, April, 1967). "The really big battles of the Vietnam war are over—the enemy has been so badly pummeled he'll never give us trouble again" (Lieutenant General Larsen, commander of the II Corps zone, August, 1967).

Official predictions about this war have always been wrong. The generals thought the South Vietnamese could win if we sent supplies and advisors, and they were wrong. They thought the South Vietnamese could win if we bombed North Vietnam, and they were wrong. They thought we could win a quick victory by sending American boys over there to fight South Vietnam's war for them, and they were wrong. They thought that sufficient bombardment of North Vietnam could bring Ho Chi Minh to his knees, and they were wrong.

It is not surprising that the military has been so consistently mistaken about the war. Generals have always been starry-eyed about the ability of their armies to bring about swift victory. The German General Staff predicted that the First World War would be over in four months; the French and English commanders predicted that it would last less than a year; it lasted four long years. Before Pearl Harbor, the military predicted that the Japanese could not attack the U.S., and that if they did they would be defeated within months.

President Truman's military advisors told him that South Korea could be defended with American air and naval power. General MacArthur thought that the boys would be "home by Christmas" in Korea in 1950. MacArthur thought that the Chinese wouldn't enter the Korean war, that if they did enter their logistics problems would restrict them to 30,000 troops, and that U.S. forces would cut the Chinese to ribbons. A few days after this prediction, 300,000 Chinese troops were in Korea; the war ended in a stalemate two years later.

I cannot really blame the military for being so eternally optimistic about their own abilities. Optimism is part of their job. But I do blame the American people for continuing to take the advice and propaganda of the military seriously. I would hope that we will take Westmoreland's latest pronouncements with a large grain of salt.

Amending the Commodity Exchange Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13094) to amend the Commodity Exchange Act, as amended.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, this is in many respects a rather innocuous bill which corrects some longstanding deficiencies in the 1936 Commodity Exchange Act and which should have been passed long before this. I support the bill as far as it goes—and particularly for its inclusion of livestock and livestock products among the commodities in which trading in futures contracts could be regulated under the Commodity Exchange Act. I believe my bill, H.R. 1320, was the first to propose such coverage, as recommended by a majority of us who served on the National Commission on Food Marketing in our 1966 report.

That Commission's majority report also endorsed the proposal I have been making since 1954 to include coffee under this act, and, since 1963, sugar as well. However, the Committee on Agriculture has seen fit to omit coffee and sugar from among new commodities to be covered by this law. After reading the committee report and the hearings, I am inclined to believe the position taken by the Committee on Agriculture on coffee and sugar reflected not so much a conviction as to the facts in the matter as it did the committee's high regard for its former staff counsel, who represented the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange at the hearings as a witness.

Mr. John Heimburger was an outstanding congressional staff employee—a conscientious and effective draftsman of highly complex legislation. This bill now before us, by omitting coffee and sugar, is a testimonial to his persuasiveness and effectiveness in his career now as a private attorney.

CONSUMER PRICES AFFECTED BY FUTURES SPECULATION

Despite the committee report's complacency on this issue, there are voluminous facts available to prove conclusively that trading in coffee and sugar futures does indeed affect the cash prices of these commodities and that excessive speculation in futures in these unregulated commodities—at very low margins, on downpayments of a few hundred dollars on contracts valued in the many thousands of dollars—has not only contributed to inflationary surges in the futures market but has caused spectacular increases in consumer prices of sugar and coffee.

A coffee price spiral in 1954 was directly attributable by the Federal Trade Commission to market irregularities and excessive speculation in the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange.

A sugar price spiral in 1963 was directly attributed by the Department of Agriculture to excessive speculation in the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange.

I am so impressed by the mood of this House at this weary 12th month—or almost the 12th month—of a dragging, dissention-ridden session, that no good purpose would be served by offering an amendment to this bill to include coffee and sugar. No one wants to listen to the debates at this late stage in the session, and particularly on amendments seeking to override a committee's overwhelming vote.

But I want the RECORD to show that despite the statements in the Agriculture Committee report on this bill that trading in coffee and sugar futures does not affect domestic consumer prices, the weight of the evidence is otherwise.

Consumer prices are affected only when futures speculation in a commodity reaches frantic bounds, of course, but that has happened on numerous occasions since World War II and will undoubtedly happen again. Even if coffee and sugar were under regulation, speculation would continue, of course, but there would be some measure of official control over practices in the exchange which are now subject to no Federal law or regulation. The New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange is strictly self-regulating, but the trading which goes on there directly affects not only consumer prices but official Government policy. Department of Agriculture decisions under the Sugar Act are frequently caused by, or influenced by, this private unregulated exchange's representation of the spot price of sugar, for instance, when that price might be based not on actual transactions but rather on the "tone" of the futures market.

NO AUTHORITY IN PRESENT LAW OR IN H.R. 13094 TO REGULATE MARGINS

In my opinion, a major cause for consumer concern about the activities of the commodities futures markets rests in the fact that even where Federal regulation does exist—as in the case of the grains, cotton, wool, soybeans, eggs, potatoes, and a number of other agricultural commodities—there is no authority whatsoever in present law to set minimum downpayments for speculation in these large contracts.

Thus, for a few hundred dollars, a person can purchase, or sell short, a futures contract representing many thousands of dollars. Unlike the stock market, where margins are set and controlled by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and are subject to tightening without notice when the market heats up in an inflationary situation, no Federal agency has a word to say about commodity futures margins. The exchanges themselves set their own margin requirements.

Since their main interest is in increasing the number of sales on the exchange, because those holding memberships on the exchange make more commissions that way and the exchange also prospers, the exchange's interest in this matter is often in direct conflict with the public interest when speculation becomes excessive and bids up prices.

In the last Congress, the Department of Agriculture submitted a proposed bill which would have granted authority to the CEA to set margins. I supported that measure strongly, and testified in its favor. I thing I was the only Member of the House to do so.

After that bill died in committee last year, the Department this year sent up a proposal which did not include margin regulation. It was at this point that I included in H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act—truth in lending—a provision giving to the Federal Reserve System the same authority over margins on futures exchanges that it now has over margins in the stock markets. Unfortunately, at our hearings in the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the Committee on Banking and Currency on the consumer credit bill, neither the Federal Reserve nor the Department of Agriculture, nor any other Federal agency witness, endorsed this provision on commodity futures margins, and, on my motion, it was dropped from H.R. 11601 while the bill was still before my subcommittee.

But we did devote a morning of our 2 weeks of hearings on H.R. 11601 to this question of futures trading margins and spotlighted some of the problems connected with this activity.

PROBLEM OF MARGIN REGULATION CONTINUES

The Department of Agriculture still believes that margins on futures trading in agricultural commodities subject to the Commodity Exchange Act should be regulated to prevent, or to damp down, excessive speculation using borrowed money. But in view of the position taken in the Agriculture Committee in the last Congress on the administration CEA bill which included such a provision, the Department did not want to run the risk again this year of seeing necessary reform legislation again pigeonholed because of this one controversial feature.

Secretary Orville L. Freeman assured me, in a letter which I inserted in our hearings on H.R. 11601, that the Department feels margin regulation is needed. We must find some way to accomplish that purpose, and in legislation I intend to introduce early in the second session of the 90th Congress, I hope that can be done.

I am concerned not only about the agricultural commodities subject to the Commodity Exchange Act but also about the many essential and critical defense minerals which are also traded on futures exchanges with no form of Federal regulation at all.

COMMODITY FUTURES TRADING IS BIG BUSINESS

Trading in commodity futures is of great importance to industries producing or using the commodities which are traded, and, as I said, also has an impact on consumer prices in the stores, as well as on the cost to the Government of defense materials. Yet it is an activity little known to the vast majority of the people. Brokers are advertising widely these days to get amateurs with some extra cash and a desire to gamble for high stakes to come into this volatile area of speculative activity, where rewards can be quick and great—and where losses can be the same.

This is big business. It is big business to the tune of some $75 billion in agricultural commodities alone. We are talking about a figure roughly the size of our defense budget.

It consists of purchases and sales of "future contracts" for the commodities being traded. These contracts provide that at some future date—perhaps as long as a year or more ahead—the purchaser will receive, and the seller will deliver, the specified quantity of the commodity.

The most common characteristic of these contracts is that not one in a hundred is ever consummated by receipt or delivery of the actual physical product. The great majority of the persons participating in these transactions have no thought of ever seeing or handling the agricultural product involved. These traders, who include housewives, retired persons, clerks, doctors, lawyers and the like, are simply putting up their money to back their opinion on a price rise or fall, as the case may be.

H.R. 13094 CLOSES SOME TECHNICAL LOOPHOLES

While few of these speculators are likely to have any real knowledge of the commodity in which they are operating, the "futures" prices at which they buy and sell are reflected in the markets for the actual products and thus affect the whole agricultural economy from producer to consumer.

Handlers of actual commodities enter the stream of market activity to protect themselves against price changes by the process of "hedging"; that is, selling futures against holdings of "actuals" or buying futures against sales of "actuals." Futures markets have provided these facilities for the benefit of the marketing system for 100 years or more, while at the same time enabling thousands of speculators to back their market guesses with their money.

In recognition of the importance of the futures markets to our agricultural economy, and the necessity that they operate free of manipulation and other abuses, Congress in 1922 enacted a regulatory statute called the Grain Futures Act and then strengthened this law in 1936 and changed its title to the Commodity Exchange Act. During this period the markets have grown and prospered, and in general have performed a beneficial role in the marketing of our agricultural products.

It is now proposed in H.R. 13094 to close many of the technical loopholes in the 1936 act looking toward prevention of some of the unfavorable episodes which from time to time have occurred.

I am sure that the modest proposals of this bill will receive the support of all Members of the Congress, but I am deeply sorry this bill does not go as far as it should go to protect the public from excessive speculation.

This issue will remain alive until we face up to the necessity to take the kind of steps the situation requires.

Academic Vice President of Georgetown Upholds Right of Students To Demonstrate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the headline "Georgetown's Father Fitzgerald Didn't Wait for Trouble," the Washington Examiner of October 26–29, 1967, prints the following refreshing news article:

> Anyone who ventured very far away from home Saturday will testify that the current "younger generation" is neither bashful nor quiet. Where students were once content to mutter in their beer, collegians now pull out instant signs and stage a protest march at the slightest provocation.
>
> What does the Rev. Thomas Fitzgerald, academic vice president at Georgetown University, think about his 8,000 members of the younger generation?
>
> "For several years we've felt the rights of students to be an urgent issue," he answered. "We felt we shouldn't wait for things to erupt. Once people get angry, it's impossible to arrive at a rational solution."
>
> Three years ago Father Fitzgerald got the ball rolling with an article in a university magazine which started out by saying student demonstrations are perfectly legitimate. But he laid down some ground rules, too, such as suggesting that students don't throw things.
>
> "The students thought it was very liberal. The university administration thought it was very sensible," Father Fitzgerald said.
>
> The university administrator is pleased that his students care about what is going on. "I'd be more concerned if students seemed indifferent," he said.
>
> Father Fitzgerald says, "If we really believe in freedom of speech on the campus, we should tolerate the presence of anybody."
>
> "But this doesn't mean I have to listen to them," he quickly adds.
>
> Father Fitzgerald thinks students or faculty have the right to quietly walk out on a speaker (although he doesn't think it's proper etiquette). But he says emphatically, "To shout down or heckle is an infringement of free speech."
>
> The priest, a native of Washington, has a special interest in academic freedom. He wrote his doctoral disseration at the University of Chicago on "Limitations on Freedom of Speech in the Athenian Assembly."
>
> "I examined ancient documents to find out how speakers could be intimidated or prevented from speaking. I found one case in the fifth century—the Persians were approaching Athens. They sent an ambassador ahead to tell the Athenians that their city would not be destroyed if they remained neutral. One speaker in the Athenian Assembly said he thought this was a fine idea. During the intermission, he was stoned to death. No one else spoke."
>
> Father Fitzgerald thinks the intensity of feeling over Vietnam "makes it pretty hard for people on either side to tolerate dissent."

"But I would hope that as a result of the McCarthy experience, all of us have become much more sensitive on this issue."

Father Fitzgerald thinks universities such as Georgetown "should seek to be responsible critics of society."

"A university in many ways is better qualified than anyone else to perform this role," he contends. "People in the university are less exposed to outside pressure and coercion."

Father Fitzgerald sees demands for more student freedom as part of "an awakening all over the world to the value of personal freedom." The civil rights movement and the awakening of undeveloped nations to their own sovereignty are part of the picture.

He sees one cause of the student movement as the more permissive rearing of children. But he says television has had "an incalculable effect."

"It has put us in the middle of things. I didn't realize this until the Kennedy assassination. I think the whole country felt it was standing at graveside."

Charges Against Administration's Farm Program False

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, some ancient and long-ago discredited charges against this administration's farm programs and policies are being heard in these Chambers like a phonograph needle stuck in a broken record.

For example:

First. The oft-repeated charge that "grain dumping" was done deliberately in order to depress farm prices has been heard here again in recent days.

The charge is refuted by the facts. In November of 1965 the price of corn was about $1.02 per bushel. The Commodity Credit Corporation sold corn in the winter and spring of 1966. By May of 1966 corn was up—I repeat, up—to $1.10 per bushel. By harvesttime in October of that year it was up to $1.29 per bushel.

The corn sold by the CCC was in surplus. It was costing taxpayers $64 million per year to store. By selling it on a rising market—which is the free enterprise way the market indicates it needs more of a given commodity—this corn was put to use. And it was sold without driving corn prices down. Prices continued to rise throughout the entire sale period.

Second. Another old charge popped up again recently in the criticism of alleged "sharp curtailment" of domestic buying of pork, lamb, and dairy products by the military. But what do the facts show? Defense Department domestic pork purchases in 1966 were 14 million pounds above 1965. This year they are expected to be 50 million pounds above 1966. In terms of milk equivalent, domestic military purchases of dairy products were larger in 1966 than in 1965 and are expected to continue larger in 1967. Domestic lamb purchases in 1966 and estimated for 1967 are as large or larger than in 1965.

Third. It was also alleged by some of our friends on the other side of the aisle that the Department of Agriculture had made: "Repeated decisions to increase imports of raw sugar into the United States." There have been several increases in imports this year in accordance with the provisions of the Sugar Act, as enacted by Congress, but this fact does not support the conclusion that domestic growers were thereby disadvantaged.

Under the Sugar Act total supplies of sugar must be limited in accordance with demand to support the domestic price of raw sugar at the highest possible level. When it was found that early estimates of imported raw sugar were too low to accommodate actual requirements, imports were increased. The method used to control supplies of sugar in 1967 gave the greatest assurance of supporting prices at the level contemplated by Congress. This is borne out by the fact that the price of refined sugar in September 1967 was 12.16 cents per 5 pounds compared with 12.12 cents per 5 pounds in September of last year.

Fourth. It has also been charged that actions on the export control of hides for a part of 1966 weakened our farming industry. This statement is completely unfounded. Export quotas were applied to hides and skins in March 1966. They were liberalized in May and completely removed in November. Hide prices dropped slightly in April 1966—but then increased sharply during the summer. Exports in 1966 totaled 14.3 million, for an increase of 1 million over a year earlier.

Fifth. Another assertion from across the aisle is that imports of meat and dairy products are jeopardizing domestic producers. The facts are that imports of beef and veal this year are running considerably below the high levels of 1963 and 1964 and well below the levels that would bring import quotas into effect. Most of the increase in beef supplies this year has come from increases in domestic production. Prices received by farmers for cattle this year will average about the same as last year and higher than in other years since 1959.

Those making these hackneyed charges choose to completely overlook the June action of President Johnson which proclaimed quotas which are to hold annual dairy imports to a rate 75 percent below the level that would otherwise enter this country in the absence of the President's action.

They make no mention of the fact that the Johnson administration is spending more than $5 billion on price supports and direct purchases of food and fiber from overseas shipment under our food-for-peace programs, for export subsidies, and for our food stamp, school lunch and special milk programs to bolster farm prices and incomes.

Sixth. Decisions on the 1967 wheat programs also are criticized. But they fail to mention that a year ago when these decisions were made there was widespread concern that the world was running out of food. Most of the news relating to current food production was unfavorable. The monsoons in India were failing for the second successive year. Short grain crops in the Communist countries had forced them to make large purchases from Western exporters. Disappearance of excess stocks in this country and a relatively unfavorable wheat yield outlook contributed to the uncertainty.

Since our wheat program was announced a year ago conditions changed vastly. We have had an unexpected development of bumper crops almost everywhere in the world. This was something that the experts, the people in Congress, in the farm organizations and the commodity group leaders could not foresee.

The Johnson administration has responded by reducing the 1968 wheat allotments by 13 percent. We can look forward to better wheat prices in 1968 because of the acreage adjustments permitted under the diversion features of the Agricultural Act of 1965. This Act of 1965, which was sponsored by the Democratic administration and passed by the Congress, will expire in 1969. This means that at that time action must be taken by the Congress to extend or amend the program.

Instead of shedding crocodile tears, our friends across the aisle might well review their party's farm voting record. They would find that the Republican Party has voted consistantly for the last 6 years against every farm program—right up to and including the Purcell strategic reserve bill which was defeated in subcommittee just a few weeks ago. Here was legislation which could have raised the price of every bushel of corn, grain sorghum, wheat, and soybeans for every farmer in this country. But true to their tradition the Republicans voted down the Purcell bill which could have added as much as 7 cents to the farm price of wheat.

If there is a moral to be gained from this sorry example of neanderthal thinking and stubborn partisan opposition it is that people who live in glass houses should not cast stones. When a political party deliberately sets out to scuttle a program which would have added thousands of dollars to the pocketbooks of distressed wheat farmers, it is in no position to utter charges such as I have just refuted—particularly when they are completely unsubstantiated and without foundation in fact.

Credit Union Magazine Calls for Annual Rate Disclosure on Revolving Credit Under Truth-in-Lending Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, between now and the time when the House of Representatives takes up H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which includes truth-in-lending provisions as its title I, the Members of the House will undoubtedly be subjected to great pressures from lobbying organizations in the retail field, and from officials of the large department stores and chain retailers in their districts, urging exemption of revolving credit from the annual rate disclosure requirements of the legislation.

Ever since former Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, proposed truth-in-lending legislation 7 years ago, large stores and chains using revolving credit have fought tenaciously and, I might add, successfully, either to block the legislation entirely or to write in a special exemption covering their type of credit. They won this battle in the Senate on S. 5, and they are determined to win it also in the House on H.R. 11601, as they did in the House Committee on Banking and Currency last Wednesday.

EVERYBODY'S MONEY MAGAZINE CALLS FOR ANNUAL RATE DISCLOSURE

The consumer's side of this issue has been reported in clear and direct fashion in the winter 1967–68 issue of Everybody's Money magazine published by CUNA International, Inc., of Madison, Wis., a magazine devoted to the interests of members of credit unions.

The article referred to reported on the proceedings of "Consumer Assembly 1967" which was held in Washington early last month. Expressing the conviction that, from the consumer standpoint, "things are sure to improve after Consumer Assembly 1967," the article tells of the strong support voiced by President Johnson at the meeting for an effective truth-in-lending bill. It urged credit union members to "take pen in hand" and write to their Members of Congress in behalf of "such matters as truth in lending with revolving credit" subject to the same regulation as other types of consumer credit; that is, requiring disclosure on an annual percentage rate basis.

I am certainly pleased by the manner in which CUNA International has presented this issue to credit union members. I am sure other Members of Congress will be interested in reading this article, which I include as part of my remarks, as follows:

Things Are Sure To Improve After Consumer Assembly 1967: A Meeting in Washington That's Bound To Make History—and Help Buyers

Things have to get better for America's consumers.

If the launching of the Consumer Federation of America in Washington November 2 at the Consumer Assembly '67 is taken seriously by you, your family, and your neighbors, things are sure to improve.

The price of credit, the quality and prices of a host of products and services from electric power to aspirin pills and back again through auto insurance and medical costs—all these will be easier to understand and cope with in today's razzle-dazzle marketplace, with the aid of the CFA.

The Consumer Federation of America spelled out these purposes: to promote the rights of all consumers; to get moving on programs in areas such as product pricing, quality, servicing, and guarantees; credit and insurance; house and home improvement; cost of food, drugs and medical care.

The CFA also will be a clearing house for exchanging the latest knowledge about products and services with state and local consumer organizations.

The new national consumer group, organized by a committee of national, state and local consumer association leaders, began to take shape at a gathering in Washington in December 1966. That was a follow-up to the successful first Consumer Assembly '66, which was sponsored by 33 national organizations, including CUNA International, Inc. representing the credit union movement. (A number of credit union state leagues support state consumer associations.)

Voiceless until now while the roar of the advertising pitchmen is heard, the consumer will have a lobbyist for his rights when the CFA goes before federal agencies to argue the case for the buyer of such things as food, drugs, utilities, fabrics, and insurance.

No sooner was Consumer Federation of America launched than 14 state and local consumer organizations pledged their early affiliation. By the time this is read some 30 to 40 such groups will be enrolled.

Formation of CFA was announced by the Rev. Robert J. McEwen, S.J., member of the President's Consumer Advisory Council and chairman of the economics department of Boston College. Fr. McEwen was prominent in organizing CFA.

L. B. J. BACKS TRUTH IN LENDING

The consumer's place in the sun is getting brighter from the attention showered on Consumer Assembly '67 by government leaders. Foremost, of course, was the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. He tossed his Texas hat into the ring of the consumer cause in a dramatic way when he appeared as a guest speaker on November 2. More than 1600 people gathered from all parts of the country for a Consumer Rally in the huge ballroom of the Shoreham Hotel in Washington.

The President told a cheering audience that 12 bills in his consumer program were before Congress requiring action. He singled out the truth-in-lending bill as a leading measure requiring much support from the folks back home.

"The truth-in-lending bill would require the money lenders of our society to inform the citizen—to tell the parents who need to borrow for their children's education, or to pay medical bills, or to buy a car or a television set—just how much it will cost to borrow that money," the President said.

"The lender knows to the penny how much interest he is charging. We don't think it is too much to ask that he also tell the borrower," the President declared.

PRESIDENT URGES ACTION

The Chief Executive called on the Consumer Assembly to speak up vigorously for "our 200 million consumers."

He made plain his encouragement of consumer action.

"You can only wield the power you have if you're willing to make yourselves heard," the President said. "You have the interest, you have the organization, you have the numbers and the horsepower."

The same note of encouragement was struck by Betty Furness, the President's Special Assistant on Consumer Affairs and by Representatives Leonor K. Sullivan of Missouri and Wright Patman of Texas.

Mrs. Sullivan called on consumers to support her efforts to win a strong truth in lending law—one with teeth in it that requires disclosure of true interest rates in revolving credit. This is the type of credit offered by retail stores and by many bank credit cards. The true interest rate nearly always runs about 18 per cent a year and higher.

Mrs. Sullivan told the Consumer Assembly: "If we lose in this battle, you can all look for an explosion into all credit fields of open-end or revolving credit such as department stores have devised and developed, and soon, more than half of all consumer credit would be outside effective coverage of truth in lending regulation. Without realizing it the public would be paying 18 or 24 per cent interest on a majority of its credit transactions."

Consumer Assembly '67 was sponsored by 63 organizations representing a broad spectrum of millions of members. Panel discussions on auto insurance, utility overcharge, and medical costs pointed up needed improvements for consumers who buy those services.

Delegates heard such prominent consumer spokesmen as Ralph Nader and Professor Jeffrey O'Connell of the University of Illinois. Top government leaders on the program were William H. Stewart, M.D., Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service; and Donald F. Turner, Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

But the most important people at Consumer Assembly were the delegates from all over the country. You're going to hear from them in coming months with the message of consumer action.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Tell your Representative in Washington to vote for the truth in lending bill with revolving credit disclosure. Take pen in hand and write letters to legislators. Air your gripe and tell them to put strong consumer protection on the books. Don't wait for a signal from experts—about such matters as truth in lending with revolving credit regulations, about the high prices on drugs, foods, clothing, and about anything else that drains your pay envelope. Speak up.

German Peace Corps Numbers 2,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, from the November 1967 issue of The Bulletin, a publication of the German Federal Government, I was pleased to learn that the German Peace Corps, based on our own Peace Corps, now numbers 2,000 young Germans and is planning an expansion to twice that number by 1971. The article follows:

Some 2,000 young people, members of the German Volunteer Service, will be lending an active hand by 1971 in the economic and social development of three continents—Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At present, about 1,300 volunteers have joined projects abroad in 22 countries in a spirit of co-operation based on the principle "Aid to Self-Aid". They are training nurses in Brazil, improving irrigation in Kenya, building houses in Tanzania and helping India's craftsmen to rationalise their working methods. These young people, spending two years at a stretch under conditions sometimes very different from those at home, are showing that they want to help for helping's sake.

The majority of Germany's volunteers are themselves trained craftsmen with several years' experience—from nurses and midwives to motor mechanics, bricklayers, farmers and gardeners.

The German Volunteer Service was founded in 1963 and is in general based on the model of the American "Peace Corps". The late President John F. Kennedy, during his visit to Bonn in 1963, attended the ceremony of inauguration.

The Service, with its headquarters in Bad Godesberg, near Bonn, is supported not only (and to the principal degree) by the Federal Government. But also by dozens of private organisations, religious institutions and political associations. Many of these themselves have long years of experience in development work overseas.

Last year, the Service booked DM 17 million ($4,250,000) in funds. But spokesmen say that about DM 60 million will be needed if the number of volunteers is to be almost doubled by 1971.

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Appendix

L. B. J.: A President of Patience and Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, in a speech on Saturday, marking the 25th anniversary of atomic energy, President Johnson once again reaffirmed the Nation's determination to "dedicate the miraculous power of the atom, not to death, but to life."

The President announced that the United States is willing to permit safeguards to all nuclear activities in the country—excluding national security—that will provide inspection of U.S. nuclear activities.

The President declared:

> This pledge maintains the consistent policy of the United States since the beginning of the nuclear age.

President Johnson is a man of patience and peace. He has worked hard and long to bring to fruition a nonproliferation treaty that will curb the dangerous spread of nuclear weapons in the world. The Senate and the Nation support this proposal. And now the administration is trying to achieve worldwide acceptance of this vital treaty.

On the 25th anniversary of the birth of atomic energy, the record clearly shows that the United States is second to none in the world in the search for peaceful uses of this incredible energy.

In the words of the President, "let us use this anniversary to deepen and reaffirm the search for peace."

The text of President Johnson's remarks follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF ATOMIC ENERGY

President Saragat, Mrs. Fermi, Mayor Daly, Members of the Fermi Team, Dr. Seaborg and Distinguished Guests:

I believe history will record that on this day 25 years ago, mankind reached the turning point of his destiny.

The book of Genesis tells us that, in the beginning, God directed man to:

"Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it."

But only in our lifetime have we acquired the ultimate power to fulfill all of that command. Throughout history, man has struggled to find enough power—to find enough energy—to do his work in the world. He domesticated animals, he sold his brother into slavery, and enslaved himself to the machine—all in a desperate search for energy.

Desperation ended in the experiment conducted in Chicago, 25 years ago, by Enrico Fermi and his fellow scientists. In a single stroke, they increased man's available energy more than a thousand-fold.

They placed in our hands the power of the universe itself.

Nothing could have been more appropriate than the words used by Dr. Arthur Compton to describe what happened on that day:

"The Italian navigator has just landed in the new world."

This modern Italian navigator was a great man of science. But he was also something more. He was one of millions who, in the long history of the world, has been compelled to leave a beloved native land to escape the forces of tyranny. Like millions before him, Enrico Fermi found here a new home, among free men, in a new world. His life and his career have a very special meaning to all who love freedom.

There are today millions of young Americans with an Italian heritage who feel a deep, personal pride in Enrico Fermi. America was born out of the voyages of a great Italian navigator. In a time of greatest danger, another—equally willing to pursue his dream beyond existing charts—took us again into a new epoch.

Today we commemorate our debt to him. And in doing so, we also honor the historic bond between the old world and the new world.

In a short time, we will be dedicating, in the great State of Illinois, a new National Accelerator Laboratory. This laboratory, with its 200 billion electron volt accelerator, will maintain our country's position in the forefront of nuclear research.

I suggest that we dedicate this great new laboratory to the memory of the modern-day "Italian navigator."

In so honoring Enrico Fermi, we will also honor the immeasurable contributions that have been made, over the centuries, by the people of Italy to the people of the United States.

Much has already happened in that new world which just began 25 years ago.

Giant nuclear reactors, direct descendants of Fermi's first atomic pile, are now producing million of kilowatts of power for peaceful purposes. Other reactors are powering nuclear submarines under the seas of the earth. They are our first line of defense against tyranny, whatever its contemporary doctrine or disguise, which Enrico Fermi dedicated himself to resist.

But it is really the peaceful uses of atomic energy about which Fermi would have wished us to speak—and there are many peaceful uses.

When I became President, nuclear energy was generating about 1 million kilowatts of electric power in the United States.

Today, the atom is giving us more than 2,800,000 kilowatts—almost three times as much. And more than 70 additional nuclear power plants are already planned or are now under construction.

This will equal about 20 percent of the whole electric generating capacity in the United States today. It is enough to meet the total requirements of 45 million people. All this from what was, 25 years ago—before the success of Fermi's experiment—only a scientist's dream.

The dream has been realized. By learning the secret of the atom, we have given mankind—for the first time in history—all the energy that mankind can possibly use.

It took the genius of countless generations of dedicated scientists to find the secret. It remains for us to use that secret wisely.

What began as the most terrible instrument of war that man has ever seen can become the key to a golden age of mankind. But this will not happen unless we make it happen.

We cannot forget that another, darker future also opened on this day 25 years ago.

The power to achieve the promise of Genesis is also the power to fulfill the prophecy of Armageddon. We can either remake life on earth—or we can end it forever.

Let me be specific.

If Enrico Fermi's reactor had operated 10,000 years, it would not have produced enough plutonium for one atomic bomb.

Today, a single reactor, while generating electricity, can produce enough plutonium to make dozens of bombs every year. And scores of these reactors are now being built all over the world.

Their purpose is peaceful. Yet the fact remains that the secret diversion of even a small part of the plutonium that they create could soon give every nation—every nation—the power to destroy civilization—if not life on this earth.

We just cannot permit this to happen.

Nor can mankind be denied the unlimited benefits of the peaceful atom.

We must, some way, somehow, find a way to remove the threat while preserving the promise.

The American people have made their own desires crystal clear when their representatives in the United States Senate voted unanimously to support an effective nonproliferation treaty for nuclear weapons.

We are now engaged in a major effort to achieve such a treaty, in a form acceptable to all nations.

We are trying so hard to assure that the peaceful benefits of the atom will be shared by all mankind—without increasing, at the same time, the threat of nuclear destruction.

We do not believe that the safeguards we propose in that treaty will interfere with the peaceful activities of any country.

And I want to make it clear, very clear, to all the world that we in the United States are not asking any country to accept safeguards that we are unwilling to accept ourselves.

So I am, today, announcing that when such safeguards are applied under the treaty, the United States will permit the International Atomic Energy Agency to apply its safeguards to all nuclear activities in the United States—excluding only those with direct national security significance.

Under this offer, the agency will be able to inspect a broad range of United States nuclear activities, both governmental and private, including the fuel in the nuclear power reactors owned by utilities for generating electricity, and the fabrication and chemical reprocessing of such fuel.

This pledge maintains the consistent policy of the United States since the very beginning of the nuclear age.

It was just 14 years ago that a President of the United States appeared before the General Assembly of the United Nations to urge the peaceful use of the atom. President Dwight D. Eisenhower said on that occasion:

"... The United States pledges ... before the world ... its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma—to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life."

We renew that pledge today. We reaffirm our determination to dedicate the miraculous power of the atom, not to death, but to life.

We invite the world's nations to join with us.

Let us use this historic anniversary to deepen and to reaffirm the search for peace.

Let us so conduct ourselves that future generations will look back upon December 2, 1942—not as the origin of sorrow and despair—but as the beginning of the brightest, most inspiring chapter in the long history of man.

Peacetime Development of Atom Advances as 25th Anniversary of Historic Breakthrough Observed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a most significant and important anniversary occurred recently when the 25th anniversary of the atomic age was observed in the world-famous Atomic City of Oak Ridge, Tenn., and throughout the Nation.

The Oak Ridger, the daily newspaper published in Oak Ridge, said in an editorial that the development of the atom for peaceful purposes has advanced to the stage that the budget for the Atomic Energy Commission is virtually balanced between peacetime and weapons development.

In this connection I insert in the RECORD the Oak Ridger editorial of December 1, 1967, together with an article from the Christian Science Monitor concerning the same subject, because of the interest of my colleagues and the Nation in this most important matter.

The articles follow:

[From the Oak Ridge (Tenn.) Oak Ridger, Dec. 1, 1967]

A HISTORIC MOMENT ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON

Saturday afternoon at 4:36—just about the time the crowd is breaking at Neyland Stadium after the Tennessee-Vanderbilt game—a historic moment will pass in Chicago. The 25th anniversary of the nuclear age will have been reached.

The association with football is not inappropriate. The event that began it all occurred under the west stands at a ghostly stadium on the campus of University of Chicago. Collegiate football had been abandoned there two years earlier, after many years of Chicago's prominence as a Big Ten power.

So the stands were empty and had been for many months that Wednesday, Dec. 2, 1942, when Enrico Fermi and his team accomplished the feat that, although noiseless, was to resound throughout the world and was to have (to make the understatement of the quarter century) a major effect on Oak Ridge. It did, in fact, mean the creation of Oak Ridge.

It is somewhat scientifically presumptuous and inaccurate to say that this first controlled nuclear reaction was the beginning of "The Nuclear Age." The nucleus has been around since the dawn of time and there were many other nuclear-related scientific breakthroughs that preceded the Chicago event. But, like no other single experiment, this one marked the beginning of man's control, and use of (for good and for ill) nuclear energy.

Anniversaries of this nuclear event have been exceedingly well marked—the tenth, the fifteenth, the twentieth. But there is something very special about this 25th—even more special for Oak Ridge since this year has been one of our own 25th anniversary observance.

Most significant is that on this 25th anniversary there is such overwhelming evidence of the positive direction of the nuclear age. Nowhere more than Oak Ridge is this evidence more apparent.

S. R. Sapirie, manager of Oak Ridge Operations of the AEC, in a special statement relative to the Chicago observance, hails the breakthrough that has been made in nuclear power and the continuing new valuable applications of radioisotopes.

Almost daily, in recent weeks, there is more exciting word about the potential of nuclear energy to bring about revolutionary changes for good in the world's underdeveloped nations through huge power and desalting plants. Only this week an Oak Ridge National laboratory team has return from a trip to India related to this very mission.

Throughout the world, and especially in Oak Ridge, the whole emphasis has markedly changed. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, has called much attention in recent months to the fact that the nuclear budget is now virtually balanced between peacetime applications and weapons work. In all earlier years the scale had tipped heavily toward the weapons side.

If we could go back 25 years and peer into the minds of those who were there at Stagg Field, and especially into that of Enrico Fermi himself, we doubt seriously that their hopes for the future of the nuclear age then would now seem substantially unfulfilled—Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Korea, the Congo, the Middle East and still Vietnam notwithstanding.

DECEMBER 2, 1942: THE DAY TOMORROW BEGAN

(By Neal Stanford)

(NOTE.—Twenty-five years ago, physicists at the University of Chicago achieved man's first nuclear chain reaction. Here is an account of the momentous day that opened the atomic age.)

WASHINGTON.—"What's going on, Doctor? Something happen in there?"

Dec. 2, 1942, was a cold snowy day in Chicago, and it was particularly bleak and windy around 5 p.m. under the west stands of Stagg Field at the University of Chicago.

A group of heavily overcoated men filed out from the west stands led by Dr. Enrico Fermi, the Italian physicist, and including Canadian Walter Zinn, the Hungarians Leo Szilard and Eugene Wigner, the Americans Arthur Compton, Norman Hilberry, Herbert Anderson, and a dozen or more others.

They nodded to the guard then hurried on. Incidentally, the guard never did learn, until years later, just what had happened that day on that old squash-rackets court under Stagg Field's west stands. For until the war ended it was top secret.

What happened on that cold Wednesday in 1942 altered the course of civilization. For it was on that day, at precisely 3:25 p.m., that Fermi and his team of scientists for the first time achieved a controlled nuclear-fission chain reaction. That event ushered in the Atomic Age.

This energy was first employed for war. The first experimental bomb was exploded July 16, 1945, at Alamogordo, N.M. Three weeks later a sister bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and three days after that another on Nagasaki.

After the war more sophisticated reactors were built, thus channeling the enormous energy of the atom into peaceful pursuits—the generation of electricity, propulsion of ships and rockets, testing of materials, medical research.

The Atomic Energy Commission has aptly called Dec. 2, 1942, "the day tomorrow began." On Dec. 1 and 2 this year, the University of Chicago is staging a 25th anniversary observance of the first nuclear chain reaction.

Following are parts of Fermi's account of the momentous event on Dec. 2, 1942:

"Finally the day came. We gathered on a balcony about 10 feet above the floor. Below us was George Weil, whose duty it was to handle the last control rod that was holding the reaction in check.

"Every precaution had been taken against an accident. There were three sets of control rods in the pile. One set was automatic. Another consisted of a heavily weighted emergency safety held by a rope. Walter Zinn was holding the rope ready to release it at the least sign of trouble. The last rod left in the pile, which acted as starter, accelerator, and brake for the reaction, was the one handled by Weil.

"Since the experiment had never been tried before a 'liquid control squad' stood ready to flood the pile with cadmium salt solution in case the control rods failed."

The drama and tension of the scene mounted perceptibly.

"Finally," the Fermi account continues, "it was time to start withdrawing the main control rod. The [Geiger] counters clicked rapidly. Then a loud clap. The [automatic] control rod slammed home. The safety point had been set too low."

At this point Fermi called time out for lunch. They reassembled at 2 p.m. and reset the safety point a little higher. At 2:30 they again began gradually pulling out the main control rod.

At 2:50 it came out another foot.

At 3:20 it was moved another six inches.

Then at 3:25 Fermi said, "Pull it out another foot. This will be it." The click of the counters speeded up to a steady brrrr!

Fermi's face broke into a smile and he said suddenly: "The reaction is self-sustaining!" . . .

And thus dawned the atomic age which Chicago University and the Atomic Energy Commission are celebrating.

Equality of the Sexes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert in the RECORD a news article published in the Washington Post of November 26. Look how far ahead West Germany is than we are.

WIDOWER WINS PENSION SUIT IN WEST GERMANY

BONN.—Equality of the sexes got one step closer to realization when West Germany's constitutional court decided that the widower of a woman civil servant is entitled to a state pension.

Heretofore only widows of male civil servants were eligible for pensions, amounting to 60 per cent of the husband's retirement pay.

The recent decision sets a precedent in that it establishes that widowers of career civil servants have the same claim to pensions as widows.

The first beneficiary of the new ruling is the widower of a Hamburg teacher. He took his case to the highest court and after the decision in his favor, will receive a monthly pension of $111.

There are now 200,000 women in the West German civil service. The number is growing rapidly—by about 10,000 a year.

Not a Slogan This Time but a Warning To Heed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, November 25, 1967, an outstanding newspaper in Michigan's Upper Peninsula region published an editorial which should be of interest to all Members. It was entitled "You Better Believe It" and, after one reads it, you will be a believer. The editorial centers on our postal service and, in particular, the anticipated heavy Christmas mailing which is already underway.

Congressman Philip E. Ruppe, our very able colleague who represents and serves the Upper Peninsula area along with a few counties in the tip of the State's Lower Peninsula, strongly urged that all Christmas mailing for the United States be completed by December 11. As you will note from the editorial, Congressman Ruppe speaks from experience in citing the need of 9 days' service in delivery of first-class mail from Washington to his congressional district.

We are all aware of the constant difficulties confronting our mail service. Automation and ZIP codes have not resolved the situation. Delivery service remains uncertain, to say the least. I would venture to say that this Congress, following the Christmas mail rush, should take a long, hard look at our present service. It is time that real experts take proper steps to upgrade service. Its business is growing so fast that it is literally strangling service.

I applaud Congressman Ruppe's efforts to pinpoint the breakdown in mail service. The editorial follows:

[From the Iron Mountain News, Nov. 25, 1967]

You Better Believe It

More than any other Christmas season in your memory, this year when the postmasters issue the mail early warning, you better believe it and do precisely what they say.

Never before has our postal delivery system been so unreliable and fouled up. And, with the heavy Christmas mailing already started, it's going to be worse for the next month before it starts getting any better.

For a matter of record, this criticism is not directed at the local post offices. They are doing the best with what they have to work with—the U.S. Post Office department's new trainless sectional center system.

The situation is not localized. It prevails throughout the country. Practically all non-urban areas of the United States have undergone the change in the delivery system as of Oct. 1 and are suffering the same problems. Obviously, and which comes naturally, Washington did not effectively preplan the changeover and mail delivery service has hit an all-time low. It is believed that the bottleneck of the Upper Peninsula mail delivery—come and going—is Chicago. However, it is known to have mail take four days to cross the Upper Peninsula.

The new trainless postal system apparently is unable to handle the first class mail properly. Somewhere, someplace in the United States are mountains of third class and junk mail which may never be delivered. Those huge piles are being bypassed to route the first class mail as soon as possible.

Businessmen depending on daily trade service, which had been dependable until Oct. 1, now are getting two-day service. This newspaper, like many other newspapers, is receiving the highest number of complaints in history from mail subscribers who are paying for a commodity which is being mailed out of Iron Mountain but is not being delivered, not only regularly, but sometimes not at all.

Congressman Phil Ruppe, who serves the Upper Peninsula, is on the warpath. Ruppe blames poor planning for the inept service in a new blast this week at the Post Office Department. "The problem is not in Upper Michigan but in Washington and Chicago. Personal mail takes up to five days to cross the Upper Peninsula. I sent first class mail to one of our towns and from Washington delivery took nine days. I am trying to get to the bottom of it in Washington and Chicago." Ruppe says he has run into one obstacle after another in an attempt to pin-point the breakdown in mail service which has the public up in arms.

"I shudder to think of what may happen when the Christmas rush hits. I believe there is a danger of a breakdown in the Chicago operation which will really gum up the works. This is why I strongly urge early mailing of packages and cards. Mail domestic cards and packages before Dec. 11 to assure delivery by Christmas eve," Ruppe says.

In brief, this year's Christmas mail early is not just an annual slogan. It's a warning.

Meanwhile, the Interstate Commerce Commission public hearings for continuance of the Milwaukee Road Copper Country are coming up the second week in December. The timing couldn't have been better. The mail situation caused directly by the termination of the railroad postal service is strong testimony for the continuance of Milwaukee Road passenger train service here. It may be carrying the mails again.

New Teacher Militancy Cannot Be Condoned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, teachers increasingly have been relying on strikes to improve their bargaining power. Some questions automatically are raised as to the implications involved in the use of strikes by teachers to improve their economic positions.

James J. Kilpatrick wrote an interesting article in the December 3 issue of the Sunday Star dealing with this subject, and because it touches on some vital aspects of teachers' strikes, I insert it into the Conressional Record:

New Teacher Militancy Cannot Be Condoned

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

All week long, schoolteachers here in the District have been talking of going out on strike. Coincidentally, the mail brings a text of Mortimer Smith's recent annual report as director of the Council for Basic Education. Smith's wise and temperate comments upon the new militancy of teachers merit a wide reading. He says exactly what ought to be said.

The grievances here are not concerned directly with pay scales. The local teachers' union is demanding a shorter school day, a shorter school year, and increased clerical assistance. Unless these concessions are granted forthwith, the threat is to hit the bricks. A strike would disrupt the education of 150,000 school children, 90 per cent of them Negro children whose educational needs cry out for unremitting attention.

Dozens of cities, throughout the United States, are experiencing the same kind of demands and threats from the teachers. Most of the demands it is true, go to the gut issue of money: The teachers want more of it. Yet a significant part of the dispute arises from the teachers' desire for a larger role in the fixing of educational policies. On this point, Smith speaks with sympathy:

"I have always believed that teachers have had too meager a role in deciding educational policy, especially in matters of curriculum. One of the reasons so many educational conferences have low nutritional value is that they are overstocked with administrators, to the neglect of those who actually operate in the classrooms of the country. At the White House Conference on Education, held two years ago, I doubt if more than ten elementary or high school teachers were among the 800 delegates. There is no doubt in my mind that the kind of teacher power that means increased participation in decision-making about educational matters is highly desirable and that that kind of power, if exercised by competent people, would be a great boon to basic education."

But there is another kind of teacher power, Smith goes on to say. It is the power that teachers are seeking "not as professionals, but as members of a labor force." He adds this:

"I believe they will learn, as have steelworkers and bus drivers and construction workers, that in the interests of material advantages they must surrender free action to the leadership principle. The teacher may find he has escaped the authoritarian figure of the school administrator only to substitute the authoritarian figure of the union leader."

And what happens when teachers do go on strike, as they went on strike in New York and Detroit? Smith speaks from a lifetime of experience in public education when he expresses his doubt that tangible gains offset the intangible loss.

"One would be hard put to show that the recent strike in New York City has improved the quality of education there, or that it has improved school morale or endeared teachers to the community. Getting around an illegal strike by the device of sham resignations must certainly have demonstrated to young people in school, through adult example, that there are always ways to beat the system. I suspect that teacher militancy . . . has tended to weaken the position of the teacher before the public."

In my own view, there is no question of Smith's rightness on this score. The militant teachers may succeed in winning higher pay; they also will succeed in destroying an image of public service that has been years in the making. (Nurses, incidentally, are doing the same thing, but often with better cause; their pay, by and large, is pathetic.) Once the word "teacher" evoked the Miss Dove or the Mr. Chips. What does it evoke these days? George Meany? Jimmy Hoffa? A file of pickets marching by a factory gate?

In the end, the teachers' militancy cannot be condoned. When they strike, they are striking not against steel tycoons or bloated profiteers. They are striking against children. Rationalize it as they will, this is the first impact; and whatever may be just and right in the teachers' position counts for little against the damage they do.

Communist Wine Connoisseurs in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Bulgarian Communists, who are quick to denounce the United States and the capitalist system, are eager to sell us their wines produced by the exploited slave labor and communals.

So thorough is their charm that the Red winetasting party at the Bulgarian Embassy receives free publicity on the society page of the local newspaper. Domestic wine producers do not even rate equal time and space.

One might wonder, if all the comrades and political laborers in Bulgaria are permitted such a capitalistic wine consumption.

Gracing the society pages with his Communist wine cup running over is again none other than Dean Rusk. If he doe not quit getting his drinking picture taken at every Communist embassy, people will soon start talking. Least of all they may think him a winehead. He is already under pressure—maybe he will quit and take a job as a Red winetaster.

I include three articles, two from the Washington Star and one from the Washington Post, following my remarks:

[From the Evening Star, ashington, D.C., Nov. 30, 1967]

BULGARIAN WINES MAKE DEBUT HERE

Wine is no novelty in Bulgaria. "Our wines go back to the time of Noah," declares Bulgarian Ambassador Luben Guerassimov.

This may be an exaggeration but the inhabitants of the part of the Balkans which is now Bulgaria are mentioned in Homer's "Iliad" as "The best tamers of horses and the best producers of wine."

In the 9th century, King Krum of Bulgaria made one of the first attempts at prohibition. He ordered that all vineyards be destroyed, but his subjects were less ascetically inclined and secretly kept the vine roots. It is from plants descended from these roots that Bulgarian wine is made today.

These wines are unknown in the States but they will make their debut tomorrow at a wine-tasting at the Bulgarian Embassy.

Prominent members of the State Department have been invited including Secretary of State Dean Rusk, together with the ambassadors from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Great Britain and Brazil with their wives.

Among the wines offered to guests will be Gamza, a full-bodied red wine with a hint of resin in the flavor, and Euxinograd, a light white wine, similar to Reisling but with more bouquet.

Other Bulgarian drinks on display at the tasting will be a Champagne, a Cognac, a rose-flavored liqueur called Rosa and Slivitz,, a harsh white spirit made from mare's milk.

Appetizers will be served which are typical of food from the Balkans.

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., Dec. 3, 1967]

RUSK PLANS TO STAY DESPITE PRESSURES

(By Stewart Hensley)

Although beset by many of the same problems and pressures which caused Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara to resign, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has no intention of quitting before next November's elections.

If he leaves before that time, it will be because President Johnson finds him a political liability and asks him to do so—a possibility not foreseen at present in top administration circles.

Rusk has passed the word to State Department associates speculating about his future plans that his opponents should not "count on" him quitting and his supporters should not fear that he is about to do so.

Rusk's associates say there are several reasons why the factors which moved McNamara—fatigue, criticism and doubts over some technical aspects of U.S. policy—are not troubling the secretary of state. They believe that the difference lies in Rusk's extreme dedication to the President and to his job, which permits him to submerge all other factors in the determination to keep on the job as long as Johnson wants him.

Rusk's critics believe that this dedication may have become a liability. They contend that he has become so dug into his present position on certain issues that he is incapable of flexible response to diplomatic opportunities.

Friend and foe alike, however, agree that Rusk is one of the most sincere and completely dedicated professionals to serve any administration in recent history.

He has a rigidly constitutional concept of his job. Nobody except the President knows what Rusk's private views are on all aspects of the Vietnam conflict, including the ethics of the operation.

Once a White House decision is taken, Rusk conceives it his duty to execute the policy completely without admitting, even privately, the slightest doubts on any aspect. To do otherwise, in his opinion, would be a betrayal of his trust and create the risk of erosion of the firm position which must be maintained in the interests of broad and longterm national objectives.

Rusk, like McNamara, has served almost seven years and has put in even longer hours, traveled far more extensively and made many more speeches than the retiring defense chief.

He has, however, an amazing physical ability to bounce back from fatigue. He attributes this in great part to the fact that he is one of those rare persons who go to sleep within 30 seconds after his head hits the pillow at night.

The secretary of state has the highest personal regard for McNamara and has frequently spoken of the "warm human nature" which lies behind the cold computer-like facade of the defense secretary.

Rusk recognizes, as do others who really know McNamara, that he is the sort of introspective person who cannot help but be nagged by private misgivings, no matter how brilliantly he carries out public policy.

Some of McNamara's associates say they believe that one of his proudest achievements is, in his eyes, the progress made in breaking down the barriers against decent housing for Negro servicemen and their families.

Rusk, who has a social conscience of his own, nevertheless submerges everything to his view that the United States stands at a crossroads in history, that its present course is correct, and that what happens to him in the process is relatively unimportant.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 3, 1967]

GOOD SPIRITS FLOW FROM RED WINE

(By Judith Martin)

One of those inspiring diplomatic scenes which are supposed to be the whole point of embassy cocktail parties really seemed to be taking place last night at the Bulgarian Embassy.

The Bulgarian Ambassador and Mrs. Luben Guerassimov were giving a wine tasting. The aroma from open bottles of wine and plates of pungent Bulgarian cheese filled the air. Vines of plastic grapes were entwined in the balcony balustrade.

And beneath them, arm in arm, merrily toasting each other in round after round, were the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, and the Russian Ambassador, Anatoliy Dobrynin, while the Czech Ambassador Karel Duda, and the Yugoslav Ambassador, Bogdan Crnobrnja, beamed.

And that might have been how the cold war ended and era of love and good fellowship began if they had been having the kind of discussion which is supposed to justify embassy entertainment allowances.

As it was, they had a nice talk about the comparative values of Georgia corn whiskey and pepper vodka, reported the Czech Ambassador. And then the Soviet Ambassador told a long story about a man who was eating blinis ("You know: pancakes," he explained to Secretary Rusk) and having a glass of this and that in between. He got as far as the 28th blini before they were interrupted.

During the course of the evening the Secretary and the other guests were given about ten different drinks to try.

Chief of protocol James Symington was holding three wine glasses at one time and describing himself as, "There goes the Chief of Protocol, hanging on a curtain and sliding to the floor, but not spilling a drop."

Then as he left Secretary Rusk told Symington, "I'm counting on you to see that all of our people get home."

The sad truth, however, was that despite the jesting everyone was depressingly, diplomatically sober.

The point of it all was the Bulgaria hopes to export wines to the United States. A Bulgarian exporter, Vinprom, sells 110 million bottles a year in Europe and wants to open up trade in the United States.

Case of the Missing AEC Commissioner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Chemical Engineering and News, the journal of the American Chemical Society, in its November 27 issue comments as follows about the longstanding vacancy on the Atomic Energy Commission:

CASE OF THE MISSING AEC COMMISSIONER

(By Louis Agnello)

Despite an occasional side excursion into less familiar waters, Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.) over the years has earned a reputation for knowing whereof he speaks on atomic matters. In the way of qualifying credentials, he is ranking minority member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and a former Atomic Energy Commission lawyer.

Therefore, it is unwise to dismiss too lightly any of his utterances in this area, which is sometimes a temptation because of the Congressman's penchant for the satirical. Take, for example, his tongue-in-cheek suggestion recently that the Administration devise some sort of "Rent-A-Commissioner" plan for the Atomic Energy Commission. As Rep. Hosmer envisions the plan, one or two qualified and security-cleared persons could be kept on tap at all times to "fill in temporarily whilst the Administration is dallying over a new appointment."

The proposal is simply Rep. Hosmer's way of calling attention to what he feels is a serious and persisting problem arising from an apparent inability or unwillingness of the Johnson Administration to fill vacancies on the five-man Atomic Energy Commission promptly as they occur. "The functioning of this important agency which controls expenditures each year amounting to about $2.5 billion is chronically impaired by extended periods of below-level manning," he charges.

The commission has been shy one member since commissioner Samuel Nabrit resigned Aug. 1 after serving for only a year. Before Dr. Nabrit took occupancy, the seat had been gathering dust since the departure of commissioner Mary Bunting 13 months before (again after only serving for a year). Moreover, the seat had been vacant for six months when Dr. Bunting was appointed. Since January 1964 the seat has been empty nearly as often as it has been filled. But inordinate delays in filling commission vacancies are by no means peculiar to the Johnson Administration. The record shows that during its 20 years of existence the commission has been undermanned more than 40% of the time.

AEC's commission-type government was provided for in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. It was largely a product of the anxieties of the times. An awesome new force had just been unleashed—a force too frightening, it was felt, to be supervised by one man.

But in the early 1960's AEC's five-man executive structure began to come under open attack from a number of quarters, including members of the commission itself. Critics argue that the commission form of administration had become outmoded, inefficient, and cumbersome.

Atomic energy no longer was in the experimental stage, they pointed out. Practically all major policy issues had been resolved. Most of AEC's responsibilities in weapon areas had been shifted to the Defense Department. Essentially all the commission was doing at that point was running the nation's already established civilian nuclear programs. They felt that this could be done far more effectively with a one-administrator setup.

President Kennedy made a number of cautious bids to scrap AEC's commission setup but pulled back each time short of submitting a proposal to that effect to Congress, but President Johnson has shown no desire even to consider the matter. Meanwhile, he seems to find the commission an excellent showcase for his nondiscrimination-in-hiring campaign. Dr. Bunting was the first female commissioner in AEC history. After a long and fruitless search for a female successor to Dr. Bunting, President Johnson picked Dr. Nabrit, who in addition to being a renowned biologist is also a Negro (another commission "first").

It is work as usual at AEC. Again, however, four extremely overtaxed commissioners are trying to do the work of five, and there is no immediate relief in sight.

Don't Clutter Mails for "GI Joe"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, we all know the importance of mail from home to the welfare and morale of servicemen—particularly servicemen in battle zones. But there are times when well-intentioned mail of a certain type actually can do more harm than good. Drawing on his extensive firsthand knowledge of the situation in Vietnam during the holiday season, newsman Jim Lucas explained in a recent article the kind of mail that it might be better not to send to Vietnam.

I insert this interesting, informative, and very timely article in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Nov. 27, 1967]

UNSOLICITED ITEMS DON'T HELP: DON'T CLUTTER MAILS FOR "GI JOE"

(By Jim G. Lucas)

This may hurt some feelings, but I believe I speak for most of our men in Vietnam when I say they'd rather you wouldn't.

They'd rather you wouldn't clog the Christmas mails with so many letters addressed to "a lonely soldier" or to a "serviceman in Vietnam."

They'd rather you wouldn't send them so many cookies.

I spent almost four years in Vietnam and this will be the first Christmas since 1964 I've not spent there. Every man there understood and appreciated why folks wanted to write them and send them things. That way, folks at home felt they were involved in the war effort, that they were contributing something.

NEED BACKING

The men in Vietnam felt they, in turn, needed people at home back of them. And they felt good reading the statistics on Christmas mail in Stars and Stripes. The statistics have been staggering, year after year, running into the hundreds of thousands of tons.

But that is the rub. Every year these write-the-boys-a-letter-and-bake-them-some-cookies campaigns get out of hand. I suspect they will this year, too, and that is why this is being written four weeks before Christmas.

These drives in past years got so big the Pentagon and Post Office Department gave them top priority. That meant regular mail—from wives, sweethearts, parents and kids—stacked up in Saigon while the clerks wrestled with stacks of letters from strangers. All the men got, for weeks on end, were letters from people they'd never heard of before and boxes of crumbly cookies from dear old ladies from Keokuk.

UNHAPPINESS

I remember one sergeant, the father of nine, who got three letters in one day from teen-age girls who wanted to correspond with a soldier—any soldier—in Vietnam. He was waiting for a letter from his wife who was negotiating for the purchase of a new home.

On another occasion, someone in Saigon called Col. George Barten, then the senior American adviser in the delta, and said he soon would be getting 33 tons of Christmas mail.

"I don't want it!" screamed Col. Barten, who hadn't heard from home in three weeks.

"It's your quota," he was told, and he got it.

So, go easy, please, on this business of writing the boys. Go easy on the cookies.

But the men over there appreciate your concern. But, frankly, letters from total strangers leave a large percentage of them cold.

I'd say less than five per cent of the men in Vietnam could be classified as homeless waifs. The other 95 per cent have families.

They'll be happier if you don't let your zeal to be helpful intrude again this Christmas.

Views on Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a rather clever letter which I received from one of my constituents, setting forth his views on social security. There is a great deal of truth to his statements, and they will become more evident as the rate and base and time of payment continue to be extended.

The letter follows.

NEWPORT BEACH, CALIF.,
September 23, 1967.

DEAR SIR: This is a copy of a letter I plan to send to the administrators of an insurance policy I now hold, discussing the reasons why I no longer want the policy:

1. The policy was originally purchased by my parents, who, when they discovered the fraudulent nature of it, were too embarrassed to do anything.

2. When it came time for me to assume the payments, I was tricked into believing that there were no similar policies available.

3. Now, after my parents have paid on the policy for eighteen years and I have paid on it for another twelve years—a grand total of thirty years—I find that the policy has no cash value.

4. From time to time, I am required to increase my payments for supposed increases in benefits, whether I desire the improvements or not.

5. My parents both died and never received any payment. If I were to expire now, because I have no family, the company would not have to make any payment, even though I would like to name others as beneficiaries.

6. The company will not allow me to change the policy within the company, nor in fact will it allow me to drop the policy, using the equivalent amounts to purchase a similar policy from another company.

7. The company holding my policy has not shown a profit since its inception, is not required to pay taxes, has more employees than

other companies, and at this time is bankrupt.

8. In order to get a copy of the contract, I must pay $2.50. The contract is two volumes and contains over 800 pages.

9. The company is again in the process of changing my policy. In an effort to understand the changes better, I am in the process of reading the four volumes made up of some 2000 pages, which discuss the changes.

10. One of the changes recommended is that the company will be in the position of deciding whether or not I need the money it is supposed to pay, upon completion of my portion of the agreement.

The policy is called the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance System, commonly referred to as Social Security.

Yours truly,

Richard E. Woodin.

Tribute to the Late Dr. Alan Waterman, Distinguished Scientist, First Director of National Science Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Alan Waterman, the first Director of the National Science Foundation.

Dr. Waterman successfully guided the National Science Foundation from a small beginning to a position of prominence and influence in the scientific world. Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Director of the National Science Foundation, describes Dr. Waterman's contribution as making the Foundation "an important bulwark of the Nation's scientific strength."

In this connection I am inserting a statement issued by Director Haworth following the death of Dr. Waterman, to be printed in the Record because of its interest to my colleagues and the Nation generally.

The statement by Dr. Haworth follows:

Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Director of the National Science Foundation, today issued the following statement on the occasion of the death yesterday evening of Dr. Alan T. Waterman, the first Director of the Foundation:

It was with deep sadness that I learned of the death of Alan Waterman, the first Director of the National Science Foundation. Alan Waterman successfully guided this organization from a small beginning to a position of strength and influence. He, more than any other single person, made the Foundation an important bulwark of the Nation's scientific strength. He left his own indelible mark of quality and of integrity in every field of activity in which the Foundation was involved.

When Alan Waterman took the helm of this fledgling agency in 1951, few in Government recognized the importance of basic research in the total spectrum of the Nation's scientific and technological enterprise. Alan Waterman was one of those few; his work at the Office of Naval Research had already established that agency's leadership in providing financial support for basic American science. When he came to the Foundation he began to build another organization through whose efforts science could develop strength commensurate with its promise and with the Nation's needs.

Following the precepts set forth in the famous report by Vannevar Bush, "Science, the Endless Frontier," as embodied in the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, Dr. Waterman, in concert with the National Science Board, established the basic philosophy still used in the Foundation, whereby scientists themselves largely determine the direction and progress of basic research. The Foundation early established the pattern of giving strong support to research at the Nation's colleges and universities where much of the best basic research and all of the training of future scientists, engineers, and physicians is carried out. To the widely endorsed concept of providing strong support to advanced students already committed to scientific careers, the Foundation, under his leadership, added the next logical step of assisting improvement of scientific education on the earlier rungs of the educational ladder. Thus the Nation is also strengthened through a better informed citizenry, with an ever-increasing depth of understanding of what science is, and what part it plays in the lives of everyone.

That he built the Foundation well and soundly is attested by the present size and strength of its programs and the degree to which the principles and policies laid down during his tenure continue as guides to this day. It was a mark of the man that all who were associated with him at the Foundation retain not only a deep respect for him as their mentor and leader, but the greatest affection for him as a gentle, warm, and sensitive human being. All of the Foundation mourn his passing, and extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Waterman and others of his family.

U.S. Gold to Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Associated Press has released information that $240 million of U.S. gold was taken from Fort Knox in a secret air shipment to London, England.

Why? Whose gold is it? Rumor has it our Government authorities neither deny nor confirm the story.

England has already devaluated their people's money. Are we now to set the stage for devaluating the dollar?

Just who controls U.S. gold, to make this decision?

I include the AP story of December 1 and Norman Macrae's discussion following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Dec. 1, 1967]

Fort Knox Gold Sent to London, Oh So Quietly

London.—The Bank of England's store of gold was reported up by $240 million today after a secret shipment from Fort Knox, Ky.

The gold was flown to the U.S. Air Force base at Mildenhall, Suffolk, where it was transferred to 16-wheeler trucks and given an armed police escort into London.

Armed flying squad detectives were at the Bank of England during unloading operations.

Neither the bank nor the U.S. Treasury would say why the gold was moved to London.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Dec. 3, 1967]

United States Urged To Avoid Britain's Errors on Speculation in Gold

(By Norman Macrae)

London.—It was inevitable that sterling's forced retreat from its battered trench marked $2.80 would put the dollar in what Secretary Henry H. Fowler has called the "front line." But, as speculators have rushed to turn dollars into gold, I hope that the next piece of advice will be regarded as coming from the battle-scarred rather than the battle-scared.

The important thing now is that the U.S. authorities should not repeat the errors that the British authorities, with their stiff upper lips but mistaken economics, so constantly made.

Although:

(a) it would on balance be desirable to prevent a rise in the price of gold in terms of dollars and all other currencies; and although

(b) it ought to be easy to prevent it by keeping on selling gold to the speculators (until they get tired of losing the interest payments they would receive if they put their dollars into securities); yet

(c) in the last resort it is not worth making the avoidance of such a rise in the gold price such a matter of face that America holds back the growth of its industrial power.

REASONS OFFERED

The Federal Reserve people have not been turning dollars into gold because they are frightened of the U.S. balance of payments deficit or annoyed with Congress's delay over the tax bill. They have been moving into gold because they think that there is at least slip chance of its price rising, and assume that there's no prospect of it falling below $35 an ounce. Wherever there is such an apparent one-way-option for speculators—either with gold or with a very hard currency (like the D-mark in 1957 and 1961)—people rush into it out of whichever of the two international reserve currencies is weaker at the time.

Usually, the weaker of those reserve currencies has been sterling; and Britain has constantly met runs out of sterling (sometimes quite inappropriately) by cutting down its own very slow rate of economic growth. But now that sterling has been devaluated, nobody expects it to undergo another devaluation against the dollar for a while; so it is attractive to hold money in London to take advantage of Britain's high interest rates. That is why the latest rush into gold has been a rush out of the dollar.

Some of this rush has been due to accidents as far removed from mighty America's balance of payments as the fact that India, Pakistan and Middle Eastern countries did not devaluate with sterling. Some local hoarders expect their rupees to be devaluated soon, and are hedging by buying more and more gold to put under their mattresses. (Dollar bills are bad for putting under Indian mattresses, because termites eat them).

FRENCH ATTACK UNITED STATES

But a bigger reason is admittedly the drama that is being billed in Europe as "President de Gaulle-Finger's attempted raid on Fort Knox", Gaullist France objects to the present international monetary system under which so many countries hold their exchange reserve in dollars. It says that this "lending to the United States" allows the United States to run a perpetual balance of payments deficit, which America then uses to "buy-up" French industry and to run the war in Vietnam.

France therefore wants all possible of foreign dollar hold-to be turned into gold. Because this would create a grave problem of "world illiquidity"—i.e. would mean that there were insufficient world exchange reserves to support a decent level of world trade—France wants to accompany this by a doubling of the world price of gold. At moments of international monetary disturbance, as during and immediately after sterling's devaluation, France will cause all the additional disturbance it can to try to help to force runs into gold out of dollars.

OLD SYSTEM PREFERRED

Other European countries would prefer to continue with the present world monetary system—holding a lot of their exchange reserves in interest-earning dollars securities, and solving the "world liquidity problem" by liberal further reforms of the International Monetary Fund. On the other hand, it is fair to give warning that, in an emergency, they would not be as horrified as the Americans obviously are at the French idea of increasing the world price of gold.

If the existing world monetary system looked like breaking down—for instance because the Americans, fearful of the raid on gold, began to guard their balance of payments by execessively protectionist and deflationary measures—then the Europeans might begin to favor a move to an increased world gold price as a preferable alternative to world trade recession.

And this is the paradox. So long as the United States regards the present situation as a "threat to the dollar", it is natural that it should think the proper remedy is a sufficiently stern internal policy to strengthen the U.S. balance of payments. Actually, if pushed to excess, this is precisely the policy that might eventually create allies for France. The proper U.S. alternative is to outface the speculators with sales of gold to continue with reasonably liberal and expansionist internal policies, and to keep on pressing for ever more liberal reforms of the entire world monetary system through the IMF.

Much That Is Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, through the years we have developd a tendency to overlook what is right with our society, and instead have concentrated our thoughts on what is wrong with our society. It was with great pleasure and pride that I read an editorial entitled "Much That Is Right," which appeared in the Star-Courier, Kewanee, Ill., on November 25, 1967.

I hereby insert in the RECORD this editorial which discusses what is right with the United States:

MUCH THAT IS RIGHT

Those who like to criticize often downgrade the accomplishments of our economic system on the grounds that it has made us a nation of materialistic gadget collectors with a diminishing capacity to pursue or appreciate things of the mind. But, if this were true, why is the educational level of our young people on a constantly rising curve? Why is it that the best-trained minds in medicine, the sciences and the arts come to the United States from other countries to learn and perfect their abilities in their chosen fields? How is it that this country is concerned with improving opportunities available to those now living at substandard levels?

The fact is that the competitive enterprise system produces the material necessities and luxuries of life so efficiently that it does not take all the average family's income just to pay for food, clothing and shelter. There is much left over for a stereo sound system. There is an insurance policy or a savings account for the youngsters' college. There is time to read and learn. There are increasing opportunities to travel. There is a political freedom, and the constitutional system that guarantees individuals rights and liberties.

Yes, there is much RIGHT with the United States. Because of all the things that are right, we have a far better chance of solving the problems and correcting the inequities that remain with us than any nation of people the world has seen before.

The Honorable Walton H. Bachrach Retires as Mayor of Cincinnati

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, after 14 years of service to the city of Cincinnati, the Honorable Walton H. Bachrach has retired. His presence has meant much to Cincinnati and Hamilton County. During his years of service, the city has moved forward with an ambitious urban renewal program, and has witnessed tremendous gains on all fronts.

The following editorial, published in the November 30, 1967, Cincinnati Enquirer, is an example of the effection in which Mayor Bachrach was held by all Cincinnatians:

THE MAYOR RETIRES

Something of an era comes to a close today with the retirement of Walton H. Bachrach after 14 years of service on Cincinnati City Council and six years as the Queen City's mayor.

The half-dozen years during which Mr. Bachrach occupied the mayor's office have been years of notable growth and progress. They have seen the Convention-Exposition Center conceived, financed and dedicated. They have seen the downtown renewal program under way in earnest and the riverfront stadium converted from a dream into a firm commitment. They have seen, in short, a climate of progress—a climate that has inspired dozens of Cincinnati business and industrial establishments to choose a course of expansion and forward movement.

In view of Cincinnati's city-manager form of government, no two mayors have interpreted their official responsibilities in quite the same manner. Mr. Bachrach saw himself not as a molder of public opinion or a shaper of public policies, but as a spokesman for all of the people of the Queen City. Scarcely anyone could have filled the role with more patience, dedication, or grace. Literally thousands of public occasions have been enhanced by Mayor Bachrach's presence, and literally thousands of worthwhile community causes have been enriched by his patronage.

Walton H. Bachrach has been a part of the civic scene too long, we suspect, to vanish entirely. We trust he will continue to perform usefully in Cincinnati's behalf. He steps down from the weighty responsibilities of the mayor's office with the gratitude, the affection and the good wishes of the entire community.

United States-Soviet Fisheries Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, last week it was announced that the United States and the Soviet Union have signed an agreement to help to conserve and protect the vital fisheries resources along part of our Atlantic coast. This was a highly important agreement, both for what it accomplished and for what it indicated we must accomplish in the future. The scope of this first understanding is limited, but it is a significant step forward in recognizing the need to act together in safeguarding mutual interests in ocean resources.

This agreement, Mr. Speaker, which protects the commercially valuable stocks of red hake, silver hake, scup, and fluke, extends to the international waters adjacent to Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey. Soviet fishing fleets will limit the size of their catch and the length of their fishing season in this area, in order to allow a healthy rate of increase in these stocks and to give American fishermen a fair share of the catch.

We from New England, Mr. Speaker, must say that we are far from satisfied with the scope and the effect of the agreement. We are concerned at the omission of the Georges Bank fishing grounds off Massachusetts, which are economically more significant and which are perhaps even more heavily overfished.

Fishing representatives from Massachusetts are concerned further that an indirect effect of the new pact could be a greater number of Soviet vessels on Georges Bank. During the period that they are obliged not to fish in the New York-New Jersey area, these huge trawlers might simply divert to Georges Bank. The result could be to increase the threat of Soviet competition for our own badly overfished stocks.

This morning I raised this question with Ambassador Donald McKernon, the State Department officer who led our negotiating team in Moscow. He said in effect that the Soviets are not likely to move their boats up to Georges Bank, because the catch is already so low there. Sometime earlier the Soviets had apparently moved part of their fleet to the New York-New Jersey area because the Massachusetts coast was already being fished to the point of declining yields. It is certainly a sad situation when the only protection we have against foreign competition is the fact that the bottom of the fish box is already being scraped.

It has been emphasized, Mr. Speaker, that this pact is an experimental one. After a 1-year period, it may be revised and extended. It is clear however, that time is running out and that the problems of conservation and sharing the catch in the Georges Bank area must be attacked with great urgency. The American catch from this traditional fishing ground has shrunk until it is already only a little more than half the Soviet catch.

The new treaty is encouraging as evidence of a cooperative trend in conserving and developing the resources of the sea. Let us hope that this accord on sharing fisheries resources will be extended, and that we will see a continuation of this .cooperative spirit in promoting values in which we and other nations have an important mutual stake.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD two articles on the subject of the recent treaty. One is an editorial from the New Bedford Standard Times and the other is an article from the New York Times, describing the challenge from foreign fishing on Georges Bank.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, Nov. 28, 1967]

AN AGREEMENT ON FISHING

The encouraging aspect of the U.S.-Soviet Union agreement, aimed at allowing certain Atlantic coast fisheries to recover from over-exploitation by voluntary restriction on Russian fishing, is that not long ago such a pact would have been impossible to achieve.

This fact overshadows our failure to gain in the bargain everything that we wanted. For example, the Associated Press story from Moscow did not list haddock as among the species included. Yet in 1965, the Soviets caught 82,000 metric tons of haddock on Georges Bank, while the U.S. took only 55,000.

Haddock is of fundamental economic importance, and what this kind of a catch does to the supply we are not certain, but it has caused apprehension.

Still, there is an agreement and one was needed. In 1966, the Soviet fleet took 711,201 metric tons of fish in the ICNAF (Northwest Atlantic) area, compared to 304,903 tons by the U.S. In the same period, the Russians caught 456,358 metric tons of this total on Georges Bank, as contrasted with our catch of 270,440 tons.

Obviously, there is reason to be concerned about overfishing of the resource and international arrangements are the only possible approach to an improved situation.

The National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development earlier this year concluded, "The extension of fishing jurisdiction (Congress enacted legislation last year extending our fishery zone to 12 miles) will not resolve the conservation problem for many stocks of fish found along U.S. coasts . . . International agreements will continue to be of vital importance to the prudent use of world fishery stocks."

Why should the U.S.S.R. be willing to enter into such-agreements?

Because her agricultural problem continues, because it is cheaper to produce a pound of protein from the sea than from the land, and because in order to feed her millions, she has to fish intensively off the coasts of many nations.

Accepting this reality, she does not wish to antagonize these nations which could, in combination, make it much more difficult for her to fish. Dr. Harold E. Crowther, director of the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, commented, "I think the Soviet Union is desirous of preserving a good image as a fishing nation."

It would seem to be so, for this latest agreement follows a similar West Coast pact that has worked, according to those who live with it, "quite well" for approximately a year.

The nation, and the fishing industry, owe a vote of thanks to those patient U.S. negotiators who inched their way through hours of hard bargaining to gain this important first step toward sensible fisheries management.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 27, 1967]

UNITED STATES IS OUTFISHED BY SOVIET FLEETS—GEORGES BANK HAULS RAISE FEARS OF DEPLETION

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—A streamlined and efficient Soviet trawler fleet outfishes United States rival off the New England coast.

Huge Soviet hauls from Georges Bank have raised fears that the area is being over-exploited. There are demands from the American fishing industry for sharply increased spinding on fisheries research.

Georges Bank, 8,500 miles square, is a main habitat of the haddock, the fish species most valuable to the United States.

In 1965 the Soviet Union caught about 90,000 tons of haddock in this area, the United States only about 60,000 tons. The total catch by all nations which fish the bank was the greatest ever, but the United States catch was about average for the last two decades.

Within 10 years, the Russians have overtaken United States fish production; doubled their catch to more than 5 million tons in 1965; acquired an 18,000-vessel fleet, and now proposed to add 1,500 new vessels during the next five years.

U.S. CATCH STATIC

By contrast, the total United States catch has remained static, slightly below 3 million tons. Harold E. Crowther, director of the United States Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, estimates that 90 per cent of the American fleet, 12,000 vessels over five net tons, ought to be replaced because of age.

At present, there are about 60 Soviet vessels on Georges Bank; during 1962–63, there were 300–400; the Russian trend is to produce more poundage with fewer and more modern ships.

The Soviet fishing operation is sophisticated. Medium trawlers—125 feet—have bottom-tending or midwater trawl nets. Their midwater fishing capability is generally superior to Americans. They unload their catches on nearby processing and refrigerated transport vessels.

Large refrigerated trawlers, 190 to 230 feet, have canning and fish meal plants; these vessels are used as catcher or scout ships and have homing beacons to direct fleets of vessels to the fishing areas.

FACTORY SHIPS USED

Russian factory stern trawlers (most American vessels still use the earlier method of fishing from the side) have fish processing and dehydration plants. They can catch, freeze, salt or can fish and produce fish meal; they carry a crew of 100. Tropik class factory trawlers of 260 feet have freezing equipment and are capable of long lining, purse seining and otter trawling. The three basic methods of catching fish are at the surface, at mid-depth and on the bottom. Often, a United States vessel requires three weeks to change from one type of fishing to another; a majority cannot be changed at all.

Soviet ships operate as a fleet, constantly exchanging information by radio; exploratory vessels find the fish, and notify the fleet.

Americans send to Georges Bank a vessel of from 80 to 125 feet; more often wood than steel and more likely built before 1950 than since, with a crew of from 8 to 16, and capable of bottom trawling only. It cannot freeze or process; it can only catch and ice fresh fish, and after five or six days on the grounds, must make the 100-plus-mile run back to port. Fish capacity may total 200,000 pounds, but usually, catches each trip are considerably, less than half of this.

Because United States skippers compete, if a boat finds fish, it keeps the news to itself; individual captains may spend days exploring for more fish.

SHIPS WORK CONSTANTLY

Mr. Crowther added:

"On a catch per man-hour basis, our better vessels are more efficient than theirs. But their mother ships enable catchers to work constantly. Less than 50 per cent of our vessel time is used in fishing; we have to run home and back, many times without even filling up, because we need to preserve the quality of the fresh product."

The greatly intensified Soviet effort in the northwest Altantic has raised a serious question of over-exploitation. In an unusual move, United States and Soviet scientists afloat are examining this fishery resource cooperatively. Ashore, United States and Russian spokesmen are trying to work out an Atlantic fish conservation agreement patterned after a similar, successful West Coast arrangement between the two nations. Washington officials are hopeful, believing the Russians want to preserve both the resource and a world image as a responsible fishing nation.

But conservation won't help American fishermen compete with foreign fish imports. Only 1 per cent of Russia's catch is exported to the United States, but this is expected to increase. Seventy per cent of Canada's catch is shipped to the United States.

The Kee Report: GI Rights for Vietnam Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include last week's public service radio and television newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report is GI rights for Vietnam veterans. The report follows:

GI RIGHTS FOR VIETNAM VETERANS

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

I believe that the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of this year, 1967, is one of the most useful and necessary measures enacted by this Congress.

The importance of this legislation may be gauged by the fact that under its provisions, war veterans in our own Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia will be entitled to an additional $414,000 in annual payments. More than half this amount is available for training and educational benefits.

At the present time, there is no country more generous in caring for its war veterans than the United States. But that was not always true. The fact is that the first comprehensive program to care for the sick, needy, and disadvantaged veterans had to wait for enactment until after World War I. An historical overhaul of this program was made after World War II and came to be known as the GI Bill of Rights.

This year's legislation was another periodic adjustment, designed to correct inequities and to authorize increased payments to match increased living costs. Another overriding purpose of this recent legislation is to confer the status of war veteran upon those members of the armed forces now serving in Vietnam, or who saw service in that country on or after the date of August 5, 1964. The conflict in Vietnam is a major war and has been for nearly three years. To give the status of war veteran to those engaged in this war may be looked upon as an act of belated justice.

In the Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia at this time, there is a sizeable group of young men who served in Vietnam and who are now eligible for the same benefits conferred upon other veterans under the GI Bill of Rights. Unfortunately, many are unaware of their newly-acquired rights. I hope that some of these may be alerted by this broadcast. If you know a young veteran of the Vietnam conflict, please remind him that he should inquire about the benefits to which he may be entitled under this recently-enacted legislation. The most important provisions include (1) compensation for disabled veterans at war-time rates; (2) pensions for disabled veterans and (3) death pensions for widows and children. I mention these provisions because most Americans will agree that adequate treatment for the disabled veteran is our prime responsibility.

The original GI Bill of Rights, adopted after World War II, provided additional educational and training benefits for those interested veterans. There were some people who believed this was unwise legislation. But, experience disclosed that it was one of the finest things ever done for returning veterans. Now these same privileges are extended to those members of the armed forces who served in Vietnam.

I strongly urge every Vietnam veteran who feels the need of more education or more job training, to exercise his rights under this Act. The man who is home for a year or more and now has a job and a growing family may shrug off this chance for more education. He should be reminded that thousands of Korean and World War II veterans are now enjoying better jobs and more pay because they took advantage of the original GI Bill of Rights.

This new legislation makes liberal educational allowances both for the veteran who is single and the veteran who is married with one or more dependents. There is adequate provision for additional job training. I hope every returned veteran will inquire about his GI Rights.

Thank you for listening.

Herald-Telegram Publisher One of Wisconsin's Top Five Young Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, Saturday evening, December 2, a young man from my congressional district was selected one of 1967's Five Outstanding Young Men for the State of Wisconsin by the Wisconsin Jaycees.

He is John M. Levine, publisher of the Chippewa Falls, Wis., Herald-Telegram and the Portage, Wis., Daily Register.

I was extremely pleased that John was chosen for this high honor, and would like to share with my colleagues the letter which I wrote supporting his nomination and an article which appeared last week in the Chippewa Herald-Telegram citing this young man's fine accomplishments:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., November 7, 1967.

Mr. CLIFF O'DONNELL,
President, Chippewa Falls Jaycees,
Chippewa Falls, Wis.

MY DEAR CLIFF: It was pleasant news to learn that John Lavine of Chippewa Falls has been nominated for consideration as one of Wisconsin's Five Outstanding Young Men, and I want to take this means and this opportunity to wholeheartedly express my support of this nomination.

I was a personal friend of John's father, Max, whom I respected as one of the most knowledgeable businessmen and outstanding journalists I have ever known. It was through Max that I first met John as a high school student; and when he visited me in my Washington office, I was astounded at the interest John had in the Federal Government. The questions he asked at that young age about the operation of our Government were of an extremely mature nature, and I knew then that John would follow his father's footsteps and himself be a fine businessman and journalist.

The confidence which I had that John would be a tremendous success is well evidenced today by his management of two of Wisconsin's outstanding newspapers in Chippewa Falls and Portage.

John is one of the finest young men that I know. He is a man of the highest integrity and is an asset to not only his community but also the State of Wisconsin and the nation. I have watched with interest his activities in community affairs and know that he has spearheaded many successful endeavors. His participation in the Chamber of Commerce as a member of the Board of Directors has certainly given that organization added impetus. As a leader of the Chippewa Foundation, Inc., he has been one of the most important elements in revitalizing a formerly defunct organization.

Within the scope of his own profession, John has made an indelible mark. An indication of the respect fellow journalists have for him is evidenced by the fact that his editorials are now nationally syndicated and used in many papers around the country. He is an active member of many professional journalists organizations and is in constant demand as a speaker at many newspaper functions.

I can think of no one in my Congressional District or in the entire State of Wisconsin more deserving of the award for which John is being considered. It is my sincere hope that those responsible for making the final decision on the nominees will give every possible consideration to John for this most coveted award.

Sincerely,

ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
Congressman, 10th District of Wisconsin.

HERALD-TELEGRAM PUBLISHER ONE OF STATE'S TOP FIVE YOUNG MEN

For the second time in as many years, Chippewa Falls has furnished the Wisconsin Jaycees with one of "five outstanding young men in Wisconsin."

Last year, David Hancock, then president of Applied Research and Development Corporation, was named to the select list, and this week it was announced that John M. Lavine, publisher of the Chippewa Herald-Telegram and the Portage Daily Register, was chosen one of 1967's Five Outstanding Young Men of the state.

The state Jaycees annually pick five men from a list comprised of the names and qualifications of nominees from all over Wisconsin. Jaycee judges cut the list to a workable group of the most notable young men, and of these, five are selected as the state's most outstanding.

The FOYM program climaxes with an awards banquet at which the five young men are presented with honoring ceremony.

This year's banquet is slated for Fond du Lac on Saturday night, December 2 with Astronaut James Lovell and U.S. Jaycee President James Antell. Honored guests being Astronaut James Lovell and U.S. Jaycee President James Antell, scheduled to sit at the speakers' table.

Lavine's selection to the list of Five Outstanding Young Men, FOYM, was well-made, according to Chippewa Falls Jaycee officials who submitted his name and qualifications to the judges.

At 26, the young publisher has already carved his name deeply into the record of newspapering and public service. Generous with his time almost to a fault, Lavine has thrown his personal weight and that of his newspapers into almost countless civic and fraternal projects, many times turning certain failure into outstanding success.

Lavine steeped in newspapering by a close association with his father, the late Max Lavine, got his feet wet with printer's ink early in life.

While attending Carlton College, Lavine received an assignment to the White House staff of the Murphy Newspaper (Morgan Murphy of Superior) and despite his tender age (he was only 21), he served as a correspondent in Mexico, covering the late President and Mrs. Kennedy's visit to that country in 1962.

Lavine also served as a Wall Street Journal interim reporter which also added greatly to his store of experience.

After attending graduate school at the University of Minnesota, Lavine—at 23—became publisher of the Herald-Telegram and Daily Register, and at the same time became the youngest publisher of two daily newspapers in the nation.

Presently, Lavine is the Executive Vice President and Treasurer of both the Chippewa and Register Publishing Companies which publish the two related newspapers.

At the age of 25, and after two years directing the operations at Chippewa Falls and Portage, Lavine took on the added work of authoring a daily editorial for King Features, the largest feature and editorial newspaper syndicate in the United States, and today enjoys the distinction of having his work read by an estimated 2,500,000 people. Approximately 250 newspapers across the country subscribe to the King Feature service.

As publisher of the two newspapers, Lavine is almost continually involved in the community affairs of the two cities.

The publisher's involvement in community action was highlighted in 1964 when he became campaign manager for the first Negro—a woman—to ever run for public office in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Locally, Lavine has been exceedingly active in Rehabilitation, Inc., an organization which was formed to help alcoholics. In the words of the Rev. John Wreford, pastor of the First Methodist Church in Chippewa Falls, "John Lavine, through his personal efforts, has negotiated two large grants, for $25,000 and $37,000, to help construct 'WYNOT,' a center for the rehabilitation of alcoholics."

Lavine has also been extremely active in the Chippewa Foundation, and has aided that organization in raising over $100,000 to build an outdoor swimming pool.

In his religion, John Lavine is an instructor in religion at Temple Sholom in Eau Claire, where he is also an officer of the Temple, and of the local B'nai B'rith Lodge and is on the state Executive Committee of the Anti-Defamation League.

Lavine has used his early newspaper training to push himself ahead rapidly in his chosen field.

He is a member of Sigma Delta Chi, the National Journalistic Society, a member of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, and of the Inland Daily Press Association, and its cost and Revenue Committee which includes some 500 daily newspapers in the midwest.

Lavine has also served as a member of seminars on Vietnam and China, with the Council on Religion and International Affairs. He is a member of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and this year was elected to the Committee on Carrier Boys with that organization.

On the local level, Lavine saw the Chippewa Herald-Telegram judged first in the Inland's Local Government News Reporting contest in 1966, and receive first honorable mention in the same contest this year.

Under Lavine's direction, the Portage paper also became the first daily in the state to change from letterpress to offset operation.

The Rev. Wreford, asked to comment on Lavine's selection as one of the state's five oustanding young men, added this to his comments on the publisher's participation in the "WYNOT" project:

"I have worked with John on numerous occasions and on several projects, and can only say that he is enthusiastic, dedicated, and reliable."

"In addition," the Reverend declared "Lavine has great leadership qualities, and a good imagination and a creative mind."

"In my estimation," he concluded, "he is a courageous and deep-thinking newspaper man."

Rev. Wreford's sentiments were echoed by leaders on state and national levels.

Senator William Proxmire, asked to comment from his Washington office, had this to say about John Lavine:

"In my judgment, Lavine has made a brilliant contribution, not only to the two Wisconsin communities in which his daily newspaper operate, but through his syndicated columns, to the entire nation."

Senator Gaylord Nelson added his opinion to that of the others, saying, "From Washington, to Madison, to his home town, this young man is writing an outstanding record that should reflect great credit on himself, and which should benefit our Wisconsin community for many years to come."

"I would," Senator Nelson stated, "like to add my enthusiastic second to this nomination to become one of Wisconsin's five outstanding young men."

Congressman Alvin O'Konski, upon hearing of Lavine's selection to the FYOM, had this to say:

"John is one of the finest men I know. I have watched with interest his activities in community affairs and know he has spearheaded many successful endeavors."

Eugene McGuckin Jr., immediate past president of the Inland Press Association says this: "I have watched and just completed a term as president of the Inland Daily Press Association, where I was intimate with contact of executive from more than 500 midwestern newspapers. I consider John Lavine unquestionably the top young executive in this group."

Eisenhowers Donate Farm as Future Historical Site

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I am highly honored and privileged to have former President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a citizen of my 19th Congressional District in Pennsylvania, and it has just recently been reported that Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower have donated their farm and house at Gettysburg to the United States as a national historic site. It is understood that the area and its buildings will be known as the Eisenhower National Historic Site.

The November 30 issue of the Evening Sun, Hanover, Pa., carried an interesting account of this transfer of the Eisenhower property to the United States, and because of the great interest that everyone has in this donation, I insert the article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

EISENHOWERS DONATE FARM AS FUTURE HISTORICAL SITE

WASHINGTON.—Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his wife have donated their farm and house at Gettysburg, Pa., to the United States as a national historic site, the White House announced today.

The Eisenhowers will continue to occupy their home and use the farm facilities during Gen. Eisenhower's lifetime, but arrangements will be made for authorizing future development of visitor facilities there for the tourists.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, informed the President today of the transfer of the property to the United States, which the White House said occurred Monday afternoon in a simple ceremony at Gettysburg in which the Eisenhowers and Secretary Udall took part.

"This is a significant and valuable historic site and all Americans can be grateful for the generosity of Gen. and Mrs. Eisenhower for their effort to preserve this important part of our National heritage," Udall said.

The Eisenhower farm, including 230 acres, adjoins the Gettysburg National Military Park, site of the famous Civil War battlefield. It was acquired by the Eisenhowers in 1950. They transformed a plain farm house into a modified Georgian two-story brick and stone home, which Eisenhower made a weekend retreat during his later years in the White House.

Many famous world figures have been visitors at the Eisenhower farm, where the former President and his wife, Mamie, have lived since leaving the White House.

Congressional action is required to authorize the future development of the farm for visitors in future years.

The Florida Bar's War on Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on local and national levels great efforts are being made to deal with the problem that increased crime presents to the entire Nation. Much of the present session of the Congress has been devoted to attempting to find solutions to the problem, and much remains to be done. As a part of that effort, the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, of which I am chairman, is engaged in a study of the capabilities of the Federal Government, and the role it should take in the battle against organized crime.

While it is too early to evaluate the adequacy of the Federal role in that fight, one thing is certain: The principal role in the elimination of organized crime must be carried out within the States, by State, county, and local officials. The same is true of efforts to control crime in our streets.

Whenever in our history the Nation has been threatened by any crisis—and the crime situation certainly seems to be approaching crisis conditions—the Nation's lawyers can be counted on to take the lead in helping the country.

That is why, as a lawyer, I take great pride in the recent action of the Florida bar to help fight crime. The board of governors of the Florida bar has authorized its president, William J. Simmons, Jr., an illustrious Miami lawyer, to appont a special committee on crime control, to study and act on the State's crime problems. The members who have been appointed to the committee are some of the State's most distinguished and public-spirited citizens, and one of their functions will be to recommend areas in which the entire membership of the Florida bar can participate.

Bar President Simmons has also urged all local bar associations to become actively involved in the problem. I am particularly proud that the Dade County Bar Association, of which I am a member, has aready appointed its own crime control committee. As President Simmons says:

> I firmly believe that we as individual lawyers in our respective communities and through our associations can contribute more than any other group to solving the serious threat of crime in our society.

Because of my own deep involvement in searching for solutions to the crime problem, and because I am convinced that the action taken by the Florida bar can serve as a pattern for a unified effort by all lawyers everywhere in the fight against crime, I compliment President Simmons and the Florida bar on the action that has been taken, and I recommend similar action for consideration by bar associations throughout the Nation.

The valuable contribution that has been made in the fight against crime is stated in the presidents page of the Florida Bar Journal for November 1967, which reports on its special committee on crime control:

THE WAR AGAINST CRIME—A CHALLENGE TO THE BAR

The entire legal profession has been challenged to participate in a massive effort to curb the rising tide of crime in our nation. Lawlessness as evidenced by increased crimes of violence and mass riots in cities has become our most critical domestic problem. The very foundations of government in a free society are at stake.

President Johnson appeared in person before the Lawyers Conference on Crime held in Washington last May to appeal for the active help of our profession in a national war against crime. Prident Earl F. Morris of the American Bar Association accepted the challenge and has made it a major effort during his administration.

It is apparent that many of the problems involved are ones that the organized bar is especially equipped to tackle. They have brought into clear focus by the recent comprehensive report of the Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice entitled "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society." The problem areas include improving the efficiency of our criminal courts and their modernization by such things as improving our police courts and abolition or overhaul of justice of peace systems, bail reform, training programs for prosecutors and defense counsel, expanding public defender systems and assigned counsel programs. Above all, the bar should give leadership to marshalling public support and securing citizen involvement in the campaign against crime.

Responding to the challenge, the Board of Governors authorized me to appoint a Special Committee on Crime Control to study the problems in our state and recommend areas of participation by The Florida Bar. The chairman of this committee is Albert J. Datz of Jacksonville; vice-chairman is Mallory H. Horton of Miami; and members include Lee J. Colling of Orlando, Rex Farrior, Jr. of Tampa, Harry L. Michaels of Tallahassee, Vincent K. Antle, Robert L. Floyd and Thomas D. Wood and Miami and Herbert P. Benn, who will represent Attorney General Earl Faircloth and furnish liaison with his office and the new Florida Bureau of Law Enforcement. This is a planning committee that will welcome your suggestions as will all members of the Board of Governors.

I urge all local bar associations to become actively involved in his problem. The Dade County Bar Association has already acted and its president, M. Lewis Hall, has appointed a Crime Control Committee chaired by Miami Beach Municipal Judge Murray Goodman.

The Supreme Court of Florida has announced recently the appointment of a select Committee on Standard Jury Instructions in Criminal Cases with J. B. Patterson of Ft. Lauderdale as chairman and retired Circuit Judge Victor O. Wehle of St. Petersburg as vice-chairman. Your Florida Bar officers assisted the court in organizing this committee and its work when completed and approved by the court will help to improve the administration of criminal justice in our state. Elsewhere in this issue is an announcement of the appointment and purpose of this important committee.

The theme for 1968 Law Day is "Only a Lawful Society Can Build a Better Society," and I call upon every lawyer to participate actively in the plans that will be made during coming months by all bar associations to arouse public support for increased respect for the law. I firmly believe that we as individual lawyers in our respective communities and thru our associations can contribute more than any other group to solving the serious threat of crime to our society.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM P. SIMMONS, Jr.,
President.

Curb on Bureaucracy Seen as Urgent Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the San Diego, Calif., Evening Tribune of November 28, 1967:

CURB ON BUREAUCRACY SEEN AS URGENT NEED

EDITOR: Federal spending and the paternalistic encroachments of our government must be restrained. To increase taxes is no cure for our ills. We must treat the cause of our troubles which is the outlandish growth of our federal bureaucracy.

A federal tax increase merely puts federal spending on a permanently higher plateau and becomes an additional built-in burden for us taxpayers to support.

Left to themselves federal bureaucracies will not stop their continuous expansion nor will they eliminate their unnecessary wastefulness and overlapping extravagances. There is no inducement for them to do so.

The larger a bureau becomes, the more employes it has, and the more it spends the greater its importance and prestige. Bureaucrats enjoy large salaries and their feeling of importance. They like being big shots. Their craving for power becomes irresistible.

Bureaucracy must be limited and controlled from without. This must be done by Congress. We voters are responsible for the acts of Congress. When we elect liberals who condone spending we are deliberately encouraging the growth of bureaucracy with all its faults and dangers.

A powerful, growing bureaucracy tends to over-regulate business, over-tax us all and deprive us of our freedom. It interfers with our activities and discourages incentive. It slowly reduces us to an unambitious, disheartened common level where life is dull and colorless. It ruins a nation financially and morally.

In Carl Ritter's Nov. 17 column in the San Diego Union he quoted Pierre L'hoste Lachaume as stating at the recent International Monetary Seminar, "One must choose either sound money or the totalitarian state . . . Deficit spending by the state generates social serfdom, because governments are necessarily induced to suppress every freedom while attempting to quell the social disturbances unlatched by bad money . . . One must not allow government to spend more than it takes from us, or else consent to be subdued by it."

The seminar produced widespread backing for adherence to an undeviating gold monetary standard with ample reserves because of the discipline the precious metal has historically exerted on unsound, politically motivated money policies.

There is an escape for our nation if we voters accept the challenge and act decisively. Elect courageous conservatives who value their country's welfare more than they do their own political careers. Otherwise our eventual national disintegration is inevitable.

HENRY LIPPITT.

Finance Poverty Programs Now, Reap Benefits Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I am in full accord with the basic objectives of the broadcast of November 15, 1967, by Mr. Peter W. Duncan, WCAU-TV, editorial director, on the subject of "Finance the Poverty Programs Now, Reap the Benefits Later."

Certainly, there is sound commonsense in what Mr. Duncan has to say. Undoubtedly, the city of Philadelphia was materially helped in its avoidance of major racial conflict during the past summer because of the activities in OIC, the jobmobile, the activities of the State labor offices, and other activities.

It is basically true that the compelling effort on the part of the Government, the State, and private industry must be directed to the task of making opportunities visible and obtainable now, not tomorrow—not a promise, but a reality. Obviously, to do so requires money—funding through the Office of Economic Opportunity, the State, and private industry.

If we do not heed the admonition which comes from many sources, as well as from the remarks of Mr. Duncan, referenced to and included herein, we shall continue to be children playing with matches in a room full of dynamite.

FINANCE THE POVERTY PROGRAMS NOW, REAP BENEFITS LATER

As Philadelphia walked the tightrope between violence and non-violence this past summer, we all hoped that we would somehow come through the summer without the destruction which hit other cities. Somehow we made it.

Part of the deterrent force was a promise for a better future here in Philadelphia. The governor opened neighborhood offices to get closer to the people.

There was the jobmobile, talk of more low income housing. All stops were out to get us through the summer. But what now?

In reality, these days are the critical days because these days determine the racial climate for next summer.

Congress is and has been holding up poverty funds. It's part of an overall cut back. For example, millions were cut from NASA's budget. But the war on poverty should be different. It deals with the plight and conditions of human beings. It is a fight which should not be diminished but increased.

The war on poverty takes many forms. They're all getting hurt.

President Johnson visited one battlefield in the war on poverty last summer: Leon Sullivan's OIC. The President was well advised to visit OIC personally and lend the importance of his office to it. OIC started in an abandoned jailhouse. Quietly Leon Sullivan and a handful of people began a re-training task of overwhelming proportions. Big government had failed in many such tasks before, but evidently Mr. Sullivan and his people had found their own way. OIC is now being duplicated in about 70 cities across the country. It has become an important instrument in the war on poverty.

OIC started with not one penny of federal funds, but federal funds became a necessity for expansion.

But right now, the on-going program of OIC is threatened by the lack of congressional action. Leon Sullivan told us he has the cash to meet his $70,000 payroll through the 24th of this month only because private industry and private individuals have come to his assistance with donations.

We have sought out possible state sources for funds as a stop-gap measure until appropriations are approved in Washington, but so far with no success.

And obviously in Washington, every program from OIC to Headstart to the Neighborhood Youth Corps to VISTA is crying for funds to keep the programs going.

OIC is a prime example of what a war on poverty can accomplish.

By training workers, OIC has added over eight million dollars in wages to the Philadelphia area economy. But even more important than that, it has cut welfare costs by a million and a half dollars a year.

When Congress delays on funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity which funds OIC, it delays the progress of people. If it cuts back funds, it cuts back in the scope of programs trying to reach the people.

Long delays and heavy cut backs now would be fuel for next summer. If people know something is being done, if they can see progress, if they can seee some kind of improvement in their lot, perhaps they'll be patient. If they can't see forward motion, who can expect them to stand quietly?

First, The House must pass authorization for the poverty programs. Then the appropriations requests must be passed.

Appropriation requests for poverty funds are already in a House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Pennsylvanian Daniel Flood; they are there just waiting for final House action. Congressman Flood's office indicated that no real action could be expected until after Thanksgiving. By Thanksgiving, OIC may be one day away from bankruptcy. By Thanksgiving, programs designed to help people will be grinding to a halt all over the country.

WCAU-TV urges, first, that the House reach agreement on the authorization for poverty programs and, then, that Congressman Daniel Flood mobilize his committee to the poverty funds on their way.

For many people, it would give Thanksgiving more meaning.

Newsletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, as you know, it is the duty of all Members of Congress to keep their constituents informed about the vital issues before Congress.

I am sure that many of my colleagues would appreciate seeing the newsletter which I send to the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Georgia.

Therefore, I respectfully insert my newsletter in the Congressional Record:

NEWSLETTER

(From Congressman Ben B. Blackburn, Fourth District of Georgia)

My *sincere thanks* to all who turned out recently at the Blackburn Appreciation Dinner at the Regency-Hyatt House! I felt very humble when I looked out over some 500 of the 4th District's leading citizens who came to hear *Congressman Gerald R. Ford* (*R. Mich.*) *House Minority Leader*, say that a "return to constitutional government" is very much on everybody's mind. He said the age of irresponsible spending in Washington is near its demise come election time next year. It's not possible to thank all who made the night such a success, but to everyone who worked and gave their support, *I say "Thank You,"* and I gratefully *re-dedicate myself to bringing common sense back* to your federal government.

Congress is entering its final days. (Best guess is between December 15th and 24th). All Americans have determined the pattern of the Johnson Administration's approach to perpetuate its free-spending policies during the 90th Congress. A responsible number of Republicans and Democrats tried vigorously to put integrity back into government again. *But, Administration majorities in the Senate put back all cuts made by the House and added more!* Final decision then lies in conference committees where House has only one vote and Senate one vote. For the most part, the Administration has prevailed, using this system. Next year, the American public will give majorities in both houses to legislators who will not give up their law-making responsibilties. They will also demand a new man in the White House. Examples of above approach to government: O.E.O. program; foreign aid and others.

Past months have been busy ones. *Introduced H.R. 13419, Cuprophane Bill,* upon information from Dr. John Sadler, Atlanta Kidney Center. Removes tariff from vital membranous material used in artificial kidney machines for those with incurable kidney diseases. Produced in W. Germany; no U.S. competition. Removal of tariff (now about 25% of cost of material) will help reduce high costs of such care to hundreds in country.

H.R. 13503, Tax Credit for Higher Education was introduced to reverse the trend of larger grants from federal government to educational institutions, with subsequent control. Promotes *American ideal of helping those who help themselves, without interference from federal government*. Expenses include costs of tuition, fees, books, supplies and equipment required for courses of instruction above twelfth grade at institutions of higher learning. Also, includes expenses at business, trade, technical and other vocational institutions. Provides 100% credit on first $200.00 spent; a 75% credit on next $300.00; and 25% of next $1,000.00; top credit: $675.00. *Does not contribute to inflation. Deficit spending by general government is major cause of inflation!*

H.R. 13753, Gun Control Bill. I joined Congressman Bob Casey (D. Texas) who has brought to everyone's attention that *onus of legislation on guns should be placed upon hardened criminals* who use weapons in major crimes—murder, rape, burglary, kidnapping and homocide other than involuntary—rather than upon twenty million sportsmen who enjoy hunting and other outdoor sports. Bill will make it unattractive for these criminals to use guns in commission of crimes under threat of *long-term mandatory imprisonment for first and second offenses*. F. B. I. facts show that its the hardened crimal who uses guns in most *major* crimes. Also, when stiff penalties are mandatory, incidence of crime goes down. Bill calls for *minimum* of *mandatory sentence of 10 years* for conviction *on first offense; 25-year mandatory sentence upon conviction for second offense*. Pro's shy away from mandatory penalties this stiff.

On October 31st, introduced *House Resolution 961* requesting Johnson "cease and desist" from preventing flow of Highway Trust Funds earmarked for Interstate System to states through edict from White House. Numerous colleagues here co-sponsored this resolution. It states: (1) lives are lost through delay—estimated one life saved for each five miles of interstate system completed; (2) delay would violate intent of Congress for speedy completion when passing Interstate Act; (3) violates the law. Law says highway tax funds must go to Fund and be distributed for construction as they become available. Act by Johnson was *obvious play* to intimidate Congress into granting his 10% tax increase. He's using British devaluation of pound as his latest "gimmick" to get this increase. But, surtax *is* alive again on *Johnson's promise to cut spending*, a gratifying move to those of us who have demanded he show good faith to the American public by reducing spending *before* he tries to take another bite out of the taxpayer's pocket.

Recently, Senate sub-committee reported out omnibus housing bill incorporating many features of *H.R. 9135, my bill establishing a National Home Ownership Foundation*. Bill encourages and assists private participation in solution of nation's housing problems. Will make home ownership by thousands feasible in three years.

Almost every Congressman received letters from constituents following Johnson's radio-t.v. appeal to "write your Congressman and ask him to vote for a 10% tax increase." *All my letters* received the following Monday morning *said, "Phooey."* Excerpts ran like this . . . "I want to let you know my wife and I believe Johnson should devote his energies to reducing the budget." Another said . . . "Between rising prices and high taxes, little people like me are hardly able to manage our finances as it is, and I do not know what we will do if taxes are increased. Nearly everyone I talk to says they are broke most of the time and can hardly make ends meet. . . ." Amen!

First come, first served. Some 250 brand-new books, *Outdoors, U.S.A.*, from the Department of Agriculture, complete with Linda Bird's picture, are available in this office. *Also,* some *500 new Vietnam war maps and some 200 Congressional calendars for 1968 are now available.* Just write for your free copies to: Congressman Ben B. Blackburn, Fourth District of Georgia, 1019 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

We welcome visitors to our office in Washington. Recently, we talked with *Mr.* and *Mrs. W. S. Wilson,* Decatur; *Mr.* and *Mrs. Joe Looper,* Mason Mill Road, Atlanta; *Kenneth Healey,* Decatur; *Douglas Craig,* Avondale Estates Georgia; *Barbara B. Banks,* Atlanta; *Mr.* and *Mrs. Walter Scott,* Decatur; *Mr.* and *Mrs. W. J. Strickland,* Decatur; *Mrs. W. A. Godwin,* Decatur; *Mrs. Camille G. Hunt,* Decatur. It's good to see Fourth District folks here in Washington, and I hope that everyone who gets here will come by their Congressional office, say "Hello," and *let us arrange tours or other special events for you.*

World's Greatest Ingrate, De Gaulle, Refuses To Pay Debts and Attempts To Sabotage Historic Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it is my feeling that President de Gaulle of France is unquestionably the most disruptive and disreputable political figure of our time outside the Communist bloc. He might also be described as the most intense ingrate of all times in regard to the moral and financial obligation of France to the United States.

President de Gaulle, however, is not content with being ungrateful—he is aggressively ungrateful, and he attempts at every opportunity to undermine and sabotage the policies of the United States. He appears to resent the United States because it has come to the side of France historically.

In his latest effort to damage the United States, he predicted that the American dollar may face devaluation following the British pound. And it appears that in the gold market, France is doing everything possible to weaken the dollar.

In his latest press conference, De Gaulle again indicated—as the Washington Star editorialized—that—

> He (has) become more vain, more meddlessome, more cantankerous and more eccentric—as if getting older had filled him with whims of iron and a compulsion to make mischief in the world.

President de Gaulle does not acknowledge the fact that the United States twice within 30 years fought for freedom and liberty of France—in World War I and World War II. France today ignores her war debt to the United States of $6.8 billion. It is my feeling that we should demand that France repay its debts in view of De Gaulle's declared policy of antagonism to the United States.

President de Gaulle is writing a bitter chapter in French history—however, there is such friendship and warmth between the American and French people that De Gaulle's mischief can be quickly undone when he departs the scene.

I ask unanimous consent that recent editorials in the Washington Evening Star and the Washington Daily News on De Gaulle's latest press conference be reprinted in the Appendix of the Record because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this subject.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Nov. 30, 1967]

THE GENERAL STRIKES AGAIN

It is clear that President Charles de Gaulle, at 77, has not mellowed with the passing years, nor has he grown in wisdom. On the contrary, he seems simply to have become more vain, more meddlesome, more cantankerous and more eccentric—as if getting older had filled him with whims of iron and a compulsion to make mischief in the world.

How else account for the things he said the other day in his semi-annual lecture to the press? In haughty, pompous, carefully memorized sentences, he infuriated and alienated some of France's best friends and allies. Once again, but more emphatically than ever, he in effect accused the United States of being responsible for most of the world's ills, political, economic and military. Once again, too, also more emphatically than ever, he belittled Britain and vetoed its bid for admission into the European Common Market. In doing so, moreover, he deeply offended the Market's other members who want the British in.

Further, at least equally remarkable, was De Gaulle's renewal of his inflammatory call for Quebec's "liberation" through secessionist rebellion, and for a "complete change in the structure of Canada." Prime Minister Pearson put it mildly in describing this as "intolerable" interference in Canada's affairs. Similarly, the General went out of his way to inject himself into the Middle East with a one-sided, pro-Arab attack condemning Israel for the June war. At the same time—in a manner assailed by the Eshkol government as a "grave affront to the Jewish people and the state of Israel"—he discoursed on the history of the Jews, with studied ambiguities that exuded according to a front-page editorial in Le Monde, "the unpleasant smell of anti-Semitism."

Neither his anti-Israeli comment nor his many other unsettling remarks can be dismissed as mere senility. De Gaulle, looking very fit, articulated his distortions, half-truths and untruths in a strong voice and generally lucid language. Most French newspapers, appalled by much of what he said, have taken it seriously, as have his targets—and with good reason. After all, his presidential term extends into 1972, and there is little hope, as Le Monde has glumy observed, that he will lose "his taste for excess" between now and then.

As far as De Gaulle himself is concerned, the effect of this excess is that it is isolating him more and more from the leadership of Western nations. Perhaps this what he wants. Perhaps he enjoys maneuvering himself into a position of solitary grandeur. In the process, however, he is doing not good, but only harm, for the France he professes so much to love.

[From the Washington Daily News, Nov. 28, 1967]

DE GAULLE AND THE U.S. DOLLAR

One of the things about Gen. de Gaulle that grates on the nerves is that many of the things he says are true.

When he says, as he did yesterday, that the American dollar is vulnerable and that it may go the way of the British pound sterling if the U.S. continues its economic and fiscal policies, he was drawing on historical experience and applying common sense.

Few of the modern-day world currencies have been devalued as often and as drastically as the French franc, and always for the same reason—that France did not govern itself with proper selfrestraint.

The British have been less irresponsible, so British devaluations have been less frequent and less drastic.

America, in proportion to its vast resources, has been even less irresponsible than France or Britain. But if we continue to spend money we do not have, for things we are unwilling to tax ourselves to pay for, then the American dollar too will lose in value.

Over the last 35 years, we have had the New Deal, the Square Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society, all financed substantially on borrowed money. In the same period we have engaged in World War II, the Korean War and now the Vietnam War, likewise financed. In those 35 years, our national debt has risen from $19 billion to more than $340 billion. It all has to be paid for, either in taxes or in erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar.

It used to be America's proud boast that "the dollar rings true on every counter in the world." How true for how long depends on how we protect it—something that for the last generation we have not been doing.

As for de Gaulle on other subjects—

Elsewhere in his semi-annual press conference Gen. de Gaulle was much less mindful of history and common sense.

He again encouraged independence for Canada's French-speaking Quebec province, a blatant interference in the internal affairs of a friendly country. He ordered Britain to overhaul its entire economy before attempting entry into the European Common Market, an affiliation which would be profitable to both Britain and the Common Market. He claimed the Arab-Israeli War in June would not have occurred if the United States had not "intervened" in Vietnam, a wholly fictitious presumption.

And, altho the evidence runs to the contrary, Gen. de Gaulle denied France had anything to do with the run on the British pound, which helped bring about the devaluation, or that he was trying to undermine the dollar, which would be dangerous to France as well as the U.S.

In trying to make gold (which France has been hoarding) the sole basis for Free World trade, Gen. de Gaulle also would disrupt the present basis of trade which by long-standing agreement stands jointly on gold, the dollar and the pound.

One thing he grandly ignored, however, was an old item on the international books: France's debt to the United States dating back to World War I when the U.S. came to his country's rescue. That debt, with interest, now is more than $6.8 billion—and altho the U.S. has not insisted on repayment, the debt hasn't been waived, either.

Volunteers to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most interesting new programs to be started in the past year is Volunteers to America, a type of peace corps in reverse which brings young volunteers from other nations to work in the schools and community programs of the United States.

Sponsored by the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Volunteers to America is providing our schools with the marvelous opportunity to internationalize their curriculums, to make our students more aware of the world in which they live by having teachers and resource people from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The University of Southern California had the good fortune to train a group of these volunteers for service in the United States, and I am pleased to insert into the Record the following article from the fall 1967 issue of the USC Alumni Review, describing the volunteers and their training program:

VOLUNTEERS TO AMERICA: NEIGHBORHOOD DIPLOMAS

He's a wild man—a barbarian who jogs down jungle trails looking for a stray white hunter to spear or a Tarzan to solve all his problems.

This is the typical African that American children find in their popular information sources—television, movies, comic books.

To these same youngsters the Latin American is doe-eyed and sleepy and the East Indian charms cobras for a living.

Such negative stereotypes are difficult to erase, largely because Americans have few chances to meet people from non-European countries.

For the past several years, national leaders have been searching for a way to implement a face-to-face cultural exchange. The result: Volunteers to America.

Called by some the reverse Peace Corps, this pilot project imports young teachers and social workers from the world's developing nations to serve in United States schools and community agencies. Their assignment is to broaden the cultural spectrum and to inject a little personality into static concepts of "foreigners."

For four weeks this summer USC was the local base of operations for this unique international service corps.

Dr. John Carpenter, leader of the University's part in the project, foresees the volunteers "bringing an awareness of other countries to the heart, the very fabric, of America . . . an awareness soon followed by a real empathy between peoples . . .a real knowledge of human geography."

He believes they will take home with them "a personal on-the-job impression of Americans" that may someday replace the sensationalized image projected by tourists and movies.

Backed by the United States Office of Education, the Department of State and their homeland governments, 17 of these pioneers came to USC to learn American methods of school teaching and social work.

Training session planners sectioned the work load into three general areas; technical instruction, community work and cross-cultural understanding, and American studies.

The VTAs attended classes, seminars and small-group discussions on such topics as "Social Class and Social Mobility; Objectives and Themes in U.S. Schools" and "Teacher Status in American Society."

They were tutored and drilled in the English language until they spoke it fluently.

They observed school children in middle-class Temple City, rural Alta Loma and mid-city Los Angeles classrooms.

They lived with host families in the three communities to become acquainted with American youngsters outside the school setting.

They occasionally stopped for breath.

During a typically hectic week in downtown Los Angeles, the volunteers commuted between Manual Arts High and Menlo Elementary School, visited the Watts Summer Festival and an Operation Bootstrap center, talked shop with members of the National Teacher Corps, and managed to squeeze in seminars on "Education of the Disadvantaged." They conferred with the Los Angeles City Board of Education and went to the Music Center, Disneyland and Knotts Berry Farm.

"The volunteers had to know all about the community," said Barbara Wilder, assistant director of the USC training phase. They needed to encounter all facets of life in American cities—not just the school environment. From the host family vantage point, for instance, they could see precisely how the children used their leisure time.

"If they saw the kids glued to the television for hours, the volunteers learned something," she said.

With the intense orientation part of the Volunteer project complete, USC's delegation is at work all over the West—assisting in Spanish classes, teaching African art and culture, serving with the Head Start program, setting up educational TV projects. . . .

The original impetus for this program came from President Johnson. "Our nation has no better ambassadors than the young volunteers who serve in 46 countries in the Peace Corps," he said to Congress. "I propose that we welcome similar ambassadors to our shore. We need their special skills and understanding, just as they need ours." The legislators agreed.

The corps and the Volunteers to America are alike in many ways, but do not mirror each other. Teaching and community development work are the most important jobs in both organizations, according to Miss Wilder.

"But the Peace Corps exists to help developing regions desperately in need of skills they don't have. The Volunteers to America are coming to help us, but not necessarily to alleviate poverty problems," she said.

They are here to develop mutual understanding and sensitivity at close range that cannot be done in an abstract, textbook fashion.

Miss Wilder explained that American teachers can tell about other cultures secondhand with facts, data, and statistics, but an international volunteer has he capacity to make his native country come alive for young listeners.

"Their knowledge is so much deeper. They can teach the little things, sing the little songs and tell the little jokes" that give shape, dimension and meaning to non-American life styles.

The Volunteers' home governments pay global travel costs, while the State Department finances the training programs and domestic travel expenses. Local agencies and schools using VTAs provide a cost-of-living allowance.

Most of the volunteers are between the ages of 21 and 35, and unmarried. They come with a one-year commitment and the option to remain on the job for a second year. Following their tour of duty here, they will be expected to work for their countries for at least two years.

The first volunteer contingent was divided between the Experiment in International Living project in Putney, Vt., the Massachusetts Commonwealth Service Corps, and the University. Here, the program was handled by the Center for International Education, a branch of the School of Education.

Of the 17 international helpers trained at USC, 15 were Latin-Americans and two came from Africa. This ratio was established to meet "the need felt for understanding of the nations we border," Miss Wilder explained. The emphasis on the Spanish language in schools of the southwestern United States was another reason.

Three of the University's VTAs have been stationed in the Los Angeles area.

Margarita Isabel Giraldo taught English and did social work in Argentina before coming to America. One afternoon while her comrades were learning the intricacies of the TV camera and its use in educational television, she enumerated her reasons for joining—her love for teaching.

Foremost was a desire to bring her work and culture to the United States. Miss Giraldo is stationed in Newhall where she travels between three schools teaching Spanish and social studies.

Samuel Kwashi Dogbe came from Africa, where he taught English and African history at Ghana's Presby Training College. Of the orientation program, he said it "exposed the volunteers to the educational systems typical of various areas and let us see the existing conditions first-hand—the social problems, the juvenile delinquency, etc. It was very worthwhile."

Today, Dogbe is with the Temple City high schools as a technical consultant in the social sciences.

Nine days after the training program ended, Govind Manandhar arrived in Los Angeles from Nepal. This Volunteer to America is a professor of history and a well-known novelist in India. His high status as an educator made any further training unnecessary, so Manandhar reported immediately to his assignment in Alta Loma. Labeled a curriculum specialist, he develops materials for the schools on East Indian culture.

The variety in people and social structure in the Los Angeles area was a primary factor in the Office of Education's selection of the University as the sole educational institution for training volunteers, Dr. Carpenter said. The strangers encountered community types ranging from rural to ruban, from disadvantaged racial and ethnic groupings to moneyed, exclusive neighborhoods.

USC's long tradition of activity in international programs was also an important selling point, Dr. Carpenter believes. The Center for International Education initiates and administers study, research, training and service programs—all with a foreign flavor. Its "one with the world" philosophy has apparently been adopted by many graduates of the School of Education, including those who are now school superintendents. Many of these education officials enthusiastically responded to the University's request for cooperation with the VTA program.

Dr. Carpenter considers the quality of administrative and teaching personnel available for the project the deciding point in favor of the University.

Miss Wilder, for example, spent two years as a Peace Corps volunteer at a teacher training college in Malawi, Central Africa. She came to USC last year to earn a master's degree in international public administration. Her spare hours she spent as a teacher consultant in Temple City, planning classroom units on the developing nations of the world.

Los Angeles native Ed Aguirre, also an assistant director, helped the Peace Corps set up training camps in Puerto Rico. As a Temple City teacher he devoted much time to establishing neighborhood exchange programs between Mexican-American children and those of the dominant middle-class culture.

Dr. Carpenter directs the University's Center for International Education and works as an assistant professor of comparative and international education. He is a coordinator of the Malawi Project and the International Teacher Development Project. Other posts include the presidency of the French-American Educators Association and the chairmanship of the Air France Overseas Educators and Administrators Association.

Will this program progress past the pilot stage? Dr. Carpenter believes the Volunteers to America concept has a potential for growth as great as the Peace Corps. Statistics tend to back up his prediction.

In Argentina alone, 400 teachers and social workers requested jobs with the VTAs. 126 applied in Ghana; five were selected.

Dr. Carpenter speculates that if the embryonic undertaking succeeds, its full-grown version could draw on the talents of the 100,000 foreign students in America.

The supply is there—so is the demand. More schools and community agencies asked for volunteers this summer than the training center could deliver. Already, the Los Angeles City Schools have requested ten volunteers for next June.

If educated guesses prove true, Americans can look forward to an exciting, stretching experience in international awareness. From a "sleepy" South American may come the news that Argentina has a literacy rate comparable to the United States, or from an African "wild man" the observation—Nairobi looks like Seattle.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorised bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

Appendix

The City on the Other Shore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, as Representative for the unique and wonderful Oakland-Berkeley area of California, I am understandably appreciative of its singular advantages. It always is gratifying to me to find the area's praises sung by others who also recognize and appreciate them.

Such is the case in the December 1967 issue of the Ford Motor Co.'s magazine, Ford Times, which contains an article aptly describing many of the East Bay's attractions. I would like to share the article with my colleagues and to extend to them a most cordial invitation to visit the area and to see for themselves the sights described. The article follows:

THE CITY ON THE OTHER SHORE

(By John Wesley Noble)

Travelers enchanted with the storied hills of San Francisco miss a further high treat if they don't make time to explore the other hills which ring the great bay behind the Golden Gate. Along the skyline to the east, for example, 40 minutes by car over the towering Bay Bridge, is sightseeing as pleasing as any in California. This *contra costa*, or "other shore," as the Spanish dons knew it, is one I enjoy showing to visitors while pointing out a curious tale of two cities.

Originally the *contra costa* was a sunny expanse of meadowland and serpentine creeks under cool redwoods, the vast Rancho San Antonio land grant of Don Luis Peralta, where a handful of settlers found a good life in home gardens and the native fish and game. Its first "tourists" were argonauts storming in over infant San Francisco's docks and stampeding inland, too gold-hungry to waste time on scenery. Subsequent tourists, after Oakland was founded in 1850 and became the mainland terminus for all transcontinental travel into San Francisco, continued to dash on through from the trains to the ferries. All but unnoticed, Oakland grew from its flat tidal plain to the hills, and reached its present status as California's fourth-largest city. Known as "San Francisco's bedroom," it enjoyed its spectacular view of its lively neighbor and developed a lore and style of its own.

Jack London was one who stopped early to adventure along Oakland Creek, where he met Johnny Heinhold, a far-sighted saloonkeeper who encouraged him to write. Johnny's picturesque old First and Last Chance Saloon, a fitting shrine of a tempestuous youth who became one of the world's favorite storytellers, still stands at the foot of Broadway. Rakishly atilt on a mound of oyster shells, its floors sagging, filled with authentic Londoniana, it still dispenses hospitality as it did in the days when the young writer bent over the corner table to put his early stories on paper and glance up occasionally to the hills. Around it has grown up a charming plaza. Jack London Square, where the wayfarer is encouraged to sit and dine and watch the business of waterfront traffic. Where London moored his beloved *Snark*, water skiers now dodge yachts and power cruisers and ships from far ports.

THE OAKS OF OAKLAND

London's boyhood cruises took him on up the tidal canal into what is now Lake Merritt, a beautiful park-circled blue lagoon mirroring the downtown Oakland skyline. The lake, first wildlife refuge in the United States, is a wintering ground for thousands of waterfowl migrating between Canada and Mexico. Visitors to the park look out through blossoming cherry trees at flocks of mallards, geese and stately swans in the bird sanctuary or pause under stands of the graceful green oaks for which the city was named to breathe a fragrance of lush flower beds. Oldsters bowl on the green and children come to feed the wild ducks or see Fairyland, an imaginative assemblage of nursery-rhyme characters from Bo Peep, with live sheep, to the harassed Old Woman in the Shoe.

One of the hiking trails in the hills above leads to a quaint white "Abbey" where Joaquin Miller, the white-bearded Poet of the Sierra ("Sail on, and on . . .") rusticated in his later days. His pixie daughter Juanita welcomes visitors to the home as he left it, and under her direction each year, prominent Oaklanders don Gold Rush costumes to reenact the melodramas old Joaquin relished. In adjacent Woodminster Amphitheater on summer evenings, music lovers watch professional light opera high above the city lights. Just below, the crosstown Warren Freeway to Chabot Observatory and the Oakland Zoo crosses "Holy Hill," an ecumenical assembly of strikingly modern churches, among them a spectacular new Mormon Temple whose golden spires are visible to most corners of the bay.

All along this hill terrace is represented a mode of California living which travelers invariably find fascinating. Homes both large and small are fitted into the slopes to achieve breath-taking panoramas from every window and cantilevered deck. Here one watches jet planes soar off the new bayside Oakland International Airport, scattering great swarms of jackrabbits from the historic adjoining field where pioneer aviators first tackled the Pacific in the Dole Races, where a Russian plane dropped in 30 years ago after crossing the globe by way of the North Pole, and where Amelia Earhart started her final, fateful flight into the unknown.

Originally some Oakland streets were humble logging trails for skidding out redwood timbers to rebuild flamboyant San Francisco after her quakes and fires. Today the pointed spires of new young redwoods tower above stands of golden green eucalyptus introduced from Australia in the days of Borax (20-Mule Team) Smith, who brought a fortune out of Death Valley to pioneer Oakland real estate and transportation. (Oakland, too, once had cable cars.) A temperature climate and a love of growing things led to the tradition of inviting playgrounds, sparkling lakes, charming parks, hillside lawns and home gardens, all reflected in another sight I show my guests: the California Spring Garden Show. This floral spectacle created anew each year by professional and amateur gardeners working together, draws visitors from all the world to the new Oakland-Alameda County Coliseum complex.

THE LONG, LONG VIEW

Easily the most memorable sight, however, may be had any day from the Eastbay Regional Parks spread all the way across the skyline hills where Don Luis' cattle once grazed with the deer. Golden Gate Park could be set in a corner of this 12,000-acre preserve; in one section alone is featured the multitudinous natural flora of California. A million visitors each year visit the Regional Parks to picnic, swim in several lakes, play golf and tennis, hike and ride horseback over miles of nature trails, dine at the hill-crest park restaurant or simply to gaze upon that long, long view.

From this lofty vantage point the entire harbor with its cities, bridges, and shipping is reduced to a scale-model miniature. (All of San Francisco at a glance!) On clear days one looks straight through the Golden Gate and 30 miles out in the blue Pacific to the rocky brown spires of the Farallon Islands.

Directly below, Oakland's avenues radiate like spokes from the blue pond of Lake Merritt. Down there a humble schoolteacher, Edwin Markham, won worldwide acclaim for his poem, *The Man With the Hoe*. Down on Broadway, the wide path from Jack London Square to the tunnel through these hills, newsboy Tony Martin crooned his first songs. On San Pablo Avenue, the low, thatched-roof building is where a young auto parts salesman, Vic Bergeron, started his world-famous Trader Vic restaurants.

At the western end of these rampart hills, shiny new mushroom domes mark the newest laboratories of the University of California, on whose Berkeley campus spread below like a landscaped carpet, the atom first was split. As the world plunges on to new discoveries, the huge university climbs higher and higher into these hills of Oakland, seeking, it would seem, the long view, too.

Award to New York Air Force Nurse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on November 8, President Johnson awarded the Legion of Merit to Col. Ethel A. Hoefly for her service as chief nurse of the 5th Air Force and as chairman of the department of nursing at the U.S. Air Force hospital in Tachikawa, Japan.

Colonel Hoefly was cited especially for her work in improving the high quality of nursing care to patients being airlifted from Southeast Asia. The colonel is a native of South Ozone Park, Queens, N.Y.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the citation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF THE LEGION OF MERIT TO ETHEL A. HOEFLY

Colonel Ethel A. Hoefly distinguished herself by exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service to the United States while serving as Chief Nurse of the 5th Air Force, Pacific Air Forces, and as Chairman, Department of Nursing, USAF Hospital Tachikawa, Japan, from 23 June 1965 through 20 June 1967.

During this period the exemplary ability, diligence, and devotion to duty of Colonel Hoefly were instrumental in improving the high quality of nursing care to the increasing numbers of patients being airlifted from South East Asia.

The superior initiative, outstanding leadership, and personal endeavor displayed by Colonel Hoefly reflect great credit upon herself and the United States Air Force.

Report From Representative Clarence D. Long

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in order to keep my constituents informed, I send them periodic reports on the work of Congress and the Federal Government. I should like to place in the RECORD the most recent of these reports:

REPORT FROM REPRESENTATIVE LONG OF MARYLAND, DECEMBER 1967

SURCEASE FROM SURTAX

Federal income taxes will *not* be increased in 1967. The case for higher taxes is clouded by failure to come up with a sound program of spending cuts.

FEDERAL PAY RAISES

Increases for postal, military and civil service employees, just voted by Congress, will be met in part by increasing postal rates; pruning dead wood; keeping—and attracting—more productive workers. Retroactive to October 1, these raises will come in time for Christmas.

Rating (step 1)	Present pay	Increased pay
GS-3	$4,269	$4,466
GS-5	5,531	5,565
GS-7	6,451	6,734
GS-9	7,696	8,054
GS-12	10,927	11,461

SNAIL MAIL?

Mail delivered too late, often delayed a day or more? What can be done to improve service? To find out, your Congressman will meet with postal officials and patrons at 10 A.M., Monday, December 11, Room 301, County Office Building, Towson! *You* are invited!

GOODIES FOR HARFORD

Next Spring, a $4 million building program, just funded by Congress, will break ground at Aberdeen and Edgewood.

LET THEM EAT JETS?

Latin American nations have been squandering more on unnecessary military programs that the economic aid we have provided them. My foreign aid amendments, passed by the House, would stop use of your money to buy jets, missiles and submarines for Latin American and African dictators.

MORE SECURITY

Social Security benefits would rise 12½ to 15 percent under legislation near final passage. Also in prospect: minimum payments of $50 to $70 a month, plus an increase in the amount you can earn without losing benefits.

READ ANY GOOD BOOKS LATELY?

Hunt, fish, ski, camp? Use "Outdoors U.S.A." as your guide . . . Buy a place in Harford County? "Case Study" analyzes land use, population, and the economy . . . Install a bathroom? Shop for freezer foods? Fight pests? Order any of 110 household bulletins from our checklist . . . free!

NEXT VISITS AT DUNDALK AND ABERDEEN

Mr. Andrews, ill with cancer, found his Federal employer had misplaced medical and retirement records. Papers were straightened out the same day, and he got a check for $970.19. Saturdays, at 10 A.M., see me at these post offices:

Dundalk, December 9; Aberdeen, December 16.

SEASONS GREETINGS

From Susie and Clarence Long, Betty, and 1st Lt. Clarence D. Long, III (back from Vietnam.)

The Quest for Concept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we are besieged with problems and we are often bereft of solutions in the area of foreign affairs, I think the article by George F. Kennan, noted student of foreign policy, in Harvard today, autumn 1967 edition, on "The Quest for Concept," might prove a useful stimulus to our thinking.

The article follows.

IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THE QUEST FOR CONCEPT

(By George F. Kennan)

When one glances back at the past, one occasionally sees clear and coherent elements of concept in the thinking of the Federalist statesmen, and fairly clear elements in the thinking of some of their successors down through the middle of the 19th century. The rounding out of the territory of the United States on the North American continent just or unjust, moral or immoral—was at least a clear and rational concept. And the Monroe Doctrine, in itself more of a principle than a purpose, answered to the same description. These concepts had their foundation in evident and concrete interests of our society. They bore a rational relationship both to the needs of our society's internal life and to the circumstances of its external environment. They were directed to obvious considerations of national security.

Obscurity—obscurantism, if you will—began to creep in, it seems to me, towards the end of the century, as the task of rounding out our territory on this continent was completed, as the frontier disappeared, as those dangers of new European activity in the New World that had attended the Napoleonic wars and their aftermath receded into the past.

With that great transition, there crept into the ideas of Americans about foreign policy something that had not been there in the earlier days. It was a histrionic note—a note of self-consciousness, or pretension. There was a desire not just to *be* something but to *appear* as something: to appear as something greater perhaps than one actually was. There was a desire to play a role for the sake of playing a role, and to be seen by others as playing it: a desire to compel others to associate themselves with the ritual of self-esteem and self-glorification that was becoming a regular feature of the rhetoric of American public life.

This manifested itself in the imperialism of the turn of the century, in the wave of expansionist fervor that carried us into possession of Hawaii and the Philippines, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone—all places not contiguous to our national territory. It manifested itself also, strangely enough, in the growth among many Americans of a peculiar emotional and sentimental preoccupation with China and the Asian mainland,—a preoccupation quite divorced from considerations of real national interest.

And it manifested itself as well in a curious enthusiasm for the establishment of legalistic criteria for the solution of international problems. The essence of this enthusiasm was an attempt to transplant to the plane of international life the principles of legality on the basis of which (as the people of that time fondly thought) violence had been successfully banished from our own national life. If, it was thought, legal norms and procedures could be agreed upon in advance to govern the adjudication and settlement of international disputes, then there would be something to which you could take appeal. The sordid substance of international conflict—the specific issues and bones of contention—would have to yield to principle and procedure.

THE NEEDLESS TREATIES

To what extent this outlook came to dominate the mind of American statesmanship will become evident if we recall that just in thirty-five years from 1898 to 1933 the United States government negotiated, signed and ratified a total of 97 international agreements (most of them bilateral) providing for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration and conciliation. This enormous diplomatic effort occupied much of the time of such eminent Secretaries of State as John Hay, Elihu Root, William Jennings Bryan, and Henry Stimson. Yet the number of disputes actually arbitrated in subsequent years in connection with these treaties was exactly two, and for these acts of arbitration, the treaties themselves were in no way necessary.

All this, too, was concept, if you will, but it was concept founded on a rather childish view of world realities, founded also, I suspect, on a certain gratification of our self-esteem. We saw ourselves as high-mindedly devoted to the enthronement, in international affairs, of the principles of law and orderly behavior. We saw the powers of Europe as wicked; we saw them as bent on intrigue and aggrandizement. This concept had, as an ideal for the future, its attractive, its appealing, sides. But intervening events have demonstrated, if they have demonstrated anything at all, that it was and is wholly inadequate as an approach to the great problems of twentieth-century international life.

Major tests of our ability to create policy on the basis of rational concept came with the two World Wars. In neither case could it be said, I think, that our response had much of concept in it. In neither case did we enter the war as a result of any sober calculation of our own interests. In each case we had to be kicked into it. In the case of World War II we did not enter until the Japanese attacked us and the Germans declared war on us. In each case, before entering the war we saw in its issues nothing that would justify our participation.

Having entered, albeit involuntarily, we at once discovered that the issues were of positively apocalyptic importance. It was inconceivable that any war in which we were involved could be less than momentous and decisive for the entire future of humanity. And out of this grew, then, the characteristic emotionalism of militancy—an emotionalism to which the democratic society, with its incorrigible tendency to self-love, is particularly prone: a state of collective hysteria in which you see your own side as the repository of all virtue and the adversary as the embodiment of all that is evil and inhuman.

I do not mean to overdo this. There were, in both wars, sensible people in this country who saw and tried to hold in mind the real implications for our national security. At the time of World War I, for example, some people saw clearly the stake we had in preserving Britain as a major factor in European and world affairs, and therefore favored our participation. But such considerations did not figure strongly in our total national reaction. And they seemed, in each case, too modest, too earthy, too disillusioned and old-fashioned, to serve as considerations on which to found our approach to the problems of the peace. As each war ended, and it became necessary to talk about the world political future, we took appeal to universalistic, utopian ideals, related not to the specifics of national interest, but to legalistic and moralistic concepts that seemed better to accord with the pretentious significance we had attached to our war effort.

It was inevitable, of course, that these unreal ideals should be frustrated by postwar realities. Faced with this frustration after World War I we were able to retire rapidly into the dreary isolationism of the 1920's. After World War II this was not possible. It was clear that our immediate retirement from involvement in Europe could lead to disasters scarcely smaller than those we had fought to avert.

We had not fought Hitler only to enthrone Stalin as the dictator of Europe. We felt obliged to remain in Europe to resist. But in the name of what ideas were we to mount this resistance? We were not officially at war with Russia. Wartime emotionalism, as we had just experienced it, could not be switched quickly from an ex-enemy to an ostensible ally. Yet legal and moral norms would not do either. The communists could not be appealed to on this basis; nor was what they were doing susceptible to easy classification under any of the established categories of propriety or legality. Soviet-controlled communism was, for us, a new sort of challenge; and it called for a new way of looking at things.

It was in these circumstances that the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of States, of which I was the first director, was established exactly twenty years ago this past April; and it was to the filling of the need for a new rationale of foreign policy that the Staff was obliged to direct its efforts over the three years that I held the position.

What came of our effort was something that came to be popularly talked about as the "doctrine of containment"; but that was just one of those semantic vulgarizations to which our mass media are prone when they lack the patience and the inclination to look at things carefully. What we really tried to do in the Policy Planning Staff was to evolve a workable concept of American foreign policy in the given conditions. With one possible exception—that of Colonel House's so-called "Inquiry" of 1918, designed to help Woodrow Wilson in his confrontation with the problems of the peace conference—our labor constituted, I suppose, the first consistent effort of this nature ever conducted over a prolonged period of time by a single group of responsible people within government.

Now the concept we evolved in the Planning Staff at that time would not be fully valid today. It was directed, as every workable and realistic concept must be, to the situation of the moment. Besides, it had, no doubt, its faults and limitations, as every human intellectual effort must. But it may serve as an illustration—a model, if you prefer—of what a concept of foreign policy might look like. I can summarize here only those elements that related to major aspects of national security.

DISBALANCE OF POWER

The concept was addressed primarily to the great disbalance in world power with which the World War had ended and the danger this presented to our security. It recognized that there were, by and large, four areas of the globe, aside from our own country, where industrial potential existed in sufficient strength to produce the sinews of modern war. One was Britain; a second was Germany, with the contiguous industrial centers of the Rhine valley; a third was the Soviet Union; a fourth was Japan. These were the areas whose fate was vitally important to us. China did not figure. The mainland of Asia, in fact, did not figure. There was no place on the mainland of Asia where industrial strength could be developed on a scale large enough to do us significant harm.

At the time we undertook our work, only one of those four areas, namely the Soviet Union, was in hands that had to be regarded as hostile. What seemed to us essential to American security was that none of the other three—but particularly not the contiguous ones of Germany and Japan—should fall under Soviet influence as well and thus become associated with Soviet industrial and military potential.

We did not see any appreciable danger of this occurring as a result of an outright Soviet military attack. We saw no evidence that such an attack entered into the pattern of Soviet outlooks and intentions. We saw very strong evidence that it did not. We did see a danger that further industrial areas might fall under Soviet control by virtue of internal political changes—as a result, that is, of the seizure of power by communist minorities. We observed the intensive efforts that were being made by various communist parties, with Moscow's encouragement and support, in just this direction, particularly in Western Europe. It was our judgment that these efforts, if successful, would jeopardize American strategic and political interests. And it was to this, primarily, that we addressed our attention.

Precisely because we did not attempt to judge these things legalistically or moralistically, we were in a position to discriminate geographically in assessing the degree of danger these communist efforts presented for us. We were at liberty to regard the possibility of a communist take-over in one of the world's great industrial countries as more dangerous to us than a similar take-over in a small weak country whose resources could scarcely play an important part in the power balance. We were at liberty, in areas which seem to us important, to concentrate on the communist threat, and in areas that did not, to react decisively or even to ignore it.

And just as we did not see the danger of the spread of communism as a danger of military attack across borders, so we did not see the answer to it in military intervention on our part. We thought that the dispatched of American forces to any of these threatened areas would, in fact, be self-defeating. The idea of strategic bombing as a weapon against communist infiltration and subversion would have been strange to us. What seemed to us desirable was to stimulate and encourage the rise of indigenous political resistance to communist pressures in the threatened countries. We believed that unless the people and government of those countries operating through their own political systems, could be induced to pick up the great burden of this load, success was not likely. For us to attempt to carry that burden would have effects—such as the paralysis of local initiative and responsibility, or the negative impact which a great foreign presence inevitably has on the natives of a country—which would tend to defeat the purpose of the undertaking.

It was largely for this reason that we insisted, in the Marshall Plan, that the Europeans come up with their own ideas; that they set up their own program and their own organization and take full responsibility for them; that we ourselves not be a part of the program or the organization, but only the friend and supporter of both.

It was for the same reason that later, when the problems of NATO and European unification came up for consideration, I myself at any rate (I shall not speak for all the Staff here) opposed the so-called Atlantic approach—the integral association, that is, of the United States with the countries of Western Europe in a common alliance or a common effort of political union. To me, as to General de Gaulle today, this seemed to suggest a role for the United States in European affairs too preponderant for the good of the objectives at stake. I believe that the United States could stimulate effective resistance to communist pressures elsewhere only to the extent that it observed a certain prudent detachment, endeavoring to release useful energies and impulses in others, not trying to create them or to insert our own in their place.

NOT ONLY RESISTING COMMUNISM

It seemed, furthermore, to us in the Planning Staff, that if our efforts of assistance to others, particularly economic assistance, were to be effective, they must not be directed, or appear to be directed, only or even primarily to the negative objective of resisting communism. This would merely give the recipient peoples the impression that they were being made pawns in a great-power rivalry. It would undermine their sense of self-interest. Aid had to be directed—not just appear to be directed, but really be directed—to positive, constructive purposes, as in the Marshall Plan. The political effects would have to be indirect, not direct. People could be successfully encouraged to resist communism only to the extent they could be shown a higher, more lasting, and more constructive purpose than mere political defense.

In short, we in the Planning Staff were concerned to restore an adequate balance of power in Europe and eventually in Asia. We thought that once such a balance had been restored, we would negotiate a military and political Soviet retirement from Central Europe in return for a similar retirement on our part. We saw no virtue in keeping our military forces nose to nose with those of Russia. We welcomed the prospect of the emergence, between Russia and ourselves, of a Europe that would be neither an extension of Soviet military power nor of our own. We thought all this could be achieved by indirect, political means. It was our hope that if we could make progress along the lines I have described, there would be a good chance that the world would be carried successfully through the immediate crisis of instability flowing from the defeat of Germany and Japan. New vistas might later open up—vistas not visible at that time—for the employment of our great national strength to constructive and hopeful ends.

This concept was never fully understood by those who had the power of decision in matters of American policy. To the extent that it was understood, it was rarely accepted or implemented. The Marshall Plan was the only measure of policy entirely in accord with it. Its erosion, as a guide to policy, began almost before it was completely formulated. One by one, its essential elements were abandoned over the coming years. Some became casualties to a more military concept of the cold war; some to a desire on the part of leading political figures for more pretentious and impressive formulas of American objectives; some to a sentimental belief in the great destiny of America on the mainland of Asia; some to the domestic-political interests of favored allies.

CONTAINMENT AND VIETNAM

The Vietnam involvement, as you know, marches under the same semantic banner as that under which our Planning Staff marched just twenty years ago this spring—namely, the banner of "containment." So similar is the stated purpose that I sometimes find myself being asked the puzzled question: "But you are the author of the doctrine: why are you not enthusiastic about Vietnam?"

The answer will be readily apparent, I think, to anyone who glances at the official rationale and methodology of our Vietnam policy and compares it wtih the concept I have just exposed to you. Point for point, there is no correspondence.

Now there might be some among you who would argue that the official rationale of our Vietnam involvement also represents concept; that the Administration's view might be the right one, and our view of 1947 the wrong one. Theoretically, this is quite possible. Actually, I think it is not so. Everyone knows that our entry into the Vietnam involvement did not come as a result of rational reflection—that it was rather the result of a long exercise in national inadvertence, of a long series of partial decisions, none of them taken with any clear comprehension of the depths of involvement to which they were bringing us. Decisions were inspired by what you will—by offended pride, by illusions of omnipotence, by personal commitment to the effectiveness of certain forms of weaponry, by attachment to the idea of universal legal and moral norms, by sentimental enthusiasm about Asia and America's role in Asia, by an over-militarist view of the cold war, by lack of discrimination with regard to the evolution of world communism.

I do not know—none of us can know—whether our involvement in Vietnam is going to end in such a way as to permit us to have another chance to construct foreign policy on the basis of concept. It is difficult to conceive, personally, of any outcome of our present efforts and approaches that would be less than disastrous.

But I have seen too much of international affairs to suppose that just because no favorable solution to a problem is visible or conceivable at a given moment, none will ever be found; and I am too well aware of my own tendency to pessimism to place full trust in my poor powers of analysis. We must continue to hope that this conflict will find its termination in some way that permits us to resume constructive conceptual thinking, and we must be prepared for that eventuality if it does come.

It would be wrong, of course, to exaggerate the role that concept could play in the formulation of American policy, even in those happy circumstances. Inevitably, in our democracy, the process of decision is a confused one, involving the interaction of a great many people each of whom has his own ideas, his own outlooks, his own motives—each of whom appears only episodically, often briefly, on the scene of governmental responsibility. In such a political system, concept can never play the same commanding disciplinary role that it might play in a general staff in wartime.

But to say that the role of concept is necessarily limited in such a system, is not to say that it can be dispensed with altogether. Even if it does not find expression in any formalized and authoritative way, it is something that can exist and ought to exist in individual minds. These minds ought to be enriched, and to the maximum extent united, or at least placed into effective communication with each other, by a common set of appreciations and assumptions and principles in this field. It is here that education comes in. It is here that the universty has its place. It is here that serious public discussion, reasonable argument and debate, are indispensable.

It remains my hope that if the Vietnam situation takes a turn that permits us once again to conduct our affairs on the basis of deliberate intention, rather than just yielding ourselves to be whip-sawed by the dynamics of a situation beyond our control, we will take up once more the quest for concept as a basis for national policy. And I hope that when we do, what we will try to evolve is concept based on a modest unsparing view of ourselves; on a careful examination of our national interest, devoid of all utopian and universalistic pretensions; and upon a sober, discriminating view of the world beyond our borders—a view that takes account of the element of relativity in all antagonisms and friendships, that sees in others neither angels nor devils, neither heroes nor blackguards; a concept, finally, which accepts it as our purpose not to abolish all violence and injustice from the workings of international society but to confine those inevitable concomitants of the human predicament to levels of intensity that do not threaten the very existence of civilization.

If concept could be based on these principles, if we could apply to its creation the enormous resources of intelligence and ingenuity and sincerity that do exist in this country, and if we could refine it and popularize it through those traditional processes of rational discussion and debate on the efficacy of which, in reality, our whole political tradition is predicated, then I could see this country some day making, as it has never made to date, a contribution to world stability and to human progress commensurate with its commanding physical power.

Maryland Soldier Is Vietnam Casualty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Paul A. Leonard, a soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ARUNDEL SOLDIER IS VIET CASUALTY—PRIVATE LEONARD, 20, KILLED 1 MONTH AFTER ARRIVAL

ANNAPOLIS, November 30.—A 20-year-old soldier from the tiny Anne Arundel county community of Glenisle who had been in Vietnam just a month was killed there Tuesday, the Defense Department reported today.

Pfc. Paul A. Leonard died after he was struck by metal fragments from a bobby trap, the Defense Department said in a telegram to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Leonard.

Private Leonard was drafted by the Army in November, 1966, and had been in Vietnam exactly one month on the day he was killed, Mr. Leonard said.

He was stationed near An Khe with the First Cavalry Airmobile Division.

Before he was drafted, Private Leonard worked for the United States Government Printing Office in Washington. He was a 1965 graduate of Northwestern High School in Hyattsville, Md.

He wanted to return to the printing business after finishing his two years in the Army, Mr. Leonard said. Before being sent to Vietnam, Private Leonard received training at Fort Jackson, S.C., and at Fort Carson, Colo.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Mrs. Dorothy V. Murphy, of Arlington, Va. Mr. and Mrs. Leonard moved to Glenisle, which is on the South River near Annapolis, about two years ago after living for a number of years in Hyattsville.

Why We Are Losing in World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, to paraphrase Mark Twain, everyone talks about our trade imbalance but no one does anything about it. The lack of a legitimate Washington analysis of the controversy is thus described in an effective analysis provided in a timely editorial which appeared in this morning's Chicago Tribune.

The editorial follows:

WHY WE'RE LOSING IN WORLD TRADE

High production costs, caused by inflation and the demands of labor unions for higher and higher wages, are pricing the United States out of the markets of the world. We are losing our competitive position in foreign trade, and the consequences will be increasing balance of payments difficulties, more inflation, and fewer jobs for American workers.

As officially reported, our foreign trade surplus declined from 6.7 billion dollars in 1964 to 4.8 billion in 1965 and 3.7 billion in 1966. It increased to an annual rate of 4.2 billion in the first half of 1967, but during October exports dropped to the lowest level in 18 months—and devaluation of the pound sterling by Britain, our best European customer, will further adversely affect the United States trade balance.

Actually the United States already is a trade deficit country. The official figures, showing a surplus, include military grant aid, shipments to United States military establishments overseas, and subsidized agricultural exports under the "food for peace" program. Moreover, the official figures are based on shipping point values and do not include transportation and insurance costs. When these costs are included and the noncommercial exports are excluded, the trade balance is reversed from surplus to deficit. The accomulated deficit in all foreign transactions, including merchandise trade, was 33.3 billion dollars from 1950 through 1966.

The character of our foreign trade is changing ominously. Technologically the United States is the most advanced country in the world, but in spite of enormous capital investment to increase industrial efficiency we are losing our competitive advantage in foreign markets because of labor costs. Formerly we imported tropical products, raw materials, and finished goods with a low labor coefficient, while exporting mainly manufactured goods. Now we are importing manufactured goods and exporting mainly agricultural products, chemical raw materials, scrap iron, and other products with a low labor content.

In 1966, United States imports of manufactured goods were valued at 6.3 billion dollars, compared with exports of 3.4 billion. We still had a large trade surplus in machinery and transportation equipment [exports 11.1 billion, imports 4.8 billion], but even in this category we face increasing competition from western Europe and Japan.

Imports of manufactured goods in 1966 included iron and steel valued at 1.3 billion dollars. This was 11 per cent of all the iron and steel consumed in the United States. In the first nine months of 1967, iron and steel imports totaled 8,134,000 tons, compared with 7,891,000 in the same period last year, and foreign manufacturers increased their share of the United States market to 11.7 per cent.

Edwin H. Gott, president of the United States Steel corporation, attributes the import problem mainly to the disparity between American and foreign labor costs. He notes that employment costs in the American steel industry average $4.80 an hour, compared with less than $2 in the European Common Market countries and "closer to a dollar an hour" in Japan.

There is a tendency in some circles to belittle foreign trade because it is such a small part of our so-called gross national product [GNP] of goods and services. Our exports of 29.8 billion dollars in 1966 were only 4 per cent of the GNP [743.3 billion]. Yet Gov. Kerner says it is estimated that foreign trade accounts for 600,000 jobs in Illinois alone, 25 per cent of all the workers in manufacturing and 10 per cent of those in agriculture.

Another view of foreign trade is that it should be free of tariffs, quotas, and all other forms of government interference. In the preindustrial world of the 18th century it seemed logical to Adam Smith and others that free competition should permit a division of trade among nations and regions of the world on the basis of their natural resources, productive efficiency, and other advantages.

But this is not the 18th century. Altho the United States has led the world in lowering tariffs, other nations have erected all kinds of so-called nontariff barriers against American products, and because of these restrictive practices there is strong support in Congress for a system of quotas on United States imports.

It is ironical that the most militant opponents of government restrictions on foreign trade are socialists and other liberals who advocate a tightly managed economy for the United States. John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard, whose voice is heard with respect in Washington, not only demands wage and price controls but massive spending programs to limit "private claims on income" in the United States. As ambassador to India, he was exposed to the demented planning and institutionalized chaos of that socialist country, but evidently it taught him nothing.

We cannot have national socialism and laissez-faire in foreign trade. We cannot finance perpetual deficits in our national and international accounts without inflation, and we cannot go on increasing production costs without losing markets abroad and jobs at home.

The 50th Anniversary of Polish Army in North America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was just 50 years ago, in 1917, that Ignace Jan Paderewski, Polish statesman and patriot, appealed to men of Polish extraction in North America to form an autonomous Polish Army to fight with the Allied Forces in World War I.

More than 30,000 Polish Americans answered the call and fought valiantly on the battlefields of Europe.

Our Nation, indeed, the free world, is indebted to these brave men, many of whom died in the cause of freedom.

The common council of my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., recently adopted a resolution of felicitations to the Polish Army in North America.

I include the text of the resolution, as follows:

COMMON COUNCIL RESOLUTION 127

(By Messrs. Franczyk, Black, Buyers, Dudzick Elfvin, Gorski, Johnson, Lew Andowsi, Lyman, Makowski, Mitchell, Morrisey, Perla, Regan, and Whalen)

FELICITATIONS

Whereas, In August of 1917 Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Polish statesman, patriot and world renowed pianist appealed to men of Polish extraction in North America to join, train and form an autonomous Polish Army to fight by the side of the Allied Forces during World War 1; and

Whereas, Thirty thousand men answered this call to arms, and many of these brave men fought and died alongside of their Allied brethren in defense of freedom on the battlefields of Europe; and

Whereas, This year, 1967, marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Army in North America,

Be it Resolved, that this Common Council extends its most sincere and heartfelt felicitations and thanks to the Veterans of the Polish Army in North America, who served so valiantly to help preserve the cause of freedom throughout the world.

Pittsburgh Company Wins First Urban Transportation Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure and privilege on Wednesday of this week to attend the ceremony at which a company headquartered in my district—the Westinghouse Electric Corp.—received the first Urban Transportation Award of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

When Secretary Robert C. Weaver presented the award to Westinghouse's very able president, Mr. Donald C. Burnham, he said:

> Westinghouse earned this award for demonstrating the courage and foresight to enter a field that was relatively new to it, and for the imagination and technical skill it demonstrated in delivering solid accomplishments in a relatively brief time.

I am proud, Mr. Speaker, that Pittsburgh can claim this innovative company as its own, and that HUD has appropriately honored its formidable achievement in the vital area of urban transportation.

To illustrate the accomplishments of both HUD and Westinghouse in the serious business of enabling our urban populations to move about comfortably, cheaply and cleanly, I insert at this point in the RECORD the text of Secretary Weaver's remarks at the first Urban Transportation Award ceremony. The text follows:

Now, I have a very pleasant duty to perform.

We have been talking about the vast, intricate and complex problems of urban mass transportation.

We have been saying that we perceive transit as one of the major urban problems that must be resolved as we set about revitalizing every facet of the urban environment.

Since the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development was created just two years ago this month, it has been clear to us that one primary mission of the department must be to stimulate, encourage and inspire the cooperation and involvement of every resource the Nation has to attack and solve these problems.

We believe that an appropriate part of our effort should be to honor those who contribute outstanding achievements and accomplishments toward the solution of transportation problems.

For this purpose, I am announcing today the creation of the Urban Transportation Award. This award will serve as the symbol of the Nation's gratitude to those who devote themselves to this task with outstanding success.

I am privileged also to be able to announce the first winner—the Westinghouse Electric Corporation of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—for outstanding achievements in urban transportation technology.

Westinghouse earned this award for demonstrating the courage and foresight to enter a field that was relatively new to it, and for the imagination and technical skill it demonstrated in delivering solid accomplishments in a relatively brief time.

In short, Westinghouse has earned the gratitude of the Nation for giving the haggard transit passenger a better ride for his money.

The company we honor today—through its able and energetic president, Donald C. Burnham—is making many contributions to transit innovation, but I want to mention three of them:

In San Francisco, the first of a new generation of automatic command and propulsion systems for trains in a high-volume, large transit operation.

In Pittsburgh, the creation of an innovative system for a medium-volume traffic area by the use of automatic, rubber-tired cars traveling on a lightweight, elevated right-of-way.

And thirdly, the development of Marketeer I, the two-passenger, electrically-powered vehicle for the economic, convenient transportation of the urban dweller over moderate distances and at moderate speeds.

It is our conviction in the Department that the active involvement of the private, industrial and corporate genius of this Nation is essential for a national response to urban problems.

So, I am delighted today, in behalf of the national government, to present this award for industrial leadership.

Control Data Versus Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the announcement was made last week that Control Data Corp. would open a computer parts factory in the poverty area of north Minneapolis. At the same time, it was announced that the Twin Cities-based firm would establish a new Control Data Institute—the ninth training school operated by the company around the United States—near or adjacent to the factory.

The location of the plant and the school is in the heart of the district where racial disturbances flared up last summer and the summer before. According to the announcement, made by the Hennepin County Office of Economic Opportunity, the area leads Minneapolis in concentration of nonwhites and in unemployment of both whites and nonwhites. One family in four in this section has an annual income of $3,000 or less.

Without a doubt Control Data could have located its plant and its school elsewhere and avoided some of the difficulties that may arise from its decision to locate in a poverty neighborhood. But this is a corporation with a sensitive social conscience, as it has demonstrated through its institutes. Once again Control Data has shown courageous willingness to combine a sound business decision with a strong desire to help solve social and economic problems.

This Minnesota firm, Mr. Speaker, has taken the lead in putting its money where its conscience is. Control Data has set an example for other U.S. corporations in proving that private industry can contribute substantially to the treatment of public ills.

An editorial in the Minneapolis Tribune the day after the announcement was made described the North Side plant as "an exciting and significant development for our community." The Minneapolis Star editorialized the same day that—

> The soundest aid for the disadvantaged is likely to be that which benefits all concerned.

Without objection, Mr. Speaker, I insert the announcement of the Control Data factory and institute, the Tribune editorial, and the Star editorial, in that order, in the RECORD:

The Hennepin County Office of Economic Opportunity today announced that Control Data Corporation is opening a manufacturing plant in a low income area on the north side of Minneapolis in response to efforts the north side community has made to improve the industrial environment by inviting new industry to locate there.

Control Data has signed a lease for a 17,000 sq. ft. building located at 1301 Bryant Ave., N. in Minneapolis and will begin operations in about a month. This building will be used until a new plant can be built.

The new 85,000 (approximately) sq. ft. plant will be completed around December 1968 and will eventually employ about 275 people. Control Data is presently investigating alternative sites in that area for the permanent location of the new plant and anticipates that construction will begin as soon as possible.

Commenting on Control Data's plant opening, Mr. Edgar D. Pillow, Director of the Hennepin County Office of Economic Opportunity, the anti-poverty agency for Hennepin County, stated that "Control Data Corporation should be highly commended for this plant which will bring employment opportunities to a depressed area of the city. Decent paying and meaningful jobs are an important factor in providing economic stability and creating a desirable place to live in a community. Jobs provide an opportunity for an individual to achieve dignity for himself and his family."

Mr. Pillow said that the north side area of Minneapolis has the highest concentration of non-whites in the city and also the highest rate of unemployment for both whites and non-whites. Twenty-five per cent of the families living in this area, he added, have annual incomes of $3000 or less.

"In selecting the north side of Minneapolis, Control Data is following a continuing practice of putting additional plants wherever additional manpower exists," Mr. Norbert R. Berg, Control Data's Vice President of Administration and Personnel said. He cited examples of this in the manufacturing plants Control Data has established in the rural Minnesota communities of Cambridge, Faribault, Montevideo, Redwood Falls, and Spring Grove.

As with all its plants, hiring in the north side manufacturing plant will be open to both males and females, ages 18–65. "Control Data will provide the required entry level training in this plant," Mr. Berg said, "just as we have provided the necessary training in our other Minnesota plants." He also noted that the same benefits and compensation will apply to employees of this plant as apply throughout the Company's Twin Cities operations.

At both its temporary and permanent north side manufacturing plants, Control Data will produce standard computer products, in particular what the computer industry calls "controllers." These are electronic devices that are a part of each computer system the Company builds. Controllers make it possible for information to be transmitted between the computer and its family of peripheral equipment, such as magnetic tape handlers, card readers/punchers, line printers, and disk storage drives.

Also announced by Control Data is that it will establish an additional Control Data Institute to be located on the north side of Minneapolis near or adjacent to its new plant. The Company now operates eight of these schools throughout the U.S. that provide career training on a tuition-paying basis for individuals seeking positions in the computer industry covering a broad range of careers that include computer programmers and computer technicians. The addition of a second Institute in Minneapolis results from the success of its present Control Data Institute at 3255 Hennepin Ave., S. and the requirements for other facilities to accommodate an increasing enrollment. The Company said that the Control Data Institute planned for the north side of Minneapolis also will be ready around December 1968.

The Hennepin County Office of Economic Opportunity is arranging meetings with a number of north side agencies and with representatives of Control Data for the purpose of ensuring the success of the community's efforts in working with industries that locate on the north side.

CONTROL DATA AND THE NORTH SIDE

There soon will be a new name on Plymouth Ave., the street of boarded-up buildings. It will be that of Control Data Corp. The decision of one of the world's leading computer manufacturers to open a plant on the Minneapolis North Side, where racial disturbances occurred in 1966 and 1967, is an exciting and significant development for our community.

The company will operate temporarily in leased quarters at Plymouth and Bryant Aves., but next year will build an 85,000-square-foot plant to employ 275 people. Just as important, Control Data, which operates eight computer institutes in the United States and abroad, will establish its second Minneapolis institute near or adjacent to the new North Side plant.

The announcement is significant for many reasons.

The plant and institute represent the first major private investment annnounced for the poverty district since the disturbances. We hope it encourages other such investments.

The plant will provide job opportunities for untrained residents of that part of our city with the highest concentration of nonwhites and the highest rate of unemployment. Previously, inexperienced persons have been trained by Control Data to become productive workers at such rural locations as Redwood Falls, Cambridge, Spring Grove and Montevideo, and Control Data believes it can do the same on the North Side.

The institute will bring into the North Side students from throughout the Upper Midwest, thereby breaking down partly, the fences that separate and isolate the North Side from the broader metropolitan community. Its presence in the North Side, one hopes, will motivate more young people there to continue their education and enter an industry where opportunities for personal advancement are great.

The plant represents a break in the pattern of industrial flight to the suburbs. Control Data, now only 10 years old, got its start in an old building at 5th and Park, but joined the suburban movement when it later located its headquarters in Bloomington and put its biggest plants in the suburbs.

The plant also represents a major commitment by Control Data toward improving the attitudes of the ghetto, for it will produce a standard product, an electronic device that is a part of each computer system the company sells. People who will work in the plant will know that they are not just the recipients of some kind of corporate do-goodism or special federal contract.

In recruiting workers, the company will work closely with poverty agencies active on the North Side. But there is no government money involved in the project, nor are federally-financed training programs part of it (although Control Data does not rule out the use of such programs, if appropriate). The project clearly appears to involve much more than Control Data is required to do to fulfill its obligations as a major federal contractor and equal opportunity employer. It is setting an example for the rest of the community.

As it did when it took on International Business Machines Corp. in the field of super-computers, Control Data is taking on another major new challenge. It came out well on the first. All of us have a stake in how well Control Data and its new employes succeed in this new challenge.

INDUSTRY MOVES TO THE GHETTO

The soundest aid for the disadvantaged is likely to be that which benefits all concerned. Thus the Control Data plant announced for the Minneapolis North Side is based on hard-headed economics—locating a factory and training institute where a pool of potential employes live.

George Champion, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, wrote recently: "Thoughtful Americans are asking searching questions about the role of the business corporation. Can it find ways to apply the profit motive and the spirit of competitive enterprise to new areas of social need? Can it perform functions now undertaken by government better than government itself? Many of us believe the answer is a resounding 'yes'."

Control Data Corp. seems to believe so, too. For in expanding its own operations it also is providing a remedy for that serious "disease" of the ghetto—unemployment due largely to lack of skills. When Control Data pays North Siders while training them to make computer parts it will be creating confident citizens as well as competent workers.

Such efforts do not mean that government poverty programs can be withdrawn from the near North Side or from depressed areas elsewhere. The problems of the ghettos are so overwhelming and so complex that they need the attention of all levels of government. But public agencies can't do the job alone.

The Pilot City project of the North Side calls together all the public and private resources available. The Control Data plant and school fit splendidly into that program.

Dangerous Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in the Houston Post on November 1, 1967, entitled "Dangerous Precedent," setting out the hazard of the exchange of national forest lands for any purpose, no matter how noble.

In this instance, the hazard of exchange of redwood timber in national forests for the proposed redwood national park is made clear.

Perhaps the most concise statement of the peril is the last sentence wherein it is said:

> A man does not get a new pair of shoes by exchanging his own right shoe for his own left shoe.

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

Americans are growingly aware of the need to hold great sections of forest, lake and open lands for national parks. Unless we do—and soon—we leave to our children a concrete and billboard jungle.

Bills now before the Senate and House in Washington would set aside a redwood national park in Northern California. They are backed by conservationists and all those who value the existence of trees older than our civilization.

But red flags are up on one provision of the bill: A proposal to exchange 14,567 acres within a national forest for timberlands now owned by four private companies. The corporation tracts are within the boundaries drawn for the proposed park.

Such an exchange would give to human beings not one square foot of new or additional free lands. The national forests are already ours for picnics, hikes and the preservation of wild life.

The United States government could, of course, simply buy the corporation holdings.

But the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has approved the exchange on the excuse of economy—of creating the new park at less cost.

This is penny-wise, pound-foolish thinking. It is robbing Peter to pay Paul. But the threat is much more serious than that.

If Congress passes the bills with this provision included, it will be setting a precedent which endangers all national forests within the United States.

Time and time again in our history, forces have tried to trade off timberlands for other unrelated federal purposes. Each time the attempt has been defeated by those wise enough and foresighted enough to see what the precedent would mean.

If these forest lands are exchanged in California, the first hole in the dike will have been made and a flood will ultimately flow through. Once subject to exchange, the national forests would then be on demand for scores of unrelated federal purposes—each one unique and worthwhile to its special backers.

Texas is especially concerned over the maintaining of the long held principle. Though hoping for a national Big Thicket park, Texas does not wish to gain it at the expense of its national forests. With such a precedent set in California, this state could be expected to exchange—and thereby to lose—national forest lands we already enjoy to gain the Big Thicket National Park.

The purpose of creating national parks is to expand open lands for our growing population. The expansion must be made by purchases. Trade in kind is no gain at all.

A man does not get a new pair of shoes by exchanging his own right shoe for his own left shoe.

Letter From Mother of Son Who Was Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from Mrs. F. Carton Gates, of Centreville, Md., whose son, Lt. Comdr. Fred H. Gates II, U.S. Navy, was recently killed in Vietnam. This letter, from a brave mother, tells of her son's deep faith in the America he loved and gave his life for:

DEAR SIR: This letter is long overdue in thanking you for sincere expressions of sympathy at the loss of our son LCDR Fred H. Gates, II, off Vietnam.

Your having Pete (Fred) included in The Congresisonal Record has been deeply appreciated and we were very touched by your thoughtfulness. It will mean a great deal to his children in the years to come.

I realize they cannot give such honor to every man who lays down his life—but Sir, I cannot think of anyone more deserving than our son.

As a mother, I never could really accept his complete dedication to his country. He believed it was his privilege, not his duty, to serve his country, to die for it, if necessary—which he did.

I don't pretend to understand why we are in Vietnam but I accept. Pete believed strongly we should be there, not for reasons so often expounded, but because he felt we *had* to stop communism somewhere. He was an avid reader of history, and geo-political history, especially. He felt we cannot allow the "bread basket" of Asia to fall to the communists if we and our allies are to remain free. Thus he volunteered to fly the "SPAD" to insure his loved ones remain free.

He did not approve, always, of what the dissenters were saying, but he told us in June, when I last saw him, that he was willing to fight for their *right* to dissent.

Pete wants his children to realize Freedom is worth fighting for—but also wants them to know it means obedience to law and order. It *isn't* their right to dissent if it hurts others. It means sacrifice and giving of themselves. An idealist he was, but he lived and died for the principles he believed in. I am sure there are thousands of other service men who felt as he did. May we not let them have died in vain.

None of this makes it easier for we who have lost so much. It hasn't been easy to accept our loss. He had so much to give; he died at the peak of his career. He was a dedicated officer and a wonderful husband, father and son.

That you remembered him as an earthly man in a permanent way has been a help. We hope your son is well again.

May God bless you in your work of leading us to remain free.

Gratefully,

MARY MACLEOD GATES.

Kind Words for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, Congress is the favorite whipping boy for all of the problems that beset our Nation.

When Congress moves to meet problems, it is often criticized as a rubber-stamp, and is accused of acting hastily, without proper study and deliberation.

When Congress moves at a more deliberate pace, then it is accused of ignoring the Nation's problems and of being slow, cumbersome, and unwieldly.

And so it is refreshing when a word is said on behalf of the Congress.

Such a word has come from Mr. J. Allen Overton, Jr., executive vice president of the American Mining Congress, in an address at the safety awards luncheon of the Portland Cement Association's annual meeting in Chicago.

Describing the House as the "forge of democracy," Mr. Overton deplores efforts to downgrade the Congress, "to tarnish its image before the public."

This is an excellent address, Mr. Speaker, and because of its interest to my colleagues and to the American people, I include excerpts from this address in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

HOW SAFE IS AMERICA?

I wish to discuss with you today the topic, "How Safe Is America?"

My business, as you know, keeps me pretty much in Washington, D.C. I have been there for many years, deeply involved in the processes of government—and keenly concerned about the growing impact of the governmental processes on virtually all of the business decisions which are made every hour of every day by many millions of Americans.

It is about the legislative process in Washington, with which I have been intimately associated for some 25 years—and more particularly about the dedicated men and women who make it work—that I want to visit with you today.

We are, all of us, much involved, on a personal, a company, an industry basis in virtually every action taken—every decision made—by the Senate of the United States and the United States House of Representatives. We see ourselves affected by legislative proposals in such diverse fields as taxation, foreign policy, military affairs, tariff and trade, appropriations—and the hardy perennials which command the very special attention of our industry, such as mine safety, pollution abatement, and the other items in the long litany.

But I want you to look with me beyond the specifics of these pressing legislative concerns. I want you to assess with me a condition which could well hold within itself the seeds of a development far more important to this Nation than the safety requirements of our daily occupation, more important than the very legislation on which the Congress acts.

I am concerned—very concerned—about the decline in Congressional prestige.

I am concerned—very concerned—that each and every one of us face up to his civic duty to do something about correcting this decline.

I am persuaded beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Congress of the United States is the last best hope of free men and free government. In saying this, I demean no other branch, no other arm, no other facet of our governmental structure.

Yet, of all the great branches of our government, the Congress of the United States, as I see it, stands closest to the people, instinctively responsive to their wishes, steadily reflecting their hopes and aspirations.

The Senate of the United States has well been called the world's greatest deliberative body; the House of Representatives aptly labeled the Forge of Democracy. The impact of the Congress, and through it the impact of the people, on the other great branches of government is both obvious and pervasive. Graduates of the House and the Senate have served with high honor and great distinction at all levels of the Judiciary since the earliest days of this Republic. The White House too has been graced by those who first served on the national scene in the Congress of the United States. Indeed, three of the last four Presidents served first in the Congress. So too did the last five men who have served as Vice Presidents of the United States.

Despite all these obvious considerations, we have witnessed throughout most of our adult lifetimes—interrupted only now and then, subsiding only occasionally—a persistent, a relentless effort by the advocates of strong central government to downgrade the prestige of Congress, to tarnish its image before the public. For more years than most of us care to remember, we have seen this steady campaign, listened to the incessant drumfire of its single theme—that we ought somehow to regard Congress (the institution, and all too often the individuals who comprise it) as an assortment of buffoons, and worse.

This is a slander of low degree. It is totally unjustified. And we—every one of us—can and should start doing something about it, and now. This is our safety problem. This is the safety problem of the Republic.

From my many years of close personal association with the legislative process in Washington, I am a complete, a total believer in the skill, the dedication, the reliability of the men and women who serve in the House and the Senate. I don't always agree with what they do, and maybe that's as it should be. But they do reflect the attitudes of the folks at home, and I don't know of a single one among them who isn't ready and willing always to account to the folks at home for his actions and his votes.

But what's happening? What impression is the most prevalent impression about the Congress in the minds of the American voters? Buffoons, and worse, as I said a moment ago.

Now, why is this happening? Congress, unlike the Presidency, is not a highly personalized institution. Congress is impersonal, in great part because of its very size. This unwieldy, impersonal quality makes it easy for advocates of bigger and stronger central government to point an accusing finger at Congress, to lay the blame on Congress for a wide range of shortcomings which are properly chargeable to somebody else. The composite and grossly inaccurate result, after all these years, is that Congress is characterized before the public as dull, insensitive, an essentially selfish group serving only some narrow "special" interests and caring not a whit for the welfare of the people.

Add to that the few in Congress—and they are very, very few indeed—who have abused the power of their Congressional offices, or used their official positions for personal gain. The vocal critics of this very great institution need only one such case every decade—even the suggestion of a case will do—to reinforce the campaign of slander, abuse and ridicule. And Congress, again because it is so unwieldy and as an institution so impersonal, does not and cannot adequately defend itself.

In all this, who is the loser? Who loses when public confidence in the Congress is slowly eroded and finally undermined?

Everybody loses. Literally everybody. The Congress itself, the public generally, you and I—we all lose. The cause of good government is set back immeasurably.

And if we're going to turn this thing around—we'd better tackle it at the point where we have some likelihood of success.

You—yes, you—you'd better tackle it in the person of your own Congressman. Whether you like his politics, or whether you don't, get better acquainted with him. If you don't like the Congressman you have, maybe you can get another one next year. But you'd better get together now with the one you do have. Let him know your respect for the institution in which he serves. Let him know you don't put him or the Congress in this "buffoons, or worse" category.

The process must begin somewhere if we are ever to let Congress know there are people who understand and appreciate its role and its efforts. Your one Congressman and your two Senators add up to only three of the more than 500 Members in both Houses of Congress. Only three, but they're *your* three. This is a good place for you to start. Take these three as an assignment for yourself. Invite them to your meetings where you can. Go meet with them where you can. Maybe you can generate some local recognition—newspaper editorials, civic club activities, and the like—as your contribution to the start of a campaign to upgrade the Congress in the public's esteem, to restore it to its rightful position in terms of prestige, public understanding and appreciation of its very great significance.

You can do your part in all this without endorsing the reelection of a Congressman or Senator of whom you don't approve. Get behind your own candidate with all the steam you can generate. If you elect him, you'll obviously feel that much better. Don't apologize for opposing the reelection of an incumbent. Don't apologize for being a hardworking supporter of your own Party and your own candidate. The real genius of our system remains its basic two-Party character.

So, if you generate some public recognition for a Member or a candidate whom you do support, all the better in your view. If you feel that you're saddled with one you cannot support publicly, then let him know quietly and privately that you are not one who thinks Congress is sinking to the low estate its critics ascribe to it.

This will not be an idle gesture on your part. This is a civic obligation that squarely faces every one of us. And, if you're inclined to look for some return beyond your duty to improve the body politic—then I would only add that a prime rule of human behavior tells you that you'll achieve with that Member of Congress a better relationship, a better appreciation of your problems—if you make this effort, regardless of whether you and he agree politically, ideologically, or on a specific issue of the moment.

The time for this is now. Never before in these many years of my exposure to the workings of Congress have Members of the House and Senate seemed more sensitive to their unfortunate—and unfair—public image. Never before in these years have they seemed so much to need, and to welcome, the understanding of their constituents. And I would add that never before in these years have I felt that the Congress—collectively and individually—was as badly maligned and slandered as it is today.

We have many problems in Washington, you and I.

Industry's concerns with the processes of government add up to a big job, a many-sided job. That you know this is obvious. Your presence here, and the enthusiasm and purpose with which you participated in these very constructive sessions in Chicago give ample testimony of your awareness of that fact.

Yes—this activity we like to call Governmental Affairs is indeed a big job, a many-sided job. And I'm convinced that we single out the most important part of the whole undertaking when we say—

It's time to Speak Up.

It's time to Stem the Slanders.

It's time to let the House and the Senate know there are some who Salute its Integrity—who would Restore its Prestige—who would Proclaim Again free government's essential dependence on the Congress of the United States—who realize this is the *first* Safety Program of our industry—and who realize that America is only as safe as its Congress is strong and respected.

Public Opinion Survey in North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the results of my annual public opinion survey among residents of North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District.

I was gratified that approximately 17,000 individuals returned questionnaires. This is the largest number of people who have participated in these surveys since I began the practice of circulating questionnaires.

The fact that so many people would take the time to complete the questionnaires and return them indicates widespread interest in the issues and approval of this method of sampling opinion.

I was also pleased that many of those who returned questionnaires added supplementary comments elaborating on their reasons for the views they expressed on the questions listed, or calling my attention to matters of interest not included on the questionnaire. This also indicates that people are anxious to have their views solicited, and I might add that it is important for Congressmen to keep up with the thinking of the people back home. This is necessary if they are to receive adequate representation.

The answers were tabulated by Data Management, Inc., of Washington, D.C., by the use of data processing equipment.

Following are the questions listed in the 1967 survey and the responses by percentages:

1. Do you believe our involvement in war in Vietnam was essential to the security of the United States?

Yes	40.8
No	55.2
No answer	4.0

2. Do you believe our involvement in the war, even if you answered the above question NO, was nevertheless desirable to prevent the spread of Communism?

Yes	70.3
No	22.3
No answer	7.4

3. Which of the following courses do you recommend (choose one):

(a) Stopping the bombing of North Vietnam in order to encourage a negotiated settlement?	8.5
(b) Stepping up military pressures to achieve earliest possible military victory?	76.8
(c) Holding military activities to present levels?	4.5
(d) Gradual withdrawal of United States combat troops?	5.9
(e) Immediate withdrawal of our troops?	6.2

(Some answered more than one.)

4. Do you favor withdrawal of a substantial number of our troops from Europe?

Yes	54.1
No	39.5
No answer	6.4

5. Which policy do you favor with respect tooour relations with Rusisa and East European Communist countries?

(a) Present policy of "building bridges" through increased non-military trade and other reciprocal steps such as the Consular Treaty just ratified by the U.S. Senate?

Yes	60.4
No	11.8
No answer	27.8

(b) A "hard line" policy of limited contact with Communist countries?

Yes	34.5
No	22.8
No answer	42.7

6. Which policy do you favor in dealing with Latin American countries:

(a) Adhere strictly to the non-intervention commitment of the Organization of American States Charter?

Yes	30.6
No	20.0
No answer	49.4

(b) Reserve the right to intervene unilaterally whenever the President deems it in our interest to do so, as was done in the Dominican Republic?

Yes	62.6
No	12.6
No answer	24.7

7. Would you favor curbing the power of the President of the United States to commit United States combat troops to war without specific prior approval of the Congress?

Yes	59.2
No	34.6
No answer	6.9

8. Do you favor increasing the amount of money Social Security retirees can earn without losing Social Security benefits?

Yes	84.5
No	13.0
No answer	2.5

9. The President is recommending a 20% overall increase in Social Security payments, to be financed by increasing payroll taxes and increasing the base against which the tax is calculated from $6,600 gradually to $10,800 by 1974. Do you favor this?

Yes	26.0
No	70.1
No answer	3.9

10. The President has proposed to raise additional money by imposing a 6% surcharge on both corporate and individual income taxes. The proposal would exclude married couples with two children with income up to $5,000 and single people with an income up to $1,900 a year. This proposal is for 2 years. Do you favor it?

Yes	14.5
No	81.4
No answer	4.0

11. The President has again recommended civil rights legislation to, among other things—

(a) Prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of housing over a two-year period so that by 1969 the prohibition would apply to all housing. Do you favor this?

Yes	11.8
No	84.6
No answer	3.6

(b) Prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or economic status, in the selection of state or local juries, and to authorize the Attorney General of the United States to sue states or local jury officials who exclude Negroes or members of other minority groups from juries. Do you favor this?

Yes	46.3
No	48.9
No answer	4.8

(c) To give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue orders, after a fair hearing, to require the termination of discriminatory employment practices. Do you favor this?

Yes	33.1
No	61.9
No answer	5.0

12. The President proposes to fight the rising tide of crime by providing federal grants to state and local governments for the development and implementation of plans to improve police, court and correctional systems. Do you believe this is the best way for the Federal Government to fight crime?

Yes	39.2
No	53.7
No answer	7.1

13. Assuming that the draft law is to be extended, which of the following suggestions do you favor?

(a) Continue the present system which gives local boards wide discretionary power over classification and delivery of men for induction if they have been found acceptable by the Armed Services?

Yes	38.0
No	22.6
No answer	39.4

(b) Adopt uniform, nation-wide classification standards, reduce the 4,100 local boards to approximately 300 and select men for induction at random such as through a lottery?

Yes	40.3
No	22.0
No answer	37.7

(c) Reverse the present procedure under which the older eligibles are taken first and start taking 19-year-olds first?

Yes	26.1
No	27.8
No answer	46.1

14. This year Congress is being requested by the President to appropriate $662 million to inaugurate the new "Model Cities" program. This would be in addition to the regular urban renewal, public housing and other programs of grants in aid to cities. Under this proposal a limited number of cities would be selected to receive the "model cities" grants. Do you recommend that Congress appropriate the requested funds to begin this program?

Yes	13.1
No	83.3
No answer	3.6

Letters From Sixth-Grade Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, that the youngsters of our day and age are interested in and informed on the events taking place in our world is proven by the following letters which I have received from some of the students of the sixth-grade class of the Clinton-Sherman Air Force Base school in Oklahoma. Mrs. Margaret E. Woolman, formerly of Mesa, Ariz., is their teacher, and I think she is to be commended for enlarging the horizons of her students.

Because these letters are thoughtful and interesting, it is my pleasure to bring them to the attention of my colleagues:

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: My name is Mary Berry and I think we should be putting more money in the space program. If so we may be the first ones to have men on the moon.

Very truly yours,

MARY BERRY.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I wish you would keep the space program up. Because someday we might live on one of the Planets.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT WACHMAN.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I would like to thank you for exploring space. I think it is a wonderful thing to find out all about the unknown.

Very truly yours,

MICHAEL J. ROBBINS.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I don't think that there should be a space program. More money should be spent on the men in Vietnam. When the war is over, then people should be allowed to explore the space.

Very truly yours,

DEBORAH WILT.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I think we should spend a lot less money on the space program. The reason

I feel this way is because of all the money that is wasted that could go to building better homes, giving poor people better jobs, and cleaning up the slums. What good will it do us to be first on the moon or on some planet. I feel that we could live a better and much more peaceful life here on earth. We should also spend more money on the war in Viet Nam so we can live a more peaceful life.

Sincerely,
DAVID VANDERPOOL.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I hope that the space program goes. It is a good thing. I hope that we land on the moon first.

Very truly yours,
RICKY CARON.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I think you should spend money on the space project. I just wish those Russians would slow down, and do something while we make 5 or 6 shots at the moon or other planets.

Yours turly,
RUTH ALBRIGHT.

CLINTON-SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I don't go along with your space program. I think its a waste of time and money. It has even cost the lives of some of the astronauts. Because all of the money their wasting, could be spent on sick and hungry people over in India. Besides, this earth was put here to live on not somewhere else.

Very truly yours,
KEVIN CORLEY.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I am a 6th grader and I don't suppose you'll read it now, but I think we should have a better Space Program. Russia is younger, yet they are much higher as far as the Space Program goes. But before we do anything about the Space Program we should do something about riots and peace in our own country.

As for the boys in Viet Nam, I think we should get out! We spend too much money on wars and not enough on peace!

Thank you.
DEBRA JOHNICE DAY.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives.

SIR: I think we should save more money for the space program. Because someday we might need to fight against the Russians. The space shot was good.

Very truly yours,
HOLLIS D. GORAL.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think we should try to get a rocket on the moon because I think it would be nice so that you could make a space program and so that you could get rockets to other planets. I think you should get at least three rockets up in space a year.

Yours truly,
KEVIN SHAFFER.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think the space program is very nice but I think you should stop the war in Vietnam and everything else that takes up the money.

Very truly yours,
KAREN MCKAY.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C

SIR:I think you should go on in space because a lot of people want to know about the stars, planets, and the atmosphere. But they can't if you don't or anyone else doesn't put a spaceship in the atmosphere.

Yours truly,
KATHY PORTER.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C

SIR: I think the space program is wonderful but before you send anymore rockets why don't you clean up what's down here first like cleaning up the slums and there won't be as many riots and other things like the Vietnam war.

Very truly yours,
JANET THOMASON.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I am for the space program because I think young men learn more about the space program every day. And it gives men a chance to learn more about the moon.

Very truly yours,
DAVID HARRINGTON.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I am writing you because I think you should tell me all about it but I did not see the send off. But as we talked about it at school with the ones who did see it I would like you to send something back. I would not care what it is but I do want something. This is why I want you to write me back. I don't know if I like the whole thing or not if I could vote, I would vote for you so find time to write me back.

Very truly yours
DOUGLAS KING.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think that Congressmen are doing the right thing by spending money to build up the Space Program. Perhaps we may even be able to go to the other planets beside the moon. We may discover life on these planets. I am proud to hear of rockets going off. I'm also proud to know that the United States has taken interest in space.

Very truly yours,
DEBRA GUTIERREZ.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think that we should spend money on Space Program. Because if the earth exploded we would need somewhere else to go and live. It would be nice to be the first to build towns and cities on the moon.

Very truly yours,
JAN BUTLER.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I am very proud of our space program, but I think we should take care of the war in Viet Nam and clear up the riots in the United States before we spend thousands or millions of dollars on our space ships. I think we should do one thing at a time instead of doing it all at once.

The war in Viet Nam, I think, is the most important if we want to keep our freedom. I think the United States should try to stop wars for everlasting peace between the countries of the world.

Very truly yours,
MARK HELM.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives.

SIR: I wish you would vote for more money on the space program.

I am only in the sixth grade, but I like to hear of us doing things in the space project to send men to the moon.

These riots in Detroit and other cities are ridiculous, don't you?

The war in Vietnam is terrible but if we get out of the country, the Communists will move in, so let's support our boys in Vietnam.

Yours truly,
JOANN LAMON.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think you should spend more money on the Space Program. Then maybe we will be the first on the moon. But first you should do something about riots and poverty.

Very truly yours,
PATRICE RICHARDSON.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think you should spend more money on the Space Program, because there might be life on another planet that needs our help.

I think the Space Program is very interesting. I would like to see our rockets improve so we can put a man on the moon before Russia does.

Very truly yours,
KAREN STEVENS.

CLINTON SHERMAN AIR FORCE BASE,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. JOHN RHODES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think you should spend money on the Space Program. Because I and others want to know about other places that we have never been to, and it would be interesting to know about other planets.

Very truly yours,
SUZANNE HAGIN.

Clinton Sherman Air Force Base,
November 10, 1967.

Hon. John Rhodes,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I think you should put more money into the space program than on highways because people can use dirt roads just the same. People that live in slums should go out and get some little job. You should make some new plane on the space program and do more space exploration.

Very truly yours,
Norman Puckett.

Loyalty to Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the Jefferson City, Tenn., Standard-Banner recently carried in their editorial column three outstanding items on patriotism.

Because we tend to take loyalty to our country for granted today and give little thought to what it really means to be loyal to one's country, I thought these three fine editorials would be of interest to my colleagues and the readers of the Record:

Patriotism, My View

In this day and age, when Everying is happening, the word Patriotism, is slowly being pushed out of our lives.

The war is an example. Men are fighting and being killed. Some at home are marching and protesting. People should take pride in their country, not destroy the Flag, and banner of our dead, our brave, our true.

It is a wonder that people can forget all that our country stands for. I do not know about you; but when it comes my time to serve my country in war or peace, I will walk up to the protesters and say, "I have faith in my Homeland."

James Widener.

Loyalty

To me loyalty is being honorable to one's country. If you are called on to serve your country, you should accept the privilege with pleasure. You will be doing your country a favor. It also means being honorable to your state. You should never accept money for information that might weaken your country.

I believe going to church on Sunday is being loyal because our forefathers fought for that privilege. We should vote for the one we think is best. That is our right. I believe freedom of speech is one of our main rights. It allows us to think as we please.

Michael Parton.

Be a Proud American

The National Observer pointed out in a recent article that we should quit apologizing for America being America, "So it is affluent, so not everyone participates equally (why should they, man being what he is?), so the 'quality' of American life does not please those who would like to dictate "quality'. But what other nation's system would you substitute for it?"

The United States in the past 10 years has written the most remarkable record of any great power in the history of the world, and it continues to write it today in Vietnam. Repeatedly, we have used our overwhelming military force to defend the territory, the rights, the lives and the human dignity of people living in other nations who were not in a position to defend themselves against the brutality and oppression of expansionist communism. We have poured American blood and treasure into Europe and into Asia to rebuild the nations we defeated in World War II and to hold the lines of freedom and national self-determination against aggression.

American forces continue to fight for principle—the U.S. has no interest in gaining either wealth or territory from another country. When the balance sheet of history books is finally drawn, U.S. citizens of the future will have reason to be proud of their nation's record. This should be remembered amidst the raucous rantings of America's detractors.

A Tribute to the Late Christopher Rowland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the Members of Congress who participate in the Anglo-American Parliamentary Conferences on Africa wish to pay tribute to the memory of Christopher Rowland, Member of Parliament, a gifted friend and colleague, who died on November 5 at the age of 38. We had the pleasure of working with him in three important conferences on Africa, and all of us were much impressed by his understanding of, and commitment to, international affairs.

His death is a matter for deep regret, not only for us, but for other Members of Congress who had the pleasure of meeting him during his visit to Washington in May of this year. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to his wife and children.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following report from the Times of London of November 6, 1967, which well describes the qualities of Christopher Rowland, at this point in the Record:

Mr. Christopher Rowland: Labour Member of Parliament for Meriden

Mr. Christopher Rowland, Labour M.P. for Meriden since 1964, and Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster since 1966, died yesterday at Woolwich at the age of 38.

His death robs the Labour Party of one of its most gifted young politicians. No one who knew him well doubted that he would eventually hold high office. His promotion to the Government had long been expected, and seemed certain before the end of this parliament.

Christopher Rowland possessed the strength of purpose and reasonableness of mind which typifies all that is best in modern radicalism. No one in the House stood more firmly on principle; equally no one argued for its acceptance with greater moderation and clarity. He was unyielding in his opposition to the illegal government in Rhodesia. With equal conviction he espoused less popular causes. He could never quite believe that Britain's best interests lay in Europe—despite the persuasion of his friends. He pursued the radio pirates with a ferocity that crusaders for more fashionable causes thought out of proportion. He possessed the sort of courage that prompted him to fight for causes according to his own, rather than the collective conviction.

These gifts Christopher Rowland combined with more personal virtues. He was compassionate, loyal, genuinely anxious to help his friends, and above all incurably modest. He never realized how assured his future would have been.

He was one of three Labour M.P.s who visited Rhodesia on a fact-finding mission at the beginning of 1966. At a meeting in Salisbury where they tried to address about 400 supporters of Mr. Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, they were subjected to rough treatment. Rowland, who had lunged across a table to retrieve his papers which had been grabbed by one of the audience, fell to the floor and was kicked and punched and had a carafe of water emptied over him. Dr. Jeremy Bray, one of the other Labour M.P.s who tried to go to the rescue, was also manhandled, but special branch police moved in and escorted them safely through the crowd. The following day an expulsion order was issued against the three M.P.s, but Rowland had already left the country.

In 1959, Rowland was dismissed from his position as a B.B.C. talks producer, because he wished to remain a Labour candidate. He was refused permission by the corporation to nurse the constituency he was a prospective candidate for, the Eastleigh Division of Hampshire. Dr. Horace King, now the Speaker, described the incident as "an act of political victimization."

Rowland, who was born on September 26, 1929, was educated at Chesterfield grammar school, the London School of Economics, and Oxford University where he took a B.Phil degree. He joined the Labour Party in 1946, and was chairman of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations, 1953–54. From 1954 to 1959 he was a talks producer in the B.B.C. Overseas Services.

He retained a deep concern for the quality of British broadcasting even at the risk of losing popularity, and he had declared his intention of voting against his party if it had sought to introduce commercial "popular" radio following the suppression of the pirate stations.

He joined the Booker Group in 1960 as information officer, a position which he retained, part-time, after his election to Parliament in 1964. This work for Bookers enabled him to develop further his deep interest in the political and economic progress of the developing countries in the Commonwealth, particularly in the Caribbean and Central Africa. He also became honorary treasurer of the Africa Bureau. While firmly committed to the maximum speed of African advancement, his approach was essentially balanced and pragmatic.

From 1964 to 1966 he was Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Ministers of State, Foreign Office. He was a Commonwealth Fund Fellow, 1957–58, and studied the political and educational uses of television in the United States. In 1955 he married Leslie Branch and they had one son and one daughter.

Paul A. Leonard Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Paul A. Leonard, a soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PAUL A. LEONARD, IN VIET A MONTH

ANNAPOLIS.—A 20-year-old soldier from the tiny Anne Arundel county community of Glenisle who had been in Vietnam just a month was killed there Tuesday, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Pfc. Paul A. Leonard died after he was struck by metal fragments from a booby trap, the Defense Department said in a telegram to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Leonard.

Private Leonard was drafted by the Army in November, 1966, and had been in Vietnam exactly one month on the day he was killed, Mr. Leonard said.

He was stationed near An Khe with the First Cavalry (Airmobile) Division.

Before he was drafted, Private Leonard worked for the United States Government Printing Office in Washington. He was a 1965 graduate of Northwestern High School in Hyattsville, Md.

He wanted to return to the printing business after finishing his two years in the Army, Mr, Leonard said. Before being sent to Vietnam, Private Leonard received training at Fort Jackson, S.C., and at Fort Carson, Colo.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Mrs. Dorothy V. Murphy, of Arlington, Va. Mr. and Mrs. Leonard moved to Glenisle, which is on the South River near Annapolis about two years ago after living for a number of years in Hyattsville.

President Johnson, Howard Samuels, and a Call to Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, in New York State we are proud to call Howard Samuels, the new Under Secretary of Commerce, one of our own.

He represents the best in the American tradition—a man who is successful through his own efforts in every endeavor he ever tried—in business, in the military, and now in Government.

President Johnson has made a wise and thoughtful choice in nominating Howard Samuels as Under Secretary of Commerce. The new Johnson programs for housing and employment need the fullest and most imaginative cooperation of the private sector. Howard Samuels is just the man to bring private enterprise and Government together in a program to strengthen the economy and help rebuild the cities.

We must not lose sight of the recent Johnson proposals to bring free enterprise into the low-priced housing field, and even into the public housing area.

We must not lose sight of the Johnson initiative to help business create new jobs for the hard-core unemployed in urban areas.

We must not overlook the fact that as new as these test programs are, they have already begun to show concrete results. Insurance companies are going to invest at least $1 billion in housing. Industry has already announced plans to expand its efforts for hard-core unemployed in the cities.

We in New York are proud to join the Johnson effort to give every man the opportunity to have a decent job and a decent home in a decent neighborhood. Those have been the goals of the Democratic Party for a long time. And Howard Samuels will help the President achieve them.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD remarks by President Johnson at the swearing-in ceremony of Howard Samuels as Under Secretary of Commerce on November 30 at the White House:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR HOWARD SAMUELS, THE EAST ROOM, NOVEMBER 30, 1967

Mr. Howard Samuels and family, Secretary Fowler, Mr. Justice Fortas, members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen, and friends, I am here this morning to hand new challenges to a man who has really made a career of challenges.

Howard Samuels has been facing up to challenges all of his life. In the public schools of upstate New York. In the classes of MIT. In the Army before Pearl Harbor, when he was fighting with Patton across Europe.

Lieutenant Colonel Samuels, age 26, came back from war with an idea and with a dream. He began his own business in an abandoned old schoolhouse. The rent was $35 a month. He and his brother built a corporation from that. It is now this nation's largest producer of plastic packaging.

Howard Samuels leaves this success behind—because another and a larger challenge has brought him to his Nation's Capital.

He takes high office this morning in a department that once spoke only for business. Now it speaks to business about the real business of America—the well-being of all the American people, including the business people.

So Mr. Samuels, your President wants to challenge you—and to challenge American business—to do more to solve the stubborn problems that plague this Nation and that keep us worrying at night.

Let me mention just two of those problems in the brief time this morning:

One is the shame of America. It is the slum of America—the nameless sub-city of the poor that exists in every State. It is a sprawling hovel where 20 million Americans—10 percent of all of our people—today live in tenements, in rural shacks and tar-paper shanties.

There are nearly 6 million of these so-called homes in this, the richest land in the world. Law and decency condemn them. Yet they stand—supported by our inaction, and also supported by, I am afraid, our indifference. They stand 30 years after President Franklin Roosevelt signed our first public-housing act. They stand despite all that the last five Presidents have done to try to wipe this shame from the face and from the conscience of the wealthiest people on earth.

So much for challenge one. The second challenge is to try to hire and to train the half-a-million hardcore unemployed. That is what we are talking about—500,000 hardcore unemployed.

This is our forgotten labor force. It is an unenlisted legion, a neglected resource of a rich and a productive America.

They are the last in line. They do not share in America's abundance because they are the handicapped, they are the unskilled, they are the untrained, and they are the slighted victims of indifference and of discrimination.

Some of us think and hope that all they are asking of us is a chance. We are trying as hard as we know how to give them that chance—a chance to work at a good job at a decent wage.

But we do need help. Government just cannot do it alone. We need the energy, we need the genius, we need the imagination, and we need the initiative of the businessmen of America who have built this great, free enterprise system into the most powerful economy in all the world.

Last month I asked the distinguished Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Sandy Trowbridge, to get our businessmen involved, to get them involved in hiring and training these cast-off Americans. The Secretary turned to our country's 500 largest firms and asked them for help.

Twenty-three of these 500 said they would help.

Twenty-nine said they would not help.

Eighty-five said they were interested.

But the men on the highest levels sometimes just deal with the cream of the crop. That still leaves, after Mr. Trowbridge worked these days, 70 percent for you, Mr. Samuels. They have not committed themselves. We are going to put you in the nose of the cone in the goldfish bowl and we are going to see what you do and what the 70 percent of the 500 do about helping us do something for these half-million hardcore unemployed.

I believe the businessman can become concerned, if he knows the facts. But the average businessman is, first of all, always concerned first with his own business. He is busy with his own affairs. The pity of that is a terrible, accidential callousness to the greater business of all of us—a very dangerous thing. His business is not going to ultimately be any better than all of our business.

Tomorrow morning, we will begin the 82nd consecutive month of growing prosperity in America. In less than seven years, corporate profits after taxes have increased 93 percent—almost doubled in the last seven years—corporate profits after taxes.

So I summon American business this morning, as I did yesterday at the luncheon here in the White House. I summons them in their surge of prosperity, to try to look back at its wake: to look hard at the nameless slum city of the poor and to look hard at this forgotten labor force—and try to help the leaders of commerce join the leaders of the workers in doing something about it. Government can supplement their efforts but cannot supplant them.

Now, before we administer the oath, I must remark upon your wonderful family of eight children. I think it is right that a man who will help to run the Census Bureau should have such a large and attractive family.

So in the language of commerce, "It gives a man a piece of the action."

Dissent on the Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include an article by Bishop James Sannon that appeared in Our Sunday Visitor, December 3, 1967. I am pleased to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

DISSENT ON THE CAMPUS

Fads among college students change quickly. The current favorite is that of picketing or protesting the presence on campus of recruiters from Dow Chemical, the manufacturer of napalm. The reasoning in support of such dissent goes something like this: Napalm dropped on civilian Vietnamese is an immoral weapon; Dow Chemical produces napalm; therefore it is justifiable to prevent this company from hiring new personnel.

One fallacy in this line of reasoning is that protest is one thing and preventing other people from exercising their rights is quite another. All citizens, including students, have a right to voice their concern on questions troubling their conscience.

Our political and academic traditions allow many modes for showing such dissent: placards, marches, speeches, editorials, assemblies. But underlying the use of this freedom is the premise that it must be exercised with respect for the rights of other persons and institutions.

NO ABSOLUTE FREEDOM

No one enjoys absolute freedom. Every man's rights are qualified by the rights of his neighbor. In the parlor car of the Burlington Zephyr, the smokers and the nonsmokers do not enjoy equal liberty.

Recently at a major university concerned students carried their crusade against Dow beyond the limits of reason and justice. Not content with a mere protest, they invaded the office assigned to the Dow man for interviews, removed all the furniture and equipment, and then filled the entire room with prone, sitting, and standing students. In the process a necessary operation of the university was stopped, students seeking employment were denied a basic right, and the Dow Company was prevented from exercising its legal right to recruit willing collegians.

The irony of such a demonstration is that it uses raw physical force to gain its objectives. And one of its primary objectives is to protest that ultimate use of force which is modern warfare.

Physical power is the most primitive means of persuasion. It was the standard method for settling disputes among cavemen. The man with the best arm and biggest club in those days got the best cut of venison. Even today wives sporting black eyes reveal to their neighbors the alarmingly low level of their marital discussions.

The current crop of college students is in danger of being misled by the recent success of sit-ins, lie-ins, and stand-ins. These forms of protest have been effective in the current push for civil rights largely because they were unexpected and novel. If they happen every day they are at first commonplace and then meaningless. And if they are used to advance causes which the public considers sophomoric, they will be judged ridiculous.

LIMITS OF LEGALITY

At this late date in human history the war in Vietnam must be judged an act of monstrous evil, no matter how one views it. All men of good will, whether Communist or capitalist, and/or Christian, must hope for its end soon. To say this, however, is not to say that any old means of protest against it is legitimate. Ours is still a society of law and order. To reform it or perfect it we must still remain within the limits of legality.

The more valuable one's cause the more effective one's methods should be. College students anxious to show their concern over Vietnam should also be concerned about debasing the quality of their witness. Rational protest is something very different from street fighting. The former has a code of recognized rules. The latter has none, except to win at any price.

Even Norman Thomas, the perennial Socialist candidate for the presidency, a great dissenter himself, recently protested the tactics of college students today when he said, "I don't like the sight of young people burning the flag of my country, the country I love."

Our society guarantees free speech because of its confidence that open rational debate will in the long run advance the welfare of the nation. A university campus should be the last place where this tradition is violated.

A university is by definition a community of scholars. Its basic commitment is to preserve the wisdom of the past and to light the way for the future. It will compromise both functions if it surrenders any of its freedom to violence, mob rule, or the passions of youth. The periodic chaos of university life in Latin America should remind our collegians that even just causes, pursued unjustly, produce injustice.

There Ain't No Santa Claus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, in a little over 3 weeks, we will celebrate the birth of the Saviour. I am hoping that the present session of the 90th Congress will have adjourned sine die by Christmas, so that the Members, as well as their constituents, may have a brief vacation before the second session begins early in January.

Many of us, it not most of us, believed for a brief period during our early years in a character called Santa Claus. Then one day one of our more sophisticated schoolmates informed us that "There ain't no Santa Claus," and that our fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, and other possessors of the necessary wherewithal were the ones who bought the presents that were bestowed upon us at Christmas time.

Today, even though the season of peace on earth, good will toward men approaches, we are concerned with much more than Christmas shopping. Our present preoccupation is with the problems that accompany the huge budget deficit for fiscal 1968, which the President has said may reach a figure between $30 billion and $35 billion. We must soon find the answers to these problems. Should we increase revenue by imposing a 10-percent surtax or should we make the percentage smaller? Should we set different rates for corporations than for individuals? When should the new rates, if any, take effect? Where should spending be cut, and how much?

The answer to the last question should be accompanied by the five words of youthful wisdom that most of us heard many years ago: "There ain't no Santa Claus."

Let us all get up on the housetops, next to the chimneys that are a part of the Santa Claus story, and tell everybody who has ears to hear that all the good things that Government provides must be paid for by those of us who are today's fathers and mothers and uncles and aunts. What we fail to pay for will some day be paid for by our children and grandchildren, who will then realize, if they have not already become convinced, that Santa Claus is only a figment of the imagination.

Let us tell those in our own country who are the recipients of handouts from Washington, D.C., that their checks are made possible by the sweat of other men's brows. Let us tell those in other lands who have been receiving foreign aid charity that Uncle Sam has found it necessary to tighten the purse strings and that the gravy train must be sidetracked.

Many years ago an editorial writer for the New York Sun told a little girl, "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus." Let us now enlighten Virginia and Georgia, New York and Illinois, Massachusetts and Alaska, and all the other States, as well as the foreign nations of every continent, by telling them, "There ain't no Santa Claus."

Centennial of the Congregation of the Resurrection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the fathers and brothers of the Congregation of the Resurrection held a most inspiring tribute to their 100th anniversary at a dinner in the Hilton Hotel in Chicago.

More than 2,000 faithful participated in this centennial observance of an inspiring religious order which has contributed so much toward the fulfillment of hope and charity in America.

His Excellency, Cardinal John Cody, Mayor Richard Daley, and many others personally participated in this tribute.

I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent address by the Most Reverend Aloysius J. Wycislo, D.D., auxiliary bishop of Chicago, delivered during this historic commemoration.

His provocative remarks bring into sharp focus the dialog now going on in the Christian world which should be of compelling interest to all students of faith in the modern world.

Bishop Wycislo's remarks follow:

ADDRESS BY THE MOST REVEREND A. J. WYCISLO, D.D., AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CHICAGO, BEFORE THE CENTENNIAL OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE RESURRECTION, CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 27, 1967

When your gracious committee invited me to speak at this brilliant dinner tonight, they enriched my education by giving me a book called *"Resurrectionist Studies."* I mulled over the title of the book, and thumbed through its contents looking for ideas for this talk tonight. I kept staring at the word "Resurrectionist". I am afraid to admit that other kindred word endings kept invading my thoughts. Words like "Communist", "Revisionist", "Anarchist"—My Lord, I thought, you can't accuse the CR's of this! But then, there must be something about them that smacks of Anarchy, Revolution, *change in the most dynamic sense of the word.*

And there it was, in the very first paragraph of the Introduction of the book of "*Studies*" on the Congregation of the Resurrection. I quote:

"A host of laymen worked zealously to regenerate the Faith in 19th Century Europe. These apostles surfaced in nearly every country: France, Spain, England, Ireland, and Germany; Montalembert, Ozanam, Cortes, Gorris, Newman, O'Connell, Windhorst."

But notice Poland, a great Catholic nation, is not mentioned. However, another sentence tucked away in the Introduction, continues,

"But with these was a group of Poles living as emigres in France, whose contribution to the preservation of Catholicism both in Europe and North America, is the 'Crown of Glory' of Catholic Poland in the 19th Century."

That little history I went through a moment ago, was a hundred years ago. That was when a Janska, a Semenenko, Kasjsiewicz, organized in France on February 17, 1836 the religious community of the Congregation of the Resurrection. In the interest of time, let's skip the period 1836 to 1867. I'll come to those beginning years of 1867 as they affect the Archdiocese of Chicago, a little later.

For the moment, may I recall a personal experience in the France and Paris of 1946. That disconcerting and disturbing word "emigre" crops up again. More than one hundred years pass, and there in France, again, I found in 1946 thousands of new Polish emigres and réfugees. A hundred years ago it was the builders of the Congregation of the Resurrection; in the France of 1946 it was another group of emigre priests who founded the Polish Seminary on the Rue des Irlandais (The Street of the Irish) where Polish boys would be trained to preserve and spread the message of Christ in a new, modern, and another post-war world! New emigres, new refugees, new disciples, new missionaries—whatever their label—they wove into the fabric of France, a warm color; a brilliant devotion to God and His Church. And what pleases us most, who gather in this magnificent setting tonight, is the fact that they who set the firm foundation of the CR's in the France of 1836 penetrated in another generation the dedication and the color and the brilliance of that same Faith which is the warp and woof of Catholic life in this very Archdiocese of Chicago.

The Centennial of the Fathers and Brothers of the Congregation of the Resurrection might well be called a jubilee of a very vital part of Catholic life in the Archdiocese of Chicago. For all that period of One Hundred Years, the CR's, as we affectionaly call them, have exercised here a zealous care of souls. Very many of them saw the evolvement of this Archdiocese when it was just twenty-four years old. We might say that the CR's helped in forming that young adult of 24!

You are well aware that an Archdiocese like this one is an organization composed of Bishops, priests, and faithful. If today, a hundred years after the establishment of the Congregation of the Resurrection in Chicago, we were to examine the life of the Church in this select vineyard of the Lord, we would see that the original endowment given the Archdiocese of Chicago by Bishop Foley has been well preserved, and has even increased, to no small measure of credit to the CR's. For all of that we will say thanks to God in a special Mass next Sunday when we celebrate the Centennary of St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish for which Bishop Foley secured the services of Father Bakanowski exactly one hundred years ago.

Comprising a vast area of the northwest side of Chicago where eleven majestic steeples mark their magnificent churches; where two high schools provide that fusion of the secular with Christian truths that results in the best in Catholic education, and where a daily newspaper has the distinction of eighty years of uninterrupted publication, the CR Priests and Brothers look to their famous antecedents, and their priests and their brothers today, and they can say, "we have, indeed, in Truth and Charity served, and we serve the Church of Christ. We have even extended that apostolate all over the United States.

When it comes to the CR's, of course, I am prejudiced! As the Irish put it, "They've put their mark on me." Their famous Father Vincent Barzynski founded the *Polish Daily News* in 1887; he brought the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth to Chicago; he helped the Franciscan Sisters found their extensive St. Joseph Home for the Aged. With Father Gieryk and a Mr. John Bazynski, he founded the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, one of the largest and most Catholic Fraternal organizations in the United States. In 1890 Father Barzynski founded St. Stanislaus College—now Weber High School. Their Father Gordon brought the Sisters of the Resurrection to the United States and did ever so many other things! But to cap it all, I must tell you that added to the Barzynski glories, to the credit of Father Gordon and the other outstanding deeds of so many of the CR's, one of their priests baptised even me!

I don't know if the Baptismal Records at St. Hyacinth's reflect that first step in my Christian formation, but this I know: to them I owe the Grace of Baptism, and to this very day, their constant solicitude, which is an encouragement and a joy for me; their example, their zeal, their hospitality, their devotion and concern, their untiring service to the Archdiocese of Chicago and the souls in their care, make me proud to *have been marked by them!*

In any case, they saw me launched into the world, but you cannot credit or discredit them for my subsequent education. Another religious order got hold of me when my parents, wedded just two years, moved from across the street from St. Hyacinth's Rectory to Hawthorne in Cicero, where my father settled his beginning family on property my grandfather owned on Laramie Avenue, just across the street from the Hawthorne Race Track.

By the way, when peopel ask me about the horseshoe in my coat-of-arms, I tell them it is a reminder of the days when I carried pails of water and walked the race horses at Hawthorne. It's true! I did that to earn a share of my upkeep. The fact of the matter is, that the horseshoe is recognition of my antecendents that go back several hundred years to a pilgrim, who, after several tries up the mountain of Our Lady of Czestochowa, devised iron shoes for his horse to keep him from sliding back in the ascent to the Lady of the Bright Mountain.

We are all proud, all of us, priest and laity, as are the CR's, and justifiably so, of that which makes all of us the *creditable and outstanding* products of an immigration that is, in no small measure, a part of the heart and sinew of America—certainly a formidable part of this Archdiocese—because Poles form the largest and most faithful segment of its Catholic population (that is next to the Irish). They have been a *faithful and loyal segment*, and if we associate their Catholicity with this Centennial, we enchance the work of so many others: The other religious orders of men and women, and not the least, the enviable, humble but incisive record of the diocesan priests of Polish background and the faithful they serve so well.

As we render warm thanks to God in these days for so many blessings that the Fathers and Brothers of the Congregation of the Resurrection brought to Chicago; while we remind ourselves of their work, of the faithful they have nurtured, we must emphasize that these instruments of God, who harkened to the call of their Bishops, were a part of that institutional church which today is criticized and even condemned. How do you measure zeal for the Lord, no matter what its frame of reference, before those prophets of the present, who despise the past and for a fact lack the courage to face the future with the same faith in Christ, His Church, His Bishops, and priests and people, that the CR's have for a hundred years?

How do you measure the works of salvation of the past one hundred years in the context of the ephemerial and theoretic texts of some of the new theology that confronts us, and that says:

"The average parish priest, who had to teach and preach in the past, found that theology had little to offer him" (Adolfe in *Jubilee*, Oct. 1967).

We submit: prudent experiment, of course, can always add to our treasury of knowledge, but scrapping the past can only make us playthings of intellectual violence, and so it is I must ask:

Is it true, Fathers of the Resurrection, that in your preaching, you lapsed into "pseudo-religious sentimentality, or into moralizing that stressed one's personal devotional life?" That theology had little to offer you? That's another quote from one of the new theologians. Fathers, is it true, "You never confronted the world," that is "with contemporary philosophy, with modern literature, with the empirical thinking of a growing technological and industrial giant called the United States of America?" That's another quote!

I seem to remember some graphic descriptions of the difficulties Father Bakanowski had in organizing St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish because he opposed masonry and a socialism that preached defiance of the Bishop and denegrated the teaching of social justice, later to be spelled out so heroically in the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII in 1891. I quote from the *Studies:*

"Difficulties and disagreement among the Poles was due, in large measure, to the machinations of this secret society (the Masons). One of their prime objectives was to antagonize the Poles against the Bishop over the question of the ownership of Church property, arguing that the Church and the land belonging to them and not to the Bishop" (Resurrectionist Studies, p. 55).

Would it also be true; Fathers of the Resurrection, to quote more of the new theology, that "you did not apply the humane sciences of psychology, sociology, and anthropology in a confrontation with non-Christian humanism?"

I found the answer to that in this little bit of history, but I leave it to your good judgment to decide:

"In his own St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish (speaking of Father Vincent Barzynski) the *Studies* say that "during his lifetime and for some time after the parish numbered over 30,000 souls, was a model of parish organization and activity. To offset the material and secular influences that non-Christian humanism which early priests were not supposed to know about, through confraternities of men and women, about forty different societies totalling some 12,000 members, provided for every possible need, both spiritual and material. And, working in unity, concord and solidarity with its pastor, the parish was known as one large family, whose members assisted each other in everything."

My dear friends, that was in 1888!

Really, Fathers, if we tally and total your answers to all these questions in terms of this new theology, of this new and popular measure of the effctiveness of your one hundred years, you should not be celebrating this Jubilee. You should be ashamed to bring up the past!

Did you not know that today's Christian is faced with "many crucial difficulties which do not receive adequate assistance from his original religious formation"? Really! What happened to Grace? Was your sacramental encounter, to use the new theologians' own language, devoid of the redeeming Act of Christ? Was God absent these one hundred years? Was the history you CR's made extraneous to His continuous unfolding of His creative presence?

In the designs of Divine Providence, in which I still believe, the Kingdom of God on earth is spread by many means. Yes, the past is gone, but we cherish it for what we learn from it. The present is a challenge, and we are unsure of even that moment of our lives. Yet with the Faith that is the heritage of our past, if we believe now, on the threshold of the future, what fear need we have of Salvation?

Charity moves me to emphasize that I do not hate the new theologians. I merely am troubled with their stolid rejection of the past. I agree with them in some things, and when I read them I keep thinking of one of a dozen reasons I have heard of why Pope John called the II Vatican Council.

The reason that appeals to me most is that "the Church became too dull and remote in using the gifts of its spiritual perception." It became guilty of the same charge Christ leveled at the Pharisees and Saducees, when He said to them, "You know how to interpret the appearance of the sky, but you cannot interpret the signs of the times." (Matt. 16/3).

Of course a lot of us are disturbed about the new theology, and how it interprets the "signs of the times." Yet, I keep thinking of that Church of Vatican II and everything attendant to it. I keep thinking of all those dangers that disturb some of us! How that Church assumes a new posture today, a new attitude toward the world in which we live, and frankly, a lot of us have got to "get with it", as the youngsters say, and admit that the spatial priest or laymen will find himself "out of orbit" if he does not use the experiences of the past, his firm, his faith, his talents, energy, and gain new knowledge in studying and interpreting the "signs of the times." You see, in this area I agree with the new theology, but I say to the theologians—souls were also saved in the past!

I *do* know how most priests of my age feel, and when I speak for my thirty-three years of the Priesthood, and the CR's look back on one hundred years, I hope their feeling is like mine. I get the notion, as I read new theology the new moral, the new interpretations of the scriptures, and the new formulation of ideas about God, that we ought to be reminded of our late, beloved Cardinal Meyer, who, one morning on the floor of St. Peter's during a session of the II Vatican Council said, "Let's distinguish between those things which are the Faith, and those which are merely the opinions of theologians."

So I say, and I hope the CR's join me in saying, that no new theology or moral is going to disconcert me. Frankly, I am enjoying the discovery of new fields of pastoral care, and I am trying to find new dimensions for the older ones. Then, of course, we older priests have to admit that we have a distinct advantage, for most of us a tremendously happy priesthood; the firm platform of experience, and over the years, a lot of exposure to the world.

Fathers of the Resurrection, forgive me for hanging this new ornament of theology on your centennial tree. I just can't help but add this piece of information. Have you noticed that there are no Irish or Polish names among the new theologians? What a consolation this must be to the Holy Father, that two countries in the old tradition—Ireland in the West, and Poland in the East of Europe still the Bulwarks of Christianity.

My dear friends, to end this talk, may I say how humbly aware I am that so many cherished memories of one hundred years could be recalled by so many, in so many different ways—and in a better way than I have presented them. Yet, who could possibly evaluate all the good of that zealous apostolate of a hundred years that the CR's commemorate today? Even were we to examine the statistics more carefully, and look into reports and records, who can compute or find correct figures for spiritual values? The Book of Life will reveal how great is their merit. Great, as even now in our gratitude, the gratitude of the Archdiocese, its people, and those of us who hold you, the CR's, in deep regard and affection.

Cordial felicitations! Blessings of God, Our Father, His Son, Whom you follow, and the Spirit that guides; Who inspired your beneficent past and fires the indescribable comfort of a future that can look back at a work that is well done.

"The Distinctions of Springfield College"—An Address by President Wilbert E. Locklin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the excellent institutions of higher education in my area of the country is Springfield College, which is distinct for its great and exceptional contributions in the youth and community service fields.

Just a few months ago, President Wilbert E. Locklin expressed these distinctions clearly and effectively before a Springfield College dinner meeting for estate planners at the Colony Club in Springfield, Mass.

In interpreting Springfield College to friends and associates last May 9, President Locklin gives fresh insight into the college's educational aims, the unusual motivation of students, the amazing demand for graduates, Springfield College's effective institutional management and long-range planning.

Mr. Speaker, I am one of the corporators of Springfield College and take pride in its record of accomplishments. I am sure that my colleagues will be interested in President Locklin's address on the subject of "The Distinctions of Springfield College," and include it with my remarks in the Appendix:

THE DISTINCTIONS OF SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE

(Remarks by Wilbert E. Locklin, president of Springfield College, before a Springfield College dinner meeting for estate planners at the Colony Club on Tuesday, May 9, 1967)

By definition a distinguished institution is one marked by elements which are distinct. And that bit of lexicography enables me to say that Springfield College *is* distinguished. My purpose this evening is to list for you a few of the distinctions of the College so that you will know it better than most.

In response to the question now crossing some of your minds—"Why should I, a professional in this area, be concerned with learning about Springfield College?" I can cite two reasons. First, few colleges impress me as being less understood and more misunderstood. Second, this College is critical to the economic, intellectual, cultural, and social life of the greater Springfield area. Intellectually, culturally, and socially—maybe. But economically?

I am privileged to be chief executive officer of a substantial non-profit corporation with a net worth of ten million dollars, and an annual budget of six million dollars spent here. My company and its product—our students—are known in every state of the union and on every continental complex in the world. Even the name of our company is important, because the name is the same as the city. How many of you think of Mt. Vernon, Iowa when I mention Cornell College? But when we mention Springfield College, the listener identifies the institution with its host city. And we see to it, incidentally, that they think of the *right* Springfield—the *first* Springfield in America.

Our College brings to this city annually thousands of parents and grandparents and aunts and uncles, and brothers and sisters of our students. Most of them spend the night in the city's hotels and dine in the city's restaurants. The allowances they send their youngsters are spent for goods and services in this community. My estimate of the total of college-related expenditures is $7,000,000 annually and that amounts to more than $134,000 a week over a fifty-two week year. Truly, gentlemen, Springfield College is an economic force of substance.

Now, hopefully, you are agreeing that the College is important to the community. How is it distinct? My few minutes this evening permit me to list *five* distinctions for your consideration.

First, Springfield College has a philosophy that is both unique and timely. Putting it simply, we train young men and women to be both professional and lay leaders in the human helping professions. We have been doing this for 82 years. Few other colleges attempt it, and none do it better than we. If you contribute a dollar to any social agency—United Fund, YMCA, Boys' Club, USO, etc.—you have reason to be concerned with our College. It is likely that one of our 10,000 alumni will be involved in spending your dollar, and their training here will help them manage your gift with integrity and effectiveness. For our men and women graduates design and direct the programs that contribute daily and nightly to the social services of America.

Second, Springfield College has an unusual student body. This fact is a direct outgrowth of the educational philosophy. High school graduates interested *solely* in intellectual development do not belong here, and we do our best to refer such boys and girls to other fine colleges. We seek young people who have a demonstrated interest in others, and this kind of accomplishment can be as important to us as any College Board Score. Academically, we want to be sure they can do the work here. That is relatively easy to determine. The hard part is to find the boy or girl who believes he can best help himself by helping others.

Since our students will be required to set examples as professionals, we tend to be blessed with an exemplary group of collegians. They are attractive, friendlier than most, and take pride in themselves and in their College. Among college presidents these days, this makes me the envy of many of my counterparts elsewhere. Do not take my word for it—come to a football game, a gym meet, or a public lecture on campus and you immediately will see what I mean.

Third, Springfield College is well managed. Without operating to make a profit, for the past decade we have seen to it that income exceeds, by a hair, expenses. Our faculty salary schedule is beginning to catch up. By 1970 we expect to have doubled average salaries over 1960. The most promising program cannot survive inadequate teaching. And while money is not everything to a college professor, he does have children of his own to educate and he knows, better than most parents, how expensive that can be. In addition to salaries, financial aid funds for students are up—they will be increased 20% next year—more than offsetting a necessary tuition increase. Our modest investment portfolio is low on yield, but showing a high record of growth especially since changes were instituted in this administration. This means an endowment gift made decades ago has grown with the economy through investment. We have adequate resources for major maintenance and repair—and we are making our campus more attractive thereby heightening our value as a community asset. Our gift income progressed from five hundred thousand to a million dollars last year, and we will do even better this year.

Fourth, Springfield College knows where it is going. We have three coordinated and interrelated long range plans. First, the Trustees and faculty adopted early in this decade a ten-year long range plan (1960 to 1970) covering such items as curriculum, enrollment, faculty-student ratios, etc. Second, we are extending that plan through 1977, and next year we will move our eyes ahead to 1978 in a continuum. Our third plan is a massive year-long engineering and architectural study just completed dealing with campus design. We know when new buildings will be built, which ones will be remodeled, and which will be removed. I can tell you now, for example, where the new library will be, how many books it will accommodate, what else it will contain, when it will be constructed, and—to within a million dollars or so—how much it will cost. This kind of road map toward our own future destinations is critical to both the College and the community.

Fifth, the demand for our products is unprecedented in our history and, I truly believe, unequalled by any other college in America. After 20 years at Johns Hopkins University, I am knowledgeable of the great demand for its medical graduates. But the pressures for its graduates does not approach the demand for ours at Springfield College. Last year our Placement Office handled 23,204 employment opportunities for the 1966 Springfield College graduating class. There were 6,667 more requests than the year before. In total we had 73 openings per available student—double our own experience four years ago. In the parlance of the tasty beverage commercial: "We must be doing something right!"

There you have them, gentlemen—five sample distinctions: a unique educational philosophy; unusual and exciting students; sound institutional management; coordinated long range planning; and a remarkable demand for our graduates. These illustrate, I believe something of the value of the College to the community.

I thank you warmly for coming this evening and for giving me the opportunity to chat with you.

City Marine Is Killed by Viet Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Cpl. Victor L. Crump, a marine from Baltimore, Md., was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

CITY MARINE IS KILLED BY VIET EXPLOSION

Cpl. Victor L. Crump, a Baltimore Marine who had recently recovered from gunshot wounds, was killed in action Wednesday in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Corporal Crump, son of Mrs. Donald J. Coleman, of 3904 Ayrdale avenue, was killed near Quang Nam while guarding a bridge, according to a Defense Department telegram to his family. He was 19 years old.

A member of a 1st Marine Division rifle squad, Corporal Crump received fatal blast injuries from an enemy explosive device.

He had been promoted from private first class to corporal about three weeks ago, according to his stepfather.

He said Corporal Crump was shot in the left leg in August and had been awarded a Purple Heart.

He had spent part of his convalescence on the U.S.S. Repose, a hospital ship anchored off South Vietnam.

WROTE OFTEN

Corporal Crump wrote home often, and the family received a final letter from him Saturday, his stepfather said, but he did not dwell on the details of war.

"Victor was more or less close-mouthed," he said. "He didn't want to worry his mother."

He enlisted in the Marine Corps in September, 1966, and was sent to Vietnam last March. He took basic training at the Parris Island (S.C.) Marine Base and advanced infantry training at Camp Lejeune, N.C.

Corporal Crump was a June, 1966, graduate of Forest Park High School, and was an avid football fan, Mr. Coleman said.

He is survived by his mother and stepfather, his father, Frank Crump, of Baltimore; a brother, Rodney Crump; and a half-brother, Donald J. Coleman 2d, all of Baltimore.

"Congress Needs Help," Says Congressman Holland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, my old friend, esteemed colleague, and fellow Representative from the city of Pittsburgh, Hon. ELMER HOLLAND, says Congress needs help. And I am inclined to agree with him.

While taking particular pains to state how proud he has been to serve as a Member of the House of Representatives, a sentiment I also share, Mr. HOLLAND, nonetheless, felt compelled to speak out on the lagging legislative record of the 90th Congress, particularly with regard to its failure to provide enough money for needed Government programs and for the staff to run them. An editorial in the Washington Post of December 3, supported Mr. HOLLAND's stand and I call it to the attention of my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

OUR MUDDLING CONGRESS

The spectacle of Congress rushing—far beyond the eleventh hour—to rescue Government workers who had been denied half their pay is a pathetic commentary on the lagging legislative branch. The two houses have supposedly been working on appropriation bills since January. The last one should have been passed before the end of the fiscal year, now five months ago. Yet, despite many stop-gap resolution, AID employes were reduced to half pay, some officials were spending without authority in order to avoid perilous consequences, and supervisors in the OEO had to set up a welfare association—a poverty program within a poverty program—to save unpaid workers in the lower grades from acute distress.

What a travesty for a Nation with annual expenditures in the neighborhood of $139 billion! Congress has miserably botched its first obligation to provide financing for the Government's operations. Representative Holland was so outraged by the denial of funds to agencies in the congressional doghouse that he introduced a resolution the other day calling for a change in the rules so as to withhold the pay of Congressmen themselves whenever they impose payless paydays on other Federal workers.

In ordinary circumstances it would make sense to call for a study of the appropriating process by a group of experts comparable to that which recently made recommendations on the executive budget. The object, of course, would be the systematic handling of the spending bills so as to get them all enacted before June 30. But there is not much point in having expert studies for a Congress that has even failed to enact the modest reorganization bill recommended by its own joint committee. The congressional reform bill is still languishing in the House Rules Committee.

What is basically at fault is the leadership of the two houses which permits them to dilly-dally over the appropriations bills and other legislation. Good management calls for an agenda for the reporting and passage of each appropriation in the early months of each session so that differences could be ironed out well in advance of the beginning of the fiscal year. But a tired Congress under loose and unimaginative leadership simply meanders from bad to worse.

This critical weakness in our democratic system demands far more attention than it has been given to date. Every fresh failure of Congress to function as a responsible legislative body undercuts the stability of representative government. It is time to face the fact that we cannot have a virile democracy in this age of rapid transitions with a Congress bogged down by frustrations carried over from the 19th century.

Congressman Holland suggested that the congressional slogan for the last 11 months has been: "We aren't going to do much, but what we do, we'll do wrong." The most discouraging fact is that no one seems to be emerging out of the 1967 malaise with the determination and dynamism to set things right on the Hill.

More Opposition to Hershey Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the opposition to the recent recommendations of the National Selective Service Director continues to grow. Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the Director, suggested to local draft boards that they reclassify persons who obstruct draft procedures.

Following are, first, a New York Times report on the position taken by the president of Yale University and, second, an editorial from the Minnesota Daily, student newspaper of the University of Minnesota:

BREWSTER ACCUSES HERSHEY OF USURPING POWER

WASHINGTON, D.C., December 3.—Kingman Brewster, Jr., the president of Yale University, said today that the position of Lieut. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey—that a student who obstructs the draft process should lose his deferment and be drafted—was an "absolutely outrageous usurpation of power."

Mr. Brewster, appearing on the Columbia Broadcasting System program "Face the Nation," said he objected to the draft director's position on several grounds.

"I think," he said, "it destroys the whole notion of military service being a privilege and an obligation and not a punishment. I think it bypasses all the normal administrative protections of the process of law. And I think it acts as a real damper on free discussion and dissent.

"So, for all three reasons, it seems to me absolutely outrageous usurpation of power by General Hershey."

Mr. Brewster, although a critic of current draft procedures, has not previously assailed General Hershey in such strong terms. The Yale president served on a national advisory commission on the draft that urged sweeping reforms in the Selective Service system. The recommendations were mostly ignored by Congress this year when it extended the draft for four more years.

Mr. Brewster's remarks were part of mounting criticism of the 74-year-old Selective Service Director's recent letter to the nation's 4,100 local draft boards. In it he suggested that they declare delinquent and reclassify for induction any deferred person who obstructs Selective Service procedures.

Strong opposition to the letter also has come in the form of verbal criticism from such groups as the American Association of University Professors and in lawsuits filed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

General Hershey, in a telephone interview, termed the reaction to his letter to the local draft boards "so much hocus-pocus." He said the letter "is only an opinion because I don't have any power to direct local boards."

"In the first place," he went on, "under the First Amendment, which they treasure so highly, I have just as much right as they do to state my opinion."

Critics have charged, however, that General Hershey's memorandums to local boards are generally considered instructions.

Referring specifically to Mr. Brewster's remarks, the general said he agreed that military service should not be considered a punishment, "and I don't consider it that."

"Obviously, I can't spend 56 years somewhere and consider it a penalty," he said.

Asked for his reaction to Mr. Brewster's charge that his letter amounted to bypassing administrative protections of the process of law, General Hershey remarked:

"Now, I don't want to instruct the president of Yale, but I would like to know what administrative processes he is talking about."

He said a local draft board might rule a person delinquent if it had evidence that he used "force, threat or otherwise"to obstruct the draft.

"Finding someone delinquent does not mean he's done something criminal—I don't consider it criminal," he added.

As for stifling dissent, General Hershey that he did not object to persons demonstrating so long as they did not deny other persons their rights to, "say, visit recruiters."

"I haven't any quarrel with those picketing, which I've endured for weeks at a time. I've probably endured more dissent than anybody that's talking about it," he said.

THE MILITARY MISUSED

The draft is more and more frequently being used as a punishment for crime, a fact which can hardly make those harmless and innocent individuals who serve in the military out of a sense of duty very comfortable.

General Lewis Hershey, head of the Selective Service System, recently sent out an unofficial letter "recommending" that those who interfere with Selective Service procedures be drafted.

Despite preliminary opinion from the Justice Department that such a procedure is illegal, and despite a practically unanimous wave of protest from the nation's press, Hershey is now busily seeking official status for his recommendation.

And now a Hennepin County Dist. Judge has dismissed charges of aggravated forgery and burglary against a Minneapolis youth, who agreed to return the favor by enlisting in the Marines.

The problem with such actions is that they circumvent the legal system of the country. We were under the impression that the military was not intended to be a part of the nation's penal system.

Communism Slipping?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have made repeated reference to the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. An interesting commentary on this subject was written by the distinguished columnist, Dumitru Danielopol, in the following editorial which appeared in the November 27 edition of the Glendale News-Press:

BIRTHDAY PARTY HINTS COMMUNISM SLIPPING

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—Now that the smog of propaganda over the 50th anniversary of Russian communism has began to lift the Kremlin finds little to rejoice about.

Crude Soviet tactics have offended even anxious liberals in many lands and many Communists parties have seized on the anniversary to deliver a snub to the Soviet Union.

"China and dozens of other parties," wrote the Washington Post, "did not deign to send delegations to the Soviet anniversary."

Fidel Castro, who costs the Kremlin $400 millions to a billion dollars a year, sent a representative of insultingly low rank. Castro seemed bent on challenging the Kremlin's authority.

The Yugoslavs sent Tito, but took the attitude that "the Russians are not in a position to give lessons in Communism to other parties, and might in fact take some," according to Richard Eder, writing from Belgrade.

Moscow's suggestion to convene a world Communist conference stirred little enthusiasm.

Probably the most damaging consequence of the jubilee was that which invited observers to take a closer look at half a century of Communism. The Soviet system can't stand such analysis, despite progress in weaponry and outer space.

The trouble is that even the most apologetic analysis cannot ignore the lurid past. The crimes of Stalin, the purges of the 30s, the starvation of the 20s, the double dealing with Hitler, the exile and ultimate murder of Trotsky, the perfidy of the post-war period all come to light when anyone attempts a serious review.

"Stalin was the planner," wrote British poet and political writer Robert Conquest in the New York Times Magazine on Oct. 5: "Beria was the executor—and the present rulers were accomplices and beneficiaries of a series of appalling crimes."

"Despite the curses against the name, Stalin still lives in the social and spiritual foundations of the Soviet Society," wrote Yugoslav Communist Milovan Djilas, in his "Conversations with Stalin."

"Many commentators have of late been generously prepared to overlook the price in life and liberty which tens of millions of Russians have paid for whatever progress has taken place since Nov. 7, 1917," said Leonard Schapiro, specialist on Russia and Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics.

"When measured by its costs in life, suffering and moral depravity Soviet Communism is demonstrably the most tragic failure on this scale in history," wrote Eugene Lyons, senior editor of Reader's Digest on his book "Workers Paradise Lost."

The Reds are directly responsible for the death of 83 million people between 1917–1964, he said, without counting war casualties. Forty five million of them in the USSR alone.

"The peasants were the supreme casualty of Stalinism and their brutalization during forced collectivization and repopulation has all too long been forgotten in both East and West," wrote James H. Billington, professor of Russian history at Princeton.

"Fifty years after the Russian revolution, communism is not much in demand as a worldwide system of government," wrote Richard Wilgon in the Washington Evening Star.

". . . over 50 million people have served in the slave-labor camps," wrote David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star on the day of the anniversary.

"The revolution had a catastrophic effect on the Russian Orthodox Church which in subsequent years was steeped in the blood of thousands of martyred bishops, priests and faithful," said His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America.

These are hardly the "testimonials" Moscow was seeking.

But let's look at the future.

Youth and intelligentsia are in ferment in Communist lands. They are questioning defunct Marxist dogma. We think our youngsters are rebellious. The protesters in our schools form a tiny minority. In some Communist lands they already are a militant majority.

What they could tell our peaceniks about Communism!

"Today, a considerable number wouldn't believe an editorial in Pravda, any more than one in the New York Times," said Life Magazine.

These groups can be explosive. If they lose their fear of the men in power what will we do?

"What is terrible is not that there are evil people in the world," said the hero of a contemporary play in Moscow, "but that there are so many others who spend their lives being afraid of them."

This may only be a straw in the wind, but it was in such groups that revolution against oppression found its strongest supporters in past history.

"I don't believe the system (Soviet Communism) as it has developed can survive much longer," wrote G. Warren Nutter, professor of economics at the University of Virginia, in U.S. News and World Report.

"From an economic viewpoint, it is simply too inefficient to cope with problems they face right now."

The system needs considerable overhauling if it is too survive says George F. Kennan, a leading American Kremlinologist.

"To its people, also, it will not achieve stable relationship so long as it remains, like its Tsarist predecessor, unable to recognize that dictatorship is not a feasible method of governing a great people in a modern age; that no man, no party and no regime has a monopoly on either truth or virtue."

Will the Kremlin change?

Don't bet on it.

OEO Program at University of St. Thomas, Houston, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, at this time I insert in the RECORD two short articles sent to me by the director of a unique program which took place during the summer at the University of St. Thomas, in Houston. Under a grant from the Office of Education, the "Teacher Training Institute in Problems of School Desegregation" was an effort to prepare an integrated group of teachers for their roles in a desegregated school system.

These articles, by members of the staff of the institute, are evidence of what can be done, and, indeed, what has been done in Houston, to develop an understanding of desegregation and its problems:

GUIDANCE RATED AMONG THE THREE R'S IN THE SCHOOL FOR CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

(By Charleta J. Dunn, Ed. D., University o Houston)

In attune to the trends and experimentation of the day, a pilot project has been initiated on the campus at St. Thomas University, Houston, entitled School Desegregation Institute. The institute has been financed by the U.S. Office of Education, Harris County Community Action Association, and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health.

The purpose of the four week workshop (July 17-August 30, 1967) is two-fold: to prepare teachers for the role they will play this fall in desegregated classrooms and to observe the problems and reactions of children identified as culturally different. Most heartening to counselors is the fact that guidance has been given first place in the curriculum.

Intensive tutoring in the art of human relations by personal example and gentle encouragement to work and play together has been undertaken. The special program focuses upon group guidance, language arts, and arithmetic. The latest educational innovations such as non-grading, team-teaching, programmed learning, audio-visual materials, individualized instruction, etc. are utilized in the classroom procedures and methodologies. The assignment which capitalizes upon good guidance techniques include the following: home visitation, case study, verbatims, daily diaries, and accompanying the children during bus transportation to and from school.

Under the direction of faculty members from five local colleges, sixty teachers (40 experienced; 20 beginning teachers), assigned to teach in desegregated public schools this fall are participating. While the ratio is ideallic (approximately three students per teacher), the educational and sociological problems (including prejudice) observed have been and are most likely to be among the beneficial experiences and, therefore, contributions to each participant. Certainly, the necessity of linking the principles of guidance to the best in educational practice is indicative that the goals of every counselor are possibly in for more careful consideration by all educators.

REAL TEAM TEACHING—ON AN INTEGRATED BASIS

(By Alma Malone)

If there is any doubt as to whether or not Negro and white teachers can work together successfully, not only in an integrated set-up but also as members of a teaching team working with Negro, Latin American, and white children, ask a group of educators in Houston who found that it can be done.

In a special training institute on problems of school desegregation for teachers in the Houston Area, thirty Negro and thirty white teachers worked together in mixed teams of three members. A team was composed of one Negro teacher and two white teachers or one white teacher and two Negro teachers. One member of the team was in charge of planning and directing the program in the language arts area; the other two members assisted. Another member planned and directed the activities in human relations; again the remaining two members assisted. The third member of the team worked out and directed the program in mathematics with the other members of his team assisting. Each area of the program lasted for one hour during the morning sessions of nine a.m. to twelve noon.

For an hour each afternoon team members met in their respective areas with staff members who were specialist in the area and who were from the sponsoring colleges. The morning's work was evaluated and plans were made for the following day. From these sessions the teachers joined the members of their respective groups to correlate and define specific tasks for the next day. Following the group meetings, the teachers attended lectures and visited in mixed teams in the homes of the children who participated in the institute.

The children, 240 of them, equally divided between the races came from economically deprived areas of Third Ward, Fourth Ward, Fifth Ward, the near North Side, and the Bottoms of Houston. These children were in grades four to six and already "attuned to their parents' prejudices". By their own example and with lessons in human relations, the teachers taught and encouraged children in the art of working and playing together. Academic achievement and success so uncommon to these children was evident each day.

With approximately twelve children in each group, the teacher-pupil ratio of one teacher to three or four children made individualized instruction a reality, capitalizing on the special ability of the teacher.

How dd the children react? Although attendance was voluntary, percentage of attendance stayed around 90%. Six children representing both races from the lowest economically deprived area overslept one morning and the bus left without them. These children walked over two miles in order "not to miss!"

Throughout the four weeks of the institute, teachers' comments were indicative of their delight with the program. In most any aggregate of teachers could be heard such remarks as "greatest experience in teaching I've ever had," "an ideal program for any school to use for in-service training," and, "I have never accomplished so much academic-wise in so short a period of time." One principal who was serving as a teacher said, "I was exhausted from summer school in my own building when I began here; yet this experience has opened so many windows for me that I feel refreshed for the year ahead."

The relationship and rapport established between the ethnic groups in the instructional field existed at the highest level of compatibility. Natural discord was sometimes present, but only temporary and of no racial significance.

A cadre of professional teachers who will be working in the Houston school system this fall and who are committed to teach in totally desegregated schools are prepared to deal with problems that may arise with both teachers and pupils as a result of total desegregation. Each teacher would verify the statement that he or she has developed knowledge and understanding of desegregation and its relationship to the teaching-learning situation in the best possible way—*real team teaching.*

A Befuddling Fracas or a Contest of Fundamental Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the Public Works Subcommittee on Roads for the launching of their investigation of the the Washington area transportation crisis. The testimony of Secretary of Transportation Boyd should be of particular interest because of the press accounts of the Department's position on the subject.

After conferring with close advisers to the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Wolf Von Eckardt of the Washington Post reported on these matters on November 26, 1967, and thereby performed a most useful service.

First, he placed the Washington area freeway discussion in its true national perspective by noting that the new Department of Transportation has "shifted a befuddling fracas to new ground and revealed it as a contest of fundamental issues." Second, he exposed the reasoning underlying the Department's position on urban freeways.

The article notes that the proposed freeway system is supported by downtown businessmen. And why not? Their support represents an informed awareness of the urgent need to restore mobility to the downtown area and improve its economic vitality, which is essential to the task of providing jobs and the tax base upon which the city's governmental and social services depend. This certainly must be of interest to the task force on economic development established by Mayor Washington.

The article further notes that the Bureau of Public Roads responded with a letter reaffirming the need for the Three Sisters Bridge within 24 hours after the National Capital Planning Commission requested Secretary Boyd to review the question.

This again confirms my conviction that the position taken by Mr. Boyd does not reflect the considered judgment of professionals in his own Department regarding the area's current and future needs.

Mr. Von Eckardt observed that the area's development patterns have changed, that the suburbs are becoming more self-sufficient, that the Capital Beltway has already cost the central city 10,000 jobs. To the extent that such is the case, does it occur to Mr. Boyd's anonymous advisors that much of the situation is attributable to the lack of adequate access to downtown Washington and that the Capital Beltway's impact stands as a classic example of the economic activity generated by mobility—the same sort of mobility the downtown area so urgently needs?

The Department is further represented as grasping the fact that rapid rail transit cannot fully substitute for the automobile. Given this understanding, it is inconceivable to me that the Department would wish to further isolate the city with a wall of stalled cars to the detriment of both the downtown area and the suburbs. Representing a suburban constituency, I have long been convinced that much of the pressure for suburban sprawl, forcing development contrary to rational planning, flows directly from this lack of access downtown and other problems of mobility.

Mr. Von Eckardt's article makes much of early projections of increased traffic volume that failed to materialize to the extent predicted, doubtless reflecting the emphasis placed upon them by Mr. Boyd's circle of advisers. But the figures which the Secretary's advisers have furnished the press in this instance are off by 700 percent, specifically in the stated figure of 25,000 as the increase between 1959 and 1967 in average daily traffic of vehicular crossings of the Potomac River, when the true increase has been 175,000. Another inaccuracy upon which Mr. Boyd's advisers are relying is the increase in peak-hour river crossing in this period given as 2.9 percent, when the true figure is 61 percent.

Finally, the article discloses the Department's reliance on a totally inadequate purposed solution to traffic congestion that cannot be advised out of existence: A rush-hour parking ban, reversible lanes, bus bays, electronic traffic control, blockage of secondary side streets, vehicular underpasses, and pedestrian overpasses, "all without destroying a single building or a tree."

Unbalanced lanes on Massachusetts Avenue east of Wisconsin Avenue? Or Wisconsin or Connecticut Avenues? The proponents obviously never heard of close-in employment concentrations such as the National Institutes of Health, the Bethesda Naval Hospital, for example. Restriction of access to radial routes would merely subject them to the blighting effects of high-speed traffic—if successful—and residential side streets to the blight of congested, slow-moving through traffic, in effect transplanting the mess and spreading it around. Automobiles from the suburbs would still have no way of avoiding surface street congestion once within the downtown area. And the prospect of little tunnels burrowing under radial routes all over town hardly offers esthetic enhancement to the Capital City.

Certainly we must make the best use of existing facilities. But nothing is solved by eliminating the sole, minimal freeway access between Montgomery County and the District, or conversion of a parkway on the Potomac shoreline to an interstate route, or dumping Virginia traffic into the monument area of the city via the Roosevelt Bridge.

The Washington metropolitan area needs a balanced system of rapid transit and freeways. I have worked for rapid transit since the interstate compact making possible the Transit Authority was before the Maryland Legislature. We need freeways that provide not only access between suburb and city but mobility within the city, to channel traffic and isolate it to the maximum from surface streets, combined with an ample supply of rationally planned parking, including air rights structures at strategic locations along the freeways, coordinated with rail and bus facilities.

The city is here and so is the automobile. They can be accommodated. But not by a programed paralysis that threatens in the years ahead to precipitate a crisis that might create irresistible public pressure for more drastic measures as tomorrow's price for today's irresponsibility.

Farm Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago, I conducted an ad hoc hearing in Cleveland, Ohio, to investigate the widespread practices engaged in by many Ohio Farm Bureau cooperatives of refusing to redeem the stock and patronage dividends which they issue to unsuspecting farmers. One of the witnesses, Mr. Franklin L. Cooke, of New London, Ohio, described in the most graphic terms how worthless these certificates really are. Concluding his dramatic testimony, Mr. Cooke presented one of his certificates to a representative of the Ohio attorney general's office, who had steadfastly maintained that these certificates had value, "for the education of your children."

Mr. Cooke has recently written a letter to the attorney general, William B. Saxbe, about these Farm Bureau practices. Under unanimous consent, I insert the letter of this perceptive farmer in the RECORD. Mr. Cooke's compelling letter supports my contention that a full-scale investigation of Farm Bureau practices is urgently needed:

NEW LONDON, OHIO,
November 22, 1967.

MR. WILLIAM B. SAXBE,
Attorney General of Ohio,
Statehouse, Columbus, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I, Franklin L. Cooke, a registered Republican, am hoping that you will reconsider this *long overdue probe* into farm Bureau Co-op Stock issuing practices. In my case, a trusted neighbor *without* a *Prospectus* had little trouble talking me into the stock; not because I am gullible, but because I knew and *trusted him.* I, am also sure, he thought he was doing me a favor.

I attended Congressman Resnick's hearing at Cleveland, and was very much surprised to find that nearly every one I qustioned had the same story on *their* stock purchase!

I realize thet co-ops have, and in some ways are beneficial. I also realize that they are huge, and, to "tackle" them might mean political suicide, but, in my opinion, something has to be done, because what went on in Cleveland is just the beginning.

To sit and listen to a 78 year old widow tell how she invested her life savings, only to find it seemingly worthless, is sickening, and excellent news material. I thought maybe this was an solated case, but since returning home from the hearing, I have received a phone call from a man in Andover, Ohio, wanting to know how to get in touch with Congressman Resnick; it seemed his Mother was talked into $15,000.00 worth of Farm Bureau Stock! Other people, mostly local, also have called me to tell their plight. This kind of thing could snowball into something very ugly.

I hope you see fit to use the influence of your high office to bring relief and possible solution to these apparent inequities.

If there isn't a law infraction in this case, maybe a resolution is in order! At least, any action is more desirable than *no* action.

Sincerely submitted,
FRANKLIN L. COOKE.

P.S.: I, also wish that, as this probe unfolds, in future hearings etc., you would personally appear instead of sending an aide. *You* owe your backers this courtesy.

Trade Unionism and Professional and Scientific Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, not long ago a vice president of the AFL–CIO, Herman D. Kenin, who is president of the American Federation of Musicians, observed that his profession and others had found that "unionism and the bargaining contract are the foundation of their well-being."

Mr. Kenin added that the newly formed AFL–CIO Council of Scientific, Professional and Cultural Employees, which he heads, will concentrate on demonstrating what legitimate trade unionism can do for professionals. He pointed out that one major problem that must be solved is that the standards for a profession are often set by employees who are not members of the particular profession.

Under unanimous consent, I place an article from the AFL–CIO News about the SPACE Council at this point in the RECORD:

COUNCIL SEEKS NEW PROFESSIONAL UNITS

Creating the climate that will turn professional and scientific workers to legitimate trade unionism is the major goal of the Council of Scientific, Professional & Cultural Employees.

AFL–CIO Vice Pres. Herman Kenin, who heads the council, said that the 18 international union affiliates of the group will concentrate on providing evidence of what trade unionism can do for professionals.

"We intend to establish a home for professional people where they can identify themselves as professionals in the labor movement," Kenin said, following a meeting of the executive council.

Jack Golodner, executive secretary of the group, added that professionals are turning to unionism.

"Professional societies, associations and other professional organizations are finding that collective bargaining and the strike are effective tools in achieving recognition at the workplace and in their own professions," Golodner declared.

He noted the "increasing size of industry and institutions developing an impersonal trend where trade unionism is the only answer."

Both Kenin and Golodner pointed out that in many cases the standards for a profession are set by employees who are not members of the particular profession. They underscored that teachers, through the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers, are finally getting a voice in education.

OTHER UNIONS, TOO

Kenin recalled that even the Musicians had such problems, as did unions such as Actors Equity, but today find that unionism and the bargaining contract are the foundation of their well-being.

"I believe this will be true of all professional and scientific groups in this country before too long," he said.

The council issued policy statements emphasizing the need for solidarity among teachers and other professional workers; calling on member unions to support public television stations in their areas, and urging union involvement in cultural projects.

Work stoppages by teachers in September "demonstrated once again the need of solidarity among professionals," the council declared. The issues involved in the stopages were the issues confronting professionals everywhere—salaries, work conditions, and "the right of a professional to use his independent skill and judgment in the performance of his work," the council said.

"The right to withhold services, whether through a strike or other concerted actions, is essential if we are to win the struggle for professional sovereignty," the council said.

The council said it believes that public television can contribute to the expansion of truly equal educational and cultural opportunities by offering high quality cultural, entertainment and public affairs programs of general interest to all and also by providing a wide diversity of programs to smaller audiences.

New York State's X-ray Technology Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, at a recent national conference on the licensure of X-ray technicians, Dr. Granville W. Larimore, first deputy commissioner of the New York State Department of Health, made a speech which I feel not only indicates the initiative and progress of the New York State Department of Health, but also clearly points out the hazards of inadequate X-ray technician training, as well as the great need for establishing standards and enforcement policies to protect the public health.

Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of H.R. 10790, Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1967, and as one who is increasingly concerned over the dangers to the public health from inadequate raidation protection measures, I would like to give each Member the opportunity to benefit from Dr. Larimore's speech. I ask that the text be included in my remarks.

The text is as follows:

NEW YORK STATE'S X-RAY TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM

Dr. GRANVILLE W. LARIMORE. Thank you very much, Dr. Chadwick. It is a very great pleasure and a real privilege for three of us from New York State to be here this morning and to tell you a little of our experience in New York State with the relatively new licensure program which we know is controversial in some quarters.

I wish time did permit us or me, particularly, since I lived through this with the State Department of Health, to tell you something of the fascinating story of the accomplishment of licensure of X-ray technicians in New York. You may think this was easy to do, but I assure you it wasn't. It took many years of activity on the part of the X-ray technician groups and, frankly, on the part of our department because we became convinced that this was the answer to the problem we faced in New York with unqualified operators exposing our people to increasingly sophisticated X-ray procedures.

The fact that licensure was achieved, I think, was due in considerable measure to the devotion of Mr. Goldman who became quite an expert "lobbyist" over the several years this was going on and to the full support of Dr. Roach on behalf of New York States radiologists.

Now, to tell you a little something about our experience. As I am sure I don't need to relate to this group, X-radiation, while its benefits are immeasurable, it is a hazardous agent both medically, and technically. And because of its hazard, it merits, we as a health agency feel, the same total control due dangerous drugs.

Good radiographic technique calls for the proper use of equipment in relation to the desired medical objective. After a medical decision has been made that X-ray is essential for the patient's health, the combination of equipment design and technique will, of course, determine the relative risk.

When proper standards for good X-ray equipment design have been obtained, the next important step toward reducing unnecessary exposure lies in further improving techniques. Here we must recognize the key role played by the qualified X-ray technician. If proper collimation, filtration, fast films, high kVp, et cetera, are utilized, if optimum aiming of the X-ray beam is obtained and unncessary retakes are reduced to a minimum, the X-ray technician can easily reduce exposure of patients to radiation by a factor of 50 to 75 percent over what it might otherwise be.

Further, if proper technique is important in determining the total radiation exposure a patient receives, it is probably even more crucial when we consider the unnecessary exposure of the gonads to radiation. Because of poor tube angulation, improper selection of field size, incorrect centering of the beam, or failure to use gonadal shielding, unskilled operators often can expose the gonads of patients, as I am sure you are aware, to as much as 100 to 200 times the amount of radiation necessary from a purely medical point of view. Even in taking a simple wrist X-ray, the beam can often be directed, entirely unnecessarily, toward the gonadal region.

In New York, the program for inspecting X-ray installations for safety, which we started back in 1957, confirmed for us what has also been found in many other studies. In a distressingly high proportion of medical exposures, patients were receiving a higher radiation dose than was absolutely necessary for the particular purpose of the exposure.

Moreover, parts of the body outside the area of clinical interest were receiving substantial radiation doses. Inspectors often found operators who were unfamiliar with such simple beam-limiting devices as cones or collimators, additional aluminum filtration of the useful beam, and local shielding of the patient's gonads. These were frequently used incorrectly or not at all.

The fact that there were State regulations in effect requiring the presence of such devices and equipment modifications in X-ray installations had limited value. Their actual correct use at times when the State or local health inspectors were not present could not be depended upon if the operators did not have sufficient training to be aware of their importance in providing protection.

It is, of course, possible to teach any reasonably intelligent individual, in a comparatively short period of time, how to push the buttons of an X-ray machine so that photographically satisfactory pictures may be turned out. However, it is *not* possible to teach the essential safeguards in any such brief period of a few days, weeks or even months.

To do this, the technician must first be adequately taught the physics of X-ray production, the principles of radiographic exposure, and both the immediate and latent physiological effects of radiation. He must understand the need for, and be thoroughly trained in, the proper use of all protective measures and devices aimed at ensuring the safety of the patients entrusted to him, as well as his own safety.

When New York began to license X-ray technicians in 1964, there were an estimated 12–14,000 people in the State other than physicians and other practitioners of the healing arts, using medical X-rays on human beings. What qualifications had they to do this?

Until that time there had been nothing to prevent anyone, without even an hour's instruction, someone just walking in off the street, for example, from operating X-ray equipment and through ignorance or misuse doing serious damage not only to the individual exposed, but, through the genetic effects of radiation, to unborn generations to come.

We are sure that if you asked the average layman in New York State, or anywhere else in the United States, whether he thought that the people who X-rayed him should be licensed as qualified to do this type of work, he would look at you in bewilderment. "Aren't they already licensed?", he would ask. He knows that the barber who cuts his hair is licensed and it would be inconceivable to him that anyone in whose hands is placed such responsibility for his health and welfare should have no legal controls over his competence. Yet that was the situation prevailing.

Of these 12–14,000 people who regularly exposed their fellow human beings to radiation in New York State, only about 2,000, who generally worked for private radiologists or in the radiology departments of better hospitals, had subjected themselves to any objective review of their competence. These were the X-ray technicians certified by the American Registry of Radiologic Technologists.

As you know, this is a voluntary national accrediting agency, jointly sponsored by the American College of Radiology and the American Society of Radiologic Technologists, which requires for accreditation, at the present time, completion of a two-year approved course and the passing of a written examination.

Assuming all of these people to be competent—and this, we would point out, was not necessarily so, since many had obtained their certificates years before under qualifications and examinations which were much less stringent than those of today—this still left a minimum of 10,000 people taking X-rays without any controls or standards whatsoever.

From our experience with the inspection program from X-ray installations, we knew that a large number of these other people taking X-rays were not really X-ray technicians. They were nurses, secretaries, receptionists, medical assistants, and others working in the offices of private physicians, other than radiologists, where about 85 percent of the X-ray units not in hospitals in our State were located. For the most part, their "training" was limited to a few hours of instruction by a representative of the equipment manufacturer. Some had also learned something about X-ray by taking a commercial school course for a few months, generally the course given for medical assistants.

This brings us to a more general consideration of the usual background of training and experience for people who are generally referred to as "X-ray technicians."

If we can accept as typical the findings of a recent questionnaire survey made by the Public Health Service covering eight States and the District of Columbia, over one-half of practicing X-ray technicians are *not* certified with the American Registry. In New York, at least, we know that this proportion is really *much* higher. The survey also found that only about one-half of *all* X-ray technicians, and only one-tenth of all non-Registry technicians, had *any* formal training in X-ray technology.

From our own recent experience in reviewing applications for licenses, we can say that even to state that a technician has had some formal training is often not really saying much, since even formally trained X-ray technicians often have a woefully inadequate education by accepted standards for most other fields.

In New York State, and particularly in New York City, among the largest purveyors of formal training in X-ray technology, until recently, have been the commercial schools. These schools generally appeared to have little in the way of entrance standards other than ability to pay tuition and fees.

Furthermore, they had no clinical affiliations with hospitals or other medical institutions to enable their students to get practical experience. And a few years ago we were shocked to find their method of giving students experience was to have them take X-rays of one another.

The reputation of their graduates among radiologists and other hiring officials was extremely poor. Many radiologists expressed their preference for hiring people off the street and training them "from scratch" rather than taking these graduates, whom they felt had acquired much misinformation which would have to be unlearned. For this reason, commercial school graduates who could find employment often had to work for about a year as hospital volunteers before receiving any pay. In this respect they were no better off than other completely untrained people who often began their careers as X-ray technicians in this way.

In fact, working as an unpaid volunteer was the traditional way for young people to break into the field of X-ray technology until not very long ago. Or, looking at the coin from the other side, the traditional way in which hospitals and radiologists would satisfy their needs for new technicians was to pick up some promising young boys and girls who perhaps could not afford to, or did not want to, stay in school and take them on as "apprentices." The pay, if any, would be very low.

If it were in a hospital, they might aspire, in time, to a title of hospital attendant or hospital helper. Eventually, but never knowing exactly when, they would find themselves with enough experience to be considered full-fledged X-ray technicians. Nevertheless, throughout their careers, both their pay and their prestige reflected this on-the-job training character of their beginnings.

Many of today's hospital schools started in the way we just described, as informal on-the-job training programs. The quality of the training offered at some of these schools today still reflects this origin. Some lack formalized course planning and have very little in the way of course outlines and lesson plans. Classes often are not regularly scheduled or are readily postponed because of the demand of the X-ray department's workload.

The teaching and clinical experience are often given as if in two separate worlds with no attempt to integrate one with the other. The keeping of adequate records, testing, student assignments, and other matters one would expect to find in a well-run school are often missing or rudimentary.

Undoubtedly, too many of the X-ray technicians responsible for running the schools have education training and lack the aptitude to organize and teach. The radiologists in some of these schools, who are nominally the school directors, generally know very little about what is taking place in the schools for the simple reason that they are busy reading X-rays and supervising department operations and therefore cannot give the schools as much time as I am sure they would like.

What we have just described are the typical "middle-run" group of hospital schools in our State. Among our schools, there are, of course, some which are doing a much better job. This is generally because the radiologists have selected X-ray technicians to manage the schools who have a great deal of drive and education and have taken the trobule to equip themselves for this work.

But below this middle-run are quite a few other hospital schools which started as on-the-job training programs and have made little or no progress beyond that point. Some schools have made exploitive attempts to reduce the operating costs of X-ray departments by using unpaid or low-paid students in place of trained or experienced technicians. Or the tuition received from the students was given directly to the teaching technicians as a "bonus" offsetting the relatively low pay they received from the hospital.

When licensing went into effect in New York, some of these schools which we visited did not even attempt to qualify for State approval, but informed us that they did not really have a school or were planning shortly to cease operations. Others are now working to develop their training programs into real schools.

New York is a larger State than most others and perhaps some of its problems are larger, too. Nevertheless, we do not believe that the generally poor picture of X-ray technician training in our State, which we have just described, is unique to us. Nor do we believe that we are the only State in which many of the people applying radiation to human beings had inadequate qualifications to do this and were neither well-trained X-ray technicians nor licensed practitioners of the healing arts.

Ask any chief X-ray technician about the training of many new technicians he has had to break in. Ask any radiologist about the quality of many of the radiographs brought to him for consultation by attending physicians, radiographs taken by their nurses or medical assistants.

The only way in which New York State apparently *is* unique is that we are the only State which so far has made any attempt to do something about this problem through a licensure program.

The discussion topic for this afternoon's group session is: "What will it take to provide adequate numbers of appropriately qualified operators of X-ray equipment in medicine?" Dr. Roach and Mr. Goldman will shortly give New York State's views on this matter. But before they do, we would like to raise another very basic question that should also be explored.

It will also be explored this afternoon. This question is: "How can we prevent unqualified operators of X-ray equipment from applying X-rays to human beings?"

It may be pointless for this conference to determine the needs for X-ray technicians in numbers and qualifications if it does not also come to grips with the more immediate problem of preventing the employment of unqualified operators of X-ray equipment. They are presently among the principal dispensers of unnecessary radiation in the United States. Since many physicians and hospital administrators can and do hire unqualified people to take radiographs for them, we believe it is more important, from a public health viewpoint, to set bare minimum standards for all X-ray technicians and enforce them, than to raise the standards of the better X-ray technicians and just hope that hiring officials adhere to them.

The present system, prevalent in most States, whereby a code exists setting standards of safety for X-ray equipment, but not the operators applying the X-rays, is akin to registering and inspecting motor vehicles without requiring the operators to demonstrate their ability to drive.

In short, without any reflection whatever on the efforts that have come before, our experience in New York State as a health agency indicates rather clearly that on-balance licensure is beneficial and that if we may be allowed to do so, we would predict that in the years ahead other States will adopt licensure programs similar to that in New York State. We believe that licensure of X-ray technicians is necessary from the standpoint of protecting the population against one source of unnecessary radiation they received at the hands of unqualified operators. Furthermore, experience with other groups in the allied health professions dictates that such licensure is virtually inevitable. We urge all in this field to join in making sure that licensure programs which lie just ahead will be sound programs which will maintain high standards, protect the public, and attract competent young people to X-ray technology.

Internal Security Act of 1950 Amendments

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12601) to amend the Internal Security Act of 1950 relating to the registration of Communist organizations, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, this bill has been very ably debated on both sides. Insofar as I am concerned, it presents some very disturbing constitutional implications.

In the first place, I believe that most of us can agree that there is an urgent need for energetically searching out internal subversion, checking its activities and ramifications, and punishing the specific acts of those who engage in violation of existing law and in seeking to undermine the foundations of our great, free society.

There are, in my humble judgment, adequate laws in this area protecting the nation against treason, espionage, sabotage and efforts and actions designed to overthrow our Government by force, violence and conspiracy.

In that sense, this bill would be redundant and repetitious and it might well serve to duplicate existing laws while placing dangerous restrictions on the personal liberty of our people.

Our Constitution zealously protects the political views of the people and the right to dissent in every lawful manner.

The application of registration requirements and spying upon fellow citizens and neighbors are characteristic of the arbitrary police state, and since the formation of this Government, these practices have been looked upon with great disapproval by the American people.

Above all, we are under a sacred obligation to protect the great freedoms of the Constitution—freedom of belief, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and assembly and freedom of criticism and dissent, and we must exert every precaution against infringement of the personal liberty of our fellow citizens and those residing in the United States.

In this country, it is of paramount importance that, under our Constitution and the laws, every person shall be free to speak his mind and express his beliefs and views as criticism and dissent, without the restraining hand of meddlesome government interfering with his affairs, and trifling with his basic constitutional liberties, so long as he does not violate the law of the land.

As to those among us, who are working for the overthrow of the Government, there are ample laws to punish them, and to stamp out their conspiracies, and I think we would do great disservice to our form of government if, in order to check subversion and fight communism, we should adopt the very totalitarian techniques that communism and other absolute systems of government utilize to suppress and enchain their subject-citizens and those living within their domains.

The regimentation of the people of this country into thought cliques imposed by governmental laws and edicts is certainly not one of the purposes of this great Government, and we must repudiate such efforts by Government officials, agencies, or devices of law, which do not square with the Constitution of the United States.

Time and again, our courts have dealt with these questions and I do not wish to belabor them here. While I believe that we must continue to combat subversion and communism in every possile way, so as to check the dangers they present to the perpetuity of free institutions, law and order, and the existence of our freedoms, it is my conviction that we must do these things under the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and that any departure from this rule would, not only work a wrong against the rights of the individual in our society, but would also be capable of restricting precious personal and civil liberties, and this must be studiously and firmly rejected by the Congress.

The 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 29, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the declaration on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, adopted at a meeting of the Plenary Assembly of Captive European Nations in New York City on November 4, 1967.

This excellent resolution and declaration merits the careful thought of all Americans.

DECLARATION ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE PLENARY ASSEMBLY, HELD IN NEW YORK CITY ON NOVEMBER 4, 1967

I

On November 7, 1917, a small group of Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky seized control of the Russian State from the democratic Provisional Government set up eight months earlier. This event set into motion forces which have shaken the world and kept it in turmoil to this day. The Bolshevik Revolution provided a base of operations for spreading an ideology, which is the official creed of oppressive regimes ruling over one-third of the world's population.

In Russia, before Lenin's death in 1924, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" had evolved into a dictatorship of the Communist Party leadership. Non-Communist parties were suppressed and any opposition to the Party line became a punishable offense. The same pattern, has since been applied in any state or territory that has fallen under Communist domination, where small minorities imposed by force came to power. The Communists enforced Russian supremacy over the non Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. The attempts of peoples long enslaved by Tsarist Russia to attain freedom and work out their own destiny were mercilessly crushed.

The Soviet-Nazi Pact of 1939 paved the way for Hitler's attack on Poland which started the Second World War. The Pact extended Soviet influence to the Baltic States, and the USSR promptly availed itself of this new latitude in 1940 by forcibly annexing Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Soviet Communist imperialism was on the march and made a thrust into East-Central Europe.

The Soviet Union emerged from World War II with its armed forces in command of all the strategic positions from the Balkans to the Elbe. Lassitude among the Western allies and the prevalent desire to avoid antagonizing the Russians left the Soviets a clear field for action during the crucial postwar years. The Soviets reoccupied Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and directly or indirectly foisted Communist regimes on Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and East Germany.

Moreover, the Soviets had annexed territories totaling 146,000 square miles belonging to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania, and by 1953, the Communist rule had extended to China, Tibet, Mongolia, and North Korea. North Vietnam's turn came the following year, and that of Cuba six years later.

Until the death of Stalin in March 1953, the monolithic aspect of the Communist orbit was disturbed only by the defection of Yugoslavia in 1948, while the other countries were under strict Soviet control. There was continued resistance to Soviet rule: guerrilla warfare in the Baltic States, underground fighting in Poland, workers' strikes and riots such as in Pilsen and Poznan.

It was the fateful year of 1956 which, in addition to Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech, also witnessed the Polish October and the Hungarian Revolution that shook the Communist regimes. Since 1956 a number of ameliorative measures have taken place in Communist-dominated Eastern Europe under the pressure of popular discontent and the terror of Stalin's day has assumed a more refined form.

These changes, however, have not been substantive. Fundamental human rights are violated or denied. The people have no voice in government. Freedom of speech and of the press is nonexistent; freedom of worship and conscience severely restricted. Trade unions protect the regime's interest at the expense of the worker. Forced collectivization has deprived the farmer of his dignity and individuality.

II

After analyzing the record of fifty years of Communism, the Assembly of Captive European Nations lays the blame and responsibility upon the architects and heirs of the Bolshevik Revolution for the following conditions in the captive countries of East-Central Europe:

1. *Terror.*—The Communist carried out in cold blood deliberately calculated destruction not only of enemies, but of potential opponents or elements unwanted in their system. The Soviets have applied genocide and intensive Russification in order to change the ethnic composition of annexed territories. Communism from 1917 to 1967 has been directly responsible for millions of deaths through armed aggression, starvation, "liquidation of kulaks and bourgeoise," purges and the very high mortality rates in forced labor camps. The Communist regimes spawned gigantic organs of surveillance, punishment, censorship and intimidation. The individual has no protection against the all-powerful and arbitrary police state.

2. *Thought control.*—The Communist regimes have tried to seal off their countries from foreign printed matter and radio. They parcel out information through absolute control of news and ideas. Censorship guards against the leakage of forbidden ideas through the press, books, on the stage and screen and on the air, in school rooms and lecture halls. Never before in history has there been such a massive enterprise in shaping and regimenting the thought of whole nations.

Some people have broken under this psychological strain, others have bowed meekly or paid lip-service. Yet, the overwhelming majority resisted Communist propaganda. The indoctrination of youth was a complete failure. Now more than ever before in the fifty years the writers, students and intellectuals rise to criticize and even to protest the methods of the Communist regimes.

3. *The political oppression.*—The self-perpetuating bureaucratic oligarchies exercise absolute power over the small ruling parties and through them over the rest of the citizenry.

Soviet Communism and its models in East-Central Europe have stamped out free speech, press, and assembly. "Elections" are limited to a single list of names, drawn up by the Party or by organizations under Party control. The citizen has no semblance of any role in government, in law-making and decision-making.

4. *Economic exploitation.*—In the economic field, the Communist regimes have unswervingly adhered, and still adhere, to a policy of strong preferential treatment of heavy industry and of boosting the power sector of the economy at the expense of consumer goods production. This policy, coupled with a waste of resources characteristic of the Communist economic system, has resulted in a failure to secure a proper growth of the real income of the population.

The burden on the peoples of East-Central Europe is aggravated by extortion of illegitimate profits for the benefit of the Soviet Union through price discrimination in trade, and by granting of credits by the satellite regimes for the development of Soviet basic industries.

5. *The moral cynicism.*—The humanitarian principles of Western Civilization have been rejected by the Communists in their vain attempt to reconstruct human nature

in the pattern of their philosophy of historical materialism. A deep immoralism has marked Communist ethics from the start. It has turned the person into an object, a bloodless statistic. Solemn promises and treaties trodden underfoot, flagrant interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, unlawful seizure of power—all these are part of a record the protagonists of the Bolshevik Revolution and their heirs have added to the history of mankind.

In an era when old-style colonialism has been virtually ended, Communist imperialism has emerged as the largest colonial system in existence. There is hardly a major crisis, anywhere from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean, from Africa to the Middle East, in which the expansionist ambitions of Moscow are not involved. The Communist drive for world domination creates international tension and keeps alive the fear of nuclear war. This drive has resulted in the division of countries and continents.

When measured by its costs in life suffering and moral depravity the fifty years of communism is demonstrably the most tragic failure on this scale in all history.

The Assembly of Captive European Nations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution reiterates its firm belief that only complete national independence, personal, political and religious freedom is the answer to the hopes and aspirations of the people of East-Central Europe, who will never accept Communist domination.

The Assembly therefore condemns the Communist totalitarian system, which has shackeld the nine nations of East-Central Europe as a consequence of communist aggression.

1. The Assembly profoundly believes that the restoration of freedom and independence to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania, is a prerequisite for establishing a durable peace in Europe.

2. This can be only achieved by:

(a) Putting an end to interference by the Soviet Union in the internal and external affairs of the East-Central European countries;

(b) Withdrawing Soviet troops and bases and agents from the territories of the captive nations;

(c) Re-establishing democratic institutions through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people.

On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution the Assembly of Captive European Nations pays tribute to the everlasting memory of the countless victims of Communist tyranny: to those who fell before firing squads; to those who died in prisons; to those who perished in forced labor camps and to the victims of mass deportations. The Assembly rededicates itself to the restoration of independence and freedom for which so many have given their lives in East-Central Europe. Peace with justice and freedom for all Europeans shall prevail.

United States-Japan Relations: A Frank Appraisal on Two Key Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday evening it was my pleasure to attend a dinner honoring the newly appointed Ambassador of Japan to the United States, the Honorable Takeso Shimoda.

In his remarks on that occasion Ambassador Shimoda presented a brief resume on the current status of United States-Japan relations. At the heart of that analysis, however, was the Ambassador's candid appraisal of two crucial questions: How do the Japanese feel about the war in Vietnam? and How do the Japanese evaluate the present turmoil in Communist China?

The answers to these questions represent a probing insight which will be of interest to all those concerned with United States-Japan relations.

Ambassador Shimoda is an eloquent and persuasive spokesman for his great nation. At the same time he has shown extraordinary sensitivity to, and understanding of, our American policies and attitudes. Against this background his remarks warrant full and serious consideration:

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR TAKESO SHIMODA AT THE JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON DINNER, SHOREHAM HOTEL, DECEMBER 1, 1967

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure and honor for me to be with you this evening. It is a special joy for Mrs. Shimoda and myself to see many familiar faces from my last assignment in Washington exactly ten years ago. I am also very happy to observe that during the last ten years the Japan-America Society has continued to contribute toward greater friendship and understanding between the United States and Japan. That I can always count on active cooperation of the distinguished members of this Society is a source of constant encouragement.

There were many significant events this Fall that were related directly to U.S.-Japan relations. In September, the Sixth Meeting of the U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held in Washington, and seven Japanese Cabinet Ministers held very profitable talks with their American counterparts. Two weeks ago Prime Minister Sato visited the United States and had fruitful conversations with President Johnson and other top members of the American Government. On these and other recent occasions, more emphasis is being placed on basic issues affecting the whole world than on bilateral issues between the United States and Japan.

It cannot be denied, of course, that there will naturally always remain some problems which will have to be solved between the two countries. For instance, in the economic field, problems caused by rapid increase of the export of Japanese textiles to the United States or political issues such as the return of the Ryukus and the Bonin Islands have been quite complicated problems. However, Japan has imposed voluntary restrictions on its exports at the risk of enabling Hong Kong to become the leading exporter of cotton textiles to the United States. On the other hand, the United States Government has decided to return the Bonin Islands and to initiate consultations on the eventual return of the Ryukus despite the military and strategic inconveniences involved, and the people and the Government of Japan are deeply appreciative of this decision. Prudent decisions, such as these, on the part of the United States and Japan, are steadily solving most of the bilateral issues.

However, since all of you assembled here tonight are well acquainted with Japan, I do not think it is necessary to discuss in detail the present state of relationship between the United States and Japan. Instead, I would like to offer you my frank opinions on more fundamental issues in Asia facing both the United States and Japan.

During my stay in Washington so far, there have been two questions that I have been asked most frequently. The first question is "How do the Japanese feel about the war in Vietnam? Do they support American policy?" And the second question is, "How do the Japanese evaluate the present turmoil in Communist China?" and especially "How do they feel about China's developing nuclear power?"

With respect to the first question, I would begin by pointing out that since Japan enjoys a freedom of the press perhaps even greater than that in the United States, the views and opinions reaching American shores are not always those of the majority. Occasionally, the views of a small but vociferous minority are reported in a quite sensational fashion. After this reminder, I would go on to say that in Japan there are three different opinions on the war in Vietnam.

First, leftist elements quite naturally are very critical of American involvement. Second, a group of somewhat naive pacifists are offended by the fact that there is an armed conflict, and they are critical of the parties involved simply because they are fighting. They sometimes condemn the United States more strongly than its opponents in Vietnam, viewing the North Vietnamese as the underdog, resisting a giant.

Then third, a majority of the Japanese, who may not be as outspoken as the other two groups, understand and quietly support what the United States is trying to accomplish in Vietnam. The majority of the Japanese people realize the simple fact that America is fighting in South Vietnam upon request for assistance from its government to counteract infiltration and aggression from the North. They understand also, that the bombing of the North is after all a measure necessary to cut off the flow of reinforcements into South Vietnam.

As Prime Minister Sato stated at the National Press Club two weeks ago, American efforts in Vietnam are also generally well understood and appreciated by the responsible leaders of the governments and the peoples of the twelve Southeast Asian and Pacific countries he visited recently. The Asian people appreciate America's great human and material sacrifices for the sake of preserving peace and security in Asia. A majority of Japanese agree with most Asians, however, that military means alone will not solve the Vietnam problem and that a political settlement by negotiation would be the only alternative. It is very reassuring for us Japanese that President Johnson has made it clear time and again, and most recently in his speech in San Antonio, that the United States Government is prepared to discuss peace with the North at any time, at any place, and with no conditions whatsoever. It has also been very heartening to see the newly elected President Thieu of South Vietnam calling on Hanoi, immediately after his inauguration, to come to the conference table.

We would like to see the war terminated as early as possible, not only because it is demanding great sacrifices on the part of the United States, but also because a conflict between two factions of a single nation, who attained only recently their long sought independence, is a tragic waste of precious human and material resources which should be used for constructive purposes. We feel that the present struggle benefits none but the third country looming behind the combatants. In order that the North may realize the futility of further aggression and infiltration and come to the conference table, the Japanese Government also has repeatedly attempted, during the last couple of years, both direct and indirect contacts with Hanoi, but so far without noticeable success. As an ally of the United States which is not involved in direct armed action and which is regarded by many Asian nations as one of the countries well qualified to assume such a role, Japan will continue its patient efforts to act as one of the intermediaries to help bring about early negotiations.

Turning to the other question which is posed most frequently, the Cultural Revolution in China, I must confess that we Japanese are no better informed than the American public. To be sure, Japanese correspondents in Communist China have an advantage over other foreign correspondents in their ability to read Chinese. For this reason, the Japanese public is often the first to receive reports on new posters in Peking, for example, but it is just as confused as anybody else when it comes to analyzing the true significance of new developments. Should the Cultural Revolution be understood as a power struggle common to all totalitarian states, or should it be interpreted as an ideological struggle between Maoism and revisionism? I personally believe that it is a blend of both; but then nobody seems to know for sure what the mixture is.

One thing certain is that the present turmoil is but one of the great upheavals that China in its long history has been experiencing every few centuries. But this time the degree of fanaticism as shown by the Red Guards in the Cultural Revolution is unique, and I think it will still take quite some time before the present chaos finally settles down.

Many Americans have asked me how Japan evaluates China's development of nuclear weapons and how it intends to deal with it. Many are wondering why Japan is not more alarmed by China's nuclear bombs and are anxious to know whether Japan intends to develop its own nuclear forces in response to the Chinese challenge. Japanese public opinion on this issue is divided four ways.

First, there is a very small minority of extreme leftists, who as a matter of course, welcome Chinese nuclear weapons. Second, a group of pacifists who oppose armament on moral grounds, totally condemn China's development of such deadly armaments as nuclear weapons, and contend that Japan must not make the same mistake. They are contemptuous of China's decision to seek prominence via the bomb while forcing down the living standard of its people to a miserably low level.

A spokesman for the third group, which I would call the pragmatic opportunists, would maintain in a matter-of-fact way that Chinese development of nuclear weapons has little effect on the present overall nuclear balance and by the same token, neither will a Japanese nuclear counterforce. They would elect to rely on the American nuclear umbrella and advocate continued greater investment in economic development instead of in nuclear weaponry.

The fourth group, which may be termed the internationally minded realists, view the Chinese nuclear threat in a broader context of nuclear proliferation, and its impact on world politics. They realize that Japan is faced with a crucial decision. If, on the one hand, Japan forgoes nuclear armament and joins the proposed Non-Proliferation Pact this may well be tantamount to accepting China's nuclear hegemony over entire Asia. On the other hand, if Japan elects to become a nuclear power itself, this could start off a chain reaction among other potential nuclear powers, such as for example, Germany, Italy or India. The end result would be to create an anarchical world of numerous nuclear powers and to increase the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe.

The realistic internationalists, realizing the consequences of Japan's decision to "go nuclear," contend that Japan should exercise self-denial despite its scientific, technological and industrial capability to match very easily the Chinese challenge. But in exchange for this sacrifice, they feel it is only fair that the nuclear powers for their part should exercise similar self-restraint and take positive steps toward nuclear disarmament. They also feel that any non-proliferation treaty Japan may sign must permit periodical review of its implementation so that it would not become an unrealistic strait jacket unfit to meet the demands of a constantly changing world.

Although there are four different evaluations of China's nuclear power, as I have explained above, the present consensus is that Japan should not develop its own nuclear deterrent, and our government is cooperating with the United States to bring about the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty. But since the future is always uncertain, and above all, since the future of Communist China cannot be foreseen with any degree of accuracy, I feel that the ultimate choice as to whether or not Japan should become a nuclear power must be left to our future generations.

In any event, it remains a matter of great concern for all Asian nations that an aggressive and uncomprising China should have nuclear weapons at its disposal. How should they react to this situation? It would be a great mistake to expect them to assume a posture of military or political confrontation with China, because Asian countries do not necessarily share a common political or military outlook. For example, some are sending troops to Vietnam, some are taking a neutralist stand, and others regard themselves as non-aligned. However, it is comforting to note that the policies of Communist China have disillusioned and alienated many Asian who ten years ago had tended to identify themselves with Communist China's efforts and seeming success in social reform and industrialization. We welcome the fact that now the Asian peoples are finally beginning to refuse to turn to Chinese Communist idealogy for inspiration, and that, instead, they are seeking more realistic approaches to modernization.

Coinciding with Asia's disenchantment with Communist China was Japan's decision, after a long period of post-war hesitation, to take the initiative in what Secretary Rusk called the "new wind" in Asia, and to promote the concerted efforts of Asians to overcome poverty which is their most fundamental problem. It was very encouraging for Japan that when it organized a ministerial conference on Southeast Asia's Economic Development in April last year all the Asian Ministers who took part in the Conference wholeheartedly welcomed Japan's initiative. This Conference served to reaffirm the fact that most Asian nations have abandoned the illusion that there must become magical ways of accomplishing speedy industrialization. The Asian people have come to realize that there is no royal road except even more intensive self-help and effective regional cooperation. It is also significant to note that the Asian Cabinet Ministers have come to the common conclusion that development of agriculture is the fundamental basis for future industrialization.

At the Second Ministerial Conference which was held this year, Asian nations formulated some concrete programs such as the Agricultural Development Fund, the Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center and studies for development of transport and communication facilities in the region. There is no doubt that, these constructive programs and the Asian Development Bank, which will soon start its operation, will contribute greatly to the economic development of Southeast Asia.

In my opinion, the two most significant phenomena in Asia today are the great turmoil in Communist China and the "new wind" among nations on the periphery of China. The difference between the two is that while the former represents antagonism and fanaticism, the latter signifies cooperation and realism. It is also essential to note that even though China's present policies are based on a philosophy of confrontation, the "new wind" cannot and should not start from such a premise.

Our government has decided to achieve peace and stability in Asia, not based on a philosophy of confrontation, but through regional cooperation in economic, social and cultural fields. It is our fervent desire that China will someday free itself from the bonds of such alien ideologies as those of Marx and Lenin, and returning to its traditional Asian philosophy of harmony and cooperation, take part in the great renaissance symbolized in the movement which has been termed the "new wind" in Asia.

Two weeks ago, in a welcoming speech at the White House dinner for Prime Minister Sato, President Johnson described the relationship between the United States and Japan as "a partnership of responsibility." The Japanese Government is determined to fulfill that responsibility. It is our conviction that cooperation between the United States and Japan will not only serve our mutual interests but that it will also have great impact on the peace and stability of Asia, which in turn, cannot but affect that of the whole world.

It is with this conviction that I came to Washington and that I ask for the support and cooperation of all of you in the execution of my challenging mission.

Thank you.

Jumping to Conclusions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, now that the latest Cyprus crisis has calmed down, it would be practical to review the stature of the Government of Greece.

My attention was directed to a very objective column by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers, based on an intensive scrutiny he recently made of the situation in Greece.

His commentary follows:

JUMPING TO CONCLUSIONS

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

ATHENS, November 25.—If they ever add an event to the Olympic Game we ought to pull for something called "jumping to conclusions." Then we could be certain Americans would win the gold, silver and bronze medals. We excel at the sport, and there is no better example than right here in the home of the Olympics.

When a military coup took place in Greece last April, Americans jumped to the conclusions that (1) democracy had been snuffed out in the land where it was born, that (2) the power-hungry military had moved in and grabbed control from a popular government, that (3) an overwhelming majority of Greeks obviously resented the takeover, and that (4) the military would surely side with the conservatives against the liberals.

The State Department grimly expressed its "deep concern" at the course of events, interrupted the flow of military aid to our NATO ally and superciliously said it was "waiting to see whether the new Greek government moves towards reestablishing those Democratic institutions which have been an integral part of Greek political life."

This was the worst possible compound of arrogance and ignorance, though I'm afraid it is not an isolated example. It is symptomatic of something that I find increasingly prevalent: An American insistence on measuring governments everywhere against an idealized model of democracy that exists nowhere.

We do this in Vietnam, in a part of the world where the word democracy is barely understood and people are fighting for their lives. We've done it in countries like Spain and in a dozen Latin American nations. We are always smug about it, always sure we know what is best for the ailing nation.

We don't do it, naturally, in any Communist country. Apparently the prescription isn't universal.

The fact is that there come moments in the lives of nations, particularly the newer ones, when military control is the only alternative to chaos or Communism. This isn't the case in every coup—obviously there are occasions when it is simply a power grab by a ruthless and ambitious man or group.

But history teaches us that while military regimes can and do in a great number of instances stand aside for more democratic forms of government, Communism never does. It is the sworn and permanent enemy of democracy.

I have been mulling this over in Athens this week while the Hearst Task Force talked to leaders of the military regime and to experts on the military-political situation here. Among those with whom we've had full, free and frank discussion are the "strong man" Colonel George Papadopoulous; General Stylianos Patakos, Minister of Interior; and the Foreign Minister named earlier this week, Panayotis Pipinelis.

The regime did make some mistakes at the beginning, mostly of a silly nature—banning miniskirts (they're not based anymore) and getting involved in a slugging match with a Greek movie actress. But these are minor matters.

What emerges from our explorations in Athens is a story considerably different than that many Americans believe.

Because ancient Greece is "the cradle of democracy" there is an assumption that what the Greeks have today is a venerable, time-proven form of government. It's not. Greece was under foreign domination for 2,000 years until it fought a war of independence in 1821 against the Ottoman Empire. The country as it now exists, with its present frontiers, dates only from the end of World War I.

For the past half-century Greece has been torn by tugs of war between monarchists and Republicans. It suffered repression under the Nazi-like dictatorship of General George Metaxas in the late 1930s and in the actual Nazi occupation of World War II. And it barely survived the bloodletting of a five-year-long Communist-inspired civil war that ended in 1949.

Add to this continuing turmoil and corruption both in high places and low which soured and embittered the youth of Greece and made them ripe for Communist ideology.

You can take it on the word of a prominent Greek businessman, strongly pro-American, Spyros D. Skouras, that Greek democracy suffered from the right as well as from the left.

But it was an immediate threat from the left that prompted the military to take over in April. The left had made it clear that if it could not come to power through the elections scheduled for May it would sow chaos in the streets and bring in Communism that way.

Few, if any, fair-minded observers doubt now that the military acted correctly in moving when it did—that a Communist takeover was inevitable if Colonel Papadopoulos and his military associates had not staged their bloodless coup.

Nor is there any pressure for an early end to the military regime. People we've talked to here who consider themselves politically liberal but economically conservative hope that the regime will stay on as long as it is improving the conditions and morale of Greek life. So I hope our government won't buy any State Department line that early elections are either necessary or even desirable.

When we talk about Greek democracy we are not just playing semantic games or cutting up cliches. We are back to my favorite theme on this trip, American self-interest.

While our State Department has been trying to change diapers in the cradle of democracy, and pressuring Israel to move back to old, unlivable frontiers, the Soviet Union has boldly moved its fleet into the Mediterranean and is making its presence felt.

Our principal friends in the Mediterranean are Greece, Israel, Turkey and Italy.

Italy, whose leaders once talked about making that country the strongest force in what was once a Roman lake, has not grasped the baton because it is preoccupied with economic prosperity. But it remains a firm American friend.

Turkey is militarily staunch, although the continuing and dangerous squabble with Greece over the island of Cyprus is a threat to anti-Communist unity in this area.

Israel has shown it can take care of itself, and perform a service to the free world in resisting Communism, with a minimum of help from the United States—and a minimum of hindrance.

Now more than ever we must recognize our friends and make it clear to Russia that they must keep their paws off our pals.

We only weaken our friends, in the case of Israel by trying to woo the Arabs, and in the case of Greece by demanding the country follow our idealized model of democracy.

Non-Soviet-Type Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a news account which varied from the contemporary writers covering the October 21 disloyalist invasion of the Pentagon, was prepared by the National Education Program people.

I wonder what a "non-Soviet-type Communist" can be? A Communist of the American variety?

The National Education Program releases follow:

LOOKING AHEAD: PENTAGON "PEACE MARCH" A COMMUNIST VICTORY

(By Dr. George S. Benson, president, national education program, Searcy, Ark.)

World Communism, with its continuing determination to destroy the United States and conquer the world, achieved one of its biggest propaganda victories on Saturday, October 21, at the Lincoln Memorial and the Pentagon in Washington. Our National Education Program staff covered the "Peace Rally" at the Lincoln Memorial and the "Peace March" as it stormed the Pentagon. It was a frightening, disgraceful and evil spectacle organized and directed by Communists. But this was not the picture that much of the press—via TV, radio, wire services and special reportage—beamed to the U.S. and the rest of the world.

We decided to make a motion picture record, and with staff coverage, document the true nature of the "march" and its leadership. Widely advertised as a national "demonstration to end the war in Vietnam," it was actually a skillful Communist operation, a propaganda device to give great prestige to the movement clamoring for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam in a manner assuring utter capitulation to the Red enemy.

ENEMY ASSAULT

Communist North Vietnam flags were brazenly hoisted by members of the well-disciplined vanguard which assaulted the Mall Entrance of the Pentagon. As TV and movie cameras ground out the scenes to be shown throughout the world, the grim assault cadres of well-trained men, followed by hundreds of emotionally-encited "hippies" and "peaceniks" were repulsed amidst flying night-sticks of Army MP's and the crashing gun-butts of paratroopers. The Communist purpose was to depict an outpouring of innocent, respectable peace-lovers ("Doves") representative of a nation-wide clamor for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, being beaten down bloodily by a sadistic military dictatorship.

Regardless of what you, the readers of this column, may have read in the press or viewed on TV, the facts, gathered at first hand on the scene of the rally and march, are as follows:

Approximately 5,000 people gathered at the Memorial and along the turfed aprons of the great Reflecting Pool fronting it. Many of their banners were profane, obscene, unprintable.

Possibly 5,000 were decent, patriotic citizens who abhor war, including curious teenagers from the Washington area who came to watch and then marched with the others to the sprawling North Parking Lot at the Pentagon's Mall entrance, not agitating for or expecting violence.

ADDITIONAL FACTS

The other 45,000 included at least 35,000 "beatniks", "hippies", and "peaceniks", vulgarly clad, profanely vocal against the U.S. government, militantly ready to act upon the emotional encitations that grew in volume and shrillness as the mobs approached the Pentagon Mall entrance—led by their own coldly dedicated cadres of "marshals" who controlled the mob.

From beginning to end, it was an unrestrained public spectacle of obscenity and immorality, an incredible challenge to all rules of moral conduct.

PLANNED ASSAULT

Approximately 50 men, white and black, formed the vanguard for the assault. Obviously, they were carrying out well-laid and well-rehearsed plans. The plan called for these "civil disobedience" leaders to make first bloody contact with the MP's and troops guarding the Pentagon, followed closely by surging mobs of the "peaceniks" and "hippies" who had been encited to riot by loudspeaker exhortations blarring from platforms hastily set up at the Pentagon steps. We heard the exhortations. We saw the "hippies" and their "peacenik" pals, male and female, rush in behind the vanguard cadres and advance on the MP's and Federal Marshals, spitting in their faces, reviling them with obscene profanity, and, yes, attacking the militia and getting their heads bloodied . . . a propaganda victory for Ho Chi Minh and World Communism of incalculable value.

The front man for the mammoth operation was David Dellinger, chairman of the "National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam". The New York Times and other newspapers pictured Dellinger, a New Yorker, as a lifelong "pacifist" and a present day "cool critic of war". But the Washington Star of Friday, just before the Saturday march, declined to butter-up the Yale-educated 52-year-old radical. It said that (at a time when he apparently did not know he was to be selected to lead the march on Washington) he had described himself as a "non-Soviet type Communist."

Dellinger, as well he might, declared himself extremely pleased with results of the operation at the Memorial and Pentagon. Much of the U.S.A. and most of the world got the picture which the Communists had planned and worked for. Next week: Heroes For Red Hanoi!

Looking Ahead: 50-Year-Old Menace

(By Dr. George S. Benson, president, national education program, Searcy, Ark.)

Fifty years ago, on November 6, 1917, a small number of Bolsheviks overthrew the Socialist government of Russia, which they had dominated in an informal, short-lived "coalition." They murdered all of its officialdom they could catch, and established Soviet Communism. The new government, first called the "Council of People's Commissars," was headed by Nikolai Lenin and had as its Foreign Affairs Commissar Leon Trotsky, and as Commissar for National Minorities Josef Stalin.

Under these three Reds and their successors—Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Kosygin—a world-girdling Communist juggernaut has been created and it has been responsible in 50 years for the murdering of an estimated 100 million people, other crimes against humanity that beggar description, the enslavement of nearly a billion people, drastic shifts in political geography and military power throughout the world, and profound and freightening changes in the thinking and behavior of multitudes of mankind.

CONFLICT OF OPINION

Many people in nations not yet held in the mammoth Red claw have come to recognize Soviet Communism as a dark and monstrous evil threatening the advance of civilization. These are resisting aggression and warning of the dangers. Other millions of people who have not concerned themselves with such an "unpleasantness", today "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil."

A number of vocal and extremely influential people in non-Communist countries, though themselves non-Communist, have come to accept Communism as a new world force with which non-Communist nations can and must work for world peace and progress. The commitment of the Communist International to the establishment of a "Communist World" by force, first announced by Lenin and constantly reaffirmed by Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Kozygin, simply never has been accepted as meaningful; or it is believed (by these people) to have been subsequently ditched by a "mellowing" Kremlin hierarchy. This viewpoint has been so persuasively (and, I believe, to some degree conspiratorially) injected into the highest decision-making echelon of our government that it now is the basis for important national policies and actions.

NOTHING HAS CHANGED

To sum up the "balance sheet" on Soviet Communism's 50 years, Eugene Lyons, for six years a United Press Correspondent in Moscow and now a Senior editor of Reader's Digest, has just published a book, "Workers' Paradise Lost" (Funk & Wagnalls, New York). In the book, Mr. Lyons rejects 21 "widespread myths" about Soviet Russia. Most important, he says the theory of a "mellowing" Soviet Communism, which has led the U.S. to protect Soviet-controlled Red Cuba and severely limit the action of our military forces fighting Communism in Vietnam, is phony and suicidal.

"The impulse of a wishful hoping world has been to exaggerate the supposed 'mellowing' in the Soviet empire," he writes. "In truth nothing fundamental has changed. Soviet Russia remains a rigidly totalitarian society, police-ridden and censor-ridden, ruled by the same party still led by men formed and hardened in Stalin's service. The awesome machinery of internal espionage and terror has not been dismantled. The power structure, ideology and morality that made Stalinism at its worst possible remain intact."

SURRENDER MORAL LEADERSHIP

Mr. Lyons reminds the framers and supporters of the U.S. policy of "building bridges" to the Kremlin, that Kremlin Communists past and present have been directly responsible for "at least 45 million deaths—in civil war, famines, torture chambers, and in concentration camps. At least as many more lives have been sacrificed in Red China and other communist countries," he notes. He labels present United States actions aiding the Soviet Communist leaders as "operation suicide", and, he says, the policy is a blow to freedom-loving people everywhere.

"Try to see this through the eyes of opponents of Communism, within and outside the Communist world, say in Cuba, India or Bolivia," he suggests. "The proof that Communism is acknowledged by the United States to be an acceptable way of life is a devastating blow. It leave these anti-Communists morally stranded. Why risk their lives to resist a system certified as acceptable by the world's most powerful democratic society? It all amounts to a surrender of American moral leadership in a world-wide contest with Communism."

Senator Nelson Wins Praise for Investigation of Drug Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, Senator GAYLORD NELSON is performing a great public service with his investigation of the drug industry. The junior Senator from Wisconsin has already uncovered practices of charging vastly differing prices for drugs of a similar nature, and revealed that trade-name drugs costs many times more than do their generic competitors. Furthermore, several presidents of drug firms admitted, at the Nelson hearings, that Americans pay higher prices for their drugs than do citizens of any other country.

The Portage, Wis., Daily Register recently paid tribute to Senator NELSON for his crusading efforts to protect the American consumer from excessively high drug prices. My colleagues may be interested in knowing that the young publisher of this newspaper, John Lavine, has been named as one of the five outstanding young men by the Wisconsin State Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Speaker, the Portage Daily Register editorial of November 30, 1967, praising Senator NELSON, follows:

[From the Portage (Wis.) Daily Register, Nov. 30, 1967]

A Bouquet to Nelson

After six months of hard work and much criticism, the Nelson committee, headed by senator Gaylord Nelson, D–Wisconsin, has scored outstanding achievements of its investigation of the drug industry.

Though the committee has a great deal of further work to handle, its accomplishments to date are notable.

First, Mr. George Squibb, former vice-president of a top drug firm, broke industry ranks with a 30 page memo which said high drug prices, "cannot be justified satisfactorily."

Second, two huge drugstore chains announced new policies designed to encourage doctors to use official or generic drug names in prescriptions, rather than higher priced trade names.

Third, five major drug company presidents admitted in testimony before the committee that Americans pay higher prices for their drugs than citizens of any other country—even when comparing identical drugs from a single manufacturer.

In his pointed remarks to other members of the drug industry, Squibb said, "The Achilles heel of the pharmaceutical industry is high drug prices." He pointed out that tradename drugs often cost 6–10–20 times more than their generic competitors."

"It is not enough to say that trade-name drugs should be expected to cost more." Squibb said; "It is the size of this differential that seems to be inexplicable by any normal standards of accounting . . ."

Striking down another popular drug industry claim, Squibb said "The industry . . . cannot lay all of its higher prices to research expense." He said, "The drug industry has never refuted the late Senator Kefauver's findings that research costs of the 20 major drug companies represented only 6.4 percent of the total sales dollar."

Squibb also hit at the sweeping claim that tradename drugs are better than generic drugs so, "You get what you pay for." He said . . . There can be real differences in drugs . . . the question of whether these differences are worth extra cost to the patient and, if so, how much extra cost, is the central question . . . It is growing increasingly doubtful if they are worth the large difference in price that now exists . . ."

In the Kefauver tradition, Nelson has challeged a giant and emerged a winner.

Ad the greatest beneficiary is the American citizen.

Congressman Horace Kornegay Puts First Things First and Is Esteemed by All

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] has proved himself to be an able legislator. His advice is sought by many, including myself. He has sponsored constructive, progressive legislation and has been rewarded by seeing it become law for the benefit of our country. His leadership among us is great and he would have every expectation of increasing leadership here if he were to stay among us. So, not only we will miss him when he leaves, but our country and his State will as well.

In his committee assignments on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Veterans' Affairs Committee he has worked for such outstanding laws as the Drug Control Act, the Cigarette Labeling Act, the Traffic Safety Act, the Mental Health Act, and for various laws improving benefits for veterans such as the War Orphans' Education Act, legislation for medical research in the Veterans' Administration, for group life insurance, and a host of others.

Yet, he has decided not to run for reelection because he feels that the job of a Congressman makes it impossible for him to give the time and energy that he should to his family. In my mind this is putting first things first; and he deserves our praise for the reason of his decision, although we all regret that he made such a decision. Selfishly, we would like to keep him with us, but reason leads us to understand his decision. The sessions of Congress have become longer and longer. A Congressman with school-age children customarily never gets a chance to have a vacation with his children when the schools are out during the summer. Most of his "free time" is spent on his constituents' problems. We can all understand his decision but we will all miss him greatly.

Francis Cardinal Spellman

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to imagine New York without Cardinal Spellman.

My colleagues have ably and eloquently described his achievements and the multitude of contributions that he made to our city.

In these remarks, I would prefer to speak in a more personal vein of some of the memories I have of this remarkable man.

I can see him vividly, only a few years ago, marching down Fifth Avenue in a Memorial Day parade, his sturdy stride somehow expressing his love of his city and his country and his determination to carry on all his obligations, even at an age when most men would have been slowing down.

One of the many facets of Cardinal Spellman's personality which was not often mentioned was his wit. I witnessed this on the day of dedication ceremonies at Misericordia Hospital. The mayor was delayed in arriving, and the cardinal kept a crowd that would otherwise have been restive in gales of laughter with one sally after another. Finally, after his own supply of amusing remarks and anecdotes had been exhausted, he looked out hopefully at the crowd and asked, "Can anybody sing?"

The cardinal's energy was amazing. A close friend of mine, a much younger man, than the cardinal, accompanied him on a tour of Latin America. After 10 days, my friend was utterly exhausted from the pace, although he ruefully admitted it was not he who was making all the speeches, receiving all the dignitaries, maintaining a smiling presence in the midst of all kinds of unforeseen frustrations. Yet, the cardinal, who had been doing all these things, seemed to be as fresh at the end of a series of 18-hour days as he had been at the beginning.

The stories of Cardinal Spellman's ability to raise money for enterprises in which he believed are many. One institution in which he was deeply interested was the Lavelle School for the Blind in the Bronx. One of the officers of that institution told me of the incredible fashion in which the cardinal would walk into a room full of businessmen gathered for the purpose and, with a few words and a cherubic smile, proceed to extract from them pledges of several times the amounts they had planned to give. Seemingly it was impossible to refuse or disappoint him.

The throngs of mourners who have been passing through St. Patrick's Cathedral all this week attest to the deep affection felt for the cardinal by millions of New Yorkers. It is an understatement to say that he will be sorely missed.

Tribute to Raul Guerra

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, I brought to the attention of the Members of the House, the heavy sacrifice being made by Americans in the Vietnamese civil war. Since that time, our involvement in that bloody conflict has been broadened, and, as could be expected, so have our casualties mounted.

Last week, 99 American boys of the U.S. 173d Airborne Brigade's 2d Battalion alone, lost their lives in the battle of Dak To. Most of the battalion's men were killed in the successful drive to take hill 875. That particular hill is now considered secure, but, as one reflective news correspondent commented later, massive and foreboding hills abound in any direction to the horizon. I think you will agree, that the victory rings hollow, especially when one considers that 99 young Americans lost their lives in that one battle.

I wish that I had the time to bring before this distinguished body of Representatives, a fact sheet on the 99 who were killed for that one hill. I am sure that it would reflect that, as a group, they were very young men, barely beginning their lives. Some were married and had families waiting, the others anticipated such a life upon their return. But return, they did not.

Neither will many others return. Harsh reality forces us to recognize this sad fact. The sorrow of a death in Vietnam is repeated over and over again across America. For an increasing number of Americans, the sorrow becomes less remote as one hears of a boy from the local neighborhood, a young American boy with a success story behind him, and the good prospect of one before him, who falls in Vietnam on some mountain, or in some rice paddy.

Such a young man was Raul Guerra, who lived with his mother, Mrs. Margaret Pavloff, at 301 South Sadler Avenue, Los Angeles, before being summoned to active duty on January 5, 1966. The war in Vietnam took this young man's life.

Now, his story is told by former associates and friends in a final tribute to his memory and his contribution to his community. I offer that story for the perusal of my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, so that we might all be once again reminded that every single casualty statistic cabled back to this country from the jungles, mountains, and rice paddies of Vietnam, represents a human being and a story.

The tribute, presented by the board of directors of the Mexican-American Business and Professional Men's Scholarship Association and the president and staff of East Los Angeles College, follows:

TRIBUTE TO RAUL GUERRA

We, the Board of Directors of the Mexican-American Business and Professional Men's Scholarship Association and the President and Staff of East Los Angeles College (926 S. Atlantic Blvd, Los Angeles, and 5357 E. Brooklyn Ave., Los Angeles), join together to pay a final tribute to Raul Guerra, a former MABPMSA scholarship winner and graduate of ELAC, who was killed while in the service of his country on Sunday, October 8, in Vietnam. We salute this young man, whose career at age 25 was just beginning to unfold, for living by the code "Do unto others . . ." After receiving a scholarship from the Association, he used his talents to assist with the founding of the Association newspaper Prodigal Sun. As editor, he worked diligently so that other students of Mexican descent might be helped.

Raul, born in Ensenada, Mexico, majored in journalism while at East Los Angeles College and received several honors and awards for sports and news writing. These included the Clete Robert's Scholarship, the Constitution Savings and Loan Scholarship, the Pacific Savings and Loan Scholarship, and the Lions Club newswriting award. Other presentations were the Lamp Optimist Scholarship, journalism Achievement Award, the Gold Seal, and Arthur Baum Scholarships both as a high school graduate in 1963 and upon graduation from ELA College in Spring 1966. He was also editor, editor-in-chief, and managing editor for the college newspaper Campus News. He was active in Interclub Council, Associated Men's Students, Newman Club, College Hour Committee and Associated Student Council. During the Spring of 1964, he served first as vice president of the Associated Student Council. In addition to being Beta Phi Gamma president, he was selected as the Man of the Year, an award sponsored by Bank of America vied for at all two-year colleges in the city of Los Angeles.

Raul joined the U.S. Naval Reserves July 17, 1965 and transferred to active duty January 5, 1966. Stationed on the U.S.S. Oriskany, he was killed in a crash on a Vietnam mountainside while gathering background data to supplement a story for the aircraft carrier's newspaper which he edited. He is survived by his widowed mother, Mrs. Margaret Pavloff, 301 S. Sadler Avenue, Los Angeles.

It is not our intent or the purpose of this tribute to question the merits of the larger conflict itself. History shall soon decide whether the loss of this life and others shall have provided for the well-being of our country commensurate to the sacrifices involved. We, Directors and Administration, present this tribute so that the fading process of memory shall be delayed, or replaced entirely, so that he may be remembered by this community as an attitude to be fostered and nurtured . . . not lost. The Mexican-American Business and Professional Men's Scholarship Association shall award many scholarships in his name. Experience has shown us, however, that to givers and recipients these are moments of joy. But is it not a joy tempered by sober reflections of posterity which shapes attitudes most effectively? It is for this reason that we, who knew him as student, recipient and friend, appeal to George Brown, Congressman of this district, that he record our moment of grief before Congress and the people of the United States.

President Johnson Builds for Peace in 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson eloquently reminded the Nation in remarks to the Foreign Policy Conference for Business Executives that 1967 has been a year of "remarkable constructive achievements for the people of the world community."

As the President made clear, behind the glaring headlines of conflict and international tension, the United States has moved boldly to lay the cornerstones of a durable and lasting peace.

Behind our firm shield in Vietnam, the threatened nations of Asia have, in the President's words, "been able to get on with the real work of peace."

Tensions with the Soviet Union have been reduced by ratification of the Consular Treaty to protect American citizens in Russia; the historic Outer Space Treaty to assure peaceful exploration of the firmaments; and agreement on a draft nuclear nonproliferation treaty to control the spread of nuclear weapons after 25 tension-laden years of the nuclear age.

During 1967, the economic interdependence of the free world has been greatly accentuated with successful completion of the historic Kennedy round lowering trade barriers, the Rio Accord creating a new international reserve currency to facilitate international transactions, and the Punta del Este Conference, bringing the dream of Latin American cooperation closer to reality.

The works of peace—lessening Middle Eastern tensions, advancing constructive regionalism, eradicating the poverty and ignorance which breeds violence—are quiet works. They make few headlines and incite no demonstrations. But they are making this uneasy planet a better, more tranquil, more tolerant place to live.

The seeds which President Johnson has so diligently planted in 1967 will one day bloom into the world order we all seek and that will create headlines indeed.

Under unanimous consent I insert into the RECORD the President's important statement to the Foreign Policy Conference for Business Executives and to the Nation:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE FOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES, DECEMBER 4, 1967, STATE DEPARTMENT

First I want to welcome you here and tell you how delighted I am that I can be with you. I want to thank each of you for your generosity. I have thought for some time that it was about time someone threw a benefit for Dean Rusk. This is one of the loveliest rooms to throw it in in all of Washington, even though the windows are barred.

When Dean Rusk first took his job as Secretary of State, I am told that he made one request. He wanted a room with a good view, so he was put up here on the seventh and eighth floors.

He asked for one more thing. He wanted to have the windows sealed. "Why?" he was asked. "Simple," he said, "it is too far to jump and too high for the pickets to climb."

But Dean forgot all about the birds. They tell me they flock to his window sill every single day. As everybody knows in this country, and most other countries, the Secretary of State is a very wonderfully kind, gentle, understanding and generous man. Every morning Mrs. Rusk gives him a little bag of bread crumbs to bring down to the office with him so he can feed these native birds through the day. The sparrows and the starlings seem very grateful and appreciative, but as you must have observed, there is just no pleasing the appetites of these doves and hawks.

Someone told me that there were some pickets outside while you were registering. I am getting to be an expert these days on pickets' signs myself. I think there must have been a switch in some of those that were used yesterday. The way it was reported to me, one read "Unleash Rostow."

You may have noticed that a great deal of care went into the preparation for your briefings. One reason is that business is entitled to very great respect in this country of ours. Outside of Government, it is really the only place left where a man can find a job. You may know that there are at least a few people who are out job hunting these days.

A publisher of a children's book on penguins recently sent copies to a group of youngsters to get their opinions. One young lady replied: "This is a good book on penguins—but it told me more about penguins than I wish to know."

After looking around at some of these briefers, I am afraid that you have heard a lot more about foreign policy in your briefings than you would wish to know.

The threads of foreign policy extend throughout the fabric of our national life. You cannot find the significance of any one thread without seeing its relationship to the whole.

It is not always easy to keep that in mind in the echo of gunfire.

Today, America's eyes are on Vietnam. The minds of our people are centered on the hills and rice paddies where our men are out there fighting.

Our presence in Vietnam is in keeping with a foreign policy which has guided this Nation for 20 years. Four Presidents, 11 Congresses, and the most thoughtful men of our generation have endorsed that policy and situation and have built that policy from the ground up.

For two decades, we have made it clear that we will use our strength to block aggression when our security is threatened, and when—as in Vietnam—the victims of aggression ask for our help and are prepared to struggle for their own independence and freedom.

Our strength, and America's commitment to use that strength, has served as a shield. Behind this shield, threatened nations have been able to get on with the real work of peace. They have been busy building stable societies and relieving the bitter misery of their people. Where we have been able to—where our assistance has been wanted—where it has been properly matched by self-help—we have used our wealth to help them and help feed them. For we have learned that violence breeds in poverty, disease, hunger, and ignorance.

Our purpose is not to breed violence, but to build peace.

The test of our policy is whether the time we have bought has been used to the end that we are building peace.

The evidence of 20 years suggests that we are meeting that test.

Western Europe's recovery from the ruins of war seems like ancient history to some of you here tonight. But it was only yesterday. Many thought it could not happen in our lifetime, but it did happen—with our help, and behind our shield of protection, and behind our sacrifices of lives and dollars.

Twenty years ago it was clear to the leaders of Western Europe that our shield there was necessary to their future.

Today it is equally clear to Asian leaders that our presence in Vietnam is vital, is necessary, is a must to Asia's tomorrow.

There has been much talk in the United States about the so-called "domino theory"—the theory that if South Vietnam shoud fall, its neighbors would topple one after the other. As I pointed out in a speech I recently made in San Antonio, the threat of Communist domination is not a matter of theory for Asians. Communist domination for Asians is a matter of life and death.

But it is now clear to all Asians that South Vietnam is not going to fall. In every capital of Free Asia that fact has already registered, and registered well. It is being acted upon. What is happening in Asia might really be called the "domino theory in reverse." We do not need to speculate about the results. We know what has happened since we made our stand clear in Vietnam.

Just a few years ago, Southeast Asia was only a geographic phrase. Its separate states had no sense of identity with each other.

All of those states were overwhelmed by the size of their own domestic problems.

Moreover—and most important—they were hynotized by the menace of China.

Out of this fear—this sense of isolation—this awareness of desperate problems—grew something ominous. It was a paralysis of the will to progress. There was a hopeless feeling among all Asians that they were the victims, rather than the forgers, of their own destiny.

Now, in the span of a few years, all of that has changed, I am glad to say, and the major agent of that change has been America's firmness in Asia.

Behind the shield of our commitment there, hope has quickened in the nations of Asia.

They are banded together in regional institutions to attack common problems: to pool their information about how to get more from their land; to explore new ways to bring education to their villages; to join in the fight against disease; and to improve their trade with each other, build new industries, and pull together for the economic development of the entire area.

I do not want to generate false optimism here tonight. I do not want to suggest that all the problems of these nations will be solved soon or easily.

But I do suggest that when men weigh the pros and cons of our commitment in Vietnam, they consider this:

The war in Asia is not merely saving South Vietnam from aggression. It is also giving Asia a chance to organize a regional life of progress, cooperation, and stability.

This is no new objective. Our Government supported the Southeast Asia Treaty in 1954 precisely because the stability of that part of the world was judged by the President and the Secretary of State in 1954 and the United States Senate by a vote of 82 to 1 in 1955 to be vital to the security of you and your boys and your girls and your families, you Americans.

The passage of time, I think, has proved that the President, the Secretary, and the Senate's judgment was absolutely correct. I think it is vital to our security.

Now, there are a a lot of people who do not think so. There are a lot of people who are looking for the fire escape and the easy way out. They were doing that in Mussolini's time. They did it in Hitler's time. They did not think that this was important to the security of the United States until it was almost too late.

We waited a long time here, but better late than never, and now, behind America's protective shield, progress is in motion in Asia where there was none just a few years ago.

This development is as significant for the peace of the whole world as the activities in Europe that I discussed, and the rebirth of Europe after World War II that all of us participated in. None of us should ever forget that more than half of all human beings in the world live in Asia, and there can be no peace in the world when half of the human beings live in an unstable condition.

On the periphery of the Orient, a new Asia is already building. I saw it. I went there last year. I visited their countries and their peoples.

As this new Asia becomes a firm reality, there is a decent hope that the people on the mainland will also turn their minds to the challenge of economic and social development. There is a decent hope that they will turn to the task of living in dignity and mutual respect with their neighbors.

But our foreign policy is concerned not merely with Asia, but with all the world. And we have acted on that judgment. I want to review very briefly, because you don't hear anything but the complaints that sometimes seem to overshadow the progress we make. The constructive decisions, the march we make forward, doesn't make very interesting reading or reporting.

We achieved a trilateral agreement with Germany and Great Britain which stabilized our troop levels in Germany and dealt with the balance of payments problems caused by their location.

We achieved a successful negotiation of the Kennedy Round bringing advantages to the whole world, and a few weeks before it looked rather grim.

We achieved a preliminary monetary accord in London which led to the agreement at Rio with all the other members of the IMF—laying the basis for a new international reserve currency.

In the face of the devaluation of the pound, we worked with the industrial nations of the Free World. Our men have been crossing back over the Atlantic on weekends to keep other exchange rates stable and the international system strong.

We are working with the Soviet Union, our NATO partners, and the other nations of the world to achieve a non-proliferation treaty—which, when complete—will give all countries the opportunity to benefit from the peaceful uses of nuclear technology while reducing the risks of nuclear war.

In this past week we have moved toward a common position with the industrialized countries of the world to establish special trading benefits which will accelerate progress among the developing nations of the world.

We have concluded this year two treaties with the Soviet Union, the Consular Treaty and the Space Treaty. They have been ratified by the United States Senate.

These achievements rarely make the headlines and interest the average citizen. But they are real achievements and real accomplishments, and a failure in any one would make a lot of noise. They represent the acceptance of joint responsibilities between enlightened leaders. And we are prepared to build upon them.

In the months ahead, I would like to see us work with the institutions of the European communities and with other industrialized nations of the world to make our policies of assistance to the developing nations more effective.

If we have demonstrated that we can work on all of these things that I have outlined, we ought to demonstrate that we can work together in making policies of assistance to developing nations. We should work to strengthen further the world monetary situation: to consider together the problems and possibilities of flows of capital and technology back and forth among us; and finally, to examine together and exchange experiences on the problems we all share, the problems of the urban life, the problems of the modern-day cities that have grown every day and they have reached a point now where they must be dealt with quickly and effectively.

What we have achieved in this year goes beyond these great initiatives:

After a year's careful preparation, we had the Summit Conference at Punta del Este at which the nations of Latin America committed themselves to go forward toward economic integration—with our support.

We have moved from a dangerous war in the Middle East to an agreed resolution within which a representative of the United Nations will be seeking a stable peace for that troubled region in the months ahead. I shudder to think what could have happened if we had not taken that step and what might have happened if we had not been successful in bringing about a ceasefire in the Middle East just a few months ago.

We have worked with others to avoid massive bloodshed in the Congo. To the concerned Senators I see tonight, the last of the American C–130 transport planes will leave the Congo at the end of this week. We have thrown our support behind the regional and sub-regional efforts of the Africans to build a modern life through cooperation—a process that is quietly moving forward in East Africa and greatly advanced by the current conference at Dakar in West Africa.

Tomorrow, the Secretary early in the morning and the Vice President and I a little later in the day, will be meeting with a distinguished American who has been trying to leave public service now for about seven years. He has had to come back when we have demonstrations. He has had to go to Detroit to help when we have problems there. He has been in Cyprus and Greece and Turkey trying to solve that matter.

Mr. Cyrus Vance is returning after a successful effort in which Greece and Turkey drew back from the brink of war and opened the way to solve a serious problem.

This has been a year of remarkable constructive achievement for the people by the world community, despite the struggle in Vietnam.

If the generations which come after us live at peace at all, it is going to be because this generation held the shield and supplied the courage and the fortitude and determination by which peace was built and because we stubbornly labored to build that peace instead of finding a cheap, dishonorable way out of it.

To those of you who have come here to provide this benefit for Dean Rusk, this rather unusual event, I want to say to you that we have 41 alliances around the world where the commitment and the signature and the agreement of the United States is present—where your President and your Senate and your leadership have made commitments for this nation.

Now, Dean Rusk didn't make them and I didn't make them. We just have to keep them. If you will keep the faith, we will keep the commitments.

Salisbury, Rhodesia: "A Nightmare"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished correspondent, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times, has recently written a vivid article about Rhodesia. He starts by saying that when he was last in Salisbury, 14 years ago, it was a city of "energy and dreams"; now it lives in a "self-made stultified nightmare." I believe Mr. Sulzberger's observations are of particular interest, since he can hardly be classified as a "flaming liberal."

His article, which appeared in the New York Times November 29, follows:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: FROM DREAM TO NIGHTMARE

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

SALISBURY, RHODESIA.—When I was last here fourteen years ago this was a city of energy and dreams. Now it lives in a self-made stultified nightmare.

In 1953 the economy had started to boom, foreign capital was coming in, the talk was of federation with neighboring Zambia and Malawi (Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). The Capricorn Society was stimulating new Africa to the problems of multiracial societies.

JUST A MEMORY

Today all this is just a fading memory. A mediocre group of politicians and bureaucrats, anesthetized by its own propaganda, leads this lovely, spacious land toward bleak calamity. The range of official thought extends from a Goldwater left to a John Birch right. Not even in Algeria, where unpardonable French mistakes over twenty years brought about needless expulsion of a huge European community, has there been such an imposing record of stupidity.

There are probably less than 225,000 whites in Rhodesia now, or fewer than two years ago when the unilateral declaration of independence (U.D.I.) was proclaimed. There are over four million blacks. In twenty years, at present rates, there will be about 300,000 whites and nine million blacks. Yet Prime Minister Ian Smith, who announced U.D.I. says majority (meaning black) rule will never come during his lifetime.

Nobody, not even Harold Wilson, who symbolizes British disagreement with Smith, wants immediate black government, and London has suggested a reasonable period of preparation for ultimate takeover. But the present regime, wholly unaware of reality in the outer world, seems to feel the tail can forever wag the dog. Even the annual 12,000 immigration of whites deemed necessary to maintain the present disproportion isn't coming—nor anything like it.

RESERVOIR OF DISCONTENT

Meanwhile, thousands of Africans are still being at least partially educated each year in Rhodesia and these relatively educated Africans are thrown into a labor market swollen by unemployment. The result is to create a rising reservoir of discontent. Employment of blacks has declined 28,000 in the two years since U.D.I.

Only an expanding economy could absorb this yeast of African expectations, but the growth in G.N.P. that preceded U.D.I. has ceased. Exports have shrunk £165 million in 1965, when U.D.I. came in, to £105 million last year, after U.N. sanctions were first applied. This year they are likely to be even smaller.

Rhodesia's whites have worked themselves into the position of the inhabitants of Plato's famous cave who, chained into fixed positions before a fire, were convinced that the shadows they saw reflected were reality itself. Wherever he goes and no matter how he contradicts himself, Smith is greeted with ovations. Yet, although 2,000 Rhodesians risked trouble by signing the official register of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the isolated Governor representing Britain, this was unmentioned by the censored press and radio.

Gibbs plays a singular role. He is accorded neither position nor recognition by the regime and is officially an unperson. Yet when Smith wants to convey any message of importance to London he personally calls on the non-existent Governor—and behaves in a friendly way.

How all this will end can surely not be foreseen. The Rhodesians, reading nothing but their own papers and listening to their booby bureaucrats, are convinced they are being victimized by the outer world about which they know so little.

They are furthermore, persuaded that South Africa and Portugal will back them to the end—which is wildly improbable. They are building up an ever-increasing mountain of Negro frustration at home and then express resentment that Negroes abroad are enraged.

AFRICAN TERRIORISTS

Everyone knows that Algeria, Tanzania, and other African countries, aided by China and Cuba are training African terrorists and shipping them to Zambia, next door. One batch of these terrorists, comparatively well instructed and resolute, invaded Rhodesia and South Africa last summer but was smashed in a joint operation. Obviously that was just a start. In a sense its mission was to write a warning on the wall.

Rhodesia should be a paradise with its vast plains and uplands, its rivers waiting to be harnessed to irrigation and electric projects, its impressive capital, its tough, industrious people. All it lacks is common sense, wise government and awareness that this is the latter third of the twentieth century. Brighter men than Ian Smith have failed to put the clock back.

Ned Breathitt Will Leave Outstanding Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, as a Republican, I am pleased that on next Tuesday, we in Kentucky will have a Republican Governor. Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, I feel that our outgoing Governor—a a Democrat—should be given the recognition which his term of office deserves.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the Record a recent editorial from the Kentucky Post:

NED WILL LEAVE OUTSTANDING RECORD

Ned Breathitt is all but packed up and ready to return to his home hearth at Hopkinsville as private citizen, former governor.

And when he assumes that role, he can do it with head held high for the distinguished record he has made in the past four-years.

Gov. Breathitt's administration has been achievement, of progress in many fields.

For instance:

Great strides have been made in new and expanded plant construction, and in the nonagricultural jobs they provide.

And though falling short of the billion-dollar farm economy goal he set for himself, he has each year come closer.

Highway construction in Kentucky has been phenomenal, north and south across the state and from Appalachia to the Pennyrile and Purchase.

Construction on the campuses of our colleges and universities has changed them almost beyond recognition.

Gov. Breathitt has been lauded in the state and out of it for his efforts for conservation, particularly control of the defacing strip mines.

He has stirred interest in our 175-year-old Commonwealth's heritage and historical landmarks, and continued improvement and expansion of the state's fine parks for Kentuckians and the thronging tourists.

Among his personal innovations were the Citizens' Days when he made himself available to visitors, one and all. And also the Governor's Days, when he and his Cabinet set up shop in cities in various corners of the Commonwealth.

Thus he kept in touch with the tenor of the times.

Ned further gained wide recognition, and responsible duties, among his fellow governors in the south and midwest.

His has been an image good for Kentucky.

His has been an administration good for Kentucky.

His hometown will honor him today, a brief few days before his term expires. He has earned the plaudits.

Ned Breathitt steps down as Chief Executive on Dec. 12. But we feel he is too young and his record too impressive for him long to remain insulated from the call of governmental service at one level or another.

Whatever his course, his future, we wish him well.

Resor Sours Cadets Sugar Bowl Hopes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to an editorial which appeared in the November 29 issue of the Army Times about Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor's decision which denied the Army football team bowl participation.

I insert the editorial here and then I will comment on it:

RESOR SOURS CADETS SUGAR BOWL HOPES

Army Secretary Stanley Resor is hardly in contention for any popularity contest titles ever since the nation's sportswriters presented him with their very own version of the annual booby prize for barring the Black Knights from jousting in the Sugar Bowl.

Following the news of Resor's goof, we couldn't help but wonder how a former Military Academy Superintendent (Gen. Douglas MacArthur) would have handled this situation. His classic tome seems most appropriate now: "Upon the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds that, upon other fields on other days, will bear the fruits of victory."

Compare this with the Resor's reasoning: "It was concluded that accepting an invitation to play in a postseason bowl game would tend to emphasize football to an extent not consistent with the basic mission of the academy, which is to produce officers."

This admonition only proved that cadets are also human beings. When word from Big Daddy sailed up the Hudson the cadets reacted with typical disgust, piling sugar on mess hall tables and removing all the empty sugar bowls.

It must have been small consolation to the team and to millions of Army fans throughout the world that Resor, according to an official spokesman, hasn't closed the door to future bowl bids. "In other words," the spokesman said, "if Army were to get a future bowl bid, the Secretary would consider it then."

Now all the cadets have to do is win 8 of 9 games again!

But active Army sports officials should be able to take this type of "special treatment" without flinching. Following a successful Army post-level football season in 1964 climaxed by Fort Benning's Missile Bowl victory over Quantico Marines, the Army Chief of Staff with little warning decided to ban future play among Stateside teams.

The reasons, then as now: (1) the Vietnam War and (2) too much training time would be lost. Evidently the Secretaries of the Air Force and Navy thought it was just as important to continue because it has been football-as-usual at Lackland AFB, Tex., Quantico Marines and Pensacola NAS, Fla.

Pentagon watchers must see the banning of cadet bowl games as an exercise in futility prompted by Resor's overreacting to bad advice. We are wondering if the Secretary would have resorted to his curt "explanation" if he had known that public reaction would be hostile.

But he should have lent an ear first to Louisiana Representative F. Edward Hébert who could have reminded him that both Air Force and Navy have played in bowl games since 1955 without any apparent loss in combat efficiency today.

To set the record straight, I personally warned the Secretary of the Army of the reaction which would take place and personally brought to bear all the facts in the case.

I called to his attention the recommendation of the 1955 Board of Visitors to West Point, which was chaired by Gen. Lucius Clay. Col. Earl H. "Red" Blaik, who was at that time head coach and athletic director, gave his full approval to participation in a bowl game by the Army football team.

Twenty-four hours before the formal announcement, I urged Secretary Resor to reconsider, but he refused.

The editorial says that an "official spokesman" said that the door to future bowl bids has not been closed. "In other words, if Army were to get a future bowl bid, the Secretary would consider it then," the spokesman was quoted as saying. With the attitude which has been displayed by the Secretary in his recent decision, how can he consider a future bowl bid without it being overemphasis on football?

The simple facts are that Secretary Resor robbed a gallant football team from doing much good for all men in uniform and also robbed the Military Academy from an opportunity to boost its recruiting.

You cannot play a 9–1 or 8–2 season every year.

Perhaps Secretary Resor will be a former Secretary when the Army team again earns the right and honor of being considered for a bowl game.

Godspeed Wished General Tompkins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, for the past 18 months Maj. Gen. R. McC. Tompkins, USMC, has been the Commanding General of the Marine Corps Recruit Depot at Parris Island, S.C. During that period he also made himself part of the community. His local civic efforts have been so appreciated that an article about them appearing in the Savannah Morning News for November 18, 1967, has been sent to me by Mayor Monroe W. Key, of Beaufort, S.C.

Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased at this time to include the article in full at this point in the Record:

Godspeed Wished General Tompkins

(By Jim Littlejohn)

Beaufort, S.C.—A tall man is leaving the Beaufort community next week.

Tall, not only in physical stature, but tall in the fact that his shoulders and head tower above most of us in the areas of ability, gentility and genuine friendliness.

The man's name is Rathvon McClure Tompkins—by title a major general in the United States Marine Corps—by persuasion a dedicated American patriot—by nature a true gentleman.

He has spent the past 18 months as a part of the Beaufort community, not only in his position as commanding general of the Marine Recruit Depot at Parris Island, but also as an interested, active citizen.

He is leaving, not through choice, but because once again his country has need of his services in foreign climes and has called on him as it has many times since 1935.

But to men like Gen. Tompkins, his country's need is his choice—and has been ever so since he became a member of the Marine Corps well over 30 years ago.

And he is not going to some soft billet, usually reserved for general officers on overseas assignments. He is going to the most rugged hell-hole American fighting men have ever had to face, near the so-called Demilitarized Zone in the northern part of the Republic of South Vietnam. He is going there to replace the first Marine general ever to lose his life on the battlefield—and as such he is entering his own special page in the history books.

I have not known the general as long as most Beaufortonians. I came here a short five months ago and really knew little about Marines in general or Parris Island in particular, other than what I had seen in Movies starring John Wayne and Randolph Scott.

What I have learned in the short time I have been here is that Parris Island makes boys into men, that Marines are tall men—and that Gen. Tompkins is a Marine.

A tall man is leaving the Beaufort Community next week—and concurring with Miles Burbage of the Beaufort Gazette, we wish him Godspeed, a safe tour and a quick journey home.

Vietnam: The Crises of Escalation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues a recent article entitled "Crises of Escalation" written by Dr. Stanley M. Wagner, rabbi, Baldwin Jewish Centre, in Baldwin, N.Y.

Dr. Wagner was a guest clergyman in the House of Representatives. He delivered the opening prayer in the House on February 21, 1967. Rabbi Wagner holds a number of important positions within the Long Island Jewish community, among them, president of the Long Island Commission of Orthodox Rabbis, first vice president of the Nassau-Suffolk Association of Rabbis—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform—and chaplain of the South Nassau Community Hospital.

Dr. Wagner, in his November 17, 1967, article in the Baldwin Jewish Centre Beacon, presents an historical look at the practical political difficulties which other nations have experienced in halting the spiral of escalation.

I place the article in the Record at this point and encourage my colleagues to review this analysis of the "Crises of Escalation":

Crisis of Escalation

The war in Vietnam is on everyone's mind. But, like the weather, it has become, it appears, beyond our ability to control. In this regard, a colleague of mine, Rabbi Zebulun Charlop, shared with me an insight on the Torah reading of this week which is so timely and so true in its application that I wish to commend it to your attention.

The episode contained in our scriptural portion is familiar to everyone. It is the story of the "binding of Isaac" on the altar (*the Akedah*). In a supreme test of faith, God commands Abraham to take his beloved son Isaac, for whose birth he and Sarah had shed an oceanful of tears almost to the point of despair, and bring him up to the mountain of Moriah and there to offer him as a human sacrifice. But just as Abraham stretched out his hand to do the deed, an angel of the Lord called to him out of the heavens and said, "lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him!"

Our Sages, intrigued by the apparent repetition "lay not your hand upon the lad" and then "neither do anything unto him," which is a redundancy, claim that the angel was forced to reiterate his stricture because *incredible as it may seem, Abraham already set in motion to slay his child, found it difficult, psychologically, to stop short*. As happy as he was with this last minute reprieve sparing Isaac, he could not reverse himself entirely. He was poised to draw some blood. It was to counteract this impulse that the angel repeats "neither do anything unto him."

We have always felt uncomfortable with this explanation. Is it conceivable that Abraham, whom tradition has designated as the fount of kindness and mercy and whose love for child is unrivaled in the annals of mankind, could have been seized by an almost uncontrollable urge to wound his son? Yet, we believe that here, in this gesture, was evidenced an insight into human nature whose truth has been sadly demonstrated over and over again throughout history. *Once the knife is taken in hand, it becomes hard, very hard, not to cut.*

Often times, the sword is raised in defense of noble and lofty causes. But, almost just as often, the erstwhile benevolent and idealistic progenitors of these "just" struggles, caught up in the momentum of violence, do not know how or when to stop. When France erupted against King Louis and Marie Antoinette and brought down the old regime, the guillotine continued its bloody work, almost automatically, and counted among its heavy toll many of the revolution's most precious children.

Barbara Tuchman, in her memorable *Arms of August*, tells how powerless the Kaiser was just hours before his own armies were scheduled to attack and he so desperately wanted to call off the first World War. His general told him, "It's too late. The trains are on their way already. We can't call them back!"

There are, on the other hand, two glorious and telling examples of nations who, though forced to take up the blade of war, were able, just as easily, to lay it down again once their liberty was secured and protected. In remarkable contrast to the bloody aftermath of the French Revolution stands the august example of forbearance and forgiveness exercised by the founders of our own nation. Not one execution, not one reprisal or act of vengeance, is recorded in the chronicles of the post-revolutionary period in America. Similarly, in our own day, this was true of the miraculous six day Israeli-Arab war of last June. As swift as was Israel's triumph, so immediate was her unbreached determination to stop cutting when it was no longer necessary.

We don't like to be self righteous about it. But it was precisely the strength mustered to stop cutting, which distinguished the American Revolution from all the major revolutions of modern times—the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and now, the Chinese Revolution—and gave America its special character and greatness.

Nevertheless, never before has America been so wracked with conscience as now. We do not believe for a moment that there is another person in our land more desirous of peace than our President. And yet, willy nilly, we seem to be escalating from one crashing level of violence and destruction to another—no longer masters of our own destiny.

Is it that we have lost that marvelous capacity of our forefathers, whether it be Abraham in the fateful hills of Canaan, or Washington after the British surrender in Yorktown, to stop? Indeed, the words immediately following the angel's cry to Abraham to let Isaac alone, "for now I know that you are God fearing", encompass in their reference not only the patriarch's unmatched demonstration of his fidelity to God, but also his ability to halt in mid air—to suspend the momentum of hand and knife. In this wise, he equally proved that he was a God fearing man.

In a broad sense we have been a God fearing nation. But this is not an unchanging condition. History summons us in each and every generation to confirm what we are. If we are drawing blood in Vietnam because of principle—that is one thing. But if we are pursuing our devastating course because we don't know how to stop—that is quite another thing, and it is unpardonable. The lesson of the Akeda is plain for our time.

Dr. Stanley M. Wagner.

Mr. Speaker, regardless of our individual views on the Vietnam war we must not fail to understand the danger of a continuing escalation of the conflict. It is for this reason that I have urged our Secretary of State to press for United Nations consideration of the Vietnam question. I fervently hope that world opinion—expressed through the only available forum for nations to express themselves—may have an opportunity to bring both sides to the conference table and to "suspend the momentum of hand and knife" and help to bring this war to an end with an honorable peace.

Reformed Yugoslavia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in yesterday's Record, at page H16272, I had commented on the present Yugoslavian Communist puppet government and the obvious attempt by some in our country to legitimatize it and its leaders.

The same day a feature article appeared in the local news attempting to mellow the Yugoslav Communists to give them a more acceptable image to Americans, the policy being how we are more alike rather than where we differ—and silent on the political prisoners, suppressions, and bloodshed which accompanies Communist control. We are to shut our eyes to the evils and suffering past and present?

A Communist remains a Communist—but, oh, what a glass of red wine does to journalism.

The Washington Evening Star account of December 4, 1967, follows my remarks:

YUGOSLAVIA IS IN MIDST OF UNPRECEDENTED REFORMS

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

BELGRADE.—The Yugoslav journalist got up from his chair in the press club restaurant and slammed his fist on the table, telling his dinner companion that "we don't need Communists, we don't need trade unions, we don't need bureaucrats. All we need are capital and technological knowhow."

A few diners looked up from their meals, hardly shocked by the outburst. Anything goes in Belgrade these days whether it is challenging the sanctity of the League of Communists, or advocating an even more radical economic reform.

The visitor, returning after a three-year absence, quickly finds that Yugoslavia is going through an intellectual revolution that has resulted in a situation unprecedented for any Communist country.

Virtually every facet of Yugoslav society has come in for criticism and long-accepted programs are being torn apart and dissected by writers, politicians, economists, film makers and the general public.

This does not mean all is going well in the country that has been led for so many years by 75-year-old Josip Broz Tito. In fact, as the open discussions reveal, enormous problems exist. But there is a sense of optimism, shared by Yugoslavs and Westerners, that somehow everything will straighten itself out.

The root cause of the discussions and a source of the problems, is Yugoslavia's two-year-old effort to turn its economy upside down with a radical set of reforms considered so heretic that other Communist countries, embarked on milder reforms themselves, will not even discuss them in their press.

Among its reforms Yugoslavia has:

Forced its enterprises to be self-sufficient. If they lose money they go bankrupt and must close down, meaning that workers lose jobs and some towns lose their main source of employment.

Allowed Socialist-run enterprises to fire workers if necessary to cut costs, thereby fomenting some strikes and worsening the already chronic unemployment situation.

Slashed import tariffs, and devalued the dinar, allowing Western firms to enter the Yugoslav market on competitive terms, in many cases too competitive for Yugoslav enterprises.

Passed a decree permitting capitalist firms to invest money in Yugoslav enterprises—or to set up their own factories—and to control up to 49 percent of the shares of the firm, the first time any Communist state has allowed this.

Proposed increasing the possibilities for private business to flourish in Yugoslavia as a way of improving services and of reducing unemployment.

Hand in hand with these radical economic steps has been the disappearance from public life of the League of Communists as the sole political power in Yugoslavia.

On its own, the party decided a few years ago to divorce itself from the operations of the state—giving real power to the government apparatus and increasing the influence of non-Communist technocrats in society.

These changes have not gone unchallenged.

From the start, many party conservatives having a vested interest in the old system of party-directed, centralized rule, objected.

The most prominent opponent was Alexander Rankovic, once the No. 2 man in Yugoslavia, who was purged in July 1966 for his efforts at undermining the liberal policies.

But Rankovic was not alone. The recent plenum of the League of Communists played up opposition to the reforms coming from various parts of the country. The best known opponent now is a former partisan general, who holds the highest state awards possible, Radivoje Jovanovic.

Jovanovic was able to win election to the National Assembly against the Communist nominee, and is on the record as hoping the reforms will fail.

The leadership in the country—and particularly its liberal elements—is nervous. It believes that the reforms are good for the country and will operate to its eventual benefit, but the current statistics are upsetting.

In the past, Yugoslavia had the inflated growth rates common in Communist countries. But for 1967 the rate for industrial growth is only expected to be about 1 percent. This is due primarily to the dislocations caused by the inroads of foreign firms, and the closing of several long-established enterprises.

There are believed to be as many as half a million unemployed—many of them young technicians.

The trade unions and some politicians are advocating vast public works projects such as were tried in the United States in the 1930s, but several influential economists say this is only a palliative that will avoid facing up to the need for creating new, sophisticated industries to give people meaningful jobs.

The visitor from the United States asks political leaders what is being done for the unemployed—is the government finding jobs?

"The government is not in business to find work. That is up to the economy," answers one official.

"We are not a welfare state, but an economically run state," says another.

Tito has given his full support to the reforms, but his recent speeches have indicated that perhaps higher tariffs will have to be instituted to protect some industries, and he tends to favor a public works program. But he does not have complete power.

Despite the problems, and the unattractive statistics, Belgrade gives no evidence of being economically depressed. People are buying in stores—even though prices may be high—and the stores have the richest assortment of merchandise in Eastern Europe. Because of the liberal import policy, everything from cans of shaving cream to American typewriters are on sale.

In a few years, the number of cars has risen by 30 percent, and there no longer is a waiting period to buy a Yugoslav-manufactured Fiat ($1,350 for a model 850).

The women are the most stylishly dressed, the book stores are the most iconoclastic ("Doctor Zhivago" is on sale, but Svetlana Alliluyeva's "Twenty Letters to a Friend" was recently banned), and the press the most interesting in Eastern Europe.

Yugoslavia, since 1948, has been unique in the Communist world, but the differences between it and other Communist states now are much more sophisticated. Because of the reforms—and the pressures put on the leaders—its press, its economists and its politicians are somewhat contemptuous of the rest of Eastern Europe.

For instance, in recent weeks the party newspaper Borba has noted an agreement between East Germany and Hungary under which 30,000 Hungarians will work in East Germany.

This only proves, says Borba, that other East European states have unemployment problems, but for ideological reasons refuse to acknowledge them. (Some 300,000 Yugoslavs work in West Europe, principally Germany.)

Another recent Borba story on developments in Czechoslovakia said the Communist party there was in trouble because it was trying to dictate to the economists and the liberal writers what they should do.

Things would be better, Borba said, if the Czech party would withdraw from power as the Yugoslav party did.

The economic reforms have not spared the press. Newspapers must also make a profit or close down, and this has caused great competition.

Borba, which once led in circulation in Belgrade, is in dire straits, and has barely been able to meet its payroll. It now has about 20 pages daily, and contains considerable advertising.

All that keeps the company solvent is that its "Evening News," an afternoon tabloid, is selling 430,000 a day, 4 times more than Borba, and is making a handsome profit. "Evening News" features cheesecake pictures, crime stories, and other elements of a sensational press.

The economic measures attracting the most attention deal with the private sector. Up to now, private business was limited to one man and four employees. This number is now to be increased, and there are plans to permit private entrepreneurs to merge with regular firms so long as the profits the entrepeneurs keep are limited.

Old-line Communists resent the idea of some people becoming "millionaires," but in Belgrade there already is a quite obvious well-to-do set, whose children can be seen wearing the newest boots and miniskirts from Italy, and who drive around town in their own cars.

These are sometimes the sons and daughters of party and state officials, but more often, the offspring of the highly paid technocrats—the architects, engineers, and economists of the new society.

Yugoslavia is still not a free society, however, in Western terms. Certain books are banned, and Mihajlo Mihajlov is still in jail for opposing the primacy of the Communist party.

Yet, Belgrade Prof. Dr. Stevan Vracar recently published an article calling for a two-party system in Communist countries to eliminate abuses of power. His article is being discussed in ideological circles but is not a topical question at present.

In the arts, the main subject of controversy is an antiwar film called "The Morning," which portrays the World War II partisans in less than a pure light. This has stirred the partisan veterans organizations, but the younger generation seems to feel the film is closer to the truth than is the anger of the veterans.

A major source of Yugoslavia's income comes from 5.5 million tourists a year. And steps are being taken to attract even more. Aiding the tourist business is Yugoslavia's nonaligned foreign policy which allows it to welcome most any foreigner.

The nonaligned policy, however, does not prevent Yugoslavia from taking sides in international disputes. Tito, a good friend of Gamal Abder Nasser, strongly sided with the Arabs in the Middle East war, going so far as to break relations with Israel.

His anti-Israel policy, coming as it did in concert with Moscow, was not universally popular in Yugoslavia.

His criticism of the U.S. role in Vietnam appears to have more popular support. The Yugoslavs watch U.S. television films of the Vietnam war, and this has built up a strong pro-Hanoi prejudice—even though Belgrade agrees with Red China's assessment that

Yugoslavia's revisionism is unacceptable to the Communist world.

The Yugoslavs still have not forgotten the days in 1946 when Tito was enemy No. 1 to the Russians. They have been pressing for years for increased autonomy among the Communist countries and their theoreticians believe the time is not too far off when the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe will adopt economic reforms similar to Yugoslavia's and will all seek to integrate their economies closer to Western Europe.

Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State, Adopt Legislative Program For 1968

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the affiliated Young Democrats of New York at their State legislative committee meeting held December 2, 1967, at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City, unanimously endorsed their State legislative program for 1968, which program will be introduced in the State senate and assembly when it convenes on January 3, 1968.

This legislative program will be sponsored by their 21 members in the State senate, and 46 members in the assembly:

AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS STATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1968

A. Constitutional Amendments Bills—

1. National Resources and Conservation, Article VIII of New Constitution.
2. Local Governments, and Financers, Article XI of New Constitution.
3. State Taxation and Finance, Article X of New Constitution.

B. Legislation by Bills of the State Legislature—

1. Civil Rights Articles in New Constitution.
2. State require records of all Governmental Agencies be kept open to the public.
3. Raise drinking age to 21 years.
4. Lower voting age to 18 years.
5. Stronger code of Ethics.
6. Raise Minimum Wage to $1.75 per hour.
7. Liberalize the Abortion Laws.
8. Require the State Legislature to keep transcripts of all proceedings.
9. Mandatory free education at all State and City Universities and Community Colleges.
10. State and Local Governments be allowed to make grants and loans to private enterprise for slum rebuilding.
11. The creation of One-Man, One-Vote Standards for redistricting local Legislative Bodies.
12. Expansion of Public Service Commission.
13. Citizens' right to sue the State.
14. Change Penal Law to allow Tenants and Property Owners to protect their property by using force.
15. Legislature to meet in Mid-December after each election to organize and elect officers.
16. Strengthen Laws to combat air and water pollution.
17. Tighten Law to enforce Compulsory Auto Insurance Law.
18. State-wide Recreation Department be created.

Richard H. Wels, chairman of the State Legislative Committee of New York presided at this important meeting.

Justice Abraham J. Multer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of our distinguished and able colleagues, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Multer] is resigning from the Congress to accept a position as justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

Abe Multer has been with us in this body for 20 years, Mr. Speaker. We regret very much to lose our friend and colleague—but we congratulate him upon his election to the highest court in his beloved State of New York.

He is going home—and he is to be commended for the great confidence and respect imposed in him by the people of the great State of New York.

Certainly I concur in the sentiment expressed by President Johnson in his message to our colleague from New York on the occasion of a recent reception in his honor.

President Johnson in his message to Abe Multer said:

> I was delighted by your election to the New York Supreme Court. But as a fellow veteran of Capitol Hill, I must confess that I am also deeply saddened by your departure from the Congress.
>
> For two productive decades, the American people have grown in your debt and advanced along the steady path of progress that bears the marks of your hard work.

And, Mr. Speaker, your eloquent tribute and testimonial to our colleague at the reception adds luster to the President's words.

The House Select Committee on Small Business, on which Abe Multer has served so ably and so faithfully, presented him with a gavel on this occasion, accompanied by a resolution, which follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Honorable Abraham J. Multer recently was elected a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York and is about to leave the Halls of Congress to receive the robe of high judicial office, and

Whereas, we, the undersigned, his colleagues on the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives, desire to express our appreciation to Abe Multer for his dedication, inspiration and counsel which have added greatly to the prestige and effectiveness of our Committee during the nineteen years of his service as a Ranking Majority Member and Subcommittee Chairman: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this gavel be presented to our distinguished colleague and friend, Abe Multer, as a token of our appreciation and in acknowledgement of his accomplishments in furtherance of the well-being of small business in our Nation's economy; and be it further

Resolved, That this expression of our esteem, along with our good wishes to Abe Multer for a successful judicial career, long life, good health and happiness be memorialized by the publication of a copy of this Resolution in the Congressional Record.

Dated at Washington, D.C., November 29, 1967.

Joe L. Evins, Member of Congress, Chairman; Wright Patman, Member of Congress; Tom Steed, Member of Congress; John C. Kluczynski, Member of Congress; John D. Dingell, Member of Congress; Neal Smith, Member of Congress; James C. Corman, Member of Congress; Donald J. Irwin, Member of Congress; Arch A. Moore, Jr., Member of Congress, Ranking Minority Member; Silvio O. Conte, Member of Congress; James T. Broyhill, Member of Congress; Frank J. Horton, Member of Congress; Rogers C. B. Morton, Member of Congress; Laurence J. Burton, Member of Congress.

The Wheat Situation—Domestic and Foreign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask to have included in the Appendix of the Record the text of a speech on the current wheat situation, delivered December 4, 1967, by Representative Bob Dole, of Kansas, before the Hard Winter Wheat Quality Advisory Council at Kansas City, Kans. It has been my privilege to serve on the House Agriculture Committee with the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Dole]. He has worked hard and long to promote increased wheat exports and to strengthen domestic wheat prices. I believe other Members will find his remarks most interesting and informative. The text follows:

THE WHEAT SITUATION—DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN

In discussing wheat policy, I should like to review the current situation with some interesting background data and my proposals for a more prosperous future for wheat growers.

KANSAS AND WHEAT PRICE

If there is any one statistical figure for the Kansas wheat grower to examine and to be concerned about, it is the most recent price received by farmers for wheat which was released by USDA. For the United States, it was $1.39 per bushel—53 percent of parity. For Kansas, this November 15, 1967, price was even lower—$1.31 per bushel. These price data reflect this disastrous effects of a misguided Freeman-Johnson policy which makes a sacrificial goat of the farmers interests to those of the more numerous urban citizens.

Now how did we get to this unhappy situation? What are the true facts? Let us together examine the facts. The data and statements are all from official sources.

U.S. WHEAT SUPPLIES

Total U.S. wheat supplies for 1967–68 are estimated at 1,981 billion bushels, an increase of 133 million bushels from supplies of a year earlier. This is the first time since 1960–61 that the supply of wheat in the United States has increased from that of the previous year. The July 1, 1967, carryover was 426 million bushels. It will be up by 100 million on July 1, 1968.

Total disappearance of wheat during July–September, 1967, at 415 million bushels, was slightly larger than for the same period a year earlier. Exports, totaling an estimated 195 million bushels were down 16 percent from exports in July–September, 1966.

Use of wheat for food was little changed from a year earlier while seed use was off, reflecting the 13 percent reduction in the national acreage allotment for the 1968 crop. Feeding of wheat was greater during this past July-September than a year earlier, due to the narrower spread between wheat and feed grain prices. The approximately 45 million bushels fed in this quarter this year is about 30 million more than a year ago.

Stocks of wheat in all positions on October 1 totaled 1,565 billion bushels, up 124 million from October, 1966.

Total domestic disappearance will probably increase in 1967–68, primarily because of lower prices resulting in heavier use of wheat for feed. For the entire 1967–68 marketing year, feeding is estimated at about 125 million bushels compared with 93 million last year.

The Bureau of the Census made downward revisions in their data on wheat ground and flour produced for calendar years 1962 to 1966, resulting in smaller domestic wheat food usage and a lower per capita disappearance of flour. The level of per capita flour disappearance was reduced by about 2 pounds so that the average for 1966 has been revised to 112 pounds. The revisions place the recent trend in per capita flour use at a 1 pound reduction per year. As a result, it appears that food use of wheat in 1967–68 may total 510 to 515 million bushels.

Seed use of wheat in 1967–68 is likely to total 70 million bushels, somewhat below the 78 million of last year. This is likely to be more than offset by increases in food and feed use, resulting in a total domestic disappearance in 1967–68 of about 700 million bushels, slightly higher than last year.

Allowing 700 million bushels for domestic requirements for the entire 1967–68 marketing year, the quantity available for export and carryover is above that of a year earlier. The *USDA's* export target was announced last summer at 750 million bushels, fractionally larger than the 742 million of 1966–67.

Through October 30, exports of wheat and products, as well as forward registration for export payment, were behind last year's record level on that date. It is going to be difficult to reach that target. I shall do everything possible to help the *USDA* in achieving or even exceeding that level. I have traveled tens of thousands of miles to remote areas of the earth in that endeavor.

A LOOK AT THE RECORD

Now if we are to understand what was really happening to drive prices down to current bankruptcy levels, we must take a step backward in time. In 1966, the Secretary of Agriculture, along with the Council of Economic Advisers, decided that the Consumer Price Index was more important than the prices farmers received. In 1965–66, U.S. wheat exports were 867 million bushels. In 1966–67, wheat exports were cut arbitrarily by the administration. I say arbitrarily because Secretary Freeman sent a cable around the world to Public Law 480 recipients—a cable of malnutrition—advising our ambassadors to cut their wheat requests under the food for peace program by 25 percent.

By this arbitrary means, with no indication to the Congress, exports of wheat under P. L. 480 were actually cut by 44 percent from a year earlier—from 523 million bushels to 292 million bushels in 1966–67. I have been, as might be expected, interested in the food for peace program for some years. I find nothing in the record which authorized the administration to withhold food in order to get farm prices down—in bureaucratise—to "stabilize" prices. Incidentally, wheat was not the only commodity to get this treatment. In view of the fact that this is a wheat talk, I will not go into the details of the price destroying actions affecting other commodities.

William Jennings Bryan, a presidential candidate from a neighboring State, once made a famous cross of gold speech. To paraphrase one of his famous comments:

> You shall not press down upon the brow of
> farmers this crown of thorns,
> You shall not crucify agriculture upon the
> cross of the consumers price index.

WHAT FREEMAN SAYS

Now, Secretary Freeman, recognizing that these decisions are responsible for the unhappy state of agricutlure, has tried to explain away these current low farm prices. He stated in a recent speech at the Outlook Conference held at USDA that "the bricks hurt, gentlemen." To be fair to him, we should quote him more fully:

"What has taken place over the past year is ironic—but we have always recognized the danger. A year ago the evidence on world food production and supplies was most unfavorable. The monsoons in India were failing for the second successive year, short crops in the Communist countries had required large purchases from Western exporters. The disappearance of excess stocks in the United States and an unfavorable wheat yield outlook contributed to the uncertainty. The world was clearly in a short grain supply position.

"As a result, after a careful assessment of probably world needs in the 18 months ahead, the national wheat acreage allotments for the U.S. 1967 crop were increased sharply. Action was taken to increase acreage in feed grains and soybeans as well.

"Then within a few weeks after these decisions were made, the world outlook changed sharply with favorable prospects in almost every major grain producing country.

"Canada, Australia, and the Soviet Union harvested record wheat crops. Argentina and Western Europe harvested good crops of both wheat and feed grains. Feed grain harvests in Eastern Europe were good and a few months later South Africa produced a record corn crop.

"In the U.S. we have a record gain crop in 1967, with an overall increase of from 4 to 5 percent. The 1967 feed grain crop is up 12 percent, wheat crop up 19 percent."

Now this explains only one part of the problem—the size of the 1967 wheat crop. I think the important question is, if as stated, the world outlook changed within a few weeks, why did not the Secretary loosen his grip on P.L. 480 exports? Why did the concept of holding farm prices down or "stabilized" continue in force past harvest time for the 1967 crop? After all, the Congress has made available to the administration $7.5 billion for launching the war on hunger program. Actual use is only a fraction of this level. The answer lies in the internal strategy to sacrifice the farmers' interests to those of the much more numerous urban dweller. I think this policy is disastrous. It should not go unnoticed that all this food holdback was going on just after President Johnson was telling the Congress that he intended to lead a war against hunger.

FOOD FOR PEACE

I feel very strongly about this. The food for peace legislation was passed under President Eisenhower in 1954. It is called the Agricultural Trade and Development Act of 1954. This legislation and subsequent amendments have had strong bipartisan support. It has done so much good all over the world. *I will not stand by and watch farmers' interests sacrificed to the statistical rigidities of the consumer price index.* The beneficial potentials of the war on hunger must be maximized. The nation and the world must not be deterred from this victory!

PURCELL RESERVE BILL

In recent weeks the Secretary of Agriculture and his top assistants have been decrying the defeat in the House of Representatives, livestock and grains subcommittee, of the so-called *strategic reserve grain bill.* It is significant that the Secretary of Agriculture in talking about this bill never refers to the provisions regarding reserves. He claims that it would have resulted "in from $300 to $500 million in additional income for farmers."

Let us examine this ridiculous claim by analyzing the Purcell bill in detail.

(1) The Under Secretary came before our subcommittee and made the ridiculous claim that the market prices for wheat, feed grains and soybeans could be increased sharply as provided in this bill by an expenditure of $5 to $10 million. Note that he testified to this in an open hearing. Note that the Under Secretary testified that with this small outlay he would move into the open market ready to purchase up to the following amounts:

180 million bushels of wheat; 500 million bushels of feed grains; 90 million bushels of soybeans.

If $5 to $10 million was all he would spend, this raises a fundamental question of whether the administration really supported the bill. Was it just a political conversation piece?

(2) The release formula provisions in the bill formed what could be termed an "inverted pyramid". That is, the lowest resale prices would come into effect when total available supply of a commodity would be at the highest level. The farmer needs protection from the Government stocks the most when the supply is greatest. In other words, the greater the supply, the greater the need for price protection and insulating of stocks. This bill, however, would have just the opposite effect.

The administration measure was defeated because it was not, in fact, a reserve bill, but simply a device to further stabilize and manipulate the price farmers receive for their commodities. Had the administration and some Democrat members of the committee been willing to insulate the stocks acquired under the provisions of the reserve bill, it would have passed without difficulty. In my opinion, the 6 to 6 vote on the amendment offered by Congressman John Zwach of Minnesota indicated the administration was not interested in a true reserve proposal. The Zwach amendment would have prevented the release of any reserve stocks at less than 100 percent of parity. This amendment would insulate the stocks from the market, resulting in significant increases in the market prices. Six Republicans voted for the Zwach amendment, and significantly, six Democrats opposed it. This should leave no doubt as to which party is interested in improving farm income.

TIDE OF PROTECTION

As we look ahead to the future, the wheat producer will be adversely affected by the rising tide of protectionism. We are witness to an increase by foreign countries in efforts to set aside the conventional rules in international trade in order to solve domestic problems.

The European economic community's variable levy on cereal imports effectively protects indigenous production from competition. Concurrently, other portions of the *EEC* farm policy are providing financial incentives to its farmers to increase production.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has recognized the danger inherent in *EEC's* common agricultural policy. In April, 1966, he said:

"The consequences for a liberal trade policy generally will be very serious if we cannot negotiate in the Kennedy Round some limitations on the trade restrictive effects of the Common Market's common agriculture policy. All of us, therefore, have a vital stake in the successful outcome of the Kennedy Round."

The variable levy system, while one of our original targets in the Kennedy Round, *was one of our negotiation failures.*

INCREASED PRODUCTION

Another factor adversely affecting our wheat position is the increasing production all over the world. We suffer from a complete lack of cooperation from other exporting nations in managing production and stocks. Argentina, Australia, and France continue to produce on an unlimited basis and get rid of their supplies on a year-to-year basis. Canada has no production limitations. The United States has taken on the role of supply manager for the world, and in this role has become the residual supplier to the commercial markets. *It is time that we let the world know that we are going to be competitive, every hour of every day.*

Another negotiation failure in the Kennedy Round was our efforts to get effective access guarantees. The United States proposed that importing countries purchase a fixed percentage from all exporting countries of their total needs. Secretary Freeman stated:

"The number one key to sustained expansion of U.S. agricultural exports is access to markets."

The Under Secretary in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee stated:

"The opportunity to compete for traditional import markets is one of the cornerstones of our position."

These negotiating failures are costing wheat growers dearly. They will continue to do so for many years.

STEPS TO IMPROVE INCOME

Time and time again, I have outlined constructive steps to improve wheat growers' income. But time and time again the *Administration has ignored the recommendations.* Let me restate them.

(1) Raise the loan rate for wheat from $1.25 to $1.40 per bushel.

(2) Announce that no wheat stocks owned or to be owned for the next 2 years by *CCC* will be resold at less than parity.

(3) Announce that *CCC* will pay the first year storage costs for wheat under loan.

(4) Expand exports under P.L. 480 to the maximum consistent with the self-help provisions.

(5) Price wheat competitively for export, and take down the umbrella over the world commercial market. Under this price umbrella, Australia, Argentina, and France sell their crops and make the United States less competitive.

The American farmer is in serious trouble because of present "stop and go" policies. In my opinion, strong new leadership and new direction is needed.

Congressman Harold D. Donohue Urges 2-Year Extension of the Adult Education Act of 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, through misunderstanding, my prepared remarks urging overwhelming approval, yesterday, of H.R. 11276, to extend the provisions of the Adult Education Act of 1966 for 2 additional years were not included in the RECORD account of the House proceedings on this vitality important measure. I would like to have them included at this point, and they follow:

CONGRESSMAN HAROLD D. DONOHUE URGES 2-YEAR EXTENSION OF THE ADULT EDUCATION ACT OF 1966

Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge and hope that the House will speedily approve this bill before us, H.R. 11276, authorizing appropriations to extend the Adult Education Act of 1966 for two additional years.

Mr. Chairman, there are now living in the United States about 4,000,000 adult people who cannot read and some 21,000,000 additional adults who never went beyond the seventh grade of school. In other words we have 24,000,000 undereducated adult Americans who do not have the educational attainments to obtain and progress in any responsible employment position in our modern business market.

It is obvious, therefore, that there is an ever increasing and urgent need to provide educational opportunities for adults whose inability to speak, read or write English constitutes a substantial impairment of their ability to obtain employment that offers them a chance to progress into the higher salaried positions even though they may otherwise have substantial talents of initiative, judgment, and diligence in their work.

The original adult basic education program was established to assist these Americans in improving their education accomplishments and, thereby, their economic opportunities to better provide for themselves and their families as well as reducing the almost absolute dependency of some illiterates.

When the program was begun in 1965 38,000 people enrolled in it and, in just two years, the number has increased to approximately 400,000. All over the country the lists of people, in every state, who want and need adult basic education continues to grow but the list far outnumbers the classroom space and the teachers which available funds can provide. For this reason I think it is of extreme importance that our federal participation in these adult basic education programs be continued for an additional two years and, as budgetary circumstances permit, expanded to meet the expanded needs in this critical area of adult basic education.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that approval of this measure is a sound and prudent investment for true American development and the returns on the investment will be multifold. I hope the bill will be adopted without delay.

America's Role in World Affairs the Last 50 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the role of the United States as a world power over the last half century was precisely outlined recently in an address before the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia by Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

His account of the historical factors which have contributed to the evolvement of America's position in world affairs sheds informing light on the current status of our present involvement in Asia.

In particular I believe that Secretary Katzenbach's reflective remarks point up the ever-true and important lesson that to neglect foreign problems or to wish for a return to a simpler day of lesser responsibilities is merely to generate worse problems in the future.

The text of Mr. Katzenbach's speech follows. I recommend it to the reading of my colleagues:

AMERICA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS—REFLECTIONS ON A YEAR OF ANNIVERSARIES

(Address by Hon. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State, at the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa., November 27, 1967)

My law school class was unkind enough to remind me this summer that it was twenty years since we left the halls of ivy. The coincidence of this private and surprisingly unheralded anniversary with the more widely noted fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution set me to thinking about how many anniversaries of dramatic events we are marking this year. And it is some of these reflections which I should like to share with you today.

Certainly Americans in 1917—fifty years ago—knew that the events of the day were dramatic. But surely no American could have foreseen just how momentous they were.

The American entry into the First World War was in fact the coming of age of the United States as a world power. That was not a distinction we sought, but one which history thrust upon us. Indeed, President Wilson had been returned to office as the man who kept us out of war. And for most of the voters in 1916, the idea of meddling in the seemingly parochial quarrels of a distant continent was profoundly un-American. It ran counter to George Washington's parting injunction against foreign entanglements—a quite sensible foreign policy for a young and developing nation. "Manifest destiny" was a passing phase—at most the exuberance of adolescense.

But the resort to unrestricted submarine operations by the Kaiser's navy forced the issue in 1917, and in a matter of months the United States became what it had so long shunned—a full-fledged participant in the affairs of the European continent. One has to note in passing that it was the U boat—then a novelty—which was the instrument of change. In a couple of years the submarine had done more to batter and bruise the law of the sea than all the wars since Grotius. We were thus caught up in the revolution in military technology which has done so much to shape world affairs today.

Once we had to enter the war, we did so with a combination of great idealism and naive enthusiasm. It was to be the war to end war and make the world safe for democracy. Once and for all. Much as we admire the contribution which President Wilson made to the moral standards of international relations, we have to admit that in large part the grandiloquence of our war aims was the obverse side of our traditional isolationism. If we had to fight, it could only be in an all-out war for a total solution. We were then romantics—as many young people are today. And when there was no total solution after the war, Americans became disenchanted and quickly lost interest. Even so, history could not be undone. We might turn our backs upon the outside world but the process of our involvement with it was irrevocably in motion.

In part this was so because 1917 was also the year of revolutions in Russia. In the spring Americans welcomed a new government hopefully. Moreover, the end of Tsarist autocracy made it easier for the United States to enter the war on the same side as Russia. But the communist revolution in November was bad news to most Americans.

There was no substantial communist sentiment in the United States—even the American radical tradition running from the Whiskey rebellion to populism had little patience for the hocus-pocus of pseudo scientific socialism of the Marxist variety. More important for the America of 1917 was the apprehension that the Russian war effort was collapsing. But the American reaction was diluted by a heaping measure of indifference.

The new Soviet regime saw itself as the precursor of a wave of communist revolution which would soon engulf the world. It had no desire to be part of the nation-state system—that it thought would soon go by the boards. Renouncing the former government's treaties and obligations, the Soviets in effect withdrew from the international community. But if this was a withdrawal, it was also a challenge to the existing order. And, ultimately, the evolution of Soviet modes of dealing with an outside world which Moscow regarded as inevitably hostile would make any American return to isolationism impossible.

The U.S. did not perceive the historical meaning of its entry into the war in 1917. Ten years later the causes of the war and our purpose in fighting it were largely forgotten. Indeed, in those halcyon days foreign affairs were still secondary and the country lapsed completely back into isolationism. It would be a fair guess to say that there are more college students in the United States today who can answer a question about what happened in Shanghai in April 1927 than there were at the time. Americans have more reason today to study the history of communism in China than they did at the time when the turning point in relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists marked a new departure in Chinese history.

For Moscow the coup against the Chinese communists was a disaster. Incidentally, the Comintern probably had the most consistently bad record of any decision making body in this century. But the miscalculation did reflect a new Soviet perception of the world situation. The prospect of immediate world revolution had suddenly grown much more distant, and the Soviets trimmed sails by concentrating on the preservation of the USSR as the potential base for a future world revolution. The Soviets discovered the benefits of traditional forms of international law and diplomacy—even though they professed to regard them as merely transitory—in the period of their own consolidation at home. And this new view was part of the reason why Moscow insisted on the maintenance of the communists' alliance with the Kuomintang in China right up to the moment of disaster for the communists there.

In 1927—a fortieth anniversary—the most celebrated international event in the U.S. was Lindbergh's flight to Paris. But it was celebrated more for the display of courage, for the sport and spectacle rather than for its significance. The buttons of that day read "Lucky Lindy".

Much the same was true ten years later of Soviet pilot Gromov's flight from Moscow over the North Pole to the United States. To be sure, none of the editorial writers of the day failed to say something about the progress of aviation, and observations that the world was getting smaller every day could be heard in every barber shop in the land. But we were not ready as a nation to make the transition from platitude to policy. We were still a long way from being able to imagine a world in which we would be operating NORAD, together with our Canadian neighbors, for defense against the threat posed by the polar route flown by Gromov while at the same time receiving a Soviet delegation in New York and Washington to work out the details of implementing our civil aviation agreement.

In the fall of 1937—a thirtieth anniversary—the Assembly of the League of Nations moved into its new quarters. The Palais des Nations was without doubt the largest, most luxurious office building in Europe. The opening festivities must have been a grand bash; the Aga Khan is reputed to have supplied 2,500 bottles of champagne. I am sure you all know Parkinson's law which states that by the time an organization gets its new building, it is dead. Well, here indeed was a case in point. For by then, the League was for all practical purposes dead. And the peace of the world was crumbling. The first battle of World War II had already begun that summer at the Marco Polo Bridge in Northern China.

At another bridge, in Chicago, President Roosevelt was both brilliantly far-sighted and tragically impotent. Speaking at a ribbon cutting ceremony a couple of weeks after the Palais had been dedicated in Geneva, FDR warned his countrymen of the growing danger of war. He quoted a favorite author, James Hilton:

"Perhaps we foresee a time when men exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two millenniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless—all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed . . . the storm will rage till every flower or culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

And he went on to say:

"If those things come to pass in other parts of the world let no one imagine that America will escape . . ."

But while FDR had the vision to see clearly what was coming, there was little he could really do about it. His call for a "quarantine" of the aggressors was a cry in the wilderness. The statesmen of Europe were not to be persuaded until after the fall of Austria and the madness of Munich. The speech was, of course, a major landmark—the beginning of the end of isolationism. But FDR did not yet have a consensus—to use a fashionable world—at home; his opponents accused him of playing politics. Looking back at the quarantine speech, one is tempted to ask, "what might have been?" Perhaps it was already too late to head off World War II. Perhaps not.

FDR may have been guilty of resorting to hyperbole in 1937 when he described the war of the future. But his borrowed words were truly prophetic. Five years later—that makes it a twenty-fifth anniversary—in the same city of Chicago Fermi's reactor went critical and the nuclear age began. History and repeated itself: technology had again outrun wisdom.

Twenty years ago, in 1947, the United States again faced a major decision on what kind of role it was to play in the world. Against the background of a war-ravaged Europe, the strains in the alliance with the Soviet Union had grown into the cold war. One can, I believe, say of 1947 that thirty years and two world wars later the United States had finally learned the lesson of 1917—America had too much at stake to turn its back on the problems of the world.

Two major steps marked the beginning of a new American policy—containment. First, was the Truman Doctrine on aid to Greece and Turkey. That was a matter of quickly getting a finger in the dike—an emergency move to counter an immediate and pressing threat. Second was the Marshall Plan for European economic recovery. I think it can fairly be called the most imaginative and successful act of statemanship in this century.

Incidentally, there is one facet of the Marshall Plan which has to be borne in mind if its relation to containment is to be understood correctly. The Marshall Plan was not limited to Western Europe. It did not exclude the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It was Stalin who excluded himself and his satellites. The policy of containment was not purely negative. It had an element—limited in those early days to be sure—of what we now call peaceful engagement.

Today it is commonplace to explain debate and frictions in the West as the product of the amazing success of the policies begun in 1947. Because the Marshall Plan worked so well, European businessmen today can afford the luxury of a certain peevishness toward American corporations. It is equally true that the changes taking place today in Eastern Europe also flow in part from a successful policy of containment. This policy from the beginning looked to the day when Iron Curtains might fall. It was based on the principle that time would work against the ill-conceived notion that man in all his variety can long be made to conform to a monolithic doctrine, centrally proclaimed and enforced. Twenty years have shown that our concept was in fact based upon a sounder comprehension of history than Marxism-Leninism.

But if the policies of 1947 seem successful in retrospect, it may be instructive to recall the criticisms of the day.

We had our hawks in 1947 who saw the easy solution—use the bomb and have done with. We had doves who saw the struggle in Greece as purely a civil war; the monarchy was beyond redemption anyway. And Turkey was obviously indefensible against Soviet assault. And was it any of our business anyway? But isolationism was out of fashion in the United States by then, and the argument took a curiously internationalist line. There were those who argued that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan would spoil the harmony of the UN. As if the UN needed the sort of harmony the League enjoyed in 1937. Was the United States engaged in a display of the arrogance of power in 1947? I hardly think so, but there were those who did.

1957—a decade ago—the year of sputnik, was a trauma for the West. The exploration of space had begun, and it was the Soviet Union which had gone first. Our image of Soviet backwardness needed urgent revision, for sputnik was indeed a great scientific accomplishment. It was, more importantly, the symbol of emergent Soviet military power. The Soviet Union celebrated its fortieth jubilee with its claim to having an ICBM dramatically documented.

The American policy of containment and engagement faced its acid test, as Khrushchev sought to convert the image of Soviet power into tangible political advantage. 1957 set the state for Khrushchev's famous missile rattling threats and ultimately for the Berlin and Cuban crises.

The Cuban missile crisis—a five-year anniversary—marked the end of a period in Soviet policy. And although Soviet military power is vastly greater that it was five years ago, the Soviets may have a greater appreciation than before of the difficulties and dangers of attempting to use it for purposes of intimidation. One has at least some grounds for the hope—I emphasize *hope;* it is far from a certainty—that the Soviets appreciate the folly of precipitating such confrontations.

What lessons can we draw from this brief excursion into the history of nicely rounded anniversaries?

The first is the lesson of humility. The gift of prophecy is rare in the extreme. Not even George Washington's advice could be timeless. And it would obviously be both foolish and presumptuous to attempt to give you advice to last a lifetime. But to the degree that we can see ahead, some lines of policy seem likely to remain sound.

Although it did not want to be, the United States has in the past half century become a world power. This was not the result of our undertaking formal commitments. Nor was it something which we could have avoided by shunning such undertakings. Our commitment to Great Britain in World War II was not made by FDR's quarantine speech. His speech simply marked the beginning of our discovery of the nexus of interests which bound the security of the United States to that of others. Over the years we have learned that our neglect of foreign problems can only store up worse problems in the future. Events in far off continents are no longer far off.

Tempting as it may be at times, a retreat into a past when the United States did not bear the responsibilities of world power is no longer possible. Viet-Nam is, I think, very much a case in point. I did not set out today to argue against the Administration's critics, nor do I intend to discuss those criticisms which say that we made a mistake here or there during the last thirteen years. But I cannot fail to note how much criticism reflects a longing to return to a simpler day of lesser responsibilities. So many of the arguments heard today have been made—repeatedly and mistakenly—over the last fifty years. Although the responsibilities of world power can be and are costly and painful to bear, we cannot wish them away without paying a greater price in the future. The simple fact is that we cannot withdraw from the responsibilities of world power and these responsibilities are as plain in Southeast Asia today as they were in Europe, Manchuria, Greece and Turkey in the past.

Resistance to aggression—and make no mistake about it, Viet-Nam is a case of Communist aggression—is necessarily the first order of business. But it is not the be-all and end-all of American foreign policy. Can we, today, combine containment of aggression with policies of coexistence and engagement? I believe that the history which we have been reviewing shows that we can, and indeed that we must. Thus, the record of the past twenty years suggests some general guidelines for our relations with the Soviet Union and with Communist China.

When we set out on a policy of containment twenty years ago, we understood that containment was not an end itself but a means of creating opportunities for positive policies. The Marshall Plan had two alternatives—one can only lament that Stalin chose the wrong one. The policy of containment was built upon the assumption that the Soviet Union was not impervious to change. As George Kennan put it in 1951—forgive me for lapsing into a non-anniversary—Stalin's regime was an evil thing, and evil cannot long endure. His was a moralistic and optimistic forecast. And one which I suppose is basically congenial to the American temperament.

The proposition can be argued in more rigorous terms. Evolution in Soviet public life is a fact of history and an exigency, among other things, of running a modern industrial economy. Stalin's methods could build blast furnaces and collectivize agriculture, but the ruthless terror of the 30s could not but inhibit the scientific and technological progress which it takes to be a great power.

The process of change moves slowly, however, and we shall for some time have to continue to pursue a mixed relationship with the Soviet Union. There was never a sharp break between a policy of containment and one of engagement or bridge building. They are not antithetical. Both these elements have long been part of our policy toward the Soviet Union, and they are the two sides of the coin of an appropriate response to Moscow's own ambivalent attitude towards the United States.

I assume that the Soviet communists have by now been disabused of the notion that world communism is capable of achievement in their lifetime. In fact, one wonders whether the men in the Kremlin would find the prospect of new Maos and new Castros elsewhere in the world really attractive, if they thought seriously about what a world communist system might look like. Nevertheless, the Soviet communists have by no means outlived their ideological prejudice which sees the United States as the principal capitalist protagonist in what is the fundamental historical struggle. At the same time, America as the most advanced capitalist country is also the economic and technological model on which communism must in the end be built. American economic plenty has thus been Moscow's model for its own future.

In terms of military power in the nuclear age, the Soviets doubtless see the United States as the only country capable today of posing a significant threat to the USSR. Likewise, the Soviet Union is the only country today that can directly menace our own security. We see, and hope the Soviet leaders see, a mutual interest in avoiding nuclear catastrophe.

And it is in this context that we pursue a mixed policy toward the Soviet Union. A policy which gives rise to such paradoxes as the space treaty—a milestone in the extension of international law—alongside the Soviet effort to develop a Fractional Orbital Bombardment system, a system just within the letter of the law. We seek to—but cannot—avoid a major arms race; yet we also have a non-proliferation treaty under intensive negotiation. And we hope to begin talks with the Soviets on curbing the strategic arms race.

We shall find ourselves often, as we have in the Middle East crisis, with a shifting mixture of shared and rival interests. We shall be dealing with a Soviet Union which has the capacity to encourage and abet dangerous mischief while at the same time joining with us in the search for ways to avoid at least the direct consequences of crisis. Over time, I hope—not without some justification from history—that the mix will gradually improve, and we shall devote more of our effort to constructive cooperation.

With regard to Communist China, too, we must look to combining a policy of containment of aggression with policies of coexistence and engagement. We should not be unduly discouraged simply because the picture today is not a very hopeful one. Communist China is rushing to an advanced nuclear capability at the same time that it is showng not the least inclination to adjust itself to the realities of world affairs. Its military strength is maturing far more rapidly than the political and social institutions which are the custodians of that strength. We can only view with apprehension growing power controlled by individuals who, at least at present, are devoted to a doctrine of extreme revolutionary miltiancy.

But nuclear weapons have a sobering effect of their own. Once a nation is a nuclear power among other nuclear powers, it has to begin thinking of what Herman Kahn has called the unthinkable—nuclear strategy. And at that juncture a country begins to think not only of the damage it can do, but of its own vulnerabilities. It may be that Peking will come to take a soberer second look at its present policies and world view.

We, of course, have an important interest in encouraging prudence on Peking's part. And we hope that together with our retaliatory strength our planned sentinel ABM defense will make a contribution to that end. At the same time the struggle in Viet-Nam should drive home the point that neither outright aggression nor its twin brother—the forceable manipulation of change—will be permitted to succeed.

Beyond physical defense we have to look upon Asia today much as we did upon Europe in the days of the Marshall Plan. One cannot be too literal about such historical analogies. But the basic concept of pursuing a policy which contains the aggressors, helps strengthen those who might otherwise fall victim, and thus creates a situation in which time runs in favor of constructive change, is both sound and relevant.

It would not be visionary, I think, to hope for some change some day in the view of Communist China's leaders too. In the meantime, the United States must be prepared to work toward ways of living with Peking, however difficult that job seems today. We have already suggested—and must keep suggesting—those steps which would increase contacts and communications.

What we seek—our vision of the future—is a world at peace. To achieve that vision we must recognize that for many years to come the hard, costly and sometimes bloody defense of freedom must go hand in hand with the difficult task of building bridges of peaceful cooperation with those who would be our enemies. As President Johnson told a group of my State Department colleagues:

"This present moment of history stands balanced between high danger and rare opportunity.

"The danger is clear enough—in Southeast Asia and other areas where human misery and vaulting ambitions combine to threaten peace and security in the world. Much of our effort must be devoted to preventing the forces of aggression from asserting themselves or dealing with them when they do.

"But there is—I deeply believe—a very rising tide of good sense in the world and a growing determination to get on with the constructive tasks that are ahead of us."

One of the Few Protesting Voices Left in South Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Sunday's New York Times carried an Associated Press article on the "Black Sash" movement of South Africa. It is a revealing article about a group of courageous women who resolutely continue their protest against the injustices of their nation's repressive government. The article follows:

A SILENT PROTEST OVER APARTHEID: SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK SASH WOMEN STAND VIGIL

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, December 2.—The woman standing on the street corner is a member of the Black Sash. She has been there for hours. Rain is blurring the words of protest painted on her banner.

Across the road, a man in a police car keeps a watchful eye on her. She is well dressed and of middle age.

She is one of 2,000 women, mostly whites, who have been campaigning for 12 years against what they consider the "unjust inhumane laws of racially segregated South Africa."

There is no violence or fiery speechmaking. Demonstrations are silent and the only weapons are a black mourning sash and a sign indicating the reason for the silent vigil.

Prime Minister Bathazar J. Vorster, architect of many stringent security and racial laws, has called them a "leftist organization of meddlesome women."

MADE HOST OF ENEMIES

Over the years the women have protested racial intolerance, arbitrary arrest, restrictions on whites and blacks through "banning" and a host of other measures they regard as unnecessary.

"We have made a host of enemies," says their leader, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, mother of five children.

The women often face ridicule and humiliation during their silent protests. Some have been banned—that is, silenced and otherwise restricted—by the Government. Others find themselves shunned by friends. Some are afraid.

The Black Sash is one of the few protesting voices left in South Africa. Many other government critics, including Liberal party members, writers, student leaders and churchmen have been effectively silenced by banning, deportation or classification as Communists.

RECORD ON ARRESTS

The organization's public protests are timed to catch the eye of commuters. For years, the Black Sash has been trying to encourage public sympathy for the release or trial of a woman who holds the record for house arrest, Mrs. Helen Joseph, 62 years old.

She recently completed a five-year sentence under which she had to spend every night, weekend and holiday in her Johannesburg home.

The Government promptly put another five-year ban on her. She has never appeared in court or been officially charged with any crime.

"We will continue to campaign for her release," says Mrs. Sinclair. "It is beyond belief that she has been condemned to another five years of twilight existence in a civilized society. It is incredible that this powerful government is driven to such extreme measures to protect itself from a lone, elderly defenseless woman."

More than 675 people of all races had been banned by the end of 1966. Nearly 100 left the country on a one-way exit permit rather than face years of silence and restriction.

Some banned and restricted persons are eminent whites, but many are unknowns with little hope of attracting public notice.

Coal Companies, Enjoying Federal Depletion Bonanza, Also Pay Absurdly Low Local Taxes, St. Louis Post Dispatch Shows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the current debate over fiscal policy has centered on the alternatives of reducing expenditures or enacting a tax program including a 10-percent surtax on individual taxpayers.

Yet either of these measures or a combination of them is bound to hurt those who can least afford to bear additional burdens. The surtax adds to the taxes of moderate-income workers, while a distorted sense of priorities would reduce spending for education, job training, housing, urban transit, air and water pollution control far more than outlays for space, the SST, and postponable public works.

Instead we should raise a substantial part of the additional revenues we need by plugging tax loopholes.

One of these tax loopholes is the mineral depletion allowance. This bonanza for oil and coal and other extractive industries is indefensible on grounds of equity or economics. The fact that the oil and coal companies escape paying their fair share of Federal income taxes puts a significantly heavier burden on the rest of the taxpayers.

In two well-researched articles in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently, staff correspondent James C. Millstone reveals that the coal companies are also paying absurdly low local taxes.

Millstone focuses sharply on the ironic contrast between the prosperity and high profits of the coal companies and the richness of the Kentucky coal lands on one hand; and the poverty of the counties and their people on the other.

The Penn Virginia Corp., owning coal lands in Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia, in 1965 enjoyed revenues of $2.7 million and net earnings of $1.8 million. Yet it paid only $163,584 in Federal taxes and a paltry $75,000 to seven counties including some of the poorest in the Nation.

At a time when nominal Federal corporate taxes alone are 48 percent, the Penn Virginia Corp. paid less than 14 percent to the Federal and local governments combined.

Similarly, the Virginia Iron, Coal & Coke Co. reported the highest revenues and earnings in its history but paid only $42,390 in local taxes on net income of $1.47 million.

In Perry County, Ky., where Vicco owns 6,600 acres of land and 27,500 acres of mineral rights, and where 2,681 of the 6,090 families have incomes below the poverty level, the company paid $4,653 in local taxes.

Mr. Speaker, James Millstone and the St. Louis Post Dispatch have performed a public service in bringing to our attention the fact that the great treasury raid is aimed not only at Washington but also at county courthouses throughout the land.

I include hereafter the St. Louis Post-Dispatch article of November 9, which I believe merits the careful consideration of Members:

EAST KENTUCKY COAL MAKES PROFITS FOR OWNERS, NOT REGION—LOCAL TAXES PAID ARE LOW—STARTLING CONTRAST BETWEEN WEALTH OF THE LAND AND POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE IN APPALACHIAN COUNTIES

(By James C. Millstone)

"Coal has always cursed the land in which it lies. When men begin to wrest it from the earth it leaves a legacy of foul streams, hideous slag heaps and polluted air. It peoples this transformed land with blind and crippled men and with widows and orphans. It is an extractive industry which takes all away and restores nothing. It mars but never beautifies. It corrupts but never purifies."—from "Night Comes to the Cumberlands" by Harry M. Caudill.

HAZARD, KY., November 18.—King coal is back on the throne. Across the coal-rich mountains of eastern Kentucky, the black diamonds are pouring from the earth at a staggering rate. The narrow, snaking highways are clogged with trucks piled high with coal, and with empties returning for another load. The hills rattle with the grinding of great earth-moving machines stripping away the land to rip out the riches beneath the surface.

Ever-increasing numbers of mammoth railroad gondolas are hauling away eastern Kentucky's wealth faster than ever before, more than 1,000,000 tons of coal a week worth more than $4,000,000, most of it headed from the remote mountain fastness to the teeming manufacturing centers of the nation.

Coal is the single important industry in the impoverished mountains, yet a reporter searches in vain for signs that the smashing new coal comeback is denting the poverty that has gripped, crushed and depopulated this most backward corner of Appalachia.

Unemployment still runs far above the national average, for the mining industry now works largely with machines, not men. Even as coal productivity has soared by 203 per cent in the past 20 years, employment has fallen 65 per cent. There now are only 25,000 fulltime mining jobs in all of Kentucky.

The standard scene in Harlan, Hazard, Whitesburg and Pikeville the first week of every month is the food stamp lineup—men, women and children stretching for blocks before the grocery stores.

The dregs of earlier boom-and-bust days in the coal industry still contaminate the once magnificent countryside. In the hidden hallows of Pike, Floyd, Letcher, Perry, Leslie, Knott, Bell and Harlan counties—the heart of the eastern Kentucky coalfield—the joyless coal camps still stand, gray and rotting, occupied by gray and rotting people. The gnarled old women still sit rocking on the tilted porches. The rusted, wheelless automobile hulks still litter the hillsides, backyards and creekbanks. Nearly anywhere in eastern Kentucky where a road may be found, it will lead to a ghost town where the ghosts still live.

The coal boom has accentuated the startling contrast between the wealth of this land and the poverty of the people. For the fact of the matter is that some of the poorest, saddest, most despairing people in the nation live on some of the richest land and have as their next-door neighbors some of the most profitable corporations in America.

It is a contrast that has passed largely unnoticed by most Kentuckians but has haunted the mind of Harry M. Caudill, a lanky Whitesburg attorney whose ancestors have lived in these hills since 1792. From his long study of the forces that shaped the people and the land, Caudill wrote the sensitive "Night Comes to the Cumberlands," a definitive history of the region that played a part in paving the way for today's antipoverty program.

Stumping Appalachia tirelessly, Caudill has used any forum that might come to him to preach land, tax and governmental reform, urging steps to help Kentucky's mountaineers put to beneficial use the riches under their feet.

"For more than 50 years," Caudill says, "mountaineers have sat supinely by and allowed their land and kinsmen and institutions to be callously exploited and manipulated by people who have neither affection nor respect for Appalachia—whose only concern is to plunder it for the money its resources will bring in the marketplace.

"Kentucky's wealth is making a few men rich in faraway places. The extraction of east Kentucky's wealth staggers the imagination. It continues today, as it has in the past."

Caudill believes that while the poverty of eastern Kentucky has been well documented in recent years, little attention has been paid to the other side of the coin.

"The hidden face of Appalachia must be brought into view and seen in proper focus," he says. "It is wondrously prosperous, for the coal depression has long since passed into history.

"It is studded with the names of great corporations, United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Inland Steel, Republic Steel, International Harvester, Ford Motor Co. and scores of others. These are gigantic entities attracted by the gigantic promise of one of the richest resource regions on this planet.

"Then there are the less famous corporations, the obscure firms that own immense boundaries of minerals and lease them to operating companies for royalties. These companies have shaped the destiny of Appalachia now for 75 years. They have set the policies followed in its courthouses and statehouses. Governors and legislators have abjectly cowered before them, enacting laws that exempted them almost entirely from any effective taxation."

If the coal surge has brought no comfort to those who stand in the food lines and rock on the creaking porches, it must be a source of deep satisfaction in far-off board rooms in Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Baltimore. These figures tell why:

Production of bituminous coal has risen spectacularly in Kentucky, from a low point of 62,800,000 tons in 1959 to a record high of 93,100,000 tons last year, a one-third increase. Production last year went up 8 per cent over 1965, and the state's coal output was valued at $345,000,000. The surge was most noticeable in eastern Kentucky which produced nearly 51,000,000 tons in 1966, close to 10 per cent above the 1965 totals.

Among the states, Kentucky ranks second to West Virginia in total coal production, turning out 17 per cent of the nation's coal last year, and its experience mirrors the national trend. American coal production has soared from a low mark of 403,000,000 tons five years ago to a record 533,000,000 tons last year.

Consumption of coal has risen steadily since 1961 after a long slump that began in 1920. Coal is slowly reclaiming from oil and gas its share of the nation's energy market and has gained on its competitors every year since 1963.

The future for coal could hardly be brighter. The Federal Power Commission estimates that the needs of the electric utility industry, which now consumes half the coal produced in the nation, will increase two-and-one-half times by 1980. Exciting new uses for coal appear to be within reach. There is talk of a process for converting coal to gasoline, of utilizing coal in desalting sea water.

The industry in Kentucky has even more reason for optimism. Much of the 33 billion tons still buried in the splendid mountains and along the winding streams of eastern Kentucky is the finest grade in America, low in sulfur content and thus increasingly desirable as a protection against air pollution.

Confirmation of the bountiful times in the coal business can be found in the annual and financial reports of three of the oldest coal companies operating in Kentucky. All three are land-owning companies which mine no coal but own mineral rights over vast expanses of land which they lease to coal operators. As a rule, they receive 25 cents for each ton of coal removed from their property.

The Penn Virginia Corp. of Philadelphia, which until last April did business under the name of the Virginia Coal and Iron Co., started buying up coal lands in eastern Kentucky and elsewhere in 1882, paying as little as 50 cents an acre for mineral rights to land fairly crammed with black gold. It now owns 105,000 acres in eastern Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia, and its properties produced 7,974,785 tons of coal last year.

Two years ago, a business publication called Dun's Review and Modern Industry referred to coal-leasing as "one of the most lucrative investments in America" and cited Virginia Coal and Iron as "what may well be the most profitable company in all of American industry." The assessment of the company was based on the fact that its net earhings came to 61 per cent of its revenues in 1964.

If Penn Virginia was, indeed, the most profitable company in the nation in 1964, it is more so now because it is making more money than ever. The 1966 annual report, under the heading, "another record year," told stockholders:

"Once again, improved demand for bituminous coal, reflected in higher royalty income, was the principal area of growth. A continuing trend in this direction, multiplied by higher per-ton royalty rates, will create an even greater gain in net earnings for 1967 . . . prices for low sulfur fuel are on the way up and will be reflected in your company's earnings."

The company reported revenues of $2,700,000 and $2,900,000 in 1965 and 1966, respectively, and net earnings of $1,800,000 and $1,900,000. The consistent 60 per cent-plus margin would make the mightiest corporations envious. General Motors, for example, nets about 10 per cent on its sales, and United States Steel Corp. had a 5.6 per cent return last year.

Reflecting Penn Virginia's healthy profits, the company distributed to its stockholders dividends totaling $1,100,000 in 1965 and $1,200,000 last year. By contrast, local governments in the land that produced much of this wealth—Harlan and Letcher counties in Kentucky and five Virginia and West Virginia counties—received a combined total of $75,000 in 1965 and $65,000 last year in property taxes from Penn Virginia.

The company's income taxes were nearly as negligible because of massive tax breaks for coal royalties. Thanks to depletion allowances and capital gains benefits, Penn Virginia paid only $163,584 in federal income taxes in 1965 and $317,000 last year. The result of low taxes and few other expenses provided every Penn Virginia stockholder with net earnings of $4.08 for every share of stock last year.

Penn Virginia has been increasing its coal-based profits in recent years by wheeling and dealing astutely, having bought heavily into the Southern Railway Co., Westmoreland Coal Co., a coking operation in Brazil and a Canadian mining firm.

Equally astonishing profits have accrued to the Kentucky River Coal Corp., Inc., founded in Virginia in 1915 and owner of 190,000 acres of coal lands in eastern Kentucky, principally in Perry, Knott, Letcher and Leslie counties.

In 1964, the 258 stockholders of Kentucky River received $8.76 in earnings for each share of stock, and in 1965 earnings per share jumped to $11.17.

With nearly all its income coming from coal royalties, Kentucky River took in $1,500,000 in 1964 and $1,870,000 in 1965. The combination of low overhead (chiefly salaries of 17 employes) and low taxes left the firm with net profits of $874,500 in 1964 and $1,113,155 in 1965, just under 60 per cent of sales each year.

Kentucky River paid out much of its profits in dividends, distributing $723,949 to its stockholders in 1964 and $871,710 in 1965. Figures for 1966 were not obtained.

Visits to county courthouses where Kentucky River owns land and mineral rights accentuated the niggardly return to local governments from these vast holdings. The tax books in Hazard for 1966 showed that in Perry county, the company owns 30,933 acres of surface land and 75,200 acres of mineral rights.

Tax Commissioner (assessor) Roy Johnson valued the property at $2,864,500 altogether, but on appeal ("I always have to fight with them, year after year," Johnson said) the company had $400,000 knocked from its valuation. Its final tax bill: $19,017.

In Leslie County which Harry Caudill has called "probably the most primitive political entity in the nation," Kentucky River was assessed a tax for 1967 of $7850 for its 17,715 acres of coal land. Tax Commissioner John D. Muncy tried to get a few more pennies from the company with a $908,000 valuation, but Kentucky River's protest resulted in a final valuation of $782,895.

"It's politics," Muncy said, in the squalid and littered courthouse in Hyden, a cluster of dark and dirty buildings that serves as the Leslie county seat. "They have lawyers and engineers. We don't have enough information and facts to challenge them."

The Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Co. began purchasing coal lands in 1899 and prospered during the earlier coal booms. Among the legacies it has left eastern Kentucky is the town of Vicco, built in the boom days on the road from Whitesburg to Hazard, and which still stands today in its dreary, disheveled ugliness, unaffected by the soaring fortunes of the company whose initials it bears.

Included in Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke's wide holdings are 253,000 acres of land and mineral rights in five states with the largest single amount in eastern Kentucky. This includes 73,000 acres in Floyd Knott, Leslie, Letcher, Perry and Pike counties.

In the doldrums as recently as 1958, the company now is boasting its highest profits ever. Its 1966 annual report said, "revenues and earnings generated were the highest in our history. Net earnings amounted to $1.09 per share of common stock as compared with $1.03 in 1965. The coal industry as a whole experienced a profitable year and your company enjoyed its proportionate position in this healthy economic market."

With $23,000,000 in sales in each of the past two years, Vicco had net incomes of $1,390,000 and $1,470,000 respectively and paid dividends each year totaling $678,876. Compare those figures with the local taxes paid. According to its own figures, Vicco had property in five states last year valued at $13,100,000, for which its tax bill came to $42,390.

In Perry county—an area so poor that last year 2681 of its 6090 families had sub-poverty-level incomes, according to Office of Economic Opportunity data—the company owns 6600 acres of land and 27,500 acres of mineral rights. County tax records show that the tax bill for 1966, Vicco's record earnings year, came to $4653.

No Vietnam Pullout Vote in Hanoi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the defeat of an ADA resolution in Cambridge, Mass., can but be an endorsement of their Government by Massachusettsans.

As for the Harvard University sect of extreme disloyalist, the American people have but one suggestion. Put your resolution to the people of North Vietnam to determine how many exploited Communists favor continuing the conflict or how many have had enough and are ready to go to the peace-talk table.

Surrender-without-dignity resolutions have been defeated all over the United States. Why do the disloyalists who promote their propaganda support for the enemy not to show their fairness on the issue by submitting the same proposition to the enemy.

The AP release of November 29 follows my comments:

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., VOTE REJECTS VIET PULLOUT

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—A resolution urging "the prompt return of American soldiers from Vietnam" was defeated by Cambridge voters, 17,742 to 11,349.

Both critics and backers of the Johnson administration's policy on Vietnam said they were encouraged by the vote.

In Washington, Democratic National Committee Chairman John M. Bailey described the vote as "an encouraging endorsement of resident Johnson's policies."

Harvard University economist John Kenneth Galbraith—chairman of Americans for Democratic Action—said, "the administration will make a grave mistake if they assume that this is anything but a vote of no confidence."

The question appeared on municipal election ballots Nov. 7, but counting was delayed until yesterday, to allow for absentee ballots.

The resolution was approved in four of the city's 11 wards, and all four covered so-called "academic sections" of the city, which is home to Harvard, Radcliffe, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The resolution read in part:

"Whereas thousands of Americans and Vietnamese are dying in the Vietnam war: Whereas this war is not in the interest of either the Americans or the Vietnamese people; therefore be it resolved that the people of the City of Cambridge urge the prompt return of American soldiers from Vietnam."

Bailey said the language of the question was designed to make it easy to vote against Johnson's policies. "But," he said, "figure it any way you want to, it was a sound endorsement of President Johnson."

Gailbraith said the referendum results were "a remarkable showing that 40 percent of Cambridge voters are willing to express themselves in this fashion and to show how intelligently they are viewing our unhappy involvement in Vietnam."

Three weeks ago, voters in San Francisco rejected 132,406 to 76,632 a proposal calling for an immediate cease fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

A peace advisory resolution was defeated a year ago in Dearborn, Mich.

Myths About Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the main problems in understanding our present-day welfare system is the lack of adequate statistics on which to base competent evaluation. So little is known that old prejudices about welfare merely proliferate and we continue to operate with hackneyed ideas of its value to both the recipients and to society in general.

Of late we have been hearing that welfare tends to perpetuate the need for welfare; that the offspring of welfare cases often spend their lives on the welfare rolls. Happily, we now have one valuable case study which disproves this myth. On November 18 the Arizona Daily Star in Tucson, Ariz., published an editorial spelling out the implications of that study and pointing to the need for additional studies to get at the truth about America's welfare programs.

I insert the Star editorial at this point in the Appendix:

MYTH OF SECOND-GENERATION WELFARE

The nation's welfare system is far from perfect, and as a result it has become the target of all sorts of criticism, some justified and much unjustified.

The principle behind the system, of course, is to help the downtrodden. Despite the admirable goal, it has become fashionable in some quarters to debunk welfare with disparaging references to its handouts, and suggestions that they do little but create second- and third-generation recipients.

Such comments have staying power, primarily because of their simplicity and because of the basic emotional appeal they contain: To the man not on welfare they suggest a reward for failure, and he most certainly is against that.

Such statements and attitudes, however, are over-simplifications. They lead to incorrect conclusions, and many of those who make such demagogic declarations know full well the emptiness of their words. They are repeated by some with the idea that if you say something often enough people will believe it.

Up to this point, the trouble has been the lack of statistics to support or refute such statements.

Now the void has been partially filled. Charlotte-Mecklenberg County in North Carolina has conducted a study of 456 children who were receiving aid to dependent children in January of 1955.

The result contrasts sharply with the wide-ranging generalizations welfare critics have made about second- and third-generation recipients.

The study shows:

1.9 per cent of the 456 individuals checked remain on welfare.

98.1 per cent of the 456 individuals checked are standing on their own two feet.

No one can say that the 98.1 per cent would not have succeeded, but the strong indication is that welfare helped them to climb out of poverty. Most certainly, welfare aid did not create a climate for failure.

One set of statistics does not provide the foundation for a national generalization, but it is a start, and perhaps the catalyst for more studies.

Ever Hanson, head of the Pima County Welfare Department, says he knows of no similar studies in Arizona, and although he knows the department has second- and third-generation individuals receiving aid, he has no idea what the percentage might be.

Dr. Raymond A. Mulligan, professor and head of the University of Arizona's Department of Public Administration, says most studies along this line have centered on the hard-core poverty cases, and thus cover only a tiny portion of those on welfare.

The indications from the North Carolina study seem twofold: that the American welfare system is doing a better job than its critics had thought, and that perhaps more studies along this line are needed.

In Tucson, perhaps the welfare department could join with an appropriate department at the university for a smaller study. The work could be done by graduate students.

December at the Smithsonian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

DECEMBER AT THE SMITHSONIAN

PROGRAM OF ACTIVITIES

Friday, December 1

25th Anniversary of Nuclear Fission: Exhibition. Special exhibit to commemorate the first attainment of controlled nuclear fission by Enrico Fermi, Chicago, Dec. 2, 1942. Sponsored by the Smithsonian's Division of Manufacturers & Heavy Industries. Museum of History and Technology, West Hall, First Floor. *Through December 10.*

United States Air Force Woodwind Quintet: Concert. Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 8:30 p.m. *Free and open to the public. No tickets required.*

Saturday, December 2

German Posters, Five Young Designers: Exhibition. Sponsored by the Smithsonian's Traveling Exhibition Service. Arts and Industries Building, Southwest Range. *Through December 24.*

Monday, December 4

Informal Lecture Demonstration: By Alan Curtis, harpsichordist. Museum of History and Technology Auditorium. 8:30 p.m. No tickets necessary.

Tuesday, December 5

Sales Exhibit, Toys Around the World: Museum of History and Technology, First Floor Lounge. Members of the Smithsonian Associates will receive a 10% discount. *Through January 7.*

Luncheon Talk, "Red Man's Burden, Slavery in the Amazon Basin": By Matthew Huxley, Director, Division of Educational Development. Museum of History and Technology. First Floor, Reception Suite. 12:00-2:00 p.m. *By subscription only. For information call 381–5157.*

Lecture and Film on Africa: By Gardner Stout. Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 8:30 p.m. *For members of the Smithsonian Associates and their guests.*

Concert: Solo harpsichord music of the Bach family by Alan Curtis. Museum of History and Technology Auditorium. 8:30 p.m. No tickets necessary.

Wednesday, December 6

Mineralogical Society: Meeting. Museum of Natural History, Room 43. 7:30 p.m.

Free film theater, "Robert Frost, a Lover's Quarrel With the World." A portrait of an important American poet reading some of his works and enjoying his favorite New England countryside. Introduction by Frank Turaj, Assistant Professor, English Department, American University. 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology Auditorium, and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History Auditorium.

Thursday, December 7

Free Film Theater, "Robert Frost, a Lover's Quarrel With the World." For details see December 6 listing. 12 noon in the Museum of History and Technology Auditorium.

International Amateur Boat Building Society Meeting: Lecture. Museum of Natural History, Room 43. 8 p.m. *For further information, call John Clark 813–5613.*

United States Air Force String Orchestra: Concert. Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 8:30 p.m. *Free and open to the public. No tickets required.*

Friday, December 8

An Evening With Charles Eames: Multiscreen sight-and-sound production created and hosted by Charles Eames. Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 8:30 p.m. *For members of the Smithsonian Associates.*

Friday and Saturday, December 8, 9

Art Tours of Washington: Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates. *For information, call 381–5157.*

Monday, December 11

Botany Seminar: *Phycobiliprotein localization in red algae,* lecture by Dr. Elizabeth Gantt, Biologist, Radiation Laboratory, Smithsonian; and *Flora of the sepentine barrens of the eastern United States,* lecture by Clyde F. Reed, Professor of Biology, Coppin State College, Baltimore. Museum of Natural History, Room W531. 6 p.m.

Tuesday, December 12

Luncheon Talk: "Red Man's Burden." For information, see December 5 listing.

It's a Small World: Illustrated lecture by Fran William Hall. The dinosaurs and pterodactyls are gone, but smaller cratures remain on this earth to provide unending fascination for those who watch them, whether in the meadow, forest, pond, or seashore. Delving into the secrets of their lives, Mr. Hall shares his fascination in his presentation of this small world. Sponsored by the Audubon Naturalist Society. Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 5:15 and 8:30 p.m.

Wednesday, December 13

National Photographic Society: Meeting. Museum of Natural History, Room 43. 8 p.m.

Free Film Theater, "The Annanacks." This Eskimo family helped to form the first Eskimo cooperative along the Georges River in northern Quebec. "Eskimo Artist, Kenojuak," Eskimo family life, at Cape Dorset, Baffin Island, is seen in the daily life and in the stone block art prints of this Eskimo artist. Introduction by John C. Ewers, Senior Scientist, Smithsonian Office of Anthropology, 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology Auditorium, and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History Auditorium.

Thursday, December 14

Luncheon Talk, "Red Man's Burden": For information, see December 5 listing.

Free Film Theater, "The Annanacks" and "Eskimo Artist, Kenojuak": For details see December 13 listing. Museum of History and Technology Auditorium. 12 noon.

Entomological Society of Washington: Meeting. Museum of Natural History, Room 43. 8 p.m.

Saturday, December 16

Theater Workshop Presented by the Garrick Players, Chekov's "The Marriage Proposal": Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 3:00 p.m. *For young members of the Smithsonian Associates.*

Sunday, December 17

Lower East Side, Portal to American Life (1870–1924): An exhibition of photographs and paintings depicting the great period of immigration and settlement in New York's Lower East Side. Sponsored at the Smithsonian by the Jewish Social Service Agency. Arts and Industries Building, South Hall. *Through January 14.*

Tuesday, December 19

Film Presentation: Includes Netselik Eskimos; Winter in the Tropics: Contrasts of bush and desert areas; Rain Forests; and Christmas in Iceland. Sponsored by the National Parks Association. Museum of Natural History Auditorium. 8 p.m.

John Wesley Powell's Anthropological Researches: Illustrated lecture by Don D. Fowler. Sponsored by the Anthropological Society of Washington. Museum of History and Technology Auditorium. 8:15 p.m.

Wednesday, December 20

Free Film Theater, "The Art of the Conservator": Restoring paintings is an art requiring painstaking care and a knowledge of the use and effects of chemical analysis, x-ray diffraction analysis, ultraviolet radiation, spectrographic tests, etc. Introduction by Charles Olin, Conservator, Smithsonian National Collection of Fine Arts and National Portrait Galley. 2 p.m. in the Museum of History and Technology Auditorium, and 8 p.m. in the Museum of Natural History Auditorium.

Paleontological Society: Meeting. Museum of Natural History, Room 43. 8 p.m.

Thursday, December 21

Free Film Theater, "The Art of the Conservator": for details see November 20 listing. Museum of History and Technology Auditorium. 12 noon.

National Capital Shell Club: Lecture, Museum of National History, Room 43. 8 p.m. *For further information, call Mrs. Walter Carpenter 273–4402.*

Monday, December 25

All Smithsonian Buildings closed today. Merry Christmas.

Wednesday, December 27

Masques, Mines and Miracles: A holiday Festival. Museum of History and Technology, Iron and Steel Hall. 4:30 and 6:00 p.m. *Through January 6. No performances December 31 and January 1.*

CONTINUING EXHIBITIONS

The Original Comic Art: Exhibition. Museum of History and Technology, Third Floor, Graphic Arts Salon. *Through mid-December.*

Paintings of U.S. and European Spacecraft: Exhibition, The paintings dwere commissioned by TRW Corporation, sponsors of the exhibit. Arts and Industries Building, Aerospace Art Gallery. *Through December.*

George Caleb Bingham: 1811–1879, art exhibition. Includes 36 oil paintings, and 25 related drawings. Last National Collection of Fine Arts show to be hung in the Art Hall Gallery. Museum of Natural History, Art Hall. *Through January 1.*

The Graphic Art of Mary Cassatt: Art exhibition. 83 prints, watercolors and drawings—a seldom shown aspect of her talent. Museum of Natural History, Foyer Gallery. *Through January 7.*

Doodles in Dimension: Exhibition. A collection of metal and wood sculptures produced by Ralph Mitchell Tate from doodles by John F. Kennedy. Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, 2405 Nichols Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. *Through early January.*

In the Spirit of Lindbergh: Exhibitions by the Federal Aviation Administration and Environmental Science Service Administration which were exhibited at the Paris Air Show earlier this year. Arts and Industries Building. *Through mid-January.*

Computer exhibit: Tracing the history of modern computing. Museum of History and Technology, First Floor, Hall of Physical Sciences. *Through February.*

Alexander Graham Bell: Exhibition. Museum of History and Technology, First Floor, Hall of Electricity. *Through July.*

IBM Project Gemini: Exhibition on Gemini featuring onboard computer operations. Visitor participation in contfolling function of computer in simulated rendezvous and reentry operations. Gemini IV spacecraft, walk-in-space umbilical and maneuvering device also on display. Air and Space Building. *Permanent Exhibit.*

Fairchild Scan-a-Graver: Exhibition. First electronic halftone engraving machine. Museum of History and Technology, Third Floor, Graphic Arts Hall. *Permanent Exhibit.*

MUSEUM HOURS

Museum Hours: 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. daily

Food Service in the Museum of History and Technology

Cafeteria Hours: Public—11 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. 7 days; Staff—9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. 5 days

Snack-counter Hours: 8 a.m. to 4:00 pm. 7 days

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Justice After the Riots

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the summer's riot fires have cooled, the blood has dried on the streets. Now we talk of prosecution and ultimate punishment of the rioters.

Those who are found guilty of breaking the law should be punished to a degree commensurate with the crime they have committed.

Yet in this demand for quick, strict punishment, there is a very grave danger that we may sacrifice the American goal of equal justice for all.

Recently, William T. Gossett, president-elect of the American Bar Association, discussed this danger in a speech to the Chicago Bar Association. Gossett, a Detroit attorney and former general counsel for the Ford Motor Co., spoke of the causes of the riots and their aftermath, with specific reference to the observance of law and the pursuit of justice.

Of riot and violence, Gossett declares:

> Obviously, mob violence and destruction cannot be tolerated by any nation that counts itself civilized—much less by a nation that has had thrust upon it by the forces of history a sobering burden of leadership among the family of the nations.

He tells of a Detroit kangaroo court conducted by a Negro agitator in which two policemen were "tried" for the fatal shooting of two Negroes during the course of the riot. The accused were, he says, "convicted," although "none of them was present or represented in the proceedings to face his accusers or to cross-examine those who 'testified' against him."

Says Gossett—

> All such mock trials are wholly repugnant to our sense of justice, to the integrity of our legal system, and to the standards of a civilized society, because in them all of our constitutional safeguards are ignored; and, of course, they are wholly devoid of "due process".

But he continues:

> No less reprehensible, on the other hand, are such indiscriminate police devices as dragnet arrests and haphazard counter-sniper fire. It is just not good enough that some of those shot down or some of those arrested may have been guilty. We have got to find more efficient police methods to deal with riots, and we have got to evolve more specialized reinforcements to supplement large-scale rioting.
>
> And above all, in the court proceedings that follow, we must avoid the temptation, imposed by the stresses and strains of the moment, to take short-cuts in dealing with the fundamental rights of the individual.

But the essence of his speech was this cogent observation:

> We cannot win universal respect for the law—the indispensable ingredient of a free society—unless the law respects all men equally.

He adds—

> Justice is at best an elusive ideal. But it is a powerful one—capable of profoundly

changing the hearts and lives of men whatever their lot.

I think this address is a most penetrating analyses of the pressures riots place upon our judicial system, lawyers, law enforcement officials and citizens. It also clearly defines the responsibilities to these same groups in the pursuit of justice. I recommend its careful reading to my colleagues and ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The address follows:

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM T. GOSSETT, PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AT THE QUARTER ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 21, 1967

It is a privilege to be with you tonight.

Several years ago, when I was practicing law in New York, it seemed to me that the Chicago Bar was the second best in the country. I am pleased to report to you tonight, however, that in the light of many more years of experience, and of much more maturity, I am prepared to concede that you are at least tied for first!

Seriously, I have always had great respect for the Chicago Bar, both in terms of sheer professional competence and in its fulfillment as well as its conception of the demanding and growing social obligations of the profession. The American Bar Association has been enriched and strengthened by the Chicago Bar at least as early as 1905–1906 when George R. Peck served as our president. As you know, since those days, the ABA has been led by several Chicago lawyers: J. M. Dickinson, Stephen S. Gregory, Silas H. Strawn, and most recently, Tappan Gregory, who served also as Chairman of the House of Delegates and Editor of the ABA Journal.

Now, in these turbulent times, we are blessed with the services and guidance of some stalwarts of the Chicago Bar, such as Joe Stecher, Dick Bentley, Tom Boodell, Bert Jenner, Barney Sears, Russell Baird, Bill Avery, Malcolm Moss, and many others.

The last time I had the privilege of addressing a Chicago Bar Association dinner was on June 15, 1950. The subject of my talk that night was "Big Labor in a Democratic Society". Tonight, 17½ yeras later, that would be a timely subject, especially in the light of the recent Ford and Chrysler settlements with the U.A.W. For we have made little, if any, progress in solving the problems that I described that evening. Indeed, they have grown in size and complexity.

Let me say, though, that my subject tonight was selected, as it was in 1950, with due regard for the philosophy so aptly stated by Mr. Justice Fortas, that "a lawyer is not merely a craftsman—or even an artist. He has a special role in our society. He is a professional. He is not merely a practitioner of a difficult, exacting and subtle are form. He is a professional, specially ordained to perform at the crisis time of the life of other people; and almost daily, to make moral judgments of great sensitivity. He is the principal laboratory worker in the mixing of government prescriptions. His is an important hand at the wheel of our economy because, as lawyer, he has a profoundly important voice in business transactions. And, of course, he is the custodian of the flaming sword of individual justice and personal liberty, as well as the public order."

Violence is not new to us as a people. It took tough physical struggle and often brutal physical conflict to convert a continental wilderness into a great nation. Socially, violence has also been a ready avenue of expression to those who have deeply felt grievances and think they have waited too long for reforms. Much of our national history, from colonial times through the struggle for abolition, including troubled periods in this century, has been characterized by violent explosions. Now, in our own day, relative handfuls of extremists among our people, most of whom deplore violence, have resorted to mob action as an instrument of social protest. We have witnessed it even in so-called peace demonstrations, and we have witnessed it on a fearful scale in the ghettos.

We are told that the ghetto outbursts are episodic; that they are not truly revolutionary, being but unorganized manifestations of long-smoldering feelings of anger and injustice; and that they were wholly predictable in this period of rapid change because, as a matter of social history, only after change begins to occur does mob action come to speed up and help institutionalize change.

However that may be, we all know that mobs do not generate human progress; they retard it. We know that mobs do not establish rights; they trample them. We know that mobs do not inspire the advancement of civilization; they impede it.

A wise and experienced journalist, who had witnessed some of the great social upheavals of our troubled century all over the world, Dorothy Thompson, said not many years ago: "It has required centuries of evolution to take the conduct of justice out of the hands of the multitude; away from the mob and the marketplace where rumor, hearsay, passion . . . and mass emotion so easily hold sway; to take justice out of the hands of those who, for such reasons, 'know not what they do', and to take it into quiet chambers, surround it with rules and restrictions, conduct it with dignity and decorum, and establish the conditions and atmosphere to make it possible, at least, than those who sit in judgment do know what they do."

Mobbism is, then, the antithesis of civilization—the dire step that moves backward precipitously and fiercely, undoing in a few wild hours the forward movement of generations. Obviously, mob violence and destruction cannot be tolerated by any nation that counts itself civilized—much less by a nation that has had thrust upon it by the forces of history a sobering burden of leadership among the family of nations. And although we who have devoted our lives to the law must leave to the social scientists the clinical aspects of mob behavior, we must constantly and repeatedly insist that once lawful procedures for the resolution of conflicts and the redress of wrongs are abandoned or violated, the collapse of a free and secure society is inevitable.

I do not need to tell this audience—dedicated, as it is, to progress by mutual counseling—that this is not to put undue emphasis on the *means* at the risk of obscuring the *end*. The distinguished late presiding Judge of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, Curtis Bok, once said, "In the whole history of law and order, the longest step forward was taken by primitive man, when, as if by common consent, the tribe sat down in a circle and allowed one man to speak at a time. An accused who is shouted down has no rights whatever. Unless people have an instinct for procedure, this conception of basic human rights is a "waste of effort, and wherever we see a negation of those rights it can be traced to a lack, an inadequacy, or a violation of procedure."

We of the legal profession long ago developed a term to describe the ancient custom of allowing one person to speak at a time, of allowing the accused to speak without being shouted down. We call it "due process of law". Due process represents procedural decency and fairness; it came down to us from Magna Carta, through the common law; and it is embedded in the Constitution of this nation.

There are many areas of life today that cry out for a sharpened sense of due process on the part of all of us. Equal access to the law is one. A person without legal advice because he cannot afford it is, because of that fact alone, deprived of due process. Unpopular people and those serving unpopular causes can be and often are, because of that fact alone, deprived of due process. An accused who is detained in ignorance of his rights or denied a prompt and fair hearing, because of that fact alone, is deprived of due process.

Following the Detroit riot last summer, there were suggestions of general amnesty for all charged with violations. One of the most radical and emotional of the Negro agitators came to the city and spoke at a mass meeting from which all whites—including representatives of the news media—were excluded. He demanded that two policemen and two others, who had been charged with shooting to death two Negroes during the course of the riot, be tried before a kangaroo court, masquerading as a "people's tribunal". If the "defendants" were convicted, he said, they were to be "lynch executed". In due course, the so-called trial was held before 1,500 spectators, and all the accused were "convicted", although none of them was present or represented in the proceedings to face his accusers or to cross-examine those who "testified" against him.

Manifestly, all such mock trials are wholly repugnant to our sense of justice, to the integrity of our legal system, and to the standards of a civilized society because in them all of our constitutional safeguards are ignored; and, of course, they are wholly devoid of "due process".

No less reprehensible, on the other hand, are such indiscriminate police devices as dragnet arrests and haphazard counter-sniper fire. It is just not good enough that *some* of those shot down or *some* of those arrested may have been guilty. We have got to find more efficient police methods to deal with riots, and we have got to evolve more specialized reinforecments to supplement them in large-scale rioting. And above all, in the court proceedings that follow, we must avoid the temptation, imposed by the stresses and strains of the moment, to take short-cuts in dealing with the fundamental rights of the individual. Such practices as mass arraignments on the warrant, with inadequate or no advice about constitutional rights—the right to counsel, for example—and the fixing of bail bonds on a mass basis, with no attempt to handle cases individually, lack the decency of treatment that is the foundation of due process of law.

Due process is threatened, then, not only by mobs in the streets, but also by imperfections in the administration of justice; and each violation of due process tends to multiply the other kind: that is, mob action leads to police repression and careless or vindictive court action; and poor administration of justice leads to resentment and mob action.

This is not to compromise with firmness in subduing insurrections wherever they occur and for whatever reasons. It does mean, though, subduing them with discipline and control, with a sense of responsibility, and with a respect for the lives and property of the innocent. It means, clearly, emphatically and without using what Theodore Roosevelt called "weasel words," outlawing the indiscriminate traffic in firearms both on an interstate and an intrastate level. It means, too, that punishment be not merely vindictive, for a reason that Mr. Justice Brandeis made memorably clear in *Whitney v. California* (274 U.S. 357, 375), when he reminded us that the founders of our nation "knew that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction . . . that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supported grievances and proposed remedies; and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones."

Our Negro citizens, representing approximately a tenth of all our people, today are being repeatedly exposed to "evil counsels"—counsels of despair, of malice and of destruction. The "evil counsels" are men who move from city to city, inciting people to burn and loot and kill—death-dealing gadflies of destruction and revolution against law and order.

American Negroes number almost 25 million people, an excessive percentage of whom live out their lives deprived of adequate education, adequate living standards and, worst of all, adequate hope; and they offer fertile ground to demagogues, agitators and anarchists. Let us consider that figure—25 million—in order to get a real perspective on the dimensions of the problem to which the recent occurrences of injury, death and destruction have given tragic expression in many of our cities.

In historic terms, our 25 million Negroes exceed in number the entire population of the United States in 1850, and their number is not much less than that of both the North and South together at the outbreak of the Civil War. In contemporary terms our Negro citizens exceed in number the total populations of every country in Africa except one, every country of North and Central America except two, and every country of South America except one. Indeed, only seventeen of the world's 150 countries have populations exceeding that of Negroes in the United States.

And we have had a continuing mass migration of Negroes to the large cities of the North and of white people to the suburban areas. It is estimated that by 1970 fifty of our largest cities will have majorities of black inhabitants. Another projection is that in eight years, by 1975, the 14 largest cities in the U.S. will have black majorities of 60 to 80 per cent. Those figures emphasize the absolute necessity of our gauging the significance of the uprisings of the past summer as accurately as humanly possible.

It is not enough for us to deplore riots and lawlessness as such. It is not enough to insist upon firmness in dealing with them, when they do occur, and upon due process in their aftermath. All this is necessary, to be sure, but we must do more. The legal profession cannot provide a complete solution to the deeply absorbing plight, of which riots have been a frightening symptom. But lawyers certainly can make an enormous, perhaps a basic, contribution. We can help provide the "fitting remedy" of good counsels; counsels of hope, of good will and of construction, to which Mr. Justice Brandeis referred—counsels that can correct the atmosphere of these explosive demonstrations.

This is going to take a very sure reading of history and a sharp insight into the forces at work in our society. Nothing could be more disastrous than for us to rush to the easy assumption that every city's riots are inspired from without, that they are meaningless phenomena, or that they are isolated coincidences. Even the most cursory reading of the deeply perceptive report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, appropriately entitled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society,* will quickly dispel any such comfortable illusion.

In a document that should be read by every citizen in this country, there is a succession of observations that we can ill afford to ignore. In essence they put in broad context, in contemporary terms, the social genesis of the mob behavior that we witnessed last summer:

"There have always been slums in the cities", the Report states, "and they have always been places where there was the most crime. What has made this condition even more menacing in recent years is that the slums, with all their squalor and turbulence, have more and more become ghettos, neighborhoods in which racial minorities are sequestered with little hope of escape. People who, though declared by the law to be equal, are prevented by society from improving their circumstances, even when they have the ability and the desire to do so, are people with extraordinary strains on their respect for the law and society."

What are some of those "extraordinary strains" to which the Commission refers? One of them is clear—and it is a fact very hard for us in the legal profession to acknowledge: it is simply, and without glossing over an unpalatable truth, that the poor, black and white, resent and fear the law. And the reason seems to me obvious. The conditions under which the poor live their hapless lives seldom expose them directly to the law as their protector. They experience far more often and far more vividly instances of the law doing something *to* them rather than something *for* them. Mr. Justice Fortas has pointed out how easily this can happen: "The law has always been the hostile policeman on the beat, the landlord who has come to serve an eviction notice, the installment seller who has come to repossess. . . ."

We must make it a reality—not an empty theory—that the law is the servant—not the despot—of all the people. This is not a simple or an easy assignment. Much of it will go against the grain of the experience of lawyers as custodians of stable values that come much more readily to us. We need to move into these troubled areas and offer preventive counsel to these people who are suspicious of the law. We need to show them—not just tell them—that the law can protect them from the predatory landlord, from the unscrupulous installment seller, and from the overzealous cop on the beat. We need to prove to them, by what we do—not just by what we say—that the law is on their side—not against them.

In connection with the Detroit riot, more than 6,500 people were taken into custody, only 4,180 of whom were booked. Of those, 1,044 were charged with misdemeanors and 3,166 with felonies. Fifty-seven per cent of those booked were held for further proceedings. Some of these have pleaded guilty, some have been released, and others bound over for trial. The Detroit Bar Association, supported by the State Bar and the American Bar Association, called for volunteers to defend those who lacked funds to pay lawyers fees. The response was a credit to the profession: 700 lawyers offered their services; and many of them have made substantial sacrifices of time and energy, all to the end that those accused might be accorded the benefits of a fair trial—of due process of law!

We already have in existing bar organizations fundamental machinery directed in part towards the achievement of equal justice under law. And the ABA and the American Bar Foundation have undertaken general studies in depth of the availability of legal services in our society.

But we need also to move on to new approaches on a new scale. We cannot win universal respect for the law—the indispensable ingredient of a free society—unless the law respects all men equally. Seventeen years ago, Reginald Heber Smith, one of the great pioneers in legal aid, said: "Nothing rankles more in the human heart than a brooding sense of injustice. Illness we can put up with; but injustice makes us want to pull things down."

Justice is at best an elusive ideal. But it is a powerful one—capable of profoundly changing the hearts and minds and lives of men whatever their lot. To achieve this metamorphosis, however, the law—the only avenue to justice known to men—must constantly battle through to new frontiers of concern and interest.

The Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity (with 800 offices and 1,800 lawyers in 47 states) has charted some of these frontiers that are today in crying need of penetration. They are: tenant-landlord relationships; consumer protection, particularly in installment buying; welfare law; and due process for juveniles, usually the unwanted children of the ghetto.

As every lawyer knows, there are appalling injustices in the laws governing the relations between landlords and tenants; indeed, those laws are relics of feudal times when judges tended to view each side of a contract as independent of the other; and so, in most states, the tenant still is obligated to keep paying the rent even if the landlord has broken all his promises.

The tenant cannot make needed repairs and deduct their cost from the rent, nor can he hold back the rent until the landlord has fulfilled his obligations; and the tenant can be evicted for nonpayment of rent, however justified his nonpayment may have been. After eviction, he can sue the landlord for damages for failure to keep his promises or to observe the housing code; but in Michigan he cannot even protest his eviction in court unless he posts a bond equal to nine months rent. And if the tenant complains to officials about building code violations, the landlord can retaliate by evicting him. And that action can come much faster than the results of a housing code enforcement process.

So in most states, legislative changes in landlord and tenant laws are long overdue. And there are other pressing needs. Much could be done, for example, in improving the standards of criminal justice. Many years ago, Chief Justice Taft, who was no radical, said that the administration of criminal justice in this nation was a disgrace. Reforms were suggested by the Wickersham Report, and others, in the Twenties and Thirties; but few of them have been made.

Shortly after the Detroit disaster, Governor Romney and Mayor Cavanagh created a citizens organization, known as the "New Detroit Committee". Its mission is to recommend action designed not only to bring about reconstruction of the burned and ravished areas but also to remove or mitigate such underlying causes of social unrest, hate and anger at high unemployment among Negroes, mistreatment by the police, profiteering by unscrupulous landlords, credit agencies, and neighborhood merchants, substandard housing, and general feelings of injustice and frustration.

Serving on the 39 member Committee are the chief executives of the city's largest industrial enterprises, and also representatives from education, unions, government and community organizations. Combined with that unusual but not unprecedented community mixture are representatives of neighborhood groups of Negroes, of leaders of militant racial groups, bipartisan leadership of the state legislature, the chairmen of the tri-county Boards of Supervisors, and the chairman of the League of Women Voters. The Committee is supported by a staff of lawyers, businessmen, sociologists, and financial experts. At the outset, the Committee recognized that the problems demanding immediate solution were primarily in the areas of jobs, housing, schools, public order and safety. It further recognized that if we are to look ahead with confidence, or even hope, to a unified and constructive society, the Detroit community—indeed, the whole nation—must face up to the need for social and economic innovation in our cities, and do it now!

The Committee has made a series of recommendations and is formulating a program of action. In making decisions the Committee has been motivated less by political expediency than by what seems to be fair and just; and its practice has been to speak through its actions and achievements rather than by promises. To this end, the Committee has strongly recommended state and local legislation to assure open housing and enlargement of tenants' rights as well as the con-

> struction of low cost housing in slum areas; it has requested larger appropriations for the Detroit school system; it has stimulated job and job training opportunities for hard core unemployment areas; it has brought about the appointment of an outside expert to review the organization and administration of the Detroit police department; it has devised means to provide equity financing and counseling for small businesses in the ghetto area; and generally it has worked diligently with all of the resources available in the community to develop programs of self help and progress.
>
> Obviously, it has not been possible to develop quickly a fully comprehensive and effective plan of action for a community that has overlooked or misjudged most of these needs for too many years. But the Committee has the will and the ability as well, I think, to get the job done: to save the community from further anarchy, further anguish and further impairment.
>
> I pass this report along to you, because I think it essential that we exchange information and experience among our cities. And I pass it along, too, because vast as the problems are, by determined action, we can face them, we can understand them, and we can solve them.
>
> Last spring the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare told the American Law Institute, "I try to remember—and ask you to remember—that this great nation was conceived and designed by human beings, imperfect as you and I are imperfect; capable of mistakes, even as you and I; subject to weariness, doubt and confusion, as all of us are. But with all their human fallibility, they had the courage and heart to believe that man might create a free and just society."
>
> Let me suggest to you tonight with confidence that this generation of Americans also has courage and heart. Let me suggest that we have the capacity and the will to attain in our time the American dream of a free and a just society for all men under law.

Harry Golden Shares the Hoffer View: L. B. J. Is the Foremost President of Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are fans of author-publisher Harry Golden know that he combines a unique blend of wisdom, commonsense, and good humor to arrive at the truth.

When Harry Golden offers an opinion, he is usually more right than wrong.

That is why I am particularly delighted to report that Mr. Golden has written that—

> President Johnson will win election handily campaigning on the advances made by the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry Truman, and his own Great Society.

Mr. Golden said that—

> Despite Vietnam, the growth of the Great Society has been nothing less than phenomenal. In the last three years, Congress has passed more laws and appropriated more funds for education and health than in all the previous history of the Federal Government.

Mr. Golden correctly notes that—

> During Lyndon Johnson's Presidency more Negroes rose to middle incomes than ever before. Negroes won the right to vote in the South and their appointment and election to high office has become a commonplace where once it was only a rarity.

I think we Democrats would also agree with Mr. Golden's assessment that in 1968 the Republicans "will offer simple solutions for problems which only complex processes can resolve."

He foresees "a tense and bitter campaign." And, he says, regardless of the outcome, "Lyndon Johnson has assured himself a role as one of the great Presidents of the 20th century."

Another great American thinker, Mr. Eric Hoffer, has made precisely the same judgment about President Johnson.

And I believe the American people join in sharing this assessment of a President who has proven himself to be courageous, wise, and determined in meeting the problems confronting America at home and abroad.

I insert in the RECORD this excellent article by Mr. Harry Golden, editor of the Carolina Israelite:

WHY LYNDON JOHNSON WILL WIN

(By Harry Golden)

> Lyndon Johnson will win election handily campaigning on the advances made by the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry Truman, and his own Great Society. Medicare, Social Security, civil rights, and model cities and the war on poverty, are solid facts. So is our affluence. In his great book, *The American Commonwealth*, Lord Bryce said, "No American President has ever lost his seat while smoke was coming out of the chimneys."
>
> Even though we have been hampered and harrassed by a war in Vietnam, the growth of the Great Society has been nothing less than phenomenal. An unprecedented effort to aid American education hasn't missed a beat. The Federal commitment for education and training has risen from 4.7 billion in 1964 to 12.3 in 1967. In the last three years, Congress has passed more laws and appropriated more funds for education and health than in all the previous history of the Federal Government.
>
> Johnson's last achievement was the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. Had he not personally urged its passage it is doubtful if this legislation would have passed through Congress. The Act creates a noncommercial television network, free of the tyranny of the advertiser, the mass audience, and the politician. It was passed during one of Congress's economy waves. But Johnson wisely insisted his main purpose was to get Congressional authority for the network first and leave the question of its financing to a more propitious moment.
>
> During Lyndon Johnson's tenure more Negroes rose to middle incomes than ever before. Negroes won the right to vote in the South and their appointment and election to high office has become a commonplace where once it was only a rarity.
>
> The Presidential campaign in '68 will be tense and bitter. The Republicans will offer simple solutions for problems which only complex processes can resolve. The fight Johnson faces in defending his administration will sorely test not only him but the American electorate. Regardless of the outcome, Lyndon Johnson has assurred himself a role as one of the great Presidents of the twentieth century."

Do We Need More Rights or Fewer Wrongs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, a thought-provoking speech was given by Allan Shivers, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States before the annual meeting of the American Life Convention held in Dallas, Tex., on October 26, 1967. Mr. Shivers, in his address, made a penetrating analysis of some of the legislation enacted by or pending before this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, as food for thought of my colleagues, I recommend that they read the text of his remarks, which follows:

DO WE NEED MORE RIGHTS OR FEWER WRONGS?

> One of the chief developments of this enlightened age is that we Americans are learning to use the powers of government to extend our economic and social rights in all directions.
>
> Once our basic purposes were to protect each other from oppression and destitution. Now we are concerned with the dignity of the disadvantaged individual; we are creating new forms of welfare to reflect our growing affluence; and we are bent on maintaining throughout our lives the equality with which we believe we were all created.
>
> We are at war against prejudices. Minority rights are being expanded aggressively in areas where wrongs have been most apparent. Our great Civil Rights cause is directed mainly at the plight of the Negro, and to a lesser extent in support of the job rights of women and older men, but we are alertly on guard against the persecution of any group, however large or small.
>
> At one extreme in our social progress, people's aesthetic needs are being attended to by federal programs to spread beauty and culture across the land and rid it from junkpiles. At the other extreme we permit confessed, brutal criminals to walk our beautified streets because the Supreme Court has stretched their technical legal rights to the point where it is impossible to punish them.
>
> These are a few of the ways our Great Society is shaping up.
>
> Among the concepts that seem to be taking hold is a universal right-to-health. Medicare for the elderly and medicaid for the needy—and near needy—are the basic programs which we now have in common with the world's Welfare States. But we are going far beyond that; and beyond the traditional functions of our public health services. As part of the federal poverty program, health care is being extended to the unborn, in the form of pre-natal care for expectant mothers of needy families. Child delivery and post-natal care for mother and child are also provided in this national program which began in 1963. There is a federal physical fitness program stemming mainly from the 20 per cent rate of physical rejects among young men called up by Draft Boards. And from other diretcions we see mounting federal concern with the effects of alcohol and tobacco, air and water pollution, and with automobile and highway safety, all adding up to a concerted effort to guarantee health and personal security as a national policy.
>
> The rights of labor, which have been

weighed with special advantages for more than 30 years, are accumulating at every new turn. With militant and imaginative help from the National Labor Relations Board, unions have gained a voice in such management decisions as plant relocations, product distribution and processing methods. Labor law specialists believe that unions may soon gain the right to be consulted about prices, types and volumes of production and even about methods of company financing.

Since early times, Americans have had a guarantee, in fact a requirement, of exposure to education. Children have had to go to school. They haven't had to learn and they still don't. But their reasons for not doing so are being reduced drastically. Our education programs are reaching out for pre-school age children of the poor to try to overcome their environmental handicaps to learning. We now realize that a child's learning ability may be related to adequate diet, so our education and health programs have reached a point of overlap.

We have reached the conclusion that young and old alike have a rigt to a skill, as well as an education, and business and government both are heavily involved in training and retraining programs. Some advanced planners think the next logical step should be to establish a right to a job for those who can't or won't learn any skill. One suggestion is that the federal government become an employer of last resort, creating work for some slight value for the hopelessly unskilled to do, so that they can benefit society in their meager ways, and at the same time gain a measure of dignity for themselves.

The rights of consumers are coming in for a lot of attention. Strong efforts are being made to reinforce these rights with so-called truth-in-lending, truth-in-packaging and truth-in-advertising laws, although there is a hollow ring of politics to much of this. This is understandable, considering that there are now 193 million American consumers, and new ones are being born at the rate of seven a minute. Consumers are already strongly protected against deception.

Among all the new rights and happinesses now being pursued, however, none has quite the priority of that assigned to rescuing people from destitution. The war on poverty has even moved onto a sociological plane with efforts at birth control. The objective is to regulate the quality of population growth or, to put it in the social worker's terms, to provide those children who are born with the right not to be born in abject poverty.

The poverty war is so total, involving so much of our private as well as our public resources, that it defies coordination or even careful analysis except by skilled specialists. The average businessman trying to exert his influence in this problem area is best advised to concentrate on trends. I will mention a new one that is coming in for special attention now and needs to be well understood before any national decisions are made. It is the proposal for a guaranteed annual income. The idea is to provide everyone a minimum income for life as a matter of right, with no requirement for the beneficiary to do any work and no restrictions on how he spends the money.

Jarring as it is to the principles by which most Americans live, this new concept has aroused such interest that the President has said he will appoint a commission of leading Americans to make a two-year study of it. Meanwhile, it has been selected as topic of the year for college debating teams all over the country. It has also been seized upon a possible solution to the Ghetto problem and was, in fact, endorsed at a recent "Black Power" conference in Newark, New Jersey.

Two types of proposals are being made: one for outright payments to bring everyone's income up to a specified minimum—a figure of $3,000 a year for a family of four is frequently mentioned: another, referred to as a negative income tax, which would also involve an income guarantee but with a gradual tapering of benefits so that the individual would have some incentive left to supplement his subsidy by working.

The negative income tax would work this way: The government would set a poverty level minimum of, say, $3,000 a year and would provide a subsidy of 50 per cent of the amount that the family income fell below that figure. If the family had no income the subsidy would be $1,500. If the earned income was $1,500, the subsidy would be $750. If the family earned $2,500, the subsidy would be $250, and so on.

This proposal generally is considered as a substitute for, or a refinement of old-fashioned welfare, rather than as an addition to it.

Now the guaranteed income, like nearly all the other new rights that are being developed or explored, has a good purpose behind it. For every program idea, there are people who need help in particular ways and who will continue to suffer without it. We should do just what we are doing—take careful new looks at people's needs in the light of our society's increasing knowledge and wealth. But let's be sure that we are looking into the new ideas thoroughly. Let's make a practice of looking at consequences as well as needs.

When you get right down to it, rights are not created; they are assigned. They don't spring into being from man's imagination; they are derived by taking from some and giving to others. One man's guarantee is another man's restriction. We need to balance rights with wrongs.

For example, taxes to support cultural centers are a boon to many, but are impositions on the man whose hobby is travel, and on the one who prefers to stay at home and read books. Those of us who count cultural centers among our benefits should not forget those taxpayers who are being taken advantage of.

Much more to the point, extra rights for criminals make more wrongs for their victims. New York State now forbids its policemen to shoot a criminal who flees after commiting a felony. The policeman may shoot only to prevent the felony, not afterwards. Many innocent people will pay for this reduction in the risk of crime.

Nearly all of us agree that welfare and Social Security programs are necessary although they, too, disturb the balance of equity in some respects. What is taken from the taxpayer to support those programs means he has that much less freedom to choose his own forms of charity and personal security. And those whom the taxpayer might have preferred to help are deprived, no matter how good the reason.

Again, the new rights given to labor unions are reducing the employer's right-to-manage, and even his freedom of speech. The National Labor Relations Board now forbids a businessman to say anything to his employees that might influence them against the union, and no matter whether what he says is true or not. NLRB ordered the management of one company (P. J. Stevens, Inc.) to assemble all its employees and read them a "public confession" that it had engaged in anti-union activities and a "pledge" of reform which NLRB had written. The company managed to avoid this kind of Red Chinese prison camp spectacle by going to court.

A man's right to join a union should be protected, but not to the point where another man is chased up a dark alley and persuaded to sign a certification slip in favor of a union that he and the majority of his fellow workers don't want.

If we were able to keep in mind that rights are relative, and human wants insatiable, we might start thinking in terms of some sort of a guarantee to the taxpayer, too, such as a right to keep at least half what he earns. We might also want to protect savings and pensions from the inflationary deficit spending on some of the worthy but less essential government programs.

And then we need to give some thought too, to the effects of welfare rights on the human spirit. At the University of Michigan, Edwin J. Thomas, Professor of Social Work and Psychology, has reported finding evidence of what he calls "psychological dependence" among chronic welfare recipients.

He finds that such people, more so than middle-class Americans, tend to follow natural instincts; to focus on being rather than doing; to live in the present rather than the future. They do not hold to the same values that middle-class Americans do. The need to achieve was found to have no bearing on whether they took jobs or not.

What this seems to mean is that a weak spot is developing in our national character and that it would be dangerous for us to let it grow. Our welfare programs must be of a kind that builds hope, instead of weakening it.

Fundamentally, what has happened in Great Britain is that welfare has reduced the individual's will to work and save, and is causing a decline in economic activity.

In our own country we are seeing relief programs divert attention from the need to eliminate the real causes of poverty. We have seen the poor cast aside on a sort of pension, with their basic problems uncorrected, thus perpetuating welfare as a way of life. We need to seek new approaches.

There are many different things a nation can do with human rights. It can flatten them out by government formula to where little individuality is left, and have socialism. It can concentrate them all at one source and open the door to tyranny. It can award them as a birthright and have nobility at the top and slavery at the bottom. It can toss all rights aside for the strong to contend over, and have anarchy.

Conditions very much like each of those exist at some place or another on the earth today. The best balance anywhere is maintained here in our own country. Who has more rights than an American? With whom would you want to exchange your rights?

The way to keep what we have is to keep on improving it wisely. We must steer the best course between generosity to some and fairness to all. We must maintain our respect for the rights which we permit to be subtracted from, as well as for those being added to. And finally, we must recognize, as our young men in Viet Nam do, that the duties we owe to our country's welfare count far more than any worldly rights we possess.

Dentist to Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a most interesting article. This article appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star. Admiral Chandler is the former chief of the Navy Dental Division and, I would like to point out, received the Presidential Legion of Merit on his retirement from this post. He is now serving as President of the American Academy of History of Dentistry.

The main theme of the article is the

study that has made of, and the public interest in, George Washington's now famous false teeth. However, my good friend Admiral Chandler, who is as much the subject of the article as is our first President's teeth, is described as being an expert on a great number of "natural and/or store boughten molars" of such celebrities as Presidents Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

DENTIST TO PRESIDENTS: ADMIRAL BRUSHING UP ON WASHINGTON'S TEETH

(By Herman Schaden)

Tinkering with presidential teeth is no novelty for Rear Adm. Alfred W. Chandler, but it took him quite awhile to get around to the hippopotamus ivory choppers of George Washington.

Those rather monstrous dentures went on display today in the Museum of History and Technology's Hall of Medical Science as part of an exhibit honoring the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, the first school of its kind, founded in 1840.

Now a chipper 77, the retired admiral guarded the natural and-or store boughten molars of such celebrities as Presidents Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt during his 36 years in the Navy.

For these and other services, including the establishment of dental departments around the world, he received the presidential Legion of Merit on his retirement as Chief of the Navy Dental Division.

When the University of Maryland dental school decided the Smithsonian should have the George Washington plates, Adm. Chandler was asked to clean them up.

"I was thrilled and honored," he said. "These dentures, made before 1798, were ingenious for their day, but no doubt were quite painful."

"I had understood that Washington lined them with beeswax to make them more comfortable. This was verified when I pulled a lot of beeswax from the plates. The ivory was quite stained, too, very likely from good red wine and smoking."

The work of Dr. John Greenwood, the teeth, carved from hippo ivory, are merely the business part of a complicated construction which includes ivory and gold plates, wooden and gold pins and gold springs for keeping uppers and lowers from tumbling into the soup.

Dr. Greenwood made the most of his presidential coup, later advertising himself as "Dentist to His Excellency, Geo. Washington, late President of the United States of America." When something went haywire with the plates in 1798, the good doctor repaired them and billed his distinguished client $15 for the work.

In 1933 Adm. Chandler, then a teacher at the Naval Dental School, was called to the White House where President Roosevelt had misplaced a removable lower tooth.

"He later told me I was the first man to win an argument with him in a long time," the admiral recalled. "The president could not find the tooth. He said he'd draw me a picture of it. When I saw the drawing. I said the tooth must have had double instead of single clasps as shown. The president insisted not, but I made up two teeth, one my way and one his. When he tried them out, he agreed I was right."

FDR was a garrulous patient, keeping up a lively chatter at all times, whereas Hoover was about as taciturn as Coolidge, Adm. Chandler found.

Once he was called to the White House on an Easter Sunday, during the heaviest snowfall of the season, because Hoover had lost an upper front tooth. After slipping and sliding all the way over, the admiral spent most of the day repairing the damaged denture.

"I told Roosevelt I wanted to go to sea," he reminisced, "and he said that was crazy because the hospital ship USS Relief only did 14 knots. I went anyway; later spent two years on the aircraft carrier Saratoga on which both my son and son-in-law also served.

"Fourteen knots was considerably different from taking a jet ride with my son (Capt. A. W. Chandler, USN) at twice the speed of sound. That was five years ago when I was 72."

Last June he planned a pleasant cruise up the West Coast on a Navy ship. When they ran short of dentists, he was put back in harness for 14 days.

"I went to Korea during the war and was told that Gen. MacArthur wished to see me," Adm. Chandler said. "An aide told me to sit near the window so MacArthur could see my face. During the conversation I asked for and received an autographed photograph. Others tried and failed. I think I succeeded because I told him I wanted to hang his picture in my den between those of Roosevelt and Hoover."

Of his White House patients, Adm. Chandler remembers Mrs. Coolidge as the most gracious. When he fractured two vertebrae playing tennis she sent him a bouquet of White House roses.

There are at least two other sets, or fragments, of George Washington false teeth. One is in a New York museum. The other is in a London museum, of all places. It got there during the Civil War when Dr. Alfred A. Blandy of London, who had married the daughter of the Baltimore dental school dean, fled home with the dentures at the outbreak of the war.

Today was a busy day for Admiral Chandler. He was heading five committees at the annual meeting of the American Academy of History of Dentistry, of which he is the new president. The meeting is in connection with the American Dental Association convention opening here Sunday.

Nelson A. Rockefeller for Secretary of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding and dedicated public servant, Robert S. McNamara, has accepted the Presidency of the World Bank.

Mr. McNamara has served for nearly 7 years as Secretary of Defense, one of the most difficult appointive offices that exist. He has done so with dignity, with the utmost devotion to duty, with competence.

Now, President Johnson must choose a successor to Secretary McNamara—not an easy responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to suggest to the President that he consider appointing Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York, as the new Secretary of Defense.

Here is a candidate who has demonstrated executive ability, not only as the Governor of our State for three terms, but also in a number of other Government responsibilities over the years.

The Defense Department represent the largest part of our Government in terms of both budget and manpower. It requires a civilian leader of broad experience not only in Government, but also in foreign affairs and in finance.

Indeed, Governor Rockefeller has a unique background of experience which makes him especially qualified to head the Department of Defense.

In 1953, he was chairman of a special committee on the Reorganization of the Defense Department. Its recommendations were approved by President Eisenhower and adopted by the Congress.

Then in 1958, he undertook a further review and study of the Defense Department at the request of then Secretary of Defense McElroy.

Governor Rockefeller was also Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, which proposed a number of reorganization plans. Included was the plan creating the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and, later, he served that Department as Under Secretary.

In the field of foreign affairs, he has been active particularly in inter-American affairs and participated in the San Francisco conference when the United Nations was founded.

Politically, there is no problem. The position of Secretary of Defense is and should be nonpartisan. Mr. McNamara was a Republican when he was nominated by the late President Kennedy.

Further, Governor Rockefeller has taken himself out of the national political picture in no uncertain terms. He has said repeatedly that he does not want to be a candidate for President.

Thus, I believe that Governor Rockefeller is ideally suited for this high Cabinet post. He has the demonstrated ability, the executive reputation, the political independence, which the man in this high office requires.

I suggest that President Johnson give serious consideration to the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be his Secretary of Defense to succeed Robert S. McNamara.

Select, Train, and Motivate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, in 1964 I introduced and passed the ROTC Revitalization Act over the objections of the Department of Defense. I consider this legislation one of the most important and far reaching of my 27 years in the Congress.

In an effort to keep everyone informed on the progress of this program, which is making great strides, I would like to present here an article from Air Force and Space Digest.

Written by Brig. Gen. Donald F. Blake, Commandmant of the AFROTC, it gives a detailed report on the Air Force ROTC program.

The article follows:

SELECT, TRAIN, AND MOTIVATE

(By Brig. Gen. Donald F. Blake, USAF)

This year Air University's Air Force ROTC marks its twenty-first anniversary as an officer-commissioning source. At the same time, it is completing three years' experience under the legislative guidelines provided by the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964.

What has happened during this period of growth and change provides an interesting chapter in the annals of U.S. military education.

Essentially, three major factors come to mind in reviewing the past years of Air Force ROTC growth.

First, the Air Force itself continued to develop higher degrees of professionalism. This is necessary because we need a variety of skills and talents as never before. Skill specialties for Air Force officers have increased from 235 in World War II to 393 today. Pilot classifications alone have increased from nineteen to eighty-five different types.

Second, Air Force ROTC's curriculum has been modernized and is constantly kept up to date with aerospace age advances.

Today's curriculum is designed to cultivate the cadet's abilities in preparation for Air Force commissioned service with the major emphasis on professional education. The curriculum is based on the student's responsibility and involvement in the learning process. This approach encourages inquiry, analysis, imagination, and critical thinking.

In effect, the curriculum is now designed to motivate and prepare young men for lifelong Air Force careers; in a sense, this belies the title "Air Force Reserve Officers' Training Corps."

Third, only the most highly qualified college men are being sought for commissioning through Air Force ROTC. Evaluation processes have been established with high standards of intellect and character, weighing each man for possible selection.

Today's cadet must meet the test of the "whole man" concept in competition with thousands of other outstanding students *before* he even enters the commissioning portion of the program. It takes a better man to meet greater and greater challenges.

These factors—the Air Force itself, a modernized curriculum, and selection of the highly qualified college man—all blend in carrying out Air Force ROTC's mission of commissioning Air Force lieutenants professionally prepared to serve on active duty.

This mission, of course, could not be accomplished without the full cooperation of the 175 colleges and universities where Air Force ROTC detachments are located. This educational partnership between the military and institutions of higher learning dates back to passage of the Morrill Act of 1862 and to the National Defense Act of 1916.

Continuing to recognize the need for this professional military education program, today's college educators have supported ROTC's aims and have placed much value upon its academic program.

However, academic recognition is but one of the areas where quality has been sought and gained in Air Force ROTC programs.

Selection procedures for cadet entrance into Air Force ROTC's Professional Officer Course—the final two years of the program—have also made quality a paramount theme.

Beginning on July 1 of this year under Headquarters USAF direction, Air Force ROTC is programmed to produce 4,500 officers each fiscal year. This limitation may be exceeded in the pilot category only.

Competition for a commission through Air Force ROTC is even keener as a result.

In order to stay within this parameter, Air Force ROTC has placed a close watch on each cadet's training progress, has stabilized each detachment's production, and has enrolled only the best-qualified cadets.

Air Force ROTC, like the Air Force Academy, has thus become a stabilized commissioning source. This leaves Officers' Training School with the responsibility of fulfilling officers corps requirements on a fluctuating basis as the world situation demands. (For more on OTS, see page 120.)

Let's investigate what quality selection really means.

For example, selection of two-year program cadets shows how high selection criteria will bring the best man to the Air Force as an officer.

The two-year program was authorized by the 1964 Vitalization Act to provide any college student with two years of college work remaining, either at the undergraduate and/or graduate level, with an on-campus route to an Air Force commission.

The new program was initiated in the spring of 1965 with the selection of 950 cadets to enter in Academic Year 1965–66. In the program's second year of operation, more than 7,000 college men applied at the detachment level. From that number, detachments nominated 2,500 students to a central selection board at Air Force ROTC headquarters for consideration.

These nominees had passed the Air Force Officer Qualifying Test and a medical evaluation and had been selected by a board of Air Force officers and institutional officials.

Eight hundred students were finally selected for the two-year program. The average college grade for the selectees was 2.7, on a 4.0 scale (A=40), and the average selectee had scored in the upper twenty percent on the Air Force aptitude test.

For 1967–68, the selection process almost repeated itself. More than 6,500 students applied for the program in its third year of operation. From that number, 1,906 were nominated by detachments and a central board selected 1,440 for program enrollment. The average grade was 2.6 out of a possible 4.0 and the average selectee scored in the upper twenty-five percent of all those taking the Air Force Officer Qualifying Test.

Decentralization of two-year program selection will be implemented for the first time for selectees who enter in 1968–69. This allows each Professor of Aerospace Studies to select the best-qualified students for the Professional Officer Course no matter whether the student is in the traditional four-year program or is applying for the two-year program.

Again quality selection remains the primary key to improving the Air Force ROTC product.

Another program improvement has been the addition of the Financial Assistance Program.

Under the 1964 law, Financial Assistance Grants were authorized for qualified cadets in the four-year course only. These grants cover the cost of full tuition, laboratory fees and incidental expenses. An allowance for textbooks is also provided, along with a $50 nontaxable monthly allowance to each grant recipient. (Nongrant recipients enrolled in the Professional Officer Course also receive an allowance of $50 each month.)

This fall, 3,031 Air Force ROTC cadets in the four-year program are going to college under a grant. Of this total, 600 are sophomores, 1,431 are juniors, and 1,000 are seniors.

Statistics show that grant recipients are among the best-qualified students at the colleges and universities they are attending. The average college grade for recipients in 1965–66 was 2.92 on a 4.0 scale while the average increased to 3.12 for those selected for 1966–67.

College grade point average is one of the four basic criteria used for grant selection. The other criteria are the cadet's score on the Air Force Officer Qualifying Test, a rating given by a detachment board, and the cadet's academic background and potentiality for filling needed Air Force officer career field requirements.

For example, 949 cadets now under grant are within the pilot category while 134 are within the navigator category. Those under grant studying in scientific and engineering fields total 1,084.

Air Force guidance for the next two years points to a continued need for flying, scientific, and engineering personnel. The Financial Assistance Program is one way of attracting outstanding students to fill these requirements.

The grant program will reach another milestone during Fiscal Year 1968 when grants will be awarded for the first time to outstanding high school graduates. Initially, 150 grants will be awarded to freshmen entering college in 1968–69, who are qualified to enter flying training upon college graduation. Recipients will be selected by a central selection board at Air Force ROTC headquarters in March 1968. Interested students must have an application at Air Force ROTC, Maxwell AFB, Ala., by November 15 of this year.

By 1970 the Air Force is scheduled to have 5,500 cadets under grant status—the maximum number authorized at any one time.

By attracting outstanding students to Air Force ROTC with the Financial Assistance Program, this on-campus commissioning source will be taking another step toward better quality.

How the Air Force ROTC graduate's abilities and education will be used once on active duty is of vital concern to every Air Force ROTC cadet and detachment officer.

For instance, today there is an increased emphasis on counseling qualified students to enter the Professional Officer Course in a category that will lead to pilot or navigator training upon commissioning. This emphasis is in response to the Air Force's continuing need for flying officers.

In addition, through the Flight Instruction Program (FIP), cadets can test their attitudes and aptitudes for flying while still in college. All qualified senior cadets interested in becoming Air Force pilots participate in FIP. At Air Force expense, each FIP cadet receives up to 36½ flying hours in light, single-engine planes at Federal Aviation Administration-approved flying schools located near the campus. This includes twenty hours of dual flying instruction and 16½ hours of solo time.

FIP cadets also receive ground school instruction that includes weather, navigation, and federal air regulations. Normally this portion of the training is taught by Air Force pilots who are also ROTC instructors.

For the Air Force, this program provides a way of identifying cadets early who do not have the abilities of motivation to become pilots. FIP has resulted in a marked improvement in the quality of Air Force pilot trainees and in a lower washout rate in USAF flying schools.

For the cadet, FIP affords an opportunity to discover his potential for a flying career. If he does enjoy flying, then FIP is a highly motivational program. If he does not, then it gives him a chance to plan an alternate career before he even enters active duty.

A recent change in the length of tour for flying personnel commissioned through Air Force ROTC was implemented this summer. Now Air Force ROTC graduates entering pilot or navigator training minimally obligate themselves to five years of service after completion of flying training. Previously the minimum commitment was the lenth of flying training plus four years.

Within the next year, more than 2,200 Air Force ROTC graduates will enter flying training. This contribution by Air Force ROTC will bring to the Air Force professionally prepared officers—many of whom have already been tested by the Flight Instruction Program.

Air Force ROTC is also a major contributor of officers who enter active duty with advanced college degrees. At present, more than a thousand Air Force ROTC graduates are on a delay from entry into active duty to complete graduate work. This education is pursued at the individual's own expense.

Many lieutenants commissioned through Air Force ROTC also apply for education under Air University's Air Force Institute of Technology. They may pursue advanced degrees under this program without interruption after commisioning.

The number of graduates who go on to graduate school is another indicator of the high quality of the cadets being enrolled in Air Force ROTC.

As you can see, the fact that Air Force ROTC is only commissioning the best-qualified students in college today is no empty statement. The ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 provided many of the tools that are attracting outstanding young men. The situation in Southeast Asia has also made college men more keenly aware of their military obligation, and most look deeply into every service opportunity.

But actually excellence is inborn within the program through its instructors, modernized curriculum, and benefits, such as the Financial Assistance Program and the Flight Instruction Program. The introduction of the two-year program three years ago also opened up a new commissioning avenue to many students who could not have entered the program previously.

Today's college students demand a challenge, and all within Air Force ROTC are discovering that it is not a "free ride" to a commission. The dedication and expertise of detachment personnel have been instrumental in keeping standards high. They have helped make Air Force ROTC a program that students who are professional in their outlook and abilities want to enter.

As this nation is presented with new challenges, new technologies, and new world situations, the Air Force must change in order to meet these new circumstances. Certainly, Air Force ROTC in the past twenty-one years has changed with these conditions and will continue to change in the future.

There is one element, however, that will not change. That is the people of the Air Force.

They must always have the ability to master complex weapons and support systems. They must always have the same spirit of "let's get the job done," no matter where or when.

To this end, Air Force ROTC will continue to bring "the best" to the United States Air Force for its present and future leadership.

USAF'S GROWING JUNIOR ROTC PROGRAM

The rapidly growing Air Force Junior ROTC program has expanded to 65 high schools across the United States with plans for expansion to 275 high schools by 1970. Academically oriented, Air Force Junior ROTC is primarily designed to develop better-informed citizens on the challenges and opportunities of aerospace. Air Force officers and non-commissioned officers who have retired after twenty or more years' active duty or those who will be retiring in the next few years are needed to fill positions as instructors and assistant instructors for this program.

An officer applicant must possess a baccalaureate degree and must be certified as a teacher, or be willing to work toward certification. An NCO applicant must possess a high school diploma or equivalent.

The minimum authorized pay for instructors and assistant instructors is an amount equal to the difference between his retired pay and the active-duty pay allowances that he would receive if called to active duty, excluding hazardous duty and special pays. The total difference will be paid by the high school. Many of the participating schools pay more than this minimum.

Those interested in a challenging and rewarding profession in the Air Force Junior ROTC program may write to AFROTC, ARTO–J, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, 36112.

Congressman Horton Cites Monroe County N.Y., Bar Association as Outstanding Example of Bar Association Service to Legal Profession and Community on Diamond Jubilee, December 7, 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on the 7th of this month, the members of the Monroe County Bar Association will gather to celebrate the association's diamond jubilee—75 years of service to the community and to the profession of law.

The history of bar associations in this Nation is a distinguished one, Mr. Speaker. More than most professional associations, the activities of bar associations have had a direct bearing upon the welfare of the communities they serve.

This has certainly been true of the Monroe County Bar Association. I have an intimate kowledge of its record of service, since I served as secretary of the Monroe County Bar Association, and as president of the Federation of Bar Associations of Western New York. I would like to share our story with you and our colleagues, Mr. Speaker.

During its first 75 years, the Monroe County Bar Association has amply demonstrated the high ideals for which legal associations everywhere strive.

The original founders of the association lost no time in making it an active participant in community affairs. The articles of incorporation were filed on December 2, 1892. At its meeting two months later, February 14, 1893, the association adopted a resolution to petition the legislature to authorize a new county courthouse. Its efforts were a significant factor in the final decision for a courthouse.

This interest in doing its part in keeping the Rochester, N.Y., area in the forefront of progress, and in extending the benefits of legal services to everyone continues today with a vastly increased array of services and activities.

Notable among the 70 present committees and activities of the Monroe County Bar Association are the following:

The lawyer reference service, established in 1949, with headquarters in the bar association office, for persons who do not have a family attorney. This was one of the first lawyer reference services set up in the United States.

The coordinated assigned counsel system was created in 1963 for the defense of criminal actions.

In the field of public education, there are the speaker bureau, which provides lawyers to speak on legal topics; the adult education committee, which gives an adult legal education course in the high schools; and the Law Day committee which organizes public ceremonies for Law Day.

The Monroe County Bar Foundation, which was established in 1951 to increase interest in the science of jurisprudence, collects books and other material of a legal historical nature and sponsors lectures on legal topics for association members.

By 1958 the association's activities had grown to the point that good organization and management made it apparent that the activities should be directed by an executive director. My fellow members of the Monroe County Bar Association were extremely fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. Milford E. "Bert" Wheeler, who has held that position since January 1, 1959. Bert's skill as an administrator and his dedication to the principles of the legal profession and the bar association have contributed significantly to the growth of the association's activities. Bert has been instrumental in translating ideas into active programs which have benefited association members and the public.

In 1959, the bar association began publication of its own magazine, Summing Up. During the 1960's the association ran a very successful weekly radio program under the title of "Justice," which included a dramatic presentation and a discussion of the drama by a panel of lawyers. This and other radio and television work won New York State Bar Association awards for 4 consecutive years.

Mr. Speaker, on December 7, at the Sheraton Hotel in Rochester, N.Y., the members of the Monroe County Bar Association will gather to celebrate our group's 75th anniversary.

At that time, David Boehn, a prominent Rochester attorney and president of the Monroe County Bar Association, will present to the association on my behalf a scroll commemorating the association's diamond anniversary. The scroll reads:

> Whereas on December 2, 1892, the Articles of Incorporation were filed for the Monroe County Bar Association of New York; and
>
> Whereas the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of this event is to be celebrated this year;
>
> Now, therefore, we, the Attorneys and Lawyers of the 90th Congress of the United States do hereby join with our distinguished colleague and member of the Monroe County Bar Association, Frank Horton, in sending greetings and hearty congratulations on the celebration of this historic event.

The scroll was signed by the 244 of our colleagues in the House of Representatives who are lawyers.

A framed copy of this statement will also be presented, along with an American flag which was flown over the Capitol on December 2, 1967—75 years after the incorporation of the bar association.

I would like to publicly commend my fellow members of the Monroe County Bar Association who are directly involved in the celebration activities:

Henry W. Williams, Jr., Esq., overall program chairman.

W. Smith O'Brien, Esq., chairman, 75th anniversary observance.

Nathan J. Robfogel, Esq., chairman, 75th anniversary dinner.

James M. Hartman, Esq., chairman, publicity, 75th anniversary dinner.

James F. Glynn., Esq., author, "History of the Monroe County Bar Association."

Mr. Speaker, laws make civilized society possible. Lawyers represent the law in action, and stand as guardians of the borders between what is right and wrong, and fair and unfair. Through their bar associations, they have helped forge the legal principles and practices which keep the law a living, viable code of rules by which society can change and progress without disturbing the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The record of the Monroe County Bar Association is outstanding in service to its members, the profession of law, and the community and public.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a member of the Monroe County Bar Association, and very glad to have this opportunity to share with you and our colleagues the story of its first 75 years, and to predict an equally productive and creative second 75 years.

Revolt of the Disloyal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, should there be a feeling of satisfaction from those who plead, appease, and compromise with right, it is short lived.

Those disloyalists who are against their country and everything American continue to mass their smelly legions for additional turmoil.

Give them an inch and they will want a mile. Turn the country over to them and they will want our liquidation: all in the name of peace.

The report covering SCLC and the NSA follow to show the depth of these anti-American organizations and their well-financed operations:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 3, 1967]

SCLC Plans Recruit Drive for District of Columbia Rally

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will soon embark on a series of meetings with civil rights leaders nationwide to drum up support for massive nonviolent protests for more jobs and higher incomes next spring in Washington.

Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of SCLC, said yesterday that a "flood of letters" this week to the SCLC week-long session in Frogmore, S.C., indicated growing nationwide support for the groups plans to assign staff members to train 2,000 volunteers from 10 cities in nonviolent protest.

Young said that the response, which came to the meeting in the form of telephone calls, letters and telegrams, raised the possibility that SCLC staff members may now be assigned to train more people in more cities. The session ended last night.

Young, interviewed by telephone from Beaufort, S.C., which is near the meeting site, said that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., SCLC president, and the 80 staff members who attended the session would be working on a list of demands to present to the federal government sometime after the first of the year.

If the demands are not met, he said, the demonstrations will follow.

THREATEN A TENT-IN

SCLC has raised the threat of holding a tent-in in Lafayette Park across the street from the White House and sit-ins in Congress and at government installations here. The original threat of such protests came out of the 10th annual SCLC convention held in Atlanta, Ga., in August.

SCLC leaders have indicated that the demonstrators will be prepared to remain in Washington indefinitely or until the demands are met, even if it means jail.

Dr. King has called for a massive works program to provide jobs and for welfare reform.

The meeting also focused on plans to launch voter registration drives in the South, particularly in the rural areas, Young said.

"We gave a detailed look to the county elections in the rural areas of the South," he said. "But we also looked at the cities politically. Just because Negroes were recently elected mayor in Cleveland and Gary, we don't feel it's time to relax. We feel it's time to step up our activities."

SEND TELEGRAM TO SENATE

Meanwhile the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 112 national civil rights, labor, religious and civic organizations, urged U.S. Senate members in a telegram to oppose any attempt to block the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's school desegregation program.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and chairman of the conference, warned specifically against amendments which, he says, would undercut HEW's efforts to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI is the provision that enables the government to cut off funds to any federally assisted program administered in a racially discriminatory manner.

An amendment to the Elemenetary and Secondary Education Act, which Sen. Richard Russell, D-Ga., is expected to offer, would bar HEW from terminating funds during a school year.

The conference says the effect of the amendment would be to allow school districts, which have been through protracted negotiations and enforcement proceedings and which have been found in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to continue receiving federal funds for as long as a year after the termination order was to have taken effect.

The proponents of the amendment argue that the present procedure of terminating federal funds in the middle of the school year is disruptive to school budgeting.

Student Group Acts To Block Dissenter Draft

(By Barry Kalb)

The National Student Association says it will ask the U.S. District Court tomorrow for a temporary federal injunction against a recent Selective Service order to reclassify and speedily draft young men who interfere with draft procedures.

Selective Service Director Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey issued a recommendation Oct. 26 to local draft boards that persons who attempt to hinder the efforts of military recruiters or otherwise disrupt draft procedures be declared delinquents and put at the top of the draft lists.

The student group yesterday said it will file a complaint charging that this directive violates the constitutional rights of such students and has a "chilling effect" on legal dissent. The file for a permanent injunction against this and similar directives.

The student group will be joined in the suit by 19 other parties, including several university student body presidents.

PROFESSOR LEADS LAWYERS

The plaintiffs will be represented by a battery of lawyers led by Arthur Kinoy, a professor of constitutional law at Rutgers University and a volatile defender of citizens' rights.

Similar suits were filed Friday in federal courts in New York City; Camden, N.J.; Salt Lake City, Utah, and Seattle, Wash., on behalf of six young men who have recently been reclassified as a result of Hershey's directive.

The NSA suit, however, has no connection with these suits, and will name no individual plaintiffs Ed Schwartz, NSA president, said yesterday:

"We are filing this suit on behalf of a class of people—students—particularly those whose desire to dissent in any way from government policy in Vietnam has been threatened."

RESOLUTION CITED

Schwartz said that by filing this suit NSA is not encouraging interference with military recruiters. He cited a resolution passed by the association's National Supervisory Board here last Sunday, which states:

". . . NSA opposes those actions physically obstructing recruiters and students which have taken place in recent protests against the war . . . (However) we also strongly condemn Gen. Hershey's recommendation that 'students who engage in illegal protests against the war and draft . . . should be reclassified."

Schwartz said the association will argue that Hershey's directive has "intimidated" students who wish to protest the Vietnam War and the draft.

Schwartz said the suit also will argue that, by setting itself up as judge and jury in classification cases, the Selective Service System denies constitutional guarantees of due process.

"The purpose of the Selective Service should be to induct men into the armed services, not to make distinctions between various forms of dissent and determine whether such dissent is in the national interest," Schwartz said.

PROFESSOR PLANS PROTEST

In a related development, Monroe H. Freedman, a George Washington University law professor, in a letter to the university newspaper, "The Hatchet," says he intends to interfere with military and civilian recruiters on the campus.

The letter, dated Nov. 21, was read by Freedman Friday at a press conference on the subject of draft resistance activities. In the letter, Freedman says he will "commit deliberate and prolonged interference with the legitimate activities of some recruiters and solicitors on campus." He urged other faculty members to join him.

The letter seemed to be an open defiance of a new GWU policy, approved last month by President Lloyd Elliot, which threatens "penalties up to and including expulsion from the university" for students engaging in anti-recruitment activities.

Report of the President's Commission on Postal Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last April Postmaster General O'Brien added a new and bold dimension to our thinking about the postal service and its future by proposing that the Post Office Department be converted to a Government corporation.

Recognizing the potential of Mr. O'Brien's recommendation, President Johnson quickly appointed a special Commission to study the Postmaster General's idea as part of an overall in-depth study of the structure and operation of the postal service. The Commission is scheduled to make its report and recommendations to the President by April.

In the meantime, all of us concerned with the postal service are interested in the progress of the Commission's study. A progress report on the Commission's work was made in an article in the November 29 issue of Federal Times and with permission I am including it at this point:

VIEWS AIRED ON POSTAL CORPORATION

(By Court Gifford)

WASHINGTON.—The President's Commission on Postal Organization has met privately with 25 groups in its study of the postal corporation proposal.

The meetings were held to give the country's major mail users and the various postal labor unions a chance to openly discuss Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien's history making recommendation to convert the Post Office Department to a non-profit government corporation.

In presenting their views, the postal interest groups were "helpful and surprisingly candid," according to the commission's executive director, Murray Comarow.

A willingness to assist the commission in arriving at the best possible decision for the good of the country characterized their remarks, he said.

Despite the many possible effects a drastic change in postal organization might have on employees and industry, representatives were "willing to take a flyer" on any plan to increase postal efficiency and reduce public costs.

Most of the witnesses did not endorse O'Brien's plan outright. Yet, Comarow said they all recognized the need for a massive capital investment in postal facilities to meet the soaring mail volume.

The general feeling was that, although the postal system could stand improvement in almost every area, service was not all that bad.

With an eye toward the future, many had their doubts about the department's ability to keep pace with the mail volume without some kind of change. Until more details are available, they were not convinced that the postal corporation concept is the answer.

A few witnesses, however, were "forthrightly in favor" of O'Brien's proposal, Comarow said. They believed the postal service should be removed from politics. The department should be run by a board of presidentially appointed experts in corporate business rather than a single cabinet member. The sale of bonds could speed greatly the modernization effort, they said.

Other representatives said a postal corporation would mean less public service and greater costs. Without congressional controls unprofitable services might be eliminated.

Several alternatives to the nonprofit corporation concept were proposed. It was suggested, for example, that the department, for example, that the department be run by a joint committee of Congress.

Under this setup, appointed members of the House and Senate would oversee all postal functions and would rule independently on such things as appropriations, pay and rates. This system is similar to the management of the Atomic Energy Commission.

An agency owned jointly by the government and private industry also was advocated. This arrangement would be similar to the Communications Satellite Corporation, whose board of directors is made up of presidential appointees and officials from private ownership.

Suggestions also include one to turn the post office over to private industry entirely with only a government subsidy for construction.

There were those who felt that with certain adjustments and changes, the present organization and structure would see the country through until the present mechanization and modernization effort takes effect.

In addition to the testimony of mailers and labor chiefs, the commission's decision would rely heavily on the findings of four research firms which were expected to report in January.

They have been commissioned to make independent studies of specific areas of postal activity. One firm is studying the department overall. The others have been assigned individual studies of finances, labor and personnel, and rates.

The commission's nine-member staff has sent out more than 150 letters to private businesses throughout the nation asking for comments on the postal situation. In addition, a number of unsolicited opinions have been received as a result of an open invitation to suggestions included in the Federal Register.

Each of the staff members has been assigned to monitor the research projects of the private firms. They also act as liaison between such agencies as the General Accounting Office, Bureau of the Budget and other sources of information.

The commission's chairman, Frederick R. Kappel, former chairman of the board of American Telephone and Telegraph, is expected to make his report to the President in April, as requested.

The 10-man commission has been asked by the President to determine whether the postal service can better be performed by a cabinet department, a government corporation or some other form of organization.

The postal study has been called one of the "most exhaustive" ever undertaken.

The 1968 Election Calendar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in order to give my colleagues in the House, and the citizens of my district the Federal and State calendar of 1968 events, I have made up this information in letter form as follows:

DECEMBER 8, 1967.

To My Good Friends:

I am writing to let you know the calendar of 1968 events of National and State importance. This is an exciting year—with Federal elections for President (and Vice President), one-third of U.S. Senate, and all of U.S. House of Representatives in Congress. Also for State elections are 3 State offices, one-half the Pennsylvania State Senate, and all of the State House of Representatives.

Pennsylvania Spring *Primary* election is—Tuesday, *23 April 1968.*

November *General* election is—Tuesday, *5 November 1968.*

National Party Conventions begin:

Monday, *5 August 1968*—Republican—*Miami.*

Monday, *26 August 1968*—Democratic—*Chicago.*

Convention delegates are elected at primary 23 April—2 delegates for each party, with alternates, in each Congressional District.

In order to be helpful to you, I am giving below the list of officers and legislative seats to be voted on in our South Hills Congressional District.

Cordially,

JIM FULTON.

FEDERAL OFFICERS

President—Lyndon Johnson.

Vice President—Hubert Humphrey.

U.S. Senate Penna. Joseph Clark—6 year term.

U.S. Congress 27th District—Jim Fulton—2 year term.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE OFFICERS

Auditor General—Grace M. Sloan—4 year term.

Treasurer—Thomas Z. Minehart—4 year term.

Superior Court Judge—Vacant 10 year term.

PENNSYLVANIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

State Senate (4 year Terms):

37th District—Wayne S. Ewing. 45th District—Joseph M. Gaydos. 43rd District—Frank Mazzei.

State Legislators (2 year Terms)—by District:

26th—Charles N. Caputo, 27th—Robert A. Geisler, 40th—Donald O. Bair, 41st—Joseph V. Zord, 42nd—H. Sheldon Parker, Jr., 43rd—George K. Haudenshield, 44th—Andrew J. McGraw, 45th—Max H. Homer.

In these times, I believe it is the patriotic duty of every American citizen to register and to vote. We Americans are watched and criticized because so many do not vote. Our U.S. servicemen deserve our support.

I recommend that you plan ahead to reserve these election dates particularly. But if you are ill or must be out of town, write for your absentee ballot application to Allegheny County Department of Elections, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219.

Change in law: New Penna residents—*only* 90 day residence required for registration prior to elections.

Absentee ballot applications: Primary: 1st day to apply—4 March '68. Last day—16 April '68. General Election: 1st day to apply—16 September '68. Last day—29 October '68.

Military ballot applications—U.S. Servicemen: ask for Federal absentee ballot application at your base—or apply in writing to Allegheny County Department of Elections—or members of family can apply for servicemen in person or by writing.

Absentee Ballots are then mailed out by Department of Elections.

All military and absentee ballots must be mailed and postmarked by midnight Election Day, otherwise they are not counted.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.* The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C. 20510

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Aiken, George D., *Vt*	
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*	
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.*	6 Wesley Circle
Baker, Howard H., Jr., *Tenn.*	
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*	
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*	
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*	
Bible, Alan, *Nev*	
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*	
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md*	
Brooke, Edward W., *Mass*	
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*	
Byrd, Harry F., Jr., *Va*	
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*	
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*	
Carlson, Frank, *Kans*	Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*	
Church, Frank, *Idaho*	
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*	
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*	
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*	
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*	
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*	
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*	
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*	
Eastland, James O., *Miss*	
Ellender, Allen J., *La*	
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*	
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*	
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii*	5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*	
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*	
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*	
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*	
Hansen, Clifford P., *Wyo*	
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*	
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*	
Hartke, Vance, *Ind*	
Hatfield, Mark, *Oreg*	
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*	
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa*	5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*	
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla*	Sheraton-Park
Hollings, Ernest F., *S.C*	
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*	
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*	
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*	
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*	
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*	
Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*	
Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*	
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*	
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*	
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*	
Long, Edward V., *Mo*	
Long, Russell B., *La*	
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.*	5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*	
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*	
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*	
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*	
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.*	The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*	
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont*	453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa*	5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*	
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*	
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*	
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg*	
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*	
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*	
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak*	122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*	
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*	
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*	
Pastore, John O., *R.I*	
Pearson, James B., *Kans*	
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I*	3425 Prospect St.
Percy, Charles H., *Ill*	
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*	
Proxmire, William, *Wis*	
Randolph, Jennings, *W.Va*	4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*	
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*	
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*	
Smathers, George A., *Fla*	
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*	
Sparkman, John, *Ala*	4928 Indian Lane
Spong, William B., Jr., *Va*	
Stennis, John, *Miss*	
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*	
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*	
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*	
Tower, John G., *Tex*	
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*	
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*	
Williams, John J., *Del*	
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*	
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak*	Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*	

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary—Francis R. Valeo.
Sergeant at Arms—Robert G. Dunphy.
Chief Clerk—Darrell St. Claire.
Secretary for the Majority—J. S. Kimmitt.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Messrs. Anderson (chairman), Russell, Magnuson, Symington, Stennis, Young of Ohio, Dodd, Cannon, Holland, Mondale, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Hickenlooper, Curtis, Jordan of Idaho, Brooke, and Percy.

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Holland, Eastland, Talmadge, Jordan of North Carolina, McGovern, Montoya, Mondale, Byrd of Virginia, Hollings, Aiken, Young of North Dakota, Boggs, Miller, and Hatfield.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Ellender, Hill, McClellan, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Pastore, Monroney, Bible, Byrd of West Virginia, McGee, Mansfield, Bartlett, Proxmire, Yarborough, Young of North Dakota, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Kuchel, Hruska, Allott, Cotton, Case, and Javits.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Cannon, Byrd of West Virginia, Young of Ohio, Inouye, McIntyre, Brewster, Byrd of Virginia, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Thurmond, Miller, Tower, Pearson, and Dominick.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Sparkman (chairman), Proxmire, Williams of New Jersey, Muskie, Long of Missouri, McIntyre, Mondale, McGee, Spong, Bennett, Tower, Hickenlooper, Brooke, and Percy.

Committee on Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Lausche, Bartlett, Hartke, Hart, Cannon, Brewster, Long of Louisiana, Moss, Hollings, Cotton, Morton, Scott, Prouty, Pearson, and Griffin.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. Bible (chairman), Morse, Kennedy of New York, Tydings, Spong, Prouty, Dominick, and Morton.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Long of Louisiana (chairman), Smathers, Anderson, Gore, Talmadge, McCarthy, Hartke, Fulbright, Ribicoff, Metcalf, Harris, Williams of Delaware, Carlson, Bennett, Curtis, Morton, and Dirksen.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Sparkman, Mansfield, Morse, Gore, Lausche, Church, Symington, Dodd, Clark, Pell, McCarthy, Hickenlooper, Aiken, Carlson, Williams of Delaware, Mundt, Case, and Cooper.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Ervin, Gruening, Muskie, Ribicoff, Harris, Kennedy of New York, Metcalf, Montoya, Mundt, Curtis, Javits, Hansen, and Baker.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Jackson (chairman), Anderson, Bible, Church, Gruening, Moss, Burdick, Hayden, McGovern, Nelson, Metcalf, Kuchel, Allott, Jordan of Idaho, Fannin, Hansen, and Hatfield.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Eastland (chairman), McClellan, Ervin, Dodd, Hart, Long of Missouri, Kennedy of Massachusetts, Bayh, Burdick, Tydings, Smathers, Dirksen, Hruska, Fong, Scott, and Thurmond.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), Morse, Yarborough, Clark, Randolph, Williams of New Jersey, Pell, Kennedy of Massachusetts, Nelson, Kennedy of New York, Javits, Prouty, Dominick, Murphy, Fannin, and Griffin.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Monroney (chairman), Yarborough, Randolph, McGee, Brewster, Hartke, Burdick, Hollings, Carlson, Fong, Boggs, and Fannin.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Randolph (chairman), Young of Ohio, Muskie, Gruening, Jordan of North Carolina, Inouye, Bayh, Montoya, Tydings, Spong, Cooper, Fong, Boggs, Murphy, Jordan of Idaho, and Baker.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Fortas, of Tennessee, 3210 R St.
Mr. Justice Marshall, of New York, 64A G St. SW.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Michael Rodak, 6311 Joslyn Pl., Cheverly, Md.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—H. C. Hallam, Jr., 10927 Pleasant Acres Dr., Adelphi, Md.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS
JUSTICES ASSIGNED
TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Fortas. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Marshall. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Sea Lamprey Control Program Vital to Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the effort to control the predatory sea lamprey is of great importance to all the Great Lakes States, particularly to Michigan. I ask unanimous consent that a statement I made recently on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

Every year a little known and relatively modest item in the Department of State appropriations bill comes up for Congressional approval.

Although it may be obscure to most people, the annual budget of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission is of vital concern to conservationists and sportsmen in Michigan.

Since 1957, this Commission has administered the sea lamprey control program, which is largely responsible for the re-emergence of high-value fish in the Great Lakes, including Coho salmon, trout and whitefish.

Sea lamprey—as every fisherman knows—are predatory parasites which feed on high quality fish. They had all but eliminated the high value fish from the Great Lakes prior to the Commission's control operations which were first initiated in Lake Superior.

The Commission's initial control measure against the lamprey consisted of using mechanical and electrical barriers in lamprey spawning streams. But this method proved largely ineffective, mainly because of power failures and high water levels during the spring, which permitted lamprey to bypass the barriers and migrate to the Lakes.

Scientists then developed a selective chemical which kills lamprey larvae without injuring other fish life. By 1963, the Commission had treated all infested streams in Lake Superior with the special chemical.

At Lake Michigan, treatment of 99 infested streams was completed in the fall of 1966. A reduced lamprey population in Lake Michigan already is evidenced by a dramatic increase in the whitefish catch and the low incidence of lamprey scars on whitefish.

Michigan is just beginning to reap impressive economic and recreational benefits from the Commission's long-range program. Remarkable strides have been taken thus far to rehabilitate fishery in the Great Lakes. And we can expect further progress if the Commission, a joint U.S.-Canadian venture, is permitted to continue its valuable program.

Earlier this year the program was seriously threatened when the Appropriations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives suddenly cut the Commission's relatively modest budget by a flat $100,000.00. Those familiar with the program, the investment and the results, correctly branded this as a "pennywise and pound-foolish" economy move.

Fortunately, a coalition of Great Lakes Senators and Congressmen quickly went to work on a concerted drive to restore the needed funds. On Oct. 11, the Senate voted to approve the State Department appropriations bill with the full amount of the Commission's budget intact.

A sharp reduction in the Commission's budget would have jeopardized all the hard-won gains of the past decade. For example, it would have brought a halt to operations at Lake Huron. And, if Lake Huron's streams are not treated, lamprey would migrate from there in increasing numbers to the other Great Lakes.

Moreover, without adequate resources, the Commission might be required to postpone scheduled re-treatment of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior streams. Unless these waters are re-treated at regular intervals, chemical applications of the past several years could eventually turn into wasted effort.

Inspection stations have revealed a dramatic downturn in the quantity of sea lamprey in the Great Lakes, as a result of the Commission's endeavors. As recently as Oct. 6, readings at Lake Superior showed that the population of lamprey is down nearly 94 per cent since control measures were first implemented.

Michiganders have a vital stake in the continuance of this highly significant program. To preserve the advances already made, and to bring the sea lamprey under control, the program of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission deserves the full support of the people of Michigan.

The Real Communist Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the proven threat to constitutional government in the United States is from Communists and their dupes within our country.

How does the enemy infiltrate and escape? Read the very interesting paper on "How Secure Is Security" from the December 1, 1967, Economic Council Letter. Congress needs immediate action to plug the loopholes open to Red infiltration.

HOW SECURE IS SECURITY?—CAN GOVERNMENTS BAR SECURITY RISKS?

The interest in national security at the moment is due in part to the rather large number of people who have been caught spying, including members of our armed forces. The principal cause of the discussion, however, is the story of Harold A. R. Philby, high official of British Intelligence and for twenty-nine years an agent of the Soviet Union. Mr. Philby deserves more than passing attention.

Philby had a distinguished career in the British Government Service. He joined MI-6 before World War II. By 1945, he was head of the section of British counter-intelligence assigned to block Soviet activities. By 1948, he was chief of all British intelligence in Washington, and therefore had access to all the information possessed by American intelligence agencies. He nearly made it as head of all British intelligence operations.

Philby also had another career. In 1933 he had been recruited into the communist apparatus, when he was studying in Cambridge. He was assigned the task of penetrating British military intelligence, and told to take whatever time was needed. He first worked as a newspaper man in Franco, Spain during the Civil War. This cover was to serve him well. In a few years he had obtained the coveted entry into intelligence.

As British chief of intelligence in Washington, he knew every secret about weapons, troops, strategy and advance thinking about counter-intelligence at the top of the American government. He helped found the C.I.A. and took an active part in its operations. No American with a blameless reputation could have obtained such information about our own country, however good his reasons. Most government employees and military men would have been barred.

In 1951, a great scandal broke, when Guy Burgess and Donald McLean, two high British officials in intelligence in Washington, fled to Moscow. They had been warned by an insider that they were about to be arrested. Philby was believed by many people to be the "Third Man" who gave the traitors their warning. It was three years before the British government reluctantly dismissed Philby.

The extraordinary thread in this maze is the way Philby was protected by the highest officials in the British government for nine more years. His reputation was vigorously defended in Parliament by (Foreign Secretary) Macmillan. After his dismissal Philby was given a job with the *London Observer*, at the urgent solicitation of the government, and assigned as a foreign correspondent to the Middle East. He was also secretly rehired by the British Foreign Service, though they had assured the *Observer* that he would not again be employed by the British Government. After nine years he was warned by friends in the government that another Soviet spy who confessed, had implicated him beyond a doubt. He was given a month to make his escape to Moscow. It was three years more before the story was told by the British press.

If this cover-up from on high seems surprising, exactly the same thing happened in the Profumo case, which was closely linked with Moscow's efforts to sow suspicion between Britain and the United States. We have seen plenty of similar "protection," for example Alger Hiss's appointment, by John Foster Dulles, to head the Carnegie Corporation. Probably every single Communist agent who left our government when suspicion rose was moved to a better job in the universities, the foundations, law or business.

Two points are evident in the Philby case. There must be a great many clever communists in the British government, and they are highly placed. Communists do not work as isolated foxes getting into a pasture to be caught one by one. They work like termites, an army which moves into every opening, in every direction, thousands of them moving as one.

The people who were clever enough to

recruit Philby in 1934 did not sit on their hands. They recruited thousands of others, and placed them at equally important points.

So alarmed are the British authorities now, that they plan to make a security investigation of all graduates of the good public schools, in the thirties, on the theory that the infection must have been general. We will tell you a secret. The communists have already planned how they will put some of their best hidden agents on the investigating staffs of the review boards.

The communist power in Britain has been fought by Anthony Eden, Lord Avon, and by Lord Van Sittart, for long chief permanent member of the British Foreign Office, and by thousands of other nameless heroes, but they were not strong enough to prevail. In the war years, under Churchill, communists were said, by careful observers, to be in control of British Military Intelligence, the BBC, and the British Information Services. Many of his pro-leftist political decisions during the war were ascribed to the faulty information he was given by his own staff.

If that happened under Churchill, what happened under Clement Atlee, who was photographed giving the communist salute to a group of Spaniards during the civil war in Spain, and who is reputed to have been Stalin's choice for prime minister of Britain! Remember his inevitable victory over Winston Churchill, when Churchill was carrying on negotiations with Truman and Stalin at Potsdam. The Soviet apparatus always does its best to "guide" important elections in countries useful to its plans.

Communists are not recruited for child's play. They are supposed to get to places of influence and pull other communists up with them. Each of them protects the others, and strikes out at anyone who dares to criticize a hidden agent.

Long before Hiss was proven to be working with a communist secret agent, Alfred Kohlberg had proof of his membership in a communist apparatus. He submitted it more than once to Secretary of State James Byrnes, who was deeply concerned. Byrnes gave it to members of his staff, and the reports always cleared Hiss. But the assistants to whom he gave the report for checking were communists.

It was twelve years between the time Philby was dismissed from the Foreign Office and the time when he fled. It was three years after he fled before the story was told to the British people!

There is much talk at the moment about how Philby's freedom from exposure was due to the influence of the "old school tie," the allegiance among graduates of the select upper class prep schools. Philby had gone to the right schools. His father was a famous scholar. His connections were of the best. But how can anyone say that loyalty to the "old school tie" would prevent top British officials from protecting their country! In 1914 the "old school tie" led nearly all young Englishmen of the upper classes to volunteer for the war before the British had conscription. A whole generation was wiped out. Why should the old school tie lead to such magnificent patriotism in 1914 and such shameful treason in 1940? The answer is that the Soviet Union had an enormous number of skilled agents recruiting young men in the thirties, that many were recruited, and that they are given every help in rising high and preventing any exposure.

THE MARTYRS TO COMMUNISM

The British will never know how many good men had their careers destroyed because they disclosed the fact that something was wrong!

We know because we had the same martyrs in our own country. There have been thousands of them but two examples will suffice.

General MacArthur said during the Korean War that the Soviet authorities had full details of his reports and his plans as soon as he reported them, and they knew the fateful decision not to invade Red Chinese territory before MacArthur heard from the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The leftist press and public officials roared with laughter; at such an absurd idea. The unmasking of Philby proves without doubt that Britain's representative for security, enjoying the full confidence of American security officials, had all the opportunity necessary. Philby was doing that sort of thing every day. So were Burgess, McLean, and a host of others. General MacArthur was publicly recalled from the theatre of war and dismissed while the world watched his humiliation. MacArthur knew his oath as an Army officer pledged his loyalty to the Constitution, not to any official. He believed his duty was to resist those who would betray the United States by urging advice coming from Moscow. Is it the duty of American military leaders to "obey" a president when the dominant policies of the palace guard are Moscow-born? This will be a tragic danger for the United States if we do not quickly clear out the subversives in high places.

Those American officials who were knowingly working with Philby on instructions from Moscow have for 25 years been rising higher and higher in the government hierarchy and in the leftist universities, foundations, and law firms, which work together so beautifully. Who are they?

Another martyr was Senator Joe McCarthy. When he made a speech on some communists in the State Department (naming no names) he received such a flood of information from frustrated angry Americans who knew what was going on, that he had to dig deeper. He never stopped until he died.

Everywhere Joe McCarthy looked, he found things worse than he had suspected and found one link after another to new sources of data.

The communists raised a hue and cry that they did not like McCarthy's "methods." All sorts of innocent but gullible people echoed the charge.

What is the right method for dealing with secret communists engaged in conspiratorial efforts to shape American policy to internal decay—when they are protected at every step by men placed above them to protect them from exposure? The real truth is, of course, that the communists had good reason not to like McCarthy's methods, but *why should intelligent, patriotic people repeat their slogans?* Because of the same brainwashing which made Foreign Secretary McMillan stand up in Parliament and insist that Philby was trustworthy.

The communists do not wait for an emergency to "sell" their ideas. They have their roads to the ear of every public man. They gently persuade their subjects that their agents are fine upstanding men who could not possibly be guilty of treason (you remember how many people said Hiss could not possibly be a communist because he dressed and talked like a State Department type?) The communist "persuaders" tell the same story to a public man's friends that they tell him. Then the friends get together and persuade each other.

Senator McCarthy received a report in 1950 that the State Department's personnel files had been tampered with. He put his investigators on the trail. They located four men who had been hired to do the job. These men signed sworn affidavits saying they had been hired just after leaving the armed forces in 1945. They were told to go to a loft building in down-town Washington.

They were given the State Department's personnel files and instructions to remove from every folder every paper showing the employee had any communist record or any homosexual connections. The job took several weeks. When it was completed, they were let go.

This sworn evidence proves two things. All State Department personnel files up to 1945 were rendered completely worthless. The absence of derogatory material proved nothing because the records had been tampered with. There was no way to separate the disloyal from the truly loyal or the doubtful. The story proved also that some very powerful people were able and willing to tamper with the files, to protect communists. It is no easy matter to remove State Department files from their official location, and send them outside the Department, to have evidence removed. You try moving out truckloads of public records sometime.

McCarthy broke the spell. Small wonder the communists did not like such methods, and the heads of the Soviet program for undermining this country decided McCarthy must be destroyed.

A Senator was publicly denounced by his colleagues in the Senate because he found the links which enabled large numbers of communists in government to work together to destroy us without fear of being caught. His humiliation was a warning flashed to every man in public life—politicians, writers, editors, lawyers—that if he fought the communist apparatus, the communists would destroy him too.

TWELVE YEARS OF SILENCE

McCarthy was "censured," the year after Philby was dismissed. He died of heartbreak, and Philby was well taken care of for a decade, then helped to escape.

What happened to security enforcement in the Federal government? We were shocked to read in a conservative magazine intelligently edited that "as a result of the tighter security that followed (Philby's resignation) the United States over the past fifteen years has had little more than the normal seepage of treachery that all spy networks expect."

Where is the evidence for such a statement? There isn't any. Only a pall of silence hangs over the security issue.

It is a fixed rule in analyzing communist operations that one must never interpret the absence of news as proof that nothing is wrong. It may only be proof that communist threats are more effective than ever. We have not had a major defection from the Soviet rings at work in America, for decades. It is just harder for communists to break away.

During Castro's struggle for Cuba, American government officials were fed the pure communist line. The evidence was complete that Castro had collaborated with the communists for years since the Bogota Conference of the American States, where the communists disrupted by street rioting, a conference in which General Marshall was the honored guest.

Much is known about other pro-communists shaping our policies but it can not be printed Most of the information about communism circulates by word of mouth because the libel laws are carefully worked out to help ruin anyone who criticizes a communist, unless the latter has been identified under oath before a Congressional Committee.

We are indebted to Senator Strom Thurmond for an illuminating statement of where we stand today. Otto Otepka was security officer of the State Department. He is a patriot and took his duties seriously. So the Department brought him up on charges, and dismissed him. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee intervened and insisted on proof. One State Department official even testified falsely. Later he admitted he had perjured himself, and was dismissed, only to be appointed to another government job—at a higher salary. The Subcommittee has published a series of reports on dubious practices in State Department security. Anyone who tries to expose communists is removed to a desk in a corner, out of contact with the rest of the Department, and given no work. Most of them break, but Otepka fought on.

One of the people whom Otepka would not clear was Walt Whitman Rostow. When Rostow was at M.I.T. he is said to have received a CIA grant to write a book on the stages of economic development, a book which coincided neatly with the State Department's plans for pouring money into "underdeveloped areas," a long-time dream of Stalin's. The book received an enormous publicity build-up, which could not be explained by the merits of the work. He attended the Pugwash Conference just before President Kennedy was inaugurated, and spoke for the doctrine of convergence of Soviet and American institutions—which means the end of opposition to communism.

Otepka, as security officer, refused twice to clear Rostow for a State Department appointment under the Eisenhower administration. Someone was very eager to get him in. Otepka indicated he would refuse again under Kennedy. The results are something to ponder.

Rostow was given immediate appointment as a White House aide, where no security clearance is required except the President's say-so, or word from someone who speaks for him. Rostow was appointed under this clearance and made head of the State Department's Policy Planning Council. He is now *special assistant to President Johnson for National Security*. He has access to all secret data, and he tells other American officials what to do. There are thousands of brilliant Americans who are not security risks but no one pushes them as presidential assistant for security!

Meanwhile Otto Otepka is dependent on the contributions of loyal Americans to keep up his fight to avoid a shameful dismissal. The same thing has happened to every State Department official who fought Communuism.

THE HOLE IN THE NET

American security procedures are laid down precisely in law and regulations. They make a complete net that catches the little communists and embarasses a few ex-communists who honestly separated from the Party. But it has one large hole. The President, the Secretary of State, and a few other officials can send in their own lists of people they recommend for immediate clearance without investigation. In other words, our security system catches the little communists and security risks, but lets all the big risks go through. We are protected against petty communist infiltration; but *can do nothing about people in positions of real power*. And not a newsman in the country can say a word about the appointees.

In 1964, Walter Jenkins, President Johnson's most trusted assistant for twenty years, was arrested for making a homosexual approach in the basement of the YMCA. Homosexuals are systematically blackmailed by communists. The most strenuous efforts to kill the story were made by Abe Fortas, President Johnson's adviser, who had planned and carried out his legal moves in the 1948 Senatorial election. One of the Washington papers, *The Evening Star*, resisted efforts to suppress the story. It came out that Jenkins had been reported by the police as involved in other homosexual activities over several years. Nevertheless he had remained a member of the President's inner circle, with access to top secret data. He was particularly active in trying to help officers whom the Air Force wished to release.

This loophole in the net is the measure of our security.

Congress can end this deadly corruption. It can end the power of any official from the President down, to appoint anyone without a clearance. It can also require that all important officers must have Senate confirmation. Then a few determined Senators can fight the nomination of any man who is not above suspicion. That is what Joe McCarthy, Jenner, Welker, Knowland, Schoeppel and a few others tried to do fifteen years ago.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy: A Poem, by Francis X. Markley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, my attention has been called to a very thoughtful poem written by Mr. Francis X. Markley, of Arbutus, Md.

Mr. Markley has set forth his reflections on John Fitzgerald Kennedy, using a scheme based upon the four seasons.

Mr. Markley's poem has been printed in several publications including the Lion, the official publication of Lions International; the Arbutus, Md., Times; the Arbutus Lions Club magazine; and "Songs of the Free State Bards," edited by Mr. Vincent Godfrey Burns, poet laureate of Maryland.

I should like to share this poem with Members of Congress; therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 1917–63

(By Francis X. Markley)

Lies here a humble man of fame
Victim of nation's shame
For whom an eternal fire burns
Its symbol tells of deeds and courage
The price of liberty so freely given . . .

Spring—when new life comes forth in tree
A young lark will ever sing a plea,
Perching faithfully upon this grave
Adding another litany to the brave.

Immortal memory, never dare erase
His precious gift to the human race,
A taste of freedom for every land
That lasting, hopeful, prayer of man.

Summer—when all nature adds beauty here
And humble men mix a prayer with tear,
He will be remembered for his role
Alas, shall a nation's bell ever toll.

Many will pass this hallowed place
By him who sleeps the sleep of grace,
To learn of noble deeds once done
The last full measure given, and won.

Autumn—your golden blanket a welcome guest
For him whom we've laid to rest,
With us ever the vigil keep
Guarding well, this shrine of everlasting sleep.

History in time, by written word and song
Will tell of youthful courage made strong,
And his deep, sincere faith in God
Was for him victory's final nod.

Winter—in your darkest, coldest night
Allowing snow to fall upon this sight,
You will be, but praising once again
A hero's triumph, our love for him.

A Long-Overdue Letter to U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam—From the Silent Millions Back Home in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, prompted by the recent disgraceful march on the Pentagon, in protest of the war in Vietnam, the good citizens of Exira and Brayton, Iowa, prepared an open letter to our servicemen in Vietnam.

This expression of support, printed in the Audubon County Journal on November 30, 1967, captures the feelings of many millions of Americans and I wish to make it available to my colleagues in the House:

A Long-Overdue Letter to U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam—From the Silent Millions Back Home in America

Today must be a sad day in Vietnam—

Because today, we are ashamed to admit, some of your own countrymen are marching on Washington.

The marchers' sponsoring group has announced:

"We will shut down the Pentagon. We will fill the hallways and block the entrances. Thousands of people will disrupt the center of the American war machine."

It must be a little discomforting for you fellows ducking sniper bullets in the rice paddies to learn that some of your "fellow Americans" are trying to foul things up at your headquarters.

You must wonder what the folks back home really think.

THIS LETTER IS TO LET YOU KNOW THAT MOST OF US ARE WITH YOU—100 PERCENT

We want you to know that you are not the forgotten men.

You are in our thoughts every day.

You may not realize this, because normally we don't spout our feelings. In fact, we are typical of the Silent Millions of non-demonstrators—those who back you with quiet concern and prayerful pride. We are painfully aware of the personal sacrifices you are making for the cause of liberty.

For a long time we've been meaning to write to you—but haven't. Finally, this march on Washington did it. We've decided we could no longer remain silently on the sidelines.

Those who are marching in protest, those who desecrate our flag, those who burn draft cards—all make a lot of noise. They also make the headlines. And they present to the world a distorted picture of America. But, thank God, they are not typical.

At best they are a misguided minority whom we'll just have to ask you to defend along with the rest of us. Granted, the motives of some of these people may be pure. But they seem to think they have a unique right to protest in any way they take a notion—with faint respect for fellow citizens or servicemen, for their country's laws, for their elected authorities, or even for others' opinions.

There is room for honest differences and doubts, but when demonstrations stir up sabotage, vandalism, and violence parading under the banner of rightful dissent, they threaten to tear our country apart.

These protesters act as if they're the only ones who possess any morality. But we all have a conscience. And it might not be too surprising to find that some of us ordinary guys have even a little more conscience than some of the sign bearers.

Let's face it: Nobody we know wants war.

Everybody we know hates war.

Everybody we know wishes this war were over.

Everybody we know wants you home as soon as possible.

We can't think of one person who enjoys war.

We don't.

Our friends don't.

Obviously, the protesters don't.

You don't, that's for sure. Yet—some of these people call you names like "murderers" and "hired killers," implying that you're having a sadistic field day.

Government officials don't enjoy war either. So it's ridiculous for anyone to chant vulgarities like: "Hey, hey, LBJ—how many kids did you kill today?"

But there's one thing that all of us do enjoy.

That's the freedom of the most fortunate land in the world. It is a historic privilege to be a free citizen of America. This freedom is part of the heritage we cherish and for which we have and always will pay any price, including our lives.

Despite our country's admitted shortcomings, most of us appreciate the opportunity of living here. Most of us wouldn't trade places—or systems—with the people of any other country.

Most of us are grateful to the brave men of other generations who have fought and died to preserve this priceless freedom.

Most of us today are humbly indebted to you and to our sons and brothers and husbands and fathers who are fighting—and dying—in Vietnam for freedom. And for us.

YES, THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS LOVE AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN WAY

Even the protesters enjoy their unearned freedom—although they might not admit it. They're too busy shouting about the virtues of "the other side."

But no one knows better than you about "the other side."

You know—and we do, too—that international communism is determined to obliterate us and enslave the world. Communism must be contained. This is vital to our world, our lives, our future, and our children.

You know—and we do, too—that Hanoi's blind hunger for the subjugation of the free people of Vietnam has made peace negotiations impossible to date, even with several bombing pauses.

You know—and we do, too—that "the other side" has deliberately assassinated and tortured many, many more innocent civilians in the South than our air raids have accidentally killed near military targets in the North.

You know—and we do, too—that if you and your companions were to leave Vietnam today, the iron hand of communism would clamp down tomorrow. And South Vietnam would become another East Germany—another cowed Cuba.

You know—and we do, too—that your presence in South Vietnam is a guarantee to freedom-loving people everywhere that they will not be forsaken. And so a remarkable number of you have voluntarily re-enlisted to return to Vietnam.

You know—and we do, too—that a strong stand in Vietnam by the champions of human rights reduces the chances of a larger war. And it is holding off communist takeovers of other nations in southeast Asia.

You know—and we do, too—that appeasement has never worked and never will.

We hope that all who read this letter over here and feel the way we feel will do three things.

1. We hope they'll tear out this page—and airmail it to you, maybe with a letter of their own—to give you a bit of moral encouragement.

2. We hope they'll write letters—and express their points of view to their Government officials, to their friends and relatives, and to all the news media.

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The sooner this is done and the sooner we present a united front, the sooner you'll be coming home from a peaceful Vietnam.

Support for Concurrent Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the case for the preservation of the nation of Israel is based on the proposition that Israel has existed as a nation for 20 years, and for all of that time, including the present time, its Arab neighbors have had a policy of extermination against Israel. This means that there can never be a meaningful dialog in the Middle East leading to peace until the Arab nations recognize the right of Israel to exist.

No man can compromise his right to live and remain fully a man, and the same is true of nations. A mood of savage belligerency has resulted in three wars.

What is all of this to us? The Soviet Union has successfully fished in the troubled waters of the Middle East and has established its navy as a Mediterranean power through this last conflict, even though its agents, the Arab nations, have suffered a third disaster. The Soviets have resupplied the Arabs with a quantity of arms equal to the loss of arms the Arabs suffered in the desert war of 1967. They are taking aim at us through Israel. The Arabs and the Israelis need peace, but the Soviets want war and it may well be that we will have war. Because of the game that the Communists are playing in the Middle East, it is apparent that a third world war based on miscalculation by the Soviets and their Arab satellites is a serious possibility.

Does anyone in this body believe that if the Egyptians and Syrians had won the war of June 1967, that the Middle East would not be one vast Soviet satellite? The result has been a happy one because Israel was victorious. Since our need, the needs of the Arab poor, and the hope of Israel is peace, it seems to me that it is necessary to prevent the miscalculation by the Soviets and their agents that may lead to world war III. I believe the President of the United States should declare unequivocally that the United States will preserve Israel behind her own borders. The first step toward peace can then be taken, and that is the admission by the Arab States that Israel has the right to exist as a nation. The Arabs may find it expedient to do so, if they know that there is no hope of destroying Israel. I believe, therefore, that the Congress of the United States should go on record with a request that we make our position clear. We are already on the side of Israel in this matter. It only remains for us to make it clear. It is my hope that the House will support my position by passing this resolution.

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God bless you for your support. It is an inspiration, truly. The idea behind what you are doing is far more important than the gift.

A very, very Merry Xmas to all of your group.

Sincerely,

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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Yearend Report

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2. Riots are expected to continue in the summer of 1968, at a pace even greater than in 1967, accompanied by looting and destruction of property.

3. The dollar is under severe attack from abroad and our supply of gold is being claimed by foreign countries, particularly France. We should *demand* that France repay nearly $6 billion in World War I debts. The

have a conscience. And it might not be too surprising to find that some of us ordinary guys have even a little more conscience than some of the sign bearers.

Let's face it: Nobody we know wants war.

Everybody we know hates war.

Everybody we know wishes this war were over.

Everybody we know wants you home as soon as possible.

We can't think of one person who enjoys war.

We don't.

Our friends don't.

Obviously, the protesters don't.

You don't, that's for sure. Yet—some of these people call you names like "murderers" and "hired killers," implying that you're having a sadistic field day.

Government officials don't enjoy war either. So it's ridiculous for anyone to chant vulgarities like: "Hey, hey, LBJ—how many kids did you kill today?"

But there's one thing that all of us do enjoy.

That's the freedom of the most fortunate land in the world. It is a historic privilege to be a free citizen of America. This freedom is part of the heritage we cherish and for which we have and always will pay any price, including our lives.

Despite our country's admitted shortcomings, most of us appreciate the opportunity of living here. Most of us wouldn't trade places—or systems—with the people of any other country.

Most of us are grateful to the brave men of other generations who have fought and died to preserve this priceless freedom.

Most of us today are humbly indebted to you and to our sons and brothers and husbands and fathers who are fighting—and dying—in Vietnam for freedom. And for us.

YES, THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS LOVE AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN WAY

Even the protesters enjoy their unearned freedom—although they might not admit it. They're too busy shouting about the virtues of "the other side."

But no one knows better than you about "the other side."

You know—and we do, too—that international communism is determined to obliterate us and enslave the world. Communism must be contained. This is vital to our world, our lives, our future, and our children.

You know—and we do, too—that Hanoi's blind hunger for the subjugation of the free people of Vietnam has made peace negotiations impossible to date, even with several bombing pauses.

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Congress will probably be asked to repeal the law which requires us to keep on hand approximately $10 billion in gold to back up our Federal Reserve notes.

4. Inflation—The cost of living will continue to rise at a rapid rate, due in part to the fact that our government continues to spend a great deal more than it takes in. The Administration is rationalizing the need for a tax increase when stating that it is needed to hold down the rise in the cost of living.

5. Agriculture—Unless Secretary of Agriculture Freeman reverses his present policies, both corn and wheat prices will remain at ruinously low levels. Secretary Freeman should resign. The President continues to oppose any legislation to restrict the importation of beef.

Nebraska—I have been able to get legislation passed this year which would be of great benefit to Nebraska. Authorization was secured on the Mid-State Reclamation Project after 20 years. I was able, also, to get not only authorization for the construction of the 345 kv power line from Fort Thompson, South Dakota to Grand Island, but to get approximately $7½ million appropriated so that work could begin on this line. This will alleviate a very serious power shortage which currently exists in Nebraska. I have introduced legislation to declare a one year moratorium on the discontinuance of passenger trains and the Railway Post Office while the Department of Transportation makes a complete study of the problems involved.

Over 15,000 letters have been received in my office from residents of the Third District and we have assisted in hundreds of cases in regard to the problems of those serving in the armed forces. Many other problems have been presented to us in regard to securing Federal funds under various and sundry programs. Our office staff of five people have been kept busy throughout the year and we have tried to serve you in an efficient manner.

To all of you I extend greetings for the holiday season and wish for you a prosperous and peaceful new year.

Damage Done

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, everyone is aware that the Federal Government today is an active participant in American agriculture. We are generally led to believe that this participation is beneficial, but once in a while we find evidence to the contrary.

An article appeared in the December 4 issue of the Christian Science Monitor that threw some light on the fact that this Government participation is not always a blessing, and for the convenience of my colleagues, I insert this article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

DAMAGE DONE

A classic example of the folly of government interference in agriculture leaves the cynics saying, I told you so. A shortage of cattle hides 19 months ago and the moans of the shoe industry prompted the government to restrict exports of hides.

A cut of 16 percent was ordered. Farm organizations fumed, but the commerce department didn't listen. When the curb went on hide prices were 26 cents a pound. By October of 1966 prices had slumped to 15.5 cents a pound.

It was then time for the government to withdraw its restrictions, but the damage had been done. Foreign buyers became convinced that the U.S. was not a dependable source of hides and bought elsewhere, mainly in Argentina.

Foreign shoe and glove manufacturers also switched to synthetic materials to replace hides. Now with cheaper products, not made with U.S. leather, they are invading the U.S. shoe and glove market. The final irony: U.S. shoe and glove manufacturers are asking for quotas on foreign imports and U.S. farmers must take less for the hides.—Prairie Farmer

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Inauguration of Thomas D'Alesandro III as Mayor of Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, yesterday marked an important milestone for the city of Baltimore when Thomas D'Alesandro III assumed office as the city's new mayor. The mayor represents the new generation of young people who are assuming major roles in our government at various levels. He is the youngest man to assume this office in Baltimore. He brings with him to this office, in addition to his youth, confidence, optimism, and an extensive program for action to bring into the forefront of modern, progressive cities, one of the Nation's oldest municipalities.

City, State, and Federal officials attended the ceremonies. The invocation was offered by His Eminence Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, D.D., archbishop of Baltimore. The oath was administered by James F. Carney, clerk of the superior court, and the Bible on which he took his oath was presented by his father, Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., three-term mayor of Baltimore and my predecessor in the House of Representatives for four terms.

After the inaugural address, a prayer was offered by the Reverend Frank L. Williams, pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Church. The Honorable Philip H. Goodman then presented the city hall flag.

Mayor D'Alesandro then administered the oath of office to Hyman A. Pressman, the comptroller, and comptroller-elect.

In closing, a prayer of consecration was offered by the Right Reverend Harry Lee Doll, D.D., bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Maryland, and the benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Israel Tabak, of the Shaarei Zion Congregation.

The inaugural ceremony was held in the War Memorial Building and was followed by a reception in the lower level of the building.

Because of the many problems facing our older cities today, I think the excellent address of Mayor D'Alesandro will be of interest to all of the Members of this body, and, therefore, I am including it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THOMAS J. D'ALESANDRO III, MAYOR, CITY OF BALTIMORE, DECEMBER 5, 1967

The inauguration of an elected official is traditionally a time of ceremony and celebration. But I want this inauguration to be more than just that.

Above all, I want this inauguration to mark a renewal of faith in the city and a renewal of my commitment to make city government responsible to the needs, desires, and aspirations of the people.

The city, through the ages, has been a symbol of civilization, representing the highest and best hopes of man. The city of our *hope* is a place of beauty. It is a place in which all of us can live—in dignity and with peace of mind. It is a place in which to raise children—to learn, to work and to play.

Surely, we all share these hopes and we can and must share the responsibility for making them a reality. In the weeks and months to come I shall seek and create opportunities for people in all walks of life and from every segment of our community to share in this responsibility.

It would be a mistake to minimize the seriousness or the size of the problems which confront us.

Today Baltimore, like its sister cities across the Nation, is threatened by grave financial problems . . . by congestion, blight, and poverty, by inadequate public facilities and by social unrest.

On the one hand, there is a continuing demand for more and better municipal services; yet on the other hand, there are fewer city taxpayers who are able to pay for them.

These problems and the complex economic and social conditions which caused them, are familiar, and formidable. They did not appear overnight. And no matter how strong our resolve or how great our efforts, they will not disappear overnight.

There are many among us who despair of the future of our city. Some flee. Others are despondent and feel that this is a time of hopelessness.

I do not share these views. This is not a time for flight or despair or hopelessness. This is a time of opportunity.

I did not aspire to be mayor to preside over the surrender of the city to its problems.

I was born and raised in the city. I believe in the city. City government has been my life's work. I have tried to prepare myself to meet the challenges of its highest office.

Now I hope and pray that I am ready—ready to use my experience, my desire, my commitment to improve the quality of life in Baltimore, and whatever strengths and talents God has given me, to provide new leadership and new approaches towards the solution of our problems.

In recent years, the urban crisis has not gone unchallenged. On the contrary, we have witnessed unprecedented reports by Federal, State and local governments to reshape the physical environment and to improve economic and social conditions.

Yet we know now that much of what has been tried, and is still being tried, is simply not good enough.

We are not moving on a large enough scale.

We are not moving at a fast enough pace.

And we have yet to gear the machinery and operations of municipal government to meet the demands of these complicated and changing times.

Over the years municipal government has become bigger government, but not always better government.

As government has grown in size and complexity it has become increasingly difficult for the mayor to manage the activities of its many agencies. And these agencies have tended to lose contact with the people they are supposed to serve.

One of the first jobs of the new administration must be to put our house in order—to revamp and to revitalize the structure and operations of our city government—to make it responsive—and to recapture control over the policies and purse strings of city government.

This requires *strong political leadership* and I intend to supply it.

This kind of leadership must begin with the budget.

It is through the budget that the administration must set its goals and determine its priorities. I intend to be personally involved in the budget-making process so that when the budget is submitted to the city council it will reflect a single policy for the city and not the unrelated policies of separate city agencies.

Each of you expects the mayor to attend directly to the business of citizens and to the business of government. At the same time, you and I know that to run a city and to run it well requires help. During the coming weeks I intend to establish in my office a small staff of men dedicated to the objective of thoughtful and imaginative government, whose job it will be to help develop programs and see that they are carried out.

I intend to establish a cabinet of key department heads and officials which will meet with me on a regular basis to assure unity and continuity in determining and carrying out administration policies.

City government at all levels must serve the people, be accessible to them, and be responsive to their needs.

As I said during my campaign, I shall establish neighborhood mayor's stations where any citizen can ask any question, can offer any idea, or can voice any complaint.

To bring programs closer to the people, I shall encourage the establishment of multipurpose neighborhood centers where a wide range of services, offered by both municipal and private agencies, will be provided.

In addition, we will stimulate the formation and operation of neighborhood development organizations through which residents, businesses and institutions can take effective action to preserve or upgrade their own neighborhoods.

It is perfectly clear that the thrust of city government today must be directed toward the critical areas of education, employment, housing and community development, public safety and transportation.

The future of our civilization depends in great part on how well we prepare our children for the society we and they face.

Our city will need all of the initiative, all of the ingenuity, and all of the *extraordinary effort* it can summon to confront its single most critical problem: *public education.*

I am committed to such an effort.

We must undertake at once an unprecedented crash school construction program to replace all obsolete schools and to relieve overcrowding in other schools.

The cost will be great, but not nearly as great as the prohibitive cost of crime, joblessness, alienation and other forms of human waste which are the inevitable products of a school system which is denied the means or is unable to provide quality education.

Let me make clear that our aim *must* be quality education . . . Quality education for *all* of our young people. This is a goal which will require us to make experimentation and innovation the mark of future school policies.

We will not be able to achieve this aim without a school system that is responsive to parental and community sentiments.

It has not been traditional for mayors to become involved in the development of educational policy for fear that such involvement would be considered political. I believe that the school system must be non-political; but it must *not* be *non-public.* I believe, therefore, that as mayor it is my responsibility to provide leadership in education as well as in other essential areas.

If each of our citizens is to share in the blessings of our country, he must have the security and the dignity of a job.

The city must take the lead in bringing together industry, education and transportation to assure that jobs are available, that each and every person can receive the education and training needed to find a job, and that every person can travel between home and work through adequate public transportation.

I intend to have a member of my office staff assigned on a continuing basis to coordinate the various Federal, State and local programs affecting employment, to see that educational programs reflect the changing needs of industry and commerce, and to serve as a link between industry and commerce and the inner city.

Law enforcement also demands priority attention. During the past year our police department has made significant improvements in its ability to combat crime. But more . . . much more remains to be done. I support Commissioner Pomerleau in his efforts to modernize and to strengthen the Police Department.

However, I will not be satisfied with anything less than an all out attack on crime.

I will not be satisfied until citizens in every section of the city can walk the streets without fear and have confidence that lawlessness will be met by an instantaneous response from an adequately trained and equipped police force.

Ultimately to reduce crime we must root out the environmental causes of crime.

We must have a vision of Baltimore as a slumless city—a city in which good housing in a sound neighborhood is available to every citizen at prices or rents within his means.

To achieve this vision of a slumless city all of our efforts in the fields of housing, renewal and code enforcement must be mobilized into a single, intensified assault on residential conditions throughout the city.

One of my first legislative proposals to the city council will be an ordinance to create a single housing and community development department responsible for code enforcement, urban renewal and related housing functions.

One of my first administrative acts will be to establish the machinery in the mayor's office to utilize Baltimore's model cities planning grant. Selection of Baltimore as a model city presents us with a unique opportunity to find our own solutions to many of the serious social and physical problems which sap the strength of our city.

Our concern about the problems of our neighborhoods should not, however, deter us from transferring the momentum of Charles Center to the rebuilding of the inner harbor area. The inner harbor project like the Charles Center has the potential to change the face of Baltimore, elevating the quality of life of all Baltimoreans and instilling in each of us a renewed sense of civic pride and purpose.

As our regional population grows and as our metropolitan area becomes more congested, the need for a modern, efficient and balanced transportation system becomes more urgent. Such a system must include facilities for mass transit as well as facilities for the private automobile. We need a rapid transit system which will provide the residents of the inner city inexpensive and reliable public transportation to meaningful job opportunities . . . and which will provide easy access to the stores, office buildings, and entertainment and cultural facilities in downtown Baltimore, the heart of the metropolitan area. My administration will exert every effort to win support for mass transit from State and Federal sources comparable to that given to the highway program.

For over 25 years the expressway program for Baltimore has been planned and replanned, debated and discussed. I believe we need the program which finally has been authorized as our part of the Interstate System. The burden is now on the State and on the Federal Government to accelerate its construction. They will have our full cooperation.

Just as an expressway can join a city so can it dismember it. To make sure that this does not happen here, Baltimore has created the Nation's first design concept team . . . a team of architects, engineers, sociologists, economists, and urbanologists . . . who will see to it that our expressways are designed to serve people and not just the automobile. The design concept team will have my full support.

It has become increasingly apparent that government, whether it be Federal, State or local, cannot solve the urban crisis alone. The private sector, with all of its drive, talent, technology and resources, must be involved. For this purpose, I shall put the full weight of city government behind the establishment of a Baltimore urban coalition comprised of business, labor, universities and colleges, and civil, religious and civil rights groups.

The establishment of an effective and cooperative relationship with State and metropolitan area governments will be a critical need during the next four years. A step in this direction was taken last year with the passage of the State fiscal reform bill which recognized the special and changing financial needs of the city. We must build on that beginning.

I intend to maintain personal contacts and to establish staff liaison links with the State government, the general assembly, our congressional delegation, and the governments of the surrounding counties.

Many of these officials are here today, symbolizing a common awareness that as Baltimore goes—economically, socially and culturally—so goes the entire metropolitan area; *and,* in many respects, so goes the State of Maryland.

We are dependent upon each other today, and we will be even more dependent upon each other tomorrow.

As the outgoing president of the city council I am keenly aware of the key and constructive role which the council plays in city government. Two days from now I will have the honor of administering the oath of office to president of the city council elect, William Donald Schaefer. I want him and the other members of the new council to know that we will find the means to provide the council with staff and facilities commensurate with their responsibilities and comparable to those provided in other major cities.

Today, I will have the honor of administering the oath of office to comptroller-elect Hyman Pressman. Mr. Schaefer and Mr. Pressman are highly qualified through experience, ability and dedication. The three of us have worked together as a team in the past and I am confident that this teamwork will continue in the future.

Let me turn now to the most fundamental of my commitments to you today.

I am committed to achieving *true* and *total* equality for *all* of our citizens.

We must root out every cause or vestige of discrimination.

Discrimination breeds poverty. Discrimination breeds blight. Discrimination breeds unrest.

Discrimination is morally wrong.

I shall seek the enactment of laws to combat discrimination in places of public accommodation and housing, and to strengthen the community relations commission.

I also pledge that the door of the mayor's office shall continue to be open to those who wish to bring injustices to our attention and who seek lawful, constructive redress of their grievances.

The days ahead are not likely to be easy. The task I have set here today for myself, for my administration, and for the people of Baltimore is a large one, filled with difficulties.

I recognize this. But at the same time, I absolutely reject the counsel of those who say that we are not up to the challenge.

The greatest danger we face is not crisis . . . but despair.

There are too many among us who are on the brink of believing that our cities are ungovernable and that urban problems are insurmountable.

I say to them, and to all of the people of Baltimore, I do not believe it. I relish the opportunity to prove them wrong.

I was schooled in a political tradition that has thrived on adversity.

At the time of the depression, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt told a downhearted nation that his generation of Americans had "a rendezvous with destiny" . . . a rendezvous that lifted up our country to unequalled heights of prosperity and progress.

Nearly thirty years later, but less than ten years ago, President John F. Kennedy told another generation of Americans that the problems of world peace, poverty, and racial tensions placed our country in "maximum danger."

However, he said that he did not believe that "any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation".

Today, I want you to know that I would not exchange places with any other person.

I do not shrink from the challenge or the responsibility which lies ahead.

And I call upon you—each of you gathered here today and every citizen of Baltimore—not to shrink from that challenge or responsibility either.

This Nation, this State, and this city are committed to the rebirth of city life and to the attainment of economic equality and social justice for all of our people.

Now it is our time, and our place, to honor these commitments, and to make them work.

It was said of another city at another time in history—

"If this is the worst of times, it is the best of times. . . . If this is the winter of our despair, it is the spring of our hope."

We here in Baltimore, beginning this moment, have an opportunity to confront and to begin to conquer the great problems facing our society.

We have an opportunity to be of great and lasting service to our fellowmen.

I need your help. I ask for your help. And I pray for the blessings of our Almighty Father upon us all in this work.

Thank you and God bless you.

Pvt. Paul A. Leonard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pvt. Paul A. Leonard, a soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ARUNDEL SOLDIER IS VIET CASUALTY—PRIVATE LEONARD, 20, KILLED 1 MONTH AFTER ARRIVAL

ANNAPOLIS, November 30.—A 20-year-old soldier from the tiny Anne Arundel county community of Glenisle who had been in Vietnam just a month was killed there Tuesday, the Defense Department reported today.

Pfc. Paul A. Leonard died after he was struck by metal fragments from a booby trap, the Defense Department said in a telegram to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Leonard.

Private Leonard was drafted by the Army in November, 1966, and had been in Vietnam exactly one month on the day he was killed, Mr. Leonard said.

He was stationed near An Khe with the First Cavalry Airmobile Division.

Before he was drafted, Private Leonard worked for the United States Government Printing Office in Washington. He was a 1965 graduate of Northwestern High School in Hyattsville, Md.

He wanted to return to the printing business after finishing his two years in the Army, Mr. Leonard said. Before being sent to Vietnam, Private Leonard received training at Fort Jackson, S.C., and at Fort Carson, Colo.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Mrs Dorothy V. Murphy, of Arlington, Va. Mr. and Mrs. Leonard moved to Glenisle, which is on the South River near Annapolis, about two years ago after living for a number of years in Hyattsville.

Report From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, each of us has read and listened and talked and thought a great deal about Vietnam. One of the most thoughtful and thought-provoking comments which it has been my recent privilege to read was written by a young man from my district in Oregon.

He is John Perry, a 1964 graduate of South Eugene High School, who served as a second class with the U.S. Air Force in Vietnam. He wrote the following shortly before his recent return to the United States upon completion of his tour of duty there. His comments appeared in The Axe, an excellent paper published by the students of South Eugene High School.

I commend both John and The Axe for the following:

REPORT FROM VIETNAM

My year has just about ended now—my duty is done. I leave Viet Nam with more than mixed emotions. I leave not only with the typical joy of returning home, seeing friends and loved ones, seeing familiar things, eating familiar food, but also, I leave Viet Nam with a peculiar sense of deep sorrow. This sorrow I feel is for those people not fortunate enough to be Americans, the people who must stay here with this war—the Vietnamese people themselves.

I find myself asking "why" to a lot of things. Why must people suffer the way these people suffer; why must they starve and go unclothed; why must this war go on? But these aren't really questions that one can answer off the cuff, to pass off lightly. These questions have been asked before, and unfortunately they will be asked again, perhaps not of these same people in the future, but of another people, another country, another Viet Nam. I have seen the torture of war, I have listened to the pathetic whimperings of a starving baby, I have gotten to know the fear and hate and useless hopes of these people. But seeing, and listening, and knowing isn't enough. To really not be able to do anything about it is the difficult part.

And now I am heading home. Back to Willamette Street every Friday night and A&W Root Beer stands and showing off the new car and dances and dates and everything I knew before. But it's not going to be the same, somehow. Before, I was able to make my hometown my own personal little world and sit there and pass judgment on what I read in the papers and what I saw on television and be quite content at knowing that Eugene, Oregon, probably isn't a prime target for a Russian nuclear missile. Before, I was able to go to parties and meet people and listen to their incredibly minute problems and sympathize by telling them mine. Before, I was able to meet long-lost relatives and relish the fact that they knew me when I was that small, and sit down to a table full of rich foods and gossip. But now all this amazes me. It amazes me how people can live so richly and so poorly at the same time on the same earth and nobody really wants to do anything about it. Oh there's a lot of talk—that's all I'm doing right now—everybody likes to talk about problems, but who's going to solve them?

I'm leaving, but the girl in the market place with one arm will stay here, the shoe shine kids will stay here, the children in the orphanages will stay here, the children not lucky enough to be in an orphanage will stay here—the living and the dead will stay here in this over-grown swamp until they rot right into it. And there are people—my own countrymen—who, after seeing all of this, still don't give a damn. And there are people back home who have never seen this place, who want us who are here now to leave these people to their own fate. They want us to forget about the children and the sick and the starving, and go home and be content with our own problems. Maybe this is the right thing to do—I'm in no mood to judge other peoples beliefs. But I am one of the unfortunate few who cannot forget, and will not forget.

I can't forget the dirty little houses and the dirty little shacks, and the dirty little kids that run around with no shoes begging for a few pennies. I can't forget the look in the old man's eyes every time I merely say hello to him in his own language—the look of pure supplication and humiliation. I can't forget the girl who wished me Merry Christmas just when I was beginning to forget what it really meant. She was Vietnamese and she wanted me to remember her. The favorite American phrase these people have picked up is "don't forget me—don't forget Viet Nam."

I won't forget. That's one thing I can promise them. Don't get me wrong I do want to go home—I do want to try to fit right back in where I was before—in other words I want to try to do the impossible.

I won't forget. But being human, I wish I could. . . .

Fiftieth Anniversary of Township of Lyndhurst, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, 6, and 7, 1967, the citizens of the township of Lyndhurst celebrated the adoption of the name of Lyndhurst, which took place on May 8, 1917.

It is a distinct honor for me to represent this township and its civic-minded citizens as their Representative in Congress.

Lyndhurst is a stable community of serious-minded citizens who have the interest of their community at heart and strive, at every opportunity, to improve it so that it may be a better place in which to live and raise their families.

Lyndhurst is a town of progress and each citizen is deeply concerned that this progress shall not falter in the future. I congratulate its citizens on their past performance in making Lyndhurst a historic place in the State of New Jersey and wish them every success in their future endeavors to add to their glory.

On the occasion of this celebration, the Golden Jubilee Committee had issued an attractive brochure, abundant in facts on the township's past history, generously illustrated with protographs of yesteryear and covering every facet of Lyndhurst's past and present history.

Mr. Speaker, in order that my colleagues may become familiar with the township of Lyndhurst, I include the contents of the brochure in the Congressional Record:

Township of Lyndhurst: Historical Background Essay of 300 Years

(By Emil Lincoln Ostman)

It can be reasonably adjudged that the Township of Lyndhurst has the most colorful history of all the Bergen communities. The eastern part of town, east of Ridge Road and south of Fern Avenue, has been known as Kingsland ever since 1750. The entire community was called Barbadoes Neck in earlier days. To the Dutch it was "Achter Col".

The Barbadoes men who settled on the Kingsland Patent called the land New Barbadoes. Originally it was considered part of Essex County. Bergen County existed at the time but only to embrace what is known today as Hudson. Hudson County itself was established in 1840. By 1825 Lyndhurst had become a part of Lodi Township and still was a part of Essex. In 1840 the communities of Harrison, Kearny and East Newark became part of Hudson County and North Arlington, Lyndhurst, Rutherford, Wallington and Lodi remained in Lodi as part of Bergen County. In 1852 North Arlington, Lyndhurst, Rutherford and East Rutherford became part of Union Township. Lyndhurst chose the name of Lyndhurst in 1917.

During 300 years of history, Lyndhurst has been known under various names such as: Mighecticock, New Barbadoes Neck, New Barbadoes Landing, Lodi Township, Harrison Township, Union Township, South Rutherford, Lyndhurst Township, besides Kingsland.

The first foreign ship to make its way into New York Bay was commanded by Giovanni Da Verrazano in 1524. Verrazano was much impressed with what he saw, and later wrote, "We found a pleasant place below steep little hills, and from these hills a mighty deep-mouthed river ran to the sea."

The key word in Verrazano's letter was "deep-mouthed." As far back as 1524 the advantages of the bay were realized by those who sailed it.

A number of years later, 1609, Henry Hudson, commanding the Half Moon, glided past the Lower Bay and made his way upriver.

Written by Henry Hudson in 1609 we learn: "This is a very good land to fall in with and a pleasant land to see, with grass and flowers and goodly trees. Very sweet smells came from there." This is a description of New Jersey by an adventurous traveler from abroad. It is not a recent account, of course.

From the log of the "Half Moon", 1609.

The Dutch explorer Henry Hudson, for the Dutch East India Sailing Company seeking a short route to India, discovered the Hudson River, and explored the shores of New York and New Jersey. On his return to his homeland, he encouraged the Dutch to settle in the new lands of paradise which he found in the New World.

The history of New Jersey goes back to the very founding of the colonies. More than 150 years before the creation of the United States and almost a half century before the name "New Jersey" ever was recorded, settlers already were beginning a new community along the west bank of the Hudson.

The following are important dates in Jersey history.

1609—On Sept. 12 the explorer Henry Hudson discovers what is now Jersey City anchoring his ship the "Half Moon" at Communipaw.

In 1610, Niew Amsterdam was established on Manhattan Island, and the influx of the Dutch settlers started in many localities of the present Metropolitan Area.

1621—A charter is granted the Dutch West India Co., giving it jurisdiction over the new territory for the next 20 years. The company offers special "freedoms" to anyone brave enough to settle on the new land.

The Dutch were in New Jersey in 1617, even before the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and were probably the first white men to cross the waters to the western shores (New Jersey) from New York.

1630—Michael Pauw, a burgomaster from Amsterdam, buys most of Hudson County from the Indians and names the territory "Pavonia," a Latin version of his name.

1633—Michael Paulsen or Paulez, an officer of the company, resides in "Arresick." Soon the land is named Paulus Hook. It was sold five years later to Isaacsen Planck for 250 guilders, less than $100 in present-day money.

1638—William Kieft is named governor of New Netherlands. By a combination of stupidity and arrogance he mistreats the Indians until they hold a bloody uprising in retaliation.

Earlier exploring Huguenots, Scots, Dutchmen, Yankees from Connecticut, as well as Finns and Swedes, attempted to settle in the Passaic and Hackensack Valleys and across the Hudson and New York Bay, but they hardly survived massacre by Indians. The pioneer historian-explorer Pieter de Vries, who was a friend of Indians, settled Vriesland vicinity of upper Tappan in 1643.

However, other Dutch settlers in Jersey across from Niew Amsterdam did not do so well, and were massacred by Indians in 1643, and again in 1654.

1646—In July Peter Stuyvesant is named director general (governor) of the colony. As a means of conciliation he again buys Pavonia from the Indians.

1660—It is the date that is found on the earliest known documents dealing with the settlement of the stockaded Bergen Village. In November a church is organized, and continues today under the name Old Bergen Reformed Church.

1662—The first school is created in Bergen City. Classes are held in a log cabin which also serves as a church.

1664—For the first time the name of New Jersey is applied to the state. The Duke of York grants the land to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. The area is named New Jersey because Carteret once was governor of the isle of Jersey. Bergen is allowed two delegates to the state legislature, which convenes in Elizabeth.

Robert Treat and his band of settlers arrived at Newark by ship in May 1666. They came from Connecticut, seeking to maintain strict religious customs they felt were being weakened by "liberalism" in the Nutmeg State.

The settlers immediately organized Newark's famed Old First Church, which served also as fort and town meeting place. The church was the center of all authority, spiritual and civil. Only members in good standing could vote, hold office, own land and,—at least in earliest days, live in town. Old First's iron rule held firm until 1736, when Col. Josiah Ogden led some dissidents away to form Trinity Episcopal Church.

New Jersey's first great citizen, fittingly enough, was a native—one of the Lenni Lenape, or "Original People," who welcomed Europeans with gifts and kindness.

His people called him Oratam,, combining the Lenape words "Ora," meaning "Good," and Tammany, meaning "Affable One." They named him well; more than anyone else, Oratam of Hackensack sought peace and justice for new settlers, even in the face of severest provocation.

Oratam was born in 1577, somewhere in or near present-day Teaneck. Physically powerful despite his medium build, Oratam might have made a great warrior for the Hackensacks, but he chose instead to walk the path of peace when he became sachem, or chief.

EARLY EXPLORERS WELCOME

Oratam was 32 years old when Henry Hudson sailed his "Half Moon" up the river that bears his name. Indians welcomed those adventurers with gifts and open arms; that would have been the way of Oratam, although to sailors aboard the Half Moon all "savages" looked alike.

When Dutchmen began to filter into the land of the Hackensacks, a middleaged Oratam often crossed the river to New Amsterdam as a mediator to seek the dignity of peace.

Oratam found his greatest ally in a young Dutch woman named Sarah Jans, who married Doctor Hans Kiersted in 1642. First as Miss Jans, and later as Mrs. Kiersted, the earnest Dutch woman learned the Lenni Lenape language and acted as Oratam's interpreter. Later Oratam gave her 2,000 acres of land along the Hackensack River to express his gratitude.

DUTCH MASSACRE INDIANS

Governor Kieft sent 80 Dutch soldiers across the Hudson River on Feb. 25, 1643 to carry out an act of viciousness that ranks among all-time colonial outrages.

The Dutch fell upon the sleeping Indians near present-day Jersey City. Before the brutal massacre ended, the Europeans had slain 80 men, women and children. They returned to New Amesterdam in bloody triumph, convinced that the "savages" had been taught a lesson.

When his people are slaughtered, a peacemaker steps aside. Outraged Indians rampaged through the area from Staten Island to the Connecticut River, burning and killing for 18 months. Yet, as it always does, the time for revenge ended; the time for decency returned.

The Good-and-Affable-One made peace. Indians and Dutch alike sought his help, not alone after the 1643 massacre but also in other wars to come.

Time after time he affixed his "mark" to land treaties with the Dutch. His mark appeared often on colonial documents.

Despite his age, the English also sought out Oratam when they superseded the Dutch. Governor Philip Carteret interceded on behalf of Newark settlers in 1666. He addressed a letter to "Oratam, Honoured Sachem," asking that the Newarkers be treated fairly—and assuring the venerable Indian that justice also would be accorded the natives.

Oratam appointed an emissary to carry out the Newark negotiations. The old chief died early in 1667 at the age of 90. After a proper period for mourning, the Newark treaty was signed.

Oratam, Chief of the Hackensack Indians, died at 90 in 1666, gave land which included Harrison, Kearny, North Arlington, Lyndhurst and Rutherford to five of his Indians—Hanyaham, Kenorenawack, Gosque, Anaren, Tamack, and Tantaque. However, King Charles, the first, gave the same as a grant, which included this territory, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The land from present Harrison to East Rutherford which included 5,308 acres of highlands and 10,000 acres of meadows, the Kingsland tract, was negotiated by Capt. William Sanford of New Barbadoes, from Carteret who had the East Jersey section, on July 4, 1668, as agent for Major Nathaniel Kingsland.

Evidently, the Huguenot Peter Minuit, Director of the Dutch West India Company, was a shrewder trader with the Manhattan Indians, than were the English slave traders of the Barbadoes (West Indies) Penal Colony—Captains Sandford and Berry in their deals with the Lenni-Lenape Chieftains, for purchase of the Kingsland and Berry Land Grants, in 1668–1669.

The Indians had the infernal habit of reselling the land periodically to buyers as often as whims or desires for wampum suited them. This was a serious problem for the early settlers, especially before the English occupancy in 1664.

The geneological impact of the Post family was started by Adrian Post (died 1677), as land owner at Paulus Hook, N.J. in 1668. Dutch settlers were late in acquiring lands in present Bergen County which were granted to the English proprietors from Barbadoes, 1668–1670, after the British occupation of New Netherlands in 1664. Dutch communities of Bergen and Secaucus were early settlements. The name "Secaucus" has changed over the years. Secaucus is an Indian word meaning "place where the snakes hide." Originally it was "Siskakes," which was changed to "Silkakes" and then to "Secaucus Island." The original Indian name derives from the many snakes that used to hide in the swampy meadow grass. One of the most famous landmarks in the community is "Snake Hill"—officially known as Laurel Hill.

David des Marest, a French Huguenot whose name is still carried on in the County by his descendants, settled in what is now New Milford in 1677. Des Marest, objecting to being forced to support the Dutch Church in New York, put his family aboard a boat and sailed up the Hackensack River to settle down to farming and religious peace.

Jacob Walling (Wallington named after him) Van Winkle and fourteen Dutch families, Hendrix, Vreeland et al, in 1674 acquired the Acquackanonk Tract of 11,000 acres west of Hackensack and Passaic Rivers, north of the Kingsland Tract west of the Passaic River.

In 1671, Van Winkle married Catherine Michelse Vreeland, and thus started a series of inter-marriages of large families among the Dutch and other early Americans. Through many generations, their descendants became numerous, and many are outstanding citizens in our community. The Van Winkle genealogy runs into the eleventh generation. An eminent descendant of the Van Winkle family tree is Robert Van Winkle, who heads the oldest realty firm in Bergen, A. Van Winkle & Co. in Rutherford. Charles Van Winkle of Rutherford Trust Co. is also a scion.

The Van Emburghs were intermarried with the Kingslands and Sandfords, before 1690.

Barbadoes Neck in early days exemplified Nature's virgin beauty. Beneath regal woodland, two rivers cutting their way thru regions of high grass and rushes, running into three limpid pools, were filled with gleaming fish. Two Indian trails—one following the bends of the river and the other along Orient Way cut through the forest and swamp.

The Kingsland Tract was deeded to Bartolomew Feurt and Elias Boudinot. Feurt's section was in what is now Rutherford and Boudinot's from Highland Cross in Rutherford to the northern line of the Sandford tract. Boudinot sold part of his property to Jan Jurianse, (pronounced Yerance) and Harpert Gerbrantse in the early 1700s. Boudinot was the father of Gen. Elias Boudinot who lived in Elizabeth. Elias was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and Treasurer of the Continental Congress and served as an aid to Gen. George Washington in negotiating for exchange of Revolutionary War prisoners, and also was signer of the peace treaty with England in 1783.

The Kingsland house at Union Avenue was built by Sandford about 1670 in the early days of the Kingsland Grant. But the more famous Kingsland Manor Mansion which Edmund Kingsland barricaded against the British before he was taken prisoner in the Revolutionary War, was built in 1729–30. It was located east of the present Kingsland Avenue at the eastern end of Lyndhurst (Meadow Rd.).

Major Kingsland and his wife, Mary, never came to New Jersey but two nephews, Isaac and Gustavus Kingsland, settled here. Isaac built a home on what is now Meadow Road just south of the old Kingsland shops—the first real house built in Lyndhurst. Later rebuilt and known as the Kingsland Manor, it was torn down in 1930.

It stood at the foot of Kingsland Avenue, about 200 ft. in from Schuyler Avenue. Big winding roads, shaded by huge trees, led to the house. There were three subcellars.

Memories it had.

When the British invaded, Edmund Kingsland locked himself up in the fortress with his family. With their guns they fought off the English. They could have survived for weeks, so plentiful were their supplies.

But the British cannily seized one of Kingsland's Negro slaves and with him as a guard advanced on the house.

The slave begged his master to disregard his safety and shoot. But Kingsland surrendered instead. He could not risk shooting his slave.

He suffered for it. He was wearing a beaver hat when he gave up. His captors took him to Brooklyn and amused themselves by beating him with his own beaver.

In 1671 Nathanial Kingsland and wife, disposed of the southern one-third of their grant to Capt. Sandford, for 200 pounds. He then owned what is now Harrison, Kearny and North Arlington while Kingsland kept present-day Lyndhurst and Rutherford.

Sandford, later to become presiding judge of Bergen County, is remembered as the founder and first citizen of Kearny by the street in that town which bears his name.

A Sandford descendent married a Kingsland as did one of Berry's.

One of the active Kingslands living in our midst is Mrs. Sarah Kingsland Van Emburgh of 21 Van Reyper Place, Belleville. Her husband's family is related to her in still another way.

When Sandford died he willed his property to his wife, Sarah, who on December 7, 1709, gave a tract of 150 acres on the Passaic River, to her "dear friend, Katherine Van Emburgh."

A description of the Van Emburgh property is not at hand, but doubtlessly it was meant in 1779 Bergen County records which show, that the "estate of Abraham Van Embergh, of New Barbadoes, 74½ acres, north of the land of Arent Schuyler on the east side of the Passaic River with tenements" was sold to William Clark for 638 pounds and some shillings."

This was at the time when properties of those who had been loyal to the king during the Revolution were sold off to the highest bidder.

Pieterson Van Schuyler came from Holland in 1960, and was a wealthy merchant in West Indies trade.

Arent Schuyler, son of Pieterson Van Schuyler acquired from Kingsland (via Sandford,) acreage that now is chiefly North Arlington. His son, Casparus married Jane, daughter of Gustavus Kingsland, and the couple lived in Bordentown.

All the Schuyler area was called Barbadoes Point at that time, since the Kingslands and Capt. Sandford were from Barbadoes, and therefore English.

Capt. Arent Schuyler, former Dutch trader and Indian agent, whose granddaughter, Betsy, became the wife of Alexander Hamilton, described the land as "a wilderness bordered by wild marshes and dotted with cedars."

Schuyler, already a wealthy man, really struck it rich in 1712, when one of his slaves plowed up a "heavy green rock" in one of his fields. The proprietor secretly sent a sample of the "rock" to England for analysis and found it contained more than 80 per cent pure copper.

The slave who made the discovery not only was given his freedom by Schuyler, but was told he could have "any three wishes" he desired. The wishes were pathetically simple: The slave merely asked that he be allowed to live with Schuyler for the rest of his life, that he be presented with a dressing gown like his master's, and that he be given "all the tobacco I can use for the rest of my life."

Schuyler began working the mine, and for the first time, the steam engine made its appearance in the New World. It was a water-pumping engine invented by Newcomb.

With the machine came Josiah Hornblower, a young man whose father built the engine. Hornblower was needed. He alone understood the mysteries of the steam engine. With him he brought three spare parts for every one in the machine. Hornblower settled down and married one of the Kingsland girls.

The very presence of Hornblower in this area focused attention upon it. The use of steam as power for transportation was being considered. Steam engines in vessels, steam engines in trains—the field was wide open. Later on he manufactured steam engines.

Benjamin Franklin was interested in the operation of the Hornblower Steam engine and visited the mine in North Arlington. At one time Nicholas Roosevelt, forebear of F.D.R., had possession of the mines.

A criss-cross of caverns and old tunnels remains of the mining.

Col. Peter Schuyler, son of Arent Schuyler, was probably born in Bergen County. He was a county official in 1755, and commanded a New Jersey regiment in an expedition to Canada in 1746. He became Colonel in 1755. He with half of his command was captured in Oswego in the French and Indian War. After being held prisoner several months in 1758, he was released on parole.

On September 12, 1777, the British proceeded west from Paulus Hook (Jersey City) on one of their foraging and raiding missions along the plank road built by John Schuyler in 1759 to transport copper from his plantation and mines to the Hackensack River.

Sir Henry Clinton, whost troops were quartered with General Howe in New York City, had decided to establish temporary British quarters in the majestic Schuyler mansion, internationally known social center, which was built in 1717 by Arent Schuyler at New Barbadoes Neck West Hudson-South Bergen area after the discovery of copper on his property in 1715.

As the British reached the crest of the meadowlands, Mrs. Schuyler, rather than supply the British with wheat and corn, set a torch to her fields.

A Kingsland, Ambrose, became mayor of New York. His great contribution was a plan for a master public park system.

One of Kingsland's descendants is Newbold Morris, former president of the New York City Council. By coincidence Morris today is commissioner of the New York park system his ancestor envisioned.

But Morris is doubly united to this area.

One resident of Lyndhurst was Helena Morris, the beloved "Lena" of Robert Rutherford, who lived on the Passaic River near Rutherford Avenue from 1804 to 1840.

The Continentals were well aware of the frequent British foraging parties, but they were surprised at the number of troops also approaching from the Newark side of the Passaic River.

The American troops, a volunteer force strengthened during the night by the arrival of several Continentals and one cannon, immediately demolished the crude Passaic Bridge, destroying all available boats and barges, and answered the British fire.

Clinton, claiming the Schuyler Mansion and the Kingsland House, quartered the redcoats on the grounds of the plantation. Josiah Hornblower managed to escape across the river.

The village blacksmith, Abram Van Riper, whose shop adjoined the Second River, was now making ammunition. American shots were often fired from the belfry of the old Dutch Reformed Church. When cannon balls were all used up, the blacksmith's hammer was sent. A redcoat yelled: "look out men, the anvil may come next."

By nightfall, the American ammunition supply was exhausted, but the British nevertheless had been prevented from crossing the river. Continentals retired to the deep ravine of the Second River, now Belleville.

After the thirty-six hour engagement, during which several skirmishes took place, the Americans were firmly entrenched at Second River. Their heroic defense curtailed Clinton's plans and enabled the local inhabitants to drive their livestock to places of safety. Clinton and his troops retired from Schuyler Heights and returned to New York on September 14, 1777.

Every November the American people gather in happy groups of family and friends to observe Thanksgiving—turkey, cranberry sauce, all the traditional appetizing array from soup to nuts. The holiday, incidentally, had a Jersey origin. It was first proposed as a national holiday in 1789 by a New Jersey Congressman, the noted Elias Boudinot, and was officially proclaimed Thanksgiving Day by President George Washington.

Originally it was intended as a day to give thanks for the United States Constitution and creation of a brand new nation in the world. The modern day has taken on broader meaning, to include thankfulness for a land of peace and plenty and progress.

It's surprising how much the American Indian contributed to the traditional feast. It was from them that we learned about the wild turkey, and about those tart-sweet red cranberries (once known as "craneberries" because their stems were thought to resemble the neck of a crane.) Potatoes too. And if your turkey stuffing includes oysters, a succulent addition indeed, it was from the redskins that we learned that the bivalve was not only safe to eat but delicious too.

The family of Major Walter Rutherfurd, through the Lord Alexander maternal relationship, was at one time New Jersey's largest landowner and acquired property north and south of present Rutherford Avenue. He was from Scotland, served as one of the early East Jersey Commissioners, figured very prominently in connection with land deals in New Jersey.

John Rutherfurd, the post-revolutionary figure who established his estate in Lyndhurst and from whose name Rutherford and East Rutherford were borrowed, was born September 20, 1760, at his father's residence in New York. He was graduated from Princeton in 1779.

Upon his graduation from Princeton Rutherfurd took up the study of law in the office of Richard Stockton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Rutherfurd married Helena Morris, 10th child of Lewis Morris. The Morris line began in this country with Richard Morris whose father was a captain with Oliver Cromwell. From England Richard Morris went to the Barbadoes—where Nathaniel Kingsland was a sergeant major and where William Sandford and John Berry, first settlers of New Barbadoes, were serving with the army.

When Sandford obtained the Kingsland patent on the Hackensack-Passaic peninsula, Morris received a grant of 3,000 acres of land in Westchester County. Later it was called Morrisania. By coincidence the Kingsland and Morris grants both were made in 1668.

Lewis Morris, first, succeeded his uncle as owner of Morrisania, became chief justice of the New York Supreme Court in 1715 and was appointed governor of New Jersey in 1738, serving until 1746. Lewis Morris, second, appointed judge of the Court of Admiralty in 1738, married first Catherine Staats and second Sarah Gouverneur, mother of the brilliant statesman and distinguished diplomat, Gouverneur Morris.

Lewis Morris, third, was a product of the first marriage. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. And it was Helena, his tenth child, who married Rutherfurd and who moved with him to what is now Lyndhurst in 1808.

For several generations, the Rutherfurds moved up in the highest American political circles, John Rutherfurd serving in the Senate of President Washington, who was a close family friend. Other founding fathers who were entertained at "The Edgerston" included John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and Chief Justice John Jay.

Rutherfurd broke with Aaron Burr after Hamilton was killed in a duel. Rutherfurd helped plan the New York streets above 14th St. in gridiron manner since he was sure that New York would grow.

Perhaps Washington told Rutherfurd of the terrible retreat from Hackensack through Paramus and down the center of New Jersey, fleeing the British.

It is understandable why the Lyndhurst community with such social and political ties at Rutherfurd's Edgerston, as well as at other nearby mansions of Van Winkle, Kingsland, Schuyler and several others, was reputed as the most coveted social colony of New Barbadoes. Today, the Masonic Club of Lyndhurst is housed in the only historical mansion in the community, the Van Winkle House which has been preserved from the American colonial-period.

It is all part of the heritage of South Bergen. All through our communities runs a colorful, vital, exciting thread of history.

Too few of the buildings that they knew still stand. The depression years when dollars were hard to come by saw the destruction of many of them.

But memories are not costly: and for the keen they are as real as stone. Our heritage should give us the deepest pride in our history.

Tears Join Smiles in Viet Calls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY L. PETTIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, recently I helped 21 "GI's" in South Vietnam call their families in the west end of San Bernardino County in California. I think the Ontario Daily Report story, headlined Tears Join Smiles in Viet Calls, is worth the attention of my colleagues.

The newspaper article follows:

FAMILIES RECORD CONVERSATIONS WITH SERVICEMEN

(By John Brewer)

MONTCLAIR.—Inside, the young wife was trying to hold back the tears.

"Bob—are you there, Bob," she asked, a lump in her throat.

"I'm here, hon," came her husband's voice over the phone. "How's everything? Are you getting along OK?"

"Joey's got a cold and I couldn't bring him along," answered the wife. "He's home in bed, with the vaporizer on.

"Your parents called last night and told me to say hello to you for them. And—"

The wife broke out crying.

"I miss you, Bob," she sobbed. "I love you and I miss you so much. Please come home all right. Please take care of yourself . . ."

SCENE REPEATED

A dozen scenes like this were repeated Saturday when 21 West End servicemen in Vietnam talked to their families as part of the Montclair Kiwanis Club's "Calls to Vietnam" project.

The young wife had not seen her husband—a Marine stationed at Da Nang—in 9 months.

"It was wonderful to talk to him," she said afterwards, still sobbing. "He sounded so good."

The Vietnam calls were made from 5–7:30 p.m. from a private room at the Holiday Motor Lodge. Each family had five minutes to talk. A special phone was used which allowed a whole group to listen and speak to their GIs, who were receiving the calls at the Saigon USO Club.

Over 100 wives, parents, relatives, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, and friends spoke with the servicemen through the Kiwanis hook-up, which cost $4 a minute.

While some emerged from the room in tears, most left beaming after talking to their men.

CLEAR CONNECTION

The connection between Montclair and Saigon was amazingly clear—"It was just like making a phone call next door," said Mrs. Linda Jones, of 831 Orchid Ct., Upland after talking to her soldier-husband Edward.

The GIs were enthusiastic about talking to their families.

PFC Mike Davis told his fiancee, Ann Wucherpfennig of Montclair, "When I get back, I'm gonna join the Montclair Kiwanis Club."

Another GI said, "I'm going to kiss Tom Watson" (chairman of the Kiwanis project.)

Eleven members of Radioman William Morrow's family talked with him, and his grandfather, Joe Brooks of Visalia, asked, "What's the name of your girl friend again?"

"Nuya," said Morrow.

"Does she have a last name?" asked grandfather.

"I-I can't pronounce it," replied Morrow.

COMA ESTAS

Oscar and Martha Meza, both of Chino, spoke to their brother, Army Sp/4 Nemesio Meza, in Spanish.

"Coma estas?" asked Mesa. "How are you?"

"Muy bien, muy bien," answered his brother. "Very good."

The 21 GIs, stationed throughout South Vietnam, were released from duty to talk to their families through arrangements made by Congressman Jerry Pettis.

"It was just wonderful," said Mrs. Rolland Miller, of 2022 S. San Antonio Ave., Ontario, after talking to her son, Sp/4 Dennis Miller, 21, stationed at Qui Nhon since last June.

"It meant so much to us to talk to Dennis," she said. "He said he was well and healthy. You don't know what a phone call means after so many months of letters."

Several people brought tape recorders to record their talks with their husbands, fathers, or sons.

Mrs. R. E. Anders, of Montclair, after talking to her helicopter mechanic-husband, said, "I'm going to listen to this tape over and over again. It meant so much to me to talk to him."

To Improve Accuracy of Agriculture's Statistical Reports: H.R. 14251

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, farmers from every State of the Union are complaining because of the financial damage done to them by erroneous crop and livestock estimates issued from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. While many demand the elimination of Government estimates, a more realistic approach would be to improve the existing program.

BACKGROUND

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has been collecting and disseminating data on agriculture since its beginning in 1862. However, these statistics have not always been accurate, and when substantial errors arise, the results can be disastrous for the farmer.

Last year, for example, the Agriculture Department understated demand and overstated carryover in forecasts for four major commodities. The mistake in each of these cases depressed prices received in the prime selling period of the particular crop, resulting in a loss of income to farmers. There are reliable congressional estimates that $300 million was lost from corn revenue, $400 million from soybean revenue, $180 million from wheat revenue, and $25 million from grain sorghum revenue. That is nearly a billion dollars, a substantial percentage of farm income.

In addition, the Department "lost" 5 million turkeys. This situation had a price-inflating effect on the 1966 turkey market, and these inflated prices contributed to overproduction and depressed prices in 1967.

In March of this year, we were informed that the figures published by the Department of Agriculture underestimated cattle population by 2,305,000. Upward revision of the statistics depressed prices received by farmers.

The need to improve the estimating process is well illustrated by the fluctuations which have occurred in the 1967 corn crop estimates which were published in July, August, September, and October of this year. In the State of Iowa, the per-acre estimate has dropped from 89 to 83, or 6 bushels per acre, representing 65.7 million bushels; in Illinois the estimate in this same period has risen 13 bushels per acre, or 144 million bushels; and Nebraska estimates, which in July were 55 bushels per acre, had gone to 72 by October—a difference of 17 bushels—with a total production change of nearly 73 million bushels between those two dates.

The effect of such variations is obvious. A record production forecast results in depressed prices. Any portion of that yield which does not materialize represents a loss to the farmer in the form of lower prices during the entire period involved. The initial 1967 corn crop estimates released on July 10 of this year caused an immediate drop of from 20 to 25 cents a bushel in the corn price.

The cost of the crop and livestock estimating portions of this program have risen from $7,470,000 in 1961 to $12,658,000 in fiscal 1967. If we are going to spend that kind of money, we deserve a better product.

Crop-production estimates are important to agriculture. While periodic errors in these statistics produce demands for elimination of Government estimating altogether, it seems clear that in this day and age an improved system is better than none at all.

Crop reports of one kind or another are helpful in many respects. They help curb price fluctuations by eliminating uncertainty of supply; they place farmers and organized dealers on equal footing—assist in making store-or-sell decisions, and those regarding future expansion or curtailment of acres; they anticipate deficit and surplus production areas—thus helping distribution pattern; they provide a key to agricultural income, enabling others to anticipate demand for manufactured products; they give financial institutions guidance on lending policies; they are essential to enactment of proper agricultural legislation; they provide the Nation with the necessary information on the availability of food; and so on.

CHANGE IN EXISTING LAW PROPOSED

The basic authority for the procedure presently used by the Crop Reporting Board through its Statistical Reporting Service to collect and evaluate statistical data is found in paragraph 329, section 1, chapter 6, of title I of the official regulations of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The applicable regulation follows:

> Collection of Information—For use in preparing the official estimates of the Department, information relating to agriculture shall be gathered through the Washington and field offices of the Service, *as far as practicable, from practical farmers,* as provided in 7 U.S.C. 411a; . . .

The U.S. Department of Agriculture issues crop estimates on the 10th of each month during the growing season. The estimates are based on information from about 90,000 farmers. The typical State mailing list includes about 2,500 participants. Farmers file reports with State crop reporting boards, where they are tabulated, summarized, and mailed to the Crop Reporting Board in Washington. Here, the information from each State is evaluated and the results are published.

This system needs oversight at the county level, to help avoid the effects of irregular responses from the farmer participants. With this in mind, we are proposing to write into the procedure a requirement that the opinions of county extension agents be considered in the evaluation of the figures collected within their respective counties. Who would know a county better than the extension director?

This change would be accomplished by the enactment of H.R. 14251, set forth below:

H.R. 14251

A bill to amend the act of March 4, 1909, as amended, to obtain information for agricultural estimates from county extension agents

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of March 4, 1909 (35 Stat. 1053) is amended by deleting the comma immediately after the words "which shall be gathered as far as practicable from practical farmers" and inserting "and from county extension agents engaged in cooperative agricultural extension work,".

Mr. Secretary, If This Is Prosperity, I Would Hate To See a Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from a 4-day trip over the agricultural areas of my district.

Although things have been tough for agriculture in past years, I have never seen anything like it in my 17 years in the Congress. With farm debt and production costs hitting recordbreaking highs and farm prices continuing to go down, it is no wonder the American farmer is up in arms over low farm prices and concerned about what the future will bring.

Feeling his pocketbook become lighter by the month, the farmer knows full well he is being shortchanged—as the farm parity ratio continues its plunge to a new low. To illustrate; the Illinois parity ratio, which relates prices paid to prices received, dropped to 68. This is a drop of 7 points since October 1966. And this is the lowest figure since parity was first formulated in 1937.

Prices farmers must pay now to stay in business keep climbing mainly because of the inflationary prices kept in motion by the Government's mounting debt. At the same time, prices they receive continually keep dropping. A part of these declines can be traced to dumping and other Government policies which keep the supply-demand force in the marketplace from operating fairly.

Total farm debt last year went up 10 percent—an average nationally of over $1,200 increased indebtedness per farmer. The number of farmers operating in the United States in 1966 dropped 4 percent from the previous year and the Department of Agriculture now predicts 82,000 more farmers will be wiped out in 1967. Obviously, the farmer is alarmed and with good reason.

Lack of income equity between farmer and nonfarmer is an undeniable fact. While estimated annual personal income for city employed sources rose 8 percent in the last year, estimated annual personal income for farmers dropped 16 percent—as reported recently in the April 1967 issue of Economic Indicators prepared by the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Obviously, present Federal programs for corn and wheat are not working to the advantage of Illinois farmers. Mr. Speaker, I quote from a letter which I have received on November 25, 1967, from a farmer in my congressional district which reads as follows and gives the plight in fair expression of the farmer in my congressional district:

> I am ready to testify before the Agriculture Committee—or any other. I just sold the corn from my small acreage at .92 cents per bushel. With the moisture dock, etc., it will be down to the 70's (cents) and this won't include shelling and fertilizer and taxes. If this is prosperity, I would dread seeing a depression. Mr. Freeman should retire to the farm and view the Great Society from that angle!

I do not know whether or not it is a hopeful sign, but at least we did get someone in the Department of Agriculture to admit that the American farmer is in trouble. Rex F. Daly, Chairman of the Department's Outlook and Situation Board, told a recent Washington conference that farmers would not be any better off financially next year than they are this year, and that they probably will be worse off in comparison with the rest of the economy.

Robert Bergland, midwest director for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service said a few days ago that in the present state, this year's corn crop probably means bankruptcy for a sizable number of midwest farmers. He is further quoted as follows:

> Farm-owners probably can withstand the squeeze, but the tenant farmer who has tooled up with high-price machinery and no substantial financial backlog is in real trouble.

Here is one place where the Secretary of Agriculture could do something by suggesting emergency support loans for wet corn which would give the farmer an opportunity to dry the corn and to sell it next year when prices are expected to be better. There are now 700 million bushels of high moisture corn in Illinois alone which are in distress and ought to be eligible for loan and storage. If forced to sell now, for many of these farmers the economic impact is a disaster.

Farmers in my district know for more than a dozen years that I have been an advocate of no partisan politics insofar as agriculture is concerned. I have been willing to cooperate with anybody, Democrat or Republican, who would help us better the agriculture situation.

I introduced, along with Mr. POAGE—Democrat of Texas—the present chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, the Surplus Agriculture Development Act of 1954—commonly known as Public Law 480.

Under this law we have exported billions of dollars worth of surplus agriculture products overseas. There was the perfect example of cooperation between parties in getting something done to help the farmer.

I am deeply troubled that the present Secretary shows no signs of coming up with any legislation or administrative assistance on his own part which would alleviate the desperate plight that midwestern farmers are experiencing at this time.

Many of us have heard through the years that the present Secretary of Agriculture claims that his administration has made the farmer prosperous. Mr. Secretary, if this is prosperity, I would hate to see a depression.

Peoria Plans Own Model Program Without U.S. Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as most of my colleagues know, my hometown of Peoria was selected as an All America City last year, and one of the primary reasons for this honor was the construction of a so-called progress center in the downtown area. This involved a complete renovation and rebuilding campaign, and represented an investment of over $50 million, which, I might add, was all private financing and did not involve any so-called Federal funds.

Now that renovation of the business section of the city is almost completed, city leaders are moving out into the residential areas, and last week the mayor announced that Peoria will not try to take part in the Federal model cities program, but hopes to accomplish a model neighborhood using their own resources and planning as was utilized in the downtown project.

Under the enlightened and inspiring leadership of Mayor Robert J. Lehnhausen and City Manager Leonard H. Caro, these private citizens in the great American tradition have decided to go ahead and invest their own funds and energies in the removal of slum areas and not become involved in redtape, delays, and frustrations which often accompany programs administered by the Federal Government.

What has been done in Peoria is really a model cities program in the truest sense, and other cities around the country might do well to emulate my hometown.

Mr. Speaker, I insert an article appearing in the Thursday, November 30, edition of the Peoria Journal Star at this point in the RECORD:

PEORIA PLANS OWN MODEL PROGRAM WITHOUT U.S. AID

Peoria will not try to take part in the federal Model Cities program but it hopes to accomplish something of a "model neighborhood" approach of its own in the near South Side.

Mayor Robert J. Lehnhausen and City Manager Leonard H. Car both feel Peoria could have all the elements of the "model" approach without the time and red tape involved in the federal program.

The mayor is satisfied that the city already has saved itself many headaches by going ahead with planning for renewal of the near South Side by use of local funds rather than seeking federal money.

Earlier this year, top city officials were giving serious consideration to the federal Model Cities program, which basically calls for innovative approaches involving all possible public and private resources to revitalize deteriorated areas.

However, the decision was made at the top level after discussions between the mayor, manager, planning director and others, that applying for the program would involve too much time, effort and cost with no assurance that the city would even get the planning funds.

A report prepared last February by Gary Colboth, then a legislative research assistant for the city, estimated that just to prepare a Model Cities planning application would require four months' work by six committees and a coordinator.

Committees would have been needed, he said, to consider housing, relocation, blight, living conditions, standard of design, and new technology; job and income, dependence on welfare, transportation; education; health; crime and delinquency; and recreation and culture.

Caro feels this way: "If we waited until the park district, the school district, the sanitary district and others all decided and agreed on what they want to do it this area we wouldn't have anything done in the near South Side for another 10 years.

"So in the meantime we're going ahead with our plans, with what we know we can do now and with what we know is available."

Another factor which ruled out an application for Model Cities planning funds was the uncertainty of the program in Congress. The entire program was in doubt for a time and finally the funds requested for it were slashed in half.

On Nov. 16 the announcement finally was made of the 63 cities chosen from 193 applicants to share in $11 million in planning funds.

Mayor Lehnhausen points out that this money will be spread thin by the time the larger amounts are doled out to cities like Chicago and New York. Had it applied and been selected Peoria most likely would not have gotten any more than the $40,000 in local funds which were paid to a professional planning firm to draw proposals for renewal of the near South Side.

(The firm, Vilican-Leman & Associates of suburban Detroit, also prepared a Model Cities application for Highland Park, Mich., which was one of the 63 selected for planning grants.)

City Manager Caro also calls attention to the fact that the money available for implementing the Model Cities plans is an uncertainty and subject to the whims of Congress every year.

Another batch of applications is being accepted for $12 million in Model Cities planning grants with an April deadline, but both the mayor and manager say Peoria isn't even considering an application for this.

Says Caro: "We think it would just be a waste of time and effort."

And the mayor adds, "I don't think we should expend our time and energy and build false hopes for something like this when we can take that same time and energy and apply it to an existing known problem (in the near South Side) that's within our capabilities to solve."

It was the mayor's suggestion that led the city council to the decision to use local money to hire Vilican-Leman to "get the ball rolling" on the near South Side.

"I think we saved at least eight or nine months by going ahead with our planning . . . and that's assuming we would have gotten one of these Federal grants in that time," the mayor notes.

Vilican-Leman's report was submitted to the council in October, on schedule, and contained general suggestions on how the near South Side might be renovated. The plans now are undergoing citizen consideration before going back to the council for review next month.

Mayor Lehnhausen had said earlier he feels this area has "all the ingredients" for a Model Cities-type approach; interest by the city, park district, school district, transportation, public housing agency, labor and church organizations.

And he hopes all these interests can be tied together to put new life in the near South Side. "I think we can achieve this much better locally by just working with all the agencies and persons concerned."

However, this does not rule out the possibility that the city will seek federal urban renewal funds to carry out the plans. In fact, the mayor already has said such federal money and loan guarantees will be necessary to help carry them out.

Currently the mayor is trying to help set up public meetings on the renewal plans and has called a meeting of top business, industry, banking, and labor leaders for Dec. 11 to involve them in the renewal effort.

The Rising Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, a growing number of Americans from all walks of life are beginning to recognize that what Vice President HUMPHREY called "coalition of retreat" in this session of Congress is multiplying the dangers of renewed—probably increased—ghetto violence next summer. An editorial appearing recently in the AFL–CIO News makes it abundantly clear that this country's union movement rightly sees the threat this poses to the sober, objective approach needed to the vital issues at stake in the 1968 elections.

With unanimous consent, I insert the editorial from the AFL–CIO News of October 28, 1967, in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RISING DANGER

While President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is earnestly at work seeking ways to prevent another summer of rioting in 1968, the coalition-controlled Congress is creating conditions that could result in new explosions in the ghettos.

A broad spectrum of leaders in American life are appearing before the commission with thoughtful proposals to ease or eradicate the conditions that fired and fueled the riots. Many of them, perhaps most outspokenly the AFL–CIO, are calling for strong federal leadership if the crisis is to be confronted and abated.

The Administration has proposed a great number of programs dealing with the basic problems of the cities. Many of them fall short of the actual need, but they are valid proposals that once put into operation could begin to break the back of the problems.

But in Congress, controlled by the "coalition of retreat," in Vice President Humphrey's words, the entire thrust is to emasculate existing programs, kill off new ones and starve out those that cannot be treated any other way.

Long-time observers and reporters of the comings and goings of Congress are visibly shocked by the mood of irresponsibility that has settled over the dominant GOP-Dixiecrat coalition.

The needs of the country have been brushed aside to win political points in the preliminary skirmishing for the 1968 elections.

To compound the situation, liberals normally mobilized to fight the conservative coalition are confused as some zero in on the Viet Nam war and lose sight of the assault by the right at home.

Despite the best efforts of the task force on civil disorders and the proddings of labor and other liberal groups who see the problem in full perspective there is a possibility of new disorders next year on the eve of a national election that could provide the vehicle for rightwing control of the government.

It is this danger—signalled by business and industry groups by a massive assault on basic labor rights—that emerges at this moment to confront progressive forces. To ignore it or underestimate it is to invite an about-face on every major domestic front as well as in the fight for world peace and freedom.

The immediate problem remains: how to bring the coalition to its senses, to change the prevailing mood in Congress so that a realistic attack on urban crisis can be mounted.

The problem remains also of uniting the labor and liberal and civil rights forces for the 1968 elections to thwart the conservative-reactionary bid to ride to power on a tide of disorder and hate and in the process to dismantle all of the machinery and structures of a progressive society.

Anger in Appalachia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the staff of the Committee on Public Works in the House are currently studying several EDA business loans at the direction of the subcommittee having jurisdiction over EDA legislation. It seems appropriate to call the attention of the Congress and the Public Works Committee to three additional matters recently appearing in the press, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 21, 1967]

ANGER IN APPALACHIA: A FEDERAL MOVE TO HELP DEPRESSED REGION RUNS INTO LOCAL OPPOSITION—U.S. FINANCES CRUSHED-STONE VENTURE OF PRIVATE FIRM, AND RIVALS RAISE A FUSS—THE UNFAIR COMPETITION ISSUE

(By Burt Schorr)

PIKEVILLE, KY.—High on an Appalachian ridge near here, hard-hatted workers tamp dynamite into newly drilled holes, preparing to blast the underlying limestone. Below them, other crews ready a site for heavy stone-crushing machinery and assemble a 600-foot conveyor belt capable of moving over 500 tons of crushed stone an hour. Farther down, growling earth-movers level an area where crushed stone will be stored.

This mountainside bustle heralds the coming of another of Uncle Sam's economic aid projects for needy Appalachia—a highly mechanized quarry that will produce crushed limestone from the steep flank of Pine Mountain for use in highway and other construction.

Proponents say the project is creating needed jobs and eventually will supply materials to aid local economic growth: on these grounds the Government's Economic Development Administration is putting up most of the cash. But close examination of this arrangement is raising questions about the EDA's methods in ladling out more than $50 million annually in loans to business in distressed areas around the country.

NOTEWORTHY OMISSIONS

Among other things, this scrutiny shows, past business woes, including one outright fiasco, do not necessarily disqualify a private entrepreneur from sharing in the EDA's largess. In this case, a "feasibility study" prepared to guide the agency omitted mention of these troubles. The facts in the case:

The president and majority stockholder of Elkhorn Stone Co. Inc. of New Market, Tenn., which is developing the quarry here, is John Will Ruth. Another stone company that he heads ran into a lawsuit for allegedly failing to make proper payments on leased equipment: That company settled up in September by agreeing to pay over $50,000. Still another Ruth-led company lost $1 million when a geological fault caused the roof to cave in on an underground limestone mine it was developing in 1965. (Says Mr. Ruth: "There's no way to determine these faults. Let's say our engineer made a mistake.")

Examination also confirms that a private entrepreneur can share in the profits of this Federal-aid program without risking any big stake of his own. Of the $1,175,000 Elkhorn Stone is pouring into the quarry project here, only $175,000 comes from Mr. Ruth and his fellow-investors (though they have also put up $35,000 in working capital). The EDA is taking the biggest risk, lending Elkhorn $1,137,500 for 10 years at a bargain rate of 4⅝% and guaranteeing 90% of a private bank loan of $250,000 for working capital.

JUSTIFICATION QUESTIONED

Extra benefits from the project, along with possible dividends, will flow to the chief sponsor. The company figures the quarry will require a 58-man payroll—including Mr. Ruth at $15,000 a year and his son as general manager at $18,200. (The quarry is also expected to provide jobs for 120 truckers and maintenance workers; this will be an obvious gain for surrounding Pike County, where unemployment has been running more than twice the national average.)

Meantime, the stated justification for the quarry project has come under challenge. Though Elkhorn insists the quarry is needed to help supply crushed-stone demand in this region, the two companies already established in the market argue otherwise. They have gone to court charging that the Elkhorn venture is just the sort of "unfair competition" prohibited by the 1965 law that created the EDA. (On that ground and others, the agency at first rejected Elkhorn Stone's aid application.)

Whatever the outcome of this challenged venture, some not-too-encouraging returns have come in on the $275 million in industrial and commercial loans made since 1961 by the EDA and its predecessor agency to more than 540 companies. Of this sum, about $14.4 million has been repaid and $6.7 million written off as lost. In addition, $11.9 million in loans gone sour are now being liquidated by sale of the assets put up as collateral; the EDA expects to recover at least 60% of this amount.

No one is predicting that the quary project will meet any similar fate, but opinion hereabouts is sharply divided on the benefits that will flow once Elkhorn starts marketing its stone.

ELKHORN'S ARGUMENT

To overcome EDA objections that the project represented unfair competition, Elkhorn stressed its estimate that the Appalachia highway program will require an estimated 5 million tons of crushed stone in its projected Virginia-Kentucky-West Virginia market area, starting around mid-1968. The company also argued that this market can't get all the crushed stone it now needs and must pay higher stone prices than other areas in the same general region.

Some local business spokesmen backed this view. "Users of construction aggregates are having to close down their operations for days at a time simply because they cannot get deliveries of crushed stone," Robert Holcomb, then president of the Pike County Chamber of Commerce, wrote the EDA in June, a few weeks before the agency finally approved the loan.

But to Levisa Stone Corp. and Johnson Bros. Limestone Co., the two local firms that have brought suit against EDA officials and Elkhorn Stone, the situation looks very different.

Levisa Stone of Pikeville, the larger of the concerns, quarries its limestone near Jenkins, Ky., about 15 miles southwest of the Elkhorn site. L. J. Bryant, executive vice president, says Levisa could produce more than 415,000 tons of crushed limestone annually by operating its usual 50-hour week the year-round, but current market demand warrants operation at this rate, only 60% of the year.

Because the Elkhorn site lies 15 miles closer to the proposed market area than does Levisa's stone-crushing operation, some transportation savings (usually figured at 5 or 6 cents per ton per mile) undoubtedly would result for Levisa customers who switched to the new supplier.

However, this disadvantage would not apply to the second competing firm, Johnson Bros. Limestone, whose quarry site is only two miles along the mountainside from Elkhorn's location. "We can hear their bulldozers at work," says partner James B. Johnson.

Johnson Bros.' crushed stone sales currently run around 42,000 tons annually, or less than half the company's existing capacity, Mr. Johnson asserts. But in view of highway construction plans, the firm has been working on an expansion program for the past three years and has contracted to buy more than $150,000 worth of new and used quarry machinery. As a result, capacity will rise to 250,000 tons annually by the middle of next year and ultimately could be expanded to 500,000 tons—"more than sufficient to meet any reasonably foreseeable future demand for crushed limestone in the area," the suit alleges.

DIVERGENT REPORTS

Material submitted to EDA by Elkhorn includes several questionable assertions about the Johnson Bros. firm. Consider the 60-page feasibility study prepared last October by John A. Stokley, a Lexington, Ky., geological engineer who has been retained by Elkhorn "to assist (EDA) in evaluating the company's loan request. Listing Elkhorn's competitors, the Stokley study dismisses Johnson Bros. Limestone as "having limited its production to about 75,000 tons per year and there is no plan to expand according to present information."

Mr. Johnson, for his part, produces a land purchase contract to prove that his expansion program began over three years ago. Displaying Federal income-tax returns and suppliers' statements, he shows how monthly equipment payments caused Johnson Bros. profits to slide from nearly $30,000 ir 1965 to a $2,100 loss last year. Mr. Stokley never contacted him or his brother to discuss their plans, he asserts.

Mr. Stokley, for his part, now says he "must have been mistaken" when he prepared the study. "I know absolutely nothing about the Johnson Bros. operation," he concedes. "We only used the data supplied us by Pike County business sources."

A trial would presumably bring EDA officials to the witness stand and permit a glimpse at the way they approve and reject loans. Recent court rulings suggest, however, that the Levisa-Johnson Bros. complaint may never be heard on its merits. Last year, W. S. Dickey Clay Mfg. Co. of Kansas City filed a similar action to bar a $975,000 EDA loan to a rival clay pipe concern. A lower court dismissed the case, holding that the EDA's decisions on what represents unfair competition "are not judicially reviewable." An appeals court upheld the decision, noting that Congress didn't provide for any appeal to the courts.

Now Government lawyers are asking dismissal of the Johnson Bros.-Levisa suit on the same grounds; a hearing has been scheduled for early next month.

Coleman Stein, EDA's business development director and the man who takes responsibility for approving Elkhorn's application, says the Small Business Administration, which conducts credit investgations on EDA loans, didn't inform his office of certain prior crushed limestone ventures undertaken by Mr. Ruth and other Elkhorn principals.

A LEASING TRANSACTION

In August 1960, for example, Cherokee Stone Co., a closely held concern headed by Mr. Ruth, contracted to lease a stone crusher, dump trucks, electric motors and other equipment to produce stone and sand from a Loudon County, Tenn., quarry. The equipment was valued at around $1.6 million, according to Richard Trippeer Jr., vice president of Trippeer Organizations Inc. of Memphis, which owned another company actually involved in the leasing transaction.

By Mr. Trippeer's account, Cherokee Stone Co. "just walked away" from the machinery at a quarry site, leaving it in a "very, very bad state of repair." No one bothered to close the cover panels on heavy generator units, he says, and they rusted in wet weather. Trippeer's net loss was more than $500,000.

"It was a costly lesson," Mr. Trippeer laments, although he acknowledges that Cherokee Stone was under no legal obligation to continue using the leased equipment.

In October 1965, however, Trippeer Organizations did charge in a Knox County (Knoxville) court suit that Cherokee had failed to provide proper accounting of its quarry production, on which the lease payments were based. Trippeer claimed at least some $100,000 due in additional payments and interest but finally settled for about $50,000.

Mr. Ruth, a rumpled 62-year-old, has had 40 years' experience in the construction and crushed stone business, four of them in Costa Rica managing Pan American Highway construction projects for a Frankfort, Ky., firm. During a recent interview at Elkhorn's sparsely furnished quarry office, he impatiently dismissed the Trippeer suit and a second legal fight involving a Cherokee quarry operation as routine hazards that almost any businessman may encounter.

MAKING A LITTLE MONEY

Of the Trippeer litigation, Mr. Ruth says: "There's always two sides to a contract." As for criticisms of his management made by adversaries in the other case, "That was a lawyer who wrote that up."

Were those two ventures at least profitable for Cherokee Stone Co.? "We paid our bills and made a little money," Mr. Ruth answers. "But knowing what I know, I wouldn't want to go through that kind of deal again."

Mr. Ruth is more precise about the fate of an underground limestone mine that Ruth-controlled Gainesville Stone Co. sought to operate on property owned by Big Run Coal & Clay Co. at Princess, Ky. Big Run agreed to complete an access tunnel to the limestone bed some 600 feet below the surface; Gainesville was to dig and sell the stone.

In February 1965, a few months after Gainesville's crew began digging into the limestone, a massive roof fall occurred. There was sufficient warning for the men to get clear, but a newly installed underground stone crusher, heavy trucks and other costly gear were buried or blocked in the mine. The final net loss to Gainesville, by Mr. Ruth's reckoning: $1,018,000.

A LACK OF FORESIGHT

Under "competency of proposed management," the Stokley feasibility study omits any reference to the disputed quarry operations or the mine cave-in, while giving an impressive list of limestone mining qualifications held by Elkhorn's key executives.

Such details are unnecessary, Mr. Ruth suggests, because Gainesville Stone Co. is a successful company with sales now running at around $3 million annually. How Gainesville's profits have been affected by the cave-in losses, Mr. Ruth won't say.

What Mr. Ruth will say, though, is that Elkhorn really didn't need Uncle Sam's $1,137,500 loan in the first place. He could have raised the money from other sources, he insists, but decided to seek Washington's aid because the Federal interest rate was cheaper.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, Oct. 19, 1967]

FABRIC FIRM AT LA GRANGE HALTS OUTPUT

Verolon International, Inc., a Dutch-owned fabric firm in La Grange, Ky., has halted production and is exploring alternative avenues of operation, a company official said yesterday.

Verolon, known as Mo-Vac International until June of this year, will retain a skeleton crew until the end of the month while its corporate future is decided by its Dutch owners.

One of the few industrial concerns in the largely rural and agricultural Oldham County, Verolon once employed 30 persons and had a payroll of more than $100,000 a year.

TOO FAR FROM TEXTILE MILLS

A company official said the plant is too far from the textile mills on the Eastern seaboard which supplied it with fabric. He said one possibility for the firm now is to relocate and continue its fabric line.

Another possibility, he said, is a takeover by other interests and a third would be to cease operations altogether.

The official said the Citizens Fidelity Bank & Trust Co., the Bank of Oldham County and the Business Development Corporation of Kentucky, all of which are involved in the financing, will face no credit problems.

However, negotiations are in progress between the firm and the Economic Development Administration, a federal agency which made a $1,248,700 loan to the La Grange firm in 1966.

Owned by Dutch interests headed by Cornelis Verlome, a millionaire shipbuilder from Rotterdam, the firm was founded in 1963 as a joint concern with a Kentucky firm, Mo-Vac Corp. of Morganfield, owning a part interest. Mo-Vac sold out to the Dutch interests early in 1966 and the name was later changed to Verolon International Inc.

One reason for locating in La Grange was the fact that Oldham County was classified as "depressed" by the government and thus eligible for an EDA loan.

PRODUCED DRAPERY MATERIAL

New York competitors of Verolon complained to their congressmen about the EDA loan to a firm controlled by Dutch interests. A Drew Pearson column printed in The Courier-Journal early this year said part of the New York congressional delegation wanted to investigate why "a Dutch company operating in Kentucky should get a U.S. government loan to help a depressed area if it helps to depress the business of U.S. competitors in New York?"

The Verolon project, which has cost over $2 million, was undertaken to produce metalized fabrics to be used as a drapery and other material. The material keeps out half of the sun's heat and much of its glare. It is transparent from inside out only and lacks the static electricity of regular fabrics, thus eliminating the collection of dust.

Subsequently, the metalizing process was used on plastics and other materials, with part of the output aimed at the Christmas decoration and wrapping market.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, Dec. 3, 1967]

Kenwood Products Project at Paintsville: A Dream Fading Away?

(By William Greider)

Washington.—On the highway south of Paintsville, Ky., a new 120-acre industrial site is virtually completed, developed largely with government money to serve a unique business venture in the mountains.

But the business itself—the promise of 600 new jobs and healthy ripples through the local economy—may die on the drawing boards.

"We've got a monument built out there," said Robert H. Sloat of Paintsville. "We've got the drainage, the lighting, the paving and parking lots, the water lines, even the fire hydrants—everything but the plant."

Sloat is a young engineer who came from California to head Kenwood Products, Inc., a locally-organized corporation whose letterhead boasts prematurely that it is the "first complete wood utilization center in the nation."

Perhaps it will be yet. But even Sloat concedes that the prospects are gloomy. Unless Kenwood's directors come upon a substantial chunk of risk capital, fairly soon, "it could wipe us out altogether," he said.

ONCE GENERATED BRIGHT FORECASTS

If that happens, it will be a melancholy ending for a proposition that generated a lot of bright forecasts. Four years ago, Kenwood Products was an early rallying point for government planners and private businessmen who believe that, with forced feeding, Eastern Kentucky can grow prosperous.

Much of that early optimism is still alive among the government planners, despite the poor outlook for this particular venture. Some of the businessmen—the lawyers and bankers and merchants who invested cash and personal energy in Kenwood Products—are not so sure.

One wrote to Gov. Edward T. Breathitt, pleading for help. He had persuaded a lot of his friends to buy stock in Kenwood, he said, as an investment in Eastern Kentucky's future. How could he face them again if the enterprise fails?

KENWOOD STORY POSES QUESTIONS

At the least, the story of Kenwood Products tells how very difficult it is for the government to induce substantial, home-grown economic development in the poverty pocket of Appalachia. It also poses questions about how far government agencies can or should go in promoting private risk-taking ventures.

The Kenwood project has enjoyed the help of considerable government investment—but that investment has not been enough to overcome the doubts of private capital.

Kenwood Products is a little different because it was not dreamed up by local entrepreneurs, angling for government subsidies to help them get at personal profits. The idea was formed in government offices, spelled out in detail by a government-financed study, then sold to the private businessmen.

The basic idea—which everyone still defends as feasible—was to create a complex of wood-products manufacturing processes on one site in order to overcome the main shortcoming of Eastern Kentucky's timber resource.

The mountains have an abundance of hardwoods—oaks, poplar, hickory. Most of them are second or third growth, small and scrubby compared with Western timber. It could be profitable, however, if a concern found a way to use all of each tree—instead of cutting lumber and discarding up to 60 per cent as waste.

In the early 1960s, state officials persuaded a federal agency, the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA), to put up $50,000 for a consultants' study. In 1963, the 400-page report, drawn by MacDonald Associates, was presented to business leaders in the river valleys of Eastern Kentucky.

WOULD YIELD MULTIPLE BENEFITS

It was a virtual "how-to-do-it" blueprint for launching a successful business, complete with plant layout and details on sales organization, marketing agreements and financing.

The business would operate a sawmill for lumber with the waste branches, chips, even the sawdust headed for a variety of secondary products—pressed particle board, charcoal briquets, woodworking specialties, pulp sales to paper mills, pallets and fence posts, even kitty litter.

The benefits would be multiple—substantial new jobs for the area, a sales outlet for the mountaineers' low-grade timber, and the blossoming of home-grown capital investment.

Business leaders along the Big Sandy River, which links Pikeville, Prestonsburg and Paintsville with Louisa and Ashland on the north, picked up the proposal and raised the funds to organize Kenwood Products, Inc.

But, in Eastern Kentucky, one of the major obstacles to industrial development is the mountain terrain itself. Level, flood-free land is scarce, particularly if an industry needs as much as 120 acres.

That's where government subsidy played its major role.

The Kenwood site on U.S. 23, south of Paintsville, was purchased with private funds and held by the nonprofit Big Sandy Industrial Foundation, but state and federal funds paid for most of the development.

The state Highway Department built a $60,000 access road so that construction workers could get into the site. The Economic Development Administration (EDA), the successor agency to the ARA, put up $425,000 for all of the grading, paving and other improvements to the land itself. The EDA also gave $284,000 to the city of Paintsville, along with a $70,000 loan, to bring city water lines to the site.

The land is on the Levisa Fork of the Big Sandy. But, since it is on the wrong side of the river from the highway, the state and the Appalachian Regional Commission went 50–50 on a $489,000 bridge now nearly complete.

The public investment in the site itself is approximately $1.3 million, but Kenwood directors have been counting on even more substantial assistance in the business venture. Kenwood applied to EDA for a $3.4 million low-interest loan and also expected the federal agency to guarantee 90 per cent of another private loan for $1 million in working capital, the money to meet payrolls and so forth until sales returns come in.

LOAN APPLICATION SET ASIDE

EDA hasn't rejected Kenwood's business-loan application, but a recent letter from Ross D. Davis, the agency's director, explained that "we have discontinued processing the application" until further notice.

The problem is that Kenwood itself hasn't been able to raise its share of the stakes.

Under the prospective financing, Kenwood was expected to borrow $1.1 million from a private lender as a first mortgage and raise another $800,000 or so from local investors. After considerable difficulty, the private loan was arranged with a Dayton, Ohio, firm—but the local capital fell far short of the original hopes.

Kenwood's problems became apparent to the local leaders when their stock sales sale netted only about $325,000—against their goal of $1.5 million.

Sloat and the Kenwood directors now are searching for $500,000 to get the enterprise off the ground. They have enlisted the aid of Gov. Breathitt, who recently promised to do all he could in his remaining days in office.

"We are all grasping at this one last hope," said Sloat.

Trigg Dorton, a Paintsville banker and a Kenwood director, conceded, "This is no time to be looking for risk capital and this is a high risk because it's a new venture."

Why couldn't they raise more?

"It's just one of those speculative new ventures," said Dorton. "It just couldn't sell or wouldn't sell." Sloat concludes that "raising equity capital in this part of the country is practically impossible."

More than 1,000 people did buy stock at $10 a share, but most of it was in small chunks. Nearly all of what was raised has been invested in site improvements.

ABILITY TO PRODUCE DOUBTED

As for outside money, Sloat said, "The doubt that comes to people's minds is the ability of Eastern Kentucky to supply the work force and the raw materials. It just comes down to doubts about the ability of Eastern Kentucky to produce."

At one point, in desperation, Kenwood directors offered controlling interest to several national lumber concerns, including Georgia-Pacific and Weyerhauser, if one of them would put up the $500,000. They looked it over and said "no thanks."

The reluctance of potential investors was based on several concrete factors, according to government and Kenwood officials.

For one thing, other sawmill operators and lumbermen in the region opposed the proposal as a potential competitor for labor and timber, though no one considers this a major difficulty. Others questioned the heavy debt structure of the Kenwood corporation and wondered if the operation could carry the load. Early this year, the market price on particle board, a key element in the company's prospective sales, fell sharply.

NATIONAL COMPANIES SKEPTICAL

The big national companies were skeptical, Sloat said, because Kenwood does not have its own substantial holdings of timberland. The directors do have supply agreements with landowners covering vast acreage, but that is not as secure as owning the timber itself. To some degree, the concern would have to operate at the mercy of small-lot timber owners.

However, perhaps the most serious flaw in the original government-financed feasibility study was the assumption that local capital would be readily available.

Harrod D. Newland, director of wood-products development in the Kentucky Commerce Department, said the complete-utilization concept behind Kenwood-products is still sound and has influenced Kentucky's lumber industry considerably. But the consultant "was from the West Coast," Newland said. "They're able people. But their ideas of selling stock were based on the West Coast and the Eastern Seabord. It's just not as easy to sell stock in Eastern Kentucky as it is in Chicago or New York or Boston."

If the original prospectus was, in fact, over-optimistic, that poses some sticky questions for the government agencies, that originally promoted the idea and sold it to the local businessmen. Does the government bear some responsibility for the outcome. And, beyond the Kenwood episode, how far can the government properly go in wet-nursing a private enterprise into existence?

Sloat, for one, believes the state government, particularly the Commerce Department, should have helped more in promoting the venture, especially during the crucial months of the stock sale.

"Our problem is that our story has not been told loud enough," said Sloat. "If the state Department of Commerce had wanted to, they could have rendered a lot of help. This isn't a promotional scheme where people are going to make a private killing. The directors are willing to do anything to make Kenwood go, even their own removal."

Government officials are divided on the question of how far they should go.

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT PULLED BACK

After providing close technical guidance during the formative months, the state Commerce Department did pull back from the project once the private corporation was formed and functioning.

The department decided, said Newland, "that it's outside the province of a government agency to sell stock for a private company."

A conflicting view comes from John Whisman, an early architect of Eastern Kentucky development programs, who is now the state's representative with the Appalachian Regional Commission.

Whisman believes that Kenwood's experience demonstrates that government, preferably the state government, must provide continuing technical and managerial expertise.

"I don't know when it will happen or how," Whisman said, "but there's a continuing gap between the government's ability to provide the technical assistance and the ability of private capital to pick it up and go with it. The implications are that we ought to do more—not less."

Of course, the involvement that Whisman proposes would mean additional risks for the government agencies. The more they commit themselves to promoting what is essentially a private business, the more they are open to criticism from competing business—or from the taxpayers if the investment fails.

In the Kenwood case, EDA has protected the public investment in the industrial site. After all, if Kenwood doesn't use it, the land will be available for other industries and the site is a prime asset for the Paintsville-Prestonsburg area. Officials at federal and state levels are confident that new plants will be attracted.

"If I hadn't thought so," said one EDA official, "I wouldn't have recommended it (the site money) in the first place. There's always been some question about getting Kenwood off the ground."

These same officials agree with Sloat, however, that Kenwood's impact on the local economy would be much more signficant than breaking up the 120 acres for use by less substantial concerns, and the Kenwood investors would stand to get only a portion of their money back under such an arrangement.

Sloat complains: "We can bring in sewing and shoemaking operations that employ mostly women at low wages. But, in terms of building the economy, that doesn't do much good."

Twenty-two Million Negroes Urge Complete Antipoverty Funding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, national leaders representing all segments of America's 22 million Negro citizens recently urged Congress to pass an antipoverty bill with funds at least at the level called for by the administration.

That much money is needed, they warned, "if a national crisis is not to become a national disaster."

They also urged Members of Congress to oppose any attempt to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity and scatter its functions among other Government agencies.

Joining in the statement were: A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney Young, Jr., National Urban League; Miss Dorothy I. Height, National Council of Negro Women; Bishop George W. Baber, African Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Marvin Caplan, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church; Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, National Urban League, Washington Bureau; B. Doyle Mitchell, National Bankers Association; Clarence Mitchell, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; John H. Murphy III, National Publishers Association; Roberto Orneles, League of United Latin American Citizens; Revius Ortique, National Lawyers Association; Mrs. Carey Preston, National Pan Hellenic Council; Louis P. Tellez, American G.I. Forum—Mexican-American Veterans; Hobson Reynolds, Benevolent Order of Elks of the World; Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Dr. Lionel F. Swan, National Medical Association; Rev. Gardner Taylor, National Progressive Baptist Convention; Bishop W. J. Walls, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Bishop Smallwood E. Williams, Bible Way Church; and Jack E. Wood, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

The statement was made public by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 112 national organizations. The groups represented by the signers of the statement all participate in the conference.

A special appeal was issued by Mr. Randolph, convener of the group, urging clergymen to speak from the pulpits this Sunday and ask their parishioners to support the position taken by the civil rights leaders and to let their Congressmen know.

Mr. Speaker, I fully concur in the following statement:

TWENTY-TWO MILLION NEGROES URGE COMPLETE ANTIPOVERTY FUNDING

America is a Nation in crisis.

The crisis is rooted in the despair and growing anger of more than 30 million of our fellow Americans—black and white, in the city slums and on the eroded back countryside—who are still trapped in poverty which does not give them the opportunity to help themselves.

There has been much talk of a revolution of rising expectations. That revolution exists. Its growth is inevitable. But its demand is simple. The demand is for the equality of opportunity that is at the core of the American tradition and is spelled out in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The demand is to participate—to be allowed to compete—in the mainstream of American life.

In 1964 the President and the Congress of the United States declared an unconditional war on poverty. They made a solemn promise to all Americans, and especially to those trapped in poverty that the conditions which condemn the poor to inequality of economic opportunity and which deny them any chance to participate in American life would not be allowed to prevail.

As a result of that commitment the first faint signs of progress are appearing in the slums of our cities, in the bleak valleys of Appalachia, in migrant camps, and on Indian Reservations.

But now, only three years after this National commitment was made, there are those who hope to discard or break it. This National crisis is being used by some as grist for partisan mills and treated by others as a mere political annoyance.

We, the undersigned give solemn warning now that to break the National promise of three years ago would be to invite National disaster. Doubt, discontent, sickness and cynicism are all integral elements of the life of the poor. They will grow in volume if Congress should tell the poor: "Forget it. We didn't mean it. Stop bothering us."

The President's budget for the Economic Opportunity Act of 1967 is minimal. If an amount less than the budget is appropriated, the poor will interpret it as Congress saying "We didn't mean it,"—and they will be right.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is central to the War on Poverty. It is the only Federal agency solely concerned with the problems of the poor. It is the only agency that has given the poor National visibility and has championed their plea for the opportunity to become Americans as the rest of us know the word. If OEO programs are scattered to the bureaucratic winds, the poor will interpret it as Congress saying "We didn't mean it," and they will be right.

The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1967 and the appropriation of the minimal funds to carry it out are vital if a National crisis is not to become a National disaster. We urge our Congressmen to put aside partisanship and to come to grips with one of the *most* urgent problems in America today.

South Vietnamese National Integrity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the anti-Communist leaders of South Vietnam have fought to save their land, homes, and families too long against the Communist Vietcong to give them the courtesy or legitimacy of recognition. Gangsters are still gangsters in Vietnam.

But praises should go to their leaders who, despite American aid and support, still distrust our direction and fear a compromise or betrayal to the brutal Communist enemy. They apparently understand the State Department better than most Americans.

All indications are that the newly elected Vietnam Government expects to win the war over the Reds.

I include the special report to the Washington Evening Star for December 5, following my comments:

SAIGON HARDENS ON VIETCONG TALKS

(By Donald Kirk)

SAIGON.—The resistance of the Saigon government to direct talks with Vietcong representatives appears to have hardened since President Nguyen Van Thieu's inauguration on Nov. 1.

Although Thieu had indicated before his

election that he would be glad to meet with officials of the National Liberation Front, parent body of the Vietcong, his government now appears to have dropped all pretense of willingness to negotiate—except with the government of North Vietnam—and then only on the assumption that Saigon would not have to compromise with the Vietcong.

Evidence of the Saigon government's increasing resistance was the Foreign Ministry's reaction today to reports that American officials were prepared to meet with envoys of the National Liberation Front in the United Nations Security Council.

CASE CALLED TYPICAL

"The case of Vietnam can still be considered as typical of the new kind of aggressive war waged by the Communists," said a Foreign Ministry statement. "The United Nations should realize this and forbid the Communists to use its tribune for such purposes. . . ."

South Vietnam had indicated previously it would meet with Vietcong representatives provided they were included on North Vietnam's delegation. Today's statement said only that the government would "firmly refuse to accept the presence of the National Liberation Front as a separate delegation in any peace talks."

Some observers here believed the statement might even mean that South Vietnam would not even accept Vietcong officials as participants on a North Vietnam delegation. The point was academic, however, since negotiations could not possibly begin unless the front were recognized as a separate party.

South Vietnam's official rigidity on the issue was underscored by Tran Van Do, foreign minister for the last two years.

"We cannot accept the NLF as a political party in South Vietnam," he said in an interview. "We cannot accept its integration into our structure."

Do, who insisted he "always tried to find some solution to end the war," said he wanted to "exchange views" with the NLF but made clear he would accept peace only on South Vietnam—and American—terms.

"If I met with someone from the front I would try to convince him that they could not win," he said. "They have misjudged the situation and underestimate our own determination."

He said, "North Vietnam's leaders are encouraged by demonstrations in the United States. They suspect America will not keep its promise to withdraw. Personal private contacts might be useful to convince them they are wrong."

CONCERN ON U.S. STAND

Despite Do's outward display of confidence in America's continued support, he and other Saigon officials have indicated concern that the U.S. willingness to meet Viet Cong representatives in the U.N. might indicate the weakening of American determination to prosecute the war to complete defeat of the Viet Cong.

The Saigon government's fears on this point became apparent in the controversy surrounding the recent arrest here of a Viet Cong representative.

South Vietnam's Premier Nguyen Van Loc admitted that a Viet Cong official had been jailed, but refused to confirm reports that he was arrested while on the way to a meeting with officials.

Vietnamese sources said the American Embassy was highly embarrassed by the episode and was still trying to persuade President Thieu to release the prisoner, who allegedly came here on the understanding he would not be harassed.

The American Embassy has denied the entire incident.

Apocryphal or not, however, the story provided an excuse for spate of statements by local politicians denouncing American interference in Vietnam's internal affairs.

Several local newspapers today expressed fears that America was on the verge of "betraying" Saigon as did France in 1954.

"The United States is infringing on Vietnam's sovereignty," said a pro-government Catholic paper today. "The Vietnamese people do not want America to imitate the actions of France at the Geneva conference."

Do himself indicated special sensitivities on this point. "I cannot call the Geneva conference a conference," he said. "Saigon government representatives sat at only two meetings. It was negotiations between France and the Communists. I do not want a repetition."

Federal Aid for Law Enforcement Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include next week's public service radio and television newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report is Federal aid to law enforcement agencies. The report follows:

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

Several months ago, the House of Representatives, by an overwhelming vote, passed a bill providing substantial Federal aid for local law enforcement agencies.

The primary purpose of this measure was to help local police in their struggle against the current crime wave, which has now become a national scandal. The deadly toll of serious crime moves upward, year after year, and the latest increase reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is a frightening 20 percent.

The measure passed by the House authorized 50 millions of dollars to train police officers in the latest methods of crime prevention, crime detection, and crime suppression. To this, the House added another 25 millions of dollars to improve riot control in our larger cities.

This program is urgently needed and I wish I could report to you that it was promptly enacted into law. Unfortunately, the bill is still pending in the United States Senate.

The most serious domestic problem in our country is the breakdown of the normal processes of law and order. This situation is both alarming and humiliating to the vast majority of American citizens who respect the law and take pride in their country.

There are two aspects of this problem which are especially disturbing. One is the wave of rioting and killing which swept over some of our larger cities last summer. These shocking affairs were excused by some on the plea that they are justified by slum conditions. This excuse is false. Every minority has the right of protest against social injustice. No minority has the right to express this protest in theft, arson, and murder.

In their efforts to suppress last summer's rioting, many policemen were badly injured and some were killed. Yet, there is a tendency in some communities to put the police on trial, instead of the criminals. There is an old English comedy tune which says the policeman's lot is not a happy one. In the United States, the policeman's lot is becoming downright unbearable.

The first duty of Government is to ensure the public safety. The police are trying to do this. It is about time we gave them all support possible.

There is another displeasing side to the current law enforcement problem. The use of physical violence to express dissent is being defended and encouraged by those who like to style themselves intellectuals.

The most flagrant example of this was the assault on the Pentagon last October. The ones who defended that contemptible performance like to claim that many participants were innocent protestors who disliked violence. That happens to be a falsehood. This assault upon the Pentagon was to dishonor, ridicule, and shame the United States before all the world. They went there to disgrace their country, and they did.

I think we all like to see those television westerns in which the sheriff protects the innocent man from the angry mob. Recently, that happened in New York City. Dean Rusk is a decent man, trying to do one of the world's toughest jobs. Yet, he had to be shielded by the New York Police, while outside, thousands of thugs and mobsters viciously tried to deny his freedom of speech. This was the peak performance to date of the new left intellectuals.

Thank you for listening.

Florence Rutan Retires as Nutley's Town Clerk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the town of Nutley, N.J., has been privileged to have as its town clerk Florence Rutan, a most gracious and capable lady who has served in this capacity for 25 years. Altogether, this outstanding public official has given Nutley 51 years of dedicated service. She has indeed been a "town employee who has endured the changing sands of political time with courage and integrity."

I regret her departure, but I also rejoice in the well-earned leisure she will now enjoy. I include in the RECORD at this point a fine editorial from the Newark Star-Ledger of November 30, 1967, which pays deserved tribute to Florence Rutan's unique contribution to the town of Nutley:

MADAM CLERK

"Madam Clerk, will you please call the roll."

For the last quarter of a century this request has been made thousands of time by Nutley's Mayor to our Town Clerk, Florence Rutan.

At the end of today, Florence Rutan will no longer be an employee of the Town of Nutley—officially at least.

After fifty-one years in the service of the only town her adulthood has ever known, Florence Rutan has decided to put away her pad and pencil and call it quits. In respectful recognition of Florence Rutan's dedication and devotion to the community, we all call home, the Town Commission unanimously passed a resolution expressing its "deep personal appreciation for the generous manner in which she has shared with us the wealth of government knowledge and experience that have come to her over the years . . ."

We would like to offer a resolution on behalf of all Nutley citizens, taxpayers, and residents who have lived in Nutley these past fifty-one years, or any part thereof, and who have benefited directly and indirectly from Florence Rutan's daily labors.

From our seat in the bleachers, we have viewed Florence Rutan as a combination Grover Whelan-Bob McNamara—Nutley version.

With amazing success, Florence Rutan has been able to serve as clerk to the Town Commission serving commissioners who had a difficult time getting along with each other. She bridged that difference adroitly, graciously and competently. While Florence Rutan was administratively assigned to the Department of Revenue and Finance, she has served all five commissioners without discrimination or favor.

The emotional reaction to an old timer who retires from the firing line, sometimes is a traumatic one. It is with mixed emotions that we view the departure from Town Hall of Florence Rutan. On the one hand we would like Florence Rutan to retire from the arduous job of Town Clerk to spend some of her twilight years enjoying the fruits of her hard labors. On the other hand, we feel sad over the knowledge that no longer will we be able to visit Town Hall and see her smiling face and hear her words of encouragement. No longer will we be able to shake the hand of a town employee who has endured the changing sands of political time with courage and integrity.

Of course Nutley will have another Town Clerk. While the position of Town Clerk may be filled by another person, nobody—but nobody will ever be able to replace Florence Rutan. She is one of a kind.

Before our eyes get too misty and our typewriter paper appears too hazy to complete these thoughts we know we express our readers' thoughts when we express to Florence Rutan our heartfelt thanks for a job well done. May God bestow upon this fine, noble lady, who has enriched those of us who have had the privilege of knowing her, a long happy and fruitful retirement life.

Government Spending: The Root Cause of Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

GOVERNMENT SPENDING: THE ROOT CAUSE OF INFLATION

The expertise, with which this Administration continues to find ways to confuse, excuse, camouflage, bury, or to blame the Republicans for its multitude of errors of omission and commission, is a source of amazement seldom equalled in the history of our country. They attempt to bail themselves out with a sieve of subterfuge and misrepresentation.

Using billions of dollars of taxpayer-money on every propaganda device known, Administration spokesmen have convinced millions that the only way to prevent costly inflation next year is to pass a 10% surcharge tax now. They completely ignore the obvious fact that spending creates the *need* for taxes, so spending is the source of the difficulty. They likewise take no cognizance of the present confiscatory level of taxes.

Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) deserves great credit for refusing to yield to expediency when Administration spokesmen last week again urged adoption of a tax hike. He repeated his previous resolve to protect the free enterprise system against "bigger and bigger government with a smaller and smaller range of freedom of activity for the private sector," which he believes a tax increase would cause, if not accompanied by effective and sufficient expenditure controls.

Mr. Mills expressed the fear that a tax increase now will make more revenues available for additional expenditure programs, and inflation in the future, unless spending is controlled, and also pointed out that, while the anti-inflationary aspects of a tax increase would be offset largely by a decrease in personal savings, a decrease in government spending would not be as likely to be.

Throughout the testimony before our Committee, Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler and Director Charles Schultze of the Bureau of the Budget referred to keeping the deficit "within reasonable bounds," and at "more manageable levels." They spoke of a $14 to $18 billion deficit as meeting these criteria. How long will it be before a $20 or a $30 or a $40 billion deficit will be considered "reasonable?" And, what is more important, how much higher will the taxing go along with such increases?

When we are in such perilous financial straits, does it not seem rather asinine to be borrowing money, as we are doing, so we can give it to foreign nations to help their economy? Maybe we ought to ask some of those to whom we have been so generous in the past to come forward now and supply the funds that the tax increase calls for. They are all in better fiscal condition than are we.

The President's great search for economy continues to be characterized by the turning off of lights, while spending millions to tell about it. He claims to have reduced agency budget requests by $27 billion before submitting his budget to Congress the first of the year, indicating this was proof of his fiscal restraint.

What it actually showed was the extent to which Democrat bureaucracy has exploded in complete disregard of the taxpayer. Rather than streamlining operations and eliminating unnecessary functions, each department head adds a percentage to every previous expenditure and inaugurates every imaginable extra function to build up his empire.

Director Schultze pleaded Mr. Johnson's desire for economy by saying that "The President urged the Congress to exercise the utmost care and responsibility in its legislative and appropriation actions." But at the time the President was supposedly so urging, his army of arm-twisters was indefatigably pressuring for opposition to Republican-led attempts to cut spending. With large Democrat majorities in both Houses subject to such leverage, an excessive spending level was maintained in almost every instance, *in spite of* Republican supported—and Administration opposed—appropriation cuts expected to total $6 billion.

Secretary Fowler testified last week, "If a law providing deeper cuts should be passed by the Congress, I can assure you that the President will give it the most sympathetic consideration." In view of this, it is interesting to consider that when the House, by a 238–164 roll call vote, favored an expenditure reduction of $5 to $7 billion for fiscal 1968, the Administration strongly opposed it on the basis that it was too "general" in nature. Yet when the ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, John Byrnes, asked the Secretary for support of the lower-cost House version of pending conference measures, he was told that they would not agree to cuts in "specific" measures. The only thing consistent about this Administration is its inconsistency.

The credibility "canyon" is fast surpassing the Grand Canyon in size and variety of components. In describing the effects of a tax hike, Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler said that many millions of low-income families "would not be affected at all." Yet the proposal would make corporation levies retroactive to July 1, 1967, with the added cost being passed on to consumers—including low-income families. He also said that many other millions "would not have to pay anything" this year, "because it would simply result in their getting a smaller tax refund next year." It will not cost them a dime, according to this bit of oral legerdemain.

As unconscionable as has been much of the present domestic and foreign policy, it hardly matches the complete irresponsibility exhibited when the President announced in November that the deficit was expected to reach $30 to $35 billion. At that very time, his proposed tax-increase/spending-cut plan was ready for submission to Congress and showed the deficit to be $22.4 billion which could be reduced $2.6 billion as a result of planned expenditure controls, leaving a $19.8 billion deficit in sight.

This erosion of the credibility canyon caused the bond market to falter and interest rates to rise. Federal Reserve Chairman William McC. Martin reported that the heads of every Central Bank in Europe were much concerned and urged a reduction of this huge deficit, although they did not specifically call for a tax increase. They simply stressed the necessity of our putting our house in order.

Martin also reported their consensus being that it was not the devaluation of the pound that led to the loss of confidence in the dollar, but the fact that for many years we have been following the same course of fiscal irresponsibility that led to England's present action. This is illustrated in an Indianapolis News cartoon, in which Uncle Sam is following John Bull up the steps to Bankruptcy, the steps being labeled "Welfare State, Deficit Finance, Cradle-to-Grave Economy, Nationalization of Industry, Spiraling Inflation, Financial Crisis," and, the last step, "Bankruptcy."

Secretary Fowler argues that a tax hike would help ease our Balance of Payments deficit, and contribute to strengthening of the pound. But Ways and Means Chairman Mills rebuts this, saying, "The fanciful notion that a tax increase . . . will have any significant effect . . . in the reasonably near future . . . is completely without support in fact."

France's De Gaulle is reported to be contributing to the decline in confidence of the dollar. The United States has a simple means of rectifying this. The balance of her World War I debts to us, including interest, is nearly $6.9 billion, $5.1 billion of which is past-due and in default. Some $300 million of her World War II debt is also unpaid. Her gold stocks have risen from $1.6 billion in 1960 to $5.2 billion, while ours have decreased from $17.8 billion to $12.9 billion.

We should without hesitation offset her dollar claims against us by reducing her debt rather than by paying in gold, as we have been doing, while her debt continues in default. This would bring Mr. De Gaulle up short, but this Administration's soft-rubber backbone buckles at the mere thought of offending any foreign dignitary, no matter how streniously they offend us. Repayment of this debt, even by offset, would be of significant help at this time. We should do likewise with all other debtors.

I support, along with the majority of my Committee, a tax increase if it is accompanied by a dollar-for-dollar decrease in spending (reducing the deficit by double the dollar figure), but it must be a true reduction rather than a deferral of expenditure, or a reduced appropriation to be supplemented later in the year.

After two days of testimony by, and cross-examination of, Administration spokesmen, Chairman Mills was not convinced that spending would be curtailed, so the Committee is adjourned, with chances of any further action this year being practically nil. Inflation will come, and President Johnson will attempt to blame the Republicans for it, but it must be remembered that spending is the basic cause, and he must assume full responsibility for his refusal to curtail it.

Russia Benefits by Sanctions Against Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the fruits of the racist inspired sanctions against little Rhodesia are now ripening.

American interests suffer as chrome ore in Rhodesia owned by Americans is forbidden entry to the United States because of the U.N. voted boycott. But Russian chrome is imported—in fact, is encouraged by a U.N. approved monopoly. This is not our present administration's sought-after image of open world trade. But it clearly is discrimination against Americans and Rhodesians in favor of the Soviet Communists. And the ultimate loser is the buyer of the chrome products, the American workman and consumer who will now need pay more for Russian chromed articles, yet which are inferior to the product made using Rhodesian ore. And all this for what? Is the race situation the problem, or is it the emotional smear to cover up a clever gimmick to give Russia full control of the world chrome market?

We are to conclude then that Americans are forbidden to buy Rhodesian chrome but conceivably could import chrome from Russia—chrome which was mined in and purchased from Rhodesia? Just so long as the Communists are in the driver's seat. How extreme can one get?

I include a report from Foote Mineral Co. following my remarks to show the indefensible continuation of the sanctions against the American people and Rhodesia:

CHROME ORE AND RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

FOOTE MINERAL CO.,
Exton, Pa., December 4, 1967.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: Since you indicated a personal interest in the efforts of the Foote Mineral Company to obtain a special license to export, for its own use, chrome ore produced with its own funds in Rhodesia, I believe you would be equally interested in the decision made by the Foreign Assets Control Division of the Treasury Department.

After consideration of our proposal, submitted on September 27, 1967, Foreign Assets Control rejected our request with the following comment:

"Transactions of this type are not consistent with the present policy of this Government with respect to Rhodesia."

We understand that the Treasury Department has responded as it has as a result of our State Department's assessment of our request, thus we believe it pertinent to inform you of those factors available to the State Department at the time of its recommendation for rejection of our request:

1. The Foote Mineral Company has been supporting minimal operations, designed to maintain its assets in Rhodesia, at the rate of $900,000 per year since the issuance of Executive Order 11322 on January 5, 1967. Ore produced as a result of maintaining our chrome mines has been stockpiled while sanctions have been in effect.

2. Chrome ore produced pre-sanctions has been utilized in the production of high grade ferrochrome in our ferroalloy furnaces located in Vancoram, Ohio and Graham, West Virginia.

3. A minimal year's production of chrome ore, valued at less than $1 million in Rhodesia has produced, in conjunction with other ores, under normal circumstances approximately $16 million of saleable products judged essential to our mobilization base. This sum represents approximately 20% of our corporate business. The assets employed in these domestic operations constitute approximately 25% of our total assets.

4. In the event we are denied the opportunity of transporting ore accumulated at mine head in Rhodesia to our U.S.–based furnaces, we will be obliged to discontinue operations in Rhodesia. In such case, the mines may either be operated by mandate of the Rhodesian government within its "closed-circuit economy" policy, or closed. In the former case, the ore produced will probably find its way into world markets by one means or another, and receipts from the sale of the ore may well inure to the benefit of the Rhodesian government. In the latter case, the shafts, stopes and working faces will be lost, the mining claims will probably be forfeited, and the European expertise and the 1200 skilled African miners along with approximately 3800 dependents scattered, in many instances irretrievably. In either event there is a strong possibility that a U.S. enterprise of over 30 years' duration will be lost to the U.S. economy.

5. Total chrome ore exports from Rhodesia in 1965 represented but 1¼% of the total value of exports. Other products of Rhodesia, which are not barred by sanction, such as nickel, coal, semi-precious gems, gold, lepidolite and petalite (ores or lithium) and other commodities, cumulatively represent a far greater percentage of Rhodesian exports and continue to find their way into world markets.

6. Russian chrome ore, which has increased in price approximately 25% since the date of the United Nations sanctions and our own Executive Order, provides an alternative source of supply of suitable commercial ore. So far it appears that sanctions on Rhodesian chrome ore will benefit the Russian economy at the expense of the free world at the rate of approximately $5 million per year, with further escalation a distinct possibility.

7. Our strategic stockpile of chrome ore, if released, might protect our mobilization base for between 2 and 3 years. If exhausted under conditions whereby Rhodesian chrome ore were denied U.S.-based furnaces, the major source of U.S. supply would be Russia, and currently this source appears to be adequate to supply only approximately ⅓ of the U.S. metallurgical demand, an amount approximately equal to that supplied by Rhodesia under normal circumstances. It is unclear to us what ore sources would be used to offset Rhodesian chrome ore once our strategic stockpile were exhausted.

8. The Rhodesian government has made it clear to Rhodesian chrome ore producers that it intends to favor buyers of Rhodesian chrome ore during sanctions, after sanctions are resolved. Thus, it is entirely possible that even after a resolution of the problems attendant with sanctions, U.S. consumers may be denied Rhodesian chrome ore for some years to come.

9. Clearly Rhodesian chrome ore is currently finding its way into world markets. It is significant to note that during sanctions, imported high quality ferrochrome has accounted for close to 40% of U.S. domestic consumption.

In the face of these pertinent factors, it is understandable that the Foote Mineral Company is apprehensive about the damage being done, not only to its Rhodesian investments, but more pertinently to its much larger domestically-based furnaces. Undoubtedly the State Department possesses a great deal of information unavailable to us, leading to its recommendation to the Treasury Department that our request be denied. However, in the face of these factors you can appreciate our puzzlement. It seems to us that ore above ground moved to our own U.S. furnaces for conversion into products for American industry and our mobilization base would provide no additional funds to the Rhodesian economy. Conversely, the movement of this ore would definitely reduce the consumption of Russian ore being sold at much higher prices and should therefore assist our balance of payments.

We sincerely thank you for your support in our efforts to bring into focus a forecast of events important to the economic health of an American-based company, as well as to our national security.

Sincerely,

L. G. BLISS,
President.

A Sad Commentary on the Arab Treatment of Holy Places in Jerusalem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Victor Solomon, of Congregation Ahavath Achim in Fairfield, Conn., spent some time this past summer visiting Israel, the west bank of Jordan, the Golan heights of southern Syria, and Gaza, as a member of the Rabbinical Council of America's mission to Israel.

Upon his return, Rabbi Solomon wrote what he called "a personal account of an eyewitness I trust implicitly—myself."

Under unanimous consent, I insert into the RECORD Rabbi Solomon's "Pilgrim's Report of Desecration in Jerusalem":

(By Dr. Victor Solomon)

"Walk about Zion, and go around about her that ye may tell it to the generations following." (Psalms 48:13) With this ancient chant of the Psalmist in mind, I walked around the Old City on the 17th of Tammuz (July 25), a fast day commemorating the first breach in the walls of Jerusalem made by the Babylonian army in 586 BCE. (Note: BCE for Before the Common Era and CE for Common Era are generally employed by Jewish writers when following the universal system of dating.)

When Jews fast they abstain from food as well as water. Under the relentless Jerusalem sun this can be an exhausting ordeal. When I reached the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives I forgot about sun and thirst.

SACRED PLACES DESCRATED

Stories about the wholesale desecration of Jewish holy places had been circulating for some time. But the extent of the destruction of Jewish tombs I saw on the Mount of Olives was worse than I had imagined.

King Hussein and the Arab Legion, who have claimed to be "protectors" of the Holy

City had turned the sacred burial ground into a shambles. Stones were taken from their gravesites and used as footpaths, and latrine floors in a military camp. What they did not cart away they shattered and scattered.

If I had not seen this outrage with my own eyes, I would probably share the usual skepticism about atrocity stories. However, I did see the sordid facts with my own eyes, and I photographed what I saw. This was not propaganda. The experience was sadly appropriate for that 17th of Tammuz Fast Day.

In addition to the acts of wanton destruction, the Arabs had paved a new asphalt road over the graves of saints and scholars leading to the impressive new Continental Hotel above the cemetery. Tombstones also were used in this construction.

CEMETERY MINED

King Hussein's men, before their hasty retreat from the Mount of Olives, had found time to mine the cemetery. This prevented bereaved families from visiting the graves of loved ones until Israeli army engineers had cleared the area of booby traps and conventional explosive devices.

I was among the first to visit the graves of a number of Saints and sages whose names are enshrined in famous academies throughout the world. I also wanted to pray at the grave of the father of an American friend.

My efforts were in vain, in spite of the assistance of helpful "old-timers" who remembered the terrain of the cemetery from their frequent visits 20 years ago before Jordan took control of the area.

SEARCH FOR GRAVES

The "old-timers" themselves were at a loss, searching for graves of parents and teachers. Hardly a marker remained in place or intact.

"Americaner," one of the patriarchs called to me, "come here. I found it." It was a valiant but fruitless try. No one could find the gravesite.

I suddenly was startled by a piercing cry. I turned and saw a sobbing woman bent over a fallen gravestone several levels down the terraced burial ground. I still wonder whether they were sobs of anguish at the sight of the desecration, or tears of joy that she had at last found the lost burial place of a departed husband.

MARKER REDEDICATED

Several feet away a bizarre religious service was in progress. It was the "rededication" of a defaced marker. A Hassidic scribe leaned over the stone, painting the name of the deceased over the defaced original inscription, while members of the family tearfully recited psalms and memorial prayers. A father whose repose had been disturbed by not-so-gallant warriors.

Dispirited, I descended from the Mount of Olives. An Israeli policeman was directing traffic at the intersection. I asked him for directions to the Damascus Gate. Israeli policemen are friendly and excellent conversationalists; they are almost as informative as American barbers. I engaged him in conversation, expressing my shock at what I had just seen on the Mount of Olives. "Against the dead," said the policeman, "the Arabs are heroic warriors."

It had been my hope, at the outset of my journey, that my report would not be a catalogue of atrocity stories. But I would violate my conscience if I did not present the facts as I saw them . . . as the objective camera lense recorded them on politically neutral black and white film. These are not stories, but painful personal experiences.

After the Mount of Olives episode I thought I had seen everything. Nothing could shock me now, I mused.

MORE DEVASTATION

I was wrong. When I reached the Old Jewish Quarter in what was Jordanian Jerusalem before the Six Day War, I found an unbelievable scene of devastation and desecration.

The small Jewish graveyard had been converted into garbage dump. The remains of the Jewish defenders of the Old City who had fallen in the savage battle of 1948 lay intermingled with animal carcasses. (When the bodies of the defenders were later disinterred for a hero's burial on sanctified ground, a team of university pathologists had to be called in to separate human remains from animal bones.)

I walked through the Old Jewish Quarter. A spectre of desolation. Scores of Synagogues and academies in ruins. I saw the Hurva Synagogue of Rabbi Judah the Pious, pride of Jerusalem Jewry, a heap of rubble, dynamited by the Jordanians after the battle for the Old City was over in 1948.

SANCTUARY RUINED

The sanctuary was a pile of stones, the Mikvah (Ritual bath) a ruin, the outer rooms turned into Arab dwellings, exuding the offensive odor of a latrine. Next to it stood the shaky shell of what had been the renowned Etz Chaim academy. An elderly man came over to me as I paused to photograph the nightmare.

"I studied there," he said in a choked voice, tears in his eyes. "Once it reverberated with the sound of Torah study. Now . . ." In an instant, despair and sorrow were gone. His voice was firm. "It shall be rebuilt. We will clear away the ruins and build it bigger than it was before."

This is Israel, the spirit of a people convinced that destiny cannot be reached by the road of bitterness. The Israelis I met—and I met thousands of them from every walk of life, ethnic background and socio-economic status—have no room for hatred in their hearts, no patience with avengers of past wrongs. Ruins must be rebuilt, and the future secured. Most Israelis refuse to dwell on the injustices of yesterday. Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Mount of Olives, Old Jewish Quarter—they are memories, not obsessions. Revenge is for the primitive, the juvenile. The Israeli wants to rebuild the old and create the new.

IN THE NEW CITY

Now I am in the New City. Mamilla road at the big intersection. Cars, trucks, buses, motorcycles, scooters, and bicycles pass in endless procession. I wait for the traffic signal to change. Two swarthy youths pause beside me. I try to strike up a conversation in Hebrew. Their response is a puzzled look and a shrug. "Arabs," one says. "Talk English?"

"Sure . . ."

"We talk little bit English."

"Where did you learn English?"

"School."

"Where?"

"Old City."

The policeman's whistle shrieks. The flow of traffic changes direction. We cross the street. The Arab kids are anxious to talk . . . If only grownups could also learn to talk instead of fight. "How old are you?"

Fourteen . . . He 13," pointing to his companion. Both boys smiled, obviously enpoying the conversation.

"Your first time in the New City?"

"No. We go every day."

"Where do you go?"

PLAY IN PARK

"First we go to see lots of places. Then we find park . . . independence park with play field. Now we go there every day to play." "Are you more happy now or before the war?" the journalist in me inquired.

"It is better now. We can play and visit many places. It is more fun. Yesterday we took a bus to Tel Aviv." "Do you play with Israeli boys?"

"In the play field there is no difference. Israeli and Arab boys play ball together. No one ask: 'Are you Arab?' "

At this point we reached the park. We shook hands and the Arab boys turned into Israel's Independence park. Their Israeli pals were waiting for them. They turned around and waved back to me. "Shalom," they shouted.

I wished that Nasser and his colleagues could see what I saw. If the "leaders" could only be persuaded to forget about spheres of influence, rivalry, holy wars . . . and stop "declaring talk" on Israel about driving them into the sea. Those kids in Independence park don't care one bit who does or does not recognize the State of Israel.

ARABS SHOP

Agron street was filled with Arabs from the Old City window shopping in the busy streets of New Jerusalem.

They were affable and their faces beamed beneath their colorful Kafiyahs. Perhaps the desire among Arabs for peaceful co-existence with Israelis is not limited to children after all.

Nearing the bustling intersection of Jaffa road and King George avenue, I shopped at Supersol, one of a chain of supermarkets American-style, to purchase a few bottles of black beer produced by Nesher Beer Company.

I became addicted to this virile-looking but non-intoxicating malt brew during my earlier visit to Israel in 1961. The gigantic store was mobbed. Most of the customers were Arabs in colorful headdress, their wives skillfully balancing bundles and packages on their heads. I was stunned by the anomaly: primitive desert garb and traditional methods of transportation in an ultra-modern supermarket.

It was a riotous spectacle. The Arabs from the Old City were like birds released from cages. "How do you like your new customers?," I asked the check-out clerk as she rang up my modest order. "You mean the Arabs? The same as Jewish customers. But they are buying like there is no tomorrow."

PLAN FOR FUTURE

Teddy Kollek, mayor of Jerusalem and his deputy mayor, She'ar Yashuv Cohen, assured us at a special reception in City Hall that as far as they are concerned, there will be an endless chain of tomorrows for a united Jerusalem.

Barbed wire and concrete sniper wall, they told us, will never again divide the Israeli capital. Everyone, from folksey Prime Minister Levi Eshkol to dashing General Moshe Dayan, his defense minister agreed.

Kollek made a point of the fact that Jerusalem's City Hall on the edge of the New City was never moved from the precarious location within sniper range of Arab positions due to an unshakable faith that some day it would become the administrative center of a united Jerusalem.

Before returning to his busy schedule as mayor of the most talked-about city in the world, Mayor Kollek introduced the deputy mayor.

ISRAELI WARRIOR

Mr. Cohen is a tall-broad-shouldered Sabra. A knitted "yarmulka" (skullcap) sits perched on an angle atop a shock of reddish brown hair. His bearded face with the hypnotic eyes of a prophet could easily win him the part of a Biblical warrior in a Hollywood spectacular.

She'ar Yashuv (which means "a remnant shall return"—the symbolic name given by Isaiah to his son) Cohen is a distinguished officer of Israel's defense forces. He was wounded in action and captured by the Jordanian Legion in the last stand of the Old City defenders in 1948. He was among the last to leave that ancient city . . . as a prisoner.

Accidents do not happen in Israel. If the event cannot be explained as a miracle (which, according to popular humor, is the rational explanation of events), then they are the work of sentimental dreamers. It was no accident that placed the young deputy mayor among the first to reenter the Old City 19 years later when Jerusalem fell to advancing Israeli forces in June 1967.

MEET CHIEF RABBI

Our meeting with Chief Rabbi Isser Jehudah Unterman was a memorable experience. The vernerable old patriarch, who is fluent in several languages including English, chose to address us in the language of the Bible.

The rabbi's refreshing, lively manner of speech and youthful sense of humor contrasted amusingly with the flowing white beard and formal attire. His eyes sparkled benevolently as he invited American Jews to share personally with their Israeli bretheren the experience of Israel's miraculous rebirth. His steady hand boldly painted the bright portrait of a divinely-ordained victory. With consummate skill and erudition he read the outline of recent events in the ancient prophecies of the Torah.

Lengthening shadows in the conference room and a cool breeze from the Judean hills heralded the approach of night. There was just enough time left to offer the Minchah (afternoon) Service. The conference was over. I remained for a private chat with the Chief Rabbi after the service. He took my hand and gave me a personal message for my wife. "Tell her," he said, "that Israel needs you."

GREETED BY PRESIDENT

For Sabbath we were invited to a formal reception at the residence of President Zalman Shazar. The president greeted each one of the Rabbis of the Rabbinical Council of America delegation personally. He peppered us with questions as he stopped to shake hands with each individual. Then he walked over to a prepared table, his wife by his side, chanted the Kiddush (sacramental blessing) over a cup of wine and invited us to join in the refreshments prepared in honor of the Sabbat.

Mr. Shazar, like his predecessors, Chaim Weizman and Yitzchak Ben Zvi, is not a politician but an intellectual. His moving address reflected keen insights into worldly problems as well as genuine scholarship. His theme: an invitation to western Jews to come and share the destiny of Israel.

This was the constant refrain of all Israelis, from the Chief Rabbi, the President and the Prime Minister to rough and tumble teenagers and cab drivers.

MEMORABLE CAB DRIVER

Cabbies everywhere have a proverbial gift for gab. The Israeli "Nahag" is no exception.

I am indebted for one of the most nostalgic memories of my summer in Israel, not to exalted statesmen of ecclesiastical authorities, but to a poor, humble cab driver.

One evening I decided to visit a dear friend who lives in one of the strategic settlements located in Harei Yehudah, The Judean Hills.

My friend and his growing family live the Spartan life of a pioneer, without many luxuries we take for granted, including a telephone. To reach him quickly there was no alternative to a personal visit.

It was too late for an economical bus ride, so I hailed a cab. The driver quoted a fare. I said it was too expensive for a brief call at a friend's home just to say hello. He offered to wait for me and take me back to Jerusalem without charge. Under the circumstances it was a bargain. It was a refreshing drive through the cool breezy hills of Judea. Yosef Sho'an, the cabbie, was a philosopher-without-portfolio. An Iraqui Jew, Yosef had come to Israel from Baghdad where life for Jews in Arab lands had become unbearable 20 years ago.

PASSIONATE ABOUT ISRAEL

Yosef loved Israel with a passion. "Look at that beauty," he said, pointing to the rolling hills of Judea under a bright moon. "Yofee," he sighed. Exquisite . . . "Did you ever see such majesty?" Yosef was also a poet. We discussed the complicated international situation at length and I discovered that my cab driver was also a political analyst.

When we arrived at my friend's home, Yosef was invited to join us at the table. Not spectacular for Israel which takes pride in the feeling that all Israel is one big family. There we sat, the three of us, deeply engrossed in conversation. My friend, a former policeman-legionaire from Algeria, an Iraqi cabbie-soldier, and me, an American rabbi-journalist.

The return trip was just as stimulating. Yosef lectured on geography, history and personal war experiences. I simply listened.

INVITED TO DINNER

In what seemed like a fleeting moment we were back in Jerusalem. He had taken me back, not to my hotel, but to a strange neighborhood. Zichron Yosef, the quarter settled by Iraqi and Kurdish Jews. "This is where I live," the cab driver told me. "You must join me for dinner."

A cabbie inviting his fare to dinner? Only in Israel. To resist would be an unforgivable vulgarity.

Yosef led me into his crowded apartment. I saw material poverty and spiritual wealth side by side. The rooms were filled with sleeping children. The scent of Oriental spices conjured up memories of Arab bazaars. I was invited to a table . . . decked with exotic delicacies.

A STRANGE PARADOX

The paradox can be more easily experienced than described. Here I was, an honored guest in the humble dining room of a simple cabbie, barely eeking out a living for a large family. What is more I had never met him before that evening. Now I am a member of his household.

Yosef was waiting for me to bless the bread (Oriental "pittah") and begin eating.

"Where is your dinner?" I asked. "I ate earlier," he lied. Yosef had served me his dinner.

His wife joined us at the table. Both were delighted when I took some food. "Here," he said, "Take some watermellon first. Then some sweet melon and then a slice of pittah. You must learn how to eat like a Sephardi. No one knows how to enjoy food like a Sephardi." He filled my plate with all the food on the table. At least that night the Ashkenazi from America was doing all the eating while the hospitable Sephardi went hungry. But he enjoyed every minute of it.

NOT THE EXCEPTION

The most remarkable thing about my host the cabbie, Yosef Sho'an is that he is not a rare exception. He typifies Israeli hospitality. I found it on many occasions: a night's lodging in Tel Aviv in the home of a stranger. I had stopped for information about a hotel in the area. "Is there no room in a home in Israel that a young man from America must sleep in a cold hotel?" I was served breakfast the next morning.

Israeli hospitality is warm and genuine, with roots in the ideals of the patriarchs. Abraham's tent, we are told, had openings on four sides, to enable a guest to enter without too much effort.

The struggling Yosef Sho'ans were the ones who opened the doors of Israel to their persecuted brethren, and shared their little land with the millions of homeless refugees who flocked to its shores. This is what makes the explosive refugee problem a tragic enigma. But that is another story.

They Are Making It Easy To Steal Your Car

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing a bill which will, hopefully, stop certain firms from selling by mail to anyone who has the price, a master set of keys which will unlock any car and start the ignition from 1955 to 1967 models.

This mail order practice is an open invitation to crime. We get constant warnings from police and safety groups urging us to keep our cars locked.

There is a very dramatic commercial on television which pictures a young boy behind jail bars for stealing a car and urges us to refrain from making it easy for youth to start a career of crime.

All this is very well but to what avail if $8 will buy a set of keys through the mail?

Mr. Speaker, in conjunction with this, I herewith include remarks made in an editorial by one of this country's outstanding television stations, WCAU–TV, of Philadelphia:

THEY'RE MAKING IT EASY TO STEAL YOUR CAR

Stolen cars are moving through the streets of our city and throughout the country. Stealing cars is a big business; last year alone 7,000 cars were stolen in Philadelphia.

Insurance companies have urged motorists to take their keys out of the ignition and lock their cars.

Many of the new models even have a buzzing device which turns on if you try to leave your car with the keys still in the ignition.

So you take out the key, you lock the car—and everything's secure. At least, you might think so.

But times have changed. No longer does a juvenile delinquent or an adult in the stolen car racket have to search for that unlocked car, for the car with the keys in the ignition.

Ads in national magazines are doing the hard work for them. According to the Better Business Bureau, there are a dozen or so firms just ready and waiting to send a set of master keys to anyone. (Master keys—keys which will unlock any car made from 1955 through 1967; keys which will start up the engines so a car—perhaps your car—can be driven away.)

With such ease of operation, the number of stolen cars should zoom. All anyone needs is eight dollars for the set of keys, an envelope and a stamp. By return mail, he'll get the set of keys with no questions asked.

Well, it's time that some questions were asked. Who's going to protect the car owner? Who's going to prevent these keys falling into criminal hands? The ads do state that the keys are for legitimate use only, but once
what the keys are used for?
the company gets the money, who's to know

The United States Senate looked into the growing problem last year but no legislation has resulted.

If widespread distribution of these keys continues: First, there's a greater possibility that your car will be stolen. But, also, if the number of stolen cars zooms, so will the cost of your car insurance.

WCAU–TV urges congressional members from Pennsylvania to lead the fight for legislation restricting the new-unrestricted distribution of automobile keys.

Pore Ole Dean

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the new Soviet IL–62 airliner recently made its maiden voyage to Washington, D.C., and on landing the local news reporter commented:

> Dmitri Ivanovich Petrov, a bald, round-faced man with a striking facial resemblance to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, was in charge.

Had the reporter been on his toes he would have known it was not Dean—Petrov was not sipping a wine or vodka cocktail. But that seems to be his new Washington image—he has graced so many Communist embassies and had his photo taken giving toasts of red wine or vodka that Capital newsmen are confused.

Poor ole Dean, his identity mistaken, his sobriety questioned, and his effectiveness under attack, the President had to call at a State Department "benefit" to reassure friends Dean was not going the way of Robert Strange McNamara. Not yet, at least. And pore ole Orville appears next in line for promotion.

Mr. Speaker, the news accounts from the Washington Star for December 3 and 5 and November 21 follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Nov. 21, 1967]

TESTS PRECEDING COMMERCIAL RUNS FROM RUSSIA WITH VODKA—A CAPITALIST PLANE ARRIVES

(By William Hines)

Soviet commercial aviation came to the United States last night under circumstances suggesting that Aeroflot is ready to compete with capitalist airlines. The plane was 2 hours and 18 minutes late.

A sleek Ilyushin 62 jet transport, pride of the Soviet Union's passenger fleet, touched down at Dulles International Airport at 7:43 p.m. after a flight of about one hour from Montreal. According to advice from the Federal Aviation Agency, the plane had been due since 5:25 p.m.

Roughly equivalent in size and performance to America's Boeing 707 and Douglas DC8, the IL62 carried about 20 Soviet officials charged with working out final agreement for a New York-Moscow commercial run.

Such a route with alternate landing places in the United States at Washington, Philadelphia and Boston has been approved for joint use by Pan American Airways and Aeroflot, the state Russian airline.

Dmitri Ivanovich Petrov, a bald, round-faced man with a striking facial resemblance to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, was in charge of the technical delegation.

Petrov and his group wasted no time in getting down to brass tacks. Even before the mobile lounge from planeside arrived at the terminal building, the Russians were deep in technical conversation with officials of the Federal Aviation Agency.

The FAA is most concerned about noise. Operational safety of the airplane has already been approved by the Civil Aeronautics Board, but its effects on the eardrums of people near airports is yet to be determined.

Noise tests will be conducted in the vicinity of Dulles beginning today. Special sound-measuring gear has been placed around the airport.

A highly unscientific eardrum impression gained when the IL62 landed last night is that it is neither noisier nor quieter than other four-engine jet airplanes.

The IL62 is a long, sleek airplane with its wings remarkably far back along the fuselage. It has a high tail and the four engines are clustered at the rear of the plane in pairs, two on each side where the tail meets the fuselage.

The plane which arrived last night and will be noise-tested today is painted dark blue and white with a red trapezoid (symbolic of the Soviet flag) on the tail, and bearing the registration mark CCCP 86666.

TWO CLASSES

The IL62 is officially rated as being able to carry up to 186 passengers, but last night's arrival contained 122 seats—32 in the first class compartment up front, and 90 aft in tourist.

The IL62's interior was much like that of a U.S. jet equipped for long distance flights. Tourist seats were placed six abreast, three on each side of the aisle, as in American tourist class, while four abreast was the rule in the first class cabin.

Both cabins were tastefully and simply decorated, with none of the mid-Victorian amenities which so many Western travelers have noted on Soviet airliners inside Russia. The workmanship inside the IL62's cabin was of remarkably high quality.

Accommodations were in every way up to Western standards of comfort. Seats in the tourist section were comfortable and fully as wide as American economy class places. There was plenty of leg room, plus space to make the back of the seat recline. It was easy to see, however, that things would not be so spacious in the 186-seat version.

A galley, or airborne kitchen, was situated amidships.

Chief stewardess Natasha Arutjunova described the in-flight menus that proved that even in a Communist society some people eat better than others.

It was obvious that no one would go hungry—or thirsty—in either class. "Several kinds of wine, vodka and caviar" were mainstays of both menus.

Madame Arutjunova, an attractive and statuesque young woman who is married and lives in Moscow, had five other stewardesses to help her. Anyone with preconceived notions about big Russian women would have been in for a surprise on boarding the airplane last night.

Most of the flight attendants were petite, quite unlike the stereotype of the Soviet maiden. They were dressed stylishly and neatly, but not with kooky modishness.

THE IL62 VERSUS U.S. PLANES

Here is a comparison of size and performance statistics of the Russian, IL62 jet transport plane which landed at Dulles Airport last night, and those of two American-built aircraft. The U.S. planes are the Boeing 707 in its intercontinental version and the "stretched" Douglas DC8–63, largest transport now in service.

	IL62	B707-320C	DC8-63
Powerplants	4 turbofans [1]	4 turbo fans [2]	4 turbo fans.[2]
Maximum seating	186	202	259.
Wingspan	142 feet ½ inch	145 feet 9 inches	148 feet 4 inches.
Length	174 feet 3½ inches	152 feet 11 inches	187 feet 4 inches.
Maximum takeoff weight	347,230 pounds	332,000 pounds	350,000 pounds.
Maximum landing weight	224,870 pounds	217,000 pounds	245,000 pounds.
Maximum landing speed	149 miles per hour	125 miles per hour	153 miles per hour.
Maximum cruise speed	560 miles per hour	605 miles per hour	600 miles per hour.
Service ceiling	42,600 feet	36,000 feet	42,000 feet.
Rate of climb	3,540 feet per minute	2,940 feet per minute	2,165 feet per minute.
Length of takeoff run	5,905 feet	8,100 feet	11,500 feet.
Range (maximum payload)	4,160 miles	4,000 miles	7,300 miles.

[1] Mounted in pairs at rear of fuselage.

[2] Hanging from wings.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Dec. 3, 1967]

IS ORVILLE FREEMAN NEXT?

Republicans are speculating that Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman will be the next Cabinet member to leave the Johnson administration.

The main GOP reaction to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's leaving is that Johnson is clearing the decks for 1968 by getting rid of Cabinet members who could be prime targets for the Republicans in the presidential campaign.

Johnson's popularity is at a very low ebb in the Farm Belt. Freeman is getting the blame for many of the farmers' problems and Republicans think Johnson will want a fresh face on the farm front next year.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Dec. 5, 1967]

JOHNSON GOES TO BENEFIT HELD BY RUSK

Secretary of State Dean Rusk drew a warm tribute and a few kind jokes from President Johnson last night.

Johnson had gone to the State Department to speak to about 350 business executives who were at a cocktail party on the eighth floor as the guests of Rusk, who earlier addressed them on foreign policy problems.

The President said he was happy to be at "a benefit" for Rusk—a jab at the frequent political benefits held in this city. He then said that many "birds" come to Rusk's seventh floor windows.

And because Rusk is a "wonderful, kind, generous man," his wife every morning gives him a bag of bread crumbs to feed the birds.

"The sparrows and starlings are easy to please," Johnson said. "But as you've observed it is hard to please the damn doves and hawks."

Resolution From Philadelphia City Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Paul D'Ortona, president of the City Council of Philadelphia, has brought to my attention Resolution 371, which was adopted unanimously by the council on November 30, 1967. Peace in the Middle East is essential to the peace of the world, and I am certain this resolution will be of great interest to my colleagues:

RESOLUTION 371

Resolution memorializing the President of the United States to use his good offices to expedite the convening of an Arab-Israeli Peace Conference

Whereas, For the past nineteen years the Arab Nations have maintained and continued a war-like attitude toward the State of Israel, posing a serious threat to world peace; and

Whereas, Peace in the Middle East is essential to the Peace of the World; and

Whereas, The Government of the State of Israel seeks to arrange for direct peace negotiations with the Arab nations to effect freedom of maritime passage for peaceful purposes in all waterways of the area; to extend justice to all refugees; and to limit the arms race, for the purpose of achieving political independence and territorial integrity of all nations in the Middle East; therefore

Resolved, By the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby memorialize the President of the United States to expedite the convening of an Arab-Israeli peace conference.

Resolved, That a certified copy of this Resolution be forwarded to The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America.

PAUL D'ORTONA,
President of City Council.

Francis Cardinal Spellman

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, the death of any great leader of men requires that we pause to reflect on his achievements, our loss, and the necessity to the continue in the spirit and in the direction his leadership had provided.

The passing of Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York, is indeed a time of sadness and a time for reflection. The cardinal was truly a great man and a strong and respected leader.

Cardinal Spellman's personal qualities, his love for others, his kindness, his humility, his boundless energy, will always be a source of constant inspiration to all men. The cardinal's public qualities, his devotion to duty, his administrative skill, his warm and zealous leadership, will remain as goals for all of those who serve in public life.

Those in our Armed Forces will certainly miss the cardinal. In fulfilling his responsibility to our men and women in uniform, Cardinal Spellman showed us that he was a man who accepted all of the difficult and exhausting aspects of his duty. The great religious leaders celebrated the warmest of Christian feasts by visiting with those who could not be home.

Francis Cardinal Spellman is dead. May the memory of his life, lived completely in the service of God and man, serve as a source of rededication to those qualities he perfected and to the principles he served so well.

Half a Century of Finnish Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on November 7, the ruling powers in the Soviet Union, along with their tools and dupes in our own country, celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. There was no rejoicing among the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and others who are unwilling subjects of the Communist tyrants. To the Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and other peoples who live in the satellite nations the anniversary was just another day of humiliation.

Next Wednesday it will be the turn of those who despise communism and all that it represents to celebrate. It was on December 6, 1917, that Finland declared its independence from Russia, after having been a grand duchy of the Russian Empire since 1809. Freedom did not come cheaply, as the Russian Communists, who had but recently come to power, helped Finland's Communists and Radical Socialists to revolt against the new regime. The civil war in Finland ended by April 1918, with victory for the conservative elements, thus keeping the new nation from becoming Communist like its huge neighbor.

The American people have, through the eventful five decades that have followed Finnish independence, been good friends with the people of Finland. Many Finns have migrated to the United States and they have made great contributions to their adopted country. According to the 1960 census of population, 240,827 Americans are of Finnish stock, including 67,624 who were born in Finland and 173,203 others who had one or both parents who came here from Finland.

Undoubtedly the one quality that most of us associate with the Finns is honesty. While other European nations have welched on the debts they incurred as a result of World War I, Finland has met her payments on both principal and interest with a regularity that should shame the wealthier and more prosperous nations that have, for all practical purposes, repudiated their World War I indebtedness. Admittedly, these nations did have excuses, such as the depression of 1929 to 1939, World War II, and the cold war, but such excuses evidently never entered the minds of the Finns. While Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and other countries owe us approximately $15 billion in principal and interest on their World War I indebtedness, Finland continues to meet her obligations on schedule.

While she has maintained her independence for five decades, the road that Finland has traveled has not been an easy one. During the years between 1939 and 1944, she fought two wars with the Soviet Empire. Although her soldiers fought bravely and won the admiration of the civilized world, the odds were overwhelmingly against her and she was defeated by her more powerful neighbor.

As a result of the peace settlement, the Soviet Union obtained about 17,640 square miles of Finnish territory. Almost half a million Finns migrated from this area rather than live under the Communist rule. Like so many other inhabitants of the people's paradise, these people voted with their feet.

Mr. Speaker, on December 6, let us take a moment to pay tribute to the courageous Finns, let us be grateful to the honest Finns, and let us pray that they will always remain free Finns.

Public Servants Doar and Pollak

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, civil rights is one of the most sensitive divisions within the Department of Justice, and the man who heads that division must of necessity be sensitive to the many problems attendant with that responsibility.

John Doar fits that challenge most capably. Now that he is leaving the Department, it is appropriate to take note of his accomplishments and also of his successor, Stephen J. Pollak. Mr. Pollak has the excellent credentials to continue Mr. Doar's leadership.

The spirit is aptly caught up in an editorial in the December 1, 1967, edition of the Washington Post. I insert the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

The resignation of John Doar as an Assistant Attorney General is a major loss to the civil rights movement and to the Government of the United States. For more than seven years, he has been at the center of almost every racial crisis in which the Federal Government has been involved. No man in government has been more widely respected, by those he fought as well as by those he befriended, than Mr. Doar.

The stories out of the South about Mr. Doar's courage and his integrity are legion. Red-necked sheriffs in backwoods counties trembled and cursed when his name was mentioned, but, nevertheless, admired him. Negroes knew him as the man from Washington they could trust. Public officials and judges and lawyers knew that when he said something, he backed it up. Perhaps Mr. Doar's finest moment was on a summer afternoon in Jackson, Miss., when he walked between police lines and a brick throwing crowd, talked the mob of irate Negroes into going home, and averted what was on the verge of becoming a bloody massacre.

There have been few public officials in our time who have contributed as much as Mr. Doar to the solution of the nation's most difficult domestic problem. And there are few men to whom the Government owes more than it does to Mr. Doar who went far beyond the call of duty in his own quiet, self-effacing way.

The selection by the President of Stephen J. Pollak to replace Mr. Doar is a wise one. Mr. Pollak's record in the Department of Justice and as the President's adviser on District of Columbia affairs has been excellent. He need set himself no higher goal than simply to continue the work of the Civil Rights Division in the distinguished pattern set first by Burke Marshall, and then by Mr. Doar.

Tolerance for Terror in Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the following column by Flora Lewis of the Washington Post tells, through anecdotes based on personal experiences, the story of the terrorism that prevails in Greece under the present military regime:

Worst Part of Terrorism Is Shameful Tolerance It Brings

Athens.—The Greek politician was recounting incidents of terror under the colonels' dictatorship. We were dining, quite handsomely, at Dionysos, an elegant restaurant overlooking the Acropolis. He got up suddenly as another party arrived.

"That man, the tall dark one," he said, "is a former minister. They kept him in jail for a month. I must go over and say hello."

The stories were about people who had been arrested or intimidated.

A young woman had allowed another girl to use her apartment, registering her guests with the police as martial law requires. The girl was later arrested so her hostess was also jailed, for a couple of weeks, for sheltering a wanted person.

Police had barged into the apartment of a prominent businessman, stalking into his bedroom at 3 a.m. two nights in a row. They obliged him to get up, go to his office and look up the address of an employe. The employes were not in hiding nor were they arrested. Their addresses were on public record. The purpose was to frighten the businessman.

A student was still awaiting grant of a state scholarship he had won by examination. His father was a rural guard. Possibly, this was pressure to make the father serve the regime. Nobody was sure, but the speculation itself worked as a form of pressure.

"You see," the politician had said, "there is a reign of terror. There is nothing we can do."

A few days ago, in Paris, I was at dinner with another former Greek minister who had said about the same thing. A Pole happened to be there, and he laughed ironically. "You are lucky," he said to the Greek. "If that is what you call terror, you are lucky."

The shock I have felt in Greece isn't at the way dictatorship is using fear to consolidate power. It is at my own first impulsive reaction to the stories—bagatelles, I found myself thinking, compared to what I learned to take for granted in Communist Eastern Europe, in Guatemala in 1954, in Spain on occasion. In those places, such a definition of terror would have been hailed as almost the high-noon of liberalization. It would release an avalanche of resistance, not repress it.

The sorry fact is that while terror is wholly bad, there are nonetheless degrees of terror. People grow blase about it almost as quickly as they do about avant-garde art or music, or pornography.

It isn't that the devilish old arguments that "there are no births without labor pains" and "you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs" become any more acceptable. It is that after so many pains, so many smashed eggs, there is a tendency to shrug and say, "I've seen worse." There is a tendency among those who want to do the breaking to say, "We haven't done much. Look at the others . . ."

When people in power use terror to keep it, they deny it and use their authority to whitewash the lie. When people out of power use terror to get it, they often justify it as a necessary strategem to provoke counter violence from authority. The purpose is to stir up peaceful citizens for the rebel cause, and the more they are hurt, the more successful the strategem. That seems to be happening in the United States. Either way, it breeds a shameful tolerance that usually leads to more, not less, violation of decencies.

In the end, when the prisoners' names have been forgotten and the cracked bones buried or mended, this tolerance is perhaps the worst of terror's work. It ripens the ground for more bad seed. What had been impossible becomes only improbable, the improbable becomes quite possible.

After a while, the argument fades over whether in this or that case a bit of terror is justified, practically unavoidable. It is replaced by the argument over how much hurt can accurately be called terror. And once it is just a matter of degrees, the scale of measurement is likely to keep sliding.

Farmers Remain Low on Totem Pole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Bristol, Tenn., Herald-Courier paints a sad but true picture of the lot of our farmers today.

Because this affects so many of our people, I feel that it is worthy of the consideration of my colleagues and the readers of the Record, and I insert the editorial in the Appendix:

Farmers Remain Low on Totem Pole

The farmer will not be as well off at the end of this year as he was last year. And he won't be any better off next year; possibly things will even be worse.

This is not going to be good news in the great farm belt of the Midwest (or among farmers in the Mountain Empire.) But it is a hard fact presented to the annual National Agricultural Outlook Conference in Washington by the chairman of the Agriculture Department's Outlook and Situation Board, Rex F. Daly.

The gross national product this year will reach $785 billion and should go to $845 billion next year, as predicted by Prof. John W. Kendrick of George Washington University, a former Commerce Department official.

Nevertheless, Daly said net farm income this year will reach only $14.7 billion compared to $16.4 billion last year. And while gross farm income may rise another $1 billion next year, the farmer will be worse off because increased costs of production will wipe out increased income.

Consumers also will find the retail price of food higher, Daly predicted, due to increases in marketing and processing charges.

They'd better not blame the farmers, whose lot will be worse. Farmers suffered this year because they produced so much that prices fell. It was a case of too much production for market conditions.

A Comment on Steel Quotas

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1967

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, in recognition of the threat to domestic industry and workers involved in the growing amount of imports in steel and related industries from foreign low-wage areas, and of the fact that much of this industry has been built up since World War II, subsidized by American dollars taxed in part from American steelworkers and steel companies, and in further recognition of the many policies of other countries which tend to restrict or eliminate imports of steel and steel products from the United States, a number of us have joined in the introduction of legislation calling for import quotas.

A good contribution to the controversy surrounding this legislation has been made by Editor Gene Beaudet of The Iron Age, which I submit herewith and call to the attention of my colleagues:

Quotas on Steel: Will the Reaction Be All That Bad?

The U.S. Congress is now taking a more serious view of the steel import problem.

Senators Dirksen and Hartke have cosponsored a bill calling for import quotas. And the Senate Finance Committee will soon issue a report generally sympathetic to the steel industry's position on exports and imports.

The Administration, so far, is dead set against any further protection for the U.S. steel industry.

New restrictions on steel imports, it believes, will damage the whole movement for freer world trade.

It fears massive retaliations from those with whom we do business throughout the world. The long-argued, carefully-woven agreements reached in GATT negotiations will be ripped apart.

Finally, our political alliances will be shaken.

In short, any move to put restrictions on steel imports will mean the U.S. is going against the Free World.

This is not necessarily true.

The United States is far from alone in its steel import problems. Every country in the world that makes steel has them. And every country in the world wants to do something about them.

In visits to steel producers in Belgium, England, France and Germany the questions of overcapacity, overproduction, market deterioration and burdensome fixed costs are brought up again and again.

Steelmakers outside the U.S. are just as much concerned about steel export and import problems as their U.S. counterparts are.

Perhaps more so, they have more of them. They know, as U.S. producers know, that there just cannot be—or continue to be—anarchy in the steel markets of the world.

No steel producer—or country—anywhere goes for this kind of thinking. They know better. Steel is too basic, too vital to national economies.

Naturally, no one abroad wants to be entirely or partially deprived of sharing in this country's great consuming markets. And protests against any kind of import limitations are to be expected.

It would be surprising if protests were not made. Just as surprising, say, as if the U.S. steel industry did not protest what it considers unfair steel trade practices.

Privately, producers abroad appreciate the problem more than they like to say publicly.

They recognize that voluntary restraints, no matter how well intended just don't work or won't work. More than once, they themselves have gone to restrictive import measures when the going got too tough.

They know that harmony must be reached in world steel markets—somehow.

This is not the kind of climate conducive to massive trade retaliations, a ripping apart of GATT agreements or a weakening of political ties.

Of course, no steel producer abroad is goingg to stand up and cheer over import quotas or any other import restriction imposed by the U.S. But they are not going to pull the house down, either.

Neither, we guess, will the U.S. government, steel producers and their supporters act that way here.

Whatever Happened to Patriotism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, in these days when there is so much laxity on the part of many people with respect to the matter of patriotism, I feel that we should give earnest heed to a speech made earlier this year by Mr. William L. Lindholm, president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., at the 31st annual convention of the Old Dominion chapter, Telephone Pioneers of America, at Virginia Beach, Va.

Mr. Lindholm's remarks are so appropriate and so applicable to many of the problems we face today that I would like to have them included at this point in the Congressional Record.

I recommend his speech to the reading of the Members of the House.

The speech follows:

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO PATRIOTISM?

When patriotism dies, I think the country is not far from collapse. Arnold Toynbee, the historian, says that of 21 notable civilizations, 19 perished not from external conquest but from evaporation of belief within.

I was leafing through the June issue of Changing Times last week and I came across an article called "Meet the Restless Generation." It characterized today's young people as saying:

"Listen, you old fogies over 30. Listen and pay attention. You don't know what's happening in your own world. The world you made, the world you grew up in, barely exists any more. It's changing and changing fast. We're the people who are changing it—young people under 25, even under 20. . . . Tradition is no sacred cow to us, and the past, with all its errors and tragedies, is yours, not ours. What's ours is the present and, emphatically, the future."

Well, I have something to say to them. I'd like to say to them, "listen, you young, new fogies, put aside your placards and stop marching for just a minute and listen as carefully to me as I have listened to you. We know our world's changing all right—who should know better than we? Who feels the pain of an operation more—the surgeon or the patient? We're willing to accept change—even welcome it. We know it has to happen even better than you because we've seen more of it. As to sacred cows—well, they're pretty scarce nowadays, or hadn't you noticed. And—by the way—it may surprise you to know that your angry rebellion and posturing is not new—some of us did that, too. But as to the past—well, just pause a minute before you cast that aside. Be especially slow to throw aside your heritage, be especially slow to forget patriotism, because one day, I promise you, you'll need it . . . and if you're not careful you won't even known what it is. If you cut yourself adrift from yesterday, your future may be dimmer than you can imagine."

In this part of the country I understand that one of the specialties is boiled crab. You've probably seen them fixed. You know if you put those crabs in a pot of cold water and turn up the heat gradually, they don't know what's happening to them—they don't thrash about or try to claw you. They just sit there and the water gets hotter and hotter and before they know it, they're done. But just put them in a pot of hot water and watch what happens. They really kick up a fuss.

I think there's a parallel here. Maybe the heat's being turned up on us so gradually we don't know what's happening. Might not this be what's happening to patriotism? Might not it be waning and leaving without us knowing it? If it is, what is our responsibility?

The British statesman Edmund Burke said it well. He said, "For evil to succeed it is only necessary that good men do nothing."

It's very late to be discovering that patriotism is not something pre-cooked, ready-mixed, or quick-frozen for use on short notice. We can't put it on ice during the current crisis and take it out for a later one. It's very late, but it's not too late. There are some things we can do.

We can get back to a few fundamentals. We can remind ourselves that patriotism and love of country is not a mere intellectual abstraction. It's not merely a word just for a Fourth-of-July oration.

We can realize that "America" stirs something deeper within us than mere geography. "A man's country," said author George Curtis, "is not a certain area of land, of mountains, rivers and woods. It is a principle, and patriotism is loyalty to that principle."

We can realize that patriotism is not something to be ashamed of. And whenever anyone gives you the idea that it is you can say, "Wait a minute. You have the right to speak your piece and I'm going to listen to you. But when you're done, I have a few words to say, too."

And whenever the flag goes by or whenever the National Anthem is played, we can give them the respect and honor due them. We can remind ourselves that the things they stand for were created by the experience of a great people. Everything they represent was written by their lives.

Lives like Private First Class Butch Strickland of Graham, North Carolina. Now, you don't know who Butch Strickland was. Probably you've never heard of him before and neither had I until just a few days ago. The Freedoms Foundation presented him its highest honor . . . but they had to do it posthumously. I want to read you part of a letter that was found among his personal effects. With the knowledge that he might be killed in Vietnam, he wrote this letter in advance to his family:

"Dear Folks:

"I'm writing this letter as my last one. . . . Believe me, I didn't want to die, but I know it was part of my job. I want my country to live for billions and billions of years to come.

"I want it to stand as a light to all people oppressed and guide them to the same freedom we know. If we can stand and fight for freedom, then I think we have done the job set down for us. It's up to every American to fight for the freedom we hold so dear. If we don't, the smells of free air could become dark and damp as in a prison cell.

"We won't be able to look at ourselves in a mirror, much less at our sons and daughters because we know we have failed our . . . country and future generations . . .

"I fought for Sandy, Nell, Gale (his sisters) and for Mom and Dad. But when the twins . . . get old enough, they'll probably have to fight too. Tell them to go proudly and without fear of death because it is worth keeping the land free . . ."

Well, I told you what I had to say tonight wouldn't make you laugh.

But don't be too depressed by it either. Because as long as we have men like that, and there are many of them, this country is going to go a long, long way. What they need from us is a little help, and we can give it to them.

Now, let there be no misunderstanding. I'm not defending or advocating our position in Vietnam—I'm not here to discuss that issue. I'm not endorsing any special group or any special interests. And I'm not calling for super-patriots either. They're as bad as their counterparts on the far left.

What I am calling for is that plain, old-fashioned, spine-tingling kind of patriotism that has been such a rich part of our national culture. And I'd like to see some Pioneer group take on "Patriotism" as a project. I'm calling for pride—pride in our heroes, and pride in our flag. I'm looking for people who still believe that life has a purpose and that they have a duty to God and their country.

I'm looking for people who can answer a charge that was first laid down in 1787, when at the close of the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin arose to address the delegates in that crowded room and he said, "And now, gentlemen, we have given you a republic. . . if you can keep it."

That charge needs to be given to us again today, I think.

And how can we keep it? By acknowledging the right to dissent but also upholding the right to reply. By remembering that patriotism means love of one's own country without hating other countries. By remembering that we have a heritage that has been renewed time and again in places like Bunker Hill, Yorktown, the Marne, Okinawa, Normandy, the Chosen Reservoir, and now in Vietnam by men like Butch Strickland, and by resolving not to let them down. You may recall that right over here in Norfolk in 1816, Stephen Decatur proposed a toast to "our country—right or wrong." I'll not ask you to go that far, but remembering those things, those places, those men, perhaps we can raise our glasses in mental toast and say, "Yes, we can keep that heritage. That we can do . . . that we will do."

I wish I could have picked a subject to talk to you about tonight that would entertain you. I wish I could have picked one that would make you laugh and make you go away from here feeling that I'm a fine fellow. I wish I could talk to you tonight about a subject that's more in keeping with your theme, "Happiness Is . . . "

But I can't. I have something on my mind tonight that is not funny. It will not entertain you. And it does not bear much likeness to what happiness is. Neither is the subject that of Pioneering.

Tonight I want to ask you a question. Whatever happened to Patriotism?

Two months ago 125,000 people gathered in Sheep Meadow of Manhattan's Central Park. The Vietniks and Peaceniks were there so were the barefoot Psychedelic set with their faces painted up and with bananas and tamborines hanging around their necks. College girls were there, boys wearing beards and old army jackets, girls in ponchos and serapes and university scholars in caps and gowns. And there was even a contingent of 24 Sioux Indians from South Dakota and a band of Iroquois. There were also a lot of very normal-looking people present. Most of them were young, but many were responsible adults. They carried posters like "Draft Beer, Not Boys," "Make Love, Not War," and some carried signs that read, "I don't give a damn for Uncle Sam." My wife and I happened to be in New York on that day and saw the parade forming. Perhaps I should say at this point that we were not participants.

Down at one end of the meadow a group of young men got together and started a fire—with their draft cards. As an encore they burned some American flags. Then some of them paraded through the streets carrying the flags of North Vietnam in places of honor, to hear speeches by some self-styled experts on foreign policy like Dr. King and Dr. Spock.

Whatever happened to Patriotism?

I was at the Preakness up in Maryland a few weeks ago. The band played the National Anthem but they might as well have played the Missouri Waltz for all the attention anyone paid it. The same thing happened at D.C. Stadium on Memorial Day. While the Anthem was being played, more than just a few people continued to call out for hot dogs and beer and popcorn. Some men just walked around with their hats on. On that same day, when we traditionally honor our nation and our nation's heroes, I drove through some residential areas in Washington, including my own, just to confirm my suspicious. Sure enough, I could count on one hand the number of American flags that were hung out. Lack of respect for the flag has become so widespread that up at West Point, the United States Military Academy found it necessary to place a sign beside its parade grounds reminding spectators that it is customary for men to remove their hats at the passing of the banner that was once unashamedly referred to as "Old Glory."

Whatever happened to Patriotism?

Draft dodgers used to be sort of a joke—in between wars, anyhow. The American humorist Artemus Ward still makes me laugh when I remember he said he had sent two cousins off to the last war and that he now stood ready to send his brother-in-law.

But now it's a serious matter. One widely-circulated national magazine not long ago featured an article telling young men how to beat the draft. Some clergymen and professors have even conducted a clinics on draft-dodging. And it never ceases to amaze me that while most young Americans are ready, willing and able to serve their country, the heavyweight champion of the world isn't. Martin Luther King has even recommended to young people that they flatly defy the draft, and he's organizing what is known as "Vietnam Summer." On campuses across the nation, according to Time magazine, a "We Won't Go" movement is spreading. I expect we're going to have a rough time of it this summer in Washington, since Stokley Carmichael has publicly announced he's going to take over the place.

Well, whatever happened to Patriotism? Some people tell me nothing's happened. Hell hath no fury like a non-combatant, and they argue their case strongly. They say that true patroitism in what motivates them to burn the flag, to burn their draft cards, to shout epithets against their country. They say that they love their country so much that they cannot help but protest in these forms when they see our leaders steering a course they believe to be wrong. They say that the same issues are at stake here as were at stake at the Nuremburg trials. And they say that the national anthem shouldn't be played at ballgames and horse races in the first place. Well, maybe so. But those are about the only places I ever hear it played anymore, and I'd rather hear it there than not at all.

Maybe that's just a rag to them, but it's a flag to me—an American flag—and ought not to be desecrated. Maybe they don't like the war—who does?—and maybe they don't agree with our foreign policy. But do they have a better, workable policy to suggest? If they do, I haven't heard it. "Get out of Vietnam" they cry, ignoring the how and when. They have the right to dissent, and no one wants to deny them that right, but they need a strong dose of realism and responsibility to go along with it. Demonstrators who glorify the Viet Cong, who burn flags or draft cards, who urge the world in general to "make love, not war" are indulging in dissent for dissent's sake. And the argument is too important to be taken over by extremists on either side.

I saw a perfect example of that the other day. I was on my way to a luncheon and as I went through Lafayette Park, I noticed a row of pickets out in front of the White House. As I got closer I saw that there were actually two groups of marchers, and when I finally got there, I saw who they were and I thought to myself, Boy, that really tears it. One group was George Lincoln Rockwell's khaki-dressed, bootclad Nazi storm troopers. The other group was the barefooted, unwashed and unshaven peaceniks singing peace songs while an overweight girl tried to play a guitar and keep her hair out of her eyes at the same time, and I thought to myself, there's the worst of both sides. There are some reasonable arguments against involvement in Asia, but those peaceniks don't speak them. And there are some reasonable arguments for involvement in Asia, but those Neo-Nazis certainly don't speak them. None of them on either side speak for me, certainly.

Right on the spot I got thoroughly disguested. I'm fed up to the gills with peaceniks and their counterparts. I'm fed up with this mood of lack of loyalty to anything. I'm fed up with draftcard burning and flag burning. I'm fed up with violence and civil disobedience, and I'm sickened and angered by the downgrading of patriotism. Where are the people who are for things? They're about as hard to find as a five-cent cup of coffee. We hear a lot about the right to dissent, and we uphold that right. But what about the right to uphold? Are the courageous to be shouted down and intimidated by the dissenters? Is only one side of the story to be told?

And let me ask you one other question:

Do you think the Star Spangled Banner could or would be written by anyone today? And even if it were written, do you think it would be published? I frankly doubt it.

Pride in our country and in ourselves has fallen on hard times. We've tended to downgrade and discount a glorious past. We've clouded the accomplishments of our Nation's heroes. And as a result of the actions and remarks of a few, patriotism—honorable, honest patriotism—has become suspect. Its become a nasty word, and I think that's a tragedy.

Success of Park Improvement Project in Ninth District of Indiana

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an excellent article from the Aurora Journal-Bulletin on the work which is being accomplished in southeastern Indiana under the Nelson amendment.

Those who are working on these projects to improve parks areas in Dearborn, Ohio, Ripley, and Switzerland Counties are to be commended for their hard work.

The Nelson amendment has provided jobs for 61 people in the area who are working to beautify these parks and make them more useful.

This activity has been so successful that plans are being made to continue it next year.

The article reads as follows:

OEO BRINGS QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF IMPROVEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT TO THIS REGION

Some quarter of a million dollars worth of labor and improvements are being applied to public works in the four counties of the Southeastern Indiana O.E.O. under the provisions of the Nelson Amendment to employ marginal labor while face-lifting valuable public property for greater usefulness and beauty.

Glenn Conover, director of S.I.E.O.C. and Paul Tremain, head of the Nelson Amendment work, are ready to talk up a storm at the drop of a hat, about the diligence of the men who are working on the fifteen jobs throughout the area, and the counties, townships and municipalities that are supplying aid by supplying "in-kind" materials and financng for materials.

Previous articles have dealt in detail with the Tate street playground of Lawrenceburg and the county's Guilford Roadside Covered Bridge park, the Hillforest Historical home where ancient natural beauties are being uncovered and restored, and other projects in Dearborn county cities. This week the two officials led a small group of interested and helpful citizens through the works of the emerging Aurora city Waterways Park, surrounded on three sides by languid and graceful Hogan Creek. Then they took off on a tour of Ohio, Switzerland and Ripley county projects.

The fifteen projects have furnished up to seventy-six labor jobs and a number of supervisory positions, and at present sixty-one are being given work.

In Aurora the three acres of Waterways Park are based on Moore street, where by gift of the city and Chamber of Commerce six decadent residences are being torn down to widen the street frontage. These include houses known as the Bishop, Sargent, Hatter, McDaniel homes, Hilderbrand garage and others. Nearby on Manchester street, a long unoccupied house of Al (Boots) McDaniel will soon fall to the axes of the Nelson Amendment crew of fourteen, and materials salvaged for park improvement. On the high ground of the former Smith trailer Court, a shelter and laundry building has been refurbished and painted to become cement block rest rooms with concrete floors.

On the crest of the bank nearby a concrete flooring of comfortable size may soon be the base of a roofed pavilion for shade with tables. Trees are beting trimmed and some are removed. Yet other trees will be planted for uniform shade in the park. Seven cookout furnaces will be built on designs being worked out by Tremain and the local foreman, Clayton Cheek. Below the bank, along the creek, the plans are underway to obtain right of way for a promenade of a few hundred feet to the City Park and swimming pool, where the crew has already spent considerable time on plantings, trees, buildings and driveway. Plans to improve and heat the central closed pavilion of City Park for all-weather use were postponed until matching gifts of materials and equipment are available.

At Hillforest the long steep hill, rising to a crest of a few hundred feet behind the historical community restoration, continues to uncover vestiges of formal gardens and walks in use a hundred years and more ago. The workmen will continue to make these available for today's public, with their sweeping view over the rooftops and up the blue Ohio River.

For the past six weeks a small crew has been laboring to convert the former mud flats and forested banks at the Indiana end of the old Rising Sun River Dam to a place of beauty and public convenience. Under Raymond Koons, supervisor, Thomas Hastings and William H. Frey have been uprooting undesirable growth, filling, making walkways, burning refuse. The U.S. government has turned the property over to the State of Indiana, which will lease its ten acres of locust, maple and hedge-apple tree shade to Ohio county. From Dam Thirty-Nine the name will be changed to honor a deceased Rising Sun benefactor, with wading beach and shelter house.

In Switzerland county, Conover visited the Patriot Park, and its OEO crew, Ernest Ryder, Luther Gray and Buddy Baker, under whose hands the improved and enlarged shelter house looks down on a newly level baseball field with scoreboard, swing set, comfort buildings, repaired and white-painted stone refreshment stand and horseshoe courts. Steel posts for baseball backstops, barbecue pits, water and tables are coming and next season the Junior league and church league will be able to play on the two acres, and accommodate and serve large crowds, picnics and reunions. Walls and foundations are strengthened by generous donation of concrete blocks by the Miller Block Co. of Lawrenceburg.

In Vevay, the inspecting group paid its respects to the jewel-like grassy Riverside Park with shade and park equipment newly re-furbished by the working crew. Largest job in this area though, is the several acres of county 4-H Fair with the traditional buildings and roofed pens, fields and shaded areas where a crew, all over seventy years old, are improving all the features and adding buildings from used lumber. Parker Smith is the supervisor whose original ideas are going far to improve the scene. Underway in one building is the minor work of restoring an eight-seater survey, a note out of another century.

Back away from the river, Conover and his party swung through the hills and fields, past Mt. Sterling Roadside Park, a brief spot of convenience in the small settlement, where three roads joining leave an acre triangle of grass. Mr. Cole, Switzerland county sanitarian, will request donated materials to make the plot useful for the families all around there. The next stop, for noon, was at a delightful country store type restaurant, well filled with lunching citizens and workmen. But before this rest the men stopped to discuss details with Mr. Hewitt, a seventy-year-old unemployed who demonstrated his skills and training with a small party of four, at cleaning, fencing, installing water, painting shelters on the well known East Enterprise Fair Grounds, summertime scene of family reunions, church fairs, picnics and fairs. Brush has been removed and vegetation includes seventy-foot trees and planting on the well cleaned grounds.

Bear Branch was the next stop, a four acre baseball field, two room white-painted Freedom school suitable for Headstart classes and community get-to-gethers, restored under the eye of Township Trustee Dennis.

At Bennington in Switzerland county is the Pleasant Township Old Conservation farm, where volunteers started work before making formal application for Nelson Amendment help, led by Victor Virgil, an OEO director. In Benham a ten-acre community park has yet to get its planned shelter as five men work on knocking off the rough edges of a beautiful wooded area presented by the Benham family to its community.

One of the larger works visited was the Osgood, Ripley county fairground where Bert Kelley supervises fourteen men in restoring a property once one of the best known fairs of the state and the envy of surrounding counties. A stand of hundreds of tall trees provide shade and picnicking space. Dozens of frame buildings are being sorted out, some of them for painting, new roofing and flooring, some for material to replace their sagging forms with modern structures. To winterize the main building for community use, saw up discarded trees for wood for the new fireplaces, and strengthen the racetrack pavilion and grandstand are present jobs laid out by Lawrence Crum, local banker.

Late in a day of detailed discussion of buildings, weeding, fencing, painting, planting, the inspection party made short visits at the Milan Community Park supported by school board aid, through Jon Kohlmeier, school board member, and Charles Tyree, of the O.E.O. and school boards. At Batesville Boys Club with its busy building is supervised by Harold Steinkamp.

Mr. Tremain said that the current year of fiscal funds expires next July 1, but there are some funds that may still be available for needed improvements on public property largely at expense of hiring labor of the older unemployed, at no more than $1.50 an hour.

Plans are underway now for the following year's works starting July 1, 1968, and the OEO officials hope to make a deadline of March 1, in completing detailed applications for that year. Interested public bodies with needs are asked to contact now Mr. Paul Tremain, telephone 1034, or 237 Main St., Aurora, Ind., Postoffice Box 240. The four-county directors and the work leaders will be glad to help in preparing programs, and to supervise in carrying them out when approved.

Some of these already in the works include refurbishing New Street in Lawrenceburg, the old time waterfront thoroughfare in days before the Ohio River levee, and first steps in preparing for a new youth playground in the east end of the city.

The two latest projects under Mainstream employment-improvements plan are about to get underway, plus the labor on the Batesville club already listed.

The Milan School Park has been activated this week, Paul Tremain reported for the Mainstream project list. Selected to cut, trim and build cookout furnaces and tables are Astor Dobson, supervisor, Fred C. Bree, Henry M. Snyder, Kenneth Richards and Lowell Negangard.

Another job about to open up is the repair of certain roads in the Guilford region reported by Postmaster Wally Boyles to be difficult of access by the mailman delivering the route. It is anticipated that this work will keep two or three men busy during the remaining working weather.

Crime on the Streets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, occasionally we need to be reminded of just how shocking crime on our streets has become. To combat this we need the help of all concerned: the Attorney General of the United States, the several State attorneys general, police, sheriffs, and all Federal and State law-enforcement officers. They, in turn, deserve a renewed firmness on the part of the courts in meting what has become a challenge to law and order in America.

By way of illustration of the seriousness of the situation, I commend to the reading of all Members the following column by William F. Buckley, Jr., appearing in the Manchester Union Leader of Monday, December 4, 1967:

DO YOU HAVE A CIGARETTE?

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

It was a fun weekend in New York City. One 22-year-old student, strolling along the West Side, was accosted by three negro youths. Did he have a cigarette? Sorry, he didn't: so they stabbed him to death. A 78-year-old man was beaten up in his apartment on the East Side, just in case anyone believes that crime in Fun City is asymmetrical. And in the Bronx a husband was tied down while a visitor sodomized his wife, then burglarized the apartment, and left, whistling no doubt. The husband, his bonds untied, rushed out with a shotgun and bagged the assailant, subsequently discovered by the police who followed the trail of blood.

A cabdriver, age 22, was killed by three young men. And then a plainclothesman spotted, early in the morning, a 60-year-old man, running hard after an Amazonian lady, wearing only his under shorts. She had broken into his apartment, all 175 pounds of her, rifled his wallet of $8, threatened him with a knife, and he was now running after her. The policeman took charge, arrested the lady, and then escorted the gentleman home. On reaching his apartment building, some loitering young man made cracks about his semi-nudity, and the plainclothesman explained who he was, and why the gentleman was wearing only shorts. The youths fell upon the policeman and beat him up. But they did not kill him. The quality of mercy is not absent from Fun City, indeed there are those who maintain that it is more fun to maim than to kill.

Not everybody takes that position—New York is very diverse, one of its charms. I have a friend who has always kept his 7-year-old automobile in a garage just west of Ninth Avenue, in midtown Manhattan. He will not return his car to the garage after dark, nowadays, because to do so means that he is exposed to a half-block's walk to Ninth Avenue where he must stand and hail a taxi. It is necessary for non-New Yorkers to understand that it isn't safe to walk a half-block in search of a taxi on the west side of New York.

My friend, who is unprepared to die, has heard a most bizarre report which might have been the inventive work of Robert Louis Stevenson or Conan Doyle, only in this case its provenance is apparently the police. It appears that there is an extremely exclusive club of young negroes in New York City whose membership is limited to those who have killed a white man. The signature of the club-killing is said to be the preliminary question: "Do you have a cigarette?" And the rules are that if the passerby is carrying cigarette and makes them available, he is spared. If the passerby happen to be a non-smoker:—well, you can't win them all. The FBI turns the whole thing into statistics. In the first six months of this year, compared to the same period during 1966, murder is up 26 per cent; rape 14 per cent, robbery 92 per cent, aggravated assault 36 per cent burglary 49 per cent, larceny 15 per cent, auto theft 23 per cent. And all of this, to use the figure of a local commentator, "despite a police force outnumbering a World War II army division."

The weekend news also brings a run-down of the prosecutions that followed the rioting last summer. Here and there, the prosecution has been vigorous, e.g. in Atlanta, Georgia; Cambridge, Maryland; and Toledo, Ohio. They are the exceptions. In Detroit during the riots, 7,231 persons were arrested. Of that number, exactly 40 adults are now in jail, and most of them on account of previous crimes. A thousand or so will be tried sometime next spring, around maypole time perhaps. In Boston, after three days of rioting in the Roxbury district, 35 persons were arrested. The total result: five persons fined $500 each, and three three-month jail sentences. Really, it is riskier by far to walk a dozen blocks in New York City minding your own business, than to participate in a riot, burning, stealing, and killing.

And finally, we have a report from Atlanta discussing the plans of the Reverend Martin Luther King described as "a method of dislocating the functioning of a city without destroying life and property." For instance, there will be "camp-ins" at the Capitol. Permanent campins. "We intend to go there and stay," said Dr. King. "I am convinced," he says happily, that "civil disobedience can curtail riots." I am convinced that Martin Luther King belongs behind bars, along with everybody else who conspires to break the law.

It is easy to nag at those who believe that the way to "cure crime is to Get Tough." The answer of course is that crime is not cured by punishment, but that crime is curbed by the sequestration of criminals, who ought to be strolling the corridors of Sing Sing, rather than the sidewalks of New York. The other point course is that neither is crime cured by asserting the apostolic right of Martin Luther King to decide which laws are congenial to him, and which it is the duty of all of us to disobey. Surely there are others who see the nexus?

Hon. Foy D. Kohler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with great regret that I note the resignation of the Honorable Foy D. Kohler as Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. I must admit, however, that I am delighted that he has made the decision to come to Miami as a full professor at the University of Miami's Center for Advanced International Studies.

Secretary Kohler has served as Under Secretary for just over a year. In this capacity he has worked closely with the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. He has been particularly interested in the impact of science upon foreign policy, and this, together with his expertise in the field of United States-Soviet relations led him to the problem of the United States-Soviet nuclear missile race.

His distinguished career as a State Department official includes service in the demanding post as Ambassador to Moscow. His service there spanned the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Mr. Kohler has long been recognized as an expert on American-Soviet relations, and I know his expertise in this field will be an outstanding contribution to the University of Miami Faculty.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Secretary Kohler on an outstanding career as a U.S. diplomat, and extend a warm welcome to him from Miami.

Roy M. Goodman Testifies on Municipal Bond Ratings and High Interest Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, New York City's indefatigable finance administrator, Roy M. Goodman, has brought to the attention of the Congress the need for better and more accurate municipal bond ratings and the desirability of putting a halt to tax loophole industrial revenue bonds.

His testimony before the Joint Economic Subcommittee was covered in the New York Times of December 6 and deserves the attention of all of my colleagues:

CITY AIDE LAMENTS HIGH BOND RATES—GOODMAN ASKS CONGRESS TO REVIEW GRADING SYSTEM

(By Richard L. Madden)

WASHINGTON, December 5.—High interest payments are costing New York City the equivalent of 3,000 policemen on the beat, facilities for 750 hospital patients, or the price of building 10 new schools each year, a Congressional subcommittee was told today.

"Inaccurate municipal bond ratings and a billion-dollar flood of industrial revenue bonds are raising interest rates to the choking point, Roy M. Goodman, the city's Finance Administrator, said. He described these factors as "a one-two punch which threatens to knock out cities such as ours."

Mr. Goodman made his remarks while testifying before a joint economic subcommittee of Congress that began three days of public hearings on municipal finances. He proposed a "searching study" by an objective research organization, such as the Brookings Institution or the National Bureau for Economic Research, into the private agencies that give ratings to municipal bonds or grade their investment qualities.

NEW BOND CRITICIZED

Mr. Goodman also urged Congress to forbid corporations from deducting from their income taxes lease payments that are earmarked to amortize industrial bonds—a relatively new phenomenon in the municipal bond market.

Such bonds are sold as tax-exempt securities by local communities that seek to attract new industry. The proceeds are used to build a plant for a private corporation, which leases it under a long-term contract. The rental payments by the corporation are pledged to pay the principal and interest on the bonds.

Mr. Goodman estimated that the sale of industrial revenue bonds this year would account for $1-billion of the $12-billion of all bonds floated by state and local governments in the country.

"The added volume and high interest rates of these hybrid securities," he said, "threaten the ability of many municipalities to borrow for schools, hospitals, roads and other long-accepted public purposes." The sale of industrial revenue bonds by localities in New York State is forbidden by state law.

SUPPORT FROM PATMAN

Mr. Goodman's comments drew a favorable response from Representative Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas and chairman of the subcommittee. Mr. Patman chided Congress and the Federal Reserve System for "not doing its duty" in holding down interest rates. He added: "I think this municipal bond business is one of the most deplorable businesses we have before us."

Because of reduced ratings on the city bonds and the increased competition for the investor's dollar from industrial revenue bonds, Mr. Goodman said, the city has to pay an additional 0.75 per cent in interest, or total extra interest of $30-million on its $500-million-a-year financing.

"That is enough to put 3,000 policemen on the beat, or provide hospital space for 750 patients, or build 10 schools," the Finance Administrator said.

Right now, he continued, "New York City probably could not float a long-term bond issue for less than 5.2 per cent." The city's most recent sale of long-term bonds, last Oct. 17, carried a net interest cost of 4.912 per cent.

Mr. Goodman said that the largest bond rating services, Moody's Investor Service and Standard and Poor's, "have assumed almost biblical authority throughout the American investing economy, influencing banks, trustees and individuals to an unwarranted degree." Both services, he noted, downgraded their rankings of New York City bonds in 1965 and 1966.

He accused the rating services of operating "in a jet age using horse-and-buggy methods" and proposed that the financing of bond-rating services be supported by "modest" contributions from municipalities, ranks, institutional investors and securities dealers.

Mr. Goodman said this would amount to a rating agency "free from political interference and conflict of interest" and "would permit computerized techniques of fact-gathering and a large enough staff to make continuing on-the-spot inspections."

Rally for Vets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, at a time when disorderly and dangerous demonstrations against our country's policies in Vietnam are receiving headlines and national attention, it is well to take notice of the quiet demonstrations of support for our troops which are being held by responsible citizens and community leaders. One such rally was recently held in the town of Hull in my congressional district at the initiative of Cpl. John C. Frazier, Jr., a young marine who was seriously wounded in the fighting in Vietnam.

Sometimes the more extreme of our demonstrators fail to recognize that while the Government must respect the people's right to vigorous dissent, dissenters must also behave responsibly in criticizing Government policies. The practice of physical "confrontation" with Government officials and attempts to deny others the right to present their case are clearly outside our democratic tradition.

Corporal Frazier's speech and the remarks of Hull's public and private representatives are reported in the following article from the Hull-Nantasket Times, which I enclose for the interest of the Members of this body. I feel that the corporal's thoughts offer a valuable perspective on the relationship between responsible citizenship and dissent.

The article follows:

Rally for Vets Attracts 1,100

An enthusiastic and well-behaved crowd of nearly 1,100 people gathered at the Hull Memorial School Auditorium Sunday in support of U.S. troops in South Vietnam.

The rally was requested by Marine Corporal John C. Frazier Jr. of Hull, wounded veteran of Vietnam combat, and was sponsored by Hull Selectmen and veterans organizations.

Principal speakers included Corp. Frazier, U.S. Congressman Hastings Keith (R) of West Bridgewater, State Senator William D. Weeks (R), Cohasset, State Rep. George C. Young (R), Scituate, Hull Selectman Chrmn. Leonard Colten and Selectmen Wallace E. Richardson, and Samuel Hartstone.

Keith said he supported in substance the U.S. position in Vietnam although he doesn't agree with all the methods used in conducting the war.

"We have a lot of dissent on moral and legal grounds about U.S. troops in Vietnam, but I found out during my recent visit to that country there is no dissent among our troops on why they are there or about the cause for which they are fighting" said Cong. Keith.

"France is no longer a great power because she got out of Vietnam and left a void into which the enemy moved. France also got out of Poland and Czechoslovakia in World War 2 and later regretted it when Hitler over-ran Europe, including France," added Keith.

The Congressman continued: "Our country must live up to our commitment and not walk out on our friends the South Vietnamese, Malaysians, Filipinos and Koreans. The United States cannot again go into isolation. We must recognize our responsibility to the world. Our enemies are fighting for only what they can take. We must be patient and understanding with the hope and prayer that our leaders have the wisdom to match the bravery of our men who are carrying the fight."

Corporal Frazier, 20, whose legs were shattered in fighting near Chu Lai and who served 9 months in South Vietnam until wounded, has been under treatment at Chelsea Naval Hospital for the last 8 months.

He walked with a cane at the rally with his left foot in a cast and his right supported by a special shoe.

He was cheered for several minutes as he arose to speak.

Corporal Frazier urged the audience to realize what U.S. men in Vietnam are doing to halt Communism and its spread to the United States.

"If Communism ever did come here, the first to scream would be the draft card burners. If they were in Russia they would be sent to Siberia. I'd like to see them go on a slow boat to China," said Frazier, who added: "It takes courage to stay in Society and try to make something of oneself, but it takes ho courage to drop responsibility of duty to our country."

Corporal Frazier quoted President Johnson's warning about "a negative policy toward South Vietnam" and urged letters to legislators telling them they support the U.S. commitment and the boys in Vietnam.

Selectman Colten, master of ceremonies, lauded Frazier as did Selectmen Richardson and Hartstone, Senator Weeks and Rep. Young.

"God bless him and all servicemen. He is Hull's hero of the day, month and year," said Colten.

Said Senator Weeks: "In these troubled days with an half million of our men in South Vietnam, the least we can offer is our wholehearted support though those who disagree with the war have the right to dissent. But this great crowd clearly shows that Hull stands four-square in support of the boys in Vietnam."

Senator Weeks represented Gov. Volpe and extended congratulations to Corporal Frazier for his initiative and leadership.

State Rep. George "Chet" Young, a reserve Marine Lieut-Col. said: "This great crowd shows it came to be counted. I wish all the towns in the country had the same opportunity. Corporal Frazier, I salute you as the representative of all our fighting men in Vietnam."

Others seated on the stage were Corp. Frazier's parents Mr. and Mrs. John C. Frazier, Marine Daniel Sullivan wounded Vietnam veteran, son of Michael Sullivan of Hull. Navy hospital corpsman Richard Cocklin of Hull, also a Viet vet. and officers of the service organizations and their auxiliaries.

Other speakers included SVC Paul O'Neil of the Hull-Hingham VFW Post, PC William McTighe of the Hull American Legion, Rev. Earl Luscomb, invocation, Rabbi David Weisenberg, prayer, and Rev. Fr. Leo Dwyer, benediction.

Music was provided by the Hull High School band, who played the National Anthem and the Army, Navy and Marine Corps songs.

President Johnson Brings Government to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's effort, launched 2 years ago, to bring the Government to the people has paid another dividend with the announcement that the experimental one-stop Federal information centers in Atlanta and Kansas City will soon open in five other American cities.

These information centers offer improved service to citizens doing business with the Federal Government—at little or no additional cost to the Government—by making it possible for the public to come to one place for complete information about all Federal services. The pioneering experimental centers have helped over 5,000 citizens a month promptly secure the services they needed.

At the same time, President Johnson has seen to it that the American public benefits from expanded Federal office hours, simplified forms, and publication of information in foreign languages to help non-English speaking Americans learn about their Government's services.

A democracy is only as strong as its people's trust in their government. By bringing the streamlined services of the Federal Government to the hometowns of millions of Americans the Johnson administration has rewarded this sacred trust.

The Johnson administration has put democracy into action for a grateful people.

Greece's Restraint Impresses United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the emphasis here in Washington has been on the role played by Cyrus Vance in the most recent Cyprus crisis. I believe that a complete analysis demonstrates the responsible role played by the Government of Greece. A very timely news analysis of this phase of the Cyprus crisis was made by Mr. Ray McHugh, Washington bureau chief of the Copley Press, in the November 29 edition of the San Diego Union. I insert his commentary at this point in the Record as part of my remarks:

Greece's Restraint Impresses United States

(By Ray McHugh)

Washington.—When—and if—the explosive Cyprus crisis is resolved, the United States is expected to review its relations with the Greek government.

Virtually ostracized since the military coup of last April 28, the leaders in Athens have surprised and impressed U.S. officials with their restraint in the current crisis with Turkey over the volatile Mediterranean island.

President Johnson's personal envoy, Cyrus Vance, is said to have credited the Greeks with "a very responsible attitude."

When Greek colonels seized power last spring in what they called a move to avoid political anarchy, the United States adopted a frigid aloofness. Heavy military equipment promised under North Atlantic Treaty Organization agreements was suspended. Economic programs were discouraged.

The Athens regime was denounced as dictatorial. A visit to Washington by young King Constantine soothed some critics, but failed to break the diplomatic ice.

Charges of "fascism" from northern European countries such as Denmark and Sweden offset the effect of a constitutional reform program and promised elections.

Demands from the American academic community that Washington intervene on behalf of Andreas Papandreau, accused of treason, deepened the rift. Papandreau, a

> one-time American college professor, is the son of former Premier George Papandreau and heir to his father's political fortune. He had actively opposed the army's role in Greek life and allegedly favored withdrawal from NATO and establishment of a Socialist form of government.
>
> Turkey, Greeks feel, has tried to take advantage of this diplomatic isolation in the current crisis.
>
> The situation, however, has undergone drastic changes in the last two weeks as Greece and Turkey teeter on the brink of a war that could tear apart the Western military alliance.
>
> "If war breaks out, the NATO alliance is dead—at least in the Mediterranean," said one highly placed Washington source.
>
> This peril, combined with Greece's obviously strong military position, has provoked considerable respect for the actions of the government of Premier Constantine Kollias and the colonels.
>
> Despite Turkey's 3 to 1 advantage in military manpower, geography tends to even the odds. Turkish troops would have to cross rivers and mountains to initiate an overland invasion of Greece. They would have to penetrate defenses on Cyprus that Greek officers insist cannot be breached.
>
> ### U.S.-EQUIPPED
>
> The two navies and air forces are rated about even.
>
> American apprehension is heightened by the fact that both countries are equipped with American arms, supplied under NATO commitments. No one in Washington relishes the idea of the two allies waging war with U.S. weapons.
>
> The Greek government is described as recognizing the political and economic repercussions that would flow from war and its impact on NATO.
>
> "But this does not mean that Greece will not fight," warned one Athens official in Washington.
>
> The Greek government has practiced restraint at home as well as in the negotiations.
>
> No word of the crisis was released in the government-controlled press for a week in what observers regarded as a calculated risk to forego a psychological war buildup that could have triggered hostilities.
>
> Recent Greek governments hardly could have accepted such a risk.
>
> ### KEPT INFORMED
>
> Since Nov. 23, however, the Greek press has been reporting each escalation in the crisis and has kept the people informed on Vance's capital-hopping peace efforts..
>
> If Vance is successful in averting war, his report to President Johnson may well include a recommendation for a new look at relations with Athens. The crisis has already solidified popular support for the Kollias government.
>
> American good offices, some argue, should soon be brought into play to achieve three major goals in the eastern Mediterranean:
>
> 1. Encouragement of the Athens regime to move steadily toward the re-establishment of constitutional democracy.
> 2. A lasting agreement between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus.
> 3. A rejuvenated Mediterranean alliance to meet the ever-growing Russian presence.

President Gestido, of Uruguay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I learned of the sudden death of the able President of the Republic of Uruguay, Oscar D. Gestido, who has been chief executive of his country since last March 1. On that date President Gestido became Uruguay's first permanent chief executive in 15 years. His inauguration marked the end of an experiment with a rotating presidential system. It may be recalled that in his inaugural address he said some well-chosen words:

> There is no magic formula to make things well, only mental honesty, hard work and routine and meticulous planning for the future.

President Gestido had an outstanding record in the military service, as a top government administrative official, and for too short a time, as leader of his country. He visited the United States in the late 1940's as a general in the air force in which he served with distinction for many years. Upon retirement from the air force a decade ago, he held a number of top-level positions in Uruguay's Government, including director of the state railways, and as a member of the National Council of Government.

As President he was host to President Johnson and other leaders of Latin American countries at the summit conference held in Punta del Este last April.

Uruguay loses an able leader; the United States loses a good friend; the Republics of Latin America lose an illustrious ally, in the untimely death of this distinguished citizen of Uruguay. I know that the sympathy of the American people goes to the people of Uruguay at this sad time.

Mathias of Maryland Renders Inspiring Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GILBERT GUDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the tragic upheavel which took place in many of our cities this past summer, presented graphic evidence of the urgent need for constructive Federal legislation to assist, where possible, the Nation's metropolitan centers in solving their numerous and complex problems. Yesterday, the President signed into law a bill—the Public Health Amendments of 1967—which contained a provision for just such constructive assistance to our cities. This provision, which from its inception had my full support, authorized much needed increases in an already existing rat extermination and control program operated by the Public Health Service in cooperation with State and local officials.

I was pleased to note that the Baltimore Evening Sun recognized the major role which my good friend, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] played in securing congressional approval of this vital program. It is just one of countless instances in which our able and distinguished colleague has rendered inspiring leadership in Congress, for which his district, and indeed the entire State of Maryland, can be so proud.

The perceptive editorial comments of the Baltimore Evening Sun, which I call to the attention of my colleagues, follow:

> ### RAT CONTROL AT LAST
>
> The common Norway rat is still with us as a vile pest in the city slums. But the rat, as a shocking symbol of congressional unconcern with the conditions of life of millions of Americans, was finally exterminated yesterday. Both houses of the Congress passed the final version of the public health bill. Burrowed in it was up up to $40 million that can be spent on rat control in the next two years.
>
> Last July the worthy gentlemen of the House laughed down an Administration measure to kill rats. They made their witticisms while different parts of the nation were burning, and their action took on symbolic importance throughout American cities. The jokes have long since been regretted by their tellers.
>
> The measure approved is not quite what the Administration wanted. The original rat control program was proposed for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Instead it will come under the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Small matter. But a rat slain by HEW, personally, is just as dead as one killed by HUD.
>
> Credit for saving rat control and Congress' honor goes to Democratic Representative Reuss of Wisconsin and Republican Representative Mathias of Maryland. In view of the reputed ambition of the latter to represent all of Maryland in the Senate instead of just its western mountains in the House, his very real achievement in behalf of people in the slums of cities will not go unnoticed.

One Reason Why Crime Is Nationwide Plague

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, America is plagued with crime to a greater extent than ever before in its history. This is an intolerable situation which can be and must be remedied. The Mobile Press Register, one the Nation's better newspapers, has editorialized with strong logic on this subject. I submit this editorial which appeared on Sunday, November 26, 1967, for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

> ### ONE REASON WHY CRIME IS NATIONWIDE PLAGUE
>
> In these days of rising crime and declining convictions of criminals, voices that warn of the dangers in this situation and emphasize the critical need for more effective law enforcement are not heard often enough.
>
> The J. Edgar Hoovers, John L. McClellans and others who speak out forthrightly on this problem are performing a public service that should be thoroughly appreciated by all Americans who recognize that the institution of law and order must be preserved if the nation is to be saved from unthinkable disaster.
>
> Senator McClellan of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, told the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in New

York City the other day that "law enforcement is breaking down," and pointed to this evidence:

"The chances that an offender who commits a major crime will be apprehended, convicted and punished are much less today than ever before. Eighty-seven out of every 100 who commit major crimes that are reported manage to escape punishment and thus remain loose on society to repeat their nefarious deeds and depredations.

"Only about 13 per cent—about one out of eight—are tried, convicted and punished. And, for those who are punished, quite often the penalty imposed is not commensurate with the gravity of the crime committed.

"The prospect of apprehension, successful prosecution and conviction and just punishment of the lawbreaker is now so diminished and unlikely that this—the greatest deterrent to crime—has now become almost impotent and ineffective.

"The truth of the old adage that 'crime does not pay' is being refuted more and more every day. It is now an irrefutable fact that the pursuit of crime has become a profitable way of life for many professional criminals. And their marked success is attracting and seducing others."

Senator McClellan warned that this has become "a golden age for criminals who now rob, rape, murder and mug day and night with an intolerable degree of impunity." The record supports him in this warning. The conclusion is made inevitable by the "more than 3¼ million crimes committed in this country last year" and the low rate of conviction and punishment for major crimes.

Lawlessness has grown into a huge, alarming blot on the greatness of this nation. In Senator McClellan's words, "Unhappily, with all of our great affluence and greatness, crime abounds and flourishes throughout the land."

This grave misfortune has developed only recently. As Mr. McClellan put it. "This serious crime menace has not long existed. Its upsurge to such a dangerous level has occurred during the past decade or so."

Here, as pinpointed by the veteran senator from Arkansas, are some of the ugly facts in the "dangerous level" which the crime menace has reached:

(1) "Respect for law has greatly declined."

(2) "Disrespect and outright contempt for law enforcement officials are commonplace and are practiced not only by the confirmed criminal but also by large groups and segments of the population."

(3) "Duly constituted authority is openly flouted."

(4) "Rioting, burning, pillaging and plundering are occurring in many of our cities with alarming frequency."

(5) "Massive strikes, sit-in demonstrations, civil disobedience and turbulent disorder are advocated and engaged in as a means for achieving redress for alleged grievances."

(6) "Organized crime is spreading and becoming more subtle and entrenched."

It is possible to believe with good reason that the list of influences and factors contributing to this dangerous condition in America is long.

But which one—what single factor or influence—has done the most damage in giving rise to an atmosphere and attitude in which today's lawlessness and contempt for law thrive so menacingly?

How many thinking, serious-minded Americans, after unhurried, thorough deliberation, would answer that the most damage has come from irresponsible, reckless politics that has put nightmarishly large numbers of misfits into public office at various levels of government?

If this nation had been spared from the plague of irresponsible, reckless politics it has endured in the "past decade or so," crime and contempt for law would not be so rampant.

Whatever else this nation may need today, it urgently needs a nationwide uprising of public sentiment against that wretched brand of politics.

Finland: A Note on History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 50th anniversary of the independence of Finland, an event that should not go unnoticed because it commemorates the efforts of a great people to maintain their independence and freedom.

Finland, over the years has had to resist the aggression of the Soviet Union; however, it has escaped becoming a complete satellite. This has not been without cost, and the people of Finland have endured great sacrifices for their freedom.

Because two editorials of Virginius Dabney in the Richmond Times Dispatch tell so vividly this heroic story, I should like to bring them to the attention of the other Members of the House, as follows:

FINLAND'S 50 GREAT YEARS

(By Virginius Dabney)

Roses were blooming on thousands of graves in Hietaniemi Cemetery, when I visited that beautiful shrine in Helsinki a short time ago. The graves were those of young men who had fallen for Finland in her heroic resistance to Soviet Russia in the Winter War of 1939–40, and in the subsequent fighting from 1941 to 1945.

Marshal Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, who commanded the Finnish forces in those sanguinary encounters, lies in an imposing tomb surrounded by his soldiers. Towering over all is a great cross. The ensemble is deeply moving.

The fiftieth anniversary of Finland's independence from Russia falls on Wednesday, December 6. A candle will glow that night on every soldier's grave in Hietaniemi Cemetery. This is the poignant annual custom on Independence Day, as well as at Christmas, Easter and All Saints Day.

THE TOLL OF WAR

Finland, a sturdy little democracy with a population of about 4,600,000—approximately the same as Virginia's—lost in the six years of war (1939–1945), about 85,000 men killed and 15,000 crippled for life. She also lost over 10 per cent of her territory to the Soviet Union, and on top of that was forced to pay staggering reparations totaling around $700,000,000. In addition, more than 400,000 refugees from regions taken over by Russia fled into Finland, and had to be housed, fed and given jobs. The enormous influx was comparable to the sudden arrival of 16,000,000 jobless immigrants in a devastated United States.

The story of how the indominable Finns met these problems head on and solved them, while paying their debts to this and other countries, is inspiring. One explanation is the quality known in Finland as "sisu," roughly translated as "guts."

Finland emerged from her trial by fire as one of the most stable and prosperous countries in the world—a country with a high standard of living, a rapidly expanding economy, and pace-setting, imaginative leaders in such spheres as architecture and town planning, as well as in the creation of novel designs in ceramics, glass, furniture and fabrics.

THE SOVIET CONTRAST

During the half-century in which Finland was accomplishing these near-miracles, and fashioning a free society and a growing economy, neighboring Soviet Russia, with vastly greater wealth and resources, was far less successful. During those same fifty years, the U.S.S.R. was building a closed society and a much less prosperous economy, with a more primitive level of living. In contrast to the civil liberties enjoyed by the Finns, the Russian people have had to contend with mass murder, wholesale starvation and concentration camps.

President Urho Kekkonen, the remarkably vigorous 67-year-old chief executive of Finland, who is completing his second six-year term in that post, deserves a major share of credit for the country's progress. He granted me one of his rare interviews recently at the presidential residence in Helsinki.

"It is possible to get along with the Russians because of their frankness and openmindedness," he said. "In the negotiations with them I have found friends among the leading Russians, such as Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Kosygin.

"We can't see anything in the future that could cause any difficulties in Russo-Finnish relations."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Kekkonen, Premier Rafael Paasio and their associates in the government put three Communists in the Cabinet last year—a move which caused considerable consternation in Finland. In diplomatic journalistic and business quarters in Helsinki I could find hardly anybody who approved the move. The great majority with whom I talked felt that it was unnecessary, and that it could cause trouble.

True, the three posts held by Communists (known in Finland as members of the People's Democratic Union), are Communications, Social Affairs and Deputy Minister of Finance. These are not key portfolios, such as the party held in 1948.

In that year, the Finns made the grave mistake not only of letting Communists into the Cabinet, despite the fact that they had been driven underground in World War II, but of putting themselves at the mercy of a Communist Prime Minister and a Communist Minister of the Interior who had jurisdiction over the police. The result, as might have been expected, was that Finland found herself on the verge of a Communist coup, such as had just occurred in Czechoslovakia.

The Finnish Parliament thereupon courageously risked a Soviet take-over by voting "no confidence" in the Minister of the Interior and forcing him to resign. The strategy worked, for the U.S.S.R. did not move in. A free election was held, the Communists lost eleven seats, and with them all of their seats in the Cabinet. It was a near thing.

Because of this experience, many view with concern the presence of Communists in the Kekkonen Cabinet. Those who approve point out that whereas the Commies were making considerable trouble when they were outside the government and in opposition, they are cooperating much more satisfactorily, now that they are on the inside. They have 41 seats in the one-chamber, 200-seat Parliament, and they cast about 21 per cent of the vote in elections. Hence, it is argued, they are entitled to an official role in the government.

REDS KEPT PLEDGES

"The Communists have kept the agreement on which the government was formed," President Kekkonen told me, "and have not caused trouble."

When I mentioned that Finland is sometimes referred to by his critics as "Kekkoslovakia," he laughed heartily.

He is a staunch defender of the Treaty of Mutual Friendship, Cooperation and Assistance which President Juho Paasiviki signed with Russia in 1948, and renewed in 1955.

Both signatories pledged themselves not to engage in aggression against the other, or to join any alliance against the other. The treaty was designed to make certain that Finland could not be used as a base for aggression against the Soviet Union, especially by Germany. Finland is committed to fight only if her own territory is invaded, or is attacked by Germany or a German ally.

President Kekkonen reaffirmed this in 1965. He said:

"Finland has engaged herself to defend the inviolability of her territory within her own boundaries, which she would do in any case, treaty or no treaty. . . . In the event of an attack on the U.S.S.R. by another route than over Finnish territory, we shall not, under the agreement, be involved in war. On the contrary, we shall then take every conceivable step to remain neutral."

SILENT ON VIETNAM

President Kekkonen refused to be drawn into a discussion in our interview of whether the role of the United States in Vietnam is right or wrong. There can be little doubt, however, that he disapproves of it.

"The development in the sixties in the world of politics has reached a stage where the different problems can't be solved on a black-white basis," he said.

His "black-white" reference had nothing to do with the race problem. It was addressed to those who view all Communists as "bad guys" and all anti-Communists as "good guys."

Such an attitude on his part is the more impressive, in that it comes from one who once told Khrushchev to his face in a public speech that even if all the other countries in the world were to turn Communist, Finland would never do so.

Furthermore, as a youthful student in 1917, Urho Kekkonen fought with the Whites against the Reds in the civil war which followed the collapse of Russia in World War I. Thus he helped to win Finland's independence from Russia at that time, and his anti-Communist record began early. Needless to say, he does not consider himself anti-Communist today. He was decorated with the Order of Lenin by the Soviet Union in 1964.

The second editorial follows:

The fiftieth anniversary of Finland's independence from Russia will be observed today in that sturdy little country, which has managed to remain free ever since it broke away from its powerful neighbor in 1917.

Certain aspects of its spectacular success in surmounting obstacles that would have daunted a people less indomitable than the Finns were considered in this place on Sunday. An interview with President Kekkonen in Helsinski was described, and he was quoted as saying that he has no difficulty getting along with Soviet Russia, and he anticipates none.

VIGOROUS MR. KEKKONEN

President Kekkonen has a sense of humor, and frequently tells jokes on himself. He is also a famous athlete, who held the high jumping championship of Finland in the era of Paavo Nurmi's Olympic triumphs. Today, at 67, he performs virtual prodigies. He runs three or four miles daily before going to the office. In winter, he is an avid skiier. He goes on an annual skiing jaunt with friends through Lapland, totaling hundreds of miles. Last winter he covered 800 miles.

"That's the way a man ought to live," he told me. But he knocked on wood as he said it, apparently conscious of his advancing years. Six feet tall and well built, he appears to be in fine physical shape.

He is regarded as certain to be elected in January to his third six-year term as president. One criticism of his administration is that he is not particularly adept in the field of economics. It is also said, "You are either for him or against him; there is little middle ground." His enemies consider him arrogant.

As of today, Finland is as free of interference from the Soviets as anyone could reasonably hope for. It may be that Moscow put pressure on Mr. Kekkonen to include the three Communists who are now in his Cabinet, but except for this possibility, the Kremlin appears not to inject itself into the country's internal affairs.

FINLAND IS FREE

The Finnish press, furthermore is entirely free to attack the U.S.S.R. whenever it chooses. The country also enjoys the other civil liberties long cherished in the United States, such as freedom of religion, speech and assembly. It is a remarkable state of things in a country with an 800-mile common frontier with Soviet Russia, and it contrasts totally with the situation in Russia itself and in the satellite lands.

Stalin could have seized Finland and made her a hapless satellite, of course. The fact that he didn't is one of the impressive and as yet unexplained facts of modern European history.

The fighting qualities shown by the Finns in the Winter War of 1939–40 with Russia, when vastly outnumbered and outgunned, must have convinced Stalin that if he tried to swallow Finland, he might get a well nigh incurable case of indigestion. The fact that the Finnish Communists, to his extreme dismay, fought Russia as hard as anybody in that war, perhaps harder, appears to have had a bearing.

It is most unfortunate that the Finns were dragged back into war in 1941 on the side of Nazi Germany. They had no spiritual affinity for Naziism, but they were caught in a well nigh hopeless bind. German troops were already on their soil, and planning to attack Finland's ancient enemy, Russia.

DRAGGED BACK INTO WAR

Finnish hatred of the Soviet Union was at an all-time high, and Finland was anxious to regain the territory taken from her by Stalin after the Winter War. Not only so, but Moscow broke its agreement with Helsinki to furnish grain to the suffering Finns, and Germany stepped into the breach with the needed supplies. On top of all else, the Finns could not have prevented the Germans from using their country as a base for the historic attack on Russia in June, 1941.

So they went to war again, under Marshal Mannerheim.

Finland formally terminated her hostilities with the U.S.S.R. in September, 1944, well before the fighting ended in Western Europe. Her troops had never fought under German command in that war, and there had been no formal alliance with Germany.

As part of the harsh terms imposed by Moscow, the Finns were required to rid their soil of 200,000 German troops. The latter retaliated with a scorched earth policy, and many Finnish towns and villages were put to the torch. It took the Finns until April of the following year to drive all the Germans out. The operation cost them thousands of casualties.

It devolved upon President Paasiviki at this critical juncture to convince the Russians that Finnish territory would never again be used as a basis for an attack on their country. His success in doing so is believed to have played a major role in saving Finland from absorption into the Soviet Union.

ALL WAR DEBTS PAID

Today the Finns have a well nigh miraculous record of surmounting obstacles. Finland is not only the one country that has made every payment on its World War I debt to the United States, but it actually paid an installment at the height of the Winter War with Russia.

In the public mind, Finland stands for bravery, integrity and an advancing culture. The "sisu" of Mannerheim, the music of Sibelius, the imaginative architecture of the Saarinens, the literary creations of Nobel Prize winner Eemil Sillenpaa, and the speed and endurance of Paavo Nurmi have combined to create the image of Finland. It is an image which commands world-wide respect on this, the semi-centennial of Finnish independence.

Able Pittsburgher Heads Western Pennsylvania Commerce Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, an able resident of my home city of Pittsburgh, Mr. Lewis E. Conman, recently was named director of the Commerce Department's Pittsburgh field office.

Mr. Conman's job will be to help big and small industrial firms in the western Pennsylvania area expand their markets. Judging from an article in the Pittsburgh Press of December 1, 1967, Mr. Conman and the field office are achieving excellent results.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the Pittsburgh Press article at this point in the Record to show the important role that the Commerce Department and its able leaders play in assisting American business and industry. The article follows:

U.S. COMMERCE DEPARTMENT FIELD OFFICE ASSISTS INDUSTRY: WORKS WITH COMPANIES TO EXPAND MARKETS

(By John Helsel)

Helping small and big industrial firms in Western Pennsylvania to expand markets is the job of the U.S. Dept. of Commerce field office here.

"In most cases the companies come to us for information or help, but we have a visitation program too," explains Lewis E. Conman who took over the Pittsburgh director's duties earlier this month.

He points with pride to these results:

Increasing a Butler firm's exports from $50,000 annually to $250,000.

About 400 companies in the area export $300 million worth of manufactured goods annually.

Placement of a $2 million aluminum parts fabricating contract in the district.

"All of these accomplishments were brought about with the help of our office," states by Mr. Conman. "We offer many services to business. Our primary job is to help its expansion in Western Pennsylvania."

Mr. Conman says the Commerce Dept. has a battery of experts in all fields who are ready to help a firm with a problem. For instance, the Pittsburgh field office has given companies advice on the best way to ship a finished product.

Our office here will give what help we can, some times by referring the problem to local packaging firms. At the same time, we check Washington to see if they have any suggestions," the director states.

The field office sponsors several seminars each year for businessmen on a variety of subjects ranging from marketing to patents held by the Federal Government and available to public firms.

Information also is supplied, at a firm's request, on possible ways to increase sales on the international market. The field office keeps companies here informed on inquiries for equipment and other needs of U.S. embassies.

Mr. Conman joined the Commerce Dept. in 1963 in Washington as a commodity industry specialist for wood pulp and paper in the Business and Defense Services Administration. He was chief of the local office's Domestic Trade Division from May, 1965, until his recent appointment.

Before going into Government work, he was a market development officer and packaging consultant in industry.

"I have always been amazed at the number of services the Commerce Dept. offers. So are the firms that call upon us," he beams.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch Describes Kentucky's Inadequate Method of Taxing Coal Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I called the attention of the House to an excellent article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of November 19 concerning the absurdly low taxes being paid by companies mining coal in eastern Kentucky.

In a second article, of November 20, the paper set forth additional details of a situation in which coal companies are enjoying record incomes but are paying negligible taxes to counties which have a major fraction of their population below the poverty level and are unable to support even 10 percent of the cost of their school systems.

I include this informative article hereafter:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 29, 1967]

KENTUCKY'S METHOD OF TAXING COAL LANDS IS WOEFULLY INADEQUATE—OUT-OF-STATE COMPANIES MAKE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WHILE EASTERN COUNTIES' RESIDENTS LIVE IN GRINDING POVERTY

(By James C. Millstone)

HARLAN, KY.—Ted R. Turner has been tax commissioner of Harlan county for 10 years. It is his job to place assessments on all county property. Now he was seated in his office pondering an unanswerable question: How does it happen that the land is so rich and the people so poor?

"It's hard to put your finger on," he said. "We have the best grade of coal found anywhere. It's high priced, has low sulfur content. We've got enough coal here to operate all our mines 24 hours a day for the next 100 years."

Furthermore, Harlan county has a couple of prosperous residents. The county's largest coal mine is operated by the United States Steel Corp. at Lynch. Its second largest mine is run by the International Harvester Co.

County coal production is at record high. In 1965 the county produced 5,634,624 tons valued at $29,000,000. Last year it moved from third to second among eastern Kentucky coal producers with 6,268,082 tons worth more than $30,000,000.

Yet in neither year—nor in 1964 for that matter—did the county manager to raise enough money in taxes to pay even 10 per cent of the costs of running its school system.

Notwithstanding the riches beneath the magnificent mountains that cover Harlan county, the signs all point to an area sliding downhill swiftly. The population has dwindled from 71,751 in 1950 to 41,000 last year. Projections for 1970 shrink it further to 33,200.

Office of Economic Opportunity figures show that of the 9231 families in the county last year, 3687—or 40 per cent—had incomes below the poverty level. In 1960, Harlan county had proportionately more poor people than 86 per cent of all counties in the United States. Last year it was worse off than 92 per cent of all other counties.

Times are not so hard for U.S. Steel and International Harvester. The nation's Number One steel producer had sales of 4.3 billion dollars last year and an income of $249,200,000.

Turner's tax books showed that last year U.S. Steel's two productive mines in Harlan county, including property valued at $9,300,000, were taxed at $34,500. The books did not indicate the amount of an additional sum paid by the company to support a small independent school district at one end of the county.

International Harvester, operator of the second largest mine in the county, paid $27,000 in taxes to Harlan county on property valued at $2,800,000.

"The only interests U.S. Steel and International Harvester have in Harlan county," Turner said, "is to pull out the coal to operate their mills.

"U.S. Steel had a town of 9000 people at Lynch at one time," Turner recalled. "They had the largest coal tipple in the world there then. Now they're producing more coal then ever before, but the population at Lynch is probably no more than 3000. Where their mine had thousands of employees, I doubt if they have 400 now.

"Every lump of coal they get goes out to their mills. They won't even send it around for use of the people who live at Lynch."

The experience of Harlan county is repeated again and again in every one of the great coal-producing counties of eastern Kentucky. Although coal is booming, producing greater wealth than ever, the people in the counties are poorer and more miserable than ever.

In Knott county last year, 1665 of the 2900 families—more than 57 per cent—had income under the poverty level. That meant that they were in the lower 1 per cent of all American counties in the magnitude of poverty. From a population of 20,320 in 1950, the county has dropped to 16,200 and expects to have no more than 13,600 residents by 1970.

Out-of-state coal companies own an extensive portion of Knott county land. One is the Elk Horn Coal Corp., with headquarters at Charlestown, W. Va. For the mineral rights to 15,107 acres of Knott county coal property this year, Elk Horn was charged $2750 in taxes. The company leases coal lands for a living and in 1965 reported a gross income of close to $1,000,000,000. It netted $506,367 on that amount and paid its stockholders $424,840 in dividends.

Other owners of Knott county coal lands include Kentucky River Coal Corp. and Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Co., two of the most profitable operations in the coal business today. They paid the county $1985 and $306, respectively, in taxes on their properties for 1966.

"The coal companies pretty much set their own assessments," Knott county tax commissioner Delmar Draughn confided. "We pretty much have to work with them. We have no system for finding out what they own. Like they may tell us they own 50 acres at a certain place when actually they own 500 acres.

"As far as mineral rights are concerned, we can't tell what's under the ground. If a company says an area is barren or mined out, we have to accept it."

The valuation on land that is barren or mined out, of course, will be far less than that known to possess good coal seams.

Draughn said that in his 10 years as tax commissioner he had become convinced that "most of these companies come in here with a straight and honest list."

His confidence in the companies was not shared by some Kentuckians. A study by the Louisville Courier-Journal in 1965 concluded that "coal has been a reluctant taxpayer." The newspaper said that "the industry has been able to get rock-pile assessments on land loaded with black wealth."

"Thousands of acres of coal land worth $200 to $300 an acre get on the assessment books at $2 an acre," the newspaper said. "Other thousands of acres are literally hidden from the assessor."

In Leslie County's courthouse at tiny Hyden, tax commissioner John D. Muncy described his yearly bouts with the Fordson Coal Co., a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Co. Fordson has held mineral rights to large areas in Leslie county for years. Consistently, Muncy said, the company submits valuation figures that are inaccurate and just as consistently he places a higher assessment. On appeal, Fordson invariably wins.

Last year, for example, Fordson managed to lower Muncy's valuation by 25 per cent from $880,000 to $660,000. This year the company tax bill totaled $5,189. Just for the record, Leslie county is the most impoverished of the eastern Kentucky coal producers, with two-thirds of its families having incomes below the poverty line. Ford Motor Co., on the other hand, reported record sales of 12.2 billion dollars last year and net income of $621,000,000.

If any further evidence is needed that something is wrong with the Kentucky taxing system, consider Pike county. Long the major producer of coal in eastern Kentucky, Pike in 1965 accounted for more than 15,000,000 tons valued at almost $61,000,000. Last year its production went up to 16,300,000 tons worth about $65,000,000.

But although it is one of the nation's richest coal counties, Pike county could raise only 18.3 per cent of the $4,100,000 needed to operate its schools last year also, 45.3 per cent of its people subsisted on incomes below the poverty level.

To a few Kentuckians, notably lawyer-historian Harry M. Caudill of Whitesburg, the exploitation of the state's resources by outside investors, and the traditionally inadequate local tax rates have been galling for years. Caudill is particularly impatient when local or state officials defend the coal interests as paying their proportionate share of the tax load.

E. D. Ballard, director of the property tax division of the Kentucky Department of Revenue, told the Post-Dispatch that a recent state-sponsored revaluation of property in eastern Kentucky showed that "the coal industry was not the poor taxpayer people had thought it to be." In fact, he said, other classes of property were found to have been further off base in assessments than coal property.

"The point Ballard misses," Caudill responded, "is that other taxpayers are not hauling Kentucky away. The coal industry's whole business is doing that very thing. My house will stay here for generations, but their property will be sucked completely dry."

Caudill, who fought a lonely fight against the coal exploitation for years, is beginning to attract a few allies among elements opposed to the rising amount of strip-mining that is further scarring and gouging the mountains. The Kentucky League of Women Voters, whose project for the year is natural resources, has taken an increasingly critical look at the relationship between coal wealth and eastern Kentucky poverty. A study by the league's Lexington chapter found that the coal industry had been "very successful at avoiding taxation of their properties and their operations."

One subject that the league is looking into is the possibility of a tax on production of coal, known as a severance tax. As Caudill sees it, under the longstanding system, Kentucky receives nothing in return for the wealth drained from her hills. A tax of 10 cents a ton, for instance, on each ton of coal mined would have raised $9,000,000 for the state last year.

Politically, imposition of such tax would appear impossible, however, particularly under newly elected Gov. Louie Nunn, a Republican, Caudill had prepared proposed legislation for a severance tax for the Democratic candidate, Henry Ward, under the conviction that Ward would have sponsored it. Caudill said that Nunn's election would prove to be "an historical tragedy for eastern Kentucky."

Caudill also has helped organize and is chairman of the Congress for Appalachian Development, a group seeking to promote creation of public corporations to buy up the coal lands from the wealthy land-holding companies, by the power of eminent domain, if necessary. The public agencies then would turn their efforts to area development.

Calling Appalachia "the last bastion of colonialism," Caudill said, "we think the great wealth that was pilfered from our ancestors by shrewd and unprincipled men should be returned to the people of the mountains.

"It is certain that Appalachian fossil fuels will power much of the nation in the future. The coal and water will be turned into electricity and will be sold at a profit.

"Whether these profits will go out as dividends to distant stockholders, or stay behind to finance the institutions our people need so desperately and have been promised for so long is the question that we in the mountains must answer."

The Marine Corps' New Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the President is to be commended on his selection of Lt. Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., as the 24th Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. While I am certain that the President's task was extremely difficult since there were so many outstanding candidates for the post, his final choice was, indeed, a wise one.

General Chapman epitomizes the outstanding military leaders who have occupied the highest military councils in this country. Buttressed by a computer-like mind, the new Commandant of the corps has been an enthusiastic and dynamic innovator.

I am proud to say that the general was born in Key West, Fla., which is located in the congressional district which I have the honor of representing. He is, in addition, an alumnus of the University of Florida.

Mr. Speaker, I know our colleagues join with me in congratulating General Chapman on his selection and in extending best wishes as he assumes the responsibilities which accompany his new position.

An article in yesterday's New York Times provides excellent insight into the background and career of this man who will soon be Commandant of the Marine Corps. I commend this article to the attention of our colleagues:

THE CORPS NEW CHIEF—A "POSTER MARINE": LEONARD FIELDING CHAPMAN, JR.

WASHINGTON, December 4.—"He is handsome, square-cut, firm-jawed, crinkly blue-eyed—a poster marine," a friend said today of Leonard Fielding Chapman Jr., the man selected by the President to head the Marine Corps. Actually, the 6-foot, ramrod straight general has hazel eyes. Otherwise the description fits. But the general seems as much the modern corporation executive as the professional soldier. Management is his specialty. He has held staff or stateside command positions for most of the years since he commanded the Marine barracks at Yokosuka, Japan, in the late 1950's.

He is credited with having pioneered modern management techniques in the corps, beginning in 1961 when he became assistant chief of staff for logistics at headquarters here. For that work he won a second Legion of Merit.

General Chapman's grandfather and father were Methodist ministers and his grandfather was once a missionary to Indians in Arizona.

The general was born on Nov. 3, 1913, at Key West, Fla.

ON RAIDS IN PACIFIC

When he graduated from the University of Florida in 1935, the Marine Corps was offering one commission to Florida graduates, and General Chapman was selected.

In World War II, he took part in early Pacific raids and in the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway aboard the U.S.S. Astoria. He later commanded an artillery battalion with the First Marine Division, earning the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star for combat on Pelileliu and Okinawa.

A series of Pacific and stateside assignments finally brought him to Washington to command "the palace guard"—the Marine barracks here—from 1956 to 1958. In that time he initiated the colorful Friday night retreat parades that are now a tourist attraction.

On Jan. 1, 1964, after commanding the force troops of the Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, and holding the logistics post, General Chapman became Chief of Staff at the Headquarters, Marine Corps, here on Jan. 1, 1964. Five months ago he was named assistant commandant.

AN ORGANIZATION MAN

As associates discuss him, the picture emerges of a serious, cordial man, who as one officer said, is:

"The very image of an organization man—the kind of guy that believes in the company, that the company is always right, that lives on the right street where executives of his level should live in Detroit, the company man."

The general is called "Chappie" by his wife, and, as one friend put it, by "seniors and contemporaries," but he has no commonly used nickname in the corps.

Mrs. Chapman, the former Emily Walton Ford, is a native of Birmingham, Ala., and "will discuss the South at the drop of a crinoline handkerchief," according to some.

A FAMILY OF MARINES

The Chapmans live at the Marine barracks here. They have two sons, both graduates of Duke University and both marines.

Capt. L. F. Chapman 3d, 25 years old, was a platoon leader with the Second Battalion, Ninth Marines, in Vietnam in 1965 and 1966.

First Lieut. Walton F. Chapman, 23, is with the First Battalion, 26th Marines, in Vietnam.

General Chapman is a cigar smoker, an avid reader with a strong interest in military history, and an enthusiastic spectator of all sports. He likes to golf and camp with the family.

With his correctness and his flair for management, the general has been popular with the management-minded civilian "whiz kids" in the Defense Department.

While this probably represents the modern officer in the Pentagon that McNamara built, one subordinate said sadly:

"The days of the colorful commandants are gone."

The Late Francis Cardinal Spellman

SPEECH

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, people of all faiths mourn the passing of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman.

During his lifetime, he contributed much not only to God and to His church, but also as a citizen and patriot to the betterment of mankind.

Ironically, death came as Cardinal Spellman was considering making another Christmas pilgrimage to the frontlines of our fighting forces in far-off lands.

At Christmastime for each of the past 16 years, the cardinal visited with U.S. troops overseas. He spent Christmas in Vietnam the past 2 years and was planning to return there this month.

My home city of Buffalo, N.Y., is part of the archdiocese of New York which Cardinal Spellman had headed since 1939. The cardinal made a number of visits to Buffalo and was widely revered.

Cardinal Spellman was a great American. He was a leader of causes, a leader of men. The Nation and the world are the richer for his having been with us.

Mr. Speaker, with permission, I include the texts of editorials from Buffalo's two daily newspapers:

[Editorial from the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Dec. 4, 1967]

CARDINAL SPELLMAN

The worldwide outpouring of tributes to the late Francis Cardinal Spellman is a recognition of a lifetime of service by a devout, dedicated and tireless prince of the church but it is also a simple response from some of the countless persons whose lives this warm, friendly man had touched.

Cardinal Spellman spontaneously reached out across the artificial lines of society, recognizing the basic humanity of all mankind. He was as much at home trading Irish banter with a Manhattan cab driver as engaging in large and small talk with the President of the United States. FDR called him "my favorite bishop."

The cardinal also reached out across religious lines, living his life in the spirit of encumenism long before it became a worldwide movement. He reached out from the bounds of his archdiocese to Catholics of the nation and of the world. His voice was heard in the highest councils of the Vatican and on remote battlefields where Americans served. At his death, he was considering spending his

17th Christmas overseas with the troops, but last May he already had spoken prophetically when he commented: "The next trip I make, I think, will be up in heaven."

His genial informality was combined with a keen administrative talent for getting things done. His priests all familiarly called him "the boss," and he gave demanding leadership in church affairs, whether in conducting charity drives or guiding church construction. A conservative in ecclesiastical affairs, he never shrank from controversy in crusading for his convictions on such issues as film censorship, the church-state relationship or communism.

Cardinal Spellman established especially warm ties in Buffalo during his many visits on church occasions. In the church hierarchy, he held a special relationship to the Diocese of Buffalo throughout his long tenure as archbishop of New York, for Buffalo as a part of the Province of New York revered him as its metropolitan archbishop. But in death, the cardinal is mourned and remembered mainly as a friend—a prince of the church who was a friend of the high and the lowly, of priests and laymen, of popes and Presidents.

[Editorial from the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Dec. 5, 1967]

HIS EMINENCE, FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN

In the career of the late Francis Cardinal Spellman, there was more than enough achievement and human interest to fill a book—like that already written about him, and others due to be written. It would be impossible here to list all aspects of his personality that automatically engendered a wide range of human relationships and made him an impressive human figure independently of his ecclesiastical rank as Senior Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

As a churchman and loyally motivated citizen, he lived a life as significantly full as was possible or even conceivable for him to live in his given time. He played an activist role in both ecclesiastical and world affairs in keeping with his eminence as Prince of his Church and inspirational leader to countless persons of hs own and other faiths. As a modern apostle of social involvement in the welfare of humanity, he inevitably became a controversial figure; but the courage of conviction wherewith he reacted to criticism invariably added to his stature as a spokesman for his cherished beliefs.

In review, it seems altogether likely that the personal distinction he achieved will hold longer lasting luster than any attained by his critics, and that his outgoing regard for humanity will assure him of indelible remembrance and esteem.

Big Thicket Park Proposed in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Southern Lumberman on July 1, 1967, pointing out the great danger of exchange of national forest lands for national park lands on proposed national parks which has been suggested in Texas in connection with a Big Thicket National Park.

During my time in Congress, I have favored and supported the establishment of national parks, recreation areas, and similar areas to preserve the great national treasures yet unclaimed in the national park system.

However, establishment of a precedent of the sort we witness in connection with the Redwood National Park, despite protestations by its proponents, makes it clear that the lovers of the national forests, those dependent upon them for recreation, hunting, fishing, camping, will witness a similar threat and loss to public ownership and to free recreation through dissipation of the splendid and invaluable national forest system.

BIG THICKET PARK PROPOSED IN TEXAS—TIMBERLAND OWNERS SUGGEST SWAP FOR NATIONAL FOREST TIMBER

HOUSTON. TEX., June 23.—A growing support among lumber interests in the Big Thicket area for a national park has come in recent weeks with the offer by several major firms to swap for timberland in Texas' four national forests the privately-owned land sought for the park.

Before Congress at this time is a bill authorized by Sen. Ralph Yarborough (Democrat, Texas) that would authorize a park of up to 75,000 acres lying in parts of Liberty, Tyler, Hardin, Polk and San Jacinto Counties.

The move to create such a park goes back a number of years and the proposal has not been without opposition. Understandably, major lumber interests, fearing loss of valuable timberland, have viewed the proposal with some apprehension.

But Arthur Temple, president of Temple Industries, Inc., was quoted recently in the weekly newspaper, the *Free Press*, of Diboll, Tex., as saying:

"There are areas of the Big Thicket that definitely should be preserved. I feel strongly about this, and I think other large timber owners feel the same way. I do feel that we should be realistic about the size of the monument, however, and not try to set aside 30,000 or 40,000 acres if 5,000 or 10,000 will just as well accomplish the full purpose."

Temple Industries owns a previously designated tract of about 3,000 acres which is virtually untouched by logging operations.

CLOSE TO A REALITY

Other major firms that have shown an interest in negotiations, since the park (technically to be known as a National Monument for legal reasons) appears to be close to reality, include Eastex, Inc., and International Paper. ,

A news release from Eastex said:

"Eastex Incorporated and other East Texas land-owners agreed late last year with representatives of the Department of Interior to set aside 10,000 to 12,000 acres of land for park purposes in exchange for a like amount of National Forest lands.

"The Interior Department representatives agreed to recommend that the Park Service would make annual payments to the county and school districts involved to offset the loss of ad valorem taxes."

The *Free Press*, in an editorial in its June 15 issue, had this to say:

"Everyone—this newspaper included—realizes the need for preserving the huge hardwoods in the Big Thicket. They're the last of their kind and size, and once cut they will forever be erased. A decent park should surround them, and our own Senator Yarborough should be commended for his leadership in seeking to preserve this area for future generations.

"But no one can deny the timber companies' interest in the area. Company leaders assert that they favor the park idea, with some reservations. And we think their reservations are valid.

"First, they would like to receive other Forest Service lands for land taken into the park. Second, they would naturally like to see the park contain only those areas truly unique to the Big Thicket. Both of these points make sense. Our federal government owns more land than anybody. There is no need putting thousands of acres into the park, when in fact the government already owns much land which contains much of the vegetation and foliage found in the proposed Big Thicket park area."

"STRING OF PEARLS" CONCEPT

While Yarborough wants 75,000 acres authorized for the park, the National Park Service, acting upon a proposal from its advisory board of laymen, would begin such a park with about 35,500 acres in nine units, known as the "string of pearls" connected by scenic highways in various parts of East Texas. These units would vary in size from about 18,000 acres to as little as 50 acres.

The advisory group's proposal came after a team from the Department of the Interior had made an on-the-spot survey of the area.

The *Houston Chronicle*, in an editorial in May, applauded the "String of Pearls" concept as a compromise for one large park.

Said the *Chronicle:*

"A single national park of a size to include all the widely separated highlights of the Thicket would not only be prohibitively expensive but a serious threat to the industrial economy of the area.

"With a National Monument as the goal, the National Park Service can be spared the staggering and probably impossible task of obtaining unencumbered title to every needed acre. Instead, it can adapt to the maze of mineral, timber, grazing, and hunting leases, the network of pipeline and power line easements and various types of public and private development.

FORMIDABLE OBSTACLE REMOVED

"This alone removes the most formidable obstacle, namely, the fear by corporations and individuals that they may be forced to surrender either property or privilege or both . . . the owners most reluctant to sell are the large lumber and plywood interests, and their reluctance should dissipate in the knowledge that a mere fraction of their holdings would be required.

"(The simplified plan . . .) should remove all of the fears and most of the objections voiced heretofore."

The compromise developing among the state and federal advocates of the park and the timber firms appears to signal the end of an anticipated battle and the birth of the Big Thicket National Monument.

Senator Kennedy's Speech Praising President Johnson Should Delight All Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I have been somewhat tardy in my reading lately, but I have managed to catch up with a speech by Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York, in which he stanchly praises President Johnson.

The speech was given by the Senator last June 3 at the Democratic State Committee dinner at the Americana Hotel in New York City.

I subscribe wholeheartedly to the New York Senator's lavish comments about the President and I am sure all Democrats will be equally delighted to learn that Mr. Kennedy has such high regard four our Chief Executive.

Senator Kennedy rightly says in his speech that President Johnson "is the head of our Nation and of our party, our Commander in Chief and our chief diplomat, our Chief Executive and our chief spokesman, and the chief repository of our hopes and our fears, our advice and our consent, our complaints, and, yes, our prayers."

Under unanimous consent, I place Senator Kennedy's speech in the Record:

Remarks of Hon. Robert F. Kennedy, U.S. Senator From the State of New York, at Democratic State Committee Dinner, at the Americana Hotel, New York City, June 3, 1967

Senator Kennedy. Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Vice President, Miss Johnson—Lydna Bird, ladies and gentlemen: I have just returned from England. I had hoped to have the opportunity to introduce President Johnson to you, my fellow New Yorkers. As you remmeber, just three years ago he was kind enough to come up and introduce me to you, so I wanted to return the favor, and I looked forward to doing so.

If I may take a few minutes of your time, I would like to say some of the things that I had hoped to say prior to the time that he spoke.

Webster defines greatness as largeness in size, being much above the average in magnitude, intensity and importance. That definition could have been written for the man who just spoke to you, and which I had hoped to have the honor to introduce.

The height of his aim, the breadth of his achievements, the record of his past, and the promises of his future, all these bespeak the largeness of size, that magnitude of effort, that intensity of devotion, and that importance of accomplishment. He came to lead this nation at a time of uncertainty and danger, pouring out his own strength to renew the strength and the purpose of all of the people of this nation, and of the nation itself.

Since that day he has borne the burdens few other men have ever borne in the history of the world, without hope or desire or thought to escape them. He has sought consensus, but he has never shrunk from controversy. He has gained huge popularity, but he has never failed to spend it in the pursuit of his beliefs or the interest of his country. He has led us to build schools and clinics and homes and hospitals, to clean the water, and to clear the air, to rebuild the city and to recapture the beauty of the countryside, to educate children and to heal the sick and comfort the oppressed on a scale unmatched in our history. This is what this country has done under the leadership of President Johnson.

In 1964 he won the greatest popular victory in modern times, and with our help he will do so again in 1968. With our help, he will have by his side the best Vice President since his predecessor, Hubert Humphrey.

He is the head of our nation and of our party, our Commander-in-Chief and our chief diplomat, our Chief Executive and our chief spokesman, and the chief repository of our hopes and our fears, our advice and our consent, our complaints, and, yes, our prayers. I am very proud that we have in our midst President Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States.

A Status Report From the Atomic Energy Commission on the Use of Radiation in Processing Foods for the Military, and on Plans for Possible Commercial Sales of Irradiated Foods to Civilians

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for us to keep up daily with all of the issues in which we become interested as Members of Congress. Sometimes an obscure reference in the Federal Register or in one of the hundreds of other publications, official and nonofficial, which cross our desks, reminds us to try to look into a situation at the first opportunity, but the opportunity often escapes us for some time.

Thus, in the Federal Register of August 15, I noticed a routine announcement from the Food and Drug Administration that the Atomic Energy Commission had withdrawn a petition for issuance under the Food Additives Act of a regulation to provide for the safe use of gamma radiation from cobalt 60 or cesium 137 sources in the irradiation of fresh strawberries for the control of microbial spoilage.

August 15 was when I was in the midst of 2 weeks of hearings on H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, in my Subcommittee on Consumers Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. I do not know how much attention, if any, was paid to the announcement by FDA at that time, but I did not see any news reports on the matter, and later, when I had a chance to think further about it, I directed a letter to Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, as follows:

November 15, 1967.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg,
Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Seaborg: I believe that the Atomic Energy Commission had applied to the Food and Drug Administration in May, 1966 for the issuance of a regulation to provide for the safe use of radiation on fresh strawberries, for the control of microbial spoilage, but that your agency subsequently withdrew the petition. This appeared in the *Federal Register* of August 15, 1967.

I am curious to know why the A.E.C. withdrew its petition. What has been the experience with irradiation of food? I believe that no food sold commercially is irradiated but that the Armed Services purchase some food of this nature.

Sincerely yours,
Leonor K. Sullivan,
Mrs. John B. Sullivan,
Member of Congress.

IMPORTANCE OF JIM DELANEY'S WORK ON FOOD ADDITIVES ACT

Mr. Speaker, I was concerned over the safety to consumers of foods treated with irradiated elements we have been taught to fear as highly dangerous. Under the circumstances, we should all be grateful for the passage in 1958 of the Food Additives Act which established the machinery under which adequate testing must take place to assure the safety of a food additive before it can be used commercially. Our colleague from New York, the Honorable James J. Delaney, had more to do with the passage of that legislation than any other individual in the Nation, and I was proud to serve as his assistant in the legislative battle.

REPLY FROM DR. GLENN T. SEABORG

I have now received a very interesting report from Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, explaining why the petition for regulations dealing with the radiation of strawberries has been withdrawn so that the decision on this matter can be based on a 2-year test rather than a 90-day test. I am sure all of us support the idea of extended testing on so important a health matter, and I congratulate the Food and Drug Administration for requiring longer testing. Extending the shelf life of strawberries 3 to 5 days is certainly not worth unnecessary risks to human life.

The Members will, I am sure, be interested in Dr. Seaborg's further information in his letter to me about the use of irradiated foods for the military, and the plans for building a pilot plant to process meat. Since no irradiated foods are sold commercially—but some irradiated foods like bacon, wheat flour and potatoes may now be sold for unlimited public consumption, it is important, I believe, that we all have a better understanding of methods used and the relative safety or danger in the use of such foods.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the letter from Dr. Seaborg, as follows:

U.S. Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington, D.C., December 4, 1967.

Hon. Leonor K. Sullivan,
House of Representatives.

Dear Mrs. Sullivan: This is with reference to your letter of November 15, 1967, concerning our withdrawal of a petition before the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for approval of irradiated processed strawberries. At the same time a petition involving the irradiation of oranges was also withdrawn. These withdrawals, which were by mutual consent, were made in order to supplement the petitions with additional feeding and shipping data.

The strawberry petition, submitted in May 1966, was based on data from 90-day (subacute) animal feeding studies. The petition was also supported by previously reported wholesomeness studies on other irradiated fruits. The FDA determined after submission of the petition that certain radiation processed foods, including strawberries, should be subjected to comprehensive two-year tests.

The Commission has initiated a contract with a commercial research group for carrying out a two-year three-species animal feeding study on irradiated strawberries. The purpose of the study is to provide the requested additional data on the wholesomeness and safety of the irradiated berries in support of the petition seeking FDA approval for public consumption.

Since December 1963 when the petition for oranges was submitted jointly with the Department of Defense, the Commission's continuing research program on radiation preservation of foods has developed additional data not incorporated in the original orange petition. The AEC plans to incorporate into a new orange petition the results of shipping studies now underway on radiation processed oranges.

Plans for a 90-day animal feeding study by AEC on radiation processed papayas and mangoes are also being modified to accommodate FDA requirements for two-year feeding studies. No petition for FDA approval for papayas and mangoes has yet been filed, however. Papayas will be processed with radiation for insect disinfestation and shelf-life extension and mangoes for insect disinfestation to expand the marketing areas for these tropical products.

Radiation processing of strawberries has been found to provide a 3–5 day extension of the shelf-life of the berries. The process, U.S. Department of Agriculture and AEC tests show, will reduce spoilage rate in shipment to five per cent instead of the normal 25 per cent.

The Armed Services have purchased certain irradiated foods for large scale troop feeding tests. To date 30,000 pounds of shelf stable (sterilized) bacon, 130,000 pounds of wheat flour treated for disinfestation and 400,000 pounds of potatoes treated for sprout inhibition have been procured. The Armed Services have reported a high degree of acceptability of these products. These three foods have been cleared by the FDA for unlimited public consumption.

There has been no commercial production of irradiated foods for the civilian market to date. Recently the AEC, the Department of Defense and the Department of Commerce, acting in concert, have selected Irradiated Foods, Inc., (IRRADCO) of Allentown, Pennsylvania, to design, build and operate, with Government cooperation, a pilot processing plant with a capacity of three million pounds per year, for the preservation of meat by irradiation. It is the expressed intent of the Army to purchase 300,000 pounds of irradiated, sterilized meat per year from this source. Additional production will be used by the interested food industry. The plant will be constructed within two years after approval of an Army sponsored ham petition, presently being considered by the FDA.

I trust the above is responsive to your inquiry. Please let me know if you desire any further information.

Cordially,

Glenn T. Seaborg,
Chairman.

A Tax Increase—For What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of a tax increase if not immediately before us, will most certainly be next month. Many Members of Congress—including myself—feel strongly that if there is to be a tax increase saddled on the American people it ought to be only after all nonessential spending has been virtually eliminated for the time being at least. There is little sense in seeking a tax increase to fund the rent supplement program, or the job corps at $7,700 per enrollee, or for putting a man on the moon—$5 billion a year. A recent New York Times editorial speaks of this problem in a way that make sense. I commend the reading of this editorial to all Members of Congress:

Formula for the Economy

The House Ways and Means Committee has been right to be skeptical about the Administration's renewed demand for a 10 per cent tax surcharge. In its previous attempt to win Congressional approval, Administration officials raised the specter of runaway domestic inflation. Now they have been warning about the international threat to the dollar. In neither case have they presented a convincing justification for their proposed cure.

It is dubious that the tax surcharge would check inflation, as the Administration has insisted. With costs rising, manufacturers are already faced with a squeeze on profits; so their response to increased taxes might well take the form of inflationary rises in prices. The $5-a-ton increase just announced in steel indicates the speed with which prices are already going up. With each rise, labor steps up its demands, adding fresh momentum to the already dangerous wage-price spiral.

It is even more dubious that the surcharge would enable the Federal Reserve to maintain easy credit and to hold down interest rates. If corporations and consumers were faced with higher taxes, they might need more credit, which would boost interest rates even higher.

The most questionable argument of all is that a tax surcharge would bring a substantial reduction in the chronic and growing deficit in the nation's balance of payments. It is conceivable that there would be somewhat less demand for imports, but higher taxes would not necessarily result in an increase of exports. Even more important, a surcharge would do nothing to halt the outflows stemming from business investment and bank lending abroad or for the war in Vietnam.

The problem confronting the domestic economy calls for cuts in nonessential Government spending, combined with a gradual reduction in the supply of credit. These restraints may have an impact on interest rates, although the financial markets seem to have discounted a considerable amount of credit tightening. But they will clearly add less fuel to the inflationary fires than the surcharge; and they should have a moderating influence on economic activity and inflationary psychology. In the event that curbs on demand prove to be needed, increases in excise taxes on luxury goods are a much sounder method for restraining appetites—one particularly appropriate in wartime.

The international threat to the dollar demands direct action. The Federal Reserve deserves commendation for strengthening the ties of international cooperation. But we believe that the Administration should make special new efforts to reduce the deficit by controlling direct investment and lending and by considering a tax on tourism. In addition, it ought to consider sequestering a portion of the funds going to American servicemen in Vietnam, currently a very serious drain.

With a war abroad and critical conditions in slum areas at home, there is no magic formula for what ails the economy. The Administration's proposed surcharge is faulty on many counts. What is needed instead is the political courage to reduce nonessential spending and to put a brake on the money supply while acting directly to halt the outflow of dollars.

Such a course is not so simple as the Administration's surcharge. But it is more responsive—and responsible—to the economy's problems. And it holds out considerably more promise of doing the job.

Preservation of Estuarine Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, 1967, H.R. 25, a bill to preserve the Nation's estuarine areas was withdrawn from the suspension calendar because of last-minute expressions of opposition from New York State Conservation Department officials and certain Republican Members of the House.

It is indeed unfortunate that a House vote on this important bill which I was privileged to cosponsor with our distinguished colleague, Hon. John D. Dingell, of Michigan, and others, was postponed.

Since H.R. 25 will be brought to the House floor again next year, I call to the attention of my colleagues the remarks of Mr. Joseph W. Penfold, conservation director, Izaak Walton League of America at the 14th Annual Conservation Conference of the National Wildlife Federation, in support of H.R. 25.

Mr. Penfold's remarks follow:

Preservation of Estuarine Areas

(Remarks of Joseph W. Penfold, conservation director, Izaak Walton League of America, at the 14th Annual Conservation Conference, National Wildlife Federation, Washington, D.C., December 5, 1967)

Estuaries have been the subject of many kind words and few beneficial actions this year. It is natural to feel disappointment in the snail's pace of conservation while the rate of filling, destructive dredging, and pollution continues to accelerate. But the quantity of words indicates that people are at least becoming aware of estuaries and of their special riches and problems. For too long, we have been content to think of the estuary as the tag end of the river or as the intrusion of the sea into land. An estuary is not so simple.

Complex, too, are the obstacles in the way of helping and conserving estuaries. John Dingell, Congressman from Michigan, knows how difficult the job is. He introduced a bill on the first day of the Ninetieth Congress, H.R. 25, which proposed a broad and ambitious program to save some of the best of our estuarine areas. It seemed a modest proposal in the light of what has happened to San Francisco Bay—two-thirds filled—or to Chesapeake Bay's shellfish industry—or to dozens of estuaries in Florida and other dynamic real estate areas. But H.R. 25 was far too ambitious for those who see next year's profits in some estuary or wetland: their opposition whittled away at the bill until, as of one week ago when the Merchant Marine and Fisheries committee reported it out, it was a pale ghost of the version of last January.

Of course, all progress does not come through legislation. One important section of the Dingell bill dropped by the wayside because its objective was attained last July 17 by an agreement between the Secretaries of the Army and the Interior. The agreement pledges the Corps of Engineers to consult with Interior on all applications from private parties wishing to dredge, excavate, fill, or dump in navigable waters. Differences which cannot be resolved between the two agencies at field levels are taken up the hierarchy, if necessary up to the two Secretaries. A highly important part of the agreement provides for public hearings, when demanded.

Another part of the Dingell bill would have authorized the Secretary of the Interior to inventory the nation's estuaries and to study in detail those which were relatively unspoiled and undisturbed or partially spoiled but still valuable enough to be worth protecting. Such detailed studies could culminate in proposals to establish National Estuarine Areas, to be individually approved by Congress. The January bill set out a general framework for a system of National Estuarine Areas, including a "Cape Cod" type land acquisition formula. The bill which came out of committee last week would tell the Secretary just to go around studying estuaries and to come back in 1970 with recommendations. One of the recommendations the Secretary would be allowed to make is that Congress might want to set up a general framework for a system of national estuarine areas, but this daring proposal is tempered by numerous admonitions to consider the alternative beneficial uses of an estuary (including making it an ex-estuary by filling) and to consider how to protect and preserve an estuary without Federal land acquisition or administration.

The committee report goes to some lengths to say this study is not overlapping with the national estuarine study authorized in the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966 and now being conducted by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. It seems that the FWPCA study is a rather limited project, delving into the pollution problems of estuaries while the H.R. 25 study would be a broad general look at estuaries. FWPCA people agree that their study does not conflict with the H.R. 25—proposed study, saying that the latter would be restricted to preservation of a few areas whereas the FWPCA study is a broad general survey. Suffice it to say that, with the vague language Congress uses in commissioning studies, there is room for this sort of rationalization.

The most definite assertion left in H.R. 25 is that the Secretary may enter into agreements with the State of New York and with the local communities involved to manage the publicly owned Hempstead-Oyster Bay wetlands on the south shore of Long Island. And this provision—without authorizing the condemnation of one square inch of territory, without compelling the State or the local governments to agree to anything or even meet with the Secretary—this tattered remnant of a bill is still enough to make H.R. 25 controversial, a risky bet on the floor of the house.

It is hard to say why there is still so much hostility to the modified proposal. It would be easy now to say forget H.R. 25, it has been compromised so far. That is as easy as forgetting history. On the other hand, if we remember history, we recall that the first water pollution bill to get through Congress, back in 1948, seemed to be a puny program for attacking an enormous problem. But who, then, besides a few conservationists and a Congressman from Minnesota, knew that the problem was so serious? Air pollution, the same story starting in 1955. We could have said the initial legislation in those areas was so ludicrously inadequate as to be unworthy of support: all that would have resulted is that we would be several years farther behind the pollution problem today. I sincerely believe that the estuaries may have their dying equivalents of Lake Erie all too soon. There is no time to waste on sitting around waiting for the perfect answer. We should try to get that little first step taken in 1968 and plan on moving more swiftly in the next few years.

There are opportunities in addition to H.R. 25 where we can work for estuary conservation. We should support and cheer the Corps of Engineers—a novel experience for some of us—when they deny a landfill permit because of natural resource considerations. The Corps did just that this year, at Boca Ciega Bay near St. Petersburg, Florida, and their authority is now being challenged in the courts. We should not expect the Federal government to provide all of the conservation effort, or even most of it. States can act, as the Florida legislative acted this year to strengthen controls over filling and dumping. The new law, pushed through by Representative Ted Randall, requires biological and ecological surveys to be made before the state considers disposing of submerged lands. In the political climate of Florida, such an act is an impressive achievement.

The FWPCA study will be entering a public participation phase in 1968, with public hearings planned for all the coastal states. These hearings shall be well attended and conservationists should make the record show that our estuaries must be managed properly.

This conference brings business and industry representatives together with conservationists, that we may illuminate our differences and perhaps resolve some of them. To the commercial sector, I wish to stress that estuary conservation is *not* an issue of "locking up" an area vs. developing its resources. A property managed estuary yields important commercial benefits to the fish and shellfish industries while at the same time supporting sport fish, wildlife, boating, scenic beauty, and various other recreational uses. H.R. 25, when it was still a strong bill, was praised at hearings by representatives of the National Fisheries Institute and the Oyster Institute of North America, both trade associations with a dollars-and-cents stake in well-managed estuaries. These businessmen do not believe, any more than conservationists do, that a filled or polluted estuary is an example of good multiple use. These fills and dredgings are the worst kind of single use management, for they can permanently destroy the other use.

I cannot think of a good word to say for filling an estuary. Where it destroys the other resources, it simply should not be done. Commercial navigation is a different story. The passage of ships and barges per se may be quite compatible with good estuary management. I would urge some serious thought and study about more refined engineering techniques in the construction of channels and commercial waterways. The state of the art today seems to be about where it was in highway engineering ten years ago—build the cheapest, straightest line and don't even look up "ecology" in the dictionary. Times have changed in highway engineering, and now it seems that the Department of Transportation is really taking environmental values seriously.

A barge channel is just as much a mode of transportation as an Interstate highway, and it should be possible to design it with equal sophistication. For example, plans are now being made for the "missing link" in the Gulf Inland Waterway, on the northwest coast of Florida. This section can, and it must, be carefully aligned so that the channel will not needlessly destroy important estuarine values, including established wildlife refuges. Construction and maintenance practices, as well as location methods, should be reviewed. If it is necessary to dump spoil from dredging the engineers should spend a little more and dump the spoil where it will not harm the life cycle. The Corps of Engineers must show some leadership in this area, if it is truly as well qualified as the Department of Transportation to build navigation facilities.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the Izaak Walton League of America, H.R. 25 has the unqualified support of the following national conservation organizations:

Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, Defenders of Wildlife, National Audubon Society, North American Wildlife Foundation, Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, Wildlife Management Instiute.

There has also been wide support for H.R. 25 from organizations in New York State. The following telegram which I received on December 4, 1967, from the Hempstead Land Resources Council and the Sierra Club eastern chapter:

Islip, N.Y.,
December 4, 1967.

Congressman Herbert Tenzer,
Washington, D.C.:

May we repeat urgent conservation need for H.R. 25. Every State in Union will benefit from this action. New York State will have no obligation under bill. State opposition impossible to understand in the face of endorsement by virtually all interested public groups. Among them in New York are Garden Club of America, Federated Garden Clubs, Nassau County Planning Commission, county executive Nassau County, League of Women Voters NYS Federated Bird Clubs—Long Island Fisherman Association, Audubon Society, various Long Island school boards and PTA's, Rod and Gun Clubs, South Shore Villages, Long Island League of Salt Water sportsmen, others.

Rod Vandivert,
Hempstead Town Land Resources Council.
Gary Soucie,
Sierra Club Eastern Chapter.

Mr. Speaker, I commend our colleague, the Honorable John Dingell, for his leadership in the fight to preserve the Nation's estuarine areas and I urge my colleagues in the House to express their support for his efforts and for H.R. 25.

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Appendix

Beyond the Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, there have been many discussions around our country for many years, about the young people of the Nation. I will not now discuss the question at all.

However, I would like to draw the attention of my colleagues to an article by Marilyn Swartz, published in the Autumn 1967 edition of the American Scholar, the quarterly publication of Phi Beta Kappa. It is an excellent report on the good being done by the younger generation of Americans.

This article interests me especially, because it includes a description of the creative genius of Sanford Greenberg, formerly one of my constituents. While he lived in the Boston area he was named one of the 10 outstanding young men of Boston by the chamber of commerce. Later he was named one of the four outstanding young men of Massachusetts, and last spring was named one of the 10 outstanding young men of the United States by the Junior Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with Look magazine.

Dr. Greenberg has just completed his service as a White House fellow and is presently director of corporate development of the System Development Corp. here in Washington.

I would like to insert this excellent article at this point in the RECORD:

BEYOND THE MAN OF THE YEAR

(By Marilyn Swartz)

Ever since the mass media discovered students in the century A. B. (After Berkeley), it has portrayed them most inaccurately. It has stressed student anger "against," but neglected their ideas and actions "for." The media has headlined protest, but ignored the beneficial results protest brought. While playing up noise and dancing in the streets, it has played down the reforms young people have achieved by reasoning and working with administrators and the "establishment."

Last year young people received so much of this attention that *Time* magazine saw fit to award its "Man of the Year" title to the under twenty-five generation. Not only did *Time* think those under twenty-five were a "new kind of generation" (which every generation is), but the generation that would "land on the moon, cure cancer and the common cold, lay out blight-proof, smog-free cities, enrich the underdeveloped world, and, no doubt, write finis to poverty and war." *Time* evidently thought it was writing a review of the successful sequel to *Don Quixote*.

The *Time* article was a hodgepodge of fact and fiction; it followed the practice now customary in the press of characterizing the young along the exceedingly narrow spectrum of "activists to acid-heads," and in so doing applied the outspoken views of a minority to the bulk of the generation. The article predicted a changing era, but beyond a plethora of platitudes did not define what or how it would change. It was one more nonsense verse added to the growing archives of the young.

Unfortunately, the time of the Man of the Year had just begun. Psychologists and sociologists and educators and politicians intensified their discussions of the young. They looked at the problems activists and discontents were causing on campuses and the White House lawn, and seemed to come to the not too earth-shaking conclusion that students were alienated. Some even hinted that this alienation was due to faults in society.

For example, an article in the Washington *Post*, in May, 1967, quoted a paper presented by a University of Wisconsin psychiatrist: "Alienation," he said, is "a psychic condition afflicting a fairly small but growing number of college students." In the same article a George Washington University psychologist added that he "detects an unmistakable trend toward alienation, particularly in student protests." Equally nonenlightening was the statement by a counselor at Georgetown University who believed that "the rapid pace of change in the modern world may lead the alienated student to feel that the education he is getting is meaningless . . ." A small hope was expressed in the article that perhaps the alienated student would stay out of society only long enough to learn how to become more human and "then come back and help us."

The current wave of student alienation dates at least back to 1960. Not only are people years late in recognizing that this alienation exists, but they are only beginning to think they should listen to the alienated. Listening, however, only seems to be a prescription to make the young and alienated happy. It doesn't. One of the characteristics common to those under twenty-five that *Time* did catch is that they have a "built-in bunk detector for sniffing out dishonesty." Young people know it is dishonest to listen to someone and not take seriously what he says.

When McGeorge Bundy spoke to the Cosmos Club of Washington, D.C., earlier this year, he advocated listening to and understanding the young because "the old owe" it to them, because it is their future, and their sense of distance and outrage is great. Just a pat on the head to quiet the outrage. Despite the attention, under twenty-five youth is still a one-dimensional picture on the cover of *Time*.

What are the other dimensions—the depth, the substance? What do the attitudes of young people say about American life and values? What are young people doing that affects the present and will change the future? Most of them do not know. But those few who do are having an impact that cannot be ignored.

It is a minority that colors a generation. A minority sat in the Constitutional Convention, initially worked toward the abolition of slavery, developed large industry, internationalism, the New Deal, and progressive education. When we speak of a generation, we often mean a small group of innovators and leaders.

Some of the leaders of the young generation today are alienated and some are not; some are working within the establishment and some outside it. All want something different.

The leaders of this generation are most active on the college campus. Side by side with students who have opted out, become hippies, and take LSD, are young men and women gathering forces and working to change existing institutions. They are seeking changes because the institutions they see are not relevant to the world they see developing or to the way they will live in it. Students want their brief years of education to be a process that encourages curiosity, responsiveness, involvement, and theoretical and practical judgment—the qualities that can make life useful. But on many campuses students are taught only to listen, take notes and obey rules handed down by an undemocratic body.

Students want to be included in the administrative and educational process. They want to make educational institutions a part of their lives, so they can relate to them as part of a world they want to understand. The campus is a societal microcosm where young people may search for the answer to "Who Am I" and for the relationship of "Who I Am" to "What Is." When students are not able to relate to their surroundings, to relate the "I" to the "Is," they become irresponsible or withdrawn; or they work like hell to make the system relevant.

Reed Whittemore, who taught at Carleton College for twenty years, say that students are often disloyal to institutions because there is so little to be loyal to. He suggests that the way to develop loyalty is to be part of something. Let the students start teaching themselves, he says; participating in education will make people believe in whatever education is trying to do.

One young woman intensely involved in, and loyal to, the educational process is Rita Dershowitz, a Hunter College graduate. For the past two years she has been director of the Higher Education Seminars sponsored by the United States Student Press Association with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. U.S.S.P.A. set up the program to make college editors aware of all aspects of education, so that they might be stimulators and innovators for education that would keep up with the future

Rita has arranged weekend seminars for student newspaper editors and six-week summer sessions on a college campus. The weekend sessions are not structured as the usual conference would be: there are discussions rather than speeches, and walks in the woods to find out how much people really see of what goes on around them. The summer seminar consists of undirected meetings where people rediscover knowledge. The subject matter changes as participants change their ideas of knowledge. Educators, writers and thinkers such as Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, Nevitt Sanford, director of the Institute for Study of Human Problems, Christopher Jencks, an editor of the *New Republic* and fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, and Roger Heyns, chancellor at Berkeley, have attended meetings. They do not lecture—or are not supposed to—they are there for the curious to question. The editors learn from the specialists, from each other, and from themselves.

The seminars are not ideal. A whole method of educational self-reliance cannot be taught in a weekend or in six weeks. Some people are confused by the method, or upset to learn that they are not very intellectually creative or self-reliant. Most of them do become interested in the process of learning. They do think about what a classroom should be and by thinking up ways to change the existing structure, they become loyal to the process of learning.

The learning process is as important as what is learned, says Rita. "Whether schools are explicit about it or not, they are teaching values and attitudes as well as transmitting information. A student learns that people called 'teachers' can decide what is important to know, how to go about learning, and whether a student has learned anything." The things that make education authoritarian and unfreeing in college exist throughout the whole educational system, Rita believes. The system assumes people are in the classroom to absorb rather than create and rediscover.

Rita is not interested in overturning the educational system tomorrow. She is interested in setting up a model that can be adapted by other institutions. Returning to their schools, Rita's college editors are writing about educational issues, and college papers are becoming aware of education as newsworthy. The editors are setting up their own seminars, are confronting faculty so that they rethink their ideas on education, and are constantly seeking involvement in the educational process.

These editors are not alone in seeking a voice and a vote, and U.S.S.P.A. is not alone in setting up programs. The tyranny of the lectern, the coldness of the lecture, and the impersonality of the classroom situation have led students at several colleges to create Free Universities where groups meet at arranged times and discuss agreed-upon topics. The originators of the universities often state that they are attempting to bring the personal element back into education, as well as offer courses of interest.

One of the first such universities is the Experimental College at San Francisco State College. It was begun not only as a means to search for a humane education, but also as a testing ground for innovations. The successful educational experiments will be used as a political lever on State. Organized by students in 1965, the Experimental College now enrolls over a thousand students out of the 18,360 at State. Students, faculty and interested outside specialists teach about seventy courses, which include a seminar in mass communication, organized by the staff of a local noncommercial radio station; classes in nonobjective literature, the college and war, meta-Hamlet, the historical development and social significance of black power, propaganda, brain-washing and the political metaphor, gestalt therapy, conscientious objector counseling, and sessions on the Kennedy Assassination led by a group investigating it on their own.

In the campus bookstore in a special section for the Experimental College courses, one can buy Bob Dylan's latest recording, poetry by John Lennon, and the *Popular Photography Annual.*

Defining the experiment by what they want to build, rather than by what they oppose, the originators of the Experimental College at San Francisco State do not consider the actual College an enemy. Jim Nixon, one of the founders of the Experimental College, said in a Collegiate Press Service interview that the Experimental College "is a way of building an example of what we want, and then using that example to test our thinking about education and also to influence the regular College. We need allies wherever they may come from, we can cooperate with any elements of the institution that help us and fight with any parts that don't."

The Experimental College is not running smoothly, according to the Collegiate Press Service. Those within it are still trying to define its direction and to gauge at what point freedom in education becomes intellectually nonviable, since students have so many years of training in nonfree schools.

The Experimental College has, however, made its impact on San Francisco State. The State College has absorbed some of its courses and methods into the curriculum, including a full-credit seminar in the education department on higher education where ten students and a professor, distinguishable only by age, decide together what they are going to learn.

Impact has been made on the process of educating as well. Professor Richard Axen, chairman of the Academic Senate in 1965, said that the Experimental College has "activated a guilt that faculty members have felt for a long time, for their authoritarianism and for having mistreated students for so long."

Those who start experimental colleges, Rita Dershowitz suggests, as well as the hippies and close-knit civil rights groups, are trying to create a subculture of gentleness, concern for one another, and an escape from man-made tensions, commercialization and materialism.

Not tomorrow or the next day, but in the not too distant future, a more personal and relevant education that takes the ideas of students into greater consideration will become more and more prevalent. Students are not asking to do away with learning—they are willing to work harder and in a different way, for the sake of a more rounded experience. They are willing to spend time working with administrators and faculty in setting up requirements and courses, and in determining together educational values. In confronting the administrative process, they learn why some things must be done in a university and why others cannot be. Perhaps thus they will become as loyal to their accredited universities as they are to their free universities—and they could become part of a process leading to citizen involvement and responsivenes rather than apathy or resignation.

Some colleges and universities are reexamining their institutiones in terms of the student. They not only are giving him a chance to relate to what "Is," but are asking his opinion. At the oft-cited Reed and Antioch Colleges, at the Universities of Colorado, California at Berkeley, Northwestern, Michigan, Oregon, Texas, Yale, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and at Brandeis, at Regis, Smith, Amherst, and Mt. Holyoke Colleges, to name some, professors and administrators are asking students either to participate in college decision making or to form committees of their own, parallel to faculty committees, to make tentative proposals.

Professors at some colleges and universities seem anxious, or curious, as the case may be, to know what students think of them and their courses, and are willing to consider student evaluations. At Cornell, Tufts, the City College of New York, Yale, the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Colorado, students have been asked to draw up evaluations of courses and professors. The method appears useful if the experience at Mount Holyoke is any indication. There, professors stated last year that they were ready to act on student recommendations, obviously more persuasive in mass questionnaire form than the usual few and casual comments. In the science department, one professor changed her quiz sections, and another made adjustments in laboratory periods; in English, an assistant professor made changes in the requirements for research papers, and an economics professor instituted a new system of reports in seminars.

What may be curiosity (for now at least) on the college campus seems to be good business elsewhere. Young people are beginning to ask the same consideration of social values and involvement from other sectors as they demand in their education. And others are beginning to listen. According to article after article in magazines, businessmen worry about lack of student interest in the industrial world. Last year, the conservative National Association of Manufacturers sponsored a panel for its membership at which student leaders discussed their occupational preferences. Most of them definitely did not include business as a possibility.

A senior editor of *International Science and Technology* understands why. In the February, 1967, issue, David Allison writes that a typical member of this generation will choose that job that offers high social value. Young scientists, he says, are asking, "What is this company for?" Corporations depend on these young scientists for growth, and they can change the corporation by refusing to work solely for profit. "To exploit science," Mr. Allison says, "or to be a leader in the society of tomorrow, the corporation must be able to attract the brightest young people from colleges and universities. A generation ago this was not such a serious challenge to the corporation . . ."

Mr. Allison concludes:

> [The young man] will not look for [opportunity] in an industrial organization whose total raison d'être is new products at a profit. Hence, he will seek the organization which is more than a product producer and whose objective goes beyond profit maximization. This will be the organization with great strength in the sciences. But more than this, it will be one which applies this excellence—in the products and services it provides—to social needs. The best scientists will choose this organization because it offers the opportunity to do science which has social value. The organization will not exist solely for the sake of maximum profit; it will use its profitability to achieve some higher purpose. And it will succeed, by both measures, because its objective is not in conflict with the personal objective of the scientist, for each will be serving society.

Young people are not impractical when they demand a social reference in every occupation. Young people believe that material goods have so far outdistanced the human, that the world they are most closely connected with is no longer real—because it has little concern for people. Bigger and better highways are built, but they carry the patients to mental institutions, the poor to jail, the discontents to work, and the draftees to war. In order to draw on scientific expertise and the newest crop of Ph. D.'s and M.A.'s who will be the innovators of the future with the facts of the future, industry and science will have to gain a social conscience. This is what many Men of the Year are demanding.

Not all the leaders of the under twenty-five generation are college derivatives. Some are young people fighting for a decent education, some are young people fighting. Some of them have learned to work with the "establishment," just as the "establishment" has learned that it can work with young people.

A confrontation between teen-agers and city government officials in Nashville, Tennessee, is an exemplary case of what can happen when people listen to each other. Because of night wanderings, noise, scuffles and riots, the Nashville city government imposed an evening curfew on teen-agers. To the dismay of the adult community, the curfew only increased activity. Teen-agers were led by a young social protester, who had been arrested nearly a hundred times, and had been the mascot of racial demonstrations since he was twelve. As he began another jail sentence, he and his friends sent the mayor an eight-page letter reflecting the general protest and frustration of the young people, and making positive recommendations on how the government and the young could work together. The young people specifically asked leaders in the city government to meet with them. Mr. Robert Horton, chief administrative officer to the mayor, met with them and listened for two hours in an open meeting at a high school auditorium. The high schoolers said that to keep off the streets, they needed a place to go. They asked that community centers be turned over to them on Saturday nights. The city complied. The youngsters drew up their own code of conduct (stricter than the city would have required), chose chaperones and made their dances interracial. The students also sought regular meetings with government officials, and now these officials discuss with avid high schoolers subjects ranging from a better-educated police force to air pollution to the war in Vietnam.

One young leader who believes that working within the system produces greater results than fighting it is Sanford Greenberg. He is M.A., Ph.D. from Harvard, Marshall Scholar at Oxford, A.B., Phi Beta Kappa, and M.B.A. from Columbia, a Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Young Man of the Year, and now, at twenty-six, an Assistant to the White House Science Adviser. *Time* quoted him as saying: "You've got to live with the nitty-gritty, man." Greenberg says and does a lot more.

"I was very interested in social change and improvement," he says, "and could have ended up fighting the system or working with it; I've found, however, that people will listen to your ideas when you back them up. Outsiders who feel frustrated about the system have not learned to be persuasive. They have good intentions, but do not understand or face the practical problems." Greenberg says that when you work within the system, you can compromist the superficials, and still hold onto your individualism and idealism. It's not foolish idealism to believe that something can be done, he says. Young people are needed today because they have the will and energy to devote to making a better world, even when told, "it can't be done." And, he says, young people have the energy to work unceasingly and do it.

"Some of us are not discouraged from trying," says Greenberg, "and because we try, we will bring about change. Young people have the energy, brain power, commitment and idealism that make projects successful," he continues. "When we assume leadership, the country will be different because we will continue to try, to change, to improve."

Greenberg is no stranger to turning ideas into realities. When he was in college, he saw that the blind could learn faster if they listened to tape recordings whose playback speeds were increased without distortion insteading of trying to "read" Braille. Greenberg's research showed him that others had thought the same, but no one had implemented the idea because engineers said it was impossible to increase the speed without increasing voice pitch. Not deterred, he formed his own company five years ago to attempt what he was told could not be done. International Communications Associates, still under his leadership and ownership, is now completing the development of Greenberg's invention, which is capable of producing "compressed speech" at high quality and low cost.

Many young people of this generation are thoughtfully working to reshape their environments. Although, like Greenberg, some have been able to see their ideas reach fruition within an established order, many young people have to foment activity to be heard. When they are heard, they speak articulately and with understanding of issues and problems.

The attitudes of this generation have not changed from those of the generation ten years ago, claimed Gerald Moore in an article in *Life*. After six weeks at Indiana University, he concluded that a campus revolution is virtually nonexistent. Moore chose to write about Indiana because it is a typical large university of twenty-six thousand students from all economic levels, geographic areas and religious backgrounds. Just as at many colleges and universities, students at Indiana University have marched against the war in Vietnam, and in particular during the Cuban blockade turned out a thousand strong to demonstrate both against United States policy and against the demonstrators. The changes I.U. is making are typical: last fall curfew was abolished for many women students. Juniors and seniors will soon be allowed to take four courses without receiving grades for them, simply pass or fail.

Academically, Moore reported, Indiana University ranks high in the Big Ten, and in some fields of study it surpasses the Ivy League. Interracial dating is common although not accepted by a majority. Seven years ago, the student body elected a Negro as president. Marijuana, LSD and various stimulants are present on campus, but most students are not interested, believe them harmful and immoral and would probably report anyone selling drugs openly.

On the whole, Moore found that Indiana students wanted to get ahead socially and financially, and looked down on intellectuals, beardniks and beatniks. Those who had worked in Head Start centers, hospitals, orphanages and anti-poverty programs had done so without humanitarian motives. "Many of us want to be teachers," Moore reported one girl explaining. "The experience will make us better teachers, that's all."

After numerous interviews, bull sessions and visits to classes, Moore concluded that little had changed since he attended college there ten years ago. The campus is still wild with football cheers rather than fiery political debates, and professors are still complaining of student apathy and dullness. He was able to find, however, campus leaders, unlike those in his day, he said, who are able to disrupt the status quo by fighting for student power and participatory democracy.

It is these student leaders who will establish a new societal framework in which the majority of students will want to succeed. The leaders will temper their aims; they will not achieve all they seek, but society will be changed by them. When speaking of this generation, one has to consider its majority—young people like any other young people of any other time, but different because the context of society they are about to enter is changing, and they will change with it.

Many people of the young generation are really quite different from the image carried in the media. Communications as a business that caters to the tastes of its buyers entertains them and educates them with as little pain as possible. But if we are to know more about students than their fornication rates, the length of their beards, the shortness of their skirts, and the number involved in protest, we have to demand, as buyers of the media, that it perform with more conscience and honesty than it does now. It needs the honesty of which this generation speaks. And in order that the economic impact be made, many more individuals must be taught to be searching and analytical. This is a hundred year plan, at least. For the plan to succeed, we need the kind of values and education that young people are demanding for the sake of everybody's world.

Tribute To Late Col. D. F. Wade, a Central Texas Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, my State of Texas has always been a Democratic stronghold, and so when we speak of a good Democrat we are awarding high praise.

Col. D. F. Wade, Sr., of Giddings, Tex., in Lee County in central Texas was a good Democrat. He was a Democrat and a Texan in the finest tradition of our State, and his death recently came as a real blow to those of us who have loved him and respected him for his forward-looking, aggressive party leadership. His death at the age of 76 years closes an era in Lee County, a central Texas county where a man's integrity and backbone account for a lot more than his money or his social position.

Colonel Wade was chairman of the Lee County Democratic Executive Committee for many years. He was chairman in every one of my campaigns from 1952 forward, and in my leaner political years he was one of only a handful of county chairman who wholeheartedly worked for my election. He knew every corner of Lee County and he used to personally distribute my handbills and campaign material in the little towns, in Dime Box, Old Dime Box, Lexington, Giddings, Tanglewood, Lincoln, and other communities.

Colonel Wade was associated with the Lower Colorado Rural Electric Cooperative from the time it was first established back in 1935. He worked hard to see that cooperative created, and then worked to see it grow and succeed.

Mr. President, Col. D. F. Wade was an Adlai Stevenson man and a John F. Kennedy man in the days when many were going over the hill to the other party in Texas. His progressive instincts and his loyalty to the principles of the national Democratic Party will be sorely missed.

At this time I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Times & News, of Giddings, Tex., dated August 24, 1967, be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COL. D. F. WADE, LONGTIME DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN, LAID TO REST SUNDAY

Col. D. F. Wade Sr. former Lee County Democratic chairman for many years, was laid to rest Sunday afternoon in the Giddings City Cemetery.

Mr. Wade, better known as Colonel Wade, died Friday, Aug. 18 at Lee Memorial Hospital in Giddings. He attained the age of 76.

Funeral services were held at 2 p.m. Sunday at Phillips & Luckey Chapel in Giddings with the Rev. H. L. McClerran officiating.

For many years Mr. Wade served as Democratic chairman, resigning from this position several years ago when his health began to fail. He had been in the Giddings Nursing Home for the past few months before becoming critically ill when he was transferred to the Giddings hospital.

Mr. Wade was associated with the LCREC from its conception in 1935 and helped build the co-op. He was the chief of right-of-way.

In his younger years he was in the banking business, serving as an officer in the Lee County State Bank.

His wife preceded him in death in 1935.

Survivors include his four daughters, Mrs. Dorothy Hair of Belton, Mrs. Myrtle Bailey of Uvalde, Mrs. Lola Lee Bednar of Austin and Mrs. Jane Richardson of Houston; a son, D. F. Wade Jr. of Houston; a sister, Mrs. Q. Wade Moore of Houston; 12 grandchildren and four great grandchildren; a niece, Mrs. Frances Bailey of Waller; and a nephew, Willie Moore of Houston.

Pallbearers were Monroe Hannes, Henry Umshied, Marion Seale, R. J. Woodward, Alton Peebles and John Simmang.

Shame On NBC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, for news annihilators to use the power of national television to belittle our fighting men and frustrate our people is deplorable.

What kind of people can be in control of news that would exploit our boys in combat to promote sensationalism to divide our people.

It behooves the imagination of the American people that NBC would use the blocking of a war of Communist aggression to promote racism and bigotry.

One of numerous letters of protest for such misuse of programing is from Judge Glenn O. Young of Sapulpa, Okla., which is so valable in expression that I insert it following my remarks in the RECORD:

CONGRESS OF FREEDOM, INC.,
Sapulpa, Okla., December 2, 1967.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JUDGE RARICK: Attention of the appropriate committees of the House and Senate should be directed to the overt activities of our national news media calculated to lend aid and comfort to the enemy in the propaganda war, and more particularly to undermine the will to win in Vietnam.

Particularly illustrative is a feature styled "Same Mud, Same Blood" exhibited to the nation December 1, 1967, on NBC.

The most gruesome T.V. action pictures, purporting to have been made in the very thick of the fighting revealing the maimed and bleeding bodies and the dying contortions of our service men, and corpses of enemy dead, were exhibited before all the nation. The result and beyond doubt the purpose is to make the war appear revolting and our part in it odious!

Frank McGhee, as narrator, throughout diverted all attention from the evils of communism or the true reasons why American sons fight and die in Vietnam. At no point, so far as I could discover, did he suggest that communism as such was evil or even involved.

To the contrary, the entire emphasis was upon alleged sins of our own country. The feature was plainly calculated to center world attention upon race prejudice between negroes and whites in the U.S.A. Again and again, and yet again McGhee fanned the embers inherent in distinctions of race all over the world. In pretending to anathematize racial bigotry, McGhee adroitly and pointedly used color to provoke divisions and destroy military es prit de corps.

He attributed soldierly qualities such as patriotism, bravery, self-sacrifice, capacity for leadership to racial distinctions. He stressed the point that in Viet Nam negroes commanded whites, and that negroes outstripped whites. Interrogation of both blacks and whites, which was constant, led viewers to believe that our Armed Forces, engaged in mortal combat in the jungles of Asia, are preoccupied always with worries over racial disorders in the U.S.A.

This program coincides with constant efforts of NBC and Frank McGhee and a whole cadre of such men to make the race problem paramount in the public eye to the communist problem. It's diabolically clever strategy, but cannot fail to lend aid and comfort to the Red World leaders! They would much rather have the attention of the American Republic centered on interracial prejudice in the U.S.A. and its consequences than upon the crimes of communists.

Because Frank McGhee and NBC are clearly guilty of obstructing the war effort through false and deceptive propaganda, and are apparently being aided, encouraged, abetted by the United States State and Defense Departments, without whose aid and assistance they could not have produced "Same Mud, Same Blood", the situation merits prompt and thorough investigation and punishment of those responsible.

Very sincerely,

GLENN O. YOUNG.

Death of Hon. Paul Crane, Judge, Seventh District Court of Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on November 30, Idaho lost an outstanding citizen. Judge Paul Crane, of Idaho's Seventh District Court, a resident of Blackfoot, Idaho, was taken from us, a victim of cancer.

Paul Crane was an outstanding man whose story deserves to be told. He was a fighter with an indomitable will. His courage led him to conquer death once and rise to a position of prominence and respect in the State of Idaho.

On December 1, "The Blackfoot News" printed a eulogy to Judge Crane, written by Gerald Wujcik, which tells the story of his personal fight for life. It is one of those "profiles in courage" of which we should all take note. Accordingly, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the eulogy be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the eulogy was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUDGE CRANE IS EULOGIZED

(By Gerald Wujcik)

Paul Crane cheated death, once, but he was not fated to do it again. He was a rock-willed man who seemed able to accomplish whatever goals he set his mind to.

In 1955, he was struck by the Gullian-Barre Syndrome, a virus infection that struck the nervous system and left him completely paralyzed. Doctors in Idaho Falls, Boise and Salt Lake considered all the factors and said he would not live. But the doctors did not consider one factor, his. deep, innermost strength. Even though he was completely immobilized, in 1956 he willed himself to sit in a wheelchair, and had to be strapped in, but in this condition he campaigned for probate judge of Butte County and won. By 1958 Paul Crane was walking with canes strapped to his arms, but this wasn't his nature.

It wasn't Paul Crane to be limited, to be leaning on something. By 1959, he was walking without aids.

The paralyzation had ended his career as a podiatrist with a successful practice in Idaho Falls. So he found a new one.

With a wife and two young children, he gambled that he could make a career in the law.

He entered Creighton Law School in Omaha, Neb., and, while still a student, was appointed the administrative aid for the Douglas County Juvenile Court system in Omaha.

He returned to Idaho after graduation, passed the bar and began practicing in St. Anthony.

But Paul Crane still had something he was determined to do. He was going to don the judicial robes. The term as probate judge had awakened a deep feeling, an almost reverence for a judicial system vital to the survival of a well ordered society.

He moved his family to Blackfoot in 1963 and took the dual positions of justice of the peace and municipal judge as a stepping stone to the district court bench. In 1966 he entered the primary for the old Sixth District Judgeship. He went to the people, door to door throughout Bingham County, town to town and community to community in Custer, Butte and Lemhi Counties. He emerged from the primary, one of two candidates for the November, 1966, election. But following the primary, he again appeared to be struck down. A malignant tumor in the esophagus had to be operated upon and he went to Salt Lake City to face the knife. He came back weak, but not beaten. Held to a very limited campaign by the doctors, Paul Crane still won the election and reached his dream.

Now exactly one year to the month, the man, whose strong will and determination carried him past so many obstacles, fell to the malignancy in his body that he couldn't beat.

It did not come as a surprise. Judge Paul Crane carried the knowledge of his death within himself for the past seven months. Doctors told him and his family in May that he was dying.

Even though he carried the specter of death on his shoulders, Judge Paul Crane, when asked how he felt, would always give that impish grin and answer, fine, never felt better. He did not want sympathy and detested the idea of pity. He was a man, and he battled the fates and the obstacles that were thrown in his path with every particle of will and determination within him. You could not ask for more.

Was he a popular man; his deep and devoted friends will attest to that.

But he did not seek popularity. He stated once, during the election, "Good law is not a popularity poll". Paul Crane did not seek friends, but friends were attracted by the magnetism of his character.

His friends will carry a tear and a tight little knot in their throats for a long, long time.

Veteran Leaders Support Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have recently witnessed a great change in the tempo of my mail concerning our involvement in the Vietnam conflict. From not only my district in Texas, but from veterans organizations and individuals throughout the entire country I have received hundreds of letters giving full support to our fighting men in that country.

Typical of the letters I have been receiving is one from Thomas Carnevale, commander of the Disabled American Veterans Chapter No. 3 in Newark, N.J. In part it says.

> The Melvin Spitz Chapter No. 3 DAV wholeheartedly endorses the action of our President with respect to the Vietnam war and you can rest assured that we are backing our boys 100% in their gallant effort to halt the spread of Communism.
>
> We of the Melvin Spitz Chapter No. 3 DAV deplore the action of draft card burners, peaceniks and all other types of dissenters and consider their actions to be un-American and shameful. We thank the good Lord that the above mentioned trouble makers are in the minority because, as Veterans of past wars, we feel that the majority of Americans support our Government in these most critical times.

I have received a copy of a letter sent to the President from Mr. James W. Cain, New York State Commander of the DAV. Here is what Commander Cain had to say:

> I am writing to you in my capacity as New York State Commander of the Disabled American Veterans. As Commander of the "Empire State" and speaking in behalf of our members, we are very much concerned with the attitude of too many so-called Americans who are demonstrating against our Government's stand and decisions on the Vietnam War.
>
> As a Veteran organization and one who knows of the horrors of war and many of us who still show these horrors, we are shocked that these demonstrating, draft card burners, draft dodgers, beatniks and dissenters are, in our opinion, prolonging the war and leading to the largest, most stirring and best organized mass movement in history, against our Government. This anti-war movement is like a sharp knife stabbing us in the back. It must cease. To say the least, it is demoralizing to the true American people and to those many thousands of American troops now serving in Vietnam.
>
> The troops now serving in Vietnam know why they are there and it is certainly heartwarming to know that thousands of them are extending their respective tours of duty because they believe in what they are doing.
>
> We of the Disabled American Veterans know why we are in Vietnam and we support your decisions. Our fighting men in Vietnam deserve the best and they deserve the full support of the American people. They are not receiving it!

Across the Nation in Douglas, Wyo., Pat Oliver, commander of the VFW post, wrote me this:

> I wish to state that I am a Veteran of World War I and the Veterans of Foreign Wars as an organization stands firmly behind our President and our Congress in their effort to bring this war to a successful and honorable conclusion.
>
> It is regrettable that we have people who choose to dissent the policies of our government whether it be for personal, selfish or political reasons, or as it is in many cases, dissent just for the sake of dissention, as they by their actions give aid and comfort to the enemy, thus prolonging the war and adding to the list of American casualties . . . I repeat that we should give our full support for our boys in Vietnam, and we should give our support to our President, thereby strengthening his hand so that he may better perform the duties of his office and that he may conduct the war in Vietnam without hindrance at home.

Reduction of Staff in U.S. Embassy in Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "50-percent Cut in U.S. Brazil Staff May Serve as Global Text," published in the Washington Evening Star of October 31, 1967.

The significant aspect of the article is that Ambassador John W. Tuthill is aiming to cut the sprawling U.S. diplomatic, aid, and military roster in Brazil by 50 percent. He hopes to accomplish this sharp reduction in personnel within the next year or two. Apparently, Ambassador Tuthill feels he can increase the efficiency of the operations there by a sharp reduction in the number of employees. Some of this reduction, no doubt, will result from attrition.

Ambassador Tuthill's endeavor is refreshing. Incidentally, he is a graduate of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, the class of 1932.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTY-PERCENT CUT IN UNITED STATES BRAZIL STAFF MAY SERVE AS GLOBAL TEXT

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL.—Ambassador John W. Tuthill has launched Operation Topsy, which aims to cut the sprawling U.S. diplomatic, aid and military roster in Brazil by 50 percent within the next year or two.

Tuthill has been given official approval to begin pruning half of the 1,000 Americans affiliated with the embassy. His plans do not affect the 700 Peace Corps volunteers or, for the time being, the 1,200 Brazilians who work for the U.S. here.

When "Topsy" gets into full swing, informed sources believe it will be used by all affected agencies as a textbook for performing similar surgery all over the world.

Informed sources say the huge buildup of U.S. representatives grew like Topsy over recent years and found Americans involved in nearly every phase of Brazilian official and cultural life.

FREE-WHEELING NOTED

Some second level officials of the embassy were acting as if they were ministers of the various Brazilian government departments and expected the ambassador to function like a prime minister. They proliferated so rapidly under the previous government of President Humberto Castelo Branco that it required several skyscrapers in Rio and innumerable square footage of office and residential space over the nation to contain them.

Tuthill decided something had to be done last July. He started by ordering no new jobs for Americans in Brazil without his express approval.

Perhaps his attitude took final form when he, and all ambassadors around the world, received an official cable from Washington ordering that they look into the need for a study in each country of the impact of bats, rodents and "noxious birds." A copy of this cable, with all its imposing array of signatures and clearances, is framed in Tuthill's office.

The ambassador notified Washington of his conviction and asked permission to conduct an official review for the 50 percent cut. From Secretary of State Dean Rusk came a laconic, "Go ahead." USIA Director Leonard Marks indicated the Brazil staff could be cut 75 percent if Tuthill so desired.

MILITARY RELUCTANT

There was some foot-dragging by the military mission, which maintains a fleet consisting of one C54, two C47s and a Convair. They warned darkly that the proposed cutback would mean the end of the PX, the commissary, the embassy airline and other services. Tuthill simply replied, "good."

The six-man study group is here now, under Tuthill's chairmanship, and will return its proposals for his scrutiny next month. Officials explained that there will be no meat-ax elimination of manpower but rather a process of attrition as contracts of AID employes end.

Tuthill can work a little faster with the diplomatic staff, roughly 18 percent of the total. Part of his pruning will be elimination of several consulates in backwaters of Brazil where trained diplomats do little more than stamp visas and provide an American presence.

Castelo Branco was closely aligned with the U.S. and depended on Americans for many functions that Brazilians should have been performing. The public posture of the government of President Arthur da Costa e Silva is quite different.

OWN DECISIONS STRESSED

The new government is no less interested in U.S. economic and military aid and private investment, but Costa e Silva's stress is on independent decisions on basic questions without influence by the Americans.

Tuthill is completely of a mind to reduce this influence, despite grumbling from lower down on the embassy pyramid. He is willing to let Brazilians make mistakes and it is difficult to argue with the idea that if the Americans remain deeply enmeshed in Brazilian affairs, the U.S. will inherit the blame for such errors as are made.

It is clear that most of the pruning will affect the AID mission and its technical assistance programs, of which 12 have been tagged "high priority" over the last two years.

LOCAL DISCRETION

As far as "noxious birds" directives from Washington are concerned, the embassy now is replying to them by slow boat mail and exercising local discretion, which is a polite way of ignoring them.

The reduction-in-force plan has been fully communicated to the Brazilian government so it will understand there is no lessening of interest with the nation's well-being. The Brazilians approve wholeheartedly.

And it is not peanuts so far as the Tuthill project is concerned. If it costs $30,000 to train, transport and support the average embassy employe for one year, Tuthill will be saving $15 million for the Treasury. The usual tour is two or more years, which raises the saving to $30 million.

SST Program Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I read the New York Times regularly because of its news coverage. However, I frequently disagree with its editorials.

In this morning's Times is a letter from a reader who expresses my own views in disagreement with one such recent editorial.

Because the subject of this letter is of national importance I include it at this point in the RECORD:

SST PROGRAM VITAL

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
December 4, 1967.

To the EDITOR:

As a vitally interested citizen and businessman I wish to register strong disagreement with your editorial of Nov. 22 which was extremely critical of the American Supersonic Transport Program.

I submit that the reason this program has received enthusiastic support from the U.S. Government and Congress is because it is clearly in the national interest. The decision to build two supersonic prototype planes involves a unique partnership between Government and private industry. The program is vital to the continued prosperity of one of the largest and fastest growing sectors of the economy—the airplane manufacturing and air transportation industries. The SST will provide at least 50,000 direct jobs—plus 100,000 indirectly—for a decade or more. Importantly, our airplanes are highly competitive in world markets even with a high content of well paid U.S. labor.

Under present timetables, the American SST will not fly for at least three years. The British-French Concorde—financed entirely by those two Governments—will be in the air in early 1968. Over seventy Concordes have been ordered, including thirty planes by seven U.S. airlines.

If we do not offer a competitive plane, the loss to our balance of payments would be, conservatively, in the $15- to $20-billion range over a twenty-year period. The significance of these factors is clearly understood by the British and French, who have brought the Concorde almost to the point of flight testing despite their bitter differences on almost every other front.

INVESTMENT IN PROJECT

Regarding private industry's role in this program, it apparently is not understood that Boeing, General Electric, several of their major subcontractors and the airlines have already expended or have committed well over $300 million of cash and facilities, not to mention the risk they have in sharing substantially in cost overruns up to an unlimited amount. Moreover, the taxpayer—granting a successful program—will recoup with interest his investment out of royalties on sales.

It is frequently charged that the project's technical and economic problems should be resolved before committing additional Government funds. The facts are that no project in history has been so thoroughly weighed, evaluated and analyzed before committing to hardware. There is only one next step in answering the remaining technical questions—to build and fly prototype aircraft. This course of action has been developed and recommended by the best technical minds in the United States.

Concerning the sonic boom problem, present plans assume that all supersonic route segments flown will be over water. Even with this limitation, studies indicate there is a profitable and important market for this plane.

Some also contend the SST is a frill for those who use air transportation and that it is unfairly competing with social programs. Such criticisms miss the point. The jobs created by programs such as the SST are potent weapons in our war against poverty. If we fail to make this investment in the SST now, we will be in grave danger of losing our leadership in commercial aircraft manufacturing to a subsidized industry. Recapture would be very expensive—if at all possible.

GEORGE S. MOORE,
Chairman, First National City Bank.

Communist Brutality Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, who but Communist terrorists would turn flamethrowers on a defenseless native village—toasting to death at least 114 children, men, and women.

Ideological extremism at its height—not because of color but because of denial of communism brotherhood and collaboration with the Vietcong.

No more gruesome story will emerge from the war but the usual barrage of propaganda pictures, TV, and editorial denunciations will not be forthcoming. There is no sensationalism in people massacring their own kind, especially if the suffering is from our allies. To exploit the terrifying events might turn love of enemy into dismay or even shock to hate such barbarians.

More power to the South Vietnamese. Their fear of the Vietcong will give way to strength to enable them to attain victory over this kind of scum.

I insert the Evening Star article of the needless massacre at Dakson, Vietnam, as follows:

CIVILIANS TELL OF VIETCONG ATTACK: 114 DIE IN THE NIGHT—"THEY THREW FIRE AT US"

(By Peter Arnett)

DAKSON, VIETNAM.—The simple Montagnards of Dakson had only recently learned how to use matches, and flame throwers were beyond their imagination.

Then, in one horrifying hour these weapons of fire, wielded by Communist troops, wreaked death and destruction amongst them.

"They threw fire at us" was how the survivors described the attack, one of the most vicious of the war against Vietnam's civilian population.

Sixty thatched-roof houses, built in four neat rows late last year, were razed early yesterday morning.

A day later rows of bodies of women and children were lying under the one shady tree on the hill. On the lid of a basket were the bodies of a tiny brother and sister, still clinging to each other. Like all the other bodies at Dakson, they were blistered by the flame throwers.

By late today, 63 bodies had been dragged from the bunkers where the population hid when the Viet Cong forces first launched their attack.

American and Vietnamese officials at the scene estimated that as many as 114 civilians may have died.

At least 47 were wounded, 33 burned seriously. Four hundred villagers were missing, presumably driven to the jungled countryside by the Communists.

Scores more of the 2,008 population of Dakson are probably injured. Some were dragging themselves into the provincial hospital at Song Be today.

The province chief, Lt. Col. Nguyen Duong Huy, described it as "a calculated Communist attempts to frighten the Montagnard population away from the government—the stakes are high."

The people are from the Steng tribe, a 20,000-strong Montagnard group that comprises nearly half the population of Phuoc Long Province.

The Saigon government late in 1966 won several thousand Stengs to its side and these people settled in "New Life" hamlets around Song Be, the province capital that sits lonely and vulnerable in the Vietnamese piedmont 80 miles northeast of Saigon.

The Viet Cong has made it clear this year that it wanted all the Stengs back under Red control. Emissaries visited the new hamlets, warning inhabitants that their houses would be burned unless the Montagnards returned to the jungles.

Dakson was singled out as an example.

The Communists tried three previous attacks on it; two of these were beaten off, the third partly succeeded.

This week's attack was probably by more than one battalion, American officers say. The defense force of 120 men retreated to the southern edge of the hamlet.

According to survivors the Viet Cong shouted through bullhorns: "Evacuate your houses, you must return with us. Evacuate your houses."

Some of the people fled in the darkness. Others cowered in the flimsy bamboo houses. Many crawled into the deep bunkers dug into the houses' earthen floors.

The Viet Cong moved with precision, according to one of the wounded survivors, a man named Duot. He heard them shouting in his language for him to get out and leave, but he was too frightened to move.

He saw a shadow in his doorway, then a jet of flame shot out, searing his back and shoulders. As his house began to burn he crawled out.

All around him, he said, men were running and "flames were shooting in the air." Americans at Song Be across the valley said the hamlet seemed to be ablaze in minutes.

Some of the dead were charred in the houses. Most appeared to have died as the jets of the flame throwers shot into the tiny houses and into the openings of the bunkers, asphyxiating those not killed in the thrust of flame.

The Communists made little attempt to chase the defense force that had retreated to the south. Instead they melted back into the jungle.

The wounded began dragging themselves into Song Be within a few hours. They crawled or were carried down the valley and across the river.

Nurse Linda Mudge, from Mansfield, Pa., said the people "had been crawling around in the mud all night. Their wounds were packed in mud."

Dr. Henry Wirts, from York, Pa., an American surgeon at the hospital where the wounded were being treated, said: "It was awful. Even a big U.S. hospital would have been taxed to the limit to treat the 33 serious burn patients that came in here."

The doctors ran out of petroleum jelly and intravenous fluids, and fresh supplies were flown from Saigon.

A boy named Dieu Do, age 3, his head, chest and arms bandaged, clung to his sister. His mother lay back in the hospital bed with here forearms bandaged.

"We have to rebuild Dakson and get the people back in there," said province chief Huy. "It is important that we show the Viet Cong that the people will not be driven out. Right now the Montagnards are a little frightened. But they want to go back and build."

He named several other "New Life" hamlets in the region. "If Dakson is not rebuilt, then the people in these hamlets will decide that we cannot help them. They might return to the Communists. We would lose them."

Dakson and the other hamlets, he said, need "more barbed wire, more guns."

But at the ravaged community today one man was talking about losing 12 of his 13 children. An old woman flailed at herself and wailed over the body of a son. An old man picked at the rubbish of his burned house. Another squatted in the skeleton of his home and lit a cheroot from the embers.

Safety in the Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I have read with great interest the editorial in the Newark Evening News of December 4, 1967, entitled "Safety in the Air."

One of my constituents, William J. Erwin, of South Plainfield, N.J., who has been connected with airports, has continuously urged the Federal Aviation Administration to require additional safety measures for air takeoffs and landings.

Many of us in the New York metropolitan area are not satisfied with air rules governing commercial and private planes. Air travel must be made safer and Congress must help find the solutions.

The editorial follows:

Safety in the Air

Few industries are more safetyminded than air transport. Nevertheless the potential for accident-free takeoffs, flights and landings is nowhere near fulfillment. The reasons can be summed up in two words, time and money.

There hasn't been time because the air carrier business has grown so fast, beyond even the most optimistic estimates. The number of domestic airline passengers in 1966 exceeded the Federal Aviation Agency's forecast by 2.3 million. In the five years from 1965 to 1970, the number of airline passengers is likely to double.

Airports are not growing anywhere near as fast. Neither is the installation of equipment. As one example, of the 547 airports used by commercial airliners, only 262 have control towers and only 133 have radar. All-weather landing systems have been developed in Britain and the United States, but the FAA has yet to settle on one to recommend. After that, years will be needed for comprehensive installation.

A similar situation applies in the air. Anticollision warning devices are being produced. Some airlines are beginning to install them. But at $40,000 to $50,000 per unit, they are considered too expensive for private aviation. Nevertheless, with improved pressurization, private aircraft fly at the same altitude as commercial airliners.

But if the economic application of safety devices is lagging, the thought that goes into them is not. In an industry as young as aviation, the annual international air safety seminar being held in Williamsburg, Va., is the 20th. One of these days ways and means may catch up with the possibilities of safer air travel.

Governor Romney's Candidacy Welcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the Record a recent editorial which appeared in the November 19, 1967, edition of the Saginaw News, Saginaw, Mich., regarding Gov. George Romney's announcement that he will seek the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1968.

It is a thoughtful article and fairly presents facts as to why Governor Romney's candidacy is welcome. Personally, I am convinced that in the months ahead, Americans will express even greater appreciation of Governor Romney's candidacy.

The editorial follows:

Governor Romney's Candidacy Welcome

George Wilcken Romney has turned the biggest corner a man can turn in the American body politic with his announcement that he'll seek the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1968.

Now that he has, we're glad that he has—and this is not an out-and-out endorsement.

His candidacy is welcomed for a couple of reasons. We have long felt that George Romney possesses many of the qualifications that marked him for bigger things. But more important, there is a feeling that he has a lot of things to say that deserve saying, an expression of ideas and ideals that the American people ought to hear before making up their minds on presidential choices at this deeply disturbing time in our history.

This much is certain. A great deal of soul-searching went into this candidacy before it was formally announced. And now that it has been we are not surprised—but properly impressed nevertheless with the enormity of the impact that it will make.

Romney's decision thrusts not only the man but the state that he heads into the national political spotlight for some time to come. Not only the country but the entire world will be watching what goes on in Michigan.

But again, this is not an endorsement. It is far too early for that and there will be time enough in the months ahead when everything that Romney, governor and presidential candidate, says and does is measured and reflected against a nation's needs and its moods at one of the momentous times in its history.

Frankly, we do not envy him his task, but there is great admiration for his courage in deciding to run. Unquestionably the governor has a mountain to climb and little time in which to do it. The polls do not paint a bright picture—but polls are prone to sudden changes and the governor has all of the necessary physical vigor to throw himself into the fray.

Certainly he'll bring a bright, eager and handsome figure to the '68 campaign but what bearing these qualities will have on his chances are imponderables at the moment.

There are other factors in the Romney candidacy which are not imponderables, however. These are his personal qualifications. For the most part they are admirable, though not entirely "political-animal" in nature. Thus, it is appropriate to assess them, for they could be the ones that could upset the dope sheet.

Success or failure of the governor's bid will hinge on two things: How well he is able to put across his belief that America is in need of a change in its socio-economic climate and how responsive the electorate is to that premise.

On the credit side, Romney speaks with an evangelistic zeal when he decries the decline in moral values, the loss of strong family relationships, the credibility gap between federal government and the people, excessive bureaucracy, in the unlimited power that has been placed in the hands of business and organized labor and the things that demand attention in the nation's ghetto areas.

What he'll have to say on these issues in coming months will appeal to millions of people who feel a sense of uneasiness and outrage over the breakdown of law and order that is shaking this country as never before.

When George Romney addresses himself to these problems, he'll give off sparks that will captivate more than one audience. He has done so time and again with a display of candor and conviction that has dumbfounded many and even silenced his most astute critics.

On the political scale, his record as Michigan governor through three terms of prosperity will not hurt him. Here he has learned and prepared well for the hostility of politics while at the same time demonstrating that business acumen is not out of place in government.

He has been a do-er as well as a talker for efficiency in government through reorganization toward fewer agencies and departments. He has taken courageous stands against prevailing popular tides of opinion on such things as a state income tax and open housing and in so doing has sacrificed some support even from among members of his own party.

Nonetheless, his administration has been marked by a sincerity of conviction and strong leadership that has spelled success for whatever he sought. While it is true that the state budget has climbed to record level during his tenure, it is true also that he has insisted that for every piece of spending legislation enacted in Lansing, the elected representatives of the people come up with the tax money to pay for it. He has not been a red-ink governor and this, too, is to his credit.

On the other side of the ledger, the governor's chief failing is his tendency to speak too quickly and off-handedly on issues which sometimes leaves an impression of fuzziness in his own thoughts. This is born of his tendency to oversimplify, as recalled in his "brainwash" remark on Vietnam.

It is now clear on the Vietnam issue that he believes it was a mistake for the United States to get into the conflict and he now talks about "neutralizing" the war and reducing the American involvement. But many political observers, including some close to him, insist that he hasn't yet made clear the means by which this would be accomplished.

Yet, with it all, Romney has spoken with a candor that has been refreshing and which sometimes sounds like the closest thing to the voice of honesty and moderation that has come along in many a political season.

The governor has some faults to correct, but none appear fatal defects at this stage. Most of all, he must master the art of keeping his cool and transmitting his beliefs with the same eloquence in which his evangelistic zeal comes through.

George Romney has made a tough decision—and the road ahead is long. But as William C. Kulsea, chief of our Lansing Bureau, says, "He has the necessary ego, nerve and drive to be President." And Mr. Kulsea has been closer to Romney than any other newsman in the country.

Let us now see where this drive bound up with conviction takes our governor. We and the rest of the country will be watching.

His candidacy is welcome and we wish him well.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on November 15, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with the consent of this body, a letter from a constituent who commented on an opinion poll on taxes and spending sent by the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce to its members. The comment of the constituent was that it was a loaded poll. However, here is the answer:

OPINION POLL ON SPENDING AND TAXES

(October 11–November 6, 1967)

FINAL MICHIGAN RESULTS

Part A. General questions about spending and taxes

	Business and congressional action committee members
Total responses	630

1. Do you favor a reduction in Federal spending for fiscal 1968?

Yes	605
No	6
No opinion	19

2. How much reduction in appropriations do you favor?

$2–4 billion	34
$5–7 billion	95
$8–10 billion	197
More than $10 billion	279

22. With regard to the proposed tax increase, which of the following most closely corresponds to your personal opinion?

For a tax increase, without qualification	21
For a tax increase, provided comparable reduction in spending	302
Against any tax increase	296
No opinion	11

23. If a tax increase is voted, what amount of surcharge should be applied?

1–3 percent	214
4–7 percent	217
8–10 percent	68
Over 10 percent	7
No opinion	124

24. Do you think the surcharge should be:

Same for corporations and individuals	428
More for corporations than individuals	117
No opinion	85

25. If there is a tax increase, do you feel it should be enacted:

For a 1-year period	364
For a 2-year period	87
For so long as United States efforts in Vietnam require higher revenues	111
No opinion	68

26. What is your firm's major activity?

Mining	4
Construction	47
Manufacturing	251
Transportation	7
Communications and utilities	20
Wholesale and retail trade	93
Finance, insurance, real estate	85
Services	93
Other	30

27. Approximately how many regular employees do you have?

1 to 25	201
26 to 100	201
101 to 300	121
301 to 1,000	58
1,001 to 5,000	30
Over 5,000	19

PART B.—QUESTIONS ABOUT SELECTED SPENDING PROGRAMS

[Sentiment of business and CAC members for cutting or leaving alone the appropriations requests for 19 selected domestic-civilian spending programs; total responses, 630]

Program	1968 appropriation request (billions)	Total who would cut	Degree of cut			Leave alone	No opinion
			Severely	Moderately	Slightly		
1. Department of Agriculture	$5	596	302	242	52	19	15
2. Foreign aid programs	2.5	578	313	195	70	40	12
3. Office of Economic Opportunity	2.1	539	314	149	76	69	22
4. Urban grant-in-aid and loan program	1.9	508	210	211	87	95	27
5. Economic development assistance program	.425	523	201	204	118	73	34
6. Space program (NASA)	5	520	203	186	131	89	21
7. Office of Education	4.1	480	175	194	111	135	15
8. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation	.146	474	213	155	106	140	16
9. Corps of Engineers—Civil	1.3	501	205	189	107	112	17
10. Supersonic transport	.198	464	226	158	80	136	30
11. Military family housing	.814	442	141	171	130	142	46
12. Civilian and military pay increases	1	414	100	192	122	177	39
13. Peace Corps	.124	384	146	151	87	217	29
14. Military construction	2.1	460	154	182	124	132	38
15. Ocean shipping—Ship construction	.143	434	207	143	84	149	47
16. U.S. Information Agency	.194	422	119	177	126	178	30
17. Public Health Services (excluding NIH)	1.7	405	85	181	139	209	16
18. National Science Foundation	.526	393	79	188	126	199	38
19. National Institute of Health	1.2	267	49	114	104	348	15

FINAL NATIONAL RESULTS

Businessmen tie tax increase to spending cuts

Cut Federal spending substantially, and we will support a tax increase. That's the majority message in the National Chamber's membership opinion poll on spending and taxes, conducted from October 11 to November 6.

This position reflects the business community's willingness to help produce more revenue to reduce the impending deficit of $25–$30 billion and its inflationary potential—but it shows, too, an understanding that added tax revenue alone will not be enough, that the Administration's spending plans *must also be cut back significantly* if inflation is to be restrained.

The poll was taken of the Chamber's individual business members across the country, and the members of Congressional Action Committees in local communities. Responses totalled 13,092—a 19% return of the 69,013 questionnaires mailed. The information herein is based upon these individual returns—65% of which came from businesses with 1 to 100 employees. Organization members, local and state chambers and trade associations, were also polled—with essentially the same results.

Largest majority vote cast for reduced spending

The largest majority percentage in the entire poll was registered in favor of a reduction in federal spending for fiscal 1968—96% of the 13,092 replies. One percent voted no; three percent voiced no opinion. Those favoring cuts in appropriations indicated how much: 45%—favored cuts of more than $10 billion, 33%—$8-10 billion, 20%—$5-7 billion, 2%—$2-4 billion.

Clearly, this business sentiment for substantial reductions in 1968 appropriations *is a long way from being matched* by Congressional cuts made thus far, which amount to about $5 billion. Whether Congress will reach a level of $6 billion in reductions is becoming questionable; certainly, the legislators won't approach a higher level without continued constituent encouragement.

Tax increase supported—but just barely

About a tax increase, Chamber members were closely divided—showing none of the unanimity registered for reducing spending. Forty-one percent are flatly against any tax increase; however, 54% said they are for a tax increase, "provided spending can be reduced by an amount that is comparable to the revenue gained by the tax increase." Another four percent favor a tax increase, without qualification.

While this support for a tax increase is something less than overwhelming, it is nevertheless the majority opinion among the 13,000 respondents. Anyone viewing it as a blessing for the Administration's tax surcharge proposal would have to consider it, at best, a *mixed blessing*—for the support it reflects is definitely contingent upon reduced spending.

This was emphasized in a position paper adopted by the Chamber's Board of Directors earlier this month, which stated that the Chamber will support an across-the-board temporary tax increase in the form of a uniformly applied surtax following a commitment to a program of expenditure reduction. The statement said there should be a "bonafide reduction in federal spending of at least one dollar for every dollar of tax increase."

Ten-percent surcharge considered too high

The administration's proposed 10 percent surcharge is too large, according to most respondents. They voted like this: 31%—for a 1-3 percent surcharge, 37%—a 4-7 percent surcharge, 15%—an 8-10 percent surcharge, 1%—favored a surtax over 10 percent.

Regarding application of the surcharge, 70% of the participants think it should be imposed upon corporations and individuals alike, at the same level. Twenty percent would accept a higher level for corporations than for individuals. Ten percent voiced no opinion.

Duration of the surcharge, according to 59% of the respondents, should be one year. Thirteen percent voted for a two-year duration. Another 21% favor continuing it "for so long as U.S. efforts in Vietnam require higher revenues."

Agriculture budget, foreign aid, OEO lead cut list

Where to cut spending specifically was indicated by participants in the poll to support their general sentiment for spending reductions. The questionnaire presented brief descriptions of 19 selected federal spending programs—with total appropriation requests of about $30 billion—and asked whether respondents would approve the requests, or whether they would suggest some reduction. The five largest majority votes—those over 80 percent—were cast as follows: 92%—would cut appropriations for Agriculture Department, 91%—would curb foreign aid spending, 90%—would reduce Office of Economic Opportunity spending, 86%—would cut urban grants-in-aid and loans, 84%—would reduce appropriations for the Economic Development Assistance program of the Department of Commerce.

Only one of the 19 programs escaped a majority recommendation for reduction. That was the National Institutes of Health; 51% favor leaving it alone.

Spending causes personal concern

The accompanying chart shows details of membership opinion on the appropriation requests for each of the 19 programs.

Sentiment for spending reductions was registered eloquently in the personal comments and remarks noted on many returns. A Wisconsin wholesaler wrote, "By 1975, our national debt could be $500 billion, with an annual interest burden of $25 billion. Care to guess on 1985 if we continue the present trend? Clearly, this must not only be arrested, but reversed. And the time is now."

A small banker in Pennsylvania noted, "Cuts can and should be made, before the bottom goes out of the barrel and the Great American Experiment goes the way of all other forms of government before us." An Ohio manufacturer added: "If the U.S. folds, there is no place to go. The government is in the same position as a company that is going broke but, due to market conditions, cannot raise prices. The only possibility is to drastically cut costs."

MEMBERSHIP REACTION TO SPECIFIC SPENDING PROGRAMS

[19 programs selected from appropriation bills not yet finalized at the time the opinion poll began. Percentages shown are based on 13,092 returns and are rounded to the nearest whole number]

Program	1968 appropriation request (billions)	Total who would cut	Degree of cut			Leave alone	No opinion
			Severely	Moderately	Slightly		
		Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1. Department of Agriculture	$5	92	40	41	11	5	3
2. Foreign aid programs	2.5	91	53	28	10	6	3
3. Office of Economic Opportunity	2.1	90	60	22	8	7	3
4. Urban grant-in-aid and loan program	1.9	86	39	34	13	11	3
5. Economic development assistance program	.425	84	33	33	18	11	5
6. Space program (NASA)	5	79	30	19	17	17	4
7. Office of Education	4.1	78	27	32	19	19	3
8. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation	.146	77	34	26	17	19	4
9. Corps of Engineers—Civil	1.3	76	27	30	19	20	4
10. Supersonic transport	.198	73	34	26	13	21	6
11. Military family housing	.814	71	23	27	21	21	8
12. Civilian and military pay increases	1	69	19	31	19	24	7
13. Peace Corps	.124	68	29	25	14	28	4
14. Military construction	2.1	68	20	28	20	24	8
15. Ocean shipping—Ship construction	.143	68	28	24	16	23	9
16. U.S. Information Agency	.194	66	19	28	19	29	5
17. Public Health Services (excluding NIH)	1.7	64	13	27	24	31	5
18. National Science Foundation	.526	63	11	30	22	31	6
19. National Institutes of Health	1.2	45	7	20	18	51	4

Better control asked for welfare, aid, employee costs

Views about particular spending programs also came through clearly in the personal notations of respondents.

Welfare programs were subject to much personal criticism. A Maryland businessman wrote, "The real problem, it seems to me, is the fantastic growth and cost of welfare programs. I should think a complete change in aims and objectives is required." A Texan said, "The federal government should stay completely out of the field of sociological experimentation and quit trying to be 'Big Daddy' to our whole society." Another Texan noted, "I do not object to helping the old, the sick and the young children—but I have no use for helping able-bodied people."

Foreign aid was also a frequent target. A North Carolina retailer wrote, "This country should cease throwing money down every rat hole all around the world. Instead of friends, all we get is contempt." An Indiana wholesaler went along: "We should certainly take a hard look at our foreign aid program, especially to those countries that are diametrically opposed to our way of life. Those we do assist should be required to make certain our aid is doing the most good for the greatest number of people."

Federal employment levels and benefits were criticized, too, apparently in reaction to their continuing increases. An Illinois wholesaler wrote, "Reduce federal employment. Reduce vacation and sick leave time to conform more with small business." Another businessman said, "Federal pay raises are forcing private industry to larger than normal raises. Fringe benefits are the big threat."

Tax hike provokes fear and anger

Lack of enthusiasm for a tax increase was another clear indication in the personal remarks of respondents. A Kentucky auto dealer noted his profit picture is already dim as a result of federal, state and local taxes and the effects of the minimum wage law—and added that a tax increase would mean, to him, *"one more small business in trouble."* A Colorado manufacturer said, "Tax increases in the future should be solely for reducing the public debt, not for reducing deficits." A Louisiana businessman asked, "Why should be support a tax increase? So the government will have more money to mismanage and waste?"

But the majority's resigned willingness to accept a tax surcharge was illustrated by the Ohio manufacturer who said, "An all-out cost reduction program by the government will help create a favorable reception for a proposed tax increase."

Businessmen blame both Congress and administration

Congress and the administration share responsibility for the current fiscal crisis, according to respondents' remarks. The Administration takes most of the licks, because it administers the programs which businessmen believe are wastefully mismanaged, or which should be redirected, or even eliminated.

But Congress took its licks, too—as from the businessman who wrote, "Very few of our representatives do little more than pay lip service to fiscal responsibility as it affects our nation. We work hard at home for our tax dollars. It is only fair that we should expect prudent stewardship of these funds by our representatives. Too often, we get the short end of the stick. Legislators had better become aware of our feelings."

The outlook—and what you can do about it

Reductions of maybe $6 billion appear to be as much as can be expected from Congressional cutting of the individual appropriations bills for fiscal 1968. That will still leave 1968 spending at near $140 billion, with a deficit of about $25 billion. *Obviously, much more reduction is necessary to soften the need for a tax increase.* As last ditch efforts at more spending control, Congress can consider one of these steps:

Cut spending further, on its own, by passing a bill to rescind another $5 billion or more, in appropriations already passed; or

Enact legislation placing a ceiling on 1968 spending of somewhere between $130 and $135 billion, and leave it to the President to decide where to find the $5–10 billion in savings. (Spending in 1967 totalled $125.7 billion.)

Prompt encouragement by businessmen for their Senators and Representatives to work for either objective would make legislators aware of the need to keep pressing for more spending reductions, before giving any serious consideration to a tax surcharge, whether in this session of Congress or the next.

U.N. Wants Right to Freedom From Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, by the narrow vote of 58 to 45 abstentions to postpone the question, the United Nations stands ready to adopt the U.S. Supreme Court law that religious liberty means right to freedom from religion or a right protecting the anti-God atheist.

Some blame the action on Russia, but is it not an extension of court policy in the United States that the freedom of religion insures freedom from religion in schools, Federal programs and tax-supported programs and buildings.

Blame not Russia, the honor goes to Earl Warren and his revolutionary team of political judges.

I ask consent that the U.N. report from the National Catholic Press for December 3 follow:

REDS TWIST U.N. DOCUMENT TO PROTECT ONLY RIGHT OF FREEDOM FROM RELIGION

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The United Nations found out the hard way that the Red rulers of Russia are glad to have freedom for atheism to oppress religion, but they are dead set against freedom for religion to be practiced freely.

That was made clear in the inconclusive debate over a draft treaty and declaration that would eliminate all forms of religious toleration. The matter has been postponed until the next session.

Ambassador Patricia R. Harris of the United States told Religious News Service, "The Soviets, of course, did not like the idea that the convention would protect churches, missionary institutions and everything connected with the propagation of the faith, including Sunday schools."

The Soviets and their followers managed to distort the original preamble to the point that 45 abstentions were noted in the voting. It passed, however, 58 to 0.

Things added to the preamble by Soviet pressure include the phrase "especially when manifestations of religion or belief had served and are still serving as a means or as an instrument of foreign interference in the international affairs of other states and peoples";

And a phrase which would have governments, organizations and private persons "combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief for political or other ends inconsistent with the purpose and principles of the present Convention";

And a totally new paragraph: "convinced that the right to freedom of religion or belief should not be abused so as to impede any measures aimed at the elimination of colonialism and racialism."

Twenty-three of the 58 favorable votes on the preamble were African. Uganda's delegate had at first defended the work of missionaries in that country and presented an amendment that would have defined religion as belief in a superior being. A change of delegates then led to the withdrawal of the amendment and later to the statement that, while religious organizations had contributed much to the progress of the developing countries, it was also true that they had "sometimes come into conflict with the political leaders of the nation. That was why it was vital to set bounds to religious freedom."

Italy, France and others pointed out that the "colonial" and other Afro-Asian amendments opened the way for states to abuse the Convention to deny the very religious freedom it was designed to protect.

A Soviet move to delete the paragraph which affirms that "religion or belief, for anyone who professes either is a fundamental element in his concept of his life" was ultimately defeated. But the text was watered down to "one of the fundamental elements."

The Farmer: A Vital Member of Our Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Arkansas 1967 Farm Family of the Year was the Troyce Endsley family, of Bradley, Lafayette County. They received this distinction at the annual awards luncheon held on December 1 at Hotel Marion, which was sponsored by the Arkansas Power & Light Co., Arkansas Press Association, and State agricultural agencies. The Endsleys have a 4,000-acre farm on which they grow cotton, soybeans, alfalfa, and beef cattle. It was estimated that the farm produced 1,500 bales of cotton on 750 acres and an average of 36 bushels of soybeans per acre on 400 acres. When Mr. Endsley started farming in 1951 he was working as a laborer receiving about 25 cents an hour. Three years later he purchased a used tractor and rented 90 acres of cotton land. Through frugality and hard work additional land and rented acreage was obtained.

Mr. and Mrs. Endsley are the parents of five daughters: Betty, 16; Rethea, 14; Becky, 12; Pat, 9; and Beth, 3.

This was the 21st year that the Arkansas Power & Light Co., the Arkansas Press Association, and agricultural agencies of the State had fostered and promoted this program which recognized merit by families engaged in agriculture. The competition was rigid in the selection of farmers, first at the county level and next at the five district levels. The district winners were: Northeast, Thomas McDaniel, of Forrest City, St. Francis County; southwest, Troyce Endsley, of Bradley, Lafayette County; north central, M. E. Pelletier, of Damascus, Faulkner County; southeast, Earl Verser, Jr., of Eudora, Chicot County; and northwest, Joe Williams, of Van Buren, Crawford County.

I was invited to address the luncheon at the time the selection was made on December 1, but due to the heavy snowfall in the Washington area it was not possible to reach Little Rock in time for the luncheon meeting. The remarks that were prepared for delivery by me on that occasion are as follows:

THE FARMER: A VITAL MEMBER OF OUR SOCIETY

So many times the general public erroneously looks upon the farmer as a subsidy-hungry feeder at the public trough, and the feeling exists that the Department of Agriculture with its upkeep of the farmer is a lavish and extravagant operation. Oftentimes, the appropriation of funds for agriculture are viewed with scorn and contempt for being too costly, because of the mistaken idea that the Department and the funds required to run it are beneficial to the farmer and the farmer alone. In order to correct this unfortunate and misleading attitude, we must look at the facts.

A sizable part of the money spent by the Department of Agriculture is for the benefit of the consuming public. It goes to aid many people and businesses as well as the farmer. Let us review the following 1966 fiscal year expenditures for Agriculture so that we can understand where the money was used.

Public Law 480 funds that should be charged to foreign relations and defense, not the farmer:

Sales of agricultural commodities for currencies of the recipient foreign countries	$1, 138, 000, 000
Sales of goods on credit	233, 000, 000
Donations abroad	413, 000, 000
Transfer of bartered goods to stockpile for defense purposes	26, 000, 000
Donations of dairy products to armed services	9, 000, 000
Total, foreign and defense	1, 819, 000, 000

Other phases of food programs not rightfully charged to farming costs:

Domestic food distribution	$233, 000, 000
Food stamp program	69, 000, 000
School lunch (builds strong bodies in our young people)	197, 000, 000
Milk program (special plan to drink more milk)	97, 000, 000
Total for poor and needy	596, 000, 000

Investments that will be repaid:

Farmers Home and REA loans	$546, 000, 000

Benefits for the future of America—long-range programs for improvement of agricultural and natural resources:

Forestry (benefits everyone)	$351, 000, 000
Agriculture research (forestry)	221, 000, 000
Plant disease and pest control	73, 000, 000
Agriculture conservation program	252, 000, 000
Soil and water resource protection and development	224, 000, 000
Extension work	90, 000, 000
Inspection of commodities (meats)	79, 000, 000
Other kindred outlays and expenses	93, 000, 000
Total	1, 383, 000, 000

Expenditures largely for the stabilization of farm income, but also of benefit to others such as storage concerns—warehousemen and river and rail transportation facilities:

CCC and price support programs including loans, purchase, storage, handling and transportation and administration expenses	$1, 605, 000, 000

Agriculture expenditures help the farmer and at the same time the general consuming public, our school children and the needy or poor people. These funds go to our defense establishment and to build good will with our neighbors overseas. These appropriations build up our land and water resources for future generations. It has been estimated by Department of Agriculture sources that, during fiscal 1966, funds spent for programs that assisted and aided consumers, the general public and business concerns represented nearly two-thirds of the total expenditures made by the Department of Agriculture during that year. This story needs to be told and retold. It is worthy of repetition.

The people who supply the nation with the basic necessities of livelihood, food and fiber, need to be praised and encouraged, not denounced. The farmer receives only a small part of the consumer dollar spent for food. The price of a loaf of white bread in 1966 was 22.2 cents. How much of that price did the farmer receive? Only 3.7 cents for the wheat and other items that made up the loaf. The price of a business shirt made of cotton was an average of $4.38 in 1966. The farmer received 24 cents for the cotton or about five or six percent of the total retail price. Although the retail price of this shirt was 12 cents higher as compared to 1965, the farmer's price for the cotton was two cents less.

Farming is an expensive business, and more capital outlay is needed per farm worker than is required for a worker in industry. The average investment for one farm worker is $35,958 in comparison to $20,910 per factory worker.

Even though there are fewer people farming, the capital requirements to operate a farm have been rising appreciably. The average investment for each farm has gone up from $6,158 in 1940 to $16,979 in 1950. In 1966 the average capital outlay per farm $65,960, and the farmer is equally as entitled to a fair return on his investment as any businessman.

The number of farms has declined from 6,400,000 in 1940 to 3,300,000 in 1966. This reduction in the number of farmers by one-half in 25 years makes it necessary for the man still on the farm to do a much bigger job. You have but to visit a modern supermarket to determine whether the farmer has succeeded. American farmers by far outstrip farmers of any other country of the world in production. This is a fact of which every citizen in the United States should be proud and grateful. What it means is that while most people on this earth spend at least half and often more of their entire income for food. In this nation families spend only 18 per cent of their earnings for the highest type of a balanced diet of nutritious foods. It is a real blessing that our people are so well fed and healthy on such a small part of their income.

If our farmers still used the methods that were customary here in 1940, the cost of this nation's food and fiber today would be an additional 13 billion dollars a year, and each family would have to pay about $5.00 more per week for its market basket.

Only eight of every 100 wage earners work in agriculture in the United States. Since food is the most important commodity produced for mankind, this efficiency on the part of our farmers leaves the other 82 people available for producing goods and services for modern living. This makes it possible for us to have the highest standard of living ever known to man, because the other workers are free to manufacture television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, etc. They can operate banks, work in hospitals, sell insurance, build homes, serve utility companies, the news media and various other services, including the national defense.

The American farmer's contribution to our high standard of living has been provided under tremendous drawbacks or handicaps.

During 1966 the net income for farm labor, including management, averaged $1.60 per hour, but for the same period the average wage of industrial workers, excluding management, was $2.71 per hour. In the past 20 years, industrial workers' hourly earnings have increased 123 percent. During the same 20 years, farm prices went down 11 percent.

If you will look at the basic commodity prices of today and compare them with 1947 prices, any doubt you may have about these reductions will be removed. Cotton is selling for about 28 cents per pound by figuring in as a part of that price the subsidy paid by the government, and in 1947 cotton was selling for about 32 cents per pound. Corn, in 1967, was bringing $1.26 per bushel, but the 1947 price was $2.16. Wheat now averages $2.40 and that includes the value of the certificates instead of the $2.29 the farmer received in 1947.

Living in the United States are 200 million people who have to be fed, clothed and housed. In the underdeveloped areas in Asia, South America and Africa, the population explosion is resulting in food shortages, malnutrition, under-nutrition and hunger. These nations for many years will have to get supplemental food from other countries, although these people make less wages and cannot buy our products at the same prices paid in this country. Our farmers who receive $1.60 an hour for their work are finding it most difficult to buy all the machinery and chemicals they want to buy from industry that is paying $2.71 for labor.

The farmer is not asking preferential treatment, but he is entitled to fair play or reasonable returns on his investment of capital and labor. Without the assurance of a reasoanble profit he may not be able to produce the increased requirements of commodities. This is why government assistance is necessary to our country's welfare. In reality it is more of a subsidy of the housewife and of the downtrodden than of the farmer. Let us do all that is possible in this nation to keep our farmlands fertile and prosperous. The farmer is a vital and essential member of our society.

Slovaks Mourn Loss of Cardinal Spellman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, the congressional district which I represent mourns the death of Cardinal Francis J. Spellman. I take this opportunity to insert in the RECORD a tribute paid Cardinal Spellman in the Slovak Katolicky Sokol on December 6, 1967, in which its distinguished editor, John C. Sciranka, eulogizes this outstanding friend and stanch defender of the captive nations.

I might add that at a dinner which I attended marking the 100th birthday of St. Joseph's Hospital, of Paterson, I was touched and impressed by the prayer of the Most Reverend Lawrence B. Casey, bishop of the Paterson Roman Catholic diocese. His Eminence, Cardinal Spellman, was to have been a speaker at this dinner. Bishop Casey, who had that day returned from a conference in Chile said:

> I have traveled 6,000 miles but in comparison with Cardinal Spellmen I was a rank amateur. He circled the globe every Christmas to be with the men in service. His journeys are over and he is now with God.

The following eulogy expresses the sentiments of the Slavonic people who mourn the death of a great American leader and humanitarian:

SLOVAKS LOSE GREAT FRIEND IN PASSING OF CARDINAL SPELLMAN

The entire civilized world is mourning the sudden death of His Eminence Francis J. Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York, who passed away on Saturday, December 2, 1967 at St. Vincent's Hospital in this great metropolis at the age of 78.

His Eminence is eulogized by leaders of the world, including our President Johnson and Pope Paul VI, who refused his resignation, when he reached the age of 75 three years ago.

Cardinal Spellman's friendship with the Slovaks dates to year 1911, when he met two American Slovaks, the late Msgr. George M. Petro, D.D., former Supreme Chaplain of our organization and the late Rev. Dr. John Jurasko at the North American College in Rome. They became staunch friends as students. In 1916 they were ordained together.

When Cardinal Spellman became archbishop of New York he recommended the elevation of 10 Slovak priests as domestic prelates and Msgr. Krasula, our honorary protector, as Protonotary Apostolic.

In 1949, when Bishop Vojtassak and other bishops, priests and laymen of Slovakia were imprisoned by the Communists, he opened the St. Patrick's Cathedral for special solemn mass for these victims and martyrs. He presided at this solemn and other holy masses of Slovaks at St. Patrick's Cathedral, where in 1955 during the Golden Jubilee Slet and Convention, our Sokol delegates and drillers attended the services.

In 1945 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of St. John Nepomucene Church in New York City and the Most Holy Trinity Church in Yonkers, N.Y., His Eminence issued the historic statement, which is registered in the Slovak annals as "Ideals of the Slovak Nation" by Francis J. Cardinal Spellman.

When we pay tribute to this noted American leader and pray for the repose of his soul, we hereby publish this great historical document on the "Ideals of the Slovak Nation":

I think the story, the traditions and the honor of the Slovak people, is one of the most glorious stories in history. It is hard to find any story of any people, who for more than one thousand years were deprived of liberty, nationality, and subjected to national and religious persecution.

The Slovaks have given all the world a lesson in what it means to be devoted to ideals. During the crucial periods of their history these brothers, sisters and children of that noble race came to our United States which has ever been a sanctuary and a home of the persecuted people.

With this thought I have many recollections of the past and of that beautiful country from which you and your ancestors have come—Slovakia. It was my privilege in the happy days of peace to know your country and the character of your people, for I went to school for five years with many of the boys from that country, some of whom have come to be priests here in our United States.

I know the thoughts that fill your minds today of the disaster, the injustice, the tyranny, the oppression, the cruelty that has come over an injured Europe that we once knew, for Europe was a great mother of America—and I know how you feel because I feel the same.

You and I must show our sympathy and give our help in every way possible to those nations that gave us our birth and our birth rights.

Our happiness is saddened by the thought of our persecuted brethren in Europe. We associate ourselves with them in prayer, also in determination to do everything in our power to alleviate their sufferings. We express sympathy to those who suffer persecution for justice sake, asking Almighty God to give them grace to carry on in the practice of their faith.

Imploring Almighty God's blessing on the future—the future of our country, the United States of America, the future of our Holy Church and the future of those of Nations of Europe from which we came, we ask the patron Saints of your people, Saints Cyril and Methodius, to give us courage to carry on by word and example the sufferings of faith which they have handed down to us.

Open Letter to a Protester

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, as Commentator Eric Sevareid recently wrote in an article for Look magazine:

> These are odd times. Tens of thousands of Americans of every age, color, sex, and economic and intellectual condition are daily and hotly invoking every right and privilege mentioned in the Constitution, the Bible, and Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations." Others are busy invoking self-serving "higher laws" to supersede the national rulebook. None of them seems familiar with the words "duty" or "obligation."

One of Mr. Sevareid's points—in his article entitled "Dissent or Destruction"—was that a good share of the kinds of dissent we are witnessing these days, and too many of the protests that are capturing the headlines and whether concerned with civil rights, the Vietnam war, or college life, may be "senselessly harming the causes themselves, corroding the reputations of the most active leaders, and loosening some of the cement that holds this American society together."

Few of us would disagree with this observation, just as few of us would disagree with Columnist William H. Stringer's observation in yesterday's Christian Science Monitor that—

> The problem about some of the peaceniks, the anti-Vietnam war people, is that they are so everlastingly sure that only they are right—that they (alone) have a corner on righteous indignation.

Well, Mr. Speaker, as always there is another side, and I doubt if that other side—which amounts to a dissent from the dissenters over Vietnam—could be stated more succinctly, or with more eloquence, or with more force, since it comes from one who is voluntarily performing military service in Vietnam, than it was stated in a letter sent recently from Long Binn, Vietnam, by Sgt. Harold L. Douglas, to his wife, Phyllis, at her home in Elmira, N.Y., in the congressional district I serve. That letter—which speaks for itself—is now set forth under leave so granted:

OPEN LETTER TO A PROTESTER

I have heard again and again the odious echo of your sophomoric plea to "Get out of Vietnam." Now I feel compelled to make a plea of my own: "Get out of my America."

I have more right, more dignity and more honor being in Vietnam than you have being in my America.

What will happen when I return to America? Are you willing to answer to me when I come home? Do you really think you have all the answers?

If Vietnam is not supposed to be of concern to me, then why should it cause you so much concern?

Do you feel remorseful that American men are dying here? Then why do you insult the dignity of the passions that bring them to spend their lives in the aid of the Vietnamese people?

I, and thousands of servicemen like me, chose to come here. There are thousands of us that the government did not send here. We asked to come.

When did you ever ask to help humanity? You see fit to question, our right to be in Vietnam yet I cannot help but wonder about your right to be in America.

Let's talk about Vietnam and the Vietnamese people.

They have never known anything but a lifetime of war. I don't mean a television war, a newspaper war or a political war.

I'm speaking specifically about burning homes, destroyed crops and murdered children. I am speaking of the fear that comes with the knowledge that today might be the very last day of all. This has been the heritage of these people for countless years.

Now they are on the threshhold of escaping all this. They cannot do it alone. As Americans we have been entrusted to see that the Vietnamese are allowed to live as they choose.

What about you as an American?

What are your plans for tomorrow? A football game? A concert? Or a protest rally and a march on Washington?

One thing is certain: your village will not be raided nor your crops destroyed. You will not return home to find your house burned to the ground with your five children lying outside with their stomachs slit open from navel to neck.

No, your tomorrow—and you will have a tomorrow—will contain the same freedom of pursuit and peace that have filled all of your days.

I choose to be in Vietnam because these people are being denied the right to their own pursuit of Life. They need the help that I am able to give.

My country has given these people the same promise of tomorrow that our country has given you. You contend that we should break that promise. Should our country also withdraw its promise to you?

We are working hard to free a people from Communist oppression and terror.

Please explain to me: Just what is it that you are trying to do for America? What does America need that your protests will give to it?

I hesitate to call you all the well-worn names that fit your kind. I do, however, submit that you are uninformed, misguided and have the proclivity of a fool for pseudo-intellectualism. I submit that you have been conned by a lack of initiative into adopting false ideologies that even a child would sense to be wrong. I further submit that you are making a vulgar but vain attempt to enlist others in your parade of idiocy.

You say that the profession of arms is without honor. You also say that to aid an oppressed people is without honor. I ask you what then is honor?

I think when I come home to the haven of America I shall teach you just what communism is and why it must be faced by Americans who are empowered to stop it.

How would it be to you if, when you burned your draft card, the government burned your house? What would be your consolation if, when you marched along with a sign in one hand and a club in the other, the government clubbed your children to death? You would truly learn the meaning of tomorrow if all your tomorrows were taken away from you.

As a human being I cannot help but feel sorry for you. Your sickness cannot be cured. I can only hope to contain it so that you do not poison others. The only answer I can give to your moronic babbling is no, I won't get out of Vietnam. Will you get out of my America?

Sgt. HAROLD L. DOUGLAS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Tribute to Nathan Wolfman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and, I am sure, the other Members of this body who represent the city of Philadelphia, I would like to call attention and pay tribute to a man who has given much in the service of our city.

Nathan Wolfman is retiring from his post as chief clerk and secretary of the Philadelphia City Council after 45 years of uninterrupted service to that legislative body. Surely we can appreciate and recognize the kind of dedication top staff people such as Mr. Wolfman can give to any legislative body. The esteem in which he has been held during all those years was expressed by the city council itself recently in a resolution it adopted unanimously.

I am having this resolution reprinted here so that all our Members also may learn of the contributions of Nathan Wolfman to his city:

RESOLUTION 351

Resolution commending Nathan Wolfman, chief clerk and secretary of city council, upon the completion of 45 years of uninterrupted service to this legislative body

WHEREAS, On October 1, 1967, Nathan Wolfman, Chief Clerk and Secretary of the Council of the City of Philadelphia, will complete 45 long and uninterrupted years of service to this legislative body, during all of which time he has, by his devotion to his duties, his sincerity of interest in the many important offices held by him, demonstrated a keenness of mind and a remarkable facility for hadling literally hundreds of minute and complicated details accurately, and with dispatch; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Wolfman was appointed Stenographer for City Council on October 1, 1922. In 1956, he was unanimously elected by the members of the Council as Chief Clerk and re-elected in 1960 and 1964; and

WHEREAS, During all of these years, he has been always known and considered as a faithful, loyal public servant, who has given unsparingly, unselfishly and generously of his time and advice, providing valued help and cooperation in adopting legislation, operating and capital budgets and other legislative matters; and

WHEREAS, His rich store of knowledge of the many details of municipal government and financing have aided in facilitating the multitudinous details and complicated procedural techniques of the legislative processes; and

WHEREAS, His modesty and helpfulness have won for him the respect and friendship of all the members of City Council; therefore

Resolved, By the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we highly commend Nathan Wolfman, our Chief Clerk and Secretary, upon his completion of 45 years of continuous loyal efficient and devoted service, and for his skill in his difficult duties and his cooperation, which have gained for him the respect and friendship of our members.

Resolved, That a suitably engrossed copy of this resolution be presented to Nathan Wolfman, as evidence of the sincere sentiments of this legislative body, which he has served so long and well.

Appendix

What Dairymen Can Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 8, 1967

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I very much regretted this past October that I was unable to appear as scheduled to speak to the annual meeting of the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association in Syracuse, N.Y. However, at the last moment my presence on the Senate floor was found to be essential.

I wish to thank Mr. Patrick B. Healy, assistant secretary of the National Milk Producers Federation, who, on very short notice, volunteered to make the major address in my absence. I think his statement will be of interest to all who are concerned with dairy problems. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT DAIRYMEN CAN DO

(Address to the annual meeting, Dairymen's League Cooperative Association, Inc., Onondaga County War Memorial Building, Syracuse, N.Y., October 11, 1967, by Patrick B. Healy, assistant secretary, National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.)

It is a distinct pleasure for me to meet with you and to participate in your annual meeting.

By being here is almost as much a surprise to me as it is to you.

Your program committee had arranged for Senator Javits to address you—the pressure of the business of the Senate has kept Senator Javits away.

I must tell you that the most precious prerogative and the gravest responsibility of a Senator is his privilege of voting on matters which come before the Senate.

The good senators are those who exercise their prerogative and meet their responsibility, even when their own desires, and maybe even their own best personal politics dictate that they be elsewhere.

But, no matter how it happened—I am pleased to be here and am honored to have been given this opportunity to address the membership of Dairymen's League.

The League is a name which inspires awe in the minds of people who know something about the marketing of milk.

We stand in awe of the tremendous task which farmers have assumed in establishing and maintaining a marketing organization to provide the very necessary link between thousands of farmers and millions of consumers—and through which flow billions of pounds of milk.

The very size and diversity of your organization make it unique among all cooperatives.

We once heard a great industrialist say, "What is good for my company is good for the United States."

We can perhaps turn the direction of this statement just a little and rephrase it somewhat, so that it can be applied correctly to your own organization.

We could say, "What is good for the milk industry is good for Dairymen's League."

The very extent of the operation of your organization demands a healthy national dairy economy.

Therefore, the members of this great organization should address themselves to seeking a national dairy economy in which the League can prosper for its farmer members.

Dairymen's League is a charter member of the National Milk Producers Federation.

For over fifty years the leadership of this cooperative has guided the Federation and has helped direct its efforts toward the creation of a national atmosphere in law and in administration under which the League can best operate in the interest of its membership.

This has been a successful effort.

There has been developed a complex of agricultural legislation which provides a sound framework upon which constructive marketing programs can be built.

Your size—and the demands made by that size—make it imperative that you interest yourself in maintaining and improving the structure which supports you.

The legislative structure which provides support to all dairy operations today can be broken into three basic sections:

The first of these parts is the legislative system which establishes the cooperative and makes it possible for it to do business for farmers.

While there may be need for improvement in the cooperative structure, we do, in fact, have a system under which farmers can band themselves together to act in their own interest in the market place.

This may be the most important tool of all.

The second part of the legislative complex is the system of market regulatory devices under which milk is priced to handlers.

Under this system—the federal milk marketing order program does, in fact, establish the prices which handlers must pay for milk.

This is not to say that the prices are always right, this is not to say that all of the provisions of all of the orders are as they should be.

This is not to say that all of the orders are related to each other as they should be.

But, the order program is a tool which dairy farmer cooperative associations have used and have used successfully to provide for the orderly marketing of their milk under rules laid out for everyone to see.

And therefore, in its history it can claim success.

The third of the legislative devices comprises the system of price supports and the subsidiary authorities which allow price supports to continue in operation.

The price support program has proved itself—it has stood the test of time.

It has, in fact, supported the price of milk and butterfat to farmers at announced levels for almost twenty years.

It has performed this remarkable feat during periods of tremendous surplus production as well as during times when there was competition for milk in the market place.

It has done this at a cost to the government which is less per dollar of farm income than any other commodity program in operation.

In order for the price support program to operate best and in order for it to be as free of criticism as possible, there are certain subsidiary programs, which are necessary.

The first of these is a system of positive control over the import of milk and dairy products. This is necessary in order to limit the demands made on the price support programs to the demands made by the production of American dairy farmers.

It should not be, and is not, necessary for the United States to attempt to support the price of milk throughout the world. If we allow free access to our markets, this is what we are trying to do.

There is currently in the statute books a law which meant to limit imports. This law has proved over the 14 years of its application to be totally inadequate to the task. It has been subject to subterfuge and contravention to the extent that it can be considered to be virtually useless.

In the last three years, imports have risen from what might be considered to be normal, about 500 million pounds of milk equivalent per year, to 900 million pounds in 1965, to 2.8 billion pounds in 1966, and to the rate of 4.5 billion pounds during the first six months of 1967. Such a rate of imports is bound to negate any efforts made by farmers to extract a reasonable price for their milk from the market place.

Farmers reacted as they should have, and in one of the most cooperative and successful drives in the experience of farm activity in Congress, induced 59 senators and 199 representatives to introduce identical legislation aimed at the control of this unconscionable invasion of domestic markets.

Such a show of strength on the part of America's dairy farmers brought about immediate action on the part of the administration and, unfortunately, an immediate reaction on the part of Congress. In the face of almost certain passage of the "Dairy Import Act of 1967" the President issued another proclamation under the current law. This proclamation was designed to limit imports to about one billion pounds of milk equivalent. In the face of this action by the President, Congress has declined to act on any legislation.

It is without question, however, that the proclamation which was issued can and will be evaded. Such evasions probably will not take place until after the first of the year because markets are currently saturated with foreign produced fat. As soon as the American market becomes able to absorb more foreign production, it can and will be imported in the face of the most recent Presidential Proclamation.

We must keep dairy farmers, and through them Congress, aware of this almost certain eventuality, so that Congress will be ready to act when it can be presented with evidence of the latest breakdown in import controls.

For some reason or other, the price support program never comes under attack in Congress merely because it costs money.

It does, however, come under attack when we begin to read editorials about mountains of butter accumulated in warehouses; it comes under attack when we see editorial cartoons of some Secretary of Agriculture sitting upon these mountains of butter and cheese and skim milk.

Therefore, it is necessary, in order to assure the continual operation and the necessary funding of the dairy price support program, to keep the accumulated surpluses moving into outlets where they can be properly used.

We have designed the school milk program; the school lunch program; the veterans and armed forces programs; the relief feeding programs; P.L. 480; and the Food for Peace programs as outlets into which surpluses can be channeled so that they do not accumulate and become a tool to be used to destroy price supports.

These two subsidiary type programs, import controls and surplus disposal, are, therefore, quite necessary to the successful operation and maintenance of the price support program, the third part of the legislative complex supporting dairy farmer programs.

While it is true that the dairy industry does have a complex of legislation which can be made to operate in its behalf, there are many specifics, many direct actions, which the administration can and should take to provide very badly needed increased farm income.

Most necessary actions can be taken under existing law.

For example, in this affluent society, wherein people have the greatest disposable income ever enjoyed by any group of people in any country at any time in history, there is no reason why milk prices should not be supported at the top limit allowed by law. This can be done today and should be done today, and it takes only the decision of one man to bring it about.

Another example, sanitary regulations currently imposed upon American dairy farmers, while they do provide for public assurance in the Nation's milk supply, are administered by so many public agencies that the farmer is many times at a loss as to what he should do and whose instructions should be followed. Wouldn't it be a wonderful thing if one qualified inspector could visit your farm and approve it as a source of milk supply?

Another example, when the 19 cooperative associations which control all of the organized milk in the northeastern section of the United States can meet and agree upon reasonable changes which should be made in the order programs, is there any reason that the government should not act with dispatch?

Another example, the government now holds tremendous quantities of surplus dairy commodities in its warehouses. As long as these stocks are available, prices cannot and will not advance appreciably during the fall and winter months of this year. There is no reason for a price support prorgam to be operated as a price ceiling for dairy farmers.

Another example, since August 3, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has had a petition filed on behalf of all cooperatives asking for a hearing to review all Class I pricing aimed at a 50 cents increase. Is there any reason that by today, October 11, we have had no response to that petition?

These then are the programs which support your operation.

These are the programs to which I ask you to address yourselves, and to do so in your own best interests.

I ask you to do so because there is no one else to ask but farmers.

No one else really cares.

You, the members of the Nation's largest milk marketing cooperative organization must concern yourselves with national dairy structures.

You are too big to set yourself apart from them.

Therefore, I would ask all of you to study first of all the basic complex of legislation which supports your production and marketing efforts. Study this legislation until you completely understand not only what it is designed to do but how it goes about meeting its purpose.

Study until you understand the laws which provide for your cooperative association. Study until you understand the price support laws and the system of disposals and imports which assure their successful operation. Study until you understand that the price support program really does support prices and how it does this. Study until you understand that the Marketing Act really regulates the price of milk.

And then, with a full understanding, you must make some decision.

There is a challenge to darly farmers today—perhaps the greatest challenge presented in the last three decades.

Imitation milk has finally appeared in a form which is apparently acceptable to consumers.

We must find our way through this problem.

It must be attacked on many fronts.

We in the National Milk Producers Federaiton are working on a new system of pricing which holds some hope.

I cannot tell you more about it because our work isn't done.

But it will be by mid-November at the time of our convention.

We intend to present it to the delegates at that time in the hope that it will provide a solution to this important problem.

Furthermore, you are going to be called upon in the very near future to make a decision which can have far-reaching effects upon your milk marketing program. We have had presented to us, what amounts to little more than a slogan, the *National Farm Marketing Board*.

Currently, the Secretary of Agriculture is presenting this concept as the possible solution to all farm marketing problems. I am not sure that I understand the function of a National Farm Marketing Board, I am not sure that anyone does. The idea could be little more than a fishing expedition with a fancy name for bait, an expedition in which the administration is fishing for the attention of the Nation's farmers in an attempt to secure their support.

It could, on the other hand, be the admission of defeat on the part of the administration in solving the myriad complex farming problems of today. Other Secretaries of Agriculture have followed this same course. Other Secretaries of Agriculture have attempted to balance the well-being of farmers with the realities of urban politics and have failed, whereupon they have said to farmers: "The solution to your problem lies in marketing—you do it."

Maybe that is what is intended by the National Farm Marketing Board. On the other hand, it may be a serious search for new ideas.

In any event, someone, for farmers, is going to have to judge this program and there is no one better equipped to judge it than the dairy cooperatives whose marketing programs must operate under the aegis of whatever the broad national program is.

Therefore, you have a responsibility to yourselves if and when this program ever comes to light, to study it until you understand what it really will do; and having gained an understanding of it, you have a further responsibility to judge the program. You must judge it against what you now have as basic farm legislation, and having judged it you must come to a decision, and then you must act on that decision.

You might say to me, "What can I do? I am a dairy farmer who milks his cows and delivers his milk—how can I affect the course of my government? How can I influence national public policy from a remote corner of northeastern U.S.?"

But, I might well say to you, "Let your minds range back . . .

"Back to the time when other farmers sitting in other meetings like this confronted with other problems . . .

"They needed a source of credit fitted to their particular need—Farm Credit.

They studied the problem.

They decided on a course of action.

They acted.

They applied this same technique to each of their problems as they occurred.

The Marketing Act.

Price Supports.

The Capper-Volstead Act.

Import Controls.

Disposal Programs.

These devices were not developed for them—farmers did the job themselves.

You can do the same. You must study; understand; decide; then—act.

You will be surprised at the results.

Vietnam: Statement by New Zealand's Prime Minister

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, America's presence in Vietnam today is true testimony to this country's determination to honor her commitments, no matter how much easier or more comfortable it might be to just forget about those commitments.

And we are not alone. There are other countries, too, that are honoring their commitments in Vietnam. As a member of SEATO, New Zealand was one of the countries to which South Vietnam appealed for aid 2½ years ago. The Government of New Zealand responded with assistance—both military and civilian. And again, just recently, the New Zealand Government decided to increase the size of that country's force in Vietnam.

In light of the increased involvement of that country in the war effort and in view of the approaching end of another year of fighting in Vietnam, the Government of New Zealand took a long, hard look at the Vietnam situation. The New Zealand House of Representatives recently had a major debate on the war. And the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Right Honorable Keith Holyoake, in a recent statement, attempted to further assess the situation with regard to the present and the future.

Mr. Speaker, I include this statement by New Zealand's Prime Minister in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

VIETNAM

(A statement by the Prime Minister, the Right Honorable Keith Holyoake; reviewing the situation; November 26, 1967)

Another year of fighting in Vietnam is drawing to a close and, I think it appropriate therefore to review the situation to try to assess the present position and the future. Such an assessment must take full account of a number of important recent developments which have a bearing on the course and conduct of the war. In Vietnam elections have been held and a new administration has been installed. At the same time the fighting appears to have reached a new peak of intensity and ferocity.

The allied Nations in Vietnam have made certain significant clarifications. Here in New Zealand the House of Representatives recently had a major debate on the war, and Members of Parliament who had recently returned from a visit to Vietnam have had an opportunity to present their views. These have assumed added point in the light of the Government's decision to increase the size of New Zealand's forces in Vietnam by the deployment of a second company of infantry.

In view of their importance, I propose to survey these developments in somewhat greater detail. I feel that I can do this most effectively if I first outline some of the issues which in my view lie at the heart of New Zealand's involvement in this distant war. It has always been clear to me, and I think to all of us who have thought deeply on the matter, that the special significance of Vietnam is that in an acute form it has confronted New Zealanders with the realities of their international position. At the heart of the debate over the Government's decision lies a choice—of adhering to the basic principles which have guided the country's foreign policy ever since it assumed full responsibility for its own destiny, or of abandoning them for uncertain and untried courses of action. Those basic principles are—support for the purposes of the United Nations Charter, resistance to aggression, defence of the rights of small states, participation in collective security arrangements and assistance to other countries in their economic and social development. These remain valid and should continue to guide New Zealand's actions. I am convinced too that the Government has applied them as scrupulously to the Vietnam situation as it has to every other major international question. The fundamental issues involved are starkly simple. Whose will is to prevail in South Vietnam—the imposed will of the North Vietnamese Communists and their agents, or the freely expressed will of the people of South Vietnam? Or more explicitly, are terror and armed aggression to succeed? Or are the people of South Vietnam to be free to determine their own destiny?

A CLEAR CASE OF AGGRESSION

It is striking that many of those who questioned the Government's decision to commit New Zealand troops two and a half years ago no longer deny, as they did then, the facts concerning North Vietnam's direct and massive responsibility for the conduct of the war in the South. It is relevant that many hundreds of documents captured from the enemy have established conclusively that North Vietnamese control over the National Liberation Front and the Vietcong is direct and all pervasive. Many continue, however, to deny that aggression is involved—on the grounds that Vietnamese are fighting Vietnamese and that the war is therefore only a civil war. Such a view evades not only the special circumstances of the Vietnam conflict, but also the clear record of international precedent. The facts of aggression are as decisive as they were in the case of North Korea's attack on South Korea, where the Communist North Korea fought against the free South Koreans, or as they would be if East Germany sent its forces across the dividing line into West Germany. It is true that there are superficial resemblances to a civil war. But the conflict is much more than that, and much more too than an armed insurrection by a purely local Communist movement. It is no longer in question that the Vietcong are wholly directed and largely sustained and supplied by North Vietnam. It is no longer a matter of doubt that the Vietcong are backed by large contingents of the regular Army of North Vietnam infiltrated deep into the heart of South Vietnam. In the face of such blatant external interference and attack, South Vietnam had no alternatives, if it wished to preserve its rights to determine its own future, to calling for outside assistance. And it had every right to do so.

NEW ZEALAND'S RECORD OF ASSISTANCE

New Zealand, as a member of SEATO, was one of the countries to which South Vietnam appealed. Our decision to give what assistance we could, military as well as civilian was not lightly taken. But to those aware of the central elements of our foreign policy it should have afforded no surprise. We undertook to help for the same reasons that we went to the assistance of South Korea and Malaysia. In all three cases, aggression had been committed, the peace and security of Asia were threatened, and legal, treaty and moral obligations were involved.

It is surprising that New Zealand's military involvement in Vietnam has evoked criticism while our contribution in Korea and Malaysia has not. Why should that be when the purposes which New Zealand has sought in both countries have been the same?

THE PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

What, now, are the prospects for the future? The objectives of South Vietnam and its Allies are simply to induce North Vietnam to abandon its aggression, to ensure that South Vietnam is free to decide its own future in accordance with the wishes of its people, and to work for a more stable and sensible means of solving the problem of South-east Asia. Obviously these objectives can best be secured through a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam conflict. But the North Vietnamese have bluntly rejected the many initiatives made to get discussion under way. They have shown no interest in a settlement other than one which would mean handing over South Vietnam to their control.

In this situation three courses could be followed: an all-out assault against North Vietnam which could rapidly bring that country to its knees but which would involve the risk of a major conflict; abandonment of the South Vietnamese people to Communist dictatorship; or a continuation of the present limited military measures, including the bombing of military installations and supply routes in the North. I have no doubt that so long as the bulk of the South Vietnamese people remain determined to resist North Vietnamese aggression the third course is the right one for New Zealand to support.

FORCES FOR VIETNAM

On 17 October I announced that in response to a request from the Government of South Vietnam, it had been decided to increase New Zealand's military assistance to South Vietnam by the transfer of another company of infantrymen from Malaysia. I had had the opportunity a few days before of discussing the Vietnam situation with the Australian Prime Minister and Cabinet. Among other aspects we considered the possibility of a joint increase in our forces there, and in the end we were able to do just that. The decision reflected certain of the realities of our international position—the closeness of the ties between us, the increasing need for us to be associated in practical ways and our growing sense of common purpose in the search for international peace and security. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear, since there has been some ill-advised comment on this point, that New Zealand, in the exercise of this and other judgments on the Vietnam situation, is in no sense subservient to the policies, attitudes and wishes of any of its Allies with interests in Asia. We naturally value opportunities to discuss with our Allies—as I discussed with Mr. Holt in October—the political possibilities in Vietnam and the progress of the fighting. But let there be no misunderstanding. Whatever decisions we have made have been ours alone.

THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM

We exercise the same independence of approach towards problems arising from the conduct of the war and the search for a political settlement. For the most part our opinions on such issues are expressed in confidential exchanges with our Allies. But on at least one—the bombing of North Vietnamese military targets—I think it important that there be clear public understanding of our viewpoint.

The bombing of North Vietnam is a direct consequence of the decision of the Government of the North to seek to impose its will on South Vietnam by force of arms. The purpose of the bombing, along with the other military measures being taken, is to frustrate that attempt by hindering the infiltration of men and the flow of military supplies from the North to the South and by generally raising the cost of aggression. The bombing then is a part of the overall military effort made by the Allies to check Vietnamese attacks. It is true that infiltration has continued, sometimes at a high level. But the bombing has achieved important results. It has without doubt hampered North Vietnam's capacity for major military operations in the South and by so doing has saved the lives of thousands of Allied and South Vietnamese soldiers and civilans.

I would hasten to add, however, that while the Government accepts the military necessity for the bombing of military targets in North Vietnam, we have always been anxious to work toward a mutual scaling-down of military activities in Vietnam. We have always recognized that another suspension of the bombing could be an important step in this process. It is well known that the United States Government is ready to stop the bombing the moment North Vietnam gives a reliable sign that it is prepared to undertake some reciprocal step to reduce its military activity in the South or to make some meaningful advance toward a political settlement. This, however, the North Vietnamese Government has consistently refused to do. The United States Government has on five occasions ordered a halt in the bombing in the hope of evoking some favourable and constructive response from the North Vietnamese. One of these pauses was for 37 days. The only North Vietnam reaction was to exploit this opportunity to increase the flow of men and military equipment to the South which resulted in the loss of hundred of lives in the South.

Discouraging as these experiences have been, I feel that the circumstances could still arise in which a further pause in the bombing could be tried. Let me quote my words on this subject to the House on 26 October. I said: "I say again tonight, as I have said over the months and again recently, that a further pause in the bombing could be considered for a further peace initiative, particularly if—as has been suggested—it should come from the recently elected President of South Vietnam." At the same time I must add that I am convinced that any responsible national leader who urged such a course upon the United States would need to have taken full account of the existing military situation and of the human and military cost of past pauses. He would need to to have at least some confidence in the prospect of a favourable reaction from North Vietnam.

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

The stark fact is that Hanoi does not want peace, except on its own terms. Its attitude has clearly hardened in the past few months. Whereas there had been hopes earlier this year that the North Vietnamese might be about to become more flexible in their demands, now there is no such sign. Not only this, but they have increased the intensity of their military effort in the South, and have indeed been boasting that victory is again a possibility. Equally the Vietcong have stepped up their campaign of terror and subversion. The Allies have consistently and repeatedly made it known that they seek a political solution. They must and will, continue to search for peace, although it can be said with truth—but not despair—that every reasonable offer has already been made. In September President Johnson said: "We and our South Vietnamese Allies are wholly prepared to negotiate now. I am prepared and I am ready to talk tomorrow with Ho Chi Minh". Mr. Goldberg, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, said in the General Assembly on 21 September that his Government agreed that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 should constitute the basis for settlement. That, of course, has been one of the contentions of North Vietnam itself. Yet the response from Hanoi to these and all other offers has been the customary curt rejection. Why do they persist in this rigid attitude? No doubt they have been bolstered by their new military aid agreement with the USSR, but I believe that the answer is quite simply that they have underestimated the great determination of the peoples of the democracies to carry on with the defence of the people of South Vietnam. They consider the dissent in the Allied countries, which in my view has had disproportionate publicity in recent weeks, to be a sign of weakening resolve. I do not doubt the sincerity of the motives of the majority of those in the minority groups who demand peace in Vietnam. But what they call peace all too often amounts in reality only to the surrender of South Vietnam to the aggressor. It is sad indeed that the actions of these people serve only to fortify the resolve of the Communists and so help to prolong the war.

HAS A STALEMATE BEEN REACHED?

Are Allied sacrifice and effort leading to progress, or has nothing more been achieved than a stalemate which may last for a very long time?

The tide of the struggle is running in favor of the Allies. It is true that the enemy has still the capacity to attack—we have seen that only in recent weeks in the fierce battles around Dak To. But whenever he has done so he has been repulsed with heavy losses. It is true that the enemy is still able to make good his losses by infiltration from the North and by forced recruitment in the South. But at the same time the strength of the Allied forces grows substantially greater. It is true that there have been no spectacular gains. But we cannot expect them in a war of this nature, a defensive war limited both in its aims and its conduct. That is not to say that there have been no gains at all. On the contrary, the secure areas of South Vietnam have been extended, so that many more people may now live in relative peace and security. More roads and waterways have been cleared. And it should not be forgotten that only recently has the major build-up of Allied military strength been completed and only recently has it been possible to undertake meaningful military initiatives. Nor should it be forgotten that only two years ago South Vietnam was on the brink of being conquered by Communist aggression.

Even in the midst of war, development of South Vietnam's economy is taking place. Nation-building projects, such as hydroelectric schemes, are going ahead. Full economic reconstruction cannot of course take place until after the war. Nevertheless a marked degree of economic stability has already been achieved.

I attach particular significance to the steady progress being made at all levels in South Vietnam toward the achievement of representative government. South Vietnam now has an elected President and Vice President and an elected bicameral legislature. A Prime Minister has been appointed and a new Cabinet is in process of formation. All this has followed closely on the heels of the local government reorganisation which took place between April and July of this year. By any standards this is an impressive achievement, but the fact that elections were held freely and successfully in a country torn by war and comparatively untutored in the traditions of parliamentary democracy is remarkable indeed. We in New Zealand can only watch with sympathy the efforts the new government makes as it faces up to its momentous tasks.

Much of course, remains to be done. The important consideration, however, is that the basis has been laid for the development of a stable, broadly based and representative form of government. The South Vietnamese have shown that they overwhelmingly reject the Communist plans for the future of their country and they have indicated firmly that they wish to follow the path of free democratic government. If the various political and religious groupings in South Vietnam can now put their differences aside and work together for the common good of their country then we may be at the starting point of a new and more hopeful period. Certainly the stage has been set for new efforts to further the social revolution which is under way in South Vietnam and to pursue the search for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. If only the North Vietnamese will face up to the startling changes which have occurred in South Vietnam this could be a turning point in the long struggle for peace in Vietnam.

Operation Native Son

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it took a very fine editorial by a very fine television station to express beautifully the sentiments of a number of us who live in the Philadelphia area about a new kind of program.

Rather than attempt to describe the program, since this has been aptly described in the editorial itself, I submit the contents of that piece for the edification of all the Members of this House:

OPERATION NATIVE SON: A GOOD PROGRAM

(Presented by Peter W. Duncan, WCAU–TV editorial director)

Some countries are concerned with the increasing exodus of high level talent to other areas of the world; Great Britain, for example, has long been concerned with the so-called brain-drain from her shores.

The Delaware Valley is now undertaking a war to keep our own home-grown talent here at home. We're bringing this up now during the Thanksgiving break because there are many college students home now who should consider attending part or all of a three day conference over the Christmas vacation.

It's called Operation Native Son and we think it's a good idea. Business leaders from varied industries have set up the program to actively recruit local people for local jobs. By arranging it to fall within the Christmas vacation period, they can reach more students who go to college outside of the area.

More than 100 industries (ranging from steel to banking to education) will actively vie for people with (or working for) a Bachelor of Arts or Science Degree, a Masters Degree or a Ph. D. Operation Native Son will be held December 27th through the 29th at the Sheraton in Philadelphia. The Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce has all the details.

This program is good for almost everyone. It's good for the student because all the contacts are in one place. It's good for the participating industry because it draws top flight talent to his door step. And it's good for the Delaware Valley because it creates a natural flow of brainpower in this direction.

Who does it hurt? It hurts other areas around the country who haven't had the initiative to set up their own program.

Letters From Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, like all Congressmen, my daily mail brings many letters from home. This week, however, I was both surprised and pleased to hear from the younger generation in St. Paul, Kans., who wrote me some very "chatty" letters. It is most refreshing to me, that while our country is faced with the cold realities of strife and hunger and war, that the American people have managed, somehow, to maintain an atmosphere whereby our youth can still enjoy the first years of their lives as children. While I realize there are some places, even in this country, where that is not possible, I am grateful that my own district of Kansas allows kids to be kids. It was most reassuring for me to read the 24 letters written me by the fifth-graders of St. Paul Grade School in St. Paul, Kans.

I do not think any exschoolteacher, such as myself, could read the letters I received without interest. The future of our country depends upon them and upon the responsibility felt toward them by our schoolteachers. We have heard and said that many times, but I hope we still listen and find meaning in it. God endows each child with a special talent, and teachers like Mrs. James Rowland in St. Paul Grade School unlock those talents by searching the hearts and minds of the youth they are privileged to teach.

Out of the mouths of babes come gems of wisdom. For your interest and pleasure, I insert portions of these letters into the RECORD. I commend their refreshing content to the attention of my colleagues in hopes that we will be reminded of what we all are about—lest we forget.

DAVID: I like the way you handle problems. So I'd like you to help me. If we have two days of school, we would like to have two days of vacation. If you don't like this, write and tell me.

MARY: Do you think you could write to us? Our whole school would really be surprised. Maybe you don't have enough time to read my letter because I bet there is plenty more letters and you are pretty important. Now that I started to think of what to say, I just can't get over I'm writing to you.

CINDY: I really don't like school very much but I guess I will stick to it. What kind of a job do you have?

SARA: In school we are studying about the Declaration of Independence. The Americans were just about the first people to break away from their mother country. But there was more to the Declaration of Independence than that. There was a brand new idea in it that excited the people of the world. Do you know what that idea was? It was the idea that the people of a country should make the laws and the king or government should carry out the laws. Do you know what that idea meant? Instead of the king or government being the master of the people, he was the servant of the people.

EDDIE: Why do we have to go to school. The teachers give us too much work and not enough recess time. I wish there wasn't any school at all in the whole Universe.

ROBERT: You better expect some mistakes because this is the first time I ever wrote to the Congressman.

GERARD: We have three recesses but they're not long enough. And I think someone ought to do something about it. And I hope they do very soon.

BETTY JEAN: There are 17 in my family. There's eight brothers and seven sisters plus Mom and Dad. We live in St. Paul on a farm. There is two dogs, 10 horses, 10 ducks, 3 rabbits, 3 geese. I wish you could come to my house.

Electric Reliability Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Electric Reliability Act of 1967 is another unwarranted and unwise attempt to extend Federal control and regulation into the areas where the public interest would be better served by leaving decisions and responsibility in the hands of private enterprise.

I wish to share with Members an excellent statement on this subject issued last Wednesday by A. N. Prentice, executive vice president of the Ohio Power Co. The statement points up the major defects of the proposal in terms that anyone can understand.

A. N. Prentice, executive vice president of Ohio Power Company, today described the so-called "Electric Reliability Act of 1967" as "a bad bill." He added that a more fitting title for the Federal Power Commission-proposed bill would be the "Unreliability Act."

Congressional hearings on the bill began in mid-November and will continue into the coming year. In the Senate the bill is designated S. 1934; in the House of Representatives, H.R. 10721.

The company's position on the bill, Mr. Prentice said, is very simple "We're against it, because it would materially impede and weaken reliability rather than strengthen it."

Mr. Prentice said: "Reliability is something every electric utility aims for, and has been 99% successful in attaining. We do not quarrel with this objective of the FPC. And we agree completely with a statement made by FPC Chairman Lee White in a speech before the National Association of Railroad and Utility Commissioners, in which he said that 'the basic responsibility for meeting reliability problems rests with the industry and should continue to do so . . .'."

"But," Mr. Prentice continued, "under the FPC bill, the Commission would be authorized to take over decision-making in the planning, construction and operation of utility systems. We—the utility industry—cannot fairly be held accountable or responsible for reliability of service if we no longer have the authority to build the facilities we deem necessary to carry out that responsibility."

The provisions of the bill call for the establishment of regional councils, the membership of which would include representatives of every electric system in the region, including those with facilities and operations that could have no effect on reliability, he said.

The regional councils would be required to prepare plans for transmission and generation facilities in the region. These plans, which would necessarily include decisions as to the construction of generation and transmission facilities, would have to be prepared under quasi-judicial procedures requiring extended debate, the preparation of majority and minority reports, filings with FPC, possible hearings and interventions, a decision by FPC which may disapprove or modify the plans, and the further possibility of extensive court review of the FPC decisions. Such procedures could extend over many years before plans and decisions could be regarded as finally approved, he declared.

In addition, according to Mr. Prentice, a utility could no longer construct any transmission facilities of more than 200,000 volts unless a proposal for that construction were filed two years before it is proposed to start such construction. This construction would be held up for at least six months "after acceptance of such filing," in the bill's words, and for any additional period during which a suspense order of the Commission remains in effect. FPC would be authorized to issue such suspense orders, to call hearings on any such proposed transmission lines, to invite intervention and comments and, thereafter, to reject or modify any such proposal.

Here again, Mr. Prentice said, FPC's decision would be subject to extended court review, and construction of required transmission facilities could be held up during all of this time.

In Ohio Power Company's view, there are four basic reasons why the FPC legislative proposals should not become law:

First, the very reliability sought by FPC can be achieved without legislation. "There has been no evidence," Mr. Prentice said, "that utility systems have failed to work cooperatively with FPC or with each other. In many parts of the nation, voluntary regional groups of electric utilities are already setting standards of reliability and putting into effect coordination agreements. Ohio Power Co. is participating in many of these right now."

Second, while reliability is touted as the principal reason for the bill, he said that the proposal includes "a great many matters which are not relevant to reliability, and sometimes even conflict with it." He mentioned the economics of power supply, the proper place of the small distribution systems, and the emphasis given to esthetic considerations, which are generally remote from reliability.

Third and most important, he said, even where FPC desires to speed things along, the bill's provisions have substantial delays written in at every stage. "Filings are required. Controversy and intervention are invited and encouraged, and hearings and appeals from all sides can cause interminable delays. And all the while, the plans for the very projects which would help to further the very reliability FPC seeks would be gathering dust somewhere."

And finally, the bill would divide responsibility and authority. "The primary responsibility to provide reliable electric service has been, and should continue to be, imposed in the utility systems," Mr. Prentice said. But he continued, the utility systems cannot carry out that responsibility if they do not have the authority to build the facilities they deem necessary for that purpose.

"In addition to the very serious problems of extended delay built into the legislation, FPC would be given virtually absolute power to disapprove or require modifications of any generation or transmission facilities," he said.

"I do not see how our System or the industry could fulfill its responsibility for reliable service under these conditions. We must continue to retain the authority to be able to make decisions and to proceed with as little delay as possible to provide the facilities necessary for reliable electric service.

"We agree," he concluded, "that FPC, as the principal Federal regulatory agency in the electric power field, has a proper role to play in assuring reliability of electric service. That role can best be filled by continuing to work on a cooperative basis with the utility industry, by keeping abreast of developments, by issuing recommendations from time to time, and in general by seeing to it that the utility industry does carry out its responsibility to render reliable service."

Institute of Urban Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as if the intellectuals and textbook schemers have not wrought enough damage to our American cities—now the American people are to be saddled with more power thinkers from an urban renewal institute.

Nonprofit organizations again. This is, they pay no taxes after they promote, brainwash, and use public relations to raise your taxes to finance their fancy plans to take your house, your property, and your wages, all in the unselfish commitment for progress.

Tax-free untouchables who dream against everything individual. What a shame we cannot all be millionaires or have at least one tax-free foundation of our own.

I ask that the article from the Washington Evening Star for December 6 be inserted, as follows:

JOHNSON PICKS SIX TO CREATE URBAN INSTITUTE

(By Garnett D. Horner)

President Johnson took the initial step today toward organizing an Institute of Urban Development as an independent, nonprofit corporation to help find the long-range answers to the complex problems of American cities.

He named a six-man group to get the institute incorporated and help select a board of directors.

The institute would be financed initially with part of the $10 million appropriated to the Housing and Urban Development Department this year for research.

The founding group named by the President includes J. Irwin Miller, president of the Cummins Engine Co.; Arjay Miller, president of the Ford Motor Co.; Kermit Gordon, president of Brookings Institution; McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation; Richard Neustadt, Harvard professor; and former Deputy Defense Secretary Cyrus Vance, now a New York lawyer.

Joseph Califano, a special assistant to the President, said it was hoped that the group could begin its work before the end of the year and that sometime during the first half of next year the new institute could begin functioning.

He said the new institute's relationship to HUD would be somewhat like that of the Rand Corp. to the Air Force. The Rand Corp., started a few years ago, is credited with saving taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars by developing new ways of handling Air Force supplies, and most analysis systems.

High Taxes Result of Unbridled Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the problem of Federal spending and taxes is very much on the minds of every Member of this House and is of great concern to the public generally.

As pertinent to our present problem, I submit the following excerpts from a speech made on March 19, 1952:

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 578 and ask for its immediate consideration.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], and pending that, I yield myself 15 minutes at this time.

Mr. Speaker, for the past two decades this splendid young Republic has been going through one crisis after another; some were real, others mere political creations advanced to perpetuate those in control of the government in power. Today we are faced with another crisis, a real crisis, a crisis that threatens to destroy the fiscal foundation of the Republic. We are on the brink of the precipice of national bankruptcy. More and more thoughtful citizens throughout the country are realizing and fully appreciating the dangers ahead if this unbridled governmental spending is permitted to continue.

Today we, the representatives of the people, are given an opportunity to apply the brakes and thus make a further contribution toward reversing the trend in extravagant governmental spending.

This rule makes in order the consideration of H.R. 7072, the annual independent offices appropriation bill, a bill appropriating funds for the next fiscal year for most of the Federal bureaus. The President, through his Budget Bureau, requested of the Congress a total of $2,085,097,390 for these bureaus. The Appropriations Committee, under the able leadership of its subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMAS], has cut that request by a total of $700,048,695. In every case the committee has made substantial reductions excepting, of course, such items which are fixed and not susceptible to reduction.

As one who has long been interested in this economy drive. I desire now to express, in the premises, on my own part and on the part of my coworkers, the gratitude of all economy-minded Members of this body for the committee's efforts. While further efforts will be made in the form of appropriate amendements to make even further economies, I apprehend that determined efforts will be made by those Members of the House who consider themselves liberal minded to restore the reductions made by the committee in an effort to continue the spending spree. This effort must not prevail. The line must be held.

BALANCED BUDGET

Mr. Speaker, I have been alarmed for the past several years over the dismal picture presented of the country going deeper and deeper each year into the red while the Federal Government digs deeper and deeper into the pocket of the American taxpayers. More than a year ago a little band of southern Democrats, with the aid of others, in this body got together and agreed to accept the President's challenge to cut his budget. Last year we succeeded in trimming that budget several hundred million dollars. This year others have joined our group and the work continues. We have reason to believe that, with the addition of more and more converts to the cause, the budget can be balanced this year in spite of the $82,000,000,000 request of the President with the resultant $14,000,000,000 proposed deficit. If the economy line is held on this bill and the succeeding appropriation bills yet to come before us, there will be no necessity for any deficit. We can place ourselves on a pay-as-you-go basis. Therefore our immediate objective this year should be a balanced budget.

It is as obvious as the noonday sun that if we cannot balance the budget now, with an all-time high national income of cheap money together with an all-time high taxing program, the hope of ever balancing the Nation's budget is indeed dim. In fact, prudence suggests that under such conditions we should be retiring a part of our gargantuan debt and fortifying our fiscal condition for the eventual rainy day.

FANTASTIC GROWTH OF NATIONAL DEBT

Mr. Speaker, the growth of our national debt and the fantastic amount of taxes extracted from our people has caused me to do a little research. I thought it might be well to call the attention of the Congress and the country to some comparative figures of taxes and expenditures by our Federal Government at 25-year intervals over a period of the past 160 years of the country's history. The startling results are as follows:

Period	Total expenditures	Net receipts	Change in public debt
1789 to 1813	$219,233,000	$221,816,000	[1] $6,024,000.00
1814 to 1838	534,759,000	644,634,000	—71,053,000.00
1839 to 1863	2,232,812,000	1,130,702,000	1,109,339,000.00
1864 to 1888	8,833,181,000	8,881,529,000	264,858,000.00
1889 to 1913	12,701,857,000	12,787,468,000	—191,584,000.00
1914 to 1938	124,883,429,000	89,393,932,000	35,971,693,000.00
1939 to 1952 [2]	638,131,389,000	419,494,298,000	260,193,628,740.39

[1] 1790 to 1813.
[2] To Mar. 13, 1952.

To say that the figures are startling is an understatement. It is significant to note that in the first period of the country's existence, when the Jeffersonian principle that the people who are least governed are best governed was in full bloom, and prior to the growth of the doctrine of paternalism that the poor young striving Republic actually had a substantial balance of more than $6,000,000 in the Treasury. Compare that figure with the national debt of more than $260,000,000,000 today and one is compelled to question the oft-repeated statement that the country today is more prosperous than ever before in its history. Moreover, I desire to again call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that the Government is no different in its fiscal affairs from the individual or a corporation. The management of Government is a business matter. The fact that Government is big business makes no difference. And I repeat what I have often stated on the floor of this House, "There is a bottom to the Government's meal barrel as well as to the individual's or the corporation's."

INCONCEIVABLE DEBT

Mr. Speaker, we have been lulled into complacency so long by the so-called liberal thinkers and have been so accustomed to appropriating the taxpayers' money in denominations of billions that it is impossible to comprehend what a billion really is. Some mathematician, in an effort to comprehend a billion dollar figure, has come up with this startling illustration:

"If a person had started in business in the year A.D. 1 with a billion dollars capital, and if he had managed his business so poorly that he lost $1,000 each day, in 1952 he still would have enough capital left out of his original billion to continue in business, losing $1,000 a day, for almost an additional 800 years, or until the year 2739."

Now in order to attempt to get some conception of how long it will take us to retire the present national debt of over $260,000,000,000 let us assume that we are frugal and prudent and start retiring that debt at the rate of $500,000,000 a year; 520 years would be required to retire the debt.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, if further emphasis is desired on our financial status one needs only to refer to the fact that it now requires more than $6,000,000,000 per annum in the form of interest to service this enormous debt. The Treasury has now asked for and we appropriated last week an increase of $300,000,000 to take care of the increased interest on that debt over last year. In other words, the interest alone on our national debt is costing the taxpayers now about one and one-half times as much as the total expenditures for 1 year of the Federal Government in the period of 1914–38.

DARK BUT NOT HOPELESS

Mr. Speaker, that, sir, is the fiscal condition of the greatest business in the world, the United States of America. It is an unpleasant picture. It cannot be passed off lightly with the explanation that we are in a global warfare against communism, another crisis. Neither can we comfort ourselves into further complacency by adding to that the fact that we have recently emerged victoriously from a global strife with Nazi Germany and totalitarian Japan. The fact is that the country has been victorious in other contests at arms and through other crises throughout its history without serious impairment of its financial structure. Those crises, prior to World War II and prior to the Soviet Russian menace, were serious too in their day. Can it be logically reasoned that the situation in this country for the past 6 years has been so grave as to require the extraction of more taxes from the American people than was taken from them in the first 156 years of the country's existence? I think not.

Permit me to again point out to my colleagues what I have repeatedly pointed out on the floor of this House during the past 6 years that so far as the masters of the Kremlin are concerned they want neither war nor peace. Their main purpose, in my humble judgment is to conquer this country, as they have conquered all others, by the simple procedure of bleeding us white in the destruction of our economy. They would accomplish this here as elsewhere through fear, infiltration, by prodding us into national bankruptcy, and taking over in the resultant confusion of chaos and hunger. No one realizes more than the Kremlin strategists that a hungry belly cares little about the type of government it lives under. In substantiation of this I call your attention to the well-known fact that more than 600,000,000 peoples have been drawn behind the iron curtain without the firing of a single gun by a Russian soldier.

CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. Speaker, the solution to our financial problem and the responsibility therefor are strictly up to the Congress. More than that it is up to this House to see that the dangerous trend is reversed. I need not remind you that the wise men who founded this Government provided that because we of the House must originate all taxes and appropriations we should be elected every 2 years. We cannot hide behind the Chief Executive or complain of the traditional policy of the other body to increase appropriations. Certainly, at best the responsibility is two fold, the President and the Congress. Furthermore, I should like to refresh your memories today by calling your attention to the fact that the people of America are tax conscious as never before. The income tax, originally designed and practiced as a soak-the rich tax, has become so enlarged that it now digs into the pockets of the smallest business man, the white-collar workers, and the day laborer. The policy, under the Fair Deal program, of everybody "touching" the Federal Government has likewise developed into the policy of the Federal Government "touching" everybody. Even the humblest citizen now realizes that the Federal Government is no Santa Claus. In fact, we have reached the saturation point in taxation. With the tax rate as high as 90 percent in the upper brackets, the incentive for businessmen to make money scarcely exists, while the day laborer and the middle class find it difficult to live under the high rate of their own taxes.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the people, the overburdened taxpayers of this country, are looking to us, as their representatives, to at least balance the budget. In fairness to those who founded this Republic and to the generations of future Americans yet unborn, we can do no less.

SOLUTION

Mr. Speaker, I fear that I have been boresome, and that I may even be charged with pessimism, in this long recital in an effort to emphasize the seriousness of the situation. It is serious. America is at the cross-roads in its fiscal policy. If we not chance that policy we become a bankrupt people. If we destroy the faith and credit of the Government we lose everything, our economy, our standard of living, yes, even our cherished liberties.

If the Congress is to regain its constitutional control of the purse strings; if the budget is to be balanced; if we are ever to liquidate this enormous debt, I respectfully suggest and urge that the following formula be adopted:

First. Our legislative committees, as well as committees on appropriations, must cease reporting out bills except those which are absolutely essential to our economy and national defense.

Second. Every Member of this body must recognize that the objective of balancing the budget is his most important assignment.

Third. Sectionalism, partisan politics, responsiveness to highly organized minorities, must give way to the national need for a sound financial policy.

Fourth. Every dollar appropriated must be considered as carefully as if it were coming out of the pockets of the Members themselves, as indeed the Members' proportionate share is.

Fifth. Our congressional committees, particularly the appropriation committees, must be staffed with an adequate staff of experts equal in efficiency to the staffs of the various governmental agencies who appear before them seeking appropriations.

Sixth. The Congress and the country must recognize that financial solvency is as important as military might in preparing ourselves against any potential foreign aggressor, a fact which our military captains should be made to understand.

Seventh. Our foreign friends must be made to understand that there is a limit to the resources of America.

Eighth. The system of permitting the carry-over of unspent funds from the current fiscal year into the new year must be abandoned. A meticulous study of the 1,200 pages of the President's budget this year will show that the carry-over of unspent funds from the current fiscal year will exceed $60,000,000,000.

Ninth. The procurement of military requirements, which constitute more than 50 percent of our expenditures, must be placed in the hands of trained civilians who appreciate the value of the dollar.

Tenth. And finally, the citizens of the Republic, now conscious as never before of the burdens of taxation, must practice the doctrine of States' responsibility as well as States' rights. The practice of looking to Washington for Federal aid in civil responsibilities of their own must cease. They must realize that there is no State, county, or city whose financial statement is not sounder than that of the Federal Government.

Finally, Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, this budget can be balanced and must be balanced this year. Whatever it takes to balance it must be done. A $14,000,000,000 deficit under the President's budget recommendations is unthinkable. If this country, the last fortress and haven of a free people, is to survive our fiscal policy must be placed on a sound basis. The time is now. Next year may be too late. Now is the time to place the country above party.

In the name of the founding fathers who gave the country its birth, in the name of the untold thousands who have died to preserve it, in the name of free peoples everywhere, I beseech you to save the Nation from bankruptcy and thus perpetuate this, the most glorious form of free government ever conceived by the minds of men.

Hungarians in Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I am commending the fine speech by my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. PATTEN] on the prevailing conditions in Communist Rumania, with particular emphasis on the situation of the 1.75 million Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

During the last Congress many of my colleagues have raised this subject in speeches and in resolutions submitted to the Chair. We feel that despite the passage of time, the conditions under which the Rumanian people in general, and the Transylvanian Hungarians in particular, are forced to live are unbearable for any developed, freedom-loving people anywhere.

Today, it is fashionable to parrot the slogan of liberalization and nationalization of the formerly satellite regimes in Eastern Europe and to promote bridge-building. However, there is little evidence of such developments in fact in these countries. It is true that some of the most odious ways of persecution of the people and oppression of religious groups have abated somewhat in some of the Eastern European countries, but not, unfortunately, in Rumania.

It is also correct to state that Rumania is following a more nationalistic policy than in 1956, but any conclusions of a real rift between Moscow and Bucharest remain figments of wishful imagination. As Eugene Lyons, the senior editor of Reader's Digest, put is in his speech on November 7, 1967, at Seton Hall University, because of popular dislike the Rumanian Communists would even refuse independence from Moscow should it ever be offered to them, as Moscow is the ultimate guarantee of their existence.

Under such circumstances, the belief that Rumania can become an independent country where freedom will flourish at least to some extent remains the eternal pipedream of those who believe that communism will change its spots. The fate of the 1.75 million Hungarians in Transylvania offers further proof for our assertion. Bearers of a rich, 1,000-year-old culture, and the state nation in Transylvania during most of this milennium, the Hungarian minority now faces denationalization, political and religious repression that fails to abate, rather it heightens as a result of recent developments. Their fate should be a warning to us that permanent, peaceful coexistence with communism remains impossible and we should not cease to raise our voices against the denial of human and civil rights in Rumania, even though the chances of their heeding them might remain very small indeed.

Retirement of Merritt Crouch, of Alliance, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, it must be a very rewarding experience for a man to retire from active work, leaving behind a tangible monument to the success of his life's work. Few men are this fortunate. One of them is my very good friend, Merritt Crouch, of Alliance, Ohio, who retired October 31 after 41 years of service with agricultural cooperatives.

Merritt's monument is the United Cooperatives, Inc., an organization which moved into Alliance in 1939 when Merritt was asked to select a location for a new paint manufacturing plant. Later, general headquarters of United Cooperatives moved to Alliance and in 1943 he became its acting general manager. He retired this year from the position of executive vice president and general manager.

During his years of leadership the volume of business increased from approximately $4,000,000 to over $50,000,000. Anyone who does business with any cooperative is familiar with the Unico label and the reliable products manufactured and/or distributed by this agency.

Merritt Crouch has always had time for civic activities in addition to his life in business, and has been a leader in chamber of commerce affairs. Most recently he has been working on the establishment of legal aid services for the poor in Stark County. His interests are varied and his energies seem unlimited. Though retired, we expect Merritt Crouch to remain a dynamic force in the life of our county and State for many years to come.

Lyndhurst, N.J.: 50 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, when Lyndhurst, N.J., celebrated its 50th anniversary early this year, it marked a great stride forward for a township that is one of the most progressive townships in New Jersey, and I wish to bring this township's history to the attention of my colleagues:

HISTORY OF LYNDHURST, N.J.

PIONEER ROADS

For the aboriginal Lenni Lenape, trails 18 inches or so wide sufficed. These led to waterways, the primary "highways" for them and the early settlers. Access to flowing water determined early settlements.

They characteristically "improved" them by widening, mainly to permit two on horseback to pass. Many of these early roads continue as our highways today.

The improvements made by the early settlers merely consisted of clearing the surface. The roads in those hardy days were crude and rough, and remained so largely until the time the United States Constitution became operative. Strewn with boulders, stones, tree trunks, with deep ruts which in cold weather were etched permanently, with mud and mire too often forming the base, these roads thoroughly shook and jarred the bones of the intrepid pioneers, who took this in stride whenever they travelled over them. Coaches were made with sturdy leather straps instead of iron or steel springs.

Thursday was coach day in the area, once a week service between New York and Philadelphia. Travellers would often help push coaches out of ruts or mire, when stuck on the road.

The English proved to be more efficient than the Dutch, after they had conquered in 1664. The Dutch were more interested in fur trade; the English in permanent settlement and the suzerainty that meant power.

As early as 1673, we find the first recorded act authorizing road building. Nine years later the East New Jersey Assembly passed a more complete Public Roads Act, providing for the Province to build, and the county to pay out of taxes. John Berry was appointed one of the first road commissioners, in 1682. With this great impetus Indian paths were widened, new paths were laid, and old ones were connected through new approaches. Construction usually began within two years of the charter.

Dating back to those days are River Road, Union Avenue in Rutherford (then called Boiling Springs Lane) Hackensack Street (then Polifly Road) to Newark and Belleville Turnpike. The latter was built by John Schuyler in 1759 to transport copper ore from his mine in North Arlington to the Hackensack River.

In 1804 the Bergen Turnpike was completed from Hackensack to Hoboken and hailed as a tremendous advancement in road building. Developed in England during the preceding century, turnpikes reduced travel time for a trip from 14-16 days to 60 hours. No wonder they spoke of "flying carriages" as they named some coach trips.

In this area, three-inch-thick cedar planks from the swamps were laid athwart the roadbed. The 6-inch gap was packed thoroughly with dirt. Correctly engineered well graded roads with adequate drainage ditches prevented the characteristic out-of-line winding of the roads. Bridges were built whenever necessary.

Tolls at four stations, where turnstiles controlled travel, helped pay for the smoother ride; varying from 9 cents to two bits; tolls were waived for those going to church, the mill, a funeral, for the militiamen on muster day, a farmer going from one part of his farm to another. Milestones erected according to law, indicated mileage from Hoboken.

Some of the six men who formed the Bergen Turnpike Company are well known today: Colonel John Stevens, uncle of John Rutherfurd who had been a surveyor, inventor and state attorney-general; Robert Campbell, attorney and assemblyman. Also an outstanding official was ex-sheriff Adam Boyd; a patriot during the Revolution, he was also a Congressman and judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

Others were Garrett G. Lansing, Lewis Moore, and Nehemiah Wade.

Soon the State built other plank roads. A second one in the Lyndhurst area was the Paterson Plank Road built about 1814 to Hoboken, then a mecca for shipping and picnics. Leive's Halfway House, long a landmark on this road and a haven for the weary traveller, burned down recently. A tavern to the end, its original name had been restored after an interval of some thirty years.

VAN WINKLE HOUSE

The Masonic Club of Lyndhurst was presented with photographs, architectural drawings and historical data compiled by the Historic American Buildings Survey N. J. 477 (FN-346) "Jacob Walling Van Winkle House" as recorded in the Library of Congress.

"Jacob W. Van Winkle House, Riverside and Valley Brook Avenues, Lyndhurst, Bergen Co., N.J.

"Owner: Masonic Club of Lyndhurst.

"Date of Erection: 1797 main house, wing probably a little earlier.

"Builder: Jacob W. Van Winkle.

"Present Condition: Good.

"Number of Stories: Two.

"Materials of Construction: Foundation, stone; exterior walls, brownstone; interior walls, plaster; inside brick chimneys; roof, gambrel on main, pitch on wing.

"HISTORICAL DATA

"One of the later deeds records that the property was acquired by Jacob W. Van Winkle on Jan. 14, 1789 by deed from John R. Meyer and wife et als. It is supposed to have been a tract of about five hundred acres. It passed from Jacob W. to his son Walling J. and to his son Jacob, and was sold out of the family by the heirs of Jacob Van Winkle to James Watson who gave a mortgage to August Belmont who assigned this mortgage to William Travers. After Watson's death his four brothers were defendants in a mortgage foreclosure. Travers received his deed from the sheriff of Bergen County. It went out of the Travers family to the Travers Realty Co. in 1905; then it was sold to Anna Hauck and her husband Charles. Anna Hauck later became Anna Klarmann and she and her husband conveyed the property to the present owners in 1921.

"This building played a part in the old Tally-Ho days, and it knew August Belmont, Sr. and Boss Tweed. Next to the building was the race track of James S. Watson where August Belmont and Pierre Lorillard were visitors. Later on the building was used as a private school.

"The foundation of the building is of stone two feet thick. The exterior is brownstone from the Avondale quarries just across the Passaic River in Essex County.

The original iron numerals on the front of the house indicate the date of erection as being 1797. However, the kitchen wing was probably built shortly after Van Winkle acquired the property in 1789.

"Information from W. C. Fairchild, Rutherford, New Jersey.

"A search of Bergen County records by Frank P. Caufield, Essex County Office

"(Signed) WALTER E. RUTT,
"Supervising Historian.

"(Signed) Approved:
"SEYMOUR WILLIAMS, F.A.I.A.,
"District Officer.

"(From Historic Buildings Survey, N.J. 477, FN-346, official records of The Library of Congress.)"

Mrs. Catherine Molloy, wife of Tax Assessor, Walter Molloy, is the daughter of the Haucks and was born in the Van Winkle House. She now lives a few houses southward on Riverside Avenue.

The colonial Van Winkle House with it's three sub-cellars, and about nine huge underground cooling chambers or refrigeration cisterns extending under the lawn from the eminence sloping toward the River, served as ideal facilities for the brewery and bottling plant of Hauck.

An old well stood on the northwest corner of the property.

The Burritt family have a genealogical background of three centuries as New England Yankees before settling in Lyndhurst. "Sonny" Burritt enjoys reminiscing about the olden days from pictures in his family album. The "mighty smithy" in "The Village Blacksmith", perpetuated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, was Sonny's forebear, Blacksmith Burritt.

In order to appreciate the significance of the colonial "Van Winkle House" (now the Masonic Club of Lyndhurst), we will embrace and narrate a brief resume of the colorful environment of the early New Barbadoes Neck (Lyndhurst) community on the Passaic River, which was heralded in the sonnets of Washington Irving as the "most beautiful stream in America".

In addition to the sub-cellars, prisoner slave cells with heavy chains attached to the two foot foundations, there were huge tunnels and escape hatches to the Passaic River.

These tunnels were sealed when the Army Engineers dredged the Passaic River 40 feet below low water to accommodate travel for deep draft shipping.

Some of the other old structures along the Passaic River on both banks had similar escape tunnels and hatches to the River—at times believed to have been connected with the "Underground Railway System" for transporting slaves. Dick Merriwell wrote dime novel adventures, especially regarding the tunnels of the "Edgarston" of John Rutherfurd at Rutherford Avenue.

Washington Irving was a frequent house guest at Edgarston Manor, the mansion of John Rutherfurd, reputed as the largest land owner in New Jersey.

Boating on the beautiful Passaic River was a great pleasure, especially in canoes and sailboats. Yachting was a great sport—as were all kinds of water sports, especially swimming in the pure clear water.

The steamboat "Olive Branch" sailed regularly between Newark and Passaic in 1858. It blew a steam boiler and was followed by another steamer "The Wadsworth" which also had a faulty high pressure boiler and blew up. Financial disaster met all the steamers on the Passaic.

In 1865 a sidewheeler, the "Hugh Bolton", fared much better and made six regular trips daily, timed according to tides. Because the Passaic River was not channeled yet, the tides served as the time table for the trips.

Civil War enlistees sailed on the Confidence, built in 1860. The boat was sunk later in the war.

The "Passaic Queen", 35 ft. propeller boat, was the greatest in the "Gay Ninetees". It made daily pleasure trips between Passaic and Newark with pick-up and landing at the Rutherford Avenue dock.

WATER COST PENNY A PAIL

Prior to the Civil War water was sold at a penny a pail in Jersey City. It was sought after with a passion that would shame the bathtub-gin of the 1920's.

Wells were scarce in Jersey City in the 1850's with the exception of the "Hill section," the area in the peninsula between North Bergen and Bergen Point.

Then the Water Commission discovered it could tap the Passaic River near Belleville and pipe water into a reservoir in the Hill section. This was done in 1854.

Without doubt, Lyndhurst was the outstanding resort community of North Jersey, especially as it was beautifully situated on the eastern bank of the most picturesque river in America. The Passaic River was so pure that it was pumped into Jersey City as drinking water—until polluted with industrial waste.

Until the mid-nineteenth century there was very little industrial activity in the present Lyndhurst area with the exception of marketing of products from farming and the plentiful apple orchards for the Newark and New York produce markets; there were also the boat-building shipyards of Kingsland, Rutherfurd and Joralemon on the Passaic River. The three shipyards in Lyndhurst were famed for building some of the best sloops sailing from the New York harbor.

Two shipyards also were on the west bank of the Passaic.

Visiting guests and tourists came from distant points, event from Europe, to enjoy the famous resort facilities of this beautiful location on the Passaic, with fine bathing, fishing, boating, sports, thoroughbred racing, cock-fighting and many other activities for resort enjoyment.

It was a pleasant drive in good weather by carriage or stage-coach from the Passaic Bridge along River Road, passing beautiful flora, plantations and mansions under overhanging apple and peach trees and willows arching over the road, to Belleville Turnpike—and continuing from there to destination. One stagecoach route went eastward along Belleville Turnpike through Schuyler swamp (or meadows) to Paulus Hook, now Jersey City.

Another route crossed the Passaic River by ferry. When the Belleville Toll Bridge was built in 1854, the carriages and coaches used this, continuing along the west bank of the Passaic River into Newark. In 1880 tolls were eliminated when the bridge was taken over jointly by Essex and Bergen Counties as a free bridge.

The Lyndhurst Presbyterian Chapel on Park Ave. and Rutherford Ave. was built in 1868, the second floor being used as an academy, and for sundry political and public meetings.

EARLY CULTURE AND CHURCHES

Culture of the beginning years of the Barbadoes Neck communities was predominantly Dutch, even though the English Proprietors from Barbadoes Island (Penal Colony) did procure the Kingsland and Berry Tracts, after the Dutch New Netherlands was taken over by the British in 1664.

Early pioneers in nearby settlements were Dutch in Paulus Hook and Bergen French Huguenots (De Marist) settled further north. Their religious services were by Dutch Reformed dominies. Connecticut Yankee Puritans led by Robert Treat settled Newark in 1666, and a few poachers transgressed across the Newark Bay to the Kingsland-Sandford Tract. However, the British Kingsland-Sandford-Berry-Morris-Rutherfurd-Livingston families et al. intermarried with the Dutch pioneer families. It has been apparent even through the nineteenth century—that Dutch culture had prevailed in North Jersey. The Kingslands being Episcopalians founded the Christ Episcopal Church in Two Rivers (Belleville).

Until the Mid-Nineteenth Century the Dutch Reformed Churches in Belleville, Passaic, Secaucus, Bergen and Hackensack were attended by parishioners from Union Township (Rutherford-Lyndhurst-Kingsland). After the "Outsiders" coming into the community there occurred real estate developments, religious services were increased, especially after Park Avenue was cut thru from Boiling Spring Station Square to Valley Brook Avenue.

First officers of the local Presbytery organized in 1863:—were Daniel Van Winkle, David B. Ivison, William N. Crane, and services held in Ames Ave. Union Sunday School until the stone church was built on Park Ave. and Chestnut St. (Present Rutherford Library) in 1869. Presbyterian Chapels were also extended to Lyndhurst and Kingsland.

On March 4th, 1869, founders of the Protestant Episcopal Parish held a meeting in the chapel (2nd floor) of the Rutherford Park Hotel:—Charles Blakiston, George Kingsland, Robert Rutherfurd, Henry T. Moore, Joseph Torrey, George Blakiston, William Ogden, and the Chairman was Reverend James Cameron. Regular Sabbath Services were held in the hotel chapel on the second floor, and later at the Presbyterian Lyndhurst Chapel on Park Avenue.

"OUTSIDERS" PROMOTED BUILDING DEVELOPMENT

In the mid-nineteenth century after Rutherford and Lyndhurst became the Township of Union (1852) some "Outsiders" bought properties, which were held by intermarried families and their kin, for farming. This era was taken over by enterprising promoters of realty development and sports activities. Tourist trade to the resort area especially influenced the railroad transportation of visitors from New York and the West.

The first "Outsider" to buy from the old families was Floyd W. Tomkins. In 1858, he bought the Kettel farm house for his summer home, and soon acquired over 100 acres which he promoted as "Villa Sites at Boiling Spring." In 1860, there were about twenty homes in the Boiling Spring community. Churches and schools were founded. The public building Union Hall, was built in 1861. The Mount Rutherford Land Company was formed in 1865. Daniel Van Winkle donated lands for the public building and for the railroad station, which was built in 1862 by Paterson and Hudson River Railroad (Erie Railroad).

Peace Through Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following poem written by Vernon S. Babcock, of Pittsburg, Kans., who is considered by his friends to be the poet laureate of southeastern Kansas.

PEACE THROUGH PRAYER

(By Vernon E. Babcock)

Now Peace on Earth, cannot be brought,
  About with tanks and guns.
The methods we've used up to date,
  Methinks are useless ones.
Peace on Earth, the world can find,
  Outlined in The Master's Plan.
For the principles are based upon,
  The brotherhood of man.
A vast amount of money,
  The world has thus far spent,
In building up a war machine,
  With guns and armament,
Which if it had been wisly spent
  In the ways of peace it would
Have fed those starving nations,
  And brought the world much good.

A lasting peace is what the world,
  Today is striving for.
It must come from the hearts of men
  If we do away with war.
And "Peace, through Prayer" can be attained,
  If we bow our heads each day,
And offer up a Prayer for Peace
  In a reverential way.

An Editor's Point of View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, an editor and publisher of newsletters from the lakes region of New Hampshire, Mr. Fredric Stoessel, has written a special message concerning our economic dilemma and the crisis in Vietnam. His analysis of these urgently important questions is thoughtful and deserves reading.

For those who are interested in an editor's point of view, I am inserting it in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

A SPECIAL MESSAGE

(By Fredric Stoessel)

As editor and publisher of two newsletters I have attempted to keep strictly within the bounds of reliable and documented facts. It is seldom that I feel personally deep enough to produce and circulate a message consisting of my personal opinion. I am so doing because I feel the following is essential, helpful and needed.

I wish to discuss two problems which are vital to the nation, its future, and to each individual. They are (1) Vietnam and (2) the economic situation. You have it in your hands to make a sizable contribuion to their solution. This letter will first of all outline the two problems and end with concrete suggestions as to what you can do and how. Confusion is sweeping the country, with dissention bordering on disorder and anarchy. The youth of the nation see irresponsible labor leaders, politicans, church leaders, and business men. They see corruption in high places. They are bitterly disillusioned over the failure of social and civil rights programs and Vietnam. Their mood is anger, frustration and powerlessness. Basically they are combating conformity and denial of answers on the part of their adults. Their parents have enjoyed prosperity, they have comfortable homes, ringing cash registers, yet they are apathetic to the problems of their children, and blind to the powers influencing them. As with people who have their comforts—they don't want to be bothered. For a most revealing documentation of this see the December 1967 issue of Reader's Digest page 96. As I shall outline, the basic problem both in the Vietnam and economic situation, is the problem causing the above, the assumption that the prosperity of the United States will always be on hand, and the failure to see that it must be defended, protected, and honored, that prosperity is earned and not a gift from the gods.

VIETNAM

I am a Republican. I think it is obvious that the injection of the peace issue into the 1964 campaign was a mistake on the part of the Democrats which has come home to roost on President Johnson. I fully support the policies of the President. I urge that you also do for the following reasons:

A: South Vietnam is the victim of an armed attack. It is instigated and sustained by communism which wants to overthrow the lawful government by force, terror and violence. If we pull out or stop, the next target is the Philippines. Then will come Hawaii and finally California, each time with a more powerful enemy.

B: Hanoi broke its 1954 pledge not to start hostilities. From 1954 until 1959 the communists built internal power by purging over 50,000 who opposed them. In 1959 they started sending in armed bands to overthrow South Vietnam.

C: Their main weapon is terror. They have killed, tortured, maimed, bombed, gunned down anyone standing in their way. Thousands of innocent civilians have been killed. While the dissenters in the US scream with each bomb dropped on North Vietnam, they utter not one word in protest to the wanton killing and terror of the communists on an innocent population.

D: Hanoi has refused to come to the peace table. The liberals think they can get them there. Hanoi is counting on student demonstrations and internal pressures to force the US out of Vietnam. This is why they refuse to come to the peace table. Each demonstration plays into the enemy hands. This is exactly what happened in Paris in 1954. But our firm stand has won free Asia to our side, and these nations have seen what they can expect in communism.

As soon as President Johnson declared on November 17th, we were in to stay, Hanoi started sending peace feelers out. They want "out" now. Nothing will aid the solution more quickly than responsible citizens supporting the President, and saying "no" to the communists.

Let there be no mistake about it. We are winning in Vietnam. History is full of examples of a winning side stopping its efforts just as the enemy was about to quit, and also of armies surrendering when the enemy was about to withdraw. Any sign of weakness at this time will be paid for in blood, tears, misery and money by our grandchildren. I am delighted President Johnson has the courage to stand firm at this time.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The United States has changed from 1945 when it was the world's great creditor nation to the situation today where as a debtor nation we owe more abroad than we have on hand to pay it with. Any lack of confidence among our foreign creditors can cause a run on gold which will bankrupt the Treasury.

The United States since 1945 by massive borrowing and spending has made corporate profits soar. Big quantities of foreign aid monies have returned to the individual states in export orders. Few families under 50 know what it means to live in an atmosphere of money lack. Few businessmen under 50 have had to face expansion in times of unavailability of funds. Now even the government is having trouble finding money for its needs. It must keep a sharp eye at all times on foreign creditors seeking the first sign of trouble or any reason for lack of confidence.

The difficulty lies with short sighted policies and the host of planners we have had in high places advising Presidents. In general they are Rhodes Scholars and follow the lead of the British Foreign Office and British banks. An acute fear exists with this type of thinking to do anything which would offend the British. (In my personal estimation Vietnam would be over tomorrow if we stopped finance of red bloc nations and controlled exports of munitions abroad which end up in Vietnam for the communists.)

The point to consider is this. Our highest levels of government have been filled with polished ivy league graduates of the best schools. They have had no experience in life. They know nothing they have not read in a book or learned in a university. They are products on the whole of wealth and have never had to earn a living, have never run a business, and have no idea what it is like. They have always enjoyed the prosperity of the United States and assume it will always continue. They have no idea what makes that prosperity, or they would not want to give it away freely. They have never sweated out a customer complaint, an angry stockholder meeting, a law suit, auditors, or skirted bankruptcy. They have never had to keep union demands from eating up profits, while meeting foreign competition and lower prices. If they had they would have instinct. They would be able to sense and out maneuver the moves of foreign nations and people abroad. This is perfectly documented in the November 18, 1967 issue of Saturday Evening Post about McNamara who simply has no instinct and cannot understand why the communists do not react to his logic. These liberals and civil servants do not understand that when they extend gifts of funds and technical aid in good will programs, it can be used against us, or that those who receive it can lie, double cross, deceive and use these gifts of our hard labor for their own sinister purposes, and stab us in the back. They are horrified when this happens. We should demand experience, reliable people at the very highest and top positions in government.

Vocational Education Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in Ohio we are particularly proud of the work that has been done by our vocational education program, and I am happy to learn, through the good offices of the Ohio Vocational Association, that the record has won plaudits from Alice Widener in her syndicated column.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include two columns by Miss Widener which will be of general interest:

ATTACKS POVERTY CAUSE: OHIO IS LEADING THE NATION IN NEW EDUCATION CONCEPT

(By Alice Widener)

The root cause of urban poverty today in the U.S. is not prostitute mothers, drunken fathers, slums with rats and cockroaches, broken homes and racial prejudice.

The root cause is our snobbish, impractical, intellectually dishonest and misguided public school education system.

It is ill suited to most boys' and girls' real needs in our modern industrial and technological society and is geared mainly toward educating the 30 per cent minority of young people bound for college and the tiny 14 per cent minority destined to be graduated from college.

Our out-of-date, undemocratic and unworkable public school system largely neglects or mistreats educationally the 70 per cent of young people not college bound and not wishing to be, and is therefore mainly responsible for creating thousands upon thousands of dropouts, delinquents, unemployables and welfare recipients.

Determined to change the overall bad situation, the state of Ohio, under intellectually honest and dynamic Gov. James A. Rhodes, has taken the national leadership in trying to fulfill boys' and girls' real needs by providing them with the kind of vocational and technical education that enable them to find profitable employment with advancement for themselves and their families.

At Penta-County Vocational School and Technical College near Toledo, and at Timken Vocational High School in Canton, the students and teachers, along with city and state officials, laid bare for me the roots of our social problems.

At the Penta-County installation, young people from five counties near Toledo are rescued from the kind of all-day "book learning" public school education that was cruelly inflicted on them by academic and sociological theorists responsible for the mess in our urban communities by claiming falsely that all boys and girls are equal and every boy and girl should go to college.

The Penta-County school district covers 1400 square miles, serves 500,000 people, and offers three levels of vocational education—an area vocational high school, a technical college, and an adult evening division.

The school day is about 19 hours in shifts and the buildings are in use seven days a week. The education aim is "to offer a program to meet the needs of students, business, labor and industry in the area."

A student at Penta-County spends three-fourths of his or her day on vocational subjects and one-fourth on academic subjects.

It was an inspiring experience in these times to see the marvelous results obtained at Penta-County and similar results at Timken Vocational High School in Canton.

Here were classrooms full of attentive, respectful, quiet and stimulated boys and girls hanging on teachers' words and bent on self-improvement.

I saw educational wonders at Penta-County and Timken schools in Toledo and Canton. I believe I met the future elite in our nation—the boys and girls who will give it good citizenship and are developing in school the good qualities necessary for responsible community leadership.

In the historical past, Ohio has led the nation in being the home of future presidents of the United States. I believe it is now pointing the way toward developing future presidents of civic institutions, industrial enterprises, service groups and humanitarian organizations. The reason? Ohio is facing our nation's educational problems as they really are.

Today Ohio is pioneering in establishment of the educational development that can bring a bright future to our land.

While doing everything possible for the college future of 30 per cent of young people, Ohio is beginning to give the other 70 per cent their due so that—as the young people put it—they won't "get done out" in school and can win out in adult life.

OHIO PROJECT UNIQUE: PIONEER VOCATIONAL SCHOOL HELPS DISADVANTAGED BOYS

(By Alice Widener)

At Mahoning Valley Vocational School near Youngstown, Ohio there is now taking place a unique pioneering effort in vocational training for disadvantaged boys from 16 through 21 years of age.

Set up at a phased-out Air Force base, the Mahoning School is operated by several state groups working together to solve the basic educational problem that led to hasty creation of the ill-fated Job Corps and similar poverty program activities.

The school, a residential training place, is a really good example of how seed money from federal funds can be used effectively and profitably by local and state officials working with educators and industrial executives.

During several hours conversation with more than 30 young men who were school dropouts and former delinquents in one way or another, I heard the kind of plain honest talk that explains more clearly than volumes of academic sociological studies exactly what these boys' problems are.

"I work better with my hands than my head," said a palefaced, blond boy,, "Here at this school they don't put the pressure on you to be what you don't want to be and can't be. They don't look down on you for wanting to be what you want to be."

"All that business about kids being equal is for the birds," said a youth about to be graduated from the school, where he studied machanical drawing and with an industrial job waiting for him.

"I learned more math here at the drawing board than I ever did in school where most of the kids always were ahead of me. I just can't think so fast. I couldn't keep up and the teacher just had to rush everybody along. My family is a mess and school was my chance to get away from them and ahead. But tryin' to go ahead at regular school and not learnin' a trade was too much, just too much!"

Said a boy with an intelligent face showing new-found maturity: "Everybody was telling us that we didn't make it through high school and to college we'd be on the junk heap. My folks took out insurance to send me to college. They said they were giving me a chance to get ahead and do better than they did in life. Well, I've got a job waiting for me when I finish up here that'll pay me more than my old man is getting right now. I read better, write better, and talk better now and I like studying because I can see where it leads to."

Like all human endeavors, the present system at Mahoning School was arrived at by trial and error. Early mistakes are now corrected. I never saw a more self-respecting, disciplined, ambitious and purposeful group of young men than the "disadvantaged" youths now in residence at Mahoning Vocatonal School.

The pupil-teacher relationship is remarkably good.

It is not surprising that a veritable pilgrimage to Mahoning is taking place by officials in federal and out-of-state welfare departments.

Seventy-five per cent of the so-called "problem" youths trained at Mahoning in courses lasting from six months to a year have found jobs and are keeping them.

"In vocational education," says Dr. Byrl R. Shoemaker, director of Ohio vocational education, "we weave together the principles of math and science, skills and technical knowledge into a mix which will help youth and adults to enter and adjust to employment opportunities or to upgrade themselves in their chosen field of work."

We should adopt new attitudes toward vocational education.

A terrible disservice is being done to our youth today, in my judgment, by intellectual leaders, insurance and banking executives, government and industrial leaders who keep on telling young people they are destined for poverty and inferiority unless they get a college degree.

Only 14 per cent of young people become college graduates. Why not train the 86 per cent so that they can answer the basic employment question: "What can you do?"

Today 60 per cent of the American work force is in the service occupations. Why not train young people to fill and hold such jobs well and efficiently, always leaving the way open to advancement?

There always is "room at the top" for boys and girls determined to get there. But why neglect or mistreat educationally the vast majority filling the rungs of the ladder from bottom to top?

France Should Pay Up or Shut Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the December 1, 1967, Indianapolis Star does a very effective job of making a good point: If De Gaulle wishes to set himself up as arbiter and oracle on all things, he should first settle his own country's obligations:

FRANCE SHOULD PAY UP OR SHUT UP

France should pay up or shut up.

Even if he tried, it is doubtful whether French President Charles de Gaulle could more effectively splinter Western unity than he is doing with his present meddlesome tactics.

De Gaulle is not satisfied with blocking Common Market membership for Britain, whose very economy may depend on whether it is admitted.

He is not satisfied with heightening unrest in Canada, by continuing to call for Quebec's independence and sovereignty . . .

He is not satisfied with disrupting NATO by ordering American bases off French soil and by threatening to withdraw French forces from the alliance entirely.

Now, at a crucial time in world monetary affairs, and as a result of Britain's recent devaluation of the pound. De Gaulle has launched an irresponsible attack on the American dollar, which is the very backbone of most of the currency of the free world.

It is ironic that De Gaulle, who obviously suffers from one of the shortest memories in history, should attack the country which twice in this century has intervened to save his French nation from extinction.

During World War I, 2 million G.I.'s fought to save France. Some 36,000 were killed another 224,000 were wounded.

We spent $27 billion outright waging that war and in addition loaned France another $12 billion. And France still owes almost $7 billion in interest and principal on that debt.

In World War II, 184,000 Americans gave their lives helping to liberate France another 500,000 were wounded. That war cost America $200 billion directly plus some $50 billion in Lend-Lease and indirect aid.

Furthermore, to help post-war France get back on its economic and political feet, America has given it $17 billion, which is more foreign aid than it has given any other European nation . . . which explains why De Gaulle, now heading a solvent rather than a bankrupt nation, feels he can afford to lecture the rest of the world.

De Gaulle has charged that America has taken over control of many French industrial enterprises, not—according to him—because of any technological superiority, but by exporting U.S. inflation under cover of the gold exchange system.

Having failed in its policy of patience, Washington now must—by word and by deed—call De Gaulle's bluff. France should be told in plain, blunt language that it is time for her to pay up or shut up. De Gaulle who has practically destroyed Western unity, must not be allowed to wreck the world's monetary system.

If France continues to demand gold for dollars—dollars spent in France by those American tourists and businessmen De Gaulle seems to despise—the United States should retaliate promptly by announcing to France and to the world that no demand for gold will be honored until France pays her debts to the United States. At the same time other nations who are making a field day out of the gold crisis should be told the same thing—no gold from the United States until your debts to the United States are paid.

That should bring the run on U.S. gold to a screeching halt.

Of course, this is harsh medicine for the United States to prescribe, but in its own defense and for the safety of the free world, there is no other sure way to stop this run on the U.S. gold reserves. And the place to start is to tell France to pay up or shut up.

"We Broke His Pencil, Tore Up His Notepad, and Swatted Him With His Arithmetic Book" Because the Sixth-Grader Figured Out 1½ Percent Per Month Is 18 Percent a Year—Editorial From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on "Revolving Credit"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I think all of the Members will join me in a chuckle over an editorial which appeared this week in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch commenting on the special-interest department store exemption in the truth-in-lending bills for open-end, or revolving credit.

This, of course, is the big issue to be decided in the House when H.R. 11601, my Consumer Credit Protection Act, comes before us early next year, following approval by the Committee on Banking and Currency. The committee, by a vote of 17 to 14, wrote into the bill an amendment exempting revolving credit from the requirement to state finance charges to consumers on an annual rate basis.

The independent merchants who do not have computers, and depend largely on installament credit rather than revolving credit in making credit sales, feel very deeply that the revolving credit exemption gives to their giant competitors a completely unfair advantage—and they are right. The banks and furniture stores extending credit under terms which do not fit into the revolving credit exemption also oppose the special treatment for revolving credit, since they would have to express their rates on an annual basis. Even where the credit terms are identical in dollar costs, a monthly percentage rate appears to be very modest compared to the same rate expressed on an annual rate basis. So that is what the argument is all about.

COMPUTERS CONFOUNDED

From the consumer's standpoint, the special exemption for revolving credit will make it extremely difficult to compare one type of credit offer with another, thus defeating the main purpose of truth-in-lending legislation.

It is not a case of the department stores being unable to give an approximate annual rate for revolving credit transactions; they just do not want to admit to the figure of 18 percent a year, which is what most of them charge on unpaid balances after a certain grace period.

The editorial referred to, poking fun at the position of the big retailing firms on this issue, is as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Dec. 4, 1967]

Computers Confounded

A department store that can calculate with remorseless efficiency the interest charge on a revolving charge account would positively strangle on its own computer tape if asked to express that same charge in annual terms. Incredible as this may seem to the great unwashed, bill-paying public, we have the word of the purveyors of revolving credit that it is a fact.

If the art of mathematics is in such a primitive state, the department stores can hardly be blamed. In any case the House banking committee exempted them from the truth-in-lending bill, just as the Senate did. As the bill now stands, most creditors will be required to disclose in unmistakable language the annual cost of the credit they are extending, but Americans who have revolving charge accounts will not be told because, so it is said, no way has been devised to figure it out.

A sixth grader of our acquaintance, after scribbling over a pad for a few minutes with a blunt pencil, informed us that a person with an unpaid department store balance of $40 would pay a charge of 60 cents if the "service fee"—a euphemism for interest rate—were 1.5 per cent a month. That works out to an annual rate of 18 per cent, or $7.20 a year, the youngster said, "The interest is even higher, of course, if it is calculated each month against both the unpaid balance and the accrued interest charge," he went on.

At that point we broke his pencil, tore up his notepad and swatted him briskly with his arithmetic book. Imagine, a sixth-grade child having the insolence to suggest that he could solve a problem that the very best minds in the revolving credit field cannot handle! Seven dollars and 20 cents interest on $40. Ridiculous!

His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of a great American, Francis Cardinal Spellman. I am a Protestant, but I have long been an admirer of His Eminence Cardinal Spellman because I recognized in him a great and patriotic American whose selfless devotion to his ideals led him to accomplish so much that was good and constructive for his fellow men. He was regarded as a conservative in his faith, but I knew him as a man of kindly understanding and tolerance for the views of others. All his life he was an indefatigable worker and Americans of all creeds are the better for his zeal in our behalf. His was a long and fruitful life indeed and his passing will long be mourned by Americans of all denominations.

A Great Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, one of the great public servants in Houston and Harris County, Moses Leroy, was honored recently at a testimonial dinner. My distinguished colleague from Bexar County, Henry Gonzalez, was the principal speaker that evening and I was privileged to introduce him. Here is what he said about Moses Leroy:

Moses Leroy: A Touch of Greatness

(Address by Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez at testimonial dinner for Moses Leroy, December 2, 1967, Holiday Inn Motel, Houston, Tex.)

We generally seek our heroes in some pantheon. We seek statues of gods or demigods. We expect to hear of them in story and song. But while we seek heroes in pantheons we find them in the vineyards of society. These heroes are not well known and may be unknown altogether—but they are heroes nonetheless. Such men are men with a touch of greatness in them. Moses Leroy is a man with a touch of greatness.

This is a world afflicted with cynicism and sorrow. These are times when few pople admire anyone. And this is an age in which few men believe in anything. But the man we honor here is a man who has not merely beliefs. But passionate convictions. He is a man who knows what cynicism is but has not been corrupted by it. Moses Leroy is the rarest kind of man—he is a man that everyone cannot respect and admire. Such a man is worthy of praise. Such a man deserves our close examination—we can learn from him and profit by his example.

A man touched by greatness is different from other men—not in many ways, but in important ways. Ordinary men have certain beliefs, but they may often place other considerations ahead of those beliefs, an ordinary man may believe in civil rights, but he may not say much because he may be fearful of what others may think. He is afraid to believe with strength and passion, or he may simply not know how to act on his convictions, but a man who has a touch of greatness is different. He does not test the wind to see which way it is blowing before acting on his beliefs. He does not wait for an idea to be popular before committing himself to it, if he thinks it is right and sound. He does not hold back from a movement until it becomes popular or respectable, if he thinks it is right, he is not afraid to start a movement. Or start an argument if he thinks it is necessary, a man who has a touch of greatness has a sense of conviction. He is not merely a believer, but a passionate believer. And he is not afraid of his beliefs. More than that, such a man has the courage of his convictions. He acts on his beliefs and gathers allies to his cause. He is unafraid of the consequences his beliefs may have. If he needs to make someone unhappy in the cause, then he does it; if he makes enemies, then he does so without regret. A great man does not necessarily have joy in combat, verbal or otherwise, but then neither is he afraid of it.

If one of the marks of distinction is a capacity for belief and conviction, and the courage to stand for belief and act on it, then surely we can recognize this in Moses Leroy.

Moses LeRoy is in fact a man who believes in certain things. And he believes these things enough to have spent a good part of his life in working for their advancement; this man is not like most men. Most men dream of better things, a better world and a better life. But Moses LeRoy has but himself in the business of making dreams come true, for he is a doer as well as a dreamer.

It is hard for some people to believe in this year of grace 1967 that the NAACP was once considered radical or dangerous or even possibly subversive. I know that all of us here remember when that was the case. All of us remember the epithets thrown at the NAACP by demagogues too numerous to mention. There were laws designed to drive the organization underground by requiring this membership to be listed in public or police records. The same kind of laws that were used against the Communist Party were also directed against the NAACP. The object of these laws was of course to break up the organization, drive it underground and deprive it of any possible political or even moral effect.

The NAACP was an organization under attack, not in the too distant past. It was an organization that few white men—regardless of their conviction—would join. A great many Negroes would not join either because the organization was not quote "respectable" unquote or they feared the consequences of joining. A man could lose his job by becoming a known member of the NAACP. But from the first day that the NAACP existed in Texas, Moses Leroy was a member. For Moses Leroy believed in what the organization stood for. Being a man possessed of the courage of his convictions he did not wait until the organization had become popular or respected by the community at large. He joined as soon as he could and was one of those who *made* the NAACP a symbol of progress, courage and decency. Moses LeRoy has served on any number of boards and committees for the NAACP. He has been more than a member and more than an active member. He has been a pioneer and a leader. An inspiration and a voice. And he has been all of these things in times when it was not always easy. That is the mark of distinction in this man. He has followed the light of reason and stood firm for beliefs when it has been hard to do so. He is a man who has accepted the risks involved in being right before others are capable of seeing it, and has accepted the risks involved in being right before others are capable of seeing it, and has worked against long odds in openly advocating decency in a world often unwilling to grant it.

A great man is one who is not easily discouraged. He is not afraid of defeat, or of reversals, he is willing to work a lifetime to obtain what he believes in. He does not quit. He does not permit himself the luxury of defeat and does not withhold his energy during dark days. For he knows that only the long and hard fight gains ultimate victory. He is not afraid to lose, for he knows that defeat only comes to those who are afraid to try again or who see no use in continuing a losing effort. He is a man who knows that there is no need to fear anything but fear itself. He is a man who can be hurt by adversity, but who may never show it to anyone else. He has the capacity to absorb disappointment. But not let it become a part of him or dominate him, he may find a hopeful avenue closed, but will immediately seek a new one. He is a man who above all else believes in tomorrow rather than yesterday, for he knows that the good old days were never really good and in any case cannot be recalled. And he knows that hope lies ever ahead, and never behind.

Is Moses Leroy such a man as this. His whole lifetime is testimony that he is. Only Moses Leroy can tell us of his defeats, his disappointments, and his days of despair, all that we know is that he has not been affected by them and has not permitted himself the ease of becoming bitter or frustrated or cynical. He has never quit, never stopped, never flinched in the face of adversity. So we cannot tell how many times he has known failure, or how many times he has seen high hopes dashed on the shoals of bitter and painful disappointment. All we can tell is that he is still going strong, filled with pride and most of all filled with an endless hope. We know that in Moses Leroy there resides not bitterness for the past, not a yearning for the lost drop of youth, but a profound belief in tomorrow. And he is anxious to see dreams realized and is unafraid of tomorrow.

I think that a great man is a man of imagination. He can see further into the future perhaps than most of us. And he can most certainly see potential where most men see nothing at all. A great man foresees that in deserts there are potential gardens and that in hopeless situations there is opportunity. He is capable of thinking of victory while standing in the ruins of defeat. He can show a spark of mental vitality when everyone around him is filled with fatigue. And he can stimulate not only his own imagination but stoke the fires in others as well. He knows a good thing when he sees it, and recognizes a fine idea sooner than most. He cannot only dream, but can articulate his dreams in a way that others can understand and be inspired by them.

We have as our guest of honor just such a man. We have before us a man who is possessed of the kind of mind and imagination that most men can only hope for. All of us who have been privileged to know Moses Leroy have an envy of his imagination and wit. Anyone who knows this man can say honestly that his is the kind of imagination that could alone make him more than a common man. For he is a man who can see when all others may be blinded by despair, by defeat, by bitterness or unwillingness to try again, and he is a man who can make a dream seem worthy of attainment by others—he is a man who can and often does cause others to think high thoughts and see visions open up in distant places. His imagination is such that he can make things distant seem near, and can make a hard and difficult road seem easy and worthy of trying. Moses Leroy is also an honest man—honest with himself and others. He is not afraid to face the truth himself. More important he is unafraid to tell the truth to others. If it is true that segregated unions are wrong, Mr. Leroy has said so. If it is true that the railroad should integrate its facilities, this man has been unafraid to tell them so. In fact, a good part of Mr. Leroy's life has been devoted to making others realize that all men are entitled to equal rights and equal opportunities. This is the kind of honesty that goes beyond personal integrity—it is the kind of honesty that forces other men to be honest as well.

Democratic unionism for example is much more than a phrase to Moses Leroy. He not only believes in democratic unionism but demands it. He has worked long and hard—and fought—for not just Negro participation in union affairs—but meaningful participation. It was never enough for Moses Leroy to be handed a token. He has recognized that there is a difference between the mere symbols of life and substance. That there is a difference between symbolic participation and real participation and that a token is only a token and nothing more. So he has sought for more than the simple trappings of Negro participation in the labor movement. He has sought and gained real, honest and meaningful participation. Few of us know how hard he has worked for this one thing alone—but all of us know that it has been the work of a dedicated, patient and above all, determined man.

There is in all of this something that suggests yet another quality we would do well to recognize, and that is a kind of essential goodness.

This is a world afflicted with evil. Added to the evil we see about us in the form of disease and crime, poverty and war, is the constant shattering of illusions and dreams. I think that this century is marked more than any other time by the shattering of dreams, and the loss of innocence. We can no longer mask ugly truth from ourselves by use of pleasant dreams or sugary myths. And faced with this, many people retreat into a shell of self-isolation and unbelief. They refuse to have hope and refuse to believe in better things. Some protest against society and others just drop out to become flower children or hippies. Some become revolutionaries and some simply become blanks, ciphers in the human equation, but there are others who do not allow bitterness to enter their hearts, and who do not allow shattered dreams to fragment their own hope. These are people who are essentially good, who refuse to become unbelievers. These are people who care too much to feel sorry for themselves and who do not have the time to be lost in the world of frustration. They can be cursed and reviled, they can be hated and distrusted, but they can still permit themselves to have faith. They can still believe and work.

There is no reason for us to deny that a man like Moses Leroy faces every day undeserved hate. Gratuitous insult and clandestine hatred. He faces this no matter how good a man he is because he is Negro. But what makes this man distinguished is that while he faces all these adversities, he has not allowed them to overcome his fundamental belief in mankind. He has not retreated. He has refused to become a cynic. He has simply kept doing the things that have to be done. And you can only explain this behavior by the fact that he is a good man.

There are men in the world who are cunning, and there are men who are wise. It is the worst thing for the State when it mistakes cunning for wisdom, according to Sir Francis Bacon. I do not deny that Moses Leroy may be possessed of some degree of guile. Chances are that there are not many men around who are more cunning than he is. But he is more a wise man than a cunning one. And it is one of the marks of great men that they display wisdom. When all else about are losing their heads, the wise man keeps his own counsel. When some shout and cry, the wise man thinks a wise man is a man who keeps his cool, he is one who does not permit emotion to becloud judgment. He never loses sight of the important things or permits detail to obscure grand designs. If we survey the life of Moses Leroy and if we weight the decisions he has made in good times and bad we will see that he may have employed guile in his time but we will also know that he is a wise man.

You have to say too that Moses Leroy is a man with vigor. A person of great vitality and energy. He is not one to retire, though he claims that he will do so after tonight. And he is not one to rest when work remains to be done. Neither is he a man who does anything only part way. He was young enough to do a full day of hard and complex work. I doubt very much that he even knows what is on the television from one night to the next—I doubt that he has the time to watch TV. Less vital men, less energetic men, less ambitious men could not keep up with one like Moses Leroy.

I have an acquaintance with a wide number of people, but I can truly say that I have only a limited number of true friends. It takes someone unusual to be a friend. A friend is a man who is there in hard times. In bitter times. And most of all in lonely times. A friend is a man to whom friendship matters. A man who knows the meaning of devotion and is unafraid to be devoted. I remember bitter and lonely statewide campaigns in which I was running against hopeless odds. I was running for principle as much as anything else. There would be no campaign offices. There would be no workers. But here in Houston I could count on Moses Leroy being there, and doing all that he could—which is considerable. And for a hopeless campaign or two, we did pretty well—far better than anyone expected. But it would not have been possible without the help of men like Moses Leroy. He is a man who is a friend. I feel privileged to know him. And I feel indebted to him far more than I could every repay. I cannot even articulate the kind of feeling that I have for this man. All I can do is say that he was there when nobody else was. It takes a touch of greatness to do that.

Here is a man of forthrightness and a man of integrity. Here is a man of courage and honesty. Here is a man who has a vision of tomorrow that does not fear to work for it. Here is a man who has bigger dreams than most and as big a heart as any. And here is a man of humility as well.

President Franklin Roosevelt never asked for a great monument, though he built many of them—one for Jefferson and any number all across the land to any number of heroes great and small. All that President Roosevelt wanted to mark his memory was a piece of marble, about the size of his desk, with his name on it, today in Washington just outside the National Archives there is just a monument—so small that only a few people see it, a mark to the humility of a great man. Thomas Jefferson wanted no great monument either. This man, who was President of the United States, author of the Declaration of Independence, inventor, architect and statesman, as great a genius as any, had little desire to be remembered for most of his great deeds. So great a genius was Jefferson that when President Kennedy had a White House dinner with all the living Nobel laureates in the U.S.—poets, scientists, doctors and writers—he could say only in half jest that here was assembled under the White House roof the greatest collection of intellects since Thomas Jefferson dined alone. But when Jefferson died, he asked that his gravestone be marked only that here lies Thomas Jefferson, founder of the University of Virginia, author of the Declaration of Independence. And so it is, just a common gravestone in a simple family plot.

It is the mark of a great man that he does not seek monuments to himself. Moses Leroy has never asked for a monument. His monument is in his own lifetime and that is enough for him.

Finally we can discern a man of distinction by gauging the impact that he has had on others. Some of that impact Moses Leroy has had on others can be seen by the fact that we are here tonight to pay tribute and honor to him. But the real measure of his importance to his fellow man can never fully be known. Only he knows how many people owe something to Moses Leroy—and many people are indebted to him who have never met him and never will because he has made this a better world to live in—and for that all men are in his debt.

I am privileged to be here and honored to know this man. I am proud to call him my friend. Ladies and gentlemen. I give you Moses Leroy. . . .

Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, there is something Orwellian about what happened in New York City this week. People who say they want peace in Vietnam organized into military formations in an effort to close down a U.S. Armed Forces induction center. But even in George Orwell's terrifying and topsy-turvy "1984" there were no characters who shouted peace while doing violence.

Mr. Speaker, I draw a sharp line between dissent and disruption. Reasoned dissent is fundamental to America. And I stanchly defend the right to dissent. But when dissent turns into disruption, trespasses the rights of others, interferes with public order and erupts into violence, it goes too far. And I deplore it with the same vigor I defend reasoned dissent.

The Albany, N.Y., Times-Union on November 16 expressed the reaction of many Americans to the excesses of a relatively small number of the Vietnam dissenters.

The President—and every American—wants peace in Vietnam. President Johnson recognizes the tragedy of war and the desires for lasting peace. But peace never can be realized merely by hating war or vilifying our elected leaders.

Those who cry peace while waging a veritable war in our streets are doing a major disservice to themselves, to their cause and to their country. As the Times-Union concludes:

> This kind of violent dissent has no rightful place in a free society.

I insert in the RECORD the editorial from the Albany Times-Union:

DISSENT

Dissent—sincere, controlled, logical, law-abiding dissent—that is one thing. It is part of America's freedom.

But dissent—rock-throwing, police-attacking, obscenity-shouting, car-rocking, people-jarring dissent—that is something else. It is a national disgrace, and it has to be stopped.

America got a stomachful of that kind of dissent Tuesday night in New York City when some so-called "peace demonstrators" turned protest into near-riot.

They taunted police, kicked in the windshield of a cab, frightened theater and restaurant patrons, tossed plastic bags with red liquid at police and passing motorists, turned in false fire alarms, and otherwise broke laws and created chaos. It was a revolting display.

Some peace movement! The ringleaders didn't want peace. They wanted trouble.

Can't those who want to dissent sincerely now understand the danger of taking up with these radicals who have disrupted Oakland, New York City, and other places? Can't they see that their own rights are endangered by wild men who cry "peace" but who wage war in the streets and on campuses—who even spit at the very troops defending their rights?

Why should the President of the United States be forced to cancel a Syracuse speaking engagement because police fear that they can't provide enough security for him against demonstrators?

Why should the Secretary of State have to be whisked secretly into a Manhattan building for a speech in which he talked of this nation's effort to help another nation find freedom?

Those rioters in New York City who claimed to be for peace might better have saved their jeers for Hanoi. The very day that they were protesting Secretary of State Rusk's appearance in New York, the Communists were rejecting still another offer by President Johnson to meet with them and discuss peace negotiations.

Police arrested at least 46 of the demonstrators Tuesday night. It is well that they did. Lawbreaking over Vietnam cannot be tolerated any more than rioting in cities for other reasons.

This kind of violent dissent has no rightful place in a free society. Most Americans know this and want it stopped. The troublemakers better get the message straight, too, because for them, the party is about over.

Dr. Glenn Seaborg Dedicates Variable Cyclotron at Texas A. & M. University—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, Dr. Glenn Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, dedicated a variable energy cyclotron at Texas A. & M. University, College Station, Tex.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Dr. Seaborg's dedication remarks:

THE ADVANCING FRONTIERS OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

(Remarks by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, at the dedication of the variable energy cyclotron, Texas A. & M. University, College Station, Tex., December 4, 1967)

It is always a pleasure to return to the State of Texas. It has been my privilege to visit Texas periodically during the last decade, usually in connection with scientific affairs of the state and, on occasion in recent years, to be of service to your most famous citizen, President Johnson.

I have encountered unfailing courtesy and good manners in Texas, and my appreciation of this treatment was enhanced recently when I heard one of John Gunther's stories. According to this tale, a child in San Antonio asked a stranger where he came from, whereupon the youngster's father chided the boy gently, saying, "Never do that son. If a man's from Texas, he'll tell you. If he's not, why embarrass him by asking." Until I heard this story, I did not appreciate the pains Texans had taken to save me from embarrassment.

While I cannot claim to be a native, I have come to know something of Texas and Texans. I am always impressed with the immensity and diversity of its land and the wealth of its natural resources that are so important to the nation. I have worked with many Texans and come to admire them. I stand in awe of the energy of Texans which seems directed, as though keeping faith with an heroic heritage, toward frontiers that will match those of their fathers.

The event that has brought us together today is a part of Texas' response to the challenge of one of the most important frontiers of the future—the cultivation of intellectual resources at the most sophisticated levels. Texas has long been known for providing thorough training in the lower schools and at the undergraduate level. But as Texans themselves recognize, the State has not, until recent years, paid sufficient attention to the basic research and graduate education needed to meet the problems of a rapidly moving scientific and technological revolution. In this conneciton I am reminded of the remarks made several years ago by my friend Wilfred T. Doherty, Vice-President of the Trustees of the Robert A. Welch Foundation. Recalling a study made by the Trustees in 1954 Mr. Doherty said: "We . . . discovered that most educational institutions throughout the country accepted our (Texas) students as well prepared for graduate work and freely stated, 'Send us your graduate students,' but when we asked that they send some of their students to Texas we got a different response. This was good proof that most of the schools of higher education in Texas are doing a good job of teaching undergraduate students, but lack a good high-level research program in the graduate school." And by the way, I can say from my vantage point as a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Robert A. Welch Foundation that the Welch Foundation has made a tremendous contribution toward remedying this situation by means of its support of research in chemistry in the institutions of higher education in Texas.

Historically, inadequate development of graduate education has not been unique to Texas. In various studies of higher education to which I have contributed, and in my travels around the country, I have found a similar situation in many states. I have also found that, like Texas, many states are waking up. They realize that the required levels of education and training, necessary for development of their human and economic resources in the future, are rising rapidly.

In our nation, with its pioneering tradition, we have witnessed successive increases in educational expectation and need. For a farmer on the frontier, a mastery of the three R's was believed sufficient book-learning. In the first quarter of this century, a high school diploma was viewed generally as an adequate preparation for most people. In the second quarter of the century, a college education became a requirement for an expanding spectrum of occupations. Today, a master's degree is the minimum passport to many occupations, and the Ph. D. is more and more required to manipulate the vast bodies of knowledge that are essential to the operation of our complex society.

What we are witnessing here at College Station is representative of a national movement upward of the levels of education on a massive, democratic basis. Indeed, we are in the midst of the implementation of one of the central ideals of the Founders of the nation, and I believe this movement deserves special attention here. The men who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were brilliant and highly educated. They believed that, to be free, men must be educated. A subsidiary article of this philosophy, best championed by Thomas Jefferson, held that the individual should have the opportunity for education to the highest level of his abilities. There were two sides to the coin of education in the minds of the Founders. One was that a liberal education was an instrument for effective participation in democracy and in a more meaningful enjoyment of life by the individual. The other was that practical education should be cultivated for material improvement of the individual and society.

The implementation of these ideals on a wide basis, however, was slow in coming. For a century or more, a liberal education of high quality could hardly be obtained outside the great private institutions on the Eastern Seaboard. Moreover, in the field of practical education, early attempts by George Washington to establish a National Board of Agriculture to improve farm production through scientific methods, as well as a National University, were rejected primarily because of narrow interpretations of the Constitution and of the functions of government.

These early proposals for the public support of higher education and a scientific approach to the peoples' material needs languished for decades, while the nation was preoccupied with the frontier. Education in depth seemed superfluous to a people who survived by clearing the land, plowing virgin fields and shooting straight. But the ideal had not died, and when the land had been largely conquered and settled, the country turned to the important task of public higher education.

The beginning was made on a national basis with the Land Grant College Act, sponsored by Congressman Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont, which was passed by Congress and signed by President Lincoln in 1862. The Morrill Act spoke especially to the practical needs of a people who were beginning to be affected by the Industrial Revolution. It recognized that the sons and daughters of the poor had little chance, in those days, of attending the excellent Eastern institutions of higher learning. The Act specified that "the leading object shall be without excluding other scientific and classic studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

In some states, especially in the middle and western areas of the country where great private institutions of learning did not exist, it was realized early that the educational and intellectual aspirations of the people could not be adequately served by a college limited primarily to practical training. Fortunately, the Land Grant Act provided the framework for developing democratic higher education and thus implementing the ideal of egalitarian education to the limits of the individual's capacities. Indeed, here and there, including my own State of California, the new institutions were conceived to have the dual functions of universities and of Land Grant Colleges. By 1930, a number had become creative universities, offering teaching and basic research of excellent quality, with impressive graduate schools for advanced learning.

The process of upgrading the Land Grant Colleges has proceeded at different rates in different parts of the country, and has been tremendously accelerated by the emergence of the Scientific Revolution of World War II. Just as the Industrial Revolution gave birth to the Land Grant Colleges, the Scientific Revolution is advancing the transformation of those colleges into universities, even in states having the best private institutions. Moreover, the aspiration of these evolving universities is for excellence, and nowhere do I find this theme stressed more forcefully than at College Station.

It is significant that before World War II there were only about 20 universities, private and public, that could be said to be centers of excellence in scientific research and graduate study. They remain among our foremost centers. But it gradually became clear that these centers alone could not carry the full responsibility for doing the large amount of research and graduate teaching of excellent quality that the nation needed. Three reasons stand out in my mind. First, the Scientific Revolution consumes talent of high quality in quantities larger than those institutions can produce. Second, the population explosion (coupled with the emergence of a relatively affluent society) resulted in larger numbers of young people demanding the benefits of the most advanced education. Third, it became clear that development of centers of intellectual excellence in geographical areas where no such centers existed would make it possible to develop talent more widely and to create local communities of scholarship that are supportive of intellectual and industrial advancement. Texas' chemical industry offers just one example. An impressive percentage of the U.S. chemical industry is in Texas, associated primarily with the petroleum industry. Yet only recently did Texas, with the local initiative of private funds, begin to build a significant base of university research and graduate teaching to contribute to that industry. Of course, the chemical research of the world can be utilized by the Texas industry, and Ph. D.'s can be imported. Yet there are very clear benefits to be had from the close proximity of a flourishing basic chemical science and teaching community.

The geographical assymmetry in graduate study was underlined as early as 1960 in a report made by a special panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee on Scientific Progress, the Universities, and the Federal Government. It was my honor to be chairman of the panel, which concerned itself with graduate research and teaching. In this report, we recommended strongly supporting firstrate work where it then existed, and we added:

"It is of equal importance to increase support for rising centers of science. Over the next fifteen years the United States should seek to double the number of universities doing generally excellent work in basic research and graduate education." The facility we are dedicating today is symbolic of a broad effort to implement that policy, with the initiative coming from the local level and with Federal financial support for those initiatives.

Your advancement toward excellence in graduate work is similar to that of other institutions rising to the challenge of the Scientific Revolution. Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, established in 1876, was the first institution of higher learning in Texas. True to its original purpose, A. and M. has played an important role in keeping the diverse agriculture of Texas abreast of advancing knowledge and in training engineers. It has served the nation with distinction as the largest single source of reserve military officers in the country. Parenthetically, those officers, given broad background in their studies here, have served with distinction, not only in war, but in the arts of peace. It has been my pleasure to serve with one of those alumni officers, General Alvin R. Luedecke, who completed a distinguished record in the important position of General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission.

In the postwar period, the people of Texas and the leaders of this institution, recognizing the needs of the times and of the state's people and industries, set about to turn a primarily agricultural college into a university. By 1963, the program had succeeded so well, through the improvement of faculty, broadening of curriculum, and offering of substantial graduate study and research, that the Texas Legislature changed the name of the College to Texas A. and M. University.

In the four years since A. and M.'s "graduation" into the university category, the leaders of this institution have continued their vigorous pursuit of quality and diversity, with some emphasis on graduate work. I notice that your research budget has increased by more than 50 percent in a four-year period (prior to 1965–66) to some seventeen million dollars. You have been impressive in developing and staffing such fine facilities for graduate research and teaching in the sciences as the Nuclear Science Center, the Chemical Thermodynamics Center, the Radiation Biology Laboratory, the Data Processing Center, the Institute of Statistics, and the Oceanography program. Your enrollment has grown sharply, with the largest gains at the graduate level. As a former Chancellor of the Berkeley campus of the University of California, I am impressed that during the academic year 1966–67 your average graduate enrollment had increased to more than 2000, and you granted 150 Ph.D.'s and 670 Master's degrees.

It is important, in these times, that the initiative in your striving for excellence and diversity in graduate work has come from the local level. The devotion of local resources to these purposes, historically, has been the means for attracting other support. The 20 centers of excellence earlier mentioned emerged before World War II through local initiative and in a time before Federal funds were available for science. These institutions provided the main resources through which Federally-supported science of high quality could be started in the late forties. The establishment of new centers to develop excellence, an important measure of which is a willingness to allot local resources, today receives a positive response in Washington. Needless to say, in a period when the Federal budget is under severe strain the availability of and willingness to commit local resources to the support of research activities are extremely important to the continuing strength and vitality of U.S. science.

This responsiveness is illustrated by the increasing level of support you have received as you have built graduate study. The agencies supporting work here include the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and others. Atomic Energy Commission support has been highly diversified. It includes equipment grants totaling over $400,000, including an AGN-201 training reactor, a subcritical assembly, and a one megawatt pool-type research reactor. The extensive work of Dr. Richard Wainerdi and his colleagues on radioisotope research, development and related activities has received $532,000 from the Commission since 1960. A number of project research contracts and grants are currently in effect, and faculty members and students have attended Commission institutes and been AEC fellows through the years.

Hoosier Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Sammy Davis, a young soldier from my home town of Martinsville, Ind., saw his duty in Vietnam and did it. As the following editorial from the Indianapolis News of Thursday, November 30, 1967, points out, Sammy Davis "represents the best that is American."

HOOSIER HERO

It was night and the attacking Viet Cong had blown up his howitzer, injuring Pfc. Sammy Davis of Martinsville. Having lost his artillery piece, he began firing a machine-gun and then an automatic rifle.

His wounded buddies lay across the canal and Davis could hear their cries for help. Unable to swim because of his injuries, he grabbed an air mattress (which the Army warns soldiers not to use as a life raft) and paddled across the canal to bring back the wounded.

Three times he made the trip, driving off the Viet Cong who tried to murder and mutilate the wounded.

"All of this action was on an exposed (open to enemy view) portion of the canal bank," said Lt. Col. Charles F. Gordon, Davis' battalion commander. Gordon had high praise for the Hoosier youth, a hero to the buddies he rescued from death.

To Davis the whole operation was undoubtedly just something he had to do. He saw his duty and he did it, without hestiation, without excuses.

Davis represents the best that is American.

Economical Operation of the Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most pressing problems confronting the Congress is the need to achieve the highest possible degree of economy in the operations of the Federal Government. While economical operation of the Federal Government is an objective always to be sought, the need to achieve this goal is made especially urgent because of our greatly expanded defense costs, particularly in Vietnam.

All of us in the House agree that the taxpayers of the Nation are entitled to have each appropriation and expenditure carefully scrutinized to assure that the function involved is necessary and to assure that the requested funding level is no larger than it need be.

However, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the Congress can meet its responsibility to provide economy in Government by merely chopping a given number of dollars from the budget. In achieving economy in Government we must develop a table of priorities and then adhere to these priorities to the fullest possible degree.

To put the matter rather simply, when we spend Federal funds we must know what we are buying. When the Congress spends, it needs to examine what it gets for the taxpayers' money—what goods, what services, how imporant are they, are they really necessary? On the other hand, when we cut the budget in order to effect economy, is it not equally necessary that we ask ourselves what services, what goods are we eliminating; is the continuation of these activities essential; how detrimental will be their elimination?

I believe that the Congress shirks its responsibility when it adopts a shotgun approach to the achievement of economy. To use the shotgun method of achieving economy is just as irresponsible as it would be to make appropriations without first checking to see whether the program in question is needed and properly conceived.

Recently, here in the House, there has been much talk of across-the-board cuts in spending. Suggestions were made that the departments and agencies be required to cut budgeted outlays by 5 percent. It was proposed that fiscal year 1968 spending by the departments and agencies not be allowed to exceed fiscal year 1967 outlays. There were other suggestions incorporating similar approaches. The House then adopted a revised version of House Joint Resolution 888, a measure which is based on the across-the-board concept.

The across-the-board approach to budget reductions constitutes a virtual abdication of power by the Congress. Such an approach allows no distinction between essential programs and nonessential programs. Differing problems of administration are not weighed. The urgency of the various programs is not considered. There is no judgment made as to whether a program is vitally necessary to the health, welfare, and safety of the American people, or whether it is a program of such nature that it can be reasonably deferred.

In making these comments, I certainly am not criticizing the Appropriations Committee, Chairman MAHON, or the chairmen of the subcommittees. Chairman MAHON is a most distinguished Member of the House of Representatives. He is a diligent chairman who expends great and telling effort in providing for the operations of the Federal Government. In this effort he is aided and supported by those outstanding Members of the House who chair the various subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee.

My point today is that I believe the considered judgments of the Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee, and its able chairman, are vastly to be preferred over the across-the-board shotgun approach which of late has won many converts here in the House.

The so-called independent agencies fall within this subcommittee's jurisdiction. These agencies operate as arms of the Congress. These agencies have a broad range of governmental functions and responsibilities. They provide protection for the Nation's consumers and investors; for the safety of the traveling public; and for the orderly development and use of our airwaves. They act to insure that the Nation will have a continuing and adequate source of electric energy and economical and efficient telephone and telegraph communications networks. Their cumulative contribution to the public welfare is almost immeasurable.

Typically, those independent agencies which are part of the regulatory process carry a heavy load of what might be termed "housekeeping duties." Their responsibilities require the collection of many reports and much statistical data. An essential function of these agencies is to maintain and examine this material as part of a continuing regulatory oversight function.

These agencies are primarily professional in nature. The major portion of their budgets is used for personnel compensation; for the employment of attorneys, economists, statisticians, accountants, and other specialists. These professionals also require supporting personnel such as clerks, typists, and stenographers. In the budgets of these agencies, there is little provision for capital outlays of the sort that could be deferred without undue injury to their functions.

Because of my deep concern for the impact which an across-the-board budget cut might have upon the activities of these agencies, I recently wrote each of them, stating:

> It has come to my attention that the spending limitations contained in the House version of H.J. Res. 888 . . . might have a deleterious impact on operations of various regulatory agencies.
>
> So that I might be able effectively to point out to my colleagues in the House the impact of H.J. Res. 888, I would appreciate your providing me . . . with an analysis of operational changes which would be required for your agency to adjust to the provisions of the House version thereof.

Their answers were most revealing. Perhaps a more descriptive way to characterize them would be to say that they were extremely alarming. As an example, Manuel F. Cohen, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission states:

> The effect of this resolution will seriously hamper our effectiveness in the areas of full disclosure, regulation of the securities market and prevention and suppression of fraud.

In other words, while the Commission will, of necessity, have to proceed with all of its bookkeeping or housekeeping activities, where it would be cut back drastically are in the very areas that provide protection for the small, uninformed investor.

Lee C. White, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, states:

> The cut-back would affect the Commission's work in electric power reliability, hydro-electric licensing and recapture, hydroelectric safety inspections, area rate regulation of natural gas producers, and certification of gas transmission pipe lines.

Thus, it is obvious that in at least two areas which have recently had a major impact upon the public safety—area blackouts such as that suffered recently by New York City and surrounding areas, and the explosion of gas transmission pipelines—this cut would prevent much needed work being done by the FTC.

William H. Tucker, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, states:

> A reduction of this magnitude would certainly impair the Commission's ability to discharge its statutory responsibilities.

Charles S. Murphy, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, points out:

> A reduction in staff of this proportion would result in a general and severe slowdown of all Board work, as there is no program that the Board can eliminate under the requirements of the Federal Aviation Act, and there is little room for contraction otherwise in an Agency our size.

Chairman Murphy also notes:

> A general slow-down in the book work would mean substantial delays in authorizing new airline service to many communities where the traffic potential justifies it.

Here you have the situation of the Agency requesting one of the most rapidly growing industries, which requires increasing resources, being cut in a way that would have major and, perhaps, irreparably detrimental effect on the Nation's transportation.

Rosel H. Hyde, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, voices grave concern with respect to the resolution, noting:

> A reduction in appropriated funds to this Commission of the magnitude proposed would severely cripple our efforts in virtually every area of our statutory responsibility. Such an adverse impact would, moreover, come at a time when the technology of the communications industry is expanding at an explosive rate, and when the Commission's regulatory responsibilities and programs are growing more complex.

The damage to these regulatory agencies could well be permanent. As Glenn W. Sutton, Acting Chairman of the U.S. Tariff Commission, points out:

> Staffing reductions of the size required to comply with H.J. Res. 888 as passed by the House would not only impair the Commission's ability to carry out its responsibilities in Fiscal year 1968 but would disrupt operations in future years until the Commission could regain its present level of professional and technical capability.

Adm. John Harllee, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, describes the effect of House Joint Resolution 888 in this language:

> These actions will critically limit our staff and the results will be reflected across the board in decreased effectiveness. Furthermore, additional reductions in force will become necessary if the proposed pay raise requires absorption, which would have a further deleterious impact upon the operations of this agency.

Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, describes the effect upon that agency as both serious and adverse. He states:

> Our staff is basically a professional staff with supporting clerical personnel engaged in enforcing certain laws enacted by Congress. Such a reduction of funds would materially curtail the enforcement programs of the Commission including the prevention of corporate mergers which adversely effect competition and the prevention of price discriminations which injure small business. It would, also, materially curtail our consumer protection programs, such as, the prevention of false advertising and deceptive labeling and packaging.

In the case of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Congress appropriates funds. They do not, however, come out of the U.S. Treasury, since the Board is self-sustaining, obtaining its funds from the savings and loan system which it regulates. As Chairman John E. Horne, of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, points out:

> Seriously impairing our operations, without any resulting savings to the taxpayer, does not seem to me to be in the best interests of the government or the public.

Chairman Horne also points out that approximately 100 examiner positions would have to remain unfilled if House Joint Resolution 888 were to become effective. He points out that his agency has repeatedly received from the Appropriations Committee a directive to strive to examine all insured institutions on an annual basis. He points out that the proposed reduction would "gravely impede compliance with that mandate." Thus the present protection afforded the depositors of savings and loan associations would be seriously damaged.

In the vital field of labor relations, the effect would be equally detrimental, as Frank W. McCulloch, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, pointed out in his reply:

> It is obvious, therefore, that the House action would have a very serious effect on the agency's effort to reduce and eliminate time delay, and to provide quick and efficient processing in the sensitive area of labor-management disputes.

It must be noted that this comes at a time when one serious strike which might have been averted by timely action by NLRB personnel could have a crippling effect on our effort in Vietnam or cause thousands upon thousands of individuals to remain without paychecks over a protracted period of time. This might well have an adverse effect on our entire economy.

Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of these remarks, there appear in the RECORD the full text of the letters from which I have extracted quotations.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the statements elicited from the various regulatory agencies make it abundantly clear that across-the-board budget cuts for these agencies would not be in the public interest. Therefore, I urge that each of my colleagues examine the record most carefully. I sincerely believe that such careful examination will convince my colleagues that it would not be in the interest of good government to insist, now or in the future, that the regulatory agencies reduce their budgets by some arbitrary, across-the-board amount.

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., Movember 2, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DINGELL: Thank you for your letter of October 27, 1967 requesting information pertaining to the spending limitation as shown in the House version of H.J. Resolution 888.

Enactment of the Resolution by the Congress would have a devastating effect on the operations of the Commission. In brief, about 205 positions would be required to be abolished. At present, about 40 positions are vacant. Thus, the Commission would be required to conduct a reduction-in-force for the purpose of terminating about 165 employees. The effect of this resolution will seriously hamper our effectiveness in the areas of full disclosure, regulation of the securities markets, and prevention and suppression of fraud.

There is attached a summary statement with supporting schedules indicating the program impact of H.J. Resolution 888, if enacted.

Sincerely,

MANUEL F. COHEN,
Chairman.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION,
Washington, November 6, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DINGELL: This responds to your letter of October 27, 1967, regarding the effect on the operations of the Federal Power Commission of spending limitations included in the House version of H.J. Res. 888.

Our FY 1967 appropriation was $14,220,000, of which $220,000 derived from a supplemental appropriation to finance part of the pay increase effective July 3, 1966. The Commission absorbed $204,000, or approximately 48 percent of the costs of that pay increase within its FY 1967 appropriation. Congress has appropriated the same amount—$14,220,000—for the Commission's FY 1968 activities. Thus the Commission will continue to absorb part of the 1966 pay increase.

Section 3 of H.J. Res. 888 would impose a 5 percent across-the-board reduction in expenditures for personnel compensation and benefits in FY 1968 except where reductions made in the regular bills meet or exceed the 5 percent figure. The exception would apply in part to FPC which submitted to Congress a FY 1968 budget of $14,830,000, subsequently reduced 4.1 percent to $14,220,000. Since approximately 92 percent of FPC's appropriations pertain to personnel compensation and benefits, the Resolution might be interpreted as requiring a further reduction of approximately $118,000 in FY 1968.

Section 4 of H.J. Res. 888 would require the Commission to absorb the costs of the pay increase presently before Congress. This amount is estimated at $430,000 if the effective date of the pay act remains October 1, 1967.

Thus, in total, the Commission might be required to absorb reductions of $204,000, the 1966 pay increases, $118,000 to meet the 5 percent limitation, and $430,000 for the prospective 1967 pay increase—$752,000 in all. If this should occur, vital Commission programs would be severely cut back at a time when the demands of the public interest are increasing. The cutback would affect the Commission's work in electric power reliability, hydroelectric licensing and recapture, hydroelectric safety inspections, area rate regulation of natural gas producers, and certification of gas transmission pipelines. Backlogs could be expected to accumulate in several areas of Commission responsibility in a partial regression to the unfortunate conditions which existed just a few years ago.

Sincerely yours,

LEE C. WHITE,
Chairman.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., November 1, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Regulatory and Enforcement Agencies, House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DINGELL: The following comments are offered in response to your letter dated October 27, 1967 concerning the impact the spending limitations contained in the House version of H.J. Res. 888 would have on the Commission's operations.

Our 1968 appropriation provides about $50,000 more than our 1967 operating level; however, just our normal within-grade salary increases will more than offset this. For this reason we have already reduced our authorized position ceiling by six in order to operate within the current appropriation. If the limitation contained in the subject resolution would be construed to include the cost of the proposed pay increase, then a substantial impact on our operations would result.

We estimate that the proposed pay increase will cost this Commission approximately $690,000. Our employee turnover ratio is too low to save this amount of money through delays in filling vacancies and curtailment of expenditures for non-personal services. We would have to eliminate a minimum of 67 man-years of employment. The situation is aggravated by the fact that at least six months of the fiscal year will have elapsed before plans could be developed to effect the reduction. While positions and man-years are almost synonymous on a full year basis, in order to save 67 man-years this late in the fiscal year, about double that number of positions would have to be eliminated as of January 1, 1968.

In view of the uncertainty as to the passage of H.J. Res. 888 and the passage of the "Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 (H.R. 7977)", we have not finalized our position as to the programs that would be curtailed or eliminated. Needless to say a reduction of this magnitude would seriously impair the Commission's ability to discharge its statutory responsibilities.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. TUCKER,
Chairman.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD,
Washington, D.C., October 31, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: Thank you for your inquiry relative to the impact of the spending limitations contained in House Joint Resolution 888 on the operations of the Civil Aeronautics Board. I appreciate your interest.

Under our interpretation, House Joint Resolution 888 would require a 5% reduction in payroll costs and absorption of pay raise costs totaling about $700,000 for the CAB. This would require a formal reduction-in-force of about 80 employees.

A reduction in staff of this proportion would result in a general and severe slow down of all Board work as there is no program that the Board can eliminate under the requirements of the Federal Aviation Act, and there is little room for contraction otherwise in any agency our size.

Most of the Board's work is generated by developments in the industry which the Board regulates and specific applications that are laid before it by industry sources. The urgency and volume of all these matters not only dictates, in large part, the Board's workload, but also its priorities. A general slow down in the Board's work would mean substantial delays in authorizing new airline service to many communities where the traffic potential justifies it.

In addition, such a reduction in force could be expected to result in an actual increase in CAB total expenditures because it would slow down our program of subsidy reduction. The Board in 1967 fiscal year, through route strengthening of the subsidized air carriers and other actions, accomplished a reduction in subsidy earned by those carriers of $7.3 million. In fiscal 1968 a reduction of about $5.0 million has been expected. We had hoped to be able to continue this subsidy reduction in fiscal 1969.

Subsidy reductions of this magnitude far surpass the $700,000 "savings" to the government which would result from the limitations of House Joint Resolution 888. In considering the total needs of the Board, perhaps the Committee would give consideration to language in the final Conference Report which would permit the Board to transfer funds between the two appropriations available to it, thus allowing the CAB to achieve the greater savings to the government while minimizing the severity of a staff reduction in this agency. For, as you know, the Board needs more, not less, resources to regulate an industry that is growing at a rate almost two and a half times that of the national economy.

Sincerely,

CHARLES S. MURPHY,
Chairman.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., November 1, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DINGELL: This is in response to your letter of October 27, 1967, requesting a report as to the impact upon this Commission's programs if H.J. Res. 888 were enacted into law.

The Commission recently held a special meeting to review and carefully consider the effects upon the Commission's operations of reductions of the order contemplated by the House Resolution. We recognize that it is most natural that each agency affected will regard such cutbacks as most serious, and will so advise. However, we must most strongly urge that a reduction in appropriated funds to this Commission of the magnitude proposed (i.e., approximately $1.6 million) would severely cripple our efforts in virtually every area of our statutory responsibilities. Such an adverse impact would, moreover, come at a time when the technology of the communications industry is expanding at an explosive rate, and when the Commission's regulatory responsibilities and problems are growing more complex. We are concerned that any such reductions in our programs will adversely affect the national interest.

The Congress is well aware of the critical importance to the national economy and the public at large of some of the programs which are contemplated in our FY-68 budget request. Although the Commission's budget is relatively modest, in comparison with other government agencies, the consequences of our efforts have great significance to the national economy and welfare. For example, with a small investment in government expenditures for the regulation of the nation's telephone service, our recent proceeding in the AT&T investigation has already resulted in a reduction of the public's telephone rates in the order of $100 million annually. This proceeding is presently continuing, and even a slight retrenchment in our efforts in this regard would seriously impede the effective progress of this regulatory effort.

In other areas of equal importance to the nation's commerce and industry, and protection of life and property, the Congress has urged the Commission to intensify its regulatory efforts in providing for the needs of public safety and industry for land mobile communications, to cite one pressng example. Similarly, the Commission has undertaken accelerated programs to resolve the current problems in international and domestic communication satellites, the interdependence of computers and communications, CATV and other program distribution methods, aeronautical and marine communications aids, and growth in aural and television broadcast systems. These programs must be provided with sufficient resources in order to accomplish effectively their intended missions.

We have been able only to estimate the actual dollar and program impact upon the Commission. In these terms as indicated above, H.J. Res. 888 would require a cut of approximately $1,600,000 in our budget. We estimate that implementation of this cut would entail a reduction of approximately $1,000,000, by eliminating 130 employees comprising existing staff currently on our rolls and by a freeze on filling new positions and existing vacancies. This would represent almost 10% of our total present staff. The balance of the reduction would compel the virtual elimination of proposed expenditures for research programs which have been approved by the Congressional Subcommittees on Appropriations, and are generally accepted as being an essential first step in the resolution of the complex problems referred to above. Other reductions would have to be incurred in areas such as replacement of obsolete equipment and in expenditures for printing Commission publications at a time when Congressional mandates call for expanded public information sources.

In sum, and with the constraints of our presently limited staff and resources, the enactment of H.J. Res. 888 would have a most serious impact upon the Commission's proposed regulatory programs and would impair their effectiveness. Of equal seriousness, though perhaps not as readily apparent, these reductions would have an adverse effect on the Commission's existing activities and personnel, inasmuch as the inevitable result would be an increase in backlogs and delays in all program areas, including broadcast applications, political broadcast and fairness problems, CATV, domestic and satellite common carrier programs, public safety, industrial and transportation communication activities, and field inspection and safety monitoring programs.

We trust that this information satisfactorily answers your inquiry; however, if you need additional information, please let us know.

Respectfully yours,

KENNETH A. COX,
Acting Chairman
(For Rosel H. Hyde, Chairman).

FEDERAL MARITIME COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., November 2, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DINGELL: In response to your request of October 27, 1967, the House version of H.J. Res. 888 would seriously impair the effectiveness of this agency's operations.

The Federal Maritime Commission appropriation for 1968, now pending signature by the President, is in the amount of $3,600,000, 90 percent of which is for personal service costs related to 269 positions.

Limiting 1968 expenditures to the amount expended during fiscal year 1967 would reduce expenditures and obligation authority by $111,000. If the reduction is applied proportionately among personal services and other items of administrative expense, it will be necessary to separate, by reduction-in-force, twenty employees currently on the payroll. The actual number of separations might be reduced slightly, dependent on the extent to which further reductions may be possible in our limited funds available for expenses, other than personal services.

These actions will critically limit our staff and the results will be reflected across the board in decreased effectiveness. Furthermore, additional reductions in force will become necessary if the proposed pay raise requires absorption, which would have a further deleterious impact upon the operations of this agency.

I appreciate your interest on this matter and will be pleased to furnish additional data if needed.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN HARLLEE,
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (*Retired*),
Chairman.

U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., Nov. 6, 1967.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DINGELL: Thank you for your inquiry of October 27 concerning the effect of the provisions of H.J. Res. 888, if enacted, on Tariff Commission operations.

As passed by the House, H.J. Res. 888 would require the Tariff Commission to reduce FY 68 expenditures by at least $349,000 from the $3,749,000 total budgeted for the year. The pay act as passed by the House, if enacted, would increase the required reduction for FY 68 by as much as $99,000 or to a total reduction of $448,000.

Since personnel services account for over 90 percent of total Tariff Commission obligations and since most Commission employees are entitled by law to substantial terminal leave and/or separation payments, the proposed cuts in expenditures would require a reduction in the Commission's staff from the current level of 266 to some 190, or approximately 30 percent. A cut of this size would require a formal reduction in force.

Such a reduction in staff would seriously impair the Commission's ability to carry out many of its legal responsibilities. Illustrative of these responsibilities is the comprehensive study of the entire scope of the United States textile and textile apparel industries in which the Commission is currently engaged at the urgent request of both the President and the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. This investigation must be completed not later than January 15, 1968. A similar investigation of the mink industry was recently requested by the President and also involved nearly all sections of the country.

Additionally, the Commission is called upon by both houses of Congress to furnish expert and impartial analysis of legislation involving tariffs and foreign trade. The volume of such legislation currently pending before the Congress is now at a peak. These examples are only partially suggestive of the full range of the Commission's responsibilities.

Staffing reductions of the size required to comply with H.J. Res. 888 as passed by the House would not only impair the Commission's ability to carry out its responsibilities in FY 68 but would disrupt operations in future years until the Commission could regain its present level of professional and technical capability.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn W. Sutton,
Acting Chairman.

Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D.C., October 31, 1967.

Hon. John D. Dingell,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Dingell: This is in reference to your letter dated October 27, 1967, asking my comment on the changes which would be necessitated at the Federal Trade Commission by H.J. Res. 888.

The 5% reduction in funds for personnel compensation and benefits required by Section 3 and the absorption of proposed pay raise costs as set forth in Section 4 of H.J. Res. 888 would amount to a cut of approximately $1,000,000 for the Federal Trade Commission. It should be noted that 92% of our total appropriation ($15,150,000) is personal services and related personnel benefits.

Our staff is basically a professional staff with supporting clerical personnel engaged in enforcing certain laws enacted by Congress.

Such a reduction of funds would materially curtail the enforcement programs of the Commission including the prevention of corporate mergers which adversely affect competition and the prevention of price discriminations which injure small business. It would, also, materially curtail our consumer protection programs, such as, the prevention of false advertising and deceptive labeling and packaging.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Rand Dixon,
Chairman.

Federal Home Loan Bank Board,
Washington, D.C., October 31, 1967.

Hon. John D. Dingell,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman: This is in response to your inquiry as to the impact on the operations of our Agency resulting from the spending limitations contained in the House version of H.J. Resolution No. 888.

Actual expenses incurred in fiscal year 1967 amounted to $16,834,000. Personal compensation and benefits amounted to $12,712,000. The remainder consisted of expenses incurred in connection with travel, rent and utilities, supplies, printing, and other incidental services.

Because the major portion of expenses other than personnel compensation and benefits are recurring costs over which the Board has little, or no control, the impact upon the Board's operation resulting from a limitation on expenditures to the 1967 level will fall almost entirely on expenditures for personnel compensation and related benefits.

Using as a base our employment level as of September 30, 1967, at which time we were subject to the continuing resolution pending the approval of our budget, our current and projected costs for fiscal 1968 would amount to $12,968,000, or $256,000 above 1967 expenditures. This arises from the fact that we are faced with built-in costs provided by statute, e.g., within-grade increments provided by law and related compensation benefits, and annual leave expense. But more importantly, if we would be required to limit our expenditures to the 1967 level for the Board's overall operations, the difference between the amount approved by Congress in our 1968 budget and the 1967 actual expenditures amounts to $1,654,000, or in percentage terms, a reduction of 9% in the amount approved by Congress last week.

To reduce expenditures to the 1967 level, would require us to leave unfilled about 170 positions authorized in our 1968 approved budget for year-end employment, to cover present and projected workloads of the Board. The area in the Board's operations in which the impact of such a mandatory limitation would be most severely felt would be in the Office of Examinations and Supervision.

That office has the responsibility for conducting annual examinations of 4,600 savings and loan associations, whose savings accounts are insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation administered by the Board. At present the savings accounts of such insured institutions approximate $120 billion. Our best estimate is that 100 positions would have to remain unfilled in that office to meet the mandatory limitation. Since the total number of examiners authorized for fiscal year 1968 at year end was estimated to be 725, the projected reduction is staggering in terms of impact in the effective operation of that office.

The Subcommittee on Independent Offices of the House Committee on Appropriations has repeatedly expressed the view that the Board should strive to have insured institutions examined on an annual basis. Clearly, a 14% reduction in authorized positions gravely impedes compliance with that mandate.

Additionally, another 70 positions authorized by the 1968 budget for the remainder of the Board's staff which renders vital supporting services to the Office of Examinations and Supervision, as well as carrying out the Board's other responsibilities, would also have to remain unfilled. A reduction of this magnitude to an agency with a total personnel complement in Washington and the field of approximately 1,300 employees can be crippling indeed.

The Board is responsible by law with supervising, regulating and insuring an industry with assets over $140 billion, and which provides 43% of all conventional home financing in the nation. While the Congress sets annual limitations on our expenditures, not one penny of its operating funds come out of the U.S. Treasury since the Board is self-sustaining, obtaining its funds from the system it regulates. Seriously impairing our operations, without any resulting savings to the taxpayer, does not seem to me to be in the best interests of the Government or the public.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely,

John E. Horne,
Chairman.

National Labor Relations Board,
Washington, D.C., October 30, 1967.

Hon. John D. Dingell,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Dingell: This is in reply to your letter of October 27, 1967, with respect to the effect on this Agency of the spending limitations contained in the House version of H.J. Res. 888, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968.

The House and Senate have now passed the appropriation bill containing appropriation authority for this Agency for fiscal year 1968. The amount appropriated is $32,288,000; whereas the amount spent by the Agency in fiscal year 1967 was $30,197,000. The reduction that would be required if the House version were enacted into law, therefore, amounts to a minimum of $2,091,000, before giving consideration to an estimated additional cost of about $900,000 for the Pay Act passed by the House.

Although H.J. Res. 888 compares spending in 1968 to spending in 1967, we have restricted our comparison to appropriated funds. We also assume that the terms of the limitation would require complete absorption of the costs of the proposed Pay Act.

This fund decrease would require combined attrition and RIF action by the Agency. We now have about 2,375 permanent positions filled. We estimate that attrition alone would reduce our staff to about 2,150 by the end of the fiscal year, or a reduction of about 10%. However, this staff decrease would still be insufficient to provide the fund reduction required by the House action. We estimate, therefore, that a reduction in force of from 50 to 100 staff members would be necessary, in addition to attrition, to meet the requirements of the present House action. Further reductions would be required to absorb the Pay Act, if it is passed. The process of attrition hits hardest at our major production staff of field professionals. Losses in this area can be directly related to the backlogging of a minimum of 2,000 cases in our field offices, before consideration of the added impact of the Pay Act and without considering the unanticipated problems posed by the operation of RIF procedures.

These crippling staff reductions would come upon us at a time when we are already in the midst of absorbing a case intake increase problem (over which we have no control) which developed early in calendar year 1967, as indicated in our letter of May 5, 1967, to Representative Flood (copy attached). Our predictions in that letter have materialized, and we are currently attempting to process ULP intake at a level about 8% above that estimated in our budget request for fiscal year 1968. For this additional workload factor and other expense increases; we have requested no increase in our original fiscal year 1968 appropriation, but have planned to handle as much of this work as we possibly can.

It is obvious, therefore, that the House action would have a very serious effect on the Agency's effort to reduce and eliminate time delay, and to provide quick and efficient processing in the sensitive area of labor-management disputes, of requests for Agency action filed by the public.

Yours sincerely,

Frank W. McCulloch,
Chairman.

Old Man in a Hurry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have been described as "waging a one man battle" against the policies of French President de Gaulle. While he and I may disagree, I am happy to note that I am not alone in taking issue with the irresponsible and inexcusable actions of De Gaulle. Under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., in the RECORD so that my colleagues may know of another man's view of De Gaulle and his policies.

EDITOR'S REPORT: OLD MAN IN A HURRY

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

PARIS.—Regular patrons at this window know exactly how I feel about Charles De Gaulle—with him for a friend, who needs enemies.

Any lingering doubt that DeGaulle has anything but hatred for Britain and the United States—and is out to do us both in—must surely have been dispelled by his performances before, during and after the financial crisis that produced devaluation of the pound sterling.

This view of the French President has been reinforced by seeing him through the eyes of people who have been intimately involved with him and whose lives or future may be in his hands. To round out the picture, le grand Charles put on this week what he calls a press conference—a carefully stage-managed Grand Guignol in which only planted questions are answered.

For the past week the Hearst Task Force has been talking to British leaders—both the Labor government and Conservative opposition, who have been trying to steer their country into the European Common Market but are roadblocked by a DeGaulle veto.

We have heard the West German view, stated brilliantly by my good and able friend, Willy Brandt, once Mayor of Berlin and now Foreign Minister. The Germans want Britain in the market, but putting peace and friendship with France ahead of other considerations, apparently cannot or will not force DeGaulle's hand.

And there was a particularly illuminating evening of conversation at the Paris home of Kingsbury Smith when, over brandy and cigars, men who had been devoted DeGaulle aides and admirers told us what he is really like.

Here is the rounded perspective of Charles DeGaulle that emerged from the minds and mouths of all:

There is no question that DeGaulle's resentment towards Britain and the United States goes back to the way Roosevelt and Churchill treated him during World War II. They snubbed the Free French leader, treated him with indifference or contempt and then delivered the coup de grace to his ego by keeping from him the exact time and place of the Allied D-Day landings on his own country's shores.

Time has not tempered DeGaulle's antagonism towards his wartime Allies. Instead, in this the twentieth anniversary year of the Marshall Plan which rescued France from economic collapse, he is more vicious than ever in his attacks on the United States and Britain.

He says Britain must put its economic house in order before it can be admitted to the Common Market, and share in the freer trade that group encourages. But British leaders who know him best are convinced he has no intention of lifting his veto if or when Britain cleans house.

Incidentally, DeGaulle does have a point in his criticsm of the British economic affairs. The country is hamstrung by ridiculously pro-Labor laws, antiquated business practices and crippling taxes, and with considerable doubt that Prime Minister Harold Wilson has the statue or nerve to put things right.

But the test DeGaulle insists on applying to Britain was not used on the other Market members and is, in fact, just a pretext for keeping Britain out so he can be lord and master of a now economically strong Western Europe.

Having succeeded in humiliating Britain, DeGaulle is currently trying to bring the United States to its, or his, knees—a measure of the delusions of grandeur from which he is suffering.

De Gaulle has labored for several years in the belief, as he once stated it to a British statesman, that the United States is "bankrupt" and is keeping afloat only by sending its cheapening dollars abroad—exporting inflation, in his words. So De Gaulle encourages people and governments to present the dollars to Uncle Sam for gold, and our country is obliged to give it to them.

I don't want to go into the economics of this thing—mostly because I don't pretend to fully understand it myself. Besides economists have directly contradictory theories. But what De Gaulle is aiming at is devaluation of your dollar—meaning to make it worth less abroad.

Most economists agree that devaluation of the dollar would bring turmoil around the world. But like Mao Tse Tung in Red China—another old man in a hurry—De Gaulle seems ready and willing to pay the cost of chaos to reshape the world in his distorted image.

If this makes the man seem paranoid, or egomaniacal, well, you wouldn't be surprised after listening to the Frenchman at Kingsbury Smith's dinner party.

One outstanding French military man had once been entrusted by De Gaulle with giving assurances to the Army that France would keep Algeria. When France pulled out, this French patriot recounted with deep feeling, De Gaulle would not even condescend to explain why he was going back on his word.

Another member of our dinner party had been an outstanding career diplomat. He was recalled from his post and retired because he had reported back to Paris that De Gaulle's policies were not popular abroad.

Over the years, De Gaulle has isolated himself increasingly—from these close friends and followers, from some people of France, from France's neighbors and former Allies, and from reality. This was starkly evident Monday at his so-called press conference when, seated magisterially on a platform raised above his 1,100 auditors, he delivered his latest judgments and decrees.

In the course of a mind-doggling hour-and-a-half De Gaulle: savaged Britain and the United States, tried to spread the wildfire of rebellion among French speaking Canadians and unburdened himself of a blatantly anti-semitic attack on Israel for daring to defend herself against her Arab neighbors.

The Socialist newspaper "Le Populaire" summed it up best editorially:

"This is a lot for one man. It is too much for one country. It so happens that De Gaulle is not France, which belongs to no one."

The people of France are taking an increasingly dim view of their posturing ringmaster according to the opinion polls and the most recent elections.

And I have a hunch that some day, to the muted strains of "disenchanted evening," they are going to give him the old heave ho—or as they say in French waterfront dives, "la rush bum."

Outstanding Job Corps Camp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, as an indication of the respect and admiration for the Job Corps which have developed among responsible Arizona citizens, I call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to an editorial which appeared recently in the Mohave Miner, the official newspaper of Mohave County. The editorial, entitled "One of the Nation's Best Camps," discusses the excellent progress against poverty being made at the Kingman Job Corps Conservation Center, which is described as "one of the finest, if not the finest, installation of its kind in the Nation."

Mr. Speaker, there are six Job Corps conservation centers in Arizona, and all of them are making a vital contribution to the war against poverty, and to a better America. As the editorial puts it, Director Eldon Hayes and his staff at the Kingman Center "have shown that the program can be a success and that it can provide motivation for young men who need an opportunity to show themselves in this competitive world of ours."

Mr. Speaker, with permission, I insert the Miner editorial at this point in the Appendix:

ONE OF THE NATION'S BEST CAMPS

In high places in the government of the United States, many people recognize that the Kingman Job Corps Camp is one of the finest, if not the finest, installation of its kind in the nation. This is a great tribute to Director Eldon Hayes and his staff, for they have made the local installation a show place for the entire program.

They have shown that the program can be a success and that it can provide motivation for young men who need an opportunity to show themselves in this competitive world of ours. The proverty Program of the United States Government has come under stinging attack from many sources, but it now appears that the worth of programs like the Job Corps is beginning to show.

Two weeks ago Time Magazine carried a story and a picture about 40 young men who had completed their Job Corps training at a California camp. They enlisted in mass in the armed forces of the nation and scored high on entrance tests. Most of them would not have been able to enter the armed forces prior to their Job Corps training.

Another recent article tells of a woman congressman from Ohio who changed her mind about the entire program after spending a day in a girl's job corps camp in her native state. She became a booster for the program.

In Kingman, businessman Bob Willsey tells us about coaching the Job Corps football team along with Clinton Rosencrans this year. Says Mr. Willsey, "I just can't speak too highly of these boys or of Eldon Hayes". He continued, "they are well mannered, highly motivated and want nothing more than an opportunity to improve themselves". Mr. Willsey was so impressed with his association during the football season that he is now working with corpsmen to put together a glee club at the local camp. Says he, "we'll do it too, I'll bet on that".

The Job Corps program has had great success and has provided a last-chance for many ill-advantaged American boys. But it could be even more successful and do more good, with one or two simple changes.

The corps should demand that students have a required minimum-stay at the camp to which they are assigned after they enroll. Too many become homesick or disillusioned and leave before the training can do any good. This high drop-out rate is the reason that the cost per enrollee is higher than it should be.

If the boys were made to stay for six months, or for any length of time that would give the program a fair chance at success, the drop-out rate and the cost would be lowered.

The fears of many people have not come to pass since the establishment of the camp here. Conduct has been exemplary in most cases and they have become good neighbors in the community.

As the Thanksgiving and Christmas season approaches we hope that our citizens will open their doors to these young men and share with them the warmth that men and women of good have in their hearts. By their actions, they have earned the community's respect.

America: The Best Place on Earth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Sgt. Charles Fisher, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Fisher, Rural Delivery 4, Reading, Pa., is with the U.S. Marine Corps, Tam Kay, Vietnam.

Charles was a graduate of the Oley Valley High School class of 1965. One of his Oley High School mates, Jeffrey C. Boltz, is now serving as a congressional page in the House of Representatives.

With a letter to Mr. Charles R. Kramer, guidance counselor, Oley Valley School District, Oley, Pa., Sergeant Fisher included a poem he had written. I should like to insert the letter and the poem into the RECORD.

I believe Sergeant Fisher's message is to every student in our country. It should serve as an incentive to each of them. It points out how important the high school years are, and what each student will miss if he fails to take full advantage of the opportunities for an education.

Following is the letter and the poem:

DEAR MR. KRAMER: How is everything with you. Sure wish I was back there right now but it won't be long any more. I sat down and wrote this poem the other day. I thought maybe it would be a good idea to send it to the student body. It's not a very good poem, but there is a deep meaning between the lines. Whatever you do with it is up to you, but I like to see people make the best of high school. I wish I would have applied myself more. I'd appreciate it if you would let me know whether or not you got this. Well, until next summer, take it easy and pack a snowball for me.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES FISHER.

ASPECTS OF LIFE

Remember the days in your old high school
You just couldn't wait for the term to be through
Now it's all past and never again
Will you sit at your desk with pen in hand.
There is someone in your old space
Maybe he'll take advantage of that wonderful place.
Whatever you do in a few years more
You'll either be in college or the Marine Corps.
No one can tell you what you must do;
You'll learn for yourself before you are through.
Life is hard but you must go on
For if you don't everything will be gone.
Now here's some advice for all of you in school
Learn all you can before you get through.
I once went to the high school you're going to
And I messed around like a stupid fool.
Now I'm in Viet Nam fighting a war
As some of you will be in a few years more.
It's not very pleasant to go out at night
And fight VC by the moonlight
When bullets and shrapnel are flying over your head
You'll pray to God you make it through all the lead.
You'll wish to God you'd taken my advice
And gone through high school and made the best of your life.
One of my best friends was killed just the other day;
Believe me, it wasn't very nice to see him mangled that way.
I'll leave you now with the thought that this might
Help just one person to lead a much better life.
You can take what I've said for what it is worth
But believe me America is the best place on Earth.

CHARLES FISHER,
Class of '65,
USMC, Tam Ky, Vietnam.

Support Our Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, at a time when those who oppose our policy in Vietnam seem to get all of the headlines, it is heartwarming to know that there are a great many people who are offering encouragement to those men who are serving and sacrificing in far places. I received a real thrill when I learned of a project in my own District designed to support and encourage the men in Vietnam. The project was conceived by Miss JoAnn Cowgill, a secretary in the St. Regis Paper Co. plant in Marion, Ind. The project caught the imagination of other employees who generously contributed both time and gifts to the project. Approximately 200 men from Grant County, Ind., who are now serving in Vietnam received boxes from home containing homemade cookies, candy, cigarettes, fruitcake, pocketbooks, Koolaid, and soap. The company donated the postage and purchased several items to complete the well-rounded gift boxes. What a source of encouragement it must be to those men, who after reading some of the headlines here at home must believe that they are fighting a lonely battle, to know that there are people like Miss Cowgill and her coworkers who believe in them and appreciate their sacrifice. We cannot give those who participated in this project enough credit but we can give them our heartfelt thanks.

Independence of Finland

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, this week the people of Finland are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the independence of their great country, and I am very proud, honored, and pleased to hail and salute them, and to extend my heartiest congratulations and best wishes for the future to these great citizens of the free world.

Finland is a superb nation of hardy, resourceful, courageous people who through long centuries have battled oppressors seeking the spoils of war, trampling upon their rights, and shackling their freedoms.

A nation of less than 5 million people bordering for 800 miles on the boundaries of the colossus of the north, Communist Russia, the brave Finns have successfully protected their freedom through very trying periods of war, social unrest, and the threat of conquest.

Long-continued domination by other nations never was able to quench the love of personal liberty and the determination to be free of the Finnish people. Not even the Soviet Union, with its mighty power marshaled at the gateways of Finland, was able or willing to try to deprive Finland of its democratic rights and its independence.

Not even the changing power structure of northeastern Europe was equal to the task of discouraging the Finns, breaking their determination to retain their birthright, and overcoming their free and independent government.

We are happy now to know that, at this time, peaceful relations with one time enemies, including Soviet Russia, have apparently been firmly established.

While they are strong, self-respecting and zealous in defending their rights, the Finns are not actually a warlike people. Yet they are unalterably committed to peace, justice, and friendly relations with their neighbors and all other Nations, provided their own moral and democratic rights are respected.

It is gratifying to note that at present the Finns appear to be free of the threat of any serious attack of aggression or conquest, and their government is able to concentrate on domestic, economic, and social problems which, notwithstanding the relatively small size of the country, have presented serious political problems to the leaders of Finland.

There seems to be a new era of good feeling, however, the absence of rancor and sincere efforts to achieve cordial relations with other peoples, particularly their neighbors.

The spirit of enterprise, that abides in the Finnish people, their strong adherence to personal freedom, their many gifts of innovation, creativity and culture have resulted in increasing business relations with the West, and their beautiful land, and its talented, gallant people, seem to be on the pathway to progress, advancement, and steadily increasing and improving conditions, standards of wages, and living, and general national well-being.

The Finns are a vital, strong, energetic people, and our own country is very fortunate to have them as friends and citizens, and to have so many people of Finnish blood living in this country, and contributing in war and in peace to our security, the strengthening of our freedoms, and the fabulous growth we have enjoyed in social and economic progress. Such loyal citizens and trusted friends could never be excelled.

I am very fortunate, in that respect, to have so many people of Finnish blood living in my district whom I can call my strong, loyal friends and respected and beloved constituents.

They have contributed immeasurably to the life of our Nation in all its facets and ramifications. Their industry and love of hard work, wholesome family life, patriotism and love of independence, of freedom, their strong spirit of individualism and bounding courage make them not only outstanding citizens, but neighbors, companions, and friends of whom all of us may be very proud.

Many happy returns on Finland's birthday of independence. May their beloved northland continue to grow in the arts of peace, and the satisfactions of freedom, in the joys of free enterprise and honest labor, in the incentives that nourish success, in so many worthy undertakings, and in the indomitable spirit of determination to protect and preserve the sacred birthright the people of Finnish blood have won through centuries of struggle and travail. May Heaven protect Finland and its proud, wonderful people.

The 50th Anniversary of Finland's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I send greetings today to all peoples of Finnish descent as they celebrate the 50th anniversary of Finland's independence. It is a most gratifying and joyful occasion, for in contrast to the many other peoples under Russian domination who declared themselves free during the turmoil following the Bolshevik revolution only to be once again conquered by Russia and denied their rights to self-determination, the Finns succeeded in their resolve to make their country a free democracy.

The previous special status of Finland as a semiautonomous grand duchy united with the Russian Empire had given her the experience and governmental framework which facilitated her transformation into a soverign nation. Thus, when the Soviet Union challenged the Finn's independence in 1940 and again in 1944, it was a well-disciplined army and citizenry, inspired by their cherished ideal of freedom, which enabled them to struggle against overwhelming odds to preserve this long-sought freedom.

Today Finland is a highly admirable example of a progressive parliamentary republic. Though precariously adjacent to the Soviet Union, it has managed to remain consistently and effectively neutral during conflicts between the great powers. In honor of the glorious accomplishments of the proud Finnish people, I extend my congratulations and best wishes to all people who call Finland their homeland.

Spending and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, today in the dying hours of the first session of the 90th Congress, the Congress, and more particularly the House division thereof, finds itself in a hassle with the President over the President's budget and our fiscal affairs generally. The House, even though belatedly, has apparently awakened to the true condition of the Treasury. This was brought about by the President's request for more taxes. Already faced with a national debt of $345.6 billion, the necessity for again lifting the ceiling on that debt, the doleful prospect of a $29 or $30 billion dollar deficit in the budget for the next fiscal year and ruinous inflation, it is obvious that we must get our fiscal affairs in order or lose our form of government to one of the modern isms flourishing in other parts of the world.

The second session of the 90th Congress should be dedicated to getting our fiscal house in order.

Mr. Speaker, with no desire to make self-serving statements, I do desire to again hoist the storm signals and again call upon the Congress and the President to take heed least the avalanche engulfs us. With this in mind, I extend my remarks by inserting in part the following remarks which I made on the floor February 23, 1966:

TAX ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1966

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 736 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the usual 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] representing the minority, and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, if I may have the indulgence of the House for a very few minutes, I should like to discuss in those few minutes this new revenue bill. Permit me to say in the first instance that, like every Member of this House, I am opposed to raising taxes. There is only one thing that I am more opposed to as a Member of this House, and that is to this Government going deeper and deeper and deeper into debt every year.

Now, taxes are always burdensome and are ever incerasingly becoming burdensome, but, as I indicated, we have to look at the long-range program and we have to weigh and evaluate the question of which is the worse evil, the raising of more revenue or the increasing of our national debt. Above all this, of course, is the ever-present and ever-increasing danger of ruinous inflation.

Mr. Speaker, this bill would change the method of collecting taxes, which the committee estimates would bring in considerable revenue. The other provision of the bill would not repeal but, rather reinstate or reauthorize the collection of certain excise taxes. It would reimpose these excise taxes, which were scheduled under the bill passed last year to expire and which would therefore under this bill add additional revenue.

Mr. Speaker, I was opposed to the repeal of these taxes on previous occasions on the same theory and on the same philosophy that I am now stating here; namely, that you have to have some semblance of fiscal responsibility. I just belong to that old-fashioned school that believes somewhere down the line there has to be a day of reckoning and that you just cannot keep on spending, spending, and spending, and keep adding and adding to the national debt. So I reluctantly take the unpopular position here of supporting this bill—no man in public life likes to take an unpopular position, particularly the one of raising the burdens of taxation—and I take this position upon that theory and upon that philosophy of fiscal responsibility.

Now, what is the situation here? We owe—and I have the most recent figures—a little matter of $320 billion. This is the figure that the Treasury comes up with. But if all the obligations of the Government were added it would be many times that figure. In fact, it would be in the astronomical figure of trillions. The interest on that acknowledged figure of $320 billion is $12.8 billion annually.

Now the proponents of the Great Society tell us that we have the greatest era of prosperity we have ever had in this Nation. I believe that is true. I do not believe there is any question about it. The Nation is enjoying unprecedented prosperity.

But, Mr. Speaker, I come back to the point that a large portion of that prosperity is the result of governmental spending, and that if the Government keeps accelerating the spending which we are now experiencing, we will have just that much more of this artificial prosperity.

However, somewhere—and I come back to my original point—down the line there has to be a day of reckoning.

Now, Mr. Speaker, another reason I go along with this tax bill is, to lessen the deficit that we are facing—is because of the retarding effect that it will have upon inflation.

Mr. Speaker, I have stood in the well of this House at least 20 times in the last 20 years and made the statement, that I feared inflation worse than I feared communism; that we were in more danger of destroying ourselves from within than we were from without.

Mr. Speaker, we have inflation today. Would anyone deny that? If you are not familiar with it, ask your wife about it when she goes shopping. It is increasing all the time. This will serve to place a little brake upon that evil of inflation.

So, Mr. Speaker, we are faced with a situation here where we have got to maintain some sense of responsibility on the domestic front.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I just happen again to be old-fashioned enough to believe that we can not have our pie and keep it too—or to put in conversely, we cannot have both butter and guns.

But yet I see no indication whatever upon the national horizon to cut down on this domestic spending. On the contrary, we are authorizing more and more and more new programs that are going to cause greater and greater and greater deficits, and further debase our currency and hasten that day of confrontation when we have to realize what is going on.

Would it not seem the prudent thing to do—would not private business or private enterprise or the private individual who has some sense of responsibility and prudence—would he not try, if he got into trouble on one side—would he not try to retrench on the other? Oh, but no, not the Government—not the Federal Government. We are going to continue both the domestic spending and the acceleration of the welfare state and at the same time furnish more and more of the sinews of warfare which come, incidentally, very expensively.

Mr. Speaker, I am very much concerned about the future of this country. I am very much concerned about the perpetuation of the Republic with its cherished institutions. I think it is time to stop, look, and listen a little bit and try to get back on an even keel.

Mr. Speaker, when my friend, the able gentleman from Arkansas—and there are very few in this House, if any, who are more able than he is—comes before the Committee on Rules again—which I anticipate before too long, and asks for another increase in the debt limit—and you remember we had two or three last year and we will probably have at least—I know we will have at least one more and possibly two or three more before this Congress is over—or certainly before this situation is solved—I am going to be against it.

As one Member of this House of Representatives, I am trying to call the attention of the American people to our financial situation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Iowa, who I might say is not responsible for our unfortunate debt situation.

Mr. GROSS. There is one figure that I would like to add to the figures that the gentleman has given and that is the figure of $1,206 billion of public and private debt in this country as of December 31, 1965. That is an increase of between $88 billion and $89 billion over the figure for 1964. Somehow or other, as the gentleman has said, we have to stop spending. But like the gentleman, I see no evidence of it. Already in this session of Congress I have seen millions voted for Interama. I have seen more millions for a National Air Museum voted through Congress and the $1 billion Southeast Asian Development Bank went through as if the skids were greased. I see no evidence of anyone trying to cut back on spending. It is going to be hard for me to reconcile a vote for this bill here today in the light of the spending that has already been authorized for projects that could and should have been deferred.

Mr. COLMER. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. He usually makes a valuable contribution. I can understand how he will find it difficult to vote for this tax bill even as I have already stated I am finding it difficult to do so.

I express the hope that the administration and the Congress will act prudently and responsibly and curtail these new programs in the interest of giving the necessary support to the war effort and in the interest of fiscal responsibility.

Youth and the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Quinn Tamm, the executive director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, recently addressed a special meeting of the Capitol District Kiwanis International on the subject "You and Youth and the Law." As a member of the Kiwanis, I am pleased that a major goal of our organization is the enforcement of law and order.

Mr. Tamm's address was of major significance to those of us who live in the Nation's Capital and its environs because of the rising crime rate and rising number of crimes committed by youths everywhere. I believe that Mr. Tamm placed this critical problem into perspective, particularly regarding the role of the law-enforcement officer in juvenile crime. I wish to publicly commend Mr. Tamm for an excellent speech which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

YOU AND YOUTH AND THE LAW

(Remarks by Quinn Tamm, executive director, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Washington, D.C., before a special dinner meeting of the Capitol district, Kiwanis International, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., November 21, 1967)

The single most pressing and threatening aspect of the crime problem in the United States is juvenile criminality. I assure you that this finding by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice came as no surprise to the police of our nation. As the representatives of the one agency in our society concerned with the maintenance of social order 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, the police are usually the first to be involved when youth actions are contrary to public welfare.

It is the police who have to contain the ghetto gangs from senseless killings and the burning of stores and residences. It is the police who have to endure the abuse of the "hippie;" it is they who have to inhale the "fragrance" of the "flower children" while attempting to reduce the incidence of drug addiction in our youth population. It is the police who have the sad and painful duty of informing parents that their children have been apprehended in the commission of a crime. And it is they who must endure the accusatory pleas of some of these parents that "our child is not really bad, and don't the police have better things to do than harass children."

Because the police are on this front line in the war against crime, they are often mistakenly identified as having the responsibility for the total criminal justice system.

I think it should be made clear exactly what the police job is in our democratic system. Their sworn trust is to enforce the law; to protect the lives, liberties and properties of all citizens; to prevent crime and to provide certain limited direction and control for behavior that is not criminal. When a crime is committed, the police are expected to find the offender, charge him with the offense and present him to the court, together with evidence to prove that a crime was, in fact, committed, and specifically by the accused.

There is nothing in these mandates that exempts juveniles from enforcement of the law. They, too, must be held to answer for the offenses against society. Immaturity and irresponsibility are not excuses for vandalism, theft, or violence.

Traditionally, the police role in the case of juvenile offenders is to stop the offending behavior and/or take control of the offender so that he will ultimately be required to answer for his transgressions. The policeman functions as a public agent of discipline and order. He performs police functions—functions which must be carried out regardless of the age of the offender.

The difference is in method rather than objective so far as juvenile offenders are concerned. It is part of the policeman's responsibility to make clear to the juvenile that what he has done is in violation of the law and that he has come under the official sanction of the people. The policeman initiates action on behalf of society designed to correct the erring behavior of the child. It is not his function to punish, to scold, or to threaten. His job is to decide when and for what reason it is necessary to intervene, either on behalf of society or on behalf of the child, to exercise the authority with which he is invested for initiating sanctions to control conduct prescribed by law.

He is expected to inform the person against whom sanctions are invoked exactly why he is taking action.

In some instances, especially with juveniles, he has discretion as to whether to hold the child for disposition by the court or to advise, counsel, and make final disposition himself. His is the first step, and in many cases the last, in the program devised by society for handling the cases of juveniles who violate the law or engage in other behavior detrimental or dangerous to their own welfare. That this approach is followed conscientiously is verified by the fact that more than 50 percent of the cases involving juveniles are resolved at the police level rather than through formal juvenile court procedures.

The efforts of the police to better equip themselves to handle this major criminal justice problem is reflected in the work of our organization, the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Since 1962, members of our staff have been working on this problem under the auspices of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, now of HEW. The original thrust of this effort was to define the police role in handling youthful offenders. This examination resulted in a definitive text on the subject which I summarized in my preceding remarks.

In 1964, this project was reoriented to placing the concepts evolved into practice in police departments across the country, with, I believe notable success. Based on the results of the first two phases we have now entered on the third phase that is focused on developing improved relations between the police and youth communities. In other words, we are placing increased emphasis on the crime prevention phase of law enforcement. This is true, not only in the juvenile area, but in all police activities.

Crime prevention has always been a primary objective of law enforcement. While many leading police executives have long understood the importance of this objective, it has often been relegated to secondary importance because of the commitment of available police resources to detection and apprehension of criminals. The interest of our citizens has been centered primarily on the detection and apprehension phases of law enforcement rather than that of crime prevention. In addition, there has been, traditionally, a demarcation between social welfare service and police service.

Today, the police and the citizens they serve are coming to the realization that in the attainment of the crime prevention objective lies our greatest hope for law enforcement. Both the police and the citizen now recognize that crime and the conditions that breed crime—poverty, ignorance, congestion of the disadvantaged, social and economic inequalities—are inseparable.

It is to the credit of many police leaders that they have exercised their initiative in this area by establishing comprehensive programs in such communities to forestall crime. It is a fact that as much as 50 percent or more of the police man-hours are now utilized in what can be classified as social work to deter crime, including juvenile criminality.

The growing significance of the police role in juvenile criminality is clearly evidenced by the fact that over 50 percent of the persons arrested for burglary, larceny, auto theft, arson and vandalism during 1966 were under 18 years of age.

The President's Crime Commission report notes that one out of every nine children will be referred to juvenile courts for acts of delinquency before reaching the age of 18.

The chairman of the Commission, Nicholas B. de Katzenbach, was quoted recently as saying that the crime rate will continue to rise even if every proposal of the Commission is adopted. He explained that the major reason for this prediction is that a very large percentage of crime is committed by young people 24 years of age and under, the proportion of young people in society is growing steadily; consequently, a continuing increase of crime can be expected even after the adoption of the Commission's proposals.

But it must be appreciated that, without minimizing the importance of our efforts in alleviating juvenile criminality, this problem cannot be the sole focus of police attention. Every facet of criminal activity in our nation is increasing. The police, by the very nature of their duty, must be concerned with the entire spectrum of crime. This workload has increased tremendously in the past three years as a result of the civil demonstrations and civil disobedience activities that have escalated into civil riots and civil war. And while the police workload has been compounded, there has been no parallel increase in police resources.

For many years, despite the dedicated efforts of farsighted police executives, their capabilities have remained largely static. It is no exaggeration to say that in comparison to the scientific and technological advances so prevalent in other national endeavors, law enforcement is forced to operate with the resources of frontier days.

The police, as a symbol of the restraints required to maintain social order, have suffered from a sociological standpoint. The militant leaders of minority groups and self-appointed idealists have made the police a special target for their venom and hate, and for publicity purposes. They have led their deluded followers into massive criminal actions against law and order that in the past three years have resulted in the deaths of 130 people—twelve of them policemen; over 3,000 injured, property damage over $200 million and an estimated economic loss of over one-half billion dollars.

Many of the participants in these protests have been young people. Their immaturity, lack of responsibility, and, yes, even misguided idealism in some cases, have made them willing followers in these social disasters. They have been receptive to the exciting challenges offered them by leaders who would achieve their ends by revolution rather than by due process of law. In the case of the ghetto youth, any change from their present conditions has been a welcome one. They have felt that they have had nothing to lose by criminal acts. Their false messiahs have convinced them that only by violence can justice and equality be achieved.

Young people are the natural recruiting targets for extremists of every ilk. Groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party enlist the unsophisticated under the banner of white supremacy. The black power advocates through their Revolutionary Action Movement recruit for their Black Guard—a paramilitary group dedicated to the supremacy of black power and black unity.

I want to emphasize that the youth of our nation who commit these offenses against society are definitely in the minority. The great majority of our young people are studying and working to provide a better future for themselves and our nation. A great majority are serving willingly and with distinction in our armed forces. One of the few favorable aspects in the civil disorders that threatened our cities this past summer was the work of many young people in preventing disasters through cool-headed liaison with the potentially dissident. It is a heartening fact that great majorities of our young people are living according to the precepts of our social code of ethics and morality. This fact we should never lose sight of.

However, even if the misguided and malcontents among our nation's youth are in the minority, the old adage of "one bad apple" cannot be disregarded. Are we in danger that this disrespect for the law, this contempt for social order will pervade our society like a cancerous growth? I think we would be remiss indeed if we did not give our most serious consideration to this possibility.

Youthful rebellion is not unique with the present generation of young people, but it has never, to my mind, been as pervasive as it is today.

We know that there are many contributing factors to juvenile criminality. We are well aware that our central cities are in serious trouble because of the influx of the disadvantaged and the exodus of the more affluent. It is not difficult to understand that a child reared in poverty and ignorance without proper parental guidance and with little hope for any satisfactory social and economic status, channels his rebellion against these conditions into criminal outlets. I say we can understand this, but we condone and disregard it only at our nation's peril.

Somewhat more difficult to understand is the divergence from expected standards of conduct by the youth who come from the more affluent portion of our society. We find it difficult to understand and impossible to condone deliberate actions of criminality by these youths. We are told that these acts are rooted in a desire to be recognized, the desire to be taken seriously and to have their say in the decisions that affect our society. I believe you will agree with me that there is nothing wrong, in principle, in striving for such results. But I know you will agree with me that the fulfillment of these desires by acts of criminal violence is totally unacceptable.

We cannot accept the dictates of a Malcolm X, a Stokely Carmichael, or a Rap Brown, that our cities be burned to achieve these results. We cannot accept the precepts of Marxist-oriented groups, such as the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs in many of our colleges, that the overthrow of established social order is a justified means to the desired ends.

We cannot believe that retreat to the "flower world" of Haight-Asbury is the answer. We cannot countenance the belief that escape into the marijuana and LSD worlds of Allen Ginsburg and Dr. Leary is the answer. Retreat and escape are not solutions. They are only evasions of reality.

It is easy to say what we cannot do; the difficult thing is to determine what we can do, and then do it. One fact is unmistakable: no single segment of our society can accomplish this task; certainly not the police alone. They have only one facet of the multi-faceted responsibility. It is their job to enforce the law regardless of the age, color, creed or social status of the offender. But this task can be accomplished only with the concerted support of all law-abiding citizens. The police serve as agents for the citizens in insuring that our society functions within the framework of law and order. We are endowed with certain inherent freedoms, thanks to the foresight of the founders of our nation. But these freedoms are contingent upon equally inherent responsibilities—respect for the law and support of law enforcement.

Today, our nation faces a crisis in law enforcement. Some of the youth of our nation are morally and spiritually crippled because of their social and economic status. Others of them are troubled because they feel that they are being called upon to sacrifice unduly in shouldering responsibilities not of their making.

In the slums of our cities, we find, as was stated in the November 20, 1967 issue of Newsweek magazine, "that life is quickly reduced to familiar terms: the degradation of the slums, the desperate search for work and the final dependence on the mercies of the welfare department." The cycle tends to be a vicious one, particularly for the youth. An improvement in living conditions won't help unless there are jobs: jobs won't help unless the people have the training for them, and they cannot be trained without the basic convictions that there is a chance to succeed.

So it would appear to me that the first thing that has to be provided for our youth, and particularly the children of the ghetto, is hope. Carl T. Rowan, the distinguished Negro journalist, a former Ambassador and head of the U. S. Information Service, explained this graphically in his November 10, Evening Star newspaper column. He quoted Stokely Carmichael as saying that, "It is only when people lose all hope that you can get them to turn to violence." He continued, "Thus did Carmichael put his finger on the critical factor in the violence that has plagued American cities these last few summers; loss of hope. He has exploited the frustrations of the allienated and hopeless, arousing hatreds and even the urge to kill." He closed by writing, "Unintentionally . . . Carmichael has told us what the best defense is against the upheaval he advocates. Spare no effort to give hope, hope, hope."

We must face up to the fact that broadscale alleviation of the factors that contribute to crime will require massive funding. It is an ironical fact of our times that as our affluence grows the pockets of poverty become more deeply imbedded and those who inhabit them find it increasingly difficult to escape them or to understand why this disparity exists.

Thirdly, we must have a rebirth of responsibility in our nation and must inculcate it into our young people. Every parent who disregards the law makes it that much easier for his youngsters to do the same. Children need models more than they need impersonal punishment. We can hardly expect them to accept responsibilities that we are not prepared to accept ourselves.

The trend of permissiveness in our society today is, I think, responsible for the retreat from reality that many of our young people are making into the psychedelic world. As Senator Robert W. Byrd told a conference of police executives some time ago, "All too often I believe crime springs from lack of parental discipline. Young men borrow a car and go for a joyride, 'just for kicks.' They rob for a drug habit started 'just for kicks.' Probably early application of the parental hand to the area usually reserved for kicks would have nipped this problem in the bud."

The solutions I have outlined to the problem of youthful criminality are obviously long-range ones. The problem facing us is an immediate one. Until these solutions can be achieved, the practical answer would appear to be increasingly efficient law enforcement. In an article in the Parade magazine, November 5, 1967, Attorney General Ramsey

Clark is quoted as stating, "Never have good police been so important to people." Further, he is quoted as saying, "As long as the public is willing to spend $4.2 billion for police, prisons and prosecutions, as contrasted with $12 billion for alcohol, the streets and parks will continue to remain unsafe at night."

As was pointed out in the Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, every part of the criminal justice system is undernourished. There is insufficient manpower and what there is is not well enough for trained or well enough paid. Facilities and equipment are inadequate. Research programs that could lead to greater knowledge about crime and justice, and therefore to more effective operations are almost non-existent. To lament the increase in crime and at the same time to starve the agencies of law and justice, is to whistle in the wind.

The police of our nation are fully aware of these inadequacies and aware of the problems they face. They have been greatly encouraged by the concern and interest in these problems by the President and Congress of the United States. Legislation has been enacted, and more is pending, that will go a long way to alleviate these deficiencies.

Even more heartening, however, is the upsurge in public understanding and public determination to support law enforcement and alleviate its inadequacies.

This determination is most outstandingly exemplified by the project you gentlemen of Kiwanis International are undertaking. Your program to motivate youth to respect and obey the law gets to the root of the problem. The fact that so many other civic organizations in our nation are cooperating in the project, or conducting similar ones, is a source of deep gratification to the police of our nation.

It has been said that a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. I think that the members of the Kiwanis and other citizens who are instilling respect for the law and support of law enforcement in our youth have gone far past the first step. You have taken giant strides in fulfilling the responsibility all Americans share in achieving respect for the law and support for those who are charged with enforcing it.

Our nation's founders laid the foundation for a government of laws with equal justice for all. Our predecessors—our fathers—built upon that foundation to achieve a nation that stands as an exemplar for all those who strive for this goal. I would hope that you and I of our generation would do no less for our posterity.

Guaranteed Refundable Contributions?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, now that we have finished playing "On-again-off-again-gone-again-Finnegan" with the President's surtax proposal for this year, there should be some time available to us for reflection, and for a reexamination of our overall fiscal problems and the solutions offered to them.

I had just about decided that everything had been said, in this debate over tax policy, that could be said, and that nobody had anything new to offer when I came across the following article entitled "A New Road to a Stable Economy," as published in the December issue of the Progressive magazine.

Its author is Melville J. Ulmer, a professor of economics at nearby Maryland University and an economic consultant to the Bureau of the Budget, and one who has formerly served as an economic adviser to the General Services Administration and the Department of State, Labor, and Commerce under the Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations.

I know no more about Mr. Ulmer than that, but his analysis of the surtax problem was, I thought, worth reading, and the solution he suggests so novel and different that it ought to be brought to some wider attention. In a footnote to his article, it is stated that he presented these views of his in a "private, unofficial capacity," and—under leave granted to do so—I pass them along to my colleagues in much the same tentative fashion:

A NEW ROAD TO A STABLE ECONOMY

(By Melville J. Ulmer)

For many months a gulf of misunderstanding and a certain unfortunate stubbornness has separated those in Washington who believe taxes should be increased from the many more who believe that they should not. In favor of the increase are President Johnson, his economic advisers, and the many influential friends and followers of the latter in the academic community. Foremost in opposition is Representative Wilbur Mills, the Arkansas Democrat who is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Other resistance comes from numerous elements of diverse political hues including many—and perhaps the majority—of Mills' colleagues in the House, a substantial number of members of the upper chamber, led by Senator William Proxmire, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, a variety of both liberal and conservative economists, and Americans for Democratic Action.

Meanwhile, as politicians and technicians talk on, prices keep rising. In the last year and a half the consumer price index increased by five per cent, and in the most recent months its pace stepped up ominously. Granted that economic forecasts have often been wrong, it would be foolhardy to shrug off the prediction of the President's Council of Economic Advisers that prices will rise even more sharply in the year ahead. There is also no question that the ten per cent surcharge on income taxes, which the Administration has proposed, would do much to retard or halt the inflation.

Nevertheless it would be hasty, and I think wrong, to conclude that therefore taxes ought to be increased. Indeed, in their insistence that this is the *only* feasible way to check inflation, the economic advisers to the White House threaten to transform the New Economics into a New Orthodoxy. The very diversity and intensity of the opposition suggest that something may be wrong with their proposal.

The principal arguments of those in opposition may be briefly summarized. There is the forcefully presented contention of Chairman Mills that public spending should be cut first. In support of this position, Senator Proxmire has pointed out such "low priority" items in the Federal budget as the heavy public investment in supersonic transport, the space program, the maintenance of superfluous troops in Europe, and the notorious "pork barrel" appropriations for the Corps of Engineers, highways, and some other non-defense public works. The Administration's answer, of course, is that when the votes are taken these are the items that will *not* be cut. Instead, the President and his advisers suspect that economies will be at the expense of the Great Society, already battered.

Along with this emphasis on cutting expenditures is the conviction that the American public is already as heavily taxed as it ought to be—a belief that is pervasive and perhaps most influential of all in Congress. Any reasonable economies, in this view, would be preferable to increasing the tax burden. It is a view that probably wins support from most middle-class families receiving income mainly from wages or salaries.

At the same time, Americans for Democratic Action oppose the Administration on the grounds that the tax burden, under present statutes, is not heavy enough on *some* sectors of the population. They point to loopholes such as the oil depletion allowances and trust fund dodges that have enabled some millionaires to escape paying any Federal income taxes whatever. In the judgment of ADA, a tax increase now, before closing the loopholes, would have regressive tendencies. Some members of ADA, and others too, reject the tax because they reject the war in Vietnam.

Finally, there is the fear, shared by some economists, that the forecast of the Council of Economic Advisers may be wrong. There has been some evidence of prospective weakness in business investment and also a perceptible sluggishness in consumer expenditures. Even a swiftly enacted tax increase could not have much effect sooner than six months from now. If by that time business activity were turning down, the tax change would only accelerate the decline.

None of the arguments against the tax increase is completely pointless, and some bear considerable substance.

Taken together, they represent a formidable opposition—not formidable enough to deny the danger of inflation, or the need to check it, but to question whether the technique proposed by the Administration is the proper one for the task. The latter is the basic question raised in this article, and it is also raised implicitly by some of the Administration's critics. But before pursuing further the possible weaknesses of tax changes as a stabilizing device, I propose a possible alternative—a plan that I believe would block inflation promptly if it develops, and yet meet the objections of those who oppose the Administration's tax increase.

The proposal presented here is that each taxpayer be required to *lend* the Government an amount equal to ten per cent of his tax liability, the sum to be repaid with five per cent cumulative interest at the end of three years. In case the business situation changed suddenly, the President would have authority to make repayment at any earlier date. The loan would appear, initially, as a surcharge on tax liability, and would have much the same deflationary impact on the nation's spending as an outright increase in taxes. As a loan with interest, however, it would be less punishing to the taxpayer. It should also, therefore, be more palatable to Congress.

But the compulsory loan plan is not offered here as a clever subterfuge calculated to temper the squeamishness of vote-conscious Congressmen. The proposal is motivated by the conviction that the stabilization program thus far dictated by the New Economics is fundamentally mistaken, and that its errors would be corrected by a systematic plan for compulsory loans and repayments.

Ever since 1961, when Walter Heller became chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, the official position toward economic stabilization has been the same. Exclusive reliance has been placed on tax changes, both under Heller and those who followed him in the Council under President Johnson. When recession threatens, the New Economics proclaimed, taxes should be cut. This will reinforce purchasing power, enlarge demand, and snap the economy back to full employment. When inflation threatens, taxes should be increased. This will reduce the nation's spending, diminish excessive demand, and dampen the rise in prices.

The theory, almost all agree, is impeccable. But despite the fanfare over alleged successes, a hard look at the facts reveals that in practice it has never worked. Its failures are evident even in the last seven years during which the New Economics held full sway.

Thus, when President Kennedy took office in January, 1961, fully seven per cent of the labor force was unemployed. By the logic of the New Economics, a tax reduction was required and was duly pressed by the Council of Economic Advisers. Nevertheless, while serious unemployment persisted, nearly four years passed before the tax cut was enacted, and it took another six months before it began to take effect.

Indeed, by the time it yielded its full effects, much of the need for a tax cut already had diminished. Certainly, as the year 1965 came to a close prices were surging forward, the Vietnam war was escalating, and inflation instead of unemployment was the problem—at least as viewed from Washington. Heller, by now back at the University of Minnesota, called promptly for a tax increase. The Council of Economic Advisers agreed. Now, nearly two years later, prices are mounting and there still has been no action.

One wonders, are Presidents and legislators simply "ornery" or dull, or may there not be some legitimate reason why they hesitate to move taxes swiftly up and down like an office building elevator? In my opinion, delays in enacting tax changes, which have always been prolonged ones, are inherent not merely in the legislative process, but in the basic requirements for reasonable stability in business and household planning.

To give them their due, politicians seem to sense instinctively that taxes are too important an economic matter to be jiggled frequently and capriciously. Business plans its investments on prospective yields figured *after* taxes. Households of necessity shape their spending, and assume mortgage payments and other commitments, on the basis of their expected incomes *after* taxes. Stability in their accounts would be next to impossible with frequent and unforeseeable changes in the rules of the game.

Furthermore, taxes exercise an important influence on the distribution of income, as well as on economic decisions, and these should reflect the long-term decisions of the electorate. It is not fitting that they flutter moodily with the ever-changing tides of business. Indeed, the volume of public spending, as well as the taxes that finance them, ought to be geared to the long term economic requirements of balanced growth, equity, and a conscious, reasoned decision concerning the division of resources between private goods and public services. Neither the war against poverty nor income tax rates should fluctuate from year to year.

It is primarily on these grounds that the plan for compulsory loans is offered here. As a permanent measure, it would involve establishment of a trust fund, or "stabilization kitty." Compulsory loans would be paid into the fund by taxpayers when inflation threatened; payouts would be made to them within three years on each loan, or sooner if the economy became slack. Within limits set by Congress, the President would be authorized to order loans or early repayments at his discretion; they would appear as both surcharges and credits in the ordinary income tax schedules.

If in the long run it appeared that repeated loans were necessary and payments into the stabilization fund greatly exceeded current payouts, it would signify that an increase in taxes was required to finance government operations and economic growth. In the same way, a persistent imbalance in the other direction would signal the need for a tax cut. But these would be deliberate, carefully-planned adjustments in tax rates that would occur rarely. The swift, push-button changes needed for stabilization would be effected through the mechanism of compulsory loans and repayments.

Although loans would reduce immediate purchasing power, and repayments would expand it, unlike taxes they would not alter the fundamental financial positions of businesses or households. Loans would be tantamount to forced savings—assets which nesses or households. Loans would be tanta- would grow with interest (five per cent cumulative), and which would surely become liquid in three years or sooner. Thus, a business investment that had been undertaken on the promise of a ten per cent yield would still hold the same promise whether a compulsory loan had been added to the regular corporation income tax or not. In contrast, a substantial tax boost could transform a once profitable project into a failure. Yet, by contracting or expanding the income currently available for spending, compulsory loans and repayments would affect the expenditures of households and business much as tax changes, would. But unlike tax changes, they would not alter the permanent incomes of either consumers or business. Therefore, the long term financial plans of both, so important for personal security as as well as stable economic growth, will be unaffected.

As a permanent fixture, the compulsory loan plan would remove tax increases or reductions, and public spending as well, from the emotionally-charged arena in which hastily considered decisions are demanded to meet the immediate emergencies of excessive unemployment or inflation. A more rational approach to taxation and spending may then be possible. For example, the elimination of wasteful items in the Federal budget could be debated on its merits, relieved of the irrelevant requirements of economic stabilization. In the same way, the case for closing tax loopholes could be urged on the proper grounds of equity and morality.

No doubt a Madison Avenue technician could think of a more seductive label for the compulsory loan plan. Loans for National Progress? Guaranteed Refundable Contributions? Federal Savings Allowances? Stability Stipends?

But whatever it is called, with President Johnson and Representative Mills eyeball to eyeball over the tax increase, the compulsory loan plan could perform a significant immediate service. It could enable each to draw back a few feet, in honor—and at the same time stop inflation.

Fort Worth's Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on November 28, 1967, an organization known as Fort Worth's Progress held its annual banquet. The keynote speaker was an old A. & M. classmate and personal friend of mine, Mr. Felix M. McKnight, copublisher and editor of the Dallas Times Herald. His remarks contain some timely subjects and I commend his speech to the Members of this body.

FORT WORTH PROGRESS

(By Felix R. McKnight, copublisher and editor of the Dallas Times Herald, November 28, 1967)

Today, gentlemen, let's take the bark off the tree, forget the past and talk in these few minutes about the magnificent opportunity that lies just around the bend.

We would be plain damn fools if we did not lay a thousand hands to the blueprint of bold decisions for Fort Worth and Dallas in the next decade. Henceforth—from this moment forward—let us talk partnership.

We have had our little skirmishes and jokes—and we have wasted a lot of time with trivia. Now, lets leave the bad jokes to the Aggie harrassers and assume the adult posture.

The Fort Worth-Dallas metropolitan areas, contiguous as they are, each with its own center, both growing rapidly with swiftly expanding intercity area—plus a growing interdependence of each on the other—represents the most unique urban area in the United States.

It is easy to picture Fort Worth and Dallas as a couple of children that have grown up on the same block. Just now the association represents that a couple that has found matrimony—and likes it! The association started in adolesence, with the usual spats that go with growing up. Then there was the period, perhaps the teenage period, where we probably got into a little mischief. We went through the courting period, found matrimony. The honeymoon may have its usual rugged moments but the union will be fruitful.

One out of every 98 persons in these United States resides in the Fort Worth-Dallas metropolitan complex. And the rush to this land of promise will continue at an incredible pace.

Urban complexes have multitudinous problems. We are buffeted from all sides. Transportation, adequate and decent housing, air and water pollution, crime, racial tensions and a score of other municipal situations concern and torment each one of the 2½ million citizens in our area.

These things will not go away—not until the leaderships uses the tools of sound judgment, integrity, understanding and depth planning to get rid of them.

In no sense do I masquerade as a city planner. I am here just to shake your shoulder as an editor and citizen. My approach probably will be a bit naive but I have a love for this community and I believe in its people. In hop scotch fashion, I fear, let us very informally dissect a few things.

Perhaps I should embark with a few remarks about the potential dangers of supremacy that sift in from Houston, or even Tulsa with its waterway. Or, they keep telling me, from some distant province called Atlanta, Georgia. But let's just have a look at ourselves.

We have one out of every five Texans right here in our backyard and according to my good friend, Marvin Springer, one of the eminent city planners of our time who has provided me with much of this material, we can use that team for monumental achievement. Ten years ago this man Springer dreamed his dreams by slide rule, analysis and researched data and today we arrive at his prophetic crossroads. Listen to these words:

The problems created by the pending changes include those involving the attitudes of people, transportation, and highways, water supply, sewage disposal, drainage, parks and recreation, school districts, municipal boundaries, land use, development standards, zoning, hospitals, and numerous others. Lack of foresight in planning and acting to solve the present and pending problems can result in the creation of a costly, chaotic, disorganized urban mess.

On August 18, 1841, or 127 years ago, the Republic of Texas approved the first contract granting a land company organized in Kentucky the right to colonize the then almost unpopulated area which today is the most densely populated portion of Texas—the Dallas-Fort Worth region.

The land company, known as Peters Colony, was granted four separate contracts for settling a vast area of North Texas between 1841 and 1852. Generally, each married settler which the land company induced to come to the area was given 640 acres of land and each single settler obtained 320 acres and the land company gained a like amount. Included in the Peters Colony grants were Dallas, Denton, Tarrant, Parker and Wise counties and portions of Ellis, Johnson and Collin counties. It seems somewhat of a paradox that the part of North Central Texas which the Republic of Texas was eagerly seeking to settle just over 115 years ago has now become one of the nation's 15 largest metropolitan areas.

I hope that I do not become a statistical bore today but I do not know of another way to sift through our future.

Now, for a few fascinating moments, let us not live in the world of fantasy, but in the very real world of 1985. Our guides are the most competent, the men of the Texas Highway Department, and they have put truthful slide rules to the day we will know a scant 17 years from this day in the Fort Worth club. Give me your hand and I will take you into the future of this ten county, 8,067 square mile, 77 city complex of come-and-get-it opportunity.

Seventeen years from now we will be 4,476,000 human beings living in 1,313,000 dwelling units. We will have a median family income of $11,500 and on each weekday we will drive 2,185,000 automobiles on 12,450,000 trips to somewhere—work, play, shopping, recreation. We will know 813 miles of freeways in these ten counties and we will have spent $3,622,700,000 to expand these freeways, arterials and local streets.

Lest I engulf you in man's statistical dreaming—and accomplishment—let me remind that it takes just this sort of computing, this sort of projecting, this sort of arm-in-arm walking by the men of Fort Worth and Dallas to give us our own private brand of heritage. If you didn't know it, some sort of man has been in this north central Texas for 12,000 years. The first time we know that man was actually around this Star-Telegram corner was somewhere around 1540. The yellowed pages of history tell us that a Spanish expedition moved across this land—and that 150 years later Mexicans saw, and named a body of water La Santisima Trinidad, the Most Holy Trinity.

Since those days, when Fort Worth and Dallas was no more than the embers of camp fires left by men who pushed on to the magnetizing glimmer of the Mississippi's magic, we have walked the torturous adventurous path of development.

So, when I talk of 1985, I talk of only another phase. Return with me to the future. In the charted year of 1985, some 1,300,000 persons will be employed in Tarrant and Dallas counties alone—if we get off our hands and give the glow of purpose to our acts of today.

We must find decent housing with the promise of environment that will forever erase the volatile potential of street strife; we must preserve our green areas that children and adults will know more than asphalt baseball games; we must provide real and tangible opportunity for all—and we must provide the means for moving our people to and from these job opportunities.

If we correctly read the signs that have been posted for us by transportation experts we will give priority to the movement of our people. Our system of freeways, regional and inter-regional highways and city streets will become the imperatives of the future.

If we are to give intelligent attention to 1985, we might drop back to the admonitions of 1885 as published in the New York Times—the editorial decrying a city's failure effectively to move its people: "Something more than streetcars and omnibuses is needed to supply the popular demand for city conveyance. The cars are quiter than the omnibuses, but much more crowded. People are packed into them like sardines in a box, with perspiration for all. The seats being more than filled, the passengers are placed in rows down the middle where they hang on by the straps, like smoked hams in a corner grocery. It must be evident to everybody that neither the cars nor the omnibuses supply accomodations enough for the public, and that such accommodations as they do supply are not of the right sort."

My presentation today is embarrassingly superficial, but to cram a future into 30 minutes goes far beyond my capabilities. Transportation, alone, could take an hour. We know the Fort Worth-Dallas Regional Airport story—the catalyst that brought about this desirable marriage.

Just in the past five days we learned that our airport will be handling 16 million passengers by 1975 and a fantastic 30 million by the magic year, 1985. We will have an average daily "population" of 75,000 persons by 1975, with 65,000 ground vehicles entering and leaving the terminal daily. Grab your seat belts and believe me when I say the experts predict that by 1985 the figure will double and we will know a daily airport population of 140,000 and vehicle traffic of 130,000.

Today, the current weekday population of Dallas' Love Field is 35,000. Personal automobiles will still be the principal mode of travel to the airport, at least through 1985. Imagine, gentlemen, a parking area in 1975 to accommodate 85,000 auto parking spaces—and then add 34,000 more by 1985 Roadway systems within the airport grounds must separate traffic by function to accommodate taxis, limousines, buses, private autos and service vehicles.

Rapid transit is still 20 or 30 years away but, eventually, we will know a network of systems something akin to our old interurban lines between counties. We will have, within five to seven years, one of the great airports of the world servicing tens of thousands each day—and we will have the painful, but delightful, problems that attend progress.

Our three main arteries between Tarrant and Dallas counties now handle a fantastic daily load—but it will be doubled by 1985 on new roads. On the Turnpike today an average 12,313 vehicles enter Fort Worth and 15,430 pass the Dallas toll gate. Highway 80 has 6,600 vehicles entering Fort Worth while Dallas receives 9,000. And reliable old Highway 183 daily carries 15,000 vehicles into Fort Worth and 16,500 into Dallas. From those three arteries alone we see 34,000 vehicles enter Fort Worth; 39,000 enter Dallas.

And we trade working forces each day over these roads that further cements this partnership.

Undoubtedly I have you drowning in statistics, but suffice it to say that 5% of Tarrant County's total work force of 266,000 daily commutes to Dallas, while one per cent of Dallas' 550,000 goes to work in Fort Worth. And it grows by the day.

Midway between the cities is the Great Southwest complex with incredible potential. Today, 10,000 persons works daily in that area. By 1985, with full development, there will be between 125,000 and 150,000.

We speak only of what is here, or in the building, when we create this picture of market expansion not even served by water transportation. The Trinity River program, a thoroughly real and plausible billion dollar project that is slowly moving to fruition, can double the expectancy. But that, too, is another story of many exciting chapters only to be lumped into our overall projections at this time.

The Council of Governments has been formed to implement a program for the broad use of all in our area. The satellite counties will join us as brothers in one big family and the Fort Worth-Dallas chambers of commerce will be promoting the outlaying industrial areas. It is all very simple—there will be no satisfactory major industrial sites within the two central cities and the satellites will have everything from labor markets to sites going for them. Dallas and Fort Worth will become merely the technical, managerial, financial, cultural market and distribution centers.

Charts, plans, detailed studies melt into the mist of insignificance if our people do not know tranquility, security and the good life. I cannot see growth and continuing good health for any community without solution of the ugly problems.

The air we breathe could well be the thin line of difference. Our Forth Worth-Dallas area, as one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas of the land, has air pollution problems. Illness, sometimes death, has come from the skies above Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York and Washington. Weather or meteorological conditions bring about periods of stagnations in which a buildup of pollutants occur.

In our sunny area it was thought such conditions did not occur. But air pollution control divisions of our health departments show that we, too, have temperature inversions, light winds, shallow mixing layers and other conditions conducive to air pollution. And the threat to our area will increase with the population growth.

Information gained by the Dallas Health Department indicates that the pollution problem is 65% due to transportation facilities; 35% due to municipal and industrial air pollution. Pollution expert Earle Sudderth warns that with the conquering of municipal and industrial pollution, the transportation menace will increase accordingly. Witness the Los Angeles smog tragedy—90% polluted by moving transportation.

Our ten-county Council of Governments, an effective and imperative group joined to dissolve area question marks, has started on the problem. It must diligently seek the answers for maintenance of pure air. Some sources have already been found but it will take equipment, the latest detection devices and constant policing to curb the danger. The answer to automotive emissions and industrial fouling of the air is demanded.

Today's tests shows that particulate matter and gaseous pollutants contaminate the Fort Worth-Dallas air in excess of the standards adopted by the Texas Air Pollution Board.

But people themselves also can be ugly and destructive.

In today's restive atmosphere the metropolitan area lives with new, frightening problems. The *good* citizen is bewildered. His community is plagued with scars created by warped, sick minds.

Crime and violence is becoming a national disgrace. In our nation, indeed in our Fort Worth-Dallas area, too many of our people live in a climate of fear. They fear for their lives, the safety of their families, their homes, their businesses. Cause of it all is the unbridled leap in the crime rate and racial unrest that breeds law violation.

I must quote a few more statistics—but I promise they will not be boring. In Tarrant and Johnson counties during the year 1966, the total crime index shows 13,200 offenses in just seven categories—murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny $50 and over and auto theft.

In the same period in Dallas, Denton, Collin and Ellis counties, there were 24,427 criminal offenses in those seven categories.

So, what do we have in this golden area we seek to cultivate as the magnificent market, the place to live, the place to establish your business? Thirty-eight thousand unlawful acts against society in the so-called major crimes in just 12 months.

Gentlemen, we are talking about a malignancy that has given us a 62% increase in the volume of crime in the past seven years. We are talking about the saddest of all statistics—a 54% increase in serious crimes in the young age group between the ages of 10 and 17 years.

And in the midst of it all the tender treatment still exists for the accused criminal.

Let me borrow a few words from J. Edgar Hoover on what he calls the nation's No. 1 internal problem: . . . "For years we have seen apologists, misguided sociologists and well meaning but misinformed public official rationalize the spiraling crime rate and excuse criminal behavior.

"We have seen an apathetic public ignore the warning signals of surging criminality which is costing taxpayers an estimated $27 billion annually. We have seen a criminal feedback, caused by judicial leniency (including pardons and paroles) which is a disgrace to our system of criminal justice. And we have seen loopholes, technicalities and release hundreds of hardened, unrepentant criminals on the streets to prey again on the public while awaiting trial on provable charges."

Nearly 3½ million crimes were reported in 1966 and figures for the first six months of 1967 show a 17% increase over that total. Is there wonder our people live in fear?

Now we have the most somber development—crime as the offshoot of racial chaos. Arson, looting, pillaging, sniping, murder, flouting of the law—a deadly set of violations born of the most unacceptable philosophy of our time, the right to civil disobedience.

The Fort Worth-Dallas area has been spared to this moment of the fear and tragedy that has cost human lives and hundreds of millions of dollars in other communities. But I would warn you again—we will never know the good things we seek for this area if we do not meet, and conquer, the vileness of crime through expanded, improved and *supported* law enforcement. And we must have the constant willingness to honorably solve the racial problems and imbalances. We cannot live, let alone prosper, in the climate of anarchy.

Finally, let me say a few words about the segment I represent—the news media. No one knows greater responsibilities than do the newspaper, broadcasting and magazine industries of this nation. We can have the most strident and influential voice in the Dallas-Fort Worth area if we act with integrity, studied judgment and guts.

We can inform, even educate, on the matters of municipal growth. We can be bellwethers for good but only if we are believed and trusted. Respect is earned by a long and good track record.

We must perform with a far greater sense of responsibiilty than we have in the racial crisis. The newspapers, television, radio and magazines have some soul searching to do in placing blame for this national tragedy. I shall not win any acclaim from my fellow editors for what I have to say, but I have come to the conclusion that we have not exercised total responsibility in editing these acts of anarchy.

I am inclined to agree with Mr. Hoover when he says:

"A judicial self appraisal by the news media of their riot coverage might be in order. Some media have already taken action in this regard. There can be no quarrel with the all-important role of keeping the public informed as quickly and as completely as possible. No one rightfully expects riots to be played down or salient facts withheld. On the other hand, militant agitators, hate mongers and publicity seeking rabble rousers who incite riots have no fear of overexposure."

Gentlemen, I wince when I think of the mileage Stokely Carmichael has received from the newsmedia. A man, who even now has deserted to Castro's communism and Hanoi's umbrella has been permitted to mouth his way from one street insurrection to another under the protective cloak of a free press and free speech in this nation.

Our reward for this high principled back bending on behalf of a traitor who should have been charged with treason and insurrection? Hundreds dead, billion dollar destruction, a widening breach between black and white that has taken us back to pre Civil War days and fear that has never been known in this land of the free. We gave him a platform and he preached hatred and killing and burning from television microphones and newspaper front pages. We gave him his inning and society has been brutally flogged.

Now, just about a week from this day, the man plans to re-enter the U.S. and take up his old trade after maligning this country from every communist capital of the world. Let us resolve that he will not have his old podium—only some starch from the Justice Department.

And the same goes for another inciter who openly harangued his followers to "kill whitey," burn the towns and establish Black Power. I speak of a total unknown who became a national figure because we made him one—24-year-old H. Rap Brown, now under a Maryland charge of inciting an insurrection. Even now he roams this land stirring cauldrons of violence and we report every filthy word he utters.

If this nation, this community we speak of today, does not arise and give vibrant support to its law enforcement agencies, the land we know will become a wasteland of anarchy and ruinous turmoil.

We have magnificent educational institutions in our midst that could lead us to the stature of a Palo Alto complex if we provide the scholars with community support.

My words have been many, more than I have ever uttered—for which I apologize.

But the hour is now and the timing is the thing. The problems posed by the growth potential of the region are tremendous—but the opportunity is even greater. We can guide the new growth into the most efficient, logical and pleasing form to remold that which is decayed, inefficient, unattractive and obsolete.

Our future is a great opportunity if we know how to direct it. It will be a curse if we allow chaos, poor standards and lack of foresight to prevail.

Government has been leading citizens. The question now is—do we of the Fort Worth-Dallas region determine our own destiny?

Lilly Foundation To Promote Many Causes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, few people realize that the sixth largest foundation in the United States, in terms of the size of endowment, is the Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis, Ind. The following story from the Indianapolis Star of Sunday, December 3, 1967, describes the widespread and notable works of this organization:

LILLY FOUNDATION HELPING TO PROMOTE MANY CAUSES

There is a concerned citizen who worries that the increasing weight of the South Polar ice cap soon will flip the earth from its orbit.

There is a religious organization which has accepted a mission to improve the quality of the Christian ministry in South Vietnam.

There is an unrecognized messiah who has a divine calling to save the nation from racial Armageddon.

There are groups which provide for the relief of Tibetan refugees, which encourage economic education in India and agricultural education in Japan, which support Scouting, Christianity and self-help economics in the inner cities.

All of them want money. All of them ask the Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis to give it.

The foundation now gives about $6 million a year to various educational, religious, cultural and community service organizations for the support of their facilities and programs throughout the world.

This is an awkward amount. It is too much to pass unnoticed by those who depend upon the philanthropic foundations. It also is far too little to satisfy them.

There are exceptionally significant and subtle problems with the great wealth represented in the Lilly Endowment.

The foundation was chartered in 1937 ". . . for the promotion and support of religious, educational or charitable purposes."

It since has become one of the nation's largest foundations. Its assets, now worth more than $340 million, rank the Lilly Endowment as the sixth wealthiest foundation in the United States.

The wealthiest is the Ford Foundation, with assets of $2.5 billion. Ranked behind Ford are the Rockefeller Foundation, $860 million, the Duke Endowment, $700 million, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, $500 million, the Carnegie Corporation, $350 million, and Lilly Endowment.

The foundation's assets consist almost entirely of stock in Eli Lilly & Co. The dividends from this stock provide the funds for the foundation's grants.

The foundation owns and votes slightly more than 20 per cent of all the company's common stock. The foundation is thus a major force for the continued stability and tenure of the company's management.

Any outsider who would try to take control of the company would have to contend with the voting power of the stock held by the foundation.

The company and the foundation have both been the largely personal enterprises of the Lilly family, now led by Eli Lilly.

The diverse interests of this remarkable family, combined with the tremendous economic power of the company and the foundation, have made the Lillys immensely and inevitably influential in the affairs of Indianapolis.

But there are some special and peculiar restraints upon the exercise of this power, some legal, some social, some self-imposed by the Lillys themselves.

As an example, the foundation makes no grants for the support of medical research.

John S. Lynn, general manager of the foundation, explains there would be an inevitable conflict of interest if the foundation used the tax-exempt dividends from the company for research which in turn could benefit the company.

Nor, as a matter of law, may the foundation support political candidates or organizations.

And there are the restraints created from the relationship of the family, the company and the foundation with Indianapolis.

If the family believes that a symphony orchestra is important to the quality of life in Indianapolis, then it could eliminate for all time the economic troubles of the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra.

Or the family could build, by itself, the convention hall and civic center. Or it could make of Herron a national center for the arts.

The family in fact could make a personal project of the urban renaissance which has come so slowly to Indianapolis.

But the family always has doubted that it should do this. The attitude, reflected in the policies of the foundation, has been that anything important to the community should be supported substantially by the community as well as by the family.

The sheer weight of the Lilly money makes great influence inevitable. But control is not inevitable and control, says Lynn, is what the family has tried to avoid.

The foundation gives substantial support to many educational, cultural, religious and social welfare institutions in Indianapolis. But most of these need to find substantial support elsewhere in the city to survive and prosper.

Some examples of the foundation's grants last year are the $15,000 given for the operating budget of the Children's Museum, the $40,000 given to the symphony's maintenance fund, the $7,500 given for the Urban League budget.

The foundation's grants to such organizations are substantial and important. But the organizations could not survive on Lilly money alone.

It may be that in its efforts to avoid control of what it supports, the family has also failed to exercise creatively the influence that it cannot avoid.

Last year, two hospital organizations conducted fund drives which seemed to compete with the United Hospital Campaign for the support of five other hospitals.

The Lilly Endowment grant to each of the two organizations was precisely 20 per cent of the grant to the United Hospital Campaign. In effect, the foundation took no position in the controversy surrounding the nature and timing of the fund drives.

The family and the foundation and the company also are restrained by public relations problems in a city which tends to view the three as a single institution.

The foundation supports the Fletcher Place Community Center for reasons which include the center's work in the neighborhoods around the company's plants.

The foundation also contributes to almost any established local organization which is consistent with the purposes of the foundation's charter.

Sometimes the grants are quite small—$500 to the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee in 1966, for example—but few such organizations are totally rejected in their searches for funds.

Generally, says Lynn, the foundation gives about two-thirds of its funds to organizations working in Indianapolis and Indiana.

This is a matter of local policy. Some foundations, such as the C. S. Mott Foundation of Flint, Mich., concentrate entirely on the community in which they are based; still others pay no particular attention to their local areas.

Another Lilly endowment policy is that grants will not be made to individuals.

Other foundations do make grants to individuals (such as the Guggenheim grants to artists and writers) and some of the Lilly endowment grants are made to organizations which in effect are efforts of individudals (Mrs. Mattie Coney's Citizens Forum, for example, or Harry Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade).

The general pattern of the foundation's grants has allocated about 50 per cent of the funds to education, 25 per cent to community service and 25 per cent to religion.

The Lilly Endowment is one of the few foundations with a major program of support for religious organizations and programs. Lynn said only about 5 per cent of all foundation grants in the U.S. are for religious purposes. Much of this 5 per cent comes from Lilly grants.

Lynn said the foundation may increase the proportion of its support for community service, largely because of extensive programs for the local cultural institutions and that a somewhat smaller proportion of funds may be left for education.

Other Lilly grants reflect the personal interests of the family. There are substantial grants for the support of archeology and history in Indiana, for example.

Eugene N. Beesley, president of the Lilly company and vice-president of the foundation, has been a director of Radio Free Europe for many years, and the foundation has helped support the Radio Free Europe Fund ($100,000 in 1966).

Lynn said there may be a trend now to fewer but larger grants from the foundation. The foundation now gives an exceptionally large number of small grants: nearly half the grants made in 1966 were for $15,000 or less.

But this trend seems more a result of the special needs of groups in which the Lillys had a special interest rather than the result of an effort to increase and concentrate the influence of the foundation.

But there are limits even to the great wealth and inevitable influence of the Lillys.

The messiah left the foundation's offices divinely angry and unfunded; the concerned citizen will burn no Lilly money to melt the Antartic ice cap.

Reduction of Nontariff Barriers to Trade Benefits U.S. Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, many of our trading partners have expressed deep concern about legislation pending before this Congress that would impose quotas or other restrictions upon U.S. imports. They have made it clear that if the proposed protectionist legislation were enacted, they would feel compelled to retaliate against U.S. exports.

It would be a grave mistake for Congress to pass legislation restricting imports and tending to reverse the beneficial progress of the postwar era toward freer trade.

Instead the United States, together with other trading nations, should continue the job of reducing trade barriers. The major task now before us is the elimination of nontariff barriers to trade which exist in profusion in every country.

Through continuing efforts over a number of years, the United States has already made some progress in getting rid of quantitative restrictions and other trade impediments.

A statement issued recently by the Department of State and the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations cites some of the gains made in this area. Exporters of both agricultural and industrial products have benefited as a result.

I include the statement hereafter:

PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE REDUCTION OF NONTARIFF BARRIERS TO TRADE

Persistent efforts by the United States since World War II and especially during recent years have resulted in removal of quantitative restrictions by most other countries on almost all industrial items and on many agricultural products of interest to United States exporters. The United States also has had some success in obtaining removal of other types of barriers to its exports.

All the countries of Western Europe, for example, have eliminated virtually all quantitative restrictions on major non-agricultural imports of interest to the United States. In Canada, the only remaining quantitative restrictions of significance in the industrial sector are on used aircraft and used automobiles.

Countries which thus far in 1967 alone have taken steps further to liberalize their trade by removing quota restrictions include Denmark, Austria, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Spain, Germany, France and South Africa.

Products on which quota barriers were lifted included preserved fruit and vegetables, vegetable and animal oils, dried fruit, certain grains and grain products, motor vehicles, typewriters, cash registers, adding machines, computers, paper, outboard motors, electric motors, internal combustion engines, water turbines, pumps, fans, air conditioners and many other industrial items.

These actions are in addition to the removal or easing of import restrictions in 1966 and early 1967 announced in detail in Press Release No. 15, January 26, 1967. Similarly, early in 1966 and 1965 the Department announced in detail the elimination or liberalization of import restrictions by trading partners of the United States on hundreds of products of interest to American exporters.

The quantitative import restrictions which have been eliminated as the result of representations by the United States Government over a period of years were established by the countries of Western Europe and Japan immediately after World War II. They were among the major devices used by these countries to limit their dollar expenditures for non-essential goods and services.

In the early post-war years these restrictions did not seriously affect the overall level of American exports. But as the countries which employed these measures recovered from the war and acquired substantial holdings of dollars their restrictions became significant in terms of trade and the United States vigorously sought their elimination.

For the most part, American efforts to remove these trade restrictions have been centered in the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) which contains a general prohibition against quantitative restrictions and serves as a framework for consultations and negotiations on barriers to trade. The United States also has extensively used the consultative mechanism provided for in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Many restrictions also were removed as the result of bilateral discussions with representatives of foreign governments in Washington and aboard.

Some success has been achieved in the removal of many other types of trade barriers as well. Such barriers have taken the form of road taxes, sanitary regulations, advertising regulations, customs regulations, government purchasing regulations, safety requirements and rules on motion picture and television films which discriminate against imports.

For example, the European Communities' regulations on food preservatives would have prohibited the use on imported citrus fruits of three preservatives widely used in the United States. The regulations threatened over $20 million of our exports. After extended discussions with the United States, the Communities approved a regulation permitting the use of these preservatives within tolerances acceptable to U. S. exporters.

In Canada, the liquor monopoly boards of many of the provincial governments failed to list Bourbon whisky and other American alcoholic beverages. U. S. Bourbon and other whiskies are now available in every province of Canada and progress has also been made on problems related to the price markup policies of the liquor monopoly boards.

New German sanitary regulations for pork imports threatened to cut off multimillion dollar U. S. pork exports to that country. Through modification of the regulations by the German Government and a cooperative State-Federal program in the United States, the United States is now regaining this important market for its pork.

Similar problems with U. S. poultry meat exports to Japan, Italy, and the Netherlands and U. S. whole poultry meat exports to Switzerland were resolved by demonstrating to these countries that the U. S. inspection system would safeguard their consumers.

Federal Meat Inspection

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I come from a meat State. More specifically, a beef State, Texas. And with these credentials, I would like to say a few words about the Federal Meat Inspection Act, and the conference report on that bill we have before us today.

All of us have followed the history of this piece of legislation. It is one with many sides. And beyond the issue of pure and wholesome meat, which everyone is for, there has been the constant problem of how to treat intrastate meats and the extent to which the Federal Government will move to protect Americans from dangerous intrastate meats.

The conference report does create a situation in which Federal standards could be applied and enforced on intrastate meats. But this alternative is not locked in. The States have an out. As you remember, the amendments offered in the House by the gentleman from Iowa and Washington to draw in all intrastate meat plans with gross annual income over $250,000 was defeated. I believe that was a wise decision. In that amendment, the States had no choice. Federal law would have applied across the board.

In the other body, however, a very similar provision was included, so the conferees were faced with the problem of reconciling these two views.

In briefest terms, their solution allows the States to keep the initiative in the field of meat inspection, but gives them Federal matching funds when they do so. They are given two or on proof of good faith, 3 years to get State laws on the books which are at least as strict as the Federal meat laws amended by this same bill.

If the States fail to follow this course, then Federal standards will be applied to intrastate plants.

Some say this will impair the rights of the States. I say it will promote them. It will stimulate action both on the part of the State governments and intrastate meat producers. With enactment of this bill, all will have a valid interest in pure meat laws for their State.

Even to those who feel this solution is too much of an inroad on the powers of the States, I would ask that you weigh the factors in the balance. I do not see how there could be much argument that pure meat is absolutely primary and essential. Yesterday, President Johnson said that we must find ways to give parents assurances that every frankfurter and hamburger they give their children is pure and unadulterated.

I agree and I support the conference report.

Vocational Education: A Hope for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in my position as chairman of the General Education Subcommittee, I have seen many fine education journals. Recently, I had the privilege of writing an article on vocational education for one of these journals, Illinois Teacher of Home Economics. This is a publication of the Division of Home Economic Education of the College of Education at the University of Illinois in Urbana, Ill.

I would like to commend Dr. Elizabeth Simpson, acting department chairman, and Mrs. Jean Payne, the business manager of the journal, and all the other fine educators who are responsible for the Illinois Teacher.

Vocational education legislation is now before my subcommittee. I consider this to be among the most significant pieces of legislation before the entire Congress. And so, I was pleased to write an article, "Vocational Education: A Hope for the Future" setting out what the Vocational Education Act of 1967 will accomplish.

Mr. Speaker, my article follows:

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: A HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

(By U.S. Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, of Illinois)

Now that the smoke and flames have cleared from the riot cities of the summer, one tragic fact stands out as a possible cause for the destruction in all areas—the rate of high school "dropouts" and unemployment among young people.

We can see now how strange it is that we allow about one million young people to leave high schools each year, untrained and uneducated, and yet expect them to find jobs.

Congress will act this fall on a program to help end the steady flow of school "dropouts" and to train youngsters for meaningful jobs.

The program is the Vocational Education Improvement Act of 1967 which may well prove to be the "sleeper" bill of the 90th Congress.

It will boost Federal aid to vocational schools around the country to dissuade teenagers from becoming an "unemployment" statistic and to fit them into the country's economic pattern. It will also attract former students who left schools before graduation and who now know the difficulty of finding employment without adequate education or training.

America is faced with the strange dilemma of enjoying its 7th year of continuous prosperity and at the same time registering an alarmingly high rate of unemployment among young people—unemployment not because they are too lazy to work but because they do not have the skills of modern technology.

Testimony before my House General Subcommittee on Education indicates that average unemployment rates among young people in the U.S. stand at 22 percent for young men and 24 percent for young women. But among young Negroes, the rates are 31 percent for young men and a staggering 46 percent for young women.

Compare these unemployment figures with the rate of school "dropouts" in the riot cities and a pattern begins to develop. The rate of "dropouts" for riot cities, according to figures supplied to the U.S. Office of Education is:

Detroit.—Total high school enrollment of 72,719 for the 1966–67 school year dropped by 9,281 students for a loss rate of 12.8 percent. Boy students dropped out at a rate of 14.5 percent.

Newark.—Students left high schools before graduation at rates of 7 to 9 percent between 1961 and 1967. Last year Newark schools lost 1,355 students for a 7 percent "dropout" rate.

New York.—Of a total junior and senior high school enrollment of nearly 480,000, the loss rate was slightly more than 7 percent.

The irony of this situation is that the Labor Department's U.S. Employment Service reports that it had 233,861 unfilled job requests on file at its offices on June 1. It estimates that only about one-third of the available jobs in the country are reported to USES offices, thus making about 700,000 as the estimated jobs available in June.

They ranged from medical technicians, repairmen, clerical, to machine shop workers and construction helpers.

Each of these positions requires some practical training, but the many requests for Federal Manpower Development and Training programs cannot be filled because of the demands on the available funds. The obvious answer is that such occupations should have been taught to the thousands of jobless young people at vocational schools. We now recognize this failure and Congress hopes to remedy it in this legislation.

The Vocational Improvement Act of 1967, which I introduced into the House in March and on which public hearings have been concluded, will provide:

1. An increase in the maximum authorized annual Federal aid for vocational education from $225 million to $400 million.
2. An effort to keep students from "quitting" school before they graduate by including a $30 million annual authorization for work-study programs to help youngsters find part-time jobs while they study.
3. An initial $10 million authorization of matching funds to help states establish residential vocational schools to attract past "dropouts" to schools where they can live and undergo vocational training.
4. A $10 million expenditure for teacher training.
5. Another $1.5 million for fellowships for vocational education teachers, educators, researchers and administrators.

Hindsight can be useful at times to pinpoint past errors and to prevent them from recurring. In this case, I believe, as do many outstanding educators, that our country over-reacted to the lack of college-trained engineers and scientists. For too many years, we have concentrated our greatest Federal efforts to improving higher education and assisting students to receive one or several college degrees.

There was general recognition that a technological revolution was under way, but little provision was made to give the necessary training in skills and trades to youngsters who will not enter the professions.

I am certain this legislation would go far to improve the conditions which have touched off the disturbances and help avoid conditions which spawn riots in the future.

By 1970—just two years from now—one out of every two youngsters attending school in America will be seeking some form of vocational training. We will have more than 9 million youngsters seeking vocational education.

The legislation is designed to provide facilities and teachers to meet this need.

It is my hope that the Vocational Education Improvement Act of 1967 will be a major step toward assuring that every American youngster graduates from high school with a "marketable skill." Those who go on to college can use such a skill to help defray the cost of higher education. Those who do not go to college will be prepared for gainful employment the day they leave high school.

Our Colleague Florence Dwyer Receives the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House will be as pleased and delighted, as I was, to learn that our good friend and colleague from New Jersey, Representative FLORENCE P. DWYER, has just received the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award at a dinner held December 3, 1967, at Temple Sholom, in Newark, N.J. This distinguished award was established to perpetuate the spirit and ideals of a noble woman who graced the American scene as a humitarian fighter for freedom, defender of underdeveloped nations, stanch friend and supporter of the State of Israel. And those of us who know and have worked with "FLO" DWYER easily recognize that the Plainfield Area Committee, State of Israel Bonds, selected someone who emulates all of the great humanitarian virtues of the renowned former First Lady.

To the people of the 12th Congressional District of New Jersey, FLO DWYER is Union County's First Lady. Their respect for her ability, dedication, and hard work as a creative and forceful legislator has been clearly demonstrated, as they have returned her to the Congress five times since her initial election, and each time by an even greater majority. And with good cause. She has been a pioneer in the fields of education, consumer protection, civil rights, mass transportation, and urban problems. Her sponsorship and service on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is a monument to her personal conviction that government can be used in a positive and progressive way but only so long as State and local governments are strengthened to meet the needs of the people and cooperation among all levels of government is increased to eliminate needless waste and duplication and to improve program effectiveness. Her efforts in this regard were previously rewarded when she received the "Watchdog of the Treasury" award.

I have had the distinct pleasure of serving with FLO DWYER on the Banking and Currency Committee and the Special Subcommittee on Housing. Over the years I have grown to respect her nononsense approach to proposed legislation which must pass her two critical tests: "It is necessary?" and "Will it work?" This same spirit and dedication has also earned her the respect of her colleagues on the Government Operations Committee on which she is the ranking minority member.

In the presentation of the award, it was noted that FLO DWYER has always responded to the needs of the Jewish community in her district. But, what also pleased the Jewish people of Plainfield is the fact that she has always responded with equal vigor to all groups in the community. And in times of stress, when a humanitarian cause is to be championed, Congresswoman DWYER can be counted on to be a leader. Her remarks to the Plainfield Area Committee following the receipt of the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award attest to this fact.

Mr. Speaker, I think all of us have profited by having FLORENCE DWYER as a Member of Congress. I know others join me in extending our heartfelt congratulations. And I know, too, that all will enjoy reading her remarks to the Plainfield Area Committee which I now include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

TEXT OF REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE FLORENCE P. DWYER FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT HUMANITIES AWARD "FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO HUMANITY AND FRIENDSHIP FOR ISRAEL IN THE SPIRIT OF ELEANOR ROOSEVELT," PRESENTED BY THE PLAINFIELD AREA COMMITTEE, BONDS FOR ISRAEL, AT TEMPLE SHOLOM, PLAINFIELD, N.J., SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1967

Mr. Chairman, General Horev, distinguished guests, and friends. This is a very proud moment for me, as I know you can understand. I can conceive of no other award—past or future—which means or could mean more to me than this one. I shall not bore you with protestations of humility; I shall only say how deeply grateful I am. I shall never forget this evening.

There are two things, especially, which make this award so meaningful to me: first, it is a part of one of the most noble and selfless causes I know—the effort to strengthen a tiny country and its people who have taught the world great lessons in courage and humanity: and, second, it symbolizes the spirit of a great and gallant woman—the first woman of the world during her lifetime—who exemplifies the very same qualities of humanity and courage, qualities which seem so often to be in such short supply.

Israel and Eleanor Roosevelt have always seemed to go together. The one and only occasion on which I was privileged to meet Mrs. Roosevelt personally was here in Plainfield at the very first Bonds for Israel dinner to which I was invited just eleven years ago following my election to the Congress. The occasion was a memorable one for me, and the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt and of the fundamental purpose of Bonds for Israel have continued to be inspiring as my interest in and concern for the welfare of that tiny bastian of democracy in the Near East has grown and deepened.

There is neither time nor excuse to speak at length this evening, but a few brief observations might be in order and might be of interest.

Eleven years ago, Israel faced a situation remarkably like the continuing crisis which confronts her today. Then, as now, Arab efforts to intimidate their small neighbor, Arab aggression against Israel's borders, Arab insistence that Israel must be eliminated as an independent state, and Arab confidence in the moral support and military weapons of the Soviet Union had been rebuffed decisively by Israel's armed services. And in the aftermath of Israeli victory, a long and tortuous search for settlement was under way.

Then, as now, Israel held firm. Then, as now, Israel demonstrated its readiness to respect the territoral integrity of its neighbors, but insisted on effective guarantees that its own rights and territory must be respected.

History has now come full cycle in little more than ten years. And because there is no hope or promise in forgetting the lessons of history, neither Israel nor Israel's friends can afford to forget that the failure of the 1957 guarantees was partially responsible for what happened last June.

In a very fundamental way, I believe, the Arab-Israeli wars of 1956 and 1957 have revealed the full measure of the challenge aimed at Israel. Both wars occurred as a direct result of Arab hostility and aggression. In turn, Arab hostility was motivated by an unyielding and passionate hatred of all things Israeli, a hatred based on tortured interpretations of history, deliberate distortions of Israeli intentions, and the peculiar concept that the very existence of the State of Israel constituted an act of aggression. And the aggression of the Arab states on both occasions was powered by Soviet incitement and supported by Soviet arms.

For me, there were many notable aspects of the June war which have permanent significance so far as Israel and the Jewish people are concerned. But two such aspects seem to stand out:

First, the immediate and total commitment of the entire Jewish people to the defense of Israel. From the overwhelming response of American Jews in Israel's time of need—probably the greatest single act of mass philanthropy in American history—to the Israeli people's own response to the Arab challenge—which saw more reserves volunteering than had been ordered to mobilize in a nation under total mobilization—the world-wide Jewish communty responded as one people to the attack on the life of the Jewish State. And you were not alone, for much of the non-Jewish world rallied to your side—in spirit, in admiration, and in active support.

Second, in the face of fanatic Arab hostility, of venomous propaganda, and of a long and deliberate campaign of hatred, in the face of threat and provocation, Israel's response in victory has been reasoned and restrained. In the occupied territory, she has substituted justice for injustice; she has met terrorist attacks with carefully limited retaliations; she has held out the promise of peace at a time when military victory might have seemed like an excuse for vengeance.

Nevertheless, the threat to Israel's security not only remains but is intensified. Less than six short months from all but total military defeat, the Arabs—with a cosmic disregard of history—have returned to the offensive. Backed by Soviet weapons in great number and higher quality than before, and stimulated by old hatreds and by the new frustrations of military failure, Egypt's Nasser and other Arab leaders are reviving the old slogans and frankly preparing for another round of aggression.

In a situation like this, I see little point or reason in calling on Israel alone to exercise restraint, to hold back, to avoid moves which might result in renewed warfare. For it is not Israel which desires war. To react to crisis in this way alone would be to place the burden of responsibility and restraint upon the victims of attack. This would seem a stranger way to secure peace.

Peace can best be secured by restraining those whose purpose is war. To the extent that there is any remaining possibility of achieving military balance in the Near East, therefore, further arms shipments to the Arabs should be effectively halted. This should be the aim of those who seek peace. Peace cannot be a product of one-sided Arab superiority. Peace cannot be purchased at the price of retreat from reason and principle. Peace cannot be secured by backing down in the face of threats and impossible demands. If, however, the balance of power could be restored and the Great Powers could be persuaded to withdraw from the area, if the Arab States could be persuaded to negotiate directly with Israel, then there might be a chance for a workable settlement, a lasting peace and, ultimately, the cooperative development of the great potential of the Eastern Mediterranean—the only objective that makes sense in human terms.

While there is still time, therefore, I would urge our own government to mobilize free-world pressure in the interest of preventing aggression.

I can think of no better or more appropriate way to close these brief remarks than by repeating a story with which a distinguished Jewish writer closed his own report of the birth of the State of Israel.

It is the story of how the Lord got thoroughly fed up with mankind and decided to arrange for a second flood. But this time it was to be a thorough job, with 30 fathoms of water everywhere, and there would be no Ark and no Dove.

The Lord dispatched the Archangel Gabriel to make this decision known to all concerned. When Gabriel had delivered his message to the leader of the Moslems, all Moslems turned toward Mecca and began praying for a comfortable corner in Paradise, with plenty of wine and women.

Gabriel next went on to the leader of the Christians and the Christians all over the earth fell to their knees and prayed to be forgiven their sins at the Last Judgment.

Finally, the Archangel broke the news to the leader of the Jewish community, who began to scratch his beard and gave a great sigh.

"Lord," he said, "what a difficult life it will be under 30 fathoms of water."

What more can be said of a great people's staunchness in the face of adversity, their refusal to retreat from impending disaster, their relentless struggle for survival, and their steadfast faith in ultimate victory?

This is what Eleanor Roosevelt always stood for. This is what Bonds for Israel really means. And this is why I thank you for the great honor you have given me.

Remarks of Selden Ring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, at the official opening of Mediterranean Village, a new Ring Bros. apartment community in West Hollywood, Selden Ring delivered the following remarks before a gathering of southern California city and county officials and community leaders.

I respectfully submit this material to you. I believe it expresses an understanding of an obligation to the community by a private developer. The Ring Bros. are to be complimented not only for the work they are doing but for their willingness to take the lead in solving some of our problems. Their private investment and personal initiative directed along the guidelines expressed by Selden Ring make our community a better place in which to live:

"Community blight," a phrase used frequently in discussing the problems of metropolitan cities refers not only to unwholesome slums bred by bad planning and nurtured by neglect and indifference, but it is equally relevant to the contemporary apartment dwellings of our affluent society. Regretfully, the same bad judgment exercised in the past in planning and building multiple low-cost housing is still applicable today to too many developments in our urban neighborhoods.

America's beautification program, spearheaded by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, urges taste and commonsense in the development of our highways, national parks, and the virgin areas of our beautiful country. The challenge and goals of that program should apply as well to developers and builders of apartment dwellings.

Ring Brothers begins with the logical premise that residential units can enhance neighborhoods as well as offer citizens charming surroundings at reasonable terms.

This has been our policy in the construction of each of our seven projects—we are now at work on the eighth in Fox Hills. We think we have achieved these results. We know that property values in the areas surrounding our developments have increased over the years, due, we believe, in some measure, to the general attractiveness of our projects. We strive to live up to the Los Angeles County resolution earlier this year which commended us for reflecting "the highest standards of planning, design and construction, along with singularly attractive landscaping," and which further commended our efforts for taking a "major step forward in community development."

We are mindful of these appreciated words, and we continue to translate their significance into our construction program. It would be easy, as you all well know, to build up our developments to the legal allowable density; but we do not think it would help us accomplish our goals. We are convinced that maximum density construction to within an inch of the code engenders blight, devaluates land, creates unhealthy communal living and leads to a public eyesore.

We have an alternative: build to enhance the neighborhood; build comfortable living units that assure privacy at reasonable terms for our tenants. These are not simply rental folder words; these are urgent guide-lines for what we believe to be building with a conscience.

Working with a conscience does not mean the sacrifice of sound business principles. What is sounder than creating residential units which raise the levels of taste and beauty, and which are constructed within the framework of long-range thinking and planning?

We at Ring Brothers have constructed seven residential complexes, valued at $35,000,000—a sizable investment of time, talent and capital. Where we might have built three units, we constructed two. We used the so-called living space—lost space as some others might construe it—for gardening and landscaping, trees and shrubbery, sunlight and air. Forty percent of any given land area which we employ is turned over to landscaping. We think this is good planning; we also think it is good business.

Esthetically we are just as concerned about detail as we are about the overall concept. Furnishings are selected to blend with the atmosphere of the entire complex. We are not interested in wholesale living, nor are we interested in standardized appointments. Our residential units are conceived as homes for people who, we are sure, will insist on being themselves.

If all of this sounds utopian and misty-eyed, it is not. It is meant to reflect our long and serious study of how best to use space. We admit that we might have built more for less; at worst, more for the same money. We are not sure, however, that in the long run this would have been the wisest policy, not only for our investment, but for the well-being of the community.

We believe, as we are sure you do, that developers and builders have a responsibility and an obligation to an area, a city, and a county. We call it a long-term conscience, because this is precisely what it is. We hope, after you have visited our complex, you will agree that we have discharged our communal duties well; that we have helped make Los Angeles a better and more beautiful place in which to live.

B'nai B'rith Women Oppose the Two Weakening Committee Amendments to the Truth-in-Lending Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have the support of the executive board of B'nai B'rith Women for H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, and particularly for my efforts to keep out of the final legislation two very serious committee amendments which would conceal, rather than force disclosure of, the comparative costs of certain types of credit.

These loophole amendments are:

First. The revolving credit exemption, under which the big retailers and others using computerized open-end credit systems could express the percentage rate of their finance charges on a monthly or other periodic basis, rather than on the annual rate basis required for all other types of consumer credit; and

Second. The $10 exemption, under which all firms offering consumer credit would not have to give any percentage rate whatsoever on a transaction in which the credit charge—not the total amount of the transaction, but the credit charge only—is not more than $10. This would exempt loans or purchases up to about $110, which would cover the bulk of consumer credit transactions.

OBJECTIVES ARE THE CONCEALMENT OF HIGH CREDIT RATES

The hearings of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs on H.R. 11601 are replete with self-serving arguments from firms in the credit business that these special exemptions are dictated by all sorts of unique or persuasive reasons, but the fact of the matter is that they both have as their true objectives the concealment of the actual rates charged for credit.

Thus, the department stores and others using revolving credit are determined not to have to admit to their customers that the 1½ percent a month most of them charge on bills which run longer than a specified grace period comes out to an annual rate of 18 percent, which sounds to most consumers to be monstrously high. Yet the same rate, expressed as a monthly rate of 1½ percent, sounds very low to most purchasers.

And on the $10 exemption, we were told that this was intended to help small business avoid some additional bookkeeping or paperwork, but neither the Small Business Administration nor the Department of Commerce thought such an exemption was necessary to help small business, and the main and most enthusiastic support for the exemption came not from small business but from very big businesses. In fact, the bankers freely acknowledged that without this exemption, they would have to admit to their customers that on certain very short term loans, the annual interest or finance rate ran to 120 percent, compared to a credit union's 12 percent.

RESOLUTION OF B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN EXECUTIVE BOARD

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit as part of my remarks the resolution on truth in lending adopted by the executive board of B'nai B'rith Women last month, and sent to me by Mrs. Arthur G. Rosenbluth, president, pointing out that with these weakening amendments adopted in the Committee on Banking and Currency, H.R. 11601 "loses its major thrust and thereby becomes inadequate."

The resolution referred to is as follows:

RESOLUTION: TRUTH IN LENDING

B'nai B'rith Women reaffirms its support for H.R. 11601—The Truth in Lending Act.

We further call upon the House to restore the important provisions on revolving credit removed by the House Banking and Currency Committee and to delete the Senate exemptions for credit transactions on which the finance charge is less than $10.00. Without these important changes, the bill loses its major thrust and thereby becomes inadequate.

B'nai B'rith Women's Executive Board authorizes its International President to communicate to the leaders of the House and the Chairman and members of the House Banking and Currency Committee its deep interest in and approval of this bill minus the weakening amendments.

Calendar of Events at the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following calendar of events at the National Gallery of Art:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, DECEMBER 1967

New exhibition: *Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*. Central Gallery. December 3 through January 7.

New publication: Catalogue. *Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the National Gallery of Art*. 11" x 8½", with preface by Lessing J. Rosenwald, with catalogue notes by Alan Shestack, 267 illustrations. $3.00 postpaid.

1967 Christmas cards: Reproductions of 48 paintings, sculptures, and prints from the Gallery's collections, in color and in black and white. 25c, 20c, 15c and 10c each, postpaid. Orders under $1.00 add 25c handling charge. Free catalogue with black-and-white illustrations upon request.

Recorded tours: *Acoustiguide*. A 45 minute tour of 20 National Gallery masterpieces selected and described by Director John Walker. A portable unit may be rented for 25c for one person, 35c for two.

LecTour. A description of every object in 28 exhibition galleries. Talks in each room, which may be visited in any order, last about 15 minutes. A small receiving set may be rented for 25¢.

Film: "The American Vision" will be shown in the auditorium on Saturdays at 2:15 p.m.

Holiday hours: The Gallery will be open from 12:00 noon to 5 p.m. on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. No concerts will be given. The regular concert programs will be resumed on January 7, 1968. The Gallery will be closed on Christmas and New Year's Day.

The cafeteria will be open from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve.

The Gallery is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Sundays from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. The cafeteria is open on weekdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and on Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3

Painting of the week: Rubens, "Decius Mus Addressing the Legions" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 41A. Tuesday through Saturday 12, and 2; Sunday 3:30, and 6.

Tour of the week: The Genius of Desiderio da Settignano. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11, and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: 15th-Century Engravings of Northern Europe. Guest speaker: Charles W. Talbot, instructor of art history, Yale University, New Haven. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra. Richard Bales, conductor; Madeleine Malraux, pianist. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10

Painting of the week: Degas, "Ballet Scene" (Chester Dale collection), gallery 85. Tuesday through Saturday 12, and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: The Genius of Titian. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1, Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11, and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Immortal Eight." Guest speaker: Bennard B. Perlman, professor of art, Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: Charles Castleman, violinist; Samuel Sanders, pianist. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17

Painting of the week: Goya, "The Bookseller's Wife" (gift of Mrs. P. H. B. Frelinghuysen), gallery 50. Tuesday through Sunday 12, and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The Genius of Turner." Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11, and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Venice of Vittore Carpaccio." Guest speaker: Theodore L. Low, director, department of education, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: Carolyn Reyer, mezzo-soprano; James Benner, pianist. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, THROUGH SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23

On Sunday, December 24, Christmas Eve, the Gallery will be open to visitors from 12 noon to 5 p.m. but no educational services will be offered.

Painting of the week: Domenico Ghirlandaio, "Medonna and Child" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 4. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2.

Tour of the week: "Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe." Central lobby. Tuesday through Saturday 1.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Monday through Saturday 11, and 3.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 26, THROUGH SUNDAY, DECEMBER 31

On Sunday, December 31, New Year's Eve, the Gallery will be open to visitors from 12 noon to 5 p.m.

Painting of the week: Reynolds, "Lady Elizabeth Delmé and Her Children" (Andrew Mellon collection), gallery 59. Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30.

Tour of the week: "The Genius of Rembrandt." Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday 11, and 3.

Sunday lecture: "The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters." *Guest Speaker:* Richard Ormond, assistant keeper, the National Portrait Gallery, London. Lecture Hall 4.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737-4215, Ext. 272.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

Albert Merritt: A Boy's Best Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the first Boys' Club in the United States was started almost three-quarters of a century ago in my hometown of Martinsville, Ind., by the son of former slaves. The following story from the Indianapolis Star magazine of October 22, 1967, describes the life and work of this remarkable and dedicated man:

ALBERT MERRITT: HE WAS A BOY'S BEST FRIEND

(By Amy Keene)

About 60 years ago, two strangers came to the Home Lawn Mineral Springs at

Martinsville, just 30 miles southwest of Indianapolis.

One was Albert Merritt, the new general handy man. He was the child of former slaves from Bowling Green, Ky. The other was Miss Mary Hanna Tibbs, a patient who was a rich, aristocratic young lady from Mount Sterling, Ky.

These two people combined their assets of spiritual wealth and material riches and started the first Boys' Club in the United States.

Albert's mother and Miss Mary's mother had said the same thing to their children, but they had used different words.

The lady from Bowling Green said, "Son, your skin may be brown, but no matter what color you are, God put you here. You'll be happy only if you make other people happy, too."

The Mount Sterling lady said, "Service to others is our reason for living." She was quoting her father who had been secretary to Henry Ward Beecher in the New York Bowery.

One day he reminded Tibbs of the time when Harriet Beecher Stowe said, "When you die, what you shared, not what you kept, is all that goes on God's record."

Weeks after their arrival at Martinsville, when Albert was taking Miss Mary and her nurse for their afternoon ride, he asked her if Billy, a little boy, could sit beside him for the ride. "The bigger boys tease him. Today he got in a fight and his face is still bloody." Tears ran down Albert's face. After this more boys were allowed to ride with Albert.

One day Miss Mary wanted to drive around the Bucktown streets which were filled with idle boys. Albert explained, "They don't have any place to play, so they just think up all kinds of meanness like throwing rocks at trains."

Just then a rock almost hit the horse's feet. Miss Mary exclaimed, "Albert, somebody must do something. Let's start a club. I'll put up the money; you and Billy round up the boys."

That night she wrote a constitution. "The Junior Boys' Club of Martinsville would be open to any boy who desired the companionship of other boys who could play peaceably together," it read.

The boys met in barns; they hiked and swam. Albert made the plans and rules for peaceful good times.

Today some of the oldest citizens of Martinsville still remember evenings that first summer when Albert and Miss Mary came to the corner where the club held their meetings. Miss Mary led the singing, mostly songs by a fellow Kentuckian, Stephen Foster.

At the health resort Miss Mary got well. She married William Clarke, who had the town's first Buick automobile agency. Her daughter remembers her mother used to say, "Just let people think Albert did everything. All I did was to give a little money."

The most faithful contributor had been Albert. He kept $1 a week from his salary for his personal use; his clothes and keep went with his job. Each year the Martinsville Community Fund contributed $200 and there was always help from friends.

One day, with cold winter ahead, Albert began looking about for a warm place to meet. Right beside the railroad track was an old one-room shack where the railroaders kept their tools. Yes, they were willing to sell, so Albert handed over his two $100 government bonds which he had kept hidden under his mattress to pay for his funeral.

There was an old potbellied stove and a few old chairs. People sent in a few old things from their attics. The "Out-of-Trouble Club" now had a home. No one ever knew just when the club got its name. But they did know that Albert always said, "Only smart people keep out of trouble."

Now everyone wanted to join—families like the McNutts whose son, Paul, became governor of Indiana and was later appointed governor of the Philippines. Where could you find a club with its own clubhouse, with Albert carrying the key, and with good times already ahead?

"Just how do I keep the boys out of trouble? Why that's easy," Albert claimed. "Every boy has inside him the makings of a bad boy as well as a good boy—all in the same boy. I talk to them like I want to be talked to. If they get out of line, I just try to get them to see the right way. The big boys learn to help the little ones. I just won't allow teasing; it always leads to a fight and the little kids get hurt.

"We got all we need here. We even got part of a croquet set. We don't need a whole set. Croquet and throwing horseshoes are grand games for a boy is made and wants to hit somebody," he said.

"Boys in the Out-of-Trouble Club like to be together. Every Sunday night we go to church. What church? Why, it don't matter just so it's a church. But they have to listen because I might ask them what the preacher said."

The largest business in the downtown section was the Schnaiter Hardware Company. Fred Schnaiter, president of the company, couldn't praise Albert enough.

The minister of the Presbyterian church knew Albert well and said: "I'll never forget that morning our church had three inches of water in the basement. 'We hear your basement needs help, so we're here.' That is all Albert said.

"By noon the place was clean and dry. I wanted to pay them but Albert said, 'No, that way we wouldn't be doing anything for the church. We come here to services sometimes so we do this for you.' They were gone before I could say thanks."

Maybe sometimes the boys smiled a bit at Albert's anxiety to keep them out of trouble but they respected and minded him.

Only once did a club member defy him. The Grayhound bus on the way to Evansville stopped for a few minutes at the crossing. A smarty from Indianapolis got off to walk around and noticed Albert plodding along across the street carrying a board Schnaiter had just given him. He called out, "Hi there, nigger."

Just then a member of the Out-of-Trouble Club heard it, lost his temper, grabbed the man and a few minutes later appeared at the clubhouse with a bloody nose. Nothing would make him tell Albert where he got that smashed-in nose.

Only the week before Albert had talked about name calling. "It's about the meanest thing you can do. I know how hurt I'd be if anyone called me 'nigger.'" Real tears ran down his face.

There was one thing Albert couldn't understand: Why so many people from out of town wanted to visit the clubhouse, people like that man who asked so many questions. A few weeks later the Jimmy Durante award arrived.

Then the Jimmy Fiddler citation and watch came.

And it was March 22, 1954, when the Ancient and Mystical Order of Rosicrucian presented him with a scroll. It called Albert "the Great Humanist."

Next Albert Lawrence Merritt was made an honorary member of Father Flanagan's Boys' Town.

"Haven't you been lonesome here in Martinsville all these years without another colored person in town?" he was asked.

"Why no, why should I? I never think about what color I am. I had my job here all these years with my friend, Mr. Kennedy, and all those boys in my club to look after to keep them out of trouble."

Albert Merritt died in 1958; his funeral was the largest Martinsville had ever seen.

The clubhouse is gone but the name of Albert Merritt has not been forgotten in Martinsville. A baseball field is named for him. His name is on a corner of Cunningham and Henry streets on eight acres of land donated to the city of Martinsville. Now the many teams are all managed by the Martinsville Little League Baseball Association. Now there is a Mothers' Auxiliary Association which keeps an eye on the uniforms.

James D. Gardner, mayor of Martinsville, says: "Albert Merritt spent his entire life after moving to Martinsville to make life better for your youths. His life was not wasted; he accomplished his mission.

"Martinsville is proud to call Mr. Merritt one of its leading citizens and thankful that he lived here with us."

WINS and the Great Ones

SPEECH

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, WINS, a fine all-news station in my district, is performing a public service in its broadcast of the series of original radio dramas entitled "The Great Ones," a history of 10 American Negroes who contributed in large measure to the development of the United States.

Under the managership of Charles Payne, WINS, one of the Group W stations, has pioneered in news, public events, and service to the community, and this recognition of important Negro history adds one more chapter to this fine record.

I am pleased to bring the notice as to the programs to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

WHO ARE "THE GREAT ONES"?

(Biographical details on the 10 American Negroes whose lives are being dramatized on WINS)

Ten notable American Negroes, whose achievements have largely been overlooked or forgotten in the pages of American history, are the subject of a series of original radio dramas called "The Great Ones."

The series was produced by Group W (Westinghouse Broadcasting Company) and is currently being heard on the Group W radio stations in Boston (WBZ), Philadelphia (KYW), Pittsburgh (KDKA), Fort Wayne (WOWO), Chicago (WIND) and Los Angeles (KFWB). In New York, "The Great Ones" will be heard on WINS, starting Sunday, December 3rd at 9:30 PM.

Who are "The Great Ones"? Their names constitute a roll call of distinguished Americans. In order of broadcast, they are:

Harriet Tubman, called the Moses of her people, who rescued hundreds of slaves from the ante-bellum South via the underground railroad, and was active in a Union Army capacity during the Civil War.

Dr. Charles Drew, who was the scientist who developed the process of preserving blood plasma and set up a blood-bank program in Great Britain during the Nazi Blitz and later for the American Red Cross.

Benjamin Banneker, a free man at the time of the American Revolution, who was an astronomer-mathematician, friend of Thomas Jefferson, and the man responsible for laying the plans for Washington, D.C.

George Washington Carver, botanist known for his research on the peanut and sweet potato, was an outstanding figure in chemistry, physics and education as well.

Charles Clinton Spaulding, one of the nation's successful businessmen, who began without local train fare in the South and formed one of the largest insurance companies in the country.

Dr. Daniel Hale Williams was the father of open-heart surgery; he performed the first such operation on a patient in Chicago in July, 1893.

Paul Lawrence Dunbar was an American poet whom William Dean Howells, 19th Century arbiter of American literary taste, acclaimed a genius.

W. C. Handy, the composer of "St. Louis Blues" and "Memphis Blues," the latter written for Boss Crump of Tennessee politics, who left his indelible mark on American popular music.

Jan Ernst Matzeliger, who was the self-taught inventor of Lynn, Massachusetts, and who devised the mass-production shoe machinery now employed in every shoe factory in the U.S.

Frederick Douglass, an ex-slave, who was the orator, publisher and abolitionist whose fight for emancipation led to the use of Negro Union troops, including his two sons, in the Civil War.

Famous Negroes of stage and screen portray these towering figures of history in "The Great Ones." William Kaland directed and produced. John Hope Franklin, Head of the History Department at the University of Chicago, is consultant.

Los Angeles County Salutes Benjamin S. Hite on His 42 Years of Public Service as Registrar of Voters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point an excellent article appearing in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner on one of America's finest public servants: Mr. Benjamin S. Hite, Los Angeles County registrar of voters.

At the end of this month, Mr. Hite will round out a total of 42 years of dedicated service to his community, during the last 19 years of which he has served in his present capacity of voter registrar for the county.

It is a pleasure to add my own personal congratulations to Ben Hite for his outstanding record of achievement, and to offer him a heartfelt "thanks" on behalf of the citizens of Los Angeles County for a fine job well done.

COUNTY REGISTRAR OF VOTING TO RETIRE BALLOT "X" AND HITE TO BE MISSING

(By Al Bine)

Someone and something both will be missing when Los Angeles County voters go to the polls next June 4 for the presidential and direct primary election.

Gone will be a familiar signature on the new-fashioned ballots, along with the old rubber-stamp "X" and ink pads.

The signature belongs to Benjamin S. (for Silsbee) Hite, for the past 19 years the county registrar of voters.

FORTY-TWO YEARS' SERVICE

Although there is no direct connection between Hite's departure and the absence of the "X" both, indirectly herald the advent of county-wide processing of election returns through a new fully automated system.

A civil servant since 1926, Hite will terminate 42 years' service to the community with his retirement on Dec. 31.

Even though he will not reach the mandatory age of retirement (70) until next August, Hite appealed for an early leave to give his successor sufficient time for indoctrination before the election.

LEE SUCCESSOR

His replacement, already designated by the County Board of Supervisors, will be Ray E. Lee, the present county recorder.

The consolidation of the functions and responsibilities of the registrar and recorder—to effect a taxpayers' savings—is now under study with a date for the possible merger still up in the air.

Hite said that "savings achieved through automated voting will reduce election costs by $200,000 annually over the next six years."

When the 40,000 IBM machines obtained on a lease-purchase deal are finally paid for in 1973, he said, future election savings will amount to approximately $2 million per year.

There are now 3300 of the simplified voting machines available throughout the county to demonstrate how to prepare voters for the routine next June.

Utilization of the new machines, Hite said, will dramatically cut in half the number of precincts (to 7000) and eliminate almost 100,000 temporary employes (to 28,000) needed for 1968 elections.

It will further accelerate returns to "within eight hours after polls close," he declared, and it will be facilitated by the use of handy (7 by 3¼ inch) punch cards in place of the old, bulky ballots.

Arab-Israel Peace Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, a number of us have been following with great concern the recent crises in the Middle East since last spring. As a matter of fact, many of us have cast wary eyes on Arab-Israel relations for the past 19 years, during all of which time warlike attitudes have posed serious threats to world peace.

Last week the city council of Philadelphia adopted unanimously a resolution memorializing the President to use his good offices to expedite the convening of an Arab-Israel peace conference.

I offer for the RECORD a copy of that resolution:

RESOLUTION 371

Resolution memorializing the President of the United States to use his good offices to expedite the convening of an Arab-Israeli Peace Conference

Whereas, For the past nineteen years the Arab Nations have maintained and continued a war-like attitude toward the State of Israel, posing a serious threat to world peace; and

Whereas, Peace in the Middle East is essential to the Peace of the World; and

Whereas, The Government of the State of Israel seeks to arrange for direct peace negotiations with the Arab nations to effect freedom of maritime passage for peaceful purposes in all waterways of the area; to extend justice to all refugees; and to limit the arms race, for the purpose of achieving political independence and territorial integrity of all nations in the Middle East; therefore

Resolved, By the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby memorialize the President of the United States to expedite the convening of an Arab-Israeli peace conference.

Resolved, That a certified copy of this Resolution be forwarded to The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America.

Certification: This is a true and correct copy of the original Resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Philadelphia on the thirtieth day of November, 1967.

PAUL D'ORTONA,
President of City Council.

Attest:

NATHAN WOLFMAN,
Chief Clerk of the Council.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Office Address: Senate Office Building,
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[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Aiken, George D., *Vt*	
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*	
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.*	6 Wesley Circle
Baker, Howard H., Jr., *Tenn.*	
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*	
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*	
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*	
Bible, Alan, *Nev*	
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*	
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md*	
Brooke, Edward W., *Mass*	
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*	
Byrd, Harry F., Jr., *Va*	
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*	
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*	
Carlson, Frank, *Kans*	Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*	
Church, Frank, *Idaho*	
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*	
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*	
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*	
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*	
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*	
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*	
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*	
Eastland, James O., *Miss*	
Ellender, Allen J., *La*	
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*	
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*	
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii*	5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*	
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*	
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*	
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*	
Hansen, Clifford P., *Wyo*	
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*	
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Hartke, Vance, *Ind*	
Hatfield, Mark, *Oreg*	
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*	
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa*	5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*	
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla*	Sheraton-Park
Hollings, Ernest F., *S.C*	
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*	
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*	
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*	
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*	
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*	
Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*	
Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*	
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*	
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*	
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*	
Long, Edward V., *Mo*	
Long, Russell B., *La*	
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.*	5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*	
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*	
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*	
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*	
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.*	The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*	
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont*	453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa*	5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*	
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*	
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*	
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg*	
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*	
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*	
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak*	122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*	
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*	
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*	
Pastore, John O., *R.I*	
Pearson, James B., *Kans*	
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I*	3425 Prospect St.
Percy, Charles H., *Ill*	
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*	
Proxmire, William, *Wis*	
Randolph, Jennings, *W.Va*	4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*	
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*	
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*	
Smathers, George A., *Fla*	
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*	
Sparkman, John, *Ala*	4928 Indian Lane
Spong, William B., Jr., *Va*	
Stennis, John, *Miss*	
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*	
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*	
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*	
Tower, John G., *Tex*	
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*	
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*	
Williams, John J., *Del*	
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*	
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak*	Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*	

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Sergeant at Arms—Robert G. Dunphy.
Chief Clerk—Darrell St. Claire.
Secretary for the Majority—J. S. Kimmitt.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

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Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Fortas, of Tennessee, 3210 R St.
Mr. Justice Marshall, of New York, 64A G St. SW.

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Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Michael Rodak, 6311 Joslyn Pl., Cheverly, Md.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
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First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Fortas. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Marshall. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Senator Randolph Praises West Virginians Who Participated in Arts Festival in New York—Tells of Market for Native Arts and Crafts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, an article in the December 7, 1967, issue of the News-Tribune, Keyser, W. Va., points out that West Virginia native arts and crafts topped the sales in the annual National Arts and Antique Festival in New York.

The show was held in Madison Square Garden and 42 West Virginians participated in the event.

West Virginia Department of Commerce's Arts and Crafts Division, in cooperation with the Mountain State Arts and Crafts Fair, sponsored the State group. There is a growing market for native crafts and many talented West Virginians are supplying this demand with products of high quality workmanship.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the News-Tribune story be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the story was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST VIRGINIA TOP SELLER AT FESTIVAL IN NEW YORK

With the sale of more than $1,400 worth of native arts and crafts, West Virginia topped the amount sold by any organization that exhibited at the annual National Arts and Antique Festival in New York, according the State Commerce Commissioner Angus E. Peyton.

The Arts and Crafts Division of the Department of Commerce, in cooperation with the Mountain State Arts and Crafts Fair, sponsored the participation of 42 West Virginia artists and craftsmen in the show held November 15–21 at Madison Square Garden.

The festival included exhibitions of the work of more than 150 craftsmen from all over the nation. It was the first time West Virginia had taken part in the show.

In addition to sales, $900 worth of merchandise was left with the Appalachian Enterprise Arts and Crafts Shop in New York and four china dolls created by Mrs. Edna Henderson of Charleston, were sold for display in Gimbel's Department Store Christmas windows.

Demonstrating their crafts were Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Beatrice Bannerman of Culloden, weaving; Aaron Jouan of Huntington and Ken Snyder of Bluefield, wood carving.

Upon his return, Jouan received a letter from a member of the Indian legation to the United Nations who had bought one of his carvings at the show. Accompanying the letter was a piece of sandalwood with which he said he hoped Jouan would enjoy working.

Peyton said the popularity of West Virginia arts and crafts at the New York show is another indication of the large and steadily-growing market native crafts are finding outside the state.

Carl Little, director of the Arts and Crafts Division, said he was pleased with the reception of both the crafts and craftsmen in New York and the many requests for further information on West Virginia handcrafted items.

President Congratulated on Wedding of His Daughter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my sincere congratulations to President and Mrs. Johnson on the marriage of their eldest daughter, Lynda Bird.

Certainly, one of the President's greatest sources of strength in these trying times is his lovely family—his wonderful wife and two sparkling daughters.

This Nation and the nations of the world demand much from our President, for it is Lyndon Johnson's fate to be President at a time of great national and international challenge.

The underdeveloped world in the throes of a revolution of rising expectations looks to America's leader for guidance; a world delicately balanced at the edge of a nuclear abyss looks to the United States to lead the world to sanity; and a watchful world listens intently to every word uttered by our President.

At home, 200 million Americans have entrusted their welfare to President Johnson. His every decision touches their fate. Their economy, their education, their health care, and the quality of their lives must be his personal concern.

To this enormous task President Johnson devotes his enormous energies in an unending series of 18-hour days, which leave him little of the time for his family other Americans enjoy.

Thus, we as a Nation should be pleased that the marriage of his daughter can bring such joy and lightness of heart to our President.

To Lynda Bird and her husband, Charles S. Robb, who have given the Nation the first White House wedding in 53 years, we wish, the happiness of a long and healthy life together. To her parents we offer our blessings.

The Late Francis Cardinal Spellman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the late Francis Cardinal Spellman had endeared himself to the people of Buffalo and of western New York.

Since 1939, he had headed the archdiocese of New York of which the diocese of Buffalo is a part.

In 1963, Cardinal Spellman officiated at the installation of the incumbent bishop of the Buffalo diocese, the Most Reverend James A. McNulty. In a statement after the cardinal's passing, Bishop McNulty said:

> The clergy, religious and laity of the Diocese of Buffalo have always had the greatest admiration of the tremendous achievements of Cardinal Spellman.
>
> He has been respected as a leading churchman and an inspirational patriot. We of the Diocese of Buffalo revered him as our archbishop, as Buffalo is a part of the Province of New York.
>
> The cardinal endeared himself to the people of this area on his visits here. His Eminence came to Buffalo for my installation as ordinary of the Diocese of Buffalo, for the dedication of our major seminary, St. John Vianney; for the International Holy Name convention; for the reception of honorary degrees from our colleges, and on many other historic occasions.
>
> We deeply mourn the passing of a warm friend and our sympathy goes out to his flock on this great loss. May God grant Cardinal Spellman the eternal rest he so richly deserves.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks an editorial from the Magnificant, official publication of the diocese of Buffalo:

CHURCH LOSES GREAT LEADER

Rarely when a man dies does his passing symbolize the greatness of an era. It was so when Winston Churchill and Konrad Adenauer left us—it will be so when the vociferous and obstreperous but still beloved Charles de Gaulle is called by his Maker.

It is within this classification of greatness that Cardinal Spellman belongs. Leader of the Archdiocese of New York for 28 years, he represents a great era of Catholicism in the United States. He was the symbol of the love, dedications, and vigorous life of the Catholic Church in our country from the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the tragic demise of John F. Kennedy.

Sometimes characterized as conservative, it is interesting to note that Cardinal Spellman received awards and citations for interfaith cooperation and understanding long before Vatican II made this fashionable.

His position as Military Vicar gave Cardinal Spellman a sort of universality. It made him, as it were, belong to the United States. Christmas after Christmas he left the comforts of his home to travel abroad to visit the men and women of the armed forces who were serving in the most farflung corners of the globe. His presence brought them an assurance of prayers from home, and a realization of the appreciation that all Americans felt for our boys and girls who were also deprived of the treasured experience of Christmas at home.

We felt that those who characterized Cardinal Spellman as a promoter of war were quite unfair. Cardinal Spellman was patriotic, and he saw this patriotism as a part of his solid piety. But was most certainly rooted in love and not in hate. His commitment was to Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace.

Each Christmas with our armed forces, Cardinal Spellman celebrated his Christmas Masses whose theme is "peace on earth". Peace, most assuredly, was that for which he prayed.

This year the Cardinal will spend his Christmas with the Prince of Peace. And his will be the peace that comes to all great men who are men of faith, men of love and men of good will.

Spotlighting Kooks Sucker's Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Jenkins Lloyd Jones article appearing in the Evening Star of December 2, 1967, tells a story that "the kooks have had too much courage," that "the burn-baby-burn boys are on camera." He emphasizes that it is time to give a break to "decent Americans." His editorial is sound and provocative. Here is the full text:

SPOTLIGHTING KOOKS SUCKER'S GAME

I have been admiring that naked picture of actress Jane Fonda on the front cover of the Nov. 13 Newsweek. It cleaned Newsweek off the stands in my home town and I presume the results were equally satisfactory elsewhere.

The picture was used to illustrate an article entitled "Anything Goes," which discussed the alleged collapse of older moral standards in America. The article alternately deplored this new morality and guessed that it was irreversible.

Here was a good example of what might be described as "cluck-smack journalism." You cluck in dismay over human misbehavior in all its lip-smacking lurid allure. This is a subtle approach to the business of piling on circulation. It technically aligns you with the angels while it cozies you right up next to Playboy. It's not a new device. The old Police Gazette was good at it.

We have recently seen a growing tendency toward cluck-smackery in our once highly moral popular magazines. The rationale is that aberration, drugs, promiscuity and violence are part of life and that the editors are exhibiting rare courage and honesty in breaking through Victorian taboos.

All this is, indeed, part of life, just as the city dump and the jail drunk tank are part of every town. But you don't put them on post cards. In the old days when sensational newspapers buried the announcement of the new civic center underneath a breathless account of the raid on the local bawdyhouse this was described as "yellow journalism." And beautifully written journalism published on the slickest paper can still be yellow.

The concern is that enough yellow journalism can produce yellow behavior. When you parade the doings of kooks, psychedelics, riot advocates, deviates and lechers long enough, the tremendous power of the press lends itself to a lowering of the general public impression of what acceptable behavior is.

Thus, instead of merely "mirroring life," this kind of journalism produces an inferior social order. Man always operates well below his ideals. All that is necessary to brutalize him is to play "Everybody's Doin' It."

We have now reached the point where we can no longer distinguish between philosophers and those who simply refuse to bathe or wear shoes. Any exhibitionist with a long enough beard and a dirty enough toga can draw a gaggle of journalistic geese to his "press conference." The "poet" who strings obscenities together is searched for portentous meaning. And the man who blows his mind with LSD and, inadvertently perhaps, splits his chromosomes at no extra charge, is described as being not merely high, but a High Lama.

The tremendous competition among the network TV newsmen has been adroitly used by those who would make it appear that America seethes with revolt. You can have a patriotic parade in which thousands participate and tens of thousands look on with appreciation.

But let word come down that 100 demonstrators have tried to block the march and every network rushes to zoom in on that hundred.

This is not sophisticated journalism. This is singularly unsophisticated journalism. It is a sucker's game in which the media permit themselves to be manipulated in contrived dramas carefully staged by a small minority. But the effect is tremendous.

The so-called "new sexuality" is pretty old. One would have to cut a lot of history classes to imagine that the human animal had never gone through periods in which he sought release or even revelation in pure licentiousness. We've been there—many times.

If this had worked—if it had brought fulfillment and happiness—we would never have messed around with the Ten Commandments. But always it produced social confusion and disgust, and always after man had yomited away his hangover he sought cleaner, nobler gods. We are way below the angels, but we just aren't happy in the barnyard.

This country is still full of people, young and old, who have high principles and strong dedications and the capacity for self-discipline without which no civilization flowers or even survives. But they haven't been getting the press coverage.

The kooks have had too much coverage. The don't-knock-it-until-you've-tried-it philosophers are paraded in too many magazines. The burn-baby-burn boys are on camera. Maybe it's time to pay more attention to decent Americans. They are all over the place and they're doing interesting things, too. America is going to need 'em.

Francis Cardinal Spellman

SPEECH
OF
HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, few men in our times have so captured the hearts of Americans as did the late Francis Cardinal Spellman.

In his passing, the Catholic Church has lost one of its most admired princes and the United States has lost a great patriot whose particular devotion to the men in the military knows no equal.

This humble priest, who gave himself so generously to the service of God and his country, will always live in the hearts of the people of this land.

He was a living symbol of peace and courage whose inspiring example of unselfish service to others shall always remain a bright beacon for those whom he has left behind.

May we all continue along the path that he illuminated so well. In so doing, we may, to some degree, repay the great debt that we owe to him.

Stuckey Speaks Out for Georgia's Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, BILL STUCKEY could not be called middle aged at 32. Although his votes on the social security legislation and his own proposal to raise outside earning levels for senior citizens clearly show that Congressman STUCKEY is aware of and concerned with the senior citizens of his district, he has not neglected the young people, that group of people who will be the leaders and decisionmakers of our country in just a few years.

On several occasions the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STUCKEY] has spoken out in defense of the youth of Georgia and the Eighth District, praising their responsibility and contrasting them to the irresponsible "hippies" that made headlines all last summer and I commend him for so doing. He said recently:

> While the streets of Georgetown in Washington and Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco and Greenwich Village in New York were filled with mobs of so-called "hippies" and "teenie-boppers" wandering aimless about, conducting sit-in's, lie-in's, and wed-in's, we had no such irresponsible conduct in our District. And, neither did any of our young people travel to these other cities to take part.

Congressman STUCKEY said that while the activities of these "hippies" made every major magazine in the country, no such coverage was given to the outstanding achievements of our young people of the Eighth District or others just like them across the country who spent their summer working at summer jobs to help earn their own spending money or money to further their educations and who spent their summer participating in constructive activities.

In a speech praising the accomplishments of the members of the Valdosta High School Band and the Waycross Band, Congressman STUCKEY said:

> Full length stories, complete with pictures were written about those unclean individuals who openly used a chemical drug called LSD and who smoked marijuana, commonly referred to as "pot" or "grass". Meanwhile the Valdosta High School Band, made up of a fine group of clean, wholesome young people, worked together as a team and won first place in the Cherry Blossom Festival Band Competition in Washington last spring.
>
> And just a few weeks ago, the Waycross High School Band was selected over many other bands throughout the country to perform before 50,000 spectators at the Wash-

ington Redskins Football game in Washington.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STUCKEY] says that he believes that the experience our young people receive from such activities participated in by these two bands from Valdosta and Waycross is extremely valuable. He has said:

> These young people learn how to work together as a team. They learn to respect their fellow students. And, they become aware of the fact their individual effort means the success of the entire group.

Congressman STUCKEY commended the young people of the Eighth District and gave special recognition to the members of the two bands for their outstanding achievements.

A Comparison—A Conviction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Thanksgiving sermon of the Reverend Robert L. Caldwell, pastor of Central Presbyterian Church, Des Moines, Iowa, is an inspiring one.

It is a message which I wish every American could read, and particularly those who have foresaken the Biblical principal of "seek and you shall find" for one which, as the Reverend Caldwell puts it: "sit down and I will bring it to you."

With no social security, no minimum wage law, and no medicare, the Reverend Caldwell emphasizes that the Pilgrims survived because they had four of the greatest of all human assets:

Initiative, courage, willingness to work, and a boundless faith in God.

And who can challenge his observation that compared to the Pilgrims, "we present day Americans are a bunch of whimpering children?"

I commend his Thanksgiving Day sermon to the attention of my colleagues and to all citizens who are interested in the preservation of those high virtues which made America great:

A COMPARISON—A CONVICTION

Just think how happy you would be if you lost everything you have right now—and then got it back again! Ours is a day of emphasis upon possessions. And all too often a day of ingratitude for them. How many of us fail to appreciate what we have! We need more of the spirit of the very poor woman who admitted to a friend that she had only two teeth in her mouth . . . "But thank heaven" she added "they happen to meet!"

There is great truth in Mark Tapley's remark in Dickens' novel Martin Chuzzlewit: "My not knowing at one meal where I shall get the next is a great help to thankfulness." We have so much and we take so much for granted. This is perhaps our problem—how to be truly thankful in the midst of plenty.

Thanksgiving is not a day to be celebrated. It is a spirit to be cultivated! Tomorrow is Thanksgiving Day. For how many is it nothing more than turkey day or feast day? Let us get out the history book and make a little comparison between the Thanksgiving Day so many of us shall probably have tomorrow, and the first thanksgiving day so long ago. The scene is a village of seven log dwellings. The logs have been cut by hand in the forest an eighth of a mile away and dragged to the building site. These seven log dwellings have been built by the bare hands of 44 men and women who lived on the Mayflower a mile and half off shore. They rowed to and from work each day, with no portal to portal pay. For three weeks they have labored to build the first building—they called it the "Common House"

About six a.m. one morning they stood on the deck of the Mayflower and watched the Common House go up in smoke, knowing that within the Comon House a number of their men had spent the night, too sick to return to the ship. Upon reaching shore they found these sick men kneeling in the rain and mud, thanking God they had been able to save some of the gunpowder and provisions stored in the Common House. An epidemic of tuberculosis brought on by overwork and exposure killed 46 that first winter. 44 men and women, plus 12 children survived to build the first village in America. The crew of the Mayflower showed little sympathy for these fools who preferred freedom to security. And the day soon came when the Mayflower hoisted sail and left them with 3,000 miles of water between them and the comfort and security they had known.

Squanto, the sole survivor of the tribe which had once lived near the site of Plymouth, visited the little village and for a time lived among the people. He showed them how to plant corn. And that first spring the Puritans dug 100,000 holes with a crude hoe, caught and carried 40 tons of fish for fertilizer, and watched the fields day and night to keep the wolves from digging up the fish.

In the autumn of 1621 Governor Bradford proclaimed the first Thanksgiving Day on American soil. Four men were sent out to shoot wild turkeys. Squanto was sent to invite Massasoit, Chief of the closest tribe of Indians, to a feast. The chief accepted the invitation, and unexpectedly brought 90 of his men with him—to the consternation of the settlers. Of the few persons left in the settlement, only five were housewives. Yet those five women prepared a never-to-be-forgotten feast of turkey, wild geese and ducks, clams, lobsters, eel, fish, dried fruit, and Indian pudding made of corn and molassese. The beginning of our modern Thanksgiving Day.

Has it occurred to you that no Americans have ever been more underprivileged than those who started the custom of setting aside a day for giving thanks to Almight God? They had no homes and no FHA to help them build homes. They had no transportation except their legs. The only clothing they had was what they had been able to bring with them on the Mayflower. Their only food came from the sea and the forest, and they had to go out and get it themselves. They had no money, and no place to spend it if they had had money. They had no amusements except what they made for themselves. They had no neighbors but savages. They were not able to communicate with their relatives in England. They had no social security, no minimum wage law, no medicare. But anyone who called them underprivileged would probably have ended up in the stocks! For these Puritans had four of the greatest of all human assets. They had initiative, courage, willingness to work, and a boundless faith in God! Because our forefathers had these—initiative, courage, a willingness to work, a great religious faith—they survived. They planted crops. They reaped a harvest. And they declared a day of giving thanks to God! They did not get their turkeys from either a raffle or the relief board. They produced their first crop without free seed or government subsidies. And they were not too tired to go to church, even though they had to carry guns to ward off attacks from unfriendly Indians.

Thanksgiving is unique among American holidays. It is not a religious holiday in the same sense as Easter or Christmas. It does not mark the birth of a nation, like the 4th of July, but it does mark the founding of a way of life, a way of life marked by initiative courage, a willingness to work, and faith in God. Insofar as this spirit exhibits itself in our observance of Thanksgiving Day, the day is a part of the American way of life. But if we lose these things from our way of life, then America has lost her soul!

This comparison leads to a conviction. Compared to the pilgrims, we present day Americans are a bunch of whimpering children! They carved a nation out of the wilderness with their bare hands, and they handed it to us to preserve. But we have been so busy enjoying the America into which we have been born, and too busy looking for special favors we have been taught to expect by ambitious politicians that we do not have the time to work for the preservation of our heritage! Our nation was born and made great on the Biblical principle of "seek and you shall find", but we have foresaken that principle for one which says "sit down and I will bring it to you!"

Paradoxical as it may seem, it appears to be a perversity of human nature that the more we have to be thankful for, the less grateful we are. We have lost the real significance of Thanksgiving Day. For some it is a holiday, for others it is a hollow day. But for some it is a holy day, a day on which a man can remember God and express his heartfelt gratitude to him.

This is my conviction. We need to use Thanksgiving day for a remembering of those high virtues which made America great, and without which every nation so far has crumbled to dust. We need a genuine sense of gratitude for America and for the things which are hallmarks of her greatness, things like self-determination and private enterprise and the freedom which accompanies these. And we need a rebirth of the iniative, the courage, the willingness to work, and the faith in God which belonged to our Puritan ancestors. If we don't have these, we might as well give the country back to the Indians, and move to England or Russia where they already have what we have been bringing on ourselves!

You know, I wonder if we have to lose it all before we learn to appreciate what we have? We started down the road to socialism and communism. I am remembering that as the great planes roar their way across the waters of the Atlantic or the Pacific, they inevitably come to a point they call the "point of no return."

At that point the gasoline is half gone, and there can be no turning back. We are approaching that point in America, if indeed, we have not already gone past it. We are moving farther and farther away from the glory that has been America. And we are getting closer and closer to the chaos that is Europe. Will we have to lose it all—all our freedom to live and move and work and worship as we please? Will we have to lose it all before we learn to appreciate it?

It may be that we must weep beside the graves of our liberty and our initiative and our courage and our industry and our faith. It may be that we must weep before we shall be brought to our knees in gratitude to Almighty God for all these blessings we have taken so lightly. It may be, but I hope not!

A darkness has been closing in on mankind in our time. Remember with me a man of another time who saw about him the promise of greater things. That man was Paul—a man who knew fears that we know, fears that the time might come when men could walk no more in freedom. And writing to a church in Asia, he gave some advice which needs to be repeated and emphasized today. His words ought to find their way into every American heart. Paul's words: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty where with Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

Is it too late to live by the faith of our fathers? Is it too late to bring the old-time Bible stand down from the attic or up from the cellar? Is it too late to give it the choice spot it once enjoyed in almost every home—a spot no less prominent than the TV set? If it is, ladies and gentlemen, then it is very late indeed. I leave the answer to you. Just how late is it and what are you going to do about it?

Despicable Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the home improvements industry in the State of New Jersey has been subject to a number of cases of deceptive practices that have resulted with second mortgage companies. The magnitude of the problem has resulted in the present show-cause orders issued by the New Jersey Department of Banking and Insurance to a number of companies to present testimony why their licenses should not be revoked because of alleged charges of fraud and illegal activity in the home improvements racket.

This action by the State came about by a series of revealing articles in the Evening News, of Perth Amboy, N.J., written by Jonathan Kwitny.

Inasmuch as this problem goes beyond State lines and thus enters the area of interstate commerce, I believe it is imperative for the Congress to enact appropriate legislation to protect the poor innocent homeowner. It is indeed encouraging to see that the Federal Trade Commission is giving consideration to pursue action in this area. Relative to this problem, it was gratifying for me to read the position taken by the Washington Post, on Sunday, December 10, 1967, in an editorial entitled "The Despicable Racket."

The said editorial follows:

DESPICABLE RACKET

The Federal Trade Commission has turned a revealing spotlight on the home-improvements racket. Its sampling investigation has exposed a wide variety of swindling practices from inflated prices to bogus contests, phony bargains, misrepresentation and so forth. Yet it is only a sample. A full-scale investigation will be required, as the FTC has pointed out, to bring to light the broad dimensions of this scandal.

One of the worst aspects of the racket is the apparent collusion between crooked home-improvement operators and certain finance companies. The operators who deceive homeowners and fraudulently exact second mortgages from them make a practice of quickly disposing of their negotiable instruments to finance companies. The finance companies are then in a position to enforce the contract and collect their pound of flesh on the ground that they are "bona fide holders in due course." If there has been any fraud, they have been wholly innocent of it, and they claim the right to recover from the victim regardless of how outrageous the initial imposition upon him might have been.

The FTC suspects, however, that at least some of these finance companies are partners in the swindle. Its report says: "The Commission's staff believes it could demonstrate that leading companies specializing in home-improvement loans are not always innocent holders and should be prohibited from asserting this defense." Some fabricators of home-improvement products are also suspected of providing promotional appeals which contribute to the frauds. The whole mess calls for a searching investigation, and since the depredations appear to be Nationwide the remedial measures must be equally far-reaching.

Legislation also appears to be necessary. It is not enough, says the FTC, to enjoin a fraudulent practice after it has been proved and demonstrated. Many of the participants in this racket are fly-by-night concerns which can disappear in short order or quickly disguise themselves with new names and new techniques. The FTC now has authority to bring suit in a Federal court to enjoin the dissemination of false claims in regard to foods and drugs pending final disposition of a Commission complaint. Extension of this safeguard to the home-improvements field may be necessary along with criminal penalties. The first task, however, is full exposure of this despicable racket which preys especially on the uneducated and the poor.

The Untouchables Below the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, an inquiry of Mr. James M. Stewart, of Illinois, for the results of a preemployment investigation on Walt Rostow has been—in the terms of bureaucratic politicians—dumped.

Why is Mr. Rostow so shielded and his security check so protected—unless, of course, he is a sacred cow of the untouchable characteristics below the laws, moral standards, and ideals of the American people.

Many would be interested in the official reply to Mr. Stewart and his reply. Recent congressional codes provide for a disclosure of all records and documents on Government to our taxpaying peoples. Or did that document, so well publicized in the newspapers, exclude "untouchables?"

I included Mr. Stewart's letters in the RECORD:

DECEMBER 5, 1967.

Mr. W. MARVIN WATSON,
Special Assistant to the President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WATSON: Thank you for your letter of December 1, 1967, in which you outline the basis for refusal to provide information in government files relative to Mr. Walt Rostow.

You cite Public Law 80–23, June 5, 1967. I am assuming the particular under this law serving your basis has to do with non-divulgence of personnel files upon the prerogative of the individual inquired of. If this is the case, Mr. Rostow will have to exercise the prerogative as it pertains to personal privacy, not agency privacy. Unless you can cite an appropriate and legal basis other than above, this denial is not acceptable.

Secondly you cite President Truman's directive of March 13, 1948. This directive pertains to information being divulged which would affect the national security or foreign affairs. I hardly believe my inquiry would affect or endanger the security of my nation or its foreign affairs. Your third basis for non-divulgence. Executive Order 10450, is substantially the same as the foregoing, pertaining to the endangerment of the security of the nation or foreign affairs. Using the above as a basis for non-divulgence would mean then, in effect, that there is something in the file of the Federal Bureau of Investigation pertaining to Mr. Rostow that some foreign nation, friendly or unfriendly, would take grevious offense to which could possibly lead to war or a break in diplomatic relations. Please advise me.

Finally, you cite appropriate Department of Justice regulations which prohibit divulgence of criminal or security information designed to allow the protection of the innocent and prosecution of the guilty which laws allow the orderly, private accumulation of evidence necessary for prosecution.

Since I am sure that my security and that of all American citizens takes prerogative over one individual's, Mr. Rostow included, if there is derogatory information on file pertaining to him, its divulgence becomes a matter of absolute necessity. On the other hand, if no information of a derogatory nature exists, your statement to this effect is as necessary. If Mr. Rostow has no reservation regarding his past, I'm certain he will agree.

Your early reply will be appreciated.

JAMES M. STEWART.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, December 1, 1967.

Mr. JAMES M. STEWART,
Wood Dale, Ill.

DEAR MR. STEWART: In your letter dated November 19, 1967, you made the request that you be furnished the results of a preemployment investigation which was conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1966 with respect to Mr. Walt Rostow.

You are advised that in keeping with the provisions of Federal law (Public Law 90–23, June 5, 1967), directive authority (President Truman's directive of March 13, 1948, and Executive Order 10450 issued by President Eisenhower on April 27, 1953), and administrative regulations (U.S. Department of Justice regulations, Federal Register, July 4, 1957), the results of investigations of the kind mentioned in your letter are not for public release. Accordingly, I am unable to make available the material which you have requested.

Sincerely,

W. MARVIN WATSON,
Special Assistant to the President.

Hall of Fame for the Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, we have always been willing to honor and glorify men who have passed on. Unfortunately, many men who should be honored while they are alive do not receive this recognition.

Mr. Hubert F. Lee, editor of Dixie Business, has taken it upon himself to found a Hall of Fame for the Living. I am proud to insert the following article which appeared in the November 22, 1967, issue of the Decatur-De Kalb News:

DR. RICHARDS NAMED TO HALL OF FAME

Dr. J. McDowell Richards, president of Columbia Seminary, in Decatur has been named to the South's "Hall of Fame for the Living," the honor group limited to 200 living leaders, from which the "Man of the South" is elected each year.

Hubert F. Lee, for 39 years editor of Dixie Business and founder of the "Flowers for the Living" program, said that Dr. Richards was selected because of his 35 dedicated years as president of Columbia Seminary.

"Dr. Richards is a great Christian, a great educator, a great administrator and a great preacher," Mr. Lee said. Lee is a ruling elder and charter member of Glen Haven Presbyterian Church which was started in 1935 as an outpost by the Cabin Class and Mr. Joseph Muse of Decatur Presbyterian Church. Columbia Seminary students were student pastors at Glen Haven in its early years.

Anyone wanting a free ballot to vote for the "Man of the South" may do so by writing a letter to Mr. Lee at 4592 Covington Road, Decatur, Ga. 30032.

A Columnist's Views of the Vietnam Dialog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the December 6 issue of the Washington Post contained a column by Roscoe Drummond which I found of considerable interest.

I think that it is a worthwhile contribution to the continuing dialog on our role in Vietnam.

In order that my colleagues have an opportunity to read this article, it follows:

DISTORTION OF VIETNAM ISSUE CHARGED TO CRITICS IN SENATE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Why do honest critics of the Vietnam war use such dishonest arguments to support their stand.

Take Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.). He is a Rhodes scholar, a former college president and a writer who has shown he can use words to express his ideas.

After a recent session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with Secretary Dean Rusk, Mr. Fulbright argued that the Johnson Administration had "shifted" its reasons for being in Vietnam.

He accused the President of advancing conflicting and contradictory reasons for defending South Vietnam and contended that Mr. Johnson must choose between them or be guilty of misleading the Nation.

Fulbright says the choice is between defending South Vietnam to preserve its right to self-government and defending South Vietnam in order to contain "Asian communism."

The facts are not in dispute. The President has frequently said that we are in Vietnam for both of these very purposes: (1) to prevent Communist expansion by force from taking over South Vietnam and (2) to protect the right of the South Vietnamese to decide their own future.

But on what basis of reason or logic or by what stretch of the imagination can these two goals be deemed in conflict? There is no need, no reason, no necessity to make a choice, as Mr. Fulbright demands, between the goal of resisting Communist aggression against South Vietnam and the goal of preserving South Vietnam's right to self-determination. They go hand in hand. One cannot be achieved without the other. Both objectives serve the security of South Vietnam and the security of the United States.

Isn't Sen. Fulbright trying to create a conflict that does not exist?

And now Sen. Robert F. Kennedy is out to do the same thing—with different words.

He argues that the United States has "switched" its rationale for being in Vietnam—switched from the goal of shielding the independence of South Vietnam to the goal of shielding the U.S. from having to fight a worse aggression later by winning the present one.

Kennedy goes further. He wants to assign exclusive morality to his position and immorality to the position of those who disagree with him. He allows it is "moral" for the United States to fight a war to help the South Vietnamese determine their own future, but immoral to say that the United States should fight a war to check Communist aggression that, if successful, would make it impossible for the South Vietnamese to determine their own future.

Isn't Sen. Kennedy turning out the lights on reason and logic in conjuring up a "switch" in U.S. policy that has never taken place and in creating a conflict of purpose that does not exist?

Where is there any contradiction between these twin objectives? They reinforce each other. If it is "moral" to defend South Vietnam, as Mr. Kennedy avows, is it less moral because in defending South Vietnam we are also defending ourselves?

Sen. Kennedy can hardly escape the charge that he is deliberately distorting and blurring the Vietnam issue with fuzzy language.

Why do Sen. Kennedy and Sen. Fulbright engage in this kind of thing? Why do they choose to defend their stand with such defenseless arguments?

Perhaps the answer is that they are doing the best they can with the arguments they have.

Stuckey Visits With 4-H Members

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAMSON S. STUCKEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, two separate groups of 4-H members visited in Washington last summer to participate in a national citizenship short course at the National 4-H Center.

In July, Lee Hesters, of Valdosta; and George Rowntree Kirkland, of Hahira, took part in the program.

In August, Al Gaskins, of Nashville; Don Holland, of Lumber City; James Souter, of Brunswick; Eddie Knowlton, of Waycross; Rhonda Ramsey, of Lakeland; Karen Walker, of McRae; Brenda Thrift, of Brunswick; Gilda Freeman, of Waycross; and Debra Mallard, of Odum, took part in the week-long program.

While in Washington, the 4-H'ers had the opportunity to share experiences with 4-H'ers from several other States. Also, they visited the monuments, memorials, and museums, the White House, several of the agencies, and the Library of Congress.

The short courses given in citizenship are designed to help the participants to develop a greater understanding and appreciation of our American heritage, learn basic functions of Government at the national level, deepen their commitment to the American way of life, and develop skills for practicing and teaching citizenship to their local 4-H clubs.

Attention Focuses on Rural Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, significant events are occurring in Washington indicating a greater and greater attention is being focused on the problems of our rural and smalltown areas.

The first significant development is the announcement that a Presidential Advisory Commission has issued a report spotlighting the problems of 14 million Americans who are considered below the poverty level in rural areas.

The second event is the symposium sponsored by Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and the Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, on "Communities of Tomorrow: National Growth and Distribution." The symposium began its sessions today.

The New York Times reports that the President's Advisory Commission makes a number of recommendations, including the recommendation that steps be taken to create more jobs in our rural and small-town areas. In this connection, I want to again call attention to my bill, H.R. 9060, introduced earlier to provide tax incentives to business and industry locating or expanding in small towns and rural areas in America.

I am sure that the Symposium on Communities of Tomorrow, convening in the State Department today, will hear references to similar conclusions. In an invitation distributed by Secretary Freeman, Secretary Weaver, and other Cabinet members, this statement outlined the problems the Nation faces in this regard.

The statement said:

> We believe that the distribution of future economic and population growth and their impact on our environment for living and working demands attention now.
>
> The challenge of 100 million more Americans by the year 2000 must be faced now or it will pose dire consequences for the Nation's future. The decisions we make now will form the patterns not only for the immediate future, but for our course well into the Twenty-First Century. We must make the proper decisions.

In the lead editorial in the Washington Post today, the "melancholy indices of rural calamity" are outlined and discussed—including the high ratio of poverty in rural areas, the lack of education among the rural poor, the conditions of many homes, and other indicators of the problems in rural America.

Many of the problems faced by our cities today are caused by a massive outmigration from rural areas into our big cities.

We must, Mr. Speaker, achieve some balance in our population growth. Helping our small towns and rural America will help achieve this goal.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the Nation in this most important matter, I insert the articles from the New York Times and Washington Post in the Appendix of the Record.

The article and editorial follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Dec. 11, 1967]

Rural Poverty

The President's Naitonal Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has made findings and recommendations so sweeping and comprehensive and exhaustive in character that its report is bound to figure in the formation of national policy for a generation.

Its disclosures on the nature of rural poverty will not surprise or amaze those who have heard the reports of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and others. The poverty of 14 million rural Americans is, as the Commission says, "a national disgrace." It is not the first to say that the urban riots of 1967 "had their roots in considerable part in rural poverty." The Commission rightly makes the point that "the more vocal and better organized urban poor gain most of the benefits of current anti-poverty programs."

The disparities between urban and rural life have become a matter of common knowledge: one in every eight urban persons is poor, one of every 15 suburban, one of every four rural persons. Thirty per cent of the people live in rural America, but 40 per cent of the poor. Three out of five rural white people are poor. There are three million illiterate rural adults. One out of 13 houses are unfit. The melancholy indices of rural calamity can be continued ad infinitum.

The Commission, in spite of its gloomy findings of fact is hopeful that something can be done and it wishes the country to adopt and put into effect a policy that would give to residents of rural America equal opportunity with those of other citizens. It has a program for providing full employment, adequate shelter, rural education, medical care, family planning, rural housing, better rural government and other answers to rural inadequacies.

In total, its recommendations would involve Federal commitment to rural change on a scale unprecedented as to both expenditure and intervention in local and state affairs. Some of its proposals tend toward complicating governmental arrangements that elsewhere it finds already too involved.

The Commission's appraisal of the Federal acreage crop adjustment programs acknowledge that they are not specifically "poverty" programs, but faults them for not having more effect on the poor. The crop adjustment programs have effects that permeate the life of many parts of rural America, maintaining commodity price levels that otherwise would descend to disaster levels, distributing direct benefits and sustaining the prosperity of the vast rural business of supplying and marketing farm commodities. These commodity programs may not deal with the rural poor—but they deal with a lot of people who would be poor without them and their significance and importance in relations to rural life should not be minimized.

To close the poverty gap by cash subsidies to the poor, the Commission estimates, would cost $12.5 billion—$5 billion for rural poor alone. It is an alternative the utter simplicity of which, in the form of income subsidies of one kind or another, in the end may strongly recommend itself as an alternative to the more involved social, economic and cultural programs the Commission proposes.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1967]

President Urged To Spur Campaign on Rural Poverty—Panel, Critical of Federal Programs, Calls for Plan With Income Guarantee—Asks Birth Curb Help—Commission Asserts Society and Government Have an Obligation to Aid Poor

Washington, December 9.—A Presidential advisory commission, in a report highly critical of Federal programs to help poor farm people, recommended today a revolutionary new plan of guaranteed Federal employment and massive birth control help for 14 million rural Americans.

The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty suggested in its 160-page report to President Johnson that major new efforts be made to aid rural people.

The commission recommended basic changes in public welfare programs to assure everyone an adequate income.

"The commission believes it is the obligation of the society and of the Government to assure such people enough income to provide a decent living," the report said.

The 25-member commission sent the report to Mr. Johnson in September. The White House gave no explanation for the 4-month delay in its release.

Mr. Johnson selected Gov. Edward T. Breathitt of Kentucky as chairman of the commission in September, 1966. In doing so, he said:

"This nation has been largely oblivious to these 14 million impoverished people left behind in rural America. Our programs for rural America are woefully out of date."

The commission, also sharply critical of current antipoverty efforts, said the big city riots last summer "had their roots, in considerable pattern, in rural poverty."

POOR FOUND BYPASSED

Present Federal farm programs "have helped to create wealthy landowners while largely bypassing the rural poor," the commission said.

The commission also concluded that "contrary to a common misconception, whites outnumber nonwhites among the rural poor by a wide margin." It added, however, that "an extremely high proportion of Negroes in the rural South and Indians on reservations are destitute."

Accompanying the report was a letter to Mr. Johnson from Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman, who heads Mr. Johnson's Special Cabinet committee on rural poverty.

"Although not all recommendations are feasible in the exact forms recommended by the commission, your committee endorses the general thrust of the committee's recommendations," Mr. Freeman said.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

That poor farm people get the same treatment as poor people in cities.

That the Government establish priority legislation and appropriations to see that poor people get jobs.

That the present Federal food stamp program be changed so poor people can get stamps free to bolster diets.

An overhaul of present manpower policies to train poor people for new jobs.

Upgrading of educational services.

Establishment of community health centers for the poor.

New housing programs for rural areas.

New Federal grant programs and subsidies for developing rural areas.

Strengthening of programs for rural poor within the Agriculture Department and Office of Economic Opportunity.

A complete re-examination of all farm programs as they relate to the poor was also urged.

Army, Calm in Defeat, Sheds No Tears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the song has ended, but the melody lingers on.

Much has been said and much more will be said about the denial to West Point to participate in a bowl game.

Here is the story written by Mr. Gordon S. White, Jr., of the New York Times in the December 3, 1967, issue describing the Secretary of the Army's audacious entrance into the West Point dressing room after the game with Navy.

Just how the public and the team itself felt about Secretary Resor's decision and what effect it had on Army's play that day, as well as against Pittsburgh, is set forth, not by me, but by an objective reporter for the Times.

Indeed, the song has ended, but the melody lingers on and on and on.

Army, Calm in Defeat, Sheds No Tears

(By Gordon S. White, Jr.)

Philadelphia, December 2.—Even in defeat—a very disappointing one—the Army football players kept their "cool" without showing such emotion as tears, something many losers in the Army-Navy game have shed over the years.

It was the other side of the new, less emotional approach given the game by the Military Academy in the last two years.

Even the appearance of the Secretary of the Army, Stanley R. Resor, in the dressing room after the game couldn't shake these kids who had already been beaten in their biggest game of the year.

Two-and-a-half weeks ago Resor ordered "no bowl game" for this Army team. That caused great disappointment at West Point and an obvious letdown in Army's game against Pittsburgh two weeks ago.

Resor, escorted by Maj. Gen. Donald V. Bennett, the Superintendent of the Military Academy, went to the dressing room after the game to congratulate Coach Tom Cahill and the players for a good effort.

RESOR CONSOLES CAHILL

Resor, introduced to Cahill, said, "I just want to congratulate you on the way they (Army) came back. They were all right. They were damn good but they played a good team."

Cahill, quiet as ever, thanked the Secretary and went about answering questions concerning the techniques of the game that Army failed to win.

That could have been the toughest moment of the day for Cahill. Two weeks ago the corps of cadets was bitter over Resor's decision. The coaching staff felt much the same. But defeat was defeat, and Army took each defeat this year rather well—Duke, Army and Resor.

Bud Neswiacheny, the Army team captain who played his final college football game, was able to smile now and then. He and the other seniors could have been the most unhappy lot. After all, they don't get another crack at the middies.

A DIFFERENT GAME

However, Bud said, "Navy got off pretty explosively. Cartwright got good protection, too." Bud, a charging defensive rover, got over the scrimmage line a lot, but had a hard time getting through Cartwright's pass-pocket armor of players.

Asked if the bowl decision had any effect on the Army performance today, Bud said, "You can't tell. Maybe it had something to do with the work against Pittsburgh. But I guess not here. You can't tell."

Another senior defenseman, Woodie Cobey, had much the same to say. The little tackle said, "The bowl decision hurt us against Pitt until we suddenly realized we might lose. But the Navy game is different. I don't think it hurt here."

One assistant coach, however, said, "If I'd been Cahill, I don't think I'd have been so polite to the Secretary, I'm sure the decision took a little incentive away."

But all was over for the season for Army at sunset, and there wasn't any crying. Beaten but ready to go again next year, the cadets acted without contending such and such should have happened but didn't. Cahill wouldn't criticize his players, including Steve Lindell, the quarterback, who had none too good an afternoon.

The head coach said, "This was just a day when we got snake-pitted. They happen, you know."

Cahill explained that the calm that prevailed in the dressing room was because "these kids, if anything, have been pretty steady all through."

Most of them have played two seasons of varsity ball for Army now, and Cahill has done as much as anyone to keep the calm in vogue. Also, this Army team had beaten Navy before.

As to the exact reasons for losing—Cahill praised, as expected, the work of Cartwright and Rob Taylor of Navy. He explained that Charlie Jarvis, Army's ground-gaining leader, was contained because "every time he took a deep breath they keyed two guys on him. They were really looking for Jarvis."

COMPLIMENT FOR CLARK

Cahill didn't show surprise at the number of times Cartwright threw passes to Mike Clark, his tight end. He admitted it was more than usual, but said, "Clark is good, too, you know."

Army staged rallies in six of its eight victories this season. Maj. Pete Dawkins, the 1958 Heisman Trophy winner and a star for Army at halfback, said, "We just started a little too late this time."

With a loss to Princeton in the opening basketball game of the season for Army and a loss to Navy today at the other end of the football season, it was just a lost weekend for the cadets. And there wasn't a tear to be seen.

Why I Want To Live in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, we live in the greatest country in the world—economically, spiritually, and militarily.

Morris G. Ricketts, in his first speech, tells us why he wants to live in America.

This speech is as follows:

WHY I WANT TO LIVE IN AMERICA

(By Morris G. Ricketts)

The reasons for wanting to live in America are simple, yet they are great, for our nation is wonderful. I have learned through the years that we use our power to protect smaller countries who want to stay free. We of this generation are the future citizens of this nation. As tomorrow's citizens it will be our privilege to protect the freedom we have always known. And, as for me, I feel as Patrick Henry did when he yelled these immortal words, "Give me liberty or give me death." I cannot imagine living in a country where I can't say the President is a nut if I want to without fear of being put in prison or maybe killed. I couldn't be happy living in a country where there is taxation without representation, or without being able to attend the church of my choice. I'm glad my country's government realizes the importance of education and makes it possible for everybody to be educated to the best of his ability. These are my reasons for being glad I am an American. And when I am tomorrow's citizen, I will be glad to defend these privileges and rights for yesterday's boys and girls.

Tacoma Teenager Rescues Sisters From Flaming Automobile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, we hear frequent comments, read frequent news accounts, about the less desirable side of today's youth. It is refreshing to encounter a teenager whose behavior is so exemplary under fire, as it were, as to merit coverage in a newspaper.

Such a boy is Jodi Bozarth, of Tacoma, Wash. Involved in a shattering automobile smashup with his family, he managed to keep his head and do precisely the right things to save the lives of his sisters and summon help for his mother in time to save her. The following account from the Tacoma News Tribune gives details of his actions:

BOY RESCUES SISTERS FROM FLAMING CAR

The 13-year-old son of a News Tribune employe pulled his two sisters from the family's flaming car and then ran for help after their auto crashed on Interstate 5 north of Grants Pass, Ore., early Wednesday.

The boy's mother, Mrs. Lorraine Bozarth, 45, of 208 S. 128th St., a proofreader at the newspaper, was taken to a Grants Pass hospital with back and shoulder injuries. Her condition was considered fair, according to the hospital.

Mrs. Bozarth's car crashed through a guard rail on a curve, rolled over several times and then caught fire about 3 a.m., according to Associated Press reports. It was snowing at the time.

Mrs. Bozarth was thrown from the car. Her son, Jodi, first pulled his sisters Julie 5, and Heidi, 10, from the burning car and then covered his mother with a blanket.

After trying vainly to put out the fire, Jodi crossed the highway and flagged a truck and trailer.

The children were treated for cuts and bruises at the hospital and then turned over to the care of a member of the Latter-day Saints Church, the State Patrol said.

Mrs. Bozarth had taken a leave from the newspaper to attend the funeral of her mother in Salt Lake City, Utah, and was returning to Tacoma when the accident happened.

The Supreme Court Is Out of Bounds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr Speaker, ordinarily, the members of an organization jealously protect every prerogative, every right, every privilege, and every bit of power conferred upon them by their membership.

This is not true of the Members of Congress. For many years, the majority of the membership has seen fit to surrender to the executive branch of the Government many of the functions constitutionally reserved to the legislative branch.

In more recent years, that same majority has permitted the judicial branch to assume more and more of a legislative stance. The San Diego Union, on Friday, November 24, 1967, commented on some of the Supreme Court actions and called particular attention to the Court's violation of article IV of the Constitution of their one-man, one-vote ruling.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS HAS CHECK-REIN POWER: SUPREME COURT IS OUT OF BOUNDS

In a classic dissent to a U.S. Supreme Court decision mandating reapportionment, two of its justices called the ruling "Draconian and without precedent in the Constitution."

Others, from layman to expert, look at the recent arrogation of powers constitutionally reserved to the legislative, executive or states by the court and ask if the highest judicial authority itself is not unconstitutional.

The problem is hardly overstated by these two examples. If the present trend of Supreme Court power assumption which is copied by lower courts, is not checked the constitutionally-guaranteed separation of powers will disappear.

And in the interim, the law-abiding, God-fearing citizen who has been the stalwart in the growth of our nation may have to look for a bomb shelter to find the safety under law he has earned.

There are no words in the Constitution giving the Supreme Court the right to overrule Congress or the administration. Article III, however, does give Congress the right to regulate the Supreme Court. It is a congressional power that should be exercised vigorously.

Because of court decisions, confessed, hardened criminals are walking the streets as free men. Rulings on search and seizure, questioning, confessions, legal representation and other procedures have tied the hands of the police. The crime rate is soaring as a result.

School children cannot say prayers in classes without fear of legal reprisal as result of court decisions. School administrators are forced to hire avowed Communists and cannot control seditious on-campus activity because of legal restrictions. For all practical purposes internal security has been hamstrung through the court's decisions on laws controlling Communists.

Article IV of the Constitution guarantees each state the right to a republican form of government. The Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling makes this a mockery.

In California the Legislature was forced into an expensive, futile session because the state Supreme Court, on the basis of the higher ruling, mandated congressional district boundary changes between the bicentennial census.

The courts have overruled Californians' desires on housing amendments. They have stipulated how the medical welfare program should be cut. They have even stayed executions before any precedent is set in the case before the bar.

Contrary to the exalted opinion of Charles Evans Hughes, the Supreme Court is not the sole arbiter of the Constitution. This would put it above the Constitution itself, eliminate government by the people, and make separation of powers semantics.

As the dissenting justices said, the Supreme Court has arrogated Draconian powers to itself. Time has been wasting for Congress to reverse the trend and restore the balance if the republican form of government on the national level is to survive.

Selectivity Is Key to Sensible Research and Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the University of Tennessee Space Institute, of Tullahoma, Tenn.—one of the outstanding space-oriented institutions in the South—recently heard Dr. Alexander H. Flax, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development, deliver an excellent address on selectivity and judgment in the matter of research and development.

The University of Tennessee Space Institute has tremendous potential and capability and is working with the Air Force to achieve its goals and objectives in advanced aerospace research.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the Nation in this most important matter of research and development, I include excerpts from Dr. Flax's address in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Excerpts of the address follow:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER H. FLAX, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE SPACE INSTITUTE, TULLAHOMA, TENN., DECEMBER 4, 1967

It is a great pleasure and a privilege to have been invited to speak to you tonight at the University of Tennessee Space Institute on science and engineering in the age of technological plenty. Our national security depends upon progress in science and technology as much as or more than any other aspect of our national strength. This is evidenced by the fact that the DOD budget for research and development is larger than that of any other Federal agency. I will discuss the role of science and engineering primarily from the standpoint of its importance to national defense, but the impact of science and technology on industry and the economy goes far beyond the influence it has on such technological frontier programs as those to be found in the Defense Department or the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Science and technology are broadly affecting all areas of industry, commerce, and everyday life.

It is clear that we are in the midst of a period of some of the most sweeping and rapid changes in the history of science and technology . . . the scientific revolution.

The most important single distinguishing characteristic of the scientific revolution is its dependence on the organized and systematic pursuit of scientific research. . . .

The development of the atomic reactor and the atomic bomb only thirteen years after the discovery of the neutron provided the most striking example of the potentialities of intensive applied research. The same modern physics which pointed the way to the applications of the atomic energy was simultanteously going down the path toward electronic devices based on quantum mechanics, particularly as applied to the solid state of matter; these devices are entering our technology in increasing numbers.

The fruits of all this research carried out during the last half century are now beginning to shower upon us in ever increasing volume.

There is, however, a price levied upon us if we wish to benefit from the fruits of this research: we must be prepared to pay the price of developing and manufacturing the machines, systems and devices which the research makes possible and this in turn calls for capital investments, the development of consumer needs and wants, and in some cases changes in consumer tastes.

From the standpoint of national defense, there are vast areas of science and technology which must be explored to identify opportunities for ourselves and our allies, and to guard against technological surprise from potential enemies. Much as we may strive to attain a peaceful world by political means, it is difficult to see a time when we will not need to remain on the alert on the scientific and technological front.

The deterrence of nuclear war is and will remain the primary requirement for the continued progress of men and nations toward a better world.

The wartime practice of utilizing people trained and experienced in the basic sciences in applied research and development has been continued and is now almost universal in industry. Whereas it was exceedingly rare to find a mathematician or physicist in industry in 1940 except in a very major industrial research laboratories, today the number is very large. In addition, there are a great many more scientifically trained engineers today also engaged in applied research and development. In 1941, the total number of scientists and engineers engaged in research and development in industrial laboratories, universities and nonprofit organizations was 87,000. By 1953 there were 192,000 engaged in this effort and today, there are more than 400,000.

The present high rate of scientific advancement and the rapidity with which new science is applied to industrial processes and products are demanding of engineers a hitherto undreamed of breadth of scientific knowledge.

Because the engineer has had to shape the results of pure science to his own needs, it has been necessary for him to build a set of academic disciplines which can be generally characterized as the engineering sciences. Simply stated, at any given time the engineering sciences consist of those sciences which have been found to be applicable. Consequently, the scope of the engineering sciences is continually growing; twenty-five years ago there was little or no engineering application of atomic physics; today engineers who want to design atomic reactors take courses in applied atomic physics. In many cases, the problems of interest to an engineer in a given field of science are far more complicated than a typical problem of pure science in the same field. The scientist, after all, is trying to understand basic physical phenomena, and he is eager to breach new frontiers, not to explore in great detail the older ones. The engineer, on the other hand, is trying to apply his knowledge of physical phenomena under many constraints imposed by costs, manufacturing processes, the environments in which his equipment will be used and the suitability of his equipment for operation by relatively unskilled users. Calculating the stability and stresses in a suspension bridge under the loads of dead weight, moving vehicles and wind far exceeds in complexity and difficulty any problem given to the physics student in his courses in classical mechanics, although the underlying principles are the same.

The numbers of scientists and engineers trained to the advanced degree level have been increasing markedly over the past several years. In 1960 there were awarded 6,397 doctoral degrees in science and engineering of which 792 were in engineering.

In 1966, there were 11,654 doctoral degrees in science and engineering awarded of which 2,283 were in engineering. Thus there has been in this period almost a threefold increase in the number of doctoral degrees in engineering awarded annually. Most of the people holding these degrees find their way into either education or research and development, which has been undergoing a major expansion during the past twenty or thirty years.

The Federal budget for research and development test and evaluation has experienced a steady and phenomenal growth over the past twenty-five years. Even expressed in percent of a growing gross national product, the RDT&E budget has gone from 7/10s percent in 1941 to almost 3% in 1965. Most recently, we have been through a period of highly accelerated growth in which the initiation of a massive space program added to a rising curve of cost for development and acquisition of ballistic missiles resulted in RDT&E growth rates in the neighborhood of 20% per year. Some people have tended to think of this maximum achieved growth rate as now ordained to be the natural order of things and destined to continue indefinitely. This trend, if it were to continue from the level of '66 for ten years, would result in a Federal RDT&E budget almost as large as the total budget of today by that time. The need to control the cost of our research and development activities should not be regarded as a problem.

The situation bespeaks a very healthy scientific and technical posture for the nation. Further, the fact that science and technology now offer us many more things to do than we can possibly afford is not to be interpreted in meaning that progress and growth are at an end or on a plateau, it only points up the need for selectivity.

The problem of making selections in research and development is, of course, to some degree a matter of speculation; the speculation relates not merely to the probability of achieving success but also to achieving that success at a reasonable cost in relation to the benefits to be obtained. Because we are now in many cases faced with programs whose estimated cost is of the order of $1 billion, decisions and commitments cannot be made lightly.

What in the recent past was primarily a problem of decision on large military and industrial programs is increasingly becoming a problem for research and development generally, even down to the most basic level. Shall we invest more of our resources in further exploration of the planets—manned or unmanned, or shall we build 300 BEV particle accelerators and if so, how many and what kinds? We are proceeding now toward a supersonic transport but it is already possible to imagine a hypersonic transport. At what rate should be be proceeding toward this objective? If we are to divert more of our applied research from defense to the civilian economy, how do we go about it? What should be the relative roles of the Federal Government, State Governments, and private institutions?

It seems clear that many of the questions which must be answered to make decisions relating to development are questions of engineering in the broadest sense of the word.

The engineer's job is, as we have said, to consider these questions not only from the standpoint of the application of science and technology but also from the standpoints of cost and utility, and increasingly to relate these considerations to issues of public policy.

It is very difficult for many organizations to face up to the cold fact that the superconducting magnetohydrodynamic X-ray laser, on which so much loving care has been lavished in the research and exploratory development program . . . is really not the best solution to the problem of inspecting election beam welds for flaws or for heating a cathode in an electron tube device. But making this kind of determination is really the acid test of both technical judgment and technical integrity.

In this age of seemingly boundless scientific and technological opportunity, such determinations are essential if we are to meet all of our national goals within the resources available to us.

Annual Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. **EDWARDS** of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, each year I have served in Congress I have made it a practice to prepare a report on the year's activities for presentation to the citizens of Alabama's First Congressional District.

My annual report for 1967 is ready this week, and I included it at this point in my remarks:

CONGRESS IN 1967

This is my third annual report to you as your representative in Congress. It is an effort to give you information about the year's legislative activity and also about my work in Washington as Congressman from Alabama's First District. Once again this year I have received hundreds and hundreds of letters from First District citizens, and talked in person and on the phone with many others about matters related to the federal government. Folks in our area, just like all over the country, are vitally concerned about today's issues including the war, taxation, crime and civil disturbances. In this report I want to discuss these and other matters.

THE WAR

The Vietnam situation is very unfortunate and complicated. I feel sure we are right in resisting aggression in Asia just as we were right in resisting aggression in Europe two times.

I also believe that Hanoi thinks U.S. patience will wear down in a long and inconclusive war so that the U.S. military effort will be undermined by confusion and dissension here at home.

If these judgments are valid, then public support for our goals in Vietnam is vital. But the government is not adequately explaining to the people either the goals or the strategy of our effort in Asia.

Badly needed now are fresh, new approaches to military strategy, to the economic requirements, and to the diplomatic and home front tasks which in this kind of challenge are absolutely essential to success.

DISORDER IN THE CITIES

All over the country folks are dismayed and saddened over riots in our cities, rising crime rates, general defiance of the law, and a decline in moral standards.

In the House of Representatives we approved a measure to penalize persons who promote riots, another to help fight the pornography problem, and others to strengthen the hand of law enforcement officials.

In reasonable defense of law-abiding citizens the hard-core riot agitators must be treated as criminals. Local law enforcement officials must have the tools and the support they need to do their job.

Efforts are going forth in Congress to help ease these problems. The real solution, however, must come not from Washington but from the cities themselves. We need a rebirth of community pride, respect for our neighbors, and calm good sense. And yes, we need a return to old-fashioned patriotism as well.

THE GREAT DOLLAR GAP

In the last year of the Eisenhower Administration, 1960, the national budget recorded a $1.2 billion surplus. The cost of living was stable and the dollar had the confidence of the world. Since that time irresponsible government fiscal policies have led to huge increases in spending almost without regard for income. In 1964 the $8.2 billion deficit seemed large, but in 1968 it will likely be at least three times that amount, and could go as high as $30 billion.

This means higher costs for everything you and I must buy, rising interest rates, and other complications which threaten to seriously damage not only our own U.S. economic structure, but that of the entire non-Communist world as well. All during 1967 this issue has been of real concern in Congress.

In August the Johnson Administration said a tax increase was needed to hold down the inflationary pressures. I quickly joined with other Congressmen in saying, in effect: "The real cause of the problem is irresponsible spending. Cut spending down to reasonable levels before we talk about increasing taxes." Unfortunately the only real spending cuts have been made by the Administration in federal projects which create legitimate federal jobs. The Administration is unwilling to trim the Great Society welfare programs. This seems like a crazy way to fight poverty—doing away with jobs and increasing welfare.

I think we can look for renewed efforts by the Administration for a tax increase in early 1968.

ALABAMA PROJECTS

A great amount of time and effort has gone this year for advancing projects of importance to our southwest Alabama economy.

Expansion of the Coast Guard operation on Mobile Bay has been of special interest to me. We have worked to make the transition of Brookley AFB as smooth as possible by assisting Brookley employees and by helping to create new jobs in our whole area. This is a continuing effort.

Work on the Millers Ferry and Claiborne dams has proceeded on schedule, along with channel improvement in the Alabama River. The Tenn-Tom project is moving ahead according to plan.

We also have achieved real progress in developing work in Mobile Bay and also in Bayou Coden and Bayou La Batre. We expect more of this progress in 1968.

EDWARDS LEGISLATION

During 1967 the House of Representatives gave favorable action to several legislative goals of mine. They included bills to establish an independent Federal Maritime Administration, to prohibit desecration of the U.S. flag, to penalize persons inciting riots, to repeal the scheme for financing election campaigns through the income tax, and to begin action against the growing flow of pornographic materials onto the news stands and, through the mail, into our homes.

Other bills of mine were not given consideration this year and I will continue to work for them next year. These include one to help persons defend themselves in income tax claims, one to provide a tax credit to individuals for certain expenses of higher education, and one to provide added protection to firemen and policemen engaged in anti-riot duty.

COMMITTEES AT WORK

On any typical day in Washington I am called to a 10:00 A.M. meeting of one of the committees or sub-committees on which I serve. My two committee assignments are on the Government Operations committee and the committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. A major project on the first committee has been a study of the organized crime problem. As a result of this study we have recommended several steps to make the fight against crime more effective. On this committee we are also working to strengthen the government's handling of regulations for the sale and use of drugs.

On the Merchant Marine committee we are concerned with giving the Coast Guard a stronger hand in meeting its responsibilities, and also are trying desperately to prod the Johnson Administration into halting the serious decline of our merchant fleet strength. Our national security depends on an effective Merchant Marine, and U.S. policy must reflect that basic fact. We also want to revitalize U.S. commercial fishing activity on the seas, and to protect U.S. fishing trawlers and our fishing grounds from overly-ambitious foreign competitors.

I also am a member of the Republican Policy Committee, working with others to establish responsible, workable and effective programs, and to take proper positions on legislation coming before the House of Representatives.

SLOWING IT DOWN

The biggest single development in Washington during 1967 has been a slowing down in programs of the Great Society. While spending on existing projects has continued, no new ones have been created as in 1965 and 1966. The brakes have been applied as well as could be expected, and we still have a long way to go.

THE DOOR IS OPEN

I want to emphasize again that the door to my office in Washington is always open to you. I hope you will visit with me if you can, and write to let me know your ideas on national issues whenever you feel it is appropriate. In order to represent you in Congress I need your help in letting me know how you feel about the issues.

OUTLOOK FOR THE NEW YEAR

1968 is sure to be a lively year. Unfortunately, all the signs point to more riots and disorder in the big cities, and no letup in crime. The President may reduce his requests for federal spending, and will ask again for more taxes. The cost of lving will continue to rise, perhaps by as much as 3½ percent. And interest rates will continue to go up. But on the bright side of things, I believe it is likely that in 1968 we will turn the corner towards common sense in budgetary matters and perhaps, in handling of the crime problem. I'll be working for a better approach to the many problems that confront our country.

Please remember that while we get very unhappy about the many real problems we face, ours is still the greatest nation ever conceived by the mind of man. I am proud of this country and all that it stands for. I guess I think more about this as we enter the Christmas season. This is a time for joy and happiness and good friends getting together. Since I will not be able to see many of you this Christmas I want to take this oc-

casion to wish you a pleasant holiday season and a most happy and prosperous New Year in 1968.

Outstanding Service of Senior Senator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAMSON S. STUCKEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, Georgians from every corner of our State gathered in Washington on Saturday, September 17, to pay tribute to a great man who has dedicated his life to the service of Georgia and Georgians, as well as to his country.

The man, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, often referred to as "a Senators' Senator" was honored at a testimonial luncheon given by the Georgia State Society of Washington, D.C.

To go back a bit in history to a time when many of us were not even born, RICHARD RUSSELL's life of public service began when he was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives at the age of 22. And, after 10 years, the last 4 as speaker of the house, RICHARD RUSSELL was elected as our State's youngest Governor.

As Governor of our State during the great depression of the 1930's, RICHARD RUSSELL brought about economy in government so that our State could continue to function. And his first economy move was to reduce his own salary by $4,000.

The achievements of RICHARD RUSSELL's administration as Governor are too numerous to cover except in the pages of our history books.

Most Georgians today are more familiar with RICHARD RUSSELL, the U.S. Senator who has served us in that capacity for some 34 years. Senator RUSSELL was elected as the youngest U.S. Senator in 1933.

A strong constitutionalist, a champion of States rights, and the leader of the southern bloc, the U.S. Senator from Winder, Ga., has served longer than any other Senator in our history. Today, he is the second ranking Member in terms of seniority in the Senate. And only four others in U.S. history have served longer terms.

Senator RUSSELL gained National prominence when he conducted the McCarthy hearings. He was acclaimed because of his fairness in conducting these hearings. As the author of the school lunch program, it is due to this great man, who has no children of his own, that today over 18 million children, 700,000 of whom are Georgia children, now enjoy hot meals at school; for many of these children, it is the only hot meal they receive.

Senator RUSSELL is the ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee. He is chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and as chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, he is responsible for our armed services appropriations, which will total some $70 million this year.

Just as in his service in the general assembly and as our Governor, Senator RUSSELL's achievements in the U.S. Senate can only be covered in the chapters of our U.S. history, where his is a place of prominence.

In his Presidential Memoirs, Harry Truman remarked of Senator RUSSELL:

> Had Richard Russell been from Indiana, Missouri, or Kentucky, he may well have been President.

Well, personally, I do not think our Nation could have had a better President.

As I sat with my wife, Ethelynn, and the members of our congressional staff on Saturday, the 17th, I looked up at a great man who stood 10 feet tall. And, I swelled with pride at being a Georgian and at being able to serve with him in the U.S. Congress.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL's service to Georgia may never be matched. He has served Georgia ably for many years with his power and his might. And, just looking at him that day, I knew that Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL will be serving the good citizens of our State with that same vigor and might for a long time to come.

The Gilt of Loyalty Has Peeled Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, no better example of the "image," that is being projected to the world by those who participate in demonstrations such as held at the Pentagon, is at hand than the letter by an English youth which was directed to the Los Angeles Times, and published therein on December 2, 1967.

Bruce Robert Peters, of Warwickshire, England, would be classified as a "hawk" on Vietnam, and volunteered to fight for us but was turned down because regulations do not permit alien volunteers. He certainly throws down a challenge to the youth of America today. His letter follows:

THE GILT OF LOYALTY HAS PEELED AWAY

I am an Englishman born and bred. I was raised in an industrialized city in a county that lies at the very heart of my country. I am twenty-one with no political axe to grind. My greatest pleasure is writing, and for the past five or six years, I have been corresponding with a girl raised and educated in Los Angeles. Recently the chief topic has been, inevitably, Vietnam. I have been appalled by her attitude and violent views on this topic. If it is possible, through your columns, to put forward another point of view, I would be most grateful.

It would seem that the candy floss gilt of loyalty to the Flag has very quickly peeled away from your youth, and adults who ought to know better. When it comes to physical conflict with a fellow human being who hates him it seems that the average American cowers away in fear. An abject fear of losing his own life and property.

For years they have been depicted as patriotic citizens loyal to Union and Democracy; how hollow it all sounds in the harsh light of recent events. Rioting of a hardly peaceable brand outside recruitment centers and on the steps of the Pentagon in Washington. To intelligent people the world over this must seem a very contemptible sickness, not spread by the demonstrations themselves, but by the manner in which this particular variety has conducted.

Your youth and its immature "leaders," for want of a better word, lash out violently in all directions, to find some props with which to bolster their failing, faltering arguments. Big business, politicians, the establishment generally all are accused of vested interest in a continuance of conflict. Just how naive can the accusers be to so passionately believe such utter rubbish? Your leaders are fully aware of the damage being inflicted on their nation, they want an end to armed conflict as soon as possible, but an end with honor.

They are not conducting this war with the high ideal of defending an outpost of the Democratic Empire, but simply because they were asked to intervene in the internal affairs of a nation threatened by invasion. It was impossible for anyone to have foreseen what was going to happen. Now that the rank and file are being called upon to contribute to the national effort how very, very quickly they fall away.

War is dirty and sordid and indiscriminate of life. It really is about time you came to terms with that. Versatile, emotional cameramen and avante-garde producers make great play on emotional/personal losses; using artistic license, they make a very good job of putting over their own personal views. That type of documentation of war ought to be relegated to the class it belongs to, and seen in proper perspective, its contents not exaggerated out of all importance.

It can be argued that it's very well for me to talk. I am not being called upon to renounce my freedom and be drafted. I have tried to volunteer to fight not for emotional reasons or misplaced idealism, but because I believe your authorities are right. I was turned down because I am English and regulations don't permit alien volunteers. It's a pity, there is probably a large reserve of Europeans quite willing to fight for you.

A Letter From a Public School Federal Projects Director

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, a recent letter from one of my constituents, a public school official responsible for Federal projects, tells what so many like him have stated in letters to me. The message I have received from these school administators has undoubtedly been received by every Member of Congress. The message is that the academic calendar does not coincide with the fiscal calendar. The Congress and the executive branch have failed to provide the necessary leadtime needed by local school officials for planning, programing, and funding of federally authorized education programs.

I would like to insert in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, the letter I received from Merritt L. Vanderhoofven, Federal projects director for the West End public schools in Montrose County, Colo. I am in agreement with Mr. Vanderhoofven that when the Congress authorizes a program it should appropriate the funds on a timely basis to assure that the program can function as was intended by the authorizing legislation. In Mr. Vanderhoofven's view—to which I concur—the failure by Congress and the executive to fund these programs on a timely basis is not the prudent way of using public funds. Therefore, since he has expressed it so clearly for all to understand, I would like to commend it to my colleagues for their consideration.

The letter referred to follows:

WEST END PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Naturita, Colo., November 22, 1967.

Hon. WAYNE ASPINALL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ASPINALL: On the one hand, taxpayers cry for top quality education and on the other, low costs. On the one de-escalation and the other all out victory. On the one reduction of Federal involvement and the other, Federal services. It seems the only time we see fit to compliment is when we're personally helped and the only time we see fit to complain is when we are either poorly informed or adversely affected.

May I project several observations as a poorly informed yet vitally interested worker who is continuously subject to the whims and fancies of Federal legislation. I am a public school federal projects director.

To start on a positive note, Title I ESEA (P.L. 89-10) continues as a mammoth positive force in affecting positive change in education. Quite obviously the primary concern of this particular categorical involvement was more in the direction of providing a route by which ghetto children might escape their continuing cycle of poverty. Needless to say, being from a remote isolated portion of Colorado, our program has had no contact with a ghetto. Instead our projects have attacked the isloation of aspiration and opportunity of the rural child. It's method has been the change of the schools from system centered to student centered. Its result, normal, happy children. At, by the way, the cost of considerable gray hair on school administrators in terms of the untimely funding and continuous reduction of funds per project. It's kinda like giving me (the educator) a 5 billion dollar categorical job to do what should take 12 years and allowing me 2 billion and 4 years. You're not wasting your money but you're hardly getting your money's worth. Title I has changed teachers in terms of their relation to kids. This is most important of all.

Which brings me to Title III ESEA (thank heaven for the simplicity of Title II). As you perhaps recall, we were among eight small districts nationally to receive a Title III Mini-Grant. This Mini-Grant was made available so that smaller systems would be able to hire personnel for the purpose of planning standard projects to meet defined demands of an innovative approach to improved educational quality. Well, we got our grant (supposed to allow for a year of planning) and our first instructions were, get your operational project written before January or you can't be funded until October. Well, either we write half a worthless project by January or we write a top quality project by July. If we submit the project in July we receive October funding *if we gain approval.* If we don't we're out of luck. So our director doesn't know if he has a job until October so he has to accept a different job. The total effect being a potentially tremendous force toward improved education passing by the schools most in need of improvement. If you don't see my point I'll elaborate further later.

I suppose everyone has a pet problem. Well we acquired a new one last year. We found that we had been entitled to receive funds under P.L. 874 for several years. We hadn't received any for five years. The reason, quite simply is that the red tape involved in receiving our fair share is beyond belief. We have written in excess of 300 *separate* letters in following the procedures under 874 for last year and have yet to receive a dime. The thing is, as the law reads, we know, the state knows and the USOE knows that we are entitled to some money but we have had to tolerate the delay. I understand an effort is being made to revise this law. I would like very much to see it simplified.

On to Title VI ESEA. Special Education is finally getting it's feet off the ground. This is among the most dramatically valid expenditures any level of government can become involved in. Your support of legislation promoting special education is among the most humane votes you will ever make.

Thanking you for your time, I remain,
Very truly yours,
MERRITT L. VANDERHOOFVEN,
Federal Projects Director.

Morgenthau Plan—Crime Against Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent Senate Internal Security report on the Morgenthau plan—which in effect prolonged World War II and served only to benefit the Russian Soviets—sheds more light on this devilish plot to reduce overrun Germany to a pastoral countryside.

The only question the report raises is, if it was the plan of Harry Dexter White, and not Morgenthau, why did Morgenthau push this or, at the least, by participation permit his name to be used to identify this crime against civilization?

I include a review from the Washington Evening Star following my remarks:

SENATE REPORT CLEARS MYSTERY OF MORGENTHAU PLAN

(By Cecil Holland)

The mysterious story of the late Harry Dexter White, with all its sinister implications, is one that keeps step with time.

For almost 20 years there has been an absorbing interest in the little-known war-time Treasury official, who was later identified by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and others as a Communist agent.

Now new insight has been given of White's role in the Treasury Department with the release by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee of a massive study of the so-called Morgenthau plan for a post-war Germany reduced to a pastoral state.

The study, in two volumes totaling nearly 1,700 pages, is based on a collection of excerpts from the diaries kept by Henry Morgenthau Jr. during his 11 years as Secretary of the Treasury.

PROFOUND IMPLICATIONS

The conclusion is reached in the study that White, and not Mogenthau as the Secretary's biographer contends, was "the actual architect, as well as the master builder of the Morgenthau plan" which would have left, if it had been carried out, a Europe vastly different from what it is today.

According to Dr. Anthonly Kubek, chairman of the history department of the University of Dallas, who compiled the study, the implications of the identification of White as a Communist agent are "indeed profound." In many excerpts from the diaries he undertakes to show how White and a small coterie of his associates, also accused of being Communist agents, engineered the plan and its adoption by Morgenthau.

"Never before in American history," Kubek writes in an 81-page introduction, "has an unelected bureaucracy of furtive, faceless, 'fourth floor' officials exercised such arbitrary power or cast so ominous a shadow over the future as did Harry Dexter White and his associates in the department of the Treasury . . . .

EFFECTIVE CONSPIRATORS

"What they attempted to do in their curious twisting of American ideals, and how close they came to complete success, is demonstrated in these documents. What priceless American secrets were conveyed to Moscow through the tunnels of the Communist underground will probably never be known—and how much actual damage these sinister men did to the United States remains, at least for the moment, a matter of surmise."

If only a part of what is suggested in this study were true, the small band of men operating under the trusting Morgenthau, and centered around White, was one of history's most effective conspiratorial organizations. They make the recent disclosures regarding H. A. R. (Kim) Philby, the British secret agent who defected to Moscow, seem rather mild indeed.

White and his associates moved in the highest councils of the government. They were aware, or at least White was, of most of the war-time secrets; White had arranged, the study shows, for the exchange of information with seven other agencies and very little went on in war-time Washington or elsewhere, which was not brought to their knowledge.

SUSPICIONS SUBMERGED

Whatever suspicions there might have been of some of them and what they were doing were kept submerged; they were quick to protect and vouch for one another in the jungle of bureaucracy. Nor were they exposed until after the war when Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, disillusioned with their Communist roles, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948.

Those with a long memory will recall the parade of former Treasury officials—Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Irving Kaplan and others who repeatedly invoked the Fifth Amendment. White appeared once before the House committee in 1948 and emphatically denied having a part in any conspiracy.

A few days later, as Kubek notes, "he was found dead, the apparent victim of suicide by sleeping pills," and still later some notes in his handwriting were found among Whittaker Chambers' "pumpkin papers." Of the others, the study points out, "Frank Coe and Solomon Adler have been for some years working for the Chinese Communists in Asia."

So much for the individuals. What of the plan itself? As Kubek stresses, it was approved by President Roosevelt over the strong objections of the State Department and others in official Washington. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who resented Morgenthau's intrusion into foreign policy, called it "catastrophic." Another State Department official said it was "fantastic, childish and imbecilic." After it was indorsed by Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at their Quebec meeting, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson protested officially that "it would be a crime against civilization itself."

But nothing deterred the Treasury people, including Morgenthau, from pushing the plan. It was not discarded until Harry S. Truman moved into the White House. Even with that rejection many of the ideas in the plan found their way into the military directive for occupied Germany and account in part at least, according to Kubek, for the German hardships between 1945 and 1948.

PRESSING QUESTIONS

"How was it possible for the United States to embrace a myopic postwar policy which, in effect, induced economic retrogression in the heart of Wsetern Europe?" the study asks. "It is hard to believe, as one looks back upon the White-Morgenthau program, that a large number of Americans could have been gullible enough to subscribe to this unrealistic proposal to de-industrialize one of the most highly industrialized countries of the world."

An even more pressing question is why such a plan was advanced; was it, in truth, "consciously and purposefully pro-Russian?" the study asks. "To date historical scholars have failed to answer, or even to ask, this vital question. . . . Yet this is a question of such profound historical importance that some day it must be answered definitely."

While the Morgenthau Dairies, Kubek notes, offers no final evidence on the point, other documents included in the study "certainly point to an answer in the affirmative." Among other evidence the study cites Elizabeth Bentley's testimony that White influenced the plan and "on our instructions he pushed hard."

There are other suggestions that the program, while never carried out, served the Russian aims in a direct and practical way which proved costly to American and the Allied fighting forces.

THE TIMING

Raising the question of whether the timing of the plan was calculated to stiffen German resistance and prolong the war for months, as some believe it did, Kubek writes:

"By the end of the summer of 1944 Russia's military position was vastly improved, and Soviet leaders were at last able to foresee the eventual collapse of German forces on the eastern front. At the same time, however, American and British intelligence reports indicated the possibility of Germany surrendering unconditionally 'within a matter of weeks or even days.'

"The moment was ripe, therefore, for the urgent presentation of a scheme for the postwar treatment of Germany which, when made known to the Germans, would stiffen their resistance, forestall immediate surrender, and thus leave the door open for oncoming Russian armies of occupation to move en masse into the vacuums of war-ravaged Europe."

This is what happened and the results are painfully apparent 22 years after the end of the war. And they serve to keep alive the interest in Harry Dexter White and the role he played, as the study suggests, in influencing the course of history.

Tenth District Trainee Receives Title V Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker on Friday, December 8, Mrs. Jean Spesock of Superior, Wis., was one of six former public assistance recipients in the United States who received special recognition in ceremonies at the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mary E. Switzer, Administrator of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's new Social and Rehabilitation Service presented the citation of outstanding achievement to Mrs. Spesock and five other individuals who became self-supporting following work experience and training programs conducted under title V, the work experience and training program of the Economic Opportunity Act. These six individuals are representative of nearly 56,000 public assistance recipients who have found jobs immediately after completing work training projects or have gone on to advanced training.

The awards recipients—two men and four women—were commended for their diligence in learning a skilled trade and increasing excellence of performance on the job. They represent six families with a total of 20 children. As AFDC recipients, these families were being helped with a total of about $16,000 a year. They now earn over $30,000 a year.

Those receiving the outstanding achievement citation with Mrs. Spesock were: Edward Crowe, of Cumberland, Md.; Thomas Freeman, of Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Fanny Tellio, of Phoenix, Ariz.; Mrs. Shirley Woodward, of Ogden, Utah; and Magdalene Mosses, of St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. Ray Olson, work and training specialist for the Douglas County Department of Public Welfare, attended the award ceremony with Mrs. Spesock.

I am very proud of the accomplishments of Mrs. Spesock and of her high degree of success under the title V program. It is a pleasure for me to call to the attention of my colleagues the fine record of achievement of Mrs. Spesock as shown in her biographical sketch.

Mrs. Spesock, 30 years old, and a mother of three, left Montana in January of 1960 to return to her parents' home in Superior, Wis. She began receiving public assistance in June 1960, and was receiving an AFDC grant of approximately $200 per month when she entered the title V program in June 1966.

Mrs. Spesock had never been employed, although she had finished the 11th grade before her marriage. Under title V, she was assigned to a high school equivalency course, and on March 8, 1967, she received a regular high school diploma.

After unsuccessfully attempting to find a job, she returned to the title V project in May and was sent to the Superior Vocational School for clerical training. At the same time, she was placed in the Douglas County, Wis., treasurer's office for on-the-job training and less than 2 months later, in July 1967, was hired as a clerk in that office on the basis of her performance as a title V trainee.

Upon the death of the county treasurer, the deputy treasurer advanced to that post and oppointed Mrs. Spesock to the deputy position with the concurrence of two employees senior to her who recognized her ability and industry. Mrs. Spesock now earns $440 per month and after 6 months will receive $475. Her AFDC grant had been $200 a month.

Famed Sports Personality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, a truly remarkable sports personality of our time, Harry Wismer, passed away. I am certain that practically every Member of this Chamber knew of or heard of Harry Wismer. He was most familiar to football fans for his broadcasts of University of Michigan, Notre Dame, All-Star, and the Washington Redskins games.

In recent years, he had moved from behind the mike to take a leading role in professional football organizational work. He was known as a cofounder of the American Football League, and at one time or another was part owner of three professional football teams—the Redskins, Detroit Lions, and the New York Titans, now known as the Jets.

Harry Wismer was born in Port Huron, Mich. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fred R. Wismer, still reside there, along with two brothers, Donald M. Wismer and John F. Wismer. His love for athletics was a natural one, for he was a tremendous athlete himself.

The esteem in which he was held, I believe, is best illustrated by the many awards and honors he received both as a sportscaster and citizen. They included the Junior Chamber of Commerce Man of the Year Award; American Legion Award; VFW Certificate of Merit; Helms Foundation Merit Award; National Conference of Christians and Jews Citation; and the Ernie Pyle Plaque.

In this special tribute to Harry Wismer, I convey my deepest sympathy to his parents; his daughter, Wendy, of Chevy Chase, Md.; his brothers; a sister, Mrs. Betty Barns, of Dearborn, Mich.; and several nieces and nephews.

At this time, I would like to insert an article from the December 4, 1967, edition of the Port Huron Times Herald, and a special column by Francis Stann of the Evening Star of December 5.

[From the Port Huron (Mich.) Times Herald, Dec. 4, 1967]

DEATH TAKES SPORTS FIGURE—HARRY A. WISMER DIES UNEXPECTEDLY

Harry Wismer, on of the most colorful figures in sports during the last 30 years, died in New York City today at 55.

Mr. Wismer, a native of Port Huron, died of a heart attack in Lenox Hill Hospital, where he was taken last week.

He was co-founder of the American Football League, once part owner of three professional football teams and one of the top sportscasters in the nation.

The remains will be brought to the Albert A. Falk and Son Funeral Home where funeral and burial services will be held.

Arrangements will be announced later.

Mr. Wismer visited Port Huron last summer when he came here for hip surgery to correct an old football injury suffered as a boy.

He was most familiar to football fans for his broadcasts of University of Michigan, Notre Dame and the All Star games. For

15 consecutive years he broadcast the professional-college annual classic.

One of the organizers of the American Football League, he was president and owner of the Titans, the New York Entry in the league, until the club went into bankruptcy in 1963. The club renamed the Jets, was sold for $1 million.

At various times in his career, Mr. Wismer had an interest in the Washington Redskins and the Detroit Lions. He was the voice of the Redskins for 15 years, as well as a vice president and director of the club.

In 1960, Mr. Wismer helped develop the television plan with the American Broadcasting Company which put the AFL on a sound financial footing.

Mr. Wismer, son of Mr. and Mrs. Fred R. Wismer, 2850 Electric Avenue, began his career in sports early.

In his prep school days at St. John's Military Academy, he played quarterback on the football team, forward on the basketball team and shortstop on the baseball team. He also was member of the St. John's tennis team.

He began his broadcasting career in the mid-1930's and became sports director of Michigan State University station WKAR in 1934.

He was sports announcer, feature announcer and sports director of WJR, Detroit, 1935–40, then moved to WXYZ as sports announcer in 1940. He was with the NBC Blue Network 19441–43. He became sports director for ABC, New York City, from 1943 to 1952. During the period from 1947 to 1951, he also was assistant to the president of WJR, Detriot, WGAR, Cleveland, and KMPC, Los Angeles. He then became an executive of General Tel-Radio, New York.

He was chairman of the American Football League, Dallas, Tex., from 1959 to 1963.

Mr. Wismer was a member of the President's Council on Youth Fitness; director of Rural Research Institute; trustee of the General Board for Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency Cancer Fund, and Crusade for Children.

Mr. Wismer received many awards and citations both as a sportscaster and a citizen, including the Junior Chamber of Commerce Man of the Year Award; American Legion Award; VFW Certificate of Merit; Helms Foundation Merit Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews Citation and Ernie Pyle Plaque.

Broadcasting awards include the Memorial Washington Board of Commerce Award, and Sports Broadcasting Association award.

His book, "The Public Calls It Sports," was published in 1965.

Mr. Wismer was born June 30, 1911, in Port Huron.

He attended Port Huron High School and was graduated by St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wis. He attended the University of Florida and Michigan State University.

He is survived by a daughter, Miss Wendy Wismer, Chevy Chase, Md.; parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fred R. Wismer, Port Huron; two brothers, Donald M. Wismer and John F. Wismer, both of Port Huron; a sister, Mrs. Betty Barns, Dearborn, and several nieces and nephews.

A son, Henry Richards Wismer, a Navy aviator, was killed in service in 1964.

Memorials may be made to First Methodist Church.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Dec. 5, 1967]

Win, Lose or Draw: Wismer Was Swinger, at Mike or as Owner

(By Francis Stann)

One thing about Harry Wismer is that he didn't miss many bases. He tagged just about all in his racy 54 years. Behind the microphone as probably the best-known sportscaster of his time or as a football club-owner, he was a dealer.

Harry was a brash, handsome young guy in a soft way when he came out of Detroit and began to lift his voice across the land. Listeners couldn't agree whether Wismer was good, bad or nettling but they all conceded that he was never dull. Not in any of his walks of life.

He was the Voice of the Redskins for nearly a decade, starting in 1943, but the Wismer style was familiar all over the nation because he worked the big college games, golf and other sports, too. As a name-dropper the sports world never has known his equal.

He recited a litany of names into his microphone as he called the action. Great names, small and unknown names; it made no difference. On his way up Harry wanted everybody on his side and nobody in any field was ever doing a mediocre or bad job. The famed and the nobodies always were "doing a grand job."

The familiar Wismer chant went something like this: "There's Harry Gilmer back to throw . . . no, he runs . . . he's to the 25, the 30 . . . there's my good friend Henry Hedgerow watching from his box . . . he's doing a grand job . . . Gilmer fumbles and the Eagles recover and they're running toward the Redskin goal at the 40, the 45 . . . there's my friend H. Gabriel Murphy, the great sports fan . . . he's doing a grand job—insurance . . . touchdown, Eagles!"

George Preston Marshall cottoned to his Voice from the outset. Wismer was George's kind of guy, he felt. He had the flair, the bravado. Owner Marshall, holding the controlling 52 percent interest in the Redskins, approved of Wismer's becoming a 25 percent stockholder in 1950 at a cost of $48,000.

But in the end the partners fell out and Wismer sold his stock for $350,000. Marshall had dropped him as a Redskin director and Harry retaliated by suing the new president emeritus for $500,000, claiming that George had been spending $50,000 of Redskin money annually for living expenses. He lost in court.

It was hard to keep track of Wismer's activities. He held stock in the Detroit Lions and, although it was against NFL rules to be financially involved in two teams, Harry claimed he got away with it for a time.

He took his profit from the Redskins and got a franchise in the new American League in New York. He called his team the Titans and because Harry was in New York the heartbeat of the AFL was his responsibility.

Wismer went broke ("I lost $2 million") and the AFL almost did until Sonny Werblin bought the club and poured the big money into the re-named Jets.

As a sportscaster, Wismer endeared himself to publicity seekers when he dropped their names over the air, even on occasions when the grand-jobber was not at the game but listening comfortably in a Connecticut Avenue apartment.

As owner of the Titans, however, Harry alienated the New York press. He attacked other AFL owners, notably millionaire Lamar Hunt, for not bailing him out when he came up with the shorts. He blasted his AFL commissioner, Joe Foss.

Harry hired his old idol, Samy Baugh, to coach the Titans. "He isn't much of a coach but he's a showpiece," Wismer admitted. Later he fired Baugh, who happily had a long term contract, and settled for demoting him to backfield coach. He bought old Bulldog Turner out of dimbo to be headmaster.

Nothing went right in New York. The Giants of the NFL were at their peak. Harry couldn't play in Yankee Stadium and all that was left was the old, abandoned Polo Grounds. Few wanted to risk a knock in the head to venture into that neighborhood. Fans didn't think that much of the Titans.

The Titans went unpaid on a couple of occasions. Other AFL owners put up money to meet the payroll. The crowds were so small that when an attendance figure was announced as 14,000 a sage of the pressbox, Dick Young, dryly observed, "They must be counting eyeballs."

One snowy day so few people were in the Polo Grounds that Larry Grantham, the Titans' wit, protested that instead of having the players introduced before the game the public address man should introduce the spectators.

"We outnumber 'em," Grantham reasoned.

Wismer was a bitter but unbowed man when he lost his shirt. "Werblin got everything," he said. "They even built Shea Stadium for him."

In May, 1965, Harry telephoned after a long silence. A voice out of the past. "How do I go about buying the Redskins?" he asked, as if he'd never bought into a team. "I haven't got a bean of my own but I can raise $10 million."

Last spring he was recuperating from a serious operation. One day, out of the blue, came a letter from the hospital.

"I'll be back," he wrote. He didn't say what kind of hat he intended to wear, just that he'd be back. Harry never gave up, until yesterday.

He infuriated some people. He not only sued Marshall but attacked him in 1957 for refusing to sign Negro athletes. When the Redskin boss drafted the late Ernie Davis of Syracuse, Wismer swore he'd sign Davis first.

And yet he was widely liked, too. Bill Sullivan, owner of the Boston Patriots and moving uphill himself at one time, cheerfully paid his share to meet Wismer's payroll. The Titans admired Harry's persistence, even when there was no salary in sight that week. They rarely won but they tried.

So did Harry.

Iowa Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is clear Iowans oppose the use of tax moneys for political campaigns. The $1 tax checkoff for presidential campaigns was laid to rest only after a long and tiresome fight. I hope that no attempt to get a tax subsidy for political campaigns will be made.

The results of the Iowa poll follow:

The Iowa Poll: Against Use of Taxes for Campaigners

Iowans strongly oppose any plan which will divert public funds into helping pay for national election campaigns, the Iowa Poll reports.

The strongest opposition—eight out of 10—is against a direct congressional appropriation of $28 million for the 1968 presidential and senatorial campaigns. About five out of 10 oppose an income tax deduction of one half of contributions toward a campaign fund, with a maximum of $25 allowed.

Residents of cities, towns and farms share equally in their disapproval of financing elections out of government funds.

Thirty-nine per cent favor, 49 per cent oppose and 12 per cent express no opinion on allowing a tax credit for political contributions.

Opposition to the income tax plan is greatest among those living in the largest cities and in cities and towns under 5,000 population. In cities over 50,000 population, 40 per cent favor, 50 per cent oppose and 10 per cent express no opinion; while in cities and towns under 5,000, 31 per cent favor, 53 per cent oppose and 16 per cent express no opinion.

Farm residents and persons living in cities between 5,000 and 50,000 population are about evently split on allowing a personal income tax credit for political contributions.

Iowans in the poll were asked the following:

"The Senate Finance Committee recently approved a campaign financing bill that would make $28 million of government funds available for the 1968 presidential election—$14 million to each major political party. Do you favor or oppose using government funds for financing presidential election campaigns?"

[In percent]

	Total	Republicans	Democrats
Favor	11	8	15
Oppose	81	82	75
No opinion	8	10	10

"The bill also provides for direct appropriations for senatorial races. Do you favor or oppose using government funds for financing senatorial election campaigns?"

[In percent]

	Total	Republicans	Democrats
Favor	9	7	13
Oppose	83	83	79
No opinion	8	10	8

"The committee also recommended allowing a taxpayer to subtract from his final federal income tax bill one-half the amount of a political contribution with a maximum tax credit of $25. Do you favor or oppose allowing a tax credit for political contributions?"

[In percent]

	Total	Republicans	Democrats
Favor	39	38	42
Oppose	49	48	46
No opinion	12	14	12

America and the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by former Senator Barry Goldwater, of Arizona, to the Commonwealth Club on December 1, 1967.

It is my personal hope that this will be read by many and heeded by all.

The speech referred to follows:

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

As an American who feels that America must, as it always has in the past, stand behind their President in a period of war, I want to congratulate the citizens of this city who turned down a proposal just a few weeks ago which would have said, in effect, to the President, we do not go with you and you would have said to the world that this great and important city had forgotten the great and courageous place it has always held in the hearts and minds of Americans.

Today, in this city which has turned its eyes to the world, never to the wall, I want to speak with you about one of the most dangerous words in the political vocabulary.

That word is isolationism.

I say it is a dangerous word because it is a word that promises, but cannot perform; a word that hides the death of vision and vigor behind a mask of wishful thinking.

If I step on some toes those toes are not as important to me as the entire body of the nation which, if it ever becomes infected with the virus of isolationism, will sicken and die.

America is part of the world. We—you and I—are part of the world. We cannot withdraw from the fact or from the future that this implies.

In fact, whether we like it or not, we came out of World War II, the world's leader in business and the world's leader in military power.

There is no Maginot line long enough or high enough to hide us from the world. There is no ocean broad or deep enough to shelter us from the winds of the world. And we must, as other nations have done before us, when they have worn the mantle of leadership, lead the world toward the goals of peace and freedom and away from the dark goals of slavery and war.

And, let me remind you, should there be blindness deep enough to hide from us the fact that this nation is the great example of and the great hope of freedom not only behind our shores but across every shore on earth. What bushel of isolationism could hide such a light!

It was not, of course, always so. In the time of our own beginning, it was right and proper for George Washington to speak of attending to affairs at home first. Building the nation was the job. The affairs of Europe were, quite literally and correctly, foreign affairs.

Today there are no *foreign* affairs. Neither a sparrow nor a government can fall anywhere on this earth without seismic traces in our own affairs.

We are linked by over forty treaties to the defense of that many nations. War in their areas is instant war. We must face that fact. Or we abandon the treaties.

Having emerged as the world leader from World War II, it was proper that under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower a basis for our foreign policy was built upon our economic and military strength. As a reaffirmation of this basic policy, the Senate advised and consented to over forty treaties with other countries now called Mutual Security Pacts and these call in specific language for the defense of these countries when defense is required. I have suggested in light of what we have learned about the difficulties of war in Vietnam that the Senate of the United States reexamine these treaties, not with the specific view of withdrawing our support, for that would be impossible, but so that the American people, through discussion on the Senate Floor, might know better the pledges that have been made to other countries. What most of the people who are calling for an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam without regard to victory or honor seem to overlook is that we do have an obligation to that same honor in these forty-odd treaties. The only alternative that I sense in their proposals is the alternative of isolationism plus the alternative of dishonor.

We are linked by commerce to most of the nations of earth. And trade, which should be the most non-ideological of pursuits, has become a sharp, cutting weapon of ideology.

We are linked by needs to supplier nations. We are linked by productive surpluses with customer nations. We are linked by research to laboratories everywhere. We are linked by culture to theaters, galleries, libraries, and halls across the oceans and around the earth.

In the face of all of this, however, we continue to hear the most persistent and highly placed calls for American isolationism that we have heard since the days of America First and the calls of those who felt that the aggressions of Adolph Hitler were of as little concern then as some say the aggressions of Ho Chi Minh are today.

All of those who call for isolationism and dishonor have made a common cause around a common complaint. America, they say, must withdraw its interest in the world and substitute for it an obsessive interest only in itself. It was a Republican Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, who just one hundred years ago this year, operating in conjunction with a Republican President, saw the importance of the Pacific to the defense of our own country. It has long been axiomatic that when a country reaches its natural boundaries, in order to keep its own soil from being torn with war, outside perimeters must be sought. Fortunately for us, those perimeters on the East Coast have in two instances been extended to the soil of Europe but, in 1867, when the western boundary of our Continent had been reached, it was obvious to Mr. Seward that any war coming from the Pacific would have to be fought on the shores of California, Oregon and Washington. Realizing this, he started negotiations for the acquisition of Alaska, Hawaii and the Midway Islands. And while all of these lands were not acquired immediately, nevertheless, they were acquired and in every administration, Republican or Democrat since that time, the interest of the Pacific has been paramount.

This interest has grown to be more than that of having perimeter lands to protect our shores to a realization that the great areas of future economic expansion in this world are now confined to Latin America and to the great and growing countries of the Far East. Japan is an example; Taiwan another, and we see increased economic activity all over the land areas of the Far Pacific.

Does the isolationist now suggest that the United States retreat from its historic position of interest in the Pacific and the Far East and give up the economic gains which can be made by this country in concert with action in the countries of the Pacific and turn these gains over to a communist world, whether it be managed or run from North Vietnam, Red China or the Soviet Union? The isolationist will argue that times have changed, and let me say that they have. They have changed to the effect that it should be obvious to all Americans that the historic importance placed by both Republican and Democratic Administrations on the maintenance of our strength in the Pacific has become more proper and more needed today. Yes, many of us know that times have changed.

There have been, as I said, times during which there may have been such reasons for an isolationist America, times when it was not only possible but also proper to be isolationist.

Let me say that it is not today either proper or possible.

It is not proper because the problems of peace are inescapable. It is not possible, because the technologies of war also are inescapable.

The problems of peace are inescapable for a grim reason which the new advocates of isolation deny but which the realities of our time absolutely verify. That reason is the aggressive nature of Communism.

During earlier periods of isolation it was possible to accurately say that the existence of totalitarian regimes elsewhere in the world did not effect us and could be walled away by the thinking and the diplomacy of a fortress America.

Mr. Hitler pretty much ended that. Modern, industrially-based or industrially-aimed tyrannies cannot or at least do not exist in the old-fashioned and statis self-containment of oppressing their own people but leaving everybody else alone.

Again, they too reflect the constant interrelationship of modern industrial nations. Purely agricultural or tribal societies perhaps could exist in perfect isolation—although the tendency of even some modern tribal states in Africa to pillage and invade is a disquieting indication that the virus of aggression is now epidemic.

The Communist tyrannies, however, are clearly involved in expansionist dynamics. The Soviet Union, unlike every major non-communst nation on earth does not set itself the goal of freeing satellite or colonial peoples. Far from it. Its goal is at the very least to hang on to conquered territories.

Also, even the most avid defender of a theory of mellowed Communism would have to admit that the Soviet Union, alone among major and modern nations, spends a significant share of its time and treasure in encouraging the violent acquisition of territories abroad.

The record of its support, and continued support at that, of violence-prone political movements around the world is too well known to require elaboration here or to be denied anywhere.

The latest adventure in the Middle East, I remind you, is not an exception to Soviet policy but simply an encouragement of it.

Communist China follows, of course, the same path in the world, supporting everywhere it can those who would substitute violence for the peaceful processes of politics.

Stripped of all its many other admittedly controversial features, the war in Vietnam swings upon precisely that conflict—whether violence is to be substituted for peaceful political process. And, just to summarize the point fully, it was the Vietcong, not the Americans, not the south Vietnamese, not the French, who made the first substitution of violence for policy in the current conflict. President Johnson, quoting Hanoi's own figures, has put it quite succinctly when he reminded the nation that more persons have been killed by Communist terrorists while trying to vote in the south than have been killed in the north by aerial bombardment.

But, in terms of the isolationist argument, it should suffice to say that what is happening in Vietnam is nothing but a reflection—in a terrible time and place—of the fact that disturbance of the peace today is an ongoing result of the aggressive dynamics of Communism.

There is no other operative cause of conflict in the world. Conditions such as hunger, illiteracy, disease, internal political discontent, even strictly internal tyrannies—such as now dominate most of the newly emerged nations—do not cause, even if they make possible, the highly organized, well-supplied breaches of the peace which call the fate of the entire planet into question.

As proof, you need look no farther than Africa. In some of the new states there, unbelievably ferocious slaughters of native populations have been going on now for several years—slaughters with tolls far more vicious than those even of Vietnam. These have been the slaughters of inter-tribal warfare, fed by all of the conditions which some are so fond of citing as the absolute causes of war; meaning poverty, ignorance, etc.

Yet the peace of the world is not threatened by these bloodlettings, even though the conscience of the world might well be offended. I think, as a matter of fact, it must be.

The reason is that these terrible things are not at all directly comparable to the sort of Communist thrusts which involve the direct interference of a foreign power in the internal affairs of another nation.

Let me emphasize that point by saying: the direct aggressive interference of a foreign power in the internal affairs of another nation. Communist disturbances of the peace always have had and still have that characteristic. They are not defensive. They are aggressive.

At any rate, as applied to the isolationist argument, the presence of this over-riding cause of unrest in the world shatters at the outset the very base on which a fortress America could be built. Unless you can imagine a fortress America that could exist at all, much less exist in freedom, while all other nations around it were spinning into the Communist orbit, unless you can imagine that you certainly cannot imagine a fortress America.

And I hold that any man who can even think of such an America is a man who has lost not only all hope, but all good sense. Such a fortress America would, obviously, better be described as a Garrison America.

Would you wish to live in such a Garrison state? Would the isolationists? Have they thought their proposals through to this inescapable end? I see no sign of it. I see only the signs of reactions in panic and statements in haste.

So long as the leaders of the two-headed Communist world remain committed to violence as a tool of diplomacy, there is no possibility of hiding. There is no place to hide. There is no immunity. There is no withdrawal. Wherever that violence spreads, though it be thousands of miles from our shores, it is just inches from our future unless we face up to it and face it down.

My other point, that the technologies of modern warfare make isolation impossible, involves facts of life which are so terrible that few have the stomach to face them.

They cannot be avoided, however, by shutting eyes or ears or minds.

As we stand here today, right this moment, it would be possible for the defense establishments of Great Britain, of France, of the Soviet Union, of Red China, or of the United States to kill millions of persons anywhere on the earth. The difficulties are just details. For the Red Chinese those difficulties would involve nothing much more complex than a major job of smuggling. For the French it would be a question of refueling. For the British it might be the same. For us or for the Soviet it might be a question simply of the accuracy of maps or the state of some maintenance schedule or another.

I know that it is a terribly oversimplified way to put it. But modern weapons, for all their technical complexity, do pose starkly simble problems. One, for instance, is the avoidance of their use.

Today the major weapons of mass destruction—which are not limited, mind you, to nuclear weapons, but which include chemical and bacteriological weapons of equally horrible stature—are withheld from use not because there is a so-called balance of terror in the world but because there is, quite to the contrary, an imbalance of terror.

The destructive inventory of this country, developed during the Eisenhower Administration, is so great even today that there is good reason to believe it could overpower and make insanely costly any use of such weapons by anyone else anywhere in the world.

That is the situation today. And, remember, it is a situation based upon decisions made and research begun a full decade ago.

There is every responsible reason to believe that, given the absolute refusal of this Administration to permit the development of new, major strategic weapons systems, this imbalance will end in the decade of the 1970's and that the balance itself will shift to an imbalance on the side of Communism thereafter.

This shift incidentally could take place regardless of a change in Administration due to the lop-sided lead times demanded for such development. It is quite possible that only a major crash program could avert the shift and there are distinct limits to how long even such a program can be delayed before it is totally frustrated by the inexorable ticking of the technological clock. The Communist states, remember, have not been standing still along with us. Research expenditures in both the Soviet Union and in Red China have been directed toward upsetting, not maintaining a balance of terror.

Thus technology too is a pin to burst any bubble of isolationist illusion.

How odd it must be for the ghosts of Republicans past to hear the talk which today would tell them that it is Republicans who are leading the fight for a full involved, fully committed, and fully international American viewpoint—while it is Democrats who lead the chorus for isolationism!

Many of us know that they have changed and have based our political lives upon that knowledge all along. Some have even staked and perhaps lost our political lives because of it. Let me remind you, as an example, that the several votes cast against the nuclear test ban treaty in the Senate of the United Sates, were based solidly upon the belief that this nation could not afford to halt its research efforts so long as those who menace the peace had advanced beyond us—as, for instance, the Soviet had in the area of high yield detonations and the understanding of electromagnetical pulse effects.

Those who speak for the isolationist view, of course, feel that there is no need or place for American strength because they feel there is no need or place for American presence anywhere in the world beyond the borders of the nation.

They carry that belief as they would a magical umbrella. They carry it precisely like the magical umbrella that Neville Chamberlain carried to and from Munich.

And they carry it under just such clouds as hovered over the world then.

Millions died because of the folly of men who wanted to play it safe by playing it blind. Today another change is in numbers. Many millions more have their lives and their freedoms on the line. And the forces that would use violence in the world are stronger, more experienced, more entrenched.

There is only the isolation of the graveyard for those who will not live in and be part of the world today. After all, it's all we have. We cannot stop the world and get off. Let it never be America against the world. Let it always be—America, with the world!

It is our, and the world's very last hope.

Tax Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, there has been a flurry of official activity recently, following months of passive indifference by the administration, in an all-out effort to press for last-minute approval of the surtax. The latest drive came on the heels of the devaluation of the pound, probably in hopes that this final argument would settle the matter.

This administration has, indeed, used every gimmick to build its case for the surtax, but the reasons propounded, with statistics thrown in for obvious substantiation, have varied with the time of day. The threat of inflation and rising interest rates have undoubtedly prevailed as the official position, but the vacillation reflected in administration statements has led to mass confusion and to what some call the credibility gap. To mention just a few statistics that have been rather loosely dropped, the administration estimated an $8 billion deficit back in January this year, even then unacceptable. Since then there has been specific reference to projected deficits of $13.7 billion, $19.8 billion, $22 billion, $25 billion, $29 billion, and more recently, the President even went so far as to claim a potential $35 billion deficit. One would wonder if we are all talking about the same year.

In just the past couple of weeks, one administration official observed that we need not talk any longer about the threat of inflation, advising that it was here. At the same time, under intense questioning, this same official intimated that the pressing problem is an inflationary psychology.

Mr. Speaker, if the average taxpayer is somewhat bemused by this display of official expertise, he is certainly not convinced that giving up a few extra dollars is the only honest and patriotic thing to do. I would acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, that despite the headline sensationalism characteristic of this administration, there are a good many distinguished Members in this Congress who are well educated on the moods and intricacies of the economy and who are not so sure that the surtax is a feasible cure for the disease.

A recent article in the Philadelphia Inquirer reveals the calculated belief of two prominent economists that a tax increase might even harm the economy. It is suggested that the administration is a victim of an inflation psychosis, and further, an inference that a surtax would actually stimulate the cost-push type of inflation as opposed to demand-pull. The full context of the news story follows:

TWO TOP ECONOMISTS WARN TAX INCREASE COULD HARM ECONOMY

(By Martin J. Sikora)

Two of the Nation's foremost economists opposed a Federal tax boost Monday and claimed it could do more harm than good to the American economy. Dr. Pierre Rinfret, economist, claimed a tax hike will aggravate rather than ease major causes of inflation while Martin G. Gainsbrugh said the economy was not as overheated as some experts claimed.

Rinfret, New York consultant and former Government economist, charged that efforts to sell the proposed 10 percent surtax as a means of curbing inflation represented a "smokescreen" by the Administration which is merely seeking extra revenue to finance warfare spending.

"We need a tax increase in this country like we need a hole in the head," Rinfret told a gathering of Philadelphia's top business leaders at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel.

SEVERAL BRAKES SEEN

In this respect, he agreed with Gainsbrugh, senior vice president and chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, who cited a series of factors which could serve to brake rather than expand the economy in 1968. He cited a 4 percent unemployment rate in the nation, with joblessness especially acute among younger age groups, and the fact that business in many industries has been trailing 1966 results.

"What I'm saying is that we don't need a tax increase in 1968 to dampen an overheated economy," Bainsbrugh said.

Both Rinfret, president of Rinfret-Boston Associates, Inc., and Gainsbrugh addressed a luncheon seminar on "The Economic Outlook for 1968" sponsored by Butcher & Sherrerd.

INFLATION PSYCHOSIS

Rinfret said the Federal Administration has beet hit by an "inflation psychosis," caused by tight money supply, and rising prices and wages. "A tax increase will do nothing to alleviate any of these things and in fact will aggravate them," he said.

It was Rinfret's contention that the proposed tax boost would cut into both corporate profits and workingman's wages causing a new round of price and wage boosts. This, he claimed, would stimulate inflation even more.

The consultant also predicted that even with the tax boost the Federal budget deficit could reach $20 billion in 1968 and $35 billion in 1969. "That's why I think Mr. (Rep. Wilbur) Mills (chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee) is right," he said. "If you give them more money, they're only going to spend it."

DECLINE PREDICTED

Gainsbrugh pegged 1968 as a year of "worrisome prosperity." He said there should be an overall rise in the Gross National Product but predicted an early spurt in the first half of the year would tail off in the second six months.

Among the reasons he cited for the second half decline were: first half steel accumulations in anticipation of a strike, the first half backlog of automobile orders, a "topping out" of defense expenditures, "tighter and costlier money," wage increases and the "typical waiting period" which surrounds a Presidential election.

Gainsbrugh said the year in general would see a "slackening of inflation" especially in the second half. But he also predicted higher taxes across the board, a tight labor market, "costlier money," and a narrower profit margins after taxes.

Rinfret characterized 1968 as "a very difficult year to make a dollar—I mean a profit dollar." And he warned "start now to watch out for 1969."

Mr. Speaker, it may be well to examine the burden of taxes on the American taxpayer in the context of the current discussions. The December 4, 1967, issue of the Wall Street Journal contained an appraisal of this trend as reflected in studies by the nonprofit Tax Foundation and the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York. There are several items of significant interest to note.

First, State-local tax revenue per capita increased by 79 percent in the 10-year period between 1957 and 1967, while the increase in Federal taxes was 54 percent.

Second, two-thirds of Federal tax revenues are paid by those whose incomes are between $5,000 and $25,000.

Third, while the largest portion of taxes goes to the support of the Military Establishment, the next largest outlay is for interest on the national debt.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these provoking studies to the careful attention of every Member:

The old saw about the certainty of taxes would seem to have a corollary: Those taxes usually rise. It was as recent as the fiscal year 1956 that taxes collected by all levels of government in the U.S. first exceeded $100 billion. In fiscal 1967, receipts broke through the $200 billion level. Measured on a per capita basis, since 1956 the tax bite has declined in only two years.

Now comes the growing likelihood of higher Social Security taxes, plus the strong drive the Administration will continue to make in next year's Congressional session for a 10% boost in income taxes. The effect of these and other possible actions on the Federal tax front could lead to an increase in the total tax bill at a yearly rate of $12 billion to 14 billion or more if the economy does not go into a nose dive. Deepening the gloom for taxpayers—and that includes nearly all of us—are the increasing warnings from officials of states and cities that they must seek increased revenues.

Thus it would seem a timely exercise to look at the overall tax picture. Some light is shed on the tax load Americans bear in studies by the nonprofit Tax Foundation and New York's Chase Manhattan Bank.

Last year, Chase reports, we paid some $213 billion in taxes and fees to all governmental units. That amount is equal to almost 29% of the gross national product. The Federal share of these collections amounted to about 19% of GNP. That's below the 20% to 23% paid in the United Kingdom, France and West Germany, but much more than Canada's 15.5% and Japan's 13%.

Over the long range, our tax burden has risen sharply. In 1939, the total tax "take" was equal to only 17% of GNP, compared with last year's 29%. In 1929 the figure was a mere 11%. Two world wars, many smaller conflicts, the Depression and growing public responsibility for social welfare among a rising population have fueled the increase.

Another way to look at the tax burden is to relate all tax receipts to total population and the number of families. The following table shows total Federal, state and local government tax receipts for selected fiscal years, ending June 30, and on a per capita and per family basis. Total taxes exclude government fees but include social insurance payments and business taxes; the Tax Foundation, which compiled the figures, assumes the burden of the corporate tax is shifted to individuals as a cost of doing business.

Year	Total taxes (billions)	Per capita	Per family
1956	$100	$600	$1,897
1960	127	709	2,264
1965	166	860	2,768
1967	207	1,048	3,385

While Uncle Sam remains king of the tax collectors—over two-thirds of total receipts in fiscal 1967—the tax receipts of the other 90,000 governmental units in the U.S. are rising considerably faster. State-local tax revenue per person rose by about 79% from 1957 to 1967, compared with the 54% climb in Federal taxes.

Moreover, hard-pressed states and localities find a growing proportion of their general revenues coming from taxes Washington has levied. Federal grants in aid last year accounted for 16% of state-local governments' general revenues, making Washington the third largest source of funds for these governments, ranking right after real estate and sales taxes.

The increasing tax appetite of nonfederal governments is shrinking the untapped sources for new revenues. Today, New Hampshire remains the only state without taxes on general sales, corporate or individual income (except from dividends and interest). Thirty-five states now tax individual income; 40, corporate income; 44, general sales. The lure of the levy on personal income has brought some 1,300 municipalities into that taxation area.

Though nearly everyone shares the tax load, the bulk of it is borne by individuals and families with yearly incomes between $5,000 and $25,000; they pay two-thirds of the Federal income tax alone.

If we "soaked the rich" or near-rich, couldn't we erase the expected towering Federal deficit without raising taxes generally?

Figures from the Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation show that a 100% tax—complete confiscation—on all taxable income in excess of $25,000 ($50,000 for joint returns) would produce a revenue gain of only $2.1 billion. Extending the 100% tax to all taxable income over $10,000 ($20,000 for joint returns) would net $31.2 billion. Those sums compare with a budget deficit of as much as $35 billion that's envisioned by President Johnson unless he gets the 10% tax surcharge.

Americans are well aware that the biggest chunk of their Federal taxes goes to maintain the military establishment. But it may surprise some that the next biggest tax outlay goes for interest on the national debt. A married man with two children who earns $10,000 a year pays $1,114 in Federal income taxes; $623 goes for defense, $117 for interest on the national debt.

Interest costs on the mounting national debt put severe upward pressure on taxes. These interest costs are estimated at $14 billion-plus for fiscal 1968, nearly double the cost in 1957. Adding to taxpayers' woe is the high cost of refinancing the $343 billion national debt. The Treasury now must pay the highest interest rates since the post-Civil War days.

Even without the Vietnam war, the cost of which has been rising from $100 milllon in fiscal 1965 to an estimated $25 billion-plus this fiscal year, the tax burden will remain heavy. Without the war, pressures for expanded domestic spending programs will be greater. The U.S. economy is a mighty machine for producing tax revenue; when healthy it generates an additional $10–$12 billion yearly, with no change in tax rates. But even if Federal revenue demands should slacken, chances are high that the public's appetite for improving the "quality" of living will keep the total tax bill moving upward in coming years.

Vast U.S. Construction Program Changing Face of South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I think it is comforting whenever responsible reporters detail evidence of progress in our program in Vietnam. Accordingly, I would call to the attention of the House the following article by Hanson W. Baldwin in the December 10, 1967, edition of the New York Times:

Vast U.S. Construction Program Changing Face of South Vietnam

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, December 9.—The men, women and children of Nuisap have lived for generations with rock dust in their nostrils and sledge hammers in their hands.

Next year Nuisap will get a rock crusher, an element in a $1.8-billion military construction program that has largely solved American supply problems, contributed materially to past victories and is fundamentally changing the economic and social structure of South Vietnam.

Nuisap, a village in Angiang Province, in the Mekong Delta about 17 miles west of Longxuyen, symbolizes the dramatic United States construction and supply achievements that have reversed the tide of war and are changing the face of a nation.

Rock was scarce in Vietnam until the United States troop build-up started two years ago, and it was quarried in archaic ways. The Mekong Delta, the economic heartland of South Vietnam, was particularly in need of rock for construction. The area is low and swampy and has only two small quarries, one at Nuisap and the other at Nuisam, near the Cambodian border.

CRUSHER TO CHANGE LIFE

For at least 85 years the people of Nuisap have been trying vainly to fill the delta's need for rock. Chipping away at the face of a hill of rock, one of the few such outcroppings in the low-lying land, with four-pound and eight-pound sledges—the lighter for the young, the old and the women, the heavier for the men—the peasants of Nuisap, their faces shielded from the hot sun by their conical straw hats, have been producing something like 20 tons of crushed rock a day. By May, thanks to the United States aid program, the rock crusher will be producing 200 tons an hour and life in Nuisap will be forever changed.

Nuisap symbolizes the impact upon South Vietnam of what is characterized here by the United States Navy, the supervising agency, as probably the most massive construction effort ever organized and put into the field in so short a time and the "largest military construction contract in history." It started on a large scale in 1965 and has passed its peak but is expected to continue for two years at a reduced rate.

COURSE OF WAR ALTERED

The construction program and the miracles of supply that accompanied it have altered the course of the war. They have transformed an undeveloped nation with an agrarian economy, few technical skills, one obsolescent port and a few airfields, into a country with six new deep-water ports, eight shallow draft ports, eight jet air bases with 12 new 10,000-foot runways and more than 80 auxiliary airfields. The program has also supplied hundreds of miles of new or upgraded roads, bridges by the hundreds, oil pipelines and tanks, storage and maintenance areas and cantonments and barracks for 325,000 men. The billets are to be increased to a capacity of about 607,000.

The communications, ports and airfields of South Vietnam were inadequate in 1965 to support a huge American war effort. Now the essential projects are finished and the supply base has been solidly established. The shortages of 1965 and 1966 have ended and the build-up in American troop strength which is to reach 525,000 men by July, will be chiefly in combat troops, not support elements.

SOME SHORTAGES REMAIN

There are still some shortages—notably in spare parts for the Navy's river patrol boats in the Mekong Delta, generators, a few types of ammunition and helicopters, which are in extraordinary demand. But none of the shortages are serious.

The impact upon South Vietnam of this tremendous construction program and of the influx of almost half a million United States troops has, in the short run, been disruptive. Like the village of Nuisap, the nation has been wrenched violently from its ancient ways and thrust into modernity. But in addition to providing physical assets, the construction program has resulted in a degree of prosperity that many Vietnamese had never known. It has trained several hundred thousand Vietnamese in various trades and is—potentially, at least—providing the nation with the technical skills that may, in the long run, assure her future.

The construction program, accomplished through the joint efforts of many of the world's largest construction and engineering companies and Army, Navy and Air Force engineers, is a study in superlatives. Two of the world's largest dredges are in operation here. At peak of construction there were enough earth-moving and road-paving equipment and concrete and asphalt plants in the country to dig the Suez Canal in a year and a half and to surface the New Jersey Turnpike every 30 days.

The four principal contractors here—Raymond International of New York; Morrison-Knudsen of Boise, Idaho; Brown & Root of Houston and the J. A. Jones Construction Company of Charlotte, N.C.— have joined in a consortium, R.M.K.-B.R.J. Between March and September of this year it employed 51,000 people. With their major effort behind them and with more military construction units available, the contractors have reduced their work force gradually to 15,000 or 16,000, a level at which it is expected to remain.

SOME U.S. EMPLOYEES

About 13,000 to 14,000 of these employes are Vietnamese. The rest are Americans, Koreans and Filipinos.

The employment of civilians was dictated by the requirements of the war. When the President decided to employ ground troops in Vietnam, the ports, airfields and other facilities required to support them had to be established. President Johnson decided in 1965 not to mobilize, and there were not enough Army engineers or Navy "seabees" to undertake the construction, which would ordinarily have been their responsibility.

Contracts were let to the consortium through the United States Navy Facilities Engineering Comand, which acts as the Defense Department's construction agent in the Pacific and Southeast Asia; the work is being done at cost plus fixed fees. The arrangement has been costly but highly effective.

Twenty-three of the consortium's employes—seven Americans, seven Koreans, a Canadian, an Englishman and seven Vietnamese—have been killed by the Viet Cong, and 98 have been wounded. But the enemy's efforts to disrupt the program have been ineffective. New deep-water facilities at Newport, on the Longtau River in Saigon; Camranh Bay, which may become the first industrialized area of South Vietnam; Danang; Vungtau; Quinhon, and Vungro have been constructed for ships capable of handling a million tons of cargo a month. The shipping congestion that was experienced in 1965 and 1966 has ended, and turnaround time for ships is rapid. Sixteen dredges—the largest dredging fleet in history—have been assembled from the United States, the Philippines, Korea, Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong to deepen channels and provide berths for ocean-going ships. Deep-draft ships bring in 97 per cent of the supplies that keep the United States forces going.

Airlift capacity has increased by 150 per cent since 1965, and scarce items are now supplied by a modern version of the Red Ball Express of World War II. The C-130 transport, the workhouse of the war in Vietnam, could land at 22 South Vietnamese airfields when the build-up started. Now it can land at 68.

Some 70 to 80 per cent of the construction program so far approved has been finished. The new United States Embassy in Saigon and "Pentagon East," the new United States military headquarters, have been in use for some months. A supply depot and headquarters stretches across hundreds of acres of former jungle and rice paddy at Longbinh. From Cuaviet, Hue and Danang in the north to Baclieu in the south about 1,500 projects have been completed in whole or in part. About 80 per cent of the construction work has been done by R.M.K.-B.R.J. The rest has been done by military construction units.

MILITARY TAKING OVER

The military units, which have slowly increased in number over the last two years, are taking over more and more construction work, particularly in combat zones. There are about 20,000 Army engineers, exclusive of those in combat divisions, in 26 battalions in South Vietnam. There are 8,000 sailors in 11 naval construction battalions and 2,500 airmen in five engineering squadrons.

The construction program in the future will probably be concentrated between Danang and the demilitarized zone to supply roads, ports, communications facilities, air strips and the famous barrier to hamper enemy infiltration. There is also expected to be more work in the delta and more road building throughout the country.

"Most of the hard-core facilities are now available," one expert said. "The ports are finished, except for dispersed small facilities for barge loading and unloading. But from here on, it is not gravy. There are still cantonments to be built, storage and ammunition facilities and the replacement of metal runaways."

CONSTRUCTION TO CONTINUE

Construction in Vietnam will probably continue in some form or another as long as United States troops are here and long after combat has ended. But the major projects are finished and the supply problem has largely been solved. The construction program has "satisfied the requirements of the tactical commander."

Big Brother Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Ohio, Representative JACKSON E. BETTS, has been carrying on a very worthwhile crusade for many months seeking to preserve the privacy of the individual against intrusion by the Federal bureaucracy. I have joined my colleague in support of legislation to limit the mandatory questions of the decennial census. I hope Congress will taken action on this matter early in the second session.

On two occasions the Muskegon Chronicle of Muskegon, Mich., has written editorially on the proposed questionnaire, and I include the two editorials at this point:

CENSUS BUREAU READYING 1970's "BIG BROTHER" ACT

U.S. Census questionnaires are growing at a rate proportionate to the unremitting thrust of government bureaucracy into the private affairs and concerns of the individual. This time the Census Bureau has gone too far.

The purpose of the census, as established back in 1790, is to find out how many people of what age and sex live where in the United States, thus providing the information necessary to decide on the basis of population how many seats in the House of Representatives shall go to each state.

That is the way it started. But over the years this function was expanded, most notably after the Bureau was made a part of the Department of Commerce in 1903, and particularly during the period starting with the 1940 census, to operate as a collection agency for data of all kinds on the background of every citizen in the country.

With each decennial enumeration the questionnaires have been expanded to include new columns of questions to pile up information which someone wants, but which has absolutely nothing to do with the original function of the census, and is totally unnecessary to Congress in reapportioning the House.

Unless Congress takes up the cudgel currently being wielded in a lonely fight by Ohio's Republican Rep. Jackson E. Betts, the public will be getting a bulky 20-page questionnaire digging into more than 60 different subjects with a dizzying array of questions, subquestions, sections, subsections and squares and circles for alternative answers.

We are sure the initial reaction of many will be "they must be kidding." They aren't. If you don't get to work and answer the lot of them you can go to jail.

Rep. Betts has proposed that the number of questions be limited to seven instead of close to 70, and that they include only name, address, relationship to the head of household, sex, date of birth, race or color, marital status, and visitors in the home at time of the census.

We concede the pertinence of these questions. The other 60 should be placed, as Rep. Betts suggests, on a separate list with answers to them made entirely voluntary.

There is conceivable local government interest in determining such items as place of work, means of transportation to work, type of sewage disposal and so on, but they have no place on a federal census questionnaire.

There can be no justification whatever for such questions as whether you share your shower, how you enter your home, whether you have a flush toilet or a deep freeze, whether you prefer a shower or a bathtub, what your native tongue is, country of birth of parents, do you have a dishwasher, clothes dryer, how much money did you make last year, and so endlessly on.

This is all material which can be of assistance to private research organizations, manufacturers and marketing concerns seeking potential markets by checking up on living standards and patterns in various areas of the country, to advertising agencies and other businesses and interests in the private sector.

There is no reason to force people under penalty of law to answer questions such as these. Private enterprise can and should handle its own surveys without the need for this kind of federal subsidization; and the same is true of units of local government.

The extraneous questions are an invasion of privacy, pure and simple, and the public should be left free to decide whether it will or will not furnish answers to questions unrelated to the purpose of a decennial head count.

The public has already been forced to surrender too much of its privacy, and we sincerely hope Rep. Betts has the strength to persevere in his fight to preserve constitutional rights.

Congress has the power to decide on content of the census questionnaires, but in the past has exercised very little supervision. It is high time that it did, and we suggest very serious consideration of the proposal that the questions be winnowed to reasonable proportions; that the answers to a maximum of seven be made mandatory, and that the answers to all other questions be voluntary.

OPPOSITION RISING TO INVASION OF PRIVACY IN THE 1970 CENSUS

We commented earlier at some length about the unwarranted invasion of individual privacy contemplated by the Bureau of the Census in preparing a 20-page questionnaire as informational base for the decennial census in 1970.

We said that the proposed census questionnaire was not only needlessly expensive but that the questions asked—all of which must be answered under penalty of law—went far beyond the original purpose of a census, which was to make the headcount required to decide on the basis of population how many seats in the House of Representatives shall go to each state.

This function was expanded over the years, and since 1940 the census has operated as a collection agency for data of all kinds on the background of every citizen in the country. At least three-quarters of the 60 questions in the proposed questionnaire are unrelated to the purpose of the head-count and an imposition on individual privacy. The public should be left free to decide whether it will or will not answer these questions.

In short, we don't like it; and neither, we are encouraged to note, does Republican Rep. Guy Vanderjagt, 9th District, whose Nov. 20 office newsletter described the census "booklet" as a monstrosity.

"Some questions," he said, "are very similar to those asked by the Internal Revenue Service. For example question 34a concerning individuals asks, 'How much was earned in 1966 in wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, or tips from all jobs?' Question 35 asks about income other than earnings such as interest, dividends, rental income, pensions, unemployment insurance, and so on.

"I am certain," he commended, "that most of us have answered similar questions at one time or another for private research firms, or for the Internal Revenue Service. But why should we be forced to do so under penalty of 60 days in jail and-or $100 fines for the census which has as its constitutional purpose the determination of population for apportioning membership in the House of Representatives of the United States?"

Why indeed?

Rep. Vander Jagt noted that the census has grown like "Topsy" both in size and cost, that Congress is responsible for its growth, and that he feels Congress now has the responsibility to "sharply curtail the curiosity of the Census Bureau so that both our pocketbooks and privacy are better protected."

We could not agree more. The public has already been forced to surrender too much of its privacy, and we sincerely hope Rep. Vander Jagt will press forcefully ahead in this fight to preserve constitutional rights.

Lyndhurst, N.J.: A Half Century of Existence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to have my colleagues learn about the town of Lyndhurst, how it gots its name, and of the churches of Lyndhurst, about the education in Lyndhurst, and some golden memories of one of our respected senior citizens.

In the past 50 years, Lyndhurst has made great strides forward in becoming a community of citizens who take great pride in its development. The past 50 years are but a stepping stone to greater endeavors. I am deeply grateful that I have the honor to represent these fine, upstanding people in these halls of Congress.

HOW LYNDHURST GOT ITS NAME

The search for the origin of Lyndhurst's name came finally to an end in recent days when the committee researching the township's history finally decided that the name was borrowed from another Lyndhurst—Lyndhurst, England—a beautiful little community of 2,500 that is the capital of the New Forest.

For many years it was believed that the name was a tribute to Lord Lyndhurst, the American-born baron of Lyndhurst, who thrice was chancellor of Great Britain.

This legend was given some substance in the fine history our onetime superintendent of schools, Reeves D. Batten wrote for the community.

Mr. Batten believed Lord Lyndhurst had been the guest of William Riggin Travers and other members of the Anglophile set that found the community such an advantageous watering place in the late 19th Century. In his honor the Lyndhurst Station of the Lackawanna Railroad had been named and from that station the township took its name.

Lord Lyndhurst was the son of John Singleton Copley, one of America's greatest painters. Copley, after whom Copley Square, Boston, is named, left for England just before the Revolution. It was his father-in-law who owned the tea that was dumped into Boston Harbor and which precipitated the Revolution.

The obvious fact is Lyndhurst, England, was a renowned holidaying spot for the wealthy. It had colorful Gothic buildings, great expanses of trees, streams meandering through the meadows—and a race-track.

How much the sloping wooded grounds of the New Jersey estate must have in those days resembled Lyndhurst, England, can be imagined.

There is another clue. In Tarrytown, overlooking the Hudson, the Paulding family in 1838 built a Gothic mansion which was called Paulding's Manor. In 1865 George Merritt, a merchant who made his fortune building springs for railroad cars, purchased the estate and had it expanded. He called it Lyndhurst. At first the spelling was Lyndehurst. Later it became Lyndhurst, apparently after the mistake had been caught.

It was in the period of the great Gothic revival in England. One of the sturdiest examples of Gothic was in Lyndhurst, England.

Merritt borrowed the name for his estate from the little English hamlet. Jay Gould, the financial wizard and reprobate, acquired Tarrytown's Lyndhurst in 1880—about the same time Travers was acquiring his New Jersey estate. Like Gould, Travers was familiar with England and English society, like Gould, Travers was active in the Wall Street money market and like Gould, Travers, liked the name of Lyndhurst.

Thus, the name!

CHURCHES

(By Amy Divine)

WESTMINISTER UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The history of Westminister Presbyterian Church dates back to a Sunday School begun in 1878 by the Misses Furman and Muchmore with classes meeting in homes. By 1879, families met in the Kingsland Station of the DL&W Railroad, with the master mechanic of the Kingsland shops as church school superintendent, and Drew Seminary students furnishing ministerial services. The population of the town was between 150 and 200 and church members entertained the students from Friday through Sunday. No trolleys ran on Sundays and the only compensation for the ministers was carfare and food.

The congregation purchased the old Lincoln School building when the new school was erected in 1889. Charles Garland, former mayor and loyal supporter of Westminster, negotiated the purchase at $600. Reeves D. Batten, for many years Lyndhurst High School principal, was the first Clerk of Session.

The old Methodist church at Ridge Road and New Jersey Avenue was used from 1914 until 1949 when the Westminster Board of Trustees purchased property at the present site, at Ridge Road and Page Avenue, where a red brick Colonial style church was constructed and dedicated June 4, 1950. A manse wing was added in May, 1954.

The church has carried on a full program of religious and social service through the years. The Rev. Robert J. Engelke, left in January to form a new Presbyterian Church in the Park Ridge area of the Presbytery of the Palisades, with the cooperation of the Board of National Missions, since a call for a new church was made by about 35 families. With the merger May 28, 1958 of the national boards of the Presbyterian Church in the USA and the United Presbyterian Church, Westminster and Reed Memorial are part of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

ST. THOMAS' EPISCOPAL CHURCH

St. Thomas' Episcopal Church began as a mission under the direction of Grace Church, Rutherford, in 1887. Services were held in a room of the DL&W Railroad until fire destroyed the room and an edifice was erected at Lake Avenue in June, 1889. In June of 1912 property was purchased at Stuyvesant and Forest Avenues, and the church flourished under the 20-year pastorate of the Rev. Franklin G. Faber, who resigned in early 1939. Under his successor, the Rev. Rowland F. Nye, the building was refurbished but grew too small for the congregation and under the leadership of the Vestry, and guided by former Mayor John C. Garde, whose father also had served the church for many years, the present beautiful modern structure was erected and dedicated in September of 1958, the former building now serving as a parish hall. The present Rector is the Rev. Harry W. Hansen, who began his pastorate April 12, 1964.

LYNDHURST METHODIST CHURCH

The Methodist Church was first recognized by the Newark Conference in 1890 when a Drew Seminary student was appointed to preach to a small group of Methodists in the upper room of the old Lackawanna Railroad depot near the present Kingsland station.

In 1891 a church was organized and meeting in a church building at Ridge Road and New Jersey Avenue. The church was named Kingsland Methodist Episcopal Church.

Grass roots of the church reach back to 1873 when a group of young women started a Sunday School which met in a home at the corner of Page Avenue and Meadow Road.

In 1913 the Board decided to move to Tontine and Stuyvesant Avenues, its present location, and sold its former building to the Westminster Presbyterian Church. On December 6, 1914, the present building was dedicated and has contributed much spiritual wealth to the community through the years. The Rev. Robert Olyn Bryant is carrying forward the church's program.

ST. MICHAEL'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

St. Michael's R.C. Church began about 1900 when the 50 families which had traveled to Passaic or Harrison for religious services decided they might form a church in their own town. In February 1912 incorporation of a local church was approved and land purchased on the corner of Ridge Road and Page Avenue. A house and barn on the land were used as the Rectory and Parochial Hall. The Rectory served as church for 196 parishioners and the first Mass was said here in 1912. Since the land was bought with $500 donated by the 15-year-old St. Michael's Club whose leaders were Frank Lewandowski 'and Anthony Mileski, the church was appropriately named St. Michael's R.C. Church.

In 1915 a sanctuary was constructed mostly by the parishioners' labor. By the 40's the membership had grown to 500 families and in 1962 St. Michael's celebrated its Golden Jubilee by dedicating its 650-seat, $500,000 tan brick building next to the old structure which is now used for a school.

The Rev. Ladislaus J. Wilczewski now leads the congregation.

MOUNT CARMEL CHURCH

Mount Carmel Church, situated on Copeland Avenue was founded in 1901 with a few families worshipping under the ministrations of a priest from Kearny. When Sacred Heart Church was founded, it took Mount Carmel Chapel under its wing. The membership has expanded to 900 families and on July 16, 1966 Mount Carmel Church became an independent Church and the Rev. Patrick F. X. Fitzpatrick its spiritual leader. Plans are underway for a new structure in the near future.

SACRED HEART ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Sacred Heart R.C. Church started as a mission, with the first Mass celebrated Easter Sunday 1902 by the Rev. Father Peter Catalano, of East Newark, in Herman Froelich's store on Freeman Street, when the town was still called Kingsland. The first church building was opened Christmas Day 1905. It was destroyed by fire on September 12, 1912. Services were held in a newly-opened church "October 12, 1918, with one attending because of a severe influenza epidemic."

The modern edifice at Ridge Road and New Jersey Avenue was completed in 1936. Sacred Heart Grammer School, Lyndhurst's largest has an enrollment of 1108. The staff is well-known for its work with youth. Father Thomas J. McDermott served from 1910 until succeeded by Father Bernard Moore in 1943. He was elevated to Monsignor in 1959. The late Monsignor Cornelius Boyle well-known and popular, was interim pastor during the period before the appointment of Father Moore. In 1965 Monsignor Henry G. J. Beck was appointed leader of the parish of 13,500.

ST. MATTHEWS EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

St. Matthews Evangelical Lutheran Church began Sunday, September 25, 1910 with a German service held in the Methodist Church. The Rev. O. Hansen of East Rutherford conducted the service, and served the flock until 1912, with meetings in Odd Fellows Hall.

On January 12th, 1913 a reorganization meeting was held and in January of 1917 a committee was appointed to select and purchase a site for a church building. By November, 1917, a resident pastor was deemed necessary for the congregation from Lyndhurst and North Arlington. In January 1918 incorporation proceedings were instituted and in April of 1919 six lots were purchased on the corner of Valley Brook Avenue and Travers Place. February 29, 1920 a basement chapel was dedicated. The Rev. George Muller, newly graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., and his bride arrived in Lyndhurst and the pastor was installed on July 10, 1921. After 45 years of continuous service to St. Matthews, the Mullers left the manse, pastor Muller retiring in 1966 after serving his entire pastorate here, but not until he had encouraged his people to build the attractive red brick church which was completed and dedicated November 6, 1927.

REED MEMORIAL UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Though dating back to May 17, 1841 when its original Board of Trustees was elected and the church known as Third Associate Presbyterian Church of (Charles Street) New York, Reed Memorial Church began in Lyndhurst in 1915 with services in a store at 294 Stuyvesant Avenue. On May 20, 1915 trustees were authorized to use the proceeds of the sale of the Charles Street Church to purchase property for a church building on Stuyvesant Avenue. The present structure was built by William J. Burke for $8000 on the site, which cost $3000. The cornerstone was laid in September, 1915 and the church named The United Presbyterian Church of Lyndhurst. Dr. Reed, who had served the New York Church, had moved to Lyndhurst with his family and was asked to preach for the 31 church members. On Easter Sunday, 1916 he preached his last sermon, due to failing health. In 1922 the church was incorporated under the laws of the state as Reed Memorial United Presbyterian Church.

The church has prospered and today stands as a bulwark in the community. The Rev. David L. Barrett was recently called to the pulpit.

LYNDHURST HEBREW CENTER

The Lyndhurst Hebrew Center stems from the efforts of Samuel Glick, (late father of Dr. Bernard Glick and Mrs. Edythe Glick Jacobs,) who came to Kingsland in 1878, became a successful merchant and followed his religion even though he had to walk to Passaic and back every Friday night to services in the nearest synagogue. By 1910 enough Jewish families were in the town so they could attend services in Rutherford. The services were held in Ruckstuhl Hall, above the Wells Fargo office in Sylvan Street. In September 20, 1926, the Lyndhurst Hebrew Association was formed and services were held regularly in homes of members. In December 1933 a building at 268 Stuyvesant Avenue was purchased which was soon outgrown. The members started a building fund and in 1947 the present beautiful yellow brick Temple on Valley Brook Avenue was dedicated. The spiritual leader is Rabbi David S. Barbalatt.

Little Red School House and On

A North Belleville school district running from approximately the Schuyler home near the Belleville Turnpike to East Rutherford had been created. On January 9, 1804, Jacob Van Winkle gave to the trustees of the school district the property on which the River Road School stands at the corner of Fern Avenue.

The first school to be built in this section was built on the ground now occupied by the River Road school. The original deed conveying this land for school purposes only was dated 1804 and a school building was erected that year. The land was donated and the money to put up the building was raised by subscription.

This building was used until 1849 when it was torn down and a two story frame building with cupola and bell was erected on the same ground. Only the lower floor was used until 1873 when a demand for more school room induced the trustees to engage another teacher and equip the upstairs room. This two story building was used until 1893 when it was torn down and the present River Road school building was erected, on the same ground. For the past 145 years this ground has been used for school purposes and three buildings have stood on the same spot.

The next school building to be erected in this township was built on New Jersey Ave. about 100 yards east of Ridge Road. This was a one story frame building and erected in 1880. It was used for school for eight years and afterward sold and used as a church.

The first section of four rooms of the Lincoln School at the corner of Ridge Road and Valley Brook Ave. was built in 1888. The next section of four rooms was added in 1899. The last section of twelve rooms was added in 1910.

The Franklin School on Stuyvesant Ave. was built in 1907 and the Washington School on Ridge Road in 1913. The Jefferson School and the Columbus Schools were both built in 1917. The Roosevelt School at the corner of Stuyvesant Ave. and Kingsland Ave. was built in 1922 and the High School in 1926.

Mr. R. L. Kline was Principal of the schools in this Township in 1887 and 1888. He was followed by Mr. Charles P. Banks who came here in September 1888 at a salary of $800.00. The Township had four teachers at that time including the principal. Mr. Graham came here as Principal of the schools in September 1891. The Township had five teachers at that time. Mr. Graham stayed four years and was followed by Mr. R. L. Powell in 1895.

Lyndhurst was the first district in Bergen County to employ a supervising Principal. In 1895 Mr. R. L. Powell was given an informal approval by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction as Supervising Principal of the Union Township schools and held that office for ten years.

The Township had eight teachers at that time and Mr. Powell was made first Supervising Principal. He was here ten years. In September 1905 Mr. R. D. Batten was made Supervising Principal. The Township had ten teachers at that time, besides the Supervising Principal with only nine class rooms and 450 pupils. Mr. Batten was Supervising Principal of the Township schools for twenty-eight years and retired in June 1933. Before he retired there were 166 teachers in the schools and 4500 pupils. Mr. Homer P. Shepherd became Supervising Principal in September 1933 and retired in June 1948. Mr. Edmund Burke was appointed Supervising Principal effective July 1, 1948 and served until his untimely sudden death June 13, 1950.

Then Edwin Olson became superintendent of schools. Eight years later Eli A. Kane, the present superintendent, was appointed.

The principals of the high school who followed Mr. Batten have been William Land, Dr. Waller, Edmund Burke, Edwin Olson, Eli A. Kane, John MacLean. Present principal, Joseph A. Polito, began to serve this school year 1966–67. He is a graduate of the high school.

Many students who were graduated from the high school have become successful in a variety of activities and professions.

Among the earliest graduates are Mrs. Charles W. Christ (nee Edna Woertz) the first woman to become president of the Board of Education; John C. Garde, Commissioner (1949) and mayor (1961); William F. Gallagher, first to be elected commissioner (1941) and first to become mayor (1955); Arthur O'Connor, realtor in North Arlington; Carmine Savino, former Assemblyman, successful lawyer and an owner of the Commercial-Leader; William Staehle, president of the National Community Bank; Joseph Stellato, a councilman in Orange; John C. Woods, prominent attorney; and his cousin, William J. Woods, Judge of the Passaic County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court.

Lyndhurst High School graduates have made their marks in every field of endeavor.

One of them, Frank Gerard (class of '39), World War II and Korean War ace, now New Jersey commissioner of aviation.

Golden Memories

(By Christiana Boyer Latsha, "Dean of Lyndhurst Writers")

The Lyndhurst I first saw in 1912 would hardly be recognized as the same community today.

First of all, the area on which our Town Hall stands was a garbage dumping ground in those days. Periodically this garbage pile was set on fire and burned all day. I can still smell the various odors—odors one can never forget.

On the west side of Livingston Avenue and the railroad bank was a wooded area, with a small stream running along where Court Avenue is now. I picked huckleberries in that wooded area. During a coal strike men would come and cut trees to be used as fuel.

Commuters saw an almost daily interesting occurrence in this area. The man who lived in the house next to the present Girl Scout House would quickly finish his cup of breakfast coffee as the commuter train pulled into the station; he would then hurry out of the house, jump the little stream and hurry up the railroad bank on a path well marked by daily commuters, and catch the train just as it was pulling out of the station.

There were unpaved streets, dusty when dry and six inches of mud after a rain. It was well that we then wore high shoes (almost a curiosity today). Some streets had board-walks instead of flagstone or concrete walks, of which there were few in town. Between the sidewalk and the curb at 273 Livingston Avenue, there as a well with a pump. Folks came from blocks away to get pails of good water, even after water lines were provided for homes.

There were no street lights. People who really wanted to go out at night often carried lanterns. There were trolley cars that came north from Newark on Ridge Road to Valley Brook Avenue, then west to Stuyvesant Avenue and from there to Rutherford. The fare was 5 cents.

With many vacant lots in the community, I could walk from my home, then on Weart Avenue, to the Washington School, to do substitute teaching, going practically all the way on vacant lots.

Travers Place was then called Front Street. From there to the river were briars and other undergrowth.

The fire department was in a small building on the corner that Feldman Cleaners now occupies. The equipment was pulled by horses.

The tax office was in the old Odd Fellows Hall on Valley Brook Avenue, about halfway between Stuyvesant Avenue and Ridge Road.

The Westminster Presbyterian Church services were held in a former school building on New Jersey Avenue. Still earlier Sunday School and church services had been held in a room over the Lackawanna Kingsland Station. Sacred Heart Church was at that time a much smaller church building. The Methodist Church stood where the Reid Plumbing and Heating establishment now is located.

We could go on and on. Suffice this to give just a glimpse of what Lyndhurst was like 55 years ago. It is still a growing community, striving to become a better and better place in which to live.

We Are at War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Cooper Holt, past national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, delivered a splendid address at the banquet honoring National Commander Joseph Scerra in Greeley, Colo., on December 2.

I commend Commander Holt's outstanding and timely address to my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the Nation:

VFW Commander in Chief Banquet, Greeley, Colo., December 2, 1967

I am certain that all of you present here tonight witnessed via television the sickening, disgusting display of uncivilized paganism that was allowed to take place in our nation's capital on October 21st and 22nd under the guise of freedom of expression. The display still hangs like a pall over our National Capital.

The pictures that showed our outstanding servicemen—our young men who stand tall and with firm resolves in our nation's cause, having to clean up the filth and debris of those who invaded Washington to proclaim their disloyalty, was one of the most disturbing scenes I have ever witnessed. Like Vice President Humphrey said in a recent speech—why didn't the trash haulers—both literally and figuratively—have to clean up their own mess? Why didn't they have to wash down the walls of the Pentagon that they had smeared with the smut of some dirty phrases learned in public restrooms?

Some of the so-called liberal press eulogized the epoch that will live in infamy—as an expression of discontent over the war in

Viet-Nam . . . adding to it such high-sounding phrases as "militancy" and failing to recognize the source of this unpatriotic, unparalleled outpouring of opposition to our government and our way of life. I have heard some well-meaning individuals describe this conglomeration of soul-talkers and free-love advocates as the "angry young men." It is time that America—the men, women and children—who believe in this nation and who give it their full support—become angry themselves. We laughingly watched the long-haired rebels as they gathered in our parks and public places—puffing on their marihuana cigarettes, cavorting in free-love antics in their stupors—creating a new hell-on-earth for themselves. We watched them like a group of sightseers in a zoo, for they were indeed like animals without sense of direction other than to wallow in their own squalor. But while we stood by and took their movement as a big joke—they became serious—and what was worse, they were able to convince some of our young people that they had found a new way of life that was better than decency and morality—better than serving your country and loving that country that had provided them with the right to be whatever they wanted to be as long as they didn't hurt anyone else.

But they have now gone too far—they have indeed "hurt" other people by their persuasion—they have given determination to the enemy of this nation—Communist North Viet-Nam and the Viet Cong. They have provided the incentive to the Communists to hold on—to continue the war—these peaceniks—these hoodlums of the streets—these hippies and beatniks—have caused the deaths of thousands of American boys by their protests. They have caused the bloodshed—the wounding and maiming of tens of thousands of America's finest youth while they burn their draft cards and carry the flag of the enemy of this country in open defiance up the steps of the Pentagon.

The liberal press speaks of "Militancy." My friends—we who love this country, we who support those brave young men in Viet-Nam facing the shells of the Communist enemy—have reached the point where we must also become more militant than they.

There is only one consolation from the display that took place in our nation's capital. It was so pitiful—the people who ramrodded the affair so despicable—that they may have defeated their own cause. We may have seen the end to such protests, for the people were able to view at first hand the source of the so-called discontent.

No doubt there were some people present who were well-meaning, who truly felt that more should be done to seek peace in Viet-Nam—but also, no doubt they were sickened by the self-appointed leaders who wished to use them as pawns in their rebellion not only against the war, but against all standards of democracy and decency.

We are a nation of reason. We are a people who debate and who like to discuss every issue very thoroughly. But, at the same time, as Americans we never close our minds to the will of the majority. We, as a nation, can be persuaded by a few who have something to say. The minority is always heard in this country—it has always been that way, and I know you want to keep it that way. But once everyone has been heard—once the discussion has been completed and the decision made—then Americans have always rallied to the cause of right. Yes, my friends, this Republic—this Democracy—is *right* when as a nation it embarks on any policy that embodies the will of the majority.

While the Washington papers were smearing six-column pictures of the demonstrators across their front pages, hidden well inside one of the sub-sections of the paper was one of the most moving and dramatic stories of the day. Perhaps that is why I am not an editor, for to me that would have been front page material any day—regardless of—and probably definitely in spite of—the news being created by the dissenters. It was the story of Leon Underwood—a young American who lost his sight in the central highlands of Viet-Nam. Leon—who was highly disturbed by the radio accounts of the impending march on the Pentagon—called the newspaper saying that he would like to tell his side of the story. While he sat in the dark listening to these reports, he said it was the demonstrators who were really blind. To Leon the United States is clearly in the right in this conflict and he wishes all of his countrymen felt the same way.

Leon was blinded by a land mine ten days before he was supposed to come home, and lost the use of his left foot at the same time. He is not bitter—he regrets his disabilities as any human being would do, but he realizes that he has made a great sacrifice for his country. The story said he and his buddies in the 1st Air Cavalary used to talk about what they would do to the demonstrators when they got back. Leon told the newspaper—"I think there's a good 25 to 35 percent of the people who don't even know what they're protesting. As long as they are demonstrating, Ho Chi Minh thinks he has a chance of winning."

When I think of the courage of this Louisiana Air Force staff sergeant, and I look at the people who gathered in Washington to show their disrespect for this country, it makes me stop and wonder if I am doing everything I can to back up such bravery—such devotion—such love of this country.

There is only one place in America for "militancy." That is in behalf of this country—and in its laws. I don't care what your so-called protest is—there is no room, either at the top or at the bottom—for militancy. Militancy against your government is bordering on treason.

We are engaging in a war that may be more costly in lives than the Korean War when five-million young men answered the call to duty. It is truly a sad day in America when some young men will refuse to serve their nation—when they flaunt the flag of the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nam in public display—when the attempt to storm the steps of the Pentagon displaying this flag.

But this is a sobering action, that has caused all Americans to pause, and reflect on their own actions. We have become a nation of people who do not wish to "become involved." Whether it is the people of New York who close their windows so they will not hear the screams of a girl being assaulted in front of their homes, so that they will not become "involved," or whether it is taking a stand to back your government and speak out for the cause of freedom and right—we wish to tow the center line.

Recently I heard of a University Professor—who after pointing out the fact that there was to be a protestors' march in Washington and that it would be a good thing for his students to join in—made the statement that in reality he "took no stand" on the issue. A patriotic youth—who in that class was somewhat in the unfortunate position of being in the minority, had the guts to speak up and say that those who refused to commit themselves to this country were as much at fault as those who oppose our way of life and the decisions of this nation.

For too long, too many of us have straddled the fence. We didn't agree with the protestors whose loud, vehemenous voices were sounding out across the land, but we didn't raise our own voices to point out the truth.

A good example of this was the play that was given to the protest in Washington by all of the news media—but the fact that a patriotic group of Americans had called for all persons in this country to turn on their car lights during the daylight hours of Saturday and Sunday to proclaim their support for our fighting men in Viet-Nam, received only a perfunctory coverage. As a result—you could see only a few persons on the major highways whose lights were gleaming out their affirmation of faith in our fighting men. I cannot believe that everyone "got the word"—but then—perhaps it was all part of the pattern that it was "somebody else's war"—that we just didn't want to get involved.

My friends—we *are* involved. It is your *country* that is at war—it is your sons and the sons of our friends and neighbors who are being killed—who are being wounded—who are defending freedom and fighting militant Communist aggression. A free nation has been invaded—invaded by forces armed and equipped with weapons from the Communist bloc. We have declared that aggression is a deterent to world peace, and that America is for peace for *all men*.

You are involved whether you want to be or not. It is your country that must be protected—your armed services that must be equipped. *Your freedom that is at* stake. I don't want to sound like the robot in the television program "Lost in Space" but it is time that someone sound the alarm—that we recognize the problem, and that we respond to the alert that is being sounded.

Yes, I call for your full involvement. I ask that words and actions now take the place of non-involvement—of the part of the pacifist. The alert button was pressed when we marched into Viet-Nam—but perhaps the sound has been deadened by the voice of protestors.

Perhaps the alert signal was muted by the voices of men in high places who disagreed and bickered—yes, even within the halls of the Senate of the United States. It is time that the people speak out—that they let their Congressmen and their Senators know that they back our men in Viet-Nam—that they back the man in the White House on his policy in Viet-Nam. I do not mean that you must agree with the political aspirations of any single party in this country. I do not mean that because the man in the White House is a Democrat and President Johnson, that you owe *him* allegiance. I mean that as President of this country he is the man responsible for the welfare and security of this nation. As our President he demands the respect of every single American.

Did you hear—or did you read—of the remarks of some of the speakers at the Lincoln Memorial during the Washington demonstration as they singled out our President by name for an attack? Did it make you sick at your stomach that an American would—out of the realm of politics—make such statement about our President.

I am not concerned with the individual—nor with politics. I am concerned that America has elected a President to lead them and in this cause there should be no question on the integrity and loyalty of the President. To cast such reflections on the leader of this country is without precedent.

There is no point in trying to assess the blame for such a condition. It is only important that we rectify it. It is important that we assume the role that was proclaimed for each of us when we were born and inherited the mantle of citizen of this great country.

The United States will win the war in Viet-Nam. We are committed, and our young men will bear the burden of battle. We will expend the necessary money that it takes to accomplish this, and we will call upon our people for their support. In this determination you can play a big role. You can help win the battle of words here at home. You can show that you support our heroes who carry your fight in your name.

A nation that does not honor its heroes is a nation of shame. It is a nation without cause, and will suffer defeat. We have many heroes these days—every single young man involved in the bloody mess that is the war in Vietnam. We owe them our support—our loyalty—we owe them our words of support and our actions that proclaim our loyalty to the cause for which they are offering their lives.

As citizens your influence will be felt throughout the land. Your elected representatives will cease their haranguing which brings comfort to the enemy, if you raise up in your own protest against such moves.

It is the time for protest—it is the time for protest against those who would destroy our America—those who would seek the defeat of our gallant young servicemen.

With you rests the responsibility of rallying to the cause of liberty and freedom. One man sounded the alarm as Paul Revere rode through the countryside—but many people responded to the call. One man kept a scraggly bunch of patriots together on that wintery night when the Delaware was crossed—one man replied "Hell No" when told to surrender in Germany during World War II—but thousands backed up his words. Today, our President has sounded the alarm—he has asked our young men to defeat communist agression that the world may be free and live in peace—and one man has said "Hell No" to a bunch of peaceniks who defiled our National Capital.—but now it is up to us. We must take up the responsibilities that are ours. We must launch out a campaign of our own—a campaign of protest against those who would defeat our national goals and a campaign of support for those who would protect our freedoms.

Cast off any mantle of silience—any mantle of indifference—any mantle that would shroud you in nonenvolvement. You must accept that duty that is cours—or that shroud can become permanent silence and non-involvement as the world sits back and awaits the yoke of Communism.

A Republic or Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the stampede to keep in step with public opinion and group popularity oftentimes can be destructive of truth and fact.

We are overly critical of the Communist propaganda for mass hypnosis of their peoples through use of slogans, guided thought control, and emotional brainwashing.

Yet look at our society—the cause and solution can well be traced in a few short paragraphs so ably put by N. S. Meese in his editorial for February of 1967 in the New Age magazine for Freemasons and freethinkers.

I include this article following my remarks.

THIS IS A REPUBLIC

Regardless of weightiest evidence to the contrary, almost every day we hear the form of government under which we live characterized as that of a "democracy." This is a misnomer. Nowhere in our Constitution does the word "democracy" appear and in only once of the *Federalist Papers* (No. 10 by James Madison) does it occur and only for the purpose of setting forth its disadvantages and pitfalls. Our Constitution clearly states that we are given "a Republican form of government" and that is precisely what the venerable Benjamin Franklin described it as being at the close of the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787.

An insistent and increasing use of the term "democracy" to describe the character of the government of the Republic established on this continent 180 years ago has been the cause of confusion in virtually every aspect of our political life. Its occurrence undefined in all our news media has without question helped to prevent many people from understanding what is meant by "the American way of life." Precise statements of the most important differences between a democracy and a republic are hence in order.

In November 1928, the United States War Department issued through the Government Printing Office its *Training Manual No. 2000–25* prepared under the direction of the Chief of Staff who was then Major General Charles P. Summerall, the later Grand Treasurer General of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States. In that book were clear and concise statements illustrating the fundamental differences between the two forms of government. A few years later the *Training Manual* was withdrawn from sale and from use, no explanation having apparently ever been forthcoming. The descriptive definitions used for the instruction of service men, but which are now no longer employed, were divided into several simple statements, as follows:

"*Democracy:*

"A government of the masses.

"Authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of 'direct' expression.

"Results in mobocracy.

"Attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights.

"Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences.

"Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy.

"Republic: Authority is derived through the election by the people of public officials best fitted to represent them.

"Attitude toward property is respect for laws and individual rights, and a sensible economic procedure.

"Attitude toward law is the administration of justice in accord with fixed principles and established evidence, with a strict regard to consequences.

"A greater number of citizens and extent of territory may be brought within its compass.

"Avoids the dangerous extreme of either tyranny or mobocracy.

"Results in statesmanship, liberty, reason, justice, contentment, and progress."

As has been pointed out frequently by political philosophers, "democracy is the 'direct' rule of the people and has been repeatedly tried without success." The discarded manual further stated that:

"Our Constitutional fathers, familiar with the strength and weakness of both autocracy and democracy, with fixed principles definitely in mind, defined a representative republican form of government. They 'made' a very marked distinction between a republic and a democracy . . . and said repeatedly and emphatically that they had founded a republic."

To apply the term "democracy" to the United States is misleading and clearly indicates ignorance of our political institutions or perhaps its misuse by intention. The remedy for much of the present confusion both here and elsewhere seems to lie in having a clear conception of the essential differences between the two and the fundamental principles underlying each. Only in such basic knowledge can present trends be understood, their evil effects countered, and freedom preserved. Without it, as Wilhelm Roepke observed a few years ago, "We may live to see once more confirmed a great truth of human history; that suicide, not murder, is the normal form of death of a cultural system. It is not the strength of the barbarians but the moral and intellectual weakness of the civilized that is usually their undoing."

During the past three decades no effort has been spared to subvert the original intent of the Founding Fathers to establish a government of laws rather than of men with all its attendant evils. If our freedoms as secured to us by our basic law are to be preserved to ourselves and our posterity as indicated in the Preamble we would do well to see and understand what is being attempted by those who distort and prostitute the English language and the meaning of its words.

It is later than many of us think.

N. S. MEESE.

The Candidacy of Senator Eugene J. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following WMAL editorial broadcast aired during the week of December 3, 1967, which, to my mind, asks fundamental questions regarding the candidacy of Senator EUGENE MCCARTHY. I, as do many of my constituents and colleagues, will remain uneasy until the answers to these essential questions are elicited.

The editorial broadcast follows:

SENATOR MCCARTHY AND THE PRESIDENCY

(Broadcast during the week of December 3, 1967)

Senator Eugene McCarthy says his presidential candidacy will offer alternatives to present Administration polices on Vietnam. But the Minnesota Senator offered no specific alternative solutions as he announced his candidacy. His statement was a simple recital of well-known and disturbing facts about the cost of the war in terms of lives and money. Finally, in the last paragraph, Senator McCarthy added vaguely that he is "not for peace at any price, but for an honorable, rational, political solution to this war."

If Senator McCarthy is not for peace at any price, what *is* his price? The voters must insist on knowing. Can Senator McCarthy even tell us how to get the Communists to the negotiating table? President Johnson has said over and over that, if the Communists would only negotiate, we could seek an "honorable, rational, political solution to this war."

Senator McCarthy's opening presidential gambit was, unfortunately, not a choice, but an echo. His statement was an echo of frustrated discontent.

Appendix

Success in Samoa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 6, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Congressman FRANK T. BOW, ranking minority member of the House Committee on Appropriations, recently commented on the activities of H. Rex Lee, a native of Idaho and a former resident of my congressional district.

The tribute made by Congressman Bow is well deserved, and I join with Mr. Bow and others in recognizing the outstanding achievements attained and the devoted services provided by Rex Lee. I respectfully include Mr. Bow's comments, as follows:

WASHINGTON.—Downstairs the House was debating the foreign aid appropriations bill, with member after member denouncing and criticizing what must be the least popular government activity. In my Capitol office on the floor above I was visiting with a man who may be able to change all of that, if anyone can.

H. Rex Lee went to American Samoa as its governor in 1961 with instructions to make ready for the first meeting on American soil of the Southern Pacific Commission. He thought he would be in Pago Pago one year. His job was to build an auditorium, a hotel and generally clean up what the Reader's Digest six weeks before had called "America's Shame of the South Seas."

He stayed six years and before he left there was another Digest article entitled "America's Showplace of the South Seas."

I had know Rex Lee as the able Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and had confidence in him, as did other members of our Appropriations Committee, when he came to us six years ago for emergency appropriations to tackle not only the preparation for the conference but the educational and other problems of the islands.

He outlined for us an educational television system he had designed which would permit a few highly skilled teachers to give instruction in every classroom via TV, to be followed by study under the native teachers, most of whom were eighth graders. We gave him the money. Textbooks and study plans were developed. The system is a tremendous success today. Most of the islanders now speak English. Every family benefits from the TV system.

Lee built a 9,000-foot air strip and the finest hotel in the South Seas. He insisted that the Samoans participate. They formed a development corporation, including virtually every family. They own and operate the hotel, a new canning plant, a public works compound, all sharing in the profit. A second hotel is planned as tourism develops.

Under Lee's guidance the powers of the governor have been gradually transferred to an elected legislature. Electricity has been extended throughout the territory, new roads constructed and a medical facility built that is among the most modern in the world.

Through it all he insisted that we keep Samoa for the Samoans, preserving the best of their culture while they developed new ideas.

Lee has now been appointed assistant administrator of AID, our foreign aid agency. It seems almost impossible to correct all of the deficiencies of that program, but if anyone can do it, I think it may be H. Rex Lee.

South Vietnam's Independence and World Security Are Interdependent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that some of the critics of administration policy in Vietnam have been so shortsighted that they cannot see the interdependence of South Vietnamese freedom and the security of the free world.

The following editorial from the December 4, 1967, edition of the National Observer pinpoints one of the unfortunate claims to omniscience on this issue. I commend the editorial to the attention of our colleagues:

WHO PULLED A SWITCH?

Robert Kennedy is merely the latest critic of Administration policy to raise the charge. But what he has said deserves special rebuttal—first, because he has a devoted following, and second, because he should know better than anyone that the charge is false.

The New York senator stated in a television interview last week that the Johnson Administration has shifted this country's goals in Vietnam. The shift, as Mr. Kennedy sees it, is from a mission of helping the South Vietnamese to settle their own fate, free from outside interference, to one of protecting American strategic interests. The senator sees this switch as changing "our whole moral position" in the Vietnam War.

The allegation simple-mindedly implies that the Vietnam War is the first in history with more than one goal. It implies, also, that there is some great contradiction between the two goals—self-determination for South Vietnam and protection of American interests. More to the point, throughout the long history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, both goals have been stated. Senator Kennedy's late brother spoke often of helping the Vietnamese settle their own destiny, but he also spoke often of Vietnam's importance to world security.

"China is so large," said President Kennedy shortly before his death, "looms so high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists."

Robert Kennedy was surely familiar with his brother's views. He stated in the TV interview that he participated in policy decisions on Vietnam. He has a right to pull a switch of his own and regret those decisions. He has no right to pull another switch and pretend that the Johnson Administration has invented a new, and less "moral," goal for America in Vietnam.

Text of Sermon at Spellman Funeral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on December 7, 1967, I attended the solemn funeral rites at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City for our beloved Francis Cardinal Spellman. This was the first requiem conducted for a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church completely in English according to the new rites of the liturgy. Nine cardinals and nearly 100 Roman Catholic bishops took part in the ceremonies. In attendance were some 42 non-Catholic religious leaders who were given positions of honor, and a special canopied throne was set aside for Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in this hemisphere.

Among the public figures who were also in attendance were President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, Senators JACOB K. JAVITS, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John V. Lindsay, and numerous others. Mr. Speaker, this gives testament to the vivid impression and indelible mark which Cardinal Spellman left on his time and his fellow man.

My good friend and the former President of Fordham University, the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon of the Society of Jesus, who is also a biographer of the cardinal, delivered a stirring eulogy which I have received permission to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 8, 1967]

TEXT OF THE SERMON AT SPELLMAN FUNERAL

If the afflicted Job were here in the sanctuary today and cried out from his place, "But man, when he shall be dead and stripped and consumed, I pray you, where is he?" our answer would have to be, "That all depends." If he referred to a man like the one who lies in state before us now, surrounded by every mark of human honor and love, we could only say "He is not with us any more. He has gone home."

Is he "stripped and consumed?" Well, he has taken nothing with him but the free acts of a long life. But is he dead? Not really. After 78 wonderful years among us, he is now one of the just souls mentioned in the Book of Wisdom who are "in the hand of God, and the torment of death shall not touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die . . . but they are at peace."

The Apostolic Delegate representing the person of the Holy Father is here with cardinals, archbishops and bishops from every part of the Union, with prelates and priests and religious men and women to mourn the loss of a Christlike Catholic churchman. Leaders of the armed forces, Army, Navy, and Air Force, with chaplains of every rank and of every religion have come to honor one of their own.

A TRUE ECUMENIST

They are joined by clergy of the Orthodox, Protestant and Jewish faiths who are with us today to pray for the soul of a friend and a true ecumenist, while leaders from every other walk of life, are sitting side by side, with good old John Q. Citizen who has brought his wife along and all their children. That is what it means to be all things to all men.

In life our Cardinal Archbishop did not look like the great man that he was. Toward the end he seemed to be getting smaller and his little steps were beginning to falter. He was never a great scholar, or a great orator or a great writer either—though the royalties from his books that went to his many charities, were equalled by few of our greatest geniuses. He spent his life doing things—doing things for God, for his Country and his neighbor, doing things that only a great man could do. Nothing could hold him back.

As a young priest, he was handed the circulation department of the Boston Pilot. It was meant as a modest appointment but in a short time he knew more about the diocese than anybody in the Chancery. In Rome, he was given charge of the playground that the Knights of Columbus were sponsoring, another modest appointment. But before anyone realized what was happening, he was indispensable to the Vatican Secretariate of State.

As a young Bishop he found himself giving full time to the Sacrament of Confirmation but in seven years he was Archbishop of New York. There was no one closer to Pope Pius XII and Franklin D. Roosevelt always called him "my favorite bishop." No wonder then that it was he who introduced the two men at a Hyde Park luncheon.

When questions arose that involved the appointment of the President's representative at the Vatican, the Apostolic Delegate found him very helpful and when the bombing of Monte Cassino and later Rome itself came into the planning of the Italian campaign, the grief-stricken Pope turned to the Archbishop of New York.

As Vicar of the armed forces, he traveled all over the world taking care of delicate situations, dealing with everybody who was making history at the time—generals, kings, prime ministers and patriarchs—and some people think that all this taken together with the titles, decorations, honors and degrees that were showered on him constituted his greatness.

ONLY PART OF PICTURE

It was part of the picture of course, but not the principal part. Neither was the impressive material progress of his great archdiocese. If you would know the details of what has been done in these 28 years compare the Catholic Directory of 1939 with that of 1967—the increase of parishes, churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, and homes; the growth of Catholic Charities and the social apostolates among the poor, the sick and the aged; the development of the Military Ordinariate—where shall we stop? The statistics are incredible but they too are only part of the picture. After all, great corporations can be expanded by men who are not great themselves. The whole picture must include his unusual personality.

One little trait that always impressed his devoted secretaries was the fact that he never tried to impress anyone—even the most exalted. He was always himself with his little side remarks and a Boston accent that he never lost even when he spoke Italian. When he went to Rome for the Great Consistory and was made a Prince of the Church, he could have been forgiven for being just a little bit self-conscious but he went about for all the world, as if someone else were being honored.

PRESENTATION OF THE HAT

After the principal ceremony was over, his party retired to the villa on the Janiculum where the American College was to be built later on. There they waited for the emissary from the Vatican who came for the formal presentation of the great red hat and tassels. It looked enormous on the silver tray when extended with a bow by the Master of the Robes and an ordinary prelate would have tried for just a moment to look like Richelieu.

Cardinal Spellman grinned at the Monsignor who was as grave as a judge and asked: "What shall I do now? Just take it?" And everyone relaxed.

This revealed once more a quality that made it possible for him to be everyone's equal and letters home from the servicemen who met him at the front glowed with their appreciation of the fact. Sludging along one day in the rain, he met a corporal who wanted to go to confession so without a word they both went under the tail of a cart for absolution and a good long talk.

Another day on one of his many hospital visits, he stopped to cheer up one of the younger casualties. The boy felt sure that Cardinal Archbishops must have plenty of free time on their consecrated hands so he gave him the folk's address and asked that he write to them and say that their Joe was doing just fine.

It happened that the Vicar of the Armed Forces was just that kind of a Cardinal Archbishop. He took down the address and wrote a nice personal letter to the anxious mother in Kansas. Doing so gave him such a glow of human satisfaction that he ended by writing to more than 10,000 mothers before the war was over.

When he signed the letters he could always feel the presence of his own mother looking over his shoulder. Like most of us priests, he was very close to his mother—to his whole family, in fact.

As the eldest, he took an early responsibility for his two brothers and two sisters and when his parents died he was the main source of their remarkable unity. All their holidays were spent together and it was amusing to see how a Cardinal Archbishop could be teased and contradicted in the family circle. It was more than amusing. It was revealing.

Add to this the kind of friends and enemies he made and the outlines of greatness become more clear. Not everyone liked him or agreed with him. In spite of a disarming simplicity of manner he was a very complex and very positive character, the wrong man to cross when he decided that he was right and you were not.

CRITICISM INEVITABLE

As the years rolled on he mellowed wonderfully and could smile at recent attacks that would have meant a bitter controversy earlier in his life. Criticism of a man in his position was inevitable. He found himself as so many do in these disintegrating times, between two warring factions—one holding that everything new is bad and the other just the opposite, that nothing old can be trusted. No one who keeps to the golden mean can please them all.

Here was a conservative liberal—as liberal as the Roman Catholic Church and as conservative. Here was a man who was always ready to adopt at once every approved step in the agiornamento—every approved step. But today strange passions are aroused when a man who has reached the age of discretion shows any honor to the accumulated wisdom of the past.

What always made criticism easier to take was the legion of friends who had been drawn to him over the years and never changed their minds. These were not only Popes like Pius XI and Pius XII and good Pope John who entertained him during the war, and Paul VI who visited him here in this Cathedral; not only Cardinals like Borgongini-Duca, Lauri, Gasparri and the Patriarch of Lisbon but friends that he made in college who remained close friends till they died and fellow seminarians who loved to get together with him for vacation and, in one sense, most important of all, the men who worked, as he would say, not under him but with him in the Archdiocese and Military Ordinariate.

FOND MEMORIES

No one is expected to be a hero to his secretary but if you knew them all, all who served him in the last hectic 28 years you would find everyone of them devoted to their Cardinal.

They will remember him relaxed at a quiet supper when much of the next day's work was decided on or nervous at big ceremonies, or amused at the babies in the Foundling Hospital, or alert at consultors' meetings and philosophic under attack.

But they will never forget the early mornings when they stood beside him assisting at the sacrifice of the mass. He offered it with such care, simplicity and devotion. They will always remember him first and foremost as a faithful and devoted priest.

In the sight of the unwise he seemed to die but he is at peace. At peace.

War's Worst Massacre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the American public, sadly enough, has become accustomed to hearing of Communist atrocities in South Vietnam. But, last week in a small village called Dak Son, the worst civilian massacre of the war took place and was reported to our shocked Nation. The Savannah Morning News and Savannah Evening Press, Savannah, Ga., published an editorial on December 10, which, I believe, sums up the sentiments of the majority of Americans. The editorial follows:

WAR'S WORST MASSACRE

The worst massacre of the Vietnam war occurred last week at the hamlet of Dak Son when the Viet Cong swarmed onto the village with flame throwers and mortars and killed 121 persons, most of them women and children.

More than 24 hours elapsed before an actual count of the dead could be obtained. First reports indicated the death toll was substantial. Then subsequent reports dropped the number of dead down to about 7 or 8. Finally, the figure arrived at was 121. Another 47 persons required hospital treatment, most of them suffering from severe burns. Still others were reported missing.

This was not the first time the world had learned of an atrocity at the hands of the Communist enemy. But it was the worst example.

Neither was this the first time that this nation has heard a deafening silence from the

American protesters of the war following an atrocity against innocent women and children by the enemy.

There were war protests being conducted at the same time the reports of the Dak Son massacre were being compiled. Some were in New York, some in Philadelphia and some on college campuses.

The bleeding hearts were not protesting an outrage against civilization by the enemy, however. Instead, they were trying to prevent inductees from entering Selective Service centers and to stop volunteers from entering recruiting offices.

Ironically, one of the campus protests was aimed at the presence of job recruiters from a chemical company that manufacturers, among other things, napalm.

No one cried out, however, against the enemy's use of flame throwers against civilians, whose only "crime" apparently was their refusal to furnish recruits from their village to the Viet Cong.

We see a peculiar similarity between the action of the enemy and the action of the protestors in America. The Viet Cong could not obtain recruits, so they burned and shelled innocent women and children. The protestors, angered by the fact that Americans are being inducted or volunteering for the war against the Communists, attempted to block the inductions.

It strikes us as peculiar that protests made in the name of peace are directed only at our side—and by our own people. It is peculiar that the United States always is the "heavy" in this grim drama and the enemy always is the "patsy."

A flimsy argument advanced by those who hold to this kind of thinking might be that if we weren't there (in Vietnam), the Viet Cong would have no reason to raid villages, and kill women and children—there would be no war.

To that argument, we say "come again." Why were we invited to help South Vietnam, if not for the Communist attempt to enslave that nation? And does anything justify a Dak Son massacre?

On this page we have reprinted a wirephoto from Dak Son, showing a child bandaged because of the burns it suffered during the Viet Cong attack.

The picture of the child illustrates how terroristic our enemy is. That picture alone cries out for protest—against atrocity.

We protest loudly!

There Is No Place Like Home for the Holidays—Especially When Home Is Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Pennsylvania Department of Commerce in cooperation with the 100,000 Pennsylvanians sponsored a program titled "Come Back to Pennsylvania." This program which was launched a year ago and aimed at former Pennsylvanians has succeeded in bringing back to the Keystone State the first 100 ex-Pennsylvanians, all of whom have found permanent employment.

The following news release issued by Clifford L. Jones, secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, reveals the details of the come back to Pennsylvania program:

HARRISBURG, PA., December 6, 1967.—"There's no place like home for the Holidays"—especially when home is Pennsylvania, and this year one hundred ex-Pennsylvania families will be coming home for the holidays. Not just to visit as in years gone by but to return home for good. This figure represents the first one hundred ex-Pennsylvanians placed in new jobs under the "Come Back to Pennsylvania" program which began one year ago.

The program was sponsored by the "100,000 Pennsylvanians" and the Department of Commerce. Employment contacts were made through the Bureau of Employment Security. The first one hundred individuals are officially on record as coming back, the Bureau of Employment Security estimates that at least another one hundred persons found employment through private sources during the campaign.

The 100 families represent a new annual earned income to the state's economy that is just short of $700,000. The overall economic effect goes much deeper that the annual earned income, for this means either the rental or purchase of living accommodations, purchase of new cars, furniture and many other items necessary for establishing residency in a new location.

The ex-Pennsylvanians returned to Pennsylvania from such places as Brooklyn, New York; Irvington, New Jersey; North Kinstown, Rhode Island; Charleston, West Virginia; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Winchester, Virginia; Feeding Hills, Massachusetts; Canton, Ohio; Pueblo, Colorado; Laurel, Maryland; Long Prairie, Minnesota; Whiting, Indiana; Limestone, Maine; San Francisco, California; Creve Coeur, Missouri; Seneca, South Carolina; Rockport, Texas; Jackson Heights, New York; Starkville, Mississippi; St. Petersburg, Florida; Highland Park, New Jersey; Midway Park, North Carolina; Huntsville, Alabama; Paducah, Kentucky; and Glendale, California. To mention a few of the areas that the first one hundred ex-Pennsylvanians left for their journey back to their native state.

Sixteen of the one hundred returned to their native Scranton-Wilkes-Barre area for such positions as machine operator, plant engineer, general clerk office work, a hotel manager and electronic mechanic. They will work for such corporations as Bendix Corporation, Tobyhanna Army Depot, American Can and International Correspondence School.

From the Harrisburg area fourteen returned to positions of drill press operator, a Town Engineer in Hanover, a die designer in Lebanon and a claim adjuster for the Nationwide Insurance Company in Harrisburg.

In the Altoona-Johnstown-State College area seventeen ex-Pennsylvanians returned with their families to such positions as Die Cast Machine Operator, a steel burner, a heavy truck operator, a Medical Lab. Assistant and several Systems Analysts & Programmers.

A chemist, fund raiser, salesman, mining machine mechanic, and a welder made up some of the fourteen ex-Pennsylvanians that returned to the Pittsburgh-Beaver Falls-New Castle area to go to work for such names as Koppers Company, Calgon, University of Pittsburgh, Consolidated Coal Company, and the Pittsburgh Bridge & Iron Company.

At Brownsville, a technical writer returned, while in Greensburg an Electronic Technician, Central Office Installer and a Stenographer returned to their native area to raise their families.

In the Erie-Meadville-Bradford area eleven ex-Pennsylvanians returned to such positions as Petroleum Engineer, Receiving Clerk, and Loan Manager.

The only area in Pennsylvania where relatively few people have returned is in the Philadelphia district and the counties surrounding that area. To date only eight individuals have been placed in that five county region of Pennsylvania.

A Spanish teacher at the York Catholic High School, and an Instructor of Math & Physics at the Industrial Management Institute of Reading, Inc. and an Industrial Arts Teacher in the Carlisle School District have returned to Pennsylvania under the "Come Back to Pennsylvania" program.

The Sunbury-Williamsport area gained four ex-Pennsylvanians, two from New Jersey, one from New Mexico and one from Massachusetts under the program. One is a machinist, the other a Chemical Supervisor, the third a Product Designer, and the fourth a Textile Weaver.

At present there are still 1,230 ex-Pennsylvanians who would like to come back to their native state. This represents the number of active applications that are presently being processed by the Bureau of Employment Security.

Under the present program, monthly lists are issued by the Bureau of Employment Security to some 10,000 Pennsylvania business, industry, professional and educational organizations. The lists are coded giving a brief resume of the applicants occupational information. Anyone receiving the coded lists may ask for the full information on an applicant by contacting the Bureau of Employment Security.

The Department of Commerce projects that fifty more families will join in the great return "for the Holidays" on a permanent basis during the next thirty days.

All About Snow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Joppatowne Journal, edited by William Young, is a lively and informative weekly newspaper serving the communities of Joppatowne and Rumsey Island in Harford County. The Journal recently published an interesting front-page essay on snow which I would like to share with my colleagues through the pages of the RECORD:

ALL ABOUT SNOW

Next time you admire a delicate snowflake, give a thought to how it was formed. Snow results when water vapor in the atmosphere freezes and forms crystals around a central core, such as a particle of dust. A snowflake can be composed of one or a cluster of hundreds of crystals. The designs are branched and usually six-sided, although some with three sides have been recorded.

"White as snow" is a misstatement, explain researchers at Allied Chemical Company, for snow is never realy white. It's usually colorless or offwhite; the reflection of light makes the crystals seem white.

Red, green, and even black snow has been known to fall—a phenomenon caused by fungi or dust particles around which the snowflakes have formed.

Snowflakes may seem light as they float in the air, but a tightly packed pail of snow can weigh as much as 50 pounds. And while you may agree that snow can be a poetic, inspiring sight, it often creates a nuisance in choking driveways and walks and ties up traffic on busy city streets.

An unusual early apparatus meant to solve this problem was patented by a New York City man in 1869. It separated a mass of snow into flakes and then melted them. Today, however, there's a quick, easy way to melt snow and ice. Solvay calcium chloride melts snow and ice even at temperatures of 40 below zero, and does the job seven times faster than rock salt! The chemical, locally available in 25-pound bags, dissolves snow and ice on store front, driveway, path or doorstep. Many communities also make their streets and highways safer in winter by using calcium chloride in bulk form, often mixed with rock salt, at a cost of only pennies per pound.

The town that probably could have put calcium chloride to best use was Silver Lake, Colorado, which holds the record for the most snow in one day—76 inches, back in 1921! The heaviest annual snowfall in history was 1,000 inches at Paradise Ranger Station at Mt. Rainier, in Washington.

Legislative Assessment, First Session, 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, my December newsletter contains an assessment of what was accomplished in the first session of the 90th Congress measured against the primary goal we in the minority set for ourselves last year.

Under unanimous consent, I insert it in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

A more detailed legislative wrap-up will be contained in my final report upon adjournment of Congress.

The newsletter referred to above follows:

DECEMBER 13, 1967.

DEAR FRIENDS: This Christmas Season will once again be a happy one for the millions of Americans who feared that the true meaning of Christmas was drifting away from us. Last year, we thought we had won once and for all one skirmish in the battle of putting Christ back into Christmas through issuance by the Post Office Department of a "true" Christmas stamp.

Earlier this year, the battle was renewed, in the form of a court action brought by the organization, "Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State," which sought to prevent the Post Office Department from issuing the stamp pictured at right.

The courts were urged by me and others interested in this matter to dismiss the suit as irrelevant to the question of separation of church and state. The entire Laird family, my staff and I were delighted that the stamp was once again issued this year and hope that all of you will have a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Some criticism has been directed at my efforts to bring about issuance of a "true" Christmas stamp. As I told the Postmaster General in a letter three years ago, "If a national holiday were set aside to commemorate Moses or John Calvin or Mohammed, one would expect and would have no objection to a commemorative stamp that appropriately symbolized that which is being commemorated."

It is hard to believe that Congress is still in Session. At long last, however, we appear to be winding up our business for this year. Unlike the last Congress, we made substantial progress in changing the nature of some major programs in order to create a better framework within which to better the conditions in our society.

During the Christmas Season last year, I reported that two party government had been restored as a result of the elections. My prediction at that time was that this would create a "better chance for a true dialogue, a true discussion and debate among reasonable men about the problems that face our country and the programs that will best resolve those problems."

My reports to you during that period indicated that our top priority goal in this First Session of the 90th Congress would be to do everything possible in moving toward the establishment of a broad system of revenue-sharing with the states and localities in this country.

With President Johnson's opposition to the program and with his Party still in control of both Houses of the Congress, we were unsuccessful in bringing about action on a broad revenue-sharing program.

We were, however, highly successful in moving much closer to the revenue-sharing principle by successfully changing several categorical grant-in-aid programs into the more effective bloc grant approach.

For example, the President's Anti-crime legislation would have established several new categorical grant programs requiring each local law enforcement agency to get approval from the Attorney General for funds under these programs. The Minority Party succeeded in changing this program into one that follows the bloc grant device which provides maximum state and local control over law enforcement with a minimum of federal interference.

The same principle of bloc grants was applied to the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act through successful efforts by the Minority on the House Floor. We were also partially successful in returning significant portions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to state control and planning which means that those portions of the act will work more effectively in providing better education for all our children.

In the area of Health legislation, the same kind of success was achieved. We were able to expand substantially the Comprehensive Health Act which had consolidated 16 separately administered public health programs into a single bloc grant.

There are more than 400 separate categorical grant programs presently administered by the federal government, each with its own administrator here in Washington. There is almost universal agreement that this represents too many programs chasing too many goals with too few dollars.

The best solution to the many domestic problems we face in America today lies in the revenue-sharing approach. Under such a program we would return greater control and more revenue sources to our hard-pressed state and local government where the real problem-solvers are.

But until revenue-sharing itself can become a reality, the more programs we can consolidate into bloc grants, the better off our entire nation will be.

One of the most memorable experiences of this First Session for me was participation in the Laird Youth Leadership Workshop at Wisconsin State University at Stevens Point. Pictured on this page are the student representatives from three of the 64 high schools in our Congressional District who took part in the workshop.

Below is an excerpt from the letter I received from Major General Richard Stilwell, one of the six outstanding faculty members who accepted my invitation to participate in the Workshop. It is an indication of the fine impression our young people in the 7th Congressional District made on the outstanding national leaders who came to Stevens Point to participate in Education Day, 1967.

"You told me in advance that it would be an unforgettable experience—and you were absolutely right. The delegates—front runners all—were mighty impressive for their maturity, intellectual depth, appearance and citizenship. These attributes are not haphazardly acquired and thus your teachers, churches, social institutions and, above all, the Moms and Dads who are your constituents deserve much credit."

Best regards.

MEL LAIRD.

Dr. Glenn Seaborg Dedicates Variable Cyclotron at Texas A. & M. University—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, herewith the conclusion of Dr. Seaborg's remarks upon the dedication of the cyclotron at Texas A. & M. University:

The largest contract between the Commission and Texas A. and M. has been for this accelerator. However, the project would not have been possible without considerable local initiative and investment. The Robert A. Welch Foundation, which, as I indicated, has done a magnificent job in advancing chemical research and education in Texas in the last decade, supplied $1 million to the project, and the University obtained $2 million of State money—thus making up with local funds half the capital cost of the Cyclotron Institute. An additional $3 million was provided by the Commission, which is also supplying over $500,000 for this current year for operation of the Institute. I believe this illustrates that the government is really putting into effect the policy started with the 1960 recommendation of the Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee, of supporting the development of new centers of excellence where promise is shown and can be demonstrated.

Behind this project is a story of daring, imagination and determination—a story that shoud warm the heart of any Texan. The project originated primarily with the administrative leadership of the University, notably with my good friend Vice-President Andrew D. Suttle, Jr., a scientist-turned-administrator, and with the vigorous backing of President Rudder and the Board of Trustees. Another prime mover, early in the project, was Professor Charles F. Squire, associate dean of science and a member of the physics faculty. It is almost unprecedented for a concept of this kind to come from administrators rather than a scientific staff and still more unprecedented for a concept so generated to succeed; but then A. and M. had no accelerator science staff.

It was felt that the University's future as a center of excellence required inclusion of accelerator and nuclear science. Being Texans, the group wanted to start at the top, and they wanted to do it quickly. Many factors, including cost and complexity, ruled out a large, high energy accelerator. What was needed was a machine that offered truly new frontiers of research, one which could easily be used by scientists in diverse fields, and one which could be constructed quickly and at relatively modest cost. Such an accelerator would attract able scientists and graduate students, and enhance the excellence of the University.

After some exploration, the group settled on an accelerator that would meet their need—a sector-focused cyclotron, a relatively new type that has unusual capabilities. An outstanding specimen is the 88-inch cyclotron at the University of California Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley. Now, Berkeley is the home of the cyclotron. The instrument was invented there by the late Ernest O. Lawrence, and the laboratory named in his honor has probably contributed more to accelerator development than any institution in the world. An 88-inch sector-focused cyclotron was completed there in 1962 after several years of development by outstanding accelerator physicists and engineers and with the support of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The 88-inch cyclotron is unrivaled in the diversity of its uses. Actually, it is many accelerators in one. Whereas the earlier cyclotrons accelerated particles to a fixed energy, in the sector-focused cyclotron the energy of the beam can be set at the desired level up to the top limit of the machine. For example, an experimenter can call for and get a beam of protons at any energy between 5 and 60 million electron volts. This property alone, the property of variable energy, greatly widens research horizons. In addition, a variety of nuclear particles can be accelerated—protons, deuterons, helium ions, and with adjustments, heavier particles. The beams of particles are very precise: they are focused into a pencil-point beam; and the particles striking a target all have the same energy (within very narrow limits), in contrast to the somewhat spread-out energy of conventional accelerators. The number of particles delivered to a target can be varied. In one recent experiment at Berkeley it was possible to deliver a single proton to a crystal target to determine the damage to the crystal. In other experiments, a deluge was delivered—a beam containing about 10^{15} (100 microamperes or 15 orders of magnitude greater) particles per second. The cyclotron at Berkeley is used in nuclear physics, nuclear chemistry, and solid state physics. Biologists use it to study tissue damage and to calibrate and test counter packages for space shots. The machine produces an exotic spectrum of radioactive isotopes at a level permitting diagnostic tests of 100 patients a year in Berkeley's Donner Laboratory. It is a continuing source of graduate thesis research, and it attracts visiting scientists from all over the world.

You would expect someone would say, "Those Texans must be out of their minds. They want to build the most complicated cyclotron in the world—and they don't have an accelerator man on the campus." Well, quite a few people did say something like that, including highly respected and able accelerator scientists.

President Rudder, Vice-President Suttle and Professor Squire faced a chicken or egg problem. On the one hand, they were told they had little chance to attract able accelerator people without an accelerator; on the other, that they couldn't build an accelerator without good accelerator people.

Fortunately, the country has a goodly supply of people with vision and the determination and talent to make their dreams a reality. Texas A. and M.'s plan was to build a near-copy of the Berkeley accelerator, with certain modifications suggested by experience, and to have it built by an experienced industrial firm. The Bechtel Corporation of San Francisco, as it turned out. This cut down on engineering costs and on the time and expert staffing that would be needed in a separate development. A member of the University staff was selected to become an accelerator engineer and an expert was brought here from the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. Royce Jones, from Oak Ridge, was appointed the initial chief engineer, and W. A. McFarlin, who had received a bachelor's degree here in nuclear engineering, which is rather remote from the accelerator field, served in a supporting role. McFarlin was sent to Berkeley for six months to learn the lore of cyclotrons. Jones made a significant contribution, and after he left it looked like Texas would have to look abroad for a replacement. But the Berkeley experts advised otherwise. Young McFarlin, despite his youth and somewhat brief experience, had so impressed the people at Berkeley that they recommended him. Mr. McFarlin rose to the challenge, as I have seen many young people with latent talent do in science and engineering. I am advised that a better performance could not have been expected from a man of long experience.

Meanwhile, Professor Squire had been given the very difficult task of recruiting accellerator scientists. It is not easy, I assure you, to get an able scientist, deeply immersed in work with excellent facilities, to pack his bag and head for an institution where there are no resources in his field. But there are always some who can share a good vision. And so it was in this case. One of the recruits was Dr. George Igo, of Berkeley, who made an important contribution to the project in its early stages, and then went on to other work. A prize catch was Dr. J. A. McIntyre, now Deputy Director and Associate Director for Research of the Cyclotron Institute. Dr. McIntyre, then doing research at the Heavy Ion Linear Accelerator at Yale, was inspired by the prospects. But he feared his skills would be eroded by isolation from research facilities for several years.

The problem was solved by the Oak Ridge Associated Universities, which offered to arrange for use of the accelerator facilities at ORNL and to provide him with transportation for periodic research visits. Dr. McIntyre's task was to develop a scientific staff and research program, and he has succeeded with distinction. In addition to Dr. McIntyre himself, the senior scientists here now include Dr. T. T. Sugihara, of Clark University, Dr. R. D. MacFarlane, who carried on outstanding research at the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley prior to his more recent association with McMaster University in Canada, Dr. L. C. Northcliffe, of Yale University, Dr. R. A. Kenefick, from the University of Michigan, and Dr. J. C. Hiebert, from the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. There are also six junior faculty staff members, two research scientists, and twelve graduate students.

In giving credit for the successful development of this accelerator, I am pleased to be reminded by the Institute staff here that I should mention the contribution of their colleagues at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley. Texas A. and M. obtained help initially from Dr. Elmer Kelly, the physicist in charge of the development of the Berkeley 88-inch cyclotron and now associate director of that laboratory. Subsequently, Dr. Bernard Harvey, in charge of the 88-inch cyclotron program, and his staff have given generous help in training Mr. McFarlin and in consulting liberally with the staff here. I am advised, too, that Berkeley has maintained a friendly equanimity even when College Station has hired some of its very good people, including one of their best cyclotorn operators, Mr. G. D. De Haven, as crew chief. Assistance to others, of course, is a characteristic of science, and the Berkeley laboratory has been a major resource to which many institutions have turned for help and advice in the accelerator field for over three decades. Incidentally, this spirit of helping others has already been adopted by the Cyclotron Institute. India, desiring to improve its research and teaching in the nuclear field, has chosen to build a cyclotron similar to yours and much in the same way, at the Tata Institute in Bombay. The Cyclotron Institute is providing training for two engineers and a nuclear physicist from India who will supervise the development of the Tata instrument, as well as other technical help.

I am advised by my associates in the Research Division of the AEC in Washington that the building housing the cyclotron is the best of its kind they have ever seen. The contractors were Lockwood, Andrews and Newman, Engineers, and Pierce and Pierce, Architects, both of Houston, Texas. I understand that during discussions of details of the building someone said in jest that it would be nice to have an electrical outlet every foot around the walls, the point being that there never seem to be enough outlets in accelerator buildings. Well, if you look around the experimental areas you will see electrical outlets at one-foot intervals! It looks like the accelerator scientist's heaven has arrived at College Station.

I am told that President Rudder was given a tour of the new facility after its completion. As he approached the heavy access door in the concrete shielding that surrounds the cyclotron, President Rudder recoiled in horror: the door was painted orange. President Rudder, desiring to exorcise this vestige of your chief rival, ordered the University of Texas color painted over forthwith. I have no idea why the order has not been carried out—whether it is because of the scientist's preoccupation with matters he thinks are important or whether it is a part of the general rebellion against college administrators.

At the present time, the cyclotron is in the shakedown period that is normal to bring a particle accelerator into operation. The staff is developing the internal beam, and I am assured that the machine has excellent performance qualities. Incidentally, this assurance comes not only from Texans. Knowing that Texans are seldom given to understatement, I have taken the precaution of consulting with unbiased California experts who have evaluated the accelerator's properties.

In the next few months, the staff anticipates excellent external beams of 50 million electron volt protons and deuterons, as well as 100 million electron volts helium ions. The auxiliary equipment, well-calculated to support pioneering research, will include an advanced ion optics system, and a data handling system. The forthcoming transfer of your IBM 7094 from your Data Processing Center to the cyclotron building for use in on-line experiments will make an important contribution to the research capability of the machine and is another illustration of the strength of your local commitment.

In connection with equipment, it is my pleasure now to announce that the Atomic Energy Commission has approved an award of $250,000 for the procurement of a magnetic spectograph for use with the cyclotron. With the addition of this device, an extensive program of high precision measurements in nuclear spectroscopy and nuclear reactions can be undertaken at the Cyclotron Institute.

Your able research staff already has planned a spectrum of experiments that promise to match the quality of the equipment at its disposal. The main areas of research initially planned are in nucleon-nucleon interactions, three body problems, nuclear spectroscopy, and nuclear chemistry. While I think it best not to try to discuss the meaning of this research in detail, I can assure you that, from my examination of the problems proposed, they are ambitious and scientifically exciting. You should have no difficulty in attracting able faculty, graduate students and visting scientists from other parts of the country and abroad in addition to those already here.

Moreover, I foresee that sicentists in other departments of the University and other institutions in the Southwest will find this versatile cyclotron invaluable in their research. I am advised, for example, that medical scientists in the M. D. Anderson Hospital in Houston are interested in exploring the potential of this cyclotron's high energy neutrons in the treatment of cancer. Availability of this facility will thus enrich other fields than physics and chemistry, and will contribute to the achievement of the goal of broad excellence in graduate work at this university.

In conclusion, I believe you have provided an example—a case history—that will be studied carefully by other "new universities" in the country that seek to achieve excellence in science and graduate education. Through your daring, imagintion and determination, you have accomplished what many have thought, with reason, was impossible. Here on the Texas plains you have assembled in a very short time a scientific staff and facility that can make Texas A. and M. a major center of learning in one of the most sophisticated and intriguing frontiers of science and advanced study. A vigorous and imaginative research and graduate program with this facility can expand the intellectual resources of the Southwest, give indirect support to future technological development in Texas, and make an important contribution to the nation.

I congratulate President Rudder, the Board of Trusteess, the staff of the Cyclotron Institute, and the citizens of Texas on a notable achievement, and wish you well in your program to make Texas A. and M. University a center of academic excellence in the fullest sense of the term.

President Establishes Nation's First Urban Development Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has asked a group of distinguished Americans to enter into an enterprise which affords great hope for the future of America's cities—the establishment of an Institute for Urban Development.

President Johnson has recognized that the Federal Government must look beyond the press of immediate concerns and present crises to the long-range urban requirements of America. This Institute will prepare blueprints for urban America as we face the challenges of the last quarter of the 20th century.

The Institute will be called upon by the President to make an objective study of our complex urban problems, coordinate the abilities of a variety of disciplines in the analysis of our urban requirements, and suggest programs to meet our urban needs.

The Urban Development Institute—first mentioned in the President's 1967 message on urban and rural poverty—will be the first on-going governmental organization to develop long-term strategies for metropolitan development.

The problems of our cities are manifold and multifaceted—traffic congestion, population explosion, environmental pollution, urban sprawl, ghetto frustration—but they can be solved if we devote our rich intellectual and economic resources to the great task.

The President's Urban Institute is testament to America's faith in herself—faith that we can solve the problems which we ourselves have created.

I wish the Institute for Urban Development great success, and I congratulate the President for pressing on with the unfinished business of America.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of Vietnam is one that we will address ourselves to every day and I am bringing to the attention of my colleagues, correspondence I have had with an old friend and supporter of the past. He is a good American and an honest man and I think our correspondence may be helpful in illustrating the difficulties this heartrending issue has for all of us:

Old Greenwich, Conn.,
October 21, 1967.

Hon. Donald Irwin,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Don: It is Saturday night and I have just finished listening to the 11 o'clock news about today's peace demonstrations in Washington.

I have no desire to excuse any non-peaceful actions on the part of the demonstrators—or on the part of governmental representatives. In the long run, as in the short, violence is no answer and leads only to more violence. Nor am I close enough to the events to be able to explore the possibility that the bringing in of troops to Washington might well have contributed to provoking violence.

What I would like to bring to your attention is my conviction that the increasingly rigid stance taken by the Administration on Vietnam is serving not only to heighten the despair and frustration on the part of those opposed to the present course, but also to lead to increasingly desperate measures among those opponents.

And I am beginning to wonder now whether you, too, have not also begun to close your ears—and your mind—to those who object to your unwavering support of Administration policy. I am thinking specifically of your attitude (expressed on the telephone interview over WSTC last Thursday) that you had explained your views often enough and that you did not want to take more of your constituents' time in going over them again.

When I typed the address above, I paused to note that I was addressing you at the House of Representatives and to remind myself that you are indeed a Representative. It is hard to know when you stop "representing" the people of Fairfield County (or at least those who agree with you) and when you begin—presumably on the basis of information that the average citizen does not possess, expressing your own point of view, regardless of what any of your constituents feel on this subject.

I can sympathize with the impatience you must feel on this vexing subject, but I would like to express the hope that you will try to keep your mind open, and, even more, your ears open to what is being said in the Fourth District. And perhaps you will start hearing some of what I am hearing everywhere here and come to the conclusion that all of this awful killing and awful dying is not, in the age of nuclear weapons, the only way of solving the problem of Vietnam.

Sincerely,

Pyke Johnson, Jr.

Defense—Vietnam

October 25, 1967.

Mr. Pyke Johnson, Jr.,
Old Greenwich, Conn.

Dear Pyke: Thank you for your letter of October 21, 1967, and I certainly appreciate the feelings that motivated you to write. It was a kind and thoughtful letter and I don't blame you for worrying about whether my mind is still open on the question of Vietnam.

In the simplest of terms, I don't even deserve to be a candidate for this office if I'm not willing to keep an open mind. While I don't blame you for not realizing it, I'd be willing to come and discuss this matter with you and your friends any weekend—with an open mind—only asking, of course, that you all should have an open mind.

While my remarks on WSTC might suggest impatience I am not impatient either. The only people I have ever worried about on this subject are those that don't think Vietnam is important. On that you and I are in agreement.

Sincerely,

Donald J. Irwin.

Old Greenwich, Conn.,
October 30, 1967.

Hon. Donald Irwin,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Don: I was glad to get your letter of October 25, stating that you were keeping an open mind on the Vietnam question and offering to come any weekend to discuss the whole porblem with me and my friends—providing, of course, that we, too, keep our minds open.

It gave me the chance to think over my whole views on the subject, and to realize that my mind is closed and will remain closed. I spent four years in the Navy in World War II—in a non-combatant job; and while I did not serve happily, I did serve with the realization that this was a war we did not start over a cause in which I could believe. Hiroshima changed all that, and I no longer believe in killing, whether the victims be North Vietnamese or South Vietnamese or Americans or Jews or Arabs or Cubans or Dominicans, or, indeed, anyone living anywhere in the world.

I teach a Sunday School class, and I have tried to get my students to grasp one point: when an American pilot drops a bomb or an American Marine fires a rifle to kill, the final blame does not go the pilot or the soldier, or to the officers who have commanded them, or to the Staffs in Washington, or to the President or to the Congress. The final blame, I feel, goes to us, the people who elected the President and the Congress, and it is finally up to us to see that the war is stopped, and if not now, certainly next November. My class is small and its members are not of voting age, and I realize my influence is small, but I do not intend to stop.

There has been so very much written about this war, and I have read much—too much—of it. Recently there has been Fulbright and Lippmann and the New York *Times,* and Gus Tyler in the *New Leader* for October 23 (you'll like this one; it castigates liberals for the "dangers of the 'Dump-Johnson's mhovement"); and, most recently, Richard Rovere's piece on why he wants out from Vietnam in the latest *New Yorker*.

But I now realize that there is only one piece of writing that I can listen to or be influenced by, and it is to be found in Exodus 20:13 and is only four words long: Thou shalt not kill. I have weighed every possible answer, political, economic, diplomatic, chauvinistic, or what have you, and I can find nothing that can contradict it. Nor can I imagine anything that you could say that would possibly change my mind.

So, yes, I do have a closed mind; and you are now free to write me off as a nut or a fool or a misguided sentimentalist. But if anything survives this period in which we are living, it will be these four words and not those who, for any reason, continue to wage war or to speak on its behalf.

Sincerely,

Pyke Johnson, Jr.

Report From Congressman Wydler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice since being a Member of Congress to report to my constituents. Recently I was able to make a mailing of my December issue report on the events in the 90th Congress. I believe this is of interest to my colleagues and the material in the report follows:

From Your Congressman John W. Wydler to the Fabulous Fourth Congressional District, December 1967

Bellerose, Bethpage, East Meadow, Elmont, Farmingdale, Floral Park, Franklin Square, Garden City, Garden City South, Lakeview, Levittown, Hempstead, New Hyde Park, North Bellmore, North Massapequa, North Merrick, North Valley Stream, Plainedge, Seaford, Stewart Manor, Uniondale, Wantagh, West Hempstead

A PERSONAL MESSAGE

As this edition of the "Fabulous Fourth Report" goes to press, the Congress of the United States is still in session. I can, therefore, give you no final report on the workings of the First Session of the 90th Congress. In the main, however, this has been a long, disappointing session. There was much opportunity to improve and make workable many of the bills passed in a rush in the last Congress. Instead, because of a lack of leadership in the Congress and because of a lack of coordination between the President and Congress, we had much talk but little constructive action.

The Congress is still an interesting place to be, and to see. If you intend to make a visit, please let my office know and we will make arrangements for you.

We are now in the midst of the celebrations of the Christmas seasons. I hope that you enjoy the holidays and that the New Year may find us all enjoying the blessings of peace.

Jack Wydler.

WYDLER SPEAKS ON TAXES

I believe, after long and careful study of the problem, that no increase in federal income tax is necessary or justified at this time. Instead, I believe that by cutting some of the wasteful programs now in effect, by slashing others and by reducing federal spending, the economy of the Nation can be strengthened and improved.

Recently the President asked the American people to write their Congressman to say they wanted a federal tax increase. The President indicated that the people should demand this.

I have news for the President. The people have been writing me about his tax increase ever since he proposed it. They are overwhelmingly opposed to it.

As a result of his request, I am receiving more letters every day opposing the tax increase.

The President appears to be out of touch with the sentiments of the people. There is a communications gap between the White House and the man on the street.

I have decided to send him copies of all the letters I have received to date on the question. He will see for himself that the people know about his tax increase and do not want it.

Additionally, I am asking the people of the Fabulous Fourth Congressional District to write the President and tell him they oppose his tax increase and that they wish him to cut federal spending instead. I believe he should be made aware of the sentiments of the people on such an important issue.

The President also appears to have confused prosperity and inflation. He recently bragged about our continuing national prosperity. He did not explain how a prosperous country could be running a national deficit of $30 billion a year. The "prosperity" he talks of is built on inflation and war-time spending.

If the prosperity is the result of inflation and we raise taxes to fight inflation, we would appear to be undermining the President's prosperity. In the fiscal quicksands of the Great Society the people appear to have been called upon to engage in a new war—this time a war on "prosperity."

TURNING THE TABLES ON TAXES

The President has asked the American people to write their Congressman and request a tax increase. He apparently does not know that I have received a great deal of mail on this subject against the tax increase. I would like to urge each and every one of my constituents in the Fabulous Fourth Congressional District to write the President and let him know how you feel on his proposed surtax. I think he should be kept informed of the feelings of the people.

Photo caption: Protecting Long Island Water: Congressman Wydler testifies at special hearings on future Long Island water needs and supply. Hearings were held in Fourth District on Long Island's special needs at Congressman's request.

WATER

The five year drought is ended as far as Long Island goes and, sadly, forgotten by most people.

When the rains came the water level rose, dry stream beds ran wet, restrictions on water use were abandoned and we began to forget.

But the drought will come again. We have proof of that from the past. Population is rising. Industry and its use of water is increasing. Some experts say we will begin to suffer from lack of water by 1980.

We can't afford to wait for dry faucets or polluted water. We must act now.

When the Army Corps of Engineers scheduled a water hearing in New York, I insisted that a separate one be held on Long Island. The problems of the two areas are vastly different. New York gets its water from rivers upstate. We get ours from underground wells.

The Corps reacted to my request and scheduled a hearing at Hofstra University on July 19. I led off the conference. About thirty persons spoke, most of them water experts, presenting some useful and interesting data and proposals. Some alarmed homeowners were there. The result has just been issued in an inch thick report, still under Army study.

Last Spring I insisted that any plan for a bridge or tunnel crossing Long Island Sound should include a gigantic water conduit with provisions for pumping stations. It may be that the least expensive water will eventually come from streams in parts of New England or even from Canada.

One thing is certain.

We must plan and act on a bi-county basis now. I have called for the formation of a Nassau-Suffolk Water Authority to take the necessary action. Such a regional board could preserve and protect our water supply.

ACTION TO SAVE THE WETLANDS

I was pleased to play a part in a victory for conservation.

Although the Nassau County Government attempted to fill in and destroy many acres of south shore wetlands, I was able to stop them and save a major portion.

This concerned an area near Seaford which the County wished to fill and use for a golf course. I persuaded General W. F. Cassidy, Commanding General of the Army Corps of Engineers, to intervene. The County's proposal would have destroyed almost all the wetlands in the Seaford sewer site area.

Finally, and reluctantly, the County altered its plans to save some wetlands. It was strange to see the County, which had advocated saving wetlands, plan for their destruction.

In any event, in spite of all the talk about preserving wetlands, the only wetlands saved to date are the acres rescued from the County of Nassau's dredges.

I have called for that saved area to be set aside so our Nassau schoolchildren can study marshes and wildlife in their natural state.

AIRPORT IN SOUND MAY BE THE ANSWER

Recent suggestions in the Long Island Daily Commercial Review, by the editor and publisher, Mr. Paul Townsend, merit a thorough investigation.

He suggests, as the site for the needed fourth metropolitan jet airport, the shoals area of Long Island Sound near Bridgeport. An area of several thousand acres could be filled in, as the water is very shallow in the area.

This would be in connection with a Sound bridge or tunnel between a spot somewhere near Bridgeport and a spot somewhere near Port Jefferson. I believe that the problems of jet noise would be almost nonexistent, as no homes or factories could be built anywhere nearby.

It seems to me that the ultimate decision should be a Federal one and that the costs of a survey of the practicality of such construction and its probable costs should be a Federal expense. There are Federal agencies equipped and financed to do this preliminary work.

I intend to take proper Congressional action and, at the same time, to call on Governor Rockefeller and Governor Dempsey of Connecticut for their cooperation.

If this idea proves to be feasible, then this multi-million dollar, sixteen year search for a fourth site could be ended. I might add that the construction time would not be greater than that for creating a vast airport on land. The result would combine solutions for transportation problems of Long Island in a unique and economical manner.

THE FABULOUS FOURTH SPEAKS OUT

The results of my 1967 Opinion Poll are now a part of the Congressional Record and other Congressmen are reading them with interest. Your opinions on Vietnam were especially illuminating.

You voted overwhelmingly to mount a strategically sound effort for military victory, rather than to continue the present course. Only a handful wanted to withdraw as soon as possible and relatively few want to hold key positions and negotiate a settlement.

The question of expanding trade with countries which supply North Vietnam brought a resounding "No." The inclusion of Red China in the United Nations was spurned.

Large majorities favored Federal sharing of funds with states; tax credits for parents with children in college; ending farm price supports and by far the largest majority favored a truth-in-lending bill. That figured out to 93% to 5%, with 2% undecided.

President Johnson's request for a surcharge on income taxes was snowed under, as I believe it should be.

Anyone wishing a complete copy of the results have only to write me and request them.

Photo caption: Safety First: Congressman Wydler examines new high visibility colors of Long Island Railroad gates with Frank Aikman, Jr., President of the Long Island Railroad. This material was installed as a test on Congressman Wydler's recommendation. Wydler is sponsoring legislation to have this done across the country.

THERE IS SAFETY IN MODERNIZATION

One of my recent proposals, which was incorporated into a bill in Congress, was that railroad crossing gates and warning signs at grade crossings be painted some high visibility color, one especially visible by automobile headlights.

Thousands of people die annually at these crossings, now protected by black and white signs and gates which go back to the horse-and-buggy era. More thousands are crippled and the property loss is tremendous.

Not all of these accidents can be avoided by painting the gates, but I believe they can be reduced.

The Long Island Railroad cooperated in a demonstration of the worth of the colored gates, and such cooperation is heartily appreciated. The National Association of Railroads is also working with me on this idea.

Photo caption: Levittown's Division A Senior Class Leaders discuss youth problems with Congressman Wydler. Jerome Zeldis, Michael Swarts and Brian Keenan presented a sheaf of new ideas.

FEDERAL COURTS COMING TO LONG ISLAND

Nassau and Suffolk counties have long needed Federal Court facilities nearby. The long trek to downtown Brooklyn, where parking facilities are at a premium, is not to be tolerated much longer.

At the request of Bar Associations in both counties and as the result of my own experience as a member of the Federal Courts Committee of the Nassau County Bar Association, I introduced a bill calling for a Federal Court for the island. The bill puts in concrete form proposals I made seven years ago, before I was elected to Congress.

Preparations are now being made for Federal Courts to sit on the Island. It will be a happy day for litigants, for witnesses and for attorneys when it finally comes to pass, and I am doing all I can do hurry that date. Happily, once again, our Fabulous Fourth Congressional District, in the heart of Long Island, will be the location of the new facilities.

HOW YOU CAN SUPPORT OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM

Veterans' posts and other organizations, and even some individuals, have expressed interest in "adopting" a military unit in Vietnam.

This has been done in many places. For instance, the City of Birmingham has adopted an entire division That's a tremendous undertaking, far out of the reach of small groups. But there are smaller units, such as companies and platoons. My office has complete instructions, which I will be happy to mail to anyone.

This is called a "guidelines" sheet. The individual should specify the size of the unit he desires to adopt. A Platoon, which is a portion of a Company, is just about the right size for a local organization. You will correspond with the Commander of a unit not already adopted, being given the correct mailing address. The Commander might even suggest the type gift his men most desire.

Just a line to me at my Washington office will bring you Guidelines.

WYDLER OFFERS FREE VIETNAM MAPS

Anyone who is interested in receiving a free map of Vietnam has merely to write me and request it. These free maps were printed by the government as a result of a resolution passed by Congress. They are up-to-date and complete.

Photo caption: Oceanography in New York State: During a break at the Governor's Conference on Oceanography in New York State, Governor Rockefeller and Congressman Wydler confer. Listening in is John C. Baiardi Vice Chancellor, Long Island University and leader in fight to make Long Island leader in oceanography.

Photo caption: A Great Combination: Congressman John W. Wydler welcomes the Grumman Aircraft Corporation to the Fabulous Fourth Congressional District. Shown above with the Congressman are E. Clinton Towl, President, and Llewellyn Evans, Chairman of the Board of Grumman, at new plant on Stewart Avenue which was recently opened to build the aft part of the new F-111A.

Photo caption: Who Writes Their Congressman? Everybody! Washington staff members Miss Gloria Pershing and Miss Bette Hoppel bid good morning at the start of an average day.

LEGISLATIVE BOX SCORE

Some bills I have sponsored

H. Con. Res. 79 to Establish a Congressional Ethics Committee.

H.R. 4079 Federal Tax-Sharing Act. To provide appropriations for sharing of Federal taxes with States and their political subdivisions out of funds derived from a cutback in projected new expansion of grant-in-aid programs and as a substitute for portions of existing grant-in-aid expenditures.

H.R. 4693 Human Investment Act. To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job training programs.

Some bills I have voted "yes" on

H.R. 421 Prohibits travel in interstate or foreign commerce, or use of such facilities, for the purpose of inciting riot or other civil disturbances; fixes penalties of up to 5 years in jail, up to $10,000 fine, or both.

H.R. 10480 Fixes penalty of 1 year and $1,000 fine for desecration of the American flag.

H.R. 7819 Strengthens and extends through June 30, 1969, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; authorizes $3.5 billion for aid to local school agencies in low-income and federally-impacted areas, to overseas dependents and to schools for Indian children; provides aid to State education departments to improve their methods and broadens authority over innovative programs.

S. 20 Establishes a National Water Commission to make a full study of national policy, problems and programs related to water resources.

H.R. 10226 Provides free mailing privileges for members of Armed Forces in Vietnam.

Some bills I have voted "no" on

H.R. 10867 Raises permanent limit on national debt, by $22 billion to $358 billion for 1 year to June 30, 1968, thereafter permitted to raise by $7 billion to $365 billion, but must revert to $358 billion each June 30 (end of fiscal year).

His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Francis Cardinal Spellman, the Catholic Church in America has lost a vital and energetic leader who proved by his every deed that he was a prince among priests if not finally a prince among men. His pastoral efforts were unflaggingly directed toward the service of his God, his flock, and his country, and he succeeded in serving all three with uncommon success.

We in New York are especially bereaved by his passing, but it is surely no exaggeration to say that the Nation as a whole has suffered the loss of one of its foremost patriots and good-will ambassadors. To our Armed Forces overseas, Cardinal Spellman brought solace and spiritual regeneration; to the poor and unfortunate here and abroad, he furnished the fruits of his abundant charity.

Perhaps there is no better index to the character of this man than the crucial role he came to play in the ecumenical movement with its implications for intrareligious and interreligious dialog among men of good conscience throughout the world. In his demonstrated wisdom and humility, he undersood better than any of us that the first principle of Judeo-Christian humanism is the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

Winning by Sticking Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following "Memo From COPE," dated December 11, 1967:

WINNING BY STICKING TOGETHER

(By Bayard Rustin)

(NOTE.—At a recent COPE conference in Washington of 12 key industrial states, some important things were said that can apply equally to all 50 states. Presented in this issue of the *COPE Memo* are excerpts from speeches to the conference by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin and by Gus Tyler, assistant president, ILGWU.)

Looking back over the past seven or eight years we can see that far too little has been done to resolve the basic contradictions in American society. But on the other hand, we must not lose sight of the fact that important beginnings were made, that historic commitments were undertaken in civil rights, in poverty, in minimum wages, in education, in civil liberties. Indeed, just to speak of the '60s and the 89th Congress in American life is to denote not only a point in time but a resurgent spirit of social reform.

This spirit emanated from concentrated action by thousands and millions of Americans. They—we—were determined that society achieve justice and equality in the second half of the 20th Century. But the important fact to remember in facing the 1968 election is this: that the organized political base for this determination has been, is now, and must continue to be, with all of its faults, the Labor-Negro-Liberal coalition. Without that, we have nothing.

Again, no one in this room needs suffer from the illusion that the gains we have made have been adequate. The turmoil in our cities, the confusion in our political life, the rioting, etc., are signs that having made a beginning we have not gone far enough. We have gone far enough to arouse expectations and demands. But we have not gone far enough to satisfy them. And here lies a danger. We did not have rioting because there was bad housing. We did not have rioting because there were bad schools. We did not have rioting because there was unemployment. But because hope had gone, and people do not believe that tomorrow, or a week from next Thursday, or five years from now, they will have decent housing, that jobs will be adequate, and that education will be improved.

I believe that the elections of '68 will prove to be as crucial for the national destiny as the elections of 1860, or 1876, and 1932.

For the Negro, 1968 holds the threat of repeating the fateful election of 1876 and the infamous compromise for the following year when the federal government removed its remaining troops from the south, and the nation turned its back on the Negro. Let us be honest, let us face the ugly fact: millions of Americans are tired to death of the Negro's struggle for freedom, and that fact is essential to '68. And the trouble-in-the-streets issue, by which people mean fatigue with the Negro, must emerge as an essential issue in the '68 campaign.

In 1876 they said we fought a bloody war to free the Negro, must we now give him 40 acres and a mule? Today they say, we have given the Negro the right to eat in lunch counters, must we also give him a job so he can afford a hamburger? Now the fact is, had the answer been yes in 1876, the question would not now arise in '67. And if it is not answered affirmatively in '68, the problem of the Negro renting this society apart will be with us until the year 2000.

The nation simply cannot afford, and the Negro least of all, a return to conservative rule. We cannot afford four years of substituting cliches about the genius of private enterprise for intelligent and vigorous national policy. We cannot afford four years of rhetoric about "states rights" in the place of massive federal action. We cannot afford four years of highway construction at the expense of mass transit, of subsidized sprawl at the expense of urban reconstruction, of budget balancing at the expense of starved schools, of soaring profits at the expense of wages and salaries.

Just as we possess enormous technical skills for social progress, so we have overwhelming and irresistible political resources for progress. We have an immense labor movement, the largest organized social force in this nation. And that trade union movement is the one institution whch has an economc program capable of eliminatng slums.

Then too, we have in the 10 percent of the population represented by the Negro struggle another consistent force for social reform.

Now, I want to come to the fact that in this election we have certain major areas of deep concern. I would like to outline some things that anybody working in the Negro communty now has largely got to watch:

1. That many elements in the Negro community are disaffected, out of the frustration of housing having got worse in the last 15 years, of more Negroes being in segregated schools in the last 15 years, of unemployment rising amongst Negroes. The frustration has led to an anti-white mood.

2. We are going to run into the notion in the Negro search for identity that any black man, even an exploiter, might better run for office than a tried and true white liberal.

3. The frustration will lead to opting out. The most dangerous aspect that we face in the Negro community is the notion that both parties are bad since they are white, therefore, why vote for either?

4. We will face the Negro frustration-white fear syndrome. That is to say, white people in Congress obstruct more social welfare. That makes Negroes more angry, and more rioting. Then the white conservatives see the rioting, making Congress even more difficult. Then Negroes observe Congress cutting back and they become more frustrated.

The second major factor in 1968 is the war in Viet Nam. The tragedy here is not that there is disagreement over the process of conducting the war, for in so complex a war there is bound to be national debate. It is rather that the disagreement threatens to weaken the liberal-labor-Negro coalition. Thus instead of resisting conservative efforts to use the war as an excuse for cutting back the War on Poverty, many liberals are fighting among themselves and with the labor movement, and making President Johnson a scapegoat.

The problem is, that if the Viet Nam war did not exist the men in Congress today who are cutting back would find another excuse.

The third factor weakening this coalition grows out of the riots and the disunity within the civil rights movement, and the white blacklash. Now I'm going to make it clear: I am not for unity in the civil rights movement now, and I reject the thinking of those white liberals and trade unionists who are so confused that they could be for unity now.

Unity must be for something. The divisions within the civil rights movement, let me make it clear, are irreconcilable. They cannot, should not, and must not be glossed over, patched up or concealed in the interest of false unity. Some important disagreements exist, and they always existed, but this is the first time that the fundamental objectives of the civil rights movement are under attack. Democracy is under attack. Non-violence is under attack. Integration is under attack.

Let me therefore say that nothing is left except as the labor-liberal-Negro forces understand certain things:

No matter how unhappy we may be with the current Congress, and no matter what the dispute over President Johnson, and whether Johnson is at this moment able to carry out the commitments which he has made for dealing with the inconsistencies in this society, who is there in the opposition party who is even prepared to make such commitments?

And therefore, as Alice was told by the Red Queen, "it takes a great deal of running to stand still here." But we can win, we must win, and we must work together as an alliance for that end, and the basis for that alliance is the economic and and social program of the trade union movement.

Indiana's Trade Stake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a thoughtful editorial, "Indiana's Trade Stake," from the December 4, 1967, issue of the South Bend Tribune.

The editorial follows:

INDIANA'S TRADE STAKE

The recent announcement by Indiana's Lt. Gov. Robert L. Rock that our state now ranks ninth among all the states in the value of its exports has a couple of implications worth noting.

One is that it tends to confirm the sound judgment of those who pushed so long for a Lake Michigan port for Indiana. That port is now under construction, and when it is completed it should have the effect of increasing still further Indiana's export business.

The dollar amount of Indiana exports in 1966 amounted to $936.9 million, up from less than three-quarters of a billion in 1963, when the state ranked 12th in export value. Both manufactured goods and farm products exported increased dramatically over the four-year span.

The second implication that Lt. Gov. Rock's announcement has is that Hoosiers have a major stake in countering the ominous new protectionist trend in Congress.

Free trade forces have been in eclipse on Capitol Hill in recent months.

With a stake of nearly a billion dollars in foreign trade, Indiana's representatives have no business succumbing to the siren song of the protectionists.

The Dollar Is in Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, most Americans have expressed real concern over the devaluation of the pound and what might be in store for the U.S. dollar.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial on this subject by radio station WHBL in Sheboygan, Wis.:

THE DOLLAR IS IN TROUBLE

For the past several years, conservative economists in the United States have been warning the President, the Congress and the people about the dangerous spiraling inflation and the fallicies of the so-called "new economics" which Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have supported.

Now, it appears, the chickens have come home to roost.

Look at the developments of the last two weeks: The British have devaluated their pound sterling from a dollar equivalent of $2.80 to $2.40. Other European nations, with few exceptions, have followed suit. A dangerous drain on the U.S. gold supply has ensued, with several foreign nations, chief among them France, demanding gold for American dollars. The President of the United States was forced to state publicly last Friday that the U.S. would hold the line on the price of gold at $35 an ounce. And at week's end, the question was being raised around the world: Will the United States be forced to devalue the dollar, which would mean a massive dose of inflation.

Why are we in such a financial mess in this country? Is it because of the war in Viet Nam? Is it because of the spending policies of the Johnson Administration? There are no simple answers to the problem, but we believe several points are clear.

Fact of the matter is, the United States has experienced galloping inflation in the past eight years which has included deficit spending each year by the Administration. The U.S. is faced with a $30 billion dollar deficit in fiscal 1968 alone, unless the Congress approves the President's surtax on income tax and unless the President trims his budget by several billion dollars. But even if both those actions take place, we will still see one of the largest deficits in the nation's history.

This year's deficit, and those that preceded it, are at the root of the economic problem.

We have the fiscal 1968 deficit for two reasons. First, because of the war in Viet Nam which is costing U.S. taxpayers several billion dollars a year. And, second, because of the spending policies of the Administration. Most of those welfare-state schemes were passed by the 89th Congress, the Congress that preceded the current session, in the years 1964 to 1966. It was that Congress that approved most of the so-called "Great Society" programs that placed unheard of tax loads on U.S. citizens.

In his state of the union message, the President said that the Nation's economy was strong enough to support both "guns and butter"—that is, both the war and the welfare state. But now the question arises, can this really be done. And the answer is clearly, not without a staggering, dangerous deficit.

The President did not listen to those voices of conservative economics back in 1965 and 1966.

It bothers us greatly to see and hear the President of the United States appear before a televised news conference, as he did two weeks ago, and state that something must be done now to reduce the deficit . . . a deficit which in fact he is chiefly responsible for developing. It bothers us because the statement reflects a very short-sighted approach to the economy at best, and a very devious, deceitful approach at the worst.

We believe the President, who now finds himself and the Nation in economic trouble, is widening the credibility gap even further with his attempts to shift the blame and duck the responsibility.

We believe the President should come to the realization that, basically, the "new economics" theories have failed him. We believe he must accept his share of the blame and not attempt to pass the buck.

Today the dollar is in trouble. Inflation at unheard of levels is threatening. Those who say another 1929 is impossible had better reassess the situation. It is time for straight thinking and true, forthright statements. It is time to put political considerations aside, to face up to the problem, and to take those actions which will serve to strengthen our currency and insure the stability of our economy.

Farm Bureau Hits Ruling on Jobs for Minors Under 16

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, for many years, the American Farm Bureau and its affiliates have been masquerading as the best friend of the American farmer, while actually serving the interests of big business. As Robert Sherrill has written in a recent edition of the Nation:

> The bureau's money interests lie with the industrialist, the chain grocer, the mill owner, the canner and the processor; it has little sympathy for the farmer and none at all for the consumer, and except for a few years during the Great Depression—never has had.

Apparently, the Farm Bureau's interests also lie with the exploitation of the youth of rural America. In the following news article, which appeared in the Wichita Beacon on November 8, 1967, the Kansas Farm Bureau puts itself on record in opposition to a recent U.S. Labor Department order designed to protect children who work on farms from hazards to their health and safety.

After an exhaustive survey, the Labor Department found that there are about 800,000 paid farmworkers under 16 in the United States and that these workers are particularly prone to accidents on the farm. For example, the Department found that in one incomplete seven-State survey, there were 4,000 injuries in 2 years to farmworkers from 10 to 17. In light of this evidence, the Department has issued an order which prohibits these young people from engaging in 16 different "hazardous occupations" on the farm.

In reading the order, I was surprised by how moderate it was. In fact, I was a bit disappointed that the order specifically excludes from coverages, persons under 16 who are employed by their parents. Also, the order does not prohibit 10-year-olds from driving a truck or automobile on the farm, handling many chemical pesticides and fertilizers, or operating garden-type tractors.

But the Kansas Farm Bureau is not happy with this order. Carrying on in the notorious tradition of its parent organization, it is critical of still one more effort of the Federal Government to improve the life of rural Americans.

I share the view of the Kansas Farm Bureau that work experience "develops self-reliance and self-respect," but I am at a loss to explain why this self-reliance will necessarily develop by the young handling pesticides which have a corrosive effect on body tissues, which affect the central nervous system, and which even cause respiratory failure and death. I share the view of the Kansas Farm Bureau that "work experience is an essential part of the educational process," but I wonder why this process requires our young people to handle and use dynamite, black powder, and ammonium nitrate.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following article in the Record, along with a Labor Department release on what work activities are not prohibited by the order. I have long been appalled by the heartless unconcern of the Farm Bureau for the needs of rural Americans; this latest policy statement by the Kansas Farm Bureau is but one more example of this indifference.

The Labor Department has made a humane effort to protect the youth of rural America without unduly limiting their employment opportunity. The Farm Bureau's carping at this order is deplorable.

The material referred to follows:

Farm Bureau Hits Ruling on Jobs for Minors Under 16

The Kansas Farm Bureau today attacked a recent Labor Department ruling on employment of minors under 16 as a harmful limitation of employment opportunity for the young.

The item was contained in a list of resolutions, approved at a business session on the final day of the bureau's annual meeting here.

"In most instances the employment of minors in agriculture is socially and economically desirable," the resolution noted. "Work experience is an essential part of the educational process and develops self-reliance and self respect."

The resolution referred to a recent ruling by the Labor Department that youths under 16 could not operate farm machinery.

The bureau asks state legislation governing such employment of minors.

[From the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards]

Examples of Work Activities Not Affected by the Hazardous-Occupations Order in Agriculture

Handling many chemical pesticides and fertilizers.

Driving a truck or automobile on the farm proper and helpers on motor vehicles.

Loading or unloading trucks.

Operating garden-type tractors.

Picking vegetables and berries, and placing them on conveyors or in containers.

Clearing brush and harvesting trees up to 6 inches in butt diameter.

Working from ladders at heights less than 20 feet, such as picking of most fruits.

Working with farm animals, except work with certain breeding stock in confined areas.

Hand planting and cultivation.

Raising and caring for poultry.

Milking cows.

Processing and storing milk and dairy products.

Detasseling corn.

Cleaningg barns, equipment storage buildings, chicken coops, etc.

Mowing lawns.

Riding, driving or exercising horses.

Picking cotton.

Handling of irrigation pipes.

Harvesting and storing tobacco.

Riding on transplanters.

Model Cities Grants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leigh Weimers writes a column "The Lee Side" which appears in the San Jose Mercury in my congressional district. I read him regularly and find that his splendid style, which frequently pokes fun at public figures, is not only entertaining, but sometimes makes very significant points which are long remembered. In one of his recent columns he discusses the manner in which grants were made for the model cities program and I thought it would be amusing to readers of the Congressional Record. I sincerely hope no member of the administration or of the Congress will read the column literally and take offense. After all, it is all in fun:

Model Cities Grants

(By Leigh Weimers)

Ever since San Jose got shot down in its try for a federal "model cities" grant to spruce up the Mayfair District, people have been trying to figure out why.

City Mgr. Dutch Hamann theorized the U.S. cash went to cities like Oakland, Richmond and Fresno because they had Negro problems. San Jose's Mexican-Americans were No. 2, but they weren't trying harder.

Other experts explained that San Jose wasn't quite rotten enough yet for federal aid. But they figured we'd make it before long, if we really worked at it.

Now, however, the cat is out of the bag.

My highly placed and usually peachable Washington source claims to have obtained a transcript of the meeting in the Department of Housing and Urban Development where the model cities grants were awarded. He says it went like this:

Chairman. "Gentlemen, I appreciate your scientific approach toward awarding these grants to cities in need. But I don't think throwing darts at a map of the United States is really the best way."

First Member. "I agree, Chief. Four darts landed in the middle of the Mississippi River, and aid to cities there would be hard to justify. What if we tried standing closer?"

Chairman. "No, what I had in mind was suggesting a few worthy cities myself and letting this committee decide. For instance, how do you feel about stamping out urban blight in Pikeville, Ky.?"

Second **Member**. "Pikeville? That's one metropolis I must have missed. How many people live there?"

Chairman. "Only 4,754. But boy, do they have problems! And, I might add, Pikeville is in the Congressional district of Rep. Carl Perkins, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, which passes on antipoverty legislation."

Third Member. "There seems to be unanimous approval, Chief. Any others?"

Chairman. "Well there's Smithville and DeKalb County in Tennessee. Total population for that combo is 10,774, a congested 39 persons per square mile. And Smithville just happens to be the home town of Rep. Joe Evins, chairman of the subcommittee that handles housing appropriations and a leader in funding the Model Cities Act."

First Member. "Obviously worthy of our approval."

Chairman. "And then there's Texarkana, Texas. By comparison, a real metropolis. And, it should be noted, Texarkana is the home town of Rep. Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, which authorized the Model Cities Act."

Second Member. "Let's hear it for Texarkana!"

Chairman. "A friend in need is a friend, indeed. Let's see now—this gives us a total of 63 model cities grants, omitting 10 of the nation's 25 largest cities and including nine of less than 40,000 population. That leaves us only San Jose, Calif., to rely upon."

Third Member. "Could you give us a clue, Chief? Like, who represents San Jose?"

Chairman. "I believe it's Reps. Charlie Gubser and Don Edwards."

Chorus (turning thumbs down). "Charlie and Don who?"

The Credit Card Binge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, for years I have been warning against banks getting into businesses other than banking. Part and parcel of the new trends in banking in this country have been the proliferation of bank credit cards. This has been justified as a banking function because it is the extension of credit. The differences between an unlimited credit card and a normal bank loan, however, are enormous.

I hope that the Committee on Banking and Currency, on which it has been my privilege to serve for the past 20 years, will continue its investigation of this practice and report to the House a bill to end it.

The following article from the December 4, 1967, edition of the National Observer points out some of the results of indiscriminate credit issuance. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

How's Business?—The Big Card Party

A new blizzard of credit cards is blanketing the economy. More and more companies have begun issuing cards in the competion for the consumer's dollar. According to one estimate, American wallets now bulge with at least 85,000,000 credit cards. American spenders now owe $5 billion on purchases made with these cards, or about $60 per card.

The proliferation of cards extends well beyond the limits of a few years ago. Then, cards were issued by gasoline companies and the travel-and-entertainment companies, American Express, Diner's Club, and Carte Blanche. Now six major airlines issue free cards enabling individuals to buy flights on their planes in addition to the Air Travel Card issued to corporations. Numerous banks also now have card plans.

The cards are buying a greater variety of items. Several St. Louis area banks are experimenting with the use of their cards to charge groceries. Two California counties permit residents to pay property taxes with bank credit cards.

When the Federal Reserve System ran a study last April, it found 627 banks across the nation participating in credit-card plans; these plans carried outstanding debts of $809,000,000 at that time. When the Federal Reserve checked back in October, it discovered that 848 banks had credit-card plans, and that debts had swollen to $1,137,000,000. Some bankers anticipate that 2,000 banks will have credit-card arrangements soon.

The lure for banks and other card issuers is obvious. A man holding a credit card tends to spend with greater abandon than a man who must dig cash out of his wallet. One oil company estimates that its stations get far more "fill-'er-up" calls from its credit-card customers than from cash customers; its stations average about $5 per cerdit-card sale and $3 for an average cash sale.

For the banks, credit cards reduce the accounting work in processing individual checks that one customer might send to several stores at which he shops. Now, he sends in one check to the bank. Too, the cards bring profitable discounts of up to 7 per cent on the bills the bank assumes from a participating merchant or restaurant.

Promiscuous card distribution has resulted in some congressional demands for legislation outlawing unsolicited mailings. Mass mailings have led to unpaid bills run up by customers who couldn't afford the big spending the cards encourage. Too, the cards sometimes were lost or stolen, then used to run up fraudulent charges. One sign that this is a distinct worry: Some insurance companies have begun selling policies to cover any billings against a customer's lost cards.

Fraud losses recently forced two Chicago banks to void all their outstanding cards, then issue new cards to a more limited, credit-worthy list of customers. Some estimates place the fraud losses rung up annually on credit cards as high as $60,000,000, usually in airline tickets or merchandise that can easily be resold.

A Los Angeles grand jury in October indicted nine men for mail fraud for an alleged $150,000 cerdit-card swindle. Federal authorities recently said they had cracked a ring of more than 30 persons who had run up $350,000 in bills on 2,000 stolen Diner's Club cards. One man, using a stolen oil-company card, allegedly charged $8,300 in food, liquor, and lodging before his arrest in Colorado.

The national credit-card binge has a deeper impact than such dishonesty. The cards represent another tool in the rapid expansion of debts assumed by consumers, despite the relative sluggishness of the economy. At the end of October, the latest figures, Americans owed $96.1 billion in short-term debts. That's an increase of $4.2 billion from a year earlier.

This vast debt has fueled demand for goods and services and helped the economy continue its expansion. But many economists wonder at what point such debts will become so burdensome that they will slow up spending while customers work their way out of debt. There is no evidence that any such drag upon the economy is imminent. If that point should ever come, though, all those magical little plastic cards will have lost much of their magic.

Mining Seminar Breathes Philosophy of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, the California Mining Journal, in its December issue, compliments the work and faith several of my colleagues and I, and many volunteers, invested in the recent mining seminar held in Barstow, Calif. As this seminar is becoming annual, and is expanding to be the Western States Mining Seminar, I am sure many of my colleagues will be interested in reading this constructive article.

The article follows:

[From the California Mining Journal, December 1967]

Seven Hundred Attend San Bernardino County Mining Seminar in Barstow, Calif.

The Barstow Chamber of Commerce, the City of Barstow, and Rep. Jerry Pettis contributed prodigious energy and faith in bringing about the successful first major convention for this high desert city Saturday, October 14.

The San Bernardino County Mining Seminar was attended by more than 700 persons, will become annual, and has changed its name to the Western States Mining Seminar.

The convention breathed the high-desert philosophy of independent men, willing to work for themselves, and anxious to shake off federal, state and county restrictions on free enterprise, especially in mining!

Congressman Pettis, Walter S. Baring of Nevada and Laurence J. Burton, Utah, appeared to agree solidly with the miners and friends gathered in the Barstow College gymnasium.

The written questions to a battery of federal officials from various agencies concerned with mining indicated displeasure with the ways of government, and eagerness to develop cooperative effort or a hands-off policy.

One of the resolutions, which drew sustained applause, even whistles, called for the federal government to either subsidize the mining industry or cut out all subsidies and restrictions.

Mining lawyer George W. Nilsson and mining investor, broker, Edward J. Soehnel posed hard and complicated questions to the officials and appeared to enjoy doing it.

The resolutions did not ignore state and county governments.

The departments of state and county government concerned with planning and approval of new mines and mills are urged by a resolution to "change their attitudes and procedures to facilitate a better relationship with the mining industry."

None of the San Bernardino County Supervisors were present to hear that resolution, or available to answer the written questions intended for the board of supervisors.

Ross Dana participated in the morning introductions and welcomes. However, Dana, the only supervisor to show, left before the question-answer period in the afternoon.

Edward J. Soehnel, chairman of the questions-screening committee, said those questions would "be mailed to the supervisors".

Congressman Pettis said he would read highlights of the convention into the Congressional Record, and have the keynote address by Nevada Congressman Walter S. Baring published in the Record.

Also, Rep. Laurence J. Burton's comments will be published in the Congressional Record at Pettis' request. Burton is the ranking Republican member of the sub-committee on miners and mining for the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The afternoon question-answer period, intended to brief small investors on how government agencies could help them, and to answer more complicated questions by large mining companies' lawyers, involved these men and their agencies:

Donald R. Irving, area director, U.S. Division of Mines; William S. Schumarcher, area administrator, Small Business Administration; Byron Beattie, director, division of watershed management, U.S. Forestry Service; Dale R. Andrus, chief, division of lands and minerals, Bureau of Land Management; Bennie Troxel, California Mining and Geology Board, Department of Conservation; William L. Shafer, consultant on mines and mining, Congressional Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; George O. Gates, assistant chief geologist, U.S. Geological Survey; and Thor H. Kiilsgaard, chief, Office of Minerals Exploration.

William S. Hubbard, mine investor and tax appraiser, San Bernardino, was moderator for the panel question-answers. The questions were in writing, screened by a committee made up of Edward J. Soehnel, like Hubbard a mine investor, broker and former tax appraiser, committee chairman; Barstow Judge Ted L. DeBord, and a noted mining attorney, George W. Nilsson.

Two of the written questions were for Rep. Pettis. His answers set records for the day, for brevity.

Pettis was asked what could be done to force a railroad to liquidate its mass acreage for mineral development.

"For the moment, nothing."

To an involved question which amounted to asking him if he favored legislation that would in effect get the government off the miners' backs, he said, "yes".

Apparently the agency representatives in general were unable to answer their questions with similar dispatch or clarity. Andrus, who caught the brunt of the questioning, gave replies which included "We'll get you an answer some way . . . I'm not familiar with the particular situation . . . We're looking at BLM procedures . . ."

Pettis complimented the federal officials for their "bravery" in "coming out and trying to answer the questions, unlike some of the politicians".

In the afternoon sessions Nilsson, Congressmen Baring and Burton received flurries of applause for comments and questions.

It was a partisan audience, made up apparently of men and women with mining interests who appeared to agree with the Pettis-Soehnel-Hubbard-Baring-Burton and Nilsson philosophy . . . the several branches of government concerned with mining should mend its ways and help the industry.

There was a clear belief that the government agencies were doing harm to the industry, and actually not carrying out the real intent of the 1955 federal legislation apparently claimed as authority for what the convention leaders describe as "arbitrary" decisions.

For example, Nilsson asked by what legal authority the Forestry Service acted in ordering prospectors off their claims, saying the claims were void, and threatening to burn their buildings and equipment if they didn't get off the land.

Nilsson was answered by an agency official, "I'm not an attorney. I can't answer that question."

When Nilsson said this "scorched earth policy" needed investigation, there was sustained applause.

Baring's keynote address included these comments:

"I say the record does not show concern over the plight or welfare of the miner." He made it clear he was accusing both Democratic and Republican administrations.

"The record is replete," he added, with "ever-changing ground rules designed to make it more difficult to bring in new mines and develop them—particularly on the public lands".

He called for support of his legislation which would, he said "curb the bureaucrats".

"We have seen our money cheapened through the downgrading of gold and silver in our monetary system . . . we must get the Executive Branch out of legislating through regulation and opinion. We must strengthen our mining industry, not mummify it", Baring declared.

He concluded his keynote address by saying, "Given constructive guidelines, we in Congress can look forward to enacting the laws that will provide mining with the confidence to meet the challenge of the future."

Mayor James Gilliam closed the seminar by recognition of the many persons and firms who contributed to the organization of the seminar.

"Our wish," the mayor commented, "is that we have been successful in making your stay with us in Barstow worthwhile and informative, and that next year you will see fit to join us in a bigger and better seminar".

Congressman Jerry Pettis, who originally called the convention and was instrumental in getting participation by representatives of federal agencies, told the Barstow Desert Dispatch, in referring to the hi-desert area, "We live right smack in the heart of one of the world's greatest mineral resource areas. As our country becomes more urbanized and the society becomes more sophisticated, we become increasingly dependent on minerals. Most people think mining is just gold and silver. Actually, mining covers every conceivable chemical or mineral that is of value to man. And we haven't yet scratched the surface of the value of mineral resources in this area."

Lenin and Stalin Set Red Pattern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an appreciation of history is necessary if we are to understand developments in foreign affairs. I feel it is necessary, in view of the performance of the Rumanian Communist Government, to present a proper historical review of Russian relations. Such a review happens to be available in the following column, by the noted international columnist Dumitru Danielopol, which appeared in the November 25 edition of the Elgin, Ill., Daily Courier-News:

LENIN AND STALIN SET RED PATTERN

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—A good Communist is a good liar. That's an axiom.

Lenin and Stalin set a pattern in the Kremlin that was adopted and refined by the Nazis into their "big lie" technique—the bigger the lie the more likely it is to be believed.

The Kremlin took lessons from the "student." So did the puppet regimes that followed in eastern Europe.

The Romanian Reds have proved particularly resourceful when it comes to the "big lie."

A case in point is Romanian party boss Nicolae Ceausescu. In an article on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik takeover published simultaneously in Moscow's Pravda and Scanteia of Bucharest he said:

"In Romania, the news about the victory of the October revolution was hailed with profound sympathy and enthusiasm by the working people, who actively manifested their solidarity with the young Soviet power by ample actions carried out everywhere in the country . . . by direct participation with arms in hand of an important number of sons of our people in defending the socialist state against interventionists."

This is a brazen lie, a sheer distortion of historic facts.

Let's look at the situation in Romania on Nov. 7, 1917.

Romania was still at war with the Central Powers—Germany Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

Ceausescu may have forgotten that half the country, including the capital of Bucharest was occupied by the enemy.

Moldavia and the wartime capital of Jassy were free only because the Romanian army had beaten back the Germans in battles at Marasti and Marasesti on Aug. 14–19.

King Ferdinand had gone into the trenches and had told his army that as soon as the war was ended the land would be distributed.

The Romanian army had something to fight for.

When the Bolsheviks took over Russia, they sent agents to Romania to "bolshevise" that country. They found that the Romanians wanted no part of their revolution.

One band of revolutionary Russians surrounded Jassy demanding that the Romanian Royal family be surrendered to them. They were stopped by loyal Romanian peasant soldiers.

In fact, the Romanians threw back the Germans at the very moment their Russian allies were deserting by the thousands. The czar had been overthrown in March and the Kerensky government could no longer control the disillusioned army.

John Buchan, who later became Lord Tweedsmuir, governor general of Canada, wrote in "Nelson's History of the War:"

"The dramatic spectacle of Russian regiments drifting away without order from their lines . . . while on the other side of the road wearied Romanian troops with stern faces and contemptuous eyes marched to take up the place of the deserts . . ."

The Russian soldiers had lost their desire to fight. They deserted en masse, roaming the Romanian country side, raping, looting and burning down villages.

On the other hand, in June, 1917, in Jassy, the Romanian parliament had voted an Agrarian Reform Law, the most radical land reform written to that time. Nine-tenths of the large estates were to be distributed to the peasants, who hungered for their own farms.

There was never any love lost between Romania and Russia. But after the Russian army fell apart in 1917 and ravaged the country, suspicion turned into open hostility.

There is some truth in Ceausescu's statement that there was direct Romanian "participation with arms in hand," after the October revolution.

But it was not a gesture of fraternity. The Romanians were out to clear the Russians from their country.

Later the Romanian army entered Bessarabia and threw out the Bolsheviks.

In March 1918, the Bessarabian parliament chose to break away from Russia and rejoin Romania. It remained Romanian until 1940 when the Soviets grabbed it under the Nazi-Russian pact.

In 1919 the Romanian government sent

troops into Hungary to help overthrow the Communist regime of Bela Kuhn.

The agrarian reform was carried out as promised. The Romanian peasants became the strongest foes of communism.

When the Russian armies marched into Romania in 1944 there were barely 800 Communists in a population of some 20 million.

Just because Ceasescu doesn't like Romanian history, he can't be allowed to rewrite it.

Reader's Digest and the Social Security System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution of the United States protects quite firmly the freedom of the press. While certain restrictions relating to libel, slander, pornography, and obscenity have been built into our system, the press is otherwise generally free to print whatever it desires.

We are fortunate that the press, for the most part, has conducted itself in a responsible fashion. The press, generally, has not taken its freedom to mean license.

Unfortunately, however, there are occasions when a great newspaper or magazine departs from the high standards of self-discipline which usually prevail. In my view, the Reader's Digest did just this when it printed in its October 1967 issue an inaccurate and misleading article on the social security system.

This article has brought great fear and concern to a great many—perhaps millions—of persons who are currently drawing social security retirement benefits, or who count upon such benefits to make up a substantial part of their future retirement incomes. I have received many letters from constituents in which they related their fear and concern. I have answered these letters by stating that the Reader's Digest article was both inaccurate and misleading, and pointing out that the social security program is soundly conceived, soundly financed, and soundly managed.

Under Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued a statement refuting the Reader's Digest article. Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS of the House Ways and Means Committee, the person who probably is most knowledgeable about the workings of the social security program, has indicated to the House his concern about the misleading and inaccurate article in the Reader's Digest. Many other Members of Congress have made similar public comments.

Respected and responsible persons in organizations representing our senior citizens have pointed out the misleading and inaccurate statements in the Reader's Digest article. A great many interested individuals also have commented on the misleading and inaccurate statements contained in the Reader's Digest article.

The Reader's Digest, however, has not to my knowledge published any statement which might serve to correct the situation and remove the concern and fear to which its misleading and inaccurate article has given birth.

I look upon the Reader's Digest's conduct in this matter to be an abuse of the freedom of the press.

In my view, any publication which does violence to the truth has a firm obligation to clarify the record when it is made clear to such publication that the material which it has printed is in fact inaccurate and misleading.

This the Reader's Digest has not done.

Mr. Speaker, I am advised that members of the National Council of Senior Citizens are today picketing the offices of the Reader's Digest in 10 cities across the United States. The council has written me as follows:

> We are protesting the false and damaging statements in the October 1967 issue of the Reader's Digest to the effect that the $320 billion Social Security System is in trouble. Never before have we had so many letters from the elderly expressing anxiety about their Social Security payments, and we are convinced this is due to the Digest article and the fact that the magazine has a circulation of 15 million in the USA.
>
> As your mail must show, these Reader's Digest statements have raised unneeded fears among large numbers of elderly about the future of the Social Security System.
>
> Few who see the Reader's Digest suspect its October Social Security article was a deliberate and malicious attempt to undermine public confidence in the Social Security program. So they are worried.
>
> Few of them know of the magazine's policy of refusing to correct false and damaging statements on public issues.
>
> We are taking the only way we know to expose this magazine's blatant attempt to discredit Social Security.
>
> It is our hope the picketing may persuade the Reader's Digest to publish the correction issued by Under Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the glaring errors and wrong conclusions in the Reader's Digest Social Security article.
>
> We also hope other media, including TV, radio, newspapers and magazines may be moved to present the real facts on Social Security to offset the confusion and worry that has been raised by the Reader's Digest article.

Mr. Speaker, I share the desire expressed by the National Council of Senior Citizens that the record be set straight. I believe the Reader's Digest has an obligation to do this. I believe that the other news media have an obligation to do this.

The Ideology Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am constantly astonished by the efforts that are made by many liberals to justify the conduct of our adversaries in the world. Particularly in the case of the Soviet Union and Communist China we see them literally straining to equate even the most outrageous and piratical conduct as merely rational responses to situations created by U.S. policy. They then proceed to the false conclusion that if only we in the United States would change our erring ways, a peaceful and stable world order would result. Their basic premise is, of course, totally erroneous. For the Communists, be they Russian or Chinese, are striving for victory. If a period of peace will help to advance their ultimate goals, then they are for that particular kind of Communist peace. On the other hand if a nasty, little war of liberation will better promote Communist objectives, they quickly opt in favor of this strategem as they are presently doing in Vietnam.

A few weeks ago Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara went to great lengths at a press conference to excuse the Soviet Union's decision to build and presumably deploy a new terror weapon, a fractional orbital bombardment system (FOBS). McNamara went out of his way to make the case for the Soviet and declared that their action was not a violation of the outer space treaty which was supposed to ban the deployment of weapons of nuclear destruction in outer space.

Mr. Gilpatric, a former McNamara assistant, is another devotee of the school that we must not seek to maintain superiority in weaponry over the Soviet Union because it will only accelerate the arms race. Rather, they suggest, let us be content with parity and then all will be well.

If the U.S.S.R. and Communist China truly wanted the type of world peace that we in the West are seeking, these gentlemen might have a point. But both in actions and by words they have made it abundantly clear then they are still pursuing the goals of reshaping the world according to Communist dogma. In short they have not relinquished the goal of Communist victory.

Mr. Speaker, the enclosed editorial from the December 11, 1967, edition of the Wall Street Journal, entitled "The Ideology Gap" is an excellent exposition of the extremely important point that we err most egregiously if we swallow the bland assumption of Mr. Gilpatric and others of his school that in pursuing the arms race the Soviet Union has no more sinister aim or design than does the United States. This constant effort to equate our conduct and more importantly our motives with that of our Communist adversaries is both patently false and demeaning to the whole history and tradition of the United States. We are not just comparing the Russian and the American people. If we were, matters would be quite different because I do believe that people are essentially the same in the hopes and dreams that they cherish for a peaceful world. However, we are comparing governments. The Government of the United States is democratically chosen and every 2 and 4 years the legislative and executive branches can be changed completely, if the people so will it.

In contrast the Soviet Government and the government of Red China is not representative of the will of the people. They are responsible in their policies only to the hierarchy of the Communist Party, a tiny minority within each country. They continue to be totalitarian dictatorships just as malevolent in their outlook toward true democracy as any fascist dictatorship ever was under Hitler or Mussolini.

I congratulate the Wall Street Journal for seeking to expose the colossal self-delusion and, indeed, extremely shallow analysis of Soviet attitudes offered by Mr. Gilpatric in his recent article in the New York Times magazine. The article follows:

THE IDEOLOGY GAP

Soviet advances in nuclear weaponry recently have stoked the Pentagon's smoldering disputes on U.S. strategic posture, and the debate is starting to flare into public.

The latest spark is an article decrying the "mad momentum" of the arms race, written for a recent issue of the New York Times Magazine by Roswell L. Gilpatric, former Deputy Secretary of Defense. We would not quarrel with many of Mr. Gilpatric's conclusions. Certainly it would be in the interest of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to limit the arms race, and certainly a profoundly disturbing type of momentum prevents them from doing so. Certainly the U.S. ought to avoid steps that might feed this momentum unless they are truly essential to its national security.

We are troubled, though, by the tone of apology for the Soviets so obvious in Mr. Gilpatric's article, and which also seems less overtly but just as surely to permeate the arguments of many others who would restrict further development of U.S. strategic weapons. We only hope their judgment is not unduly dependent on their wishful assessment of Soviet motives.

"So much depends in these matters on from which side of the looking glass one views a power struggle," Mr. Gilpatric writes. "What the United States considers an effort to keep the peace or to protect independent nations from externally generated aggression looks to the Russians like another projection of American military power as well as an intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states."

"Thus, while fielding an American Army of nearly half a million soldiers in South Vietnam, supported by a naval force of 100 vessels and thousands of aircraft, we take umbrage at what the Soviets are doing on a far smaller scale for the North Vietnamese." All of which leads to the conclusion, "In view of its present superiority in nuclear arms, the initiative toward deflecting downward the nuclear arms race will continue to rest on the United States."

The assumption emerges that we and the Soviets are two peas in a pod. Any differences are merely accidents of geography and national power. To divine what they are up to or how they would react, we need only plumb what our own feelings would be under similar circumstances.

This assumption provides a neat starting place for computer war games and elegant exercises in abstract logic. It is correct fashion for liberal intellectualism, which puts a high premium on any indulgence of self-guilt. It admittedly provides a valuable if limited type of insight. But it is a foolish proposition to trust as a basis for national security decisions.

The Soviets, after all, are imbued with an ideology that stresses world conquest in the name of communism. We, by contrast, are imbued with an ideology stressing a peaceful community of sovereign states. Grant fully that they do not always live up to their aggressive ideology, and that we do not always live up to our benign one. Does that mean we can simply ignore the implications of the ideology gap?

The central distinction separating U.S. and Soviet behavior in Vietnam, for example, is not a quantitative one of which nation supplies more arms. It is a qualitative one of which is backing an effort to rearrange the international status quo by force of arms. Such efforts clearly must be proscribed if the world hopes to avoid nuclear war, but continued Soviet support for them marks the lingering influence of a world-conquering ideology.

It is the Soviet Union, similarly, that is currently heating up the arms race with anti-missile systems and orbiting bombs. The United States has carefully avoided these steps, some contend at considerable danger to itself. Can we safely assume their burst of activity is motivated solely by fear of our greater power, and that they will cool down if we let them catch up? Or is it just possible they are striking out for strategic superiority to allow still more adventuresome support of the "wars of national liberation" their ideology so proudly trumpets?

Now, we do not argue here for a massive increase in U.S. strategic power; the public debate has not yet satisfied our minds on what is truly necesary to U.S. security. Nor do we argue that the world-conquering aspects of Communist ideology are immutable; our best hope is that they will wither away. Considering the risk of changing the U.S. into an armed camp, moreover, we fervently want to believe Mr. Gilpatric and others when they contend that a further Amerian buildup is not necessary.

It's only that we find scant comfort in any logic infused with the queasy supposition that the Soviet Communists have completely forsaken their menacing ideology, and have suddenly changed into wholesome guys next door.

House Beauty Salon Back in Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I believe it will come as good news to all our colleagues in this body that as of this morning the House Beauty Salon is back in operation. Since the untimely closing of this service to your secretarial staffs on the distaff side I am sure you have all been subject to many complaints. The members of the select committee, which you created last week to solve this problem, are happy to make formal announcement that we have worked out the solution and service is restored under new management and new rules. Here is the formal announcement released to the press today by me and the two other members of the committee—the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS] and the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN].

I included the release in my remarks at this point:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The beauty shop of the House of Representatives was back in business at 7 o'clock this morning.

After 32 years in operation, the House Beauty Salon went out of business on Saturday, December 2, when the concessioner unexpectedly removed the equipment. The beauty services are available to all women employees working in the offices of the House of Representatives, wives of Congressmen and the women Members of the House.

Last week the House approved creation of a Select Committee of Representatives Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.), Edith Green (D-Ore.), and Catherine May (R-Wash.) to work out a plan to put the Salon back in business. The House also provided for the advancement of up to $15,000 from the House contingency fund to purchase the necessary supplies and equipment. It was understood that all funds over operating costs are to be returned to the U.S. Treasury at the end of the first year of operation, and such funds are likely to amount to several thousand dollars more than the funds advanced.

The Select Committee hired a professional manager, purchased the necessary equipment and supplies and had the shop back in operation today, one week after the precipitate closing.

In jointly issuing a statement today, the three Congresswomen forming the Select Committee said they are deeply grateful for the tremendous cooperation they received from their colleagues in Congress, the girls who have been working in the Beauty Salon and many others who helped them settle this matter.

"The hundreds of secretaries who work on Capitol Hill have always had a special problem in obtaining beauty salon services because of the long hours they work six days a week. We are certainly glad these services are once again available to them after only a week's interruption. We anticipate that our new manager, Mrs. Betty Oszust, will provide clean, attractive surroundings and good operators at competitive prices.

"In addition to this, we have every expectation that the United States Treasury will, for the first time in 32 years, receive payment for the use of the space, facilities, and utilities, that the government has until now provided for free," the Congresswoman said.

Accident Prevention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to provide my colleagues in Congress with an excellent illustration of how a Federal agency and one of our leading communications media can work together to save human lives. I speak of a new television series that will be seen next year in Washington, D.C., Cleveland, New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. It is called "You Can Prevent Accidents."

The programs are being produced by the National Broadcasting Co. and will feature officials of the Public Health Service's injury control program of the National Center for Urban and Industrial Health in Cincinnati, Ohio. The program will be opened with interviews with the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, Dr. William Stewart; the Director of the Service's Bureau of Disease Prevention and Environmental Control, Dr. Richard Prindle; and the chief of the injury control program, Dr. Richard E. Marland.

This series of 20 programs, each 30 minutes in length, will acquaint the viewer with ways and means to control injuries and prevent fatalities in the home, on the street, and in recreational activities.

When Mr. Burton Bridgens, director, public affairs, WRC radio and television, Washington, D.C., learned that accidents are the first cause of death among Americans up to 35 years old, are responsible for more fatalities than all other causes combined, and that the injuries far outnumber the deaths, he decided something needed to be done. He made available WRC's television facilities to the Public Health Service; he provided an excellent director, Mrs. Martha Cox, for the series; and he assigned one of the station's top announcers, Mr. Mac McGarry, to serve as interviewer and announcer.

These programs—

Says Dr. Marland, chief, injury control program—

can help to eliminate suffering, unnecessary expenses and loss of time because they stimulate interest and inform people in ways to eliminate accidents which cause injuries.

He assigned the responsibility of coordinating the series to Dr. Irmagene Nevins Holloway, assistant to the chief.

Some people are not aware that accidents are the fourth cause of death for all age groups and that each year over 52 million persons are absent from work or visit a physician because of injury—

Continued Dr. Marland.

They are he major killers and disablers of youth for the average age of persons killed in accidents is 43 years; and three males are killed to each female.

The air dates for the series, "You Can't Prevent Accidents," are as follows: Washington, D.C., WRC–TV, channel 4, January 15 to February 9, 1968; Cleveland, Ohio, WKYC–TV, channel 3, February 12 to March 8, 1968; New York, WNBC–TV, channel 4, March 11 to April 5; Los Angeles, KNBC, channel 4, April 8 to May 3, 1968; and Chicago, WMAQ–TV, channel 5, May 6 to May 31, 1968. The time will be from 6:30 to 7 a.m., prior to the "Today" program.

The program and the name of each as well as the date for showing in Washington is as follows:

YOU CAN PREVENT ACCIDENTS

(NBC–TV and injury control program, education exchange series)

Air dates for Washington, D.C.: Air time, 6:30–7:00 a.m., WRC–TV, channel 4.

	Jan.
1. A Right To Live Free From Injuries	15
2. Ticket To Safe Living—Know Yourself	16
3. Research for Preventing Injuries	17
4. Blazes Brand People	18
5. The Burning Question	19
6. Unseen Hazards	22
7. It Won't Happen to My Child	23
8. Your Child May Be Next!	24
9. Gilt Edge Advice—Senior Citizens	25
10. It Pays To Build a Safe Home	26
11. Manage Your Modern Servants	29
12. Power Controlled	30
13. You and the Federal Highway Safety Standards	31
	Feb.
14. Power on Two Wheels	1
15. Package the Passengers	2
16. Water Seems Friendly	5
17. Hazard Eliminators for the Eyes	6
18. Trace the Accident	7
19. Rural Safety and You	8
20. You Can Prevent Accidental Injury	9

Obtain your ticket to safe living, by watching these programs!

New Fiscal Policy Needed To Defuse the Time Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, with our present fiscal situation taking on more and more of a time-bomb aspect, I think it is urgent that every Member of the House of Representatives analyze this situation and take prompt and courageous action before we have a series of explosions which will critically rock the stability of the dollar.

If present trends in inflation, balance of payments, mounting budget deficits, and a lack of confidence continue, economic consequences will be serious enough to result in a sharp decline in our national strength and prestige.

This can no longer be regarded as a partisan issue, for indeed everyone of us, Democrat and Republican alike, must realize that new fiscal policies and attitudes are necessary. Some of the actions we must take will probably not be very popular with certain groups, organizations, and individuals whose pet federally financed projects would be affected.

Somehow, it seems to me, we have got to awaken everybody across the country and in every walk of life as to what we face so that we can do a little belt tightening. It is no longer a question of preference. Instead, a change in fiscal policy is an absolute essential.

I offer herewith excerpts from Growth Trends of New Federal Programs: 1955–68, by the Tax Foundation. I am going to do this in a series of three articles which I hope my colleagues in this body will read.

EXCERPTS FROM GROWTH TRENDS OF NEW FEDERAL PROGRAMS: 1955–68

(By the Tax Foundation)

This study analyzes one aspect of the recent tremendous growth in Federal expenditures—new programs initiated since the Korean War ended.

On an over-all basis, Federal spending in the administrative budget has already doubled from $64 billion in fiscal 1955 to the $135 billion projected for fiscal 1968. A substantial portion of this increase is accounted for by more than 100 new programs, all nondefense in nature, introduced during the period.

* * * * *

Besides describing these activities, this report pinpoints more than two dozen programs, established prior to 1956, which have undergone major expansion as a result of statutory changes.

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It should be emphasized that this report is limited to programs in the administrative budget only, and thus excludes activities financed through the trust funds. Major exclusions are the highway and disability insurance trust funds, established in 1956, and trust fund outlays under the recently initiated Medicare program. The estimated 1968 costs of these three programs, new since 1955, are $10.6 billion. Trust fund spending, estimated at $44.5 billion in fiscal 1968, has grown rapidly from the 1955 total of $8.6 billion. New programs, and legislative extensions of older programs, have been important factors in this growth as well as in that of the administrative budget.

* * * * *

In addition to the strictly "new" programs, a separate listing was made for those programs which were either (a) significantly extended or expanded during the period covered in this analysis or (b) redirected by statute into new areas of activity, resulting in substantially increased expenditures.

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Of all the programs examined in this study, only one—the accelerated public works program initiated in fiscal 1963—has been terminated. However, any "savings" which might have been achieved through termination of that program have been more than offset by the institution of new programs providing increased aids for the same types of public facilities as were financed under the accelerated public works program.

In those two or three additional cases where the annual expenditures under individual programs are shown to have decreased recently, closer examination reveals that the decreases were more apparent than real. The most outstanding example is the college housing loan program, for which expenditures increased steadily over the years, from $5 million in fiscal year 1955 to more than $300 million in 1966. However, for the fiscal years 1967 and 1968 the budget reflects a "minus" expenditure for each year for this program, reflecting an excess of receipts over expenditures resulting from actual or planned sales to private investors of participations in college housing loan pools. Actually, new loans are programmed at the same $300 million level in fiscal 1968.

Another activity for which expenditures are estimated to decline rather sharply in fiscal 1968 involves certain programs under the National Defense Education Act. Closer examination, however, reveals that these NDEA activities will be financed in the current fiscal year through the elementary and secondary and higher education programs enacted in 1966. The expenditures for these newer activities are estimated to rise significantly in 1968 and will more than offset any reductions in NDEA program spending.

Christmas Greetings to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1967

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I place the text of my Christmas greetings letter to my constituents in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR FRIEND: During the present holiday season, I want to take the opportunity to wish you a very merry Christmas and a happy and prosperous New Year.

This is the time of year, of course, when we are inclined to look back and consider the happenings of the past twelve months with a view to how they may affect the future. It is a time of thoughtful dwelling on the meaning of Christmas and the coming of the Prince of Peace. It is a time for counting our blessings, as individuals and as a nation; for rededicating ourselves to the principles of brotherhood and charity, and for making resolutions for the future.

At the same time, the holidays are a time for hustle and bustle, for round-the-clock shopping, for the making of lists, the assembling of toys, the mailing of cards. The accent is on that greatest of all institutions—the family—the preparations for once-a-year get-togethers of the "clan."

It is a time when serious thought is given to phrases like "Peace on Earth; goodwill to men" and what they might mean in the present day and age. Do they, for example, mean "peace" at any price—even the "price" of human freedom and human dignity? Or do they mean peace founded on the fulfillment of commitments to oppose aggression against small and defenseless peoples? Do they mean a peace based on opposition, military and otherwise, to international evil?

I firmly believe that the "peace" we talk about during the Christmas season is a "peace" of honor and responsibility, a "peace" which must be earned and defended. I do not believe it can be attained by refusing to honor our beliefs and defend our principles. I do not think it can be secured by refusing to stand up for what is right and just. And I do not believe it can be had by walking out on the defense of liberty when the going gets tough.

This holiday finds our nation engaged in a struggle for human freedom. Let us all pray for a speedy—and honorable—end to that conflict so a just and proper peace may be attained and our American boys can be returned to their homes and their loved ones. And meanwhile, let us marvel once again at the miracle of the Christmas Spirit which turns this time of the year into a period of universal love and gives a special meaning to the words "goodwill toward men."

Our little greeting is to let you know that our sincerest thoughts and prayers go out to you and yours during this beautiful and sacred season.

God bless you all.

DONALD E. "BUZZ" LUKENS.

Social Insecurity Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, later this week, we shall be considering H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967. The conference has retained, with slight modifications, the most restrictive, regressive House provisions relating to a freeze on aid to dependent children and medicaid limitations. In addition, the more enlightened of the provisions of the Senate bill concerning the "man in the house" and earnings incentives to welfare recipients were removed in the first instance, and watered down in the second.

The New York Times of last Saturday, December 9, condemns the bill in an editorial which I commend to my colleagues:

SOCIAL INSECURITY BILL

The conference version of the Social Security bill is a harsh assault on the welfare of tens of thousands of the country's poorest families. It also represents a callous retreat by the Federal Government from its responsibility for taking over from the hard-pressed cities and states a fuller share of the relief burden.

The excellent measure passed by the Senate has been hacked into a regressive carbon copy of the worst of the bill as dictated by Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee and steamrollered through the House without change. Its only really forward-looking provisions are its expanded authorizations for child health, family planning and day care, and even these have been scaled down.

Typical of the bill's niggardly spirit is the floor of $55 fixed for monthly Social Security benefits, as against the $70 minimum recommended by the Senate. How any American is expected to live on $55 a month in this inflationary period, the conference report did not explain. The 15 per cent general increase in benefits the Senate had voted was chopped back to 13 per cent.

The public welfare provisions are calculated to strip those on the relief rolls of what dignity has been left to them by existing red-tape and investigatory procedures. The House won in its demand for a freeze on the ratio of children from fatherless homes who could qualify for welfare—a provision that faces the states with the option of sterilizing mothers or letting children starve. A dozen other provisions embody similarly degrading rules.

Even the sections intended to encourage relief recipients to find jobs are made so barren as to be selfdefeating. Thus, a Senate provision permitting those on welfare to keep the first $50 a month of outside earnings and half of everything over that has been cut to $30 and 30 per cent, a ratio so low it provides almost no incentive. A job-training allowance is cut from $20 a week to $30 a month.

On Medicaid the new reimbursement standards will vastly complicate the problems of states that are already finding it almost impossible to keep up with the cost of health services to the medically indigent. Everything about the bill moves away from a recognition that welfare is a national problem in which the primary financial responsibility must rest with Washington.

The only hope now left for anything remotely approaching an adequate measure lies in the announcement yesterday by a half-dozen Senators that they would fight the conference report. They deserve Administration support in opposing a bill that Senator Robert F. Kennedy rightly called "a disgrace to all Americans."

The Truth About Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Greek Star, the voice of American Hellenism, recently carried two articles on "The Truth About Greece." I am pleased to insert them into the RECORD as an objective nonpartisan commentary on the situation in Greece today:

THE TRUTH ABOUT GREECE

Rev. Spiros Zodhiates, president of the "American Mission to Greeks" recently visited Greece. Following his return he made a broadcast over 50 radio stations coast-to-coast entitled "The Truth About Greece." The following is the text of his address:

Seeing is believing. I saw it with my eyes. Conclusion: Those who have heralded far and wide that Greece in recent months has become a country to be avoided because its streets are full of soldiers and guns, have propagated falsehoods.

What is the truth about the military take over of April 21? As president of American Mission to Greeks, which is the largest voluntary religious and philanthropic agency working on behalf of Greeks everywhere in the world, I had the moral duty to investigate, observe, and conclude.

During 1967, I visited Greece three times: twice prior to the revolution and once again after the revolution. Prior to the revolution, I observed a considerable breakdown of law and order. The Parliament building had become a battleground for exchange of fist blows and obscene language. Members of Parliament stood defiant of the laws they were supposed to uphold, and they could do this because of their parliamentary immunity. They could incite the public into revolutionary outbreaks on the streets, in the factories and everywhere, with the police hardly capable of imposing order for the safety of law-abiding citizens. The young people who organized into communist-inspired groups were the particular instruments of the politicians. The newspapers gave the inflammatory signals.

The Greek Central Intelligence Service discovered that underneath all these civil disturbances there was a secret effort among some Army officers to form a revolutionary plan for a leftist take over of the armed forces. If this had taken place then Greece could have swung from within to the communist orbit. This leftist take over of the military could have taken place without resistance if loyal Army officers could have been neutralized. But, if opposition could not be completely neutralized, the plan was to bring bloodshed and civil war. There probably would have been a North Greece and a South Greece, just as we have a North Vietnam and a South Vietnam, with Northern Greece assisted by its communist neighbors and the South assisted by the West. This would have resulted in open conflict, just as in Vietnam, for the Western world could not possibly allow Greece to fall prey to communism.

ROLE OF THE PAPANDREOUS

The officers in the conspiracy for a communist take over, called ASPIDA, were arrested and arranged before a court-martial. It was discovered that these officers had behind them a leading member of the Greek Parliament; and this leading member was none other than the son of the Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou. Many of the Greek people could scarcely believe that a man like Andreas Papandreou would try to establish communism in his native Greece, because he had been a United States citizen and had taught economics in one of our leading universities. Nevertheless, he had indeed become dedicated to the communist cause.

What added further to the Andreas Papandreou's subtle deception of the Greek people was that he had been brought to Greece in the first place by the rightest government of the ERE party under Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, who ruled the land for eight years. He thought that an American-educated Greek in the field of economics would be able to contribute something to the economic uplife of his homeland. He apparently was completely unaware of the secret communist leanings of Andreas and; thus it came about that in 1963, under the Center Union Party headed by Andreas' father, 75-year-old George Papandreou, Andreas was given the most important economic position in the government: the Minister of Co-ordination.

The influence of the son on the father was great. The otherwise democratic party began to move toward left orientation. Close cooperation with the leftist EDA party began. Inflation was the order of the day. The salaries of the judges and members of Parliament were doubled. Andreas Papandreou became vocal about freeing Greece from "American suppressive influence" and neutralizing the country, Nasser-style, in alignment with Red China. On one occasion he was so defiant of the United States and so offensive in his language in addressing newsmen that the United States officials present walked out in protest. In spite of Andreas' involvement with the Army conspiracy, however, he could not be touched by the courts or any law enforcement agency because of his parliamentary immunity.

The climax of the crisis occurred in the summer of 1965 when the King became aware of the ASPIDA conspiracy in the Greek Army. I was there at the time, and the Minister of Defense, Mr. Garoufalias, disagreeing with the conspiracy in the making, fell out with the Prime Minister George Papandreou. The King agreed that the Prime Minister had the right, as the elected premier of the country, to dismiss his Minister of Defense. He was asked to appoint another man. At this point, however, Mr. Papandreou did a peculiar thing. He refused to appoint another Minister of Defense and insisted instead that he should be permitted to become, himself, his own Minister of Defense and carry that portfolio in addition to his regular duties as premier. When he made this assertion, the King and his advisers saw immediately that it was actually a desperate attempt by the premier to cover up the conspiracy in the Army, in which his son, Andreas, was implicated. Otherwise, why should the Premier insist on taking over the duties of the Minister of Defense personally? Was there no man in the whole country of Greece who was competent for the post? Or was the Premier simply afraid that no one else could be trusted to keep evil secrets?

At the King's refusal to give in, the Prime Minister angrily submitted his resignation. The King accepted it and appointed a new Premier from among the party of the Center Union (the ex-Premier's own party). The result was that a group of parliamentarians of this party broke with the Center Union and formed their own party. Government after government fell because no party commanded an absolute majority in Parliament. The spirits of the people were extremely inflamed by the cheap and irresponsible demagoguery of the politicians.

The King called for elections and set May 28, 1967, as the date. But the Center Union insisted that Parliament should extend the period of parliamentary immunity after the dissolution of Parliament (which is done for the purpose of new elections) so that Andreas Papandreou could not be arrested at a time he was unprotected. The Central Intelligence Agency then discovered that on the Sunday following April 21, there was going to be a mass rally in the city of Thessalonica (the second largest city of Greece) at which the Papandreous were going to speak. The communists were ready with policemen's uniforms to bring about chaos and confusion. The police informed the Army of its inability to cope with the situation. There was going to be bloodshed.

Furthermore, reliable sources had it that about 100,000 communist guerrillas were readying themselves in the neighboring communist countries to the north of Greece, to join forces with communist elements within the land for a possible communist take over. A great many of these communist guerrillas were Greeks who had been abducted from their homeland as little children during the war of 1948 and taken behind the Iron Curtain for thorough communist brainwashing and military training. It was such a situation that the Greek Army was facing. That they would have had to act later, there was no doubt. But why allow the imminent bloodshed to take place first? Prevention is better than cure. On April 21, before the kick-off rally for the revolution could get started in Thessalonica, the Army took over the land in two and one-half hours without any bloodshed.

CONDITIONS AFTER THE ARMY TAKE OVER

It was necessary at first to put an end to all political activity and arrest a number of communist agitators and politicians. Most of these have since been set free, and this is in contrast to what you can expect from other countries, especially communist ones. It is generally believed that if the communists were ever given the opportunity to have the upper hand, there would have been plenty of executions in Greece, just as there have been in Cuba and Red China. The Greek Army, however, did not execute or even mistreat anyone. Those who are still being held on the island of Youra have been visited by the International Red Cross, and a report is available to those who desire it.

It was my privilege to meet the members of the revolutionary group and the Prime Minister. They exercised no effort to brainwash me, and gave me the information I desired. I had all the freedom of investigation without being influenced by an interpreter since Greek is my mother tongue. I had the opportunity to hear what the people had to say. In coffee shops, buses and airplanes, I carried on discussion about the situation, even with those who are opposed to the necessity of the military take over. I met with groups large and small in the open and in closed areas without being followed, questioned or disturbed. I did not seek police clearance. The coffee shops are full of people, both native Greeks and foreigners. It was evident to me that the present government of Greece follows and tries to hinder only political gatherings which have subversive aims. But other gatherings are free and unhindered.

Armed soldiers are nowhere to be seen throughout the country. And I saw even the leaders of the revolution circulate freely without armed or police protection, which is more than can be said of the many so-called democratic countries. There is freedom to travel anywhere. The customs hardly even open the suitcases of travelers. Every courtesy is shown to all people, both native and foreigners. For a native Greek today it is far easier and faster to obtain a passport than ever before. Any citizen can see any member of the government with comparative ease. Bureaucracy has been reduced greatly. No more bribery abounds, which was the order of previous political regimes. Government officials tell you the truth and do not give you the runaround. It is justice, not favoritism, that is meted out to all. Inflation has been checked. The government stresses the necessity of spiritual values. Only communist books have been banned.

American Mission to Greeks has one of the largest publishing houses in Greece, the Logos Publishers, with a huge printing establishment in Athens. We operate bookstores and employ colporteurs, all with complete freedom. All religious groups, including the minorities, enjoy as much freedom today as they ever did, if not more. There are some isolated exceptions, for which individual officials of previous governments, and not the government of today, are to blame. Greece today is a country where only a communist conspiracy need fear. She is probably the best friend the United States has, but instead of being praised for the preventive action taken by the military in order to save her from communism, she is being greatly maligned. Why is this?

SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM IS ESSENTIAL

It is my own personal belief that there are times when force is needed to rescue someone who may be on the brink of destruction—self destruction or otherwise. This is the role the Greek Army played. I am persuaded that they did not seize power through any great thirst for power itself, which is what motivates the communists. Instead, it was a rescue operation. They do not intend to enslave the people they rescued. They know that slavery is the real kind of "liberation" that communism brings, and they do not approve of that kind of liberation.

No nation which has been taken over by communism, whether through internal revolution or external capture, has ever been given the privilege of deciding its own political and economic future. It is in order to safeguard this privilege for the Greek people that the Greek Army acted on April 21.

Do you wish proof of all that I have said here? Watch the newspapers for the coming elections. Soon after the revolution the Greek government appointed a panel of independent jurists to revise the constitution and update it to safeguard against the threat of a communist take over. This will be voted upon by the people in free elections. Now, the new military government is suggesting that the new constitution should prohibit military men from running for elected government office. Therefore, the very men who engineered this revoltuion desire to abstain from ruling the country. Even now, only three of the cabinet members are military men. All the rest are civilians, most of them high court jurists.

This is the truth about Greece, and what we have stated here can be verified with any firsthand investigation such as ours. You are free to go to Greece to find out for yourself. No one will stand in your way.

Commander Galbraith Strongly Backs America's Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion's national commander, William E. Galbraith, has just delivered a hard-hitting, logical address strongly backing America's Vietnam policy in an apeparance at Bartlesville, Okla.

Commander Galbraith's speech received front-page coverage in the Tulsa Daily World for Saturday, December 9, 1967.

The full text of the World article follows:

LEGION COMMANDER BACKS L. B. J.'s POLICY IN VIETNAM

BARTLESVILLE.—The national commander of the American Legion suggested here Friday that congress critics of President Johnson's stand in Vietnam shouldn't knock it if they haven't seen it.

William E. Galbraith, a 41-year-old Nebraskan, has seen it—concluding a three-week sortie through Vietnam Oct. 12.

"Those that represent us should take the opportunity to visit Vietnam, to understand what the war is really about," Galbraith declared. "What we're fighting is international Communism.

"We're winning that war in spite of the dissidence here in America, because we have some dedicated young American men that are dedicated to the cause and purpose of why they're in Vietnam."

Galbraith, a cattleman from Beemer, Nebr., said "We should understand that the reason the Chinese Communists want Vietnam is because it is the richest country for the source of food of any nation."

The South Vietnamese soil is so fertile, he said, that it can produce 60 per cent of all the foodstuffs needed in Asia.

Galbraith, who served with the Navy during World War II, said the GIs fighting the war are the "best-led, best-trained and best-equipped of any of the servicemen that America has ever had."

"Morale," he noted, "is extremely high."

The fighting is different than it was during World War II because of the Communists' ability to withdraw into Cambodia and Laos for protection.

"You don't have a line to fight behind," Galbraith amplified. "The fighting is all around you."

The Legion had adopted the theme "Freedom Is Not Free" this year to "awaken the apathetic and to arouse those that are confused or bewildered to an understanding that . . . each generation has an obligation and responsibility in a free country to support a program for . . . freedom . . . justice and equality for all of its citizens," the commander continued.

On Vietnik demonstrations, Galbraith asserted that "we should always reserve the right of dissent, but it should be lawful dissent that presents an alternative program."

The alternative "should not be the destruction of America," he said, claiming that some protestors are "advocating total anarchy."

"The program will destroy our country if we pursue that course."

Kansas Wheat Man of Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, Charles W. Pence, the executive vice president of Great Plains Wheat, Inc., was recently honored as the Kansas Wheat Man of the Year. His efforts in the development of American markets abroad and in improving the quality of wheat in Kansas and throughout the Midwest have earned him a worldwide reputation.

The contributions made by Mr. Pence deserve recognition; therefore, I include in the RECORD an article from the December 5, 1967, issue of the Southwestern Miller, "Kansas Wheat Man of Year";

KANSAS WHEAT MAN OF YEAR

The honor of designation as "Kansas Wheat Man of the Year," awarded to Charles W. Pence, executive vice-president of Great Plains Wheat, Inc. by the Kansas Association of Wheat Growers and the Kansas Wheat Commission at their recent annual joint meeting in Great Bend, Kansas, was earned through long and valuable service to the wheat industry. That service has already proved invaluable, but its benefits are yet to be fully unfolded. Mr. Pence has an enviable record of contributions to wheat improvement in Kansas as the president of the Kansas Wheat Improvement Association. In his present capacity as the top staff officer of Great Plains Wheat, a post he has occupied only for the past year, he is helping materially to further maintenance and development of demand for wheat in a manner that gives promise of increasingly solid results.

The wheat of Kansas, the greatest state in the production of the bread grain, ranks high in quality to the satisfaction of American and foreign millers. The quality has been improved through many labors, including those of the teachers at Kansas State University, the plant breeders of the experiment stations, and through the wisdom of the growers themselves. In his work for the Kansas Wheat Improvement Association, Mr. Pence, who graduated from Kansas State University in 1938 with a degree in agriculture, helped to raise the quality by carrying the facts of wheat improvement over the state. Before joining the Kansas Wheat Improvement Association, he acted as county agent, or teacher and guide to farmers, in Saline, one of the largest wheat producing counties in Kansas. The concern of the Kansas Wheat Improvement Association over quality even played a part in stimulating federal action, including inauguration of discounts against undesirable varieties in the price supporting programs.

As executive vice-president of Great Plains Wheat, the newly-named "Kansas Wheat Man of the Year" is making himself felt more widely than ever internationally. In its wheat market development work, Great Plains Wheat maintains offices in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, in Caracas, Venezuela, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It cooperates with Western Wheat Associates, Inc. in offices for American wheat market development in Tokyo, Manila, Taipei, Taiwan and in New Delhi, India. His knowledge of the wheat industry is adding to interest in American wheat abroad—interest that is bound to yield greater results in export sales with peace settlements and an intensification of economic improvement over the world. No one is more deeply disappointed over the present lag in exporting than Mr. Pence. It may also be said that no one is more hopeful of better world markets for American wheat in the future.

Not least among Mr. Pence's contributions to the advancement of the wheat industry is the promotion of mutual understanding between the producers of the grain and the marketers, including the domestic and the foreign trade. Greater unity than ever prevails today in the wheat industry because of the growth in understanding that he assists in fostering.

Able, thorough and energetic in his labors for the wheat industry, Mr. Pence is an ideal choice for the honor of the "Kansas Wheat Man of the Year" award.

Congressman Horton Praises Monroe County, N.Y., Health Department and Rochester Institute of Technology for Joint Program To Train Environmental Health Sanitarians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the past decade has seen a rapid increase in the entry of universities into the mainstream of American life to lend their analytical and instructional genius to problems faced by the various levels of Government.

This marriage of the joint academic and practical approach to public problems is very well illustrated in an educational program established by the Monroe County, N.Y., Department of Health, and the Rochester Institute of Technology.

The director of the health department, Dr. Wendell Ames, recently became concerned about a shortage of environmental health sanitarians. He discussed the shortage with officials of RIT. Together they have created a unique program, open to majors in biology and chemistry who will spend alternating 13-week periods at RIT and at the health department during the last 3 years of a 5-year curriculum. They will complete the program with a B.S. degree, fully qualified as professional sanitarians.

I would like to share with our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, the details of this pioneering, joint training venture.

While at the health department, the students will be assigned on a scheduled basis to work in various areas of environmental health, ranging from the control of air and water pollution to the supervision of nursing homes and hospitals. They will serve under an adviser and receive a trainee salary, $5,120 to $6,400.

Dr. Ames said the program will provide vital field experience, complementing academic instruction, for young persons interested in careers in environmental health.

> The protection and improvement of our environment has become of prime importance—

Dr. Ames said.

> Health agencies and other organizations across the nation are in need of able, experienced sanitarians to carry out the work. We believe our new program with Rochester Institute of Technology is of a kind that can help to fulfill this need.

The new program was developed by Dr. Margaret L. Rathbun, deputy director of the Monroe County Department of Health, and Mr. Joseph DeSantis, associate public health sanitarian at the department, in cooperation with Mr. Robert J. Winter, associate director of placement services at Rochester Institute of Technology. Two students are currently enrolled in the program, which began this semester. Eventually two third-year students, two fourth-year students, and two fifth-year students will be enrolled simultaneously.

Mr. DeSantis, who holds B.S. and M.P.H. degrees, will serve as adviser to the students while they are assigned to the health department. He said the work training sessions are divided into six periods, each of 13 weeks duration. The first period includes orientation and administration in public health; water supply and sewage disposal systems; inspection, sampling and operation of swimming pools. The second period includes theory, regulation and survey of radiation installations; stream sampling and investigation of water pollution; plan reviews and field investigation of subdivisions; rodent control. The third period includes inspection and evaluation of farm labor camps; dairy farm inspection; familiarization with pasteurization processes; inspection of food-handling establishments and the control of food-borne diseases; laboratory work associated with food and milk programs. The fourth period includes inspection and operation of sewage treatment plants; housing and sanitation; sampling, analysis and investigation of air pollution. The fifth period includes inspection, evaluation and review of nursing homes and hospitals, and special assignments selected on the basis of the student's interests.

> The final thirteen weeks of the student's training will be devoted to a thorough environmental survey of a selected community—

Mr. DeSantis said—

The student will make a complete analytical study of all environmental health factors, including the performance of necessary laboratory analyses. The survey will correlate all his previous training into a meaningful result of benefit to all concerned.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Dr. Wendell Ames, the Monroe County Health Director, Dr. Margaret Rathbun, the deputy director, Mr. Joseph DeSantis, associate public health sanitarian of Monroe County, and the associate director of placement services at RIT, Mr. Robert Winter, for their practical solution to the problem of breaking new ground in the field of public health.

The Monroe County Health Department-RIT training program for environmental health sanitarians combines the practical knowledge of department officers with the instructional skills of RIT. Its graduates will be eagerly sought by public health departments because they will be able to step right out of their caps and gowns into professional sanitarian work, fully qualified and experienced.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this creative, cooperative approach to public problems to my colleagues for consideration by public and academic institutions in their own congressional districts.

I am bringing this program to the attention of the Mayor of Washington, D.C., the Honorable Walter Washington, in the hope that it will provide a source of qualified sanitarians to help who could help fight the extensive pollution problems in the Nation's Capital.

Detailed information on the plan can be obtained by contacting Mr. John Van Buren, the Health Information Officer of the Monroe County Health Department.

Negro-Owned Cooperative Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed both a pleasure and an honor to have the opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues the inspiring self-help projects now operating in the State of Louisiana. The Southern Consumers' Cooperatives in Lafayette, La., stocks one of the Nation's finest production of bakery goods, candies, and pecans; one of the Nation's finest gourmet fruitcakes is distributed throughout the country from Lake Charles, La. At Sunset, La., the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Co-op stores for distribution thousands of pounds of the best sweet-potatoes grown anywhere in the country. All of these products are produced, developed, and baked by local Negro low-income farm family co-ops and are available for distribution during the holiday season.

The success of these co-ops for the past 2 years has stemmed from the determination of the farm families in these areas to stay in the South and make a go of it and the distribution of the sale of these goods to northern cities. I would like to share with you an article describing these self-help projects found in the December 14, 1967, issue of Jet magazine:

Stocks of one of the nation's finest gourmet fruitcakes—Acadian Delight, developed by Negro food experts and baked by cooks of a thriving low-income farm family co-op—are piled high in Lake Charles, La. A huge storehouse of brownies, pralines, spiced pecan candies and pecans is also available for distribution from the Southern Consumers' Cooperatives in Lafayette, La. At Sunset, La., the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Co-op stores thousands of pounds of specially grown sweet potatoes because it is unable to market a bountiful crop grown by poor Negro farmers in the bayou area.

The Yuletide treats should be welcomed in every Negro home during the holidays because the supply represents the outlay of one of the most inspirational self-help projects in the South. No man is more mindful of the depressive situation than Father Albert J. McKnight, a Catholic priest who in 14 years has sparked a peaceful economic revolution among thousands of poor Negro farmers in Louisiana.

In four years of his bakery Co-op's existence, Father McKnight has been unable to sell more than 10 percent of his fruitcakes in the Negro market. His biggest customer is the Co-op food chain in Berkeley, Calif., which annually buys a third of the total production—last year roughly 20,000 fruitcakes. Most of the mail-order business consists of white supporters. In Louisiana, the 40-year-old Holy Ghost father hasn't been able to win support of middle-class Negroes and the only national organization to extend a helping hand has been the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Director Lincoln Lynch put a squib in a leaflet sent to 100,000 backers resulting in a flow of orders.

Likewise, the sweet potato Co-op suffers from a similar lack of support. Organized two years ago after white brokers refused to pay Negro farmers any more than 50c for a crate of sweet potatoes in a virtual hold-up, the Co-op brought together some 500 farmers who pooled resources to buy seed, fertilizer and equipment. At current prices, the farm Co-op yearly sells about $250,000 worth of sweet potatoes but face harassment that would disillusion less determined business people. Few brokers in the South will handle their line of vegetables. The salvation lies in the North where Negro families in the cities constitute a large percentage of the customers. Said Robert Landry, 28, the Co-op manager: "Opening the outlets in the cities is the best Christmas present our brothers and sisters can give us this year."

Aware of the bottleneck that threatens to stymie his enterprises at a crucial period, Father McKnight explained: "This should be the Yuletide that middle-class Negroes vow to bridge the gap between their less-fortunate brother and sister. This should be the Yuletide that we dedicate ourselves to meaningful black power—taking advantage of our economic promise. If Negroes in the North back us, we can help ourselves and there is no need for them to come South to demonstrate. This would be a magnificent stroke of cooperation and result in a major advance."

Fashioned by Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute Home Economist Edward W. Ramsey from results of a recipe contest conducted among co-op farmers wives, the fruitcake is adjudged the "finest such product" in the industry. Not only did Ramsey develop the ideal cake—free of dryness and mold and consisting of more than two-thirds fruit and nuts but he trained unskilled farmers as efficient bakery craftsmen. One of the bakers, Forest Reuben, is a former painter while the sales manager for the Co-op, Alfredt McZeal, did janitorial chores at a downtown five and ten cents store in Lafayette.

The bakery—the pride and joy of some 1,000 low-income farmers in the bayou—boasts modern equipment and yearly its output has doubled. Countered Father McKnight, a Brooklyn resident who was assigned to Louisiana following his seminary graduation, "This is a story of hope and a dream coming true. All of these people have a share in the bakery and take pride in the business."

From surrounding farms, Co-op members grow pecans used in the fruitcake and sold in the mail-order business. For years, Home Economist Ramsey tried to utilize the sweet potato in the batter but was not successful. The recipe for the cake is so secret that only a few members are allowed to handle the books. The research alone in developing the fruitcake cost thousands of dollars.

Typical of the Louisianans who benefited from the bakery operation is cover girl Leona Benoit, whose family is affiliated with the co-op. A student at the University of Southwest in Lafayette, Leona works part-time in the office and also helps handle the peak mail-order business. Other families participating include board member Alvin J. Biagas, the father of 14 children (two in college and a high school honor roll sophomore). The combined cooperatives in southwest Louisiana with assets of more than $250,000 have added thousands of dollars to the income of farmers. With a Yuletide spurt from Negroes around the country, the businesses can do even better. "The happiest Christmas," said Father McKnight, "would be to have families throughout the country put our fruitcake on the table in a tremendous show of teamwork and brotherhood."

Seventh Avenue Will Press on Charles' Toes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday I called upon Americans to abstain from purchasing French goods during this holiday season in response to French President de Gaulle's overt attempt to undermine the American dollar even while France owes this country a $6.85 billion World War I debt.

Because of my deep concern about American indifference to Gaullist policy and my continuing efforts to bring about payment of France's World War I debt, I was gratified to read in Friday's, December 8, Women's Wear Daily of a planned protest against De Gaulle by American clothiers on New York's Seventh Avenue, the heart of the garment district.

I welcome this serious and thoughtful approach to civic responsibility and commend the Seventh Avenue activitists for their foresight and responsibility. So that my colleagues might be fully aware of the attitude on Seventh Avenue, and under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the article from Friday's Women's Wear Daily in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Women's Wear Daily, Dec. 8, 1967]

SEVENTH AVENUE WILL PRESS ON CHARLES' TOES

(By Tom McDermott)

NEW YORK.—S. A.'s anti-De Gaulle apparel manufacturers plan to tell their story to the American public in newspaper ads.

But, as yet, they don't know exactly what their story is.

At a special closed committee meeting held Thursday at Jerry Silverman's 25th floor showroom atop 530 Seventh Avenue, the possibility of running ads in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles papers was discussed.

It's still talk and no action. A decision was not reached as to when or where the ads will run, according to informed sources.

Present at the meeting were: Larry Aldrich, Jerry Silverman, Pauline Trigère, John Pomerantz, Richard Kaplan, Adolph Klein, Elinor Simmons, Max Bernegger and Mollie Parnis.

Mr. Aldrich, spokesman for the committee, said the ad, which reportedly will take the format of an "open letter" to the American public, "will express our attitude and thinking toward President Charles de Gaulle's anti-American opinions and actions." He added that the manufacturers' purpose is to draw to the attention of the American people the ramifications of De Gaulle's actions.

If the ad has any effect, Mr. Aldrich commented, "it seems that of its own accord, it should make others search their consciences."

Other spokesmen for the group made it clear that the protest was not a clarion call to boycott the French couture or the French people. "We simply want to get more people on the bandwagon," said Mr. Silverman, "and this has definitely evolved as a protest against De Gaulle—no one else."

The band of S. A. producers hopes to get other segments of the industry involved including sportswear, coat, rainwear, furs and accessories manufacturers.

They haven't contacted retailers nor have they been approached by them. "We haven't talked to any stores," said one of the group. "After all, until we get ourselves organized we can't approach others outside the industry."

As is the case with many S. A. causes of this type, manufacturers can't be pinned down as to whether their anti-De Gaulle feeling will carry over to a concerted boycott of the French fabric market or the French couture. Some are taking middle-of-the-road course; some claim they'll shun the City of Light next year. Others assert they will still go.

"Under the circumstances," said one manufacturer, "we're not planning to go to Paris next year." Stated Mr. Aldrich: "I will definitely not go." Claimed another member of the committee: "I will probably lessen my purchase of French fabrics next year. However, I certainly don't believe we can put them out of business."

One participant declared that the ads would not direct the American consumer to stop buying French-made products. "They would have to draw their own conclusions," he pointed out. "What we're trying to do is get people to examine their consciences and realize the possible magnitude of his recent actions."

One veteran producer declared that the matter of urging the public not to buy French goods "is probably illegal if used in any newspaper ads and is a matter for the State Department to handle."

Another outspoken De Gaulle critic exclaimed: "We want to tell the American people and De Gaulle that he is treating us unfairly. This man will probably drag down the French economy and other countries with him if he continues his actions."

I. Magnin's Russel Carpenter said, "I will be in Paris in January." Carpenter is one of the biggest retail customers of the couture.

A major Swiss fabric house confided that its business with S.A. "has never been better. Perhaps it is De Gaulle who's helping us," mused the Swiss.

Porter Porter, New York specialty shop owner, said, "I told you so." In February, 1965, Porter announced he would bypass the French for political reasons.

The New York rep for several major French fabric mills, himself of French descent, said, "Personally I sympathize with a boycott. De Gaulle is impossible. I say this even though it hurts me economically." And he ducked into his French cuisine at Restaurant X.

Among other retailer reactions: "You can't win an argument by doing that sort of thing" commented Alvin J. Walker, chairman of Holt Renfrew & Co., Ltd.

The Montreal-based specialty store chain has its plans set for covering the next couture openings as usual and Mr. Walker again will make his European tour at collection time.

One way to make one's opinion known, he feels, is "to relate our views to our friends in RTW and others we know in France." But for a store to reduce purchases or boycott French merchandise is not going to achieve anything with a man like De Gaulle. Such action can boomerang, could even play into De Gaulle's hands, or he would turn it that way.

"There are a lot of other things that personally you may not like quite apart from De Gaulle but a boycott of any country's products because you disagree or disapprove of what its head of State says in a time of peaceful relations is not the way."

Los Angeles stores handling French couture and other merchandise did not seem as ready to get their backs' up about De Gaulle as do their customers.

Some department store and speciality shop executives told WWD they had heard reports of anti-French sentiment expressed by shoppers, a few of whom have refused to buy French perfumes and/or apparel.

This "resistance movement," however, is described as having virtually no significant impact on the sale of French-made goods generally. But the executives are alert to the possibility of increased customer boycotting.

Bullock's has received at least two letters expressing resentment over sale of French perfumes, noted Frank Gillett, chairman. Asked about the firm's own attitude toward possible curtailment of buying activities in the French market, Mr. Gillett indicated the issue has not yet been discussed by top management.

Madeleine Acosta, owner-manager of the Alice Schfeitzer boutique in Beverely Hills, Calif., said "three or four customers so far" have expressed open resentment of French merchandise.

Richard Shapiro, president of Filene's, Boston, reacted mildly to the talk of a French boycott: "There's been no decisions made on the subject here at the store . . . we have to discuss it. However, I don't feel that De Gaulle's sentiments are necessarily shared by all French businessmen so that should be taken into consideration. As for Seventh Avenue's reaction, this was probably touched off more by De Gaulle's anti-semetic comments than his anti-American remarks."

Many Asian Chiefs Now Supporting Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished American columnist, Mr. Carl T. Rowan, has supplied the American people with an excellent analysis of the true meaning of the war in Vietnam.

His column explaining how President Johnson is winning ever increasing support among many Asian chiefs brings the whole war in Vietnam into proper perspective.

I am sure that time will prove that Mr. Johnson's stubborn determination to hold fast in South Vietnam will have made it possible for our Nation to work more effectively with all the nations of Southeast Asia.

Mr. Rowan's column follows:

MANY ASIAN CHIEFS NOW SUPPORTING JOHNSON

(By Carl T. Rowan)

"President Johnson is a political genius on domestic matters, but when it comes to foreign policy he's at a total loss."

That has come to be accepted as a truism by Americans of all political and economic circles. How Johnson must wish, these days, that it was somewhat closer to the truth!

The truth is that the President has been doing remarkably well with his foreign clients. It is only with the homefolk that he now seems unable to do anything right.

Never was this more obvious than when Prime Minister Eisaku Sato came here and gave a surprisingly strong endorsement of Johnson's policies in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

The newspapers were full of stories and photographs of bearded, brazen American protesters acting like fascists around a New York hotel where Secretary of State Dean Rusk spoke. But this politically sensitive Japanese leader, who must be delicately sure of his ground before speaking on issues like the Vietnam War, was telling newsmen:

That the Japanese and other Asians support Johnson's policies and the American military presence in Southeast Asia.

That the Japanese do not want a U.S. withdrawal until a lasting peace can be negotiated.

A fair observer would have to say that Johnson was a pretty good foreign policy operator to get this kind of support from Sato, and to handle the touchy issue of the Bonin and Ryukyu islands in such a way as to permit the Japanese leader to return home reasonably happy.

On Vietnam, Johnson has convinced Sato of—what he has been unable to convince Americans: that LBJ is a man of peace—but a man who knows that peace is never found at the end of a flight from responsibility and commitments.

As much as we all hate to let facts interfere with our prejudices, it is hard to ignore the fact that Sato is only one of a string of Asians who give solid backing to Johnson's Vietnam and other Asian policies.

A half dozen Asian chiefs have come here recently making statements that sound as though they either think Johnson is a great and gutty American, or they are living evidence that he is the greatest persuader ever to dabble in foreign policy.

Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Souvanna Phouma of Laos, Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia and even Ne Win of Burma have pleaded with Johnson privately to see the struggle though.

It is significant that South Vietnam's neighbors—whether neutralist like Burma or hawkish like Thailand, hostile toward America like Cambodia or almost an extension of America like the Philippines—all express genuine fear of Communist China. And most of these neighbors believe the U.S. military is the shield that permits them to retain their independence.

A major Communist goal has been to isolate the United States in terms of world opinion on Vietnam. They have had some success in Europe, mostly through the simple tactic of quoting American critics of Johnson's Asian policies.

But the Communists have not been able to isolate the United States from the people most directly involved—the Asians who have the most to lose in the Vietnam conflict.

One reason is that, contrary to popular notions, Johnson has been a lot more effective in talks with foreigners like Sato and Ne Win than in discussions with U.S. congressional leaders, or with some of the powers in his own Democratic party.

It would seem that the cliche ought to be: "If Johnson could only deal with Americans the way he talks turkey with those foreigners."

Reappraisal of Poverty Program Needed Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, recently an editorial appeared in one of the Chicago newspapers suggesting that the stripping away of $460 million in antipoverty funds was an example of the House of Representatives at its parochial worst.

The editorial writer is most certainly entitled to his opinion, regardless of how wrong I think his observations and conclusions might be in this regard.

The crowning remark of the editorial was that:

> The OEO is conducting a national poverty war and while the war is not perfectly fought, it is winning victories.

This could easily be one of the understatements of the year.

I think the Nation has to meet its commitments, but I think the American taxpayer is entitled to a great deal more for his dollar than he is presently getting in many areas including the poverty program. It is going to be interesting to see how right the editorial writer will be in the light of the final bill adopted in conference which was approved this week. We are going to see what will be funded on one hand and just what actual effect it is going to have on some of the programs sponsored by OEO—good, bad, or indifferent.

I submit that certain educational programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity that have been successfully conducted and those that could be made successful with proper administration ought to be transferred to the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It appears from the figures published by two of the bureaus in the executive branch of the Government that the war on poverty is going to be a long, drawn-out, and expensive affair. According to the Bureau of the Census, the number of the poor has decreased rather slowly during the past few years of recordbreaking prosperity. Certainly no one can attribute this reduction solely to the war on poverty since the number was reduced from 1959 to late 1964 when we did not have the Office of Economic Opportunity.

1959	38, 900, 000
1964	34, 100, 000
1965	31, 900, 000
1966	29, 700, 000
1967	27, 500, 000

If this rate can be maintained, the war on poverty will be over around 1980.

Those who would like to see poverty eliminated, and that includes every responsible person, cannot complain that the war is being lost or victory delayed because of lack of funds. Ever-increasing amounts are being spent. According to the Bureau of the Budget, Federal funds spent for the benefit of the poor have increased during the past few years:

	Billions
1960	$9.9
1963	13.0
1966	19.6
1967 estimated	22.0
1968 estimated	25.6

Mr. Speaker, I hope that some day someone will write a book about the war on poverty, just as others have written about the Civil War and the two World Wars. What fascinating reading it would be. Let me recite for the record a few items that a future historian can use as he pens his account for the future generations that will have only a hearsay knowledge of what poverty was.

In the meantime, here are a few items that a historian might find worthy of inclusion in his history, at least in the footnotes.

Under an emergency loan program authorized recently by the Office of Economic Opportunity, $1 million would be used for cash loans for poor families in seven Southern States that are unable to buy Federal food stamps. According to the OEO, most of the loan recipients were out of work "due to the impact of the recent minimum wage law covering agricultural workers, the reductions in cotton acreage, and the increasing use of chemicals and mechanization in crop production." In other words, by supposedly solving one problem by governmental action, we have in reality created another. Farmworkers who not only failed to benefit from the increase in the minimum wage rate, but found themselves unemployed because of the increase, must now borrow money from the Federal Government in order that they and their families can eat.

Let us hope that this $1,000,000 reaches the people who are in need, thus alleviating poverty. A great deal of poverty money is used for everything else, as I will proceed to demonstrate.

One of America's best reporters during recent years has been Victor Riesel, so I would like to begin by quoting from one of his recent columns:

> The Office of Economic Opportunity and thousands of its tiny . . . headquarters are loaded with literature and promoters of street action. Some of the latter are of the New Left, the independent Maoists, the Trotskyites, the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party "youth," and even Muscovite Communist party activists. . . .
>
> * * * * *
>
> In some areas of New York City, the record will show that street gangs have been subsidized by units of the poverty "crusade."
>
> * * * * *
>
> Experts . . . say they have evidence that youth operating on the fringe of the program have distributed leaflets containing instructions for the manufacture of Molotov cocktails.
>
> . . . When police raided [LeRoi Jones' Black Arts Repertory Theatre in Harlem] they found a cache of automatic guns, small arms, ammunition, brass knuckles, and explosives. This was . . . a revolutionary cell. And it had been subsidized by HARYOU-Act, a section of the poverty operation."

In Newark, across the Hudson River from New York City, antipoverty workers fomented the race riots of last summer. On May 25, over a month before the riots broke out, they were foreseen by Newark's police director, Dominick A. Spina. On that date he sent a telegram to Sargent Shriver, who heads the war on poverty, in which he protested the "use of resources and manpower of any agency of OEO for the purpose of fomenting and agitating against the organized and democratic government and agencies of the city of Newark." Mr. Spina warned that the "acceleration of this practice by this antipoverty agency will lead to riots and anarchy in our city."

More than 2 weeks later, Mr. Shriver denied Mr. Spina's specific charges and whitewashed the OEO agency. It was not long afterward that the race riots broke out in Newark. Police Director Spina declared that poverty money was used to rent vehicles and sound equipment which were used "for agitating" during the riots.

Information indicating that the rally which set off the riots was arranged by antipoverty workers was developed by investigators for the House Committee on Education and Labor Antipoverty officials refused to even suspend Charles McCray, the accountant for Newark's antipoverty agency, who was arrested during the riots for firing a rifle from the window of an automobile.

Willie Wright, one of the directors of Newark's antipoverty agency, said:

> Get yourself a machine gun, 'cause you're gonna need it. Every black man should buy a tank and put it in his backyard.

In Memphis, a local community action group refused to fire two poverty warriors who had been identified as black power advocates. One of them declared:

> If the newspapers would report it like it really is, if they'd come in here and really look at poverty, and stop worrying about inconsequential things like whether you're a Snick or a Communist, maybe we wouldn't have to burn it down.

In Chicago, a member of Volunteers in Service to America was found guilty of disorderly conduct and interfering with police during a racial outbreak. According to police, he shouted:

> Black power! Wait until it gets dark and we'll burn the city down and show the white cops.

In Pittsburgh, Federal funds have been used to channel the aggressiveness of black militants into protests that are supposed to stop short of violence. According to columnist Charles Bartlett:

> The Mayor's Committee on Human Resources furnishes experts who guide and advise protests that lead in some cases to marches on city hall. Neighborhood branches of the Mayor's Committee give summer employment to young black power advocates

> with police records and encourage them to march at the head of protest parades. . . . Thus encouraged, the spirit of protest runs high and Mayor Joseph Barr has to move fast to stay ahead of it. Militants employed for the summer with OEO funds talked of burning down the city's slums during one recent visit to his office.

Poverty money has been earmarked to finance a "liberation school" in Nashville that, according to police, teaches Negro children to hate whites. According to Capt. John A. Sorace of the Nashville police, the director of the school is Fred Brooks, local chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who was involved in rioting in the Tennessee capital last April. Brooks, 20, told an interviewer from the Nashville Tennessean that Sorace "is a racist and should be killed."

Brooks was listed on the antipoverty payroll at $300 a month and drove a new station wagon that was leased with OEO money. Rev. J. Paschall Davis, chairman of the Nashville antipoverty program, admitted that the vehicle had been leased and that the local antipoverty agency had agreed to pay $20 a week rent for 6 weeks for four women who worked at the school. Davis conceded that a list of prospective salaries that had been drawn up showed that Brooks was to be paid $300 per month and that there would be no bar to financing the project despite the fact that those who operated the school were known as SNCC activists.

Marion Barry, a militant civil rights leader, has been a $50-per-day consultant for the United Planning Organization, top antipoverty agency for Washington, D.C. In August 1965, he took part in a protest demonstration organized by the Assembly of Unrepresented People. Barry was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct while leading demonstrators onto the Capitol Grounds.

> Riot power and rebellion power—

He was quoted as saying last July—

> might make people listen now.

City Councilman Raymond Lewandowski of Buffalo recently told about two VISTA workers who "threatened" him that, unless more Negro youths were given jobs, there would be a race riot. One of these workers was arrested during the subsequent riots. The antipoverty program was described by Mr. Lewandowski as—

> A well-organzied conspiracy in which Buffalo's elected representatives are being subjected to threats of riot and intimidation by anti-poverty workers.

According to the official, seven of the city's nine councilmen want "all Federal antipoverty activity removed from Buffalo because of the agitation and disruptive action on the part of antipoverty workers in local affairs."

Military police "to protect us from an invasion of Job Corps enrollees" were recently demanded by James Barker, public safety commissioner of Salt Lake City.

> We've had all kinds of trouble with these people. . . . We've got to have military police to protect our citizens—

Mr. Barker declared.

Last fall the mayor of Perth Amboy, N.J., accused the local antipoverty leader of seeking "to foment and incite unrest, agitation, and disorder." The city manager of Rochester, N.Y., said almost the same thing last July.

The Office of Economic Opportunity recently granted $700,000 to the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association of Selma, which numbers among its principals John Zippert and Shirley Mesher. Zippert's association with the Kremlin-financed World Youth Festival has been documented by the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. Miss Mesher is "a prime participant in the Black Panther movement designed to overthrow the Government," according to the Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace.

In Pikeville, Ky., Joe Mulloy, a field representative for the Appalachian Volunteers, which is financed by the Federal Government, was arrested on charges of sedition. In Houston, two former students who were indicted for murder after the riots of last May were later hired by that city's antipoverty agency to work with poor children. Only after the local press raised a furor were they suspended.

In the Hough area of Cleveland, OEO has been financing an experimental project whose goal "is to enroll all Hough tenants in a tenant union." It is spending $57,000 to organize such a union and has earmarked an additional $20,000 to evaluate the "experiment." An antipoverty project in Pittsburgh planned to include "preparations for a city-wide rent strike."

Recently 50 persons picketed Gottschalk's department store in Fresno, Calif., for 6 hours. The purpose of their picketing was to try to get the store to remove some items from its shelves because they were on a boycott list drawn up by the AFL–CIO.

This would not have been particularly newsworthy were it not for the fact that 16 of the pickets were from a federally supported training center in the Watts section of Los Angeles. The picketing activities in Fresno which, incidentally, is 250 miles from Watts, were part of the trainees' instruction in "nonviolent means to reach economic gains," according to officials of the California Center for Community Development, which sponsors the Watts Social Action Training Center. The SATC received a direct grant from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, an agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Although it was supposedly established to help prevent more riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles, most of its trainees are from outside of Watts.

Mr. Speaker, I would feel terrible if a group of poverty workers picketed the Merchandise Mart in Chicago.

The CCCD, which has been supported partly by $280,000 in war on poverty money, has tried to unionize farm workers, according to Carl Samuelson, the president of the California Council of Growers. Edward P. Dutton, the director of the CCCD, admitted:

> We work with people to get unionized if that's what they decide that they need. Our first commitment is with the people; a smaller commitment is with the funding source.

A project of one trainee of the CCCD was to assist Bakersfield garbage collectors to organize a union and carry out a strike.

The activities that I have mentioned are but a few of the many projects in which the antipoverty program personnel have engaged. About 70 poverty fighters in Atlanta drew Federal pay for registering people to vote. Similar activities have been carried on in Florida.

Part of the $434,000 Federal welfare grant to Kentucky will go to provide $50 per month allowances to boys from poor families. Many boys and girls from middle-class and well-to-do families do not receive such lavish amounts of spending money.

In Iowa, OEO will pay newspapers and radio and television stations to publish their news releases, with payment to be based on regular advertising rates.

The Office of Economic Opportunity recently invested $620,000 in a pilot program to test effectiveness of a negative income tax. Under this program, 800 New Jersey families whose incomes are below the poverty level will receive direct, unconditional payments, rather than pay income taxes. According to OEO, the experiment would be "a graduated work incentive program." According to 620 income taxpayers who would pay $1,000 each to finance such nonsense, it might be called something less printable.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the genuinely poor people in our midst would be best helped by the elimination of most of the so-called antipoverty programs. One of the things that helps to keep these people poor is the high cost of Government and the inflation that has plagued our Nation as the direct result of the huge deficits in the national budgets.

Antipoverty money not only has not helped the genuinely poor to any great extent, it has not helped to prevent riots. Before the riots in Detroit, the Federal Government had spent over $30 million on antipoverty activities in the Michigan metropolis. It had also spent some $112 million on 28 urban redevelopment projects there.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and on, citing other horrible examples, but I do not want to be like the lawyer who bores the jury or like the preacher who puts his congregation to sleep with too much fine talk. Let me simply close with one observation about the ineffectiveness of welfare programs.

In 1939, shortly before the end of the greatest depression of all time, average per capita income in the United States was $695, total Government welfare spending was less than $10 billion a year, and unemployment was nearly 14 percent. Today per capita income is four times as great, unemployment is only one-third as severe, and the Government is spending seven times as much on welfare programs and yet the rate of crime has doubled.

Letter to the Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

Letter to the Editor

Dear Mr. Editor: I have had it!

I am getting weary indeed of the many articles and letters submitted concerning Red China and the war in Vietnam. They are written, I'm sure, by people who have never been ashore in the combat area!

This pains my heart, because the things they are saying are just not so. I spent eight months in the combat zone with a group of men who literally worked themselves to death on humanitarian projects. We built roads, a hospital, dug water wells, and did countless acts of civic improvement, such as working in Catholic and Protestant orphanages.

Then, returning to the good old U.S.A. I find criticism, bickering, and questions like: "Are you still burning innocent villages and shooting civilian women and children?" I find that patriotism is suspect, military obligation is somethng to be avoided, and to almost kill yourself trying to rescue a man is now a sin . . .

I wish that the critics of the war, and those who are always clamoring about Red China, would shut up and listen once in a while to those who have been there. Please excuse my phraseology, but I mean it. I'm sick to death of battlefield experts who have never left home, and of mushy Christians who have never been to an area where to believe in Christ means torture and death. Let them spend their time under fire, then I'll listen. Let them go over and talk to the refugees from China and North Vietnam, then I'll talk with them. May God have mercy on these political and military experts who debate in a classroom and never get more than a hundred miles from home. May God have mercy on us all, for condemning so easily and commending so slowly . . .

What frightens me is that our people are not getting a good and true picture of the Vietnamese conflict, even though I'm sure it is the best covered news event in history! When I tell people that our men never fired a shot at the Viet Cong until we were attacked, they look at me like I was crazy. When I tell them that the Communists hate our guts, and savagely blew up our hospital, and maimed our men with ambushes, no one wants to listen. When I ask these people back in the States if they have been to Asia, if they have talked to any refugees from North Vietnam lately or questions of that nature they say, "No, but it doesn't make any difference!" Can you imagine that?

I hear continual criticism of our presence in Asia and continual harping to withdraw. North Vietnamese to get out of South Vietnam? Why isn't there more condemnation of the raping, looting, burning, and the hell the Communists are spreading south of the demilitarized zone? I think the thing that burns the soul of every soldier is to come home and hear some fat, comfortable preacher in his clerical garb denounce our country's policy, and spout off about a war he hasn't fought in and discuss issues he has no first hand knowledge of. I know this has been true since "Willie and Joe" came back from World War II, but for heaven's sake we ought to learn something by now.

When I tell folks back here about the work our boys are doing there—building, teaching, healing, and cleaning, I get a sweet smile, a knowing look, and a reply something like this: "Oh yes, it is wonderful what our boys are doing. But don't you think those people are just taking advantage of us and they really aren't in favor of us being there, and wouldn't they be just as happy and well off under the Communist?

The first several times I heard this, I was too surprised to reply. Then I was too mad to talk. Now I want to go in a corner and weep!

How stupid can we get?

I know that this war is a terrible thing. I know that there is a lot of feeling about "political policy," and "foreign affairs," and that it is not a simple thing. Oh, Lord, how well I know this—as does anyone who has been there for a few months.

But how would you like to have someone say to you, "Let them go, don't help, they will be happy under Communism!" It's an old truism that if we sit here smugly in our freedom, and not help others preserve theirs, we wouldn't have ours very long! We're so smart we know this, but we are so dumb we don't want to anything about it.

There is no doubt in my mind that this is the "Good-Samaritan-Parable War!" We've got a bruised and bleeding South Vietnamese desperately in need of help. And a lot of Americans fear getting involved by stopping to help. The thing that breaks my heart is, that having been one of the many who did stop and try to help a little, I straighten up, and turn around looking for our Church to help—and I don't find it! What is wrong with being on the side of freedom? What's wrong with helping a brother who is hurt badly and calling for help? What's wrong with speaking out against the godless ruthlessness of Communism? Nothing, you say? Then why don't we do it?

I loved the Reformed Church of America, and I hope I'm Christian in the matter of speaking to the Red Chinese, and working for peace. The only trouble is the last Red Chinese I saw tried to mortar me to death.

Now, brother, if you want to speak with him, and discuss the issues of peace with him, go right ahead! Be my guest. I have had it. You try it for a while. Then, after you come back, let me know how you made out.

Fraternally,

Chaplain G. P. Murray,

U.S.N., Naval Shipyard, Boston, Mass.

The Kiwanis Battle Against Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Kiwanis Club of Miami Shores, Fla., has sent me a resolution which its board of directors unanimously adopted regarding crime in the United States.

Kiwanis International at its annual convention in Houston, Tex., last June requested that the membership of all Kiwanis clubs become personally and actively involved, and supply leadership for a citizens war against crime. From my work as chairman of the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee I am fully convinced that the battleline against all kinds of crime is in the communities, manned not only a law-enforcement personnel, but by the people living and doing business within the communities. This belief is supported by testimony that has been produced before the subcommittee by some of the Federal Government's leading law-enforcement officers.

The possibilities of lessening crime through group activities such as Kiwanis clubs everywhere, for supplying leadership in the fight, and for waging the battle on local levels, are inestimable. I was so impressed with some of the points of the group's resolution that I thought it should be brought to the attention of all Members of the Congress.

Resolution

Whereas, Kiwanis International in its Annual Convention in Houston, Texas, in, June, 1967, adopted and promulgated a resolution to all Kiwanis Clubs throughout the country directing all Kiwanis Clubs throughout Kiwanis International to become involved and take an active part and supply leadership in the war on the up-surge of crime, and

Whereas, the Florida District of Kiwanis, in its Golden Anniversary meeting in Fort Lauderdale, in September, 1967, adopted a similar resolution and promulgated the same to all members of Kiwanis in the Florida District, and

Whereas, the Kiwanis Club of Miami Shores has been alarmed for some time about this soaring crime rate, and during the past six months has been meeting with other Kiwanis clubs and law enforcement officials in Dade County, in an attempt to formulate an effective program of action to stem this rising tide of crime, and

Whereas, other civic clubs in Dade County and interested groups have also pledged their support and intense interest in this all-out effort to make our country a safer place in which to live;

Now, therefore, be it resolved:

That the Kiwanis Club of Miami Shores by means of this Resolution petitions the American Bar Association and the Congressmen of the United States to jointly take the necessary legal action either by new laws or amendments to the Constitution of the United States to insure the following:

1. That toleration of civil disobedience and justification of lawlessness must end—in government, in the pulpits, among the media, and on the ivory-towered campuses.

2. That those who incite riots and rebellion should be treated as the most dangerous of criminals and *relentlessly* prosecuted as felons.

3. That those who participate in riots and rebellions should also be prosecuted with vigor particularly the arsonist and the snipers.

4. That criminal laws at all levels of government should be reviewed and strengthened to deal specifically with the foregoing crimes in light of present conditions. Penalties should be adequate to deter criminal conduct, and justice should be swift and certain.

5. That effective gun-control laws should be adopted at State and Federal levels and the possession of guns by criminals be a felony.

6. That sniping at policemen, firemen and possession or use of Molotov cocktails should be a felony.

7. That those who incite and participate in non-violent civil disobedience should also be subject to criminal sanction. Where needed, laws should be clarified and strengthened with appropriate penalties provided. The First Amendment freedoms must be carefully safeguarded but rights of free speech and peaceful assembly do not justify incitement to revolt or the willful violation of draft laws, income tax laws or court decrees.

8. That those Judges at the Federal, State and Municipal levels who by their consistent actions release from prosecution offenders by reasons of leniency, long extended trials and minor technicalities in legal documents, be brought before the appropriate Judicial as-

sociations to determine their qualifications for continued tenure in office.

9. That those attorneys in the United States who make a practice of, and boast of their ability to obtain release from prosecution by reason of minor technicalities in the law be brought before the appropriate Bar associations to determine their qualifications to remain members of their professions.

10. That sustained efforts be made at the Federal, State and Municipal levels to obtain and retain competent law enforcement personnel by the necessary incentives of increased salaries, better working conditions, unqualified public support and confidence and that these law enforcement officers be fully trained and equipped to put down crime in our streets.

11. That copies of this Resolution be sent to the Governor of the State of Florida, the legislature of the State of Florida and to local Municipal leaders requesting their active support in the above mentioned actions.

Dated at Miami Shores, Florida, this 16th day of November A.D. 1967.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS, KIWANIS CLUB OF MIAMI SHORES.

Salute to Tennessee's 1967 Volunteer Team

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-known fact that we Tennesseans take our football seriously. For this reason, I hope that my colleagues will forgive me a little serious bragging on the exploits and accomplishments of the Nation's finest football team.

The University of Tennessee's 1967 Volunteer team has just recently completely one of the most successful and inspiring seasons in the school's football history. Despite a crippling series of injuries to key players, the Vols fought through one of the toughest schedules in college football to compile a 9–1 record, win the No. 2 position in both major national rankings, and earn an invitation to play in the Orange Bowl classic at Miami on New Year's Day. This justifies a little bragging.

When Coach Doug Dickey talks about the 1967 Vols, he always stresses the word team. No one can deny that what Coach Dickey and his boys accomplished required a maximum of cooperation and unity of purpose. It also required that each player possess that extra measure of courage, personal responsibility, and pride that makes up a champion. Tennessee is proud of every man.

I could spend some time talking about individuals, for there were many great performances by outstanding players. Dewey Warren, hobbled all season by injuries, still managed to turn in some spectacular duty at quarterback. Charlie Fulton and Bubba Wyche, Walter Chadwick and Derrick Weatherford, were all outstanding. Albert Dorsey, the tough defensive back, and Richmond Flowers, the lightening-fast flanker, have been honored by selection as All Americas.

But, I feel compelled to express a great deal of extra pride in a young man from the city of Cleveland in my own Third District of Tennessee. His name is Bob Johnson, and you will find him listed on every All-America team.

Longtime Vol watchers have labeled Bob as the best center in the team's history. He is a great blocker; a hard competitor with the size, strength, speed, and natural ability to earn lasting respect from teammates and opponents alike. Coach Dickey has characterized Bob as an excellent leader both on and off the field, a player who can be counted on to do his job on every play of every game. That is a pretty solid rating, and one in which I wholly concur.

I salute Tennessee's Volunteers and Bob Johnson and hope to be at the Orange Bowl when they win their next great victory. As representatives of our State, they are a real source of pride to every Tennessean.

Money Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the December 6, 1967, issue of the Emmons County Record, Linton, N. Dak. Editor Fischer points out that our agricultural economy has not kept pace with the rest of the economy and therefore cannot absorb a surtax without further serious hardship. The editorial follows:

MONEY PROBLEMS

For many years we thought money problems were the exclusive realm of the individual, but recent events have shown that whenever too many individuals have such problems—either too much or too little money—nations develop some financial difficulties too.

Take for instance, Great Britain. That country, home of the miniskirt, now also has the minipound. It became a mini because the country spent money beyond its means, so now its money is worth less—and if things don't improve, it could also become worthless.

Our troubles in this country are of a different kind. Our credit is still pretty good, but it's losing its prestige all around the world. We must be getting ready to raise the debt ceiling pretty soon again.

The United States has a somewhat different approach to its problems. First the government allows wages and prices to get out of hand, then suddenly finds that people have too much money to spend. It also gets involved in a most distasteful war, then can't find a way out. All this means tremendous outlays of money, of which there is already too much in circulation.

The obvious cure for all this is to take back some of this money. This is to be accomplished by a surtax, or a tax on a tax.

Only trouble with this idea is that the government will take back money from people who didn't get too much in the first place. We have no great manufacturing industries in North Dakota. Neither do we have the huge labor organizations which can extract the last penny from employers while the government looks on approvingly.

Who can say that our agriculture-based economy in this state is making so much money that some should be returned via an extra tax? It would seem that if too much money is handed out on a selective basis, then the tax should also be applied selectively.

If all this doesn't make much sense, then we're an expert. You are probably aware that the world's financial difficulties are caused by experts who didn't know what they were talking about either.

Texas and Dr. Dorman H. Winfrey, State Librarian, Honor Zachary Taylor Fulmore, Prominent Historian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in November at the courthouse in Austin, Tex., an historical marker was dedicated to the life and works of Zachary Taylor Fulmore, an early resident of Texas whose contributions to history, literature, and education in the State were early indications of the importance of these fields to the people of Texas. A leading figure in the establishment of the local historian, he wrote a very thorough history of the counties in Texas. "The History and Geography of Texas as Told in County Names." The book gained wide notice as a picture of history of the westward migration in Texas through the rendering of the history of separate areas of the State; this formed a significant contribution to the preservation of history of the regional past.

Fulmore joined with other historians of his time, founding the Texas State Historical Association; he also helped to found the first Austin, Tex., free public educational system, and adult and vocational education throughout the State.

The address on the commemoration of Zachary Taylor Fulmore was given by a prominent historian and leader in the field of literature in Texas today, State librarian Dorman H. Winfrey. His reverence for history and for the cultural development of Texas in this 20th century has done much toward the carrying out of those ideals represented by Fulmore in the last century. Texas honors its men of letters; and she is honored in them.

I ask unanimous consent that the address, entitled "Zachary Taylor Fulmore," written by State librarian Dorman H. Winfrey, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ZACHARY TAYLOR FULMORE

(By Dorman H. Winfrey)

This afternoon we pause to reflect on the career of Zachary Taylor Fulmore. It is indeed appropriate that we gather at this courthouse, for the distinguished jurist spent many hours in a similar atmosphere. The architectural features have changed, but the ideals of justice and freedom remain the same.

Zachary Taylor Fulmore was born in North Carolina on November 11, 1846, and died in Texas, on June 22, 1923. In the more than seventy-five years between, he devoted a majority of his life to public service in the state of Texas. Throughout his active life, Fulmore was dedicated to the tradition of education, to justice and to the protection of the law, and to the disciplines of history and literature. It is the kind of spirit that created what is the finest in the achievements of our state and will help to preserve the quality of our life for future generations.

A descendant of early Pennsylvania Quakers, Fulmore grew up in North Carolina amid the controversy over slavery and the destiny of the southern states.

He attended a series of schools there, departing them one after another as their faculties resigned to join the Confederate army. His final school was the well-known Bingham School; but in 1864, following the example of his instructors, he too left for the front, enlisting as a private in Company D, First Battalion of North Carolina Artillery. The next year he was taken prisoner and held until the end of the war. Following his release, he resumed his education at the University of Virginia, where he studied law.

In 1870 Fulmore moved to Texas, the state which was to offer the opportunity for the greatest expression of his talents. He settled in Austin and made the capitol the home of his legal offices. In 1877 he married Miss Louella Robertson, daughter of General E. S. C. Robertson, prominent Texas political and military figure under the Republic and Confederacy. Mrs. Fulmore died in 1909, after a full life devoted to rearing a family of five and supporting her husband's endeavors for over thirty years.

Fulmore served as county judge of Travis County between 1880 and 1886. During his service as county judge he led in the establishment of a city-county hospital and in the attempt to place county finances on a stable basis.

In recognition of his concern for the principles of law as well as its eminently successful practice, Governor James Stephen Hogg in 1891 appointed Fulmore one of three commissioners charged with the responsibility of revising and codifying the laws of the state. Their work marked a major milestone on Texas legal history.

Unsatisfied to rest on the achievements of his profession alone Fulmore distinguished himself not only in his support of legal progress, but in education and history as well.

The sense of social responsibility of which law is a natural product was a feature of every aspect of Fulmore's life. He was particularly interested in the work of the Confederate Home for Men, one of the state institutions attempting to provide services for the Veterans of the Civil War. From 1903 to 1905, he was chairman of its Board of Managers.

In his youth Fulmore studied literature as well as law, and in his later years he returned to this early love, uniting it with his interest in history. Though not a professional historian or author, he earned a wide reputation for the high quality of his writing as well as the thorough scholarship that stood behind it. He produced several works, including articles for the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* and for nationally published geography texts, as well as highly respected maps of Texas during her colonial and republic periods.

It was natural that Fulmore's chief historical interest should be Texas. He particularly became niterested in Texas counties and the origins of their names, making a thorough study of the subject and publishing articles on his discoveries. In 1915 he published the work which has given him his greatest reputation as a Texas historian, *The History and Geography of Texas as Told in County Names.*

Fulmore had a strong sense of the significance of the history of towns, counties, and states, and of the necessity for preserving their heritage. Those of us here today, as modest champions of preserving the remains of local history, owe him a special debt of gratitude. He was a pioneer in the province of the local historian, who tried to preserve the valuable knowledge of the regional past against the more popular tide of historical generalization.

His interest in history led him to join with others of a similar inclination throughout the state to organize the Texas State Historical Association, which he served in various capacities. In addition to being a contributor to the pages of the Association's *Quarterly*, he was a member of its Executive Council and Publications Committee, and served as its President from 1913 to 1915.

A final subject in which Fulmore took a deep interest was education. He belonged to a long American tradition of faith in education and a belief that it should be the right of every child.

For seventeen years Fulmore served as a member of the school board in Austin, helping to establish the first free public education here, and the first adult and vocational system in the state. He was especially interested in insuring that those who because of financial or other handicaps might be deprived of the opportunity of an education, should be protected by the state.

In 1875 he was appointed by Governor Richard Coke to the position of trustee for the Institution for the Blind in Austin (now the Texas State School for the Blind); later he served as chairman of its Board of Trustees. In 1887 Governor L. S. Ross appointed him one of three commissioners to select the site for an institution of learning for the deaf, dumb, and blind colored youth of the state and to organize the school.

Fulmore's life, and those of others like him will lose their meaning if we forget their efforts. The past is only important as it gives meaning to the present, and if by our neglect of what they tried to accomplish, we cause our present to deny their past, the loss will be ours alone.

The measure of a people can be taken from whom they honor. It is therefore, heartening that Texans meet here to dedicate this marker. Z. T. Fulmore himself needs no monument, his work is reflected in the continued progress of Texas education, in the unceasing betterment of her legal system, and in the ever-growing numbers of local historians throughout the state.

Georgia Women Express Love and Affection for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to address a joint meeting of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars in Rockdale County, Ga., on Veterans' Day, November 11.

Since that time, I have received numerous letters from the members of those posts expressing their great love for their country and their emphatic desire that the United States show determination in bringing the Vietnam war to a successful conclusion.

I particularly was impressed by one group of letters from many of the women who live in Rockdale County and the Fourth District who asked that this country's leadership take whatever steps are needed to win the war over there.

I wish to compliment every one of these outstanding women from the district who have expressed their love and affection for America by including their names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They are: Janet Bias, Jewel Biggers, Louise Cook, Mrs. Martha D. Jett, Mrs. Virgil McCart, Eunice McElhattan, Eloise Marlowe, Mrs. James J. Mayes, Alice Stephenson, Mrs. Alice Underwood, Evelyn C. Underwood, Sarah S. Watson, and Mrs. James E. Whitten.

Tijuana Revisited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, there was an editorial in the San Diego, Calif., Union, on December 4, entitled "Tijuana Revisited." Having watched Tijuana grow from a handful of people huddled south of the border shortly after the turn of the century to a city of nearly 300,000 people, I am greatly pleased to note the vital improvements being made under the direction of its mayor, Francisco Lopez Gutierrez, who has only been in office for a period of 2 years. The following editorial pays a much-deserved tribute to the mayor and to the Governor of Lower California, Mr. Raul Sanchez Diaz, as follows:

TIJUANA REVISITED

Benefit through the catalysts of responsible, moral government was the theme of the promise Francisco Lopez Gutierrez made when he took the oath of office as mayor of Tijuana Dec. 1, 1965.

His promised platform included pay raises and an upgrading for civil servants, more and better roads and sidewalks and more public works projects, suppression of vice to attract family type tourists and improvement of schools.

It would have been an ambitious program for San Diego with its vast resources. It was almost a dream for the incoming mayor who would administer a city of about 300,000 on a budget of less than $3 million a year—including some costs of education.

The dream is coming true.

Visitors can walk through the main districts of Tijuana without being subjected to barrages of distasteful soliciting. New stores, shopping plazas and upgrading of merchandise symbolize the growing prosperity.

Many of the police speak English.

There are many new industries and new jobs.

Among the greatest of the achievements of the last two years, we believe, is the growing citizen involvement which usually lends quality.

The problems confronting Baja California's capable governor, Raul Sanchez Diaz, and Tijuana's dedicated mayor are so large as not to be solved dramatically.

Much more needs to be done in Tijuana because the road to the goal was so long. But there can be no doubt that our neighbor city is in motion also.

Sociology Experiment—Man or Mouse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the late Cal Farley, of Amarillo, started Boys Ranch some 28 years ago.

It has since grown into a national institution and model for other privately operated rehabilitation homes for homeless boys.

Cal Farley's Boys Ranch—the boys themselves—publish a monthly newspaper, Roundup, and in one of their issues the boys came up with a suggestion for killing rats.

The title of the article is "Sociology Experiment—Man or Mouse." It seems to me that Cal Farley's boys have a practical idea for killing rats and one that might be adaptable to small scale operations.

I insert the article to be printed in the RECORD:

SOCIOLOGY EXPERIMENT—MAN OR MOUSE

The President asked Congress for a large sum of money to kill rats with, but the requested money was not granted. A Sociology Class at Boys Ranch School, took the matter under consideration and came up with (No, not the money; but the following suggestion:) "Let the rats kill themselves." They reasoned as follows: "That a rat's stomach is not made like a man's stomach, and a rat cannot 'burp'. Therefore since rats and mice will drink cokes and other carbonated drinks like pigs if they have a chance, just give them a chance. Their stomachs will swell and burst, thus killing the rats that drink it."

Someone said, "Who do you think is going to buy the drinks for a bunch of rats, Congress?" The answer was quickly supplied, "Just leave that up to me. I know how to 'scrounge'. Just go to a coke machine, and you'll find that a lot of them 'empty bottles' ain't empty. Some of them are half full, I know!"

Then someone else said, "Well how you going to get 'em to drink it?" Another young scientist said, "Aw that's okay. I gotta automatic watering bottle for little chickens, and I've seen rats drinking water out of it. Just fill a fruit jar with some of that 'scrounged' coke and put the lid on it. Turn it up-side-down, set it down and then get lost. They'll come and drink it."

A committee of big game hunters was appointed to bring in the mice, (alive) for an experiment which was named, Man or Mouse. It was to be conducted inside a large glass case so the results could be observed by the class. All the equipment needed for the experiment was soon ready, except no mice and no rats. This delay continued for several days until one day one of the big game hunters said, "I gotta bunch of mice." This brought the comment, "Fine, now we can go ahead with the experiment," but we heard the disappointing confession, "Naw sir we aint got 'em now. I throwed 'em away." Of course that called for the big question, "Why?" "Well, -er, I just thought I'd see if they would drink it, and they all died." In a day or two though, we had several mice and a big rat. The mice performed nicely in the class room and proved the point. The big rat was taken outside near the Agriculture Building and offered a coke which he drank a little of but soon turned as though in pain and began to run. The boys followed him a little less than 100 yards, and saw him fall over dead.

Carbonated drinks, when exposed to the air too long, will lose some of their carbon and become less effective as a rat killer, but they may have to drink a little more to get deadly effects, but since the "scrounged" cokes don't cost anything, and Congress doesn't have to pay for them either, a few automatic rat exterminators scattered around the place should be well worth the 25¢ each that they cost us for experimental purposes. The rat drinks a few drops—and then runs till he pops . . . it's a rat race.

Conquest With Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, frequently Communist propaganda is successful for lack of understanding of the true meaning of words used by Communist spokesmen. This takes place at the U.N., in press releases, in Pravda, and all around the world. Because of this, it is necessary that Americans inform themselves concerning the meaning of words and phrases as used by Communists. A new book available to the general public in pocket form offers an excellent guide for this purpose.

I include in the Appendix at this point an article from the Manchester Union Leader, issue of November 9, entitled "Need for New Policy." It reviews the new book, "Conquest With Words," reading material which I am sure will be of interest to all Americans:

IMPORTANT: NEED FOR NEW POLICY

A new foreign policy that is neither "hard" nor "soft" is needed today to deal with worldwide communism, asserts Prof. Roy Colby, former Foreign Service Officer, in a new book to be released Nov. 20. Instead, Prof. Colby argues, it should be a realistic policy based on a thorough knowledge of communism, the Marxist-Leninist mentality and the Communist lingo adopted at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

The book, "Conquest With Words" shows how the Communist lingo is used to promote revoultions and win minds and territories. He backs up his claims with cases, dates and places. He shows how innocent people use the Communist line and help promote their objectives in doing so.

One of the dramatic domestic examples cited is the U.S. attitude change effected in 1963. Khrushchev, he asserts, manipulated American public opinion with the use of double-talk, to the end that whereas, in the spring the polls showed that 75 per cent of Americans considered our struggle against Russia as the No. 1 problem; by October only 25 per cent considered it so. Prof. Colby, a semantics expert and professor of language at Colorado State College, was stationed in Havana as an attaché in the U.S. Embassy when Castro communized Cuba. He witnessed the propaganda offensive as a lethal tool in the takeover.

"Would U.S. policy-makers," he ask, "be quite so eager to build bridges of trade and cooperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics if they were thoroughly grounded in the basics of the Communist lingo?"

"To understand what the Communists mean, we must translate their lingo—the words they use—into the definitions they ascribe to them," asserts Prof. Colby. His book shows how the lingo is used, how it is picked up by the news media and how the laymen can translate what the Russians really mean.

A dictionary of Double Talk is included to aid the reader in the translation of the Communist message, which he reads in the press, sees on TV and hears in speeches.

Examples of press stories used in his clinical-type analysis include:

The Glassboro Conference, Svetlana Stalin Defection. The Loss to the U.S. Track Team by Russia in Los Angeles in 1964, A Disarmament Conference in Geneva, The Confinement of Anthony Grey (Reuters) by Peking, Overthrow of President Ben Bella, The Israeli-Arab War, Black Power Goals, The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, Landing of Marines, Santo Domingo, The Vietnam War Demonstration in Washington (Oct.), The "Graduated Response" idea.

How words are used to secure respectability and cover by new organizations and fronts is also shown like:

League for Common Sense, Michigan Council for Peace, Voice of Freedom Committee, Committee for the Negro in the Arts, American Patriots, Inc., National Blue Star Mothers of America.

The book includes a part of the U.N. Charter translated in Communist terms of understanding and also in terms of Western definitions.

"Conquest With Words" carries a foreword by Herbert A. Philbrick, former FBI counterspy.

Publisher is Crestwood Books, Box 2096, Arlington, Va. 22202. Pocketsize, $1.95.

Strategic Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego, Calif., Union of December 1, 1967:

STRATEGIC GREECE

Recent events in the Mediterranean have shown the United States of America led from the heart, not the head, in our foreign policy toward Greece since last May.

The United States suspended major military aid to Greece May 15 to show displeasure at an army coup the previous month. Greece, a pivotal nation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has received about $4 billion in aid since 1946 of which $1.4 billion was for military purposes.

If, of course, the United States suspended assistance to nations with military or dictatorial regimes the foreign aid cutting problems of Congress would be over.

Irrationally, even as we suspended aid to Greece, the United States continued to try to build bridges to Communist nations which are the ultimate form of tyranny.

Greece generally has been a good friend of the United States. In fact, other than the United States, it is the only NATO nation that has engaged in war with the Communists, which it did during a 1944–49 guerrilla uprising.

Today the United States says it is very pleased at the "very responsible attitude" of Greece over the Cyprus crisis and speaks of a "review" of our recent aloof attitude toward the Mediterranean nation.

Turkey, another NATO ally, also has shown excellent restraint in the Cyprus crisis. And Turkey unquestionably has been one of the staunchest friends of the United States. Nothing should be done to undermine the good relations.

We believe, however, that the United States can forego its aloof attitude toward Greece without hurting good relations with Turkey. Then the allies could turn undivided attention to the growing threat of communism in the Mediterranean.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it has been 475 years since this country was discovered by a great Italian navigator, Christopher Columbus.

The exploits of Columbus have been an inspiratizon to explorers and adventurers for many years and now, in the age of space exploration we find new Columbuses—men willing to risk their lives in seeking new frontiers; in conquering new challenges. Columbus' ambition and dedication in the face of what then were termed insurmountable odds still inspires a challenge to all of us.

History records that Columbus discovered the "New World" on October 12. Again this year, there is pending, as there has been in several past Congresses legislation which would make October 12 a national holiday, that day came and went without a suitable acknowledgement from the Congress. Thirty-eight of our 50 great States, including my own Commonwealth of Massachusetts, observes Columbus Day, October 12, as a legal State holiday. Federal employees, however, in these States must report for work or take annual leave and in some cases are unable to perform their duties if they do go to work because other businesses and offices are closed for the day. I feel that it is past time that this discrepancy be rectified and that Congress recognize October 12 as Columbus Day and have it made a legal Federal holiday.

Columbus, in his discovery of the Western Hemisphere, opened not only the continent of North America, but that of South America as well, for development. Most of the nations on the South American continent recognize the importance of Columbus' voyage and celebrate October 12 in his honor. Why have we in the United States not recognized this great achievement of the intrepid Italian, Columbus? We now honor many who helped form this great Nation. Why do we not honor the man credited with its discovery?

The national commander of the Italian American War Veterans, Joseph J. Villano, who resides in the district which I am privileged to represent here in the Congress, has gone on record for his organization as being in favor of such a legal Federal holiday. I join Mr. Villano and his organization in this effort.

So that there should be no question in the minds of our colleagues of the support this proposal has on a national level I recommend the reading of a succinct letter from National Commander Villano of the Italian American War Veterans of the United States, Inc., to the chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary.

The letter follows:

> ITALIAN AMERICAN WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES INC.,
> *Hartford, Conn., September 30, 1967.*
>
> CHAIRMAN, HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE,
> *House of Representatives,*
> *Washington, D.C.*
>
> HONORABLE CHAIRMAN: As the National Commander of the Italian-American War Veterans, I, Joseph J. Villano, do hereby express on behalf of my entire organization that we are in favor that Legislation be enacted making Columbus Day a legal Federal Holiday.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> JOSEPH J. VILLANO,
> *National Commander.*

Secretary Weaver Outlines Labor's Role in Urban Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, on November 30, 1967, Secretary Robert C. Weaver addressed the 54th annual convention of the AFL–CIO Building and Construction Trades Department in Bal Harbor, Fla. He discused the national leadership role of labor in urban affairs.

Secretary Weaver commended labor's support over the years for better housing. He said:

> Labor has supported virtually all the significant housing measures—from the first Federal effort to help low- and moderate-income families, to rent supplements, and now . . . the Moderal Cities Act of 1966.

But his speech was not devoted so much to the past as to the future—the role that labor unions can play in the important task of rebuilding the ghetto areas. He called upon the unions to aid in creating a rehabilitation industry in which new jobs for skilled craftsmen and neighborhood residents might be created; to meet the $1 billion pledged by the insurance industry for mortgages in ghettos; and to utilize their regular funds to provide much needed construction loans.

Mr. Speaker, Secretary Weaver's speech was direct and straightforward as he called on unions to make the sacrifices necessary to rebuild our cities. So that my colleagues might read this excellent speech by Secretary Weaver, I include it as a part of my remarks:

> You and I have important business to discuss here today—the business of rebuilding the American city.
>
> When President Haggerty's invitation arrived in my office, my calendar called for attendance at a meeting in London. I canceled that, and several other meetings, because I feel that there is no more important place in the world for me than to be here today. This Nation has urgent business with the men who build the Nation's housing.
>
> I do not come here unmindful of your contributions to government housing efforts of the past. Thirty-four years ago, I worked under Secretary Ickes in the National Industrial Recovery Program. Later with Walter Price of the Bricklayer's Union, I served in the United States Housing Authority. I know organized labor's contribution to the World War II effort because I was Administrative Assistant to Sidney Hillman, and a close associate of Joe Keenan.
>
> So I know at first-hand that, since the first low-rent public housing battles were being fought in the 1930s, the building trade unions were there, you fought and you won. I know, too, labor's role since then, under President Meany, President Haggerty, the National AFL–CIO Housing Committee, and your legislative department.
>
> Over the years, labor has supported virtually all the significant housing measures—from the first Federal effort to help low- and moderate-income families, to rent supplements, and now, the most significant effort yet devised to reverse the deterioration in the heart of the American city—the Model Cities Act of 1966.
>
> Your legislative record should be a source of pride to your membership and it is an example of social responsibility to the Nation.
>
> Anyone who examines the record of organized labor will find that it has not simply supported legislation, but it has involved itself directly in the Nation's housing problems.
>
> Unions from Connecticut to California, and from Florida to Michigan, are using the broad range of Federal housing programs to help those who need housing assistance.
>
> Many of the building trade unions are among the 31 union sponsors in 13 states participating in our FHA below-market-interest-rate program to help house the displaced, the elderly, the handicapped and families of low- and moderate-income.
>
> Unions are sponsoring rent supplement projects in ten states, including the first, all-new, rent supplement construction effort in Pasco, Washington.
>
> Labor organizations poneered in what are now tens of thousands of large-scale union cooperative housing units, either now built or under construction in New York and many other cities.
>
> But my primary reason in coming here today is not to talk about the past but rather about the present and the future and about your role in the future.
>
> Few statements that I have read give a more honest assessment of our present urban predicament than your own AFL–CIO publication, "The Urban Crisis." That presentation gives a 10 point proposal for what is needed—action! If you have not read it, I urge every one of you to do so.
>
> The summer of 1967—the summer of discontent—came as an astounding shock to the American people. Frustration, deep-seated, flamed in the ghettos where impoverished families languished, ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-equipped for a highly competitive urban society.
>
> Let me call your attention to an article in the September *Atlantic* magazine. I invite your close attention because there is at the end of it what is known in show business as a "snapper."
>
> The article quotes the report of a Commission on Race Relations in a major city. Listen to the litany of charges by this Commission:

The police and state's attorney, it says, are guilty of gross inequities in the protection of citizens.

The courts are guilty of facetiousness in handling black defendants.

The school board fails to show enough care in appointing principals and teachers to ghetto schools.

Employers are admonished for excluding black workers from jobs, and unions for excluding them from membership.

The commission also condemns unfit housing, arbitrary rent increases, and the arbitrary exclusion of nonwhites from good housing they can afford elsewhere in the city.

The "snapper" is that this report was written in 1919—following a riot that took 38 lives and left more than a thousand people homeless.

That was a half a century ago, but you and I know that it could have been written this past summer. I believe the point is made: these are old problems in need of new answers.

The ghetto is a destructive, self-generating, interwoven series of forces that smoulder beneath the surface of the city.

Is it so difficult to understand that when a man is virtually imprisoned in the ghetto, and he feels there is nothing more to lose, that his frustration will turn to violence?

What is really needed in the ghetto is organization and representation—and these are two matters you understand better than anyone. The unorganized ghetto resident needs not just the building skills but the social and political skills that the labor movement knows so well.

Oscar Lewis, in his book *LaVida* has observed that Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, and southern poor whites, in Lewis' words: "do not belong to labor unions or political parties and make little use of banks, hospitals, department stores, and museums. Such involvement as there is in the institutions of the larger society—in the jails, the army and public welfare system—does little to suppress the traits of the culture of poverty."

When people cannot turn to the successful institutions of a free society—particularly to the one group that has made economic improvement the base of its historic mission—and I am talking about the American Trade Union movement—then where will they turn?

I believe the greatest single weapon in this Administration's arsenal for overcoming the urban crisis—the program which has had your invaluable support—is the popularly known "Model Cities" Program.

It calls for comprehensive dealing with social, economic and physical problems in selected slum and blighted areas. It requires the most effective and economical concentration of Federal, state, and local public and private efforts. Financial and technical assistance will enable cities to plan, develop and carry out comprehensive local programs containing new and imaginative proposals to develop "model" neighborhoods.

This is more than a housing program. It zeros in on public facilities, transportation, education, health, employment, recreational and cultural opportunities, crime reduction, social services and public assistance.

As many of you know, the Model Cities Act requires the payment of prevailing wages. These are determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act. This work is similarly covered by the Contract Work Hours Standards.

But Congress has also written into the Act the requirement that any Model City's program must provide, and I quote, "maximum opportunities for employing residents of the area in *all* phases of the program, and enlarged opportunities for work and training."

That language may raise some questions in your minds. My staff, including building trade unionists, has been in communication with President Haggerty, and the Building Trades Department, with the Construction Industry Joint Committee, with the Department of Labor, and with the most knowledgeable technical people we could find—so that we can anticipate problems that may arise in the implementation of this requirement.

Work standards will be preserved in this program. We have no illusions that unskilled workers can do the jobs of skilled craftsmen. But we will require that the proposals presented to us guarantee maximum and realizable training and employment opportunities for the residents of the target areas.

In all phases of the program for residents of Model City Neighborhoods, residents themselves must have the opportunity for the jobs they are qualified to perform or for which they can be trained. Many of such jobs will be in construction.

In recent months a member of my staff has spent much time checking with many individuals and groups familiar with the building trade unions in an effort to consider your position in structuring our program.

I spent several hours with some of you discussing our mutual concerns in developing a viable and effective rehabilitation industry. All of these efforts reflect my realization that these are problems which require our joint action and our collective thinking.

They also demonstrate that we do not intend to tear down one section of the work force while raising another.

As a matter of fact, skilled craftsmen will find new employment opportunities in the supervision and training of area residents. Keep in mind that this construction will take place in areas where virtually nothing has been done and where without the Model Cities Act little would be done. Construction projects will be undertaken in the most deteriorated sections of our cities.

We know from our conversations that you have legitimate areas of concern. Your organizations throughout the country will be given the opportunity to make their voices heard as these projects are planned, not in Washington, but in each community.

There will be one new negotiator at the table—the area resident himself. He is there as the business agent for the people. Recognizing your past mission, knowing your movement's present policy, I hope you will work with him to solve the complex problem of new careers in construction and in hospitals, retail stores, social services, schools and many others.

This of course brings up the matter of apprenticeship. I cannot speak to this subject quite as glowingly as I did about your support for the Nation's housing programs.

But I do see certain hopeful signs. Indeed, I have some academic support for my glow of restrained optimism. Professors F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs in their study of *Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs* concluded that, in their words, "although racial discrimination continues to be an important problem, we are convinced that its relative importance has declined in recent years and that measures to recruit, train and counsel qualified applicants currently are much more important."

The AFL–CIO Civil Rights Department, with the cooperation of the Building Trades Department and building trades councils throughout the country, have concentrated their efforts in working with the Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, the Urban League's LEAP Program, the Trade Union Leadership Council, and the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). These are indications of movement on your part.

But we are still a long distance removed from the goal of equal employment. Some unions either have no minority members or a handful who represent "token" integration.

The only criteria that the victims of discrimination have—the criteria by which you and I must judge progress—are the figures which show the present degree of minority participation in the building trade unions. I do not believe you will find the figures impressive.

But I also believe that these problems weigh heavily on all of us in our concern for people. For it is our joint responsibility to overcome the impediments to full and equal participation in every phase of our national life.

Of course, a vital part of this whole effort is that our schools in the inner cities must properly prepare ghetto youngsters for the training they need. We recognize that there is quite a distance between non-discrimination, on one hand, and affirmative action for equal employment, on the other, and that the necessity for affirmative action may be difficult to explain in areas where your own members are not working full-time.

However, you have one advantage that many organizations in this country do not have. Your leadership has clearly enunciated, on many occasions, the policy determination to end discrimination in your ranks. It is because of that announced policy that I have addressed you so directly on this matter.

One common concern has been expressed by the building trade unions. If we bring additional men into the construction work force, where will they eventually find employment? First, I believe we are going to see a rapid increase in construction volume. We must, I believe, plan for the building and rebuilding of what President Johnson has called the "Second America"—the construction between now and the year 2000 of more new housing units than there are standing in this country at the present moment. We know the target is 2½ million units a year, including 500,000 low-income units.

This is not just wishful thinking—population growth will make it mandatory.

Secondly, present population pressures already mean that we must rehabilitate the deteriorated housing that can and should be saved. There is no well-organized rehabilitation industry at the moment. If you and this country's contractors will help us create one—there will be a tremendous number of new jobs for skilled craftsmen and for the residents of the neighborhoods.

If there is a limitation on our abilities to deal with the problems of low- and moderate-income housing, it is the money available to fund new efforts.

A short time ago insurance companies formed a pool to provide 1 billion dollars for this purpose. Justifiable praise has been heaped upon these progressive institutions for a major contribution to one of this country's most pressing problems.

It is my proposal to you that through the efforts of organized labor an equal amount can be made available to create new and rehabilitated housing construction projects.

The AFL–CIO Mortgage Investment Trust is already participating in an effort to make funds available for mortgage loans. I know too that your general treasury and special purpose funds require a high degree of liquidity to meet contingenices so that the massive amounts required to assist housing programs are not available from these sources. But they can safely and productively be used to finance short-term construction loans for low- and moderate-income housing.

I hope you will consider the large and growing reserves in labor-management pension and welfare trusts for funds to help rebuild housing for America's needy families. Those of you who serve on Boards of Trustees know that many of these trusts have been turned over to professional investment advisors. Their portfolios have been made up primarily of high-grade common stocks and corporate bonds. The socially-desirable mortgage loan investment, for the most part, has been ignored.

As Trustees you could encourage investment advisors to be more aware of the opportunity to make available a portion of the investment reserves for loans to desirable and badly needed housing projects. Trusts must earn income to provide for their actuarial benefits. But the interest rates paid to investors are normally slightly higher than rates on high grade bonds. And within the areas of the Federal programs, housing investments can be considered as having minimum risk.

Private pension plans today, including those of organized labor, total many billions of dollars. State, county, and local government employee pensions funds are another potential.

There is no better potential for enlightened self-interest and social service than investment in programs that generate construction—programs that return an attractive interest and are as secure as any portfolio that can be designed.

It would require a selling job on your part. It is my hope that the building trades unions and AFL–CIO will officially undertake the implementation of such an effort. This would serve notice on the country that labor is determined to maintain leadership in the problems of the urban crisis.

I have spoken to you in straight-forward terms, as one speaks to an ally in a common cause. I am confident the Nation can count on your continuing support for programs to house all American families. I hope that you will want leadership roles in the Model Cities Programs and in this Administration's search for equal employment. Both activities have to succeed. And each will be facilitated if it has your understanding, commitment, and full cooperation.

We have been dealing with big questions relating to housing and jobs for America. In this endeavor there are no small questions. I know that the building trades unions, with your historic concern for people, will want to be involved in finding the answers.

Fraser Recognized With Civil Liberties Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, my longtime friend and colleague, Congressman Donald M. Fraser—Fifth District of Minnesota—a few days ago was recognized by the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union by being awarded their 1967 Marshman S. Wattson Civil Liberties Award.

I take this occasion to extend my personal congratulations to my distinguished colleague for his continuing courageous defense of American civil liberties. I include for the attention of my colleagues the official statement issued by the MCLU during their presentation to Congressman Fraser:

Congressman Donald M. Fraser Wins 1967 Minnesota Civil Liberties Union Wattson Award

The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union (MCLU) tonight awarded Fifth District Congressman Donald M. Fraser the 1967 Marshman S. Wattson Memorial Civil Liberties Award.

Reverend Richard Tice, minister of Simpson Methodist Church in Minneapolis and Secretary of the MCLU Board of Directors made the presentation at the 1967 Annual MCLU banquet at the Holiday Inn Central in Minneapolis on Dec. 2.

Noting Congressman Fraser's votes against appropriations for HUAC, against extending the draft, against the flag desecration bill and against the anti-riot bill. Fraser was termed, "one man in Congress (who) has dared to stand apart from the hytserical response that too much free speech is dangerous."

Tice said, "This has been a year of dissent, a year of urban crises. There continues in our nation irrefutable evidence of the misuse of police power.

"Traditional party ranks have broken over the right to dissent. Time and again this year, Congress has voted overwhelmingly to suppress dissent.

"Legislation punishing speech and inhibiting thought has been passed without discussion One man in Congress has dared to stand apart from the hysterical response that too much free speech is dangerous.

"The political imperative is at war with our First Amendment freedoms. This Minnesotan has had the courage to choose freedom.

"I present to you the recipient of the 1967 Marshman S. Wattson Memorial Civil Liberitties Award, Member of the House of Representatives for the Fifth District in Minnesota—Congressman Donald M. Fraser," Tice concluded.

Poverty War Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, this August I inserted in the Record a very interesting article which appeared in Barron's financial weekly describing the way in which the war on poverty had played a great part in fomenting this summer's city riots.

Evidently the poverty warriors have been stung by inquiries based on the article, because they have prepared a propaganda sheet in rebuttal which they are distributing to Members of Congress.

When I found out about this, I contacted Mrs. Shirley Scheibla, Barron's Washington editor, to ask for her observations on the OEO answer to her charges.

I suggest that anyone who has any doubts about the poverty warriors' part in the summer riots read her statement, which I am inserting in the Record today, along with a copy of the OEO propaganda which is being circulated to mislead Members of Congress.

My insertions are as follows: First, an OEO form letter decrying Barron's charges; second, an OEO mimeographed rebuttal of Barron's charges; and third, Barron's very effective counterrebuttal of the OEO reply.

OEO Form Letter to Members of Congress

Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C., October 19, 1967.

Thank you for your letters of August 18 and September 18 in behalf of Mr. Charles G. Glueck with regard to the Barron's article of July 31, 1967. I am sorry for the delay in our reply.

Enclosed is a list of Barron's charges and the facts, which show the false presentation of this article concerning "OEO's connection with the riots".

If you should have any further questions, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

Sargent Shriver,
Director.

[From the Office of Economic Opportunity]

Barron's Article, July 31, 1967

The July 31st issue of *Barron's,* a financial weekly, carried an article attacking the Office of Economic Opportunity: "Poverty Warriors: The Riots are Subsidized as Well as Organized."

The article attempts to line those engaged in the task of fighting poverty with the riots that have appalled the Nation. No attempt is made to be objective or thorough in presentation. Instead, a collection of incidents and allegations are strung together to try to discredit the anti-poverty program.

The following is a list of charges made and the facts which are readily available to all.

CHARGE

The riots are subsidized. "Thanks to OEO, the U.S. taxpayer now has a chance to finance his own destruction."

ANSWER

No riot is subsidized—by OEO or any other government agency. War on Poverty programs are squarely on the side of law and order. Instead of fomenting disorder, OEO workers are doing all they can to cool things down. Since the overwhelming majority of anti-poverty workers actually live in areas where disorders could, or did occur, the surprising fact is that so few were involved in disturbances.

OEO gathered statistics on 32 cities in which riots occurred this summer. Anti-poverty workers, i.e., employees of OEO-funded agencies, in these cities number 30,565. Only 16 of the 13,050 persons arrested in these 32 cities were paid anti-poverty workers. Only six of these were full-time staff members, nine were summer employees, and one was a VISTA.

Most public officials, contrary to *Barron's* view, have lauded the poverty program for being an effective weapon *against* riots.

Hugh J. Addonizio, Mayor of Newark, said, right after his city's riots: "It is my position that anti-poverty programs have been helpful to my city, and that these programs need to be greatly expanded . . . I support the program and all it has done to bring hope to many . . ." Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta wired:

"Recreational funds and EOA CAP centers have contributed greatly to cooling off summer problems. CAP center and personnel provided quick communications facility for easing the explosive situation in the Dixie Hills disturbance."

Mayor Joseph A. Doorley, Jr., of Providence, Rhode Island, told a group of poverty workers: "As far as I am concerned there is no telling how bad this might have been if it hadn't been for you guys." Mayor Robert M. L. Johnson, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, said: "The Community Action Program here, . . . was in a great degree responsible for a calmness and sensibility throughout the Negro community some days ago when most of the white community panicked because of rumors of riot . . . as a result Cedar Rapids did not have any incidents despite the fact that for four days this community was blanketed with every conceivable rumor of race riot potential.

From the Chief of Police of Little Rock, Arkansas: ". . . we have detected a considerable decrease in the vandalism and destruction of property . . . in the poverty areas of our city . . . it is obvious to me that a good portion of this reduction can be attributed directly to the . . . various programs conducted under OEO."

And for one last example, Mayor Sorenson of Omaha wrote to Mr. Shriver: "As you are well aware, Omaha's 'long hot summer' has been kept 'cool' to date by programs we have initiated with your help."

CHARGE

The riots are organized. A Cleveland grand jury has found that the riots are less spontaneous outbreaks than carefully planned subversion.

ANSWER

No responsible person or organization has found that the riots are organized or planned subversion. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has testified that the FBI has found no evidence that the disorders were organized. The Cleveland grand jury heard a great many charges and allegations, but it refused to return a single indictment.

CHARGE

Marion Barry is a former national head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Rufus Mayfield is a Black Muslim who has spent most of his last eight years in prison. Together they have found gainful employment working for UPO, the top antipoverty agency in Washington. (The implication is that OEO hires subversives and dangerous criminals.)

ANSWER

The article identifies Marion Barry as a former national head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Mr. Barry never held such a post. He was former head of the Washington, D.C. branch of SNCC, and resigned sometime ago to devote more time to District affairs. As head of the Free D.C. Movement, Mr. Barry has taken an active role in efforts to bring Home Rule to the District, to increase jobs for minority groups, to oppose transit increase and to fight the blight and decay—both spiritual and physical—of Washington slums.

Because of Mr. Barry's demonstrated ability to effectively organize young people and channel their energies in constructive channels, he has been employed by the United Planning Organization, the District's anti-poverty agency, to help this group in its work with young people. A national magazine recently said of Mr. Barry: "Barry, after breaking with his SNCC cohorts, is now the mastermind for youth programs in the anti-poverty division and is quietly showing intellectuals how to communicate."

While it is true that Rufus Mayfield has been in trouble with the law, he has been operating what is regarded nationally as an extremely successful anti-poverty effort, hiring more than 1,000 poverty-stricken youths for a neighborhood clean-up program in Washington, D.C. This program, fittingly named "PRIDE," has been so effective—as an example, it killed some 10,000 rats in less than three weeks—that even those who first expressed doubts about the feasibility of the project, are now counted among its warmest supporters. So successful has the project been that the Labor Department has refunded it on a year-round basis. One additional note—Mr. Mayfield is working for the Labor Department, not UPO.

CHARGE

The Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (SWAFCA) received $700,000 from OEO despite the fact that it numbers among its principals such "subversives" as John Zippert and Shirley Mesher.

ANSWER

SWAFCA was granted $400,000 by OEO, not $700,000 as *Barron's* erroneously reports. Furthermore, neither Shirley Mesher nor John Zippert is a "principal" or even a member of the cooperative. SWAFCA, incidentally, is a coop project whose membership is composed primarily of poor Negro farmers, who are being provided help to raise their incomes through their own labors.

CHARGE

OEO has jailbirds and subversives on the federal payroll. Two examples are John Ross, of the Progressive Labor Party, who served on the anti-poverty board in San Francisco; and Howard Harawitz, a former member of the W.E.B. DuBois Club, who serves on a similar anti-poverty board in Berkeley.

ANSWER

This is a classic example of brutal character assassination. First, neither of these men was on the "federal payroll." Board members serve on a volunteer basis—without pay.

Second, neither of the above organizations, despite the radical beliefs expressed by some of their members, is included on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Finally, OEO has strictly enforced rules and regulations covering the subject of subversives and character qualifications both for board members and for employees.

"Membership in subversive organizations or lack of sympathy with the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, are inconsistent with membership on the governing bodies and police advisory committees of community action agencies. Moreover, all members of such bodies and committees shall be persons of good character; recent conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude shall be considered strong evidence of failure to meet this standard."

Another memorandum, No. 23–A, covers the question of employees:

"Membership in the Communist Party or in any other organization whose objectives include the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence is inconsistent with employment in a community action program."

These memoranda clearly spell out OEO's policy on membership in subversive organizations and in the absence of any proof from Barron's that they are being violated, it can only be assumed that the magazine is more interested in attacking the program, than it is in getting at the truth.

CHARGE

New York City's Mobilization for Youth, pilot project for the Job Corps, was investigated by federal and state officials which found several staff members who were also members of the Communist Party.

ANSWER

Barron's goes back to 1964 to attack New York's Mobilization for Youth project. The program is not, and never was a "pilot project for the Job Corps." Contrary to what the article says, investigation of the agency disclosed no members of the Communist Party.

CHARGE

LeRoi Jones "hate-the-whites" Black Arts Theatre got $115,000 in federal funds from Haryou-Act before police discovered an arsenal on the premises.

ANSWER

The Black Arts Theatre was funded without the knowledge or approval of OEO as part of Project Uplift in the summer of 1965. When it became evident that the theatre was not fulfilling a legitimate purpose, funds were cut off and it was shut down. Later, a private group took over the premises. Following a shooting incident, police did find a number of guns in the building, but there was no connection between this and the defunct anti-poverty project.

CHARGE

OEO fights riots with grants.

ANSWER

Absolutely untrue. Our purpose is to help people help themselves out of poverty. In a message of July 20 to all Community Action Program personnel, Mr. Shriver said: "Lest there be any misunderstanding about what OEO policy has been and continues to be, let me make it unmistakably clear once again. There will be absolute insistence that every OEO employee and every employee of an OEO grantee scrupulously avoid and resist participation by OEO-funded resources in any activities which threaten public order in any community. I shall insist upon immediate and full penalties for any individuals found guilty of wrong behavior in this connection. Furthermore, I shall insist upon the withholding of OEO funds from any grantee or delegate agency which is shown to be encouraging or tolerating such behavior."

CHARGE

"Several" arrests in Newark and five arrests in New York.

ANSWER

Only one of nearly 2,000 anti-poverty workers was arrested in Newark. He has not yet come to trial. There were three (not five) Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees, out of more than 30,000, arrested in New York. These enrollees are recipients, rather than workers, in the anti-poverty program. Since these recipients, as residents of slum areas, are among the group most exposed to the possibility of racial disturbances, the relatively small number arrested (.0017 of the enrollees in the cities surveyed) is a strong indication of the effectiveness of OEO programs in helping avoid disturbances. In most cases, including Newark and Detroit, NYC enrollees were highly praised by police chiefs for their role in helping control the riots.

In summary, this article is a poor reflection on *Barron's* editorial judgment. Distorted and inaccurate reporting is not in the public interest.

Barron's Weekly, Dow Jones &
Co., Inc., Publisher,
New York, N.Y., December 9, 1967.

Hon. Paul A. Fino,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Fino: Thank you for your letter letter of Dec. 4. I am happy to have the opportunity to reply to the recent allegation of the Office of Economic Opportunity that the facts do not support our editorial of July 31 which said that OEO has subsidized riots. I would like to examine the "facts" which OEO claims refute our charge.

Most public officials, says OEO, have lauded the poverty program for being an effective weapon against riots. It specifically quotes the Mayor of Newark as saying that anti-poverty programs have been helpful to that city.

I have a copy of a telegram that Dominick A. Spina, Director of Police for Newark, sent Sargent Shriver on May 25, 1967 warning that riots would result from the activities of anti-poverty workers on the OEO payroll. "I strongly protest," he wrote, "the use of resources and manpower from the United Community Corporation, an agency of the Office of Economic Opportunity, for the purpose of fomenting and agitating against the organized and democratic government and agencies of the City of Newark."

Director Spina also gave the following warning:

"The United Community Corporation has rented from Hertz Rent A Car vehicles to use to agitate against the planning board of the City of Newark and the Board of Education. Persons employed by the UCC have told us they have been threatened with loss of their jobs if they do not participate in picketing and demonstrating against the agencies and the government of the City of Newark. I feel that this is directly opposed to the purpose of the anti-poverty funds and that such practices should be ordered to desist immediately. The acceleration of this kind of practice by this anti-poverty agency will undoubtedly lead to riots and anarchy in our city. I request immediate response."

Mr. Shriver did not reply until June 13 when he said he had no evidence that UCC was guilty of the charges.

An affidavit in the possession of the House Education and Labor Committee, of which I have a photostat, is signed by a highly reliable witness to the rally of Newark's Fourth Precinct Police Station which culminated in the city's devastating riots last July. He has asked that his name not be used publicly because he fears for his life.

According to the affidavit, the rally was called by the United Community Corporation. Here is the story in the witness's own words:

"On Thursday, July 13, 1967, a rally sponsored by 'Operation We Care,' Area Board No. 2, United Community Corporation, was called at the Fourth Precinct, Newark Police Department, where picketing was in progress, protesting the arrest of a Negro taxi driver the previous night. A rumor was started at the rally that the taxi driver was dead A spontaneous reaction followed which resulted in the Newark riots which lasted for several days."

I also have a photostat of an affidavit by Newark Police Detective Junious T. Hedgespeth which says that he saw about 30 to 40 people picketing the Fourth Precinct Station and led by four men who were employees of UCC—Jessie Allen, Melvin Higgins, Derek Winans and James Kennedy. Detective Hedgespeth declares that Jessie Allen told the crowd that the black man was in a position to seize power in Newark. With that, according to the detective, "someone in the crowd threw a bottle that hit the wall of the precinct station directly over the head of the speakers, and was almost instantly followed by another, and another. Then a barrage of rocks and bottle were thrown through the precinct doors and windows. Windows of all police cars outside, except 147 car were broken."

On July 27 Representative James C. Gardner (R. NC) told the House that a few days before the Newark riots, an anti-poverty worker on the OEO payroll told the Newark City Council, "There is going to be blood running in the streets of Newark like there has never been anywhere else in America." After the riots, he still remained on the payroll, according to the Congressman.

August hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee turned up still additional evidence of the direct involvement of anti-poverty workers in the Newark riots.

I have enough additional evidence of the connection between anti-poverty workers and the Newark disaster to go on for several pages.

OEO also challenges our statement that the riots were organized and our report that a Cleveland grand jury has found that the riots are less spontaneous outbreaks than carefully planned subversion.

Says OEO, "No responsible person or organization has found that the riots are organized or planned subversion."

I quote directly from the Cleveland grand jury findings:

"This jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals of this business. They were aided and abetted, wittingly or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism, and some of whom also are either members of or officers in the Communist Party."

OEO says J. Edgar Hoover has testified that the FBI has found no evidence that the disorders were organized.

The agency obviously is referring to Mr. Hoover's testimony before the President's Commission on Civil Disorders. Since the text of Mr. Hoover's testimony never has been released, I cannot quote from it. According to press reports, however, Mr. Hoover did not say what OEO attributes to him. In his column which appeared in the August 3 issue of Washington's Evening Star, David Lawrence reported that Governor Otto Kerner, Commission Chairman, said the following:

"Mr. Hoover said he had no intelligence on which to base a conclusion of conspiracy. I make no conclusions and I want to make that clear."

Mr. Lawrence added, "The use of the word 'intelligence' is unusual and has led to some speculation that perhaps the FBI chief was referring to information gathered outside this country, which is the function of the Central Intelligence Agency."

This is far different from testifying that the FBI has no evidence that the riots were organized.

OEO says that Marion Barry, who is employed by the OEO-funded United Planning Organization in Washington, was never National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and that he was only the D.C. Chairman. According to the Daily Worker of July 1, 1962, however, Mr. Barry was National Chairman of SNCC in 1961.

OEO finds it laudable that "Mr. Barry has taken an active role in efforts to bring home rule to the District." But on November 14, 1967, Representative Joel T. Broyhill told the House that this effort included "boycotting merchants who refused to sign home rule petitions and contribute to home rule causes."

OEO speaks of "Mr. Barry's demonstrated ability to effectively organize young people and channel their energies in constructive channels."

In this connection I would like to quote from a book I have just written, *Poverty Is Where The Money Is,* soon to be published by Arlington House:

"Arriving in Washington in June, 1965 he (Mr. Barry) was arrested for disorderly conduct while leading 300 demonstrators onto the Capitol grounds.

"The Capitol demonstration was part of a so-called Washington Summer Action Project from August 6 through August 9, 1965 in which Mr. Barry took an active part. FBI Director Hoover told Congress the Project was sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, an organization in which Communists were taking an active part, the WEB DuBois Clubs, a youth project of the Communist Party, USA; SNCC and the Committee for Nonviolent Action.

"Here is how Mr. Hoover described the Project: "This demonstration included picketing of the White House and a sit-in at the White House gate entrance, and workshops on Vietnam, the draft, Puerto Rico and South Africa. On August 9, the demonstrators marched to the Capitol grounds for the purpose of staging a Congress of Unrepresented People to declare peace in Vietnam. The sponsors of the demonstration had previously announced their intention of actually occupying Congressional seats; however, they were stopped at the boundary of the Capitol grounds. As with other demonstrations, the Communist Party and other subversive organizations supported and participated in the Washington Summer Action Project. Among the Communist Party members noted were James Jackson, a member of the party's national committee, and Michael Zagarell, the national youth leader of the party. Demonstrations were held throughout the United States during this period in support of the Washington Summer Action Project.'"

OEO admits that Rufus Mayfield has been in trouble with the law. The only accomplishment it cites for his neighborhood cleanup program under Pride, Inc. is that it has killed 10,000 rats. Since Pride cost taxpayers over $150,000 during the period this took place, this came to over $15 a rat. OEO neglects to note that Mr. Mayfield has taken part in demonstrations against the government since becoming chairman of the board of Pride and even has led some of them.

OEO is right that the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association was granted $400,000 instead of $700,000 as Barron's reported, and we regret the typographical error. The agency is wrong, however, in denying any connection of John Zippert and Shirley Mesher, both militants, with the cooperative. I have a copy of an official report of the Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace, (a branch of the Alabama legislature) which says that Mr. Zippert was one of the organizers of the co-op and that Miss Mesher put the program together and officially was listed as the "coordinator."

Contrary to what OEO claims, Barron's did not say that John Ross of the Progressive Labor Party and Howard Harawitz, a former member of the W.E.B. DuBois Club are on the federal payroll. We said they serve on anti-poverty boards, and OEO does not deny this. In addition, OEO defends the Progressive Labor Party and the W.E.B. DuBois Club on the basis that they are not included on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. OEO figures that consequently membership in them does not violate OEO rules against membership in subversive organizations by members of anti-poverty boards.

I will quote directly from a statement by J. Edgar Hoover which was carried in the Congressional Record on August 26, 1966:

"Another major weapon which the Communist Party is directing against young people is the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. This Party-oriented youth organization, founded in June, 1964, at a convention in San Francisco, California, which was dominated and controlled by Communists, has as its basic aim the promotion of Marxism-Leninism. The Marxists believe that these Clubs, which are centered on college campuses, have great promise in reaching youth."

Here is what Mr. Hoover said about the Progressive Labor Party in a statement printed in the Congressional Record on September 27, 1966:

"One of the more recently organized and one of the most militant organizations is the Progressive Labor Party. This group was created as the Progressive Labor Movement in early 1962 by individuals who had been expelled from the Communist Party, USA . . . The Progressive Labor Party aggressively and militantly strives to enlarge its organization and develop followers for its goal, a socialist United States based on Marxist-Leninist principles."

If OEO does not realize that Mobilization for Youth was the pilot project for community action, then it should read page 23505 of the Congressional Record for September 29, 1966 which definitely establishes that this is so. Since it says investigation of MFY disclosed no members of the Communist Party, it also should read the Report of the New York (State) Senate Committee of New York on Mobilization for Youth. It has a listing of names of Communists in MFY and their posts with the Communist Party.

Our statement about five anti-poverty workers being arrested while marauding on Fifth Avenue was based on a New York Times story. After we went to press, a subsequent story by that paper said it had been determined that only three of the youths were on the federal anti-poverty payroll.

OEO's admission that its funds can and do go to an outfit like LeRoi Jones' Black Arts Theatre without the agency's knowledge leaves me speechless.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA,

Associate Editor.

Supreme Court Decision Is Shocking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's Supreme Court decision, through which the Communist Party is allowed to expand its subversive activities in this country, is truly shocking.

Quick editorial reaction is forthcoming, and I insert at this point a very sharp editorial commentary which appeared in this morning's Chicago Tribune:

> THOSE "TALISMANIC INCANTATIONS"
>
> The Supreme court, in a 6 to 2 decision yesterday, enlarged on some previous fantasies by ruling that members of the Communist party are so harmless that they can work in defense plants. It knocked out a provision of the 1950 subversive activities control act as "an unconstitutional abridgment of the right of association protected by the 1st amendment."
>
> By the same reasoning, a cell in the United States composed of followers of the Viet Cong and communist North Viet Nam would have a "protected" right to employment in American defense facilities and perhaps within the Pentagon itself, notwithstanding the fact we are at war.
>
> Chief Justice Earl Warren, with the kind of reverse logic for which he is celebrated, held that "the statute quite literally establishes guilt by association alone, without any need to establish that an individual's association creates the threat feared by government in proscribing it."
>
> Let's examine a few of the premises implicit in this statement. The Communist is associated with other Communists, and all together are in the service either of the Soviet Union or, if their sympathies lie with Peking, of Red China. Certainly no one in his right mind thinks that their loyalties and sympathies lie with the United States or that they are working for the welfare and security of the United States. They are dedicated to its overthrow by whatever means present themselves—force and violence if attainable, conspiratorial methods if these are the limits of existing choice.
>
> Chief Justice Warren and his associates in the majority seem to be unable to recall that Klaus Fuchs, Dr. Alan Nunn May, Dr. Bruno Pontecorvo, the Rosenbergs, Greenglass, and Sobell were introduced into American and British atomic installations during World War II. With what result? With the result that the secret for constructing nuclear weapons, originally an American monopoly, was delivered in a hurry to Moscow, and that when we went on to build the hydrogen bomb, the spies got that off to Russia almost as soon as it was perfected.
>
> Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and countless other Communists and soviet spies and agents infiltrated the United States government and passed along every state secret serviceable to our enemies. More recently, the British spies Kim Philby, Guy Burgess, and Donald Maclean, the first a high intelligence officer, the others foreign office operatives with a pipe line into our most confidential operations, passed along knowledge of our most vital secret decisions to Moscow and Peking. It is acknowledged that Red China intervened in Korea because it knew of the restrictions placed on our military command in resisting.
>
> Yet Warren dismisses the whole incontestable record as an appeal to "talismanic incantations." This is the same mental giant who discovered that communism is harmless when only "advocacy" can be proved against its adherents. He wants to wait for an instance of proven overt action before condemning any Communist. Like stealing nuclear secrets, for instance?
>
> Warren and his brethren have refused to uphold the requirement of the subversive activities control act that Communists must register with the government. They have held that Communists may have passports to travel to Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi. They have denied the right of a state to inquire whether teachers are Communists. They have knocked out a prohibition against Communists holding office in labor unions. And so, drearily, on and on.
>
> Whose side is this court on?

Veteran Leaders Support Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my faith has been bolstered by the tremendous upsurge in letters that have been flooding my office lately, assuring me of the support of citizens throughout this country. These letters also voice a great concern over the dissenters and demand that something be done about them.

Typical of the letters I have been receiving is one from Willie W. Mears of Marshall, Ark. He says:

> I served three years and eleven months during our country's World War II commitment. I stress the need of every veteran and citizen of this country to give full support to our fighting men in Vietnam. I believe we should put forth every effort and whatever force it takes to win victory in Vietnam, and bring our boys home. I simply can't understand the attitude of our younger generation of the present time. Draft dodgers, draft card burners, hippies, rioters, LSD users, and objectors of most every nature. During War I and World War II, I think every citizen would have fought to the last man. Certainly every American citizen should be just that willing today.

From Henry I. DiCicco in Hopedale, Mass., came this letter:

> After I heard my President today, I am with him all the more. God help him and God save us. I am one hundred percent behind President Johnson and his policy. I call for all Americans everywhere to re-dedicate themselves to the cause of peace throughout the world.

From Jack J. Johnson, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars post in New Smyrna Beach, Fla., came this fine message:

> We of VFW Post 4250, New Smyrna Beach, Florida, back our President as Commander-in-Chief and his fine staff of advisors, also the members of our Congress in their decision on Vietnam by one-hundred percent in all the serious decisions that must be made to keep our country free from the mighty enemy forces now at work to overthrow our way of life.

Writing about the dissenters, Ray H. Brannaman, of Loveland, Colo., had this to say:

> We are concerned here in the West although we apparently do not have the problem as acute as found in the East. I assure you that we will renew our efforts to combat the deplorable movement, and I will personally do my part with renewed energy and effort.

West Point and Bowl Games

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, for the past 2 weeks I have attempted to bring all the facts to the attention of the House in connection with the denial to West Point of acceptance of a football bowl invitation.

I have refrained from giving credence to rumors as to why, when, and for what reasons this precipitous action was taken. And these rumors have run the gammit from fantasy to what could be fact.

The only matters which I brought to the attention of the House have been factual and valid. Today, there is no doubt in anyone's mind as to the policy which should have been followed at West Point in conformity with the attitude and policy of the Naval and Air Force Academies.

I direct your attention to the following three statements of fact. There is no statement concerning the Naval Academy because these policies on the part of the Army and the Air Force came after Navy had accepted and played in a bowl game, which is the reason the Board of Visitors at West Point set the policy it did and the then Secretary of the Air Force made known the policy of the Air Force Academy.

It becomes all the more intriguing as to why the Secretary of the Army, in attempting to explain to me why he had denied the Army team the privilege of accepting a bowl invitation, made the statement to me:

> The Chief and I have decided to continue the policy at West Point and not accept a bowl invitation.

When I directed his attention to the policy recommended by the 1955 Board of Visitors and his later statement the following day that he had read the report of the Board of Visitors, he gave the shrugging comment:

> Yes, we know you commented on it.

I now submit the exact words of the 1955 Board of Visitors report to be found on page 9:

> Athletics—The service academies belong to the nation at large and the better they are known to the people, the wider will be their appeal to young men who may be considering a military career.
>
> The Board of Visitors recognizes the special nature of the service academies and their place in the national scene. The appearance of their students in athletic competition in different parts of the country is to be encouraged provided it does not make excessive demands upon their time. The Board therefore approves participation by the Military Academy in intercollegiate

athletics, including intersectional competition and recognized "Bowl" games.

The report was signed by the following persons who left no doubt in anybody's mind what they meant about showing the team in all sections of the country: James P. Baxter III, president of Williams College, Chairman; U.S. Representatives F. EDWARD HÉBERT, OLIN E. TEAGUE, and Leroy Johnson; John R. Dunning, dean, School of Engineering, Columbia University; Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the board, Continental Can Co.; and Leonard Carmichael, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

It is unbelievable that an intelligent individual can slough off such a recommendation when made by a board of such outstanding citizens.

To supplement the above report, I now insert a news story which appeared in papers throughout the country reporting the action taken by the Board of Visitors:

[From the New Orleans (La.) States, Feb. 11, 1955]

ARMY AVAILABLE FOR SUGAR, COTTON BOWLS

(By Orlo Robertson)

WEST POINT, N.Y.—Army's participation in post-season football games, probably the Sugar or the Cotton bowls, had the backing today of the Military Academy's board of visitors.

The board, an 18-man group composed of members of Congress, the military and civilians, is strictly an advisory organization but its recommendations carry weight in the formation of academy policies by Army officials.

The move to break down the Army barrier against participation in post-season games reached a climax last night when the board held its annual meeting at the Point.

Rep. Hébert (D-La.) made the motion. It was seconded by Reps. Teague (D-Tex.) and Johnson (R-Calif.) and met with unanimous approval from the board headed by Dr. James Baxter III, president of Williams College.

"To all intents and purposes the way has been cleared for the acceptance of a bowl bid by the Army," said Congressman Hébert. He pointed out his motion had the backing of Secretary of Defense Wilson and, while not binding on academy authorities, it will be given serious consideration.

Lt. Gen. B. M. Bryan, superintendent of the academy and former Army gridiron star, and head coach Earl Blaik both were advised of the board's action. They will not learn of it officially, however, until after the group's recommendation, along with others, has been sent to President Eisenhower.

Hébert pointed out that the President takes no official action on the board's recommendations.

Neither Gen. Bryan nor Blaik was available for comment.

Although the board's recommendation approved Army's participation in any recognized bowl if a bid is extended, actually the Cadets probably would be limited to either the Sugar or Cotton bowls. They are the major bowls not entirely tied up with individual conferences.

Representatives of the Big Ten and Pacific Coast conferences play in the Rose Bowl. The Atlantic Coast and Big Seven are under contract to send their teams to the Orange. The host team in the Cotton Bowl is the Southwest Conference champion, while the Sugar has followed the policy of inviting the winner of the Southeastern Conference.

It seems strange to me that this 12-year-old report, widely publicized throughout the Nation, was never denied or challenged by anyone connected with the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or West Point itself until Secretary Resor refused to accept the recommendation.

It is also significant, to supplement what has been previously stated, that I appeared before sports writers covering the college all-star and pro football game in Chicago.

I addressed them and went into detail about how the Board of Visitors had recommended the policy of bowl games for West Point.

This additionally was given wide publicity and no denial or challenge was made as to the accuracy of my statement. Now to complete the triangle of the three academies, I offer a news story written in connection with a television broadcast I participated in with my good friend and colleague, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, and the then Secretary of the Air Force, the late Harold E. Talbott, which committed the Air Force to bowl games.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 7, 1955]

NO TEAM YET: AIR FORCE SECRETARY FAVORS BOWLS

Air Force Secretary Harold E. Talbott said yesterday that if he has anything to say about it, the football teams of the new Air Force Academy will participate in postseason bowl games. The academy will field its first varsity team in 1957 after starting with freshmen this season.

Talbott made the statement in an interview with Reps. Hale Boggs and F. Edward Hébert (D-La.) in a television program filmed here for telecasting over WDSU–TV in New Orleans, La.

In the course of the interview, Hébert recalled that Navy played in New Orleans' Sugar Bowl game for the first time last New Year's Day. He also pointed out that the board of visitors for West Point has recommended that the Army team also participate in bowl games.

"Would you recommend," he asked Talbott, "that the Air Academy participate in bowl games, assuming that you will have the authority at that time to make the decision?"

"I'd like to feel that I'll be here that long, but I probably won't," he said. "However, I'm for it. I'm sure if the Army and Navy accept bowl bids that we will go right along too."

Since this declaration, the Air Force has participated in two bowl games, confirming the position taken by the then Secretary of the Air Force.

I believe that I have kept the House well informed of the situation. I only desire that all the facts be presented in order to insure the members a true picture. And I am sure the Members feel as I do that the position of the Department of the Army is damaging and destructive to morale.

When I last talked to the Secretary, I told him his decision would bring nationwide condemnation. It has done just that.

I assure the membership of the House that during the course of my inquiry into the academies as chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Academies, the subject of athletics—both intramural and intercollegiate—will be the subject of a study in depth, and a complete report will be made on what the proper course of the future is to be.

And I assure the Members of the House that the goal of uniformity which I have attempted to achieve will be continued in this area as well as in all other areas related to the service academies.

If one is allowed to participate in a bowl game, all should be allowed. If it is improper for one to participate, all should be denied the right to accept an invitation.

One thing I will insist upon—and that is uniformity.

Francis Cardinal Spellman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial published in the East Side News, a local weekly publication with wide circulation in my congressional district. The editorial was written by my good friend, Abraham Schlacht, publisher of the East Side News:

FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN: 1899–1967

(By Abraham Schlacht)

We mourn with great sorrow the loss of Francis Cardinal Spellman, Prince of Peace and Vicar General of our Armed Forces, whose death came unexpectedly last Saturday morning.

It is indeed difficult to contemplate that he is gone from our midst, that he will be seen no longer addressing his flock in his Cathedral, at public affairs, on television, or mingling among the poor and the mighty.

It is truly hard to realize that his voice will be heard no more, a voice that had ebbed and flowed with the waves of gentleness and compassion.

During his long distinguished church career, he pleaded in the most stirring tones for the glory of his faith and the dignity of his worshippers.

He labored not for his own alone, but for the prestige and honor of other races and creeds.

We who shared the friendship of His Eminence never misinterpreted his charm of disposition for weakness or lack of resolution. When the issues of the day affected the teachings and traditions of his Church, he spoke up with commanding logic for all the world to hear and ponder. Sometimes, his anger, his rage, his indignation assumed a sudden deep, penetrating surge of emotion, felt at once by those within the sound of his voice.

It cannot be denied that he loved people, who reciprocated their love, which was transported into other religions, of which the world took full cognizance.

Now he lies interred with his predecessors in serene peace under the high, solemn altar of St. Patrick's Cathedral amid the prayers of millions of people.

Although he is no longer with us, he will ever be remembered, for his deeds and utterances, for the memories he left behind to be treasured by people everywhere.

Gone is life's light, and gone too is life's song.

But his death is but the night that has passed away, and its dawn is the light of eternal day!

Job Corps Men Get Workout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, once again I am able to call the attention of the House to an extremely positive press report about the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N.J., which is operated for OEO by Federal Electric Corp., the ITT subsidiary. On November 28, an article by Campbell Allen describing the outstanding contribution being made by Kilmer corpsmen to important community groups and projects appeared in the Newark Evening News.

The article tells how the corpsmen have pitched in, with terrific civic spirit, to assist the Salvation Army, Boy Scouts, the urban league, a local fire department, a veterans hospital, the Red Cross, the March of Dimes, the United Fund, Kiwanis, UNICEF, the Metuchen Chamber of Commerce, and other leading civic organizations in the Middlesex County area. At the same time, the corpsmen are preparing for useful, constructive careers, and are regularly moving on to well-paid jobs.

Mr. Speaker, the Kilmer Center has come to represent a smashing victory for the war on poverty, and is an undertaking of which all New Jerseyites can well be proud. With permission, I insert Mr. Allen's article at this point in the RECORD:

JOB CORPSMEN GET WORKOUT—SHOW CIVIC SPIRIT

(By Campbell Allen)

EDISON.—No one can say that corpsmen at the Kilmer Job Corps Center are not community-minded.

A Salvation Army Scout troop went to camp because corpsmen raised more than $600 from an auction, candy sale and car wash.

The Urban League center in Perth Amboy was painted by corpsmen, as was a tank truck for the Bridgewater Fire Department and a River Vale First Aid Squad ambulance.

Paraplegics at a nearby veterans hospital are using wheelchair tables made by job corps center trainees.

In the last 15 months, according to center officials, corpsmen have spent more than 13,500 hours in volunteer or on-the-job work for nonprofit organizations in neighboring communities.

An estimated 650 corpsmen, 40 per cent of all corpsmen at the center, participated in these projects. The Kilmer center opened in February 1965.

A $19,350 VALUE

Officials noted that community services are performed only when they are not in conflict with existing local business. Still, the value of corpsmen services during that period were estimated at $19,350.

Among the groups receiving job corps assistance have been the Urban League of Greater New Brunswick, Highland Park United Cerebral Palsy Fund, March of Dimes and United Fund campaigns, American Red Cross, Salvation Army, Kiwanis, UNICEF, JFK Community Hospital, Edison and the Edison Home for the Aged.

Besides sending Salvation Army Scouts to camp, corpsmen also took other boys from the Salvation Army on a camping trip and collected and repaired toys for the Army to distribute to underprivileged children.

"They did a very good job, were well-mannered and took instructions well," New Brunswick Purchasing Agent George Nesser said of the corpsmen who painted the city's National Guard armory at the request of Mayor Patricia Sheehan.

RECEIVE FURNITURE

The Middlesex County Economic Opportunities Corp. Head Start program received furniture fitted to the needs of pre-school youngsters made by trainees in the Kilmer center's carpentry school.

The State Home for Boys at Monroe Township was able to use its summer camp after a dozen corpsmen spent 96 hours preparing the tract. Other corpsmen cleared a 10-acre park site for the Metuchen Chamber of Commerce.

Six Spanish-speaking corpsmen put in 300 hours acting as interpreters when MCEOC conducted a survey in Perth Amboy.

Each Tuesday 18 corpsmen give leadership training to Salvation Army Boy Scouts, a program involving about 2,340 hours a year.

Plans are under way for further community service during the Christmas season.

Staff Sergeant Holmes Dies in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. Ronald E. Holmes, a marine from Baltimore, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

STAFF SERGEANT HOLMES DIES IN VIETNAM—FAMILY REPORTS MARINE'S DEATH FROM WOUNDS

Staff Sgt. Ronald E. Holmes, a twelve-year veteran of the Marine Corps, died December 6 in Vietnam, two hours after he received multiple wounds from a mortar shell, his family said yesterday.

Sergeant Holmes, who had volunteered for service in Vietnam, died three months to the day after he arrived there, according to his wife, Mrs. Margarette A. Holmes, of the 300 block South Woodyear street.

Mrs. Holmes said Marine Corps officials who told her of her husband's death did not know where in Vietnam he had died.

She said her husband, who was 29, was assigned to the 1st Battalion, 3rd Marine Division, H. and S. Company in Vietnam.

Born in Portsmouth, Ohio, Sergeant Holmes has lived in Baltimore since he was about 4 years old. He attended Southern High School and received his high school diploma while in the Marine Corps, his wife said yesterday.

He had been promoted to staff sergeant about two years ago, and was told last month that he was to be promoted to gunnery sergeant, according to Mrs. Holmes..

Assigned until recently to recruiting duty in San Antonio, Sergeant Holmes volunteered to go to Vietnam because "he knew that somebody needed to go and he said it might as well be him as anyone else," Mrs. Holmes said.

Beside his wife, Sergeant Holmes is survived by his mother, Mrs., Katherine Haar; his step-father, Jonas Haar; two step-sisters, Deborah Ann Haar and Gayle McFadden, all of Baltimore; and a brother Michael Haar, of Houma, La.

East Berlin, 1967; A Woman's View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a very fine series of articles printed by Life Lines in Dallas, Tex. This series of articles chronicles the details of life under communism in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries in Eastern Europe. I would recommend these articles to all Members of the House and Senate. In particular, I would point out the concluding treatment of life in East Berlin, which follows:

EAST BERLIN, 1967—A WOMAN'S VIEW

(By Wyn Sargent)

East Berlin, the end of a 4,000 mile trip to find out what life under communism is really like. Never before had the author appreciated freedom so much.

When the Czechoslovakian OK Airlines landed at the East German airport, I saw the most miserable people in the world. Wretched, they are isolated from mankind—cut off from the West Germans who hate Communists and from the Poles, Czechs and Romanians because of Germany's crimes against them in World War II.

East Germany was left with a bare ten percent of its industries after the war. Covered by rubble and debris, the country was completely at the mercy of Russia.

The people live in disaster areas. Many occupy buildings—half destroyed by the bombs of World War II—which still have no glass in the windows and no water. Very often, there is no food.

The East German Intourist guide told me there is a shortage of people, and that is why women work in jobs usually done by men. It is not compulsory for them to work, the guide said; they are only called to give "a helping hand."

I recorded parts of the East German guide's speech. You can easily detect its "canned" characteristics:

"Our capital has over one million inhabitants and our republic we call East Germany. All of our factories are nationally owned. This used to be a Nazi State; but now we have our freedom given to us by the Soviet Union. The first thing the Soviet Union did for us was to rebuild our industries. We had a very late start in the reconstruction of our town due to the shortage of people, and this is why the Western part of Germany is more advanced than we are.

"Forty percent of our working people are made up of women.

"Those people who own a factory or shop can give it only as a heritage. It is not possible to get a new license for it; so if you win one half million in the lottery, you have a chance to open a shop or factory.

"In building the new apartment buildings, they are all prefabricated. We developed the system before the war and now use it on a very large scale for apartment houses and walls.

"The Eastern Section of Berlin is the oldest part. Most of our apartment houses are older than one hundred years.

"The Parliament Building played an important role in German history. It was set on fire in 1933 by the order of the Nazis.

"That is a restaurant on your right. The sign in Russian above the building says, 'The Socialist Diet Is The Luck Of The People.'

"Now, the German Democratic Republic lies in the very heart of Europe, and every year more visitors come to see the G–D–R. They come to see business friends, or want to make new contacts. This constantly growing number of foreign tourists shows the increasing interest in the G–D–R.

"It was on May 2, 1945, when the victorious Soviet army freed the city from war, and new life has begun to pulsate in the streets now. Since the merger of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany into the Socialist Unity Party took place on April 22, 1946, a new and more beautiful Berlin has risen out of the rubble of World War II.

"We go now to see the Soviet War Memorial, dedicated to the everlasting glory of those heroes fallen for freedom and independence of their Socialist Motherland (sic). Twenty thousand soldiers in the Soviet Army gave their lives for the liberation of Berlin. More than five thousand are buried under the War Memorial. There is a sculptured monument in honor of Red Army soldiers who sacrificel their own lives to blow up emeny tanks, or to shield comrades with their bodies against enemy machine gun fire. Four men who won the highest award, Hero of the Soviet Union—a soldier, a corporal, an officer, and a general—are buried in one grave. The place is marked by a plain tombstone.

"As you can see, the mausoleum is crowned by an oversize statue of a soldier with a bronze sword, holding a child in his arm. The inscription reads, 'Eternal Glory to the Fighters of the Soviet Army Who Gave Their Lives in the Struggle to Liberate Mankind from Fascist Rule.' As you see, the bronze soldier has crushed and broken the swastika that lies at his feet. The little child in his arms stands for protection and peace."

To me, the most pathetic sculpture was one on the base of the mausoleum depicting a file of Red soldiers watching a German soldier humbling himself to kneel and kiss the Red flag.

It is a common fact that when the Communists began to consolidate their control after 1945, they recognized that to preserve themselves in power, they would have to do more than just spread the Party Line. They knew they would have to prevent anyone else from spreading a different view. They began to screen, and then prohibit, foreign newspapers, books and movies. At the same time, they censored all publications printed in East Germany.

But in addition, they built The Wall in 1961. Propaganda, distributed by the Soviet Press, maintains, "For years the German Democratic Republic kept its frontiers with West Berlin open. In 1961, however, it became necessary to put an energetic stop to the constant provocations from West Berlin, through the erection of an antifascist protective wall, along the State's frontier with West Berlin."

Not satisfied, I asked the East German guide why the U.S.S.R. built such a wall, and saw a twinkle in his eye: "To keep foreigners out of our Paradise."

The Wall is a barbed wire and concrete death strip. Checkpoint Charlie is a panorama of teepeed railroad ties sunk in cement.

"Charlie" is phonetic jargon of the armed services, which stands for "C" (Checkpoint Charlie). But "Checkpoint" stands for Freedom if the color of your passport is right.

I was sitting in a bus between East Germany and West Germany and felt fear in its most terrifying form which consumed my entire being.

It was deathly quiet. The tension mounted and I found myself straining to hear some sound—a bird's song, a dog's bark, or just any human sound.

It was terrible. Behind me were two rows of those teepees encircled in a maze of barbed wire. In front was The Wall—painted red and white and crowned with more barbed wire. It seemed that the barbed wire used here could span the Earth, that the fortifications of The Wall could be used to build a complete town.

The road underneath was concrete; the Wall in front of me was concrete, the teepees behind me were sunk in concrete. There were no trees, flowers or grass because of the concrete.

The Wall. The hopes and dreams of thousands have died there. There was no in-between; it was freedom or suicide. How many times, then, can a man die? Once in flesh, a million deaths in dreams. East Germans who planned to scale that Wall died a million deaths in the planning: Death was always the same on the strip of concrete—sharp cracks of rifle shots, the burst of machine gun fire, search lights stabbing through the darkness, confusion, then death.

But should chance favor the gambler with one-in-a-thousand odds, there was freedom bursting with liberties from fear, tyranny and imprisonment, but not freedom to forget those behind—the prisoners of their own country.

What kind of monstrous mind conceived this Hell Point? Only a twisted, demented mentality would corral human beings with concrete and barbed wire where mercy is reshaped by the Red Rulebook to chew at the bones of the living.

Through the windows of the bus, I saw the concrete blocks of the Watch Tower and the East German police looking down at me through binoculars. I could see the vicious muzzles of the machine guns pointing through the Tower windows at the bus. Then I knew what to look for: it was easy to recognize machine guns and binoculars at the windows of all the surrounding buildings. All pointing at the bus.

There was no sound. The police made no noise as they marched up and down the aisle of the bus, or as they moved around with probing mirrors, searching for any person who might be hiding.

On the left of the bus, I watched the Soldiers ransack a Volkswagen. They pulled the back seat out of the car and turned it upside down on the concrete. They raised the hood of the car to examine the engine, then removed the luggage from the trunk. The suitcases were searched with such thoroughness that even books and letters were opened and read. The driver and passengers of the car were bodily searched. Then, for a second time, the back seat was removed, turned over and inspected again.

Wild thoughts ran through my head. I imagined that perhaps there was some "error" in my passport which would restrict my passage through this concrete monster and imprison me forever in this terrible place. I looked across to free Germany to the red geraniums blooming in the window boxes of the little Berlin apartment houses. The longing for freedom and for passage through this monstrous scene swelled inside of me and burst forth into a silent plea to God for delivery: Please let me through.

At this moment, I found myself in brotherhood with East Germans who, every day of their lives, see the red geraniums and a freedom that is not theirs. This is the moment. This is when all living things understand "freedom."

Charles the Gall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the continuing sideshow from Paris in no way resembles the entertainment we have long believed that world capitol was famous for.

The following article from the December 4, 1967, edition of the National Observer contains the essence of the last press conference of the French Caesar. Any resemblence between Le Grande Charles and Julius or Al is more than coincidental.

The article follows:

CHARLES THE GALL: GENERAL'S BROADSIDE DRAWS SOME COUNTERFIRE

France has had many rulers named Charles. First came Charles the Great, or Charlemagne. Then there were Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, Charles the Simple, and so on, including such other titles using personal characteristics as fair, wise, mad, bad, and noble. Now there is Charles de Gaulle, and last week Frenchmen again had to admit that their president did not lack for that human quality called gall.

Commented Paris' Socialist newspaper Le Populaire: "In 100 minutes General de Gaulle in the name of France called for secession in Canada, tossed England out of Europe, threatened the Common Market with destruction, called the United States the principal enemy, and suavely knifed Israel. This is a lot for one man. It is too much for one country. It so happens that de Gaulle is not France, which belongs to no one."

Maybe not. But while General de Gaulle is president of France, he speaks for his country. No matter how gallish he gets, there are some who believe they must take the 77-year-old man seriously.

During his semiannual press conference last week, the general ruled out further discussion on Britain's entry into the European Common Market. Turning to North America, he called for a "complete change in the structure of Canada" so that the French-speaking province of Quebec could achieve "sovereignty." President de Gaulle then denounced the United States by declaring that American business ascendency in Europe was the result of "dollar inflation" rather than any "organic superiority of the United States."

Israel, which until the Arab-Israeli war in June relied heavily on French armaments, was criticized for ignoring the "voice of France" by going to war against the Arabs. Implying that Israel had long wanted an excuse to seize the rest of old Palestine, President de Gaulle condemned the "occupation" because it obviously cannot be carried out "without oppression, repression, expulsions, and resistance, which Israel, in its turn, calls terrorism."

The reaction in Britain and the United States came in the form of silence or a shrug of the shoulder. In Ottawa and Jerusalem, however, the response was not mild.

Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson denounced President de Gaulle's statements on Quebec as an "intervention" in domestic Canadian affairs that was both "unacceptable" and "intolerable." The Israeli government said that "a grave affront to the Jewish people and the State of Israel," had been done.

In France, Jewish leaders complained of an "unpleasant smell of anti-Semitism." In the press conference, President de Gaulle had described Jews as "having remained what they were at all times, a self-assured and domineering elite."

Only the general appeared to enjoy the well-rehearsed performance. Smiling broadly, he joked about how long the de Gaulle regime would endure in France. "If I wanted to make some people laugh and others groan," he said, "I would say that it might just as well last 10 to 15 years. Frankly, I don't think so."

For the general's critics, it was the one encouraging remark of the day.

Legislative Program for Affiliated Young Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to set forth at this point the legislative program for 1968 adopted by the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State at their meeting held on December 2, 1967, at the Hotel Piccadilly in New York City.

The program follows:

Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State Adopt Legislative Program for 1968 at Their State Meeting Held at the Hotel Piccadilly, New York City, December 2, 1967

The Affiliated Young Democrats of New York at their State Legislative Committee meeting held yesterday afternoon at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45 Street New York City, unanimously endorsed their State Legislative program for 1968 which program will be introduced in the State Senate and Assembly when it convenes on January 3, 1968.

This Legislative program will be sponsored by their 21 members in the State Senate and 46 members in the Assembly.

AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS STATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1968

A. Constitutional Amendments Bills—

1. National Resources and Conservation, Article VIII of New Constitution.
2. Local Governments, and Financers, Article XI of New Constitution.
3. State Taxation and Finance, Article X of New Constitution.

B. Legislation by Bills of the State Legislature.

1. Civil Rights Articles in New Constitution.
2. State require records of all Governmental Agencies be kept open to the public.
3. Raise drinking age to 21 years.
4. Lower voting age to 18 years.
5. Stronger code of Ethics.
6. Raise Minimum Wage to $1.75 per hour.
7. Liberalize the Abortion Laws.
8. Require the State Legislature to keep transcripts of all proceedings.
9. Mandatory free education at all State and City Universities and Community Colleges.
10. State and Local Governments be allowed to make grants and loans to private enterprise for slum rebuilding.
11. The creation of One-Man, One-Vote Standards for redistricting local Legislative Bodies.
12. Expansion of Public Service Commission.
13. Citizens' right to sue the State.
14. Change Penal Law to allow Tenants and Property Owners to protect their property by using force.
15. Legislature to meet in Mid-December after each election to organize and elect officers.
16. Strengthen Laws to combat air and water pollution.
17. Tighten Law to enforce Compulsory Auto Insurance Law.
18. State-wide Recreation Department be created.

Richard H. Wels, Chairman of the State Legislative Committee of New York presided at this important meeting.

Lyndhurst, N.J.: 1917–67

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the golden anniversary of Lyndhurst was a happy celebration among the citizens of that community. For 3 days early in May, they participated in various programs which depicted the "golden memories" of the town. Today, I would like to acquaint my colleagues with some additional features which exemplify the town's early development and growth to its present stature.

LYNDHURST, N.J.: 1917 TO 1967

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

This "Golden Anniversary" in 1967, celebrates the adoption of Lyndhurst as the name of the Township on May 8, 1917, after the D. L.&W. Railroad station built at Station Square by William Riggin Travers in 1883.

Union Township apparently was a mecca for the speculation and sporting element, with the outstanding wealthy Wall Street banking and brokerage personages taking over in that part of the Township of Union, now Lyndhurst. Let it also be understood that the Rutherfurds were also influential in gaining railroad facilities at Boiling Spring, which was acknowledged by the Erie officials when they named the station Rutherford.

Daniel Van Winkle, and other business and civic leaders of the Rutherfurd Park Area in the Township of Union, deserve commendation for their alertness in taking advantage of the potential business outlook for their community. A century ago the Southern portion (now Lyndhurst) drew hundreds of wealthy resort and sporting enthusiasts, some by boat, others by horse-buggies. But the greatest number traveled by rail to Boiling Spring, (Rutherford) Station of the Paterson and New York (Erie) Railroad.

Railroad passengers were met at Boiling Spring (Rutherford) Station and driven over Boiling Spring Lane in carriages to River Road and then southward to the South Rutherford (Lyndhurst) resort and race track sporting area or the accommodating hotels on River Road. This roundabout rough trip to the Valley Brook Race Course was a circuitous, narrow, often muddy and at times very hard road to traverse.

The Rutherfurd Park Association deemed it feasible to enhance the values of real estate by projecting a direct road in a straight line from the Erie Railroad Station to the Race Track. The direct, brick paved, 60 foot wide road from the station to Valley Brook Race Track was named "Park Avenue."

Lands of the native farmers were offered for sale, and Park Avenue became a thriving business thoroughfare; maps were printed, new streets were opened and the real estate and other businesses were stimulated by the influx of homesite seekers or wealthy visitors from New York. Thus the entire Township of Union benefited by the Tally-Ho activities in the community of South Rutherford (now Lyndhurst) with its resort advantages, bringing wealth to the community. These activities influenced the (Erie) Railroad Company to re-name the Boiling Spring station Rutherfurd Park Station in 1866. It was later erroneously spelled Rutherford, with an "O" instead of "U." This was the impact of the phenomenal growth of the Rutherfurd Park community.

As the fascinating map of the Rutherfurd Park Association, prepared in 1896 shows, the Rutherfurds used family names for some of the oldest streets in Lyndhurst. Rutherford Avenue, of course, goes directly to the Rutherfurd family. Jay Avenue recalls John Jay, first chief justice of the United States. Jay married the eldest daughter of William Livingston, many times governor of New Jersey. Livingston was a cousin of the Rutherfurds. Thus Livingston Avenue. Stuyvesant Avenue received its name from Stuyvesant Fish, the lawyer, who also was related to the Rutherfurd family. In the Rutherford section of the Rutherfurd estate there was Morris Avenue, the family name of Mrs. Lena Morris Rutherfurd. West and East Gouverneur Avenue, Rutherford memorializes Gouverneur Morris with whom Rutherfurd was associated in planning New York City. Clinton Place, Lyndhurst no doubt derives from DeWitt Clinton, once mayor of New York and father of the Erie Canal. Van Buren Street, Lyndhurst, was named after President Martin Van Buren, a friend of the Rutherfurd family, Kearny Avenue was named after Gen. Philip Kearny, a friend of the Rutherfurd family, Kingsland, Court, Jauncey and Sandford Avenue, and many other local streets, have similar derivations.

William Riggin Travers, of N.Y. started a little boom in Lyndhurst in 1880, by purchasing 240 acres in addition to the Watson estate, and began the erection of dwellings and other buildings.

He built and leased a plant on the present Leslie site, to McKee & Harrington for a baby carriage and velocipede factory. (100 workers).

Veteran Fire Chief Osback relates that his father worked in the plant, and assures that Wm. R. Travers was one of the owners of McKee-Harrington Co. firm.

With the coming of McKee & Harrington baby carriage and bicycle factory in 1880, the growth of industrial Lyndhurst began. This industry under Chas. Harrington, whose influence, public and private, was considerable, has been significant in the building up and improvement of the community.

Chas. W. Harrington was born at Wichendon, Mass. in 1843, came to Lyndhurst, Jan. 1, 1880, was active in the Bergen County Board of Freeholders 1886, and was a member of the State Assembly 1888.

In 1891, as a Republican, he overwhelmingly defeated the Democratic candidate in a previously Democratic community as member of Township Committee.

The Harrington residence was the present Steever Funeral Home, and before the streets were cut through with sidewalks, Mr. Harrington built a cedar plank walk from his home to the McKee & Harrington factory. The Leslie Co. plant occupies the site.

McKee and Harrington Co. built three factories in the Grant Avenue area near the railroad. Then came the Drukers portable house company, the Kingsland Shops, the United Cork Works (now Penick's) and the Canadian Car and Foundry Co., the munition works that exploded in 1917. Industry has developed in Lyndhurst. There are a number of lingerie factories, steel plants, trucks terminals, chemical companies and contracting firms.

TROLLEY CARS

In 1897 the Rutherford and Hackensack trolley line was built. It began at Arlington and extended to Wood-Ridge. On Jan. 27, 1899 this road was sold to William C. Giles at the reorganization committee representing ninety per cent of the bondholders. Afterward the line was extended to Essex Street, Hackensack, and in December 1928 the route was abandoned.

Lyndhurst's first trolley line was approved in 1896 when Union Traction Company got permission to operate a single track line from Belleville Turnpike to the northern boundary of Lyndhurst. The fare was five cents in each municipality.

Financial troubles beset the "dinky" line and it was taken over by the Newark and Hackensack Traction Company. Then the Hudson River Trolley Company began to operate the line in 1904. The route of the line was changed so that it turned west on Valley Brook Avenue, north on Stuyvesant and thence to Park Avenue, Rutherford. From there it continued to Hackensack.

When Public Service Coordinated Transport Company was organized it took over the trolley line and service between Newark and Hackensack became a regularly scheduled business. An omen of the future came in 1920 when buses made their appearance in Lyndhurst. The first line was routed along Ridge Road. Four years later the Lyndhurst-Belleville Bus Company began a run that eventually connected Rutherford with the North Newark line. In 1930 the Jersey City-Lyndhurst Bus Company obtained a charter to run between Rutherford and Jersey City, giving Lyndhurst service to Jersey City both on Ridge Road and River Road.

It was difficult to appreciate in those days that the iron trolleys would one day be as dead as the horse carriage and that the railroad trains, so important and noisy and dirty, would be forced to the wall by a thing called the flivver.

It would have been an incredible prophesy to say that one day Lyndhurst would be but 15 fast minutes away from Times Square via Route 3, Lincoln Tunnel and behind the wheel of a purring eight cylinder automobile.

Unfortunately, it would not be incredible to assure a stranger that the same 15-minute ride could be converted into a two-hour torture by a simple collision between two purring, eight-cylinder automobiles in any of a dozen critical spots along the highway.

In the Wright brothers era our local flying enthusiast Jack Holden also had a contrivance with a motor, which he built, and kept in the Travers' barns. It is said that he already had his flying machine even before the Wright brothers flew their airplane.

The Passaic River flowed near to Riverside Avenue in the vicinity of the "homestead" which was on high ground with a slope toward the river. Came the day for Holden to soar into the air for a bird's eye view of the town. He checked the motor and wings of his motored kite, placed the device atop of his chosen slope so as to add momentum and starting power. He donned his helmet, rechecked everything, started the motor "put-putting" with brakes off and down the hill he flew hoping that the wings would glide him upward to soar like a bird in the air. To his amazement everything seemed to go according to plan, except the wings which did not support him aloft but dunked him into the Passaic River, as though the flying machine were a submarine. Undaunted by that submersion, being endowed with a natural affinity for the water, for boating, swimming, fishing and other water sports, he switched to enjoying other innovations on the Passaic River, but with a boat under him. He established the Lyndhurst Yacht Club, organized the regatta and dunking time brought back old memories of his early airplane experience.

The Lyndhurst Swimming Pool on Riverside Avenue was built by Jack Holden, on property acquired from Doctor Robinson, a widely known dentist of Lyndhurst.

"Doc" Robinson had the sports hobby of promoting "cock fights", which were earlier introduced into Lyndhurst by James S. Watson.

Many adventure stories have been written about sub-cellars and underground tunnels of "Edgerston", and the Van Winkle, Schuyler and Kingsland mansions.

In "dime-novel days" the "Liberty Boys" escapades were about the slave prison cells and escape tunnels, referring to the old colonial houses near the Passaic River, in present Lyndhurst. Underground passages from the Masonic Club were sealed recently when the Passaic was dredged forty feet below low water level by Army Engineers.

APRIL, 1914: LIBRARY'S BIRTH

Under the New Jersey library laws, the Board of Trustees of the Free Public Library on December 7, 1915 held the organization meeting. Just prior they had been sworn in by the Town Clerk.

Appointed by the Commissioners, the Trustees replaced the Free Public Library Association which had existed since April 23, 1914. Thomas W. Fahey, a member of the Improvement Association of Union Township, had proposed the public library earlier during that month.

Until enlistment in the U.S. Army, November 1917, Mr. Fahey indefatigably promoted the library. In the beginning he worked practically single-handed.

At the April 1914 meeting held at Odd Fellows Hall to interest the citizens, Sarah B. Askew of the New Jersey State Library Board, explained the library which she heartily endorsed.

The formal opening was on November 12th in the small front hall on the second story of the Stuyvesant Avenue (Franklin) School.

After the formal transfer to the Board of Trustees, January 17, 1916, Mathilda A. Schneider was appointed librarian. Her "salary" was fifty cents each time the library was open—twice a week.

Father T. J. McDermott was appointed on November 5, 1917 to fill the vacancy of Mr. Fahey. He became actively engaged in the search for new quarters because the library was cramped at the school.

On Washington's Birthday following, the Evans property on Van Buren Avenue was leased for three years at $25.00 monthly with option to purchase. With the sanction of the commissioners the purchase agreement was made at $3300 with $300 down, $700 yearly with 6 per cent on unpaid balance. The deed was secured on Armistice Day 1922.

That year Miss Schneider became an August bride, and she was succeeded by Marie C. Wilcox. Nellie Day, who became assistant librarian, was followed subsequently by Lillian Wolf.

Too soon the Evans building had become inadequate; expansion was necessary in a growing community. Plans for a new building were made on the next February 5th.

The cornerstone of the present edifice was laid on the 2nd day of May 1928. Much work involving joint meetings between Commissioners and Board of Trustees preceded. Agreement as to site (easily) and the amount (troublesome) were eventually made. For a time the amount of $10,000 delayed proceedings until the Commissioners approved the $75,000 bond issue. Charles Granville Jones was the architect.

In the opening year of the Great Depression (1930) May Garton was appointed director. The following year Elizabeth Boston became the assistant director. Six years later when Miss Garton resigned to marry, Dorothey Fell was appointed director. Mrs. May Stuart (nee Garton) returned to service eight years later.

Edith Jennings became the director thirteen years ago following the death of Mrs. Stuart. Since 1944 Miss Jennings had been children's librarian.

There have been improvements. First, though, in her reminiscing, Miss Jennings notes the work of the WPA when the picture file was augmented and revised.

The striking covers for books and magazines brighten the reading room considerably. The new front door, the tables covered with formica, new lighting fixtures, new adult desk, and a new one in the children's room, the new catalog, air conditioning, new draperies, and radiator covers update the libarary to the efficient capacity known today with the subdued beauty so characteristic of libraries.

The record player and slide projector are the gifts of the Woman's Club, and Charles Searles left a legacy. Now being developed with publications on municipal government is the Carmine Savino Senior Memorial Fund begun by Mrs. Harry Schaefer.

Famous men and women sprang from the Kingsland Patent. But the man whose name may live longest was Dr. William Carlos Williams, poet and humanitarian. He was born in Rutherford where he died. But the world was his home and all mankind his friend. A room with collection of his books has been established at Fairleigh Dickinson University.

THE STORY OF LYNDHURST'S FINEST—LYNDHURST'S POLICE DEPARTMENT

(By Howard Liddle, chief of the police department)

(Howard Liddle is a member of one of Lyndhurst's oldest families. His father, John, was a noted township figure for years. His brother Charles was fatally injured while operating a motorcycle for the township police department.)

Lyndhurst's police department had its official beginning in 1907 when two men were appointed. It now consists of 32 members.

Township Committeeman John N. Burke, father of William J. Burke, the builder, who is still active, made the original appointments. They were George Cassidy, captain, and Michael McIntyre, patrolman.

The police headquarters were located in the Palazzo Building, now the Lackawanna Grill, at Ridge Road and Freeman Street.

Nine months later Captain Cassidy was shot and killed in the performance of his duty.

The late Mrs. John J. Breslin Sr., one of Lyndhurst's residents before the turn of the century, in 1959 recalled the incident for Walter Hamma's column in the Herald News of Passaic.

According to her recollection Captain Cassidy arrested two men about September 6, 1907, for stealing milk in front of the Lyndhurst Station. When he was passing Holden's confectionery store on Valley Brook Avenue, now called the Valley Sweet Shoppe, Captain Cassidy banged his stick on the sidewalk to awaken Mrs. Holden who went to market at that hour. At the same time one of the men under arrest shot Cassidy and fled.

Mrs. Breslin's brother, William Rodgers, an active Bergen political figure, lived on Valley Brook Avenue in a building now occupied by the Valley Inn. William awakened his brother, George, who lived next door. Both realized the thieves would try to cross the Passaic River. The Rodgers brothers ran for the Avondale Bridge at the foot of Kingsland Avenue and saw the thieves fleeing. William Rodgers, waiving an unloaded revolver, ordered them to halt. One of the men shot himself fatally with the same gun he had used on Captain Cassidy. The other man escaped and was never found.

McIntyre then was made captain and in 1911 chief. He died January 6, 1919, and was succeeded by Thomas Landells as chief. Under Landells were Patrolmen John Mullin, John Flynn, James Geary, James Jones, William Ritchie, Henry Peters, Otto Bayer Jr., Arthur Schreckenstein, later deputy fire commissioner.

In 1930 the department had a chief, captain, three sergeants and 18 patrolmen. There was a patrol car and the department obtained the first two-way radio in the county.

The force of 32 men is now divided into three shifts to cover Lyndhurst's 4.72 square miles and 39 miles of paved streets. Each of the two patrol cars is equipped with oxygen, radios, and other emergency articles.

The department is aided materially by a 30-member police reserve, the emergency First Aid Corps, and marshals. The Rescue Squad does yeoman service for Lyndhurst.

Lyndhurst had 1,560 residents in 1890 and today has about 24,000. The department has grown under the direction of former Mayors Horace R. Bogle Sr., John F. Woods, James A. Breslin, John C. Garde and the present Mayor and Director of Public Safety, Horace Bogle, Jr.

Those Fickle Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, those Russian Communists are at it again. The Soviets seem to hate everything but money, power, and monopoly in economics.

The recent UPI release of December 10 concerns the increase in ore prices since the free world is embarrassed to trade with some countries because of economic sanctions based on hate and through fear of economic reprisals from the U.N. crowd.

Nobody seems to care that Mr. and Mrs. America are paying the difference to have the dubious privilege of trading with Russia—at higher prices and subsidizing world communism.

I ask the UPI release for December 10 to follow my remarks:

FICKLE REDS: PRICES RISE ON PLATINUM AND RHODIUM

NEWARK, N.J.—Engelhard Industries, Inc., has announced increased prices of $11 to $13 per ounce for platinum and $25 per ounce for rhodium.

Englehard's new price for platinum is $120 to $125 per ounce, depending upon quantity. The old range was $109 to $112.

The new price for rhodium, one of the platinum group metals, is $245 to $250 per ounce, depending upon quantity.

Western demand for platinum exceeds current production levels—most free world platinum comes from South Africa and Canada—and consumers have been relying on Russian platinum to fill the gap.

The flow of Russian platinum to Western markets is not a steady one, however, and the price shoots higher each time the Russians turn the spigot off.

The current tight supply cycle, with its attendant speculation in metal and futures, is complicated further by purchasers using the metal as a haven for sterling or dollars.

Cuyahoga County Welfare Department Receives Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, in Cleveland, we have been particularly proud of the work accomplished by our county welfare department. I am hapy to learn that the American Branch of International Social Service, has awarded the Cuyahoga County Welfare Department a special award for "dedicated service to the case of human betterment and international cooperation in 1966."

The International Socal Service American Branch is a part of a network of services in 100 countries which deals with problems of displaced persons.

Our Cuyahoga County Welfare Department, not resting on its laurels under the able leadership of Eugene Burns, has launched a massive preventive welfare program within the last year. Among the notable aspects of this program are the use of housing aides to inspect all welfare client housing in an attempt to stop the subsidy of slum property. Banks and savings and loan associations are now used to sell food stamps. The psychological impact is great, for many of these people have never been exposed to banks. Welfare aides with high school diplomas and specialized training are used for routine clerical work in the welfare department. Thus, social workers can now better utilize their time with the pressing needs of their clients. Preventive welfare does offer a hope of redeeming our system of welfare, but it helps to have, as we do in Cleveland, a progressive and farsighted welfare department under capable leadership.

An excellent article recently appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on Sunday, October 29, 1967, describing in detail the notable goals of preventive welfare.

Under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD the article:

BURNS VIEWS NEXT GOAL AS PREVENTIVE WELFARE

(By Alma Kaufman)

The American welfare system can be redeemed, but it is going to take reform from within beginning with the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Eugene F. Burns says. He was interviewed at the end of his first year as Cuyahoga county welfare director.

"Preventive welfare—this is what we've got to get into," said Burns. He cited improved medical care and dental care as important for the future.

Family allowances, in effect in Canada and in other developed nations, are endorsed by Burns, but he criticized a guaranteed annual wage as difficult to administer and disapproved of a reverse income tax.

"I don't think the poor of the country should be at the mercy of the Internal Revenue Service," he quipped.

The last year has been one of reorganization and change within the county welfare department. Administration was divided into six bureaus: social services, medical services, children's services, administration, institutions and resources. Each bureau has its own director.

One of the most difficult accomplishments, said Burns, is change of attitudes within a staff, for instance, to "get across to the staff the idea that their function is public service."

Increased emphasis on public service is evident in the department's legal services office. Lawyers who used to spend all their time tracking down client fraud now offer aid to clients with legal problems.

Burns considers the Bureau of Resources, which offers such preventive and supportive services as legal aid, housing inspection, day care, homemakers, job placement and Title V work training, as one of the most important changes made this year.

Housing aides have begun inspecting all welfare client dwellings in an attempt to stop subsidizing of slums with tax dollars.

"We are getting a lot of inquiries about this from other large cities," said Burns.

Another new program is the Comprehensive Services to Young Families, started in June with a $5,000 grant from the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation. It is an attempt to help young unmarried mothers become good parents and break the cycle of dependency on welfare.

Better salaries added impetus to an intensive social worker recruiting campaign. Temporary workers, who have been on the staff for years and whose salaries were not supplemented by state and federal money, will now have to pass exams for permanent positions or lose their jobs.

The department got approval in March to hire welfare aides to assist social workers with routine duties. The aides have high school degrees and receive specialized training.

Neighborhood welfare offices are being set up in Glenville, Central Kinsman and Hough areas and on the Near West Side. They provide emergency help, housing aid, food stamp certification and other services.

The welfare department is also bringing banks back into the lives of the poor. Food stamps are now sold in six branch banks on the East Side and two savings and loan office on the West Side. Banks also cash welfare checks.

"This program is an important psychological change for people who have never before been exposed to banks," said Burns.

Another change was made when the Lodge for homeless single men was closed after nearly 100 years of service. It was replaced by an emergency service at 2400 Payne Avenue N.E. where trained caseworkers are on duty evenings and weekends.

Probably the biggest change for the approximately 1,800 department employes is their new headquarters office at 220 St. Clair Avenue N.W., which provides more space and convenience than the old location at 2400 Payne Avenue N.E.

Burns said his main aim in the last year had been to improve delivery of services to clients. During the coming year he expects to give more attention to planning, which in the past has been largely left to the Cleveland Welfare Federation.

"It's my belief that public welfare should take a more active role in planning," said Burns. "We have more wealth of information."

He praised county commissioners for support given to changes and said that although lack of money had been a constant complicating factor, the department had received a fair share of tax money collected in Cuyahoga County.

COUNTY WELFARE RECEIVES AWARD FOR "DEDICATED SERVICE" FROM INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SERVICE

The Cuyahoga County Welfare Department has received a special award for "dedicated service to the cause of human betterment and international cooperation in 1966" from the American Branch of International Social Service, the Board of County Commissioners, William P. Day, Henry W. Speeth and Frank M. Gorman, announced today.

Eugene F. Burns, director of the County Welfare Department, received the award along with the following letter from Mrs. Michael M. Harris of New York, president of the American Branch of ISS:

"Dear Mr. Burns"

"International Social Service, American Branch, takes great pleasure in sending you this expression of our thanks for the fine assistance you and your staff have so unfailingly offered us in the past. With your cooperation we have been able to aid troubled persons throughout the world who have asked our help.

"The members of our board have long sought a way formally to acknowledge your part in our joint efforts. I am happy to tell you that on the occasion of our Annual Meeting, November 14, 1967, they decided on this citation.

"With the increasing movement of people and families from one country to another and the inevitable separations and problems that arise from such migrations, it is heartening to know that we can count on agencies such as yours for the skilled and sympathetic treatment that is required. I should like to add my personal appreciation for your agency's vital contribution to intercountry service.

"Sincerely,

"Rosalind W. Harris
"Mrs. Michael M. Harris.
"President."

ISS American Branch is part of a worldwide network of services with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. It has offices and correspondents in more than 100 countries. As a non-governmental, non-profit social agency, ISS has consultative status with the United Nations agencies. It was founded in 1921 to help with the problems of displaced persons in Europe following the first World War.

Growing Protest Against Hershey Letter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Minnesota Daily, student newspaper at the University of Minnesota, is indicative of the nationwide negative reaction created by General Hershey's directive concerning reclassification of persons who interfere with the draft:

Retire Hershey

Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey's directive that draft protesters be reclassified and inducted has been soundly and unanimously attacked across the country, as it deserves to be.

But Hershey operates outside the influence of public opinion. (And in this case outside the sanction of the law.) So his directive still stands and will stand, he says, until the President directly orders him to rescind it.

Pres. Johnson doesn't seem to be of a mind to deliver the order, so the only apparent recourse is in the courts. Consequently, the National Student Assn. on behalf of 15 student body presidents, including Minnesota Student Assn. Pres. Bill Newell, and three other student organizations, filed a suit in U.S. District Court yesterday, contending that the Hershey directive violates the fifth and sixth amendments to the Constitution. The amendments guarantee the right to due process of law.

There is little likelihood the suit will lose. Department of Justice officials tentatively decided almost a month ago that Hershey was acting illegally, and the Justice Dept. will be managing the defense.

The business will not be settled once Hershey's directive has been put away, however.

It is also time to put away Gen. Hershey, whose long career with the Selective Service has not been one of the most inspiring in government history."

Even the most patient democrats cannot be expected to tolerate Hershey's latest and most outrageous act.

Postal Service Copes With Transportation Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the changes in our national transportation network in the past 30 years have necessarily been reflected in changes in mail transportation concepts.

The most important factor in the transportation picture has been the precipitous decline in railroad passenger service. This has forced the Post Office to seek other ways of moving the mail.

To its credit, the postal service has adapted to the decline in passenger trains in a way that has produced faster delivery and more flexible movement of the mail.

The significant changes in mail transportation in recent years were outlined by Postmaster General O'Brien in a very informative article in the December 18 issue of U.S. News & World Report. With permission, I include the article with my remarks:

Other Side of the Postal Story

(By Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General)

The United States Post Office Department is now handling more than 80 billion pieces of mail a year—as much mail as the rest of the world combined. With volume of this magnitude, isolated instances of delay are inevitable.

But mail service today is better than it has ever been in history. This statement is supported by our own continuing surveys of dispatch and delivery times, by the statements of volume mailers, and by the results of a recent Roper survey, which showed that an overwhelming majority of Americans are fully satisfied with the postal service they are receiving.

Today, 35 States are getting overnight delivery of virtually all intrastate first-class mail. Five years ago, only six States received such service.

Today, transcontinental first-class mail is receiving two-day delivery. A year ago it took five days to deliver most transcontinental mail.

These dramatic improvements in service are the direct result of increased use of air transportation for the first-class mail. They would not have been possible if we continued to rely so heavily on railroads for transporting first-class mail.

The use of fast freight trains for bulk mail is an inevitable and desirable development. It gives the Post Office Department the benefits of tremendous technological advances in railroad handling of freight. It gives us the opportunity to take full advantage of containerization and the ability to use rail and highway movements in flexible combinations which can give prompt, regular and dependable service to mailers.

We are very selective in the type of railroad-freight services used for mail movement. Only premium freight trains carry parcel post and similar mails. In most cities, special terminal handling arrangements are set up to insure that mail receives prompt, regular and fast service.

The net result of these changes is the establishment of a long-range transportation network for movement of bulk mails—a network which will take advantage of containers, improved materials-handling systems, the latest technology in rail services, and the most flexible combination of rail and highway transportation.

Alternate services are still available in most areas for newspapers, magazines, special delivery and handling parcels and perishables. Where railroads continue to operate passenger service on reasonable schedules, these types of mail will continue to move in passenger-train baggage cars if this gives better service to the mailer.

It is also worth noting that the postal-rate bill now nearing final action includes a provision authorizing air-mail service for second-class mail. This new service, incidentally, was requested by publishers.

In recent years it has become increasingly popular in some circles to cite the Postal Service as the principal culprit in the withdrawal of passenger-train service by the railroads. This is not true. In the last 15 years alone, 7 of every 10 passenger trains dropped by the railroads were still carrying mail at the time they were discontinued. In other words, mail as well as passengers were left standing on the platform in 70 per cent of all passenger-train discontinuances. This hardly supports the contention that the Postal Service is responsible for decimating passenger-train service.

Actually, it is the other way around. Train discontinuances by the railroads have created serious problems throughout the country in the distribution and routing of mail.

Since 1930, the number of mail-carrying trains in the United States has been reduced from about 10,000 to less than 700 today, a reduction of well over 90 per cent. Thousands of towns have lost passenger-train service completely, and those that still receive it have far less schedule frequency than before. Good connection between passenger trains at junction points have become a rarity. Any traveler knows this, and that is why more than 97 per cent of intercity passenger miles in the United States are by automobile, bus and plane. Not only are passenger trains often poorly scheduled for mail-service requirements, but we also find that their performance of published schedules leaves much to be desired. Our national mail-train report shows on-time performance—no more than 15 minutes late—often falls below 75 per cent.

This is a serious matter. From January 1 to March 10, 1967, late running of two trains in the New York-New England area delayed 40 million letters and caused overtime pay to postal employes amounting to $38,000. One of these trains ran late 33 times in 43 days. In another case, from February 25 to March 15 of this year, late operation of trains one one line serving St. Louis delayed 4 million letters and 330,000 newspapers by missing connections with trains of four other railroads at that point.

The continued extensive use of railway post offices certainly cannot be justified from an economic point of view. Railway post offices accounted for only 19.5 per cent of our rail-transportation costs in fiscal year 1967. It is, however, a most expensive service, because the Department pays, in addition to the transportation costs, the salaries and travel expenses of the postal employes.

With the development of sectional centers and ZIP Code, we have found that postal clerks can sort mail much less expensively in regular post offices. We can also provide the same or better transportation at less cost, especially where train schedules and performance are not good enough for postal requirements.

The transfer of first-class mail formerly handled on railway post offices to air transportation on a space-available basis results in much faster service at no increase in cost.

The basic responsibility of the Postal Service is to give all our customers dependable, economical service, with delivery schedules that reflect fairly the class of mail used and the postage paid.

I believe any objective analysis would show that the changes we have made in our transportation modes and patterns are fully in keeping with this responsibility.

Completion of U.S. Aid to Iran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, and my colleague Congressman THOMAS E. MORGAN of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Special Subcommittee for Review of Foreign Aid Programs.

I attended an interesting celebration at the Department of State on November 29. The purpose was to mark the successful completion of the U.S. aid to Iran. Many public officials, participants in the foreign aid program, and four of our Ambassadors to Iran were present.

I have visited this country on several occasions and have found the Iranians to be a noble people. I am happy to report that our country was able to help them substantially in the progressive development of their country and that they are now able to continue such progress from their new economic base. This is a noteworthy achievement for the foreign aid program in an area that is burdened with many political, economic and social problems. Our foreign aid program in Iran was of a 17-year duration. We advanced a total of $605,000,000 in direct loans and grants, only $37,000,000 of which has been provided in the last 5 years. It is a happy occasion when a country can terminate these economic grants and loans and say to our country, "we are now ready to walk alone in this world." This was the initial aim and objective of the foreign aid program. This is a tribute to the progressive leadership of His Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran who has made such remarkable changes in the economy of Iran that it is now growing at one of the highest rates in the world.

Perhaps at no period in the 2,500 years of Iranian monarchy have the Iranian people held their monarch in greater esteem and admiration. They have rallied behind his Imperial Majesty both in crisis and reform, in war and in peace, as an inspired leader with extraordinary ability to handle the burdens of leadership. The progress that Iran has made in the last 15 years in all aspects of life is truly phenomenal. The consistent reforms have revolutionized the country's social and economic structures. They have abolished the old feudal system of landlords, women have been granted their long-sought political equality, and illiteracy is under attack by a well planned and well executed campaign throughout the land. They have expanded the public health programs together with medical and nursing services to the far-flung and isolated parts of the country and created a Development Corps that gives guidance and assistance to the villagers in their self-help programs of road building and community affairs. Houses of Justice have been established in the many rural areas so that the people may have recourse to the proper judicial procedures in the settlement of their local problems.

When we met November 29 to celebrate this progress, the Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator of the AID program, opened the proceedings and read the following letter from the President of the United States, followed by the remarks of the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, and the response by His Excellency Hushang Ansary, Ambassador of Iran. The Ambassador of Iran announced that in commemoration of our support, the Shahanshah of Iran has established the Pahlavi Scholarship for American students. This will make it possible for 81 American students to go to Iran to study in their universities and live among their people.

It is encouraging to have friends such as Iran. May our countries continue to build an everlasting bond of friendship and trust in this troubled world.

The speeches follow:

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT MARKING THE CLOSING OF THE AID MISSION AT TEHRAN

Today American and Iranian hands join in mutual congratulations. We mark a great success.

It may seem strange that we celebrate when an enterprise goes out of business. It may seem odd that we are pleased that the American AID mission that has long channeled much of America's economic assistance to Iran will close its doors tomorrow.

But we are celebrating an achievement, not an end. This is a milestone in Iran's continuing progress and in our increasingly close relations.

What we mark today is Iran's success. What we celebrate is Iran's economic and social progress. What we honor are the effective work of the men and women of Iran and the energetic and progressive leadership of His Majesty the Shah.

I have recently had the pleasure of hearing from the Shah himself of Iran's land reform and its drive against illiteracy; its far-reaching development program and emphasis on private investment; and its many other vital reforms.

That story is impressive.

What is even more impressive is Iran's impatience with ways no longer useful—and yet its respect for traditions of the past and its willingness to face hard decisions and do those difficult things necessary for a better future.

We are glad that we have been able, in an important way, to assist in Iran's rapid strides forward. Our commitment to Iran's progress has been enthusiastically given and of long standing.

Since the dark years following World War II, we have moved from emergency economic support to exciting development efforts which have now paid visible dividends. Careful joint planning has had much to do with the success we mark today.

We cannot depart one era without looking toward another that lies ahead. The similarity of needs and mutuality of purpose that Iran and the United States have long shared do not stop simply because Iran's well-being enables it to shoulder greater burdens. Now is the time when even stronger ties become possible.

We will turn our hands now to new fields of cooperation. Exchanges in science and technology, expanded business relations, continued cooperation in development and common determination to work for peace and security—these are but a few of the ways in which Americans and Iranians will phrase their new plans for cooperation.

I join all of you in marking a past that has been so successful. I ask those of you present to begin planting for a new harvest of friendship, trust and shared hopes.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE

We are gathered to celebrate the completion of a major foreign aid program. Tomorrow, November 30, direct economic aid to Iran under our Foreign Assistance Act will end.

We celebrate because Iran has arrived at the point where it can support its own continuing economic development.

This is a varied group—businessmen, churchmen, and engineers and others in private life as well as officials of our government and representatives of Iran. Our interests in Iran are in its safety and its prosperity, in its people and its capacity to enrich the cultural heritage of us all; in its progressive but staple government and its constructive role in the family of nations.

This is an especially moving occasion for me. In the spring of 1946, as a junior officer in the Department of State, I accompanied Secretary of State Byrnes to the Security Council of the United Nations in New York. Our mission was to get the Soviet troops out of northern Iran.

Last December I arrived in Teheran on the great national holiday celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the reoccupation of Azerbaijan by Iranian troops.

Plutarch once used the metaphor of "a rich Persian carpet, the beautiful figures and patterns of which can be shown only by spreading and extending it out."

What is true of Persia's carpets is also true of her history. Its patterns can be appreciated only when seen in broad dimension.

For thousands of years Iran has been at the center of cycles of growth and development, violence, and change. Milennia before Christ, cultures appeared there which used the wheel, copper tools, and woven cloth. In the sixth century B.C., the Persian tribes were welded into a single nation by Cyrus the Great and became the foremost people of the world.

In historic perspective, Iran's recent period of growth is only an instant in time.

Iran began to become a modern national political entity only about half a century ago. The first railroad linked the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf in 1933.

The United States and Iran have had close and friendly relationships for many years. In 1911, we responded to an invitation to send a financial adviser to Iran. In 1922, at the request of Iran, another American financial mission went out. Iran employed American engineers to build roads in the 1920's and to prepare feasibility studies for the trans-Iranian railroad.

The United States has long supported the independence and territorial integrity of Iran. That was one of our vivid concerns in discussions with our allies in the Second World War about the peace settlement.

The economic assistance program which ends tomorrow night began in 1952 as a technical assistance program under Point IV. The next year, when oil production came to a halt, it was expanded to include direct budgetary support. It has totalled $605 million in direct loans and grants for economic development. But only $37 million of that has been provided in the last five years.

In the same period—15 years—Iran invested more than $3 billion in public programs—half of that in the last five years.

Last year oil production yielded more than $600 million in revenues to the government of Iran, and this year the figure will be still higher. Oil revenues are paying for 80 percent of Iran's development budget.

In ten years, Iran's industrial production has increased 88 percent and its exports by more than one-third. Its GNP increased 11.8% in 1965 and 9.5% in 1966.

In 1950, more than three-quarters of the available water in Iran was not being used productively; a handful of irrigation facilities covered a few thousand acres. Today, dams, irrigation systems, and well-drilling projects are multiplying.

The use of fertilizer has more than quadrupled since 1960, and the capacity of Iran to produce its own fertilizer is being expanded, partly in cooperation with American firms.

Rice, sugar, tea, and cotton crops have all doubled in the last ten years. The production of wheat has risen substantially. Poultry and dairy farming have grown from almost scratch to significant levels.

American aid has helped Iran to establish an agricultural extension service with more than 1,000 trained technicians. We have assisted Iran's new hydrographic program and government service to conserve and utilize ground waters. Only 11 percent of Iran's land is now cultivated. With adequate irrigation, an estimated 30 percent can be farmed.

The list of concrete results from Iran's development programs is too long to repeat here. But perhaps we can be forgiven for citing just a few more programs in which American assistance played a significant role. The American people deserve to know this record:

Building of the new port at Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf, which will open Iran's entire southern region.

Loans totalling $77½ million to help complete a nationwide network of improved highways;

Loans of about $9 million to help with a master electrification program.

Aid in building or improving schools in which 100,000 Iranians are enrolled this year.

A drastic reduction in the incidence of malaria.

Immunization of 95 percent of the population against smallpox.

The insuring, as of last year, of $55 million of industrial development in Iran by American business—in ventures in petrochemicals, mining, rubber products, dairy products, and pharmaceuticals.

But, I would emphasize, the American role has been to help. The main job has been done by Iran.

And, certainly, strong and wise leadership deserves a large share of the credit for the remarkable progress of Iran.

The Shah's land reform has given 14 million Iranians a direct stake in agricultural progress. His far-reaching social and educational reforms, including equal rights for women, are producing results. His "white revolution" has made dramatic progress. I have never met a Chief of State or head of government who could speak with more precision, detail, and real expertness, about the economy of his country than does the Shah of Iran. And I know also from experience that His Majesty is extensively informed about world affairs. We in the United States Government value his judgments. We are proud to have Iran as a friend and partner.

There is every reason to believe that Iran's forward march will continue. Loans from the Export-Import Bank will not be affected by tomorrow's termination. American private enterprise carries on. Many American companies and firms—some of them represented here today—are demonstrating their confidence in Iran's future. Assisted by AID's investment guaranty and investment survey programs, they will provide a continuing partnership that will help to maintain Iran's momentum toward an ever higher level of prosperity.

There is a Near Eastern proverb which pleads: "May God make our end better than our beginning."

That has been Iran's goal and Iran's accomplishment.

Only a few weeks ago the Shah was crowned—he had postponed the event until his aspirations and policies and programs for his people had produced substantial results. The verdict throughout the Free World was that he had thoroughly earned his crown.

Indeed, the story of modern Iran is one of the great success stories of our time. And the realization that in some small measure we have been able to help Iran to accomplish this success should give all of us in the United States satisfaction and joy.

REMARKS BY HIS EXCELLENCY HUSHANG ANSARY, AMBASSADOR OF IRAN

This is a memorable moment in the history of relations between Iran and the United States, and I would like to start by extending to the President, to you, Mr. Secretary, and to Mr. Gaud the expression of my most sincere thanks and appreciation for your kind words and generous tributes to my August Sovereign and to my country.

You spoke with great warmth of the historic significance of the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty. It is no coincidence that this observance today should follow the Coronation by only a few weeks. For the Coronation of the Shahanshah, marking a unique page in Iran's colorful history, has brought home the recognition that, under wise leadership, a nation can bring together the technology and the social purpose of the modern world with the wisdom and richness of its own historic experience. In this context, the official termination of the American AID program in Iran is yet another manifestation of what the Shahanshah had hoped to achieve for his nation before consenting to hold his Coronation.

Iran was the first country to receive aid under the United States technical assistance program. She is not the first to terminate an AID mission. But in many ways the termination of AID in Iran has its own distinction as an outstanding example of close and cordial relationship between friends, and as a milestone in Iran's progress. Ours is a story with a happy ending.

To this I may add that U.S. aid came to Iran at a critical time in her history. It was a time of internal chaos and turmoil, a time of external threat and danger. Iran is indeed grateful for your assistance in that hour.

When we turn to the Iran of today, we see demonstrated for the world the enormous potential that can come to fruition when modern technology, joined with social and political reform, ignites the energies and aspirations of a determined people guided by wise and resolute leadership.

This recalls Iran's bloodless revolution, organized and led by the Shahanshah himself, and carried out within the framework of a free democratic society. Its goals were the correction of problems that are chronic and typical in the developing countries. Its technique did not follow doctrinaire blueprints of East or West, but grew out of traditions and existing local institutions. Its results speak for themselves.

Over 2.4 million farm families, 11½ million people in all, now own the land they till. Workers share in the fruits of their productivity. Women exercise the rights denied them for centuries. The youth of Iran join hands in a coordinated battle against rural poverty, ignorance, backwardness and disease.

The economy has been growing at one of the highest rates in the world. GNP rose by 11.8% in 1965 and 9.5% in 1966. It is expected to grow around 12% in 1967. Per capital income has tripled in the past decade.

The size of Iran's market for foreign goods has grown almost tenfold in the period between 1953 and 1966. It is now a billion-dollar market, one of the handful of huge markets among the developing countries.

Industry has grown at a fantastic rate. Industrial production has nearly doubled. Last year alone total investment in this sector rose by 16%, amounting to 22% of the GNP.

Over the next five years, we expect to spend 11.2 billion dollars on development. During that period, we hope to increase agriculture annually by four percent, industry by 15%, electricity and gas by 16%. Iranian market will double in size during the same period, offering another billion-dollar opportunity for trade growth.

Per capita income is expected to increase by nearly one third, GNP by more than 50 percent.

Social targets during the same period call for educational services for 92% of urban and 55% of rural school-going children at elementary level, doubling the number of university students, tripling the number of students in vocational schools.

The termination of aid, therefore, signals the arrival of a new era in the enriching association of Iran with your great country. It offers great opportunities to private investors from the United States to assume a larger share in the rapid development of my country. Political stability, plus tax holidays, easy repatriation of capital and profits, as well as other incentives provide a healthy climate in virtually every positive field of activity. This, therefore, serves as an open invitation to private investors from the United States to join hands with their Iranian counterparts and to further identify themselves with one of the fastest moving economies in the world.

In the Middle East, with its history of turbulence, Iran's stable democratic government serves as a stabilizing influence. As an emerging, dynamic modern state, with great prosperity, she has the highest stake in the maintenance of peace in the region and draws upon a rich cultural and philosophical heritage in meeting her responsibilities. In the words of the Shahanshah:

"We seek peace, coexistence and better understanding with other nations, whatever their ideologies may be; we will always support any endeavors for the establishment and furtherance of social justice; we will assist efforts in bridging the gap between the poor and rich nations of the world; and will support any plans for international cooperation, campaigns against illiteracy, poverty, disease and other social ills.. These firm beliefs have been our guide in international situations and have enabled us to defend the principles of right without hesitation."

Among those means which men of goodwill find most effective in striving for peace is knowledge of other nations. For with knowledge comes understanding, and where there is understanding among men, there is far less likely to be disagreement and conflict.

With this in mind, I am most happy today to close my remarks with the announcement that His Imperial Majesty has just established the Pahlavi Scholarships for American students. This, you might recall, Mr. Secretary, is the result of the discussion last summer between the Shahanshah and yourself, on the occasion of His Imperial Majesty's visit to the United States.

The scholarships will make it possible for 81 American students to go to Iran, to study in our universities and live among our people, under provisions that are now being worked out.

It is hoped that through the Pahlavi Scholarships, our two nations build another bridge of understanding and forge another bond of friendship and trust. Most important, we do this among a new, upcoming generation, who, within a few short years, will bear the responsibilities for peace and harmony among nations.

I thank you.

Crackdown on Waste and Corruption in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER L. WOLFF
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on my most recent trip to Vietnam, as on previous trips, I saw flagrant waste and corruption in nonmilitary aspects of American involvement in Vietnam. I reported on this situation to my colleagues here in the House. I introduced, and was joined by 38 of my colleagues, a resolution to create a Joint Investigatory Committee on the Civic Action Program in Vietnam. I have had a series of discussions with high administration officials and am hopeful that action will be taken to correct the situation in South Vietnam.

Thus it is that I was pleased by an article in today's Wall Street Journal headlined "United States Plans Crackdown on Illegal Transactions by Americans in Vietnam." I commend this article to the Members' attention, and under leave to extend my remarks, wish to include it in the Record at this point:

Corruption and War: United States Plans Crackdown on Illegal Transactions by Americans in Vietnam—Black Market Dealings, Theft of PX Goods Are Assailed—New Rules for Contractors—Pssst Need a Refrigerator?

(By Peter R. Kann)

Saigon.—Vietnamese corruption is a constant topic here. By day, it is a source of annoyance and frustration to many Americans. By night, it is a subject of amusement on the cocktail circuit, where "Have you heard about the province chief in . . ." serves as Saigon's substitute for can-you-top-this back home.

But the Vietnamese have no monopoly on improprieties here. Thus, over the past several months a high-level U.S. commission has been meeting in secrecy to map a campaign against illegal activity by Americans in Vietnam.

The result: Early next year a full-scale housecleaning will hit both the U.S. military and U.S. civilians here, as well as companies working for the U.S. Government in Vietnam. The attack will zero in on three targets: Blackmarket activity by individuals and companies, large-scale theft and diversion of PX goods and other U.S. commodities and illegal contracting arrangements.

The reforms will mean that contractors will be paid in piasters rather than dollars, that financial dealings of all U.S. civilians and soldiers here will be scrutinized by a computer programmed to look for black-market operatives and that the movement of PX and other goods will be closely watched from ship to shelf.

THE BLACK MARKET THRIVES

There's no question that reforms are needed. The black market here thrives openly. Throughout central Saigon and other cities and towns with U.S. bases, the sidewalks are cluttered with stands selling a list of U.S. products—cigarets, toiletries, watches, radios, clothing—that closely parallels the inventory of the local PX. Often, the sidewalk vendors offer a wider range of products than the PX: Salem cigarets, the favorite of Vietnamese, can always be purchased on the street but often are unavailable at the PX.

Vendors openly hawk their wares across the street from the National Assembly building and in front of the downtown Saigon PX. The sidewalk shops don't have larger items like refrigerators and television sets, but it's easy to find someone who can arrange a black-market purchase of such products.

The special U.S. commission contends that most commodities on the black market get there in bulk quantities through well-established channels involving the active participation, for profit, of certain U.S. and other non-Vietnamese personnel. This doesn't mean high-ranking people are necessarily involved. "A clever person of humble rank in the right job at the right place can do it," a source says.

U.S. officials aren't much interested in catching the street vendors or the GI who occasionally sells a bottle of PX whiskey to a blackmarket operator, "We're out to stop the big, organized diversion at docks, warehouses and transport lines," says one official. Details of the proposed controls aren't known, but there probably will be strict new accounting and invoicing procedures. Also, U.S. makers of PX products may be asked to imprint special PX markings on goods intended for Vietnam so they can be identified easily if found on the black market.

THE BLACK MARKET IN MONEY

(Some means of control, of course, are limited by the realities of war. Considerable diversion could be stemmed if more U.S. soldiers were detailed to guard goods being transported, for instance. But, says one official here, "McNamara and Westmoreland seem to think it's more important to have GIs fighting the enemy than guarding refrigerators.")

The black market in money here is as vast as the black market in goods, but it differs in that no large-scale criminal ring is involved. It thrives on a welter of individual transactions.

The soldiers and others who work for the Government or for Government contractors here are paid in MPC (military payment certificates), a scrip convertible by Americans into dollars. MPCs are difficult, if not impossible, for non-American civilians to convert or spend, and they thus have little intrinsic value to black-market-money changers.

To make a black-market profit with MPCs, an American must convert them into regular U.S. currency or—as generally is the case—into some negotiable dollar instrument like travelers checks or postal money orders. This can be done legally here, with a dollar of scrip worth a real U.S. dollar. The American then takes his negotiable instrument to a black-market money changer.

The cash or negotiable instrument is worth about 150 piasters to the dollar on the black market. In official dealings, the dollar is worth 118 piasters.

THE COMPUTER IS WATCHING

The special commission hopes to wipe out the bulk of this illegal activity with a computer scheduled to arrive here shortly. The salary level and MPC bank-account balances of all Americans will be programmed on the computer, and all exchanges of MPCs for negotiable instruments will be fed into the machinne. Any accounts showing unusual activity will be noted by the computer, and these accounts will receive special audits. Transactions or earnings that can't be documented will be investigated.

"We won't stop all of it," says one official here, "but we'll make it a lot more risky and expensive to deal in the black-market, and we will eliminate the larger operators. The guy turning over $10,000 a month will be caught."

Also, cutting out the larger transactions and thus reducing the volume of illegal exchange will raise the overhead costs of money changers and perhaps further weaken the black-market structure, sources believe. Moreover, they believe the U.S. crackdown will be accompanied by a Vietnamese attack on the money changers.

The biggest changes planned by the special commission involve Government contracting. The U.S. Government, mainly the military, awards contracts for construction here of everything from snack bars to airfields. The awards total about $40 million a month, one official estimates. Most contractors are U.S. companies, and most are paid in dollars. The contracts, generally cost plus a fixed fee, are awarded to the lowest bidder. This competitive factor, coupled with the black-market dollar manipulations here, forces many contractors into illegal monetary arrangements, sources here explain.

For example, a company wins a contract to build a troop billet. It arranges with a Vietnamese businessman to supply laborers and some building supplies. Legally, the U.S. company, which is receiving its pay in dollars, should pay the Vietnamese subcontractor in piasters, acquired through official channels at the legal conversion rate of 118 piasters to the dollar.

Instead, though, the company arranges to pay the Vietnamese subcontractor in dollars, and in return the subcontractor supplies his goods and services at the rate of about 150 piasters to the dollar. Advantages to both parties are obvious. The U.S. company gets more services and supplies for its money. The Vietnamese, who probably is already rolling in piasters, wants convertible currency in a safe place and so gets the contractor to deposit the dollars in a Hong Kong, U.S. or Swiss bank account.

Although all contractors don't operate in this way, sources say that such arrangements, in multiple variations, are pervasive here. U.S. officials admit to having little or no effective control over subcontracting work here.

FORCED INTO FOLLOWING SUIT

Since the illegal practices generally are longstanding, the contractor can count on the black-market money advantages when bidding on a contract. This allows him to lower his bid, and this, in turn, forces other contractors to follow suit or to be underbid consistently. "If one contractor can count on a 30% to 60% competitive advantage over the others, then their choice is to compete on the same basis or pack up and go home," says an American here.

The new controls are still under wraps, but it's known they will involve a major switch away from paying prime contractors in dollars. U.S. officials are seeking firm assurance from the government of South Vietnam that contractors will be able to repatriate their profits by converting them into dollars through government dollar reserves.

It's also considered likely that the controls on contracting will include far stricter auditing of contractors' accounts, with the aim of uncovering illegal subcontract arrangements.

The commission planning the housecleaning campaign has three members representing the U.S. embassy, the American military command and the U.S. Agency for International Development. The campaign is based on secret commission hearings and on findings of investigators working under the commission's direction. The commission has coordinated its plans with the Saigon regime at the ministerial level, and Americans appear confident of cooperation and some parallel action by Vietnamese officials.

STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMY

Aside from the obvious aim of saving Uncle Sam some money, the housecleaning is aimed at strengthening the legitimate Vietnamese economy. Honest Vietnamese importers, for example, are severely hurt by illegal competition from diverted PX goods. Much of the U.S. expectation of Vietnamese cooperation in the reform stems from the belief that Saigon is under pressure from Vietnamese businessmen to crack down.

There could be some political motives behind the campaign, too. Over the past several months, top U.S. officials in Vietnam have made clear to the Vietnamese regime the deep U.S. concern over widespread corruption within Vietnam's government and armed forces and the necessity for corrective action. The action is needed, American officials say, to insure greater government and military efficiency and to win much-needed popular support for the new regime here. In this context, it's logical that the U.S. should seek to set its own house in order here as a prerequisite to applying effective leverage on Vietnamese officials.

Sources close to the U.S. campaign claim there will be no recriminations for past abuses, especially in the contracting area. They also insist that the new contracting rules won't be punitive and won't be aimed at any reduction in profitability of contract work.

"We will make it possible for an honest man to make as many honest bucks as he wants in Vietnam, but we'll make it highly unattractive for him to make money any other way," one American official says.

The sources here say they are aware that the current "unacceptable" situation was shaped by the exigencies of war, mainly the rapid, massive U.S. military buildup of late 1965 and early 1966. "At that point we were in danger of losing a war; things had to get done and get done fast; there was no time to be concerned with niceties," a U.S. source concedes.

Christmas Packages Sent to American Prisoners in North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the December 9, 1967, issue of the Washington Evening Star. The editorial follows:

CHRISTMAS IN HANOI

This year, as in previous years, small Christmas packages have been sent by wives and families to American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. It is hoped that this year, in contrast to previous years, the authorities in Hanoi will permit the packages to reach the imprisoned men.

The uncertainties surrounding the life and well-being of any POW invariably place a cruel burden on those at home who care. But under the policy that Hanoi has adopted, it is cruelty compounded.

The North Vietnamese have chosen to disregard virtually every provision of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war—a convention that they have formally agreed to abide by. They do not announce the names of those taken prisoner. They refuse to allow Red Cross inspection of the prisoner camps. Only a trickle of mail is allowed to get through either to or from the prisoners. And last year, all Christmas parcels sent to the men were returned, without explanation, to the sender.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the authorities in North Vietnam will see fit to start living up to the international code they have solemnly approved. But the small hope remains that they will relent in their determination to use the prisoners as propaganda weapons to the extent of recognizing the special religious and humanitarian aspect of Christmas. Perhaps, this year, those leaders who claim such idealistic concern for the welfare of all humanity will demonstrate the simple charity required to let a few packages from home pass through their curtain of hatred.

More Praise for Control Data Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, late last month the announcement was made that Control Data Corp., a Minneapolis firm, would build a computer components factory and a training institute in the poverty area of north Minneapolis. This farsighted decision has been acclaimed by various news media. The following editorial appeared in the latest issue of the North Minneapolis Post:

ACTION LIKE THIS IS THE KIND NEEDED TO ELIMINATE THE GHETTOS IN THE AREA

To us the term ghetto has always been reprehensible. We do not recall ever having used it and have no plans to extensively do so in the future. Because of the racial disturbances of 1966 and 1967, there has been a tendency to refer to Plymouth ave. as the street to stay away from because it was such a tough neighborhood that all of the windows in the business places had to be boarded and it was impossible to operate with glass store fronts.

To argue that such a statement did not reflect the actions of a thoughtless minority would be like saying it does not snow in Minnesota during the winter months. There were racial disturbances on Plymouth ave. during 1966 and 1967. We may as well face up to the fact persons with criminal tendencies, both white and black, did choose that section of the city in which to operate.

Now comes possibly the biggest news story that has ever been written about Minneapolis. That includes even the completion of the Nicollet ave. Mall and other headline stories that have been written during the last 25 years about the development of Minneapolis.

The decision of Control Data Corp., one of the world's leading computer manufacturers, to open a plant on Plymouth Ave., is to us one of the most significant developments that has occurred in the history of the city during the last decade.

The original announcement says the company will operate temporarily in leased quarters at Plymouth and Bryant aves. Next year it will build an 85,000-square foot plant that will employ nearly 300 persons. The next stop will be the erection of its second Minneapolis training institute near or adjacent to its new Northside plant.

To us the most exciting development is the area will now become the training center for those persons with even the least experience in any trade. That section has practically been written off for many years as a place in which not to locate.

The nicest fact, too, is this is private money and not a poverty program plan from Washington, D.C. No government money is involved. The particular area in which Control Data Corp. will locate has room for plenty more similar developments. This may be just the start of many other plants that will locate in that area.

Minneapolis may have taken the first step toward eliminating an apparent ghetto in its midst. It is not impossible this may be the first step in proving Negroes are only another of minority groups. It is not too many years ago that such minority groups as the Irish, the Italians, the Jews and persons from other eastern European countries were only tolerated, but never accepted as real American citizens.

We certainly welcome the financial angle the building of this plant represents. At the same time, we also believe the building of this plant in what was formerly forbidden territory may mean much more in establishing the equality of races.

Detroit's Hundred Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Detroit had the first Hundred Club. It is a volunteer organization of Detroit citizens banded together for the sole purpose of helping materially—in dollars and cents and economic self-respect—the families of Detroit's firemen and policemen who are killed in the line of duty. On Friday, June 19, 1959, the Honorable Louis C. Rabaut, of Michigan, placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD remarks on Detroit's Hundred Club in which it was suggested that the Nation would do well to take note of the club's success. I understand that now several clubs modeled after the Hundred Club have been organized in other cities throughout the country.

We are happy now to make a report to you of the success of Detroit's Hundred Club. On November 15, 1967, the club celebrated its 15th anniversary. Since its establishment the club has helped 105 widows and families of policemen and firemen killed in the line of duty in the Detroit metropolitan area and State troopers throughout the State. The total benefit payments have been $509,572.

The club has established a scholarship fund of $80,000 administered by the Student Aid Foundation. This scholarship program assures higher education for children of firemen, policemen, and State troopers killed in the line of duty, as well as for those children who want to acquire skills or get training in other vocations.

It is, indeed, an impressive record of achievement.

USAF Readies First F–111A Squadron for Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the F–111A fighter-bomber is reportedly ready for operation and fit for use in Vietnam.

There has been great controversy and apprehension about the performance of this aircraft, which was designed in accordance with the order of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara for a plane at lowest possible cost which could serve both the Air Force and the Navy.

The main question was whether one plane could be built for two different kinds of use and still have the necessary effectiveness in both uses. This problem seems to have been answered. In speed, maneuverability, and general adaptability to different takeoff and landing situations, the plane has been reported to perform outstandingly. All tests have demonstrated to the satisfaction of veteran pilots that it suits the long run, heavy load, and pinpoint bombing duty that is necessary in Vietnam.

In view of the serious and conscientious questions which were asked when the plan was first announced, the report which appeared in the Lowell Sun recently is extremely reassuring, and I insert it for publication in the RECORD:

USAF READIES FIRST F–111A SQUADRON FOR VIETNAM

(By Don Dwiggins)

NELLIS AIR FORCE BASE, NEVADA.—"Operational readiness as soon as possible!"

In those words, the commander of a secret Air Force project, Harvest Reaper, has come close to conceding the truth of rumors that the controversial F–111A fighter-bomber will soon be on its way to Vietnam.

"If there is the requirement, we'll go!" says Harvest Reaper's skipper, a veteran combat pilot with the unlikely name of Col. Ivan H. Dethman.

Here at Nellis AFB, the USAF's Tactical Fighter Weapons Center where men and planes are sharpened for Vietnam duty, the F–111A (formerly the TFX) is now known as the "fastest gun in the West."

But the project's seven instructor-pilots, all Vietnam veterans averaging 100 missions each, call the black-nosed fighter-bomber "Snoopy" after the cartoon character.

There is still another nickname for the F–111A, but Col. Detham, native of Mansfield, S.D. whose present home is Seattle, is mysterious about it: "If I told you what it was you'd know where we are going!"

There is little question that the F–111A has flown through more political flak than any other aircraft. The controversy began almost as soon as Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara ordered a single aircraft at lowest possible cost for both the Air Force and Navy. The question was: Could such a compromise plane be built penalizing both services?

Then came the charge that politics and favoritism, or both, had been involved in granting the contract for the TFX to General Dynamics, a Fort Worth, Texas firm.

The F–111A is now being readied as a replacement for the F–105 Thunderchief in Southeast Asia. The F–105, known on the flight line as "Wild Weasel," cannot accurately be compared with the F–111A. "They're entirely different airplanes," explains Capt. John D. Phillips, of Beebe and North Little Rock, Ark., one of the Harvest Reaper instructors. Where the Thunderchief can hold its own in a dogfight with a MIG, the F–111A admittedly is too heavy for such melees as the one in which Major Kenneth T. Blank scored the first F–105 MIG kill in August, 1966. Blank is from Franklin, Mich.

What the F–111A has proved it can do is fly farther, faster, with a bigger payload and with greater accuracy than any other combat plane, Col. Dethman admits.

He should know. At Nellis the unit's six F–111A's are flying dawn-to-dusk in grim rehearsals of sophisticated new combat missions that could change the whole complexion of the Vietnam air war. By virtue of its terrain-following radar (TFR) and other futuristic radar gear, Snoopy can make low-level penetration under enemy radar screens, either subsonically or supersonically, then dash over the target at speeds above Mach 2.5—1450 m.p.h.

This has been proven with simulated low-level penetration missions in a flight-test area covering six states. The low supersonic runs, of course, are made over uninhabited land (near the Grand Canyon), for under these circumstances boom intensities run as high as 120 pounds overpressure.

Harvest Reaper, officially the 4481st Tactical Fighter Squadron, now has 11 two-man crews in advanced training coming up to the end of a six-month program that began last July.

The pilot trainees, who also are mainly Vietnam veterans, are eager volunteers, learning to get the most out of the F–111A, which by virtue of its swing-wing arrangement can operate from relatively short fields and loiter with wings extended, or tuck them back like a diving hawk for supersonic dashes.

"On the deck," says Capt. Phillips, "you could outrun a MIG–21 with your superior acceleration and range."

The F–111A already has reached Mach 2.5 many times, despite past criticism of its speed capability, says Capt. Phillips.

He praises the accuracy of Snoopy's inertial navigation system—on a flight from Fort Worth to Loring AFB, Maine, on autopilot, his F–111A uncannily found its own way to within seven-tenths of a mile of the runway center. As to range, he also proved out that F–111A's capability by flying non-stop from Maine to the Paris Air Show in five hours 35 minutes—without refueling.

"I don't know what all the flak was about," he says. "It's a hell of an airplane!"

The flak, of course, was political, but at Nellis there is no time for or interest in past criticism. "We're here to do a job, to prove what she can do," says Colonel Dethman.

Answering criticism that the F–111A is "underpowered," Captain Phillips explains that, while it is sluggish subsonically, in supersonic flight its acceleration is "amazing."

Most of the praise you hear, however, is for the sophisticated electronics gear—"the most beautiful setup I ever flew," says Capt. Phillips. What the electronics gear does is give the F–111A an all-weather capability to slip in low and fast, find its target with eerie accuracy, drop its bombs (either conventional or nuclear) and get out high and fast—something the Tactical Air Command has never had before.

The pilots seem agreed that Snoopy has met its demanding design criteria for a multi-mission fighter-bomber with intercontinental range, near triple-sonic speed and high firepower. Beneath its belly is slung a six-barreled 20-millimeter cannon that can fire 6000 rounds a minute—"like one long, steel cylinder," says Capt. Phillips. "At the speeds we fly, we need it!"

How are things going generally?

"Not as good as I'd hoped for," Col. Dethman admits. "But then I'm never satisfied. Not even with the best."

In reality, it is a never-ending task, now run concurrent with Category I and II factory and USAF testing of all systems at Edwards and Eglin AFBs.

When the six-month pilot training program ends in December, however, Harvest Reaper will stand ready for the long overwater flight to Vietnam, and could be in action by the first of next year.

All they need here is the word "Go."

Keep It Limited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, in its lead editorial December 9, the Buffalo Evening News carefully chartered the dangerous and exacting course the United States has set for itself in Vietnam.

The paper states that "we are on the right track in providing the necessary military umbrella for the fledgling Saigon Government." The News then goes on to warn that "our greatest danger comes from our Nation's pent-up frustrations and impatience which threaten to confront us with a false choice between equally unacceptable risks—those of pulling out and leaving Asia defenseless and our own prestige and credibility in a shambles versus those of escalating recklessly to the brink of nuclear war."

Thus does the News accurately and succinctly define our very difficult course between the Scylla of ignominious withdrawal and the Charybdis of nuclear war.

Mr. Speaker, I include the full text of the Buffalo Evening News editorial in the RECORD at this point:

KEEP IT LIMITED

The coming resignation of Defense Secretary McNamara and the uncertainty about what it might mean for the future prosecution of the Vietnam War brings into focus a pervasive national anxiety. At the beginning of his administration President Johnson established the image of a sort of miracle worker, but after four years of steady escalation of the war it is time to reaffirm some basic guidelines on the Vietnam war.

First, what is our goal in Vietnam? Obviously, it is to stop a pattern of Communist aggression that threatens not only a small Asian nation but, ultimately, the security of the United States. President Johnson has repeatedly stressed the limited nature of this goal. We have no aim of conquering North Vietnam.

Second, how do we achieve our goal in Vietnam? The basic thing to remember, in spite of impatience with the lack of progress, is that since our goal is limited, we must guard against using unlimited means to achieve it. It would be sheer idiocy to risk unnecessarily an all-out nuclear war, and yet those who advocate "getting it over with," using whatever force is necessary, are daring confrontation with Red China.

How far can the present four-year escalation go without reaching the danger point? It seems pretty apparent, with bombing going on at the edge of China and with Hanoi in ruins, that we are nudging the flashpoint right now. An invasion of the north or a blockade of Soviet ships in Haiphong could send us beyond the point of no return that we crossed when we moved far north toward the Yalu in Korea, and American troops suddenly were faced with 600,000 Red Chinese "volunteers."

With this in mind, we must guard against a continuing military escalation of the Vietnam war. The only sensible escalation must be political, as the new Saigon government, pressed if necessary by Ambassador Bunker, makes the social, military and economic reforms that are essential to building a new nation from this remnant of a French colony.

The building of a viable democratic government is a slow process—one that may take five or 10 years no matter how we succeed militarily.

So we are on the right track in providing the necessary military umbrella for the fledgling Saigon government. Our greatest danger comes from our nation's pent-up frustrations and impatience which threaten to confront us with a false choice between equally unacceptable risks—those of pulling out and leaving Asia defenseless and our own prestige and credibility in a shambles vs. those of escalating recklessly to the brink of nuclear war.

Let us muster the steadfastness to spurn such extremes and stay the route until we can achieve an honorable peace.

Text of Sermon at Spellman Funeral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on December 7, 1967, I attended the solemn funeral rites at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City for our beloved Francis Cardinal Spellman. This was the first requiem conducted for a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church completely in English according to the new rites of the liturgy. Nine cardinals and nearly 100 Roman Catholic bishops took part in the ceremonies. In attendance were some 42 non-Catholic religious leaders who were given positions of honor, and a special canopied throne was set aside for Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in this hemisphere.

Among the public figures who were also in attendance were President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Senator Jacob K. Javits, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John V. Lindsay, and numerous others. Mr. Speaker, this gives testament to the vivid impression and indelible mark which Cardinal Spellman left on his time and his fellow man.

My good friend and the former President of Fordham University, the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon of the Society of Jesus, who is also a biographer of the cardinal, delivered a stirring eulogy which I have received permission to be printed in the Congressional Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 8, 1967]

Text of the Sermon at Spellman Funeral

If the afflicted Job were here in the sanctuary today and cried out from his place, "But man, when he shall be dead and stripped and consumed, I pray you, where is he?" our answer would have to be, "That all depends." If he referred to a man like the one who lies in state before us now, surrounded by every mark of human honor and love, we could only say "He is not with us any more. He has gone home."

Is he "stripped and consumed?" Well, he has taken nothing with him but the free acts of a long life. But he is dead? Not really. After 78 wonderful years among us, he is now one of the just souls mentioned in the Book of Wisdom who are "in the hand of God, and the torment of death shall not touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die . . . but they are at peace."

The Apostolic Delegate representing the person of the Holy Father is here with cardinals, archbishops and bishops from every part of the Union with prelates and priests and religious men and women to mourn the loss of a Christlike Catholic churchman. Leaders of the armed forces, Army, Navy, and Air Force, with chaplains of every rank and of every religion have come to honor one of their own.

A TRUE ECUMENIST

They are joined by clergy of the Orthodox, Protestant and Jewish faiths who are with us today to pray for the soul of a friend and a true ecumenist, while leaders from every other walk of life, are sitting side by side, and good old John Q. Citizen who has brought his wife along and all their children. That is what it means to be all things to all men.

In life our Cardinal Archibishop did not look like the great man that he was. Toward the end he seemed to be getting smaller and his little steps were beginning to falter. He was never a great scholar, or a great orator or a great writer either—though the royalties from his books that went to his many charities, were equalled by few of our greatest geniuses. He spent his life doing things—doing things for God, for his Country and his neighbor, doing things that only a great man could do. Nothing could hold him back.

As a young priest, he was handed the circulation department of the Boston Pilot. It was meant as a modest appointment but in a short time he knew more about the diocese than anybody in the Chancery. In Rome, he was given charge of the playground that the Knights of Columbus were sponsoring, another modest appointment. But before anyone realized what was happening, he was indispensable to the Vatican Secretariate of State.

As a young Bishop he found himself giving full time to the Sacrament of Confirmation but in seven years he was Archbishop of New York. There was no one closer to Pope Pius XII and Franklin D. Roosevelt always called him "my favorite bishop." No wonder then that it was he who introduced the two men at the Hyde Park luncheon.

When questions arose that involved the appointment of the President's representative at the Vatican, the Apostolic Delegate found him very helpful and when the bombing of Monte Cassino and later Rome itself came into the planning of the Italian campaign, the grief-stricken Pope turned to the Archbishop of New York.

As Vicar of the armed forces, he traveled all over the world taking care of delicate situations, dealing with everybody who was making history at the time—generals, kings, prime ministers and patriarchs—and some people think that all this taken together with the titles, decorations, honors and degrees that were showered on him constituted his greatness.

ONLY PART OF PICTURE

It was part of the picture of course, but not the principal part. Neither was the impressive material progress of his great archdiocese. If you would know the details of what has been done in these 28 years compare the Catholic Directory of 1939 with that of 1967—the increase of parishes, churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, and homes; the growth of Catholic Charities and the social apostolates among the poor, the sick and the aged; the development of the Military Ordinariate—where shall we stop? The statistics are incredible but they too are only part of the picture. After all, great corporations can be expanded by men who are not great themselves. The whole picture must include his unusual personality.

One little trait that always impressed his devoted secretaries was the fact that he never tried to impress anyone—even the most exalted. He was always himself with his little side remarks and a Boston accent that he never lost even when he spoke Italian. When he went to Rome for the Great Consistory and was made a Prince of the Church, he could have been forgiven for being just a little bit self-conscious but he went about for all the world, as if someone else were being honored.

PRESENTATION OF THE HAT

After the principal ceremony was over, his party retired to the villa on the Janiculum where the American College was to be built later on. There they waited for the emissary from the Vatican who came for the formal presentation of the great red hat and tassels. It looked enormous on the silver tray when extended with a bow by the Master of the Robes and an ordinary prelate would have tried for just a moment to look like Richelieu.

Cardinal Spellman grinned at the Monsignor who was as grave as a judge and asked: "What shall I do now? Just take it?" And everyone relaxed.

This revealed once more a quality that made it possible for him to be everyone's equal and letters home from the servicemen who met him at the front glowed with their appreciation of the fact. Sludging along one day in the rain, he met a corporal who wanted to go to confession, so without a word they both went under the tail of a cart for absolution and a good long talk.

Another day on one of his many hospital visits, he stopped to cheer up one of the younger casualties. The boy felt sure that Cardinal Archbishops must have plenty of free time on their consecrated hands, so he gave him the folks' address and asked that he write to them and say that their Joe was doing just fine.

It happened that the Vicar of the Armed Forces was just that kind of a Cardinal Archbishop. He took down the address and wrote a nice personal letter to the anxious mother in Kansas. Doing so gave him such a glow of human satisfaction that he ended by writing to more than 10,000 mothers before the war was over.

When he signed the letters he could always feel the presence of his own mother looking over his shoulder. Like most of us priests, he was very close to his mother—to his whole family, in fact.

As the eldest, he took an early responsibility for his two brothers and two sisters and when his parents died he was the main source of their remarkable unity. All their holidays were spent together and it was amusing to see how a Cardinal Archbishop could be teased and contradicted in the family circle. It was more than amusing. It was revealing.

Add to this the kind of friends and enemies he made and the outlines of greatness become more clear. Not everyone liked him or agreed with him. In spite of a disarming simplicity of manner he was a complex and very positive character, the wrong man to cross when he decided that he was right and you were not.

CRITICISM INEVITABLE

As the years rolled on he mellowed wonderfully and could smile at recent attacks that would have meant a bitter controversy earlier in his life. Criticism of a man in his position was inevitable. He found himself as so many do in these disintegrating times, between two waring factions—one holding that everything new is bad and the other just the opposite, that nothing old can be trusted. No one who keeps to the golden mean can please them all.

Here was a conservative liberal—as liberal as the Roman Catholic Church and as conservative. Here was a man who was always ready to adopt at once every approved step in the agiornamento—every approved step. But today strange passions are aroused when a man who has reached the age of discretion shows any honor to the accumulated wisdom of the past.

What always made criticism easier to take was the legion of friends who had been drawn to him over the years and never changed their minds. These were not only Popes like Pius XI and Pius XII and good Pope John who entertained him during the war, and Paul VI who visited him here in this Cathedral; not only Cardinals like Borgongini-Duca, Lauri Gasparri and the Patriarch of Lisbon but friends that he made in college who remained close friends till they died and fellow seminarians who loved to get together with him for vacation and, in one sense, most important of all, the men who worked, as he would say, not under him but with him in the Archdiocese and Military Ordinariate.

FOND MEMORIES

No one is expected to be a hero to his secretary but if you knew them all, all who served him in the last hectic 28 years you would find everyone of them devoted to their Cardinal.

They will remember him relaxed at a quiet supper when much of the next day's work was decided on or nervous at big ceremonies, or amused at the babies in the Foundling Hospital, or alert at consultors' meetings and philosophic under attack.

But they will never forget the early mornings when they stood beside him assisting at the sacrifice of the mass. He offered it with such care, simplicity and devotion. They will always remember him first and foremost as a faithful and devoted priest.

In the sight of the unwise he seemed to die but he is at peace. At peace.

What Freedom Means to Jerry Nolan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, Jerry Nolan would not have had to go back to Vietnam.

It was his own idea.

Jerry already had served 13 months in Vietnam with an Army engineering battalion. One year is the usual tour of duty. But Jerry volunteered for an extra 6 months. So he is due to return to Vietnam at the expiration of his home leave December 30.

That is all right with Jerry. But he does have one gripe.

Jerry knows the Engineers are doing a fantastic job but he wants to join the paratroopers "because they are the men who I believe do the most for their nation."

Interrupting his richly deserved leave, Jerry came to Washington at his own expense to try to convince the military authorities to transfer him to the paratroopers. It seems that while Jerry was in Vietnam his request for this transfer was turned down five times because his unit needed him.

I am going to do everything I can to see that he gets his wish. General Westmoreland has a lot of men like Jerry in paratroop units, but I am sure he can use one more.

In the following interview, published December 4 by the Chicago Tribune, Jerry referred to himself as a "strange bird" compared with the pot smokers and draft card burners in our midst.

I think Jerry is wrong. I think they are the "strange birds"—a small minority compared with the vast majority of patriotic young Americans of whom Jerry Nolan is a fine example.

"STRANGE BIRD" WANTS TO RETURN TO VIETNAM

(By Michael McGuire)

A soldier named Nolan calls himself "a strange bird," and maybe he is.

For one thing, the 19-year-old youth believes without question in the form of freedom Americans enjoy. Furthermore, after serving 13 months in Viet Nam, he has volunteered to return for more. To top it off, he is struggling with army red tape to be transferred from the army engineers into the infantry.

"When you put me against the kids who rabble-rouse against our cause in Viet Nam, those that take LSD and smoke marijuana, and the rest that burn their draft cards, I guess you might say I'm a strange bird," said Specialist 4 Gerald G. Nolan of Decatur.

PASSES THROUGH CHICAGO

The young soldier was passing through Chicago on his way home from Viet Nam. After Christmas, he will return to the war, strictly by choice.

"I think I know what the word freedom means," he said. "I've seen people who do not have it, and I've experienced American freedom.

"My generation is something else. In a few years we will be leading this country, and I shudder to think of what the future leaders are doing. I know what is right and what is wrong, and what the United States is doing to help the Vietnamese is what I believe should be done."

POVERTY, APATHY REIGN

Nolan, a Purple Heart medal holder, described much of Viet Nam as a place where poverty, illiteracy, and apathy reign.

"In the countryside," he said, "they're 100 years behind us. They need education. Whenever our troops move into an area, at first we may be resented, but when we leave an area the Vietnamese like us. Not only do we treat their sick, we use our knowledge and ingenuity to help them do things in an improved way.

"I want to get in with the paratroopers, because they are the men who I believe do the most for their nation," he said.

"Since I joined the army in April, 1966, I have been taught the infantry is the nucleus around which the support services revolve," he said. "The army engineers are doing a fantastic job, but I'd rather be in the infantry."

The Air Quality Act of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, air pollution has been a subject of growing national concern for more than a decade.

It has been studied and analyzed, graphed and charted, and talked about, but it has not been removed. It still hangs over cities, threatens our health, and destroys our property.

Every community with over 50,000 people has an air pollution problem. This represents more than two-thirds of our population.

Air pollution causes economic losses estimated at $11 billion a year. Even more important is the overwhelming evidence that air pollution is a factor in the development and worsening of such chronic respiratory diseases as asthma, bronchitis, emphysema, and lung cancer.

The problem is real and it is getting worse.

In January of this year, the President reminded us that air pollution worsens in direct proportion to the Nation's economic growth, increases in urban population, rising demands for heat and energy, and upward trends in the use of motor vehicles, production of refuse, and production and consumption of manufacured goods.

Clearly, it will not be long before air pollution reaches truly critical proportions in many parts of the county. What happened last Thanksgiving in New York, where severe air pollution cost many lives, was not an isolated occurrence; it was an omen of things to come.

As President Johnson has suggested, we must strengthen both our research efforts and our regulatory activities if we are to succeed in dealing with the menace of air pollution.

It provides for the acceleration of research needed to advance our knowledge of control methods, and it calls for standard setting on a regional basis, which is a logical way to attack the problem.

In recommending last January that the Congress adopt the Air Quality Act, President Johnson expressed the Nation's resolve to eliminate air pollution. This feeling by our citizens is not just a fad; it is based on an increasing compresension of the enormous price we have been paying—and continue to pay this very day—for neglecting our air supplies. There was a time when a plume of smoke from a factory stack was emblematic of progress and productivity, but our society has reached the stage when we are able to have the benefits of industrialization without attendant detriments. Air pollution is a health hazard, air pollution damages property, air pollution decreases visibility, and air pollution depresses the human spirit. The Air Quality Act is a step toward mitigating these undesirable byproducts of our affluent society.

Three times since 1963, the Congress has taken steps to accelerate the Nation's movement toward cleaner air. Under the legislation enacted by the Congress, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has helped in the creation and strengthening of State and local air pollution programs, instituted Federal action to abate interstate pollution in nine areas of the United States, established national standards for control of motor vehicle pollution, and intensified research on ways of controlling the major air pollutants.

Yet, each day the air pollution problem is worsening. With a renewed sense of urgency, the States, the cities, and the Federal Government must commit themselves more fully and effectively to America's struggle against poisoned air. Federal action alone cannot overcome the problem. The measures proposed in the new legislation before us will directly help State and local governments in their efforts to prevent and control air pollution arising within their jurisdictions.

I believe that the Air Quality Act of 1967 will prove to be the start of a new era in air pollution control.

The act requires the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to designate air quality control regions, to public criteria on the effects of various pollutants in the air, and to issue information on available control techniques for these pollutants. The Governors of the States then have the responsibility of setting air quality standards for the control regions and for establishing programs to implement the standards. Taken together, the criteria on the effects of pollutants and the information on available controls will give direction to our research efforts.

In all, the provisions of this legislation are a logical and timely response to a growing national problem.

Vice President Humphrey Calls for Tax Hike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, while there are many who oppose higher taxes, I was interested to note last week where Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY spoke out strongly for the proposed tax increase and received an "enthusiastic response."

That was the way one newspaper reported the reaction to the speech by the Vice President on December 6 to the National Association of Home Builders convention in Chicago.

This holds an important lesson. It is that there are many others in this country like the homebuilders—farmers, small businessmen, retired workers, salaried labor—who know that a tax increase coupled with a reduction in spending is necessary to preserve their own—as well as the Nation's—economic welfare. All are clearly worried about getting "clobbered" as the Vice President put in his Chicago speech if we do not take such fiscal restraining action.

Mr. Speaker, there is a human reluctance to higher taxes. Even those who know today that a tax hike is necessary and accept that fact will not go out of their way to ask their Congressmen "to raise my taxes." I suggest, Mr. Speaker, we are not hearing from everybody and many who really count. For if we do not take fiscal action, those homebuilders, farmers, small businessmen, retired workers, and a host of others will really be heard from when they are being squeezed by inflation and soaring interest rates and look to Congress for failing to take proper action when it was needed.

The Los Angeles Times article and HUMPHREY's speech follow:

[From the Los Angeles Times]

BACK TAX HIKE, HUMPHREY ASKS HOME BUILDERS

(By Dick Turpin)

CHICAGO.—The nation's home builders were exhorted Wednesday by Vice President Hubert Humphrey to help the Johnson Administration get a modest but imperative tax increase out of Congress before it adjourns.

The Vice President's typical, rapid fire delivery received an enthusiastic response from those attending the National Association of Homebuilders convention. Association members have supported President Johnson's request for a 10% surcharge on income taxes.

TIGHT MONEY THREAT

He said unless such an increase—"one cent on every dollar"—comes about the burden will fall upon the Federal Reserve System to tighten the money market and the "mortgage market will get clobbered."

"Then we'll get clobbered and none of us wants that," he said.

"Tax action is imperative," he said. "We need a modest tax increase and we need it now.

"Taxes are not popular but you have supported that (surcharge) proposal . . . and you have been right in doing so," he said.

Congressional inaction has caused uncertainty and upheaval in credit markets and cast international doubt on the health of the dollar, Humphrey said.

"And every day that passes without such action increases the pressure on credit, the dangers of inflation and endangers particularly such industries as housing and real estate.

"The No. 1 legislative objective of this Administration remains passage of this badly needed tax surcharge," he said amid quick applause from the builders.

He also urged the builders to help fight the Administration's "war on slumism." Planning is needed now for the future of the American city which today contains 70% of the people on 1% of the land, he said.

"We will be joined by 100 million newcomers before the year 2000. Where are we going to put them? Where and how will they exist?" he asked.

He also reminded the convention that the greatest untapped market in the nation are the poor. Putting them on their feet, just as putting a man on the moon, must be accomplished, he said.

Robert C. Weaver, secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, said his staff is conducting discussions with savings and loan and mutual savings company leaders about investing in mortgages in ghetto areas.

SEEKS FINANCING

HUD is seeking new sources of financing for mortgages in low and moderate income housing areas, Weaver said, and first priority in housing must go to those who live in the slums and ghettos.

"We can't keep treating the deep-seated illnesses of these areas as though they were only summer colds that will disappear with summer remedies.

"If restraint of aggregate economic demand is not brought about through higher taxes, the burden for restraint will fall on the Federal Reserve System.

"Home building cannot escape the implications of a tight monetary policy; we learned that fact in 1966 and it was a painful lesson," Weaver said.

CONSTRUCTION NEEDS

A recent study by his department indicated the need for about 22.5 million units of new residential construction and the rehabilitation of another 3.5 million units in the next 10 years.

"When we stop to think about last year's record low number (1,196,000) of housing starts and project it against the requirements of the next 10 years, we get some idea of what this all means to the home building industry," the secretary said.

A message from President Johnson to the 24th annual convention said the builders' "partnership with the government has produced better housing for millions of American families" but that:

"There has never been a greater need for your efforts than today. We have cities to rebuild; new towns to create; new techniques to develop if we are to assure every American a decent life."

EXCERPTS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY'S SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS, CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 6, 1967

I want to visit with you briefly today about our America, and what we can do to make it even better . . . and stronger . . . and freer than it is today.

Right now we are passing from an era in which there has been regrettable injustice and intolerance—fed by longstanding poverty and unequal opportunity—into a time when these things are being met and challenged.

And, at this time of transition, we see all too clearly that the problems are difficult and the answers will not be easy. We may even tend to doubt ourselves.

But, if we ask: "Is our leadership able? Is our society strong?"—and if we see how far we have come—I believe we have reason for hope and even for optimism.

The thing is not to doubt ourselves, but to keep moving forward.

You and I are asking questions together.

What is the future of the American city? Today 70 per cent of our people live in the city—on one per cent of the land.

We will be joined by 100 million newcomers before the year 2000.

Where are we going to put them? Where and how will they exist?

In what environment will our children and grandchildren live—an environment of poverty, crowding, poor housing and schools, frustration and agitation?

Or an environment where every child looking to the stars through a tenement fire escape can reach outward to an open future . . . an environment where every citizen can have his chance . . . and yes, where every American family can live secure in a decent home.

It's up to us to provide the answers to those questions.

Basic to any future progress is one thing: A strong, stable, growing economy.

To sustain that kind of economy, we have urgent business before us.

We need a tax increase, and we need it now.

President Johnson requested last August a temporary, 10 per cent tax surcharge. He did this in the face of an unacceptable deficit . . . rising interest rates . . . and clear inflationary pressures.

You supported that proposal then. You have supported it since. And you have been right in doing so.

But there has still been no Congressional action.

As you know, uncertainty about such action has caused upheaval in credit markets.

Uncertainty about such action has cast international doubt on the health of the dollar.

And every day that passes without such action increases the pressure on credit . . . increases the dangers of inflation . . . and endangers particularly such industries as housing and real estate.

Let me be clear: The No. 1 legislative objective of this Administration remains passage of this badly-needed tax surcharge.

And we believe it should be the No. 1 item of priority on the agenda of the Congress.

I ask you to give your help, as you have before, in support of this measure. Is our progress to be cheapened by inflation, and our expansion to be stifled by intolerable interest rates? Or are we going to take the responsible course and act in time to keep our growth healthy and steady?

The building blocks of the new neighborhoods . . . the new cities are at hand.

Never before have we had such a storehouse of tools to bring the full partnership of industry and government, public and private financing, local, state and federal programs to focus on the remaking of old cities and building the new.

With these tools we not only rebuild the structures of the slums and the new towns of tomorrow, more importantly we rescue and revitalize the people of lost dreams.

Our nation is awakening to those who lack income to do more than struggle for survival . . . people who live in a building no one could call a home . . . people deprived of health, education and, most importantly, hope.

What are these tools that are being put to work?

Perhaps most important for the long pull is Model Cities.

There is now a catalyst through which our resources can turn a neighborhood of decay and poverty into one of happiness and opportunity.

We look to leadership to be drawn from every corner of the community.

We look to neighborhoods that are safe and secure.

We look to neighborhoods where health and education standards will be as high as the national average . . . where youngsters can play and families be proud to grow together.

Every housing program to insure decent housing, at costs every family can afford, will be called on.

Our aim: That residents in these model neighborhoods should be full partners in developing businesses, schools and public facilities.

Today, this is not an idle dream.

Model Cities planning is a reality . . . you have helped us achieve it. You know the opposition to the President's effort for full funding. You know the doubters and the doers in Congress.

You have been partners in many of these legislative fights. We are proud of these mutual accomplishments. The American people know what has been done.

You fought for full fundings of rent supplements.

You understood the importance of more public housing through the "turnkey" program.

You supported efforts by Senator Sparkman and Senator Mondale in reporting to the Senate new FHA financing tools to reach low income families.

The housing bill recently reported to the Senate, with your support, from the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, is one which the Administration is most anxious to see enacted. It will have high priority in the next session.

Through this nation's massive assault on poverty, unskilled manpower, discrimination, unequal education, inadequate health care, impoverished diets, we are doing things never believed possible in any great nation.

This Administration . . . President Johnson, your Vice President . . . every Member of the Cabinet is committed to this war on slumism.

This is not a hand-wringing Regime of Doubts and Fears. It is a responsive government of confidence and commitment.

We know what a strong, growing economy can accomplish for the American people.

We know our obligations to the people of this nation . . . and to the Americans of the year 2000.

We are committed in this nation to see that their homes, their neighborhoods, their cities, their new towns are built and renewed to provide the wholesome environment so important to the human spirit.

If we falter with the resources and know-how presently in our hands, we will be harshly and rightly judged—just another one of history's false starts.

But we shall not falter.

We pledge not just minimum housing.

We seek not just minimum neighborhoods.

Our goal is not just a minimum America.

We have asked for your partnership in the past and received it. We ask again, and know that we will have it—in the work of today—the building of an America where every day can be better than the day before, because we decided it could be done and did it.

East European Satellites Get Bill for Soviet Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Saturday, December 9, Christian Science Monitor carried a very interesting and balanced commentary on the steps taken by the Soviet Union to manipulate its Eastern European satellites to extract subsidies for the grandiose Soviet 50th anniversary of communism. In view of its interest, I insert it into the RECORD at this point:

EAST EUROPEAN SATELLITES GET BILL FOR SOVIET ANNIVERSARY

(By Paul Wohl)

Moscow is trying to recoup some of the huge cost of its 50th anniversary bonanza by putting the squeeze on Communist East Europe.

The Soviets are doing this by tightening terms of trade and coaxing the East Europeans to step up deliveries.

So far, Romania has been most successful in resisting the Soviets.

Pressure on East Europe started last summer before Communist leaders promised the Soviet people a multimillion-ruble anniversary boon in tax cuts, pensions, and higher minimum wages.

When negotiations for new trade protocols started last month, the Soviets had a welcome opportunity to step up the pressure on East Europe.

Through Comecon, the Soviet bloc's Council for Mutual Economic aid, prices have been and still are being adjusted—usually in favor of the Soviet Union.

EFFORTS SECONDED

Moscow's efforts are seconded by some East European leaders who are devoted followers of the Soviet Union. To make the price increases more palatable, a rain of Soviet decorations has fallen on cooperative East European officials and managers.

Only the reaction of the people at large remains incalculable. In some countries, some have already threatened strikes and resignations. As living standards drop or stagnate, people are bound to become more keenly aware of what is going on. Political trouble could ensue.

Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia were the first to yield to Soviet demands.

From Nov. 25 to 30, a Hungarian delegation headed by Premier Jeno Fock "negotiated" a "further deepening and widening" of economic, commercial, and scientific-technical cooperation.

Hungarian exports to the Soviets—including fresh vegetables, fruit, and wine—have climbed steadily in recent years, and this year's increase was the biggest yet. But due to a readjustment of prices, the Hungarians are apparently getting fewer rubles for their exports than in 1965.

The latest agreements, according to one report, indicate that the Hungarians also will be getting less for the aluminum oxide which it ships to the Soviet Union. It is refined in Russia and returned to Hungary at a higher price.

It almost looks as if Moscow has forgotten the lesson of 1956 when uprising threatened the very fabric of the "socialist commonwealth." Then, too, the Soviets forced economic demands on East Europe.

Ominous, for example, was the increase in meat prices which the Polish Central Committee decided upon in the last week of November. The price for good quality cuts was boosted more than 30 percent. Yet the peasant farmers will not be paid more for their meat than in the past.

SHORTAGE IN POLAND

Meat and sausage of good and medium quality have been in short supply for months in Poland. And output is not likely to be stepped up. The trouble, according to chief planner Stefan Jedrychowski, is simply that Poles eat too much meat.

Poles eat 52 kilograms of meat per capita, said Mr. Jedrychowski, who candidly added that West Germans consume 66 kilograms. He did not mention that even East Germans consumed 61 kilograms per person last year.

A forced cutback in meat consumption in Poland is bound to anger the populace, especially on the eve of the holidays. There is a saying in People's Poland:

"Do not expect anything good from the Polish worker if he does not get his sausage."

ALIGNMENT PUSHED

In 1956 food shortages caused by low wages started riots. Today wages are up about 25 percent over seven years ago, but in the same time living expenses have risen 50 percent, while meat output has lagged behind demand.

Basic to the trouble is the increasingly close alignment of the Polish economy with "the great Soviet market." In the long run, according to some of the best economists, this alignment may be right for Poland. But it is being pushed too fast. The reason: complacent acceptance of the Kremlin's demands by Polish party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka, according to some observers.

The effect on Polish public opinion is ominous. According to long-time resident correspondent of the respected French daily Le Monde, the workers in several factories have threatened to strike.

East Germany too has been drawn through the wringer.

On Nov. 16 a new trade agreement was signed with the Soviets. It calls for trade next year of 13 billion marks, or over $4.2 billion at the official rate of exchange. This exceeds American trade with Britain.

In recent years Moscow has not been satisfied with East Germany's performance. East German managers and engineers, on the other hand, are critical of the Soviet Union.

TRADE FALLS SHORT

East German leaders have consistently tried to get their economy to produce more for export than it was able to supply. According to the trade protocol for 1964, the Soviet-East German trade volume was to reach 11.7 billion marks. The actual trade volume was 10.8 billion. In the following year the target once again was 11.7 billion; achieved were 10.5 billion.

The target for last year was not published, but the performance was around 11 billion, which was still short of what had been planned for 1964. This year the 1964 target of 11.7 billion seems to have been reached. If a 10 percent increase can be achieved in 1968 it would establish a record.

This year's increase seems to have been possible only because trade with West Germany dropped off by 5 percent. This was the first time since 1963 that trade between the two Germanys declined absolutely. East Germany's trade with West Berlin also seems to have declined.

As is the case with Poland, this makes East Germany even more dependent upon the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt that the Soviets are making a big effort to strengthen the East German economy. While East German exports to the Soviet Union actually declined in 1966, it was only larger Soviet shipments which made trade volume go up.

SOVIET TIES PRAISED

Yet many East German technicians seem to doubt whether the Soviet Union can give them all the modern sophisticated equipment they need.

At the November session of the East German Central Committee the polit-bureau's foreign trade specialist, Werner Jarowinsky, insisted that the Soviet Union was "at the head of scientific technical progress."

"This must be explained more effectively to some of [our] citizens," he complained. "Our best chance for success in making our economy secure and bringing about further economic growth is closest integration with the Soviet Union." It would seem that some doubters still have to be convinced.

Another cause of discontent among East Germany foreign-trade managers are the terms of trade with the Soviet Union. Criticism of Comecon has been rather articulate in East Germany in the past year and may have contributed to outgoing deputy premier Balkov's failing health.

Czechoslovakia is being pressed by the Soviet Union to increase its exports to the ruble market at the expense of its trade with capitalist countries. This predicament was cautiously brought out at the September plenum of the Czechoslovak central committee.

Prague has huge surplus balances in the Soviet Union and in other Comecon countries. The only way to reduce these balances would be to increase purchases in Eastern Europe. But, said Foreign Trade Minister Frantisek Harmouz, "an increase in imports from socialist countries is prevented (1) because these countries are trying to satisfy the needs of their own people to a greater extent (2) because the assortment and quality of consumer goods [from these countries] is often regarded as unsatisfactory and they are rejected" [by Czechoslovak consumers].

Although Czechoslovakia already has large investments in the Soviet Union which are to help the Soviets to develop raw materials from West Siberia to the Ukraine, Moscow's demands on Czech industries continue. Recently it became known that Czechoslovakia is to deliver carburetors, fuel pumps, headlights, and other parts for the new Soviet Fiat cars which are to be built in the new town of Togliatti on the Volga.

Larger exports of Czechoslovak trucks, buses, and refrigerating equipment to the Soviet Union also are envisaged.

"A schedule for these joint efforts is to be worked out in the near future," Obrana Lidu, the weekly of the Czechoslovak Defense Ministry reported in September.

Bulgaria, which ships increasing quantities of fruits and vegetables to the Soviet Union, has been hit by lower prices set up for its products and higher prices to be paid for Soviet machines.

Although a price reform inside Comecon has been long overdue, it is believed that Soviet negotiators take advantage of their strong trading position and of the political pressure which they can still bring to bear. In a different key their method is similar to the one used by Moscow in Stalin's day when Soviet villages were paid little for their produce but had to pay high prices for technical services and indispensable manufactured goods.

But there is a difference. Whereas the Soviets in Stalin's day allowed their villages to stagnate, Moscow now is engaged in an ambitious program aimed at raising the productivity of the East European members of the bloc. Under this program the Soviet Union is making substantial investments throughout Eastern Europe.

By imposing more and more burdensome trade pacts and manipulating terms of trade to their advantage the Soviets are running a political risk.

Romania, because of its successful resistance to Moscow's economic demands, still may turn out to be politically the most solidly Communist country of the bloc.

I Am an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the Kingsport, Tenn., Times-News recently published in their "Readers' Forum" column a letter from a young man serving with the Green Berets in Thailand, which I feel is one of the most inspiring letters I have ever read.

Lt. Jerry Durre has said so beautifully what many of us feel in our hearts but have not the gift of expression to put our thoughts into words.

It is a pleasure to me to make available to my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD this fine young American's thoughts on his country:

I AM AN AMERICAN

To the EDITOR:

I am an American. I love my country more than life. With overwhelming pride I serve as a soldier in her army. At a time when her sons, my comrades, meet death daily in the jungles of a far-off land I long to join them and give my all. If necessary I will die for her.

I am sickened by the news of the masses demonstrating against her cause. Some of her children display the flags of our foe and I am furious. A few show their discontent by publicly destroying her flag and I weep. Instead of rallying to the cause as in the past, many of her sons choose the cowardly route of deserting her soil to the protection of neighboring borders while still others burn draft cards. There are those who run to her daughters seeking safety in marriage. Will her children never stop insulting her? She has so long been known as the "home of the brave." I am so deeply ashamed.

Insurrection is preached in the streets of my beloved land. In their discontent her children burn her cities and defy her laws. I am very much alarmed. I fear for her welfare, her very existence.

A part of her greatness stems from her mixture of peoples. Yet her children quarrel because they are not of the same color. They squabble incessantly over rights and forget that she is, above all else, the "land of the free" proclaiming "liberty and justice for all." I am an American and I love each of my country's children. Color is of no significance. I am unable to understand the reasoning of others in so trivial a matter. I am extremely bewildered.

Morality seems all but forgotten within her bound. A number of her children paint sin in such bright shades and display it so fervently that hoards accept it as common practice. They eagerly flood her bookshelves with filth and her theaters will pornography. They revise the Bible, leaving the word as they have always been but altering their meaning to suit their new tastes. Her wiser children shout warnings but to no avail. This "nation under God" takes on a new face. Its appearance renders me nauseous.

I am an American. I take immense pride in my country's history and the struggle which brought her greatness. I have marveled at her beauty from a rich assortment of her thousands of vantage points. I have shouted her praises from the peaks of her mountains and through the Lord I have whispered my gratitude "Oh America, How I Love Thee."

My confidence in her people remains stupendous even now. There is hope, for mine is a strong country and has developed a strong population. Surely they will not turn away from her together and allow her to crumble. Most certainly they will reconsider, place all their selfish personal opinions in the backs of their minds, open their eyes, their ears, and most important their hearts. They will turn to God for guidance and hopefully America will truly be reborn.

Yes, oh yes, I am an American. My one desire is merely, "That this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from this earth."

Lt. JERRY DURRE
(With the Green Berets in Thailand, 36th SF Co. Det. A4624).
APO 92633.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed D.C. crime bill, and cleared for President bills continuing appropriations and postal rate and Federal employees' pay increases.

House adopted conference reports regarding uniformed services pay; loan of naval vessels; income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act; and banks participating in gambling activities; and passed the supplemental appropriations bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages S 18396–S 18406

Bills Introduced: 10 bills and three resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2762–2771; S.J. Res. 128; and S. Res. 195–196. **Pages S 18397–S 18398**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 1245, authorizing the D.C. Commissioners to lease airspace in freeway rights-of-way within the D.C., with amendments (S. Rept. 921);

S. 1246, authorizing the D.C. Commissioners to enter into leases for spaces in, on, under, or over D.C. streets other than freeways, with amendments (S. Rept. 922);

S. Res. 189, authorizing an additional $20,000 for expenses of the Committee on Public Works (S. Rept. 923);

S. 1902, private bill (S. Rept. 924);

S. 793, providing for conveyance of certain U.S. land to the Alabama Space Science Exhibit Commission, with amendments (S. Rept. 925);

S. 1418, to amend in several regards laws relating to passports (S. Rept. 926);

H.R. 13933, authorizing modifications or revisions for the Interstate Highway System, with amendment (S. Rept. 927);

H.R. 11542, private bill (S. Rept. 928);

H.R. 13833, designating a new building to be constructed in the Bronx, N.Y., the "Charles A. Buckley Post Office and Federal Office Building" (S. Rept. 929);

S. 1637, to provide that the issue of just compensation may be tried by a jury in cases involving land condemnation by the TVA, with amendments (S. Rept. 930);

H.R. 8547, to simplify and make uniform a variety of personnel laws for the Armed Forces (S. Rept. 931);

H.R. 12961, authorizing storage of household effects of military personnel who are in a missing status (S. Rept. 932);

H.R. 1341, authorizing accumulation of up to 90 days leave for military personnel who have served over 120 days in a foreign hostile area, with amendment (S. Rept. 933);

H.R. 3982, to amend law governing reimbursement for transportation of house trailers by military personnel, with amendment (S. Rept. 934); and

H.R. 10242, to increase promotion opportunity for medical and dental officers of the Armed Forces, with amendments (S. Rept. 935). **Pages S 18396–S 18397**

School Aid: Senate insisted on its amendments to H.R. 7819, proposed Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967, agreed to hold conference requested by House, and appointed as conferees Senators Morse, Yarborough, Clark, Randolph, Kennedy of New York, Williams of New Jersey, Prouty, Javits, Dominick, and Murphy. **Page S 18378**

D.C. Crime: By vote of 67 yeas to 9 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Senate passed with amendments H.R. 10783, to revise various aspects of criminal procedure in the D.C. Prior to final passage, Senate (1) agreed to committee substitute amendment and a Miller amendment to title I of the bill, and (2) by a vote of 19 yeas to 57 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), rejected Morse amendment to strike from the bill title III thereof, which authorizes up to 3 hours of questioning of persons arrested in the D.C., and insures admissibility in evidence in criminal trials of voluntary confessions, admissions, or statements made within 3 hours after arrest.

Senate insisted on its amendments, requested conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Bible, Tydings, and Dominick. **Pages S 18378–S 18396**

Postal Rates and Federal Salaries: By unanimous vote of 72 yeas, Senate concurred in the House amendment to the Senate amendment to H.R. 7977, to increase

Appendix

The Gold Drain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, many Americans have recently become concerned with the actions of President de Gaulle, of France. There is apparently little question that de Gaulle is engaged in a serious effort to transfer America's gold supply to France.

The deep interest of the American people in this recent turn of events has been reflected in the large amount of mail which I have received both from South Carolina and from across the Nation. The opinion of the writers, which I share, is that it is time the United States took some action to show de Gaulle that we will not accept his actions without serious response. One solution which has been suggested is that the United States deduct the sum which France owes us for debts from both World War I and World War II as well as postwar debts from our obligations to France. The State newspaper published a column, by Henry J. Taylor, on this subject on December 9. Inasmuch as this subject is timely and Mr. Taylor's column is an excellent discussion of it, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SHOULD COLLECT FROM FRANCE: WORLD WAR I AND II DEBTS ARE STILL OWING

It is utterly preposterous for Washington to permit President Charles de Gaulle to kill off America's dwindling gold supply and not collect France's due debts.

There he sits treating America all the while like a bulldog treats a tramp. He's not only operating a de facto Paris-Moscow-Peking axis but is left free to conduct his declared war on our dollar at the cataclysmic risk of the United States and the entire free world.

American policy should not treat De Gaulle in the same way as it treats Western European allies who are not doing what he's doing. De Gaulle is not America's ally. He is America's declared enemy and actually seems to glory in this renegade role.

There has been a great deal of double-talk about France's debts to us, including the false question as to whether France "really owes us the money."

France owes us the money, all right. Here are tht particulars. I have verified each figure with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York:

The basic French debt so old that it goes back to the days of World War I and all of which remains due and payable to this very day, was $4.68 billion. It was actually much higher but—surprise, surprise—the French negotiated it down.

The Federal Reserve confirms to me that 16 other nations also owe some $21 billion in World War I debts. This has nothing to do with our $128 billion in foreign aid—all free. It refers only to truly due obligations incurred by debtor nations subject to collection.

Only three nations have returned the money to our taxpayers—Nicaragua, Liberia and pre-Castro Cuba. Of the remaining 17 debtors, only Finland has continuously met her obligation. Finland remained current by her latest check for $353,352 for her annual principal retirement and interest.

Britain owes us about $6.8 billion in this category; Italy about $2 billion; Belgium, Greece and Austria another billion each.

In addition to this $21 billion about the same number of countries also owe us roughly $19 billion for World War II and postwar debts. This is exclusive of their enormous obligations, likewise unpaid for our uncollected interest.

The aggregate now due actually totals more than $40 billion, while we scrape the bottom of our impoverished gold barrel and President Johnson urges higher taxes on the American people.

The sum France owes us includes $1.97 billion as principal and $2.7 billion unpaid interest. Then there's $1.89 billion more in unmatured principal. In total De Gaulle owes the American taxpayers a tidy $6.57 billion, which is nearly exactly the amount ($6.18 billion) of his entire gold reserve.

In 1931 France said she couldn't pay that year's installment. Washington declared a one-year moratorium. That was the end of that. Our taxpayers have made up the difference ever since. The De Gaulle government has the gall to no longer even carry these billions on official statements listing France's external debt.

In addition, France has outstanding three separate loans arising from World War II. These total about $400 million.

Now, as readers of this column may recall, I have been after this matter with the Treasury Department for a solid three years asking why we don't clamp down on De Gaulle. The only answer I've been able to get is this incredible official reply from the Treasury to me:

"The United States does regard defaulted World War I debts as valid obligations, and it is true that France owes $6 billion plus to us from her World War I debt and $400 million piled up since 1940. But we know of no prespect that the United States will force payment by defaulting on its obligations to foreign countries."

Default! Force payment! Nonsense. Why don't we do exactly what De Gaulle would do if the shoe were on the other foot?

If a man owed you $1,000 for 27 years and now you finally owed him $100, wouldn't you say: "Charlie, that's fine. I'll just credit the $100 against the $1,000 you owe me."

You would. Anybody would. And De Gaulle, of course, would. We need ammunition against De Gaulle. Our government should have used this debt ammunition long ago. And the least Washington can do is to use it at once.

Ingredients To Make a Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, many writers and poets, for many centuries, have tried to tell, in poetry and prose, the story of how a boy develops into a man, and of the many ingredients that go into this process.

One of my constituents, Mr. William Stottlemyer, a city councilman in Wayne, Mich., has presented this age-old story in modern language, and has created a free-verse poem which is impressive and provoking.

Mr. Stottlemyer's poem was printed last week in the Associated Newspapers, published in my congressional district, and under unanimous consent I submit the poem for inclusion in the RECORD as follows:

INGREDIENTS TO MAKE A MAN

(By William Stottlemyer)

One boy, one girl, add love, joy, worry, laughter, compassion, happiness, sadness and you get a baby boy.
Add love, a bath, some shots, warm clothing, good food, toys, and love.
Tickle his toes, pinch his nose, teach him to stand, buy some shoes, and love.
Fix his toys, bat a ball, bandage a cut, paddle his butt, wipe his nose, and love.
This is red-green-yellow-blue, this is right, that is wrong, yes and no.
Wash his face, comb his hair, larger shoes and love.
Add understanding, companionship, friendship, a little smile and love.
Teach him to be humble, and to be bold.
Take him to church, send him to school, add girls, long talks, larger shoes and love.
Freedom, loyalty, honesty, kindness, a prayer and love.
Place in the right environment for 16 to 20 years.
Now set back and watch, have you made a man.
Does he have wisdom, or does he talk before he knows what he's talking about.
Does he have faith, not only in the Lord, but in his fellow man.
Is he honest and sincere? Will he return a wallet he found, or tell the truth even if it hurts a friend.
Does he keep himself respectable, or does he set in the street, burning his draft card because he can't think of something constructive to do?
Does he try to build, or does he try to tear down?
Is he loyal to his country and president, or does he damn them?
Does he have character or is he a character?

Is he willing to fight for his childrens future
freedom, or is he a frightened child
that thinks only of himself?
If you have left out any of the ingredients,
it will show, and you don't have a
man, you still have a baby boy.

Draft Card Burners Denounced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor published in the Concord, N.H., Daily Monitor for October 21, 1967. It was written by Rev. Charles E. Cook, pastor of the First Baptist Church.

Reverend Cook's able and forthright discussion of the seditious role played by some Vietnam war protestants deserves widespread attention. He dissects the problem with incisive clarity, and I would that more of our spiritual leaders might be moved to speak out in this forceful manner.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DENOUNCES BURNERS

SIR: I read with dismay of the draft-card-burnings that appear here and there as noisy and pernicious demonstrations. It is particularly distressing when such are identified with certain members of the clergy and individual churches. As a Minister of the Gospel, and pastor of an Evangelical Church, I would like to go on record as protesting the notoriety given to the seditious outbreaks, as deploring the identification of the church with such activity, and being fully persuaded that neither the scriptures of the Christian church nor the articles of the Constitution of these United States given even a modicum of support to the treason-like acts that are being perpetuated.

Many young men from my church are in training, or are in Vietnam, or are in strategic military posts around the world. I have recently been talking with a chaplain who has just returned from combat-ministry in Vietnam. Our fighting men know their job and are doing it well. Their greatest problem is trying to understand the reprehensible attitudes and behaviour of some of the people back home.

There have always been conscientious objectors who are to be duly respected for their convictions. To my understanding, these have quietly asserted themselves and have given their energies to non-combat activities. Today we seemingly have a new breed, somewhat on the order of a parasite—a creature that fastens onto a living body from which it draws life-blood while giving nothing in return. What a shame that the life-blood they drain is primarily from the bodies of the young men who are fighting for the very freedoms that are so exploited and perverted by these demonstrators.

What a shame that the unkempt, grimy face of the draft-card-burner rates the front page, while the bloodied head of the draft-card-defender is often ignored completely, or pictured as a subtle directive to stop the fighting. With "equal time" on radio and TV for certain broadcasts, why not "equal coverage" in news media for that which is decent and noble rather than the seeming preponderance of the decadent and the infamous?

Can it be denied that these demonstrators are furthering the cause and fostering the tenets of our antagonists? There comes to mind a passage of Scripture that could be addressed to them: "While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage" (2 Peter 2:19).

Let us pray for our fighting men. Let us cause them no distress. Let us pray about these demonstrators. Let us give them no support.

REV. CHARLES E. COOK,
First Baptist Church.

Deacon Dan Towler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Members will find the following two news items of interest. This two-part interview with the Reverend Daniel L. "Deacon Dan" Towler, former all-pro fullback with the Los Angeles Rams, covers a variety of topics of current interest.

Deacon Dan Towler is presently Methodist chaplain in the Ecumenical Campus Mission and director of the Methodist Wesley Foundation serving California State College at Los Angeles. The excellent work he is doing on the campus, located in the congressional district which I represent, is reflected in the articles which follow:

[From the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Nov. 18, 1967]

DEACON DAN TOWLER AIMS TO WIN OVER THE SYSTEM

(By Jerry Lipman)

"Winning," a hard-bitten football coach once intoned, "isn't everything.

"It's the only thing!"

So it was with "Deacon Dan" Towler when he ran from the fullback slot in the Los Angeles Rams "Bull Elephant Backfield" of a decade and more ago to four all-pro selections.

And winning still looms large in the philosophy the Rev. Daniel L. Towler brings to the challenges (and they are every bit as imposing as yesterday's opposing linemen) he faces today as Methodist chaplain in the Ecumenical Campus Mission, an off-campus auxiliary to California State College at Los Angeles.

REAL LONG SHOT

"My life is not oriented toward the long shot—as other people see it," the voluble minister explained. "My long shot is that this is a winning world.

"When I bet on any individual life, I'm betting the long shot. The real long shot is the way that person moves through life purposefully, without abandoning what he has in a search for what's 'out there.' My long shot is any individual life that finds meaning and purpose.

"And I believe God is the guarantor of this. He guarantees the kind of world where this can be worked out—and where a man can fail. But if it's not worth losing, it's not worth winning."

COLLEGE SYSTEM

Perhaps the Deity guarantees such a scheme of things, but the same doesn't always seem to be among the purposes of the governing bodies of many of the land's colleges and universities.

Theirs is a system (marked, of course, by infinite variations on the virtually universal theme) whose rigorous demands allow a student scant time for many of the genuine "humanities" of life, Rev. Mr. Towler indicated.

(Those who know such systems contend they are akin to pressure cookers—with the pressure constantly on the rise.)

As Methodist chaplain, and also as director of the Methodist Wesley Foundation serving Cal State, L.A., the system as it operates on that campus—and the students embroiled in it—become Rev. Mr. Towler's spiritual province.

OFFERS CHALLENGE

What does he think of it?

"Our ministry has to be one of presence and availability," he began. "We catch students when we can. So whenever we see a student we know, we have to be ready on a dime to give advice and interviews, and be knowledgeable enough about happenings on the contemporary scene to offer a challenge."

Frequently, the job requires the "presence and availability" at odd hours. Trudging across the campus in the gathering dusk toward a session with students in the college cafeteria, Rev. Mr. Towler pointed to a stream of cars leaving a nearby parking lot and sighed, "They're going home, and my work's just beginning."

BENEFICIARIES

And what of the beneficiaries of his work?

"For most of the students here, nothing's more sacred than getting that education. The most important thing they know is to get their work in, get that degree, and get out of here to another degree that will help them get some of their goals.

"In very age, there's been a certain amount of anxiety about the 'system.' In our age, there's more anxiety. We're caught up in the kind of system that places on us the burden of catching up.

"But there's something more man can do than wail about the system. He can see in it great opportunities, because it calls for a meaningful faith that enables a man to put squarely in the center of his life a God who cares.

OTHER DIMENSIONS

"God is a God of life. This is a God that can work. But so often we put our God to tasks man can do himself.

"We've grown up, but we haven't let God grow up. So we put Him to doing 'housekeeping' chores. Therefore, He's really no good to us, because we keep Him limited.

"We don't take Him into the other dimensions of our lives. We leave Him in the kitchen, or out growing our grass, when we're in the business of growing a universe.

"This is related to the kind of concept of God young people develop. When parents try to ring Him in times of stress, He's a God of prohibition and extremities, but not a God of opportunity, not a God who's there all the time.

YOUTH VIEWPOINT

"When parents begin to deal with this God, they do so in absurd ways, and not as a normal part of the life experience.

"And young people—especially children—want things to be all of this or all of that, but not part way. They want something that's arrived.

"But I like to think of Christianity as an emerging Christianity. We're on our way to something—to perfection. A train standing in the station has nowhere to go.

"So with a man. A man needs to see himself in a process of arriving. He needs the challenge of making the humanness of his being stand against the dehumanizing of himself in giving up to, or being overcome by, the system.

"This is the challenge and opportunity . . . to show in the midst of the system what it means to be human, and of how much greater value it is to be a person than be part of a profit or a product."

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, Nov. 19, 1967]

Need To Face Life's New Demands Seen by Towler

(By Jerry Lipman)

The feeling is an agonizing one.

And if you're like most men of this half-century in one of the earth's urban-industrial societies, you've felt it in concert with the rest of us.

They call it "the system."

It's intangible, diffuse . . . and as real as a kick in the stomach.

It concerns the rat-race demands placed upon us by the total scope of circumstances forming the setting and backdrop of our lives.

And if its workings, any less than its effects, challenge understanding, a perceptive authority to consult could be the Rev. Daniel L. (Deacon Dan) Towler, Methodist chaplain in the Ecumenical Campus Mission and director of the Methodist Wesley Foundation serving California State College at Los Angeles.

MEETS THE SYSTEM

He has met the system head on since his days as an all-state football player at Donora, Pa., High School; through the years as an all-state and Little All-American collegian at at Washington and Jefferson University in Pennsylvania; then through Howard University in Washington, D.C., and the University of Southern California while running to four All-Pro years from the fullback slot in the Los Angeles Rams' "Bull Elephant Backfield" of the 1950s.

The system left its mark on his thinking.

"I believe people who have an inordinate concern about what the system can do to you haven't thought about what they can bring to the system in terms of being human, and in terms of an individually committed life," the Rev. Towler declared.

"It's what we can do in relation to one another and together, and what we can do in terms of the world and the universe, that's important. I think we need to see ourselves in terms of getting the priceless commodity of being human.

"And this is where higher education helps us realize this. Here we begin to see ourselves. Here the growing edge of our civilization is continually awakened. When young people come to this kind of arena, they begin to see life in a new kind of way, with many new possibilities.

"But if they cut themselves off from their roots when they come to college, they get into orbit looking for their lives instead of refining the life situations they have.

"So I'm not out there to convert. I'm out there to confront students with the possibilities of what God has placed in this life for men to use. He has placed Himself in it as a resource, and He placed Christ in it as a guide so man cannot be lost, so he can find a meaningful way.

"An automobile gets a personality only when it gets a driver, only when there's someone behind the wheel who gets into it with somewhere to go. And man is the same. And the man who sees this begins to see that behind it is God and God's way.

"I don't think anxiety is going to become any less. And the system is only going to get bigger. So man is just going to have to be more of a man in the midst of it.

"The system says what you have to have, but not what kind of person you have to be. A lawnmower moving over the grass is the system. It can cut you off with nowhere to go. But grass has no notion of a lawnmower, and it always grows back again.

"And deep within you is that which has no notion of the system, and makes you come back again and again. If you can envision it and tap into it, you can stand against systems or galaxies.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967—Conference Report

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, hunger should be obsolete—an anachronism—particularly in this country where there is no excuse for hunger or malnutrition. The section providing for emergency food and medical services in this bill is a significant step in furthering the eradication of malnutrition and allied medical complications in the United States.

With this section we add new impetus to programs now underway to eliminate hunger in our country: welfare, food stamps, surplus commodities. Its goal is to see that every man, woman, and child—regardless of low economic circumstances—has a diet sufficient to maintain good health. We regard this legislation as a means of working with those families which, today, do not have access to, or adequate help from, existing programs.

Many families are being helped by current programs. Yet the majority of those considered to be poor are not helped by commodities or food stamps. Over 1,000 counties have neither program; 86 of the counties having abnormally high poverty and infant mortality have neither program; 331 of the counties in lowest third by per capita income have neither program. Many poor people participate erratically; others cannot afford the food stamps; others, moving from county to county, cannot qualify under the essential local administrative regulations.

The conferees have rightly specified that OEO shall carry out its functions through the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. But local CAP's are to be used to strengthen attention given to the hunger needs of the poor. One would hope that these CAP's would particularly note the food needs of conceiving mothers, infants, the sick, and the aged.

It is noteworthy that the recently enacted "partnership for health" legislation has authorized a nationwide study of the incidence—and prevalence—of hunger and malnutrition. This study, hopefully, will reveal the breadth, and the depth, of these problems. We recognize that proven malnutrition—by chemical tests and physical examinations—is but the top of the iceberg; a person must have been chronically hungry for some time before malnutrition can be proven. We cannot tolerate chronic hunger in our country today. Therefore, if malnutrition occurs in any sizeable degree in any county of the United States, that county must receive immediate attention under this legislation from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Agriculture.

The requested funding for this section cannot feed many people for long. Nor can it provide extensive medical services. The money can be judiciously used, however, to facilitate attention from other resources toward the persons or families in need. It can seek out those in need of help; it can reveal counties where the prevalence of hunger demands large-scale action; it can research why local medical facilities have not yet met the medical needs of malnourished people; it can attract the help of the private sector to the particular food needs of the Nation's poor. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture today can help a county administer a food and medical services program if that county, with its own resources, cannot administer the efforts alone. This legislation should point out where such situations exist, and should bring immediate attention to the food needs of chronically hungry people.

A school lunch program often is the first line of defense against a child's hunger. But pre- and post-school children, and those denied school lunch help, are also to be noted. The funds appropriated for this section should be used to extend food help to those not now being adequately served, and preferably with costs borne by other authorizations.

Medical services for the malnourished should include food supplements, fortified foods, vitamins, medication, and food itself. Again, the money will not go far unless the majority of such costs are borne by other appropriations.

One point is worth raising at this time: this Nation has long had welfare and food programs. Yet the chronically hungry seem to remain with us. Perhaps an excellent use of these funds would be to support a form of ombudsman for the hungry poor.

Such an effort could seek better HEW-USDA cooperation in focusing on needy families and needy counties. Such an effort could press local jurisdictions to implement food programs through regular channels. Such an effort could act as a catalyst with the private sector and could hasten the development of inexpensive fortified foods for regional, seasonal, and ethnic diets. Such an effort should seek companion studies on the mental retardation aspects of chronic hunger. Such an effort could stimulate subprofessional employment of the poor to educate the hungry poor on better diet practices. Such an effort could urge local medical facilities to originate watchdog operations to insure that groups of local impoverished citizens do not suffer from chronic hunger during adverse seasons, or during times of travel or unemployment. Such an ombudsman effort could also investigate situations where local practices seem to hinder, not aid, in meeting local hunger needs.

In short, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have many existing programs which can alleviate the food worries of hungry and malnourished Americans. OEO can coordinate and facilitate better attention to this critical problem area. OEO can also finance an ombudsman for the hungry American who seems unable to gain relief from existing local, State, and Federal programs.

Formula for the Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, last week the New York Times ran a thoughtful editorial on the present economic situation. It discussed the President's proposal for a 10-percent surtax and noted that neither of the two grounds stated for its support; namely, domestic inflation and defense of the dollar, is wholly persuasive, and it goes on to suggest some additional steps that might be taken to get the economy back on an even keel without the necessity for a tax increase. I commend this December 3 editorial to my colleagues and include it in the RECORD:

FORMULA FOR THE ECONOMY

The House Ways and Means Committee has been right to be skeptical about the Administration's renewed demand for a 10 per cent tax surcharge. In its previous attempt to win Congressional approval, Administration officials raised the specter of runaway domestic inflation. Now they have been warning about the international threat to the dollar. In neither case have they presented a convincing justification for their proposed cure.

It is dubious that the tax surcharge would check inflation, as the Administration has insisted. With costs rising, manufacturers are already faced with a squeeze on profits; so their response to increased taxes might well take the form of inflationary rises in prices. The $5-a-ton increase just announced in steel indicates the speed with which prices are already going up. With each rise, labor steps up its demands, adding fresh momentum to the already dangerous wage-price spiral.

It is even more dubious that the surcharge would enable the Federal Reserve to maintain easy credit and to hold down interest rates. If corporations and consumers were faced with higher taxes, they might need more credit, which would boost interest rates even higher.

The most questionable argument of all is that a tax surcharge would bring a substantial reduction in the chronic and growing deficit in the nation's balance of payments. It is conceivable that there would be somewhat less demand for imports, but higher taxes would not necessarily result in an increase of exports. Even more important, a surcharge would do nothing to halt the outflows stemming from business investment and bank lending abroad or for the war in Vietnam.

The problem confronting the domestic economy calls for cuts in nonessential Government spending, combined with a gradual reduction in the supply of credit. These restraints may have an impact on interest rates, although the financial markets seem to have discounted a considerable amount of credit tightening. But they will clearly add less fuel to the inflationary fires than the surcharge; and they should have a moderating influence on economic activity and inflationary psychology. In the event that curbs on demand prove to be needed, increases in excise taxes on luxury goods are a much sounder method for restraining appetites—one particularly appropriate in wartime.

The international threat to the dollar demands direct action. The Federal Reserve deserves commendation for strengthening the ties of international cooperation. But we believe that the Administration should make special new efforts to reduce the deficit by controlling direct investment and lending and by considering a tax on tourism. In addition, it ought to consider sequestering a portion of the funds going to American servicemen in Vietnam, currently a very serious drain.

With a war abroad and critical conditions in slum areas at home, there is no magic formula for what ails the economy. The Administration's proposed surcharge is faulty on many counts. What is needed instead is the political courage to reduce nonessential spending and to put a brake on the money supply while acting directly to halt the outflow of dollars.

Such a course is not so simple as the Administration's surcharge. But it is more responsive—and responsible—to the economy's problems. And it holds out considerably more promise of doing the job.

A Debt of Gratitude to an Involved American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, crime in the streets recently touched very close to me when a member of my staff was robbed on a downtown Washington, D.C., street.

Certainly one of the critically important problems of our time is the alarming increase of such crimes. As our mass media recounts this increase, it also reports what seems to be a startling disinclination of citizens to "get involved" by coming to the aid of victims of such crimes.

Yet when a crime is committed on our streets, we are all "involved." We are involved as members of society. We are involved as individuals. And no one understands this better than David W. McClenon, a young Air Force officer on leave in Washington, D.C.

Lieutenant McClenon, who is assigned to the 447 Strategic Missile Squadron, Grand Forks, N. Dak., courageously gave chase to the two men who robbed my secretary, and when the robbers realized they had not gone unnoticed and were being pursued, they discarded the stolen wallet and money. These were retrieved by Lieutenant McClenon and returned to my secretary.

I think we all owe a special debt of gratitude to this young officer who unhesitantly involved himself in the plight of a fellow human being. Lieutenant McClenon's actions attest in no small measure to his personal fortitude and to his willingness to stand up against the national problem of crime in the streets.

He has my heartfelt thanks for aiding a member of my staff and the admiration of all of us for being a courageous American.

Need for Perspective

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1967

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the House a thoughtful and informative speech by Mr. Phil G. Goulding, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, at a luncheon meeting on December 8, 1967, of the Pittsburgh World Affairs Council, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa. Mr. Goulding forcefully puts into perspective the need for perspective in achieving a balanced understanding of world events, ranging from the war in Vietnam to Soviet space efforts.

Mr. Goulding's address follows:

You are here, I am told, to seek a better perspective of contemporary world affairs.

We thus have a mutual interest.

The function of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs is to help provide the basis for just such balance on military matters.

Perspective is not easily achieved if we accept a billboard approach to the news by the government, the press or the people.

Matters today have a dangerous and distressing tendency to work themselves out of perspective.

This tendency is seen in the dialogue on the war in Vietnam.

It is seen in the interplay *between* the government and the press and in the observations about *both* the government *and* the press from those who are part of neither.

It is seen in assessing the new weapons of other nations.

And it is seen in discussions of strategic offensive and defensive systems.

The Secretary of Defense has reminded us that every future age of man will be an atomic age. Certain hard facts of atomic age reality, including facts concerning the ability of a country to protect its citizens, must be reckoned with.

Too often the facts are ignored or distorted. And when they are, perspective is lost, to the possible peril of our nation.

It would be a grave error to underestimate the military capabilities of the Soviet Union. We do *not* underestimate their capabilities—neither their present strength, nor the power that they might have at a given time in the future. Our planning, in fact, is based not on our most realistic estimate of the future threat we *actually* expect, but rather on our estimate of a greater-than-expected threat.

However, it is also a grave error for citizens to overstate Soviet capabilities and accept unbalanced assessment of the Soviet—whether of a fractional orbital bomb or an alleged new aircraft carrier.

The case can be made that perhaps some of the controversy among people and press and government on Vietnam and perhaps some of the misunderstanding on strategic nuclear issues and on Soviet developments spring from our failure to achieve perspective.

Mr. Cyrus R. Vance left the Defense Department as Deputy Secretary last July after more than six years of association with Mr. McNamara. As you all know, he has since twice been summoned for emergency service by President Johnson—once to go to Detroit during the riots and a second time to fly to the Middle East to seek a solution on Cyprus.

Shortly before leaving the Pentagon, Mr. Vance said this:

"In America today one of the greatest barriers to understanding is the very nature of the dialogue which has developed over the issue of Vietnam. It is heated and intolerant. The lines, on both sides, are too sharply drawn.

"We need, I think, to restore the national sense of balance," he continued, "for there is little enlightenment in the dark words which pass back and forth over a gulf of misunderstanding today. We can agree to disagree. But surely, we must all seek meaningful communication as a bridge to reasoned understanding and rational action.

"Vietnam has been viewed too often in absolutes of black and white. The situation is not so starkly apparent as it is sometimes painted by the several sides in the debate. There are gray tones. The issues are complex and sometimes ambiguous.

"This is what makes it difficult to discuss or understand Vietnam," he concluded.

Both the government and the press have a basic role in laying the foundation for that "meaningful communication" of which Secretary Vance spoke. Both have a basic role in exploring these "complex and ambiguous" issues. The government must make available the facts. The press must act independently: watching, listening, thinking, probing, criticizing, questioning, accusing, exposing, and informing.

No one suggests that the Vietnam balance about which Secretary Vance spoke can come easily. There is a deep emotional frustration over the war itself, understandable because it is a difficult and confusing war to understand.

It is confusing because it is being fought against a variety of enemies—the trained North Vietnamese Army which has invaded by the tens of thousands, the main force Viet Cong battalions which are the equivalent of a regular Army, and the Viet Cong guerrilla, who is farmer by day and fighter by night. It is confusing because there is little in common between the action of the enemy who operates a highly sophisticated surface-to-air missile in North Vietnam and the 14-year-old cyclist who throws a homemade explosive in Saigon. It is confusing because American tanks which are so effective in one part of the country against one kind of the enemy are without value in another part of the country against another kind of the enemy—while more than 2600 American helicopters are equally successful in different ways against both of these enemies.

It is confusing because the land is itself confusing, and parts of South Vietnam are as different in geography and population as Nevada is from West Virginia or the Bayou from nearby New Orleans. The First Corps area where the Marines are fighting bears little similarity to the central highlands—and neither bears any similarity to the delta.

It is confusing because the large-scale military portion of the job must be done if we are to win—and yet no matter how well that job is done, it alone will bring us only part of the way to an honorable conclusion.

This confusion is complicated because this is the first war in which censorship does not exist and the television camera does, compounded because the war is unlike any experienced before by the *government*, the *press* or the people.

There are practical and physical difficulties in covering this war just as there are practical and physical difficulties in fighting it. Those who do not recognize these difficulties are blind. Those who expect either government or press to eliminate them are unrealistic.

In Vietnam the war is given the same merciless detailed scrutiny; the same instant exposure, as is every other facet of modern life. We have admitted to the battlefield this relentless ubiquitious newsman—with his electronic optic nerve that runs directly to you without censorship or government interference of any kind. We have admitted him, we have welcomed him and we have aided him to an unprecedented degree.

Parts of the war brought into your home are ugly. All wars are ugly and this one is no exception. There is no reason why the American people should not be made aware of the ugliness of it. It is *not* the responsibility of the Department of Defense to paint a rosy picture of the suffering of war and we do not attempt to do so.

We do make available to the newsman an unprecedented amount of information on the daily progress of the war. We do provide him an unprecedented amount of assistance in covering it. Nonetheless, in carrying out its information policies on Vietnam, both in Washington and in Saigon, the Department of Defense is charged by some with hiding the facts or avoiding the truth or artfully misleading the people.

They say that we are not living up to our responsibilities.

A great many other persons, some within the government and some outside of it, believe that those in the news business are too concerned with controversy and too preoccupied with sensation. They believe that newspaper reporters and editors seek the headline instead of the fact and emphasize the unique, the unusual and the controversial at any cost.

They say that the press is not living up to its responsibilities.

I cannot state too vigorously that these charges against the government and against the press bear no relationship to the fact and are totally out of perspective.

I emphatically reject the allegation that the Department of Defense is not fulfilling its responsibilities to the American people. And I emphatically reject the charges that the press as an institution is not fulfilling its obligations to the American people.

I am not as sanguine about whether the people are fulfilling their responsibilities to themselves.

It is true that most of us are obligated to give the bulk of our energy and attention to the task of earning a living and meeting family obligations. It is true that the war in Vietnam, the anti-ballistic missile system or something as monstrously named as the Fractional Orbital Bombardment System cannot receive from most Americans the same kind of attention they devote to their occupation and family.

Of course these issues cannot command that kind of attention. But they do demand more attention than many are willing to give them. They demand the kind of attention that you are giving them here today. Judgments on these issues cannot be made on the basis of emotion or platitude or from the ignorance of one who relies solely on the headline or the rapid-fire newscast.

The Department of Defense does provide accurate information for the American people on the war in Vietnam, on the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system and on the Soviet development of what might be a Franctional Orbital Bombardment System. Within security considerations, it provides accurate information on all other aspects of the massive military establishment. This information is provided more accurately and more rapidly than it has ever been provided before. There is more professionalism, military and civilian, in the Department of Defense Public Affair's office than there has ever been in any government information office in this nation's history.

Additionally, the newsmen of this country do write accurate and objective accounts of military activities—in the Pentagon, in Saigon and elsewhere in the world. Accuracy and responsibility are still the guidelines of thousands of reporters and hundreds of newspapers; integrity and reliability are still the objectives sought by professionals of television, radio and weekly news magazines.

No one suggests that at some time some person at some level of government has not deliberately concealed a mistake or deliberately distorted a fact. No one suggests that within the world of journalism there are not individuals dedicated to the pursuit of the controversial and specializing in news which will produce human interest and drama, however irresponsible and however inaccurate.

Errors are made by information officers in Vietnam, by my own associates in the Pentagon and by myself. Coordination does break down between Washington and Saigon, or, indeed, between one agency of government and another. We do sometimes release statements before we have sufficient facts and sometimes delay too long after we have facts enough. In handling more than 80,000 press inquiries a year in my office in the Pentagon alone, mistakes of fact, judgment and administration are committed.

In the news field, of course there are reporters who cover the war without ever leaving Saigon, and there are ten-day experts who sweep in and out of the country with their shallow answers to questions that the serious Saigon press corps has been studying for years. Of course there are inexperienced writers, too young to have covered a war or fought a war. Of course individual television cameras sometimes accentuate the dramatic.

But this does not justify the intolerance about which Cyrus Vance spoke or the lack of perspective which is so distressing.

The distinction between honest error and poor judgment on the one hand and calculated deceit and misfeasance on the other seems too often to have been lost. The criticism too often is overly extreme. The critics say not that the Defense Department sometimes makes mistakes, but that we deliberately deceive the people. They say not that individual newsmen sometimes distort, but that the news medium itself deliberately courts distortion.

Let me say this. Those persons who contend that they cannot get accurate information, either from the government or from the press, or from a combination of the government and the press, are talking tommyrot.

It is ridiculous to suggest that the American who listens to his radio, who watches television, who reads selectively in two or three newspapers and who invests a portion of his time in magazines cannot inform himself on every major issue before us.

The very suggestion that the government could conspire to withhold the news from the people, day after day, and month after month, and that the news media are so replete with irresponsibility that the people could be misled by a combination of deliberate government distortion and second-rate reportorial effort is ludicrous.

The government makes available the information. The newsmen report the facts and the interpretations. The issues are described and can be studied by those who seek perspective.

This is not to say that the issues are not complex. The anti-ballistic missile system is the single most complex system ever developed by the United States, and the rationale for the decisions about it demand attention by the observer.

As you all know, Secretary McNamara announced last September 18th in San Francisco that the United States had decided to build and deploy a limited antiballistic missile system, designed against the type of threat which could be anticipated from Red China in the mid-1970's.

It has been alleged erroneously that the Secretary reversed himself on an antiballistic missile system. It has been alleged erroneously that this was a political decision. It has been alleged erroneously that Mr. McNamara really wanted no ABM at all, but accepted this one in order to block those who advocated a larger system.

Those who have studied the public record can and should understand his decision and can and should keep it in proper perspective.

Let me repeat the facts:

Mr. McNamara believes that we cannot today design, produce and deploy a system which would protect the American population against the type of large-scale missile attack which the Soviets could launch. It is true that by spending $30 or $40 billion dollars the United States could build a network which would intercept and destroy some incoming missiles and provide some defense—but only if the Soviet did not react to that defense by increasing its offensive force.

The United States must be able to absorb a nuclear surprise attack and then strike back with sufficient force to destroy the attacking nation. That capability is our basic deterrent to thermonuclear war. No rational country will strike if it knows that the strike will lead to its own destruction.

The Secretary of Defense believes that the Soviet Union must maintain precisely that same deterrent to protect itself—and that it will do so as long as it has the will, the technology and the financial resources.

This government determined several years ago that the Soviet then had or would develop the capacity to build an anti-ballistic missile system. Our proper and logical reaction was not to begin a defense of our own but rather to develop offensive weapons of sufficient quality and quantity to overwhelm any conceivable Soviet defense. This we have done. At whatever cost, it was essential to maintain that crucial destructive power that is our deterrent to thermonuclear war.

Secretary McNamara believes that the Soviet must and would react to a United States ballistic missile defense geared against them exactly as we reacted to the possibility of one geared against us—by buying additional offensive power.

Technology does not permit either country to conduct a defense which cannot be saturated and defeated by the offense. The deployment of a large-scale ABM by the United States would, therefore, lead to an increase in Soviet offensive strength. In the end, both nations would have spent enormous sums of money and neither would have achieved either additional deterrent to war or savings in lives in the event that deterrence failed.

The Secretary has stressed the need to distinguish between an ABM deployed to protect our population against heavy strategic nuclear attacks of the kind the Soviet Union is capable of launching and light attacks which the Red Chinese might be able to mount against us in the mid or later 1970's. He told Congress last January that we were considering a system which might offer a high degree of protection against a Red Chinese missile attack, but which could not be expected to provide meaningful protection against a massive Soviet attack. He pointed out that the lead time for the Chinese to deploy a significant offensive force was longer than that required for us to build an ABM to shield our people from attack. Therefore, he said, the decision for the latter did not have to be made then. It was made eight months later as the gap in lead-times closed.

The Record, then, shows clearly that there has been no contradiction in Secretary McNamara's position. He has consistently opposed a large-scale ABM against the Soviet-type threat. He previously left open the option for an ABM against the Chinese-type threat until the time came when it was necessary to decided. He has now picked up that option.

In summary, Secretary McNamara believes that we should:

1. Continue to develop and deploy a system costing in the neighborhood of $5 billion which will protect the population against the type of attack Red China might be able to launch in the mid 1970's—an attack of a relatively small number of relatively unsophisticated missiles.

2. Continue to spend significant amounts of money on additional ABM research.

3. Continue to hope that it is possible to agree with the Soviet Union, either formally or informally, on a mutually advantageous form of limitation that would apply to both strategic offensive and strategic defensive weapons.

A related issue which must be kept in proper perspective is the FOBS.

We announced recently that certain intelligence information indicated that the Soviets possibly were developing a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System.

There is a difference between this system and the traditional intercontinental ballistic missile. An ICBM normally does not go into orbit but rather follows a ballistic trajectory from launch point to impact point. On this trajectory it reaches a peak altitude of perhaps 800 miles.

Unlike the ICBM and its ballistic trajectory, the FOBS vehicle is launched into a very low orbit about 100 miles above the earth. At a given point—generally before the first orbit is complete—a rocket engine is fired which slows down the payload, causing it to drop out of orbit. That payload then follows a re-entry path similar to the reentry of a ballistic missile.

Secretary McNamara pointed out that we could not be certain that the Soviets were developing such a weapon, but that space tests indicated that they might be. He said that it was conceivable that the Russians could have their first operational FOBS during 1968. Because of the low altitude of their orbits, some trajectories of a FOBS would avoid detection by some early warning radars, including our Ballistic Missile Early Warning System, or BMEWS. The impact point would not be determined until roughly three minutes and 500 miles from the target; the flight time could be as much as 10 minutes shorter than an ICBM. After making these points, the Secretary discussed the disadvantages of a FOBS. Severe penalties are paid in the critical areas of accuracy and payload. The weapon would not be accurate enough for a satisfactory attack upon United States Minutemen missiles, protected in their silos, but would be accurate enough for a strike against bomber bases.

Several years ago, the United States anticipating a Soviet FOBS, began developing warning equipment. We are starting to operate with over-the-horizon radars which have more of a capability than BMEWS of detecting FOBS than does the BMEWS. These radars will give us more warning time against a full-scale FOBS attack than does BMEWS against a heavy ICBM attack.

The FOBS approach is not new. Some years ago we looked into it. There was agreement then among civilian and military leaders that there was no need for the United States to develop such a system.

Why did the government choose this time for an announcement? The reasons were clear. While the Soviet tests have been going on for more than two years, it was not until some recent tests that we became relatively certain that the Soviets were, indeed, embarked upon this course—and we are still not totally certain. But we then had evidence enough to inform the pertinent Committees of Congress on what we thought the Russians were doing, and, subsequently, to inform the people.

Of course there were headlines of Soviet "Space Bomb." Of course there were news stories of Russian "Terror Weapon." Of course the announcement was taken out of perspective by those who chose to do so to further their own particular point of view. In general, however, the Secretary's declassification of intelligence information and his disclosure of the Soviet tests resulted in reasonable reaction and comprehension from the newsman and the public. His prompt announcement, once the facts permitted, helped put the FOBS story in perspective.

The evidence suggests that most newspapers understood the basic point made by Secretary McNamara. That point is as fundamental to this issue as to the ABM discussion. The United States deterrent to general nuclear war rests upon our ability to absorb any surprise nuclear attack from any nation or combination of nations and then to retaliate with sufficient strength to destroy the attacking nations as viable societies. We possess this capability and we must keep it under any circumstances—whether we have 10-minute warning, three-minute warning or no warning at all.

Our deterrent is not based upon warning time; it is based upon our ability to accept any type of surprise attack, and then to destroy the attackers with our surviving force. The Secretary emphasized that we have that capability today and that we would continue to have it in the future.

At one point in the press conference Secretary McNamara was asked this question: "We would like to have you characterize your concern, whether this means a new round in the arms race—" He replied: "I am not concerned for the reasons I have outlined to you."

Most reporters and most readers seem to have taken this sentence exactly as the Secretary meant it to be taken. Because the development of a FOBS does not tilt the strategic nuclear scales, it is not of concern to this country. This does not mean, as some have charged, that the government is not interested. It does not mean, as some have charged, that the Secretary of Defense is "indifferent." It means exactly what it says: that the development causes him no concern.

The FOBS is a less accurate and less efficient weapon than the ICBM, with certain characteristics which the ICBM lacks. Those characteristics must be kept in perspective; they do not change FOBS into a superweapon.

Another development demanding proper perspective is the so-called Soviet aircraft carrier. After an initial story recently that Russia had built its first aircraft carrier, comment began to grow. Editorials were written about the dramatic emergence of the Soviet Union as a new seapower. Observers speculated that the addition of an aircraft carrier to the growing Soviet naval strength cast an ominous new shadow on the world balance of power.

Now it is quite true that the Soviet Union has for some time been building up its seapower. It is also quite true that the Soviet Union now has in the Mediterranean Sea some 30 ships, including surface combatant ships, submarines and auxiliaries. The Soviet has maintained a force in the Mediterranean since 1964 and their present deployment is perhaps four times that of two years ago.

The primary purpose of this naval presence is probably political and psychological. It is probably to indicate Soviet interest in this area. In a nuclear war, perhaps this force would seek to attack United States aircraft carriers, but in a conventional war it has neither the size nor the capability to pose a serious threat to U.S. forces. We would be foolhardy to dismiss the growing Soviet interest in the Mediterranean, but we would also be foolhardy to assume that this naval force can dominate, since it remains so small in relationship to the NATO force. The United States Mediterranean fleet ranges from 55 to 60 ships and total allied naval strength is perhaps five times that size. The Soviet presence should be taken for what it is—a move of political-psychological importance, but not one of overwhelming military significance.

The United States Navy has 15 attack aircraft carriers, eight anti-submarine warfare carriers and eight LPH's—which are Helicopter Landing Platforms. The 15 attack carriers range in size from the 85,800-ton nuclear-powered Enterprise down to 42,000 tons. The anti-submarine warfare carriers are in the 40,000 to 42,000-ton range. The LPH's range from 18,000 to 33,000 tons.

Those eight LPH's designed to support amphibious operations, each carry 30 to 35 helicopters and have accommodations for 2,000 marines. The superstructure or "island" is on one side of the ship—leaving the huge deck cleared for rapid launching and recovery.

Now let's examine the Soviet carrier force.

The fact is that the Soviet Union has built not one of these so-called carriers but two.

Construction on the first was begun in 1963. That ship was launched in 1965. It has been at sea since this spring and is now on a shakedown cruise in the Black Sea.

A sister ship has also been launched and is now in a Russian port being fitted out prior to sea trials.

Each of the two is nearly 650 feet long and each has a displacement of some 23,000 to 25,000 tons, fully loaded.

These ships are new. They are interesting. They undoubtedly are significant additions to the Soviet Navy.

They are not, of course, attack carriers, if indeed they should be called aircraft carriers at all.

They cannot accommodate fixed-wing fighter planes. The forward half of the deck is occupied by bridge superstructure, anti-aircraft guns, anti-submarine weapons, missiles and other equipment. The only "flat-top" or flight deck space is aft of the bridge in the rear half of the ship.

While intelligence estimates vary on the number of helicopters abroad, there are probably 30 to 35. This would be the total helicopter load; they could not all be launched simultaneously.

No resemblance exists between this helicopter-carrying ship and the 15 attack carriers of the U.S. Navy—all of which handle modern fixed-wing jet aircraft. There is little similarity between the Russian ship and the eight anti-submarine warfare carriers in the U.S. Navy, all of which are far larger. Since the Soviet ship is only one-half of a carrier, there is not even too much in common in appearance between it and our eight large-deck helicopter landing platforms.

The U.S. Navy ship that most resembles the Soviet vessel is one that we do not include in the aircraft carrier category—the LPD, or amphibious landing dock. Eight are operational in the U.S. fleet; seven more are presently being built. The LPD has a helicopter platform in the aft portion, as does the Soviet ship. Our newest LPD's (of the Austin class) are 569 feet long, weight 17,150 tons fully loaded, and have a flight deck 219 feet long. They combine helicopter and surface landing craft operations and are designed to transport and land troops during an amphibious assault.

The new Soviet ships should not be downgraded. They appear to be first-rate. We would be foolish to belittle them and we do not belittle them. But neither should perspective be lost and neither should they be described or accepted as aircraft carriers by our definitions. The construction of two new medium-sized ships, each with a half a deck as a landing platform, does not close by many leagues the aircraft carrier gap.

And so whether the issue is ABM or FOBS, Vietnam or helicopter ship, the government needs help from audiences such as this—from citizens interested in national affairs, journalism students and professional newsmen.

Your presence here proves that you are doing your job.

We in government implore you to continue doing it. And we implore you to continue to maintain your own perspective.

Surely there cannot be freedom without knowledge, and surely there will not be knowledge among the people without perspective among the people.

Vietnam can be debated intelligently whether that debate centers around the United States commitment or the tactics and policies growing from that commitment.

Strategic offensive and defensive issues can be understood by men and women of today's world—and, indeed, must be understood.

Valid assessments *can* be made by the people. Certainly, such assessments require the assistance of the government and the news media in making facts available. But the responsibility for making the assessment is yours. It is your responsibility to be well informed, to judge the output of both government and press, to reject the sensational, to recognize the objective. It is your *responsibility* to maintain a proper perspective.

The problems arising from the limited application of force in an atomic age are many, and many of them are unlike any problems a military establishment or a nation have faced before.

Our history does not prepare us for the situation in which numerical superiority of weapons cannot necessarily be translated into political or diplomatic power.

The frustrations and perils of the atomic age, the frustrations and subtleties of the restrained use of force, the frustration and uncertainties of this perplexing war combine to offer greater and greater challenges to both the government and the press as both meet their responsibilities to the people.

These frustrations make all the more essential our need to seek and to find the perspective so demanded by our time.

Indian Food Loss to Rodents Is Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, when the Foreign Affairs Committee was considering the foreign aid bill some of us were insistent that this country get back to the original concept of foreign aid, now that the purpose of the program is to help others help themselves and not just continue a foreign giveaway program.

I was one who insisted that if India was to be helped it must help itself by instituting a program to rid itself of food consuming rodents, sacred cows, and sacred monkeys.

Mr. Speaker, I insert a news article with a New Delhi, India, dateline, pointing out that 9 percent of the domestic food production is consumed by rodents. Is it not time, Mr. Speaker, that we insist on an end to this if we are really going to help India help itself, rather than continue to pour our food down an Indian rat hole?

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 12, 1967]

INDIAN FOOD LOSS TO RODENTS IS CITED

NEW DELHI, December 11.—Rodents destroy more than 9 per cent of India's food while it is still in the fields, Food Minister Annasaheb Shinde has told Parliament.

He said loss of food to rodents and additional loss during handling and storage could total 10 million tons this year.

Oceanside, N.Y.—Community With a Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on November 29, 1967, I addressed the House and called the attention of my colleagues to the bombing of a citizen's home in Oceanside, N.Y.—in my congressional district—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, A5886.

The shocking incident took place on November 17 when a homemade, pipe-encased bomb was thrown through the window of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Revander at 463 Chelsea Road, Oceanside, N.Y.

Mr. Speaker, Oceanside, N.Y., is a fine residential community of about 15,000 private homes. The people of Oceanside are fine citizens and they were stunned by this act of hatred and disrespect for law and order.

They gathered in goodly numbers to express the conscience of the community; to express their revulsion at this heinous criminal act; and to give support to the establishing of a reward fund for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the guilty persons.

The public meeting was held on December 7, 1967, at the Walter S. Boardman School in Oceanside. By establishing the reward fund, the residents of this South Shore village served notice that extremists whose hatred for their fellow man would lead them to commit such crimes—would not go unpunished.

The reward fund was evidence that the people of Oceanside stood together as one in support of law and order and to aid their local law enforcement officers in the apprehension of the guilty persons.

Coincidentally, on the morning of December 7, the date of the meeting, three young men were arrested by the Nassau County Police and arraigned on charges in connection with the bombing. I place in the RECORD at this point, a number of newspaper articles and an editorial. Mr. Speaker, it may be assumed that the reward fund, the house-to-house distribution of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD article of November 29, and the circulation of a petition by the Ad Hoc Committee of Citizens of Oceanside, organized for this exclusive purpose were directly responsible for bringing to the police information leading to the arrest of the three young men.

Mr. Speaker, I want to pay a special tribute to the Nassau County Police Department—one of the finest police forces in the Nation—for their diligence and excellent detective work employed in solving this Oceanside incident.

Mr. Speaker, here in Oceanside is an example of how justice can prevail and law and order maintained. This is accomplished when citizens are willing to become involved and work together with their local police.

The articles and editorial follow:

[From the Long Island (N.Y.) Press, Dec. 7, 1967]

Three Held in Bombing of Negro's Home

Three youths were arrested last night and charged with the Nov. 17 bombing of a sprawling $62,000 Oceanside home owned by a Negro real estate agent.

The three suspects—all white—live in and around the same community, one only three blocks away from the home of Edward Revander of 463 Chelsea Road. The bomb, tossed through the window of the house, failed to explode.

Arrested on charges of reckless endangerment, a felony under the new penal code which could mean 25-year jail sentences for each, if convicted, were: Robert H. Fraser, 18, of 2576 Oceanside Road, a truck driver; Marcel H. Etcheverry, 20, of 19 Perkins Ave., both of Oceanside, and Jamie W. Barnes, 20, of 525 Foster Place, Baldwin, an unemployed barber.

According to police, a crude, home-made bomb was thrown through the dining room window of the Revander home about 11:25 p.m. Nov. 17 and landed near Revander and his 3-year-old son, Frank. The bomb, however, failed to burst its casing, although investigators believed it was designed to.

Detective Sgt. Russell Brendel said that if more match heads had been packed into the 6-inch, perforated cast-iron pipe, it could have been fatal.

Revander told police the bomb smashed through the double window facing onto Evans Street shortly after he arrived home from a church council at Calvary Baptist Church in Jamaica.

His wife, Ella, he said, was standing in the kitchen, and their 19-month-old daughter, also named Ella, was asleep in the bedroom.

After assuring himself that his son was not hurt, Revander said he ran outdoors in time to see a car speeding away, but was unable to get a look at its occupants. It was too dark to identify the car.

Barnes was arrested in his Baldwin home by police armed with a search warrant.

During the arrest, police said they found marijuana in his room, and charged him with possession of a dangerous drug—also a felony under the new penal code.

In Barnes' room at the time, police said, were two others—Peter P. Gannon, 30, of 2959 Webster Boulevard, Baldwin, and Craig E. McCormack, 26, of 21 Newport Road, Island Park, an electrician. They were charged with loitering.

Frazer and Etcheverry were picked up in separate locations on Oceanside streets.

Inspector Thomas Walsh, supervisor of Nassau detectives, said the three suspects had been under investigation for the last 10 days.

Walsh said detectives working on the case had 12 suspects under investigation.

The investigation started to focus on the three arrested suspects, Walsh said, because of information supplied by Ptl. George Young, attached to the Baldwin precinct.

Young, a foot patrolman whose beat covers Long Beach Road in Oceanside, picked up information from youths in the area. The information led to the arrests Walsh said.

Barnes, who lives near the Revander home, was accused by Walsh of throwing the bomb through the dining room window.

Walsh said the bomb was made at Frazer's home several days prior to the bombing. The inspector also said that Frazer's car was used to carry the bomb.

The three suspects, according to Walsh, are also being investigated in connection with other crimes, but no other details were divulged.

Frazer, Etcheverry and Barnes were held overnight in detention cells at Mineola Police Headquarters.

They are to be arraigned in Mineola District Court today.

The Nov. 17 bomb-throwing was the latest and most serious in a series of incidents which plagued Revander and his family.

Other incidents included rock and beer can throwing and the burning of a cross on his front lawn.

Last week Revander said he intended to move unless all those involved in the bombing are arrested.

In November 1957, Revander's real estate office at 200–06 Linden Blvd., St. Albans, was one of several Negro-owned real estate offices on that block to be splattered with paint by vandals.

When he first moved into Oceanside more than seven years ago, he said he noted "for sale" signs went up in front of a few homes, but came down soon afterward.

Revander said his own realty business has not been concerned with any property in Oceanside for the last five years.

Looking back at the incident, his wife observed:

"If the bomb had gone off we would have been killed. It's just a miracle. It just shows there's a God above."

[From Newsday, Dec. 7, 1967]

Nab Three in Long Island Negro Home Bombing

(By Bill Van Haintze and Edward G. Smith)

Oceanside.—Three white South Shore youths were arrested last night, one of them with marijuana in his possession, and charged with last month's pipe-bombing here of the home of a prominent Negro real estate broker, police said.

Two of the accused bombers, Robert H. Fraser, an 18-year-old truck driver, and Marcel H. Etcheverry, a 20-year-old mover, were arrested by Nassau detectives on a street corner in Oceanside at about 8 PM. The third youth, Jamie W. Barnes, a 20-year-old unemployed barber, was arrested at his home four hours later. Police said Barnes was sitting in his bedroom with two other friends and enough marijuana to constitute a felony, at the time of the arrest.

The trio of youths was charged with the Nov. 17 bombing of the $62,000 ranch-style home of Edward Revander, the owner of Revander Real Estate of St. Albans, Queens. Revander's home is just a few blocks from Barnes' home.

Police said that Fraser made the crude bomb from a piece of half-inch galvanized pipe, match heads and a fuse and that he and his companions then drove in Fraser's car a, 1957 gray sedan, to Revander's home. Police said it was Barnes who actually hurled the bomb through the window. The bomb landed in the living room near Revander's 3-year-old son. The real estate broker, on whose lawn a cross was burned two years ago, scooped the boy up and ran from the room. The bomb made a loud fizzling sound and shot flames through the small hole where the fuse had been inserted, burning a large hole in the rug. However, the casing of the bomb did not explode, and no one was injured.

Police said at the time that the bomb did not fully explode because the match heads were packed too loosely inside the length of pipe. They said that "had the bomb exploded completely, a couple of persons might have been dead." Although Revander was of the belief that the bombing of his home at 463 Chelsea Rd., was "all due to the fact that we are black people," police said last night that they had no information to lead them to believe that the accused youths acted out of hatred for the Revanders in particular or Negroes in general. In fact, police refused to disclose why the bomb was thrown or how they were led to suspect Fraser, Etcheverry and Barnes.

Revander said after last night's arrests that "it comes as a complete surprise. I didn't feel they would ever get the perpetrators." He said that he and his wife and children "will be a little more relaxed knowing they are in custody." His wife, Ella, said that before she would give any thought to moving from her house she wanted to know "whether the bombing was racially motivated or just kids having fun or getting their kicks." However, she said the house still was up for sale. The Revanders have lived on Chelsea Road for eight years.

Det. Insp. Thomas Walsh said that all three of the accused youths come from middle-class families. He said that at this time there is nothing to link the trio with the two pipe bombings which occurred in nearby Long Beach at about the same time as the bombing of Revander's home. One of the bombs exploded in a city indoor pool and the other in an all-Negro apartment building at 135 Shore Rd. The explosions caused minimal damage, and no one was injured. At the time of the explosions, Long Beach Deputy Police Commissioner Raymond A. Panza said that although the Long Beach bombs were identical, they were different from the one tossed through Revander's window.

Etcheverry's father, also named Marcel, insisted after last night's arrest that "the boy didn't have anything against Negroes, and it certainly doesn't sound like something he would do." He added: "I know for sure that he doesn't take any dope." Etcheverry said the police never let him know of his son's arrest. "Don't you think they should have at least told us?" he asked. The parents of Fraser and Barnes could not be reached. All three of the accused youths lived with their parents.

Fraser, who gave his address at 2576 Oceanside Rd., Oceanside, and Etcheverry, who gave his address as 19 Perkins Ave., Oceanside, were charged with reckless endangerment under a new section of the penal code. Conviction on the charge carries a penalty of up to 25 years in jail. Barnes, whose address was given as 525 Foster Pl., Baldwin, was charged with reckless endangerment and also with possession of a dangerous drug as a felony, a crime punishable by 15 years in prison.

The two men who were with Barnes when police walked into his home with a search warrant last night were charged with loitering, a violation. They were Peter P. Gannon, 30, whose address was given a 2959 Western Blvd., Baldwin, and Craig McCormick, 26, of 21 Newport Rd., Island Park. Police said they had no connection with the bombing. All five will be arraigned today in First District Court, Mineola.

[From the Long Island Catholic, Dec. 1, 1967]

Long Island Racism Deplored

An Oceanside community was shocked two weeks ago when a home made bomb was thrown through the window of a neighbor's home. The crude device failed to explode and the family of Edward Revander, a Negro, was spared serious injury.

It was encouraging to see members of the community rise up in protest at this outrage. A petition was quickly drawn up affirming the "right of all families to live in our community" . . . a $500 reward has been offered for information leading to the arrest of the bomb thrower . . . and community leaders have planned a rally for Dec. 7 as a sign of community support for the Revander family.

The discouraging aspect of the situation is, of course, that the incident may have been averted if these same energies had been applied in the past to positive, concrete community programs aimed at eliminating the fear and ignorance surrounding the Negro migration.

This need for positive action applies not only to Oceanside but to practically every Nassau and Suffolk community, particularly those areas where there are no Negro residents.

There have been similar "incidents" over the years in a host of Long Island neighborhoods. These coupled with such problems as discrimination in employment and housing, plus, de facto school segregation, reflect an attitude entirely at odds with the teachings of the Church.

The questions now are, "what is being done in the Long Island community to break down this attitude? What are our political, educational and religious leaders doing to educate the community in the area of social justice? Where are the Christians in our communities who have been called by the Church to become deeply involved in efforts designed to promote the dignity of man?"

If answers to these questions include positive programs aimed at eliminating racism and bigotry, then we are on the way toward insuring the right of families to live in the communities of their choice, without fear of intimidation or violence.

If not, let's begin before another incident happens.

Mr. Speaker, the public meeting on the evening of December 7, 1967, at the Walter S. Boardman School, was a tribute to the people of Oceanside. The clergy, public officials, businessmen, housewives, representatives of civic and religious organizations and educational groups as well as 150 residents of Oceanside and neighboring communities came to express their revulsion at this shocking act.

The program of the Oceanside Committee of Concern Mass Rally was as follows:

Program of the Oceanside Committee of Concern Mass Rally

1. Opening Pledge of Allegiance and introduction of moderator by Arthur Iger.
2. Invitation to officials, clergy, organizational representatives and Mrs. Revander to sit on stage.
3. Invocation by Rabbi Philmore Berger of Temple Avodah.
4. Introductory remarks by Rev. Ernest Callandro, Pastor of the First Methodist Church of Oceanside, including reading of sponsor.
5. Keynote address by Congressman Herbert Tenzer of the Fifth Congressional District.
6. Statement by Rev. Williams, Executive Director of the Nassau Council of Churches.
7. Statement by Assemblyman John Thorp of the N.Y. State Assembly.
8. Statement by Surrogate Nathan Bennett.
9. Reading of letter from Supervisor Prucell of the Town of Hempstead.
10. Statement by Sy Scharf, President of the Trophy Chapter of B'nai B'rith.
11. Statement by Vincent Macri of Oceanside, Administrative Asst. to Presiding Supervisor Caso of the Town of Hempstead.
12. Statement by Fran Wallach, President of the Oceanside Council of PTAs.
13. Statement by Daniel Sweeney, First Deputy County Executive.
14. Statement by Robert Higgins, President of the Oceanside Federation of Teachers.
15. Statement by Robert Goldstein, co-treasurer of the Reward Fund Committee consisting of Congressman Tenzer, Rabbis Berger and Blech and Father Baccafolo.
16. Benediction by Rabbi Benjamin Blech of Young Israel of Oceanside.

Mr. Speaker, this incident did not reflect a general mood or feeling of the people of Oceanside. Those responsible for this outrageous act do not represent the conscience of Oceanside.

The community has risen to the occasion. Its leaders and opinion molders have not turned away from their responsibility. Justice will be done and the people of Oceanside will—I am confident—do everything in their collective power to prevent a similar incident in the future.

McNamara: An Ode to Departure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, public opinion is running high in support of the removal of Robert Strange McNamara from our Defense Department.

His illogical weaknesses prove that a nonflexible liberal who refuses to depart from his pacifist views—even when in the best interest of the American people—should never be permitted to serve in any capacity of decisionmaking over military leadership during wartime.

Since the Communist international has and continues to aggressively provoke a war by subversion or where countered bloodshed, no "ideology-before-country" liberal should be tolerated in the Defense Department of our Nation.

Mr. McNamara proclaims as his greatest achievement in 7 years, the forcefully ordering of open housing on and near military establishments. Had he have led the battle to contain the Communist enemy as desperately as he has fought property owners and those who still believe in private ownership of property, we might well have fewer casualties in Vietnam.

Recent letters to the editors of the Washington Post expressing citizens' opinions on Mr. McNamara's promotion to an international banker would tend to support our need for dedicated pro-American leadership, instead of one who suffers from personal prejudice and blackboard theories calculated to needless risk of national failure.

SIR: A kind word of thanks as a gesture of farewell to Secretary McNamara is due him as a man who has worked with such diligence during his term of office. But for The Star to hope for a reversal of the Secretary's decision to depart is going too far.

With all due respect for the man, Mr. McNamara has been proven wrong more often than any other public figure alive (Harold Wilson and Mao Tse-tung included). Practically everything the Secretary has touched has turned to ashes. A mere listing is sufficient to show a trend:

(1) Although The Star favors his policy of "careful restraint," it is unpopular with most everyone else.

(2) His prophecies of our fortunes in the war make him the worst oracle since Chamberlain.

(3) His inability to follow through to their logical conclusion the consequences of his actions (if we're fighting X, and Y is helping X, we do everything in our power to isolate Y, not "build bridges" to it; betrays his faulty thought pattern.

(4) His cost-effectiveness program has led to a "requirements mentality" whereby nothing is budgeted lest it fulfill a present requirement (of course there is no present requirement, for active guerilla training or chemical-biological warfare or orbital bombardment systems—does this mean that nothing should be done?). This is perhaps the Secretary's greatest failure—he has inhibited creativity.

(5) The morale of the military is at low ebb (his differences with the Joint Chiefs, despite public protestations to the contrary, belie his honesty).

(6) His record on the ballistic missile defense (BMD) has been culpable—at first claiming that such a defense would be "provocative" to the Soviets and, then, when they didn't mind being provocative themselves, switching ground.

(7) His savings at the Pentagon are a matter of pride until one remembers the massive amounts of money spent on inexpensive items due to the procurement policy of the computerized Pentagon (bids are asked on, say, a certain type of wrench, only one bid comes in and that for $2,000, it is accepted and the bid and the item go into the computer so that in the future when such an item is needed, its price is catalogued at $2,000.

(8) He seems to be following a policy of "parity plus" with the Soviets, transforming superiority into inferiority (in the case of numbers of bombers, from a 3–2 advantage into a 2–1 disadvantage in five years; in bomber nuclear payloads, from a 5–1 advantage into a 3–2 disadvantage; comparable figures for missiles are not as dramatic, but the trend is the same.

(9) He has rejected continued pleas for an advanced manned strategic aircraft (AMSA)—which is not even at the research stage—scrubbing ideas for the supersonic B–58 and XB–70 and putting the entire weight of OSD behind his personal baby, the FE–111 (nee TFX), an aircraft that was not the lowest bid, is costing millions more than projected, is overweight, cannot take off from an aircraft carrier, is slower than projected, shakes too much at low altitudes, is less maneuverable with a much smaller payload and a much shorter range than present aircraft, and, in a recent series of tests, had over 100 major changes needed.

(10) His change of the "massive retaliation" doctrine into a "flexible response" or "forward strategy with a pause" is both illegal (the former was agreed to in NATO; nothing has been agreed to with regard to the latter) and unwise (it gives the Soviets the clear indication that we will hedge on our commitments in order to avoid confrontations—it is certainly significant that brushfires have been increasing, not decreasing, since the demise of "massive retaliation"). Moreover, that "pause" is rather chilling to our European allies (who can blame De Gaulle—can the United States defend Europe? Will it?).

(11) His backing of the Treaty of Moscow at a time after the Soviets had completed their defense missile test series and we had not begun ours was unfortunate, as was his recent remarks on the fractional orbital bombardment system (FOBS) of the Soviets, which despite the name need not be only fractionally capable, tossing it off as if this new terror weapon was of no importance. And, finally, his incredible political naivete is cause for embarrassment. (I give as one example, his Montreal speech of May 18, 1966, in which he said "Security is development.

Without development, there can be no security.")

President Johnson is faced with a difficult task—choosing a man to rebuild this country's defenses. I agree with The Star that we must "hope he decides wisely"—more wisely than did his predecessor.

Bruce M. Fingerhut.

Rockville, Md.

Sir: It is only by Providence of God, that our country has survived 7 years of Robert McNamara's control of our national defense. McNamara has been controlled by the international one worlders as his appointment was made by them although Adam Yarmonluisky did request his appointment according to rumor and also asked to be his deputy. Yarmonluisky edited the "Yardling" at Harvard, the Communistic newspaper and knew Pres. Kennedy when he was there from 1937–1940. He graduated in June '40.

McNamara followed the disarmament program set up by the State Department. I attended the first meeting in 1962 headed by William Foster and Adrian Fisher, his deputy.

My personal opinion is McNamara followed their advice to the letter. He abolished so many important installations, such as shipyards, and put so many ships in mothballs that if we should be attacked we would be defenseless.

Pearl W. Norman.

Sir: I have a theory about Robert McNamara. When he suggested the Vietnam "Maginot Line" it was either send him to the World Bank or send him to a psychiatrist. President Johnson, being a kindly man, sent him to the World Bank.

Edna Alvord.

Future Farmers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, there was a television commercial a few years ago which tickled the Nation's funnybone for a time. The key sentence was, "Please, mother, I'd rather do it myself."

It seems to me that this enunciates a problem which has been with us from the beginning of time. A parent nurtures a child while he is young and weak; but there comes a time when the child should venture forth on his own, when the child should say, "Please, mother, I'd rather do it myself."

My colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rumsfeld] told this House the other day about the Future Farmers of America and its relationship to the Office of Education, an agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I do not know what role the Federal Government played in getting the Future Farmers started; but is seems to me that it must have been beneficial. FFA has an excelent reputation.

Now, however, it is a large organization with assets in the milions of dollars. I submit that it is time for FFA to say, "Please, mother, I'd rather do it myself." And, if FFA will not say that, then it is time for the Office of Education to do what a mother robin does—ease the fledgling out of the nest.

In view of embarrassing disclosures involving the CIA and supposedly private organizations, it is hard for me to understand why Secretary Gardner of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has not moved promptly to dissociate the FFA fundraising office from his Department, and to inform his employees that they must choose between working for the United States and working for private organizations.

France Should Pay Up or Shut Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the Record an editorial which recently appeared in the Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Ariz. It is entitled "France Should Pay Up or Shut Up" and is very timely. I urge my colleagues to read this very fine editorial, as follows:

France Should Pay Up or Shut Up

France should pay up or shut up.

Even if he tried, it is doubtful whether French President Charles de Gaulle could more effectively splinter Western unity than he is doing with his present meddlesome tactics.

De Gaulle is not satisfied with blocking Common Market membership for Britain, whose very economy may depend on whether it is admitted . . .

He is not satisfied with heightening unrest in Canada, by continuing to call for Quebec's independence and sovereignty . . .

He is not satisfied with disrupting NATO by ordering American bases off French soil and by threatening to withdraw French forces from the alliance entirely . . .

Now, at a crucial time in world monetary affairs, and as a result of Britain's recent devaluation of the pound, De Gaulle has launched an irresponsible attack on the American dollar, which is the very backbone of most of the currency of the free world.

It is ironic that De Gaulle, who obviously suffers from one of the shortest memories in history, should attack the country which twice in this century has intervened to save his French nation from extinction.

During World War I, 2 million GIs fought to save France. Some 36,000 were killed, another 224,000 were wounded.

We spent $27 billion outright waging that war, and in addition loaned France another $12 billion. And France still owes almost $7 billion in interest and principal on that debt.

In World War II, 184,000 Americans gave their lives helping to liberate France, another 500,000 were wounded. That war cost America $200 billion directly, plus some $50 billion in Lend-Lease and indirect aid.

Furthermore, to help postwar France get back on its economic and political feet, America has given it $17 billion, which is more foreign aid than it has given any other European nation . . . which explains why De Gaulle, now heading a solvent rather than a bankrupt nation, feels he can afford to lecture the rest of the world.

De Gaulle has charged that America has taken over control of many French industrial enterprises, not—according to him—because of any technological superiority, but by exporting U.S. inflation under cover of the gold exchange system.

Having failed in its policy of patience, Washington now must—by word and by deed—call De Gaulle's bluff. France should be told in plain, blunt language that it is time for her to pay up or shut up. De Gaulle, who has practically destroyed Western unity, must not be allowed to wreck the world's monetary system.

If France continues to demand gold for dollars—dollars spent in France by those American tourists and businessmen De Gaulle seems to despise—the United States should retaliate promptly by announcing to France and to the world that no demand for gold will be honored until France plays her debts to the United States. At the same time other nations who are making a field day out of the gold crisis should be told the same thing—no gold from the United States until your debts to the United States are paid.

That should bring the run on U.S. gold to a screeching halt.

Of course this is harsh medicine for the United States to prescribe, but in its own defense and for the safety of the free world, there is no other sure way to stop this run on the U.S. gold reserves. And the place to start is to tell France to pay up or shut up.

Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 90th Congress is nearing adjournment after more than 11 months.

During this time, more than 16,000 bills and resolutions have been introduced in the House of Representatives. Of this number, some 500 were passed by the House along with nearly 160 Senate measures. A little more than 350 of these will have been signed into law by the White House before the year ends.

It is important to remember, of course, that legislation on which congressional action has not been completed in 1967 will be carried over for consideration after the Congress reconvenes for its second session in January.

This has been one of the longest, busiest congressional years in history. During our almost nonstop session, the House set an all-time high in rollcall votes, more than 440 as of this time. This figure surpasses the previous record of 399 rollcalls established by the 89th Congress in the final 1966 session.

Economy in Government has been more heavily emphasized in this Congress than in any of recent years. The President's proposed budget, including fixed expenditures such as interest on the national debt, totaled $169 billion for fiscal 1968. We in the House, despite strong opposition from some colleagues, managed to cut $7 billion, and, after compromises with the Senate, achieved a final reduction of slightly under $6 billion. This, combined with a continuing resolution, further reducing obligational authority by $3 billion, meant a savings of almost $9 billion.

Mere statistics alone cannot accurately reflect the total workload on Capitol Hill or the accomplishments achieved. Long hours spent in committee sessions account for a major portion of the actual time consumed in the legislating process. Only if a bill survives the analysis, study, hearings, and probable amendments and favorable report of a majority of a committee's membership is it sent to the House floor for consideration. As Government becomes more all-encompassing and complex, so do the lawmaking process and man-hours in Congress.

My Appropriations Committee assignments include a massive amount of detail and work, more this year than ever before.

In addition to my membership on two of the most important subcommittees in the Congress—Department of Defense Appropriations and Independent Offices Appropriations—the House leadership honored me this year by naming me ranking minority member on the new Special Subcommittee on Department of Transportation Appropriations.

Wearing three subcommittee "hats" has been a welcome challenge, although the time consumed in conscientiously fulfilling all the duties involved has prevented me from spending as much time in the 23d District as I would have liked.

All told, my subcommittee assignments involve reviewing more than half of the entire Federal budget.

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

The war in Vietnam has placed a heavy burden on the shoulders of those of us who serve on the powerful Defense Subcommittee. Whether or not we agree that the United States should be in Vietnam, or with the policies being carried out by the Johnson administration, our first responsibility is to provide a strong defense not only for this Nation but to make certain that our American troops in Vietnam are provided with the finest possible equipment and support to defend themselves.

Our Defense Subcommittee, on which I have served for nearly a decade, is charged with initial review of the administration's military requests. We spend many hours hearing top-secret testimony from the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The defense appropriation finally sent to the White House totals $69.9 billion, the largest single money bill ever approved by Congress. Of that amount, an amount approaching $22 billion will be spent on the Vietnam conflict. Despite the magnitude of the 1968 defense bill, it was cut $1.6 billion by the Congress under the Johnson administration request. None of these cuts affects our Vietnam effort.

Although Secretary of Defense McNamara is leaving the Pentagon, the fiscal 1969 budget we will be called upon to review this spring is being prepared under his supervision. There is much speculation in Washington as to what, if any, policy changes Mr. McNamara's departure will effect.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

A number of Government agencies important to Cleveland area citizens fall under the purview of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices.

We in Congress reduced this budget by $1.2 billion and provided a total $14.7 billion for the agencies. Bulk of the independent offices budget goes to the Veterans' Administration, $6.6 billion; the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, $4.6 billion, and the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, $1.9 billion.

Balance of the funds appropriated for independent offices goes to the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Civil Service Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, General Services Administration, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Science Foundation, Securities and Exchange Commission, Selective Service System, Civil Defense, and Public Health Service.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

The Special Subcommittee on Department of Transportation Appropriations was named last spring by House leadership shortly after the newly created Department took over its official duties March 1, 1967. Because of the length of time it took for the Department to formulate its first annual budget, the subcommittee had only 3 weeks of hearings, but the most intensive and long-houred seen by Capitol Hill in many years. Because of my concern over our Nation's growing transportation problems, I was very pleased to be named ranking minority member of the subcommittee which would help launch the new Department, rapidly on its way to becoming one of the most important in Government.

Consolidation of our various transportation agencies under one roof makes good sense in the interest of economy and efficiency. We provided the Department with $1.5 billion for fiscal 1968 operations, a reduction of almost $137 million from its original request. What is more significant in the way of savings is that the new Department will operate on $140 million less this year than its agencies were granted last year when they were scattered throughout Government.

It is important to emphasize, in mentioning the economies we achieved, that public safety in the air, on the highways, railways, and waterways, was uppermost in the minds of the committee members. Promoting the public safety was a factor in every decision we made in considering the transportation budget.

Functions which now are under the jurisdiction of the new Department are:

The Bureau of Public Roads, highway beautification, and high-speed transportation; the U.S. Coast Guard, with new responsibilties transferred from the Great Lakes Pilotage Administration and from the Army Corps of Engineers, including authority over drawbridge operations, bridge control and clearance, anchorages and sea pollution; the Federal Aviation Agency, including its airport construction and supersonic transport programs; the new Federal Railroad Administration; the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, and the Transportation Safety Board.

The first year will be a real test of the Department of Transportation, but I am encouraged to believe that with careful congressional control it can launch a new era in expansion of our vast national transportation network and in improving safety standards which will save many millions of lives and dollars.

MINSHALL LEGISLATION

During this session I have introduced a number of bills and resolutions. Among them are the following:

H.R. 883, providing Federal penalties for persons using interstate transportation or the U.S. mails for the purpose of inciting to riot.

H.R. 884, to permit taxpayers to deduct expenses incurred by themselves or their dependents in obtaining a college education.

H.R. 885, to allow an incentive tax credit for providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution and to permit amortization of such costs within a 1- to 5-year period.

H.R. 886, to provide for automatic cost-of-living increases in social security benefits.

H.R. 887, to prohibit foreign vessels trading with North Vietnam from entrance into U.S. ports.

H.R. 888, to prohibit the interstate transportation of counterfeit, altered, stolen, or canceled credit cards.

H.R. 889, making it a crime to give false information when registering to vote, to pay or accept payment for registering or voting, or to alter any ballot or voting record, in Federal elections.

H.R. 890, authorizing the Secretary of the Army to establish a national cemetery in Ohio.

H.R. 7202, increasing from 13 to 16 the maximum age of a dependent child with respect to deduction for child-care expenses on personal income tax.

H.R. 8719, to give Government authority to alleviate or remove the threat to navigation, safety, marine resources, or the coastal economy posed by releases of fluids or other substances carried in oceangoing vessels.

H.R. 8881, to charter a National Home Ownership Foundation which would assist low-income citizens to purchase their own homes, working in close conjunction with private enterprise.

H.R. 10573, to increase effectiveness of Truth in Negotiations Act.

H.R. 11580, to provide disability benefits for any person who is blind and has at least six quarters of social security coverage.

H.R. 11840, to include a definition of food supplements under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

H.R. 12194, to create an Office of Justice, which would be independent of the White House and political pressures, replacing the present Department of Justice.

H.R. 12412, to provide for orderly trade in textile articles.

H.R. 12573, making it a Federal offense to injure, intimidate or interfere with any fireman performing his duties during the courage of a riot.

H.R. 14120, to provide for orderly trade in iron ore and iron and steel mill products.

House Resolution 73, to create a special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

House Resolution 75, condemning discriminatory practices perpetrated by the Government of Rumania against the Hungarian minority people.

House Joint Resolution 4, to provide for establishment of a Commission on National Defense Policy.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

In addition to the $69.9 billion appropriated for national defense during fiscal 1968, the Congress last spring approved an emergency supplemental money bill for the Vietnamese conflict in the amount of $12.1 billion.

The military draft was extended through July 1, 1971, with major reforms in the Selective Service Act including a reversal of the "older first" order of induction by calling up 19-year-olds before the older men, and also guaranteeing young men the opportunity to complete a college education before being inducted.

Military base pay was increased by 5.6 percent.

Congress rejected a Pentagon proposal to realine the Army Reserve and Army National Guard by programing the Guard to attain an average paid drill strength of 400,000 and the Reserve at 260,000.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The lowest foreign aid appropriation in U.S. history was passed by the Congress, a total of $2.4 billion, for fiscal 1968, a reduction of $700 million from the administration's original request and $500 million less than was appropriated last year.

A $115 million authorization was granted to the Peace Corps for fiscal 1968.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Symptomatic of the Federal Government's fiscal chaos in recent years were two increases in the national debt ceiling this year for a total of $28 billion, raising the limitation to $358 billion. I voted against these increases.

Attempts at economy were a keynote of the session, however, as alarmed Americans realized that estimated nondefense spending during fiscal 1968 would run well over $95 billion, with a yearend deficit predicted as high as $30 billion.

Responding to protest mail from home, many in the House who have been "big spenders" of taxpayers' money in the past joined league with those of us who consistently vote for economy. As a result, Congress pared some $4 billion from the administration's request for new spending authority. It is hoped that these reductions, and even stricter economies next year, will be supplemented by promised administrative budget cuts from the White House. If inflation is to be curbed and a tax increase avoided, the White House and the Congress have an equal responsibility to keep firm hands on the Federal purse strings.

Consistent with my economy voting record, I have fought all session for budget cuts, which if a majority of the Congress had agreed, would have mounted to many more billions in savings. Many reductions could have been made which would not have impaired either our national security or essential domestic programs.

I remain opposed to the President's demand for a 10-percent surcharge on personal income taxes, since there is every indication that this might well encourage the administration to launch ned spending programs, rather than to reduce the national deficit.

The heavy mail I am receiving from the 23d District overwhelmingly supports my contention that spending cuts, rather than tax increases, are the answer to our national economic dilemma. There is every indication that this issue will continue to dominate the 90th Congress next year.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The 13-percent increase in benefits voted by Congress will be reflected in March social security checks. At the same time Congress gave OASDI recipients a cost-of-living increase, it stiffened requirements for public welfare recipients by requiring States to participate in work-training, work-incentive programs in an effort to help families get off the public dole and on their own feet.

Senate liberality prevailed in the House-Senate dispute over provisions of the Office of Economic Opportunity authorization, and the Congress adopted a 2-year poverty program authorizing $1.9 billion for fiscal 1968 and $2.1 billion for fiscal 1969. The bill originally approved by the House called for an authorization of $1.6 billion for fiscal 1968.

Meat inspection laws were updated by Congress when it passed the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967, which draws guidelines for State enactment and enforcement of meat inspection laws equal to the standards required under the Federal interstate inspection system.

Postal rates were increased, effective January 7, on all classes of mail. Air mail will go up to 10 cents per ounce; first class to 6 cents, and the old "penny postcard" will cost a nickel. Good news in this postal legislation however, is a provision to permit the Postmaster General, on request of the recipient, to order the sender of unsolicited obscene material to discontinue such mailings under penalty.

Pay increases were approved for civil service employees at an average of 4.5 percent and for postal workers at an average 6 percent. Contrary to some published reports, Members of Congress did not vote themselves a pay raise, and, consistent with my past policy, I would have voted against such a raise had it been proposed.

Federal power to control air pollution was substantially increased with enactment of the Air Quality Act, which authorizes $428 million per year for fiscal years 1968–70.

THE 23D DISTRICT, OHIO

As the Representative of the 23d District, I will continue every effort to keep well informed of the views of constituents through personal contact, frequent newsletters, and occasional opinion polls. A final report on each session of the Congress is mailed each year to the home of every registered voter in the district, regardless of political affiliation.

In addition to my office at 2243 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C., I maintain a full-time, year-around office in Cleveland for the greater convenience of my constituents. This office currently is located in 525 Old Federal Office Building, but shortly after the first of the year it will be moved to Room 2951 New Federal Office Building, 1240 East Ninth Street. My telephone number in Cleveland will continue to be 522-4382.

Although increasingly heavy responsibilities and the long Congressional sessions in Washington have prevented me from returning home as often as I would like, I am as close to my constituents as a corner mailbox or their telephones. I welcome the views of my constituents at all times, and am always ready to counsel or assist them in their problems with the Federal Government.

Reflections on the 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DICKINSON] has prepared another interesting and informative letter to his constituents. I include it in the Appendix at this point:

REFLECTIONS ON THE 90TH CONGRESS

This session of Congress, which lingers even as Christmas Day approaches, has been an exciting one and I believe a very constructive one. Certainly, no one can accuse the 90th Congress of being a "rubber stamp" body. Such was the nature of the 89th Congress, but Republican gains in the last election have given this Congress a distinct sense of change.

We have, through party unity and a lot of sweat and persuasion, managed to make some important inroads into LBJ's freewheeling Great Society. The 90th Congress, by and large, has been one of determination, direction, and most important of all, sound conservative action. This body has managed to give the American citizen a much-needed fiscal "breathing spell."

The 90th Congress has forced fiscal issues to the surface—into the halls of debate, where they rightfully should be decided. This Congress does not believe that the President is all-powerful, all-correct in judgment.

I have sincerely tried to represent your wishes and your best interests, and I feel that most of the time the two have been compatible. I hope that you feel that I have properly discharged the many duties and responsibilities you have given me.

Due to incomplete action on many important pieces of legislation, I am not able to give you a complete report on legislation action during this session of the 90th Congress as I had planned. However, the loose ends should be tied up before adjournment and a year-end report will be forthcoming in my next newsletter.

THE 90TH CONGRESS SETS RECORD

When the bells sounded recently for the 400th Roll Call vote of the 90th Congress, a record for the largest number of votes during any session of Congress was established. I was present and voting on almost 89 percent of the roll calls. I feel somewhat proud of my record of low absenteeism, for as most of you know it is almost impossible to make all of the votes, what with speaking engagements in the District and Committee assignments out of the country.

But I'll let you judge for yourselves. The number of votes, different types of votes, and my percentage are recorded below:

Total number of votes	400
Record votes	213
Dickinson	186
Quorum calls	187
Dickinson	167
Percentage	88.3

By the time you rceive this month's report, the holiday season will be in full-bloom and I will be in Vietnam as a member of a newly-created subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee. As members of the Subcommittee on National Defense Posture, our mission is to determine as best we can just what our objectives are in Vietnam, and whether our fighting forces have all of the equipment and manpower necessary to carry out these objectives.

As always, while on these missions to Vietnam, I will visit with as many Alabama servicemen as possible. My travels across Vietnam have more than confirmed our beliefs that Alabama has made a selfless contribution to the bitter struggle to free those enslaved by Communism. As in every American war, Alabama servicemen have distinguished themselves beyond the call of duty. In my next newsletter, I will make a report of our findings in Vietnam to you.

VIETNAM: THE OTHER PROTEST

The protestors marched in a ragged, uneven but determined line. They were very young—many in their teens, most in their early twenties.

Many wore beards, and their clothes, stained and dirty, smelled of blood and sweat.

But unlike most of the marches we have read about lately in the press, this scene was not taking place in New York or Washington, but in a strange land where men still die from the bite of a mosquito.

Although they did not shout or sing much, they had the unmistakable look in their tired eyes of men who believe in what they were protesting.

These men, in fact, were offering the ultimate protest: they were laying their lives on the line for their beliefs.

These young men came from Alabama, Kansas, New York . . . and from cities with strange sounding names like Da Nang, Chu Lai and Da Tat.

They are protesting Communism in South Vietnam. They want to be home for Christmas, but most won't.

The least we can do, during this season of peace and goodwill, is offer our prayers for the end to the terrible oppression for which they are protesting.

Rogers Family Will Be Missed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it was recently announced that Dr. David E. Rogers, chairman of the department of medicine at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., is to become the new dean of the Johns Hopkins University and medical director of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Dr. Rogers will be succeeded by Dr. Grant W. Little, a member of the faculty at Vanderbilt.

The loss of Dr. Rogers and his charming wife, who has been so active in community affairs, will be a great one to our Nashville community. However, we are all very proud of the fact that he has been chosen to head such a world reknowned institution as Johns Hopkins University.

We, also, are very pleased to know that Dr. Little will succeed Dr. Rogers. Dr. Little is a man of proven ability who will continue to carry forth the wonderful work which Dr. Rogers had carried out at Vanderbilt over recent years.

On Friday, December 8, 1967, the Nashville Tennessean published an editorial entitled "Rogers Family Will Be Missed." I place the editorial in the body of the RECORD at this point:

ROGERS FAMILY WILL BE MISSED

Dr. David E. Rogers, chairman of the department of medicine at Vanderbilt University, his wife, Corajane, and their three children are leaving Nashville to move to Baltimore, where Dr. Rogers will become dean of Johns Hopkins University and medical director of Johns Hopkins Hospital.

This is one of the most responsible medical posts in the nation, and the selection of Dr. Rogers to fill it, at the age of 41, is the highest tribute to his standing in medicine and medical education. He is to be congratulated.

He will be succeeded here by Dr. Grant W. Liddle, an internationally known medical authority who came to Vanderbilt in 1956 as associate professor of medicine. The Vanderbilt directorate is another of the nation's outstanding medical positions, requiring superior qualifications. Dr. Liddle is to be congratulated on his selection.

The Rogers family has made a deep impression on the community since coming to Nashville in 1959. Dr. Rogers, in addition to his heavy duties at the university, took part in many outside interests and activities. His wife, "Corky," quickly became a leader in numerous community activities.

She took an immediate interest in local political affairs, organized a women's campaign in behalf of the Metro government movement, took a leading part in several other campaigns, and initiated much good work in civil rights and human relations.

The Rogerses, who have lived in many parts of the world, were never strangers in Nashville. Their presence will be greatly missed here, but the community extends them best wishes in their new surroundings.

Report to First District, Utah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, since becoming a Member of the House of Representatives some 5 years ago, I have periodically mailed to my constituents a report on activities of the Congress. My latest "Report From Washington" will be sent to the residents of the Utah First Congressional District within the next few days. As the report may be of interest to my colleagues, I insert it in the RECORD at this point. The report follows:

YOUNG CONGRESSMAN, LAURENCE J. BURTON, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 1967

OUR APPROACHING ECONOMIC CRISIS

The United States is heading rapidly toward a real economic crisis. The situation is of such serious magnitude that I am devoting this entire report to its discussion.

Instead of the $8.9 billion deficit forecast by the President, it now appears that the real federal deficit gap will be in the neighborhood of an outrageous $29 billion for fiscal 1967–68. Next year's promises to be at least as large. Combined, the deficits for the two years spell very real fiscal problems.

When the government enters the money market at the multi-billion dollar level to finance the deficit and pay for its operation, interest rates, already at a 40-year high, will skyrocket even higher. Inflation can run rampant.

THE RESPONSIBILITY

The imprudent fiscal policies of the past few years have created the *awful situation* we now face. Why the President's economic and financial experts could not anticipate this crisis is hard to understand. *President Johnson* made the decision that we could have both guns and butter. Since then the *rubber-stamp Congress* in 1965 and 1966 has passed an overwhelming number and variety of new programs.

Most of these programs were begun with modest appropriations, but with huge, *built-in increases*. Last January Mr. Johnson proposed 16 new programs alone, in the middle of a wartime economy. In the past 7 years 70 *new programs* have been launched, 46 of these in 1965.

The government payroll has increased by 479,650 persons during this period. Over 149,000 have been added within *the past year*. Many of us have warned that these hasty actions would create serious fiscal problems and fan the fires of inflation.

The gross miscalculation of costs for the Vietnam war is unbelievable and unpardonable. *Gimmicks* have been used by the Administration to make past deficits look smaller than they actually are.

These one-shot *fiscal manipulations* are now used up. The high finance levels of the new programs are unavoidably with us. So, unhappily, are the irresponsible policies which have brought the *fiscal chickens* home to roost.

APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES

The news media have been critical of Congress in its impasse this year with the Administration over a tax increase and a reduction of *federal spending*. Many people do not understand the mechanics of this spending.

After programs have been authorized by Congress, the *Appropriations Committee* recommends the amount of money for each program in a separate bill. The Congress then votes separately on the funds for each program.

However, much of the money that is appropriated is not spent *until sometime later*. It may be held up by the Bureau of the Budget, or because the money, for some special reason, cannot be spent in the fiscal year for which it was approved.

These dollars accumulate, and can be spent on the authority of the President at any time thereafter.

At present there are over $100 billion in this "pipeline", *appropriated, but unspent*. All or part of this money may be spent by the President at any time, through order of the Bureau of the Budget. Thus, reductions in appropriations by the Congress in any given fiscal year *do not necessarily control* in any way the actual amount of money spent by the government in that fiscal year.

The amount of actual spending is controlled, therefore, *directly by the President*. It is this spending which determines if there is a deficit for a fiscal year, and if so, how much of one.

The House of Representatives this year has reduced appropriations below Johnson Administration requests *by over $6 billion*. This is more than $1 billion *less* than was allocated by the Congress for the previous fiscal year.

In spite of Congressional cutbacks, *the President* has authorized expenditures totalling $11 billion *more* than the previous fiscal year, thus completely disregarding the general demand for reduction in government spending.

THE ANSWER

I agree fully with Congressman Wilbur Mills, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Congressman Byrnes, Congressman Bow and other House leaders, with respect to the increase the President has proposed. The Administration *must* make an absolutely firm commitment to achieve a substantial *reduction in expenditures*. Only after this is accomplished can we even consider the necessity for and possible effects of a tax increase. Any other course of action would be sheer hypocrisy and folly on the part of the Congress.

What the President has failed to tell anyone is that even with a substantial reduction in spending, and even with a tax increase, under his proposed spending program we will *still have a whopping deficit*. This can force interest rates higher and spiral inflation upward at a very fast rate. As a result, the deficit and the total national debt will be increasingly difficult to finance and manage.

The President did not submit a specific tax proposal to the Congress until *August of this year*. It was November 20 before he showed any interest at all in even considering reduced expenditures. In the meantime, the Johnson Administration has all year *fought vigorously* against a determined Congressional effort to reduce appropriations and to force a reduction in expenditures.

With our nation now involved in a major armed conflict in Southeast Asia, *we cannot have "guns and butter."* We certainly cannot have them to the extent proposed by the Administration. To continue on this course leaves the country wide open for *financial disaster*.

Major spending cutbacks are called for. Efforts must be made *immediately* to work toward a balanced budget and sound fiscal policy. Our eventual goal must be to hold our annual expenditures *within our annual income*.

To fully fund scores of new programs at home and abroad while carrying on a vast war effort, all through *borrowing and increasing* the annual deficit, can only have the most dire effects on our economy and the *soundness of the United States dollar*. The Administration must take steps to cut expenditures now if we are to avoid the terrible fiscal crisis now facing this country.

May the New Year find you and yours in better financial shape than the Federal Government—or Heaven help you!! Merry Christmas.

Your Congressman.

Secretary on Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American people are wondering why the Secretary of State appears reluctant to appear before congressional committees to answer questions as to what are the foreign relation policies of our country.

Why this attitude to his own people when the Secretary attends every Communist embassy and diplomatic function in Washington?

Perhaps the difference is that Communist highballs are not served at congressional hearings.

Most American people may not become a jumpy over the Secretary of State having a few snorts occasionally at a Communist embassy, but after a while repeated evidences of imbibing in the parlor of the Communist nations gets even the least panicky concerned over the security risk involved. The Secretary is on the defense.

His image of hard imbibing was raised in the Sunday issue of Parade for November 29. The question now becomes, How long will American mothers and fathers tolerate such activities while their sons are being killed and shot up by Communist aggression in Vietnam?

Mr. Speaker, I include the Walter Scott question and answer of December 10, and the Associated Press release for November 30:

[From Parade, Nov. 29, 1967]

Personality Parade

Q. *Isn't is true that under the strain of the war, Dean Rusk is beginning to crack physically, that he is now drinking too heavily?—P. E., Arlington, Va.*

A. Rusk is a two-fisted drinker who can hold large amounts of alcohol. He shows no signs of cracking physically, only intellectually. He keeps pointing out the necessity of containing Red China in Asia but cannot explain satisfactorily why, if Red China is our Number One enemy, we are pouring out our blood and treasure in the jungles of Vietnam.

[From the Associated Press, Dec. 10, 1967]

Rusk's Rebuff Stirs Senate Wrath

President Johnson may be asked to mediate a continuing dispute between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding information on the Vietnam war.

Some members of the panel are growing increasingly impatient over Rusk's rejection of invitations to appear before it and publicly answer questions on the administration's Vietnam policies.

Sen. Albert Gore, D-Tenn., said yesterday he wants to take the controversy directly to the President for a decision.

SEEKS FORMAL PROTEST

His plan calls for having the committee authorize Chairman J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., to register a formal protest with Johnson over Rusk's refusal to appear at a public session.

Such a motion, prepared for introduction at a committee meeting today, could not be 'voted on until another session expected 'tomorrow.

A Rusk agreement to appear publicly could head off a protest to the White House, Gore said.

He commented in an interview after a Senate speech in which he complained of Rusk's continuing refusal to agree to discuss Vietnam before the committee with the public and press on hand.

The secretary has said repeatedly a more candid and fruitful exchange of views can be had in private session.

But Gore posed a series of questions he said Rusk should be asked to answer in public. They covered goals and national security aspects of the Vietnam military effort.

"How can either the President or the Senate discharge their respective responsibilities to the American people without incisive public examination of these policies and questions?" Gore asked the Senate.

Rusk last appeared before the committee in public on Vietnam in February 1966. Criticism of administration war policies has increased sharply within the Foreign Relations Commtitee since then.

Rusk also has been greeted by widening demonstrations when he goes out in the country to speak.

PLANNED, LAUSCHE SAYS

Sen. Frank Lausche, D-Ohio, charged yesterday that a "superior force" plans the demonstrations during Rusk's college campus appearances.

Lausche joined Sens. Jennings Randolph, D-W. Va., and Birch Bayh, D-Ind., in condemning the recent outbreak when Rusk spoke at Indiana University.

But they also pointed to the letter of apology presented to the Secretary and signed by 14,000 students. Bayh said he wished the letter of apology had received the same publicity as the demonstration in which he said only about 100 students participated.

Lausche said there was proof that the anti-Rusk demonstration was prearranged. He said after the speech, leaflets were found instructing the dissenters on what to shout.

YORTY HITS AGITATORS

A superior force was planning the disturbance," Lausche said. "In my opinion that is happening all over the country."

Voicing similar views, Los Angeles Mayor Samuel F. Yorty contended yesterday that agitators manipulated antiwar demonstrations in places where President Johnson spoke recently.

Yorty told the House Committee on Un-American Activities the demonstrtaion in his city last June against Johnson was manipulated and planned in advance by groups seeking a confrontation with police. Johnson was in Los Angeles for a Democratic party affair.

Dr. Albert Burke Speaks for Great White Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the concept of the Great White Fleet was the subject of a conference in Washington on October 11, 1967, and a special order granted me a week ago reviewed the work of that conference.

The Great White Fleet concept would send a fleet of our surplus ships—similar to the famous SS *Hope*—around the world on a series of medical and educational missions.

One of the most outstanding statements made at the October 11 meeting was given by Dr. Albert E. Burke. However, it was not available for the special order for inclusion into the Record.

I include Dr. Burke's statement in the Record at this time:

Statement by Dr. Albert E. Burke

It was a surprise, while on a period of active duty training in Norfolk to discuss with Capt. Manson an idea I thought had been presented here in Washington by then Sen. Humphrey. In conversation with him one day, he casually mentioned the fact that there were many war-time cargo and supply ships in mothballs, doing nothing. It seemed clear to me, at once, that it would be logical and meaningful for the nation's interests to convert some of them to floating universities—as training institutions to pass on basic skills in-simple manufacturing to the people of the "Backward" nations, as well as more sophisticated kinds of knowledge and help, as in the case of the ship "Hope." I did not know, as I was talking about this with Captain Manson, that he was the originator of the idea. We have not stopped talking about it since.

I think Captain Manson's reason in having me here is to make certain that we do not end this beginning, talking to ourselves about the White Fleet. It is an important idea for reasons that have to do with an incident in which I participated not long ago—out in the Haight Ashbury district of San Francisco where I had been asked to do an interview program for one of the states television stations. The interview was to include several representative young people who had gone "Hippie." One of the youngsters made the remark, during that interview, that what bothered her most about things was the arrogant way our power and wealth as a nation were being used to interfere in the internal affairs of others. Why could we not leave them alone—concentrate on our own problems at home. There is a dangerous misconception in this country about power. Our young people do not know or understand it, because too many of the "command generation" of adults know so little about it.

We are a rich and powerful people. That is a burden, of responsibility, that no nation in an equivalent position thruout history has been able to avoid. No nation, no civilization has ever been able to "cop out," or "drop-out" or otherwise avoid it. As in all earlier cases, we influence the world around us—interfere with its internal affairs because of what we are as a rich and powerful people. Dr. Hingsons remarks earlier make that point so clearly, presumably no one could miss it. For example, if this nation were to stop producing the pharmaceuticals and medicines he talked about, I doubt seriously that half the populations of many new nations would remain alive today. That is part of our real influence, and internal interference in the affairs of others that young lady in Hippieland somehow knew nothing about. Our way of carrying on our affairs, even in the way we run our economy, produces common markets abroad—as the result of the new rash of mergers into new conglomerate corporate holdings our financial pages have been telling us about the past few years. We did that minding our own business. It disrupted the world around us. Our real problem is not *whether* we want our power to influence others, or interfere in the internal affairs of others, but *how* will we use our wealth and power to influence what goes on around us. All of which is part of the oldest lesson in history that nation after nation and civilization after civilization has had to learn over and over again—that no people, at any time, anywhere, has ever been able to live out its time on its own terms. What goes on around a nation or people always affects what can be done at home.

With that environment around us in mind, The White Fleet becomes clearly a vital idea. It is certainly that for the young people with whom I have discussed the idea of the white fleet over the years, in public lectures and appearances on college campuses. In an almost consistent way, young people see the idea of an educational and training program as a means of dealing with basic world problems as a dynamic, worthwhile idea. In the same sense that President Kennedy managed to push the right button to stimulate young people to action in the Peace Corps, this idea produces the same response. It gives them a concrete way to express their concern about world problems. Nothing President Kennedy offered them compares with the enormous possibilities of the White Fleet—which would tap and develop not only the resources and talent of the people in the new nations, but in a critically important way would allow us to tap and develop our now largely dormant and unused resources of talent in our own people. By way of example, in Austin, Texas, some months ago, during the question period following a lecture at the University a young student asked a pertinent question about the White Fleet that started a discussion still going strong at 2:30 the following morning. They talked about what could be done by young people today—to do the kind of things that would really count, by doing something of value. There is an enormous, untapped force in our young people that is a dangerously unexploited resource here at home. Their interests, their devotion remain an important unexploited resource. A point that could be made for many adults as well, with skill and experience in fields related to a possible White Fleet program.

A point about the White Fleet that concerns me involves population growth, and economic development programs—just as we have considered them here. There is not, at present, a practical means to aid new nations (with rapidly growing populations) fast enough so that they can keep economic growth ahead of biological growth. There is no practicable method to train brainpower and provide skilled musclepower on the scale needed to make economic growth possible in the new nations. I remember the wording of the problem in the first of India's five year plans. They hoped, they said, to be no farther behind in the production of food and manufactures at the end of the planning period than at the beginning—after a significant increase in output in all areas of the economy had been made. This is pretty much the reality of economic growth world-wide. The reality of our time is that only in the Western nations is there the concentration of scientific-technological brainpower and capital to make it possible to produce the vital necessities (such as pharmaceuticals) on an adequately expanding basis to meet world needs. It cannot, by any present measure, be duplicated nation by nation—as too many well intentioned individuals and agencies believe in aid programs now operating.

Whatever the motivation, call it Christian motivation—humanistic—altruistic, or whatever, there is a biblical injunction to the effect that "from those to whom much has been given, much is expected." I subscribe to this injunction. Much has been given to us. Much—on the order of the White Fleet—can be expected from us.

I am not trying to suggest that we, in our part of the west, have some god-given monopoly on brains and talent to do the job of educating and training others. Accidents (of history) do happen. We are the rich and powerful ones of our time, and even amongst Canadians, Germans, Britishers, and Frenchmen there is real fear of our near-monopoly on talent and capital—and the continuing drain of their resources to this country. There is more than an obligation to turn some of it back—there is the need to do so in the world tne F.A.O. of the United Nations points out is very real around us—hungrier than 25 years ago, poorer too, and so—more dangerous to us, as part of that environment around us mentioned earlier. That gulf, between haves and have nots, can be tackled by a White Fleet as by no other method. It is true, as Dr. Hingson pointed out, that within a 20 year period we could wipe out most of the disease and illness that now exists on this planet, and for an expenditure of funds smaller by for than present expenditures laid out for international problems of war and peace. We need a better balance in our international relations. Politics, Mao-Tse-Tung has pointed out, comes out of the mouth of a gun. We would be foolish beyond measure to ignore the importance such men attach to military power. It must be met, matched and stalemated. But only as a beginning of policy—not as the end of policy. A military balance offers a simple opportunity to use the vast resources and strength of this nation in non-military (or what is poor described as pacification) terms to bring about critical and necessary changes in the new nations. No other nation can match this non-military aspect of our power. They can only promise, and talk about it is a future possibility. We can deliver—by the White Fleet.

I think there is more than adequate precedent for this kind of action on our part, in so dealing with the rest of the world. The Honorable Mrs. Bolton and others here will remember the series of programs I did some years back which I called the Dynamics of Communism and Democracy. In one of those programs I pointed out the views of the men who made this nation, about our national purpose. It was not intended to involve or benefit human beings in North America alone. Consider George Washington's words—"The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply—perhaps as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people." We held something in trust for mankind. Consider Dan Webster's words—"If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us." We were the hope—of and for men outside the North American continent too. There is more of this, much more. Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural speech stated clearly—"The flames kindled on the fourth of July, 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by despotism. On the contrary, they will consume those engines and all who work them. May the Declaration of Independence be to the world—to some sooner, to others later, but finally to all, the signal of arousing men to burst the chains—etc." All men, were his concern.

We have the power to fulfil that basic obligation. It results from our being a Judeo-Christian people. It results from our scientific and technological knowledge and know how. We have that power in our capital and human resources. It can be used by way of those moth balled ships that started me on this line of reasoning long before I met Frank Manson, the originator of the idea. There is another, final reason for my concern in this matter. I am as confused about my generation as—during that interview with young people in Hippiee and I mentioned earlier—those inexcusably ignorant youngsters told me I and my generation confused them. I do not understand how any generation of Americans born as mine was either before, during or after World War I then moving into the greatest economic depression in the world's history, and from that into the period of the totalitarian states and World War II, on into the cold war and Korea and now Vietnam—I do not understand how my generation can be as inarticulate on explaining what we learned, fought and died for, to our children—let alone the rest of the human race. My generation runs this nation's business and industry. Its newspapers, radio and television and the rest of communications media. After seventeen years in the television media I know the full measure of irresponsibility of those men in the use of advertising budgets to inform my children—not about the reality of a world environment that threatens of survival of the American idea of self-rule, but about talking horses and cars, about Hogans heroes (a travesty of truth about war) McHales Navy, Gomer Pyle and the rest. Nothing of the real world passes through the hands of my generation. Perhaps, in publicizing this idea of the white fleet through means available to me, I can compensate for the neglect of my generation in its obligation to this nation's future—a bit.

Urban Renewal of Watts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, the following newsletter was sent to me by a group of citizens concerned about the proposals for urban renewal and development in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

Because I consider it of sufficient interest and deserving of more widespread attention, I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a public service so that others may be informed about this matter of primary importance to the future of the Watts community and the entire southeast area of Los Angeles County:

NEWSLETTER

DEAR PROPERTY OWNERS, RESIDENTS, BUSINESS-PROFESSIONAL, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, YOUNG PEOPLE, CHILDREN, AGENCIES, POLITICIANS, AND FRIENDS OF WATTS: There are many urban renewal-urban development-urban redevelopment activities occurring within the extended Watts curfew area. They have direct bearing on the future of the Los Angeles community.

1. The Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles (CRA) has drawn up CRA Plan 1 for the redesign of 107 acres in South Central Los Angeles bordered by Century Boulevard (North), 104th St. (South), Wilmington Avenue (East), Success Avenue (West). This plan includes industry east of the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks to Wilmington Avenue.

Plan 1 is an alternate plan for Plan A, which was approved by the Watts community on November 19, 1965 at a public meeting held in the Will Rogers Park Lounge to an overflow crowd.

2. The Watts Development Advisory Committee of which Mrs. Beatrice Reeves is President/Chairman, also known as the Mayor's Advisory Committee, has reviewed Plan A and Plan 1 in their meetings, but no others.

3. On November 9, 1967 at the Los Angeles City Planning Commission Hearing at City Hall the business concerned Urban Renewal of Watts. The Mayor's Advisory Committee submitted a letter supporting CRA Plan 1. Mrs. Dorothy Rochelle and Mr. Robert Van Meter spoke in behalf of this support. A second letter was presented from a Minority committee of the Mayor's Advisory Committee. It was against CRA Plan 1. Those representing and speaking for the community's opinion were Mrs. Lotus Murphy, Mrs. Fannie Mobley, Mr. Charles Knox of Congressman Hawkin's office, Dr. Christopher Taylor, Mr. Ben Peery, Mr. Claude McDonald, Mr. George Crawford, and Mr. Milton Goodwin.

It was especially noted that the thinking of the people within the area to be affected and its immediate surrounding areas had not been considered. The City Planning Commissioners' postponed making a decision on Plan 1 until November 30, 1967.

4. On November 27, 1967 the Los Angeles Goals Program Center for Choice sponsored a Town Hall Meeting at Markham Jr. High School. This grew out of citizens requesting to meet with Los Angeles City Agencies for information concerning the immediate plans for Watts. The City Planning, Community Development, and the Community Redevelopment Agencies did not attend, although they had called the Center for Choice and confirmed their attendance. During the afternoon of November 27, 1967 an order was issued from City Hall in the Mayor's office for these agencies not to honor the commitments.

Other invited guests who contributed information at the panel discussion and answered questions of the community were: Mr. Harold Williams (Watts Towers), Mrs. Beatrice Reeves (Mayor's Advisory Committee), Mrs. Fannie Mobley (Watts Community Action Group), Mr. Eugene Brooks (Planner), Mr. George Crawford (Merchant), and Mr. Claude McDonald (Son of Watts). Some of the issues centered around (1) anger at the City Agencies for not showing up at a community meeting; (2) disturbed property owners being told they had to sell now, but they would be offered first option to re-purchase when the land was redeveloped; (3) feelings and opinions against CRA Plan 1; (4) concern in whose interest the Mayor's Advisory Committee is working; (5) residents' desire to participate in the planning process for a new Watts.

5. At their meeting on November 29, 1967 the Mayor's Advisory Committee responded to and were influenced by their committee members and by the expressions of community opinions at the Markham School meeting. They agreed to forward these opinions to City Hall.

6. Those speaking on behalf of the Community at the Los Angeles City Planning Commission Hearing on November 30, 1967 were: (1) Mr. Judson Howard, Field Deputy for Councilman Gibson's office, Mr. Charles Knox of Congressman Hawkins' office, State Assemblyman Leon Ralph's representative; Mr. Ted Watkins read a resolution from the Mayor's committee advising the removal of industry from the CRA Plan 1; community response was continued by Dr. Edmonds (resident), Mrs. Dolores Tomlin, Secretary and resident presenting resolutions from the Mayor's committee in the interest of establishing some ground rules. Mr. Claude McDonald, Mr. Ben Peery (resident), and the Rev. Henry W. Murph concluded the detailed expressions of community opinions, concerns, and anxieties.

The Los Angeles City Planning Commission postponed a decision for sixty days.

7. The present crisis area under study shows the same boundaries as the extended Watts curfew area of 1965. Of this, 107 acres within the South Central portion are of very immediate concern.

Those seriously interested in working on plans reflecting the thinking of their local community should be together—already talking and studying with each other.

Town Hall meetings are scheduled for everyone's participation. Listen out for those in your area and attend.

WILLIAM R. JONES,
Chairman, Steering Committee, Los Angeles Goals Program.
DOLORES M. TOMLIN,
Viewpointer.

Notable Victories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to bring to the attention of all Members of the House an exceptionally fine editorial which appeared in my hometown's newspaper, the Saginaw News, concerning recent efforts by two Michigan Members of Congress, our colleague, Representative DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR., and former House Member and now Senator, ROBERT P. GRIFFIN.

The News appropriately singled out these efforts by Representative RIEGLE and Senator GRIFFIN in what the paper termed "the people's right to know and their right of choice."

The editorial concluded:

> In so doing they (Riegle and Griffin) have put large cracks in the wall which so many often regard as impregnable in the Federal Government's relationship with the taxpayers.

The editorial, which appeared on December 8, 1967, follows:

RIEGLE, GRIFFIN SCALE AN IMPREGNABLE WALL

A couple of notable victories have been chalked up this week in Congress thanks largely to the individual efforts of two Michigan members of that august body, Rep. Donald W. Riegle Jr. of Flint and Sen. Robert P. Griffin.

Both men have prevailed in a manner that speaks well of their attentiveness to the right of the people to know and to a free choice. And while their legislative successes have come in widely divergent fields—the government's handling of the Vietnam war and federal aid to education—no two things are creating more divisiveness among the American people along emotional lines.

In the case of Rep. Riegle, a GOP first-timer and a baby in years compared to many of his House colleagues, his accomplishment represents a major breakthrough in the credibility gap hanging over the entire American commitment in Asia. More, it is a tribute to the audacity and persuasiveness of this young mover who has been throwing feathers into the fan of the government establishment ever since he arrived in Washington.

For months now Riegle has been pushing and prodding the Defense and State Departments to get access to information that would present an accurate, updated and comprehensive assessment of U.S. progress in the Vietnam war and the equally important pacification program.

Those months of persistence during which he has been hurling challenging questions at both departments, have now paid off. In at least partial capitulation to his insistent bugging, the Pentagon has agreed to furnish monthly progress reports on the military situation in Vietnam. They will come to Riegle by way of the House Appropriations Committee on which he serves and they will cover some 85 statistical categories.

At the same time the State Department announced that it will begin work compiling systematic reports on our nation-building and pacification efforts into which we are pouring billions through the department's Agency for International Development (AID)

Riegle had asked for reports covering 67 categories including gains made in South Vietnam in such fields as medicine, education, agriculture, industry, economy, public health—and even the AID program itself. He has asked for these reports because he thinks it's important for the people to know how we're doing for what we're spending. We agree.

Riegle, of course, will not get all that he wanted. He will not get weekly reports and he will not even get monthly reports in some of the categories simply because statistical data in some are compiled only on an annual basis. He has questioned this, too, and properly so.

But the important point is that for the first time a congressional committee charged with approving federal expenditures will be getting information which heretofore has not been available. This is more than anybody else has been able to accomplish.

With Congress in a perpetual state of dither over this war and midst continual hue and cry over the so-called credibility gap, what Riegle has achieved is of more than passing significance.

On the other side of Capitol Hill, Sen. Griffin surmounted an almost equally formidable barrier when he prevailed over Sen. Everett Dirksen in a civil rights test arising over the $14.2 billion federal aid to education bill. Angrily, and wrongly, Sen. Dirksen was demanding the bill be amended to prohibit the use of federal school funds for busing of students to achieve racial balance in classrooms.

Griffin challenged the measure on grounds that it flew in the face of provisions of the Civil Rights Act, which, in effect leaves busing up to the states and local school districts.

Offering a countering amendment which preserves this right, Griffin won and thereby foreclosed a lot of debate which threatened to further delay passage of the entire bill.

This is good, not so much because there is any conviction that busing is the answer to equalizing educational opportunities of innercity pupils, but because it was a victory for moderation over excessiveness. It neither forces nor denies, but leaves the decisions to local districts without threat of federal coercion, one way or the other, hanging over their heads.

It is no more correct for the federal government to deny the use of U.S. funds for such experimentation than it is to force busing through threat that all federal aid may be cut out if busing Negro youngsters to predominantly Negro schools is not carried out.

Even as the Senate wrestled with this question there came word from Washington this week that a number of leading educators were saying that the greatest danger to efforts aimed at improving educational opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters lies in opinion becoming polarized around the diametrically opposing views of the integrationists who insist that integrated classrooms are the only way to educational achievement and those who would rather see federal aid used to upgrade educational programs in the inner core schools.

For our part there are serious reservations in the merits of busing as a means of achieving the desired goal—but this doesn't mean that school districts should be shut off from the right of trying it.

At any rate, the Griffin amendment at least took some of the heat out of the federal aid to education squabble while still preserving the option for state and local government. And from a purely political standpoint, it rescued Sen. Dirksen from a highly untenable position. For had it passed, there might well have been serious repercussions for the GOP.

Both Rep. Riegle and Sen. Griffin have scored important points for the people's right to know and their right of choice. In so doing, they have put large cracks in the wall which so many often regard as impregnable in the federal government's relationship with the taxpayers.

Poverty War Weapons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, with the fate of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 no longer in doubt, it would be sheer deception to even begin to suspect that the problem of poverty is about to dissolve. Since poverty, by definition, "may cover a range from extreme want of necessities to a falling short of having comfortable means," it is apparent that the "class" for whom these programs are designed is relative to the society of which it is a part. An editorial in the December 2, 1967, issue of my constituent newspaper, the Woodbury Daily Times, relates:

> It would seem to an unbiased observer that the nation has been making a pretty relentless war on poverty throughout the 178 years since our Constitution ratified the private enterprise system. Startihg with less than four million persons . . . our population has increased to 200 million, enjoying the highest standard of living, and less poverty, than exists anywhere. The reality of the situation is that even the poorest among us are more fortunate than a majority of the rest of the world's peoples.

To follow, Mr. Speaker, the real problem of poverty lies in the "extreme want of necessities," but I would submit that the expectation, the insatiable and unattainable goal, is "having comfortable means." While the former deals with the subsistence of life itself, the latter involves the more versatile social complexities of human wants and desires. So long as this psychology exists, poverty will always be with us, although it may well come to pass that no one will have an income below that magic number which separates the poverty stricken from the self-sustaining.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that the poverty war's biggest shortcoming is in seeking short-term results with long-term answers. The truth of the matter is evidenced by the multibillion-dollar expenditures, with more to come, that have done little more than elevate expectations and further aggravate frustration. The aura of the Federal Government's benevolence, fueled by vast financial resources, loses sight of the fact that it is the taxpayer who shoulders the burden.

Mr. Speaker, among the more noteworthy of the poverty war efforts are certain of the educationally oriented programs. There is another poverty war weapon, however, that has attracted some attention, but which I feel has not been given the credit or the encouragement that it is due. This is the matter of investment by private enterprise for the long-range development of productive human resources. I believe that profitmaking private enterprise is the backbone to the ultimate success of the poverty programs, and the ability to succeed will largely depend upon the Federal Government's cooperation rather than its overpowering direction.

Estimating that the creation of one new job requires, on the average, the capital investment of $20,000, the editorial previously referred to sums up the situation in stating:

> Government can give to some only what it takes from others. If Government takes the $20,000 which would otherwise go into creating a new job, then it is defeating a tried and proved method of overcoming poverty in our land.

The full context of the editorial follows:

POVERTY WAR WEAPONS

It has been calculated that on an average in the United States, it takes about $20,000 invested capital to provide one job. That investment takes the form of land, buildings, equipment, and tools. The $20,000 per job figure indicates that something in the neighborhood of one-and-a-half trillion dollars has been invested in the 75 million jobs in this country. This total investment represents the savings of millions of our citizens, from the widow's mite to the tycoon's millions.

It would seem to an unbiased observer that the nation has been making a pretty relentless war on poverty throughout the 178 years since our Constitution ratified the private enterprise system. Starting with less than four million persons bunched along the Atlantic seaboard, our population has spread across a completely undeveloped country to the Pacific. Meanwhile, the population has increased to 200 million, enjoying the highest standard of living, and less poverty, than exists anywhere in the world. The reality of the situation is that even the poorest among us are more fortunate than a majority of the rest of the world's peoples.

This is not to say that something shouldn't be done about the poverty-stricken among us. But it is to point out that what is taxed from the "haves," to give to the "have-nots," as the President expressed it, will not be available as savings to be invested in the land, buildings and tools which provide jobs.

Small business bankruptcies are increasing at an alarming rate. A typical case in point is one reported recently by a CPA who liquidated a bankrupt business and found that "if the business had been able to retain what it paid over a 20-year period in *increases* in state and city taxes, and for outside accounting services in preparing necessary city, state and federal tax returns" it would still be in business and 23 persons would still be employed.

Note that the accountant did not mention what was paid in Federal taxes.

It comes to mind also that not long ago it was calculated that "featherbedding," in just two of our major industries—railroads and steel—was costing $400 million annually. That amount of money would create a lot of jobs.

So would that $114 billion in "foreign aid" which we have scattered abroad.

Government can give to some only what it takes from others. If Government takes the $20,000 which would otherwise go into creating a new job, then it is defeating a tried and proved method of overcoming poverty in our land.

Roland Prince McClamroch: The Completely Rounded Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1967

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an editorial from the Chapel Hill, N.C., Weekly of Wednesday, August 23, which relates to Mr. Roland Prince McClamroch, of Chapel Hill, who suffered a fatal heart attack on Sunday, August 20, at his summer home in Morehead City, N.C.

From 1961 through 1966, I had the pleasure of representing Orange County, in which the university town of Chapel Hill is located. During this period, Mr.

McClamroch was a constituent of mine, and he and his family were well and most favorably known to me. Another tie I had with Roland McClamroch was the fact that he was reared in Greensboro, my own hometown, where he was a member of a prominent Greensboro family.

His son, Sandy McClamroch, who is the mayor of Chapel Hill and the owner of the local radio station, is a close personal friend of mine, and I often had the pleasure of seeing him and both his parents in Chapel Hill and on other occasions throughout North Carolina. Mr. McClamroch's daughter, Anne, is married to a young but well-known specialist, Dr. Walter McFall, in the dental school of the university, so that he was fortunate in having his two children and all his grandchildren close at hand. I have, of course, previously expressed my deep sympathy to the family in the loss they sustained in Mr. McClamroch's passing.

Both Roland and Mrs. McClamroch were active in organizations for the preservation of our national resources and wildlife, and I have had the pleasure of attending functions with them here in Washington given by these organizations.

Roland McClamroch had a host of friends in North Carolina, and throughout the South and the Nation. The unusual nature and perceptiveness of this editorial about him, presenting an extraordinary picture of a man whose life combined a great variety of interest and achievements, are such that I felt it would be of interest to the Members of the House, as well as the members of my own delegation, and to the many friends of Mr. McClamroch who receive the daily copies of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

ROLAND PRINCE MCCLAMROCH, THE COMPLETELY ROUNDED MAN

Those close to him always called him "Skin." No one could recall exactly how the nickname had started—whether from skinny-dipping in boyhood days, because of a slender build in his youth, or what. Anyway, the nickname had stuck, and to close friends he was still "Skin" at seventy.

The nickname was not really descriptive—at least not in his prime. For Roland P. McClamroch was as close as most will ever come to being the completely-rounded man.

An astonishing variety of labels properly fits: scholar, teacher, soldier, civic leader, business leader, church leader, sportsman, conservationist, world traveler, lawmaker, patron of the arts, club man, family man. He was all of those, and they help to chart the course of his full rich life. But the labels define only the general outline.

A good friend of nearly fifty years standing remembered him as the most loyal man he had ever known—loyal to his own principles and beliefs, to church and family and friends, to democratic ideals and institutions, and to the proposition that life is to be lived and enjoyed.

"He was on the whole a relaxed and easy-going man," the old friend recalled. "He liked people and he was a wonderful person to be with. You could say he was a man who really enjoyed his life, every facet of it. He was a fine fisherman and an avid hunter. A good shot. I remember hunting ducks and geese with him. . . . But he also liked good books and good music. He was widely read and widely traveled. You know he had just returned from a world tour a few months ago. I understand he was an excellent teacher, but he wasn't blinded to everything outside his field the way some of them are. I might say here that he wouldn't have had any beatniks hanging around. He would have just told them to get the hell out. . . . He was one of the finest men I've ever known."

Another old friend told about his military service. "He was in the First World War, you know, in combat in France. He didn't have to go into service in World War Two, of course. At his age you didn't have to go. In fact, it was hard for anyone his age to get into uniform. But he was anxious and he worked at it and finally got in. He had a strong sense of duty.

"Another thing, he could write a beautiful letter. He could speak beautiful English, too. when he wanted to. But he was a mighty plain-spoken man sometimes. He would speak his mind. I've seen times when nobody else would say anything and Skin would speak right out. He didn't hesitate to say what ought to be said."

Roland McClamroch was a striking figure with his shock of white hair and a powerful aura of authority, dignity and well-being. None of his old friends made a point of it, but he was also a highly complex man; he had to be to reconcile a Ph. D. with service in the Legislature and an appreciation of fine arts with a tough business sense.

He was a man both loved and loving and it had to be expected that his death would bring with it an aching sense of loss. For whatever comfort might be in it, his life was as full and vital as anyone has a right to expect life to be, and our own lives are fuller for his having come this way.

The Kee Report: Ike and Truman on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this week's public service television and radio newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report pertains to the joint statement issued by former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower on Vietnam. The report follows:

THE KEE REPORT

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

Two former Presidents of the United States, one a Democrat and one a Republican, joined hands recently to perform a patriotic service for the people of the United States.

The former Presidents were Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Together, with more than 100 distinguished citizens, they issued a statement which gave the most effective and most compelling explanation of our involvement in the Vietnam war that has yet appeared in print.

This statement made plain that our purpose in Vietnam is to seek peace. Peace, including freedom. This statement emphasized once again that in opposing Communist expansion in Vietnam, the United States is doing exactly what it did when it halted the aggressions of Japan in the Orient, and Hitler in Germany, during World War II, and a few years later, the Communist aggression in Korea. The statement pointed out that all four post-war Presidents, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, have proclaimed America's basic purpose of defending freedom.

The signers of this declaration formed a special organization, called the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam. This is a non-partisan group and every citizen who desires to support his country's policy in Vietnam is welcome to join. Our goal in Vietnam was eloquently stated by the group in these words:

"Today, America is a great world power, shedding its blood and expending its treasure in a distant country for the simple privilege of withdrawing in peace, as soon as that country is guaranteed the effective right of self-determination. We ask nothing for ourselves and insist upon nothing for South Vietnam, except that it be free to chart its own future, no matter what course it may choose. Surely, this is a noble and worthy objective consistent with all that is best in American life and tradition."

Every effort to sound public opinion on Vietnam has indicated that the majority understand the reason for our involvement and approve our being there until the aggression ends. Yet, the shrill outcry of a minority has disrupted our domestic life and gravely injured the image of the United States in foreign lands.

Those who speak in opposition label themselves as dissenters. The right to dissent is sacred, no one disputes that fact. However, with the right to dissent goes the obligation to stay within the limits of candor, truth and fair play. Unfortunately, some of the most vocal dissenters have violated these rules of fair play time and time again.

A recent incident is a case in point. Secretary of State Dean Rusk warned of the danger involved, should the entire Continent of Asia come under the domination of Communist China. A howl of protest went up from the dissenters that the Secretary was raising the old cry of "yellow peril." Yet, for three years, these same critics have used this same tactic by threatening the American people with a nuclear war with Red China unless we turned tail and got out of Vietnam. And, may I add that this council of cowardice has been coming from those who were loudest in demanding war upon Hitler. There is a Commandment which says: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." I believe it is a good practice not to bear false witness against our country.

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower have warned that to abandon South Vietnam would mean abandoning the sacred cause of freedom. To abandon the sacred cause of freedom is not the American way of life.

Thank you for listening.

Veteran Leaders Support Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it has been most encouraging to me to witness a great upheaval of the aroused patriotic American citizens and from all across our lands hundreds of people have taken time to write me.

I was especially proud to receive a letter from Richard M. Weber, commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars post in Camarillo, Calif. It had this to say:

We condemn the short-sightedness and actual lawbreaking of certain citizens of our nation who would help the Communist International cause by their attitude towards the conflict now in Vietnam.

As Veterans of past overseas wars whose sons are now on the firing line, exposing themselves to privations and even death in the cause of Freedom, we pledged our sacred honor and all of our strength to help our government in every possible manner until peace is gained.

To you and our government leaders we say, "Stand Fast." We have confidence in our leaders. You have knowledge of all the facts. These we are sure will guide you.

We affirm our confidence in the military leadership as well and support them completely.

The Communist must not be permitted to take over in Vietnam or we will have to fight them in the future.

From Whitelaw, Wis., I received this from Reinard A. Holschbach, commander of the Manitowoc County VFW Council:

I have been disturbed at the vast number of people, both in and out of government, who are speaking out against the position of our government in Vietnam. I believe this problem has reached such proportions that if it is allowed to continue we might well lose the struggle in Vietnam here on the home front. History has already recorded that France lost the struggle in Vietnam because of the weakness on the home front.

The Manitowoc County Council VWF (1140 members) strongly supports the government position in Vietnam. Dissention is encouraging our enemy to continue to kill more of our fighting men. These men should be getting full support of the American people, but they aren't getting it. They believe in what they are doing, so they should be supported 100%.

Letters inform me of actions being taken to promote patriotism. One such good example came from John Russo, adjutant of the Disabled American Veterans post in Hibbing, Minn. Mr. Russo sent me a copy of the resolution their post passed supporting our Government, and to let the people know of their feelings. They paid for an advertisement in the Hibbing Daily Tribune of November 9. Here is what that resolution had to say:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the government of the United States, in carrying out its commitment to contain communism anywhere in the world, is involved in armed conflict in Vietnam, and

Whereas, the spread of communism presents eminent danger and a threat to the security of our people, and

Whereas, the mal-content within our Nation is trying to instill in the minds of our people an attitude of indifference and disrespect toward the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States and the Judiciary of this Nation, and

Whereas, an element of irresponsible or publicity seeking individuals are commiting acts which border on the verge of treason just for thrills and excitement, and

Whereas, the irresponsible element having lost all concept or patriotism and concern for the welfare of our people, do not realize that the Freedom they enjoy today was fought for and won by the blood and sweat of brave men and women in the years gone by, just as it is being fought for by our brave boys in Vietnam today, and

Whereas, we have brave, intelligent, high spirited young American boys who are faithfully doing their part to protect the institution of Freedom from communist aggression.

Therefore be it resolved, the Disabled American Veterans Chapter No. 3 of Hibbing, Minnesota in regular session Nov. 2, 1967 goes on record adopting the following resolution, To stand firmly behind the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, the Judiciary of this Nation in support of our government's foreign and domestic policies to suppress communist aggression and to give both moral and material support to our fighting men in Vietnam.

Unanimously adopted this 2nd day of November, 1967.

JOHN RUSSO, *Adjutant*.

Approved by John A. Johnson, Junior Vice Commander.

Debt Without Tears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, truth in interest on loans and credit has long been a subject of controversy in the Congress. My home State of Washington has taken a long step toward correcting this problem within the State.

There are other problems along this line, principally bankruptcy and garnishment regulations. The background of all of these problems, and Washington State's solution to at least one of them, have been outlined in an interesting article in Seattle magazine.

At this point I include in the RECORD that article, from the December 1967, issue of the magazine, as follows:

DEBT WITHOUT TEARS

(By James Halpin)

"'Tis the season to be jolly," goes the familiar carol, and each year when Christmas approaches, nobody rubs his hands with greater jollity than the unscrupulous money lender. Thanks to Santas and Shylocks, those patron saints of the season, more Americans will be deeper in debt by January 1st than at any time since the previous January 1st.

Here in Seattle, at least, something else will have happened by that date: Substitute Senate Bill 63, designed to protect borrowers not only from credit gougers but also from themselves, will have just gone into effect. This article is both a primer for sensible Christmas shopping and a preview of what lies ahead after New Year's.

Much of the blame—or credit, depending on your viewpoint—for launching the U.S. economy on its expansionist course is often assigned to a middle-aged ne'er-do-well named Isaac Merrit Singer, who assembled $40 in 1850 to start a sewing machine company. Singer had already failed miserably as an actor and as a mechanic; in fact, the only notable thing about him was his virility—Singer had fathered two dozen children, in and out of wedlock.

By all odds, his sewing machine should have been a flop too, for he was trying to sell it for $125 at a time when the average annual income of the American family was only $500. As it turned out, Singer came up with a solution that not only insured the success of his company, but revolutionized the American way of life.

He did so by introducing what was then called the "hire purchase" plan, under which the customer paid $5 down and $5 a month. Within a year, sales tripled, and shortly thereafter, Singer was selling more machines than all his competitors combined.

Businessmen were quick to emulate Singer, and the credit business has been booming ever since. Today, buying now and paying later is so popular that more than two-thirds of all purchases in some Seattle department stores are made on credit, while across the country, the average U.S. family has 20 per cent of its disposable income tied up in credit payments. Taken altogether, Americans are more than $300 billion in personal debt.

In many ways, credit buying has been a blessing, for, without it, the nation could never have achieved its high standard of living. Unfortunately, however, credit also has its dark side. The average American uses credit without really understanding what it is all about, and, as a result, he often ends up paying more than he should, or even being swindled. Some shoppers fall into a still worse trap—borrowing more than they can afford to pay back, and, as a result, they find themselves in a nightmare world from which there seems to be no exit.

Dire though the consequences may be, there is no doubt that more and more consumers *are* getting into debt way over their heads. In 1948, 1,800 bankruptcies were filed in the U.S.; by last year, this number had increased almost tenfold to 175,000, and, of these, a mere 16,000 were businesses.

Bankruptcy, however, is often the least painful outcome of deep financial difficulty. Many debtors are harassed by unscrupulous bill collectors who sometimes succeed in extorting larger payments than they are legally owed, while hundreds of thousands—some say millions—of debtors are subjected to harsh "garnishment" proceedings, which may not only cause serious financial hardship, but which often cost them their jobs.

In Washington State, creditors can slap a wage garnishment onto a worker's salary even before a court judgment is entered, and the garnishee's employer is thereby required to withhold the debtor's entire paycheck. (If the debt is more than $300, a creditor does have to post a bond roughly equal to the sum he is owed.) If, for example, the garnishment is for $30, and the employee's check is $200, the amount the employer must hold is $200. This is an expensive bother for the employer, who all too often will save himself a good deal of trouble by simply firing the employee. (The Boeing Company dismisses any employee who is served with more than one wage garnishment; the only exception to this policy is made when the employee's supervisor states he is essential to his job.)

Garnishment is certainly an efficient recourse for a creditor who has been "taken" by an unscrupulous buyer. It is, however, easily subject to misuse, and when used unethically, wage garnishment can be a most pernicious weapon. Some collection agencies, for instance, make a practice of adding charges for their services, even though many such charges have no legal basis, and then the debtor is terrified into meeting the payments by threats of garnishment.

Critics of the present garnishment laws make this additional point: Even if the garnished employee is not fired, he is frequently reduced to such poverty that legal aid to defend himself is beyond his means. Under the present law, he can exempt only $25 of his weekly wage if he is single; $35 a week if he is married; and $5 a week for each additional dependent, with a maximum exemption of $50. (Even these small exemptions are not automatic; the employee must appeal for them through legal channels and, moreover, continue to pay withholding tax and social security from the exempted amount.)

Often, the employee may not realize he is entitled to any exemptions at all. A pertinent example, which ended with shocking results, occurred last spring near Seattle after a 27-year-old shipyard worker had purchased a motorcycle on credit. Unable to meet the payments, he asked the seller to repossess the machine, which was still in good condition. Instead, the seller waited until all the due bills had piled up still further, then garnished *all* the shipyard worker's wages.

Unaware that he was entitled to draw $25 of his pay, and thinking himself reduced to starvation, the frightened debtor shot himself. His mother had to borrow $1,500 for the funeral.

Labor unions, incensed at such avoidable tragedies, are pushing for amendatory laws in the 1969 legislature. They may well ask that wage garnishment be abolished entirely, as it already has been in Texas and Florida. Failing that, union lobbyists will urge that exemptions be increased and made automatic; almost certainly, they will also demand that wages not be garnished until a court judgment is entered.

Much of the serious trouble that can attend credit buying comes from the sheer—and seemingly willful—ignorance on the part of consumers. Surprisingly few habitual borrowers seem to realize how much credit costs them. A 1955 survey of 311 midwest families, for example, showed that fully two-thirds of the respondents did not know the amount of the carrying charges—or the interest rate—on their most recent installment purchases. The report also indicated that most consumers believe the cost of installment buying is much lower than is actually the case.

Locally, these findings are corroborated by the credit manager of one of Seattle's largest department stores. "The only thing most customers want to know," he observes, "is how much the monthly payment is going to be."

Curiously enough, it is usually the better-educated, higher-income customers who are most likely to underestimate the cost of credit. One reason for this phenomenon has been given by William A. Hussong, general manager of the Navy Federal Credit Union. "The educated person," Hussong told a congressional committee, "while generally proficient in calculations involving rates of simple interest, has difficulty recognizing, let alone analyzing, the perverted rates spawned by the credit industry. On the other hand, the less-educated, low-income person, because of the frequency of his contact with the credit merchants, and because his easy payments usually represent a substantial portion of his paycheck, instinctively seems to have a greater awareness of credit cost."

Indeed, lending institutions have come up with fiendishly complicated ways of disguising the true annual interest rate, which is defined as the amount paid for the use of money over a one-year period. Generally, debt merchants use three confusing systems to calculate finance charges.

The add-on method. Here the debt merchant adds the finance charges to the loan. If, for example, you borrow $100 for a year, and the add-on rate is 6 per cent, you must pay back $106. However, if you pay the money back in monthly installments over a year's time, you will have a progressively smaller amount of the money to use each month; actually, averaged over the whole year, you will have the use of only about $50. In such a case, your true annual interest rate will have been 11.1 per cent—*not* six per cent, as the lender would have had you believe.

The 11.1 per cent annual interest cited in this example was arrived at by using the constant ratio method, which is one of the easiest ways to determine simple annual interest on installment contracts. Here is the formula:

$$r=\frac{2\,PC}{A\,(n+1)}$$

r = annual interest rate

P = the number of payment periods in one year, exclusive of the down-payment

C = the interest or finance charge in dollars

A = the amount borrowed

n = the number of equal installment payments in the whole contract period, exclusive of the down payment

In this particular case, the mathematics worked out as follows:

$$r=\frac{2\times12\times\$6}{\$100\times(12+1)}=\frac{144}{1,300}=11.1$$

The discount method.—Under this arrangement, the lender subtracts finance charges from the loan. Thus, if you borrow $100 at 6 per cent, the amount you receive is $94. At the end of 12 payments, you will have paid back $100—a lesser sum than with the add-on method, but only because you borrowed less. Actually, your true annual interest rate, as calculated by the constant ratio formula, is 11.8 per cent, or 0.7 *more* than with the add-on method.

Interest on the unpaid balance.—This method costs the least, assuming the rate is the same as for the add-on and discount methods. Here, the interest is calculated on the amount you still owe the merchant.

Under this system, to find the true annual interest rate, you multiply the monthly interest rate by 12 (for the number of monthly payments in a year). Thus, if your interest is 1 per cent per month, your true annual interest is 12 times that, or 12 per cent. To find out the dollar cost, you rearrange the constant ratio formula to read:

$$\frac{r\times A\,(n+1)}{2P}=C$$

$$\frac{12\times(\$100\times13)}{2\times12}=\$6.50$$

Fortunately for the consumer, legislators are finally starting to put curbs on these obfuscating methods. One of the most far-reaching of such curbs is Substitute Senate Bill 63, passed by Washington's 1967 legislature. According to such backers as the Washington State Labor Council and the Attorney General, John O'Connell, SSB 63 may well be the most stringent consumer protection law in the country—even though it applies only to the sale of consumer goods on credit, and not to lending institutions like banks and small loan companies.

Interestingly enough, the main foes of SSB 63 were not fly-by-night store operators, as might have been expected, but the powerful department store industry. Its opposition chiefly stemmed from the bill's disclosure provisions requiring that the true annual interest rate be printed in ten-point, bold face on all sales contracts.

(Customarily, contracts drawn up by department stores have stipulated that the interest is 1.5 per cent monthly on the declining balance, which works out to 18 per cent per annum. S. C. Patterson of New York, general credit manager for Penney's, summed up the objections of department store executives with startling frankness when he told this state's legislators how shocked the public would be to learn actual interest rates, and so any such revelation would probably slow down buying.)

The new bill in Washington State was opposed by other powerful lobbies; indeed, it might never have passed the Senate without support from an unexpected source—the usually conservative Senator, Perry Woodall of Toppenish.

Both an attorney and a grape-grower, Woodall had long been incensed at unscrupulous door-to-door salesmen who had been fleecing the Mexican farm laborers in his county by selling them shoddy, overpriced goods on contract. In part, Woodall's concern resulted from a comical encounter between his own 85-year-old father and a magazine salesman.

After failing to convince Woodall's father to take out a single subscription, the salesman produced a form which supposedly recorded all his house-calls. He explained that his payments were based on the number of calls he made, even when no sales occurred, and asked the elder Woodall to sign the form. A bedrock Baptist with poor eyesight, Mr. Woodall cheerfully complied—not realizing that he was actually signing a blank check for a 15-year subscription to *Playboy*.

With Woodall's enthusiastic help, SSB 63 passed the Senate unopposed. At that juncture, however, the bill failed to specify that the total annual interest rate, as opposed to monthly payment schedules, must be stated on conditional sales contracts. Even so, the bill got into trouble in the House of Representatives.

SSB 63 got bottled up there by Representative Harold E. Wolf, chairman of the business committee. Reacting angrily, lobbyists for organized labor took the unusual step of appealing directly to House majority leader, Republican Slade Gorton of Seattle. To labor's surprise, Gorton not only ordered the bill out of the business committee, but also backed a disclosure amendment, which passed by a vote of 52–42, with five abstentions. The next day the Senate concurred in the amended version.

In addition to requiring that the true annual interest rate be shown on all conditional sales contracts, SSB 63 guarantees the credit buyer these further protections:

A limit of 18 per cent per annum is set on retail installment contracts and revolving credit accounts. (The current usury law limits charges on cash loans from banks—but not from pawnbrokers or finance companies licensed under the Small Loan Act—to 12 per cent annually, but does not cover installment credit.) Until January 1, the merchant in these fields can charge as much interest as the traffic will bear. One legislative inquiry into credit practices uncovered the case of a used-car lot in south King County which was charging a buyer 144 per cent annual interest on his automobile.

After January 1, the buyer has 24 hours to change his mind on sales contracts signed in the home, provided he does not take immediate delivery of the goods. (This regulation is aimed mainly at door-to-door salesmen who high-pressure customers into buying products or services which they cannot afford. One of the most appalling of such cases occurred last summer when a home repair salesman fast-talked a 60-year-old Seattle woman, who was paralyzed from the waist down, into signing up for $1,200 worth of renovations on her small home. A few minutes after the razzle-dazzle salesman left, the woman realized she was incapable of meeting the payments because her sole source of income was $110 from social security, out of which $50 went for her mortgage. She immediately telephoned the home repair company and begged that her contract be cancelled. The response came fast: The woman was sued for $800 for breach of contract.)

Under the new bill, a buyer who has purchased defective merchandise has not only the right to defense against any third party, such as a bank or finance company, to whom the merchant has sold the sales contract, but he may even initiate legal proceedings against that third party—a strategy which may be more advantageous than waiting to be sued for payment. In the past, it was often useless for the buyer to complain to the merchant—who, after all, already had his money—nor could the buyer withhold payment from the third party unless he was prepared to face collection proceedings.

If service charges are excessive, SSB 63 permits the buyer to sue. (Before, the buyer's only out was to withhold payments and wait for the seller to initiate legal proceedings. These usually included a garnishment, and many buyers preferred to pay off rather than undergo that humiliation.)

The new law goes further and establishes a system of penalties for excessive service charges. (The debt merchant who overcharges must pay the buyer twice the amount of the excessive interest paid, *plus* the flat amount of the excessive interest contracted for but unpaid.)

From here on in, the buyer is entitled to a copy of the retail installment contract at the time he signs such a document. (This proviso is aimed at unscrupulous merchants, particularly some used-car salesmen, who induce customers to sign blank contracts and later fill in costs and interest rates at outrageous levels.)

If suit is brought against the buyer by the seller, the trial must be held in the county where the contract was signed, or whre the buyer lives—a proviso which is not explicit at present and which may depend on the wording of the individual contract.

The buyer may receive a new payment schedule if he is unable to meet a "balloon" payment that is more than double the average amount of the preceding installments.

Finally, SSB 63 provides a formula for allocating consolidation payments between old and new purchases.

Lately, evidence has mounted that the credit industry, alarmed by the passage of this bill and the drive to abolish wage garnishment abuses, is beginning to see the necessity of cleaning up its own house. Lending institutions, for example, have been tightening up on credit to customers already deeply in debt. Moreover, the Seattle Consumer Credit Association is working on a plan for providing free counsel to customers with debt problems. (Legal Services, Inc., which is mainly funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, already provides this service, but only to persons with annual incomes of $2,500 or less.)

Such indications of concern—and even occasionally of conscience—from within the industry are most encouraging, for it is the purveyors of cash and credit themselves who can best terminate the flagrant abuses in this immensely important industry. No measures, however, can begin to compare with elementary education on the part of the borrower.

The old cry of *caveat emptor* still holds true—and it is only by learning what they are getting into when they get into debt that shoppers can confidently set off on another annual binge of Christmas shopping.

WHERE TO GET CREDIT

Failing to shop widely for credit can be an expensive oversight, since interest rates vary widely among the four main types of retail credit presently available.

Simple charge accounts

If a customer pays off his account in full within 30 days, (or, in some stores, 90 days), there is no interest charge; thereafter, a charge is usually made of one to one-and-a-half per cent per month.

Revolving charge accounts

The "revolving" charge account permits a customer to maintain a continuing debt—usually up to $300—while making regular monthly payments. As a rule, the interest works out to around 18 per cent a year.

Installment purchase plans

Until January 1, there will continue to be no ceiling on the amount of interest which merchants can build into installment contracts; thereafter, the limit will be fixed by law at 18 per cent annually.

Bank credit cards

Bank cards (Seattle, March, 1967) enable the holder to make credit purchases in participating stores and to borrow cash from the issuing bank. By paying in full within 25 days after being billed, a card holder will avoid an interest charge of one per cent per month—or 12 per cent per year.

WHERE TO GET CASH

Cash should be shopped for just as carefully as credit. As in the case of credit, four principal sources exist, and their interest rates are no less variable.

Credit unions

Generally speaking, credit unions, which are non-profit organizations, are the safest and cheapest sources of small cash loans. The usual interest charge is one per cent per month on the unpaid balance.

Banks

Usury laws restrict the interest that banks may charge on cash loans to 12 per cent a year, but unlike credit unions, banks are seldom anxious to make loans of less than $500. The holder of a bank credit card, however, is automatically elegible for a cash loan of any amount up to $300.

Loan companies

Borrowing from a loan company is an expensive way to get cash, since under the Small Loan Act, it may charge 3 per cent per month on the unpaid balance of a loan under $300.

Pawn shops

Pawnbrokers may also charge interest as high as 36 per cent annually, and they are thus as costly a source of cash as loan companies. Moreover, pawning automatically means surrendering possession of an item whose value is apt to be two or three times as great as the amount of money being borrowed.

New Mexico Receives New Weights and Measures Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an event which took place in my home State, New Mexico, last Friday. A new set of weights and measures standards was formally presented to the State by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Eventually, the Department will be replacing the standards of all 50 States; New Mexico is the sixth on the list.

We are proud to be up near the top of that list. One of the criteria for setting the order in which the States are being presented these standards is that the State must have laboratory facilities and trained personnel of high caliber so as to get the most out of the new standards. The position of New Mexico in the list is eloquent testimony to the professionalism of its weights and measures people.

The weights and measures standards of a State are a major resource to its industry and commerce. Measurement is fundamental to scientific research, to all the operations of production, to all the channels of trade. In the space age, we find that some of the standards being used by the States are over a hundred years old. They cannot be relied on in accuracy or uniformity to the extent that we require today. It is for this reason that the Department of Commerce is replacing all the State standards over the next few years. The standards cost the Federal Government $70,000 per set, including the calibration of the standards, installation of equipment, and training of laboratory personnel in its handling.

I think this is a sound investment on the part of the United States. It will pay dividends in the form of improved efficiency and effectiveness in State and national commerce for many years to come.

I insert in the RECORD, for the information of my fellow Congressmen, the text of the Department of Commerce announcement of the presentation ceremony, as follows:

NEW MEXICO RECEIVES NEW WEIGHTS AND MEASURES STANDARDS

On Friday, December 8, New Mexico will become the sixth State to receive new weights and measures standards under a program to replace the standards of all 50 States.

Malcolm W. Jensen, Director of the Office of Weights and Measures of the U.S. Department of Commerce's National Bureau of Standards, will present one new set of weights and measures standards to New Mexico State officials in a ceremony at New Mexico State University in University Park.

Many of the standards and instruments used by the States in weights and measures administration were provided by the Federal Government 100 years ago or more. The National Bureau of Standards is supervising replacement of the State standards to update and extend measurement competence throughout the Nation, as required by scientific and technological advances. Standards have previously been presented to Ohio, Illinois, Oregon, Utah, and California. Within the next few months sets will be presented to Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

It is expected that new standards and instruments will be provided to about 10 States per year until all State standards facilities have been modernized.

Each new set includes standards of mass (weight), length, and volume and necessary laboratory instruments, including high precision balances, all specially designed to meet State weights and measures requirements. Each set costs the Federal Government about $70,000, including calibration, installation, and training of laboratory personnel. The State contribution to the program, in the form of new or expanded laboratory facilities and better qualified personnel, will be considerably more than the Federal cost.

Measurement uniformity among the States began in 1836 when Congress authorized the Federal Government to supply each State with ". . . a complete set of weights and measures adopted as standards—to the end that a uniform standard of weights and measures may be established throughout the United States."

In the United States, the actual regulation of weighing and measuring equipment in commerce is retained largely by the States. The National Bureau of Standards is the principal technical resource for the States in this area.

Asian Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a United States-Soviet Union collaboration to construct a 6,250 mile trans-Asian railroad line connecting Saigon and Istanbul at an estimated cost of $10 billion is noteworthy.

One might wonder how much this program will cost Mr. and Mrs. U.S. Taxpayer.

Can a railroad be designed and constructed only for passenger travel without being able to accommodate troop trains and military equipment?

The limited information appears in the Travel Agent magazine for November 6, 1967, and was reported in part in the November 25 New York Times.

I include the story from the Travel Agent magazine, as follows:

RAIL GROUP AGREES ON PLAN TO BUILD TRANS-ASIAN LINE

BANGKOK.—A plan to build a 6,250-mile trans-Asian passenger railroad line connecting Saigon and Istanbul was approved here by a group of railway officials from 14 countries.

The group, attending a meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, stressed that the transcontinental rail link project is a long-term one.

Preliminary plans call for a routing of the line through Phnom Penh, Bangkok, Calcutta, New Dehli, Rawalpindi, Karachi, Tehran, Baghdad, Aleppo and Ankara.

A group of Japanese business leaders claimed that the rail line could be laid in 20 years at a total cost of $10 billion. Japanese engineers believe it is possible to build the proposed line on the pattern of the high-speed Tokyo-Osaka Tokaido line by means of superexpress trains. At the present average speed of the Tokaido line, the trans-Asian journey would take about 60 hours. The entire trip, from Saigon to Istanbul, would cost an estimated $180.

Included in the railway group were representatives from the U.S., Soviet Union, Japan, Great Britain, France, West-Germany and Australia, as well as various Asian nations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., October 3, 1967.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RARICK: I note that in your remarks printed in the Congressional Record of September 26, 1967, you questioned our policy of allowing communist shipping to pass freely to North Vietnamese ports. You said that these ships were carrying massive tonnages of munitions to be used against our troops in South Viet-Nam. You also asked why we do not blockade North Viet-Nam and close its ports by mining.

In our efforts to reduce North Vietnamese support of the Viet Cong in South Viet-Nam we keep under continuous review proposals to reduce the usefulness of the ports of Haiphong to the Communists. To date it has not appeared advisable to blockade or mine the harbor. Such measures would constitute direct action against shipping of third countries and would increase the risk of spreading the war.

We continue to believe that the gains would not be worth the risk. Our intelligence indicates that virtually all weapons and munitions delivered to North Viet-Nam are transported by rail rather than by ship. Of course, the goods which the Soviet Union and other communist countries ship to North Viet-Nam by sea indirectly aid the North Vietnamese war effort. But as you know, we have been attacking facilities in and near Haiphong such as oil storage tanks, rail yards, power plants and bridges. These attacks have markedly reduced the port's effectiveness in supporting North Viet-Nam's war effort with minimal danger of spreading the war. At the same time we have been attacking the rail and road routes from Communist China which are carrying war materials into North Viet-Nam from the USSR and Eastern Europe as well as from China itself.

I hope this information will help explain the basis for our policy with respect to communist shipping to North Viet-Nam.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Farm Bureau for Commitment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the New York Times today is an article which states that "Our Nation's largest farm organization, by resolution has called for 'a total National commitment' to win the war in Vietnam." I mention this only because I think it is significant because the American Farm Bureau Federation has never before taken a stand on this issue. Heretofore the Farm Bureau had limited itself to an expression of gratitude to our troops serving in Vietnam.

Delegates to the 49th annual convention of this large farm organization adopted a resolution declaring:

> The Vietnam war requires a total National commitment if we are to complete as rapidly as possible the difficult task of stopping aggression, restoring order and permitting the properly constituted government established by self-determination to function.

The chairman of the subcommittee that drafted the Bureau's resolution stated afterward in an interview that he believed efforts to win the war in Vietnam must be speeded. It is noteworthy that delegates from 49 States approved the resolution without dissent.

Closely akin to the foregoing resolution was another adopted by the Farm Bureau which stated:

> We condemn the action of those who incite or participate in riots, defile the flag or burn draft cards.

The resolution continued on to state:

> We recognize the right of citizens to dissent, but protests and demonstrations should not interfere with the rights of others and must not be permitted to deteriorate into civil disorder.

Whether one classes himself as a hawk or a dove, there is no possible way to quarrel with the content of this last resolution adopted by the Farm Bureau.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have not always been in agreement with the Farm Bureau Federation because of its attitude toward Government farm programs that are in the nature of subsidies designed to limit production. But I am in full and complete agreement with the organization when they call for reduction in nondefense spending, not only as a curb on inflation, but as evidence of a sacrifice to permit swifter prosecution of the war. There is no better way that I know of than to put the issue in the words of their resolution which declared:

> We oppose any increase in taxes which is not matched by a prior and equivalent reduction in Government expenditures.

Juan T. Trippe—1967 Winner of the Hubbard Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, The Hubbard Gold Medal is a coveted award offered since 1906 by the National Geographic Society to men and women of outstanding accomplishments in the fields of research, exploration, and discovery.

Although the Hubbard Medal is 61 years old, it has been awarded only 22 times, so discriminating is the choice of a recipient.

I am happy to report that the 1967 winner of the Hubbard Award is a famous man who has some famous roots in the great State of Maryland—Juan T. Trippe, board chairman of Pan American World Airways.

In being given this signal honor by Chief Justice Warren in behalf of the National Geographic Society, Juan Trippe joins some illustrious predecessors, in addition to Robert E. Peary, the discoverer of the North Pole and the first recipient, and including Roald Amundsen, Adm. Richard E. Byrd, Lincoln Ellsworth, Charles A. Lindbergh, and the late, great Air Force general, Henry H. "Hap" Arnold.

Although Mr. Trippe is not a native of Maryland, his ancestors on both sides came from the Free State, and there is still a rugged stream churning through our countryside known as Trippe's Creek. We in Maryland are equally proud of Pan American World Airways as we are of Mr. Trippe and their collective accomplishments.

It was before World War II, Mr. President, that Pan American operated its famous clipper ships out of Baltimore and it was in 1958 when Pan American inaugurated international service from Friendship Airport to Latin and South America via daily operations to San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Best describing the accomplishments of Mr. Trippe and his great brainchild, Pan American, are the words of Chief Justice Warren:

> The Hubbard Medal shows an eagle taking wing at sunrise. It is a highly appropriate symbol for tonight's occasion, because the sun never sets on the great jet fleet of Pan American World Airways. Guided by Mr. Trippe, who serves Pan Am as Chairman of the Board, the airline links the United States with 84 nations on six continents.
>
> Our Medalist pioneered this vast network of air routes. When Juan Trippe founded Pan Am more than 40 years ago, international travel was limited to a privileged few. Long-distance air travel did not exist.
>
> It was a great moment in the history of world transportation when Pan Am inaugurated overseas air travel in 1927 with a 90-minute flight from Key West to Havana.
>
> It was a short hop by today's standards, but Mr. Trippe had a dream. He envisioned an American flag carrier that would overcome ocean barriers. He imagined vast,

busy highways in the sky to join distant peoples in good will and profitable trade.

The dream required revolutionary aircraft. Thus Mr. Trippe commissioned Igor Sikorsky to build a safe, comfortable multi-engine flying boat.

Now air routes leaped southward across the Caribbean to South America. Airports were carved from jungle wilderness. Navigation and weather stations rose on barren mountain slopes. By 1934, Pan American Clippers served every country in Latin America.

The time was ready for the conquest of the oceans. Not only by bold men making lonely solo flights in flimsy airplanes, but by workaday planes carrying passengers like you and me.

Charles Lindbergh, an earlier Hubbard Medalist, helped accomplish this miracle by joining Pan Am as a technical advisor in 1928. He still holds that post today.

In 1931, Mr. Trippe dispatched Colonel Lindbergh and his wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, on an unprecedented survey flight to the Orient. Two years later, the Lindberghs again soared aloft to survey the North Atlantic. For her service as co-pilot and radio operator on the flight, Mrs. Lindbergh received the 1934 Hubbard Medal.

The Lindbergh flights, daring at the time, resolved many of the technical problems facing pilots destined to span the oceans in the mighty clippers being built to Pan Am specifications.

Mr. Trippe looked confidently to the Far East. Desolate coral islands in the Pacific were transformed into way stations for transoceanic travelers. Those tiny inns on Midway, Wake, and Guam were probably the first Inter-Continental Hotels.

On November 22, 1935, Mr. Trippe proudly watched his first China Clipper rise majestically from San Francisco bound for Manila.

You will recall that the National Geographic Society played its own part in the aerial conquest of the Pacific Ocean. The beloved Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert H. Grosvenor were the first couple to fly the entire transpacific route from San Francisco to Hong Kong as paying passengers.

Pan Am's growing fleet turned to the Atlantic. The famed flying boat Yankee Clipper made a dramatic first flight in 1939 from Port Washington, Long Island, to Lisbon.

Juan Trippe, a pioneer at heart, never rested on his laurels. In 1940 the Boeing 307 went into service as the first pressurized land plane on regular flights. Pan Am surveyed and established new air routes between Seattle and Juneau, Alaska, and from Los Angeles to Auckland.

The National Geographic Society and Pan American World Airways joined forces for the Mount McKinley Flight Expedition. This adventure gave Americans their first bird's-eye view of Alaska's awesome mountains.

From a Pan Am Lockheed monoplane, expedition leader Bradford Washburn looked down on Mount McKinley. It was, he reported, "the world's mightiest precipice . . . one stupendous cliff plunging to the plains 17,000 feet below."

World War II halted aerial exploration, but it accelerated progress in aviation. Pan Am trained military crews in long-range flying techniques. The airline ferried troops and cargo to hazardous battle zones. Pan Am, in working with the military, demonstrated the value of a powerful United States air merchant marine.

After the war, Mr. Trippe resumed his unique role in American commercial aviation with new zeal. By 1947 Pan Am girdled the globe with regularly scheduled round-the-world flights.

The introduction of jet aircraft heightened Mr. Trippe's old dream of making air travel attractive to all peoples. Accordingly, in 1955, Mr. Trippe startled the aviation world with an order for American-built jet transports. Four years later, Pan Am inaugurated America's first overseas jet service with the historic flight of a Boeing 707 from New York to Paris.

Early this year, a Pan Am jet made the first fully automatic approach and landing in the United States on a routine flight with paying passengers.

For more than four decades, Juan Trippe has led Pan Am and, indeed, the entire American aircraft industry across new frontiers in transportation. Facilities that both the airlines and public now take for granted were fantastic innovations when Mr. Trippe introduced them.

Mr. Trippe's daring shattered the shackles of time and distance in travel; he has helped give man a new awareness of his planet. On behalf of all members of the National Geographic Society throughout the world, I take special pride in handing to Mr. Trippe the Hubbard Gold Medal. It bears this citation:

"To Juan T. Trippe, In recognition of his extraordinary contributions to geography and exploration through the development of new air routes across the continents and oceans of the world and a lifetime of service to the air and science of aviation."

I might add, Mr. President, that Mr. Trippe's response to the glowing words of the Chief Justice was typical of him and his modest nature. He thanked the National Geographic Society for the award not only for himself but in behalf of the many thousands of dedicated Pan American employees around the world.

Double Jeopardy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Havre de Grace Record, edited by Dr. Henry Winter, has just published a thoughtful editorial concerning the surtax proposal, which I should like to share with my colleagues, as follows:

DOUBLE JEOPARDY

People generally are decisively opposed to imposition of the ten per cent surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes. Congressional opposition to it reflects public sentiment. Against this stands administration pressure for passage of the surtax measure.

Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, has expressed the belief that representative government may face a breakdown unless Congress acts quickly to raise taxes. Certainly, there is general agreement that anything approaching a $29 or $30 billion deficit would leave the economy demoralized. Spiraling inflation and sky-high interest rates would probably precipitate wage and price control measures with all that implies in terms of dislocation of production and disruption of free market procedures.

The House Ways and Means Committee, which must approve the surtax or a modification of it, for presentation to Congress, has held out for assurances that deep spending cuts will be made. To most people, this makes eminently good sense. It may be argued that representative government faces a breakdown unless an increase in taxes is approved. It is equally valid to observe that the same breakdown may occur unless means can be found to control effectively the unlimited growth in government and expansion in public spending.

General de Gaulle and the Battle of the Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, France and the United States of America have maintained close and cordial relations from the inception of our Republic down to the present day. Frenchmen played a major role in the American Revolution. For our part, we sent millions of men to fight and die in the trenches of France during World War I and it was largely American power which enabled the Allies to drive Hitler's legions from French soil during World War II.

Gen. Charles de Gaulle, now the myopic President of France, was almost literally carried into Paris on the backs of American troops on August 25, 1944. Oh, yes, it is true that the commanders of the Allied Expeditionary Force held back most of the U.S. Army's forces in the vicinity of Paris so that General de Gaulle could enter that noble city with the American-equipped 2d French Armored Division. This entrance, however, was merely symbolic. General de Gaulle's forces were small in number and woefully inadequate to the task of driving the Germans from French soil.

However, the British and the Americans allowed General de Gaulle to return to the French capital as the conquering hero. It was an appropriate gesture intended to assist France to regain a portion of the self-respect which it had lost following its ignominious defeat at the hands of the Germans in 1940.

Yes, it was an appropriate gesture. But it apparently served only to expand the ego of a General de Gaulle who has now become the vainglorious wrecker of the Western Alliance.

General de Gaulle, out of a motivation which hardly befits a rational man, has now announced his intention to do everything possible to destroy the cordiality and respect which have existed between France and the United States of America for almost two centuries.

I do not say that France is our enemy. But I do say that France under De Gaulle is no longer our friend.

President de Gaulle's continuing effort to destroy the stability of the dollar is a well-documented fact. I am confident Charles de Gaulle is not going to succeed in his efforts to undermine the value and strength of the dollar as an international currency. This is true for two major reasons: First, most of the nations of the free world are refusing to cooperate in President de Gaulle's plot; and, second, France in reality is a minipower in every respect.

Since France is conducting a war against the dollar, I believe it is time for the United States of America to take countermeasures.

Specifically, I believe that the United States should demand payment by France of its debts to this country.

France owes the United States roughly $300 million for World War II and postwar advances from this country. Additionally, France owes the United States $6,850 million in principal and interest for advances made by this country during World War I.

France's record for repayment of its World War II and postwar indebtedness is good. However, the French have welshed on most of their World War I indebtedness to the United States.

France made payments of principal and interest on its World War I debts up to June 15, 1931. The United States, in an effort to improve Europe's economic health, granted a 1-year moratorium on World War I obligations during the 1931–32 period. On December 14, 1932, the French Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution which "deferred" the interest payment due the next day. The French have welshed on their World War I debt to the United States since that date.

Let me make one point very clear: France owes the United States $6,850 million in principal and interest on its World War I debt. France is legally obligated to pay this sum to the United States. I believe it is time that the Government of the United States of America demand that President Charles de Gaulle honor French obligations.

In taking this position I am, of course, following the lead of my friend and colleague, Congressman Lester L. Wolff. The gentleman from New York has performed an outstanding service to his country by fully airing, in recent weeks, the fact that France is indebted to the United States and that France has failed to honor this obligation, while at the same time it engages in activities calculated to do great injury to the interests of the United States and the rest of the free world.

New Fiscal Policy Needed To Defuse the Time Bomb

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a tabulation which lists the 112 new programs, to which I previously refer, in chronological order, so that students of governmental fiscal policy can see that most of these activities were initiated during the Kennedy and Johnson administration. This is the second of a series of three inserts regarding Federal expenditures.

NEW PROGRAMS, FISCAL 1956 TO FISCAL 1968, INCLUSIVE

[In millions of dollars]

Programs	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967[1]	1968[1]
Food for freedom	121	156	1,195	1,120	1,230	1,653	1,398	1,779	1,704	1,641	1,785	1,710	1,799
Urban renewal programs	18	38	56	75	105	145	227	173	235	324	357	412	469
College housing loans	5	97	165	180	201	198	227	284	219	221	312	−253	−1,262
Construction grants, waste treatment works	--------	1	17	36	40	44	42	52	66	70	82	86	152
Libraries and community services	--------	5	6	5	7	9	8	8	7	26	41	55	145
Grants-in-aid for airports	--------	9	34	51	56	64	57	51	65	71	54	54	59
Construction of health research facilities	--------	3	12	23	26	22	31	36	38	34	26	38	38
Urban planning grants	--------	1	2	2	3	3	7	12	15	17	20	22	30
National Library of Medicine	--------	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	13	25
Great Plains conservation program	--------	(²)	2	5	8	9	9	10	12	13	14	16	17
Emergency conservation measures	--------	1	2	3	1	1	9	3	3	10	13	13	13
Public works planning fund	--------	1	2	4	5	5	8	6	7	8	9	12	10
Space research and technology	--------	--------	89	145	401	744	1,257	2,552	4,171	5,093	5,933	5,600	5,300
Forest protection and utilization	--------	--------	94	117	130	156	190	198	204	216	226	259	242
National Defense Education Act:													
Higher educational activities	--------	--------	--------	78	129	73	97	117	135	158	219	257	100
Elementary and secondary activities	--------	--------	--------			54	54	49	70	68	122	144	72
Other aids to education	--------	--------	--------			17	31	33	35	44	5	6	4
Educational improvement for the handicapped	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	1	1	2	3	14	15	25	40
Subscription to International Development Association	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	74	62	62	62	62	--------	59	122
Research and training, education	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	3	4	5	8	13	20	50	67
Agency for International Development	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	40	49	53	52	52	57	65	65
Agricultural Research Service (foreign currency)	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	3	4	5	7	7	7	10
Office of Field Services	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	5
Cooperative demonstration programs, welfare	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	1	1	1	1	1	2	4
Development loans, revolving fund	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	11	402	567	641	627	660	650
Alliance for Progress development loans	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	74	116	113	202	291	450	450
Peace Corps	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	11	42	60	79	94	100	112
Alliance for Progress development grants	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	71	95	94	98	99	88	88
Water supply and water pollution control	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	15	23	28	31	35	36	68
Open space land programs	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	(²)	5	6	8	29	58
Air pollution control	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	6	10	13	16	21	28	50
Chronic diseases	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	10	16	39	51	54	79	47
Satellite operations	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	10	10	22	27	24	37
Nursing services and resources	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	7	8	10	14	13	18	17
Statistical Reporting Service	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	8	10	11	12	14	14	14
Scientific activities overseas	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	1	3	4	5	7	12
National health statistics	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	4	5	6	6	6	8	10
U.S. Travel Service	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	3	3	2	3	3	4
Manpower development and training	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	52	110	230	276	276	295
Food stamp program	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	20	30	34	70	138	193
Civil supersonic aircraft development	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	7	5	48	99	170	90
Assistance to refugees in the United States	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	53	43	32	30	43	51
Research and training (foreign currency program)	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	(²)	(²)	1	1	2
Public works acceleration	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	63	332	322	88	38	--------
National Institute, Child Health-Human Development	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	19	28	37	52	55
Educational television facilities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	3	5	8	20
American schools and hospitals abroad	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	5	8	12	11	14
Biologics standards	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	4	4	5	7	7
Foreign language training and area studies	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	1	2	2	3
Rural renewal	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	1	1	2	2
Economic opportunity program	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	194	988	1,553	1,839
Urban mass transportation	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	11	19	56	110
Land and water conservation	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	13	58	102
Rehabilitation loan fund	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	2	11	22
Economic opportunity loan fund	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	17	30	27	21
Civil rights educational activities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	5	8	21
Coordination and development of programs for aging	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	2	8	17
Resource conservation and development	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	2	4	7
Watershed planning	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	5	6	7	6
Appalachian region conservation program	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(²)	1	7	4
Educational assistance, elementary-secondary	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	815	1,244	1,423
Higher education activities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	154	545	807
National Institute of General Medical Sciences	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	32	126	130
Cropland adjustment program	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	6	63	90
Appalachian development highway system	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	9	42	81
Development facilities grants	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	23	59

Footnotes at end of table.

NEW PROGRAMS, FISCAL 1956 TO FISCAL 1968, INCLUSIVE—Continued

[In millions of dollars]

Programs	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967[1]	1968[1]
Regional medical programs	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	8	37
Rural water and waste disposal grants	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	41	30
Supplemental grants-in-aid	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	22	22
National Teacher Corps	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	8	21
Higo-speed ground transportation	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	11	20
Environmental health sciences	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	10	17	18
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	8	15
Technical and community assistance	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	6	20	11
Appalachian mining area restoration	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	2	11
Office of State Technical Services, grants	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	4	8
Urban researco and technology	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	1	8
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	3	6	7
Cropland conversion program	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	3	5
Solid waste disposal, mines	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	1	5
Aid for commercial fisheries, research	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	3	4
Regional economic planning	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	6	1
Grants for local development districts	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	2	1
Arts and humanities educational activities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	1	1
Payment, health insurance for the aged	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	950	931
Comprehensive city demonstration programs	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	6	150
Grants for basic water and sewer facilities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	40	110
Comprehensive health planning and services	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	5	88
Health manpower education and utilization	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	13	72
Grants for neighborhood facilities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	3	15
Asian Development Bank	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	10	10
Economic development center assistance	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	6
Rural housing for domestic farm labor	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	6	4
Higher education for international understanding	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(2)	4
Packers and Stockyards Act	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	3	3
Great Lakes fisheries conservation	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	1
Improvements in cash assistance, welfare	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	58
Industrial development loans, guarantees	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	58
Economic development facilities	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	56
Improvements in child health, welfare	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	33
Economic development assistance	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	20
Expansion of Partnership for Health	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	20
Planning, technical assistance, and research	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	17
Indian program improvement	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	15
Repair and reconstruction of highways	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	15
Metropolitan development incentive grants	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	7
Chamizal Memorial Highway	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	4
Desalting plant construction	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	4
Preservation of historic properties	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2
Urban information and technical assistance	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	2
Community development training programs	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1
Underground power transmission research	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	1
Total 112 new programs	144	313	1,677	1,846	2,344	3,320	3,997	6,432	8,634	10,296	13,365	15,932	16,542

[1] Estimated.

[2] Less than $500,000.

Note: Columns will not necessarily add to totals, due to rounding.

Shrapnel Kills Sgt. A. L. Winston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Alvester L. Winston, a soldier from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

SHRAPNEL KILLS SGT. A. L. WINSTON—COMBAT MEDIC, 19, WAS IN VIETNAM 4 MONTHS

Sgt. Alvester L. Winston, a 19-year-old native of Richmond who grew up near Gwynns Falls Park, has died in Vietnam of shrapnel wounds, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The sergeant's mother, Mrs. Richard E. Lewis, of 4015 Cranston avenue, said her son had been in Vietnam four months.

She said Army representatives told her that Sergeant Winston "was wounded by shrapnel from a bomb" and died two weeks later at the 3d Surgical Hospital.

WAS A MEDIC

Mrs. Lewis said her son was "in combat" as "a medic" with an infantry company.

He attended Edmondson High School through the tenth grade.

Mrs. Lewis said her son played basketball while at Edmondson.

She said he worked briefly for an automobile dealer washing cars before enlisting in the Army. "He was only 19 last week and would have been in Vietnam exactly four months next week," she said.

Sergeant Winston is survived by his mother and by his step-father, Richard E. Lewis.

In Arlington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, there are still a few Americans who, instead of maligning our Nation's dead, are proud enough to honor them. When so many who protest seemingly ignore those who have been killed in wars as they are so busy shouting for peace, some individuals remember that no matter the war, no matter the controversy, those killed still fought for our Nation's greatness.

Gordon Hawkins, a constituent of mine from Orlando, Fla., writes poems of a patriotic nature and is not ashamed of doing so. He is honored to write about America. He has inspired others through his poems, and for this reason, I include his stirring poem, "In Arlington," a tribute to our veterans which was published in the Springfield Union, Springfield, Mass., in the RECORD:

IN ARLINGTON

In Arlington our sacred dead
Sleep endlessly—the measured tread
Of honor guards the only sound
That breaks across that hallowed ground.
And there, is endless row on row
Of stones inscribed, that mutely show
Where each, our nation's heroes sleep
While the slow moving ages creep
Across the boundless void of space.

But one there is within that place
A monument that gives no name
No hint of glory or of fame
No date of battle, birth or age
Or what he wrote on history's page.
A monument that stands alone
In tribute to a man unknown—
The Unknown Soldier, who shall be
A Constant symbol to the Free
Of all the heroes of this land:
They who have died on foreign strand
They who have died in far flung seas
Or the wide skies immensities
All who have given in trial and pain
Their lives for this their country's gain.

In Arlington the honored dead
Sleep endlessly—the measured tread
Of honor guards the only sound
That breaks across that hallowed ground.
Except for the soft whispering sound
Made by the flag that marks that ground—
Except when muted bugles blow
Taps for that soldier, soft and low.

—GORDON HAWKINS.

The Metropolitan Police Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the police have a most difficult job; it is not likely to get easier. Anything we can do to make a policeman's job easier and more attractive must be done. One of the most important things we can do is see to it that the pay is good enough to attract and keep good men.

I heartily concur, therefore, in the following editorial which was broadcast over station WTOP here in Washington on December 11, 1967. It is unfortunate that we were not able to act upon the proposed pay bill for Washington's police and I hope that this body will act soon after the beginning of the second session early next year.

The editorial follows:

POLICE PAY RAISE

(Broadcast on December 11, 1967, over WTOP Radio and Television)

This is a WTOP Editorial.

We were disappointed at the reaction, or rather lack of reaction, that the proposed pay raise for D.C. policemen has received from the House and Senate District Committees.

The Senate District Committee's fiscal affairs subcommittee voted to put off action on the proposed pay raise until next year. It did this chiefly because there seemed to be no prospect of the House District Committee's even holding hearings on the various police pay raise proposals during the current session of Congress.

The pay raise proposals made by the Policemen's Association and by the D.C. Commissioners have one important provision in common. They would both raise the starting salary for D.C. policemen from $6700 to $7500 per year. That seems to us to be a very reasonable figure, and one which deserves full consideration in Congressional committee hearings.

We are aware that the House District Committee has in the past been quick to act on proposed pay raises for the police. We're also aware that the Committee has had plenty of important District legislation to deal with this session. But we still feel that this current pay raise proposal hasn't received the degree of priority that was due it.

There are two points to be made here. One bears on the moral obligation which the community has to compensate adequately the men who have a tough and dangerous job to perform. The other is bound up with the practical necessities of the situation. Is a salary of $6,700 per year sufficient to attract and hold men for work this demanding and this vital? 363 vacancies on the force strongly imply that the answer is "no".

Current indications are that hearings will be held on the proposed pay raises early next year and that the pay raise, when it comes, will be retroactive to January 1. We hope so; for the better the incentive, the more policemen we'll have—and the more policemen, the less crime.

This was a WTOP Editorial, Brownlow Speer speaking for WTOP.

An Outstanding Legionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to an outstanding Legionnaire and veteran of World War I, who has made two valuable contributions in memory of departed veterans, in the form of memorial hymns. Joseph J. Barry, of Arlington, Mass., in 1939 composed words and music of a hymn dedicated to departed Legionnaires. At the time Joe was a member of Alexander Graham Bell Post No. 299 of Boston, and in 1941 transferred to Arlington Post No. 39, the American Legion, Arlington, Mass. The hymn:

THE HIGH COMMANDER OF US ALL

Dear God, we gather here today,
To ask for mercy and to pray,
You gave us life, Oh keep us near,
And when you call, we'll answer "Here"
A Legionnaire has heard your call,
Dear God, Commander of us all.

On land or sea or in the air,
Our lives are Your's to take or spare,
Our comrade's souls are in Your hands,
We pray they'll see the Promised Land.
A Legionnaire has heard your call,
Dear God, Commander of us all.

We'll rise and march with tramping feet,
To You dear God, on Judgment's seat,
And if You'll open heaven's door,
With You we'll live forever more.
A Legionnaire has heard your call,
Dear God, Commander of us all.

This hymn has been used extensively by many Legion posts at rituals for departed members, and on all memorial occasions. In 1958, Robert M. D'Unger, one of the officers of Arlington Post No. 39, and a life member of the American Legion, as is also Joe Barry, took the first step toward official adoption of the hymn by the Legion. A resolution for adoption of the hymn was drawn up, and on June 25, 1958, at the department convention in Pittsfield, Mass., the hymn was adopted as the official Department of Massachusetts memorial hymn. This year, on August 30, Joe Barry was honored by the national organization of the American Legion in convention at Boston when a resolution by Robert D'Unger was passed, officially recognizing this hymn as an appropriate hymn for Legion rituals and memorial services and various other Legion ceremonies and functions. By this action on August 30, every American Legion post in the world is privileged to make full use of this most appropriate hymn. The hymn has been published by McLaughlin & Reilly Co., of Boston.

Joe Barry, being a member of Barracks No. 2701, World War I Veterans of the U.S.A., Arlington, Mass., also composed a memorial hymn for the veterans' organization. The hymn:

MAY THE GOOD LORD KEEP HIS HANDS IN YOURS

May the good Lord keep His hands in yours,
Is what your buddie's pray.
We will ask Him for His blessings
With every word we say.
May He take you to His home above,
And always keep you near.
May the good Lord keep His hand in yours,
I'm sure our prayers He'll hear.

Now the good Lord calls you back to Him,
And we will follow too.
He will give us all His blessings,
For each good deed we do.
We will pray to Him each night and morn,
To always keep us near.
May the good Lord keep His hand in yours,
I'm sure our prayers He'll hear.

On resolution by Robert M. D'Unger, also an officer in Barracks No. 2701, this hymn was adopted by that organization as the official Department of Massachusetts memorial hymn at convention in Boston on June 11, 1965, and as the official national memorial hymn at convention in San Diego, Calif., on September 21, 1966.

On June 1, 1967 a certificate of appreciation was given to Joseph J. Barry, signed by William H. Walker, national commander and Patrick F. O'Connor, national adjutant of the World War I Veterans of the U.S.A. "for contributing time and effort in promoting the cause of the Veterans of World War I, U.S.A."

Joe was again honored when on October 6, 1967, he was awarded a citation by the Massachusetts House of Representatives, congratulating him for being "the only man in the world, composing two memorial hymns for two veterans' organizations." The citation was signed by speaker of the house, Hon. John F. X. Davoren, sponsored by, and presented to Joe by State Representative Edward J. Dever, Jr., of Arlington.

A Positive Program To Deal With Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received an outstanding letter from the Honorable L. H. Paul, chief of police of North Augusta, S.C., in my congressional district. Chief Paul typifies the dedicated, devoted peace officer who is wrestling with a growing problem in our society. The increased crime rate should be of grave concern to every parent in this Nation and to each of its citizens.

I commend to my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the Nation Chief Paul's superb letter which is refreshing, positive, and constructive:

NORTH AUGUSTA, S.C.,
December 1, 1967.

Hon. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: As a law enforcement officer with in excess of twenty-two years' experience in my chosen field, I have, through experience and college level work, attained a certain amount of knowledge in criminology, sociology and psychology.

I have worked on the streets bringing in the social deviates. I have detected, investigated and arrested the felon and I have worked in confinement facilities where the prisoner is under controlled, supervised conditions.

Recently, I had occasion to bring in three juveniles, ages 11, 12 and 14 years, for housebreaking and larceny from the house, plus twenty-eight charges of shop-lifting.

More recently, I had the opportunity to read and study a very comprehensive article concerning the riots and disorders we experienced during the past several years. I am certain that these riots are of local and National concern and I feel certain that our representatives will provide for logical legislation in an effort to solve these problems within our society.

Within my knowledge and experience, time after time, I have observed, almost without exception, the emergence of the same old behavior patterns, with the same old causative and contributory factors present. The criminal, whether he be rioter, looter or common thief is simply unable to compete, academically or with skills, in a complex, demanding society, which, due to the rapid advances of technology, is daily becoming more demanding and complex.

The total inability to compete with average, normal, law abiding citizens, leaves them with but one recourse to fill their stomachs, clothe their bodies, meet their sex needs and provide a shelter over their respective heads. Their only avenue is that of crime to meet personal needs.

We seldom find the automobile mechanic, the bricklayer, the plumber, the baker and candle-stick maker involved in crimes against property. They are enabled to meet their needs through gainful employment, they are tax-payers, home owners and reputable citizens.

Almost without exception, we have noted that the criminal will ordinarily have a low academic level, he is seldom skilled with his hands to that point where he can "demand" a living wage. Again, we observe the inability to compete, to earn.

Conversely, we hear the cry of industry that they are unable to locate and hire "qualified", "skilled" personnel. We observe the welfare and relief rolls and wonder "Why don't they go to work?" Often we think and believe "they" don't want to work. The truth is they have nothing to offer the employer in the way of knowledge or skills. The employer makes an investment in hard dollars in each of his employees, we can hardly blame him for selecting the best qualified from the available labor market. This leaves a hard core of unemployed, who seem never able to obtain and hold gainful employment.

Assuming my theory of causative and contributory factors of crime lie in low educational levels, unskilled minds and hands and from the hard core of unemployable we must ask ourselves: Now that we have identified these areas, what are we going to do about it?

Add to the foregoing, the fact that your skin may be black, or brown, or red and the individual is faced with a multitude of problems he simply cannot cope with; results are obvious, crime and riots.

Unfortunately, almost everyone turns their face towards Washington for an answer. Certainly, Washington wants to help, they pour funds into an area, they provide programs, they are concerned and crime rises and riots become more devastating in the ghettos.

I don't believe that Washington can provide all the answers to all the problems, but I do believe that a consolidated effort on the part of the individual, industry and the government can greatly alleviate the problem.

It would appear that industry could provide for programs that would give them unskilled labor initially and after training, they would have a skilled, wage-earning, tax-paying employee.

I propose an apprentice program for the young and unskilled, skin color to be of no consideration. Industry, consistent with its needs, resources and facilities to provide such apprentice training programs.

A four year program leading to at least journeyman status in the trades.

During the first year, 25% of the time to be given to constructive training, 75% of the time devoted to menial, or required tasks of labor.

During the second year, 50% of the time to be given to constructive training, 25% devoted to related academic schooling and 25% devoted to menial, or required tasks of labor.

During the third year, 75% of the time to be given to constructive training and 25% devoted to related academic schooling.

During the fourth year, 90% of the time to be given to constructive training and 10% devoted to related academic schooling.

At the start of the fifth year, industry would have a fully qualified, skilled craftsman and the individual would be in a position to compete, to earn a living. Each year, raw labor is introduced into the program and at the end of four years skilled wage-earners emerge.

Pay scales: First year: 25% of the top pay in that skill. Second year: 40% of the top pay in that skill. Third year: 70% of the top pay in that skill. Fourth year: 85% of the top pay in that skill. Fifth year: 90% of the top pay in that skill.

To the youth we have offered him a goal, a tangible end of the road, a future, here he can see and experience an objective. He can see the amount of money he receives grow each year as "he" progresses. Industry meets their needs for raw labor and skilled workers. The government could provide the class-room instruction and industry the vocational training. Aptitude tests to determine the course of action and then the program for the individual. Our Nation becomes a huge class-room, realistically providing for society's needs, an interest in and a program for human beings. These responsibilities shared in dignity by the individual, industry and government.

Sincerely,

L. H. Paul,
Chief of Police.

President Lyndon B. Johnson Conveyed a Historic Message to AFL–CIO Convention and the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on last evening at the AFL–CIO annual convention in Miami Beach, Fla., President Johnson delivered one of the most factual and eloquent messages on our domestic and foreign problems that I have heard in recent years. He talked on issues that affect all our citizens. Already the highly financed propaganda political public relations organizations of the Republican National Committee are at work in the newspapers, radio, and television to conceal their reactionary records and smear Democratic progress.

They succeeded in a similar highly financed campaign after World War I when they defeated Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations, and gave us President Harding and a succession of 12 years of Republican low wages and unemployment which culminated in the great depression of the early 1930's. The Republicans used the same political tactics after World War II which brought us the Republican 80th Congress in 1946. They repeated the same tactics after the Korean war, which brought us the Republican 83d Congress in 1952. Thanks to the well-informed American voter we have had only two Republican Congresses in 37 years.

All citizens, and especially the college students of America, should carefully read the factual statements set out by President Johnson in his speech last night:

PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON AT THE AFL–CIO CONVENTION, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., DECEMBER 12, 1967

Mr. Meany, Convention Members, the 174 guests of the AFL–CIO from foreign countries who have come here to express their interest and their leadership in the working people of the world, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Bal Harbour does not look like a battle field. But it is, because you are here.

I don't know where a lot of people will be standing in the battle for freedom and progress that lies ahead in the years in the future, but I do know where American labor has stood in the past. I do know where American labor stands tonight. It stands right in the first rank, unflinching and unafraid.

I believe that you will still be there when the summer soldiers have fled the field of challenge.

There was a time not long ago, when the American labor movement fought on a very narrow front. The question then was one of sheer survival—keeping the trade union movement going in the face of bitter opposition.

Later you fought for a national minimum wage and maximum hours law—not just for the right to work but for the right to work in dignity, in decent conditions for a fair wage.

There are many men in this hall tonight, perhaps some 2,000 of you, who bear the honorable scars of that victory. Labor could have sat back then and said, "I am all right, Jack. I've got mine."

But you didn't. A few men of compassion and wisdom looked beyond an assembly line and beyond a craftsman's bench to see how their fellow Americans were faring. They knew that security and prosperity in America to be meaningful and to be lasting must be shared by the greatest number of people.

They believed in the motto "The greatest good for the greatest number", and they still do.

Labor, they all knew, was part of America. Laboring men and women lived in American cities. Laboring men and women sent their children to American schools, and their parents to American hospitals. They breathed American air and drank American water, and vacationed in American parks and seashores.

They knew whatever was right with America they enjoyed, and whatever was wrong with America they suffered.

So labor returned to the battlefield. You took up the fight for the kind of programs that would make this country better for your children than it had been for you.

And it had been pretty good for you.

You supported the kind of men, and you fought for the kind of candidates who proposed those programs—who vote for those programs in the Congress—who stand up to be counted whether the polls are high or whether the polls are low.

DEMOCRATIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

And your President knows what your fight has meant for America in my time.

I want to have you listen to the roll call of what we have done together.

Medicare

Already 4 million Americans have had their hospital bills paid, and more than 5 million have had Medicare pay their doctor bills.

Aid to education

Already 9 million needy school children have been helped in the elementary and secondary schools, and nearly a million and a quarter college students, many of them the sons and daughters of union families, now receive Federal help in education grants and loans that see them through college.

The hope of American parents, every American parent, when that first baby is born is the hope that they will see the day when they can see them get a college education. And that day has come.

Minimum wage protection

We have brought over 9 million American workers under the minimum wage with the new minimum wage bill, and by next February we will have raised that minimum by 35 cents in our time. That is 10 cents more per hour than when I cast one of my first votes in Congress to make the minimum wage the law of the land 30 years ago, and guarantee them at least 25 cents an hour.

Poverty

More than five and a half million Americans have been lifted above the poverty line.

Employment

We have added six million workers to our labor force, and we have set a constant record of 81 long months of solid prosperity to break all the records in American history.

Civil rights

We have cleared away the last big obstacles to the right of every American in this country to vote; to be judged for a job on his skill and not his skin; to enjoy public accommodations and facilities as a free man should in a free country.

Immigration

We have scrapped the old discrimination of the national origins system and replaced it with an American system of open American opportunity.

Conservation

We have added three-quarters of a million acres to our national seashores and parklands, more than ever before in our history. For the first time we are putting more back into the public domain than we are taking out.

The cities

We finally have the program that we need to build the model cities. Blight, decay and despair can be banished from our life—but we are going to need the great big strong muscle of the American labor movement to turn our bold ideas into shining realities, and we are going to need all of you.

Pollution

For the first time, we recommended and for the first time we passed the bills through the Congress, to give us the weapons to make an all-out attack on the filth that fouls our water and our air so our children can breathe clean air and drink clear, pure water.

Consumer protection

We have ended the packaging tricks that once plagued the American housewife for so long.

We have spared our children from dangerous and deadly toys.

We have shut the door to unsafe products that make the home a booby trap for one unwary.

We have an Auto and Highway Safety Act to reduce the accidents that make our roads a death trap for the innocent, and particularly for the careless.

We have moved against accidents in the doctor's office and the hospital by insisting that laboratories run the right tests, and they get them at the right time.

We have acted against the money lender who victimizes the poor and exploits the needy by concealing and hiding his interest charges.

This week, when I get back to Washington, I will sign the Flammable Fabrics Act that you helped me pass. It means that your family and your home will be safe from clothing and furnishings that blaze without warning.

Wholesome meat

Next week we are going to sign in the White House the Wholesome Meat Act. It means that the meat on the family table will be pure, not rancid—that a mother can shop without fear of finding worms in a steak or roast, or wood splinters in the baby's hamburger.

In the weeks to come I hope also to sign the Pipeline Safety Bill. It will guard against a gas explosion ripping through a home, a school or a crowded street.

Isn't this a remarkable and wonderfully hopeful record in itself? Yet these are only some of the happy new triumphs we have won together for our American families.

The full record will show more consumer legislation enacted in the last two years than in all the 88 Congresses put together.

When the history of our time is written, it will testify that this Administration, with your help, after 180 years, finally proclaimed into the law of the land a Consumers Bill of Rights.

There is more—much more—that we have done together.

It wasn't easy. Every step of the way there were voices and votes that said:

"No, not so fast."

"Don't try it, this hasn't been tried before."

"It's only a rehash of the old New Deal." Or the New Frontier.

"Don't you know there is a war on? We can't have both butter and guns, or guns and butter. You will have to stop progress here at home."

Or one side would cry, "It is all for labor or for the minorities," and the other side cried, "It is all for the middle class."

I have heard them all and we have answered them all.

Our answer is: "Yes. It is for labor. Yes. It is for the minorities. Yes. It is for the middle class. Yes. It is for the young, the old, the worker, the businessman, the farmer, the teacher, the student, the doctor and the patient."

Yes, we said, for once you are going to be right. Our fight is not for a part of America. Our fight is for all of America.

REPUBLICAN RECORD

But in the Congress some closed their ears and their ranks. In vote after vote the House Members of the other party lined up like wooden soldiers of the status.

93% of the House Republicans voted to kill the Medicare Bill.

90% of them voted to kill the Poverty Bill.

68% of them voted to kill our Education Bill.

66% of them voted to kill our Civil Rights Bill.

80% of them voted to kill all the funds for Model Cities.

93% of them voted to kill all funds for our Housing and Rent Supplement.

And, my friends, 72% of them voted to kill your Minimum Wage Bill.

The only time they really said, "yes", an enthusiastic "yes", was when they could vote to recommit a good bill—to bury in a blanket of rhetoric beneath the wave of Republican reaction.

But they are not fooling anybody, are they?

The people know that the old Republican buggy can go only one way and that is backwards, downhill.

The only program that that Grand Old Party offers is the remains of what they backed into and what they have run over on the road, the bits and pieces of what somebody else has built.

No wonder we have worked so hard to pass the Highway Safety Act. That old Republican buggy has been colliding with us all year long.

And it is carrying more passengers this year. It is carrying more dead weight.

LAST CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

The 47 Democrats who helped us write the historic legislative record of the 89th Congress are gone. They have been replaced by 47 Republican Nay-Sayers. And America's advance has temporarily been slowed.

Not always; not by any means always. We have fought and we have won some funds for Model Cities, some funds for the Teacher Corps, and some funds for Rent Supplement.

VETERANS

We have continued our efforts for older Americans, mental health, and consumers. We have passed a good bill for the Vietnam veterans who are returning. We have passed a bill to control rats in our cities.

With your help we passed that rat bill because a nation's conscience cried out louder than Republican laughter.

Don't let anyone fool you that we are standing still. This hasn't been the greatest Congress we ever had but this has been a productive Congress. And labor's leadership has helped make it productive.

But we need not just productive Congresses. We need great Congresses again, not just good ones. They must match and even surpass the 89th. And we are going to have to work.

We are going to have to roll up our sleeves and put our shoulder to the wheel—every man get to work and work through next November.

We still have to meet the great tests of our time—improving our educational and medical systems—rebuilding our cities—providing jobs for all who can work—ending lawlessness in our streets and controlling our crime—uniting our people in common and progressive purpose.

THE 1968 ELECTION

This is our national agenda and we can only succeed if there are men in Congress and men in the Administration who will make it their personal agenda. We must work harder than ever to elect good men—to elect these men who will support these programs. It can be done. It will be done, because a nation depends on us not to fail, and not to fall back—but to go on fighting and go on winning for all America.

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

As America depends on your social leadership, I say to labor it also relies on your sense of economic responsibility.

In our system, the price changes are inevitable and they are desirable. But if we are to have the full blessings of free enterprise, business and labor must place the fundamental national interest first. Each must do its share and contribute its part to maintaining a stable level of overall prices.

I emphasized this to your partners in prosperity—the American businessmen—in Washington just last week. I told them that you—when I came to speak to you—would expect to receive equal time.

INDUSTRY

If industry, I said, if business, tried to raise prices and profit margins—even when they have excess capacity on their hands—we are bound to suffer rising prices, and this is simply murder—murder to all labor and to all people with low or moderate incomes.

If labor, I say, tried for a wage rise twice the nationwide increase in output per man-hour—even when there is no real labor shortage—we are bound to suffer rising prices.

Business suffers. Labor suffers. All America suffers from a wage-price spiral. And we want to avoid it if we can.

I told the businessmen that they should not point the finger of blame at you. I say that you should not point the finger of blame at them.

I say to both labor and to business that you are two fingers on one hand. It is your joint responsibility to try to stop the spiral.

To both of you, I say: It is your America. This is your land. This is your country. It is your prosperity. These are your jobs and your profits that we want to see protected. These are your dollars whose strength we want to maintain. I have urged business to refrain from avoidable price increases and to intensify its competitive efforts in the world.

I tonight urge labor to look at its responsibilities—to look hard and deep into its wise heart and restrain its demands for excessive wage increases.

Look around you as you calculate. Here is your country, fighting gallantly again for freedom—but doing it for the first time in American history without any wage or without any price controls.

It is that voluntary restraint that has made involuntary curbs unnecessary. Your Government wants to keep it that way. We want to be partners in responsibility and prosperity with labor and business.

And we will, if each of us does his share for the good of all. And I think you want to do that. I think all America wants to do that.

VIETNAM

I cannot close without sharing a few thoughts with you on a matter that I think troubles all of our hearts—that is the tragic but the vital struggle in Vietnam that is going on there tonight.

You have long stood in the front ranks of this fight for freedom. But here in Florida this winter you have added bright new testimony to your resolve—and you have given new heart to all who stand with you in search of peace.

I am very proud and very grateful, Mr. Meany, for the resolution that you all have passed here in support of freedom's cause. It is a ringing declaration of your firm resistance to aggression. That staunch spirit is constantly personified by that great, courageous leader—"Mr. Labor"—George Meany. I thank him and I thank all of you—from the bottom of my heart.

THE VIETNAM HERO

I thank you, too, for another man.

He does not live in the White House. He does not guide the destiny of the Nation and he doesn't have the responsibilities throughout the world on his shoulders alone. But he is face down tonight in the mud of the DMZ. Or he is out there storming a hill near Danang. Or crouched in a rice paddy in the Mekong Delta.

The American soldier thanks you from the botom of his heart. He knows, even if some others don't, that your expressions of support are not just so many flag-waving words.

Whoever thinks that has never heard the question that comes to me so often from the foxholes in my letters every day. He has never felt the ache of a soldier who writes his Commander-in-Chief and asks him, and this comes in letter after letter: "We are doing okay—but are the folks back home really behind us?"

American labor has answered that question with a resounding "Yes." and a firm "Yes, sir." You have said it before and you have repeated it here—so strongly that even Hanoi cannot mistake its meaning or misinterpret what it says.

I know that many of labor's sons have left their parents and their homes to risk their lives for liberty and freedom in Vietnam. I know that is torture for you, as it is for me. I know that you regret every single dollar that we spent on war—dollars that we want to spend on the works of peace here at home.

But you and I know that we must persevere. The torture we feel cannot beg the truth. It is only our unswerving will. It is only our unshakeable determination that can ever bring us peace in the world.

It is very easy to angonize over the television or to moralize or to pin your heart on your sleeve or a placard on your back—and think to yourself that you are helping somebody stop a war.

But I only wish that those who bewail war would bring me just one workable solution to end the war.

PEACEMAKERS

The peacemakers are out there in the field. The soldier and the statesman need and welcome the sincere and the responsible assistance of concerned Americans. But they need reason much more than they need emotion. They must have a practical solution and not a concoction of wishful thinking and false hopes—however well intentioned and well meaning they may be.

It must be a solution that does not call for surrender or for cutting and running now. Those fantasies hold the nightmare of World War II and a much larger war tomorrow.

It must be a solution that does not call for stepping up our military efforts to a flash point where we risk a much larger war today.

The easiest thing in the world for the President to do is to get in a larger war. It is very difficult to continue day after day to pressure the enemy without involving yourself in additional problems.

I, for one, would be glad and grateful for any help that any citizen can give me. Thousands of our soldiers' sons would also thank anyone who has a plan or a program or a solution. I cannot help but feel that we would be joined in our gratitude and our gladness by all of our allies and by millions of thoughtful Americans. They are really the concerned Americans who recognize the responsibilities that accompany their rights and the duties that accompany their freedom and liberty; and who see it as a duty of citizenship to try to be constructive in word and constructive in deed.

For a long as I have born the responsibility of conducting our foreign policy, I have known what I want you to know: I want all America to know that it is easier to protest a policy than to conceive one.

And so your President has followed a rather simple practice:

If someone has a plan, I listen to it.

If it seems worth pursuing, I ask the best Americans I can find to give me their judgments on it. I have asked your President many times for his judgments on these matters.

If they like it and it seems wise to the President, then I try to put it into operation.

I can promise all who shout their opposition, as well as any who have quieter doubts—and no political aspirations—that I will continue this practice. I will always be ready and anxious to hear and to act on any constructive proposal they offer.

But in the meantime, I want you to know, and I want all America to know, that I am not going to be deterred. I am not going to be influenced. I am not going to be inflamed by a bunch of political, selfish men who want to advance their own interests. I am going to continue down the center of the road, doing my duty as I see it for the best of all my country, regardless of my polls and regardless of the election.

I will devote my days and my nights to supporting and to supplying half a million of the bravest men who ever wore the American uniform and who ever left these shores to fight to protect us.

I will honor and respect our sworn commitments to protect the security of Southeast Asia, because in protecting their security I protect your security, your home and your family, too. We will not now betray the troubled leaders and the hopeful people of that region who have relied on Uncle Sam's word to shield them from aggression—not after other Presidents who preceded me gave their solemn word. I am going to see that that word is carried out.

We will hold the line against aggression as it has been drawn so often by the Congress and by the President. We will not now nullify the word of the Congress or the people, as expressed in the SEATO Treaty, that we would come and take our stand in the face of common danger—that treaty was ratified by a vote in the Senate of 82 to 1—or the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, where there were only two votes against it, when they said they would support the President in whatever means it was necessary to take to deter aggression. I call on all of them to support him now.

At all times and in all ways and with all patience and all hope—your President and your country will strive for peace.

Let no man, friend or foe, American or Asian, mistake our meaning.

I remind all of you again tonight, and my fellow Americans who may be viewing this proceeding, of our exchange of correspondence with Ho Chi Minh. The North Vietnamese themselves released my letter on March 21st. In it, the President of the United States, on behalf of the United States, made what we thought was a fair and a firm offer.

I said, "There is one good way to overcome this problem and move forward in the search for a peaceful settlement. That is for us to arrange for direct talks between trusted representatives in a secure setting and away from the glare of publicity . . ."

"As to the site of these bilateral discussions, I propose that there are several possibilities. We could, for example, have our representatives meet in Moscow, where contacts have already occurred. They could meet in some other country, such as Burma. You may have other sites in mind, and I would try to meet your suggestions . . ."

Can we be any more specific? Hanoi has spurned that olive branch. They answered with a rude "No" and they have repeated it time after disappointing time. Until they relent, until they see room for compromise and area for agreement, we must stand firm and we must stand unafraid. And we will.

Peace will come—I am convinced of that. But until peace does come, I will continue, with the support of our loyal, determined people, to hold the line that we have drawn against aggression—and to hold it firm and to hold it steady.

In all that I do, I will be strengthened by the powerful testimony for freedom that you sons of labor have given here in this hall. You courageous men of labor have supported our fighting men every time they needed you. You have spoken as free men under fire must speak. May all the world hear you. And may God bless you for what you have said and what you have done. May God keep those men until we can bring them back home in honor and in victory.

Thank you.

A Constituent Poll

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, like many Members of this House, I have sought the opinions of my constituents on a number of questions that bother all of us today.

At this nth hour of the first year of the 90th Congress, I would not want the Members to go home without having something to read and perhaps ponder over. Therefore I would like to discuss at this time my poll of residents of the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

It was sent into every household in the district, a total of about 135,000 homes, shortly after Labor Day. As of this moment, returns are still trickling in. I stopped counting at almost 8,000.

Obviously, some of the questions and the responses to them will have no meaning to the Members of this House since they deal with issues strictly important to my home district. Others will be of interest to those Members who are more concerned than others about particular questions listed. For example, I would expect that the section on constitutional questions may be of greatest interest to my fellow members of the Judiciary Committee. The same might apply to those listed under the category of crime control.

In any case, I list the entire questionnaire and the entire response without much more comment so that, in addition to outright answers, a number of nuances and shades of opinion may be discernible to those Members who care to look beyond a simple yes or no.

Just a word about the nature of my district. It lies entirely witihn the city limits of Philadelphia. It is one of five congressional districts within the city limits. It can be described as urban and semisuburban in the extreme north and northeastern sections of Philadelphia. It is to some extent more urbane, middle income, and politically independent than many other districts, and it numbers people of a great many different nationality groups and religious beliefs.

The questions and results are as follows:

	Yes	No	Undecided
FOREIGN AFFAIRS			
1. What is your present view regarding U.S. participation in the Vietnam war?			
(a) Continue present policy	1,147	2,909	380
(b) Escalate, looking toward a quick and favorable end to hostilities	3,824	1,674	283
(c) Gradually withdraw support and forces	1,883	2,286	301
(d) Immediately withdraw from all involvement	1,056	2,716	241
2. What policy do your favor for the United States in the Middle East?			
(a) Any reasonable economic or military aid to Israel	3,062	1,402	345
(b) Aid to Israel and friendly Arab nations	3,179	1,517	357
(c) Flexible diplomacy based on a realistic recognition of oil	1,868	2,068	507
(d) Reliance on the United Nations only	1,570	2,748	382
3. Should the United States increase trade in nonstrategic goods with Communist bloc countries?	3,606	3,253	469
4. Do you favor the admission of Red China into the U.N. at this time?	2,257	4,443	612
5. Continuing foreign aid involvements are among the most controversial policies of the present administration. Would you—			
(a.) Continue the policy at its present level?	1,289	2,790	456
(b) Increase commitments?	311	3,113	300
(c) Decrease commitments?	5,322	709	313
6. I have proposed a system of "peace ambassadors" for the United Nations, under which highly trained staff aides to the Secretary General could be dispatched to trouble spots immediately. Do you favor this proposal?	5,663	1,204	714
CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS			
7. Proposals have been made to change our Nation's method of electing a President. Do you favor—			
(a) Retention of the present electoral college?	1,207	2,876	287
(b) Direct election of President?	4,527	1,015	270
(c) Some compromise between the present system and direct election?	1,781	2,127	566
8. A constitutional amendment has been proposed to increase the term of Members of the House of Representatives from 2 to 4 years:			
(a) Do you favor such an amendment in principle?	4,079	2,059	347
(b) Would you favor it if elections were staggered to allow some Members to be elected simultaneously with the President and some during "off year" elections?	3,275	1,938	490
(c) Would you favor it if all Members were to be chosen during a presidential year?	1,004	3,837	441
(d) Would you favor it if all members were elected in the middle of a presidential term?	1,631	3,102	504
9. Would you favor a resolution seeking a constitutional amendment to lower the minimum voting age to 18 years?	3,441	3,573	322
10. Would you favor a constitutional amendment to permit bible reading in public schools?			
(a) Old and New Testaments	4,200	1,970	267
(b) Old Testament only	732	2,961	279
(c) Voluntary prayer only	2,247	2,205	361
CRIME CONTROL			
11. How do you feel about legislation to prohibit wiretapping and other kinds of electronic eavesdropping?			
(a) Favor outright ban	1,106	3,490	258
(b) Would make an exception in cases involving national security only	2,572	1,564	221
(c) Would make exceptions in cases involving national security and organized crime	5,865	734	200
12. In order to control riots and other disturbances and their causes, would you favor—			
(a) Greater penalties for offenders?	6,006	556	169
(b) Larger, specially trained police forces?	3,973	1,087	300
(c) A massive "Marshall plan" of Federal funds to cities?	2,006	2,727	479
(d) More efficient use of present programs, such as the war on poverty?	3,807	1,509	358
13. The Philadelphia gun control law is being cited in Congress as an example of an effective crime deterrent: Do you favor—			
(a) Federal control and regulation of the sale of all firearms?	4,341	1,852	256
(b) Federal control and regulation of the sale of pistols only?	927	3,012	273
(c) Registration of all firearms?	4,714	1,121	165
(d) Banning the sale of firearms through mail-order houses?	5,531	692	147
14. I have proposed that the functions of the House Un-American Activities Committee be placed within the House Judiciary Committee: Do you agree with that proposal?	4,116	903	2,036
DOMESTIC ISSUES			
15. Do you believe the growing problems of air and water pollution can best be solved by—			
(a) Federal regulation?	3,645	1,332	337
(b) Incentives to private industry, such as tax credits?	2,285	2,122	312
(c) Regional cooperation of government and industry?	3,997	885	219
(d) Stringent local controls?	4,057	985	193
16. Do you agree that parents should be granted substantial tax credits for the expenses of college education for their children?	4,958	1,803	375
17. Do you favor my proposal to raise personal income tax exemptions from the present $600 a year to $1,000?	6,599	686	245
18. Regarding the U.S. space program:			
(a) Do you favor maintaining the present program and timetable?	3,411	1,828	519
(b) Do you favor a slowdown in spending and accomplishments?	2,584	2,352	355
(c) Do you favor winning the space race even at increased costs?	1,656	3,188	440
19. Do you favor a proposal to celebrate all national holidays on Mondays, creating automatic 3-day holidays?	4,826	2,185	390
20. Do you favor Federal protection for insurance policyholders such as my proposal to establish an agency similar to the banks' Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation?	6,034	657	584
OTHER MATTERS			
21. In our community, do you favor—			
(a) Expanded commercial use of Northeast Airport?	4,652	1,806	691
(b) New State institutions on open land near the State hospital (Byberry)?	4,215	1,781	947
(c) Some form of aid to parochial schools, within constitutional limits?	4,059	2,814	394
22. How would you rate my performance as your Congressman so far? Excellent, 1,722; good, 3,155; fair, 326; poor, 90; no opinion, 1,710.			

Improvements in Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, the Social Security Amendments of 1967, as reported by the conference committee, represent a major and necessary advance for those Americans who are dependent on social security benefits. I am certain that the elderly, widowed and disabled citizens of our Nation will be vitally interested in learning of the following improvements in the social security system made by this Congress:

First, all benefits will be increased by 13 percent which will be reflected in checks received in March 1968.

Second, minimum monthly benefits will be increased from $44 to $55.

Third, the amount which an individual can earn without a reduction in benefits will be increased from $1,500 to $1,680 per year.

Fourth, the legislation increases special payments to individuals aged 72 and older who have never worked or who have not earned sufficient credit for participation under the general social security plan. The increase from $35 to $50 a month will qualify over 800,000 individuals for new or higher payments.

Fifth, present law does not provide social security benefits for widows and widowers on the basis of disability. Widows and dependent widowers can receive benefits beginning at age 62; a widow can receive mother's benefits at any age if she has in her care a child of the deceased wage earner who was entitled to benefits. The amendments, however, would provide benefits beginning at age 50 for widows and dependent widowers who become totally disabled before or within 7 years after the spouse's death.

Sixth, for social security benefit purposes, the amendments provide that, in the future, the pay of a person in the uniformed service will be deemed to be $100 a month more than his basic pay. The additional cost of paying the benefits resulting from this provision would be paid out of general revenues.

Seventh, under the bill employees who are in positions under a State or local government retirement system but who have not been eligible to join the system due to personal disqualification such as age, length of service, will be eligible for coverage under social security. Under present law such employment often prevents entrance into the social security retirement benefits system.

Eighth, the amendments provide that a child will be considered dependent on the mother under the same conditions that he is now considered dependent on the father. As a result, a child could be entitled to benefits if the mother was either fully or currently insured at the time she dies, retired, or became disabled. Under present law a mother must have currently insured status—6 out of the last 13 quarters ending with death, retirement, or disability—unless she was actually supporting the child.

Ninth, the definition of disability due to blindness is changed so that a person who is "industrially blind"—that is, visual acuity of 20/200 or less corrected or a visual of 20 degrees or less—is disabled rather than one who has visual acuity of 5/200 or less corrected.

Tenth, the amendments provide that certain partnership income of retired partners would not be taxed or credited for social security purposes.

Mr. Speaker, these improvements and extensions of the social security system relate only to old-age, survivors, and disability programs. In the area of health insurance the Congress, by approving the Social Security Amendments of 1967, has established the following progressive innovations:

First, the amendments simplify billing and reimbursement procedures under the supplementary medical insurance program.

Second, each medicare beneficiary will be provided with a lifetime reserve of 60 days of hospital care after the 90 days covered in a "spell of illness" have been exhausted. Coinsurance of $20 for each day would be applicable to such added days of coverage.

Third, payment for durable medical equipment needed by an individual could be made on a rental basis or a purchase basis whichever would be more economical.

Fourth, the bill expands the areas for which reimbursement can be received. These areas include radiological and pathological services furnished to hospital inpatients, physical therapy performed or furnished to an outpatient in his home or in a nursing home, payment for portable X-rays taken in a patient's home.

Mr. Speaker, these major improvements in the social security system will be financed through existing revenues and an increase in the earnings base from $6,600 to $7,800 with a small increase in the tax rates.

Because many of our senior citizens have been caught in the inflationary spiral at a time when their income is reduced, these increases are necessary to contribute to the additional costs of necessities. At the same time this bill does not place an unreasonable burden on our fellow Americans still contributing to the social security system.

I am happy therefore, Mr. Speaker, to vote for the conference report and hope the Senate will accept this report so that the increased benefits may be paid to our senior citizens at the earliest possible moment.

OEO Linked With Racist-Driven Group

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I think the attached article from the Washington Post of December 13, 1967, will point out another reason why some of us have difficulty giving wholehearted endorsement to the poverty program:

OEO IN NEW MEXICO LINKED TO GROUP WITH RACIST DRIVE

SANTA FE, N. MEX.—New Mexico Attorney General Boston Witt says an investigation by his office linked the state's office of Economic Opportunity to a militant Spanish-American group "which is dedicated to a racist approach to its problems."

Witt asserted that some antipoverty workers in New Mexico "seem to have taken the word 'war' in the phrase 'war on poverty' far too literally."

The preliminary report on investigation, which the Democratic Attorney General presented to the legislative finance committee, was critical of New Mexico OEO Director Robert Garcia, a Roman Catholic priest on leave of absence from his church duties.

The investigation began after the state OEO office was criticized regarding its activities following a raid by gunmen on a rural northern New Mexico courthouse last June 5.

Witt contended that during the search for gunmen after the courthouse raid at Tierra Amarilla, "Garcia's actions were at extract cross purposes with law enforcement officials' purpose in attempting to capture and bring to justice Reies Lopez Tijerina and his followers."

New Hansen Bridge Wins National Award of Merit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the December 1967 edition of Highway Information, published by the public information section of the Idaho Department of Highways, contains an account of an award recently won by a bridge in my congressional district. I might add that the gentleman from Idaho is not related to the Hansen brothers for whom the bridge was named.

Believing the design and construction of this bridge to be an outstanding achievement for the Idaho Department of Highways and deserving of much greater publicity than it has heretofore received, I include the account under permission to include extraneous material.

The article follows:

NEW HANSEN BRIDGE WINS NATIONAL AWARD OF MERIT

Two significant events have happened to the Hansen Bridge across the Snake River chasm east of Twin Falls.

Completed earlier this year to replace an antiquated, single lane, suspension bridge, the new structure has been selected for an award of merit in the "medium span—high clearance" division of the American Institute of Steel Construction, Ellis L. Mathes, State Highway Engineer, announced.

The institute conducts an annual prize bridge competition. On three concrete piers, the double-lane Hansen Bridge, which connects Twin Falls with Interstate Highway 80N, won over 144 contest entries.

The bridge was designed by the Idaho State Highway Department Bridge Section under the supervision of Clarence T. Larson, Bridge Engineer.

When completed in 1919 at the cost of $100,000, the original wooden-deck bridge was the highest and longest suspension bridge in the United States. The new bridge cost $1,172,000 and stands 15 feet higher than the old bridge, or approximately 340 feet above the Snake River winding far below.

The bridge was dedicated in October, 1967, to John and Lawrence Hansen, brothers who pioneered in the Twin Falls area.

Moorman Seeks Step-Up in Treatment of Addicts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Judge Walter H. Moorman for his forward and positive stand in calling for aftercare and treatment centers for narcotic addicts in the State of Maryland. Addiction is a problem with which I have been extremely concerned. A public awareness of the problems and the necessity for rehabilitation centers is mandatory if we are to have any effective progress in this field. Judge Moorman's stand is one that will help to develop such an attitude.

I have devoted much effort to insuring a comprehensive narcotics rehabilitation program for the District of Columbia where the drug problem is a grave one and I am sure such a program will be a reality in the near future. Maryland, too, has serious problems with addiction and I am afraid they will become larger unless swift and responsible action is taken. Maryland, as other States has legislation that authorizes court-ordered treatment for addicts.

Now, there is even national legislation of this nature recognizing that addiction is a disease rather than a crime and must be dealt with accordingly. This is progressive legislation but in order for it to be implemented, facilities for such treatment must be developed and supported by the community.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following article from the Montgomery County Sentinel about Judge Moorman's stand and the predicament of a judge that has to sentence addicts to nonexistent facilities. The article follows:

MOORMAN SEEKS STEP-UP IN TREATMENT OF ADDICTS

A call for "more positive" state legislation dealing with the treatment of drug addicts was issued this week by Circuit Court Judge Walter H. Moorman.

In a letter to the county's legislative delegation, Judge Moorman noted that a 1957 state law authorizes court-ordered treatment of addicts in out-patient or, after-care facilities.

Such facilities are, however, nonexistent in the county.

"It appears to me that the mandate of the House of Delegates has been and is being ignored by the State Department of Mental Hygiene," Judge Moorman wrote.

"More positive legislation is needed if it is the intention of the legislature to provide an aftercare program for narcotics addicts," he added. He made no specific legislative proposals.

TWO CASES

Moorman cited two cases illustrating "the futility of the efforts of a judge in trying to cooperate in effecting the rehabilitation of the unfortunate man addicted to heroin and charged with possession of implements for administering the drug.

After his conviction, this man's three-year jail sentence was suspended by Judge Moorman in hopes that a commitment to Springfield State Hospital would cure the man's addiction.

Three months later superintendent of Springfield, Dr. Jess V. Cohn advised the court that the man could no longer benefit from hospital treatment. "After-care, as suggested by the Court, is indeed most essential," Cohn wrote.

CARE ABSENT

However, Cohn admitted that he knew of no after-care program especially geared to the narcotic addict. "Nothing of a systematic approach to aftercare, which would be desirable indeed, has materialized so far," wrote Cohn.

Faced with no other choice than jailing the victim of an addiction Judge Moorman set the man free.

The second case cited in Moorman's letter to the delegates involved a female addict of 25 held on several charges of forgery.

She, too, was sent to Springfield. After five days of treatment Cohn informed Moorman that the woman had received "Maximum benefit from her hospitalization" and recommended out-patient treatment.

The woman was released by Moorman a month later, uncured, with no more treatment than the short stay at Springfield.

The Many Parts of Charles de Gaulle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues an article written by Rabbi Harry Halpern, published in the bulletin of the Midwood Jewish Center on December 8, 1967, which furnishes further insights into the gyrations of Charles de Gaulle, President of France—this time his amazing ideas and attitudes toward the State of Israel and Judaism.

The article follows:

When I studied Latin, I read in the opening sentence of Caesar's book that Gaul was divided into three parts. I haven't had occasion to think of that fact but I remembered it as I read the newspapers this week. I discovered that French "gall" is in three parts, viz. Quebec, Britain and Israel. It is with the last of these that I am concerned.

President de Gaulle in the course of a press conference, chided Israel for having started the Mideast war. He said that he told Israel not to start hostilities but the State did not listen to him. And now, that the Arabs have been defeated, the French head of state says that peace can be achieved only if Israel withdraws from the territory she conquered and then only can there be a discussion of boundaries and maritime rights in the Gulf of Aquaba and the Suez Canal.

Both the logic and the audacity of these suggestions are almost incredible. In the first place, the State of Israel is not a little boy, who can be told what to do by some big brother who threatens punishment if his comand isn't carried out. Secondly, how does one who is attempting to stir up rebellion in Canada in order to achieve freedom for Quebec, dare to assail an independent state for trying to preserve its freedom?

Together with others in the Russian U.N. bloc, the old general, blindly or viciously, asks for a withdrawal of Israeli forces, knowing that as soon as they evacuate certain places, the Egyptian or Syrian army will come right in behind them and Israel will be back where she started. Once more the Gulf of Aquaba would be blocked and the Suez Canal would remain closed to Israeli ships. Once more Israel's very existence would be threatened and all of the blood spilled by brave Israelis will have been in vain.

But even more important and alarming than what was said in the interview were statements made by De Gaulle in amplifying his stand on Israel. He said that Jews were "at all times an elite people, sure of itself and domineering." This statement drew a sharp reply from the Grand Rabbi of France, Jacob Kaplan, who is a very temperate and thoughtful individual.

Who talks of "domineering?" Is it not the same man who is keeping Britain out of the Common Market: who offends the rules of ordinary courtesy by calling for rebellion against a country which at that moment is acting as his host? No matter what the political motivation may be, is it not the height of intolerance, to assail the character of a people?

At the beginning of this century, France was rocked by a famous case, involving a French Jewish army officer named Alfred Dreyfus. Accused and convicted of espionage for Germany, and after having served a sentence for many years, he was declared innocent. The ground of the accusation, it was proven, was anti-Semitism, which poisoned the hearts and minds of army officers. The President of France is a general of the army and one sees in the background the ominous ghosts of anti-Semitic soldiers. Will the cause of freedom be served in France by the irresponsible utterances of its leader? Does the accusation of "domineering" by Jews, fall in line with the liberty, equality and fraternity which were proclaimed by France when they overthrew the monarchy?

France has come closer to the Soviet Union in the last few years, and like the Russians, the French may learn to discriminate against Jews. It is depressing to see a former ally and friend of Israel become an enemy. I fear that among other maladies from which she suffers, France is having trouble with "de gaulle blather."

Salute to Tennessee's 1967 Volunteer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-known fact that we Tennesseans take our football seriously. For this reason, I hope that my colleagues will forgive me a little serious bragging on the exploits and accomplishments of the Nation's finest football team.

The University of Tennessee's 1967 Volunteer team has just recently completed one of the most successful and inspiring seasons in the school's football history. Despite a crippling series of injuries to key players, the Vols fought through one of the toughest schedules in college football to compile a 9–1 record, win the No. 2 position in both major national rankings, and earn an invitation to play in the Orange Bowl classic at Miami on New Year's Day. This justifies a little bragging.

When Coach Doug Dickey talks about the 1967 Vols, he always stresses the word "team." No one can deny that what Coach Dickey and his boys accomplished required a maximum of cooperation and unity of purpose. It also required that each player possess that extra measure of courage, personal responsibility, and pride that makes up a champion. Tennessee is proud of every man.

I could spend some time talking about individuals, for there were many great performances by outstanding players. Dewey Warren, hobbled all season by injuries, still managed to turn in some spectacular duty at quarterback. Charlie Fulton and Derrick Weatherford, were all outstanding. Albert Dorsey, the tough defensive back and Richmond Flowers, the lightning-fast-fast flanker, have been honored by selection as All Americas.

But, I feel compelled to express a great deal of extra pride in a young man from the city of Cleveland in my own Third District of Tennessee. His name is Bob Johnson, and you will find him listed on every All-America team.

Longtime Vol watchers have labeled Bob as the best center in the team's history. He is a great blocker; a hard competitor with the size, strength, speed, and natural ability to earn lasting respect from teammates and opponents alike. Coach Dickey has characterized Bob as "an excellent leader both on and off the field," a player who "can be counted on to do his job on every play of every game." That is a pretty solid rating, and one in which I wholly concur.

I salute Tennessee's Volunteers and Bob Johnson and hope to be at the Orange Bowl when they win their next great victory. As representatives of our State, they are a real source of pride to every Tennessean.

Soviet Seapower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the recent use of Soviet seapower in the Mediterranean during the Arab-Israeli hostilities has pointed dramatically to an important fact: the impressive growth of the Soviet presence on the oceans of the world. This growth is seen today in the size of the Soviet Navy, of her merchant fleet, and of her modern commercial fishing fleet.

Russia's merchant fleet, practically nonexistent after World War II, is growing by 100 new ships a year. It has moved to fifth place in the world's fleets, with a total of 10 million tons. While our American fleet is rapidly aging and compelling us to rely on foreign shipping, the Soviets can now carry 75 percent of their trade in Red-flag bottoms. This story is repeated in the dramatic increase of the modern Soviet fishing fleet, which now operates off the coasts of a dozen nations of the world.

An editorial recently carried in the Cape Cod Standard-Times, a newspaper in my district, points out the buildup of the Soviet Navy as further evidence of this trend. Russian aspirations are clearly toward developing an offensive striking force. For the first time, for example, Soviet military leaders have announced intentions to construct long-distance aircraft carriers. These vessels would give the Russian Navy new offensive capabilities, and they are an ominous indication of Soviet intentions.

I am including the editorial in the Record for the interest of Members of the House. It is a timely warning that Russian seapower is a new and formidable force in the world which we cannot afford to ignore.

Growing Fleet

Cape Codders, far more than inland inhabitants, are well aware of the growing marine capabilities of the Soviet Union. The well-equipped Soviet fishing vessels have worked off Cape shores and the visit of Russian oceanographers to Woods Hole awhile ago point up their marine strength.

The contacts Cape Codders have had merely quickens their perception of the fact that Russia is determined to become a worldwide marine power.

Lenin long ago claimed a Navy was a waste and a needless drain on the "people's" treasury. But since 1963 the USSR has done an about face on its neglect of naval power.

Vice-Admiral William Ellis, chief of staff of the Supreme Allied Command, Atlantic, in October said Russia had "the second largest and best navy in the world" and was moving up fast.

Since World War II the Soviet Union has built about 200 destroyers, 25 cruisers and more than 400 submarines. Results of the buildup were dramatized during the Arab-Israeli hostilities last June when Russia was able to move a self-sustained fleet into the Mediterranean, accompanied by auxiliary tenders and a mobile naval base.

The Soviet Navy until recently was used largely in support and supplement of the Russian fishing fleet, merchant marine and oceanographic program. Today it is looking outward upon all oceans of the world and has become an important factor in future history.

Russia's ocean might is a fact and must so be evaluated by the United States in any of its military projections into the future.

Population and the U.S. Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, last month the United States became the fourth nation in the world to have a population of more than 200 million.

My colleague, Congressman Jackson E. Betts, of Ohio, predicted recently that the 1970 census is bound to overlook several million Americans who should be recorded. If such is to be the case, the census may not be an accurate indicator of our true population status. Congressman Betts has also observed that the census questionnaire may be inadequate, both in terms of the means of distributing it and in the nature of its questions.

I offer for the Record an editorial on this subject from the November 20, 1967, edition of the Chicago Tribune. The editorial follows:

And Now We Are 200,000,000

We don't know whether it calls for congratulations or commiseration, but the United States population clock in the commerce department building will click off 200 million today. This makes us the fourth country in history to pass this figure. The club is hardly a congenial one, tho. The other members are China, India, and the Soviet Union.

The census bureau itself admits that the clock may be two years behind the times. Our actual population is probably about 5.7 million greater than the clock shows, because this is the number of people the census bureau thinks it missed in the 1960 census.

As Rep. Jackson E. Betts of Ohio predicted recently, the 1970 census is likely to overlook even more people. The questionnaires are going to be sent out by mail instead of delivered by hand. Even assuming that the postoffice delivers all of the questionnaires in time, recipients are going to have trouble filling out answers to questions on 21 subjects [up from 17 in 1960]. One person in five will be faced with a special questionnaire covering 67 subjects, so that the planners in Washington will know what sort of plumbing we have, how much money we make, and so on.

But today's event will nonetheless be the occasion for speechmaking and ceremonies. Maybe the baby born nearest to the moment the clock shows 200 million will get some sort of recognition, like a complimentary enrollment in cradle-to-grave social security.

The implications of the event are of considerably more than symbolic concern, however, as should be obvious from a glance at China and India. For more than a century, the rate of our population growth went steadily down. It took 22 years for our population to double from 12½ million in 1830 to 25 million in 1852. It took 28 years to reach 50 million in 1880. It then took 37 years to reach 100 million in 1917, and 50 years to reach 200 million.

Now, we are told, the trend has been reversed. The rate of growth is speeding up, tho to what extent remains uncertain. Even if it does not speed up, it is going to be progressively harder to preserve our open spaces, harder [and increasingly important] to prevent the pollution of our air and water, and harder to provide ourselves—let alone anybody else—with enough food.

We don't know to what extent the gap will be met by birth control and to what extent by the development of new sources of food. But it had better be one or both of these, because there are no satisfactory alternatives. There will be no place to which Americans can emigrate [and the moon won't help], and the other ways by which population has been brought into balance with food are cruel: starvation, pestilence, and war.

So as we contemplate our new colleagues, in their varying degrees of state-managed misery, we may well wonder how long the rest of the world can count on American surplus food. And we must recognize, that sooner or later, other solutions must be found.

Sylvia Porter Reports That Experience in Massachusetts Shows That Truth in Lending Works Effectively for Consumers and for Business, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, a welcome column in today's edition of the Washington Star is Sylvia Porter's report on the experience under truth-in-lending legislation in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is an excellent column, such as this fine economist and writer always produces in discussing issues of importance to the American family and to business.

Her column, "Your Money's Worth," in the "Business Section" of the Star today is headed "'Truth in Lending' Works." It is based on a report by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and on information from a variety of sources including, I believe, material from hearings I conducted on H.R. 11601 as chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

I strongly urge all Members to read Miss Porter's column today. It appeared just as the gentleman from Texas, Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, filed the report of our committee on H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which contains truth-in-lending provisions as its title I. Much about this bill is controversial, including several committee amendments I intend to oppose with all my strength on the House floor when the bill comes before us, probably late next month. These committee amendments, exempting department store revolving credit accounts, and most other credit transactions up to about $100 or $110, from the requirement for full disclosure of the annual percentage rate on the credit fees or charges, would destroy the main purpose of the bill. This position is spelled out in the committee report today in the supplemental views of 11 of us on the committee who opposed those serious amendments.

MASSACHUSETTS HAS NO "REVOLVING CREDIT" LOOPHOLE

The column by Miss Porter on the Massachusetts law on consumer credit disclosure reports on how well this law has worked to aid consumers in that State and to protect legitimate business from unfair competition from what a spokesman for the National Automobile Dealers Association described as the "loan sharking" element.

After outlining the beneficial results to many financial institutions from a law enabling consumers to understand the varying costs of different types of credit, Miss Porter writes:

> In brief, the evidence is that Massachusetts consumers now are comparison-shopping to get the most advantageous deal in credit. Misleading credit advertising has been virtually eliminated. Most of the viciously "easy" money lenders have been driven out of the state.

These results attributable to the Massachusetts truth-in-lending law can be duplicated nationally, but only if we pass a good, strong Consumer Credit Protection Act without big loopholes. It should be noted that Massachusetts has no "revolving credit" loophole in its statute—all forms of consumer credit in that State must be measured by the same standard of an annual rate. That is why the Massachusetts law can succeed in its main purpose—of giving the consumer a uniform basis for measuring the cost of one form of credit against another.

As amended in the Banking and Currency Committee, my bill, H.R. 11601, is deficient in that respect. These committee exemptions must be defeated on the floor. I hope, after reading Miss Porter's column today, and then reading the various parts of our committee report on H.R. 11601, including the supplemental views on revolving credit and the $10 exemption, Members of the House will back me up in this fight for the right of the consumer to have all of the facts he needs for what Sylvia Porter refers to as "comparison-shopping to get the most advantageous deal in credit."

USING THE SAME YARDSTICK FOR COMPARISONS

H.R. 11601, in most respects, is a good, strong bill, including its coverage of the advertising of credit, first mortgages, as well as other types of mortgages, credit life insurance, administrative enforcement, and many, many other important features to protect the consumer in his use of credit. But to succeed, it must, like the Massachusetts statute, measure all types of credit by the same yardstick of an annual percentage rate.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit as part of my remarks the newspaper column referred to, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Dec. 13, 1967]

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: "TRUTH IN LENDING" WORKS

(By Sylvia Porter)

The "truth in lending" bill is again being pushed off to "next year," but it seems almost certain that in 1968 a law finally will get through Congress.

It is time, therefore, for a look at what might be the impact of a federal law requiring lenders to inform borrowers of the approximate annual finance charges on most credit transactions, both in annual percentages and in dollars and cents.

The experience Massachusetts has had with its own state truth in lending law offers some clues. The details come from the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and the Massachusetts Consumers' Council.

1. Since the beginning of 1967, retail sales have risen 3 percent in Massachusetts, a large proportion involving credit, of course, versus a rise of only 1 percent in all of New England. This rise has occurred despite a slower growth of personal income in Massachusetts compared with all of New England.

2. Since December, 1966, immediately after the law went into effect in Massachusetts, there has been a 5 percent rise in consumer credit at commercial banks and a 43 percent rise in consumer credit at savings banks. In contrast, consumer credit at finance companies and consumer loan companies has remained the same this year as in 1966, or dropped slightly. The explanation, in the words of Dermot P. Shea, executive Secretary of the Massachusetts Consumers' Council, is that "commercial and savings banks are aggressively competing for consumer credit and advertising their rates in annual interest rates as well as dollar amounts. The finance companies have stopped this type of advertising because they cannot compete against the lower rates of the savings banks and commercial banks."

3. According to testimony of one major Massachusetts retailer who does half of his business on credit, "we encountered no problems of any consequence, either with our record-keeping or our customers as a result of this law. The law is informative for the consumer, and fair, workable and helpful to the businessman. It prevents 'tricky' selling of credit programs which . . . tend to cover up the true interest cost and deceive consumers."

4. Also, according to the National Automobile Dealers Association, the law did not "hurt us in any way, shape or manner" and, in fact, it might "clean up the atmosphere in this area—particularly where loan sharking has hurt the ethical automobile dealer."

In brief, the evidence is that Massachusetts consumers now are comparison-shopping to get the most advantageous deal in credit. Misleading credit advertising has been virtually eliminated. Most of the viciously "easy" money lenders have been driven out of the state.

But it's possible that the most significant effect of the Massachusetts law will never be measured. This is the vital protection being offered to the impoverished, uneducated consumer who for years has been victimized by the usurious neighborhood loan shark. In the words of Malcolm C. Webber, chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination:

"I do not believe it is by accident that nationally and locally, during the recent riots, there was much burning and looting of loan companies and stores with reputations for unscrupulous business practices."

Solid Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is considering the adoption of a resolution paying tribute to a man who has been well known to many as a bulwark of the Philadelphia community. I would very much like to pay tribute to him in this House as well.

Inasmuch as we seem to be on the verge of adjournment, however, I would hate to see that happen before public recognition can be granted here to George Bucher. I would like to take this opportunity to do that without benefit of a formal resolution passed by another body.

I might say that this is a man who has proved time and again by his deeds his value not only to the individual organizations with which he has been affiliated, but to the entire community in which he lives and which benefits from his presence. He is known in Philadelphia as one of the foremost leaders of the labor movement. But he is known for far more than that, substantial as it may be. Perhaps the most effective way for me to present his qualifications would be by understating them in the form of a capsule biography. I have made known my own feelings. Little more need be said.

The biography follows:

George Bucher is a native Pennsylvanian, born February 22, 1911, Black Horse, Pennsylvania. Son of Frantz Bucher and Susan Kutsi, Austria, Hungary. One year of high school (Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa.). Graduate of St. Joseph's School of Industrial Labor Relations, wood and metal worker. President Miscellaneous Wood and Metal Workers' Federal Labor Union, 1933 to 1936. Early pioneer and one of the founders of the Philadelphia Congress of Industrial Organization (C.I.O.), President of Local 37 United Woodworkers' Union, 1936; Organizational Director of United Furniture Workers of America, C.I.O., eastern part of the United States 1936 to November 23, 1937; charter member and one of the Vice Presidents and Board Member of the United Furniture Workers of America, 1937 to 1938; Director of C.I.O. Construction Workers Organization, Philadelphia and vicinity, 1938 to 1942; Assistant C.I.O. Regional Organizational Director of Philadelphia and vicinity, 1942 to 1945; Administrator of Local 356 C.I.O. Hotel and Restaurant Building Service Workers' Union, 1942 to 1945; International Vice President Upholsterers' International Union, 1945 to 1963; President and Business Manager International Brotherhood of Teamsters' Local 837 Industrial Workers' Union (successor to Federal Labor Union Local 20095, United Woodworkers' Local 37, United Furniture Workers of America Local 37, Upholsters' International Union Local 37) from 1933 to present date 1967.

Public activities: Member of Philadelphia Crime Prevention Association; member of Selective Service Appeal Board of the Eastern Federal Judicial District of Pennsylvania; member of Board of Governors, Philadelphia Athletic Club.

Speech of the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, of South Carolina, at the North Atlantic Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, during the recent 13th annual session of the North Atlantic Assembly in Brussels the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, served, as he has since 1963, on the Military Committee of the Assembly. As the first speaker in the plenary session debate on the report and resolutions of the Military Committee, the gentleman from South Carolina delivered an eloquent and powerful speech which I am inserting at this point in the Record.

The speech follows:

Mr. L. Mendel Rivers (United States of America). Mr. President, my distinguished colleagues, ladies and gentlemen: We have heard the presentation of our distinguished President of our Committee and our Rapporteur, and also the eloquent discussion of our distinguished Senator from the United States, Senator Mundt, as well as that of Mr. Chamberlain of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which I have the great honour of being the chairman. And I urge you most respectfully to adopt the resolutions we have given you. But I would be bold and urge you to consider another step as you depart this day for your respective homes. We meet here today in the continued tension which has marred this world since first I entered the Congress of the United States thirty years ago, and many of you have served in your own parliaments equally as long as this.

After World War II the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, our organization, was founded to defend Western Europe against the onslaught of Communism, and that is what it does.

Because of the continued co-operation of our NATO forces—our NATO forces, and unfortunately not our diplomats—we have had peace in Western Europe. History's pages are replete with small nations who wanted to do as we but they did not have the strength. And we have had the strength of the NATO shield to enforce peace and keep a peace in a world deserving peace which has risen from the ravages of a terrible war.

Did it ever occur to any of you, have you ever thought of what a great sacrifice my country has made as one of these partners? We have not faltered yet. We have contributed to world peace over $300 billion, almost one-third of a trillion dollars. And we do not regret it. We were able, we were willing, we asked for no trade advantages, and we seek no territories. No nation on earth has done, or tried to do, more.

The role my country has played in making peace possible, or trying to make peace possible, and contributing to the prosperity of all our partners, sometimes seems to have been forgotten. At least one has forgotten. And as a result of this and of course other actions—and I want you to know I speak as your friend, because we are—the American people now are asking questions.

Senator Mundt has told you God knows we do not seek isolationism. We want one policy in the vast Pacific to be the same as the less vast Atlantic. And we want to play our part equally with all our friends. The American people want some assurance, I say to you, my friends, that what we are doing is appreciated. The Foreign Aid Bill passed the House of Representatives the other day with scarcely ten votes out of almost 450 members. The American people are worried. Two hundred million of my countrymen are asking is it worth the sacrifice.

Why were we driven from the soil of France? General Lemnitzer told you he moved 100,000 people and 100 million tons of material at vast cost. The United States Army alone spent over $62 million getting out of France. I do not know how much the Air Force has spent, but it is a sizeable amount. Consider our bilateral agreements, and what we have spent in France.

Moreover, on the ungrateful soil of this nation lie 60,000 Americans, who gave their lives in two World Wars, bearing mute testimony that my people keep their promises; and in Flanders Field in World War II, where that great Canadian Lieutenant Jack Macray wrote: "In Flanders field the poppies grow, between the crosses row on row". And Henri Chapelle, 8000 dead in World War II. And Neuville en Coudroy and the Battle of the Bulge. And little Luxembourg, ten times smaller than the State of Carolina, there over 5000 of my countrymen died because we are determined that Luxembourg is as important as you and as the United States, and if one shot is fired at Luxembourg it is a shot fired at the heart of my country—and we mean it. This is the NATO shield.

I was in Berlin yesterday with my own troops, eating Thanksgiving dinner. Thousands of my young men, a lot of them back from Vietnam, serving on the front line in Berlin, are determined that if one Russian lays foot on Berlin soil we go to war. This is how serious we mean to be in our NATO commitments everywhere in Europe.

You talk about your Detente. You should have been with me at the Berlin Wall, the new one, not the old one, when I saw American tanks a few years ago muzzle to muzzle against Soviet tanks. And we would have gone to war then if we had had to. But yesterday I saw these boys at the new Berlin Wall, and I put on the cap and boots and I rode in a jeep and I saw with them that No man's land. And my colleagues, they are there for keeps until we drive them away. And I hope the day will come when they will be gone. But the new No-man's land in Berlin is there for ever if they have their way. And this is the answer when you talk about a Detente. And I must beseech you to keep NATO strong.

Now, what am I saying to you? I am asking you, as you go to your homes, to remember that the Mediterranean is on fire. I know what I am talking about. Israel gave us time. I do not know what the future brings. Senator Mundt has told you our southern flank is exposed. Can you imagine how hard it will be for our Canadian friends to get to Greece or Turkey or Italy in case of war, or how hard it would be for the South to come to the aid of the North? We may not be able to fly over France. We positively have no right to use the land of France. What do we do? I say this to you: think of Spain, my colleagues. We need Spain as an ally, and we need her now. The next war you will not have the luxury of time. My country has a treaty with Spain, and we like it. We like to do business with the Spaniards because Spain is the only country in Europe who ever beat the Communists on the field of battle. And I am quite aware of certain of the things that have been said about General Franco, and I know as much as you know what has been said. I know he is head of the Army, the Prime Minister, and I know we had some excellent and splendid experience with the Franco Government. I would say this to you, the Franco Government has been better to my country than the French Government. The Franco Government is not today fighting the currency of my country and trying to knock it down as it helped do to the English pound.

Moreover, the Franco Government has not decried and criticized my country everywhere on earth when we are fighting for the life of an infant country in far away South East Asia who only asks the right to live. We have 500,000-odd of our boys in far away Vietnam, and we will send more. We will not be driven from this soil and we seek nothing else. I remember World War II, the Carolines, the Marshalls, the Gilberts, the Solomons, Okinawa, the Palaus, and Iwojima where that statue remains and reminds us today that everywhere lies an American in the cause of freedom in the vast Pacific.

I say to you as a friend, let us consider the important Iberian peninsula. Did it occur to you where you would be today had Spain fallen into Communist hands a scant thirty years ago? If that Mediterranean erupts, as it will do, where will you be, and where will I be, where will NATO be? How will we get to Greece and to Turkey and to Italy? How will we keep our commitments? I want peace. God knows we have paid enough in our quest for this elusive hope for mankind. I say to you as your friend, speaking for a nation who is your friend, seeks nothing, we do not want to be more important than any one of you, God has been good to my people and good to my country and we share what we have with you, and our advice to you as you go home—and I will take no more of your time—is that you consider, that we consider, inviting Spain to be one of us. France has a treaty with her, Germany has a treaty with Spain, the United States has a treaty with Spain, and we like it. Portugal has a treaty with Spain, and they like it. It is this war of the hammer and sickle against the cross of Christianity, and this is where we come in.

I do not question France's right to withdraw from NATO. I do not question any path that De Gaulle elects to travel. He has elected to invite us out of his country, and this is his right, just like you can do if you want to. And since this is a fact of life, and since this is a condition over which neither you nor I have control, let us look for friends from somewhere else. America is in Spain, and we are happy. We want you with us, and we want the Spanish with us. The world would be a safer place, take my word for it. I have seen the tragedies. My boys are all over the world. They want to come home, too. They are dying every minute, as Senator Mundt said. Yesterday somebody sent me a little prayer, and I share it with you as I direct my friendly and respectful remarks to you, and it goes like this:

"Oh Lord, as I go my uncaring way,
Help me to remember that somewhere out there
A young man died for me today.
So long as there be war
I must ask and I must answer,
Am I worth dying for?

I thank you very much."

The Antipoverty Program Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 7, 1967

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in December 1964 work experience and training programs under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act were initiated. Public welfare agencies in 804 communities have administered these projects with grants from the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Through October of this year, some 188,700 persons were enrolled in these projects. It is estimated that an additional 54,000 will receive training and job-related services in the current fiscal year.

Most of the trainees are needy mothers and fathers with dependent children. They are poverty-stricken, unskilled, untrained, part of the hard-core unemployed. Less than 21 percent have completed high school. Approximately 33 percent of all trainees have never held a job for as long as 6 months.

Of the past trainees, 56,000 found jobs immediately or went into advanced training after completing their project assignments. An additional 71,000 achieved literacy.

Last Friday, December 8, six outstanding graduates of work experience programs were honored at a ceremony here in Washington, D.C. Miss Mary Switzer, Administrator of Social and Rehabilitation Services of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare presented citations of outstanding achievement to them.

Among the award recipients was Mrs. Fanny Tellio of Phoenix, Ariz. Mrs. Tellio's story is one of continuing determination despite misfortune. Mrs. Tellio's mother died when she was 7. Thereafter she took care of the family and worked in the fields, giving her little opportunity to attend school. Although she attended school intermittently during 6 different years, she was never able to complete an entire year at any one time.

Mrs. Tellio moved to Arizona with her husband, a migrant worker, in 1960. At that time she could speak no English.

Mrs. Tellio is now 26 years old and the sole support of her four children. In 1965 she entered the title V program. At Phoenix College she was enrolled in prevocational home management, child care, and adult basic education courses. Subsequently she was trained for 4 months as a nurse's aid at St. Luke's Hospital, Phoenix.

In December 1966, Mrs. Tellio obtained employment at the Maricopa County Hospital in Phoenix. She has been employed there for 1 year and is now supporting her family without dependence on a welfare check. This is what the antipoverty program is about—preparing people to help themselves.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Mrs. Tellio and the other successful graduates of work experience programs for their success in attaining financial independence.

Edward Ginsberg: New Chief of United Jewish Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, one of Cleveland's outstanding citizens is singularly honored and recognized for his tremendous contribution to his fellow men. Under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD an item which appeared in the Plain Dealer on Monday, December 11:

EDWARD GINSBERG: UJA'S NEW CHIEF IS CLEVELANDER

Election of Edward Ginsberg of Shaker Heights—widely known for his fund-raising work for the Jewish Community Federation of Greater Cleveland—as general chairman of the national United Jewish Appeal was announced yesterday in New York.

Ginsberg announced a "no-limit" fund-raising campaign for 1968 to support the organization's activities in Israel and 30 other countries.

Ginsberg, senior partner in the Cleveland law firm of Gottfried, Ginsberg, Guren & Merritt, was unanimously elected by the 2,500 community leaders from across the nation attending UJA's 30th annual national conference.

The conference ended yesterday at the New York Hilton. Its purpose was to launch next year's campaign.

Since its inception, UJA has raised nearly $2 billion and aided 3 million Jews, helping half of that number to settle in Israel alone.

Ginsberg, whose home is at 18000 Shaker Boulevard, Shaker Heights, played a vital role in the six-day war between Arabs and Israel in June.

After hostilities ceased, he and three other UJA leaders went to Israel to survey the effects of the war on the social welfare programs in behalf of 500,000 recent immigrants to Israel.

He reported to the American Jewish community on the intensified needs the UJA emergency fund had to meet.

In October, Ginsberg again went to Israel, leading the largest study mission in UJA history—550 men and women from 80 U.S. cities—for a more intensive study.

This included a report on the effects of the war on Jewish welfare and medical programs for the sick, the aged and handicapped immigrants.

During 1969, the UJA will continue the emergency fund initiated in June for an estimated 850,000 destitute Jews throughout the world, including 500,000 in Israel.

These services are carried out chiefly by two major UJA agencies, the United Israel Appeal, Inc., of which Ginsberg is a trustee, and the Joint Distribution Committee, of which he is a board member.

As general chairman of JCF fund-raising campaigns in Greater Cleveland in 1960 and 1961, his efforts resulted in realizing goals surpassing all previous ones in the federation's 34-year history.

He was co-chairman of the 1963 UJA campaign.

He is president of Fairmount Temple and a trustee of Mount Sinai Hospital and the Jewish Convalescent Home. He also is vice president of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

Ginsberg is an authority on Jewish refugee and immigrant problems, having gained much of his knowledge on numerous trips to Europe and Israel.

His wife, Rosalie, who often accompanies him on study missions, is active in the Women's Division of the Jewish Community Federation.

They have two sons, William and Robert.

Ginsberg is a graduate of the University of Michigan and received his law degree from Harvard University in 1941. He is a director of Rusco and Apollo Industries and a trustee and executive agent of U.S. Realty Investments.

In 1965, Ginsberg and one of his law-firm partners, Sheldon B. Guren, formed a cartage firm, Transportation Companies, Inc.

A Silver Salute to John L. Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, December 7, I had the high privilege of attending a dinner in my home community of Great Neck, Long Island, in honor of Dr. John L. Miller, who is celebrating his 25th anniversary as superintendent of schools in Great Neck.

More than 1,000 of Dr. Miller's appreciative neighbors were on hand to thank this dedicated educator for leading Great Neck into the forefront of American education. Dr. Miller has received national attention for his devoted work in Great Neck and is currently president-elect of the American Association of School Administrators.

Instrumental in the tribute to Dr. Miller were 39 separate local civic, fraternal, and community organizations.

Many individuals from the Great Neck community worked to make Dr. Miller's dinner the success that it was. Of course, primary acknowledgement should go to the dinner cochairmen: Lester Doniger, Bernard Gartlir, and Max Rubin. The members of the dinner committees, all of whom did excellent jobs, were:

THE COMMITTEES

Invitation—Tickets—Seating: Mrs. Paul Heide, Mrs. Warren Vogelstein, *Co-Chairman*.

Committee: Mary Asher, Bea Caro, Mrs. Edwin Charain, Mrs. Emil Cianciulli, Mrs. F. Einsidler, Mrs. Robert Frank, Mrs. Morton Goldman, Mrs. Irwin Gusman, Miss Margery Griffin, Mrs. A. G. Hament, Ellen Jacobs, Mrs. Jerome Katz, Mr. Martin Lennig, Mrs. Arnold Messner, Mrs. Harold Okoshkin, Arlene Oppenheim, Mrs. Werner Schott, Mrs. Saul Sorkin, Mrs. Gus Tyler, Elaine Weiss.

Hospitality: Mrs. Cyrus Rudman, *Chairman*; Mr. Justin Bacharach, Mrs. John Cornehlsen, Mrs. Joel Gersten, Mrs. James Hawley, Mr. Andrew Imperatore, Mr. Benjamin Jenkins, Mr. Leon Malman, Mrs. Edwin Marks.

PTA—Liaison: Mrs. Marvin Bass.

Community Organizations—Liaison: Mr. Philip Kravitz..

Program: Mr. Bernard Boresoff.

Decorations: Mrs. Herbert Waldhorn, *Chairman*; Mrs. Joseph Shenker.

It is not difficult to pay tribute to so fine a man and devoted public servant as Dr. John L. Miller; superlatives fit him comfortably. Let me close, then, by quoting the dinner cochairmen: "Dr. John Miller has earned the admiration, respect and gratitude of countless thousands of Great Neck youngsters and their parents for the indelible imprint of excellence which he has inscribed on the Great Neck public schools during his quarter century of educational stewardship."

Omnibus Crime Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, under the able leadership of the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan], its chairman, the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures of the Committee on the Judiciary has reported an omnibus crime bill to the full committee.

Such a measure is long overdue and by all means should be passed by the Senate at the earliest possible time in the second session of the 90th Congress.

During the first 9 months of 1967 violent crimes as a group increased 15 percent nationwide over the corresponding period in 1966. The need for an effective crime bill which will aid and encourage law enforcement becomes more apparent with each passing day. S. 917 as amended by the subcommittee would clear the air of the confusion surrounding law enforcement which has been created by recent Supreme Court decisions. As Senator McClellan has stated:

> The immediate problem is to give the policeman tools to work with and to restore to our jurisprudence the eligibility of voluntary confessions as evidence in criminal cases.

S. 917 would provide for admission into evidence of truly voluntary confessions and, in addition, would establish guidelines under which law enforcement officers could make use of Court approved, electronic surveillance.

The need for this legislation was discussed in an article published in the December 7 edition of the Columbia, S.C., Record, in the form of an interview with Senator McClellan. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

McClellan Wants To Slash Nation's Crime Rate

(By Vera Glaser)

WASHINGTON.—The Senator's crack investigator and expert on criminal behavior, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, is meeting resistance from the administration as he tries to write a law he considers tough enough to deal with America's rising tide of crime and violence.

In the following interview the chairman of the Government Operations Committee reveals himself as deeply troubled over the widespread defiance of authority in the U.S. He warns that, "no civilized society can withstand such a vicious assault upon its structure."

McClellan's permanent investigations subcommittee is probing the causes of Negro rioting in U.S. cities, an effort which will continue through 1968. Here he offers some tentative findings of the probe and discusses the type of crime law he believes should be enacted.

McClellan also suggests how President Johnson might handle Dr. Martin Luther King's forthcoming massive civil disobedience effort.

Q: Senator, you have called our law enforcement "inefficient and inadequate." Two former U.S. attorneys general, Republican William P. Rogers and Democrat Robert F. Kennedy, launched what were called major drives on organized crime. Where did they fall short?

A: I think those men were sincere but I don't think they have always gotten the cooperation they should have. Of course, law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility. They dealt with federal laws only and what I have said applies to enforcement at all levels. I am not placing the blame on any attorney general. My own thought is that sometimes, in some given cases perhaps, they could prosecute more vigorously.

Q: Then who or what is at fault?

A: It's the failure to make our system work. That responsibility rests upon all of us in the fields of legislation, administration and the courts. I see no indication that the trend is being reversed. By 1975 the number of major crimes could reach 12 million. It's rising like compound interest. No government can withstand such an undermining influence of its sovereignty. This is the greatest internal danger in our country today.

INDIFFERENCE

The people must become aroused. Citizens cannot retreat into an attitude of indifference and pull all of their trust in law enforcement officials. They must insist on enactment of laws to deal with these problems and insist upon strict enforcement.

Hardened criminals should be put behind bars and kept there. I don't think you can reform them. You only jeopardize society when they are released and not punished, whether it is done by a municipal judge, a court of general sessions, or the supreme court.

Q: What would be the best course for the country right now? Is the crime control bill in your Judiciary committee the answer?

A: I believe the approach in the President's "Safe Streets and Crime Bill" is sound, but it will take four or five years before it bears fruit. It does not reach the immediate problem.

We made some modifications in it which, in my judgment, improved it. The immediate problem is to give the policeman tools to work with and to restore to our jurisprudence the eligibility of voluntary confessions es evidence in criminal cases. Those are two weapons—potent and effective weapons—the police today are denied. The confession has been traditional in our system of jurisprudence for more than 100 years.

ILLUSTRATION

A clear illustration occurred recently when a 15-year-old Oklahoma boy murdered his mother, set fire to the premises and burned the house.

When his father took him to the police, along with his two older brothers, he admitted what he had done. The case came to trial. The judge, following the Supreme Court's "Miranda" decision, held that since the boy hadn't been warned he was entitled to a lawyer there had to be a judgment of acquittal.

Now that is a strained, distorted interpretation of the Constitution both in letter and in spirit. That is the harm being done by some of these 5–4 Supreme Court decisions that are shackling law enforcement officials in this country.

Every hardened criminal in this country knows it. They have their grapevine and sometimes it is swifter than that of law enforcement cricles.

Q: What are you doing to counter such rulings?

A: I have added in this bill a section permitting the trial judge, if a question is raised about a confession, to hear all pertinent testimony out of the presence of the jury. He then submits the confession to the jury with the instruction that it be given as much weight as it thinks it should have. The jury could find the confession coerced, in which case it would have no weight at all.

Q: Won't you have serious trouble getting that through?

A: That's why the bill is held up now. A substitute bill has been presented by the administration which the attorney general participated in drafting. It is generally what was originally introduced, without some of the features we prepared.

AUTHORITY

Everybody—except the attorney general, so far as I can determine—seems to want wiretap and electronic surveillance authority under strict orders of the court. I don't know, maybe the President has stood against it, but they say it isn't safe. Somebody's privacy may be invaded.

The overlords of organized crime use the telephone. Dope merchants use the telephone. They are shielded. Why shouldn't the police have the same tool to use under a court order? If we cannot trust our courts to use the special and necessary precautions to see that abuses do not occur, then in what can they be trusted?

Q: You have said we are in a period of crisis. What hope do you see of breaking the dead-lock which seems to have developed between a Supreme Court, described as liberal, which produces decisions like that in the "Miranda" case, and the Congress, which appears to reflect many citizens' urgings for stronger action against offenders?

A: What are we supposed to do, nothing? I believe in trying. I would hope at least one member of the court would change his mind when they see the evil fruits flowing from the decisions they have handed down. I've seen one justice, Hugo Black, indicate perhaps he has become concerned and a little more restrained in this field.

I voted against some justices I now wish I had voted for. (Senator McClellan voted against confirmation of Justice Potter Stewart, John Harland and Thurgood Marshall and later is known to have expressed approval of some of Stewart and Harlan's opinions.)

Q: Senator, your riot investigation has taken you thus far to Nashville, Tenn. and Houston, Texas. What have you found?

A: These are tentative, not final conclusions; the two riots appear to have been fomented by extremists, primarily members of SNICK (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a militant Negro group) in both instances. It is very unlikely the disturbance would have occurred, certainly no serious disorder would have occurred, except that extremists fomented the actions.

Q: Would you say they were Communist-oriented?

A: I have no positive proof, but birds of a feather flock together. Stokely Carmichael and some others seemed in a hurry to run off to Cuba.

Q: How do you view the announced plans of Dr. Martin Luther King for a massive civil disobedience campaign in U.S. cities?

A: I do not see how any government can permit such a thing and expect law and order and constituted authority to be respected.

Q: Isn't it similar to the October peace rally at the Pentagon?

A: I don't think they should have permitted it at the Pentagon. I'd stop them before they ever marched into the District of Columbia. They ought to be told it will not be tolerated, and it ought to come from the highest source of authority in this nation. That's the President of the United States.

Q: Are you saying there is some violation of existing law now?

A: Yes, if the purpose is to disrupt the process of government. Certainly there is when an overt act is committed. Declaring the intent may not be.

A Modern Plague

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, as proof of the fact that my great concern over the plague of foot-and-mouth disease in Great Britain and the possibility of its spreading to the United States may seem unwarranted to some, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article entitled, "A Modern Plague."

I only wish it were possible to include the photograph of soldiers burying dead cows with bulldozers in order to destroy the affected carcasses.

The article appeared on page 40 of the December 15, 1967, issue of Time magazine. I ask that you turn to "Time," read the article, and see the picture, and then consider what 1 minute of carelessness could do to the livestock industry of America.

The article follows:

A MODERN PLAGUE

On his stock farm in the rolling country of Shropshire in western England, Farmer Richard Ellis noticed one day that two of his pigs were limping. He called in the local veterinarian, and received a dreaded diagnosis. His pigs had somehow become infected with one of the most contagious and toll-taking of all animal maladies: foot-and-mouth disease. That was in October, and the authorities immediately slaughtered all of Ellis' livestock, buried them and took other preventive measures to confine the disease to one area. But the malady, which spreads with the silence and virulence of the bubonic plague of the Middle Ages, marched inexorably across the English countryside. Last week, despite frantic efforts to halt it, the worst animal epidemic in British history raged through a 17,640-sq.-mi. area from the country of Gloucester in the south to Westmorland in the north.

NO CROSSING ROADS

A massive slaughter campaign to halt the spread of the disease, which affects almost all hooved animals, has turned Britain's prize stock farms into scenes of tragic carnage. Squads of soldiers, equipped with captive-bolt pistols and high-power rifles, have been killing cattle in infected areas as fast as they can shoot. More than 280,000 cows, bulls, sheep and pigs have already been slaughtered. Tractors pull the piles of carcasses to massive graves, and the pyres of burning animals nightly throw their smoke into the Shroshire sky. Soldiers and airmen have sprayed thousands of gallons of disinfectant on farms not yet hit by the plague, and at the border between infected and "clean" areas police prevent animals from crossing roads and carefully spray the tires of all passing vehicles in hopes of containing the epidemic. Horse racing and livestock shows have been canceled throughout the country. Many Britons will have a treeless Christmas because the government has closed down four major tree-producing areas.

Ireland is so fearful that the disease may spread to its shores that travelers from Britain are required to walk through clouds of pungent disinfectant at Irish airports, and the Irish Government placed ads in British papers appealing to Irish workers in Britain not to come home for the holidays. France, Germany, Belgium and Holland have banned meat imports from the United Kingdom. Australia has ruled that emigrants from Britain can enter the country only by ship, not by air, in order to diminish the likelihood of the virus' living long enough to infect Australian herds with the disease.

International Illness. British stock raisers suspect that the culprit virus came into Britain in meat from Argentina that was eaten as garbage by pigs on farms near that of Farmer Ellis. Because the incubation period is as long as ten days, a sick animal may infect thousands of others before showing signs of illness—thus the need for preventive slaughters.

The U.S., which wiped out foot-and-mouth disease in the 1920s by a massive extermination program, has stayed clean since then by prohibiting imports of meat and livestock from all diseased areas. Only 14 other countries, including Australia, New Zealand, Canada and a few islands, are also free of the infection. The Soviet Union is now also undergoing a plague of foot-and-mouth disease, which Eastern Europeans fear may spread to their flocks. Some other countries, notably France and Germany, have kept the disease within bearable limits by vaccination.

The British refuse to vaccinate their herds on the grounds that the vaccine is not 100% effective and in rare instances causes mild cases of the disease. They feel that regular vaccination would scare off U.S. and Commonwealth cattle buyers, who spend millions annually to buy pedigreed British stock. The current epidemic makes the argument seem outdated. The government already owes British farmers $35 million—only a fraction of the real value—for the slaughtered herds.

Is the Supreme Court Supreme?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure most of us received quite a shock when the Supreme Court announced on Tuesday of this week that it was all right for Communist Party members to work in defense plants in spite of efforts of the Congress to prevent such a thing under provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

We have really reached just about the end of the road if the nine appointed men can get away with this decision. Heretofore they have struck down the rights of the general public in the interest of the individual and in many instances have struck at the rights of police officers to discharge their functions.

But is the Supreme Court really any more than a coequal with the executive or legislative branches? It is not a supreme department. True, Congress cannot reverse a Supreme Court decision in a specific case, but article III of the Constitution empowers Congress to make exceptions and to regulate the Court's appellate jurisdiction. It would seem to me the Constitution explicitly makes those who have been elected to the National Legislature the supreme judges, and by a simple majority vote to strike at what it deems a judicial excess.

The Chief Justice was good enough to say that the decisions in the Robel case should not be read to deny Congress the power under "narrowly drawn legislation." Thank goodness Justice White and Justice Harlan had the courage to say the effect of this decision might be interpreted to deny Congress to pass similar legislation.

Anyway, the decision made Gus Hall, Secretary of the Communist Party, very happy. He said it was "a victory for all shopworkers."

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News, in its edition of Wednesday, December 13, 1967, discusses the Robel case on the editorial page. I wish to associate myself with the conclusion of this editorial which is as follows:

FATAL DEFECT OF OVERBREADTH

If that phrase seems baffling to you, do not be surprised; it is a fairly recent philosophy of the United States Supreme Court.

The court has just again applied this philosophy to another section by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, a law devised by Congress to deal with communist espionage, spying and conspiracy in this country.

One section of this law makes it a criminal offense for a communist to be employed in a defense plant. The court says this section of the law is unconstitutional because it has "the fatal defect of overbreadth." In short, the law goes too far.

The case was decided on the plea of one Eugene Frank Robel. There was no dispute that Robel was a communist or that the Seattle shipyard where he worked as a machinist was a valid defense facility.

But Chief Justice Warren, who wrote the opinion, said Robel might have been a "passive or inactive" communist, or "unaware" of communist aims, or might even "disagree." He said the law was too sweeping and "quite literally establishes guilt by association alone."

The "right of association," the Chief Justice ruled, is protected by the First Amendment. The First Amendment deals with freedom of religion, free speech, free press, the right to petition the Government and "peaceably to assemble."

As Justice White said in his sharp dissent: "The right of association is not mentioned in the Constitution."

Communism plainly is "a clear and present menace" to the security and national interests of the United States, as the Supreme Court itself once agreed. If Robel was a "passive or inactive" member of the Communist Party, why would he join? Does a "right" to a defense plant job override the country's right to protect itself against potential for spying or sabotage?

Justice White didn't think so. And he said he had a lot less confidence in the "prescience" of the Supreme Court in dealing with national security than the Chief Justice and the others. So have we. The court majority seems to be suffering from the same philosophic disease it is alleging to Congress—"overbreadth."

Better Radiation Education Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as I have indicated many times in my remarks concerning the need for standard-setting radiation legislation, the problem produced by this public health hazard has many facets. And, likewise, the solution to the overall problem may well call for more than simply emission standards and enforcement policies.

It was brought out several times during hearings on H.R. 10790 that among the ways to reduce medical diagnostic exposure to ionizing radiation would be the implementation of improved methods of education and training for those who utilize X-ray devices. One of the leading proponents of improved educational and training programs is Dr. Karl Z. Morgan, Director of the Health Physics Division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory.

I have remained in contact with Dr. Morgan since the conclusion of hearings in October, and he has continued to keep me informed of his efforts among the scientific and educational communities. He recently made me aware of his communication with Dr. Arthur H. Wuehrmann, a well-known professor of dentistry at the University of Alabama at Birmingham.

In response to Dr. Morgan's suggestion that perhaps more emphasis should be placed on certain basic physical principles, thus enabling the medical and dental student to possess a deeper understanding of the functioning of X-ray devices, Dr. Wuehrmann replied as follows:

> In your letter, you suggested a number of basic physical principles which could be taught to medical and dental students which would give them a better appreciation of the subject. While I concur and while we do attempt to cover some of these subjects on a nonmathematical basis at the University of Alabama School of Dentistry. I couldn't help but be a little amused at your suggestions. The humor of the situation was based on the fact that some dental students don't even have an understanding of what happens when they turn a milliamperage dial on the panel of their machine in a clockwise or counter clockwise direction. Furthermore, they have little or no understanding of the effect of kilovoltage changes either on a physical basis or in terms of film quality. And, lest we single out dental students, medical students are often even more ignorant of the subject.
>
> I am really in a considerable dilemma as to the direction my efforts should take. Dentistry must not be deprived of its right to use x-radiation. In my opinion, the specialty of dental radiology should be promoted by organized dentistry as part of an effort to develop greater competency. Educational standards must be elevated, and the tendency on the part of some in organized dentistry to regard the radiation contribution made by dentistry to the population as "hair splitting" must be discouraged. Just how all of this is to be accomplished is at present a moot question.

Mr. Speaker, from his vast experience in the dental X-ray field, Dr. Wuehrmann feels that, on the whole, education and training programs are inadequate. Because the use of X-ray devices is an important diagnostic tool and an integral part of dental therapy, it is extremely important that the student be taught the proper operational techniques of such devices.

The leadership taken by these two gentlemen in recognizing a problem area and working to produce an effective solution deserves the recognition of all who are concerned over the public health hazards of overexposure to ionizing radiation. If the education and training programs which such men are working to produce are adopted, I am certain that, together with the emission standards arising from the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act, they will insure the American public that this X-ray device which enables a dentist to locate a cavity, or a doctor study a broken bone, is not at the same time causing radiation damage which could result in birth defects to future generations.

There Is No Place for Displaced Persons Under the American Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, last week the National Farmers Organization had its convention at the Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center in Louisville, Ky. Several interesting and informative speeches were given including one by the Vice President.

For my part, I felt that a speech by Hon. Ed Wimmer, public relations director of the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., was the most timely speech that I have read coming from that convention. I commend it to the attention of the Members of the House:

THERE IS NO PLACE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS UNDER THE AMERICAN HERITAGE

(Highlights of Address by Ed Wimmer, President, Forward America, Inc, Public Relations Director, National Federation of Independent Business, Inc.)

Twenty-six years ago a people blind to their follies were bombed back to their senses when they got the scrap iron back they had sold to the Japanese. The price was high.

While we meet here today, mothers will weep over the news that they have just lost a son in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. The price is too high.

In Des Moines, Iowa, and yesterday afternoon, I said that 35,400 NFO farm people had put the family farm problem in focus, and here in Louisville, you are snapping on the picture for the whole United States to see.

I said in Des Moines, that if our family farm structure should collapse, the price would be the collapse of the whole structure of the American free enterprise system and our representative form of government. And—that price is too high.

Since 1932, my theme song before millions of people and before Congressional committees has been, that the family farm, independent business and local financial institutions are the three pillars of our society. That if one goes, they all go, and society goes with them.

When the family farmer and all independent enterprisers, completely understand that the stakes are not our barns, tractors, stores, factories, but the preservation of the American Heritage, the independent is not only going to win his battle, but America's battle.

To insure the validity of this premise, you need no more than to prayerfully understand that economic and spiritual progress is an inseparable problem—which was set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and is agreed with by every church organization in the world.

The church organizations—the Popes—have stated that economic progress, economic freedom, cannot survive in a nation where power—both economic and political—is concentrated in the hands of the few, and America is becoming the power concentration center of the world.

We are going to have big farms, big business, big labor, big banks and big government, but there is no room in a free society for giant business, giant chain store systems, giant labor unions, or giant government, and if we do not break them up, they will plunge us into disaster.

As a family farmer, as an independent businessman—and there are quite a number here—you, therefore, are a unit of a free society—the number of which determines how great the free society is or is going to become.

You cannot breed communism or socialism in a nation of millions of independents, and you won't have race riots, mass moral decay, growing state welfareism—in a nation where the preservation, protection and perpetuation of independent, free private enterprise is an all-engulfing goal.

Take any segment of an independent society and rob it of its fair share of the income—of the profits—of the fruits of labor and investment—and ultimately that robbed segment will become a cancer that will eat at the income and hopes of the whole society.

Ours is a profit economy, and the more there are who profit fairly, the more the freedom of opportunity, and I can tell you there is no other answer to the present frustration of our youth—on farms, in towns and cities, but to open up their opportunities.

It cost Sears Roebuck 13¢ each to brainwash the young farmers of America with their philanthropic films—which 13¢ investment brought them back billions of dollars which should have gone to the independents who are the backbone of free enterprise.

These giant chains wiped out factories—banks—opportunities for farm and city youth to strike out on their own. They sent their profits to distant places and thus dried up the resources of the local communities.

Long before the depression, these big chains used farm products as baits. They hammered down the price received by the farmer for strawberries, tomatoes—along the Rio Grande; Maine and Michigan potatoes, Northwest apples; eggs, turkeys, beef and pork. Seventy per cent of the cattlemen in Colorado and Oregon are losing money today, and Armour and Swift say they have lost their bargaining power at the retail counter. The small dairy farmer has been going broke by the thousands, and soon there will be no small dairy plants—if we can't stop the trend.

This goes for every other line of business, and if every other line of business doesn't get behind you, and get behind other independents—the "welfare state" will go bankrupt trying to win a race with disaster that no welfare state will ever win.

Monopoly power in agriculture—the corporate farm idea—has to be turned back. The big chains must be deprived of their power to drive farm prices down to the farmer, and then destroy his market and small business with farm baits.

Turkeys are sold as baits on Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Years, and turkey raisers and small markets have gone out by the thousands. Milk is used as a bait and now they are going to give us imitation milk. Bait milk has liquidated the independent producer and processor, concentrated the dairy business in a few hands, and milk as a bait has stolen millions of customers away from small business. One dairy company, Foremost, bought 243 companies in five years. National Dairy controls 10% of all milk sales; 7% of butter, and up to 60% of ice cream sales in many markets.

Eight chains buy 50% of all beef or control its movement. The broiler business is gone to a few corporations. Farms are being integrated with giant corporations, making corporate peons of former independent farmers, and condemning their boys and girls to a corporate farm life—or more immigration to the big cities.

If you had the money going into trading stamps, Gift Stars, contests, bingos and other giveaways, and if you had the money being stolen from the big discounters and giant chains which is passed on in the cost of food, you would be richer by $4 billion. One trading stamp company has $174 million in one special fund. It recently bought the Bigelow-Sanford Rug Co. Consumer groups are being organized to bring prices down. Let consumers, businessmen and farmers unite instead to free the market place of all rackets, and let them be willing to pay a fair price that shows a fair profit for what they buy. (Betty Furness, please note.)

This fair price policy should prevail in all our dealings with foreign countries. No trade is good trade that isn't fair trade.

Look at your towns and cities and see what you and other independents have let happen. I think if we could get every five-year-old grandson to pick up the telephone some Sunday afternoon, and in one voice say: "Grandpa—what are you doing for my future?"—it might be a shocker big enough to make the older heads of America get busy for the younger heads they love above all else. What we are doing to them with the debts Arnold Paulson told you about—what we are doing to them by closing down their opportunities to strike out on their own—to condemn them to live in a country that is dependent upon government bounty for its existence—is the crime of the century.

In my talk to you at Des Moines, and in talks to other NFO groups, small business, public-invited meetings; in broadcasts, booklets, I have said that America may be God's last chance to save civilization in our time, and we alone can give Him that chance.

Millions of children in the world go to sleep at night crying from hunger. . . . There are 15,000,000 in the United States living below the level of subsistence, and 1,500,000,000 people in the world are hungry most of the time. We know that food is a more effective bomb against communism over the world than H-Bombs and bazookas, or flaming gas—yet, we proceed to destroy our independent farm producers who are the strongest bulwark we have against communism and welfareism at home, and we plan to curtail production in the face of threatened world famine.

Keep these things in mind when you start wondering if your NFO isn't doing the job you think it ought to do. Start thinking about these things when you decide not to attend a meeting. Keep it in mind when you do your shopping, or when you feel that the problems of the independent merchant, or the doctor who is facing socialized medicine, isn't your problem.

Communication lines have broken down between the man on the farm and the man on Main Street, and communication lines between business and the professions with the consuming public, are the worst in history. The competitive conditions facing small business in this respect have been so bad that small business feels a necessity to fight the farmer for lower prices in order to stay in business. They are too small to fight their real enemies, or, so they have wrongly believed.

We have independent farmer members of our National Federation of Independent Business, and we have merchants, doctors, judges, and every kind of *independent* business, both big and little, as members, because we know that no one group, no one farm organization, no one trade association can win battles alone.

Your number has been cut from eight million to three million in 15 years. The corporate farmers want to cut you to 500,000—and close down our towns and cities. . . . *You don't dare—we don't dare—to let them.*

The National Federation of Independent Business, with a membership of 242,000, reaches 30,000 schools and colleges every month, all trade associations and Chambers of Commerce, and all communication centers throughout the U.S. The Federation maintains daily contact with all Members of Congress and all government agencies, and millions of pieces of literature are circulated; millions are reached from the platform, by radio and television, and through columns in over 600 newspapers. Approximately 2500 independents are contacted personally every day by field representatives, and we continue a constant poll of business opinion which is reported to the Congress, the Governors, and to the aforementioned centers.

Our Federation has won innumerable battles for the independent. Great legislative battles that have stemmed the monopoly tide—but the fight is just beginning.

NFO has created an agricultural Armageddon in America; its responsibility as stressed by speakers is great indeed. Its weapon must therefore be truth—patient impatience—a soft voice and a big stick. I believe the people are ready for our story. I believe the Governors—the men and women of both political parties—are ready to accept your challenge of a fair price for your product, and the spectacular record of your public relations activities, your insistence for a square deal at the legislative and administration levels—has brought out more political sentiment favoring your goals than has been brought out in 20 years.

You have been calling on a lot of independent businessmen and banks for help—financial help, but too many of those who make the calls are spending their money with the chains which are destroying their source of revenue. Remember, you have a stake in the independent man on Main Street. He has a stake in you, and the man on Wall Street and on Constitution Avenue has a stake in you an your kind. . . . Tell them—and tell them until they understand.

I am told that the tape and film of my talk on this subject has been run on over 500 TV and radio stations, and shown to thousands of audiences (to as many as 300 meetings in an evening) arranged by your members. This makes me feel very humble, and very fortunate—for reaching people is my business.

The Butchers' Union says we either stop the chains or they will stop us. The great publisher of the Detroit Free Press, Mr. John Knight, says that "giant business, giant labor and giant government will destroy all our freedoms." . . . Mr. J. R. Wiggins, vice president and executive editor of the Washington Post, told the Pennsylvania Press Association:

"If liberty survives through the 20th century it will be because the press perceives the nature of today's crisis, and struggles to imbue its readers with a sense of challenge . . . Great government. Great business. Great labor—towers over the lone citizen. Nonconformity is taxed out of existence. Vast impersonal forces press in upon man and threaten to remake the citizen into a standardized component of a huge social machine whose form it is difficult for the individual to alter."

Joseph Kraft, Columnist (Courier-Journal):

"We are leaving too much behind. The small farmer. Small business. Craftsmanship. Hope. It spells spiritual desolation. We are the richest, all right, but what if the costs are greater than the winnings?"

This nation was not born in the snows of Valley Forge, to die on its farm lands. There is no place for displaced persons under our American Heritage. Let us vow, now, to reverse the movement of young people away from the farm—back to the farm.

Former President Eisenhower thinks our present power complex will pull the whole world down, and Hubert Humphrey put his finger on one of the principal causes a number of years ago when, as Senator, he said that fair prices which insure a fair profit for everybody in production and distribution, is the motive power of capitalism; the strength of private enterprise, and the assurance that freedom of opportunity in America still lives.

In an all-out decentralization program in agriculture—industry—labor—finance and government lies a potential for freedom, prosperity and human progress unparalleled in the history of the world. In further centralization—death to our system.

Make your voice for a square deal, for your place in society as a free man, as an accountable, responsible citizen—helping to create conditions which will give our returning soldiers, and our boys and girls the same hopes, and give the whole world something it can hang on to and follow.

As a closing thought I commend your President, Mr. Oren Lee Staley, and your splendid officers, and every other man who clings to faith in man as he clings to God.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The 90th Congress Winds Up First Session With All Its Old Problems and Some New Ones, Too

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, as the long first session of the 90th Congress comes to a close, I take this opportunity to report to the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan on the work of the session.

The Nation is restless and troubled. We cannot say that this Congress has solved any of the problems which beset us. Indeed, we have with us all of the problems of a year ago plus some new ones. We appear no closer to peace. Our fiscal situation has worsened. While this Congress has been meeting we have experienced riots in the streets. Serious crime has increased shockingly. We are troubled with inflation and the highest interest rates in 40 years. The moral and ethical standards of our people are changing. There is widespread and growing disrespect for law and order. It is difficult to point to anything this Congress has done to alleviate these difficulties, plus the many more that have led some to portray this as a sick society.

Our people are burdened with taxes more excessive than ever before in their memory and still our governments—Federal, State, and local—cry out for more in order to satisfy the demands of the people for services. Our Federal Government has balanced its budget in but five of the last 37 years. This Congress has lined up with the 32 rather than the five—and the Government continues to operate more deeply in the red ink than at any time since World War II.

BUDGET DEFICIT SWELLS

In June it became obvious the administration's January estimates of the budget deficit had been way out of line. An $8 billion projected deficit had grown to $28 billion. Some estimates put it as high as $35 billion for this fiscal year. Thanks to some savings effected by the Congress and the administration—plus a more optimistic prediction of revenues—at session's end the deficit is estimated at $22 billion.

A budget so far out of balance is economically intolerable. The Congress, on reconvening in January, must continue its determined efforts for further cuts in spending.

Last January the President had proposed in his budget message an income tax increase in the form of a 6-percent surtax. Every taxpayer would compute his Federal income tax, take 6 percent of it and add that to his payment. But it was not until August that the President finally sent his tax message to Congress. By then the 6-percent surtax had grown to 10 percent—estimated to produce $7 billion a year in additional revenue.

Since it is not possible to erase—or even cut in half—a $22 billion deficit with a $7 billion tax increase, the House of Representatives began a drive for deep cuts in spending. At session's end, the combined efforts of Congress and the administration had reduced spending by about $4 billion—not much out of a $140 billion spending program.

The inescapable fact remains that the Government will be spending $12 billion more in fiscal 1968 than it did in 1967. Some of the added cost cannot be avoided, but many of us believe spending could be reduced by at least another $4 billion.

RAISING THE LID ON THE DEBT

When this Congress convened in January the national debt limit was $338 billion. Early in the year, however, Congress was persuaded to raise that ceiling to $365 billion, since the lower limit was being reached and more money had to be borrowed to permit the Governmemnt to pay its bills. As of November 30, the debt was $345.6 billion.

When the Government spends beyond its tax revenues the difference must be borrowed and the debt increased. A government—like a family—may spend more than it takes in for a while, but the time will come when the imbalance must be rectified.

The Government of the United States has been spending beyond its income for so long that the situation has become chronic. Good times or bad, the administration believes in giving the economy a tonic, souping it up through deficit spending. Many of us disagree with such policies.

Interest on the national debt will cost taxpayers $15 billion during the current fiscal year. This amount is second only to defense in all of the categories of the budget. Interest costs now total more than the entire Federal budget for any year prior to World War II, except the World War I fiscal year of 1919.

The specter of inflation—rapid increases in the cost of living—has alarmed us intermittently throughout the year. Consumer prices were at record highs at the end of November when we learned it now takes a dollar to buy what 82 cents would buy 10 years ago.

Massive Federal spending has so great an impact on the economy these days that it is generally agreed a reduction of the deficit would dampen the fires of inflation. The issue between us is how the deficit should be reduced—by an increase in taxes or a reduction in spending. This session saw a determination in the House to meet the problem by spending cuts but, as I have pointed out, reductions were too small to accomplish the purpose and the situation remains uneasy. There may be further efforts to increase taxes in 1968, on the plea that costs cannot be cut enough to do the job.

TAXES WERE RAISED

The President's income tax proposal did not move in 1967. In fact, no bill to accomplish it was even introduced. But Americans will still pay more taxes. Social security taxes, deducted from paychecks and matched by employers, will take $1.4 billion more in 1968 than in 1967. This tax increase will not reduce the budget deficit, however. The money goes into a special trust fund and will be used to finance increased social security benefits, needed to restore the purchasing power which inflation has robbed. Under the 1967 Social Security Amendments, old-age benefits will be raised 13 percent, increasing the minimum monthly benefit from $44 to $55.

This Congress also raised taxes in another way—through an increase in postal rates. It will now cost 10 cents per ounce for airmail and 6 cents to send a first-class letter.

Rates for other classes of mail were also increased, but this added revenue will have virtually no effect on the budget deficit. The money will go for postal pay increases. The same law raised the pay of other Government employees, but not the President, Federal judges, or Members of Congress.

Competent Government service is dependent upon well-qualified Government employees, skilled and able. The Government has found that, in order to keep career civil servants, it must offer compensation comparable to what they can earn in the private sector of the economy. The need to raise the wages of Government workers to keep them in line with industrial wage rates is forced on the Government by the inflationary spiral which results from the Government's own economic policies. Congress has not succeeded in striking at the root causes of inflation, perhaps because it has not found them.

DEFENSE COSTS SOAR

This year saw enactment of the biggest single money bill in history. It was the Defense appropriation bill, totaling $69,936,620,000, of which some $20 billion was for purposes directly relating to the war in Vietnam. Other appropriation bills boosted the total spending authorized for national defense to $73 billion.

Only in the matter of supplying our troops does this administration recognize any dependency upon Congress as far as the war in Vietnam is concerned. This responsibility Congress is meeting without stint. Regardless of differences over our entry into the war and its conduct, Members of Congress overwhelmingly agree it is our duty to provide the very best of materiel, equipment, and supplies for our troops. At present the cost of the war is running about $2 billion a month, or $24 billion out of the $73 billion defense budget.

But, aside from being asked to approve the expenditure of such vast sums, Congress is accorded no role by the administration in matters of war—or peace.

This session of Congress extended the military draft law another 4 years but made no basic reforms. The President had proposed that Congress merely extend the law and authorize him to make such changes as he thought desirable by executive order. Congress gave the President the extension he requested, made a few changes in the program by statute law, but withheld authorization to reform the system by Executive order.

A SHIFT IN PUBLIC WELFARE POLICY

The Social Security Amendments of 1967 included many provisions having no relationship to the social security program itself.

A definite shift in public welfare policy is reflected in many of the amendments, especially those having to do with the aid to families of dependent children—ADC—program.

Under the law, States will be required to develop counseling, training, and community work programs for adults and work-age, nonschool members of families receiving assistance. To encourage self-sufficiency, a portion of family earnings would be exempt from reduction of ADC payments.

The law establishes a limit on the proportion of children under ADC to the total child population of a State. This ratio cannot exceed that reported as of January 1968.

States also will be required to offer day care and family planning services; to develop programs designed to reduce illegitimate births and to establish paternity in such cases so that support may be obtained for illegitimate children. Additional Federal funds will be provided for these programs.

The new law also establishes limitations on the medicaid program. The various federally assisted State health plans for low-income persons will be required to conform to new income standards for eligibility. To be eligible, a family cannot have combined income greater than either 133⅓ percent of the highest amount paid to families of the same size under ADC, or 133⅓ percent of the State's average per capita income, whichever is lower.

CRIME AND CIVIL DISORDER

The shocking increase in crime throughout America is the most alarming domestic issue facing us today.

Crime runs rampant through the streets and in public and private places. The machinery of law enforcement has been hobbled. In many cases, police officers can no longer do their duty nor can prosecutors bring the accused to trial. The criminal element in society, grown bold by recent judicial decisions, puts the forces of law and order on the defensive. The people rightly demand protection.

Despite this, not one anticrime measure—excepting those pertaining exclusively to the District of Columbia—has been enacted during this long 1967 session. The House wrote a comprehensive bill for assisting the States in law enforcement and passed it over to the Senate, where no legislation on the subject has reached the floor.

Now the bill passed by the House was quite different from that which had been proposed by the administration, but it was effective legislation, and in the view of the majority of the House, a far better piece of legislation than the Attorney General had asked for. In spite of the urgency, however, the administration chooses not to press for Senate action. The same fate has befallen a House-passed bill which would make it a Federal crime to cross State lines or use facilities in interstate commerce with intent to incite or promote riot.

Criminal law enforcement traditionally has been and should continue to be primarily a State and local function. But crime which crosses State lines in its conspiracy or commission is wholly appropriate for Federal action. This Congress has yet to attack in force organized crime which operates in more than one State.

Congress could also establish law enforcement academies—as we have long maintained military service schools—to upgrade law enforcement as a profession. Federal help in improving police networks for the exchange of information could be provided without weakening the essentially local character of law enforcement. But a new respect for law and order must be generated in our communities. It cannot be generated from Washington.

From 1961 through 1967, civil disorders in American cities and towns increased steadily both in frequency of outbreaks and severity. Even more violent outbursts are threatened in the future. At the time of last summer's rioting in Newark and Detroit, legislation was introduced calling for congressional investigations into the causes of the rebellious activity, so that legislation could be drafted to eliminate it. At the same time, however, the President appointed a Commission on Civil Disorders. When the Presidential Commission began its work, further effort for congressional investigations ceased and Congress awaits the report of the Commission, expected next March.

Hopefully, the second session of the 90th Congress will act promptly to create law enforcement tools to the extent of its constitutional authority; and State legislatures will likewise respond to meet the problem within their States.

ACT ON AIR POLLUTION

Just as the last Congress made progress in the effort against pollution in our lakes and streams, so the 90th has acted for clean air.

The Congress also enacted the first new Federal meat inspection law in 60 years. Major health legislation was passed, extending both the partnership for health and mental retardation programs through 1970.

NO HELP FOR FARMERS

Despite obvious faults and shortcomings in U.S. farm policies which—combined with other economic factors—forced the parity ratio during 1967 to its lowest point since the depression years of the 1930's, Congress offered no promise of legislative relief to the American farmer. Present farm policies are locked-in through the 1969 crop year, under the 4-year program enacted in 1965.

Two other issues upon which Members of the House of Representatives have no vote under the Constitution, but which prompted a great deal of mail from residents of the Fourth Congressional District, were the Russian Consular and Panama Canal Treaties.

The Consular Treaty with the U.S.S.R. was ratified by the Senate in March but has not yet been approved by Russia. The proposed new treaty with Panama has yet to be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent, since the treaty met with no better reception in Panama than it did in the United States.

If this session of Congress broke no other records, it did produce the largest number of rollcalls in history. By the end of the session day of December 13, a total of 433 rollcalls had been recorded. I have been diligent in my attendance and am proud to report that, out of 201 quorum calls, I answered to 196, and out of 242 record votes, I voted on 238 of them. I missed no major votes.

The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Villager, a fine community newspaper in my district is interested, as we all here are, in men and events that shape our Nation, its previous course and its future path.

For that reason, I was asked to review an excellent book entitled "The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft".

I know my colleagues will share my interest in this book and in my view of it.

The review follows:

THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF ROBERT A. TAFT

A new book, "The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft," points out what many have long suspected: that Robert A. Taft was the country's modern conservative, with a viable program for the Republican Party that all factions within it could live with for the good of the country.

The Republican Party, on a national basis, had been the party of prosperity in power from World War I until the depression, when its time ran out. Under Franklin D. Roosevelt it became the party of negativism, so feeble that it barely maintained representation in the Congress.

Robert A. Taft gave it a program of intelligent conservatism. With his passing came another wave of prosperity under Eisenhower, to be followed by a negative conservatism that in 1964 took Republicans back to 1936 in defeat.

Taft bridged the gap. First elected to the United States Senate in 1938, he survived until only a short period after Eisenhower's inauguration. During that time, he won three contests for the Senate in Ohio and lost three contests for his party's nomination for President.

Although he was berated by Labor Union leaders for the so-called "slave labor" Taft-Hartley Act, which bears his name, Ohio laboring men supported him, and the Taft-Hartley Act has been amended to make it more stringent.

When he died of cancer in July 1953, many people speculated on what the result would have been of his being chosen as President in 1952, and then passing on with but seven months in office, because his choice for Vice President would undoubtedly have been Senator Knowland of California, instead of the Eisenhower choice of the other California Senator, now a 17th District resident, Richard M. Nixon.

Probably most significant in understanding the esteem in which Bob Taft was held in the country and by his colleagues, is the fact that he was one of the five Senators chosen out of the Senatorial history to be commemorated by a portrait in the Capitol.

All of this and more is covered by this book, which traces the Taft career and, like an elephant, forgets no detail.

To understand national politics, and current political philosophy, this book is a must. One word about the publisher. Fleet Press Corporation at 156 Fifth Avenue is in our Village area. Its guiding light is Doris Schiff, also a Villager. With books like this one, they make a welcome addition to our district.

Nat S. Finney Elected President of Gridiron Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, two of the greatest honors which can come to a Washington correspondent are the winning of a coveted Pulitzer Prize and election as president of the Gridiron Club.

Nat S. Finney, Washington correspondent for the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1948.

Now, the Gridiron Club has elected Mr. Finney as its president to serve during 1968. He has been a member since 1949.

This is a deserved recognition for an able and distinguished newspaperman who has covered the Washington beat since 1941 except for 3 years when he was editorial page editor for the Minneapolis, Minn., Star.

Mr. Finney became Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Evening News in 1953, and has covered the national and international scene in an exemplary fashion for his newspaper.

He is the third Washington correspondent for the Buffalo News to be a member of the Gridiron Club, an elite corps of a maximum of 50 active Washington newspapermen at any one time.

His predecessor at the News' Washington Bureau was the late James L. Wright, was was president of the Gridiron Club in 1934.

Also a member of the Gridiron Club since 1926, now in associate status, is another distinguished Buffalo journalist, Alfred H. Kirchhofer, who retired last year as editor of the Buffalo News.

Mr. Kirchhofer was eliected to the club in 1926 while he was Washington correspondent for the News. He was named managing editor of the News in 1927.

The Buffalo Evening News has taken special pride in Mr. Finney's election to the Gridiron Club presidency as exemplified in an editorial which, with permission, I include with my remarks:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Dec. 11, 1967]

GRIDIRON HONOR

The News always has prided itself on having a top-flight Washington Bureau, and it is naturally a gratifying mark of professional respect and esteem when the chief of our Washington news team is elected by his colleagues to the presidency of the Gridiron Club.

In achieving this distinction at the pinnacle of the capital press corps, Pulitzer Prize winner Nat S. Finney follows a tradition of professional leadership much in the pattern of his predecessors.

Mr. Finney's associates and his many friends in Buffalo who have heard him give depth and perspective to national problems in his own friendly and personable way, will share his pride in the distinctive honor now bestowed upon him by Washington's most prestigious news organization.

Alfred "Al" C. Blozis Memorial Gymnasium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, November 3, 1967, a stirring tribute was paid to the memory of the late Al Blozis, former Dickinson High and Georgetown University football and track star, when its gymnasium was formally renamed the Alfred (Al) C. Blozis Memorial Gymnasium.

Mr. Thomas M. Flaherty, president of the Jersey City Council, cut the dedication ribbon in the absence of Mayor Whelan. In attendance at this impressive ceremony was Judge Jack Flaherty, veteran AAU figure, Mr. Johnny Dzitko, athletic chairman of the Jersey City Board of Education, and Dr. Robert A. Coyle, superintendent of schools.

The resolution renaming the gymnasium was read by Mr. Dzitko at the dedication assembly program. Other speakers were Judge Flaherty, who dwelt on Blozis' spectacular career; the Very Reverend Victor R. Yanitelli, president of St. Peter's College, who recalled Blozis' deeds at Georgetown; Mr. Aloysius B. Whelan, president of the Jersey City Board of Education, Mr. Herman D. Mytelka, principal of Dickinson High and program chairman; Mrs. Julia Sroka, assistant director of physical education.

Mr. Speaker, with your permission I include with my remarks several newspaper clippings which I was able to obtain from the Washington Post and the Evening Star on the career of the late "Al" Blozis. These comment on Al's athletic performance, his death on the battlefield in France, and the honors which came to him after his death.

These articles follow:

[1940]

BLOZIS MAKES DEBUT AS RUNNING BACK AS GRIDDERS ENGAGE IN BRISTLING SCRIMMAGE: BIG TACKLE SHOWS PLENTY POWER IN LUGGING PIGSKIN

A ball-running Al Blozis made an unexpected debut at the Hilltop yesterday as Georgetown University's football huskies bolted through a bruising scrimmage.

Blozis, a 240-pound tackle with plenty of drive, dropped back into the backfield on several occasions as a back dropped into the line and displayed the power of a full fledged fullback while plunging with the ball.

Even Bolzis' own teammates were taken by surprise, but not head coach Jack Hagerty.

"Al has phenomenal power and likes to run," Hagerty explained after the workout, "and don't be a bit surprised if we use him to carry the ball frequently this season.

"It's true that not many linemen run the ball nowadays, but it is likewise true that there are not many athletes like Blozis. If he continues to impress, you may see a lot of him in this capacity."

Jack Doolan, a lightning fast sophomore; Frank Dornfeld, a sophomore triple threat who punts exceptionally well; Bill McLaughlin, pile driving sophomore fullback, and Lou Ghecas, veteran halfback.

[1945]

G. U. STAR LAST SAW SERVICE IN FRANCE

NORTH BERGEN, N.J., February 19, 1945.—Lieut. Al Blozis, world champion shot putter and tackle for the New York Giants professional football team, has been missing in action in France since February 2, his father, Anthony Blozis, said tonight.

Blozis, who played with the Giants in their world championship playoff game against the Green Bay Packers in December, while on furlough, previously was a star athlete at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C. Although the Giants lost the game to the Packers he was the outstanding defensive player on the field.

Shortly afterward he left for the battle fronts and went into action almost immediately. Blozis attended high school in Jersey City and entered Georgetown where he played football four years.

Al Blozis, one of the greatest athletes ever turned out at Georgetown University and reported missing in action since February 2, went overseas late in December, 1944, after a visit here.

Blozis, who was commissioned a second lieutenant at Fort Benning, Ga., last November, saw action in three pro grid games with the Giants last season. He played against the Brooklyn Tigers November 26, the Redskins on December 4 and the December 17 championship game while on furlough following his graduation from Officer's Candidate School. He was later stationed at Fort Meade.

Son of a 300-pound Lithuanian laborer, friendly tow-headed Blozis was one of the most successful field event performers in Georgetown track history, and was an outstanding all-American tackle candidate in 1940.

Undefeated indoors and out in the shotput and holder of the world's record in the 8, 12 and 16 pound shot, the 6-foot-2, 246-pound giant brought Georgetown more recognition than any other athlete. Modest and apparently aloof to his fame, Blozis was one of the most popular athletes in Hoya history.

Following his graduation from Georgetown in 1942. Blozis entered professional football as a member of the New York Giants and became one of the outstanding players in the National League.

[1945]

With Plea for Life: Blozis, Former G.U. Athletic Great, Is Missing in Action

Lt. Al Blozis, New York Giant tackle and one of Georgetown's greatest sports figures, has been reported missing in action in France, his father told the Associated Press today at his home in North Bergen, N.J.

Holder of the world indoor shotput mark of 56 feet 4½ inches, and American collegiate champion outdoors with a heave of 56 feet ½ inch, Blozis wrote sports history in thick, black bannerlines at the Hilltop. Ironically he was only beginning to make a mark for himself in professional football when called to the colors.

A graduate chemist, the 6-foot, 6-inch Lithuanian, previously had been rejected for military service because of his size before finally inducted and sent to Fort Benning, Ga., where he was commissioned a second lieutenant last November. Sent overseas in December, he was reported missing February 2.

Blozis came to Georgetown from North Bergen (N.J.) High School, highly recommended as an all-around athlete. Unknown to most District fans, he was a pretty good basketball player, as well as topnotch tackle and trackman, but gave up the sport to devote the time to study. Football and track claimed virtually all of his free time.

In his first 28 meets for the Blue and Gray he broke 25 shotput records, capturing every mark but the world outdoor title, held by Jack Torrance with a put of 57 feet 1 inch. Blozis' best effort outdoors was 6½ inches short of that figure. Indoors, big Al tossed the 8-pound shot—the "bee bee" he called it—78 feet, hurled the 12-pound ball 65 feet and the leather-covered indoor 16-pound shot 56 feet 4½ inches. He bettered the latter figure by a couple of inches in a throw ruled out by the AAU because he used an outdoor ball.

Blozis did not reach full bloom as a football player until he joined the Giants, although Line Coach "Mush" Dubofsky, as well as Head Coach Jack Hagerty, predicted a brilliant gridiron future for him once he found himself. In college Blozis' lack of coordination hurt his football. He didn't really discover how to handle his 245 pounds until the 1943 season. But in college he was good enough to win a berth on Grantland Rice's all-Eastern eleven of 1940 and was given honorable mention on several all-American squads.

Blozis didn't care much for football at first, but his love of the game increased as he conquered his clumsiness and last season, after winning his officer's bars, he returned to the Giants for three games, including the unsuccessful championship struggle with the Green Bay Packers. He was a standout against the Redskins at New York but duty at camp prevented him from coming here the following week when the Giants clinched Eastern honors with a landslide win over the Tribe.

Blozis, despite his wide publicity, never lost the touch that endeared him to his classmates and cronies. Slow off the athletic field, easy-going and quiet-spoken, he remained one of the boys.

[1945]

A Hero Goes to His Death: Al Blozis Gave Life Trying To Save Man He Commanded

The War Department yesterday notified Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Blozis of North Bergen, N.J., of the death of their son, Second Lieut. Alfred C. Blozis, but the terse telegram did not reveal how he unhesitatingly went to his death in action in the Vosges Mountains of France—trying to save the life of one of the men he commanded.

Al Blozis, former Georgetown University athletic great who held the world shotput record, National records for the eight, 12 and 16-lb. weight throws and was all-National Football League tackle with the New York Giants, went to a hero's death with firm step that never faltered as he willingly attempted to perform his last measure of duty and devotion to his country and to his men.

From a source that is best left unmentioned, the story of Al Blozis's death is another epic tale in the saga of America's fighting men.

In command of a group which had advanced only to be cut off from the others and practically surrounded by Germans, Lieut. Blozis sent out his platoon sergeant to reconnoiter. It was snowing heavily and already the drifts were waist high.

Hardly had the sergeant disappeared when several shots rang out and what might have been a cry for help came back on the wings of the whistling wind. It would have been perfectly proper for Lieutenant Blozis to have ordered another of his men to follow the sergeant.

But Lieutenant Blozis didn't waver. It was dangerous and the odds were terrific. Germans lurked behind every tree and behind each snow bank. Lieutenant Blozis himself, knew full well he probably never would come back.

He disappeared in the swirling snow, forcing his way through the hip-deep banks on sheer strength. The flying flakes blotted out his towering six-foot-six-inch, 250-pound figure. Only the path that he made remained as the snow closed around him.

He never came back but he was still going forward when the clock ran out.

But all the telegrams his parents received from the War Department yesterday said: "The Secretary of War exceedingly regrets to inform you that your son, Second Lieut. Alfred C. Blozis has been killed in action in the Vosges Mountains of France on January 31."

[1950]

Al Blozis Memorial Comes From Heart and Kids at G.U.

Georgetown has been wanting for some time to give a trophy honoring its greatest athlete, Al Blozis. But the Hoyas wanted it to come from the kids, the students at Georgetown . . . it has.

Almost five years after Blozis was killed in action (Vosges Mountains, France . . . February 2, 1945) the Al Blozis memorial trophy, a sterling silver bowl 11 inches high, will be awarded by GU President Rev. Hunter Guthrie S.J. at a dinner tonight in the Ryan dining hall at the college.

The award goes to a man as yet unselected who typifies "Georgetown's top student athlete." He may be a member of any team and any class although it seems probable the winner will be a senior.

Outstanding candidates include football players Connie O'Doherty, Tommy Hardiman, Vic Banonis and Jack Kivus, track star Billy Mitchell and Basketballer Dick Falvey.

The trophy is the idea of the senior class and junior class President John "Jake" Dunne, Garden City, N.Y., who is not an athlete but who is a great admirer of Blozis. Dunne organized a committee which also includes Henry Lee from Richmond, Va., and Ed Finneran, from New York, non-atheletes, too.

With the school's permission the boys took up a collection for the trophy, got $200 in less than two days and purchased the silver bowl which will remain in Georgetown's permanent possession (each year's winner will receive a small replica).

The boys picked a trophy without any ornamentation, wanting to keep it, in the words of Class President Dunne, "strong and forceful looking, yet simple in a great sort of way; the way the class thinks Al was."

Blozis was GU's top athlete of modern times. He broke 38 track records, was all-pro tackle with New York Giants. He was also one of the Hilltop's best students, maintaining a B-plus average for four years while majoring in chemistry.

[1966]

Blozis Truly Deserves All-American Award

(By Lewis F. Atchison)

Through the double-door window you can see heaps of silver trophies, plaques and medals earned by Georgetown University teams and athletes down through the years. It is an imposing sight and the door is kept locked, but Jack Hagerty was pleased to admit a visitor.

"Over here," he said, "are some of his things. The rest are over there. We think the collection is a story in itself."

The Hoyas' director of athletics was pointing to two tables loaded with medals and trophies won by Al Blozis, one of Georgetown's all-time great athletes and a nominee for Sports Illustrated's Silver Anniversary All-American Awards. Knowing how such things operate, this corner doesn't put much stock in them, but it knew Blozis, and two other candidates—Billy Dudley of Virginia and Les Dye of Syracuse. If it isn't the kiss death to mention them, the judges could not make a mistake picking all three.

Blozis was a big, hulking kid who picked Georgetown over Notre Dame, and many other schools, because Hagerty was the first to show any interest in him. It was quite accidental, Jack related until he met the boy.

"I'd gone to Dickinson High School in Jersey City to look at a tackle whose name I've forgotten now, but who was supposed to be pretty good," Jack related. "I ran into a fellow from New York University and we got to talking about things, and when he heard I was there to look at this tackle he said, 'Forget him, but take the other tackle. He's green as grass, but he is going to be a good one and he's a good track man, too.'"

Hagerty didn't get a chance to talk to Blozis until that night. Over a milkshake and a sandwich he explained the advantages of coming to Georgetown and what it meant to live in the nation's capital, and Blozis was elated to think that any school was interested in him. A couple of months later he won the state shot put championship and college scouts beat a path to his door. Hagerty's early interest in the boy won out for Georgetown, although Al was sorely tempted by Notre Dame.

A 6-foot-6, 235-pounder, Blozis also was so fast he beat Georgetown's dash men at 40 yards.

"He looked like a scarecrow in street clothes," George Murtagh, Hagerty's aide and co-star in college, volunteered. "He actually looked thin until you saw him in a track suit. Take a look at the picture of him in the next room and you'll see what I mean."

It's a life-size photo, blown up from a smaller print, and the muscles ripple like a Michelangelo statue.

"He was a good student," Hagerty recalled, "a science major. We only had him twice a week for football practice—no spring practice at all because he was busy with track. If he came out a third day he made it up Saturday morning."

An alumnus of the New York Giants, Hagerty recommended his prize lineman to the late Steve Owen, then New York's coach, but with one reservation.

"He charges on every play and he's so fast he might get mouse-trapped," Hagerty warned.

It developed that Al charged, all right, but he was too fast to be mouse-trapped. He usually was the first man down under the kicks and he didn't miss many tackles. He was one of the first big, fast men in pro football, a real standout. But you had to watch Al in action to know he was around.

"He was so unassuming you wouldn't notice him," Murtagh said.

"Never sought publicity," Hagerty interjected, "but when the photographers came around he was always the one they wanted and I think some of the other players were a little envious of him."

Jack recalled a track meet at which a photographer arrived too late to get a shot of Blozis in action. Just one picture, he pleaded, and Blozis picked up the shot again.

"He broke the record," Hagerty recalled with a laugh, "but of course it didn't count."

Big Al was killed in action Jan. 31, 1945, in the Vosges Mountains in France in World War II. An infantry lieutenant, he was on a solo reconnaissance search for one of his patrols that was missing when an enemy bullet snuffed out his life.

A Grant for Texarkana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID PRYOR
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, Texarkana, Ark., was one of the 65 cities across the country recently named recipients of model cities grants. These grants will provide the funds to consolidate an all-out attack on the basic problems of these urban areas.

The Arkansas Democrat noted in an editorial praising the inclusion of Texarkana in this program:

> Being designated as model city material should give Texarkanans a considerable amount of uplift as local civic leaders envision improvements that could come through this project to reinvigorate the community.

I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD.

A GRANT FOR TEXARKANA

The Model Cities program is not just another government handout aimed at helping to improve substandard living conditions in cities—rather, it is a more intensive project that would improve conditions plus build urban renewal projects and finance future planning.

It hopes to improve people as well as property.

Texarkana, including the city on both sides of the state line, is fortunate to be picked for improvements which will encompass social, physical and economic uplifting.

The program will involve federal, state and local effort, with large sums of federal aid forming the basis of action.

Nationwide, 65 model city projects in 63 cities were approved by Washington, and each program is expected to provide improvements at the poverty level but the benefits will be felt by all residents in general. The grant to Texarkana, Ark., to be used for planning improvements, comes to almost $64,000. Grants to come later will finance the actual work.

The area of the city to be improved contains many low-income families. Eventual improvements will come about through projects for better housing, better sanitation and health facilities, vocational educational programs and jobs for the employable.

Being designed as "model city" material should give Texarkanans a considerable amount of uplift as local civic leaders envision improvements that could come through this project to reinvigorate the community.

Byrd Wins Another One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, the Staunton, Va., Leader of Tuesday, December 12, 1967, editorialized on the public services of Senator HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Gen. E. Walton Opie, who is one of the most distinguished and outstanding Virginians, publishes the Staunton, Va., Leader.

The editorial points out the fact that Senator BYRD has won another victory. The Senator's record is a commendable one and has attracted widespread and favorable attention, particularly on the part of the people of Virginia. I am glad to say that he is measuring up in every way to the high standards of excellence expected of a U.S. Senator from our Commonwealth.

I became acquainted with Senator BYRD when he moved to the Governor's mansion in Richmond at the beginning of the gubernatorial term of his distinguished father. I was then a member of the general assembly of our State.

I have watched throughout the years the progress of HARRY BYRD, JR., with interest and pride. In addition to the sterling qualities of character which he possesses, he is intelligent, capable, and courageous, and endowed with talents which particularly equip him for the discharge of the duties of a U.S. Senator.

I applaud Senator BYRD on the extraordinarily excellent and effective manner in which he approaches the duties of the high office of senior U.S. Senator from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The editorial referred to is as follows:

BYRD WINS ANOTHER ONE

Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., D., Va., has won another victory in the Senate. It is a double-barreled one, preventing expenditures not authorized by Congress with one barrel and with the other, protecting the authority of the Legislative Branch from a new encroachment by the Executive.

Sen. Byrd discovered in the bill (HR 7819) to strengthen and improve programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education a provision that if Congress has not by May 15 appropriated money to carry on these programs in a succeeding year, the same amount as originally appropriated may be spent. As Sen. John O. Pastore, D., R.I., said in support of the amendment introduced by Sen. Byrd to delete this provision, it is "the obvious responsibility of the Appropriations Committee as well as the Congress" to act. "If we get ourselves in a box at that time (May) we can always at that time of year see that the right thing is done," said Sen. Pastore.

Sen. Byrd spoke for his amendment on the floor and obtained considerable support for it in off-floor discussions with colleagues. The amendment was agreed to by the Senate and the House will approve if it has the concern it should have for protecting the prerogatives and responsibilities of the Legislative Branch.

In debate of his amendment, Sen. Byrd made a strong appeal for curbing Executive encroachment. "There are certain fundamentals about which I feel strongly," he told the Senate. "One is that there has been created an imbalance of power between the Legislative Branch and the Executive Branch. Either the President has assumed too much power, or Congress has voluntarily given him too much power. In any case, I think the imbalance should be corrected."

There is increasingly a conviction that there must be correction unless Congress is to become wholly subservient to presidents.

Praise for the F–111

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the role my home city of San Diego has been given in the development and production of the F–111 fighter-bomber. Contrary to the allegations of its critics, this aircraft appears to be shattering record after record for performance and versatility.

The Air Force version of the F–111A already has demonstrated that it can fly farther and faster and with a bigger payload and greater accuracy than any other warplane.

In San Diego, the Convair Division of the General Dynamics Corp. has some 2,000 employees working on metal fabrication for the F–111. Spending in San Diego for the plane is exceeding $25 million a year, and Convair has invested nearly $7 million in plant improvements and equipment for the F–111 work.

The great potential and early achievements of the F–111 were outlined in an excellent column by Holmes Alexander that was published last week in the San Diego Evening Tribune.

Mr. Alexander points out that Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara may yet have the last laugh at the expense of the detractors of the decision to award the TFX contract to General Dynamics.

The column follows:

MCNAMARA'S "SAFE" F111A FLIES INTO AIRMEN'S HEARTS

WASHINGTON.—"The guys who bad-mouth this airplane," said a test-pilot at Nellis Air Force Base near Las Vegas, "are the guys who never got in the cockpit."

He was defending (which is big news!) the Air Force version of the F11A, an offspring of Secretary McNamara's storm-tossed TFX.

In an article for publication Dec. 10, Air Force and Space Digest will be the first anti-McNamara source to speak well of the F111. Claude Witze, the magazine's senior editor, write the piece after extensive interviewing of pilots, maintenance men and Air Force brass. If the news is as good as it reads in black-sheet, the soon to-be-replaced defense secretary may be able to crack a small parting smile of partial justification for these reasons:

Although the U.S. hasn't yet got a "communality" plan (one usable by Air Force and Navy alike), we may have in 1968 a fighter-bomber to shorten the Vietnam war.

Unless there are fresh disasters, we will certainly have a new plane with a remarkable safety record.

And until the Russians prove him wrong, McNamara can claim administrative paternity for the best fighter-bomber in the world, and the only thing of its kind.

Advance reports on the F111 bear out these assertions, and more. The new supersonic plane, automatically piloted and positioned, can go into a target so close to the terrain that enemy flak and fighters can't find it. Its test-performance seems to preclude such travesties as the instance when we sent out 160 sorties and lost 16 planes to destroy one bridge in Vietnam.

The F111 in its practice runs is more accurate than its bomb load. Iron bombs are carried in pylons under the wings and dropped by gravitation, a very old-fashioned method. But the Defense Department has just announced the advent in Vietnam of Walleye, a bomb with a television eye that provides guidance in daylight and good weather.

The Air Proving Ground Center at Eglin Air Force Base is urgently working to send the F111 into battle with "terminal guidance" that will steer bombs to the target under all weather conditions.

Despite the bitter arguments between McNamara and his critics, the aircraft itself has had a relatively safe passage into operational production. During the first 5,000 hours of test flying, only two F111A's and only one F111B have had what the Air Force lists as "serious accidents." In contrast, using the same time-frame, the F101 had 11 disasters, the F104 had 14, and no other comparable jet-fighter has had less than six.

The F111 differs from any other known weapons system in that its performance very nearly makes it a manned missile that is guided, recoverable and immensely versatile. No other military aircraft has the aviation-electronics (avionics) to take it to a point in air-space and release its load. Its powerful afterburner gives it an unusual get-away velocity.

The F111 recently flew 2,900 miles to the Paris airshow and had fuel for two hours' flying left over. It also flew the 1,047 miles from Fort Worth to Nellis at less than 1,000 feet without its pilot touching the controls. It also dove from 20,000 feet, with a startled Air Force general as passenger, to 50 feet and then continued its flight at terrain level, without a touch of manual control.

The test-pilots at Nellis, all veterans of Korea and Vietnam airbattles, agree that the plane has no equal. Greater accuracy, fewer sorties and lower losses are the Air Force expectations for '68.

Rockville, Md., Youth Dies in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp. 4c. Harry R. White, Jr., a paratrooper from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ROCKVILLE YOUTH DIES IN VIETNAM—HARRY R. WHITE, JR., WAS IN QUARTERMASTERS

ROCKVILLE, MD., December 13.—An 18-year-old Rockville paratrooper was killed in Vietnam Sunday, the Defense Department announced today.

The Army said Spec. 4 Harry R. White, Jr., the husband of Elaine C. White, of 13808 Arctic avenue, Rockville, was killed in action.

Mrs. White said her husband enlisted in the Army over a year ago.

She said he went through jump school and was then trained as a parachute rigger.

"He was with the 109th Quartermaster. He went to Vietnam August 3. We weren't sure yet whether he would make the Army his career," she said.

Specialist White was born in Mississippi and raised in Lakeland, Fla.

MARRIED A YEAR

She said he left high school to join the Army "as soon as he was 17."

The Whites had been married one year.

Specialist White will be buried in Lakeland.

Besides his wife, he is survived by his mother, Mrs. Cleo Gillespie, of Lakeland.

A Story About an Atomic Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I have read a most interesting and informative article written by Mr. Justin McCarthy, the editor of the United Mine Workers Journal. This article which appeared in the December 1, 1967, Journal outlines a very serious situation that presently exists and I welcome this opportunity to share this with my colleagues in the U.S. Congress.

I thoroughly agree with Mr. McCarthy that we should leave no stone unturned to stop the fatalities caused by overexposure of radioactive material.

This interview which Mr. McCarthy so clearly relates in the following article points up the necessity for the Federal Government to refrain from participating further in the destruction by dangerous nuclear power experiments if we are to stop the tragic spread of that dreaded disease—cancer.

Mr. Speaker, I will have this article printed at this point in the RECORD:

A STORY ABOUT AN ATOMIC WORKER

There was the occasion, during our recent trip to Denver to try to "knock out" the Atomic Energy Commission's latest dangerous nuclear power experiment—a $90 million ($47 million of it in Federal Funds) electric power plant, to listen one evening to some atomic energy workers.

Their names shall go unmentioned here for their own protection.

Suffice it to say that they are union men and that they at one time were "represented" by the Metal Trades Department of the AFL–CIO. They are now members of a Local Union of District 50 of the UMWA.

They had read in a Denver newspaper that Leo Goodman, one of the few informed men on atomic hazards in the American labor movement, was in town. So they came to his motel room with some "beefs."

We sat and listened as they recited incident after incident of atomic accidents and hazards in the plant in which they work.

Their stories were told in matter-of-fact manners that made them all the more frightening.

One of the men, we thought, was unusually quiet. He sat in a hard-backed chair and listened with a sad expression on his face.

One of the atomic workers told of the man in their plant who had been injured by a plutonium splinter in the course of his work with deadly nuclear material. The medical men at the plant had sliced off the part of the finger that had been injured. That was some time ago. The man has been back for examination and further surgery several times since the accident. Now most of his right hand is gone, sliced off by doctors in what undoubtedly is a vain effort to prevent the radioactive poison from coursing through his body.

The man who had been so quiet was asked to tell his story. He said that about three years ago he had noticed a swelling in the glands under his jaw.

We had noticed it, too, as he sat still and quiet in his chair.

He said he had gone to the dentist because he thought he had an infected tooth. The dentist told him his teeth were not infected.

He had then gone to a plant physician who had taken one look at him and told him to go to his personal doctor. His own doctor examined him and sent him to Kansas City to a cancer clinic. There they had diagnosed his illness correctly.

The quiet man has leukemia—cancer of the blood—brought on by overexposure to radioactive materials.

The quiet man knows that he has leukemia. He probably knows that he is a dying man. But he had come to talk with Goodman and his fellow workers to see what might be done for him, if anything.

Goodman jotted some notes on a card and told the atomic worker he would try to get him into Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore where there are experts on the kind of illness the man has.

The conversation went on and soon the atomic workers were discussing the incidence of cancer in the plant where they work and the fact that such cases are kept quiet. The men did not know exactly how many workers in the plant had died of cancer but they said they would try to find out although it would not be an easy task.

The quiet man got up.

"I guess you don't need me any more," he said, "Thank you for listening and I hope you can do something for me."

He did not want to hear any more discussion about cancer and so he left the motel room, quietly as he had come in.

There was a silence for a few moments among the other men in the room.

"That," said Leo Goodman, finally, "is case No. 200—in my personally-documented file of men who are dying from radioactive poisoning."

—JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

International Monetary System or U.S. Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent ramblings on the gold market—a crime for Americans, perhaps that is why some who share our society refuse our citizenship—should be followed by our people with interest.

A bum's rush on world currency to get the real value—gold—but, according to the newsmen it is always American gold.

When did the United States commit herself to supply one-half of the gold sold on the European market? When did it do so and how? Who are our other supposed six partners in Switzerland, that is, are they individuals or countries?

Mr. Speaker, the AP and UPI releases for December 13 should be read by every Member and I ask that they follow my remarks:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Dec. 13, 1967]

GOLD BUYING NEAR RECORD ON PARIS MART

PARIS (UPI).—Speculators bought gold at near-record rates today and put a further drain on the United States supply of gold.

Gold dealers in Paris said $12.6 million worth of gold was sold today on the French markets, only $200,000 less than the record sales that followed Britain's devaluation of the pound.

Dealers reported in London and Zurich that demand for gold also was "very high."

In London the price moved up to almost $35.20, up an eighth of a cent from yesterday, but the sterling price remained unchanged.

Speculators who rush to trade their paper money for gold are, in effect, attacking the American dollar. The United States is committed to supply half of the gold sold on the European markets, thereby keeping its price steady at $35 an ounce.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Dec. 13, 1967]

PARIS SQUEEZED, LONDON IS TOLD

LONDON (AP).—The seven member countries of the London gold pool have agreed on new plans to curb gold trading and support the U.S. dollar, the London Times said today.

The new restrictions put an "ingenious squeeze" on the French government which could force it to support the dollar, the Times said.

The Times said the United States and its six partners in the gold pool agreed in Basel, Switzerland, Sunday and Monday to ban dealing in the future sale or delivery of gold, to ban dealing in gold on credit, and to ban bids on behalf of other central banks, which now will have to apply directly to the U.S. Treasury.

The new measures aim to protect official gold reserves from speculators during the readjustment of the international monetary system in the wake of the devaluation of the pound. But the measures amount to massive support for the dollar since they should help to protect the U.S. gold reserve.

Social Security Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the disgraceful paradoxes of this Nation is its unparalleled ability to care for its senior and less fortunate citizens, yet its failure to do so.

Perhaps the most vivid manifestation of this is the social security bill agreed to in conference and which was adopted by this body yesterday.

I look upon this legislation as not being adequate to meet the needs of our citizens. When originally voting in favor of this legislation, it was anticipated that it would subsequently be improved upon—that the House bill would be considered as a base upon which to build. Though some improvement was realized in the Senate version, the conferees failed to come forth with the necessary legislation.

Of particular note is the amendment pertaining to welfare programs aiding families with dependent children. As reported by the conferees and adopted yesterday, aid to dependent children is to be frozen at levels of January 1, that is, the Federal Government will pay its share of the Federal-State welfare program only at the level of recipients set as of January 1, 1968. Persons going on the aid for families with dependent children rolls above that level will only receive State and local assistance. In other words, the Federal Government is turning its back on all those families and children who would become eligible for assistance after January 1, 1968, under existing eligibility regulations.

I would like to remind my colleagues that this Nation, which is the wealthiest in the world, uses less of its national wealth for the social welfare of its citizens than other advanced industrial nations and frequently less than many poor and developing nations. While West Germany and Luxembourg use approximately 17 percent of their gross national product for social welfare measures, the United States uses only 7 percent.

We have little to rejoice about concerning the legislation passed by this body yesterday. Yes, it is an improvement in some areas—which prompted my "yea" vote—but it still leaves much to be desired. Let us now address ourselves to the legislative task that remains ahead if we are to fulfill our obligation to the senior and less fortunate citizens of this Nation.

Soviet Boldness in the Near East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly emphasized that the natural preoccupation we have with Vietnam permitted the Soviet Union to move with increasing boldness in the Near East. The significance of these developments is very thoroughly analyzed in the following article by Mr. Richard Pattee which appeared in the December 8 issue of the New World:

SOVIETS FILLING MIDEAST POWER GAP

(By Richard Pattee)

The slow film of events in the Middle East confirms day after day the fact that the prospect of an Arab-Israeli settlement is little short of impossible, at least in the present state of the atmosphere between the two adversaries.

On the other hand, the course of events does demonstrate that this vital area of the world's surface is gradually—indeed rapidly—being filled by the Soviet Union.

The naive idea held in some quarters that on the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik rebellion, the Soviet Union is now a comfortable society of technocrats who have abandoned their revolutionary ideas, is completely vitiated by the progress of the USSR in the Mediterranean.

It is absolutely certain that never again will British influence become of any significance in the area.

The government of the United Kingdom has managed an almost impossible feat: it has lost the confidence and respect of both sides in the present tension and the haste with which it is preparing to leave South Arabia attests to the collapse of the last bastion of British power in the region.

Into this void, the Soviet Union moved with both speed and effectiveness. In South Arabia the movement that is scheduled to exert the major power is oriented toward Moscow. In the Yemen, the Egyptians have been virtually forced to abdicate after the overthrow of the Republican Al Salal and the installation of Abdu Rahman A Iryani.

Cairo can no longer proceed with the expansion toward the lower part of the Red Sea as it did during the years of engagement in the Yemeni expedition. Moreover, the Soviet Union has long had a firm base in the Yemen and with the departure of the Egyptians may very well increase it.

The presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean is an event of such enormous importance that one wonders that it has not been noted everywhere as one of the most dramatic departures in modern history.

The estimate is from 45 to 55 vessels in that sea, operating, or at least present, from Oran in Algeria to Port Said in Egypt. Le Figaro of Paris has estimated that at least a thousand Soviet officers are engaged in the work of recreating the shattered Egyptian army after the debacle of last June.

From French sources it is clear that the Soviets have moved in on Algeria in enormous numbers. Syria remains, as it was before June, a major center of Soviet activity, attested by the absolute intransigence of the Syrian regime regarding peace possibilities.

The whole thing reminds one strongly of the 19th century when Tzarist aspirations were identical. Concentration on the Vietnam struggle and the cessation of open warfare in the Middle East should not obscure the fact that the Soviet Union is as active as ever and pursues with the same relentless patience the goals that were set long ago even before the 1917 Revolution.

The Surtax Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, for many months we have been reading about the President's request for a 10-percent surcharge on incomes to help finance the Vietnam war, to help cut the budget deficit, and to help stem inflation. It has been difficult for me to reconcile myself to the President's thinking when he announced in November that the deficit was expected to reach $30 to $35 billion, while at that very time, his proposed tax increase/spending cut plan was ready for submission to Congress and showed the deficit to be $22.4 billion which could be reduced $2.6 billion as a result of planned expenditure controls, leaving a $19.8 billion deficit in sight.

I have considered all the arguments advanced by the administration in support of this tax increase and I am simply unable to accept them. And so, for the following reasons, I cannot at this time support a tax increase:

First. The administration says a tax increase is needed to halt inflation, but this contention is disputed by leading economists in the President's own party. What we are experiencing, I believe, is inflation generated by massive Government spending, with the Government bidding against private economy for manpower and services. This opens the door to inflationary wage settlements.

Second. The administration admits it is faced with a multibillion-dollar deficit but has failed to make any meaningful reductions in nonessential spending or postpone new and untried programs not vital to the Nation's welfare.

Third. One of the principal arguments advanced in behalf of the surcharge is that its enactment would relieve pressure on the money market, thus obviating an increase in the general interest level. In view of recent Federal Reserve Board action, this argument is no longer valid. The dampening effect of increased interest rates superimposed with a tax increase might well plunge our economy into a recession. Budget cuts provide a more flexible economic weapon because they can be put into effect at once and allow for a more rapid reversal of policy.

Fourth. A tax increase would be an unnecessary additional burden on the middle-income taxpayer and especially hard on those citizens on fixed incomes.

Albany County Farm Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from Mr. Harry Garry, president of the Albany County Farm Bureau, which outlines subjects of special concern to the Farm Bureau.

While I do not necessarily agree with all of the views expressed in Mr. Garry's letter, I do think the positions taken fairly well reflect grassroot feelings on a number of matters held by many citizens served by the Farm Bureau.

I am sure many of my colleagues will be interested in this pertinent and precise statement. The letter follows:

ALBANY COUNTY FARM BUREAU,
East Berne, N.Y., December 11, 1967.

Hon. DANIEL E. BUTTON,
Member of Congress,
Longworth Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR DAN: I was empowered by the Directors to send you this letter epitomizing their thinking on a somewhat broader subject of much concern at this time to farmers and other segments of our society. The impasse between our President and Congress on the matter of more government spending has served to stimulate this line of thought.

A frequently used excuse for the proposed super billion dollar budget is the Vietnam conflict. It is undeniable that this has caused our defense spending to skyrocket from its already high plateau. Most Americans seem to realize that Communism must be stopped from annihilating men's freedom somewhere, and if this is where it must be, let's get it over with as soon as possible.

The area of spending which is axiomatically the straw that seems to break the camel's back is the increasingly rapid escalation of non-defense spending.

As recently as 1960, our National budget called for $31 billion in this category. The proposed 65 billion dollars for the forthcoming one has more than doubled the 1960 figure—this in only 7 short years. Proliferation of do-good programs without end or any concern on the part of their protagonists as to the source of the money needed to finance the astronomical budgets they entail is pushing our country and much of the rest of the world into the current state of apprehension as to our financial integrity and the future stability of the prime world currency—the American dollar. The recent devaluation of the British pound sterling has shaken many people out of a state of lethargy regarding the financial facts of life in the 1960's.

It is a sobering thought to realize that just the interest on our National debt approximates $15 billion per year. It disturbs many of us to face up to fact that the total tax load for America this year—National, State and local—approaches $213 billion.

One does not have to be an economist to realize that the inflationary pressure imposed on our economy by spending more than we earn year after year, robs millions of Americans of the purchasing power of the dollars rightfully theirs by investment, retirement, social security or net returns from vocations such as Agriculture which cannot demand and get the 5 or 6% wage increase being forced by labor leaders on a helpless society. The President's exhortations to hold the line on wage demands in keeping with the expected 3% productivity increase fall on deaf ears.

It is becoming apparent to many of us that his insistence on a 10% tax increase, coupled with a record-breaking budget, in essence serves notice on the already heavily overloaded taxpayer that he must tighten his belt, spend less for his own needs so that the ever more powerful government can spend more. Perhaps history will record that the President, by this action, has compelled many of us to see the light. If we want all the benefits of his Great Society, we must begin paying for them—not just in some future year, or by some generation yet unborn, but now.

Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee is to be commended for not yielding to the White House demands for more and more taxes to give the President the money he wants to spend. We hope you back Mr. Mills to the hilt. Let's see a whopping cut in the proposed budget and the next one before contemplating an increase in the already heavy tax load.

Agriculture is a good place to start.

The Administration's program of crop controls, allotments, subsidies, direct payments and such, not to mention the grandiose schemes presently in Secretary Freeman's head for recreation, Economic Development, etc. should be phased out as rapidly as possible. If the number of active farmers feeding Americans continues its present rate of decline and the number of U.S.D.A. employees continues to grow, it is conceivable that we may eventually have a U.S.D.A. employee for every farmer.

Foreign aid should be cut to the bone.

Why continue to lavish American dollars, sorely needed at home to strengthen our own economy's balance of payments in world markets, on people all over the world who couldn't care less for America?

Anti-Poverty Programs and many Job Development or Training Programs of questionable worth or results should be eliminated as soon as possible. Our private and religious charitable institutions have done an admirable job in the past and should be encouraged to do the even better job of which they are capable if properly encouraged by an understanding government.

In regard to Federal Aid to Education—many school Administrators seem to feel that much of the money presently being poured into Education by the Federal Government entails much waste and overlapping of functions and could more effectively be handled at the local level.

These are a few of the areas in which Federal spending could be effectively cut and a balance between income and outgo established once again. In the eyes of key men in the world's great money markets, we would have taken the vital step to begin to put our financial house in order.

The present heavy drain on our fast-dwindling supply of gold has caused our reserves to decline from $22.9 billion to $13.1 billion in 10 years. At the same time, foreign claims against these reserves have climbed from $15.8 billion to $30 billion. With only $13.1 billion in gold reserves to meet outstanding obligations of $30 billion, it is time for each one of us to do a little soul searching.

Sincerely,

HARRY GARRY,
President.

The Impact of Institutional Investors on the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the rapid increase in the size and activity of institutional investors in the stock markets has created a new force in the securities industry that must be recognized. Our virtually total lack of knowledge about the implications of this new force has been a source of great concern to me. As a result, I have joined with my good friend and distinguished colleague from California, JOHN E. MOSS, in introducing a joint resolution calling on the SEC to investigate and study the impact of institutional investors on the stock markets.

An article, by John Cunniff, the Associated Press business writer, which appeared in the December 13 issue of the Washington Star, points out some of the major problems and questions raised by the emergence of this new force in the stock markets. It also presents a concise summary of the concern expressed by various segments of the securities industry.

Mr. Speaker, since this is a subject I am confident will receive the increasing attention of all of my colleagues, but hopefully not as the result of another

October 1929, I am inserting this fine article at this point in the RECORD:

PERFORMANCE CULT BUILDS DEMAND FOR BIG-BUYER PROBE

(By John Cunniff)

NEW YORK.—Pressure has built up strongly in the past few weeks to study the impact on stock prices of institutional trading, especially by the performance or go-go mutual funds. A belief exists that the enormous blocks of shares owned, bought and sold by these wealthy institutions—funds, banks, insurers, trusts—may bring disorder to the market causing unusualy sharp price changes.

Of chief interest are the activities of performance funds, which churn their portfolios in quest of short-term profits so as always to show the flashiest results, or performance, at any given time. Manuel F. Cohen, chairman of the Securities & Exchange Commission, has now suggested that a broad study be made of institutional trading. No such study now exists, although the cult of performance is spreading.

In mid-November, Robert Haack, who replaced Keith Funston as president of the New York Stock Exchange just a few weeks earlier endorsed proposals for a joint industry-government study. This is the first time the exchange has gone on record for such a study.

SEC STUDY URGED

Early this month Reps. John Moss of California and Hastings Keith of Massachusetts, who have long studied performance activities, formally proposed that the SEC alone carry out the study.

Even the president of one of the largest mutual funds, Howard Stein of the Dreyfus Fund, felt compelled two weeks ago to break a long public silence and warn of the growing cult of performance.

"It can easily become institutionalized speculation," he told an audience of Harvard Business School graduates. He endorsed the idea of a study.

INFORMATION NEEDED

Now the SEC has also decided that mutual fund investment companies must report all their portfolio transactions, not just their position in securities at the end of each quarterly period. The old regulation often permitted much in-out trading within the period to go unreported.

The new rules may put a magnifying glass on the go-go funds, which hereafter must report their daily weekly or monthly trading in a stock even if they have eliminated the holding by the end of the quarter.

It would also be a start toward developing the information needed to outline the boundaries of the study, which will require not only masses of statistics but some very discerning judgments to be made of them.

Perhaps also it would lead to better informed shareowners; very few investors today know the power and role of institutions. Even mutual fund shareowners know relatively little about their fund's buying and selling.

The importance of a study of institutional investors grows daily for institutions have grown from about $88.6 billion in assets in 1945 to more than $565 billion now.

Not all this financial power is in stocks, of course, but the role of institutions will continue to grow. Insurance companies now are planning to form their own mutual funds. John Hancock, in fact, made its announcement this week.

However, it hasn't been the size alone that worries analysts. The furious trading pace, the in-out trading, the speculation, the sudden unloading of vast numbers of shares are perhaps even more worrisome.

Not only has volume on the exchanges soared to records, but in some areas of the market volatility has increased sharply. Stocks have had sharp runups and sharper collapses, trapping many investors who have failed to recognize that conditions have changed.

CULT SPREADS

As the performance cult spreads, colleges, municipalities, states, banks, colleges and foundations are becoming more interested in activating their portfolios.

"Many of these people don't know how to perform," said one prominent portfolio manager this week. "Eventually they'll simply be trying to outguess each other."

Nevertheless, not everyone is endorsing the concept of such a study. The new president of the Investment Bankers Association, Francis R. Schank of Chicago, has disagreed with Cohen's suggestion.

"If the owners can't run their own business," he said, "it is doubtful that the government can do better."

However, with such currents moving through the stock market a study certainly seems in demand. For one thing, it might answer the question of whether short-term trading is necessary for greater profit, except to brokers.

It is remarkable that in a speculative market a mutual fund with perhaps the greatest gain this year, an increase of more than 100 percent, literally is a warehouse of long term, fundamentally sound, unglamorous stocks and bonds.

Pioneers of the Mesabi Range

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 20, 1967

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the great Mesabi Range is known and envied the world over for its quantity and quality of iron ore. But we have an even greater resource and that is the trained talent that has gone on from our fine school systems to distinguish themselves throughout the country.

One of the finest examples of this human resource that has been tempered and educated in that great Iron Range is Dr. Cledo Brunetti, who received the first Ph. D. in electrical engineering ever granted by the University of Minnesota. As early as 1942 Dr. Brunetti was selected as the outstanding electrical engineer in the United States. This distinguished engineer developed the radio proximity fuze which played a crucial part in World War II. He also led the team at the Bureau of Standards that first produced printed circuits which led to the development of micro electronics, which today is a million dollar business.

Little wonder that this outstanding scientist, teacher, industrialist and adviser to Governors was selected as the honored guest main speaker of his hometown's Diamond Day celebration. Mr. Speaker, the following speech radiates the true glory of the famed iron range of Minnesota. I commend it to all as a study of how pioneers from a host of countries joined hands to help mold America.

PIONEERS OF THE MESABI RANGE

(Address delivered to the Pioneers of the Mesabi Range at the Diamond Anniversary of the founding of the city of Virginia and discovery of iron on the Mesabi Range, August 12, 1967)

Mr. Chairman, Pioneers of Virginia and the Mesabi Range, Senator Eugene McCarthy, Congressman John Blatnik, U.S. Civil Service Commissioner Ludwig J. Andolsek, Attorney General Douglas Head, distinguished members of the Minnesota Legislature, Mayor and civic leaders of the Mesabi Range, Miss Minnesota (Charlotte Sims), Miss Minnesota Universe (Bettyann Brewer) and friends. It is most stimulating to be with you in this massive celebration honoring those who pioneered this part of the country.

I feel a deep sense of humility in your having chosen me as guest of honor on this occasion. It is the most valuable recognition I have ever received for it comes from people who have known me longer than anyone.

Our main purpose today is to honor the pioneer men and women who had the spirit and courage to come to this wilderness to try to make a living, *and succeeded*. You Pioneers didn't have an easy experience. Those who couldn't afford to ride on the new railroad either walked or drove wagons up from Duluth. When you arrived you couldn't go to a real estate office to pick out a house or apartment to live in, for there weren't any. If you knew a good carpenter, who had the tools, you got your friends to help you nail a frame house together.

You found beautiful virgin pines, spruce and lakes here but also virgin mud, swamps and an eternity of rocks. Some of you merchants took all your savings, borrowed what you could and like my dad filled up a swamp on first street north and built a frame store. Then, like he, you ordered goods from Duluth and Chicago and did the best you could to keep your credit good while apples spoiled in big barrels in the celler and potatoes grew roots that stuck nine feet out of the sack.

Many of you recall taking your dinner pails and shovels and walking miles up to the Norman or Lone Jack mines at 5 A.M. in seven feet of snow and a 50 mile Arctic gale.

Minnesota had treasures to offer but not to weaklings. The Mesabi yielded up hematite and magnetite to your wisdom, muscle and sweat. To produce it you labored twelve hours underground or in the open pits freezing in the winter and boiling hot in the summer with giant mosquitos attacking early in the morning and late in the afternoon and biting black flies working the day shift.

It took more courage for you to give up everything back east or in your foreign homeland and come here to pioneer than it does the astronauts going to the moon—you didn't have thousands of scientists watching your every step, computers to straighten you out when you took the wrong path, and someone paying all your expenses.

The Mesabi has a fascinating history. At one time volcanoes spouted lava and dust here, iron molecules which were washed into the bottom of the vast sea that covered the spot in which we are meeting today. Countless millions of years produced a solid bed of iron and silica formation that lay here until the giant glaciers came down from the north. These glaciers bull-dozed billions of tons of dirt, rocks and gravel over the sea bed. The sea of water above us was replaced by a sea of glacial ice thousands of feet high.

In time the ice melted and the waters receded, pouring over Chicago and Niagara Falls and leaving the body known as the Great Lakes. Shifts in the earth caused the former sea bed to tilt until the northern shores appeared just above the surface. These northern shores of the sea were the iron ore formations that formed the vast Mesabi range. These were the "crops" planted billions of years ago that you pioneers came to harvest.

You followed on the footsteps of the pioneer bushwhackers George Stuntz and the Merritt brothers who came up seeking gold. They paddled up the St. Louis river in canoes and because the river ran parallel and south of the Mesabi they consistently avoided the very terrain they were ultimately to discover quite accidently. The St. Louis entered Esquaghama Lake then Lake Embarras where they portaged over to Pike river and on into Lake Vermillion. It was there, at Tower, Minnesota, where George Stuntz was to make the first discovery of iron ore in Minnesota, adjacent to beds of "fools gold". Their search at first was so focussed on finding gold that iron was farthest from their minds. As the legend of Paul de Kruif tells it, they encountered a man named North Albert Posey. He was the only white settler between Duluth and the Hudson Bay. He had dedicated his life to teaching the indians how to be blacksmiths. Encountering the Merritt brothers one day he asked their mission. "We're looking for gold, they said", well, replies North Albert, "I don't know about gold, but if it's iron you want we got plenty all around". The pioneers could care less about iron and on they went.

Later, with the creation of increasing requirements for steel, the Carnegie furnaces in Cleveland demanded more ore and the Merrit brothers turned their attention to iron. Still the rich deposits eluded them and they spent over twenty years of cold, hunger, misery and disappointment searching and searching. Then one day, in 1877, Cassius Merritt, one of the seven sons of Lewis Merritt, called the "Seven Iron Men" was leading a party laying out a line for a railroad to Canada. Seeking a low grade crossing over the Missabe Mountain he looked down and saw a rock, reddish blue and purple in color. He brought it back to Duluth and lo, it was rich iron ore.

Up they came again with redoubled efforts. On November 16, 1890, one of the members of the Merritt team, Capt. J. A. Nicols, made the first discovery of the iron bearing bed near Mountain Iron, Minnesota. In March 1892, another of the team, Capt. J. G. Cohoe, discovered iron on the Missabe Mountain and the city of Virigna came into being.

The name Virginia was adopted on July 12, 1892. It was incorporated as a village on November 12, 1892. As one of our distinguished Pioneers, Burt D. Pearson, Editor of the Mesabi Daily News told me, the lots of the first 160 acres were sold on September 16, 1892 at auction on the steps of the Court House in Duluth. O. D. Kinney and A. E. Humphrey's organization known as the Virginia Improvement Co. was the pioneer real estate group. The lots went for $300 to $400 each.

Virginia got its name from the Virgin country in which it was located and also because of the Virginia Improvement Company, founded in the State of Virginia, the home state of Mr. Humphreys. In 1892 the power and light company and the First National Bank were formed. John Owens was the first Village president and Hiram Eaton the first justice of the peace.

There were two railroads, the DM&IR from Duluth to Missaba to Ely and the DM&N from Duluth to Mt. Iron. Stage coaches ran between the two and served Virginia. In December 1892, the DM&N ran a spur line from Wolf Junction into Virginia and the town began to grow like wildfire. Wildfire it was for the giant Virginia & Rainy Lake Lumber company, which was to become the largest white pine sawmill in the world, also came into being in 1892 as the Finlayson Lumber Co.

Seven months after Virginia became a Village, on Sunday, June 18, 1893, the sawmill whistle blew an unceasing blast like an air raid siren. The mill had caught fire and was a raging inferno. By noon the next day Virginia was completely destroyed. The residents rebuilt the city immediately. The next year they incorporated a school district and built the first school, the Central School.

A plow and shovel man from the east, Henry Oliver, had taken a lease from the Merritt brothers on the Missabe Mountain mine and the city grew and grew as people poured in *from all over the world* to work in the mines. On Thursday, June 7, 1900 with the population at 5000, the mill whistle blew again and again most of the city was destroyed by fire. Again the citizens bent their efforts to rebuild it into what became to be known as "The Queen City of the Iron Range".

In 1901 one of the most significant mergers ever to take place in the United States occurred. The Oliver Iron Mining Co., the Carnegie Interests, the two railroads, the DM&IR and DM&N and the Rockefeller Great Lakes shipping lines merged to become the United States Steel Corp. History shows that this $5 billion steel empire owed its founding to its acquisition of the Mesabi Mountain Mine. In the years immediately following, the nation's economy ran into difficulty; yet, the ore continued to peur forth from the Mesabi Mountain and became the life blood that kept the U.S. Steel Corporation going. Without the ore from here, the infant U.S. Steel Corporation could not have survived those years.

The years that followed brought Virginia and the Mesabi Range a colorful history of dedication to growth and education. The finest schools in the country were built in every major city on the Range. Then following the greatest annual shipment of iron, some 95 million tons in 1953 primarily to support the Korean conflict the Range began to see the beginning of the end of high grade iron ore deposits. A slow depression took over and by 1955 many of the smaller communities became ghost towns.

However, decades of research by Professor E. W. Davis of the University of Minnesota on recovery of iron from the billions of tons of hard taconite that remained under and around the rich but thinning hematite was beginning to bear fruit. The Reserve Mining Co., Erie Mining Co. and U.S. Steel had been conducting pilot plant experiments and showing that taconite could be processed but only with a prohibitively expensive investment in facilities. Much of the early investment for taconite processing was made possible by government loans to the mining companies under a strategic materials reserve set aside in Washington. I recall dropping in to see the Secretary of the Interior to discuss aid to the mining area only to be told, "You Iron Range fellows are pretty aggressive. Senator Hubert Humphrey (now Vice President) just walked out of my office talking to me on the same subject".

Penalizing state taxes in existence at that time held further progress back as it made the venture uneconomical. The citizens of the Iron Range led an effort to amend the state laws so that iron mining would not be taxed at rates exceeding those of other industries. Men who rallied behind the Citizens Committee for the Taconite Amendment headed by Dr. Charles Mayo include many present in our audience today, such as U.S. Representative John A. Blatnik, Burt D. Pearson, Carl D'Aquila, Monroe Shanedling, Frank Borgin, Dr. Paul Reed and others.

The Taconite amendment was successful and today the mining companies have responded with over one billion dollars worth of investment in equipment to mine and enrich taconite. They have created thousands of new jobs and promise of doubling their investment to provide a prosperous long range future. This can and will be done so long as the tax burden allows them to compete successfully with increasingly strong competition from foreign countries.

On the lighter side one might say the mining companies didn't really have to put $1 Billion in here to produce usable iron ore from hard taconite rock. All they had to do was wait a hundred million years and nature would have enriched the ore herself at no charge.

Then, too, one smiles at what you Pioneers put over on the mining companies. In the 75 years since Virginia was founded, the Mesabi Range shipped over 2.5 billion tons of iron ore to Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Gary and other cities east. That ore averaged somewhat less than sixty percent iron, the rest was silica (sand), dirt and other useless materials. Of the $15 Billion worth you shipped, $6 Billion was made up of this useless material. It represents an "ore?" dump as high as the First National Bank building, five blocks wide and as long as from here to Duluth. What did they ever do with it?

You Pioneers accomplished more than turning out 2.5 billion tons of ore worth some $15 Billion. As I mentioned earlier you created an educational system on the Range second to none. In so doing you made it possible to turn out the highest quality product on earth, educated, enlightened children and adults.

You pioneered another major accomplishment so important to the world today. In this one city of Virginia, for example, as in the other cities on the Range, you brought together more nationalities than exist in any city in Europe or Asia. You molded a workable, progressive and cooperatively-friendly community consisting of Slovenians, Swedes, Norwegians, English, Welsh, Scots, Irish, Americans, French, Germans, Czechs, Polish, Austrians, Croatians, Bohemians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Chinese, Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Rumanians, Greeks, Finnish and Italians and others. In 1907 out of 12,000 employees of the Oliver Iron Mining Company here 10,000 were foreign born who had resided here less than 2 years. Your cities serve as models for the United Nations to pattern after for this is what they hope to achieve for the whole world—something you have been doing every day since you came here.

My final observation of what you pioneered may be the most significant. It might be entitled "gold is not always that which glitters". The early pioneers came to Northern Minnesota looking for gold. They were so focussed on finding goal they ignored everything else that had been placed here for them to find. Disappointed in not locating their precious metal, many returned east empty handed. Yet waiting to be discovered were mountains of iron ore worth, in dollars, more than all the gold in California in fact, *more than all the gold in the world.*

Being curious, I undertook a study of both gold and iron produced and in reserve in the United States and in the world. With the help of personnel from the U.S. Bureau of Mines in California, Minnesota and Washington, D.C., and the University of Minnesota Department of Geology and Mines, I was able to put together the figures shown in Table I.

TABLE I.—GOLD AND IRON ORE PRODUCTION AND RESERVES

[In billions of dollars]

Location	Total gold mined to date	Total iron ore mined, Mesabi Range only	Known reserves left	
			Gold	Mesabi Range ore
California	2.5	15	1	480
United States and Alaska	7.5	--------	14	--------
Entire world	55	--------	35	--------

The conclusions are staggering! In terms of dollar value of iron ore and dollar value of gold, to date The Mesabi Range has produced *six times as much as all the gold ever produced in California, twice as much as all the gold produced in the United States and Alaska combined* and one-fourth as much as all the gold in the world.

But the future is even more dramatic. The reserves of iron left to be mined on the Mesabi Range today are 480 times as valuable as all the gold known to exist in California, 34 times the value of all the known gold reserves in the United States and Alaska combined and *13.7 times the value of all the known gold reserves in the world.*

Pioneers of the Mehabi Range, I congratulate you, for you really pioneered in the right place.

Hon. William H. Tucker: A Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I have read with sincere approval and much appreciation the remarks of the very able and distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. CLAIBORNE PELL, concerning the service of my esteemed friend, Hon. William H. Tucker, Chairman of our great Interstate Commerce Commission.

I want to subscribe to the views and comments that were so appropriately and thoughtfully made by Senator PELL concerning the service accomplishments and contributions of Bill Tucker with the ICC.

This young man came to the federal service highly qualified by way of education, training, and experience in the field. His service with the Commission was marked by total dedication to his important work, outstanding ability in coping with its complex problems, courtesy and consideration of all those with whom he came in contact and willingness to work around the clock when necessary in order to complete his important tasks with promptitude, efficiency and constructive results.

I am proud of the fine impression and splendid record that Mr. Tucker has made during his incumbency as Chairman of one of our greatest Federal regulatory commissions. Clear-minded, farsighted, well-informed, sensible, and discriminating, Bill Tucker was philosophically apt, professionally expert and administratively skillful in performing his tasks.

While he was flexible in his approach, he took great pride in carrying out in every particular his mandate under the law, to pursue the public interest, to reconcile it with the objectives of free enterprise, and to do so without sacrificing the ends of justice and the desirable objectives of a sound, well-ordered transportation system.

I take pleasure in extending my heartiest congratulations and thanks to Bill Tucker and his family. He has served his Government with outstanding ability, talent and dedication; and I am proud of his fine work and his memorable contributions.

He will leave behind him in the ICC an enviable and memorable record of enlightened public service and adherence to its highest standards of efficiency and skillful performance that we like to believe exemplifies the best in our civil service.

I wish for him and his proud, devoted family every measure of continued good health, success, prosperity, happiness, and peace for many years to come.

I appreciated the honor of reading the very timely article by Mr. Lewis W. Wolfson having reference to Mr. Tucker's outstanding service entitled "The Passengers' Friend."

I can conceive of few greater tributes to a public servant of any agency dealing with transportation, and Bill Tucker should be noted, hailed, lauded, and honored for his role of being "The Passengers' Friend."

This thumbnail description of Commissioner Tucker speaks more eloquently than any words I could possibly speak, and I want to commend and thank Mr. Wolfson for giving such an excellent accounting of Mr. Tucker—the ability, patriotism, and high sense of responsibility which has typified his service in Washington.

Commissioner Tucker is still a very young man and has his best years ahead of him, and I hope they will be replete with real accomplishments for the American people and success and happiness for himself and family.

I am very proud, as all Massachusetts people are, of the outstanding work of Commissioner Tucker, and I have every confidence that he will reach all his goals in civilian life, just as he has done in his governmental career. I hope that the Commissioner will feel free to keep in touch with me and to call upon me any time he thinks I may be able to assist him with any of his objectives.

Heartiest congratulations and all best wishes for the future to Commissioner Tucker and his lovely family.

Lyndhurst, N.J.: 1917-67

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the town of Lyndhurst, N.J., has made great progress in the last 50 years and much of this progress is the result of close cooperation between all segments of the community. As we enumerate these segments, we find that the various civic organizations, the religious, fraternal, and cultural organizations are an important factor in the life of a community.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the organizations which are a part of Lyndhurst's progress, acquaint each of my fellow Members of this House with the news media of Lyndhurst, and present to this body the people who have taken time and effort to make the golden anniversary of Lyndhurst the memorable event in the life of this community of solid American citizens.

WOMAN'S CLUB

The Woman's Club of Lyndhurst was organized in February, 1930, with eleven charter members. The first president was Mrs. T. Francis Knight, now of Dover, and the only surviving charter member. Mrs. Fred Taub is the present president.

The Evening Membership Department was organized in 1951 by Mrs. Elmer Davenport then president, who also served as their advisor until her death in 1959. Mrs. Joseph Jankowski, a past president, has been serving as advisor since then. Mrs. Robert Chankalian was the first chairman of the Evening Department. Mrs. John Sloan is now chairman.

Mrs. Charles Ehlers organized the Junior Woman's Club in 1945 and was their advisor until 1951. Mrs. Benjamin Link is their present advisor. Miss Gloria Mayer, now Mrs. Thomas Kelly, was first president. Mrs. Anthony Magrini is present president.

The Woman's Club now has a membership of 77; the Evening Department 46; and the Junior Woman's Club 34; a total of 157 women in service Clubs in the community.

Each of these groups is dedicated to ethical, intellectual and social standards for its members, service and active citizenship. Their contributions go for local scholarships, and help in many ways, state projects and world-wide service groups.

COLUMBUS SOCIAL, ATHLETIC & POLITICAL CLUB

Less than two years after Lyndhurst chose its name the Columbus Social, Athletic & Political Club took out a charter, built its own headquarters on Harrington Avenue and has been a township fixture ever since..

Even before the Columbus Club came into being the Italian Civility & Labor Club, with headquarters on Orient Way, was participating in civic affairs. The late Egidio Guarino was one of the most revered members.

BARRINGER-WALKER POST NO. 139, THE AMERICAN LEGION

Barringer-Walker Post No. 139, The American Legion, is the senior veterans group in Lyndhurst. One of the first posts in the nation to be organized in 1919, it contained on its charter the names of Ferdinand and Arthur Heineman, Gene Firth, Harold, Arthur and James Reid, George and Arthur Bull, John Breslin Jr., John McGarry, William Dragnett, Wilbert Albrecht, Joseph Stark, Steven LaScola, Frank Cornish, John Pinckney, Coleman Cheney, Thomas Monisera, Paquale Beldatti, John Migliaresi, James Eula, Thomas Fahey, George Spencer, Ludwig Nordbruch, Henry McMullen, Douglas Liston. The permanent charter dated August 1, 1920 was signed by the first National Commander Franklin D'Olier and State Commander Hobart Brown.

Members decided the post should be named for Harold G. Barringer, first Lyndhurst man to be killed in World War I.

Barringer at the age of 17 had gone to the border of Mexico in 1916 with the 5th New Jersey Infantry, National Guard. Shortly after returning home, the 5th Regiment was called into federal service on March 25, 1917, and later sent to Camp McClellan in Anniston, Alabama, where it became part of the 114th Infantry, 29th Division.

Serving overseas young Barringer was killed October 12, 1918, in action at the Bois D'Ormont. He is buried in the Meuse Argonne Cemetery at Romagne Sous Montfaucon.

The newly formed post chose Eugene Firth as commander. In all the years that have passed nobody has served two terms as commander. Postmeetings were held in various homes and Goldberg's Hall. Finally a portable metal shed was obtained and erected in the rear of the Town Hall. The present building was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on Memorial Day 1931. With the advent of World War II, the Legion opened its national charter to accept veterans who served after December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor Day.

In 1945 the post, recognizing the part that the new veterans were to play in future affairs of the Legion, decided to include the name of a World War II man in the post name. After much research and study it was voted to add the name of Wallace Walker, whose valorous deeds had earned him a battle-field commission, before his untimely death. Accordingly, the post became known as the Barringer-Walker Post. In 1947, the first Warld War II member was elected commander. In 1966 the first Korean Conflict member, James Ferguson was elected commander. Now the post is receiving into membership veterans of the Viet Nam era.

Through the years Post 139 has taken an active part in community affairs. In 1939, with money still scarce, the post presented the township with a brand-new LaSalle ambulance. Two post members went by train to the factory in Ohio and drove the new vehicle to Lyndhurst, in order to save shipping charges. The keys were turned over to Mayor Bogle as part of the 1939 Memorial Day ceremonies.

In 1946, the post dedicated the new Eternal Light monument in Legion Park on Park Avenue. The light atop the shaft glows 24 hours a day all year round. The post has several trophy cases denoting victories on the baseball field, drum corps exploits and victories in the State Ritual championships. For several years the post has received top awards from state and county for efforts in the fields of Americanism, Rehabilitation and Child Welfare. Today's Legion post encompasses four generations of war veterans, men and women who have fulfilled the highest obligation of citizenship—honorable service in the uniform of their country in time of war.

Those who serve their country's cause today are fighting for the same cause as the veterans of the Meuse Argonne, Normandy and Pork Chop Hill. But the greatest chapter of The American Legion's story is not only in the service record of its members. Legionnaires are war veterans who are also dedicated to a continuance of service as civilians to perpetuate the ideal which they served while wearing the uniform of their country.

The community has been founded by men of faith in Divine Providence, and the idiom continues under guidance of the Ministerial Association of the numerous churches, fortified by our influential Fraternal, Social and Cultural Organizations.

RELIGIOUS, FRATERNAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Adoniram Lodge No. 256 of Free and Accepted Masons, Masonic Temple, 306 2nd Ave.

Bergen Commandery.

Order of Demolay.

Rainbow Girls.

Knights Templars, York Rites, Masonic Temple 306 2nd Ave.

Woman's Club of Lyndhurst: Afternoon Dept., Evening Dept., Junior Women.

Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts of America, 230 Livingston Avenue.

Civilian Defense and Auxiliary Police.

Red Cross Volunteer Corps., Town Hall.

Volunteer Exempt Firemen and Ladies Auxiliary, 517 Sixth Street.

Catholic Youth Organization, Catholic War Veterans.

Kiwanis Club of Lyndhurst, 224 Ridge Road.

Another hardworking and distinguished member of the organizational family is the Kiwanis, always first in time of need.

Boosters Club.

Lyndhurst Golden Age Club, 322 Stuyvesant Avenue.

Ladies of the Sahara (Shriners), Masonic Temple, 306 2nd Ave.

Civil Interest League, 485 Valley Brook Avenue.

Homing Pigeon Club of America, 20 Stuyvesant Avenue.

Lyndhurst Jaycees, 517 Sixth Avenue.

Italian-American Circle Club and Aux., 192 Copeland Avenue.

Italian-American Democratic Club, 554 Valley Brook Avenue.

Rotary International.

Lyndhurst Yacht Club and Aux., 170 Page Avenue.

Ladies of Little League, 163 Copeland Avenue.

Lyndhurst Recreation Center, Stuyvesant Avenue.

Lyndhurst Senior Citizens, Recreation, Dept. of Parks.

Spanish-American War Veterans, F.W.V. Bldg.

Girls Soft Ball, 319 Post Avenue.

Polish-American Citizens Club and Aux., 727 New Jersey Avenue.

Hebrew Center Sisterhood, 533 Valley Brook Avenue.

Dwight Morrow Republican Club, Irving Place.

Lyndhurst Republican Organization, Scardino's Hall.

East End Democratic Club and Aux., 620 Milton Avenue.

Motor Corps of Shriners, Masonic Club of Lyndhurst.

Fez Club of Shriners.

Adoniram Court No. 22, Order of Amaranth.

Fraternity Chapter No. 129.

Order of Eastern Star, Masonic Temple, 306 - 2nd Avenue.

Sportsmen's Club, c/o Miglin, Stuyvesant Avenue.

Women in Support of Troops in Vietnam, 385 Copeland Avenue.

Starlings Athletic Club, 336 Copeland Avenue.

Salvation Army.

Parent Teachers Association.

Daughters of America, 104 Copeland Avenue.

Young Men's Christian Assn., Y.W.C.A.

COMMERCIAL LEADER

Out of World War I was born The Commercial Leader, Lyndhurst's own weekly. Two World War I buddies, Ernest Dabinett and Fred Berner, both of East Rutherford, founded the newspapers. In 1936 it was taken over by the Savino family. Ernie Dabinett retired from active operations in 1962—just about 40 years after the founding of the newspaper.

From The Leader plant in Lyndhurst are now published The Commercial Leader, North Arlington Leader and the East Rutherford Leader Free Press. The latter, 90 years old, is Bergen County's oldest newspaper.

GOLDEN JUBILEE COMMITTEE

Chairman—Joseph Bader. Vice Chairman—Alfred A. Porro, Jr., Secretary—Joan Magrini. Treasurer—Henry Neglia.

Finance: Alfred A. Porro, Jr., William F. Gallagher, John Hartigan, Salvatore Pollara, Anthony Scardino, Jr., Louis Mion, Alfred Lombardi, John Ruggiero, Gloria Tully.

Entertainment: John Frangipane.

Outing: Patrick Melillo.

Historical: Guy Savino, Emil L. Ostman, James Polito, Amy Divine, Ludwig Metzger.

Publicity: Walter Hamma, Amy Divine, Frank Pilas, Silvio Parra.

Parade: Edmund Barbieri, Howard Liddle, William Caputo, John Hartigan, Victor Lindsay, Michael DeLoy.

Organizational: Commissioner Joseph Carucci.

Program: Angela Wisneski, Annabelle L. Ricadela, Mrs. John J. Dabal.

Congress Adopts $25,000,000 a Year Program for Day-Care Facilities for the Children of Working Mothers

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a broad new program to provide day-care facilities for children of working mothers has now been adopted by Congress as part of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 (S. 2388).

Many Members of the House and Senate have been sponsors of bills to start new Federal programs for day care. The language included in the OEO amendments and the new authority in the social security amendments just passed, will make 1967 a banner year for services to children.

Although appropriations may be a problem, it is important that the basic authority is now written into the antipoverty law and the social security statutes. I have unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD three important excerpts: First, the new language in the Economic Opportunity Act; second, the conference committee report on the new day-care program, and third, the Senate Finance Committee report on the new day-care language in the Social Security Amendments of 1967.

NEW LANGUAGE IN THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT (S. 2388)

DAY CARE PROJECTS

SEC. 107. (a) Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding the following new part at the end thereof:

"PART B—DAY CARE PROJECTS

"STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 521. The purpose of this part is to provide day care for children from families which need such assistance to become or remain self-sufficient or otherwise to obtain objectives related to the purposes of this Act, with particular emphasis upon enabling the parents or relatives of such children to choose to undertake or to continue basic education, vocational training, or gainful employment.

"FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR DAY CARE PROJECTS

"SEC. 522. (a) The Director is authorized to provide financial assistance to appropriate public agencies and private organizations to pay not to exceed 90 per centum of the cost of planning, conducting, administering, and evaluating projects under which children from low-income families or from urban and rural areas with large concentrations on proportions of low-income persons may receive day care. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment and services. Such day care projects shall provide health, education, social, and such other supportive services as may be needed. Financial assistance under this section may be provided to employers, labor unions, or to joint employer-union organizations, for day care projects established at or in association with a place of employment or training where such projects are financed in major part through private funds. Project costs payable under this part may include costs of renovation and alteration of physical facilities. Financial assistance under this section may be provided in conjunction with or to supplement day care projects under the Social Security Act or other relevant statutes.

"(b) The Director may require a family which is not a low-income family to make payment, in whole or in part, for the day care services provided under this program where the family's financial condition is, or becomes through employment or otherwise, such as to make such payment appropriate.

"(c) The Director may provide, directly or through contracts or other arrangements, technical assistance and training necessary for the initiation or effective operation of programs under this part.

"(d) The Director and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall take all necessary steps to coordinate programs under their jurisdictions which provide day care, with a view to establishing, insofar as possible, a common set of program standards and regulations, and mechanisms for coordination at the State and local levels. In approving applications for assistance under this part, the Director shall take into consideration (1) the extent to which applicants show evidence of coordination and cooperation between their projects and other day care programs in the areas which they will serve, and (2) the extent to which unemployed or low-income individuals are to be employed, including individuals receiving or eligible to receive assistance under the Social Security Act.

"(e) Each project to which payments are made hereunder shall provide for a thorough evaluation. This evaluation shall be conducted by such agency or independent public or private organization as the Director shall designate, with a view to determining, among other things, the extent to which the day care provided may have increased the employment of parents and relatives of the children served, the extent to which such day care may have reduced the costs of aid and services to such children, the extent to which such children have received health and educational benefits, and the extent to which the project has been coordinated with other day care activities in the area served. Up to 100 per centum of the costs of evaluation may be paid by the Director from funds appropriated for the purposes of carrying out this part, except that where such evaluation is carried on by the assisted agency itself, he may pay only 90 per centum of such costs. Such evaluations, together with a report on the program described in this part, shall be included in the report required by section 608.

"DURATION OF PROGRAMS

"SEC. 523. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this part during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and the two succeeding fiscal years."

Conference Committee E Report on Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 (S. 2388)—Explanation of the New Day Care Program

DAY CARE PROJECTS

The Senate bill, in section 107, amends title V of the act to add a new part B which provides a new day care program. There is no comparable provision in the existing act, but the House amendment authorizes the Director to carry out a day care program as a special program under section 221. The substitute agreed upon in conference follows generally the Senate bill but differs in several particulars. Following is a description, section by section, of the day care provisions agreed to in conference:

Section 521.—Statement of purpose

This section states that the purpose of the part is to provide day care for children from families which need such assistance to become or remain self-sufficient or to obtain objectives related to the purpose of this act. Particular emphasis is placed upon enabling the relatives of the children to undertake basic education, vocational training, or gainful employment.

Section 522.—Financial assistance for day care projects

Subsection (a) authorizes the financial assistance to public and private agencies and organizations to pay not more than 90 percent of the cost of planning, conducting, administering, and evaluating projects under which children from low-income families or from urban and rural areas with high concentrations or proportions of low-income persons may receive day care. Non-Federal contributions may be made in cash or in kind. These projects will provide health, education, social, and such other supportive services as the children may need. Under this program, financial assistance may be provided employers, labor unions, or joint employer-union organizations, for projects at or associated with a place of employment or training where such project will be financed in major part through private funds. Financial assistance under this section may be provided in conjunction with or to supplement day care projects under other statutes.

Subsection (b) authorizes the Director to require families which are not low-income families to make payments in whole or in part for day care services where the family's financial condition is, or becomes through employment or otherwise, such as to make such payment appropriate.

Subsection (c) authorizes the Director to provide technical assistance and training necessary for these programs.

Subsection (d) directs the Director and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to coordinate programs under their jurisdiction which provide day care so as to attain, if possible, a common set of program standards and regulations and mechanisms for coordination at the State and local levels. In approving applications for assistance to this part the Director is required to take into consideration the extent to which applicants attain coordination and cooperation between their projects and other day care programs in the areas they serve and the extent to which unemployed or low-income individuals are employed in carrying out the projects.

Subsection (e) requires the thorough evaluation of each project with a view toward determining the extent to which day care may have increased the employment of parents and relatives of the children served, may have reduced the cost of aid and services to such children, the extent to which such children have received health and educational benefits, and the extent to which the project has been coordinated with other day care activities. The Director may pay up to 100 percent of the costs of such evaluations, except that he may pay only 90 percent of such costs when the agency itself carries on the evaluation and a report on the progeam must be included in the Director's annual report.

Section 523.—Duration of programs

This section authorizes the carrying out of programs under this part through fiscal year 1970.

Senate Finance Committee Report on Social Security Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 12080)—Requirement for Day Care Facilities for Children Under AFDC

(b) EMPLOYMENT AND COMPREHENSIVE SERVICE PROGRAM FOR EACH FAMILY

Under the Social Security Act Amendments of 1962, an amendment was added to title IV requiring the State welfare agency to make a program for each child, identifying the services needed, and then to provide the necessary services. This has proven a useful amendment, for it has required the States to give attention to the children and to provide services necessary to carry out the plans for the individual child. For instance, it has made social workers see that children are in school. With the emphasis in the bill on plans for employment of all adults, the prevention of births out of wedlock and otherwise strengthening family life, the committee believes that it is essential to broaden the requirement for the program of services for each child to include the entire family. The committee bill would require, therefore, that the States establish a social services program for each AFDC family. Thus there will be a broadened emphasis to include a recognition of the needs of all members of the family, including "essential persons."

State welfare agencies would be required to provide the social services determined to be needed for an effective work incentive program. Family planning services are also to be offered to the recipient and, in accordance with provisions in the bill, can be accepted or rejected in accordance with the dictates of the individual's religion or conscience. The term "family services," under the committee bill, is defined to include services to preserve, rehabilitate, reunite, or strengthen the family. The term includes services which are specifically designed to assist the family members to attain or retain capability for maximum self-support and personal independence.

The committee believes that many mothers of children on AFDC would like to work and improve the economic situation of their families if they could be assured of good facilities in which to leave their children during working hours. In addition to other provisions which will provide incentives to work and training, the bill would require that the State welfare agencies make arrangements for adequate day care facilities for the children of working mothers. In addition, the committee believes that it may be worthwhile for the States to work out arrangements under which some mothers on AFDC can care for the children (and get paid for it) of other AFDC mothers who take jobs. (The committee is aware that this is an idea dating back to the 1930's, but urges the States to experiment with this and other methods to bring these families into the mainstream of American economic life.) The House bill contains no provision defining the day care arrangements which would be satisfactory. Under the committee bill the day care standards applicable to child welfare plans (as modified by another provision in the committee bill) would also apply to the day care arrangements for AFDC children.

The committee is aware that in a few States child welfare services are in separate organizational units from services offered through the unit providing services to AFDC recipients. This separation, whether it occurs on the State level or in the local unit of the welfare department, diminishes the prospect of the State being able to concentrate the available help for the families that need this help. For this reason, the House bill provided that the services for each family must be provided by a single State and local agency by July 1, 1969. The committee is aware that there are separate State agencies in two States, Kentucky and Illinois, which for some years have been functioning successfully. The services of one agency includes child welfare services and another administers the AFDC program. The committee is recommending a modification of the bill to permit separate State agencies to exist under this provision, if they were in existence prior to July 1, 1967. The bill would not require the merger of separate local agencies responsible for these programs. It expects, however, that within the State agencies not covered by this exemption, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will bring about the closest integration of all services for children by eliminating separate units for the different services thus focusing the total resources of the agency on the children most in need of such services. This can most effectively be done by a single organizational unit in the State agency dealing in an overall fashion with the provision of services for all children.

Under the bill, the States would submit reports to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare showing the results of their experience with the social services program for each family for encouraging and making possible the employment of adults and for strengthening family life. The Secretary, in turn, would publish his findings of the programs developed by the States and would be required to submit an annual report to the Congress (beginning not later than July 1, 1970) on the programs developed and administered by the States to carry out these provisions. The report would include such factors as the numbers of AFDC recipients referred to the work incentive program; the frequency with which the programs were reviewed and revised; the extent to which, in the opinion of the States and the Secretary, the programs contributed to making families economically independent; the extent to which family planning services have been offered and accepted; the extent to which people asked to be referred to the work incentive program and the disposition of such cases; and other pertinent factors, information, and recommendations which the Congress could use in assessing the effectiveness of these provisions.

The committee is well aware that the services which the States will be required to furnish AFDC families will impose an additional financial burden on the States. Therefore, the provisions of law relating to Federal financial participation would be amended by the committee bill to provide 75 percent Federal financial participation in the cost of all the services provided under these new requirements upon the States. In addition, as is provided under present law, 75 percent Federal sharing would be available for services for applicants and families that are near dependency. Provision of such services can help families to remain self-supporting. As appropriate for this purpose, services may be made available to those who need them in low-income neighborhoods and among other groups that might otherwise include more AFDC cases. Seventy-five percent Federal matching would also continue to be available to help meet the cost of training staff who are employed by the State or local agency or who are preparing for such employment.

Until July 1, 1969, however, the matching ratio for these various services would be 85 percent for State plans complying with the new requirements before that date, in order to encourage earlier implementation of these provisions in those States where it is feasible.

The 1962 amendments relating to social services provide that, with certain exceptions, the basic services must be provided by the staff of the State or local welfare agency. The committee bill proposes some changes in this provision to take into account the need for a variety of services in State implementation of the plan for each family. Thus, an exception is permitted, to the extent specified by the Secretary, to permit child welfare, family planning, and other family services to be provided from sources other than the staff of the State and local agency. This will permit the purchase of day-care services, which, as indicated above, the committee anticipates will be needed in great volume under the bill, and other specialized services not now available or feasible to be provided by the staff of the public welfare agency and which are available elsewhere in the community. Services may be provided by the staff of the State or local agency in some part of the State and may be provided in other parts of the State by purchase. The Secretary, in his standards governing this aspect of the program, may permit purchase from other agencies and institutions. The basic reason for the exception is the variety of existing arrangements around the country in which some kinds of services are now provided, usually institutional services, by other than the State or local public welfare agency.

The committee bill also authorizes similar flexibility in the purchase of services in the OAA, AB, and APTD programs. Provision of services with 75 percent Federal matching should be effectively available, as in the AFDC program, for recipients and those near dependency in these categories.

The 50th Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the reestablishment of Lithuanian independence, a memorandum was presented to the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, on Wednesday, December 6, 1967, by Mr. Anthony J. Rudis, national president of the Lithuanian American Council, Inc.

Mr. Speaker, I was so impressed with some of the points contained in this memorandum that I thought it should be brought to the attention of my colleagues.

I insert the memorandum and the response of Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY:

DECEMBER 6, 1967.

To the Honorable Vice President of the United States, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY:

MR. VICE PRESIDENT: This Delegation of the Lithuanian American Council comes to you to re-affirm our loyalty and dedication to our Administration and to our great President, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson. We are a nationwide organization representing one million American-Lithuanians and their organizations. We are an American civic movement united against Communist expansion.

From the time of the U.S. non-recognition of the forced occupation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in 1940, the Lithuanian American Council has been received by every U.S. President. In our request for an audience with President Johnson, he has asked that at this time, the gracious Office of the Vice President receive our Delegation.

As we stand on the threshold of 1968, we express renewed faith in our Government and pledge our earnest support. We agree with our administration's policy on Vietnam. We are seriously aware of the Communist declaration that they will first take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia and, lastly, the United States. Being of Eastern European origin, our people have lived and died from the actuality of the Communist scourge. Our prime aim is to safeguard American interests and to alert all segments of American society on the brutally live and destructive forces of Communism. We pledge the Lithuanian Community to uphold our American principles with pride and honor.

On February 16, 1968, the American-Lithuanian Community in the U.S. will commemorate the 50th Anniversary of Lithuania's Rebirth of Independence. Major cultural events will take place throughout the Country.

To solemnly mark this occasion, we ask that a statement and re-affirmation of the official U.S. position be made by our Administration, as stated in "Treaties in Force", Jan. 1, 1967 (Dept. of State Publication 8188) and Dept. of State Publication "Status of the World's Nations" (Geogr. Bulletin No. 2, May, 1965, pp. 1 and 9):

"In the early part of World War II, three sovereign States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.

"The incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union is not recognized by the U.S. Government. The United States recognizes, furthermore, the diplomatic and consular representatives of the last free governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as the accredited representatives of those countries."

This would be in line with the action taken by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives who for many years have commemorated Lithuania's independence date on February 16th, with appropriate talks on the Senate and House floors and incorporation of remarks into the Congressional Record.

To commemorate this event with our beloved United States in the foreground, we have placed a request before the U.S. Postmaster General asking that a commemorative philatelic stamp be issued in 1968 for the country of Lithuania. In fulfilling this request, the United States would establish an affirmative world opinion that America continues to champion the idea of sovereign equality of all nations in an international system of law, order, and decency.

The contribution of the Lithuanian immigrant to the United States has been one of loyal and arduous industry. From the first one of written record, Alexander C. Cursius, who came to the U.S. in April of 1659, as a teacher of high school Classics, through those who served in the regiments of twelve Northern States in the Civil War, on through to those who labored in the coal mines and steel mills, built railroads, churches, schools, established businesses and professions, on to Victor Brenner, famous sculptor who designed the Lincoln penny, we find their tasks were dedicated and proudly patriotic in helping to build and shape our nation.

In these modern times of elaborate and cunning plans to discredit the U.S. and create crises, we wish to show the world that our Country values the friendship and loyalty of her citizens. And, just as in 1917–1918 it was the peaceful and mighty America who attempted to guide the world into a better future—the United States today still supports the humanitarian principles of self-determination and freedom to all peoples.

We respectfully request our Administration's support of the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp for Lithuania in 1968. The idealism of the United States gives her an unchallenged right to honorable world leadership.

We thank you, Mr. Vice President, for your courtesy. We express our respect to a great American and allegiance and fealty to our Country and Flag, the United States of America.

Anthony J. Rudis, National President, Lithuanian American Council, Inc.; National Affairs Chairman, Lithuanian Catholic Federation.

His Exc. Bishop V. Brizgys, Exiled Bishop of Kaunas, Lithuania.

Leonard Simutis, National President, Lithuanian Catholic Alliance of America.

Dr. Pius Grigaitis, Publisher and Editor, Lithuanian Daily Newspaper, "Naujienos".

Michael Vaidyla, Publisher and Editor, Lithuanian Weekly Newspaper, "Sandara".

Rev. Pranas Garsva, M.I.C., Publisher and Editor, Lithuanian Daily Newspaper, "Draugas".

Juozas Kapocius, Publisher and Editor, Lithuanian Encyclopedia; Chairman, Board of Directors, Lithuanian Community U.S.A.

Paul Dargis, President, Lithuanian National Alliance of America.

Theodore Blinstrubas, President, Lithuanian National Association.

Jack Stukas, Director, Lithuanian Radio & Television Programs, New York-New Jersey-Conn.

Mrs. Anthony J. Rudis, Representing Women's Civic Clubs.

Edward J. McElroy, Special Events Director, Radio Station WJJD, Chicago, Illinois.

RESPONSE BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY FOLLOWING PRESENTATION BY MEMBERS OF THE LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL, DECEMBER 6, 1967

Thank you very, very much. First, may I welcome you: My good friend Tony and Mary and other members of this distinguished delegation. And I especially want to thank you for bringing me this memorandum today and for your letter to me of some days ago telling me of the possibility of our visit. I want also to express to you the heartfelt appreciation of the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson, for your work and for your steadfastness and for your vigorous support of our country and your country—this great America—and what it's endeavoring to do now in Asia as it has endeavored to do in other parts of the world. Your support of our policy in Vietnam is very reassuring and, may I say, deeply appreciated. What we seek to do there is what we are seeking to do around the world—provide for independence, promote independence and self-determination. That's our only objective. We seek no territory; we seek no sphere of influence; we seek no imperial domain. All we seek to do is to help those who are the victims of brutality and aggression to maintain their freedom and their independence so that they can build their own life and design their own future.

It's particularly gratifying for me to meet with this distinguished delegation on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the re-establishment of Lithuanian independence. Of course, we know that Lithuanian independence was re-established at the end of World War I with a great and idealistic and forceful leader, Woodrow Wilson, who fought so hard for the right of self-determination.

Organizations such as the Lithuanian American Council have played an important role in the shaping of our society from the diverse national elements. But out of this diversity of people comes our strength, and the Lithuanian people have truly enriched the culture of America and the industry, and the commerce, and the agriculture of this nation—made it a strong nation. You have contributed to the enrichment of the fabric of American life and you've done so through the preservation of your own cultural heritage.

As you know, the United States government has consistently refused to recognize the forcible incorporation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union and has continued to support the cause of self-determination for all the Baltic peoples. The courage and the dedication with which the Lithuanian people both at home and abroad have maintained their national identity in the face of great adversity is an inspiration to free men everywhere. It was not surprising to me, therefore, that this delegation and your people should stand with the government of the United States in its policy in Vietnam. You know that the principle of self-determination applies universally. And thank goodness you also know what happens in a totalitarian society and a totalitarian regime.

We have learned from bitter experience that the cause of freedom throughout the world is indivisible, and that human liberty can never be advanced and assured without firmness of purpose and readiness for sacrifice on the part of those who cherish its blessings. It is with this fundamental realization and with this spirit that the government and the people of the United States will, I am confident, meet their responsibilities in today's troubled world.

I want to say to the Lithuanian American Council that your message in your memorandum to me needs to be brought to the attention of the entire nation. When I heard you speak of our endeavors as we seek them today and of the threats to our society and to the cause of freedom, I know you spoke, not as men and women of theory, but as people who have lived through it. I think living is the best teacher of all.

So Mr. Rudis, may I thank you very, very much. I will see that this communication is brought to the attention of the President and the Secretary of State, and it will also be incorporated in the records of the Congress.

Civilian Deaths in South Vietnam Exceed Military Casualties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Star of December 12, 1967, contains an Associated Press dispatch from Saigon which reports that the civilian dead in South Vietnam this year are estimated at 24,000. This exceeds all American and South Vietnamese military casualties by some 5,000 and does not include the thousands of North Vietnamese civilians killed through bombing. This is an official government estimate, and it has been suggested by Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, who has held extensive hearings on the subject, that it is probably low since it is based on hospital reports. Thousands of South Vietnamese civilians never reach hospitals.

In what other war which America has fought have civilian casualties exceeded military ones? In a guerrilla war such as this one, where most of the struggle is to win the allegiance of the people, this level of civilian casualties can hardly advance that goal.

I include at this point the article from the Washington Evening Star, entitled, "Civilian Deaths Top Military, Hospital Data Indicates."

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 12, 1967]

CIVILIAN DEATHS TOP MILITARY, VIET HOSPITAL DATA INDICATES

SAIGON.—Government hospital statistics indicate that the war's toll of civilians in South Vietnam this year may reach 24,000 killed and 76,000 wounded.

These estimated deaths from war-related causes will exceed the expected total of more than 19,000 American and Vietnamese military combat deaths during 1967. American combat losses for the first 11 months were 8,001 killed while Vietnamese military fatalities totaled 9,566.

The government does not maintain accurate statistics on civilian war casualties. The estimates cited are based on monthly reports compiled by the Ministry of Health since Jan. 1 from hospitals throughout the country.

The system of tabulating civilian casualties collapsed with the overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in 1963. The hospital reports compiled this year give public health officials the first up-to-date measure of the war's cost to South Vietnam's 14.5 million civilians.

Col. William H. Moncrief Jr., assistant U.S. director for public health, said the estimate of civilian deaths may be too high, but the projection from hospital admissions is "the only valid rule we have."

Civilians admitted to hospitals for war wounds probably represent half those wounded, he said. Of the remaining 50 percent, 30 percent generally would suffer minor wounds and 20 percent would be killed, he estimated. Hospital medical staffs are unable to save the lives of 10 to 12 percent of those admitted.

Admissions to 71 provincial and national hospitals for war wounds this year have averaged about 4,000 civilians a month, records show. Of the 39,331 victims admitted in the first 10 months of the year, 13,834 were women or girls over 13 and 7,171 were children under 13.

Records are not kept at many small district dispensaries, Moncrief said, "because we do not have the funds or personnel."

By the best available yardstick, however, the statistics indicate 48,000 civilians admitted to hospitals this year with 4,800 of these dying, with other deaths in war-related incidents totaling 19,200.

Moncrief emphasized that the figures include civilians injured in incidents related to the war, such as a traffic accident involving a military vehicle, but most patients are victims of shot and shell.

Saigon's Ministry of Health tried last February to determine, by the type of wound, if civilians were the victims of allied or Viet Cong actions. The study was given up because of inadequate resources, Moncrief said.

A survey of doctors in the field estimate that 40 percent are attributable to Viet Cong terror raids, booby traps or mines; 30 percent to allied artillery and air; 30 percent to small arms fire, mortar rounds and other weapons used in direct engagements.

A U.S. military spokesman said the allies are doing everything possible to keep casualties as low as possible—military operations and air and artillery strikes are coordinated with the Vietnamese province and district chiefs, pilots are carefully briefed, often warning leaflets are dropped in advance of allied actions.

Lyndhurst, N.J.: A Half Century of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we continue into Lyndhurst's past history, I would like to pay tribute to its fire department, bring to the attention of my colleagues the "big explosion of 1917" which nearly wiped Lyndhurst off the map, and to present to my colleagues the many clubs and organizations which take an active part in Lyndhurst's civic, social, and fraternal functions.

The Explosion of 1917

In the spring of 1915 the Russian Government placed an $83,000,000 order with the Canadian Car and Foundry Company Ltd. of Montreal for 5,000,000 three-inch, high explosive shells. In March of the next year the Canadian company erected a huge plant in Lyndhurst's meadowland, close by the Lackawanna Railroad tracks.

It was a strategic location; it had the railroad trackage on which shells, shell cases, shrapnel and powder could be shipped in and the completed shells shipped out.

Within a short time 1,400 workers were turning out 3,000,000 shells per month. The work was of prime importance to our allies. It was a tremendous stimulant to Lyndhurst's economy; there were jobs for everybody and plenty of good pay with overtime.

But it was understandably hazardous work. Hundreds of tons of black powder and TNT were stored in the concrete block houses that were built in the swamplands. And the German saboteurs found the sprawling plant a most tempting challenge.

On the gray, lowering afternoon of January 11, 1917, workers in Building 30, a frame shack filled with 48 work benches on which men worked with a pan of gasoline and rotating machines, fire was noticed.

So rapidly did it spread that within moments the interior of the building was filled with flames. The January wind carried the flames to other buildings.

Men raced from the plant in frantic columns. They poured down Valley Brook Avenue, their face masks flapping on their chests.

"Run, run," they screamed. "If the TNT goes up the town will be gone."

Mothers scooped up their families and ran toward Stuyvesant Avenue. Franklin School soon was filled with frightened mothers and children. Later they were joined by the menfolk returning from work. Some ran across the Avondale Bridge and found safety with friends in Nutley.

Within four hours 275,000 loaded shells, 300,000 cartridge cases, 100,086 detonators and 439,920 time fuses were destroyed. Fortunately the TNT did not blow up. Over 1,000,000 unloaded shells were rendered useless.

The Russian war effort was dealt a paralyzing blow. Damage to the plant itself was estimated at $17,000,000. Along Van Buren Street and other areas on top of the Kingsland hill homes were levelled or badly damaged.

For a time it was thought the explosion was accidental. A spurious story concocted by representatives of the German government and joined in by fake witnesses substantiated the claim of accident.

But in true James Bond style England began an investigation. There were no .007 agents to be seen. Instead, there were quiet, pipe-smoking men who seemed to be accountants so undramatic were their moves.

Under their insistent probing it was discovered that one Fiodore Wozniak had been working at the table on which the fire originated. It was learned that Wozniak was a German agent, and that he had begun the fire with an explosive pencil. In 1922 the Mixed Claims Commission was formed. Lyndhurst resident who thought they would never collect their claims of damages were compensated.

Firemen Have Never Faltered

(By Kenneth A. Summers)

Over 80 years, Lyndhurst Fire Department has recorded vast volumes of memories.

Although many of the records have been lost or misplaced, a certain amount of its history can be sighted. Older members as years roll by add more and more of cherished memories to the department's archives. Pictures, newspaper clippings and even copies of old minutes find their way back to the department sooner or later.

Lyndhurst Volunteer Fire Department came into being Feb. 15, 1886. Since then the department has been one of the most active in New Jersey. Lyndhurst is one of the largest communities in New Jersey served by volunteers.

There are only 55 members in the organization, just 24 more than were in the original organization. That Company was the Valley Brook Engine Co. No. 1 and it is still in existence. There are now two other companies, the Lyndhurst Truck Co. No. 1 and Hose Co. No. 2, and Engine Co. No. 3.

Two of Lyndhurst's senior firemen are Fire Commissioner Frank Monaco, who joined the department in 1916. His father, John, was an original member of the department and his son, present chief, carries on the tradition. Oscar Osback, is the oldest member of the local department, having served more than 60 years. His son, Theodore, is a former chief.

Once there was also the Riverside Hose Company, but that has long been out of existence expiring in 1923.

The first piece of apparatus was a hand pump, pulled by hand and housed at the Harrington Factory until headquarters were opened nearby on Valley Brook Avenue. The Harrington factory was known as McKee and Harrington Carriage works and at the time were the biggest industrial unit in the community.

Valley Brook Engine Company No. 1, incorporated under "An act for the incorporation of fire companies" approved April 21st, 1886, for the purpose of protecting life and property from fire.

The certificate of incorporation is dated February 15, 1886, and it was received and recorded in Bergen County Court House March 6, 1866. Charter members included C. Harrington, G. Evans, J. Goetschius, R. Sherwood, C. White, J. Burke, E. Pinckney, C. Walters, R. Hodgson, E. Macdonough, L. Harrington, Jr., F. Watson, M. Day, J. Gibson, G. Dowers, G. Strurle, W. Anderson, P. Taff, J. McGarry, L. Willard, G. Petith, W. Joralemon, J. Kehoe and S. Earle.

It was from this group that the department you know today—fifty-five strong, with three companies and three pieces of apparatus and established in the Town Hall, sprang.

The first chief was John E. Travers. The first assistant chief was Riley Sherwood and second assistant chief, Joseph Goetschius.

Nothing extensive was their equipment. For them was purchased a small hand-drawn car, equipped with a pump. When the alarm sounded, the men would tug the apparatus to the scene, lower a hose into a nearby well or cistern, and pump away. Should a well run dry, they sought out another, not an easy task when it was realized that homes then were far apart.

The apparatus was kept for a time at the Harrington Carriage Works. Later a small building was erected near the factory on Valley Brook avenue. Finally the official headquarters became a building near Valley Brook and Green Avenues; this was later destroyed by fire. A bell which summoned firemen was located in this structure, recovered by firemen and now serves as the base of the flag pole placed in the Municipal Park as a memorial to departed firemen.

The Lyndhurst Truck Company was organized January 25, 1892, the Riverside Hose Co. No. 2 on August 20, 1913, and the Kingsland Hose Co. No. 3, was organized October 16, 1916. The Kingsland Hose Company now known as Engine Co. No. 3 had its first headquarters, now gone, on Van Buren Street.

Of the four companies, only the Riverside Hose Co. went out of existence.

Fortunately, fatalities have been few. Two lives have been lost among firemen as a direct result of fires. Curiously enough, both occurred while an apparatus was responding to an alarm. When a fire truck was hit by a trolley car on Stuyvesant Avenue in 1921, Chris Olson suffered injuries that cost him his life. Charles Vizaro, an honorary member of the department was killed when a fire truck collided with a delivery truck on Second Avenue.

In Egert's fire many years ago, the water froze shortly after leaving the nozzle. This was a usual occurrence in the dead of winter. Being routed out of bed at 2 or 3 in the morning is not a new experience to firemen. This history would be much longer if we cared to do it with occurrences.

Only 81 years have passed since organization. Not a long time you might say. True, but it was long enough to obscure the early beginnings of what is Lyndhurst's oldest and doubtless, most important heritage. It has been difficult work, piecing together the stray threads of history that were lying about, nevertheless whatever we have is worth its weight in gold.

FIRE DEPARTMENT LADIES AUXILIARY

Just prior to the convention of June 24, 1939, several of our ladies banded together for the purpose of assisting the firemen at their convention and parade. After the convention a meeting was called for the purpose of formulating plans for a Ladies Auxiliary to the department. This meeting was held on June 29, 1939. After the formation of the Auxiliary the members elected president, Mrs. Arthur Schreckenstein; vice president, Mrs. Salvatore Barbieri; recording secretary, Mrs. Robert Sauer; financial secretary, Mrs. Lester McCullough; treasurer, Mrs. Frank Monaco and chaplain, Mrs. Philip Quinzer. This organization functioned until January 15, 1942 when it was incorporated, with Mrs. Robert Sauer as president. Now the auxiliary is headed by Mrs. Albert W. Patterson.

CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Lyndhurst has always been blessed with active, civic-minded organizations. Many have lasted through the years and have grown stronger.

The Masonic Club of Lyndhurst has a background history of more than fifty years in the community. A few years before having a clubhouse Masons met in homes, taverns; and a few general get-to-gethers were held at Goldberg's Hall on Valley Brook Avenue. The D.L. & W.R.R. coaches for Mason commuters, served well socially but there was an urgent desire to have a regular fraternal meeting centre.

Henry "Baldy" Peters, the local motorcycle officer, and Arthur Allen, and others did some house to house canvassing and interested about 100 Freemasons in the Lyndhurst community.

An organization meeting was called to assembly April 18, 1921 at the Franklin School. Eighty-four Masons unanimously decided to incorporate and the incorporation of the Masonic Club of Lyndhurst was recorded in Trenton, October 19, 1921. Concurrently the colonial Van Winkle House was bought from Anna (Hauck) Klarmann, October 20, 1921.

For almost half a century the Masonic Club has served as a family, social, and fraternal center in the community. Regular annual events celebrated are birthdays of outstanding American Freemasons Benjamin Franklin—January 17; George Washington—February 22; Patriots' Fraternity Day services at Everyman's Bible Class in April; Easter Candlelight Services; Decoration Day; Fourth of July; Labor Day open house; Annual Anniversary Dance in October; Veteran's Day; Christmas Kiddies Party and New Year's Eve.

The Masonic Club has had close affinity with all Masonic organizations providing housing for meetings or banquet room facilities regularly for: The Erie Trowel Club, Adoniran Lodge, F&AM Fraternity Chapter

Order of Eastern Star, Adoniran Court Order of Amaranth, Ladies Auxiliary M.C. of L. Zem Zem (until 1966), many Shriners' units, Fez Club, Potentate's Aides, Motorcycle Corps, and their Ladies Auxiliaries.

As it has housed many men of courage as early settlers, and numerous notable celebrities, through many generations, especially the founders of "our country under God", so be it appropriate that the Masonic Club of Lyndhurst continues to serve as a social center for worthy citizens, including the kin of the Kingslands, Sanfords, Schuylers, Van Emburghs, Van Ripers, Van Winkles, Vreelands, Joralemons, et al. Many of the members trace their ancestry to the early settlers, and the sturdy masonry citadel will continue as a fitting monument to our forbears for many generations to come.

Raymond Freed is president of the Masonic Club for the Golden Jubilee year of 1967.

In recent years the Masons ("Rip Van Winkles") and the Knights of Columbus soft ball teams have enjoyed a ball game annually, alternating sponsorship with a grand collation or festival at least once a year, or oftener as arrangements are made.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS LYNDHURST COUNCIL NO. 2396—LADIES AUXILIARY AND COLUMBIAN SQUARE

It was the vision of Fr. McGivney, that a Catholic fraternity society be organized "for the purpose of rendering mutual aid and assistance to its members and their families" that led to the founding of the local Knights of Columbus Council.

The name was adopted, and on March 29th, 1882 it was chartered. Father McGivney and his associates laid the foundations established on sound principles, and the purposes have been fulfilled by the Order's fine record of accomplishments.

When Lyndhurst Council was instituted the late Charles W. Rodgers was its first Grand Knight. During the 1967 Lyndhurst Golden Jubilee Year, Lyndhurst Council No. 2396 is headed by Grand Knight Pat Mizeski. Brothers Edward Cullen, Nicholas De Frino, Michael Duffy, Thomas Fahey, Harry J. Martin, Theodore Mileski, Joseph Navatta, P.G.K. Martin Rafferty and Joseph H. Snyder are members of more than 40 years of service in the K.C. Order.

The Ladies Auxiliary functions as a valuable asset, deserving much credit for the great accomplishments of the local Council.

On Columbus Day, October 12th, 1963 the present beautiful building at 319 New York Avenue, was dedicated with grand ceremonies.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS—COLUMBIAN SQUIRES CLUB, MSGR. BERNARD F. MOORE CIRCLE

Msgr. Bernard F. Moore Circle of Squires is justly proud of its outstanding record in N.J. State Columbian Squires, the K.C. youth organization, as represented by Jim Stefanile, State Chief Squire, known for his exceptional oratorical ability.

POLISH AMERICAN CITIZENS CLUB

Polish American Citizens Club, 727 New Jersey Avenue, was organized January 25, 1923, for the purpose of aiding newly arrived Polish immigrants in the community to obtain their naturalization rights without delay and encourage those of Polish origin in the community to integrate themselves in the traditions of the "American Way of Life". Impact of the work of this exemplar civic organizations of almost 400 members is evident in the fine outstanding achievements of citizens of Polish origin in the Lyndhurst Community.

WORKINGMEN'S SOCIETY GROUP NO. 99, SONS OF POLAND

The Workingmen's Society was founded December 15, 1910 as a benevolent and civic American Polish organization, by a group mostly working in the DL&W Railroad Shops. Marjian Toboleski was its first president. In 1918, it joined the Polish Alliance as Lodge No. 23, thereby encompassing family membership environment, with wider scope of activities; in 1921 in the expanded Polish Alliance, it became Group No. 52; and in 1928 by merger with Sons of Poland, became Group No. 99, (under the protection of St. Joseph).

In 1935, the Ladies Group No. 142 of the Sons of Poland was organized, as Society of Polish Women No. 142, S.S.P.

ST. MICHAEL'S ORGANIZATIONS

The present comprehensive citadel, with Sisters Convent and modern Parochial School, was erected 1950 to 1962, when the present new church was completed.

Some of the St. Michael's R.C. Church parish organizations which have contributed greatly to the religious, fraternal, cultural, youth development, sports and civic achievement in the community are:

Holy Name Society; St. Michael's Young Men's Club; Young Ladies Sodality; St. Michael's Choir; Little League Teams; Boy Scouts; St. Michael's Society; Sacred Heart of Mary; Rosary Society; St. Michael's Parents Club; St. Michael's Parish Committee; Catholic Youth Organization, and others.

GUIDETTI-ROGALSKI-WASE POST, VETERANS OF THE FOREIGN WARS

Guidetti-Rogalski-Wase Post, Veterans of the Foreign Wars, was established in 1930, set up headquarters on Valley Brook Avenue and has been one of the most active organizations in the township.

AMVETS POST NO. 20 AND AUXILIARY

A World War II baby was A.W.W. Lewandowski Post, Amvets, which was established in 1945, chose the name of one of the township's most illustrious military families, Lewandowski, honoring the family that gave three sons in the conflict, and established headquarters on New York Avenue.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AND AUXILIARY

More recent is the Catholic War Veterans, but it is making up with activity what it lacks in age.

UNICO NATIONAL LYNDHURST CHAPTER

Unico National is a nationwide service organization of about 30,000 members, devoted to encouragement of high ethical standards in business and professions, and cooperation with others in public welfare, and in civic, social, commercial and industrial development of the community. Nicholas La Magna serves as President of the Lyndhurst Chapter during the 1967 Township's Golden Jubilee Year.

LIONS CLUB

The Lyndhurst Lions Club was originally chartered in 1924. Our Club is in the largest District in New Jersey comprising 88 clubs in Bergen, Hudson, Passaic and Sussex Counties. We are one of 5 Districts in New Jersey with a total of 300 clubs. Lions International was organized in 1917 with just 23 clubs in the United States, by the Founder of Lionism Melvin Jones. This year as we celebrate our 50th Anniversary, we have over 800,000 members in over 20,000 clubs in over 135 geographical locations thruout the world.

Lions are a service organization dedicated to community betterment and service to those less fortunate. Our prime concern is with sight conservation although our club projects take us into every field of endeavor from juvenile problems to aid to the aged.

The Lyndhurst Lions Club has been making annual donations for the upkeep of Camp Marsella for Blind Children, Camp Happiness for blind men, Diamond Spring Lodge for blind women, Lydia Hayes Home for aged blind, St. Joseph's School for blind and handicapped children, The N.Y. and Delaware eye banks; Mt. Carmel Guild for the blind; The Talking Book Foundation; Care; The braille convention; Boy Scouts of America and other worth while local charities when called upon. In addition we have been providing examination and eye glasses to our school children who cannot afford professional care, and hospital service at the Beth Israel eye clinic.

We have a blind bowling program that has been in existence for 10 years. Every Monday night our members assist blind bowlers at the Lyndhurst alleys. You are welcome to come down and see Lionism in action every Monday night, during the bowling season.

By contributions from the 88 clubs in our District we have purchased and outfitted an eyemobile that tours our district and affords the public an opportunity to receive a free diagnostic eye examination.

The funds for these projects are solicited from our good friends, the people who live in Lyndhurst who have been most kind and generous, by helping us each year when our members call on them to purchase light bulbs. The proceeds from these sales are used to support the projects outlined above. We thank you for your continued support and the people we help, bless you.

ELKS LODGE NO. 1505 AND AUXILIARY

Lyndhurst Lodge of Elks, always engaged with a multiplicity of activities, most of which are in the best interests of Lyndhurst, was instituted in 1926 with such sponsors as John F. Woods, Horace R. Bogle and Carmine Savino, Sr., all of whom served as township mayors, and John J. Breslin, Jr., who later became Bergen County prosecutor.

During the period of over forty years of existence, it has become the leading fraternal organization of the community. It has been a cooperative force in all civic endeavors; it has assisted crippled children; given help to the needy; given scholarships to many deserving youths, and has always been ready to assist in helping Lyndhurst to be a good town in which to live.

Beginning in modest circumstances, the Lyndhurst Elks now owns and operates a large building at the corner of Park and Tontine Avenues. The building is the focal point for many gatherings without regard to race, color or creed.

Because of its many activities and achievements, several members of the Lodge have been honored by the National Order, culminating in the election of Joseph F. Bader, of Lyndhurst, as one of the nine members of the National Board of Trustees.

The Lyndhurst Elks are ably assisted by the Lyndhurst Emblem Club No. 72. One of its members, Mrs. John J. Graziano, was National Supreme President in 1961. Mrs. Willard Janes is local president.

Free Speech Protested

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the lost motion of the NAACP continues to discourage progress.

By their announcement to picket a judge, certainly unlawful as public intimidation of a public official, they seek to justify as coming under freedom of speech. Yet what they will be protesting will be the freedom of speech of a judge who certainly must be expected to comment on the case from the facts, from the court's judicial notice of surrounding conditions and from his own reasoning.

It would appear that if the group wishes to protest and demonstrate, they would accomplish more by protesting and picketing those members of their society who have caused the lawless condition against which the sentencing judge wishes to protect society, including the NAACP themselves. They should try to prove the judge wrong—not by these actions prove his correctness.

Their thinking is upside down.

Times have changed—we have made too much progress to slip back now to having judges picketed.

I include the Evening Star stories from the December 13 and November 29 issues following my comments:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Dec. 13, 1967]

Remarks of Bowie Stir Plans To Picket Court

The NAACP plans to picket the Prince Georges County Courthouse because of remarks by a judge associating Negroes with the use of knives.

Mrs. Cora Rice, president of the NAACP Prince Georges branch, said yesterday the courthouse in Upper Marlboro will be picketed every Friday, starting this week, from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

She said 150 NAACP members will participate, coming from both the county and elsewhere in Maryland.

The picketing will continue until the state Commission on Judicial Disabilities has acted, she said.

The commission is investigating Circuit Court Judge William B. Bowie's statements from the bench Oct. 10 in the case of Ella Mae Brown, 53, a Negro, who pleaded guilty to manslaughter.

Judge Bowie sentenced the woman to eight years in jail for the fatal stabbing of her common law husband, Thomas Proctor. His comment on Negroes and the use of knives came when he denied both defense and prosecution requests to place the woman on probation.

The county NAACP branch filed a complaint with the state commission after that incident. The commission has the power to recommend to the General Assembly the removal or forced retirement of a judge.

The woman's attorneys have petitioned the 7th Judicial Circuit Court, of which Bowie is a member, for a review of her sentence, partially on the grounds that the judge's comment was prejudicial. Judge Bowie repeated his view on Nov. 24, when he denied defense motions for a new trial.

"It is just a pure fact of life that Negroes and knives go together," he said at a bench hearing.

Judge Denies Bias: Bowie Repeats Stand on Negroes, Knives

A court transcript released yesterday disclosed that Prince Georges County Circuit Court Judge William B. Bowie last Friday repeated a comment about Negroes and knives that first touched off sharp criticism last month.

"And no question about it . . ." Bowie said at a bench conference with attorneys in the case of the Negro woman he had sentenced to eight years for the fatal stabbing of her common-law husband.

". . . the fact that remark was made, and what it referred to was their (Negroes') general habit and reputation of living with a knife, and acting with a knife, they get to fighting they start using knives.

"Statistics will show that there is a high incidence of this. But I don't see where there is any prejudice on the court's part. It is just a pure fact of life that Negroes and knives go together."

"LET THEM STAY IN A PEN"

When the woman, Mrs. Ella Mae Brown, 53, of Seat Pleasant, pleaded guilty Oct. 10 to the June 3 manslaughter of Thomas Proctor, Bowie said from the bench that if Negroes "want to live like animals, let them stay in a pen somewhere."

And despite a recommendation from the state's attorney's office—as well as from her own attorney—that she be placed on probation, Bowie denied her bond while investigators conducted a pre-sentence investigation.

Contacted that night, Bowie commented: "I said what I said. They've got no right to go around with knives cutting people up."

The Maryland Commission on Judicial Disabilities, which can recommend to the General Assembly a judge's removal or retirement, is considering whether to hold a formal hearing on Bowie's comments.

Gov. Spiro T. Agnew asked Chief Judge Hall Hammond of the State Court of Appeals to investigate after the Prince Georges Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People complained.

DEFENSE SEEKS REVIEW

Contending that the judge's remarks showed prejudice, the woman's attorney, Francis X. Gaegler, Jr., has petitioned for a review of the sentence by all nine judges in the 7th Judicial Circuit, which includes Bowie. Gaegler also has appealed the case to the State Court of Appeals.

The judge's remarks Friday came during consideration of defense motions that the woman should have a new trial and that Bowie should disqualify himself. Bowie denied both motions.

"Well," he told Gaegler, "the point is either you feel I am prejudiced or you don't. I don't feel—I know I am the only one that can answer the question of whether I am or not, and I say I am not."

Commenting on the eight-year sentence, Bowie noted "carousing and drinking all day long" before the stabbing in a car in Cheverly June 3, and said Mrs. Brown should have received the maximum 10-year sentence for manslaughter.

"People that are going to live by the knife," he said Friday, "they belong put away somewhere to serve their time so they will realize they can't live by the knife."

Gainfort Cited by NJPPA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Will Gainfort, of Milltown, N.J., recently was cited for his "outstanding service to photography" by the New Jersey Press Photographers Association. This award was no surprise to me.

His photographs contain something special—an artistic quality that makes them outstanding. A few weeks ago, for instance, he took a picture of a winter scene near his home and it was a masterpiece—not his first and certainly not his last.

But there is more to Will Gainfort besides his superb talent—his warm heart, his gentle soul, and his deep love of people. These fine human qualities are obvious to the many persons and public officials who have met and known him and it has been my privilege to be one of them.

An article citing him for receiving the award follows, entitled "Gainfort Cited by NJPPA":

Gainfort Cited by NJPPA

William Gainfort of the New Brunswick Home News was honored yesterday by the New Jersey Press Photographers Association for his "outstanding service to photography."

Coit Hendley Jr., editor of the Courier-Post, welcomed about 50 members of the NJPPA to a meeting in the Courier-Post cafeteria.

Gainfort, who has been with the New Brunswick newspaper for 27 years was presented a mounted and framed letter of appreciation from the association by President Dick Coles.

One of the original members of the 16-year-old association, Gainfort also received a bronze plaque, presented by Richard Beecroft, first president of the NJPPA.

Guest speaker was Charlie Higgins of the Philadelphia Bulletin, who spoke on aerial photography. Robert Patterson of Moorestown, a photographic engineer, demonstrated new techniques in developing film.

Lay More Keels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Jeffersonian newspaper, edited by Mr. G. Franklin Stricklin, recently published a thoughtful editorial about the present state of the U.S. merchant marine. I wish to share this article with my colleagues.

Lay More Keels

Anyone at all familiar with the maritime history of the United States, and who recognizes the overall importance of sea power, cannot fail to be deeply troubled by the present state of the U.S. Merchant Marine. The plain fact is that at a time of unprecedented world-wide commitments requiring a first-rate merchant marine, we find ourselves with few ships on the high seas.

An outstanding spokesman on maritime affairs, Frank A. Nemac, chairman of the Committee of American Steamship Lines, has said, "More than any other single factor, this striking weakness in the maritime capability of the United States will limit our ability to apply effectively the full measure of our military and economic strength as rapidly and as forcefully as may be required by future events. Herein lie the seeds of National disaster! We stand before the world an economic and military colossus—with feet of clay!" These words, far from being a dramatic exaggeration if anything, understate the case.

The U.S. merchant fleet as of early 1967 consisted of just 27 passenger and combination freight and passenger ships and only 261 dry cargo ships and tankers of relatively recent construction—that is 1950 and later. Seventy per cent of the U.S. merchant fleet of dry cargo ships and tankers was constructed during World War II or earlier and is rapidly approaching the end of its useful life. It is little wonder that those concerned with the security of this nation, including Secretary Boyd of the new Department of Transportation, are urging prompt and decisive action to get new ship construction under way, both in domestic yards and to a limited extent in foreign shipbuilding yards.

Joe Richards, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a longtime personal friend of mine, Joe Richards, writes a column for his local paper entitled "Cattle Chatter." Several weeks ago his son departed this country for Vietnam, and Joe wrote an article for his column that I feel is a real masterpiece.

In these trying times of mass demonstrations and rebellious attitudes, I think the article which conveys a true feeling of patriotism should be read by every American:

CATTLE CHATTER

(By Joe Richards)

This week our son, Jerry, leaves for Vietnam for duty with the Infantry. My thoughts are of little else. To say that our hearts are saddened would be the understatement of the year. I have no illusion about what he is going into; the risks, dangers, hardships, yes and the grief that lies ahead for him.

Just a generation ago the situation was reversed and I was saying goodbye to him and his little baby brother and their Mother, and I, too, served with the Infantry as a Rifle Platoon leader. War is still Hell, whether it is on the beaches at Anzio or in the jungles of Vietnam. There just aren't any nice wars.

I am proud of him and the attitude that he has toward his going, however. He isn't anxious to go at all. How could a normal man be anxious to leave a wife and baby and go into something like that! But he told me that he felt pretty good about it all. That he knew he is coming back, and all in one piece, and that he would feel so much better after having spent his time over there.

You see, he has been closely associated with men for the past year who have been to Vietnam and spent a year and are now back home training troops to go over there. He knows how they feel about the war and in general their attitude is real good. He says that their feeling toward the anti-war demonstrators, draft card burners and the like is not so much of contempt as it is pity; much the same that we have for a person who is illiterate. They are so completely uninformed or misinformed that they are to be pitied, really.

As for my feelings as an American and as a parent, I simply do not share some people's view that we are fighting a useless war. I believe that we have every right to be over there and to be helping those people to stem the tide of communism, even though it is half a world away from our homes. I may not agree with some of the ways the war is being handled, and I don't, but I certainly do believe that we have done the right thing by standing behind the agreement we made 'way back in 1954 that we would help any country in Southeast Asia resist communism. And I think the records will show that every administration since that time, and every unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, has supported, in general, this position. Not to have gone to their assistance, or to pull out now as some would have us do, would not only be too unbearingly shameful for our great nation to do, but would also be downright unwise and foolish, in the interest of our own preservation. To continue to give way to communism, as we did in the case of Cuba, would mean that we would soon be living in a world of nations that are like Cuba is today. And how could our prosperity and our very security be assured in a world like that?

There are a lot of people in this nation who are not willing to fight or to send their sons to fight for this wonderful prosperity and standard of living that we enjoy. They enjoy it, but they just don't appreciate it that much. They want to dance without paying the fiddler!

My Father came to this country in 1898 because of the freedom and the opportunities that it offered. I am proud of the fact that he has a grandson who is helping to preserve that freedom and those opportunities . . . I know that some will call this "Flag Waving," and it is. I am just thankful to God that I have such a wonderful flag to wave, and may it ever be so.

J. Michaels, Inc., of Brooklyn, Demonstrates Faith in the Future of Our Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, with so many people deploring the ethnic changes that are taking place in our centers of populations, with so many press stories about various firms deserting the metropolitan areas for the suburbs, with so many prophets of doom predicting the decay of our cities, I believe it is incumbent upon us to pay some tribute to those business concerns who have faith and trust in the community where they matured, and in the people whom they serve.

I am thinking in particular of one firm in my own district of Brooklyn, N.Y. The name of this firm is J. Michaels, Inc., a name, I might add, which has become synonymous with quality furniture and appliances. The beginning of this business dates back to 1886, when one Joseph Michaels opened a small furniture store on Smith Street, convinced that Brooklyn was a healthy community in which to do business. Today that one little store has grown to four large stores, but all these stores are still in Brooklyn, because the descendants of the founder—Jules D. Michaels and Robert Michaels—hold the belief that Brooklyn continues to be a healthy community in which to grow and thrive.

By way of evidence: Only 4 years ago, J. Michaels erected a beautiful modern store in downtown Brooklyn to replace an older one across the street. This fine store has 36,000 square feet of floorspace, is fully sprinklered and 100 percent air conditioned, and involved an investment of over a half million dollars. It is an asset to the downtown Brooklyn landscape and will help to keep that section one of New York's leading shopping centers.

If, indeed, Brooklyn continues to be a healthy community, J. Michaels has helped to make it so through its active participation in various community activities, such as good citizenship awards to high school students, music appreciation concerts for children, sponsorship of Boy Scout troops, and contributions to many Brooklyn charities.

J. Michaels' good-neighbor relations are carried right to within its own organization. It had a nondiscriminatory hiring policy long before the birth of the present-day civil rights movement. Today, over one-third of its employees are nonwhite, and many of them are in responsible and supervisory positions.

A firm such as J. Michaels—with its longtime reputation for fair dealings, low prices, and conscientious service—would undoubtedly be successful in any community.

It is not my intention to praise one firm. I mention J. Michaels only as an example of the kind of business concern that, by simply showing faith in the people, will help our cities prosper.

Social Security Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 12080)

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I was among those who voted in favor of the Social Security Amendments of 1967 when it appeared on the floor some months ago. At that time, however, I expressed my severe reservations about several of the provisions of that legislation. At the time, I was particularly aggrieved that the rule under which the bill was considered did not permit a separate vote on each of its many provisions. My colleagues and I did not have the opportunity to pass in detail on the work that the committee, in this measure, submitted to us. Nonetheless, I supported the bill. I reasoned that the objectionable provisions might very well be eliminated in conference, since it was well known at the time that the majority of the Senate was opposed to them. I judged that, on the whole, the bill would be beneficial to the American people.

We now have the conference report before us and I regret to say that the objectionable provisions are still present in the bill. We did not have a chance to vote on them then. We are not getting a chance to vote on them now. Mr. Speaker, I would like to protest vigorously a procedure which allows major policy to pass this House without its Members ever getting a chance to express their judgment on it. I will not say that this bill was railroaded into law. I recognize that the Committee on Ways and Means gave it careful consideration.

But the committee is not the House and has no authority to legislate for the House. Certainly the Senate had no less right to have these provisions eliminated, yet the committee, speaking for itself rather than for the House as a body, insisted that they be retained. With all due respect for the leadership of the committee, Mr. Speaker, I do not feel that the presence of this bill, in the form that it is before us today, represents a victory for parliamentary democracy.

The two provisions to which I take most vigorous exception are those which would penalize my State and my city chiefly, but would also handicap industrial areas generally. In other words, these provisions are highly biased in their intent. They represent anti-urban discrimination.

The first of these provisions would put a ceiling on the amount of AFDC assistance a State can receive. It would limit the number of eligible applicants for which a State can receive Federal backing to the number currently on the rolls. In other words, if one more eligible recipient comes into New York, by birth or migration, no funds will be granted for this recipient's care. We all know, Mr. Speaker, that New York and other progressive States have become and will continue to serve as a magnet for the dispossessed, the underprivileged, the unfortunates of what, if I may be candid, can only be called the "backward" States. These States send their surplus bodies, in effect, to New York and the other great industrial cities. We in New York try to offer these people opportunity. Sometimes we are not successful, but we try. When we cannot give them jobs, we sometimes have to offer them welfare, to keep them—and by "them" I mean little children more often than able-bodied men—alive. This provision will have no impact whatever on State that have a net out-migration of poor people. It will only hurt the States to which people migrate, States which are doing their best to deal with the Nation's economic problems. It is a cruel provision, because it tells us in New York, in arbitrary and peremptory fashion, that we cannot receive any more help in keeping these children alive.

The other provision puts new limitations on the administration of the so-called medicaid program, which New York has put into effect to assure adequate medical treatment to the poor. Authorized by Federal law, New York has sought to make a reality of our society's promise that no one will be sick for lack of medical care. This bill forces New York, the most conscientious of States, to back away from this commitment. New York must do so because the Federal Government, under this legislation, is reneging on the bargain it made when the law was originally passed. Ironically, the wording of this provision penalizes most severely those persons who are trying hardest to support themselves but remain on the margin of the subsistence point in their incomes. I consider this provision reprehensible, both in practice and principle.

I would like to add further that I disapprove of the provision that will force some mothers to accept job training in return for welfare assistance for their children. On the face of it, I approve of a provision to make constructive workers out of welfare recipients. But a moment's reflection reveals that this provision can force mothers to leave their children—often at the cost of furnishing a babysitter or leaving them inadequately tended—to take their training. This provision is unrealistic. Of course, job training is important. But I object to any plan which will drag mothers away from their children, when they are the only ones who should be caring for them. I protest a bill which will break up the mother-child relationship the way this one does.

I will vote to support the bill, because I continue to think that the general improvements in social security benefits to the 25 million social security recipients justify my vote. But, Mr. Speaker, I think the principle of "two steps forward—one step backward" is a poor one for legislation. I do not think this is one of the better days of this great body.

New Antipoverty Program Will Give Incentives to Private Employees To Train or Employ Unemployed or Low-Income Persons

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the antipoverty amendments passed by Congress contain a new program that will have far-reaching effect in opening up new work opportunities for the disadvantaged.

Although the Senate, which originated the new language, provided an authorization of $10 million for this program, the total authorization for work and training programs of which the incentive program is a part was reduced from $567 million to $476 million. This may prevent the incentive program from reaching full funding in its first year, but should not prevent immediate planning and arranging to put the program into effect as quickly as possible.

The new program as it appears in S. 2388, and the explanation in the conference committee report and the Senate committee report follow:

QUOTATION FROM ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

ELIGIBLE ACTIVITIES

SEC. 123. (a) The Director may provide financial assistance in urban and rural areas for comprehensive work and training programs or components of such programs, including the following:

(8) programs to provide incentives to private employers, other than nonprofit organizations, to train or employ unemployed or low-income persons, including arrangements by direct contract, reimbursements to employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive, payment for on-the-job counseling and other supportive services, payment of all or part of employer costs of sending recruiters into urban and rural areas of high concentrations or proportions of unemployed or low-income persons, and payments to permit employers to provide employees resident in such areas with transportation to and from work or to reimburse such employees for such transportation: *Provided*, That in making such reimbursements to employers the Director shall assure that the wages paid any employee shall not be less than the minimum wage which would be applicable to employment under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 if section 6 of such Act applied to the employee and he was not exempt under section 13 thereof; and

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE REPORT (S. 2388)

Section 123.—Eligible activities

The House amendment provides that concentrated work and training programs shall be carried on, not only in urban and rural areas having large concentrations or proportions of low income, unemployed persons, but also in those rural areas having substantial outmigration to urban areas. The Senate bill does not contain this provision. The Senate recedes.

Both the Senate bill and the House amendment provide for programs to provide incentives to private employers, other than nonprofit organizations, to train or employ unemployed or low income persons. Among the incentives permitted by the Senate bill are reimbursements to employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive. Under the House amendment reimbursemetns are limited to reimbursements for unusual training costs for such a period. The House recedes; however, the conferees expect that appropriate regulations will be issued to safeguard against abuses of any of these incentive programs, including but not limited to safeguards against the use of such incentives by any employer in order to transfer any enterprise from one area to another and safeguards designed to prevent the incentives from being used as a subsidy for normal operations. The incentive program should, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the occupational development and upward mobility of individual participants. It is not intended that these programs should provide assistance which would be supportive of firms or industries which have high rates of turnover of labor because of low wages, seasonality, or other factors, or which would lead to displacement of their currently employed work force by persons newly trained through these programs. Nor is it intended that the various incentive programs under this act lead to the disruption of an industry's existing patterns of competition or stimulate labor turnover by encouraging replacement of the existing work force by newly trained workers. It would not be in keeping with the purposes of this provision, as it is not in keeping with the purposes of the MDTA, to make available financial assistance or other incentives for work, training and related programs for industries which are highly mobile, labor intensive, and vigorously competitive on a national basis, which have high labor turnover, and in which the prior possession of a specific skill or training is not typically a prerequisite for employment. In order to prevent abuse it is expected that appropriate administrative steps shall be taken to assure that reimbursements paid to an employer under section 123(a)(8) should cover only such costs as are incurred because the particular worker or workers are not able to perform on the job in the manner the employer previously expected of his new hires for the same or a similar occupation.

SENATE COMMITTEE REPORT (S. 2388)

A new eligible activity is the provision of incentives to private employers other than nonprofit organizations to hire and train unemployed or low-income persons (sec. 123(a)(8)). The committee feels, based on reports which it has received, that in many cases the incentives and reimbursements to private employers under existing programs are inadequate to induce such employers to hire and train one-the-job unemployed and severely disadvantaged individuals. A variety of such new incentives should be made available to induce the private sector to take a greater role in the employment and training of such persons. These incentives might take the form of reimbursements to employers for a limited period when an employee might not be fully productive. However, wages shall be paid only by the employer and must be not less than the Federal minimum wage. Payments may be made to employers for on-the-job counseling and other supportive services, and for recruitment in areas with high concentrations or proportions of unemployed or low-income persons. Employers may also be given financial assistance to enable them to provide transportation assistance to employees, particularly when the low-income areas are a considerable distance from the place of employment. The committee increased the requested authorization for title I part B by $10 million to assure funds for this special incentive program and feels that at least $15 million should be allocated for these purposes in fiscal year 1968.

The committee expects that appropriate regulations will be issued to safeguard against abuses of any of these incentive programs, including but not limited to safeguards against the use of such incentives by any employer in order to transfer any enterprise from one area to another and safeguards designed to prevent the incentives from being used as a subsidy for normal operations. The incentive program should, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the occupational development and upward mobility of individual participants.

Social Security Amendments of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this conference report with mixed feelings. I strongly favor the increase in social security benefits. Our older citizens desperately need the additional money this bill makes available to make ends meet in this time of rising prices. Inflation lays its cruel weight most heavily upon those who must live on fixed incomes, the pensioners who have only their retirement income to depend upon to sustain themselves. I have always voted for increases in benefits, for I believe social security benefits must be maintained at an adequate level to provide a decent standard of living for the millions of people who must depend upon it during their later years. The amount recommended in this bill is only a minimum amount at best. I would have preferred to accept the amount recommended in the Senate bill.

I wish that a separate vote were possible on the new restrictions in the bill, but here as was the case when the bill first came to the floor, Members must vote "yea" or "nay" on the whole bill. No amendments are possible. The "freeze" on funds accepted in the conference report represents a very harsh measure to achieve economy. It is beyond the control of the States to reduce the number of broken families or the number of dependent children. The number of these homes has been on the increase for several years, yet, despite this fact, it is now proposed to limit the number of one-parent children on AFDC to their proportion of a State's child population on January 1, 1968.

Such action surely will create havoc in poverty stricken areas. What will happen when applications are made? What will happen to the newborn child? Is he to be disqualified because of his birth? What will happen to newcomers who enter a State during the year. Do they qualify? Must sudden increases in population wait for the next years formula date before equitable adjustments are made? Where will States get funds in the meantime to care for these people?

The answers are that the burdens will be shifted to the States. Yet it was because the States were unable to meet the earlier burdens of assisting these children that the Federal Government offered its help. Now the States and localities who can least afford it will be asked to bear these burdens. States with well-developed programs will be penalized for their efforts. The poorer States will be forced to reduce their payments and develop more restrictive attitudes toward applicants.

Equally onerous are those provisions which would force a mother to leave her children and to participate in community work or training. As if their plight and hopelessness were not sufficient, the tenuous base necessary to their survival may be withdrawn should mothers fail to meet the standards of the strong, the healthy, and the educated. Many mothers so situated want to work if they can, and many do. But many cannot, and in most cases it is not because they are lazy or unwilling.

They are untrained and unskilled. They must take care of their children. I favor work training programs which will offer them the opportunity to be self-supporting, which most of them want, but they should be voluntary, not compulsory. Requiring them to participate in training or work programs, as this bill does no matter how worthy the purposes—can only spark their anger and resentment. It is no way to nurture self-respect. The costs of welfare will not be reduced since the expense of institutional care for the children may very well exceed the costs of present welfare payments.

Nor will the withdrawal of assistance to those children whose mothers refuse to participate reduce costs for the community. It only means that someone else must accept responsibility and pay the bill if these children are not to go hungry.

Using the language of "rehabilitation" and "training," this legislation may very well be sacrificing the best interests of the mother, the child, and the community. I hope the effects of the experiment will not be as disastrous as many predict.

Civic Firsts in Christmas Decorations in Manchester, N.H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, from year to year the Manchester, N.H., Chamber of Commerce has sponsored a communitywide display of Christmas decorations program. This year the display includes a 13-block area in the central city, decorated with aluminum garlanded lighted cross street streamers featuring and old English lantern theme, three major intersection pyramid displays depicting the Christmas candle motif; large lighted snowmen stand as sentinels to the entrances to this display area; each on-street parking meter post within the lighted area is wrapped with red, white, and green plastic covers; each of the major entrances to the city is decorated with large lighted Christmas tree displays of welcome; and on one of the major bridges spanning the Merrimack River are two large lighted Christmas tree designs visible to thousands of motorists using the interstate highway system—known as the Everett Turnpike—during evening hours.

In addition to these displays, the chamber Christmas decorations committee has inaugurated another first for Manchester's Christmas season in the form of a public Santa's workshop located on Merrimack Common in the heart of the city. For Manchester's youth—of all ages—Santa will be housed in his typical workshop laden with toys and goodies, surrounded by busy working elves, brightly colored and lighted "sugar plum" trees, and a large lighted canopy covering the walkway to the colorful entrance arch of his workshop. As the visitor approaches Santa's workshop with his personal Christmas list he will pass between two pens of Santa's own black-faced sheep.

The board of directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce feel that it is vital to the successful rallying of the total business community support to sponsor the Christmas decorations program. The chamber represents all types, sizes, and locations of Manchester business, industry, and professional firms, and this sponsorship accentuates the broad community responsibility as distinct from a particular self-interest association or geographical group within the community. Unlike many communities, the financial support of this community project comes from businesses located in all four corners of the Queen City rather than from only the "downtown merchants." Contributions from firms located at the airport—Grenier Field—in the millyard, on the highway entrances, north south, east, and west, manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, hotels, laundries, plumbing establishments, religious organizations, labor groups—all reflect a citizenship responsibility of the business community in a tangible and attractive way.

As a local "spectacular" costing in the vicinity of $13,000, while 85 percent of the cost is carried by the business and professional community, the public sector—the municipality itself—carries about 15 percent of the total costs so there is demonstrated a practical partnership and a true community undertaking.

Mr. Speaker, congratulations are in order to the members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce Christmas Decorations Program Committee for this worthwhile undertaking that could readily serve as a model to interested groups in other cities across the Nation. I want to personally and publicly congratulate the general chairman, Mr. Bernard J. Garrell, and the members of his committee for this fine job this year: Thomas R. Burns, Jr., John M. Duffy, Jr., M.D., Ralph Gottlieb, Faustyn K. Jasiel, E. Leo Kanteres, Robert A. Larrivee, D.D.S., Clement M. Lemire, Roger M. Mara, Augustine J. McDonough, Esq., Andrew J. Woronka, and George G. Younger. And to my colleagues and their constituents, I extend a warm invitation to "come see us" and the beautiful spirit of Noel in the Queen City of New Hampshire.

A Public Statement on Soviet Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, this week, a group of 198 prominent intellectuals joined in a public statement condemning the "forcible cultural extinction" of the 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. The protest against "this frenzied anti-Jewish assault" appears as a two page advertisement in the December 21 issue of the "New York Review of Books."

The statement, signed by five Nobel prize laureates among others, notes the increase in official anti-Semitism which has been heightened in the wake of the setback of Soviet pro-Arab policy in the Middle East.

The statement issued by the Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews and a list of signatories follows:

A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON SOVIET JEWRY

Fifteen years ago, on August 12, 1952, the twenty-four leading Soviet Jewish intellectuals, writers and artists were murdered by Stalin's secret police. They were accused of being "rebels, agents of American imperialism, nationalist bourgeois Zionists, and enemies of the USSR".

This spurious charge has provided the dark theme of much Soviet propaganda on the Jews in all the subsequent years—tragically, even today.

We mark this melancholy date not only as a token of remembrance, during this fiftieth year of the October Revolution, but because it symbolizes a harsh reality: Soviet Jewry is being subjected to a policy of forcible cultural extinction. For many years their tenuous situation has aroused deep concern. Now it has become a cause for alarm, because a new version of the old charge, revised to fit current Soviet policy in the Middle East, once again poisons the air for Jews in the Soviet Union.

For nearly twenty years, the three million Jews of the USSR have, as a group, been subjected to a wide array of oppressive measures. This policy began with Stalin's open anti-Semitism. The tragic fate of the twenty-four writers—the most gifted and brilliant creators of Jewish culture in that country—climaxed the most brutal phase of Stalin's plan to extinguish the culture of the Soviet Jews.

The consequences of Stalin's policy were devastating and enduring: The destruction of all Jewish cultural, artistic and academic institutions; the liquidation of the Jewish intelligentsia; the elimination of Jews from all positions of authority and trust; the mounting of a vast, hysterical propaganda effort replete with fearsome accusations that created a pogrom atmosphere ended only by the death of the tyrant in 1953.

Under Khrushchev, the terror was relaxed but the basic policy remained in force, as evidenced by: The virulent anti-Semitic character of the propaganda assault upon the Jewish religion; the harassment of Jews in the performance of religious rites; the deprivation of elementary religious articles and institutions; the nationwide campaign against economic offenses which made a scapegoat of the Jews, projected the traditional anti-Semitic stereotype of the Jew as an economic criminal and which singled out the Jews for capital punishment; the systematic propaganda repetition of the ominous amalgam—Jew-Judaism-Zionism-Israel; the miasma of fear spread by the portrayal of the Jews as a community of pernicious character and doubtful loyalty.

Official Soviet practice today perpetuates the Stalin policy of depriving Soviet Jewry of continuity with its past and of any hope of a future. Alone among the multitude of Soviet nationality and religious groups, the Jews are deprived of virtually every institutional opportunity to perpetuate their cultural, religious and communial life. This unique discrimination brings in its wake a kind of public humiliation, a loss of dignity, of respect and self-respect—especally since it is practiced in an atmosphere of palpable hostility to the Jews.

Now the tension under which Soviet Jews live has heightened. Soviet policy in the Middle East, culminating in the diplomatic break with Israel, has been accompanied by an enormous anti-Semitic propaganda effort at home and abroad whose virulence has only rarely been equalled in recent Soviet history.

This campaign descends to its moral nadir with the widespread publication in the Soviet press of vicious anti-Israel political cartoons characterized by ugly, overt anti-Semitic stereotypes. Similar motifs dominate recent Soviet newspaper articles, which revive, in updated and refurbished form, the classic anti-Semitic doctrine of an international Jewish conspiracy to control the world.

The Jews have for long been regarded in the USSR with suspicion and hostility as strangers, aliens, and actual or potential enemies. Now their situation is jeopardized in a new and more ominous dimension.

The death of a culture, the enforced disappearance of a richly endowed community, the incitement of anti-Semitism, cannot be a matter of indifference.

We protest and condemn this frenzied anti-Jewish assault. We urge the Soviet authorities to initiate immediately a nationwide educational campaign against anti-Semitism. Finally, we call upon the leaders of the USSR to restore to Soviet Jewry the rights and institutions—and the concomitant dignity—to which Soviet law entitles them.

SIGNATORIES OF PUBLIC STATEMENT ON SOVIET JEWS

Daniel Aaron, Professor of Literature, Smith College.
James Luther Adams, Dean, Divinity School, Harvard University.
Mathew H. Ahmann, Director, Catholic Conference on Racial Justice.
William F. Albright, Professor Emeritus of Semitics, Johns Hopkins University.
Steve Allen, writer, peace leader.
Louis Auchincloss, novelist.
Joseph A. Beirne, President, Communications Workers of America.
Daniel Bell, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University.
Saul Bellow, novelist.
John C. Bennett, President, Union Theological Seminary.
Eric Bentley, Professor of Dramatic Literature, Columbia University.
Abram Bergson, Professor of Economics, Harvard University.
Hans A. Bethe, Professor of Physics, Cornell University.
Bruno Bettelheim, Professor of Psychology, University of Chicago.
Theodore Bikel, performing artist, civil rights and peace leader.
Stephen Birmingham, writer.
Max Black, Professor of Philosophy, Cornell University.
Felix Bloch, Professor of Physics, Stanford University.
Louise Bogan, poet.
Jerald C. Brauer, Dean, Divinity School, University of Chicago
Jerome S. Bruner, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University.
Robert Brustein, Dean, School of Drama, Yale University.
Justus Buchler, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.
Arthur F. Burns, Director, National Bureau of Economic Research.
Robert F. Byrnes, Professor of History, University of Indiana.
Paddy Chayefsky, playwright.
John Ciardi, poet.
Kenneth B. Clark, Professor of Psychology, CCNY; civil rights leader.
Arthur A. Cohen, writer.
Benjamin V. Cohen, attorney.
Robert S. Cohen, Professor of Physics, Boston University.
Lewis A. Coser, Professor of Sociology, Brandeis University.
Malcolm Cowley, literary critic.
Harvey Cox, Associate Professor, Divinity School, Harvard University.
Robert V. Daniels, Professor of History, University of Vermont.
Robert Gorham Davis, Professor of English, Columbia University.
Thurston N. Davis, S.J., editor-in-chief, America magazine.
Benjamin De Mott, Professor of Literature, Amherst College.
Herbert S. Dinerstein, Professor of Soviet Studies, Johns Hopkins University.
William B. Edgerton, Professor of Slavics Studies, University of Indiana.
Richard Ellmann, Professor of Literature, University of Illinois.
Victor Erlich, Professor of Russian Literature, Yale University.
Amitai Etzioni, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University.
James Farmer, civil rights leader.
James T. Farrell, novelist.
Jules Feiffer, social critic.
Abraham L. Feinberg, peace leader.
Herbert Feis, historian.
Lewis S. Feuer, Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto.
Harold E. Fey, Professor of Christian Social Ethics, Christian Theological Seminary.
George B. Ford, Catholic civil liberty leader.
Maurice Friedberg, Professor of Slavic Studies, University of Indiana.

Milton Friedman, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago.

Walter Galenson, Professor of Industrial Relations, Cornell University.

Buell G. Gallagher, President, City College of New York.

Herbert J. Gans, Associate Professor of Urban Studies, Columbia University.

Maxwell Geismar, literary critic.

William Gibson, playwright.

Harry D. Gideonse, Chancellor, New School for Social Research.

Robert W. Gilmore, peace leader.

Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University.

Nathan Glazer, Professor of Sociology, University of California.

Herbert Gold, novelist.

Percival Goodman, Professor, School of Architecture, Columbia University.

Patrick E. Gorman, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Butcher Workmen, AFL–CIO.

Adolph Gottlieb, painter.

Henry F. Graff, Professor of History, Columbia University.

Frances R. Grant, Director, Inter-American Committee for Peace and Democracy.

Clement Greenberg, art critic.

Gregory Grossman, Professor of Economics, University of California.

Louis M. Hacker, Professor of Economics, Columbia University.

Oscar Handlin, Professor of History, Harvard University.

Donald Szantho Harrington, Minister, Community Church of New York.

Michael Harrington, social critic.

Alfred Hassler, Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Philip M. Hauser, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Carl G. Hempel, Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University.

Nat Hentoff, social critic.

John Hersey, novelist.

Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, President, Notre Dame University. Member, U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Abraham J. Heschel, Professor of Jewish Ethics, Jewish Theological Seminary.

Granville Hicks, literary critic.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, Professor of History, City University of New York.

Milton Hindus, Professor of Literature, Brandeis University.

Richard Hofstadter, Professor of History, Columbia University.

John Hollander, poet.

Gerald Holton, Professor of Physics, Harvard University.

Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy, New York University.

Irving Louis Horowitz, Professor of Sociology, Washington University.

Bert F. Hoselitz, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago.

Irving Howe, Professor of English, Hunter College.

H. Stuart Hughes, Professor of History, Harvard University; Co-Chairman, SANE.

Alex Inkeles, Professor of Social Relations, Harvard University.

Homer A. Jack, Director, Department of Social Responsibility Unitarian Universalist Association; peace leader.

Paul Jacobs, writer.

Peter Juviler, Associate Professor of Government, Barnard College.

Elia Kazan, stage & screen director, novelist.

Alfred Kazin, literary critic.

Horace M. Kallen, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, The New School.

Abraham Kaplan, Professor of Philosophy, University of Michigan.

Peter B. Kenen, Professor of Economics, Columbia University.

Leon H. Keyserling, economist.

Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC.

Milton R. Konvitz, Professor of Industrial Relations, Cornell University.

Arthur Kornberg, Professor of Chemistry, Stanford University.

Irving Kristol, writer.

William M. Kunstler, attorney.

Ibram Lassaw, sculptor.

Harold D. Lasswell, Professor of Law and Political Science, Yale University.

Hal Lehrman, journalist.

Robert Lekachman, Professor of Economics, State University of New York.

Abba Lerner, Professor of Economics, University of California.

Daniel Lerner, Professor of Sociology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

William E. Leuchtenberg, Professor of History, Columbia University.

Meyer Levin, novelist.

Seymour Martin Lipset, Professor of Government & Social Relations, Harvard University.

Kurt L. London, Professor of Soviet Studies, George Washington University.

John Wesley Lord, Methodist Bishop of Washington, D.C.

Dwight Macdonald, writer, peace leader.

Robert M. MacIver, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Columbia University.

Norman Mailer, novelist, peace leader.

William Manchester, writer.

Edward S. Mason, University Professor, Harvard University.

Martin Mayer, writer.

Floyd McKissick, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.

Hugh McLean, Professor of Slavic Studies, University of Chicago.

Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University.

Robert Merton, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University.

Thomas Merton, poet.

Ashley Montagu, anthropologist.

Marianne Moore, poet.

Sidney Morgenbesser, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

Robert Motherwell, painter.

Lewis Mumford, social historian and critic.

George P. Murdock, Professor of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

Ernest Nagel, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

Jerome Nathanson, Leader, Ethical Culture Society.

Aryeh Neier, Director, New York Civil Liberties Union.

Howard Nemerov, poet.

Barnett Newman, painter.

Reinhold Niebuhr, philosopher.

Herbert H. Paper, Professor of Linguistics, University of Michigan.

Kenneth Patchen, poet.

Robert Pickus, peace leader.

James A. Pike, Member, Center for Study of Democratic Institutions.

Norman Podhoretz, Editor, Commentary magazine.

Ithiel deSola Pool, Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Richard H. Popkin, Professor of Philosophy, University of California.

Katherine Anne Porter, novelist.

Chaim Potok, novelist.

W. V. Quine, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.

A. Philip Randolph, civil rights and labor leader.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., attorney.

Arnold M. Rose, Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota.

Leo Rosten, writer.

Philip Roth, novelist.

Mark Rothko, painter.

Muriel Rukeyser, poet.

Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader.

Albert B. Sabin, scientist (Children's Hospital Research Foundation).

Maurice Samuel, writer, historian.

Meyer Schapiro, University Professor, Columbia University.

Murray Schisgal, playwright.

Benjamin I. Schwartz, Professor of Government, Harvard University.

Karl Shapiro, poet.

Robert Shaplen, writer.

Leon Schull, Director, Americans for Democratic Action.

Louis Simpson, poet.

Isaac B. Singer, novelist.

William Jay Smith, poet.

Theodore Solotaroff, literary critic.

Susan Sontag, novelist.

Melford E. Spiro, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Rex Stout, writer.

William Styron, novelist.

Harvey Swados, novelist.

Allen Tate, poet.

George E. Taylor, Professor of Far Eastern Studies, University of Washington.

Harold Taylor, educator, writer.

Telford Taylor, Professor, School of Law, Columbia University.

Norman Thomas, peace and civil rights leader.

James Tobin, Professor of Economics, Yale University.

Diana Trilling, literary critic.

Lionel Trilling, Professor of English, Columbia University.

Melvin Tumin, Professor of Anthropology, Princeton University.

John Updike, novelist.

Selman A. Waksman, Institute of Microbiology, Rutgers University.

Waytt Tee Walker, civil rights leader.

Robert Penn Warren, poet, novelist, critic.

Jerome Weidman, novelist.

Jacob J. Weinstein, peace and civil rights leader.

Alan F. Westin, Professor of Government, Columbia University.

Morton White, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.

Elie Wiesel, novelist.

Richard Wilbur, poet.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP.

Herman Will, Jr., Associate Director, Board of Social Concerns, Methodist Church.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.

(Institutional affiliations cited for purposes of identification only.)

Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews, New York, N.Y.

Fatal Defect of Overbreadth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel following the shocking decision of the Supreme Court earlier this week which struck down the portion of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 dealing with the employment of subversives in defense facilities.

Because I feel that this is a matter which demands the consideration of every Member, I insert this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

"FATAL DEFECT OF OVERBREADTH"

If that phrase seems baffling to you, do not be surprised; it is a fairly recent philosophy of the United States Supreme Court.

The court has just again applied this philosophy to another section of the Subversive

Activities Control Act of 1950, a law devised by Congress to deal with Communist espionage, spying and conspiracy in this country.

One section of this law makes it a criminal offense for a Communist to be employed in a defense plant. The court says this section of the law is unconstitutional because it has "the fatal defect of overbreadth." In short, the law goes too far.

The case was decided on the plea of one Eugene Frank Robel. There was no dispute that Robel was a Communist or that the Seattle shipyard where he worked as a machinist was a valid defense facility.

But Chief Justice Earl Warren, who wrote the opinion, said Robel might have been a "passive or inactive" Communist, or "unaware" of Communist aims, or might even "disagree." He said the law was too sweeping and "quite literally establishes guilt by association alone."

The "right of association," the chief justice ruled, is protected by the First Amendment. The First Amendment deals with freedom of religion, free speech, free press, the right to petition the Government and "peaceably to assemble."

As Justice Byron White said in his sharp dissent:

"The right of association is not mentioned in the Constitution."

Communism plainly is "a clear and present menace" to the security and national interests of the United States, as the Supreme Court itself once agreed. If Robel were a "passive or inactive" member of the Communist party, why would he join? Does a "right" to a defense plant job override the country's right to protect itself against potential for spying or sabotage?

Justice White didn't think so. And he said he had a lot less confidence in the "prescience" of the Supreme Court in dealing with national security than the chief justice and the others. So have we. The court majority seems to be suffering from the same philosophic disease it is alleging to Congress—"overbreadth."

The Correlation Between Modern Communications Media and Social Behavior

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Communications Apostolate, Archdiocese of Newark, recently completed a research project on "The Correlation Between Modern Communications Media and Social Behavior." The findings of this survey will be of interest to the membership and I shall, therefore, insert at this point in the RECORD a condensed version of this valuable report:

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN MODERN COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

(Report prepared by Christian Communications Apostolate, Archdiocese of Newark, Newark, N.J., Very Rev. Msgr. Paul J. Hayes, director)

On the one hand today we hear much said about the effect that obscene, violent, sadistic and sex-centered reading are having on behavior. On the other hand from some corners we hear the proclamation: "There have been no scientific studies establishing a correlation between sadism, violence, obscenity and homosexual presentations and social behavior. In many such discussions there has been much sheer emotionalism and shoddy thinking.

The following pages contain some of the facts collated through research carried on by this office and in particular results of a survey on the subject.

First of all, it is most difficult to establish scientifically through empirical methods the exact correlation between the subjects mentioned above and anti-social behavior. In order to follow this method, countless persons would have to be completely isolated from the adverse moral influences so that a control group would be established. Another group closely matched in almost every aspect would have to be exposed to the adverse moral influences in a controlled way. This would have to be done with many people over a prolonged period of time. All of this is extremely difficult, indeed, next to impossible, and yet those who declare that there is no correlation between filthy literature and social behavior would seem to demand this statistical centered approach and at the same time discount all other indications and evidence.

If the written word and pictures have no effect on people's thinking, then the multimillion dollar advertising business has been wasting its time, and libraries have been working all these years on false premises. And it is always interesting to hear some proclaim the great influence for good both here and abroad to be accomplished by a worthwhile book while at times the same men tell you that sadistic or obscene presentations have no effect.

If, indeed, by studies and by extrinsic evidence of authorities, sadism, masochism, homosexual presentations and obscenity are adversely affecting behavior, then society (including churches, libraries, legislators, law enforcement agencies and concerned citizens) has a right and an obligation to take steps to cope with the problem. Let us consider some pertinent facts.

The medical profession is usually guarded and restrained in publicizing its findings or opinions. The New York Academy of Medicine has published a formal statement voicing concern about the frightening impact of obscene printed matter. The statement referred to material which ranged from "erotic through libidinous to outright lascivious and lecherous." Then the statement went on: "Such reading encourages a morbid preoccupation with sex and interferes with the development of a healthy attitude and respect for the opposite sex. It is said to contribute to perversion. It is undeniable that there has been a resurgence of venereal disease, particularly among teenage youth, and that the rate of illegitimacy is climbing . . . the perusal of erotic literature has the potentiality of inciting some young persons to enter into illicit sex relations and thus leading them into promiscuity, illegitimacy and venereal disease."

The National Council of Juvenile Court Judges has gone on record as stating formally: "The character of juvenile delinquency has changed as a consequence of the stimulation of these publications, being no longer the thoughtless, mischievous acts of children, but reflected in acts of violence, armed robbery, rape, torture, and even homicide, to which the vicious and vile publications conditioned the minds of our children."

Results of a series of experiments carried on under the direction of Dr. Leonard Berkowitz, a psychologist of the University of Wisconsin, throw much interesting light on the relationship between violent presentations and behavior. The findings represent something of a setback for proponents of the "catharsis theory" that exposure to fantasy violence is beneficial since it allows release of aggressive feelings in harmless thoughts instead of real life. The studies done at the University of Wisconsin conclude that such things as movie violence increase the possibilities of external true violence.

Dr. Nicholas Frignito, M.D., chief neuropsychiatrist and medical director of the Philadelphia Courts has been in a position which afforded an unusual oportunity to observe and study and evaluate the effects of reading on the conduct of law violators. Declared Dr. Frignito: "Anti-social, delinquent and criminal activity frequently results from sexual stimulation by pornography. This abnormal sexual stimulation creates such a demand for expression that gratification by vicarious means follows. Girls run away from their homes and become entangled in prostitution. Boys and young men who have had difficulty resisting undue sexual stimulation become sexually aggressive and generally incorrigible. The more vicious delinquent or psychopathic type may become an exhibitionist, a rapist, a sadist, a fetishist. He may commit such anti-social acts as arson, pyromania, kleptomania, which are often symbolic sexual acts. The Philadelphia municipal court has case histories in which sexual arousal from smutty books led to criminal behavior from vicious assaults to homicide . . . In several instances these children were very young, varying in age from 9 to 14. The filthy ideas implanted in their immature minds impelled them to crime."

RESULTS OF NATIONAL SURVEY

In order to clarify the relationship between movies, reading and television viewing and their effect on people, particularly young people, this office has gathered and studied the results of research in the field, carried on interviews with judges, lawyers, law enforcement officials, psychiatrists, and others from all walks of life over a period of five years.

In an endeavor to crystalize some thinking in the field, we carried on a national survey by written questionnaire to 1664 law enforcement officials and psychiatrists. Of these, 1247 were sent to law enforcement officials and 417 to psychiatrists. The questionnaire covered three pages with space for personal comment. We received a total of 420 questionnaires filled out; 292 from law enforcement officials; 74 from physicians and/or psychiatrists; 54 from individuals whose profession is not identified. This was obviously not meant to be an exhaustive study. However, the opinions of 420 professional men is of value.

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

Law enforcement officials

In the overall picture, of the categories of people questioned, the law enforcement officials (in most cases Chiefs of Police) were the most methodical and seemed to put in more thought in answering each question to the best of their ability, often commenting or explaining their opinions.

The overwhelming majority feel that movies and reading affect social behavior, particularly of youth. 63.5% feel that movies and reading are a factor in the rise of venereal disease; 67.5% believe they are factors in the rise of illegitimacy; and about 75% believe that reading is a factor in stimulating homosexual activity or triggering latent homosexual tendencies. The vast majority feel that other factors have a key role, particularly "family background" and "excessive freedom and lack of authority during formative years." These factors, they feel, are of prime importance and in conjunction with an adverse effect through sex-stimulating or sadistic communications media can result in delinquency, homo-sexuality, venereal disease or some sort of anti-social behavior. Only 15.5% felt that homosexual activity between consenting adults should be removed from the legal realm.

Over 92% feel that pornographic, obscene, violent or crime-centered movies or reading have a relationship to delinquency.

Psychiatrists

Although several psychiatrists have done research in this field and have written their findings substantiating a correlation between the communications media and anti-social behavior, by and large the psychiatrists who answered this questionnaire gave relatively little substantial information. Often the way in which the questions were answered made it difficult to tabulate facts. Many comments indicated a prima facie prejudice relative to the whole subject and indicated that little investigation was done by them on the subject. The attitude at times was: "The whole thing is ridiculous. These things cannot affect people so why investigate the matter." This was not by any means universally true. A minority took great pains to tell their case studies and their conviction of the adverse effect of reading, movies and, to a lesser degree, TV in stimulating violence particularly. And in spite of the negative attitude expressed by not a few of the psychiatrists, a noteworthy percentage do see a relationship between behavior and modern communications media.

In so far as a fair tabulation and summary of their opinions can be made:

Between 22%—25% felt that movies and reading are a factor in stimulating illegitimacy or veneral disease. Roughly the same percentage feel that homosexual activity can be so stimulated.

The vast majority of those expressing an opinion (77.8%) felt that homesexuality between consenting adults should be removed from the legal realm.

In seeking the thoughts of psychiatrists relative to listing factors contributing to anti-social behavior, many did not name any factors; others considered lack of love or parental indifference among prime factors. It is significant that in spite of a general attitude expressed by comments that movies and reading are not prime considerations relative to delinquency, 83% felt that obscene or sadistic printed matter does have a relationship to delinquency; 63.3% felt that violent or suggestive movies have a relationship to delinquency; and 11% consider movies, TV and reading as among the five top factors contributing to anti-social behavior at the present time.

Those whose profession is unknown

The overwhelming majority in this category feel that there is a definite relationship between movies and printed matter and behavior.

Over 71% feel that movies and/or reading are factors in the rise of venereal disease; over 81% feel that these media are a factor in the rise of illegitimacy; and over 88% feel that homosexual activity is increased thereby.

All in this category feel that obscene or sadistic printed matter do have a relationship to delinquency and only a few less feel that movies have such a place.

CONCLUSIONS

The survey is of value only if taken in conjunction with other research done in the field.

Of those who cooperated in the survey:

About 92% of the law enforcement officials representing a cross section of various parts of the country felt that pornographic, obscene, violent or crime-centered movies or reading have a relationship to delinquency and express concern that their experience in the field indicates a growing problem.

33% of the psychiatrists felt that obscene and sadistic printed matter has a relationship to delinquency and to a lesser degree movies (63.3%).

Of those whose profession was unknown, there is unanimous opinion as to the definite relatonship between the communications media and behavior.

In all cases other factors are considered of very great consequence, particularly family background (e.g. parental indifference) and an excessive freedom and lack of authority during formative years. These factors evidently provide the more fertile soil, in the opinion of many, in which movies and reading can have the greatest influence.

The results of the survey indicate that the question of the specific relationship between the communications media and behavior or character formation should not be dismissed lightly and that thorough investigation should be pursued in this field.

One aspect, often passed over in such studies, and brought out through several comments on the questionnaires, is the fact that there can be many undesirable side effects far short of immoral or anti-social behavior.

One Illinois psychiatrist summed up his major concern in these words: "I think that constant exposure to scenes of violence may lead suggestible viewers to accept it." This remark reflects the concern expressed by many who answered the questionnaire that although often we cannot pinpoint an adverse anti-social act in relationship to one particular piece of literature, the exposure to obscene or sadistic material over a period of time will have its effect.

A husband-wife team (the husband is a psychiatrist) gave a summary of their thoughts: "I believe our children are being deluged by glamorized sex—through every media—causing them to experience more anxiety and doubt than normally occurs in adolescence. I believe many of them, because of moral and religious standards set in the home or school, will be able to reach adulthood relatively unscathed; few but the already damaged children will be influenced to the point of delinquency; but *many* will never realize their personality potential because of the 'sick' propaganda surrounding them."

H.R. 14447—A Bill To Provide for the Study of the Feasibility of Using Water From the Missouri River in Western Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT PRICE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, at the recent annual meeting of the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association in Omaha, Nebr., on December 8, 1967, there was presented by R. W. Beck & Associates, analytical and consulting engineers, a plan for the use of the waters of the Missouri River by the Great Plains area, which includes much of the western part of the State of Texas. I think that this plan is most significant and want to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

Its main point is that many areas in the Missouri River Basin have a surplus of water, while many other areas, that are contiguous with the basin, have a definite shortage. These shortages could be corrected by diverting water from the Missouri into the areas of shortage, still leaving plenty of water for the programed growth of all areas.

This proposal has foresight and vision. The water problem has long been one of the most serious in the Great Plains area, where the soil is so naturally rich and fertile, yet where little will grow in proportion to its potential, because of insufficient water supply. We lose much of our agricultural and industrial capability by not not opening up these areas with water from areas of great surplus.

Quoting from the study:

> As our water requirements increase, it is not realistic to permit water unused and unuseable in one area to go to waste when it can be transported and used in another area to enhance the nation's economy. A haunting memory to the Great Plains area is the drought of the Thirties, when a shortage of water supply resulted in untold economic loss and misery.

It is imperative that we act to prevent this from ever happening again, especially when the means are so near our grasp. The existing Texas water plan has recognized the fact that there is not enough water readily available for the western part of our State, and that the only sources that are feasible are at a great distance from the State. It is realized also that water will have to be transported from other areas to fill the requirements.

It is the contention of the study by R. W. Beck & Associates that the Missouri River Basin offers the best promise as a source of water for west Texas, and I am convinced that the proposal should be thoroughly investigated as a solution to vital water needs of west Texas and the Great Plains area.

The annual water flow of the Missouri at Sioux City, Iowa, during the period from 1898 to 1962 was 33,400 cubic feet per second, which was about one and a half times the flow of the Colorado, which serves California and Arizona. Thus, there seems to be plenty of water to divert from one area to the other without endangering anyone's growth. As a fact of life, the western part of Texas, as well as other Great Plains areas, must have an increased water supply, and this could be the answer.

Under the proposed plan of development, flows of the Missouri River would be diverted just downstream from Fort Randall Reservoir at an elevation of approximately 1,250 feet above sealevel. The flows would be lifted through a series of dams and/or canals 200 miles up the Niobrara River in Nebraska to approximately elevation 4,050 feet above sealevel at a point just north of Alliance, Nebr.

From there, the entire project water would flow by gravity in a major canal running almost due south through western Nebraska, crossing the North Platte River and passing between Sidney and Chappel, Nebr.; thence into eastern Colorado, crossing the South Platte River above Julesburg, Frenchman Creek above Holyoke, Colo., the South Fork of the Republican River and crossing into western Kansas above Goodland; thence generally along the Colorado-Kansas border crossing the Smokey Hill River to about Tribune, Kans., where the canal would swing back west to cross the Arkansas River below Lamar, Colo.; thence south to cross the Cimarron River below Boise

City, Okla., the North Canadian River near the Oklahoma-Texas border, the Canadian River north and west of Amarillo, Tex.; thence south, crossing the Prairie Dog Town Fork of the Red River south of Amarillo and swinging slightly south and west through the high plains of west Texas, crossing the upper reaches of the Brazos River above Lubbock, the Colorado River near the border of New Mexico, and finally terminating at elevation 3,660 near Hobbs, N. Mex.

A small extension of the main canal could deliver water by gravity to the Pecos River near Carlsbad, N. Mex., and the remainder would flow in natural channels south to the Pecos River below Pecos, Tex.

Water delivered to the Pecos River could flow downstream through a potential power project south of Midland, Tex., where approximately 650 feet of head for conventional and pumped storage power development could be utilized before the water finally flows into the Rio Grande above the Amistad project.

The diversion of a substantial amount of the flows of the Missouri River as here proposed will have no detrimental effect on any existing or proposed water resource developments in the upper basin.

Downstream water quality control on the Missouri River is assured in that at least 3,000,000 acre-feet per year is planned for release below Sioux City for pollution abatement and municipal water supply requirements. This requirement was determined for the Corps of Engineers mainstem operation studies as being adequate with essentially untreated sewage being placed in the Missouri River at Omaha and other major population centers.

As desirable as this transfer is in theory, much planning and study is necessary before it can be carried out. The needs of the areas containing the surplus water must be taken into account, as well as how to parcel the water that is deemed available.

In order to answer these and many other questions raised, I have proposed a measure, H.R. 14447, which would direct a study of the feasibility of diverting water from the Missouri River to areas, such as the western part of Texas, where the need is so great. I hope that the House will expeditiously consider this matter so that the planning for this great and urgent task may get underway.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting at this point in my remarks a summary of the major features of this proposed project:

A New Water Resource Plan for the Great Plains: Major Project Features

WATER SUPPLY

1. Source: Missouri River below Fort Randall Reservoir.

2. Availability: At point of diversion: 13,000,000 acre-ft. average annual, 9,000,000 acre-ft. minimum, 16,000,000 acre-ft. maximum.

Delivered to participating projects: 10,200,000 acre-ft. average annual.

3. Means of diversion and transportation:

Pumping: Reversible turbines and pumps located at dams and/or canals along the length of the Niobrara River from the mouth to Box Butte Reservoir near Alliance, Nebr. Total pumping lift=2,800 feet to elevation approximately 4,050 feet.

Gravity: 940-mile-long canal from elevation 4,050 feet in northwestern Nebraska through eastern Colorado, western Kansas, western Oklahoma and west Texas to elevation 3,660 feet near the Pecos River in New Mexico. Canal capacity at beginning of project=17,000 cfs.

POWER FEATURES

1. Pumping power requirements: 35 billion kilowatt-hours annually for project pumping purposes, equivalent to 4,000 mw at 100% load factor. This excludes re-pumping water cycled for peaking purposes.

2. Pumped storage peaking capacity: As much as 3,500 to 5,300 mw of peaking capacity could be developed as required by the power market.

3. Other power features: Potential pumped storage project on Prairie Dog Town Fork of Red River southeast of Amarillo, Texas—1,200 mw. Potential power facilities installed at participating project reservoirs along route due to increased water supply and on Pecos River below Pecos, Texas. Additional energy production at existing and proposed dams downstream from canal.

PROJECT BENEFITS

1. Potential irrigable lands in project area: 53,000,000 acres.

2. Water benefits: Full and/or supplemental supply to 6,000,000–10,000,000 acres of irrigable land; municipal and industrial water supply. Direct annual water benefits—$350 million to $450 million. Recharge of ground water aquifers. Water quality improvement on intercepted rivers and streams.

3. Power benefits: Raise of overall system load factor for all electric systems in region to a very high level. Provision of considerable on-peak capacity released to meet other system loads when pumping is interrupted and/or reversed. Additional direct on-stream hydro and pumped storage project capacity. Downstream benefits to other hydro power projects depending on releases to individual river basins.

4. Recreation, fish and wildlife benefits: Direct benefits arising from reservoirs on Niobrara River; canal usage; participating reservoir projects.

5. Flood control benefits: Incidental flood control benefits from diverting uncontrolled high flows of intercepted streams into the proposed canal.

6. Indirect benefits: Stimulus to economy of region and nation due to increased land values; adequate municipal and industrial water supply; new agri-business created; aid in population redistribution; land and water conservation.

PROJECT COSTS AND CONSTRUCTION PERIOD

1. Overall approximate estimated project cost: $3–3.5 billion depending on location of project water deliveries and alternative project plans. Estimate based on 1967 price levels and excludes any costs associated with slack-water navigation on Missouri River or of providing base load power.

2. Possible completion date, initial project: 1980, allowing 7 years for detailed project studies and 5 years for construction of initial project facilities. Ultimate full development dependent upon demand and participating project development.

President Johnson Supports U.S. Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include copies of wire service reports on President Johnson's remarks at Lake Charles, La., and at New Orleans, La., in support of our space program:

Lake Charles, La.—President Johnson told the three Apollo I astronauts and a group of workers on the Apollo project today that the Nation will advance in space to the extent "that our people and their elected representatives are prepared to pay the cost."

Johnson spoke at the Michoud space assembly facility where he was greeted by Space Administrator James Webb and astronauts Walter Schirra, Walter Cunningham, and Don Eisele.

He also inspected the Saturn I booster and the big Saturn V moon rocket.

"We have come a long way—and much of that journey has been made only within the last decade," the President said. "Ten years ago we could put scarcely 100 pounds into orbit about the earth. Today we can orbit 285,000 pounds."

Johnson told the astronauts and the workers that "you have done more than paved man's road to the stars. Much of what you do stays here at home to enrich our lives, improve our economy and add to our strength . . . we are just beginning to grasp the possibilities of space. We are just beginning to realize its meaning for our needs on earth."

New Orleans.—President Johnson today made a stout defense of the high cost of the space program. He said ultimate results might be millions of times greater than the $20 billion invested in the past 10 years.

"That man will make space his domain is inevitable," Johnson said, "whether America will lead mankind to that destiny depends, not on our ability, but on our will."

The Chief Executive stopped at NASA's rocket plant at Michoud, La., near here, on a one-day jet tour.

The tour began at the dedication of a new community college at Killeen, Tex., in the morning and wound up with an important speech scheduled late today before the AFL-CIO convention at Miami Beach. Johnson then planned to fly to Washington.

Speaking at the Michoud assembly facility, part of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, the Chief Executive acknowledged that failure to provide enough money might prevent space programs at a desired pace.

But he was confident "we will never evacuate the frontiers of space to others . . . we will be the space pioneers who lead the way to the stars."

"The value of our Nation of a successful space program may be millions of times greater than that," Johnson said in his prepared remarks, after referring to the $20 billion invested in the past decade.

He said it would be impossible to estimate the true value of the space program until further penetration of the "mysterious and the miraculous" areas of outer space.

"But think if the ultimate cost to us if we were not in space—if we failed to support a program worthy of the wealthiest nation in history: What would they say about our American system of government?"

The President said:

"Think of the cost to us, compounded again and again, if we had abandoned the determination to master modern technology when it is so vital to our security and our prosperity."

He added that America, although the most scientifically advanced Nation on earth, had started behind in conquering space.

He did not mention the Soviet Union by name, but he noted the United States did not launch man's first earth satellite.

"We were backward because we did not choose to look forward. Let us remember that our future achievements—or our failures—

will depend on how far ahead we choose to look and dream," he said.

The President said the United States would advance in space "to the extent that our people and their elected representatives are prepared to pay the cost."

"We may not always proceed at the pace we desire," he added. "I regret that there may be reduction and interruptions of our program, but I have faith in the American people."

New Farm Bureau Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, once again, a State Farm Bureau is parading its contempt for the public interest. My only disagreement with the following editorial is that I believe the Farm Bureau is very much alive—much too alive for the good of the American farmer or the general public.

I had hoped that those farm bureaus with few members would be more representative of the farmer's point of view. It is disappointing that the Vermont Farm Bureau, with only 5,000 members, exhibits that same callous disregard for the interests of the American farmer as the larger State affiliates and the national organization.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully insert the following editorial from the November 20 edition of the Burlington Free Press in the RECORD:

NEW FARM BUREAU ROLE

The state Development Department is missing a good promotion if it doesn't advertise the Vermont Farm Bureau as one of the most outstanding examples of petrified existence in the whole northeast.

Step right up folks, the department ought to say, and view with your very own eyes a display of fossil thinking that moves, breathes, and engages in almost-lifelike activity. The department could even put up a bunch of big billboards saying: "Keith Wallace—Alive!"

Billboards don't bother the Farm Bureau. Neither do bad roads, poor farmers, cumbersome bureaucracy, or poor planning. At the Farm Bureau's annual meeting last week, Rep. Robert Graf, R–57, of Rupert, made a valiant effort to make his fellow-members face reality.

Last legislative session Rep. Graf took some knocks for an intemperate remark or two, but he ought to be credited last week with being about the only fish in a bowlful of oysters.

Where else, Mr. Museum Visitor, could you find more perfectly preserved specimens of a unique species than the persons who said: "The pioneers didn't have roads," and then voted against the idea of state bonds for highway construction?

Where else could you find a form of life that collects rent from billboards on its land, so it votes in favor of such signs "provided that the signs would not block the scenery"? What scenery? More billboards?

Where else is it possible to have on exhibit a group that would vote against suggestions for revenue-producing programs, and then solemnly discuss elimination of personal inventory taxes and taxes on farm machinery?

A U.S. representative over in New York State has suggested that the Farm Bureau ought to be treated as a selfish-interest lobby and not as a non-profit organization. He was wrong. It ought to be turned over to the Development Department as a primordial natural resource—an atrophied relic of a life that never was, pretending to be preparing for a life that never will be.

Gold and the Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Bernstein-Macaulay, Inc., a New York investment management firm, have issued an illuminating statement on the subject of gold and the dollar. They show that it is the strength of the dollar, and the strength of the U.S. economy behind the dollar that give value to gold, and not vice versa. They warn against our being pushed into a deflationary policy by the challenge of a "bitter, cynical, and irresponsible old (French) man," and they suggest a plan whereby we would continue to guarantee to sell gold at $35 an ounce, but would not necessarily purchase it back at this price.

Peter L. Bernstein is a highly regarded economist, and I urge my colleagues to consider the bulletin which follows:

A PROGRAM TO SAVE THE DOLLAR

(By Bernstein-Macaulay, Inc., New York, N.Y.)

General DeGaulle and his allies, the speculators in the foreign exchange markets, have declared war on the United States. Their goal is nothing less than unconditional surrender—a major increase in the price of gold and an end to the arrangements whereby foreigners use dollars (and, possibly, the new IMF Special Drawing Rights) instead of gold as their ultimate monetary reserves. Their victory would not only reward the gold hoarders, such as the French and the speculators, and the gold producers, such as the Russians and the South Africans; it would mean a total collapse of international monetary cooperation and a complete loss of confidence that the government of the United States will ever again mean what it says. It would throw all of the magnificent accomplishments of the last twenty years into the ash can.

We have two choices. We can fight this war defensively, retreating behind a series of Maginot lines, using "classic" tactics, and hoping that we can thus avoid further foreign invasions of our monetary gold stock. The alternative is to take the offensive, to attack and defeat the enemy on *his* territory rather than on ours, and to secure an ultimate defeat over the speculators whose aim is to destroy the integrity of governments as well as of money.

The defensive response is the classic one, well illustrated by the futile attempts of the British government over the past three years to deflate the economy of Great Britain. The classic medicine begins with higher taxes and tight money, both designed to reduce inflationary pressures and thereby to protect the purchasing power of the currency. They also aim to increase exports and reduce imports so as to earn more gold and foreign exchange abroad.

These measures, however, often fail to curb inflation, but they do squeeze profits and encourage an outflow of investment capital to more vigorously expanding economies. Consequently, wage and price controls and limitations on the outflow of money to other countries almost inevitably follow suit. Because of the rigidities that are characteristic of modern industrial economies, these deflationary policies lead to a shrinkage of real incomes and an increase in unemployment, while costs and prices stubbornly refuse to come down. Some countries, most notably the Japanese and the Italians, have on occasions pursued such policies with great success, but the British economy and our own are both more mature and less well adjusted to so much government intervention into the decision making process of corporate managements.

Nevertheless, the Administration and the Treasury will probably attempt something of the sort in the months to come. We cannot sit back and do nothing. But every man who loses a job as a result, every corporation whose profits are squeezed, everyone who is restricted from moving his money freely to other countries will be "crucified on a cross of gold". Because we want to stick by our word and continue to sell gold freely at $35 an ounce to foreign governments and central banks, and because of fears that any other course would lead to chaos, we shall be making deep inroads into the enterprise and vitality that are vital to American economic growth.

Is there no other alternative? Can a bitter, cynical and irresponsible old man really lead his legions of speculators into the heart of the American economy and destroy its fabric? Are our only choices either to throw men out of work and curtail our economic growth at home and abroad, or to throw the world into complete economic chaos? Like Khrushchev, who played with fire by putting missiles into Cuba, the General thinks that we will flinch and pull back rather than risk the ultimate holocaust.

We solved and won the Cuban crisis by an extraordinarily bold direct confrontation with the enemy. We can solve this crisis in much the same way—and this time, the risks are infinitely smaller.

The offensive strategy recognizes the realities and discards the myths. Those who buy and hoard gold do so in the belief that it is the supreme value. But while worshipping the Golden Calf they forget the story of King Midas: he was a man in dire poverty, unable to eat, drink, or clothe himself, because everything he possessed had turned into an utterly useless if beautiful hunk of yellow metal.

In other words, money, no matter what form it takes, has no intrinsic value. *Its value stems only from what it can purchase in the marketplace.* Thus, the dollar has value because of the quantity and variety of goods and services it can buy in the United States. It has value as an asset as well because people believe they will continue to be able to buy enormous quantities in the future as well. The United States has had far less price inflation than any other country in the world, it has great man-made and natural productive resources, and, in addition, it has a system of government that has shown a remarkable ability to survive the most serious types of crises. Where in the world would you rather park your money or accumulate your assets for the indefinite future—in France? in the USSR? in Germany? even in Switzerland, with its rapid rate of price inflation?

Just to provide some contrasts, note that our GNP is eight times as great as France's. But that is not all. Our foreign trade is twice theirs. Furthermore, the franc has had so many devaluations that it is today only 1/10th of its 1940 dollar value and only 1/100 of its value in 1910! The French have had so many "Republics" over the past hundred years, that it is almost impossible to remember the number of the one they now enjoy.

The contrast in economic and political strength goes even further, however. The United States has accumulated such a tremendous quality of highly productive and profitable assets abroad that the output of American "international business" today will soon make it the third industrial power in the world after the domestic U.S. economy and the Russians.

Finally, no one can argue that the American dollar is overvalued in today's world. Unlike Britain, our exports comfortably exceed our imports. Our foreign assets are increasing steadily and would increase even faster if we had no restrictions on investment abroad. Indeed, if the dollar were made cheaper relative to other currencies, we would compete most industrial nations right out of business. It is only political obligations that we have voluntarily assumed—the foreign aid program and military activities abroad—that are draining our international financial strength.

These are the realities of our economic power. Hence, they are the basis for an offensive strategy against the gold hoarders who are mesmerized by the myths that surround their beloved yellow metal.

We must begin by recognizing that it is the dollar that gives value to gold, rather than vice-versa. Our stated willingness to *buy* gold at $35 an ounce is all that supports the purchasing power of gold. Remove the convertibility of gold into dollars, and we would in one stroke make Midases of all the the gold hoarders. *Therefore, let us say that we will gladly continue to honor our word to sell gold at $35 an ounce to all takers and that we will continue to accept in payment sterling, francs, marks, rubles, and so on, but that we have no idea whether we will ever want to repurchase gold or, if we do, that we may well wait until we can repurchase it at less than $35.* This approach would do much more to foil Goldfinger than all the elaborate security apparatus we maintain at Fort Knox!

This is no idle or capricious suggestion. It has been seriously proposed in academic circles and the possibilities of it have been explored in Washington. We believe that, bold and radical as it may appear, it is the only rational policy we can pursue.

Since our current rigid buying price for gold assures its dollar value for the indefinite future, it eliminates the risks of speculating against the dollar. Thus, the gold hoarder, guaranteed a price at which he can unload, is encouraged to take a chance, especially as the odds become increasingly favorable to him as more and more people join in the game. This is, in fact, the most ominous lesson of the British episode in November.

In any case, we are afraid that the alternative—the road to deflation—will lead nowhere. The political, structural, and institutional obstacles to a thorough deflation of the U. S. economy are too great for such a policy to advance very far. Meanwhile, piece-metal programs and direct controls will do damage without stemming the momentum the speculators have generated. And, in any case, doesn't it seem ridiculous that a $2 billion payments deficit and a $13 billion gold stock should be allowed to squeeze down our $800-billion output of goods and services?

No, economic overkill is the least effective way to salvage the situation. Moreover, it is a solution of despair. Let us not crucify mankind on a cross of gold. It is high time that we crush the tyranny of gold over our financial affairs and free ourselves to follow rational policies of growth and expansion throughout the world.

Report to the People of the Ninth District of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my final report for the first session of the 90th Congress as submitted to the people of the Ninth District of Tennessee.

The report follows:

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON TO THE NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE

LONG SESSION NEARS END

The first session of the 90th Congress will soon be history. It has been a long session and, like the proverbial hot stove league in baseball, there will be many arguments during the coming months as to just what was accomplished. Just to give you some idea of the actual schedule and production that goes into a session of Congress, here is a resumé of the activity which actually took place in the House and Senate to November 1.

DATA ON LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

[Jan. 10 through Oct. 31, 1967]

	Senate	House	Total
Days in session	171	160	
Time in session	(1)	(2)	
Congressional Record:			
Pages of proceedings	15,641	14,312	29,953
Appendix			5,356
Public bills enacted into law	53	64	117
Private bills enacted into law	47	57	104
Bills in conference	4	6	
Bills through conference	12	21	
Measures passed, total	698	690	
Senate bills	362	123	
House bills	147	341	
Senate joint resolutions	33	13	
House joint resolutions	9	12	
Senate concurrent resolutions	14	9	
House concurrent resolutions	17	18	
Simple resolutions	116	174	290
Measures reported, total	[3] 786	[3] 798	
Senate bills	390	122	
House bills	155	489	
Senate joint resolutions	37	7	
House joint resolutions	8	16	
Senate concurrent resolutions	19	7	
House concurrent resolutions	17	12	
Simple resolutions	160	145	305
Special reports	24	42	
Conference reports		37	
Reported measures not acted on	26	443	
Measures introduced, total	2,956	16,230	19,219
Bills	2,607	13,791	16,398
Joint resolutions	118	918	1,036
Concurrent resolutions	49	566	615
Simple resolutions	182	961	1,143
Quorum calls	69	105	
Yea-and-nay votes	234	189	
Bills vetoed		1	1
Vetoes overridden			

[1] 894 hours, 04 minutes.

[2] 711 hours, 22 minutes.

[3] These figures on measures reported included all placed on calendar or acted on by Senate even if there was no accompanying report. A total of 704 reports has been filed in the Senate; a total of 877 has been filed in the House.

Remember, this is a record of the actual activity taking place on the Floor of Congress. As many or more hours are spent by a member in Committee. The remaining time is taken up in office work, meeting people from home, attending hearings, briefings, and meetings away from the Capitol itself.

WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED?

Many people judge the success of a session of Congress by the number of bills passed or by how much of the program suggested by the President is approved. Much more often the important accomplishments of Congress are the bills it defeats and in holding the line on a sometimes over-ambitious Administration. For instance, when the final record of this session is written it will show that Congress will have cut nearly 5 billion dollars from requests for spending made by the President. This has been done without hurting the war effort in Vietnam in the least and without cutting a single necessary or essential government service. Without a hard-working, conscientious group of Congressmen, led by the 187 Republicans in the House, you would have had to cough up more than 145 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1968 to run the government and there would have been a deficit of around 35 billion dollars. This would have further increased inflation and would mean you could buy even less with the dollars you work so hard to earn. Although the Republicans are outnumbered by Democrats in this Congress, 247 to 187, we have been able to get spending cuts through on practically every appropriation bill. In addition, by refusing to rush through a tax increase as demanded by the President we have already forced the Administration to agree to an additional 4 billion dollar cut in spending. It is quite likely that before any tax hike is approved we will have a guaranteed cut in spending of around $7 billion.

THE NINTH DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE

We are rather proud of the work your Congressman and his staff did for the people of Memphis during this first term as your Representative.

Casework: Actual cases handled involving Social Security claims, Veterans Affairs, military problems and matters with practically every department of the Federal Government through December 1 were 746. In addition there several hundred problems taken up with the Departments and Agencies which do not all strictly within the category of a case.

Requests: More than 1,000 requests for information covering almost every field of activity. This included sending out thousands of pamphlets, books and research materials.

Personal contact: We have been most happy to welcome several hundred visitors to our Washington office and assist in making their visits to the Nation's Capital more interesting. In keeping with a promise made during my campaign, I arranged for "open house" meetings in Memphis. I arranged to hold office hours in many neighborhools throughout the city about every four weeks in order to make it possible for those with problems to meet their Congressman without a trip downtown or writing to Washington.

Information: This report on Washington was issued about every six weeks for the past year to keep you informed on important legislation before Congress and to point out the more important issues facing the Nation. A questionnaire was sent to 131,000 homes in Memphis early in the session to learn how the people at home felt about the more pressing problems. Over 16,000 of you returned the questionnaire giving me the benefit of your opinions.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

In this first session I have introduced or have co-sponsored 26 bills. Two important measures have passed the House, a bill to make desecration of the Flag a Federal offense and one to make it a Federal offense to cross state lines to instigate a riot or violent demonstration. The other bills dealt with many problems including increased penalties for the possession and use of LSD, prohibiting trade with Communist countries, restrictions on imports of cotton, taking the appointment of postmasters out of politics, and many others.

As a part of my work on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, I was appointed a member of a study mission on the development of the Super Sonic Transport, and as a conferee to help avert a national railroad strike. I was invited to the White House to participate in the signing of six bills on which I had worked as a member of the Committee. The most important of these were the amendments to the Health Act of 1967 and the Air Pollution Act.

All in all, this has been a productive session of Congress and the views of the people of the 9th District have been given wide circulation in Congress. A careful analysis of my mail indicates that I am presenting these views in Congress in accordance with the thinking of the majority of the people of Memphis and I am voting on most issues as the people of Memphis would have voted if they were in my place and had the advantage of the information I have.

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

"And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men.' "

And it is the prayer of the Kuykendall family that this message from the Scripture will prevail throughout the world, and that peace, justice and mercy will be given to all men.

America's Future Highway Needs Discussed by American Road Builders Executive—Official Transportation Report Due in 1968

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, one of the best brief outlines of the Federal-aid highway program which projects into a discussion of America's future highway needs is that written by Burton F. Miller, for the November 1967 issue of the American Road Builder. Mr. Miller, a veteran ARBA staff executive, is to take over actively as executive vice president of that organization at the beginning of the New Year.

I recall, as Mr. Miller noted in his American Road Builder article, the 1944 authorization by Congress of the transcontinental highway system which we know today as the Interstate System. As a Member of the House of Representatives, and as a member of its Committee on Roads, I had a part in the decade of the 1930's and in the first half of the 1940's in the formulation of the pioneering in Federal aid for highways which led to the Highway Act of 1956, which is the cornerstone of the present-day system.

In my service in the Senate since 1958, and especially in the more recent years during which I have been chairman of our Public Works Subcommittee on Roads, I have stressed—as does the ARBA and Executive Vice President Miller—the importance of continuity in the highway construction program for the United States. ARBA was, indeed, a "catalyst" for the actions which brought about a "sense of Congress" call for a report to Congress in January 1968, and in January of every second year thereafter, by the Secretary of Transportation, setting forth his estimates of the future highway needs of the Nation.

I am sure that many persons in Government, in the roadbuilding industry, in the highway departments and bureaus of the States, in the motor-trucking industry, and in the vast highway traveling public, will be awaiting with interest the 1968 report due to reach Congress in January. Mr. Miller's article is an excellent preface to what I feel will be an informative, useful, and helpful future highway needs report by Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Miller be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S FUTURE HIGHWAY NEEDS

(By Burton F. Miller, executive vice president, American Road Builders Association)

The Federal aid highway program which was established by the Highway Act of 1956 had a long period of incubation. The Interstate system was authorized by Congress in 1944, after several years of study. This was followed by a period of further study, the selection of corridors, and a great deal of discussion without much construction. We had the Clay Committee study, and other reports and investigations prior to the Act of 1956. It took 12 years or more—depending on what is used as a starting point—to get the 1956 Act on the statute books.

With that experience to guide us, we must anticipate that considerable lead time will be required to bring about legislation authorizing the post-Interstate highway program. We must consider, too, that it will be desirable to have this authorizing legislation enacted well in advance of the start of the construction program. This is essential to allow time to do the planning and design work, arrange for state matching money, and acquire the necessary right of way. The importance of continuity cannot be overstressed. An interruption in the federal aid highway program would be costly to the industry, the highway departments and the nation.

With this long lead time in mind, the American Road Builders Association began, as early as 1963, to point out in its testimony before the Public Works Committees of Congress that it was high time to authorize the federal-state studies of highway needs which would be the starting point for the post-Interstate highway program.

Note that we functioned as a catalyst. We did not try to tell the Congress what kind of highway program should be authorized. We only urged that the Federal Government, itself, take the necessary steps to get a study underway.

Our suggestion was adopted by the House, but the legislation was not considered in the Senate in 1963 or 1964. Finally, in 1965, legislation was adopted expressing the "sense of Congress" that the Secretary of Commerce (now the Secretary of Transportation) "shall report to Congress in January 1968, and in January of every second year thereafter, his estimates of the future highway needs of the Nation."

The enactment of this legislation was a step forward, but it did not go as far as we would have liked. We would have preferred a specific directive from Congress calling for a study by the Bureau of Public Roads, in cooperation with the states, with recommendations for the formulation of a post-Interstate highway program. We would have preferred some guidelines written into the law to ensure that the Secretary of Transportation's report would have the scope and depth necessary for use as the basis of legislation authorizing the highway program of the future.

The legislation, as enacted, gives the Secretary of Transportation a great deal of leeway. He is under no obligation to make any recommendations at all. Indeed, his "estimate of the future highway needs of the Nation" could conceivably be a partial estimate, with further details to come in 1970, 1972 and 1974.

Much basic data about our future highway needs has been compiled by the state highway departments and collected by the Bureau of Public Roads. It is uncertain how this data will be used in the Department of Transportation report.

Under the circumstances, the state highway officials have felt it prudent and desirable to develop a post-Interstate highway program plan and to submit it to Congress directly. A preliminary report by the American Association of State Highway Officials was presented to the House and Senate Public Works Committees in June of this year.

The state highway officials predicated their program on the assumption that the Interstate program will be stretched out and the system not completed until 1975. On this assumption, they postulate a 10-year federal aid highway program, beginning in 1975 and concluding in 1985.

Their first recommendation is that the Highway Trust Fund and the tax revenues going into it be continued. The revenues from existing taxes increase moderately with the increase in highway travel. It is estimated that they would amount to $54 billion during the 10-year period, 1975–1985, an average of $5.4 billion per year.

If present state financing were to be continued, the highway officials estimate, there would be $18 billion in state funds available to match the $54 billion in federal funds. The highway officials propose that the states increase their matching funds to $24 billion—an increase of one-third. There would then be available $78 billion for a 10-year federal aid highway program—$54 billion in federal funds and $24 billion in state funds.

The highway officials compared this $78 billion with their estimate of total needs—$209 billion for all road and streets, including the needs of counties and cities as well as state highway needs. This $209 billion needs figure is expressed in 1966 prices—inflation might raise the price tag to $285 billion. Obviously, the proposed federal aid program would cover only the most urgent needs.

Percentagewise, federal aid funds would be applied as follows:

Ten per cent would be for Interstate system extension and improvement. The Interstate program would be cut back to about one-seventh of the 1968 program. The 90 per cent federal-10 per cent state matching basis would continue.

Thirty per cent would be for a revised urban program, which would be more in line with urban needs than the present urban program, inasmuch as it would cover arterial routes both on and off the present federal aid system. The routes would be selected cooperatively by the states and the urban governments involved, the matching ratio—two-thirds federal, one-third state.

Forty per cent of the funds would go toward rural primary development, also on a two-thirds federal, one-third state matching basis.

Twenty per cent would be designated for rural secondary roads, again on a two-thirds federal, one-third state matching basis.

Note that by taking the emphasis off Interstate construction, it will be possible to make very substantial increases in ABC highway construction.

Note also—and this is a very important point—that the plan recognizes the essentiality of local roads, and would put substantially more money into local roads than is possible under the present allocation of federal aid funds.

Early in September, the Secretary of Transportation made the Fiscal 1969 apportionment of federal aid funds to the states. Pursuant to law, he apportioned $3.8 billion for the Interstate program and $1 billion for the ABC program, a total apportionment of $4.8 billion. In other words, 79 per cent of the federal apportionment went into the Interstate program, leaving only 21 per cent for the ABC program.

Breaking this down a little further, we find (in round numbers) that about 9.5 per cent of the total federal apportionment goes for the federal aid primary program, about 6.3 per cent for federal aid secondary, and about 5.2 per cent for urban extensions of the federal aid system.

Looking at these percentage figures, it is obvious that the proposed new program puts much greater emphasis on local roads—20 per cent instead of 6.3 per cent for the secondary program, and 30 per cent instead of 5.2 per cent for the urban program. Or, adding the two categories, 50 per cent for urban and secondary roads and streets, instead of 11.5 per cent.

Dollarwise, it translates into $3.9 billion for urban and secondary construction in the midyear of the new program, as compared with $550 million in Fiscal 1969.

Considering these statistics, and also taking into account that the greatest share of the growth of urban places is taking place in the suburban areas, where the cities spread out into the surrounding counties, it is clear to see that the federal aid funds administered by county governments would increase greatly under the proposed plan.

Consistent with past policy, the American Road Builders Association will continue to urge that the administration of the highway program be decentralized to the greatest degree feasible, so that local governments will have a strong voice in the planning, design and construction of new highway facilities. We foresee a large and important role for ARBA's County Division.

I hope I have not left the impression that the plan described above has been accepted by all of the leaders in Washington and that its adoption by Congress is a foregone conclusion. Far from it. Many different proposals will be advanced.

It is my firm conviction that those of us who are concerned about the future of the highway program must unite behind one plan and support it. There will be, inevitably, differences of opinion. However, we can come to a consensus, and we must.

This is a place where ARBA can function as a catalyst.

Under the leadership of President Robert S. Holmes, we have organized an industry and users committee, composed of the presidents and chief executive offices of national associations representing the highway industry and the highway users. This committee was purposely given a rather vague and general name—we call it the Ad Hoc Committee on Cooperative Activities—so that the name would cover almost any activity we might deem appropriate. We have several possible activities in mind.

One of the functions of the Ad Hoc Committee is to sit as an advisory board to AASHO officials, during preparation of their report in final form. I am hopeful that we will find an industry consensus on which most of us, at least, can concur.

If ARBA can be the catalyst which brings this consensus about, we will have rendered a great service. If this can be done, our next step will be to consider ways and means of gaining widespread public support for the highway program of the future.

Public information and public relations will assume an increasingly important role in our work.

We will urgently need the cooperative assistance of the membership of ARBA. There are critical days ahead, days in which that help will be vital. I know our members will respond, as they always have responded to the challenge.

The Important Contribution of Dr. John Jennings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, my constituent, Dr. John J. Jennings, presently serves as Acting Associate Director for Drug Surveillance in the Bureau of Medicine of the Food and Drug Administration. He has recently published an article in the FDA Papers concerning prescription drugs, and the necessary information required to apprise physicians about their safety and effectiveness. In view of the widespread public interest in the subject, I am pleased to insert the article of this distinguished physician and dedicated public servant, as follows:

The Rx Label: Basis for All Prescribing Information

(By John Jennings, M.D.)

The basic purpose of prescription drug labeling is to provide the physician with adequate information for safe and effective use of a particular drug. The package insert, the prime example of labeling, is the document which is on or within most prescription drug packages, including trade containers and special purpose packages such as those used for promotional mailing. The package insert includes required information such as indications, warnings, and other information relating to the drug's safety and efficacy. It usually contains other material relating to the basic pharmacology in the mode of action and the conditions for which the drug is indicated.

The package insert is concerned with *a drug*. It is not intended to instruct the physician in the diagnosis of diseases, or in recognition of pathological conditions; nor is it intended to replace the physician's basic medical education in pharmacology or drug therapy. In this limited sense the modern package insert represents the best source of established information available to the practicing physician regarding the conditions of use under which a drug is considered safe and effective. The conditions of use listed in the package insert are those for which the manufacturer of the drug has submitted data that satisfy the criteria expressed in the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

Although the package insert is the prime example of Rx labeling, this term, as defined by the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, includes all written, printed, or graphic material which accompanies the drug while it is in interstate commerce. Brochures, mailing pieces, catalogs, and similar material distributed by or on behalf of drug manufacturers that contain drug information are considered as promotional labeling. The material contained in the approved package insert serves as a basis for, and sets the limits of, this promotional labeling as well as journal advertising.

The package insert evolved out of a need to present the physician with data on a drug's usage and effects apart from advertising and promotional literature of the drug manufacturers. The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 requires that the labeling of drugs bear adequate directions for use; but no distinction was made between over-the-counter and prescription drugs. The Secretary of Agriculture, who then administered the Act, later exempted prescription drugs from the requirement. It was felt that physicians were experts in drug usage and did not need labeling directions.

Because of the rapid increase in the number of new drugs after World War II, many physicians found it difficult to keep abreast of the field through traditional medical communications. Dissemination of drug information became a major function of pharmaceutical manufacturers. Often the physician obtained most of his information about a new drug through the manufacturer's advertising and promotion systems. He was not always made aware of the drug's side effects, dangers, or contraindications.

To remedy this situation, in 1961 the FDA promulgated a regulation that provided for a package insert to be on or within prescription drug packages. Known as the "Full Disclosure" regulation, it required that:

"Labeling on or within the package from which the drug is to be dispensed bears adequate information for its use, including indications, effects, dosages, routes, methods and frequency and duration of administration, and any relevant hazards, contraindications, side effects, and precautions under which practitioners licensed by law to administer the drug can use the drug safely and for the purposes for which it is intended, including all purposes for which it is advertised or represented . . ."

The package insert originates as a part of the manufacturer's original New Drug Application. A draft of the insert based on data from animal testing and premarketing clinical trials is submitted with the NDA. The package insert, as finally approved, represents a distillation of these data establishing the drug's safety and efficacy.

According to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, in order for an indication to be listed in the package insert it must be proved that the drug is safe and effective for this purpose. The proof must be in the form of adequate well-controlled studies conducted by investigators with the training and experience to enable them to interpret such studies. This information is usually submitted to the Food and Drug Administration in a form similar to that of a medical journal article. The investigator outlines his objectives, selection of patients, safety and efficacy criteria, and the various parameters to be measured. Unlike a journal article, however, the FDA submission also contains the patients' work sheets. From these it is possible to reconstruct a study and to draw an independent and perhaps different interpretation. As a rule, studies by more than one well-qualified investigator are required to substantiate efficacy of a drug for a particular indication.

FDA Regulations require that adverse effects believed caused by the drug be reported to the Food and Drug Administration and to other investigators working with the drug during the premarketing testing. By the time the drug is ready for approval there has been built up a body of knowledge concerning adverse effects based both on animal testing and clinical trials. This information is included in the package insert under such headings as "Contraindications, Warnings, Precautions, and Adverse Reactions."

Because new therapeutic entities are rarely tested on large numbers of pregnant women, it is difficult to establish unequivocally the safety of the drug for use during pregnancy. In order to gather as much information as possible, and provide maximum safety, the FDA has established guidelines for animal reproduction studies. Divided into three segments, the guidelines provide for a general study of fertility and reproductive performance, teratologic and embryopathic potential; and perinatal and postnatal effects. Data derived from these studies are considered in labeling although it is recognized that animal experience cannot be used to predict with certainly human safety.

If the animal data contain nothing significantly unfavorable, the package insert will usually bear a statement that the safety of the drug in pregnancy has not been established and its use in pregnancy is not recommended. The manufacturer is given the opportunity to cite acceptable animal data containing no adverse information. He may also include any information on use of the drug in pregnant women obtained during premarketing trials.

If the animal data contain unfavorable results and there is no human experience to contradict this, or if there is insufficient information on human use to make a safety determination, the drug is usually labeled as contraindicated in pregnancy.

Another area that receives close attention is the pediatric dosage schedule. Such a schedule is not permitted under the package insert "Dosage and administration" heading unless enough data have been presented to show that the schedule would provide for safe and effective use of the drug in the various age ranges listed.

When there is evidence that a drug might cause severe adverse effects in children, it is usually contraindicated in the pediatric age group. Most recently labeled drugs carry a package insert statement that the drug is not recommended for use in children unless adequate studies have been submitted to support such use.

The typical package insert often consists of a single sheet of paper placed in the drug carton or attached to the label of the immediate container. Its contents are usually arranged under an order of headings which is recommended by the Food and Drug Administration. The order is: Name of Drug, Description, Actions, Indications, Contraindications, Warnings, Precautions, Adverse Reactions, Dosage and Administration, and References.

Name: This must include the established or "generic" name of the active components. The structural or graphic formula may be given along with the chemical name. Forms other than oral must list inert ingredients as well.

Description: This includes a physical-chemical description of the active components, and of the dosage form when it has some bearing on the product's effectiveness. Data given may include such items as melting point, solubility, and stability.

Actions: This includes the pharmacologic effects in animals and man, including absorption, metabolism, excretion, etc. Such basic animal data as acute LD$_{50}$ may be included here.

Indications: The indications for a drug's use are now listed as specifically as possible. If the drug is not definitive treatment but rather an adjunct a statement to this effect may be required.

Contraindications: This includes absolute contraindications and perhaps strong relative contraindications. If the drug is contraindicated in pregnancy, this information is given here.

Warnings: This includes extraordinary hazards, dangers of treatment, special conditions, and sometimes important precautions. If there is any question of safety in pregnancy, the information is presented here under the heading "Use in Pregnancy."

Precautions: This includes cautions to be observed in the use and administration of the drug under routine and special conditions.

Adverse Reactions: This includes all known adverse reactions, including side effects, and those adverse reactions in which a causal relation is strongly probable. Drugs that have essentially the same indications and that pharmacologically belong to a "class," such as the thiazides, steroids, and phenothiazines, as a rule carry the "class" adverse reactions unless there is good evidence that they should be exempt.

Dosage and Administration: Here are listed the recommended dosage, routes, frequency and duration of administration for various indications and age groups. If common labeling is used for more than one dosage form or mode of administration (for example, for intramuscular and intravenous), any difference in preparation and administration is to be clearly stated.

The Food and Drug Administration's concern with the package insert does not end with the approval of the New Drug Application. Each time a manufacturer makes a major change in the production of a drug or a change in the mode of the drug's presentation to the medical community, he must submit a supplemental application to the original NDA. For example, after FDA's approval, a manufacturer often continues investigational research for indications other than those approved in the package insert. When the manufacturer feels he has sufficient data to support new claims, he submits it as a Supplemental New Drug Application. This material is subjected to the same scrutiny as the original NDA; it requires "adequate well-controlled studies" for approval of efficacy. If the data meet FDA criteria, the supplemental application is approved, then the package insert is revised.

The Food and Drug Administration may also require labeling changes based on adverse information received about a new drug. These changes may add contraindications, warnings, precautions, or adverse reactions to the package insert, or may restrict the drug's use.

When a drug is first marketed, it is often accompanied by a promotional campaign that results in its widespread use by the medical community. This may uncover adverse effects that were not discovered in the premarketing clinical trials because of the relatively narrow range of patients tested. A serious adverse reaction that occurred in one patient in 1,000 might not be picked up in premarketing trials unless there were perhaps 10,000 patients tested. In addition, patients in good clinical trials are carefully selected and usually receive only the drug being tested. After marketing the patients may not be as carefully screened; they may take several additional drugs at the same time which could result in drug interreactions.

Information on adverse reactions reaches the Food and Drug Administration through several channels, the most important of which is from the drug manufacturers themselves. Manufacturers are required by FDA regulations to file quarterly reports on the drug for the first year it is marketed, semiannual reports the second year, and annual reports thereafter. These documents contain all adverse experiences the company is aware of, summaries of additional animal and clinical trials, and any other new information related to the safety and the efficacy of the drug.

In addition to its own work, the company is required to submit data on the drug's use published in medical journals. All such papers, at least in summary, must be submitted—not just those resulting from studies sponsored by the manufacturer. Distribution figures and samples of the package insert in current use are also submitted with periodic reports. Specimens of promotional labeling and advertising are sent to FDA as soon as they are placed into use.

Additional information on adverse reactions comes from the FDA Hospital Reporting System, a network of 84 hospitals across the country under contract to report on adverse effects of drugs. In addition, doctors and patients frequently report reactions and adverse effects directly to the Food and Drug Administration. Regular biyearly inspection of manufacturing plants, which includes examination of the firm's records, occasionally turns up adverse reaction reports that have not reached the FDA for one reason or another.

Not all labeling changes relate to indications and precautionary statements. The Food and Drug Administration may require the manufacturer to place an expiration date in the labeling if stability tests or marketing experience show that the drug declined in potency, or otherwise changed, over a certain period of time. Handling and storage warnings, especially in regard to exposure to light and temperature extremes, can also be added as a result of experience gained in marketing.

Package insert changes that include new indications, new dosage forms, or other modifications intended mainly to improve the drug's marketing are generally brought to the attention of the practicing physician by the firm's promotional efforts. However, when more serious changes are made in the cautionary sections of the package insert, the Food and Drug Administration usually requests the company to bring this information directly to the attention of physicians by means of a letter sent by first class mail in a distinctively marked envelope. These have become known as "Dear Doctor" letters.

It should be noted that the burden of proving the safety and effectiveness of a new drug—or of new uses of an already approved drug—rests on the manufacturer. It is the manufacturer who chooses the indications to be investigated and determines the dosage level for which he will seek FDA approval. It is the duty of the Food and Drug Administration under the law to decide that proposed usages and levels are both safe and effective, based on the data submitted by the manufacturer.

Thus, when a new drug passes into the hands of the physician, the package insert information he receives is based on data the manufacturer has submitted to the Food and Drug Administration as his proof that the drug is safe and effective *in the uses for which the manufacturer wishes to market the drug.*

If the manufacturer wishes to claim new uses, he may do so by submitting a supplement to his effective New Drug Application.

If a doctor exercises a judgment to prescribe a drug outside the limits of the package insert, he should be aware that the scientific basis for doing so has not been established by data submitted by the manufacturer through the procedures required by law.

The investigational new drug procedures cover the use of a drug for conditions other than those in the approved labeling for which there is some rationale.

A physician's experimental use of an approved drug—without the submission of IND (claimed exemption for Investigational use of a New Drug)—does not violate *Federal* law since the drug has been lawfully shipped in interstate commerce for the approved uses.

The Food and Drug Administration, among others, is not satisfied that the package insert is the best possible method for reaching the physician with information on a drug's safety and effectiveness. The latest approved package insert is not always readily available to the physician, and some inserts contain information that, while factual, is purely promotional.

The future of the package insert is a subject of serious discussion throughout the medical community. Within FDA we believe the basic purposes of the package insert might be divided into three categories:

1. Adequate information to the physician for safe and effective use of the drug.
2. Education of the physician regarding a specific drug.
3. Factual basis and limitations for promotion of the drug to the medical profession.

The first purpose is required by the law and regulations and is, of course, the most important. The second purpose is probably desirable. The third purpose often involves the Food and Drug Administration in a regulatory sense.

Much thought has recently been given to revision of the package insert in order that it might fulfill its primary function, while allowing and perhaps encouraging the second function, and permitting and regulating the third.

Since there are no regulations strictly setting forth the format and the content of the package insert, it is not surprising that they vary widely. Because the Food and Drug Administration has been able to establish requirements for "full disclosure," a certain degree of uniformity has been achieved. However, much more could be accomplished in this direction.

One approach would be to establish an extremely simple format to fulfill the first function, and an expanded version which would cover the other two functions. The simplified or "summary package insert" would follow a standard format, give concise directions for use, and satisfy the "full disclosure" requirements. This concise insert would contain nothing smacking of promotion and could provide the basis for a drug compendium entry. Such a compendium would probably render unnecessary the requirement that a package insert accompany every package of the drug, and at the same time make this information more readily available to the practicing physician.

The expanded version of the package insert, or final approved labeling, would also be subject to FDA approval and would be available to the physician through the usual channels—direct mailing, distribution by detail men, etc.—or available on request from the manufacturer. In some instances this expanded version might simply be the short version followed by the additional material such as pharmacology, both animal and human, clinical experience, and other material that could be approved. This version of the package insert would serve to increase the physician's knowledge about a particular drug, and to direct his attention to further sources of information. This final approved labeling would be of extreme importance to the Food and Drug Administration, because it would continue to serve as the basis for, and define the limits of, all promotional labeling and journal advertising as does the present package insert.

FDA has been discussing these possibilities for the future of final approved labeling with the drug industry and with the medical profession. It has been a long discussion, but it will continue until the proper means are found to provide physicians with the prescribing information they require to practice good drug therapy.

Equalizing Rail Freights and Shared Revenue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, when I was Governor of the State of South Carolina, I led the fight among southern Governors to equalize rail freight rates between the North and South. The South's economy generally has risen steadily since that time; however, the hard won balance in rail rates is once again threatened. A case involving shared revenues is now before the Supreme Court and the Justice Department is trying to enter the picture. This Department has served notice that it wants to join the Interstate Commerce Commission and the northern railroads in their appeal to receive a larger share of the revenues. An editorial in the December 5 edition of the State newspaper of Columbia, S.C., points out that the Justice Department is supposed to represent all of the people and that it is indeed odd to see the Government lawyers arguing for, instead of against, discrimination.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this fine editorial, entitled "North Versus South," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

The South's economic recovery after the War between the States was stifled for decades by railroad rates that were higher than those in the North.

For years and years, Dixie politicians, industrialists, and business men complained bitterly about discriminatory rates which slowed industrialization and imposed an added economic burden on the Southern people.

The Southern Governors Conference, now an important force in many areas of activity, was first organized to fight for a fair break on freight rates. In 1952, the battle seemed won. Subsequently, the South, partly because of rate equality, has enjoyed an unprecedented economic boom. It is no longer the step-child of the nation, or, as Franklin D. Roosevelt put it, the nation's Number One economic problem.

Now, the Supreme Court of the United States has before it a case that threatens to upset once more the hard-won balance in rail rates. The case involves shared revenues—the division of money received for transporting goods over both Northern and Southern lines.

At present, these revenues are divided by the railroads handling the goods according to straight formula, so much for each mile of transit over each line. Thus, if you ship goods from Columbia via Southern Railway or Seaboard Coast Line and they travel 500 miles in Dixie and then are turned over, say, to the Pennsylvania Railroad for 500 more miles, each line would get half of the freight charges.

But Northern lines (those above the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi) complained to the Interstate Commerce Commission that the equal-factor scale was unfair to them because they allegedly have higher costs of operation. In 1965 the ICC agreed to a formula that would give Northern lines 17 per cent more. The result would be to transfer about $9 million a year from rail lines in the South to those of the North.

This would have a dampening effect on the economy of the Southeast. Former Georgia Gov. Carl Sanders, who has been leading the fight against this change, is asking why the South should be forced to bear the burden of higher Northern costs. Wouldn't it be fairer to raise rates there?

Furthermore, it appears that the costs being cited by the Northern lines include non-freight services, such as urban commuter service. Is it fair to ask the South to subsidize money-losing services not frequently used by its people?

One federal court said no and overturned the ICC decision. An appeal from that ruling is now before the Supreme Court. And guess who's gotten into the act. The Justice Department. It has served notice that it wants to join the ICC and the Northern railroads in their appeal.

Maybe Justice's action was a conditioned reflex, resulting from involvement in so many anti-South cases in other fields. But it is odd to see the government lawyers arguing for, instead of against, discrimination.

The Justice Department is supposed to represent all of the people of the nation. But where is the justice here? Is it a one-way street (or railroad)?

An Open Letter to Svetlana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to place in the RECORD an open letter from one of my constituents to Svetlana Alliluyeva which may be of interest to my colleagues:

AN OPEN LETTER TO SVETLANA

DEAR SVETLANA: I take it that the "friend" to whom you wrote *Twenty Letters* (Harper & Row, 246 pp. $5.95) is really the United States of America. As an average American I am replying to thank you, to tell you that you are a remarkable person, and to invite you to remain with us as one more patriotic American.

Before giving my credentials as an "average" American, I wish to tell you—and at the same time remind my fellow Americans—of two fundamental facts about our people. First, our greatest heritage is, of course, the Spirit of '76, the American Revolution, which was basically a struggle of free men to remain free. Second, the 30 million immigrants who came after the Revolution came for the same reason, they wanted freedom and would not be pushed around in the lands of their birth. These two facts above all else explain why we behave as we do: why we dislike bureaucrats at home and dictators abroad, why we make sacrifices for freedom, why we react violently against Fascist and Communist subversion and aggression.

I am not a native American. I am one of the 30 million who came after the Revolution. I came 65 years ago, before most of the living Americans were born. I had read about Indians, the Brooklyn Bridge, and about poor people eating white bread every day—something we saw on the table on Sabbath day only. I came alone at the age of 14.

I think I know America better than most historians, sociologists and commentators. I have worked in our sweatshops, in our fields, in our laboratories, and in our schools. I have lived in our slums and mingled with the rich. I have been a "have-not" and a "have." As an American, I do all that I can to help in the unending task of overcoming our national shortcomings.

What I am trying to say, dear Svetlana, is not that as a people we are better than others, but merely that we are different from other peoples. We are different in that we love freedom passionately, and we are most secure in our freedom thanks to the Spirit of '76, thanks to our political system of checks and balances, and thanks to the multiplicity of cultures woven into our national fabric.

In spite of our domestic difficulties, I think we *are* the greatest bulwark for freedom. We will not be cowed by strong men at home or by foreign dictators. We may react at the wrong time or at the wrong place, but react we do. We will never be enslaved, and we will continue to make sacrifices for our struggling friends abroad.

Now I want to tell you and my fellow Americans something important about the Russian Revolution, about the source of the tragedies it brought to your country and to the world, about Lenin and his followers—something our leaders, historians and opinion makers know, or should know. I am an old man with a good memory. I still remember the crowning of Nicholas II, the last Tsar of Russia. I still remember the beginnings of the revolutionary activity at the turn of the century. I come from a small town in Lithuania. My father was a scribe and we sold and circulated all kinds of books—religious, general literature and censored material. The local intelligentsia came around evenings to discuss Marxism, socialism and revolutionary strategy. As an inquisitive youngster I absorbed much of what was said.

I came to New York's East Side in 1902. For years I spent my free evenings between the galleries of the theater and the Socialist party, carrying the soap box for Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas. When Lenin organized the Third International I dropped out, but never joined the Communists. I knew early that Lenin had broken with Democratic Socialism in 1903 and organized Bolshevism on the self-destructive principle that the end justifies all means, including the lie, distortion of history, denunciation of friends who would not lie, cooperation with Fascism and Nazism, subversion and aggression against democratic countries.

It is not Marx, whatever his sociopolitical delusions, who is to be blamed for the tragedies of our time. It was not Lavrenti Beria and your father's other executioners who corrupted your country and enslaved its people. It was Lenin's evil principle that the end justifies all means and his strategy of centralization that enabled your father, a sick sadistic schemer, bent on outdoing both Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, to destroy physically and psychologically most of what was good in Russia and in the Revolutionary movement.

Fifty years after Lenin's victory over the Democratic Socialists, 200 million Russians and countless millions in the other Communist-ruled countries are regimented and deprived of freedom of movement because of Lenin's false principles. And his strategy of "training the cadres" on the battlefield to undermine "capitalism" and prepare it for the final blow sends poor, deluded, brainwashed youths in Vietnam and elsewhere to kill and be killed.

When Lenin began to doubt his infallibility and planned reform by removing your father from power, it was too late. He died, and tragedy came to Russia and the rest of the world.

I spent three months in Russia in 1927, when your father began to consolidate his power and openly started to remove and later destroy his betters—including thousands who never opposed him and even many who had worshipped him. I met with students and intellectuals from one end of the country to the other, from Minsk to Vladivostock, all wonderful young people brimming with warmth and energy. In the Kremlin I met Mikoyan, Krylenko, Rykov and Kaganovich. Invariably, when I asked questions they could not answer, they had one response: *"Tak Lenin Pisal,"* Lenin wrote that.

It is still thus. The divinity of Marx and Lenin is still the religion and the bible of the Communist movement. What is most tragic, Lenin's evil principles and inhuman strategy still dominates Communism. There will be no peace in the world as long as this strategy prevails. Communist Countries will send weapons and manpower to points of active Communist or even Fascist subversion of democracies. We forget that the Kremlin supplied gas to Mussolini for his invasion of Ethiopia; that when Hitler doublecrossed your father in June 1941, there was about $200 million worth of war materiel being shipped from Japan to the Nazis on the Trans-Siberian railroad.

Today our enemies' strongest psychological weapon is the use of the word "nationalism." They keep on telling the world that they are "national liberators" and many of us begin to believe it or, in any event, use it to criticize our leaders for our resistance of aggression. Most of us forget or never knew that a dedicated Communist is in no sense a "nationalist." A Communist has no country. He owes his life, his family, his friends and his people to the Communist international dictatorship, which is supposed to "wither away" and become a brotherhood of no-government. Yugoslavia is often cited as an exception. But the truth is that Tito was out to save his own life. When called to Moscow by your father, he refused to go and be liquidated as other Communist leaders from abroad had been. It is that simple for those who wish to know.

Your dream, dear Svetlana, of a time when Russia and the United States will cooperate for peace, for security, for a better life for all mankind, is a wonderful dream. Under present conditions, however, it cannot be realized. You surely know, unlike most of us who do not know, how a Fascist or Communist dictatorship holds power. It holds it by controlling the means of education and social intercourse, by silencing opposition with police action. If you hear a woman shriek in the middle of the night and you know that a black wagon near her home is taking away her husband or child, whom she might never see again, your mouth will remain closed forever. That is what a police state means.

Your dream and mine could only come true if Russia would abandon Leninism, adopt democratic principles, and build a Socialist economy in an atmosphere of freedom. It can and should maintain its military defenses, as we and other democratic nations do. If under freedom of movement a million or two Russians left their homeland in the first years, I am convinced most would return. And others would join you in the experiment to abolish economic exploitation and narrow the gulf between those "who have" and those "who have not," until there are no more poor among us.

As for my country, I can assure you that we would cooperate and would certainly contribute our resources, now burned up in war, to help the economies of the poorer nations which are emerging from feudalism and imperialism. Then we could all begin to work together for a world Brotherhood of Free Nations of Free Men.

Yes, it would be wonderful Svetlana if your dream and mine became a reality. Pray for it; all people hope for it.

Sincerely yours,

A Pennsylvania Farmer.

"A Letter to My Father"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIGIO de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. de la GARZA. Mr. Speaker, so much emphasis is being placed these days on some of our young men's resistance to military service. Possibly this is just a case of the fellow who makes the most noise getting the most attention.

But there are so many heartwarming incidents of our young men's cooperation—so many possibly that we pay no attention to the norm.

Everybody has heard "A Letter to My Teenage Son." So that all of us can see "A Letter to My Father," I am enclosing one that 18-year-old Ted Brann of Mission, Tex., wrote his father:

A Letter to My Father

(Written by Ted Brann, Nov. 28, 1967; age 18; draft status 1–A)

Dear Dad: I asked your reaction to long hair and beards on young people. And I asked just how you judge teenagers on habits, abilities and goals. I asked you if God is dead . . . and what you thought about draft card burners.

You answered in the traditional manner which has brought America to life and has kept her there. You answered with honor . . . but with respect for my questions. I knew you were sincere and I felt the love that you have for *our* country. The same love that the past generations have always shown, although each generation in its own way. I can but hope that my generation will follow in the footsteps laid before us.

No, I need not wear long hair or a beard to show my pride in this great country. Nor will I wear long hair to show contempt for its policies. Our heritage . . . from Washington, to Lincoln and *you* . . . involves more than self. I see the right of individual freedom also implies the responsibility for the rights and freedoms of others. I do believe in fighting for those rights for people who seek freedom . . . wherever they might be.

I am proud to see that you do not judge teenagers . . . all or any one of us . . . by the small minority which brings shame to our land. For the majority, although individual in habits, abilities, and goals, are going about their business in preparation for the day when they become a part of the adult world and a cog of the mainstream of American endeavor and progress.

I am honored to see that tradition of great men has followed through your generation . . . to know that we of the younger generation have been provided with the opportunity to prove our worthiness . . . to grow, develop, and prosper in your watchful presence.

As I have studied in our history books and observed the national trends of our nation and others, I see that every great power has had flaws in its character . . . arguments in the interior . . . and arrogant beliefs of the superior over the so-called inferior. I can only say that *I will not* aid the causes of self-destruction. To me, every human being . . . be him black or white or yellow or brown . . . of my religion or not . . . schooled or unschooled . . . is important to the growth and development of this country. I will not only judge him by his potential . . . but aid him whenever possible.

I, as well as you, know that God is not dead. Our mere presence here manifests a living God. Although we teenagers are far from perfect, taking the path of least resistance many times, we recognize the guiding light from a living and eternal God. with this knowledge, no stumbling block is insurmountable, for this is the real power within us.

Yes, all wars have been what you said they were. However, to me, our free enterprise system, the principles upon which this country were founded, our freedom to chose our religion, endeavors and method of government *all* add up to something worth upholding . . . not just for myself and my generation but for those to come. As for me, this country has already given me far more than I can ever sow.

You have shown me how to be a man and to love my country, to treat all men with equality, to hold my head upright . . . and to have courage to speak about my beliefs at the right opportunity. If I were to fail in the recognition of our birthright, then I assume the blame . . . For the choice is mine alone.

You and mom have been more than breadwinners and disciplinarians . . . you have been a helping hand.

I love you, Dad . . . and Mom. I am proud of my birth certificate and my draft card. When my country feels that it is my time to go, I shall hold my head straight and walk with pride.

And if I should die, I want you to know, Dad, that I feel that same sense of *love, responsibility, gratitude,* and *pride* in *my* country that you feel.

I shall never let you down . . . not you . . . mom . . . nor *our* country.

Charles de Gaulle Is Forgetful Debtor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, with the mounting criticism against De Gaulle and his attack on the American dollar, I thought that the editorial which appeared in the Columbia City, Ind., Commercial-Mail was most timely and to the point. Therefore, I am causing it to be inserted in the Congressional Record for an even wider readership. I believe that most Americans will agree with the editorial statements calling upon the Government to exert a greater effort to get France to pay its financial obligations to the United States and thereby relieve some of the international pressure placed upon the Nation's gold supply.

The editorial follows:

Forgetful Debtor, Charles de Gaulle

France's Charles De Gaulle, continues to be an outspoken enemy of the United States whenever he can hatch up some criticism.

This is in spite of the aid this nation gave the French nation during two wars. France has been draining away all possible gold from our stock, especially since the British devaluation of the pound.

It would be well to remind the head of the French government that his nation still owes us $6.57 billions dating back to World War I.

Our supply of gold bullion has been diminishing for several years past and now stands at about $13 billion, while in 1949 we had in reserve some $27 billion, and De Gaulle has not been innocent in encouraging his nation to call for more and more of our gold supply.

It is about time to ask that France pay up some of its old debt to the United States, instead of making all possible attempts to crowd our nation out of its influence in Europe. Other nations have appreciated the money and other aid this nation has given to Europe in years past.

In his personal ambition to make France a major nation in the western world De Gaulle may yet receive the deserved cold shoulder from other nations in Europe. We do not believe that the people of France agree with his boasting and ambitions in recent years, and his influence may wane as his health and old-age enter into the situation.

Truth in Legislating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to an editorial appearing in the Wall Street Journal from December 5, 1967, praising a measure introduced by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Denney]. The Denney proposal, entitled "Truth in Legislating," requires an estimate of cost be submitted with each new bill at the time of introduction. Moreover, the Clerk would be required to report semimonthly on the cumulative cost of all measures pending.

The Denney bill has received widespread favorable attention from a number of national organizations. All measures which seek to reassert congressional control over the appropriations process demand careful study. Innovative reorganization of congressional procedures should be given the highest priority as we enter the second session.

The Wall Street Journal editorial reads as follows:

Truth in Legislating

From time to time, over the years, some economy-minded members of the Senate or House have tried to drum up a following for a bill which would make it easy for Congress to keep a running tab on how much of the public's money it is voting to spend. However, these efforts have gotten nowhere.

Nothing daunted, a freshman Republican Congressman from Nebraska, Rep. Robert V. Denney, is pushing a new proposal along those lines. He would require any Congressman who submits a bill to include an estimate of how much the legislation if enacted would cost during the two fiscal years following. His measure also would require the House clerk to report semimonthly on the estimated total cost of all legislation passed up to that time, plus the proposed cost of all bills still pending.

As it is now, a good many bills calling for Federal expenditures are like icebergs—the true extent of their costs is hidden. If Congress votes, say, $800,000 for a study of a proposed new Federal dam, the chances are that what really is involved in the long run is a multimillion-dollar project. For once studies or "pilot" projects get under way they seem to take on a life of their own, getting bigger and bigger.

One of the Denney bill's shortcomings is, to be sure, that many Congressmen tend to underestimate the costs of measures they introduce, and the running total called for might be at variance with reality. Still, spending procedures based even on intelligent guesstimates would be better than the loose accounting that prevails now.

Prospects for passage of Rep. Denney's bill are not bright, but they might be improved were the measure coupled somehow with House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills' bill to set up a Government Program Evaluation Commission to review spending programs to weigh their fuutre justification and to set priorities.

Noting Congressional support for so-called truth in packaging and truth in lending legislation, Rep. Denney says it is about time the lawmakers paid some attention to truth in legislating, too. And it certainly is.

A Possible New Peace Feeler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that attitude Secretary of State Dean Rusk takes regarding South Vietnam's National Liberation Front and its latest approach to place its viewpoint before the United Nations by proxy.

However, it must not be ignored, it seems to me, even if it proves eventually to be for propaganda purposes.

This could be a step toward peace and as such it deserves to be fully explored.

I think the following editorial from the New York Times on this vital subject best expresses my own views.

Propaganda or Peace Feeler?

The action of South Vietnam's National Liberation Front in placing its new political program before the United Nations by proxy—having been denied so far a chance to appear in person—may be merely a propaganda gambit, as American officials have suggested. But the Front's unusual initiative at the world organization may also represent a serious peace feeler. It should be treated as such until proved otherwise.

The political arm of the Vietcong did not have to place its case before the international body to make its views known to the world. By doing so, it took a possibly significant step toward recognizing the competence of the world organization to deal with the Vietnam issue, thus breaking with a long-standing Communist dogma. The Front's approach to the United Nations could signal a shift in the Communist attitude toward a United Nations initiative for peace in Southeast Asia. This possibility should be tested by calling promptly for a Security Council session on Vietnam, as the Senate recently urged, and by inviting Hanoi and the Front to attend.

It is even possible, as some observers believe, that the Front has acted independently of Hanoi and Moscow. This hypothesis suggests possibilities for peace that need to be thoroughly explored at the United Nations and at other points of contact, particularly in South Vietnam itself. Although the Front's program expresses conventional hostility toward the United States and its "puppets," it is generally moderate and conciliatory in tone, at least on the surface. It calls for "an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam," governed by a National Assembly chosen through "universal, equal, direct and secret ballot." These avowed aims of the

Front are not inconsistent with goals repeatedly expressed by the United States Government. They could form a basis for hard bargaining.

Both Washington and Saigon are understandably hesitant about engaging in political discussions with the Front at this time, given the continuing political weakness of the Saigon regime. But a political settlement is inescapable if this increasingly costly war is ever to be ended. The opportunity for such a settlement on reasonable terms may never be better if, as Washington insists, the Vietcong is suffering militarily. The opportunity may be lost if the war widens.

Dickey and the Consumer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. STAFFORD

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, at the request of interested citizens of Vermont, I place in the RECORD a speech of the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], which he delivered to the New England Association of Active Co-Ops in Boston, Mass., on December 6, 1967. It concerns the so-called Dickey-Lincoln School Hydroelectric Project on Maine's St. John River:

DICKEY AND THE CONSUMER

(Remarks by Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, to the New England Association of Electric Co-Ops, Boston, Mass., December 6, 1967)

I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with you today. It is appropriate that we do so.

We share a desire to see power rates in the Northeast reduced. We understand the value of public power. And we know firsthand that the consumers' interest is not always placed first in the planning and operations of our region's privately-owned utilities.

There is more at stake in the congressional debate over Dickey than the construction of a large multipurpose water resource project.

The fight over the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project on Maine's St. John River helps illuminate the major obstacles to achieving lower-cost power: the private utilities and their lobby.

At issue is—

Whether the private utilities will retain their stranglehold on our region:

Whether their lobby can quash a justified, beneficial project;

Whether the public interest will be represented in the planning and development of a balanced and integrated power system for our region;

Whether the basic national policy for resource development will survive; and

Whether the Northeast is an equal partner among other regions under that policy.

Let me begin by reviewing the policy and the development of the Dickey proposal.

Since 1959, I have been a member of the Public Works Committee, where the bulk of our resource development projects are reviewed and evaluated. In the nearly nine years I have worked with my colleagues on hundreds of projects, I have followed a simple rule: A project should be evaluated on its merits—without reference to the region in which it is located—it should be approved if it meets the tests of being in the public interest, if it contributes to the welfare of the area in which it is located and if it is economically feasible. These are the tests the Public Works Committee and the Senate have applied.

When it is examined objectively, Dickey-Lincoln School meets all of these tests.

The project is the product of a long series of studies beginning with the New England-New York interagency study of the late 1940's and early 1950's, coupled with the earlier Passamaquoddy tidal power project, advocated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. I know many of you are familiar with the history of the project, but it may be helpful for us to to recall some of the details which have been obscured in recent debates.

In 1959, the Joint Engineering Board of the International Joint Commission (United States and Canada) recommended the construction of the Passamaquoddy tidal power project, coupled with the construction of a high dam on the upper St. John River at Rankin Rapids. The Rankin Rapids project was designed to provide low-cost, flexible hydroelectric energy to smooth out the peaks and valleys in power production at the tidal generating station. It would have flooded the upper St. John and the Allagash rivers.

The engineering report was referred to the International Joint Commission for review and evaluation. In April, 1961, the Commission rejected the proposed passamaquoddy tidal power project, but suggested possible development of the upper St. John.

In the meantime, the National Park Service of the United States had proposed the protection of the Allagash River as a free-flowing, "wilderness" waterway.

I recommended to President Kennedy that the Department of the Interior be assigned the responsibility of reviewing the recommendations of the Joint Engineering Board, the findings of the International Joint Commission and the recommendations of the National Park Service for the purpose of recommending a balanced development of the resources of northern and eastern Maine.

In July, 1963, after two years of study, Secretary of the Interior Udall recommended to the President the development of the Dickey project as a flood control and hydroelectric program, designed to provide 100,000 kilowatts of low-cost firm energy, and 650,000 kilowatts of low-cost peaking power. The project would consist of a high dam on the upper St. John, above the confluence of the St. John River and the Allagash River in the town of Dickey, and a low, reregulating dam below the confluence of the two rivers at the site of Lincoln School. The project, which would fit into the power requirements of Maine and New England, was hailed by conservationists because of the protection it provided the Allagash River.

This past year the State of Maine and the Department of the Interior entered into an agreement under which the State of Maine is acquiring title to land on both sides or the Allagash and protecting this beautiful river in its primitive state. The Federal Government and the State are sharing in the costs of the project.

The 1963 proposal contained an additional recommendation that the Passamaquoddy project should receive continuing study, particularly with reference to technological advances.

I want to underscore the fact that the 1963 proposal, which is the foundation for the present project, was based on the concept of a generating station designed to produce the bulk of its energy as peaking power. This is absolutely essential to a soundly balanced power system in which there are very large thermal plants—fueled either by fossil fuels or nuclear energy. Dickey-Lincoln school is not an alternative to thermal plants; it is essential to their economic and efficient operation as part of a regional system.

Dickey-Lincoln School is important to New England as a substantial source of power which will be available for short periods of peak demand such as rush hours, early evening and early morning—the kind of power the Northeast needed and didn't have during the blackout of November 9, 1965.

Dickey-Lincoln School is an eminently sound project, with a benefit-cost ratio of 1.91–1. It would provide wholesale firm energy for Maine communities at rates two-thirds below those now charged by the private utilities. It would supply essential peaking power to the New England market at rates nearly one-third below current charges and at costs lower than the best alternative proposals made by the private companies.

Since its authorization in 1965, Dickey-Lincoln School has been the subject of the most intensive re-study ever required for a public works project. The staff of the House Committee on Appropriations conducted a special study of the project, including an extensive analysis of the findings of the Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior and the Federal Power Commisson. They reviewed the allegations made by New England's private utilities. The staff findings sustained the favorable verdict of the public agencies and discredited the arguments advanced by the private companies.

The private power companies have claimed that Dickey-Lincoln School would not affect power rates in New England. The fact is that the threat of Dickey-Lincoln has already had an impact on the power companies of my own State.

Between 1946 and 1963 the three privately owned power companies in Maine sought increases—but no reductions—in their rates. Indeed, during my terms as Governor, the Public Utilities Commission was under constant pressure from power company attempts to push their rates higher and higher.

But in 1963, when the Department of the Interior recommended the construction of the Dickey-Lincoln School project, the three companies, within two months of the Dickey proposal, suddenly discovered it was possible to reduce rates. The reductions weren't impressive and they provided almost no benefits for homeowners, but they were reductions. The total reductions, in 18 announcements made by the power companies since the advent of the Dickey-Lincoln proposal, have totaled $4,161,527.

It should be noted that since 1965, all but one of the reductions were announced just prior to or during the hearings and floor consideration of the Dickey-Lincoln School project.

This record is extraordinary for companies which had not sought reductions and had been busy pushing rates up for the preceding 17 years. This record and the record of rate reductions in other areas of the conutry where publicly owned power projects are located indicate the desirability of competition in the power business.

I could cite case after case where the presence of a competitor or even a prospective competitor has caused a power company to reduce rates or forestall increases. But let me cite only the most recent example. In Texas, the Southwestern Public Service Company has proposed rate increases in 60 west Texas towns. But in three communities, which also are served by municipal systems, the company is not seeking increases.

In Maine, it should be noted that the rate reductions did not result in any belt-tightening by the private utilities. A study of the rate of return received by the power companies indicates that during and since the reductions, two of the three utilities involved have been getting returns in excess of the six percent normally set by the Maine Public Utilities Commission. As a result of the discussion stimulated by Senator Metcalf's book, *"Overcharge,"* the Maine Public Utilities Commission contracted for a special study of rates of return for Maine utilities. That study moved Governor Curtis to ask the

Public Utilities Commission to institute a rate case seeking reductions.

The Maine overcharge problem is matched in the rest of New England. A study of Federal Power Commission statistics shows that in 1965, for instance, the New England private power monopoly overcharged New England consumers $21,034,000. This estimate is based on the normal rate of return of 6 percent applied to this industry.

A study of 28 New England power companies shows that 14 of them had a rate of return of 7 percent or more. Five had a rate of return of 8 percent or more, and one had a rate of 11.18 percent. At these rates of return, it is not surprising that New England homeowners pay up to 35 percent more for power than the national average.

The private power companies have made one other gesture in the direction of improved operations since the advent of the Dickey-Lincoln School project—even that is a mixed blessing.

In January, 1966, the power companies released a series of advertisements, announcing the establishment of the "big 11 power loop." In and of itself, it was a confession of past weaknesses, but it promised an integrated power system for the region, based on large nuclear power plants and larger transmission lines.

Later, however, one of the power company executives admitted in a Vermont public hearing that planning for the "big 11" program consisted solely of preparing the advertisement. The House Public Works Committee could find no evidence of regional planning by the utilities, including generation and transmission, except in the advertisements. The staff study concluded that, "although representatives of the council advised that they have planned to meet the problems of supplying the power needs of New England on a central coordinated basis, they have not produced any document supporting this central planning with the exception of an advertisement that appeared in the public press in January, 1966.

Recent developments indicate that the underlying intent of the private companies in promoting the "big 11" proposal is not so much an improvement in reliability and service as it is another step in their effort to tighten their grip on the New England power market. As you know, they have flatly refused to permit the publicly owned utilities to join in a regional transmission system.

The Massachusetts case should not surprise us. What the Federal Power Commission has learned here has been echoed across the country. The FPC counsel has determined that the Massachusetts municipals were denied participation in the planning activities of the New England utilities. The FPC also found that such exclusion is determimental to the city-owned systems and constitutes possible violations of antitrust statutes.

Further evidence that the private utilities want to keep nuclear power all to themselves is overwhelming—in proceedings before the FPC, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commision and the House of Representatives.

The private utilities are even trying to prevent any Federal agency from building a nuclear power facility.

In another effort to detract from Dickey-Lincoln School, the private power companies have attacked the project as a "subsidized" venture while suggesting that they never receive subsidies or any other considerations. The fact is, of course, that the companies benefit from the assured rate of return which is part of the consideration granted a public utility, and in their heavily advertised nuclear power plants, they have been receiving considerable assistance from the public investment in nuclear technology development and in indirect assistance under the Federal Atomic Energy program.

I would like to call your attention to the subsidies received by the Yankee Atomic Plant at Rowe, Massachusetts, the only operating nuclear power facility in New England.

1. Research and development assistance: This amounted to $5 million for AEC assistance in the design, engineering and fabrication of the reactor portion of the plant.

2. Waiver of fuel use charge: The cost of the initial load of fuel in the reactor was $3.7 million, but the fuel was supplied free of charge by the AEC (enriched uranium from Oak Ridge). This was part of the AEC's role due to the experimental nature of the reactor.

3. Plutonium buy-back—$2.1 million: At the time of construction of the Rowe, Massachusetts, plant, there was no private market for uranium and, therefore, had the AEC not agreed to buy back the plutonium, the utilities would have had to dispose of it as waste.

These aids total $10.8 million.

The subsidies will not be available to the nuclear power plants being constructed, considered or advertised in the New England area, but the new plans will continue to receive the benefits of nearly two billion dollars that the Atomic Energy Commission has spent in research and development of the civilian nuclear power program and related reactor technology and safety programs. The companies also will benefit from the incentives provided by the Price-Anderson indemnity act. It provides liability protection between the coverage provided by the private insurance companies and total liability of $560 million. In the instance of the Connecticut Yankee Atomic Plans, the utility will be able to obtain $485 million worth of liability coverage from the Federal government at a cost of $44,000 per year, while obtaining only $74 million worth of liability insurance from private sources for $280,000 a year. That is one-seventh the protection for six-times the cost.

I do not object to these incentives, or subsidies. They are designed to accomplish a positive public good. I do object to the doubletalk we get on the subsidy question.

In connection with the subsidy argument, it should be noted that the Dickey-Lincoln school project would repay the entire federal investment, with interest, in 50 years. It will return to the federal treasury nearly two dollars for every one of the $227 million in federal funds invested in the project during that time period. It will continue to pay a substantial return on the public investment many, many years beyond the end of the payback period.

I have yet to hear one private power company offer to reimburse the federal treasury for the nearly $2 billion federal investment in the civil nuclear reactor program.

Beyond these substantive issues, there are two other observations which should be made. Without a public power yardstick to guage the operations of the private utilities, and to stimulate them to develop economies, there is litle hope that the northeast will ever catch up with the lower power costs of every other region of the country. Unless the federal government builds nuclear or other thermal plants in New England, and I have heard of no such proposal, the yardstick must be a hydro plant. There are few suitable sites in New England for large hydro plants. This means if Dickey fails, the chances would be slim for the success of any other public power proposal for our region. In the end, without a yardstick, likelihood of meaningful reductions in power rates would be negligible.

The other observation is this: the Northeast, and New England in particular, has not received the heavy investment in resource development funds which have benefited every other region.

From 1960 to 1966, the per capital distribution of public works authorizations showed a consistent pattern of large investments in areas outside the Northeast. We received only 58 percent of the Midwest's share; 45 percent of the South's share; 33 percent of the Southwest's share, and 35 percent of the Far West's share.

The 1967 public works bill was even less favorable for us. We received 37 percent of the Midwest's share, 23 percent of the South's share, 23 percent of the Southwest's share, and only 15 percent of the Far West's share.

Finally, I want to point out that many of the opponents of Dickey have been inconsistent in their positions on the public works appropriations bill, voting against Dickey—while supporting rivers and harbors projects in their own districts which do not measure up to the Maine project.

In the House vote of July 25, for example, Congressmen representing districts in which 193 projects covered by the bill were located voted against the Dickey-Lincoln School project, 134 of those projects, with appropriations totaling $241,527,000, had no benefit-cost estimate or had a benefit-cost ratio of less than Dickey's 1.9–1. This represented 24 percent of the total appropriations approved by the Senate for construction and planning of public works projects.

I cite these figures to demonstrate that there is no consistency in the opposition to Dickey, that the House position threatens a national policy based on the merits and economic feasibility of projects, and that our region is not one to be placed at the top of the list for cutting back on public works projects.

To my mind, the inconsistency can only be explained as the product of one of the most heavy-handed lobbying campaigns in memory.

Congressmen from districts thousands of miles from New England were approached by representatives of their local utilities, and given erroneous information on the project.

The private utility lobby even rewrote a favorable analysis by the Federal Power Commission, attempting to show that the Commission opposed the project.

This move, carried out by the coordinating council of New England, was the most brazen distortion of the findings of an independent government agency in the history of Federal power projects.

The private power companies sought to confuse the public and mislead the Congress. The nature of the companies' campaign convinces me that their oppositions to Dickey is not motivated by concern for the merits. They obviously enjoy their monopolies and are determined to maintain then . . . at the expense of the public.

The private power lobby was successful this year. We will, of course, pursue the project again in the next session, and we face a tough job. If you share my commitment to Dickey, I urge you to do everything you can to encourage support for it from our region. If my mail is any indication, increasing numbers of New Englanders are becoming alert to the high cost of our power, and to the benefits of Dickey. This concern, however, must be translated into political strength. The Congressmen from Massachusetts and Connecticut especially must understand that there is support for Dickey among their constituents. If we are to reverse the House votes against Dickey, the project must have stronger support from within our region.

You who understand the issue can play a strategic role in education on this issue, in organizing a regional program of support, and in carrying the fight to the Congress. And in that fight, you can count on me.

The Role of the Nonmanual Worker in a Changing World

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, since 1904, the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees, a trade secretariat of white collar unions, has worked to lift the standards and conditions of white collar workers throughout the world. The organization recently held its 15th Ordinary Congress, in Washington, D.C., with its principal theme, "The Role of the Nonmanual Worker in a Changing World." It was the first time this important triennial event was held in the Western Hemisphere. AFL–CIO Vice President James A. Suffridge, president of the Retail Clerks International Association, is president of the international trade secretariat. I ask unanimous consent that an article about the organization's 15th Ordinary Congress, as it appeared recently in the AFL–CIO News, be printed at this point in the Congressional Record, as follows:

World White Collar Conference Tackles Organizing, Automation

Two issues—organizing white collar workers and protecting them against the impact of automation—topped a heavy agenda of a world congress of the Intl. Federation of Commercial, Clerical & Technical Employes in Washington.

Known as FIET, its initials in French, Spanish and Italian, the organization is the second largest of 16 international trade union secretariats. Some 500 participants in the congress represented nearly 5 million workers in 50 countries.

Delegates gave an enthusiastic welcome to an unscheduled opening day speaker—Pres. Johnson.

The President spoke of Viet Nam and the search for world peace—and of America's efforts to eliminate poverty and create a better life.

FIET's congress was the first ever held in the U.S. by a world labor organization and the organization's general secretary, Erich Kissel, said "it was not by accident that we came here."

By comparison with other nations, white collar workers are so poorly organized in the U.S. that FIET considers it an "underdeveloped nation," Kissel said. Yet, he said, an examination of automation here shows us what is in store for other countries.

AFL–CIO Pres. George Meany welcomed the congress on behalf of the American labor movement. Retail Clerks Pres. James A. Suffridge is president of FIET and other U.S. affiliates are the Office Employes; Building Service Employes; Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union and Insurance Workers.

BEIRNE AMONG SPEAKERS

Other speakers during the first two days of the congress included Pres. Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers, Walter Washington, newly appointed commissioner-mayor of Washington, D.C., and Ralph Wright, director of the Washington office of the Intl. Labor Organization.

Johnson recalled that he had seen "some of the worldwide activities of FIET" when he visited 20 countries in 1961 while on a mission for Pres. Kennedy, with Suffridge accompanying him.

The U.S. is fighting in Viet Nam to halt the aggression of "armed invaders," Johnson told the delegates, and will not be swayed in its willingness to "stay the course."

"Peace and stability will come to Asia only when the aggressors know that they cannot take another people's land by force," he added.

The President put special stress on the many ways in which America is using its resources in a "constructive and compassionate way" to strengthen freedom and help eliminate poverty and disease.

MEANY THEME

Meany told the delegates "I cannot overemphasize the importance of the work in which you are engaged. . . . Not only do you represent an active free trade union secretariat, but you represent a secretariat in a field of vital importance."

Describing free unions as "the hallmark of a free society," he pointed out that dictatorship—whether they be of the right, left or center—also recognize this and thus always "take control of unions" as soon as they seize power.

The effort in the 1940's to join free and totalitarian unions into the World Federation of Trade Unions failed, Meany said, for reasons as basic as "that you can't mix oil and water."

Or to put it another way, he continued, the effort failed because "some of the unions were in a position to make their own decisions" while others "were instruments of the state, and not instruments of the workers they were supposed to represent."

For the same reasons, he pointed out, current efforts by some unions to bring about "rapprochement" between Iron Curtain unions and free unions are doomed to fail. "The AFL–CIO," he said, "refuses to buy rapprochement and refuses to compromise the vital principle of worker freedom."

Suffridge traced the work of FIET in "promoting the interests of the non-manual worker, enhancing the dignity of his labor and improving his working conditions and living standards."

In the last three years, he noted, FIET has opened new regional offices; assisted affiliates in organizing drives; held labor leader training programs throughout the world; and conducted seminars for workers on organizing collective bargaining, legislation and union administration.

Conceding that organizing of white collar workers in the U.S. still has a long way to go—with only about 15 percent of the nonmanual workers in unions—Suffridge saw hopeful signs for the future.

Present increased trade union activity among white collar workers in the nation, he said, "indicates that the non-manual worker is beginning to appreciate the value of union membership and the union movement is beginning to better understand his needs."

Beirne extended greetings to delegates as president of the Postal, Telegraph & Telephone Intl., a secretariat composed of communication unions. He pointed out that both PPTI and FIET are organizing white collar workers—"the most difficult of all organizing."

REPORTS GIVEN

Among those submitting reports to the Congress were Pres. Howard Coughlin of the Office Employes; Rolf Spethen, chairman of DAG, a large German union of professional employes; Thomas Cynog-Jones, research director of Great Britain's Union of Shop, Distributive & Allied Workers; and Mrs. Anador Bell, director of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB).

Delegates visited a number of computer operations in New York and Washington to see automation in progress. They also attended a "ground breaking" ceremony for the Retail Clerks new headquarters in Washington.

West Virginia Senior Citizen Defends President Johnson and U.S. Effort in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Mrs. Clarence Post, 84, of Bridgeport, W. Va., recently wrote a letter to the editor of the Clarksburg, W. Va., Exponent-Telegram voicing criticism of those who attack the President of the United States, our Government, and our involvement in Vietnam.

Mrs. Post expresses compassion for the burdens of the Presidency. She defends President Johnson against criticism by the news media and praises him by saying:

> He has worked with zeal and untiring efforts to keep the nation rolling along despite violent and abusive criticism.

Although Mrs. Post cited freedom as our greatest asset, she also stated that perhaps we are not using our freedom in a manner beneficial to our Nation. Rather, it is the feeling of Mrs. Post that we are using freedom in a detrimental manner: destroying, instead of building, the democracy upon which our country was founded.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Post's letter be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Voice of the People

Bridgeport, W. Va.

Editors, Exponent-Telegram:

Words are the tools we use to either make or destroy a great nation—America is a nation of free speaking peoples. Will we use this privilege to build or destroy our country that our former citizens have so dearly bought and maintained for us?

Freedom is our country's greatest asset. How are we using it? To destroy not only our country but also ourselves eventually, or to maintain it for future generations.

Why are the news media of our country (such as television, radio, magazines, and newspapers) so careless of the words and thoughts that they are using to inform the people today of our situation and leadership in the countries of our present day world? Why all the criticism of our leader, The President of the United States? Of the Congress and the Senate? The war in Vietnam? This war is not President Johnson's war, we should remember it is ours. The people's war to preserve liberty for all people who want it.

Did President Johnson start the war? No, we must remember he inherited it. It is not of his making or choosing, so why blame him?

When the President of this great nation was assassinated he was the heir to this great office. What did he do? Get into his fancy yacht and sail off to the playgrounds of the world? No. He worked day and night to keep the wheels of this, our country, turning.

As the Leaders of the other nations descended quickly on our country to ask what we would do about our commitments that had already been made to them. President Johnson met all of them with a smile, a friendly handshake and words of assurance. He has worked with zeal and untiring efforts to keep the nation rolling along despite violent and abusive criticism.

Shall we call this type of criticism politics? God forbid! If so this nation does not deserve to keeep her freedom.

This Nation is experiencing the greatest era of industrial and economic prosperity we have ever had. When in our long history have so many citizens owned and brought such luxury homes? All people have work who desire to work. Medicare for the aged. A prosperous history never before experienced by any people. It is the Communists who are keeping the Vietnam war rolling along, although President Johnson has offered all peace plans one nation can offer to a belligerent nation without an answer being given by them.

They are hoping and praying that we the people of our country will force him to withdraw our armies and bring all our brave men home. Get them all within our national borders. Just fine for them, all in one country, our own. Then what happens? We will wake up some fine morning to the fact it is raining—not raining raindrops but atomic bombs.

But we will not be waking up! This will be a silent nation! We will have no country or Army! The people as well as the news media of Our Country had better wake up before our armies come home and remember this little verse of poetry I read fifty years ago in a little booklet called the "Old Settlers Story." Author unknown:

"Boys flying kites haul in their white winged birds.
But you can't do that when you are flying words.
Thoughts may sometimes fall back dead,
But God himself cannot kill them when they are said."

MRS. CLARENCE POST.

U.S. Participation in the Construction of a Dual-Purpose Electrical Power Generation and Desalting Plant in Israel

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join several of my colleagues in the House in introducing legislation to provide U.S. assistance to help Israel overcome its crucial water shortage by aiding them in the construction of a nuclear desalination plant. This plant would produce up to 150 million gallons of fresh water and 400,000 kilowatts of electricity daily.

Since 1964, the U.S. Department of the Interior has assisted the Government of Israel in a study to determine the technical feasibility of such a project. This study is not yet completed, but indications are that there is considerable promise and a clear need for a large-scale nuclear desalting plant in Israel by 1975. The development of a plant capable of producing fresh water output at economically useful rates will require loan or grant assistance. The result will be well worth the cost.

The bill I have introduced authorizes U.S. technical and financial assistance to Israel to the extent necessary to bring water costs down to reasonable levels. The total cost to the United States would not be expected to exceed $50 million.

This project would be of enormous value to Israel's economic development, would provide valuable technical information for future desalination programs throughout the world, and would be tangible evidence of American support for Israel in the aftermath of the 6-day war.

I urge my colleagues to give this bill early and favorable consideration.

New Dedication Needed in Meeting Crisis of the Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, a statement to the 300,000 employees of the General Electric Corp. by Mr. Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board, has struck hard at the core of the crisis in America's cities.

In as an unequivocal statement as I have seen on this subject, Mr. Phillippe appealed to the GE employees to dedicate themselves to help solve the problems in the Nation's major communities.

He called for more local and private initiatives in tackling discrimination, hard-core unemployment, air and water pollution, strangled traffic, dilapidated housing, declining economic vitality, danger on the streets, and so on.

And he pledged that GE would do everything in its power to demonstrate the kind of leadership that will add vitality to our cities and tremendous satisfaction to our personal lives.

I think Mr. Phillippe's comments are worth reading and under unanimous consent I hereby enter them in the RECORD:

PHILLIPPE ASKS NEW DEDICATION IN MEETING CRISIS OF THE CITIES

(A statement to General Electric employees by Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board)

The problems of America's cities, long neglected, are mounting up to crisis proportions.

Air and water pollution, strangled traffic, dilapidated housing, declining economic vitality, danger on the streets—the litany of woes in our city centers is long and discouragingly familiar.

Even worse than this physical and economic deterioration is the social disintegration represented by the slums. Increasingly, our city centers are becoming ghettos of the poor, peopled by Negroes and other minority groups who live in poverty and hopelessness.

The frustrations of the poor are piling up into a stack of social dynamite, and it is beginning to explode. In 1965, we saw rioting in Harlem and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco, and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets. General Electric has plants in many of these cities, and so we have had direct experience and real concern with these tragic events.

No American can view such disorders with complacency. Law and order must be maintained, but even more importantly, we must recognize the terrible urgency of the problems of the poor.

Their frustrations are rising to such a point that none of us can consider himself, his family, or his country safe until we can restore hope and dignity to the disadvantaged people. We must get more constructive action started to keep our society from being torn apart. This is a problem we can't just walk away from and leave to the federal government to struggle with. All citizens and segments of our society must do what they can to help.

COMPANY MUST DO ITS SHARE

The crisis of the cities calls for still more local and private initiatives, and General Electric, as one of the country's most important private institutions, has to carry its share of the load.

We have already demonstrated our capabilities in applying technology to the physical problems of the city: electric transit to relieve traffic congestion and air pollution; street lighting and police communications systems to reduce crime and accidents on the street; and many other products that make cities cleaner, healthier, safer places to live in.

But even more pressing are the problems that will not respond to technological solutions: the problems of unemployment and discrimination that have driven the people of the slums to the point of desperation.

Here, General Electric and other private enterprises can and must take more direct and effective action.

Basically, what the people of the slums want are useful jobs, decent housing, a good education for their children, an end to harassment, and an opportunity to share in the American way of life That certainly is not unreasonable But a lot of changes will have to be made, obstacles and barriers will have to be removed, people in all walks of life will have to pitch in and help, to bring about the changes needed in the shortest possible time.

I recently agreed to serve on the Steering Committee of a nationwide organization called the Urban Coalition. It is an organization of about 1,000 leaders in business, religion, labor, civil rights, and local government who have united to generate more local and private-sector action toward solving the problems of the cities.

The Urban Coalition has a Task Force on Private Employment, and I have agreed to serve as its co-chairman. It is aimed primarily at stimulating programs to develop the attitudes and skills required for productive employment, and find jobs in commerce and industry for the hard-core unemployed. This will involve enlargement of the many programs already underway by companies, volunteer groups, and business associations. It will involve getting action started in communities where little or nothing has been done. It will require the enlistment of cooperation from the five million business firms, large and small, that make up the American business community.

I want to be sure that we in General Electric, as a company and as private individuals, set an increasingly progressive example. As you well know, we have been among the leaders in reducing the formal and informal barriers of discrimination, and have pursued progressive employment policies. But we must do even more, as a pacesetter, because of our almost unique position as an employer with factories in some 129 American cities, and sales and service facilities in hundreds of other cities.

TAKING STOCK OF JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS IN THE COMPANY

Our Employee Relations Service is preparing inventories of what we have underway in terms of training and qualifying disadvantaged people for industrial work. By sharing the experiences of one location with another, we can find out what works, what problems arise, and how to cope with the inevitable difficulties. A preliminary survey indicates that components of the Company are already participating in 64 local programs of this sort, and have hired more than 3,000 graduates of anti-poverty training programs.

One of the most common approaches is through cooperation with institutional training programs established under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Job Corps has been another source of qualified personnel. I have been a strong supporter of the Job Corps, and when I have visited the Job Corps Center that's operated by our affiliate, General Learning Corporation, in Clinton, Iowa, I have seen what fine human rehabilitation work is being done there.

Still other approaches with growing acceptance in General Electric are the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and other local operations like the Opportunities Industrialization Centers under the leadership of Reverend Leon Sullivan. Many of our components are providing financial aid, equipment, and personal assistance in setting up these training centers in the neighborhoods where they are needed.

LOCAL MANAGEMENT HAS ROLE TO PLAY IN JOBS FOR NEGROES

In many locations, General Electric people have taken leadership in forwarding the work of such organizations as Whitney Young's Urban League, which has a long and solid record of opening up employment opportunities for Negroes. More and more, we are learning that General Electric serves best where local management joins local programs of community action in a realistic manner.

We have been making very fine progress in the general task of making equal employment opportunity a live reality in our factories, laboratories, and offices in every part of the country, and I know you are all proud of that. But we must keep everlastingly at it, with continued in-Company training, moving up the promotion ladder those who qualify for advancement so that still more jobs will be available for those who are just entering the industrial labor force.

Nor does the work end with training and jobs for the unskilled. We must step up our efforts to help Negro higher education and bring other companies and associations into greater action on this front, so that we will have a larger body of qualified Negroes for professional and managerial work. And the same goes for other disadvantaged minorities—the Indians, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, and any other ethnic group that has experienced discrimination in education and employment in this country.

ALL EMPLOYEES CAN HELP THROUGH PERSONAL EXAMPLE

This is not just a management problem. We can all help. General Electric employees can help through their personal example: their own attitude of tolerance and helpfulness; their patience with difficulties; their citizenship in voting for constructive leadership, and resisting the demagogues who appeal to prejudice rather than reason. The deepest problem is the problem of personal indifference. Most of us would prefer that somebody else take on the involvement. That will not get the job done. We are called upon, as citizens concerned for our country and our community, to commit our hearts and minds to this task.

I have been stressing the immediate problems of the underprivileged people, but the needs of the cities go beyond that—and herein lies a long-range opportunity for General Electric both to serve and to grow as a business. Our Company has expanded over the years by serving the needs of society: lifting standards of living, increasing industrial productivity, serving the national defense. We know that the problems of the cities—slums, crime, air and water pollution, traffic congestion—are building up a huge need for many of the products and services that this Company can provide.

Now we will have to organize ourselves to turn these needs into broader markets, and serve them on a much more creative basis than we have to date. We are establishing in Services in New York a clearinghouse and consulting group to help energize the Company's approach to urban problems and urban markets. One of its early tasks will be to determine what more General Electric can and should be doing to provide useful jobs for the people of the disadvantaged minorities. But it will also take a longer look at the whole range of metropolitan problems to see how our technology can be applied, on a constructive and business-like basis, to the challenge of improving life in the cities.

SERVING THE PUBLIC INTEREST

For the Company, there has never been a greater opportunity to serve the public interest and the interests of General Electric people at the same time. For more than 300,000 employees of General Electric, there is an opportunity to demonstrate the kind of leadership and citizenship that will add vitality to our cities and tremendous satisfaction to our personal lives.

Our response will have lasting effect on the kind of country we live in and hand on to our children.

The Kee Report: Christmas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include next week's public service radio and television newscast, "The Kee Report." The subject discussed in this report is Christmas. The report follows:

THE KEE REPORT: CHRISTMAS

This is Jim Kee—bringing you the Kee Report.

We are now only a few days away from the festival of the Nativity, which for most Americans is the most sacred day of the calendar year.

The observance of Christmas is a religious practice and by the terms of our Constitution, there must be a wall of separation between church and state. The wisdom of this rule has been evident since its adoption. But, while the Government must stand apart from religious observance, it would be a mistake to assume that the framers of the Constitution intended that our country should be hostile or indifferent to the practice of religion.

On the contrary, from the earliest times, the Nation's leaders have emphasized their belief that the destiny of the United States lies in the will of Divine Providence. Historians point out that this mighty nation began its pilgrimage through history on that day of April 30 in the year 1789, when George Washington delivered his first inaugural to a joint session of Congress. It is significant that after this solemn event, President Washington, Vice-President Adams, and the Members of Congress went in a body to attend divine services at St. Paul's Chapel.

One of the early biographers of Lincoln said that he was a skeptic during his early prairie years. Customs were crude in those frontier times and Lincoln may have looked with disfavor on some of the religious practices then in vogue. Yet, a brilliant English student said that Lincoln must be regarded as the most spiritual of all our Presidents.

Throughout his White House years, as this historian pointed out, he never wavered in his conviction that only by divine aid could he preserve the unity of our country. It is often charged that we Americans go to church more than any people on earth and do less to put in practice the doctrine of neighborly love. This harsh criticism is certainly not true today. On the contrary, I believe that as a people, we grow more conscious each year of our social responsibilities and more willing to lend a helping hand to those in need. Our record is far from perfect, but we are doing much to aid those who suffer the misfortunes of poverty, physical disability, or mental affliction.

Nowhere is this progress more apparent than in our treatment of handicapped persons. Only a few decades ago, most citizens so afflicted were compelled to live in a shadow world. They were regarded as unemployable. It was simply assumed that the blind man, or the man missing both arms or both legs, was permanently unable to follow a trade. Yet, today thousands of these handicapped persons, both men and women, are enjoying the fruits of useful employment.

The story of the mentally retarded is even more inspiring. A few years ago, most people assumed that nothing could be done for them. From the cradle to the grave, they were compelled to stand aside in work or play. And then the plight of these unfortunates was brought to the attention of the Nation by the late President John F. Kennedy. He initiated the movement to help them with all the resources of Government. Today, there are nearly 700,000 mentally retarded receiving useful training in schools established for that purpose. I think this is the spirit of neighborly love.

Christmas, by tradition, is a time for family meeting and family feasting. I am happy to observe that this beautiful custom is still carried on in our home State of West Virginia. So, to each of you, I wish a most joyous Christmas.

Thank you for listening.

New Fiscal Policy Needed to Defuse the Time Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, today I am making the last of a series of three inserts regarding Federal expenditures. The second of the inserts consisted of a tabulation which listed 112 new programs. Today's insertion shows how 28 earlier programs have also been greatly expanded.

Altogether, these 140 programs account for an increase of more than $22 billion in the administrative budget since fiscal 1955.

The table follows:

EXPANSIONS OF EXISTING PROGRAMS, FISCAL 1956 TO FISCAL 1968, INCLUSIVE

[In million of dollars]

Program	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967 [1]	1968 [1]
Grants to States for public assistance	1,427	1,455	1,556	1,795	1,966	2,286	2,167	2,432	2,730	2,944	3,060	3,528	3,926	4,153
National Science Foundation	10	14	30	36	99	119	143	183	207	310	311	369	395	455
Impacted area school aid:														
Maintenance	85	86	98	109	139	175	208	226	277	284	311	410	422	422
Construction	100	95	76	80	77	83	71	57	66	51	38			
Grants, vocational rehabilitation services	26	33	37	44	49	49	54	63	71	84	96	153	250	302
School lunch program	83	83	99	100	144	153	154	169	170	181	179	197	214	243
Agricultural Research Service	56	78	87	99	136	132	148	155	167	185	203	195	220	236
Hospital construction activities	73	56	73	107	136	145	158	167	189	195	203	200	225	235
Grants, maternal and child welfare	29	34	38	41	44	47	52	68	76	89	110	151	205	231
Mental health research and services	13	18	30	36	48	60	72	91	12	160	149	164	196	219
National Cancer Institute	21	24	39	45	63	74	86	103	119	137	114	134	154	162
U.S. Information Agency	81	85	103	104	103	101	103	112	122	131	140	142	150	157
National Heart Institute	17	19	33	34	41	57	76	91	111	129	97	111	138	147
National Institute of Metabolic Diseases	8	11	16	18	30	41	50	68	88	106	86	98	117	120
Conservation operations	60	63	66	62	84	80	87	89	93	96	105	109	112	114
National Institute of Neurological Diseases	7	9	17	18	27	36	41	54	68	81	70	76	98	103
Cooperative extension work	42	48	52	59	63	64	67	70	75	79	85	90	93	97
Consumer protective marketing programs	19	24	25	28	39	38	46	38	41	44	40	77	86	79
National Institute of Infectious Diseases	6	8	13	17	22	31	38	46	57	66	56	63	76	78
Watershed protection	6	10	11	14	20	27	33	40	53	63	61	68	68	72
General research and services	5	6	11	14	26	40	56	84	114	150	125	120	66	69
Cooperative State Research Service	19	25	29	31	32	32	33	36	38	42	47	52	57	64
Vocational rehabilitation, research, and training	1	2	3	4	5	11	15	19	24	32	37	44	56	61
Communicable disease activities	4	6	6	7	7	8	14	10	11	19	28	38	43	53
Foreign agricultural service	2	4	4	4	4	6	7	8	12	17	17	19	24	27
National Institute of Dental Research	2	2	6	6	7	9	12	12	18	20	15	19	23	24
Construction of radio facilities, U.S. Information Agency	3	1	1	1	1	3	4	16	15	12	7	7	15	15
Consumer and marketing payments to States	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Increase over preceding year (28 existing programs)	------	94	260	354	499	495	88	512	517	684	82	845	795	509
Cumulative increase over 1955	------	94	354	708	1,207	1,702	1,790	2,302	2,819	3,503	3,585	4,430	5,225	5,734

[1] Estimated.

Note: Columns will not necessarily add to totals due to rounding.

Total (112 new programs)	$16,542,000,000
Cumulative increases (28 existing programs)	5,734,000,000
Tota. (140 programs)	22,276,000,000

Supreme Court Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the latest of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions, declaring unconstitutional a provision of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 which bars members of Communist-action groups from working in defense plants, is yet another tragic example of the Court's perversion of the public interest in the name of constitutional liberties.

I would be the first to admit, Mr. Speaker, that the rights of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution are to be cherished and preserved with every ounce of wisdom that can be mustered in these times of changing social values and complex ideological philosophies, but these rights are not absolute. Without having to be a constitutional lawyer, it is plain commonsense that there are public rights which are to be equally weighed in guarding against those individuals who insidiously seek to undermine and destroy the very essence of our way of life. It is in the context of this balance—the rights of individuals and those of society—that we should view with grave concern the Supreme Court's decision and the evolving pattern of decisions which have crippled those statutes promulgated by Congress and the several States to insure the preservation of our democratic ideals and institutions.

In 1964, Mr. Harold W. Kennedy, then county counsel for the County of Los Angeles, in a perceptive analysis of the adverse effects of U.S. Supreme Court decisions on subversive activities, aptly stated:

> The test employed where constitutional rights are asserted to bar governmental efforts aimed at eliminating a threat to its internal security involves a balancing by the courts of the competing private and public interests at stake.
>
> The Court in resolving this issue must determine whether the subordinating interests of the state, in protecting itself, overcomes the individual constitutional rights at issue.
>
> A lawyer's duty is to protect and enhance the effectiveness of the judiciary and our judicial system. It is also assuredly a lawyer's duty, when he finds conditions warrant, to criticize the tone and trend of decisions—especially so where those decisions have a profound and lasting effect on the very preservation of our society. Against the background of the frightening and inescapable evidence as to the intent of the Communist Party of the United States and the widespread internal Communist conspiracy, the Supreme Court has without doubt swung the scales of justice too far to the side of individual rights. As a result, the needs of the people in this critical time are made subservient and subject to the dictates of subversive individuals.

In recognition, Mr. Speaker, that the basis for the Supreme Court's latest decision is founded on an implied "right of association." Justice White, joined by Justice Harlan, dissented, stating:

> The right of association is not mentioned in the Constitution. It is a judicial construct appended to the First Amendment rights to speak freely, to assemble, and to petition for redress of grievances.
>
> Having less confidence that the majority in the prescience of this remote body when dealing with threats to the security of the country. I much prefer the judgment of Congress and the Executive Branch that the interest of respondent (Eugene Frank Robel, a machinist for Todd Shipyard in Seattle) in remaining a member of the Communist Party, knowing that it has been adjudicated a Communist-action organization, is less substantial than the public interest in excluding him from employment in critical defense industries.

Mr. Speaker, I can only feel that amidst the most solemn declarations to uphold and defend the Constitution, we are losing the country through judicial prerogative and permissiveness.

New Seattle Air Service Begins December 17

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, another indication of the manner in which air travel is shrinking our globe is the inauguration December 17, 1967, of service by Northwest Orient Airlines from Seattle-Tacoma to Hilo, Hawaii. Presently, there is only service to Honolulu, but the new flight will bring "two Hawaiis" to the people of the great Pacific Northwest.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, the Seattle-Tacoma area receives recognition as a major air terminal in world travel.

This new direct service will place the black beaches of Hilo, Hawaii, within just over 5 hours of the tall evergreen trees of the Pacific Northwest.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that, once again, aviation history is written in Seattle.

Sum of $6.5 Billion Spent: Still at Disadvantage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Greenville News December 9, 1967.

The article is primarily devoted to a speech given by F. Sadler Love, secretary of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, to a management consultant seminar meeting in Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Love brings out several statistics relating to tariff rates on textile goods from low-wage foreign countries which I believe will be of interest to Members of Congress.

The U.S. textile industry is forced to compete with foreign manufacturers who pay their employees approximately one-third of the amount earned by the American worker.

The U.S. textile industy has spent $6.5 billion for expansion and technology over the past 10 years to better equip it for the competition from foreign sources. The foreign manufacturer does not have to spend such amounts for new plants and equipment because of low wages, government subsidies, and export incentives—thus enabling the foreign producer to gain a larger share of the American textile market.

There are hundreds of thousands of Americans who depend directly on the textile industry, and perhaps millions who indirectly would suffer from the results of our present tariff policies with regard to foreign textile imports. If the present rate of imports continue to increase, the jobs of a great number of American textile workers will be exported to foreign lands. This we cannot permit to take place.

The article follows:

TEXTILE SPOKESMAN SAYS: $6.5 BILLION IS SPENT; STILL AT DISADVANTAGE

ATLANTA.—The U.S. textile industry has spent $6.5 billion for new plants and equipment in the last 10 years, but still has no advantage over foreign producers, an industry spokesman said Friday.

Speaking to 150 persons attending a management consulting seminar, F. Sadler Love, secretary of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, said:

"No other American industry suffers the disadvantages of the textile industry when it comes to competing with imports from low-wage foreign countries.

"There are other industries in which technology is widespread, or in which raw materials are widely available," Love said, "but none has the unique characteristics of widespread technology, relatively low capital requirements, abundance of labor and raw materials, low transportation costs, standardized interchangeable products, and an easily transportable, non-perishable product.

"The U.S. textile industry has spent $6.5 billion for new plants and equipment in the last 10 years, but this has given us no edge whatsoever over foreign countries which have spent only fractions of this amount, and who not only have the same resources we have, but low wages and a long list of government subsidies and export incentives which enable them to keep prices down."

Love said that in 1966 about 60 per cent of the 2.8 billion square yards of textiles imported into the U.S. were produced in only five countries—Japan, Hong Kong, Mexico, Portugal and Taiwan. He said the highest wage in either of these countries is 55 cents an hour in Mexico. Taiwan is the lowest at 14 cents, Love said.

Yet, he added, the U.S. textile industry has raised is wages nearly 40 per cent in 10 years, and intends to keep pushing wages even though forced to compete through current trade policies, with low wage countries.

"Current rates of imports have reached the point where they represent a clear and present threat to the security of hundreds of thousands of Americans who must depend on textiles for a livelihood," Love said, adding:

"Our government must do something to curtail this flood, or a large segment of the industry is certain to be washed down the drain."

End of Year Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, with the end of this session of the Congress at hand, I insert a summary of the accomplishments of this body into the Appendix to the RECORD. It is my hope that this end-of-the-year report will convey an idea of some of the key decisions and achievements made by the 90th Congress over the past year:

NEWSLETTER, CONGRESSMAN BILL BROCK

DECEMBER 1967.

DEAR FRIEND: As another year draws to a close, may I just take a moment to say "thank you." We have so much to be grateful for in this nation, our spiritual heritage, our political and economic system of freedom, our neighbors who constantly walk the extra mile.

It is at this time of the year, when our friends and families unite for spiritual replenishment, that the real meaning of America becomes clear again. Now, as half a million men in Viet Nam strive to preserve this meaning, our rededication can make their efforts worthwhile.

Throughout this year Tennesseans have continued to build a better community, to give their time and interest in behalf of others. This expression of concern has produced results in terms of more jobs and better schools. More importantly it reflects the very real faith of this nation in the values which made it great.

Thus may I simply add my deep gratitude to you, for the acceptance of personal responsibilities so evident throughout our area. And may Muffett an I extend to you and yours our best wishes for a meaningful Christmas and a wonderful year to come.

Sincerely,

BILL BROCK.

A LONG HAUL

The first session of the 90th Congress has been a long one. In recent years, the trend has been for Congressional sessions to stretch and stretch until, for all practical purposes, the Congress is in session the year around. There is a statutory limit on the length of a Congressional session, set back in 1946 at the last day in July. But an exception providing for longer sessions in times of war or national emergency has become the rule, and the 1946 deadline has been forgotten in the flood of legislative business that Congress has assumed through the years. At any rate, in this letter I would like to list some of the major Congressional actions of 1967.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Provides for an increase in benefits for all beneficiaries. The amount of earnings subject to tax is increased from $[illegible],600 to $7,800 and the amount of outside earnings permitted without a loss in benefits is increased from $1,680 to $2,880 with reduced benefits, Disabled persons over 50 years are eligible for benefits. A serious omission is the bill's failure to provide for automatic cost of living increases in benefits. However, the bill does provide for a major tightening up on welfare fraud and abuse, something sorely needed. I suported this bill.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

Requires regional air quality standards to be set up by the States and provides that the Federal government may step in if a state fails to set or enforce clean air standards. I voted for this measure.

FEDERAL PAY-POSTAL RATES

Increases Federal classified employees' salaries by 4.5% and postal employees' pay by 6%. First-class mail rates are increased from 5c to 6c, and airmail rates from 8c to 10c. Third-class mail rates are increased by approximately 40% to 3.6c in 1968 and 4c in 1969. I voted for this legislation.

VETERANS' BENEFITS

Gives veterans and their dependents a cost-of-living increase in pension payments, provides full wartime rates of compensation for those injured during the Vietnam era and pensions for those who become disabled. Provides higher educational allowances for veterans attending college and new training programs under the Cold War GI Bill. I actively supported the legislation.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Extended, in amended form, the controversial Teacher Corps through fiscal 1970, ensuring local control of the program. Authorized funds for graduate fellowship programs, elementary and secondary personnel training, and higher education personnel training. I voted for these amendments.

MEAT INSPECTION

This bill provides that the Federal government will pay up to ½ of each state's meat inspection costs in which the meat inspection program meets the Federal standards established in the Act. Federal inspection by the Secretary of Agriculture will be instituted after a three year period in states which do not conform to the prescribed standards. Tennessee is now 1 of 29 states with strong inspection laws and, upon approval by the Department of Agriculture, would be eligible for the Federal payments provided under this legislation. I supported this bill.

TAX SURCHARGE

Hearings before the House Ways and Means Committee were resumed on the President's proposed 10% surtax and on a new Administration expenditure-reduction plan for 1968. There is no chance that final action will be taken until next year. Many of us question the need for a tax increase under the present economic situation. I also question the right of Washington to raise personal taxes when this government refuses to reduce its spending programs.

POVERTY BILL

Authorizes $1.98 billion for fiscal 1968 and $2.18 billion for fiscal 1969. Provides that control of Community Action Programs be turned over to public officials on the local level. Also, includes restrictions on the administration of the program and two anti-riot amendments. In light of administration refusal to correct basic inequities in this program, I opposed the bill.

FOREIGN AID

Congress approved $2.3 billion for fiscal 1968 for the Foreign Aid program. I voted against this appropriation, because the Senate refused to accept the cutback in funds recommended by the House of Representatives, and I couldn't justify excessive spending for the program in light of the present economic situation.

OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

With the federal government growing bigfer and bigger each year, Congress' job of carefully scrutinizing spending becomes much more difficult. Perhaps even more important, it is almost impossible for private citizens and even local governments to keep informed on all the federal programs available.

In its role as "watchdog" of your tax dollars, the Congress must make a much greater effort to determine our national priorities. We can no longer vote on each program without considering its relationship to and effect upon the national economy. Thus a growing number of us are insisting upon a "legislative budget" to be prepared here. We have also asked that consideration be given to a shift in the nation's fiscal year back to January 1st in order that more time could be spent in study, consideration, and debate.

The problem facing our communities and states is even greater. Thus in the coming year I hope to gain more support for the bill I introduced which provides federal tax sharing for education. We must give local government a broader base of resources if they are going to continue to meet their responsibilities.

The idea of tax sharing on an automatic basis without federal controls has received the endorsement of school groups throughout the country, as well as the unanimous support of the 50 governors.

Perhaps 1968 will see a major breakthrough in restoring responsibilities to our local communities and to our Congress. I hope so.

NEXT SESSION

Congress will reconvene on January 15, 1968.

VISITORS

Chattanooga: Carl L. Gibson, Herbert M. Houston, Dr. and Mrs. William B. Hendrix, Mrs. Anne M. McCallie, Elgin Smith, Mrs. Dorothy Hicks, Raymond Hale, Mrs. Parie Langley and Lee, C. L. Dickson, Gloria Carter, Charles E. Chamberlin, III, Dr. Alfred Quinton.

Sgt. Alvester L. Winston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Alvester L. Winston, a serviceman from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

SERGEANT WINSTON, VIET COMBAT MEDIC

Sgt. Alvester L. Winston, a 19-year-old native of Richmond who grew up near Gwynns Falls Park, has died in Vietnam of shrapnel wounds, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The sergeant's mother, Mrs. Richard E. Lewis, of 4015 Cranston avenue, said her son had been in Vietnam four months.

She said Army representatives told her that Sergeant Winston "was wounded by shrapnel from a bomb" and died two weeks later at the 3d Surgical Hospital.

WAS A MEDIC

Mrs. Lewis said her son was in combat as a medic with an infantry company.

He attended Edmondson High School through the tenth grade.

Mrs. Lewis said her son played basketball while at Edmondson.

She said he worked briefly for an automobile dealer washing cars before enlisting in the Army. "He was only 19 last week and would have been in Vietnam exactly four months next week," she said.

Sergeant Winston is survived by his mother and by his step-father, Richard E. Lewis.

Mayor Barr States the Case for a Lyndon Johnson Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration has been an impressive one in legislative achievements that have had and will continue to have a meaningful impact on the lives of all Americans. It is a positive and forward-looking record.

Mayor Joseph M. Barr, of Pittsburgh, stated the case very well in his address of December 13 at Williamsport, Pa. I include a summary concerning his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

MAYOR BARR STATES THE CASE FOR A LYNDON JOHNSON VICTORY

Last night, in a magnificent address, Mayor Joseph Barr of Pittsburgh stated the case for President Johnson's reelection in 1968.

"If you really want to be honest about it," the Mayor said, "the only true and legitimate criticism to be made of the Johnson Administration is that it has done too much, it has fulfilled its promises too fully, it has kept its word too closely."

Those who are opposed to model cities, medicare, aid to education, wholesome meat bills and all of the scores of other landmark legislation passed during the Johnson adminisration have a good case for not voting for the President.

But those Americans, he went on, who want and need this legislation will continue to support a President and an Administration that has championed these causes.

The mayor noted that while "the battles against disease and poverty have not been won," under the President's leadership "the fight has begun and Lyndon Johnson started it."

Those who wish to vote Republican have a clear mandate to do so. For as the mayor pointed out: "You should vote Republican because the Republicans in Congress have opposed these programs in overwhelming majority."

Those who vote Republican will show their displeasure against all of the great legislation compiled during the Johnson years.

And those Americans who believe that under Lyndon Johnson's leadership our nation has responsibly come to grips with the economic and social problems of our time, will vote for the man and the party responsible for the benefits we now enjoy.

This is what election year 1968 is all about. And in Mayor Barr's words: "I support Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey this year and next . . . I support them because I am convinced, beyond any question, that they are best for America.

And I have no doubt America knows that to be true, as it will show decisively next November.

Newark, N.J., Typographical Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the Newark, N.J., Typographical Union No. 103, a subordinate union of the International Typographical Union, reached its 100th milestone on June 19, 1967.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the membership commemorating this notable event:

RESOLUTION COMMEMORATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF NEWARK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION NO. 103

Whereas: God in His Infinite Wisdom has ordained Man to be of free will and free conscience during his lifetime, and

Whereas: Such men were caused to be the founders and charter members of Typographical Union No. 103 on June 19th in the year of Our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-seven, in The City of Newark and Sovereign State of New Jersey, and

Whereas: Through the exemplification of fraternal love and charity this association of printers and apprentices has fostered upon the economy of the State of New Jersey, through its leadership in the fight for decent and healthful working conditions, a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, the opportunity to preserve and advance the skills of this graphic arts industry through its system of apprentice training and the development of leaders who have made and continue to make their mark in areas of government, community and religious duties, and

Whereas: From this great union have emanated many men and women of good will, imbued with the noble aims of this fraternal, productive and industrious union, who have become active in local and state politics, humane projects in their communities and parish churches, so therefore be it

Resolved: That this 90th session of the Congress of the United States takes note of the momentous occasion of The 100th Anniversary of the Typographical Union No. 103 of Newark, N.J., one of the oldest; the most industrious and progressive in the United States, and be it further

Resolved: That this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Congressional Record in the year of Our Lord 1967 and be it finally

Resolved: That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States; Elmer Brown, President of the International Typographical Union; George Meany, International President of the AFL-CIO; Vincent J. Murphy, President of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO; Richard Hughes, Governor of the State of New Jersey; and that sufficient copies be spread upon

the minutes of the Union for all posterity.
In the Name of Our Lord—Amen.

Albin W. Erickson,
President.
Edward W. Dubois,
Vice-President.
Herman O. Lombardi,
Secretary-Treasurer.
Frank W. Jarembeck,
Recorder.
William E. Putscher,
Sergeant-at-Arms.

The 150th Birthday of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as we move into the final hours of what has been a long, difficult, and sometimes frustrating session of Congress, I am happy to inject a happy note into the Record and, of course, I have reference to the upcoming celebration of the 150th birthday of my home State of Illinois.

On February 18, 1968, the National Broadcasting Co., will present an hour-long national telecast, "I Remember Illinois" with Steve Allen doing the narration. The show will also include other hometown Illinoisans such as Jack Benny, Benny Goodman, Dave Garroway, and many others.

There will be as many as 1,500 individual pageants and other events taking place throughout the State, including an impressive program which will take place around Memorial Day in my home town of Peoria.

It is not often I find myself in agreement with a Democratic Governor, but I must say I subscribe to the view expressed by our Governor, the Honorable Otto Kerner, when he said:

> We would be hard put to show how great Illinois is, but 1968 should be the year to prove it.

Let me extend a cordial invitation to all of my colleagues to come and visit with us any time next year and help us make this a happy and unforgettable celebration.

I include an editorial from the Peoria Journal Star entitled "Illinois: The Drum Roll Starts" at this point in my remarks:

Illinois: The Drum Roll Starts

The drums are starting to roll for Illinois.

Good old Illinois, the 21st state admitted to the Union. Good old Illinois, a state that reached its 150th birthday this week, an event that will be celebrated for a year straight.

Last night's TV show served as a musical kick-off for the 12-month celebration. More will come. On Feb. 18, for instance, an hour long national telecast. "I Remember Illinois," will be presented by NBC with Steve Allen narrating. Other home-town Illinoisans on the show will include Jack Benny, Benny Goodman, Dave Garroway, and Bob Hope.

Indeed, more than 1,500 individual pageants or other events will take place during the year, including a big one in Peoria some time in May, at which the President of the United States may appear.

The idea of the celebration, in addition to having a little fun, is get some valuable publicity for the state by proving it is one of the top areas in the U.S.

"We would be hard put to show how great Illinois is," said Gov. Otto Kerner. "But 1968 should be the year to prove it."

Kerner has urged every community large and small, every agency from P.T.A.s to Associations of Commerce, to beat the drums for Illinois during this, our birthday year.

Actually, the big push is not to sell our history on a kind of snob appeal basis, but to sell our state as a great home for business and industry, in hopes of attracting more giants to Illinois to provide jobs and tax revenues.

In fact, the whole year may be looked upon as a big selling job—selling Illinois to the nation. Perhaps we could all take part in it, for this year especially, by being "salesmen for Illinois," in talking up the advantages of this state to outsiders. Word of mouth advertising, after all, is the greatest of all. And we have a pretty good product to sell.

Erpf Proves Culture Has Its Practical Possibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN G. DOW
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, a very distinguished resident of my 27th Congressional District in New York, Mr. Armand Grover Erpf, has been honored by his friends. They have established a chair in his honor at Columbia University.

The notable characteristic about Mr. Erpf is his ability to generate economic success out of intellectual and cultural pursuits. Those who know Mr. Erpf will testify that he is a lively and scintillating personality.

I offer the New York Times story about Mr. Erpf from today's issue as follows:

Columbia Names a Chair for Erpf—Friends Surprise Financier With $500,000 Endowment

(By Henry Raymont)

A Wall Street investment banker who played a major part in building Crowell-Collier-Macmillan into one of the country's largest publishing corporations will be honored with a $500,000 chair at Columbia University.

The banker is Armand Grover Erpf, a partner in Loeb, Rhoades & Co. Mr. Erpf is regarded in financial circles as one of Wall Street's most secretive and successful personalities, particularly in the field of modernizing and expanding corporations.

Last night he was extolled by a group of leading bankers and educators for his contribution to publishing and education and for his support of the arts. They met at the Gramercy Park mansion of Benjamin Sonnenberg, the retired publicist, for a testimonial dinner in honor of Mr. Erpf's 70th birthday.

Plans for the Armand G. Erpf Chair in corporations were disclosed during the dinner by Dr. Courtney C. Brown, dean of the Graduate School of Business, who recalled the banker's long association with the school as an occasional lecturer and chairman of its graduate council.

ENDOWMENT IS A SURPRISE

The announcement came as a surprise to Mr. Erpf. It had been kept a secret for several months by John L. Loeb, the head of Loeb, Rhoades, and by several of the friends and associates of Mr. Erpf who set up the endowment.

In an interview in his Park Avenue apartment, Mr. Erpf revealed some of the details of his publishing operations, gave a cheerfully gloomy assessment of mankind's prospects in an age of conflict and technology and offered some pointed thoughts to artists and intellectuals.

Sitting in a Louis XV sofa in his book-lined study, Mr. Erpf recalled how Crowell Collier acquired The Macmillan Publishing Company in 1958 and went on to expand $27-million of sales to $225-million in 10 years.

He acknowledged that as chairman of the executive board of Crowell Collier he persuaded the company to allocate funds for the contemplated expansion, but that the board of Macmillan at first "didn't like the idea." So he moved swiftly to acquiring controlling stock in Macmillan.

"In one case, the board of directors was persuaded, in the other case, it was coerced," he remarked with a broad smile. "Which is the way it should be. I don't want a world without some violence."

Mr. Erpf helped Crowell-Collier-Macmillan to acquire in quick succession, several other enterprises connected with publishing and learning. They included the Brentano bookstores, the Berlitz Schools of Languages and Berlitz Publications.

Although many Wall Street bankers are prepared to go to great length to help their corporate customers expand in the publishing business, Mr. Erpf gave Crowell Collier the special advantage of his personal interest in the communications industry.

Mr. Erpf is noted, for example, for the amount of time he will give to publishing matters and for his ability to come up with workable ideas.

"My main interest is Loeb, Rhoades," he said. "After all, everything starts from there." The fact that Loeb, Rhoades—through me as one of the partners—was able to be an architect of a publishing company is interesting. I rather that we had something to do with this than with building a steel mill, which was a very nice thing to do in 1808, but which is rather routine today and it's not as exciting to me.

"The exciting thing about modern capitalism, American modern capitalism, is that it is moving into other areas than the mere production of commodities. And in those areas, more and more the human being is not a commodity, but must become an independent, vital entity. And you can't have a creative corporation where you continue to treat people as though they were organization men or a commodity."

Personality in the News: James G. Caffrey, VFW Commander

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most capable and popular leaders in the Nation in the Veterans of Foreign Wars is James G. Caffrey, Jr., of Woodbridge Township, State commander in New Jersey.

Perhaps one of the reasons Jim Caffrey is such a great patriot is the date of his birth—July 4, 1923. An active and dedicated commander, he cited the problems and goals of State veterans in the important fields of compensation and pensions, to a Presidential Advisory Committee.

I could say a good deal more about this dynamic and effervescent veterans leader, but a feature article in the Sunday Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J., covered the numerous attributes and strong leadership of Jim Caffrey, my friend of many years.

The article, by Walter Shepard, is entitled "Personality in the News: James G. Caffrey, VFW Commander."

The article follows:

Personality in the News: James G. Caffrey, VFW Commander

(By Walter Shepard)

There's a lot of tradition behind the career of James G. Caffrey, Jr., Middlesex County detective and state commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

On the law enforcement side Caffrey, a big, burly, blueeyed native Newarker, has inspiration from a grandfather who was a police captain and an uncle who was deputy chief of Newark's finest. His fater, a truant officer in Newark schools, worked closely with police in many instances—so the police inclination is understandable.

It is to his father that Caffrey attributes his VFW activities. The elder Caffrey, a World War I veteran and former commander of Vailsburg Post 339, signed young Jim up as a member even while he was in service during World War II.

"I guess some of my father's interest and activities in veterans affairs rubbed off on me," Caffrey explains. But he adds that some friends cite his birthday, July 4, (1923) as his inspiration.

The fact remains that, whatever the inspiration, the results have been such that about a thousand friends and associates, particularly in police and veterans' affairs, were on hand last night at the Hotel Robert Treat, Newark, to pay tribute to Caffrey and his achievements.

National VFW Commander Joseph A. Scerra, Congressman Edward Patten, Deputy Mayor Paul Reilly of Newark and Mayor Ralph Barone of Woodbridge will be among the notables present, while Gov. Richard J. Hughes had been scheduled to attend but bowed out earlier in the week due to eye surgery.

A particular notable present was Caffrey's wife, Eleanor, who in nearly two decades of activity with the VFW's Auxiliary rose to the office of state president, in 1963–64, and is presently the secretary of the statewide organization—all this done while bearing and raising four young Caffreys. Now a school nurse in Woodbridge, she is studying for her B. Sc. in Nursing in her spare moments.

It is appropriate that the dinner was held in Newark, where Caffrey was born and raised, having come to Middlesex County only in June, 1960, as number two man in a Civil Service examination for county detective.

Born and raised in the Ironbound section, he attended Sacred Heart Grammar School and West Side High School, where he was moderately active in sports and played varsity football in his senior year.

Shortly after graduation he enlisted in the Army, was trained in the Signal Corps at Camp Edison, in Seagirt. Only "a skinny kid," as compared to his present 260 pounds, he was training for field construction work. But he was laid low by pneumonia and on recovery was transferred to the Medical Corps. where he served with a special surgical team after receiving training at Walter Reed Hospital as an operating room technician, serving with the 106th General Hospital overseas in the ETO.

About two years after his discharge from the service he joined the police department in Newark, where he became a detective working on a variety of cases from homicide to fraud—a good general background for his work with Prosecutor Edward J. Dolan who was another of those at Caffrey's dinner last night.

It is understandable that if there is an element of specialty, it is in the field of homicide cases. This is based partially on his experience with the Newark department, his World War II experience as a medic, and special courses at Harvard in which the medical officer of the Boston police department is a consultant.

As far as his VFW activities are concerned, although his father had enrolled him in Post 339 while in service, after he joined the Newark police department Caffrey joined the Newark Police Post 1339, the largest in the nation.

Seeing the service opportunities existing, he dug in and worked his way up through the post's ranks, continuing on the state level as Judge Advocate, junior and senior vice commander and, last June, becoming elected state commander.

One of his present efforts is in the increasing of VFW membership, in view of the many goals and challenges presented by veterans' affairs.

As state commander several months ago he presented the state's veterans' story to a presidential advisory committee, with particular emphasis on compensations and pensions—areas of particular concern.

As a result, efforts of Caffrey and other veterans' leaders are centered in such things as protection of World War I veterans from possible loss of pensions or other benefits, while at the same time seeking consideration for the lot of World War II prisoners of war, many of whom are only now showing the effects of months of imprisonment, malnutrition or other factors that have made them susceptible to illness or disabilities or of one sort or another.

Such things are essentially a VFW crusade, inasmuch as membership in the organization calls for overseas service, where imprisonment or wounds might have been incurred. But there is good cooperation from other veterans groups in many of these campaigns, Caffrey admits.

It is of interest that the VFW feels that the Vietnam conflict is sufficiently serious that any GI on service there is automatically eligible for VFW membership, with previous service requirements discarded. On this subject, according to Caffrey, the VFW will support any action needed for victory and is unalterably opposed to any cease fires, truce or other arbitrary settlement of the conflict.

On the other hand, the VFW was completely unhappy about the closing of national cemeteries, such as that at Beverly, and has worked successfully for the rescinding of the presidential order to the point that the reopening of the cemetery is in view.

However, it should be under the Veterans Administration, rather than the Army, Caffrey feels, while another campaign is for the establishment of a Senate Veterans Affairs Committee to help further interest in military personnel and its general welfare. The VFW is also bitterly opposed to the return of Okinawa to the Japanese, as well as the admission of Red China to the U.N.

So it is that Caffrey is leading veterans' efforts in these areas in between giving what attention he can to the four younger Caffreys: Ellen, 19; James B., 15; and twins Colleen and Brian, 12.

One of his hobbies—an extensive library much appreciated by neighboring youngsters—is in behalf of the younger Caffreys while for himself he enjoys collecting VFW buttons, badges and service patches as a reminder of the efforts he and his wife have made in behalf of veterans, their families and dependents, and the work yet to be done in this direction.

Nightmarish Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on November 17, I placed in the RECORD a New York Times article on the current trial of 36 South-West African tribesmen in Pretoria, South Africa, which serves to underline the nightmarish state of basic civil rights under the present South African regime. These black tribesmen are being tried under an ex post facto terrorist law which forces them to prove their innocence "beyond a reasonable doubt."

In case there should be any doubt about the nature of the law in question, I insert herewith the text of the act of June 12, 1967.

I will call particular attention to section 9 which provides that the act, except for certain sections, "shall be deemed to have come into operation on the 27th day of June 1967," and section 2 which provides that "the accused shall be presumed to have committed or attempted to commit . . . such act with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic, unless it is proved beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend any of the results aforesaid."

I also attach hereto a memorandum on the act by the Reverend Kenneth N. Carstens, of the National Council of Churches' African Department, and an editorial on the trial which appeared in the New York Times on December 9, 1967:

Text of Act of June 12, 1967—South-West Africa

Act to prohibit terroristic activities and to amend the law relating to criminal procedure; and to provide for other incidental matters.

(English text signed by the Acting State President.)

(Assented to 12th June, 1967.)

Be it enacted by the State President, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:—

DEFINITIONS

1. In this Act, unless the context otherwise indicates—

(i) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the South African Police; (iii)

(ii) "detainee" means a person detained under section 6; (i)

(iii) "Minister" means the Minister of Justice; (iv)

(iv) "organization" includes any association of persons, incorporated or unincorporated and whether or not it has been established or registered in accordance with any law; (v)

(v) "Republic", includes the territory, except in sections 4(3) and 7; (vi)

(vi) "terrorist" means any person who has committed an offence under section 2 or an act which had or was likely to have had any of the results referred to in section 2(2); (vii)

(vii) "the territory" means the territory of South-West Africa. (ii)

TERRORISM

2. (1) Subject to the provisions of subsection (4), any person who—

(a) with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic or any portion thereof, in the Republic or elsewhere commits any act or attempts to commit, or conspires with any other person to aid or procure the commission of or to commit, or incites, instigates, commands, aids, advises, encourages or procures any other person to commit, any act; or

(b) in the Republic or elsewhere undergoes, or attempts, consents or takes any steps to undergo, or incites, instigates, commands, aids, advises, encourages or procures any other person to undergo any training which could be of use to any person intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order, and who fails to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not undergo or attempt, consent or take any steps to undergo, or incite, instigate, command, aid, advise, encourage or procure such other person to undergo such training for the purpose of using it or causing it to be used to commit any act likely to have any of the results referred to in subsection (2) in the Republic or any portion thereof; or

(c) possesses any explosives, ammunition, fire-arm or weapon and who fails to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend using such explosives, ammunition, fire-arm or weapon to commit any act likely to have any of the results referred to in subsection (2) in the Republic or any portion thereof, shall be guilty of the offence of participation in terroristic activities and liable on conviction to the penalties provided for by law for the offence of treason: Provided that, except where the death penalty is imposed, the imposition of a sentence of imprisonment for a period of not less than five years shall be compulsory, whether or not any other penalty is also imposed.

(2) If in any prosecution for an offence contemplated in subsection (1)(a) it is proved that the accused has committed or attempted to commit, or conspired with any other person to aid or procure the commission of or to commit, or incited, instigated, commanded, aided, advised, encouraged or procured any other person to commit the act alleged in the charge, and that the commission of such act, had or was likely to have had any of the following results in the Republic or any portion thereof, namely—

(a) to hamper or to deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order;

(b) to promote, by intimidation, the achievement of any object;

(c) to cause or promote general dislocation, disturbance or disorder;

(d) to cripple or prejudice any industry or undertaking or industries or undertakings generally or the production or distribution of commodities or foodstuffs at any place;

(e) to cause, encourage or further an insurrection or forcible resistance to the Government or the Administration of the territory;

(f) to further or encourage the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social or economic change, by violence or forcible means or by the intervention of or in accordance with the direction or under the guidance of or in co-operation with or with the assistance of any foreign government or any foreign or international body or institution;

(g) to cause serious bodily injury to or endanger the safety of any person;

(h) to cause substantial financial loss to any person or the State;

(i) to cause, encourage or further feelings of hostility between the White and other inhabitants of the Republic;

(j) to damage, destroy, endanger, interrupt, render useless or unserviceable or put out of action the supply or distribution at any place of light, power, fuel, foodstuffs or water, or of sanitary, medical, fire extinguishing, postal, telephone or telegraph services or installations or radio transmitting, broadcasting or receiving services or installations;

(k) to obstruct or endanger the free movement of any traffic on land, at sea or in the air;

(l) to embarrass the administration of the affairs of the State,

the accused shall be presumed to have committed or attempted to commit, or conspired with such other person to aid or procure the commission of or to commit, or incited, instigated, commanded, aided, advised, encouraged or procured such other person to commit, such act with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic, unless it is proved beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend any of the results aforesaid.

(3) In any prosecution for an offence under this section, any document, book, record, pamphlet, publication or written instrument—

(*a*) which has been found in or removed from the possession, custody or control of the accused or of any person who was at any time before or after the commencement of this Act an office-bearer, officer, member or active supporter of an organization of which the accused is or was an office-bearer, officer, member or active supporter;

(*b*) which has been found in or removed from any office or other premises occupied or used at any time before or after the commencement of this Act by an organization of which the accused is or was an office-bearer, officer, member or active supporter or by any person in his capacity as office-bearer or officer of such organization; or

(*c*) which on the face thereof has been compiled, kept, maintained, used, issued or published by or on behalf of an organization of which the accused is or was an office-bearer, officer, member or active supporter or by or on behalf of any person having a name corresponding substantially to that of the accused,

and any photostatic copy of any such document, book, record, pamphlet, publication or written instrument, shall be admissible in evidence against the accused as *prima facie* proof of the contents thereof.

(4) No person shall be convicted of an offence under subsection (1) committed at any place outside the Republic, if such person proves that he is not a South African citizen and has not at any time before or after the commencement of this Act been resident in the Republic and that he has not at any time after such commencement, entered or been in the Republic in contravention of any law.

HARBOURING OR CONCEALING OF OR RENDERING ASSISTANCE TO TERRORISTS

3. Any person who harbours or conceals or directly or indirectly renders any assistance to any other person whom he has reason to believe to be a terrorist, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to the penalties provided by law for the offence of treason: Provided that, except where the death penalty is imposed, the imposition of a sentence of imprisonment for a period of not less than five years shall be compulsory, whether or not any other penalty is imposed.

JURISDICTION AND VENUE

4. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law or the common law contained any superior court or attorney-general in the Republic shall have jurisdiction in respect of any offence under this Act committed outside the area of jurisdiction of such court or attorney-general, as if it had been committed within such area.

(2) If the Minister so directs the trial of any person for an offence under this Act, shall take place at such place in the Republic as the Minister may determine.

(3) Whenever the trial for an offence under this Act committed in the territory or elsewhere outside the Republic, takes place in the Republic, whether or not on the instructions of the Minister, the laws relating to procedure and evidence of the Republic shall apply in respect of such trial and whenever the trial for such an offence committed in the Republic or elsewhere outside the territory so takes place in the territory, the laws relating to procedure and evidence of the territory shall so apply.

PROCEDURE AT THE TRIAL OF PERSONS FOR OFFENCES UNDER THIS ACT

5. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law or the common law contained—

(a) any person charged in the Republic, excluding the territory, with having committed an offence under this Act, shall be tried by a judge without a jury as if the provisions of sections 109 and 110 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955 (Act No. 56 of 1955), applied in respect of his trial;

(b) the trial of any person accused of having committed any offence under this Act may, subject to the provisions of section 4, be held at any time and at any place within the area of jurisdiction of the division of the Supreme Court of South Africa concerned;

(c) whenever two or more persons are in any indictment, summons or charge alleged to have committed, whether jointly or severally, offences under this Act, such persons may be tried jointly for such offences on that indictment, summons or charge;

(d) any person accused of having committed an offence under this Act shall be tried summarily without a preparatory examination having been instituted against him;

(e) the procedure prescribed by law in respect of a criminal trial in a magistrate's court shall mutatis mutandis apply in respect of the trial of any such person before plea;

(f) no person detained in custody on a charge of having committed an offence under this Act, shall be released on bail or otherwise, before sentence has been passed or he has been discharged, unless the attorney-general consents to his release;

(g) no person shall on trial for or conviction of an offence under this Act be dealt with under section 159, 342, 345 or 352 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955 (Act No. 56 of 1955), or the corresponding provisions of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance, 1963 (Ordinance No. 34 of 1963), of the territory;

(h) acquittal on a charge of having committed an offence under section 2 shall not preclude the arraignment of the person acquitted on any other charge arising out of the acts alleged in respect of the charge of such offense.

DETENTION OF TERRORISTS AND CERTAIN OTHER PERSONS FOR INTERROGATION

6. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law contained, any commissioned officer as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act No. 7 of 1958), of or above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel may, if he has reason to believe that any person who happens to be at any place in the Republic, is a terrorist or is withholding from the South African Police any information relating to terrorists or to offences under this Act, arrest such person or cause him to be arrested, without warrant and detain or cause such person to be detained for interrogation at such place in the Republic and subject to such conditions as the Commissioner may, subject to the directions of the Minister, from time to time determine, until the Commissioner orders his release when satisfied that he has satisfactorily replied to all questions at the said interrogation or that no useful purpose will be served by his further detention, or until his release is ordered in terms of subsection (4).

(2) The commissioner shall, as soon as possible after the arrest of any detainee, advise the Minister of his name and the place where

he is being detained, and shall furnish the Minister once a month with the reasons why any detainee shall not be released.

(3) Any detainee may at any time make representations in writing to the Minister relating to his detention or release.

(4) The Minister may at any time order the release of any detainee.

(5) No court of law shall pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under this section, or order the release of any detainee.

(6) No person, other than the Minister or an officer in the service of the State acting in the performance of his official duties, shall have access to any detainee, or shall be entitled to any official information relating to or obtaining from any detainee.

(7) If circumstances so permit, a detainee shall be visited in private by a magistrate at least once a fortnight.

LEGAL FORCE OF PROCESS IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS IN THE REPUBLIC AND SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

7. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law contained, any warrant, summons, subpoena or other process issued under any law of the Republic or of the territory in connection with any criminal proceedings, shall be of force and effect throughout the Republic and the territory.

(2) Whenever any person has been arrested in the territory under any warrant aforesaid issued in the Republic, or has been arrested in the Republic under any such warrant issued in the territory, he shall, as soon as possible, be taken to the place mentioned in such warrant or, if no such place is mentioned in the warrant, to the place where the warrant was issued, and if such person has escaped or has been rescued from custody, he may be arrested without warrant at any place in the Republic or the territory by any person.

TRIAL ONLY AT THE INSTANCE OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OR ACTING ATTORNEY-GENERAL

8. No trial for an offense under this Act shall be instituted without the written authority given personally by an attorney-general or acting attorney-general.

COMMENCEMENT AND APPLICATION OF THIS ACT

9. (1) This Act, except sections 3, 6 and 7, shall be deemed to have come into operation on the twenty-seventh day of June, 1962, and shall, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law or the common law contained, apply also in respect of or with reference to any act committed (including the undergoing of any training or the possession of anything) at any time on or after the said date.

(2) This Act and any amendment thereof which may be made from time to time, shall apply also in the territory, including the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel referred to in section 3 of the South-West Africa Affairs Amendment Act, 1951 (Act No. 55 of 1951), and in relation to all persons in that portion of the territory known as the "Rehoboth Gebiet" and defined in the First Schedule to Proclamation No. 28 of 1923 of the territory.

SHORT TITLE

10. This Act shall be called the Terrorism Act, 1967.

Memorandum on South Africa's Terrorist Act, No. 83, 1967

From: Kenneth N. Carstens, Africa Department, Room 666, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y., 10027.

1. The definition clause (Clause 1. (v)) applies this Act to South West Africa as well as South Africa.

Comments: All the accused (originally there were thirty-seven; one has since died under detention from "natural causes", according to the South African Government) are South West Africans; South Africa's legal and administrative jurisdiction over the international territory of South West Africa was declared terminated by the U.N. General Assembly resolution 2145 in October 1966. (The United States Government actively supported this resolution.) South Africa's legal right to incorporate the territory into a definition of the Republic of South Africa, to apply her racially discriminatory and repressive laws, and—more specifically—to detain South West Africans, to remove them from the international territory and try them in the Republic, are all extremely questionable. Moreover, some of the accused were arrested early in 1966 (before the International Court of Justice had refused to hand down a decision on the South West Africa case which was then before it) and had therefore been detained for 200 and sometimes 300 and more days before they were brought to trial under an Act which was not gazetted until the 21st of June, 1967.

2. The definition of terrorism is very wide indeed. (See Clause 2. (1) (2) (3)) In terms of Clause 2. (2) the accused is *automatically presumed to be guilty* "unless it is proved beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend any of the results aforesaid." This means, for example, that someone is *presumed* to be guilty of terrorism if one of his actions was even "likely" to "(k) obstruct or endanger the free movement of any traffic on land, at sea or in the air," or "(1) to embarkrass the administration of the affairs of the State," or "(b) to promote, by intimidation, the achievement of any object," or "(h) to cause substantial financial loss to any person or the State." Sub-paragraph (f) makes the furtherance or encouragement of the political aims of such an institution as the United Nations—which has peculiar bearing on South West Africa—an act of terrorism.

3. In terms of Clause 4. (1) and (2) and Clause 5. (b), the trial of persons accused of terrorism can be held *at any time,* and *at any place*. These clauses empower the authorities to, inter alia: a) hold suspects incommunicado (See Clause 6. (6)) under conditions known only to the authorities for lengthy periods of time before bringing them to trial (some of the accused in the present trial were detained for periods in excess of one year before indictments were served); b) bring the accused to trial before any designated court at any place however far removed from the home of the accused and however far removed from the scene of the alleged offence. (This not only makes it difficult for the defence to call witnesses and to obtain circumstantial evidence, but it is also prejudicial to the morale of the accused who, in the case of the thirty-six, are a thousand miles from their homes and families.)

4. It is further provided that any person charged under this Act shall be tried by a judge without a jury (Clause 5. (a)); that any person accused under this act "shall be tried summarily without a preparatory examination" (Clause 5. (b))—i.e. without being committed by a magistrate or indicted; that "no person detained in custody . . . under this Act shall be released on bail or otherwise" (Clause 5. (f)).

5. Clause 5. (h) provides that an accused acquitted of the initial charges, may be tried again for the same actions under a different provision. In most civilized countries this is known as "double jeopardy."

6. One of the most callous and reprehensible provisions of this Act is that of Clause 6. (1). This provides that a commissioned Police Officer may cause any person to be arrested and detained without warrant at any time and at any place, and be held in detention for interrogation until the Commissioner of Police is "satisfied that he (the detainee) has satisfactorily replied to all questions." It is significant that questions have to be answered "satisfactorily", not truthfully. There is precedent for this in other South African legislation—e.g. the No Trial Act of 1963.

7. The brutal and sometimes fatal methods of police interrogation in Southern Africa are notorious. *Habeas corpus* has always been highly embarrassing to such police matters. *Habeas corpus* is therefore abolished by Caluse 6 (5)): "No court of law shall pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under this section, or order the release of any detainee."

8. The treatment of detainees is cast into deeper doubt by Clause 6. (6), which provides that no person other than the Minister of Justice or some other official of the State, "shall have access to any detainee, or shall be entitled to any official information relating to or obtained from any detainee." This means that neither next of kin, nor the church, nor even legal counsel, are entitled to information about the well-being or whereabouts of a detainee as of right.

9. Not even a fortnightly visit by a magistrate is guaranteed for a detainee, since Clause 6 (7) states that such visits may occur only "if circumstances permit."

10. Another of the more abhorrent clauses of the Act is the ex-post-facto provision in Clause 9 which makes the Act retroactive to 29th of June, 1962—i.e. *any lawful* action taken after the 27th June, 1962, may now be declared to be unlawful and *liable to a minimum sentence of five years and a maximum of death*.

11. Some of the accused had been detained for many months when the Terrorism Act was gazetted on 21st June, 1967; six days later (27th June, 1967) the accused were brought to trial in terms of the Act, each being served with a forty-page indictment with detailed schedules drawn up in terms of the Act.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST, AFRICA
DEPARTMENT,
New York, N.Y., Nov. 14, 1967.

MEMORANDUM

From: Kenneth N. Carstens.
Subject: Costs of Trial of Thirty-Six South West Africans in Pretoria.

The trial is costing approximately $15,000 (fifteen thousand dollars) a month. Five counsel are employed by the attorney. It is anticipated that the trial will end in January or February.

In view of the international legal status of South West Africa and the possible illegality of the trial as a whole, an appeal is almost certain to follow; further funds will be needed for this purpose.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 9, 1967]

JUSTICE, SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

South Africa's white minority government is about to stage the last act of an outrageous offense against civilized behavior, social and legal justice and international law.

Thirty-five black defendants from South-West Africa are facing possible hanging sentences for "terrorism" under circumstances that can only be described as monstrous. These men are not South Africans and have committed no offense in South Africa. They were seized in Ovamboland in South-West Africa, hauled some 2,000 miles by train to Pretoria, then held incommunicado—many for more than a year—while the South African Parliament passed the "Terrorism Act" under which they were to be tried, and made it retroactive to 1962.

A person arrested under that act is guilty unless he can prove his innocence "beyond a reasonable doubt." The penalties for conviction are the same as those for treason, including death. The range of "terrorist" activities is so sweeping that a man can be convicted if his alleged offense is adjudged "to embarrass the administration of the affairs of state." Any police officer can arrest anyone without warrant and detain him indefinitely if he has reason to believe the person is a "terrorist." There is no habeas corpus, no bail under any circumstances, no right to consult an attorney until arraignment. No outsider, not even his wife, can have access to the person arrested or any information about him.

It is not surprising that the South-West Africans, bewildered intimidated, most of them illiterate in Afrikaans and English, concluded it was impossible to prove innocence under this law and closed their cases last month without giving evidence. Three of them pleaded guilty to some of the charges (one of the 37 original defendants died during the trial and one was acquitted). All that the remainder can do when the trial resumes Monday is to give statements in mitigation or explanation of their alleged offenses.

The Terrorism Act would be condemned by decent men everywhere, even if applied only to South African. It violates ten or more articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But the law was plainly designed as an instrument of terror for consolidating South Africa's control over territory it has never owned.

Pretoria has administered South-West Africa since 1920 under a League of Nations mandate. Acting as the League's successor, the United Nations General Assembly last year terminated the mandate and South Africa's right to administer and legislate for the territory, with only South Africa and Portugal dissenting. South Africa proceeded eight months later to pass the Terrorism Act, applying it specifically to South-West. The Pretoria Government has also announced that it intends to take over certain functions it had permitted a South-West legislative assembly to exercise.

Can the United Nations and the United States prevent South Africa from getting away with this "trial"? An aroused world opinion might yet have at least a restraining effect on the Vorster Government and on the Supreme Court in Pretoria, as it did at the Rivonia trials of Nelson Mandela and others in 1964.

The United States should condemn the whole rotten procedure, not in a private visit by a cautious ambassador to the South African Foreign Office but publicly in the strongest terms. The hour is late and this is not very much but it is the least Washington can do in this situation and preserve its self-respect.

Adolph Rosenberg, War Correspondent, Southern Israelite

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, for 16 years, Dixie Business magazine has been presenting a "Public Service in Reporting Award" to outstanding men and women in the field of journalism. These awards have recognized the noteworthy contributions made by these men and women in the southeast through the daily press, wire services, radio and television.

Hubert F. Lee, for 39 years the editor of Dixie Business, has announced that the 1967 award will be presented to Mr. Adolph Rosenberg, editor and publisher of the Southern Israelite, a distinguished newspaper published for the Jewish community in Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Rosenberg, as president of the American Jewish Press Association, was in Israel for the association's annual convention when the June 5, 1967, war broke out. He was cast into the role of war correspondent in a high spot in history.

Editor Lee said in making the announcement:

> The delegation of editors he headed brought the only boost from the outside to the Jewish nation, and only history can say what effect the encouragement he gave had at a most psychological moment in Israeli history.

Mr. Speaker, past winners of this award have included some of the most distinguished journalists in the Southeast. They include: Keeler McCartney, the Atlanta Constitution, 1952; Ralph O'Leary, Houston, Tex., Post, 1953; Max B. Shelton, Houston AP bureau, 1954; no award in 1955; Stephen Trumbull, Miami Herald, 1956; John Pennington, the Atlanta Journal, 1956; Ted Pearson and Ed Lee, Mobile, Ala., Press-Register, 1958; Jack Nelson, now Los Angeles Times, 1959; Norman Shavin-Mike Edwards, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 1960; Martha Frances Brown, DeKalb, Ga., New Era-Record, 1961; Hal Hendrix, Miami News, 1962; Charles Pou, Atlanta Journal, 1963; Paul Jasper, Pensacola News, 1964; the American War Correspondent, 1965; Ray Moore, WSB–TV, Atlanta, 1966.

So that the other Members of this body representing the southeastern States, and those from other States, may share in our pride for Mr. Rosenberg for being given this, I include in the RECORD the clipping of an article from Dixie Business magazine describing Mr. Rosenberg's exploits. The article follows:

ADOLPH ROSENBERG, "WAR CORRESPONDENT," SOUTHERN ISRAELITE

(By Tom Greene)

Holy shrines of all faiths recently captured by Israel in its war with the Arabs will be made accessible to everyone, the president of the American Jewish Press Association has predicted here.

Adolph Rosenberg, editor and publisher of the Southern Israelite who was in Israel when the fighting broke out, said based on past experiences, he is "quite certain that in time the Israelis will make it possible for Jordanians, Egyptians and anybody who wants to" to visit the captured shrines.

The previously Jordanian-held Old City of Jerusalem which Israel captured during the fighting contains Moslem as well as Jewish and Christian shrines.

Mr. Rosenberg, who was in Israel conducting a convention of the American Jewish Press Association when hostilities boke out, related his experiences to the Atlanta Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, national journalism society Tuesday night.

"I spent a year and a half planning this convention, and if you think anything at all happened the way I planned it," he quipped, "then you are quite mistaken."

Mr. Rosenberg said that the Israelis "literally were sitting ducks" because they do not border on one friendly country.

"It still is inconceivable to me," he said, "that not at one spot along this far-flung border was there a breakthrough (by the Arabs), because a breakthrough could have meant a monumental disaster."

The Jewish country had lived under pressure from the Arabs for 19 years, Mr. Rosenberg said, and "they were determined that if there was any possibility for a change in this picture . . ." and his voice trailed off.

Many of the Jewish soldiers who fought in the conflict were reservists, he said, who preferred not to be fighting at all. But most of them "had been robbed of their parents by the Nazis" and you could tell from looking into their eyes that "they were determined that they would never be annihilated."

Mr. Rosenberg said he was "proud that these were Jewish people" and that he "felt as an American that they were fighting our war" by making a stand in the Middle East.

Atlanta Journal political editor Charles Pou and general assignment reporter Margaret Shannon received an unusual joint award from the SDX chapter for "distinguished service to journalism."

Mr. Pou and Miss Shannon were awarded the quarterly Quill Award for their stories on Georgia prison conditions and practices of the State Pardon and Parole Board.

International Trade and Labor Policy in Developing Countries: Trade Not Aid

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. David A. Morse, Director General of the International Labor Office—ILO—is a world authority in the field of international labor policy. In a speech at the University of Pittsburgh, October 19, 1966, Mr. Morse turned his attention to one of the most difficult problems of international economic policy: how we permit developing countries to help themselves through trading in world markets, rather than simply relying on programs of government financial and technical aid to promote their development. Mr. Morse's speech, entitled "Labor Policies and the Development of International Trade" is a significant contribution to the dialog in this extremely important area.

Mr. Morse bases his speech on evidence that underdeveloped countries are falling increasingly further behind the developed countries in terms of per capita income and economic growth, which occurs particularly because of the slow growth of their exports and instability of world prices for their raw materials. He believes that both public economic assistance—that is typical government-to-government aid programs—but also private capital investment will be far from sufficient to finance economic development. The answer, he believes, is "to look to increasing their trade in foreign markets." Indeed, this is essential if their newly acquired political independence is to be anything more than a facade concealing their real dependence on the donations of the richer nations of the world. This continuing dependence, he believes, and the economic and social backwardness of the developing countries "constitutes by far the most dangerous threat to world peace and that in this sense at least, an extension of world trade could prove to be a powerful weapon in favor of peace."

To promote economic development and peace requires industralization. And along with industralization Mr. Morse believes that there must also come social and labor policies to support industralization measures. Mr. Morse says—

> It is only recently that governments . . . have begun to realize that a well conceived social policy is not merely a luxury, not merely a burden on the economy; it should be seen as an investment in human capital, the returns of which are quite as valuable for the economy as investment in physical capital.

In so doing Mr. Morse believes, and I agree, that—

> One cannot expect labor relations in the developing countries to be exact reflections of procedures in the United States or Western Europe.

It should be the aim of developing countries to devise wage and social security policies, regulations governing hours of work, and other labor policies which do not burden the developing economy with excessive labor costs but which contribute to more equitable distribution of income, based upon proper compensation for work performed. This provides adequate incentive for social mobility, and the economic base of consumer demand on which to build a diversified industrial economy and higher rates of per capita income.

Now all of this seems to depend on the developing countries finding markets for their exports. Mr. Morse's opinion is that "there is no immediate danger of world markets being swamped by a wide range of manufactured products from developing countries." He believes that the industrialized countries would themselves have much economically and socially to gain from a new international division of labor, implemented with the assistance of policies that first, utilize the opportunity to swap jobs in less productive industries for new jobs in industries with advanced technology; and second, insure that those who do not share in this advantage directly will not lose through such a development and therefore not oppose it. Finally, Mr. Morse believes that such a "progressive labor policy" should be accompanied by policies to avoid sharp disruption of labor in established industries, and that it is the obligation of Government to encourage the development of adequate programs including, if necessary Government programs, such as the American Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 which he cites, to cope with problems of adjustment to economic demand for new skills.

Finally, I would like to emphasize Mr. Morse's comment about international labor standards, or internationally agreed rules of good labor policy.

These—

He says—

> represent one form of international action in the social field which has bearing on international trade. . . . In order to set minimum standards of social protection and welfare but also in order to discourage "social dumping" in the form of exports produced by sweated labor.

The article referred to follows:

Labor Policies and the Development of International Trade

(Address by David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labor Office, Sidney Hillman Memorial Lecture, University of Pittsburgh, October 19, 1966)

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I come to the University of Pittsburgh to deliver an address at your Fall Assembly. The fact that this lecture is part of a series bearing the name of Sidney Hillman is of great importance to me personally. Historians know full well the part Sidney Hillman played in the development of the United States during an important stage of its industrial growth. Those of us who have been directly concerned with labor matters know even more about Sidney Hillman the man, and the work that continues as his memorial. He would be happy to know of the great effort in education being undertaken by labor and business alike of which the program of the Sidney Hillman Foundation is part. He would be proud of a nation with a total enrollment in its public and private schools and college in the order of 56 million this Fall, with six million students in colleges and universities such as this great institution. Sidney Hillman would be the first to appreciate the impressive factor that education represents in the cultural and economic life of the United States. Thus, it is with a feeling of fond memory for Sidney Hillman that I offer my comments on the topic of "Labor Policies and the Development of International Trade."

I am aware that, in choosing to speak on a theme as a complex as this, I am venturing on to some particularly dangerous ground. The development of international trade is a subject which is fraught with many unsolved problems and difficulties. In addition, the close connection between trade and labor questions has on many occasions given rise to a number of sensitive political and social issues in the main trading nations of the world. I do not need to remind this audience of the fact that the attainment of such social objectives as full employment, general prosperity and high standards of living is, in virtually every country of the world, heavily dependent on the country's ability to find outlets for its products on the world market. Nor do I need to remind you of the effects which labor troubles can have on a country's trading position. My objective is to draw attention to some of the labor problems which will have to be faced in all parts of the world as part of the process of an expansion and change in the patterns of world trade and to suggest means of coping with such problems.

It is becoming increasingly clear that it is urgently necessary, for both economic and political reasons, not only to expand the volume of world trade, but also to enable the developing countries to benefit more fully from readier access to world markets. It has long been recognised that trade is an important element in international relations. This is as true today as it ever was. But today the problem arises in a new context. With the accession to political independence of large numbers of new states in Africa and Asia the international community of 1966 has become a markedly heterogeneous constituency of nation states, in which nations both rich and poor, large and small, have full participation, with equal voting rights, in such organs as the General Assembly of the United Nations. The consolidation of the votes of what were 75 and have since become 77 developing countries at the 1964 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has thus brought to the worlds' attention in a more concrete and dramatic form than ever before the aspirations of the two-thirds of the world's population that live below standards we wish for ourselves. And it has resulted in specific substantive proposals being made for actively expanding and changing current world economic relationships in favour of the developing countries. These proposals can no longer be dismissed out of hand as mere outcries from the have-nots. There are some very compelling reasons why the rich nations of the world should sympathetically consider the demands of the poor, and why they should go at least some way towards meeting their demands.

Not the least of these reasons is that unless new trading arrangements can be devised to the benefit of the developing countries, their efforts at economic development will be checked, hampered, or even nullified by a shortage of foreign exchange. Statistics indicate that the underdeveloped countries of the world are falling increasingly further behind the developed countries in terms of per capita income and economic growth. Among the factors contributing to the widening of this gap is the severe restraint which is being placed on the economic growth of the developing countries by the slow growth of their exports and the instability of world prices for raw materials, which still constitute today the bulk of these exports. The resulting balance of payments difficulties have seriously curtailed their capacity to import the capital goods and equipment which are essential for their industrial development and consequently for developing new export potential. It is, of course, true that the developing countries continue to benefit from quite considerable flows of capital, both public and private. Nevertheless, it is estimated that more than half the inflow of development finance is now being offset by a return flow in the form of amortisation, interest and dividends. And as George Woods, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has stated, the developing countries can effectively absorb each year at least $3 to $4 billion more of development finance than they can currently obtain. The point I am trying to make is that not only public economic assistance but also the investment of private capital is far from sufficient to finance the economic development of the third world.

In the face of these conditions the developing countries have no alternative but to look to increasing their trade in foreign markets. Indeed, this is essential if their newly-acquired political independence is to be anything more than a facade concealing their real dependence on the donations of the richer nations of the world.

All these facts are sufficiently well known and need no further elaboration on my part. However, it is not enough to acknowledge the facts; it is also important to act on them. And the real initiative now lies with the developed countries. Of course, it could be asked why the rich countries need to go to the trouble and inconvenience of opening their markets to increased imports from developing countries. It would indeed be conceivably possible for them to isolate themselves in a small prosperous trading club, continuing to distribute charitable aid to the developing countries, but otherwise making no effort to improve these countries' trading position. To continue on this path would not only be fatal for the economic development of the third world; it would also, in the long run exacerbate the tensions and frustrations which have already begun to manifest themselves among the poverty-stricken populations of the developing countries. If these tensions and frustrations cannot be relieved by concrete achievements in the field of economic and social development they are likely to result in outbreaks of violence and social upheaval leading to such widespread chaos that all nations, rich and poor, would be affected. I do not think I am over dramatising the situation by saying this.

I am convinced that the economic and social backwardness of the developing countries constitutes by far the most dangerous threat to world peace, and that, in this sense at least, an expansion of world trade could prove to be a powerful weapon in favour of peace.

It is for this reason above all that I think the rich nations of the world need to face positively and constructively the challenge presented to them by the demands of the developing countries for a larger share in the benefits of world trade. Of course, the problems raised are not easy to solve. The difficulties in reaching agreement in the current Kennedy Round of negotiation point up the limitations still hampering trade liberalisation even among the industrialised countries themselves. Nevertheless, in February of 1965, G.A.T.T. adopted a protocol amending the General Agreement according to which the developed contracting parties agreed to accord high priority to the reduction and elimination of barriers against the products of less-developed contracting parties, not to introduce or increase such barriers, to take the same attitude toward fiscal policy and to consult in cases of dispute. The test will be in how these provisions will be followed in national practice. Even more challenging to the good intentions of the developed countries is the question of giving *preference* to the exports of the developing countries in their markets, now being considered seriously for the first time. The conciliation machinery provided for in the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development may well make it possible for mutually satisfactory trading arrangements between the developed and the developing countries to be worked out on the basis of procedures which focus on such divisive issues as preferences rather than either avoiding them on attempting to impose the will of a purely numerical majority. It is interesting to note that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.), primarily a grouping of Western industrialised nations, recently convened a meeting of its Trade Committee to discuss tariff preferences.

It would seem therefore that some initial steps at least have been taken towards a new international division of labour that no longer casts the developing countries in the role of suppliers of raw materials only. The apparent caution with which the interested parties are approaching the question may not be altogether unjustified or unwise. Nevertheless, for the reasons I have stated, the problem is an urgent one, and every effort must be made to overcome as rapidly as possible the difficulties and obstacles that lie in the way of an expansion of world trade.

This brings me to the central thesis of my remarks. In my view the ease with which an accelerated transition to new patterns of world trade can be made depends to a very large extent on whether developed and developing countries alike are able to devise labor and social policies to deal with the problems posed by radical change. For it is not enough merely to state that new patterns of trade are desirable; we must also seek reasonable ways of assisting this transition.

The problem facing the developing countries is essentially one of building up viable export industries. Before the developing countries can improve their trading position they need to produce, and at competitive prices, goods that are in demand on the world market. And they can only improve their competitive position by achieving an increase in productivity and a greater diversity of output—in a word through *industrialisation*. Indeed, it is no coincidence that parallel to the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the developing countries have sought, and obtained the creation of another new organization in the United Nations family with special responsibility for promoting industrialisation—the United Nations Organisation for Industrial Development. For there can be no adequate expansion of the trade of the developing countries without industrialisation; and their industrialisation will not progress unless there are markets open to their industrial products.

But I would take this argument one step further. I would also say that the success of the industrialisation efforts of the developing countries, and consequently the improvement of their trading position, depends on their ability to develop *social and labor policies* which are consistent with, and which back up, such economic measures as they may take to promote industrialisation. There have been examples of countries whose social policies have been too ambitious, too complex or too costly for their economies to support. At the same time, other countries have ignored the need for constructive policies of social promotion and adjustment, with disastrous consequences for their industrialisation and economic development programmes. But it is only recently that governments—and this applies to governments of advanced as well as developing countries—have begun to realise that a well-conceived social policy is not merely a luxury, not merely a burden on the economy; it should be seen as an investment in human capital, the returns of which are quite as valuable for the economy as investment in physical capital.

To be more explicit, I would say that there are generally speaking, in the developing countries four main obstacles of a social nature to technological change and industrialisation. One is the *ignorance* of the broad masses of the population which makes them incapable of acquiring the new skills for work in industry, or of applying new techniques in agriculture. The second is the *lack of social mobility* which effectively prevents the emergence of entrepreneurs and other dynamic leaders of an industrial society. The third is the *failure to invest resources,* often concentrated in the hands of certain limited and privileged sections of the population, in the most productive fashion. And the fourth is the *inadequacy of institutions and procedures* for enabling all sections of the population to participate in the work of production and modernisation.

The aim of a social policy is such countries should be to remove these very powerful brakes on economic and social development. It should aim at developing and planning educational and training programs which will produce a labor force that is adequately skilled for the occupations which are most needed for the development of the country's industries, and in particular, its export industries. It should aim to develop government services in the industrial and rural sectors, as well as institutions such as co-operatives, trade unions, peasants' associations, community development programs and so on which can gradually modify the traditional social structures and make the population as a whole more receptive to social and technological change.

Finally, it should aim to devise wage and social security policies, regulations governing hours of work, and other labor policies which, without burdening the economy with excessive labor costs, can contribute to a more rational distribution of income; which can provide adequate incentives for social mobility; and which can build up a stable, contented and productive labor force. In this process, co-operation between workers, employers and governmental authorities is crucial, as it is in already industrialised countries notwithstanding variations in institutional or political structure. One cannot expect labor relations in the developing countries to be exact reflections of procedures in the United States or Western Europe. But the collaboration of all concerned with industrialisation is no less important to the extensive effort of developing export industries.

That, very briefly is how I would sum up the essential ingredients of a social policy for industrialisation and consequently for an improvement in the trading position of the developing countries. Experience has shown that policies of this nature are difficult to devise, and even more difficult to apply. I, as Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, am only too well aware of this. Yet experience has also shown that unless an active social policy which is consistent with the imperatives of economic development can be devised; unless appropriate measures are taken to prepare the population as a whole, industrial as well as rural workers, educationally as well as psychologically, for industrialisation; unless it proves possible to break down social resistance to change; unless a solid institutional framework is set up to facilitate the modernisation process, little lasting progress can be made in developing a viable, more highly productive economy that is able to compete in world markets.

Of course, the success of the developing countries in their efforts to expand their trade, and particularly their exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, will depend very much on the access their exports have to the markets of the industrialised countries. I have already suggested why it is politically important that the industrialised countries should not adopt a negative, protectionist attitude to the demands of the developing countries in this respect. I would add, too, that the industrialised countries would themselves have much economically and socially to gain from a new international division of labor, implemented with the assistance of policies directed toward two objectives: first, to take advantage of the emergence of industries abroad by utilising the opportunity to accelerate the swapping of jobs in less productive industries for new jobs in industries with advanced technology; secondly, to ensure that those who do not share in this advantage directly, will do so indirectly—or at least that they do not lose—thus reducing opposition to the importation of industrial products from the developing nations.

There is, as I see it, no immediate danger of world markets being swamped by a wide range of manufactured products from developing countries. The range of products which the developing countries will be able to export in any quantity and at competitive prices will for many years to come remain very narrow. Nevertheless, as their export industries develop, so will their demand for capital equipment and the products of more capital-intensive and "sophisticated" industries in which the developed countries have the advantage. Therefore, competition from low-wage countries does not pose a general threat to over-all employment or living standards in the high-wage countries. The problem is really one of the possible "disruptive effects" of competition in particular markets. In essence, sharp increases in imports, over a brief period of time and in a narrow range of commodities, may be very harmful to particular producers, both employers and workers, and may thus have serious economic and social repercussions in the importing countries. It is with these repercussions of structural change that those formulating policy in the industrialised countries should be concerned, rather than in perpetuating a protectionist position.

Now, I am not attempting to minimise the problems that would arise for certain sections of the population in such countries as the United States as a result of such a radical change in trade policies as I am advocating. Certain industries, certain categories of workers and certain regions will be seriously affected. Nevertheless, these problems are not new. They are problems of *structural change* that any growing industrialised economy has to face in this day and age. In particular, I suggest that the difficulties which would result from an accelerated liberalisation of trade would be qualitatively similar to, and quantitatively smaller than, the difficulties which highly industrialised countries are already facing today as a result of automation or other structural changes. The economy of the United States has in recent years undergone many far-reaching changes of this nature. The centre of the textile industry, for example, has shifted from New England towards the Southern States. Defence spending is today concentrated very largely on industries in Texas and the West Coast, whereas it is not so long ago that industries of the Middle West received the bulk of defence orders. Automation has already brought about the redundancy of many skills and the disappearance of certain industries. All these changes are far greater than those that would result from trade liberalisation.

Whether the problem arises as a result of automation or of new trade patterns, the cardinal principle of labor policies to meet the problem must be that structural change should not take place at the expense of individuals who may lose their jobs or their businesses. The cost of any necessary adjustments to alleviate hardships and to maintain the buoyancy of the economy should be assured by the community as a whole, and governments must be prepared to formulate and implement appropriate measures in order to help people to train for, to find, and, if necessary, to move to, new jobs. This approach which I suggested at the 1964 U.N.C.T.A.D. Conference has a major goal that of providing adequate adjustment measures for all displaced workers. Such measures are of three general types: those which seek to promote a re-deployment of the labor force, in terms of occupations, industries, and areas, and which may be termed collectively as an *active manpower policy;*[2] those which seek to ensure the redevelopment of areas whose populations depend for their livelihood on a declining or even disappearing industry;[3] and those to ensure the income maintenance of workers who are forced into a premature retirement or who are undergoing retraining.

The industrialised nations of North America and Western Europe have in recent years developed legislation and acquired a considerable amount of experience with measures of this nature. The 1962 Trade Expansion Act in the United States, for example, gives the President powers to implement a wide range of measures for the training or retraining of workers laid off; for the income maintenance of displaced workers; for the relocation of workers; and for the conversion of industries and enterprises to other products. Other measures taken in the United States and other industrialised countries, while not specifically directed at facilitating trade expansion, are also relevant. Thus, the provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act, and the special measures adopted for the Appalachian region in the United States are designed to cope with problems of depressed areas such as might arise in the event of further trade liberalisation. Many Western European countries have adopted similar measures for the development or redevelopment of backward areas. [The Manpower Development and Training Act—which was more specifically designed to cope with automation problems, and which is paralleled by similar and, in some cases, even more far-reaching measures in Western Europe—is yet another example of the type of government intervention to maintain full employment in a changing economy.]

I shall not attempt to give you a complete catalogue of legislative and other measures taken by governments to deal with problems of structural change in industrialised countries. I think the point I am trying to make is clear. Governments of advanced countries have developed and are continuing to develop, policies and mechanisms to promote and facilitate adaptation to structural change. No doubt much remains to be done, and our knowledge of the problems and the appropriate measures particularly in the labor and social field is not yet perfect. But the developed countries do have the means to accommodate imports from the developing countries without seriously disrupting their economies and thus to reap both the political and the socio-economic benefits of increased trade. Their standard of living has gone up so much in the last 20 years that measures which would have seemed generous in the 1940's are now quantitatively miserly and patently dated. Expenditure on training and retraining, removal grants, severance pay, unemployment compensation, employment services can no longer be regarded as wasteful, but must be recognised as an investment in adaptation to structural change, in overcoming obstacles to the fullest and most productive utilisation of resources. Should not labour and social policies be used as actively as monetary and fiscal policies when dealing with variatons in economic activity or fundamental fluctuations resulting from structural change? We need to seek new ideas in this spirit and we must develop the will to apply them.

Quite understandably, workers are anxious to keep their jobs, certain businessmen are fearful of increased competition from overseas and governments are hesitant to assume commitments to continuing and increasing expenditures. What is now, I think needed above all in the industrialised countries is a vast educational campaign, in which political groups, organised labour and industrial leaders as well as governments could also play a key role, to familiarise the population as a whole both with the need for trade expansion and with the measures that can be taken to mitigate its harmful effects on individual members of the community and turn such expansion to advantage through an enlightened adaption policy.

So far I have focused my remarks on the types of labor and social policies which need to be taken *at the national level* to facilitate an expansion of international trade. I would like now to examine the need for, and the possible scope of, *international action* in the social field which can contribute to this end. While governments have in the last 20 years been singularly resourceful in setting up machinery at the international level to negotiate new trading arrangements, the social component of international trade has all too often been left out of account in their negotiations. And while it is true that the development of social policy is, and must remain, the prerogative of the governments of sovereign states, there is nevertheless a need for *co-ordinated* action in the social field if trade agreements are to yield the results that are expected of them. Such co-ordinated action might conceivably take the form of a fund in which all nations would participate, based on a levy on production or national product, administered by an international organization and designed to mitigate hardship by facilitating the social adjustments resulting from trade expansion.

In short, I do not think that the expansion of international trade can be ensured merely by international tariff agreements or international agreements on the prices of raw materials. As I have attempted to point out earlier, such agreements can become more effective when they are backed up by social policies which will make them workable and acceptable. That is why I think international machinery for action in the social field needs to be used to the full, and to be brought into close collaboration with such bodies as G.A.T.T. and U.N.C.T.A.D. and to complement such progressive instruments as the 1962 "Long-Term Arrangement regarding Trade in Cotton Textiles." This is why the *International Labor Organization* has, I feel, an important supporting role to play in the development of international trade. It has for many years been attempting to develop a constructive approach to social policy in all countries, developed and developing.

Moreover, it provides the only forum where the voices of workers and employers, the parties most directly affected by changes in world trade, as well as those of governments, can be heard at the international level.

Much of the I.L.O.'s work has already had a direct bearing on the development of world trade. It has, in recent years, been assisting developing countries in the elaborations of social policies which are appropriate for their industrialisation; and, as far as the industrialised countries are concerned, it has in the past few years been engaged in a program of action to mitigate the social effects of automation. Nevertheless, I believe that the I.L.O.'s unique tripartite machinery could be used more fully to promote a truly world-wide awareness of the social aspects of world trade.

International labor standards, that is, internationally agreed rules of good labor policy, represent one form of international action in the social field which has a bearing on international trade. Indeed many of the I.L.O.'s existing Conventions on such questions as minimum wages, social security and general working conditions were originally conceived not only in order to set minimum standards of social protection and welfare but also in order to discourge "social dumping" in the form of exports produced by sweated labor. However, experience has shown that in effect the main value of such standards has been their influence on the distribution of the fruits of production, and thus their contribution to social harmony and stability; their influence on international trade has been, generally speaking, far less significant.

There is however another type of international labor standard which may contribute more positively to the objective of expanded international trade. These are standards concerning Vocational Training, Employment Policy, and the Termination of Employment which have been adopted by the International Labor Conference in recent years, and which articulate policy rules recognised as beneficial and therefore desirable. The Employment Policy Recommendation, for instance, spells out in some detail the type of policies the developed and the developing countries should adopt to achieve the objective of full employment. Another subject for a future instrument of this type might be wages policy, a question which is of great topical interest to developed and developing countries alike, and which, of course, has an important bearing on international trade. Such an instrument might on the one hand set out in some detail the principles of a wages policy which is consistent with the industrialization programs of the developing countries; and on the other hand deal with some of the issues which are arising in industrialized countries in respect of "incomes policies" and their bearing on balance of payments problems.

I wonder, too, if new methods of supervision could not be introduced in respect of instruments of the type I have just described. Perhaps for these instruments it might be more appropriate to replace or supplement the I.L.O.'s existing *legal* supervisory machinery by a periodical *technical* review of the problems encountered in the implementation of the instruments. This might create a greater world-wide awareness of the labor and social implications of trade liberalization and stimulate new thinking and new policies to combat such problems, thus facilitating the transition to new trade patterns.

I believe too that the I.L.O.'s *Industrial Committees* could play a most useful role in the development of trade in specific industrial sectors. These bodies which are composed of governments', employers' and workers' representatives from a wide range of countries were set up to examine at an international level the labor problems which arise in a given industry. Some of them, the Textiles Committee for example, have already considered the social implications of changes in international trade in the industry concerned. But so far they have had little opportunity to engage in a systematic examination of the labor policies that need to be adopted in both developing and developed countries as a basis for an expansion and adjustment of trade in the products of the industries concerned. Nevertheless, this is an important role which they could play, in full collaboration with G.A.T.T. and U.N.C.T.A.D., as and when these latter bodies adopt decisions affecting a particular industry. Or, indeed, their review of the labor problems of trade in a given industry might on occasions precede G.A.T.T. and U.N.C.T.A.D. negotiations, in order that government trade negotiators might be fully aware of the magnitude and nature of the social problems involved and the feelings of workers and employers in the industries concerned.

Finally, I believe that the practical technical co-operation provided by the I.L.O. to the developing countries in such fields as manpower planning, vocational training, management development, co-operative development, wages and social security and so on has greatly contributed to improving their trading position, by assisting in the development of appropriate policies and procedures. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to suggest that parallel to these efforts, the I.L.O. might be in a position to give assistance to the industrialised countries on their social adjustment problems, when requested to do so. Certainly, the I.L.O. performs a valuable service as a clearing house for information and as a research institution for the study of such matters as the factors affecting labor mobility or redundancy procedures—two studies which were undertaken by the I.L.O. for the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the United States Department of Labor.

It is not only at the world-wide level that new trading arrangements are being worked out. There has in recent years been increasing interest in *regional economic groupings* and in achieving a division of labor among countries within particular geographical regions. Work with this objective in mind has begun in the United Nations regional economic commissions, and in more embryonic form, through such media as the Latin American Free Trade Association (L.A.F.T.A.), the Central American Common Market, and groupings in Africa on the regional and subregional level. But the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) is by far the most advanced example of a concerted economic and social effort. The adaptation of employment to shifts in the currents of trade within the Common Market have proved remarkably and unexpectedly smooth and easy. The main reasons for this phenomenon appear to be firstly that a high level of economic activity and employment has prevailed, so that finding new jobs for displaced workers has not been difficult; secondly that measures were formulated for the early transitional period which ensured that changes did not occur faster than the repercussions thereof could be absorbed; and thirdly that the Treaty of Rome provides for a free movement of labor among member countries as well as other measures to facilitate labor mobility, including a fund for retraining and resettling workers.

We must remember, of course, that the member countries of the Common Market are at relatively similar stages of economic and social development—a quite advanced one at that—and that any comparison with a Latin American, Asian or African context must take into account both the lower levels of the latter two areas and the disparities within each region. But the main lesson of the Common Market experience is that the differences between member countries with regard to labor standards and social policies which prevailed have not constituted insuperable obstacles to rapid progress toward economic integration. What has been found necessary is a *harmonisation* rather than a standardisation of social policies. This is perhaps the main lesson to be learned from the E.E.C. experience, not only with regard to regional economic groupings, but also for trade at the world-wide level. Unless more energetic steps are taken to harmonise or to co-ordinate social policies through an international body such as the I.L.O., I fear that efforts to devise new directions in world trade will never be fully effective.

If I have laid such emphasis on the possibilities of international action in the social field, it is not because I think that this is in any way a substitute for *national* action to facilitate trade expansion. International action such as I have suggested can only point out possible solutions to certain problems; it can only propose a concerted international approach to these problems. But national authorities, in co-operation with national trade unions and national businessmen, alone are competent to devise the detailed policies and measures which will make new directions in trade possible.

We look to a country such as the United States, with its vast wealth and its enormous resourcefulness and generosity, to give a lead in making these changes in world trade possible. I realize that the implementation of the appropriate policies such as I have outlined would involve outstanding international statesmanship and a large measure of domestic political courage on the part of the developed countries. However, difficulties of implementation should never be regarded as permanent or inalterable factors in public affairs. Such difficulties are, in reality, strictly relative to the priorities accorded to the objectives in question. For example, when the full danger of the political and economic situation of Western Europe after the last World War was understood by the citizens of the United States, this nation adopted and implemented policies of the magnitude of the Marshall Plan with a determination that overcame the unprecedented economic burden and the political adjustments such action posed for the United States. The case for co-operating with the economically underdeveloped world today is quite similar. The problem is that the industrialised countries have yet to show by tangible action their realisation that this terrible poverty of two-thirds of the world requires co-operation with regard to trade as well as aid. The problems of structural adjustment raised by a changed pattern of international trade have not been faced with the sympathy reserved for problems which are domestic in origin nor has a comprehensive policy approach to all aspects of structural change been attempted. Such a comprehensive approach could provide the basic principle for a co-ordinated utilisation of the growing arsenal of corrective measures and mechanisms which have been developed and implemented in Europe and in North America and the availability of expertise at the international level.

I cannot believe that the talent assembled in this room and in similar centres of learning and industry across this prosperous and vital nation will not commit their support to an effort that is concerned with mutual benefit as much as benevolence. For the suggestions that I have discussed today can certainly be supplemented by the results of objective research and creative thinking that is independent of, yet that does not ignore, political considerations. I am convinced that the need is great and that we are up to the challenge. I hope my talk has at least conveyed that basic point; perhaps I have indicated some steps forward as well.

Nasser's Game Threatens World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the season of Christmas, it is sad to note that the Egyptian dictator seems bent on precipitating another tragic Israel-Arab conflict in the land where Jesus was born.

President Nasser of the United Arab Republic is playing a dangerous game. When the drubbing he took in last June's lightning war is recalled, it is unbelievable that he would invite another encounter with the Israelis.

Yet the Economist of London reports from Jerusalem that "few Israelis now see any way to avoid another war and they expect it sooner than later."

Israel blames Nasser for recent acts of terrorism against Israelis by gangs operating from Jordon. With the Israelis firmly ensconced on the Suez within easy striking distance of Cairo itself, Nasser has no stomach for another desert war on his own territory. King Hussein, a big loser in last June's conflict, wants to keep the terrorists in check, but according to the Economist, the King's efforts are "being eroded by Nasser's new-thrust to regain the initiative in Middle East affairs."

"Israel will take only so much," says the Economist, pointing out that peacemaking efforts in the United Nations "must come up against the fundamental urge to destroy Israel."

That is the crux of the problem. Nasser is unwilling to recognize Israel's right to exist.

There is going to be trouble in the Middle East as long as Israel's security continues to be threatened by its neighbors.

If the Arab and non-Arab countries were left alone to work out their problems by themselves they doubtlessly would have a better chance to work out a peaceful and lasting solution. They have everything to gain by cooperating with each other instead of fighting.

Unfortunately, there always have been too many outsiders who have found it profitable to meddle in the situation. The Soviet Union, for one, appears to have vested interest in Middle East strife. And lately General de Gaulle has joined Russia on the Arab side. De Gaulle has put out his own warped version of the war last summer, accusing Israel of being the aggressor.

Not content with keeping Britain out of the European common market, stirring up discord in Canada and trying to destroy the American dollar, De Gaulle, by his statements, has helped increase the tensions in the Middle East.

If he accomplishes nothing else, De Gaulle may take away the Soviet Union's title as champion international troublemaker.

Nasser may feel that Russian and French support will give him a better chance next time against the tough armed forces of tiny Israel. He is said to have acquired ground-to-ground missiles with a range of 250 kilometers and 1 ton of TNT warheads. It is reasonable to assume, in the light of recent public remarks of one Israeli official, that Israel will be able to retaliate in kind. As more sophisticated weaponry is brought into play, the always dangerous Middle Eastern situation will have an even greater potential for involving the great nuclear powers.

This is why the game Nasser is playing is so hazardous, not only for himself and the Israeli but for the rest of us throughout the world.

Clare E. Hoffman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to the Congress in January 1947, I was assigned to the Committee on Government Operations. The chairman of that committee was the unforgettable Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan. Mr. Hoffman possessed a keen mind and a dynamic and unique personality.

The membership of the Government Operations Committee at that time was composed of some of the outstanding leaders in the history of the U.S. Congress. Yet, quite often Mr. Hoffman would call for comments on important issues from those of us at the foot of the table. As often as not he would call upon me—the least in seniority—to question witnesses before the committee and then gradually work up to my senior colleagues.

The unusual was a characteristic of Mr. Hoffman, but always he was fair and had the welfare of our country constantly in mind. Under his leadership, and often it was stormy and controversial, our committee wrote the most important piece of defense legislation of this entire era. The Unification Act passed this committee and became law in 1947. All of the great generals and admirals of our Armed Forces appeared before the committee. The law called for a Department of Defense with a Secretary of Defense—a civilian with the necessary power to unite our Armed Forces and establish a defense program.

Serving with Mr. Hoffman as chairman was an invaluable experience, one that I will always cherish and shall certainly never forget. He was a great American who served during critical and tough times.

Mr. Hoffman encouraged me to speak out and stand alone if necessary. I believe that I am a better Congressman and that this House is a greater body today having known and associated with Clare E. Hoffman.

Mr. Hoffman's first allegiance was to his country, our Constitution, and our great private enterprise system. He often disagreed, and did not hesitate to do so, with the policy of his own party as readily as he did with the Democratic Party.

I attribute some of Mr. Hoffman's love of country and his greatness to the fact that he liked the great out-of-doors. He was a sportsman and lover of nature.

Although Mr. Hoffman lived more than a full life, I was shocked and saddened at his passing. He was a warm personal friend and one to whom I shall always be grateful, as he was a father to me in the 80th Congress.

Mrs. Dorn and my family join in extending my deepest sympathy to his family.

South Vietnam Must Finish Revolution Before War Can End

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article from the Boston Globe summarizing a speech by George C. Lodge, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and now affiliated with the Harvard Business School. In an address to the Massachusetts Federation of Republican Women, Mr. Lodge stated that the revolution in the South Vietnamese Government that started in 1954 must be completed before any real victory is possible in Vietnam.

Mr. Lodge, who has just returned from Vietnam, pointed out that the popular support of the Central Government must be the mainstay of stability and progress. He stated that this does not now exist in South Vietnam, and indicated that he does not believe that U.S. efforts are directed in any way toward creating this type of national unity, and that the South Vietnamese Government is actually destroying the possibility of unity and support as they seek to bolster their power.

The thought that South Vietnam would still be in chaos even if North Vietnam were out of the picture is indeed an interesting and somewhat disturbing idea and in the light of our current efforts, one which needs the most careful study. I recommend Mr. Lodge's thoughtful analysis for my colleagues' consideration:

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION PREVENTS WINNING OF WAR, LODGE CLAIMS

(By Frank Mahoney)

George C. Lodge charged today that the United States will never win the war in Vietnam until it forces the South Vietnamese government to finish the revolution it started in 1954.

Speaking to some 100 members of the Massachusetts Federation of Republican Women he said there are actually two wars in Vietnam.

The former State Department consultant, who only recently returned from Vietnam, said one war is being fought by the military.

"This war is a conventional one and we are winning it but it will only end when Ho Chi Minh decides he's had enough and goes underground, which he will do. This war is just a screen for the real battle," he said.

The other war is against terrorists and this war we can't cope with because the people themselves are so afraid of the Viet Cong they will not cooperate with us in any way, he said.

"We will not even begin to fight the war against the guerrillas until we force the South Vietnamese to finish their revolution and form a cohesive government and a nation with national pride and everything else that goes to make up a nation," Lodge told the women.

This is the one thing the Viet Cong are trying to prevent because they know that if an independent, democratic nation is founded finally in South Vietnam, their cause is lost, he said.

"The government," Lodge said, "has not even begun to cope with this problem of uniting a fractured, fragmented society of 15 million people into a nation of proud, nationalistic people."

Describing the people, he said they do not know what it is like to be a nation and their own government has aided in keeping them ignorant by destroying the villages in the name of land reforms because they were an obstacle to a central government.

"Our approach has been up to now literally spew material goods in fantastic quantities into South Vietnam only to see most of it end up with the Viet Cong through the black market or through it being given away in fear," he said.

"We have literally built thousands of school houses in Vietnam, stocked them with books and teachers to no avail. It is only now, looking at our ghettos, that the government is beginning to realize a school house, with books and teachers does not mean you are educating the students."

Lodge called for the exploiters, who own the rice mills and control business in Vietnam to "be put to the wall."

He claimed they are the men who are holding up the completion of the revolution and preventing the setting up of a strong economic and political structure.

Lodge said that if Vietnam is an issue in the upcoming campaign, the only topic should be that of forcing the completion of the revolution which will end both wars in that country.

He said that although arguments can be made for de-escalation, more or less bombing, getting out altogether, or even why are we there in the first place, they are not the issues that must be debated.

He said the debate over Vietnam is really a debate about ourselves, the credibility gap, "a debate about our American way of government."

Lodge said that Americans, long pragmatists, now need an ideology—a doctrine—which even religion now fails to provide. The end result is the politician must supply it."

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Ninetieth Congress will be published not later than Tuesday, January 2, 1968. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H–112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

The Proud Record of the 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 90th Congress has adjourned and leaves behind solid accomplishments, some unfinished business, and some unanswered questions.

To my mind, there is ony one yardstick to assess the accomplishments of any session of Congress: Have the American people benefited from our actions?

Is American society more secure, our institutions more purposeful, our commitment to the American future more clearly defined by our labors here?

I believe this session of Congress can answer both of these questions in the affirmative.

I know there are some who claim otherwise, and view our achievements in comparison to the historic 89th Congress. And, of course, in relation to the unprecedented record of the 89th Congress, few other sessions in our history would appear productive.

But the 90th Congress has compiled a fine record in its own right. We have approved over 40 major administration proposals.

In fact, a number of landmark bills—some signed into law and some now pending—such as the Consular Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, truth-in-lending, wholesome meat, public broadcasting, are some of which were stalled in the historic 89th Congress.

A Congress consists of a 2-year period. By the time we finish our work next year, the 90th Congress will rank high among the most productive Congresses in our history.

Last January, there was talk about whether the American people could meet their commitments both at home and abroad. Could we have both progressive domestic legislation and adequate national defense.

This Congress has answered that question affirmatively. And we have done so not through legislative quantity, but by practicing legislative quality.

We have focused our legislative sights on areas of the most pressing national needs. And by intensive review and study we have helped to improve, and often redirect, new legislative programs passed in previous sessions.

We began this session with 47 fewer Democrats than we had in the 89th Congress—and these 47, as a group, had a 75 percent favorable voting record on administration proposals.

But in spite of this significant loss in support, and in the face of persistent Republican opposition of a big majority of the Republicans on nearly every proposal offered by the administration and the Democrats, the 90th Congress has performed very well indeed. This Congress has enacted legislation of historic importance to the health and well-being of the American people. The first session of the 90th Congress has, against difficulties, made substantial progress.

It has met its responsibilities in the field of health.

The Congress enacted the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967 authorizing $589 million for fiscal 1967–70 for grants to the States for comprehensive health planning and service, including a $40 million authorization intended for rat control projects in fiscal 1968–69. The Comprehensive Health Planning and Services Act of 1966 authorized grants to States to be used for whichever health services each State deemed most important. The 1967 law extends these programs at expanded authorization levels. It also initates a new program of Federal licensing of clinical laboratories dealing in interstate commerce and establishes a program of grants for research and demonstrations to develop more efficient health services and facilities.

We passed the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967 providing a total of $281.8 million for fiscal years 1968 through 1970, including $19 million in new authority for fiscal 1968. These funds will be used for university-affiliated construction, $50 million; community centers, $80 million; staffing, $88.8 million; education for the handicapped, $55 million; and the training of recreation teachers, $10 million. A portion of the university facilities constructed under the law can be used for research activities. Two percent of the funds for the construction of community mental retardation centers can be used to pay for the cost of administering the program at the State level. Four million dollars of the funds for training physical education and recreation teachers may be used for demonstration projects in this area.

We have passed the Air Quality Act of 1967 which authorizes $428.3 million for Federal air pollution control for fiscal 1968–70. Of the total authorization, $125 million is earmarked for fiscal 1968 and 1969 for research on pollution caused by fuels combustion. Public Law 90–148 greatly enlarges the existing Federal responsibility for air pollution control. It authorizes a 2-year study of the impact of national emissions standards. It also authorizes the Secretary of HEW in time of imminent and substantial danger to public health from air pollution to seek a court injunction against the continued emission of such pollutants as might be necessary to protect the public health. The Secretary of HEW is authorized to designate air quality control regions throughout the country, provide full Federal financing for regional control commissions to be established by State Governors, and empowers him to enforce air quality standards in the control regions, if the regional commissions fail to enforce guidelines for air purity which are to be supplied by HEW. It requires the registration of all fuel additives with the HEW Secretary. Moreover, fuel manufacturers are required to notify the Secretary of the type, concentration, and purpose of all additives which are used in their fuels. It provides that automobile exhaust standards can be issued only by the Federal Government except in California which is permitted to enforce its own more stringent control standards. Finally, the measure provides for Federal support for State automobile pollution control device inspection program.

It has met its responsibilities and its obligations to our senior citizens.

The Congress amended the Social Security Act to provide an across-the-board increase of at least 13 percent for all social security beneficiaries with minimum monthly benefits being increased from $44 to $55. This is the largest increase in social security benefits in 32 years. It also raises the amount of outstanding permissible earnings for social security beneficiaries from $1,500 to $1,680. To finance these liberalizations, the taxable wage base is raised from $6,000 to $7,800. There is also created a 60-day, lifetime reserve and hospital benefits under medicare but with the requirement that the patient pay $20 a day toward the cost of this coverage. The estimated cost of the increased benefits is $3.6 billion for the first full year of operation. There are some controversial provisions which can receive future considerations.

We have enacted the Older Americans Act providing for an extension of the Older Americans Act of 1965 for 5 years through fiscal year 1972. It authorizes appropriations of $10,550,000 for fiscal 1968 and $16,950,000 for fiscal 1969 for community aging programs, and appropriations of $6.4 million in fiscal 1968 and $10 million in fiscal 1969 for research, demonstration and training programs. Finally, it authorizes the Secretary of HEW to conduct a study for the need of training personnel in the field of the aging.

The 90th Congress has likewise acted to bar discrimination against workers between the ages of 40 and 65 because of their age.

The Age Discrimination Act of 1967 enacted by this Congress, bars discrimination against workers or potential workers between the ages of 40 and 65 because of their age. It prohibits employers, employment agencies, and labor organizations from engaging in any discriminatory practice in hiring workers between the ages of 40 and 65. The investigation and enforcement of the provisions of the act are similar to those of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Any aggrieved individual, as well as the Secretary of Labor, is authorized to bring court action against a violator if the Secretary of Labor has failed to bring voluntary compliance through conciliation. The Secretary of Labor is also authorized to carry out an education program to reduce the barriers to employment for older workers. A $3 million annual appropriation is authorized.

The first session of the 90th Congress also acted to meet its responsibilities to the consumer.

Congress enacted into law a strong program of Federal standards in inspection of meat and meat products. This measure authorizes a program of Federal-State cooperation to bring State meat inspection systems to a level comparable to the Federal inspection system. States would be required to initiate meat inspection at least equal to Federal requirements. If a State failed to design and enforce such a program within 2 years, the Agriculture Secretary would be authorized to assume actual inspection of the State's plants doing intrastate business. The measure also contains emergency authority for the Secretary to impose Federal inspection of any intrastate plant which is processing meat dangerous to the public.

Congress acted to strengthen the 1953 Flammable Fabrics Act in order to cover all wearing apparel and home and office interior furnishings made of fabric or related materials. It also provided for more flexible operation of the 1953 law. The Government will now be able to force a halt to manufacturers' sales of goods not meeting standards set by the Secretary of Commerce. In addition, for the first time, interior furnishings are covered in order to provide protection against dangerous materials in drapes, bedding, blankets, upholstery, and other products. There is authorized to be appropriated $1.5 million for fiscal 1968 and $2,250,000 for each of fiscal years 1969 and 1970 to implement the legislation.

We also acted to establish a seven-member National Commission on Product Safety. The Commissioner would be appointed by the President and is directed to identify categories of household products which may present an unreasonable hazard to consumers. It is also directed to study the effectiveness of existing State and Federal law in controlling such products and to report to Congress its findings and recommendations 2 years after the resolution is enacted. Two million dollars is authorized to be appropriated to cover expenses of the Commission.

The Congress also acted to meet its responsibilities in the field of education.

Congress acted to extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for an additional 2 years with an authorization larger than that ever before provided.

The Education Professions Development Act extended title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965, including the Teacher Corps and a teacher fellowship program, and created four new teacher training programs effective in fiscal 1969.

In fiscal 1968, $33 million; $46 million in fiscal 1969, and $56 million in fiscal 1970 is provided for the Teacher Corps. In addition, the new law specifies that the recruitment, selection and enrollment of Corps volunteers must be carried out locally and that the colleges and universities under contract with the Commissioner of Education would act as a clearinghouse for applications and could aid the local institutions in promoting the program. There is authorized $50 million in fiscal 1969 and $65 million in fiscal 1970 for grants to the States to enable them to assist local educational agencies in attracting persons into teaching; $195 million for fiscal 1969 and $240 million for fiscal 1970 is provided for graduate fellowship programs in education and program development grants under the Higher Education Act of 1965. There is authorized for fiscal 1969, $70 million, and for fiscal 1970, $90 million, for grants to State and local agencies and colleges in order to carry out a variety of inservice training programs aimed at improving the professional qualifications of personnel in elementary and secondary schools. Finally, the 1967 Education Professions Development Act provides $21.5 million for fiscal 1969 and $36 million for fiscal 1970 in grants to institutions of higher learning for the training of personnel, either teachers or administrators, in institutions of higher learning.

The Congress also passed legislation to continue and expand the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. This measure authorizes $500 million for fiscal 1969 and $600 million for fiscal 1970 for grants to States for basic vocational rehabilitation for 247,000 people in 1969 and 278,600 in 1970. Also extended was a program of grants to States for statewide planning in rehabilitation. These grants will insure that each State has a basis for developing service programs so that by July 1, 1975, each State will be able to furnish vocational rehabilitation to all those in need of it. In addition, the 1967 Vocational Rehabilitation Act authorizes two new programs—one, a program of grants for pilot projects to provide vocational rehabilitation to migrant workers, the other to establish a new national center for deaf-blind youths and adults.

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 provides for a 3-year extension of the 1960 law authorizing Federal grants to construct educational television broadcasting facilities. The 1967 measure also includes educational radio broadcasting. There is authorized to be appropriated for these purposes a total of $38 million; $10.5 million for fiscal 1968, $12.5 million for fiscal 1969, and $15 million for fiscal 1970. The new public television law also provides for the establishment of a nonprofit, nongovernmental Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This Corporation will strengthen and improve educational radio and television by providing an independent source of funds to produce programs and operate and interconnect stations. The Corporation is authorized to provide financial aids to noncommercial stations to produce educational radio and television programs. It can also make payments to local educational stations to help produce local programs and meet other operating costs. It is likewise authorized to arrange for systems to connect separate stations regionally or throughout the Nation to permit distribution of educational programs. A $19 million appropriation is authorized for fiscal 1968 to finance the activities of the Corporation.

We enacted Public Law 90-154 which extends for 1 year to June 30, 1968, the period during which the Federal Government can finance the total cost of interlibrary cooperation programs, State institutional library services, and library services to the physically handicapped. After June 30, the Federal Government will pay 50 percent of the program costs and State and local governments will be required to pay the remaining 50 percent.

The first session of the 90th Congress also met its responsibilities to aid and assist the economically deprived and depressed.

The **Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967, the antipoverty program,** authorizes the continuation of the economic opportunity program for 2 years through fiscal 1969, with an authorization of $1,900,000,000 for fiscal 1968 and $2,181,000,000 for fiscal 1969. It contains a new provision requiring that after February 1, 1969, community action programs shall, except under unusual circumstances, be carried on by local governments. It also earmarks $25 million for a program to feed the hungry, and authorizes a new program of day-care centers to assist working mothers.

The Congress acted to provide a 2-year extension of the food stamp program by authorizing $200 million for fiscal 1968 and $225 million for fiscal 1969. This outstanding program, initially enacted on a pilot basis in 1961 and established on a 3-year basis in 1964, enables low-income families in both the urban slums and depressed areas to purchase government-subsidized stamps which increases their food-buying power at grocery stores. This program has permitted these citizens to supply their children with something approaching the basic nutritional diet necessary for sound physical and mental growth. Its continuation was truly a great humanitarian gesture on the part of the Congress.

We passed the Appalachia Redevelopment Act amendments of 1967. This measure authorizes appropriations of $1.7 million for fiscal 1968 and 1969 for administrative expenses of the Appalachian Regional Commission. In addition, it authorizes an appropriation to the President of $715 million for the 4-year period ending June 30, 1971, an increase of $175 million over the existing authorization for the same period, for the highway program. For the nonhighway program, there is authorized for fiscal 1968–69 an appropriation of $170 million. Of this amount there is authorized up to $50 million for expanded demonstration health programs, up to $19 million for land stabilization and conservation programs, up to $2 million for hardwood research programs, up to $2 million for the water resources program, up to $26 million for vocational education programs, and up to $6 million for sewage treatment plants. Up to $97 million is provided for supplemental grant programs which will allow Federal payments of up to 80 percent on projects covered by existing grant-in-aid programs. A $5 million revolving fund is established for technical assistance grants and loans for up to 80 percent of initial planning and management costs of low and median-income housing projects. Twenty counties in Mississippi, two in Alabama, and one each in New York and Tennessee were added to the Appalachian Region. In addition to extending and modifying the Appalachia program, this law also provides for the development of comprehensive long-range economic planning by the five regional commissions established under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. There is also established a new program see were added to the Appalachian regions. There is authorized a total of $75 million for this new supplemental grant program.

The Congress also acted to meet its responsibilities to both the Government civilian employees and the armed services.

Congress passed the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 providing a first-step raise of 6 percent for 725,000 postal employees and a 4.5 percent increase for 1.3 million classified workers retroactive to October 1, 1967, making various adjustments in postal rates, establishing a commission on executive, legislative and judicial salaries whose function will be to review salaries of Federal executives, Members of Congress and Federal judges and submit a report of its views and recommendations to the President, and making it illegal for Federal officials to hire a relative. In addition, postal employees will receive a second pay increase of 5 percent in July of 1968, and the President would be authorized to give classified employees adjustments in July of 1968 to close one-half of the difference between their salary levels and comparable private enterprise salary levels. The final third phase adjustment is provided for July of 1969 for all Government employees to bring their salaries up to a par with private enterprise salaries.

Congress also enacted a military pay bill. It provides for an increase in the monthly pay of servicemen, effective October 1, 1967, a 4.5 percent increase for regular compensation, including basic pay, quarters, and subsistence allowance. Further, it provides for automatic military pay raises in the future that would correspond to salary increases for Federal civilian employees.

The first session of the 90th Congress acted to meet its responsibilities to our veterans.

We enacted into law the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967. This measure gives veterans and their dependents a cost-of-living increase in pension payments, provides full wartime rates of compensation for those injured during the Vietnam era, and pensions for those who become disabled, higher educational allowances for veterans attending college under the cold war GI bill and a number of new training programs under that law.

We acted to meet our responsibilities in the international field.

Public Law 90–7, Food for India, approved the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, the OECE, and FAO, in international efforts to develop a self-help approach to the war on hunger, to assist India to achieve food self-sufficiency, and to help meet India's critical food shortages by providing agricultural commodities and other resources needed for food procurement or production. It also authorized the provision by the United States of up to 3 million tons of food grain to India, provided it was appropriately matched, and provided for the allocation of approximately $190 million in calendar year 1967 to cover the estimated cost of the grain. It also authorized the President to provide an additional $25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American volunteer agencies.

Public Law 90–88—the Inter-American Development Bank—authorized an additional U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank of $900 million over a 3-year period—fiscal 1968–70. This will cover the U.S. share of the $1.2 billion increase in contributions to the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank agreed to at the Inter-American summit conference at Punta del Este last April. It represents a $150 million increase over the 3-year period compared with the previous level of the U.S. contribution.

The Congress in the Foreign Aid Authorization Act provided an authorization of $2,674,614,000 for foreign economic aid and military assistance for fiscal 1968.

We acted to extend the Peace Corps and authorized an appropriation of $115.7 million for this organization during fiscal 1968.

The Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967 extended the interest equalization tax for 2 more years. This measure is aimed at relieving the chronic U.S. balance-of-payments deficit by making it more expensive for foreigners to borrow from U.S. sources. The new law also gives the President the authority to eliminate the tax or set it at any level up to 50 percent above the current amount of the levy.

The Congress also acted in a responsible manner in the area of fiscal policy.

We faced up to our responsibilities in the fiscal area by twice raising the debt ceiling. Public Law 90–3 raised the temporary national debt ceiling limit from $330 billion to $336 billion through June 30, 1967. Public Law 90–39 increased the permanent national debt limit to $358 billion effective in fiscal 1968. It also provided a $7 billion increase in the temporary debt limit to $365 billion in subsequent years. In addition, it required that the face amount of participation certificates issued by the Federal National Mortgage Association for itself or other agencies for fiscal 1968 be included under the debt limit, and finally it permitted the Secretary of the Treasury to issue notes with a maturity of up to 7 years rather than the existing 5 years.

Congress met its responsibility to our cities. Appropriations for $10 million for rent supplements and $312 million for model cities was provided. In addition, an additional $750 million was provided for urban renewal, $165 million for water and sewer facilities under the community facility program, and $175 million for the urban mass transit program. The low-rent public housing program was continued.

Congress also met its responsibilities to small business. Public Law 90–104 amends the Small Business Act to increase the amount of loans, guarantees, and any other obligations or commitments which may be outstanding at any one time from Small Business Loan and Investment Fund, and to give small business investment companies access to more SBA money. The maturity for regular business loans made for constructing facilities was also increased from 10 to 15 years.

We have likewise met our responsibilities for the general public interest.

Congress acted to end the first nationwide railway strike in more than 20 years. Public Law 90–54 authorized the President to create a special board to mediate the rail dispute for the first 30 days of a 90-day period. If the parties did not reach agreement at the end of that 30-day period, the board was directed to hold hearings on the April 22 report of the special mediation panel. The board was then directed to make recommendations based on the April 22 report, if no accord were reached by the 60th day, and to submit them to the President and the Congress. If by the 91st day the parties had not reached an agreement, the terms recommended by the board would take effect. These recommendations would remain in effect until the parties settled their dispute, or until January 1, 1969, at the latest.

Congress also met its responsibilities in the judicial field.

We enacted legislation establishing a Federal Judicial Center to further the development and adoption of improved judicial administration of Federal courts. This Center will study court operations, develop recommendations for the Judicial Conference of the United States, stimulate and conduct training programs for judges and other judicial branch personnel, and provide staff assistance to the Judicial Conference. The Center is to be supervised by a board composed of the Chief Justice as permanent chairman, the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts as a permanent member, two active Federal court of appeals judges, and three active Federal District judges.

It met its responsibilities to the District of Columbia. Reorganization Plan No. 3 replaced the existing three District of Columbia Commissioners with a single Commissioner and a nine-member City Council, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This organization plan went into effect on August 11, after the House on August 9 rejected by a rollcall vote of 244 to 160 a disapproving resolution. It will greatly increase the efficiency of the government of the District of Columbia.

It also met its responsibilities in the field of natural resources.

We enacted into law a measure authorizing additional appropriations for the saline water conversion program, from $90 million to $106 million for fiscal 1968 and authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct test bed facilities, and clarifying existing provisions in the law relating to the sequence of water conversion facilities to be constructed by the OSW.

We authorized the nuclear desalting plant. This measure authorizes the Interior Department to participate in the construction of a very large nuclear power and desalting plant in southern California. There is authorized to be appropriated $57.2 million as the Interior Department's share of the project's total cost of $444.3 million. The plant is to be built in cooperation with the AEC, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and three California power companies. This southern California project offers the prospect of the first large-scale application of nuclear energy to the desalting process, the first large combined power and desalting plant, and the production of an unprecedented volume of commercially competitive desalted water.

This session of the 90th Congress has also dealt responsibly with the problems and opportunities surrounding America's role as a force for peace in the world.

The overwhelming majority of our Members, on both sides of the aisle, stand firmly with President Johnson on Vietnam. I think we would all agree that the United States has amply demonstrated its sincere desire to negotiate a peaceful and honorable conclusion to the terrible struggle in that troubled land. And I think we would agree further that the onus for peace now rests squarely with Hanoi.

It is Hanoi, not Washington, that has turned down more than 36 proposals for ending the fighting. It is Hanoi, not Washington, that refuses to even consider the possibilities of negotiations until all fighting stops and all allied troops withdraw from the South.

Vietnam is a painful and costly war. But there can be no quick and easy solution. In the meantime, the United States is determined to stay the course, fulfill its commitments, and uphold the principle upon which our intervention is based; namely, that the Communists do not have an open invitation to commit aggression upon weak and underdeveloped nations.

This Congress has demonstrated its support of the administration's position by both word and deed.

We have provided a $70 billion defense appropriation, the highest in our history, to keep our Nation secure at home and abroad. We have quickly passed H.R. 9481, a $12.1 billion supplemental appropriation for support of the military effort in Vietnam.

In addition, we have passed an $843 million military construction bill.

We acted to extend the military draft and related statutes for 4 years to July 1, 1971. The new law changes the name of the 1951 Universal Military Training Services Act to the Military Selective Service Act of 1967. Besides extending the draft for men ages 18½ through 26, or up to 35 for those who receive deferment, it continues the authority to issue special calls for physicians and dentists to age 35 when they have been deferred for professional education. It also suspends the permanent limitations on the active duty strength of the Armed Forces. The President would be prohibited from ending college undergraduate deferments unless he found that restriction or termination of such deferments was necessary in view of the Armed Forces' manpower needs. The President's existing authority to prescribe criteria for the granting of graduate and occupational deferments was continued. The measure also directs the Department of Justice upon the request of the Director of Selective Service to proceed as expeditiously as possible to prosecute draft law violations and requires that the Justice Department, in the event it failed to honor the Selective Service Director's request, to inform Congress in writing as to its reasons for failing to do so.

I submit that this is not the record of an indifferent, indecisive, or irresponsible Congress. It is the record of a determined Congress, determined to overcome political negativism and obstruction to support the leadership of the Johnson administration during these troubled times.

There are some who say "Congress should do more."

This could be said of every Congress, including the 89th. For no matter how much we accomplish, it is never enough so long as one American lacks opportunity or education or a decent house and future.

But by every realistic assessment, I think we can be proud of what we have accomplished during the past 11 months.

This Congress has performed well in spite of loud and persistent opposition from those committed to the proposition that we possess neither the funds, resources, or the will to build toward the progressive and humanitarian American society our people envision.

But I would also be less than candid if I leave the impression that we have completed the priority items on the legislative agenda. We shall return in January to confront several vital, unfinished matters. I am speaking, of course, of the tax surcharge proposal, truth-in-lending, and the safe streets act, among others.

The American people need this legislation. And I think they shall have it before the 90th Congress is finished.

In the meantime, we can assure President Johnson that the majority in this Congress will continue to support the legislative program of his administration. And we shall continue to do so, not out of blind partisanship or unthinking loyalty, but out of a conviction that this President and this administration reflect the real hopes and aspirations of the American people.

National Destruction Legalized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, the San Diego Union was most accurate in its description of the effect of the Supreme Court's decision regarding Communists in defense plants. The Court has truly legalized national destruction, completely ignoring the allegiance sworn by Communists to foreign powers.

It is certainly time for Congress to act to restore confidence in our national security, and this should be one of the very first actions at the beginning of the new session in January. The San Diego, Calif., Union article of December 13, 1967, follows:

NATIONAL DESTRUCTION LEGALIZED—HIGH COURT AGAIN AIDS ENEMY

It is strange and frightening that while thousands of our young men have died in Southeast Asia to close the door to communism the Supreme Court of the United States of America opens it wide at home.

There can be no other effect of the Supreme Court decision which declared unconstitutional another part of the Subversive Activities Control Act. The decision will let members of Communist action groups work in the nation's defense plants.

Six mature men on the Supreme Court followed the lead of Chief Justice Earl Warren, who said, "It would be indeed ironic if in the name of national defense we would sanction the subversion of one of those liberties—the freedom of association—which makes the defense of the nation worthwhile."

No nation in the world offers the freedom of individual speech, assembly and association that prevails in the United States. There is, however, a limit to indivdual actions consonant with the self survival of the nation and the rights of all other persons.

A person who threatens the President of the United States quickly learns the limits on freedom of speech. He should. A person who consorts with a robber or conspires to commit a crime quickly learns the limits of freedom of association.

The Constitution of the United States clearly defines sedition and treason. Communists, who seek to overthrow the United States, are guilty on both counts. And persons who conspire with them by joining their action groups are equally guilty.

Even the current Supreme Court decision recognized the dangers of communism by saying Congress could draft more specific laws to "keep from sensitive positions in defense facilities those who would use their positions to disrupt the nation's production facilities."

All defense positions are sensitive. Would the pilot of an American airplane in Vietnam feel comfortable flying an aircraft on which Communists worked?

The current Supreme Court decision is an alarming continuation of a trend. Just six years after the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act, the sedition laws of 42 states were declared invalid. A year later Communists were given more leeway in urging overthrow of the U.S. government.

In 1958 the Supreme Court ruled passports could not be withheld from suspected Communists. Two years ago Communist finally won their legal fight and do not have to register with the government.

Last year the court made it nearly impossible for a person to lose citizenship, even if he deserts the service during a time of war or votes abroad.

In short, because of Supreme Court decisions, Communists now can subvert freely, act freely and even travel abroad to undermine the United States. They have been given license to destroy the country that shelters them.

The Supreme Court has gone about as far as it can go. If Congress at the next session cannot write stringent anti-subversion laws because of the court's restrictions, the Constitution should be amended to accomplish this end.

See Your Congressman This January—Where and When

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, personal contact with constituents is not only helpful to Members of Congress but is also one of our most important duties.

Ever since I first came to the Congress in 1951 I have made district tours in nonelection years, nonpartisan in nature, open to all, on prearranged and well-publicized schedules, to make myself available to any group or individual with questions, problems, or comments on any and all matters.

Due to the late adjournment of Congress in 1967, it has been necessary to schedule the tour immediately after the holidays, in the first week of January 1968. And due to Congress coming back into session in January 1968, it is impossible to spend as much time on the tour as I would like.

However, the following schedule has been worked out to cover as much ground as possible in the time available:

On Tuesday, January 2, 1968:

Frankfort, the GAR room of the Clinton County Courthouse, 9 a.m.

Lebanon, the GAR room of the Boone County Courthouse, 2 p.m.

Indianapolis, the auditorium of the city-county building, 7 p.m.

On Wednesday, January 3, 1968:

Crawfordsville, the Community Room of the Union Federal Savings & Loan Association, 221 East Main Street, 9 a.m.

Danville, the Assembly Room of the Hendricks County Courthouse, 2 p.m.

Indianapolis, Holiday Inn West, 4665 West 16th Street, 7 p.m.

On Wednesday, January 4, 1968:

Martinsville, the city hall, 9 a.m.

Franklin, the city hall, 2 p.m.

Indianapolis, Holiday Inn South, 520 East Thompson Road, 7 p.m.

Year 1968 holds many problems which concern all Americans. Our troop strength in Vietnam is going to increase to almost 600,000 men. Congress will have to consider an administration request for some sort of a personal income tax increase. Inflation continues to shrink the consumer's dollar.

I am going to my constituents for their comments, questions and problems, and do my very best noting the comments, answering the questions, and doing all I can to help solve the problems.

A Program for Victory at Home and Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, on December 7, 1967, William E. Galbraith, national commander of the American Legion addressed the AFL–CIO convention in Bel Harbour, Fla. The date of Commander Galbraith's remarks was most appropriate since they were delivered on the 26th anniversary of a date none of us will ever forget.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend that my colleagues read carefully the remarks made by Commander Galbraith since they thoughtfully consider many of the problems which we in Congress are facing today:

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM E. GALBRAITH, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE AFL–CIO CONVENTION, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., DECEMBER 7, 1967

President Meany, distinguished guests, delegates to this seventh Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, again may I express the appreciation of The American Legion for the courtesies you have extended to us through the years, and the opportunity to participate in these biennial sessions of the mighty American Labor movement.

We of the Legion always have enjoyed the inspirational and hard-hitting message of labor normally brought to our own National Convention by President Meany, and we regret that emergency meetings, hastily called in the nation's capital during the period of our 1967 National Convention, forced him to cancel his appearance at our Convention. Certainly we are hopeful that he will be able to with us on the platform of our 50th Annual National Convention next September in New Orleans.

That Convention will mark the kick-off of a planned 15-month observance of a half-century of service to America by The American Legion, and we are proud of the many members of organized labor within the ranks of the Legion who will be sharing this celebration with us.

Speaking of anniversaries, this very day itself is the 26th anniversary of a date in America history which the world would rather forget, but which the conscience of free men will nevert let us forget. This is the day which then President Franklin D. Roosevelt told us would live in infamy, for it was on this day, December 7, 1941, that the dastardly attack on Pearl Harbor plunged America into the most costly, the deadliest and most devastating war the world has ever known.

An outraged America sent her sons to war. As the American military mobilized the greatest fighting machine in the history of the world, American labor and industry sprang into action to provide the ships, the planes, the weapons and the materials needed to spark that military machine to victory.

America was strong and united, as she had to be, to successfully withstand the most fanatical onslaught ever launched against human decency and human dignity.

America needs to be as strong and as united today, as she was then, if we are to withstand the threat to freedom as posed by international communism, and I'm sure that the men and women of the American labor movement are well aware that we are confronted with this threat not only in the combat areas of Vietnam but here on the home front as well.

Dissension, despair and poverty provide fertile ground for communist agitation, and while we know that open aggression by the communists must be stopped—and it is being stopped very effectively in South Vietnam—we must maintain a constant alert here at home to counter the more insidious manifestations of communism, the subversion of our own society.

A not too subtle example of subversion from within was the recent shameful demonstration in Washington, D.C., when several thousand "peaceniks" descended on the nation's capital and made an abortive attempt to cripple the Pentagon. Undoubtedly there were a few well-meaning citizens who went to Washington thinking they were going to participate in a legitimate and orderly demonstration.

They should have known better if they read any of the advance publicity given to this miserable demonstration, but they went anyway. The Viet Cong flags displayed by some of the demonstrators, the call for a moment of silence to the memory of the Cuban communist revolutionary Che Guevera, the scrawling of obscenities around the Pentagon by a completely undisciplined mob, and the reporting of the event which was deplored even by many liberal newsmen, one of whom described it as a bad day for peace, should convince the innocent and the sincere that they were badly duped.

American Labor, I'm sure, is in accord with the feelings of The American Legion, that in this great country of ours there is room for honest differences and doubts, and room for the honest, thoughtful and responsible airing of those differences and doubts. I'm sure we can find further accord in the feeling that when demonstrations lead to sabotage, vandalism and violence, dissent vecomes dishonest, the right to remonstrate loses the element of responsibility, and the nation is threatened with anarchy.

These demonstrations have been described, and accurately so, as assaults upon the government. Both the American Legion and American Labor have, from time to time, taken issue with positions held by our government, but we have never considered the undermining of our government to be a proper or responsible means of dissent.

We know enough about our system of government and its operation to know that it cannot survive conditions of anarchy any more than can any other system of government. We know enough about this system to recognize that while it may have its shortcomings it still provides its citizens the greatest degree of freedom any people have ever enjoyed in any period of human history. We know that there are orderly processes prescribed for the righting of such wrongs as do exist, and we know that these procedures must be followed by all people who live under our system.

We know we are dealing with two major problems in America today, problems which are separate and distinct in themselves but which some people have attempted, and I believe mistakenly so, to combine into a single cause. One is purely a domestic problem, and extremely important one, and that is the matter of the civil rights of not only minority groups in this country, but of all disadvantaged Americans. The other is in the field of national security and foreign relations, and concerns our involvement in Vietnam.

There is no logical, meaningful manner in which these two problem areas can be related.

While the problems themselves are unrelated, the solutions to both are vitally important to the continuing strength and well-being of America. We believe the experts in both fields, and here we must of necessity discount the self-styled experts, could make substantial contributions to those causes in which they are knowledgeable by concentrating their efforts on those causes which they know.

The fact that both problems do have a bearing on the future of America automatically makes them matters of concern to The American Legion. We are a service organization. We have no product to sell, no axe to grind, and a single standard by which to determine our programs and our policies and that is by what we believe in our own hearts and minds to be in the best interests of America. This is the reason for our concern.

We believe there is but one course for America to pursue in Vietnam, and that is the road to victory. As many of you know, I returned to this country just eight weeks ago from an intensive tour of the combat areas of Vietnam. From my personal observations and conversations with our own leaders, military and civilian, I am convinced that we are on that road today.

The critics of this course have a narrow view of the war in Vietnam, seeing it as an isolated situation and failing to connect it with the international communist conspiracy which seeks to engulf the free world. We who defend our country's position claim the dissenters are doing a disservice to our fighting men in Vietnam. Some of the dissenters defend their position with the argument that all reports from Vietnam say the morale and spirit of our men is excellent, and, if this is the case, where is the disservice. This again is a narrow viewpoint which ignores the obvious, in that dissension here at home encourages the communists to continue fighting. Every new day of conflict brings new casualties, and, in my book, endangering the lives of our servicemen is as clear a disservice as could possibly be performed.

Really, there is no need for me to go into further discussion of The American Legion position on Vietnam before this audience. You are quite familiar with it, and we know that it coincides with the position of the AFL–CIO as has been voiced by President Meany on many occasions, and with considerable force and eloquence.

Our most recent National Convention in Boston simply strengthened our prior resolutions on Vietnam and advocated those courses of action which we believe have the greatest potential for hastening the fighting in Vietnam to a successful conclusion.

You, and we, are well aware of the stakes involved in Vietnam for we know that these stakes are much higher than just the freedom of South Vietnam for we firmly believe that this is a battleground involving the future freedom of all mankind.

The battle is going well in Vietnam, but how goes the battle here at home?

Rioting in some of our major cities has amounted in some cases to near insurrection. Ill-advised, often lawless, and always harmful demonstrations are taking place in our cities and on college campuses. Such performances place added demands upon the time and attention of our regular law enforcement agencies, sometimes making it necessary to call upon our National Guardsmen and Federal troops to help maintain or restore order. It is readily apparent that the battle on the home front is not going as well as on the scene of actual conflict. Marine General Victor Kulak says: "There is no stalemate in Vietnam, the stalemate is in the United States."

There are no pat answers to this problem, nor are there any quick, surefire, cureall solutions that will remedy overnight the problems that have been building for decades. Yet, these are problems which must be dealt with, and it is not in the American tradition to turn our backs on them and hope they will just go away, for we know that won't happen.

Our population explosion combined with the rapid shift of our population from rural to urban areas are certainly contributing factors to the magnitude of our problem here at home. For example: The population of the United States is expected to reach the three hundred million mark by the year 2000, and that is half again as many people as we have today. During the decade of the 1950s alone, more than ten million Americans left the farm for the city, and the trend is continuing. Seventy percent of all Americans now live in the city, and observers of this trend predict the figure will reach ninety percent by the year 2000.

Obviously, we must turn our attentions to this problem with all the ingenuity and know-how that we can muster. While this is a concern of government at all levels, it is not the concern of government alone and government alone cannot do the job. It is a task that is going to require the talents and the cooperative efforts of all segments of society—government, civic leadership, labor, business and industry, and the great American educational system.

A major step toward the solution of the problems of our cities would be the creation of greater employment opportunities for ghetto dwellers. This would seem to be an important initial step in eliminating the ghettos themselves. I cannot help but believe that vast numbers of these disadvantaged Americans would leap at the opportunity to better their lot in life, and by bettering themselves they better their community and their country.

The personal pride of being self-sufficient is a tremendous motivating force. I believe that great numbers of our people who are now dependent on public welfare and other forms of government largesse would much prefer to make it on their own. They must be given that opportunity. I think we must develop the philosophy of extending a helping hand rather than a handout.

We must take an increasing interest in city planning to insure that our ghettos will diminish rather than grow, that our cities will remain attractive both as places to work and places to live, that work opportunity will be available to those who can and want to work, that decent and livable housing will replace unfit slum housing, that adequate recreational facilities are available to young and old alike, and that our educational systems are capable of handling the needs of the community.

Obviously these things have not received adequate attention in the past, and obviously they demand attention now. It is a tremendous task, but one which can be accomplished through the cooperative effort of all segments of society. Such cooperative efforts should be readily obtained, for all Americans have an equal stake in the solution of these grave problems which may prove to be not only the salvation of urban America but the salvation of America itself.

The American Legion believes that the cornerstone of this great nation is the home. We know the home can be maintained only if the provider is able to provide food, shelter, and clothing and, just as important as these necessities of life, proper guidance to the children within that home.

Young Americans, given a decent chance in life, are not prone to rioting or to seeking refuge in a hippie colony. Young Americans who are given proper parental guidance in their formative years and proper educational instruction in their growing years, have a better understanding of what their country is all about and are less likely to become hostile and rebellious toward society beyond the normal growing pains and so-called "phases" of striving for maturity.

Therefore, it is important for America to win both of the battles in which she is now

engaged, the one on the field of conflict and the other on the home front.

Neither can be won through impetuous, irresponsible words and deeds, but both can and will be won by the responsible action of concerned citizens from all walks of life, willing to devote themselves to the cause of victory at home and abroad.

Advances in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, today because of farm programs fought for and won by a Democratic administration and Democratic Members of the Congress, the agricultural market is freer of Government control now than it has been for 30 years, and nearer supply-demand balance than it has been for half a century. Most of our farm programs are now voluntary.

The surpluses of the fifties are gone. The Commodity Credit Corporation investment in farm commodities is down to $3.59 billion, a reduction of $2.39 billion from the previous year, and about $5 billion less than the peak investment years of 1956 and 1959. And equally important, the surpluses were worked off without depressing farm income.

Instead, prices of commodities in surplus moved steadily up as the surpluses were put into use. Since the Benson era ended, leaving us with a stockpile of 1.4 billion bushels of wheat and 85 million tons of feed grains, American farmers have had 6 years of steady progress. The contrast between the last 6 years and the 8 that preceded them—1953 to early 1969—is startling.

In the 8-year period ending with 1960, net farm income dropped $2.4 billion—a loss of 17 percent. In the 6 years since 1960, net farm income rose $4.6 billion—a gain of 40 percent. Net farm income in 1966 reached its second highest point in history, jumping to $16.4 billion.

In the Benson years, gross farm income rose only 3 percent. Since 1960, it has risen 31 percent, and in 1966 alone, it rose to $49.5 billion—an alltime record.

Net income per farm, between 1952 and 1960, rose by 9 percent; in the 6 years since, it rose 70 percent, reaching $5,049—the highest in history—in 1966.

Six years ago, U.S. agricultural exports had climbed to a then alltime high of $4.8 billion. Last fiscal year our exports were $6.7 billion—up 44 percent—and rose above $6.8 billion in 1967, despite increasingly stiff competition from abroad and less tonnage in certain commodities.

Our dollar sales have grown rapidly, from $3.3 billion in 1960 to $5.1 billion in 1966—nearly a 60-percent gain. We set a new dollar record of $5.4 billion this year—more than our total shipments amounted to in any year prior to 1963.

A decade ago, domestic farm policy was largely out of tune with exports—and our exports showed it. One of the important goals since a Democratic administration took over in 1961 has been to design and administer wheat, feed grain, and cotton programs to encourage a maximum flow into world trade, for the benefit of U.S. producers. We now have some 37 percent of the world wheat trade—almost half the world feed grain trade—and over 90 percent of the world soybean trade.

The programs enacted during the past 6 years also enable us to make better use of our abundance. At least 45 million Americans—12 million more than in 1960—are now being helped to better diets, better nutrition, better health, through various food distribution programs.

In 1961 the food stamp program was launched on a pilot basis in eight areas. It is now operating in about 838 communities and serving 1.8 million needy persons. On September 27, 1967, President Johnson signed into law S. 953, the bill providing a 2-year extension of the food stamp program and authorizing appropriations of $200 million for fiscal 1968 and $225 million for fiscal 1969. Prior to passage in the House, an amendment which would have required States to pay 20 percent of the cost of the program—heretofore they were only responsible for administrative costs—was rejected by a 173-to-191 rollcall vote. Voting for the amendment—which would have seriously crippled the program in many States and ended it in others—were 82 percent of the Republicans. On passage of the bill, 70 percent of the Republicans voted "nay," thus showing their lack of concern for both the poor whose food-buying power is increased by the program and the farmer who benefits from the increased food consumption created by this buying power.

Another way in which our food abundance is being better utilized is our food-for-India program, which earlier this year was expanded to meet the emergency situation in India created by a 2-year drought. As enacted, Public Law 90-7 provides congressional approval to supply India with an additional 3 million tons of food grain for calendar year 1967 at an estimated cost of $190 million as the U.S. share toward meeting the India food deficit. It also provides for an additional $25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other voluntary agencies.

Other legislation that has been acted on in this session that would benefit rural areas includes:

The Wholesome Meat Act—or the Meat Inspection Amendments: signed by the President today, H.R. 12144 authorizes a program of federal assistance to States to enable them to upgrade their meat inspection programs to a level at least equal to Federal inspection. It also directs the Secretary of Agriculture to step in and impose Federal inspection in States which fail to adopt adequate inspection within 2 years, and permits the Secretary—if State officials refuse to act—to assume inspection of any intrastate plant producing dangerous meat. This bill will assure livestock producers, as well as consumers, of upgraded meat inspection practices throughout the Nation.

Commodity Exchange Act Amendments (H.R. 13094): Passed by the House November 29, the bill amends the Commodity Exchange Act in such a way so as to provide incentive for more cooperative action between the Commodity Exchange Authority and contract markets in order to minimize the effects of abusive situations now in existence, and thus improve the dignity and usefulness of futures markets.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 (S. 2388): Cleared for the President December 11, the bill includes a program for rural areas which would extend to the elderly eligibility for loans to rural residents to assist in initiation or expansion of agricultural or nonagricultural enterprises that will enable them to increase their income; and authorizes $47 million for this rural loan program and for migrant programs.

Dairy farmers indemnity payments program extension—Public Law 90-95: With the original dairy indemnity authority due to expire June 30, 1967, this bill was passed extending through fiscal 1968 the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers ordered to remove their milk from commercial markets because it was contaminated by pesticides registered and approved for use by the Federal Government.

Rural telephone bank (H.R. 12066): Reported favorably by the House Agriculture Committee October 6, the bill provides supplemental financing for the rural telephone program and establishes a rural telephone account and rural telephone bank.

One program, which would have added thousands of dollars to the pocketbooks of distressed wheat farmers, was defeated in an Agriculture Committee's subcommittee recently by the Republican members. The bill, H.R. 12067, provided for the establishment and maintenance by the Commodity Credit Corporation of reserve stocks of agricultural commodities for national security, public protection, meeting international commitments, and other purposes, and would have raised the price of every bushel of corn, grain sorghum, wheat, and soybeans for every farmer in this country. It is unfortunate that Republicans cannot translate their criticism of Democratic programs into constructive alternatives, rather than simply reacting negatively to everything proposed by the Democrats.

In all probability net farm income will be down this year from last year's near-record high and Democrats are doing everything they can to improve the situation. We realize that there is legitimate reason for concern on the part of farmers today. But, while the buying power of the various programs such as the school lunch program and the food-for-freedom purchases is being skillfully used to strengthen farm prices, under present law and marketing practices, there is not much more the Government can do. In these no-program commodities, the farmer is essentially going it alone in the market. And some 60 percent of farmers' cash receipts come from the sale of crops and livestock not covered by farm programs. Here the responsibility for maintaining supply-demand balance, and therefore strong prices, rests primarily with the farmer himself. But much can be done by farmers themselves to gain muscle in the marketplace.

A fairly new concept of increasing farmers' bargaining power has been making the rounds in agricultural circles. And should this issue come to the forefront sometime in the near future, I cannot not predict what the Republican Members—who have voted consistently against every farm program for the last 6 years—will do. But the ideas of the farmers themselves—when and if this concept or any other is put forward—will be sympathetically considered by the members of my party which has pioneered other farm legislation ever since the days of the New Deal.

Report of Trip to Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, on November 9, 1967, I stated on the floor of the House that upon my return from a 2-week inspection tour of Southeast Asia I would make a report to my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives. The following is a preliminary report of my activities:

REPORT FROM VIETNAM

This month my entire Report From Congress is being devoted to giving you my impressions of our country's involvement in Vietnam derived from my recent trip to the war zone.

Realizing that Vietnam is the single most important issue facing our nation today, we organized a fact-finding team and toured the area entirely at our own expense, seeking answers to the many questions arising from the conflicting array of reports and rumors reaching us by press and commentary. Our team included a renowned political scientist, a businessman, a minister, a farmer, a mayor, a housewife, and another Congressman. Each in his own way was particularly suited by experience, or particularly interested for personal reasons, in this project. Our intention was to study first-hand the military, political, economic and social war in Vietnam. For more than three months this team of experts has been studying American commitments in the Pacific.

SAIGON

We arrived in the capital city of Saigon which has been called the Paris of the Far East and the Pearl of the Orient. Well—don't believe it. Saigon is like every other city I have seen during war time. It is hard to believe, but after three years of United States all-out effort, you can still see and hear the war within a few miles of the capital city. Just a few weeks ago the communists threw three rounds of mortar fire at Vice President Humphrey, less than 300 yards from my hotel. On every important street corner you will find gun emplacements. We have almost 60,000 American troops in the area, but the province is far from being safe and secure. In the 4th Corps area, just South of Saigon, it is estimated that there are 80,000 of the enemy. The Iron Triangle to the North of the city is still being hit by our big B–52 bombers.

The first order of business after arriving in Saigon was to attend a conference at the United States Military Assistance Command Headquarters where we were brought up to date on military operations and current intelligence. We were also briefed by officials of the United States Agency for International Development who explained economic stabilization, pacification, educational and civic development and agricultural programs.

In order to cover as much territory as possible, our group divided itself. Some toured military installations at Long Binh, North of Saigon; some met with religious leaders, while others visited industrial projects and farming areas.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNING BODY OF SOUTH VIETNAM

I attended a session of the newly elected Constituent Assembly which is the national governing body of South Vietnam. The Senate is elected for a term of six years and each Member represents 100,000 citizens. The House of Representatives is elected every four years and each Member serves a constituency of 50,000 voters. The National Assembly meets twice a year for a three month period, April through June, then recesses and back for another session, October through December.

It was a real privilege to witness the legislative process in the newest democracy in the world. I am confident that this government will succeed. True—it must walk before it runs—but succeed it will.

DA NANG AND THE BATTLE ZONE

In an Air Force T–39 twin jet aircraft, I flew from Ton Son Nhut Air Forçe Base near Saigon to Da Nang, our Marine Corps center of operation and the I Corps area near the 17th parallel. Flying North, we followed the Cambodian border over the Central Highlands near Pleiku and directly above the fighting at Dak To. This important battle started when elements of a North Vietnamese Army Division attempted to overrun an American Special Forces camp. We moved troops of the 4th Infantry Division and units of the South Vietnamese Army into the battle area. This fire-fight continued for several days. At Da Nang, I transferred to a Navy observation plane and took off for an air inspection of the battleground around the demilitarized zone. We flew at an altitude of only 2,500 feet, which is just high enough to be safe from ground fire, but not high enough to worry about the Russian made S.A.M. missiles. I occupied the co-pilot's seat where there was a perfect view of the DMZ, Con Thein and the Marine outposts along the line. Just below us, ground control was calling for Naval offshore shelling and at the same time we could hear on our earphones American pilots in the area requesting new bombing targets There was also a warning that "bandits" were in the sky, which meant that enemy MIG fighters were in the air to the North of us. We could plainly see the effects of the B–52 bombing near the DMZ where we had completely saturated an enemy stronghold. We made three passes over the area and then headed back to Da Nang.

The next day I made a tree-level inspection of Da Nang and our Marine outpost on the perimeter of the city. Our turbo jet helicopter carried us up in the mountains to the First Marine Division Headquarters. All the United States Marines are stationed in I Corps with the Third Division fighting up near the DMZ and the First Division fighting in the Da Nang area. The 24,000 Marines in the First Division have a large territory and over one million people to protect. The Korean battalions are providing excellent support to the South of us. These Rock forces are deployed to protect Highway One on the way down the coast to Cam Ranh Bay.

From Da Nang, I flew out to the U.S.S. Coral Sea, an American aircraft carrier operating off the coast of North Vietnam. It was quite thrill to land on a moving carrier and to be catapulted off in a twin turbo jet Navy plane. Catching the wire on the deck calls for precision flying.

OUR FLEET OPERATIONS

The U.S.S. Coral Sea is the flagship of the American fleet operations at Yankee Station in the Gulf of Tonkin. Our fleet consists of five aircraft carriers—The Coral Sea, the Intrepid, the Oriskany, the Kitty Hawk and the Ranger. We also have a cruiser, numerous destroyers, and other support craft.

The primary mission of our fleet is to bomb strategic enemy military targets in North Vietnam. Navy bombers have carried out thousands of sorties against the enemy. Important targets have been the capital city of Hanoi and the port city of Haiphong. MIG aircraft bases, railroads facilities, ammunition dumps, troop concentrations, bridges and highways have all felt the weight of our bomb and missile strikes. My former service, the United States Navy, is playing a vital role in our war effort in Vietnam.

THANKSGIVING

It was my privilege to have Thanksgiving Dinner in the crew mess hall of the Aircraft Carrier Coral Sea. There were twenty-seven Kentucky sailors serving on this carrier, with eight of the group being from Louisville. While enjoying our turkey and pumpkin pie, we discussed our nation's war effort in the Far East. To a man, they understood why they were there, the commitments our country had in that part of the world, and their individual willingness to see to it that the United States honor its commitments. At the same time, they assured me that their families back home understood and had an appreciation for the reasons they were fighting this war.

These twenty-seven Kentuckians also had some questions for me. They wanted to know about the peace groups, the draft card burners, and the Pentagon marchers. Because they were taking part in a day-to-day operation of our bombing of North Vietnam, they questioned me about the off-limit targets that have been denied our pilots. Actually, the morale of our fighting men is excellent. Sure—they would prefer to be home—but they are there and are willing to accept their share of responsibility for our commitments in the Pacific.

THAILAND AND TAIWAN

Following my trip to Vietnam, I visited Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand. This country is one of our best and most loyal allies in the Far East. There are 2,500 Thai soldiers fighting in Vietnam as a result of a call for volunteers. Twenty thousand responded, so the Thai government is increasing its military involvement to a full division. In addition, Thailand is allowing the United States the use of its airfields to make bomber and fighter strikes against North Vietnam. There are 40,000 American Air Force personnel in Thailand manning the giant B–52 Bombers. They not only provide support for our ground troops near the DMZ, but also bomb military targets in North Vietnam.

United States aid is providing assistance to the Thai government to improve its agricultural production. The University of Kentucky has a contract with Bangkok to do farming research in seeds and fertilizers.

The city of Bangkok, the old capital of Siam, is a fabulous city. The Thai people are proud allies of ours, and we, in turn, are grateful for their resistance against international communism.

The island of Taiwan was formerly known as Formosa and is now the seat of government for the Republic of China. Free China has received much of our aid, but for the past two years it has been completely independent. It has a highly trained military force of some 600,000 men facing the communist mainland. Since 1958 and 1959 when Red China had hopes of conquering Taiwan, This little war has continued. Every other day, on the odd days of the week, the communists shell the island of Quemoy and Free China responds.

Economically, the Republic of China is the fastest growing nation in the world. Just during the past year, with new techniques, they have increased their rice production fifty percent. Free China is helping in Vietnam by sending a team of eighty agricultural experts to the Delta area to introduce the new Philippine rice. This advanced strain of rice, with improved plant rotation, could make Vietnam self-supporting in food production.

The Republic of China has continued for generations to be one of the United States' strongest allies in the Far East. There are more than 17 million Chinese scattered throughout the Pacific area who are the businessmen and merchants of Southeast Asia. Continued American-Chinese cooperation is imperative if we are to stabilize this part of the world.

MY IMPRESSIONS

It would take weeks to cover every aspect of our involvement in Vietnam without a team such as ours which split up to study and investigate the religious problem, Revolutionary Development, the various volunteer organizations, farm and business advancement, the military situation, our A.I.D. program, social economic and political problems and the plight of the refugee.

I am listing eight impressions gained from study and observation:

1. The Vietnamese people are capable of a better life with our help and guidance. They are worthy of the assistance we are committed to give them.

2. We have some good allies in the Far East, such as Thailand, the Republic of China, Korea, the Philippines and Australia.

3. Our military morale is exceedingly high. In every case where I discussed our involvement with our troops, they were well aware of our commitment in the Far East.

4. I am proud of both the U.S. military and civilian dedication to a very difficult situation.

5. South Vietnamese participation in defense of their country must be beefed up.

6. I observed excellent future leadership in the new Constituent Assembly. Both in the House and the Senate there are a number of fully qualified civilian leaders.

7. The Revolutionary Development Program (Pacification) must be further emphasized and improved.

8. The United States must re-evaluate our whole Pacific involvement. We have fought three wars in the Far East in the last twenty-five years. This country was an Asian power before it was a European power, and long before we became a world power. In my opinion, we should proclaim an American Doctrine for Asia which should make letter clear our inescapable involvement in the Far East. This doctrine should enumerate our interests, our commitments, our alliances and our responsibilities in this area. It is in the self-interest of the United States to continue its involvement in the Pacific. We must, however, announce to friend and foe alike, our determination to remain an Asian Power.

U.S. Soldiers' Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to bring to the attention of the House an apparent attempt by the National Capital Planning Commission to take some land from the U.S. Soldiers' Home; and to make available to the Members of the House an exchange of correspondence that I had with the Secretary of the Army to assure that this land-grab does not succeed.

Mr. Speaker, some Members of the House may not be aware that the Soldiers' Home is not financed by appropriated funds but by the members of the armed services themselves. The home was originally established in 1851 with a fund of $118,000 brought back from the Mexican War of 1848 by Gen. Winfield Scott. Since then, the Soldiers' Home has been financed with monthly contributions of 10 cents each from the pay of regular Army and Air Force enlisted personnel and warrant officers. The home's annual expenditures are approved by Congress but the money comes from the Soldiers' Home Permanent Fund—not tax dollars.

The National Capital Planning Commission, for reasons known to itself, included 20 acres of Soldiers' Home land in its development plan for the area adjacent to the home. The NCPC plan has been presented in some instances in the press as if it were virtually an accomplished fact and it may be that some representatives of the Commission have the mistaken impression that they have the power to take the Soldiers' Home land. However worthy the NCPC development project might be, it is unclear to me why NCPC should presume to want to use land belonging to old soldiers.

As you can see in the exchange of correspondence between the Secretary of the Army and me, title to the Soldiers' Home property is vested in the Government of the United States and is held in trust for the Soldiers' Home. You will note that the Secretary of the Army specifically states the following:

> The Department of the Army is not aware of any specific statutory authority which would authorize the National Capital Planning Commission to take property belonging to the Soldiers' Home.
>
> * * * * *
>
> On March 20, 1967, the Board of Commissioners of the Soldiers' Home, the governing body and trustees of the Home, adopted the following Resolution:
>
> "Resolved: That none of the land of the U.S. Soldiers' Home be released for any purpose."
>
> It does not at this time appear that legislation is required. The National Capital Planning Commission is presently receiving and evaluating comments on its proposal and has not taken any definite action. The views and plans of the Soldiers' Home have been presented in detail to the Commission. The Commission itself has no authority to take the land."

There is attached to the Secretary of the Army letter an extract from a memorandum of the Office of the Judge Advocate General concerning legal authority to the Soldiers' Home land. This extract makes it clear that the Congress has delegated to the Board of Commissioners of the Home the power to control the property of the home. It also makes clear that the Congress did not relinquish legislative powers over the home. Of congressional authority, the extract states:

> It may, therefore, legislate and control the Board of Commissioners and the Soldiers' Home to any extent it so desires to include the disposition of any real estate held in trust for the Home.

I bring this to the attention of the House at this time, Mr. Speaker, because some Members of the House might have gotten the erroneous impression from some newspaper articles that the Congress does not have the power to prevent this land grab, and also because my latest information is that the NCPC has not removed this provision from its area development plan despite the clearly stated objectives of the Board of Governors. I think the NCPC should remove from any of its plans under discussion any proposals for using Soldiers' Home land.

I would like to reiterate, as I indicated in my letter to the Secretary of the Army, that should it appear that at any time in the future legislation is required to prevent this land grab, I shall be prepared to introduce it expeditiously and shall call on the House to act promptly to defend the interest of the career enlisted men in our Armed Forces.

I pointed out that all regular enlisted men contribute 10 cents a month to a fund for the home and will earn the right to care in the home when they are retired.

Contrary to what you may have heard, Mr. Speaker, old soldiers do not fade away. I have been informed that Department of the Army estimates that the home will require space for approximately 15,000 soldiers by 1985. This is more than three times the number now there. It is quite clear, therefore, that the home is going to need all of its available land for future expansion.

My correspondence with the Secretary of the Army follows and I also include, as part of my remarks, an article on the

subject by Mr. Tom Scanlan, the very able assistant editor of the Army Times:

Hon. STANLEY R. RESOR,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I was shocked to learn through the newspapers that the National Capital Planning Commission is attempting to take away some of the land of the Soldiers' Home in Washington, D.C.

As the Army is the Executive Branch agency that has control of the Soldiers' Home property, I would appreciate a response from you as to the status of this attempt to expropriate Soldiers' Home land and the steps the Army is taking to prevent it.

You are aware, I am sure, that the Soldiers' Home belongs to the enlisted people of the Army and Air Force. It is financed by monthly contributions of ten cents from the pay of Regular Army and Air Force enlisted personnel and warrant officers. Its only other income is interest on its fund and fines and forfeitures imposed by courts-martial. The Soldiers' Home was established by a $118,000 fund brought back from the Mexican War of 1848 by General Winfield Scott.

While the annual expenditures for the Soldiers' Home are approved by Congress, the money comes from the Soldiers' Home Permanent Fund and not from tax dollars.

With the present size of the Armed Forces, it is only reasonable to assume that the Soldiers' Home is going to require space for expansion in the future. The development of the City of Washington would appear to be such that if land is taken away now from the Soldiers' Home, it would be impossible to replace it in the future. I would remind you that there will be a continuing commitment to those soldiers who are now contributing to the Soldiers' Home fund.

While the National Capital Planning Commission may desire land for worthy purposes, this does not alter the fact that neither the Planning Commission nor the District of Columbia Government has any right to Soldiers' Home land.

It is my understanding that the title to the Soldiers' Home property is held by the Government of the United States. It is, therefore, unclear to me how land belonging to the Soldiers' Home could be disposed of without action by the Congress.

In view of the foregoing, I would like specific answers to the following:

Under what authority does the National Capital Planning Commissison presume to take land from the Soldiers' Home?

What is the status of this project at present?

What is the position of the Soldiers' Home Board of Commissioners?

What steps is the Army taking to protect the integrity of the Soldiers' Home land?

And finally, do you believe any legislative action would be required to prevent the loss of land by the Soldiers' Home?

If you do feel that legislation is required, I shall be prepared to introduce it expeditiously.

Sincerely yours,
L. MENDEL RIVERS,
Chairman.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
Washington, D.C., November 27, 1967.

Hon. L. MENDEL RIVERS,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your recent letter concerning the United States Soldiers' Home and the proposal of the National Capital Planning Commission to convert a large segment of the Home's property to local use.

The following are answers to the specific questions raised in your letter:

The National Capital Planning Commission has its origins in the Acts of June 6, 1924, ch. 270 (43 Stat. 463), and April 30, 1926, ch. 198 (44 Stat. 374). Its present authority is contained in the National Capital Planning Act of 1952, as amended (40 U.S.C. 71 et seq.). The Department of the Army is not aware of any specific statutory authority which would authorize the National Capital Planning Commission to take property belonging to the Soldiers' Home.

The Commission initially prepared a proposal to consider the inclusion of twenty acres on the west side of the Home in its "Proposed Comprehensive Plan for the National Capital" for development as an educational campus and recreational facility. Acting as required by statute, the Commission submitted this proposal to interested agencies and community groups for evaluation and comment. In a June 5, 1967 letter the Governor of the Soldiers' Home informed the Commission of his opposition to this proposal. Representatives of the Home met with the Staff Director of the Commission in September 1967 and submitted a detailed plan showing the need for retention of the site in question, the proposed use to include needed dormitories and other facilities. At present, the Commission is still receiving comments on its proposal. It is expected that the Commission will meet in executive session to consider these comments within the next month.

An extract of the opinion of the Chief, Lands Division, Office of The Judge Advocate General, dated March 30, 1967, that title to the property is held by the United States in trust for the Home, is enclosed. On March 20, 1967, the Board of Commissioners of the Soldiers' Home, the governing body and trustees of the Home, adopted the following Resolution: "RESOLVED: That none of the land of the U. S. Soldiers' Home be released for any purpose."

It does not at this time appear that legislation is required. The National Capital Planning Commission is presently receiving and evaluating comments on its proposal and has not taken any definite action. The views and plans of the Soldiers' Home have been presented in detail to the Commission. The Commission itself has no authority to take the land.

I trust that this supplies the information that you requested. Your interest in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely,
STANLEY R. RESOR,
Secretary of the Army.

EXTRACT OF MEMORANDUM DATED MARCH 30, 1967 FROM CHIEF, LANDS DIVISION, OFFICE OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, TO THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL—SUBJECT: LAND ACQUISITION FOR U.S. SOLDIERS' HOME

7. Based on the foregoing I am of the opinion that,

a. All tracts of land presently comprising the United States Soldiers' Home were purchased by the Board of Commissioners under authority of the act of March 3, 1851.

b. Title to all tracts of land is vested in the United States of America.

c. The four tracts of land that specifically state that they are to be held in trust for the Soldiers' Home are in fact held in trust and may be disposed of only if such a disposal is held to be in the best interests of and for the benefit of the Soldiers' Home by the Board of Commissioners. These tracts are the Corcoran tract, the Woods' tract, and the two tracts comprising the roadway (Gass and Whitney).

d. A similar trust exists as to the other tracts of land even though these do not specifically so state. This would include the Stone tract, title to which cannot be verified, and which may or may not still be a portion of the Home. The greater portion of this tract appears to have been used for roadway purposes.

e. The power to govern and manage the affairs of the Soldiers' Home is vested in the Board of Commissioners, and it has the power to dispose of the property of the Home provided such disposal is determined by it to be in the best interests of and for the benefit of the Home, and is otherwise authorized by law.

f. The Congress of the United States although vesting the Board of Commissioners with authority to control and supervise the Home, did not thereby relinquish any of its legislative power over the Home. It may, therefore, legislate and control the Board of Commissioners and the Soldiers' Home to any extent it so desires to include the disposition of any real estate held in trust for the Home.

g. All tracts of land purchased by the Board of Commissioners for the Military Asylum were purchased from funds that were not appropriated from the general treasury.

h. The proceeds of any sale of lands of the Home must be deposited to the credit of the Home since all tracts are held in trust for the Home.

[From the Army Times, Oct. 25, 1967]

A PLAN TO STEAL SOLDIER PROPERTY

(By Tom Scanlan)

All present, past, and future Regular Army enlisted men and women—meaning those on active duty, those retired, and those not yet born—are about to be cheated by Washington's National Capital Planning Commission.

Reference is to the National Capital Planning Commission's plan to swipe Soldiers Home property and "transfer" the land to the District of Columbia government (a non-elected government with no consent of the governed, by the way).

The D.C. government—even if it were elected—has no right to the Soldiers Home land. The United States Soldiers Home is not local, but national. It is owned by the enlisted men and women of the United States Army and the United States Air Force. They paid for it, they are still paying for it, and the United States government should not allow its pledge, its promise, to the United States soldier to be broken.

The United States Army should declare war on the National Capital Planning Commission. And the Congress of the United States should nip this brazen land-grabbing scheme in the bud. (Bud? That's not right, either. Full-bloom seems more accurate.)

If you are a Regular Army or Regular Air Force enlisted man or warrant officer, you have 10 cents deducted from your pay for Soldiers Home each month (before 1943 it was 25 cents a month). With this money, plus fines and forfeitures imposed by courts-martial, plus annual interest from a 100 million dollar kitty, this historic Home pays its own way, as it has since it first opened 116 years ago.

Founded by Act of Congress in March, 1851, the Home began with an allotment of $100,000 from the war indemnity payment collected from Mexico following the Mexican War.

Soldiers Home has never received another penny from Congress. And it has never received one cent of taxpayers' money.

Right now the Home is home for some 2600 retired enlisted men and 26 retired enlisted women. Soldiers Home is self-sufficient. The old soldiers there are not just withering or fading away. And they need never leave the gates to see a first-run movie or grab a beer. There is a post office, theater, hospital, chapel, gym, beer hall, workshops, a fascinating model railroad layout, card rooms, pool tables, garden plots, a nine-hole golf course, and much more.

Today, when many enlisted retirees are understandably fearful that their meager incomes offer small protection against the inflated demands of a seemingly ever-rising cost-of-living, Soldiers Home offers security and warmth and fellowship and activity and a renewed source of hope and belonging.

The Home has expansion plans. As always. It must expand, today more than ever. It must therefore necessarily keep all the land it has now. And the land is not needed merely for new buildings. It is needed for living.

Gardening is good for the soul and who is to deny an old soldier a small plot of land to raise some red ripe tomatoes or a few yellow dahlias? Who is to deny him that "easy" non-professional nine-hole golf course? Who is to deny him those lovely old trees that invite a walk in the shade on a hot, humid, summer Washington day? (The National Capital Planning Commission, that's who.)

So, Soldiers Home has lost land before. In 1953, 70 acres were taken for a hospital center and 28 acres were taken for street purposes. In 1959, a church purchased five acres for use as a parking lot. In 1964, Trinity College purchased another 24 acres.

But Soldiers Home must retain all the land it has left now. The United States must meet its pledge to the soldiers who are told that their dime a month is—as they are told—a rare kind of security.

The current land-grabbing plan is to swipe 20 acres of 300-acre Soldiers Home for new school grounds and a new community center.

The plan is due for final approval by the end of the year. The Soldiers Home Board of Commissioners has told the Planning Commission that no more land within the Home's boundaries could be relinguished "for any purpose." The Soldiers Home Board of Commissioners is right.

New schools and new community centers are fine. But land-grabbing from Soldiers Home is not the answer. "Urban renewal," as they call it, is a better answer. Cleaning up and tearing down some of the rat-infested slums—some not far from Soldiers Home—is marvelous grist for the mill of the National Capital Planning Commission. Soldiers Home land is not.

Ranconteur John M. Virden, a retired colonel whose forceful writing livened up several Army Times Company publications in years past, was talking with proper indignation about this proposed steal of Soldiers Home property the other day.

Virden summed it up well: "The National Capital Planning Commission has no more right for arbitrarily grabbing part of the grounds of the Soldiers Home than it has to commandeer the campus of Georgetown University or the front yard of the White House. Maybe not as much. The Home belongs to the enlisted soldiers and to nobody else."

The United States has many commitments throughout the world. Some may question some of these commitments. But who—including the National Capital Planning Commission—can question—much less retract—the commitment the United States makes to its Regular Army enlisted soldiers when it takes that dime a month from each man for Soldiers Home?

Antiballistic Missiles

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the deployment of an antiballistic-missile system costing many billions of dollars and necessarily heightening the arms race as well as causing many other changes in our society is a most momentous action.

The administration's decision to deploy such a system has been followed with relatively little debate. Yet the legislative branch has yet to specifically express its desire in this regard and the public has yet to be really informed on this issue.

I personally am engaged in a deep and comprehensive study of the ABM question and I urge my colleagues to engage themselves in such a study.

As an aid in this study, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a very provocative article concerning the ABM, which was published recently by the Council for a Livable World:

ANTIBALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

(By Allen Forbes, Jr.)

(The question of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) deployment is not a new one. In 1959 the Army recommended purchase of its Nike-Zeus system, forerunner of Nike-X now to be deployed. President Eisenhower turned down the Army's request on the grounds that it has not been adequately tested. Had Nike-Zeus with its "fatal defects" been deployed as the Army urged—at a cost of $14 billion—it would, in the words of Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance, "have had to be torn out and replaced, almost before it became operational . . ."[1] ABM did not become a serious issue again until the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended deployment of Nike-X in 1966. They renewed their pressure in 1967 and, backed by influential members of Congress, secured a reversal of the Administration's anti-ABM position. In a speech delivered a San Francisco on September 18, 1967, Secretary of Defense McNamara announced that the United States would deploy a thin ABM defense against China. This decision, which has vast strategic, political and social implications for the future of this country, may well turn out to be one of the most fateful ever taken by any Administration.)

THE NIKE-X SYSTEM

Nike-X is a dual system. To provide an "area" defense it employs the 3-stage, long-range Spartan missile to intercept incoming enemy ICBM's (intercontinental ballistic missiles) at ranges up to several hundred miles, well beyond the earth's atmosphere. A "point" (localized) defense is made by the high-acceleration Sprint missile which intercepts in the lower atmosphere at distances from 6 to 25 miles during the last few seconds of the enemy missile's flight. Sprint's function is to destroy attacking rockets which have successfully evaded Spartan. Its last-second intercept permits radars to "discriminate" between a real warhead and the "decoys" (false warheads) which burn up in the dense lower atmosphere.

Spartan and Sprint are armed with nuclear warheads because they will miss incoming ICBM's by distances so great that conventional explosives would be useless.[2] The two missiles are linked to advanced multiphase array radars and highspeed computers for target acquisition, tracking, launching and guidance.

THE "THIN" CHINA-ORIENTED DEFENSE

The military packaged Nike-X into three convenient deployments: the "thin" China defense priced at $3.5 billion; a "light" defense protecting 25 cities costing $12.2 billion; and a "heavy" 50-city system at $21.7 billion.[3] The Johnson Administration chose the first. It consists of several hundred Spartans and a lesser number of Sprints. The Spartans provide an "area" defense of the entire country; the Sprints defend radars and some Minuteman ICBM bases. The Spartans are distributed in several batteries below the Canadian border. PAR radars "acquire" incoming enemy missiles at ranges of 1,500 miles or more and the Spartan is launched to intercept high above the atmosphere over Canada hundreds of miles from United States soil. The thin China defense does not provide any Sprint point defense of American cities.

FUNCTION AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE "THIN" DEFENSE

The Pentagon has defined the function of the China ABM system as providing "a thin cover over the whole United States including all cities." The official evaluation of the system's effectiveness is that it "could probably preclude damage in the 1970's almost entirely" against what are called "simple attacks."[4] By simple attacks the Pentagon means attacks by a very small number of missiles which do not have "penetration aids"—devices such as decoy warheads and "chaff" (clouds of tinfoil)—which confuse ABM radars.

One of the flaws in this optimistic evaluation of the effectiveness of the thin defense is that it gives the impression to the layman that Nike-X defends against all "simple" missile attacks. Unfortunately Nike-X is effective only against high-altitude delivery systems. It is possible to launch simple nuclear attacks using a number of "primitive" delivery techniques, some of which employ missiles. Against these systems Nike-X is of either minimal value or worthless. The following are examples of primitive delivery systems which should be within Chinese capabilities by the time the thin defense is operational, or soon thereafter:

Attacks by missiles

a. From submarines or surface vessels armed with short-range cruise-type missiles. (No Nike-X protection)

b. From submarines or surface vessels armed with medium-range ballistic missiles. (Possible minimal Nike-X protection)

Attacks by delivery systems other than missiles

a. Nuclear-weapon-carrying seaplanes launched from submarines or surface vessels.

b. Submarines firing nuclear torpedoes.

c. Pre-delivery systems: For example, vessels with bombs in cargo holds; weapons released in port or at sea and detonated by remote control.

d. Underwater nuclear mines detonated at sea. Prevailing winds carry radioactive rain inland.

China already possesses submarines and at least as early as 1966 tested a medium-range missile. A military expert recently wrote that the Chinese "now have submarines, they have fired short-range missiles and they would find it fairly simple to adapt these, or to build rather crude forms of sea-based missiles."[5] China reportedly does not have a submarine-launched missile capability. However, it is possible that Chinese technicians could develop in the next few years some form of sea-based missile capability.

Existing anti-aircraft and anti-submarine systems will be used against these primitive delivery devices, in some cases with effectiveness and in others without. As a general rule all forms of delivery tend to complicate the task of the defense.

The estimate of the effectiveness of the thin defense against ICBM's seems to based on at least two key assumptions, both open to serious question:

(1) The Chinese will not—or will not be able to—target their ICBM forces so as to "exhaust" or overwhelm the SPARTAN defenses by launching them *en masse* at an area defended by one SPARTAN battery.

(2) The Chinese will not be able to equip their ICBM's with simple penetration aids which would increase substantially their ability to inflict damage on the United States.

Footnotes at end of speech.

ASSUMPTION

In a confrontation between ICBM attacker and ABM defender the latter is at a distinct disadvantage. This is particularly true of the thin system, which requires that a very small ABM force be deployed over a vast area. Once an attack has been launched it is obviously impossible to redistribute the defense to meet the configuration of the attack. China, on the other hand, is completely free to study the ABM defense at its leisure, analyze it for its weak spots, and then program the attack to saturate or overwhelm it. If the thin defense had a density factor of, say, 50 i.e., if it could cope at any point with a maximum of only 50 enemy ICBM's, then by firing 55 missiles at any given point in the defense the attacker could be virtually certain of destroying the target. If the Chinese wanted to take out Washington, D.C., they could. If they wanted to get New York, they could. The same 55 missiles could probably get both Washington and New York. Dr. M. M. May, director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in California, made this point clearly to members of the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee: "If you send over more offensive warheads than they have defensive warheads to shoot at you with, it won't be that effective." [6] Secretary McNamara said the same thing in his September 18th speech: ". . . any such [ABM] system can rather obviously be defeated by an enemy simply sending more offensive warheads, or dummy warheads, than there are defensive missiles capable of disposing of them."

It does not seem reasonable to assume that Chinese leaders, if they build and deploy a missile force of 50 ICBM's and then discover that the density factor of the United States defensive is exactly 50 also, are going to throw their missiles away as useless. They will obviously build a few more which will enable them to penetrate our defenses, thereby making the thin system ineffective by the time it is deployed or shortly thereafter, unless it were to be expanded into a more complex system. If this were done it would undoubtedly trigger further Chinese efforts to penetrate it. A more serious consequence of expanding the thin defense is that it would force the Soviets to improve their offensive capabilities—something they might not feel obliged to do if the thin defense remained thin.

The official view that the thin defense could prevent damage "almost entirely" is tempered somewhat by a Pentagon statistical table indicating that a Chinese attack of a certain magnitude which could, without ABM, inflict 10 million fatalities, would cause 1 million deaths even if the thin defense were deployed. If a false assumption went into that table it could cause the predictions of the effectiveness of the China defense to be off by a factor of five or more. This table was presented to Congress in January 1967, by Secretary McNamara.

ASSUMPTION 2

The China defense is designed to defend against "simple" and unsophisticated attacks, that is, attacks by only a few missiles without penetration aids. The same logic that applies to the determination of China's leaders to build a force large enough to penetrate ABM, also applies to penetration aids. To assume that Chinese scientists will not, indeed have not already, initiated a crash program to develop such devices would be irresponsible. A nation need not possess a sophisticated technology or be affluent in order to produce simple, cheap and probably effective penetration devices. In fact, a "naive" but presumably effective penetration aid can be produced at virtually no cost and without any special technology by breaking up the delivery vehicle in such a way that it explodes into fragments which to a radar resemble warheads. Chinese scientists are probably already beyond this stage.

The Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Dr. J. S. Foster, told the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee that it was possible for a "sophisticated opponent to confuse the defense and make the firepower demands on SPARTAN too high." [7] In that case, Foster explained, it would be necessary to use the SPRINT missile for defense. The thin China system which the Johnson Administration has purchased provides no SPRINTS for protection of cities. If the Chinese develop effective penetration aids they can probably exhaust SPARTAN and hit any cities they wish. If they are sophisticated enough to build ICBM's they should be able to design and produce reasonably efficient penetration devices.

WHAT CAN THE THIN DEFENSE DO?

The thin system can probably afford complete protection against the accidental or unauthorized launch of a few missiles—at least missiles not equipped with good penetration devices. It could also provide a degree of protection against small numbers of ICBM's, say 25, the sort of force the Chinese would have in the first 18 to 24 months of their deployment program. In the mid-1970's the Chinese could have 100–150 weapons.[8] Against an attack of that size the thin defense would look very thin indeed.

The discussion earlier on overwhelming SPARTAN was based on the assumption, highly favorable to the defense, that all attacking Chinese missiles would be successfully intercepted if their number in any target area did not exceed the density factor of the thin defense. This assumption is incorrect. However, it has gained general acceptance because it has been stated so often by experts such as Dr. May and Secretary McNamara. Actually, there is a finite chance that any given ICBM will penetrate any ABM defense. Assuming an ABM kill probability—the probability that a single SPARTAN will intercept a single incoming Chinese ICBM—of the order of 80%, the probabilities of a 100% successful defense against five different Chinese attacks are as shown below. Chinese missiles are assumed to have a reliability factor of 80% and to be without penetration aids.

Number of Chinese missiles	Number of Spartans	Probability of successful defense (percent)
20	50	72
25	50	44
35	50	1.6
50	50	.008
50	100	18

These figures give a far more realistic picture of the effectiveness of the thin defense than do the official claims. They demonstrate, for example, that a Chinese attack with 35 ICBM's fired at a SPARTAN battery with a missile force of 50, would have a 98% chance of hitting at least one U.S. city. Even with a force as small as 20 missiles launched at the same SPARTAN battery the Chinese would have one chance in four of destroying a target. 50 Chinese missiles fired against 50 SPARTANS would hopelessly overwhelm the defense and China would have a highly probability of hitting a number of cities.

CHINESE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

An unofficial rationale for deployment of the China defense is that the Chinese, as soon as they have a small operational ICBM force, will hurl it against the United States in a first strike. Richard Russell, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, called China a "mad dog among nations" when demanding "immediate" deployment of a thin defense in an interview given in July 1967.[9] To some Americans China's leaders may appear unduly irrational at this moment and China's internal affairs may well be in exceptional disarray, but to base momentous national decisions, if we are doing that, on an assumption that in the early or mid-1970's China will launch a pathetic handful of ICBM's at the United States in the full knowledge that moments later it will sustain a devastating retaliatory barrage from America's vast nuclear arsenal, destroying cities, populations and industry—this in itself is a somewhat irrational attitude.

A more plausible explanation for China's ICBM program is that it fears a United States first strike and would like to be in a position to deter it, something it cannot do today. China, after all, is totally at the mercy of our nuclear strike forces—SAC bases in Thailand and Guam, tactical nuclear basis in South Vietnam, Thailand and Laos, carrier-based bombers in the Tonkin Gulf, the North China Sea, the Straits of Formosa, and a fleet of Polaris submarines along her coasts, not to mention Minuteman ICBM's based in the United States.

If under these conditions China's leaders believe they require a small number of ICBM's to deter us—something analogous to de Gaulle's *force de frappe*—they need not be regarded as wildly irrational. The United States possesses today vis-a-vis China a Perfect First Strike Capability; that is, we are able to devastate China without being touched. This enables us to deter China from any activities in Southeast Asia which might be displeasing to us, and it also shields us from Chinese obstruction of those of our activities in Southeast Asia which might be displeasing to them. China's leaders could not be blamed if they assumed that the United States, in deploying the thin defense to counter China's miniscule retaliatory force, was more concerned to maintain its Perfect First Strike Capability than to protect its urban population. In an interview shortly after his San Francisco speech Secretary McNamara said as much. "There has been lingering doubt in some Asian countries that if China in a few years were able to reach the United States with an ICBM, we would be deterred from taking actions that might risk a Chinese attack." [10] It sounds very much as if Massive Retaliation—that Rasputin of strategic doctrines—was still around.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the decision to deploy the China defense is that it was taken not for overriding military, strategic or national security reasons but because of domestic considerations directly related to a forthcoming Presidential election.

The news in June 1967 that China had tested its second thermonuclear weapon brought from many of America's most powerful political leaders and from the military an instantaneous demand to deploy ABM. As far as can be ascertained not a single high-ranking individual from our political, diplomatic or military ranks suggested that, before deploying, the United States make a serious effort to settle its outstanding differences with China, or that we probe the sincerity of her 1966 offer to negotiate a mutual No First Strike pledge. Nobody has been heard to propose that we re-examine our China policy of isolation and containment, that we refrain from impeding China's trade with our allies, that we cease to oppose her entry into the UN, that we ourselves might even try to resume trading with her. We have provided the world with a paradigm of cursing the darkness: Apparently it did not even occur to us to light a candle.

NIKE X—CRITIQUE AND ANALYSIS

Even before Secretary McNamara had arrived in California to make his speech an-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

nouncing the ABM decision the Congressional lobby was calling for the heavy defense and denouncing the thin program as "too little and too late." For them the thin defense is only a stepping-stone to bigger things. It is necessary, therefore, to examine not only the anti-China defense but the larger anti-Soviet system as well. Opponents have criticized the latter on grounds that it was not effective, that its cost estimates were grossly underestimated, that it would intensify the arms race, that it would destabilize international relations, that it would upset the balance of deterrence, that it would be a roadblock to further arms control and disarmament agreements, and that it could lead to a national deep shelter program of considerable magnitude, which might even change drastically the quality of American life. Since these questions are customarily discussed only in Congressional hearings or military conferences and only rarely come to the public's attention, it may be useful to examine them here and provide answers as given by the expert witnesses called to testify before Congress. Unless otherwise noted the quotations throughout Part Two are taken from the Hearings before the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 90th Congress, First Session, February and March, 1967.

COST OF NIKE-X

The official pricetag of the China defense is $3.5 billion; that of the light defense is $12.2 billion, and the heavy system $21.7 billion.[11] That these estimates are unrealistic came out clearly in the hearings:

Sec. Vance: . . . *I think those are very low estimates and the actual costs would probably be 50–100% of those [i.e., more than those], based upon actual experience with the procurement of entirely new weapons systems in the past.*

The costs . . . if past experience is any guide, may be understated by 50–100% for the systems as a whole—of Posture A and Posture B [the light and the heavy systems].

Gen. Wheeler: *I think in all fairness I should point out that Secretary McNamara feels that these costs would be exceeded by perhaps 50 or even 100%.*

Deputy-Secretary Vance brought out a vital point:

Sec. Vance: *Because of . . . the very rapid rate at which the technology changes, to maintain an effective system one would essentially have to turn over the whole system, the whole $20 billion system every few years. I do not believe that we would do this. As a consequence, I am afraid we would have a heavy deployment of a system most of which was obsolete, made obsolete by changes in the enemy's offense.*

This means that the 10-year cost of the light 25-city system will be on the order of $50 billion and for the heavy 50-city defense it will perhaps reach $87 billion or more. These figures make no allowance for various Nike-X ancillary programs—air defense, antisubmarine warfare, blast and thermal shelters.[12] One recognized expert has stated that the cost of a blast shelter program for urban populations would be comparable to the cost of a major ABM deployment.[13]

HOW EFFECTIVE IS NIKE-X?

Nike X has never had full-dress testing under simulated combat conditions. The partial test ban treaty of 1963 limited Nike-X weapons to underground testing. Nike–X remains today—after the decision to deploy has been taken—largely a paper system. This is true not only because it has not yet been adequately tested but also because many of its radars have not yet reached the prototype stage. The record of failures with new weapons systems far less complex than Nike-X, which either were not or could not be tested prior to combat, suggests that Nike–X might fail disastrously in an actual nuclear exchange.[14]

The effectiveness of a heavy anti-Soviet system was thoroughly discussed during the Disarmament Subcommittee hearings. In the exchanges below the experts are Gerald Tape, a Commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission; Dr. Michael May, Director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory; and Dr. Norris Bradbury, Director of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory.

Sen. Lausche: *Do you and your experts conclude that we can develop an effective anti-ballistic missile?*

Dr. May: *We can develop an anti-ballistic missile system that would be very effective against light attacks and the effectiveness of which will go down as the degree of the severity of the attacks go up. I am sorry I can't give you a more definite answer than that.*

Sen. Fulbright: *In short, you don't know?*

Dr. Tape: *No, this goes back to Dr. May's original statement that you can overwhelm an ABM. Also, he is saying if the opponent wants to overwhelm ours, it can be overwhelmed.*

Dr. May: *It probably can be overwhelmed.*

Another exchange—

Sen. Lausche: *Can we overwhelm their system?*

Dr. May: *At present, yes, sir.*

Sen. Lausche: *You are also saying that they could overwhelm our system if we established one in accordance with what you think can be done?*

Dr. May: *I can't answer when a system is perfect. I don't know when a system is perfect, and I can't answer when a system is completely effective. Nobody knows that.*

Dr. John Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research and Engineering—

Dr. Foster: . . . *we would have to expect that in an all-out exchange dozens of their warheads would likely explode in our cities. . . . I do not believe that the deployment of a very heavy ballistic missile system is technically justified.*

Dr. Bradbury: *I don't believe the system is reliable and I think the resulting failures you will get against a mass attack would simply make me ask myself, Why am I doing this? . . . It seems to me the task of protecting cities will not eventually completely protect cities. . . . I don't think there will be much of us left over, although it would probably be better than nothing.*

Secretary Vance: *I would be willing to expend whatever amount of money was required if we could get a truly effective defense. I do not believe we can. Therefore, I feel it would be simply imprudent to waste the funds in an attempt to do so . . . if it would cost $60 billion and would truly protect our population. I would recommend that it be deployed. But I do not believe it can . . .*

A quotation from Secretary McNamara's September 18 speech—

If we could build and deploy a genuinely impenetrable shield over the United States, we would be willing to spend not $40 billion, but any reasonable multiple of that amount that was necessary. The money in itself is not the problem: The penetrability of the proposed shield is the problem.

Technology Week, 20 March 1967—

The performance of the Nike-X radar, communications and information-processing systems will have to be tested against the effects of full-scale high-altitude nuclear explosions before any confidence can be put in the system as a means of destroying more than one or two incoming warheads. [Emphasis added.]

If the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, a Commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission, two Directors of government atomic laboratories, and the Defense Department Director of Research and Engineering qualify as credible witnesses, there can be little doubt but that the effectiveness of the anti-Soviet system has marked limitations.

The key issue, however, is not whether the heavy ABM can defend against today's Soviet ICBM's, but whether it can defend against the new Soviet missiles it could be facing when it is finally deployed about 1973. By then both the Soviet Union and the United States may have replaced present missiles with MIRV—the multiple independent reentry vehicle. A single rocket armed with a MIRV warhead will be able to deliver several individual thermonuclear bombs, each on a separate target, probably assisted by the latest penetration aids. Secretary McNamara has said "The optimistic statements made by ABM proponents haven't taken such things as MIRV's fully into account. . . . Both our missile defense system and theirs were designed before MIRV's came along."[15] *Nike-X now is in much the same position as the ill-fated Nike-Zeus system was in 1959—obsolete before deployment.*

HOW MANY MILLION AMERICANS CAN NIKE-X SAVE?

If Nike-X had an unequivocal capability of saving lives there would have been no opposition to deployment. The real question about Nike-X—which is never asked—is *not* how many lives it will save but whether it is not likely to cause a greater number of fatalities than if it had not been deployed.

General Wheeler, representing the Joint Chiefs, stated the position of the military in these words: "The 30, 40, or 50 million American lives that could be saved by Nike-X, therefore, are meaningful, we believe, in every sense of the word." Secretary McNamara, Deputy Secretary Vance, and Dr. Foster took an entirely different view of the life-saving capability of Nike-X. They presented to the Subcommittee two statistical tables. The first demonstrated that if the United States deployed the light defense system, as many as 80 million lives could be saved in the event of a Soviet first strike *provided the Russians did not respond to our ABM deployment by increasing their offensive missile forces.* The second table gave the American casualties if the Soviets did increase their forces—the total was 120 million dead, *precisely the same number that would have been killed if ABM had not been deployed.*

The Joint Chiefs cling to the opinion that the Soviets would probably not respond to United States deployment by increasing their offensive forces. General Wheeler told the Subcommittee that economic and technical expenditures necessary to counter Nike-X might be beyond the capacity of the Soviet Union. They would have to pay a "high price," Wheeler said, to overcome ABM.

The civilian side of the Pentagon took the opposite view—

Dr. Foster: *It is inconceivable to me that we could deploy such a heavy defense and not have the Soviets take measures which would minimize its effectiveness.*

Sec. Vance: We believe that the Soviet Union would be forced to such a deployment by increasing its offensive nuclear forces with the result that . . . the damage to the United States from a Soviet nuclear attack, in the even deterrence failed, would not be reduced in any meaningful sense . . . deployment by the United States of an ABM defense which would degrade the destruction capability of the Soviet's offensive force to an unacceptable level would lead to an expansion of that force. This would leave us no better off than we were before.

Sec. McNamara: In all probability all we would accomplish [by deploying the heavy system] would be to increase greatly both their defense expenditures and ours without any gain in real security to either side.

The so-called heavy ABM shield [would be] a strong inducement for the Soviets to vastly

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Footnotes at end of speech.

increase their own offensive forces. . . . [Sept. 18 speech]

TECHNOLOGY WEEK: Another effect of the uncertainty of Nike–X effectiveness is that the aggressor has to assume that the system works very well and then attack it with a sufficient number of nuclear warheads to overwhelm it completely. That is, the intensity of a nuclear exchange can be greatly increased by the presence of an ABM system. [20 March, 1967]

The attractive proposition that Nike–X will save lives is based almost entirely on the questionable premise that the Soviet Union would permit the United States to undertake a major ABM program, thereby reducing substantially the Soviet retaliatory capability, without making any effort to redress the balance. The Joint Chiefs rationalize their opinion with the assumption that the Russians really could not afford to increase their forces. This is much the same view as that which maintains the Chinese will not be able to design penetration aids.

It is particularly surprising to hear from the Joint Chiefs that the Russians would not increase their offensive forces to maintain their threatened deterrent capability inasmuch as it is from precisely their offices in the Pentagon that originate countless news releases warning of the latest Soviet progress in building more missiles, of improvements in penetration aids, of ABM's around Moscow, of the ABM capabilities of the Tallinn defense line. Reports of this type are constantly leaked to journalists covering the Pentagon.[16]

Had the United States been able to negotiate with the Soviet Union an agreement to deploy ABM systems in the context of a "freeze" on offensive forces or, preferably, a reduction of forces-in-being, then ABM deployment would undoubtedly mean millions of lives saved in the event deterrence failed. But with massive increases in offensive ICBM forces equipped with the latest and most sophisticated penetration aids, ABM does not look as if it was going to save many lives; and it is not an impossibility, if offensive forces reach unreasonable levels, as they now threaten to do, that deployment of anti-ballistic missile defenses could increase fatalities above the pre-ABM level.

NIKE-X AND THE NUCLEAR BALANCE

1. Effect on the arms race

In his San Francisco speech Secretary McNamara left no doubt in his listeners' minds that an anti-Soviet deployment would have an adverse effect on the nuclear balance and on the arms race: A heavy defense, he said, would not only fail to provide adequate protection against a Soviet attack but would instead be "a strong inducement for the Soviets to vastly increase their own offensive forces . . . and so the arms race would rush hopelessly on. . . ." On no other issue is the split between the Joint Chiefs and the civilian side of the Pentagon so sharp. As one of his five reasons for recommending Nike-X, General Wheeler, on behalf of the Chiefs, said that it would "stabilize the nuclear balance."

Deputy Secretary Vance has said that the basis of the United States deterrent is its ability to "destroy the attacker as a viable 20th-century nation." This he defined as the destruction of "one-fifth to one-half of the population and one-half to two-thirds of its industrial capacity. . . ." The official term is "Assured Destruction." Vance added: "We believe the Soviet Union has essentially the same requirements for a deterrent or 'assured destruction' force as the United States." In the September speech McNamara spelled it out: "We can be sure that we are both [United States and Soviet Union] going to maintain a maximum effort to preserve an assured destruction capability . . . we can be certain [if we deploy a heavy ABM system] that the Soviets will react to offset the advantage we would hope to gain . . . we must measure our own response in such a manner that it does not trigger a senseless spiral upward of nuclear arms."

Since 1963 the arms race has been marked by relative stability. However, when the Soviets deployed an ABM system around Moscow the response in the United States was to deploy a thin system across the entire country and to develop new "generations" of ICBM's with highly sophisticated penetration aids. The Soviet Union is now increasing its offensive forces and there is already considerable political pressure in this country to go beyond the modest thin defense to a much larger deployment against the Soviet Union. When the U.S. MIRV system becomes operational in four to five years, the number of thermonuclear warheads in our offensive missile forces will increase from the present total of 1,710 to 7,500 or more.[17] In view of these ominous developments within such a relatively short time span, the claim of the Joint Chiefs that Nike-X will stabilize the nuclear balance has been shattered as thoroughly as the balance itself.

With ABM deployment the arms race, until now in a single dimension, has become a three-dimensional contest in offensive weapons, defensive systems, plus a feverish technological effort aimed at scoring qualitative breakthroughs. The meaning of this new and highly lethal phase of the arms race is that as each side deploys new ICBM's with ever more sophisticated penetration devices and as the other responds with more ABM's and more ICBM's in its turn, neither can be certain at any moment that it has not lost, if only temporarily, its Assured Destruction capability. In short, it may fear it can no longer deter the other from a first strike. Russia and the United States will view each other with constant mistrust and suspicion; tension will replace detente; an action which under less tense circumstances would appear innocuous might seem extremely threatening, in fact, might even be interpreted as indicating an incipient first strike. Forces-in-being will be at much higher levels than they are now; this could mean that fatalities in the event of a nuclear war would be greater than if ABM had not been deployed. In this new climate of hostility and insecurity the "gap psychosis" will further increase instability. Both military and civilian leaders will be afraid of a deterrent gap, and ICBM gap, a civil defense gap, an ABM gap, a technological gap, and it is likely that every move they make will overcompensate for a suspected gap in any of these areas.

If the military wished to stabilize the nuclear balance they could have proposed a different ABM deployment. Nike–X, if it were emplaced around missile bases rather than cities, would in all probability have a stabilizing effect on deterrence. The reason is simple: A nation launching a first strike would obviously have to aim it at the enemy's missile bases, not his cities. The retaliatory strike is aimed at cities; its purpose is to make the country which struck first pay an unacceptably heavy price. By deploying ABM to protect its civilian population a country is reducing the Assured Destruction potential of the other side thus making its own first strike more feasible. The larger and more effective a nation's ABM defense the more threatening it would appear and the better the position it would be in for launching a first strike. But by deploying ABM *only* around its missile bases a nation would increase its retaliatory second strike capability, making it much more dangerous for another country to launch a first strike against it.

There is no more convincing proof of the destabilizing effect of ABM than the statement to the Disarmament Subcommittee by General Wheeler that ". . . it's also the view of the Joint Chiefs that regardless of anyone's feelings about the situation in Vietnam, we think it quite clear that we would have had even more hesitation in deploying our forces there, had the strategic balance not been in our favor." That statement cuts close to the bone. The General is saying that in order for the United States to be able to carry out its self-appointed role as policeman for Asia and other parts of the world, in order to fulfill our "commitments" to defend first this country and then that, we need something like a First Strike Capability. Surely that is what the Joint Chiefs mean when they claim that Nike–X will "stabilize the nuclear balance."

Another of the General's five reasons for recommending Nike–X is even more revealing: Nike–X deployment, he told the Senators, would "introduce uncertainties which would inhibit Soviet leaders from concluding that . . . the United States would not preempt under any circumstances." To preempt means to *strike first*.

2. Effect on arms control

Nike–X, like its abortive predecessor Nike-Zeus, has not been tested adequately. The radars are not yet ready, and the warheads have only been tested underground because of the partial test ban treaty of 1963.

Perhaps it will be possible to install the thin China defense without great pressure being placed on the Administration to test Nike–X in the atmosphere, but it is inconceivable that the larger deployments will be emplaced without an overwhelming demand for full and complete tests of the entire system. This would very likely lead to breaking the test ban treaty.

Technology Week examined this point: *It is therefore very likely that the performance of the Nike–X radar, communications and information-processing systems will have to be tested against the effects of full-scale high-altitude nuclear explosions before any confidence can be put in this system as a means of destroying more than one or two incoming warheads. . . . It is very hard to believe that the United States will commit itself to an expenditure of $20 billion for Nike–X without carrying out full-scale tests to see how cost-effective it is.* [March 20, 1967]

In 1966 a deputy director of the Defense Atomic Support Agency told a Congressional committee he did not believe it was possible to test Nike–X underground, that extrapolations from underground tests were less reliable than from those in the atmosphere and gave rise to "some definite doubts" about Nike–X performance.[18]

For the moment little will be heard about the "necessity" to test Nike-X in the atmosphere, but within 12 to 18 months it is likely that members of the military and of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy will call for a resumption of atmospheric tests in the interests of "national security."

Nike-X will not only jeopardize past arms control accords; it is certainly not going to create the sort of world climate in which we can look forward with confidence to new agreements. Negotiations on the crucial nonproliferation treaty have already been disrupted by plans to deploy the thin defense. The secretary-general of NATO, Manlio Brosio, announced at a news conference the day after Secretary McNamara's speech that a European ABM defense was "under consideration in the alliance." [19] Future arms control measures, for instance a "freeze" or a reduction of ICBM forces, are not going to be speeded up by Nike-X. In *Foreign Affairs* a military expert recently wrote:

At the very least, therefore, the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles would in all probability lead to a hiatus in arms control negotiations, while both sides tried out their new weapons, decided on countermeasures to each other's deployment and reestablished an effective and acceptable strategic balance. It could mean the loss of any chance for an early agreement on comprehensive test

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Footnotes at end of speech.

ban and on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. . . ." [20]

3. Nike-X and civil defense

Nike-X deployment means that civil defense will soon become a major national program. In Dr. May's words to Congress—

The word [ABM] is often also used to refer to a set of shelters which would have to go with the system to make it a reasonable instrument of defense. . . . [Shelters are] probably the first step [in deployment].

General Wheeler told the Disarmament Subcommittee that the present total of shelters for 153 million people will be increased to "around 250 million," doubling the fallout program costs from $.8 billion to $1.6 billion over the next four years. But the fallout shelter is only the begining. It is to civil defense what the thin ABM deployment is to the heavy anti-Soviet system.

Even before Secretary McNamara announced the decision to proceed with the thin China defense, the same men who had forced its deployment began calling for a heavy defense. The Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Senator Pastore, called the Administration's decision "a step in the right direction" which would lead to an "over-all system against the Soviet Union." [21] Washington's Senator Jackson said it was not solely a Chinese problem, but must include a capability to "blunt" a Soviet strike.[22]

There is nothing subtle about these tactics; they are the sledgehammer type and there is no political deployment that can defend against them. One does not have to be clairvoyant to predict a further Administration capitulation on the heavy defense, *perhaps even before the China system has been installed.* The technique that make this inevitable was explained by General Wheeler to the Senators:

Gen. Wheeler: *These [ABM] costs could be exceeded by perhaps 50% or even 100% . . . the demands of the people for heavier defenses in other areas, would inevitably increase the costs ultimately to something like $40 billion.*

Sen. Gore: *In other words, if St. Louis is to be defended, then Kansas City must be.*

Gen. Wheeler: *That is right, sir.*

Sen. Gore: *And Memphis.*

Gen. Wheeler: *That is right, sir.*

Aviation Week and Space Technology, the trade journal of the aerospace industry, quoted two knowledgeable observes on this question in its October 23, 1967 issue:

America in either too sophisticated a country—or not sophisticated enough—to stop deployment with a light system. There is no question but that, once we start building, we will have to build a complete system, the best that money can buy. [A "neutral Senate source"]

Once the anti-Chinese system is in place, it's going to grow, inevitably, into an anti-Soviet system no matter who tries to block it. That's the American way, and the political pressures will be too great for anyone to stop it. [Source unidentified]

Eventually we will end up with a "super-heavy" defense of every American city of over 50,000 population. The men who so successfully "marketed" Nike-X on the grounds that it would have lives and stabilize the nuclear balance, who assured us that the Soviets would not increase the size of their offensive forces, will suddenly warn the public that in view of the enormous increase in Soviet ICBM's, the tense state of world affairs and the instability of deterrence, the nation must move quickly to build blast and thermal shelters to protect its people.

In the opinion of a distinguished physicist, Dr. Freeman Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, N.J., who has served as consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a massive civil defense program will require extensive participation of the civilian population in quasi-military activities. He sees the United States being turned into what military strategists call a "hard society." The term "hard society" Dyson defines as training and hardening a whole population "in a spirit of unquestioning obedience in order to withstand a nuclear attack, much as a missile silo is hardened by encasing it in a certain thickness of concrete." [23]

Dr. Dyson's fears are far from fantasy. In 1958 the RAND Corporation published a paper entitled "Some Specific Proposals for Achieving Early Non-Military Defense Capabilities and Initiating Long-Range Programs." It is merely a list of suggestions for research projects in civil defense, but it is well worth reading for the candid and sombre insight it gives into the sort of civil defense programs which may be in store for Americans. Among the suggestions are—

Mines as personnel shelters: *$1 million, 2–90 day occupancy.*

Psychological and Psychiatric Studies: *$200,000: A study would be made of the preparation for family separation and of shelter techniques for handling this problem.*

Studies of Very Austere Shelters and Long Occupations (*$1.5 million*)*: A study should be made of the survival of populations in environments similar to overcrowded shelters (concentration camps, Russian and German use of crowded freight cars, troop ships, crowded prisons, crowded lifeboats, submarines, etc.).*

Some useful guiding principles might be found and adapted to the shelter program. Research projects might include: Study of available information that might suggest human endurance, the latter to be used to determine overcrowding tolerances and for defining the early capability needed in personnel shelter studies ($200,000). Investigation of the use of sedation and chemical tranquilization for long periods and for possible use in shelters ($800,000).

Social Problems (*Excerpt*): "*. . . Prolonged confinement in shelters will unavoidably produce emotional stress. Various measures regated activity, or discipline areas, etc.) ought to be studied and prepared in order to maintain shelter discipline, to lessen the mental strain and to minimize he incidence of psychological aftereffects.*"

Food Problems (*Excerpt*): "*Survival and emergency rations used by the Armed Forces are costly and are not designed to be used by a population for survival. An army survival ration costing 75 cents per person per day would mean a total ration cost of $150 million per day. Based on a minimum cost diet, a suitable shelter ration might cost no more than 40 cents per person per day, a saving of almost 50% which would certainly make research in this area worthwhile.*"

There has been talk on and off of other schemes like "Evacuation Cities" which are a sort of second underground city to which urban populations could be removed in times of acute crisis like the 1962 Cuban missile confrontation, the idea being that the first country to put its urban populations underground would be in a better strategic and bargaining position than the one which had not. There are serious implications for such basic liberties as the right to travel freely; some experts fear that civil defense regulations will require identity cards, travel permits, surveillance. The effect on already blighted, ghettoed cities can be imagined.

BUT ISN'T IT BETTER THAN NOTHING?

The question is asked repeatedly—Nike-X may not be very good but isn't it better than nothing? If it saves only ten American lives isn't it still worth $5 billion? But what if Nike-X costs ten lives that would not have been lost had it not been deployed? That question is not asked. If Nike-X disrupts the nuclear balance disastrously, if it accelerates the arms race, increases world tensions, regiments American society and is not effective—is it then better than nothing? As stated above, if Nike-X were deployed only around missile bases in the context of a reduction in offensive forces with, perhaps, a very small SPARTAN defense to protect against accidental or unauthorized launch of one or two ICBM's there might be good reason to believe that it was better than nothing. But on the basis of the evidence supplied by experts, it appears more likely than not that Nike-X will turn out to be a disaster for the American people.

It is an attempt to solve essentially non-military problems—protecting people and reducing the danger of war—with a purely military solution. From the military it is reasonable to expect a solution like Nike-X. It is less understandable why politicians should lend it such whole-hearted support; their principal commitment should be to an entirely different set of references.

The American people must be clear on one point. By developing ABM the United States has turned its back on a more stable and livable world and is heading straight toward what Secretary McNamara on September 18th, 1967, so aptly called an "horizon of horror." The holocaust the whole world fears is now that much closer.

During the Disarmament Subcommittee hearings an exchange took place between Deputy Secretary Vance and some Senators. They had been discussing the possibility that China could destroy 20 American ports by having cargo vessels release nuclear bombs in them before leaving for the sea:

Sen. Gore: This is a frightening world.

Sec. Vance: It is a frightening world, Senator; I agree.

Sen. Sparkman: It becomes more so as we move along.

Sec. Vance: It does indeed.

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[1] The words "fatal defects" are those of Dr. John S. Foster; Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 90th Congress, 1st Session.

[2] Rex Pay, "U.S. ABM Would Imperil Test Ban Treaty." *Technology Week*, March 20, 1967.

[3] Until September 18, 1967 the estimate of the cost of a thin defense against China was $3.5 billion. In announcing deployment of the China system Secretary McNamara gave a revised figure of $5 billion. (Cost presented at DSH.)

[4] The function of the thin defense is given in a special list of answers to questions posed to Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., by members of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament. This list was printed in the official transcript of the hearings. The statement on effectiveness was made by Deputy Secretary Vance before the same Subcommittee.

[5] J. I. Coffey, "The Antiballistic Missile Debate," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1967.

[6] Dr. May's statement is excessively optimistic. It is actually not necessary that the offense outnumber the defense in order to penetrate the thin system. As demonstrated on page 7, a relatively modest Chinese ICBM force can successfully penetrate the thin defense. 55 Chinese ICBM's fired at a defense with a density factor of 50 would score *many* hits. (Dr. May's statement made to DSH.)

[7] Foster's remark means that SPARTAN is not very effective against ICBM's carrying penetration aids; it confirms the view that the thin defense is presumed to defend against the simplest possible ICBM forces. (DSH)

[8] *New York*, 15 September, 1967.

[9] *New York Times*, 6 August, 1967.

[10] Robert S. McNamara, "Defense Fantasy Come True," *Life*, 29 September, 1967.

[11] The degree to which these estimates are unrealistic is indicated by the increase in the

cost of the thin defense. Between March 1967 and September 1967 it rose from $3.5 billion to $5 billion—a 43% jump. The full deployment cost of the thin defense may accordingly come close to $10 billion.

[12] *The New York Times* of September 25, 1967, reported that Secretary McNamara announced a $5 billion additional expenditure for improved air defense, presumably to plug the gaps in the thin system.

[13] Freeman J. Dyson, "Defense Against Ballistic Missiles," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June, 1964.

[14] The classic example of a gross miscalculation in the effectiveness of a weapons system is the German air defense in World War II. The kill probability was figured at .25 per round fired; in other words for every four rounds fired they would down one enemy bomber. These calculations were made prior to testing, and were later verified in tests at proving grounds. In actual combat the kill probability turned out to be .0002, one-one thousandth of the predicited figure. Decision-makers were off not by a factor of five or ten—but by *three orders of magnitude*.

[15] Robert S. McNamara, "Defense Fantasy Come True," *Life*, 29 September, 1967.

[16] Hanson Baldwin, military correspondent of the *New York Times*, is a favorable channel the military use to feed their viewpoint to the public. A Baldwin story in the *Times* for May 21, 1967, cites "one high-ranking officer in the Pentagon who is privy to all intelligence figures and estimates" as saying that the Russians are going to achieve ICBM near-parity by 1970 and will have surpassed the United States in megatonnage and in defense weapons. An excellent illustration of a different Pentagon technique is a report released in July, 1967 by Mendel Rivers' House Armed Services Committee. The 103-page study was actually prepared by the right-wing American Security Council, a private research organization directed by retired senior military men, among whom are generals Curtis LeMay, Thomas Power, and Bernard Schriever. The report predicted Soviet nuclear superiority over the United States by 1971.

[17] *U.S. News and World Report*, 16 October, 1967; also Associated Press dispatch, Bob Horton, 16 September, 1967.

[18] Dr. Theodore B. Taylor; Hearings before the House Appropriations Committee, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, 1966.

[19] *New York Times*, 20 September, 1967.

[20] Coffey, *op. cit.*

[21] *New York Times*, 19 September, 1967.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Dyson, *op. cit.*

(All quotations identified in the text as made before the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee were given at the hearings specified in footnote 1 above. The abbreviation DSH in the footnotes means the statements in question were made at these hearings.)

Captain of Aviation Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on the 6th of December, in Dallas, Tex., the Honorable James A. Rhodes, Governor of Ohio, was awarded general aviation's highest honor. The Captain of Aviation Industry Award was bestowed by the National Aviation Trades Association for the Governor's "contributions to the growth of business aviation," and "steadfast dedication to the principle that man's greatest dignity is employment," bringing "an improved standard of living for all peoples under his influence."

Ohio rightfully claims the title "Birthplace of Aviation," and through Governor Rhodes' efforts has become the most airminded State in the Nation.

Transportation, like education, is a cost of production and absolutely vital for a State to achieve full economic growth and provide thousands of jobs annually needed for young people, Governor Rhodes believes. I would like to quote his speech delivered to the National Aviation Trades Association convention in Dallas:

> The most important responsibility we in government, Democrat and Republican alike, have is to create an attitude and climate in our states and communities so present industry will expand and new industry will be attracted. Why? Because in Ohio alone we need 75,000 new jobs annually to supply the expanding labor market. We are going to create these new jobs. Educate, train, and retrain our young people to fill them . . . or, we're going to fight them in the streets.
>
> Some people say government should provide programs, busy-work, to take care of our young people. I say the young people want jobs. They want dignity and decency. They want to hold their heads high as productive members of society. They do not want to just be kept busy.
>
> To provide more and better jobs, industry must make a profit so it can expand and new industry will be attracted. This is why we have adopted the slogan in Ohio that "Profit is not a dirty word."
>
> An excellent transportation system is the lifeline of industry, business, commerce and agri-business. An item which costs a dollar additional to ship, costs a dollar more in the market place.
>
> We have worked hard the past five years to make Ohio the Transportation Center of the Nation. We shall be finished first with our Interstate System. We have more highways, truck lines, railways, and air facilities per capita than any other state in the Union.
>
> Why? Again, because transportation is a cost of production. This is the reason we have pushed for a network of airport facilities . . . an airport in each of Ohio's 88 counties. The world cannot move without aviation. Time is money and business people will not jet hundreds of miles between major cities and then take hours riding in an auto to a plant site. These executives demand modern air facilities.

Governor Rhodes continued by emphasizing his belief that jobs for the able-bodied is the major need to cure unrest and social ills. For this reason, industrial development has been stressed in Ohio. He said that in the period 1963–67, Ohio had $6.4 billion in new industrial capital investment, and led the Nation in 1964, 1965, and 1966.

He continued:

> Certainly one of the major reasons for this record growth is our airport program. Many of these new-to-Ohio companies gave as the number one reason for locating in Ohio the fact that a business type airplane landing strip was within minutes of the plant site.

It is my belief that more States and perhaps the Federal Government could do more to eliminate poverty if it adopted Governor Rhodes' philosophy of attracting industry to provide legitimate jobs as opposed to Government-sponsored "busy-work" projects which only temporarily solve the unemployment problem.

As Governor Rhodes so aptly says:

> Someone must stand between the tax spender and the tax payer. The public will pay for good service, outstanding programs, and progress. They will not stand for waste, extravagance, or boondoggling. In Ohio, we insist on giving a dollar value for a dollar invested.

President Asks for Fair Share for the American Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in an excellent address over national educational television, President Johnson presented to the Nation the report of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber.

As the President noted in his remarks, America owes much more to its farmers than we have returned to them.

Our farmers have made us the best-fed people on earth, they have richly contributed to our Nation's economic well-being, and they have enabled America to nobly respond to the pleas of the world's hungry millions. Yet, as the President put it, the farmer "gets less than his fair share of the prosperity."

For this reason, the President established 2 years ago the Advisory Commission to help America provide a fair income to its farmers and a fair profit to its food and fiber industries.

The labors of this special commission underscore the President's concern for finding the hard answers to farm problems which have eluded 35 Presidents.

Few men are as uniquely qualified to tackle the problems as President Johnson—as he said, "agriculture is a subject that has been very close to my heart all my life."

Let us hope that the Advisory Commission's report will equip his administration and the Nation with the tools to bring the full blessings of American prosperity to the American farmer and his family.

I include in the RECORD the President's remarks on the food and fiber report:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, FOOD AND FIBER REPORT, TELEVISED DECEMBER 7, 1967

> Every man enjoys the chance to talk about something that he knows something about. I think that is even true of Presidents.
>
> Agriculture is a subject that has been very close to my heart all of my life. My roots have always been in rural America. That is why I am very happy today to have this chance to remind my fellow Americans of the debt that I think we owe to the American farmer and to his family.
>
> Our farmers have made us the healthiest and the best fed people in all the world, throughout all history. They have given us much more than just the necessities of life. Every day, they bring us a harvest of great

quantity and rare quality—and they do it at a cost that the average housewife cn easily afford.

Our farmers have shared the richness of their skill and the earth with a hungry world. They have literally saved millions of people from starvation.

American farm products are vital to our own economic health, and to our strength in the markets of the world. They form the largest part of America's international trade.

American farming techniques today are miracles that create many of the blessings of our abundance. Their efficiency is the envy and the hope of so many nations that seek peaceful and stable development.

Yes, the American farmer has given a great deal to his nation, and he has given much to the world. And—yes—he gets the short end of the stick in return.

Far too often, he gets less than his fair share of the prosperity that he has helped create and that he supports. He gets up at daylight, he works all day long, he comes home hot or cold and tired to his family—and he finally finds that he has been short-changed for his labors. So instead of going to bed, he sits up with his wife, wrestling with the unpaid bills and wondering how to meet the payments.

These things are pretty discouraging. The bills are hard to pay because the farmer himself is underpaid. We must do better by our farmers. We owe it to them to be fair. We owe it to ourselves to be just—and I am not sure that we have been either.

All of us—the college people, the government people, the city people, the farm people, the American people, if you please—should join in conscience and bring new life to the American farmer and to our agricultural programs.

Two years ago, I, as the President of the American people, established the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber to try to help us achieve that. We sought and secured 30 outstanding Americans to serve on this Commission. Dean Sherwood Berg, of the Institute of Agriculture at the great University of Minnesota, acted as Chairman.

The President asked this Commission to take a good, hard, long look at our agricultural and our foreign trade policies. I now have their findings and recommendations—and I am encouraged.

Their report will, I hope, move us forward to the goal we seek—giving a fair income to our farmers for their labors—and giving a fair return to the investor in our food and fiber industries.

That is our common responsibility as Americans. We ought to live up to that responsibility. We haven't lived up to it. We have to do something about it. So I am very grateful to every member of this Commission for helping us to recognize our debt to our farmers—for showing us how we must and how we may repay the farmer—in full.

I know that we don't have all the final answers. I know that many of them are around the corner that we haven't turned. But I do believe they will not come easy for any of us; and I do think that I ought to tell you this:—The search is underway.—The search is not going to stop.—We have the very best men that the President can find doing the searching.

"Farming," it has been said, "looks mighty easy when your plow is a pencil, and you are sitting back in an air conditioned room a thousand miles from a cornfield."

This Commission has not been looking at farming from an air conditioned room with a pencil over the ear a thousand miles from the farm. From the very first, this Commission understood that there were no easy answers to this problem. If there were, it would have been given to the 35 Presidents who preceded me. This Commission has rejected the extremes of pessimism and optimism.

Our farmers generally have a good deal of pessimism in their system and they have a good deal of justification for it. Now and then we have an adventurer and one that is overly optimistic.

But this Commission has looked instead, not for pessimism or optimism, but for constructive ideas—for fair proposals—for what they believe would be reasonable and yet realistic solutions.

Too often we have had idealistic people that had their eyes on the stars but did not keep their feet on the ground.

I hope, and I believe, that the Commission has succeeded in its general purpose. I believe we are all now better equipped in our national purpose.

So I am very grateful to all of you who believe as I believe—that there is a better day coming for the American farmer, particularly if the farmer himself will unite and will give some of his good hard-headed thinking to this subject.

I think that we need not wait until the cows come home to see this day come. Let's get with it. Let's go at it. Let's unite and put our shoulders to the wheel.

In adversity, you know, the family comes a little closer together. Now, things are not so bad as to say we are all living in adversity. But we do need to better conditions on the farms. If we don't, people are not going to be on the farms any more. There are too few there now. One of the reasons for all of our problems, is that so many have left the farms because they were forced to.

So let's try to put aside our prejudices and our selfishness and our individual viewpoints and try to find an area of agreement where the farmers of the nation can come together and unite in a common cause—a cause of moving forward for a better world for those who till the soil, and a better world for all of those who live in it.

Thank you very much.

Michigan Businessman Receives Well-Deserved Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I was particularly pleased to receive a copy of the current issue of the Independent Petroleum Monthly and find a special tribute to one of my constituents.

I refer to the article about Harold M. McClure, Jr., of Alma, Mich., with whom some of my colleagues are acquainted, because he has been here frequently and has testified before congressional committees. The occasion for the recognition is his election as the president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America.

Mr. McClure is a very unusual man—full of ambition and energy—and a fellow who sees a job through to completion. The honor bestowed on him is well deserved.

The article referred to follows:

HAROLD MCCLURE, JR.

The late Senator Estes Kefauver was chairman of a Senate Subcommittee conducting hearings in 1957. One of the witnesses was a youngish-looking oil producer who had stated firmly his position on a question before the group of legislators.

The Tennessee Senator looked over his famous horn-rimmed glasses and commented: "Aren't you just a bit young to be representing the petroleum industry?"

Harold M. McClure, Jr., of Alma, Mich., smiled and replied: "Senator, my 14-year-old daughter would love you for that remark."

Today that youngish-looking father is a youngish-looking grandfather and is the first active second generation Association member to be elected president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America. He is the seventeenth man to head the organization which was formed in 1929.

Actually, McClure is a third generation oil producer. His maternal grandfather, Gust Stelzer, who had come to this country from Germany, was one of the early pioneers of the oil and gas industry in Ohio, operating in the late 1880's primarily in the Lima-Findlay Field, the field which spawned the Pure Oil Co., now a division of Union Oil Company of California, Ohio Oil Co., now Marathon Oil Co., and Sun Oil Co.

In 1918, Stelzer and Harold's father formed Stelzer & McClure and continued to operate in Ohio until 1932 when the McClure family, along with many other Ohio independents moved to Michigan during the early Michigan oil discoveries near Muskegon. They settled in Alma in 1933.

Harold actually was introduced to the oil industry in Ohio, when, at the age of five, his father allowed him to drop "go-devils" onto 40 quarts of nitroglycerin into wells being shot. By the time he was 11, Harold spent his summers wrenching rods, driving a truck and other oil field tasks. When he was 17, he was the sole proprietor of Allegan Pipe and Tool Co., the first oil country machine shop in the Southwest Michigan boom of 1938.

When 14 employees working in the shop, running lathes, threading pipe, blacksmithing and "doing any kind of oil country machine shop work for cable tool equipment," Harold was approached by a large machine shop operator from Butler, Pa., who said, "we're going to put in a shop or buy yours."

"I asked him how big a check he could write. Then, with that money, I bought three rigs and later operated 10 in southwestern Michigan and southern Indiana, working as a drilling contractor and drilling wildcats near the Siosi Pool in Indiana and the Bloomingdale Field in Michigan. That was when McClure Drilling Co. was born." Harold remembers. That was in the late 1930's.

"It was in the Bloomingdale area where I saw my first oil field fire. In fact," he said, "12 of us were burned and I was laid up for six weeks. Things were moving pretty fast at that time. Oil was posted at $1.20 a barrel, but most of it sold for 50 to 60 cents a barrel."

It was in those early years that McClure got his oil field education. Now, a staunch supporter of higher education, Harold serves on the board of trustees of Albion College and the Michigan State University Development Fund and has been chairman of the Gratiot Community Fund for Alma College.

"I am grateful for my formal education," he says, "but if I had to make a choice between formal and practical, I think I'd have to choose the practical. Of course, I recommend a good combination of the two, if at all possible. I think it is regrettable that the teenagers today don't have the opportunities to get out and do the things we did at the same age so they can gain this valuable practical training."

After his graduation from Alma High School and before World War II, Harold attended Ohio State University, studying petroleum engineering, and Michigan State University, where he studied chemical engineering. While in cadets during the war, he was a student at the University of Arkansas, University of Missouri and Arkansas Polytechnic at Russellville. After earning his commission as lieutenant in the Air Corps when he was stationed at Pampa, Tex., he served a short stint in the European Theater of Operations and then became a staff pilot for the Eastern Flying Training Command at Maxwell Field in Montgomery, Ala. He flew B–17s, B–25s and B–29s.

"All this moving about lets me claim to be part Southerner and part Yankee, part Arkansan and part Texan. That keeps me on good terms with my many friends in Texas," Harold says. "In fact, one man told me 'with your accent, you could get along fine in Texas or Oklahoma'."

After three and one-half years in the Air Corps, Harold returned in 1945 to Michigan where he began to intensify his activity in the oil industry. And, he used his flying experience to make it pay. Since his discharge from the service, he has averaged more than 500 flying hours every year, for a total now, combined with his wartime flying, of almost 14,000 hours. He utilizes to their fullest extent his company's two Beechcraft Barons. On the company payroll is a professional pilot who is also an A&E mechanic, but in the 27-man staff are five qualified pilots. According to McClure: "A man who flies can be three times as effective as one who dosen't. And in a tight organization such as ours efficiency is a prime factor. We have a saying around our office, 'the first guy who sees a nut loose had better grab a wrench and tighten it.' That's the way we operate. No one is an expert in just one thing."

IPAA's seventeenth president is not a man to spend needless time mulling decisions. Rather, he is quick to view all sides of a problem, ask evaluating questions, and then make the decision so he can move on to the next problem. These are some of the personality traits which probably were inherited from a dynamic father.

The elder McClure, who was known as "Butch" to his many friends in the industry and throughout the nation, had been a stalwart in the fledgling oil industry in Michigan. At the age of 41, he was one of the chief architects of Act 61, the Michigan Oil and Gas Conservation Act, which has been a model for several other states. He served nine years as the first chairman of the Michigan Oil and Gas Advisory Board, president of the Michigan Oil and Gas Assn., president of the National Stripper Well Assn. and during World War II was a member of the National Petroleum Council and the Petroleum Administration for Defense.

He taught his son that he owed a stewardship to the industry in which he was involved. "He preached and practiced this concept all the time," Harold relates. "It was at a meeting of the Michigan Oil and Gas Assn., in November, 1950, at Lansing where he suffered his first stroke. He died four months later.

"He told me once, 'It is the obligation of every person in this industry, in whatever segment and whatever position he holds, to steward this God-given natural resource.' This I believe today just as strongly as he believed it then."

But the elder McClure did not dictate to his young and eager son. "I never lacked for bit room," Harold says. "My father was not one to tell a person he couldn't do something. Rather, he let him find out for himself. Then, he would suggest ways that might have been tried to come out a little better. He was the greatest teacher I ever had.

"One of the greatest things he ever taught me was this business of stewardship to the industry," Harold said. "I feel that we must use this resource to the maximum of our technical capacities. This goes for the producer, the transporter, the refiner, the marketer and the consumer. In my opinion, any wasting of this fuel anywhere along the line is a sin against this stewardship," he said.

It is this dedication to stewardship that has had its culmination in his election to the presidency of IPAA. Few men can equal his industry service which, in addition to the Association, includes the positions of president of the Michigan Oil and Gas Assn. and the National Stripper Well Assn., vice president of the American Assn. of Oilwell Drilling Contractors, and a member and/or director of the American Petroleum Institute, the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, National Petroleum Council and the United States Executive Reserve (Department of the Interior).

At the time of the election, he was serving as chairman of the IPAA Import Policy Committee and was vice chairman during 1964 and 1965. He has been a member of this important committee since 1954. He was a member of the Executive Committee, Nominating, Synthetic Fuels, Natural Gas and Incentives committees. In earlier service, he was a director in 1951 to 1954, 1958 to 1960 and 1965 until the present. He was IPAA vice president for Michigan from 1955 to 1957 and had served on the Magazine, Membership, Public Information, Ways & Means, Secondary Recovery and Western Hemisphere committees.

In many of these activities, too, he followed his father's footsteps. The elder McClure had served as a director of IPAA from 1936 through 1940, was a vice president for Michigan in 1940 and 1941, director again from 1942 through 1950 and a member of the Executive Committee from 1943 to 1956.

Shortly after the formation of McClure Oil Co. in 1950, Harold became president and soon acquired controlling interest in Old Dutch Refining Co. and later added subsidiaries engaged in pipeline and tanker transportation as well as storage and marketing. Old Dutch Refining capacity was increased from 4,000 to 15,000 barrels daily and later merged with Aurora Gasoline Co. before its merger with Marathon Oil after McClure sold it. At present, he is president and chief executive officer of McClure Oil Co. with operations in seven states and joint ventures in many others.

Some of his other interests include Aurora Film Co., an English firm; the Strand Theatre, the largest theater in Alma (only one) which was completely renovated and restored; McClure, Inc.; Pine River Development Co. in Alma; Spring Meadow Corp., a large Nevada minerals and land development company, Eobenal, Inc., and Alma shopping center development; and is a director of the Michigan National Bank.

But his first and foremost love is the exploratory and producing segment of the oil industry. "Sometimes my wife asks me to relax and go into the library and read a mystery or something to get my mind off business. But, to me, there is no greater mystery than the oil exploration business. This is my greatest pleasure. I'm living the great mystery story," Harold says.

But, actually, his business is probably his second greatest pleasure. First in line is his family. He and his wife, Gerry, the former Geraldine Davis of Flint, Mich., were married in Detroit in 1941. They have four children—Kathy, whose husband is an Air Force captain; Kristy, whose husband is attending Harvard University on a teaching fellowship; Karin, who is 10; and Kevin, nine. Their oldest daughter is the mother of two children, Kristin and Kimberley.

Questioned about his affinity for names that begin with the letter "K" Harold replied in mock seriousness: "We planned it that way. You see, this way, when we buy luggage it belongs to all of them."

Friday nights at the McClure household is family night or fun night. This is allowance time for the younger children and the time that each of them discuss their problems with the whole family. It's a night that everyone has an opportunity to suggest some sort of family entertainment. "It's the night we all look forward to," the new IPAA president says.

An avid sportsman, particularly in summer outdoor sporting activities, Harold takes his greatest pleasure in sailing. At his home on Crystal Lake, in the northwestern part of the lower Michigan peninsula, he spends as many hours as he can arrange in the water. In addition, he is an excellent swimmer and plays what he terms as a "passable" game of golf. Come winter time, however, Harold is still outside, often participating in the rigorous activities of the Ostego Ski Club.

In his sports as in his business, he puts his full mind and attention to whatever he tries. As a result, his physical well being keeps his mind alert for the business problems he encounters every day.

Facing the year ahead as president of the only national organization of independent oil and gas producers, McClure has some definite ideas of what he hopes to accomplish as he views with a great deal of pleasure the future of the domestic petroleum industry.

"The Association has long been a cornerstone of this industry," Harold says. "It has been a strong advocate of the proper use of every talent available to maintain a strong industry, a strong producing segment, so that our nation will always enjoy an adequate supply of petroleum at a reasonable cost to the American people.

"We must continue to recognize the changing technology which is changing our industry. I, for one, do not believe in the status quo. Our membership must change to meet the changes. We'll see some of the most fertile opportunities for independents in the next decade, a reawakening of attitude. This reawakening will be among those in policy making positions in government and the public, in recognition of the validity of the policies which IPAA has long nurtured—the necessity for maintaining a strong domestic industry. If we are alert to this reawakening—as individuals and as Association members—we can capitalize on the opportunities."

On one problem of the Association, McClure takes a strong stand: "I don't believe in deficits, whether it be on an individual basis, an industry basis, a government basis or an association basis. Deficits leave me in a chilled attitude. Something must and will be done about this problem.

"I hope there will be a realization of a more adequate price for our product and a better recognition of the needs of our oil and gas economy. We must and can expect to grow in the economy in which this industry exists. At the same time, the producer must recognize his own facts of life, too. This is particularly true as he views his support of the Association.

"Our industry has been operating in a restricted position in a growing economy. But, the contributions our industry makes to this economy are gaining more recognition and the many segments of our industry are beginning to coalesce toward a common goal. Internal battles should be fought internally and then agreed upon solutions can be presented which the entire industry can get behind."

One of the principal messages the new president of IPAA hopes to get across to members of IPAA is the advice he was given and likes to pass on to anyone who is reluctant to take a chance on the future.

"Go follow your dream, it may come true." To members of IPAA, he adds: "Drill that extra wildcat you hadn't planned and get that extra member you had delayed talking to. Follow your dream, it may come true and IPAA will prosper."

Harold McClure is following his dream.

The Flimsy Flag-Burning Bill

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, in the heat of a long hot summer in our cities and the confusion over how it could best stifle the growing dissent to the war in Vietnam, the House passed a so-called flag-burning bill which forgot to outlaw burning flags. I fought this bill at the time it was passed, and I only raise the subject now because I wish to insert an excellent editorial on this legislation into the RECORD.

No doubt some of my colleagues would like to forget the entire "flag-burning folly," but I feel that it is just as important, if not more important, to remind ourselves of our errors, as it is our achievements. Hopefully, we will not have to deal with such measures, aimed only at stifling the dissent of perhaps overzealous demonstrators, in the future. As the Life editorial reminds us, there are laws in each of the 50 States which deal adequately with this problem, and there was, and is, no necessity for the this kind of emotionalism to be brought into the Halls of Congress.

The Life magazine editorial of July 7, 1967, follows:

ORATORICAL OVERKILL ON THE FLAG BILL

The House of Representatives, in rushing to the defense of the American flag, reached heights of confusion and depths of platitudinous bombast. The congressmen were outraged—as were most Americans—by the antiwar types who have lately burned or desecrated the American flag to draw attention to themselves.

But after five hours of oratorical splendor, the House passed a bill that forgot to mention "burning"; that is no improvement over the flag-desecration laws now existing in all 50 states; and that is so poorly worded it will surely be challenged in the courts. New York's Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee that produced the bill, had serious reservations about it. But Celler is a realist and explains, "Who can vote against something like this? It's like motherhood."

The House bill provides that "whoever casts contempt upon any flag of the United States by publicly mutilating, defacing, defiling, or trampling upon it shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both." The law applies to "pictures or representations" as well as actual flags.

Everybody wanted to get in the act. James Haley of Florida even suggested taking protesters "about 500 miles out in the ocean and handcuff them, chain the anchor around their neck and throw them overboard." The hours of debate made heavy demands on recalled bits of poetry and quotations from Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry Ward Beecher, George Washington and Little Orphan Annie.

As it stands, the bill does not make clear whether "casting contempt" must be done with intent—or whether it can simply be construed that way by a bystander. But the bill passed by 385 to 16. Nearly lost in the oratorical overkill, the words of two congressmen made sense.

James Scheuer (D.-N.Y.) told the House, "We are not in the business of legislating honor, dignity, good taste or good sense. I do not believe we have to rise to meet the bait of every irresponsible who finds a new way of making a bloody fool out of himself." We agree—and we strongly support the suggestion of Cornelius Gallagher (D.-N.J.) that "perhaps we could best resolve the confusion by having a 'bill burning' and then taking a new look at this legislation."

Recent Developments in Steel Technology

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 11, 1967

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, recent price increases in steel products by the major U.S. producer have been the subject of some discussion. For the national economy as a whole such price increases for basic products have important effects. One effect is that technological innovation and investment in modernization, which can enable steel to make steel more cheaply, is spurred. Another is that users of steel find more efficient, cheaper ways of using steel or find substitutes. Recently there have been two interesting examples of innovation in steel technology that relate to the first of the above effects. One of them is the recent achievement of the Atlantic Steel Co., of Atlanta, Ga., which after 3 years of planning, testing, and trying, has put into operation a continuous steel metal that adopts concepts of the automotive processing industry in terms of automation, quality, versatility and easy repair.

In order to realize their original and unique conception for a truly modern steel facility Atlantic Steel had to provide special entrepreneurial talent. The Fairchild publication, Metalworking News, of November 20, reports after months of discouraging discussion with mill builders and designers from all over the world Atlantic finally, put together a family of suppliers—several of them new to the steel industry—who are providing under one roof a highly unusual assortment of equipment that is said to be totally integrated for the first time.

In a time of rising steel prices, it is also significant to note the new accomplishment of the Granite City Steel Co., of Granite City, Ill., which has recently accomplished an extension program costing $140,000,000, which enabled the company to put on stream an 80-inch rolling mill. According to Granite City Steel's chairman and president, Nicholas P. Veeder, the new facility is as large, as powerful and as advanced as any hot strip mill in the world. Significantly, the Granite City Steel Co. also recently eliminated the geographic price differential of $2 a ton that has existed since 1958, thus making it competitive with anyone in the United States.

Immediately following is an article from the November 10 edition of Metalworking News describing the Atlantic Steel Co.'s achievement, and an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of November 7, 1967, describing the Granite City Steel Co.'s achievement:

[From Metalworking News, Nov. 20, 1967]

ATLANTIC'S FRESH APPROACH

(By Donald D. Cooke and George Adcock)

ATLANTA.—Atlantic Steel Co. here is on the verge of putting to the test its boldly unconventional answer to the problems facing many steelmakers.

The key: Departure from the usual two-roll rod mill with a continuous three-roll mill which is rapidly being assembled for startup late next month.

The mill has been painstakingly designed to confront specific needs at Atlantic which are common also to much of the industry—efficiency lags and sagging profit margins, imports, high quality demands, skilled labor shortages, diversification reluctance.

Three years ago, said production vice-president, Frank Reese, "We started striving to design out the variables in rolling. We came to the conclusion we had to have something advanced, not something from the past."

He and his colleagues set some high standards:

The mill must be relatively free of skill demands.

It must adopt concepts of the automotive and processing industry, with highest quality assured by method.

It must duplicate quality time after time.

It would need only preventive maintenance, not breakdown repair.

In addition, the mill was to be built capable of handling not only larger coils than generally available (up to 5,000 pounds), but carry the ability to handle a wide range of metals beyond carbon steel—thus representing a potential major new direction for Atlantic Steel.

The mill is nearly ready to run and Hugh F. McCarley, vice-president of sales and marketing, enthusiastically envisions great benefits for his team, which will be expanding to handle the mill's increased capability.

Better quality in Atlantic's wire products and a wider assortment of rod sizes for converters is just the beginning, declared Mr. McCarley. Other goodies in the hopper:

The trend among rod fabricators is toward use of larger and larger coil sizes. Not many are in the 5,000-pound range at the moment, Mr. McCarley admitted, but Atlantic will be set to encourage and follow the movement upward.

Stainless and superalloys, not now in the Atlantic repertoire, can be shot through the mill either for end conversion by Atlantic or tooled for others.

Nonferrous metals such as fast-growing aluminum and promising titanium offer no difficulty for the new equipment, giving the company important new market and profit capability.

The equipment now coming on line realizes a program that Mr. Reese and James Owen, manager of planning and development, must have many times thought of giving up.

But after months of discouraging discussion with mill builders and designers from all over the world, Atlantic finally put together a tight-knit family of suppliers—several new to the steel industry—who are providing under one proof a highly unusual assortment of equipment that is totally integrated for the first time.

MACHINE CONCEPT

"It's time we introduced a machine concept to steel production rather than old mill ideas," declared Mr. Reese, as he and Jim Owen described how their rod mill will work. In Brief:

Billets first are heated in a range of 900 to 2600 degrees in a walking beam furnace, believed only the second or third such furnace installed in this country. One man operating a console discharges hot billet from the furnace for conveyance to the swing forge also with only a unit with also nearly unique in U.S. steel mills.

The Kocks swing forge will typically knock a 7 x 7-inch billet down to a 2¾ square for a pass through two 45-degree roll stands, rounding it enough for entry into the first of the three roll mills, also built by Kocks, of Germany.

Entering the primary five-stand block at about 2¼ square round and without twisting, the rod train will belt through a 10-stand intermediate block and finally a 12-stand three-roller at a breakin speed of 7,200 feet a minute. With an 18 per cent reduction in each block, the rod will coil at a minimum of 0.192 inch in diameter.

VARIATIONS POSSIBLE

This will be the basic pattern, Mr. Reese said, but infinite variations are possible. Rolls can be bypassed with ease to come out with rod in size ranges to 1$\frac{1}{16}$ inch diameter, and Atlantic's planning crew is even thinking of ½ inch precision rounds when cooling beds are added later.

The mill's rated capacity is 25 tons an hour—giving it, under 5 day week conditions, an annual capacity of around 150,000 tons of carbon steel.

But the enthusiastic group responsible for the mill's development foresees speeds of up to 10,000 feet a minute and, with additional rolling equipment that is being considered, still higher speeds might be possible—providing the rolls can take it.

Certainly the electrical system can. Each mill unit is powered by either one or two 1,600 horsepower motors that formerly drove the engines of Naval destroyer escorts.

These electricals were supplied by Duquesne Electric, of Pittsburgh, in its first participation in a total mill system. Duquesne saved Atlantic $1 million by finding the World War II ship motors and after reconditioning they "are better than new," noted William Rhymer, Atlantic's manager of engineering.

MINIMAL SKILLS

"This mill has been designed to eliminate variables and thereby the skill required is minimized," explained Frank Reese.

All mill controls and sequencing is achieved by one operator. Attendants monitor the operation of various machine components and must be on hand for roll changes, but failure of any critical point—such as a temperature change—is indicated by an elaborate relay system for the console operator.

"All that is necessary to get a proper size out," said Jim Owen, "is to put a proper size in." Through sensors on the lube controls at the ends of the stands the effect of cobbling is minimized shears, alerted automatically, cut into little pieces the cobbled portions of the rod which drop into an underground system for conveyance to waiting cars and remelting.

When the rolls wear down—as they are expected to after about 600 tons of operations with carbon steel—the power to the entire block is simply unplugged along with oil, grease and water snap-on connections and the blocks pushed to the roll grinding shop.

A new block with freshly ground rolls waits to swing easily into place as soon as the online unit wears out.

All rolls can be ground to dimension while mounted in the stands—no need to break down a stand until it's ready for scrap. Each stand can be ground to precise dimensions according to a template and an optical scanner indicates when the required opening is achieved. Then the roll stand is rotated 180 degrees and placed one stand further up the line.

"Time utilization is what we're talking about here," Mr. Reese pointed out. "Our utilization will be very high. We'll save time on mill changeovers, we'll save maintenance and roll changing time, we'll expect to have a bar in the mill at least 80 per cent of the time and work toward 95 per cent utilization.

SUPPLIERS CITED

Frank Reese and Jim Owen kept turning the conversation again and again back to the credit for the project that must be given the supplier team and to others in the company, particularly Mr. Rhymer and Glenn Hightower, rolling mill superintendent.

"We just couldn't have done this if our suppliers didn't have faith in our idea," Mr. Reese said. Since the project is an unusual one, Atlantic officials emphasized how critical it was that each supplier realize that he could get a lot out of the program if he tried to do the best for his own reputation.

While the principles of three-roll steel reducing are well established in tube stretching, Atlantic's mill is the first to bring three rolls into a total mill concept. Kocks has supplied only finishing trains to several American and European rod mills.

Atlantic brought its total concept to Kocks and Jim Owens spent 3 months in Germany after the contract was signed in July, 1966, but Mr. Reese had high praise for the extra effort Kocks has invested in making the mill a success.

The same applies, he said, to Seals Corp., the furnace builder, Duquesne Electric and W. Vance Middough, of Cleveland, which performed the overall facilities engineering.

Not the least unusual aspect of the $7 million-plus project has been the speed of its culmination. Little of the equipment was even designed when the contract was signed last year, and Atlantic's first test, completion of the mill in a few weeks, follow hard on the heels of its April groundbreaking.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Nov. 7, 1967]

Granite City Steel's New Mill To Boost Manufacturing in Area

(By William H. Kester)

With the completion of Granite City Steel's $140,000,000 expansion program, which was celebrated yesterday, the company has taken a major step to remain competitive and to make St. Louis a more important steel and manufacturing center.

Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, at a luncheon given by the company for civic and business leaders in the metropolitan area, congratulated the company on undertaking the expansion as a step that would help insure the continuation of its position.

He also praised the small amount of lost time due to jurisdictional strikes during the 4,000,000 manhours of work on the expansion and for the company's outlays for air pollution control.

Following the luncheon, Governor Kerner pushed a button to symbolize the start of the 80-inch rolling mill, which is a major feature of the expansion program. The mill has been in operation since Aug. 3.

The expansion program added 30 per cent to Granite City Steel's capacity. It was 1,700,000 tons of ingots a year and now is 2,200,000 tons a year.

Equally important is the improvement in quality of product which the company expects to achieve from the new equipment. The rolling mill is computer controlled.

Nicholas P. Veeder, chairman and president, said the mill was "as large, as powerful and as advanced as any hot strip mill in the world. You won't find a mill equal to this one in Pittsburgh and you won't find a mill any better in Chicago."

The rolling mill and the basic oxygen furnace, which also was a part of the expansion program, have made Granite City Steel "competitive with anyone in the United States," Veeder said. The company recently eliminated the geographic price differential of $2 a ton that has existed since 1958.

The price reduction is expected to make the St. Louis area more attractive to new industry which uses steel, Veeder said. He noted that Granite City Steel, which supplies the A. O. Smith Co. plant in Granite City for the production of automobile frames, was largely responsible for the location of the plant here.

Granite City Steel makes all of its steel from the basic oxygen furnaces, which are substantially more efficient than the open hearth furnaces previously used.

The company is under pressure to utilize its increased capacity and to improve its earnings, which have been depressed by large write-offs of equipment that had to be abandoned when the new furnaces and mill were put into use, and by other factors.

In its peak year—1965—Granite City Steel shipped 1,179,840 tons of products and produced 1,421,127 tons of ingots.

The record output was 1,441,845 tons of ingots in 1964, which amounts to 66 per cent of the capacity of the new facilities.

The recent price cut and a more intensive marketing effort are expected to bring new business to the company, a sales executive of the company said yesterday. Some customers in the St. Louis area have given the company commitments which are expected to be translated into firm orders soon.

Steel is bought for future delivery and the full effect of the price cut is not expected to be realized by the company until next year, the sales manager said.

Report on the 90th Congress by Congressman Ben B. Blackburn, Fourth District of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, as the first session of the 90th Congress moves toward adjournment, I have had time to think about some pieces of major legislation which we have acted upon. It is quite obvious that the actions of the 90th Congress will have a major effect on the lives of all Americans for many years to come.

Therefore, I have decided to send a newsletter to my constituents explaining the actions taken by this Congress. For my colleague's information, I hereby insert my monthly newsletter into the RECORD:

Report on the 90th Congress by Congressman Ben B. Blackburn, Fourth District of Georgia

DEAR FRIENDS: The 90th Congress is now over, the results in, and its theme: *"return to responsible, representative government."* Most obvious in the House; not so obvious in Senate where Johnson controls. The Administration procedure this year was to depend on large Senate majorities to force compromise on most of its War on Poverty bills and appropriations bills. House would vote cuts in spending; Senate would authorize more than Administration asked for; then, be able to drive bills through in conference committees. Only one vote for House conferees and one for Senate conferees there. Compromise bill usually resulted. No bill is all bad.

War on Poverty legislation is example. Poverty does exist; efforts to eliminate continued. But, not by direct hand-outs. One of first bills I introduced (*H.R. 4582—Human Investment Act*) provided a tax credit to industry for setting up manpower training programs to increase skills of the poor. Called for locating these industries in blighted or poor areas. *I believe private enterprise system can best train labor forces "on-the-job."* Present program encourages recipients to seek "something for nothing"; discourages seeking employment; encourages illegitimacy and indolence.

Joined Senator Charles H. Percy (R. Ill.) and number of House colleagues in co-sponsoring *Home Ownership Foundation Act*. This bill encourages and permits home ownership by low income groups. Home ownership stabilizes families; develops pride and responsibility. Also, joined colleagues in co-sponsoring the *Goodell bill for "Economic Crusade"*. This was alternative to O.E.O.; called for structural changes in welfare programs. Would have broken up O.E.O., put functions under Departments already established; would prevent federal agencies from bypassing state organizations; would prevent O.E.O. personnel from building political organizations. I felt an affirmative vote for O.E.O. was an endorsement of inefficiency and waste.

Next year, above bills will be pushed. Many House Democrats favor this approach. Many joined with us this year, reacting to widespread discontent with administration policies by constituents. Tax increase legislation is good example. Republican leadership, *supported by many House Democrats,* asked for no tax increase unless accompanied with sizeable cuts in non-defense spending. Johnson refused. House Ways and Means Committee, chaired by Wilbur Mills (D. Ark.) refused to do anything about taxes unless Administration, in good faith, cut spending. Deficit spending by federal government is primary source of inflation. *Tax increases have been used to stabilize small inflationary trends, but would not be sufficient now to cut deficit by more than 6 billion.* Let's look at this.

Spending and taxes were basic issue in 90th Congress. Since 1961, Administration spent 61 billion more than taken in, mostly non-defense spending. Between 1960 and fiscal 1968, increased from 48.6 billion to 95.6 billion. "Guns and butter" was Johnson law, and to persuade 90th Congress to pass tax increase *he deliberately underestimated cost of Vietnam War to make deficit look small.* Look at documented record. January. Johnson forecast deficit of 8.7 billion. By June, this was 11 billion. By June 30th, Congress estimated true deficit of between 30–35 billion. Gardner Ackley, top Johnson economic advisor, cried "Outrageous". Johnson reversed him six weeks later, admitted "29 billion deficit possible". *Credibility gap very real here.* To say 21 billion error in forecast in six months was "poor planning", as Johnson admitted, was ridiculous. *It was deliberate, designed to mislead Congress and American people.*

Johnson's tax proposals followed identical pattern. In January, he said he would propose a 6% surtax. Months passed. No proposal. *On August 3rd, his tax message was sent, but for 10%!* He promised two billion cut in spending, if Congress would approve tax proposal. House Ways and Means said only a token gesture, refused to take any action until Johnson made real cuts. When Britain devalued pound, Johnson rushed to Congress. A tax cut now "necessity to rescue the dollar." Promised real cuts, but figures were rigged. *More than half of four billion in cuts were not real cuts, but "savings".* Ways and Means Chairman Mills again was not fooled, again refused to consider bill for tax cut. Credibility again very suspect. *Promises by Johnson broken here time after time.* Agencies issue false reports on command; press issues big headlines on Johnson positions, later shifted, but not reported. *American people reject this type of government.*

It was a busy year for your Congressman. *Of 22 bills entered,* most far-reaching were those providing for the Human Investment Act; *H.R. 7608, providing for increasing the Standard Income Tax Deduction from $600.00 to $1,000.00;* H.R. 13313 providing for allowing Diploma Schools of Nursing to participate in funds available under the National Nursing Act. Sixty-five percent of the nurses graduated each year are from diploma schools. *H.R. 13503 provided for a tax credit for higher education, up to $675.00; includes colleges, business, technical and vocational schools;* H.R. 13753 provides a mandatory penalty of 10 years for first offense committed with weapon that has moved in interstate or foreign commerce; 25 years for second offense. *Does not affect average citizen in any way.*

Also entered bills *to prevent Supreme Court from overruling or reviewing* decision of lower courts where confession, *freely obtained,* was used in evidence; a resolution demanding *Johnson cease and desist from withholding highway funds;* one stating the *Panama Canal is vital to our defense* and must remain under U.S. jurisdiction; one calling for *overthrow of Castro;* one instructing Attorney-General Ramsey to *prosecute all who willfully violate Selective Service Act,* burn draft cards; and one, to *bring the anti-riot bill* before the House for consideration.

Your Washington office and new District office (now in former post office building in Decatur) is staffed to serve *you. Nearly 400 cases were processed* this year—problems constituents had with the military, social security, draft boards, H.E.W., H.U.D., and others. *Can't guarantee success everytime,* but do help in most cases. Cut red-tape mostly, get answers fast when emergencies face you. *If you visit Washington, office arranges tours*—White House, Congress, F.B.I. Staff has "can-do" attitude, proud of their opportunity to serve you.

First come, first served. Some 400 brand-new annuals from Department of Agriculture, Outdoors, U.S.A. Also, some *500 Vietnam War Maps,* and *over 200 new Congressional Calendars for 1968.* Just write for your free copies to: Congressman Ben B. Blackburn, Fourth District of Georgia, 1019 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

This Report is being sent to every home in the Fourth District. It's paid for by me and *anyone else who sends in a donation for this purpose.* It's been our experience that news of what Congress is doing occasionally is very spotty, facts are lacking. Stories, especially about Republicans, are often not complete; lack depth; often slanted. Feel you would rather receive periodic reports; get my point-of-view so you can evaluate it in line with your thinking on vital issues. *Let me hear from you on this.*

Thank you very much for letting me serve you in Congress,

Very Sincerely yours,
BEN B. BLACKBURN,
Member of Congress.

Mondale on McCarthy, by David S. Broder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, occasionally there are pieces of political commentary in our newspapers which are so interesting or controversial that they deserve a wider audience.

One such commentary appeared recently in the Washington Post under the byline of David S. Broder. I would like to insert this article in the RECORD at this point:

MINNESOTAN MONDALE ATTEMPTS TO PLACE SPLIT IN PERSPECTIVE

(By David S. Broder)

From his uncomfortable position in the middle of the fight between his fellow-Minnesotans, Hubert H. Humphrey and Eugene J. McCarthy, the state's junior Democratic Senator, Walter F. Mondale, has tried to put in perspective the Vietnam policy dispute that divides his Party.

In a speech last month to a Young Democrats' meeting in St. Paul, later inserted in the Congressional Record, Mondale addressed himself to the "emotion gap," the disparity so often noted in this column between "the real differences and the imagined differences" in the Vietnam debate.

Recently, this reporter attempted to argue that the 11 months before next year's election offer the President very limited opportunities for changing course in Vietnam. Therefore, it was suggested, this is not a time for "unlimited political warfare" by the critics of the Vietnam policy.

McCarthy's candidacy, from this viewpoint, represents a serious case of "political overkill." There is a glaring disparity between the means he has chosen—attempting to defeat Mr. Johnson for renomination in the primaries—and his end—a rather limited change in our policy in Vietnam.

Mondale's speech, made before McCarthy announced, shows most vividly the seriousness of the problem his candidacy poses for liberal Democrats who share many of his concerns about the war but reject the tactics he has chosen to use.

In this talk, Mondale dwelled on the twin dangers of "assigning broad significance to the narrow distinctions" in the Vietnam debate and of forgetting, in the emotion of that debate, the existence of other, more fundamental issues.

It is important to note at this point that Mondale himself disagrees with some of our present policies in Vietnam—notably bombing targets beyond the enemy supply lines—and has called for radical measures by the South Vietnamese to improve the army and reduce the "manifest corruption" in the country. Long ago, he came out for direct negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

"All of these statements," he said, "fall within the limits of support of the Administration in Vietnam . . . because they recognize the reality and the necessity of continued U.S. presence there" and because "the desire for negotiation does not separate supporters of the Administration from opponents of the Administration, except in the eyes of those who seek to oversimplify the debate."

There is a legitimate issue, Mondale conceded with those who call for all-out war, or unilateral withdrawal, and perhaps even with those who want the bombing stopped.

But McCarthy has advocated none of those things—not even the bombing halt. His stated alternative to Administration policy is gradual military de-escalation leading to a negotiated settlement producing a coalition government in Saigon. This is so plainly within what Mondale called "the limits of support of the Administration in Vietnam" that it is difficult to accept this as an explanation for what McCarthy is doing.

It may be true, as Mondale told the Young Democrats in Minnesota, that "we have failed in Vietnam, as we have often failed in one way or another, to achieve the ideals we have set for ourselves."

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What cannot be overemphasized is his collateral argument that the "obsessive, emotional debate" over Vietnam is diverting us "from other problems . . . where the fragile coalition for progress is in danger of breaking down."

He ticked them off in his speech: the growing gap between the rich and poor nations and the refusal of the advanced countries to make the foreign aid investment necessary to sustain development in the southern hemisphere; the threat to world trade from the rising protectionist fever; the crippling of the United Nations as an agency for peace; the growing racial antagonism in this country; the crisis in housing, education and jobs for the residents of the urban ghettos.

In a single sentence, Mondale stated what many see as the flaw and peril in the activities of those would split the Democratic Party in hopes of achieving some slight shift in Vietnam policy. "I cannot see," Mondale said, "a world with only one issue and one position that can be taken on that issue."

McCarthy himself may have made the essential point about his present candidacy in his 1960 book, "Frontiers in American Democracy," when he quoted with approval Ernest Lefever's remark that, "One can be pure or responsible in politics; he cannot be both." To this observer, McCarthy has chosen doctrinal purity over responsibility.

Congress and National Security Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most interesting talk given by Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, former Director of the Legislative Refence Service, Library of Congress. Dr. Griffith has prepared an interesting lecture on the Congress and our national security. I am sure all Members will read it with much profit and interest:

CONGRESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

(By Dr. Ernest S. Griffith)

Before launching into the meat of the lecture, I would like to mention a few things in preliminary fashion, partly by way of caution. In the first place, there is no definitive statement of the role of Congress in national security policy. What is more, there never will be, because the Constitution of the United States is ambiguous on the subject and a very considerable leeway is allowed between the power of the President as Commander in Chief and the power of Congress to make rules and regulations for the Armed Services.

My own staff of Legislative Reference labored long on this subject and finally had to report to Congress: there is no line between the two that can be drawn. And, what is more, neither branch of Government has been interested in drawing the line. Each is sufficiently afraid of what the Supreme Court might do; each is sufficiently aware of the fact that this possibility of interplay and flexibility has in itself advantages for the welfare of our country, so that such a line is likely never to be drawn.

The second thing to note is that in our public opinion in this country (and foreign policy and national security are conspicuous examples of this) we are subject to waves of public opinion, action, and reaction. A given President can be at the height of public acceptance and then plummet to the depth; and then within a month or two rebound. So also can the opinion of people with reference to a major issue such as Vietnam, or the Cold War, or many others which will occur to you.

Naturally, there are always members of Congress (because this is one of their functions) whose antennae are sensitive to this kind of fluctuation. So you will find an ebb and flow in the criticism and support of various foreign and security policies in Congress.

Do not take these too seriously because very often the same members will throw these things up as a kind of s.o.p. to the opinion of their district; and, when the chips are down in executive session, they will vote their convictions, whatever they are, for there normally are convictions on the part of those who are really responsible in a particular field.

The third thing to note is in the Defense Department and in Congress, both, there are variations in the style of persons. Now, how far the difference between McElroy and McNamara is accounted for by the difference in style and how far it is accounted for by the fact that the former was Secretary at a time at which the prerogatives and functions of the DOD had not yet been crystallized. However, there was a major difference in style between those two men.

Similarly, on Capitol Hill there has been quite a difference between the style of Vinson and the style of Rivers as Chairmen of the Armed Services Committees of the House. The first one was a "loner," inclined not to look with too jaundiced an eye on his Navy. The latter functions more with a little group in the Armed Service Committee, a bipartisan group, with which he consults prior to any expression of any major point of view or any action.

Finally, in this regard many of you, I am sure, have an unspoken question which I shall try to bring right out into the open: Has Congress any business at all having a role in national security policy? Clearly if it does not have access to full information and, if it is incompetent, either individually or collectively, it probably would be better to content itself with occasional questions. But I would like to call your attention to the fact that many Congressmen do have access to classified information. Their senior specialist, who has been one of you, I think, in the past, Colonel Bussey, attached to the Legislative Reference Service, is classified for "Top Secret" and is regularly briefed. Not that this will be passed on to an obscure first-term member who is a blabbermouth, but that in what he does for Congress, in the reports he prepares, there will be this background of knowledge of the classified area.

Second (and using this in a sense as one of the illustrations), you will find today that among members of the Armed Services Committees, the Appropriations Subcommittees, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and many other committees there are men who for years and years have been occupied or preoccupied with the same kind of problem which you face; and over the years they have acquired a competence, sometimes a warped competence, one which may be particularly good only in particular fields, but nevertheless a competence. These men are not amateurs.

I know there is an Assistant Secretary in one of the Departments who had had two years as a Congressman in the field of international economics. He was on the Subcommittee dealing with this field, and he said that those two years taught him far more than all the graduate work in this field he had ever taken. He had been at one of our great institutions in this regard. Before the members of Congress, day after day, in their committees come men (many of them perhaps right in this room) who do have specialized knowledge, and thus there comes to them individually and corporately a body of competence.

In addition to this, Congress, particularly since 1947, has had a professional staff of its own, many of them of great competence in your field, who come out of the Armed Services or out of the State Department. Of course, the flow has also been the other way; Legislative Reference has furnished three Assistant Secretaries of State.

So much then for these preliminary remarks.

I will take only one minute to remind you of something which you learned in high school civics, I trust, and that concerns the four primary functions of Congress. I remind you of these because we shall make use of this later.

First, Congress legislates. This is in all fields, but relatively not so much in your field. This is its dominant consideration. Policies focus in the enactment of a law.

Second, it appropriates. This may have even more to do with your field than legislation itself. Time and again, much more than the public knows, Congress will authorize through legislation, and then fail to appropriate.

There are many hazards to policy in Congress. In the first place, it is bicameral; that doubles the hazard. It also doubles the opportunity for refinement and amendment and perfecting a policy. Then when the policy has been determined it has to run the gamut of the Appropriations Committees. But then, over and above that, in a field such as yours, its role is not confined merely to the Armed Services Committee.

All of this, this succession of hazards, results in a conservative factor, not confined by any means to national security policy—a conservative factor by which in practice we do not have government by majority rule in the terms of adopting a new policy. We have government much more by consensus. In other words, when a policy is adopted by Congress it tends to have back of it the support of no mere 51 percent of the electorate, assuming Congress is a perfect reflection of the electorate (which it is not), but it tends to have back of it 60–70 percent or even more.

This may or may not be a good thing. This we can discuss later, if it is of interest to you. I mention it so that you will know that we do have in this country not government by majority but government by a predominant majority.

Then, third, Congress has the function for postaudit, for monitoring, for investigating. This is incorporated into the law.

Finally, it has the function of educating the public through debating, through hearings and questions, an educational process which also educates its own membership.

I would like to proceed quickly to other factors in congressional behavior. If before arriving at a conclusion as to the role of Congress in national security policy I seem to devote an undue amount of time to these introductory matters it will be because its role is only understandable in these terms. I shall try to draw my illustrations as we go along from the field of national security.

We live under a Constitution of separation of powers and checks and balance. Back of this lies some 18th century thinking of how to deal with power. You deal with power and did deal with power in the 18th century, according to the great thinkers—the earlier thinker Locke and the 18th century thinker Montesquieu—you dealt with power by scattering it and by using power to control power.

The result was that in our Government we did not have a President who was the Executive and a Congress that legislated. We scrambled the executive and the legislative powers. Surely the power to confirm appointments, which is a Senatorial power, is an administrative power and not a legislative. Surely the power to veto legislation is a legislative power and not an executive power. And there are many other illustrations.

True, the President is predominantly the Executive; Congress is predominantly the legislator. But each spills over from time to time into the other field, and this was part of the reasoning at the time. Why?

Not only in 18th century thought but on balance in the 18th century experience of our Founding Fathers there was anything but a happy experience with the executive sent over by the British. And, what is even more important there was anything but a happy experience with the State legislatures after the time of our Independence. At the time the Constitutional Convention met, the cogency in the setting of the time of this reasoning was quite clear. The Constitution was designed to hobble government. It was designed to prevent tyranny, whether of the legislature or the Executive.

The real question is how this works today. You will still find textbooks in American Government which say it works only if the President and Congress are of the same political party. When you consider that between 1946 and 1960, the two branches of government were more often than not under the control of opposite political parties, yet somehow or other the Government seemed to go on, particularly in the fields of foreign policy and national security policy, there is something wrong with the old way of looking at things. What took place was not a paralysis. What took place was something else, and for two reasons.

The first reason I have already suggested, which was that Congress, through its own membership, through its specialization of the individual member—a specialization which was sharpened by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946—by limiting the committees on which an individual member might serve—partly through this and partly through the competence of professional staff on the committees and in the Legislative Reference, a rough kind of near parity took place between the two branches in terms of such professional competence. This held true, not between all members of Congress on all subjects with all parts of the Executive, but between the specialized members of Congress and their administrative counterparts.

Thus undergirding the heart of policy formation in Congress was a group of men who dealt basically with the same facts with which you dealt; and, being loyal Americans in both branches of government and having competence by and large in both branches of government, the gulf that used to take place between Congress and the Executive because of considerations of prerogatives or partisanship or personal whim steadily narrowed, particularly as a legislative measure proceeded from one step to another and more and more facts were brought to bear upon it. Thus in the end the difference between the two branches was relatively narrow, a difference which reasonable men might expect. So this has made separation of powers and checks and balances work—the growth of competence on the part of Congress.

A second is the multiplication of liaison devices. There are in a given week, as best as I can figure out, something of the magnitude of 400 informal contacts between Congress and the Executive, sometimes at the high level of the President with his weekly conference with the party leaderships (or leadership) of Congress, sometimes at the Cabinet level; sometimes it surfaces in Congress itself in terms of the formal hearing or the informal briefing; sometimes it takes place at lunch. It has even been crowded into breakfast from time to time. Here is the field of the social lobby, of which the chief lobbyists are the Executive Branch rather than the ones normally called lobbyists, in which views are interchanged. Thus in general by the time the formalities of legislation have begun each side has pretty well taken the measure of the other; they know what the issues are to be ironed out.

You are witnessing a very interesting example, quite outside your field, except by flak, at the present time on this question of tax increase. Now, I do not really know what I am talking about here. I only know what has probably happened on the basis of my earlier knowledge of Congress.

I think a lot of what is going on is a kind of charade partly for public consumption. The reality is the uneasiness on the part of Congress concerning the size of the deficit and the belief that this deficit must really be attacked from both sides; and they are not proposing to attack it from the side of tax increase until they are quite certain that it has also been attacked from the expenditure side.

There are a lot of informal conferences going on at the present time on this subject. What will you agree to? What will you not veto? What will you accept? And so on—the kind of thing that went on between Eisenhower and Johnson when Johnson was the majority leader of the Senate and the committee chairmen, on how far a housing bill could develop a consensus.

This has its reverse side, where the Executive springs something on Congress without such preliminary liaison. This may evoke the old reflex stemming from prerogatives, from suspicion. So I would suggest, particularly in this field, that their confidence be extended prior to publicity, prior to the final decision on what you want from Congress.

What do separation of powers and checks and balances mean today? They mean that a policy now does not deal so much with prerogative as it involves the necessity of carrying conviction with people who have basically a reasonable parity in their access to facts, in their own capacities or with their staffs—and in their capacities for analysis.

This is good, even though a person who feels that he has all the answers resents it. But a person who has a dash of humility, who can even conceive of the possibility that he might be mistaken, to him this is a very good situation; it is a situation which he can approach with confidence, and a situation the like of which is not present to this extent in any other major government in the world.

So separation of powers today furnishes the opportunity which you have in the Department of Defense (you have structured it into your Department as I understand it) of a critical look at any policy prior to your final espousal of it. Here is an organ built into the Constitution to do this, introducing certain additional factors, factors that are usually devoid of possible vested interests in a particular weapons system, that are devoid of the possibility of subconsciously wanting aggrandizement, that are devoid of the possibility of not taking public opinion sufficiently into account. Perhaps the third of these is the most important of all.

Political party needs scarcely be mentioned in connection with national security. All committees of both Houses relating to this field are basically nonpartisan. In general, the role of the party of the President is to present his program but not to support it. The role of the party opposite the President is to criticize his program but not to oppose it. Support and opposition are more individual matters than they are party matters in the executive sessions in which the real decisions are made.

Three-quarters of the committees are nonpartisan in their executive sessions, however much public shadowboxing they may engage in in order to score points either in the open sessions of the committee or in the Floor debate.

The second thing to note is that Congress, notably the House of Representatives, has a local mindedness; the Senate has a State mindedness. The day was not so long ago in which the Committee on Armed Services in one branch, which shall remain unmentioned, was known on Capitol Hill as a "committee on real estate." In other words, it was primarily concerned with getting military bases in the districts of the members who were on the Committee and seeing that they were not cancelled or were not eliminated.

There is some of this still, mostly for public consumption. The storm and fury at the closing of a naval base is not to be taken too seriously, even if it is by a potential candidate for President. But there is a serious factor here which the Executive Branch does try to take into account. The closing of a base is very serious for a particular community, or may well be, and coordination is sought between DOD and some of the other branches of Government, so that there will be some new employing agency to take up the slack, if the area would otherwise be depressed.

The suburban areas, which by and large are the best educated, are the ones that are gaining from reapportionment; and they are going to gain still more when the Supreme Court decisions of "one man, one vote" have run their course. They will gain still more from the 1970 census. The rural areas will lose. The hard-core city by and large will remain static and the suburban areas will gain. What this will mean, for example, to the Republican Party is uncertain. Perhaps without comment I might mention that it is not certain whether the type that will prevail in the suburban areas will be Joel Broyhill or Gude. There are two wings of the Republican Party, and it is uncertain which will gain in the suburban areas.

Just a word or two about the Congressional hearings.

Many of you either have or will appear befor committees of Congress or you will brief your chiefs who will make such appearance. A majority of the Congressmen—between 60 and 65 percent—are lawyers; and to a lawyer truth comes through a battle of protagonists in a courtroom. That is his occupational disease. To a member of Congress a committee hearing is the legislative counterpart of the courtroom. Also a very considerable number of the members of Congress have been District Attorneys—prosecuting attorneys. In their conduct they will give the impression of bearing down on witnesses unduly. A few of them are blackguards, but not many.

I remember the late Senator Langer in a hearing which I was attending treated a witness on the stand with what I supposed to be indefensible brutality—verbal, of course. I winced under it. The witness was courteous; he clearly had his facts; he respected the position of Langer as Chairman. At the end, to the great surprise of anybody who did not know Langer, Langer got up from his chair, went down to the witness, shook his hand, congraulated him, and said, "You have been a splendid witness; you have convinced me." There was nothing in the questioning that would have indicated that this was going on in the man's mind. Yoy see, it was a District Attorney operating in a legislative setting.

So, I beg you, if you are dealing with members of Congress, to recognize this factor, to answer as the position befits, to answer clearly, not to yield if you think you should not yield, if you have your facts, because if you do not have them and you are caught the hounds will be in full cry after you, and probably should be. And if you do run into a blackguard remember that when you are answering him you are really talking to his colleagues, who have taken his measure much better than you and know how to disregard him in executive sessions.

Congressmen are afraid of being handled. I haven't the time to go into this, but I know enough about the Executive to know that there are still pockets in the Executive who believe that Congress should be handled

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rather than convinced. There is a long history. Congressmen are afraid of the fine print in the bills. For example, they felt that somehow or other the centralization of authority in the Department of Defense had been slipped over on them. I think by and large now they approve it, but it took a little time to convince them.

I will not speak at any length—I won't speak of it at all other than mentioning—on the dispersion of responsibility in Congress between committees. The chapter which you read by Professor Carroll deals with this far better than anything I could say.

Finally (and this I would like to spend a little time on because it is a key point), much of the congressional behavior with reference to national security falls into a pattern of their search for leverage. They recognize the fact that much of policy is in the appropriations rather than legislation. They recognize that decisions must be made quickly, that situations change. Yet this leverage is what they are looking for. And when they ask that certain things not be done without the approval of committees, this is a clumsy way perhaps, but a way in which they are trying for leverage.

When in Section 412 of the Military Construction Bill of 1959, which has been continued and extended, they required authorization for certain things, such as now new weapons systems, tracked vehicles, and so on, they are searching for leverage. In other words, they are falling into this authorization appropriation pattern which I mentioned earlier.

You on your part have perhaps naturally attempted to bypass this. The device you use is to reprogram. Unless you consult Congress before you reprogram in terms that would violate neither the spirit nor the letter of this Section 412, you defeat the Congressional intent. You had better consult, you had better notify.

There is another device that the Congress uses, because it does not basically want to bind you any more than it wants to bind the Department of State in much of its area. It will write regulations saying "unless the President finds it not in the national interest to carry this out." This gives, I think, the necessary leeway and probably calls for a report to the appropriate committee later on as to why the President has violated the caution, which is really what it is, rather than the prohibition of a particular type of action.

From time to time Congress will overappropriate. This has been particularly true in connection with the Air Force. They have followed this up by saying that these funds cannot be transferred to anything else—again searching for leverage. They, of course, tend to be sensitive, as I said, to public opinion, and there is no doubt that Vietnam is one of those situations today.

I commend to you, if you have not already read it, an article in *The New York Times* of September 17 which is called "Noninterventionism in 1967 Style." As a result of this mood, Congress has gone farther in this regard than it has before. It has refused authorization for the fast deployment logistic ships, even though I think most members who acted on this would admit they were a reasonable though new part of a weapons system.

There is an extreme sensitivity in Congress today to a President involving the country in a war by indirection, by being gradually sucked in. A lot of the people are not opposed to what we are doing in Vietnam, but a lot of others who are unopposed as well as opposed feel that this happened without their knowing it, without having had a conscious choice. After all, Congress is supposed to be the organ of the Government that declares war.

Here then is a refusal for authorization of an item—fast deployment logistic ships—which to those who refused it seemed to add to the power of the President to involve us without consultation with Congress. They have no objection so far as I can see to the fact itself—that is, to these ships—but they had every objection to adding to the facility with which the President could in the Middle East or elsewhere involve us quickly.

Congress rather likes long-range programs, but it also likes to have the total cost before it. McNamara's policy of projecting costs of a new system for five years is very popular on Capitol Hill. Before that, DOD crept into something gradually; just said what it will cost the first year and did not give the full picture. Candor of this type is very much appreciated.

I said I would talk mostly about this background of Congress necessary to understand its behavior in this field. I now have, I see, nine minutes in which to tell you what seems to me to be the actual roles of Congress in national security policy, not as you or not necessarily as I would have it, but as Congress sees these roles and as in practice carries through.

The first of these is rarely to initiate policy. This is negative. However, I call your attention to its role in arms control. At the time at which you could count on the fingers of one hand, or maybe two, the number of people in the Executive Branch working on arms limitation or reduction of armament, it was Congress, through the committee under Humphrey, that kept this thing alive and had at one time as many as thirty people working on it. For good reason perhaps you tabled it. But I am saying that here is an area in which Congress kept going and kept going and kept the pressure; and finally there was what we hoped was a breakthrough in the Executive Branch in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Congress sees its role as expediting defense. A notable example of this was the Space and Astronautics Act of 1958, in which, while there had been some effort in the Executive, the pressures from the Subcommittee and the full Committee, eventually the Special Committees, in the Senate under the chairmanship of Lyndon Johnson and in the House under McCormick, pressured the Executive for more and more speed in adjusting to this field.

The account of this is an interesting account, if you ever have time to look at it, as an example of Congress expediting something; it might pay you in humility to look at it.[1]

The third role is to force decisions. The best known instances concern the decisions with reference to types of missiles, on which different branches of the Armed Services were protagonists of particular types. And in Secretary McElroy's words, which are quoted in every book or article I know of on this subject, it was a good thing for Congress occasionally to hold the feet to the fire, to make a decision and not to waste money.

I remember one very interesting episode. Back in 1941, when I first went to work on Capitol Hill, I received a telephone call from a junior member of the House (then) Military Affairs Committee—would I please tell him which type of airplane motor was better in a combat plane, water cooled or air cooled. Well, we did not have anybody who was an expert in aeronautics at that time, but we did have people who could look up things. So we grasped a little and looked it up. He was uneasy because the Department of the Army (the War Department it was then) was committing all it had to one type. He was not sure; he wanted to know.

We looked it up and found that every other major power was building both types. We found an article in an obscure journal which indicated that neither type had reached its full stage of development. We reported that to the junior member. After the senior members in the executive session had asked their questions, he, I understand, turned the top brass faces red with these two facts. Whether there was cause-and-effect relationship, I do not know, but in any event later on the Army started to build both.

Now, why do I bring this up? Just because that junior member of Congress was named Lyndon Johnson, and it is an example of how Congress can force a decision, even though it is only a junior member asking questions.

Congress also sees its role as postaudit, to expose vested interests in the past or vested interests in retention of power. This is probably less necessary today because the Department of Defense has more or less found ways to transfer this type of question to computers. Consequently, the human element may or may not have been phased out.

Congressmen are still interested in the TFX; they are not yet sure that the answer is correct. They have in mind, as the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee continually reminds the public, the caution of President Eisenhower on the industrial-military-university complex, which is a danger in the event of contracts being threatened.

The latest example of a postaudit which is still having repercussions and may overthrow the government of a friendly power to the south of us is the use of ExIm Bank charter. They are not complaining so much about military aid as part of the foreign aid program. They would perhaps be quite ready to judge the thing case by case, but they are very much complaining at the covert way in which this has been done and very much complaining about the agency selected to do it. They are interested in alternative approaches.

You have smoldering the question of the ABM. You have smoldering (less important today than it was and than it will be) the question of whether the draft could be replaced by a permanent professional corps for the Armed Services. There is also this frantic search for alternative in Vietnam. I think this is a search which includes obviously not merely the Congressional Branch but also the Executives as well—some way out other than scuttling and running, some way out that will safeguard the basic objectives in Vietnam.

They like to rehash or postaudit disputes within the Services themselves. As you know, in an earlier provision—I think it was the Denson provision—members of the Armed Services above a certain rank are charged to talk freely if they differ with decisions in which they were overruled. So that this would help in promoting candor, they are now giving four-year terms for members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff rather than terms at the pleasure of the President. This is already true for the representative of the Marines, or is a least recently.

The number of leaks from the Pentagon continues to multiply. People are disturbed about the computerized decisions, notably the PPB decisions. I think here is an area in which it might be wise to conduct even more than has been done an orderly exploration of the consequences of PPB with the members of Congress themselves. They are unfamiliar with this technique and it makes them uneasy. They are afraid that the Joint Chiefs have been downgraded.

Those here from the Marine Corps will recognize the role of Congress in saving its existence in its present form. It is a Congressional role to provide adequate funds.

In conclusion, it is a Congressional role to set metes and bounds of operation for the Armed Services on the National Security Council with reasonable freedom. The initiative is basically the Executive's, but it has to justify itself. The Congressional role is to monitor, to accelerate, to modify here and there to insist that alternative policies be considered, to provide funds, occasionally to strike out on a new line, and to postaudit.

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[1] Cf. Alison Griffith, *National Aeronautics and Space Act* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1962).

There is a price paid for all these. But if these roles are understood, you and they can cooperate to realize possibilities in this form of government that are not achievable otherwise.

Stamp Out Hate Program Deserves Praise and Duplication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in Lowell, Mass., there is in operation a program which teaches children to truly "get along with thy neighbor" regardless of color and creed. Efforts to promote human understanding and tolerance are not limited to adults. They cannot, in fact, begin early enough, for just as hate and misunderstanding are most long-lasting if learned early, so love and an open mind are most easily learned and practiced among children.

This endeavor was undertaken with the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University, and is financed under title I of the Secondary Education Act. It is the first of its kind in the country and has received commendation from the Federal level. The highest tribute goes to every individual involved in making it a success.

This program is an effort which should be duplicated over and over throughout our country, and I bring it to the attention of my colleagues for their serious and sincere consideration. For this purpose, I ask unanimous consent that the recent article in the Lowell Sun describing this program, be inserted in the Record:

Lowell Program Wins High Praise

(By Michael Stedman)

Lowell.—A new "stamp hate" program run by Lowell schools was applauded this month by "American Education," a national magazine published by the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welware.

The program, first of its kind in the country, is planned to teach children to get along regardless of ethnic differences. It teaches them to ignore scorn and be proud of their different heritages.

Project co-ordinator Mary Lou Denning explained that the program is not designed to be an answer to present civil rights issues. "We do not stress any one area. The goal is to point out differences and show how they are good. We underline differences rather than encourage the attitude of ignoring them."

One school teacher, a member of the program, said she is encouraged by the friendship being formed through the program by its participants. "It may not be an immediate answer but it sure looks like a good alternative to that proposed by those who warn 'You can't legislative love'," she said referring to the militancy advocated by the radical wing of the civil rights movement.

The magazine article, titled "Subject: Human Rights" commended the Lowell program, made in co-operation with the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University, Dr. John S. Gibson, director of Lincoln Center, expressed satisfaction with "the enthusiasm of the teachers and the realistic and open-minded discussion of human differences."

Speaking of the program, Miss Denning said, "We bring the children a knowledge of ethnic history and background, feeling it is a fine way to point out differences and stress them. We show them how the attitudes and customs in each ethnic culture, though differing, have one quality that unites them all—humanity."

Financed by federal funds through Title I of the Secondary Education Act of 1965, the local program works hand in hand with the Lincoln Center personnel in a four-fold program to:

1. Provide factual information regarding the history of American Negroes.
2. Provide factual information concerning the "races" of mankind and their relationships today, both within America and in world affairs.
3. Develop the ability of children to evaluate themselves and others, regardless of racial or cultural differences, in terms of worth and dignity.
4. Enhance the understanding of intergroup relations and reasons why individuals, groups, and cultures differ.

Quoting from the Lincoln Center progress report to the Office of Education, "the project does not focus upon any specific audience, but has as its basic premise the conviction that promoting democratic human relations is a task for all."

Underlining the fact that racial and religious prejudice must be stopped at childhood before it is begun, the report goes on to state "behavior is learned or taught and not innate and diversity in terms of race, religion, natural origin, appearance, and behavior is one of the most positive advantages of American life.

Some pathetic examples are cited in the national article to show the need for such a program. In answer to an open-ended question as to what Negroes like to do, one white eight-year-old responded, "All niggers like to fight." On the other end of the fence, a nine-year-old Negro girl filled in an "I wish I had . . ." situation with "a pretty white sister."

Voluntary Donation in Lieu of Taxation Made by Twentieth Century Fund Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in each community, county, and State there are numerous organizations—private and public—which do not pay taxes or carry their share of the financial responsibility for providing community services. This goes all the way from the Federal Government and its many installations to certain private organizations which have either a nonprofit or tax-exempt label.

For a long time I have been very concerned that we have more discussion, study and experimentation about how local communities can be reimbursed for the types of necessary services provided to them, such as fire and police protection, transportation, garbage, health services, and so forth. The property tax is the base for municipal and local revenue. It is ideally suited for this purpose because, among other things, of its high benefit to cost ratio. Revenues from property taxes go for local community services which in turn increase the value of the property being taxed. Further study of this relationship, its benefits and responsiblities, is needed for all types of real property including that owned by private groups, nonprofit organizations, and governmental bodies.

I am pleased to see that the trustees and officers of the Twentieth Century Fund in New York City have voluntarily decided to pioneer in this area by making a donation of $10,000 to the hard-pressed municipal government of New York City for services rendered. Other organizations in many cities around the country could well study the working papers which led the Twentieth Century Fund to accept the recommendations of its new executive director, M. J. Rossant, that this action be promptly taken.

Below follow the page 1 story from the New York Times of December 7 and the December 8 editorial in that newspaper about this matter. I welcome discussion and further examples of other organizations and communities that are responsibly trying to meet civic needs on their own initiative.

The editorials referred to follow:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 7, 1967]

Tax-Exempt Foundation Gives $10,000 to City for Its Services

The Twentieth Century Fund, a $27-million tax-exempt foundation with headquarters here, made a voluntary contribution of $10,000 to the city yesterday for the free municipal services it receives.

It was believed to be the first time that a foundation that is exempt by law from paying taxes had made an unrestricted grant to the city in lieu of taxes.

Mayor Lindsay, commenting on the gift, cited the fund for "an exemplary spirit of public service."

"In taking recognition of the city's great loss of revenue because of the number of tax-exempt institutions established here, the Twentieth Century Fund is setting what could be a major precedent for New York," he said.

By unofficial calculation, one-third of the city's real estate—that is, one-third of the total assessed value of $47 billion—is tax-exempt.

The majority of the exempt property is governmental—city, state, Federal and international. But a growing amount belongs to churches, hospitals, schools, cemeteries and other such untaxed groups, of which foundations are among the fastest growing.

The Twentieth Century Fund arrived at $10,000 as the amount of its gift because this is roughly the annual tax it would owe on the assessed value of its building at 41 East 70th Street.

The reaction of other foundations to the fund's move was largely favorable, though some indicated they would not do likewise. On principle, some tax-exempt organizations are firmly opposed to making payments in lieu of taxes, lest they erode their exemptions.

In a letter to the presidents of other large foundations in New York, Twentieth Century's new director, M. J. Rossant, said the gift had been approved by the fund's board last month.

"It also reflects my own long-standing conviction that a tax-exempt foundation such as the Twentieth Century Fund should make some payment for tangible services—fire and

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police protection, water supply, etc.—provided by the city, rather than accept them free of charge," Mr. Rossant said.

EXEMPTION JUSTIFIED

"In taking this action," he said, "we are not departing from our firmly held view that the privilege of tax exemption is fully justified for the fund and for other philanthropic organizations. (This) status has enabled us to make valuable and productive contributions to the city, the state and the nation. But as a resident property owner, we are convinced that we have a civic responsibility to make some payment for the municipal services furnished to us."

FILENE'S MONEY

The Twentieth Century Fund was established early in this century on the fortune of Edward A. Filene, founder of the big Boston department store that bears his name.

J. George Harrar, president of the $717-million Rockefeller Foundation, one of the biggest, said that the Twentieth Century's gift was "a great idea."

"Hopefully, this trend will grow," he said. "We cannot continue to take property off the tax rolls."

Dr. Harrar noted, however, that the Rockefeller Foundation already paid property taxes—in rent payments for its office space at Rockefeller Center—"just like United States Steel, which is also in this building."

He also said that the foundation has given direct support to city activities—for example, through $50,000 of grants to the Mayor's Committee on Science and Technology.

Quigg Newton, president of the Commonwealth Fund—a $150-million foundation based on the Harkness-Standard Oil fortune—said that he had not yet formed an opinion on the Twentieth Century gift, but that his organization would probably feel it should make its contributions to the city through specific grants, as it already does.

He mentioned a recent $500,000 grant to the Mount Sinai Hospital School of Medicine and last year's $25,000 grant to the Mayor's Commission on Medical Services.

James F. Mathias, secretary of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, said: "We make grants only to individuals. We have never broken this policy and we do not plan to break it now. We need our funds to support our programs. That's what tax exemption is for."

Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which owns a building and land across First Avenue from the United Nations, declined to discuss the matter on grounds that he had not had time to consider it or to consult his board of directors.

A spokesman said that the assessed value of the building and land is $3.5-million.

The foundation, under its exemption agreement with the city, in effect foregoes $150,000 of earnings on its investment by charging rents, to other exempt organizations which use the building, at cost, he said. The foundation does pay city taxes on the space it leases to the Chase Manhattan Bank branch on its ground floor.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 8, 1967]

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

The tax-exempt Twentieth Century Fund, which sponsors research into social and economic problems, has taken the daring and commendable step of making a $10,000 payment to the City of New York, where its headquarters are located, "in recognition of the services it receives from the city." The figure was arrived at as an approximation of what the foundation's realty tax would be on the value of its property if it were taxed.

There are 1,822 tax-exempt foundations with assets of $200,000 or more in New York State. The major ones make their headquarters in Manhattan. They and their employees avail themselves of police, sanitation, fire, water and other services supplied by the City of New York. In this respect they are in the same positions as the universities, churches, charities, hospitals and similar private organizations that do not pay taxes because of their public activities.

This voluntary contribution by the Twentieth Century Fund, one of the modest-sized foundations, may lead other important tax-exempt institutions into making similar direct compensatory payments to this financially hard-pressed city. At least one of them—the American Jewish Congress—did so last year. We strongly commend these examples to the consideration of other private but tax-exempt organizations, many of which do enormous public good but most of which could well afford to make a voluntary contribution to the city for services rendered.

General Motors Hires "Forgotten Labor Force"

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the announcement of General Motors, under a new liberalized employment program to hire and train thousands of the unskilled and the other so-called hard-core unemployed residents of Detroit's inner city.

This program is one of the first examples of a large company, in Detroit or anywhere else in the country, attempting to cope on a large scale with the problems of the unskilled unemployed in the urban slums of America. They should be commended for their initiative and commitment. I particularly want to commend Mr. James M. Roche, the new chairman of the board of directors of the General Motors Co., for the personal leadership he has given this effort.

A recent editorial from the Detroit Free Press praising this program should be of interest to the House:

GOOD FOR GENERAL MOTORS!

What's good for General Motors . . . General Motors Chairman James M. Roche, one of Detroit's more progressive citizens, has for many years quietly emphasized the importance of non-discriminatory hiring practices at GM plants. In the wake of this city's rioting, he accepted membership on the New Detroit committee and has fully participated in its fine work. At one point he made a personal lobbying visit to Lansing to support committee recommendtions and to try to influence lethargic state legislators to move positively on problems.

Now, GM has announced that its Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit will begin hiring unskilled, hard-core unemployed residents of this city. These people will be referred to GM by the Detroit Urban League.

And beyond hiring these residents, GM will set up a special 11-man job counseling and training staff to work with them once they report for work. The hard-core unemployed virtually always lack job skills and motivation, and experience has shown that this sort of intensified program is essential to their eventually making it in the productive workaday world.

The GM effort, of course, is worth it. It means that those formerly on relief and suffering financial hardship can begin to take care of themselves and their families. It strikes to the root of many urban problems. Government job training programs cannot really match an intensified effort on the part of private industry.

So it is good for General Motors to become involved and to begin to play an even larger part in rebuilding a city and rehabilitating a segment of its citizens. And what's good for General Motors here is certainly good for the country.

Marihuana, Drugs, and Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the News Report, published by the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, and the National Academy of Engineering, recently carried a story by Dr. Nathan B. Eddy, who was executive secretary of the Committee on Problems of Drug Dependence from 1947 to July of this year.

Dr. Eddy said, "If we are thinking clearly, we will not make freely available yet another agent of abuse," in referring to the use of drugs by the youth of this country.

I commend the reading of this article to my colleagues, as follows:

ON MARIHUANA, DRUGS, AND YOUTH

(Dr. Nathan B. Eddy, executive secretary of the Committee on Problems of Drug Dependence from 1947 until July 1 of this year, has spent more than forty years working on morphine-like agents and the problems of drug abuse. In honoring him in 1963, the University of Michigan said "he has obtained a fuller and surer understanding of the nature and use of narcotic drugs than any other living man." Recently, he voiced some thoughts on current drug-dependence problems.)

(By Nathan Eddy)

Efforts to Ease Marihuana Controls: "Psychic dependence is a behavioral response related to a person's own satisfaction with a drug effect. This is the sort of dependence—without tolerance or physical dependence—that is characteristic of marihuana abuse. It is no less difficult to manage even when there are no overt physical disturbances.

"The only use for marihuana is to achieve gratification; it is useless medically, nor is it now important in the manufacture of rope, since the synthetics have replaced hemp. And since the society is not yet run by parakeets, we can do without using the seeds in birdseed.

"Society cares enough about having alcohol available to pay the immense social and economic cost of having millions of people depending on it. If we are thinking clearly, we will not make freely available yet another agent of abuse and magnify the costs we pay."

Young People and Drugs: "It is a difficult, lengthy, expensive process to get a drug-dependent person to free himself of drugs. Much better that we look to preventing the problem by getting to young people who are troubled and helping them to face their problems *before* they turn to drugs to escape them. If they don't get help at home—and a lot of them can't—we ought to help them get it anyway, in their schools or in other agencies. Unfortunately, there is no easy answer to the problem of mass media that glamorize drug subcultures or mass marketers that exploit fashions based on those subcultures. It is impossible to legislate good sense. But unquestionably publicity has encouraged young people to experiment with drugs, and the media should think long and hard about the role that they have played in popularizing drug use."

Drug Dependence in Perspective: "We need to remember that alcoholism is the most prevalent, most costly, and most damaging form of drug abuse that the society has to deal with. We have perhaps 100,000 people dependent on heroin or related substances; a great many more dependent on a variety of agents—amphetamines, barbiturates, LSD and other hallucinogens, almost anything for a drug effect. We have control measures for these things, and we have educational measures that haven't been fully utilized; if we use what we have, we will make it harder for people to escape with drugs. Certainly we shouldn't make it any easier."

Interim Degrees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of December 14. Academic inflation, to which the editorial refers, could become almost as great an evil as monetary inflation. If we were all millionaires, we would all be poor. If we all had diplomas or degrees, no one would be smarter than anyone else.

The editorial referred to follows:

Interim Degrees

Three Big Ten universities—Northwestern, Indiana, and Minnesota—have jointly announced creation of a new "graduate certificate, similar in appearance to a graduate degree," called candidate in philosophy. No doubt this will be shortened in conversation to Ph. C., deceptively similar in sound to Ph. D. The new thing will be issued to graduate students who have cleared the preliminary hurdles on the doctor of philosophy [Ph. D.] obstacle course but have their dissertations still to write.

Our guess is that the undergraduate associate in arts diploma, created as a half-way encouragement for night-school seekers after a bachelor's degree, was the model for candidate in philosophy. The associate in arts is a harmless bit of morale boosting, for nobody takes it seriously. It is visibly distinct from bachelor of arts, the standard degree given college graduates.

The candidate in philosophy is less innocent. Dean Robert H. Baker, of Northwestern's graduate school says of it, "the 'candidate in philosophy' certificate is a partial answer to those who say that universities are not providing sufficient teachers. It will, we hope, qualify its holders for better-paying jobs. Teaching pay scales have traditionally been based on degrees."

In fact, the new candidate in philosophy certificate, however misleading it may look framed on an office wall, represents no new achievement. Its holders will be no better prepared to teach or more deserving of pay raises than doctoral candidates with dissertations still to write have always been.

With high school diplomas meaningless and loose talk abroad about sending virtually everyone thru college, it figures that academic inflation should corrupt even graduate schools.

Salute to Tennessee's 1967 Volunteer Team

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-known fact that we Tennesseans take our football seriously. For this reason, I hope that my colleagues will forgive me a little serious bragging on the exploits and accomplishments of the Nation's finest football team.

The University of Tennessee's 1967 Volunteer team has just recently completed one of the most successful and inspiring seasons in the school's football history. Despite a crippling series of injuries to key players, the Vols fought through one of the toughest schedules in college football to compile a 9–1 record, win the No. 2 position in both major national rankings, and earn an invitation to play in the Orange Bowl classic at Miami on New Year's Day. This justifies a little bragging.

When Coach Doug Dickey talks about the 1967 Vols, he always stresses the word team. No one can deny that what Coach Dickey and his boys accomplished required a maximum of cooperation and unity of purpose. It also required that each player possess that extra measure of courage, personal responsibility, and pride that makes up a champion. Tennessee is proud of every man.

I could spend some time talking about individuals, for there were many great performances by outstanding players. Dewey Warren, hobbled all season by injuries, still managed to turn in some spectacular duty at quarterback. Charlie Fulton and Bubba Wyche, Walter Chadwick and Derrick Weatherford, were all outstanding. Albert Dorsey, the tough defensive back, and Richmond Flowers, the lightning-fast flanker, have been honored by selection as All Americas.

But, I feel compelled to express a great deal of extra pride in a young man from the city of Cleveland in my own Third District of Tennessee. His name is Bob Johnson, and you will find him listed on every All-America team.

Longtime Vol watchers have labeled Bob as the best center in the team's history. He is a great blocker; a hard competitor with the size, strength, speed, and natural ability to earn lasting respect from teammates and opponents alike. Coach Dickey has characterized Bob as an excellent leader both on and off the field, a player who can be counted on to do his job on every play of every game. That is a pretty solid rating, and one in which I wholly concur.

I salute Tennessee's Volunteers and Bob Johnson and hope to be at the Orange Bowl when they win their next great victory. As representatives of our State, they are a real source of pride to every Tennessean.

Plight of the Work Glove Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the congressional district which I am privilleged to represent is the work glove manufacturing capital of America. On many occasions I have tried to point out the unfortunate plight of this industry as a result of an unwise import policy in our country.

On November 16, 1967, in a statement before the U.S. Tariff Commission, Hon. Albert A. Carretta, general counsel, Work Glove Manufacturers Association, made an excellent statement which I make a part of today's Record:

Statement Before the U.S. Tariff Commission in Behalf of Work Glove Manufacturers Association by Albert A. Carretta, General Counsel, November 16, 1967

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the United States Tariff Commission, my name is Albert A. Carretta, and I appear before you today in my capacity as General Counsel of the Work Glove Manufacturers Association. I hasten to add that up to Friday of last week, this Association was known as The Work Glove Institute, Inc.

I plan to use only a very small portion of the time allotted to the Association. I will then yield to the President, the First Vice President and the immediate Past President of the Association. These three gentlemen are all executives of their respective companies and are well versed in the problems of the work glove industry.

The Work Glove Manufacturers Association is a trade association which has been in continuous existence for 65 years. Not all domestic work glove manufacturers are members of the Association, but volumewise, the Association represents approximately 80% of the total volume of work gloves produced in this country.

Relying upon the ancient maxim that "A picture is worth a thousand words", I plan to conserve time by using two pictures—or graphs—instead of 2,000 words.

First, I must state that accurate import statistics relative to "work gloves *as such* are not available, because the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce does not classify imports as to end use. However, beginning on September 1, 1963, when new schedules were published relative to the classification of imported goods, a particular classification was included therein entitled: "Gloves of Horsehide or Cowhide. Other Than Wholly of Leather". Since practically all of the gloves which might be classified under this heading are suitable only for work purposes, my analysis will pertain to this particular style of glove from the beginning of 1964 through 1966. We cannot prove our case as to other styles of work gloves by exact figures but we believe that the facts which we will present apply to all other styles as well.

If you will refer to Exhibit 1 (not printed in Record), you will note that I have charted thereon the trend in the domestic production

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of leather and fabric combination work gloves, and the trend in the importation of Gloves of Horsehide or Cowhide, Other Than Wholly of Leather. Using the figures for the calendar year 1964 as equivalent to 100.00, it is to be noted that the domestic production of these gloves in the calendar year 1965 increased to 103.30, and in 1966 to 105.88. It is also to be noted that the growth of imports of comparable gloves increased in 1965 to 159.65, and in 1966 to 468.00.

I am confident that my picture, marked Exhibit 1 (not printed in RECORD), tells its story. I will waste no further words.

If you will be good enough now to refer to Exhibit 2 (not printed in RECORD), you will note that I have shown the actual domestic production of leather and fabric combination work gloves for the years 1964, 1965 and 1966. You will, of course, observe the very small annual increases in domestic production.

For each of the years in question, you will note on Exhibit 2 (not printed in RECORD) that in 1964, imports of comparable gloves amounted to 5.8% of domestic production. For the year 1965, imports amounted to 8.9% of domestic production. Then in 1966, imports amounted to 25.6% of domestic production. The question uppermost in my mind is: "How long does an industry which produces an item which is currently classified as 'an essential survival item' by the Government of the United States have to wait before some relief is available?"

Let me make just one more point concerning my Exhibit 2 (not printed in RECORD). You will note that imports during the year 1965 had an average dutiable value of $8.57 per dozen. In 1966, the average dutiable value of these imports was $5.62 per dozen. All of this information was obtained from official reports of the Department of Commerce. So that you may appraise the impact which these imports may have upon the domestic industry, I have noted on my Exhibit 2 that the average selling price of comparable gloves by two domestic manufacturers during 1965 was $9.72 per dozen. In 1966, the average selling price of comparable gloves by the two domestic manufacturers was $11.27 per dozen. A glance at the 1966 figures will show that the import price was slightly less than 50% of the domestic price, and that the imports amounted to slightly more than 25% of the domestic production. Need I say more?

This industry is in dire need of some relief. It asks not for sympathy alone but for some action which will freeze the percentage of the total domestic market available to importers to a figure which will allow both the domestic industry to survive, and at the same time permit foreign producers to participate in any future growth of the domestic market.

I thank you for your attention, and I would now like to yield to Mr. Deane Rusmisell, President of the Work Glove Manufacturers Association, who is also an executive of the Boss Manufacturing Company, one of the largest work glove producers in the United States.

(Graphs submitted, exhibits 1 and 2, were omitted as they cannot be printed in the RECORD.)

U.S. Economy Now in 82d Month of Unprecedented Expansion and Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Labor has released some very heartening Christmas news for the American people.

The Nation's employment picture brightened substantially between October and November as seasonally adjusted employment rose 450,000 and the unemployment rate plunged from 4.3 to 3.9 percent.

These developments are especially cheering since they mark an end to a 2-month upward trend in unemployment—a development that had caused great hardship on many of our fellow citizens.

I strongly believe that this bright new turn in the job situation provides strong evidence that our economy is still quite robust as we move forward in the 82d month of the greatest expansion of all time.

It is most encouraging to learn that major declines in joblessness occurred among women and teenagers—two groups of workers who had suffered from large increases over the past 2 months.

And it is equally encouraging that the jobless rate among married men, our family breadwinners, dropped by two-tenths of 1 percent to 1.7 percent over the month.

This most cheerful news should reinforce our national commitment to achieving full employment and eliminating disadvantage in America. The progress we have made over the past 7 years shows us that, by combining sound economic policies with a vigorous manpower program, we can reach our highest goals.

Poverty Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the operation of the various poverty programs throughout the Nation has been the subject of much discussion here in the Congress. This discussion is not always based upon actual studies made on the local level by local people.

Today I received a report of a study by the Boone Jaycees, Boone, N.C., of the operation of WAMY, Inc., a community action organization which has been in the news on several occasions in recent months.

The survey made by the Boone Jaycees is an impartial and worthwhile study, which I believe will be of interest to all of our colleagues.

I, therefore, place the report of the Boone Jaycees in the RECORD at this point:

The Boone Jaycees have completed their six-month study of WAMY Community Action, Inc., and have submitted a list of recommendations formed from the study to the four-county anti-poverty agency which has its headquarters in Boone.

The study involved a public opinion survey conducted separately within the city limits of Boone and throughout Watauga County as well as interviews with WAMY administrators and other public officials.

The Jaycees voted last May to conduct a study of the organization to determine how the program could be improved, and to determine whether any federally financed anti-poverty programs are needed in this area.

COUNTY SURVEY

The typical person interviewed in the county division of the WAMY opinion survey was a 22–50-year-old male who owned his home, was a high school graduate, had lived in the county at least 15 years and had four-five people in his family.

Seventy-four and four-tenths of those surveyed in the county knew what WAMY is. The Jaycees considered only the answers of this group in evaluating the following responses to the remainder of the questionnaire.

Twenty-one and one-tenth per cent feel that WAMY's Board of Directors properly represents the public; 55.5% feel that it is unrepresentative; 23.4% had no opinion.

The survey reports that 17.2% think WAMY's staff is properly trained; 50.8% think they are not, and 32% offered no opinion.

Sixty-three and three-tenths per cent believe that there is no poverty in Watauga County that can be effectively eliminated by WAMY; 25% believe that such poverty does exist, and 11.7% registered no opinion. When asked whether poverty stricken county citizens had been aided by WAMY, 51.6% responded negatively; 24.2% think the poor have been helped, and 19.5% have no opinion.

Only 24.2% favor WAMY's programs over existing programs of direct welfare grants; 56.3% favored the traditional programs, and 19.5% had no opinion.

Fifty and eight-tenths per cent believe that there will be no long-range benefits derived from the WAMY program; 22.7% believe that such benefits will materialize, and 26.5% had no opinion. A majority 74.2% believe that the antipoverty agency has not benefitted the four county area as much as $3.5 million during the last four years. Only 6.3% believe that it has, and 19.5% have no opinion.

Asked whether projects handled by WAMY could have been handled as effectively by existing agencies or private enterprise, 63.3% answered affirmatively; 13.3% believe that WAMY can conduct projects better than the traditional agencies, and 23.4% express no opinion.

Those interviewed in the county were asked to evaluate five different WAMY programs. The responses are as follows:

Operation Headstart proved the most highly favored of the five programs. It was rated excellent by 9.4%, good by 21.1%, fair by 19.5% and poor by 21.9%. Twenty-eight and one-tenth per cent had no opinion.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps received no ratings as excellent, but it polled 16.1% good, 12.9% fair, 9.7% poor; 61% offered no opinion.

Six and three-tenths per cent rated Craft Production and Marketing as excellent, 13.3% as good, 10.9% as fair and 20.3% as poor. Forty-nine and two-tenths per cent had no opinion.

Small Farm Production and Marketing was rated excellent by 0.78%, good by 3.9%, fair by 10.1% and poor by 25%; 60% offered no opinion.

WAMY's On the Job Training program polled 3.1% excellent, 12.5% good, 11.7% fair, and 27.3% poor. It drew no opinion from 45.3% of those questioned.

CITY SURVEY

The results of the survey conducted exclusively within the city limits of Boone correspond remarkably to the responses solicited in the county. The typical interviewee differed only in that 57.9% were educated beyond the high school level.

Slightly fewer city residents (69.3% as opposed to 74.4% in the county) knew what WAMY is, and again, the Jaycees disregarded the responses of those who indicated no knowledge of the anti-poverty organization.

Of the city residents 17.6% feel that WAMY's Board is representative; 52.2% feel it is not, and 29.1% registered no opinion.

Sixteen and four-tenths per cent believe WAMY's staff to be properly trained; 48.4% do not, and 35.2% expressed no opinion.

More city residents (35.2% compared to 25% in the county) believe that there is poverty in the county which might be eliminated by WAMY; 53.3% believe there is none, and 11.5% have no opinion.

Similarly, more Boone residents feel that WAMY has aided poverty stricken county citizens; 37.3% voted "yes" in the city as opposed to 28.9% in the county.

Exactly 50% of the city residents favor direct welfare grants over WAMY's programs; 29.1% favored the anti-poverty program over direct welfare, and 20.9% had no opinion.

The city and county agree within four-tenths of a percentage point (73.8% in city, 74.2% in county) that WAMY has not benefitted the four county area as much as $3.5 million in the last four years. Only 7.8% believe the area has so benefitted, and 18.4% have no opinion.

The two surveys agreed within two-tenths of a percentage point that projects handled by WAMY could have been handled as effectively by existing agencies or private enterprise. The town voted 63.5% affirmative, 15.6% negative, and 20.9% no opinion.

City residents evaluated the five WAMY programs much as did the county.

Operation Headstart again polled the highest in public approval: 30.7% rated it as good, 21.7% as fair, 17.6% as excellent, and 9.1% as poor; 20.9% offered no opinion.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps polled the lowest in public approval with 43.9% rating it as poor. Two per cent gave it an excellent rating, 12.3% labeled it good, and 19.7% rated it fair; 22.1% had no opinion.

Craft Production and Marketing was rated good by 21.7%, fair by 20.5%, poor by 11.9%, excellent by 7.4%; 38.5% offered no opinion.

Responses to Small Farm Production and Marketing inside the city limits correspond closely to county-wide opinion. It received 1.2% of the votes as excellent, 10.2% as good, 14.8% as fair and 18% as poor. It drew 55.7% no opinion responses.

The case was the same for On the Job Training which polled 1.6% excellent, 15.7% good, 17.6% fair, 26.2% poor and 39.3% no opinion.

In reviewing the survey, the Jaycees pointed to the fact that an average of 71.7% of the county and city citizens know what WAMY is and that 68% in the county and 82% in the city are familiar with specific WAMY projects. However, an average of 74% feel that WAMY has not benefitted the four-county area as much as $3.5 million. An average of 63.4% feel that WAMY projects could be handled as effectively by existing agencies or by private enterprise.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO WAMY

Eight recommendations were formulated by the Jaycees on the basis of the survey and interviews with WAMY and other public officials. The list was presented and explained to WAMY's acting director Tuesday by a Jaycee committee. The recommendations are as follows:

The Boone Jaycees suggest that the WAMY organization—

1. Improve communications between Agency and Community. The survey points out general lack of knowledge on part of the community;

2. Make better use of local people in service on the Board of Directors and that the Board of Directors serve more as a governing body than as a rubber stamp of the WAMY staff or executive committee; and

3. Make better use of existing agencies. We would suggest a committee to coordinate the activities of the Welfare, Health, Agriculture, Education, and Employment Departments as they now exist in the county.

4. We feel that local people should be hired at all levels when at all possible.

5. We recommend that salaries for individual jobs be brought more in line with local pay scales.

6. We suggest that the Neighborhood Youth Corps be given closer supervision. It is further suggested that these young people be given training in personal hygiene and social graces as a regular part of their training.

7. We recommend that WAMY personnel consider their own personal appearance, manner, and mode of dress. We feel the program and its activities would be better accepted by the community if those involved would better adhere to local custom in reference to these things.

8. We suggest that the WAMY Administration and Board of Directors take a concerted look at the cost of administering the program. A lot of criticism is leveled at this facet of the organization.

The Space Program Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished and effective members of the Committee on Science and Astronautics is the Honorable EARLE CABELL, of Texas.

Some time ago Congressman CABELL issued a press release pertaining to the space program and on it the Dallas Times Herald based an editorial which I make part of these remarks for the benefit of all my colleagues:

THE SPACE PROGRAM QUESTION

One of the more difficult governmental financial questions which now concerns this nation, and will continue to concern it for the indeterminate future, is the amount of money which should be spent on the space program.

The crux of the anxiety we feel about the space program, especially in attempting to determine its extent is, of course, furnished by Russia. We know certainly that the Soviets are pushing hard on their own space capability development. What we don't know and can't know is what their effort means to us in terms of our own security, particularly if they should materially outstrip us in this particular competition.

Of importance also as a consideration is the huge costs which our exploration of space is entailing and will continue to entail. Sometimes we think that with the huge expenditure now necessitated by the war in Vietnam we cannot afford an ambitious space program. But at the same time, there is the crucial question of whether we can't not afford it either.

U.S. Rep. Earle Cabell of Dallas, a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, puts his finger on this trying question. "Is our space program worth its dollar costs?" he asks . . . "This is a question in which the entire future of the world may be involved."

In discussing the qeustion, Rep Cabell points to a report entitled, "Review of the Soviet Space Program," prepared by Science Policy Research Division of the Library of Congress' Legislative Reference Service for the committee.

"The report," Rep. Cabell says, "reveals that the programs both of this country and the Soviet Union are highly competitive." Providing the full significance of the question at issue, unfortunately, is the fact that this competition is not in the nature of a mere game where national pride of accomplishment alone is involved. It can, and undoubtedly does, have a direct bearing ultimately on the defense of this nation.

This fact was emphasized only a short time ago by the Russians' placing in orbit a satellite capable of carrying and releasing on order an atomic weapon.

We make no pretense of knowing how much money should be spent on the space program. Certainly it is absolutely necessary to hold costs to as prudent a level as possible. But at the same time we agree with Cabell that this is no time to put our program into even temporary eclipse, because the questions involved "have a direct bearing on some of our more mundane earthly problems—world peace for one."

Uncle Sam Has Been Trying To Play Santa Claus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, someone once said that the spirit of Christmas is embodied in the joy of giving, rather than receiving. I have received a letter from a constituent that has given me new heart this Christmas season.

Through my first 12 months in the House of Representatives, I have heard over and over again that the people of the United States need this or demand that. The motto of our Federal Government seems to be "Ask and you shall receive," rather than the late President Kennedy's plea to "ask not what your country can do for you."

However, I have harbored the suspicion that many good Americans prefer to be left alone. The constituent who wrote me, I believe, is typical of many Americans, who are sick and broke this Christmas because for 30 years Uncle Sam has been trying to play Santa Claus.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert excerpts from Mrs. Dixie L. Dodd's letter in the RECORD and commend its contents to the close attention of my colleagues:

DEAR MR. WIGGINS: I understand a number of your colleagues in both houses are interested in investigating why it is that some people feel desperate and hopeless and alienated from our society, and what they can do about it. Well I certainly feel all those things, although I doubt that they would be interested in me, since I haven't distinguished myself by burning down half the town.

I was raised in poverty. However, we did have sense enough not to throw garbage out of the windows, and so were not bothered by rats.

My husband and I finally were able to buy a house of our own, small and modest thought it is. My husband makes $550.00 a month, gross. Now this is not a lot, but it would be enough to support our family of four, if the various governments would stop taking it away from us to support everybody else.

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"In this first year we have owned our home, our payments went up from $147.00 to $164.00 due to taxes. First state taxes went up, and now this surtax is proposed. We have a hard time feeding our family, but able-bodied "hippies" in Colorado and elsewhere get Federal food stamps. It costs us plenty to borrow money, but businesses can get cheap loans through the Federal government. We cannot afford adequate dental care, but we are forced to pay for other people's.

I understand the Federal government is building a huge equestrian complex in Los Angeles—something to do with a water project, although I don't understand the connection. I don't ever hope to have enough money to own a horse or to even learn to ride one. I am not complaining; I don't want the Federal government to give me a horse. I just resent having to pay for other people's entertainment. The one most legitimate reason for a government at all—protecting people from the criminal element—has been abdicated by the Supreme Court.

Sometimes I feel we are just knocking our heads against a stone wall. If we get an extra nickle, it will just be taken away from us. After all, my husband—if he wanted to—could be just as inept as anyone else at getting and holding a job. We could probably live just as well, and with all that spare time, we could march and demonstrate and riot. And we would not be held responsible at all for our actions.

I would like to say that I believe you are doing a pretty good job trying to hold down spending. Just on the outside chance that some of your colleagues may be sincere about this poverty program and Federal aid nonsense (it seems very remote and unlikely, but I suppose anything is possible), perhaps you could pass along the information that they are creating poverty rather than fighting it.

Sincerely,

Mrs. DIXIE L. DODD.

Survival of Our Domestic Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the import situation has given concern to many of us who are interested in the survival of our domestic industries.

Among the industries that have been greatly damaged by import excesses has been the glass industry. Recently in a statement before the Committee on Finance of the U.S. Senate Mr. Robert Wingerter, president, Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., made a very excellent presentation relating specifically to the impact of the importation of foreign products upon the glass industry.

Under unanimous consent I place the statement by Mr. Wingerter in the RECORD today:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT G. WINGERTER, PRESIDENT, LIBBEY-OWENS-FORD GLASS CO., BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE OF THE U.S. SENATE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, my name is Robert G. Wingerter. I am president of the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company. Our plants are located in Louisiana, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa and California. We manufacture plate glass, float glass, sheet and window glass and patterned glass. We supply those products to the architectural construction and home building markets. We further fabricate those products into Thermopane insulating glass, safety glass for automobiles and trucks, heat-strengthened glass for use where breakage constitutes a hazard, high performance glasses for air, space and military vehicles, and so forth.

We now employ 11,080 men and women, down from 13,391 ten years ago. We have faced and are facing unfair and crippling competition as a result of the foreign trade policies of the United States as they have been executed by the Administrative branch of our government.

In reviewing the legislative record of the various extensions of the Trade Agreements Act and the Trade Expansion Act, I am convinced that it was not the intent of the Congress to hurt American industry. If the safeguards to domestic industry and employment have been regarded with tongue in cheek, those who framed those safeguards and voted for their inclusion in the Acts did not so regard them. The fact that your Committee is now engaged in so thorough an inquiry into the results of United States foreign trade policy is evidence of your concern.

Members of the Congress have referred to this legislation as "the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acts", although the world "reciprocal" does not appear in the actual titles. The use of that word clearly indicates what results were expected.

If reciprocity in trade agreements means anything, it means that, in the negotiations of each agreement, the trading partners swap equal access to their markets for goods of equivalent value. But the concessions received in past trade agreements have not honored this principle. Other nations have diluted the face value of their tariff concessions by a host of non-tariff measures. The United States places principal reliance on tariffs to control the flow of imports. Other countries rely on embargoes, quotas, import licenses, border taxes, exchange restrictions and prior exchange deposits, as well as tariffs, to control imports. It is remotely possible for an unusually efficient U.S. producer to pay even a high foreign duty and still compete. It is not possible to sell any goods whatsoever in a country which refuses to issue and import license.

Yet in all the explanatory words spoken by Ambassador Roth and his associates following the recent "Kennedy Round" Agreements at Geneva, no substantial progress was reported in negotiating away those real obstacles to our export trade. All we hear are a few wistful words about their hopes of doing something about non-tariff barriers at some time in the future and that hopefully the rest of the world will assume as sterile a position as has the United States on such matters as dumping and proof of injury.

But if we were to ignore the very vital question of non-tariff barriers can we be assured that, *in the area of tariffs by themselves,* other countries conceded as much as the United States?

The Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, soon after the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, published a list of tariff concessions granted by the United States. The detail of our concessions throughout the entire range of all products and commodities is carefully listed in two volumes that run to 632 pages. We can estimate what those negotiations cost United States manufacturing, mining and agriculture. But what did we receive in exchange?

Where is the companion volume, setting forth the concessions made by other countries? True, a volume of 184 pages, listing "*Selected* European Economic Community Concessions", "*Selected* UK Concessions" and "*Selected* Concessions" by others has more recently been published. Why is this only a partial list? Why is this information being dribbled out piecemeal? Must we in business and you in Congress rely on Ambassador Roth's *assertion* that we got as good as we gave? Is there some reason why complete information is being withheld? Surely our negotiators must know the foreign quid pro quo. Must Congress act on new trade legislation without such information at hand?

The basis for our negotiations was stated to be the value of 1964 and 1965 imports and exports. If we really did get as good as we gave, the dollar value and extent of tariff reduction of our concessions should balance with the dollar value and extent of the tariff reductions of other countries' concessions on their imports from this country during the same base period.

From the Department of Commerce we know, commodity by commodity, exactly what our exports to and imports from each other country amounted to in those years. We know what concessions the United States gave at Geneva. We can calculate the dollar value of those concessions in the 1964–1965 base period. But without knowing, commodity by commodity, all of the concessions other countries gave, it is impossible to calculate the 1964–1965 value of foreign concessions.

As a conscientious citizen and a business man, I should like to compare *all* the tariff concessions we received with those we gave. I should like to have at least this measure of the stewardship of those entrusted with a matter vital to the economy of our country. It would be reassuring to find that the tariff concessions by others actually did match our own, even though, as in football, it is the final score that counts, not the game statistics. As I said before, the game was lost when nothing was done about foreign non-tariff barriers. The relative weight of tariff concessions given and received is hardly more than a matter of academic interest. Whatever the balance of tariff bargaining, in many cases, we gave real concessions for paper ones—rice paper, made in Japan.

It is no wonder that our foreign competitors regard us as naive beyond belief and laughably ineffectual. We gave them the golden eggs to rebuild their industrial plants and now present them with an axe to kill the goose that laid those golden eggs.

Since hearings were held by this Committee in October on a number of bills to establish quotas on the importation of oil, textiles, steel, footwear, meat, dairy products and flat glass, a frantic hue and cry has been raised by Administration officials and by the free trade press. I charge that they come to this debate with incorrect and misleading statistics. I challenge their understanding of the free trade theory. And I criticize their assigning shortsighted, evil and selfish motives to the Senators who sponsored these bills and to the businessmen and labor leaders who testified on behalf of these bills. I propose to discuss these points in order.

First, the proposition that opposition to these bills is based upon deceptive and misleading statistics. It is dinned into our ears with insistent repetitiveness that the United enjoys a favorable balance of trade; that we must protect this favorable balance of trade; that the surplus of our exports over imports helps our balance of payments problems; that any move to defend our domestic markets will result in "massive retaliation" at great cost to this nation.

Thanks to the hearings held by this Committee, and to the probing questions of the Chairman and his fellow Committee Members, all who have the ears to hear and the wit to understand know that our presumed favorable balance of trade is a myth. It is a myth being repeated over and over again by officials of this Government, despite the evidence of its basic error which this Committee has documented.

The Department of Commerce "official" figures continue to inflate the value of our exports. When we export grain under Public Law 480, we are "paid" in currency which is *not* convertible. We are "paid" in wooden nickels which cannot be turned into real money and returned to this country. Yet these exports are counted as bona fide "sales" and are included in our export totals. Even the charitable gifts of private American citizens—CARE packages and the like—have been used to swell the total of our presumed "export sales."

In my opinion, it is misleading and inaccurate to include the value of goods for which we Americans pay in our export totals, particularly when those totals are used to prove the importance of our export trade to the United States economy. It might be excusable if the "official" figures told the whole story. But when "exports" *paid for by Americans*, or paid for in currency of dubious value and severely restricted use, inflated by 10% the true exports actually bought and paid for by foreign nations, there is reason to question the statistics. The Department of Commerce export figures are unrealistic and deceptive and those using them are, in my opinion, misleading the American public.

On the other side of the coin, our imports are "officially" *under*-valued. Department of Commerce figures value imports *free on board a ship in a foreign port*. Other nations realistically value imports on a landed cost basis *including transportation insurance and ocean freight*. The importer pays those costs, and the number of dollars that leave the country as a result of his purchase of foreign goods include the costs of insurance and freight. Again, if the difference were of small consequence, the exclusion of these costs might be excused as sloppy bookkeeping. But according to the Department of Commerce itself, these omissions understate the value of imports by 8.9%. According to the Tariff Commission, the understatement is of the order of 10%.

According to "official" figures, we sold $3,770 million more than we bought in 1966. But when goods paid for by United States citizens, or paid for in non-convertible foreign currencies, are deducted from our export totals, and when *all* the money United States citizens pay for foreign goods is added to our import totals, we find that our "official" favorable balance of trade of $3,770 million becomes a deficit of $1,800 million. And all the arguments which are based on our "favorable" balance of trade vanish.

Nor is this the only figure that is being "officially" warped. In a speech before the National Foreign Trade Association in New York on October 30, 1967, Nicholas Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State, asserted that "Last year our exports provided 3,000,000 jobs in various industries." He cited no source of that figure. He simply asserted it. It's a good round number, and the free trade press printed it as a fact. If it is a fact, let's examine what it means.

That same press, commenting on the inability of the domestic flat glass industry to meet foreign prices based on low-wage rates, characterized our industry as "obviously inefficient". If that means anything, it must mean that we produce less dollars of product per employee than the average American manufacturing industry.

In 1966, Libbey-Owens-Ford produced and sold $265,368,000 worth of products. Our average total employment in 1966 was 11,080 men and women. Therefore, the average employee produced $23,950 worth of products. But according to Mr. Katzenbach, workers whose jobs depend on U.S. exports each produce only $9,853 worth of products! ($29.5 billion divided by 3,000,000 jobs.) The conclusion is inescapable. If Mr. Katzenbach's figure for export-oriented employment is correct, the average job afforded by U.S. exports isn't as productive as the experience of a company finding it very hard indeed to compete with imports. Is it consistent with the national interest to sacrifice highly productive, highly paid manufacturing jobs in order to promote lower productive, low-pay jobs?

Next, the proposition that American proponents of free trade do not understand the conditions under which free trade must work.

Most of us, when we studied economics in college, were taught that free trade between nations is the logical extension of Adam Smith's concepts of division of labor and the regulatory force of free competition. It is hard to argue against the proposition that goods should be made where natural resources and aptitudes of the people are most favorable to their production. Obviously, it would be stupid to raise barriers against the importation of coffee from tropical Brazil in order to "protect" an inefficient hothouse culture of coffee in a temperate climate. Furthermore, the benefits of unrestricted commerce between the States of the United States can be, and often are, cited as an example of the validity of the free trade concept.

But for free trade to work as it does in the United States, even the theoretical economist acknowledges that man-made regulations affecting the production and sale of goods must be relatively uniform. Otherwise, the verdict which would be returned by natural resources and aptitudes is thwarted. As a minimum, the following conditions must be met:

1. *There must be no government subsidies*. International trade based on government subsidies—for example, the forgiveness of turnover or value added taxes (the principal tax on business in some countries) on goods to be exported—subverts the price mechanism of economic allocation.

The unfairness of such subsidies is recognized in the Tariff Act of 1930, which provides that such subsidies be offset by a countervailing duty equal to the amount of the subsidy. That provision is still the law of the land, but as far as I know, has been applied only once in recent years when a countervailing duty was imposed to offset an Italian export subsidy on steel. I was therefore deeply disturbed to read the following in a letter dated September 25, 1967, addressed to Libbey-Owens-Ford's Washington office, and signed by Alexander J. Davit, Counselor for Commercial Affairs, Embassy of the United States in Paris. I quote:

"Our understanding is that exporters of flat glass are not given any particular special tax relief by the French Government. All exports, including those of flat glass, are exempt for the tax for value added (TVA). This tax is paid on products sold domestically; French exports are exempt. The Department of Commerce can provide you with detailed information on the tax for value added. We understand that the situation is the same in other countries of the European Economic Community; however, we here in Paris have not been able to check this out thoroughly."

That is the end of the quotation from Mr. Davit's letter. Gentlemen, does this mean that the Department of Commerce has the facts necessary to determine what the level of countervailing duties should be to offset these export subsidies? If so, why has the Treasury Department not been advised? Is the provision in United States law requiring the imposition of countervailing duties being deliberately ignored?

Whatever the reason for this inaction, it is obvious from Mr. Davit's remarkably candid letter that the payment of government subsidies on exports *is* common practice in Europe. Their payment contravenes the verdict of the market place and violates the fundamental free trade premise that "goods should be made where the natural resources and aptitudes of the people are most favorable to their production." The existence of government subsidies violates the first of the conditions prerequisite to free trade.

2. *There must be no major variation in taxes on business*. Taxes on business are an important part of the costs of production. Goods will not be produced where resources and aptitudes are favorable if a tax differential outweighs those natural advantages.

In your own experience, gentlemen, you have seen industry locate in Ohio rather than Michigan, or in Iowa rather than Minnesota, because the state tax advantage tips the balance of decision. And I remind you that state taxes are the small part of the tax burden business shoulders. By far the greater share of that burden is imposed by our Federal Government. It is obvious that the total tax burden, between one country and another varies more widely if only because a difference in tax rates applies to the whole tax burden instead of to only a small part. Thus the *natural* advantages one country may enjoy are being offset. Important tax differentials do exist, and they violate the second of the conditions prerequisite to free trade.

3. *There must be uniform business laws, uniformly enforced*. Laws regulating business activity, hours in the work week, overtime payments, minimum wage rates, safety standards, vacations and holidays all affect costs of production and may determine where goods can be made to sell at the lowest price. Take the matter of minimum wage rates. If Pennsylvania established a minimum wage rate of $1.75 while Ohio had a rate of $1.25, how long do you think it would be before there would be a mass migration of industry from Pennsylvania? Fortunately, our minimum wage rates are Federal laws and apply uniformly to all states. In this frame of reference, goods can be made where the resources and aptitudes of the people are most favorable to production, and free trade is viable within our borders.

It is superfluous to point out that neither minimum wage laws, nor any of the other business laws mentioned above, are uniform as between this nation and any other nation in the world. I simply call your attention to the fact that the overwhelming vote in the House of Representatives in favor of the Dent bill indicates that, however much Administration officials would like to pretend that minimum wage laws are not related to international commerce, the Congress knows better. The wide variation in business laws between nations violates the third prerequisite to free trade.

4. *There must be no government enterprises*. In state trading, prices are based on political considerations rather than costs. International trade involving government enterprise will not lead to international division of labor based purely on economic efficiency.

During the last few years, Russian window glass has been imported into this country at prices not only far below domestic prices but below the prices of Japanese and other low wage producers. This has been true despite the fact that the Russians pay the full 1930 rates of duty while the Japanese pay the much lower most-favored-nation rates.

In a capitalist economy, each producer, to survive, must sell his goods for more than they cost. This is not true in a state enterprise. If the object is to acquire foreign exchange, or simply to disrupt the economy of another nation, Russia can and does sell at whatever price level it takes to get the business, regardless of cost. Such pricing has nothing to do with natural advantages or aptitudes of the people and violates the fourth prerequisite to free trade.

5. *There must be free movement of labor*. Artificial restrictions on the movement of labor result inevitably in the imbalance of labor supply and therefore an imbalance of wage rates. When differences in wage rates

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become so great that they cannot be offset by superior productivity, the presumption, basic to the free trade theory, that goods will be made where natural advantages are most favorable to production, no longer is true. Mr. Katzenbach stated on October 30, 1967 that, "Our high wage rates reflect the high productivity of our labor force and our economy." High productivity is *partly* responsible for our high wage rates. But I would remind Mr. Katzenbach that the Administration itself determined that our productivity was increasing at a rate of 3.2% per year. "Guide lines" were suggested, indicating that wage increases should likewise be held to 3.2% per year to keep pace with productivity increases. What happened to those guidelines? Did the Administration suddenly find that our productivity was increasing by 5% or 6% or 7% per year? Or did the unions tell the Administration to go jump in the lake?

The unqualified statement that "our high wages reflect the high productivity of our labor force" reflects a surprising unawareness of the world about us.

The years between 1867 and 1914 brought an average of 556,000 immigrants to this country per year, beginning with 316,000 in 1867 and ending with 1,218,000 in 1914. If Mr. Katzenbach does not understand the impact of the addition of this number of people to the work force of the less populous, pre-World War I America, he has not read about the early frustrations of the AFL and the predecessor Knights of Labor.

In 1915, immigration dropped from 1914's 1,218,000 to 326,000 because of the Kaiser's U-Boats. After World War I, immigration laws were passed, and immigration has never again approached the million mark. Would Mr. Katzenbach assert that the addition of a smaller and smaller number of immigrants hungry for jobs did not strengthen labor's position in demanding and getting higher wages? Would he still claim that high productivity is the *sole* reason for high wages?

The diplomats and economists who put the EEC together understood that the free movement of labor within the borders of that trading bloc was necessary before free trade between the EEC's member nations would be possible. As a consequence, we saw Greek and Italian workmen leave an area where there was a surplus of labor and move to Germany where they were needed.

But as between the EEC and the United States, or between Japan and Australia, or between any of the negotiating countries and trading blocs which participated in the recent Geneva Conference, migration of labor is *not* free. And the fact that there is no free movement of labor between these various economic units violates the fifth prerequisite to free trade.

Gentlemen, that is why I assert that American proponents of free trade do not understand the conditions under which free trade must work. They pretend unawareness of these conditions, as if their failure to recognize them would lessen their overriding importance. In the absence of a supra-national world government, the conditions prerequisite to free trade cannot be present. It is shoveling smoke to talk about free trade unless and until these basic imbalances are solved. In the real world, each nation must offset by import controls the *unnatural* handicaps that prevent them from realizing the *natural* advantages each has. As long as these handicaps exist, the nation that fails to offset them will watch important industrial segments bleed to death on the commercial battlefield.

Last, I address myself to the irresponsible charge that the Senators who introduced quota bills, and the businessmen and labor leaders who testified on their behalf, are shortsighted, evil and self-seeking.

Mr. Katzenbach notes in his October speech that, "The United States has already been formally put on notice by some forty countries that they strongly oppose the proposed legislation."

Reports of plans to increase *European* non-tariff barriers to offset tariff concessions granted by the EEC in the Kennedy Round have been widely discussed in the press. As a citizen, I should like to know if our State Department has been as diligent in the protection of our export interests as the EEC, UK and Japanese foreign offices have been in the protection of their. I have heard of no American protest being filed regarding the contemplated expansion of any foreign nation's non-tariff barriers. Is it really true, as Senator Harris suggested on October 20 during hearings of this Committee, that there is no "United States Desk" in our State Department?

Mr. Katzenbach notes that, "President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico last Friday eloquently reminded a joint session of Congress of the consequences for the world of a resurgence of American protectionism."

I do not question the eloquence of President Ordaz, but I do assert that he assumed a posture completely at odds with his own policies. *We are unable to sell one square foot of window glass in Mexico.* Flat glass is one of many products which must have a Mexican license to be imported. Before a license is issued by the government, the request is studied by a Board of Review. Can you guess who sits on the Board which reviews applications to import flat glass? Representatives of Vidrio Plano, the company manufacturing window glass in Mexico!

Not one of the quota bills which this Committee studied last month approaches the harshness of this Mexican prohibition of imports. By contrast, the flat glass quota bill, S 2554, introduced by Senator Randolph and co-sponsored by Senator Robert Byrd, Senator Lausche, Senator Scott, Senator Harris and Senator Dirksen, seeks *no* rollback of flat glass imports from their present high level. The quota is established as the average of imports during the years 1965, 1966 and 1967.

Further provision is made for the quota to be increased by a percentage equal to the increase in U.S. consumption of flat glass in each prior year. And last, the President would be empowered, without regard to the other provisions of the bill, to negotiate agreements which would raise or lower the quantity of flat glass which may be imported from foreign countries in accordance with the nation's obligations under GATT.

The essential fairness of this bill has been recognized in the House of Repersentatives, where an identical bill, HR 13845, has been introduced by Congressman Edmondson of Oklahoma with 16 co-sponsors.

Is it just or reasonable that the Members of Congress who sponsored these bills to arrest the frightening erosion of jobs in this industry be rebuked by President Diaz Ordaz, a man who enforces an embargo-in-fact in his own country? Mr. Katzenbach would do well to quote some statesman who practices what he preaches, if such there be in any of the trading nations of the world. Whose ox is being gored?

I see no need to apologize for the wealth we citizens of the United States share. Our position was achieved by hard and intelligent work. I am more than a little tired of the pseudo-intellectuals who suffer a guilt complex because we have realized the opportunities our natural resources gave us. I am not opposed to charity toward those less fortunate than we, but I am opposed to destroying the industrial might that has brought us to this favored position.

In 1914, Henry Ford startled the world by his announcement of a then unheard of $5 per day minimum wage. When asked his reasons for this astonishing announcement, Mr. Ford said, "If I pay my people at least $5 per day, they can buy my Fords."

This rationale might not have proved sound if all wages had not risen dramatically as a result of World War I. But the point is that men who, prior to 1914, walked or rode bicycles to work, *were* able to buy automobiles and refrigerators, and furniture, and homes. It is this broad base of highly paid wage earners which makes the United States market the prime target for all types of products and for all manufacturers everywhere.

The jobs and the pay of *people who make things* set the pattern of pay of all wage earners. No economy can survive where everybody takes in each other's laundry. Wages in service industries cannot be high if production wages are low. If we give away a job in the flat glass industry, where the average pay, with fringes, is $5.05 per hour, in order to preserve U.S. jobs in the rice paddies or the soy bean fields, as Mr. Katzenbach suggests, the base on which this economy rests will be eroded.

We have heard it argued that the American "consumer" benefits from low prices made possible by low foreign wages. Since when has the American consumer not been one and the same as the American wage earner? With the exception of drones who live on inherited wealth, the incapacitated, welfare recipients, and retirees who live on past earnings, people's ability to buy depends on what they earn. And the American who loses his job because a Japanese works for wages which would be illegal here, is not going to buy even a very low cost Japanese radio.

Industries which seek even the modest approach to orderly marketing proposed in the quota bills studied by this Committee are castigated as self-serving. I suggest that it is not the entrepreneur who suffers the ultimate impact of inadequate import controls here and the stringent import controls abroad. Capital is resilient and flexible. Factories can, with some sacrifice, be closed down where the business climate is hostile and the prospect for relief negligible. Actually, the abandonment of a plant sometimes is an advantage to the entrepreneur since bad labor practices which prejudice production are likewise left behind.

At some point, the advantages of low labor cost, export subsidies, favorable tax treatment, and other foreign inducements will outweigh the natural wish of American businessmen to produce and invest in America. If the manufacturer sees no prospect of relief from intolerable low wage, low price competition, he must seek a foreign base for those operations which are being disadvantaged here. Responsibility to shareholders will admit of no other course. As long as American import controls fail to offset foreign cost advantages, the American corporation can reach this American market more profitably from a foreign-based factory. The road is already well-trod, and I make no secret of the fact that Libbey-Owens-Ford may be forced to adopt the course that many other American companies have already taken.

The ultimate impact of unrealistic foreign trade policy thus falls on labor, because labor must stand on the ground where men live. In a larger sense, however, it falls on all Americans. When production workers lose their jobs, the commercial and tax base of the economy crumbles and the country suffers. Over the course of a decade or so, an American company may find an advantage in transferring to a foreign base. But if a great consuming market, predicated on high wage employment, is lost, the total market for all produeers is withered.

That is why I am deeply thankful that the Founding Fathers; in their wisdom, assigned to the Congress the responsibility for regulating foreign commerce. The acceptance of that responsibility, as evidenced by the proceedings of this Committee, is heartening to all thoughtful Americans.

Strikebreakers From Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, in a recent network radio interview, Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO, charged that lax law enforcement by the U.S. Immigration Service allows a steady stream of strikebreakers to cross from Mexico into Texas and California. I believe that every Member of Congress should carefully study the situation that Mr. Chavez documents. For that reason, under unanimous consent, I place the transcript of that Labor News Conference interview at this point in the Record:

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE

A top AFL–CIO farm union official today charged the U.S. Immigration Service was not enforcing the law on the Mexican border.

"A ready supply of strikebreakers" daily crosses the border into Texas and California, Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO, said, on the network radio interview, Labor News Conference.

Despite a federal government ban on Mexican nationals working as strikebreakers, Chavez said the Immigration Service "has not done its job."

He recalled one instance when the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee asked for an investigation into suspected violations in the Bakersfield, California, area. "We were told, point-blank," that the Service wouldn't investigate because "they would incur the wrath of the growers," he asserted.

"This is the kind of attitude we are confronted with," Chavez said, calling for tighter enforcement of the law that applies to the 44,000 Mexican nationals who cross the border every day to work at farm, service and industrial jobs in the United States.

He said he was "very encouraged by the response" to his recent testimony before a Senate subcommittee looking into the situation. Interest in and awareness of the problem are growing, he said, and that will be the key to solving it.

Chavez renewed labor's call for extension of the National Labor Relations Act to farm workers, pointing out that without coverage of the law, "you can go to a farm and sign up 100 percent of the workers" and still have to strike in order to get recognition of the union.

Reporters questioning Chavez on the AFL–CIO produced public affairs program, aired Tuesdays at 7:35 p.m. EDT on the Mutual Broadcasting System, were Neil Gilbride, Washington correspondent for the Associated Press, and Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated.

[From Labor News Conference, Mutual Broadcasting System, broadcast Oct. 17, 1967]

STRIKEBREAKERS FROM SOUTH OF THE BORDER

Guest: Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO.

Panel: Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated; Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press.

Moderator: Frank Harden.

HARDEN. Labor News Conference. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO.

Mr. Chavez testified recently before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, charging that Mexican nationals are being used as strikebreakers on farms in the United States, particularly in the Southwest and on the West Coast. Here to question him about his testimony on the AFL–CIO's position and what labor believes should be done to change current immigration policies and practices, are Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press, and Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated. Your moderator, Frank Harden.

And now, Mr. Gilbride, I believe you have the first question?

GILBRIDE. Mr. Chavez, two or three years ago, Congress abolished the Bracero program, under which many Mexicans came into this country to work. How is it that so many Mexicans are still coming here to work in Texas, California and other states?

CHAVEZ. Well, Mr. Gilbride, when Congress abolished Bracero importation, most of us thought that was the end of the importation of nationals from Mexico.

What happened is that the "greencarders"—the legal residents who hold visas and are called "greencarders" because their ID cards are green . . . .

CONN. They are legal Mexican residents?

CHAVEZ. Yes, legal residents of Mexico. A "greencarder" comes in, gets his immigration status as a legal resident, but never really resides in the United States. He continues to live in Mexico, but migrates into the United States for the harvest.

Large numbers of these people have been given such visas and that is the problem. Many, many more "greencarders" are coming in than even the largest number of Braceros permitted to come across before that program was ended.

CONN. Do you have figures as to how many "green card" holders there are?

CHAVEZ. It is estimated that something like 60,000 "greencarders" from Mexico, born in Mexico, either reside in the United States or come across from Mexico.

GILBRIDE. How does that affect your efforts, Mr. Chavez, to organize United States citizens who are farm workers?

CHAVEZ. Well, something like 44,000 people cross the international boundary line every day to work on American farms. Many of these workers are used as strikebreakers whenever we strike any of the farms.

So, the problem to us is that they are a ready supply of strikebreakers. And they are being used all over—in California and Texas—where we strike.

CONN. Do these "green card" holders also work at a lower wage scale than most farm workers—particularly organized farm workers?

CHAVEZ. Of course they work at a much lower scale. And also, since they migrate into this country, it is a little harder for them to get jobs, so when someone at the border offers them a job, even if it means breaking a strike, they will take it without even thinking that they are breaking a strike.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Chavez, what are you and other leaders of organized labor asking Congress to do now to stop this use of Mexican labor?

CHAVEZ. Well, primarily, we are asking that the existing regulations be enforced. You see, the Immigration Service is charged with the enforcement of the regulation recently promulgated by the Department of Labor, under which "greencarders" are not permitted to break strikes or to work where there is a strike.

Now, the problem is that the Immigration Service has not done its job of enforcement. Therefore, we have now, for instance, at the Guimarra Vineyards corporation, where we have been striking now for a number of months, large numbers of "greencarders" are doing the work that U.S. citizens who are now on strike were doing.

CONN. Mr. Chavez, can the Secretary of Labor rectify this situation himself, or do you suggest that maybe the Attorney General can, or do you want legislation?

CHAVEZ. I think that there may be a need for legislation to correct some of the shortcomings of enforcement. But we say that there are enough legislation and established regulations now to correct it.

The real problem is that for many years, the Immigration Service has not been willing to rock the boat. For instance, when we approached the Immigration Service in Bakersfield, California, with a request that they go into the fields and investigate, we were told, point-blank, that they were unwilling to do so, because if they went behind our picket lines looking for the "greencarders", they would incur the wrath of the growers.

This is the kind of attitude that we are confronted with. And this is what makes it so difficult for the Immigration Service to carry out the enforcement.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Chavez, are you trying to stop the use of these Mexicans—are you trying to just stop their use as strikebreakers, or do you want to stop the flow of these people back and forth across the border altogether?

CHAVEZ. We are not against immigration. And we are not against people coming from Mexico to earn a living here—to better themselves—provided that when they do come here, they do not depress the wages and working conditions of American workers, and provided that they do not come here to break strikes.

CONN. Mr. Chavez, putting this into some historical perspective, at the time the Bracero program was running full-blast, was the "green card" problem as large as it is today?

CHAVEZ. No, it was not quite as large. You see, what has happened is that traditionally, the growers in this country have looked ahead, maybe 10 or 20 years, for a labor supply. We see now—as we look back and reconstruct what was taking place then—we see that since 1953 or 1954, when public opinion began to build against Public Law 78—a great interest has developed on the part of the employers and the growers as how to qualify workers as "greencarders."

Many of the growers began then to provide workers with what they call letters of employment and become responsible for people from Mexico.

So, large numbers of Braceros, when they went back to Mexico, would return to the U.S. as "greencarders". The same people who were the Bracero work force are now "greencarders", with maybe even less protection. This is what we are faced with.

CONN. So you got one door shut and another one opened.

CHAVEZ. Yes.

CONN. The Bracero program is closed and this has opened up.

GILBRIDE. Mr. Chavez, to what extent do you think that these Mexicans depress wages for American workers? That is, if there were none of these Mexicans coming over, how much more do you think U.S. farm workers would earn?

CHAVEZ. Maybe I can aswer it this way. For instance, in the Rio Grande Valley, restaurant workers are getting 25 cents an hour—farm workers are getting sometimes 35 or 40 cents an hour. We know very well that all the jobs are controlled by the "greencarders" commuting across the border.

Now, we know very well that if this weren't the case, American citizens wouldn't be working for those wages—they would have to be paid more.

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In California, for instance—in the Imperial Valley—for years and years, the wages were at least 25, 30 and 35 cents less than the wages for the same job 200 miles farther inside California.

So, we know that they have a very depressing effect.

Conn. Mr. Chavez, we hear a lot today about urban problems and so on, and also some of the rural poverty problems. Do you feel that many American citizens could be working at fairly decent wages today, if it were not for the "greencarders" coming in at the rate that they are coming into this country?

Chavez. I think so. I am very sure they would.

For instance, in those places where we are getting collective bargaining agreements, I know that wages have risen quite a bit. I know that some people in the cities who came from the farms to begin with would return to the farms, if they could get jobs—and if they could work under better working conditions—for instance, under labor agreements.

But, this won't be possible until we solve the "greencarder" problem.

Gilbride. Will you tell us, Mr. Chavez, what some of the wage levels and benefits are that you have managed to negotiate through the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee?

Chavez. Yes. Wages run from $1.75 to $1.80 minimum, when the work is on an hourly rate. For piece-rate work the minimum is usually $2.80 to $3.10.

Conn. What would be the average wage on the unorganized farms?

Chavez. On the unorganized farms, if the farm is anywhere near where we are on strike, wages would tend to be a little higher than in other places. I would say that in California, it would be around $1.25 to $1.35.

Conn. You also have been able to negotiate fringe benefits in your contracts, haven't you?

Chavez. That's correct. We have been able to negotiate the beginning of a health and welfare program, some paid holidays and some other fringe benefits.

But I suppose the most important thing is that for the first time, the workers have a union and it is recognized. This, of course, is the most important thing.

Gilbride. Many of these workers, Mr. Chavez, I understand, live in what you might call camps—labor camps. Have you done anything to improve those conditions—have you negotiated improvements in these living conditions?

Chavez. Yes. Where we have negotiated contracts, we have done one of two things.

Many of the camps are not needed—some are, but most of them are not. They are used because there is a lot of money involved in feeding and housing workers—housing and feeding them for a fee, and making a very large profit out of that. In some cases we have gotten housing for our workers in the towns and cities.

But in those cases where we cannot, then we demand that the feeding be done on a non-profit basis—and we demand that the camps be brought up to good standards.

Generally, the conditions improved a lot.

Conn. Mr. Chavez, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has scored its major breakthroughs in the Delano, California, area in the San Joaquin Valley. I have heard about a health clinic that the union is planning to build there. Could you give us a few details on that?

Chavez. Yes, the Farm Workers' health clinic started as a voluntary effort to provide health services for the strikers in the Delano area. A house trailer was donated and converted into a clinic. Then we went into the cities—mainly Los Angeles and San Francisco—and were able to get doctors to donate their time. We ran the clinic that way.

Now, with the formation of the union, we are thinking of opening a full-time clinic, with a resident doctor and provide much wider services.

Gilbride. How many members, Mr. Chavez, do you now have in the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee?

Chavez. A little over 6,000 working under contract. But we have more than 6,000 who pay dues part of the year. They pay dues to the union because they are interested in organizing and want to demonstrate that they want to be included in the benefits that the union is getting for the workers who are organized.

So, I would say that peaks may be 12,000 or 13,000. During the winter months it goes down considerably.

Conn. Have you had a very sympathetic response from farm workers in other areas of California and other areas of the country as a result of your successes around Delano?

Chavez. We have. Requests, and calls and letters come to our office daily from a very large number of people—not only from California, but from all over the country—asking to be organized, asking for assistance and so forth.

Of course, we know that one of the dangers that confronts us is over-extending ourselves. So we are concentrating in Delano, until we get that problem solved, and that means something like 20 more growers. Then we hope that we can begin to gradually expand into other areas.

You see, organizing in agriculture is a lot different from organizing in industries where workers have the protection of the National Labor Relations Act. You can go to the farm and sign up 100 percent of the workers and it still won't do you any good. The experience has been that in order to get recognition, in all cases—in almost all cases—you have to strike.

Gilbride. You are, I believe, seeking legislation to bring farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act.

Chavez. That is correct. We know that in order to do a real job of organizing farm workers throughout the country, we have to have the protection of the National Labor Relations Act.

Gilbride. This whole organizing campaign among farm workers started off amid a good deal of controversy. Is the attitude in these areas changing—say, on the part of the growers? How about the community at large and government officials—possibly, even the governor, has he anything to say about this campaign?

Chavez. I think we are still as controversial as we were when we started. I guess it is going to be like this for some years to come.

You know, there is nothing like success. The little success we have had has made some people take a second look at us. Some have decided that we are there to stay, so they have left us alone. Others have organized even more solidly against us.

But, the community is still pretty much against us—except the workers, of course.

It is difficult to understand why people—for instance, the businessman, who knows that if the union gets organized it will mean more wages for the workers, which means more money for him—would be against the union. It is difficult to understand, but this happens.

Conn. There is something else I am curious about along this line, Mr. Chavez. You have come to Washington from time to time, I know, to plead the cause of farm workers to members of Congress. The farm worker, as you noted, is denied protection of the National Labor Relations Act. He does not come under Unemployment Compensation, rarely under Workmen's Compensation, frequently not under Social Security. How do people justify—members of Congress, for instance—justify keeping the farm worker in such second-class citizenship?

Chavez. What it boils down to is, we really don't have what they want at this point. You see, back in the days when hearings were held prior to enactment of the original National Labor Relations Act, farm workers were excluded. There were three main reasons for this.

Some people attribute it to the power of the growers' lobby. I agree that that had a lot to do with it.

Others attribute it to the fact that the workers themselves don't have any votes.

But, if you examine the work force, even then, but even more so now, most of the people who toil in the fields of America are minority group people. I think that just as Negroes were not given their rights and protective legislation, farm workers, I guess for the same reason, were excluded.

Gilbride. You think it is racial prejudice?

Chavez. I think that has a lot to do with it.

Conn. Of course, Mexican-Americans, who make up a good part of the farm labor population, are starting to speak out now. Do you think this is beginning to make a difference, along with union organizing efforts?

Chavez. It is—it is beginning to make a real difference. But there is still a long way to go.

Whatever success we have had, and whatever voices are being raised by farm workers, are not really due to the determination of the workers or because it was time for them to get a union. A lot of it has to do with the help that we have had from the outside—particularly the help we have had from the AFL-CIO, which has been considerable. Without that help, we would never have been able to make it.

We are willing to fight. We will stay out there 20 years fighting for a union. But, that is not all of it.

We have got to have money. We have got to have the things that keep us going. So the labor movement in America has been very, very good to us.

I would say that of all the organizing efforts, we have had the most support. The church has been a great help. And, at the beginning of our drive, the students were also very active with us. All of these forces joined to bring the first victory.

Gilbride. Mr. Chavez, initially, as I recall it, you had some opposition from the Teamsters Union in organizing farm workers. Has there been any resolution of this? Are they still competing with you?

Chavez. No, we were able to resolve it. Just a couple of months ago, we signed a pact, a no-raiding and jurisdictional pact with them, and things are better now. We fought for about a year.

While we were destroying ourselves, the growers were on the sidelines laughing their heads off.

Gilbride. As the two unions fought each other?

Chavez. Yes. We learned. So, we got together. Now we are making some progress.

Conn. Do you have a number of contracts that you think might be in the making in the near future, Mr. Chavez? I know you have signed a number of growers already. Are there others that you hope to sign soon?

Chavez. We recently signed the Gallo contract. That ties up the biggest wine producer in the world. We are working on the Paul Masson company, another wine producer. And, of course, we have this big strike and boycott against Guimarra products. We hope we will be able to get them. If we do, this will be a sort of gateway to organizing the growers involved in the production of table grapes.

Conn. Then your feeling is that things are definitely very much on the move. Do you still see the same enthusiasm that you did in the earlier days of farm organization?

Chavez. We do among the farm workers. Other friends, especially the students, have moved on to other issues. But the farm workers, the labor movement and the church groups are still very much with us.

Conn. Mr. Chavez, "green card" holders, as you noted, are taking a lot of farm jobs. Do they take other types of jobs too?

Chavez. Oh, yes—sure they do. They move into industry. They move very quickly into industrial jobs that are vacated because of strikes.

Gilbride. Mr. Chavez, in your recent appearance before the Senate subcommittee, what kind of reaction did you get to your request to try to solve this "green card" problem?

Chavez. The reaction was very, very warm. A lot of interest was expressed by Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D.-Mass.). We are very encouraged by the response. We think we are on the road toward solving the problem.

Gilbride. But there is no legislation pending at the moment?

Chavez. There is no legislation pending at the moment. But, there is a lot of awareness now. We think that interest, together with other things that we are doing, is going to make the general public aware.

And, when they become aware, we will solve the problem.

Harden. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's guest of Labor News Conference was Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO. Representing the press were Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Incorporated, and Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press. This is your moderator, Frank Harden, inviting you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Radio Network.

Washington Newsletter to Wisconsin's Sixth District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, today I am sending a report of my work during recent weeks to the constituents of my district who have indicated that they want to receive my regular reports. At this time I wish to place in the Appendix of the Record the text of my Washington Newsletter:

Dear Friend: This is the first of my monthly newsletters to go to those who are requesting it. As you can imagine it has taken some time to alphabetize your cards and prepare mailing plates for the many who wish to be included. All is in order now, and you will receive this on a regular monthly basis. If your address is incorrect, or if you receive a duplicate, please let me know.

With this newsletter I enclose the results of my questionnaire. And, again, I want to thank each of you who responded.

There is much to report. As you know, the House of Representatives has passed the Economic Opportunity Act. Passage of the poverty bill capped six months of study of the complex program. Hearings took place in the Committee on Education & Labor, on which I serve. After spending untold hours examining anti-povery projects, I was deeply and genuinely disappointed that the type of meaningful redirection I had pressed for was not accepted by the House. What was accepted fails to provide sufficient citizen and private sector involvement which I believe is crucial. My vote in favor of passage is a recognition of the urgent need but I am determined to press for further congressional action to improve this program.

ACTION ON MINK IMPORT PROBLEMS

Earlier this year I sponsored a meeting for sixth district mink ranchers to meet with appropriate officers in the federal government. The meeting attracted mink raisers from throughout Wisconsin and the Midwest. Since then telegrams have gone out from Secretary of State Rusk's office urging an evaluation of foreign mink production with an eye to making informal agreements which might decrease mink imports.

Some progress has been made. Reports from abroad indicate mink imports in 1968 shouldn't have the disasterous effect on mink ranchers here that those did in 1967.

We are still far from a solution. But the work done by 6th district mink ranchers in presenting their problems to federal officials has performed a major role in helping the entire U.S. mink industry.

FOREIGN AID LOWEST IN 20 YEARS

On Nov. 8, the House passed the lowest annual authorization for foreign aid in the 20 year history of the program. The $2.6 billion was $787 million less than the smallest previous appropriation.

I voted to reduce the foreign aid appropriation because I believe more must be done to promote the self-help approach in foreign assistance (typified by U.S. technical assistance programs) rather than persist with a program that has long proven so ineffectual.

ROLL CALLS HIGHEST IN 20 YEARS

The House in 1967 has had more roll call votes than in any other year since World War II.

As of Dec. 6, the House has answered 427 roll calls for quorum calls and record votes. I've answered 407 of these, and have an attendance record of 95%.

I frankly was unhappy with the slow progress of the 90th Congress early this year, and I had hoped we could adjourn well before December. For this reason I joined with 27 of my colleagues in asking that the Speaker of the House schedule sessions on Friday and Saturday if necessary. Since then Congress has held session almost every Friday. While important legislation has not come up we have been able to get some bills out of the way.

Although Friday sessions and increased Committee work have decreased my travel to the 6th district, I think we all agree that a full Congressional work week is a healthy step toward better government.

Janie and I plan to be home in Oshkosh during the holiday season. Congress is not expected to return until about Jan. 15. I will be having office hours in each of the 7 counties of the 6th district, and I look forward to seeing many of you.

ATTACK ON INLAND LAKE POLLUTION

Pollution of Wisconsin's inland lakes is the target of H.R. 13312, a bill that I introduced Oct. 4.

The bill provides for grants to local and state officials developing effective ways to save inland lakes.

H.R. 13312 has been endorsed by the Department of the Interior. A similar bill has been reported favorably by the Committee on Public Works, in the Senate. I am hopeful (with help from 12 other members who joined in introducing this measure) that we will hold hearings and pass the bill.

This move could be a real boost to Lake Winnebago, Green Lake, Randon Lake, Elkhart Lake, Big Cedar Lake, Lake Butts des Morts and our other inland lakes.

I have received a limited allotment of Vietnam maps. As long as the supply lasts I'd like to make them available. Particularly I would welcome requests from families of military personnel serving in Vietnam, for I am sure your letters and the news reports would be made more meaningful with this map for reference.

My very best wishes for 1968.

William A. Steiger.

Marihuana: Escape to Nowhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following series of editorials presented by radio station KLEO in Wichita, Kans., on the use of marihuana and its effects. The station news department presented the editorials following considerable research, and climaxed the presentation with certain conclusions worthy of the attention of Members of the House. The editorials follow:

Marihuana: Escape to Nowhere—What Is It?

What is this Marijuana we're hearing so much about these days? Simply speaking, it's a weed—a wild growing plant consisting of two usable parts . . . the stalk, when dried and processed, is one of the strongest fibres in the world—an excellent raw material for making rope . . . the flower, or top of the plant is the part people talk about when they say Marijuana . . .when dried and ground, it can be smoked to induce brief, false illusions—usually accompanied by a dulling of the senses, and in many cases nausea . . .

Possession of Marijuana is a felony offense—punishable by up to seven years in prison. Many people today are advocating that Marijuana be made legal . . . a very few of these honestly believe this is the proper way to control it . . . most are protestors who seek to use this and other drugs in their efforts to escape from the realities of life which they lack the courage to face . . . Marijuana must not be made legal . . . In almost every case on the record books, users of Heroin, and other so called "hard" narcotics began by using Marijuana, but found they needed something a little stronger, until they finally became uncontrollable dope addicts . . Only a very small percentage of addicts are ever really cured—most waste away and die, painful deaths . . . To legalize Marijuana would, in effect, be to legalize suicide . . . we believe instead, that law enforcement agencies should be equipped with every modern means to detect, analyse and destroy this vicious weed, and the courts should have the power to impose penalties for it's possession or use so severe as to completely discourage it's use.

Tomorrow on KLEO, we will discuss the physical, moral and mental effects of Marijuana, escape to nowhere.

Marihuana: Escape to Nowhere—The Effects

A person who smokes Marijuana is sometimes able to mentally transform himself into a world of dreams—or more often—nightmares . . . senses of time, distance, vision and hearing are severely distorted . . . In some cases, the effects are similar to intoxication, but you must remember that one small Marijuana cigarette is many times more intoxicating than several ounces of liquor.

It is true that Marijuana, in itself, is not habit forming . . . but what about its effect, and what does it lead to? Some users experience panic and fear—some become very

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talkative while others are muted . . . In all cases the users ability to perform such normal tasks as walking or driving a car are severely impaired . . . Not all Marijuana users will make the transition to hard narcotics, but as we mentioned yesterday—almost all dope addicts on record today got their start with Marijuana . . . Users of Marijuana tend to associate with other users, so they are more susceptable to suggestions that they try something with just a little more "kick", until they do become habitual users . . .

It has been proven that users become so pre-occupied with Marijuana that they neglected their bodies and minds . . . they become dirty and un-kempt un-interested in any constructive activity . . . they loose control of their moral conscience, and do things they would not normally do . . . The disease rate among narcotics users is alarmingly high . . .

Marijuana is harmful to the user—mentally, physically and morally. . . . in light of all this evidence by medical and law officials, can you think of one valid reason a person should use Marijuana? We can't there are no reasons, but tomorrow on KLEO we will discuss some of the excuses for the use of Marijuana, escape to nowhere.

MARIHUANA: ESCAPE TO NOWHERE—WHY DO THEY USE IT?

Use of Marijuana among young people—particularly those of a more than fair amount of intelligence is growing at a frightening rate . . . Why?—Protest they say—escape, kicks . . . stupid excuses that certainly can't justify the use of a drug that is both illegal and harmful . . . They say they want to protest—to rebel—but who's going to listen? If they show, by the use of Marijuana and the neglect of their minds and bodies that they have so very little respect for themselves, who is going to have any respect for their opinions? Their protest will fall on deaf ears. . .

Escape? To where? The world won't change while you're away in the dream world of narcotics—nothing will be done to make life any better—you will have proven only that you are a coward who lacks the courage to face up to your responsibilities as a human being. You can't even take credit for things you might say or do while under the influence of dope—because you have permitted this dirty little weed to take complete command of your mind and body . . . Is this the mark of maturity? Not hardly.

Kicks? You've got to be kidding! What kind of kicks can you get from a feeling of numbness, inability to control even the simplest body movement, and an upset stomach? Real kicks come from helping someone else—the peace corps is kicks, cheering for the home team is kicks—helping with a clothing drive at your church is kicks—seeing good marks on your report card, and a smile on dad's face—that's real kicks—with a lot of satisfaction thrown in as a bonus . . .

Marijuana users cannot have love for their fellow man because they have no love for themselves—if they did, they couldn't abuse the minds and body God gave them . . .

KLEO will conclude this series tomorrow: Marijuana: escape to nowhere.

MARIHUANA: ESCAPE TO NOWHERE CONCLUSION

Marijuana: We have presented it to you for what it is and what it does . . . A weed with two basic parts: The stalk that makes a very strong rope, and the flower that destroys people . . . Any medicinal use Marijuana may have had in years gone by has been overshadowed by today's modern medications . . . Marijuana is illegal and should remain that way . . .

Our world is not paradise . . . we have wars and rumors of wars—riots and conflict . . . disease and corruption . . . we cannot change these things by trying to escape into a narcotic world of dreams—because the world of reality remains with us . . . we can only improve that which we dislike by burying ourselves inside our problems and working to be rid of them, for ourselves and the happiness of others . . .

We believe that every parent should openly and frankly discuss the problem of Marijuana with their children . . . make them aware of it's existence and the dangers connected with it . . .

Law enforcement officials are opposed to Marijuana because it's illegal . . .

Medical authorities are opposed to it because they know what effect it has on the human body.

Hard case dope addicts are opposed to it because they recognize it as a starting point toward destruction . . .

As a parent you must be opposed to Marijuana because of all these reasons and the realization that they could apply directly to your child . . .

No matter who you are—no matter what your station in life—you are a human being . . . Marijuana is a dirty, insignificant weed—only clear thinking people can help make this a better world to live in . . . The coward whose uses Marijuana as a crutch cannot help—and can only destroy himself and those who care for him—in his futile escape to nowhere.

Oakland's Cinderella Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, David M. Sacks, vice president and general manager of station KGO–TV in San Francisco, regularly presents editorials in the form of opinions to the viewers. His observations are extremely well received.

This San Francisco station also serves the greater metropolitan bay area, and one of his latest broadcasts was entitled "Oakland's Cinderella Story." I am pleased to insert this editorial in the RECORD:

OAKLAND'S CINDERELLA STORY

When they start compiling year-end reports on Bay Area progress, Oakland is the most likely candidate for the Cinderella city award.

Time was when comedians used Oakland to get a laugh. No more. The city, working with Alameda County, has compiled an impressive list of accomplishments:

Remember the San Francisco Seals Hockey Club? They're now the Oakland Seals.

Remember Rick Barry, the S. F. basketball superstar? He's with Oakland now.

Remember the SRO crowds at Kezar for 49er football? Now it's the Coliseum in Oakland that's generating the excitment. That is the Colisuem complex that just won an architectural award and made enough money in its first year of operation to pay expenses and set aside $50,000 to pay off the bonds.

Big League baseball will come to Oakland next summer.

Oakland's symphony orchestra is attracting more attention all the time. The city's new museum is nearing completion. The Port of Oakland leads the Bay Area in dry tonnage shipping. There are more than $300 million in construction projects in progress—BART, new downtown apartments and office buildings, a marine center and the main post office for the whole west coast.

Now Oakland has received a grant for a model city study which will concentrate on improving the lot of the No. 1 poverty area in west Oakland. The accomplishments are a credit to Mayor John Reading, the Oakland Chamber of Commerce and everyone who set out to eliminate Oakland from burlesque routines.

Planning Ahead in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the continuing need to maintain and expand our technological base in the United States through the space program is as important as it has ever been at the close of the first decade of the space program. Dr. H. T. Luskin, president of the AIAA, has recently included in an editorial of Astronautics & Aeronautics magazine a clear statement of the need for continued aggressive planning and execution of our national space effort. I commend this editorial to your reading:

PLANNING AHEAD IN SPACE

(By H. T. Luskin, AIAA, president)

This month marks the 10th anniversary of the opening of the Space Age by the Soviet Union. We have witnessed a pioneering decade both dramatic and productive. Sputnik I and the "birds," dogs, and men that followed demonstrated many basic space-flight capabilities and initiated practical satellite applications. The exploration of the solar system started and hitherto unavailable scientific information was collected. Because of the importance of these developments, space is now ranked with defense and social progress in the category of highest priority by the world's powers.

The USSR began by launching a series of unmanned spacecraft and followed with a series of manned spacecraft, each series achieving a long list of space "firsts." The chronology of these flights shows that the close scheduling and the sequencing of missions from the least to most complex must have been the result of a plan, carefully prepared and adhered to.

The U.S. had planned to orbit small unmanned scientific satellites for the International Geophysical Year. Starting in late 1957, however, new missions had to be programmed in response to the Soviet achievments, and soon American capability was well demonstrated in a series of "firsts" and "bests." Our technology could have supported an earlier start, but our planning did not support our technology.

The result of planning or not, the sputniks surprised everyone with the powerful emotions they aroused everywhere—pride and exultation in the USSR, shock and dismay in the U.S. In other countries there was a new comparison of U.S. and USSR leadership, strength, education, science, and technology. It showed the Soviet Union had won a lap in the technology race and had therefore won a lap in the race for world prestige. Through imaginative pioneering in space flight, the Soviet Union reached the front rank among technological powers.

What's ahead in space? I believe the second decade of space flight will be as exciting as the first, but even more productive. We will see, in addition, a second period of potent, subjective, global reactions. They may be more sophisticated this time, and they may be even more important. Success will be regarded as an indication of national strength, failure a sign of weakness. The nation that leads in space developments will be judged the one whose technology is the strongest, whose education is the finest, and whose political and economic systems work best.

So I believe that a vigorous participation of the United States in the continuing development of space flight is of great importance to this nation and to the world. Furthermore, it will be necessary to plan ahead to make that participation succeed. It is in that connection that I make the following proposal.

I propose that the President establish a comprehensive space-planning capability. A form this could take would be a commission charged with the responsibility for the national space goals and plans. It should be a permanent body to provide a continuing and stable effort. It should be national in the sense that it should include representatives of science, engineering, education, business, industry, finance, NASA, the military, State Department, and other interested groups.

This mix would bring together the wide variety of interests required to study tradeoffs between science, international prestige, applications, and other key aspects of the space endeavor. The commission's responsibility in planning would include missions, international cooperation, and assignment of responsibilities to government and private agencies. The commission would integrate its work with cognizant Congressional committees and other governmental agencies.

I would hope that the national space goals and plans so produced would give this nation the leadership that would reduce the need for planning by reaction. Moreover, presentation of space programs in a coordinated, stable, master plan would help Congress in its annual review for authorization and funding. The national goals and plans would serve NASA, its space centers, and its contractors as the definitive blueprint for their future.

Finally, I wish to emphasize that the manner in which missions are carried out is the final stage of space planning. More than that, execution becomes the basis for new plans. In that light the value of our thinking to date will be determined by the success we have in carrying out on-going programs, particularly Apollo. I have full confidence that the participants in these programs will be successful and will confirm our most ambitious plans. It is, after all, their successful effort that enables the plans and editorials of ordinary people to make any sense at all.

Concern for Fellow Man Still Rates High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Christmas season truly brings out the best in man and this thought is very effectively expressed in the editorial commentary, which appeared in the Sunday, December 9, edition of the Oak Lawn, Ill., News, which I feel reflects the philosophy that does prevail in the long run.

The editorial referred to follows:

CONCERN FOR FELLOW MAN STILL RATES HIGH

Residents of the area have once again revealed their warm hearts as they prepare to entertain hospitalized vets and pack a bus load of Christmas gifts to send to those that must remain behind in the hospital.

Although the visit and party had been planned within a family, it could not remain that way because so many individuals asked to share in helping make the day enjoyable for the deserving young men.

The Christmas season brings forth the qualities of kindness and good will towards one's fellow man. At the news, throughout the year, we find that "a cry for help" meets with overwhelming response. During the period following the tornado, for example, we were not able to accept all the offers for help that we received.

The headlines often emphasize brutality accompanied by "a stand by and watch" attitude of the American people. It is our experience, that the qualities of kindness and concern for other members of the human race, prove without a doubt that the commandment to "love your neighbor," may lie dormant at times, but it grows strong and tall with the slightest bit of cultivation.

In Memoriam: Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck, USMC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the following article was recently called to my attention. It has such obvious poignancy and drama that I felt I should share it with the other Members of this body. I hope that they will all feel the same as I when they have read it:

SYMBOL OF FINEST MANHOOD: HIS SPIRIT, NOT HIS DEATH, THE SYMBOL

The artist who designed the jacket for my book, "Attack by Mail," is a deeply motivated woman. I have known her for some years. So I naturally know about her younger brother, Bob. He joined the Marines when 19, about five years ago. He was the type of young man one means when referring to "the typical American boy." He was cleancut, with a countenance that projected ruggedness and boyishness. Other parents saw their own son or son-in-law in him. He looked the ideal young man.

He was the ideal young American man. He was a football star at high school in Montgomery, N.Y. When 16, he raised a Guernsey cow that won a first prize at the Orange County, N.Y., fair and he went on to the state fair at Syracuse with his blue ribbon cow. He enrolled in Orange County Community College at Middletown, N.Y., but enlisted in the Marine Corps in his first year.

Upon graduation from boot camp at Parris Island, S.C., he was selected as the outstanding recruit of his class. He asked for sea duty, and was assigned to the guided missile, light cruiser *Little Rock* on a voyage to Cuba and the Mediterranean. About a year later, he was made a drill instructor at his old base. Parris Island. His father received a letter from the commanding general saying that Robert was an inspiration to both enlisted men and officers, and was meticulous in his performance of duty. He won a number of medals for excellance in marksmanship and other military activities. His men liked him; so did the girls.

But he was not satisfied. A little more than a year ago, he told his sister, Shirley, that he did not feel he was fulfilling his responsibilities as a Marine and an instructor by staying at Parris Island and training others to go abroad and face enemy fire without having done so himself. He requested combat duty.

The rest of the story is simply told and all too brief. But it is the story of the kind of man who is the backbone of our military establishment and of our nation. He was a man of convictions. He believed in the cause for which he was offering his life. His picture does not appear in the pages of newspapers except rarely, because he is not news. He is the average, good, young American who feels and appreciates the values of our way of life. The space goes to those who are "news" because they are the exceptions—they are the beatniks, the vietniks and the peaceniks and their kind.

He went abroad to fight at his own request, after receiving some last-minute training at Camp Pendleton in California. He was a sergeant, the backbone of our military.

EVERY ASSIGNMENT A MOST DANGEROUS ONE

The next heard of him, his base was at Chu Lai. He was in the thick of it near the Viet Nam border to the north, leading a rifle platoon through the impossible kind of terrain other Americans see on television. He was wounded in the fighting near the demilitarized zone that the enemy uses as a base and a pathway to the south. Pieces of schrapnel cut into both knees. He was hospitalized only a couple of weeks.

A period without mail was interrupted by a visit to his parents, Maria and Sidney Starbuck of Charleston, S.C., by marines who had been friends of his at the base, who asked whether any news had come of him. His father is of early New England ancestry, of those who settled Nantucket Island. The family made its mark in maritime history, and produced some of our most noted whaling shipowners and skippers. The author of "Moby Dick" picked the name, Starbuck, as his first mate's, because of its salty background. His mother is a direct descendant of Elder William Brewster and John Alden.

The elderly couple sensed that something had happened. Bob wrote about being wounded only after he was back in action. Briefly, he had an interval—apparently convalescing—protecting Vietnamese from Viet Cong terrorists during the period of the very successful election. He wrote his sister that it was a great victory for Premier Ky and our side.

He was given a 10-day leave in Malaya from where he phoned his parents. Next, a letter dated Jan. 4 contained the following: "Am in a new outfit now and the one which I have been trying to get into for the last year or so. I might be going to England soon to Commando school and sure hope so. A lot of good schools such as jump school, scuba school, Ranger school, special warfare school and quite a few others—Have to run now . . . Love, Bob."

This letter was postmarked Jan. 7 and reached Shirley Jan. 12. A few days later, a letter to his parents told of his being dropped with reconnaisance groups from helicopters. His address was: Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck, A Co., 1st Recon Bn. c/o F.P.O., San Francisco, Calif. 96602.

"WE ARE DOING A GOOD JOB"

A letter dated Jan. 30 reached his parents on Feb. 4, a Saturday. It read: "We are behind the Viet Cong lines and we are doing a good job. We have them on the run. Don't repeat this as I don't want to be thought of as a hero."

He was just doing his duty. He was assuming that this is what all Americans strive to do.

Saturday night, Shirley couldnt sleep. She tossed about restlessly in bed until 6:30 Sunday morning. She got up at 9 a.m. for church. At 4:30 p.m. the phone rang in her home at the Wyoming, 2022 Columbia Road N.W., in Washington, D.C. It was her 16-year-old daughter, Susan, calling from Charleston, S.C., where she stays with her grandparents while attending school. She was sobbing. The

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words she barely could force from her throat were: "Mama, it's Bobby . . ." Shirley understood at once . . .

A Marine auto had come to the house at 3:45 p.m. Susan was home alone. She looked out of the window, and sensed at once. A major and a chaplain came with the news. The body would be home in about a week for burial at Parris Island. Additional details followed. On Feb. 3, shrapnel hit him on the back of his head. The next day, Feb. 4, he died.

He had enlisted in the Marines at 19 for a three-year stint, and re-enlisted when 22 for six years. He would have completed his sixth year in the Marines on March 9. On July 17, he would have been 26.

A BEGINNING AND NOT AN END

This is the simple story, much as it is for an increasing number of mothers, fathers, wives, daughters, sisters and other relatives these days. A sergeant who loved life but put patriotism and his convictions first. A man whose adherence to discipline was keeping our country safe in spite of the corrosive permissiveness that enables the enemy to fight us on the home front.

This ordinarily is the end of the tale, but it would be untrue to Bob to leave it at this point. One should not merely have a good cry, and then pull oneself together again, saying, "I'm all right now." There should be more to it, for now is when our responsibility to the Robert F. Starbucks of the country begins. They must not be dying in vain, or needlessly. He is a symbol, and a beautiful one.

His death could be the most worthwhile gift with the most wonderful results imaginable. The way we pursue the war in Viet Nam can save our nation from the agony of an all-out military conflict that would embrace our land all the way from Washington and California to Florida and Maine, and save the world from an holocaust. His life was given so that untold hundreds of thousands—even millions—of Americans will not have to die later on. This is the crucial meaning to the Viet Nam warfare, and Sgt. Starbuck knew it. Bob went into this war to win it. No-win was no part of his make-up. He went behind enemy lines in order to help bring about this victory. We owe it to him, and to the others who likewise have died or are to give their lives, to cherish this intent, and to carry it forward to fulfillment.

Sgt. Robert F. Starbuck believed in his country enough to die for it. He knew that its institutions are intrinsically good, the best ever on earth. The possibility for improvement is the greatest asset of the good, and he laid down his life so we may reach this ideal—again and again and again.

Death, itself is never partisan, and should not evoke partisan feelings among us. What it should call forth are questions we can ask ourselves, all of us, inside and outside government. Are we playing fair with these young men? Do they and their mission get all-out or only partial support? Are we making each assignment in the theater of war the best that can be thought out, never as a cover for what could be done more effectively if it were not for some unstated motivation or limitation?

Senior Citizens Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, December 9, it was my pleasure to conduct a Senior Citizens Conference in Salina, Kans.

Despite cold, wet weather, nearly 500 residents from Saline, Ottawa, Cloud, Republic, Jewell, Mitchell, Lincoln, and Ellsworth Counties attended the afternoon conference in the Salina High School auditorium.

Designed to review and explain Government programs affecting persons over age 60, the Salina conference was the first of a series to be held in western Kansas.

Similar conferences have been conducted by other members, and I felt the idea was worthwhile because of the volume of mail I have received reflecting substantial interest in and some confusion about programs for senior citizens.

It was gratifying, therefore, to hear the panel discussion by Federal and State officials followed by a lively exchange of questions and answers.

Panel members were: Mrs. Loudell Frazier, of Topeka, director, division of services for the aging, State Department of Social Welfare; E. H. Hagan, of Salina, Social Security Administration; John M. Hobble, of Wichita, management assistant specialist, Small Business Administration; John B. Mathena, Jr., of Salina, Kansas Veterans' Commission; and Virgil E. Neil, of Wichita, Veterans' Administration Center.

Since it is highly important to focus attention upon the problems and challenges of growing older in modern-day America, I include in the RECORD my remarks and a brief summary of the panel members' remarks, as follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE AT THE SALINA AREA SENIOR CITIZENS CONFERENCE

It is good to see so many here this afternoon. I feel privileged to have an opportunity to participate in this conference and am hopeful it will be helpful to you.

By coming together to explore new ideas and to review existing government programs affecting senior citizens, perhaps we can alert the people of Kansas, and the Nation, to some of the challenges and problems in this vital area.

Senior citizens. Who are they? To me—my mother and father. To my daughter, they are "grandma" and "grandpa." To statisticians, they are 19 million Americans. To the panel members and me today, they are you.

DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS

In your lifetime you have had front-row seats in witnessing dramatic developments in science, communication, manufacturing, and transportation. As individuals, you have helped create progress. During this same period, medical science and nutrition were making quiet, but revolutionary advances into life expectancy. As medical science tacked on years to life, it thrust upon us the need to adapt to an entirely different set of personal and social problems; for example: To live again as a 2-person family for 14 or more years after the last child has left home; to experience additional years of widowhood; to leave the labor force; to make constructive, satisfying use of increased leisure time; to live on reduced income; to face waning physical energy; to accept changes in housing.

As a Nation, we were rather not prepared to deal with these problems. There had always been senior citizens, but not in such large numbers. More than anything perhaps, it was the impact of numbers which awakened the American people and, more particularly, those at all levels of government.

INCREASED NUMBERS

Let's look, for a moment, at the figures. At the turn of the century, for example, there were just over three million persons over 65 in the United States. Today the figure has skyrocketed to 19 million senior citizens—six times as many as in 1900.

In Kansas, the numbers are even more startling. Last year in this State, senior citizens comprised over 11 percent of the population. From 1960–66, the total Kansas population grew 3.2 percent, while senior citizens' population grew 7.1 percent—more than double.

Future predictions are equally dramatic. The Administration on aging says 1985 will see 25 million senior citizens. In the year 2000—just 33 years from now—there will be more than 28 million.

Simply because there are more older people today than there were some sixty or so years ago is not enough to bring about a change in attitudes toward growing older. As you know, a great deal has been done to help meet the problems which confront older Americans, yet regrettably, our attention on problems has made it almost impossible to highlight the strengths and assets which the aged possess and which are not being utilized by our communities to their fullest degree. It is up to you, therefore—the people in this audience—to demonstrate to your communities and State that you are no longer satisfied to remain outside of the mainstream of community affairs, that you have a wealth of knowledge and experience which can be of value to the community, and that you are entitled to an opportunity to continue the contributions which you have made in the past to build a vigorous and strong America.

WHAT IS BEING DONE?

Now having said this, what is being done to meet the needs of senior citizens?

At the national level, the Congress has enacted a great deal of legislation which directly or indirectly benefits the older citizens of this State. We have representatives at the conference from agencies of the Government whom I'm sure can tell you of these many and varied programs, such as social security, veterans' programs, and prorgams which utilize the experience of retired businessmen and farmers to help others getting started in their communities, and the many other Federal and State programs which benefit or involve the older people of Kansas.

As you know, we in the Congress are working now to bring about needed improvements in a number of these programs. Major changes in the social security and medicare programs will be forthcoming shortly. Action is being taken to open new employment; the Older Americans Act, a program which enables the State to evaluate its own needs for the elderly as it sees fit, has been extended this year.

Those of us who are concerned with providing opportunities for older people must assure that the elderly receive their rightful place among the Nation's priority structure and that we work to support progams and national policies which will help older Americans preserve their dignity—their independence—and their security.

To preserve the dignity of the individual older person, we must recognize that retirement from employment is not retirement from life, and that there must exist, therefore, opportunities for older people to continue their contributions. To preserve independence does not mean that each older person must be expected to fend for himself at all times. But it does mean that there must exist varying programs of assistance and real alternatives from which the older person may choose a course of action for himself.

SELF RELIANCE

If we take away self-reliance, we destroy personal dignity. Loss of dignity is no less important to the elderly than it is to the young. To preserve security, we must begin to eliminate policies and practices which serve only to highlight the problems of older people, particularly those which necesarly involve dependency. We must guarantee economic security by protecting the income sources of the older person from the ravanges of inflationary pressures. We must guarantee physical and social security by assuring that alternative living arrangements exist for those who wish to relieve themselves of chores which are burdensome and the source of difficulty.

Dignity, independence, and *security*—these, then, are our goals. Older people like all people are distinct from each—their interests, capabilities, limitations, and desires vary widely. We must therefore provide the widest possible latitude for the expression of these differences.

CHANGE OF ATTITUDE

Perhaps the most significant change in the attitude of Americans toward growing older has been the recognition that there is no single "best" solution to all the problems and needs of the elderly. I hope that this conference will continue to find these new alternatives to the problems of the elderly, and in so doing will help us reach a new appreciation and understanding of the rather important role and distinction of being a "senior citizen".

Fortunately for all of us, greater attention to the needs of the older individual is being given, and we are casting aside the ignorant and fearful stereotype of the dependent, helpless, and useless older person. Much of our difficulty in coming to grips with the problems of growing older, I suspect, has been caused and compounded by the fact that we value youth and youthful things so highly. Holding this value dearly, many Americans still look upon the prospect of growing older as a depressing prospect, usually without reason. Wisely, however, we are beginning to see that the stereotype of constant youth, just like the stereotype of old age, is an outworn concept.

The elderly have special problems requiring special programs and attention—of this there can be no doubt—and we have indeed come a long way in finding many solutions to some of these problems. What we have failed to do is to define the role the elderly can play in contributing to the growth and improvement of our communities and Nation as a whole. To help in this definition, we in the Congress, and for that matter, the American people, are turning largely to you, since you better than anyone else know what is needed and the best manner in which we can meet these needs. This, then, explains the reason for the conference and others being planned in western Kansas. I hope they will be productive and successful and, above all, beneficial, in some way, to you.

REMARKS BY PANEL MEMBERS

The following are brief descriptions of the subject matter of each panelist.

John Hobble, Small Business Administration: Hobble discussed the opportunities available to senior citizens with business experience through SBA's Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE). Through this program, he said, senior citizens can help guide and strengthen small businesses.

E. H. Hagan, Social Security Administration: In his remarks, Hagan pointed out senior citizens should contact their Social Security office on at least three occasions—(1) when they reach age 62 or 65; (2) if they become disabled before age 65, and (3) if some working member of the family dies.

Discussing the Medicare health insurance program, Hagan said payment of claims can be speeded up by insuring proper completion of claim forms. When poor health prevents a personal visit to the Social Security office, Hagan said senior citizens may request home calls by a Sosial Security representative.

John Mathena, Kansas Veterans' Commission: Nathena pointed out the Kansas Veterans' Commission helps veterans file claims for benefits due them.

The Commission, he said, maintains the Kansas Soldiers' Home at Fort Dodge near Dodge City. In addition, he noted the Commission helps provide indigent veterans with clothing, food, shelter and medicine.

Virgil Neil, Veterans' Administration Center: Neil said the Veterans' Administration Center in Wichita administers veterans benefits for about 284,000 Kansas Veterans.

In his remarks, Neil reviewed recent increases in veterans benfits.

Mrs. Loudil Frazier, Division of Services for the aging, State Department of Social Welfare: Mrs. Frazier described the educational and recreational services and resources available through the Division of Services for the Aging. She also explained how the Division administers Title III of the Older Americans Act of 1965. Title III provides grants to the states for community planning, services and training to aid senior citizens.

Floral Stamps Proposed To Mark International Botanical Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, botany is the very basis of the agriculture which sustains this country, and as such we look forward to the accomplishments of its practitioners as we look forward to the solution of our agricultural problems.

Botany enriches our lives as it makes known new kinds of ornamental and crop plants, new drugs, new building materials, new fibers, and so forth.

Botany also helps us to understand the reasons for the pollution of our air and waters that are the life's blood of our citizenry and our wildlife.

In August, 1969, the United States of America will be host to a great worldwide conclave of botanists.

The International Botanical Congress will be held in Seattle, Washington, in recognition of the longstanding and meaningful role played by our Nation's botanists in studying the plants and plant products of the world for the benefit of mankind.

This is the first time that such a meeting has been held on our shores and for several years now strenuous efforts have gone into making this conference the most important and significant of all.

In recognition of this opportunity and responsibility, the organizing body of the Botanical Congress is making an attempt to honor the assembled scientists through the issuance of a series of botanical stamps portraying the enormously varied and beautifiul oral wealth of this Nation of ours.

I support this effort. I am asking the Post Office Department to give favorable consideration to a commemorative stamp or panel of stamps to be issued in connection with the international conclave.

To locate a single floral subject representative of the diversity of our native plants is most difficult, if not impossible.

That is why the Stamp Committee of the XI International Botanical Congress has recommended four subjects, one showing a plant from each of the four quadrants of the continental United States:

First. The brightly colored ocotillo—*Fouquieria splendens*—was selected as a representative from the great deserts of our Southwest.

Second. The lofty Douglas-fir—*Pseudotsuga menziesii*—was picked to represent the magnificent forests of the Northwest.

Third. The delicate ladyslipper—*Cypripedium reginae*—from the moist forest glens of the Northeast was chosen.

Fourth. The historically significant Franklinia tree—*Franklinia alatamaha*—represents the Southeast.

Each of these selections is unique and peculiarly American, and represents the vast storehouse of our native floral beauty.

I hope that the Post Office Department and the Postmaster General's Stamp Advisory Committee will look favorably upon this proposal.

Congressman Horton Praises Vice President Humphrey's Model Cities Address in Rochester, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, the city of Rochester, N.Y., was honored as the first of seven cities chosen as model cities to be visited by a group of national newsmen and members of national organizations.

On the day of the tour hosted by Mayor Frank T. Lamb and the city manager, Dr. Seymour Scher, a luncheon held for the visiting dignitaries was attended by an overflow crowd. I had the pleasure of briefly addressing the luncheon audience before the featured speaker, the Vice President of the United States delivered his remarks.

Mr. HUMPHREY noted the extensive commitment to social betterment which has been made by the leaders of industry and by private organizations in Rochester. His address contains an eloquent description of the aims of the model cities program and what it will mean to Rochester and the other 62 model cities.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share Vice President HUMPHREY's remarks with you and with our colleagues, as follows:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, MODEL CITIES TOUR LUNCHEON, ROCHESTER, N.Y., DECEMBER 4, 1967

We are all here today because we are concerned about America's cities. Even though the riots of last summer are now off the front pages, the poverty, overcrowding, poor housing, poor schools, unemployment—the frustration and the agitation that lay behind them are still there.

For any of us who needs a reminder, there is a new publication that should be required reading.

Here is one passage from it:

"When they have to get out on the street at 14 or 15 they consider themselves to be a man and are going to take on some responsibility because he is the only man in the house and he has little brothers and sisters in the house and he sees his mother and brothers and sisters going hungry, half starving and trying to get the rent in. It is a bare house, like it is a cold feeling even to be there and you have to go out on the street and become the subject of the same thing out there. There has to be a breaking point."

Here is another passage:

"Like it's nice of you ladies and gentlemen to come down and set up the . . . hearings, but it's too bad you don't have the power to do anything about it. But you put in more statistics and that is where it goes. You spend more money on statistics than on solving the problem."

Those words are from testimony gathered by the Commission on Civil Rights. They were published a few days ago in a book called "A Time To Listen—A Time To Act." I suggest that anyone who wants to know the dimensions of the task ahead of us in urban America get a copy and read it.

This *is* the time to act; and I hope and believe that the Model Cities program is the beginning of concerted action against the challenge of urban blight in America.

I believe that we are now embarked upon a program that can remake our cities and, even more important, *rescue people*—people who lack the income to do more than struggle for survival . . . people who live in housing that is unfit for human use . . . people who are deprived of the health and educational opportunities that a decent and productive life requires.

For years the Federal Government, through a whole range of grant-in-aid programs, has attacked single problems with single weapons. More than 200 separate programs have been developed, each with a specialized goal, each in response to a real need. State and local governments, private organizations and industries all over the country have established similar complementary programs.

Those programs have produced significant results. But the results have been isolated, separated—fragmented victories.

Model Cities is more than a new program. It is a catalyst designed to permit comprehensive, not isolated, use of resources to produce comprehensive, not isolated, results.

The comprehensive *input* consists of all existing local programs . . . federal programs . . . private programs . . . and unused resources which can be brought to bear on any aspect of urban decay or poverty.

The comprehensive *output* must be not just jobs . . . . not just houses . . . not just transport . . . not just schools, but a new urban society. . . a society of full opportunity and full humanity for all.

We expect a lot from this coordinated and concentrated use of Federal, state, local and private initiative—this partnership for progress in urban America.

We expect to develop neighborhoods—now the most neglected ones with the most difficult problems—where all employable residents will be offered the opportunity for training and work—at a living wage and with prospects for advancement.

We expect to develop neighborhoods where every family can earn a decent standard of living by their own efforts.

We expect to see health standards brought up to the national average . . . schools that provide training commensurate with the ability and potential of the youngsters in them . . . recreation, transportation, public services fully comparable with those in the best neighborhoods.

We expect to see a substantial increase in the supply of decent low-cost housing—*open* housing.

We expect full participation by inner city leaders and residents themselves.

True, the program is off to a modest start considering the enormity of the task before us.

For awhile it was doubtful that Congress would pass any program at all. Then the President's request for appropriations was cut in half. But by mobilizing existing resources and consolidating programs that are already underway, the Model Cities program can mean solid progress.

It is appropriate that this week's tour of Model Cities areas should begin here in the state of New York and in the city of Rochester.

New York State has a great record of experimentation and innovation in meeting urban needs—first with low-cost public housing, first with labor union-sponsored housing projects, first with tenement housing laws which were the beginnings of today's housing codes.

Rochester's successful Model Cities application reveals that it is an important example of both the needs and the opportunities that exist in urban America today. The typical urban ills are all here.

But so are the critical positive ingredients—a dynamic Mayor, Frank Lamb . . . responsible and active leadership in the inner city communities . . . industries like Kodak, Xerox, Graflex and many, many others which are ready to cooperate in job training and employment efforts.

There are private groups already active in the assault in slum housing—Rochester Neighbors, Inc., Better Rochester Living, Inc., The Metropolitan Rochester Foundation, Rochester United Settlement House Corporation, Rochester Area Council of Churches Development, Inc., Community Interests, Inc.

I doubt if most of these names existed five years ago. Today they spell public concern, private commitment to public problems . . . and progress.

And there is a record of successful public-private cooperation.

The Midtown Plaza—the very building in which we are having lunch today—is a result of creative partnership between business and government. So is the Genesee Crossroad Urban Renewal Project not far from here.

Rochester is a leader, but it is not unique. The Model Cities applications received this year all reported similar efforts underway.

Equally important, all reflected the beginnings of a constructive dialogue between city halls and the residents of depressed neighborhoods. All reflected soul-searching, and a new awareness that this is indeed the time to act. All reflected a determination to seek solutions—solutions that are more than a bandaid or a hand out . . . solutions that mean real opportunity to participate in the mainstream of American life for people who are now excluded.

Rochester and the 62 other cities which received Model Cities planning grants are now entering a third and critical phase in the development of the Model Cities attack on slumism.

Phase I was mobilizing public support and passing the legislation. There was time when success in this phase was clearly uncertain. But we did it.

Phase II was the intensive preparation, both at the local and federal levels, that went into the first Model Cities proposals—proposals which I believe have been, for the most part, imaginative and well-conceived.

In Phase III, our task will be to find the resources which we all believe are there . . . to mobilize the energies that we presume to exist . . . and embark on program which will provide visible evidence of progress.

Permanent results—a prospering, peaceful urban America—will be *Phase IV*. And it will not come overnight.

Every American . . . every inner city leader . . . every slum resident must recognize that fact.

"Are we moving?"—not "Are we finished?"—will be the only realistic test of success for some time to come.

Permanent results are going to come slowly because the depair in some neighborhoods is so deep, the legacy of deprivation so heavy—even though the people involved are a small minority of Americans.

Permanent results will come slowly because rebuilding will cost a lot—even in this society which is rich and growing richer.

Permanent results will come slowly because too many Americans still tolerate prejudice in their housing codes, in their employment and promotion practices, in their hearts—even though this nation professes to be the land of the free.

I do not counsel only patience—although we will need that. "Patience" for too long has served some as an excuse for inaction.

I counsel diligence, courage, responsibility and faith.

In the words of Thomas Wolfe: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself; and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

Working together, we shall fulfill that promise.

Mr. Speaker, the permanent results which the Vice President described will not come overnight. But the civic and industrial leaders of Rochester have already shown that they welcome the opportunities that the model cities program offers to continue their already determined efforts to further progress in Rochester, N.Y.

An Honorable End to Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, a former constituent of mine, in answer to President Johnson's search for an honorable end to the war in Vietnam, wrote to the Chief Executive and outlined his suggestions for a solution to the war in Southeast Asia.

I insert the two letters from Mr. Clifford R. Johnson:

October 12, 1966.

President Lyndon B. Johnson,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Johnson: According to Mr. Reston and other newsmen, you are searching for an honorable end to the war in Vietnam.

If you will prayerfully peruse this message (I hope that your secretaries have the necessary vision to put it on your desk for must reading) you will clearly realize that here at least is the one big workable answer.

To show all mankind both dramatically and dynamically what spiritually inspired Christian leadership can really do, all that you have to do is to announce that American armed intervention will cease after a specified date, unless the people (in S. Vietnam) indicate in a national plebiscite that they want America to continue military intervention. You can ask them to pray for divine guidance before they vote. This should appeal to the religious elements in both countries.

In addition, you can promise that American forces will be used as inspectors of election (Or to avoid criticism, a UN police force could be substituted). You can also simultaneously release an appropriate plebiscite challenge to N. Vietnam.

If the vote indicates that the U.S. should leave, we can do so with honor. If it does not, then we can really turn on the military pressure and bring the war to a quick finish.

No matter what the outcome of this plebiscite, it could be a pattern for future U.S. policy; a basis for a revitalized UN Charter (as introduced in 1952 in U.S. Senate Resolution S.C.R. 85); and a turning point in the world's history. In the battle for the minds of men, let freedom's battle cry become ballots before bullets.

As an alternate face-saving formula Secretary General U Thant and the General Assembly could produce a special resolution based on this identical proposition. The plebiscite principle would be the key in both cases.

Have you and your advisers forgotten what the plebiscite did to resolve the 8-year French-Algerian stalemate? (And France was even then winning the war.) Peacemaking by all showed clearly why peacemaking by the few is unworkable for the nuclear age.

Since the heart and soul of this amazingly simply approach is to effectively utilize every available element of prayer, I appeal to you to remember that America's greatest weapon is its love of God. And love for God is the center of peacemaking by all.

On our coins we mark—in God we trust. We cancel our mail with the words—pray for peace. Let us really prove to the entire world that these simple words are full of meaning and power, and not just so much spiritual and political baloney.

"Let us reason together" and "let us arrive at a consensus", two of your favorite expressions, fit like a glove into the plebiscite principle and not into the dictatorship concept.

The mechanics for generating the moral equivalent of war must be established before the full force of peacemaking by all (unselfishness, clear thinking, universal love, etc.) can be effectively harnessed. When is the world going to learn that the full mobilization of prayer to prevent and stop wars of aggression (via the ballots before bullets formula) is the supreme need in today's world?

Unless you wish to have that biblical statement in Romans 7:19 deservedly pinned on you, I sincerely trust that you will clearly see that "peacemaking by the few" must be scrapped in favor of "peacemaking by all" as the big answer both for ending the war in Vietnam and for preventing a future nuclear holocaust (through a "ballots before bullets" membership provision in a revised U.N. Charter).

With such tremendous potentialities for blessing all mankind, is it any wonder that I look most hopefully to your reply? Would you like to receive a long list of benefits plus inspiring quotations from General MacArthur and others as printed in the New York Times?

Prayerfully submitted.

CLIFFORD R. JOHNSON.

OCTOBER 18, 1967.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: This National Day of Prayer inspires me to draft this message dealing with a politically workable and prayerful solution by honorable means for our military involvement in Vietnam.

As the recipient of one of your autographed photographs, I do not advise you to "stop the bombing" (or to switch to bows and arrows for our armed forces—to be a bit facetious). Instead I strongly urge you to drop the following political bombshells as soon as possible. And no Congressional resolution is required.

Part 1 (plebiscite in S. Vietnam)—To show all mankind both dramatically and dynamically what spiritually inspired Christian leadership can really do, all that you have to do is to announce that American armed intervention will cease after a specified date, unless the people (in S. Vietnam) indicate in a national plebiscite that they want America to continue military intervention. You can ask them to pray for divine guidance before they vote. This should appeal to the religious elements in both countries.

If the vote indicates that the U.S. should leave, we can do so with honor. If it does not, then we can really turn on the military pressure and bring the war to a quick finish (provided part 2 is complied with first).

Part 2 (plebiscite in U.S. if needed)—If the vote in Vietnam indicates our armed forces are wanted, then a U.S. plebiscite should be held as soon as possible for final approval.

Very obviously part 2 will not be required if the people of S. Vietnam vote to discontinue U.S. military aid.

Succinctly stated, this boils down to an extensive application of the consensus principle, so dear to you. No matter what the outcome of both of these plebiscites, it could be a pattern for future U.S. policy; a basis for a revitalized UN Charter (as first introduced in 1952 in U.S. Senate Resolution S.C.R. 85); and a turning point in the world's history. In the battle for the minds of men, let freedom's battle cry become ballots before bullets.

If our country is to remain spiritually, economically and politically strong, is there any question in your mind that the will of 100 million American voters should prevail whether they agree or disagree with your policies in Vietnam? That is really the supreme question. What is wrong with giving prayer a chance to be expressed freely and effectively? Since you are in the driver's seat, it is not at all surprising that your views have the right of way. Have you forgotten that World Wars I & II were ignited by national leaders who specialized in self-will and "papa knows best" theories?

In reality my plan is a glorious opportunity to prove that you are the servant of the American people and not the guiding angel or the servant of the military-industrial complex. Nowhere in this long debate over Vietnam, have you told the American people that you feel that we are doing God's will or that God is on our side. What you feel is best for America and what the people feel is best may differ completely, but there is absolutely no question in my mind, whose will should govern. If you honestly feel that you are right, why be afraid of a plebiscite? It could be an unsurpassed safety valve and godsend.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter of 10-12-66 (together with quotations) which is similar in some respects to this one. Please prayerfully peruse both.

May God cause you to be receptive to the tremendous values for peace and disarmament wrapped up in this message. If you are really searching for an honorable end to this undeclared war, here at last is the one big workable answer. If you have the spiritual and political courage to take this action, it will be the crowning achievement of your stay in the White House and will be the best insurance for a new lease in 1968.

Opposed as I am to draft card burning, and as an American who has spent in a single year as much as ¼ of his year's small salary (without any tax benefits) working for world peace, I shall be deeply grateful to hear from you.

Why not use this letter for your next TV talk to the Nation?

With all best wishes, yours for peacemaking by all.

CLIFFORD R. JOHNSON.

An Anatomy of a Rumor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of interest that I have been reading a series of editorials from newspapers all across the country poking fun at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for employing "bureaucratic gobbledegook" language in one of their reports.

Let me cite but one editorial which has been duplicated in newspapers across the country. Here is how it appeared in the Ardmore, Okla., Ardmorette:

> YOU DON'T DIG IT?
>
> What's new in Washington?
>
> Well, here's a hot flash from the capital:
>
> "Action-oriented orchestration of innovative inputs, generated by escalation of meaningful indigenous decision-making dialogue, focusing on multilinked problem complexes, can maximize the vital thrust toward a nonalienated and viable infrastructure."
>
> Any questions?
>
> If, perchance, you wish to know more about this fascinating subject, write to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development—known to its intimates as plain old HUD.
>
> Some bright young men in HUD—maybe the very one who knocked out this very message for HUD—will sadly shake his action-oriented head, mourn the low level of public intelligence, and wonder what a guy has to do to make himself understood these days.

As this type of editorial was reprinted with growing frequency an investigation revealed that Newspaper Enterprise Association had circulated it to subscribers. When the Department of Housing and Urban Development wrote the Newspaper Enterprise Association asking for their source of information, the NEA replied that it could not reveal the source but had proof that the paragraph had actually been part of a HUD report received by a North Carolina public official.

After further investigation the Department discovered the source of the quotation. This paragraph had been created by Mr. Charles L. Farris, president of Urban Programing Corp. of America, and former head of the St. Louis Redevelopment Authority. He concocted it for a humorous opening of a speech given on June 12, 1967, to a group in Corpus Christi, Tex. He has since written the Newspaper Enterprise Association clearly indicating that this paragraph was used as a humorous introduction. Mr. Farris said in his letter:

> While the words that are noted are bits and pieces that have been taken from speeches of various HUD officials, there is no direct quotation from any one HUD speech. This is an assemblage of jinglistic gobbledegook which was presented in a light-hearted manner in order to capture the attention of my audience.

Most disturbing was not that this humorous introduction to a speech was mistaken for serious comment, but the respectability it gained with each printing. Scores of large and small newspapers have run it as a standard editorial. United Press International distributed a column based on the widely printed editorial. Then it reached the august Halls of Congress where two Members issued stories on it to their district newspapers—one even claiming to have seen the reported paragraph himself in a HUD report.

Fascinating or frightening—depending on one's perspective—the fact remains that not one single newspaper nor Member of Congress using these editorials ever bothered to check on the authenticity of the paragraph. Perhaps this anatomy of a rumor serves well the cynic's creed that fantasy is more easily acceptable than fact.

L. B. J.'s Record of "First Importance"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to submit for the RECORD an extremely perceptive article on the Lyndon B. Johnson record written by Mr. Adolf Berle. Mr. Berle writes about a President whom one may or may not like but for whom "it would be nonsense not to assign an historical record of first importance."

Mr. Berle's objective review of a very difficult but well managed Presidency follows:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Post, Nov. 22, 1967]

L. B. J.'s RECORD OF "FIRST IMPORTANCE"

(By Adolf A. Berle)

(NOTE.—On November 22, 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson was catapulted into the White House and thereby into world power when a half-crazed assassin shot John F. Kennedy. After four years as an historical figure, his record will be passed on and his position determined by next year's election. Owing him nothing and beyond the age of political ambition, I think I can offer an objective view. Overcoming my rage at the abuse levelled at him by propaganda and his enemies, and forgetting personal friendship for some of his Republican opponents, here it is.)

The 1968 race will be President Johnson's first real campaign—the real issues were not presented in 1964. He goes into it with flanks exposed. The left-wing hates his foreign policy and blames him (as it blamed Franklin D. Roosevelt) for not reforming overnight. The right-wing opposes the whole social program. Votes of the American center will make the decision.

Mr. Johnson's 1964 majority represented not consensus but his heirship to the tragic drama of his predecessor, to a deep American feeling that a man so placed should have a chance to speak his piece and to temporary seizure of the Republican Party by a reactionary wing whose program and attitudes had been obsolete for 30 years.

UNREALIZED PROGRAMS OF J. F. K. PASS

More normal balance appeared in 1966 as Southern Democrats and Northern Conservatives combined against him in Congress (as they had against President Kennedy) to oppose his programs.

But in the two intervening years he had already carried through two unrealized programs of President Kennedy—civil rights for Negroes, and stimulation of economy by tax reduction. More importantly he had also added a powerful new and wholly irreversible conception to American politics, giving it a new dimension and direction. This was "The Great Society." He had pushed through initial measures giving it a measure of reality. In domestic affairs his 1968 campaign will seek a solid mandate to carry these conceptions forward.

In foreign affairs he inherited and for four years has traversed as dangerous, difficult and booby-trapped a period as America has ever encountered. As currents of public opinion are going, liberal wing support and conservatives oppose his domestic policy; conservatives support his foreign policy and oppose the "Great Society." On this combination he must make his campaign. The 1968 election will decide not Mr. Johnson's place in history but his continued on participation in making it.

AMERICAN POLITICAL DEBATE DEBASED

Obscene shouting and howling have debased the normal level of American political debate. These can not obscure the enormous historical significance of the positions President Johnson has taken or the fact that his direct achievements and forward policies must be the chief grist of American campaigns for a decade to come. Civil rights, especially for the 18 million American Negroes, became statutory law in 1964. But law alone can not solve the problem of bringing the American Negro population into economic and social equality. Poverty and decay deface American life in the presence of its unexampled wealth and capacity.

President Johnson tackled both at once by proposing all-out war on poverty, black and white alike. In the richest country in the world, poverty can and should be reduced to the barest minimum. American productivity annually increases by billions—it has increased by more than $50 billion this year. Steering part of this toward the 20 to 25 million poor Americans, many on relief, would directly attack both problems.

WOES OF THE CITIES ATTACKED

One factor in poverty is an undisputed social fact. Cities, where poverty is most concentrated, are becoming increasingly and unbeautifully obsolete and, financially, downright impractical. Reorganization of urban life was seen to be essential—not merely for "the poor," but for all city dwellers. Included in their kit of problems was the blatant and growing inadequacy of many public schools. If in process of reconstruction the sheer oppressive ugliness of its towns could be conquered, American civilization might be put on the road to a great expression. Institutional changes, including federal financing, were and are obvious necessities. Each of these problems threatened a national crisis. President Johnson't program attacked all of them.

In result, the war on poverty has begun, though as yet only through preliminary skirmish. Remodeling of cities was thrown into the political arena bringing direct federal aid to endless projects essential for urban reconstruction. Beginnings of these programs are in effect and no city in the country will tolerate their discontinuance. The underlying conception was unanswerable. Challenge and controversy there will be but the odds against abandonment are enormous Specific measures undoubtedly can be improved But no one will reverse the direction President Johnson in the hour of his greatest power gave to the political-social machine we call the United States

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SCENE IN MOTION

Foreign affairs have presented a vaster issue In 1963, the United States was in the throes of a virulent cold war President Kennedy had checked though not ended it in the Western Hemisphere by going to the verge of nuclear war in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. He had relinquished the Indo-Chinese countries of Laos and Cambodia but resolved to resist in Vietnam where he sent 25,000 troops. The Near East, highlighted by the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict was enigmatic even to experts. Mr. Kennedy's answer had been to work with NATO and to keep the Sixth Fleet near Suez.

President Johnson in 1963 found the whole scene in a state of motion. The Soviet Union and Communist China, then working together, were in motion. In the Far East they attacked South Vietnam, Tibet, the borders of India. Through their flamboyant recruit, Fidel Castro, they were assaulting much of Latin America, notably Venezuela and the Dominican Republic.

DECISION TO MAINTAIN BALANCE

In the Mediterranean, the unended war between the Arabs and Israel steadily invited intervention by the Soviet Union or by the West European countries. Mr. Johnson's basic problem was whether the United States would attempt to maintain a world balance in this vast picture or whether he would withdraw from difficult areas (as Mr. Kennedy had not done), leaving the Communist superpowers and their followers to guide the course of events by force. Their propaganda incited hatred for the United States and everything it represented; their stated intent was to destroy the United States when possible. His decision was to attempt to maintain the balance.

He met the threat to Vietnam and Southeast Asia by "escalation" to the scale of North Vietnamese attack. He responded to the Cuban-Russian attempts to enter the Dominican Republic when that country fell into chaos by swift action, converted into international action by the other Latin American states. The result brought order, establishment of a popularly-based Dominican government and prompt withdrawal of the inter-American force.

GREAT EXPLOIT IN MEDITERRANEAN

His greatest—and least recognized—exploit was in the Eastern Mediterranean in June 1967. Soviet arms and diplomacy had engineered a shaky Arab unity and an attack on Israel. By that time General de Gaulle had torpedoed NATO and shattered its usefulness. The only balancing power was the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, since a Soviet flotilla came through the Dardanelles to support the Arab-Egyptian force. Their victory, with the Soviet alliance, would have upset the world balance, possibly precipitating a third World War. At that point, the "hot line" to Moscow was used.

President Johnson in conversations with the Soviet leaders, reached agreement that neither the Soviet Union nor the Americans would participate in the conflict. Confrontation carrying possibility of a world war was avoided for the time being. Later confrontation may lie ahead; it will be a fateful problem in the next administration.

COUNTER-FORCE FACED REDS

Political troubles in the United States stem more from this foreign policy decision than from any other part of Mr. Johnson's program. Direct military force was the instrument of the Communist powers and their dependent apparatuses. It could be answered only by counter-force. Most Americans are inherently pacifistic, and many are latently isolationist. Also a few tiny groups are activated by psychological warriors in Moscow and Peking, whose propaganda uses and exploits currents of non-Communist American thought. (In 1967 extreme pro-Negro racists added first Anti-Vietnamese and, in June, shrieking anti-Semitic and anti-Israel propaganda to their stridence.)

These set up President Johnson as a personal target, decending to unprintable abuse.

Many advocates and beneficiaries of his social programs joined in reviling him as author of a foreign policy they disliked alike in Cuba, in Santo Domingo, in Vietnam, in the Congo and, though in less measure, in the Mediterranean.

History proves no "might-have-beens." None can guess what would have happened had President Johnson stood aside in Vietnam, let matters take their course in Santo Domingo or acceded to Soviet Chief Brezhnev's famous request just before the Israel war to pull the American Sixth Fleet out of the Mediterranean. There is little reason to believe the world would have been more peaceful or that the United States would have been safer, or that World War III would have been farther away had he not stood his ground. When all the evidence is in—more especially the plans of the Communist governments—we will have better material for judgment. What did happen is nevertheless impressive.

In the Far East, the Soviet Union and China parted company. Indonesia changed sides, ending her Malaysian War. The Far East conflict was reduced to Vietnam. In Latin American, the cold war in the Caribbean died down when the Dominican demonstration was successfully closed. In the Mediterrean, the Soviet Union did not enter the Arab-Israeli war, giving Israel opportunity for continued existence. Possibility of bringing the vast world disarray under at least temporary control has been preserved. Power-political probes to determine the steadfastness of the American president seem to have ceased. Despite all the shouting, the howling and the propaganda in the present superb uneasiness in world affairs, this is an honorable result.

The President's limitations are obvious. He is not the young, appealing, liberal-aristocratic, dramatic youth-ideal as was President Kennedy. He has not the golden gift of laughter of FDR. He is not the darling of the press.

Especially in foreign affairs, his case has been badly stated and worse pleaded. He has not constructed in his government a close-knit team of personal friends. He is not a faithful supporter of his political cohorts outside Washington. He has thought in simplest terms, a dogged, roughhewn proletarian Texas politician, who nevertheless apprehended the problems of America at home and abroad. He simply did his damndest to see her through on all fronts. The man may have been wrong in some of his decisions—a matter of opinion. One may like him, or dislike him, or like someone else better. But it would be nonsense not to assign him an historical record of first importance.

Calendar of Events at the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to call the attention of the Congress and the American people to the usual fine calendar of events for the National Gallery of Art for the month of January. The lectures, films, tours, and special exhibits of the National Gallery continually enrich the cultural life of our Nation's Capital.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JANUARY 1968

Gallery hours: The Gallery will be closed New Year's Day. For the remainder of the month the Gallery will be open weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and Sundays from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. The cafeteria is open weekdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and Sundays from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Continuing exhibition: Fifteenth-century engravings of Northern Europe from the collection of the National Gallery of Art. Central Gallery. Through January 7.

Recent acquisition: Juan de Flandes, "The Temptation of Christ," Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1967.

The National Gallery has acquired a second panel painting, "The Temptation of Christ" by Juan de Flandes from the series of the Life of Christ painted for an altarpiece in the oratory, or private chapel, of Queen Isabella of Spain. The "Temptation" panel is now reunited with "The Assumption of the Virgin" by Miguel Sithium from the same altarpiece, acquired by the Gallery in 1965. Framed together, they are on exhibition in Gallery 39.

The series of small paintings, originally 47 in number, was executed probably between 1498 and 1504, the year of Isabella's death. Subsequently they were inventoried and offered for sale. Margaret of Austria acquired 32 of the panels, including "The Temptation of Christ," through the advice of her treasurer Diego de Guevara. Guevara was a connoisseur of painting and, it is interesting to note, may have been the subject of the National Gallery's portrait, "A Knight of the Order of Calatrava," which is exhibited alongside the two small pictures.

We first hear of Juan de Flandes in 1496 when he entered the service of Queen Isabella to whom he was appointed court painter two years later. His Spanish nickname—for his true name is unknown—is justified by the style of his work, in which the influence of the Flemish painter Gerard David is evident.

After Isabella's death in 1504, he is known to have resided in Palencia where he was commissioned, in 1509, to paint the panels of the Life of the Virgin for the high altar of San Lázaro. This altarpiece was later dismembered and four panels from it, the "Annunciation," the "Nativity," the "Adoration of the Magi," and the "Baptism of Christ," all considerably larger than "The Temptation," are now in the National Gallery of Art (Samuel H. Kress Collection).

New publications: "Nicolas Poussin" by Anthony Blunt (The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958). Two volumes, boxed; (text) 426 pages, 271 halftone illustrations; (plates) 265 halftone illustrations; 12'' x 9¾''. $25.00 postpaid.

"On Quality in Art" by Jakob Rosenberg (The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1964). 264 pages, 168 illustrations (4 in color), 10¼'' x 7¾''. $10.00 postpaid.

"Painting Lessons from the Great Masters" by Hereward Lester Cooke, 240 pages, 85 color plates, 261 black-and-white illustrations, 13'' x 9¼''. $19.50 postpaid.

"Index of American Design" by Erwin O. Christensen. Third printing. 229 pages, 117 color plates, 261 black-and-white illustrations, 12'' x 9¼''. $12.95 postpaid.

Exhibition publication: Catalogue. "Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the National Gallery of Art." Catalogue notes by Alan Shestack with preface by Lessing J. Rosenwald. 261 pages, 267 illustrations, 11'' x 8½''. $3.00 postpaid.

New slides: 2'' x 2'' Color Slides: Fra Angelico, "The Madonna of Humility"; Blake, "Queen Katherine's Dream"; Chardin, "Soap Bubbles"; Chardin, "The Attentive Nurse"; Cuyp, "Horsemen and Herdsmen with Cattle"; Lancret, "The Picnic after the Hunt"; Ingres, "Pope Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel"; Henri, "New York Street in Winter';; Juan de Flandes, "The Adoration of the Magi"; Manet, "Oysters"; Matisse, "Pot of Geraniums"; Picasso, "Le Gourmet"; Rogier van der Weyden, "Saint George and the Dragon." 35 cents each postpaid.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS–AM (570) and FM (103.5).

TUESDAY, JANUARY 2, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 7

Painting of the week: Memling, "The Presentation in the Temple" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 35, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: The 15th Century: Sentiment and Science. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Leonardo's 'Ginevra': What Happened?" Speaker: J. Carter Brown, assistant director, National Gallery of Art; lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, conductor; east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, JANUARY 8, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 14

Painting of the week: George Bellows, "Both Members of this Club" (Chester Dale collection), gallery 68, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: The 17th Century: Classic and Baroque. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Art, Nature, and Mathematics." Guest speaker: Raymond J. Seeger, senior staff associate, National Science Foundation; lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Dorothy Lewis, pianist; east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, JANUARY 15, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 21

Painting of the week: Picasso, "Le Gourmet" (Chester Dale collection), Gallery G–13, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: The 19th Century: Classic and Romantic. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: "Whistler and the French Impressionists," Guest speaker: Andrew McLaren Young, department of fine art, the University, Glasgow; lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: John Celentano, violinist; Barry Snyder, pianist. East garden court, 8.

MONDAY, JANUARY 22, THROUGH SUNDAY, JANUARY 28

Painting of the week: Toulouse-Lautrec. "A Corner of the Moulin de la Galette", (Chester Dale collection), gallery 85, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: The 20th Century: Fauve and Cubist. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Modern Sculpture from Rodin to Rickey." Guest speaker: Edward Frye, curator, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York; lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Spiro Malas, Bass; Donald Hasard, pianist, East garden court, 8.

New Jersey Catholic War Veterans Honor Congressman John R. Hunt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I have the pleasure today to congratulate, before the Members of the House, the distinguished and accomplished gentleman from New Jersey's First Congressional District, JOHN E. HUNT.

On November 18, 1967, on the occasion of the New Jersey Catholic War Veterans 31st anniversary dinner, my esteemed colleague was the honored recipient of the organization's 1967 Award of Recognition—for notable achievement in governmental affairs, community life, veterans affairs, and for promulgating the true spirit of our American heritage.

I can think of no one more deserving of this tribute, Mr. Speaker, and I am proud to be associated with JOHN HUNT, a loyal American and a dedicated Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The following article concerning this recognition of our colleague appeared in the November 1967 issue of the Challenger, official publication of the Catholic War Veterans, Department of New Jersey:

CONGRESSMAN HUNT CALLS FOR SUPPORT OF WAR, LAW AGENCIES

NORTH BRUNSWICK.—A call for full support by all citizens of the war in Viet Nam and for the law enforcement agencies in this country was voiced on November 18th by Congressman John E. Hunt of Gloucester.

Addressing the 31st anniversary dinner of the New Jersey Catholic War Veterans honoring State Treasurer Vincent Prestigiacomo of Perth Amboy, Representative Hunt, a former state trooper and Gloucester County Sheriff, warned that the timetable of the communists includes the United States and the goal of the Reds is still world domination.

On the homefront, Mr. Hunt said the policemen in blue—and the firemen—are fulfilling their oath to protect life and property and are entitled to the full support of all law-abiding citizens in their flight against crime.

He blasted self-seeking politicians who bow to the demands and force of mobs rather than enforce the law, hoping to perpetuate themselves in office.

He paid special tribute to our fighting forces in Viet Nam, telling the audience of 300 that they are risking their lives and limbs daily to protect the rights of the innocent people of South Viet Nam from being engulfed by the communistic menace. He indicated he does not object to people exercising their rights to dissent, but he said that since we are at war, all Americans should support the Armed Forces, so that they can end this conflict and the quick return of our G.I.'s to their communities.

Congressman Hunt deplored the tactics of certain groups, especially those individuals who burn up their draft cards, the hippies and beatnicks who continuously try to prevent our war effort.

Following his talk, the audience in spontaneous action stood and gave him a thunderous ovation for his excellent delivery.

State Commander Joseph A. Wisniewski of Jersey City presented the "1967 Award of Recognition" to the Congressman "for notable achievement in governmental affairs, community life, veterans affairs, and for promulgating the true spirit of our American heritage."

The guest of honor, Mr. Prestigiacomo, who has been State Treasurer for the past ten years was presented with a plaque by PSC Cresenzi W. Castaldo in behalf of the immediate past State Commanders of 10 years.

National Commander Martin G. Riley of Philadelphia awarded him the Distinguished Silver Service Medal Award.

Commander Wisniewski, in behalf of the New Jersey membership, presented the honored guest an electric, diamond, gold-filled wrist watch for his dedication and many accomplishments to the organization. A personal gift from the Commander was a custommade Moroccan briar pipe.

State President Miss Josephine Cervasio, who gave the greetings at the beginning of the program, presented Mr. Prestigiacomo with a beautiful leather-covered humidor. Other gifts presented to the devout pipe smoker was a set of pipes from Post Commander Joseph P. Mastroeni and a leather, filled tobacco pouch from the Post Auxiliary President Mrs. Lena Fattorosi.

A box of long-stemmed roses was given to the honored guest's wife, Mrs. Rose Prestigiacomo from the President of the State Ladies Auxiliary. A similar presentation was made to Mr. Prestigiacomo's mother, Mrs. Rose Prestigiacomo, by Mrs. Elizabeth Paniatofski, Auxiliary Chairlady.

The program was opened by Alex R. Fazekas, co-chairman, followed by the processional march led by Msgr. Keyes 1271 Color Guard. The audience joined in the singing of the National Anthem and the pledge to the flag was directed by Raymond J. Lynch, State Officer of the Day. The invocation was by Msgr Charles C. Demjanovich, State Auxiliary Chaplain. Adio F. DiChiara, PSC and National Welfare Officer, general chairman, was presented for the address of welcome, followed by the introduction of the toastmaster, Albert J. Schwind, PNC and PSC.

In addition to the principal speech, talks were given by Miss Josephine A. Cervasio, State Auxiliary President, and Martin G. Riley, National Commander.

The awards chairman, Frank R. Wesolowski, PSC and National 3rd Vice Commander, was introduced for remarks concerning Congressman Hunt and the surprise presentation of the 1967 Award of Recognition. The formal presentation was made by Commander Wisniewski.

The program closed with the recitation of the CWV Memorial Verse by Joseph D. Ward, PSC, sounding of taps and benediction by Msgr. Demjanovich.

The audience enjoyed the excellent music of Mike Halasnik and his orchestra.

Hiring the Handicapped: 20 Years of Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the contribution of the Fraternal Order of Eagles to the national campaign for the employment of the handicapped has been considerable and significant.

Now recognition of this service has come from a man who has devoted years to the cause of the handicapped. He is William P. McCahill, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Writing in the December issue of the Eagle magazine, Mr. McCahill describes the part which the fraternal organization has played in this nationwide crusade for the past two decades.

The record of service which he describes does credit both to the national leaders and the membership of the Eagles.

Believing that this article will be of interest to my colleagues, I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point and urge that it be given careful attention:

HIRING THE HANDICAPPED: 20 YEARS OF PARTNERSHIP

(By Bill McCahill)

When the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped held a small 20th anniversary supper at the National Press Club in Washington in mid-September two Eagle stalwarts, Judge Bob Hansen and Charles P. McCann, were on hand to look back and think hard.

Judge Hansen flew in from Milwaukee for the evening, and Charlie came down from Newark to make the Eagles the only organization with two Past Grand Worthy Presidents aboard to hear messages read from past U.S. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. Their mutual interest in the committee and its work spanned the short two decades of volunteer effort with and for the handicapped, which started in August of 1947 with a short postscript on a letter to Eagle Labor Secretary Schwellenbach from Eagle President Truman suggesting that citizens be involved in the nation's efforts to find jobs for the disabled.

Talking about his long involvement in the volunteer efforts (he has been chairman of the Milwaukee Eagles Committee for the Handicapped as well as chairman of the Wisconsin Governor's Committee), Judge Hansen summed up his observations of the national hire-the-handicapped effort this way:

It has had support of many national groups.

It has permitted private citizens to work in happy partnership with their government.

It has never ordered, demanded, commanded, but rather used persuasion, cooperation, information, and education to achieve objectives, voluntarily.

Judge Hansen chatted with me in October, immediately following the national observance of another Hire-the-Handicapped Week as we took part in a seminar at our alma mater, Marquette University, a seminar devoted to the employment of the handicapped. Appropriately, it was sponsored by the university, the Governor's Committee, and the Wisconsin Association for Retarded Children, all in cooperation with the vocation-rehabilitation and employment-service agencies of the state.

Through the years, the Eagles have done much to publicize the abilities of the handicapped. All three chairmen of the President's Committee have addressed Eagle conventions and been made honorary life members. The late Admiral Ross T. McIntire and the late Major General Mel Maas were well known to many Eagles, as is the present chairman, Harold Russell, double amputee star of *The Best Years of Our Lives,* still playing on the late television shows.

I recall many speaking engagements before Eagle audiences or Eagle-sponsored meetings, particularly the national convention in Minneapolis at which time I had the pleasure of presenting our highest award, the Distinguished Service Award, to the Order for its outstanding cooperation.

Eagle Magazine has also been cited by the Committee and it was the Fraternal Order of

Eagles which was among the first to make available cash prizes for the first national essay contest on employment of the handicapped in the nation's senior high schools.

So when President Truman wrote, "Our concern for the handicapped is in the best tradition of this nation's permanent commitment to aid the deprived, help all the sick, and restore to usefulness the handicapped among us; this is not only a matter of conscience, but a requirement of those among us who are more fortunate," he was certainly talking about people like the Eagles, of whom he was—and is—a brother member.

And when President Eisenhower wrote: "You and your fellow citizens have proved conclusively that it is both possible and necessary to join public and private groups for the benefit of all—" he was also referring to people like the Eagles.

But President Johnson, in his proclamation this year faced toward the future when he said: "Yet pockets of prejudice still exist, particularly against certain categories of the more severely disabled. We must continue to educate our citizens—employers and workers, healthy and handicapped—about the benefits of developing and using every person's skills.

"During this 20th anniversary year of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, I urge all public and private organizations and all citizens to renew their dedication to this volunteer effort to further job opportunities for the handicapped. Let us work together for their meaningful participation in the world of work and life of dignity."

Many people would think that if you had worked on a problem for 20 years it should be solved by now. But the Eagles know better. I don't know how long it has been since the Eagles began working on such things as social security, better medical attention for the aged, laws to protect workers over 40 against discrimination in employment, and a host of other social improvements. But there's still lots of work to be done in many of these areas, if only because times have changed. There is a saying on my desk which applies here. It reads: "On the plains of hesitation, bleach the bones of countless millions who, at the dawn of victory, sat down to rest, and, resting, died."

That's exactly what we don't intend to do, rest. And we hope our friends have no such intention, either. That's one reason Bob Hansen and I were at Marquette, walking and talking with opinion makers, employers, doctors, teachers, labor officials, private health agencies' executives, sharing ideas, dreams, facts, and dispelling fog, fables, and fantasies about the handicapped, including the mentally retarded and the mentally restored whom the Eagles have so often helped through their Aeries and through their overseas efforts for the handicapped in Mexico, Africa, the Far East, and Europe.

For 20 years we have worked together, the public and the private agencies, groups, unions, associations, pricking the public conscience, needling our friends and associates to do more within their peer circles.

For twenty years our message has not been a soothing one, but rather a thought-provoking needle. The slogans "Ability Counts, Not Disability" and "It's a Good Business to Hire the Handicapped" have hurled a challenge to our targets—employers and fellow employees—either to agree with us and act accordingly or to disagree and be prepared for the wrath that society might send.

The dawn of victory will find our nation in 1980 with 50 million more Americans than at present. The speed of technology promises to revolutionize many fields, including "communicating" and "improving health," according to the *Kiplinger Newsletter*. The same publication reports that the most wide-open field for the future is "anything having to do with medical care."

Of course, the going won't be easy, any more than it has been in the past. But the trail has been blazed for the handicapped, who have shown by tremendous courage and motivation that they are their own best salesmen.

Today, it is increasingly difficult to find a national leader who hasn't been involved in some manner in volunteer causes for the handicapped. The current Grand Worthy President is no exception, for Red McCawley has worked for the retarded and for the cerebral palsied in Illinois.

However, there is still work for all, Eagles and others. Winner of the 1967 Eagle World Freedom Award, Congressman Clem Zablocki, spoke in his native Milwaukee the day after the Marquette seminar. This man, whose words carry so much weight in foreign affairs, was talking about Main Street, U.S.A., that day, however, as he addressed the Cerebral Palsy League of Milwaukee. He said:

"America's priority concerns for the handicapped must be expanded research into the causes, cures, and methods of preventing handicapping diseases; increased numbers and improved quality and professional health personnel, particularly those who specialize in treating, training, and caring for the handicapped; improved income maintenance programs so that no handicapped person need go hungry or sick or suffer from lack of shelter because of a disabling condition; improved quality of medical services to pregnant mothers and newborn infants; and continued efforts by local citizens and organizations to bring the handicapped into the mainstream of community life."

How could anybody rest with a job like that ahead of us for the 400,000 cerebral-palsied children among us, the 400,000 epileptics, 250,000 with multiple sclerosis, and an equal number of kids with muscular dystrophy, not to mention 500,000 children with hearing loss, 3,000,000 with speech defects, 4,000,000 with emotional problems, and a staggering 10,000,000 youngsters with eye problems requiring specialists?

Congressman Zablocki summed it up better than I could. He said: "These statistics are staggering in their magnitude. Their full impact, however, can best be realized when one remembers that each unit represents a little boy or little girl for whom life is posing an extra-difficult challenge."

That's why the President's Committee was so proud to invite Eagles Hansen and McCann to our birthday party, and even prouder that they both came to promise by their presence a continuation of Eagle interest in the handicapped

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Lyndhurst, N.J.: A Progressive Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the community of Lyndhurst has completed 50 years of its existence as a town within my congressional district. Its past achievements are a credit to all the inhabitants, both past and present. I congratulate these civic-minded people for their activities on behalf of their community and wish them every success they may desire in their future endeavors.

Mr. Speaker, we have seen the endeavors of the elder citizens of this community in making their town a pleasant place to live. At this time I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention the observations of a young woman who writes of the recollections of her grandfather on Lyndhurst.

I also would like your permission to list some of the many Lyndhurst residents who worked together in the selection of the name for the town. They have been the backbone of this progressive town.

As we close upon the golden anniversary of Lyndhurst, we are opening the doors for Lyndhurst's brighter horizons. I feel confident that this town's younger generation will continue in the steps of their predecessors and make every effort to make Lyndhurst a better place to live in, work in, and enjoy all of its resources.

The observations and list follow:

INTERVIEW WITH GRANDPOP WOODS

(By Donna McMahon)

Imagine Lyndhurst with only one house from Livingston Avenue all the way down to the Passaic River in the area between Valley Brook and Fern Avenues.

I find it hard to imagine, because I live in that area now. But that was Lyndhurst 80 years ago. The only house, according to my grandfather, was the building on River Road now known as the Masonic.

Imagine, too, a Lyndhurst school system with no more than 100 pupils and four teachers. And a school without running water. And going even beyond my grandfather (I call him Pop), a Lyndhurst with a race track!

He tells of the stories handed down to him of the trotting track that ran down Valley Brook Avenue, swung past that Masonic building and ran along Travers Place.

"Your great grandfather, John Burke, bought almost that whole parcel between Livingston Avenue, Fern Avenue, Valley Brook Avenue and River Road," says Pop. "He started building houses. One of the first he put up was where Dr. Francey now has his office on Stuyvesant Avenue. (That's right across from us, by the way). He sold it to Dr. Reed, the minister. Reed Memorial Church is named for him."

Know where the first Lyndhurst Town Hall was?

Over Archie McLeans tavern on Second Avenue, a few hundred feet east of Stuyvesant Avenue. At one point later, it was where the 5 and 10 cent store now is on Stuyvesant Avenue.

The River Road Little Red School House was the first school in Lyndhurst, of course. The New Jersey Avenue School was next. It was a one-story building just about where Clinton Terrace runs into New Jersey Avenue. It had about 35 pupils. Both schools were closed when Lincoln School was built. That's when Lyndhurst (it was still Union, officially) had its fewer than 100 pupils and four teachers. At the old New Jersey Avenue School, the teachers were Miss Boland and Mrs. Smith. Mrs. Smith was a widow and three of her children were among the pupils.

Now in all of this old Lyndhurst, from what Pop says, the Lackawanna Railroad, the DL&W, was the hub.

The big red pay train rolled in every month. Only once every month, but when it did roll in, Lyndhurst was a gala town. The church held a dinner over the station down by the Kingsland shop. Admission was 25 cents. And everybody was there. Chicken, soup and good fun!

Sundays the Queen of Passaic would churn along the Passaic River. It made two stops—one at a float near what is now the Erie-Lackawanna Railroad Bridge. The other down at Reip's Pavilion, next to what we know as Reinauer's, on the south side of the Avondale Bridge.

Reip's must have been a gay spot, from what Pop Woods tells me. Dances on the Pavilion, with music imported all the way from Paterson. It was glassed in against the cold (and I suppose against the mosquitoes in the summer).

The Queen of Passaic ran from Passaic to Newark on a then beautiful Passaic River. On Sundays, too, you could spend a pleasant afternoon by walking down the river and watching the scullers from Belleville and Nutley compete.

Was it much different then, back in the 1890's? Much, I guess, but a good town then, and a good town now. Smaller, with a neighborliness we don't have today. But a town of great civic pride, great enthusiasm. It must have been fun to be in Union (and then Lyndhurst) just as it is now.

My grandfather, 85, has retained a sharp sense of humor with all his recollections of Lyndhurst, where he was born. We were riding by the Masonic Home on River Road, not far from Valley Brook Avenue one day, when he laughingly remarked from the back seat of the auto:

"I guess that's the only thing older than me in Lyndhurst." Washington stayed there years ago, according to legend, and back before the turn of the Century Lyndhurst families jogged by it on their buggies.

"We didn't have running water then," he recalls. "When I started school on New Jersey Avenue, we used to send the big boys down Valley Brook Avenue to the well. They would bring back a pail of water for the whole school. Everybody drank from a common dipper."

Down on Valley Brook Avenue too, about where the Leslie Company is now, was a baby carriage factory. McKee and Harrington was its name, my grandmother, who was Frances Burke, remembers. They did a good business and had fine foresight. They wanted to branch into bicycle making and somebody discouraged them. They moved to Brooklyn and became a highly successful bicycle company.

The Lackawanna's Kingsland shops gave employment to most of the men of the township and all the men weren't enough. Each day a big coal eating engine brought from Hoboken a string of cars carrying workers from Hoboken, Jersey City and New York. It panted softly at the siding all day and them thundered its way back with the workers at night.

There was a big pond down there near the shops where the children used to swim during the summer and skate during the winter. It was at the end of Marin Avenue and wasn't just for the kids, either.

Coal was the lifeblood of the Lackawanna. The big freights would come in from Scranton and the thirsty locomotives would detach themselves from the line of cars as soon as they got over the Passaic River.

They would race up to the pond and fill their water tanks at the pond. Then they would back up to the slowly moving cars and hook themselves on. From there on it was a water filled trip to the Hudson River and New York.

The BIG City was Rutherford and a walk to Rutherford for an ice cream soda took up many a Sunday afternoon.

The major social event was a yearly dance at Zimmerman's Hall on Hackensack Street in Carlstadt. You prepared for it all year, from what I hear

"And from Zimmerman's," says Pop sort of boastfully, "you walked all the way to St. Mary's in Nutley to go to Mass."

The only churches in Lyndhurst were the Methodist and the Presbyterian. The Presbyterian was at Ridge Road and New Jersey Avenue, across the street from where Sacred Heart Church now stands. The first Methodist Church, 1890, was there, too.

Pop has always been a baseball fan (and always a Giant fan, I know). I think it is interesting to hear him recall how they would run down to the railroad station to meet the first train in at 3 p.m., tear open the newspaper bundles and read how the Giants made out the day before!

In these days of television and radio, when we learn of everything almost instantaneously, that is hard to believe.

Well, Lyndhurst, as a way station between Newark and Hackensack, inevitably got a trolley line and it was a big event—in (1894 or 1895).

When the first trolley passed through the town, schoolgirls waved madly and men looked on awestruck. It was something of a status symbol to know the names of the motormen and more than one girl lost her heart to the man who wore the big glove.

There are no more trolleys today. Just buses, cars, and, overhead, whining jets.

But memories like Pop Woods has—what technology, what progress, what computer system can take them away?

Old and wonderful Lyndhurst.

(Donna's grandfather died shortly after this was written.)

Some of the many Lyndhurst families that lived in the township and helped select its name.

Ralph Albino, Sr., Dr. Gerard Alonzo, Carmela Palumbo Aria, Mrs. Irene Bachmann, William A. Bachmann, Eugene Barbieri, Edward Bayer, Mr. and Mrs. John Berardi, Patrick Bianculli, Elsie Rietzke Boggetti, Mrs. Henry C. Bolander, Rose Bonelli, Mrs. William Boss, Rocco Botticelli, Carrie Bower, Catherine Bower, Breslin Family, Emily Rietzke Brooks, Frank Bulkowski, Rose Burns, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Caggiano, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Caggiano, Charles J. Callahan, Mr. and Mrs. Mateo Capaccio, James Caputo, Jennie Caputo, Lena Caputo, Michael Caputo, Rose Caputo, William Caputo, Mrs. John Carpino, Joseph Carpino, Robert Carroll, Sr., Joseph A. Carroll.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Carucci, Stella Palumbo Catapano, Carmela Melillo Catena, Fred and Irene Chapman, Charles Christ, Rose Colasurdo, Salvatore Colasurdo, Catherine Dune Cole, William Connery, Daniel Coranoto, Clara Drozdowski Cordone, Carmela Curcio, Edith Curcio, Frank Curcio, Martha Curcio, Marie Curcio, Peter F. Curcio, Nellie M. Day, Mildred Gerald De Carlo, Dehn Family, Mr. and Mrs. Paul DeMassi, Rose Fusco Dent, Mary De Pamphilis, Benjamin G. Divine, Anthony Domanico, Susan Albino Domanico, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Durante, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Exler, Mr. and Mrs. Luciano Fantacone, Angelina Fallotico, Madeline Botticelli Ferrara, Fitzpatrick Family, Frangipane Family, Nellie Frattarola, Mrs. Antoinette Gagliardi, Mrs. Frank V. Gallagher, William F. Gallagher, Mrs. Alfred Gilmore, Tessie Vendola Grasso, Frank J. Grosso.

Mary Socienski Hessels, Grace Filippone Hickey, William K. Hickey, Hilderhof Family, Mrs. Joseph Hohl, William Holden, Mrs. Charles Horacek, Mr. and Mrs. John Houghton, Theresa Mullin Hunt, Joseph Impellizzeri, Mrs. Philip Inglima, William Jacobsen, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Jankowski, Mr. and Mrs. Alphonse Jacquinto, Jaugstetter Family, Jenecke Family, William Johnson, Rose Radeglia Kempf, Marya Kwiatkowski, James Landells, Christiana Latsha, Florence O'Connor Lehmbeck, William N. Lehritter, Jr., Alfred Lombardi, Frances Albino Lombardi, Mr. and Mrs. G. Lammatina, Margaret Longarzo, Nat Longarzo, Katherine Malloy, Rose D'Aloia Manisera, Anna Radeglia Marino, Grace Maroni, Mrs. Arthur G. McMahon, Mrs. John Mauro, Joseph Melillo, Patrick Melillo, Nicholas Meola, Anna M. Messing, William B. Messing, Mamie Jaugstetter Miglin, Robert H. Mitchell, Pat Mizeski, Florence Ricasolo Moderelli.

Monaco Family, Mauro Montillo, L. A. Morgano, Helen Rietzker Mueller, Louise Christ Muir, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Navatta, Frank Nazare, Muriel Campbello Near, Michael Neglia, Edith Neuhauser, Fred Neuhauser, Nathan Nitch, Mr. and Mrs. James Nucera, Jennie Olsenwik, Julia Orlikowski, Steven Orlikowski, Oscar Osback, Antionette Paluzzi, Catherine Potticelli Palozzi, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Pastore, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Paterno, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Perello, Philip Perello, Louis Pesile, Mary Petrillo, Frank Pezzolla, Mildred Corino Pezzolla, Frank Picone, Philip Picone, Sr., Raphael Picone, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pisano, Polito Family.

John Radeglia, Peter Radeglia, Joseph Radeglia, KateMariano Radleigh, John Robert Reid, William Reid, Mrs. Charles Reneberger, Aabelle L. Ricadela, Frank Rizzo, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Rizzo, Susan Rizzola, Mary Rogers, Beatrice Ronna, Walter Rowe, Anne Botticelli Ruggiero, John and Josephine Ruggiero, Evelyn K. Sanders, Joseph Sarro, Sr., Savino Family, Arthur Schreckenstein, Rose Senna, Anthony Settembrino, Carmine Settembrino, Philomena Settembrino, Rose Palumbo Settembrino, Samuel J. Settembrino, John H. Speehr, Anthony Spinalli.

Carmela Caggiano Spinelli, Puline Botticelli Spiteri, Marie Stammer, Ann Stodolski, George Terry, Mrs. Wesley (Kearney) Thorn, Emil Timpanaro, Victor Timpanaro, Harriette Tirgrath, Harry Tirgrath, Jane Colasurdo Tita, John Tita, Jennie Traficante, Louis Traficante, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Trotta, Mrs. Herbert Truex, Van Eyk Family, Mrs. Floyd Van Nortwick, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Vath, Amelia Venice Vendola, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Villardi, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Winget, Lillian A. Wolf, John F. Woods, Jr., Mrs. John F. Woods, Mrs. William F. Woods, Joseph Zales, Vincent Zales.

A Fair Break for the Small Businessman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as one of my final acts before retiring from this body with which I have had the great privilege of serving for more than 20 years, I should like to exercise once again a prerogative of a Member of the House of Representatives.

I direct attention to an outstanding article, "Small Business: It's Big Business for Uncle Sam. This Task of Helping the Small Businessman," that appeared in the December 6 issue of Report for Executives published by the Bureau of National Affairs.

As a member of the Select Committee on Small Business I have long had a deep interest in the welfare of the small businessmen of this Nation and in the activities of the Small Business Administration whose purpose it is to assist this important segment of our society.

This article, which is in the form of a special analysis, is a complete, factual, and forthright statement of the aims, programs, and accomplishments of the Small Business Administration. It expresses very well the views of those of all of us who have devoted so much of our time and energy to assisting small business. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

SMALL BUSINESS: IT'S BIG BUSINESS FOR UNCLE SAM, THIS TASK OF HELPING THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

Helping small business survive and succeed in this competitive, free enterprise society has become big business in recent years for Uncle Sam.

Prodded by a benevolent Congress, the government is going all out to make sure that the "little fellow" gets a fair break in the competition for business. Billions of dollars in government contracts have been channeled his way and billions have been loaned out or guaranteed in the effort to help small business.

The many programs authorized by Congress to help the small businessman are reminiscent of the big drive in Congress in the early New Deal days to help the farmer, then beaten to his knees by the depression. Back in those days, government economists decided that one way to help restore prosperity was to rebuild farm income to a level where the farmer again would become a big consumer of manufactured goods. With feverish haste, Congress ground out scores of bills authorizing a wide range of programs, all with one objective in view—to raise farm income.

Now the small businessman is attracting attention in Washington. Many government economists are convinced that his prosperity is essential to the maintenance of a balanced economy. For more than a decade, Congress has been churning out legislation authorizing one program after another to help the "little fellow" become truly independent and self-supporting.

The small businessman has become the symbol of a balanced and prosperous democratic society. The once-overlooked corner grocer, the small machine shop operator, the laundry owner, the service station man—each has gained stature as the backbone of his community.

There now are government programs to help him start in business, to stay in business, and to expand his business. Advice is plentiful and, for the most part, free. A proportion of government contracts is set aside so that he may get a fair share of this business. Financing is made easier, either by direct government loans or guarantee of private loans.

Congress has selected the small businessman as a powerful tool with which to fight poverty. Bills have been introduced to give him all sorts of incentives to expand his business, to build small factories and assembly plants in the ghettos—all with the view to providing employment for the slum area poor and uneducated.

On the heels of riots in the cities, many bills have been introduced in Congress to help the small merchant and factory owner restore his burned-out premises and replenish his looted stocks.

Many government agencies are involved in the effort to help the small businessman, but the one which directs all of its energies to this task is the Small Business Administration, established by Congress in the 1950's.

The SBA, as it is known, operates a wide variety of programs to help the independent businessman prosper. It tells him how to start in business and how to get ahead. It provides him with cheap money. It even tells him how to operate his business, how to keep his books, how to train and handle salesmen, and how to get government contracts.

The agency has a corps of retired businessmen whose services and advice are available to the independent businessman for the asking. These experts will inspect a small manufacturer's plant, or a merchant's store, examine his operating techniques, and tell him what he is doing wrong and how to correct it.

How successful has the program to help small business been?

Administrator Robert C. Moot of SBA recently gave a report to Congress showing that small firms receiving SBA loans have made amazing progress. A study by the agency showed that 22,000 small firms more than doubled their profits during the six-year period after they received SBA loans, with average increases of 20 percent a year. Their assets increased on a yearly average of 8 percent over the six-year period. Net worth rose 6 percent annually on the average. Sales showed an 8 percent average annual jump.

Senator John Sparkman (D-Ala.), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee and one of the original framers of the legislation creating the Small Business Administration, in commenting on Mr. Moot's report said:

"Here is dramatic proof of the effectiveness of the Small Business Administration's efforts to help small firms participate in and sustain our record economic growth. In fiscal 1968, SBA expects to provide more than $1 billion in new financing to small firms."

The cost of the small business program has been modest, according to SBA figures. Since its inception, the agency has been the source of approximately $3.35 billion in loans to small business firms. Private financing accounted for about $1.1 billion of this amount. SBA officials say losses are small. They estimate the agency collects 95 cents out of every dollar it lends.

BUSINESS LOAN PROGRAM

Perhaps the most important activity of the SBA is its business loan program. Small manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, service concerns, and other businesses may borrow from the agency to construct, expand, or convert facilities, purchase buildings, equipment, or materials, or obtain working capital.

One important restriction applies to all SBA loans. By law, the agency may not make a loan if a business can obtain funds from a bank or other private sources. The businessman, therefore, must first seek private financing before applying to the SBA. This means he must apply for a loan to his local bank. If he lives in a larger city, one with more than 200,000 population, he must apply to two banks.

Applicants for direct or immediate participation loans must agree to comply with SBA regulations that there will be no discrimination in employment or services to the public based on race, color, or national origin.

The purpose of the SBA lending program is to make sound loans with high economic returns that meet certain national or local objectives. The SBA says it has three main objectives in its business loan program:

(1) *Economic growth*, achieved through increased productivity, expansion of capacity and markets, and innovation.

(2) *Competitive environment*, achieved by assisting in the establishment of productive small businesses.

(3) *Local economic development*, achieved by assisting depressed areas, stabilization of local areas, and providing for other local needs in the public interest which clearly help strengthen the local economy.

SBA has established special national goals in these fields: health, federal and local government procurement, urban development, manpower development, transportation, exports, equal opportunity, and conservation and improvement of national resources.

Except for guaranteed and economic opportunity loans, all SBA loans must conform to one or more of these objectives or goals.

DEFINITION OF SMALL BUSINESS

For business loan purposes, SBA defines a small business as one that is independently owned and operated, nondominant in its field, and meets employment or sales standards developed by the agency. For most industries these standards are as follows:

Manufacturing. Small, if average employment in the preceding four calendar quarters did not exceed 250, including employees of affiliates. Large, if average employment was more than 1,000. If employment exceeded 250 but not 1,000, SBA bases its determination on a specific size standard for the particular industry. For example, a special finding was made in the case of American Motors Corporation, smallest of the Big Four auto manufacturers, so the firm could participate in small business contract awards.

Wholesaling. Small, if yearly sales are not over $5 million.

Retailing and service. Small, if annual sales or receipts are not over $1 million.

In some cases, SBA says, it uses other standards.

GENERAL CREDIT REQUIREMENTS

To obtain financial assistance from the SBA, a loan applicant must meet these requirements:

(1) Be of good character.

(2) Show ability to operate his business successfully.

(3) If an existing business, have enough capital in the firm so that, with an SBA loan, he can operate on a sound financial basis.

(4) Show the proposed loan is of sound value.

(5) Show that the past earnings record and future prospects of the firm indicate ability to repay the loan and other fixed debt, if any, out of profits.

(6) If the venture is a new business, be able to provide from his own resources approximately half of the total required funds.

AMOUNTS AN TERMS OF LOANS

When financing is not otherwise available on reasonable terms, SBA will guarantee up to 90 percent or $350,000, whichever is less, of a bank loan to a small firm.

If the financing in the entirely from a private lender or an SBA guaranteed loan is not available, SBA will then consider advancing funds on an immediate participation basis with a bank to make the loan. SBA will consider making a direct loan only when these other forms of financing are not obtainable.

The agency's share of a participation loan may not at the present time exceed $150,000. Direct loans may not exceed $100,000.

Most SBA loans may be for as long as 10 years, but this period has been extended to 15 years in the case of loans to construct facilities. Working capital loans usually are limited to six years.

Interest rates on SBA's portion of immediate participation, as well as direct loans, may not exceed 5½ percent. The bank sets the interest rate (not to exceed 8 percent simple interest) on guaranteed loans and its portion of immediate participation loans.

Security for a loan may consist of one or more of these: mortgage on land, a building and/or equipment; assignment of warehouse receipts for marketable merchandise; a mortgage on chattels; guarantees or personal endorsements, and in some instances, assignment of current receivables. A pledge or mortgage on inventories usually is not satisfactory collateral, unless the inventories are stored in a bonded or otherwise acceptable warehouse.

LOAN PROGRAMS NUMEROUS AND VARIED

SBA operates a variety of separate loan programs tailored to meet the needs of small businesses. For example, its machine tool loan program is designed to help a small businessman operating a plant making metal products get the newest machine tools.

Such tools are defined by SBA as power-driven machines, not portable by hand, and used to shape or form metal.

If a bank will make the loan under SBA's guarantee program, the agency can guarantee up to $350,000, or 75 percent of the loan, whichever is smaller. If a guaranteed loan is not available, but a bank will participate immediately, SBA can lend up to $150,000, or 75 percent of the loan, whichever is smaller. If no bank participation is available, SBA may make a direct loan of up to $100,000. Loan proceeds must be used to finance up to 85 percent of the delivered cost of the new machine tools, and numerical controls may be included in the financing.

Loans may be made for up to seven years, the only collateral required being the machine tools purchased. However, personal guarantees may also be required.

Interest rates on SBA's portion of immediate participation, as well as direct loans, may not exceed 5½ percent. The bank sets the interest rate (not to exceed 8 percent simple interest) on guaranteed loans and its portion of immediate participation loans.

The SBA also operates a loan program to help small businessmen obtain used machine tools. This program is modeled closely after the new machine tool loan program.

The used machine tool program applies only to power-driven machines, not portable by hand, that are used to shape or form metal and were manufactured during or after 1950 and have been cleaned, painted and cycled.

Purchasers of the used machinery must provide at least 20 percent of the cost. The maximum term of the SBA loan is five years, amortized on a monthly basis.

SBA will lend up to $100,000 on a direct loan, up to $150,000 on a bank participation loan, and will guarantee up to $350,000 of a bank loan made for the purchase of used machine tools.

The only tangible collateral SBA requires is a first lien on the machinery acquired, plus unsecured guarantees in some cases, and a lessors's agreement if the machinery is to be located in leased premises.

To qualify for a loan, a firm must be in sound financial condition and must be able to give reasonable assurance of repayment.

BROAD PROGRAM OF DISASTER LOANS

The SBA operates a broad program of disaster loans. Under its disaster loan program, the SBA made millions of dollars available to the victims of the flood in Fairbanks, Alaska, and to victims of hurricane-spawned floods in South Texas.

Disaster loans are available not only to small businesses but also to individuals and non-profit organizations. These loans are available only in an area which the SBA administrator has declared a major disaster area. The purpose of an SBA disaster loan is to restore the victim's home or business property as nearly as possible to its pre-disaster condition. If it is necessary to construct a new home, new business, or institutional facilities on a different site, the loan may be used for that purpose.

In the case of a loan to an individual, the loan may be used to repair or replace damaged furniture and other household belongings as well as real estate. A business disaster loan may be used to repair or replace buildings, fixtures, machinery, equipment, and inventory.

There is no statutory limit on the amount of a loan. However, it may not exceed the actual tangible loss suffered by a disaster victim, less any amount he has recovered from insurance or obtained from other sources for purposes of rehabilitation.

There is no specific requirement with respect to collateral as security for a disaster loan, but applicants are expected to pledge whatever collateral they can furnish. The SBA gives consideration to the moral risk involved and to evidence showing a reasonable prospect that the loan will be repaid.

The interest rate on an SBA direct disaster loan is 3 percent a year. When a bank shares in a disaster loan to a business, the interest rate on the SBA portion is limited to 3 percent a year. However, the bank may fix the rate on its portion "within reasonable limits."

SBA also has a loan program for small businesses in rural areas which suffer economic injury because of natural disasters. To qualify, the small business must be located in an area which the Secretary of Agriculture declares a natural disaster area because of drought, excessive rainfall, a freeze, or similar occurrence. The business must also have suffered "substantial economic injury" because the disaster has prevented the firm's farmer-customers from continuing their normal trade operations.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY LOAN PROGRAM

Another loan program administered by SBA which Congress recently authorized in Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act is aimed at helping very small firms to be established or to operate. This program is geared to helping stimulate business activity in slum areas and to help individuals without financial resources, but who show some business ability, to establish their own enterprises.

The idea of stimulating small business activity in the ghetto areas has caught on in Congress and a number of bills now pending would provide numerous federal incentives to encourage such activity.

The SBA Economic Opportunity Loan programs provides loans and management assistance for (1) low income persons living in poverty, and (2) persons lacking equal opportunity who are above the poverty level, but cannot qualify for SBA's regular busines loans. They can borrow up to $25,000, depending on the type of business and their needs. The interest rate is 5½ percent, lower in designated depressed areas. Loans and management assistance are available under two separate parts of the program, known as EOL I and EOL II.

EOL I is an expanded version of SBA's Economic Opportunity Assistance program, started in 1964.

EOL II is a new program that assists people who have suffered from lack of opportunity and as a result, have not had the chance to compete in business on equal terms.

EOL I is designed primarily to help people already in business whose income provides them and their families with only a marginal existence. There is no fixed income level for eligibility. Each applicant is considered individually. Consideration also is gven to applications for new businesses when these provide opportunities not traditionally available to low income groups, or fill an economic need in the community. To be eligible, an applicant's income must be below the level required to meet his and his family's basic needs.

EOL II is designed to help people whose incomes provide more than a marginal existence but who, because of a lack of opportunity, have been handicapped in establishing or expanding small business. Applicants must have some experience, training, or education that shows strong managerial ability. In making EOL loans, SBA encourages individuals who seek its assistance in expanding or establishing:

(1) Businesses engaged in manufacturing, research and development, wholesaling, and distribution.

(2) Businesses offering opportunities for substantial growth.

(3) Firms that strengthen the economy of low income areas by providing services or products not sufficiently available.

(4) Retail and service businesses offering new opportunities.

(5) Businesses that employ the unemployed, unskilled, and/or underemployed, especially when these offer employees the opportunity to upgrade their skills.

Many economic opportunity loan recipients need management assistance and SBA can require a recipient to take some form of management training, such as bookkeeping or selling, either before or after the loan is approved.

In considering economic opportunity loans, SBA relaxes traditional credit standards and places greater emphasis on the character and ability of the individual. Before a loan is granted, however, SBA must establish that there is reasonable assurance the loan can be repaid from the earnings of the business.

The agency encourages bank participation in the economic opportunity loan program. Such loans made by banks can be guaranteed by SBA up to the full amount of the loan.

LEASE GUARANTEE PROGRAM

One of the latest of the government's projects to help the small businessman is the lease guarantee program. Under this program, SBA is authorized to guarantee or insure lease rental payments of small business firms that have been displaced by federally financed or assisted construction, or those firms which are operated by persons who are economically disadvantaged.

The program was launched formally on a pilot basis last May. It will enable small business firms to rent space at prime locations without the necessity of a triple A rating that requires a net worth of $1 million.

The first pilot project is located at Mobile, Ala. The project involves development of a shopping center to provide space for 12 small businessmen who have been displaced by an urban renewal project. Another lease guarantee project is planned for Cleveland, Ohio, and additional pilot projects are under study in Chicago, Miami, and Philadelphia.

Within the 2 to 5 percent limitation on guarantee on annual rentals, a uniform fee schedule has been developed to assure that the program will be a sound and self-sustaining one. Each participant will pay his fair share of the costs. No subsidy is involved.

The SBA has developed both a program for participation by private sureties and a direct program for use when necessary. The SBA operating plan has been presented in a series of regional conferences to insurance commissioners and to the major insurance companies. Participation agreements have been signed with several of the insurance companies.

MANAGEMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Of equal importance to its loan program, in the opinion of many SBA officials, is the agency's broad program of management assistance to small business firms. This is counted on to help the small businessman succeed and insure that he will be in a position to repay his assistance loan when the time comes. A key element in the management assistance program is the Service Corps of Retired Executives, known as SCORE.

The volunteer members of this corps are seasoned, successful men—retailers, production analysts, office managers, lawyers, engineers, accountants, economists, bankers, advertising and public relations men, sales managers, wholesalers, controllers, plant managers, and many more.

According to SBA, they are experts who appreciate what small business means to American free enterprise. From this conviction they serve without fee and stand ready to share their experience and know-how with any small businessman who needs help.

Because of the broad range of expert knowledge in the corps, whatever a small businessman's particular headache or need, SCORE is almost certain to be able to come up with the expert.

The corps was formed in late 1964, but it already has more than 3,000 counselors at work across the nation, most of them in or near the metropolitan areas.

Who qualifies for SCORE service?

Any small businessman—in most cases with 25 or fewer employees. He doesn't have to be in trouble to qualify. Whether he has a specific worry, or whether he simply feels his operation is a bit stale and needs a new slant, he qualifies.

The approach of SCORE counselors is simple. The counselor merely visits the small businessman in his operation for an on-the-spot observation and analysis. If the counselor does not think he has the answers, he'll call in other SCORE experts to have a look.

A small businessman does not have to be an SBA borrower to qualify for SCORE assistance. In fact, he doesn't have to be in business. The man who is seriously thinking of going into business can use SCORE experts to help him plan.

The cost of SCORE services is nominal. There is no fee. The only charge is the actual out-of-pocket travel and other expenses of the counselor.

SBA calls SCORE "the heart and soul of the purpose" behind SBA itself. It claims hundreds of small businessmen have been helped to greater success by the advice of SCORE counselors.

SBA also has a series of Management Course Presentations dealing with various management subjects. They are for the use of coordinators and instructors of SBA co-sponsored administrative management courses.

Each volume is designed to aid the course leader in preparing one or more sessions of a management course. The package includes a teaching outline, a text, visual aids, handout materials for class members, case material, suggested homework assignments, and a bibliography. From these presentations, the course coordinator has a variety of subjects from which to choose in preparing a six, eight, or 10-week administrative management course.

,The SBA Administrative Management Course Program was started with two courses in 1954, in cooperation with educational institutions, to bring modern management knowledge and techniques to the owners and managers of small businesses. More than 1,200 American universities, colleges, and local school systems have co-sponsored courses with SBA.

SBA's aim is to bring these courses to additional communities, especially those under 25,000 population and whose business establishments are all relatively small and never have had administrative management instruction.

PROCUREMENT ASSISTANCE

One of the major activities of the government in aiding the small businessman is in the field of procurement assistance. This is a program that puts dollars into the small businessman's pocket.

SBA provides personal assistance to small businessmen desiring to bid on government contracts. In addition, the Defense Department has a special staff which seeks to channel defense contracts to eligible small business firms.

The SBA issues "Certificates of Competency" to small firms whose ability to perform a government contract is questioned. These certificates are issued only after SBA experts make a thorough study of the firm in question, and are sent to the federal contracting agency which has questioned the financial or productive ability of low-bidding small firms to perform specific contracts.

In the period from January to June of this year, the agency issued 80 certificates of competency covering contracts valued at nearly $16.8 million. They ranged from construction contracts to the production of sophisticated components for space vehicles. During fiscal year 1967, 137 certificates were issued by SBA covering government contracts valued at $25.4 million. All government purchasing offices must accept the agency's certifications as conclusive.

In carrying out this procurement aid program, SBA advises the small businessman how to obtain an invitation to bid, and how to decide whether he is qualified as a small business bidder.

Congress has established the policy that "a fair proportion" of government purchases and contracts or subcontracts shall be placed with small business enterprises. Consequently, 'SBA representatives and purchasing officials at major military and civilian purchasing offices set aside those procurements which they believe can be filled by small business establishments. Before setting aside all or part of a purchase, they first must determine that a sufficient number of small firms will bid to provide the government a satisfactory price. Once they make a set-aside, only small firms are permitted to bid on it.

SBA participates with buying agencies in establishing goals for contract awards to small business. SBA specialists also study purchasing policies and review individual purchases at major buying offices to see whether the agencies are awarding a fair share of their contracts to small firms.

The agency provides special counseling services to small businesses wishing to bid on government contracts or subcontracts. Specialists at various regional offices will tell the small businessman how to proceed and in the case of subcontracts will advise the prime contractor of the small business firm's qualifications for subcontract work.

FOREIGN MARKETS

SBA also has established a program to encourage and help small firms to seek out and cultivate foreign markets, and in recent months has stepped up its work in this direction. The agency has worked out an arrangement with the Commerce Department which it hopes will secure for SBA "its rightful place" in the promotion of small business activity in the less developed countries.

SBA also plans to offer its cooperation to the Export-Import Bank and, jointly with the Bank and through the Foreign Credit Insurance Association (FCIA) and its member companies, to enter into an intensive briefing program to make the Export-Import Bank credit and FCIA insurance services more familiar to the small business community.

Simultaneously, the agency will endeavor to induce the Exim Bank and FCIA to reappraise their loan and insurance policies with a view to liberalizing them and simplifying procedures so that credit and insurance applications by small business concerns may be expedited and small business encouraged to avail itself of this assistance.

The program envisages the inclusion of Commerce Department small business specialists in government-organized trade missions and trade fairs, and the stationing of Commerce Department small business specialists in U.S. embassies and consulates in the under-developed countries where the opportunities for joint ventures with American small business concerns offer the best opportunities for mutual economic benefits.

Also planned is a program to educate the small business community on the tax incentives provided by the Western Hemisphere trade corporations concept. Government officials say experience indicates that small business concerns are not familiar with this tax legislation and feel that given proper exposure these incentives can open the entry of small business into the foreign trade field in Latin American countries and thus advance the President's commitment to the Alliance for Progress.

SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT COMPANY PROGRAM

The Small Business Investment Company program operated by SBA has provided more than $1 billion in financing to small businesses since it was established in 1959. The SBIC program is regarded as one of SBA's most important weapons in its arsenal of aids to small business.

An SBIC is a privately owned and privately operated small business investment company which has been licensed by the Small Business Administration to provide equity or venture capital and long-term loans to small firms. SBICs may also provide management assistance to the companies they finance.

New SBICs obtain their initial capital from private investors and may get matching funds from the government. An SBIC finances small firms in two ways—by straight loans and by equity-type investments which give the SBIC actual or potential ownership of a portion of a small firm's stock. SBICs are intended to be profit-making corporations. The program was established to meet the financing needs of small businesses which have difficulty obtaining long-term capital to finance their growth. Prior to establishment of the program there were few places a small company could turn for money, once it had exhausted its credit from relatives of the owners, friends, banks, and the Small Business Administration.

The vast majority of SBICs are owned by relatively small groups of local investors. The stock of about 50 SBICs is publicly trade, and more than 80 are partly or completely owned by commercial banks.

To encourage the formation of SBICs, Congress has provided a number of tax advantages. For example, a shareholder in an SBIC can receive long-term capital gain when his stock is sold at a gain and an unlimited ordinary income deduction when sold at a loss. A special benefit arises from the fact that SBICs are allowed a deduction of 100 percent of dividends received from a taxable domestic corporation rather than the 85 percent deduction allowed most corporate taxpayers. SBICs are granted relief from the tax on excess accumulations of surplus and may qualify for relief from the tax on personal holding companies. Specific provisions are included in the Internal Revenue Code to allow SBICs to take full deductions against ordinary income for losses sustained on convertible debentures, or on stock received through conversion of convertible debentures. Loss reserves equal to a maximum of 10 percent of qualified investments are permissible.

Since its inception in 1959 through June 30, 1967, SBA has invested a total of $354 million in approved loan and debenture purchases under the SBIC program. This federal investment provided more than $1 billion in small business assistance.

Small Business Administrator Robert C. Moot recently tallied for Congress the accomplishments of the SBIC program. He said a new reporting system for evaluating the effectiveness of the program assembled data on the SBIC portfolio companies as of March 31, 1966, on about 6,000 small business concerns. Although this is not complete coverage, he said the statistics indicate that the program has materially assisted small business concerns and contributed to the general economic growth and increased employment. He gave these figures:

(1) *Employment of portfolio companies.* 2,900 concerns obtained $393 million from SBICs and increased employment by 45,639 jobs. The average cost per job was $8,600.

(2) *Gross revenues of portfolio companies.* 2,802 concerns which obtained $395 million from SBICs reported increases in gross reve-

nues of $1.1 billion—$2.82 for each $1 of SBIC financing.

(3) *Profits.* 2,807 firms that obtained $398 million from SBICs reported an over-all net increase in profits of $19.7 million after allowing for $2.8 million in losses by some of the newer concerns in their first year of operation.

(4) *Assets.* 3,123 firms that obtained $424 million from SBICs reported an increase in assets of $1.18 billion—$2.80 for each $1 of SBIC financing.

(5) Net worth. 3,112 firms that obtained $423 million from SBICs reported an increase in net worth of $205 million.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SMALL BUSINESS PROGRAM

One of the greatest money making "assists" given the small businessman is that provided by the Defense Department's small business program. This program is designed to make sure that small business gets a fair share of government defense procurement as intended by Congress.

You get an idea of the importance of this program to the small businessman in the figures for fiscal 1967. In that year small business firms received $8.4 billion in defense prime contract awards, an increase of $749 million over the preceding fiscal year. It was the highest dollar volume awarded to small business firms since records became available in fiscal year 1951.

In fiscal 1967 the small business set-aside program was a favorable factor in the total defense dollars awarded to small business firms. Small firms received a total of $1.9 billion in awards resulting from set-asides. This was an increase of $180 million over fiscal 1966.

Small business firms participate to a generous degree in subcontracts from prime defense contractors. The Defense Department, for example, received reports showing that subcontract awards made by large firms to small business firms during fiscal 1967 totaled $6.7 billion. This represented an increase of $1.6 billion over the prior fiscal year. Of the $15.5 billion in subcontracts awarded by large firms during fiscal 1967, 43.3 percent was committed to small business firms.

Defense Officials point out that the figures do not tell the whole story, since the subcontracting figures represent only those awards to small business firms which have been made by large defense contractors reporting under the Defense Small Business Subcontracting Program.

The Defense Department helps small businessmen participate in defense contracts by holding procurement conferences. These usually are sponsored by state Departments of Commerce, local Chambers of Commerce, manufacturing associations, and civil groups. The procurement conference programs include discussions of the federal contract process, the DOD programs for small business and labor surplus area firms, the showing of current bid sets, distribution of procurement pamphlets and brochures on selling to the military, and the procurement organizations and activities of the DOD.

Activities stressed this year were the development of small business area councils and the training of small business specialists in the Defense Department to assure that they are sufficiently knowledgeable of the procurement process to give one-stop counseling services to business firms. The department also has a Defense Industry Advisory Council, which from time to time includes representatives of small business.

DOD works with SBA to provide a surveillance program that permits the SBA to review the Defense Small Business Program, including the set-aside program and its administration. There are continual discussions with SBA to determine ways and means of improving the small business subcontracting program. Representatives of SBA and DOD have worked closely in writing regulations used as guidance to their field people and the Armed Services Procurement Regulation are in accord.

A system of weighted guidelines has been developed to reward with extra profit contractors whose small business subcontracting programs are above average, and to penalize those who are below.

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT ROLE

The Department of Commerce plays an important role in rendering assistance to small businessmen. Many of its services, such as its economic development loans, its numerous publications, its conference programs, and its field services, are tailored with the small businessman in mind, recognizing that he may need from the department services which larger companies are able to provide for themselves.

From 1961 to 1965, financial assistance to industry through the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) amounted to $173.1 million. A substantial proportion of this, if not the bulk, went to borrowers who would be considered small business under the criteria used by the Small Business Administration.

The Economic Development Administration (EDA), successor agency to ARA, has so far (since August 1965) made loans totaling in excess of $62 million, of which 63 percent went to small business firms with under 250 employees.

One of the primary missions of the Commerce Department is the promotion of science and technology through programs of the National Bureau of Standards, the Environmental Science Services Administration, and the Patent Office. Three programs of these agencies are almost exclusively directed toward small business. They are:

(1) *The State Invention Program.* This facilitates the licensing, development, and exploitation of new technology; provides encouragement to inventors; and focuses community attention on the capital and management needs of inventors and the importance of invention-based industries and economic growth which might be achieved. This is a new cooperative program and is being undertaken by the Department of Commerce jointly with state economic development agencies, universities and colleges, professional associations, and local Chambers of Commerce.

(2) *The Invention Referral Center Program.* This program provides for referring to approriate agencies inventions submitted to the government and handles inquiries concerning the problems of inventors, complaints, requests for assistance, and many other difficulties faced by inventors and technologically based firms.

(3) *State Technical Services Program.* This program encourages greater utilization of the potentials of advanced technological know-how available in this country and abroad. While these services are intended for industry generally, they can be most helpful to small business. President Johnson recognized this when he signed the State Technical Services Act, saying that it would "do for the American businessman what the . . . Agricultural Extension Service has done for the American farmer."

OTHER COMMERCE DEPARTMENT PROGRAMS

Domestic Industrial Analysis. Each day, representatives of buisness—large and small firms alike—are meeting and working with the domestic industry specialists in the Business and Defense Services Administration. Housed in BDSA are a number of important programs: (1) domestic industrial and marketing reporting; (2) industrial modernization and productivity studies; (3) government business relations activities; (4) assistance to other agencies in business matters; (5) foreign trade commodity activities; and (6) industrial mobilization preparedness.

The industrial analysis of BDSA cover more than 424 industries in manufacturing, and several hundred more industries in construction, distribution, and service trades.

The Office of Field Services, in turn, serves the business community, both small and large, through the department's more than 40 field offices across the country. The Bureau of the Census and the Office of Business Economics gather much of the primary data so essential to decision-making in business.

Export Sales. The Commerce Department has established a "piggyback" program as an aid to the small business community. It helps small businesses not equipped to sell their products abroad to arrange with other companies already established in overseas markets to sell for them. So-called "country desk" officers in the Bureau of International Commerce (BIC) study markets around the world. Industry specialists in the BDSA evaluate the potentials for particular commodities in overseas markets. This information, although designed for all types of businesses, is particularly useful for small business firms which generally lack funds and facilities for in-depth market research. Such foreign market information as well as other information gathered and developed by the department flows to the business community via various department periodicals and other publications.

Procurement Assistance. The Commerce Department, through its Business and Defense Administration, cooperates with the Department of Defense in running a series of procurement conferences.

Helping Minority Businessmen. The Commerce Department operates a special affirmative program to help the Negro businessman. One step is to promote greater openings in franchise operations. Backed by management training and financial assistance from a sound company, the Negro businessman can build profits for himself and the parent organization.

A second initiative in this program is to promote formation of self-help groups by small businessmen who sell identical products or services. For example, group buying by operators of small dry cleaning establishments aids in cutting costs and increasing the efficiency and profitability of their individual businesses.

A third initiative of the department's program is to encourage guarantees for collateral for loans to minority businessmen through voluntary participation in nonprofit credit support organizations by businessmen and nonprofit foundations.

THE OUTLOOK

Indications are that the small businessman will get more, not less, help from the government in coming years. Congress already is considering bills to strengthen his protection under franchising arrangements. They will not pass this year, but undoubtedly will be revised in the next session.

The Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission are constantly on the alert to prevent big business practices adverse to the small businessman.

President Johnson has shown a keen interest in the welfare of the "little fellow" in business. Just recently he issued a memorandum to the heads of the Defense Department, the Atomic Energy Commission, the General Services Administration, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—the major government procurement agencies—urging them to see that small business gets a still bigger share of government contract awards.

Facing Reality in an Insecure World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I was honored to speak before the Commonwealth Club of California at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco on Friday, December 15. I ask unanimous consent that a partial text of my remarks be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the partial text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACING REALITY IN AN INSECURE WORLD

Mr. Chairman and members of the distinguished Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, I am honored to return to San Francisco as the first session of the 90th Congress draws to a close. Its record, like those of most of its predecessors, was both good and bad. For our State of California, there were a number of significant gains. The Senate has recognized that there is a national obligation to preserve the ancient coastal redwoods. Our bill has a very good chance of favorable House consideration next year, and I am encouraged to believe it is on its way to enactment.

We have made some progress with the water problem. I sponsored a bill, now the law, authorizing the Federal Government to participate in a joint venture with public agencies and private utilities to construct a 44-acre island a mile off the Orange County coast line on which, by nuclear power, 150 million gallons of potable water will be made from the sea, to run into the water system which services the whole metropolitan area. In addition, more electricity will be manufactured in the process than is produced today at Hoover Dam. In northern California I authored a bill, now law, authorizing a $100 million reclamation project, repayable by the users to bring badly needed additional water from the San Luis reservoir in the San Joaquin Valley, across the Pacheco pass, to San Jose, the rest of Santa Clara County, and the Counties of San Benito, Santa Cruz and Monterey as well. These counties were not included in the Feather River plan.

The fight against air pollution has been widely expanded, and California's standards will remain intact, tougher than those established by Congress for the rest of the nation.

This session has labored under a growing cloud of fiscal confusion and danger, produced by a widening gap between Federal income and Federal expenditure. A priority task has been to reduce non-essential spending. We have lived through deficits before, but it is now apparent to all that the national government cannot be annually programmed around a vacuum of 30 billion dollars. The Senate Committee on Appropriations, of which I am a member, cut nearly five billion dollars from this year's appropriations. In the closing week of the session, Congress reduced expenditures by over four billion dollars.

Limitations on spending have intensified the arguments over continuation of major Federal grant programs. Last summer's tragic riots showed how little progress has been made in the search for the causes and cure of urban unrest.

This great, free republic was founded upon respect for law and order, and if we keep it, it will be because we maintain that respect, and penalize those who break the law and who thus show disrespect for it. Solving the problems of the American ghetto is basic to our survival. Inculcating respect for our system is fundamental. The solution is surely variegated. It includes education, manpower training, decent housing, recognition that the dignity of the individual is important and that an American ought to be judged on his worth as a constructive, law-abiding citizen, and not on his patrimony or his creed. That is part of the American dream.

Certainly, the nation has a role to play in seeking to make it come true. Legislative programs like Model Cities and Head Start have, I think, proved themselves and ought to be past partisan cavil. A full evaluation of all programs associated with the war on poverty is still required, but this ought not to imply that the Congress is indifferent to this critical problem. I cite an example. This year's poverty bill was once marked for early burial in the House. But when the oratory ended and the final vote came, it was passed by the largest margin in history. There is now substantial bipartisan agreement that the Federal Government must act to help save our cities. I respectfully suggest that the whole problem requires leadership from the top, which is largely lacking today in Washington.

We have the same bipartisan view regarding education. Local taxes, particularly property taxes, have made it impossible for suburban school districts to help meet the needs of city center. The urban school has become a major focus of Federal educational legislation. In this year's Senate bill on elementary and secondary education, there were no less than 23 constructive Republican amendments, all aimed at this problem and all accepted unanimously. The national philosophy, as it has formed since the Land Ordinance of 1785 and Lincoln's Land Grant College Act, follows closely the dictum of the late Senator Robert Taft who believed strongly in local control of education. Every piece of Federal legislation since his time has contained a strong caveat against Federal domination of the education of our children.

In this fast-moving final third of the Twentieth Century, the development of American education, in keeping with our democratic traditions, has become a vital factor in our national growth. The uncertain future for this insecure world requires all of us to look at our own first. America cannot venture forth—she cannot successfully discharge the inevitable burden of world leadership for peace with honor, unless she has met her responsibilities at home.

We live in a dynamic world. That great American philosopher, whose views are imbedded in the minds of more than one generation of thinking Americans, Mr. Alfred North Whitehead, has written, "The major advances in civilization are processes that all but wreck the societies in which they occur." Our era is memorable for its rapid pace and rapid change. There has been more scientific progress in the last fifty years, certainly in the last century, than there has been in the last 2,000 years. Stanford University has created the genetic materials of a living virus in a test tube. The trouble is that human virtue has not kept pace with science. Many wonder whether so-called advances have not forever permanently altered and perhaps destroyed much of the blessings of a familiar, happier, and far more simple age.

For the past twenty years, Americans have tended to view the world as divided between those who believe in democracy and those bound to a dogmatic doctrine of materialism and revolution. Mentally dividing the world in this manner between Communists and the Free has given us a kind of moral certainty. The Cold War made it easy to understand the world. If the other fellow is a devil, how much more certain are we in our own cause?

Americans have assumed that other peoples who see life generally as we do, or, at any rate, don't like dictatorships, would agree to joint measures of defense against a common potential enemy. We sought to apply the old American axiom, "In union there is strength," to the nation states of the world, and by a policy of collective security, create a far greater defensive strength than any one of us could create alone.

But these formulae have run up against limits. The holocausts of the First and Second World Wars should have made it painfully clear to all how suicidal and self-defeating is global conflict. If war on a broad scale means self-destruction, neither the United States, nor any Western democracy acting alone, can operate as the world's policeman. No one nation is strong or safe enough to set aright the wrongs of all others without risking a Frankenstein fate for itself.

Even the concept of joint action sometimes seems less urgent now, as leaders in the Soviet Union promise more cars and refrigerators for their people. Some sophisticated, less doctrinaire Communists in countries, like Yugoslavia, have begun to speak of economic freedom and to toy with the profit motive. Our allies in Western Europe, weary at the end of empire, show little abiding concern for the future of the territories in Africa and Asia which they once ruled.

But in the new emerging states, the destructive possibilties of nuclear power in warfare are beginning to be appreciated. In the Near East, where the world has endured a major conflict in each of the last three decades, we may again see another grim round which could include the whole gamut of obliterating devices. nation which lacks the technical know-how to use them can easily apply to a friendly Soviet technician to aim it properly, to arm its warhead and inform the local commander to press button A. And if he fails there, he can always try standby button B. While the concept of joint action weakens, the number of challenges to world stability do not diminish. They seem to increase and intensify.

These limits on American power are poignantly evident in the continuing conflict in Southeast Asia. We are repeatetly warned that American military action may provoke the Communists to launch World War III. Our Treasury, as I have mentioned earlier, is running a huge deficit. Our European allies speak of dangers to both European and American business if our economic house is not set in order including some kind of anti-inflation tax law. Rumor has it that the completely incredible President of France now seeks to lure Spain into cancelling her defense agreements with our country in exchange for a ticket for admission into the Common Market. The western world begins clearly to understand what Churchill had in mind in recalling the largest and most burdensome cross he had to bear in the Second World War.

Many Americans, remembering the great conclave at the War Memorial Opera House in 1945, still hope to see the United Nations with a worldwide responsibility for peace and stability. Last month, the Senate called upon the Administration to seek settlement in Viet Nam through the United Nations Security Council. I favored that measure, but, as I said in this city some weeks earlier, the United Nations does not have the presence in Southeast Asia to facilitate a settlement. Not the necessary experience, nor the cadres of experienced diplomats, nor the lines of communication, nor the possibility of establishing an adequate force to guarantee a settlement are available to the U.N. in this region. The *Near East* is the likely place to begin to use a U.N. peace force in a broader role. The recent events on Cyprus have deepened my conviction. In the Near East, as contrasted with Southeast Asia, the U.N. has a long record of patient and humanitarian work for peace, where all the nations involved have long been U.N. members. The United Nations is not now equipped to be a worldwide peacekeeping organization. Only the pious, unrealistic expression of eternal hope could lead anyone to think the U.N. can do the job without prior agreement among the major powers. To some, the wish has simply become father to the thought. Meanwhile, the one language which any would-be aggressor understands is the language of strength of his potential quarry and its friends. The interdependence of free nations for purposes of their common defense remains the best deterrent to attack and aggression.

As we convene for the second session of the 90th Congress, it is well to ask: What are the realities in this insecure world? What are the strengths we can muster? What weaknesses must be overcome?

A major task in the months ahead is to meet the current crisis of confidence in the dollar as an international reserve currency in the aftermath of the devaluation of the British pound. This is a subtle, psychological problem. Our position is strong, not weak as one sole world figure hopes and alleges. Indeed, the undoubted majority of the world financial community, from the Frankfurt Gold Pool to our gallant friend and neighbor, the Republic of Mexico, have joined in pledging their gold to support our dollar. They need, as we do, a strong American dollar.

Since the Second World War, the United States has provided the stable medium of exchange which, along with gold, has formed the core of the international monetary system. Our pre-eminent position has brought great advantages in terms of trade and investment. It has also left us with a singular dilemma—we alone in the world must base our reserve exclusively on gold. We can rely on no other currency.

Men don't toil for gold in the hills of California as they once did. The supply is closely restricted; we do not even produce enough in the United States today to supply the industrial need for gold. In the long run, the link between our own currency and gold may ultimately be replaced by some kind of international reserve system. Unquestionably, the world currency reserve must be able to grow along with world production and trade. But this is for the future. Our immediate task is literally to keep our currency "as good as gold."

America is going to have to put her house in order, not only for her own sake but for the other free nations of the globe. We have a choice between exorbitant interest rates and devastating inflation, with all their dire effects on growth and investment and fixed incomes, or a relatively small revenue increase coupled with expenditure reduction designed to avoid the enormous drain on our financial markets which the 1967 deficit might otherwise create. I regret that the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee has delayed action on tax legislation. A major asset is our sound economy. We cannot delay in putting it right—we have much else to do.

In the time of monetary stress all issues tend to become financial. We cannot move as forcefully and as fully as we might to improve education, to rebuild our cities or to save our precious natural resources. There is a cruel paradox between the cold indifference of de Gaulle and the condition of forlorn children in our blighted city centers. His every emphasis on a gold standard works a hardship on our nation. We carry the responsibility of providing the financial base of world commerce. So, in this moment of crisis, we are forced to settle out accounts before taking up more tender concerns.

Modern interdependent society survives on a network of trust and security. In this century, the community of Western civilization as described by the arc of the Atlantic Alliance and the close tie between these growing economies and their democratic societies has been the foundation of international order and economic growth.

The Atlantic Alliance must endure, even if for a few fleeting moments in time, our French ally of two centuries is led away from us by its irrational leader. Even if he were able to make the break complete, it would be a temporary schism at worst. France would be back.

On the borders of Western Europe, there remain fifty or more divisions of the Warsaw Pact forces and over 3000 aircraft. And in the Mediterranean, Soviet naval craft of many types are constantly in view. Even with an expanding trade between Eastern and Western Europe, the potential for trouble remains. We and our European allies, absent France, are now deciding the basis for a multinational NATO destroyer fleet able to demonstrate Western European concern by being sent to a trouble spot in short time. As an American I devotedly believe in the Atlantic Alliance. It has proved its value. Surely, the integrity and the welfare of Western Europe are of deep concern to the United States, and vice versa. We need to take together appropriate military steps by which we shall stand together in time of crisis.

By the same token, we have no obligation to keep American troops on European soil, if they are not called for. Both Britain and West Germany are reducing their NATO-committed forces, the former by 6,500, the latter by 45,000. NATO, and the United States in particular, must determine whether our forces are needed in their countries and at what strength in order to maintain a credible system of mutual defenses.

But our allies must not be misled. Withdrawal to "Fortress America" would be a prelude to international disaster. We recognize our need for collective security, and we are prepared to keep our part of the bargain.

I believe that the United States must expand and improve her high level consultations with our NATO allies. At this critical juncture in the history of our 200-year-old Atlantic community, we must have full and frank understanding. Let it be clear that America's hand is open. We want to keep the Atlantic relationship.

Many of the difficulties between America and her partners in the Alliance have come from uncertainty and insecurity produced by the conflict in Southeast Asia. I believe the era of uncertainty on this issue is passing.

The war in Viet Nam is enormously tragic. Its casualties, civilian and military, are high. Its causes have been misinterpreted and misrepresented. The old aphorism is still correct: In war, the first casualty is truth.

But two facts remain uncontestable. The allied Armed Forces—the South Vietnamese, we and the other gallant allies—have demonstrated their capability to deal with North Vietnamese aggression and Viet Cong insurgency. And the nations of the Pacific, of which we are one, have shown a common desire to put an end to the cycle of warfare that has ruled our fate for more than twenty years. Every nation in Asia has fought a subversive threat since the end of World War II, save the Japanese. And every one of those nations which are non-Communist wants an end to this threat. Some of them have made substantial commitments to South Viet Nam. Their effort in this regard has been consistently underrated. It now clearly appears that the Communist doctrine of violent revolution and the misnamed "wars of national liberation" have been weakened, possibly defeated, due in part to America's presence in South Viet Nam.

America cannot turn its back on Asia—nor for that matter can Continental Europe. The ferment in the Orient is largely the product of the conflict between Asian versions of ideas imported from the West. The prophetic Irish poet, James Joyce, once wrote:

> "The West will shake the East awake
> While ye have night for morn."

The causes, both political and ideological, are closely concerned with the expansion of Western ideas and Western civilization. It is later than many of us imagine. The struggle for stability in Asia, which has raged for over a quarter century, is not the unfolding of a new chapter in the Cold War era but, hopefully, the beginning of the end of that time.

In our nation there has been a raging controversy over Viet Nam. It has been explained as "stopping aggression," achieving "self-determination" for the Vietnamese, and even as "containing" Red China. Last September I had the opportunity to visit Southeast Asia and to speak with the new breed of leaders emerging in this latest post-war, post-colonial period. They are determined that Communist "wars of national liberation" be demonstrably defeated. They are deeply afraid that the natural and human longing for peace on the part of the citizens of our country will result in an American withdrawal. Many of them recognize the need for collective security in Asia. Last October, the Australian Prime Minister said:

"Let me repeat . . . why we are in Vietnam: We are there because we believe in the right of the people to be free. We are there because we responded to an appeal for aid against aggression. We are there because security and stability in Southeast Asia are vital to our own security and stability. We are there because we want peace, not war, and independence, not serfdom, to be the lot of the peoples of Asia. We are there because we do not believe that our great Pacific partner, the United States, should stand alone for freedom."

But the anti-war demonstrations, the March on Washington, attempts to produce local municipal referenda on Viet Nam, all have backfired. The people of this nation, are not ready to betray the cause for which our own men have fought three times in the far Pacific in one generation. They will not yield to the mammoth hoax that Communism is the inevitable wave of the future in Asia, or, for that matter, anywhere else. The people know this, the elected representatives, I am sure, know it—part of our problem is to make it clear to the rest of the world. The sooner we are able to do this, the sooner we shall have peace.

These in my view are the hard concerns that Congress must take up in the coming session—to achieve economic and social stability, to reconstruct the crucial cords of the Atlantic Alliance, and to maintain a steadfast position in Viet Nam.

God knows we do not live in a perfect world. It is unrealistic to assume that the United Nations, or any other group is now ready to assume the responsibility for worldwide peacekeeping without the forces at its disposal to carry out such a mission.

We must have no illusions where we stand in the march of human progress. Free men, to paraphrase Franklin, must hang together, or they will go down one by one.

Our resolve must be unswerving, for America and for the world, for this generation and for those which follow: "Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the law."

The American Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 27, 1967

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of placing one in the series of seven articles which appeared in the distinguished Chicago Sun-Times on "The American Spirit," in the RECORD in an effort to call attention to this newspaper's commendable public service.

Having had an opportunity to review this excellent series in its entirety, I am pleased to submit the remaining six article for my colleagues' perusal. The Sun-Times, in its attempt to transcend the political, economic, and social issues of the day, has excelled in placing the major issues facing our Nation into proper perspective.

The Chicago Sun-Times is, indeed, deserving of the highest praise for this outstanding journalistic contribution in behalf of the people of Chicago.

The remaining articles in the series follow:

The American Spirit: A New Voice of Leadership

(By Marya Mannes)

NEW YORK.—At a suburban movie theater, eight unaccompanied children from 6 to 10 years old see "Bonnie and Clyde" and follow with dazzled eyes their bloody search for identity through murder.

In a hotel ballroom, leaders of culture sit on gold chairs and listen to panelists conclude that culture is part of life and must be supported.

In a bedroom strewn with mattresses, six teen-agers get high on pot, adrift in fantasy.

In city ghettos, black militants yell "Kill Whitey!" and not too far away white youths hurl rocks at civil rights marchers and scream, "Christ was white!"

Teachers revolt, priests revolt, citizens revolt for reasons as diverse as they are complex or obvious.

An increasing number of Americans view the war in Vietnam with emotions ranging from doubt to horror, while other millions believe in military solutions leading to victory.

Why this ferment bordering on anarchy in the richest and most powerful nation on Earth? Why, even among the passive, or apathetic, this pervasive unease? I think it is largely because a lot of things we used to believe are no longer so, and because our wish to cling to them—on the part of some—and our wish to discard them—on the part of others—has produced a civil war of the American soul, with tragic casualties in sight.

It is a cold war on many fronts. Between the young and the old, between rich and poor, between black and white, between right and left, between law and anarchy, between reason and violence.

On all these fronts the war has become a hot war because its conclusion—the future of our society—can no longer be postponed. In fact, the war is the disastrous result of postponement. For years during which the fabric of our society has been fraying and rotting, most Americans have been clothing themselves in a series of assumptions, whether liberal or conservative, which are just as threadbare when exposed to reality.

Here are some of them, with their shadow-questions:

Money buys security. (Against crime? Against pollution? Against congestion? Against addiction?)

The pursuit of happiness is the great American dream. (Whose happiness? Yours or theirs? Can the individual be happy in an unhappy society? Can he remain well in a sick one?)

Welfare takes care of the poor. (Does it? At what cost to us—and to them?)

Under free competition, the consumer gets what he wants. (Does he? Or are his wants manipulated to large extent by the great sellers?)

Democracy and capitalism are the pillars of a free society and therefore morally right. (Right for whom? At what stage of development? In what part of the world? Whose morality?)

Socialism and communism are morally evil and therefore threaten our existence. (Because their ideas are stronger than ours? Because they use force and we don't? Don't we? If we are both strong and morally right, what are we afraid of?)

Man's prime function is as provider, woman's as homemaker. (Does either of these functions fill their lives or complete their beings? Are these still valid images for intelligent young people in a society demanding their involvement?)

Everybody should have higher education. (Even when he doesn't want it? Even if his talents lie elsewhere? Even if the education itself is outdated?)

And so it goes, in those American minds not closed to doubt by doctrine and dogma, by smugness and complacency, or by the dangerous incapacity to put themselves into the minds and hearts of others.

But to most of us now, nothing seems stable, nothing certain in the bewildering, tormented chaos of the present except close human relationships and a love of country which makes its present convulsions even more painful. For they are symptoms of a sickness as yet undiagnosed.

Doctors insist that a national health plan would be "socialized medicine" while an acute and growing shortage of physicians, nurses and hospital facilities leaves an increasing number of Americans without adequate care.

Labor unions demand higher and higher wages while standards of workmanship in many trades fall lower and lower. (Who hasn't spoken or heard this phrase: "They don't care anymore"?)

All over the country the conservatives bemoan the lost values of an earlier and simpler America while liberals are beginning to wonder where the line can be held between equal rights and equal lawlessness. Where does "law and order" become repressive force? Where does freedom become anarchy?

There is, alas, nobody to tell them. There are plenty of voices telling them different things but no real voice of leadership in the nation clarifying the issues, demanding of Americans the best that is in them, requiring of them the kind of effort and restrain without which no civilized society can endure.

No less so than any other form of government, a democracy reflects its leadership. And when that leadership loses the trust and heart and will of its people, especially of its youth, deep divisions splinter and weaken the national core.

And what of the wise men of society—the poets and philosophers, the scientists and artists, those who through their creative insight have so often shown us the truth long before political leaders and the people themselves have perceived it?

With a few notable exceptions, the intellectual community has helped to compound our spiritual chaos. We are told by many voices that standards no longer apply, that there is no good or evil, right or wrong; that the function of the artist is to express himself rather than communicate with others, that it is enough for him to reflect the violence and anarchy in our life without providing a vision of a better one.

In the name of a culture where no distinction is made between the amateur and the professional, between the serious worker and the doodling exhibitionist, between shock for effect and the shock of truth, we are told that what is new is important and what was past is dead. We are told (by our government as well) that what the average citizen doesn't understand is good for him.

The state of American spirit? I would say it was in turmoil, frustration, doubt and suspension; waiting for a brave and enlightened voice not only to acknowledge its anguish but to lead it forward into new resolve.

The American spirit is capable of anything; including the self-disciplines and generous instincts which have produced the finest hours in our history as a nation. If these qualities are not soon evoked, the violence which has always been so near the surface of the American soul will take their place and become its chronic climate. For this, all of us—guilty or innocent, black or white, rich or poor, conservative or liberal—will pay bitterly.

The American Spirit: Racial Tension and Public Character

(By Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader)

NEW YORK.—It is the end of that season in American life again when many people, mostly whites, seem suddenly aware that they live in a country plagued by racial tensions. They act as if it were a surprising discovery, as if racial tension were a nuisance created exclusively by lawless Negroes, without reason or justification.

One might as well make some obvious points right way. Though Negroes may be the chief barometers of race tension in our society, they are not the chief authors of it, and they certainly are not the ones who have done most to nourish it. The credit for that belongs to white Americans. It is they who sowed the seed of bitterness during slavery and it is they who have refused ever since to restore the full human rights and dignity of Negroes.

I am not ignoring the millions of white Americans who have strongly and consistently supported the restoration of full dignity for black Americans. But they have been, and remain, a small minority. And in spite of their efforts, and in spite of our own, the essential quality of American life, so far as Negroes are concerned, remains one of injustice and indignity.

The majority of white Americans do not seem aware of how deep a responsibility they share in the making and the future breaking of these tensions. One has only to look at the way they respond when the centuries of Negro frustration boil over occasionally into one form of violent behavior or another. From Reconstruction, up through the modern protest movement, right up to the current period of urban disorder, white society has been more quick to invoke the police power than the remedy of social program.

The most recent example of this was the derision and laughter with which our congressmen greeted proposals for a rat eradication program in our ghettos. While they were laughing, the rats were still biting Negro babies and the anger of the black ghettos was still mounting. This reflected a sickness of spirit and an appalling insensitivity to the degrading conditions in which people live. On the other hand, our lawmakers rushed vigorously to the support of a riot bill aimed specifically at suppressing Negroes.

Nor do the majority of Americans seem aware of how high a place violence occupies in the American spirit. It is the same spirit that raped Africa and brought millions of humans here in chains; that took land away from the Indians by subterfuge, force and treaties that were not honored; that made the gunman a hero of the national ethos and the national virility; that eradicated the beautiful old animals from the plains; that tolerated gangsterism as a national way of life; that gave birth to organizations like the KKK—a white Protestant group dedicated to God and country but which perpetrated the most unspeakable atrocities against human beings with black skins.

Not only is the society built on violence, but it also, for those purposes it deems to be in the white interest, tolerates violence. This is one of the distinctive marks of the national character. It has established a framework within which a number of young Negroes respond violently to frustration. This is something the society should not ignore in judging the behavior of young Negroes.

But it does. The tendency is still to condemn Negro violence while ignoring the conditions that lead to Negro violence and while ignoring, as well, the essential violence of the American spirit. A response of this nature implies clearly that in the eyes of the majority of the society, Negroes are the villains rather than the victims, by and large, of American race tensions. It is a response, in other words, that rejects a belief both in the Negro's humanity and in his rights of equal citizenship. It denies white American complicity in the degrading conditions in which Negroes live, and it implies an unwillingness to join in any meaningful attack upon these problems.

Of course, particularly when criticizing the role of the national government in all of this, no one as closely associated with civil rights activities as I have been can ignore the fact that especially over the last six or seven years the executive branch of the federal government has moved with vigor and concern against some of the historic roadblocks to Negro freedom.

Yet, as commendable as have been the efforts of President John F. Kennedy and those of President Johnson (before he gave highest priority to the problems of the Vietnamese), no assault has yet been made on the economic problems of Negro life massive enough to make a crucial difference. Not a small part of the reason for this is that, in the area of domestic social legislation, there has been a gap between the will of the Chief Executive and the will of the Congress.

America itself has been lucky in the insistency of the Negro's assault upon racial prejudice and tension. This assault, from Reconstruction to the present time, has been enormously more beneficial to America than to the Negro himself.

Especially since the turn of the century, the Negro, in constant and often lonely political motion, has kept American democracy alert and flexible. By his challenge of racial codes throughout the country, segregated education and public facilities, and Jim Crow voting practices, etc., the Negro has not only kept our democracy from settling down into smugness and atrophying into racist and other kinds of reaction, but has also given it another chance to realize itself more justly in the lives of its citizens and more attractively in the eyes of the world.

But that is not all. The Negro struggle awakened and energized a whole new generation of American students, creating in them a new sense of idealism, a new awareness of their relationship to the politics of their time, and a new concern for the state of their republic. These young people threw themselves vigorously into the civil rights struggle in the North and in the South, helped abolish the last vestiges of McCarthyism on the American campus, strengthened the peace movement, and brought critical intelligence to bear on the conduct of American foreign policy.

Our struggle went on to revitalize the American liberal conscience, providing it with a resonant domestic issue at a time when foreign policy seemed to offer it the only meaningful arena for the expression of its civilized concerns. The renewed concern with the problems of poverty was a direct result of the sustained Negro drive for a decent life, and therefore the war on poverty, for blacks and for whites, as inadequate as it is, must be counted as one of the genuine contributions of the Negro struggle to the broader American social revolution.

By no means least, the Negro struggle exposed a variety of political and racial bigotries which for a long time had remained hidden behind the facade of our pious democratic rhetoric. By showing them up, the Negro movement left no doubt as to which of our groupings were working firmly within the tradition of democratic principles, and which of them were simply exploiting, for their own dark designs, the protection offered by these principles.

As we must see, many of these efforts deeply affected and, in some respects, even changed the face of American life. But much of the good that America derived from the black struggle has not been translated proportionately in Negro life, particularly the lives of those Negroes left out of the civil rights gains, those left in the slums of our big cities, those stranded without money and without food in the rural areas, and those left behind by the technological and automotive revolution. Even now, while the country is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars a day for each Viet Cong killed, it is spending no more than $50 a year per person in the war on poverty.

So the stark conditions of the Negro underclass remain virtually unchanged. Unemployment among Negro teen-agers is triple that of whites; unemployment among Negro adults is double that of whites; the median income gap between Negro and white has widened; there are more Negroes in segregated classrooms now than there were before 1954; the slums have grown more intolerable, and show no immediate signs of improving.

All of this increases the tensions in American life. Indeed, it is scarcely surprising that today more and more young Negroes in the urban underclass are becoming convinced that a violent confrontation with white society is both necessary and inevitable. After doing more in recent years than any other native American group to make American democracy realize itself, many young Negroes are now on the verge of losing all faith in democracy.

Current circumstances present a challenge to the growth of a courageous national leadership and the development of a national will dedicated to the eradication of the conditions that threaten to tear society apart. The development of this leadership and this will depends upon a number of things. But chiefly it depends on the understanding and acceptance of the uses of social planning and that there is nothing necessarily un-American in such planning.

Our society as its exists today is profoundly insecure, for whites as well as for blacks, and there will be no exit for any of us until we voluntarily confront the fact of its existence and develop out of that confrontation a consensus of will and determination to create a mutual security for all. It is not as difficult a job as it might seem. It requires only the courage to concede each man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT: *Not* SICKNESS BUT SPIRITUAL HEALTH

(By Rev. James J. Kavanaugh, author of "A Modern Priest Looks at His Outdated Church")

NEW YORK.—Shortsighted and frightened men equate revolution of any kind with death and destruction. Political revolution means to them the destruction of society. Religious revolution means the death of God. Hence, they resist the change they fear to interpret.

Hardly a half century ago, my church was still resisting political democracy because it believed that man was too passionate and ignorant to govern himself. It longed for the days of the kings and nobles and treasured its own aristocratic status. It opposed modern thought, refused scholars the right to speculate, and enforced its infallibility when science was questioning everything that man had ever believed. It was fighting a losing battle, and the modern revolt within the churches is the last chapter in the struggle of man to preserve his dignity.

For such a man, religious arrogance is dead, be it Catholic, Protestant or Jewish. The modern Jew will not treat the gentile with the disdain of his parents. He will not be satisfied with kosher laws or religious festivals which only highlight his own isolation. Nor will the Protestant accept a faith without loving deeds, or identify morality with antigambling laws or smug, cultural preferences. And the Catholic, perhaps most of all, will resist the institutional church which has crammed the complexities of marriage and divorce, sex and love, heaven and hell into fierce and unyielding laws.

The frightened and conservative critic of such change seems to have a good case when he condemns the rebellious spirit of America. A prominent senator can shout of a "sick society"; an American bishop of television fame can call this "an age of assassins." But these are tired men, who cannot hear the rhythm of history. They are frightened men who can only stand on the sidelines of life and curse man's bid for freedom and peace.

Yet, when such men speak, a few will listen and be afraid. They hear these men talk of the violence of the racial struggle and the mob rule in the slums of Newark and Detroit. They hear their protests about the indifference and selfishness of modern youth who refuse to fight in Vietnam. They hear their criticism of sexual freedom and a diluted morality which makes each man his own god. They sneer of hippies, lear at love-ins, and boast of an America which once had fiber and a responsible sense of sin.

They speak of a dying country which never lost a war, never feared an oppressor, which welcomed the immigrant and gave him a job, which built churches and fought iniquity, which gave youth an unparalleled opportunity for education and made of the slum dweller a company president.

They love America and point to the struggles of their own youth as evidence of its former spirit. They decry the materialism which has made today's youth fat and cynical. They praise the formulas which they themselves devised, formulas which promised to make of every man a patriot, a moral person, a loyal and affectionate son. They detest experiments, mock vague and uncertain ideas reject the pacifics and the rebel, and they cite the gross national product as evidence of God's blessing.

Such proud and simplistic men are out of touch. They are the talkers and debaters who have promised the Negro freedom for a hundred years and wonder why he riots. They are the legislators and political experts who did not grow in wisdom or understanding between Korea and Vietnam. They are the bishops and pastors and rabbis who could forbid marriages, describe hell and the character of its occupants, invade bedrooms and smother youth with permanent sexual guilt, preach inanities and irrelevance and be paid for their services, and distort the simplicity of the Scriptures with their own historical bigotry.

They do not understand a Bishop Pike or a Malcolm Boyd who try to save the institutional church from history's ash can. They condemn a Dick Gregory or a Stokely Carmichael who have been choked with cheap words and trite promises. They scorn the hippies, the college protests, the existential thought which is weary of stale ideas and pompous compromises. They do not even recognize the depth of the revolution that is sweeping through the world.

A former generation would have listened to its leaders when they asked for patience and gentle forbearance. This generation has no time. It is not impressed with a Supreme Court decision about the Negro which a Southern sheriff or a Northern mayor can disregard. It is not moved by a Vatican Council which pontificates about world problems and does nothing significant when the council ends.

A former generation did not believe in the power of the courageous few against the establishment. But this generation is rash enough to believe that it can bring about peace and justice and religious liberty without another century of debate. It will stand against Popes, take on Presidents and disappoint parents. It will organize marches, refuse to fight wars, reject impersonal education, scorn dead marriages, ignore formalized religion, abandon traditional superstitions, and search for meaning and honesty at any cost.

I love the condition of the American spirit. It frees me to be myself. It exhilarates me with its style and concern and openness of mind. It prods me to stay alive, to learn, to get involved in life. It encourages me to enlarge the boundaries of my mind, to expand the borders of my love. It sparks my faith and kindles my hope.

It is young rash, exciting, humble, outspoken and tolerant of anything but the stuffy arrogance of the frightened past. It demands that life mean something more than material comfort and an annual raise in pay. It wants more than social security and a vacation in Bermuda. It will not tolerate the torpor of a dull and well-dressed crowd. It despises empty conversation, superficial friendships and artificial enthusiasm. It is earthy, passionate, warm, curious, alive. Nor can such a spirit die. It has only begun to live.

It will make of churches and temples more than clubs to perpetuate bigotry and self-righteousness. Or it will continue to abandon them and make them mausoleums. It will not tolerate the narrowness which reduces God to the man-made traditions of an archaic sect. It will demand meaning from life, and in such a demand will not fear pain, or failure, or social scorn.

Such a spirit will enjoy the benefits of an affluent society without forgetting the poor. It will drift away from the establishment to seek the secret of life. It will search for new ways to communicate and make friends. It will spot the stuffiness of middle-class boredom, avoid the cultural symbols which offer no relief from emptiness of spirit, and resist the pompous platitudes which masquerade for religious faith.

Such a spirit is clearly evident in the growing transformation of modern man. He is more tolerant even as the institutional churches remain rigorous in their resistance to significant change. He was sadly disappointed by Vatican II, but now knows that he can become a free and involved Christian even if Pope and bishops continue to fight battles that are already lost or won. He knows that religious reform will not come from the institution but from himself. He will not wait for the institutions to lead him by the hand; modern man will lead them by the force of his own spirit.

Is such a society "sick"? Is it "sick" not to ask much even as one asks everything? To want a life that means something, to want a chance to love and be loved, to seek forms which assist in the quest to be one's self? This is not sickness, this is the condition of spiritual health. Only the frightened tell such a man of spirit that he has no values, that he makes light of marriage, or exaggerates love.

He has the power of a free man, the strength of a man who answers to no one but to the vital force within himself that binds him to friends and to his God.

He knows that the past cannot be regained, that it must seek the new ways that are able to reach his heart with meaning if not with eloquence. He is the spirit of America, the spirit of the world, the spirit of the church. Only the requiem and burial of the institution remains. Then the future is his, and I am glad.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT: THE YOUNG LACK FAITH IN LEADERS

(By Saul Bellow, prominent author)

NEW YORK.—People are always saying, quoting Lord Acton, that power corrupts. But what if it should also make governments insane?

Our own government is dumping tons of bombs in the jungles and waters of Vietnam. What for? Defense Sec. Robert S. McNamara has testified that such bombing is practically useless, but we go on doing it. President Johnson is asked whether there is a difference of opinion in his administration on this matter. He denies all differences. The President, in other words, asks us to abandon sane standards of judgment. And he and Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) and Speaker John McCormack (Mass.), and Sec. of State Dean Rusk do likewise. They direct us not to ask the President to give a reasonable explanation because that is disloyalty.

And the President is furious with his critics. He is the most powerful man in the United States, the most powerful single individual, therefore, in the world. He is more vulnerable to the diseases of power than anyone else, and as Americans see, or sense, he has caught quite a few of these diseases already.

When, recently, the decision was taken to build a barrier across Vietnam, the White House denied the report. Granted that every government has secrets to keep and that untimely news releases and public discussions can be harmful. But a barrier of many miles can hardly be a secret. Here, as Richard Rovere pointed out in the New Yorker, was a pointless lie. Governments are sometimes obliged to lie. But when they lie unnecessarily, their necessary lies cannot be accepted.

The President's passion for secrecy implies that crucial decisions, and many not so crucial, are none of our business. Such harshness and arrogance in leaders remind us uncomfortably of totalitarianism. America is passing through a considerable crisis of confidence. We are appalled by our own brutality and abandonment of principle in Vietnam, and scared and shaken by the riots and the failure of public order. The President's blunder and his refusal to give convincing reasons for his policies, his toughness with his subordinates and his meekness with the generals, aggravate the crisis and increase the disorder.

Americans have a way of seceding when conditions displease them—an old Southern custom. When they do not secede publicly they do it internally, subjectively. The early settlers were separatists, and separation is still an important American phenomenon. Under certain pressures, when people feel they are being conned, snowed, had, put on or bamboozled, they abstract or remove themselves. They light out for the territory ahead, like Huck Finn, or become sages at Walden (a rare reaction today) or take pot or LSD.

Bureaucratic pressures, phony slogans and great campaigns to obtain their consent or obedience cause internal dissent. Universal education has not achieved great results, but it has at least promoted a critical consciousness in people.

Now in a crisis of confidence, when even U.S. senators like J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) speak of a sick society and borrow phrases like "the empty power system" from utopian radicals like Paul Goodman, the unwillingness of a government to address itself to the critical consciousness of the country is very damaging.

This is not a public-relations or image-making problem. It is a problem of the sanity of power and of its will-to-order. When the government demonstrates no will to create order, it increases the prestige of rebellion and secession.

The older people are baffled. It often appears to them that no generation of children ever had it so good, that neither kings nor millionaires ever enjoyed such nurture; that the solicitous attention these children received had no parallel in any century or class. Up to a point this is true. And precisely because it is true, the demands of the children increase.

In civilized conditions it is often felt to be the height of privilege to be primitive. Often civilization is not considered to be civilization at all, if it does not liberate the instincts and the impulses, and the supreme luxury is to turn into some sort of native, peasant, shepherd, Pacific islander, Hindu beggar or savage.

As Marie Antoinette played with sheep, as Gauguin turned to the South Seas, as Rimbaud went primitive, so the kids of Haight Ashbury require from civilization that produced them the freedom and happiness of primitives.

The primitive, as the guilty civilized imagination conceives him, is naturally right because he has been so greatly wronged. The native, in China or the Southern Hemisphere, was abused by the imperialist as the child was abused by his parents. Child, native, or American Black had religion, culture and civilized order dangled before them. The native with violence, the child by disobedience or passivity, reject this culture. Generations of American children (and numbers of European adults as well) have been sentimentally attached to the Black Man and Redskin, slaves and victims of the brutality of those old guys, the Fathers.

But there is, now, a new and deeper fantasy. This is that a just vengeance is coming. We shall have to meet the rage of the Third World, and our cities will burn. The young often seem to be telling the Third World and the Blacks that they themselves have no part in the crimes of the Fathers. They indicate by their repudiation of the adults that they are not guilty. This explains, perhaps, their attitude toward culture. Fear of retribution may be one cause of secession and by dropping out it may be that the young are entering a plea of not guilty.

Sen. Fulbright expresses sympathy for the hippies. I, too, am sympathic. But many older theoreticians and critics of American capitalism make use of the hippies to indict "the empty power structure," citing it as proof of the decay of the American enterprise. The hippies are assumed to see through the Washington big business power racket and reject the crazy society of their seniors.

But you do not destroy yourself because you think your father a bad man, your mother a fool. Courting dirt because the family was neurotically clean, lying in a trance because Daddy ran to punch the time clock, consenting to a structureless, formless and chaotic inner life, and rejecting all former ideas of order—one cannot make an existence out of such negatives.

Furthermore, these hippie practices are not individual but collective tendencies of the Fathers. Besides, there is no real opposition to what the young are doing.

Joseph Stalin put oppositionists in concentration camps, and we, too, treated them severely in the past. But since the end of the McCarthy era, the country has changed its attitude toward opposition. We now write about our oppositionists, watch them on television, call them to Washington for consultation, go in tourist buses to visit them, sell them costumes, etc. In America, opposition is a stimulus and a source of excitement and profit.

Moreover, the old have a bad conscience, they have not been able to teach the young how to live. Even more significant, perhaps, is the fact that they have not been able to show them how to die. A hedonistic society does not understand death very well. If pleasure is truth and if, as you grow older, you lose your capacity for pleasure, continued existence is futility. A good deal of the youth-theorizing by middle-aged and elderly ideologists expresses precisely such a futility accompanied by self-hatred. And hatred of one's peers as well.

Youth movements are not invariably a good thing. Germany's Hitlerjugend certainly was not. Nor Benito Mussolini's Sons of the Wolf. Nor Stalin's Komsomol. Nor do the young Maoist gangs fill me with confidence and hope.

A sick society? Probably. But most societies are sick, and larger societies are sicker than small ones. In modern times, man has often been defined as the sick animal—"sick," that is, because his brain and his culture are presumed to estrange him from animal nature or disfigure his instincts. And a country which has so many influential psychologists and psychiatrists is bound to have doubts about its sanity.

In my view, the question is not whether the United States is sick. The question is rather whether so great a country, so complex, so numerous, caught up in immense changes, can preserve its democratic traditions—whether so many people can be a free people, and whether so great a power can remain a reasonable power.

The American Spirit: Need To Change Moral Standards

(By Billy Graham ,noted evangelist)

New York.—The 20th Century will undoubtedly go down in history as the century of revolution. Almost every day we read in our newspapers of another revolution somewhere in the world. Many are of a violent nature, indicative of the inner conflicts that beset mankind.

The chronicling of wars, rebellion, crime, rioting and revolutions makes disturbing reading. Daily we are conscious that something is wrong with the human race.

Why, with all our heralded progress in the educational, scientific and philosophical fields, do these old conflicts remain? Why can't we extricate ourselves from the human dilemma? Why are our problems beyond us, and why do the solutions of human ills evade and escape us? Why does the human condition, instead of improving and keeping pace with our technological developments, grow worse instead of better? Why does the world tremble under the threat of a third world war when its peoples should be walking in peace, understanding and prosperity?

These questions furrow the brows of our greatest scientists and philosophers and, because no valid answers are available, have caused a frustration among the world's peoples bordering upon psychotic trauma and illness.

While we are trying to hypnotize ourselves into believing that we have a great society—and in many ways it is great—some of our leaders, like Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), are saying that it is sick. In a sense I agree with the senator.

Why is it that with all our "war on poverty" programs—which, incidentally, I support—there are still millions of poor people in affluent America? Why do ghettos exist in the richest nation in the world? Why is it that with all our talk of national unity we are so divided? Why is it that with all the progress made in civil rights there is racial rioting and bloodshed in our streets? Why is it that with all our "war on crime" that crime is mushrooming until our city streets have been turned into virtual jungles? And why is it that with all the new sex freedom and knowledge we are more frustrated, confused and obsessed with sex than ever?

As Americans we have all the elements for security, but we are insecure. A distinguished Britisher said recently that he visited an American home with three cars in the garage, a gorgeous living room with color television, a kitchen filled with the latest appliances and a beautiful pool with a large patio, but the lady of the house was reading a book entitled "How To Be Happy"!

I believe that the condition of the American spirit is due to our adherence to several illusions. The first is that money and things bring happiness and peace of mind. Materialism without God in America is not much different from materialism without God in a Communist country.

The American dream was the desire to give to every man, regardless of national origin, a place in the sun and an opportunity to live in security and freedom. The miracle of America emerged! Overnight paupers were turned into kings. We became the richest nation in the history of the world. Then something began to happen deep inside of us. We threw our shoulders back and said, in effect: "See what we have done! See the golden calf we have fashioned with our own hands!"

We fell victim to the illusion of the primacy of "things" and drifted from the spiritual genius which made America great.

The second illusion widely held in America is our belief that peace is a cause rather than an effect. We fought World War I, World War II, the Korean war, and are now fighting a strange war in Vietnam, and we were told that each of them was being fought to "preserve the peace." We talk of peace, we march for peace, we support peace efforts in the United Nations, and we attend scores of peace conferences across the world. Still there is no peace.

We have not yet gotten to the root cause of war. The Bible says: "From whence come wars and fighting among you? Come they not hence, even of your own lusts?" (James 4:1).

There will never be peace in the world until individuals have the peace in their hearts. So long as there is greed, lust and hate in the world there will be fighting and war. The achievement of peace is as complicated as the human spirit, and too much time is spent in trying to change the world instead of trying to change the men who make the world what it is.

The third illusion is the belief that man is naturally good. I wish that were true, but unfortunately our news media each day report scores of incidents that indicate that something is basically wrong with man. Jeremiah once said: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: Who can know it?"

Where did we get the idea that man is naturally good? We did not get it from the Greeks. Aristotle said: "There is no good in mankind . . . for man was born to evil."

Neither did we get it from Judaism. Isaiah said: "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way."

The idea that man is good but that circumstances, environment and society have made him the undesirable character he is, is a false illusion. Man is rebellious by nature, and the first rebellion was committed in Paradise—where the environment was perfect!

The fourth illusion is that religion without personal commitment and involvement is enough. I have no quarrel with Karl Marx when he said: "Religion is the opiate of the people." Pseudo-religion has been a cloak to cover many a vile deed and mask the selfish motives of millions.

When I go to a university to address students I never try to defend religion. Some of the bloodiest wars of history have been fought in the name of religion. Prejudice, pride, bickering and even slavery have characterized religious people.

I cannot defend all that has gone on in the name of Christianity. However, I am trying to call people back to a simple Jesus who said "Love your neighbor as yourself." This is why Arnold Toynbee believed that "the outlook for the West would be up-promising if there were to be no genuine religious revival."

I do not contend for mere religious revival, for religion per se. I do call for a renewal of a vital personal faith that we will get at the root of our problems by changing the men who cause our problems.

I am convinced that many of our leaders and much of our news media are unaware that there is already going on at this moment in America a "quiet revolution," and it could reverse many of the disturbing trends in our society. As I travel from coast to coast I find that thousands are searching for peace of mind, a reason for living, and personal relationships with God.

Thousands of prayer groups and Bible study groups are springing up from coast to coast. In many of these groups Jews, Catholics and Protestants are meeting together in their desperate search for life's true meaning.

Yes, there is a quiet revolution going on, and anyone reading these words is a candidate for this revolution. Most of us face problems that are beyond us. The state of the world, the threat of war, the boredom, the purposelessness of living in an affluent society where the challenge has been removed, has taken all the zing out of life for millions.

Personally, I have found the Bible to be the most exciting textbook for living in the world and for curing the pitiful condition of modern America's spirit. Why? Because it works! It says: "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature," and I have found that to be true.

World problems are an extension of our individual problems. Look at the world and you see yourself with all the fear, meaningless, hatred and self-centeredness, but that world cannot be changed as long you you remain as you are. Lasting revolution and lasting change do not take place en masse, but one by one, as the people's motives, aspirations and attitudes are changed.

The need is for revolution—the need is for drastic change—and only God, in Christ, can remake us into the people we ought to be. This is the revolution we need. If we do not have this revolution then I predict that the American dream will not survive.

The American Spirit: Where Society's Sickness Resides

(By Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.)

New York.—What is a sick society? "I do not know," wrote Burke, "the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people."

An individual can be sick; that is, he can prefer his own delusions to what others regard as reality. But can an entire society be sick? Was the Soviet Union sick in the time of the great purges? We know now that Joseph Stalin was sick; but we know too that many Russians were his victims, not his fellow lunatics. Perhaps the only instance in modern history of a truly sick society was Nazi Germany, when Hitler, communicating his own paranoia to his people, infected and corrupted a nation.

Those who claim American society is sick today instance riots, civil disobedience, drugs, the disaffection of the young, the heresy of the intellectuals.

Let us keep perspective on these matters. Our theory seems to be that America has always been, until the hippies came along, a virtuous, noble, law-abiding country. But our history has been, in fact, one of strain, tension and violence.

Those who affect deep gloom about the future of the nation when a few kids try to break into the Pentagon forget the draft riots in New York in 1863, when 50,000 people took to the streets in four days of rioting, when at least 1,500 were killed—more than in the Mexican War—and when the property damage went into millions of dollars.

Those who bemoan the contemporary crime rate forget that a century ago a tenth of the population of New York City had police records. Those who denounce the Negroes for violence forget that five of the 12 Presidents we have had in this century were targets of assassination attempts—by white men.

Those who fall into paroxysms of horror over civil disobedience forget the long American tradition of defiance of the law, from Henry Thoreau on the one hand to the vigilantes and the lynch mobs on the other.

Of course, we are in a time of tension in our country today. Of course, our cities are a mess. Of course, the fellow citizens to whom we have cruelly denied constitutional rights for a hundred years and human rights for centuries are at last demanding what their citizenship had so long theoretically guaranteed them. Of course, the young are angry. Of course, the intellectuals are critical. This is true today and, thank heaven, it has been largely true throughout our history.

The sickness of American society, in short, does not reside in the existence of problems. Nor does it reside in the existence of discontent, ferment and rebelliousness: this traditionally has been the health of our society. Our sickness resides rather in our incapacity to deal effectively with our problems—an incapacity which has begun to suffuse our nation with an ominous sense of impotence.

That incapacity is not, I think, the expression of some irremediable corruption in the American system. It is rather, at bottom, a response to the size and complexity of the institutions and issues of our society. The individual feels dwarfed and dominated by the towering bureaucracies in which he spends his life; he feels baffled by the technical intricacy of the problems which assail him; he feels helpless; he begins to conclude he cannot cope. When millions feel they cannot cope, society itself becomes sick.

Yet, in spite of this sense of impotence, we have been steadily moving as a nation from the days of Theodore Roosevelt to meet the problems of our national community—not fast enough to abolish injustice, but just about fast enough to preserve social stability.

President Johnson's Great Society was only the latest in a series of efforts to make life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for all Americans. If the talent, passion and resources of our government had been devoted in the last thousand days to the achievement of the Great Society, I doubt whether people would be talking about a "sick society" now. We would not have fully attained the Great Society—we never will—but we would have given the nation a sense of movement and of purpose, a sense of being able to cope with its problems.

Instead, we have abandoned the Great Society. The very phrase has been banned at the White House.

For our government has decided to place a low priority on the effort to cope with American problems. And it has done so, not out of personal wickedness nor as the ineluctable consequence of the dynamics of a capitalist economy, but because of a single unnecessary and ghastly folloy, undertaken for high and conscientious reasons—the decision to persist in widening the war in Vietnam. The Vietnam war has turned into an obsession with our leaders. Everything else is sacrified to it.

The trouble is not that Vietnam is a war. This country has fought wars before. And it has subordinated domestic reform to the requirements of war before too; we did this in 1917 and again in 1941. But we did it then because our people believed in the wars. The trouble today is that Vietnam is an unintelligible war. It is that few people really think that the future of America is going to be determined by a local conflict on the mainland of Asia—and few are convinced by the administration's insistence that Hanoi and the Viet Cong are the obedient instrumentalities of a Chinese plan of aggression.

The war in Vietnam has had two signal consequences: one material, the other spiritual. The material consequence is that, when we spend $30 billion a year in killing Vietnamese, we do not feel we can spend a fraction of that amount to meet our own problems. The other, and the more significant, is a loss of faith in the rationality and responsibility of our leaders.

The older generation wonders why their children defect from American society. The answer is plain and self-evident: The young look at authority in our land and find nothing—no person, no policy—to believe in. Our leaders make no sense to them. They seem absurd. And, because they use their authority to kill people, they seem evil.

We do not yet have a sick society. America as a nation is responding strongly and eagerly to the social realities of our time. But we do, I think, have a sick government—a government so enveloped in its own fantasies that it has lost its sense of proportion and priority.

One cannot condemn this administration for the involvement in Vietnam; President Johnson inherited involvement as a result of the mistakes and misconceptions of preceding administrations.

But we have been pursuing the escalation policy for nearly three years.

Are we nearer to winning the war? to establishing a healthy society on South Vietnam? to persuading the Vietnamese on our side to work and fight with a hundredth of the zeal and dedication of the Vietnamese who are against us? to winning world confidence in American purpose and world support for American action? Are we not rather more deeply and hopelessly mired in the quicksand?

"It is common sense to take a method and try it," Franklin Roosevelt once said. "If it fails, admit it frankly and try another."

Americans are a pragmatic people. We believe in the process of trial and error, of experimentation. But we also believe in heeding the results of experiment. Health is the recognition of reality; sickness is the rejection of reality—the persistence in fantasy at the expense of everything else.

A man is sick when he thinks, contrary to evidence, that he is a great success, or when he believes that everyone is plotting against him. Such a man has withdrawn from reality. A government is sick when, contrary to evidence, it continues to insist, year after year, often in the same words, that it has turned the corner to victory, or when it begins to ascribe principled dissent to subversive conspiracy.

Vietnam is not the cause of the "sickness" in our society. But Vietnam has made it impossible for our society to deal with the sources of this sickness. There is no sickness in our land today which is rational sense of priorities, a rational attention to real problems, could not cure. And, in meeting real problems, as long ago on assuming the Presidency Lyndon Johnson promised to do, our nation would generate a sense of purpose, belief and exaltation which could still make this one of the exciting and creative eras of our history.

Social Security Amendments of 1967—Conference Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to comment on the conference report on the Social Security Amendments of 1967, H.R. 12080.

As I pointed out last August, I have always been a strong supporter of the extension and improvement of our social security program in order to provide financial security and medical care for our older citizens.

I voted for the conference report on the social security amendments because I feel an increase in benefits is essential and long overdue. I regret the increase was not larger, particularly for those receiving the smallest payments, since it is obvious no one can live on $55 a month. However, I do believe this legislation will provide a chance for many of our senior citizens to more than catch up with increases in the cost-of-living which have taken place since the last social security increase in 1965 and I will continue to work for further liberalization of our social security system in the future.

I am greatly disturbed that the restrictive welfare provisions approved by the House last summer have been only slightly modified by the conference committee. I was quite disappointed that the conferees recommended a freeze on the proportion of children in each State who could qualify for federally supported aid-to-dependent children payments. This and the section encouraging State and local welfare agencies to pressure mothers of dependent children to leave home and to go work are really antiwelfare provisions.

Although these provisions constitute a misguided effort to reduce illegitimacy and cut welfare costs, their real effect will be to penalize innocent children and contribute to a further breadown in the family life of those on welfare.

Unfortunately, this conference report came before the House and Senate so late in this session of Congress that it is impossible to seek a change in the antiwelfare provision without jeopardizing the social security benefits increase and, consequently, I felt it necessary to support this measure.

Operation Serviceman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, in Vietnam, many young men lie wounded, injured, or sick in the Army hospitals or on board the Navy hospital ships.

Since October 1966, thousands of gift packages have been mailed by citizens of our neighborhood to these young men of America.

A package should contain candy, gum, smokes, cool drink powder, and other like items that would be enjoyed by a teenager lying in a hospital half way around the world. This would support, and be appreciated by, our men in Vietnam. I submit the following addresses:

Any Patient, c/o The Chaplain,
Naval Hospital Ship Repose, FPO 96601.
2nd Surgical Hospital, APO 96490.
7th Surgical Hospital, APO 96225.

45th Surgical Hospital, APO 96256.
3rd Field Hospital, APO 96307.
8th Field Hospital, APO 96240.
3rd Surgical Hospital, APO 96227.
18th Surgical Hospital, APO 96318.
6th Medical Center, APO 96312.
17th Field Hospital, APO 96243.
12th Evacuation Hospital, APO 96225.
24th Evacuation Hospital, APO 96491.
36th Evacuation Hospital, APO 96261.
67th Evacuation Hospital, APO 96238.
85th Evacuation Hospital, APO 96238.
71st Evacuation Hospital, APO 96318.
91st Evacuation Hospital, APO 96316.
93rd Evacuation Hospital, APO 96491.

All these addresses are "care of Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif."

A package should not exceed 1 pound. It should be mailed straight parcel post. It would be delivered by air mail. It should contain items a teenager lying in a hospital bed half way around the world, hurt, discouraged and lonely, would appreciate. The contents should be dirtproof, moistureproof, and rodentproof.

This would show your support of our men in combat in Vietnam.

Remember these thousands of hospital beds are filled everyday of the year. Thousands are wounded every month. Could you mail at least one gift per month. Please remember to put your name and address on the package.

National American Legion Commander Galbraith Charts Blueprint for Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, one of the first assignments undertaken by the new commander of the American Legion, William E. Galbraith, of Beemer, Nebr., was a visit to Vietnam.

In an article prepared for the January issue of the American Legion magazine, Commander Galbraith reports on some of his observations resulting from that trip which included a number of other strategic areas of the world.

Because of its perception of the fact that what we—and the Communists—do in Vietnam today will have a critical bearing on what happens to Southeast Asia tomorrow, I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Galbraith's thoughtful message printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BLUEPRINT FOR VIETNAM TOMORROW

(By National Commander William E. Galbraith)

One of the profoundest differences between the critics and the supporters of our government's policies in Vietnam hit me forcefully when I visited South Vietnam late last September.

President Johnson is acutely aware that *time* exists. What happens today in Vietnam is important for *tomorrow*. Today's events are an enormous trial for our country and Vietnam, but they do not happen for their own sake. They bear on the future.

This is the whole frame of reference of the President's position, of Robert McNamara's position during his tenure as Secretary of Defense, of Dean Rusk's position as Secretary of State.

It is not a surprising position. Leaders are supposed to weigh today's policies in terms of what they will-continue to mean to their people and to others in the future. As Lincoln said, they can only see the right as God gives them to see the right. But it is up to man, not God, to assume the responsibility to *consider* tomorrow. The effort must be made.

The President's critics are remarkable for their dismissal of tomorrow entirely. Time does not exist. There is only now. We can escape the pain of the Vietnam conflict today by stopping what we are doing now. Not a word of what might then happen, nor, apparently, a care.

This "devil take tomorrow" attitude—intent on escape from a trial—has seemed too plausible to too many people for too long simply to dismiss it out of hand as "wrong thinking." Why has it seemed plausible to so many of us to look at *any* question in in terms that don't attempt to see beyond sundown today?

Being in Vietnam brought me up short. On all sides I was surprised to see a nation with an enormous future. I realized then what it was that had seemed plausible about just walking away. From a distance I had heard that Vietnam was a place without a future. It was a "worthless, miserable place," full of "corrupt people" who haven't "changed their ways in 2,000 years." It was "all jungle, mud and monsoons." We could dismiss its future because it "doesn't have a future."

The first thing that surprised me in Vietnam was the "worthless mountain jungles" of the Central Highlands. Here were enormous gently rolling grasslands, ideal to support great herds of beef cattle (probably of some Brahma strain) now supporting a few scrawny creatures. Some of the grasslands were so high that it was downright cool at night. They stretched from Pleiku, in the central west, all the way up the narrow neck to the so-called Demilitarized Zone. Jungle mountains were there, for sure, but between them such stretches of unused grazing land as to make a cattleman's mouth water.

The next surprise was the coastline. I knew the southern Mekong Delta was a great rice bowl, but the whole narrow coastal lowlands to the North Vietnamese border is a thin, rich "rice line." Only the lack of roads and seaports has prevented the fertile farming of the coast from reaching inland, to produce far more.

Seen through a farmer's eyes, South Vietnam's past is a shambles compared to what its future could be, let it only continue the program which the United States had underway there in the 1950's—until the enemy set out to cut its throat. But of course the enemy knows the land well, and would scarcely contest every inch if it were worthless in peace as it is difficult in war.

This rich area has the potentiality to feed 60% of Asia, an incredible fact. Its future is immeasurable. Its resources, properly developed, could expand for a century. To Mao Tse-tung in China, Vietnam's future is the great prize to cement his power over a Chinese people who are hard to subject to Communist discipline when hungry.

My next surprise was the "hopeless people." At Pleiku, I saw Filipinos teaching metalworking and settled farming to more than 500 young Montagnard boys and girls. These are the mountain tribes, nomad farmers, presumably the most "backward" of all. They were as receptive as any youngsters I've ever seen. They took to new skills with aptness and pride. A new world opened up to them as they learned to make forges of baked clay; to convert old auto frames to chisels, hammers and other tools, and to farm staple crops in one place instead of moving on as they exhausted the soil, in the manner of their forebears.

I have been both a teacher and a farmer. Can you wonder that with such things before my eyes, Vietnam's future is the whole thing, while its sorry past and present are what cry out to be erased?

It is a rich land, ripe for development, inhabited by a people with the native talent to develop it. They need only the things my own ancestors needed in Nebraska a century ago—security from roving "Indians" (Viet Cong in this case), roads and seaports to market; schooling in the arts and letters; peace in which to work; necessities such as sewage and clean water; the tools of modern farming, and the skills step by step and one at a time, by which they can climb the ladder from primitive to modern agriculture.

In Vietnam today, as for years, these things have made up the blueprint of the joint U.S.-South Vietnam program for tomorrow. But spread across that blueprint are the blood red marks of the Viet Cong and North Vietnam, assassinating the leaders, intimidating the people, burning the schools, kidnapping the teachers, mining the roads to market. The blueprint and the blood on it each offer a different tomorrow. Our choice is between them.

Christmas in Athenia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I was honored to speak at the annual Christmas dinner of the Athenian-Nile Club, of Oakland, Calif., on the evening of December 13. I ask unanimous consent that a partial text of my remarks be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the partial text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

President Arthur Breed, Jr., and members of the Athenian-Nile Club, I am highly honored to be a guest at this Annual Christmas Dinner of the Athenian-Nile Club. Some of your members I have known well and intimately for a long period of time, and I deeply cherish their friendship, and I am most happy to see them here.

This is not the first time that I have been privileged to attend your Annual Christmas Dinner Party. I was last here at your invitation in 1939. I think it reasonable to say, therefore, that surely, I am not wearing out my welcome. To spend a delightful and stimulating evening with friends once every thirty years should not be considered excessive incursion on their time. I should like to hope that I might be invited back again, perhaps, at a somewhat accelerated rate. At the present one, it would be in 1997 before I could hope for another invitation, and that might be a little too far off for some of us to make any definite plans.

Tonight's celebration certainly is not totally dissimilar from that happy one of almost 30 years ago. Everyone was full of good spirits then, as all of us are tonight. The spirit of Christmas surely must pervade each of these pleasant friendly evenings, and to that extent all of them must be somewhat alike.

I remember the occasion when the late, great President John F. Kennedy came back to the United States Capitol one afternoon for a meeting with some Senators. Before returning to the White House he wanted to see his old stomping grounds so he quietly opened one of the doors to the Senate Chamber to see what was going on. A filibuster was taking place. One Senator was filibustering. One single Senator on the other side of the aisle, bored beyond belief, sat in his seat. The only other Senator in the chamber was seated in the presiding officer's chair. "Just like when I left it the last time" the late President chuckled, as he walked away. And so I may truthfully say that this happy occasion reminds me of that happy evening, long years ago, when I attended your Christmas dinner of 1939.

Thirty years ago our state was far different. We had a population of 6 million. Today we are first in the nation with 20 million. In 30 more years, 50 million people will call California their home. And, we are told, though I'm not prepared to believe it, if the present fantastic population growth rate of our state continues, our California population will be 1 billion 500 million people a century hence.

Thirty years ago our gross product in this state was $7 billion a year. Today it is $88 billion. We produce more than any state in the nation and any country in the world except for: Japan, France, the United Kingdom, West Germany and our own United States. In 1939, we had 20 members of the House of Representatives. Today we are almost doubled to 38. And before this century will have terminated our Congressional delegation will be on the order of 60 to 70.

All in all we were relatively carefree and happy 30 years ago. Those were relatively halcyon, untroubled days before the impending furies of a world-engulfing storm were to break suddenly over almost all the world. We, most of us, almost turned our backs on the ugly, eery signs from across the seas. We were all younger, and life was far less complicated. There were no laser beams, no transistors, no supersonic aircraft, no nuclear power and no television to contend with. We were on the mend from the terrible economic depression of a decade earlier.

Our country was relatively isolated and we wanted it to remain so. Europe and Asia seemed a long ways away. "Stay out of Europe's troubles," many leading Americans were saying to the rest of us, and the words of General Washington in his Farewell Address of 1796 were repeated to prove the correctness of their position. To many of us, Corporal Hitler sometimes seemed almost comical, rather than the repository of the world's most virulent hatred, and Mussolini looked like a phony. Japanese aggression against Manchuria seemed far away. Still, some Americans were beginning to worry about what it might all mean to our own.

That night long years ago when I was last the guest of this club, I spoke of the most meaningful story in all recorded history which, for Christians, points to the gateway for man's salvation. The birth anniversary of the Prince of Peace was drawing near. Our hearts were full. It was a good time to voice the ageless prayer of peace on earth, good will to all men. I spoke of good and evil, of an apparently constant conflict between the two. Evil of every kind has dogged man's feeble atempts to improve in every generation. Good has usually, but not always, triumphed. I recently read something on this general subject in "East of Eden," by John Steinbeck:

"I believe that there is one story in the world, and only one, that has frightened and inspired us, so that we live in a Pearl White serial of continuing thought and wonder. Humans are caught—in their lives, in their thoughts, in their hungers and ambitions, in their avarice and cruelty, and in their kindness and generosity too—in a net of good and evil. I think this is the only story we have and that it occurs on all levels of feeling and intelligence. Virtue and vice were warp and woof of our first consciousness, and they will be the fabric of our last, and this despite any changes we may impose on field and river and mountain, on ecenomy and manners. There is no other story. A man, after he has brushed off the dust and chips of his life, will have left only the hard, clean question: Was it good or was it evil? Have I done well—or ill?"

For me, and perhaps for all of you, this evening's celebration just about marks the opening of the feast and the festival of Christmas. We approach the birthday of the Prince of Peace with a reawakened interest in his teachings. They are an eternal symbol of light for the darkness man must ever face. They comprise the gospel for the Christian. Beyond that, they are respected and venerated by those of every faith as the pathway by which good may triumph over evil. And so the light of Christmas has now shown for almost 2000 years.

Gentlemen, progress has been made since the star in the east guided the wise men to Bethlehem, but it has been far greater in the fields of new physical discovery and scientific achievement than in virtue or in any vast increase in the goodness of man. Many secrets have been unraveled by the scientific community, and many strange, sometimes foreboding doors of nature have been unlocked by them. And the processes of physical discovery and scientific development have moved at a far more rapid pace in the last few generations. I have no doubt that we are on the verge of more startling discoveries in the physical sciences. And, like most of those which have come in the past, they are available for purposes, either good or bad, depending on the choice of him who controls them. It has always been comforting to me to know that nuclear energy, which in evil hands could obliterate the whole world and all its people, can be and is being used for good purposes, to cure cancer, to make waters of the sea sweet and potable, and to produce vast quantities of electricity. Thus, while it can be used for evil, it is being used for good.

But to effect good, to accomplish it, requires a certain amount of wisdom and moral courage, and a recognition of the evil which needs to be challenged. Each of us, and our country, share many burdens. There are some in our society who would like to cast the weight of their burdens aside, and live in some kind of a dream world, turning their backs on reality, and refusing to recognize that there still is evil on this globe and that wickedness, lust for power, and hatred motivate some in this world who may be possessed of great power.

Good still needs to be on guard. We cannot throw our burdens away. We cannot live unto ourselves alone. In this shrunken and shrinking planet, we canot isolate ourselves from the problems which plague and torment mankind, nor can we ignore evil in the human race.

Do you remember "A Christmas Carol," of Dickens? Through the fastened door of Ebeneezer Scrooge's gloomy suite of rooms, there suddenly appeared the ghost of his late partner, Jacob Marley, chained by the cash boxes, the deeds, and heavy purses wrought of steel, like those in the counting-house when they were in business together. "It is required of every man," said the Ghost to a terrified Scrooge," that the spirit within him should walk abroad among his fellowmen, and travel far and wide; and if that spirit does not go forth in life, it is condemned to do so after death." "But you were always a good man of business, Jacob," faltered Scrooge, who now began to apply this to himself.

"Business!" cried the Ghost, wringing its hands again. "Mankind was my business. The common welfare was my business; charity, mercy, forbearance, and benevolence, were, all, my business. The dealings of my trade were but a drop of water in the comprehensive ocean of my business!"

Gentlemen, Marley's ghost put the matter in the proper perspective for Scrooge, and for us. Mankind—and the common welfare—are the business, the pre-eminently important business, of each of us, and of our beloved country, and this happy holiday season is the best time, and the most happy time, to view the whole ocean, rather than the single drop of water we occupy.

Merry Christmas, everyone.

Letter From Milwaukee Illustrates Need for Guaranteed Employment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter which vividly and touchingly portrays the difficulties which result from the lack of adequate supervision of youngsters during their lunch period at a Milwaukee school.

At first sight this would seem a problem of interest to the Milwaukee school authorities only. They could assign teachers additional supervisory responsibilities during the lunch period. But too much of our teachers' time and energy is already taken up nonteaching duties. They could hire lay supervisors. But Milwaukee, in common with most school districts, is short of funds for such personnel.

This situation, in fact, cries out for action by Congress to pass legislation such as H.R. 12280, this bill would provide a million new jobs a year ago so that those who are unemployed and underemployed could contribute to the functioning of society as teachers' aides, as assistants in urban development and redevelopment, as hospital aides, and in conservation and recreation projects.

Under this program there would be grants to help Federal, State, local, and private nonprofit agencies bear the cost of providing the jobs which could, in the instance presented by the letter, make school more beneficial and pleasant for children who want and need to learn.

Mr. Speaker, I include the letter:

DECEMBER 7, 1967.

DEAR UNCLE SAM: Please help me.

Please help my sisters, my brothers and my friends. We all go to an inner city school.

Uncle Sam, you let us eat lunch at school, but you do not help us after we eat.

I get pushed down.
My hand is cut.
My sister's eye is cut.
My friend is scratched in his face.
My brothers are too little to fight.
Please help us, Uncle Sam.

Your friend,

JIMMY.

P.S.—

DEAR UNCLE SAM: Are you still listening? I am Jimmy's teacher and I need help, too.

According to the Milwaukee paper of last night, Thursday, December 7, 1967, the citizens want "a voice in spending the $5.75 million allocated by the legislature for special programs for schools and other inner core problems."

You have given us a special program, Uncle Sam. You have given us the federally subsidized lunch programs but this is only one half an answer.

Elementary school lunch periods are an hour or an hour and a quarter long. Lunch takes half an hour. Who is to supervise the children after lunch?

Please give us the other half of the answer.

Help us get more paid lay supervisory help for lunch rooms and playgrounds. One or two or three persons cannot do the job for three, four or five hundred children who stay to eat lunch at our schools.

Our noon hour is a breeding time for rowdyism, fighting and personal danger to the children. Maybe you can send a few reporters to our school to see the extent of our problem. Have them bring a movie camera and catch the children sneaking around corners in the building, dodging past doorways, running through corridors, hitting, beating, hurting each other until, and even after, the bell rings for entry into school. (Of course, going through the school doors does not magically make angels out of the children but that's another long story.)

But, Uncle Sam, did you know, or do you know what your lunch program has produced? I hope this letter has given you some idea. Maybe you can see our plight. Maybe you can write a note to our citizens.

By helping us solve this problem you will really be solving a problem you helped create.

Hoping this isn't asking too much, I remain,

As ever,

JIMMY'S TEACHER.

Legislative Assessment of the First Session of the 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, my December newsletter contains an evaluation of the successes and failures of the first session of the 90th Congress. In it I have drawn attention to the marked contrast in the accomplishments of this session and those of the 89th Congress. I have pointed out that what successes there have been, have involved the continuation of programs rather than the carrying forward of new ideas.

My newsletter also carries a photograph of Sgt. David A. Verheyn, of Lenoxdale, in the First District of Massachusetts, receiving the Nation's second highest combat award, the Navy Cross. Sgt. Verheyn is one of 12,000 boys from Massachusetts who are now serving in Vietnam. He is shown receiving the decoration from Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY in the presence of General Westmoreland.

My newsletter has also given me an opportunity to state my pleasure in recently having the privilege of welcoming as a guest of western Massachusetts, our Nation's First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. Mrs. Johnson received an honorary degree from Williams College in recognition of her outstanding efforts on behalf of beautification and conservation of our natural resources. The photograph of Mrs. Johnson carried in the newsletter was taken at Williams College where I was able to tell her personally how especially meaningful her programs were to the First Congressional District because of its unparalled natural beauty and scenery.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this newsletter which includes my Christmas letter to the people of the first district at this point in the RECORD.

As we come to the close of the first session of the 90th Congress, we are faced with a remarkable contrast with the events of the 89th Congress. The accomplishments of the 89th Congress were probably as outstanding as any Congress that we have ever had in our history.

An enormous scope of activities were dealt with and landmark legislation was the rule rather than the exception. This year, on the other hand, our legislative accomplishments have been very limited. The major successes furthermore have involved the continuation of programs begun in previous sessions rather than the creation and carrying forward of any new ideas. Thus, after very difficult struggles bills were passed, which I supported, to continue our aid to elementary education and teacher corps programs, as well as our poverty and our foreign assistance programs.

A few new programs were created, which I also supported, including legislation to provide the framework for a public television system, to create much more stringent air pollution controls and to provide much stiffer meat inspection regulations. But the plain hard facts are that this Congress to date has just not even approached the standard of excellence established by the 89th Congress.

I would like to point out, however, that there is a very clear reason why this has occurred. It is also the reason why we have not been able to properly fund and implement so many of our recently established programs.

The reason is the war in Vietnam.

This war has affected just about everything that has gone on in Washington this year. It has been the major concern and the major consideration of the Executive and the Legislative branches. It has called for and received the highest priority on our resources, both human and financial. As a result of this, the necessary attention and the necessary resources have been drawn away from all of the other very serious matters which must be dealt with by the Federal Government.

When we are spending $30 billion a year on a war in Asia, we literally cannot afford to provide our domestic programs with the funds they need. Problems which deserve and demand the immediate and full attention of our Government have to be deferred. Until we achieve a settlement of the conflict in Vietnam, we can look forward, unfortunately, to an even less effective government and a less productive Congress than we have had this year.

The following is my Christmas letter to the people of the first district of Massachusetts:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
December 1967.

DEAR FRIENDS: As the old year draws to a close and we look forward to 1968, we must remind ourselves that man can and must live in peace with his neighbors.

In the twenty centuries that have passed since the sacred moment of Christ's birth, mankind has never been wholly free of the scourge of war and the ravages of disease, illiteracy and hunger. Yet the spirit of Christmas burns in our hearts at this season with a warmth that is not diminished by the years or discouraged by failures.

Although much remains to be done, we can take great solace from the fact that our nation has been confronted with challenge after challenge since our beginning 191 years ago. Each time we have successfully risen to meet and overcome the challenge. We can be confident—in fact we can be sure—that we will successfully meet and overcome it again.

I'm sure all of us want to extend a special word of gratitude and appreciation to the men and women who are serving the United States abroad. More than a million Americans will celebrate this Christmas in the service of our nation away from their homes and families. It is for them that we wish the best of Christmases.

To all of you I send my very best wishes. Corinne and the children join me in sending each of you greetings for a blessed and happy Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Cordially yours,

SILVIO O. CONTE.

No Man Is Above the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, an article by Dean Joseph O'Meara of the Notre Dame Law School in the Christmas edition of the American Bar Association Journal deserves the attention of every Member of this body.

In this article Dean O'Meara calls for the prosecution of Stokely Carmichael and others like him for counseling young men to refuse to bear arms.

Recent Carmichael statements are compared by O'Meara with those for which the defendant was punished in the landmark case of Schenck against United States.

O'Meara has been dean of the University of Notre Dame Law School since 1952. A graduate of Xavier University, and having received his LL.B. degree from the University of Cincinnati, he practiced law in Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio, from 1926 to 1953.

I urge my colleagues to read his fine article included in full herewith:

"NO MAN IS ABOVE THE LAW"

(By Joseph O'Meara, dean of the Notre Dame Law School)

"No man is above the law and no man is below it"[1]—this was Theodore Roosevelt's magnificent capsule statement of the rule of law which served as the theme for Law Day 1967. Far more eloquent however, is John Courtney Murray's expression of the meaning, the intent and the effect of the rule of law. "Western man", Father Murray says, "has sought in the idea of law a manifold redemption—from the arbitrary despotisms of uncontrolled power; from the threat or fact of injustice to his person and to his property; from dispossession of his human and his civil rights; from the degradation that ensues upon social inequalities destructive of his personal significance and worth . . . from the disruption of life by the irrational forces of passion, caprice, and chance that militate against the 'life of expectability,' . . . that is guaranteed by the rule of law."[2]

What would happen to these values, so highly prized by us, if Communist aggres-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

sors should carry the day? We are locked in mortal combat with them at this moment—in Vietman. There, in that hot and distant land, we are waging an escalating war, a war that is horrible and tragic as all wars always have been.[3]

Why are we fighting a war in that faraway corner of the earth?[4] First of all, because we have made commitments, which have been and are being relied on; because we are not and cannot afford to become welshers.

We are fighting that war, moreover, to preserve the rule of law and the values it protects.

We are fighting that war, finally, as a matter of self-preservation. If we do not stop Communist aggression in Vietnam, where shall we stop it? After the Reds have engulfed or neutralized Indonesia? Overwhelmed the Philippines? Reduced or isolated Japan? Established a beachhead in Australia? Oh shall we wait until they have landed in Central America or Mexico?

To stop the Communist aggressors *now*, while they are still far from our own shores, American men are dying in Vietnam; American women are losing their sons, husbands and sweethearts. At the same time there are many in this country who are fighting another and different war, a war against what is called our "involvement" in Vietnam. Some of these are motivated by strongly held moral principles. They are entitled to respect, and nothing I shall say is directed against them. To a considerable extent, however, I am persuaded that the objectors are either Communists[5] or cowards, or they are persons of large good will but little insight who have been euchred into being stooges,[6] or persons who are seeking some end of their own (ambition, revenge or whatever) at the expense of their country.

To be specific I am referring to Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and others like them. Such persons are doing a disservice to the cause of civil rights by seeking to link the civil rights movement with their efforts to persuade young men to avoid military service.[7] Like other malefactors, they should be prosecuted. And that goes for anyone else—white or black—who is urging young men to "become" conscientious objectors—a vicious absurdity, which is nothing less than urging them to become hypocrites and perjurers. These men should be prosecuted, I repeat, and there is no excuse for not doing so. As the record shows, I profoundly believe that no man should be discriminated against because of his color. I am equally convinced that no man should be protected by his color.

What I have said may be denied indignantly. But the men I have named and others like them let the cat out of the bag. They give themselevs away. For never once do they condemn the terrorist tactics of the North Vietnamese. Never once do they condemn Hanoi's rejection of all peace proposals, not only those put forward by the Administration but also those advanced by neutral powers, by the Secretary General of the United Nations and by the Vatican. Never once do they lament the suffering and death borne by our forces in Vietnam. These men weep only for the enemy.

Let them criticize, protest and condemn to their heart's content. To do so is their privilege under the First Amendment. But let it be understood that the Constitution gives no right to obstruct the war effort, as by attempting to persuade young men to refuse to bear arms for their country. Such attempts are a violation of two sections of the United States Code, namely, Title 18, Section 2388 and Title 50, Section 462, which provide as follows:

Title 18, Section 2388(a):

"Whoever, when the United States is at war, willfully causes or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or willfully obstructs the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or the United States, or attempts to do so—

"Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both."

Title 50, Section 462(a):

"Any member of the Selective Service System or any other person . . . who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title . . . shall, upon conviction in any district court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment. . . ."

Section 2388 is in full force and effect by virtue of Section 2391 of Title 18.[9] An examination of the relevant materials discloses that the national emergency referred to in Section 2391 has not been terminated.[10]

But is it true that these statutes, in fact, have been violated by Messrs. King and Carmichael and others like them? The Department of Justice appears to believe that no violation has occurred. To show that the department is mistaken, I shall take up, for now, only the cast of Stokely Carmichael.

Consider some of Carmichael's recent utterances. Compare them with the language for which the defendants were convicted in *Schenck* v. *United States*[11] and *United States* v. *Miller*.[12]

To facilitate the comparison, I set out in Table I, the relevant language from *Schenck* (as described by Mr. Justice Holmes at page 51) and *Miller*, and one of Carmichael's incendiary outbursts (as quoted in the April 22, 1967 issue of *The National Guardian*, published by Weekly Guardian Associates, 197 East Fourth Street, New York City).

"TABLE I

"Schenck

". . . In impassioned language it [*i.e.*, a circular distributed by the accused] intimated that conscription was despotism in its worst form and a monstrous wrong against humanity in the interest of Wall Street's chosen few. It said 'Do not submit to intimidation,' but in form at least confined itself to peaceful measures such as a petition for the repeal of the act. The other and later printed side of the sheet was headed 'Assert Your Rights.' It stated reasons for alleging that any one violated the Constitution when he refused to recognize 'your right to assert your opposition to the draft,' and went on 'If you do not assert and support your rights, you are helping to deny or disparage rights which it is the solemn duty of all citizens and residents of the United States to retain.' It described the arguments on the other side as coming from cunning politicians and a mercenary capitalist press, and even silent consent to the conscription law as helping to support an infamous conspiracy. It denied the power to send our citizens away to foreign shores to shoot up the people of other lands, and added that words could not express the condemnation such cold-blooded ruthlessness deserves, &c., &c., winding up 'You must do your share to maintain, support and uphold the rights of the people of this country.'

"Miller

"Defendant, Lucille S. Miller, was convicted in July, 1955, on all eighteen counts of an indictment charging her with knowingly counseling nine named persons to refuse to comply with certain provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, in violation of 50 U.S.C. App. § 462(a).

"Carmichael

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee took a stand against [the Vietnam] war in 1965 because it is a brutal and racist war. We took our stand because we oppose the drafting of young Afro-Americans to defend a so-called democracy which they do not find at home. We took that stand because this war forms part and parcel of an American foreign policy which has repeatedly sought to impose the status quo, by force, on colored peoples struggling for liberation from tyranny and poverty. Only the white powers of the West will deny that this is a racist war. When the colored peoples of the world look at that war, they see just one thing. For them, the U.S. military in Vietnam represents international white supremacy.

"We have not only a right to speak out—we have an obligation. We must be involved, we must fight racism in all its manifestations. There is another America, and it is an ugly one. It is an America whose basic policy at home and abroad can only be called genocide.

"We must speak out more strongly against the draft. Our position on the draft is very simple: Hell no, we ain't going. The draft takes the enslaved black youth of this society and uses them to support enslavement abroad. The draft is white people sending black people to make war on yellow people in order to defend the land they stole from red people."[8]

What is there about Carmichael's inflammatory statements that is so different from the language for which Schenck and Miller were punished? Why is Carmichael entitled to an immunity that was denied to them? In point of fact, I submit that Carmichael's language is more violent, more provocative, more likely to inflame young men against conscription and to defy the draft than the statements made by Schenck and Miller.

In *Schenck* Mr. Justice Holmes, writing for the Court, which included Mr. Justice Brandeis, said that (page 52):

"The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

In a *per curiam* opinion in *Miller*, the Court said (at page 172) that defendant's ". . . constitutional objections have been met by the overwhelming weight of well-settled and unanimous authority. . . . Congress in fulfillment of its constitutional duty has enacted this legislation to provide for the national security; that defendant disapproves the Congressional action and has frequently and vehemently stated her position on this and other matters of public importance lends no weight to the validity of her arguments, which are without legal merit. Like the conviction of her husband this day affirmed . . . this is a sad case where self-delusion has carried defendant to the point where she apparently believes her own warped ideas of patriotism, interlarded and distressing racial, religious, and political biases, can justify her in the crudest of law violations."

Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out in *Gitlow* v. *New York*[13] (Brandeis concurring), as he had in *Schenck*, at page 52 that:

"The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about

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Footnotes at end of speech.

the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. . . ."

And in *Schaefer* v. *United States,*[14] Mr. Justice Brandeis (Holmes concurring) quoted exactly the same language from *Schenck* which Holmes had quoted in *Gitlow.*

So the question is: What are the circumstances, that is to say, in what conditions did Carmichael speak, since it is essential to consider his fiery utterances in context. Stokely Carmichael is a firebrand, a militant, a violent character. He seems to breed riots; they follow in his train. This is understandable in view of the inflammatory nature of his speeches as reported on the radio and in the press. Thus in Louisville (according to the *Courier-Journal* for June 20, 1967, at page A-11) he proclaimed: "It's not a question of law and order. We have to build a revolution. . . ."

The South Bend Tribune of June 22, 1967 (page 17) carries the following UPI dispatch from Atlanta:

"Atlanta's racial troubles began Monday night following a speech by Carmichael in which he:

"Urged Negroes to join a 'revolution' against whites;

"Told the audience not to clap . . . to save their energy for 'beating heads.' "

And, according to both ABC and CBS radio broadcasts on June 26, 1967, Carmichael, in Boston, suggested bombing stores owned by white merchants as a means of acquiring them for Negroes. An AP dispatch from the scene (according to *The South Bend Tribune* for June 26, 1967, at page 7) reads, in part, as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael led a march through the streets of Boston's heavily Negro Roxbury section Sunday and told Negroes they must take control of the land and stores in their areas.

" 'We will control things in our communities by an means necessary,' he told a rally in Franklin Park.

" 'If hunky (the white man) gets his store bombed out every Friday or Saturday,' Carmichael said, 'he's going to have to sell it to us.'

"He also told the crowd that the only way to stop 'racist aggression' by police 'is by armed resistance.' "

Finally, *The South Bend Tribune* for July 26, 1967, at page 9, carried the following AP dispatch from Havana:

"Stokely Carmichael says Negroes in American cities are going to wage a guerrilla 'fight to the death,' the Cuban news agency reported Tuesday as the U.S. black power leader arived in Havana for a revolutionary conference.

"The Prensa Latina agency quoted the fiery 26-year-old Negro as saying: 'In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrilas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death.' "

If you have heard him on radio, you know that his language is so impassioned that he sometimes becomes almost incoherent. And he speaks to restless young Negroes, many, if not most of draft age, who idolize him. The remarks I have quoted above from *The National Guardian* must be judged in this context. And their effectiveness, at least according to a column in the April 23, 1967, issue of *The Daily Worker* (page 9) is obvious:

"Led by Stokely Carmichael and marching behind the banner of the Black United Action Front, coordinating committee for the peace marchers in Harlem, the parade evoked sympathetic comments from any onlookers.

"Carmichael was besieged particularly by young Harlemites who eagerly shook his hand. A number asked for his autograph.

"THEME

"The theme of the marchers, 'Hell no; we won't go!' won the greatest response along the line of march, especially from draft-age youth. And it was evident from the determined expression on many faces that for many it was not just a march slogan.

"A rhythmic chant taken up repeatedly by the marchers seemed to express the mood of large numbers of onlookers.

"It was:

" 'We'll fight in Mississippi, in Watts, in Birmingham, in Harlem, but not in Vietnam.' "

If *Schenck* is followed, it is obvious, I submit, that Stokely Carmichael is guilty of attempting to sabotage the draft and should be prosecuted without furher delay. There are some, however, who suggest that the authority of *Schenck* was destroyed by *Abrams* v. *United States,*[15] *Schaefer* v. *United States,*[16] and *Pierce* v. *United States*[17] because Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissented in those cases.

They did not dissent, however, in *Frohwerk* v. *United States*[18] or in *Debs* v. *United States.*[19] Like *Schenck* these were prosecutions under the Espionage Act of 1917. In *Frohwerk* the defendants were found guilty on the basis of articles in a newspaper they published. In *Debs* the basis of the conviction was a speech the defendant had made. In both cases the convictions were affirmed by the Supreme Court and in both Mr. Justice Holmes wrote for a unanimous Court.

The authority of *Schenck* is supported, moreover, by *Gitlow* v. *New York*[20] and *Whitney* v. *California.*[21] In *Gitlow,* Justice Rolmes and Brandeis dissented, as in *Abrams, Schaefer* and *Pierce.* In *Whitney* the same Justices concurred in the Court's judgment, which affirmed a conviction under the California Criminal Syndicalism Act, this time in an opinion by Mr. Justice Brandeis. In both cases, however, they cited and relied on *Schenck.* Indeed, in *Abrams* Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for Mr. Justice Brandeis as well as himself, affirmed his faith in *Schenck.*

Those who brush aside the *Schenck* case argue that the Universal Military Training and Service Act (Title 50, U.S.C. App. § 462 (a)) is violated only by attempting to persuade specific persons to evade their duty under that act. There are only a few judicial decisions involving Title 50, U.S.C. App. § 462 (a), *e.g., Gara* v. *United States*[22] and *United States* v. *Miller.*[23] Each involved the proscribed "counseling and aiding and abetting" in respect of specified individuals. But I find nothing in the opinion in either case suggesting the decision turned on that fact. In *Gara* the contrary is explicitly stated. This is demonstrated by the following excerpts from the opinion at pages 40–42. A letter written by the defendant to the United States Attorney in Toledo contained the following:

"Appellant also signed a pledge in 1948, stating, 'I shall in every way possible assist and support Non-registrants.' Evidence was presented to the effect that at a meeting held in Reading, Pennsylvania on August 25, 1948, he advocated that men of draft age refuse to register under the Selective Service Act of 1948, and later stated, 'In making this speech I intended to violate the Selective Service Act.' [Page 40.]

"Here appellant admits that he agreed in every way possible to assist and support nonregistrants. At an open meeting he advocated refusal to register. His repeated letters state that he counseled men of draft age to refuse registration. Such actions, if caried out extensively, might well nullify the law. Appellant may attack the Selective Service Act of 1948 from every platform in America with impunity, but he cannot, under the guise of free speech, nullify it by disobedience to its express provisions [pages 41–42]."

I want no misunderstanding of my position. The record shows, as I said earlier in this paper, that "I profoundly believe that no man should be discriminated against because of his color. I am equally convinced that no man should be protected by his color." As I see it, Carmichael *is* being protected by his color. This immunity, tacitly granted for *that* reason to a demagogue who is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, seems to me intolerable.

"No man is above the law ,and no man is below it"—no man is below the law and *no man is above it.*

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[1] 38 Cong. Rec. 3 (1903).

[2] Murray, We Hold These Truths 155 (1966).

[3] The legality of the war was affirmed by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association in February of 1966. The resolution was published in the April, 1966, issue of the Journal (52 A.B.A.J. 392–393).

[4] *Cf*: columnist Roscoe Drummond as reported in The South Bend Tribune for September 14, 1967, at page 12: ". . . The basic premise of the U.S. defense of South Vietnam was set out by President Eisenhower as early as 1953. It was that it is vital to the national interest of the United States to arrest further Communist expansion-by-force in Asia following the Korean war. This was the position of the Eisenhower administration, of the Kennedy administration and is that of the Johnson administration."

[5] Secretary of State Dean Rusk, commenting on "Vietnam Week", is quoted by the New York Times for April 17, 1967, as saying: "I have no doubt at all that the Communist apparatus is very busy indeed in these operations all over the world and in our own country. I do not mean to say that all those who have objections to the war in Vietnam are Communists. But the worldwide Communist movement is working very hard on this."

[6] Many of them, unhappily, are teaching in our colleges and universities.

[7] This is the official position of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See the New York Times for July 16, 1967, page 1, column 7.

[8] See also the New York Times for May 2, 1967, at page 11, column 1.

[9] "The provisions of section 2388 of this title, as amended and extended by section 1 (a) (29) of the Emergency Powers Continuation Act (66 Stat. 333), as further amended by Public Law 12, Eighty-third Congress, in addition to coming into full force and effect in time of war shall remain in full force and effect until six months after the termination of the national emergency proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950 (Proc. 2912, 3 C. F. R., 1950 Supp., p. 71), or such earlier date as may be prescribed by concurrent resolution of the Congress, and acts which would give rise to legal consequences and penalties under section 2388 when performed during a state of war shall give rise to the same legal consequences and penalties when they are performed during the period above provided for. (Added June 30, 1953, ch. 175, § 6, 67 Stat. 134.)"

[10] This has been verified by the National Archives and Records Service in Washington.

[11] 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

[12] 288 F. 2d 171 (2d Cir. 1956).

[13] 268 U.S. 652 (1935).

[14] 251 U.S. 466 (1920).

[15] 250 U.S. 616 (1919).

[16] 251 U.S. 466 (1920).

[17] 252 U.S. 239 (1920).

[18] 249 U.S. 204 (1919).

[19] 249 U.S. 211 (1919).

[20] 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

[21] 274 U.S. 357 (1927).

[22] 178 F. 2d 38 (6th Cir. 1949), *aff'd without opinion,* 340 U.S. 857 (1950), *rehearing denied,* 340 U.S. 893 (1950).

[23] 233 F. 2d 171 (2d Cir. 1956).

The Military and the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, a very dear friend of mine, Hon. John Morgan Davis, judge of the U.S. district court which covers my area, was kind enough to call to my attention two articles which appeared in the current issue of the Retired Officer magizine. It was his opinion, and it is mine, too, that the sentiments appearing in these articles deserve more widespread attention than they have been given. I insert them in the RECORD at this time:

A REBUTTAL: "ALMOST ALL GENERALS ARE ALMOST ALWAYS WRONG"?

(By Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, U.S. Air Force, retired)

A recent isue of the Saturday Evening Post carried a piece by Stewart Alsop entitled, "Almost All Generals are Almost Always Wrong About all Wars." He supported this conclusion with some purported historical examples—Sparta's Archidamus, MacArthur in Korea, Eisenhower's generals about the length of World War II, the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Bay of Pigs, the ineffective bombing in Vietnam, etc.

I wouldn't know about King Archidamus since he was a little before my time, but Alsop was inaccurate in most of his other historical references and his sweeping conclusion is scarcely warranted by all the facts. Contrary to Alsop's assertion or inference, MacArthur did not assure President Truman that the Chinese Reds would not intervene in Korea; the JCS never told President Kennedy that the Bay of Pigs plan, as finally carried out, was militarily feasible; it was not the prevailing military view as conveyed to President Roosevelt that the British could not possibly hold out for more than a few months; and no military adviser to President Johnson has ever asserted that bombing alone would stop the invasion of South Vietnam.

After all, we won all our wars from 1776 to 1945 and it scarcely seems credible that these victories were achieved in spite of and not because of the military leadership. I submit that Washington, Andrew Jackson, Grant, Pershing, Eisenhower, Marshall and Arnold were not "almost always wrong."

Where I come from there is a persistent feeling that the politicians and the diplomats have dropped a few stitches as they crocheted the peace treaties after the generals had muddled through to victory.

I saw my first general in 1917. As we marched along a dusty road under a merciless August sun, our brigade commander, General Robert L. Bullard, rode by on a big, black horse. I decided then that these generals might have a good racket. In the intervening half century I have observed many generals at work in four wars, sometimes at close range, and have found some of them highly competent (George Marshall being an outstanding example), and none of them always wrong.

My grandfather, who followed Robert E. Lee for four bloody years and who worshipped the Gray leader, always insisted he did right well until he ran out of resources. He always concluded his eulogies of Lee with the positive conviction, brooking no disagreement, "There was a general!" He would also admit grudgingly if hard pressed that Grant was a fair, country general who made few mistakes. Of course Grandfather passed on before the historians revealed that the secret of Grant's success may have been the quality and quantity of his bourbon.

More than 95% of our recent and present generals have earned college degrees. They average four years of graduate study in civil universities, staff and war colleges. All had at least 25 years of apprenticeship, on-the-job training, in all the grades from lieutenant to colonel. The military training and educational process is quite similar to that for the civil professions. Is it not strange that a system which produces successful lawyers, doctors and teachers can turn out only incompetent military professionals?

Generals are selected on their records of service and performance by their seniors, nominated by their Commander-in-Chief and confirmed by the Senate. They serve only at the pleasure of the President. When any of them demonstrate weakness or fail to satisfy their civil leaders, they are retired or relieved. Unfortunately our social system provides no such dispose-all for prejudiced writers or inaccurate historians.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(NOTE.—In offices, living rooms, taverns, churches and now the floor of the United States Senate, the country is arguing about the Vietnam war. And since this war causes such agony, we have often wondered what our people serving in Vietnam felt about some homefront actions now taking place.

(The following letter from a Navy chaplain was prompted by the widespread criticism of the Vietnamese war he has run into since returning home last year. LCDR George Piersal Murray knows about Vietnam, having served there as a Battalion Chaplain from June 1965 to January 1966. We feel his answers to the critics, including his fellow clergymen, warrant special notice. Our thanks go to the chaplain and Navy News for his letter.)

DEAR MR. EDITOR: I have had it! I am getting weary indeed of the many articles and letters submitted concerning Red China and the war in Vietnam. They are written, I'm sure, by people who have never been ashore in the combat area!

This pains my heart, because the things they are saying are just not so. I spent eight months in the combat zone with a group of men who literally worked themselves to death on humanitarian projects. We built roads, a hospital, dug water wells, and did countless acts of civic improvement, such as working in Catholic and Protestant orphanages.

Then, returning to the good old U.S.A. I find criticism, bickering, and questions like: "Are you still burning innocent villages and shooting civilian women and children?" I find that patriotism is suspect, military obligation is something to be avoided, and to almost kill yourself trying to rescue a man is now a sin.

I wish that the critics of the war, and those who are always clamoring about Red China, would shut up and listen once in a while to those who have been there. Please excuse my phraseology, but I mean it. I'm sick to death of battlefield experts who have never left home, and of mushy Christians who have never been to an area where to believe in Christ means torture and death. Let them spend their time under fire, then I'll listen. Let them go over and talk to the refugees from China and North Vietnam, then I'll talk with them. May God have mercy on these political and military experts who debate in a classroom and never get more than a hundred miles from home. May God have mercy on us all, for condemning so easily and commending so slowly . . .

What frightens me is that our people are not getting a good and true picture of the Vietnamese conflict, even though I'm sure it is the best covered news event in history! When I tell people that our men never fired a shot at the Viet Cong until we were attacked, they look at me like I was crazy. When I tell them that the Communists hate our guts, and savagely blew up our hospital, and maimed our men with ambushes, no one wants to listen. When I ask these people back in the States if they have been to Asia, if they have talked to any refugees from North Vietnam lately or questions of that nature they say, "No, but it doesn't make any difference!" Can you imagine that?

I hear continual criticism of our presence in Asia and continual harping to withdraw. North Vietnamese to get out of South Vietnam? Why isn't there more condemnation of the raping, looting, burning, and the hell the Communists are spreading south of the demilitarized zone? I think the thing that burns the soul of every soldier is to come home and hear some fat, comfortable preacher in his clerical garb denounce our country's policy, and spout off about a war he hasn't fought in and discuss issues he has no firsthand knowledge of. I know this has been true since "Willie and Joe" came back from World War II, but for heaven's sake we ought to learn something by now.

When I tell folks back here about the work our boys are doing there—building, teaching, healing, and cleaning, I get a sweet smile, a knowing look, and a reply something like this: "Oh yes it is wonderful what our boys are doing. But don't you think those people are just taking advantage of us and they really aren't in favor of us being there, and wouldn't they be just as happy and well off under the Communist?"

The first several times I heard this, I was too surprised to reply. Then I was too mad to talk. Now I want to go in a corner and weep!

How stupid can we get?

I know that this war is a terrible thing. I know that there is a lot of feeling about "political policy," and "foreign affairs," and that it is not a simple thing. Oh, Lord, how well I know this—as does anyone who has been there for a few months.

But how would you like to have someone say to you, "let them go, don't help, they will be happy under communism!" It's an old truism that if we sit here smugly in our freedom, and not help others preserve theirs, we wouldn't have ours very long! We're so smart we know this, but we are so dumb we don't want to do anything about it!

There is no doubt in my mind that this is the "Good-Samaritan-Parable War!" We've got a bruised and bleeding South Vietnamese desperately in need of help. And a lot of Americans fear getting involved by stopping to help. The thing that breaks my heart is, that having been one of the many who did stop and try to help a little, I straighten up, and turn around looking for our Church to help—and I don't find it! What's wrong with being on the side of freedom? What's wrong with helping a brother who is hurt badly and calling for help? What's wrong with speaking out against the godless ruthlessness of communism? Nothing, you say? Then why don't we do it?

I loved the Reformed Church of America, and I hope I'm Christian in the matter of speaking to the Red Chinese, and working for peace. The only trouble is the last Red Chinese I saw tried to mortar me to death.

Now, brother, if you want to speak with him, and discuss the issues of peace with him, go right ahead! Be my guest. I have had it. You try it for a while. Then, after you come back, let me know how you made out.

Fraternally,

Chaplain G. P. MURRAY.

NAVAL SHIPYARD, BOSTON.

The Wretched Few

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the statement by the distinguished Republican leader of the Senate, Everett Dirksen, and our House Republican leader, Gerald R. Ford, on the demonstration which occurred in Washington in October received great nationwide support, and I have noted the grassroots appreciation of the logic and responsibility of their position. The La Grange, Ill., Journal, an independent publication serving a number of south suburban Cook County communities, carried a most interesting editorial in its December 10 edition on this subject.

The editorial follows:

The Wretched Few

Recently demonstrations across the nation such as the Viet Nam protest march on the Pentagon promoted the Republican Congressional Leadership to issue a statement on the Constitutional rights of free speech and peaceful assembly, but declared, "There is no right to act against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, anytime—for any reason."

Spokesmen for the leadership were Senate GOP Leader Everett M. Dirksen and House GOP Leader Gerald R. Ford.

The statement they issued is filled with reason and complete logic, and follows:

"The demonstrations that have taken place in Washington and across the nation in recent months have given American people increasing and even frightening concern for the future.

"We share that concern, since never before in our history has lack of confidence in America's leadership been so evident.

"We believe, very strongly, that the hour has now passed when firmness must continue to yield to tolerance in dealing with these violent few.

"They are unwilling to demonstrate peacefully.

"They are unwilling to debate without violence.

"They are permitted, nevertheless, to disturb the public peace, to endanger their fellow-citizens in their lives and property, and to undermine the very well-being of the nation itself by giving aid and comfort to our enemies.

"We are well aware, as all Americans must be, of the Constitultonal rights of freedom of speech and peaceable assembly which are so great a part of our treasured heritage.

"We are equally aware, however, that there is not right to act against the public safety of anyone, anywhere, any time—for any reason.

"This nation had its origin in dissent.

"We have always believed in unlimited criticism—in time of war and in time of peace.

"Free speech—without violence must always be permitted and approved.

"But law breaking and violence can never be condoned.

"Our country has prospered and survived as a democracy, in great part through peaceful, even it at times heated, discussion among men of good will.

"Its future will be equally dependent upon the maintenance of this great tradition.

"It is our conviction that it is the malcontent, the misguided and yes, the malicious, who form the greatest part of these demonstrations.

"Fortunately, they represent only a very small fraction of our population.

"That there may be others who share their views on particular issues is very possible.

"But it is these, and these alone, who see fit to breach the public peace, break the nation's laws, defy established authority, and destroy public property.

"These wretched few can no longer be tolerated.

"They must be held in check hereafter and, when necessary, be brought to justice, legally but firmly by the scruff of their collective necks.

"The safety and the peace of mind of all decent, hard-working, law-abiding millions of other Americans must be preserved.

"The first duty of those in authority—in Washington and in every community throughout the land—is the preservation of public order and the firm enforcement of the law.

"The rights and the privileges of those countless millions of good Americans who obey the law and keep the peace must be given priority above all others, at all times.

"Tolerance of marchers and demonstrators is all very well—up to the point where they defy the law and endanger the public safety.

"We call upon those in authority everywhere to enforce the law, with our full backing, in the public interest.

"We urge them to do so without undue concern hereafter as to the protests and whinings of these lawbreakers, who have no regard for the good of the community and who in our view, seek only publicity and selfish personal privilege."

Even though the above statement is from the leadership of one political party in our nation, we feel that it well states and represents the feelings of the people in the Journal area.

Grievance Umpire Suggested

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, a forward-looking and significant proposal for improved labor relations in Government has been made by Postmaster General O'Brien. He has proposed that the Department be allowed to suspend employees immediately for up to 10 days. In return, postal employee unions would be given the right to appeal the suspension to an impartial umpire. The Department and the union would agree to abide by the umpire's decision. The Postmaster General's approach to this problem—an approach that has proved very successful in private industry—was outlined in an article by Washington Daily News columnist John Cramer.

With permission, I am inserting the column in the Record:

O'B Offers Grievance Umpire

(By John Cramer)

Anyway you cut it, here's one which seems likely to add up to a major breakthru in labor relations in Government.

At least for the long run.

Postmaster General Larry O'Brien, currently in the midst of deadlocked contract negotiations with seven major postal unions, has made what he calls an "unprecedented offer of settlement."

He's offered the "closest possible" thing to binding arbitration of grievances.

The unions don't like his offer—with good reason, I think—because they'd have to give up something in return.

THE FUTURE

The important thing, however, is the offer—and what it implies for the future.

Specifically, Mr. O'Brien has proposed that an impartial umpire decide employe appeals against suspensions of less than 10 days—provided a union with Exclusive bargaining rights requested the umpire's services, and agreed to pay half the costs.

But the true essence of his offer lies in his statements that:

He's "in favor of full and binding arbitration in matters concerning employe appeals."

He will support that position in his capacity as a member of the President's panel currently reviewing labor-management relations in Government.

Current regulations—and quite possibly the Constitution, too—prohibit binding third-party arbitration on the theory that the agency head, and he only, must be responsible for agency actions.

Mr. O'Brien's offer amounts to a proposal to waive that theory—in fact, if not in principle. There's a very fine line there. I won't attempt to draw it.

What he wants in return is a contract provision letting local postmasters put suspensions into effect within 36 hours—instead of waiting thru appeals procedures which may take 30–90 days or more. The eventual umpire's decision then would determine whether the postmaster had done the right thing. If not, the employe would be "made whole."

The O'Brien offer, along with several other unsettled postal contract issues, will be submitted to mediation.

The Model Cities Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, since the announcement of the first model cities grants November 16, there has been a tremendous demonstration of enthusiasm and dedication to the accomplishment of the program's goals by officials and civic leaders in the cities chosen.

These expressions have come from all across the country, from representatives of city and State governments, from members of both political parties. I would like to have the Members of Congress see just a few of the letters that have been sent to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development expressing appreciation for a chance to participate in this program. They should provide additional proof of our wisdom in initiating this bold new attack on urban blight.

The letters referred to follow:

Norfolk Redevelopment and
Housing Authority,
Norfolk, Va., November 22, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob: As I mentioned at lunch yesterday, we are delighted with the news of Norfolk's selection to be a Model City.

The first reaction in the community was

one of pleasant surprise at being honored, but it quickly became clear, as civic leaders commented, that there is a real understanding of the obligation and challenge implicit in our selection. We have had a community-wide expression of a determination to make the most of this opportunity to demonstrate what we can do in Norfolk by harnessing our local resources together wtih those of the Federal government to focus on the problems of our Model City neighborhoods.

We look forward to working closely with the Department in planning a successful Model City program for Norfolk.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Cox,
Executive Director.

City and County of Denver, Colo.,
November 17, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Weaver: Thank you sincerely for your telegram of November 16 advising us that Denver has been selected to participate in the Model City Program. This was exciting and challenging news.

You may be very sure that we will do everything in our power to prove your point that a coordinated attack on the countless social and economic problems of a defined area that has long been neglected will result in significant improvement in the lives of the people who live there.

We in Denver look forward to our partnership with the Department of Housing and Urban Development in this effort.

With personal regards and appreciation.

Cordially yours,

Tom Currigan,
Mayor.

Fresno, Calif.,
November 17, 1967.

Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Weaver: The people of Fresno are extremely pleased that our city has been selected to participate in the model cities program. It is with a deep sense of humility that we accept this challenge. We are determined that this confidence entrusted in our city will bear fruit so that all cities in America will benefit from the opportunity given us. It is our intent that this will not be a Federal program merely for Fresno, but rather that we will develop workable formula to get at the roots of some of the social and other problems facing urban America. We accept this awesome challenge and responsibility on behalf of all cities, and we are looking forward to working with your office in this great program.

Floyd H. Hyde,
Mayor, City of Fresno.

Office of the Governor,
Augusta, Maine, November 21, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Weaver: You must be aware by now of the pleasure and anticipation that we in Maine feel on the occasion of the City of Portland being awarded a planning grant for the Model Cities program.

I can assure you that all State officials will be willing to use their time and efforts to assist the City of Portland in a successful Model Cities program.

I have asked my Appointment Secretary, Howard Cunningham, to set up a meeting with myself and other State officials from departments that would be closely involved in the Model Cities activity.

Sincerely,

Kenneth M. Curtis,
Governor.

City of Baltimore, Md.,
November 17, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: I was delighted to receive your telegram of November 16th notifying us of Baltimore's selection as one of the participating cities in the Model Cities Program. I was, of course, particularly gratified that your decision came during my term as Mayor.

The Model Cities Program should be of tremendous benefit to the future of our City. Let me say, as I have before, that you and the Department of Housing and Urban Development are deserving of the highest praise for the conception of this bold and imaginative program.

Sincerely,

Theodore R. McKeldin,
Mayor.

City of Buffalo, N.Y.,
November 20, 1967.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Weaver: We were, of course, delighted that our city's application for a Model City Planning Grant had been approved. I extend to you my assurance that we will devote ourselves conscientiously and expeditiously to the production of plans which will substantially upgrade community life.

I know I speak for all of our citizens in extending to you our deep gratitude for your determination.

Sincerely,

Frank A. Sedita,
Mayor.

State University College at Buffalo,
Buffalo, N.Y., November 17, 1967.

Hon. Robert Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob: It is wonderful news to know that Buffalo has been selected as one of the Model Cities. Our College looks forward in all possible ways to cooperating with our friends in city government.

It was good to see you again at Brooklyn College for your excellent remarks on Harry Gideonse last year. I am even more wrapped up in urban problems than I was at City University!

With warmest personal greetings.

Sincerely yours,

E. K. Fretwell, Jr.,
President.

State of Florida,
Tallahassee, Fla., November 29, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Weaver: We are very pleased to know that Tampa and Metropolitan Dade County have been designated to participate in the Model Cities Program.

You can be assured that we will cooperate in every way possible to aid you and our cities in this fight against the blighted neighborhoods within these cities.

We look forward in meeting with Mr. Baxter and his resource team to coordinate all of our efforts in this fight.

Sincerely,

Claude R. Kirk, Jr.,
Governor.

Miami, Fla.,
November 17, 1967.

Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.:

We are most pleased and challenged by your announcement of Dade County's selection for participation in the Model Cities program. We believe our metro government provides necessary expertise to help make this program the most outstanding Federal program of the century.

Chuck Hall,
Mayor, Metropolitan Dade County.

Waco, Tex.,
November 17, 1967.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.:

The citizens of Waco are elated over the announcement that our city has been chosen to participate in the Model Cities program. We appreciate your confidence in us and we shall strive to merit that confidence by seeing the program through to a successful conclusion.

P. M. Johnston,
Mayor, City of Waco, Tex.

Eagle Pass, Tex.,
November 16, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.:

Sincerely thank you for your favorable consideration and selection of Eagle Pass for model city program. I assure you Eagle Pass citizens will make you proud of your selection.

A. F. Flores,
Mayor.

State of Vermont,
November 27, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Weaver: Many thanks for your letter of November 16 notifying me that Winooski has been awarded a grant to plan a Model Cities program.

Needless to say, we were extremely pleased that your agency has seen fit to designate Winooski as a participant in this program.

I am looking forward to working with Mr. Gribetz and representatives from your office in the implementation of the program here.

Again, we are deeply gratified at this designation and plan to expend every effort to demonstrate our worthiness.

Sincerely,

Philip H. Hoff,
Governor.

Municipio de San Juan,
San Juan, P.R., November 22, 1967.

Mr. Robert C. Weaver,
Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Weaver: Last Friday while in Montevideo, Uruguay where I was attending The XIV Annual Interamerican Convention of Women of the Organization of American States, I received by telephone from my office the good news that San Juan had been selected one of the 63 Model Cities.

Needless to say I was overjoyed because, as you know, ever since the Model Cities program was projected, I had set my heart in having my city among the ones to participate in the program. All of you have been so very helpful and encouraging that I feel I should share with you my happiness.

I am now waiting for further information through your Regional Administrator here, and I can assure you that we are going to work on this project with great enthusiasm to prove that this selection of our city was a right one.

With deep appreciation and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Felisa R. Gautier,
Mayoress.

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,
La Fortaleza, San Juan, November 21, 1967.

Hon. Robert C. Weaver,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Weaver: It is with pleasure that I acknowledge receipt of your cablegram informing that San Juan has been selected to participate in the Model Cities Program.

We are very much pleased with the news for its significance in the urban development of the city of San Juan and for which it represents to the well-being of the 7,500 Puerto Rican families which will receive directly the benefits of this program.

In the name of these families and of the people of Puerto Rico, I wish to express our most sincere thanks for your interest in our housing problems.

With deep appreciation, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERTO SÁNCHEZ-VILELLA.

STATE OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, November 27, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT C. WEAVER,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY WEAVER: Thank you for your letter of November 16, 1967, regarding Honolulu's participation in the "Model Cities" program.

I look forward to the visit of Mr. Pitts and his party, and it will be my pleasant task to reaffirm the State's committment and to join in making forward plans for effectuating Honolulu's "Model Cities" program.

Warmest personal regards. May the Almighty be with you and your always.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. BURNS.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
November 29, 1967.

Hon. ROBERT C. WEAVER,
Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.:

Citizens advisory board and all Honolulu immensely gratified and eager to start. Will make Kalihi Palama and Waianae outstanding model neighborhoods and justify your confidence in the people of this city. Thanks for your wire.

NEAL S. BLAISDELL,
Mayor.

Saturday Review Editorial on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Saturday Review of December 2 had a full-length editorial on the subject of National disunity over the war in Vietnam. This perceptive editorial describes briefly the growth of disillusionment in large portions of our population as related both to our official policy pronouncements and subsequent military actions. Following from the Saturday Review presentation, it does not arise from pacifism per se, nor to a perverse desire—as some have charged—by dissidents to rebel against the policies of the Government, nor even a trend toward isolationism, although subsequent reaction may well be isolationist for a time. It has largely to do with the changing nature of our commitment and activities in Vietnam and the manner in which this has been presented to the people—after the fact.

I wish to call this thoughtful editorial to the attention of my colleagues. The editorial follows:

TOWARD NATIONAL UNITY OVER VIETNAM

President Lyndon B. Johnson has deplored disunity among the American people over the Vietnam war. He has pointed to the valor of American fighting men and has indicated that they are too busy upholding the honor of the United States to engage in calamity-howling or irresponsible protest.

The President's concern over the deep division over Vietnam is inevitable. Never in our history has there been such far-reaching doubt and anguish over a war involving the United States. Prominent public and private figures who only a year ago were supporting the President's policy have now announced their opposition. Public opinion polls reflect mounting disenchantment. The surprise, however, is not that the American people should be so troubled over Vietnam, but that, considering the present situation, they aren't more so. The reasons are not obscure.

Reason No. 1: It is only recently that the government has been using the word "war" to describe our involvement in Vietnam. For a long time, the American people were energetically and specifically assured that they were not getting into a "war." They were told that the South Vietnamese were capable of defending themselves, and that our role was to furnish material assistance and advice. Then they were told that only a limited number of active American personnel would be required, for strategical purposes. And so it went, step by step, until the American people found themselves phased into a full-scale war quite outside the Constitutional powers of the Presidency—without Congressional declaration of war, without public debate over commitments being made in the name of the American people, and without candor from the government as to where its decisions were taking a free society in which the ultimate power belongs to the people.

Reason No. 2: The government has asked for and received support for policies the government itself has failed to pursue. The President assured the nation it would be folly to allow the United States to become enmeshed in a major land war in Asia. Yet this is exactly what is happening. At first, the President vigorously refuted arguments calling for air bombing operations—declaring that the possible military value of such operations had been heavily exaggerated, that the escalation would serve only to produce equal or greater counter-escalation, and that the risks of a far wider war should not be underestimated. Within a few months, however, the air bombing began—without adequate explanation as to why the original arguments against the bombing were wrong. The American people were assured that cities would not be bombed—and the reasons given were persuasive. The cities *were* bombed; again, there was no thoroughgoing explanation for the reversal.

Reason No. 3: The American people were told that our basic objective in Vietnam was a negotiated peace and that our government rejected both unilateral pullout and total use of force. This was persuasive enough. But the policy in favor of negotiations, Americans were told, was being frustrated by North Vietnam. What they were not told was that the government of South Vietnam has been steadfastly opposed to negotiations from the start. Nor were they told that in 1964 U.N. Secretary General U Thant had informed Washington that he had personally obtained agreement from Hanoi to engage in direct talks with the United States. U Thant had to wait for more than four months before receiving a reply from Washington. The reply was negative—because South Vietnam was opposed to negotiations and because the United States feared that talks at that time might result in yet another collapse of the Saigon government. When these developments became known, Washington's private response to concerned members of Congress was that it could not accept U Thant's intermediation because other approaches to Hanoi were then being explored by the Canadians, and there was apprehension about using another channel. Even so, the central point here is that the American people were falsely told there had been no sign from Hanoi, however slight, that it was willing to talk.

Reason No. 4: The American people have been told that other nations will have no confidence in the word of the United States if we turn away from our SEATO commitments. Some significance should also be attached to the fact that many of these same nations are fellow members of SEATO and have not themselves, with one or two exceptions, undertaken the kind of commitment they are said to expect the United States to keep.

Reason No. 5: The American people have been told we are in Vietnam because of the need to stop the spread of Communist Chinese influence and power. The nations of Indo-China, North and South Vietnam included, have profound suspicions of and antagonism to China. This desire to be independent of China, however, has been weakened, not strengthened, by the war. North Vietnam is far closer to Communist China today than when the war began.

Reason No. 6: The American people have been told that our central purpose in Vietnam is to help the people to have a government of their own choosing. This, indeed, was the most important provision of the Geneva Accord of 1954. The United States-backed government in South Vietnam, however, called off the elections shortly after it came to power. It was at this point that the Vietcong's unremiting campaign of terror and assassination was unleashed. Moreover, a key reason we gave for our presence in South Vietnam was to protect that government against subversion or assault from without or within; but the United States was a silent partner in the overthrow of the Diem government and the assassination of Diem himself.

Week after week, as facts such as these become increasingly clear, American doubts over the war have deepened. The President has replied to his critics in terms of the need to close ranks in support of American fighting men, but he has apparently not recognized that his critics may have just as much concern as he has for the lives of Americans in Vietnam, and that they feel the best way of supporting these men is to bring about the policies that can end the war.

The President fears that Hanoi may be encouraged to prolong the war by the fact of growing American criticism. But the best way of dealing with that criticism is not to disparage it or to belittle it but to meet the points at issue behind it.

If it is said that reasoned debate is not a one-way street and that the President's critics also have the obligation to avoid argument by condemnation or denunciation, the point is well made and should be well taken. But let it not be forgotten that such reasonable debate works best before and not after far-reaching decisions and commitments are made.

Our best chance for ending the war and achieving stability in Vietnam is not through total force or unilateral pull-out, but through a negotiated settlement. And our best chance for achieving that settlement is to ask U.N. Secretary Geneal U Thant to attempt to reopen the discussions with Hanoi, with the hard assurance that the United States will be present at any talks arranged under his auspices. It goes without saying that we should assure U Thant that we are prepared to accept his urgent recommendation for cessation of bombing. We should also emphasize that we are determined to seek an honorable settlement aimed at neutralization of all Vietnam and for proportionate representation of all parties involved in a settlement. If the government of South Vietnam continues its opposition to negotiatoins, the United States should declare unequivocally that any further military and economic assistance to that government is conditional upon Saigon's willingness to talk.

Compounding the tragedy of Vietnam, of course, is the fact that what started to be one of the finest, most imaginative, effective, and far-reaching Presidential social programs in American history has been severely hurt by the war. Some way must be found to put that program back on the track. Most important of all, however, is the need to respect the right of the American people to have unobstructed access to the facts. They are entitled to a full accounting of what is happening in Vietnam—not as a special dispensation, but as a matter of incontestable right. This is the crux of the "disunity" problem. To misunderstand or undervalue this fact is a disservice to the American past and a dead weight on the American future.

—N. C.

Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I wish to set out my final report for the first session of the 90th Congress as submitted to the people of the 10th District of Texas, as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT FROM CONGRESS

Legislators have drawn to a close—within sight of the end of the 1967 calendar year—the first session of the 90th Congress. I would like to take this time to pause to see what new trends are appearing and to assess the work of the past year.

So much political discussion centers around the war in Viet Nam that any account of the national mood and fields of American endeavor must begin with a current evaluation of our commitment in Southeast Asia. I have supported the American policy in Viet Nam and there is growing support for our sane determination to avoid both World War III or a meaningless U.S. surrender. The facts that we are winning the war speak for themselves and include:

Success in the pacification program—a total of 4,645 secured hamlets in the third quarter of 1967 as compared to less than 3,600 secured hamlets in the third quarter of 1965.

Enemy killed in action—combat fatalities for the Viet Cong rose to 6,839 in the third quarter of 1967, compared to a total of 3,513 during the same time in 1965. American and Vietnamese deaths rose only slightly from nearly 1,000 to 1,661 during a time when the kill ratio reached 4.1 to 1 for allied forces.

Increased Vietnamese response—loyal government forces increased from 622,300 in the past two years to 719,238 and in doing so have taken over a larger responsibility in the war.

South Vietnamese desertions—a marked decrease in the past 24 months from nearly 20 soldiers per thousand going over the hill during a given month to less than 10 per thousand.

Viet Cong defections—the monthly average of the Chieu Hoi—open arms—program has risen from 1,109 in the third quarter of 1965 to 1,814 in 1967.

Highway operations—overland hauls of materials and goods in the summer of 1966 totaled 701,000 tons because the Viet Cong controlled highways. During the past summer operations increased to 1,229,110 tons—a clear indication that VC strength in this area is lessening.

In recent weeks major accomplishments of this policy and assistance have come to the forefront. Latest reports from the fields and swamps of Viet Nam are encouraging, and there is talk of a reduction of American forces. I hope and pray—as I know you do—that this will come. We learned in World War II and in Korea that unchecked aggression has an appetite that is difficult to satisfy and I hope we will remain steadfast in the American determination in Southeast Asia. Critics take delight in attacking our efforts against hostile enemies, but in my opinion, I don't think they could come up with a more workable solution to this delicate problem. Certainly demonstrators who burn up draft cards and try to close down induction centers are not providing a genuine solution and for the most part, they have abused their privileges of free speech and I have no sympathy for them. The United States is giving leadership to the free world and people everywhere have concrete proof that we do not intend to let communist aggression prevail over the future lives of free men.

DOMESTIC UNREST

There is nothing so shocking to see and listen to than reports of crime, riots, demonstrations and civil disobediences that have led to violence. The cries of Americans angry at rebellions fell on sympathetic ears in the Congress this year. Congress worked to assume its responsibility to safeguard the American public and guarantee protection of constitutional rights. I supported legislation authorizing riot-control training for National Guardsmen and Reservists and I supported H.R. 421 in the House which provided penalties for inciting riots.

I opposed Administration legislation to funnel huge sums of federal money into areas wracked by rioting because I do not believe you can "buy" respect for laws. I did support action, however, to assist local law enforcement and voted for H.R. 5037, which was designed to give local lawmen financial help to train officers, design new anti-crime techniques and research the causes of crime. I hope the Senate takes action on this measure.

I'm inclined to think such help will improve local law enforcement and criminal procedures, however, I do not see the need for a rash of new laws to deal with criminals since most federal statutes are adequate and simply must be enforced. Along with this, primary importance must be given to the public to insure that advocates of violence will be dealt with in a manner fitting to the seriousness of their crimes; and respect for the laws and institutions must be encouraged.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Despite periodic pressures on our national fiscal policies, the American economy has never been stronger. For 80 months, this nation has produced a record of growing prosperity that has yielded economic gains that are impressive and significant by almost any standard. The current picture looks a little like this:

Gross national product—the GNP (the value of our total output of goods and servives) looms near $800 billion. The GNP has grown by nearly 57% in the 26 quarters between 1961 and the last quarter of 1967.

American income—added protection has provided growing incomes for all groups of Americans. Total wages, salaries and other compensations paid to workers and executives grew by 60% during this 80-month boom or by $178 billion—an amount more than double the nation's food bill in 1960.

Business—owners of businesses have benefited, too. Corporate profits have risen 91% after taxes and 75% before taxes, dividends have advanced and the value of outstanding shares of stock has climbed.

Agriculture—despite persistent problems in our agricultural sector, farm income has increased 35% from 1960 to 1966; with the value of total farm assets climbing nearly 28%.

Buying power—even in the face of economic pressures, family income has increased and today the average family's buying power is nearly 70% more than what it was 20 years ago.

These facts, however, were not blazoned across the front pages of newspapers last year. What was heralded was the surcharge tax proposal, which was resting in the Ways and Means Committee when Congress closed up shop. Viet Nam, more than any other reason, was given for the need to increase taxes and for the $20 billion plus deficit spending of the government. Certainly, the war has had its influence on money matters the same as it has affected other national policies. This Congress took another hitch in the nation's budget belt and made several across-the-board cuts in spending. I supported these cuts as one method to ease demands on the budget.

As best as can be determined, Congress this session reduced the President's budget by some $9 billion. This represents an actual savings in spending of more than $1.6 billion and additional cuts by the Executive Department total nearly $2.8 billion. The total represents a reduction of nearly $4.8 billion in federal spending. There still may be need, however, for a limited increase in federal revenues to ease inflation and certainly the economic indicators will have to be watched closely. In early 1964, this Administration gave American taxpayers a tax reduction which has meant savings of some $25 billion to our citizens. Now a 10% surcharge tax, i.e., a 1% tax on gross earnings, is being asked. Recently, a bank president in Austin told me that he "had rather see a 10% surcharge tax for one year, two years, or even three than see a man sign his name to a 20-year mortgage at 7½% or 8%."

MY COMMITTEE WORK

My legislative activities on the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have been as varied as they have been interesting in the past 12 months. Within the committee structure, the word-by-word, phrase-by-phrase, page-by-page examination of proposed laws is conducted.

Without a doubt, legislation to prevent an economically-disasterous, long and involved railroad strike this past fall received by far the most discussion and debate. The committee worked over several proposals—including H.R. 5638, a bill I introduced—before we arrived at legislation that was eventually passed by Congress and signed into law. In my opinion, we have reached a point in American life where this nation cannot tolerate a national transportation strike. Neither management nor labor should put themselves above national interest and my bill was aimed at providing guidelines to settle disputes of this nation. Other key measures acted on in the committee included:

Partnership in health, H.R. 6418—a proposal to insure the safety and accuracy of tests performed by clinical laboratories and to help states attack epidemics and disease, including rat control.

Mental health retardation, H.R. 6430, H.R. 6431—measures to carry forward research and treatment for crippling mental afflictions.

Flammable fabrics, S. 1003—a key consumer bill to keep unsafe and hazardous fabrics and articles of clothing off the market.

Air pollution, S. 780—a law to expand authority for states to band together to conduct research and assist in establishing air quality standards and also establish state programs for inspecting automobile emissions and generally protect the air we breathe.

Nurse training, H.R. 13405—a proposal I introduced to alleviate the critical shortage of nurses and para-medical personnel in our country through assistance to hospital nursing schools.

Public television (ETV) S. 1160—a measure to help non-profit cultural and educational television stations programming and service.

This might become one of the most important bills passed this year.

PICKLE BILLS

Throughout the year I have introduced and sponsored a variety of legislation. The current status of some of these bills in the legislative mill shows:

LSD bill, H.R. 14096—amending the Food and Drug Act to provide penalties for possession, sale or use of LSD, Pending; equal rights, H.J. Res. 744—a proposal to amend the U.S. Constitution to provide equal rights for women, Pending; visitors' Center, H.R. 12693—establishing a visitors' center in Washington to make it easier to tour the Nation's Capital and ease visitor congestion. Passed; highway bill, H.R. 9237—designating U.S. highway 81, including parts in Central Texas, from Laredo to North Dakota as the Pan American Highway, Pending; import quotas, H.R. 10632, H.R. 9239, H.R. 11951—to establish import quotas on meat and meat products, dairy products and oil, All pending; flood insurance, H.R. 5010—provide for the creation of a national flood insurance program so that residents of low-lying areas can get insurance at reasonable costs, Passed; alcoholic care, H.R. 9895—a proposal to make additional beds available at Veterans Administration hospitals for the treatment of veterans who are alcoholics, Pending.

The 10th District

Federal programs designed to improve the quality of life in our district played a major role in my activities during the past 12 months. During the past year, there have been many projects materialize for our district in which you and I have worked together. Some of these include:

Approval of postal facilities at Buda, Garwood, Round Top, Chapel Hill, Capitol Station and Northwest Station in Austin, Industry, Sealy, Washington-on-the-Brazos, Hempstead, Flatonia, Rock Island and Dime Box; transfer of land and facilities for educational and municipal use to the City of Bastrop, The University of Texas and the Bellville Independent School District; development of the Veterans Administration Computer Center and the Internal Revenue Service Center in Austin; appropriations for the San Gabriel River project and the Somerville Dam; approval of a parking area at the Brenham Federal Building; approval of a public facilities loan to help expand and remodel the Sheppard Hospital in Burnet and approval of additional funds for the Bastrop hospital; grant funds for the development of creation facilities at Lake Bastrop; approval of low-rent housing money and urban renewal funds for Schulenburg, Flatonia, Austin, Georgetown; approval of funds to help finance development of rural water and sewer systems in more than a dozen Central Texas cities; grants and loans to the colleges and universities to improve the general educational level; continuation of Community Action and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs: improved air service; restoration of the 1967 rice crop to the 1966 level; rural electric loans and Bergstrom Air Force Base construction.

LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

All of the issues that were before Congress this year in one way or another influence our individual lives and shape our future development. Many of the proposals of the Administration did not receive my support. For example, the Teacher Corps bill H.R. 7819, was not justified particularly in our state and I did not support it. Likewise, I did not vote for the Food Stamp program since I thought our state should be willing to pay a portion of the program's cost.

In general, I believe my votes reflect my disapproval of the general trend for bigger government and more control over state governments. I believe we must have a strong State-Federal government balance, thus I supported federal funds to states for education—to be distributed by the state—for funds to help control riots and civil rebellions—through the state's established procedures—and for non-categorical help to our State Health Departments. To me, this is the proper approach for realistic and workable federal-state relations.

It was for this reason that I opposed the Appalachian bill since I believe public works programs ought to be directed on a national level through the state governments. Appalachia is no worse off than many Texas counties. I also voted against funds in the school aid program that would have permitted the busing of students to overcome racial imbalance. Likewise I did not support the Education-Professions Act.

Space and time do not permit me to delve into all the legislation considered this session. Some of the other major issues which I supported include:

Investment tax credit restoration, H.R. 6950—to allow the investment credit and accelerated depreciation which was suspended in 1966 in order to provide incentives for economic growth; college work study programs, H.R. 11945; elementary and secondary education amendments, H.R. 7819—a building of the 1965 Act which has served more than 9 million students; Selective Service extension, S. 1432—a basic continuation of the 20-year-old selective service law; Vietnam veteran benefits, S. 16—authorizing Americans returning from Vietnam to be eligible for Veterans' benefits; Library Services Act, H.R. 13048—a continuation of the current program of assistance; Social Security, H.R. 12080—the largest increase in benefits since the program was begun 32 years ago. An average increase of nearly 13½ per cent; wholesale meat, H.R. 12144—to insure the purity and safety of meat served on the family dinner table, I supported this after the House-Senate compromise committee provided two to three years for states to set up standards of purity before federal enforcement; poverty bill, S. 2388—to carry forward the major programs to provide a helping hand for the 20 million Americans still trapped in poverty. I supported this with appropriations to continue at the present level. We simply cannot expand this program now; civilian and military pay, H.R. 7977—H.R. 13510—to increase the pay of federal workers, particularly postal employees and members of the Armed Forces in a move toward comparability with the private sector; postal rate increase, H.R. 7977—to raise additional revenue to put the Post Office on a sounder fiscal basis and provide funds for modernization and improvement of service; military construction appropriations, H.R. 13606—to provide funds needed to build our bases at home and abroad; foreign aid bill, S. 1872—to extend the foreign assistance program that has served America's security for the past two decades, however, at the lowest level in 20 years; housing and urban assistance, H.R. 9960—to continue assistance programs to cities to provide low-rent housing, urban rehabilitation model city planning, water and sewer system construction and rent supplements. In years past I have not supported forms of rent supplement and versions of the model city program because they were extravagant. However, this year safeguards and limitations were written into the law and both are being approached cautiously. Therefore, I supported the modest appropriation of these programs, although I do not feel the answer to our urban problems is simply pumping money into cities.

Protest and Preparedness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as I serve on the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Military Construction, and also due to the fact that I have the honor of having the State university of New Jersey, Rutgers University, within my congressional district, it is a pleasure for me to call to the attention of the distinguished Members of this Congress an address delivered by Brig. Gen. James O. Lindberg, director of procurement policy, Headquarters, U.S. Air Force. The title of the speech was "Protest and Preparedness" and it was delivered at McGuire Air Force Base, N.J., on December 15, 1967, before Detachment 485, Air Force ROTC of Rutgers, the State university. This institution of higher education is located in New Brunswick, N.J. The speech follows:

PROTEST AND PREPAREDNESS

(An address by Brig. Gen. James O. Lindberg, Director of Procurement Policy, Headquarters, U.S. Air Force, before Detachment 485, Air Force ROTC, Rutgers, the State university, New Brunswick, N.J., December 15, 1967)

As you have heard, I am the Air Force's director of procurement policy, better known among my less respectful acquaintances as the Air Force's chief procurer.

Normally, my procurement activities are confined to goods and services, and I leave the procurement of bodies to my more experienced colleagues in the personnel directorate. But we do require bodies to handle the functions associated with determining and carrying out procurement policy; so if my remarks this evening influence any of you to embark on careers in military procurement, I'll be doubly grateful for the invitation to address this dining-in.

You know it takes a bit of courage these days for a military officer to announce to an audience of college students that one purpose of his visit is to recruit other military career men. I wonder if that's one reason why we're meeting here at McGuire Air Force Base instead of in New Brunswick . . . It's not so easy to confine an officer to the cockpit of an Air Force jet as it is to confine him inside a government sedan.

The way things are going on some college campuses and city streets these days, it wouldn't surprise me if this generation became known as the "protesting" generation. Protesting, after all, has a long and noble ancestry. If it stands for the right things, it's better than "beat."

Nearly 200 years ago it was protest that led to this country's independence. "No taxation without representation" was a protest that implied its own correction. And 200 years before that, protest gave its name to a religious reformation whose echo is still ringing in the Christian world.

Protest is one means of effecting change. And without change there can be no progress. But we must be careful in presuming that because progress does not come without change, change automatically produces progress. In my student days in logic class we used to call that a *non sequitur*. (I think it is a term that is still in good repute, even among those who don't like latin.) It doesn't follow that change necessarily results in progress.

Changes take place all the time. There have been changes in Western Europe and there have been changes in Eastern Europe. There have been changes on the continent of Asia and changes on the continent of Africa. There have been changes in education, changes in law, changes in behavior, and even changes in our ideas of what is moral and what is not, what is healthful and what is not, what is artistic and what is not.

Some have been changes for the better. Others I'm not so sure about.

Some students believe that the war in Vietnam is wrong. Others, that the way we are handling the racial issue is wrong. Some students (and even some faculty members) feel that the educational system is all wrong. Others complain about our courts and say justice is a myth under our present setup; let's do something about it. They are protesting, and they keep on protesting. And you know something? It's difficult to find in a totalitarian state. One might go so far as to say that protest is a distinguishing mark of democracy.

The unfortunate thing about protest is that all too often only one side gets heard, and it's not always the side that represents the real democracy, the voice of the majority of people. Too often, it is the vociferous, militant minority that protests the loudest and longest, while the majority sit back complacently, hoping that someone will take up their banner and that reason and restraint will win the day.

That doesn't always happen either. Sometimes there is need to protest against the protesters; and I have been pleased to read of instances where it has been done, where students by the hundreds, for example, have demonstrated their support for our men in Vietnam.

I like to think that those who volunteer for military service in these crucial times are demonstrating a kind of protest too, demonstrating that they are opposed to injustice when it comes in the form of aggression against the weak or the denial of freedom and human rights.

It seems to me that by your voluntary participation in the ROTC at Rutgers and your further participation in such extracurricular activities as the air commandos you are demonstrating an opposition to those who advocate peace at any price, even the price of a country's freedom. You and those like you in 175 ROTC units throughout the United States are demonstrating that you simply cannot go along with those who say they believe in freedom but would, in effect, permit it to be denied to those who are not strong enough to defend it.

Preparing to give even a small part of your life to service of your country in the cause of freedom does not mean that you look on war as the ideal way for nations to settle their differences. On the contrary. I hope it means that you believe firmly in preservation rather than destruction, in legitimate defense rather than aggression, in preparedness rather than luck.

Preparedness is one of the best kinds of protest—protest that is protective rather than destructive, reasonable rather than raving, intelligent rather than haphazard.

There have been times, I suspect, when our pilots in Vietnam have wanted to drop bombs on an ammunition ship in Haiphong harbor rather than continue to the bridge or rail junction or airfield that was their assigned target. What has kept them from doing it has been not only our national policy of restraint, but the discipline of mental, moral, and physical preparedness.

The United States must be prepared to defend itself against false propaganda, subversive infiltration, and overt attack. And it must have both the weapons and the will to come to the defense of its allies on request. But weapons are not enough. A national will is not enough.

There must be young men who are trained to carry out that will and use those weapons intelligently and courageously, with reason and discipline to guide them.

We must be prepared as a nation, but to be prepared as a nation we must also be prepared as individuals.

America has never been synonymous with despotism, punishment of the innocent, or forcible conquest of others' property to increase our own wealth. Rather, it has been synonymous with protection, defense, assistance, and support. We have fought to keep others from taking what did not belong to them, not to take what did not belong to us. We have waged war to restore peace and balance and justice in the world, not to create havoc, ruin, and more injustice.

As the motto of the strategic air command says: "Peace is our profession." I believe that. I hope you do too. I believe that you who are destined to serve this country through its military air arm are in a sense peace marchers, demonstrating your belief that the United States has something worth defending: its land, its people, its form of government, and its word.

You are protesters against the notion that because a society is admittedly less than perfect it has no right to survive and against the notion that those who enjoy the fruits of freedom, law, and order have no obligation to uphold them against attack, wherever that may be. Yours is responsible protest, the protest of thoughtful men.

You may have doubts. Doubt is the privilege as well as the proof of thoughtful men.

You may have fears. Fear is the caution and wisdom of the brave.

And you may have ideals that seem to conflict with the iron hand of necessity. Ideals are the strength and the stanchions of moral men.

Thoughtful men, brave men, moral men are the ones on whom this world must depend for genuine progress.

With action there must be responsibility. With privilege there must be obligation. One cannot always protest in a negative way. There is more to protest than destroying the *status quo*. If we destroy, we must also build: and if we are opposed to something, it seems to me that we should be in favor of some feasible alternative.

As wearers of the United States military uniform, you demonstrate your awareness of your responsibility as citizens and your belief that military preparedness is still essential to our quest for peace.

Americans in uniform want nothing more fervently than they want an honorable and lasting peace. Ask anyone who has been on the front lines if he likes shooting and being shot at. Ask an American father like Colonel McDonald or Mr. Finnerty, who has served in the Army or Air Force, apart from his wife and children, if that's the kind of life he wants, if that's what he joined the service for, or if he wouldn't rather live in peace and let others do the same.

He'll tell you quickly that he would rather have everybody at peace. He wants it so much that he's willing to sacrifice temporary comfort, personal gain, and, on occasion, health and even life itself to achieve it for others, if not for himself.

You may never be called on to sacrifice so much, but the fact that you have indicated your willingness to do so by enrolling in the ROTC program symbolizes, I feel, the dedication and commitment of most of our young people today.

Youth is energetic. It is vocal. It is impatient. It demands involvement; and I say more power to it. But let youth be involved positively, responsibly, intelligently. Let youth be involved in efforts that take full account of the nature and destiny of man and have as their goal the construction of a society based on law and order and respect for the rights of all.

Military service gives you the chance for that kind of involvement. You may spend only the minimum length of time on active duty. You may give it a whirl for 8 or 10 or even 20 years and then decide to take up another career in some civilian profession; or you may—and I hope many of you do—decide that you like the role of a military peace marcher well enough to devote your life to it. In any case, it seems to me, you will have carried out your obligation to the government and the people of this Nation in a responsible, constructive manner through service in the Armed Forces.

I am convinced, furthermore, that you will be proud of your involvement in the military. I know of no profession that offers greater challenge, greater satisfaction, greater opportunity. Not because we need more pilots, which we do; not because we need smarter managers, which we do; not because there is a varied field of specialties to choose from, which there is; but, more important, because no generation of military men has ever had so great an opportunity to do so much for their fellow men.

These two elements—challenge and opportunity for service—are the essence of the military profession. For the career officer it is a vocation like that which calls dedicated teachers, doctors, and clergymen, for it attracts young men who have a strong desire to devote themselves to the service of others by defending them against aggression and by supporting their struggle for freedom and human rights. And a better way of life.

Many of the young men now serving in Southeast Asia were standing in your shoes only a few years ago. I understand that a former Rutgers ROTC cadet, Lieutenant Andrew Futey, who was invited to be with us tonight, has just finished pilot training. These men, like you, have recognized their responsibility to our Nation. And, like you, they were willing to accept the challenge that is inherent in that responsibility.

Such a challenge, and along with it, the challenges of the space age and the cold war, will be with us for a long time. I see evidence of them daily in the procurement business. And there are challenges, no doubt, of which we have not yet dreamed. They are not the exclusive prerogative of the engineers and scientists and business managers in the civilian world. They are the daily fare of military planners and the constant companion of defense managers.

Mr. Townsend Hoopes, Under Secretary of the Air Force, said in a recent speech: "Junior officers in the military services have more clearly defined responsibilities and more challenging assignments on the average; and the potential for rapid growth in responsibility and rank is, I believe, steadily increasing. That is true in great part because the military services live unavoidably on the frontier of technology, and because technology is growing and changing so fast. The new generation's knowledge outruns that of the old, and young men are thus required for innovation and for management of innovation. The Air Force is a young man's profession."

Over the next four or five years, some 10,000 Air Force officers are due to retire: 70 to 80 percent of our top management. To a large extent, the replacements will be graduates of Air Force ROTC, which is and has long been one of our major producers of Air Force officers.

It is not the purpose of Air Force ROTC to provide a rapid turnover of young men trained primarily for civilian employment, but to furnish the Air Force with loyal, dedicated career officers. These young men must be able to think as well as to take orders; they must be able to improvise as well as to conform. We need leaders who respect tradition but are not afraid to question it, men whose knowledge is not compartmentalized or fragmented, men who are intelligent, well-rounded, and flexible in their ability to face the problems that will confront them.

In passing, let me say this too. Rutgers has done more than its share in giving us the kind and the number of officers we need. Annually, it is one of the leaders in the commissioning of officers through the AFROTC program. I realize, of course, that you have certain fringe benefits here that are not shared by colleges and universities in other States. You are close to Atlantic City, and it is my understanding that your Colonial Color Guard is not only the official honor guard of the Governor of New Jersey but has also served as escorts at the Miss America contest.

Even apart from such fringe benefits, I think you will find, as your predecessors have, that more and more as time goes on a military career is worth giving serious consideration to. As Undersecretary Hoopes said, it is a profession for the young, where responsibility comes early, the opportunity for adventure and excitement is always present, occupational variety is large and growing larger, and the satisfaction that comes from courageous public service is a present joy and a rewarding memory.

But whether you choose to pursue a military career of 20 or more years, or whether you leave after completing your minimum commitment, I urge you to take advantage of every opportunity you have for furthering your education.

It has been said that we could win or lose the cold war in our college laboratories and classrooms.

The Air Force learned long ago that only talented men can be adequately trained. You cannot get a razor-fine edge on a sword blade of inferior steel. You must select people carefully and weed out the unqualified. That is why it is virtually impossible to get a commission in the Air Force today without a college degree. And that is why the Air Force, along with the other military services, stresses the value of ROTC programs.

You young men were carefully selected for this training, and unless you maintain your high potential for success as commanders and staff officers, you may well be selected *out* before you are fully trained and before the Government has spent as much time and money on your training as it could.

I am not trying to scare you. I am simply stating a fact of life. Scientific knowledge is said to double at least every 10 years. General Jim Ferguson, Commander of the Air Force Systems Command, recently told a group of college students and administrators out in California that *mindpower* has become as important as manpower for the success of the military mission.

"It's entirely possible," he said, "that classroom experience will be as important as combat experienec in assuring the defense of freedom. We may find an officer with a PhD degree as valuable as one with combat credentials and 20 years' field experience to his credit." That's the way the world is going, and the military right along with it. The days when the best guidance for conducting air operations was in the seat of your pants are long gone.

But intelligence is not the only military requirement. No matter how complex our science, technology, or weapon systems become, they are no more effective than the moral strength and emotional stability of the men who develop and use them. Courage, integrity, dedication, initiative, loyalty, judgment, and honor—character traits long associated with the military professional—are also essential.

In the time left to you at Rutgers, prepare yourselves as you have never done before to develop those traits and become leaders of men. We have need for these qualities in the military services; we have need for them in business and in government.

If leadership doesn't come from young men with college degrees, the discipline of military training, and a sense of responsibility for peace in the world, where will it come from? From those who have neither the moral sense nor the intellectual ability to distinguish preparedness from aggression and protest from destruction? I should hope not.

It takes a man of integrity and responsibility to stand up to the demands of the military profession, just as it takes a man of intelligence and determination to meet the demands of scholarship and discipline that are part of your curriculum.

If you can meet the present challenge, I have confidence in your ability to meet the challenge of the future as officers in the United States Air Force and the challenge of the future as responsible citizens of our great country. Let's keep 'em flying.

President Johnson Speaks at Michoud Space Assembly Facility, Michoud, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's stirring address at the Michoud Assembly Facility in Louisiana was a renewed pledge to keep the United States the world's space pioneer.

In less than the span of a lifetime, America has advanced from the Wright brothers' first plane to a supersonic space age. In the 9 short years since then Senator Lyndon Johnson first introduced the Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, we have launched satellites to watch the world's weather, link whole continents in an intricate communications network, map the moon, place astronauts into space, and explore the full reaches of the universe.

There are some doubters who say that the world's mightest nation cannot support a space effort, and that the effort is too costly.

Our space program is costly but it has repaid our investment twentyfold. Its value can be measured in the enrichment of our lives, the stimulation to our economy, the increased knowledge for our schools and industries, and the additional strength it has given our Nation.

Our space program is costly, but the cost of abandoning space to other nations is far greater. This Nation, founded as a new world by a brave explorer, stands, in the President's words, "at the gateway to another and more glorious new world." As did that first brave adventurer, Americans must accept the challenges of its generation.

To do otherwise would be to betray our ideals as a people, to undermine our role as the free world's leader, and to turn against the American heritage of adventure.

President Johnson well stated America's determination to choose the promise of tomorrow over the memory of yesterday in telling the dedicated Americans at the Michoud Assembly Facility that—

> We will not abandon our dream. We will never evacuate the frontiers of space to any other nation.

I am proud that the people of Louisiana are contributing so greatly toward making America's dream a reality.

And I am glad the President made such strong statements in behalf of the space program. Many at Michoud were wondering what the future held in store for them. But the President's strong words have assured them of the continuation of the program at Michoud.

President Johnson's speech to the workers at Michoud, consisting of employees of Chrysler,.Boeing, Mason Rust, and NASA, was very forceful and positive. His visit answered many questions as to the future and stability of the space program, with specific relation to the future of the Michoud Assembly Facility.

There was no doubt as to what the President said and no mincing of words. He made a flat statement that he is solidly behind the space program for which I personally thank him.

There was no equivocation of his words of affirmation, and if the President translates those words into action, I am sure the people of Louisiana, and specifically the people who work at Michoud and reside for the most part in the First, Second, and Sixth Congressional Districts, will be most grateful.

His speech, while I did not personally hear it, but since have read it and have heard reports on it from many people who did hear it, left no vacuum as to his position.

For my part, as a Member of Congress, I shall support all efforts which he may make to obtain the full amount of funds needed to carry on this program from which flows productive dollars on which full taxes are paid.

I believe it important that the entire Congress know and understand the position the President has taken on the space program, and his full commitment and full pledge to the ultimate objectives.

The President of the United States was most generous last Tuesday—December 12—in doing the Louisiana delegation and myself the honor of pausing in my district at the site of the Michoud Assembly Facility, which is an integral part of the space program.

Here is the text of the President's speech, made at Michoud, in my district:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT MICHOUD SPACE ASSEMBLY FACILITY, MICHOUD, LA., DECEMBER 12, 1967

Governor McKeithen, Mr. Mayor, Director Webb, Captain Schirra and Captain Cunningham, Dr. Von Braun, the able leaders of Chrysler and Boeing and the working people in this group, ladies and gentlemen.

Governor McKeithen and I had our hearts swelled with pride as we rode through this great operation and saw the technical facilities and development that you men and women have produced.

Senators Ellender, Long and Hale Boggs—who gave my daughter a wedding party the other evening—Congressman Hébert and others have insisted I come to Louisiana to see what you had here. But little did I realize how mammoth it was and how much you have done and are doing.

Governor McKeithen, being a farm boy from out in the sticks, looked up to me and said, "Mr. President, this place would really hold a lot of hay, wouldn't it?"

I said, "Governor, I don't know how much hay it will hold. It has been a long time since I bought hay. But I do think it would have been big enough to invite all of my friends to the wedding." I don't think that we could buy them champagne if we got this many there. But it is big enough—Alaska is big enough to do whatever needs to be done.

It was 64 years ago this week that Bishop Wright of the United Brethren Church in Dayton, Ohio received a telegram. This telegram was from his two sons who were vacationing on the seashore.

That telegram began:

"Success four flights Thursday morning. All against 21 mile wind. Started from level with engine power alone. Average speed through air 31 miles. Longest, 57 seconds."

The next line said:

"Inform press."

The figures were a little off. The wind was 27 miles, not 21. The longest flight time was 12 seconds, not 57. But this was blamed on the telegraph operator, Governor, lately. But this telegraph operator said he couldn't read Orville Wright's handwriting.

But the fact remains that the two young bicycle mechanics from Dayton, Ohio had designed and flown the first practical airplane.

Standing here, in this great mammoth center, it is hard to believe that we have come so far and we have come so fast—from the Wright brothers on the sands of Jim Webb's native North Carolina to this amazing space complex here in the freedom-loving State of Louisiana.

What a leap in less than one human lifetime. From a voyage of 120 feet to a trip to the moon. And we are still soaring. We have started a journey from which there can be and there will be no turning back.

We have come a long way—and much of that journey has been made in the last ten years. Ten years ago, we could put scarcely 100 pounds into orbit about the earth. Today we can orbit 285,000 pounds. That is progress. That is something I am proud of and that is something you are proud of. That is something we are doing together.

In the nine years since I first introduced in the United States Senate the Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, we have seen the power of our rocket engines increase 50 times—from 150,000 to 7,500,000 pounds of thrust in the engines that you build here.

We have satellites watching the world's weather.

We have communications satellites linking all the continents into a community of nations.

We have mapped the moon already.

We have flown our astronauts in orbit for as long as 14 days. They have begun to learn how men can live and work in space.

We have perfected our technology. Thirteen Saturn vehicles have been launched without a single failure. You hear about the bad things; now let's talk about the good things.

On behalf of this very proud Nation, and as your President, I have come here to say on behalf of the American people that we thank you good people of New Orleans and Louisiana for helping to bring these miracles about. We thank you for your skill, your loyalty, and your dedication to your country that gives such blessings to all America.

But you have done more than paved man's road to the stars. Much of what you do stays here at home to enrich our lives, improve our economy, and add to our strength.

Your Apollo program will send men to the moon. It will also help your industry, our universities, and our Nation to develop the knowledge that we need—that we are going to have to have—if we survive in the 20th Century.

We are just beginning, really, to grasp the responsibilities and the opportunities of space. We are just beginning to realize its meaning for the needs here on earth.

I was talking to Governor McKeithen riding through a moment ago. We have invested some $20 billion in the past 10 years. But the value to our Nation of this $20 billion and this successful space program may be millions of times greater than the investment we made. Who knows now, when we have only lifted the first veil from the mysterious and the miraculous?

But think of the cost to us if we were not in space—if we failed to support a program that is worthy of the wealthiest nation in history. What would that say about America's vested system of government? What would that say about our leadership in the world if we brought up the tail end?

Think of the cost to America, compounded again and again, if we had abandoned the determination to master technology—when it is so vital, not only to our prosperity but it is vital to our very national security.

It is because of you that we have not failed. It is because of you that the national effort that we launched in 1961—it is because of this investment, our foresight and sacrifices—that Americans can today watch the moon rise and the stars move through the heavens without great fear.

Not long ago we had to stand by and watch other countries accomplish what we could not accomplish. I will never forget the days of Sputnik-1 and Sputnik-2, and the real concern. You talk about concerned people; they were concerned during that period.

We were the most scientifically advanced nation on the face of the earth but we did not launch man's first earth satellite.

We were backward because we did not choose to adventure. We did not choose to have vision. We did not choose to look forward. Now let us remember that our future achievements—or our future failures—will depend on how far ahead we choose to look and how far ahead we choose to think.

If we think second, and if we look third, then we are going to wind up not being first.

I hope you hear me—that man will make space his domain is inevitable. Whether America will lead mankind to that destiny does not depend on your ability, but it depends on our vision, our willingness, and our national will and determination.

This great pilgrimage of man—like all his adventures—costs money. Christopher Columbus spent more years trying to find money for his voyage than he spent discovering the new world. In the modern world, we can no longer depend on a Queen Isabella pawning her jewels. We have to depend on taxes. We must have the revenues that only Congress can grant through taxes.

So we will advance in space to the extent that our people and their representatives are prepared for us to advance and are prepared to pay the cost of that advance. We may not always proceed at the pace we desire. I regret that there have been reductions and there will be more. There have been interruptions, and I hope that we have had all we can take. But I do have faith and confidence in the American people.

We are all the descendants of those voyagers who found and settled the New World.

We Americans are the first to really enter and the first to understand the 20th Century.

Today we stand here at the gateway to another and a more glorious new world.

We will not surrender our station. We will not abandon our dream. We will never evacuate the frontiers of space to any other nation.

We just must be the space pioneers who lead the way to the stars.

To Capt. Schirra and Mr. Cunningham, and their associates, particularly to Director Jim Webb and Dr. Von Braun, and to all of you in the great State of Louisiana, who have worked your hearts out to make this a success, to the great managers of this operation, Governor McKeithen, I say on behalf of not just the State of Louisiana, but the States of this Nation, all 49 of them—we are very proud of our space program.

We are very proud of our astronauts and the industrial genius that supports them. We are very proud of the good people of Louisiana for what they have built and for the record that they will establish.

Thank you very much.

Just how terrific an impact the President's speech at Michoud had is dramatically reflected in the following news story which appeared in the New Orleans Times-Picayune.

The reaction is only one of many in the news media of New Orleans, but reflects the stimulating influence which the President's speech had on the workers at Michoud and in the communities of the area.

The President's appearance, speech and reassurance on the future of the space program was undoubtedly the best Christmas gift he could have given to the dedicated men and women who make up the space facility community.

This news story, which I insert here, reflects the reaction to the President's most welcome and timely visit to the Michoud Assembly Facility in New Orleans:

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, Dec. 14, 1967]

MICHOUD WORKERS' SPIRIT LIFTED BY JOHNSON SPEECH—8,042 JOBS ARE SECURE UNTIL MAY 1970

President Lyndon B. Johnson's speech here Tuesday gave a definite boost to spirits of employes of the NASA-Michoud Assembly Facility.

The employes, numbering some 8,042 in all operations as compared with the peak employment high of 11,964 May 17, 1965, have secure jobs until at least May of 1970.

However, the President, along with James Webb, head of the Space Administration, who introduced the President, left much room for optimism that the current contracts for Michoud production, now at $1.5 billion, will be extended. There were certainly no hints of contract cancellations.

Although there has been a decrease of 3,952 from the peak employment in 1965, the NASA public relations office at Michoud reported that some of those not employed now were construction workers and planning personnel no longer needed after production operations began full blast.

FIGURES GIVEN

Employment figures, citing the May, 1965, total first and then the current figures, follow:

The Boeing Launch Systems Branch: 7,236 and 4,310.

The Chrysler Corp. Space Division: 3,350 and 2,255.

Mason-Rust (maintenance and housekeeping): 920 and 763.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration: 280 and 231.

The Telecomputer Services, now known as the Ling-Temco-Vought Inc. Range Systems Division: 208 and 283. (This is the Slidell NASA computer operation).

The current Boeing contract calls for assembly of Saturn V first stages and will continue through December of 1970.

EXTENSION POSSIBLE

The Chrysler contract is for Uprated Saturn I first stages until May of 1970. However, NASA has begun procurement of "long lead-items" for four additional Saturn I first stages. Should this contract be authorized, it would extend the Chrysler contract for at least one year additional.

Boeing's contract runs to December of 1970 and is for 15 Saturn V first stages along with a contract to May of 1970 for 12 Uprated Saturn I first stages.

Mason-Rust's contract terminates at Dec. 31 of this year, but will be extended under a one-year option program exercised by NASA.

Said one Michoud official, "The President definitely provided a lift for spirits of workers here in the plant. His speech was extremely well received, and there was nothing negative about it."

Although President Johnson hinted that the employes might not expect to "jump back" into accelerated space programs as in the past, he was emphatic in declaring beyond a doubt that the United States will continue in its space program.

Europeans See Danger if the United States Doesn't Increase Taxes

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we have been warned time and again by high Government officials that financial leaders of other Nations believe the United States must raise taxes and cut spending if we are to have a responsible financial policy and a sound dollar.

These have not been empty words as I will illustrate today. But first let me cite some examples of what administration officials have said.

On November 16 Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler, in a statement declared:

> There is a general, widely held feeling in financial circles here and abroad that a tax increase in the United States is an essential element of responsible financial policy under existing circumstances.

On November 29 Secretary Fowler, in a statement before the Ways and Means Committee, declared:

> Make no mistake about it—confidence in the dollar and the international monetary system depends on the ability and determination of the United States Government to act responsibly. There is a widely held feeling in financial circles at home and abroad that a meaningful reduction in our budget deficit by reducing expenditures and a tax increase is an essential element of responsible financial policy.

And on that same day, William McChesney Martin said in his statement before the Ways and Means Committee:

> The entire world is looking to the United States to see if it has the capability, the will, and the determination to preserve and maintain this period of prosperity which is now the longest in our history. In my judgment, the strategic element in demonstrating that determination will be our success in reducing the prospective deficit for 1968 and thereafter to more manageable levels.

Mr. Speaker, these warnings are coming home to roost. Just the other day, for instance—December 12—the mass media carried stories from Brussels which indicated that the Common Market sees danger if the United States fails to increase taxes. Overseas reports showed that the Executive Commission of the European Common Market warned today of "dangers faced by both European and United States business if Congress continued to balk at raising taxes." In its latest quarterly economic report, the commission was strongly critical of the situation in the United States. It said:

> A tighter hold appears to be being kept on monetary and credit policy than would be necessary if the emphasis of budget policy had been placed, in good time, more on achieving equilibrium in the balance of payments and maintaining price stability.

Mr. Speaker, this European commentary cannot be disregarded. We must keep the views and interests of our allies—on whom confidence in the dollar rests so heavily—very much in mind in our consideration of the President's fiscal program.

Therefore, I believe the warning of the Executive Commission of the Common Market should be of interest to our colleagues.

John J. Bennett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, before the House adjourns, I want to take the opportunity to express by deep regret about the passing last October of one of New York State's most distinguished leaders, John J. Bennett.

John J. Bennett had an impressive 12-year record as Attorney General of the State of New York, having been elected in 1931 at the age of 37 and having served until 1942, a year in which he was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Governor of New York State.

Later he served as corporation counsel of the city of New York, deputy mayor under Mayor William O'Dwyer, chief justice of the court of special sessions, and chairman of the New York City Planning Commission.

It was a privilege for me to have known John J. Bennett—first when I was a young boy and later, as an assistant district attorney, when I appeared before him in the courtroom.

Judge Bennett was a devoted public servant who will be missed by bench and bar alike and all his friends in political life.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Mrs. Evelyn Ann Cogan Bennett; his son, John J. Bennett, Jr.; his daughters, Mrs. Mary Lou Farnell, Mrs. Joan Carey, and Mrs. Evelyn Stapleton; and his grandchildren.

I enclose at this point in the RECORD the obituary from the New York Times of October 5, 1967:

JOHN BENNETT, 73, STATE AIDE, DEAD—EX-ATTORNEY GENERAL—LOST TO DEWEY IN 1942 RACE

John J. Bennett, former New York State Attorney General, City Corporation Counsel and chairman of the City Planning Commission, died yesterday of a heart attack in his home at 9709 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn. His age was 73.

Mr. Bennett, a Democrat, also served as a Chief Justice of the Court of General Sessions and as Deputy Mayor. In 1942 he ran unsuccessfully against Thomas E. Dewey for Governor.

Elected Attorney General in 1931, when he was only 37 years old, he held the post through 1942. His defeat by Mr. Dewey ended one of the most dramatic campaigns in the state's history, in which the Republican candidate rode to success on the tremendous wave of popularity that followed his successful prosecution of Lucky Luciano and other major criminals.

STARTED WORK AT 15

John James Bennett was born in the Red Hook section of Brooklyn on March 2, 1894, a son of John J. Bennett and Mrs. Kathryn O'Brien Bennett. At the age of 15 he had to leave St. Francis High School in Brooklyn, to take a post as a clerk in an asphalt company to help the family make ends meet.

He worked his way up to secretary to the president of the company, and was later able to return to school to complete his studies.

Just before the United States entered World War I, Mr. Bennett obtained a minor post with J. P. Morgan & Co., the bankers. Later he enlisted and served in the 308th Infantry Regiment of the 77th Division.

WORLD WAR I PILOT

Later he transferred to the aviation section of the Army Signal Corps, in which he served as a pilot. He left the service as a captain and returned to Morgan's. Mr. Bennett soon became active in organizing posts of the new American Legion, and in 1929 he was elected state commander. The following year he won re-election.

Mr. Bennett had taken time out from his banking work to attend the Brooklyn Law School, where he had obtained a degree in 1926.

It was the desire of Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt to obtain more information about veterans' affairs that led to frequent consultations between him and Mr. Bennett. Mr. Roosevelt was impressed by the competence of the young lawyer and legionnaire, and got him the nomination for Attorney General.

While Attorney General, Mr. Bennett attracted wide attention by his vigorous prosecution of Workmen's Compensation Law cases and stock swindlers.

The circumstances under which he was nominated for Governor in 1942 attracted much attention at the time. Although Mr. Roosevelt had sponsored Mr. Bennett for the Attorney General's post, he had another Democrat in mind as Mr. Dewey's opponent. But Postmaster General James A. Farley, who wielded great power in the party, backed Mr. Bennett, and his word prevailed.

HEADED PLANNING COMMISSION

When the Democrats returned to power in the city government in 1946, Mayor William O'Dwyer appointed Mr. Bennett to be Corporation Counsel. In 1947 he became Deputy Mayor, a post created to relieve the Mayor of certain routine duties.

In 1950 Mr. Bennett was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Special Sessions at a salary of $18,000 a year, and in 1951 he was named chairman of the Planning Commission at a salary of $20,000.

"He is a man of integrity, on whom we can count for earnest, conscientious and diligent approach to planning problems," a New York Times editorial writer commented. "Known as a good administrator, he has a gift for seeing things whole."

Mr. Bennett had served as a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention and a member of the Interstate Commission on Crime. Under Mr. O'Dwyer he was also chairman of the Mayor's Joint Committee on Port Industry.

In private law practice he was a member of Baar, Bennett & Fullen, now at 29 Broadway.

In World War II Mr. Bennett served as a lieutenant colonel attached to Supreme Allied Headquarters in the European theater.

He leaves his wife, Mrs. Evelyn Ann Cogan Bennett; a son, John J. Bennett Jr.; 3 daughters, Mrs. Mary Lou Farnell, Mrs. Joan Carey and Mrs. Evelyn Stapleton, and 16 grandchildren.

There will be a mass for Mr. Bennett at St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Fourth Avenue and 95th Street, Brooklyn, on Saturday morning.

Blight on the Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, we all recognize the tremendous contributions our coal industry has made to both war and peacetime efforts. However, like all progress, there are some communities and some people who are damaged. This is particularly true in strip mine operations.

My friend and constituent, Einar Dyhrkopp, president of the Saline Valley Association of Shawneetown, Ill., has recently sent me the December issue of Outdoor Life magazine. There is an article entitled "Blight on the Land" by Erwin A. Bauer and Ben East.

Under unanimous consent previously granted, I include this article by Messrs. Bauer and East for the interest of those who are concerned with this problem:

BLIGHT ON THE LAND

(By Ervin A. Bauer and Ben East)

(NOTE.—Strip mining's legacy of lifeless land and fouled water threatens disaster to our hunting and fishing.)

The official guide to the state parks of West Virginia lists only one park out of a total of 20 that has water but no fishing. That one is Blackwater Falls Park, in the mountains at the state's northeast corner. The guide shows that there is fishing nearby but none in the park itself, and that is a strange piece of irony. Until the 1950's, that section of the Blackwater River was as famous a trout stream as any in the state.

The river tumbles over a 57-foot ledge and froths into a gorge eight miles long and strewn with massive boulders, to create Blackwater Falls and Canyon. It's the most spectacular scenic spot in West Virginia and definitely one of the most idyllically beautiful sights in the eastern half of the nation.

Thousands of visitors go to the park each year, but they do not trout fishing. A few miles above, two creeks run into the Blackwater from what is now strip-mining country. Their acid-laden waters have fouled the river so that trout can no longer live in it.

It's hardly a wonder that Governor Hulett C. Smith, speaking of this and countless other examples of the consequences of strip mining in his state, says flatly, "The rape of West Virginia has occurred."

And West Virginia is by no means alone. In eastern Ohio, Wills Creek Reservoir—part of the famed Muskingum chain that was once considered a model conservation project for all America—was one of the best fishing lakes in that area. It had flathead catfish up to 40 pounds and some of the best muskie fishing in the state.

But fishing there is a thing of the past. Old shaft mines were opened by strip mining, and their reservoirs of poisonous wastes poured into Wills Creek. The water, the banks, and even the trees along shore are stained red, and the muskies, the big flatheads, and the other fish are gone.

Due for the same fate, in all likelihood, is nearby Piedmont Lake, 4,000 acres of fine fishing water now being encircled by stripping operations.

In Tennessee, strip-mine pollution has destroyed sport fishing in 235 miles of stream, including some topnotch smallmouth-bass and muskellunge water, and fishery biologists say that the future looks dismal.

For another example, take the Tradewater River in western Kentucky. Discussing the grave problems resulting from strip mining, Governor Ed Breathitt of that state told the authors how he once fished the Tradewater for its bass, crappies, goggle-eyes, bream, and catfish, and how his father and grandfather had rated it one of the best streams in Kentucky.

"It's gone now," the governor said. "Strip-mine pollution kiled it. That's one place I'll never be able to take young Edward fishing." He was referring to his eight-year-old son, who is being brought up as a chip off the old block.

It's easier to find examples of stream and lake damage by strip miners than cases in which game and hunting lands have suffered, but instances of damage to hunting lands are far from lacking.

The Bennetts Valley region in Pennsylvania is one. Much of it state-owned, it is one of the few wilderness areas left in that state and is the only place in Pennsylvania where elk can be found. Yet it is being gouged from end to end by strip mining.

"The forests, mostly on public land, are being torn and gashed, mile upon mile," says Roger Latham, outdoors editor of the Pittsburgh Press. "The operators don't even have to pay for the trees they destroy. Because the terrain is steep, they terrace their diggings, and the scars will be there almost forever."

Meigs County in southeastern Ohio is another example. It once was scenic hill country with excellent hunting for bobwhites, cottontails, deer, and grouse. Then strip mining began, and almost overnight 3,000 acres of ridges and meadows were wrecked and the game was gone.

Next, silt and pollution destroyed 25 miles of good bass and catfish water. Paul Bowers, head of the Meigs County Farm Bureau, angrily called those polluted streams "roadside signs that the industry's hands are dirty."

In the last 50 years, and mostly in the last 25, this eyesore industry—which few sportsmen (or, for that matter, few Americans apart from those living in the affected areas) know anything about—has left its blighting scars on more than 5,000 square miles of land, much of it game cover, from Florida to Alaska.

As of January 1, 1967, surface mining had damaged 1,700,000 acres of wildlife habitat (some game species move out as soon as the equipment moves in), 13,000 miles of stream, 103,000 surface acres of natural lake, and 41,000 surface acres of impoundment. The affected areas are scattered over the entire country. Of these staggering totals, some 29,000 acres of impoundment and 5,800 miles of stream had been made totally unfit for fish.

Actually, it is doubtful whether anyone knows exactly the extent of the devastation wrought by this mining. Last winter, while introducing in the U.S. Senate a bill aimed at bringing all surface mining under federal regulation, Senator Frank J. Lausche (D.-Ohio) spoke of 3,600,000 ravaged acres.

And last July, in a detailed and lavishly illustrated report to the President and the nation entitled Surface Mining and Our Environment, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall put the figure at 3,200,000 acres. The report, based on an intensive two-year study, is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402, at $2 per copy.

Secretary Udall's figure is two or three times that indicated by previous official estimates. And the total is rising by close to 200,000 acres a year.

"Surface mining is a hell of a mess," OUTDOOR LIFE was told by an Interior official who asked that his name not be used. "And probably it's worse than it appears. I highly mistrust the surface-disturbance figures supplied by the states. From my knowledge of one state, the totals are estimated very low."

The consequences to hunting and fishing have been disastrous in many states.

"Strip mining unquestionably has a serious effect on fish and wildlife in West Virginia," T. R. Samsell, director of that state's Department of Natural Resources, told OUTDOOR LIFE.

Minor Clark, commissioner of the Kentucky Department of Fish and Wildlife Resources, says, "You can't have strip mining without damage to land and water. As long as such mining is allowed, streams will be degraded."

And Jack Hoffman, chief of Virginia's Fish Division, adds, "In the areas affected, strip mining constitutes a serious threat to fish and wildlife."

Strip mining produces, in addition to direct damage to land and water, side effects including soil erosion, destruction of forests, abandonment of farms (when their water supply fails or their fields can no longer be reached), severe loss of scenic values, and hazards to public health and safety.

Secretary Udall puts a price tag of $757-million on the basic reclamation needed to restore "to use and beauty" the nation's surface-mined areas. This huge sum covers only the minimum treatment that will be required to return the mined lands to an acceptable condition.

"A land of scenic grandeur had been changed into a land of devastation," Udall says bluntly, "and a useless aftermath is left."

Though many materials—including iron, aluminum, copper, clay, sand, gravel, and phosphate—are mined by the strip method, it is coal that creates most of the problems. The big acreages of stripped land are located chiefly in the coal-mining states.

To understand the kind of destruction this mining leaves in its wake, you have to know something about how it is done and about the coal it removes.

Under the earth of West Virginia, for example, there are 117 named beds or seams of coal. Some are only a foot thick, many are six to eight feet thick, and a few are even thicker. Of the 117, sixty-two are now being mined by either surface or deep-mining methods.

It is the seams lying closest to the surface that stripping can remove—and do so far more profitably than shaft mining can. The strip operation is done entirely on the surface. The overburden of soil and rock that covers a coal seam is scalped off by power shovels or draglines and piled to the rear or dumped over a hillside. The coal is then removed, either by shovels or by huge augers having drills up to seven feet in diameter. Such augers can bore more than 200 feet into the seam and ream out the black mineral at a rate as high as 15 tons per minute. The coal-recovering machines follow the seam around the hill.

If the formation is not too deep, more dirt may be dug away and a second seam taken out. In some cases even a third is uncovered and mined. With today's equipment, strip mining can go as deep as 150 feet.

In relatively level country, for each acre of coal mined at least one additional acre is left buried under huge windrows of subsoil, broken rock, and sulfur-laden earth. And the land looks as if a monstrous plow had furrowed it.

In mountains or rugged hill country the destruction is even greater and more difficult to repair since the overburden is dumped down hillsides. The giant piles of rubble that result lie on steep slopes, and they often slide or are washed onto the flat land below, burying fields, choking streams, blocking roads, and destroying buildings.

What is left when the coal is out looks like a landscape on the moon.

Pennsylvania has 370,000 acres of "disturbed" land, Ohio 275,000, West Virginia 200,000, Kentucky 130,000, Alabama 135,000, Tennessee 100,000, Virginia 60,000.

In coal-mining area outside the Appalachian region, there are 134,000 ravaged acres in Illinois, 125,000 in Indiana, 60,000 in Missouri, and 22,000 in Arkansas. California has 175,000 acres, mostly from gold mining; Florida 190,000, chiefly phosphate areas, and Minnesota 115,000, from the removal of iron ore, sand, and gravel. New York has 60,000 acres of land mined for sand, gravel, and stone; Texas 166,000 acres of the same origin.

Secretary Udall estimates that of the 3,200,000-acre total of torn-up land, only one-third has been adequately reclaimed, either by man's efforts or by natural forces. At least 2-million acres, equivalent to a belt one mile wide and running all the way from New York to San Francisco, lie partly or wholly unreclaimed, he says.

Of that huge area, Indiana is the only state in which the reclaimed acreage exceeds the unreclaimed, according to the Udall report. In most of the states involved, two-thirds or more of the stripped lands lie ruined and derelict, out of circulation so far as game and other wildlife are concerned.

"What remains is not only ugly but also dangerous," Kentucky's Governor Breathitt told the Southern Governors' Conference in September 1966.

U.S. Senator Lausche points out that large areas have been abandoned outright as a result of stripping operations.

Boyd Wallace, a former field assistant in the Ohio Division of Reclamation who has battled the bad practices of this headstrong industry for many years, told OUTDOOR LIFE, "Strip mining may enrich an individual, but it always impoverishes the community in the end."

The mining town of Jackson, in the coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania, is a classic example of Wallace's thesis. A UPI story in the Pittsburgh Press in December 1966 told that story.

Fifty years ago Jackson was a tidy community with 100 families, a school, and a tree-lined main street. Its men worked in shaft mines nearby. But in the 1930's the coal corporations, lured by the higher profits of strip mining, began to close the pits and turn to surface equipment. Close to 3,000 part-time or unemployed miners picketed the new operation, and when the first shovel dug into the ground, many tried to storm it, but state police turned them back.

In less than 30 years an estimated 35-million tons of coal were mined there by stripping; and the town died. Its main street became a rock-littered canyon, and the one remaining house was left an island in a bleak wasteland. The last family moved out last winter.

Strip-mine operators often invite criticism by claiming that they are despoiling only marginal land—land that is worth little for anything save mining. Boyd Wallace runs a farming operation on 800 acres near Cadiz, in the heart of the Ohio strip-mine area, and he refutes that claim by pointing out that he grows as much as 45 bushels of wheat and 100 bushels of corn to the acre.

"The land's worthless when they leave it, but not when they start," he says.

One of the most spectacular features of the ravaged landscape is the highwall left where stripping has cut a bench into along the side of a hill or mountain. These highways, vertical cliffs of earth and rock, rise 40 to 100 feet. There are 34,500 miles of them, in this country, 20,000 miles in the Appalachian states alone, and along 1,400 of those miles massive landslides have already occurred.

Highwalls often actually isolate a hill or mountaintop completely, and they make millions of acres of game cover difficult or impossible of access.

Matching the destruction of the land, and of far greater concern to fishermen, is the water pollution that follows strip mining.

Above or below many of the coal seams lies a layer of rock or earth impregnated with pyrites—iron-sulful compounds that are the source of sulfuric acid. When these are exposed to air and rain, the deadly acid seeps out and is carried into streams, ponds, and lakes, fouling them until they are unfit for fish. Often the water becomes so acid that it cannot be used for household purposes, and neither livestock nor wildlife can drink it.

In 1962 the U.S. Public Health Service estimated that 3,200,000 tons of these acid wastes were being discharged each year into the streams of Appalachia. Not all of it comes from strip mines, however. Deep mines, many of them long abandoned, are the source of much acid waste.

But strip mining aggravates the problem in a peculiar way. In many instances the stripping operation breaks through into an abandoned and sealed mine, releasing its accumulated load of acid.

"Strip mining has punched thousands of such holes in our hills," the reclamation director of a mountain state told the authors, "and almost every one of them became a running sore on the land."

Another major source of acid pollution are gob piles, mountainous heaps of refuse resulting from the coal-cleaning process. Consisting of impure coal, rock, pyrites, and other waste material, gob piles often cover many acres like dirty gray scabs. Sulfuric acid leaches from them into nearby streams, and mining men say the process can continue for as long as a century.

On their face, the figures showing unreclaimed strip-mined acreage do not sound too alarming. "A hundred thousand acres?" the reader may ask. "Why, that's only about four townships. Out of an entire state that isn't enough to worry about." In West Virginia, for example, the total area of ravaged land is only the size of a single county.

But as Secretary Udall has said, "Although the amount of pits and spoil banks is relatively small, the effects mar vastly larger areas. The derelict acreage is made up of tens of thousands of separate patches. Where one acre in ten is laid waste, the whole landscape is disfigured. The face of the earth is riddled with abandoned workings, gashed with quarries,, littered with abandoned structures, and piled high with spoil and slag."

The fact is, the figures by themselves do not tell the story. This mining, as Udall says, shocks the sensibilities. To understand the full magnitude of this blight on the land, you have to see what Senator Lausche calls "the abominable and grotesque scars"—the tormented earth, the choked creek beds, the farmlands and game cover laid waste, the streams running foul and lifeless.

When you watch the giant machines gashing terraces of sheer ugliness for miles along the steep sides of a mountain, or lacerating half a township of rolling green hills; when you look at tumbling creeks turned filthy yellow with mine-born acid, with no minnows in the shallows and not even a dragonfly hovering over the water—then the picture begins to take on its true dimensions.

Two other factors must also be taken into account.

First, the operations today are only a beginning. The estimated coal reserves in Kentucky alone are 66-billion tons. One county, Harlan, has 2-billion tons, enough to supply the industry for the next 150 years. Much of this huge tonnage can be mined profitably by stripping.

The Udall report estimates that lands left despoiled will mount to 5-million acres by 1980. Unless proper regulations are enforced, the consequences of strip mining up to now are no more than a drop in the bucket compared with what the future holds.

The second factor is the fantastic improvement in equipment. As the shovels, draglines, and augers grow in size—and they have already reached levels that are almost beyond belief—the work will be done faster, more profitably, at greater depths, and over vastly increased areas. The rate of destruction will rise, and so will the damage.

Strip mining got its start back in the 1800's, but it was a humble beginning. Where the coal outcropped, it was dug by pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow and was drawn away by oxcart. Later, horse-drawn plows and scrapers came into use. An old picture shows a power shovel at work in 1886. It was built entirely of wood and was driven by an upright steam engine.

Until well into this century, the shovels had a bucket capacity of only one cubic yard. Today there is a shovel in operation in eastern Ohio that moves 70 cubic yards of earth at a time and can handle 84,000 tons of overburden each hour. If parked in the center of a football field, it could pick up earth from one end zone and dump it into the other.

Another shovel in Kentucky has a bucket that scoops up 115 cubic yards. Two cars can park in it side by side, and there is enough head room for a man to stand on their tops. And these shovels are not the biggest.

In the southwest corner of Illinois, the world's largest earth-moving machine is stripping overburden from a coal seam day and night, seven days a week. It reaches 400 feet ahead, gobbles 250 tons in one bite, and dumps it 400 feet to the rear. The immense shovel weighs 18,500,000 pounds and is the height of a 20-story building, making it taller than the Statue of Liberty or Niagara Falls. It is wider than an eight-lane highway, contains over 100 electric motors, and requires enough power to supply an average city of 15,000. One man operates the shovel from an air-conditioned cab at the five-story level.

The dragline is another efficient piece of equipment for tearing up landscape. There is one operating in southern Indiana that scoops away 75 cubic yards of overburden at a time. Another in Kentucky is even bigger, and one now being built will have a bucket capacity of 220 cubic yards. As for augers, there is talk now of a giant that will drill 1,000 feet into a coal seam.

Taking all this into account, it is painfully clear that unless strip mining is properly controlled, required to repair the damage it does to the land, and thus made to prevent the ruin of streams and lakes, the ultimate harm will be beyond calculating.

"Strip mining looms as the greatest rape of the land in our history," one official told the authors. "If thought is given to our fast-growing population, to the short work week, and to the soaring demand for greater opportunities for hunting, fishing, boating, camping, and other forms of outdoor recreation, it becomes self-evident that the final price of unregulated stripping is greater than we can afford to pay."

"If left unchecked, the problems will continue to expand," warns Secretary Udall. "Those of today must be identified and those of tomorrow anticipated, and solutions must be found."

The surprising truth about this destructive industry is that, save in areas where the mined slopes are too steep to be restored, the wreckage it leaves behind is not necessary. In most cases strip-mined lands can be put back into use for farming, as forests, and for wildlife production. Their barren ugliness can be cured and most or all of their pollution abated. And the whole job can be done at a cost that does not impose a prohibitive burden on the mine operators.

There are three basic steps in the reclamation process:

First, all sulfur-laden material must be dumped where it can later be covered completely with nontoxic earth.

Second, the spoil heaps must be graded and leveled to restore, as nearly as possible, the natural contours of the land. In mountain country, however, this is difficult and often impossible.

Third, the mined area must be replanted with grass, trees, or both.

That adequate reclamation is both possible and feasible in most cases has been proven conclusively in states where reclamation is required by law as part of the mining operation and where that law has been enforced.

Except in areas where natural conditions make reclamation impossible, no state has undertaken, or wants, to outlaw strip mining outright. Rather, the need is for regulation—for well-enforced laws guaranteeing that the damage will be repaired, pollution controlled, and things put back as they were.

The laws must have teeth. Ideally, they should fix severe penalties for mining without a permit and should require a bond sufficient to insure reclamation. Most important of all, they should provide that unless the work is completed in accordance with the law and to the satisfaction of state authorities, and the bond released, the operator can not be given a permit to begin another job.

Up to now strip mining in most states has proven to be an unruly problem child. Few operators take kindly to the idea of regulations of any kind, and many of them have been arrogant and defiant. Time after time they have resorted to political influence, money, threats, and even violence to defeat or water down strip-mining bills in state legislatures, or to flout the law.

But control is bound to come. In his 1966 report to the Appalachian Regional Commission, Interior Secretary Udall spelled out two things that are needed:

First, a costly long-range reclamation program to redeem the acreages ravaged and abandoned in the past.

Next, in Udall's own words, "To prevent future devastation and to avoid sweeping up after tomorrow's miners, it is essential that effective regulations be established."

Isn't it time that sportsmen, in every state being scarred by strip mining, demand that both these things be done and done now?

The Need for Fiscal Action Is Compelling, Says New York Reserve Bank

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, probably the most influential of the 12 Reserve banks in our central banking system, has come out once again in strong support of fiscal measures to restrain our economy.

In its official monthly review of the business situation for December, released this week, the New York Fed contends as firmly, if not more so than it has in preceding months, that fiscal restraint—a tax increase and Government spending cuts—is necessary.

The bank's review said:

> The need for fiscal restraint is compelling, not only to contain price pressures domestically, but also to protect the dollar in the international exchanges.

Mr. Speaker, these comments are important. They represent, to my way of thinking, the latest, most authoritative answer to those who contend that fiscal restraint is neither needed nor warranted under current economic conditions.

On this latter point the Reserve bank's review said that "underlying cost and price pressures in the economy show no signs of diminishing," despite a rash of strikes that have slowed the pace of business expansion in recent months.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the informed views of the New York Federal Reserve Bank should be helpful to our colleagues as they consider the important fiscal issue before us of raising taxes and reducing Government spending. The text of the New York Federal Reserve Bank's December review, which is devoted to the economy and entitled "The Business Situation," follows:

THE BUSINESS SITUATION

Although strikes in a number of key industries have slowed the business expansion in recent months—and international financial developments have added a new element of uncertainty to the economic outlook—the underlying cost and price pressures in the economy show no signs of diminishing.

During October, work stoppages played a major role in depressing industrial production, new orders for durable goods, and retail sales and in limiting gains in employment and personal income. However, housing starts posted a sizable gain in October, and industrial production is expected to have rebounded in November. Data on new capital appropriations, as well as the most recent survey of business plans for spending on plant and equipment, point to an increase in business fixed investment outlays. Meanwhile, prices continue to mount. The consumer price index rose sharply again in October despite a decline in food prices. Industrial wholesale prices also posted a large gain, the preliminary figures for November indicate a further rise. The need for fiscal restraint is compelling, not only to contain price pressures domestically, but also to protect the dollar in the international exchanges.

PRODUCTION, ORDERS, AND INVENTORIES

The volume of industrial output eased in October, as work stoppages and a further decline in crude oil production continued to dampen industrial activity. The Federal Reserve Board's production index (seasonally adjusted) declined 0.5 percentage point from the upward-revised September level to 156.2 per cent of the 1957–59 average. The materials index eased slightly further, as crude oil output was cut back once again. Following the June war in the Middle East, which sharply curtailed oil imports, state regulatory agencies had raised domestic production quotas but, with the resumption of shipments from the Middle East, quotas have been adjusted downward toward more normal levels. Overall output of consumer goods held at the strike-reduced September volume. The seasonally adjusted annual rate of automobile assemblies, at a little under 7 million units in October, was virtually unchanged from the September pace. In November, wildcat strikes at the Chrysler Corporation and General Motors Corporation as well as the slow return to full production at the Ford Motor Company held the assembly rate for just over 7 million units, well below the prestrike level of 8½ million units in August. Barring further strikes in the industry, assemblies are expected to rise very substantially in December as Ford attempts to make up some of its lost production.

Output of consumer goods other than automobiles was also about unchangued during October, although production of television sets and radios eased slightly, following a sharp rise in August and a further small gain in September. While output of defense equipment continued to advance, the index of business equipment declined, largely as the result of a strike at a major equipment producer which was settled late in the month.

The third-quarter rise in new capital appropriations made by manufacturers and the improvement in corporate profits strengthen the prospects for a step-up in capital spending in the coming months. Underscoring this improved outlook, the survey of capital spending plans taken by the Commerce Department and Securities and Exchange Commission in November suggests that business spending on plant and equipment will rise appreciably in the first half of 1968.

The effects of the strikes at Ford and other firms were reflected in a continued decline in October in new orders received by durable goods manufacturers. The drop was concentrated in the automobile and primary metals industries. Among other durables, the aggregate flow of orders was little changed, as advances in some sectors about offset declines elsewhere. The defense component recorded a large gain over the September level.

Residential construction activity continued to move up strongly in October, approaching the level that prevailed before the housing slump began in early 1966. Housing starts recorded a large advance, achieving a rate fully 80 per cent above the depressed level reached just a year earlier. At the same time, there was a substantial gain in the number of building permits issued by local authorities.

The inventory situation in both the trade and manufacturing sectors has been a major concern since the fourth quarter of 1966, when a sharp buildup in stocks occurred as consumer demand moderated. In an effort to bring inventories into better alignment with sales, businessmen reduced the pace of inventory accumulation from a seasonally adjusted annual rate of $18.5 billion in the fourth quarter of 1966 to a scant $0.5 billion in the second quarter of 1967. In the third quarter, however, businessmen stepped up inventory once more. Indeed, revised GNP figures indicate that inventories grew in that three-month period at a rate of $3.8 billion, rather than the $1.5 billion of the preliminary estimate.

In the trade sector, firms reacted quickly to the late-1966 rise in inventories. Following the moderation of consumer demand in the middle of that year, the trade sector initially reduced the pace of accumulation, and then made a series of actual cutbacks in inventory holdings that continued uninterrupted over the first seven months of 1967. This decline in inventories, coupled with rising sales, resulted in a steady drop in inventory-sales ratios during the first three quarters of this year. In September, the pace of accumulation at the retail level increased although wholesale inventories showed little change, following a sizable accumulation in August.

The problem of excessive stocks dating from the latter part of 1966 has been considerably more serious in manufacturing than in the trade sector. Manufacturers cut the pace of inventory accumulation from an average monthly rate of $1 billion (seasonally adjusted) in the fourth quarter of 1966 to only $227 million in the second quarter of this year. The slowdown in spending affected additions to inventories at all three stages of fabrication: finished goods, work in process, and materials. Accumulation of finished goods dropped from a monthly average of $373 million in the fourth quarter of 1966 to $58 million in the second quarter of 1967. At the same time, additions to stocks of work in process declined from a monthly rate of $493 million to $210 million. The fact that work-in-process accumulation remained relatively high was in large part due to the continued growth of output in aircraft and other defense-oriented industries, where production time is generally longer than for other goods. Inventories of purchased materials which grew at a monthly average of $138 million in the last three months of 1966 showed an actual decline, averaging $41 million in the second quarter of this year. In July and August, manufacturers' total stocks increased at a fairly rapid pace, but strikes cut sharply into accumulation in September—and inventories actually declined. Stocks rose strongly in October, however, and the improved outlook for shipments as well as the Ford settlement suggests that the accumulation rate may increase in the near future.

EMPLOYMENT, INCOME, CONSUMER DEMAND, AND PRICE DEVELOPMENTS

The employment picture remains clouded by the effects of labor disputes. The number of persons on nonagricultural payrolls increased in October, but a large part of the advance was due to the return of workers who had been on strike in September, notably in the government sector which had been affected by a number of teachers' strikes. Employment in manufacturing—where strikes continued to be a strong dampening factor—showed a small rise in October as an increase in nondurables industries offset a further decline in the durables category. The average workweek of manufacturing production workers eased during the month. Though the Ford strike had cut sharply into manufacturing employment in September, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the strike apparently had few secondary effects in that month. However, the October declines in the manufacturing workweek and in durables employment suggest that the indirect effects of the strike increased during its second month.

The civilian labor force grew sharply again in October. In contrast to the first six months of 1967 when the civilian labor force remained quite stable, September and October were marked by unusually large increases, especially in the number of women and teenage entrants. In both months, total employment was essentially unchanged, so that the increase in the number of labor force participants boosted unemployment. In October, the unemployment rate rose 0.2 percentage point to 4.3 per cent, up 0.5 percentage point from August. The rate for married men increased slightly during the month, following a decline during September.

Reflecting the limited growth of employment, personal income in October recorded the smallest advance in six months. This modest showing was due primarily to an unusually small rise in wage and salary payments which grew by a seasonally adjusted rate of only $0.9 billion, compared with an average monthly rise of $2.5 billion in the third quarter. Payrolls in durables manufacturing actually declined during the month, chiefly in industries affected by strikes.

Against the background of sluggish growth in personal income, preliminary figures indicate that retail sales volume (seasonally adjusted) declined in October. The number of new cars sold fell by about 15 per cent. Since July, when auto sales reached a 1967 peak of 8½ million units (annual rate), the sales pace has been dampened by supply problems. Beginning in late July, shortages appeared in many popular model lines, and sales in August fell to 7⅓ million units. The introduction of the new models late in September improved supplies, and sales increased to a rate of about 8 million units. However, in October, sales dropped to 7 million units as the stock of new models made by Ford dried up. Shortages continued in November, and sales again were at an annual rate of about 7 million units.

Despite the strike-related slackness in the economy, the consumer price index rose sharply again in October. Although food prices declined, the overall index moved up 0.4 percentage point, reflecting substantially higher costs of apparel, new cars, and services. Although the rate of advance in the consumer price index moderated in the first months of the year, prices began to rise sharply in the spring months, and in the six-month period ended in October the advance amounted to a high 3.8 per cent (annual rate). Wholesale prices eased in October as a decline in food products outweighed a rise of 0.3 percentage point in industrial commodities. Preliminary figures for November indicate that, while the overall index remained unchanged, food prices again declined and industrial prices increased further. This divergent trend between food and industrial prices has been apparent for several months. Between July and November, the index of industrial commodities rose 1.0 percentage point, after six months of stability. The farm products index, however, dropped fully 6.3 percentage points in these last four months, lowering the overall index by 0.4 percentage point since July.

Dropsie College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, a rather unusual institution of higher learning which I am proud to say is located in my district, recently inaugurated a new president.

In his inaugural address, Dr. Abraham I. Katsh described the contributions and background of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning very well indeed. That institution already is known to some of our Members. Others may be able to learn something about this institution from Dr. Katsh's remarks which follow:

THE MISSION OF THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW COGNATE LEARNING

(Inaugural address by Abraham I. Katsh, president of the Dropsie College, November 26, 1967)

Distinguished guests, colleagues and friends: I am deeply grateful to the outgoing chairman of the Board of Governors, Judge Horane Stern, to the members of the Board of Governors, and to the faculty for bestowing upon me the honor of becoming the Third President of The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. I am most thankful to the representatives of American Colleges and Universities, Learned Societies, professional and cultural organizations, and to my many other friends who have assembled here to greet me on this happy occasion. I shall always cherish your warmth and kindness.

HISTORY OF DROPSIE

It is indeed challenging and gratifying for a son to be claimed by his Alma Mater to guide the future destinies of the institution founded in Philadelphia sixty years ago and erected on firm foundations by my two revered predecessors, the late distinguished leader, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and my own renouned teacher and friend, Dr. Abraham A. Neuman. Both have steered this College to the high pedestal of learning for original Jewish research, in depth and in majesty acclaimed throughout the world.

The College owes a debt of gratitude to the late Sol Satinsky and Dr. Samuel J. Ajl who served with distinction and dedication as Acting Presidents during the past two years.

Our convocation this afternoon offers us an opportunity for reexamining our goals and our functions in the light of the crucial changes and problems that confront us today.

American democracy derives its cultural wealth and textual strength from its fusion of races and creeds. It is like a masterful symphony, the mellowness and richness of which depend upon an amalgam of the cultures of all its peoples brought into harmonious accord. Against this American background, the founder of this College, Moses Aaron Dropsie, played a pioneering and historical role.

Moses Aaron Dropsie was inspired by an ideal to establish a non-sectarian, non-theological, postgraduate institution of higher learning. The first of its kind in America, devoted to the study in its most complete form of Hebrew, biblical and rabbinic literature, and Middle East and cognate branches of learning. In his will, Moses Drospie writes: "My primary object being that as far as possible every branch of knowledge shall be taught in the said college requisite for the attainment of ripe scholarship in Hebrew and cognate learning with which should be connected original investigation and research."

Thus, Moses Drospie envisaged a school that would be concerned with Torah Lishmah, learning for its own sake, pure scholarship in which academic freedom would prevail and where no distinction would be made in its student body on account of creed, color or sex.

The approach to research and learning would not be linked to any bias, doctrine or dogma, but would be based on the critical, objective and scientific method fostered by the exponents of the Wissenschaft des Judenthum's movement, who examined and interpreted Jewish lore and learning in the spirit of detached inquiry, as well as in its historical framework.

Looking back at the institution three decades later, such a dream was almost a prophecy. One could assume that a paramount reason for Moses Drospie's desire to launch a postgraduate center for higher Jewish and cognate studies in America was his foreboding that the great and flourishing Jewish academies on European soil would be destroyed in a matter of only several decades, and would require replacement by American institutions of this kind.

But perhaps his strongest motivation for setting up the College was to establish a center for Jewish learning in democratic America that would compensate for a conspicuous absence of this field of knowledge in higher education in America, in which, as Dropsie put it, the "fond hope may be entertained that the meridian sun of the golden age of Spanish-Jewish literature may again shine in the United States."

DROPSIE COLLEGE AND THE GUENZBERG ACADEMY IN RUSSIA

If The Dropsie College was destined to represent a growing expanding and maturing scholarly institution in America, a similar academy, established in autocratic Czarist Russia in 1907, in the same year as The Dropsie College was founded, symbolized the fate that overtook the citadels of Jewish learning in Europe. That institution was Baron David Guenzberg's Academy for Jewish and Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. The latter school also had as its objective the training of Jewish scholars and intellectual leaders for objective and independent research along historical lines. Indeed, in the short period of its existence, only about a decade, that institution produced many leaders in Jewish thought and learning; but it succumbed unfortunately during the Russian revolution. The full story of the Russian Academy is told by one of its former students, the President of Israel, Zalman Shazar, in the 75th Anniversary volume of *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, published recently by The Dropsie College under the able editorship of Professor Solomon Zeitlin and Dr. Neuman. But while Baron Guenzberg's Academy and its teachers are only a memory among its surviving students, The Dropsie College continues to be a vibrant expanding and flourishing institution, unique in American higher education.

OTHER CENTERS OF LEARNING

The Dropsie College and Baron Guenzberg's Academy betoken the shift in Jewish intellectual centers, that was not new in Jewish history. When The Dropsie College marked the mere beginning of a movement for Jewish learning as an integral part of American scholarship, Russian Jewry had already reached a high level of intellectual life, and its higher institutions had been long recognized as citadels of Torah. The decline and collapse of the Jewish academies in Eastern Europe, and the rise of the American Jewish center of learning were only a recent episode in a long series of transference of the centers of learning, starting with Palestine, then moving to Babylonia, then to the Moslem world, then to European centers in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, then to the Ottoman Empire, and then to Poland and to other European countries.

Since the Second World War, in particular, the American Jewish community grew in strength and maturity and was able to assume the heavy responsibilities thrust upon it by the total destruction of the European centers of Jewish learning.

This tendency in the history of Judaism to shift from one center of learning to another, which was so important to its survival, was exemplified in the beautiful metaphor by Rabbi Hanina ben Teradion when he was wrapped up in a Scroll of the Law and burned at the stake. As the martyr, at the hands of the Romans, was encircled by the flames, his disciples asked him, "Master, what seeth thou?" To which he replied, "The Parchments are consumed, but the letters soar high and seek refuge elsewhere." Scrolls of the Torah may be destroyed, but its spirit is immortal and indestructible. These letters which survived pogroms, destruction, Treblinka, Auschwitz, martyrdom for 2,000 years, are happily now with us again for the betterment of mankind and the enrichment of humanity.

One terrible aspect of our century, an English poet recently wrote, is that "Fantasies horrible as the worst nightmares invented by writers of the previous century, like Dostoyevski and others, have become literally true, realized in world wars, mass murder, genocide and concentration camps. They have become true in the minds of all of us and in the lives and deaths of the victims." More shocking is a recent headline about a report, some even claiming that it was a suppressed government report, which contends that the world faces an unparalleled catastrophe if it ever achieved peace.

How different the world really would have been if our great literary figures and statesmen would have been imbued with the spirit of the Prophets, the Psalmist, the philosophers and our ethical teachers!

Let us remember that it is as significant for us to walk with the Prophets and the sages of old, as it is essential for us to enter into fellowship with our contemporaries.

The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning with its espousal of Jewish studies occupies a special place in American higher education. It is founded on the conviction that Judaism, based on prophecy and rabbinic learning, will lead to the path of universal peace. It is thus designed to fill a gap in general higher education. Though colleages and universities together with our intellectual leadership often point to the important role Judaism has played in Western civilization, though they often assert that the legacies of Greece, Rome and Jerusalem form the pillars of our culture, the part played by Judaism until now is generally conspicuous by its absence in college curricula. In Dropsie, however, this study is given the vitality it merits.

DROPSIE AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The ideal for which The Dropsie College stands does not reach only outwardly towards general culture and secular education, but also inwardly towards American Jewry as a community apart from the mainstream of American life.

American Jewry is fragmented by movements, by partisan viewpoints and ideological groupings. The seminaries and Yeshivot represent each its own section in Judaism. All this constitutes a sign of health and dynamism, rather than stagnancy and indifference. The various alignments in Judaism have their own institutions and schools.

But The Dropsie College represents the overreaching essential fundamental unity in this diversity of opinion—the basic bonds of Torah and the search for impartial truths.

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE EVALUATED

Dropsie is a small institution, but with a majestic mission and a vast vision. It is a mirror of Jewish creativity in America. Its strength reflects the hope and aspirations of Jewish scholarship in the U.S.A.

To quote the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges, which evaluated The Dropsie College: "If one accepts the definition of a university as being a community of scholars, The Dropsie College probably approaches that definition as closely as any institution in this country. Its faculty, including the President, are all scholars, and almost all its students coming from all over the world are in training to become scholars. . . . The alumni of the college have indeed have been enabled through their training in Hebrew and Arabic learning, to make significant contributions to the life of their time." In fact, two of our distinguished alumni, Professor Solomon Zeitlin and the late Professor Eleazar Sukenik of the Hebrew University, have electrified the world with their contrasting views on the origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

FUTURE CHALLENGES FOR THE DROPSIE COLLEGE

Now, what of the program and policies of The Dropsie College that we can project for the decades ahead to more effectively further and achieve its aims and objectives. There is a present challenge that, in my view, The Dropsie College must meet.

American universities and colleges in recent years have been displaying a growing interest in the teaching of various phases of Judaism, either as an independent discipline or as a part of other disciplines.

A CENTER FOR THE TRAINING OF COLLEGE PROFESSORS

There is a dearth of professors in Jewish studies at this time. The opportunity for The Dropsie College to become a center in order to prepare future professors in Judaism and cognate subjects for American institutions of higher learning is an historic one. Dropsie is in a unique position to meet this demand. In the general academic field, American higher education faces a problem of replacing a brilliant generation of scholars, all of whom will be retiring within the next few years. In the field of Hebrew and cognate learning, the problem is most acute. Our aim should be to attract the best outstanding graduate students, Jew and non-Jew, from all over the world, and especially from the United States, for this program.

This point was emphasized to me in a recent letter by the noted historian of Oxford, Professor Cecil Roth, who is now a member of the Department of History, Queens College in New York. He writes: "The interest in Jewish studies in the universities and colleges all over the country is rapidly increasing, as I myself am constantly experiencing . . . But where are the teachers to come from? Although I myself are strongly conservative, I can see no reason whatsoever why they should necessarily be traditional Jews of whatever complexion, still less why they should have a rabbinical background (as is today almost invariably the case), nor indeed why adequately trained people should necessarily be Jews. But where are they to obtain their training? Obviously, only in a 'secular' institution devoted to 'Hebrew and cognate studies.' So the opportunities open before you at The Dropsie College are immeasurable."

TRAINING IN MANUSCRIPTS

The area of training of scholars for research in the Jewish field is another significant undertaking for The Dropsie College. There are so many phases to be investigated to add to the ever-strengthening fountain of learning, that we must expand the field of research. Take the areas of manuscrips alone. It is both a means for training scholars, as well as a broad area of research. The mission of all universities and colleges, and especially The Dropsie College, is to produce men devoted to thinking and contemplation—just to be able to brood over the secret of grave sentences though involving the past may decide for us the fate of our present and future.

Havelock Ellis in his book, 'The Dance of Life," asks what does the sculptor do when he contemplates? and he answers: "The sculptor sees a line crooked that ought to be straight, a curve where it shouldn't be, to little light here, to much shadow there. He takes a chisel and hammer and shapes the block of marble into a form of beauty."

Similarly, the late Professor Solomon Schechter wrote: "The student who has never undergone the discipline given by the editing of an ancient text or the writing of a serious commentary to an ancient classic, where the smallest detail has its meaning, and where even the blunders of the Scribe convey at times most startling lessons, will never acquire that sense of responsibility and scientific conscience which alone go to make the real scholar.

"Every discovery of an ancient document giving evidence of a bygone world is an act or resurrection in miniature. The past suddenly rushes in upon you with all its joys and woes! And there is a spark of a human soul like yours which comes to light again, after a disappearance of centuries, pleading for sympathy and mercy.

"You dare not neglect the appeal and slay this soul again unless you choose to become another Cain. You must be the keeper of your brother and give him a fair learning. You pray with him if he happens to be a liturgist. You grieve with him if the impress left by him in your mind is that of suffering. It is these fresh contributions and the opening of new sources with the new currents they create, that keeps the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in uniform and impart to it life and vigor."

MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

Or, take another field, that of medieval Hebrew philosophy. Long ago, the distinguished scholar, Professor Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University, wrote the following words which are so true today: "It is a striking fact that Hebrew is richer, in quality if not in quantity, than any other literature of the world in works pertaining to medieval philosophy. Hebrew philosophic literature contains translations of all the essential philosophical works in Arabic, most of which are no longer extant in the original. It also has indirect translations from the Greek; of those, too, some of the originals are not extant. It has also valuable translations from the Latin, for our medieval sages were not averse to translating into Hebrew whatever they considered of importance in the writing of the Christian scholastics. And finally, among these unpublished manuscripts are many original works of high distinction. All of these 'buried treasures' are of the utmost importance for the history of medieval thought in general and for a thorough understanding of the intellectual history of the Jews during the latter part of the Middle Ages.

"Medieval philosophy is one philosophy written in three languages, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin, and among these Hebrew holds the central and most important position. In it, we have the full efflorescence of Arabic thought and the bud of much of scholasticism. It is in the interest of general culture and general scholarship that these hidden Hebrew treasures should be brought to light, carefully edited, for the time will come when the history of philosophy, medieval as well as early modern, will have to be radically rewritten, and rewritten it will be, as soon as the contents of these writings become more widely known."

REWRITING JEWISH HISTORY

Permit me to touch on another intellectual discipline—Jewish history. It needs to be rewritten, reinterpreted and retold, because all histories have to be rewritten from time to time in view of new discoveries and new developments. But in the last quarter of a century, two great episodes occurred, the holocaust and the reestablishment of the State of Israel. The two are closely related. But the State of Israel exists alongside the largest and wealthiest Jewish Diaspora community of all times, that of America, based on democratic principles and the principles of cultural and religious pluralism. This is a new phenomenon in Jewish experience. Its meaning and potentiality must be properly recorded and researched to be interpreted and understood. These and many other new vistas are open for the scholarly investigator and for a place of research and learning such as The Dropsie College can become, a center that will serve as a storage house and source of Judaism, of fresh intellectual Jewish content to nourish them and supply their needs. It will, at the same time, achieve another purpose—it will also help to replenish and to replace the declining generation of Jewish scholars in other parts of the world, with an indigenous group of American Jewish intellectual leaders.

DROPSIE PUBLICATION AND THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

Interlinked with scholarship and research are publications to record their findings and work, as well as to form the basis for further endeavor. The kind of publication produced by the College is evidenced by the high quality of its periodical—*The Jewish Quarterly Review*. We must be prepared to expand our periodicals and monograph publications.

The new translation and commentaries of the Apocrypha literature, a project undertaken by The Dropsie College several years ago, is a good example of what we must do along other lines to publish valuable Jewish classics.

The Apocrypha books were the product of that twilight period which intervened between the closing of the canon of the Hebrew Prophets and the dawn of Christianity.

In sponsoring this project (six volumes already published), The Dropsie College believes that it will contribute immensely towards a beter understanding and a greater appreciation of these Scriptures and their significance for the interpretation of both the Jewish and the Christian religions.

Our rare library collections and the new acquisition of Microfilm from the U.S.S.R., hitherto unavailable to Western scholars, should help us enormously to carry on effective research and investigation. Backed by the necessary financial resources, we hope to create an atmosphere of learning that will attract scholars to our halls of learning and give them an opportunity to devote their sabbaticals for their academic work. Thus, The Dropsie College would become a sort of *Kolel*, to use a traditional Hebrew term, a postgraduate center of scholars who have achieved distinction in original research and at the same time give our student body an opportunity to be in contact with such learned men and benefit from their proximity and influence.

We also hope to hold scholarly conclaves to provide an area for a discussion of questions, such as Israel and the Diaspora, or the ecumenical policies for the Jews and their relationship to the Christian world, and Islam and Judaism.

These are but a few of the many projects which I hope The Dropsie College will project in the future in order to play a dynamic role in the life of American higher education, and thus raise our institution to the highest pedestal of Hebraic learning, so that it might continue to be a beacon of light for Jewish scholarship the world over.

My hope is to see at The Dropsie College the greatest concentration of spiritual minds in America devoted to Hebrew and cognate studies.

I am proud to be a partner in this dream and proud to be a son of my Alma Mater, but greater is the joy and more thrilling the pleasure that my Alma Mater is proud of me.

Thank you.

Congressman William F. Ryan Comments on the Space Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I am continuing the address I made on December 15 under a special order concerning the Nation's space program.

In our overriding concern for safeguarding the rights of the individual and providing for the needs of our citizens, liberals frequently disregard the importance, the implications, and the role of technology in our society, losing sight of the technological base upon which so much of our social and economic capability and progress rests. At the same time liberals seldom affect the outcome of the competition for public funds in which major technology developments almost always win over social programs. We cannot change or influence this almost inevitable pattern by ignoring the facts or ignoring technology. It is difficult to persuade anyone that domestic needs are equally or more important than the space program, for example, if we do not first acknowledge the importance of the space program.

Since I believe that social programs deserve a higher priority than they receive today; since I believe that most of our technical programs are wastefully administered, overfunded, and tend to substitute their own interests for the national interest; since I believe that good and advancing technology is vital to our Nation and that poorly run technical programs not only cost more than efficient ones but also tend to lower national standards for progress in all areas, I have felt a responsibility to become more deeply involved with the question of research and development—and in particular the space program—its role, its management, and its cost to society.

During this budget-cutting year, when vital domestic programs were being severely cut back, as a member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics I turned with greater attention than ever before toward the space program to examine its importance and its place in our national priorities. As long as public funds are spent on this program, they should be well spent—so that the people of this Nation may receive the greatest possible benefits from their investment. In order to do this, the Nation must have an excellent program which produces first-quality hardware. What is more, only if we appreciate the benefits of this program, can we accurately define their limits. Without such definition of limits, no objective and persuasive argument may be made about national priorities and the relative value of competing programs.

At the end of this confused congressional year, I can say at least that the space budget is no longer sacrosanct; a reorientation of liberal attitudes is beginning; and Congress has been moved in the direction of a more rational and moderate approach toward the Nation's most ambitious and costly technological program.

FAILURE OF THE COMMITTEES TO REPORT

Although the House Committee on Science and Astronautics concluded its hearings on the Apollo disaster on May 10—some 7 months ago—it has not yet managed to publish a report on those hearings for the benefit of the Nation. The same is true of the Senate committee which concluded hearings on May 9. The reason for this can only be a reluctance to face some unpleasant truths and to ask some hard questions that need to be asked. I feel that people should be informed about the meaning and results of those hearings concerning our $25 billion Apollo moon program, so I have prepared my own report. Since this is not an official committee report, and is therefore directed to my own constituents, I will discuss but not limit myself to the Apollo hearings.

A much more extensive effort is needed to even begin to do justice to the subject of the Apollo disaster. One Congressman does not have the facilities to undertake the task of reporting in full. A committee is both better equipment and expected to fulfill this responsibility. My statement should have constituted additional views to a committee report and is no substitute for a thoroughly accounting. My hope, then, is to point out some of the larger issues which were revealed by the Apollo hearings and to clarify some of the problems which confront us in our space program and its relationship to our national goals.

APOLLO AND THE SITUATION IN BRIEF

In addition to the more important questions of national priorities and technology's value to the Nation, the space program is for most of us a fascinating venture. It symbolizes America's remarkable technological progress and potential. At the same time its administration illustrates some of the more serious problems of bureaucracy and demonstrates how a policy of secrecy can be harmful even in a technical program. The space agency—NASA—has brought both pride and distress to America through its technical successes and its serious errors and unsolved management problems. The question that Congress has largely evaded is whether to tackle those problems sensibly by facing them head on, or whether to cover them up and rush headlong in a continuing race in space with the Russians—whatever the cost and whatever the dangers.

NASA for a long time maintained a public image of openness and uninterrupted success. It was NASA's policy to televise the breathtaking manned space launches, and it was our good fortune that in spite of various hardware failures and technical problems no major disasters occurred which involved human life. On January 27 of this year disaster struck—taking the lives of three astronauts—when the Apollo capsule burst into flame during a routine ground test at Cape Kennedy.

In the congressional hearings that followed, for the first time the scope of NASA's management problems began to unfold, and Congress learned that there was a great deal of information being withheld. NASA, of course, is performing fantastic engineering feats for which there is no precedent. It is inevitable that it should face great difficulties and have to learn through trial and error—failure and success. It is further true that NASA grew so rapidly that it was not able to properly organize its management. Without an objective acknowledgment of these facts, it is difficult for serious and complex problems to be approached and solved.

If NASA was to disclose to Congress the full range of its problems, its record of successful undertakings would speak eloquently for itself. It is simply unfortunate that NASA's policy of withholding information turns every discovery of trouble into a revelation and a scandalous newspaper headline. But it is inexcusable that Congress, which must make vast financial commitments on behalf of the American people, should be kept in the dark.

MY TWO OBJECTIVES

This year I have devoted considerable effort to the space program in order to further two objectives: first, to bring NASA's budget and ambitions into closer line with the interests of the Nation, and second, to improve the management of the space program through constructive criticism.

(A) NASA'S PLANS AND THE GOOD OF THE NATION

My first point has been seeking harmony between NASA's plans and the needs and desires of Americans. I think that the future of the space program itself will be very much influenced by the success or failure of this quest.

It has recently been brought home to us with special force that the Federal budget is finite. NASA's budget is also finite. What might be desirable, viewed alone by our space planners, may lose its urgency when balanced with the total needs of the Nation. Recent events have called our judgment of national priorities very much into question, and fiscal pressures this year especially have forced us to seek answers to that question. The space agency may ultimately lose support if it is overambitious. The public has already begun to view NASA's ambitions as greater than the public interest. Recent polls show that the public finds the space program impressive but overcostly and is not certain about the desirability of proceeding or spending money in space at such a rapid rate.

It is doubtful, for example, that Americans today would assent to a program costing perhaps hundreds of billions of dollars to place a man on the planet Mars, as NASA is hoping to do through development of the NERVA II nuclear engine. I argued repeatedly, both in committee budget hearings and on the floor of the House, against development of flight hardware for this project. At first my amendment was voted down. But Congress finally deleted those funds from NASA's fiscal year 1968 appropriation. However, although the funds were finally denied, NASA had initially received an authorization for NERVA II flight hardware, and when the Soviet Union performed two recent space feats, many Members of Congress predictably rushed to suggest that NASA return to the congressional committees and resubmit requests for funds to go ahead with this program.

On August 15, NASA Administrator, James E. Webb, testified before a House Appropriations subcommittee:

> After we have made the lunar landing we believe it would be wise to keep the budget approximately . . . where it is now or even going up a half billion dollars a year.

I do not agree that this is wise. I do not believe the public will tolerate a plan for escalating costs—or even the deliberate intention to sustain them—without resentment until such time as greater funds are available for urgent domestic needs.

Part of NASA's present difficulties are related to an overambitious and overoptimistic attitude in projecting new plans, with a greater emphasis on meeting self-imposed deadlines than on sound and deliberate progress. While optimism is always gratifying, it is no substitute for rational planning. Since NASA is already having great difficulty managing its enormous tasks, if the Agency's ambitions grow unchecked, they may in the end be self-defeating and bring about a serious collapse of the program. Needless to say, such a collapse would not only be a great loss, it would cost the public a great deal of money.

NASA uses the space race to create its deadlines and inflate its ambitions. I believe that there has been insufficient attention to the idea of international sharing of the costs and burdens of space exploration. On November 10 I urged the President to determine that the space race be ended and that greater efforts be made to initiate substantial international cooperation. I believe the public awaits those efforts.

(B) BUILDING A BETTER PROGRAM

My second aim has been to seek improved management. I have made a series of detailed proposals to improve NASA's budget and management procedures and have been critical when NASA's policies were ill advised. I recommended to the Administrator of NASA, to the committee chairman, and to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget that NASA's future budget submissions be altered so that they become program oriented. This would make it possible for Congress to know the actual cost of a program. The Budget Director replied in effect that such a request to NASA would have to be made by Congress. Yet Congress is not likely to request such a change in procedure unless the public shows interest and demands that knowledge of true costs which NASA's budget presentations now obscure.

GUIDANCE FROM THE NATION

My efforts to raise the larger issues concerning NASA management and candor during the Apollo hearings drew a response from technical and lay people throughout the country. I received hundreds of letters, documents, and personal commentaries which lent substance to my intuitions about the extent of NASA's internal problems and to my sense of the public view. Not one communication opposed further investigation or criticized the pressure that I put on NASA. On the contrary, people were uniformly grateful to learn a portion of the truth and urged that a much more sweeping investigation be made. Most striking was the approval not only of those who question the need for an extensive space program at this time—but of those who strongly favor a vigorous program and care most about its ultimate success. Particularly disturbing was the number of technicians working in the space program itself who were grateful that some painful revelations had begun, and hoped that this might lead to re-evaluation and real improvement in program management and quality. I learned a great deal from their guidance.

Here I face great difficulty in formulating what I may relate publicly. Almost all of the knowledgeable statements and documents that I received were proffered in complete confidence—for the sole purpose of informing me about a crisis situation and encouraging me to press for further investigation. Fear of reprisals kept the persons involved from making public statements and identifying themselves. Typical of this fear was that expressed in a letter from an experienced high-level employee at a major NASA center who wrote:

> I have to be careful what I send. NASA would fire me for writing you if they could

prove it. This is one reason Congress will not get much information on NASA management.

This possibility of jeopardy to individuals prevents me from stating directly some of the disturbing facts which were brought to my attention or to specify the sources from which they came. I will, therefore, attempt to provide only a sense of what was communicated to me by listing a small number of possible quotes and comments.

COMMENTS FROM WITHIN THE SPACE PROGRAM

A managerial employee of many years experience was demoted by NASA on grounds of insubordination following his criticism of a contractor's performance. The employee wrote:

> The purpose of this letter is to communicate to you . . . problems of waste, inefficiency and mismanagement in the Apollo Space Program . . . (I) am unable to accept complacently practices at . . . (the NASA installation) which I believe to be contrary to the best interest of the Space Program and the nation.

An ex-North American Aviation employee wrote of his action of some years ago:

> I directed a letter to . . . (various top officials of) NAA, advising them that . . . testing and evaluation procedures being authorized by S&ID were not following the recommendations of leading authorities . . . NAA management refused to consider my request and terminated my employment on grounds of insubordination.

An employee was fired after 2 years with North American. He explained that he was responsible for quality control and said:

> I made strong attempts to halt and correct the high percentage of faulty parts.
>
> Eventually, an official of North American gave me notice of termination for "violation of company policy."

Two ex-North American employees wrote:

> We worked for 2 years as Quality Engineers . . . We voluntarily terminated our employment because we did not feel Management and Supervision would allow us to perform a quality job . . .

A copy of a letter to an important NASA official contained many pointed comments. Among them:

> During my employment with NASA . . . unsatisfactory conditions were brought to my attention and an effort was made to obtain necessary corrections without success . . . the attached supporting documents show serious deficiencies which, if not corrected, will continue to contribute to failures on the ground and (in) outer space missions, having disastrous consequences.

A NASA section manager spoke of his immediate superior's refusal to accept and transmit documents detailing weaknesses in safety procedures. He said of this:

> I can only interpret his refusal as an attempt to prevent Apollo-related vital information from reaching NASA, and Apollo, upper management.

The president of a company that performed certain services in connection with the Apollo program recounted how his company had been in possession of detrimental information concerning the performance of North American's spacecraft. He explained how the information was suppressed until NASA's original requirements were lessened and the unsatisfactory report was "no longer relevant."

A man employed at a major NASA center for 3 years wrote:

> (NASA is) not likely to permit the public to glimpse the true state of affairs in Washington, Houston, Cocoa, Kennedy or the cislunar lacuna . . .

The president of a company under contract to NASA told of the "shambles" at a NASA center concerning the awarding of contracts. Giving the particular example of an award to "one of the worst contractors there," he said that in his opinion "NASA couldn't afford to have any other contractor come down here and take a look at what's going on."

An employee memo of some years ago was brushed aside by officials at a NASA center. It outlined problems of duplication of work, excessive costs, lack of inspection, failure to monitor contractors and inexperienced workmen. The memo concluded:

> Under strict NASA monitoring and inspection it could save the Government several millions of dollars per year. This could increase a lot with (saving us also) a cable failure, and loss of missile and possible human life.

An engineer working on the Lunar Module at Grumman Aviation said he was worried about the program. As an example he cited the use of "off-the-shelf equipment" which had become obsolete. He explained that—

> There is no review process with regard to equipment originally off-the-shelf which has been outmoded and was really not satisfactory to start with . . . The way in which the decisions are made and the decisions to use things off-the-shelf are rather horrifying.

A Bendix Corp. employee in a responsible position concerning space program safety hazards predicted future disasters with the Saturn rocket program and doubted that the astronauts can be safely returned from the moon should they be fortunate enough to arrive safely there. During the conversation he explained that personnel, responsibilities and contracts are shifted around so that "nobody knows what he's doing"—records of hazardous incidents are "destroyed or taken out of the files" and excess personnel are "asleep on the job." He said in conclusion:

> NASA is aware of all this. They just don't know how to run such a big program . . . No matter what contractor they would have it would be the same result.

A former NASA Section Head said he was not surprised at the Apollo tragedy. He stated:

> Regardless of what steps may be taken by the present NASA organization, (I predict) further tragedies in connection with Apollo, with the eventual probable collapse of the Apollo program as we know it today.

A 1966 note from a NASA Quality Director to Dr. von Braun discussed the investigation of a recurring problem of RCA computer failures in the Saturn rocket program. It said:

> Qualification testing of the board assembly . . . was not performed by R.C.A. prior to production . . . If this protection had been applied, there would be no major problem today.

An internal NASA memorandum dated in 1966 reported on a Quality Control investigation at the facilities of two Saturn contractors—Electronic Communication, Inc. and the Martin Co. It said:

> Support presently provided is inadequate to assure acquisition of acceptable quality manufactured hardware.

After listing several examples of poor workmanship and failure to follow proper procedures, the report concluded:

> Closer surveillance must be maintained over these contractors . . . in order to assure flight worthiness of these mission critical, complex articles.

A NASA QC (Quality Control) Unsatisfactory Condition Report referred to the building used to check and operate GSE—ground support equipment—for Gemini spacecraft operations. The report, dated May 18, 1966, included the following headings:

> Item name—Cryogenic building #1 . . . Criticality Code—Major . . . Reason for report—Quality problem . . . Probable cause: Poor workmanship and shop practices used by Bendix, support contractor, and very little or no Bendix QC support.

An official NASA quality review document of some time ago was sent which included these comments:

> NAA and Grumman do not have a Qualification Test Plan for GSE (Ground Support Equipment) . . . reliability of all GSE is very low . . . GSE is purchased through MSC (Manned Spacecraft Center), Houston, without proper input from Engineering to the concerned Contracting Officer . . . This has resulted in . . . rejecting approximately $8 million of approximately $12 million of GSE submitted.

Later the document said:

> Unit End-Item Specifications are being written by NAA after unit is manufactured.

In reference to reducing standards when acceptance tests are unsuccessful, the document continued:

> In many cases the original design intent is compromised in favor of schedule requirements.

Here we have a small sampling of opinion and program ratings from inside the space program. It is sad to note that employees are discouraged and fearful, both for themselves and for the program as a whole. Contractors are skeptical of NASA's management and officials of NASA are greatly concerned about the low level of contractor performance and the rate of hardware failure.

COMMENTS FROM OUTSIDE EXPERTS

Of course, Mr. J. L. Atwood, president of North American Aviation, stated on May 4:

> It must be recognized that problems of this kind are encountered in almost all large, complex developmental programs.

It is a natural response, then, to wonder how technicians outside of NASA's space program viewed the Apollo spectacle. Again the information I received was very revealing.

A retired power electrical engineer from Hawaii spoke of the death of the three astronauts as " a ghastly engineering misfeasance." To the claim that the fire hazard was unforeseeable he stated:

> This is not a supportable fact. The top-flight engineers in charge of the electrical part of the program were remiss in not foreseeing that an oxygen atmosphere represents an extreme hazard, just as power and industrial engineers recognize, and guard against, hazards in explosive and highly flammable surroundings.

A building and zoning superintendent from the State of Washington declared:

> If they had just talked to any Building Code Official . . . they would have readily learned they had a built-in fire trap in the spacecraft . . . It looks to me they snuffed out three lives due to negligence—three of the finest.

A designer for the Boeing Co. wrote:

> NAA and NASA are both to blame . . . FAA requires that any military or civil aircraft be fitted with escape hatches that can be opened instantly . . . regardless of the flight condition . . . (this includes) aircraft stationary on the ground before take-off.

A member of an eastern State motor vehicle research organization wrote:

> In the April 10, 1967, issue of the New York Times an excerpt of the Apollo Investigating Board's Report states in Section b, and I quote "Circuit breakers and other interrupting devices cannot act rapidly enough to prevent an arc." The statement should read, "Circuit breakers, etc., on the Apollo 204 were inadequate and not designed to prevent arcing."

He later said:

> Particularly distressing was the description of the interior of the spacecraft. It read more like a peon's shack in Nicaragua with exposed plumbing, wires, etc. It certainly did not appear as a sophisticated spacecraft.

A fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers wrote:

> It seems doubtful to me that several basic and essential principles of sound research and development have been followed properly . . . Successful scientific investigation is not compatible with politics, profits or haste.

I received a copy of a letter to President Johnson which said:

> In my professional career of some 35 years in the geological sciences, which included all phases of R&D (research and development), I learned that it is only too easy, and inherent to the system, for even the best of R&D groups gradually, and unknowingly, to become self-satisfied, non-objective, and inefficient without the benefit of occasional reviews by qualified outside parties. NASA has been reviewed and studied, but only by itself.

A physical chemist from California blamed NASA top administration for severe negligence and worried that a lack of criticism will lead to further deaths. He pointed out:

> The present report on NAA deficiencies reflects as much on NASA as on the contractor since it is obvious that there was not an adequate supervision of the contractor's effort . . . The authorities in NASA set the stage, by their own incompetence, for the death of 3 brave men.

A technical consultant from the Midwest wrote:

> With no standards to keep up with, no guidelines, no quality control to bother with, the contractor can afford to be arrogant and careless . . . it is more than conceivable that further tragedies will occur in the space program . . . regardless of how much money Congress doles out.

A consulting engineer from Wisconsin wrote:

> Our entire engineering profession is suffering from a lack of honest reporting of deficiencies and failures in the newer technologies, and this is giving the people the erroneous impression that everything is going well, until we encounter a major tragedy.

It is striking to note that not one of the letters I received suggested tolerance or sympathy for the problems encountered by NASA and its contractor. Not one technician inside the program or from a related field tried to make excuses for NASA and suggest that the difficulties may have been unavoidable. They were a stern jury—single-minded in charging NASA with negligence and full responsibility.

COMMENTS FROM THE LAY PUBLIC

Perhaps saddest of all was the commentary of the lay public. They were shocked and hurt and sincerely worried and skeptical about the space program. They were uniform in their gratitude that a part of the truth had been revealed and in encouraging further disclosures. Their letters also revealed an attempt to understand the tragedy in their own terms. They reasoned as follows.

An 80-year-old woman from Missouri had been employed for 9 years in the delivery rooms of the Independence Hospital. She wrote:

> There were oxygen tanks in each room—and oxygen piped thru the walls from outside. Nurses were not allowed to wear nylon slips on duty, lest a spark cause an explosion. Imagine my horror when I read in the Kansas City Star that the couches of the astronauts were nylon covered and there were nylon curtains in the capsule where live oxygen was used. My horrified reaction was "Oh No!!"

A Florida resident felt that present problems are not new. His memory of NASA history produced the following comment:

> In 1960, Rocketdyne, a division I believe of North American; was given the preference in the selection of the original booster engine in competition with the United Aircraft and one other Company. At that time Rocketdyne was far behind the others in their development of the state of the art but by submitting a "lower price" won the award which in price, through the expedient of "engineering changes" has far exceeded anything ever imagined.

An attorney in Texas wrote:

> The same thing caused the Apollo catastrophy as that which happened to the Submarine Thresher—poor workmanship . . . poor wiring in the space ship was of the same quality as the welding on the patch put on the hull of the Thresher.

A woman from Colorado quoted conflicting testimony:

> One said the craft was on self-electricity, the other said it was outside, or white room electrical supply. The didn't even get their stories straight to give to the public. None of it was necessary or an unavoidable accident in my little-taxpayer-opinion.

A view encountered several times from areas surrounding NASA installations held that—

> We here in Florida close to Cape Kennedy . . . have long expected things worse than that to occur.

We see then that insiders and outsiders, experts and laymen alike, were of one voice in condemning the conditions that led to the Apollo fire. It is significant that we have heard approval of the status quo only from spokesmen of top management in the Agency and industry—those who have a direct stake in maintaining the status quo—whose reputations and business interests are involved.

CANDOR AND NASA'S REACTION TO CRITICISM

It is essential to understand the nature of the criticism that NASA has received and NASA's reaction. There can be no argument that improvement in NASA's management procedures was needed. NASA itself admitted this after the Apollo fire and initiated some internal corrective actions. However, during the House and Senate hearings on the Janaunry 27 Apollo tragedy, when committee members attempted to ascertain in detail the nature of NASA's problems and the extent to which they might affect the future of the space program, great difficulty arose and, for the most part, NASA withheld the information. Since the hearings NASA has not complied with requests for a better flow of information to committee members and greater candor in its dealings with Congress. Instead, the space agency has responded by trying to label serious inquiry as hostile action. The effect is to bring congressional investigation down to the level of a clash of personalities and has resulted in agency attacks on the integrity of Members of Congress. Worst of all, NASA, instead of facing its difficulties squarely for the purpose of eliminating them, has attempted to shift blame to Congress for its problems.

One such misdirection of NASA's energies was seen in a hastily called press conference on October 5, to which the Administrator had top NASA officials and industrial executives flown from all over the country to help him suggest that my criticism of the space program represented sensationalism and destructiveness. Mr. Webb, the NASA Administrator, on that occasion characterized my efforts to crack through the information barrier as attempts "to make a sensational item for the front page of a newspaper," and said that by this criticism "you are contributing to the destruction of a system which involves American industry and the governmental system."

The background of this event is rather enlightening. On August 1, I had written a letter to the Administrator renewing my request for accurate and up-to-date program status reports. In particular I voiced my concern about the H–I and J–2 engines—part of the Apollo booster package—and to underscore the seriousness of my request I quoted from an unpublicized letter dated February 15, 1967, from Dr. Wehner von Braun, Director of NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center to the president of the Rocketdyne Division of North American Aviation. It appears that until then NASA did not know that anyone was aware of Dr. von Braun's letter or the problem to which it referred.

The strongly worded letter stated that there was an unacceptable amount of error in connection with the two rocket engines and concluded:

> These are your engines which are going to cause us a serious accident if this situation is allowed to continue.

From many telephone requests, I finally received a reply from Mr. Webb 6 weeks later on September 14. The requested status reports were not included, the matter of the engines was lightly passed over as a minor problem, and certain misleading statements were made by the Administrator concerning the origins and risks of NASA "all-up" testing procedures which attempted to blame Congress in advance should there be any mishap with the Saturn V—Apollo booster—rocket shot a month hence. Upsetting as this was, I said nothing of the matter until after Mr. Webb testified in a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee hearing on September 28 and reiterated his stale and unfounded charge that insufficient funding through the years had held back the program and contributed seriously to the possibility that the moon goal would not be met. There was, of course, no mention of the continuous parade of technical failures and development difficulties, some of which were reported in the press and the technical journals, that were daily forcing new postponements of scheduled tests.

It is only fair to point out that NASA had estimated roughly a cost of $20 billion to get us to the moon, and on the date of Mr. Webb's testimony had already received nearly $25 billion for that program. Last year NASA's entire budget request was funded by more than 99 percent. No other civilian agency has had such faithful annual support from Congress which, prior to fiscal year 1968, had funded $27.8 billion of the $28.9 billion NASA had requested since 1959.

I prepared a speech for the floor of the House on the afternoon of October 5 reiterating the serious problem involved in NASA's lack of candor about program status and making public, as evidence, the text of the February 15, 1967, Von Braun letter. News of my speech was carried that day in the early morning editions of the press. NASA's press conference took place the same afternoon in the NASA auditorium in lieu of the requested status reports.

CANDOR AND FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

It would be well to remember that NASA's attitude toward public scrutiny did not arise with the disclosure of the Von Braun letter, or even with the unhappy revelations of the Apollo hearings. It would appear that Mr. Webb felt betrayed that the subject of the Apollo fire was made known at all when he said on April 10, the first day of the House Apollo hearings:

> The issue here is . . . whether the United States can conduct an open program where everything that happens in any factor gets in the newspapers.

This is, of course, an intolerable position in light of the advertised difference between America's "open" program and Russia's secrecy. It is certainly not acceptable to have the American people and their Representatives in Congress believe that they are fully informed when in fact they are not. Worse yet, it appears that news about the space program has been carefully managed in the past, and this has had the effect of deceiving Members of Congress about the true nature of some of NASA's budget requests and the importance of Congress' decisions.

The problem is not merely an overoptimistic presentation of program status. It goes much deeper than that, having implications for the principle of freedom of information in a democratic society and the power of Congress to investigate adequately and represent the interests of the American people. I refer in particular to the sequence of events surroundings a report by NASA's Apollo program director, Gen. Samuel Phillips in December 1965, concerning the operations of North American Aviation, the prime Apollo contractor.

This report, following an intensive investigation by top NASA personnel, showed, among other things, how the taxpayer was being blatantly overcharged. It said, for example, in reference to the S–II booster program:

> NAA's estimate of the total 10 stage program has more than tripled. These increases have occurred despite the fact that there have been reductions in hardware.

In reference to the Apollo spacecraft program it said:

> The final (cost) estimate does not represent, either in tasks to be done or in resources required, the legitimate program requirements as judged by the program manager, but represents total work and dollars required to support a level of effort within S&ID.

In commenting on North American's "Ability To Meet Commitments," it said:

> NASA has been forced to accept slippages in key milestone accomplishments, degradation in hardware performance, and increasing costs.

Clearly the public is entitled to know how its money is being spent. Yet NASA withheld the report—first attempting to deny its existence and then refusing to produce the document itself. NASA failed to meet its obligations under the statute which created NASA and which provides:

> Information obtained or developed by the Administrator in the performance of his functions shall be made available for public inspection—

And provides further that—

> Nothing in the act shall authorize the withholding by the Administrator from the duly authorized committees of the Congress.

NASA's Administrator tried to defend his action in withholding the Phillips report by referring to a statute—title 18, United States Code, section 1905—which he said restrained him under threat of penalty from divulging confidential information about a contractor.

I believe it would be useful to set the record straight concerning this statute. Title 18, United States Code, section 1905, is designed to prevent a Government employee from stealing, selling, or giving out trade secrets or financial information that he is not authorized to give out. The statute provides:

> Such employee who makes known to any extent not authorized by law any information coming to him in the course of his employment or official duties . . . which information concerns or relates to the trade secrets, processes, operations, style of work or apparatus, or to the identity, confidential statistical data, amount or source of any income, profits, losses, or expenditures of any person, firm . . . or permits any income return or copy thereof or any book containing any abstract . . . to be seen or examined by any persons *except as provided by law*—(Italic added)

Shall be subject to fine or imprisonment or both.

It seems clear that this statute does not apply to the NASA Administrator who is both authorized and obligated by law to make information about the space program available to the public and to respond to requests for information by members of the congressional committees.

The situation was unfortunately made worse when J. L. Atwood, president of North American Aviation, to whom the report had been sent by General Phillips with a covering letter dated December 19, 1965, testified under oath:

> General Phillips has not given us a copy of any report.

A crisis of confidence about NASA's candor has been developing which is perhaps the deepest threat to support of the space program. Only an appreciation of the full extent of the challenges and difficulties confronting the space agency can prepare the American people and the Congress for a mature approach to any failures or disasters which may follow. And certainly, if there is any importance whatever to the competition with the Soviet Union, only open avowal of uncertainties can mitigate the propaganda effect of any future American failures in its space program.

CANDOR AND ITS EFFECT ON PROGRAM QUALITY

It is not only in terms of public confidence and freedom of information that the issue of candor is important. Suppression of difficulties adversely affects the space program itself. NASA has said, in effect, do not bring up these ugly things—let us get on with our business.

This is a disastrous attitude as was seen during the congressional hearings. Extraordinary problems, which had been brewing for years at the plant of the prime Apollo contractor were clearly delineated in the Phillips report of December 19, 1965. From this report we learned that many of the same problems showed up again unsolved in NASA's Apollo Review Board report 15 months later as background conditions for the Apollo fire. The existence of these problems could only have continued without challenge and uproar in circumstances where the truth was sufficiently suppressed.

In spite of NASA's efforts to withhold vital information, certain facts began to emerge. Not only were technical and financial difficulties with the prime contractor being hidden, NASA's own files had for several years prior to the Apollo fire contained records of previous similar NASA fires with ensuing investigations and review board reports, and detailed studies about the extreme fire hazard in a space cabin filled with 100 percent oxygen.

An example was a NASA fire on April 28, 1966, which occurred in a 100-percent oxygen atmosphere in an altitude chamber used to simulate the interior environment of the Apollo command module at a facility in Torrance, Calif. According to NASA's testimony before the Senate Space Committee on February 7, 1967, the 1966 review board's comments on that fire included:

> No adequate fire detection or extinguishing equipment was installed in the test fixture. No written emergency shutdown or fire procedures were provided to the test operators .... From the standpoint of fire control, improvement in the selection of some materials used in the Environmental Control System and Apollo Command Module could be made . . . there is a potential fire hazard from arcing or direct short circuits.

Some of the number of similar NASA fires resulted in injuries to personnel, but fortunately no deaths had occurred. It is interesting to compare the Review Board report on the April 28, 1966, fire with the Review Board report on the January 27, 1967, Apollo fire which reads:

> The test conditions were extremely hazardous . . . Adequate safety precautions were neither established nor observed for this test . . . No procedures for this type of emergency had been established either for the crew or for the spacecraft pad work team . . . Emergency fire, rescue and medical teams were not in attendance. . . . This (orygen) atmosphere presents severe fire hazards if the amount and location of combustibles in the Command Module are not restricted and controlled . . . The risk of fire must be faced . . .

Thus, previous experience with fires existed. NASA had as well, in its files, detailed recommendations for the "amount and location of combustibles" in order to reduce the fire hazard. Properly reviewed, this information should have led NASA to designate the fatal test as hazardous and to take appropriate safety measures. Neither was done. One can only assume the information was quietly filed.

NASA'S DEFICIENCIES

During the Apollo disaster hearings, testimony about the fire, assignment of responsibility, historical data, and inspection and control procedures was contradictory and evasive. Press reports about serious problems at NASA installations increased in frequency. The highly critical Baron report—written prior to the Apollo fire by an employee of North American Aviation—began to take on credibility in the light of other testimony as well as reluctant admissions by NASA and North American that it was substantially correct.

This report, which was compiled of notes made in 1965 and 1966, detailing poor workmanship, lack of control over spacecraft parts, waste of funds, hazardous and inadequate test procedures, disregard of specifications, lack of documentation and quality control, preventable accidents, low morale, and so forth, included various examples of the employee's unsuccessful attempts to communicate with upper management in order to correct or eliminate hazardous conditions. In November 1966 Mr. Baron wrote:

> Why the people higher up don't realize the risk involved in some of this ill practice, I'll never know . . . I was told when I went to work in this building that I was not to create "waves" and above all, don't stop any tests, no matter what.

On April 11, 1966, Mr. Baron had written:

> We will end up in deep trouble.

The Apollo Review Board report itself was a devastating indictment of poor workmanship, poor quality control, lack of adequate inspection and safety procedures, and inadequate contractor supervision. Typical of its conclusions were these excerpts from its findings and determinations:

> Established requirements were not followed with regard to the pre-test constraints list . . . The test specification was released in August 1966 and was not updated to include accumulated changes . . . Deficiencies is design, manufacture, installation, rework and quality control existed in the electrical wiring . . . These deficiencies created an unnecessarily hazardous condition and their continuation would imperil any future Apollo operations.

An interesting comparison may be made between the Baron report and the Review Board report with reference to NASA's testimony that astronaut safety had always been its primary consideration. The official postfire Review Board report stated:

> In its devotion to the many difficult problems of space travel, the Apollo team failed to give adequate attention to certain mundane but equally vital questions of crew safety.

The discredited prefire Baron report said:

> The Apollo program is only the beginning, but this is not to be used as an excuse for poor operations . . . we should not compromise the safety of the astronauts just for the benefit of a schedule.

A striking aspect of NASA's Apollo Review Board report was that, while it faithfully listed many flaws, it did not respond to the implication of its own severe criticism. It spoke only of overt problems which are relatively simple to correct. Poor workmanship can be improved. A hazardous test can be more properly evaluated. Negligence in inspection can be eliminated. The Apollo Review Board failed to note that, although each individual defect can be corrected, the indictment was so comprehensive and so massive that it was impossible to escape the conclusion that NASA's management of the $25 billion moon program was simply inadequate.

Nowhere did the Apollo Review Board conclude that NASA had failed to provide the Nation with a high-quality program, and has yet to prove that it is capable of doing so. Nowhere did the Review Board discuss faulty management procedures that allowed so many errors and difficulties to accumulate. And especially, nowhere did the Apollo Review Board inform us of what we learned with certainty later on from the Phillips report of 1965—that costs in the program were enormously inflated and out of control; that schedules had slipped beyond recognition; that design specifications had been compromised, hardware requirements reduced, and quality degraded in response to inadequate contractor performance. I quote from General Phillips' covering letter to J. L. Atwood, president of North American Aviation, when he transmitted his report on December 19, 1965:

> Even with due consideration of hopeful signs, I could not find a substantive basis for confidence in future performance.

It became so important to make Congress aware of these truths in face of NASA's consistent denials that I warned NASA that, if it did not introduce in evidence the suppressed Phillips report which spelled out these problems, I would publicly release the report. Perhaps NASA did not believe that I had access to this report. In any case, NASA did not acknowledge my offer that it retain charge of the release of information, and on April 29 I made the report available to the public. Through the Phillips report we learned, most of all, that NASA had been aware of the serious problems at North American Aviation but had failed to do anything substantial to either prevent or correct the debilitating conditions.

The foregoing and other items began to suggest that the space program is riddled with so many internal difficulties that accidents are only to be expected and that there may yet be further preventable tragedies. It became apparent that confusion and obscurity in budget planning, and confusion and negligence in supervision of the Apollo program which led to the fire, are both functions of the same institution—NASA management.

CONTINUITY OF NASA'S PROBLEMS

Perhaps NASA's complacency about the deficiencies, by which Congress and the public were so shocked, can be explained by a simple statement made by Dr. Mueller of NASA before the Senate Space Committee on February 27:

> I do not regard the performance of the contractors in the Apollo program as being any better or any worse than the performance of the contractors in the Gemini or in the Mercury program.

If true, the implications of this comment are extremely grave. Indeed, past documents, such as NASA's Mercury report of 1964, suggest the general accuracy of his statement. The Mercury report, in language similar to the 1967 Apollo review, referred to the MA–9 backup spacecraft:

> A total of 720 system or component discrepancies were recorded, of which 526 were directly attributed to a lack of satisfactory quality of workmanship . . . thousands of man-hours were expended in testing, calibration, assembly, and installation of a variety of hardware that later failed to meet performance specifications or that malfunctioned during systems tests . . . this could have been avoided in a large percentage of cases if adequate attention to detail during manufacture or through inspection before delivery had been exercised.

Poor workmanship and escalating costs have existed throughout NASA's history. NASA management has never solved these problems. Many NASA missions have failed. For example, Grumman's orbiting astronomical observatory is 4 years behind schedule; costs are four times the original estimate; and the project is yet to have a successful launch. At Grumman's plant in Bethpage, Long Island, the lunar module is many months behind schedule and is still suffering severe technical problems. Program costs have again skyrocketed. High-level reviews in the style of the Phillips report have been made at Grumman and other NASA contractors as well. To be sure, despite numerous requests, these reports, as well as recent followup reports at North American Aviation, have not been made public or available on request of congressional committee members.

Despite all of the aforementioned, it took the sacrifice of three American astronauts to focus national attention on the reality of serious flaws in NASA's space program. NASA has lost its public image of frankness. More important, the Administrator has made it clear that he will continue to reveal only what he himself thinks Congress ought to know.

THE COMMITTEE'S FAILURE IN THE HEARINGS

In fairness to NASA, the House Space Committee did not explicitly require NASA to be responsive to questions from committee members or to produce vital documents which were relevant to the circumstances leading up to the fire. In fact, in some instances the committee aided and abetted NASA's evasiveness, self-contradictory statements, and refusal to comply with the requests of individual committee members for pertinent information. Blantant misstatements under oath were ignored.

Unfortunately, the committee was substantially unprepared for the hearings. There was no noticeable preliminary committee staff work; there was no independent committee staff investigation at Cape Kennedy at the scene of the fire: there was no independent analysis of the findings of the Apollo Review Board report; no outside expert opinions were sought for the guidance of committee members.

Some Members feared that disclosure would reveal grave difficulties and might harm the future of the space program. My own view is that the space program is in serious difficulty with its management in extensive disarray. There is a need for strong pressure from Congress through both disclosure and stringent budget control in order to force NASA to undertake more substantive steps toward self-improvement. This need is far more pressing than any deadlines past, present, or future, but Congress has not yet determined to play this role.

In spite of the obvious need for continued searching inquiry, the committee called its hearings on the Apollo fire to an early close, and no further investigations are planned. I asked repeatedly for a renewal of the hearings in letters to the chairman, on the floor of the House, and in the press.

On May 4 I asked the President to appoint a high-level commission of independent experts to objectively evaluate NASA management and assess the true nature of the problems involved.

I pointed out that in addition to serious questions of mismanagement, we had not even begun to scratch the surface of another problem, the intrusion of politics into a program that requires the utmost in rational decisionmaking and a policy of awarding contracts on the basis of technical capability rather than political considerations.

All of these suggestions were received quietly and without action.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

When the hearings ended, many important questions were unanswered. To this day some of the most essential questions remain unasked. A full list of such questions would be too long for this report. I will try to indicate just four broad questions, while pointing to some of the reasons for their urgency.

(1) NASA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS CONTRACTORS

The Phillips report was suppressed by NASA and had to become known through another source. General Phillips stated that he visited North American Aviation some eight to 12 times yearly to oversee its operations. In attempting to soft-pedal the importance of the Phillips report, Mr. Webb testified that there are many similar documents in NASA's files and reports on at least two companies that are worse.

On May 9 the Administrator of NASA was forced to reverse his Senate testimony of April 17 and admit that he ignored the advice of NASA's Source Evaluation Board which determined that the Martin Co. was technically better equipped to build the Apollo spacecraft. He stated that his recommendation that the contract be awarded to North American rested on that company's lower bid. Yet the Phillips report showed that North American Aviation's major energies were spent in constant upward revisions of its cost estimates. Costs in the program had tripled and were still escalating unchecked. The attempt to cover up the circumstances of the contract award and NASA's excessive protection of North American did nothing to dispel the aura of politics in what should be objective decisionmaking. If politics is not the answer, this reflects adversely on the validity of the original bid and on the judgment applied in evaluating and accepting it.

Again, Mr. J. L. Atwood, president of North American Aviation, testified in the Senate that part of North American's severe problem was due to new work coming in from NASA so fast that it required a "rapid buildup in manpower." The Phillips report stated that North American's space division—S. & I.D.—was overmanned and showed more dedication to a certain level of effort and dollars than to the Apollo mission. No adequate explanation has yet been offered for continuing and increasing the contractual workload of a company that had shown itself to be inadequate or indifferent to its original task, when other companies were available and qualified.

We were told repeatedly by NASA that by April 1966, the problems at North American had been substantially cleared up. Yet NASA would not make public a July 1966 review of North American, nor the results of a December 1966 design recertification review and later reviews. We should not forget that the Apollo Review Board report suggests that the deficient conditions of December 1965 were still largely in force on January 27, 1967. NASA's testimony is further contradicted by a memo of April 1, 1966, to North American Aviation's space division from the NASA resident manager, which said:

> This office has for periods of more than 12 months pointed out the detrimental effects on the program and insisted that S&ID program management take drastic action in the present to correct deficiencies in the drawing and release system. A year has now transpired in defining the problem and studying solutions.

Furthermore, in his letter to me of September 14, 1967, the Administrator of NASA responded to my question about recent reviews of North American Aviation by admitting:

> NASA did review the North American Aviation operations in July, 1966 . . . Although much progress was made, we were not satisfied with operations as conducted at NAA. This led to the decision, on December 3, 1966, to defer any extended commitment and to revert to a letter contract basis with North American for the Command and Service Module contract.

This letter contract remained in effect for an entire year. Yet a new contract has just been signed retroactive to last December, and in the forthcoming year North American proves once again to be NASA's favorite contractor, having gained new contracts and maintaining a greater share of NASA's business than any other company.

The same complacency that is found in accepting a pattern of serious problems from Mercury to Gemini to Apollo is found in Mr. Webb's casual acceptance of the Phillips report on grounds that it is not unique. He seems to suggest that since other contractors have received similar derogatory ratings, the findings of the Phillips report are of little importance.

Now, if we begin to weigh the massive criticism that has been leveled at NASA from within the program, from outside the program, from NASA's internal documents and from the Apollo Review Board itself—if we contemplate the choice of North American Aviation as prime contractor and the protection it has subsequently received—if we accept NASA's claim of constant supervision of its contractors, the stated routine nature of the Phillips report and commonplace character of its findings, an unavoidable question arises that cannot be left unanswered. That question is: What is the condition of NASA's management that allowed such massive, costly, and hazardous problems to accumulate and to remain unsolved?

(2) NASA'S INTERNAL OPERATIONS

In the past, NASA has had an impressive series of management directives and documents for quality control and program guidance. For example, the NASA NPC 200 series of 3 and 4 years ago includes excellent manuals on "Quality Program Provisions and Inspection System Provisions." Another useful document is NASA's Apollo publication "Contractor Reliability Plans and Performance Evaluation Manual." A 1965 NASA policy directive—NPD 7121.1—introduced "Phased Project Planning" which it said "provide(d) a framework for clearly understood delegations of authority and responsibility down to the lowest level of management."

In response to the Apollo hearings, NASA issued a lengthy new compilation of management directives in its publication "Actions Taken as a Result of the AS-204 Accident." NASA said:

> These are to remove possible ambiguities in the assignment of program responsibilities and to reinforce control of waivers and deviations.

There is no reason to believe that a mere recompilation of documents will bring about an adherence to planning directives that has not existed in the past.

NASA's detailed 1964 publication "Space Cabin Atmospheres—Fire and Blast Hazards"—which contains an extensive bibliography of related studies and publications—anticipates precisely the conclusions about fire hazard, flammability, materials placement, and fire safety construction procedures which NASA management has been investigating and discovering in 1967 at considerable public expense.

NASA has in its files the experience of several previous NASA fires similar to the spacecraft 012 fire on January 27 of this year, but apparently learned nothing from them and did nothing to alter procedures in order to prevent or minimize a recurrence.

Finally, and most upsetting, we learned from the Apollo Review Board report that, as a result of past fire hazard studies, NASA did in fact have criteria for flammable materials and their placement in the space cabin among its directives, but these were not implemented by the contractor or checked on by NASA.

NASA said in its document "Actions Taken as a Result of the AS-204 Accident":

> Knowledge gained as a result of the fire and in subsequent testing has led to a significant change in the approach to selection and placement of materials in the Command Module. This change to previous practice is more significant than any other single change resulting from the investigation.

I genuinely fear that this statement may be true, and that there will be, in fact, few changes of greater magnitude than this.

Incredible as it may seem, despite prior mishaps, NASA failed to designate as hazardous the fatal test which involved three human beings in a 100-percent oxygen atmosphere at 16 pounds per square inch. Because it was not considered hazardous, prescribed safety measures were not followed. The real problem, then, is not a simple error in evaluating the hazards of a particular test. It is a serious and deep-rooted lack of control of an entire program. In this respect it is a bureaucratic and institutional problem—not a problem of individuals. The space agency received enormous sums of money for vast programs before its rapidly growing management structure could gain the experience and maturity necessary for their successful administration.

NASA has enjoyed a unique public confidence and a consequent lack of outside scrutiny and criticism. It is the only civilian agency which has had its annual budget requests almost fully funded. As a result, NASA's internal weaknesses are now deeply inbred. The Apollo Review Board was very frank—but it admitted to only those problems that a good agency can solve; it did not question NASA's management procedures and ability to solve them.

In reviewing NASA's future budgets and projected programs we must urgently ask: What fundamental changes need to be made in NASA's management structure—and are any of the necessary changes in fact being made?

(3) NASA'S DECISIONMAKING PROCESS AND PROGRAM LEADERSHIP

One matter confronting us relates to the forthcoming lunar effort. In light of the prescience shown by the Baron report and similar NASA employee documents of the past few years, it is difficult at this time to dismiss lightly statements by insiders that various aspects of the space program are in great difficulty and in danger of further disaster.

Several experts have pointed out their concern that Grumman's lunar module, for example, cannot with present technology be realistically flight-tested before its first planned use in returning the astronauts from the moon's surface. Apparently the moon program is proceeding at a pace held back only by failure to meet schedules—not by plans to wait for the solution to such a problem.

This alone might give us pause, but my concern is heightened by two other factors. The first is that these doubts and technical difficulties are not readily admitted by officials of the space agency even when directly asked. Unsolved problems are discovered by outsiders in large part accidentally when informed experts confess their apprehension. Since NASA officials are not open about the extent of the serious technical and safety questions still to be resolved, one can only hope that there are no other hazardous problems being shunted aside or unnecessary risks being taken in order to meet schedules and get on with the program. Certainly, schedule pressures and corner cutting played a major role in the Apollo tragedy, and one can only assume the motive to be maintaining the agency's image of rapid success—or to sustain a high level of program funding. Unfortunately, my doubts were greatly increased by the number of comments I received from space program employees citing hazardous working conditions, dangerous or inadequate test and inspection procedures, NASA and contractor unwillingness to admit internal criticisms because acknowledgement might call for changes and interfere with schedules. Apparently it is not clear to these employees that NASA and its contractors are as concerned with human safety and high standards as they are with continuing the space race. Not only has employee morale suffered severely on this account, but morale problems themselves can have a deadly effect on quality and safety in the program.

The other complicating factor is the sad knowledge we have gained about NASA's difficulty in implementing even the satisfactory portions of its own plans. We have come to realize that, despite some impressive management directives, NASA's enforcement of standards has been frequently unsuccessful and can probably be viewed as one of the agency's greatest deficiencies. We have learned also that NASA management compounds its own problems by failing to identify the true status of programs—just as the Apollo Review Board pointed out that North American contributed greatly to the hazards of the fatal Apollo test by not identifying the true status of the space capsule.

NASA wants no further public or even congressional scrutiny of its operations and, in spite of recent criticism, still hopes to carry on largely with its present plans and procedures intact. Yet NASA has widely claimed that a mere 10-percent cut which Congress made in this year's budget—an action for which most agencies would be grateful—may have wounded or halted the space program for years to come. NASA's current $4.5 billion is still a great deal of money. Should the space program actually suffer severe setbacks in the future, it is my belief that they will be largely the result of NASA's deficiencies and handling of its responsibilities—not of a mere $500 million cut in a $5 billion budget.

In light of the tremendous financial effort required of the public to support NASA's program, it becomes unavoidable to ask:

What higher standards of safety, of quality, and of cost control, has NASA adopted—and what concrete steps will NASA take to strengthen adequately the review and control of its contractors in order to insure their satisfactory performance?

CANDOR, POLICYMAKING, AND NASA'S ROLE IN SOCIETY

We have seen that the nature of NASA's policies on information are such that preservation of the agency's image appears to receive priority over clarification of issues, over accurate accounting of costs and procedures, and over frank disclosures of the true status of programs. NASA's information-dissemination policy can be reasonably described as agency propaganda. In an area which demands the highest dedication to searching, honest inquiry, and scientific objectivity, a devotion to propaganda can, by corrupting the agency's attitudes, have a telling and deleterious effect. This is undoubtedly an important factor in NASA's current difficulties.

One clear result of this propaganda function is the barrier it places between the agency and the public it is presumed to serve. NASA long escaped serious scrutiny not only because it hid behind the complex technical aspects of its programs—but also because the image NASA projected of unlimited success was a carefully manufactured product bearing little relation to real, down-to-earth problems or to processes of decisionmaking about national goals and objectives and the costs and benefits involved.

NASA's devotion to propaganda has been seen in various ways. Surely the original moon deadline was not foisted upon a reluctant NASA. When President Kennedy proposed a manned landing on the moon in this decade as a national objective, various observers recollect that the space agency had already determined that the moon goal was indeed in its own interest.

In fact, according to the NASA historian at the Library of Congress, NASA had laid out its plans for a manned landing on the moon with potential landing dates as early as 1966 during the Eisenhower administration, well before President Kennedy took office. Much time and energy was spent building pressures and creating the climate in which the moon projects could be seriously proposed as a national goal. The protests of a number of leading scientists, who said that America had little to gain from such an aproach to a space program, were overlooked and quieted. Once convinced that it had made a decision, the American public took full responsibility by viewing the authorization of the enormously expensive Apollo program without a moment's hesitation.

Of course, sputnik contributed a great deal to the national response of unquestioning acceptance. The shock to the national pride was genuine and deep. Patriotism and fear of the Soviet Union's growing power played a real part. But by now we should have learned a great deal from that episode. Yet we have the current spectacle of the Administrator of NASA trying to scare America into full funding of debatable budget requests by once again raising the specter of a space gap—warning that the Russians may soon boost a larger spacecraft or arrive on the moon a little before us, and occasionally implying that whoever lands first on the lunar surface will control all of space if not the earth below. By now we should have realized that, regardless of past hysteria, it in fact matters little today on which date whose original satellite was launched. The world is impressed, and so should we be, by the quality of what we can accomplish—not by who tried to do it first. Serious benefits for mankind should be far more important to us than any possible deadlines or dubious competition. I do not believe the cold war will be won or lost by the nation that steps first onto the lunar surface—nor do I believe that anything but harm can come of the attempt to keep the space program largely inspired and guided by international tournaments. Furthermore, I do not believe the Nation is well served by the current propaganda barrage which tries to magnify the benefits of "technical spinoff" from our space program and implies that potential and hoped-for domestic applications are an adequate substitute for direct attacks on serious domestic problems. This attempt only serves further to threaten public confidence in the candor and leadership of the space agency and further endangers support for the space program.

Another aspect of the agency's propaganda is NASA's occasional reference to its need for extensive facilities in case of large-scale military operations—in which case, the Administrator has suggested, NASA might fly military payloads and play an important role in the national defense. On May 31, 1967, I received a reply from the Department of Defense to my inquiry about NASA's military role. In it, the Director of Defense Research and Engineering stated:

> **I feel that the main contribution of NASA's space program to Defense is in the technology being developed rather than in major items of hardware.**

Yet another aspect of the irrationality disseminated by NASA is its insistence on equating the success, importance, and image of the space program with immediate and extensive manned—as oppose to unmanned—space flight. At this time the scientific community is not totally agreed that we yet have the necessary technology safely to send men on lengthy space missions. The President's Science Advisory Committee has also raised the question as to whether there is any particular advantage in manned flight for a good deal of the space experimentation now being discussed. This is particularly pertinent considering the fact that instrumented missions are decidedly less expensive, since they weigh less and are less demanding in terms of propulsion, reliability, and advanced life-support technology. Again, those scientists who originally questioned the value of allowing NASA primarily to orient its program around manned flight, argued that we could learn more at less cost if NASA did not divert its best energies to the question of simply providing safety and comfort for the presence of human beings.

Assuming manned space flight, however, many competent observers have pointed out the illogic of following a manned lunar landing by a number of unmanned flights, as planned, instead of vice versa. Finally, some experts are of the opinion that many of NASA's planned experiments are of doubtful value and appear primarily designed to rationalize the importance of the particular launch.

NASA will not admit that there is any question about the privacy of manned space flight at this time. During budget hearings this year, when asked by the House Appropriations Committee what, if forced to choose, NASA would be willing to cut, NASA without hesitation pointed to its unmanned programs which are presumably devoted exclusively to scientific experimentation and advancing the state-of-the-art.

I have already mentioned the NASA-proposed NERVA II nuclear engine with its purpose to serve as a vehicle to place a man on Mars in 1985 at a probable cost of over $200 billion. As was pointed out, Congress has temporarily deleted the funds for this project. But during the budget hearings NASA would not admit that its purpose was the manned Mars landing. It is important to note that careful reading of NASA's fiscal year 1968 budget submission indicates that NASA had already begun the NERVA II hardware program in the preceding year without consulting Congress. More and more frequently this year NASA regularly mentioned a manned Mars landing in public, and articles to that effect based on NASA releases were seen frequently in the press and technical journals. In typical fashion, early in the year Space Aeronautics magazine published a colorful picture graph entitled "U.S. Aerospace Program—Missions and Projects as of January 1, 1967." It included the manned Mars landing and said it "could be launched in the early 1980's." The NASA propaganda machine has been working to inject this project into the national consciousness and to provide us with our next spectacular and unbelievably costly manned space goal. I can only reason that NASA did not officially propose such a goal because raising the issue might lead to serious questions about NASA's capability as well as the astronomical cost. Instead, at one point the argument was made that nuclear propulsion, as provided by the NERVA II engine, would provide us with another option, and that options are precisely what the Russians are developing; and Mr. Webb implied that, if we did not follow suit, we might soon be faced with a serious option-gap—one may wonder if the taxpayers will have an option.

The fact is that NASA may yet succeed in receiving funds for the NERVA II hardware project. Judging by usual procedure, once enough money is spent on developing this nuclear propulsion capability NASA will announce that all the money already invested, and the industrial capability developed in the process of building the hardware, will be wasted unless we take the next step and adopt a goal of landing a man on Mars in order to justify past expense and effort.

In view of NASA's repeated claim that if we did not fund the initial $2 billion NERVA II flight hardware project right away, our capability to build it later would somehow diminish, and considering the enormous effort already spent in publicizing the idea of a man on Mars without mentioning its cost or questioning its real benefits, it is not unreasonable to ask if NASA's main concern is to insure that its budget is as large as possible.

If we add to this aspect the troubling awareness we have already developed concerning NASA's lack of candor about mission progress and actual program costs—we are faced with perhaps the most difficult and important question of all. How will we be assured that NASA will keep us informed of the true status of its operations, its costs, and its planning process so that the American public will be able to participate in the choice and direction of national goals in space?

CONCLUSION

I think Congress must share the blame for the fact that these vital questions remain unanswered. Congress has not yet determined to lift the technology curtain and expose the bare policy considerations that lie beneath.

I believe that we overfund, and underexamine, the validity of our major technological programs and the success and integrity of their administration. I am neither for nor against the space program. I think that having an excellent program is essential both to our pride and our progress. I think it is essential as well that we throw off the shackles of the space race and declare our intention to make rational plans designed to meet the needs of America not distorted by the conceptions and value judgments of another nation. It is essential that we examine our national priorities with the utmost care and make certain that the space program is neither made a handy villain by its critics nor a handy saviour by its spokesmen. We must establish reality and make a sober and objective appraisal of the space program's role in our society.

Perhaps the problem was best capsulized in a rather sad cartoon which appeared in the press some months ago. It read:

> Ask not what the space program can do for you, ask what you can do for the space program.

Perhaps it is time we reverse that all-too-true commentary and set out to determine with care how the space program may serve us ably and well.

To this end Congress must demand that NASA adopt new standards of candor in its dealings with the Congress and the public. This must include regular and complete status reports on all major programs and on contractor operations.

Congress should demand that NASA's budget presentations be altered so that program costs are clarified and decisions can be made based on an appreciation of the true magnitude of programs. This should include a breakdown of administrative funds as they relate to individual programs, an accounting of cumulative past costs for each program, and a clear and thoughtful projection of future costs for a period of at least 5 years, based not only on ideal considerations, but as well on pragmatic and empirical considerations about development problems and the risks of hardware failure.

Congress must relinquish its romantic illusions about the space program and its notion that all technical efforts are equivalent to progress. Each program proposal should be evaluated in terms of its specific objectives and their social value.

Congress should demand that a panel of independent experts be created to provide an objective technical evaluation of NASA management and planning procedures. Such a group should both challenge and support NASA's methods, where they find it suitable, in order to promote genuine improvement and to broaden the perspective on which Congress bases its own decisions. They should as well be able to suggest areas where NASA's funds could be reasonably cut without endangering the program.

Congress must revise its attitude toward hearings on the space program. In the future, both hostile and friendly witnesses should be called—from all levels of management and from the work force itself. This should include personnel from both NASA and a variety of its contractors in order to begin to clarify where responsibility lies for efficient planning and for the implementation of quality standards. In addition, relevant outside professional advice should be sought to provide a more balanced view of the policies espoused by the space agency.

Finally, if we establish reality in our view of the space program, we can assign it to a proper place in our national priorities; we can determine what truly useful service it may perform; and then we can see that it receives whatever funds are necessary to perform that service and not a penny more.

The American people deserve nothing less.

Voting and Attendance Record, 90th Congress, First Session, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report of my voting and attendance record during the first session of the 90th Congress.

The record includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no attempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

The report is as follows:

GERALD R. FORD'S VOTING RECORD, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.

Rollcall No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1	Jan. 10	Call of the House	Present.
2	Jan. 10	Election of the Speaker (McCormick, 246; Ford, 186)	Not voting.
3	Jan. 10	H. Res. 1: On a motion to close debate and vote on the resolution calling for an investigation of the right of Representative-elect Powell to take his seat; in the interim he may vote as a Member. (Defeated 126 to 305.)	No.
4	Jan. 10	H. Res. 1: To adopt a substitute motion denying Mr. Powell the right to vote in the House while a committee investigates his right to his seat. (Passed 364 to 64.)	Yes.
5	Jan. 10	H. Res. 7: On a motion to close debate and vote on the resolution calling for the adoption of the rules of the 89th Cong. as the rules of this Congress. (Defeated 196 to 224.)	No.
6	Jan. 10	H. Res. 7: To amend the resolution to remove from the rules of the House, the "21-day rule" as it applied to the Committee on Rules in the 89th Cong. (Passed 232 to 185.)	Yes.
7	Jan. 23	Quorum call	Present.
8	Jan. 24	Quorum call	Present.
9	Jan. 31	Quorum call	Present.
10	Feb. 8	Quorum call	Present.
11	Feb. 8	H. Res. 226: To adopt the rule for consideration of the debt limitation bill (H.R. 4573) permitting no amendments from the floor. (Passed 223 to 184.)	No.
12	Feb. 8	H.R. 4573: To recommit to committee the bill raising the debt limitation in order to include within the limitation the sale of participation certificates and to remove the 4¼-percent limitation on long-term U.S. bonds. (Defeated 155 to 261.)	Yes.
13	Feb. 8	H.R. 4573: To increase the public debt limit from $330,000,000,000 to $336,000,000,000. (Passed 215 to 199.)	No.
14	Feb. 20	Quorum call	Present.
15	Feb. 20	H. Res. 2: To suspend the rules and adopt the "Reserve Bill of Rights" (Passed 324 to 13.)	Yes.
16	Feb. 21	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
17	Feb. 21	H. Res. 83: On ordering "the previous question" on the resolution authorizing the Committee on Agriculture to make studies and investigations. (Passed 231 to 85.)	Absent.[2]
18	Feb. 21	H. Res. 83: To approve the resolution authorizing the Committee on Agriculture to make studies and investigations, as amended not to include overseas travel. (Passed 304 to 18.)	Absent.[2]
19	Feb. 28	Quorum call	Present.
20	Mar. 1	Quorum call	Present.
21	Mar. 1	Quorum call	Present.
22	Mar. 1	H. Res. 278: To adopt the "previous question" halting debate and calling for a vote without amendments on the resolution regarding Representative-elect Powell. (Defeated 222 to 202.)	Yes.
23	Mar. 1	H. Res. 278: To order the "previous question" on the substitute motion to exclude Mr. Powell from membership in the 90th Cong. (Passed 263 to 161.)	No.
24	Mar. 1	H.R. 278: To substitute for the recommendations of the select committee, a resolution excluding Mr. Powell from membership in the 90th Cong., (Passed 248 to 176.)	No.
25	Mar. 1	H. Res. 278: To approve the resolution as amended to exclude Mr. Powell from membership in the 90th Cong. (Passed 307 to 116.)	Yes.
26	Mar. 1	H. Res. 278: To order the "previous question" on a motion to adopt the foreamble to the resolution. (Passed 307 to 9.)	Yes.
27	Mar. 2	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
28	Mar. 2	H.R. 4515: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing supplemental military procurement, research, and construction in order to provide that none of the funds authorized in this bill shall be used to carry out military operations in or over North Vietnam. (Defeated 18 to 372.)	Absent.[2]
29	Mar. 6	Quorum call	Present.
30	Mar. 9	S. 665: To approve the conference report on the bill authorizing supplemental military procurements, research, and construction for fiscal year 1967. (Passed 363 to 13.)	Yes.
31	Mar. 9	Quorum call	Present.
32	Mar. 9	H.J. Res. 267: To approve the resolution calling for emergency food assistance to India. (Passed 311 to 63.)	Yes.
33	Mar. 9	H. Res. 376: To order the "previous question" on the resolution authorizing the House of Representatives to employ special counsel in the court case filed by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., et al. (Passed 254 to 85.)	Yes.
34	Mar. 13	Quorum call	Present.
35	Mar. 15	Quorum call	Present.
36	Mar. 15	H.R. 6098: To extend for 2 years the interest equalization tax. (Passed 261 to 138.)	Yes.
37	Mar. 16	Quorum call	Present.
38	Mar. 16	H.R. 7123: To approve the bill providing a $12,190,000,000 supplemental appropriation for the Department of Defense. (Passed 385 to 11.)	Yes.
39	Mar. 16	H.R. 6950: To approve the bill restarting the 7-percent investment credit and the allowance for accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property. (Passed 386 to 2.)	Yes.
40	Mar. 20	H.R. 2068: To suspend the rules and pass the bill relative to veterans' pension and other benefits. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Absent.[2]
41	Mar. 20	H.R. 2513: To suspend the rules and pass the bill to establish a Commission on National Observances and Holidays. (Passed 313 to 35.)	Absent.[2]
42	Mar. 21	Quorum call	Present.
43	Mar. 21	H.R. 5277: To approve the bill authorizing appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and other purposes relative to the territory. (Passed 371 to 15.)	Yes.
44	Mar. 22	Quorum call	Present.
45	Mar. 22	H.R. 7501: To adopt an amendment cutting $185,000 from the appropriations bill for the Treasury Department to eliminate 15 positions from the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury. (Passed 210 to 175.)	Yes.
46	Mar. 22	H.R. 7501: On a motion to recommit to committee the Treasury-Post Office appropriations bill in order to make a 5-percent reduction in the appropriation as recommended by the President. (Defeated 168 to 217.)	Yes.
47	Mar. 22	H. R. 7501: On final passage of the Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office appropriation bill for 1968 in the amount of $7,500,000,000. (Passed 371 to 7.)	Yes.

See footnotes at end of table.

GERALD R. FORD'S VOTING RECORD, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
48	Mar. 22	Quorum call	Present.
49	Mar. 22	H.J. Res. 428: 1 motion to recommit to committee the resolution on the Alliance for Progress in order to strike out all after the resolving clause and to adopt language stating that the Congress will give sympathetic consideration to ways of implementing any agreements to be made at Punta del Este. (Defeated 147 to 210.)	No.
50	Mar. 22	H.J. Res. 428: To approve the resolution in support for a new phase of the Alliance for Progress at this meeting of American Chiefs of State to be held at Punta del Este. (Passed 234 to 118.)	Yes.
51	Apr. 5	Quorum call	Present.
52	Apr. 5	H. Res. 364: To recommit to committee the resolution providing $250,000 for use by the Committee on Science for employmenti travel, etc., in order to provide $30,000 more for employment and staff assistants to the minority. (Defeated 176 to 215.)	Yes.
53	Apr. 5	H. Res. 221: On a motion to order the "previous question" on the resolution providing $350,000 for investigative expenses by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (Passed 305 to 92.)	Yes.
54	Apr. 5	H. Res. 221: On a motion to recommit to committee, the resolution providing funds for investigations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in order that open hearings may be held on the request of the committee. (Defeated 92 to 304.)	No.
55	Apr. 5	H. Res. 221: To approve the resolution providing $350,000 for the investigative functions of the Committee on Un-American Activities. (Passed 348 to 43.)	Yes.
56	Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
57	Apr. 6	H. Res. 413: To adopt the rule under which H.R. 2512, the copyright provision bill is to be considered. (Passed 347 to 42.)	Yes.
58	Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
59	Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
60	Apr. 6	H. R. 2512: On a motion to strike the enacting clause from the bill providing for a general revision of the copyright laws. (Defeated 126 to 252.)	No.
61	Apr. 11	Quorum call	Present.
62	Apr. 11	H.J. Res. 493 (S.J. Res. 65): To suspend the rules and approve the resolution extending for 20 days until May 3, the date at which the railroad strike could take place. (Passed 396 to 8.)	Yes.
63	Apr. 11	H. R. 2512: To approve the Copyright Provision Act as amended by the House. (Passed 379 to 29.)	Yes.
64	Apr. 12	Quorum call	Present.
65	Apr. 12	H. R. 5404: To approve the bill amending the National Science Foundation Act to make certain changes with organization and operation of the Foundation. (Passed 391 to 22).	Yes.
66	Apr. 13	Quorum call	Present.
67	Apr. 13	Quorum call	Present.
68	Apr. 13	H. Res. 418: To adopt the resolution establishing a Committee on Standards of Official Condust. (Passed 400 to 0.)	Yes.
69	Apr. 17	Quorum call	Present.
70	Apr. 20	H. Res. 443: To approve the resolution expressing sympathy to the people of West Germany in the death of Konrad Adenauer. (Passed 357 to 0.)	Yes.
71	Apr. 20	H Res. 207: To provide for the participation of the Department of the Interior in the construction and operation of a large prototype desalting plant. (Passed 315 to 38.)	Yes.
72	Apr. 26	Quorum call	Present.
73	Apr. 27	H.R. 9029: On a motion to recommit to committee the 1968 appropriat ng bil for the Department of the Interior in order to make a 5-percent across-the-board reduction in the appropriation as recommended by the President. (Defeated 158 to 231.)	Yes.
74	Apr. 27	H.R. 9029: To approve the $1,300,000,000 appropriation bill (1968) for the Department of the Interior and related agencies. (Passed 376 to 11.)	Yes.
75	Apr. 27	H.R. 442: To adopt the "previous question" on the resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 2508, the bill relative to establishing Federal standards for congressional redistricting. (Passed 284 to 99.)	Yes.
76	Apr. 27	H.R. 2508: On a motion to recommit to committee the bill on Federal standards for congressional redistricting for the purpose of striking out the provisions that "the States of Hawaii and New Mexico may continue to elect their Representative at Large. (Defeated 161 to 203.)	Yes.
77	Apr. 27	H.R. 2508: On final passage of the bill establishing Federal standards for congressional redistricting. (Passed 289 to 63.)	Yes.
78	May 1	Quorum call	Present.
79	May 1	H.J. Res. 543: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution extending the "cooling-off" period in the potential railroad strike to June 19. (Passed 301 to 56.)	Yes.
80	May 3	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
81	May 3	H.R. 9481: To approve the 2d supplemental appropriations bill in the amount of $2,040,000,000. (Passed 391 to 6.)	Yes.
82	May 4	Quorum call	Present.
83	May 9	Quorum call	Present.
84	May 9	H.R. 9240: To approve the bill authorizing defense procurement, research, and development in the amount of $21,400,000,000. (Passed 401 to 3.)	Yes.
85	May 11	Quorum call	Present.
86	May 11	H. Res. 161: To approve the resolution providing up to $100 additional allowance for telephone service in the district office of Members of the House. (Passed 189 to 157.)	Yes.
87	May 11	H. Res. 464: To approve the resolution adding 78 officers and members to the Capitol Police Force. (Passed 334 to 16.)	Yes.
88	May 15	Quorum call	Present.
89	May 15	Quorum call	Present.
90	May 16	Quorum call	Present.
91	May 17	Quorum call	Present.
92	May 17	H.R. 9960: To amend the appropriation bill for independent offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development by striking out the provision authorizing new contracts in the rent supplement program. (Passed 232 to 171.)	Yes.
93	May 17	H.R. 9960: To recommit to committee the independent office and HUD appropriation bill in order to reduce the appropriation for model cities from $237,000,000 to $12,000,000. (Defeated 193 to 213.)	Yes.
94	May 17	H. R. 9960: To approve the $10,000,000,000 appropriation bill for independent offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. (Passed 347 to 56.)	No.
95	May 17	H. R. 6431: To approve the Mental Health Amendment of 1967. of 1967. (Passed 353 to 0.)	Yes.
96	May 22	Quorum call	Present.
97	May 22	Quorum call	Present.
98	May 23	Quorum call	Present.
99	May 23	Quorum call	Present.
100	May 24	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
101	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
102	May 24	H. R. 7819: To adopt an amendment to the elementary and secondary education bill which would tend to give more Federal assistance to the poorer States. (Passed 221 to 195.)	Yes.
103	May 24	H. R. 7819: To adopt an amendment to the elementary and secondary education bill which would provide more State control over certain programs under the act. (Passed 230 to 185.)	Yes.
104	May 24	H. R. 7819: To recommit to committee the bill amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in order to hold further hearings on the bill and all germane amendments. (Defeated 180 to 236.)	Yes.
105	May 24	H. R. 7819: On final passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967. (Passed 294 to 122.)	No.
106	May 25	Quorum call	Present.
107	May 25	Quorum call	Present.
108	May 25	S. 1423: To approve the bill amending the Universal Training and Service Act as amended by the House (Passed 362 to 9.)	Yes.
109	May 31	Quorum call	Present.
110	May 31	H.R. 10345: To amend the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies in order to limit to $1,350,000 the subsidy SBA participation certificate. (Passed 185 to 44.)	Yes.
111	May 31	H.R. 10345: To recommit to committee the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies in order to limit expenditures in these departments and agencies (except FBI) to 95 percent of the amount requested by the President in the budget. (Passed 171 to 156.)	Yes.
112	June 1	Quorum call	Present.
113	June 1	Quorum call	Present.
114	June 1	Quorum call	Present.
115	June 1	Quorum call	Present.
116	June 5	H.R. 10226: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing additional free letter mail and air transportation mailing privileges of the Armed Forces. (Passed 315 to 0.)	Absent.[2]
117	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
118	June 6	Quorum call	Present.
119	June 6	H.R. 10509: To recommit to committee the agricultural appropriation bill in order to make a 5-percent reduction in the bill as recommended by the President. (Except for the school lunch and school milk program.) (Defeated 175 to 222.)	Yes.
120	June 6	H.R. 10509: To approve the $4,700,000,000 Department of Agriculture appropriation bill. (Passed 357 to 38.)	No.
121	June 7	Quorum call	Present.
122	June 7	H. Res. 504: To order the "previous question" on the resolution under which the bill authorizing an increase in the debt limitation was to be considered. (Passed 291 to 99.)	Yes.
123	June 7	H. R. 10328: To approve the bill raising the public debt limit to $365,000,000,000. (Defeated 197 to 210.)	No.
124	June 8	Quorum call	Present.
125	June 8	Quorum call	Present.
126	June 8	H. R. 9029: To approve the conference report on the $1,400,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of the Interior and related agencies which was $5,300,000,000 above the bill as approved by the House originally. (Passed 321 to 49.)	No.
127	June 8	Quorum call	Present.
128	June 8	H.R. 1318 (S. 953): To amend the bill relating to the food stamp program in order to require States or local political units to pay for 20 percent of the free coupons distributed in the area. (Defeated 173 to 191.)	Yes.
129	June 8	H.R. 1318 (S. 953): On a final passage of the bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964. (Passed 230 to 128.)	No.
130	June 12	Quorum call	Present.
131	June 12	H.R. 7476 (S. 1352): To approve the bill authorizing adjustments in the amount of outstanding silver certificates. (Passed 234 to 109.)	Yes.
132	June 13	Quorum call	Present.
133	June 13	Quorum call	Present.
134	June 13	Quorum call	Present.
135	June 13	H.R. 10738: To approve the $70,000,000,000 defense appropriation bill. (Passed 407 to 1.)	Yes.
136	June 14	Quorum call	Present.
137	June 14	Quorum call	Present.
138	June 15	Quorum call	Present.
139	June 19	H.R. 6111: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center. (Passed 229 to 98.)	Yes.
140	June 19	H.R. 10730: To suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965. (Passed 331 to 0.)	Yes.
141	June 19	H.R. 480: To suspend the rules and pass the bill extending for an additional 8 years the act relating to the acquisition of wet lands. (Passed 328 to 8.)	Yes.
142	June 19	H.R. 482: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing an increase in fee for migrating bird hunting stamps. (Passed 238 to 97.)	Yes.
143	June 20	Quorum call	Present.
144	June 20	S. 1432: To adopt the conference report on the bill to amend and extend the Universal Military Training and Service Act. (Passed 397 to 29.)	Yes.
145	June 20	H.R. 10480: To approve the bill to make it a Federal offense to desecrate the U.S. flag. (Passed 385 to 16.)	Absent.[2]
146	June 21	Quorum call	Present.
147	June 21	H.R. 10867: To recommit to committee the bill increasing the public debt ceiling in order to set the limit at $336,000,000,000 (Defeated 191 to 224.)	Yes.
148	June 21	H.R. 10867: On final passage of the bill to increase the permanent debt limit to $358,000,000,000 with a "supplementary $7,000,000,000" for fiscal year 1969 and subsequently. (Passed 217 to 196.)	No.
149	June 22	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of tables.

GERALD R. FORD'S VOTING RECORD, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
149	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
150	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
151	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
152	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
153	June 26	S. 1226: To approve the bill relating to the issuance of marriage licenses in the District of Columbia. (Passed 335 to 6.)	Yes.
154	June 27	H.R. 10783: To approve the bill relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. (Passed 355 to 14.)	Yes.
155	June 27	Quorum call	Present.
156	June 27	H.R. 10943: To recommit to committee the higher education bill in order to strike provisions for the Teacher Corps from the bill. (Defeated 146 to 257.)	No.
157	June 27	H.R. 10943: To approve the bill amending and extending title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965. (Passed 311 to 88.)	Yes.
158	June 28	Quorum call	Present.
159	June 28	Quorum call	Present.
160	June 28	H.R. 10340 (S. 1296): To recommit to committee the NASA authorization bill in order to cut $136,500,000 from the bill and to provide for an Aerospace Safety Advisory Panel. (Passed 238 to 157.)	Yes.
161	June 28	H.R. 10340 (S. 1296): To approve the NASA authorization bill as amended. (Passed 342 to 53.)	Yes.
162	July 11	Quorum call	Present.
163	July 11	H.R. 10805: To suspend the rules and pass the bill extending the existence of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for 5 years to Jan. 31, 1973. (Passed 283 to 89.)	Yes.
164	July 12	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
165	July 12	S. 20: To establish a National Water Commission to make a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs. (Passed 369 to 18.)	Absent.[2]
166	July 13	Quorum call	Present.
167	July 13	H.R. 10595: To recommit to committee the bill prohibiting certain financial institutions from acting as lottery agencies. (Defeated 135 to 257.)	No.
168	July 13	H.R. 10595: To approve the bill prohibiting certain financial institutions (in New York State) from acting as lottery agencies. (Passed 271 to 111.)	Yes.
169	July 17	Quorum call	Present.
170	July 17	S.J. Res. 81: To pass the resolution for a settlement of the railway strike. (Passed 244 to 148.)	Yes.
171	July 18	Quorum call	Present.
172	July 18	Quorum call	Present.
173	July 18	H.R. 11456: To recommit to committee the appropriation bill for the Department of Transportation in order to reduce expenditures in fiscal 1968 by 5 percent of the budgetary request. (Passed 218 to 189.)	Yes.
174	July 18	H.R. 11456: To approve the $1,500,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Defense as amended (Passed 393 to 5.)	Yes.
175	July 19	Quorum call	Present.
176	July 19	H.R. 421: To approve the bill making it a Federal offense to travel or use the facilities in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to incite riot. (Passed 347 to 70.)	Yes.
177	July 20	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
178	July 20	H. Res. 749: To adopt the resolution making it in order to consider H.R. 11000, the Rat Extermination Act of 1967. (Defeated 176 to 207.)	Absent.[3]
179	July 25	Quorum call	Present.
180	July 25	H.R. 11641: To delete from the public works appropriation bill planning funds in the amount of $1,600,000 for the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric dam in Maine. (Passed 233 to 169.)	Yes.
181	July 25	H.R. 11641: To recommit to committee the appropriation bill for public works and Atomic Energy Commission in order to reduce the appropriations for each item by 5 percent. (Defeated 168 to 239.)	Yes.
182	July 25	H.R. 11641: On final passage of the $4,600,000,000 appropriations bill for public works and the Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 375 to 26.)	No.
183	July 26	Quorum call	Present.
184	July 26	Quorum call	Present.
185	July 26	Quorum call	Present.
186	July 26	H.R. 9547: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing funds for the Inter-American Development Bank in order to cut the amount from $900,000,000 to $750,000,000. (Defeated 185 to 217.)	Yes.
187	July 26	H.R. 9547: To authorize funds in the amount of $900,000,000 for the Inter-American Development Bank. (Passed 275 to 122.)	Absent.
188	July 27	Quorum call	Present.
189	July 27	H.R. 8630: To approve the bill extending the authority for exemptions from the antitrust laws to assist in safeguarding the balance-of-payments position of the United States. (Passed 308 to 66.)	Yes.
190	July 31	H.R. 6098: To adopt the conference report on the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967. (Passed 223 to 83.)	Yes.
191	Aug. 1	Quorum call	Present.
192	Aug. 1	H.R. 11722: To approve the military construction authorization bill for 1968. (Passed 394 to 2.)	Yes.
193	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
194	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
195	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
196	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
197	Aug. 3	Quorum call	Present.
198	Aug. 3	Quorum call	Present.
199	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
200	Aug. 8	H.R. 5037: To amend the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act in order to strengthen the authority of the States in planning and administering the programs under the act. (Passed 256 to 147.)	Yes.
201	Aug. 8	H.R. 5037: To approve the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act as amended. (Passed 377 to 23.)	Yes.
202	Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
203	Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
204	Aug. 9	H.Res. 512: To adopt the resolution disapproving the President's Reorganization Plan No. 3 relating to the government of the District of Columbia. (Defeated 160 to 244.)	Yes.
205	Aug. 10	Quorum call	Present.
206	Aug. 10	H.R. 7659: To adopt the bill providing for a mid-decade census beginning in 1975. (Passed 255 to 127.)	No.
207	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
208	Aug. 14	H.R. 43: To adopt the bill authorizing the Secretary of Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the San Felipe division, Central Valley project, California. (Passed 235 to 83.)	Yes.
209	Aug. 14	H.R. 6279: To amend bill authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to provide for the collection, compilation, evaluation, publication, and sale of standard reference data by limiting the authorization for an appropriation to 1 year in the amount of $1,860,000. (Passed 319 to 2.)	Yes.
210	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
211	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
212	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
213	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
214	Aug. 15	H.R. 856: To adopt the "rule" under which to consider H.R. 2516, the bill for providing penalties for interference with civil rights. (Passed 330 to 77.)	Yes.
215	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
216	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
217	Aug. 15	Quorum call	Present.
218	Aug. 16	Quorum call	Present.
219	Aug. 16	Quorum call	Present.
220	Aug. 16	H.R. 2516: To approve the bill, as amended, providing penalties for interference with the proper exercise of civil rights. (Passed 326 to 93.)	Yes.
221	Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
222	Aug. 17	H.R. 12080: To adopt the Social Security Amendments of 1967. (Passed 415 to 3.)	Yes.
223	Aug. 17	S. 16: To adopt the conference report on the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967. (Passed 404 to 0.)	Yes.
224	Aug. 21	H.R. 12257: To suspend the rules and pass the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1967. (Passed 340 to 0.)	Absent.[3]
225	Aug. 21	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
226	Aug. 21	H.R. 11565: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing during the 1968 and 1969 crop years the intracountry lease, sale, and transfer of acreage allotment for peanuts among farms. (Defeated 208 to 146; a ⅔ vote being necessary.)	Absent.[3]
227	Aug. 21	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
228	Aug. 22	Quorum call	Present.
229	Aug. 22	H.R. 12474: To approve the appropriation bill in the amount of $4,500,000,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 312 to 92.)	Yes.
230	Aug. 22	Quorum call	Present.
231	Aug. 23	Quorum call	Present.
232	Aug. 23	Quorum call	Present.
233	Aug. 24	Quorum call	Present.
234	Aug. 24	Quorum call	Present.
235	Aug. 25	H.R. 12048: To eliminate from the foreign aid authorization bill the provision giving new authority for the President to arrange credit sales of military arms and services by private supplies with U.S. Government guarantee. (Passed 236 to 157.)	Yes.
236	Aug. 25	H.R. 12048: To recommit to committee the foreign aid authorization bill in order to reduce the amount of the authorization for technical cooperation and development in fiscal year 1968 from $243,000,000 to $210,000,000 and to eliminate the $260 000,000 authorization for 1969. (Passed 234 to 163.)	Yes.
237	Aug. 25	H.R. 12048: To approve the Foreign Assistance Act of 1947 as amended. (Passed 202 to 194.)	Yes.
238	Aug. 28	Quorum call	Present.
239	Aug. 28	H.R. 8965: To approve the bill increasing the contribution of the Federal Government for construction of the interceptor sewer for the Dulles Airport from $3,000,000 to $15,500,000. (Passed 118 to 109.)	Yes.
240	Sept. 11	H.R. 11816: To approve the bill providing benefits to State and local law enforcement officers or their survivors when they are disabled or killed while apprehending a person who has violated a Federal law. (Passed 310 to 0.)	Yes.
241	Sept. 11	H.R. 8654: To approve the bill providing for an appeal by the United States from decisions sustaining motions to suppress evidence. (Passed 310 to 0.)	Yes.
242	Sept. 11	H.R. 8775: To approve the bill increasing the appropriation authorization for continuing work on the Missouri River Basin. (Passed 225 to 83.)	Yes.
243	Sept. 12	Quorum call	Present.
244	Sept. 12	H.R. 10738: To approve that portion of the defense appropriation conference report on which there was no disagreement. (Passed 365 to 4.)	Yes.
245	Sept. 12	H.R. 10738: On a motion that the House agree to strike from the defense appropriation bill the provision, "that none of the funds herein provided shall be used for the construction of any naval vessel in foreign shipyards." (Defeated 144 to 233.)	No.
246	Sept. 12	Quorum call	Present.
247	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
248	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
249	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
250	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
251	Sept. 14	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
252	Sept. 14	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
253	Sept. 14	S. 602: On a motion to reduce the authorization in the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967 by $50,000,000. (Passed 199 to 161.)	Yes.
254	Sept. 14	S. 602: On a motion to recommit to committee the Appalachian authorization bill in order to provide the funds to the Secretary of Transportation instead of the President, to make changes in provisions relative to housing projects, and to supply funds to attack the alewife problem of the Great Lakes area. (Defeated 178 to 184.)	Yes.
255	Sept. 14	S. 602: On final passage of the Appalachian Regional Development Amendment of 1967 and amendment to the Public Works and Development Act of 1965. (Passed 189 to 168.)	No.
256	Sept. 18	Quorum call	Absent.[4]
257	Sept. 18	H.R. 4451: To suspend the rules and pass the Fisherman's Protective Act of 1967. (Defeated 147 to 175.)	Absent.[3]
258	Sept. 18	S. 1657: To suspend the rules and pass the bill extending for 1 year the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make certain dairy indemnity payments. (Passed 320 to 7.)	Absent [2]

Footnotes at end of table.

GERALD R. FORD'S VOTING RECORD, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
259	Sept. 18	H.R. 838: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to observe and study the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (Passed 262 to 52.)	Absent.[3]
260	Sept. 19	Quorum call	Absent.[4]
261	Sept. 19	Quorum call	Absent.[4]
262	Sept. 19	S. 953: To adopt the conference report on the amendments to the Food Stamp Act. (Passed 196 to 154.)	Absent.
263	Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
264	Sept. 20	H.R. 9547: To recommit to the conference committee the bill amending the Inter-American Development Bank Act in order to insist upon retaining sec. 1 of the House-passed bill providing for an audit of the Bank. (Passed 274 to 126.)	Yes.
265	Sept. 20	H.R. 6418: On a motion to amend the Partnership of Health Amendments of 1967 in order to add $20,000,000 in each of 2 years intended to be spent for rat control. (Passed 227 to 173.)	No.
266	Sept. 20	H.R. 6418: On final passage of the Partnership of Health Amendments of 1967 as amended. (Passed 395 to 7.)	Yes.
267	Sept. 20	H.R. 6430: To approve the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
268	Sept. 21	Quorum call	Present.
269	Sept. 21	Quorum call	Present.
270	Sept. 21	H.R. 6736: To recommit to committee the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 in order to delete title II establishing a nonprofit educational broadcasting corporation, and in order to authorize $5,000,000 for assistance to existing educational broadcasting stations. (Defeated 167 to 194.)	Yes.
271	Sept. 21	H.R. 6736 (S. 1160): On final passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. (Passed 265 to 91.)	Yes.
272	Sept. 25	Quorum call	Present.
273	Sept. 25	H.R. 13042: To approve the bill providing for the election of the school board in the District of Columbia. (Passed 324 to 3.)	Yes.
274	Sept. 25	H.R. 13025: To approve the bill authorizing the District of Columbia Council to make regulations relating to the sale of alcoholic beverages and to alter the regulations on serving of alcoholic beverages at hotels and clubs in the District of Columbia. (Defeated 153 to 182.)	No.
275	Sept. 26	Quorum call	Present.
276	Sept. 26	Quorum call	Present.
277	Sept. 26	H.R. 12120: On an amendment to the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967 to give States and local governments more control over the program (Passed 234 to 139.)	Yes.
278	Sept. 26	H.R. 12120: On an amendment to the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act to prevent any use of funds authorized under this bill by the Office of Economic Opportunity. (Passed 241 to 132.)	Yes.
279	Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
280	Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
281	Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
282	Sept. 27	H.J. Res. 849: To recommit to committee the resolution continuing appropriations from Sept. 30 to Oct. 31. (Passed 202 to 182.)	Yes.
283	Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
284	Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
285	Sept. 28	H.R. 478: To approve the bill establishing procedures to relieve domestic industries and workers injured by increased imports from low-wage area. (Passed 340 to 29.)	Yes.
286	Sept. 29	Quorum call	Present.
287	Sept. 29	H.R. 10673: To approve the bill amending the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921 to strengthen and clarify stockyard owners' rights and responsibilities for the management of their stockyards. (Passed 234 to 6.)	Yes.
288	Oct. 2	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
289	Oct. 2	H.R. 4903: To suspend the rules and pass the bill amending the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands. (Passed 284 to 80.)	Absent.[3]
290	Oct. 2	S. 233: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing disposal of the Government-owned, long-lines communication facilities in Alaska. (Passed 357 to 1.)	Absent.[2]
291	Oct. 2	H.R. 9796: To suspend the rules and pass the bill extending the loan of 15 vessels to certain foreign countries. (Passed 321 to 42.)	Yes.
292	Oct. 3	Quorum call	Present.
293	Oct. 3	H. Res. 938: To adopt the "previous question" on the resolution to take up and consider H.J. Res. 853 (continuing appropriations) which would mean that no amendments could be considered. (Passed 213 to 205.)	No.
294	Oct. 3	H.R. 11722: To adopt the conference report on the Military Construction Authorization Act. (Passed 377 to 33.)	Yes.
295	Oct. 4	Quorum call	Present.
296	Oct. 4	H.R. 10196: To recommit to conference the Labor-HEW appropriation bill in order to make reductions of $20,000,000 on those items in excess of budget request. (Passed 226 to 173.)	Yes.
297	Oct. 4	H.R. 1411: To approve the bill amending the law relative to use of the mails to obtain money or property under false representation. (Passed 353 to 32.)	Yes.
298	Oct. 9	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
299	Oct. 10	Quorum call	Present.
300	Oct. 10	H.R. 10509: On a motion to insist on House position on conference report on Department of Agriculture appropriations bill that funds for the cropland adjustment program be held at a level to meet existing contracts rather than increased by $52,200,000 to take 2,000,000 additional acres out of production. (Passed 377 to 8.)	Yes.
301	Oct. 10	H.R. 10509: On a motion to insist on House position on conference report on Department of Agriculture appropriation bill that funds for the Farmers Home Administration be kept at budget request rather than increased by $25,000,000. (Passed 326 to 24.)	Yes.
302	Oct. 10	H.R. 10509: On a motion to insist on House position on conference report on Department of Agriculture appropriation bill that funds for the Commodity Credit Corporation be kept at budget request rather than increased from $1,400,000,000 to $3,000,000,000. (Passed 391 to 3.)	yes.
303	Oct. 10	Quorum call	Present.
304	Oct. 10	Quorum call	Present.
305	Oct. 11	Quorum call	Present.
306	Oct. 11	H.R. 7977: To recommit to committee the postal rate and Federal pay bill in order to eliminate from the bill provision for a 2d- and 3d-year pay increase and the provision for a "quadrennial commission" to set Federal salaries. (Defeated 199 to 211.)	Yes.
307	Oct. 11	H.R. 7977: On final passage of the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967. (Passed 318 to 89.)	No.
308	Oct. 16	Quorum call	Present
309	Oct. 16	H.R. 13048: To suspend the rules and pass the bill making certain technical amendments in the Library Services and Construction Act. (Passed 371 to 0.)	Yes.
310	Oct. 16	S.J. Res. 112: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution extending from Mar. 6 to Dec. 31, 1968, the deadline for the report of the National Commission on Urban Problems. (Passed 343 to 10.)	Yes.
311	Oct. 17	Quorum call	Present.
312	Oct. 17	Quorum call	Present.
313	Oct. 17	H.R. 11456: To recommit to committee the conference report on the Department of Transportation appropriation bill in order to insist on House disagreement with Senate amendments which exceed the President's budget requests. (Defeated 124 to 268.)	Yes.
314	Oct. 17	H.R. 11456: To approve the conference report on the Department of Transportation appropriations bill. (Passed 367 to 22.)	Yes.
315	Oct. 17	H.R. 11456: On a motion to agree to a Senate amendment to the Department of Transportation appropriations bill providing up to $140,000 in Federal funds for construction of an airport facility at Kelly Flats, Mont. (Defeated 161 to 222.)	No.
316	Oct. 17	H.R. 159: On final passage of the bill to establish an independent Federal Maritime Administration. (Passed 324 to 44.)	Yes.
317	Oct. 18	Quorum call	Present.
318	Oct. 18	Quorum call	Present.
319	Oct. 18	H.J. Res. 888: To adopt the Whitten substitute resolution providing that Federal expenditures in fiscal 1968 shall not exceed those of 1967 with certain exceptions; the net administrative budget shall not exceed $131,500,000,000 except those expenditures in excess of $22,000,000,000 which the President finds necessary for war in Vietnam; OEO is limited to $1,200,000,000 and foreign aid to $2,000,000,000. (Passed 239 to 164.)	Yes.
320	Oct. 18	H.J. Res. 888: To recommit to committee the continuing (and economy) resolution as amended. (Defeated 158 to 244.)	No.
321	Oct. 18	H.J. Res. 888: On final passage of the continuting (and economy) resolution as amended. (Passed 258 to 143.)	Yes.
322	Oct. 19	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
323	Oct. 19	H.R. 13178: To pass the bill relative to the safety of the Capitol buildings and grounds. (Passed 336 to 20.)	Absent.[2]
324	Oct. 19	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
325	Oct. 19	S. 678: To pass the bill prohibiting the obstruction of criminal investigations of the United States. (Passed 275 to 47.)	Absent.[3]
326	Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
327	Oct. 20	H. Res. 241: To transfer jurisdiction over matters involving military cemeteries of the United States in which veterans are buried from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. (Passed 227 to 0.)	Yes.
328	Oct. 20	H. Res. 947: To approve the resolution involving the "rule" under which the House would consider H.R. 10442, the bill to facilitate the exchange of Forest Service land for public school use. (Passed 221 to 1.)	Yes.
329	Oct. 20	H.R. 10442: To recommit to committee the bill to facilitate the exchange of Forest Service land for public school use in order to provide that any money received from the sale of land should go into the general fund of the Treasury rather than into a special fund in Department of Agriculture. (Defeated 30 to 191.)	Yes.
330	Oct. 23	Quorum call	Present.
331	Oct. 23	Quorum call	Present.
332	Oct. 23	Quorum call	Present.
333	Oct. 23	H.R. 11627: To authorize the State of Maryland to construct and operate 4 bridges or tunnels across the Chesapeake Bay. (Passed 342 to 9.)	Yes.
334	Oct. 24	Quorum call	Present.
335	Oct. 24	H.R. 9960: To recommit to the conference committee the independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriation bill in order to insist on the House disagreement with the Senate in 7 instances. (Defeated 184 to 208.)	Yes.
336	Oct. 24	H.R. 9960: On a motion to agree to the Senate amendment to the HUD appropriation bill increasing by $300,000,000 for model cities and certain urban renewal. (Defeated 156 to 241.)	No.
337	Oct. 24	H.R. 9960: On a motion to agree to the Senate amendment to the HUD appropriation bill providing $40,000,000 for new contracts under the rent supplement program. (Defeated 152 to 250.)	No.
338	Oct. 24	H.R. 13606: To approve the $2,100,000 military construction appropriation bill. (Passed 362 to 26.)	Yes.
339	Oct. 25	Quorum call	Present.
340	Oct. 25	H.R. 11641: On a motion to recommit to conference the public works and atomic energy appropriation bill. (Defeated 117 to 278.)	Yes.
341	Oct. 25	H.R. 11641: On a motion to agree to the Senate amendment providing $875,000 to continue planning on the Dickey-Lincoln School Dam and Reservoirs, Maine. (Defeated 162 to 236.)	No.
342	Oct. 25	H.R. 11641: On a motion to remove from the public works appropriation bill the $875,000 to fund continual planning on the Dickey-Lincoln School project in Maine. (Defeated 283 to 111.)	Yes.
343	Oct. 26	H.R. 9960: To recommit to conference the appropriation bill on Independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development in order to insist upon the House position eliminating funds for new contracts for rent susbidies. (Defeated 184 to 198.)	Yes.
344	Oct. 26	H.R. 9960: To approve the conference report on the Independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriation bill. (Passed 296 to 88.)	Yes.
345	Oct. 26	H.R. 13510: To approve the bill increasing the basic pay for members of the uniformed services. (Passed 385 to 2.)	Yes.
346	Oct. 26	H.R. 2508: To recommit to conference the bill on congressional redistricting in order to add certain provisions. (Defeated 82 to 283.)	No.

Footnotes at end of table.

GERALD R. FORD'S VOTING RECORD, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
347	Oct. 26	H.R. 2508: To approve the conference report on the bill on congressiona redistricting. (Passed 241 to 105.)	Yes.
348	Oct. 30	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
349	Oct. 30	H.R. 10915: To recommit to committee the bill regarding reduction of extra-long-staple cotton quota. (Defeated 101 to 244.)	No.
350	Oct. 30	H.R. 10915: On final passage of the bill to give to U.S. growers most of the world quota for extra-long-staple cotton. (Passed 275 to 63.)	Yes.
351	Oct. 31	Quorum call	Present.
352	Oct. 31	Quorum call	Present.
353	Oct. 31	Quorum call	Present.
354	Oct. 31	H.R. 12144: On final passage of the Federal Meat Inspection Act. (Defeated 403 to 1.)	No.
355	Nov. 1	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
356	Nov. 1	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
357	Nov. 2	Quorum call	Present.
358	Nov. 2	Quorum call	Present.
359	Nov. 2	S. 780: To approve the Air Quality Act of 1967 as approved. (Passed 362 to 0.)	Yes.
360	Nov. 3	Quorum call	Present.
361	Nov. 3	H. Res. 966: To adopt the rule under which S. 2388 (economic opportunity amendments) is to be considered. (Passed 262 to 39.)	Yes.
362	Nov. 6	H.R. 11565: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing the transfer of peanut acreage allotments. (Passed 255 to 57.)	Absent.[2]
363	Nov. 6	S.J. Res 33: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution establishing a National Commission on Product Safety. (Passed 206 to 102.)	Absent.[2]
364	Nov. 6	H.R. 3639: To suspend the rules and pass the bill relating to the safety and effectiveness of new animal drugs. (Passed 317 to 0.)	Absent.[2]
365	Nov. 6	H.R. 13165: To suspend the rules and pass the bill extending to Mar. 1, 1969, the Secret Service protection of Mrs. John F. Kennedy and children. (Passed 302 to 11.)	Absent.[2]
366	Nov. 6	S.J. Res. 114: To suspend the rules and pass the resolution extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases. (Passed 308 to 6.)	Absent.[2]
367	Nov. 6	H.R. 3982: To suspend the rules and pass the bill relating to the transportation of house trailers of members of the uniformed services. (Passed 319 to 0.)	Absent.[2]
368	Nov. 6	H.R. 13669: To suspend the rules and pass the bill relating to military claims and improvement of the administration and settlement of these claims. (Passed 317 to 0.)	Absent.[2]
369	Nov. 6	S. 1552: To suspend the rules and pass the Highway Safety Act of 1966. (Passed 252 to 65.)	Absent.[2]
370	Nov 6	S. 423: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing funds to help defray certain increased costs of harbor at Manele Bay, Lanai, Hawaii. (Passed 291 to 25.)	Absent.[2]
371	Nov. 7	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
372	Nov. 7	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
373	Nov. 8	Quorum call	Present.
374	Nov. 8	S. 1872: To recommit to committee the conference report on the foreign aid authorization bill in order to insist upon the House amendment which provides that no defense articles may be sold to or purchased from any nation which supplies the Vietcong enemy in North Vietnam, and that Poland shall not have most-favored-nation treatment relative to tariffs as long as she furnishes supplies to Vietnamese Communists. (Defeated 196 to 200.)	Yes.
375	Nov. 8	S. 1872: to approve the conference report authorizing $2,600,000-000 for the foreign assistance program. (Passed 205 to 187.)	Yes.
376	Nov. 8	Quorum call	Present.
377	Nov. 9	Quorum call	Present.
378	Nov. 9	H.R. 11641: To approve the motion to agree to the Senate amendment to the civil functions appropriation bill (public works) providing $875,000 for the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project in Maine. (Defeated 118 to 263.)	No.
379	Nov. 9	Quorum call	Present.
380	Nov. 9	H.R. 8569: To approve the $500,000,000 District of Columbia appropriations bill. (Passed 354 to 6.)	Yes.
381	Nov. 13	Quorum call	Present.
382	Nov. 14	Quorum call	Present.
383	Nov. 14	Quorum call	Present.
384	Nov. 14	Quorum call	Present.
385	Nov. 15	Quorum call	Present.
386	Nov. 15	S. 2388: To amend the economic opportunity bill by prohibiting use of OEO funds to provide legal defense for anyone charged with a crime growing out of any unlawful demonstration or civil disturbance. (Passed 332 to 79.)	Yes.
387	Nov. 15	S. 2388: To recommit to committee the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 in order to reduce the authorization of funds from $2,060,000,000 to $1,600,000,000. (Passed 221 to 190.)	Yes.
388	Nov. 15	S. 2388: On final passage of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. (Passed 283 to 129.)	No.
389	Nov. 16	Quorum call	Present.
390	Nov. 16	H.Res. 978: To approve the rule waiving points of order against the bill making appropriations for foreign assistance. (Passed 200 to 190.)	Yes.
391	Nov. 16	Quorum call	Present.
392	Nov. 16	Quorum call	Present.
393	Nov. 17	Quorum call	Present.
394	Nov. 17	H.R. 13893: To recommit to committee the foreign aid appropriation bill. (Defeated 135 to 177.)	No.
395	Nov. 17	H.R. 13893: On final passage of the $2,700,000,000 foreign aid appropriation bill as amended. (Passed 167 to 143.)	Yes.
396	Nov. 17	H. Res. 509: To approve the rule under which the House will consider H.R. 8 relative to obstruction of the Armed Forces. (Passed 211 to 37.)	Yes.
397	Nov. 20	Quorum call	Present.
398	Nov. 20	Quorum call	Present.
399	Nov. 20	H.R. 13933: To suspend the rules and pass the bill to modify the Interstate Highway System by allocating 200 additional miles to the 41,000 miles already authorized. (Passed 361 to 1.)	Yes.
400	Nov. 20	H.R. 12010: To suspend the rules and pass the bill granting the consent of the United States to the Wheeling Creek watershed protection and flood prevention district compact. (Passed 356 to 2.)	Yes.
401	Nov. 20	H.R. 9063: To suspend the rules and pass the bill amending the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949. (Passed 348 to 10.)	Yes.
402	Nov. 20	H.R. 11527: To suspend the rules and pass a bill relative to the transfer of U.S. land to the University of Maine. (Passed 326 to 24.)	Yes.
403	Nov. 21	Quorum call	Present.
404	Nov. 21	H.R. 6430: To approve the conference report on the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967. (Passed 354 to 0.)	Yes.
405	Nov. 21	H.R. 6418: To approve the conference report on the Partnerships of Health Amendments of 1967. (Passed 347 to 3.)	Yes.
406	Nov. 21	S. 1031: To recommit to committee the Peace Corps authorization bill in order to reduce the 1968 authorizations from $115,700,000 to $105,000,000 and to prohibit Peace Corps officials and employees from attempting to obtain a selective service deferment for anyone on account of his service in the Peace Corps. (Defeated 141 to 203.)	Yes.
407	Nov. 21	S. 1031: To approve the Peace Corps authorization bill providing $115,700,000 for the fiscal year 1968. (Passed 312 to 32.)	Yes.
408	Nov. 21	Quorum call	Present.
409	Nov. 27	Quorum call	Present.
410	Nov. 27	H.R. 12603: To approve the National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1967. (Passed 316 to 34.)	Yes.
411	Nov. 27	S. 1003: To approve the bill amending the Flammable Fabrics Act to increase the protection afforded consumers against injurious flammable fabrics. (Passed 325 to 0.)	Yes.
412	Nov. 28	Quorum call	Present.
413	Nov. 28	H.J. Res. 936: To extend the date of the "continuing resolution on appropriations" to Dec. 2, 1967. (Passed 368 to 13.)	Yes.
414	Nov. 28	H. Res. 985: On ordering the "previous question" on the resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 2275, a private bill which had been amended by the Senate to include legislation relative to congressional districts. (Passed 201 to 179.)	No.
415	Nov. 28	H.R. 12601 (S. 2171): On a bill to amend the Internal Security Act with regard to the provisions of that act that deal with registration of Communist organizations. (Passed 269 to 104.)	Absent.[3]
416	Nov. 29	Quorum call	Present.
417	Nov. 29	H.R. 12144: On a motion to instruct the managers on the part of the House to agree to the Senate amendment to the Federal meat inspection bill. (Defeated 166 to 207.)	Absent.[3]
418	Nov. 29	H.R. 13706 (S. 2565): On a motion to recommit to committee the bill to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act in order to remove the 6-percent interest rate limitations for 2 years. (Defeated 102 to 269.)	Absent.[3]
419	Nov. 30	Quorum call	Present.
420	Dec. 4	Quorum call	Present.
421	Dec. 4	H.R. 11276: To suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing appropriations to carry out the Adult Education Act of 1966 for 2 additional years. (Passed 352 to 0.)	Yes.
422	Dec. 4	H.R. 13054 (S. 830): To suspend the rules and pass the bill relative to age discrimination in employment (Passed 344 to 13.)	Yes.
423	Dec. 4	H. Res. 996: To approve the resolution insisting upon the House amendments to S. 2171, to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act, and to agree to a conference with the Senate. (Passed 287 to 58.)	
424	Dec. 5	Quorum call	Absent.
425	Dec. 6	Quorum call	Present.
426	Dec. 6	H.R. 6111: To adopt the conference report on the bil' establishing a Federal judicial center. (Passed 230 to 126.)	Yes.
427	Dec. 6	H.R. 12144: To adopt the conference report on the bill amending the Meat Inspection Act. (Passed 336 to 28.)	Yes.
428	Dec. 11	Quorum call	Present.
429	Dec. 11	S. 2388: To adopt the conference report on the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967. (Passed 247 to 149.)	No.
430	Dec. 11	H.J. Res. 888: To order the previous question on the conference report on a resolution making continuing appropriations for fiscal 1968—thus blocking a Republican motion for an additional $1,600,000,000 expenditurereduction. (Passed 213 to 183.)	No.
431	Dec. 11	H. J. Res. 888: To adopt the conference report on the resolution ordering expenditure reductions in fiscal 1968 totaling $4,100,000,000. (Passed 367 to 26.)	Yes.
432	Dec. 11	Quorum call	Present.
433	Dec. 11	H.R. 7977: To adopt the conference report on the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967. (Passed 327 to 62.)	Yes.
434	Dec. 12	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
435	Dec. 12	H.R. 14397: To pass the bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968. (Passed 307 to 77.)	Absent.[2]
436	Dec. 12	H.R. 4765: To adopt the conference report on the bill affecting income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. (Passed 274 to 104.)	Absent.[3]
437	Dec. 12	H.R. 10595: To adopt the bill prohibiting certain banks and savings and loan associations from selling State lottery tickets. (Passed 289 to 74.)	Absent.[3]
438	Dec. 13	Quorum call	Present.
439	Dec. 13	H.R. 12080: To adopt the conference report on the bill increasing social security benefits, providing benefits for additional categories of individuals, and improving the public assistance program and programs affecting the health and welfare of children. (Passed 390 to 3.)	Yes.
440	Dec. 13	Quorum call	Present.
441	Dec. 13	S. 2171: To adopt the conference report on the bill amending the Subversive Activities Control Act in accordance with certain decisions of the courts. (Passed 276 to 114.)	Yes.
442	Dec. 14	Quorum call Present.	
443	Dec. 14	H.R. 13893: A motion to recommit conference report on the bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968. (Passed 196 to 185.)	Yes.
444	Dec. 15	H.R. 13893: To adopt a conference report on the bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968. (Passed 198 to 158.)	Yes.
445	Dec. 15	H.R. 7819: To adopt a conference report on the bill amending and extending the Elementary and Secondary School Aid Act. (Passed 286 to 73.)	Yes.
446	Dec. 15	H.R. 12555: To suspend the House rules and pass the bill liberalizing provisions governing veterans pensions and to prevent an adverse impact on those pensions by social security increases. (Passed 354 to 0.)	Yes.

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[1] Speaking engagement.

[2] If present, would have voted "Yes."

[3] If present, would have voted "No."

[4] Home for mother's funeral.

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker: John W. McCormack

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Anderson, William R., *Tenn.*	3006 P St.
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Andrews, Mark, *N. Dak*	
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Ashmore, Robert T., *S.C*	
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo*	The Towers Apts., 4201 Cathedral Ave.
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*	
Baring, Walter S., *Nev*	
Barrett, William A., *Pa*	
Bates, William H., *Mass*	
Battin, James F., *Mont*	
Belcher, Page, *Okla*	
Bell, Alphonzo, *Calif*	
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla*	3421 Rusticway Lane, Falls Church, Va.
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak*	118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*	
Bevill, Tom, *Ala*	6224 N. 35th St., Arlington, Va.
Biester, Edward G., Jr., *Pa*	
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Blackburn, Benjamin B., *Ga.*	
Blanton, Ray, *Tenn*	
Blatnik, John A., *Minn*	
Boggs, Hale, *La*	
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Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.*	2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio*	4101 Cathedral Ave.
Brademas, John, *Ind*	
Brasco, Frank J., *N.Y*	
Bray, William G., *Ind*	
Brinkley, Jack, *Ga*	
Brock, W. E. (Bill), *Tenn*	
Brooks, Jack, *Tex*	
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*	
Brotzman, Donald G., *Colo*	
Brown, Clarence J., Jr., *Ohio.*	
Brown, Garry, *Mich*	
Brown, George E., Jr., *Calif*	
Broyhill, James T., *N.C*	
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va*	
Buchanan, John, *Ala*	
Burke, J. Herbert, *Fla*	
Burke, James A., *Mass*	
Burleson, Omar, *Tex*	
Burton, Laurence J., *Utah*	
Burton, Phillip, *Calif*	
Bush, George, *Tex*	
Button, Daniel E., *N.Y*	
Byrne, James A., *Pa*	
Byrnes, John W., *Wis*	1215 25th St. S., Arlington, Va.
Cabell, Earle, *Tex*	
Cahill, William T., *N.J*	
Carey, Hugh L., *N.Y*	
Carter, Tim Lee, *Ky*	
Casey, Bob, *Tex*	
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich*	
Celler, Emanuel, *N.Y*	The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*	
Clancy, Donald D., *Ohio*	
Clark, Frank M., *Pa*	220 C St. SE.
Clausen, Don H., *Calif*	
Clawson, Del, *Calif*	
Cleveland, James C., *N.H*	
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif*	5609 Broad Branch Rd.
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Corbett, Robert J., *Pa*	
Corman, James C., *Calif*	
Cowger, William O., *Ky*	
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Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr*	
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo*	
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn*	
Daniels, Dominick V., *N.J*	
Davis, Glenn R., *Wis*	
Davis, John W., *Ga*	
Dawson, William L., *Ill*	
de la Garza, Eligio, *Tex*	
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Dickinson, William L., *Ala*	
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Dingell, John D., *Mich*	
Dole, Robert, *Kans*	6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
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Duncan, John J., *Tenn*	
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Edwards, Jack, *Ala*	
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Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*	
Findley, Paul, *Ill*	
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*	
Fisher, O. C., *Tex*	Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa*	The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*	
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*	
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich*	514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*	
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Fuqua, Don, *Fla*	
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Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*	
Gardner, James C., *N.C*	
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*	
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*	
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C*	
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Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*	
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Gross, H. R., *Iowa*	
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*	
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Hansen, George V., *Idaho*	
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*	
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*	
Harrison, William Henry, *Wyo.*	
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*	
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Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*	
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*	
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*	
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*	
Horton, Frank, *N.Y*	
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*	
Howard, James J., *N.J*	
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*	
Hungate, William L., *Mo*	
Hunt, John E., *N.J*	
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*	
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*	
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*	
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*	
Jarman, John, *Okla*	
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King, Cecil R., *Calif*	
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*	
Kleppe, Thomas S., *N. Dak*	
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*	
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*	
Kupferman, Theodore R., *N.Y.*	
Kuykendall, Dan, *Tenn*	
Kyl, John, *Iowa*	
Kyros, Peter N., *Maine*	
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*	
Langen, Odin, *Minn*	
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*	
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*	
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*	
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif.*	
Lloyd, Sherman P., *Utah*	
Long, Clarence D., *Md*	

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Ninetieth Congress will be published not later than Tuesday, January 2, 1968. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Accomplishments of the First Session of the 90th Congress

SPEECH

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, once more the pleasant duty falls to me to review the legislative record of this, the first session of the 90th Congress.

The record of the first session of the 90th Congress has been, by almost any yardstick, a highly constructive and profitable one. It has come very close to being one of those rare Congresses which turn up only once in a generation. Except for the 89th—the 63d, Woodrow Wilson's first Congress—and the 73d, Franklin Roosevelt's first Congress—in my judgment the first session of the 90th Congress measures up well to any of this century.

This has been a year which kept the Congress in session longer than usual. This is in part traceable to the vast job of legislative oversight that faced the 90th Congress in light of the truly remarkable accomplishments realized during the 88th and 89th Congresses. In a very real sense, this Congress can be called a Congress of consolidation, for we have been engaged for a large part of these many months in continuing and refining the multitude of Federal programs initiated by legislation enacted during the two preceding Congresses, and in certain instances even before then.

This painstaking but absolutely necessary task we all realized would be time consuming and occasionally frustrating. It is to the credit of the Members of Congress that we have done so well. It is worth noting in passing that so trenchant and distinguished a commentator as Walter Lippmann remarked in January of this year that a pause for reexamination of the host of Federal programs begun with the administration of Franklin Roosevelt and expanded under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson was in order. To this reexamination the Members of the House and Senate have devoted long hours of arduous labor both in committee and on the floor.

The job of the Congress has not, however, been limited to that of refining, examining, and improving programs established by preceding Congresses. The first session of the 90th Congress has initiated important new programs, some of which stalled in its historic predecessor. These include such bills as the Public Broadcasting Act and the clean air and meat inspection bills.

In the House of Representatives Members on both sides of the aisle have offered the abundance of their opinions, talents, and time in hammering out the compromises so essential to the legislative process. The magnitude of such labor remains invisible to the simple recitation here of the end product of that legislative process. The amounts of labor and time invested in the Social Security Amendments of 1967, for example, cannot be adequately recounted in this report, yet we all know that they were huge and demanding. In like fashion substantial energy was expended on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1967, on the Selective Service Extension Act, and on the Elementary an Secondary Education Act amendments. This list could be extended even further.

Further this long process of examination the Democratic leadership has endeavored to act in a responsible fashion. Consistently, the majority party in the House has labored to preserve what is essential to viable Federal programs, to reform those programs that needed reform, and to eliminate only those parts of a program which have previously failed or become obsolete. Never has the majority party endorsed a blanket policy of petty retribution against either an agency of the Government or a particular group of American citizens. Such a policy is anathema to a party which has enjoyed the support of the American people to a substantial degree for the last 37 years.

Our party has enjoyed that support for the fundamental reason that we have been a party responsive to the changing needs of changing times. We have been a party alert to social injustice and ready to remedy the defects which preclude a "more perfect Union." We have been a party that realizes the meaninglessness of freedom to those confined to subsistence living and we have endeavored to assist these people to help themselves; to extend to them the benefits of the American way of life.

This year we have been brutally reminded of just how imperative this task is. Frustration and grievance have given way to violence and disorder. The orderly progress of society cannot endure these terrible disruptions. Our cities have been horribly scarred in some instances. We all remember the horrid specter of Detroit following the disorder there in late July of this summer. On-the-spot reports likened the blackened and desolate sections of Woodward Avenue, 12th Street, and Grand River Boulevard to bombed out cities during World War II. Equally destructive violence wracked the city of Newark, N.J.

In the summer of 1967 alone there were more than 40 such incidents of civil disorder, resulting in almost 80 deaths, more than 3,000 injuries, and scores of arrests. Property and economic loss was estimated at more than a half billion dollars.

In his report to the Nation on July 27, the President rightly noted:

> There is no American right to loot stores, or to burn buildings, or to fire rifles from the rooftops.

He observed:

> Nothing can destroy good will more than a period of needless strife and suspicion between the races.

At the same time, the President asked of the Congress that it cooperate with him in the efforts begun to extend to Negro citizens the full benefits of citizenship in the greatest democracy yet known to man.

The best way in which Congress can give that assistance is to continue those Federal programs so meaningful to our cities and the people in them. Today we live in a society approaching 70-percent urbanization. As more and more people have moved into the cities, the cities have found their resources to provide necessary governmental services badly strained and inadequate. They have applied to the National Government to assist them in meeting the legitimate yet overtaxing demands on them.

Certainly in the past few years we have all been astounded by the anguished pleas emanating from the mayoralty offices across our land. Last year, before the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Mayor Lindsay of New York City conjectured that $50 billion in Federal aid would be required in New York City alone in the next 10 years to make it a "thoroughly livable and exciting place in which to live." For some this mind-boggling sum seems unrealistic.

Yet, the very next day, the mayor of Detroit, Jerome Cavanagh, estimated that full financing of existing major programs of assistance to cities by the Congress over the next decade would cost $250 billion.

These are immense sums of money. Irrespective of the amounts which will actually be funded in the years to come, there can be no blinking the fact that the Congress has a responsibility to make good on the promise to aid our cities in coping with the problems they face. Control of air and water pollution, eradication of slums, elimination of traffic congestion, provision of adequate medical facilities, sufficient recreation facilities, effective police protection, improved education, good housing, intelligent and humane welfare programs—all these tasks and more confront our cities now and in the years to come. If remedial legislation is not consistently forthcoming from Congress, the fight to build a safe and sound America will be impaired. In the long run, the costs will be increased by the failure to act now.

The administration and Democratic Party in this session of Congress have striven mightily to guarantee that this "good fight" continues. If we have not been so successful as some might have wished, it is equally true that we have not been a total failure. Essential programs have been continued and new programs considered if not launched.

There remains yet another session of the 90th Congress during which we must continue to grapple with the weighty problems of today in the expectation of lightening the heavy burdens of tomorrow.

Anyone familiar with military tactics knows that once an objective has been seized it is imperative that one's position be consolidated. The Democratic Party in Congress this past year has been consolidating the victories of yesterday in preparation for the battles to come. We are setting a firm base of operations from which to carry on the never-ending struggle to insure to one and all the promise of the Declaration of Independence: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Before detailing the specific accomplishments of this legislative session I must pause to pay compliment to our distinguished and beloved Speaker, JOHN MCCORMACK, who, on November 6 of this year, celebrated 39 years of service to the people of Massachusetts and the Nation in this House of Representatives. Having worked with him since 1955 as part of the Democratic leadership, I can attest to his dedication to duty and his sacrifice of personal welfare in insuring that the members of his party and of all the Congress shall receive superb guidance and assistance. He has truly established himself as one of the great Speakers in the history of the House.

To my esteemed friend, HALE BOGGS, must go once more deep thanks for his generous assistance and invaluable help as whip. His unstinting labor, as always, has contributed significantly to the goal of effective legislating. And to all Members of the House I extend thanks for their countless deeds of cooperation without which the legislative machinery could not function so well.

APPROPRIATIONS

The appropriations bills considered and enacted during the first session of the 90th Congress provide a microcosmic profile of congressional action this year to sustain the operations of the Government during fiscal year 1968. Similarly, they are a measure of the support which the administration's antipoverty war obtained from Congress.

It would blink the facts to argue that the President received all that he desired in support of these programs—fashioned in the 89th Congress—aimed at eliminating poverty in the richest Nation on this earth. The hard facts say otherwise. Time and again specific antipoverty programs, like the Teacher Corps, rent supplements, and model cities, had to weather opposition. All survived, which can be considered no small victory.

That they did survive is in part attributable to the outpouring of support for them from the grassroots level. Not only officials at the local level, but ordinary people—the poor as well as the concerned—pleaded with their Congressmen and Senators to preserve the promise for a better tomorrow.

No more meaningful endorsement of Government programs in a domocracy exists apart from genuine and vocal grassroots support. It is of interest to note in this regard, that a late November poll by Louis Harris showed that 57 percent of the American people favor total elimination of city slums through Government action. It would appear that the people are once more ahead of their Government, or at least some in that Government, in their determination to remove an ugly blot from the social landscape. It is for us, their leaders, to heed well this compassionate and humane advice.

A concerted effort in Congress to economize on Government expenditure is visible in the action taken on this year's appropriations bills. Every single regular appropriation was cut, in some instances by a substantial sum.

DEFENSE SUPPLEMENTAL, 1967

To provide the support necessary for continued successful military operations in the Vietnam conflict during fiscal year 1967, the administration requested that Congress appropriate an additional $12.3 billion in supplemental funds. This it did, in great part, in a two-step process.

Initially, the Congress authorized in Public Law 90–5 (S. 665) an additional $4.5 billion expenditure for procurement of military machinery—aircraft, tracked vehicles, and missiles—and for research and development. Subsequent to this action of March 8, the Congress passed a $12,196,520,000 Vietnam Supplemental Appropriation Act on March 21, 1967—Public Law 90–8.

This marked the third straight year in which the Congress had to provide additional funds for financing the Vietnam war. The extent of our operations in Vietnam has expanded considerably in those 3 years. This is reflected both in the number of military personnel assigned to the theater of operations—approaching 500,000—and in dollars and cents.

In his budget message for 1968, the President included data showing "the costs which are clearly attributable to special efforts in that area—Vietnam—and in excess of what might have been the defense budgets for the years shown—1965–68—in the absence of the Vietnam conflict."

The totals from those figures indicate that between July 1, 1964, and June 30, 1968, at least $58.2 billion in new obligational authority for the Department of Defense will result because of the Vietnam conflict. For that same time period, more than $47.2 billion actually will be spent in the struggle to preserve independence for South Vietnam.

It is not necessary here to reiterate the reasons for our active promotion of freedom's cause in Southeast Asia. Suffice it to say that if the cost is staggering, the alternative is yet more frightening. In his state of the Union address, the President aptly quoted Thomas Jefferson with reference to our presente course of action in Vietnam, to wit:

> It is the melancholy law of human societies to be compelled sometimes to choose a great evil in order to ward off a greater.

The President also noted then that he could not promise or report that the conflict would soon be over. "We face," he said, "more cost, more loss, and more agony."

From the very beginning of this session there has been widespread concern and debate within the Congress on the conflict in Vietnam. A noteworthy reminder of this is the Vietnam policy statement added by Congress to Public Law 90–5. The first such congressional declaration since the Gulf of Tonkin resolution of 1964, this policy statement declares that Congress is firmly committed to providing all necessary support for members of the Armed Forces of the United States fighting in Vietnam.

It further supports the President and other men of good will in their efforts to obtain a negotiated settlement to the conflict while preserving honor, the vital interests of the Nation, and self-determination for the South Vietnamese people.

Finally, the declaration supports a

convening of the nations that participated in the Geneva conference following the conclusion of the French war efforts in then Indochina, or any other meeting of nations similarly involved and interested, for the purpose of "pursuing the general principles of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 and for formulating plans for bringing the conflict to an honorable conclusion."

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1967

On May 29, 1967, the President signed the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1967—Public Law 90–21—providing $2,197,931,417 to cover expenses incurred by agencies but not appropriated for in earlier acts.

The most controversial item among those approved in this package was a $3.8 million appropriation for continuation of the Teacher Corps. Established under authority of part B, title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Teacher Corps has been a target for attack by those opposed to the administration's antipoverty program.

As envisoned in the Higher Education Act, the Teacher Corps provides an infusion of teaching talent where it is most needed; that is, in schools with concentrations of children from low-income families. Clearly, this kind of added talent is necessary if students from low-income homes are to realize maximum benefit from their educational experience.

As finally signed into law, the Supplemental Appropriations Act provided $3,823,700 for the Teacher Corps, contingent upon congressional action prior to July 1, 1967, to authorize continuation of the Corps in 1968. That action was taken in late June—Public Law—thereby releasing the $3.8 million for use in financing this worthy program.

A major item in the supplemental appropriations was $473,898,680 to fund pay increase costs within Government agencies.

Provisos in the bill, in addition to that on the Teacher Corps, included: First, Federal participation in rebuilding college facilities damaged by a natural disaster at not more than 50 percent of the cost of replacement or restoration; second, spending by the National Science Foundation of up to $1 million in fiscal year 1967 to initiate grants under the National Sea Grant College Act of 1966; third, raising from $490 to $515 the per pupil expenditure limitation on the Defense Department's overseas educational program; and fourth, prohibiting the Office of Economic Opportunity from authorizing the expenditure of or spending funds for the establishment of a newspaper or radio or television station.

INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

The first regular appropriations act to clear the 90th Congress provided $1,382,848,350 for the major operations of the Interior Department and related agencies, with the exception of the Reclamation Bureau and the power marketing agencies which were separately provided for in the Public Works Appropriations Act.

The amount appropriated was more than $75 million below that requested by the administration, a pattern of economizing followed in every subsequent appropriation bill enacted.

Public Law 90–28 included $237,504,000 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. All told, more than $336 million was appropriated for health, education, and welfare benefits to the American Indian. As many Members know, more than 365,000 of the half million Indians in the population live on or near a reservation and partake of Federal assistance. It is absolutely necessary that Government assistance be provided Indians for the simple reason that almost half of all employable Indians are without work.

The Federal Government's relationship with the American Indian dates to the beginning of the Republic when the Government accepted responsibility for providing public services to the Indians. Between 1789 and 1967, the Government has spent more than $5 billion on Indian service programs.

The moneys appropriated for the Department also help to keep our national parks beautiful and functional, and to support mineral and water resources research. Conservation of fish and wildlife is another important enterprise within the Department's jurisdiction.

Among the related agencies provided for in the act are the Smithsonian Institution, $31,611,000; National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, $12,200,000; National Capital Planning Commission, $995,000; and the Forest Service, $357,626,000.

POST OFFICE, TREASURY, AND INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

Cleared on June 29, and signed by the President on July 7, 1967, the Post Office, Treasury, and Independent Offices Appropriations Act of 1968—Public Law 90–47—provided $7,545,641,000 to finance the activities of these two Departments, the Executive Offices of the President, and two independent agencies, the U.S. Tax Court and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Of the more than $7.5 billion appropriated, $921,887,000 was for the operations of the Treasury Department, which includes the Bureau of Accounts, the Bureau of Customs, the Bureau of the Mint, the Bureau of Narcotics, the Internal Revenue Service, and the U.S. Secret Service.

Slightly more than $6.6 billion of the total appropriation was for the operations of the Post Office Department which does such an admirable job in keeping the mail flowing in his country. Estimations are that the Post Office will handle close to 82 billion pieces of mail this year—a total which exceeds the mail handling of the entire rest of the world combined.

For the operations of the White House, the Bureau of the Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers, the National Security Council, and other offices under the Executive, a total of $17,739,000 was appropriated in the bill. In addition, $2,407,000 was provided to finance the activity of the Tax Court and $510,000 for the operations of the Intergovernmental Relations Commission. The Tax Court, of course, adjudicates controversies involving defiiencies or overpayments of Federal taxes and holds hearings in cases of alleged excess profits by war contractors.

The final appropriation figure was $69.5 million less than that requested in the budget.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZATION

On July 26, 1967, the President signed into law the 1968 appropriations authorization for the vital Atomic Energy Commission. Public Law 90–56 authorizes the Commission to spend up to $2,633,876 on nuclear research and development in fiscal year 1968. It further extended for a year the cooperative power reactor demonstration program. Presently under construction by authority of this program is a gas-cooled reactor in Colorado, which it is hoped will be operational by March 31, 1972.

Almost $29.9 million was approved for Project Plowshare, which is a program seeking civilian uses for nuclear explosions. Also included in the authorization was $7,333,000 for the construction of a nuclear accelerator at Weston, Ill.

Actually appropriated for the AEC for operations during 1968 were $2,509,133,000—Public Law 90–147. Both the authorization and the appropriation were less than the amount requested by the administration.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1968

As finally cleared by the Congress, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1968—Public Law 90–57—provided $275,699,035 for financing the activities of Congress, the Library of Congress, the Architect of the Capitol, the Botanic Garden, the Government Printing Office, and the General Accounting Office.

A sum of $8,534,000 was included in the bill to reimburse the Post Office for the cost of congressional franked mail in 1966. It will be of interest to Members to know that mail volume for that year increased 63 percent over 1965.

Finally, the bill included no funds for the extension of the west front of the Capitol, for a third building for the Library of Congress, or for the new Government Printing Office plant. In view of the need to cut back on nonessential expenditures, it was felt that these projects should not be started in the current fiscal year.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZATION

Propelled by man's endless quest to conquer new frontiers, this country has invested money and manpower to explore the infinity of space. By any measure the results have been breathtaking. Countless satellites have circled the earth, photographed the moon, and probed the mysteries of our sister planets. Weather satellites have aided meteorologists in understanding and predicting weather conditions.

Project Apollo, despite setbacks and the tragic deaths of astronauts Gus Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee in late January this year, has moved forward. In early November Saturn 5, in a mighty roar of potency, lifted into space from Cape Kennedy, thereby restoring hopes that we can reach the moon by 1970. The most powerful rocket ever to hurtle into space, the reverberations from its blastoff were so powerful, reported the Lamont Geological Observatory, that only nuclear explosions, the Krakatoa volcano eruption of 1883, and the great Siberian meteorite in 1908 have produced stronger air waves.

To continue the laudable efforts of past years, Congress on August 8 sent to the President a NASA authorization bill entitling the agency to spend $4,865,751,000 in fiscal year 1968—Public Law 90-67. This authorization was lower than that of 1967, and marked the fourth straight year in which space authorizations have been reduced. The main reason for these reductions is to aid in cutting back Government expenditure.

The largest single item in the authorization is for the Apollo moon project—$2,521,500,000. In addition to monetary authorization, the bill established a nine-member Aerospace Advisory Panel to review safety studies and safety standards. Since the fire tragedy of January, we are ever more safety conscious.

On October 26, the Congress approved Public Law 90-131 appropriating $4,588,900,000 to finance the space program during 1968. This sum was more than $500 million below the Budget request of the President and almost $280 million below the 1968 authorization. The President, however, publicly stated that he found the cuts acceptable.

MARITIME ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATION ACT

Through Public Law 90-81, the Congress initiated annual authorizations for Maritime Administration appropriations. Heretofore hearings for funds for the Administration were held only before the Appropriations Committees. From now on the Administration must also appear before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Senate Commerce Committee to obtain funding approval for certain of its programs.

This practice of dual approval for appropriations is a growing trend with its beginning at the conclusion of World War II. Agencies now affected besides the Maritime Administration include the Department of Defense, the National Space and Aeronautics Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Coast Guard.

Public Law 90-133 appropriated $347,917,000 for the 1968 operations of the Maritime Administration. Beginning next year, however, the Maritime Administration must receive House-Senate "parent" committee spending authorizations for, first, acquisition, construction, or reconstruction of vessels; second, payment of construction-differential subsidies; third, payment of operating-differential subsidies; fourth, research and development expenses; fifth, reserve fleet expenses; sixth, training for employees at the Merchant Marine Academy; seventh, Federal payments to State marine schools; and eighth, payments to the vessel operations revolving fund.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

On September 29, 1967, the President signed the Department of Defense Appropriations Act of 1968—Public Law 90-96. As finally passed by Congress, the measure appropriated $69,936,620,000 for national defense purposes. Of this sum, an estimated $20 billion will finance operations directly related to the Vietnam conflict.

This act contains funds for all Department of Defense activities except military construction, military assistance abroad, military family housing, and civil defense. Defense, of course, is a primary function of the state. It is not surprising, therefore, that more than 50 percent of the money expended by the Federal Government in fiscal 1968 will be related in some way to that function.

It is perhaps but a temporary footnote in history to note that Public Law 96 is the largest single appropriations bill ever passed by the Congress. Despite its near $70 billion in appropriations, it was almost $1.65 billion less than requested by the President, and slightly more than $293 million below the amount appropriated for fiscal 1967 for defense activity—included in the 1967 total are $12,196,520,000 in supplemental funds.

Reductions in the bill included $139.1 million less than requested for procurement of the Navy fighter aircraft F-111B, $123 million for the first prototype of a new class of amphibious assault ship, $103 million for the Air Force A-7D ground-attack aircraft, and $52.7 million for implementation of a new accounting system in the Department of Defense. Another major contributor to reduction was congressional refusal to authorize $467.7 million worth of expenditures requested in the Armed Forces weaponry authorization—Public Law 90-22.

Aside from funds for the continuation of the Vietnam war effort, major items in the act are: First, $718.9 million for the Nike-X antiballistic missile—House and Senate reports accompanying the bill to the floor recommended a minimum deployment of such missiles around our major cities to protect against sudden nuclear attack; second, a proviso prohibiting construction in a foreign shipyard of any naval vessel funded under the bill; third, $21,781,500,000 for reimbursement of active, reserve, and retired military personnel; fourth, $19,034,520,000 for operation and maintenance of the several branches of the Armed Forces, including $6.9 billion for the Army, $4.653 billion for the Navy, $391.6 million for the Marine Corps, and $5,367,025,000 for the Air Force; fifth, $22,000,800,000 for procurement of military hardware; and sixth, $7,108,600,000 for research and development programs.

It should be understood that expenditures for the Vietnam conflict are scattered throughout the sums appropriated for the major categories of activity noted in the above paragraph.

TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

On October 23, 1967, the President signed the first full-year appropriation for the Department of Transportation, which began operations on April 1, 1967. Public Law 90-112 appropriated $1,581,905,772 to fund the activities of the several agencies under authority of the Secretary of Transportation.

Major items in the act include $521,965,000 for the Coast Guard, $907,435,000 for the Federal Aviation Administration—including $142,375,000 for development of the SST—$119,111,772 for the Federal Highway Administration, and $16,044,000 for the Federal Railroad Administration.

Other aspects of Public Law 90-112 include appropriation of $3,770,872,000 from the highway trust fund to meet fiscal 1968 Federal-aid highway construction obligations; a $59,927,000 limitation on research and administration expenditures by the Federal Highway Administration during the fiscal year; a $514,000 ceiling on administration expenditures by the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation during the year; authorization for Federal participation in the construction of two prototype planes in the program to develop the SST; and a prohibition on the Transportation Department's using Federal Highway Administration funds for planning or executing State and community highway safety programs which will require obligation of more than $25 million in fiscal 1968.

Although the amount appropriated in Public Law 90-112 was $136.7 million less than requested by the administration in its budget, the Congress did appropriate $25.6 million more for air safety equipment than requested by the President.

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

On October 10, 1967, the Congress sent to the President H.R. 10509—Public Law 90-113—appropriating $4,952,945,700 in fiscal 1968 for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. This sum was $68,151,700 less than requested in the budget, and more than $2 billion below the amount appropriated in fiscal year 1967.

The significant drop between the 1967 and 1968 appropriations is attributable in main to the nonreimbursement this year of the Commodity Credit Corporation's losses in previous fiscal years for price supports, commodity storage and export, and similar programs. If the agency's programs are to continue, however, the Congress must eventually make up CCC's losses. Aside from the decreases in CCC funds, few other reductions in agriculture programs were made.

As many Members are aware, appropriations for agriculture programs have been among the largest provided for Federal activities for many years. These large expenditures are concentrated, however, in a few programs, for example, CCC, commodity export, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, and the Consumer and Marketing Service.

Other important programs funded included the special milk program to provide 3.2 billion half pints of milk to schoolchildren—$104 million; the school lunch program to provide an estimated 3.4 billion meals in the next school year—$227,825,000; the pilot school breakfast program, authorized in 1966, to provide a morning meal for children who come to school without one—$3.5 million; and the very successful food-stamp program, which enables needy families to buy more for their dollar—$185 million. See agriculture section of this report for a separate discussion of the food-stamp program.

Another major item in the act authorized the sale of $750 million worth of participation certificates in outstanding loans of the Farmers Home Administration. The sale of these certificates to private investors enables the Farmers Home Administration to broaden its assistance to individual farmers and other rural groups striving to build homes, improve farms, and conserve land and water resources.

Numerous other provisions were also included in this year's Agriculture Appropriations Act. Several activities were financed through the 30 percent of U.S. customs receipts earmarked each year for section 32 of Public Law 74–320, 1935. These include the special milk program and agricultural research programs. The President asked that $195 million be taken from these funds to finance the food-stamp program for the ensuing year. Congress, however, directly appropriated for this activity. In all, $167,117,000 of section 32 funds were authorized for use.

Also authorized in the bill, but not directly appropriated for, were $434.6 million in electrification and telephone service loans by the Rural Electrification Administration and $225 million in real estate purchase, operation, and rural housing loans by the Farmers Home Administration.

Up to $220 million in contracts were authorized for the agricultural conservation program. Other provisions were: First, reappropriation of $2 million in unused fiscal 1967 funds for research salaries and expenses of the Agricultural Research Service in 1968; second, transfer of $275,000 from the CCC appropriation to the Agricultural Research Service for cotton research; third, limitation of $15 million on future budget estimates for transfers of section 32 funds for agricultural research; fourth, authorization for the Soil Conservation Service of $7.5 million from the direct loan account of the Farmers Home Administration—$5 million for watershed protection, $1 million for flood protection, $1.5 million for resource conservation and development; fifth, reappropriation for 1968 of $23.2 million in unused 1967 funds for the food stamp program; sixth, transfer of $58,608,600 from the CCC to the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service for incurred expenses; seventh, authorization for the Government to enter into cropland adjustment agreements in fiscal year 1968 totaling no more than $52.2 million in commitments; eighth, $410 million authorization for the Farmers Home Administration direct loan account; ninth, $15 million authorization for the Farmers Home Administration rural housing direct loan account; tenth, transfer of $2,250,000 from the agriculture credit insurance fund and of $500,000 from miscellaneous program funds for salaries and expenses of the Farmers Home Administration; eleventh, $31,500,000 ceiling for administrative expenses for the CCC; twelfth, authorization of $1.6 million for administrative and operating expenses of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation—funded through premium income; and thirteenth, $3,224,000 limitation on administrative expenses for the Farm Credit Administration.

Finally, the act stipulated that no funds in the appropriation could be used to finance the Food for Peace program—Public Laws 83–480 and 89–808—for any nation selling or transporting goods to North Vietnam while that country remains under Communist rule.

In the many services continued and financed by the Agricultural Appropriations Act of 1968, the Congress has once more supported the programs so vital to continued economic welfare for the American farmer. These are but a well-deserved appreciation for the bountiful produce the American farmer provides not only for domestic consumption but for many thousands of persons in foreign lands as well.

No other nation's farmers can match the productivity of the farmers of the United States. The cornucopia of goods available for purchase in our giant supermarkets is eloquent testimony to the capability of the slightly more than 3 million farmers in the United States, who constitute about 6.5 percent of the labor force.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT, INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

To finance the 1968 operations of the Housing and Urban Development Department, the Congress appropriated $1,636,000,000 in Public Law 90–121. Additional authorizations were also contained in the measure. All told, the act appropriated $10,139,473,900 for the activities not only of HUD but of various executive offices and independent agencies as well. Although one of the larger appropriations acts passed by Congress this year, the amount provided was still more than $681 million below budget estimates.

Two controversial but important parts of the President's antipoverty program survived tests during consideration of this bill—H.R. 9960: the rent supplements and model cities programs. The President had asked for $40 million to continue the rent supplements program, which provides assistance in rental payments for low-income families so that they might enjoy standard housing. Congress, however, granted contract authority for the program totaling only $10 million.

The promising model cities program received a $312 million appropriation for which the administration had requested $662 million. Through this program it is anticipated that entire neighborhoods in cities will be rehabilitated and rebuilt. Housing and slum experts have testified that this "integrated" approach to urban redevelopment is one of the more notable concepts to surface in some years. It is most encouraging, therefore, that Congress financed the program despite substantial opposition in the House and despite he shrinking of the final figure adopted.

Other major items in the bill included: first, authorization for Government sale of $3,235,000,000 in participation certificates to finance loans and bolster assets, including $2,385,000,000 in HUD securities and $850 million in Veterans' Administration securities; second, $6,649,279,000 to pay for the many services to our veterans provided by the Veterans' Administration; third, $61,483,000 for the activities of the Civil Aeronautics Board; fourth, $149,048,000 for the Civil Service Commission; fifth, $19,100,000 for the Federal Communications Commission; sixth, $14,220,000 for the Federal Power Commission; seventh, $15,150,000 for the Federal Trade Commission; eighth, $532,184,900 for the General Services Administration, the housekeeping and supply agency for the Government; ninth, $23,460,000 for the Interstate Commerce Commission; tenth, $495,000,000 for the prestigious National Science Foundation, which during its 16 years of operation has done so much to advance research in, and teaching of, the sciences in the United States; eleventh, $2,600,000 for the Renegotiation Board; twelfth, $17,350,000 for the Securities and Exchange Commission; thirteenth, $57,455,000 for the Selective Service System by which the draft laws are implemented; fourteenth, $86,100,000 for the civil defense programs administered through the Defense Department; and fifteenth, $9,000,000 for the Public Health Service, a part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In his budget message to the Congress this year, the President noted that the "problems of the American city are great and vexing." That "in the declining centers of our cities are the poor and the victims of discrimination"—persons trapped by their fiscal incapacity to solve the problems confronting them.

The programs financed through the almost $2 billion appropriated or authorized for the Housing and Urban Development Department are designed to alleviate and eliminate the conditions which foster decay in our cities. These programs, however, are long range and subject to the inevitable consequences of trial and error. It is a mistake to expect overnight miracles.

It is vital, therefore, that the Congress continue to respond to the very great needs of our cities, large and small. Change the programs that need changing, to be sure, but do not eviscerate them. The results of inaction bode ill for our cities and this Nation: further decay, further frustration, further alienation, further civil discontent.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

The Department of Labor and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies appropriations act of 1968—Public Law 90–132—passed Congress on October 27, 1967. Altogether it provided $13,255,356,000 to finance the activities and programs of these Departments and agencies. The amount provided was $168,790,000 below administration requests, but $238,792,000 above the appropriation for 1967.

HEW receives $12,569,999,100, including indefinite appropriations, of the funds provided in H.R. 10196. Included in this amount were $1,677,907,000 for elementary and secondary education, and $1,158,194,000 for higher education activities. Members will remember passage of landmark legislation in these fields in 1965.

Also included in the HEW appropriation were $2,729,218,000 for the Public Health Service—$1,178,924,000 of that for the National Institutes of Health—and $4,379,636,000 for the Welfare Administration. Contained in the bill also was $13.5 million for the Teacher Corps, considerably less than the $33 million requested by the President.

In addition, the act authorizes the sale of participation certificates to private investors to cover loans made for the construction of academic facilities at colleges and for education and nurses' training in health professions. The total sales authorized amounted to $115 million.

A sum of $4,511,000 for civil rights enforcement by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department was approved in the bill. For the Labor Department, $1,103,000 were appropriated for civil rights responsibilities. The act stipulated that no funds were to be used by persons convicted of "inciting, promoting or carrying on a riot."

The Labor Department appropriation totaled $625,524,000 to finance activities by the Manpower Administration, Bureau of Employment Security, Wage and Labor Standards, Bureau of Employees' Compensation, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other agencies within the Department.

Among important Health, Education and Welfare agencies appropriated for and not yet noted were the Food and Drug Administration, $67,150,000; the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, $386,606,000; the Social Security Administration, $1,011,631,000; and the Administration on Aging, $18,450,000.

The important work of the many agencies noted here cannot be exaggerated. Taken together they amount to a concerted effort by the Federal Government, often working in creative cooperation with State and local officials, to ensure the health and welfare of the American people. The recent entrance of the Federal Government into the education field represents a recognition of its proper role in guaranteeing to American youth the best possible education. Especially significant are the strides being made to build new and better schools and to aid in recruiting teachers of excellent quality. This administration can be justifiably proud, as can this and the previous Congress, for the efforts made to improve the quality of American education.

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1968

Public Law 90–133, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act of 1968, provided $2,169,012,500 to fund the activities of these Departments, the Federal courts, and 12 other Federal agencies.

This amount was $178,790,695 below the administration request. Major economy cuts were made in the Department of Commerce's appropriation, including $30 million for highways in the Appalachia region, $19 million for the Environmental Science Services Administration, and the entire $20 million requested by the Census Bureau for a sample survey of households in 1968. All told, more than $104 million was pared from the Commerce appropriation.

State Department funds were cut by more than $22 million; the Justice Department by $19.8 million; the Office of Education's civil rights activities by $20 million; the U.S. Information Agency, $6,683,000; and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, $1 million.

As finally enacted in law, the bill allotted $385,667,400 for the State Department, $417,623,000 for the Justice Department—including the FBI—and $1,304,291,000 for the Commerce Department. Included in the Commerce Department appropriation was $374,917,000 for the Maritime Administration, $36.9 million for the Bureau of the Census, $345 million for Economic Development Assistance, $163,050,000 for the Weather Bureau and other environmental science services, $38.2 million for the Patent Office, and $32,490,000 for the National Bureau of Standards.

A total of $93,947,100 was appropriated to meet the cost of running the Supreme Court and the other courts of the Federal Government. Important independent agencies appropriated for were the Commission on Civil Rights, $2,650,000; HEW, Office of Education, civil rights functions, $10,000,000; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, $6,500,000; Small Business Administration, $11,250,000; Tariff Commission, $3,675,000; U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, $9,000,000; the Subversive Activities Control Board, $295,000; and the U.S. Information Agency, $186,379,000. Altogether, $237,484,000 were appropriated to finance the operations of 12 independent agencies.

In addition, Public Law 90–133 authorized the sale of $150 million of participation certificates in Small Business Administration loans. It prohibited use of funds in the bill for construction of any ship in a foreign country or for laying up the NS *Savannah*. Finally, it reiterated congressional opposition to the admittance of Communist China to the United Nations and to the use of any U.S. funds to promote world government.

PUBLIC WORKS AND THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1968

On November 9, Congress sent to the President H.R. 11641, the $4,689,938,000 Public Works and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriations Act of 1968. The funds provided by this act will support the operations and activities of the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, and the Atomic Energy Commission. Its funds will additionally finance the activities of several independent agencies including the Tennessee Valley Authority, power agencies within the Interior Department—for example, the Bonneville Power Administration—and the Panama Canal. The sum appropriated was almost $178 million below budget estimates.

Public Law 90–147 allots $2,509,133,000 to the Atomic Energy Commission, including $7,333,000 for the nuclear accelerator to be built at Weston, Ill.

Appropriations for the Corps of Engineers public works projects totaled $1,298,129,000, more than $9.5 million below administration requests but $7,070,000 above 1967 appropriations for similar purposes.

In an attempt to hold down domestic Federal spending commitments, the Congress funded only 34 new construction starts by the Corps in 1968, as compared with 58 new starts begun last year. The President, furthermore, has responded to congressional calls for reduced spending by slowing work on public works projects.

For the first time, the Public Works-AEC Appropriations Act contained moneys for the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, which, until May 10, 1966, had been part of HEW, but which is now part of the Interior Department. Altogether, $295,800,000 were appropriated to finance water pollution control programs, including those authorized under the legislation passed in 1966—Public Law 89–753.

Major new public works projects launched by the act include the Overton-Red River Waterway in Louisiana—total estimated cost to the Federal Government: $135 million—improvement of the New York Harbor, and the Trotter Shoals project on the Savannah River.

ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Late in the year the President announced that he would cut Government payrolls by 2 percent and spending on Government programs by 10 percent in an effort to prevent an excessively high budget deficit. In taking this action the President was hopeful that the Congress would give favorable an early attention in 1968 to his proposal for a 10-percent surtax on personal and corporation income taxes.

The Congress, in full agreement with the President's efforts to decrease Government expenditure, incorporated his economy proposals in House Joint Resolution 888. The effect of the proposed reductions and earlier congressional cuts in appropriations measures will be to push spending more than $4 billion below the administration's estimates for 1968.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION, 1968 (NATIONAL SECURITY)

Public Law 90–180 appropriated $2,093,362,000 for construction in 1968 of military housing and other installations at home and abroad. This sum was $843,638,000 less than requested by the President, but almost $490 million above the 1967 appropriation.

Of the funds approved in the measure, $1,377,691,000 were for new construction at military bases, $671,271,000 were for family housing, $244,000,000 were for construction of facilities for the Reserve and National Guard, and $20 million were for assistance to military and civilian homeowners who incurred losses on their homes because of the closure of a Federal installation where they were stationed or employed.

FIRST SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIOONS, 1968

In one of its last official acts of the first session, Congress passed a $1,842,923,790 Supplemental Appropriations Act. The bulk of this appropriation—$1.773 billion—will finance the many programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Other items in the bill were: $57,445,750 for programs and administrative expenses in connection with regional development in Appalachia; $10 million for administrative costs in the Office of Saline Water, Department of Interior; $2.2 million for administrative costs of the Public Land Law Review Commission; and $278,040 for various expenses in the legislative branch.

Language included in the conference report on H.R. 14397 directed the Office of Economic Opportunity to examine, reexamine, and continuously evaluate its programs with "a view toward weeding out programs that are insufficient and replacing them with either proven or new programs which are more promising." Earmarking of funds was eliminated in order to permit the Director to channel money where it is most needed. This provision was necessary in view of the amount of money appropriated for 1968 operation of poverty programs, a sum lower than the total for 1967.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND VETERANS' AFFAIRS

THE WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM

The continuing struggle in the jungles and mountains of South Vietnam to preserve the independence of its beleaguered people and to maintain our commitment to the democratic nations of Asia has occupied the attention of the President, of the Congress, of the American people, indeed, of the world this past year.

Because it is a guerrilla war, it is a frustrating enterprise. It presents few cleanly won battles. It produces few dramatic successes. It baffles, bewilders, and bedevils.

Yet, we are winning the war. Reports indicate that the government in Saigon now controls some two-thirds of the land area in South Vietnam. Reports indicate that the pacification programs are succeeding despite relentless opposition and terror by the Vietcong.

This past year, elections were held in Vietnam and the chosen leaders are now engaged in the hard work of implementing a civilian government.

Slowly and painfully, then, we are, together with our allies there, achieving a victory the ramifications of which extend beyond the very legitimate goal of an independent South Vietnam. We are proving by our preseverance in this tiny Asian country that the United States will not stand aside indifferently and permit the subversion of budding democracies. We are saying to friend and foe alike that the largest democracy on earth is not obvious of its obligations to sister republics. We are demonstrating that we will honor our foreign policy commitments. These are signally important if this country is to continue as the leader of the free world.

It will be remembered that this arduous and thankless task was assumed by us following the conclusion of the Second World War. It was this basic commitment which inculcated the Marshall plan, which fostered NATO, which produced Point Four, which supported the United Nations, which defended South Korea from aggression. It is a policy which has been carried on by four Presidents: Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, and now Lyndon Johnson. It is a policy which recognizes the cardinal fact that our own national security is intimately bound together with the security of our free allies.

The President comprehends well the meaning and necessity of this policy. He has been involved with it, in one capacity or another, since its inception. It is to his everlasting credit that he now demonstrates steadfast resolve in implementing its mandates.

It is undoubtedly true that never before has the country been so cruellly confronted with the cost of being the leader of the free world. We find ourselves fighting for liberty on distant shores in a perplexing confrontation. It seems a heavy price to pay but we do well to recall the counsel of the late President Kennedy:

> We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

The President has not weakened in his determination to see this war through to an honorable conclusion. Despite vigorous opposition, his resolution remains firm. In the face of dissent verging on calumny, he has shown restraint.

Congress was called upon many times in the past 12 months to meet its responsibilities to our forces in Vietnam. In early spring it enacted a $12,196,520,000 Vietnam Supplemental Appropriations Act to help meet the costs of the war during 1967. It is estimated that almost $20 billion were expended during 1967 in fighting the war in Vietnam and that at least $20 billion more will be required to continue the effort in 1968.

The war costs have increased Defense Department appropriations significantly. In Public Law 90–96 the Congress appropriated more than $69.9 billion to fund the Department of Defense during 1968. This is a figure for defense expenditure exceeded only twice before in our history—in 1944 and 1945 during the height of the Second World War.

WEAPONS, VESSELS, AND CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS

Several bills were passed to authorize the procurement of weapons, the construction of naval vessels, and the construction of military housing and installations.

In May Congress sent to the President a bill authorizing $21,168,032,000 for development and procurement in 1968 of military hardware. Public Law 90–22 authorized expenditures exceeding $13.8 billion for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, items of particular need and significance given our engagement in South Vietnam. It further authorized expenditure of more than $7.3 billion for research and development. These authorizations were later funded in the 1968 Department of Defense Appropriations Act.

Of particular interest in this act was a standby authorization for development of an antiballistic missile system should the administration decide that the installation of one is advisable. The revelation in late fall of the Soviet Union's capability to launch nuclear weapons from satellites emphasizes the importance of this standby authorization.

Public Law 90–22 authorized $377 million in ABM development funds which, together with an earlier authorization, provides a total of $544.9 million for installation purposes. The Defense Department Appropriations Act subsequently appropriated $297.6 million for deployment of the ABM missile, the Nike X, and $421.3 million for continued development of it—only $2 million less than the amount authorized in Public Law 90–22.

The Congress adhen $101.6 million more to the total authorization than was requested by the administration, mainly because of low administration estimates as to weaponry needs in the Vietnam conflict. Major items added to the authorization were, first, $294.7 million for procurement of additional aircraft by the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps and for procurement of improved electronic equipment for existing Air Force craft; second, an additional $83 million for the construction of two nuclear-powered missile frigates instead of the two conventionally powered missile destroyers requested by the administration; and third, an additional $25 million for development of an advanced manned strategic aircraft—a proposed succesor to the B–52 bomber due to be phased out in the 1970's.

Counterbalancing these $402.7 million in add-ons were cuts made in requested authorizations for a fleet of fast deployment logistic ships designed to provide rapid supply to troops in future brushfire wars. Congress eliminated the $233.5 million request for FDL ship development made in the administration bill. It further rescinded a fiscal 1966 appropriation of $67.6 million for construction of two such ships.

Significant provisos in the act include establishment, as of January 1, 1969, of 4-year terms of appointment for the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Air

Force, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps. Existing law requires a 4-year term of appointment only for the Marine Corps Commandant with the option of appointing other Chiefs for terms up to 4 years. Present law also permits the reappointment of the Army, Air Force, and Navy Chiefs for any period of time. This will no longer be true as the new provisions stipulate that reappointment of any Chief can occur only during a war or state of national emergency as declared by the Congress after December 31, 1968.

A second proviso in the act extends authority to merge Defense Department funds supporting the war effort in Vietnam with other sums appropriated for military assistance there and broadens that authority to include the support of allied forces in Laos and Thailand.

On June 30 the President signed H.R. 5424—Public Law 90–37—authorizing $165,014,000 in fiscal 1968 for the Coast Guard. This sum was $58 million more than requested by the administration. That extra amount is to finance the construction of five high-endurance cutters instead of the one requested by the administration.

All told, the construction of 10 vessels was authorized, as were the designing of an icebreaker, and improvements on existing vessels. The total authorization for this purpose was $97,776,000. An additional $25,475,000 were authorized for helicopter and airplane procurement; $37,963,000 for 22 shore installations and other facilities; and $3,800,000 for alteration of railroad and public highway bridges to permit free navigation.

Finally, the act required that all vessels authorized by it be constructed in U.S. shipyards.

In the Transportation Appropriations Act—Public Law 90–112—the Congress appropriated only the $107,014,000 requested by the administration for Coast Guard vessel acquisition and installation construction.

Public Law 90–110, signed October 21, authorized $2,333,255,000 for construction at U.S. military bases in the United States and abroad and for construction and maintenance of military family housing. Later, in the Military Construction Appropriations Act, Congress provided only $2,093,362,000 of the authorized amount for actual expenditure during 1968—Public Law 90–.

In an important related development, the Department of Defense ordered a freeze on all new military construction except for that connected with either the Vietnam war or the deployment of new weapons systems. This halt will affect previously authorized construction and, if it remains in effect long enough, that approved in Public Law 90–110. The action was ordered by the Secretary of Defense in order to hold down Government expenditure.

The final authorization was $327,128,000 below administration requests but $1.3 billion more than authorized in fiscal 1967. This large increase in authorization was necessary in order to replace "temporary" facilities constructed during World War II but still in use and because of the need for new military family housing.

MILITARY SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1967

Since 1940 the United States has had some form of selective service. In 1951 the debate as to the advisability of universal military training was resolved in favor of a continuing peacetime draft. The uncertainties resulting from the cold war and the aggression in South Korea convinced Congress that militarily trained reserves of men were vital to our foreign policy commitments and national security.

This year Congress once more had to determine whether or not the draft should be extended and if so, in what form. Beginning in the fall of 1966, suggestions for changes in the selective service law were forthcoming from numerous sources. Suggestions included abolishing the draft in favor of well-paid voluntary Armed Forces, elimination of student deferments, and selection of draftees by lot.

During congressional debate, however, a consensus developed that our present military commitment in Vietnam precluded sweeping revisions in the existing draft laws. On June 20, therefore, the Congress sent a bill to the President which provided in the main only for extension of the draft through July 1, 1971.

Provisions in Public Law 90–40 included: First, authority to induct men between the ages of 18½ and 26, or up to 35 for those who receive deferments; second, authority to issue special calls for physicians, dentists, and allied technicians if they have received deferments for professional education; third, suspension of permanent limitations on the active duty strength of the Armed Forces; fourth, authority to pay a quarters allowance to all enlisted members of the Armed Forces with dependents, irrespective of the rank of these members, if Government quarters for dependents are not available; and fifth, authority to pay physicians and dentists up to an additional $350 a month—based on their length of service—and to pay veterinarians an additional $100 a month, regardless of their period of service.

Language written into the bill prohibits the President from instituting a draft lottery or other means of random selection of draftees without the specific approval of Congress. The President had expressed the desire to have some form of lottery selection written into law in order to make the draft more equitable. Under his discretionary authority to order revisions in draft procedures, the President could institute a reform of this nature. The congressional expression in Public Law 90–40 not to do so without consultation with the Congress makes it unlikely that that will occur.

College undergraduate deferments will continue to be given unless the President determines that the military manpower needs of the country require their restriction or termination. The new draft law does provide, however, that unless a student later receives a graduate or occupational deferment, or unless his induction would work a severe hardship on dependents, he shall be placed in an age group most vulnerable to immediate draft upon his graduation, or his withdrawal or expulsion from school, or his 24th birthday, whichever may come first.

The new law further provides that an undergraduate deferment once granted shall continue so long as a student remains enrolled in a full-time course of instruction. The effect of this language is to preclude the drafting of students whose work performance is less than satisfactory yet not so poor as to cause withdrawal or suspension. Some draft boards did previously induct students in this category.

The President's authority to prescribe criteria for the granting of graduate and occupational deferments was continued. Congress, however, directed the National Security Council to assume responsibility for identifying those critical skills which would warrant occupational or graduate deferment and advising the Director of Selective Service on the same. In its consideration of this matter the Council is to give equal weight to both civilian and military needs.

Heretofore, doctors entering the Public Health Service were given draft exempt status. This has been curtailed significantly in the new law. Only PHS doctors assigned to the National Institutes of Health, the Coast Guard, Bureau of Prisons, and the Environmental Science Services Administration will retain the exemption. Those assigned to the Peace Corps, Food and Drug Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, or other Government agency will be liable to the draft.

In 1964 the Supreme Court in *Seeger, Jacobson, and Peter* v. *United States* (380 U.S. 163) stated that belief in a "Supreme Being" as a basis for conscientious exemption from the draft includes:

> A belief that is sincere and meaningful[ly] occupies a place in the life of its possessor parallel to that filled by the orthodox belief in God of one who clearly qualifies for the exemption.

The effect of this decision was significantly to broaden the intent of Congress in permitting exemption from the draft for conscientious objectors.

Congress took steps in the present act, therefore, to obviate the impact of the Supreme Court decision. Specifically, it removed from the law, as the definition of "reliigous training and belief," a belief in a relationship with a Supreme Being which transcends merely human relationships.

The intention of the new language is to clarify to the Court that Congress approves a conscientious exemption only for those persons who claim such exemption on the basis of "religious training and belief." The language includes stipulation that the phrase "religious training and belief" does not include "essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views, or a merely personal moral code."

The act also deleted from the law a requirement that the Justice Department conduct a background investigation of a claim for exemption on conscientious grounds if such claim received unfavorable action by an appeals board. Investigations conducted under existing authority have not substantially altered board decisions but instead merely contributed to delay in the litigation process.

A mounting wave of attempts to evade or obstruct the draft prompted inclusion in the law of provisions directing the Department of Justice, upon request of the Director of Selective Service, to expedite prosecutions for draft law violations including: first, evasion; second, counsel that advocates evasion or obstruction, and, third, in the case of conscientious objectors, refusal to perform 2 years of "critical" civilian duty in lieu of military service.

The law further stipulates that the Department of Justice must explain to the Congress any failure on its part to expedite such prosecutions as are requested by the Director of Selective Service. Cases involving draft law violations are to be given precedence on the dockets of Federal courts.

Language in the act clarified an existing statute that prohibits court review of a registrant's draft classification until after he has been ordered to report for induction and responded either affirmatively or negatively to the order.

Public Law 90–40 requires the Director of Selective Service to report to Congress semiannually on operations of the system including breakdowns by State on the number of persons registered, inducted, or deferred from the draft, the reasons for granting deferments, and other specifics as Congress may direct.

The act authorizes the President to establish criteria for draft classification of registrants and to recommend, as he deems advisable, uniform application of such criteria by local draft boards.

A reserve enlistment alternative included in the act permits the Governors of the States to allow persons to enlist in the National Guard and the President to allow persons to enlist in reserve units, in lieu of being drafted, at any time prior to their induction date. This authority may not be used, however, unless previous affirmation is made that component strength of such units cannot otherwise be maintained.

The President is given authority by the act to call up for active duty reservists who have not fulfilled 2 years of active duty and are not assigned to or satisfactorily participating in a Reserve or National Guard unit.

Of particular importance in the act is the absence of any restriction on the President's altering the order in which men shall be drafted. The usual procedure followed is to call older men up first. This often interrupts a person's career development or leaves men of draftable age in difficult straits in looking for career-type work. The President has given serious consideration to reversing the order for draft induction by inducting 19-year-olds first. Under normal peacetime conditions it is estimated that only one in seven 19-year-olds will be drafted to meet military needs. Those passed over can be relatively assured of exemption from the draft after age 20 and be in a better job-finding position than now exists. No such reversal had been ordered by the President as of the date of this report.

Minor provisions in the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 include extension of a man's draft eligibility beyond age 26 should litigation brought by him also extend beyond that age and a final decision judge him qualified for the draft; permission for reserve officers on inactive duty to serve as Government appeals agents and counselors to registrants; permission to induct alien physicians and dentists to age 35 even though they are older than age 26 upon entry into the country.

Finally, the act designates the "chief clerk" of local draft boards to be henceforth called the "executive secretary," and limits his tenure to 10 years, unless reappointed. Furthermore, a draft board member's total service is limited to 25 years and age 75 requires resignation. Women may not be discriminated against in the selection of board members.

UNIFORMED SERVICES PAY ACT OF 1967

The fighting men of the Nation deserve to be paid well for their arduous and dangerous labors protecting out national security and that of our allies. Towards that end, therefore, the Congress enacted this session a Uniformed Services Pay Act which will provide a $2.7 billion pay raise for the Nation's 3.5 million servicemen and women.

The act provides monthly increases in salary ranging from $5.10 for a buck private to $123.60 for a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, retroactive to October 1, 1967. In addition to the 4.5 percent increase in basic salary, the act authorizes a 1.1 percent increase in allowances for such things as food and housing. The act further provides that military personnel shall receive pay raises in 1968 and 1969 and stipulates that in future years they shall receive pay raises whenever classified civil servants do.

This Congress can take pride in the passage of this legislation in support of America's fighting forces.

RESERVE FORCES BILL OF RIGHTS AND VITALIZATION ACT OF 1967

Passage in early December of the Reserve Forces Bill of Rights and Vitalization Act of 1967 clarified the status of the Nation's Armed Forces Reserves and National Guard units. This act provides for a Selected Reserve composed of units from the Army Reserve, the Army Guard, the Naval Reserve, the Marine Corps Reserve, the Air National Guard, the Air Force Reserve, and the Coast Guard Reserve. Language in the act stipulates that Selected Reserve components shall consist of "intact" units drawn from the above noted Reserves. The effect of this provision is to preclude meshing of the National Guard with regular Armed Forces' reserve units—a concept promoted over the past 3 years by the Secretary of Defense. Additional provisions in the act will facilitate Reserve Force mobilization for meeting emergency situations and wars.

VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Public Law 90–77, the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967, constituted a significant action by the Congress for the benefit of those brave young Americans serving the cause of freedom in Vietnam and on other frontiers of democracy. This act augments the provisions of the GI cold war bill passed in the last Congress.

Title I of Public Law 90–77 contained authorizations providing for a 5.4 percent average increase in the non-service-connected pensions of veterans, their wives, and children and an average 8.5 percent increase in the pensions of widows and children in the lowest income categories.

It further authorized a $5 per month cent average increase in the non-service-increase in the pensions of Spanish-American War widows, widows of earlier wars, and in the pensions of disabled veterans confined to their houses. Veterans receiving benefits under laws passed before 1960, who are "housebound," will now receive $100 per month.

Title I authorized various increases for those on pension who require "regular aid and attendance" and allowed pensioners over 65 to claim "permanent and total disability" benefits.

The estimated first-year cost of financing the benefits provided under this title is $107,002,000.

Title II of the act provides truly significant and richly deserved benefits for those veterans who have served during the Vietnam era—a period beginning August 5, 1964, and ending on a date to be determined by the President or by concurrent resolution of Congress.

These benefits include disability compensation at full wartime rates; non-service-connected death and disability pensions for veterans and their dependents as currently provided for veterans of earlier wars; a burial allowance of $250; presumption that active psychosis, evident within 2 years after discharge, was a service-connected disability; medical benefits in State homes for a non-service-connected disability; and drugs and medicines for pensioners receiving continual care.

For disabled veterans serving on or after January 31, 1955, there will be available a $1,600 allowance for the purchase of a specially equipped automobile, provided these veterans were disabled in the direct line of duty.

The first-year cost of these "equalization" provisions is estimated at $14,639,000.

Title III of the act increases the educational assistance payments available to veterans by authority of the cold war GI bill—Public Law 89–358. A single veteran will now receive $130 a month, a veteran with one dependent $155 a month, a veteran with two dependents $175 a month. For each dependent thereafter an additional $10 per month will be provided a veteran.

This educational assistance is the finest appreciation a people can show for those who risk their lives in military service for the Nation. I know there is no Member of the Congress, and probably no person in the country, who begrudges this "helping hand" to veterans so that they might further themselves upon return to civilian life.

Additional assistance to veterans under title III will aid those seeking flight training in pursuit of a commercial pilot's license; those enrolled in Federal or State approved apprenticeship or training programs; and those taking farming courses at an educational institution.

Title III amends the war orphans educational assistance program by extending the eligibility limit from age 23 to age 26. It authorizes full educational benefits to "educationally disadvantaged veterans" so that they might finish high school and continue on with college. It authorizes compensation up to $400 per month for persons who lose limbs as a result of military action.

Finally, it permits issuance of a burial flag to the families of those serving after May 27, 1941, whose bodies were never recovered.

The cost of implementing the authorizations contained in title III is placed at $162,662,000 for the first year.

The final title of the act—title IV—authorizes recompense to educational institutions for the cost of reporting to the Veterans' Administration on those veterans attending them under GI bills. The recompense formula is $3 times the number of veterans enrolled.

This title also extends the eligibility period of World War II veterans for coverage by the VA loan guarantee program. The termination date is now July 25, 1970. It increased the maximum loan available to veterans under the direct home loan program from $17,500 to $25,000. First-year cost for these authorizations is estimated at $1,300,000.

Overall first-year cost for programs authorized in Public Law 90-77 totals $285,603,000. This act is one of the truly splendid accomplishments of the first session of the 90th Congress. In signing the bill into law on August 31, the President noted that while it exceeded by $115 million the amount requested by the Administration, the added funds were acceptable because of their future impact on the well-being of returning servicemen and on the well-being of the Nation.

MISCELLANEOUS DEFENSE AND VETERANS LEGISLATION

Several minor bills were passed this session which support the activities of the Armed Forces or assist our veterans. Public Law 90-140 extends through 1970 a milk program which makes dairy products acquired under the price support program available to veterans' hospitals, the Armed Forces, Department of Defense hospitals, and the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy.

Public Law 90-130 removed provisions in the law which limited career opportunities available to women officers in the Armed Forces. Henceforth they will enjoy the same promotion and tenure opportunities previously enjoyed only by male officers. I am sure the ladies in our military services appreciate their newly gained status of equality.

Public Law 90-122 permits the Secretaries of the military departments to continue savings deposit allotments for members of the Armed Forces captured or missing in action. This act supplements the savings deposit program initiated in 1966—Public Law 89-538—which permits members in the Armed Forces to invest part of their pay in savings at an attractive rate of interest of 10 percent annually.

A JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CORPS IN THE NAVY

Public Law 90-179 establishes a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy. The creation of this corps as a separate branch of the Navy was necessary in order, first, to insure adequate legal service within the Navy for servicemen, and, second, to attract and keep lawyers and law specialists in the middle pay grades. Surveys of former legal aides in the Navy indicated that the absence of professional status was a psychological impediment to remaining in the Navy as lawyers. It is to be hoped that the creation of the JAG Corps in the Navy will have the desired effects which prompted its establishment.

ARMED FORCES, SUNDRY LEGISLATION

H.R. 8547 simplifies and makes uniform a variety of personnel laws for the Armed Forces. H.R. 12961 authorizes storage of household effects of military personnel who are in a missing-in-action status.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROLL BOARD AMENDMENTS

During consideration of the State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary Appropriations Act of 1968—Public Law 90-133—the Senate spent a considerable amount of time debating the advisability of appropriating $295,000 to finance the activities of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Precipitating this debate was a dearth of activity by the Board following the 1965 Supreme Court decision which invalidated, on fifth amendment grounds, an order of the Board requiring, in default of registration by the Communist Party, registration by persons found to be members of the party *Albertson* v. *S.A.C.B.*, 382 U.S. 70. The effect of this decision was to strip the Board of those powers given it by the Congress in the 1950 Internal Security Act.

In the debate on Public Law 90-133 opinion divided over whether to eliminate the Board altogether by denying it funds or whether to amend the Internal Security Act in order to conform with the Court's 1965 decision in the Albertson case. Neither course was followed. Instead funds were appropriated to continue the Board with an understanding that final determination with respect to S.A.C.B. should be made as soon as possible by Congress in view of the Supreme Court ruling.

Congress made that determination late in the first session when it passed S. 2171.

The Subversive Activities Control Board Amendments of 1967 eliminated the Board's power to require a Communist-action or Communist-front organization, or its members, to register as such with the Attorney General—no organization or person ever did so register during the 17 years in which that part of the law was in force.

The 1967 act declared that the protection of our national security requires that Communist-action and Communist-front organizations be exposed to the critical light of publicity. This shall henceforth be the primary purpose of hearings and declarations by the SACB.

The 1967 amendments provide that: First, members of any organization determined to be Communist-action—for example, the party—or Communist-front may not apply for jobs with any Federal agency or defense facility without disclosing membership in such organizations and may not obtain employment with the Federal Government; two, membership in a Communist-action organization shall preclude employment in any defense establishment—a recent Supreme Court decision weakens the impact of this provision; third, membership in any Communist-action organization shall preclude holding office in a labor union; fourth, no SACB determined Communist-action or Communist-front organization may use the mails or broadcasting facilities to transmit its message unless appropriate identification is provided to indicate that it has been adjudged a Communist-action or Communist-front organization; fifth, no such organizations may be given tax-exempt status nor may contributions to them be claimed for deduction purposes from Federal income tax; sixth, failure of an organization or person to appear before the Board for scheduled hearings shall not prevent those hearings from being held; seventh, immunity from prosecution privileges are available to the Board in order that it may compel witness testimony and the production of pertinent documents; eighth, disruption of proceedings before the Board shall be punishable by fine, or imprisonment, or both; ninth, the Board shall maintain appropriate records of its action which shall be available to the public; and tenth, the Board shall issue annual reports on its activities to the Congress and the President.

Provisions included in the amendments stipulate that failure by the Board to hold any hearings from the date of passage of S. 2171 through December 31, 1968, shall cause the Board to cease existence as of July 1969. The Attorney General must report to the Congress, on or before July 1968, any proceedings he has instituted before the Board. If he institutes none, he must explain his failure to do so. The Board must also explain its failure to hold any hearings.

BENEFITS FOR EMPLOYEES IN HIGH-RISK SITUATIONS

Federal Government employees who work under risky conditions abroad deserve special benefits and Congress from time to time passes legislation to accord them such benefits.

This session it passed S. 1785 to provide: authority for the payment of travel expenses for two round trips each year by certain Foreign Service personnel in order that they might visit with their families; authority for payment of travel expenses of Foreign Service personnel, stationed abroad, to visit their families in emergency situations; medical benefits in certain circumstances to Foreign Service personnel even though they are separated from the Service, and to their dependents after the death of any Foreign Service officer or employee to whom this provision is applicable; that no leave shall be charged for a period of up to 1 year, when a Government employee serving abroad is forced to be absent from duty because of injury from hostile action.

All these provisions were adopted because of our military involvement in

Vietnam, and were recommended by the President.

FOREIGN POLICY AND TRADE

The 20th century has shrunk the world and made obsolete the policy of isolation. Once it was possible to remain distant from the affairs of other nations. The airplane, the missile, the satellite, all have contributed to the impossibility of that luxury.

The decline of imperialism has made ever more imperative the obligations of the rich nations to the poor nations. President Johnson is keenly aware of those obligations. So were Presidents Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and John Kennedy. The failure of the rich nations to assist the poor nations spells worldwide disaster, as Barbara Ward has so wisely observed in her book on the subject.

Since the conclusion of World War II, the United States has had a foreign aid program designed, as President Truman said, to "assist free people to work out their own destinies in their own way." In February of this year the President sent a detailed message to Congress requesting that economic and military assistance be continued and that programs promoting "self-help" be the touchstone of our foreign aid policy.

He wrote in that message that:

> The programs I propose represent the minimum contribution to mutual security and international development which we can safely make.
>
> There are some who say that even this request should be foregone in view of needs at home and the costs of the struggle in Viet Nam.
>
> Nothing could be more short-sighted and self-defeating. This country—the wealthiest in human history—can well afford to devote less than seven-tenths of one percent of the national income to reduce the chances of future Viet Nams.

These were the terms, then, upon which the President called for continuation of our foreign assistance policy.

THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1967

The feeling prevailed within the Congress, however, that the heavy expenditures in Vietnam and the expectation of a large deficit demanded an absolute minimum foreign aid authorization. Consequently, Public Law 90–137, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967, provided the lowest aid authorization in the 20-year history of the program.

The act provides that 1968 foreign aid appropriations may not exceed $2,674,614,000 for both economic and military assistance. This sum was $28.7 million less than had ever previously been authorized and $787,691,000 below the administration request.

These minimum authorizations will require careful dispensation of foreign aid by the administration and will further require frugality and economy in the use of that money by those foreign nations receiving assistance in 1968.

The development loan program was the most severely trimmed of those programs in which cuts were made. The administration request of $750 million for that program was reduced to $450 million. Technical assistance was cut from $243 to $210 million; the Alliance for Progress—our Latin American aid program—from $750 to $578 million; assistance for nations facing an external Communist threat from $720 to $660 million; the President's contingency aid fund from $100 to $50 million, and military assistance from $680.1 to $510 million.

Several provisos contained in the Foreign Assistance Act exemplify a continued interest and involvement by the Congress in the purpose and effect of our foreign aid programs.

One of these provisos terminates as of June 30, 1968, the Defense Department's authority to finance credit arms sales to underdeveloped nations. Congress took this action because it felt that the United States, through such arms sales, might be contributing to international violence and warfare.

Congress also placed new restraints on military aid to Africa and Latin America where the potential for internal or external conflict is high. Again, Congress felt that the United States should exercise caution in feeding that potential for conflict.

Another proviso required that aid be terminated to nations whose defense spending interferes materially with their economic growth. A primary purpose of U.S. foreign assistance is to promote economic growth and stability in those nations receiving it. If a recipient nation is embarked on a program of defense buildup to such an extent that it ignores its economic progress, then American aid is not serving the purpose for which it is intended.

Another proviso in the act imposed new ceilings on the number of countries that could receive most types of foreign aid. Still another required that the administration furnish the Congress greater detail about its projected aid commitments.

The 1967 Foreign Assistance Act contained a statement of principles to be followed by the Agency for International Development in administering the foreign aid program. These are: First, U.S. assistance should be used in support of, rather than in addition to, a nation's own development effort; second, countries other than the United States should be urged to play a greater role in aiding underdeveloped nations; third, assistance should be utilized to encourage regional cooperation by underdeveloped countries in the solution of common problems; fourth, the primary objects of assistance should be to support the efforts of underdeveloped countries to meet their fundamental needs for sufficient food, good helath, home ownership and decent housing, and the opportunity to gain basic knowledge and skills; fifth, assistance, whenever practicable, should consist of U.S. products and services in a manner consistent with U.S. balance-of-payments objectives; sixth, assistance should be furnished in such a manner that the United States obtains maximum possible effectiveness for each dollar spent; and seventh, agricultural sales under the food-for-peace program and foreign assistance under other acts should, as far as practicable, be coordinated with assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act.

The act expressed the sense of Congress that this Nation should seek a permanent settlement of the Middle East conflict by encouraging direct talks between Israel and the Arab nations and by implementing foreign aid policies in that area which will contribute to the realization of those talks.

The act expressed the sense of Congress that the President should suspend all foreign assistance, including food products, to any nation which has broken diplomatic relations with the United States and that at such time as relations are resumed the resumption of assistance should not be made before a thorough study of our foreign policy objectives with respect to that nation.

In addition to reducing the amounts of money available in 1968 for development loans to foreign countries, the act directed the President to place appropriate emphasis on the following criteria in granting such loans: First, assuring maximum participation by the people of a recipient nation through the encouragement of strong economic, political, and social institutions; second, assisting programs aimed at enabling the recipient nation to meet its food needs through development of its own resources; third, assisting recipient countries to meet their trained manpower needs by improving their educational institutions; fourth, developing programs to combat malnutrition, eradicate disease, clear slums, improve sewage disposal systems, provide voluntary family planning assistance, and upgrade health services; fifth, assisting other activities, such as the growth of free labor unions, cooperatives, improvement of transportation and communications systems, development of capabilities for sound economic planning, urban development, and modernized economic development plans, which will contribute to the growth and stabilization of a recipient nation.

The Congress also increased the number of countries which could receive development loans in any fiscal year from 10 to 20 but removed from the law a provision permitting the President to authorize additional bans when he felt they would be in the national interest. The interest rate on development loans during the first 10 years was raised from 1 to 2 percent.

Loans for technical development within a recipient nation, authorized at $210 million during fiscal 1968, were limited to an annual maximum of 40 countries, as was previously the case. The President's power was rescinded to make additional loans after consultation with the Congress and when he felt they were in the national interest.

Loans for building schools and hospitals were authorized up to $14 million for 1968. An additional $2.9 million were authorized for grants to build two schools for Israel.

Ceilings on guarantees that AID can make to private investors in underdeveloped countries were raised by the Congress in Public Law 90–137. The specific risk guarantee ceiling was raised from $7 billion to $8 billion; the extended risk guarantee ceiling from $375 million to $475 million; and the Latin American housing guarantee ceiling from $450 million to $500 million. The act also increased from $300 million to $325 million the amount of authorization available for "demonstration," private-housing projects.

A sum of $2,100,000 was authorized for private enterprise surveys of investment opportunities in underdeveloped countries. This authorization will remain in effect until appropriations have reached it and been expended.

The Alliance for Progress was continued but at a reduced authorization for 1968—$578 million. An existing authorization for 1969 was rescinded. A sum of $714,000 was approved for support of the Partners of the Alliance program through which 31 States voluntarily provide technical assistance to Latin America.

The population explosion threatens the well-being of many nations in the world. In this act, therefore, Congress approved programs which will authorize U.S. assistance in the development of voluntary family planning. In carrying out such programs, however, no attempts shall be made to coerce individuals to practice methods "inconsistent with his or her moral, philosophical, or religious belief."

Appropriations of $141 million were authorized for 1968 assistance through international organizations and programs. Of particular note was a 1969 authorization of $51,220,000 for the Indus Basin development program undertaken by the World Bank in India and Pakistan.

Included in this section of the act was a sense of Congress proviso encouraging U.S. promotion of a permanent United Nations peacekeeping force. The existence of such a force would ensure rapid U.N. response to small outbreaks of conflict.

Supporting assistance aid programs were authorized for appropriations of $660 million during fiscal 1968. The number of countries to which such assistance could be offered was set at 12 and the President's power to make additional loans above that number was removed. Congress urged the President to seek the establishment of a $10 million special account in U.S. dollars by South Vietnam for withdrawals to satisfy claims arising from the commodity assistance program.

The President was directed to submit 1969 foreign aid proposals which will foster agricultural research and capacities in tropical and subtropical regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Military assistance for 1968—excluding funds for South Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand which were budgeted under the Defense Department Appropriations Act—was authorized at $510 million. Included in this section of the act was expression of the sense of Congress that military aid should be given on a priority basis to countries threatened by external Communist aggression or internal Communist-supported subversion. Congress further stipulated that no defense item or service should be provided a nation unless the President found that the transaction would promote world peace and strengthen our national security and unless the recipient nation guaranteed that it would not then sell such items to a third country without the consent of the President. The President is to report any such consent agreement to the Congress.

Other general provisions of note in the act First, repealed an existing prohibition on aid to Indonesia unless the President certified it in the national interest; second, directed the President to suspend aid to nations which permit or fail to take adequate action against destruction of U.S. property in their countries; third, prohibited all forms of aid to countries which trade with North Vietnam while that country is engaged in subversion of the government of South Vietnam—the President retains authority to waive this ban with respect to the sale of defense articles and services to countries trading with North Vietnam if he determines that continuation of such sale is in the national interest and promotes world peace—and fourth, directed AID to take into account a nation's status in paying its United Nations' dues before providing the nation with foreign aid and to gain assurances that payments in arrears will be made if they exist.

To fund the administrative expenses of AID, the act provided an authorization of $55,814,000 for fiscal 1968.

While the Foreign Assistance Act did not in every particular conform with the expectations and desires of the President, it did include provisions emphasizing that foreign aid programs should be aimed at encouraging "self-help" efforts by recipient nations—as the President had requested.

FOREIGN AID AND PEACE CORPS APPROPRIATIONS

In H.R. 13893, Congress appropriated $2,876,591,000 for 1968 foreign aid programs and related agencies. Included in the amount was $107.5 million to finance the Peace Corps. The sum appropriated was more than $950 million below that requested by the President.

Specific items in the appropriation included: $180 million for technical cooperation grants; $11.5 million for the construction of overseas schools and hospitals; $1.25 million for financing surveys to test the advisability of private enterprise investment abroad; $130 million for the support of international organizations; $600 million for supporting assistance to Vietnam and other countries; $10 million for the President's emergency contingent fund; $469.3 million for the Alliance for Progress; $435 million for the development loan program; $400 million for military aid; $300 million for the Inter-American Development Bank; $104 million for the International Development Association—World Bank—$107.5 million for the Peace Corps; $69,456,000 for other foreign aid programs; $55.3 million for the administrative expenses of the Agency for International Development; and $3.255 million for State Department expenses connected with foreign aid.

These moneys will provide economic aid to an estimated 74 countries and military assistance to 34.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The Inter-American Development Bank was created by members of the Organization of American States in 1959 to assist in the economic and social development of Latin American nations by providing capital and technical assistance and promoting private investment in development projects. It began operations in 1961 and is the chief banking instrument of the Alliance for Progress.

It carries out its operations through two funds: the ordinary capital fund, which provides loans on conventional terms, and the fund for special operations, which makes loans on a more lenient basis.

This session Congress, in Public Law 90–88, authorized U.S. participation in a $1.2 billion boosting of the fund for special operations at a cost of $900 million to us. A proviso attached to the law requested that the Comptroller General of the United States recommend procedures to the IDB for auditing loan accounts with it.

THE EURATOM ACT OF 1967

Congress approved legislation late in the session increasing the maximum amount of uranium-235 that may be transferred to the European Atomic Energy Community from 70,000 kilograms to 215,000 kilograms. The act further increased plutonium transfers from 500 kilograms to 1,500 kilograms, and authorized the Atomic Energy Commission to render other assistance to Euratom and to assist States or local governments in the United States in developing programs to protect the public against radiation.

Euratom for the past 10 years has been developing programs which foster the peaceful uses of the atom among members of the Common Market. These new authorizations will help it maintain and expand its pace.

NAVAL VESSEL LOAN EXTENSION

Late in the session congressional approval was granted to continue the loan of naval vessels to 10 foreign nations for another 5 years. Vessels involved include destroyers, destroyer escorts, and submarines. Countries to which they are loaned include Argentina, three destroyers; Brazil two destroyers and two submarines; West Germany, one destroyer; Greece, two destroyers and one submarine; South Korea, three destroyer escorts and one destroyer; Portugal two destroyer escorts and one destroyer; and Spain, two destroyers.

The extension act also agreed to new loans of two destroyers to South Korea and one destroyer to the Republic of China.

THE PEACE CORPS

The Peace Corps has enjoyed enormous success. Since its beginnings in 1961, the Peace Corps has sent hundreds of dedicated young Americans to foreign countries requesting their presence. These young men and women go into the villages and rural areas of the nations to which they are sent and there carry out programs to improve the education of the people, to build sanitation projects, to promote local government planning, and in many other ways to help these people to help themselves.

The present Vice President of the United States, the Honorable HUBERT HUMPHREY, was an early promoter of the Peace Corps and I know that he takes great pride in the work that these young Americans are doing. They are indeed ambassadors for America abroad.

To continue the splendid work of the Peace Corps, Congress authorized appropriations in fiscal 1968 totaling $115.7 million—Public Law 90–175. Though below the amount requested by the President, this sum was $5.7 million higher than the 1967 authorization. Actual appropriations for 1968 were provided in the foreign aid appropriations and amounted to $107,500,000.

TARIFFS

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 endorses a policy of low tariffs and reciprocal trade agreements. It is the considered opinion of most trade economists that the Nation benefits when tariffs are kept at a minimum and when trade reciprocity is encouraged and promoted between ourselves and other nations. While it is true that some few industries at home may find competition with foreign imports difficult, for the most part freer trade policies mean an expanding industrial and consumer market. Moreover, Congress is careful to afford needed protection and recompense to American industries damaged by foreign competition.

The President is an enthusiastic supporter of free trade, as was his predecessor, President Kennedy. He has several times in the past year discouraged any attempts to institute by legislation harsh protective tariffs which might damage our trade posture in the world market.

While no major tariff legislation was forthcoming from Congress this year, a number of items did receive final approval. Those passed continue a policy of free trade.

Public Law 90–14 delegates authority to the President to eliminate the duty on imports of dicyandiamide, pursuant to reciprocal trade agreements. Public Law 90–36 extended through September 30, 1967, the time in which importers could request reclassification of imports under the lower traiff rate provisions of the Tariff Schedule Technical Amendments Act of 1965, and obtain a refund on the tariffs involved.

Public Law 90–145 continues through June 30, 1969, existing suspensions of duties for metal waste and scrap imports. Public Law 90–48 continued through September 30, 1967, suspension of duties on ferronickel, unwrought nickel, and nickel powder—the President has authority to extend, by his own action, the suspension even longer, or permanently. Finally, Public Law 90–49 continued through June 30, 1967, existing duty suspensions on certain manganese ore.

EDUCATION

The President has several times expressed the hope that his time in office will be remembered as an "era of educational advancement." His credentials are formidable to support such a claim. During the 89th Congress two giant education bills were enacted into law: the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act. In addition, education programs were initiated by the war on poverty: for example, the highly respected Headstart project; and by the Housing Act of 1964. Also begun was the Teacher Corps, a program which upgrades teaching in low-income areas.

During the past year the Congress continued to fund those education programs already authorized. Before the conclusion of the 90th Congress, it will in all probability act to extend the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Higher Education Act of 1965, and the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965.

In passing the HEW Appropriations Act of 1968—Public Law 90–132—Congress provided $13.5 million to finance the Teacher Corps, $1,677,907,000 for activities under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, $439,137,000 for aid to education in federally impacted areas, $156.5 million for libraries and community service, more than $1.1 billion for higher education, and $53.4 million for the education of handicapped children.

All these programs mark success for the President's policy of "cooperative federalism" for they assist the States and their local governments in providing ever better education. Were Thomas Jefferson alive today he would be mightily pleased, as he always contended that a democracy thrives in proportion to the educational attainment level of its people.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING ACT OF 1967

Congress continued beyond the mere funding of existing programs. In early November it sent to the President the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967—Public Law 90–129—which establishes a public corporation to provide financial assistance for noncommercial educational television and radio broadcasting.

The law contains two major titles. Title I extends Public Law 87–447, a 1962 act which authorized Federal grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities. It also broadens the provisions of the previous act by including grant authority for radio educational broadcasting. For these purposes the act authorizes $38 million: $10.5 million in 1968; $12.5 million in 1969; and $15 million in 1970.

Title II of the act establishes a nonprofit, nongovernmental Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The Corporation is authorized to grant financial assistance for educational groups and broadcasting stations to promote educational programs and defray operational costs. It is further authorized to arrange for regional and nationwide connection systems among broadcasting stations in order to foster wider dissemination of educational programs.

Yet to be determined by legislative action is the precise manner in which the activities of the Public Broadcasting Corporation shall be financed. Once this is determined, a truly landmark advance in the promotion of education in this Nation will be achieved. The President has promised to submit proposals in 1968 for long-term financing of the Corporation.

Education broadcasting experts have testified that the Corporation cannot promote controversial programs with impunity unless it is assured of permanent funds. and thus freed from influences which might hamper honest pursuit of knowledge.

Particular pains were taken by the Congress to insulate the Corporation from political pressures. Emphasis was given both in the act and in committee reports to local control over program content.

The Corporation, composed of 15 directors, may not have any Federal employee on its board. The directors will be appointed by the President with Senate confirmation. No more than eight may belong to the same political party and each is limited to two consecutive 6-year terms with the Corporation.

The Corporation is not permitted to have any financial interests in or to own any television or radio station, system or network, community antenna television system, or to have any interconnections with educational program production units.

While the Corporation can establish regional and nationwide interconnections for dissemination of programs, it cannot require that any local station broadcast a program.

Despite concern within the Congress about financing arrangements for the Corporation and undue political pressures, the Public Broadcasting Act commanded wide support. The House passed the measure by a 265 to 91 rollcall vote; the Senate, by voice vote.

The concept has enormous potential for excellence and benefit. Realization of that potential will rest with continued wholehearted support from the Congress and intelligent and dispassionate administration by the Corporation.

At the bill-signing ceremony the President noted that the act will dedicate the airways for the enlightenment of all the people and observed:

> . . . [T]he time has come to stake another claim in the name of all the people, stake a claim based upon the combined resources of communications. . . . [T]he time has come to enlist the computer and the satellite, as well as television and radio and to enlist them in the cause of education.

This is precisely the intention of the Public Broadcasting Act.

LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT AMENDMENTS

On November 24, 1967, the President signed Public Law 90–194, the Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1967.

The first Library Services Act was passed in 1956 and provided assistance to only those communities with populations under 10,000, and to rural areas. In 1964, these provisions were significantly expanded and assistance was authorized to urban and suburban areas. New emphasis was given to the construction of library facilities.

Ten years of Federal assistance to community libraries have produced heartwarming results. Thirteen million Americans have received library assistance for the first time under existing provisions. Local libraries have been enabled to purchase more than 27 million books and other education items. New libraries built have numbered 719. Federal funds of $100 million have been matched by $321 million in State and local funds.

All these benefits have increased local community capacity for improving the education of its young. No longer is access to information confined to large urban populations.

Public Law 154 continues and expands a decade of progress. Particularly noteworthy was continuation of 100 percent Federal sharing in new State library programs. New programs authorized in the act will promote interlibrary cooperation, provide library facilities for State institutions, and give special library service to physically handicapped persons.

COLLEGE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM

Congress extended and revised the college work-study program first authorized in the Higher Education Act of 1965. Under the provisions of Public Law 90-82 the nongovernment share in financing the program will be increased in the next 2 years. First year Federal share in the program amounted to 90 percent of its cost. That share is reduced to 85 percent in 1967, 80 percent in 1968, and 75 percent in 1969.

Provision was contained in the new law to limit student work to a maximum average of 15 hours a week during a semester. This permits variation from week to week in the amount of work a student shall perform but over the long run prevents his working so much as to affect harmfully his studies.

The program especially aids low-income students to obtain a college education, opening new vistas and opportunities for them.

LAND EXCHANGE, SCHOOLS

It is not unusual for school districts in certain parts of the country to locate their schools on land owned by the Forest Service. These districts pay fees for permits entitling them to use the land. Problems arise in these exchanges because of the limited tenure of such permits, lack of assurance in regard to fees, and legal problems encountered in obtaining necessary financing for improvements on these lands which the districts do not own. School districts often purchase title to the land to obviate such problems.

Congress passed H.R. 10442 to facilitate school districts in obtaining title of the public land on which a school is located. The law requires that school districts purchasing title to public land provide equivalent private land in exchange. This is not always possible. H.R. 10442 provides them the alternative of depositing a sum of money with the Forest Service equivalent to the value of the purchased land. The Forest Service shall use such money to purchase land for our national forests.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

On the eve of adjournment House-Senate conferees reported a compromise Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1967. This act continues the many fine educational assistance programs initiated in 1965 and continued in 1966. It further initiates additional programs of assistance and alters funding procedures in certain instances.

The 1967 act contains seven titles and also continues programs of assistance to federally impacted areas. All programs are authorized through June 30, 1970, by H.R. 7819. Total authorizations for 1969 amount to $4.4 billion and for 1970 to almost $4.8 billion. For the 2-year period they total $9,229,860,644.

Title I of the bill authorizes $2.7 billion in 1969 and $2.8 billion in 1970 for assistance for the education of children of low-income families. These sums account for more than half the total Federal aid funds authorized in each year.

Of particular importance in the allocation of these funds among the States during fiscal 1968 is a provision stipulating that no local educational agency shall receive less money than it did in fiscal 1967. This provision was necessary because 1968 appropriations for low-income educational assistance programs are not sufficient to permit full allocation of title I funds authorized to the States during 1968.

The purpose of these funds is to equalize education among the States; to afford, as nearly as possible, equal educational opportunities for all children in every State. To do this, a special provision is contained in the law to provide additional funds to those States which most need them. Appropriations for 1968 will not permit full funding of these additional funds. The 1967 amendments, therefore, guarantee to every local educational agency its 1967 allocation and divide remaining funds among the more needy States according to a formula different from that which would apply were sufficient funds available.

Title I of the 1967 act also provides for a new program of special incentive grants, beginning with fiscal 1969. Authorizations for 1969 and 1970 are in the amount of $50 million each year.

Special incentive grants will be made to those State and local educational agencies spending above the national average per pupil expenditure in an effort to improve their educational programs and facilities. The purpose of the program is to reward and assist those States making special improvement efforts. No State, however, may receive more than 15 percent of the total amount appropriated for these special grants during any fiscal year. Funds are to be distributed among a State's local educational agencies on a priority basis of need.

Title II of the 1967 act continues the aid programs begun in the 81st Congress for those areas in the country adversely affected by the presence of Federal Government operations. It was this aid to so-called federally impacted areas which marked the beginning of modern-day Federal aid to education programs. School construction authorizations for 1969 are set at $66 million. They are authorized in the same amount for 1970. Funds available for school maintenance and operations costs are authorized at $510 million in 1969 and $545 million in 1970.

Additional provisions of this title: First, modified construction programs on Indian lands to provide for housing construction for unhoused children; second, deleted from law certain provisions requiring the deduction of "other Federal payments" from sums allocated under the provisions of the impacted-areas programs; and, third, provided for construction assistance for schools damaged or destroyed by flood, hurricane, earthquake, storm, or fire—except fire caused by negligence or malicious action—irrespective of whether an area has been declared a disaster area.

Title III of H.R. 7819 alters the method for funding grant programs for supplementary educational centers and services. The alteration removes funding authority from the Commissioner of Education by providing for State plans for the allocation of supplementary educational funds. The changeover will be accomplished by a two-step process.

In 1969, States will submit plans for the allocation of these funds. Approval of a plan by the Commissioner of Education will result in a block allocation to a State of 75 percent of its allotment. The remaining 25 percent shall be allocated by the Commissioner. In 1970, a State with an approved plan shall receive 100 percent of its authorized allotment. Provision, however, is included in the law to withhold in 1970 whatever sums of money are necessary for completion of programs previously authorized by the Commissioner.

To assist them in the formulation of plans for the spending of these supplementary funds, States are to appoint advisory councils. The 1967 act further stipulates that 50 percent of a State's funds shall be used for establishing or expanding innovative educational programs. It further provides that 15 percent of such funds shall be used for programs to educate the handicapped.

The revision of title III programs becomes effective with fiscal 1969, except that the provisions applicable to State advisory councils are effective upon the President's signature.

Administrative cost for these programs is separately provided for at a rate of 7½ percent of a State's allotment—or $150,000, whichever is greater. During fiscal 1970 only, 5 percent—or $35,000, whichever is larger—of a State's allocation may be used for administrative purposes.

Also provided for in title III amendments is the appointment by the President of a National Advisory Committee on Supplementary Centers and Services. This committee shall review the operations and effect of title III supplementary programs.

Authorizations for this grant program are $515 million in 1968, $527.8 million in 1969, and $566.5 million in 1970.

Title III of the 1967 act also extends the school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials assistance provided for in title II of the 1965 act. No substantive changes in this program were made by the 1967 act. Authorizations are for $154.5 million in 1968, $167,375,000 in 1969, and $206 million in 1970.

Title IV of the 1967 act directs the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to plan for new programs and to evaluate present ones. He shall report the results of this evaluation to the appropriate legislative and appropriations committees of Congress no later than January 31 of each year. This will permit Congress to judge better the effect of old programs and the need for new ones.

Also authorized by this title is appropriation of funds for programs a year in advance of the year in which they will be obligated. This will permit schools and the States to plan effectively their programs without having to worry about what money will be available to them.

Finally, the title authorizes payments to educational institutions or agencies on an academic year basis when that differs from the fiscal year.

Title V of the act extends the adult education programs authorized by title III of the 1966 amendments. Amounts authorized are $60 million for 1968, $70 million for 1969, and $80 million for 1970. The act also authorizes for the first time assistance to private nonprofit agencies engaged in adult education programs. It extends 90 percent Federal funding of adult-education grants—100 percent for the Pacific Trust Territories.

Title V also continues programs for strengthening State departments of education and authorizes $80 million for this purpose during both 1969 and 1970.

Forty percent of the funds available for this program shall be divided equally among the States. The remaining 60 percent shall be distributed according to the number of students in public schools in each State.

A State must make 10 percent of its title V allotments available to local educational agencies for improvement purposes.

Title V authorizes a new program—without providing any funds—to begin in 1969 for comprehensive planning by local, metropolitan, and statewide agencies in order to meet future needs. This new authorization stipulates that 25 percent of funds available for this purpose shall be available for regional and metropolitan planning efforts. The remaining 75 percent shall go to States.

Title VI authorizes five grant programs intended to help in educating the handicapped and also authorizes the Secretary of HEW and the Secretary of Transportation to undertake a study of safety standards for the operation of school buses. The school bus study results are to be reported to the Congress on or before January 31, 1969. An authorization of $150,000 was included to finance the study.

Programs to aid the handicapped include, first, grants to States, $154 million in 1968, $167,375,000 in 1969, and $206 million in 1970; second, regional resources centers, $7.75 million in 1969, $10 million in 1970; third, a new program to provide centers and services to educate and train children who are deaf or blind, $3 million in 1969, $7 million in 1970; fourth, grants for the recruitment of personnel for educating and training the handicapped, $1 million in 1969 and also in 1970; and fifth, an expanded program for use of captioned films to train the handicapped, $5 million in 1968, $8 million in 1969, and $10 million in 1970.

Also authorized in this title were $18 million to finance retardation projects during 1970 as approved in the 1967 Mental Retardation Amendments Act.

The last title of the act, title VII authorizes the Commissioner of Education, upon the request of a State educational agency, to provide technical assistance to schools in rural areas in the obtaining of available Federal benefits. Often rural schools simply are without the staff to undertake the submission of the necessary documents. Monetary authorizations for this purpose are $2 million during 1968, $3.7 million during 1969, and $4 million during 1970.

Also authorized by title VII were a limited number of projects in urban and rural areas with excessive dropout rates. These projects will attempt to reverse this regrettable trend. Funds authorized total $30 million in fiscal 1969 and $30 million in fiscal 1970.

Finally, a new bilingual assistance program is authorized in title VII. This assistance will foster planning programs to meet the special needs of schoolchildren with a native language different from English. These children often have a difficult time of it in school and these funds will expand their educational horizons. Authorizations for 1969 are $30 million and for 1970, $40 million.

Included in the language of the 1967 Elementary and Secondary Education Act was a proviso stating that compliance by a local educational agency with a final order or judgment of a Federal court for the desegregation of the school or school system shall constitute compliance with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 insofar as the matters in such order of judgment are concerned.

In retrospect, passage of this mammoth $9 billion aid to education measure was a fitting capstone to the first session of the 90th Congress. It does much to insure that the quality of education in America shall improve and as that improves, so shall the Nation.

HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Several laws affecting housing and urban problems were enacted this year in addition to the appropriations act which provided more than $1.6 billion to finance the operations of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

House Journal Resolution 601, passed in June, extended through October 1967 the emergency mass transportation grant program authorized in the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act. Under this program grants are made to localities in urgent need of assistance in meeting transportation problems but which at the time do not have a comprehensive urban mass transit program. The grants cover half the cost of construction. Another third will be forthcoming from the Federal Government if the local government submits a satisfactory comprehensive planning program within 3 years of an emergency grant.

Subsequently, Congress extended the emergency mass transportation program through October 1968 with the passage of Public Law 90–169.

Public Law 90–118 extends until December 31, 1968, the deadline for the National Commission on Urban Problems to file its massive report on all aspects of housing. The Commission will study and make recommendations respecting building laws, standards, codes and regulations at the State and local levels, zoning and land-use laws, and Federal, State, and local tax policies and their effect on housing. A sum of $1.5 million has been appropriated for the task.

Section 810 of the 1964 Housing Act—Public Law 88–560—authorized yearly fellowships for graduate study in city planning and urban development. Authority for the program expired this year so Congress in Public Law 90–66 extended it to July 1, 1970. The act further authorizes a $500,000 annual expenditure in support of grants.

THE WAR ON POVERTY

In his 1964 state of the Union address, the President declared:

> This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I urge this Congress and Americans to join with me in that effort.
>
> It will not be a short or easy struggle, no single weapon or strategy will suffice, but we shall not rest until the war is won.

Most of the poverty programs are now in their third or fourth year of existence. Together they represent a coordinated assault on the roots of poverty: joblessness, poor education, bad housing, family distintegration, discrimination.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was the beginning—a beginning continued by the 89th Congress. The President in his letter transmitting to the Congress the second annual report of the Office of Economic Opportunity noted some of the gains made against poverty in fiscal 1966:

> (1) 733,000 young children from poor families were given a chance to make a decent beginning in life through the Head Start program; (2) 528,000 jobs were made available by the Neighborhood Youth Corps, enabling disadvantaged youths to stay in school or prepare for meaningful employment; (3) 57,430 young people, once lost and forgotten in our society, found new confidence and new skills with the Job Corps; (4) more than 20,000 high school students from poor homes received the educational help they needed to go on the college through Upward Bound; (5) more than 335,000 adults began to overcome illiteracy with basic educational instruction; (6) 3,592 VISTA Volunteers helped communities across the land undertake needed self-help projects; (7) more than 1,000 lawyers provided legal services in 43 States, showing that the law can serve the poor as well as it serves the rest of society.

Programs to redevelop and revive industry in economically depressed areas, begun with the Kennedy administration, were coordinated with those new antipoverty programs begun by the Johnson administration. Included in the former were manpower training, area redevelopment, and accelerated public works.

As with all beginnings, that of the war on poverty has not been without its failures and mistakes. Any reasonable person would not expect otherwise. Some, however, have seized upon shortcomings to decry the very existence of the antipoverty effort. Either they would desire its total demise or they would vitiate its effectiveness by disbanding the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Indeed, the latter attack upon the poverty program had to be voted down on the floor of the House during consideration of the Office of Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. It was no small or unimportant victory for the

President, the program, and the poor when a majority in the House determined that the poverty effort should be left in the hands of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The administration achieved a notable victory and the Congress acted responsibly when the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967 were passed late in the session.

Their passage means that the effort shall continue, that the quiet revolution in America shall not cease. No piece of legislation passed during the first session of the 90th Congress more precisely exemplifies the purpose and the hope of the Johnson Presidency: "Let us continue."

As finally approved by the Congress, the OEO amendments of 1967 continue the poverty programs through fiscal 1968 and fiscal 1969. They authorize appropriations of $1.98 billion in 1968 and $2.18 billion in 1969.

An important amendment contained in the act provides for local government involvement in community action programs. The community action programs are at the heart of the war on poverty. They focus the resources available in a community on the problem of poverty and how best to solve it. Education, manpower training, community organization, housing, and social services are all coordinated through the local community action office.

The local government amendment is intended to draw public officials in a community into the effort to overcome poverty conditions. It is to be hoped that their response will be generous and helpful to the effort. If any public officials in a city are derelict in instituting programs to implement community action, the act provides that direct appeal may be made to the Economic Opportunity Office, which is authorized to take appropriate action. Local governments are authorized to assume administrative power over community action programs no later than February 1, 1969.

Included among the authorizations were $25 million to feed the hungry this year. The Senate had previously passed a separate measure providing such an authorization but no final action on it had been taken in the House.

Authorization for regular poverty programs included: First, $950 million for community action, including Headstart and the program to feed the hungry; second, $295 million for the Job Corps; third, $476 million for Neighborhood Youth Corps and other work-training programs; fourth, $60 million to attract business to ghettos; fifth, $20 million for rural loans; sixth, $27 million for migrant workers; seventh, $10 million for small business loans; eighth, $25 million for day care centers; ninth, $70 million to train welfare recipients for jobs; tenth, $30 million for VISTA; and eleventh, $16 million for administration expenses.

Other provisions of the act: First, institute a day-care program for working mothers; second, prohibit political activity by poverty workers during working hours; third, prohibit legal services from a poverty agency for persons charged with crimes committed during a demonstration; fourth, limit supergrade positions in the Office of Economic Opportunity to one per 100 employees; and fifth, limit the use of special consultants by OEO to 100 days per consultant.

Appropriations to finance the 1968 operations and programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity were contained in the First Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1968. The amount provided totaled $1,773,000,000.

THE TEACHER CORPS

Another key aspect of the poverty program received congressional approval in late June of 1967. Public Law 90–35 extended for 3 years—through fiscal 1970—the life of the Teachers Corps. President Johnson signed the bill into law in Philadelphia and called on "young, dedicated Americans to come forward and apply for this great adventure."

The purpose of the Corps is to send teams of teachers and student interns into urban slums and impoverished rural areas to upgrade the standard of education. Public Law 90–35 insures that this program will continue by authorizing for that purpose $135 million for fiscal years 1968–70.

The law additionally authorizes $435 million in fiscal 1969–70 for graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers and grants to colleges and universities for improvement of their graduate education facilities.

Four new programs were authorized for beginning in 1969: First, grants to attract qualified persons to the field of education; second, grants to assist local education agencies to carry out programs to attract and qualify teachers and teacher aides; third, grants for advanced training and retraining for persons serving in elementary and secondary school programs; and fourth, fellowships and other training for college and university teachers and administrators.

Of particular importance in Public Law 35 was a proviso specifying that the recruitment, selection, and enrollment of Corps volunteers is to be carried out by local education agencies and the colleges and universities. This proviso insures that local decisions will determine how the Teacher Corps programs are to be implemented and administered at the local level.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Part of the President's total strategy in attacking poverty has been to improve longstanding programs of Federal assistance to the handicapped. These programs have aided hundreds of thousands of handicapped Americans to obtain gainful employment.

The Federal Government first began assisting the handicapped 47 years ago with the passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920—Public Law 66–236. In 1943, the programs begun by that act were expanded under the provisions of Public Law 78–113. In addition to the occupational training and counseling programs which existed under authority of the original act, the 1943 law authorized State rehabilitation agencies to provide to handicapped persons limited medical and vocational diagnoses to determine their rehabilitation potential and aid them in realizing it. In 1954 Congress continued and expanded these programs—Public Law 83–565.

In 1965, Congress enacted Public Law 89–333 which increased the number of physically and mentally handicapped persons to be rehabilitated annually from 120,000 to 200,000. The intent of the law was to expand services available and to place special emphasis on rehabilitation of the mentally retarded and severely handicapped.

In March of this year the President called upon Congress to enact yet further expansion of vocational rehabilitation programs and to provide 90 percent Federal reimbursement for such services to disabled migratory farm workers. This the Congress did in Public Law 90–99.

The 1967 amendments further provided for the establishment of a new National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults, which will coordinate efforts to train these handicapped persons for employment.

The new law authorizes $500 million in 1969 and $600 million in 1970 for grants to the States for basic vocational rehabilitation services. In 1967 and 1968, by comparison, authorizations were, respectively, $350 million and $400 million.

Estimates by the Health, Education and Welfare Department put the number of disabled Americans needing rehabilitation training at 4 million, with an annual increase of 400,000 There is need, therefore, to expand the scope of rehabilitation programs. Consequently, the new law raises the number to be rehabilitated in 1969 to 247,000 and in 1970 to 278,000. Even so, we are playing catch-up.

AMENDMENT OF THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965 AND THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

In late September Congress completed action on S. 602, which amended the 1965 Appalachian Regional Development Act and Public Works and Economic Development Act.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act was the first piece of Great Society legislation enacted by the 89th Congress—Public Law 89–4. The 1967 amendments to it—Public Law 90–103—authorize a total of $886.7 million for all Appalachian development programs, including: First, $1.7 million for administrative purposes during fiscal 1968–1969; second, $715 million for highways in the region during fiscal 1968–71; and third, $170 million for nonhighway programs in fiscal 1968–69.

Amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act—Public Law 89–136—in S. 602 authorize $75 million for five regional commissions which administer public works grants in their regions as does the Appalachian Regional Commision in its region. These Commissions are the Ozarks, the Upper Great Lakes, the New England, the Coastal Plains, and the Four Corners. This new authorization was not requested by the President.

The programs administered by these six commissions will economically revive their respective regions, all of which contain pockets of poverty. The programs authorized are improving the highways, Community facilities, land and water resources, housing, and related potential contributors to economic recovery. Ultimate success in the programs will go far toward eliminating hard-core poverty in these regions.

INDIAN LEGISLATION

For many years the Government has been responsible for the welfare of the American Indian. Numerous programs have been initiated to assist Indians in overcoming handicaps they face. The effort to aid the Indians received added impetus from the poverty program. During fiscal 1966 $19,874,680 was spent on education, welfare, and community improvement programs administered through the Office of Economic Opportunity for the benefit of American Indians. Training programs sponsored by OEO expended $4,598,238 during the same year in an effort to help Indians help themselves. Over 260 Vista volunteers worked on 56 reservations at a cost of $891,100.

In the 1968 Interior Appropriations Act—Public Law 90-28—$336 million was appropriated to continue health, education, and welfare programs among the Indians. An additional $237,504,000 was provided the Bureau of Indian Affairs to fund its operations and activities.

These may seem like substantial sums of money but in actuality we are just beginning to give adequate assistance to the American Indian. The day may come when the Indian will be more integrated into society than he presently is and the education and training programs now in operation will prepare Indians for that integration. Beyond that, this administration is committed to elimination of second-class citizenship in the United States. Indians too long have been second-class citizens.

A substantial number of acts passed Congress this year allocating the expenditure of judgment funds awarded Indian tribes by the Indians Claim Commission. For the most part, these funds are spent to improve education and community development among the Indians.

It is important to note that the life of the Indian Claims Commission was extended by Public Law 90-9 through April 10, 1972, and that the number of Commissioners was increased from three to five. The Indian Claims Commission has been in operation since late 1946 for the purpose of adjudicating claims against the U.S. Government by Indian tribes. There have been 852 such claims filed and the Commission has been engaged for more than 20 years in adjudication procedures. The 852 claims were consolidated into 583 dockets. As of early 1967 only 236 dockets had been fully adjudicated, resulting in 103 awards to Indian tribes totaling well over $200 million. The job, however, is only half done and so the life of the Commission was extended and its membership increased to expedite the remaining work.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Several significant measures were enacted during the first session of the 90th Congress which bear on the health and welfare of the American people. Of particular note were the Social Security Act amendments, the Older Americans' Act amendments, the Mental Health Act amendments, the Partnership for Health Act amendments, and the Clean Air Act amendments. Taken together they demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that this was indeed a Congress which consolidated gains made during previous Democratic administrations, particularly in the field of public health and welfare.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Consideration of amendments to the Social Security Act received far more than cursory attention during the first session.

Provisions are included in the 1967 Social Security Amendments to continue and expand social welfare programs which provide assistance and guidance to the families and children on welfare. Included are grants to education institutions to expand undergraduate and graduate social work training.

Still another section of the act continues and expands various public health programs to provide adequate medical and dental care for all Americans. Programs of this nature include maternity care, crippled children's care, dental care, and early identification of health defects in children.

Those sections of the act pertaining to social security benefits increase the amounts of monthly benefits for recipients and alter the financing system to pay for those increases.

The increases in monthly benefits will permit the almost 24 million older Americans receiving social security payments to lead a little better life. Senate-House conferees agreed to a 13-percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits effective in March of 1968. At the same time the minimum monthly payment was raised from $44 to $55. During the first full year of operation the increased benefits will pay out an extra $3.6 billion. In some cases, the President's signature on this act will eliminate poverty conditions for older Americans.

To finance the benefits increase the wage base on which the social security tax is collected will be raised from the first $6,600 to the first $7,800 of annual income. No alteration was made in the existing tax rate schedule, which provides that in 1987 the 4.4 percent now paid by both worker and employer will rise to 5.9 percent. The maximum amount a worker paid into the social security fund under the old $6,600 ceiling was $290.40. Under the new $7,800 ceiling, it will increase to $343.32 per year.

Other improvements in the social security program were contained in the 1967 amendments including monthly payments to disabled widows and widowers at age 50 at reduced rates and an increase from $1,500 to $1,680 in the amount of money which a beneficiary may earn without having his social security payments decreased.

The medicare program was improved by amending it to provide for, first, additional coverage of days in a hospital; second, elimination of the requirement for physician certification of the necessity for admission of an older person under medicare to a hospital or for outpatient services; third, alternative procedures for submission by physicians, hospitals, and patients of bills for medical expenses; and fourth, other improvements designed to achieve economy or improve services to patients.

Finally, this omnibus measure modifies the medicaid program by establishing limits on Federal participation in the program. Medicaid assists indigent families to obtain necessary medical attention. The Congress felt that some States had interpreted too liberally its intent in providing aid to families. A clause in the 1967 act, therefore, provides that no person shall be eligible for medicaid if his earnings exceed one-third the ceiling on welfare income. This more narrowly defines the scope of the program which provides assistance to persons with too much income to qualify for welfare and too little to pay large medical bills.

These then were some of the extensive 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act. In a summary report like this it is not possible to explore and explain all the amendments enacted into law. Their volume is indicated by the length of the House and Senate reports accompanying H.R. 12080 to the floor, 241 and 341 pages respectively. Their enactment insures that social security, medicare, medicaid, AFDC, child welfare and public assistance, and child and maternal health programs in the United States shall continue to afford benefit to millions of elderly or indigent Americans.

MEDICAL ENROLLMENT ACT OF 1967

One of the truly landmark accomplishments of the 89th Congress was passage of the Medicare Act which relieves older persons from the financial burdens which may accompany declining health. Funded under the social security program, medicare, in its 2 years of existence, has been phenomenally successful and well received. Indeed, I can think of few programs enacted by Congress in recent memory which have been so well received by the American people. For the first time old persons do not have to worry about intolerably burdening their families due to ill health. Medicare is a program exemplifying the best in Government action to meet the needs of its people.

The many fine aspects of the medicare program were continued with passage of the social security amendments. This action came late in the session, however, prompting the Congress to enact at an earlier date an extension of the time period during which persons could enroll in the supplementary medical insurance program initiated October 1, 1967. Provisions in the original Medicare Act stipulated that the initial enrollment period for the supplementary medical insurance program was to be from October 1 through December 31, 1967. Subsequent general enrollment periods will begin October 1 and end December 31 of each odd-numbered year.

This year's social security amendments both increased the protection provided by supplementary medical insurance and raised the rates to be charged. Knowledge that this would occur strongly implied the necessity of extending the initial enrollment period beyond the December 31 deadline. Public Law 90–97, therefore, did extend the enrollment period through March 31, 1968, to permit those older persons contemplating enrollment in the supplementary insurance program adequate time in which to form a decision. New premium rates for the program are to be announced prior to January 1, 1968.

OLDER AMERICANS ACT AMENDMENTS

The Older Americans Act of 1965 created the Administration on Aging which oversees and coordinates Federal programs related to the elderly. The act was part of the Johnson administration's concerted attack on poverty as well as an effort to provide a better way of life, a more productive and significant life, for older American citizens.

During 1966 and 1967 Federal grant authorizations for community aging programs totaled $17.5 million. These grants went to States and public and private nonprofit organizations engaged in programs to aid the elderly.

This year Congress voted to continue the efforts begun with the 1965 act. Public Law 90–42 extends the provisions of the 1965 act through 1972. It authorizes appropriations in 1968 of $10,550,000 and in 1969 of $16 million for community programs and of $6.4 million in 1968 and $10 million in 1969 for research, demonstration, and training programs.

In asking Congress to extend and expand the Older Americans Act of 1965 the President noted that "our goal is not merely to prolong our citizens' lives, but to enrich them." Public Law 42 promotes that goal.

AGE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1967

The President has many times lamented the tragic waste of talent of older Americans. Too often they are discriminated against in seeking employment merely because it is thought that they are too old. In a June 1965 report from the Secretary of Labor, it was proposed that a clear-cut Federal policy be implemented to promote hiring without discrimination on the basis of age.

This year the President requested that Congress enact such legislation. This it did in the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. The act requires that persons between 40 and 65 years of age, who are otherwise qualified, cannot be turned down for a job or for union membership on the basis of their age. It additionally authorizes the Secretary of Labor to carry on programs of education to reduce barriers to the employment of workers age 45 to 65. Where age is a bona fide reason for denying employment, the proscriptions of this act do not apply.

PARTNERSHIP FOR HEALTH AMENDMENTS OF 1967

In late November Congress sent to the President the Partnership for Health Amendments Act of 1967—Public Law 90–174. Enactment of this legislation will continue the work begun by the 1966 Comprehensive Health Planning and Services Act—Public Law 89–749—which authorized grants to the States for use as they deem important in developing health services. The 1966 act further authorized grants for projects designed to meet specialized or regional needs and grants to promote statewide and areawide health planning and research programs.

All these fine programs were continued and expanded through fiscal 1970 by Public Law 90–174. The 1967 amendments also initiated a new program of Federal licensing of clinical laboratories dealing in interstate commerce. A new grant program to develop more efficient health services and facilities was also authorized in the 1967 act.

Of particular note in the act was a $40 million rat-control authorization to finance projects for eliminating the rat from slums in our cities. These funds will aid in ridding our cities of this deadly pest which injures and kills little children and destroys property.

The act further authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct a survey of the extent and seriousness of hunger and malnutrition in the United States and to report recommendations to Congress within 6 months.

An additional $48.5 million was authorized in Public Law 90–174 to finance the health grant programs during 1968. Previous 1968 authorizations for these grants amounted to $157 million. The administration requested that some of this amount be provided in the first supplemental appropriation of 1968. It also requested an appropriation of $20 million in the first supplemental for rat-control projects.

MENTAL HEALTH AMENDMENTS OF 1967

It is only within the past few decades that a concerted effort has been made to treat persons suffering from mental diseases in the enlightened fashion with which persons suffering from physical diseases are treated. Who can forget the horrible conditions which prevailed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries at institutions for treating the mentally ill? The word "bedlam" became part of the English language to describe the chaos that was to be found at St. Mary of Bethlehem Hospital in London—a madhouse in more ways than one.

It has taken a great deal of educative effort to overcome the ignorance which prevailed on the subject of mental disease. Sadly, too, the States have only recently begun to provide adequate facilities for the treatment of the mentally ill. The costs of treatment at private mental health institutions stagger the imagination, sometimes exceeding $1,000 per month. A primary cause of high cost and of the inability to treat the mentally ill adequately is the lack of sufficient facilities.

In 1963 the Federal Government began to assist in the construction of new public and private nonprofit mental health centers. Congress that year enacted Public Law 88–164, which authorized spending $150 million during the period 1965 through 1967 for the constuction of treatment and rehabilitation centers in communities across the land.

In 1965, Public Law 89–105 amended the Mental Health Act of 1963 to authorize $73.5 million over fiscal 1966–68 for the salaries of professional and technical staff in such community centers.

This year Congress further strengthened the Mental Health Act of 1963 by providing in Public Law 90–31 for an extension through 1970 of Federal grants for construction of community centers for the treatment of mental illness. It authorized in the act the expenditure of $50 million in 1968, $60 million in 1969, and $70 million in 1970 to assist in the construction of these mental health centers.

The act also extends through 1970 grants for staffing the centers and authorizes for this purpose $26 million in 1969 and $32 million in 1970.

The definition of the term "construction" is broadened to permit the acquiring of existing buildings in good condition as well as the erecting of new ones or remodeling of old ones.

The 1967 amendments provide that effective July 1, 1969, State plans for mental health centers must provide for enforcement of minimum operation and maintenance standards.

Finally, provision was contained in the amendments permitting the Public Health Service to give research, training, or demonstration project grants to Federal hospitals on the same terms as grants are given to non-Federal institutions.

MENTAL RETARDATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Enactment of the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967—Public Law 90–170—extended and expanded the programs initiated by the 1963 act. The purpose of these programs is to assist in combating mental retardation through grants for construction of community facilities and research centers specializing in treatment of the mentally retarded.

Since the establishment of the program, more than 160 projects have been started to build community facilities for the mentally retarded at a total cost of $107 million, of which the Federal share has been $31 million. Twelve projects have been begun for the construction of mental retardation research centers at a cost of $38 million, of which the Federal share has been $25 million. In addition, 14 university-affiliated facilities for the treatment of the mentally retarded have received a total of $30 million in Federal funds to support their activities.

The 1967 amendments will continue these efforts to aid the more than 6 million Americans burdened by the crushing afflictions of mental retardation. Matching grant programs for the university and community retardation centers are extended through June 30, 1970, by the 1967 amendments, as are newly authorized programs to train and educate these handicapped persons. An additional grant program was initiated for assistance in the staffing of community retardation centers. Spending authority provided in the act totals $281.8 million for fiscal 1968–70. This figure includes $19 million in new authority.

Surely this money is spent in a worthwhile cause.

AIR QUALITY ACT OF 1967

One of the major accomplishments of the first session was enactment of the Air Quality Act of 1967. Technological advancement, industrial growth, increased vehicular use of highways, increased airplane traffic, concentration of population in urban centers, all have combined to create a vicious air pollution problem in this country.

Moreover, air pollution is a problem of national dimensions. Pollution is not confined by State boundaries. During the 88th and 89th Congresses, therefore, Congress enacted legislation authorizing Federal assistance programs for combating air pollution.

The Air Quality Act of 1967 is a major advancement in the massive effort launched to purify the air we breathe. This is an absolute necessity. The danger of dirty air to the health of people is a well-known fact, as the increase in respiratory diseases among Americans so dramatically demonstrates.

The Air Quality Act of 1967—Public Law 90–148—authorizes $428.3 million for Federal air pollution control efforts in fiscal 1968, 1969, and 1970. This money is to be spent researching both the causes of air pollution and methods by which to control it.

Of special note in the new law is a provision authorizing the Federal Government to issue national uniform emission standards for specific pollutants. A 2-year study will be made to test the effect of national emission standards.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is given discretionary power to halt the emission of air pollutants by court injunction when they present a grave danger to public health. He is further empowered to designate air quality control regions, to provide full Federal financing of commissions established by gubernatorial appointment in those regions, and to enforce air quality standards in regions where the commission fails to do so.

During 1968 and 1969 a $125 million study is authorized of the effects of fuel combustion, a major air-pollution culprit. Manufacturers of fuel will henceforth be required to register all fuel additives with the Secretary of HEW in order that information will be available on their purpose and effect.

Except for California, which has more stringent standards, all automobile exhaust standards shall henceforth be federally determined. The California exemption was necessary because of the particularly severe problems faced by that State in this area.

In addition, the new law strengthens Federal support of State programs for combating air pollution.

The very tough measures contained in this law represent a firm commitment on the part of the National Government to attack and eliminate this insidious danger. Every effort will be made to stimulate our States to develop effective air pollution control programs. If they fail to do so, however, the Air Quality Act of 1967 authorizes the Federal Government to fill the void and to enforce air pollution standards. Working together, the cities, States, and Federal Government can bring this problem under control, as they must. Public Law 90–148 provides the tools, the authority, and the funds necessary for ultimate victory.

CONSUMER-PROTECTION LEGISLATION

In the 89th Congress legislation was passed protecting the American consumer from false packaging claims—89 to 755—and requiring automobile manufacturers to install additional and more adequate safety devices on cars—89 to 563.

Additional consumer-protection legislation was forthcoming from Congress during the first session of the 90th Congress.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY

The adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 33—Public Law 90–146—by the Congress established a National Commission on Product Safety, which will review the scope, adequacy, and uniformity of existing voluntary industry self-regulation, and Federal, States, and local law relating to consumer protection against hazardous substances.

The purpose of the Commission is to insure that safety standards for dangerous chemical, mechanical, and electrical products are adequate and that warnings accompanying such products clearly stipulate the dangers involved in their use. The Commission will endeavor to obtain uniformity among self-regulating and governmental standards in order both to protect the consumer and assist the manufacturer.

FLAMMABLE FABRICS ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

The President called upon Congress this year to amend the 1953 Flammable Fabrics Act, noting that it had grown deficient after 14 years and was too narrowly restricted.

Congress responded by enacting the Flammable Fabrics Amendments of 1967. They established new standards to provide protection against the sale of highly flammable wearing apparel, blankets, bedding, drapes, upholstery, and other interior furnishing products.

The 1967 act authorized the Secretary of Commerce to issue standards for the flammability of fabrics after investigation in order to protect against unreasonable risk of injury, death, or property loss to the public. The standards must be reasonable, practicable, and appropriate. This is a power heretofore denied the Secretary of Commerce.

Standards and regulations must be promulgated in accordance with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act which insure fair treatment to persons involved through requirements on evidence, hearings, and relevant information. Judicial review is authorized for the standards and regulations issued. The Federal Trade Commission shall be the enforcing, administrative, and recordkeeping agency for standards and regulations.

A National Advisory Committee for the Flammable Fabrics Act was established by the 1967 amendments, composed of at least nine members representing industry and the consumer public. Members will serve 2-year terms and will be consulted on the promulgation of standards.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to conduct such studies as are necessary to determine the loss of life and property and the injury resulting from burning fabrics.

Appropriation authorizations total $1.5 million for fiscal 1968 and $2,250,000 for each of fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

THE FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION ACT

Revelations this year of deplorable meat production practices in meatpacking plants selling their products only within a State prompted the Congress to pass the Federal Meat Inspection Act of 1967. This act provides for Federal-State cooperation to establish adequate intrastate meat inspection standards. These standards must at least equal those employed by the Federal Government. States will have 2 years in which to design and enforce meat inspection programs. If any fails to do so, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to assume actual inspection of a State's plants doing only intrastate business. The Secretary was also empowered to impose immediate Federal inspection on any intrastate plant processing meat dangerous to the public if a State fails to take appropriate action.

The passage of this legislation will help eliminate the problem of unsanitary and downright dangerous meat being sold to Americans. There is no excuse for such abuse of the consumer by those who engage in sloppy meat production practices. Failure of an industry to police itself in such vital matters requires that Government intercede on behalf of the innocent and unprotected public. This Congress has done with the passage of the Meat Inspection Act.

CIVIL RIGHTS

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION EXTENSION

The Civil Rights Commission was created under authority of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. During its 10 years of existence it has investigated situations in which persons have been denied their constitutional or legal rights because of race, color, religion, or national origin. It has submitted for the record many excellent reports detailing the information which has come to its attention. Its work has been of substantial importance in furthering the cause of equality before the law for all Americans.

It would be a great delight to report that the need for the Commission no longer exists. This, however, is not the case. The need persists. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1965 have done much to eliminate former legal barriers to full participation of minorities, particularly the Negro, in the political processes of this Nation and to guarantee to their children an adequate and equal education.

The task yet remains to implement effectively these guarantees and protections. Here the Civil Rights Commission will play an important role. To insure that these goals shall be reached, Congress in Public Law 90–   approved a 5-year extension for the Civil Rights Commission with an annual spending authorization of $2.6 million.

CRIME

For those Americans who obey the laws—local, State, and Federal—the rising rate of crime on our streets and in our homes is a disturbing phenomenon. FBI crime reports indicate that crime of almost every variety is increasing in greater proportion than the population rises. We do not begin to comprehend precisely why this is so. This past year a Presidential Crime Commission issued an authoritative report on the incidence of crime and the steps which must be taken to halt the crime spiral, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society."

In a followup to its proposals the President sent a message to the Congress calling for programs of Federal assistance to strengthen the effectiveness of crime prevention and police protection at the State and local levels. A companion message called for revitalization of efforts and special emphasis in solving the disturbing rise of juvenile delinquency. It has rightly been observed that rehabilitating the youthful offender is the best insurance against his becoming an adult criminal.

Congress did not take final action on either of these proposals during the first session of the 90th Congress. It is to be hoped that it will report and pass measures in the second session which will implement the many constructive recommendations contained in the President's messages.

Congress did take action to provide protection for citizens who are harassed or intimidated because they give information to a Federal agency during the course of a criminal investigation. Public Law 90-123 plugs a loophole in existing law. Previous to its enactment protection against intimidation was, according to court interpretation, available only after a criminal case had reached a court of law. A dangerous inconsistency in the law resulted, for a witness or informant is subject to intimidation, or more violent harassment, at the investigative stage of a case just as surely as he is when and if a case comes to court.

Pretrial intimidation is a favorite tactic of organized crime and the provisions of Public Law 90-123 are aimed in particular at affording protection to those courageous enough to provide information to Federal agencies on crime syndicate activities. This newly afforded protection should assist the FBI in its efforts to investigate the pernicious activities of organized crime in the United States.

Public Law 90-159 raised from $25,000 to $28,500 the total annual dues authorized for U.S. membership in the International Criminal Police Organization. Since 1938, the Attorney General has authorized U.S. cooperation with Interpol, which assimilates and disseminates information to members on international criminals and criminal activities. The Bureau of Narcotics, the Bureau of Customs, the Secret Service, and the Intelligence Division of the Internal Revenue Service all presently benefit from the services of Interpol.

ECONOMIC, FISCAL, AND REVENUE POLICY

TAX INVESTMENT CREDIT FOR BUSINESSES

The President requested early in the session that Congress reenact the 7-percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation law which was repealed by Public Law 89-800 in October 1966. This tax break for businessmen was suspended last year in an attempt to curb inflation. A notable drop in business investment between then and the new year convinced the administration that reinstitution of the tax credit and depreciation allowance would not excessively heat up the economy.

The House quickly passed the restoration provisions, but the bill was held up in the Senate for more than 5 weeks while intense debate occurred on a rider repealing the 1966 Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act.

The Senate finally voted to repeal the Campaign Fund Act until such time as the Congress determined by law guidelines governing the distribution of money from the Public Treasury to political parties and candidates.

In addition to this provision, Public Law 90-26 permits a maximum $25,000 tax credit for business investments plus 50-percent credit against tax liability above $25,000 and allows unused credits to be carried forward for 7 years. This is a liberalization of the previous tax credit provisions. The credit is effective for business investments, including equipment, ordered or begun after March 9, 1967.

INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX EXTENSION

On July 31 the President signed into law the Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967—Public Law 90-59—a measure designed to redress in part our unfavorable balance-of-payments deficit. The effect of this measure is to make it more costly for foreign borrowers to obtain capital from U.S. sources if such loans adversely affect our balance of payments.

The President is vested with the authority to raise or lower the annual interest rates on loans to foreigners from zero to 1.5 percent. To prevent evasion of the law, Americans are prohibited from selling foreign-obtained stocks to another American unless the equalization tax has been paid on the purchased stocks. The law was first passed in 1963, extended in 1965 for 2 years, and is extended 2 more years by Public Law 90-59. Exempted from the tax are mortgages and debt obligations on property purchased by Americans overseas.

ANTITRUST EXEMPTIONS AND THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS PROBLEM

In 1965, the administration, in its efforts to counteract the unfavorable balance-of-payments situation facing the country, asked for and received authority from the Congress to enter into agreements with financial, charitable, and educational institutions exempting them from from antitrust action if an enterprise in which they engaged would help stem the flow of American dollars abroad. This authority, Public Law 89-175, expired in May of 1967 and the Treasury requested that it be extended until June 30, 1969.

Consequently, Congress, in Public Law 90-62, did so. Despite the fact that the administration entered into no compacts with any firm under authority of Public Law 89-175, it felt that the continuing unfavorable balance-of-payments situation merited continuing its authority to do so. The fact that the authority was not used is attributable to the splendid cooperation which the business community has given to the President in his efforts to correct the problem.

As defined by the law, contracts, exempting institutions from antitrust action can be made only if they will clearly safeguard the Nation's balance-of-payments position and may be entered into only after full consultation with the Attorney General.

TAX EXEMPTION CLAIMS ON CHILDREN OF DIVORCED OR SEPARATED PARENTS

For many years now the Internal Revenue Service has been plagued by the dilemma of determining which one of divorced or separated parents shall be privileged to claim a child for exemption on his income tax. Often the situation is not clear and there have been inadequate legal guidelines to assist IRS in its determination.

Congress, therefore, enacted Public Law 90-78 to clarify and simplify IRS's work. The new rules provide that if the child is in custody of the parents, the one having him in custody for the longer period of time during the year shall be entitled to the deduction; except that, first, if a parent contributes at least $600 to the support of a child and the divorce or separation decree or an agreement between the parents provides that he shall have privilege to claim the exemption, then he shall claim the exemption irrespective of custody; or second, if he provides more than $1,200 of child support—regardless of the number of children involved—and the parent in custody cannot validate a greater amount of support on his part, then the noncustody parent may claim the exemption(s).

TEMPORARY INCREASE IN THE PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT

In his message to the Congress submitting the 1968 budget, the President requested that early consideration be given to raising the temporary ceiling for the public debt. The temporary ceiling then in effect was set at $330 billion but at the end of fiscal year 1967 would revert to the permanent ceiling figure of $285 billion.

As the President noted in his message, the debt on June 30, 1967, would be $327.3 billion. For fiscal year 1968 it is expected to rise above $335 billion. It was imperative, therefore, that action be taken to provide the Government room for maneuverability in managing debt operations and other fiscal policies.

A two-step operation was necessary. First, because of the perilous flirtation with the 1967 temporary ceiling of $330 billion, an increase in the temporary limit through June 30, 1967, was required. Second, the permanent ceiling of $285 billion was hopelessly dated, requiring the Treasury to appeal to Congress year in and year out for temporary hikes of the debt limit. A more sensible action was to raise the permanent ceiling to a realistic level. The President called for a permanent ceiling of $365 billion through fiscal year 1969.

Accordingly, Congress enacted a temporary increase to $336 billion, Public Law 90-3, in late February. In June, H.R.

10867 was cleared for Presidential signature, Public Law 90–39, establishing a permanent ceiling at $358 billion, with a proviso for temporary borrowing authority up to $365 billion each fiscal year.

The additional $7 billion temporary increase was included to accommodate seasonal fluctuation in borrowing requirements.

The increase in the permanent debt ceiling was the first since 1959. Public Law 90–39 also requires, that the face value of participation certificates issued by the Federal National Mortgage Association for itself and other agencies be included within the debt limit during fiscal 1968. It further authorizes the Treasury to issue notes with a maturity of up to 7 years, rather than 5 years as previously provided. In this regard, it should be noted that such Government notes will not be subject to the 4.25 percent interest rate ceiling applicable to Government bonds.

REGULATION OF INTEREST AND DIVIDEND RATES

In 1966, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board were given temporary authority to be more flexible with respect to interest rate ceilings on savings accounts, reserve requirements for banks, and engaging in open market operations.

These authorizations proved useful to the concerned agencies and they requested an extension of them which the Congress gave in Public Law 90–87.

LOANS TO OFFICERS OF BANKS IN THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM AND TO OFFICERS OF FEDERAL CREDIT UNIONS

Until passage of Public Law 90–44, officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System and officers and committee members of Federal credit unions were seriously limited in the amounts of money which they could borrow from their parent organization.

Public Law 90–44 increases their ability to borrow. Executive officers of banks may now obtain loans up to $5,000, additional loans up to $10,000 to finance the education of their children, and additional loans up to $30,000 to finance a first mortgage.

Supervisors and members of Federal credit union committees may now obtain loans up to $5,000, which places them on par with all other members of Federal credit unions.

SILVER CERTIFICATES

Industrial demands for Government silver have reduced the supply of silver to the point where backing of silver certificates in circulation creates a serious monetary problem.

To free additional silver for sale to industry, therefore, the Congress passed Public Law 90–29 which authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to rescind the backing of up to $200 million worth of silver certificates this year. By doing this, the market price of silver can be maintained at $1.29 per ounce and there will be no danger of a coinage shortage. A rise in the price of silver would make impossible the continued circulation of 90-percent silver coins as their silver value would exceed their monetary worth.

Under the term of Public Law 29, the Secretary will determine the amount of silver certificates which shall no longer be redeemable for bullion. The money will continue in circulation but without redemption value.

The certificate act also requires the Treasury to transfer 165 million ounces of silver to the defense strategic materials stockpile next year and allows the Bureau of the Mint to resume the use of mint marks on coins.

BANKRUPTCY ACT AMENDMENTS

Several procedural amendments to the National Bankruptcy Act were passed by the Congress during the first session. Public Laws 90–156, 157, 158, and 161 made the following changes in the bankruptcy law:

Under a 1963 amendment to the Bankruptcy Act, creditors were required to file a claim under chapter XI within 6 months of a declared bankruptcy. This permitted more equitable and expeditious settlement of claims than had previously been the case. While the effect of the 1963 amendment was for the most part salutary, the 6-month deadline for filing claims sometimes worked a hardship on creditors. To rectify this, Public Law 90–156 provides that creditors shall henceforth have until the date of confirmation of a bankruptcy to file claims. In some cases this may be less than 6 months, but in most it will be more. The new provision should eliminate some of the confusion that occurred under the 6-month deadline.

Public Law 90–157 improves the machinery in superseding bankruptcy proceedings for processing debts that were incurred in debtor relief proceedings under chapters X, XI, and XII of the Bankruptcy Act. The purpose of the law is to distinguish between those debts incurred before relief bankruptcy proceedings and those incurred between then and the time of superseding bankruptcy proceedings. Such distinction will simplify the latter proceedings.

Under the provisions of Public Law 90–158, the functions of a creditor committee appointed to administer a bankruptcy case are clarified and the legitimate exepnses it may incur are defined. This act further precludes a debter, named administrator of his own case by the court, from claiming comepnsation for serving as disbursing agent of a bankruptcy and limits the compensation which may be claimed by any other person acting as disbursing agent.

Finally, Public Law 90–161 reduces from $5 to $3 a Federal district court clerk's portion of a filing fee for bankruptcy and allots the remaining $5 of the fee to the referees' salary and expense fund. This will increase the salary and expense fund by approximately $825,000 annually, thereby obviating the necessity of increasing percentage changes against bankrupt estates in order to reimburse referee expenses.

PROHIBITING THE SALE OF LOTTERY TICKETS IN FEDERALLY INSURED BANKS

The States of New York and New Hampshire presently sponsor lotteries as a method for obtaining additional revenue. Congress determined this year that no federally insured bank or savings and loan association should act as an agency for the sale of such lottery tickets. This practice was in particular use in the State of New York. The act also prohibits banks from publicizing such lotteries. Its passage is in keeping with a longstanding Federal policy against cooperating in any sort of lottery.

INCOME TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN DISTRIBUTIONS PURSUANT TO BANK HOLDING ACT

Amendments in 1966 to the 1956 Bank Holding Act had the effect of making a certain corporation by definition a bank holding company. This classification requires that this corporation divest itself of either banking or nonbanking interests. It would be unfair to subject the shareholders of divested stocks to income tax liability. Congress, therefore, passed H.R. 4765 granting tax exemption status to shareholders of divested stock or property. Additional provisions in H.R. 4765, first, repealed an existing provision of the law preventing the carryback to earlier years of an unused credit investment resulting from an operating loss connected with the original application for the investment credit; second, permit, in certain situations, a 5-year net operating loss carryback and a 3-year carryforward; and third, permit a subsidiary company, which is a life insurance company, to distribute the stock of another corporation, also a life insurance company, to its parent corporation without payment of certain taxes.

AGRICULTURE AND LABOR

FOOD FOR INDIA

In 1966, the Congress passed the Food for Peace Act—Public Law 89–808—which extended and expanded U.S. efforts to help those nations of the world facing agricultural deficiencies. With our own surpluses being taxed heavily to feed the hungry abroad, we realized that a few emphasis must be given to helping foreign nations improve their own agricultural productivity, and last year's act contained provisions for such programs.

No nation faces graver feeding problems than India, which has a population equal to that of 66 other members of the United Nations combined. At this point in its economic growth India simply cannot produce enough food to fill the mouths of its people. The long-range programs of the food for peace plan cannot alleviate the imminent starvation problem it faces.

In early February, therefore, the President dispatched a lengthy message to the Congress asking that immediate steps be taken to assist India in meeting and overcoming famine. He called upon the Congress to allocate up to 3 million tons of food grain in 1967, in addition to the assistance already being given to India.

The Congress moved swiftly to answer this humanitarian plea. Public Law 90–7 did allocate 3 million additional tons of grain to India this year. It further authorized U.S. participation in a 10-nation India Aid Consortium to provide 10 million tons of food to India during 1967. This effort is coordinated through the World Bank, and its success depends on other nations joining with the United States.

It is hoped that the programs envisioned in the Food for Peace Act will increase agricultural self-sufficiency among those nations dependent on the good will of others to supply their food needs.

EXTENSION OF THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The food stamp program was authorized by Public Law 88–525, signed August 31, 1964. At that time President Johnson called it "one of our most valuable weapons for the war on poverty." This it has certainly proved to be.

This program increases the food-buying power of low-income persons. Needy families purchase food stamps for a small amount of money and with these stamps buy food worth more than the cost to them of the stamps. The difference between what a family pays for the stamps and the food which these stamps purchase is made up in full by the Federal Government.

The program has succeeded beyond all expectations. In 1964, some 351,000 persons were participating in 43 pilot programs located in 22 States. As of January 1967, the program was operating in 41 States and the District of Columbia with 1.4 million participants. By the end of June 1967 it is estimated that 2 million participants were involved in the food stamp program.

Spending to subsidize the program increased from $35.1 million in fiscal 1965, to $70.3 million in fiscal 1966, to $140 million in fiscal 1967.

The phenomenal success of the program and the very worthy benefits it has bestowed upon low-income families suggested continuation of it in the years to come. This the administration requested and this the Congress did despite considerable opposition to it.

On September 19, Congress gave final approval to S. 953, which extends the food stamp program 2 years and authorizes 1968 appropriations of $200 million and 1969 appropriations of $225 million.

When signing the bill into law on September 27, 1967, Public Law 90–91, the President said:

> Poverty's cruelest wound is hunger. The act that we will sign today . . . will do some little something to relieve some of that hunger.

In the subsequently enacted 1968 Agriculture Appropriations Act, Congress provided $185 million to fund the food stamp program in fiscal year 1968, and reappropriated for use during the new fiscal year $23.2 million in unused 1967 food stamp funds. Thus, a total of $288.2 million will be available to assist needy families in providing adequate food for their diets.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION

In Public Law 90–113, $4,952,945,700 was appropriated to finance the operations, activities, and programs administered by the Agriculture Department and related agencies.

Four measures were enacted affecting tobacco quotas and allotments. Public Law 90–6 repealed certain proscriptions on tobacco allotments in the State of Maryland, thereby placing tobacco farmers in that State on equal footing with those in other States.

Public Law 90–52 removed from law a section which stipulated that not more than 5 acres of new allotment may be leased or transferred to any single farm. With this removal the law now reads that no tobacco farm may use more than 50 percent of its acreage for raising tobacco.

Public Law 90–51 authorizes the lease, transfer, and sale of acreage allotments and poundage quotas for Fire-cured, dark, Air-cured, and Virginia Sun-cured tobacco to other farms in the same county.

Finally, Public Law 90–106 facilitates the computation of tobacco acreage allotments by providing for conversion of the national marketing quota for tobacco into a national acreage allotment to be apportioned among farms. Previously, the national tobacco quota was apportioned among the States, each of which then converted its quota into acreage allotments among its farms. The new law simplifies the computation procedure for allotment by centralizing the task in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture.

To counteract possible pernicious effects from milk containing chemical residues, the Government has the power to order removal of such milk from the market. This it does to protect the health of the populace, particularly our young children.

Often, however, a farmer is unfairly penalized in the process because the harmful residues in his milk result from pesticides approved by the Government but subsequently found dangerous. In the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, therefore, provision was contained authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to indemnify farmers whose milk is removed from the market because of residues from Government-approved chemicals.

Since then, every effort has been made to eliminate use of harmful pesticides. It was anticipated that this program would be complete by June of 1967. Unfortunately, it has not yet eliminated all harmful chemicals and Congress, therefore, extended the indemnification authority through June 30, 1968—Public Law 90–95.

PEANUT ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

H.R. 11565, passed late in the session, authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to sell, lease, or transfer peanut acreage allotments during the 1968 and 1969 crop years.

This authority is given to the Secretary in order to permit the consolidation of peanut allotments. The elimination of allotments following World War II led to inception of many small peanut farms so that reactivation of allotment policy in 1949 meant the reduction of allotment sizes to comport with the existence of the small peanut farms.

During the past 20 years, mechanization and production costs have made it infeasible to realize profits for some farmers with their small allotments. H.R. 11565 will permit an increase in these allotments. Safeguards are written into the law to prevent speculation and overproduction.

WHEAT ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

S. 1722 provides for adjustment of wheat allotments in counties where wheat is the principal grain crop and where allotments are low in relation to cropland because farmers shifted prior to 1951 from wheat to another crop which proved unprofitable or sustained loss of markets. Allocation of additional wheat acreage to those farmers will permit them to operate on an equal basis with competitors.

FARM LOAN ACT

Late in November Congress sent to the President S. 2565, which removes the 6-percent statutory interest limitation provided for in the Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act.

The removal of that ceiling will permit banks and associations in the farm credit system to charge higher interest rates to farmers and ranchers—a necessity in view of the rising cost of money on the lending market. Banks and loan associations were sustaining losses because of the old ceiling.

MARKETING RESEARCH ADVISORY COMMITTEE

S. 1477 reduces the number of meetings required to be held by the Marketing Research Advisory Committee from quarterly to once each year. There was no real reason for continuing quarterly meetings which resulted only in unnecessary expenses. Authority to hold such additional meetings as prove necessary is given the Secretary of Agriculture. The Advisory Committee is a means for obtaining cooperation among Federal and State agencies, producers, farm organizations, and private industry involved with farm products.

ELIGIBILITY FOR CROPLAND ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM

S. 2126 authorizes eligibility to the cropland adjustment program for any farm acquired to replace one transferred to an agency having the right of eminent domain.

AVERTING A NATIONAL RAILROAD STRIKE

Neither a President nor the Congress likes to intrude into collective bargaining between labor and management. To do so denigrates the vital processes of the free enterprise system. Occasionally, however, the national interest must override the legitimate claims of private enterprise to work out solutions to their own problems. This is particularly true when the industry involved profoundly affects the entire economy.

For that reason, the Congress on three occasions this past year found it necessary to intervene in the negotiations between the railroads and railway unions.

These negotiations began in May of 1966 with small progress being made during the summer months. In the fall of 1966, with negotiation at a standstill, the services of the Federal National Mediation Board were sought. Talks continued under the auspices of the Board through January of this year without agreement being reached. The Board suggested arbitration but this was rejected by the unions, which authorized a strike for February 13.

The President took immediate action and under authority of the Railway Labor Act created an emergency panel to study the situation and offer recommendations for settlement. During this period of study, the unions and the railroad companies promised to avoid precipitous action.

In March the panel recommended a

solution which, while agreeable to management, was rejected by the unions. The Nation faced a strike which would have crippled its ability to supply war material to the fighting man in Vietnam. The President estimated that 95 percent of railroad traffic would be closed down by a national railway strike.

To permit the strike, the President felt, was a dangerous luxury and he called upon Congress to pass legislation preventing it. This it did on April 11 (P.L. 90-10), thereby precluding an April 13 walkout. The act extended until May 3 Government-ordered prohibition of a strike. Despite this delay, the two sides were still unable to reach an agreement and so Congress further staved off a strike in Public Law 90-13, which extended the strike deadline from May 3 to June 19.

At this time the President suggested that positive action to resolve the differences between the parties must be forthcoming from the Government.

There were strong feelings within the Congress that the Government should not dictate terms of settlement. Consequently, the prohibition on a strike lapsed without Congress producing the legislation requested by the President.

The Congress then passed Public Law 90-54 on July 17. As signed into law, Senate Joint Resolution 81 authorized the President to create a special board to mediate the rail dispute for the first 30 days of the 90-day period allotted for settlement. If the parties had not reached a settlement by then, the Board was empowered to recommend a settlement which would become binding on the 91st day and which would last until the parties formed their own settlement or until January 1, 1969, at the latest.

POSTAL LEGISLATION

INCREASE IN THE COST OF POSTAGE

In part to offset the pay increase for postal employees and in part to offset increased mail costs, the Postal Revenue Act of 1967 provided for increases in the cost of postage stamps and in rates.

The new postal rates will raise an additional $900 million annually upon taking effect January 7, 1968. First-class letters will henceforth cost 6 cents to mail, postcards 5 cents. Airmail rates will increase to 10 cents for a letter and 8 cents for a postcard.

Second-class mail rates for magazines and newspapers will be increased by about 23 percent over a 3-year period. Mail rates for third-class mail—for example, advertisement—will increase from 2.7 cents a piece to 3.6 cents a piece for the next 18 months beginning January 7. Thereafter, any mailing in excess of 250,000 pieces will cost 4 cents a piece, any below 250,000 will cost 3.8 cents a piece.

These postal increases will permit the Post Office to maintain the high level of performance to which we have all grown accustomed. Each year the Post Office processes as much mail as the rest of the world combined. In 1967 this amounted to over 80 billion items, and estimates indicate that by 1976 the Post Office will handle in excess of 100 billion pieces a year.

This volume demands that the Post Office continuously engage in efforts to improve its processing system and to build new post offices. The additional funds provided by this revenue increase will assist the Department in coping with that demand.

Of interest to the public will be a new, $2 postage-stamp book replacing the present $1 book. The new book will contain 32 6-cent stamps and eight 1-cent stamps, marking the first time that the Post Office Department has ever issued a combination standbook. Presently, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is busily engaged in producing 5 billion 6-cent and 10-cent stamps for use in January.

An additional provision of singular importance to American parents included in the Postal Revenue and Salary Act establishes procedures by which persons may stop delivery to their homes of mail advertisement that panders, arouses, and provokes sexually or erotically. Each year the Post Office Department receives hundreds of thousands of complaints from irate parents about the delivery of such offensive mail to their homes. They are particularly disturbed when this material falls into possession of their children.

Under provisions of this act, persons may lodge a complaint about such delivery with the Post Office and request that it be stopped. If the Postmaster General determines that the material in question is offensive, he shall notify the sendor to desist mailing of further material and to remove the complaining recipient's address from his mailing list. Punitive provisions are included in the act for enforcing the Postmaster General's order to desist if voluntary compliance is not forthcoming.

LEASE AUTHORITY OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

Public Law 90-15 extends through June 30, 1972, the Postmaster General's authority to lease buildings for postal purposes and to acquire land or dispose of real property. The Postmaster General has had such authority since 1954 and the need for it continues.

RATES OF TRANSPORTATION OF MAIL BY VESSEL

Until the passage of Public Law 90-109, the Post Office Department was prohibited from entering into contracts with shippers for transporting mail by vessel at rates exceeding 80 cents per pound for letters and cards, and 8 cents per pound for other mail matter. These ceilings, particularly the 8-cent ceiling, placed a severe handicap on U.S. vessels hauling mail. These rates were below those approved by the Universal Postal Union.

To remedy the situation, Public Law 90-109 removes the ceilings and authorizes the Postmaster General to fix more appropriate rates of compensation for transportation of mail by such vessels after negotiation.

COMMISSION ON OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

For a number of years there has been grave concern about the possibly harmful effects of obscene and pornographic literature, film, photographs, and the like. There is particular concern that the young may be harmfully influenced by pornography which falls into their possession via the mail. There is disagreement, however, as to just what relationship, if any, obtains between prurient material and antisocial behavior. In view of the gravity of this problem, the Congress this year authorized the establishment of a Presidentially appointed Commission on Obscenity and Pornography to study the whole issue of the effects of obscene material.

Public Law 90-100 establishes an 18-member Commission and requires that it submit a report on its finding not later than January 31, 1970. The Commission will cease to exist 10 days after that report is submitted. Commission members will be psychiatrists, sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, jurists, and lawyers.

The Commission will study obscenity laws, evaluate their effectiveness, and recommend definitions of obscenity and pornography. It is to determine what methods are employed to distribute obscene materials and the volume of traffic of such materials. It is to study the effects of obscene materials on the public, particularly children, and the relationship, if any, between such material and criminal or other antisocial behavior. Finally, ti is to recommend legislative, administrative, and other actions to control the traffic of obscene materials without interfering in any way with constitutional rights.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CIVIL SERVICE

PAY RAISE FOR CIVIL SERVICE AND POSTAL EMPLOYEES

The 1962 Federal Salary Reform Act establishes the principle that salaries for classified civil servants, postal employees, Federal executives, and others working for the Government should as nearly as possible correspond with private enterprise salaries for similar categories of work. Since the passage of the 1962 act, there have been pay increases for Government workers every year except 1963.

This session the Congress enacted a salary increase act which will go far toward realizing the goal established by the 1962 act. The 1967 Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act provides an average 4.5-percent increase in base salary for 1.3 million classified civil servants and related workers and a 6-percent increase for 725,000 postal employees, retroactive to October 1, 1967.

To implement further the comparability policy, provisions are included in the act providing for pay increases in 1968 and 1969 for postal and civil service employees. Beginning July 1968, postal workers will receive an average 5-percent increase in their base salaries; classified civil servants and related workers either a minimum 3-percent increase or an increase which would narrow to within one-half the difference between their salary levels and comparable private enterprise salary levels. In 1969, both postal and civil service workers will receive whatever adjustment in salary is necessary to bring their salaries on par with those paid by private enterprise. These comparability adjustments are determined from Bureau of Labor Statistics surveys.

This culmination of the comparability principle should place the Government in a competitive position with private enterprise except at the highest levels. It will, therefore, make work with the

Government more attractive and ensure that competent, bright young Americans will give more serious consideration to working for the Government than has sometimes been true in the past. This is a goal to which both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have been committed.

Public Law 88-426, the Federal Salary Act of 1964, formalized and established Government executive salary levels. According to those provisions, an executive at a particular level receives a set amount of money irrespective of his job in the Government. Furthermore, there are no in-grade step increases in salary for such executives.

The 1967 salary act provides for increases for executives in levels III, IV, and V—respectively to $29,500, $28,750, and $28,000—in order to accommodate the general salary increases proposed for career employees.

The 1967 act further provides for the establishment of a "Quadrennial Commission" to determine the proper levels for executive, congressional, and judicial salaries once every 4 years. Beginning with fiscal 1969, each Commission will make a 1-year study and submit its recommendations to the President. The President, based on their report, shall include in the next budget his recommendations for the exact rates of pay for Federal executives, judges, and Members of Congress. Those recommendations shall become effective the first pay period beginning more than 30 days after transmittal of the budget, unless Congress otherwise determines by law or unless one or the other House specifically disapproves any or all of the recommendations.

Another section of the act provides for additional life insurance for Federal employees. Minimum individual coverage will now be $10,000 with a maximum available of $32,000. For those employees not covered under this provision, an extra $2,000 coverage is made available. To pay for these insurance increases an employee's biweekly contribution will increase from 25 cents to 27½ cents and the Government's contribution from 12½ cents to 14 cents per $1,000 of insurance.

Employees shall have 60 days from the effective date of this law to exercise for the first time the option of buying, at regular rates, up to $10,000 additional life insurance. Any employee who dies within that period will be considered to have exercised the option to buy. This additional insurance must be purchased entirely by the individual. The Government will contribute nothing toward its purchase.

The 800,000 wage board, or blue-collar, employees shall henceforth be permitted to appeal job reclassifications to the Civil Service Commission, a privilege already available to classified and postal employees.

Provision was contained in the salary act to prohibit in the future the practice of nepotism. From now on no public official, including the President, Vice President, and Members of Congress, may appoint or advocate the appointment of a relative to any Federal office. Discovery of such an appointment will result in the removal of the appointee from office. Any relative presently on the Government payroll, by appointment or advocacy of a public official, is not subject to the provisions of this section of the act. An additional provision permits the temporary appointment of a relative in an emergency situation, if the Civil Service Commission so rules.

Additional sections of the act: First, authorize the Civil Service Commission to increase starting salaries of short-supply employees to the tops of their respective grades; second, extend the 4.5-percent pay increase to U.S. attorneys and their assistants; third, extend the 4.5-percent pay increase to District of Columbia employees who are classified, but not to others; fourth, raise the salary of Commissioners of the U.S. Court of Claims from $26,000 to $29,000; fifth, raise the salaries of the Director and Deputy Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, respectively, from $27,000 and $26,000 to $30,000 and $28,000; sixth, raise from $65,000 to $80,000 the office funds available to former Presidents of the United States with the authority to pay a staff director $30,000; seventh, limit the top Senate salary of $28,000 to the Secretary of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms, and the Legislative Counsel; eighth, permit Senators to prohibit their office employees from benefiting from the 4.5-percent pay increase; ninth, limit Senate officers, paid more than committee clerks, to $27,000 per annum and those now paid $24,480 to $26,000 per annum; tenth, increase from $27,000 to $28,000 the annual salary of the Public Printer, the Architect of the Capitol, the Librarian of Congress, and the General Counsel of the General Accounting Office; and eleventh, increase from $25,500 to $27,250 the annual salary of the Deputy Librarian, the Deputy Public Printer, and the Assistant Architect, and from $23,500 to $25,000 the annual salary of the Second Assistant Architect.

LIGHTHOUSE SERVICE EMPLOYEE LEGISLATION

The Congress passed four measures which affect former employees of the Lighthouse Service or their families. The first of these, Public Law 90-163, provide for an increase in the monthly annuity payments to widows of former employees of the Lighthouse Service. The law raises the monthly payments from $75 to $100. This will place widows of former Lighthouse Service employees on par with widows of regular civil service employees. Total cost in the first year because of the increase amounts to $120,000.

Public Law 90-164 reduces the normal retirement age of employees of the Lighthouse Service—now defunct—from 60 to 55 years provided they have 30 years of service. This places former Lighthouse Service employees in a retirement position comparable with other civil servants.

The third measure, Public Law 90-165, increases the retirement annuities of former employees of the Service, thus maintaining parity with the benefits afforded regular civil servants. The terms of the law provide for an 11.3-percent increase in benefits if retirement occurred prior to January 1, 1966, and a 4.1-percent increase if retirement occurred during 1966 but before January 1, 1967. First year cost of the increase is estimated at $170,000.

Public Law 90-167 provides annuity benefits for previously excluded widows of certain former professional employees of the Lighthouse Service.

The purpose of all these measures was to provide annuity benefits for former employees of the Lighthouse Service or their widows, commensurate with the benefits provided other civil servants.

ADDITIONAL EXECUTIVE BRANCH LEGISLATION

In addition to the pay raise for civil servants and the funding of executive agency operations in various appropriations acts, several other measures received congressional approval this year which pertain to Government employees or the executive branch.

Public Law 90-55 extended to December 31, 1967, the life of the Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel, established in 1966 by Public Law 89-617. The Commission is engaged in studying the Hatch Political Activities Act of 1939 to determine whether its prohibitions on political activity by Government workers are valid and realistic after almost 30 years. The Commission is to report to the Congress on proposed changes in the law, if any. The 1966 mandate to the Commission stressed caution against changing of the law in such a way as to reactivate such pernicious abuses as coerced political donations, salary kickbacks, and forced partisan political work.

Public Law 90-105 provides for the career appointment of certain civil servants and postal employees who complete 3 years of temporary employment.

The Highway Safety Act of 1966 provided for the establishment of a National Highway Safety Advisory Committee, appointed by the President, to advise and consult with the Secretary of Transportation on highway safety. Public Law 90-150 increases the size of that Committee from 29 to 35 so that adequate representation on it can be given major highway users, State legislatures, and State police. Their representation will strengthen the Committee's capacity for sound advice.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

In April, the House by the overwhelming vote of 400 to 0 created a Standing Committee on Standards of Official Conduct—House Resolution 418—and directed it to submit to the House as soon as practicable guidelines of official conduct. The distinguished chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], has indicated that a report from the Standards of Official Conduct Committee can be anticipated in the second session.

SECURITY OF THE CAPITOL BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Several incidents on the grounds and in the Halls of Congress in the past year prompted strengthening and clarification of statutes governing behavior within the U.S. Capitol and its grounds. Particularly distressing were abusive language from the visitors' gallery in the House, dropping of propaganda leaflets on the Senate floor, and a sit-in demonstration at a committee hearing. Such disruptions not only demean the legislative process but also endanger the safety of Members of the Congress.

Existing statutes were vague and in contradiction with each other. To remedy this, Congress enacted Public Law 90–108. It provides that a felony charge, carrying a penalty of $5,000 fine and/or 5 years' imprisonment, may be brought against any person who: first carries or discharges firearms and other dangerous devices on the Capitol grounds or buildings—Members are exempted from the prohibition on carrying firearms; or second, knowingly, with force or violence, enters or remains upon the floor of either House of Congress.

The law provides that it shall be a misdemeanor, punishable by a $500 fine and/or 6 months' imprisonment, for any unauthorized person willfully and knowingly to: first, enter or remain on the floor of either House or the cloakrooms, lobbies, or other private rooms, or in the gallery of either House in violation of the rules; second, enter or remain in any room in the Capitol buildings with intent to disrupt the orderly conduct of official business; third, utter loud or abusive language or engage in disorderly conduct on the grounds or in the buildings with the intent of disrupting official business; or fourth, obstruct passages or engage in acts of violence in the buildings or grounds or to picket or demonstrate within the Capitol buildings.

These amendments to existing law should make it clear to one and all that disruptive action in the Halls of Congress will not be tolerated as it must not be tolerated if Congress is to fulfill its legal functions.

TERRITORIES, TRUSTS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND HISTORICAL SITES

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY HISTORICAL SITE

Pubic Law 90–20 established the two-story frame house at 83 Beals Street, Brookline, Mass., as the John Fitzgerald Kennedy National Historic Site. It was in this house that the late President Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, and lived until the age of 3. The house was repurchased by the Kennedy family and given to the people of the United States.

When signing the bill into law, President Johnson said:

> I am happy to sign this bill today. For years to come, for great numbers of visitors it will make more rich, more vivid, and more meaningful the memory of a great American.

COLONIAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

The Colonial National Historical Park was established in the 1930's. It has proved to be one of the more popular national parks. In 1966, only one other park attracted more visitors than it did.

Public Law 90–74 authorizes the acquisition of additional land for the park, specifically the George Waller Blow estate in the heart of Yorktown, Va. The Blow estate has an ancient history, dating to 1691, and includes four very handsome homes typifying the architecture of their day.

A sum of $777,000 was authorized for the acquisition.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Public Law 90–16 provides for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and increases appropriations for civil works and administrative costs.

Those islands to which the law applies came within the trust of the United States following conclusion of the Second World War. They include the Marianas, the Carolines, and the Marshalls. Although they total less than 700 square miles, they are scattered over almost 3 million square miles of open ocean.

Since 1947, the United States has provided government administration for these islands. U.S. authority is vested in a High Commissioner, who, until the passage of Public Law 90–16, was appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. Henceforth, however, the President will appoint him.

This law also increases the appropriation authorization for the islands from $17,500,000 to $25 million for fiscal 1967, and $35 million for fiscal 1968 and fiscal 1969. This added authority will permit expediting construction of community facilities on the islands.

RYUKYU ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT

Public Law 90–126 increases from $12 million to $17.5 million the authorization for aid for the economic and social development of the Ryukyu Islands, which include the island of Okinawa, a vital link in our Far Eastern military network.

The added authorization will permit more rapid development of economic growth on the islands, as well as improvement of community facilities—health, education, and welfare. The islands have been a trust of the United States since 1945.

PUBLIC LAND REVIEW COMMISSION

H.R. 12121 extends the life of the Public Land Review Commission, established in 1964, and authorizes an additional $3,390,000 to finance its work. The Commission is engaged in a comprehensive review of all laws and policies applicable to the use, management, and disposition of the public lands of the United States. H.R. 12121 permits it 1½ more years in which to complete the review. Conclusion of its work will mean that comprehensive land-use planning and cooperation will be made possible between private and public interests.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND PUBLIC WORKS

From the days of Gifford Pinchot, Robert LaFollette, Sr., and George Norris in the early part of this 20th century, America has been on a crusade to conserve natural resources, restore natural beauty, and make improvements in our river systems. In response to this impulse there has poured forth from the Congress legislation, too extensive to catalog, intended to achieve the good purposes noted above.

This year was no exception. Much legislation was enacted to continue or expand efforts for improving river basins and harbors, converting saline water to a potable state, and protecting our mineral and land resources.

CALIFORNIA DESALINATION PLANT

In Public Law 90–18, for example, Congress approved Government participation in the construction of a large-scale desalting plant in the State of California. A second purpose of the plant will be the production of nuclear power.

The project will be built in the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California in partnership with public and private electric utilities. When completed, the installation will produce 150 million gallons of fresh water per day and 1,500 megawatts of net electrical power.

The Federal Government contribution to the project will involve the costs of testing a desalting process known as multistage flash distillation.

The advantage to the Government in cooperating in the California project is that it will thereby avoid having to build its own desalination plant to test the effectiveness of the process.

Total Federal expenditure is not expected to exceed $72.2 million—$57.2 million of which will be provided through the Office of Saline Water in the Department of the Interior and $15 million of which will come from the Atomic Energy Commission.

The joining together in this project of Federal, State, and private agencies marks a successful venture in cooperation in which we can all take pride.

In a companion action, Congress, in Public Law 90–30, approved a $26.7 million fiscal 1968 authorization for the saline water conversion program bagun in 1952. This new authorization will permit the search to continue for a feasible and economical method for conversion of salt water into fresh water. Together with Federal participation in the construction of the California desalination plant, it holds forth the promise that we may soon benefit from 15 years of research.

IRRIGATION AND WATER RESOURCE PROJECTS

Efforts to increase through irrigation the capacity of arid lands to produce food were expanded through acts passed in the first session. Public Law 90–65 authorizes an enlargement and realinement of the last 50 miles of the Tehama-Colusa Canal of the West Sacramento Canal unit. This additional capacity will be needed once the west canal unit is authorized and constructed, and its authorization in this act is a long-range savings device. The canal is part of the Sacramento Valley-Central Valley irrigation project begun in the early 1950's.

Public Law 90–72 incorporates the San Felipe division—composed of parts of Santa Clara, San Benito, Santa Cruz, and Monterey Counties—in the Central Valley project of California. Water resources in the San Felipe division have been developed to their utmost and it was necessary to include the division within the scope of the Central Valley project. The division is authorized a yearly quota of 273,000 acre-feet of water from the Central Valley system, which will provide the extra water it requires.

RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT

Several measures continue the river basin projects previously approved by the Congress. Public Law 90–17 increased the monetary authorizations of 13 comprehensive river basin plans already authorized and authorized the completion of basin monetary authorizations for one basin project.

The 13 projects, under development by the Army Corps of Engineers, include the following basins: Alabama-Coosa

River, Arkansas River, Brazos River, central and southern Florida, Columbia River, Missouri River, Ohio River, Ouachita River, San Joaquin River, South Platte River, Upper Mississippi River, West Branch/Susquehanna River, and White River. More than $450 million was authorized by the act to cover additional costs for improving these basins.

An additional $7 million was authorized by the act to permit completion of the initial phase of work on the Sacramento River flood protection project authorized by the 1960 Flood Control Act.

Public Law 90–89 authorized an additional $9 million, which, together with a 1966 authorization of $60 million, will permit continuation of the Department of the Interior's Missouri River Basin project. Work is presently underway to strengthen the Tiber Dam of the Lower Marias.

A companion action by the Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Nebraska mid-State division of the Missouri River Basin project. Public Law 90–136 approves a multipurpose project along the north side of the Platte River in central Nebraska, which will provide irrigation, flood control, and recreation benefits. Estimated cost of the project is $106.1 million. Authorization of the project brings to fruition plans laid as long ago as 1943.

Public Law 90–142 authorizes a Federal payment of $172,000 to defray the cost of certain construction work on the small-boat harbor at Manele Bay, Lanai, Hawaii. This harbor improvement was originally authorized in 1960, with Federal assistance not to exceed $200,000. Certain unforeseen conditions have increased the cost of the project and necessitated this additional authorization.

Public Law 90–149 declares a portion of Bayou Lafourche in Louisiana nonnavigable, thereby permitting local interests to construct a dam across it, which will permit the area to have adequate municipal, industrial, and recreational water supplies.

MINERAL RIGHTS AND DISPOSALS

A 1962 law permitted the Secretary of the Interior to sell 340 acres of U.S. property to the city of Needles, Calif., with the proviso that the United States maintain all mineral rights to the land. This provision has made it difficult for Needles to obtain subdivision or industrial development of the land. Public Law 90–138 eliminates the U.S. reservation to mineral rights in order to permit the city to realize maximum benefit from its land purchase. Surveys of the land indicated that there was little mineral value under it.

Three laws, Public Laws 90–151, 152, 153, grant congressional approval for the disposal of certain minerals from the national stockpile—respectively, 15 million pounds of molybdenum, 7,640 short dry tons of rare-earth oxide materials, and 1,200,000 pounds of bismuth.

Public Law 90–111 extends through June 30, 1971, a 1962 law permitting persons to obtain title to land once used for mining purposes but now turned into residential sites. The law was necessary to afford purchasers of unpatented mining claims the chance to obtain title to land on which they have built homes. The purchase of a claim does not bring with it title to the land, which many buyers failed to realize.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM

A total of 41,000 miles was authorized for construction of an Interstate Highway System. That System is nearly half completed now, and all but 25 of the 41,000 miles authorized have been used in the design of highways. A critical need for additional mileage prompted Congress to approve an additional 200 miles in H.R. 13933. This authorizing legislation stipulates, however, that modifications or revisions made in highway construction with this additional authorization must not add to construction costs.

Gaps in the present Interstate Highway System will be the subject of hearings by the Public Works Committee in 1968, and it can be anticipated that present deficiencies will be corrected in a Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968.

MARINE RESOURCES AND ENGINEERING DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS

Congressional approval of H.R. 13273 extended to January 9, 1969, the deadline for submission of the report by the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources established in 1967—but authorized in 1966. The measure also extended the life of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development—an advisory body—to June 30, 1969. Both the Commission and the Council were instituted to assist in the development of long-range marine science activities by the Federal Government.

WETLANDS PRESERVATION

Passage of H.R. 480 extended for 8 years—through fiscal 1976—the period during which Congress may make advance appropriations for the acquisition of wetlands for migratory bird conservation. The extension will permit the Interior Department to continue its program of acquiring wetlands. The Federal Government is authorized to purchase 7.5 million acres for wild bird refuge. So far it has acquired about 6 million of that total.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

On August 11, 1967, a new form of government was authorized for the District of Columbia. For 89 years—1878–1967—the District was administered by three Commissioners—two civilians and an Army officer from the Corps of Engineers.

Under his reorganization powers, President Johnson altered the form of local government in the District this year. By a vote of 160 to 244 the House rejected a resolution disapproving of the change.

The new District government is now composed of a single Commissioner, a Deputy Commissioner, and a nine-member City Council. These officials, together with the Congress, will henceforth govern the Nation's Capital.

The reorganization does not give any new legislative powers to the city government. These will remain with the Congress, as presently is the case. The plan did transfer to the City Council the duty of making alterations in those regulatory and revenue powers previously assigned to the city government's purview. The Council will also consider and make recommendations, in conjunction with the Commission and Deputy Commissioner, on the city's budgetary needs.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, FEDERAL PAYMENT AND APPROPRIATIONS, 1968

Historians will record that 1967 was a "red letter" year for the District of Columbia. As already noted, its form of government was altered for the first time in 89 years when the three-man Commissioner government was replaced by a single Commissioner and a Presidentially appointed nine-member City Council.

Beyond this, however, it is significant to speak of the additional contributions which Congress made this year to the advancement of effective government in the District. By constitutional mandate, the Congress is charged with overseeing the government of the District. One of the more important ways in which it exercises that mandate is through annual authorizations of District borrowing authority and the sum of money the Federal Government shall contribute as its share of the cost of running the Capital. Furthermore, the Congress each year determines the appropriations which shall be available to the District Government to finance its operations and programs.

As the ninth largest city in the land, Washington confronts the same perplexing problems facing all of our major cities: problems of transportation, of inadequate and deficient housing, of too many poor, of financial strain.

These problems are aggravated in the District by the presence of the National Government, particularly the matter of adequate finances. Street maintenance in the Nation's Capital is made more difficult because of the influx of tourists. The standards for public work construction are more exacting and more expensive because buildings must be majestic and handsome.

It would be unfair to expect the residents of the community to bear this burden alone and so the Federal Government must contribute its share to insure a beautiful and safe Capital.

In response to pleas from city officials to provide adequate assistance, the Congress this year authorized a Federal payment of $70 million, $10 million more than was authorized for fiscal 1967.

In addition, Public Law 90–120 significantly increased the District's borrowing authority. The formula written into law provides that over the next 3 years the District may borrow at a rate equal to 6 percent of the sum of estimated annual revenues from local taxes and the Federal payment. In effect, this raised its debt ceiling from $290 to $3.38 million for 1968. By 1969, it will be authorized to borrow up to $363.9 million, and by 1970 that authority will reach $392.3 million.

Of this total amount, $50 million is earmarked for rail rapid transit construction and $40 million for construction of the Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute, higher education institutions authorized in 1966.

It is the hope and intention of the Congress that this increased borrowing authority will help to alleviate the financial pinch in which the city finds itself.

For the first time in history, the Congress approved in Public Law 90–134 appropriations for the District of Columbia exceeding a half billion dollars. The District of Columbia Appropriations Act of 1968 provides $500,954,300 to finance the many activities of the District government: police, fire protection, welfare, general operations, education, recreation, highway and street maintenance, and sanitation. While a considerable sum of money, the figure was still more than $30 million less than requested.

The amount appropriated for the Federal payment was $63,979,200, $6 million less than authorized in Public Law 90–120. This sum will finance activities funded through the general fund. In addition, $3,499,000 in Federal money will support water and sewage programs in the city. The remaining $433.4 million to finance District operations in fiscal 1968 will be derived through local income, real estate, and sales taxes and loans.

OTHER DISTRICT LEGISLATION

A number of additional legislative measures affecting the District were passed during the first session of the 90th Congress.

Public Law 90–33 permits the District government to reduce by more than $10,000 its claim in a suit contesting settlement of an estate. Under existing law this was not possible, sometimes embroiling the District in costly litigation when the power to reduce its claim more than $10,000 could have settled the case without court action. The District becomes involved in these cases when some person dies and there are no heirs within the fifth degree of ancestry. Any surplus from an estate becomes the property of the District to be used for benefit of the poor. Contests are sometimes brought against the District by heirs beyond the fifth degree. The new law gives the District more flexibility for reaching a compromise in such contests.

Public Law 90–43 permits the owner of a motor vehicle or trailer to register his spouse as coowner without having to pay full registration fees. Coregistration will permit a surviving spouse to claim possession of a vehicle or trailer without delay following the death of the other.

Public Law 90–53 transfers from the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia to the District of Columbia court of general sessions the authority to waive the premarital blood test requirement and the waiting period requirement related to the issuance of a marriage license in the District.

Public Law 90–84 increased by $12.5 million the Federal contribution to the construction of the interceptor sewer connecting Dulles Airport and surrounding communities with the District of Columbia sewer system. The interceptor sewer was authorized in 1960 and is presently under construction. The additional Federal contribution is considered more commensurate with its obligation to the construction of the connecting pipe.

Public Law 90–115 authorizes the District government to employ qualified physicians and dentists who are licensed in a State or other jurisdicition of the United States, but who are not licensed to practice in the District of Columbia.

These physicians and dentists will perform medical and dental service solely under the administration of the District of Columbia Department of Health.

Public Law 90–172 eliminates the requirement that applications to the District of Columbia Director of Motor Vehicles for official certificates of title, and statements in such applications relating to liens, be made under oath. Under present law this was necessary and the cause of discontent among vehicle owners who had to appear before notaries public to verify title transfers. There remain in law provisions for punishment by fine of any person who swears falsely to an application, thus affording sufficient protection against fraud.

Public Law 90–173 amends the 1906 District Crematorium Act to provide that the public crematorium shall be used only for public health reasons. The purpose of the amendments was to remove from law those provisions which allowed the disposal of bodies in the crematorium for other than public health reasons, for example, lack of funds by survivors. These provisions created a great deal of work for the District government because it was often necessary to waive fees authorized to be charged for such services.

WATERFRONT PRIORITY HOLDERS

Public Law 90–176 extends to certain previously excluded businesses to be displaced by the waterfront channel redevelopment in Washington priority rights and District government assistance for the relocation of their businesses. Those accorded this privilege were inadvertently excluded in the first "reestablishment" act of 1960—Public Law 86–736.

DISTRICT TRANSIT PROGRAM

H.R. 11395 passed the Congress in early December and amended the National Capital Transportation Act of 1965, which provides for a rail rapid transit—subway—system in the Nation's Capital.

The amendments alter the proposed system lines by authorizing a line through the Federal triangle and the southwest section of the District of Columbia and by deleting the previously authorized Columbia Heights route in the north-central section of the District. Surveys of passenger use of buses suggested the advisability of the enacted alterations.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

To assist the police and the courts in combating crime in the District, Congress passed H.R. 10783, which amends the criminal procedures code for the District. In 1966, Congress passed a bill of similar intent but the President vetoed it on the grounds that certain parts of it were probably unconstitutional. H.R. 10783 attempts to meet the President's criticisms of the previously passed measure—H.R. 5688.

Title I of the bill permits a District policeman to arrest without warrant, or to take into custody, any person caught committing, or threatening to commit, a crime in his presence. A policeman may further arrest without warrant if he has probable cause to believe a person has committed a crime and if failure to arrest might lead to infliction of personal injury or property damage by the suspect. Crimes for which such arrests can be made include assault, breaking and entering, receiving stolen goods, grand larceny, and auto theft.

Title II of the bill provides for the speedy return of escaped, mentally ill persons by issuance of court orders effective throughout the United States. It also stipulates that a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity must be entered at the time of initial court proceedings or within 15 days thereafter, in a criminal case, before any District, Federal, or local court. Courts are given the option to permit later pleas of insanity.

Title III, the most controversial section of the bill, provides that the police in the District may question a suspect up to 3 hours immediately following his arrest. There is some feeling that this is a violation of Supreme Court decisions relative to the rights of persons arrested—the Miranda decision in particular. The bill, however, contains spefic safeguards against this by stipulating that any person subject to investigatory interrogation must be advised of and accorded all his rights applicable under law, including the right to remain silent and the right to counsel. Any statement, admission, or confession obtained during this 3-hour period of interrogation shall be admissible in later court action. Persons not charged with a crime after interrogation shall not be recorded as arrested in official records.

Inclusion of this power in the bill was felt essential if the police are to be able to cope with crime. The first few hours after arrest are often critical in solving a crime. Prudent use of this power by the police should guarantee against abuse to arrested persons.

Title IV makes it a crime to bribe, intimidate, or threaten any juror, witness, or officer of a court, or to impede or attempt to obstruct the investigation of crime by preventing communication of information relating to a crime to the proper authorities. Punishment shall be a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 3 years, or both.

Title V adds burglary and robbery to the category of crimes defined as "crimes of violence."

Title VI makes sundry changes in the criminal code including first, terms of sentences for various crimes; second, definitions of burglary; third, proscription on suspended sentences for any person committing a crime of violence in which weapons of any variety are used; and fourth, extensive definition of illegalities concerned with the sale or advertisement of obscene materials or presentations, with appropriate punishment for violation of the law. This title further provides penalties for making a false report of the commission of a crime. Punishment shall be a fine of not more than $300 or imprisonment not exceeding 30 days. The intention of this addition to the code is to stem crank reports of crime.

Title VII permits the issuance of citations by policemen for the commitment of misdemeanors. This new authority will expedite justice and avoid having to take into custody persons who commit minor violations of the law. Citations can be issued on the spot and persons receiving them are required to appear before appropriate authorities of the Police Department. Failure to appear is punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both.

Title VII of the bill also amends the 1966 District of Columbia Bail Act by authorizing the District of Columbia Bail Agency to secure pertinent information for judicial officers or police officials about persons for whom citation or bail determination must be made.

Title VIII of the bill authorizes the District Commissioner to provide such facilities and personnel as prove necessary for the treatment and rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents who violate the law. He is further authorized to contract with the Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons for necessary assistance—including space—in such treatment and rehabitation. The purpose of these amendments is to authorize an adequate program for rehabilitating the youthful offender.

Also included in this title of the bill is provision for paying witness fees and travel allowances in criminal cases before the District court of general sessions at the same rate as those paid witnesses attending Federal court proceedings in the District.

Title IX defines a riot as an assemblage of five or more persons bent on disruptive conduct which threatens others' well-being or property. Willful engagement and willful incitement of a riot shall be punishable by not more than $1,000 in fines, or 1 year imprisonment, or both. If in the course of a riot a person is injured or property damage exceeds $5,000, any person convicted of willful engagement or incitement is liable to imprisonment up to 10 years, or a fine up to $10,000, or both.

Title X creates the Commission on Revision of the Criminal Laws of the District of Columbia composed of two Members of the Senate, two Members of the House, four members appointed by the District Commissioner—one of whom shall be designated as chairman—one District Federal circuit judge, one District Federal district judge, and one District general sessions judge. The Commission shall study and make recommendations for changes in the District criminal code, including codification, elimination of unnecessary or undesirable statutes, and alterations in penalties. Its final report is due within 2 years. Provisions for staffing are included in the bill as well as a $150,000 authorization for expenses.

Finally, title XI of H.R. 10783 confers pro futura status on all the provisions contained in the bill relating to criminal penalty and stipulates that the declaration of invalidation of any part of the act shall not apply to any other parts in it.

The President had not signed this bill at the time of preparation of this report.

SUNDRY DISTRICT LEGISLATION

H.R. 10964 authorizes the District to receive Federal financial assistance as provided by the medicaid provisions of the Social Security Act, thereby permitting the District to give monetary aid to low-income families unable to meet their medical expenses.

H.R. 12505 provides that District public school teachers may now retire on full annuity at age 55 after 30 years of service or at age 60 after 20 years of service.

H.R. 5709 eliminated restrictions on the accumulation of sick leave by public school teachers in the District and provided that they may accumulate an unlimited number of days of sick leave. It further provided that they may borrow up to 30 days of sick leave.

H.R. 8715 amended the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to restrict the amount of wines, spirits, and beer that may be sent into the District to anyone other than a licensed dealer. The limitation is 1 quart of any of the above per month.

H.R. 8582 authorized the appointment of three additional associate judges to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, thus increasing the number of associate judges from two to five. This expansion will permit the expedition of appeals' cases. The load of the court has more than doubled since 1941 when the court was created, justifying the authorized increase.

OTHER LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Additional legislative accomplishments worth mentioning are noted in this concluding section of the report.

SMALL BUSINESS ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Since 1953, the Small Business Administration has been assisting and protecting the interests of small business concerns and insuring that a fair proportion of the total Government purchases and contracts for supplies, services, research, and development are placed with small business enterprises. The Administration also grants loans to small businesses either to promote growth or to assist them when damage from natural catastrophies threatens their existence.

To strengthen the programs of the Small Business Administration, Congress in Public Law 90–104 increased the amount of money the SBA may have outstanding in loans and facilitated access of small business investment companies to SBA money.

The 1967 act increases SBA's revolving loan fund by $650 million, which enables it to continue its lending programs until June 30, 1967. The act increases Federal funds available for loan to small business investment companies from $4.7 million to $10 million and liberalizes the technical aspects for obtaining loans by such companies.

Another provision of the law authorizes SBA use of the mails to distribute information about its programs.

COPYRIGHT PROTECTION EXTENSION

The need to revise the copyright laws has been with us since the advent of technological advances in communications and the capacity to copy inexpensively printed materials. A massive study of the problems involved was made by the Copyright Office of the Library of Congress. After 10 years study, the Copyright Office submitted proposed legislation in 1965. No final action was taken during the 89th Congress on a copyright revision; nor did Congress complete action in the first session of the 90th Congress, although the House voted favorably on a revision. It is anticipated that the Senate will vote on the revision during the second session.

To continue copyright protections presently afforded by law the Congress passed Public Law 90–141.

SECRET SERVICE PROTECTION FOR MRS. JOHN F. KENNEDY

Subsequent to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November 1963, the Congress authorized Secret Service protection for Mrs. Kennedy and her children—Public Law 88–195. In 1965, in Public Law 89–186, Congress stipulated that the widow and children of a former President shall receive 4 years of protection by the Secret Service after his death. Mrs. Kennedy's privilege to such protection, under this law, expired November 23, 1967.

Congress, however, in Public Law 90–145, extended it for another 15 months, until March 1, 1969, because Mrs. Kennedy and her children are still subject to considerable publicity, to idle curiosity, and to potential crank threats. Mrs. Kennedy retains the option of declining the protection at any time.

ALASKA DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AUTHORIZATION ACT

Public Law 90–69 authorizes an appropriation not to exceed $300,000 per year, beginning with fiscal year 1968, for the operations of the Federal Field Commission for Development Planning in Alaska. This Commission was established by Executive order in 1964 and funded by section 5 of the 1964 amendments to the Alaska Omnibus Act—Public Law 88–451.

The Commission is a joint Federal-State planning group which has been guiding efforts in Alaska to develop its resources in both the private and public sectors. Public Law 90–69 was necessitated by the expiration of the Commission's authorization as of June 30, 1967.

FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

During the past decade our courts, both Federal and State, have found themselves buried beneath a deluge of litigation and criminal prosecution. Steps have been taken to remedy this judicial plight, including the authorization of additional judges.

Congress, this year, approved a measure which will provide yet another method for expediting the work of Federal courts. Passage of H.R. 6111 establishes a Federal Judicial Center within the judicial branch to further the development and adoption of improved judicial administration of Federal courts.

The Center will study court operations, develop recommendations for the Judicial Conference of the United States, stimulate and conduct training programs for judges and other judicial personnel, and provide staff assistance to the Judicial Conference.

The Center will be supervised by a Board composed of the Chief Justice of the United States as permanent Chairman, the director of the Administrative Office of the United States as a permanent member, two active Federal courts of appeal judges, and three active Federal district court judges. Judges on the Board will be selected by the Judicial Conference but may not be members of the Conference. Their terms shall be for 4 years and they may not be reelected. The Board will establish general policy, including the application of automatic data processing to court administration. It will also issue annual reports to the Judicial Conference and to the Attorney General and keep the Senate and House Judiciary Committees advised of its activities.

The Board will appoint a director for the Judicial Center, who will appoint staff members.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

In 1966 an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission was established to plan appropriate commemorative activities in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution. The Commission was directed to issue its recommendations on or before July 4, 1968. Twenty-six persons were appointed to the Commission, including four Senators and four Representatives.

This year, Commission members requested that the reporting date for its recommendations be extended and that the Secretary of Commerce be accorded membership on the Commission in light of the proposed international exposition to celebrate the event. The Commerce Secretary is the executive officer responsible for major fairs and expositions.

The Congress approved these requests. The report deadline was advanced to July 4, 1969. The Secretary of Commerce was accorded Commission membership and the Senate and House membership on the Commission was increased by two for each House. In addition, an appropriation authorization of $450,000 was approved for paying salaries and expenses for staff personnel necessary for coordinating the planning of the celebration. Money to finance the proposed celebration will come from public contribution.

This gala event will celebrate the beginning of the most outstanding governmental experiment ever launched by mankind: Government by the people.

IMMIGRATION AMENDMENT

Passage of H.R. 2138 amended section 319 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide that a period of residence abroad in the employ of certain U.S. nonprofit organizations engaged in disseminating information which significantly promotes U.S. interests shall be considered as constructive residence and constructive physical presence in the United States for naturalization purposes. This amendment will benefit persons wishing to become U.S. citizens who are often employed abroad by such organizations as Radio Free Europe or the Radio Liberty Committee.

FEDERAL SHIP MORTGAGE

Congress enacted two measures affecting Federal ship mortgage insurance. S. 2247 amends the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to increase the amount of mortgage insurance available for tugs of more than 2,500 horsepower, and of barges of more than 2,500 gross tons. Under previous law the mortgage guarantee for these vessels was set at 75 percent of actual cost. Henceforth, it shall be at 87½ percent. This increase should encourage the construction of oceangoing tugs and barges for use on inland rivers and waterways.

S. 2211—Public Law 90–183—increases the amount of Federal ship mortgage insurance available for passenger vessels of not less than 1,000 gross tons with a sustained speed capability of at least 8 knots operating on inland rivers and waterways. Again the guarantee is raised from 75 to 87½ percent of actual construction cost. This increase should encourage the construction of such vessels.

Neither increase is expected to cost the Government additional money.

It is clear from the foregoing that this first session of the 90th Congress has indeed had a productive and effective legislative year. In every area of legislative responsibility, both foreign and domestic, we have faced up to the responsibilities of this age and have, I believe, remained faithful to the trust imposed in us by those we seek to serve. Every Member can be proud of this record of legislative accomplishments and of having served in the 90th Congress.

Thomas C. J. Hubard Killed Piloting Copter in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, WO Thomas C. J. Hubard, a serviceman from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

THOMAS C. J. HUBARD KILLED PILOTING COPTER IN VIETNAM

DARLINGTON, MD.—An Army helicopter pilot from Harford county, Warrant Officer Thomas C. J. Hubard, has been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Mr. Hubard, who was 22, was killed December 6 when the helicopter of which he was copilot crashed and burned, according to members of his family.

ENTERED ARMY IN 1965

Mr. Hubard, the son of Mrs. Alice Hubard, of Cedar Church road, near Darlington, had left this country for Vietnam about November 1.

On Saturday, Mrs. Hubard was notified that her son's helicopter had crashed and that he was missing in action. Later, the Army confirmed that he had died in the crash.

Mr. Hubard entered the Army in July, 1965, and attended helicopter school at Ft. Rucker, Ala., after taking basic training at Ft. Jackson, S.C.

DELAYED BY BROKEN LEG

His orders to Vietnam were delayed because he broke a leg and hip in an automobile accident.

"As soon as he was able to walk again, he went right over," Robert Hubard, of Baltimore, the soldier's brother, said last night.

Mr. Hubard was a 1964 graduate of Bel Air High School where he was on the track team for two years.

He is survived by his mother, his brother, and two sisters, Mrs. Louise Hensley, of Darlington and Mrs. Ramona Stokes, of Tacoma, Wash.

Clark Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as you know, the people of Montana have traditionally been active supporters of reclamation programs. These irrigation, recreation, and flood control projects have done a great deal in developing the resources of our State. In 1964 the Bureau completed construction of the Clark Canyon Dam in Beaverhead County. This is another successful reclamation project which was actively promoted and supported by local interests.

I recently received a letter from Mr. Carl Davis, attorney at Dillon, Mont., which comments on the Clark Canyon project and makes note of the fine work done by the local Bureau officials. I ask unanimous consent to have the letter printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHULZ & DAVIS,
Dillon, Mont., November 30, 1967.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: Thank you for your letter of October 30, 1967, regarding the endowment dinner in Helena. It was a privilege to be of some little assistance in this most worthy program, and the State of Montana and the University should certainly profit from this series of lectures, and appreciate your making it possible.

For some time, I have wanted to write to you regarding how well the Clark Canyon Dam in Beaverhead County has worked out and of the many benefits it has brought to our economy here and to the State of Montana, as well as to the United States as a whole. This excellent project has paid for itself twice already in benefits that could be definitely determined. Once, when the dam controlled the Beaverhead River in 1964 when the rest of the state was flooding and when the added inflow from the flooding Beaverhead River would have compounded the disaster many times had it not been for the Clark Canyon Dam. Again, in 1966, when our county suffered the worst drought in its history, water from this project filled the needs of all who were under the dam and once again a complete disaster was avoided.

One of the persons who has made a great contribution to the success of this project is the Chief of the Bureau of Reclamation here, Richard H. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy not only has worked with the land owners and water users, but he has participated in community activities to such an extent that he is one of the leading citizens of the community. He has served as President of the Ski Club and helped further a marvelous ski program near Elkhorn, Montana, with tows, ski lodge, etc., and donated a great deal of his own time and labor to this project.

He has served as President of the Country Club at a time when a new grass golf course and new club house was constructed, and again has made this new project work successfully to the benefit of the whole community. I am sure that the record will reflect that these many additional activities of Mr. Kennedy's have been done at the sacrifice of his own annual leave and vacations.

Mrs. Kennedy is an excellent teacher in our High School and each of their five children participate in all of the many activities of the community, as well as in college; two of the children are attending Carroll College.

So often activities such as Mr. Kennedy's, go unappreciated and unobserved that I would like to commend Mr. Kennedy to you as one of the most outstanding and dedicated employees of the United States, and trust that this letter can be filed with the official records of his service.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

CARL M. DAVIS.

We Agree With General Hershey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on November 16 I made a statement on the floor of the House relative to the current controversy which has been aired in the various news media concerning the action of General Hershey to enforce the provisions of the selective service law.

An enormous amount of misinformation has been printed in the press concerning this matter. Therefore, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to include at this point in the RECORD a very clear and simple statement of the controversy as most elements of society view it.

This statement appeared as an editorial in the Journal of the Armed Forces. It was written by a gentleman who is recognized in journalistic circles for his objectivity and his unique ability to digest and explain facts in a succinct manner. This gentleman is Louis R. Stockstill, editor of the Journal of the Armed Forces. I commend the article to each Member of the Congress and urge that each Member read it. The article follows:

WE AGREE WITH GENERAL HERSHEY

(By Louis Stockstill)

We want to say a few words in defense of the embattled Director of the Selective Service System.

For more than 27 years, LGen. Lewis B. Hershey has effectively managed the nation's military "draft." Those who know him, love him. He's a grand old man. He has done a good job.

But now, all of sudden, he's catching hell from just about everyone. Even my own alma mater has taken a slap at him.

It seems that General Hershey was rash enough to tell draft boards they should withdraw or deny deferments to college students who engage in "illegal" demonstrations which interfere with the draft or with military recruiting.

Immediately there was a hue and cry that General Hershey is trying to use the draft as a means of "punishment"—that he wants to stifle dissent.

Well now, we don't think the General is trying to stifle dissent. He doesn't have the means to stifle dissent. Even if he could put a uniform on every draft-eligible male on every university and college campus, there would still be a horde of students left in every community to launch protests.

No, the General is not trying to stifle dissent.

What he is trying to do—and we think it is entirely proper—is to point out to the students that while the Government is fulfilling an obligation to them, they also have obligations to the Government.

Just what is a college deferment from the draft?

It is the nation's way of saying to a college student: We are going to defer you from the draft—and let someone else go and fight in your place—in order that you may complete your education and help build a reservoir of skills the nation needs.

That's all. Nothing complicated about the message. The student is required, of course, to maintain a satisfactory school record or the deferment is withdrawn.

But does this maintenance of a satisfactory record relate solely to "grades," to academic standing? We think not.

Surely in accepting the deferment, the student also has accepted the draft system. And he must acknowledge, therefor, that the Government is not removing him from the obligation to serve in uniform just so he can have a vantage point from which to attack the military obligation of others, or to impede the recruiting efforts of the Armed Forces.

If he wants to fight the draft system, let him refuse the deferment and scream his head off. Let him dissent all day and all night. Let him tear up or burn his draft card. Let him bar recruiters from the campus, if he can. And let him be prepared to take the consequences of his acts.

But if the student has accepted a deferment, then let him shut up and get on with his education. That's the only reason he is being permitted on the campus in the first place.

If he insists on defying the Government, then we agree with General Hershey that the draft board should withdraw his deferment. The Selective Service System owes him that courtesy.

Your Senator Reports: By Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. PERCY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my yearend newsletter to my constituents in Illinois be printed in the RECORD at this point, and, also, at the close of my first year in office, I would like to share my view of this session with my colleagues.

There being no objection, the newsletter and views were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR SENATOR REPORTS

(By Senator CHARLES H. PERCY of Illinois)

HOUSING

Much of my time and energy has been directed toward putting home ownership within reach of low-income Americans. An omnibus bill now making its way through Congress would help accomplish this, just as the FHA helped provide housing for millions of middle-income Americans in recent years.

The omnibus bill could enable 200,000 families during the next three years to own their own homes—families which never could have achieved this considering their limited resources and their difficulty in obtaining mortgage funds in low income areas.

The home ownership opportunities bill which I introduced last April with the support of 39 other Senators, and 112 members of the House of Representatives, was based upon four principles:

Home ownership.—It provides people with a sense of dignity in themselves, and a feeling of pride in their homes and participation in their communities.

Private Sector Involvement.—Government can not always act effectively alone. Together the public and private sectors can go far toward solving many of the problems facing our nation.

Coordinated approach.—The National Home Ownership Foundation would provide not only home ownership opportunities, but on-the-job training in the crafts, assistance in household management and coordination of existing programs, both public and private.

Self-help.—Many mayors and other government officials are hesitant about relinquishing control over projects in their areas to the people who will be involved in such projects. But if one is to be lifted to higher plateaus of achievement and aspiration, I believe he must help uplift himself.

POLLUTION

This summer a 75 mile oil slick appeared on Lake Michigan. It was a stark reminder that Lake Michigan, like other great lakes, may be dying.

We worked with Senator Dirksen in drafting the Oil Dumping Bill of 1967, which empowers the Secretary of Interior and other agencies to take prompt action against polluters.

Much more must be done. The polluters of our water and air must be identified and stopped, whether they be the dumpers of industrial wastes, the runoff of soil nutrients from farm lands, or dumping by government agencies. Future generations will not forgive us if we fail to act forcefully and effectively.

INFLATION AND TAXES

I was the last member of the "freshman class" of senators to make a so-called "maiden speech." I devoted that speech last June to a call for cuts in federal spending of $5 billion to $6 billion.

I asked the President to recognize that this nation cannot afford to do all things at once for all people; to set up a responsible and accurate budget, and work within it; and to run the government with the same common-sense budgetary rules used by housewives and businessmen.

This year, as last, I took the position that if there was to be a tax increase, there must be a dollar for dollar cut in spending, too. The two must be coupled. I unhappily anticipate that in the eight fiscal years ending in June 1969, the government will have spent $100 billion more than it took in.

If expenditures are drastically cut, Congress may give the President his tax increase early enough in the new year to help arrest the ruinous effects of inflation—a tax which burdens every American.

VIETNAM

All of us hope for an honorable peace in Vietnam.

For two years I have called for additional assistance from our Asian allies so that this war will not continue to be an American war rather than an Asian war with American support. I believe the Asian nations can and should do more.

And since early October, when I introduced a Senate resolution calling for additional Asian support, Thailand, New Zealand and Australia have increased their forces in Vietnam.

THE OFFICE

Staff meetings. Each Monday morning at 8:15 my entire Washington staff, including our volunteers, meet with me. We study the legislative calendar for the week, receive status reports from each department in our office, and discuss what Illinois constituents are concerned—and writing—about.

LETTERS

We get letters. We have handled about one million letters this year. These include about 325,000 letters received, the same number answered, and an equal number initiated.

Some letters are long, some short. Some are exquisitely composed, some are scrawled. Some are complimentary, some condemn.

Persons write who have not received their Social Security check or whose veterans benefits have been mishandled. The prompt action that results from our follow-up is often heartwarming.

One set of correspondence dealt with a young man who lost an arm and leg as the result of an enemy hand grenade in Vietnam. He was impatient at being consigned to an American Veterans Hospital, and wanted to enroll for the fall session at Roosevelt University. But the deadline was almost upon him. We were able to reduce the normal discharge process from seven months to two weeks.

Sometimes soldiers are slow to write home, or perhaps are engaged in combat and can not. Anxious parents have written. Generally we have been able to get word from the Department of Defense and assurance back to the parents in 24 hours that their son is all right.

These past 12 months, my first as a United States Senator, have been the most fulfilling of my life. I am sending you this year-end report to share with you some of the highlights of the year just past, and our hopes for the year ahead.

DEAR FRIENDS: So often during those many long months last year, when my family and I criss-crossed Illinois, people would say to me, "Now don't forget us when you get to Washington."

We haven't.

The Capitol is an endlessly exciting and intensively hard working place for a freshman United States Senator. One is suddenly in great demand, by legislators and constituents, by one's party and the press. Frequently I must remind my supporters and staff that it is the office more than the man that attracts the attention.

But always my mind and heart is drawn back to Illinois—and to the people we serve. As our first year in Washington draws to a close, our thoughts turn again to our friends—old and new—whose interest and encouragement has meant so much.

The year has been full of challenges and rewards. Most rewarding has been the opportunity to help the tens of thousands of constituents who have written or visited us personally. Legislatively, we have managed to fulfill nearly all of our campaign pledges. I am especially gratified to have played a part in making home ownership for low-income families a matter of national concern.

Of course, there have been failures and frustrations. The hours are long, there is never enough time with one's family, and sometimes one wishes the wheels of government would turn a little faster.

But ultimately the job is immensely satisfying. The opportunity to serve so many is the most rewarding thing I have ever known.

To each of you who helped send us here, I think you know the depth of our graditude.

To each of you who has taken an interest this past year in what we are trying to accomplish, your encouragement and support have been deeply appreciated.

And to all of you, we extend our very best wishes and wish you a year as fulfilling as this one has been for us.

Kindest regards,

CHUCK and LORAINE PERCY.

Support of H.R. 12555

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support the bill H.R. 12555, not only because it increases the rate of non-service-connected pensions, but also because it increases the overall maximum income limitations.

This bill protects every veteran, widow, and child receiving monthly VA pension benefits against reduction or termination of such benefits that might result from the social security increase passed by Congress earlier in the week.

During the opening days of the 90th Congress, I introduced a bill, H.R. 3952, to rectify an injustice affecting many, many veterans whose pensions were reduced as a result of the modest social security increase voted by the 89th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, in most instances, these veterans received a social security annuity which placed them slightly under one of the income limits established by law for entitlement to a certain rate of pension. When the social security increase, though slight, was approved, it was sufficient to put the veteran in a higher income bracket, thus reducing or terminating his payments. Though the amount varied with the individual case, I understand that each of the more than 29,000 veterans concerned lost considerably more in pension than he gained in social security.

H.R. 12555, fortunately, insures that there will be no repetition of the incidents referred to where veterans lost income by the increase voted by Congress in social security.

The bill contains several additional desirabl features. It increases the maximum income limitations of all pension laws, the so-called old law as well as the new law, by $200. It relates the amount of pension payments more closely to financial need. It increases the monthly rate of pension for more than 1 million veterans, widows, and children. It extends eligibility for pension to approximately 10,000 new pensioners. Most important, however, it establishes a somewhat permanent solution to this continually recurring problem for pensioners each time social security benefits are increased.

Foreign Assistance

SPEECH

OF

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, unlike the majority of my constituents who have written or talked to me on the subject, I am not opposed to the continuance of the foreign aid program, and I must trust to their fairness to realize that I have given great study to this subject and believe that our decision as to whether to continue to extend military and economic aid on a reduced and improved basis is of such overriding importance that I must be guided by the hard evidence as I see it.

It is gratifying that the other body has substantially accepted the lower figure which the House has insisted upon. The original House-approved appropriation of approximately $2.2 billion must be contrasted against the Senate figure of approximately $2.7 billion. The conferees first returned with a figure of approximately $2.3 billion. I supported yesterday's motion to recommit even that lowered figure for further reduction, and as a result we are now at workable rockbottom with a figure reduced below $2.3 billion. This includes such items as $600 million in supporting assistance to Vietnam and $400 million in military aid to countries supporting the Vietnam war.

The other body should know that there are those of us who have voted for the continuance of the program who will reverse our position and vote against this appropriation if, when it returns to the Senate, a figure arbitrarily higher than the conference figure is demanded by that body. The foreign aid appropriation must be cut as a result of the fiscal problem which we face even as we make it more effective and more efficient.

In voting for this legislation today I do so because I believe it is good economics and a good business practice to make prudent investments to expand and protect a market. Just as a financial institution invests to develop a market, not always with the best results, so must the United States as the leader of the free world accept this responsibility of leadership if we are to remain free. In my opinion, there is no freedom in isolation.

In passing the authorization measure we made continuing improvements in the program and red flags have been posted at every spot where waste or misuse has been claimed. Each of us can cite flagrant examples of misuse of some funds in the past, but the country should not believe there is not the sharpest concern over that misuse, or that this Congress and the committees which consider the bill are not armed and ready in the search-and-destroy methods used to eliminate the misuses and wastes which occur. It should further be noted here that the conference committee has come back with the finding that the appropriation for the administrative expenses of the AID agency should be cut even under the House figure.

Overall, this conference report represents a decrease in appropriation under last year, and a decrease of nearly $1 billion under the President's request. The program is thus financed at the lowest figure since its inception in 1946, which is appropriate considering the fiscal problems confronting the United States. At the same time, we are enabled to continue military aid, supporting assistance and the economic development investment vital to our safety, as the nation carrying the major responsibility of retaining on this earth, havens where men can remain free.

President Johnson Transforms Surplus Federal Lands Into Model Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, San Antonio, Tex., is proud to be one of the first cities chosen by the Government for its imaginative program to use surplus Federal lands and facilities for model balanced communities.

As the President pointed out in August, this is an effort to create balanced communities through construction of housing at all income levels and development of job opportunities on land and using facilities surplus to Government needs.

The new San Antonio community will be located on surplus acreage at Fort Sam Houston. It will eventually house some 4,500 citizens—mainly low-income families. In addition, there will be developed a light industry center which could provide training facilities for many of the residents.

When the President announced some months ago that he was asking the full cooperation of business in his effort to rebuild America, his proposal was just an ideal until hundreds of major insurance companies said they would go into the ghettoes with a billion dollars in new housing funds.

And when the President ordered a nationwide study of Federal surplus lands for possible residential and industrial use, that was still an ideal.

But, today, Washington, D.C., San Antonio, and Atlanta are moving forward to transform surplus Federal facilities into new communities. Another 48 cities are being surveyed. The result may well be a series of new balanced communities across the country.

Every day we can see why Lyndon Johnson of the Southwest is being described rightfully as the urban President of the 20th century.

With consent I insert in the Record the White House news release designating San Antonio and Atlanta as the sites for two new balanced communities:

> The White House today announced plans to transform surplus Federal land into model communities in two cities—Atlanta and San Antonio.
>
> The plans were a further step in a program launched by President Johnson last August to convert idle military and other surplus Federal properties into vital and useful community resources.
>
> At that time, the Nation's Capital City became the site of the first pilot project.
>
> The selection of Atlanta and San Antonio was based on an extensive survey by a special Cabinet-level task force created by the President.
>
> The new community in Atlanta will be located on a 95-acre surplus Department of Justice tract. The property is adjacent to the Thomasville Urban Renewal Project and near the Atlanta business district. When completed the community will include 400 housing units for poor and middle income families, parklands, schools and a light industrial area.
>
> The new San Antonio community will be located on 200 surplus acres at Fort Sam Houston. More than 4500 citizens mainly low-income families, will be housed on the site. Job opportunities for the unemployed will be provided through special training programs and a light manufacturing center.
>
> In San Antonio and Atlanta, representatives of the Federal Government worked closely with state and local officials in developing these plans.
>
> The President made the following statement in connection with the announcement:
>
> "The property of the Federal Government belongs to all of the people.
>
> "Wherever possible, surplus land should be turned to their benefit.
>
> "The Federal Government will cooperate fully with private enterprise and state and local government to transform these surplus and idle lands into new communities.
>
> "The American people, I believe, want to see government and private enterprise join together to build decent homes for citizens who have never known their comfort, and to provide new training opportunities for those who want to improve their lives.
>
> "The projects in Atlanta and San Antonio are directed to those goals. We hope in the months ahead to see more communities for the people take shape on surplus Federal land."
>
> The special Presidential Task Force on the Use of Surplus Property is headed by GSA Administrator Lawson B. Knott, Jr., and includes Secretary of Defense McNamara; Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Robert C. Weaver; and Attorney General Ramsey Clark.
>
> This Task Force is now continuing its surveys for prospective new community sites on Federal surplus land in 48 cities across the Nation.

H.R. 12555

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support H.R. 12555, to amend the income limitation provisions for veterans and widows of veterans receiving non-service-connected disability pensions. This legislation is needed. The earnings limitations have been liberalized for recipients of social security benefits. Our veterans and their dependents should have similar consideration.

This bill increases the rates of pensions and protects individuals who have increased income as a result of the recently enacted social security amendments. It increases the number of income levels making adjustments for each $100 change in income level instead of the much wider brackets existing under present law. Both social security benefits and veterans benefits have been increased in this Congress. The sad result, if we did not increase the income limitation, would be that thousands of pensioners would actually receive less instead of more. It does not make sense for a veteran to receive a raise or a social security increase, only to lose twice that amount, or even more, in his veterans pension.

H.R. 12555 creates a new method of payment based on $100 increments so that in the future when a veteran gets a raise in income from any source, it will have only a minimum effect on his pension payment. It becomes effective January 1, 1969, and in the meantime, there are provisions in the bill to protect all pensioners through 1968 and social security recipients are given protection while getting the new system installed and putting it into effect. Income limits are raised so a veteran will not go off the pension system solely as a result of his raise in social security.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased the Veterans Affairs Committee acted promptly to bring this bill to the House for a vote before adjournment of this session. I shall vote for the bill and I urge my colleagues to do likewise.

Summary of Activities of Senate Committee on Armed Services, 90th Congress, First Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the summary of activities of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, reported by the distinguished Senator from Georgia, Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Committee on Armed Services.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF SENATE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

LEGISLATION

P.L. 90-5 (S. 665): Supplemental 1967 authorization for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, tracked combat vehicles, research, development, test, and evaluation and military construction for the Armed Forces.

Authorizes appropriations for these purposes in the amount of $4,548,200,000.

P.L. 90–22 (S. 666): Authorizing appropriations during fiscal year 1968 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and for research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces.

Authorizes appropriations for these purposes in the amount of $21,168,032,000.

P.L. 90–110 (H.R. 11722): Military Construction Authorization.

Authorizes military construction and provides authorization for housing construction and maintenance in the amount of $2,303,292,000. This amount also included $27,000,000 for homeowners' assistance.

P.L. 90–40 (S. 1432): Military Selective Service Act of 1967.

Amends and extends the authority to induct persons into the Armed Forces and extends (1) the authority to issue Selective Service calls for physicians and dentists; (2) the suspension of permanent limitation on the active duty strength of the Armed Forces; (3) the authority to pay quarters allowances to enlisted members of the Armed Forces in the lower pay grades; and (4) the authority for special pay to physicians, dentists, and veterinarians.

P.L. 90–168: (H.R. 2, title I): Reserve Forces Bill of Rights and Vitalization Act.

Provides for the improved administration and equipping of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces and for the annual establishment by law of the personnel strength of the Selected Reserve.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 13510): Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1967.

(1) Increases the basic pay for all members of the uniformed services by 5.6% effective October 1, 1967. (2) Increases allowances for dependents of enlisted personnel in the lower pay grades. (3) Provides authority for payment of quarters allowances and dislocation allowances to bachelors upon a permanent change of station. (4) Provides a special basic pay for senior non-commissioned officer in each military service. (5) Provides permissive authority for the payment of continuation pay to certain physicians and dentists of the uniformed services. (6) Refines the formula for computing increases in the retired pay of former members of the uniformed services as a result of changes in the Consumer Price Index. (7) Authorizes automatic increases for members of the armed services equivalent to those that may be granted civilian employees of the federal government, unless different military pay increases are approved under later legislation.

P.L. 90–130 (H.R. 5894): Removes restrictions on the careers of women officers of the armed forces.

P.L. 90–126 (H.R. 4903): Amends the act providing for the economic and social development of the Ryukyu Islands.

Increases from $12 million to $17 million the amount authorized to be appropriated in any fiscal year for economic and social programs in the Ryukyu Islands that are approved by the President.

P.L. 90–179 (H.R. 12910): Establishes a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 6167): Extension of Naval vessel loans.

Authorizes extension of existing loans of 25 vessels of the destroyer, destroyer escort, and submarine types to ten different countries and new loans of two destroyers to the Government of Korea and one destroyer to the Republic of China.

P.L. 90–122 (H.R. 4772): Authorizes the Secretaries of the military departments to start allotments in the uniformed services deposit program for persons missing in action or captured by the enemy.

P.L. 90–135 (S. 223): Alaska Communications Disposal Act.

Authorizes the disposal of government-owned long-line communication facilities in the state of Alaska.

P.L. 90–151 (H.R. 5784): Authorizes the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile.

P.L. 90–152 (H.R. 5787): Authorizes the disposal of rare earth minerals from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile.

P.L. 90–153 (H.R. 5788): Authorizes the disposal of bismuth from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile.

P.L. 90–119 (H.R. 11767): Land retrocession to the state of California.

Authorizes adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands constituting the U.S. Naval station at Long Beach, California.

P.L. 90–166 (S. 2412, S. 2428): Land exchange with state of Washington.

Authorizes the Secretary of the Army to convey certain lands in the counties of Yakima and Kittitas, Washington, to the state in exchange for certain other lands.

(S. 320): land restriction release in North Carolina.

Authorizes the Secretary of the Army to release certain use restrictions on a tract of land at Camp Butner, North Carolina, in order that a water supply lake may be created.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 10242): Increasing grade authorizations for medical officers.

Permits the secretaries of the military departments under regulations approved by the Secretary of Defense, to establish a more liberal promotion system for medical officers and to provide more uniformity in the career opportunities available to medical officers in the different armed forces.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 8547): Simplifying laws relating to personnel administration.

Attempts to simplify and make uniform a variety of personnel administration laws applicable to the armed forces and to eliminate unjustifiable differences in personnel administration practices.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 3982): Increasing allowances for transportation of house trailers.

Increases from 51 cents per mile to 74 cents per mile payable for transporting house trailers owned by a member of the uniformed services when the government makes arrangements by commercial means for such transportation.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 1341): Additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas.

Would allow a member of the armed forces to accumulate more than 60 days of leave if the member has served more than 120 days in a foreign area where there is hostile activity.

P.L. 90– (H.R. 12961): Storage of household effects of a member of the uniformed services who is in a missing status.

Authorizes the secretary of a military department to increase from 180 days to one year or longer if justified the maximum period in which the government will pay for the storage of the household effects for a member of the uniformed services who is in a missing status.

(S. 793) Land conveyance Redstone Arsenal, Alabama.

Would authorize the Secretary of the Army to convey approximately 35 acres of land to the Alabama State Science Exhibit Commission on the condition that the land be used as a permanent site for displaying suitable public exhibits of United States weaponry, developments of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and space-oriented exhibits of other departments of the government.

(S. 108): Land restriction release, Kennebec Arsenal, Augusta, Maine.

Would authorize the Secretary of the Army to convey to the State of Maine all the right, title, and interests of the United States as reserved in a conveyance of the Kennebec Arsenal property to the state under the Act of March 3, 1905.

(S. 1036): Prohibiting coercion in the soliciation of charitable contributions and purchase of government securities.

Subjects a member of the armed forces who coerces or attempts to coerce another member of the armed forces to sercure a charitable contribution or the purchase of government securities to an offense under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

(S. 1216): Homeowners assistance.

Proposes to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for assistance to members of the armed forces and civilian employees to reduce their losses resulting from the sale of their homes when military installations are closed.

(S. 2634): United States Court of Military Appeals.

Changes the name of the Court of Military Appeals to the United States Court of Military Appeals and declares that this Court is established under Article I of the Constitution.

NOMINATIONS

Considered 62,924 military nominations. Eight Committee meetings were scheduled for the consideration of civilian and military nominations to fill statutory offices involving personal appearances by the nominees before the Committee.

SUBCOMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

Preparedness investigating subcommittee

Continued and intensive examination of subjects related to the war in Vietnam.

Held 23 formal meetings and hearings on the air war against North Vietnam, military pilot training, the Army's rifle procurement and distribution program, requirements and inventories, and worldwide military commitments. All these hearings except the study of our worldwide military commitments resulted in the issuance of formal reports containing findings and recommendations.

Issued additional reports on (1) The U.S. Army in Vietnam, (2) U.S. Air Force Tactical Air Operations in Southeast Asia, (3) Airlift and Sealift to South Vietnam, (4) The Enemy Threat, Free World Forces, the Revolutionary Development Program, and the Economy of South Vietnam, and (5) U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps in Southeast Asia.

Continued surveillance and monitoring of the safeguards prescribed in connection with the limited nuclear test ban treaty.

Received and disposed of hundreds of inquiries and complaints of a miscellaneous nature relating to the national defense and military preparedness.

Central Intelligence Agency Subcommittee

Exercised legislative review over the Central Intelligence Agency and the policies and programs being carried out by that Agency under the National Security Act and the Central Intelligence Act of 1949.

National Stockpile and Naval Petroleum Reserves Subcommittee

Considered and favorably reported bills authorizing the disposal of bismuth, molybdenum, and rare earths from the national and supplemental stockpiles.

Effected consultation for the Committee on Armed Services with the Department of the Navy on contracts affecting Naval petroleum reserves.

Status of Forces Subcommittee

Conducted hearings and issued report on that part of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty relating to criminal jurisdiction not waived by host countries in which United States forces are stationed.

Officer Grade Limitations Subcommittee

Considered reports submitted by military departments on officer grade distribution.

A "Day of Peace"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, December 15, while the Congress was completing its business for 1967, Pope Paul was making his call for a "Day of Peace" on the first day of the new year 1968. It seems fitting that after a year of strife and world crisis, the Pope should take the occasion of the new year to seek from all wise men a renewed effort in finding peace.

In his message, the Pope stresses that "peace is not pacifism," it is rather the protector of the most universal values of life: truth, justice, freedom, and love.

In asking that we work for peace, Pope Paul also takes care to warn of the pitfalls into which good and earnest men seeking peace might stumble. The Pope points out:

> Peace cannot be based on a false rhetoric of words, which are welcomed because they answer to the deep, genuine aspirations of humanity, but which can also serve, and unfortunately have sometimes served, to hide the lack of true spirit and of real intentions for peace, if not indeed to mask sentiments and actions of oppression and party interests.

The official English text of Pope Paul's call for the observance of a "Day of Peace" follows:

A "DAY OF PEACE"

We address ourselves to all men of good-will to exhort them to celebrate "the Day of Peace," throughout the world, on the first day of the year, Jan. 1, 1968. It is our desire that then, every year, this commemoration be repeated as a hope and as a promise, at the beginning of the calendar which measures and outlines the path of human life in time, that peace with its just and beneficent equilibrium may dominate the devolpment of events to come.

We think that this proposal interprets the aspirations of peoples, of their governments, of international organisms which strive to preserve peace in the world, of those religious institutions so interested in the promotion of peace, of cultural, political and social movements which make peace their ideals of youth, whose perspicacity regarding the new paths of civilization, dutifully oriented toward its peaceful developments is more lively: of wise men who see how much, today, peace is both necessary and threatened.

NOT EXCLUSIVELY CATHOLIC

The proposal to dedicate to peace the first day of the new year is not intended, therefore, as exclusively ours, religious, that is, Catholic.

It would hope to have the adherence of all the true friends of peace, as if it were their own initiative, to be expressed in a free manner, congenial to the particular character of those who are aware of how beautiful and how important is the harmony of all voices in the world for the exaltation of this primary good, which is peace, in the varied concert of modern humanity.

The Catholic Church, with the intention of service and of example, simply wishes to "launch the idea," in the hope that it may not only receive the widest consent of the civilized world, but that such an idea may find everywhere numerous promoters, able and capable of impressing on the "Day of Peace," to be celebrated on the first day of every new year, that sincere and strong character of conscious humanity, redeemed from its sad and fatal bellicose conflicts, which will give to the history of the world a more happy, orderly and civilized development.

THREATS TO PEACE OUTLINED

The Catholic Church will call the attention of its children to the duty of observing "the Day of Peace" with the religious and moral expressions of the Christian faith, but it considers it its duty to remind all those who agree on the opportunities of such a "day," some points which ought to characterize it.

First among these is the necessity of defending peace in the face of dangers which always threaten it; the danger of the survival of selfishness in the relations among nations; the danger of violence into which some populations can allow themselves to be drawn by desperation at not having their right to life and human dignity recognized and respected; the danger, today tremendously increased, of recourse to frightful weapons of extermination, which some nations possess, spending enormous financial means, the expenditure of which is reason for painful reflection in the presence of the grave needs which hinder the development of so many other peoples, the danger of believing that international controversies can not be resolved by the ways of reason, that is, by negotiations founded on law, justice, and equity, but only by means of deterrent and murderous forces.

The subjective foundation of peace is a new spirit which must animate coexistence between peoples, a new outlook on man, his duties and his destiny.

Much progress must still be made to render this outlook universal and effective; a new training must educate the new generations to reciprocal respect between nations, to brotherhood between peoples, to collaboration between races, with a view also to their progress and development.

WORLD GROUPS SUPPORTED

The international organizations, which have been set up for this purpose, must be supported by all, become better known, and be provided with the authority and means fit for their great mission. The "peace day" must honor these institutions and surround their work with prestige, with confidence, and with that sense of expectation that will keep alive in them the realization of their most serious responsibility, and keep strong the consciousness of the charge which has been entrusted to them.

A warning must be kept in mind. Peace cannot be based on a false rhetoric of words, which are welcomed because they answer to the deep, genuine aspirations of humanity, but which can also serve, and unfortunately have sometimes served, to hide the lack of true spirit and of real intentions for peace, if not indeed to mask sentiments and actions of oppression and party interests. Nor can one rightly speak of peace where no recognition or respect is given to its solid foundations: namely, sincerity, justice and love in the relations between states, and, within the limits of each nation, in the relations of citizens with each other and with their rulers; freedom of individuals and of peoples, in all its expressions, civic, cultural, moral, and religious.

APPEARANCE OF ORDER

Otherwise, it is not peace which will exist—even if, perchance, oppression is able to create the external appearance of order and legality—but an unceasing and insuppressible growth of revolt and war.

It is, therefore, to true peace, to just and balanced peace, in the sincere recognition of the human person and of the independence of the individual nations, that we invite men of wisdom and strength to dedicate this day.

Accordingly, in conclusion, it is to be hoped that the exaltation of the ideal of peace may not favor the cowardice of those who fear it may be their duty to give their life for the service of their own country and of their own brothers, when these are engaged in the defense of justice and liberty, and who seek only a flight from their responsibility, from the risks that are necessarily involved in the accomplishment of great duties and generous exploits.

Peace is not pacifism; it does not mask a base and slothful concept of life, but it proclaims the biggest and most universal values of life: truth, justice, freedom, love.

It is for the protection of these values that we place them beneath the banner of peace, and that we invite men and nations to raise, at the dawn of the New Year, this banner, which must guide the ship of civilization through the inescapable storms of history to the harbor of its highest destiny.

"Quo Vadis?" Whither America: The Republican Report of U.S. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, of Illinois, Minority Leader for the First Session, 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, in the most critical days of the Roman Empire, the question most frequently asked by the people and, indeed, by many of their leaders, was "Quo vadis?" Where are we going? How much longer this fearful road? What next? What next?

The outcry is not without reason today, in this America of ours and throughout the world. As population growth continues everywhere almost unabated, as adequate supplies of food and water for these added millions remain uncertain, as leadership in too many countries, newborn or old, appears lacking in both vision and courage, as the dreadful clouds of the nuclear age affect everyman's spirit and thought, we may well ask, as did the ancient Romans, "Quo vadis?" I dare to suggest, however, that despite the fearful complexities of these times there is yet good reason for hope in the future if we will but screw our courage to the sticking place, face these realities honestly and unafraid and consider clearly and in good temper what we now must do to overcome them.

I. ON THE WORLD SCENE

In Western Europe, in spite of its remarkable economic rebirth since World War II, there is growing dismay and distrust as to the future. The structure of NATO is weakening. France, under General de Gaulle's strange governance, seems determined to thwart every proposal of merit, by whomever made. The tension between West and East Germany continues unabated and the wall grows higher and more impenetrable. The fate of the Common Market remains seriously in doubt, as France muddies its earlier promising waters and keeps Britain from even their edge. Further south, Spain is restive and now contentious over Gibraltar and American military bases. Italy faces with each passing month the continual agitations of its Communist Party and in Greece the threat of civil war, or, at best, of heavyhanded dictatorship of the generals, makes doubtful her stability and vitality for many months to come.

Because, in our view, we must never for a moment give to Western Europe other than the highest of priorities in our foreign policy considerations and decisions, its highly disturbed state alarms us, for we fail to see in this administration's policies, practices, and philosophy any hope of solution for it.

In the Middle East, Iran stands in growing strength, sufficiently so as to have been able in recent weeks to require no longer that economic aid from us which for many years she received. But her neighbor, Turkey, is again embroiled with Greece over Cyprus and the uncertain truce of the moment between them is far from reassuring. In Israel, we have hoped for months for the implementation by this administration of the atomic desalinization plan placed before it some time ago by Americans of unquestioned ability and patriotic purpose and overwhemingly endorsed by Republicans in Congress and across the Nation. We are now informed by the Department of State that this extraordinary project—which might well change the entire atmosphere in the eastern Mediterranean—is "not politically feasible." This we cannot believe. The proposal represents a thoughtful, practical instrument for peace without parallel in recent years. It might well provide the means of achieving political and economic stability in that grievously troubled part of the world. Contrary to those State Department nay-sayers, who, not for the first time, seem remote from reality, we urge the retrieval and adoption of that proposal and its implementation at the earliest possible moment.

And in Vietnam, America's stake becomes ever greater as our casualties mount daily, the skyrocketing costs of combat soar beyond sight, the unpopularity of the war among our people intensifies hourly and there is little evident reason to hope for victory in the foreseeable future.

And as America's expenditure of blood and of treasure continues unabated, the Communists—red and yellow—conspire without respite to undermine us at home and abroad, to do all that may yet, they believe, achieve their dominance of us and the destruction of free America.

"Quo vadis?" Well might we ask—not with just the intensity of recent years but, now, with righteous anger. For there is no prospect of peace, no promise of stability, no hope for the better in the policies of this administration. The American people must take action at the polls in 1968 if we are to have restored that vision without which a people perish, that strength of purpose and performance that alone can assure our survival in an explosive world and reestablish that position of respect and trust that once was ours as a government and a people in the estimate of mankind.

II. ACROSS THE COUNTRY

In his state of the Union message at the beginning of this session of the Congress, the President identified this as "a time of testing for our Nation." And so it is, perhaps as never before in all our history. For to the problems and perils we face about the world, most particularly those spawned by the war in Vietnam, there have now been added those of civil violence, unprecedented racial tension, mounting crime, escalating inflation, and overpowering growth and expenditures by the Federal Government that make ever-higher taxes inevitable if they are not both brought up short.

The harsh statistics in support of these glaring facts are plain.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

Riots have shaken 137 different cities and towns in our country in the last 33 months. In 70 of these, 120 persons, including 12 police officers, were slain, 3,623 other persons injured; 28,932 were arrested; a quarter of a billion dollars in property damage resulted; an estimated half a billion dollars of economic loss was sustained. And in this past year alone, there have been more than 200 civil disorders in as many cities and on college campuses. Such statistics contain the seeds of revolution, in the eyes of many Americans, and the present vacuum of leadership fails to hearten us as to the future.

When an American family feels it cannot safely walk its neighborhood streets after dark—when this is especially true in the Nation's very Capital—then crime has indeed become a specter of fearful proportions. The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports all too reliably that whereas our population has increased in size but 10 percent since 1960, our national crime rate has gone up 67 percent—with an annual increase of 15 percent accurately predictable this very year. Add to this what might be called the quiet crime—the dreadfully quiet crime—of the organized underworld, whether of native or of foreign descent, which, like an unseen vampire sucks the economic blood of the Nation's citizens in countless daily ways. This underworld of quiet crime is one with which this administration seems wholly incapable of dealing, for its depredations and its defiance of law and authority increase steadily.

INFLATION

How does the housewife spell "inflation"? By the way in which her weekly budget is drained increasingly by higher prices of what she buys at the market. How does the wage earner spell "inflation"? By the increasingly painful realization that what he brings home in a paycheck, even after a raise, just will not meet his family's needs any longer. How does the businessman spell "inflation"? By the now certain knowledge that his costs of operation continue more and more to exceed the profit margin without which he cannot keep going. How does the pensioner, the retired older person, spell "inflation"? By the dreadful fact that his and her income checks cannot possibly keep abreast of the runaway prices and living costs of these days, even where only the most Spartan and basic of needs are concerned.

Since every American knows well how to spell "inflation" there is no need to define it here. The facts of inflation, like its letters, are stark and clear and the inflation cursing our people today has but two chief causes; the war in Vietnam and the needless, reckless spending of our people's money by an administration that truly believes—in defiance of all common sense and all history—that we can have both guns and butter.

FEDERAL SPENDING

These are, indeed, the "debt-propelled sixties." In them, Federal spending—much of it wholly unnecessary—has run wild. And this administration cannot be allowed to use the Vietnam War as an excuse for it. Although defense spending has risen by 68 percent since 1960, nondefense spending has increased 97 percent—from $48.6 billion in fiscal 1960 to an estimated $95.6 billion for fiscal 1968. And too much—far too much—of this has been spent for the promotion and expansion of domestic social program of highly doubtful value under incompetent management. Apart from Vietnam, this administration's willful, wasteful spending of the people's money for such things is the primary cause of the high cost of living for us all.

And, like a vitamin-fed Topsy, the size of the Federal Government grows apace. There are now more than 3,000,000 employees of our Government and, as of this writing, there appears no end to their increase. A year ago, the President ordered a 25-percent reduction in Government employment and a freeze on all new jobs until further notice. Since that date, 183,000 persons have been added to the Government payrolls. As this Government grows and grows, and this administration spends and spends—in neither case with the application of plain, old-fashioned horse sense to its policies or programs—we can, confidently but with heart-stopping trepidation, expect national bankruptcy unless this reckless process is brought to an abrupt halt next November.

VIETNAM

Overshadowing the Nation and the thinking of every American is the spectre of Vietnam. Now, with more than 500,000 of our young lives committed to conflict in Southeast Asia, with the cost of the war exceeding $2.5 billion a month, with the casualty lists mounting hourly, with our ties with onetime allies strained to the breaking point, and with dissent and violence rampant throughout the land over the causes and conduct of that conflict, America indeed faces and is enduring a "time of testing" never before known for such reasons or to such degree.

III. IN THE CONGRESS

What the Congres did—and what it refused to do—in 1967, reflected chiefly the lengthening shadows of the war in Vietnam and the intense frustration over the conflict felt by every American. What it did—and what it refused to do—reflected to an almost equal degree its irritation, then its anger, with those who to achieve their own social and civil ends chose to resort to violence, to arson and even to murder, however unpremeditated.

The sole objective of the Republicans in Congress in these past months, as over the years, has been the very best interests of all of the American people, at all times and on every issue and this has been reflected consistently in their votes. To help achieve those best interests we have had historic demands made upon us as the party of loyal opposition—historic because we have been faced with certain problems unparalleled in the Nation's annals; demands because they have compelled us from time to time to make harsh and unpleasant judgments and decisions in order that those best interests might be fully served and fully protected.

FOREIGN POLICY—VIETNAM

Most importantly, we have given unhesitating support to every requirement and need of our fighting forces in Southeast Asia and our armed services elsewhere in the world. This we will continue to do, however heavy the burden. Americans prepared to give their lives in conflict must be given by us every single item of weaponry and other support they may at any moment need—and they will be.

The conduct of the conflict in Vietnam is, as under our Constitution it must be, the full responsibility of the President in his capacity as Commander in Chief. Only he has the authority, only he has the duty, only he has the full information available for the execution of that responsibility. The decisions made and to be made can and must be made by him and him alone.

In order, however, that his hand may be guided and strengthened in this, it is imperative that the most thoughtful discussion possible continue in the Congress and among our people to this end. Let it be emphasized anew, nevertheless, that as we search together for a solution to Vietnam we demonstrate our unity of purpose by conducting such discussion in a fully free but wholly orderly manner. Dissent is one thing; disagreement by violence is quite another. Dissent we encourage and approve. Violence, in any form and for whatever purpose, we condemn, now and hereafter. There is no right to act against the public safety, by anyone, anywhere, anytime—for any reason.

We have urged repeatedly in recent months that this administration—to a degree and with a vigor not yet evident—look beyond Vietnam and consider where we shall stand and with whom we shall sit when this conflict ceases. The Congress and the people have seen all too little evidence of genuine effort to explore and exploit the diplomatic opportunities available to us in this regard. Channels of diplomacy—economic and otherwise—still remain open for our use.

The Republicans in Congress have been concerned not alone with the war in Vietnam. Other aspects of our foreign policy have been given equally sharp scrutiny. We have not hesitated to recommend or to implore an immediate reshaping of it, whenever and wherever we have believed it necessary in the Nation's interest. Our endorsement of the atomic desalinization plant project in Israel is one such example. Our votes for a reduction in Alliance for Progress funds in Latin America—until that ambitious program can better prove its worth—is another. Such endorsements, such votes, have been cast in the enlightened self-interest of the United States and the American taxpayer. The mismanaged outpouring of our people's dollars into another country serves neither America's nor that nation's best interest.

In that same interest, we have continued to hold the line against the "building of bridges" with the Communist nations of the world. It is neither sensible nor safe to strengthen in the slightest degree the hand of an enemy which is at this moment striking down young Americans in Vietnam—and in every corner of the globe conspiring actively for our destruction as a people. Where and when in the Senate, as in the House, we have taken this stand, we have done so for this reason and no other. If, in the months to come, we should be given good and convincing reason to expect otherwise of the Communists—Red and yellow—we shall be pleased indeed to reassess our own thinking in this regard.

DOMESTIC POLICY

The mood of the Congress has been one of vexation, of frustration, of deep-seated concern as it has surveyed the scene at home. We Republicans see an administration wholly blind in its belief that the enormous costs of the war in Vietnam can and will be borne by our people while at the same time the administration seeks unrestrained license to promote and finance multibillion-dollar social programs. These have in too many instances proved valueless or dangerous or both. Yet we are asked to support more and more such projects stamped out in the same socialistic mint.

At this very moment the international air is filled with conversation and concern regarding the "defense of the dollar" now that the British pound has been devalued. The record is crystal clear that the socialistic experiments experience of Great Britain in recent years have been the primary reason for the near collapse of her economy. A continuation and multiplication of the so-called Great Society's experiments could bring identical results here. Socialism and a sound economy simply will not mix. Despite our Nation's enormous resources our economy cannot long stand such abuse. To the extent that our numbers have permitted, Republicans in the Senate have refused to approve it. As our numbers are increased at the polls next November, we can succeed in preventing it.

The numerical makeup of the Congress in this first session, 1967, was this:

In the Senate: Democrats, 64; Republicans, 36.

In the House: Democrats, 248; Republicans, 187.

No recital of legislative effort is valid without a first reference to these clear majorities enjoyed by the Democrats. No attempt to indict the Republicans as obstructionists or defeatists has any basis whatsoever in the light of these figures. All too often a good bill was saved, or a bad bill defeated, solely by united Republican action, in which a sufficient number of dismayed Democrats joined to win the day.

Despite the strong majorities held by the Democrats, Republicans added signifcan amendments to many of the major bills of this session, either in committee or on the Senate and House floors; sustaining the Nation's defense needs; cutting back nonessential expenditures; trimming bloated appropriations for the future; checking inflationary measures; channeling more authority and responsibility to the States and local communities; making crime legislation truly meaningful; and preventing many simply bad, politically motivated programs from coming into being.

Let it be remembered that opposition to, and defeat of, poor or bad legislation represents fully as much of a needed public service as does approval and passage of legislation of merit. To vote the return of a bill to committee does not connote a desire to "kill" it. Rather, it indicates an insistence that it be improved prior to passage in the public interest. The 89th Congress—the President's "own"—rammed legislation through committees and both Chambers by sheer force of weight and numbers. We—and our children and their children—will live to regret the absence of calm, firm majority opposition to those steamrollered votes in a Congress that may well be recorded as the most expensive in the Nation's history.

The following are but a few examples of Republican legislative activity, determination, and achievement in this first session of the 90th Congress:

Republicans have worked to strengthen law-enforcement agencies of the Nation without placing them under Federal control—this will be the first order of business before the Senate in 1968.

Republicans led the fight to protect our children from the ravages of smut and violence.

Republicans kept social security from placing an unfair burden on the Nation's younger wage earners while at the same time providing maximum benefits for the senior citizens.

Republicans improved the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with 23 major amendments—strengthening programs that first began under the Republican Eisenhower administration.

Republicans demanded fair play for the Nation's farmers squeezed by higher costs and appalled by lower cash incomes.

Republicans led the fight to establish a sound, fair, and workable code of ethics for the Congress, to reform and improve congressional procedures through the Legislative Reorganization Act, which lies buried in the Democrat-controlled House Rules Committee.

Republicans in both the Senate and the House fought for human resources legislation which is a sound approach to eliminating poverty compared to the hit-or-miss, poorly devised notions presented to the Congress by the administration.

Republicans unanimously introduced legislation to provide low-income housing through a partnership between private enterprise and Government.

Republicans performed surgery to eliminate giveaway items in the foreign aid program while retaining those programs essential to the defense of the free world and the fight against global communism.

Republicans insisted that there could be no 10-percent tax surcharge without adequate reductions in Federal spending.

Republicans strongly supported legislation to extend the GI bill of rights to Vietnam veterans.

Republicans successfully insisted on $4.1 billion cut in nonessential Federal spending. Republicans will insist on even further reductions in fiscal 1969 expenditures.

Republicans insisted on humane and sound approaches to solving the problems of a growing urban society.

Republicans backed legislation to protect civil servants from pressures for political contributions.

Republicans were the first to demand higher standards for clinical laboratories performing medical tests and analysis for the public.

Republicans were the first to propose FHA mortgage insurance guarantees for homes and businesses in deprived and potentially explosive areas.

Republicans were in the forefront of the fight for revenue-sharing by the Federal Government with State and local governments.

Republicans continued the fight to help hard-pressed college students and parents of college students through a reasonable tax credit.

Republicans called for a constitutional amendment giving women equal rights.

In full support of these Republican legislative activities on Capitol Hill have been the studies and reports of the multiple task forces of the Republican coordinating committee, a group that includes all former Republican candidates for the Presidency, selected Governors, the Republican leadership of the Congress and representatives of Republican organizations across the Nation. Their thoughtful and well-documented proposals and programs have included the following:

October 1966: Further comment on the rising costs of living.

April 1967: Our North Atlantic Alliance.

April 1967: A call for new fiscal policies for the Government of the United States.

April 1967: Job training and employment opportunities for all Americans.

April 1967: Our older citizens, a national responsibility.

April 1967: The restoration of federalism in America.

July 1967: The Middle East—crisis and opportunity.

July 1967: Foreign economic assistance.

July 1967: Revitalizing our rural areas.

July 1967: Where the jobs are.

July 1967: Clean air, our most basic resource.

December 1967: The restoration of federalism in America.

December 1967: Full and equal employment opportunities.

December 1967: Improving social welfare.

December 1967: Water pollution control, promise and performance.

December 1967: Modern urban transportation.

Unified as never before across the country, from every precinct to the Congress, strengthened in Congress by the electoral mandate of 1966 and the consistent new mood of the Nation, confident that the American people will insist that the Great Society's abuses and excesses no longer be tolerated, Republicans move into 1968 along that constructive center earlier charted for the benefit of all our citizens.

In the Senate, as in the House, we Republicans have labored hard to give a good account of our stewardship, hopeful that our efforts may deserve reinforcement, believing, as Othello put it that—

> We have done the state some service and they know't.

"Quo Vadis?" Whither America?

Rockville Paratrooper Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. Harry R. White, Jr., a paratrooper from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

HARRY WHITE, ROCKVILLE, IN VIET

ROCKVILLE, MD.—An 18-year-old Rockville paratrooper was killed in Vietnam Sunday, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The Army said Spec. 4C. Harry R. White, Jr., the husband of Elaine C. White, of 13806 Arctic avenue, Rockville, was killed in action.

Mrs. White said her husband enlisted in the Army over a year ago.

PARACHUTE RIGGER

She said he went through jump school and was then trained as a parachute rigger.

"He was with the 109th Quartermaster. He went to Vietnam August 3. We weren't sure yet whether he would make the Army his career," she said.

Specialist White was born in Mississippi and raised in Lakeland, Fla.

MARRIED A YEAR

She said he left high school to join the Army "as soon as he was 17."

The Whites had been married one year.

Specialist White will be buried in Lakeland.

Besides his wife, he is survived by his mother, Mrs. Cleo Gillespie of Lakeland.

The Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, shortly after President Kennedy outlined the Alliance for Progress, in the spring of 1961, I went to Argentina, along with my distinguished colleague, Congressman ROBERT GIAIMO, of Connecticut, then also on the House Education and Labor Committee, for the purpose of gathering information on the potential role of higher education in achieving the objectives of the Alliance.

That visit persuaded me that Latin American universities are the indispensable key to the economic development and social reform that these nations must have if they are to create enduring democratic societies and free political institutions. It is equally clear to me that the universities of the United States have a vital role to play in helping to strengthen the universities of Latin America.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an unusually promising venture in international education. I refer to the Latin American Scholarship Program of American Universities, or "LASPAU"—a 2-year-old project that already links 106 Latin American universities in 18 different countries with 173 U.S. colleges in 37 different States. Over 300 Latin American students, including 17 in my own State of Indiana, already benefit from this program. Another 200 will be added in 1968.

LATIN AMERICA'S SHORTAGE OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

We all know that Latin American universities are plagued by inadequate budgets, part-time instructors, sporadic student strikes. More important, these institutions are critically short of well-qualified, full-time teachers. LASPAU seeks to meet this shortage.

U.S. colleges are ready to accommodate foreign students because they broaden the perspective and perceptions of our own citizens. But our ultimate objective must be to prepare these guests to return home, equipped and eager to contribute to the vitality of the educational, social, and political institutions of their own nations. LASPAU serves this objective.

The LASPAU program began in 1966 by asking Latin American university rectors and deans to nominate outstanding candidates from among their own undergraduates and to support their transfer to U.S. colleges to complete a first degree and then seek a master's degree. Latin American university officials are cooperating enthusiastically with LASPAU because the purpose of the program is to strengthen their institutions in precisely the areas that they themselves wish to build up.

LASPAU COUNTERACTS "BRAIN DRAIN"

Over 300 LASPAU scholarship winners have agreed that, on completion of their training in this country, they will return home to teach for 4 years in the Latin American university that first nominated them. Both the student and his university agreed to this obligation before he came to the United States. I should here note that the students' contracts or agreements are with their own people. Because a job awaits them at home, LASPAU's students accept the responsibility willingly and proudly to improve the educational systems of their own nations.

Mr. Speaker, I want also to point out that the program focuses on students of limited means. It offers them full scholarship aid in return for their later service at home. The participating U.S. colleges, including seven in my own State, have committed over $1.8 million of their own funds to finance the students' tuition and fees. The average college contribution is $1,500 per year. The U.S. Agency for International Development provides for their board, room, and books plus the program's direct costs of administration at an average annual rate of less than $2,900 per student. The students themselves have each borrowed $1,000 to $1,500 from Latin American sources to pay for their international transportation and English language training in the United States—despite the fact that the median taxable income of their parents is less than $1,500 a year. Thus, every dollar contributed by the U.S. taxpayer is matched by another dollar from other sources.

The cooperative funding plan allows LASPAU to select students not previously able to attend U.S. universities. These young people do not come from unusually privileged Latin American homes, but from working households which are more representative of their nation. From inception through commitment to conclusion, the program closely involves all LASPAU students with the welfare and future of their own countries.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is clear that the universities of Latin America must produce the engineers, the agricultural specialists, the economists, the scientists, the public administrators and teachers needed to fight hunger, poverty, and disease and to move the economies of their countries into the 20th century.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that LASPAU is a good example of how the United States can best help the countries of Latin America achieve these crucial objectives.

Regulatory Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, in a few days the Chairman of the ICC, Mr. William H. Tucker, will retire from that post and from Government service. He has been a member of the Commission since 1961, when he was appointed by President Kennedy, and has distinguished himself both as member and as Chairman. I would like to add my words of tribute to those of the many people, in Government and industry, who have the good fortune to deal with this highly capable, extremely charming public servant.

Mr. Tucker's contribution has been substantial. He has been a forceful advocate for more effective and imaginative regulation of the transportation industry. As Chairman, he has vastly improved the administration of the ICC.

And just as significantly, he has won the respect of the companies regulated by the Commission, so that voluntary compliance with the law has become more and more a reality during his tenure. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a tribute to Mr. Tucker that appeared recently in a trade publication, Traffic World, be printed following my remarks.

I am sure that I speak not only for myself but for many Members of the Senate when I congratulate Mr. Tucker for a job well done, and wish him good fortune in future endeavors.

There being no objection the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHAIRMAN TUCKER AND REGULATORY PROGRESS

All who are interested in transport regulation will find it worth their while to read the speech by Chairman William H. Tucker, of the ICC (his last formal address as a member of the Commission), the full text of which appears on other pages of this magazine.

Mr. Tucker's speech, delivered at a joint meeting of the Transportation Management Club of Boston and District No. 1 Chapter of the Association of ICC Practitioners, November 27, in Boston, was in part a report on changes in the organizational structure and in the procedures of the Commission, and in part a presentation of recommendations or suggestions for improving the regulatory processes affecting the nation's carriers and shippers, with special emphasis on improving, in the words of Mr. Tucker, "the heart of the Commission's activities, which is the decisional process itself."

One conclusion you are likely to reach, after perusal of Chairman Tucker's address of November 27, is that the Commission and the American public will be losers when Mr. Tucker leaves the ICC and federal government service at the end of this year. His summarization of what the Commission has done, or has tried to do, since the beginning of his service on that body nearly seven years ago, and his proposals for future action to make transport regulation more productive of benefits for the public and more invigorating to the needed components of the transportation network in this country make it evident, we think, that he has the attributes that characterize ICC commissioners of far-above-average intelligence, perceptiveness, ability, and devotion to the public good. We deem it a privilege to have become acquainted with him, and we feel sure that he has gained respect and admiration from all transportation people and others to whom, in his seven years on the Commission, he has become known. Few people in public life are as modest, as studious, as scholarly, or as courteous and kind in their relations with other people as Chairman Tucker has proved himself to be, during his tenure on the ICC. Any and all success he may achieve in the field of endeavor he is now about to enter will be well earned and well deserved.

Reviewing the changes that have taken place at the Commission since the beginning of his service as a member of it in 1961. Mr. Tucker specified, among others, these noteworthy developments: The ICC workload in the six-year period ended with 1966 increased by 46 per cent, while the number of employes of the agency remained practically unchanged; under procedures requiring the filing of verified statements, rather than hearings for the receipt of testimony, more than 3,000 cases were decided last year; individual hearing examiners were given "teams of staff assistants consisting of one or more attorneys, an economist and an accountant"; employe boards of the Commission, by which originally "a limited number of unopposed, routine cases" were handled, now handle about 4,400 cases a year; last year, 1,450 of 3,040 cases, or 47 per cent, handled by hearing examiners were concluded on the basis of the examiners' recommended decisions; commissioners are being more frequently assisted by staff task forces of legal, economic and financial experts in preparing reports; and with a view to developing more adequate records, hearing examiners and the Commission have used such techniques as prehearing orders and special rules of procedure that set forth facts required to be presented in the hearing.

After having stated that the importance of the hearing examiner to the administrative processes "would be difficult to over-emphasize," Chairman Tucker counseled that "one of the most important activities for the Commission in the next few years will be the selection, appointment, training and 'experiencing' of a whole new generation of hearing examiners."

Promulgation of policy guidelines, i.e., "concise policy statements which reflect the relationship of the specific case situation to the national transportation system" was a major recommendation by Mr. Tucker in his Boston speech.

While conceding that "clear and concise policy statements are not easy to produce from complex and controversial cases that are seldom devoid of benefits and weakness, no matter which way the final decision turns," Chairman Tucker made the patently sound contention that "the members of the transportation industry should be given clear policy guideposts to facilitate their managerial decisions" and "should not be left to grope for the essence of the Commission's reports."

If the Commission is to promulgate "policy guidelines," Congress, it seems to us, could provide some needed guidance for the Commission by updating, and making necessary revisions in, the national transportation policy declaration that now introduces part I of the interstate commerce act. Certainly, if and when a National Transportation Commission is established to take over the regulatory work now entrusted to the ICC, the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Federal Maritime Commission, as advocated by Mr. Tucker and a number of other transportation leaders, Congress will have to write into the regulatory-agency-merger law a completely new transportation policy declaration. The NTC would then have the job of promulgating "policy guidelines" in the light of one, and only one, national transport policy declaration. Under existing conditions, the task of promulgating such guidelines is, it seems to us, an almost impossible one for the Commission.

One of the most constructive suggestions offered by Chairman Tucker in his Boston speech was for extension of the term of ICC chairmanship, presently one year, to two years. There is so much merit in this proposal, we believe, that no time should be lost in efforts to implement it. The case for a two-year term for the ICC chairman was well stated by Mr. Tucker (and he cannot be accused of trying to be self-serving in this matter) in these words:

> "... Today the chairman [of the ICC] has been generally delegated the necessary executive and administrative powers by the Commission. What is still lacking is sufficient tenure and a method of selection to assure that the chairman has sufficient time, experience, capability and support to exercise these powers. . . . I could not leave aside the feeling that, given even just another year to the present term, the present posture of the chairmanship could be greatly strengthened. A two-year chairmanship tenure would give any individual—and the Commission as the recipient—an opportunity to achieve so much more."

West Front Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, you have known of my continued interest in the Capitol and my interest in not only its preservation but its improvement in all the ways we can improve it so that it becomes more functional as well as more available to the public who want to visit and catch something of the spirit of the Capitol Building. As you know, Mr. Speaker, there is a continuing debate going on about the west front, and it seems that too much of only the one side has been written without a proper evaluation and explanation of the promoters of the west front extension.

There appeared in the December 8, 1967, issue of the Washington Post an article entitled "'Swag-Bellied' West Front?" by Wolf Von Eckardt:

> Frederick Law Olmsted, who designed the Capitol grounds and terraces 90 years ago, "would have been horrified" at the proposal to extend the west front of the Capitol.
>
> Or so claims Dr. Charles McLaughlin, professor of American civilization at American University, who has uncovered hundreds of letters by Olmsted and who addressed the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies yesterday.

Upon inquiry on my part I learned from the Architect of the Capitol that he had made available the data in their files on Olmsted for what they understood to be a serious research on the famous 19th-century landscape architect. Instead, it apparently turned out to be an effort to undermine the west front project.

If Dr. Charles McLaughlin had done his work carefully he should have known that Olmsted could not possibly "have been horrified" at the proposal to extend the west front of the Captiol as Thomas U. Walter had made studies in 1882 showing drastic modifications and extensions far beyond those now generally proposed. Olmsted showed the area between the west central wing and the Senate and House wings as a flattened out extended area which would have changed the configuration of the Capitol and boxed it out completely.

Quoting further from the Washington Post:

> Under the $34-million extension proposal advanced by Capitol Architect J. George Stewart, Olmsted's careful design would be ruined, McLaughlin asserted.

The modifications currently proposed in the extension are so slight that few persons would ever detect the difference. Actually one notable senior Senator when viewing the model of the proposed work was prompted to inquire as to whether he was looking at the model of the building as is. He could not detect that any changes had been made.

It is unfortunate that a college professor doing research on such a subject does not confine himself to the facts—all the facts, rather than jumping on the popular bandwagon of those who criticize with the apparent view of obtaining headline publicity.

By contrast to the views expressed by Dr. McLaughlin are those of the American Society of Landscape Architects, to whom Olmsted is the "patron saint." Their panel, after examining the west front extension plan, found no fault with it and agreed to take no position thereon "in view of the fact that it has been in preparation for years with private and public knowledge and approval, and is in the hands of eminently qualified professional persons of high standing in their own organizations."

It is time that the critics realize that the efforts to correct this dilapidated section of the National Capitol are serious and genuine and are put forth by men dedicated and knowledgeable in this period of architecture. This project should proceed as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, there is in the Archives in the Capitol a set of pictures that explain the plans for the west front extension that dates back to 1874 by Thomas U. Walter, the fourth Architect of the Capitol. It is one of the various schemes developed by him for the proposed enlargement of the Capitol. This was the result of having added the Senate and House wings and the enlarged dome; thereby, necessitating the extension of the east and west fronts to once again bring the architectural composition into proper balance.

The then proposed extension of the west central front is almost identical in configuration to the now proposed scheme for extension except that each element projects farther than now proposed.

Mr. Walter as well as the current Architect of the Capitol in proposing these extensions have endeavored to maintain the original elements of the facade except to extend them out from the present facade.

There is also a rendering perspective of the west front of the U.S. Capitol. It was prepared by Frederick Law Olmsted, landscape architect, for the terraces in 1882. It depicts a complete redesign of the west front including: enlarged central portico, pediments over all three porticoes, extended areas in front of the old Senate and House wings eliminating the Senate and House connections and presenting a flattened out front. If executed, this would have drastically altered the architectural character of the building.

So from this evidence, and I am sure there is much more that can be made available for a serious student, it can be proved beyond question of doubt that far from being horrid, as Dr. Charles McLaughlin has suggested, there is every reason to believe that he would have lauded and applauded the plans we are finally giving serious consideration to.

Mr. Speaker, I am planning to continue my study on this with the view of documenting and proving beyond questions not only the need but the advisability of some important improvements on the west front.

No Man Is Above the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, a very timely article by Joseph O'Meara entitled "No Man Is Above the Law," appeared in the December issue of the American Bar Association Journal. I commend Mr. O'Meara's splendid article to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of our country as follows:

No Man Is Above the Law

(By Joseph O'Meara, dean of the Notre Dame Law School)

"No man is above the law and no man is below it"[1]—this was Theodore Roosevelt's magnificent capsule statement of the rule of law which served as the theme for Law Day 1967. Far more eloquent however, is John Courtney Murray's expression of the meaning, the intent and the effect of the rule of law. "Western man", Father Murray says, "has sought in the idea of law a manifold redemption—from the arbitrary despotisms of uncontrolled power; from the threat or fact of injustice to his person and to his property; from dispossession of his human and his civil rights; from the degradation that ensues upon social inequalities destructive of his personal significance and worth . . . from the disruption of life by the irrational forces of passion, caprice, and chance that militate against the 'life of expectability.' . . . that is guaranteed by the rule of law."[2]

What would happen to these values, so highly prized by us, if Communists aggressors should carry the day? We are locked in mortal combat with them at this moment—in Vietnam. There, in that hot and distant land, we are waging an escalating war, a war that is horrible and tragic as all wars always have been.[3]

Why are we fighting a war in that faraway corner of the earth?[4] First of all, because we have made commitments, which have been and are being relied on; because we are not and cannot afford to become welshers.

We are fighting that war, moreover, to preserve the rule of law and the values it protects.

We are fighting that war, finally, as a matter of self-preservation. If we do not stop Communist aggression in Vietnam, where shall we stop it? After the Reds have engulfed or neutralized Indonesia? Overwhelmed the Philippines? Reduced or isolated Japan? Established a beachhead in Australia? Or shall

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Footnotes at end of speech.

we wait until they have landed in Central America or Mexico?

To stop the Communist aggressors *now*, while they are still far from our own shores, American men are dying in Vietnam; American women are losing their sons, husbands and sweethearts. At the same time there are many in this country who are fighting another and different war, a war against what is called our "involvement" in Vietnam. Some of these are motivated by strongly held moral principles. They are entitled to respect, and nothing I shall say is directed against them. To a considerable extent, however, I am persuaded that the objectors are either Communists[5] or cowards, or they are persons of large good will but little insight who have been euchred into being stooges,[6] or persons who are seeking some end of their own (ambition, revenge or whatever) at the expense of their country.

To be specific I am referring to Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and others like them. Such persons are doing a disservice to the cause of civil rights by seeking to link the civil rights movement with their efforts to persuade young men to avoid military service.[7] Like other malefactors, they should be prosecuted. And that goes for anyone else—white or black—who is urging young men to "become" conscientious objectors—a vicious absurdity, which is nothing less than urging them to become hypocrites and perjurers. These men should be prosecuted, I repeat, and there is no excuse for not doing so. As the record shows, I profoundly believe that no man should be discriminated against because of his color. I am equally convinced that no man should be protected by his color.

What I have said may be denied indignantly. But the men I have named and others like them let the cat out of the bag. They give themselves away. For never once do they condemn the terrorist tactics of the North Vietnamese. Never once do they condemn Hanoi's rejection of all peace proposals, not only those put forward by the Administration but also those advanced by neutral powers, by the Secretary General of the United Nations and by the Vatican. Never once do they lament the suffering and death borne by our forces in Vietnam. These men weep only for the enemy.

Let them criticize, protest and condemn to their heart's content. To do so is their privilege under the First Amendment. But let it be understood that the Constitution gives no right to obstruct the war effort, as by attempting to persuade young men to refuse to bear arms for their country. Such attempts are a violation of two sections of the United States Code, namely, Title 18, Section 2388, and Title 50, Section 462, which provide as follows:

Title, 18 Section 2388(a):

"Whoever, when the United States is at war, willfully causes or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or willfully obstructs the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or the United States, or attempts to do so—

"Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both."

Title 50, Section 462(a):

"Any member of the Selective Service System or any other person . . . who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title . . . shall, upon conviction in any district court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment. . . ."

Section 2388 is in full force and effect by virtue of Section 2391 of Title 18.[9] An examination of the relevant materials discloses that the national emergency referred to in Section 2391 has not been terminated.[10]

But is it true that these statutes, in fact, have been violated by Messrs. King and Carmichael and others like them? The Department of Justice appears to believe that no violation has occurred. To show that the department is mistaken, I shall take up, for now, only the cast of Stokely Carmichael.

Consider some of Carmichael's recent utterances. Compare them with the language for which the defendants were convicted in *Schenck* v. *United States*[11] and *United States* v. *Miller*.[12]

To facilitate the comparison, I set out in Table I, the relevant language from *Schenck* (as described by Mr. Justice Holmes at page 51) and *Miller*, and one of Carmichael's incendiary outbursts (as quoted in the April 22, 1967 issue of *The National Guardian*, published by Weekly Guardian Associates, 197 East Fourth Street, New York City):

"TABLE I

"Schenck

". . . In impassioned language it [*i.e.*, a circular distributed by the accused] intimated that conscription was despotism in its worst form and a monstrous wrong against humanity in the interest of Wall Street's chosen few. It said "Do not submit to intimidation,' but in form at least confined itself to peaceful measures such as a petition for the repeal of the act. The other and later printed side of the sheet was headed 'Assert Your Rights.' It stated reasons for alleging that any one violated the Constitution when he refused to recognize 'your right to assert your opposition to the draft,' and went on 'If you do not assert and support your rights, you are helping to deny or disparage rights which it is the solemn duty of all citizens and residents of the United States to retain.' It described the arguments on the other side as coming from cunning politicians and a mercenary capitalist press, and even silent consent to the conscription law as helping to support an infamous conspiracy. It denied the power to send our citizens away to foreign shores to shoot up the people of other lands, and added that words could not express the condemnation such cold-blooded ruthlessness deserves, &c., &c., winding up 'You must do your share to maintain, support and uphold the rights of the people of this country.'

"Miller

"Defendant, Lucille S. Miller, was convicted in July, 1955, on all eighteen counts of an indictment charging her with knowingly counseling nine named persons to refuse to comply with certain provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, in violation of 50 U.S.C. App. § 462(a).

"Carmichael

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee took a stand against [the Vietnam] war in 1965 because it is a brutal and racist war. We took our stand because we oppose the drafting of young Afro-Americans to defend a so-called democracy which they do not find at home. We took that stand because this war forms part and parcel of an American foreign policy which has repeatedly sought to impose the status quo, by force, on colored peoples struggling for liberation from tyranny and poverty. Only the white powers of the West will deny that this is a racist war. When the colored peoples of the world look at that war, they see just one thing. For them, the U.S. military in Vietnam represents international white supremacy.

"We have not only a right to speak out—we have an obligation. We must be involved, we must fight racism in all its manifestations. There is another America, and it is an ugly one. It is an America whose basic policy at home and abroad can only be called genocide.

"We must speak out more strongly against the draft. Our position on the draft is very simple: Hell no, we ain't going. The draft takes the enslaved black youth of this society and uses them to support enslavement abroad. The draft is white people sending black people to make war on yellow people in order to defend the land they stole from red people."[8]

What is there about Carmichael's inflammatory statements that is so different from the language for which Schenck and Miller were punished? Why is Carmichael entitled to an immunity that was denied to them? In point of fact, I submit that Carmichael's language is more violent, more provocative, more likely to inflame young men against conscription and to defy the draft than the statements made by Schenck and Miller.

In *Schenck* Mr. Justice Holmes, writing for the Court, which included Mr. Justice Brandeis, said that (page 52):

"The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

In a *per curiam* opinion in *Miller*, the Court said (at page 172) that defendant's ". . . constitutional objections have been met by the overwhelming weight of well-settled and unanimous authority. . . . Congress in fulfillment of its constitutional duty has enacted this legislation to provide for the national security; that defendant disapproves the Congressional action and has frequently and vehemently stated her position on this and other matters of public importance lends no weight to the validity of her arguments, which are without legal merit. Like the conviction of her husband this day affirmed . . . this is a sad case where self-delusion has carried defendant to the point where she apparently believes her own warped ideas of patriotism, interlarded and distressing racial, religious, and political biases, can justify her in the crudest of law violations."

Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out in *Gitlow* v. *New York*[13] (Brandeis concurring), as he had in *Schenck*, at page 52 that:

"The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. . . ."

And in *Schaefer* v. *United States*,[14] Mr. Justice Brandeis (Holmes concurring) quoted exactly the same language from *Schenck* which Holmes had quoted in *Gitlow*.

So the question is: What are the circumstances, that is to say, in what conditions did Carmichael speak, since it is essential to consider his fiery utterances in context. Stokely Carmichael is a firebrand, a militant, a violent character. He seems to breed riots; they follow in his train. This is understandable in view of the inflammatory nature of his speeches as reported on the radio and in the press. Thus in Louisville (according to the *Courier-Journal* for June 20, 1967, at page A–11) he proclaimed: "It's not a question of

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Footnotes at end of speech.

law and order. We have to build a revolution. . . ."

The South Bend Tribune of June 22, 1967 (page 17) carries the following UPI dispatch from Atlanta:

"Atlanta's racial troubles began Monday night following a speech by Carmichael in which he:

"Urged Negroes to joint a 'revolution' against whites;

"Told the audience not to clap . . . to save their energy for 'beating heads.' "

And, according to both ABC and CBS radio broadcasts on June 26, 1967, Carmichael, in Boston, suggested bombing stores owned by white merchants as a means of acquiring them for Negroes. An AP dispatch from the scene (according to *The South Bend Tribune* for June 26, 1967, at page 7) reads, in part, as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael led a march through the streets of Boston's heavily Negro Roxbury section Sunday and told Negroes they must take control of the land and stores in their areas.

" 'We will control things in our communities by any means necessary,' he told a rally in Franklin Park.

" 'If hunky (the white man) gets his store bombed out every Friday or Saturday,' Carmichael said, 'he's going to have to sell it to us.'

"He also told the crowd that the only way to stop 'racist aggression' by police 'is by armed resistance.' "

Finally, *The South Bend Tribune* for July 26, 1967, at page 9, carried the following AP dispatch from Havana:

"Stokley Carmichael says Negroes in American cities are going to wage a guerrilla 'fight to the death,' the Cuban news agency reported Tuesday as the U.S. black power leader arrived in Havana for a revolutionary conference.

"The Prensa Latina agency quoted the fiery 26-year-old Negro as saying: 'In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death.' "

If you have heard him on radio, you know that his language is so impassioned that he sometimes becomes almost incoherent. And he speaks to restless young Negroes, many, if not most of draft age, who idolize him. The remarks I have quoted above from *The National Guardian* must be judged in this context. And their effectiveness, at least according to a column in the April 23, 1967, issue of *The Daily Worker* (page 9) is obvious:

"Led by Stokely Carmichael and marching behind the banner of the Black United Action Front, cooordinating committee for the peace marchers in Harlem, the parade evoked sympathetic comments from many onlookers.

"Carmichael was besieged particularly by young Harlemites who eagerly shook his hand. A number asked for his autograph.

"THEME

"The theme of the marchers, 'Hell no; we won't go!' won the greatest response along the line of march, especially from draft-age youth. And it was evident from the determined expression on many faces that for many it was not just a march slogan.

"A rhythmic chant taken up repeatedly by the marchers seemed to express the mood of large numbers of onlookers.

"It was:

" 'We'll fight in Mississippi, in Watts, in Birmingham, in Harlem, but not in Vietnam.' "

If *Schenck* is followed, it is obvious, I submit, that Stokely Carmichael is guilty of attempting to sabotage the draft and should be prosecuted without further delay. There are some, however, who suggest that the authority of *Schenck* was destroyed by *Abram* v. *United States*,[15] *Schaefer* v. *United States*,[16] and *Pierce* v. *United States*[17] because Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissented in those cases.

They did not dissent, however, in *Frohwerk* v. *United States*[18] or in *Debs* v. *United States*.[19] Like *Schenck* these were prosecutions under the Espionage Act of 1917. In *Frohwerk* the defendants were found guilty on the basis of articles in a newspaper they published. In *Debs* the basis of the conviction was a speech the defendant had made. In both cases the convictions were affirmed by the Supreme Court and in both Mr. Justice Holmes wrote for a unanimous Court.

The authority of *Schenck* is supported, moreover, by *Gitlow* v. *New York*[20] and *Whitney* v. *California*.[21] In *Gitlow*, Justice Holmes and Brandeis dissented, as in *Abrams*, *Schaefer* and *Pierce*. In *Whitney* the same Justices concurred in the Court's judgment, which affirmed a conviction under the California Criminal Syndicalism Act, this time in an opinion by Mr. Justice Brandeis. In both cases, however, they cited and relied on *Schenck*. Indeed, in *Abrams* Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for Mr. Justice Brandeis as well as himself, affirmed his faith in *Schenck*.

Those who brush aside the *Schenck* case argue that the Universal Military Training and Service Act (Title 50, U.S.C. App. § 462 (a)) is violated only by attempting to persuade specific persons to evade their duty under that act. There are only a few judicial decisions involving Title 50, U.S.C. App. § 462 (a), *e.g.*, *Gara* v. *United States*[22] and *United States* v. *Miller*.[23] Each involved the proscribed "counseling and aiding and abetting" in respect of specified individuals. But I find nothing in the opinion in either case suggesting the decision turned on that fact. In *Gara* the contrary is explicitly stated. This is demonstrated by the following excerpts from the opinion at pages 40–42. A letter written by the defendant to the United States Attorney in Toledo contained the following:

"Appellant also signed a pledge in 1948, stating, 'I shall in every way possible assist and support Non-registrants.' Evidence was presented to the effect that at a meeting held in Reading, Pennsylvania on August 25, 1948, he advocated that men of draft age refuse to register under the Selective Service Act of 1948, and later stated, 'In making this speech I intended to violate the Selective Service Act.' [Page 40.]

"Here appellant admits that he agreed in every way possible to assist and support non-registrants. At an open meeting he advocated refusal to register. His repeated letters state that he counseled men of draft age to refuse registration. Such actions, if carried out extensively, might well nullify the law. Appellant may attack the Selective Service Act of 1948 from every platform in America with impunity, but he cannot, under the guise of free speech, nullify it by disobedience to its express provisions [pages 41–42]."

I want no misunderstanding of my position. The record shows, as I said earlier in this paper, that "I profoundly believe that no man should be discriminated against because of his color. I am equally convinced that no man should be protected by his color." As I see it, Carmichael is being protected by his color. This immunity, tacitly granted for *that* reason to a demagogue who is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, seems to me intolerable.

"No man is above the law and no man is below it"—no man is below the law and *no man is above it*.

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[1] 38 CONG. REC. 3 (1903).

[2] MURRAY, WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS 155 (1966).

[3] The legality of the war was affirmed by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association in February of 1966. The resolution was published in the April, 1966, issue of the JOURNAL (52 A.B.A.J. 392–393).

[4] *Cf*: columnist Roscoe Drummond as reported in The South Bend Tribune for September 14, 1967, at page 12: ". . . The basic premise of the U.S. defense of South Vietnam was set out by President Eisenhower as early as 1953. It was that it is vital to the national interest of the United States to arrest further Communist expansion-by-force in Asia following the Korean war. This was the position of the Eisenhower administration, of the Kennedy administration and is that of the Johnson administration."

[5] Secretary of State Dean Rusk, commenting on "Vietnam Week", is quoted by the New York Times for April 17, 1967, as saying: "I have no doubt at all that the Communist apparatus is very busy indeed in these operations all over the world and in our own country. I do not mean to say that all those who have objections to the war in Vietnam are Communists. But the worldwide Communist movement is working very hard on this."

[6] Many of them, unhappily are teaching in our colleges and universities.

[7] This is the official position of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See the New York Times for July 16, 1967, page 1, column 7.

[8] See also the New York Times for May 2, 1967, at page 11, column 1.

[9] "The provisions of section 2388 of this title, as amended and extended by section 1 (a) (29) of the Emergency Powers Continuation Act (66 Stat. 333), as further amended by Public Law 12, Eighty-third Congress, in addition to coming into full force and effect in time of war shall remain in full force and effect until six months after the termination of the national emergency proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950 (Proc. 2912, 3 C. F. R., 1950 Supp., p. 71), or such earlier date as may be prescribed by concurrent resolution of the Congress, and acts which would give rise to legal consequences and penalties under section 2388 when performed during a state of war shall give rise to the same legal consequences and penalties when they are performed during the period above provided for. (Added June 30, 1953, ch. 175, § 6, 67 Stat. 134.)"

[10] This has been verified by the National Archives and Records Service in Washington.

[11] 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

[12] 288 F. 2d 171 (2d Cir. 1956).

[13] 268 U.S. 652 (1935).

[14] 251 U.S. 466 (1920).

[15] 250 U.S. 616 (1919).

[16] 251 U.S. 466 (1920).

[17] 252 U.S. 239 (1920).

[18] 249 U.S. 204 (1919).

[19] 249 U.S. 211 (1919).

[20] 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

[21] 274 U.S. 357 (1927).

[22] 178 F. 2d 38 (6th Cir. 1949), *aff'd without opinion*, 340 U.S. 857 (1950), *rehearing denied*, 340 U.S. 893 (1950).

[23] 233 F. 2d 171 (2d Cir. 1956).

Congressman Hamilton's Summary of Major 1967 Social Security Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the outstanding achievement of the first session of the 90th Congress is passage of the

Social Security Amendments of 1967. This legislation is of paramount concern to many citizens of the Ninth District of Indiana. Thousands of them have spoken or written to me and expressed their support of this legislation.

The amendments provide an increase in benefits, which will appear in the March checks, of an average 13 percent for over 23 million people. More than $3.7 billion in additional benefits will be paid out during the first full year of operation, making this increase by far the largest one in the history of the social security program. About 1,000,000 persons will also be removed from the poverty level—a greater immediate benefit than any other type of poverty program. The earnings limitation has been raised from $1,500 to $1,680 per year. This means that a beneficiary can earn $140 per month instead of $120, without having a penny deducted from his social security benefits.

Before supporting this legislation, Members of the Congress were assured repeatedly that the social security system is soundly financed.

I was pleased to join with my colleagues in the Congress in support of this legislation.

I have included below a summary of some of the more significant changes in both social security and health insurance benefits:

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

Increase in social security benefits

The amendments provide an increase in benefit payments of 13 percent for all beneficiaries on the social security rolls. The average monthly benefit paid to a retired worker with an eligible wife now on the rolls is increased from $145 to $165. The minimum benefit for a worker retiring at age 65 is increased from $44 to $55 a month. Monthly benefits will range from $55 to $160.50, for retired workers now on social security rolls who began to draw benefits at age 65 or later.

The amount of earnings subject to tax and used in the computation of benefits is increased from $6,600 to $7,800 in 1968.

The $168 maximum benefit (based on average monthly earnings of $550—or $6,600 per year) eventually payable under present law would be increased to $189.90. The increase in the amount of earnings that can be used in the benefit computation would result in a maximum benefit of $218 (based on average monthly earnings of $650—$7,800 a year) in the future. The maximum benefits payable to a family on a single earnings record is $434.40. To qualify for the maximum retirement benefits just outlined, a wage earner who retires at age 65 in the future must have earned the maximum under the new earnings bases for a number of years.

Effective date.—The increased benefits are first payable for the month of February 1968 and will be reflected in checks received early in March. It is estimated that 22.9 million people are paid increased benefits. More than $3 billion in additional benefits will be paid in the first 12 months.

Special benefits for people age 72 and over

The special payments made to uninsured individuals aged 72 and over are increased from $35 to $40 a month for a single person and from $52.50 to $60 a month for a couple.

Effective date.—The increased benefits will be first payable for February 1968 and will be reflected in checks received in March 1968.

The retirement test

The amendments provide for an increase from $1,500 to $1,680 in the amount of annual earnings a beneficiary under age 72 can have without having any benefits withheld. Provision is made for an increase from $125 to $140 in the amount of monthly earnings a person can have and still get a benefit for the month. The bill provides that $1 in benefits be withheld for each $2 of earnings between $1,680 and $2,880 and $1 in benefits for each $1 in earnings above $2,880.

Effective date.—The provision is effective for earnings in 1968. It is estimated that about $175 million in additional benefits would be paid for 1968 to 76,000 people.

Benefits for disabled widows and widowers

The amendments provide for the payment of monthly benefits to certain disabled widows and widowers of deceased workers who are between the ages of 50 and 62. If a disabled widow or widower first receives benefits at age 50, then the benefit would be 50 percent of the primary insurance amount. The amount payable would increase up to 82½ percent of the primary insurance amount, depending on the age at which benefits began. The reduction would continue to apply to benefits which were paid after the recipient reached age 62.

A widow or widower would be deemed disabled only if the disability is one that, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, would preclude any gainful activity.

To be eligible for the benefits, the widow or widower must have become totally disabled not later than 7 years after the spouse's death, or in the case of a widowed mother, before the end of her benefits as a mother or within 7 years thereafter.

Effective date.—About 65,000 disabled widows and widowers could be eligible for benefits and about 60 million in benefits would be paid during the first 12 months of operation. Benefits would be payable starting for February 1968.

Dependency of a child on the mother

The amendments provide that a child will be considered dependent on the mother under the same conditions that he is now considered dependent on the father. As a result, a child could be entitled to benefits if the mother was either fully or currently insured at the time she died, retired, or became disabled. Under present law a mother must have currently insured status (six out of the last 13 quarters ending with death, retirement, or disability) unless she was actually supporting the child.

Effective date.—Benefits will be payable beginning for February 1968. It is estimated that 175,000 children will be eligible for benefits and that $83 million in additional benefits will be payable in the first 12 months.

Additional wage credits for servicemen

For social security benefit purposes, the amendments will provide that in the future the pay of a person in the uniformed service would be deemed to be $100 a month more than his basic pay. The additional cost of paying the benefits resulting from this provision would be paid out of general revenues.

HEALTH INSURANCE BENEFITS

Payment of physician bills under the supplementary medical insurance program

Under present law, payment may be made only upon assignment to the physician or to the patient upon presentation of a receipted bill. The amendment would permit payment either to the patient on the basis of an itemized bill (which could be either receipted or unpaid) or to the physician under the present assignment method. This provision would make it possible for patients to pay their medical bills without depleting their savings or resorting to loans.

Additional days of hospital care

Each medicare beneficiary will be provided with a lifetime reserve of 60 days of hospital care after the 90 days covered in a "spell of illness" have been exhausted. Coinsurance of $20 for each day would be applicable to such added days of coverage.

I am also including at this point a table showing the amounts of benefits under the old law and what they will be under the new. It can be seen that while the average increase in benefits is approximately 13 percent, there are instances where the increase exceeds 25 percent, as in the case of the minimum payment going from $44 to $55 per month.

COMPARISON OF MONTHLY CASH BENEFITS UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER THE NEW LAW

Average monthly earnings after 1950	$67 or less		$150		$250		$300		$350		$400		$550		$650 [1] —
	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	H.R. 12080
1. Retirement at 65 or disability benefit	$44.50	$55.00	$78.20	$88.40	$101.70	$115.00	$112.40	$127.10	$124.20	$140.40	$135.90	$153.60	$168.00	$189.90	$218.00
2. Retirement at 62	35.20	44.00	62.60	70.80	81.40	92.00	90.00	101.70	99.40	112.40	108.80	122.90	134.40	152.00	174.40
3. Wife's benefit at 65 or with child in her care	22.00	27.50	39.10	44.20	50.90	57.50	56.20	63.60	62.10	70.20	68.00	76.80	84.00	95.00	[2] 105.00
4. Wife's benefit at 62	16.50	20.70	29.40	33.20	38.20	43.20	42.20	47.70	46.60	52.70	51.00	57.60	63.00	71.30	78.80
5. 1 child of retired or disabled worker	22.00	27.50	39.10	44.20	50.90	57.50	56.20	63.60	62.10	70.20	68.00	76.80	84.00	95.00	109.00
6. Widow, 62 or older	44.00	55.00	64.60	73.00	84.00	94.90	92.80	104.90	102.50	115.90	112.20	126.80	138.60	156.70	179.90
7. Widow at 60, no child	38.20	47.70	56.00	63.30	72.80	82.30	80.50	91.00	88.90	100.50	97.30	109.90	120.20	135.90	156.00
8. Disabled widow at age 60	------	33.40	------	44.50	------	57.60	------	63.60	------	70.30	------	76.90	------	95.00	109.10
9. Widow under 62 and 1 child	66.00	82.50	117.40	132.60	152.60	172.60	168.60	190.80	186.40	210.60	204.00	230.40	252.00	285.00	327.00
10. Widow under 62 and 2 children	66.00	82.50	102.00	132.60	202.40	202.40	240.00	240.00	279.60	280.80	306.00	322.40	368.00	395.60	434.40
11. 1 surviving child	44.00	55.00	58.70	66.30	76.30	86.30	84.30	95.40	93.20	105.30	102.00	115.20	126.00	142.50	163.50
12. 2 surviving children	66.00	82.50	117.40	132.60	152.60	172.60	168.60	190.80	186.40	210.60	204.00	230.40	252.00	285.00	327.00
13. Maximum family benefit	66.00	82.50	120.00	132.60	202.40	202.40	240.00	240.00	280.80	280.80	309.20	322.40	368.00	395.60	434.40
14. Maximum lump-sum death payment	132.00	165.00	234.60	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00

[1] Maximum AME under H.R. 12080.

[2] Maximum wife's benefit.

Source: Social Security Administration.

Dickey-Lincoln—Unfinished Business of the 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, high on the list of unfinished business that should be completed in the second session of the 90th Congress is appropriation of funds for the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric project on the St. John River in Maine.

Dickey-Lincoln meets every test established by the Congress and the administration. Funds were deleted from the public works appropriation bill for one reason. The power lobby generated barrels of misinformation and transmitted it around the country, whence it was distributed to Members of the House of Representatives, which refused to concur in the Senate provision for Dickey-Lincoln funds.

Dickey-Lincoln thus far has met the same fate, in the same manner, that befell Hells Canyon Dam and Knowles Dam, which were targets of national propaganda campaigns by the power lobby.

This Nation can ill afford to forego Dickey-Lincoln simply because the investor-owned utilities that dominate New England do not want a yardstick powerplant which would force them to reduce their overcharges to New England consumers, who pay the highest power rates in the country.

Competition is more effective than regulation as a means of reducing utility rates and improving utility services. The surest, quickest way to reduce the size of the electricity bill in New England homes is through construction of Dickey-Lincoln.

The men and women who appreciate the role that Dickey-Lincoln can play in reducing electricity costs cannot begin to counter, by themselves, the national propaganda campaign against the project conducted by the investor-owned utilities. Mr. President, my files are full of editorials against Dickey-Lincoln written and distributed throughout the country by utility agents such as Public Service magazine and Industrial News Review. California Feature Service, published by Whitaker & Baxter, has now begun to disseminate editorials advocating private monopoly of nuclear power, the only likely alternative to Dickey-Lincoln as a means of reducing electric costs in New England, whose investor-owned utilities are attempting to exclude city-owned and customer-owned power systems from participation in the large nuclear generation and transmission systems.

The case for Dickey-Lincoln is nowhere more succinctly stated than in two recent speeches by the distinguished junior Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie]. He spoke before the New England Association of Electric Co-ops in Boston on December 6, and before the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association in Omaha on December 8.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place these two addresses by Senator Muskie in the Record. I hope that my good friends and former colleagues in the House of Representatives will take time from their busy schedules to read them. For the good of New England, for the sake of our national effort in wise resource development, Dickey-Lincoln funds should be appropriated during the second session of this Congress.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Dickey and the Consumer

(Remarks by Senator Edmund S. Muskie to the New England Association of Electric Co-Ops, Boston, Mass., December 6, 1967)

I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with you today. It is appropriate that we do so.

We share a desire to see power rates in the Northeast reduced. We understand the value of public power. And we know firsthand that the consumers' interest is not always placed first in the planning and operations of our region's privately owned utilities.

There is more at stake in the congressional debate over Dickey than the construction of a large multipurpose water resource project.

The fight over the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project on Maine's St. John River helps illuminate the major obstacles to achieving lower-cost power: the private utilities and their lobby.

At issue is—

Whether the private utilities will retain their stranglehold on our region;

Whether their lobby can quash a justified, beneficial project;

Whether the public interest will be represented in the planning and development of a balanced and integrated power system for our region;

Whether the basic national policy for resource development will survive; and

Whether the Northeast is an equal partner among other regions under that policy.

Let me begin by reviewing the policy and the development of the Dickey proposal.

Since 1959, I have been a member of the Public Works Committee, where the bulk of our resource development projects are reviewed and evaluated. In the nearly 9 years I have worked with my colleagues on hundreds of projects, I have followed a simple rule: A project should be evaluated on its merits—without reference to the region in which it is located—it should be approved if it meets the test of being in the public interest, if it contributes to the welfare of the area in which it is located and if it is economically feasible. These are the tests the Public Works Committee and the Senate have applied.

When it is examined objectively, Dickey-Lincoln School meets all of these tests.

The project is the product of a long series of studies beginning with the New England-New York interagency study of the late 1940's and early 1950's. I know many of you are familiar with the history of the project, but it may be helpful for us to recall some of the details which have been obscured in recent debates.

In 1959, the Joint Engineering Board of the International Joint Commission (United States and Canada) recommended the construction of the Passamaquoddy tidal power project, coupled with the construction of a high dam on the upper St. John River at Rankin Rapids. The Rankin Rapids project was designed to provide low-cost, flexible hydroelectric energy to smooth out the peaks and valleys in power production at the tidal generating station. It would have flooded the upper St. John and the Allagash Rivers.

The engineering report was referred to the International Joint Commission for review and evaluation. In April, 1961, the Commission rejected the proposed Passamaquoddy Tidal Power project, but suggested possible development of the upper St. John.

In the meantime, the National Park Service of the United States had proposed the protection of the Allagash River as a free-flowing, "wilderness" waterway.

I recommended to President Kennedy that the Department of the Interior be assigned the responsibility of reviewing the recommendations of the Joint Engineering Board, the findings of the International Joint Commission and the recommendations of the National Park Service for the purpose of recommending a balanced development of the resources of northern and eastern Maine.

In July, 1963, after two years of study, Secretary of the Interior Udall recommended to the President the development of the Passamaquoddy Tidal Power project coupled with the Dickey project as a flood control and hydroelectric program, designed to provide 100,000 kilowatts of low-cost firm energy, and 650,000 kilowatts of low-cost peaking power. The project would consist of a high dam on the upper St. John, above the confluence of the St. John River and the Allagash River in the town of Dickey, and a low, re-regulating dam below the confluence of the two rivers at the site of Lincoln School. The project, which would fit into the power requirements of Maine and New England, was hailed by conservationists because of the protection it provided the Allagash River.

This past year the State of Maine and the Department of the Interior entered into an agreement under which the State of Maine is acquiring title to land on both sides of the Allagash and protecting this beautiful river in its primitive state. The Federal Government and the State are sharing in the costs of the project.

By 1965, the Passamaquoddy project had dropped below the 1–1 benefit-ratio which is the accepted test of economic feasibility but Dickey was sent to the Congress by President Johnson in a separate message with the strong recommendation that it be constructed.

The 1965 proposal contained an additional recommendation that the Passamaquoddy project should receive continuing study, particularly with reference to technological advances.

I want to underscore the fact that the 1963 and 1965 proposals, which are the foundation for the present project, were based on the concept of a generating station designed to produce the bulk of its energy as peaking power. This is absolutely essential to a soundly balanced power system in which there are very large thermal plants—fueled either by fossil fuels or nuclear energy. Dickey-Lincoln School is not an alternative to thermal plants; it is essential to their economic and efficient operation as part of a regional system.

Dickey-Lincoln School is important to New England as a substantial source of power which will be available for short periods of peak demand such as rush hours, early evening and early morning—the kind of power the Northeast needed and didn't have during the blackout of November 9, 1965.

Dickey-Lincoln School is an eminently sound project, with a benefit-cost ration of 1.91–1. It would provide wholesale firm energy for Maine communities at rates two-thirds below those now charged by the private utilities. It would supply essential peaking power to the New England market at rates nearly one-third below current charges and at costs lower than the best alternative proposals made by the private companies.

Since its authorization in 1965, Dickey-Lincoln School has been the subject of the most intensive re-study ever required for a public works project. The staff of the House Committee on Appropriations conducted a special study of the project, including an extensive anlysis of the findings of the Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior and the Federal Power Commission. They review the allegations made by New England's private utilities. The staff findings sustained the favorable verdict of the public agencies and discredited the arguments advanced by the private companies.

The private power companies have claimed that Dickey-Lincoln School would not affect power rates in New England. The fact is that the threat of Dickey-Lincoln has already had an impact on the power companies of my own State.

Between 1946 and 1965 the three privately-owned power companies in Maine sought increases—*but no reductions*—in their rates. Indeed, during my terms as Governor, the Public Utilities Commission was under constant pressure from power company attempts to push their rates higher and higher.

But in 1965, when the Department of the Interior recommended the construction of the Dickey-Lincoln School project, the three companies, within two months of the Dickey proposal, suddenly discovered it was possible to reduce rates. The reductions weren't impressive and they provided almost no benefits for homeowners, but they were reductions. The total reductions, in 18 announcements made by the power companies since the advent of the Dickey-Lincoln proposal, have totaled $4,161,527.

It should be noted that since 1965, all but one of the reductions were announced just prior to or during the hearings and floor consideration of the Dickey-Lincoln School project.

This record is extraordinary for companies which had not sought reductions and had been busy pushing rates up for the preceding 17 years. This record and the record of rate reductions in other areas of the country where publicly owned power projects are located indicate the desirability of competition in the power business.

I could cite case after case where the presence of a competitor or even a prospective competitor has caused a power company to reduce rates or forestall increases. But let me cite only the most recent example. In Texas, the Southwestern Public Service Company has proposed rate increases in 60 west Texas towns. But in three communities, which also are served by municipal systems, the company is not seeking increases.

In Maine, it should be noted that the rate reductions did not result in any belt-tightening by the private utilities. A study of the rate of return received by the power companies indicates that during and since the reductions, two of the three utilities involved have been getting returns in excess of the six per cent normally set by the Maine Public Utilities Commission. As a result of the discussion stimulated by Senator Metcalf's and Vic Reinemer's book, *"Overcharge,"* the Maine Public Utilities Commission contracted for a special study of rates of return for Maine utilities. That study moved Governor Curtis to ask the commission to institute a rate case seeking reductions.

The Maine overcharge problem is matched in the rest of New England. A study of Federal Power Commission statistics shows that in 1965, for instance, the New England private power monopoly overcharged New England consumers $21,034,000. This estimate is based on the normal rate of return of 6 percent applied to this industry.

A study of 28 New England power companies shows that 14 of them had a rate of return of 7 percent or more. Five had a rate of return of 8 percent or more, and one had a rate of 11.18 percent. At these rates of return, it is not surprising that New England homeowners pay up to 35 percent more for power than the national average.

The private power companies have made one other gesture in the direction of improved operations since the advent of the Dickey-Lincoln school project. Even that is a mixed blessing.

In January, 1966, the power companies released a series of advertisements, announcing the establishment of the "Big 11 Power Loop." In and of itself, it was a confession of past weaknesses, but it promised an integrated power system for the region, based on large nuclear power plants and larger transmission lines.

Later, however, one of the power company executives admitted in a Vermont public hearing that planning for the "Big 11" program consisted solely of preparing the advertisement. The House Public Works Committee could find no evidence of regional planning by the utilities, including generation and transmission, except in the advertisements. The staff study concluded that, "although representatives of the council advised that they have planned to meet the problems of supplying the power needs of New England on a central coordinated basis, they have not produced any document supporting this central planning with the exception of an advertisement that appeared in the public press in January, 1966."

Recent developments indicate that the underlying intent of the private companies in promoting the "Big 11" proposal is not so much an improvement in reliability and service as it is another step in their effort to tighten their grip on the New England power market. As you know, they have flatly refused to permit the publicly owned utilities to join in a regional transmission system.

The Massachusetts case should not surprise us. What the Federal Power Commission has learned here has been echoed across the country. The FPC Counsel has determined that the Massachusetts municipals were denied participation in the planning activities of the New England utilities. The FPC also found that such exclusion is detrimental to the city-owned systems and constitutes possible violation of anti-trust statutes.

Further evidence that the private utilities want to keep nuclear power all to themselves is overwhelming—in proceedings before the FPC, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the House of Representatives.

The private utilities are even trying to prevent any Federal agency from building a nuclear power facility.

In another effort to detract from Dickey-Lincoln school, the private power companies have attacked the project as a "subsidized" venture while suggesting that they never receive subsidies of any other considerations. The fact is, of course, that the companies benefit from the assured rate of return which is part of the consideration granted a public utility, and in their heavily advertised nuclear power plants, they have been receiving considerable assistance from the public investment in nuclear technology development and in indirect assistance under the Federal atomic energy program.

I would like to call your attention to the subsidies received by the Yankee Atomic Plant at Rowe, Massachusetts, the only operating nuclear power facility in New England.

1. Research and development assistance: This amounted to $5 million for AEC assistance in the design, engineering and fabrication of the reactor portion of the plant.

2. Waiver of fuel use charge: The cost of the initial load of fuel in the reactor was $3.7 million, but the fuel was supplied free of charge by the AEC (enriched uranium from Oak Ridge.) This was part of the AEC's role due to the experimental nature of the reactor.

3. Plutonium buy-back—$2.1 million: At the time of construction of the Rowe, Massachusetts, plant, there was no private market for uranium and, therefore, had the AEC not agreed to buy back the plutonium, the utilities would have had to dispose of it as waste.

These aids total $10.8 million.

The subsidies will not be available to the nuclear power plants being constructed, considered or advertised in the New England area, but the new plants will continue to receive the benefits of nearly two billion dollars that the Atomic Energy Commission has spent in research and development of the civilian nuclear power program and related reactor technology and safety programs. The companies also will benefit from the incentives provided by the Price-Anderson Indemnity Act. It provides liability protection between the coverage provided by the private insurance companies and total liability of $560 million. In the instance of the Connecticut Yankee Atomic Plant, the utility will be able to obtain $486 million worth of liability coverage from the Federal Government at a cost of $44,000 per year, while obtaining only $74 million worth of liability insurance from private sources for $280,000 a year. That is one-seventh the protection for six-times the cost.

I do not object to these incentives, or subsidies. They are designed to accomplish a positive public good. I do object to the doubletalk we get on the subsidy question.

In connection with the subsidy agrument, it should be noted that the Dickey-Lincoln school project would repay the entire Federal investment, with interest, in 50 years. It will return to the Federal Treasury nearly two dollars for every one of the $227 million in Federal funds invested in the project during that time period. It will continue to pay a substantial return on the public investment many, many years beyond the end of the pay-back period.

I have yet to hear one private power company offer to reimburse the Federal Treasury for the nearly $2 billion Federal investment in the civil nuclear reactor program.

Beyond these substantive issues, there are two other observations which should be made. Without a public power yardstick to gauge the operations of the private utilities, and to stimulate them to develop economies, there is little hope that the Northeast will ever catch up with the lower power costs of every other region of the country. Unless the Federal Government builds nuclear or other thermal plants in New England, and I have heard of no such proposal, the yardstick must be a hydro plant. There are few suitable sites in New England for large hydro plants. This means if Dickey fails, the chances would be slim for the success of any other public power proposal for our region. In the end, without a yardstick, likelihood of meaningful reductions in power rates would be negligible.

The other observation is this: The Northeast, and New England in particular, has not received the heavy investment in resource development funds which have benefited every other region.

From 1960 to 1966, the per capita distribution of public works authorizations showed a consistent pattern of large investments in areas outside the Northeast. We received only 58 percent of the Midwest's share; 45 percent of the South's share; 33 percent of the Southwest's share; and 35 percent of the Far West's share.

The 1967 public works bill was even less favorable for us. We received 37 percent of the Midwest's share, 28 percent of the South's share, 23 percent of the Southwest's share, and only 15 percent of the Far West's share.

Finally, I want to point out that many of the opponents of Dickey have been inconsistent in their positions on the public works appropriations bill, voting against Dickey—while supporting rivers and habors projects in their own districts which do not measure up to the Maine project.

In the House vote of July 25, for example, Congressmen representing districts in which 193 projects covered by the bill were located voted against the Dickey-Lincoln School project. One hundred and thirty-four of those projects, with appropriations totaling $241,527,000, had no benefit-cost estimate or had a benefit-cost ratio of less than Dickey's 1.9–1. This represented 24 percent of the total appropriations approved by the Senate for construction and planning of public works projects.

I cite these figures to demonstrate that there is no consistency in the opposition to Dickey, that the House position threatens a national policy based on the merits and economic feasibility of projects, and that our region is not one to be placed at the top of the list for cutting back on public works projects.

To my mind, the inconsistency can only be explained as the product of one of the most heavy-handed lobbying campaigns in memory.

Congressmen from districts thousands of miles from New England were approached by representatives of their local utilities, and given erroneous information on the project.

The private utility lobby even rewrote a favorable analysis by the Federal Power Commission, attempting to show that the Commission opposed the project.

This move, carried out by the coordinating council of New England, was the most brazen distortion of the findings of an independent Government agency in the history of Federal power projects.

The private power companies sought to confuse the public and mislead the Congress. The nature of the companies' campaign convinces me that their opposition to Dickey is not motivated by concern for the merits. They obviously enjoy their monopolies and are determined to maintain them . . . at the expense of the public.

The private power lobby was successful this year. We will, of course, pursue the project again in the next session, and we face a tough job. If you share my commitment to Dickey, I urge you to do everything you can to encourage support for it from our region. If my mail is any indication, increasing numbers of New Englanders are becoming alert to the high cost of our power, and to the benefits of Dickey. This concern, however, must be translated into political strength. The Congressmen from Massachusetts and Connecticut especially must understand that there is support for Dickey among their constituents. If we are to reverse the House votes against Dickey, the project must have stronger support from within our region.

You who understand the issue can play a strategic role in education on the issue, in organizing a regional program of support, and in carrying the fight to the Congress. And in that fight, you can count on me.

Remarks by Senator Edmund S. Muskie to the Annual Meeting of the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association, Omaha, Nebr., December 8, 1967

I welcome this opportunity to meet with you. Although your region and mine are separated by hundreds of miles, we are united by a genuine desire for reduced power costs. I was grateful to learn that your able executive director, Mr. Fred Simonton, was especially helpful in the formation of the New England Electric Consumers Association.

We are bound by other ties. We understand the value of the consumer of public power. And we know first hand that the consumer's interest is not always foremost in the planning and operations of our privately owned utilities.

With these shared concerns in mind, I would like to discuss with you the opportunities for reduced power costs across the Nation, and the importance of Maine's Dickey-Lincoln school hydroelectric project to my region's prospects for lower rates.

The Federal Power Commission has estimated that by 1980, savings of $11 billion a year can be realized from new interconnection, larger and more efficient plants, and nuclear power. That estimate may prove conservative if the technological obstacles are removed from the nuclear breeder reactor which will produce more fuel than it consumes.

The question we ask is whether these savings will be passed on to the consumer. Judging from past and present performance by the private power industry, I have my doubts.

My colleague, Senator Metcalf of Montana, and his executive secretary, Vic Reinemer, have written an illuminating book on the power industry called "Overcharge." Many of you, I am sure, are familiar with the book. Senator Metcalf estimates that the private companies presently overcharge consumers by $618 million a year. If these overcharges were removed, rate reductions would actually amount to more than a billion dollars. He reasons that when an overcharge is reduced, the company's profit and 48 percent tax on profit also are reduced, thus permitting further rate reductions.

How is this padding possible? Senator Metcalf found that many states are more lenient than the Federal Power Commission. They allow inclusion in the rate base of such factors as estimated fair value of facilities, accumulated tax deferrals, and construction work in progress.

Senator Metcalf and Mr. Reinemer also found that some utilities simply make more than they are allowed to, and that the State Public Utilities Commission do not or cannot do anything about it.

Thus, while the State commissions report that the median rate of return for power companies is 6.1 percent, the Federal Power Commission computes the actual median rate of return at 7.4 percent.

Here is the known overcharge to consumers. We also have evidence that even this calculation is understated. Rate cases in Florida and New York show that power companies there have misstated revenues and expenses. It is not unreasonable to wonder whether such practices are not common elsewhere. The Florida Public Service Commission, never one to hound its utilities, disallowed millions of dollars in excess depreciation when the facts were put before it. The New York Commission, in the consolidated Edison case still in progress, has received evidence that substantial political and institutional advertising expenditures have been slipped into a number of operating expense accounts, and thus charged to customers rather than stockholders.

There is reason to believe that New England's private utilities have used the same trick with their heavy costs of campaigning against the Dickey-Lincoln School project. Only one of the major power companies in my region listed on their FPC reports contributions to the coordinating council which lobbied against Dickey.

The authority of the Federal Power Commission is relatively limited, so our first defense against abuses by the power industry are the State utility commissions. But are they up to the job of policing the Nation's biggest industry?

Senator Metcalf believes not. He writes, "The regulated industries account for about one-fifth of this Nation's gross national product. Yet the regulatory commissions, especially at the State level, are the most neglected arms of the Government—neglected by most of the press; neglected by the universities and foundations; neglected by the legislatures, both State and Federal, including appropriations committees.

"On these commissions you will find men at both the commission and staff level attempting under the most trying circumstances to fulfill their public responsibility. Nevertheless, in State after State, a similar story is told about their insufficiency."

A survey by my Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations supports Senator Metcalf's belief. We found case after case in which the commissions were understaffed, underpaid, and overwhelmed by batteries of attorneys and accountants for the private utilities.

In Massachusetts, the State utility commission has only three accountants, and they are responsible for the accuracy of financial statements filed by all the electric, gas, railroad, bus, telephone, and telegram companies in the State. The Boston Herald observed that a full rate case would be impossible because of the staff limitations of the commission.

Without effective regulation by State utility commissions, what alternative methods are there for encouraging the private power companies to keep their rates down to reasonable levels?

Experience indicates that competition is the best bet. The yardstick of Federal, city-owned, and other consumer-owned power systems has proven to be effective.

Throughout the country, the nearer a Federal power project, the lower the electric bills. Municipal and cooperative customers pay a third less than their neighbors served by private companies.

It is no wonder, then, as Senator Metcalf says, that the private utilities fear the yardstick of competition more than regulation. I could cite scores of cases where competition or the threat of competition stimulates the private companies to reduce rates or forestall rate increases. Let me mention only the most recent example. In Texas, the Southwestern Public Service Company has proposed rate increases in 60 west Texas towns. But in three communities, served also by municipal systems, the company has not suggested increases.

In my own State of Maine, just the threat of Dickey power has caused reductions, which I will detail later.

Today, the Northeast is the only region of the Nation without a Federal power project. It is understandable, therefore, that my region suffers from the highest power rates in the country. This also helps explain why the private power lobby, in New England and across the Nation, has organized its campaign against Dickey. The Northeast is the last competition-free preserve for the power industry, and the industry obviously wants to keep it that way.

For your background information, I would like to outline the development of the Dickey-Lincoln school proposal, and to describe its importance to my region and to the national policy of resource development.

There is more at stake in the Congressional debate over Dickey than the construction of a large multi-purpose water resource project.

At issue is—

1. Whether the private utilities will retain their stranglehold on New England;
2. Whether their lobby can squash a justified, beneficial project;
3. Whether the public interest will be represented in the planning and development of a balanced and integrated power system for my region;
4. Whether the basic national policy for resource development will survive; and
5. Whether the Northeast is an equal partner among other regions under that policy.

Let me begin by reviewing the policy and the development of the Dickey proposal.

Since 1959, I have been a member of the Public Works Committee, where the bulk of our resource development projects are reviewed and evaluated. In the nearly 9 years that I have worked with my colleagues on hundreds of projects, I have followed a simple rule: A project should be evaluated on its merits—without reference to the region in which it is located. It should be approved if it meets the tests of being in the public interest. If it contributes to the welfare of the area in which it is located, and if it is economically feasible. These are the tests the Public Works Committee and the Senate have applied.

When Dickey is examined objectively, it meets all of these tests.

The project is the product of a long series of studies beginning with the New England-New York interagency study of the late 1940's and early 1950's, coupled with the earlier Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, advocated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1959, the Joint Engineering Board of the International Joint Commission (United States and Canada) recommended the construction of the Passamaquoddy Tidal Power project, coupled with the construction of a high dam on the Upper St. John River at Rankin Rapids, which would have flooded the Upper St. John and the Allagash Rivers.

The engineering report was referred to the International Joint Commission for review and evaluation. In April, 1961, the Commission rejected the proposed Passamaquoddy Tidal Power project, but suggested possible development of the Upper St. John.

In the meantime, the National Park Service of the United States had proposed the protection of the Allagash River as a free-flowing, "wilderness" waterway.

I recommended to President Kennedy that the Department of the Interior be assigned the responsibility of reviewing the recommendations of the Joint Engineering Board, the findings of the International Joint Commission, and the recommendations of the National Park Service, for the purpose of recommending a balanced development of the resources of northern and eastern Maine.

In July, 1963, after two years of study, Secretary of the Interior Udall recommended to the President the development of the Dickey project as a flood control and hydroelectric program, designed to provide 100,000 kilowatts of low-cost firm energy, and 650,000 kilowatts of low-cost peaking power. The project would consist of a high dam on the Upper St. John in the town of Dickey, and a low, re-regulating dam at the site of Lincoln school house. The project would fit into the power requirements of Maine and New England, and would spare the Allagash. The plan was hailed by conservationists because of the protection it provided the Allagash River.

The 1963 proposal contained an additional recommendation that the Passamaquoddy project should receive continuing study, particularly with reference to technological advances.

I want to underscore the fact that the 1963 proposal, which is the foundation for the present project, was based on the concept of a generating station designed to produce the bulk of its energy as peaking power. This is absolutely essential to a soundly balanced power system in which there are very large thermal plants—fueled either by fossil fuels or nuclear energy. Dickey-Lincoln school is not an alternative to thermal plants; it is essential to their economic and efficient operation as part of a regional system.

Dickey is an eminently sound project, with a benefit-cost ratio of 1.9–1. It would provide wholesale firm energy for Maine communities at rates two-thirds below those now charged by the private utilities. It would supply essential peaking power to the New England market at rates nearly one-third below current charges and at costs lower than the best alternative proposals made by the private companies.

Since its authorization in 1965, Dickey-Lincoln school has been the subject of the most intensive re-study ever required for a public works project. The staff of the House Committee on Appropriations conducted a special study of the project, including an extensive analysis of the findings of the Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior and the Federal Power Commission. They reviewed the allegations made by New England's private utilities. The staff findings sustained the favorable verdict of the public agencies and discredited the arguments advanced by the private companies. The Senate has always supported the project. The House, however, this year disregarded the findings of its own subcommittee, and voted down Dickey.

The private power companies have claimed that Dickey-Lincoln School would not affect power rates in New England. The fact is that the threat of Dickey-Lincoln has already had an impact on the power companies of my own State.

Between 1946 and 1963 the three privately owned power companies in Maine sought increases—*but no reductions*—in their rates. Indeed, during my terms as Governor, the Public Utilities Commission was under constant pressure from power company attempts to push their rates higher and higher.

But in 1963, when the Department of the Interior recommended the construction of Dickey, the three companies, within two months of the Dickey proposal, suddenly discovered it was possible to reduce rates. The reductions weren't impressive and they provided almost no benefits for homeowners, but they were reductions. The total reductions, in 18 announcements made by the power companies since the advent of the Dickey-Lincoln proposal, have totaled $4,161,527.

It should be noted that since 1965, all but one of the reductions were announced just prior to or during the hearings and floor considerations of the Dickey-Lincoln School project.

This record is extraordinary for companies which had not sought reductions and had been busy pushing rates up for the preceding 17 years. This record and the experience of rate reductions in other areas of the country were publicly owned power projects are located indicate the desirability of competition in the power business.

In Maine, it should be noted that the rate reductions did not result in any belt-tightening by the private utilities. A study of the rate of return received by the power companies indicates that during and since the reductions, two of the three utilities involved have been getting returns in excess of the six percent normally set by the Maine Public Utilities Commission. As a result of the discussion stimulated by Senator Metcalf's and Vic Reinemer's book, the Maine Public Utilities Commission contracted for a special study of rates of return for Maine utilities. That study moved Governor Curtis to ask the Public Utilities Commission to institute a rate case seeking reductions.

The Maine overcharge problem is matched in the rest of New England. A study of Federal Power Commission statistics shows that in 1965, for instance, the New England private power monopoly overcharged New England consumers $21,034,000. This estimate is based on the normal rate of return of 6 percent applied to this industry.

A study of 28 New England power companies showed that 14 of them had a rate of return of 7 percent or more. Five had a rate of return of 8 percent or more, and one had a rate of 11.18 percent. At these rates of return, it is not surprising that New England homeowners pay up to 35 percent more for power than the national average.

The private power companies have made one other gesture in the direction of improved operations since the advent of the Dickey-Lincoln School project. Even that is a mixed blessing.

In January, 1966, the power companies released a series of advertisements, announcing the establishment of the "big 11 power loop." In and of itself, it was a confession of past weaknesses, but it promised an integrated power system for the region, based on large nuclear power plants and larger transmission lines.

Later, however, one of the power company executives admitted in a Vermont public hearing that planning for the "big 11" program consisted solely of preparing the advertisement. The House Public Works Committee could find no evidence of regional planning by the utilities, except in the advertisements.

Recent developments indicate that the underlying intent of the private companies in promoting the "big 11" proposal is not so much an improvement in reliability and service as it is another step in their effort to tighten their grip on the New England power market. They have flatly refused to permit publicly owned utilities in Massachusetts to join in a regional transmission system.

The Massachusetts case should not surprise us. What the Federal Power Commission has learned here has been echoed across the country. The FPC counsel has determined that the Massachusetts municipals were denied participation in the planning activities of the New England utilities. The FPC also found that such exclusion is detrimental to the city-owned systems and constitutes possible violation of anti-trust statutes.

Further evidence that the private utilities want to keep nuclear power all to themselves is overwhelming—in proceedings before the FPC, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the House of Representatives.

The private utilities are even trying to prevent any Federal agency from building a nuclear power facility.

It should be noted that Dickey would repay the entire Federal investment, with interest, in 50 years. It will return to the Federal Treasury nearly two dollars for every one of the $227 million in Federal funds invested in the project during that time period. It will continue to pay a substantial return on the public investment many, many years beyond the end of the pay-back period.

I have yet to hear the private power industry offer to reimburse the Federal Treasury for the nearly $2 billion Federal investment in the civil nuclear reactor program.

There are two other observations which should be made. Without a public power yardstick to gauge the operations of the private utilities, and to stimulate them to develop economies, there is little hope that the Northeast will ever catch up with the lower power costs of every other region of the country. Unless the Federal Government builds nuclear or other thermal plants in New England, and I have heard of no such proposal, the yardstick must be a hydro plant. There are few suitable sites in New England for large hydro plants. This means if Dickey fails, the chances would be slim for the success of any other Federal public power proposal for my region. In the end, without a yardstick, likelihood of meaningful reductions in power rates would be negligible. Furthermore, if the House does not reverse itself and fund Dickey, no economically feasible project, anywhere in the country, will be safe from raids by the lobbyists of private interests.

I want to point out that many of the House opponents of Dickey have been inconsistent in their positions on the public works appropriations bill, voting against Dickey—while supporting Rivers and Harbors projects in their own districts which do not measure up to the Maine project.

In the House vote of July 25, for example, Congressmen voting against Dickey had 134 projects in their districts which had no benefit-cost estimate, or had a benefit-cost ratio lower than Dickey's. These projects represented 24 percent of the total appropriations approved by the Senate for construction and planning of public works projects—$241.5 million.

I cite these figures to demonstrate that there is no justified pattern in the House opposition to Dickey, and that the House position threatens a national policy based on the merits and economic feasibility of projects.

To my mind, the inconsistency can only

be explained as the product of one of the most heavy-handed lobbying campaigns in memory.

Congressmen from districts thousands of miles from New England were approached by Representatives of their local utilities, and given erroneous information on the project.

The private utility lobby even rewrote a favorable analysis by the Federal Power Commission, attempting to show that the Commission opposed the project.

This move, carried out by the Electric Coordinating Council of New England, was the most brazen distortion of the findings of an independent Government agency in the history of Federal power projects.

From the beginning, the private power companies sought to confuse the public and mislead the Congress. The nature of the companies' campaign convinces me that their opposition to Dickey is not motivated by concern for the merits. They obviously enjoy their monopolies and are determined to maintain them . . . at the expense of the public.

The private power lobby was successful this year. We will, of course, pursue the project again in the next session, and we face a tough job. If you share my commitment to Dickey, I urge you to do everything you can to encourage support for it from your region. If my mail is any indication, increasing numbers of residents of New England and other sections are becoming alert to the high cost of power in the northeast, and to the benefits of Dickey. This concern, however, must be translated into political strength, in and out of New England.

You who understand the issue can play a strategic role in education on the issue, in organizing a regional program of support, and in carrying the fight to your Members of the House of Representatives. And in that fight, you can count on me.

Sgt. George L. Myers Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. George L. Myers, a serviceman from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

SERGEANT MYERS DIES IN VIETNAM—FORMERLY AT FORT MEADE, HE WAS WOUNDED IN ATTACK

Sgt. George L. Myers, a fourteen-year Army veteran who had been assigned until recently to Fort Meade, died December 13 at the American hospital in Long Binh, Vietnam, his wife said yesterday.

Sergeant Myers, who was 36, died as a result of abdominal wounds he received during an enemy night attack December 9 at Loc Ninh, according to his wife, Mrs. Julia E. Myers.

A native of High Point, N.C., Sergeant Myers left for Vietnam October 27.

DECEMBER 9 LETTER

Mrs. Myers said she had received a letter, dated December 9, in which her husband said he was sending his wedding band and personal possessions back to the remainder of his unit, Company B, 13th Infantry Division, which was then at Dian.

"He said if something happened to him, he didn't want the Viet Cong to get his things," Mrs. Myers explained.

Besides his wife, the former Julia Murdock, he is survived by two daughters, Pamela, 11, and JoDawn, 7; a son, Robin, 10, all of Fort Meade; and a daughter by a former marriage, Connie Lee Myers, 16, of High Point, N.C.

A Thinking American Citizen Supports the President's Surtax Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that he makes what might be considered as disparaging remarks about a Member of the House, I have deleted his name and address and made a change in the first paragraph so as not to indicate the Representative he is referring to. Otherwise, his letter and his tables are as follows without any change or correction:

DECEMBER 7, 1967.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: As you probably know, here in my state's district, we Democrats (and other reasonable common people) do not have a Representative in Congress; we have [deleted].

So after following debates, voting, etc., in the House I have chosen you as a sort of "Foster Representative" to spill some ideas to in regard to President Johnson's appeal to citizens to express their views in regard to his proposed 10% Income Surtax.

In the first place there has been a complete "blackout" of information on the main thrust of President Johnson's appeal for both his first, 6% and later 10% requests, and that is the relationship to the 1963 Income Tax rates which we lived with for 10 years without the World coming to an end, and without any massive hardship to anyone except the taxpayers in the very low brackets (which were corrected to a large extent in the 1964 Revenue Act).

President Johnson tried in both appeals to relate the Surtax figures to the 1963 rates and explain that, after all, he wasn't asking for a repeal of all the gains and benefits of the 1964 and 1965 reductions; just a "part of it back".

Well I guess he misjudged the trustworthiness of the News Media to convey his message to the taxpayers and to set the proposed Surtax figures in proper perspective to the 1963 Income Tax rates. One would think that somewhere there would be found an Editor, Commentator or News Analyst fair enough to point out that, even with the 10% Surtax the Tax Rates would still be the lowest in 25 years (excluding the present "Bonanza" rates). If any such information appeared anywhere it missed my attention and that goes for U.S. Senators and Representatives except for a few that touched on it briefly, but I am led to believe, in the case of Legislators, most Democrats took it for granted that everyone would "understand" what the President's proposal meant; while the Republicans were pretty sure that with an information "Blackout" and some propaganda they could cover up the facts.

Well I decided to take a little "Poll" among acquaintances to find out what they knew about the 1964 and 1965 Tax Cuts (people that should have known) and I came up with no one that really knew: A few said they understood that there had been a "little cut" sometime back, but most of them said they thought they had been paying more taxes and one (a Republican, of course) said "No" "All Johnson thinks about is raising taxes". After showing each of them the facts about the "savings" they have had over the past 4 years another Republican said "Well I guess I have been better off than I thought. I think I have been paying more taxes, but I guess it has been because I have been making more money." This fellow probably had savings of over a thousand dollars and didn't *know it.*

This convinces me that something should be done to correct this information "Blackout" and I am hoping that you will be willing to initiate an effort in the House to disclose the facts in the matter and insert tax tables in the "Record" to prove them. In this respect I have prepared side by side tables showing the 1963, 1964 and 1965 tax figures from the respective Income Tax return forms (after deductions, exemptions, etc. for a "Single" taxpayer together with the approximate Surtax required to reinstate the 1964 and 1963 tax rates.

As you will note President Johnson's first request of 6% Surtax would practically have reinstated the 1964 tax rates for most taxpayers while it would require about a 20% Surtax to reinstate the 1963 rates for the same group.

Just a few more "facts" that haven't been mentioned:

1. This is the first time increases in income taxes have not been made and progressively raised duirng a war.

2. Such increases have always been applied "during" the war and decreased "afterward".

3. In the present case the reductions were made at the "beginning" of the war (before the impact of the war was realized) and were for a different and opposite reason, and although considered temporary when enacted, have been continued for 4 years in the "middle" of a war, with a resultant disadvantaged revenue situation.

4. The entire opposition to the Surtax in Congress is a political "Dump-Johnson" coalition gimick between Republicans and Anti-LBJ Democrats who, in order to cripple or kill all progress in social and welfare programs, are willing to risk setting off a "cost of living" rise that will cost every one much more than the Surtax and which will hit the disadvantaged the hardest.

5. It becomes apparent that this opposition to a Surtax is primarily a convenient means to initiate a coming massive attack on the Federal graduated income tax principle as a source of Government revenue, probably in favor of an universal excise tax, which would of course simply be a massive Sales Tax imposed primarily on those least able to pay. This trend is already in evidence in the States revenue producing efforts, and has been suggested for Federal consideration in the form of an "across the board" Consumption Tax by Dr. Lutz of Princeton who frankly admits the burden would fall on the low income groups. Nevertheless it is embraced by a Republican anti-surtax Senator. (See Congressional Record, Aug. 7, 1967, p. S11076.)

I am sorry to have made this so lengthy, but I just had to get it off my chest. I hope it will be of some assistance to you. I would suggest that you verify my figures before any publication, although I have checked and rechecked, I could have made an error somewhere.

Keep up the good work.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

P.S.—Mr. Multer: I realize that time is running out in this session of Congress and in the rush to "get home" perhaps the matter gone into in my letter would get little attention if publicized at this time.

There is also the matter of what President Johnson's strategy is going to be when Congress reconvenes in January.

So I will leave the matter with you to decide.

FEDERAL INCOME TAX—SINGLE TAXPAYER

1963			1964			1965			Approximate surtax to reinstate—	
Taxable income [1] on—	Tax [2]	Bracket tax (percent) [3]	Taxable income [1] on—	Tax [2]	Bracket tax (percent) [3]	Taxable income [1] on—	Tax [2]	Bracket tax (percent) [3]	1964 rates (percent)	1963 rates (percent)
(4)			(5)			(6)				
$500	$100	20	$500	$80.00	16.5	$500	$70	15	14	43
$1,000	200	20	$1,000	162.50	17.5	$1,000	145	16	12	38
$1,500	300	20	$1,500	250.00	18.0	$1,500	225	17	11	34
$2,000	400	22	$2,000	340.00	20.0	$2,000	310	19	10	29
$4,000	840	26	$4,000	740.00	23.5	$4,000	690	22	8	22
$6,000	1,360	30	$6,000	1,210.00	27.0	$6,000	1,130	25	7	20
$8,000	1,960	34	$8,000	1,750.00	30.5	$8,000	1,630	28	7	20
$10,000	2,640	38	$10,000	2,360.00	34.0	$10,000	2,190	32	7	20
$12,000	3,400	43	$12,000	3,040.00	37.5	$12,000	2,830	36	7	20
$14,000	4,260	47	$14,000	3,790.00	41.0	$14,000	3,550	39	7	20
$16,000	5,200	50	$16,000	4,610.00	44	$16,000	4,330	42	7	20
$18,000	6,200	53	$18,000	5,500.00	47.5	$18,000	5,170	45	6	20
$20,000	7,200	56	$20,000	6,450.00	50.5	$20,000	6,070	48	6	20
$22,000	8,380	59	$22,000	7,460.00	53.5	$22,000	7,030	50	6	19
$26,000	10,740	62	$26,000	9,600.00	65.0	$26,000	9,030	53	6	19
$32,000	14,460	65	$32,000	12,960.00	58.5	$32,000	12,210	55	6	19
$38,000	18,360	69	$38,000	16,470.00	61.0	$38,000	15,510	58	6	19
$44,000	22,500	72	$44,000	20,130.00	63.5	$44,000	18,990	60	6	19
$50,000	26,840	75	$50,000	23,940.00	66.0	$50,000	22,590	62	6	19
$60,000	34,520	78	$60,000	30,540.00	68.5	$60,000	28,790	64	6	20
$70,000	42,120	81	$70,000	37,390.00	72.0	$70,000	35,190	66	5	20
$80,000	50,220	84	$80,000	44,490.00	73.5	$80,000	41,790	68	6	20
$90,000	58,620	87	$90,000	51,840.00	75.0	$90,000	48,590	69	6	21
$100,000	67,320	89	$100,000	59,340.00	76.5	$100,000	55,490	70	7	22
$150,000	111,820	90	$150,000	97,590.00	76.5	$150,000	90,490	70	8	23
$200,000	156,820	19	$200,000	135,840.00	77.0	$200,000	125,490	70	8	25

[1] After exemptions and decuctions. Maximum amount before applying bracket rate. ("Over" column in official schedule.)

[2] 1963 rates in effect for 10 years; 1964 rates 1 year; 1965 rates still in effect.

[3] Tax percent on intervening amounts.

[4] Under $2,000, 20 percent.

[5] Under $500, 16 percent.

[6] Under $500, 14 percent.

Note: Column showing approximate surtax percent required to reinstate 1964 and 1963 rates disclose that a suggested 10-percent surtax would only halfway restore the 1963 rates in the $6,000 to $80,000 brackets.

Taxable income	Accumulative tax, percent on total taxable income			Dollar tax reduction	
	1963	1964	1965	1964 versus 1963	1965 versus 1963
Under $500	20.0	16.0	14.0	(1)	(2)
$500	20.0	16.0	14.0	20	30
$1,000	20.0	16.2	14.5	37	55
$1,500	20.0	16.6	15.0	50	75
$2,000	20.0	17.0	15.5	60	90
$4,000	21.0	18.5	17.3	100	150
$6,000	22.7	20.1	18.8	150	230
$8,000	24.5	21.9	20.4	210	330
$10,000	26.4	23.6	21.9	280	450
$12,000	28.3	25.3	23.6	360	570
$14,000	30.5	27.0	25.5	470	710
$16,000	32.5	28.8	27.0	590	870
$18,000	34.5	30.6	28.7	700	1,030
$20,000	36.3	32.2	30.3	810	1,190
$22,000	38.0	33.8	31.9	920	1,350
$26,000	41.4	36.9	34.7	1,140	1,710
$32,000	45.4	40.3	38.3	1,500	2,250
$38,000	48.3	43.4	40.8	1,890	2,850
$44,000	51.2	45.6	43.1	2,370	3,510
$50,000	53.6	47.7	45.4	2,880	4,230
$60,000	57.6	51.0	48.0	3,980	5,730
$70,000	60.3	53.3	50.2	4,730	6,930
$80,000	62.7	55.5	52.3	5,730	8,430
$90,000	64.9	57.5	54.0	6,780	10,030
$100,000	67.3	59.3	55.5	7,980	18,830
$150,000	74.1	65.0	60.1	14,230	21,330
$200,000	78.5	67.8	62.7	20,980	31,330

[1] 4 percent.

[2] 6 percent.

"BONANZA" TAX YEARS

The 1963 Federal Income Tax rates were in effect for 10 years and were a reduction from previous higher rates in effect during the Korean war. The 1964 and 1965 rates were reductions resulting from the 2 part 1964 tax bill instigated by the Democratic Administration, and although the reductions were originally intended to be temporary (for the purpose of spurring the economy, the 1965 rates are still in effect.

The following examples illustrate the "Bonanza" effect of these reductions as applied to "Single Taxpayers" in different income brackets:

TAXABLE INCOME, $4,000

	1963 rates tax		"Bonanza" rates tax
1964	$840	1964	$740
1965	840	1965	690
1966	840	1966	690
1967	840	1967	690
4 years	3,360	4 years	2,810
	2,810		

550=4-year "Bonanza."

TAXABLE INCOME, $10,000

	1963 rates tax		"Bonanza" rates tax
1964	$2,640	1964	$2,360
1965	2,640	1965	2,190
1966	2,640	1966	2,190
1967	2,640	1967	2,190
4 years	10,560	4 years	8,930
	8,930		

1,630=4-year "Bonanza"

TAXABLE INCOME, $50,000

	1963 rates tax		"Bonanza" rates tax
1964	$26, 820	1964	$23, 940
1965	26, 820	1965	22, 590
1966	26, 820	1966	22, 590
1967	26, 820	1967	22, 590
4 years	107, 280 91, 710	4 years	91, 710
	15, 570=4-year "Bonanza"		

TAXABLE INCOME, $200,000

	1963 rates tax		"Bonanza" rates tax
1964	$156, 820	1964	$135, 840
1965	156, 820	1965	125, 490
1966	156, 820	1966	125, 490
1967	156, 820	1967	125, 490
4 years	627, 280 512, 310	4 years	512, 310
	114, 970=4-year "Bonanza"		

Note: If the present rates are extended through 1968 the 5-year tax savings would pay the 1969 tax bill, or nearly so for most taxpayers, and more than that for some.

Remarks of Eldon James, Newport News, Va., November 11, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, vigilance has been the byword of those who seek to perpetuate freedom. The command posts that mark our Nation's flight from tyranny, have been manned by men who sought freedom not only for themselves but for all people. Paul Revere, in sounding his alarm, has inspired all Americans to speak out when freedom is imperiled. Today, another great American is speaking out to warn us of the pitfalls that could lead us into depths where freedom does not abide.

This man is L. Eldon James, a past national commander of the American Legion and a member of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission. Mr. James served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Reserves in World War II and takes an active role in civic affairs in his hometown of Hampton, Va. His hometown has awarded two Distinguished Service Medals upon two of its citizens, and Mr. James is the recipient of one of these. The alumni association of George Washington University, where he received a law degree, awarded him the Distinguished Service Award.

Mr. James continues to serve his Nation. he accepted an appointment to serve as an observer in the Vietnam election this fall. While there he visited with American and Vietnam fighting units, and learned of the problems and the aims of our intervention in Vietnam.

Mr. James speaks from experience. He speaks as one who is aware of the implications involved in both the homefront and the warfront. He delivered the main address at the Veterans' Day ceremony at the Victory Arch in Newport News, Va., on November 11, 1967.

I insert this outstanding speech in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF ELDON JAMES, NEWPORT NEWS, VA., NOVEMBER 11, 1967

"A Nation like an individual, forgets. It forgets what it costs to lay its foundations. It forgets the struggle and devotion of its founders. It forgets those things for which patriots shed their blood, and forgets and neglects those spots consecrated by their supreme sacrifice. It forgets God." That's the way Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, former Rector of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg put an important truth many years ago.

I know of no better way to put that truth today. But it is not enough to just recognize a truth. That recognition is worthwhile only if we do something positive about it.

Over thirty-one million men and women have served our Country in the Armed Forces since the Revolution. There are over twenty-two million living Veterans today who served our land during periods of hostility. Each month that passes sees another fifty thousand added to the Veteran population. This morning let me ask you this question—what has been—and what is the significance of their service to the welfare of our Nation? That's a pretty general question so let me substitute for it two rather pointed and specific questions. I believe your answers to these two questions will go a long way in helping you to decide what we should do to overcome our readiness in this Country to forget what and who made this the greatest Nation in the world.

Here's the first question: Assume that every man and woman who has served this Nation in our Armed Forces during times of hostilities had said: "Sorry, Uncle Sam, I disagree, I'm not going to wear your bloody uniform."—Where would this Nation be today?—Would we be a Nation?

Here's the second question: Assume today that our Nation—Your Country and mine—was being governed and run by that loud mouthed . . . unruly . . . undisciplined . . . sometimes violent group of demonstrating dissenters who preach civil disobedience . . . who burn their draft cards . . . who through violence and force attempt to block orderly pursuits of law abiding citizens. What kind of a Country would we have?

You may say these are silly questions. You must admit that to even think of the answers to them is shocking. I say to you on this beautiful Veterans' Day morning, November 11, 1967, these are questions that every citizen of this Country who considers himself worthy of being a citizen should reflect on these two . . . maybe silly . . . but surely startling thoughts. Let's examine both of them very briefly.

The first is elementary . . . but it's important because there are those today who demand that they be given full opportunity to enjoy every right and every privilege this Nation affords and in the face of this demand they turn their backs on the most fundamental of all of the obligations of citizenship—the obligation to defend their Country. This very morning I have read in the local newspaper of a college professor . . . yes, mind you . . . a college professor . . . in this very State of Virginia . . . who has turned in his draft card and has refused to serve his Country in our Armed Service. I am aware of and I respect the reasons established by law for exemption or deferment from service . . . I do not speak of these. That of which I do speak is the defiance . . . the callous indifference to obligation and responsibility that must not be tolerated. It's not a pretty sight to see a person who is in a position to mold young minds and set examples for our citizens of tomorrow . . . to dramatically turn his back on the discipline of his Nation and turn tail and run from responsibility.

These are harsh words . . . I mean for them to be . . . for to permit this type of conduct to go uncorrected will eventually leave this great leader of Nations defenseless . . . a hopeless conglomeration of defenseless people engulfed in an angry sea of aggressive Nations of which there are many this very day . . . waiting . . . and watching . . . and hoping . . . we will crumble . . . Silly to ask that first question? Where would we have been if our citizens would have refused to be soldiers? No . . . my friends . . . this is no silly question . . . but it will be silly . . . yes, tragic, if we do not take a firm hand to those who defiantly refuse responsibility today.

The second question which I posed is just as elementary as the first. Where would we be with the kooks in command? This is an oversimplification . . . for they are not all kooks . . . some are misguided . . . some are just fuzzy thinkers . . . if they are thinkers at all. Some of you may differ strongly with what I have to say right now . . . But do this for me . . . right now . . . will you? For a moment, place yourself in the position where whatever decision you make on this day . . . you will have to wake up tomorrow morning fully responsible and with the full weight on your broad shoulders for the results of that decision. Now . . . while you are in that frame of mind, I say to you that in spite of the horrors . . . the blood shed . . . the continuing sacrifice . . . and the lengthening months and years of the struggle in Vietnam, your Commander In Chief and mine . . . President Johnson . . . has had little choice beyond the course he has chosen for our Country. Put some of the kooks and dissenters in charge and they would pull us out of Vietnam. And with that pulling . . . my friends . . . they would pull our great Nation down to a low point of degradation from which it would take the remnants of this land a thousand years to extricate itself. On the other hand, what would happen if we put others in command . . . those who cry out and beat their breasts and say—"Clean them out . . . Get on with it . . . Get it over with in Vietnam." Do that with recklessness and we will wake up tomorrow morning with a World War Three on our hands and all the horrors and devastation you can imagine . . . no . . . my friends . . . the precarious road we follow is not easy but I am convinced there is no other we dare to follow.

I mentioned fuzzy thinkers . . . if I started naming some, we would be here far too long. So take just one . . . yesterday, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, in challenging our Country's present policy in Vietnam, made a startling statement, to this effect: "I would not argue with them if someone could tell me what the World will be like when we win."

Well, that might sound real good to some . . . it may even sound smart to some . . . if so, then let me ask a question of Senator McCarthy and all of the fuzzy thinkers . . . "Would you care to tell us what the world will be like ten years . . . or even five years . . . from now if we pull out . . . if we give up . . . if we lose the struggle to Communists?

Maybe all of our citizens should refuse to be soldiers . . . maybe we should just give up and turn the Country over to that motley little loud mouthed group of detractors and the fuzzy thinkers . . . and maybe we should say to Hanoi . . . and Peking . . . and Moscow . . . "We're tired, fellows, come on over—it's yours . . . not only our Country but all the World . . ."

Well, my friends, I don't believe that . . . and you don't believe that . . . but we need to let the World know that. We need to do it now . . . on this Veterans' Day—and every day hereafter. Remember what those before us have done to make this land the greatest of them all. Treat sternly those who forget . . . whether they be fuzzy thinkers, draft card destroyers, or lawless demonstrators . . . to me they are very much the same. To me they are not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with those who have made this a cherished Nation.

So, my friends, on this Veterans' Day, I condemn with all my vigor those who tear down this Nation . . . and I extol with all reverence those who help to build our land. Pericles honored those who deserve honor in these appropriate words:

"So they gave their bodies to the Commonwealth and received each for his own memory, Praise that will never die: and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as occasion comes. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men, and their glory is graven not only on the stone of their native earth, but lives, far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

New Tactic in Rioting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the recent demonstrations at the Pentagon have been characterized in many ways. More recently national columnists and other people have revealed some of the truth underlying the demonstrations. One of the best columns on this subject that it has been my pleasure to see is one entitled "New Tactic in Rioting" by Miss Edith Kermit Roosevelt.

Under unanimous consent I place it in the Appendix of the Record:

New Tactic in Rioting

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

Washington.—Increasingly, anarchists and activists in the self-styled "new left" are being permitted to achieve symbolic victories in their confrontation with lawful authorities. They maneuver so they know in advance just how far they can go and to what extent they can win cooperation from the authorities they ultimately hope to overthrow.

On the floor of the Senate, reference was made to the appearance of "an opening left" during the recent Pentagon demonstrations. [The U.S. marshals and the military, operating under the overall control of the Justice Department, actually left an opening which enabled the demonstrators to achieve a token victory by entering the Pentagon building itself.] This same maneuver is being successfully duplicated in other sensational instances.

During the draft protest at the induction center in New York City, the police, in effect, entered into collaboration with the demonstrators by permitting them to achieve a propaganda victory. A New York Times story of Dec. 6, under the byline of Homer Bigart, reported:

"Finally, a police official showed Dr. Spock an opening at the end of the barricade. Whereupon, the child doctor and antiwar agitator led about a dozen demonstrators from the picket line in the middle of Whitehall Street to the building steps. There, surrounded by policemen, they were allowed to squat on the cold stones for a few symbolic moments before they were arrested."

Dr. Spock's arrest, in effect, also was symbolic. He was released almost immediately, thus being guaranteed worldwide publicity by this official act.

The next day, a similar incident occurred on the campus of San Francisco State College where militant students smashed the door of the main building, broke windowpanes and tried to set the place on fire. Their acts of vandalism, which were widely reported, give political groups the cue that vandalism and riots may be tolerated. Through a conditioning process, the authorities respond in the precise way that the demonstrators wish them to respond. A story in the Dec. 7 issue of the Washington Post, entitled "Rioting Closes Calif. College," declared:

"As the disturbances subsided, Summerskill (John Summerskill, San Francisco State College President) issued a statement that more serious violence had been averted because of the administration's decision not to send for police help. Campus guards did not interfere with the demonstrators either."

Thus, the issue becomes not the shocking fact that discussion and debates are being replaced by violence but just how far the violence can be permitted to go. The agitators are applying a classic law of the battlefield to maneuver the enemy, whom they refer to as "the establishment," into fighting on their own ground and on their own terms. This is being done in accordance with Goebbels' doctrine. The master Nazi propagandist, who was the most effective theoretician of propaganda warfare of his time, pointed out that facts were not important but only the arrangement of events so that the public would evaluate them according to the emotion they evoke.

Significantly, it is the news management practices of the Administration itself which has set the stage for these emotion-charged activities. The civil rights demonstrations in the early 1960's were not always spontaneous but frequently were events manipulated in advance between the Justice Department and the demonstrators. Thus, a precedent was established for deciding which laws could be ignored when they did not jibe with predetermined objectives. The means were justified by the end in view.

This precedent was not lost on some of the cynical, power-seeking propaganda intellectuals that are attached to universities, tax-exempt foundations and "think factories" in the private sector. An article in "The East Village Other," an underground type publication published in New York City, informs demonstrators concerning what will or will not be tolerated by the authorities. Writing in the Dec. 1–15 issue, Jules Freemond declares that "to speak of the possibilities for revolutionary guerrilla warfare in America today is an exercise in futility." What is needed at this stage, he went on to say, is "revolutionary non-violence," including such tactics as spraying whipped cream on television crews assigned to cover demonstrations, slipping pink spray incense into the air conditioning systems of buildings and wiring the cars of certain people with electronic devices set to go off with the sound of an explosion when the engine starts. These are the symbolic confrontations with authority in the same style as the symbolic occupation by far-out dissenters of the Pentagon, buildings on college campuses and induction centers. The article frankly spelled out the tactic:

"As the international situation tends towards global revolution, any actions that ridicule the establishment and its institutions will bring about a further loss of faith in the invincibility of these institutions and authorities."

These are the sorts of action which were dismissed by Attorney General Ramsey Clark in testimony before the Congress as mere "eccentric behavior." This was a signal to the demonstrators that their activities would be tolerated. After all, there is a shared feeling by propaganda intellectuals inside and outside the government that they have the right to shape opinions outside the norms of a democracy. In the coming months, the Administration and local authorities of both political parties will have to face up to the fact that in and by its own news management techniques, they have created their own enemy—a so-called "elite" of propaganda technicians that could destroy them.

District of Columbia Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act of 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I regard this bill, H.R. 14330, as one of the most constructive and significant measures to come out of the House District Committee since I have been a member of that committee.

The bill, when finally enacted and signed into law, will make the District of Columbia a model for the rest of the Nation in its approach to and treatment of alcoholism. Now that the bill has passed the House, I expect passage by the Senate early in the next session.

Most important, the measure recognizes that chronic alcoholism is a disease and not a crime. This is an enlightened viewpoint that is inevitably going to prevail throughout the country someday. But that day has not yet arrived. The example set by the city of Washington will, I hope, have a catalytic effect on other cities and States. The city of Minneapolis, which I represent, is probably not typical because it—and the State of Minnesota—have been quite forward looking in their approach to alcoholism. They have been leaning increasingly toward treatment, not punishment, of alcoholics. But the need remains for laws throughout the Nation such as the one the House has just passed.

H.R. 14330 will establish a comprehensive program for control of drunkenness and prevention and treatment of alcoholism in Washington. When the bill becomes law, it will require three types of service—

First. A detoxification or "drying out" center;

Second. An inpatient facility to provide psychological, social, educational, and vocational training; and

Third. Outpatient services, self-care assistance and therapeutic supportive environment.

The cost of this comprehensive program will not be cheap. It is estimated that capital improvements will cost $10 million and annual operation, $3.9 million.

But the cost will be cheap when measured against the staggering alternate cost of chronic alcoholism in its tragic drain upon both social and economic resources. Medical treatment of alcoholics will be a rehabilitative service to the individuals involved. They, in turn, will become contributors to, not detractors from, society. The community's law enforcement burden will be lessened appreciably, freeing policemen and judges for more relevant duties. And there will be no measuring the savings in human misery.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to my colleague on the District Committee, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HAGAN]. He deserves the major credit for this important bill's passage in the House. He drafted the legislation and, through his constant interest, made sure it would be approved by our committee.

Billion-Dollar Investment in City Slums Made Possible by Senator Kuchel's Efforts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, on September 13 of this year the life insurance companies of this Nation announced that they would make available $1 billion for construction of buildings in the depressed city core area of this country. This remarkable and significant involvement of American business in the problems of our cities was made possible by the tenacity, foresight, and leadership of the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL].

In June of 1966, Senator KUCHEL outlined a program to prevent and contain violence in our cities, and introduced a bill to empower the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to insure mortgages on buildings in ghetto areas. With the support of law enforcement officials, public authorities and interested citizens, Senator KUCHEL persuaded the Senate to adopt his proposal as an amendment to the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1966, and it was enacted into law over the opposition of the FHA. It is under this legislation that the FHA will be able to insure the mortgages that the life insurance companies will take under the announced program.

On December 6 of this year the San Francisco Chronicle published an editorial that recognized Senator KUCHEL's untiring efforts to improve our cities' slums which resulted in the legislation I have mentioned.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle and a joint general bulletin of the American Life Convention and the Life Insurance Association of America, describing the billion-dollar program, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 6, 1967]

HOT CRITICISM OF THE LOCAL FHA

The San Francisco office of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) has come under hot criticism from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights for its alleged disregard of a Federal order prohibiting racial discrimination in the sales, leasing and rental of FHA financed housing.

Though the local officials plead strict adherence to the letter of that order, their performance hardly demonstrates enthusiastic compliance with its spirit, and rather supports a recent observation by U.S. Senator Thomas Kuchel: "No matter how progressive legislation may be, there is a certain conservatism, or desire, to retain the status quo, inherent in government bureaucracy. It is rooted in both inertia and fear . . ."

The Senator spoke in relation to legislation he introduced after the destructive rioting in Watts, where rebuilding was stymied by the inability to obtain mortgage loans from lenders who were unwilling to assume risks in a riot-prone area, where insurance was virtually unobtainable. In an effort to increase resident-ownership of homes in the area and thus minimize the risk of further rioting, Kuchel brought forward a bill to permit the FHA to insure home-purchase mortgages in city riot areas.

The FHA vigorously opposed the legislation, but increasing riots induced the Senate and the House to adopt it over the FHA objections. But, Senator Kuchel reported, it was an entire year later, after riots in Detroit, Newark and elsewhere had left hundreds homeless, that the FHA moved to act on it. A month later, the FHA was testifying to its usefulness by providing mortgage insurance to more than 1,000 families and making commitments at the rate of 150 a week.

By happy coincidence, the life insurance industry is now pledged to invest $1 billion in ghetto housing, their risks being minimized by the availability of FHA insurance.

This experience, and the philosophy behind it, will hopefully become influential with the local FHA officials in developing its housing transactions with a view toward improving, not aggravating, an already serious San Francisco problem.

[A joint general bulletin from the American Life Convention and the Life Insurance Association of America, Sept. 29, 1967]

ONE-BILLION-DOLLAR LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY PROGRAM ON URBAN PROBLEMS

The purpose of this bulletin is to outline the scope, objectives and operating procedures of the $1 billion urban problems program of the life insurance business, as developed by the ALC–LIAA Life Insurance Committee on Urban Problems.

A. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM

On May 3, 1967, the Executive Committee of the Institute of Life Insurance recommended that the life insurance business should assume a larger role in seeking solutions to the serious problems that confront our urban areas. The LIAA Board, on May 19, and the ALC Executive Committee, on June 5, both gave unanimous approval to the recommendation. The LIAA Board appointed a committee, which subsequently became the Joint Committee on Urban Problems, under the chairmanship of Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Other Members of the Committee are Orville Beal, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Franklin Briese, The Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Company, T. S. Burnett, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, Abram T. Collier, New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, Francis E. Ferguson, The Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, Richard K. Paynter, Jr., New York Life Insurance Company, and Olcott D. Smith, Aetna Life & Casualty.

The Committee has held several meetings. In its deliberations, it considered many aspects of the deterioration of our central cities, including slum conditions, air pollution and transportation problems, civil disorders, and the need for better employment, education and job training. It was concluded that, while jobs and education were top priority needs, the life insurance business was best qualified to make a contribution in the areas of housing and job-creating business, in view of the extensive investment experience of the companies in the fields of mortgage finance and business loans.

The Committee further recognized that a program of substantial proportions would be needed in light of the magnitude of the problems facing our central cities. It was therefore proposed that the life insurance companies commit themselves to a pledge of $1 billion to be immediately available for investment in the city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job-creating enterprises.

The recommendations of the Committee on Urban Problems were placed before the LIAA Board in a special meeting on August 18, and were approved unanimously. The ALC Executive Committee reviewed these recommendations and adopted the proposal for participation by its membership. In addition, the Committee on Urban Problems was made a joint committee of the ALC and LIAA to carry forward its work with the combined support of both organizations.

Beginning in late August, chief executive officers of member companies were approached for an indication of willingness to participate in the program by pledging up to 1% of their assets as of December 31, 1966. The response to the proposal was prompt and affirmative; within ten days, 59 companies had subscribed well over $1 billion toward this program.

With these commitments in hand, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Fitzhugh, announced the $1 billion life insurance program to President Johnson at a White House Conference on September 13, accompanied by leaders of the life insurance business. (See attached copy of statement.)

B. BASIC GUIDELINES OF THE PROGRAM

1. Voluntary subscriptions by participating companies

Initial subscriptions from individual companies were based on 1% of total assets as of December 31, 1966. Because of the broad response, however, it is already clear that the *pro rata* share of each participating company will be less than 1% of assets to reach the $1 billion total. Member companies are requested to indicate their commitment to the program by October 15, in order that a final determination may be made as to each company's *pro rata* share of the $1 billion total. Press release of the list of participating companies will be withheld until that date, in order that each participant may have time to obtain final approval from its Board of Directors or Finance Committee.

2. Nature and scope of urban program investments

a. The Prime Objective of the program is to improve housing conditions and to finance job-creating enterprises in the city core areas. Low-income housing projects outside the core city can qualify provided they are primarily designed for the benefit of the population of the core cities.

b. A qualified project is one which, because of its location or risk, would not ordinarily be financed under normal investment practices of life insurance companies. Investments under the program are expected to carry government guarantees or insurance of principal, unless such guarantees are not deemed necessary in the judgment of the lender.

c. At least at the outset, investments will be made under existing governmental programs, particularly FHA mortgages or loans under state or local economic development programs. The FHA rent supplement program offers opportunities for constructive action. FHA loans on single-family houses in core city areas are also contemplated under the program.

d. Because of the availability of government insurance, such loans should carry interest rates no higher than the regular market-rates for mortgages on properties coming within the normal operations of life insurance investments. However, loans under Section 221(d)(3), the rent supplement program, to nonprofit sponsors or limited dividend corporations provide a statutory ceiling of 6% with only minimum discounts possible.

e. Each participating company reserves the right to select the loans it makes under the program and to negotiate the terms of each investment.

As the companies gain further experience in developing investments under this program, more detailed guidelines will be issued. It is also expected that further opportunities for investment to aid urban areas will be developed by the Committee after exploration with interested government agencies and private organizations. In the meantime, individual companies should vigorously seek opportunities in their cities of domicile and elsewhere to fulfill their commitments.

C. INITIAL OPERATING PROCEDURES

It is expected that the great bulk of the $1 billion commitment toward urban problems will be invested by individual companies at their own initiative, as they search out projects in their local areas which come within the standards of the program and participate with community groups and governmental units concerned with improving urban conditions.

As an early step, it would seem desirable for participating companies to inform their loan correspondents or regional lending officers throughout the country that they are now willing to receive loan applications under this program which have not been ordinarily considered under normal investment practices. In this way, local projects in many cities, both large and small, can be quickly brought to the attention of investment officers for examination.

Loan commitments for investments falling within the standards of the urban program, as set forth above, should be reported by each participating company to the central clearing house which has been established by the Committee on Urban Problems under the direction of Kenneth M. Wright, Vice President and Chief Economist, Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, New York. Such reporting will enable the clearing house to keep abreast of total commitments within the business as well as the progress made by each company toward fulfilling its individual pledge. A reporting form is being prepared and will be furnished to participating companies at an early date.

The clearing house is also expected to serve as the collection point for project applications which are not directed toward individual companies. Such applications may arise from a variety of private or governmental organizations, as well as from the FHA offices in Washington. Applications or inquiries received by the clearing house will be referred to participating life insurance companies according to guidelines to be developed by an Advisory Subcommittee made up of investment officers from representative companies participating in the program. Such criteria as location of the project, amount of necessary financing, and the commitment status of individual companies are expected to be used in loan referrals by the clearing house. The Advisory Subcommittee will also work with the clearing house staff to develop eligibility standards for loans coming under the program, and to assist in designing operating procedures as the program gets under way.

It should be emphasized that individual companies will assume full responsibility for investment decisions on specific projects. A limited amount of joint participation in single loans may be necessary in some cases, either to facilitate investments by smaller companies or to spread risks on larger projects. Participations in a single loan will be the exception rather than the rule.

D. LIAISON WITH DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In the development of the urban problems program, the Committee has worked closely with HUD in Washington. In order to promptly implement the announcement of September 13, the Committee authorized the inclusion in the program of 39 low-income 221(d)(3) projects for which FNMA has earmarked mortgage funds, to the extent that such loans satisfy the intent of the life insurance urban program.

A backlog of loans aggregating $38 million is currently under review, and it was announced on September 21 that eight loans in this group have qualified for commitment by the life insurance business. (See attached copy of letter to Secretary Weaver.) Referral of the individual projects to participating life companies will be made in due course by the clearing house.

It is anticipated that additional FHA insured loans will be channeled by HUD to the life insurance business under the clearing house arrangements that are being established. HUD officials have also suggested that direct contact between country-wide FHA field offices and the designated loan correspondents or regional offices of participating companies would greatly assist with projects now in the formative stages or held back by lack of available financing. In its referral operations, it will be necessary for the clearing house to establish lists of local correspondents or lending officers throughout the country which can serve as contact points for project proposals or loan applications generated under FHA-insured housing programs. Within the near future the clearing house will ask participating companies for this information.

E. PUBLICITY ON THE PROGRAM

Present indications are that each participating company will wish to prepare and handle its own publicity on individual projects which it undertakes to finance, whether such a project is channeled through the clearing house or originated independently by the company. The records of the clearing house with respect to negotiations between sponsors of projects and participating companies will be maintained on a confidential basis. However, publicity on the status of the program in aggregate terms for the entire life insurance business will be issued by the Institute of Life Insurance from time to time, based on the clearing house records of total company investments under the program.

F. BASIC DOCUMENTS

Attached to this bulletin are copies of three basic documents related to the urban problems program. It is suggested that these materials be kept close at hand together with this bulletin to serve as reference documents on the workings of the program.

Report of the Urban Problems Committee to the Board of Directors of the Life Insurance Association of America (as Revised and Adopted by the Board at Its Meeting on August 18, 1967)

Pursuant to Board action at its meeting on May 19, 1967 the Committee on Urban Problems was established to study life insurance company participation in solving the problems of our urban areas. The Committee held two meetings supplemented by a technical meeting with an investment subcommittee. Attention was focused on the need for low-income housing, job opportunities and education for those residing in the slum areas of the cities. While the Committee recognized that all three areas were essentially interrelated and should be considered together, it was believed that the life insurance business was best qualified to make a contribution in the field of housing and job-producing business.

The life insurance business is already making a substantial contribution to the improvement of housing and job creating opportunities through its residential mortgage lending and its urban renewal activities in many cities. It is the judgment of the Committee, however, that a larger role in the rehabilitation of our cities should be undertaken, and that even greater involvement in finding solutions to current urban problems is both necessary and desirable. The Committee presents its recommendations as a sound business approach to a difficult problem which faces all life insurance companies and their policy-holders.

The Urban Problems Committee recommends that the following program be adopted by the LIAA Board of Directors and the ALC Executive Committee and recommended to their respective memberships.

(1) The Urban Problems Committee be authorized to inform the Federal Government and other interested government entities that life insurance companies stand ready to provide a substantial sum, such as $1 billion, which will be immediately available to help solve urban problems, and to consult with such entities and other knowledgeable sources on ways to implement this objective. No advance stipulation would be made as to the time span over which the $1 billion would be invested and no specific commitments would be made as to future amounts or programs.

(2) The $1 billion commitment would be available for investment in any area of the urban field such as low-income housing or job-creating enterprises.

(3) The program would aim to divert funds into projects not now being financed through life insurance investments because of high risk or location.

(4) Under this program, investments would have to be guaranteed against loss by the Federal Government or other government entities through take-out commitments in the event of default, or otherwise, except where such guarantee is not required in the judgment of the lender.

(5) No specific interest rate or other contract terms would be stipulated, but it would be understood that yields near the market rate would be expected. Each company would reserve the right to select the specific projects in which it would participate.

(6) Life insurance companies electing to participate in this program would subscribe to the $1 billion commitment on a *pro rata* basis according to assets. A company's subscription made during the formulation of the program shall be regarded as tentative and may be withdrawn at the option of the company after final details of the program shall have been determined.

(7) Credit toward a company's subscription would be given for any program or project it underwrites in the area contemplated by this program, if the investment would not have been made under normal financing arrangements because of location or risk.

(8) Along with a company's own investments in urban renewal projects, additional amounts could be channeled to a joint undertaking to be administered by an industry clearing arrangement. (Presumably smaller companies would participate in loans through this joint undertaking.)

(9) The Committee would continue to function in order to implement this program and to study other areas for possible action and make recommendations thereon.

Statement to the President by Mr. Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Urban Problems of the American Life Convention and the Life Insurance Association of America and Chairman of the Board of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

Mr. President: I have the honor to report to you that the life insurance companies of this country have pledged a special effort to work toward the alleviation of the problems of the central cities. Our pledge is in accord with your call for cooperation between private enterprise and government in tackling the Nation's major domestic problems.

We recognize the size of the task the Nation faces if it is to improve the social and physical fabric of our central cities and the quality of the life of the people there.

To help accomplish this task we shall divert from the normal stream of our investments $1 billion for investment in the city core areas to improve housing conditions and to finance job creating enterprises. This amount has been subscribed by our companies on a pro rata basis according to assets.

This $1 billion capital is available as quickly as it can be used for projects which would not ordinarily have been financed under normal business practices because of their location or risk. The terms for each project will be negotiated by the particular company making the commitment.

The plan contemplates that, at least at the outset, investments will be made under the provisions of existing governmental programs, particularly FHA mortgages, or loans under state and local economic development programs. It is our intention, because of the availability of government insurance, to make such loans at interest rates no higher than the regular market rates for mortgages on properties coming within our normal operations. Existing programs offer many opportunities for constructive action. For example, the rent supplement program is probably the area into which we will move most rapidly.

Through our Associations we have sought for some time to define a larger role for our companies in the search for progress in the core of our cities where we naturally have a fundamental business interest. On last May 19, a Special Committee on Urban Problems was created, composed of top executive officers of representative companies. Its assignment was to seek ways in which the skills of our people and our investment capabilities could be more usefully brought to bear, while at the same time safeguarding the interest of our policyholders, many of whom live in the same cities. This program is the first result of that study, which we are continuing.

We want to record ourselves as sharing in the determination that the President, the Congress and the leaders in urban affairs in the United States have expressed—a determination to find ways to improve the quality of life in the cities. It is our belief that as appropriate agencies of government and the companies gain experience under our plan, new possibilities may present themselves.

Mr. President, we make this report to you in the spirit of shared concern for this difficult national problem. We believe other elements in the private sector of the country are also seeking ways to work for a solution. We earnestly hope that through cooperative effort we may achieve gains of real significance for the people of our cities and for all Americans.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1967.

HON. ROBERT C. WEAVER,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am glad to tell you that, in accordance with President Johnson's request for a prompt start in implementing the program we announced last Wednesday, the Life Insurance Committee on Urban Problems has considered for immediate inclusion in its program the backlog of 39 low-income housing projects for which the Federal National Mortgage Association has earmarked mortgage funds. We are now able to announce firm commitments on any of these projects designed to improve housing conditions for those living in the city core areas and which otherwise satisfy the standards of our $1 billion program.

As you know, representatives of our Committee have been working with your staff to review this backlog of rent supplement projects which when completed will provide 3,580 units of housing in 33 cities. This team has already reviewed nine projects, and eight of these are within the intent of our program; we are proceeding with the details necessary to complete these eight loans. We are also continuing our factual review of the remaining cases and are hopeful that most of them will shortly be qualified. The entire backlog we understand, requires financing in the amount of approximately $38 million.

Since each of these loans will now involve further communication with the various sponsors, it is premature for us to announce the names or locations of the individual projects we will be financing. However, we are pleased to note that both large and small cities are involved and that the projects range widely throughout the country.

Through this action of the life insurance companies, funds of the FNMA now committed to these projects will be released for other projects and, hopefully, will provide further stimulus to the development of low-income housing in city core areas.

We are pleased that, with your cooperation, the life insurance business has been able to so promptly take this first step toward the fulfillment of its pledge. We are, or course, working actively to locate new opportunities for implementing our program, but this is naturally a slower process than the taking over of this backlog of existing projects.

Sincerely yours,

GILBERT W. FITZHUGH,
Chairman, Life Insurance Committee on Urban Problems.

Civil Air Patrol Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, during the first week of November of this year, Civil Air Patrol held its annual national board meeting in Las Vegas, Nev. While the leaders of this volunteer organization were planning the future of their program, they held a concurrent meeting of representative outstanding Civil Air Patrol cadet leaders. The purpose of the cadet leader meeting was to obtain from the young people themselves, first hand, objective evaluation of what the cadet program could have done to it to improve it.

Civil Air Patrol represents an outstanding example to the Nation of the finest possible blending of public and private resources to attain local, State, and National objectives. It is an organization of volunteers—both youth and adult. It combines U.S. Air Force personnel and equipment on a modest scale with the equipment and talents and time of thousands of our citizens. Most important, it seems to me, in these times of lack of dialog between youth and adults is Civil Air Patrol's emphasis on seeking the opinions of its youthful members. We could all learn from this.

Montana's youthful representative to the Civil Air Patrol meeting was Cadet Ronald Frazee, of Billings, Mont. He is an outstanding young man. We in our State are proud to have him as a youthful leader. I congratulate Brig. Gen. William W. Wilcox, national commander of the Civil Air Patrol and his staff of Air Force officers, airmen, and civilians. Also, I salute Col. Lyle W. Castle, CAP, chairman of the National Board of Civil Air Patrol and all of the men and women, adult members and the boys and girls who make up the cadet corps of Civil Air Patrol.

On December 1 of 1967, Civil Air Patrol celebrates its 26th anniversary. In view of the important youth leadership training and aerospace education programs of Civil Air Patrol, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point, more detailed background material on Civil Air Patrol in general and Cadet Ronald Frazee in particular. This material was used as background when it was my privilege to award Ronald Frazee, of Billings, Mont., with the highest cadet award attainable in Civil Air Patrol.

Among the items discussed at the recent Civil Air Patrol Board meeting is the possibility of establishing a CAP Civil Air Academy. If such an institution is established and it can produce young men and women like Ronald Frazee, our Nation will be the better. Perhaps such an institution can be established at the Glasgow Air Force Base.

There being no objection, the background material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESENTATION OF THE CIVIL AIR PATROL GENERAL CARL A. SPAATZ AWARD TO CADET RONALD L. FRAZEE OF BILLINGS, MONT., MAY 20, 1967, HELENA, MONT.

(Address of Senator LEE METCALF)

Since first learning that Ronald Frazee had attained the highest cadet award possible in the Civil Air Patrol, I have been looking forward to an opportunity to present this richly deserved and hard earned recognition.

Newspaper headlines and columns detail many examples of youth who are in difficulty. All too often, outstanding examples of dedicated voluntary effort by young people—and adults who work with them—go unheralded, unannounced, unappreciated.

Today, it is my privilege to recognize a fine young Montanan who is typical of the conscientious young people who make up our real hope for the future.

Ronald Frazee is in an elite group. He is the 29th young person in the nation to attain the coveted Civil Air Patrol General Carl A. Spaatz Award.

Members of the Congress have a considerable interest in the Civil Air Patrol and the Ronald Frazees of the nation. A number of Public Laws relate to this official civilian auxiliary of the United States Air Force. These laws are an expression of confidence and trust by the people of the nation—through their elected representatives.

Cadet Ronald Frazee's recognition today is testimony and tribute to Civil Air Patrol's history of service to the nation. It is tribute, too, to one of Civil Air Patrol's and America's outstanding aviation leaders—General Carl A. Spaatz' outstanding contribution to America's aviation developments and air supremacy. Few, however, realize that while he was the Chief of Staff of the Air Force he was a great booster of Civil Air Patrol. Further, upon his retirement, he became Chairman of the Board of Civil Air Patrol. In this capacity, General Spaatz donated his outstanding organizational and administrative ability in helping guide the voluntary Civil Air Patrol members in their crucial post-war period. Thus, today, through Ronald L. Frazee we recognize a generation of young men and women, the cadets of Civil Air Patrol and their dedicated volunteer leaders—the adult senior members of this organization.

Last December first, the Civil Air Patrol celebrated its 25th anniversary. On that December day in 1941, just before Pearl Harbor, farsighted Americans like the late Gill Robb Wilson and the then Director of Civilian Defense for the nation—former New York City Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia joined the effort of many leaders and established the Civil Air Patrol. Major General John F. Curry of the U.S. Army Air Force became the first national commander of this voluntary organization.

Civil Air Patrol volunteers earned the gratitude of the entire nation for their World War II record of courier missions, anti-submarine patrol and spotting along with aerial target towing for the coast artillery, carrying priority passengers and parts, and many other important war-time missions. Some Civil Air Patrol members gave their lives in non-paid volunteer service to their country during this period.

After World War II, Civil Air Patrol entered a new phase of its continuing contributions.

By various acts of Congress, Civil Air Patrol has steadily received recognition and support for its programs. On 1 July 1946, President Truman signed Public Law 476 of the 79th Congress. This law incorporated the Civil Air Patrol as a benevolent, non-profit organization. That law details the objectives and programs Civil Air Patrol has undertaken in recent years:

"The objects and purposes of the corporation shall be:

(a) To provide an organization to encourage and aid American citizens in the contribution of their efforts, services, and resources in the development of aviation and in the maintenance of air supremacy, and to encourage and develop by example the voluntary contribution of private citizens to the public welfare.

(b) To provide aviation education and training especially to its senior and cadet members; to encourage and foster civil aviation in local communities and to provide an organization of private citizens with adequate facilities to assist in meeting local and national emergencies.

Thousands of Civil Air Patrol adult and youthful members regularly work as volunteers in meeting the broad objectives approved by Congress. Cadet Frazee is a living symbol of and testimony to the splendid programs conducted by CAP volunteers.

Further Congressional recognition of Civil Air Patrol stems from Public Law 557 of the 80th Congress. Signed into law on 26 May 1948, this legislation established the Civil Air Patrol as a civilian auxiliary of the United States Air Force.

One of the remarkable features of Civil Air Patrol is that for many, membership is a family affair. Teenage boys and girls are often Cadet members with either or both parents serving in a responsible Senior capacity.

With CAP's dedication to such missions as search and rescue, communications and aerospace education and training, it is in the forefront of the aerospace and educational leaders of the nation.

People live today because Civil Air Patrol volunteers manned the communications network and others volunteered to fly a search and rescue mission and find pilot and passengers in time to save lives.

Former outstanding CAP Cadets are serving their country well and in ways in which they use the skills and discipline learned in their voluntary classes. Many former cadets—both young men and women—are among the enlisted and commissioned members of the armed forces in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines and Coast Guard. Annapolis, West Point and the U.S. Air Force Academy number many of their enrollees as former distinguished CAP Cadets. In short, Civil Air Patrol is a genuine leadership laboratory for the youth of the nation.

Civil Air Patrol members give much to their organization and to the nation. CAP in turn does much for those who participate in its many missions and programs.

Cadet Frazee has given much to his organization as evidenced by the award with which we recognize him today. He is truly an active, giving, leading and inspiring young man. His family, community, state and nation join in recognizing him. Civil Air Patrol and all of its officials and dedicated volunteer members merit the special thanks of all Americans for the programs that make it possible for the Ronald Frazees of the nation to contribute their efforts and resources to youthful aerospace education, training and leadership.

The United States enjoys a position of world leadership in aviation. No small part of this stems from the strength of our citizens who in times of peace or war join in voluntary efforts. The Civil Air Patrol in general and Ronald L. Frazee in particular represent the highest form of voluntary contribution to this nation's security and aviation progress. Cadet Frazee, I join with my fellow Montanans in saluting your fine record of attainment. May you always remain an inspiration to those who know you and realize that you do honor to your community, your state and your nation as you wear the badge of recognition evidenced by the General Carl A. Spaatz Award. Congratulations.

Our Mexican American Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report the progress being made in bringing our Mexican American citizens into the mainstream of the American economy.

The campaign to teach new job skills to these Americans has gained momentum since your formation last June of an interagency committee on Mexican American affairs.

In those few short months, projects have been organized providing for enrolling more than 3,400 Mexican Americans in on-the-job training programs designed to make them self-sufficient members of their communities.

This brings to 6,300 the total number of on-the-job training slots for Mexican Americans approved under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

These programs are designed to serve the unemployed former farmhand or the residents of Spanish-speaking ghettos with no job skills and often with little command of English. Most of the programs are coupled with prejob classroom instruction.

Among the new programs are:

One in Texas for 750 unemployed migrant farmworkers from the Rio Grande Valley. These trainees will be job oriented in their hometowns of Harlengen, McAllen, and Rio Grande City, then relocated with their families and household goods to the Dallas area for on-the-job training at Ling-Temco-Vought Aerospace Corp.

Six in California affording training for a total of 2,600 individuals in Los Angeles, Fresno, Salinas, Santa Rosa, San Diego, and Richmond. Contracts for these projects are held by social service agencies in the various cities, with the actual training subcontracted to private employers.

One in Albuquerque, N. Mex., for training 75 Mexican-Americans under a program called Jobs for Progress, Inc.

In the programs already completed, individuals have been trained as electronics assemblers, machinists, draftsmen, office clerks, delivery truck drivers, sheetmetal workers, welders, and restaurant workers.

There have been heart-warming individual successes such as that of the young Mexican-American who, after being coached in English for several weeks, was placed in a training slot as a busboy. After working for a time as a busboy, he was promoted to waiter and is now the captain in one of the plush dining rooms in the San Diego area.

In the months to come, we shall continue to forge ahead to see that every deserving Mexican-American is given the opportunity for job training so that he may achieve the dignity of employment which is his birthright.

A Report on County Welfare Programs In the Ninth District of Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, on October 28, 1967, I met with county welfare directors in the 17 counties of the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana to discuss the problems and progress of public assistance programs. This meeting was another in a series of factfinding sessions I have sponsored to review major Federal programs.

I had been pleased with the success of my August meetings with school superintendents and hospital administrators, and the October meetings with community action program directors and leaders of veterans groups. These meetings had broadened by own knowledge of the needs and views of these important groups and I felt produced a number of constructive suggestions for improvement in programs, which I have previously summarized in separate reports and submitted to the proper congressional committees and Federal agencies for consideration and appropriate action.

The public concern is reflected in many ways. Prominent critics say the public welfare system is bankrupt, archaic, and inefficient. But when Congress tries to change the situation, as it did this year, it stirs up a hornet's nest of criticism and debate; and a Senate filibuster is avoided only because critics of the welfare changes were outmaneuvered.

Some complain that the welfare rolls are packed with bums, deadbeats and loafers, as several comments made to me recently suggest:

"I don't support giveaway programs."

"Why is the number of welfare cases going up?"

"Don't we have too many on the welfare rolls?"

"I believe we should help those not able to help themselves, but I don't favor any handouts. If they can work, make them work."

Many persons question whether the welfare programs usefully serve the poor and effectively assist those who can be redeemed from poverty. Some advocate, and others fear, strikingly different plans of public assistance, like the negative income tax or guaranteed income.

Few can understand why, in a period of prosperity, the number of welfare cases are increasing. Many just do not know very much about the present welfare system, but want to know more.

This report, then, is written to present a capsule view of our public assistance programs, especially as they operate in the Ninth District, and, hopefully, will make several helpful suggestions for improvement.

One impression from this concern and the meeting with county directors stands out: No one is satisfied with present welfare programs, and everyone thinks there is much room for improvement. All agree with the objectives of welfare programs to prevent or reduce dependency, to encourage self-care and self-support, and to maintain family life when it is adequate and to restore it when it is deficient. There is broad agreement that we should assist the blind, the indigent aged, the permanently and totally disabled, and neglected children, but there is great dissatisfaction with the way it is done.

At the outset, I should commend the Ninth District county welfare directors and their staffs for the excellent job they do in difficult circumstances. The hours are long, the pay is below what they would earn in the private sector, the work often unappreciated by the community, and the funds are short. Working with the most destitute elements of our population can be depressing work. But they are a dedicated, concerned group, and the rest of us owe them a vote of appreciation for hard work well done.

THE PRESENT WELFARE SYSTEM

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the broad outlines of our present public assistance program, a review of several of its fundamental features and some general information about it is appropriate.

The public assistance programs of the Nation are designed to provide maintenance payments and rehabilitative services to persons unable to provide for themselves and are aged, blind, permanently and totally disabled, or from families with dependent children.

Under this system the States have primary responsibility for the programs and have wide latitude for determining the nature and scope of their programs.

Public assistance programs play a role secondary to the social insurance program in providing income maintenance.

EXTENT OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM

The Federal Government provides about $4.5 billion to States for public assistance programs. The programs serve about 7.7 million people of whom 3.5 million are children, 2.1 million are older people—average age about 76—700,000 are disabled or blind, and 5 million are in families with dependent children. Of this number, about 3.7 million are children.

It is estimated that about 50,000 of the jobless fathers have a good chance of becoming employed if given proper training, and some 200,000 or 300,000 of the mothers might also become more nearly self-sufficient, if appropriate training is given and satisfactory arrangements made for the care of their children.

Thus, only 7.7 million of 32 million people in this Nation who live below the poverty line receive any support from public welfare agencies. Among those not being helped are most needy adults under 65 who are unemployed or unable to earn adequate income, many children in need because of unemployed parents, needy, disabled adults who are not considered by State standards to be both permanently and totally disabled, and persons with incomes above a State's eligibility standards, but far below the poverty level as defined.

The total cost of public assistance will reach about $7.8 billion this year, with three-fifths of this total, or $4.5 billion, representing the Federal share. Of the total amount, $2.6 billion is estimated for aid to families with dependent children, $1.9 billion for old-age assistance, $700 million for aid to the blind and disabled, and $2.6 billion for all medical vendor payments. Total public assistance expenditures, though rising, represent about the same portion of the gross national product as they did in 1950.

Of the population of the Nation, 3.8 percent receive public assistance, ranging from a low of 1.4 percent in Indiana to a high of 8 percent in Mississippi.

The Federal share of the budget of Indiana county welfare offices is about 60 percent with the State providing about 25 percent and localities providing approximately 15 percent. From July 1, 1966, to June 30, 1967, 6,165 welfare recipients in the ninth district received $3,693,025 in Federal funds. Welfare, then, is "big business" in the ninth district. A further breakdown of this Federal assistance is listed below.

Number of Welfare Recipients during Fiscal Year 1967 for the State of Indiana and the Ninth Congressional District. Number given is an average monthly number except for Medical Assistance for the Aged which is a mid-year figure (December).

Old-age assistance	19,002
Aid to the blind	1,600
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	2,000
Aid to families with dependent children	47,400
Medical assistance for the aged	1,537
Total State	71,539

NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Old-age assistance	2,300
Aid to the blind	210
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	280
Aid to families with dependent children	3,200
Medical assistance for the aged	175
Total, 9th District	6,165

CHILDREN'S BUREAU GRANTS

State of Indiana, fiscal year 1967—Federal funds:	
Maternal and child health services	$735,000
Services for crippled children	610,959
Child welfare services	1,122,458
Total, children's bureau	2,468,417

CHILDREN'S BUREAU GRANTS

Indiana—9th Congressional District, fiscal year 1967—Federal funds:	
Maternal and child health services	2,000
Services for crippled children	35,805
Child welfare services	80,177
Total, children's bureau	117,982
Total, public assistance and children's bureau—State of Indiana	37,803,678
Total, public assistance and children's bureau—9th Congressional District	3,199,982

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE GRANTS

State of Indiana, fiscal year 1967—Federal Funds:	
Old-age assistance	14,753,885
Medical assistance for the aged	1,755,661
Aid to families with dependent children	15,007,457
Aid to the blind	1,162,977
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	1,631,439
Total	34,311,419
Title V—Work experience programs	1,023,842

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE GRANTS

Indiana—9th Congressional District, fiscal year 1967—Federal funds:	
Old-age assistance	1,564,000
Medical assistance for the aged	107,000
Aid to families with dependent children	1,050,000
Aid to the blind	164,000
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	197,000
Total	3,082,000
Title V—Work experience programs	(1)

[1] There were 4 counties of the 9th Congressional District included in a 49-county project, for which Federal funds amounted to $493,043. The 4 counties are Fayette, Lawrence, Orange, and Shelby. It is not possible to determine the specific amount allocated to these counties.

WHY THE WELFARE SYSTEM GROWS

There are many reasons for the steady growth of the welfare system: population growth—especially in the dependent age groups—reduced demand for unskilled labor and increased demand for highly trained technicians, the movement of rural people to the cities, weakened family units, racial discrimination, and a society which has become more prosperous and less tolerant of poverty.

The old, the young, the disabled, the unskilled, the uneducated are the victims of the economic and social pressures of the 1960's.

The number of persons receiving old-age assistance has declined consistently since 1950 despite the increase in the age of the population because of the continuing growth in the number who receive social insurance benefits. In the aid to families with dependent children category, the upward trend from 2 million to 5 million in the last 15 years is a result primarily of the increase in the number of children in the population, together with a sharp increase in the number of families broken by divorce, separation or desertion, or headed by an unmarried mother. Also the extension of the program for aid to families with dependent children to cover children of unemployed parents effective in 1961 has contributed to the rise in the number of recipients.

PROBLEMS IN WELFARE SYSTEM

The welfare business, as any other, does not always run smoothly. In the course of my conversations with the directors and my own investigation, several problems were raised which should be noted:

First. Paperwork. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare requires the States to submit long, detailed reports on a variety of subjects, including monthly, semiannual, and annual reports on the number of persons receiving assistance and expenditures, social services provided, medical care, personnel employed, and source of funds. The States, of course, obtain this information from the county welfare directors. The directors complained that the reports are time consuming, unproductive, and exasperating. They often do not understand for what purpose the data is required and see little relationship between the information they supply and the work they must do.

The directors understand that some reports are necessary since HEW must develop policies, standards, and recommend legislation; and, in order to do this effectively, must have all kinds of factual information and data pertaining to need and present programs. Officials also must answer questions from the general public and the Congress on assistance programs across the country.

But the directors complained that far too much of the time of their trained social workers and themselves is spent in filling out forms. Much of the material is not useful to them and by the time the data is compiled and returned, it is out of date.

Second. Money. The directors were unanimous that the most pressing problem was a shortage of funds to meet the claims and demands for welfare services in their respective communities. However, since 60 percent of their budget already comes from the Federal Government, the directors look to local and State sources, as well as Federal for additional funds.

The lack of funds has been created to a large extent by the increase in the number of people on welfare rolls, and rapidly rising medical costs, particularly nursing homes and medical supplies. Of course, all costs have increased, contributing to the problem of welfare assistance, but medical costs are the fastest rising component of the cost-of-living index.

For instance, the cost for medical care for the Nation's welfare recipients rose from $211,882,000 in 1955 to $1,367,125,000 in 1965, due to increased services provided and spending costs of services.

Third. Staff. All of the directors complained that the workload was greater than they could meet with their staffs. Moreover, it is increasingly difficult to keep their staffs at present levels of size and effectiveness, much less hire additional people. Each director was concerned with the high turnover rate of his staff, caused by low salaries and a heavy workload.

In this view, the directors reflect a nationwide shortage of welfare manpower. The country needs 95,000 social workers by 1970 to meet program requirements now in being, and additional needs are being generated each year. But only 3,000 social workers now complete graduate social training each year.

The gap between the available number of social workers with graduate social work education and those estimated as needed by 1970 approaches 100,000.

There is an especially initial shortage of skilled caseworkers. Only 1 percent of the caseworkers and 13 percent of the supervisors working in public assistance and 15 percent of the caseworkers and 60 percent of the supervisors in child welfare have completed graduate social work training.

Some directors, especially from the more rural counties, voiced the opinion that the college degree requirement precluded hiring some noncollege, but otherwise qualified, people who could be social workers. But most of the directors thought that, on balance, this was a very good requirement because it upgraded welfare services offered.

Fourth. Public understanding. The directors said they needed to improve the image of welfare work in their respective communities. They felt a definite lack of interest in welfare problems by the community and even a refusal by some to admit that there were persons in the county needing public assistance. To improve this image, the directors agreed they must do a better job of keeping the county commission, county council, and the community at large informed of their problems and activities.

Like community action program directors, welfare directors must work to gain community support for their programs. In some cases, they encounter strong resistance. More often than not this resistance comes from persons who are poorly informed about the work and the problems of the county welfare departments. For example, many persons complain of "freeloaders" receiving welfare benefits. The directors all agreed this was not as serious a problem as many thought and pointed out that a high percentage of their administrative expenses go into investigations of eligibility.

Fifth. Complexity of welfare system. The multiplicity of categories of assistance causes confusion, administrative tangles, increased paperwork, unequal treatment among groups of needy persons, and denies assistance to many in need. Large numbers in desperate need, including many children, are denied assistance because of requirements unrelated to need, such as long residence requirements, age, degree of disability, low earnings, lack of provisions for emergency assistance, alleged unemployability, and unreasonable requirements of family contribution.

Sometimes the present system helps to break up, not maintain the family, as in the case of a low-wage earner, unable to provide sufficient income for his family, who becomes an absent father so his family may qualify under the category of aid to dependent children.

Some persons cannot participate simply because the State in which they reside does not participate. For example, in only 21 of 54 jurisdictions is Federal aid available to families in need because the parent is unemployed. Some States deny aid to mothers of dependent children who are employable even if no jobs are available. Some States will deny any assistance to an employed person regardless of how inadequate his earnings may be. In 1964, 40 percent of all poor children lived in families where the breadwinner, while employed year round, received wages too low to meet basic family needs.

The methods of determining and redetermining eligibilty for assistance and the amount to which the applicant is entitled are confusing, time consuming, and complex.

The current formulas for Federal financial participation in public assistance programs are too many and too complicated. Current formulas provide more Federal financial support for some groups of needy persons than for others. For example, Federal assistance for children is less than half assistance for the aged, blind, and disabled.

Sixth. Relationship with community action agencies. This year has been marked by improved cooperation and a better working relationship between community action agencies and county welfare departments. Cooperation between these groups is essential if the resources of the community are to be most effectively employed to help the disadvantaged.

The welfare directors were especially complimentary of the Operation Mainstream and Headstart programs which are sponsored by the community action agencies.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First. Reduction of paperwork. Every effort must be made by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to reduce the number and the complexity of forms local directors are required to complete. I recommend that the Department initiate an agonizing reappraisal of the paperwork it requires of county welfare directors and reduce sharply the data required. The Department should take whatever measures may be necessary, including legislative recommendations to the Congress, to sharply reduce it. These forms are becoming an enormous burden for directors. When statistical information is required, every effort should be made by the Department to advise the directors of the significance of it.

Second. Research. Far more welfare research is needed into the causes of social problems, the forces in a community that generate them, and ways to deal with them more effctively. Equally important is that the results of this research be made immediately available to local directors and officials.

Third. Public understanding. Greater efforts have to be made to improve public understanding of public welfare programs.

Few programs suffer from less public understanding than public welfare programs. The importance of communications from public welfare officials to the public and from the public to the officials needs to be greatly expanded. County directors are coming to recognize that public understanding is critical to the success of their operation. The involvement of community leaders must be sought through advisory committees, public hearings and educational programs in the increased use of all kinds of news media, and every effort made to inform public officials and the general public of welfare programs.

Fourth. Simplified formula of cost sharing. Public assistance should be based upon a uniform, simple plan for Federal-State sharing in costs of all public assistance programs. This plan should provide for equitable, reasonable fiscal effort by the States and should recognize the relative fiscal capacities of the Federal and State Governments.

If the cost of welfare were based on a single comprehensive public welfare formula, it would assure more equity in the system and sharply reduce administrative complexities. The administration of the programs would still reside with the States.

Fifth. Manpower shortage. Because the shortage of qualified personnel for social welfare programs is critical, concentrated efforts must be made to increase social workers, social work aides, auxiliary personnel, and to explore ways of using these persons to maximum advantage. Federal and State support for undergraduate and graduate social work education is essential, including funds to enlarge faculty, research staffs, and facilities.

Sixth. Public assistance based on need. The most serious consideration ought to be given to the establishment of need as the sole measurement of entitlement to public assistance, excluding the irrelevant considerations. This would eliminate the burdensome categories, assure equity of service among groups and would sharply reduce administrative redtape. Review of eligible recipients would, of course, have to continue.

CONCLUSION

If public welfare is to be improved it must receive far more attention and active interest than it has in the past. The rising tide of dissatisfaction with the system may generate beneficial changes. There is already evidence of this in the current changes adopted by Congress, requiring a new program of providing welfare recipients with work and training, complete with day-care centers, denial of benefits to any mother, father, or teenage child on the aid to dependent child rolls if they do not accept training or work, and the "freezing" of the proportion of children receiving welfare benefits because of the absence of a parent from the house.

I am hopeful this overview of the welfare system as it operates in the Ninth District will contribute constructively to the improvement of public assistance in this Nation.

The Otepka Case: "Report of the Hearing Examiner"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I have included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD various items concerning the Otepka case and wish at this time to make the public record even more complete by including the "Report of the Hearing Officer," Edward A. Dragon.

This, of course, is the report submitted by Mr. Dragon to the Secretary of State—for a final decision—after hearing testimony.

I will have extensive remarks concerning this particular document at a later date but today let me state that those familiar with the Otepka case may observe what I deem to be Mr. Dragon's lack of objectivity; his perversion of the Code of Ethics adopted by Congress for Government employees; his questionable treatment of the actions and abilities of members of the staffs of congressional committees; and, in general, his slanted approach.

Because this is an integral part of the case, I submit it for the RECORD at this point:

[In the U.S. Department of State, in the Matter of the Appeal of Otto F. Otepka—Appeal from Adverse Action]

REPORT OF THE HEARING OFFICER

1. This report sets forth the Hearing Officer's findings of fact as required by 3 Foreign Affairs Manual 1844.6 in the timely appeal of Mr. Otto F. Otepka from an adverse action of the Department of State.

2. The notice of proposed adverse action was issued on September 23, 1963 by Mr. John Ordway, Chief, Personnel Operations Division, Department of State. In the notice of proposed adverse action, Mr. Ordway stated that it was proposed to remove the Appellant from his appointment with the Department of State as Supervisory Personnel Security Specialist, GS–15, in the office of the Deputy Assistant Security of State for Security, thirty days from the date of the letter. Mr. Ordway, thereafter, set forth thirteen specifications of charges upon which the removal was proposed.

3. The Appellant, following a grant of extension of time within which to respond, and following certain exchanges of correspondence with officials of the Department answered the charges on October 14, 1963.

4. On November 5, 1963, Mr. Ordway notified the Appellant by letter that the Appellant had not refuted the charges set forth in the notice of proposed adverse action and sustained all thirteen charges. In this letter, Mr. Ordway notified the Appellant that he would be removed from his appointment with the Department of State effective November 15, 1963.

5. On November 14, 1963, the Appellant filed a timely appeal with Mr. Dwight Porter, Assistant Secretary of State. The Appellant's grounds for the appeal from the decision of adverse action were set forth in this letter which was accompanied by a Committee Print of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.

6. In his opening statement at the hearing, counsel for the Department of State (hereafter "Department") stated that the Department's presentation would be confined to the first three charges; that no evidence would be submitted and no facts would be developed with respect to charges 4 to 13 inclusive; and that charges 4 to 13 inclusive are withdrawn.

7. The hearing on this appeal, therefore relates only to the following charges, as set forth in Mr. Ordway's letter of September 23, 1963:

"(1) *You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

Specifically: You furnished a copy of a classified memorandum concerning the processing of appointments of members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

". . . all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business."

You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, Assistant Secretary of State, to Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you "noted" it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on pages 7 and 8 that you gave a copy of a classified memorandum entitled "Francis O. Wilcox, Arthur Larson, Lawrence Finkelstein, Marshall D. Shulman, Andrew Cordier, Ernest Gross, Harding Bancroft, Sol Linowitz", to Mr. J. G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel, United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary. This memorandum concerns "the loyalty of employees or prospective employees" of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State.

(2) *You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

Specifically: You furnished a copy of a classified memorandum concerning the processing of appointments of members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (31 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

". . . all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business."

You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, to Senator Eastland, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you "noted" it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on page 9 that you gave a copy of a classified memorandum entitled "Processing of Appointments of Members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing", to Mr. J. G. Sourwine. This memorandum concerns "the loyalty of employees or prospective employees" of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State.

(3) *You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

Specifically: You furnished a copy of an investigative report concerning a prospective employee of the Department to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

". . . all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business."

You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, to Senator Eastland, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you "noted" it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on page 10 that you gave a copy of an investigative report dated May 27, 1960, to Mr. J. G. Sourwine, concerning "Joan Mae Fogltanz". This report concerns "the loyalty of employees or prospective employees" of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an office[r] of the Department of State."

8. The Appellant admits that he furnished the memoranda specified in charges (1) and (2) and the investigative report specified in charge (3) to Mr. Julien G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel, United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary. The Appellant denies, however, that the submission of the two memoranda and investigative reports to Mr. Sourwine was in violation of the President's Directive of March 13, 1948. In his defense, the Appellant states that the two memoranda and investigative report fall outside the purview of the Presidential Directive and that the furnishing of the two memoranda and investigative report did not constitute conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State under the circumstances of this case. The Appellant states further that he was under a duty to produce these papers as a part of his testimony before the Senate subcommittee; that there was a well-organized conspiracy within the Department of State to destroy him; and that the Department had no way to establish what constituted "conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State" in the light of its condonation of the conduct of several officers of the Department. The reason for the alleged conspiracy against the Appellant is stated to be that the Appellant insisted on the application of good security practices within the Department. Finally, the Appellant states that he had the right to furnish the two memoranda and investigative report pursuant to a provision of law (5 U.S.C. 652(d).)[1]

APPELLANT'S EMPLOYMENT BACKGROUND

9. The Appellant is a longtime employee of the United States Government. He first entered on duty with the United States Government in July 1, 1936 with the Farm Credit Administration. He was appointed to the Civil Service Commission as an investigator in July 1942. Appellant continued to serve with the Civil Service Commission as an investigator or as a personnel security specialist until June 1953, except for a period of service with the United States Navy. Appellant's service in the Navy ran from October 1943 to March, 1946.

10. Appellant came to the Department of State on June 15, 1953, at which time he was appointed to the position of personnel security evaluator in the Office of Security. On October 25, 1954, the Appellant was named Chief of the Division of Evaluations, and on April 7, 1957, he was appointed to the position of Deputy Director, Office of Security. Appellant served as Deputy Director of the Office of Security until January 21, 1962, at which time the position of Deputy Director was abolished and he was reassigned to the position of Chief of the Division of Evaluations. The Appellant occupies this position at the present time, being detailed, however, away from his duties as Chief of the Evaluations Division since June 27, 1963. Appellant entered the State Department at the salary scale of GS–13 and is currently serving at the GS–15 level, having been first promoted to this level on June 19, 1955.

11. The record herein shows that the Appellant's performance was rated highly for a long period of time and received several commendations for his work. The Appellant has not, however, been rated subsequent to September 30, 1960, except that his work was certified to as being of an acceptable level of competence on May 31, 1963.

FINDINGS ON THE CHARGES

12. Based upon my consideration of all the testimony and evidence on record in the Appellant's case, I find that the Appellant delivered the two memoranda and investigative report to a person outside of the Department of State without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 FR 1359). I find that this action is conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State. I find no extenuating circumstances which would mitigate the delivery of the two memoranda and investigative report to the person outside the Department.

FINDINGS OF FACT AS TO DELIVERY OF TWO MEMORANDA AND AN INVESTIGATIVE REPORT OUTSIDE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

13. In 1961, a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, undertook an investigation of the security practices of the Department of State. A lengthy series of hearings were held by the subcommittee as a part of this investigation. Numerous officers of the Department of State and more patricularly, of the Office of Security were called as witnesses in the hearings. The Appellant, as well as his immediate superiors, Mr. William O. Boswell and Mr. John F. Reilly,[2] appeared as witnesses before the subcommittee.

14. In one of the phases of the hearings before the subcommittee, Appellant appeared during the months of February and March, 1963. On March 19, 1963, Mr. Sourwine, Chief Counsel of the subcommittee, met with the Appellant at which time Mr. Sourwine advised the Appellant of his doubts about Mr. Reilly's reliability as a witness. The Appellant was requested by Mr. Sourwine to furnish the latter with suggestions for the examination of Mr. Reilly. Mr. Reilly was scheduled to testify before the subcommittee on April, 1963. The Appellant prepared a memorandum of suggested lines of examination for Mr. Reilly.

15. Mr. Reilly appeared before the subcommittee as a witness on April 25, 1963. The substance of the testimony presented by Mr. Reilly on that day was conveyed to the Appellant by Mr. Benjamin Mandel, a member of Mr. Sourwine's staff. The Appellant then called Mr. Sourwine and advised the latter that Mr. Reilly's testimony was inaccurate. Mr. Sourwine requested the Appellant to come to Sourwine's office where the Appellant was permitted to read a transcript of Reilly's testimony. The Appellant advised Mr. Sourwine of the areas wherein Appellant felt that Reilly had given erroneous testimony.

16. At a subsequent appearance of Reilly before the subcommittee, on April 30, 1963, Mr. Sourwine examined Reilly on the subject matter of the discussions between Appellant and Sourwine with respect to Reilly's testimony of April 25, 1963. At this session of the hearings, Mr. Sourwine also examined Reilly along the lines suggested by the Appellant earlier.

17. On May 21, 22, and 23, 1963, Reilly again appeared as a witness before the subcommittee. Following the session of May 23, 1963, and on the same day, Mr. Sourwine requested the Appellant to come to the former's office. At the meeting the Appellant was given a copy of the transcript of Reilly's testimony for those days and discrepancies between testimony given by Reilly and by Appellant were discussed. Mr. Sourwine then told the Appellant to produce whatever he could to show that Appellant was correct and Reilly was wrong. Mr. Sourwine did not tell the Appellant what information the Appellant should produce, but otherwise directed the Appellant "to put up or shut up."

18. The Appellant then prepared a lengthy memorandum for Mr. Sourwine which pointed out the differences in the testimony of Appellant and Reilly and where the Appellant felt that Reilly was untruthful. Various memoranda and other papers were gathered together by the Appellant as exhibits to the memorandum including copies of the three papers specified in the charges.

19. The memorandum referred to above, along with its exhibits, including the papers specified in the charges, were delivered to Mr. Sourwine by the Appellant on or about June 3, 1963.

20. On August 12, 1963, the Appellant appeared before the subcommittee in a hearing at which time the memorandum prepared by the Appellant, along with its exhibits, were introduced as part of the subcommittee hearing record. Mr. Sourwine did not call the attention of the subcommittee members to the three specified documents prior to the hearing of August 12, 1963, nor did Mr. Sourwine call this matter to the attention of the presiding member for the hearing of August 12, 1963 except to note that there was a classified paper among the exhibits attached to the Appellant's memorandum.

21. The record before me shows that the chief counsel of the subcommittee did not accord the same treatment to the principal witnesses concerned in the present charges. Thus, with respect to Reilly, Mr. Sourwine did not review the hearing transcripts informally with Reilly as he did with the Appellant. Mr. Sourwine testified in this hearing that he assumed that Reilly was reading all

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[1] Now 5 U.S.C. 7102.

[2] Mr. Boswell was Director of the Office of Security from 1959 to April, 1962. Mr. Reilly was appointed to this office, as Deputy Assistant Secretary, on April 16, 1962.

the transcripts since the transcripts were forwarded to the Department. At one point Reilly indicated to Mr. Sourwine that he (Reilly) had not read a particular transcript. With respect to the witness Boswell, Mr. Sourwine assumed that he (Boswell) had not read the transcript. The reasons for such difference in treatment of witnesses from the Department of State does not appear clearly in the record before me. It may have been a technique utilized by Mr. Sourwine to elicit information or it may have been due to Mr. Sourwine's opinion that Reilly was unreliable and untruthful. Whatever the reason, it appears to me that the difference in handling the Appellant, as a witness, and Reilly, as a witness, contributed to the Appellant's violation of the Presidential Directive.

22. From the complete record before me, I find that strong differences of opinion arose between the Appellant and Reilly as to various operations of the Office of Security. These differences, between two qualified personnel of the Department, became intensely personal and spilled over into the hearings being conducted by the Senate subcommittee.

23. The Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948, was addressed to all officers and employees of the Executive Branch of the Government. The record shows clearly that the Appellant was quite familiar with the directive and had declined requests, from time to time, for information on the grounds that he was without authority to disclose the information requested. The record also shows that he had referred a request from the Committee on the Judiciary for certain documents to his superiors. Assistant Secretary of State, Frederick G. Dutton, in a letter dated March 20, 1963, to Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, advised the Chairman that a copy of a certain Foreign Affairs Circular, classified confidential, would be furnished to the Committee but that other documents and memoranda could not be made available in view of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948. A copy of the Assistant Secretary's letter was furnished to the Appellant for his information as to the action taken upon the requests made by the Committee to the Appellant.

24. There appears no reason for Appellant not to have followed the same procedures with respect to the request by Mr. Sourwine to furnish information which would show Reilly's alleged untruthfulness. Mr. Sourwine did not request, specifically, the documents furnished to him by the Appellant. The demand "to put up or shut up" remained with the Appellant for implementation. Here, there was an area for the Appellant to remind Mr. Sourwine of the Appellant's obligations with respect to the Presidential Directive of 1948, so long as the Appellant felt the documents furnished to Sourwine were of critical importance to the Subcommittee's consideration of security practices in the Department of State.

FINDINGS WITH RESPECT TO WHETHER THE TWO SPECIFIED MEMORANDA AND INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ARE WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE

25. The Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 is set forth fully in the record. It is a simple and clear statement of the President that all reports, records and files relating to the Employee Loyalty Program of the Executive Branch must be preserved in strict confidence in order to ensure the efficient and just administration of that program. The Directive thereafter prohibited the disclosure of information relating to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees except as required in the efficient conduct of business. It appears that the President considered the matter sufficiently serious to merit his personal attention since he then stated that any request for loyalty information should be referred to him. More specifically the Directive requires officers and employees in the Executive Branch of the government, when presented with a subpena request or demand for loyalty information, to two actions: (1) respectfully decline the subpena, request or demand, citing the Directive as authority, and (2) refer the subpena, demand or request to the Office of the President for such response as the President may determine to be in the public interest in the particular case. Finally the President directed that there should be no relaxation of this rule without his express authority. This Directive remains in full force today, through and into the administration of four Presidents.

26. On March 28, 1952, the then Secretary of State Dean Acheson sought the guidance of the President with respect to requests from members of a Senate Appropriations subcommittee for detailed information on the administration of the Department of State's loyalty-security program. The then President Truman responded to the Secretary's request in a letter dated April 3, 1952. In his letter, the President summarized the categories of information sought by the Senate subcommittee, as follows:

"1. The complete files in specified loyalty-security cases, detailed information concerning the substance of investigative reports in certain additional cases, and the procedural steps and actions taken in the handling of various individual cases.

"2. The names of all present and former State Department employees who have been investigated under the Federal Employees Loyalty Program or the Department's security program, together with the status or the disposition of their respective cases.

"3. The names of all employees who resigned or retired from the Department while under investigation or during processing of their loyalty-security cases.

"4. The names of State Department officers who sat as members of the Loyalty Security Board on a particular case, and the way each officer voted."

The President advised Secretary Acheson that most of the information desired by the subcommittee fell within his Directive of March 13, 1948. The President also stated that the information sought by the Appropriations subcommittee could not be considered solely from the standpoint of the Department of State alone. The interests of the entire Executive Branch and the operations of the Federal Employees Loyalty Program was deemed to be paramount. The President then advised the Secretary not to furnish the information requested by the subcommittee, "for to do so would be clearly contrary to the public interest".

27. The question presented here is whether the two memoranda and investigative report come within the scope of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948. In making this determination, I considered also the amplifying remarks of the President in his letter of April 3, 1952 to Secretary Acheson.

28. The Appellant's view of this question is that none of the papers fall within the purview of the Presidential Directive. The Appellant states that most, if not all, of the information in the two memoranda is public knowledge and in the public domain. With respect to the investigative report, the Appellant states it is a highly favorable report and contains no derogatory information.

29. The import of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 and Presidential letter of April 3, 1952 extends to all loyalty information, investigative reports, names of employees investigated under the program and procedural steps taken in the handling of individual cases.

30. I find that the two memoranda furnished by the Appellant to Mr. Sourwine come within the scope of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948. Both memoranda disclose the names of persons undergoing security clearance procedures. State Department Exhibit 7 shows unresolved derogatory information of two persons and the need for further investigation of these persons. Recommendations for further security procedures with respect to three other individuals named in the memorandum also appear. State Department Exhibit 8 shows that full security clearances were issued for two persons named in State Department Exhibit 7 and that a third clearance would be issued shortly. The disclosure of the names and the specific steps being taken in connection with the security processing of the persons named in the memoranda are matters which are prohibited from disclosure by the Presidential Directive.

31. The report on the background investigation of the prospective employee named in State Department Exhibit 9 is clearly an investigative report within the terms of the Presidential Directive.

FINDINGS OF FACT WITH RESPECT TO EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES IN MITIGATION OF THE CHARGES

32. In defense of the charges brought against him, the Appellant states that there was, and had been, for a period of time, a well-organized conspiracy in the Department of State, led by the Appellant's superiors to oust him from the Department. The Appellant has characterized this conspiracy as a design to "get rid of Otepka". Appellant states further that the charges herein are a part of that design.

33. I consider this defense in three ways, first, that the charges herein are a part of the conspiracy; second, that the alleged conspiracy gives rise to extenuating circumstances compelling the Appellant to deliver the two memoranda and investigative report to the chief counsel of the Senate subcommittee; and, third, the state of Appellant's mind, in believing that a conspiracy existed.

34. With respect to the allegation that the charges herein are a part of conspiracy, I refer to my previous findings of fact as to the delivery of the papers to the subcommittee's chief counsel. I found there that these papers were transmitted to the chief counsel as part of Appellant's means to show that his superior, Reilly, had not testified truthfully before the subcommittee. On August 12, 1963, the Appellant was asked whether there was any reason why, all the exhibits to his memorandum (including the papers specified in the charges) should not go into the subcommittee record. The Appellant responded that "Based on my knowledge of the contradictions of Mr. Reilly in his testimony, I feel that I am entitled to submit that material for the record." I find nothing in the record to indicate that the Appellant was induced by any officer or employee of the Department to deliver the papers to the subcommittee. This was a voluntary act by the Appellant for the reasons that Appellant stated as quoted above. I find, therefore, that the charges herein are not part of an unlawful conspiracy to oust the Appellant from his position in the Department.

35. The second part of the defense of conspiracy relates to the consideration of an alleged conspiracy in mitigation of the charges. In presenting his defense, the Appellant related a series of events in chronological order in support thereof. It has been difficult to separate, each of the precise events relied upon to show a conspiracy, from actions taken in particular security clearances, investigations and other activities within the Office of Security as related by the Appellant. The Appellant concedes that, standing alone, none of the events relied upon, would be conclusive. The Appellant states, however, that considered together, these events establish a pattern fairly leading to the conclusion that a conspiracy existed to oust the Appellant from the Department. I list here, in summary manner, and with a consideration of the entire record, the principal events which I discern

the Appellant is relying upon to show the existence of a conspiracy:

(1) The request, in October, 1960, by Mr. John W. Hanes, Jr., then Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, and by Mr. William O. Boswell, Director of the Office of Security, for the Appellant to undertake a special project entailing the updating of the personnel security files of State Department personnel. When assigned to this task, Mr. Boswell requested the Appellant to relinquish his position as Deputy Director of the Office of Security in order that Appellant might devote full time to the project.

(2) The Appellant's participation in an investigation of a leak of information to the Kennedy Campaign Headquarters from the State Department and involving the "Sprague Committee's" report on United States prestige abroad.

(3) Appellant's participation in a meeting in December, 1960, with Secretary of State-designate Dean Rusk and Attorney-General-designate Robert Kennedy involving the requirements of the Department's security office with respect to the investigation, evaluation and clearance of presidential appointees to the State Department. The Appellant's recommendation against the use of emergency clearance authority and strict adherence to requirements of pre-appointment investigations appears here as an inference of conflict with the views of Mr. Rusk and Mr. Kennedy. Additionally, Mr. Kennedy's alleged comment with respect to Air Force Security personnel and Mr. Kennedy's demeanor toward the appellant at this meeting is suggested as evidence of personnel antagonism toward the Appellant, and in the picture as a whole, evidence of a part of the conspiracy.

(4) In September, 1960, the assignment by Mr. Boswell of an individual to the Division of Evaluations as deputy chief. This individual is alleged to have failed to report a long series of security violations at a foreign post. Mr. Boswell's overruling of the Appellant's (and another's) objections, of the assignment of this person to Appellant's office is the significant factor here.

(5) Appellant's participation in the security examination of the case of William A. Wieland and recommendations made in this case, as well as Appellant's refusal to follow oral instructions for the issuance of a security clearance.

(6) The reduction in force within the Office of Security in late 1961 and early 1962 whereby the position of Deputy Director of the Office of Security was abolished. Appellant occupied this position at the time. Appellant was subsequently assigned to his present position.

(7) Appellant's consideration and recommendations in the case of John L. Topping wherein Appellant pointed out that the Department's investigation was inept and where Topping was subsequently cleared for appointment as United States Representative to the Council of the American States.

(8) The Appellant's recommendation in February, 1962, that the Wieland case be reopened in the light of new evidence developed by the Appellant. Mr. Boswell, according to Appellant, ignored the recommendation.

(9) The disclosure by the Appellant to Mr. Boswell of back-dating of security waivers.

(10) The deletion by Mr. Boswell from a summary report to the Secretary of State of the details of a family fight involving a prospective presidential appointee. This is said to have been in violation of the professional duties of evaluators and caused trouble and confusion among Appellant's staff who had been instructed to report all information to management officials.

(11) The transferral in April, 1962, from the Appellant's Division, the function of receiving, reviewing, evaluating and disseminating intelligence information received from other government agencies.

(12) The appointment of John F. Reilly from the Department of Justice to head the Office of Security, in April 1962, upon the recommendation of Mr. Andrew Oehmann, Executive Assistant to the then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. The inference here is that the Attorney General engineered Reilly's appointment to the Department to complete the conspiracy. The Attorney General's distaste for the Appellant's views, as noted previously in the December 1960 meeting, is cited as the motivating factor.

(13) The next significant event is the selection of the Appellant, in May 1962, to attend the National War College in August 1962 for a course of studies lasting ten months. Reilly transmitted the notice of selection to the Appellant soon after Reilly assumed office. This is regarded by the Appellant as a prompt taking up of the conspiracy. Later, Reilly told Appellant that the Appellant's position would be filled in behind Appellant and that Reilly had no plan to return Appellant to the personnel security field.

(14) The assignment in June 1962, by Reilly of Frederick Traband, as deputy to Appellant without consultation with the Appellant. The Appellant was of the view that Traband was not qualified by experience to fill that position.

36. I agree with the Appellant, that none of the events mentioned hereinbefore, nor any of the many other events related by the Appellant, taken by themselves, show the existence of a conspiracy to oust him from his position in the Department of State. Upon a full consideration of the record I find, that taken as a whole, the events do not disclose such a conspiracy.

37. Most of the events relate to management actions which appear reasonable on the face of the facts of each event. Something more is needed in the way of evidence to tie in all the events as part of a conspiracy. Reliance on a fair inference is insufficient to tie these events together.

38. (A) For example, the Appellant's feeling of antagonism toward him by Attorney General-Designate Kennedy, as well as an alleged comment by Mr. Kennedy on the judgment of other persons is no evidence of a conspiracy.

(B) The evidence in this record with respect to Appellant's appointment to the National War College raises no inference of conspiracy. This is an incident described by the Appellant as one of Reilly's prompt moves to oust the Appellant. An inconsistency appears in the evidence here. The memorandum which the Appellant furnished to Mr. Sourwine and made a part of the subcommittee's record relates this incident as a testimonial to the Appellant's good work performance. The statements made by Mr. Herman Pollack and Lt. Gen. Francis H. Griswold, Commandant of the National War College at the time, in high praise of the Appellant were referred to in Appellant's memorandum as well as in the hearing before me. The statement made by Mr. Pollack discloses the reason for the selection of Mr. Otepka at a later date. Mr. Pollack advised one of Appellant's superiors that the personnel office had completed the selection of Foreign Service Officers for advanced training but had not yet completed the selection of Civil Service Officers for the program. In the hearing before me, the Appellant deprecated the need for more advanced training for himself as a career security officer. In the Appellant's memorandum delivered to Mr. Sourwine, Appellant charged Reilly with the view that Appellant's advanced training might make the Appellant a contender against others and possibly Reilly himself, for a high ranking job in the security office. No suggestion was made in the memorandum that Appellant's selection was tied to a conspiracy. I cannot read a fair inference into this incident that it was a part of a conspiracy to oust the Appellant.

(C) The appointment of Reilly, from a position within the Department of Justice, to the Department is viewed by the Appellant as a conspiratorial act, particularly in the light of the fact that Reilly was recommended for the position by Andrew Ochmann, an Executive Assistant to the then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. The Appellant, during cross-examination, conceded that Reilly was one of the best qualified heads of the Department's security office. In his testimony in this hearing, Reilly denied that he talked to Ochmann, or to anybody else at the Department of Justice, about the Appellant. I have also considered and reviewed carefully that portion of the transcript in this case relating to Reilly's testimony before the subcommittee, Mr. Sourwine's comments on that testimony, and the position of both parties as to the effect of that testimony. On balance, I cannot make a fair inference that the appointment of a qualified person to the Department was a conspiratorial act.

39. With respect to the third way in which I considered the conspiracy defense, I find that Appellant did not deliver the papers specified in the charges to on the grounds that a conspiracy existed against him. I refer to my previous findings herein where I found that the papers were delivered to Mr. Sourwine to show that Reilly was untruthful in his testimony before the subcommittee. Nothing in Appellant's memorandum of comments on Reilly's testimony shows that Appellant felt a conspiracy was in existence to oust him from the Department.

40. In view of my finding that there was no conspiracy within the Department of State to oust the Appellant from the Department, I find that the high offices of the Department, including that of the Secretary of State, were open to the Appellant wherein he could advise those officers of the problems, and more particularly, those offices were open to him for consultation as to whether the papers specified in the charges should be made available to the Senate subcommittee.

FINDINGS AS TO WHETHER THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CASE AND FIDELITY TO APPELLANT'S OATH REQUIRED THE DELIVERY OF THE SPECIFIED PAPERS TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE

41. I have previously discussed and made findings of fact with respect to how the papers specified in the charges were delivered to the Senate Subcommittee and refer further to those findings. I consider here the Appellant's defense that he was required by his oath to tell the full truth, including the disclosure of the papers in support of his testimony.

42. The Code of Ethics for Government Service, 86th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 103, passed by the Congress of the United States on July 11, 1958, states, in part:

"Any person in government service should:

"I. Put loyalty to the highest moral principles and to country above loyalty to persons, party, or Government department.

"I. Uphold the Constitution, laws and legal regulations of the United States and of all governments therein and never be a party to their evasion. . . ."

I consider the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948, as a positive regulation for the conduct of Executive Branch personnel in the administration of the employee loyalty program. The Directive is reasonable enough, setting forth a procedure whereby loyalty-security information can be made available to the Congress. I find that the Appellant, as an employee of the Executive Branch, is bound to the proper implementation of the Presidential Directve. The Code of Ethics for those in Government Service requires adherence to a proper regulation and requires further, that no government employee be a party to the evasion of a legal regulation. The Appellant has requested a consideration of all the circumstances of this case which he states permit him to apply a different rule. I have so examined all the circumstances of the case and find no reason to evade the application of the foregoing rule.

FINDINGS AS TO WHETHER THE APPELLANT'S CONDUCT FALLS BELOW THE STANDARD AND PATTERN ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AND APPROVED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

43. The Appellant has introduced into the record, information with respect to many instances wherein he believes that the Department has condoned misconduct moral or otherwise, and breaches of regulations. In his brief, the Appellant summarizes some 18 cases of this type. The Appellant urges that these cases show that the Department has established no standards by which he may be judged. Further, the Appellant testified that in determining his course of conduct in delivering the specified papers to the Senate subcommittee, he had these cases in mind.

44. Each of the charges is stated by the Department to be conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State. The standard of conduct which I find applicable is the standard in the Code of Ethics for those persons in Government service, as set forth previously in paragraph 42. The standard is that a person in the Government service is to uphold the Constitution, laws and regulations of the United States . . . and never be a party to the evasion of these laws and regulations. This standard of conduct is simple, clear and concise. It applies clearly to the conduct of the Appellant in this case.

45. All of the testimony offered by the Appellant relating to eighteen or more situations wherein the Department is alleged to have condoned misconduct or breaches of regulations is immaterial to the factual findings in the Appellant's appeal. I believe that if deemed to be material, I would have to receive and consider all evidence in each case cited by the Appellant and render a decision in each such case. I do not believe that the law requires such action, since, even if another's misconduct is proved beyond doubt, the Appellant cannot rely on another's misconduct as authority for his own actions.

46. On the other hand, the information submitted by the Appellant in this regard, may, I believe, be considered by the Secretary or other person deciding this appeal with respect to the question as to whether a dismissal from the Department is the appropriate action to be taken in this case.

47. I find, therefore, that a breach of the Code of Ethics for those in Government is a proper standard by which the Department may judge that the Appellant's conduct constituted conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.

APPLICABILITY OF 5 USC 652(d)

48. The parties have agreed that the question of whether 5 USC 652(d) allowed the Appellant to deliver the specified papers to the Senate subcommittee without regard to the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948, is a legal issue to be decided by the authority designated to decide this appeal. For this reason, I make no findings on this issue.

Date: December 5, 1967.

EDWARD A. DRAGON,
Hearing Officer.

Capt. William Keys Presented Navy Cross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action" runs in the Morgan family. Capt. William Keys, nephew of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, was recently awarded his third major medal for bravery while serving with the 9th Marines in Vietnam.

Captain Keys was presented the Navy Cross on December 5 in a ceremony at Marine Headquarters, Quantico. Captain Keys previously received the Silver Star and the Bronze Star medals while serving as commanding officer of D Company, 1st Battalion, 9th Marines, 3d Marine Division in the Republic of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, Captain Keys' citation for his most recent citation, the Navy Cross, contains this language:

> The company command post received heavy automatic weapons and mortar fire from the rear. Realizing that his rifle platoons were heavily engaged, Captain Keys organized his command group into an assault element and led them against the enemy . . . personally leading his small group against a numerically superior force, he succeeded in completely overruning the North Vietnamese, personally killing six and destroying a machine gun position.

The citation for his Silver Star reads in part:

> When the lead platoon was temporarily halted, he unhesitatingly and fearlessly led the assault on the enemy positions. Shouting encouragement to his men, Captain Keys heroically closed with the enemy in hand to hand combat in the dense underbrush and personally killed four of them.

Capt. William Morgan Keys was commissioned a second lieutenant after his graduation from the Naval Academy in 1960. He had previously attended East Bethlehem High School. This is the same high school his uncle attended. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Keys live in Fredericktown, Pa.

Mr. Speaker, Captain Keys is a marine's marine. He exemplifies the courage, the determination, and the patriotism that has been the heart of the Marine Corps since 1775.

Mr. Speaker, while Captain Keys was serving his country in Vietnam, his uncle, Congressman THOMAS MORGAN, has been serving with no less courage here in the Congress to bring that conflict to an honorable end and to set this country on a course of compassion for our less developed brothers, a course which we all hope will bring the world to a lasting and stable peace.

Captain Keys deserves our special thanks and gratitude for his sacrifices and courageous service to this Nation. "Doc" MORGAN, as always, deserves our respect, admiration, and appreciation for his efforts and leadership in bringing a sense of balance and compassion to this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point the citations Capt. William Morgan Keys has been awarded for the Navy Cross, the Silver Star, and the Bronze Star.

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Captain William M. Keyes, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation: "For extraordinary heroism as Commanding Officer, Company D, First Battalion, Ninth Marines, while engaged in action against elements of the North Vietnamese Army and insurgent Communist (Viet Cong) forces during Operation Prarie II in the Cam Lo district of the Republic of Vietnam on 2 March 1967. While on a search and destroy mission, Captain Keys' company made contact with a large enemy force estimated to be two companies in strength. During this contact, the company command post group received heavy automatic weapons and mortar fire from the rear. Realizing that his rifle platoons were heavily engaged, Captain Keys organized his command group into an assault element and led them against the enemy, who were firing into his position. Personally leading his small group against a numerically superior force, he succeeded in completely overrunning the North Vietnamese, personally killing six and destroying a machine gun position. Immediately following this fire fight he rushed to the rear of his center platoon where he could best direct the deployment of his company. During the next four hours his company repelled attack after attack by a determined enemy. This period found Captain Keys along the entire line of his company, shouting encouragement, shifting forces to meet each new attack, and successfully directing all aspects of his company's firepower and supporting arms. Following the enemy's last attack, Captain Keys immediately reorganized his company and attacked the enemy before they could withdraw to a safe area. While completely overrunning the enemy camp, his company succeeded in killing 183 North Vietnamese soldiers and capturing eight prisoners and nearly 200 weapons. Realizing that the surviving enemy would attempt to circumvent his company during the oncoming darkness and escape to the north, Captain Keys placed his company in a blocking position, thereby forcing the enemy to withdraw into a prearranged zone where they were pounded by air and artillery resulting in 44 more enemy killed. As a result of his professional skill and stirring example, the enemy forces in his area of operations were completely routed. By his daring performance and loyal devotion to duty in the face of great personal risk, Captain Keys reflected great credit upon himself and the Marine Corps and upheld the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service."

For the President:

PAUL R. IGNATUIS,
Secretary of the Navy.

In the name of the President of the United States, the Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific takes pleasure in presenting the Bronze Star Medal to Captain William Morgan Keys, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service in conneciton with operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam while serving as a Company Commander and subsequently as Battalion Operations Officer with the First Battalion, Ninth Marines, Third Marine Division from 12 May 1966 to 9 May 1967. Throughout this period, Captain Keys consistently performed his demanding duties in an exemplary manner. Exhibiting exceptional abilities as an effective small unit leader, he skillfully led his company through Operations Wilcox, Deckhouse V, Chinook and Prairie II. His ability to maintain high morale and to instill in his men an aggressive fighting spirit was instrumental in his company distinguishing itself as an effective and highly professional combat unit. As Battalion Operations Officer, his sound tactical judgment and military skill during Operations Prairie III and Prairie IV were largely responsible for the noteworthy accomplishments of the battalion. Although his daily activities exposed Captain Keys to the constant threat of enemy mines, mortar and automatic weapons fire, his disregard for personal safety and courage under fire were an inspiration to all who observed him. Captain Keys' military competence, inspiring leadership and selfless devotion to duty throughout contributed significantly to the accomplishment of his unit's mission and were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

Captain Keys is authorized to wear the Combat "V".

For the President:

V. H. KRULAK,
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps, Commanding.
(Temporary citation.)

In the name of the President of the United States, the Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific takes pleasure in presenting the Silver Star Medal to Captain William Morgan Keys, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action while serving as Commanding Officer of Company D, First Battalion, Ninth Marines, Third Marine Division in connection with operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam. On 5 March 1967, while participating in Operation Prairie II in the Gio Linh District, Captain Keys' company came under intense enemy small arms, mortar and rocket fire while moving through a narrow valley. Rushing to a vantage point, Captain Keys immediately and aggressively directed all available fire on the enemy force. When the lead platoon was temporarily halted, he unhesitatingly and fearlessly led the assault on the enemy positions. Shouting encouragement to his men, Captain Keys heroically closed with the enemy in hand to hand combat in the dense underbrush and personally killed four of them. Despite the danger of mines and the increasingly heavy enemy fire, he was constantly at the heaviest point of contact, personally directing his unit. As a result of Captain Keys' superior leadership and exemplary aggressiveness, the company accounted for more than seventy enemy killed and the remainder of the force, estimated to be over a company, fled in panic and confusion, abandoning their equipment and eighty-four weapons. His outstanding professionalism and bold initiative were an inspiration to all who served with him and contributed immeasurably to the accomplishment of his unit's mission. By his inspiring leadership, uncommon courage and selfless devotion to duty in the face of extreme danger, Captain Keys upheld the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

For the President:

V. H. KRULAK,
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps, Commanding.
(Temporary citation.)

Institute for Urban Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, on December 4 President Lyndon B. Johnson asked six well-known Americans to begin the process of setting up an Institute for Urban Development—an independent, nonprofit research organization.

It has been charged that this step was taken only as a result of last summer's riots and out of dissatisfaction with HUD's handling of urban problems. Those who make such charges have not examined the record. The Institute for Urban Development is the next logical step in a progression begun by the President in his message on Urban and Rural Poverty last April and it has been and will be intimately associated with the Department.

In his message the President gave special emphasis to the need "to build a basic foundation of urban knowledge." He requested a $20 million research budget for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and called upon the Secretary "to encourage the establishment of an Institute for Urban Development, as a separate and distinct organization."

He said:

> Such an organization would look beyond immediate problems and immediate concerns to future urban requirements, and engage in basic inquiries as to how they may be satisfied.

The Institute is now coming into existence. Though it will be an independent organization, it will work closely with the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Institute's initial capital will come from HUD research funds and it will receive day-to-day guidance from and perform research tasks for the Department. The relationship will be essentially the same as that existing between the Department of Defense and the Rand Corp. I am not aware of any charge that the existence of the Rand organization implies the inability of the Department of Defense to protect our national security.

Indeed, it is the success of the Rand-Defense relationship in problem solving activity that has led to the formation of the Institute. There are a number of urban studies centers at universities but their primary concern has been basic research. The Institute for Urban Development will combine research with the solving of specific problems posed by the Department's daily activities.

As an independent organization, the Institute for Urban Development will be able to develop a capacity for analyzing urban problems in relation to Federal and local efforts to solve them and for ranking priorities of need, effectiveness and investment.

It will conduct long-range studies in order to gather data on all aspects of urban problems.

The Institute will gather representatives of various disciplines, pool their knowledge and share their various insights.

Last, the Institute will provide an independent, objective base for the review and evaluation of existing and proposed programs.

It is true that many Americans, many Members of Congress, were unaware of this Nation's pressing urban problems until the civil disturbances of last summer. Many continue to be unwilling to recognize the basic problems that caused these disturbances or to take the necessary steps to overcome them. But the President of the United States is totally committed to rebuilding America's cities and the shattered lives of those who live in the urban ghettos. The Institute for Urban Development is simply one new tool in his all-out attack on human misery.

Statement of Hal Witt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last November 17, 1967, I asked that a statement by Mr. Hal Witt, of the United Planning Organization here in Washington, D.C., be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Unfortunately, this statement was not reprinted along with the other materials. Mr. Witt herein answers unsupportable and scandulous charges made in the House of Representatives that implied Communist connections and motivations. Mr. Witt fully deserves a hearing in this matter and I include his statement now in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF HAL WITT, DEPUTY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION, NOVEMBER 14, 1967

Mr. Broyhill's charges about me are disgraceful, irresponsible and untrue.

He mentions seven things. He says I am a "frequent attendant, if not a member, of the Washington American Forum." I have never heard of the Washington American Forum. I am not a member, frequent attender or any other kind of attender of it.

He says I am "on the Washington Area Committee to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee." While I have heard of that Committee, I am not a member of it, "on" it, or connected with it in any way.

He says my name is "on the mailing list of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee". About eight years ago, while the United States still maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba and the subject of developments there was a matter for great public discussion, I read an ad in the *New York Times*, signed by a number of prominent writers and artists, offering to supply information relative to United States policy towards Cuba. I believe that I answered that ad and may have been placed on somebody's mailing list. I have received no material from the group for years, as far as I know.

Mr. Broyhill says that I am "on the Executive Board of SANE". I am not. Several years ago I was on the Executive Board of the Washington Committee of a Sane Nuclear Policy. I consider SANE to be a valuable organization and have no hesitation to be associated with it, as are members of Congress and many prominent Americans.

Mr. Broyhill states that when charged with disorderly conduct in 1960, I chose as my attorney a lawyer who also represented the Communist Party. I was, in fact, arrested in 1960 while I was walking on a peaceful picket line in support of civil rights workers in the South. I was represented by a brilliant and capable attorney. I consider it to be reprehensible and un-American to attack a person on the basis of other clients whom his attorney may represent. It is almost as disgraceful as the practice of attacking attorneys on the basis of the clients they represent.

Mr. Broyhill says that "according to information from FBI files, Mr. Witt has close and frequent association with many known Communist Party members" and "financial backers of the Communist Party." I have no idea what Mr. Broyhill is talking about. I have no access to FBI files. I am not now a member of the Communist Party. I have never been a member of the Communist Party. I am opposed to the Communist Party.

Finally, Mr. Broyhill says that I am the son of my father. In that, he is correct. It was my impression, however, that the business of visiting the alleged sins of the father upon the son went out of style many years ago.

Mr. Broyhill suggests that there is a "very real question" as to my loyalty. I am not surprised that he makes such a statement when he is clothed with Congressional immunity. I can only question his loyalty to everything America stands for, if he can make charges reckless, as baseless, and as foolish as these.

I think it is an indication of the desperate straits in which the opponents of the anti-poverty program find themselves that they must resort to this disgraceful behavior. The need to build a strong and effective anti-poverty program is a basic need of our country today.

Dr. Levi, President-Designate of University of Chicago, Gives Views on Place of Universities in Our Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include excerpts from an article in the Chicago Sun-Times of November 16, 1967, following this preface:

(NOTE.—*Next fall the University of Chicago will have a new president—George W. Beadle will retire and leadership of the renowned center of learning will pass to Dr. Edward H. Levi, presently the university's provost. Speaking to a meeting of the citizens board of the University of Chicago earlier this month, Dr. Levi offered a perspective on universities in general—and the University of Chicago in particular—that eloquently reaffirmed the special character of his school. This article is adapted from that address.*)

COMMITMENT TO REASON

(By Edward H. Levi)

The University of Chicago is heavily research oriented because the essential purpose from the start has been to discover what we can of the nature of man and his universe.

A great deal of the research has been trivial. Some of it, as for example the creation of the first self-sustaining nuclear pile, has been frightening. A large part—witness the work of Dr. Charles B. Huggins—has been lifesaving. Much of it has rediscovered for our own time the conditions of older cultures and given us a greater awareness of our own.

To the work of the scholars of our university we owe a considerable amount of mankind's knowledge of the nature of matter, the Earth, the planets and the stars, and much of what we know, although we know too little, about the forces within our society. The first basic work in urban sociology, the widely known Chicago school in economics, the Chicago school in literary criticism, the seminal work in the learning process itself are illustrations from the humanities and the social sciences.

The emphasis on research has been a declaration of faith in the power of the individual mind. It carried with it a profound conviction of the importance of freedom for the mind to inquire, to know, to speak.

There are two other qualities of the university. First, the university conceives of itself as dedicated to the power of the intellect. Its commitment is to the way of reason. It stands, as Robert M. Hutchins said, in perpetual agreement with Cardinal Newman that the object of a university is intellectual, not moral.

This is not to say that adherence to reason, the self-criticism and discipline which this imposes, does not itself partake—indeed it requires—the highest morality.

Second, it must be admitted the university has a mixture of traits, lovely and unlovely, arising out of the sense of its own importance and of its uniqueness. Perhaps this is the free-swinging enthusiasm of the Middle West—a response to those who thought this was an unlikely place for a university. Perhaps this arises because the university knows that its reason for existence is to be a model of excellence. Perhaps it arises out of the confidence that those who founded the university had in the overwhelming importance of knowledge.

However objectionable these traits at times may be, they have given the universities its willingness to innovate, to stand alone, and to endure.

There is a problem of endurance. The university and its friends struggled greatly for its existence.

In each generation, and in fact more frequently, the university has had to be refounded both in terms of financial resources and its ability to pass the tests of character, will, and ability. Its dedication to freedom of thought at times has been costly. Its insistence on the basic purposes of this kind of a university often has been unpopular. In our own time it waged a fight for its existence, surviving the blight of the cities from which others had fled, recreating a community into a cultural civic asset.

At all times, whatever the other distractions might be, it has had to meet the test of the reality of its commitments to intellectual integrity and ability—commitments which welcome no compromise.

Our university must meet the tests imposed by the modern condition. Our society is flooded with communications. The acceptance of myths and aphorisms is not a new phenomenon, of course. But the increase in the printed work, the rise in literacy, the development of new means of communication all give rise to new burdens as well as opportunities.

* * * * *

Popular discussion has never been enough, and it is tragic for a society if that is all the discussion there is.

Rational discussion itself is suspect. Our society is fascinated with the manipulative techniques of persuasion, coercion and power. The sense of injustice, which all must prize, is subject to manipulation.

The devastating reality and complexity of the problems to be faced, the unattainability of goals, and, tragically, even progress made—all feed the sense of injustice. The solutions call for the highest intellectual powers of man, but the excitement of victories, the frustrations of defeat, the comradeship of belonging, question these powers. The concept of reason itself appears as an artificial attempt to separate intellectual powers from the frustrations, emotions and accidents which cause events; the concept of reason is viewed as facade to prevent change.

* * * * *

Artists and writers have helped stamp upon our age the self-conception of mankind caught in a machine. This stems from a somewhat older tradition in American life. Steam and paper money were once the symbols of oppression. The implication is that man's powers will cease to be personal and choice will be gone.

We have a tradition also of reciting how the wonders of science have accelerated, as indeed they have, with the implication that in a few years, if not now, life will be automatic and predetermined. The computer revolution is joined with older populist notions giving rise to new symbols, vastly helped by the Bureau of Internal Revenue and the Social Security number.

* * * * *

In a recent speech, the commissioner of education demanded that American universities must be more than centers of learning and enlightenment and more than centers of research. They must become part of the action, he said, turning "all their resources and facilities to the problem of the survival of the communities of mankind—whether the community embraces a particular localized area or a state or whether it encompasses the nation as a whole or is worldwide."

"The university can and must become a catalyst," he declared, "an integral element, with government and industry, in the battle for survival of the cities."

He mentioned the University of Chicago.

"Like the University of Chicago," he said, "encircled by increasingly decayed neighborhoods plagued with crime, juvenile delinquency and filth, we must join in a concerted effort to rehabilitate our neighbors." He spoke of the universities being great resources for these social purposes and suggested that if the universities remain uninvolved, they could not expect the populace to give them support and freedom.

* * * * *

The position has been taken more than once that the purpose of a university is to be in effect a launching pad for a variety of political movements.

Of course the American campus cannot and should not be isolated from the kind of talk endemic to American public life.

A distinguished member of the U.S. government, in a rip-roaring speech in Berkeley, recently told the students "We get upset about four-letter words on sex, but we don't worry about four-letter words on hate, bomb, kill, maim and guns."

It is perhaps unfair to treat these remarks, intended to be a call for social commitment, as arising from a recognition that there are quite a lot of young people who are or will become voters. But the temptation to view students as an interesting resource is great.

The response of universities to the characteristics of our era must take into account the purposes of universities and the kinds of contributions they can make. Universities are among the important institutions in our society, but there are other important institutions.

* * * * *

There are, of course, many different kinds of institutions which are called universities. These differ enormously in size, quality and purpose. This is true among colleges as well. Unfortunately there are great pressures upon all educational institutions to be the same, and to some extent it has become a point of honor to pretend to be the same.

Instead we should be exploring the wisdom of explicit recognition of the different goals to be served, the kinds of individuality to be fostered.

There is, for example, an important place for the vocational institution beyond high school. Vocational institutions ought to be further developed. If they are an essential gateway to the work of modern life, they should be available to all.

There is an important place for the liberal arts college separate from a university.

There is even an important place for the college which regards itself as the successor of the utopian community—an amalgam of social thought, work and rest camp, and community living.

There are similar differences among the graduate and professional schools. Not all medical schools, law schools, business schools, divinity schools should be the same. Different types of institutions are deprived of their individuality and of the achievement which is possible and appropriate for them by confusion in goals and the tendency to conform.

Moreover, while youth has to be wasted on the young, it is a great error to think of education as limited by age. The academy's search for knowledge and the understanding of culture should be available to all ages and is not to be confused with the problem of finding a happy home for the inbetween years.

The University of Chicago began with and has achieved for itself a unique combination. Its emphasis on research is paramount. It includes within research the understanding of our own and other cultures and the appreciation of the works of the mind. It includes the search for knowledge so basic as to vastly change man's powers and comprehension. And this is not just the goal but in fact the achievement.

Whatever the strains, it believes that research and teaching are closely related.

Research itself—the restructuring of subject matter, the revelation of insights, new and old—can be the highest form of teaching. The obligation which the university has assumed is not only to give the individual scholar the freedom and intellectual environment required for research but to undertake to transmit the qualities and understanding of research into all of its teaching.

The work in the undergraduate college proceeds with the strength of the university's search for knowledge. The recent reorganization of the college into collegiate divisions paralleling and closely tied to the graduate areas reflects this strength and this obligation. The professional schools were created for the very purpose of relating research and the responsibilities of skill and understanding to the strategic problem areas of our society.

The result has given the university a special position in the whole of higher education.

It is not accidental that more students from the college of the University of Chicago go on to do effective graduate work than from any similar institution, that so many of the problems of our society have been strategically identified and worked upon in a professional way at this university, and that the whole of higher education has been greatly influenced by the innovation, research and instruction of this place.

If this appears as a paean of praise, let us admit at once there are limitations.

The University of Chicago does not exist to develop manpower resources for the Weston project. It does not exist to increase the earning power of its students. It does not exist to train the many technicians needed for our society, nor to develop inventions important for industry.

While it is and should be a good neighbor, it does not exist to be a redevelopment agency for the South Side of Chicago.

Its primary purpose is not to be a college where students can find themselves free of the pressure of the discipline of learning.

It does not exist to be a series of experimental political and social communities, nor is its institutional purpose to be found in the leadership by it of new liberal or conservative causes.

I do not suppose that anyone thinks of the University of Chicago as carrying on the New England professor's imaginary debauch for its alumni.

Many of these purposes may be primary for many types of educational institutions, and happily there are many. However valuable they may be for some institutions, these purposes are not primary and some of them are not appropriate for the University of Chicago. And while its faculty and students will individually respond to a variety of political and social commitments, the purpose of the university continues to be intellectual, not moral.

Perhaps, then, one should ask "What is the service of this university?"

The answer is traditional and old-fashioned. Its greatest service is in its commitment to reason, in its search for basic knowledge, in its mission to preserve and to give continuity to the values of mankind's many cultures. In a time when the intellectual values are denigrated, this service was never more required.

* * * * *

The university's role is not based upon a conception of neutrality or indifference to society's problems, but an approach to the problems through the only strength which a university is entitled to assert.

It is a conservative role because it values cultures and ideas, and reaffirms the basic commitment to reason.

It is revolutionary because of its compulsion to discover and to know.

It is modest because it recognizes the difficulties are great and the standards demanding.

The assertion and existence of these values within the university has given the institution a considerable amount of freedom and a certain magic of wholeness.

One does not direct the University of Chicago to the kinds of inquiry it should pursue, or the point of view its professors should have. I assume there has been no point of time when some professor's views were not irritating to some segment of the community.

In a day when it is demanded by some groups that the university as an institution take an official position on social or political action, or close its campus to those whose presence carries an unacceptable symbol, this insistence upon freedom within the university may appear either as outmoded or as a test of whether the university really has meant what it has always said.

I think we have shown, and I trust we will show, that we do mean this commitment to freedom—to inquiry, to know, and to speak. For those who regret this conclusion, and believe a university can and should be captured as an instrument for directed social change in the society, there is perhaps this compensation: The world of learning is much too complicated to be directed in this way; the results would be disappointing in any event.

The freedom of the university and its scholars to refuse to take on new assignments is extremely important.

Universities today are involved in pressures and temptations to respond to calls for all kinds of social engineering and management tasks. Many of these requests parallel similar demands for instant medical cures and instant scientific discoveries. For some of the tasks which the universities would be given they are totally unprepared; neither professional skills nor scholarly disciplines have prepared the way.

Institutions which are in fact barely capable of running themselves are now scrambling for the opportunity to tell others what to do.

The faculties at Chicago have been selective and careful about accepting these assignments. The result is they have been able to concentrate on research and demonstration projects of far-reaching significance.

* * * * *

What is at stake is not only the character of American universities, but the very quality of American life. What is at stake also is our ability to develop the knowledge and skills to provide the answers which are sought. These must not be pretend answers.

I have referred to the sense of wholeness and a certain quality of magic.

I recall the late Leo Szilard, puckish great scientist, describing the uncertain quality which made for a great laboratory. He could tell, he said, all the danger signals that indicated when things were not going well. But he could not say what made for a good or great laboratory. He only knew, he said, there was a sense of wholeness when this occurred.

It was, he said, in the most matter of fact way, a kind of magic.

The University of Chicago in all probability could not be created today. The task would be too great and beyond reach. But the university can be refounded and recreated as is the necessity for all institutions if they are to endure.

The challenge to the university and its friends is to carry forward for our time this extraordinary tradition and instrument, which began all at once, assumed a unique combination of research, teaching and professional training and over its history has departed very little from the values it seeks.

Perhaps this is why it carries also that magical sense of wholeness.

First Session, 90th Congress: An Appraisal

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 13, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this first session of the 90th Congress has been arduous. Many a day's proceedings have been carried into darkness hours in our conduct of the Nation's business.

For the administration Democrats, this was a time of testing, of reaffirming our resolve to improve the quality of American life. This was a session marked by less action than the previous Congress; a repeat of the 89th Congress was an impossibility.

Mr. Speaker, when the House Democratic membership sustained a loss of 47 seats as a result of the November 1966 elections, the predictions were that the "conservative coalition" would resume control in the 90th Congress. The coalition is defined as the Republicans and southern antiadministration Democrats who customarily vote against the administration and House Democratic leadership position.

In some instances, the first session has shown a revival of the coalition, but there is a difference: In earlier days, the coalition was characterized by its outright opposition to socially important legislation, usually working to defeat such bills; in the first session of the 90th Congress, the coalition has worked more toward a drastic reshaping of legislation on the books rather than toward repeal.

Where the coalition used to be opposed to Federal aid to education, it now accepts the need for such aid, but attempts to channel it by less effective means. Formerly opposed to the President's war on poverty, the coalition now does not hesitate to recklessly tamper with antipoverty program operations.

Mr. Speaker, this first session is not distinguished for quantity or quality of public laws enacted. Today, the number stands at only a few over 200. By contrast, the first session of the 89th Congress enacted 349 public laws, many of them breakthroughs in social legislation.

The 89th Congress faced many of the different problems of our society, passed laws to aid in their solution, and appropriated the necessary funds. Medicare, rent supplements, aid to education, voting rights, immigration reform, aid for the arts and humanities, and highway beautification are a few of the major laws enacted in the 89th Congress. They represented only a beginning of the Congress' efforts to help solve the ills of our society.

The first session of the 90th Congress indicates a tendency to turn away from legislative innovation. Most of the major actions in 1967 were extensions of existing laws.

But the 90th Congress does hold forth a promise. It can do more. During the adjournment period, I hope our colleagues have the opportunity to learn from their constituents that America's serious domestic problems must be faced in this final third of the 20th century.

When the Speaker's gavel falls at noon Monday, January 15, the House and Senate will face a number of items of unfinished business. In this category, I include:

The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, recommended by the President to deal with our most important domestic problem.

The Civil Rights Protection Act, to provide penalties for those who attempt to interfere with persons in the exercise of their rights of voting, jury service, education, and the like.

Truth in lending, to protect the consumer who borrows money by requiring disclosure of interest costs.

A code of standards of official conduct for House Members.

Natural resources protection bills on wild and scenic rivers, oil shale, and National Water Commission.

Gas Pipeline Safety Act, to prevent further disasters by setting standards of construction, operation, and maintenance of pipelines and gas storage areas.

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act, to broaden Federal programs of assistance to States and communities for developing rehabilitation and prevention programs.

Mr. Speaker, the first session met its responsibilities to our fighting men in Vietnam, authorizing and funding defense bills and supporting the President in his efforts to conclude the war by honorable means. The Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act extends wartime veterans' benefits to those serving in the Armed Forces since August 1964.

Mr. Speaker, among the accomplishments of the first session have been extensions of many good programs, including the war on poverty, Appalachian regional development, elementary and secondary education, Teacher Corps, mental health, mental retardation, partnership for health, vocational rehabilitation, social security, and air pollution control.

One significant new law, which holds promise of upgrading education in the United States, is the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which was approved despite strong opposition from the coalition.

A vital public health measure was the Meat Inspection Act, to give Federal aid to States in upgrading meat inspection programs to a level at least equal to Federal standards and to allow the Federal Government to impose Federal standards if the States do not act within 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, our loss of a solid working majority has meant that our victories for the American citizen come harder. I hope the second session discloses a greater awareness of responsibility on Congress' part.

Mr. Speaker, I append at this point a brief summary of the major legislation enacted in the first session by category:

STATUS OF MAJOR LEGISLATION, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

AGRICULTURE

Enacted

Food Stamp Program—P.L. 90–91 (S. 953; H. Rept. 189)—Provides 2-year extension of food stamp program by authorizing appropriations of $200 million for fiscal 1968 and $225 million for fiscal 1969.

Passed Senate 5/31; passed House amended 6/8; sent to conference 6/16; conference report adopted by House and Senate 9/19; signed into law 9/27/67.

Passed Senate

Rural Planning Districts (S. 654)—Authorizes establishment of central planning agencies within multicounty rural community development districts which would chart future growth of region in such areas as public services, economic and cultural development, and labor and manpower assistance. Authorizes federal grants of up to 75 percent of professional staff cost of such planning activities if federal planning grants were not otherwise available, and incentive grants of up to 10 percent of existing federal grants in the event such grants were available.

Passed Senate 5/9; referred to House Agriculture Committee 5/10/67.

Reported in House

Rural Telephone Bank (H.R. 12066; H. Rept. 736)—Provides additional sources of financing for rural telephone system and establishes Rural Telephone Bank and rural telephone account (Title II of H.R. 10190 which was denied a rule by Rules Committee 8/1).

Reported from Agricultural Committees 10/6/67.

CITIES

Enacted

D.C. Government Reorganization (Reorganization Plan No. 3)—Reorganizes D.C. government, replacing existing three D.C. Commissioners with single Commissioner and nine-member city council.

H. Res. 512, disapproving President's Reorganization Plan No. 3, was defeated by House 8/9; consequently Plan No. 3 automatically went into effect 8/11/67.

Housing Laws—P.L. 90–19 (S.J. Res. 42)—Updates references of laws relating to housing and urban development.

Passed Senate 2/20; passed House 5/15; signed into law 5/25/67.

Reported in House

Rat Control (H.R. 11000; H. Rept. 474)—Provides federal financial assistance to help cities and communities of U.S. develop and carry out intensive local programs of rat control and extermination.

House on 7/20 failed to approve rule (H. Res. 749) under which bill could be considered. Partnership for Health Amendments, now P.L. 70–174, were amended on the floor of the House 9/20 to include provision for funding rat control programs.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Enacted

Civil Rights Commission—P.L. 90–198 (H.R. 10805; H. Rept. 389)—Extends life of Civil Rights Commission for additional 5 years, and provides for ceiling on authorization for funds for Commission of $2,650,000 for each of fiscal years 1969 through 1973.

Passed House 7/11; passed Senate amended 11/1; sent to conference 11/21; conference report adopted by Senate 11/30 and by House 12/5; signed into law 12/14/67.

Passed House

Civil Rights, Penalties for Interference with (H.R. 2516; H. Rept. 473)—Makes it a federal crime to injure, intimidate or interfere with persons exercising their rights in following areas of activity: voting, public accommodations, public education, public services and facilities, employment, jury service, use of common carriers, and participation in federally assisted programs.

Passed House 8/16; reported in Senate 11/2/67.

CONGRESSIONAL MATTERS

Enacted

Congressional Districts, Standards for—P.L. 90–196 (H.R. 2275—Note: H.R. 2508, the original bill, passed the House 4/27, passed the Senate amended 6/8, and was sent to conference. The Senate rejected the conference report and added to H.R. 2275, originally a private bill, an amendment banning at-large elections.)—Bans at-large elections in all states having more than 1 Representative, exempting Hawaii and New Mexico from this ban in 1968.

Passed Senate 11/8; passed House amended 11/28; amendments agreed to by Senate 11/30; signed into law 12/14/67.

Ethics Committee in House (H. Res. 418; H. Rept. 178)—Establishes in House of Representatives 12-member, bipartisan House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

Passed House 4/13; no Senate action required; members of committee elected 5/1/67.

Passed Senate

Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 (S. 355)—Provides for changes in committee procedures, for changes in certain operations of Congress and for a broader application of the lobby registration law.

Passed Senate 3/7; pending in House Rules Committee.

CONSERVATION

Enacted

Air Quality Act of 1967—P.L. 90–148 (S. 780; H. Rept. 728)—Authorizes $428.3 million for federal air pollution control efforts in fiscal 1968 through 1970, with $125 million earmarked for fiscal 1968 and 1969 research on pollution caused by fuels combustion.

Passed Senate 7/18; passed House amended 11/2; sent to conference 11/13; conference report adopted by House and Senate 11/14; signed into law 11/21/67.

Passed House and Senate

National Water Commission (S. 20; H. Rept. 376)—Establishes a National Water Commission to review U.S. water resources programs and requirements and to suggest solutions to water management problems.

Passed Senate 2/6; passed House amended 7/12/67.

Passed Senate

Highway Beautification (S. 1467; H. Rept. 713)—Authorizes $85 million in fiscal 1968 to continue programs established by Highway Beautification Act of 1965 (P.L. 89–285).

Passed Senate 8/28; reported from House Public Works Committee 9/27/67.

National Wild and Scenic Rivers System (S. 119)—Establishes National Wild and Scenic Rivers System, authorizing immediate inclusion in system of segments of nine rivers, and authorizing study of 28 other river segments for possible inclusion.

Passed Senate 8/8; referred to House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee 8/9/67.

CONSUMERS

Enacted

Flammable Fabrics Act Amendments—P.L.

90–189 (S. 1003; H. Rept. 972)—Amends 1953 Act to extend its provisions to all items of wearing apparel and to household furnishings; authorizes Commerce Secretary to issue mandatory flammability standards for fabrics, hats, gloves and footwear; provides for research and developemnt program on fabrics covered by bill; establishes 9-member National Advisory Committee for Flammable Fabrics Act; and authorizes appropriations of $1.5 million for fiscal 1968 and $2,250,000 for each of fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

Passed Senate 7/27; passed House amended 11/27; House amendment accepted by Senate 12/1; signed into law 12/14/67.

Meat Inspection Act Amendments—P.L. 90–201 (H.R. 12144; H. Rept. 653)—Authorizes program of federal assistance to states to enable them to upgrade their meat inspection programs to a level "at least equal" to federal inspection, directing Secretary of Agriculture to step in and impose federal inspection in states which fail to adopt adequate inspection within two years, and permitting Secretary—if state officials refuse to act—to assume inspection of any intrastate plant producing dangerous meat.

Passed House 10/31; passed Senate amended 11/28; sent to conference 11/29; conference report adopted by House 12/6 and by Senate 12/6; signed into law 12/15/67.

Passed Senate

Fire Research and Safety Act of 1967 (H.R. 11284; S. 1124; H. Rept. 522)—Authorizes National Bureau of Standards to conduct studies on causes of fires and methods of controlling them, public education programs on fire hazards and fire safety techniques, and other studies into problems of fire research and safety.

H.R. 11284 reported from House Science and Astronautics Committee 7/31; S. 1124 passed Senate 8/16/67.

National Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1967 (S. 1166)—Directs Secretary of Department of Transportation to establish—within 2 years after enactment of bill—minimum federal safety standards for 800,000 miles of gas pipelines across the country.

Passed Senate 11/9; referred to House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee 11/13/67.

Truth-In-Lending (S. 5; H.R. 11601; H. Rept. 1040)—Requires that consumers who borrow money or make installment purchases be informed of true cost of loan or credit.

S. 5 passed Senate 7/11; H.R. 11601 reported from House Banking and Currency Committee 12/13/67.

CRIME CONTROL

Passed House

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1967 (H.R. 12120; H. Rept. 647)—Authorizes $25 million in direct block grants to states for juvenile delinquency control programs.

Passed House 9/26; Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty concluded hearings on H.R. 12120 and S. 1248, 10/26/67.

Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967 (H.R. 5037; H. Rept. 488)—Authorizes $75 mililon for national program to stimulate state and local action and spending on crime prevention and control—money to be given in block grants to states.

Passed House 8/8/67.

ECONOMY

Enacted

Antipoverty Program Amendments (S. 2388; H. Rept. 866) *—Extend program for 2 years, authorizes appropriation of $1.98 billion for fiscal 1968, and $2.18 billion for fiscal 1969; provides for participation by local elected officials in operation of community action agencies, with bypass provisions if local governments fail to perform; limits OEO supergrade positions to 1 per 100 employees; limits use of consultants to 100 days each during a single year; bans political activity by antipoverty workers during working hours; earmarks $25 million for program to feed the hungy; and provides day-care program for working mothers.

Passed Senate 10/5; passed House amended 11/15; sent to conference 11/16; conference report adopted by Senate 12/8 and by House 12/11/67.

Appalachia Amendments and Amendments to Public Works and Economic Development Act—P.L. 90–103 (S. 602; H. Rept. 548)—Appalachia Amendments: Authorize $886.7 million for all programs, including $1.7 million for administration in fiscal 1968–69, $715 million for highways in fiscal 1968–71, and $170 million for non-highway programs in fiscal 1968–69; and authorize inclusion of 24 additional counties in Appalachia area. Public Works and Economic Development Act Amendments authorize $75 million for 5 regional commissions established by Act for fiscal 1968–69.

Passed Senate 4/27; passed House amended 9/14; sent to conference 9/19; conference report adopted by House 9/28 and by Senate 9/29; signed into law 10/11/67.

Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1967—P.L. 90–59 (H.R. 6098; H. Rept. 68)—Extends Interest Equalization Tax (IET) for two years until July 31, 1969; requires that American sellers of foreign securities secure validation certificates of their payment of tax; makes other changes in original bill in order to continue U.S. program to reduce our balance-of-payments deficit.

Passed House 3/15; passed Senate amended 7/25; sent to conference 7/25; conference report filed 7/27; Senate and House adopted conference report 7/31; signed into law 7/31/67.

Investment Tax Credit, Restoration of—P.L. 90–26 (H.R. 6950; H. Rept. 131)—Restores investment credit and accelerated depreciation allowance temporarily suspended in 1966; prohibits appropriation and disbursement of funds under Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966 until adoption by law of guidelines governing their distribution; and prohibits $1 income tax checkoff system established by law in 1966 from going into effect until distribution guidelines are adopted.

Passed House 3/16; passed Senate amended 5/9; sent to conference 5/11; House adopted conference report 5/25; Senate adopted conference report 5/31; signed into law 6/13/67.

Public Debt Limit—P.L. 90–3 (H.R. 4573; H. Rept. 4)—Raises temporary national debt limit from $330 billion to $336 billion through June 30, 1967 (end of fiscal 1967).

Passed House 2/8; passed Senate 2/21; conference report filed 2/23; conference report adopted by Senate 2/23 and by House 3/1; signed into law 3/2/67.

Public Debt Limit—P.L. 90–3 (H.R. 10867; H. Rept. 368)—Raises public debt ceiling for fiscal 1968 (beginning July 1) from present temporary level of $336 billion to permanent level of $358 billion; and beginning with fiscal 1969 allows temporary debt limit increase of up to $365 billion during each fiscal year; reverting to permanent $358 billion limit on last day of fiscal year. Also brings participation certificates under debt limit.

Passed House 6/21; passed Senate 6/27; signed into law 6/30/67.

Reported in House

Interstate Taxation Act (H.R. 2158; H. Rept. 69)—Establishes uniform limitations on power of states to tax small out-of-state firms doing business within their boundaries.

Reported by House Judiciary Committee 3/7/67.

EDUCATION

Enacted

Public Broadcasting Act of 1967—P.L. 90–129 (S. 1160; H. Rept. 572)—Extends Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962 for three years and broadens it to include grants for educational radio broadcasting; establishes nonprofit, nongovernmental Corporation for Public Broadcasting to provide financial assistance for noncommercial educational TV and radio broadcasting, and authorizes appropriation of $9 million in fiscal 1968 to finance its activities.

Passed Senate 5/17; passed House amended 9/21; sent to conference 10/3; conference report adopted by House 10/19 and by Senate 10/26; signed into law 11/7/67.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments (H.R. 7819; H. Rept. 188) *—Authorize more than $9 billion for fiscal 1969 and 1970. In addition to expanding original ESEA programs, amendments also authorize new bilingual grant program to school districts having large numbers of Spanish-speaking children; return control to states over Title III funds (for supplemental education centers), returning 75 percent of funds to states in fiscal 1969 and 100 percent in fiscal 1970; authorize 2 new studies, one on school dorpouts with emphasis on urban areas, and one on school bus safety; extend Adult Education Act; and authorize new program of incentive grants, based only on state and local expenditures for education, to states based on their performance.

Passed House 5/25; passed Senate amended 12/11; sent to conference 12/12; conference report adopted 12/15/67.

Teacher Corps—P.L. 90–35 (H.R. 10943; H. Rept. 373)—Authorizes $135 million for Teacher Corps in fiscal 1968–70; authorizes $435 million in fiscal 1969–70 for existing program of graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers and grants to colleges and universities to help them improve graduate education facilities; and authorizes four new teacher training programs effective in fiscal 1969.

Passed House 6/27; passed Senate 6/28; signed into law 6/27/67.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES/POSTAL RATES

Enacted

Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967—P.L. 90–206 (H.R. 7977; H. Rept. 722)—Provides first-step raise of flat 6 percent for 725,000 postal employees and 4.5 percent increase for 1.3 million classified workers retroactive to Oct. 1; makes various adjustments in postage rates; establishes Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries whose function will be to review salaries of federal executives and report its findings anually to President; and provides for regulation of mailing of pandering matter.

Passed House 10/11; passed Senate amended 11/29; sent to conference 11/30; conference report filed 12/7; conference report rejected by House 12/11; House recedes and concurs in Senate amendment with amendment 12/11; Senate agrees to House amendment to Senate amendment 12/12; signed into law 12/16/67.

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

Enacted

Consular Treaty (Exec. D)—Details procedures for establishment and operation of consulates in U.S. and Soviet Union.

Ratified by Senate 3/16/67. No House action required.

Emergency Food Assistance to India—P.L. 90–7 (H.J. Res. 267; H. Rept. 67)—Provides additional 3 million tons of food aid in 1967 to drought-stricken India; requires that contribution be matched by other countries; and that another $25 million be used to provide emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other voluntary American agencies.

Passed House 3/9; passed Senate 3/16; minor Senate change approved by House 3/20; signed into law 4/1/67.

Foreign Assistance Act of 1967—P.L. 90–137 (S. 1872; H. Rept. 551)—Authorizes foreign aid appropriations of $2,674,614,000 for fiscal 1968.

Passed Senate 8/17; passed House amended

8/25; sent to conference 9/13; conference report adopted by House and Senate 11/8; signed into law 11/14/67.

Inter-American Development Bank Act Amendments—P.L. 90-137 (H.R. 9547; H. Rept. 266)—Authorizes additional U.S. contribution of $900 million to Inter-American Development Bank's Fund for Special Operations (over fiscal 1968–70) to implement hemispheric agreement made at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in April of 1967.

Passed House 7/26; passed Senate amended 8/24; sent to conference 9/11; conference report filed 9/14 and recommitted 9/20; 2nd conference report adopted by House and Senate 9/21; signed into law 9/22/67.

Military Procurement Authorization Act of 1968—P.L. 90-22 (S. 666)—Authorizes $21.6 billion in appropriations during fiscal 1968 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test and evaluation for Armed Forces.

Passed Senate 3/21; passed House amended 5/9; sent to conference 5/17; conference report adopted by House and Senate 5/23; signed into law 6/5/67.

Military Selective Service Act of 1967—P.L. 90-40 (S. 1432; H. Rept. 267)—Extends military draft 4 years to 7/1/71; bars use of lottery selection in draft; continues student deferments until graduation from college or age 24; does not oppose President's plan to reverse order of induction from age 26 to 19; and bases test for conscientious objectors only on "religious training and belief."

Passed Senate 5/11; passed House amended 5/25; send to conference 6/5; Senate adopted conference report 6/14; House adopted conference report 6/20; signed into law 6/30/67.

Peace Corps Authorization—P.L. 90-175 (S. 1031; H. Rept. 807)—Authorizes appropriations of $115.7 million for Peace Corps in fiscal 1968.

Passed Senate 5/15; passed House 11/21; signed into law 12/5/67.

Reserve-Guard Merger—P.L. 90-168 (H.R. 2; H. Rept. 13)—Permanently prevents proposed merger of Army Reserve and Army National Guard and provides structural overhaul of U.S. Ready Reserves.

Passed House 2/20; passed Senate amended 11/8; sent to conference 11/14; conference report adopted by House 11/15 and by Senate 11/16; signed into law 12/1/67.

Supplemental Military Procurement, Research and Development, and Construction Authorization, FY 1967—P.L. 90-5 (S. 665; H.R. 4515; H. Rept. 29)—Authorizes supplemental appropriations of $4.5 billion for Defense Department; $3.78 billion for procurement of aircraft and missiles; $135 million for research and development; and $624.5 million for military construction; and contains statement of Congressional policy on war in Vietnam.

S. 665 passed Senate 3/1; House passed H.R. 4515 on 3/2 and then substituted provisions of H.R. 4515 for those of S. 665 and passed S. 665; House and Senate adopted conference report 3/8; signed into law 3/16/67.

Uniformed Services Pay Act—P.L. 90-207 (H.R. 13510; H. Rept. 787)—Increases monthly pay of servicemen, effective Oct. 1, 1967, by 4.5 percent for regular compensation, which includes basic pay, quarters and subsistence allowances; provides automatic military pay raises in the future that would correspond to salary increases for federal civilian employees; and makes various other changes regarding military pay.

Passed House 10/26; passed Senate amended 11/29; sent to conference 12/1; conference report adopted by Senate 12/8 and by House 12/12; signed into law 12/16/67.

HEALTH

Enacted

Mental Health Amendments of 1967—P.L. 90-31 (H.R. 6431; H. Rept. 212)—Extend federal grants for construction of community mental health centers through fiscal 1970, authorizing $50 million in fiscal 1968, $60 million in fiscal 1969, and $70 million in fiscal 1970; extend through fiscal 1970 grants for staffing community centers and authorize $26 million in fiscal 1969 and $32 million in fiscal 1970; and make various other changes in existing law.

Passed House 5/17; passed Senate 6/8; signed into law 6/24/67.

Mental Retradation Amendments—P.L. 90-170 (H.R. 6430; H. Rept. 562)—Authorizes $281.8 million in fiscal 1968–70, including $19 million in new authority for fiscal 1968; extends 2 grant programs—created by 1963 Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act—for construction of mental retardation facilities; authorizes new program of grants for staffing centers; extends for additional year—through fiscal 1970—existing program of training teachers of handicaped; and initiates new program for training teachers in physical education and recreation for the handicapped.

Passed House 9/20; passed Senate amended 11/6; sent to conference 11/9; conference report adopted by Senate and House 11/21; signed into law 12/4/67.

Partnership for Health Amendments—P.L. 90-174 (H.R. 6418; H. Rept. 538)—Authorizes $589 million in fiscal 1968–70 for grants to states for comprehensive health planning and services, and includes $40 million authorization intended, but not earmarked, for rat control projects in fiscal 1968–69.

Passed House 9/20; passed Senate amended 11/6; sent to conference 11/9; conference report adopted by Senate and House 11/21; signed into law 12/5/67.

Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments—P.L. 90-99 (H.R. 12257; H. Rept. 563)—Authorizes $500 million in fiscal 1969 and $600 million in fiscal 1970 for grants to states for basic vocational rehabilitation services; and authorizes 2 new programs, one a program of grants for pilot projects to provide vocational rehabilitation services to migrant workers and their families, and the other to establish new National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults.

Passed House 8/21; passed Senate 9/20; signed into law 10/3/67.

LABOR

Reported in House

Situs Picketing (H.R. 100; H. Rept. 227)—Restores to unions in building and construction industry right to engage in peaceful picketing at common construction sites where both means used and objectives sought are lawful.

Reported by House Education and Labor Committee 5/4/67.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Enacted

Social Security Amendments of 1967 (H.R. 12080; H. Rept. 544) *—Increases Social Security benefits by 13 percent, raising minimum monthly benefit from $44 to $55; raises amount of outside permissible earnings for social security beneficiaries from $1500 to $1680; increases social security financing through change in taxable wage base from $6600 to $7800; provides 60-day lifetime reserve for hospital benefits under medicare, but requires patient to pay $20 a day toward cost of this coverage; and makes other changes in old-age survivors and disability programs as well as in medicare, medicaid, public welfare, and child health and welfare services.

Passed House 8/17; passed Senate amended 11/22; sent to conference 12/4; conference report adopted by House 12/13 and by Senate 12/15/67.

VETERANS

Enacted

Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967—P.L. 90-77 (S. 16; H.R. 2068; H. Rept. 130)—Provides wartime veterans' benefits to all servicemen in uniform since Aug. 5, 1964, and increases veterans' educational allowances and pension payments. Total first year cost of bill will be $285.6 million.

Senate passed S. 16 on 2/7; on 3/20 House passed H.R. 2068, then vacated passage and passed amended S. 16 in lieu; sent to conference 6/20; conference report adopted by House 8/17 and by Senate 8/23; signed into law 8/31/67.

MISCELLANEOUS

Enacted

Age Discrimination Act of 1967—P.L. 90-202 (S. 830; H. Rept. 723)—Prohibits employers, employment agencies and labor organizations from engaging in any discriminatory practices either in hiring or promoting workers between the ages of 40 and 65; and authorizes investigation and enforcement provisions similar to those of Fair Labor Standards Act.

Passed Senate 11/6; passed House amended 12/4; Senate agrees to House amendment with amendments 12/5; House agrees to Senate amendments to House amendment 12/6/67.

Kennedy Historic Site—P.L. 90-20 (S. 1161; H.R. 6424; H. Rept. 183—Makes national historic site of birthplace of John F. Kennedy in Brookline, Mass.

Passed Senate 3/21; passed House amended 4/17; Senate agrees to House amendment 5/11; signed into law 5/26/67.

NASA Authorization, FY 1968—P.L. 90-67 (S. 1296; H. Rept. 338)—Authorizes $4,865,751,000 in appropriations to NASA for fiscal 1968.

Passed Senate 6/28; passed House amended 6/28; sent to conference 7/18; conference report adopted 8/2 by Senate and 8/8 by House; signed into law 8/21/67.

Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967—P.L. 90-42 (H.R. 10730; H. Rept. 367)—Extends Older Americans Act of 1965 for five years; authorizes appropriations of $16,950,000 for fiscal 1968 and $26 million for fiscal 1969 for community aging programs and research, demonstration and training programs related to the elderly.

Passed House 6/19; passed Senate amended 6/28; Senate amendments accepted by House 6/29; signed into law 7/1/67.

Railway-Labor Dispute—P. L. 90-54 (S.J. Res. 81; H.J. Res. 559; H. Rept. 353)—Imposes settlement to railway-labor dispute if parties have not reached agreement by end of 90-day negotiation period.

Passed Senate 6/7; amended H.J. Res. 559 passed House, proceedings vacated, laid on table and S.J. Res. 81—as amended—passed in lieu 6/15; sent to conference 6/22; conference report adopted by Senate and House 7/17; signed into law 7/17/67.

In conference

National Flood Insurance (S. 1985; H. Rept. 786)—Provides for joint government-insurance industry program of flood insurance for homeowners and small business.

Passed Senate 9/14; passed House amended 11/1; sent to conference 11/2/67.

Passed Senate

Election Reform Act of 1967 (S. 1880)—Extends reporting requirements of Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 to all primaries and conventions for President, Senator or Representative, requires reports from all political committees, even those operating in just one state, which spend more than $1,000 on federal campaigns, and removes existing ceilings on spending by political committees and Congressional candidates.

Passed Senate 9/12; referred to House Administration Committee 9/13/67.

Passed House

Copyright Law Revision (H.R. 2512; H. Rept. 83)—Provides for first general revision of U.S. copyright law since 1909.

Passed House 4/11; referred to Senate Judiciary Committee 4/12/67.

Pending in House Committee

Patent Reform Act of 1967 (H.R. 5924; S. 1042)—Modernizes U.S. 130-year-old patent system to allow faster granting of patents and to hasten public disclosure of discoveries.

In House Judiciary Subcommittee No. 3 which has held some hearings on bill.

APPROPRIATIONS ENACTED, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

For fiscal 1967

Supplemental Defense Appropriations, 1967—P. L. 90-8 (H.R. 7123; H. Rept. 119)—Appropriates $12,196,520,000 to Defense Department for U.S. military operations in Vietnam through June 30, end of fiscal 1967.

Second Supplemental Appropriations, 1967—P. L. 90-21 (H.R. 9481; H. Rept. 217)—Appropriates $2,197,931,417 for variety of existing programs which required increased funding and for some new activities authorized in 1966 (most of money was for federal pay increases).

For fiscal 1968

Agriculture Dept. and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1968—P. L. 90-113 (H.R. 10509; H. Rept. 330)—Appropriates $4,952,945,700 for fiscal 1968.

D.C. Appropriations, 1968—P. L. 90-134 (H.R. 8569; H. Rept. 190)—Appropriates $500,954,300 for D.C. fiscal 1968 budget, and provides federal payments of $67,478,200 and federal loans of $79.2 million.

Dept. of Defense Appropriations, 1968—P. L. 90-96 (H.R. 10738; H. Rept. 349)—Appropriates $69,936,620,000 in fiscal 1968.

Dept. of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1968—P. L. 90-28 (H.R. 9029; H. Rept. 206)—Appropriates $1,382,848,350 for fiscal 1968.

Depts. of Labor, and HEW, and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1968—P. L. 90-132 (H.R. 10196; H. Rept. 271)—Appropriates $13,255,356,000 for fiscal 1968.

Dept. of Transportation Appropriations, 1968—P. L. 90-112) (H.R. 11456; H. Rept. 484)—Appropriates $1,581,905,772 in fiscal 1968.

Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90 (H.R. 13893; H. Rept. 891)*—Appropriates $2,876,591,000 in fiscal 1968.

Independent Offices and Dept. of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90-121 (H.R. 9960; H. Rept. 259)—Appropriates $10,139,473,900 in fiscal 1968.

Legislative Branch Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90-57 (H.R. 10368; H. Rept. 323)—Appropriates $275,699,035 for fiscal 1968.

Military Construction Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90-180 (H.R. 13606; H. Rept. 799)—Appropriates $2,093,362,000 in fiscal 1968.

NASA Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90-131 (H.R. 12474; H. Rept. 569)—Appropriates $4,588,900,000 in FY '68.

Public Works and AEC Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90-147 (H.R. 11641; H. Rept. 505)—appropriates $4,689,938,000 in fiscal 1968.

State, Justice, Commerce, The Judiciary and Related Agencies, 1968—P.L. 90-133 (H.R. 10345; H. Rept. 318)—Appropriates $2,169,012,500 in fiscal 1968.

Supplemental Appropriations, 1968 (H.R. 14397; H. Rept. 1037)*—Appropriates $1,842,923,790 in fiscal 1968.

Treasury, Post Office and Executive Office Appropriations, 1968—P.L. 90-47 (H.R. 7501; H. Rept. 144)—Appropriates $7,545,641,000 for fiscal 1968.

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*Awaiting President's signature.

The Political Courage of Lyndon B. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, in a recent editorial, the Houston Chronicle said what has needed to be said for a long time—namely, that Lyndon B. Johnson has added a new chapter in personal political courage that will be unrivaled for years to come.

As the Chronicle declared:

> He intends to hold firm in Vietnam, to keep pushing for a tax increase which he believes is needed, and to go on fighting discrimination and working for the poor.

He is doing so, even though he knows "it is a rough road ahead." And he is doing so knowing that many Americans oppose these policies and programs.

But, while the President knows he could gain political points by placating critics on either extreme in the Vietnam controversy, he has wisely refused to do so.

And he is pushing for his tax program, not because it is the popular thing to do, but because it is right.

As the Chronicle concludes:

> This hardly sounds like the Lyndon Johnson of the great American consensus. This is a Johnson steeled by the confidence that he is right and that his critics are wrong. Many Americans are not able to share his confidence; but they will respect Mr. Johnson for his political courage.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that Americans elect a President to do what needs to be done, what he considers to be in the national interest to accomplish.

This is all a President can do. And it is what Lyndon Johnson is now doing—regardless of the political consequences—and in the best interests of the American people.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD this excellent editorial from the Houston Chronicle:

ANOTHER SIDE OF LYNDON JOHNSON

At the Democratic dinner in Washington the other day President Johnson revealed another facet of his complex personality. Despite his current political setbacks, this aspect of Lyndon Johnson may find great favor with the American people.

For the most part, Mr. Johnson is known generally as a sort of political wizard. Both as President and before that as one of the most effective Senate majority leaders in history, he has been a back-slapper and an arm-twister—political accommodator who was willing to shift positions as the circumstances demanded. Even as the Vietnam impasse has widened, many Americans have been waiting for Mr. Johnson to pull another rabbit out of the hat. This is the hope which Mr. Johnson attempted to dispel last week.

Rather, another Lyndon Johnson emerged—a man of dogged determination who says he will do what he to be done regardless of the political consequences. Everbody knows that Mr. Johnson watches the popularity polls closely. But he vowed he won't play for popularity by abandoning any of his major policies regardless of what happens. He intends to hold firm in Vietnam, to keep pushing for a tax increase which he believes is needed, and to go on fighting discrimination and working for the poor.

"I have made by choice, and I pray that I—and we—will have enough of that bravery, unselfishness and wisdom Jack Kennedy said we would need to see it through."

He knows it is a rough road ahead. He knows also that he could quickly improve his popularity rating by "renouncing the struggle in Vietnam or escalating it to the red line of danger." But he insists that he won't do that for "the road does lead to a free Asia—and a more secure America."

This hardly sounds like the Lyndon Johnson of the great American consensus. This is a Johnson steeled by the confidence that he is right and that his critics are wrong. Many Americans are not able to share his confidence; nonetheless, they will respect Mr. Johnson for his political courage.

Congressman Zion Makes Yearend Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROGER H. ZION
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, Congress having finally concluded its lengthy first session, it is appropriate that I notify the people of Indiana's Eighth District as to just what has been accomplished. I am pleased to present this report, as follows:

THE ROGER ZION REPORT: "PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN"

Christmastime is the time of year when one is inclined to look back and consider the happenings of the past twelve months. It is a time for thinking of the true meaning of Christmas and for counting our blessings. Christmas and the birth of the New Year is the time to make resolutions for the coming year and to rededicate ourselves to a life of cooperation with others. We must be determined to promote a true feeling of brotherhood among men if we are to solve our problems at home and abroad!

Christmastime is a state of mind, besides being our most revered holiday. It's a time sacred to most people when men truly have a feeling of "peace on earth, good will toward men." It's too bad that this feeling doesn't exist year-round.

While our popular carols are chanting "peace", our soldiers are fighting in a far-off country located much closer to the holy birthplace of Christ than our own homes. The prayer of "good will toward men" was also hushed during the heat of a summer torn with riots and civil unrest.

Christmas wishes and blessings seem to mock us when we remember the hatred shown so frequently during the remainder of the year. Ceasefires are declared in the hope that our fighting men may enjoy a brief period of peace. Unfortunately, these well-meant gestures do little good when aimed at an enemy with absolutely no concept of the spirit of Christmas. When the ceasefire is broken, it gets a little publicity and then is forgotten as a fresh battle season begins.

True peace can only be felt within a person or a people. The American people hope to gain their peace through the recognition of honor and responsibility. I have talked with many of our returning servicemen. They feel they are fighting to defend our honor in the form of a commitment we made to a frightened people many years ago. They don't believe our peace can be gained by refusing to honor this promise nor by refusing to stand up for what is right and just. It can't be attained by walking out on this commitment. Peace can only be achieved by finishing what was started in good faith.

This holiday season finds our nation engaged in a battle for individual freedom. Let the peace for which we long this Christmas be a goal for which we strive the other 364 days. Let us pray for a speedy and honorable conclusion to our fighting commitment. This will enable a just and proper peace to emerge—a peace that will allow our boys to rightfully return to their homes.

I believe that before the next year is over and another Christmas season is upon us, much will happen to lighten our hearts and provide renewed confidence in the future of the world. I also believe that so much we have longed for will be closer to our reach within the coming year.

In the last few years too many of us have lost pride in our country, have been ashamed of the road it has taken, have been bewildered at the twistings and turnings that seem to lead nowhere. However, before 1968 is over, I am convinced we will have done much to restore our national pride and to regain our national courage and international respect. We will know better where we are headed! Yes, I am optimistic about the future! I believe that by Christmastime, 1968, the United States will be headed back onto the course which made it the greatest nation in the world.

My staff and I wish you the very happiest of holidays and a healthful and prosperous 1968.

THE LEGISLATIVE YEAR IN REVIEW

It is difficult to judge the record of a given Congress! This one has reached the half-way mark in a flurry of conference reports and funding measures in the final rush to adjournment.

Probably history itself must be the final judge of what was accomplished by the 90th Congress' first session. It was surely one of the longest in duration in America's history and it did surpass the record for number of roll call votes in the House, hitting the 400 mark in late November, bettering an old record of 399.

As a Congressman, I do not necessarily believe that the measure of a good Congress is the mere enactment of volumes of legislation. Sometimes it is in what Congress does not do that the real measure of a deliberative body is drawn. Unlike the "rubber-stamp" 89th Congress, this body often had the courage to stand up to White House bulldozing. In 1967 Republicans, joined often by economy-minded Democrats, helped hold the line on spending policies of the Johnson Administration—policies which have been responsible for the terrible inflationary trend which is felt by every housewife and small businessman. Unfortunately, many of our spending commitments were already established by the free-wheeling 89th Congress and we had little choice but to pay the next installment on their bill.

President Johnson was adamant in his refusal to cut back on non-essential spending priorities! His spokesmen unsuccessfully tried to "sell Congress on the idea that we could have both guns and butter. A minority of us opposed, on three occasions, Administration efforts to increase the debt ceiling. We did finally succeed in paring $4 billion from the White House request for new spending authority. It was made clear to the President that his demand for a tax increase would have to be accompanied by a significant cut in expenditures. When the President was unwilling to furnish this commitment, Congress tabled the tax hike!

Congress provided the necessary tools for our fighting forces in Vietnam while demanding some policy guidelines for our conduct of that tragic war. The labels "hawk" and "dove" were often bandied about with too much ease. Many responsible Congressmen, who would wear neither label lightly, questioned the Administration's conduct of the war and yet believed our men in the field are entitled to the best in working, modern equipment. I joined many of my colleagues in questioning policies of trade and aid to our enemies and those who help them in their conduct of this war. While no positive legislation emerged in this area, some necessary beginnings were made.

On the home front, Congress faced the growing crisis in American cities with the attendant wave of crime and violence that swept the nation this summer. The Johnson policy of large, categorical grants—administered by huge bureaucracies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity—was proved a failure to meet the challenge! Anti-riot bills, flag desecration measures, and legislation to strengthen state and local officials in their fight against crime and disorder were enacted by the House as a result.

The constructive approach to enlist the resources of the private sector of the economy in the War on Poverty was not approved. Poverty funding was kept at a high level despite minority efforts to re-direct poverty assistance to the benefit of the poor themselves.

Recognizing the plight of our older citizens whose fixed incomes are being ravaged by inflation, Congress moved to pass a meaningful Social Security increase. The House version provided 12½ percent increase in benefits, a large increase and yet fiscally responsible. The bill also contained provisions to encourage states to establish programs designed to get welfare recipients into training programs and back into the ranks of the productive. The strong leadership of Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills resulted in the House version prevailing for the most part in conference although a somewhat more generous program was finally agreed upon.

Congress also moved to bring relief to the consumer! Strong meat inspection legislation was passed which would affect intrastate operations and require state inspection programs to meet Federal standards. It also appeared that a "truth-in-lending" proposal would shortly pass both Houses of Congress, requiring annual interest disclosure to be spelled out for the consumer obtaining credit.

A long, hard look at ethics of individual Members of Congress was forced by cases involving Adam Clayton Powell and Senator Dodd. The former was denied his seat in the House and the latter subjected to censure by the Senate for actions reflecting upon these Members' ethical conduct. Great impetus was provided for so-called "ethics and disclosure" legislation to provide standards of conduct for the Congress.

Veterans received over $285 million in increases and extensions in benefits including living pension increases of $102 million and GI Bill provisions of $158 million. The contribution of Vietnam veterans was recognized in this legislation by the provision for full wartime rates and pension payments for these fighting men.

The House passed a compromise school-aid bill protecting both private and parochial schools and giving states control of limited areas of the program, primarily in the area of teacher training. The Teacher Corps itself was barely refunded and student-loan programs for higher education were continued.

Congress acted on the problem of air pollution by passing legislation to encourage research and establish regulatory machinery throughout the country. Emphasis was on local approaches to the problem with Federal advice and money. More action will be forthcoming in this critical area.

The smallest foreign-aid package in many years was passed, half a billion dollars under the President's request. A growing awareness of the role of U.S. military-aid dollars in creating world tensions was evidenced during Congressional debate. The Arab-Israel and the Cyprus crises provided two sharp examples of this! These tensions, coupled with our Vietnam commitment, forced an extension of the draft law which continued deferments and limited the President's authority to establish a lottery. The new law is far from perfect and will undoubtedly be subject to early reviews and, hopefully, improvements. Again, debate revealed the hope of many Members for an eventual volunteer military force and the corresponding elimination of the draft.

My own freshman year was an exciting and challenging one. I was fortunate in receiving assignment to the powerful House Public Works Committee where I hope to be of real service in helping to obtain better roads for Southern Indiana. My assignment to five subcommittees of Public Works provided me with a full schedule for my time away from the House floor.

In addition to attempting to be conscientious by being present for House voting, I managed to introduce my own bills on a number of diverse subjects! These included bills attacking trade with our enemies, encouraging private industry to enter the War on Poverty, providing emergency Social Security benefits, establishing a Congressional committee on ethics and conduct, providing for "clean elections," opposing destruction of American rights in the Panama Canal Zone, strengthening the American petroleum industry, providing more accurate crop reporting services for the American farmer, and giving greater flexibility to highway planners in designing Interstate routes.

Some of these bills or their counterparts were to pass the House, giving me a feeling of pride and accomplishment for the Eighth District. I had occasion to take some unpopular stands in 1967, but I never cast a vote against what I believe sincerely to be in the best interest of the people I represent! That is the job of a Congressman and while I respect and encourage the views of all my constituents, I did not bow to organized "pressure" mail when I felt that the request was not in the best interest of the Eighth District.

Although I was disappointed in what Congress did NOT accomplish, I would judge it a far more responsible body than its predecessor! With the coming of the new year and the Second Session, I look forward to the new challenges and the hard work that goes with effective representation.

IT HAS BEEN A FULL, BUSY YEAR

The first session of the 90th Congress, one of the longest in history, is now at an end! It has been a busy year. There have been more than 400 roll call votes, breaking all previous records. I am most happy to say that I was able to be present for more than 90 percent of these votes.

While the legislative work load has been heavy, I was able to keep my pledge of last year, to keep in close touch with the people of the 8th District. This has been accomplished by trips each weekend back to the District which enabled me to fill more than 140 speaking engagements and personal appearances this year. Other important facets of continuous communication with the people of the 8th Congressional District have been the weekly television and raido reports, press releases, weekly news columns, and this newsletter.

The right to write

Letters, many requesting assistance and many voicing views on legislation, have been a vital link in communications with my office and the people of the 8th District. Nearly 5,000 letters coming to my Washington office have involved "casework," or assistance to constituents in their dealings with the Federal Government.

One file drawer in my office, labeled "Department of Defense," contains nearly 600 requests, each in turn demanding an answer, letters of inquiry to agencies, and followup work. While a particular case is not always resolved in favor of a constituent, we do our best in behalf of folks at home who need help in dealing with Federal agencies. At this writing there have been 150 cases pertaining to the Army—requests involving hardship discharges, compassionate transfers, allotments, reassignments, and dozens of other problems. Nearly 100 other cases involve similar problems with men in the Air Force, Navy, and Marines.

The volume of requests dealing with Social Security and Medicare, along with those in the field of education and public health involves nearly as much contact with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as with Defense. Many times we are asked to "plead the case" on behalf of constituents desiring to establish a claim for disability benefits, or to inquire about entitlement in an effort to determine that they are obtaining maximum benefits under the law.

A third major source of casework letters has brought more than 400 requests in the first eleven months of the year involving veteran's benefits.

Considerable casework, much of it demanding time-consuming research, involves requests from local government agencies, cities and towns, utility companies, civic groups, hospitals, schools, industries, and businesses.

Involved in making contacts to help with constituent problems are hundreds of agencies within the Executive Branch. Among the larger categories of most contact are—in addition to V.A., Defense Department, and H.E.W.—the Department of Agriculture, Civil Service Commission, Housing and Urban Development, Department of Interior, Interstate Commerce Commission, Labor Department, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Post Office Department, Small Business Administration, State Department, etc.

District Offices busy too

Harry Cooper, who co-ordinates activities in the field offices in New Albany, Vincennes, and Evansville, has been most active in consulting personally with constituents. He has traveled more than 40,000 miles during the year on behalf of constituents, including periodic trips to the District Offices. Harvey Ramsey, Irvin Fleischer, and Russell Lloyd, who are my liaison men in the three corners of the District, have evaluated and transmitted hundreds of cases from their offices to my Washington office or to Mr. Cooper.

Casework in the District, involving personal contact, encompasses a variety of subjects. Many times, these calls involve elderly people who find it difficult to write letters and state their problems. More than half of these cases involve Social Security, Medicare, and Veteran's Benefits. Other requests for personal contact come from industries, small businesses, water and recreation projects, armed services, and just about anything the Government is involved with.

It is my feeling of great pride that I commend the capable, hard-working people of our 8th District staff for their dedicated efforts.

Sincerely,

ROGER H. ZION.

Address by William S. Gaud, Administrator, Agency for International Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, in a speech before the seventh constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations in Bal Harbour, Fla., on December 8, Mr. William S. Gaud, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, asked for the continued support of American labor in our foreign assistance efforts.

His speech outlines some of the problems of development which face the underprivileged countries and stresses the great contribution organized labor has made to their economic and social progress.

I think this address would be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent I insert it in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM S. GAUD, ADMINISTRATOR, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, BEFORE THE SEVENTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR-CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., DECEMBER 8, 1967

It is a privilege to appear before this Seventh Constitutional Convention of the AFL–CIO.

I propose to take this opportunity to talk to you about why the United States has a foreign aid program—what that program aims to do, how it works, and why it deserves the support of every thinking citizen of this country.

One of the most important jobs of my Agency, the Agency for International Development, is to assist social and economic progress in the less developed countries. The locals, central bodies, state federations, and the men and women you represent have been carrying an important share of that job. I would like to report to you on your role in our work, and on the progress you are helping to make possible.

We live in a messy, untidy world. Around much of the globe, instability is not the exception: it is the rule. War is an almost daily danger. Look at Vietnam, the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Cyprus, the Yemen, Nigeria.

This is an old story—it is nothing new. But the world has become a small, tight place. Today, when violence starts thousands of miles away, we feel it here in the United States almost instantly. War anywhere affects us and threatens our lives, our families, and our futures.

Some of the roots of this instability are also old: hunger, poverty, disease, frustrated hopes and ambitions. Today, nearly three-quarters of the people in the world have an annual per capita income of about $150. You can say this isn't new either. But there is a new and critical factor—time. The time left to begin feeding people, housing them, educating them, and giving them hope and a stake in progress—the time in which these things must be done is now shortening.

When this country grew up, we had more time and we *took* it. Our modern economy—the institutions that organize our lives—these took more than a century to develop. But the leisurely standards of the past are no longer acceptable. In this decade, the developing nations are stretching—reaching for a faster rate of progress. The old, slow tempo will no longer do.

The new developing nations *cannot* take their time. They are under tremendous pressure to move faster than we did. Some of this pressure is internal. They have high birth rates. Their populations are growing much faster than ours did while our economy was developing. Thus, the agriculture of many of the backward nations is not up to feeding their people. And their industry does not provide enough jobs. In many of these nations, scarce resources must be used to save people from starvation today—not for growth tomorrow. The developing nations need help if they are going to move ahead in the short time in which they *must* progress if they are to survive.

And it is not only a question of survival. It is also a question of what people today expect. The people of the backward nations now have an idea of what life is like in the developed world. People whose countries stood still for centuries are determined to change. More and more of the governments of the developing nations feel this pressure. More and more of them are responding with programs to step up the pace of economic and social growth.

It comes down to this: more than a billion and a half people—over half the population of the world—no longer accept hunger. They no longer take low wages for granted. Or disease. Or lack of opportunity. They want change, and they want it fast.

Our foreign aid program is designed to assist their development efforts. And I mean it when I say "their" efforts. Development is not something that one country can do *to* another. The best we can do is to help speed up the progress of those who are trying to help themselves.

We do this in a number of ways. Development loans are one way. We lend the developing countries dollars which must be spent in the United States. This money covers the costs of specific projects—housing, schools, roads, dams, power plants and the like. Our loans also cover United States exports to these countries: fertilizer, steel, machinery, spare parts—things they need for development but which they cannot afford.

We also extend technical assistance. This part of our development program started under President Harry Truman with the Point IV program. The object is to help the new nations train the men and women and develop the institutions they need to beef up their economies and build better and more modern societies.

This is where organized labor comes in. We rely heavily on you—on the American labor movement—to provide some of this technical assistance.

Why do we call on you? Because we hope to help build and strengthen free, democratic, and effective trade union movements in the developing nations. Specifically, to achieve four things:

First, to assist the growth of unions that are both democratic and independent of companies, political parties, governments and subversive ideologies.

Second, bargaining power for the working men and women of the developing world. New bargaining power to raise the living standards of their families. Many of them have had little or no bargaining power before.

Third, to give workers a stake in the economy of their countries—and to engage labor in the effort for economic and social growth.

Fourth, to make trade unionism a powerful force for social justice in places where social justice has been in short supply.

How do we hope to get this done? By putting your ideas, your ideals and your experience at the disposal of less experienced, less effective trade union movements in the underprivileged half of the world.

In Latin America, you have been on the job for five years, working through the American Institute for Free Labor Development—or "AIFLD". The AIFLD was established through the efforts of President Meany, and Vice President Joseph Beirne, the President of the Communications Workers of America. It is financed by grants from the AFL–CIO and affiliated unions, by the Agency for International Development, and by contributions from more than 70 American firms with business interests in Latin America.

How does the AIFLD work? It puts experienced American trade unionists and skilled technicians to work with the people of the developing nations to help them identify and solve their problems. Many of you know more about this than I do—you have done it yourselves.

Consider collective bargaining. Here in the United States we take it for granted. We assume it's a good thing, and we take for granted all the organizing know-how and negotiating skill that make collective bargaining possible and effective.

Not so in many of the developing nations. Often, the need to organize is not understood; negotiating skill is non-existent; the very institutions which would make collective bargaining effective have not yet been formed.

You can help fill this vacuum where we in the Government cannot. And you are doing it in Latin America through the AIFLD. You are helping to train union leaders. You are bringing their unionists here, and sending your own people into the field. You are also beginning to use the approach of union-to-union. You are making a strong impact.

And you do more. Workers in Latin America need housing. With the Agency for International Development guaranteeing the investments, you lend them money to build. Housing for 24,000 workers is already up in seven countries. 13,000 additional units are under construction. These are multiple investments: They provide shelter, and they provide equity for you.

But most important, these and other contributions you are making provide the emerging nations with institutions: with union locals, cooperatives, workers' banks, and savings and loan associations—with all the institutions that it takes to run the affairs of modern men if the state is not to run our affairs for us. You are helping to build institutions that can bear the weight of a free society. A totalitarian society hardly *allows* for independent institutions. A free society *depends* on them.

It is not only in Latin America that the AFL–CIO is assisting development. Less than three years ago, the African-American Labor Center, the AALC, started up under AFL-CIO sponsorship. You are beginning to do for Africa what you have been doing through the AIFLD in Latin America.

Union leaders are being trained in Nigeria and the Congo. Training centers are creating new trades—tailoring, truck maintenance, others.

It may seem there is not much of a connection between a wood-cutting and cabinet workshop outfitted by the AALC and the prospects for a free, strong trade union movement in Africa. But the connection is vital. That workshop means employment. It gives training. It boosts the economy. And it teaches local union members to work together toward a common goal.

Here, in our mass production economy, teaching tailoring and cutting in Kenya seems like a small thing. But it is a big thing in Africa. It can start a whole new industry.

In this country, where we have universal education, a few thousand dollars for a literacy program does not sound impressive. In new African nations, it can make the difference between economic stagnation and progress.

At the Asian Labor Education Center in the Philippines, American unions and the Agency for International Development have helped train labor leaders representing 270 unions from 17 nations. In Indonesia, through your international secretariats, you have helped organize workers in transportation and communications. Hundreds of Indonesian labor leaders have traveled to the United States to observe modern trade unionism in action.

In South Vietnam, the contributions of organized labor have been significant, and I am glad to say they are increasing. Your help in clearing the flow of supplies into Vietnam through Saigon, and through other ports, was crucial. You helped make it possible to keep the economy of South Vietnam alive. American trade unions are also helping to support refugee villages, clinics, and health and welfare centers in Vietnam.

The American labor movement has been a great help in this business of assisting development in natons that need help. We are grateful to you. We hope you will keep at it. Too few of our fellow citizens understand the importance of economic and social progress in the underdeveloped world. Too many are asking why do we care? What have the problems of the emerging nations got to do with us? How does our assistance to these countries help the United States? Why should we have foreign aid?

There are several answers to these questions, and they all point in one direction.

First, foreign aid is right. As citizens of the richest and most powerful nation on earth, it would be wrong for us to shrug our shoulders at the conditions in which the people of the developing nations now live.

Second, as I have already said, the world today is small, compact. When there are problems in the world—when there is violence in it—the problems are ours, the danger is ours. There are no more hiding places.

One of the problems from which there is no hiding is that the underdeveloped nations are dependent and vulnerable. Their weakness leads to instability in the world. As they achieve true independence, the chances for peace will improve. Aid for development will not guarantee stability or peace. But when we neglect development, we invite instability and collisions between nations.

Third, in the developing world, national progress overshadows all other goals. The compelling urge of the new nations to improve their lot is a paramount fact of world affairs. Nothing is more characteristic of the world today—nothing will do more to shape the world tomorrow. We cannot be a part of the modern world—we cannot get along in it—we cannot expect others to respect our interests—if we neglect the interests and ambitions of nations which are now coming into their own and determined to progress.

It is also important to understand what foreign aid for development cannot do. It cannot be counted on to win friends, or to make other nations eternally grateful to us, or to gain votes in the United Nations. What foreign aid *can* do is to assist progress in places where the cry for progress is imperative. We can help the emerging nations achieve their goals, and thereby serve both our own interests and theirs.

I am often asked whether, with all the problems the United States faces, we can afford a foreign aid program. That doubt is behind the damage our legislation has been taking in the Congress. This year, it looks as though the program the President has proposed will be slashed by some 25 percent. In the opinion of the President, in the opinion of the Secretary of State and in my own opinion it will be too small to serve our interests adequately. For example:

We will have to reduce sharply our programs in India, in Pakistan and in Africa.

We will not be able to carry out our part of the plans made last spring at the Punta del Este Conference to increase efforts in agriculture, education and health under the Alliance for Progress.

We will have to short-change our security-oriented and military aid programs in East Asia and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, in Vietnam, we are spending ten times what we spend for foreign aid. As I see it, the question is not whether we can afford a foreign aid program. The question is whether we can afford to be without one. Should we spend 10 percent of our military costs in Vietnam to help prevent future Vietnams? Of course we should. We must.

Today, the foreign aid program is in trouble. It is in trouble because too few people understand what it is all about. It desperately needs the active support of all those who do understand it and who have the influence and the organization to carry its message to the grass roots of America.

You have the organization—you represent 14,000,000 Americans. You have proven ability to influence and to lead public opinion on vital issues.

I urge you to support this program and to make your views felt.

A Report to My Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, one of our colleagues has a plaque in his office on which are inscribed the following words:

> I promise to remember who I am, where I am from, and who sent me.

This is a pledge that all public servants should remember at all times.

I have made it a practice throughout my years in Congress to report to my constituents at the conclusion of each session on my activities during the year. This is my way of keeping them informed of their Congressman's activities, his efforts and his views on major legislation. This is my way, as a responsible public official, of giving an account of my stewardship and remembering "who sent me." This, then, is my fifth annual report covering the year 1967.

At the conclusion of my fifth year as your Representative in Congress from the Second District of Connecticut, I wish to thank all my constituents for the privilege of serving them and our country. I am very grateful for this privilege and look forward to continuing these services in 1968.

THE 1967 SESSION

The 1967 session, known officially as the first session of the 90th Congress, was one of the longest in our history. It began on January 10 and ended on December 15, a total of more than 11 months of continuous work. Incidentally, during my 5 years in Congress we have been in session for 52 out of 60 months, thus averaging nearly 10 and a half months per year. This is certainly a full-time job which requires full dedication.

The previous Congress, the 89th, was widely recognized as one of the most productive in our history. By comparison, the first session of the present Congress has been slow-moving and not as dramatic in its achievements. In some quarters there is even some disappointment with its "meager" results. This was perhaps to be expected. Coming after the productive 89th, any session of Congress would seem less industrious. The truth, however, is that the 1967 session was no less hardworking. It was in many ways more cautious, somewhat more conservative in its approach to national problems, and from its inception assumed an attitude of "let's watch and see" how the Nation will adjust to legislation adopted by the previous Congress.

It is also worth bearing in mind that the 90th Congress has another year to go and much can happen during the coming year in the way of legislation. The record may seem entirely different by the time the 1968 session is concluded. Let us, therefore, not be too hasty with criticism. Let me assure my constituents that, as their Representative in Congress, I am well aware of the many problems confronting our Nation at home and abroad and I shall at all times keep the interests of our country uppermost in mind when fulfilling my duties as your Representative.

As in the past, I shall continue to keep my constituents informed of my activities and deeds. This will be done, as in previous years, through the press, radio and television, newsletters, reports, correspondence, public appearances, and personal contact.

It would be false to assume that the 1967 session produced little in the way of important legislation. Some of the bills passed during the session, in my estimation, will prove to be quite meaningful to the average citizen as the years go on. In fact, because of its legislative achievements in such fields as social security, aid to education, consumer protection, air pollution control, and aid to the poor and needy, I feel that in due time the session will be rated better than average. To be sure, there is much that remains unfinished. This, however, will be the task of the 1968 session which convenes on January 15.

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

There is no doubt that the war in Vietnam was the overriding issue throughout the entire year 1967. Practically every bill, every problem, every vote taken, was overshadowed by the war or was considered under its impact. I have been deeply concerned with the Vietnam situation over the past 2 years and on several occasions I joined with some of my colleagues in Congress in urging steps to end the war. Among the steps advocated were cessation of bombing to encourage North Vietnam to enter into peace negotiations, turning over the Vietnam problem to the United Nations, and establishing United Nations peacekeeping forces.

More recently, I came to the conclusion that the time is ripe to undertake a reevaluation of our role in Vietnam and a reassessment of our position there. The conflict has become a very costly one for us in the way of lives and resources. Recently there are indications that the people of South Vietnam have achieved a more stable government, one which should in time be able to concentrate on the war effort with greater success and pursue its own struggle for freedom. There is even more recent evidence that South Vietnamese troops have taken a more effective part in the actual fighting. I trust this will enable us in the coming year to begin a gradual withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam.

In the meantime, we are going through a very trying period in our history, one which requires patience, courage, and hope on the part of all of us. Many voices of dissent have risen and they are entitled to be heard, but they are not entitled to incite to violence or cause disruption of our lawful governmental functions. North Vietnam and its supporters in Peking and Moscow must realize that the American people are sincerely seeking peace with freedom and honor, and should not misinterpret this search as a sign of weakness. Many of my constituents have written me about this most vital issue, and these expressions and views are always welcome.

MAJOR LEGISLATION

In judging the record of a Congress, the questions should always be asked: Have the American people benefited from its action? Is the United States more secure, its way of life and its institutions more purposeful? I am convinced that the American people possess the intelligence to judge for themselves when presented with the facts.

The 1967 session enacted into law about 500 bills and adopted several hundred resolutions, but not all of these are of national significance. Perhaps no more than 50 of these could be considered of major importance. Because of limitation of space, I should like to list briefly only a few of these:

Social security: New amendments provide for a 13-percent increase for all beneficiaries, minimum monthly benefits jump from $44 to $55, the amount of outside earnings is raised from $1,500 to $1,680 annually, and certain improvements are made in medicare, disability, child health, and other benefits.

Two other measures affecting our older and middle-aged citizens are worth mentioning: The Older Americans Act, which is extended for another 5 years and provides training and community programs for the elderly; Age Discrimination Act, to prohibit employers and employment agencies from discriminatory practices in hiring workers between the ages of 40 and 65 because of their age.

In the field of health several important bills were enacted: Partnership for health, which authorizes $589 million for the next 3 years as grants to the States for comprehensive health planning and services, including $40 million for rat control projects; mental retardation amendments, which provides $282 million for construction of mental retardation facilities, staffing of centers, training teachers for the handicapped, and so forth; vocation rehabilitation, authorizes grants to the States for training and services to the physically handicapped, migrant workers, and establishment of a National Center for Deaf and Blind Youths and Adults; Air Quality Act, which authorizes $428 million over the next 3 years for air pollution control.

Congress took important steps toward consumer protection by passing these measures: Meat Inspection Act, which provides for a strong program of Federal standards in inspection of meat and meat products and raises the level of State inspection to Federal requirements; Flammable Fabrics Act, is extended to all items of wearing apparel and household furnishings, while the sale of goods not meeting safety standards is prohibited; establishment of a seven-member National Commission on Product Safety to identify products which present a hazard to consumers.

Although the previous Congress was known for its enactment of many worthwhile measures in the field of education, time may prove that the 1967 session overshadowed it. One of the greatest measures of all time is undoubtedly the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides $9.3 billion over the next 2 years, the largest sum ever provided in our history for education. This act includes aid to education on a vast scale, including supplemental education, a new bilingual program, studies on school dropouts in urban areas, adult education, et cetera. Mention should also be made of enactment of the Teacher Corps—volunteer teachers in poor areas; Education Professions Development Act—new teacher training programs; and the program to provide library services to the physically handicapped. Of notable interest is the new Public Broadcasting Act, which will provide Federal assistance for broadening and improving educational television and radio programs.

In the field of aid to the poor and to economically depressed areas there are several important measures, among them: Economic opportunity amendments under which Congress appropriated nearly $1.8 billion for the antipoverty program, now extended for another 2 years. Several new programs will be launched, including day-care centers to assist working mothers and $25 million for a special program to feed the hungry and needy. Food Stamp Act, which provides for a 2-year extension of this successful program enabling low-income families in slum sections and depressed areas to increase their food-purchasing power. Appalachia Redevelopment Act, authorizes $715 million over a 4-year period to help the depressed Appalachian area, encompassing sections of 11 States extending from New York and Pennsylvania to Mississippi and Alabama. It includes public works, highways, land and water conservation, low-rent housing, et cetera.

Nor was the economy of the Nation overlooked by Congress. In this sphere we enacted: The Small Business Act, amended to increase the amount of loans and guarantees for small business firms; the interest equalization tax, extended for another 2 years to relieve the U.S.

balance-of-payments deficit by making it more costly for foreigners to borrow from U.S. sources; the investment tax credit was restored and other measures were taken.

In international affairs may be listed: Emergency food aid to India—in cooperation with other countries—to help meet India's critical food shortage; the foreign aid program—reduced from $3.1 billion last year to $2.6 billion this year; extension of the Peace Corps; U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank to help Latin America; and two treaties with the Soviet Union to establish consulates and to ban nuclear weapons from space.

The list is far from ended. For our cities Congress enacted the rent supplement and model cities programs, extension of urban renewal, more water and sewer facilities, and more low-rent housing. A Veterans Pension and Readjustment Act was adopted to provide benefits to all those who entered service in the last 3 years, including educational benefits, and a cost-of-living increase in benefits for all veterans, their widows and dependents. Pay increases were approved for those in military service, and for Federal employees and postal workers. The draft was extended for another 4 years, funds were appropriated for our national defense needs, as well as for the various Government departments and agencies.

In other words, Congress has dealt responsibly with the problems facing America and its role as a force for peace and stability in the world.

ST. ONGE BILLS

During the 1967 session I introduced a total of 67 bills and resolutions: 49 public measures and 18 private bills, the latter being immigration or claims bills. This is the most I have introduced in any one of my 5 years in Congress. Several of them were enacted, others are still in process and should be enacted in 1968. Among some of my major bills are:

Increase in social security benefits, including cost-of-living adjustments—enacted in part; Older Americans Act to provide community services for the elderly—enacted; establishment of a Small Tax Division in the U.S. Tax Court to help small taxpayers; a national program of flood insurance; extend the right to vote to persons 18 years of age and over; reclassification of certain positions in the postal service; regulation of imports of milk and dairy products to help dairy farmers—adopted by Executive order of the President; establish United Nations peacekeeping operations; designate October 12 as a legal holiday in honor of Columbus; revision of U.S. copyright laws; improvement of Federal-State program of child welfare services.

Also care and treatment of veterans in State veterans homes; protect veterans against loss of pension resulting from increased social security benefits—enacted; preserve and protect estuarine areas, such as Connecticut shoreline; include prescribed drugs for elderly people under the medicare program; resolution on permanent peace in the Middle East; protection of U.S. textile industry against import of textiles from abroad; construction and rehabilitation of adequate housing for every American family; better employment opportunities for the unemployed; instruction in Chinese language and culture at our universities and high schools; provide a greater share of Government contracts to businesses in smaller cities; and development of a total marine transport system, including nuclear-powered merchant vessels and submarines.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the year my staff and I made every effort to answer all letters and to be helpful in every way possible to constituents requesting help or information, to communities seeking assistance with Federal applications, and to organizations, schools, and visitors. Efforts were made to obtain more public works projects, Federal contracts for industry, small business loans, grants for educational projects, new post offices and extension of old ones, aid to poultry and dairy farmers, and housing for the elderly.

On a personal basis help was provided to many individuals and families with social security matters, veterans pensions, servicemen's cases, welfare needs, student aid, housing problems, employment, and others. Tours were arranged for constituents coming to Washington, especially large numbers of school children. In short, the needs of my district and my constituents received priority at all times.

As your Congressman, I am always glad to receive your views on vital legislation, or your call for assistance on matters dealing with the Federal Government or any of its agencies. I deeply appreciate the support and confidence the people of the Second District have shown me. For any information or assistance, please address all correspondence to me as follows: Congressman WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, room 1405, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Eighteenth Annual Congressional Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, my 18th annual congressional questionnaire is ready to go to the people of the 16th Congressional District of Ohio seeking their opinions on some of the issues that will come before the Congress during its 1968 session. The questionnaire is especially helpful in measuring public opinion during a time when the prolonged session of Congress makes it impossible for a Representative to be in his district and talk with his people. I hope there will be a good response.

I include it at this point for the RECORD:

Do you favor or oppose—

1. "Block-grant" federal aid programs, providing lump sums for a general purpose (i.e. health), leaving it to the States to determine specific purposes for which money will be spent. (Instead of specific federal aid projects.)

2. Federal revenue sharing, returning percentage of federal tax revenue to the States. (Instead of specific federal aid.)

3. Human Investment Act providing tax credit incentive to employers for part of cost of training workers on the job.

4. Phase out urban renewal program as we know it in favor of incentives to promote private rebuilding and improvement.

5. Senate-passed bill providing use of federal government funds to finance both parties in political campaigns.

6. Johnson request for 10 per cent surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes (exempting lowest income tax brackets).

7. Would you favor continuing about the present rate, increasing or reducing federal programs for the following:

[In billions]

	Present spending	Same	Increase	Reduce
Health	$3.0	------	--------	-------
Education	4.0	------	--------	-------
Welfare	4.5	------	--------	-------
Natural resources	3.2	------	--------	-------
Defense other than Vietnam	50.8	------	--------	-------
Space	5.6	------	--------	-------
Foreign aid	3.0	------	--------	-------

8. Which policy do you recommend in Vietnam? (check one):

(a) Withdraw U.S. forces.

(b) Continue military effort at present levels while continuing to seek avenues for negotiation.

(c) Intensify military effort including non-nuclear bombing of ports and installations, and hot pursuit into Cambodia or other neutral sanctuaries.

(d) De-escalate military effort while pursuing negotiation.

9. Please check your preference for President in 1968:

Republican

Nixon ------
Percy ------
Reagan ------
Rhodes ------
Rockefeller ------
Romney ------

Democrat

Johnson ------
Kennedy ------
McCarthy ------

Third Party

Wallace ------

Congressional Reforms Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the congressional reform bill, S. 355, passed the Senate by a vote of 75 to 9 March 7, 1967, and since March 9 has been languishing in the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. Many of the key features of the Senate passed bill were offered by the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, which was established in 1965. The recommendations contained in its final report were filed with the Congress more than a year ago by a unanimous vote of the 12-man bipartisan group.

Although some necessary reforms were not recommended by the joint committee, such as a study of the role of Congress in foreign policy, and others recommended by the committee were not included in the Senate version of the bill; there is absolutely no excuse for the leadership to keep this important legislation bottled-up in the Rules Committee.

The bill incorporates many needed provisions, including: the creation of a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations; improved minority committee staffing; a tightening of the jurisdiction of committees to avoid overlap and improve procedures; appointment of postmasters in accordance with the civil service laws; and revised regulation of lobbying. Further, the bill includes means by which Congress can exert necessary fiscal controls; automatic data processing techniques; cost effectiveness studies; supplemental budget information and budget review.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon the majority to bring this important legislation to the floor early in 1968, so that we might effect these needed reforms.

I include for the RECORD a perceptive article on this subject by Roscoe Drummond, which appeared in a recent edition of the Washington Post. The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 20, 1967]

CONGRESS REFORMS NEEDED TO IMPROVE ITS PUBLIC IMAGE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Congressmen are sensitive about their reputation and they do more to damage it—and that of Congress itself—than anybody else.

If Congress is to improve its image with the voters, it must improve its performance in transacting the public business more efficiently and more effectively.

Throughout this year the Democratic leadership of the House of Representatives has used its power and ingenuity—it has both—to keep the congressional reform bill of 1967 under lock and key.

The provisions of this bill would help Congress transact its business more efficiently and more effectively.

The purpose of the House Democratic leadership was to kill the bill by keeping members from having the opportunity to vote on it.

The purpose of the House Democratic leadership was to prevent any reform which would force high-handed, power-minded committee chairmen to be somewhat more responsive to the majority of the members of each committee and thus make representative government work better.

And now a whole year has been thrown away and the first congressional reform effort in two decades remains locked in the despotic grip of the House Rules Committee which is acting as though it thought the Democrats were going to be in control forever.

The imprisoned congressional reform bill was unanimously recommended by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress which put long months of study into its preparation.

It has already been passed overwhelmingly by the Senate.

The Democratic members of the Rules Committee didn't dare let it come to the floor of the House because they knew it would be passed.

The reforms which the Senate has approved and which the House Democratic leadership is suppressing are modest but meaningful.

The bill would reduce some of the arbitrary power of Committee chairmen by providing, for example, that a chairman's refusal to hold hearings or to permit a bill to be reported to the House could be overruled by a majority vote of the whole Committee.

It would provide professional staff assistance for the minority Party and put selection and use of such staff under the control of the minority.

It would organize the work of Congress so that the first three months of Congress wouldn't be wasted, as it often now is, and aim to enable Congress to adjourn normally by July 31.

The need here is to provide for committee hearings in the fall before Congress meets in January so that much of the committee work will be ready at the opening of each session.

The Republican members of the Joint Committee on reorganization made a further proposal that ought to be embodied in the bill next year. They proposed that the Senate and House Government Operations Committees have a majority of members who are not of the Party which controls the Presidency.

This is not a self-serving recommendation since the Republicans feel they have a good chance of taking the White House in 1968. There is a good precedent. The Republican Senate put a Democrat in charge of the Teapot Dome investigation when Coolidge was President.

Trick or Treating for UNICEF

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, last Halloween, like thousands of other children across the country, several youngsters in the district I represent were trick or treating for UNICEF. When they rang the doorbell of one home, they were abruptly rejected and handed a hate-filled, anti-UNICEF pamphlet which suggested they were trick or treating for Communists.

This folder blatently asserts that UNICEF funds were used to "finance the U.N. invasion of pro-Western, anti-Communist Katanga" in 1961. Moreover, it indicts the whole U.N. organization as an instrument of a conspiracy to overthrow the American Government and asserts that the "U.N. Covenant on Human Rights" violates the American Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence.

Although the distributors of this pamphlet sought to conceal its source, an investigation by my office traced it to a John Birch Society outlet at 1230 Hertel Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y.

The incredible fact about these hate flyers is that they are attacking what the late President Herbert Hoover called "the major beneficial service of the United Nations." I wonder if the Birchers are suggesting that President Hoover, like President Eisenhower, was a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy?

UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, formerly the United Nations International Emergency Fund, was established to meet the emergency needs of children in the war-ravaged nations immediately after the Second World War. Today the work of this great organization still goes on in underdeveloped countries: in maternal and child car facilities, in disease immunization facilities, wiping out malaria in the Carribean, providing milk processing facilities and supplements to children's diets—the list goes on and on.

Mr. Speaker, the work of UNICEF stands as one of the great humanitarian achievements of this century. In 1965, UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It has been acclaimed by Pope Paul VI, the American Jewish Committee, and the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ. As further testimony to the value of its achievements, I cite the following statements of five American Presidents:

Millions of people all over the world were pleased to learn that UNICEF has been selected for the 1965 Nobel Peace Prize. Never was an award more aptly made.

UNICEF is giving new hope for a better life to the generations in whose hands the security of the world soon will rest. There is no nobler work for peace.

Your UNICEF Trick or Treat Day has helped turn a holiday too often marred by youthful vandalism into a program of basic training in world citizenship.

Your great humanitarian program aids innocent children who are the victims of mankinds oldest enemies—disease, hunger, and ignorance. I want to express to you, your staff, and the hundreds of thousands of young Americans who are participating in this annual event my deep appreciation for your unselfish work on behalf of children everywhere. (Lyndon B. Johnson, October 27, 1965)

Children are the world's most valuable resource and its best hope for the future. It is a real tragedy that in an era of vast technological progress and scientific achievement millions of children should still suffer from lack of medical care, proper nutrition, adequate education, and be subjected to the handicaps and uncertainties for a low-income, substandard environment.

Through the years, the efforts of the United Nations Children's Fund to meet this great challenge and alleviate such needs have met with a remarkable measure of success. Our own children and adults who have contributed to this work, mostly through UNICEF's Halloween and Greeting Card programs, can be proud of the results of their generosity.

At a time when UNICEF's endeavors encompass more than 500 programs for children and mothers in 116 countries, much remains to be done. I urge all Americans to respond once again in a spirit and good will to UNICEF's appeal this fall. (John F. Kennedy, July 25, 1963)

It is heartwarming to follow the work of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund.

Please give my congratulations to the members of the United Nations Committee for UNICEF for their unceasing efforts to alleviate hunger and disease among "all the world's children". In their program, which enlists the support of many generous citizens, they contribute much to the lives of millions in need. (Dwight D. Eisenhower, October 23, 1959)

> I have always had a special interest in the work and program of the United Nations Children's Fund, and have followed with satisfaction the humanitarian services performed by them in many countries the world over.
>
> The people of the United States have always maintained close ties and a special concern for the plight of children, whoever they may be and whatever their origin.
>
> I wish you continued success in your high purpose. (Harry S. Truman, October 9, 1963)
>
> It is my conviction that UNICEF is ably and honestly conducted. Its director is a former associate of mine. To me it is the major beneficial service of the United Nations. (Herbert Hoover, October 19, 1962)

No further statements are required to attest to the high purpose and great achievements of this humanitarian organization. The help they have rendered to millions of underprivileged children and mothers stands in eloquent rebuttal to the malicious slanders of the John Birch Society.

But to answer their specific charge that UNICEF funds were used to support the U.N. action in the Congo in 1961, I offer the following clarification:

In 1961, the U.S. Government allocated $10 million in support of UNICEF. Prior to actual payment, the Secretary General required emergency funds to carry on U.N. action in the Congo. Acting under U.N. Resolution 1341, authorizing him to borrow funds from special accounts, and after consulting with UNICEF and the U.S. Government, the Secretary General was advanced the $10 million, which was repaid in full to UNICEF before the end of the year.

Therefore, the money specified for UNICEF, went to UNICEF.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this clears the record of this wild charge. And, as I stated before, the record UNICEF has made in its humanitarian endeavors is, in itself, the best rebuttal to these charges.

As for the second contention in the pamphlet, that the U.N. is an instrument of an international Communist conspiracy, this is founded on a gross misunderstanding of the purpose of the U.N.

The purpose of the United Nations is not a forum for invective, nor is it an instrument of U.S. foreign policy; rather, it is an organization particularly established to promote world peace and to serve as an arena where nations may weigh the results of their actions by the judgments, resolutions, and sanctions of the world community. But the Birchers would like to think that the over 115 sovereign nations of the General Assembly ought to forsake their own national goals for those of the United States. I believe the response to this position is best summed up in the words of the late President John F. Kennedy:

> We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom.

The third allegation in the pamphlet is that the "U.N. Covenant on Human Rights violates the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence."

First of all, it is impossible to "violate" the Declaration of Independence. It is, as it says, a declaration, not a law.

Second, as for the "U.N. Covenant on Human Rights"; there is no such document.

Third, the pamphlet quotes from article 15, section 3 and article 20 of the "U.N. Covenant on Human Rights." This is incorrect. What the authors are quoting is not the "U.N. Covenant on Human Rights," but the "U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights"; not article 15, section 3, but article 18, section 3, and article 20.

Fourth, let us examine these quotations. Article 15, section 3:

> Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations *as are prescribed by law.**

Note here that the quote goes on in the original text. What was omitted was the following:

> . . . and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interest of national security, or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

The same kind of half-truth was expressed in the citation of article 20:

> Article 20, The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restriction may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed *in conformity with the law.**

Again a half statement. The following was omitted:

> . . . and are necessary to protect the public safety, order, health or morals of the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

Mr. Speaker, these two statements, when read in full, are in complete agreement with our own domestic rights as expressed in the Bill of Rights.

Finally, these misquoted documents, which the John Birch Society imputes are stealing our citizens' basic rights, were not even signed by the U.S. Government.

But even if they had been signed by the United States, international statements of this type have absolutely no legal character nor binding effect on this or any other nation on earth.

What this pamphlet amounts to then, Mr. Speaker, is pure printed poison fraught with tiny shards of half-truths and semifacts deliberately designed to mislead the American public.

I call upon all Americans to recognize this for what it is—to reject this call to hatred—and to reject those anonymous phantoms who create and distribute it.

President of the American Bar Association Urges Enactment of the National Foundation of Law Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the comments of Earl F. Morris, president of the American Bar Association, which appeared on "The President's Page" of the December 1967 issue of the American Bar Association Journal, merit wide circulation.

In this article, Mr. Morris sets forth cogent reasons for the enactment of H.R. 13584, "A bill to amend title 28 of the United States Code to establish the National Foundation of Law to promote improvement in the administration of justice in the United States," which I introduced in the House, and the counterpart thereof, S. 2627, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in inserting in the RECORD "The President's Page":

THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

The decade of the 1950's saw the beginning of what might be called "the age of science". We had just passed through the most devastating war in history, which ended with the explosion of the atomic bomb, the culmination of man's most ambitious scientific endeavor, heralding the new age.

Early in this period it was decided that, if our scientific efforts were to progress at a sufficiently rapid pace, money in large amounts was needed. Since private foundations could not contribute in sufficient sums to achieve the goals that our nation had set for itself, the Federal Government made a commitment of funds for the development of our scientific resources by the creation of the National Science Foundation. Since the start of this foundation, the Congress has allocated almost three billion dollars to subsidize its work.

In the social sciences, which category, of course, includes the law, most of the money for education and research has come from private foundations, but during the past year legislation has been introduced in the Congress to establish a National Foundation for the Social Sciences, and another bill would direct the National Science Foundation to fund social science projects.

While favoring the principle of these bills, the American Bar Association recognizes that the research and educational requirements of the legal profession and the need for improvement in the administration of justice require more funds than can be provided by general purpose agencies concerned with all social sciences. The law is directly involved in many of the great issues of our time, and lawyers are a vital part of the age of change and challenge in which our society finds itself.

In this context the American Bar Association and the Association of American Law Schools, in conjunction with the American Association of Law Libraries, have recommended a federally subsidized foundation, to be known as the National Foundation of Law. The creation and funding of such a foundation has received bipartisan support in the Congress with the introduction of H.R. 13584 in the House by Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and of S. 2627 in the Senate by Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois, ranking minority member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. A similar bill has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Joseph Tydings of Maryland.

While other social sciences have explored their relationship to the social processes and have projected an awareness of the mutability of the social order, the law has generally continued along traditional paths of inquiry. Until relatively recent years, most legal research was conducted, to use the words of Professor David Cavers, *in* law rather than *about* law, and without searching examination of tangential questions relating to the social order. Only recently have revisions in the substance and method of legal eduaction and research begun to develop in conjunction with social change.

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*Italics in pamphlet text.

Progress has been slow, in large part because of a lack of substantial financial support for legal education and research. Law-oriented projects regularly receive a smaller share of private support than programs in other social sciences, to say nothing of the tremendous subsidies given to studies in the physical sciences. Between 1955 and 1966, private foundation support of legal activities totaled $62,000,000 dollars. Although at first blush this sum seems quite significant, it equaled only about 1 per cent of the grand total of monies granted by these foundations during this period.

The National Foundation of Law would support programs for the improvement of the administration of justice; assistance for legal education, including prelaw studies, basic and graduate legal education, advanced study for specialization and continuing education; the establishment and improvement of law libraries and related facilities and services; research, experimentation and innovation for the future, including development and revision of the law; the increased availability of needed legal services to the public; and greater recognition of professional responsibility by members of the legal profession.

Representative Celler, in introducing his bill, told the House that the financial support that would be provided by the National Foundation of Law "is needed if our legal processes and institutions are to continue to provide the framework necessary for ordered progress in all aspects of our national life".

I hope that every lawyer will take sufficient interest in this proposal, and in the purposes it attempts to fulfill, to study and evaluate it and to lend enthusiastic support. I further hope that every bar association, state and local, will do likewise. By writing to your Representatives and Senators and expressing your approval of the National Foundation of Law, you will help in forwarding many of our most cherished goals for better legal education and research and for improvements in the profession and the administration of justice—goals the attainment of which will redound to the public interest.

Senator McCarthy Raises Questions About Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. Speaker, a distinguished Member of the U.S. Senate, EUGENE MCCARTHY, of Minnesota, has written a very important book dealing with the role of the United States in today's world. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that excerpts from that book and from a recent speech by Senator MCCARTHY be included at this point in the RECORD.

[From "The Limits of Power—America's Role in the World" by Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, 1967]

NEW MCCARTHY BOOK QUESTIONS WASTE OF U.S. STRENGTH IN VIETNAM

There is never a totally painless way to pull back from either unwise, ill-advised, or outdated commitments. But throughout history mighty nations have learned the limits of power. There are lessons to be learned from Athens, from Rome, from sixteenth-century Spaip, and from England and France in this century.

Many of our problems today are the result of our unwillingness or inability in the past to anticipate what might be the shape of the world twenty years in the future.

Few Americans expected in 1945 that twenty years later we would still have 250,000 troops in Europe. We have 55,000 troops in South Korea fourteen years after the end of the fighting; yet, at the height of the Korean conflict we never had as many troops committed as we have in Vietnam.

We must ask whether the United States is prepared to maintain from 100,000 to 200,000 troops in South Vietnam as well, for fifteen or twenty years after the fighting stops.

The process must be reversed before temporary commitment assumes the character of a permanent establishment and an irritation in the changed context of another generation. We must begin now the adjustments of attitude which will be necessary if we are to reduce or liquidate our commitments in Asia.

TOWARD WHAT OBJECTIVE IN VIETNAM?

(From a speech at the Macalester College International Affairs Symposium, November 1967)

Today our potential foreign obligations are almost unlimited. We have moved from a position of isolation and rejection of world responsibility to a position of isolated, almost singular responsibility for the whole world.

The important questions are these: In the name of what do we struggle? Toward what objective? By what means?

American commitments abroad can be sustained and justified only to the extent to which they reflect the relationship of power and objectives, of ends and means.

We have had in recent years a kind of reverse order of relationships in the United States position in the world, particularly in Southeast Asia. The objectives have become a function of power. Commitment has followed engagement; the flag has followed military forces rather than the traditional order.

The time has come to raise the essential moral question as to whether or not there is a proper balance in what we may gain, in what is projected as victory, in contrast with the loss of life, the loss of material goods, the loss of moral integrity and moral energy which goes with the effort.

The answer, I think, is that there is not.

The Outward Looking Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the fall 1967 issue of the Exchange, a publication by the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs, is most noteworthy for the healthy perspective it takes on the great variety of programs in the private sector in this area in context with public sector efforts. One of the most helpful services of government in this, and in most other areas, is to direct public attention and support to efforts undertaken in the private sector to what we deem to be worthy public goals. For this reason congratulations are due to the Advisory Commission, and to help bring this matter to the attention of all Members, I am placing my supporting letter to the staff director, Mr. James Donovan, in the RECORD at this point:

DECEMBER 18, 1967.

Mr. JAMES A. DONOVAN, Jr.,
Staff Director, U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DONOVAN: I wish to extend my congratulations and appreciation to the Commission for the excellence in the selection of topics for discussion and the excellence of the topical papers in the Fall 1967 "Exchange" published by the Commission.

I am pleased that Section 107, Public Law 87–256, as cited: "The Commission . . . shall make reports to the public in the United States and abroad to develop a better understanding of and support for the programs authorized by this Act" has been interpreted broadly to mean "a better understanding of and support for the objectives to which the programs authorized by this Act seek to contribute."

I have been critical at times in the past of both the actions and the reports of the Commission in seeming to center on the governmental programs per se rather than on the objectives to which hopefully these programs contribute, in context with the many more programs in numbers and in variety which exist in the private sector.

It is my own judgment that the area for direct governmental programs is quite limited, but that the area of government in providing an exchange of information about programs in existence or in contemplation and the area of government facilitating programs in meeting their objectives and facilitating new programs to come into being is quite large and in need of constant and considerable development.

Certainly the Fall 1967 "Exchange" moves admirably in the proper direction, as I see it. I hope that all members of Congress will read the articles in the Fall 1967 Exchange. To further this end in a modest way, I am placing a copy of this letter in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

Sherrill C. Corwin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, Sherrill C. Corwin is a great American. Never has there been a member of our community who has given so tirelessly of himself and his resources for his fellow man. Sherrill Corwin is my warm personal friend, and the information that follows touches only briefly upon his many interests and contributions.

Showman, businessman and civic leader, Sherrill C. Corwin of Los Angeles on October 20, 1967, retired as president of the National Association of Theatre Owners to become chairman of the board, of this, the largest, and most important, exhibitor organization in motion picture history, representing more than 10,000 theaters.

President of the Metropolitan Theatres Corp. and its subsidiaries, he directs the operations of one of the west coast's leading circuits of 35 conventional and drive-in theaters. The company is headquartered in its new office building at 8727 West Third Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

In addition to his theater interests, Mr. Corwin is a director of the Union Bank, Los Angeles, and the Executive Life Insurance Co., Beverly Hills. He is vice president and a director of KAKE Television and Radio, Inc., Wichita, Kans. He owns and operates radio KGUD AM and FM, Santa Barbara, Calif., and is partnered in TV channel 20, San Francisco.

Identified with many humanitarian and civic activities, he is on the board of trustees of the Will Rogers Memorial Fund which operates Will Rogers Hospital, Saranac Lake, N.Y. He is also on the board of governors of Cedars-Sinai Hospitals, Los Angeles. Mr. Corwin has served as Los Angeles chairman for the Theatres and Exchanges Division of the United Crusade—Community Chest—and of the United Jewish Welfare Fund. He is an international vice president of Variety Club, devoted to the welfare of underprivileged children. He is a past president of Temple Israel of Hollywood.

Mr. Corwin served as president of Hillcrest Country Club, Los Angeles, for 3 years and he is a lifetime member of its board of directors. He is a vice president on the board of the National Club Association and is a member of Tamarisk Country Club, Palm Springs, and the Los Angeles Club.

A longtime leader in exhibition matters, Mr. Corwin became a director of the Theatre Owners of America in 1948. He served as vice president in 1951–52 and assistant to the president in 1964–65. When TOA merged with Allied States Association of Motion Picture Exhibitors to form the mammoth National Association of Theatre Owners—NATO—in January 1966, he was named president-designate to take office for the first full term starting in October 1966. He is also president of his regional unit, NATO of southern California.

Sherrill Corwin's father was a theater owner in Iowa as early as 1919. After the family moved to Los Angeles in 1923, he attended the University of Southern California and later joined in the operation of the family theater interests. Early in his career he managed Los Angeles' famed Orpheum Theatre, which is still an integral part of his circuit, producing and supervising stage shows which over the years utilized more than 5,000 acts, including the initial opportunities of many of today's top stars.

I know that the distinguished Members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States join me in praising this fine American and wishing him happiness for the years to come.

"The Night People" at South Miami Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the past 2 years Miami has experienced a considerable increase in its population due to the Cuban refugee influx. The people of South Miami and of Miami should be commended for their humanitarian gesture of friendship and kindnesses shown to these people who have fled the yoke of communistic tyranny.

The south Florida area has benefited from many of Cuba's outstanding professional and business leaders who have come to this country with only the clothing on their back to start anew. By Florida law, individuals who are in professional trade, such as: Doctors, dentists, accountants, and attorneys, in particular, are required to take the necessary State board examinations before they can practice their chosen professions. I have felt, because it would be in the national interest, that I should sponsor private legislation to grant retroactive citizenship to these outstanding professional people. The House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Immigration, has established a policy of enacting bills which are for doctors or dentists because of the great national shortage of these trained professional people. This is a commendable gesture on the part of this distinguished committee.

I am happy to say that of the 20 private bills on behalf of doctors or dentists that I have sponsored in this first session of the 90th Congress, that more than one-half of them have already been enacted into law.

I was pleased to read a recent article in the South Miami Hospital's magazine, the Tranquilizer, entitled "The Night People," which gave a detailed study and background of one of the recipients of this private legislation. The South Miami Hospital is one of the most outstanding hospitals in south Florida and Dr. Suarez has been and certainly is a credit to this fine hospital and to the Miami medical profession.

Mr. Speaker, I insert, at this point in the RECORD, this article concerning Dr. Rafael Suarez, whose private bill was approved by the President on August 4, 1967, in Public Law 90–55.

THE NIGHT PEOPLE: ACT OF CONGRESS FOR DR. SUAREZ

Doctor Rafael Suarez, Chief Resident Physician at South Miami Hospital, is now, through a special Act of Congress, a full-fledged United States citizen. The bill, H.R. #18249, was introduced to the 2nd session of the 89th Congress by Florida Senator Claude Pepper.

Senator Pepper had become interested in South Miami Hospital when his wife was a patient. Through Mr. Poore and the Board of Governors, he learned of Dr. Suarez' work in the hospital, and how badly he was needed. It was obvious that something had to be done to insure the doctor's future. The bill was introduced, and, for Doctor Suarez, its passage meant the end of six years of living as a man without a country.

Dr. Suarez was born in Havana, Cuba. He completed his schooling there and was a practicing physician, specializing in Internal Medicine. He was in his office one day when he was contacted by someone from the Cuban Revolutionary Council who told him that his home (fortunately unoccupied at the time) had been totally destroyed. Dr. Suarez' framed medical diploma hung on the office wall; he quickly broke the glass—and with only the rolled-up diploma (and his passport) fled to one of the "security houses" known to the underground. He remained there while negotiations were going on which finally arranged political asylum for him in the Mexican Embassy in Havana. Although he was guaranteed *physical* safety while in the embassy Dr. Suarez says that for anyone to be compelled to stay in such confinement—behind the embassy walls, yet able to see and hear the commotion and activity outside its gates—is a very trying experience as tensions mount. At that time, it usually took three or four months for anyone to get safe conduct out of Cuba. However, in about three weeks, he was permitted to fly to Mexico. When he reached there, he was free to do as he wished, so long as he checked in regularly once a week. Eventually he was able to arrange to leave Mexico and enter the United States.

When he arrived in Miami in April of 1961, Dr. Suarez submitted his application to the local hospitals. Soon he was hired by St. Francis Hospital on Miami Beach as an "extern". Unofficially, his duties consisted of handling the out-patient clinic. After taking a special test, Dr. Suarez remained at St. Francis until sometime in November. At that time he was called to Los Angeles because of the serious illness of a sister who lived there. He had almost decided to settle in California when he was notified that South Miami Hospital had an opening. One of the deciding factors that led to Dr. Suarez' coming to SMH was Dr. Gonzalez. Dr. Suarez and Dr. Gonzalez had been friends for over twenty years, having attended medical school together in Cuba. On January 15, 1962, Dr. Suarez joined the Resident Staff as one of the "house doctors". A short time later, upon the resignation of Dr. Villegas, Chief of Residents at that time, Mr. Poore appointed Dr. Suarez to head the department. He has continued in this capacity ever since, and now has nine Resident Physicians under his supervision.

In Havana, Dr. Suarez enjoyed fishing and motor boating. He also became interested in a "do-it-at-home" hobby, that of building radio-controlled model airplanes. In working with tiny components that go into transistorized model engines, he wanted to learn more about electronics. So in 1950 he enrolled in a correspondence course (out of California) from which he graduated as an electronic technician. Here in Miami, he's built himself a 16′ motorboat (from a kit) powered by a 45 hp engine. He hasn't built a color TV yet, but he repairs his television, and is presently working to improve the bass quality of his stereo set. In addition, Dr. Suarez likes sports. He plays tennis, baseball and squash. As a squash player, he took part in the Central American Olympic Games in 1937, held in Panama. He especially likes fencing, and says he thinks it's good for the development of young people as it teaches them chivalry, self-respect and respect for others. He likes to read, particularly military history. In his library are more than 200 books about WW II.

In closing our interview, Dr. Suarez said that the part of his past about which he is most proud is the time he spent on active military duty in the anti-Castro zone, up in the hills of Cuba. Of those four months—and of Castro—Dr. Suarez states simply, ". . . he didn't fool me. . . ."

Our congratulations and best wishes for many peaceful and happy years go to Dr. Rafael Suarez. "Hail To The Chief!" (of Residents) at South Miami Hospital.

The Role of Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the question of whether a particular public problem is to be dealt with by a local, State, or national governing body is a most difficult and most important one. It is often not easy to determine responsibility.

A recent editorial in the Paddock Publications, Arlington Heights, Ill., posed four criteria which may help to answer the questions of jurisdiction and responsibility. I offer the Paddock editorial at this point in the RECORD:

ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS TO BE KEY 1968 ISSUE

A key issue in 1968 political campaigns will be the respective role and responsibility of local and national governments.

Are problems of air and water pollution, mass transportation, highways, automation, unemployment, education, poverty, urban decay, and minority rights, local problems to be left entirely to local governments? Or are they a proper concern of national government?

These questions, and some answers, are certain to dominate much of the debate in campaigns about to begin.

Everyone agrees that local problems should be dealt with locally and that national problems should be dealt with nationally; the dilemma arises from determining which are which.

Too frequently, voters find themselves drenched in party dogma, tired slogans, and political fantasies which often do more to suppress thought than to yield meaningful answers.

To help ensure thoughtful resolution of whether a particular problem ought to be dealt with locally or nationally, we suggest both candidates and voters apply these four criteria to answering the question:

1) Does the problem result from conditions arising outside the state or local community?

2) Does it have consequences which extend beyond the locality where the problem is seen?

3) Is it of such magnitude that it cannot be handled effectively at the local level?

4) Is it one which has been so long neglected locally that it needs outside attention?

These standards will leave many questions open to differences which are rational, and therefore, susceptible to factual analysis and the application of intelligence instead of vague oratory, empty promises, and mere emotional appeals.

The Educational Products Information change Deserves the Support of the Education Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I commended the Office of Education for its support of the Educational Products Information Exchange—EPIE—an independent nonprofit institute created to assist educators in selecting and purchasing teaching materials and equipment.

The institute's information services are aimed at helping the educational consumer, such as school districts, to discover those products which will give the schools the most effective educational return for the money they spend. These services are being provided to schools on a cost-sharing basis. In time EPIE's services will be extended to include valuable feedback from users which can be used by producers to improve or change products in order to meet changing educational needs.

My remarks today, Mr. Speaker, are intended as a report to my colleagues on the progress of the EPIE Institute since the end, last October 31, of its planning grant of $153,000 from the Office of Education.

This fall the institute launched the first of its information services, a monthly publication called the EPIE Forum, which provides schools with comprehensive listings of commercially available teaching materials and equipment. This journal also contains guidelines for product selection and articles discussing various approaches to product evaluation. The fact that this publication has become self-supporting after only two issues indicates that educators very much want the kind of information and guidance the institute has set out to give them.

Mr. Speaker, it is also encouraging to note that in addition to the growing financial support from its subscribers, the institute has the professional support of 30 major educational associations. These include the National School Boards Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and a number of the constituent organizations of the National Educational Association; each association has appointed a representative to an EPIE Advisory Board.

In addition, many industry associations have also been invited to join this board, although as of today only the Electronic Industries Association has joined the EPIE Advisory Board. In this regard, I was disturbed to read in a recent industry newsletter of open opposition to the work of the EPIE Institute by other industry groups. In my opinion, industry opposition will probably change to acceptance and, indeed, support when industry realizes the long-range benefit of the work of the institute.

At the present time, Mr. Speaker, the institute is looking toward the development of a cooperative system for gathering and disseminating product reports from users together with analytical product studies created by independent scholars. This proposed system has received broad support from cooperating schools, university centers and State departments of education. To obtain funds to test the feasibility of the system, the State departments of education in Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania submitted in the spring of 1967 a joint proposal for funding under title V, section 505, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This proposal outlined a cooperative four-State pilot project designed to test the feasibility of the institute's system for gathering and disseminating user information and to evaluate the role of such information in strengthening the selection and purchasing practices of schools in these States, and eventually throughout the rest of the country.

Mr. Speaker, as we appropriate millions of dollars to be spent on educational products by schools and State education departments, it is important that school officials responsible for these expenditures have all the help that the Educational Products Information Exchange Institute can potentially give them.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I wish to list the names of the members of the Education Products Information Exchange Advisory Committee.

EDUCATION PRODUCTS INFORMATION EXCHANGE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

This is an Advisory Committee which is composed of professional associations who wish to advise and counsel EPIE on its development and cooperate with it in various ways. It was set up in the spring of 1967 at the request of a group of representatives of such associations.

American Association of Junior Colleges.

American Association of School Administrators.

American Association of School Librarians.

American Educational Research Association.

American Federation of Teachers.

American Industrial Arts Association.

American Institute of Architects.

American Personnel and Guidance Association.

American Vocational Association, Inc.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Association of Chief State School Audio-Visual Officers.

Association of School Business Officials of the United States and Canada.

Council of Chief State School Officers.

Department of Audiovisual Instruction, National Education Association.

Department of Classroom Teachers, NEA.

Division of Educational Technology, NEA.

Electronic Industries Association.

International Reading Association.

Library Technology Program, American Library Association.

Modern Language Association of America.

National Association of Biology Teachers, Inc.

National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

National Association of Independent Schools, Inc.

National Association of Secondary School Principals.

National Council for the Social Studies.

National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

National School Boards Association, Inc.

National Science Teachers Association.

National Society for Programmed Instruction.

Service Center for Teachers of History, American Historical Association.

Mr. Speaker, I wish here also to list the names of the trustees of the EPIE Institute:

EPIE INSTITUTE TRUSTEES

Forrest L. Abbott, *Treasurer of* Barnard College, New York, New York.

Francis S. Chase, *Dean of* Graduate School of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Edward C. Ford, *Secretary of* Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

William Josephson, *Attorney with* Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried & Frank, New York, New York.

P. Kenneth Komoski, *President & Director of* EPIE Institute, New York, New York.

Murray L. Silberstein, *Partner in* Oppenheimer & Co., New York, New York.

Social Security Amendments of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the social security program has long since demonstrated its great worth to the people of America.

Since its inception, the program has enabled millions upon millions of our citizens to have a modest degree of financial security during their retirement years.

At present, an estimated 23 million persons are receiving retirement and disability benefits. Most of them are also protected by the medicare program.

Social security retirement benefits were first set at very modest levels, indeed. Over the years, as the country's economy progressed, the Congress has found it possible to improve these levels, while protecting the soundness of the social security trust fund.

The goal of the social security program is to provide the fullest possible degree of financial security and independence to the people covered by its provisions. I believe that the Social Security Amendments of 1967 go a long way toward achieving this goal.

The legislation provides an increase in benefit payments of 13 percent for all beneficiaries on the social security rolls. The average monthly benefit paid to a retired worker with an eligible wife now on the rolls is increased from $145 to $165. The minimum benefit for a worker retiring at age 65 is increased from $44 to $55 a month. Monthly benefits will range from $55 to $160.50, for retired workers now on social security rolls who began to draw benefits at age 65 or later.

The maximum monthly benefits payable under the program were raised substantially. The present $168 maximum benefit for an individual eventually payable under the old law will go to $218 in the future. The similar figure for families will be raised from $368 to $434.

The amendments, in addition to increasing benefits, raised the amount which a social security recipient may earn, and still receive his full benefit check, from $1,500 of earnings in a year to $1,680.

The 13-percent increase was smaller than the 15-percent increase requested by President Johnson and less than I feel is adequate to fully adjust the level of social security benefits to current needs. I believe an increase of more than 15 percent would be justified by economic realities. The 1967 amendments, nonetheless, are a major step toward a more adequate social security system.

To cover the cost of the increased benefits, the amendments include provisions to raise the wage base subject to the payroll tax from $6,600 to $7,800 in 1968. The amendments, however, did not make any change in the tax rate.

The Social Security Amendments of 1967 were approved in both the House and the Senate by overwhelming margins. However, in the months preceding passage, the enemies of the social security program sought in every way possible to oppose program improvements. Particularly annoying to me were comments in the press and elsewhere which were calculated to undermine the confidence of the elderly in the administration of the social security program. These purveyors of misleading and inaccurate information succeeded only in arousing fear and concern in the minds of elderly folks and doubts among younger wage earners concerning future benefits. Fortunately, such unprincipled opposition failed to carry the day.

The medicare amendments were adopted to iron out some of the bugs in the program which have been discovered in its first couple of years of operation and to improve some of its benefits. Among the changes were liberalization of eligibility requirements for those reaching 65 after 1968, reduction in the paperwork involved in the hospital insurance program and extension of the number of days of hospitalization which could be available to those covered by medicare. The amendments also extended medicare benefits to cover certain services of podiatrists and outpatient physical therapists.

The Social Security Amendments of 1967, in addition to revising the provisions of the law relating to retirement and disability benefits, made various improvements in the medicare program and in the welfare programs contained in the Social Security Act.

The revisions in public welfare amendments, particularly as they relate to aid for dependent children and their mothers, generated considerable controversy. I am not entirely happy with the provision which limits the proportion of dependent children a State can have on welfare rolls at the January 1967 level. However, I feel that the requirement that welfare recipients who are able to work shall enroll in work training programs—and thereafter seek appropriate work—is an innovation which offers a mechanism which might assist in breaking the chain of dependency. The children of such welfare recipients will be provided for in day care centers while their parents are at work, thereby being fully protected against neglect. Hopefully, the adult welfare recipients will become contributors to the economic well-being of themselves and of society as a whole.

Otepka To Appeal State Department Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, because of its importance to every civil service employee and to American citizens in general, I have presented quite a bit of material in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the case of Otto F. Otepka over a period of time. Anytime a lone citizen locks horns with the vast and powerful State Department it is newsworthy—especially when that citizen is in the right. Over the last 4 years Otepka's persistence in the face of untold pressures has caused the revelation of cases of lax security procedures at State in addition to tales of duplicity and doubledealing at high State Department levels.

As is to be expected, Otepka's resistance exacted its toll. After the decision of the Secretary of State on December 9 to reduce Otepka one grade, reprimand him severely, and remove him entirely from security work, it appeared that Otepka might resign from the State Department. Clark Mollenhoff, the Pulitizer Prize winning reporter for the Des Moines Register, indicated in the Register in a December issue that Otepka's resignation was a real possibility because of financial difficulties. The indispensability of qualified legal assistance trained through experience in the wiles and snares of the State Department goes without saying and was a major factor in compelling the State Department to back down in its endeavor to fire Otepka. Later, fortunately, Otepka decided to appeal the decision to the Civil Service Commission, and this is where the case stands at the present time.

I place the article, "Otepka Lacks Appeal Funds," from the Des Moines Register and a copy of Otto Otepka's letter of appeal to the Civil Service Commission in the Record at this point:

[From the Des Moines Register, December 1967]

Otepka Lacks Appeal Funds

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

Washington, D.C.—Security evaluator Otto F. Otepka may drop his appeal on his demotion by Secretary of State Dean Rusk because of a lack of money to carry on his battle against the State Department.

The 52-year-old Otepka has put a second mortgage on his home in Silver Spring, Md., to raise $8,000 he needed in November to pay legal fees, transcript costs and other expenses connected with the lengthy hearing before a State Department officer.

The total expenditure in the four-year fight to avoid being fired have totaled approximately $25,000. Although some of Otepka's costs have been paid for by a fund collected by friends, there has been a constant drain on his personal resources.

SEVERE REPRIMAND

A week ago, Rusk issued an order of "severe reprimand" of Otepka for having delivered three documents to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to prove that he was telling the truth about laxity in the security program in the State Department.

Rusk declared that Otepka was guilty of "insubordination" for failing to obtain authorization before delivering the documents to the subcommittee.

Rusk's order demoted Otepka from a GS–15 with a salary of about $20,000 to a GS–14 at a salary of about $15,000. Rusk also has ordered that he be removed from the security division and be made a management analyst at the lower salary and rank.

Otepka told friends he does not feel he can go in debt further to pay for a lawyer and other expensive costs connected with an appeal.

He has pointed out that all the power and finances and legal talent in the State Department are available to Rusk to fight him.

PROTEST BY GROSS

Representative H. R. Gross (Rep., Ia.) declared that the "financial pinch" that the State Department is putting upon Otepka "is just one more injustice piled on top of other inexcusable injustices when action was initiated to try to fire this man."

"In this instance, the persecutors of Otepka are financing their persecution out of the public treasury and Otepka must fight it with his own slim resources and the small amounts that have come to him through friends and supporters," Gross said.

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Rep., Ia.) declared that the Otepka case "constitutes an outlandish situation in which a responsible and respected employee with an outstanding record is being persecuted for telling the truth to a properly authorized committee of Congress."

Briefs filed by Otepka revealed at least 18 major cases of security violations and dishonesty that apparently were condoned or ignored by the State Department in recent years. The department has not challenged any of the facts set out by Otepka.

Wheaton, Md.,
December 1967.

Appeals Examining Office,
Civil Service Commission,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs: Pursuant to the provisions of 5 U.S.C., Section 7701, and applicable Civil Service Regulations, I hereby appeal from the adverse action directed by the decision of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, effective 12:01 A.M., December 13, 1967, and transmitted to me by letter from Idar Rimestad, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, under date of December 11, 1967. A copy of Secretary Rusk's decision, with a copy of Mr. Rimestad's covering letter, is attached here-

Mr. Rusk's decision directs:

"* * * that the following actions be taken with respect to Mr. Otto F. Otepka:

"(a) That he be severely reprimanded.

"(b) That he be reduced in grade from GS–15 to GS–14, step one.

"(c) That he be transferred to duties in the Department of State which are within his qualifications but which do not involve the administration of personnel security functions."

Pursuant to Mr. Rusk's decision I have received a notification of personnel action changing my position from that of Supervisory Personnel Security Specialist, GS–15, at a salary of $20,585 per annum, to the position of Management Analyst, GS–14, at a salary of $15,106 per annum—a reduction in salary of $5,479. Copy of this notification of personnel action is attached hereto as Exhibit 2.

A copy of the position description for my new assignment as Management Analyst is attached hereto as Exhibit 3.

My reasons for contesting the adverse action directed by Secretary Rusk's decision are as follows:

1. The actions for which the decision would punish me were justified under 5 U.S.C., Section 7102 (formerly 5 U.S.C., Section 652(d)).

2. The finding that my delivery of three documents to the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate was in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 F.R. 1359) is erreneous, for the reason that (a) the delivery of these documents by me was not within the prohibition of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948, and (b) in any event if the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 is construed to prohibit the delivery of these documents by me, the Directive is in conflict with 5 U.S.C., Section 7102 (formerly 5 U.S.C., Section 652 (d)), enacted June 10, 1948, and to the extent that it conflicts with the statute the Directive is invalid.

3. The finding that I have been guilty of "conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State", upon which the adverse action is predicated, is a nullity, for the reason that this purported offense is not defined by any rule or regulation of the Department of State, nor is it a ground for disciplinary action under any applicable regulation. See *Policone* v. *Hodges*, 116 U.S. App. D.C. 32, 34, 320 F. 2d 754 (1960).

4. The decision of Secretary Rusk is erroneous in that it directs my assignment to duties which are not in keeping with the regulations of the Civil Service Commission requiring the assignment of employees to duties commensurate with their highest skills and capabilities.

5. The Department of State erroneously refused to accord me a hearing before an independent hearing and over my objections forced me to accept a hearing before a subordinate employee of the Department of State, thereby depriving me of due process of law.

6. The decision of Secretary Rusk directing my demotion and reassignment is punitive and amounts to a finding that I am a security risk, since as a result I have been denied access to all classified information. I have not been accorded the procedural safeguards, including a hearing before an independent panel, to which I am entitled before any such finding is made.

7. The decision of Secretary Rusk ignores substantial evidence in my favor, demonstrating that the charges against me were a subterfuge, contrived pursuant to a wrongful scheme or design to harrass or destroy me. The decision is contrary to the evidence, arbitrary and capricious.

8. The Department of State erroneously assigned a classification of "Confidential" to the record of my hearing in violation of regulations of the Civil Service Commission and contrary to the provisions of E.O. 10501.

9. I also rely upon all of the grounds stated in my answer to the charges preferred against me, in my appeal from the initial decision against me, and in the brief filed in my behalf with Hearing Officer Dragon, copies of which are attached.

In support of this appeal I submit the following documents:

1. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, 89th Congress, First Session, Parts 1 through 20 (hereinafter referred to as Hearings).

2. Copy of charges preferred against me by the Department of State, printed in Hearings, Part 7, pages 425–454.

3. Copy of my answer to the charges preferred against me—Hearings, Part 7, pages 454–460.

4. Copy of decision of John Ordway, Chief, Personnel Operations Division, Department of State, sustaining charges against me—Hearings, part 7, pages 461–463.

5. Copy of my appeal from the decision of Mr. Ordway—Hearings, part 7, pages 488–489.

6. Copies of correspondence, memoranda, and testimony concerning the selection of a hearing officer in my case—Hearings, part 8, pages 552 et seq. and documents marked Exhibit 4.

7. Copy of brief filed on my behalf before Hearing Officer Dragon, marked Exhibit 5.

8. Copy of posthearing brief for the Department of State, filed with Hearing Officer Dragon, marked Exhibit 6.

9. Transcript of oral argument before Hearing Officer Dragon, marked Exhibit 7.

10. Copy of report of Hearing Officer Dragon, marked Exhibit 8.

I assume that the Department of State will make available to you the full appellate record in my case, including the transcript of the testimony taken before Hearing Officer Dragon, together with copies of all exhibits received in evidence.

I shall be glad to furnish promptly any additional information that may be required.

Respectfully submitted.

Otto F. Otepka.

Who Killed Bambi?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record an article about deer hunting which appeared in the November 24, 1967, issue of Gun Week, a tabloid weekly newspaper devoted to the advancement of hunting and shooting.

The article, by Dean Volenec, is an informed commentary on how far too many of our deer hunters have degenerated in pursuit of their sport.

And following that I would like included in the Record a similar article entitled "Hunters—Take a Look at Yourselves" by Roger Barlow which appeared in the September 1966 issue of Guns and Ammo magazine. The latter could more appropriately be entitled "Bambi Is Dead."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Gun Week newspaper, Nov. 24, 1967]

“Your Deer Is Dead”

(Editor's Note.—This brief piece has appeared in at least two state conservation agency-publications since it appeared in the Wisconsin Conservation Bulletin, but since many of our readers have not seen it we felt it worth publishing again. Dean Volenec is a conservation warden at Richland Center, Wis.)

(By Dean Volenec)

You want to know something? You are not going to get a deer this year.

Want to know why? Because your buck is already dead. That's right. I buried him the other day.

He was a magnificent big 10-pointer. You would have been proud to have shown him to your friends. You would have had the excitement of reliving the experience of bagging this buck for years to come. His beautifully balanced rack was something any hunter would have been proud to display in any den.

The ground was hard and dry as I dug a last resting place for your trophy. As I sat down to rest I could not help but wonder how many people knew what happened to this buck.

I stared at the two big holes through your buck's mid-section. No question, the damage was done with a big rifle. The fatal holes were low. He perhaps traveled a long distance, especially since dogs smelling the fresh blood had pushed him until he could go no more.

I could not help but think of what a slow, agonizing death this meant to such a beautiful animal.

You won't be alone in not getting your deer this season. No, someone else won't get theirs, either.

Why? Because I already found him also. Yes, his head and skin were in two bags thrown out alongside the road. Your heart would have skipped a couple of beats had he walked in front of you opening morning.

Then there was the spike buck killed with fine shot, the doe shot with the .22 rifle lingered for two days before death ended her agony.

How many more? It looks like you may be out of luck for some years to come. The heck of it is, your son will soon be old enough to go deer hunting with you. There is a good chance one of these deer would have been the trophy your son would have cut his teeth on.

So you know who shot the deer. You say, "I don't want to report my neighbor."

Well, if you don't want to report your neighbor, you actually can't expect that anything will ever be done about the law-breaking in your neighborhood. If you come right down to it, you aren't a much better citizen than your neighbor who shot the deer—are you?

It is not going to do any good to tell the warden about it next winter when you see him on the street. No, this won't clear your conscience.

The warden probably gets a dozen of those reports about "My neighbor got two deer last fall, so you better watch him next fall."

The time to clear your conscience and uphold your place as a citizen is immediately.

[From Guns & Ammo, September 1966]

Hunters—Take a Look at Yourself

Much of our nation's anti-gun activity is centered in the East. And, as most Congressional support for a "hard" Federal gun control bill will come from Eastern senators and representatives, the conduct of hunters and shooters in this area is of special importance.

What housewives, school teachers, factory workers, bank clerks, newspaper editors, TV executives, artists, lawyers and politicians of this most populous section of the U.S. feel and think about guns and hunters may well determine the fate of *all* gun ownership and hunting in this nation.

If any *Guns & Ammo* reader is in the dark about what the average Eastern citizen (and voter) thinks of guns and hunting, let me set him straight. We may consider ourselves modern men cast in the noble old Daniel Boone mold—self-reliant, responsible, rugged, considerate and, yes, even lovable—be assured this is *not* the way our neighbors see us Eastern hunters. *They* see as as a bunch of blood-thirsty, unshaven (probably drunken) slobs bent upon slaughtering all lovely Disney-like animals and birds. We are obviously insensitive to all the finer things in life. For if we are not brutal, near-Neanderthal types how could we possibly bear to kill anything? And, in any event, in this computerized, homogenized and sterilized 20th century life of luxury and elegance, what *need* or justification is there for something as primitive as guns and hunting . . . or hunters?

In much of the South, most of the Middle and Far West, newspaper editors or publishers, Congressmen, Governors, university professors, artists, writers and just plain citizens are, more likely than not, enthusiastic hunters and gun owners. The wives and mothers in those parts of America accept guns and hunting as a part of their menfolks' normal, manly pleasures.

But not so here in the East. Our influential professional and intellectual community is so urbanized (when I was a boy they would have just been called "city-fied") that we hardly have a ghost of a chance of even being *tolerated*, much less understood or appreciated.

Even our finest newspaper, the *New York Times*, bold and forthright in all political and social matters, regularly evinces an editorial aversion to guns and hunting that brings to mind a maiden lady's fear of mice—or a man under the bed. The *Washington Post* is another Eastern paper with guts—but no stomach for hunters or hunting. It seems irrationally convinced that all criminals will turn in or register their guns if only Congress will pass still another law.

Both CBS and NBC have obviously aligned themselves with Senator Dodd's distorted viewpoint. Their bias was clearly evident during the Senate Hearings. Their crews rarely, if ever, filmed a Congressman's statements in *opposition* to the bill. I saw them leap quickly into action whenever a strong *anti-gun* statement was about to be made.

The women's magazines, all edited in the East, have also been eager partners of Senator Dodd and the Administration in the campaign to discredit the hunter and disarm the householder—in their basically laudable, but often witless, effort to keep firearms from unsupervised youngsters, dope addicts and criminals. If *I* were a wife I'd *insist* upon having a firearm in the home. I'd want to know how to use it in defense of my person and children when alone—rather than depending upon my screams to bring help. Screams haven't helped many New York females attacked by thugs with knives.

Unquestionably it is these most city-bred, most urban-oriented, non-hunting citizens of the Eastern section of these somewhat-United States who are going to decide *for all* Americans under just what circumstances they may own and use firearms.

This situation prevails despite the fact that even in this strongly anti-gun area there are many of our leading gun collectors and collections (including New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art), many important trap and skeet clubs and a surprising number of hunters. New York and Pennsylvania rank among the top 10 states in the number of hunting licenses sold each year!

How then can we account for this active anti-gun sentiment?

A hunting friend in New Jersey recently protested that we hunters are ourselves largely responsible for the almost unbelievably repulsive "image" we present to the vastly more numerous non-hunting—but voting—public. We shooters, he points out, are supposed to love and understand guns—yet each year far too many Eastern deer hunters are killed. Some of us obviously *don't* understand guns and hunting. Therefore *all* hunters are discredited in the many unfriendly news stories and editorials dealing with such "accidents."

But far more important than this, my Jersey friend insists, in our perverse and stupid insistence each fall upon parading thousands of bleeding deer carcasses on car roofs along hundreds of thousands of miles of turnpikes, highways and byways, through thousands of towns and hundreds of cities. Literally millions of non-hunting Eastern citizens are forcefully reminded by a revolting and bloody display (to them) of the reprehensible activities of the hunters they already despise and resent.

I've seen children get semi-hysterical in a restaurant parking lot when a successful deer hunter's car drives up, "Mommy, Mommy, they killed Bambi!"

Don't forget, fellow deer hunters, that this is precisely the way we are pictured by Mr. Disney on every home TV screen in widely viewed programs like *The Hunting Instinct*, which, no doubt, will be rerun by NBC dozens of times in the years to come.

This hunter from New Jersey is quite right—*why* must we, as individuals, discredit ourselves as a group by driving around in red caps and jackets with a gory deer on our car? We can just as easily *avoid* offending and antagonizing our far more numerous fellow citizens of this area *upon whose good will our future hunting depends*.

Think about it seriously. How much trouble is it to slip into an old nondescript jacket and hat when driving to and from a hunting area and to cover one's trophy with a tarpaulin? Don't worry if the carcass is still warm, it will cool out quite well from the air getting under the tarp when the car is moving—and it will arrive home far cleaner. Of course, this way no one will know you as the mighty hunter that you are . . . but here in the East we "Mighty Hunters" are no longer in style—or even good odor. It is to our own great advantage *not* to remind our non-hunting neighbors, who out-vote us, that hunting involves killing.

I have yet to see grouse, duck, pheasant, woodcock or quail hunters festoon their cars with *their* dead game. I'm afraid it's only we deer hunters who are guilty of such public displays—offensive to so many countrymen. Remember, too, fellow deer hunters, that the unobtrusive guy with a couple of teal or a few ruffed grouse in his trunk has pulled off some far more impressive shooting to bag his birds than we needed to get a deer. If *he* can hide his prowess under his trunk, surely we can hide ours under a tarp—at least until we are home and among friends who can appreciate our efforts.

This doesn't interfere at all with our actual hunting, costs no money, takes little effort, yet could make a vast difference to the future of hunting.

Whom do you think was responsible for arousing the anti-liquor sentiment 50 years ago—to the point where the public thought Prohibition desirable? It was not the man who drank with modernation in his home or club, not the fellow who had a couple of snorts with friends in the corner bar and went quietly on his way. No, indeed. It was mostly brought about by the fellow who got roaring or revoltingly drunk, beat his wife and kids, went staggering up the street, falling into a convenient gutter—a public spectacle and offensive—especially to the female sex. Prohibition sentiment, too, had most of its strength in the East and much of its support from women . . . food for thought.

We were lucky enough to get the ill-considered Volstead Act repealed. But don't for a moment think we could get a restrictive gun law off the books—once it is enacted. That's why we should be so concerned about our public image now. We *do* have to worry about what all the housewives and little old ladies (of both sexes) think about us. It *may* not be too late for us Eastern hunters to live down our reputation of being "Bambi killers." We'd better give it a good try—and soon. I'm not suggesting we give up deer hunting. It just seems to me like a good idea not to flaunt our kills before an unfriendly public.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act—Conference Report

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the conferees for incorporating a strong bilingual education program in the conference report of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967, H.R. 7819. Title VII of the conference report contains a 3-year authorization totaling $85 million providing grants for special programs for "children of limited English-speaking ability."

Title VII closely parallels H.R. 10024, which I introduced earlier in the session. In areas such as New York with large populations whose first language is not English, programs of compensatory education are essential to overcome the handicaps which persons of limited English-speaking ability will face in a society which operates largely in English.

The bilingual education amendments stress not only improved techniques for the teaching of English, but also programs "designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their language." It is vital that Americans with other cultural heritages not be divorced from their heritage by the need to assimilate rapidly, but rather have full opportunities to learn and appreciate the culture associated with their mother tongue.

The amendments also provide for grants for adult education, programs to establish closer ties between the school and the home, and special training programs to prepare qualified persons to participate in bilingual education endeavors, including teachers, teacher aides, and guidance counselors. I am pleased that these aspects of the bill which I proposed have been adopted in the conference bill.

This bill will be of enormous value to America's bilingual citizens, especially those of Spanish-speaking backgrounds, whose opportunity for advancement is currently limited by the language barrier. As I said in testimony in New York on this legislation:

> Although the language barrier is not the whole story, the classroom is one obvious place to attack the problem.

Aid for Aid

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, in its lead editorial in a recent issue of the Washington Post made an extremely cogent observation on the performance of the Congress this session as it dealt with the foreign aid bill.

Pointing out the near-ridiculous results in this area that were the product of those Members of Congress who apparently believe in "economy at any cost," the Post suggests that the President may be well advised to take the case for foreign assistance to the public at large—a public "more sophisticated about aid than is the Congress."

I believe the suggestion is well taken, Mr. President, and I ask unanimous consent that the Post editorial be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AID FOR AID

Few would have deemed it possible for the Congress to do greater damage to foreign aid and its own prestige, after the Senate-House conference agreed last Wednesday on an appropriation of $2.315 billion—a billion less than the Administration requested and the lowest aid appropriation in a generation. But, confounding skeptics, the House found a way.

Congressmen seeking to advertise their passion for economy demanded a vote on further cuts. They confidently expected to lose. But their head counting turned out to be no better than their appreciation of aid, and they won, thereby putting themselves in a situation where, to keep face, they had to make further cuts. Guided—as usual—by obscurantism, they poked into the most sensitive and valuable sector, development loans. The bill sent yesterday to the President reflects that last $20 million misunderstanding.

The Congress did not perform much better in the controversial area of arms sales. It stipulated that the United States not make credit sales of sophisticated weapons to most poor countries, barring a Presidential determination that the sale is "vital to the national security." This language warns the Administration to fix a beady eye on arms sales; its discretionary loophole seems adequate to the needs of Executive flexibility.

But then the Congress decreed that if a poor country buys any sophisticated arms anywhere, the United States must reduce its economic aid by what they cost—unless the President finds the sale vital to American security. This amendment has a deceptive similarity to the first; in reality it is quite different and could seriously prejudice the country's foreign policy.

India, for instance, receives American economic aid and buys Soviet Migs. To avoid cutting that aid by the amount India spends on Migs, the President apparently will have to rule that the Migs are vital to American security. It can well be argued, given the Chinese threat to India, that this is so. But it is obviously a difficult proposition to make to a myopic Congress, or to convey, in all its complexity to the public in an election year. In another situation not hard to imagine, Russia or France might bring about the end of a modest American aid program in a given country, just by offering to sell that country jets on easy terms. The amendment requiring such action is silly and troublesome and, unfortunately, of a piece with the Congress's overall handling of aid.

There may yet be reason to thank Congress for its hatchetwork. That would be if the President decided he can no longer treat aid as a matter of negotiation between himself and the Congress but instead must take the case for it to the country. To tap the sympathy and enlightenment which surely are there, he would have to plead aid's brief in the tough, sophisticated terms in which its true meaning lies: not as a panacea or a public works program or a bribe or a conscience offering, but as a difficult, minimal economic and political program intended to edge the world toward increased stability and security, for its sake and for ours.

If the President took such a fresh, hard approach, he would discover, we believe, that the public is considerably more sophisticated about aid than is the Congress. That may be the only way to ensure the future aid.

Reported Turbogenerator Contract to Switzerland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I recently wrote a letter to Secretary of the Interior Udall, asking him for an explanation of a reported award of a $28 million contract for turbogenerators to a company in Switzerland. Because this matter might have the interest of my colleagues, I submit it to the Congressional Record:

December 15, 1967.

Hon. Stewart L. Udall,
Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: It has come to me that *The Wall Street Journal* reports the award of a contract for turbo-generators for a new coal-fired plant near Nashville, Tennessee, to Brown-Boveri Company of Switzerland, the amount of the contract being $28,523,000.

I would appreciate being advised as to the justification for the purchase of this equipment from a foreign source, when all the while there are industries in America—some of which are located in my Congressional District—that are equipped to produce high-quality turbo-generators.

Such a transaction would not be in the best economic interests of the United States, for the expenditure of American money for this foreign equipment will have an adverse effect on our balance of payments position. The transaction would make our already shaky international trade position even more unstable.

In addition, Mr. Secretary, such a contract award will have a very definite negative effect on the job situation in the United States. American workers would be denied many man-hours of employment and industry of this country would be kept from sharing in economic benefits that had their origin in America.

I would remind you, Mr. Secretary, that charity begins at home, and I would appreciate your prompt reply to this communication and your advice as to why the instant contract should not be awarded to one of our domestic industries that are superbly equipped to manufacture this type of turbogenerator.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE A. GOODLING,
Member of Congress.

The U.S. Army Nurse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HART. Mr. President, we have all heard it said that behind every successful man there is a woman. It seems that all too often the public forgets about the woman who works behind the scenes. This is particularly true in Vietnam where most of our attention is focused on our fighting men.

We tend to forget about a group of young women in Vietnam who are just as determined as the men to help rebuild the country. These women are members of the Army Nurse Corps. They are fighting sickness and disease, helping both the wounded American soldier and the sick Vietnamese child.

Today there are more than 630 Army nurses in Vietnam. A recent Central Press Association—CPA—article details the activities of these Army nurses in Vietnam.

At this point in my remarks I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the November 27 CPA article about the Army nurse in Vietnam.

These brave young women deserve recognition and praise for the fine job they are doing.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be pointed in the RECORD as follows:

U.S. ARMY NURSE IN VIETNAM—ALWAYS BUSY

(By Esther Van Wagoner Tufty)

WASHINGTON.—The United States Army nurse in Vietnam is usually pictured bending over the stretcher of a wounded GI and that does depict her major purpose in a war zone, but it ignores "the extras" for which she volunteers.

With great pride, the chief of Army Nurse Corps, Col. Mildred I. Clark, spoke of some of these "extras" on her return from inspecting the activities of more than 630 Army nurses assigned to 53 medical units in 20 areas of South Vietnam. In an interview, she said, "they faithfully fulfill their duties in an around-the-clock vigil in evacuation, field, and mobile surgical hospitals, convalescent centers and with clinically specialized teams in Vietnam."

However, "that isn't all," said Colonel Clark, who saw for herself "the generosity and efforts of Army nurses who volunteer on their time-off to help the innocent victims of the war.

She saw Army nurses working side by side with physicians in a remote village on an immunization program of the MEDCAP (Medical Civic Action Program). Also Army nurses participating in the RDP (Revolutionary Development Program), an experiment of some 38 nations to build a society from the rice roots up in Vietnam.

At the Kihe-Tam orphanage a time-off nurse was seen giving a bath and shampoo to those children with skin disease and assisting the physician. The nurses "adopted" 18-month-old "Baby Jane" with a serious cardiac problem who had been brought to the 93rd Evacuation Hospital for treatment.

The nurse volunteers go out into the villages in the areas surrounding their on-duty assignments. "The people have developed confidence in the nurses and with the help of interpreters, medication and treatments are administered" the colonel reported, adding "so many things we take for granted such as soap and water for bathing are not known to these people."

Then there's a program of instruction for 22 Vietnamese midwives. Before this MEDCAP project was implemented, there was a definite lack of sanitary procedures. New practices instituted include use of surgical gloves, blood transfusions, and an understanding of birth procedures. The death rate, reported Army Lt. Adrienne Papazian of New Bedford, Mass., has dropped for mothers and infants in just six months.

Many doctors and nurses have learned the Vietnamese language and also have taught English to many Vietnamese medical personnel and others eager to learn. The American nurses are also implementing the training given Vietnamese nurses. The instruction includes the prevention aspects of disease and sanitation.

Why do Army nurses ask for duty in South Vietnam?

Lt. Flora Sullivan of Glenolden, Pa., a surgical nurse assigned to the intensive care unit at the 12th Evacuation Hospital tells why.

"Many people cannot understand why we want this type of work, but despite the hardships there is much satisfaction in helping people. There are times when it can be very frustrating. For example: a patient with an amputated limb wakes up and asks why it happened to him," Lt. Sullivan says.

"We treat different types of cases here and utilize the most modern medical equipment. This means that a great deal of compassion and willingness to help others is needed. Nothing makes us feel better than to see our patients leave the ward smiling."

The American wounded like the TLC (Tender Loving Care) program described by the No. 1 American Army nurse as "the pat on the shoulder, a word or smile that gives the extra boost of confidence and courage to the soldier to fight an illness or disability."

Training the Economically Deprived Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, on December 8 it was my good fortune to speak to the 72d Annual Congress of American Industry sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers in New York. With me on the platform was Dr. Sar A. Levitan, professor at the Georgetown University Center for Manpower Studies. Dr. Levitan presented an outstanding paper entitled "Training the Economically Deprived Youth" at the session named "Focus on Vocational Education—1968" and the following is his address:

TRAINING THE ECONOMICALLY DEPRIVED YOUTH

Vocational training, as presently practiced in our secondary school system, has little relevance to the needs of educationally deficient youth. Statistical "proof" for this statement is hard to come by, but ample circumstantial evidence supports it. Possibly the best evidence is supplied by the large number of school dropouts from poverty stricken areas. For the educationally deprived youth, the major function of the public vocational school is to provide a "dumping ground" until he is ready to leave school. The best that can be said for these schools is that they offer narrow vocational training, frequently outmoded and providing little occupational preparation for future career development. A large share of the responsibility for the disturbingly high unemployment amoung youth and critical unemployment conditions of Negro youth may be placed at the doorstep of our educational system.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 made provision for serving those who did not succeed in the traditional vocational education program because of "academic, socio-economic and other handicaps." Thus far, the federal Office of Education has not offered any evidence, to the best of my knowledge, showing that the additional $200 million annual federal contribution to vocational education has resulted in any efforts to carry out the Congressional mandate. It appears that vocational schools left the difficult chore of training disadvantaged youth to other federal programs which might take over after he leaves school, or after the school has failed him.

In his authoritative study of federally-supported manpower programs, my colleague, Dr. Garth L. Mangum, commented on the effect of the 1963 Vocational Education Act:

"There has been little meaningful innovation under the Act and a great reluctance to adopt proven experiments demonstrated on projects financed by foundations, OEO and MDTA funds. Training occupations still reflect more the 1917 categories than current labor market needs. Offerings for those with special needs account for no more than 2 or 3 percent of total expenditures, even with generous definitions. Programs in rural schools and urban slums are limited and poor—just where they are needed most. This generally dismal picture is belied by some real bright spots but in general change has been slow and minor."

Professor Mangum is also a member of the Presidential Advisory Council on Vocational Education. We'll have to wait another few weeks to see whether the full Council agrees with him.

ANTIPOVERTY EFFORTS

Recently inaugurated manpower programs attempt to provide for the deficiently educated youth and to make up for the failure of the public educational system. Four major alternatives are available:

1. Neighborhood Youth Corps.
2. MDTA Skill Centers.
3. Job Corps.
4 The Armed Forces.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The Neighborhood Youth Corps has a double function: to provide part-time employment to youths from impoverished homes attending school and to help those who left school to "develop their maximum occupational potential." Despite the clear Congressional intent, some might question the appropriateness of including the Neighborhood Youth Corps as a training program. In practice, it may be described more properly as an income support program. The funds allocated to the program are distributed about equally between the in-school (including summer) and out-of-school projects. There is considerable evidence that the in-school program is effective in preventing youth from dropping out of school. For example, the Pittsburgh school system found that during the school year 1965–66 the dropout rate among NYC enrollees was half that of the rest of the school population. Since members of the NYC come from impoverished homes, it might be expected that their dropout rate should be higher than among youths who come from a more affluent environment. The NYC support of about $15 a week apparently made the difference.

It is more difficult to justify the out-of school program as an income maintenance program. Since the bulk of the participants in the program are high school dropouts, the emphasis of the program should be upon providing remedial educational and prevocational or vocational training. Few projects, apparently, provide these services in a systematic manner. The reason for this is not hard to find. Given limited resources, the administrators of the program determined to serve a maximum number of clients. The result has been that the bulk of federal funds is expended on providing income to participants. Provision for remedial education, health and other supportive services which many NYC enrollees need to improve their employability is left to the ingenuity and effectiveness of local project directors. Youths participating in the program are normally assigned to public or nonprofit private organizations. Too frequently their assignments are in the nature of "make-work," not leading to skill acquisition or better opportunities for employment. A sample survey of former out-of-school NYC enrollees showed that only 5 percent of the boys were employed by the agencies to which they had been assigned for work experience after they left NYC and 13 percent of the girls were in the same category. There was little direct relation between the NYC assignment and later employment.

The out-of-school NYC program remains a mixture of work experience, income support, anti-riot insurance and "aging vat." The rationale for the latter is based on the fact that the unemployment rate among youths decline as they mature from teenagers into adulthood. There is room, therefore, for a program which would provide them with some income and work during their early years in the labor force.

MDTA skill centers

In contrast to NYC, the skill centers established under the Manpower Development and Training Act emphasize remedial education and prevocational training. These centers are an outgrowth of the multioccupational projects which attempted to expose trainees, mostly youth, to a variety of occupational choices.

The need to establish skill centers, separate from the local educatinal system, was due to the fact that in most communities adequate facilities were not available and in some cases the local school system refused to cooperate with MDTA projects. Utilizing MDTA funds, the Office of Education encouraged development of skill centers—centralized facilities providing counseling, prevocational training, basic education and skill training in a variety of occupations. Ninety-four percent of the participants in the 70 to 80 skill centers during the past year received instruction in basic education and nearly half of the projects called for 600 or more hours of instruction before or during skill training phase.

Though federal funds supplied the bulk of support for NYC and MDTA—the federal share is 90 percent of total costs and the local balance may be supplied "in kind"—the two programs operate entirely separately. In some communities the skill center facilities are underutilized and remedial education could be provided to NYC enrollees at minimum cost.

Regrettably, skill centers segregate remedial education from the more prestigious functions of the school system in spite of the fact that broader social contacts and increased institutional prestige resulting from combined facilities would be helpful to the disadvantaged. The goal should be to have, within commuting distance of all but the most isolated populations, a single institution or a combination providing the following: (1) two-year technical courses in a wide range of skill areas; (2) shorter, more sepcialized vocational training courses for those unable or unwilling to carry through the more demanding courses; (3) adult basic education courses to compensate for deficient education and prepare for skill training; (4) prevocational orientation needed for rational vocational choice; and (5) residential facilities for youth living in sparsely populated areas where remedial educational and training services cannot be delivered and for those living in a debilitating environment where they cannot undertake effectively a course in basic education or acquire the rudiments of a trade.

Jobs Corps

The Job Corps is the most controversial of all the programs in aid of disadvantaged youth. The issue is not the need for remedial education and training, but the high cost of residential facilities, amounting to about $8,000 a year per enrollee. The cost per Job Corps enrolleee would be juestified if enrollment were limited to those whose needs could not be met by a less costly alternative program and if the enrollees remained long enough to benefit from their experience. The evidence on both points is not conclusive.

The record of the Jobs Corps is clear—at no time was there an attempt to "cream" applicants, a common feature of other federally-supported training programs. The Job Corps extended the welcome mat to all youths from impoverished families. The agency was even willing to take chances with youths convicted for felony, if an appropriate review board decided that the applicant was willing to conform to Job Corps standards. It does not follow, however, that Job Corps enrollees were carefully screened or that adequate care was taken to offer alternative programs for applicants when appropriate.

The difficulties experienced by the Job Corps to motivate enrollees to remain in centers for an adequate length of time to affect their future employability remains a more crucial problem. Follow-up studies of former corpsmen indicate that six months' enrollment represents the crucial cut-off period needed to make the Job Corps experience a "success." Regrettably, more than a majority of corpsmen leave centers before that length of time. There is, however, increasing evidence that as center administrators, counselors and teachers acquire experience of coping with problems of youths from disadvantaged environment, the retention power of the Job Corps is improving. The high dropout rate from Job Corps centers is a reflection of inadequate experience in dealing with voluntary residential facilities to youths from slum areas and not an argument against the need of such facilities.

A grievous error committed by the Job Corps has been to "go it alone" without involving the vocational educational establishment and state vocational education institutions. Not that the latter have shown any burning interest to help the disadvantaged, but the technical expertise of vocational educators could have helped the Job Corps avoid many mistakes.

Instead of seeking the cooperation of the state vocational educators, the Job Corps turned over its conservation centers to federal agencies which had little experience in education and training and most of the urban centers were administered under contract to private corporations, including General Electric, IBM, IT&T, Philco-Ford, RCA and Westinghouse. It was hoped that corporations which had traditionally engaged in personnel training and the development of complex defense systems would have little trouble in developing new approaches and techniques for educating and training the disadvantaged. It does not appear that the corporations have lived up to these expectations. The high cost of running centers has forced the Job Corps to cut operating expenses and has reduced budgets for research and development in educational and training activities at the centers. With such budget constraints, corporate contractors have attracted few proven top-level educators or administrators, frequently having to settle for ordinary, garden-variety educators.

Perhaps the most successful contractor has been the Texas Education Foundation, an independent, nonprofit corporation established by the State of Texas to operate the Gary Job Corps Center. The success of the Gary Center, which with an enrollment of 3,000 is the largest urban center, was largely due to the active interest of Governor John B. Connally. He mobilized oustanding state educators to administer the center and business leaders to help develop curricula and place corpsmen. Interestingly, the Gary Center was run by the same educational establishment which presumably failed the youths in schools. The experience of Gary suggests that, given more adequate support (including money) from businesses and the community at large, the educational system might fare better in serving the disadvantaged.

The Armed Forces

The Armed Forces offer an alternative to the Job Corps in providing residential facilities. Understandably, like any other employer, the military sought the most qualified personnel to perform its mission and until the escalation of the war in Vietnam, one of every third youth was rejected by the Armed Forces because he could not live up to physical and mental standards. The majority of rejectees came from impoverished homes and suffered some health defects or had failed to achieve even a rudimentary education. Thirty percent were Negroes and most of them came from states or school districts that provided a deficient education.

Faced with the need to expand, the Defense Department relaxed its eligibility requirements and has recruited or drafted during the past year 100,000 men who were ineligible for military service under the more stringent standards that prevailed earlier. Though nearly half of the 100,000 men inducted under the new standards had completed high school or better, the median reading achievement was only that of a seventh grader and one of every four achieved a reading ability of less than a fourth grader. Thus far, the Armed Forces have provided little organized remedial education and most of the recruits have been necessarily assigned to occupations which require no skill, and the training they receive may not be transferable to civilian occupations. One of every three was assigned to infantry, ground crews and allied specialties. Since none of the recruits under the new standards, except dischargees, have completed their military service, it is not clear whether their experience in the Armed Forces will improve their future employability. The Defense Department is planning a follow-up study of the group.

No mention has yet been made about the hiring practices of private employers. As their contribution to the nation's war on poverty, these employers have lowered hiring qualifications and trained workers who would normally not be acceptable. Their rationales have ranged widely. Labor shortages accounted for some of the hiring, but not all. Some consider their action as "enlightened self-interest," a reaction to riots that occurred in many cities. Others, opposed to the expansion of the welfare state, think that they can motivate and train the disadvantaged better than public programs.

Though the number enrolled is small, the experience is valuable for the lessons that can be gleaned from it. The much-touted Jobs Now of Chicago is an example. Here's private nonprofit organization, the YMCA, provides an initial two-week orientation to hardcore "gang" youth. This orientation, and the provision of coaches to work with the youth while on the job, is subsidized by federal funds. The brunt of the costs, however, is assumed by private employers who hire the participants at their going rate of pay and provide a high-support environment and training for poorly qualified employees. Though some of the largest companies in Chicago participate in the program, they agreed to absorb only about a hundred participants every two weeks.

This program and others have, however, indicated the costs of hiring unqualified and, frequently poorly motivated workers. A large insurance company which hired 20 high school dropouts found that to make them competitive with high school graduates might cost as much as a thousand dollars per enrollee during the initial year. There are other costs, not the least of which is concerned with retaining poorly prepared and motivated employees. This involves not only extra costs for supervision, but also to reorient supervisors to deal sympathetically with the problems of the new employees. There are also dangers—bending disciplinary rules and work performance standards which, if not adroitly handled, can adversely affect overall productivity.

Private corporations cannot be expected to act as eleemosynary institutions to any substantial degree. If inadequately educated and poorly motivated workers are to be trained and equipped with skills to enhance their position in the competitive market, the government must absorb the brunt of the costs, either through tax incentives or by direct subsidies. Rather than "viewing with alarm" the use of tainted government money, there is room to be concerned that there ain't enough of it.

My remarks have focussed upon remedial provisions needed to compensate for the failure of the public school system to educate and prepare for productive lives the hundreds of thousands who drop out annually from high school or even complete their course of study.

One of the lessons that we have learned from recent antipoverty experience is that we are starting the formal educational process too late, at least as far as the children from poor homes are concerned. Many poor children, by the time they reach public school age, are already "retarded" in comparison with children brought up in a more favorable environment. The evidence is mounting that these disadvantages can be overcome, or at least minimized, by providing child development services at age three. Nursery and kindergarten experience, enriched by nutritional and health components, is only a first step. Considerably more must be done to improve the quality of education throughout the primary and secondary schools, particularly in poverty-stricken areas.

To help youths to become competitive in the labor market will require not only the reorientation of our educational system, but also the allocation of vast resources. Until that commitment is made, society will continue to provide patch-work remedial measures, which in the long run may be more expensive than the commitment to improve the quality of ghetto education.

Activities of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, First Session, 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I submit to the Senate a report of the activities of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia for the first session of the 90th Congress. This presentation provides a report in detail of the committee's activities for that period of time plus a statistical summary of committee activities.

Crime in the District of Columbia was the foremost problem considered by the committee during the first session of the 90th Congress. No subject has approached receiving the in-depth attention of this committee over the past 10 years than has the problem of crime and how to deal with it in the Nation's Capital City. Hearings conducted in the 90th Congress, supplementing those in the 87th, 88th, and 89th Congresses, further amplified the need for legislation to control crime in the District of Columbia.

The Senate this year approved H.R. 10783, which makes certain changes in and amendments to the District of Columbia Criminal Code, including criminal procedures, so as to advance the war on crime in the District of Columbia. Many sections of the bill have been included in anticrime bills advocated by this committee during past Congresses. Other provisions implement recommendations of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia and respond to the President's call to strengthen District laws.

The bill is divided into 11 separate titles which may be capsulized as follows:

First. Title I amends existing law to authorize arrest upon probable cause but without a warrant for certain serious misdeameanors not committed in the arresting officer's presence.

Second. Title II amends existing law so as to require a defendant in the District of Columbia to give the government written notice of intention to raise the insanity defense in a criminal proceeding in the District of Columbia. It also provides for return of persons who escape from mental institutions after confinement in connection with criminal charges in the District of Columbia.

Third. Title III authorizes up to 3 hours' questioning of persons arrested in the District of Columbia, and insures the admissibility in evidence in criminal trials in the District of voluntary confessions, admissions, or statements made within 3 hours after arrest. Title III is a legislative clarification for use in the District of the term "unnecessary delay" as contained in rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure and interpreted by the Supreme Court in the Mallory case. The title affords the defendant all his legal rights, while permitting the police to question him for a reasonable period following his arrest.

Fourth. Title IV amends existing law to provide that obstruction of criminal investigations in the District of Columbia shall be a felony.

Fifth. Title V amends existing law to include robbery among the crimes of violence in the District of Columbia.

Sixth. Title VI amends certain existing criminal laws in the District of Columbia to specify minimum sentences for certain crimes of violence, and increase other penal provisions. It rewrites and strengthens District laws dealing with burglary and obscenity.

Seventh. Title VII frees police time for handling serious criminal activity by authorizing issuance of citations in lieu of arrest or custody in certain misdemeanor cases.

Eighth. Title VIII amends existing law so as to improve the supervision of youthful offenders and provides better training for prisoners. It also increases witness fees for persons testifying in criminal cases in the District of Columbia court of general sessions.

Ninth. Title IX relates to rioting and incitement to riot in the District of Columbia and provides substantial penalties for these offenses.

Tenth. Title X creates a Commission on Revision of the Criminal Law of the District of Columbia and authorizes it to formulate and recommend to the Congress a code of criminal laws which will contain provisions adequate for present-day law-enforcement needs.

Eleventh. Title XI is a saving provision with respect to criminal offenses committed prior to enactment of the bill.

H.R. 10783 is presently awaiting Presidential action.

The Congress also approved H.R. 8718, a revenue authorization for the District of Columbia. The Senate has long favored replacing the fixed Federal payment and borrowing authority for the District with a formula approach related to local tax revenues. This year, the House agreed to a 3-year trial on a formula for determining borrowing authority, by which the amount of revenue the District can use for debt retirement is limited to 6 percent of the sum of the estimated general fund revenues from local taxes and the annual Federal payment. The estimated debt ceiling using this formula will be raised from the fixed amount of $290 million to $333.8 million in fiscal 1968, $363.9 million in 1969, and $392.3 million in 1970. The authorized Federal payment will remain a fixed amount, but has been increased by $10 million to a new level of $70 million. Public Law 90–120.

The committee acted to provide the residents of the District of Columbia with an elected school board—H.R. 13402. The bill provides for the election of a nonpartisan, 11-member Board of Education in lieu of the present nine-member Board appointed by the judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Three of the members are to be elected at large, and eight are to be elected from each of eight school election wards to be established by the Board of Elections. The bill as passed by the House requires the first election to be held in April 1968, with subsequent elections in November of the odd-numbered years. The Senate amended the bill to require the first election to be held in November 1968, with subsequent elections in November of even-numbered years. Because of this and other differences between the Senate and House versions, the bill has been rereferred to the House. No conference was held before adjournment.

The Subcommittee on Business and Commerce and the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety held extensive hearings early in the session on the problems of air pollution in the District of Columbia. These hearings resulted in consideration by the Business and Commerce Subcommittee of S. 1941, which was approved by the Senate and referred to the House late in the session.

This bill authorizes a comprehensive system for prevention, abatement, and control of air pollution in the District. It establishes an Air Pollution Control Board and an Advisory Council to be appointed by the District of Columbia Commissioner. The Board would have authority to investigate sources of pollution and to establish regulations and emission standards, and to issue orders enforcing standards and regulations. The Board will have the power to approve construction and operation of sources of pollution and to determine whether such facilities are operated properly. The bill contains an emergency procedure permitting the shutdown of pollution sources when there is a generalized condition of pollution at dangerous levels or when emissions from particular sources are causing imminent danger to health or safety. Emergency orders are enforceable by court injunctions.

The Senate approved and referred to the House S. 1999, to permit the Federal City College to qualify as a land-grant college. This would enable the Federal City College to qualify under various Federal laws for Federal grants and to participate as a land-grant college in several programs administered by the Federal Government through the land-grant colleges. The Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute were established in 1966 under Public Law 89-791, and are now in the process of developing curriculums for course offerings in September 1968.

The full committee also acted on H.R. 11395, to amend the National Capital Transportation Act of 1965, relating to establishment of a system of rail rapid transit lines and related facilities. H.R. 11395 modified the authorized system by adding a line to serve the new and rapidly growing concentration of Federal employment in Southwest Washington and by deleting the authorized spur line to Columbia Heights, which would have branched off the Connecticut Avenue route. These changes in the system were requested by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority as a result of recent traffic studies and surveys. H.R. 11395 is presently awaiting Presidential action.

The full committee acted on several nominations during the first session. Pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967, the District of Columbia government underwent revision, whereby the Board of Commissioners was abolished and replaced by a Commissioner, an Assistant to the Commissioner, and a nine-member Council, all appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The committee conducted thorough public hearings on all the nominees, after which they were approved by the Senate. The committee also acted on the nominations of six persons to be judges in the courts of the District of Columbia, and reported favorably on nominations for several other positions.

The Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs took final action on several bills in addition to H.R. 8718, already discussed.

First. S. 1633, to increase the amount of the Federal contribution to the cost of the Potomac interceptor sewer to 50 percent. This interceptor sewer runs from Dulles International Airport to the District line, and connects suburban Virginia and Maryland into the District sewer system. This legislation provides more equitable treatment for the Washington metropolitan area in line with Federal legislation nationwide in scope that was enacted after the Potomac interceptor sewer was authorized, and will aid in protecting the water sources of the Capital from pollution. Public Law 90-84.

Second. H.R. 5709, to provide an unlimited number of days of earned sick leave for all teachers, and to increase the number of days of sick leave that may be "borrowed." This bill gives District teachers the same benefits that are extended to teachers in other local systems and to Federal employees. Public Law 90-212.

Third. H.R. 12505, to permit teachers to retire at age 55 with full annuity if they have 30 years of service or at age 60 after 20 years of service. The act contains several other revisions of the teacher retirement law, designed to make this law conform to civil service retirement that applies to Federal and District government employees. Awaiting Presidential action.

Fourth. H.R. 827 amends the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act to authorize the District government to employ sanitarians from other jurisdictions to assist in supervising the preparation of food during the inaugural periods, to provide meals for District government employees who are unable to leave their posts at regular mealtimes, and to issue special motor vehicle license tags valid for 90 days, for use by the Inaugural Committee. Returned to the House.

Fifth. H.R. 8715, to limit the amount of alcoholic beverages that may be mailed into the District for delivery to any person other than a licensed manufacturer, wholesaler, or retailer in the liquor trade. The alcoholic beverages in question enter the District without local taxes and beyond the control of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. The permissible amount is reduced from "1 gallon at any one time" to "1 quart in any 1 calendar month." Awaiting Presidential action.

The Subcommittee on the Judiciary, which acted on H.R. 10783, the omnibus crime bill already discussed, also took action on several other bills.

First. S. 762 authorizes the District government to issue and renew motor vehicle operator permits for periods of less than 3 years whenever it is found, on the basis of medical evidence, that the physical or mental condition of the applicant is such as to indicate the advisability of limiting his permit to drive. The bill passed the Senate and was referred to the House.

Second. S. 763 will facilitate the addition to the District of Columbia registration of a motor vehicle or trailer of the name of the spouse of the owner of any such vehicle or trailer. Public Law 90-43.

Third. S. 764 eliminates the requirements that applications for motor vehicle title certificates and certain lien information related to them must be submitted under oath. Public Law 90-172.

Fourth. S. 1226 transfers to the court of general sessions authority to waive the premarital blood test requirements and the waiting period requirements of laws relating to the issuance of marriage licenses in the District of Columbia. All other functions relating to the issuance of marriage licenses have previously been transferred from the U.S. district court to the District of Columbia court of general sessions. Public Law 90-53.

Fifth. S. 1227 provides that a judgment or decree of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia shall not constitute a lien until filed and recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds. The effect of S. 1227 is to establish the same recordation requirements for final judgments, decrees, and forfeited recognizance of both the U.S. district court and the court of general sessions. S. 1227 passed the Senate, and passed the House with amendments, but the Senate took no further action before adjournment.

Sixth. H.R. 834 removes the dollar limit on the authority of the District government to settle claims of the District of Columbia in escheat cases, subject to district court approval. The prior law, prohibiting compromises that would reduce the District's claim by more than $10,000, sometimes tied up estates for several years and consumed substantial parts of the estates in attempts to locate heirs to the estates. Public Law 90-33.

Seventh. H.R. 8582 increases the number of associate judges of the District of Columbia court of appeals from two to five, and authorizes the court to separate into divisions of three judges each for hearing and determining cases and controversies. Public Law 90-178.

The Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety was active on many fronts during the first session. Two bills acted on by this subcommittee, S. 1999—to permit the Federal City College to qualify as a land-grant college—and H.R. 13042—to provide for an elected Board of Education—have already been discussed in this report. The subcommittee also acted on the following bills that passed the Senate:

First. S. 318, to provide day-care centers for dependent children.

Second. S. 765, to make it illegal for any person to operate a motor vehicle in the District of Columbia while under the influence of a nonnarcotic drug that renders him incapable of operating a motor vehicle safety.

Third. S. 768, to provide that all children under 18 years of age be included in a school census for the District of Columbia.

Fourth. S. 770, relating to the public crematorium, deletes provisions requiring the District government to prescribe and collect fees for cremations and to waive or reduce the charges for cremation. This will allow the District to operate the crematorium only for public health purposes. Public Law 90-173.

Fifth. S. 1224, to establish a register of blind persons and to provide for mandatory reporting of information concerning blind persons, so that such persons can be made aware of benefits and services for which they might qualify.

Sixth. S. 1228, to authorize supplementary Federal assistance for the District government for modernization of public or nonprofit private hospitals, and for the construction of health centers, long-term and extended care facilities, diagnostic or treatment centers, rehabilitatio nfacilities, community mental health centers, and facilities for the mentally retarded. This bill would meet the special needs for hospitals and other medical facilities in the District of Columbia that result from a combination of factors, including: substantial utilization of existing facilities by residents of surrounding jurisdictions; lack of usual sources of non-Federal construction funds, such as corporation contributions; and a low allotment of Federal funds, based on per capita income and population, under existing Federal programs.

Seventh. S. 1631, to raise the maximum age limit of schoolchildren entitled to transportation at a reduced fare while going to and from school.

Eighth. S. 2012, to authorize appropriations for operating the Office of Central Management of the Food Services Department in the public schools. Presently, salaries of all employees of the Food Services Department are paid from receipts of the school lunch program. The bill also provides for the appropriation of public money to pay for lunches furnished to all needy elementary and secondary public school children, even though their parents are not recipients of public assistance. The distinction between children whose families receive public assistance and other needy children is presently made only in the secondary schools.

Ninth. H.R. 3973, to authorize the employment in the District of Columbia Department of Public Health of qualified physicians and dentists who are licensed in other States, but not in the District of Columbia. Public Law 90–115.

Tenth. H.R. 10964, to authorize the District of Columbia to qualify for participation in the medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act. Awaiting Presidential action.

Eleventh. H.R. 11638, to amend the laws of the District of Columbia relating to industrial safety. This bill broadens the coverage of industrial safety laws to include all places of private employment, rather than just "industrial" employment. It also amends existing law relating to the granting of variances to require a public hearing at which the employer could present his case. The bill also provides for increased penalties for violations.

The Senate amended the bill passed by the House to give employee and employee representatives and other affected persons an opportunity to be heard on a requested variance. Other amendments approved by the Senate would permit appeals from the granting of variances as well as denials of variances, and to prohibit the forfeiture of collateral when a violation of regulations has been charged and the case involves a death or serious personal injury. The House took no action on the amended bill passed by the Senate.

The Subcommittee on Business and Commerce reported several important bills that were passed by the Senate, including the air pollution control bill, S. 1941, already discussed.

First. S. 944 seeks to provide an effective method for dealing with the present and future need for motor vehicle parking facilities in the District of Columbia. The bill creates a Parking Board and Advisory Council to carry out the purposes of the act, and authorizes the Board to acquire property for the operation of off-street parking facilities, to construct and lease or sell facilities or lease property for development as parking facilities, or to operate the facilities if that is in the public interest. The Board may issue nontaxable obligations to finance its operations.

Second. S. 1245 authorizes the District government to make use of airspace in freeway rights-of-way for public purposes, including low income housing, recreation and other municipal uses, or to lease or grant permits for the use of such freeway airspace under terms specified in the bill. The bill permits the use of airspace for resettlement of families displaced by freeway construction and by urban renewal, and will aid in rejoining portions of the District separated by the freeways.

Third. S. 1246 authorizes the District to use or rent space over or under public streets other than freeways. This bill will permit more efficient use of available space in the downtown area for municipal, governmental, or private purposes. S. 1246 contains numerous safeguards to prevent excessive use of the airspace over the streets, and requires that anyone constructing in such space must have title to the property abutting on both sides of the street.

Fourth. S. 1247 authorizes the District government to fix and collect rents for private use of public space on, over, or under the streets. It will permit the District government to charge for the use of vaults under the streets and sidewalks as well as to police the maintenance of this space. It will also permit the District to charge rent for business use of public space at street level for such activities as sidewalk cafes and motor vehicle parking.

Fifth. S. 1532 requires that contracts for construction of public work be accompanied by a performance bond protecting the District of Columbia and by an additional bond for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor. This bill provides the same requirements for District of Columbia construction as are required for Federal construction under the Miller Act.

Sixth. S. 1629 authorizes the District government to enter into joint contracts for supplies and services on behalf of the District of Columbia, and for other political divisions and subdivisions in the National Capital area.

Seventh. H.R. 2529 extends priority rights for reestablishment to all businesses displaced from the waterfront area of Southwest Washington, and establishes rental terms for their return. The priorities are to be personal to the owners of the displaced businesses and their immediate families and are not otherwise transferable. Approval of this legislation clears up a situation that had existed for several years since the businesses were forced to vacate and were promised the right to return. Public Law 90–176.

In addition to the bills that the subcommittee reported for Senate action, the Business and Commerce Subcommittee has been engaged in extensive hearings in the fields of housing and consumer protection. Further hearings on bills concerning these subjects are to be held early in the second session.

Senate District of Columbia Committee activities of the 90th Congress, 1st session

Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations referred to committee	175
Number of bills, acts, resolutions and nominations reported to the Senate	55
Number of bills, acts, resolutions and nominations on which hearings were held	98
Number of hearings held by subcommittees on Senate bills	96
Number of hearings held by subcomittees on House bills	17
Number of hearings held by full committee on bills and nominations	24
Number of hearings held by full committee in joint session with House committee	0
Number of bills which have passed both Houses and are still awaiting President's signature	5
Number of bills which have become public law	11
Number of studies and investigations	2

EXECUTIVE MEETINGS

Full committee	6
Subcommittee	11
Total	17

Representative Edward R. Roybal's 16th Report From Washington to the Residents of Los Angeles' 30th Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that one of the most important duties of a Representative in Congress is to make regular reports on his activities in Washington to his constituents at home.

For that reason, I would like to include in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of my 16th report from Washington to the residents of the 30th District in California.

In addition to the regular reports from Washington, I have also sent out 12 special reports designed to cover all other major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of immediate concern to the Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California area.

The 16th report from Washington follows:

NINETIETH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION REPORT

I am happy to send you this "end-of-the-session" Report from Washington, one of a series of regular reports to the residents of the 30th District on my activities as your Representative in the Nation's Capital—and covering some of the significant events and major legislative issues of particular interest to citizens of our own Metropolitan Los Angeles area.

CLEAN AIR VICTORY

California won a sensational victory for the cause of clean air in our State with the unanimous passage of the Air Quality Act of 1967, representing a tremendous step forward in our efforts to organize a truly national program to eliminate, once and for all, the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe, and to create the kind of clean, wholesome atmosphere we want for ourselves and for our children.

I was also delighted at our success in obtaining overwhelming approval of the so-called California Amendment to the bill, allowing the Golden State to enforce, and continue to strengthen, our pioneering auto-smog air pollution control regulations.

This was an unprecedented legislative victory, marking a major milestone in protecting the health of our nearly 20 million citizens against the increasing threat of a potential smog disaster caused by a concentration of deadly car exhaust fumes in the Los Angeles Basin, or in one of California's other urban metropolitan areas.

VETERANS BENEFITS

Almost $1 million in increased benefits will go to 30th District veterans and their dependents next year under provisions of the 1967 G.I. Bill recently enacted into law by Congress.

In addition to a substantial cost-of-living pension increase for some 8,000 District residents, this legislation will also provide greater educational, job training, and readjustment assistance for more than 1,700 local veterans serving during the Vietnam conflict.

For detailed information on the entire range of new benefits and services available under this law, interested persons should call the VA's Los Angeles Regional Headquarters on 478-3711.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

One of this year's legislative highlights was passage—on the final day of the Session, and in the midst of the hectic pre-holiday season rush for adjournment—of the largest aid to education bill in our Nation's history.

The bill emphasizes better education for America's 6 million underprivileged youth from low income families concentrated in our heavily populated cities—where the ever-increasing demand for more schools and teachers has placed a tremendous strain on existing sources of state and local tax revenues.

It also illustrates a strong feeling in Congress that nothing is more important, as a solid investment in the future of our country, than the fullest possible development of our human educational resources.

I was particularly pleased at our success in securing enactment of a new bilingual education plan, of which I was co-author, to assist school districts with special bilingual teaching programs to help overcome the serious language barriers that handicap an estimated 4 million elementary and secondary students with limited English-speaking ability—nearly 1 million of whom live in the State of California.

U.S. school children from a wide variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds will share in the benefits of this legislation, and have a better chance to participate more fully in the rich abundance of our modern, highly industrialized society—where job opportunties, economic advancement, and personal and family well-being, are closely linked to educational achievement and the ability to communicate effectively with one another.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have consistently urged the President to explore every possibility for international agreement on stopping the spread of nuclear weapons.

Recent developments at the 17-nation Geneva Disarmament Conference seem to point toward progress in working out acceptable terms for a non-proliferation treaty, with adequate safeguards and inspection control provisions.

We all have a vital stake in the success of these continuing negotiations, which may be civilization's last real chance to avoid nuclear destruction.

SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE

With active parliamentary maneuvering going on right down to the adjournment line, Congress finally settled for a compromise 13 percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits for more than 23 million elderly and disabled Americans, including over 2 million California residents.

I had worked for a larger cost-of-living benefit increase, and a substantial raise in the $55-a-month minimum payment figure, as well as an outside earning limit maximum higher than the $1680 amount agreed on before a retired person starts losing social security benefits.

In addition, I disagreed with the bill's arbitrary child-aid freeze and rigid welfare work-training provisions. I intend to support an effort early in the next session of Congress to make significant revisions in these inequitable sections of what otherwise was a generally good piece of legislation.

MEAT INSPECTION

American housewives scored another landmark victory this year when Congress adopted a strong meat inspection bill to protect the health of U.S. consumers against the danger of unwholesome or contaminated meat products being placed on sale in the nation's food markets.

The first major change in the 60-year-old federal meat inspection program, the new law will extend strict sanitation standards and inspection criteria nation-wide, to help guarantee to every American family that the meat on their dinner table and in their stores and supermarkets will be safe and fit for human consumption.

PEACE IN VIETNAM

The cause of peace in Vietnam is one in which every citizen of Los Angeles, and the nation at large, has an intense, personal interest.

And no one hopes for a peaceful settlement of this tragic conflict more than our own young men now serving in the Armed Forces in South Vietnam. For they know the terrible meaning of war, and must pray for the early success of our continued efforts to start meaningful negotiations, get the conflict away from the battlefield, and bring it to the conference table.

Each of my fellow members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee also shares with me an urgent desire to find the basis for achieving equitable terms on which to build an enduring and workable peace with freedom in that war-torn part of the world.

So, I was greatly encouraged this year by the overwhelming approval by both the House and Senate of the "Statement of Congressional Policy" expressing firm support for efforts being made by men of good will throughout the world, such as Pope Paul VI and United Nations Secretary General U Thant, to try to prevent an expansion of the war in Vietnam and to bring the conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement which would preserve the honor of the United States, protect the vital interests of both countries, and allow the people of South Vietnam to determine the affairs of their nation in their own way.

I was also deeply gratified by the recent unanimous 82-0 Senate vote urging that the United States again seek action in the United Nations Security Council in support of our endeavors to achieve a peaceful settlement. As one of the members of the House who joined in asking the President to take such action more than a year ago, I am hopeful the world community of nations will now assume its rightful responsibility for maintaining peace in Southeast Asia.

Within the past few weeks, there have been increasing indications that seem to foreshadow a greater degree of diplomatic flexibility on both sides. We should be quick to seize this chance, together with the renewed opportunity presented by the holiday truce periods, to establish discussions that could well mark the key turning point toward a just and lasting peace in Vietnam.

Then, we can join with other like-minded nations in working with the people of a Southeast Asia no longer ravaged by the terrible scourge of war, to turn the tremendous resources and energies of this entire area, once and for all, away from conflict, and toward the creative task of building a more secure foundation for a better way of life in the future.

JOBS FOR OLDER AMERICANS

Congress this year also enacted legislation to promote expansion of job opportunities for older citizens, and to prevent arbitrary age discrimination in employment of workers between 40 and 65.

This long-overdue measure should go a long way toward full utilization of this country's valuable reservoir of experienced, reliable, and willing workers in the upper age brackets, as well as help eliminate, through both educational programs and remedial procedures, discriminatory practices which have prevented thousands of older Americans from finding worthwhile jobs.

WAR ON POVERTY

Though just three years old, and experiencing the usual administrative growing pains to be expected in any relatively new program, the nation's War on Poverty holds promise of developing a series of new approaches (Head Start, Job Corps, VISTA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound, etc.) to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty for more than 30 million disadvantaged fellow citizens, in the midst of an all-time-record-high prosperity for most Americans.

For a while this fall, it appeared that the anti-poverty program would be defeated. Now, however, after a concentrated effort by those of us who favored its continuation, passage of the War on Poverty bill is regarded as one of the greatest legislative victories of the first session of the 90th Congress.

Nevertheless, I am disappointed that in spite of all our efforts, we were not successful in providing more adequate support for many of our urgent domestic needs, such as expanded educational and job opportunities, as well as critical housing and other urban development requirements of the country's fast-growing metropolitan centers like Los Angeles, where 80 per cent of our people will soon reside.

As the richest nation on earth, with a population now exceeding 200 million, and a Gross National Product approaching $800 billion a year, I firmly believe that we in the United States can afford to meet our obligations both here and abroad, without short-changing our own disadvantaged citizens at home.

So I will continue to speak out in support of these domestic programs, which I consider essential to the country's prosperity and growth.

WAR ON POVERTY

Discussing ways of improving the effectiveness of Los Angeles County's anti-poverty program are (l to r): Congressman Roybal; Ted Berry, Special Aide to Economic Opportunity Director Sargent Shriver; Mrs. Alice Gordon, Executive Assistant to San Fernando Valley Rep. Jim Corman; and Rep. Gus Hawkins, Los Angeles' member of the House Education & Labor Committee which handles anti-poverty legislation.

MARINE CORPS SILVER STAR WINNER

During a recent short break in the schedule of legislative business in Washington, I was able to spend some time in our 30th Congressional District, where I was proud to have had the opportunity of talking with U.S. Marine Corps Staff Sergeant & Mrs. Librado Flores.

Awarded both the Silver and Bronze Stars for his conspicuous gallantry in action while serving as a Patrol Leader during combat operations in Vietnam, Sergeant Flores is now stationed with the 5th Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, California.

FREE ENTERPRISE BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

A recent industry-wide exhibit featured some of the outstanding accomplishments of California's important Aerospace Industry in promoting continued economic expansion and business prosperity in our growing Los Angeles Metropolitan Area.

Space industry leadership has sparked the private business community, not only in such areas as basic and applied research, new product development, consumer-oriented marketing techniques, systems approach to problem solving, etc., but has also been in the forefront of progressive thinking aimed at finding practical and workable answers to some of our Nation's most difficult urban problems.

I have introduced several pieces of legislation in the present Congress to provide additional incentives for American private industry to invest in new job-producing enterprises, and housing and other economic development projects, to help solve acute long-term hard-core unemployment—which for years has plagued Los Angeles' mid-city area, as well as nearly every other major U.S. population center.

With Southern California's population spiraling from 10 to over 30 million residents by the year 2000, this kind of healthy industry-government cooperation is vital to our future prosperity.

Though more jobs are not the only answer to the complex problems facing our society, reaching the goal of "full employment in an expanding economy" is certainly one of the most essential requirements for correcting the desperate conditions found in many of our cities today.

CARE

In its more than 21 years of service to humanity, CARE has brought aid, on a person-to-person basis, to millions all over the world. And with our support, CARE will continue to fulfill this vital role as long as there are hungry or needy people.

If you want to help in the worldwide CARE Food Crusade, or assist in the current CARE Vietnam Relief Drive to aid civilian war victims and refugees in Vietnam, send your contribution to: CARE, Room 1220, 215 West 5th Street, Los Angeles, California 90013, phone: 626–3625.

AT YOUR SERVICE

The members of my Congressional office staff in Washington, as well as those in our Los Angeles District Office are anxious to help you in any way they can. Please continue to make full use of the many services available through our offices by contacting us whenever you feel we can be of personal assistance.

With Best Wishes for the Holiday Season,

EDWARD R. ROYBAL,
Member of Congress.

Project Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER H. DOMINICK
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the white hospital ship known as the SS *Hope* is regarded the world over as the living symbol of American warmth and friendship. Few programs have better demonstrated the deep concern Americans have with the problems and difficulties of other people and other nations. Since 1960, Project Hope has been busy bringing medical knowledge and techniques to developing countries on three continents. This 15,000-ton former Navy hospital ship was brought out of mothballs, refitted and loaned to the man who created first the dream and then the reality of health opportunity for people everywhere, or Project Hope. Dr. William B. Walsh. No finer tribute can be paid the American tradition of helping your neighbors than the very existence of Project Hope. Since her first voyage, well over 1,000 physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, and technologists have volunteered their medical knowledge and expertise to bring the latest techniques of medical science to those most in need of assistance.

The statistics of *Hope*'s accomplishments, amazing as they are, still cannot fully express the story of sacrifics and dedication of the American personnel who serve either on the permanent staff or the rotating personnel assignments. In 7 years, over 3,500 doctors, technologists, dentists, nurses and surgeons have been trained by their American counterparts on the ship; over 100,000 individuals have been treated; 9,000 major operations have been performed; over 1,000,000 people have received examinations, immunizations or other services. This record alone is a monument to the men and women who serve on *Hope*.

I am proud to say that Coloradans play a prominent role in the success story of *Hope*, and I am sure will continue to serve with pride and distinction. Like the other volunteers, they left homes, families and practices to serve aboard the floating hospital. The story of eight Colorado people, their responsibilities and duties for Project Hope are warmly told in an article written by Mr. Mark Bearwald. Much has been written about *Hope*, but I feel few have caught the true meaning and feeling of *Hope* better than Mr. Bearwald in his article, entitled "Healing With *Hope*," which appeared in the November 26 issue of Empire magazine. I ask unanimous consent that this story be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEALING WITH HOPE—DR. RUTH GOUGE IS ONE OF SEVERAL COLORADANS WHO LEFT HOMES AND PRACTICES TO SERVE THIS SHIP OF MERCY

(By Mark Bearwald)

In an impoverished village in the barrio of Santa Rita, near Cartagena, Colombia, there's a seven-month-old girl named Ruth whose produest possession is a tiny pair of gold earrings.

Her name and her jewelry are gifts from a Denver physician, Ruth Gouge, who unexpectedly attended the girl's birth. Dr. Gouge was serving in a clinic in that collection of thatch-roofed huts when she got a Hurry come quick! call to aid a woman in labor.

Dr. Gouge found the woman had delivered the child but not the afterbirth. The doctor assisted, the birth was completed and the mother was convinced the American lady was a savior. She insisted on giving her new daughter the un-Spanish name Ruth and the doctor, touched by the woman's gratitude, later sent gold earrings set with blue stones for the tiny ears which, following the custom of the country, are pierced in infancy.

Dr. Gouge (rhymes with rouge) happened to be in that primitive place as a member of a shore party from a white ship berthed in Cartagena. Midships, she carries four giant letters: HOPE, and she has become the internationally known symbol of unselfish, apolitical care and solace for the sick and miserable everywhere.

S.S. Hope is the seagoing manifestation of Project Hope (for Health Opportunity for People Everywhere), a unique American people-to-people foundation that sends volunteer medical personnel to faraway lands. The Hopies, as they're called, heal the sick and teach others to heal them after *Hope* weighs anchor and moves on to the next port of mercy.

Last February, Dr. Gouge turned her large practice over to her associate, Dr. Ruth I. Cook, closed the door on her offices at 5039 S. Federal Blvd. and a few days later, boarded the former U.S. Navy hospital ship in Philadelphia for the voyage to Colombia.

Aboard, besides a full merchant crew, were about 100 doctors, nurses and medical technicians who would remain with the ship during its 10-month voyage. When the *Hope* reached Cartagena, most of the first 30-member group of "rotators" arrived by plane.

There are 30 doctors in each rotation, almost all of them specialists in neurology, urology, surgery, internal medicine, ophthalmology, and so on. They serve two months and are replaced by another group of 30.

When Dr. Gouge reported for duty, the medical personnel ranged from young medical students up to a 70-year-old retired plastic surgeon who, incidentally, "did beautiful work, especially on harelips and other facial deformities."

"I went as one of the two general practitioners assigned to each rotation," Dr. Gouge said. "I didn't actually work aboard the *Hope* but with a public health team ashore. Most of my work was in clinics out in villages. We returned to the ship each night.

"We did organization work, immunizations, tuberculosis testing and general diagnosis, working with my Colombian counterpart, a Dr. Henriquez.

"He was a very capable person. Although he lacked the diagnostic instruments most of us have, he was nevertheless a good clinician. He taught me many tricks. Both of us derived a great deal from this experience, despite the language barrier—I don't speak much Spanish, I'm afraid."

There was some letdown and disappointment among the Colombians when the Hopies explained what they could and could not do during their stay, the doctor continued.

"Many of the local people thought the program was strictly treatment, that we had come to nurse them all to health and would stay in Colombia until everyone was cured of everything. We had to make clear to them that while we did treat many people, our major purpose is to develop an intensive teaching program for local health authorities in countries like Colombia which are trying to develop themselves. And this training includes not only medicine but sanitation, public health, nutrition—everything.

"Some patients couldn't understand why they weren't immediately rushed aboard the *Hope* for hospitalization and intensive treatment, but we had to limit admissions to those more interesting cases needed for teaching. We could send patients aboard for the many clinics, but inpatients had to be teaching cases," Dr. Gouge said.

The *Hope* is a complete medical center and 130-bed teaching hospital with a medical library, blood bank, pharmacy and dental clinic equipped with modern machinery and audiovisual equipment. Much of *Hope's* equipment and supplies are donated by American individuals and companies.

Typically, aboard *Hope*, a specialist will perform a delicate or a newly developed operation in one of the three operating rooms while his resident counterpart stands at his elbow. Other doctors, nurses and technicians will observe via closed-circuit television in the large classroom adjoining the operating theater.

The counterpart physician will assist with a second operation and finally, the counterpart will perform successive operations while his Hope instructor stands by. And when the *Hope* sails off to its next mercy call, that local physician, hopefully, has gained many new skills, all of them tailored to the limitations under which he must work.

Dr. Gouge found many health problems in her shoreside clinics. "There were many parasitic diseases that we seldom see in the U.S., a high incidence of TB, cancers, thyroid diseases, tremendous goiters, many young arthritics and widespread malnutrition, especially along the coastal area where people are very, very poor.

"Most of the settlements are without a water or sewage system, have no electricity and are reached by the most primitive roads. We often had to take to dugout canoes to reach them.

"But doctors like Dr. Henriquez do a tremendous job with what they have," she added.

"The Colombians apparently do little polio immunizing. There must have been a recent epidemic for we found quite a few children that were pretty well paralyzed. Our physiotherapist did a good job aboard ship training local people to work with these cases.

"Otolaryngology was another field where much was accomplished," Dr. Gouge said. "I don't know how many children had their hearing tested while I was there—and most of them were tested for the first time in their lives. And we found a lot of eye diseases, many of them borne or aggravated by parasites.

"The local people were extremely receptive and anxious to go through our clinics. I have seen people stand in line for hours waiting to get their children in to have polio shots. They have regular clinics in the cities, but out in the villages they never really had this kind of medical attention.

"I recall one mother brought several kids in, then returned later with several more. I recognized the kids' clothing and that puzzled me; why didn't she bring them all at once, to save standing in line so long?

"Then I figured out that she had dressed the first ones in the few clothes they had, brought them in, then took them home and put the clothes on the others and brought them in. She wanted her children to look their best for the big occasion."

Colombia had undertaken a "tremendous" nutrition education program in an attempt to better the diet of her citizens, Dr. Gouge said. Although the land is fertile and much fruit and grains grow wild, about 25 per cent of the Colombian children under four die of malnutrition. This is partly due to superstitions about foods, the doctor said.

"The people won't drink milk with fish, for example, and they breast-feed children for as long as two years. But often the mother is undernourished so the child doesn't benefit from nursing. What cow's milk is available, isn't pasteurized."

To fill that gap, good ship *Hope* fired up its milk machine, affectionately known as the Iron Cow. This metallic equivalent of a herd of 2,500 cows ingests water and milk powder and gushes forth something like 30,000 pints of fresh milk each week. The milk is distributed free to children who prize the waxed carton as well as the contents.

Dr. Gouge marveled at the way in which all the *Hope's* personnel, including deckhands and oilers, would take time to visit and entertain patients. Those fluent in Spanish would read to the children or chat with the adult patients. "The project literally belongs to everyone aboard the ship," the doctor said.

A native of Tennessee, Dr. Gouge first became a registered nurse, then joined the Navy nurse corps in Warld War II. She saw service overseas but never on a hospital ship like *Hope*. At war's end, she resigned her commission as a lieutenant junior grade and came to Denver.

She took a pre-med course at the University of Denver and then, in 1951, got her M.D. at the University of Colorado Medical School and entered private practice.

Despite the demands of a growing practice, she returned to D.U., this time the Law School, at night. Four years later, she got her law degree and was admitted to practice before the Colorado Supreme Court. Why? "Because, I've always been interested in the law, even though I haven't practiced," Dr. Gouge said.

Her interest in Project Hope began some years back. She'd read about it in magazines and medical journals. Then her brother sent her a copy of *A Ship Named Hope* by Dr. William B. Walsh (Scholastic Book Services—E. P. Dutton & Co., 1964), Project Hope's founder and president.

Later, she got first-hand reports on the project from Drs. John Griffith, an Aurora, Colo. general practitioner, and Will Pirkey, a Denver otolaryngologist, both of whom had served with *Hope* in Peru.

Dr. Gouge applied for the first rotation to Colombia, was accepted, and made a fast trip (at her own expense) to San Francisco to obtain papers from the Coast Guard so that she could sail with *Hope* on the outbound voyage.

"Actually, there were eight of us aboard who were from Colorado, had trained here, or had worked in one of the local hospitals at onetime or another," she says.

"There was Dick Burnside, a young medical student who graduated from the CU Med School in June: Judy Boyd from Colorado Springs, the record room librarian; and Chris (Christine) Herrera, a surgical nurse from Pueblo.

"Let's see, there was Al Read, the assistant administrator aboard the ship—he's a graduate of CU; Maurine Gallagher, who worked at Children's Hospital in Denver; Peggy Kelly, an RN, was in the operating room at St. Luke's (hospital). And then there's Dr. James B. Dumm, a thoracic surgeon, who just returned from Cartagena.

"There was a mural in the doctor's lounge aboard the *Hope*, one of those big things showing the Garden of the Gods in glowing sepia. We Coloradans used to gather there and drool."

But under *Hope's* schedule, there was little time for social gathering, drooling or sightseeing.

"In Project Hope, it's almost 24 hours a day, seven days a week. You arrive from the States, put on your uniform and go to work. Two months later, you change back again—it's just about that hectic. Oh, once in awhile you get a day off, but not often.

"I got to see something of Cartagena, a very interesting old walled city built by the Spanish to protect their interests in the Caribbean, and I got to Medellin, which reminded me very much of Colorado Springs. But most of the time, we worked."

She came away with intense admiration for and loyalty to Project Hope and the people who serve it. "It's a tremendous program and a wonderful experience. It's strictly non-governmental and non-political; we're there to serve the host country. This is sometimes hard to get across to the local people. I recall one Colombian medical student who claimed we were there to atone for the exploitation of his country by American companies. Others thought we were part of the U.S. State Department or something official.

"My two months with *Hope* more than repaid me in experience, as a person more than a medical practitioner. Medically, other than the parasitic diseases, leprosy and some of the untended afflictions we don't often see here, we didn't really learn a great deal because our training is so thorough. But the personal rewards are great.

"It was expensive for me, though. HOPE pays transportation, room and board and that's it. Some medical students in Cartagena thought we were all wealthy because we could give up our practices for two months and go away. But we told them, No, we simply had to give up something that we might have liked to have had—a new car maybe, or a vacation trip, or probably in my case, a start on a new house I'm planning to build in Conifer (Colo.)," Dr. Gouge explained.

The permanent staff aboard *Hope* earned her greatest respect, the doctor added. She found them to be unusually capable people, carefully chosen. "They have to be, they must live and work closely together in confined quarters. And although they're on salary for the full 10 months, I'm sure most of them could earn twice as much at home."

All things considered, her HOPE service "was simply a tremendous experience that more than repaid me for my time and expenses," Dr. Gouge declared.

What did HOPE achieve in Colombia this year?

"Well," Dr. Gouge says, "I think we'll see some changes in public health medicine there—more preventive care for one thing. Many people will have learned to wash their hands before eating, to boil their drinking water, use latrines and wear shoes. These are simple things, but vitally important in preventing parasitosis.

"Some midwives will have learned to boil the knife they use to cut umbilical cords so that infants aren't infected with tetanus at birth—I've seen that happen.

"And then many resident physicians will have learned a number of new operating techniques and local nurses may gain new professional status, similar to our own RNs. HOPE will station public health technicians in the country and assign RN's to the nurses' training schools in Colombia for two years," she added.

For the future, Dr. Gouge would like to see a HOPE committee formed in Colorado to promote interest in the project and raise funds. "Since we're so far inland, the project doesn't get the exposure it does on the coasts."

The ship is geting along in years, Dr. Gouge said. "Oh, she's seaworthy and all that, but she's getting just plain old. She's gotten hard use on her trips to Asia, Africa and Latin America."

(In his book, Dr. Walsh explained that the ship was commissioned by the Navy in 1945 as the hospital ship *Consolation*. She saw service in the Far East and later in the Atlantic. *Consolation* served in the Korean War and was the first hospital ship to receive helicopter-borne casualties direct from the battlefield. After duty off Vietnam during the partition of that country, she was mothballed near San Francisco in 1955.

(Four years later, Dr. Walsh went to the Secretary of the Navy and asked for a surplus hospital ship, gratis. He got *Consolation* and Project Hope became a reality. Rechristened the *Hope*, the ship sailed for Indonesia on Sept. 22, 1960, a sailing Dr. Walsh described as "in the nature of a miracle." *Hope's* mission, the doctor wrote, was then, as it is now: "threefold—to teach, to heal and to be a pilot for what we hoped would grow into a great white fleet.")

The fleet still consists of a single, well-worn vessel and Dr. Gouge, among others, wonders where her replacement—not to mention any sister ships—will come from. That prospect makes Dr. Gouge all the more anxious to see a HOPE committee formed in Colorado.

The *Hope* is due back from Cartagena about Dec. 15. After rest and refitting, she'll embark on a 10-month voyage to Ceylon.

Ruth Gouge yearns to go, but looking around her small office-examining room, she sees obligations everywhere.

"Perhaps . . . in two or three years . . ." she says wistfully.

[From Saturday Review]

Seven Years of "Hope"

She costs $5 million a year to operate—less than the price of one jet bomber. More than 8,450 major operations have been performed aboard her and some 100,000 persons treated. When she goes to a port she stays in the harbor for 10 months, a symbol of America's concern for suffering. She is manned by men in white, not khaki, and perhaps her greatest accomplishment is the training of 3,450 local doctors and nurses in the latest techniques—sometimes 50 years in advance of theirs. Her name is the *S.S. Hope*, and in the seven years she has been to sea she has visited seven nations on three continents and become the most welcome ship in the world.

In an insane world of idiotic spending for fratricidal wars and "defense," the comparatively small expenditures for *S.S. Hope* have lighted a tiny, inexpensive candle in the darkness. Imagine America's image, to say nothing of the world's health, if a thousand ships of *Hope* moved upon the waters of the earth for the alleviation of the ills of mankind. The possibilities for peace in a healthy world stagger the imagination.

R. L. T.

Whose Credibility Gap?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, not so long ago a new phrase crept into general usage.

The phrase was "news management." And, like so many other pithy terms, it was coined by the press.

The press, including many of our most powerful and respected newspapers, made the charge that our Government managed and tailored the news to suit the Government's own purposes. The charges made front-page headlines. Hard-hitting editorials thundered out in opposition to such a horrible practice.

The words "news management" became household words.

The public outcry was loud and angry.

A wedge of doubt was driven deep into the public confidence.

And the charges persisted despite denials.

Then, said the press, if indeed news management does exist in Government—or in business—it is our duty to watch for it and sound a public alarm whenever we seize upon a news-managed incident. It is our duty, the press said, to point out the credibility gaps.

The press was right. It is a responsibility of the free American press to pursue the truth, demand the truth, and print the truth—the whole truth—if the press is to retain the public respect, support, and acclaim.

But what if the press—or at least a segment of it—falls into the very practices it so vigorously condemns? What if news management becomes an inside job?

I regret to report we have just encountered such a case. And the implications are most disturbing.

A few days ago Joseph R. Slevin, a nationally known financial writer, wrote a hard-hitting syndicated column about an incident which he strongly—and I believe correctly—condemned.

It seems that William McChesney Martin, Jr., the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, spoke before an audience of businessmen, bankers, Government officials, congressional staff officials, and newspaper reporters.

Mr. Martin spoke off the record. Now, even to people who do not work in the newspaper profession, the words "off the record" have a pretty clear meaning. Off the record means literally that the subject matter is not to be printed—not to be published.

With that protection in mind, Mr. Martin, wisely or not, proceeded to speak out bluntly on matters of vital interest to this Nation and its people.

However, the New York Times reporter assigned to cover Mr. Martin's remarks, a Miss Eileen Shanahan, did what a news reporter is not supposed to do. She violated the ground rules. She wrote, and the New York Times published, a full story of the "off the record" speech. It was, as Mr. Slevin said, a "deliberate breach of confidence" by the newspaper. Miss Shanahan justified her actions by claiming the story would have leaked out anyway.

Mr. Slevin, aroused by the incident, wrote the column I mentioned. He condemned the whole thing, saying it hurt the newspaper profession, hurt Chairman Martin, and hurt the international standing of the United States.

I am in no position to pass on this serious charge. However, there is a deplorable aspect to this matter which shocks me almost beyond description.

By chance I came across Mr. Slevin's column in two newspapers. One was the Washington Post, the other the Baltimore Sun. I was shocked because Mr. Slevin's column in the Post was not the same as his column in the Sun. So, I did a little checking. And I found that the Washington Post had doctored the story—doctored the column, obviously, to serve its own purpose.

The editors of the Washington Post, among other things, deliberately deleted all references to Miss Eileen Shanahan by name, although the thrust of Mr. Slevin's column was criticism of her conduct as a newspaper correspondent.

I would not presume to pass upon the ethics of Miss Shanahan. I assume that the prestigious New York Times will take care of that.

But I do know that the Washington Post is forever crusading against "credibility gaps" in the Government and in business. I do know that the Washington Post relentlessly crusades for freedom of information and for "the peoples' right to know."

I happen to subscribe to these lofty ideals of full information and the right to know. But I submit that the Washington Post is guilty of hypocrisy when it refuses to pass along to its own readers the full details of some very serious charges lodged by one highly respected journalist against another well-known correspondent for a leading U.S. newspaper.

I cannot help wondering what prompts the Washington Post to protect Miss Shanahan when it so maliciously slashes the reputations of everyone in or out of public life with whom it disagrees.

And in view of this flagrant management of news, one can only wonder how many times a day or a week writers such as Miss Shanahan or editors such as those on the Washington Post decide precisely what news is fit for them to print—or not to print.

And what is the reason for the Washington Post's tender treatment of the New York Times? I do not know for sure. But I suspect that it could be that both the Times and the Post are in business together as owners of the Paris Herald Tribune. It could be a case of partners protecting each other.

Whatever the reason, no matter who invented the credibility gap, the Post has taken it to new heights—or I should say, lows.

And to prove that there really is a credibility gap, I am willing to make a wager that no paper will print what I have said.

I include the two articles as they appeared in the Washington Post and the Baltimore Sun:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Dec. 10, 1967]

Peril of Off-the-Record Speeches Seen in Wake of Martin Remarks

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

A high Washington official is in hot water because a New York City newspaper broke a confidence.

The official is William McChesney Martin Jr., the widely respected Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. The newspaper is the New York Times.

Martin did something he should not have done, though he was following an accepted Washington practice. He spoke off-the-record on sensitive national economic policy issues to a dinner meeting of 150 bankers, trade association representatives, Government officials, Congressional staff officials and newspaper men.

The Times did something worse. It immediately printed a lengthy account of what Martin had said even though its reporter had stayed in the room on the clear understanding that she was listening to an off-the-record speech that was not to be published.

The diner was held by the Executive Committees of the State and National Bank Divisions of the American Bankers Association. Russell A. Blanchard, President of the State Bank Division, made the unambiguous off-the-record announcement.

The Times justified its decision on the

ground that "some 200 persons" were at the dinner and Martin's views would not have remained secret for long.

The Federal Reserve Chairman is at the center of the dollar crisis that has followed Britain's devaluation of the pound. He is one of the key international symbols of U.S. financial integrity and risked saying things off-the-record to the A.B.A. dinner that he would not have said if he had expected to be quoted.

Martin asserted that President Johnson—"no matter how irresponsible he may have been in saying it"—recently talked about a $35 billion Federal budget deficit. The headline on Page One of next morning's Times read: Martin Assails Johnson Remark.

By violating the off-the-record agreement, the Times complicated Martin's relations with the President and deeply embarrassed Martin and this country at a time when it is crucially important to present the strongest possible front to those who want to break the dollar.

In addition to reporting the suggestion of Presidential irresponsibility (which the Federal Reserve felt impelled to deny the next morning), the Times printed a number of other comments that Martin believed were off-the-record, including observations on the "barbarous" gold standard, the damaging behavior of the French government, and the possibility that direct economic controls might become necessary.

There are well-defined standards of conduct in the newspaper business. One of the most important is that a newspaperman is breaking a pledge if he is told that a speech is off-the-record, stays to hear it, then writes about it.

For his part, Martin showed poor judgment in choosing to speak off-the-record. There always is a possibility that some members of an audience will talk even if the newsmen live up to their own ethical standards—as, it should be stressed, they usually do.

Equally disturbingly, Martin chose to talk behind closed doors to a select group of bankers about issues that can significantly affect their profits. Government officials do it constantly. The most flagrant case in point is a series of special briefings that Cabinet officers and other high Administration officials give to the influential Business Council at its bi-monthly meetings.

This reporter long has contended that no Government official should tell anything to one group of businessmen that he does not simultaneously tell to their competitors and to the world at large by speaking publicly.

The Martin talk and the Times' breaking of the fully understood off-the-record pledge were a pair of unhappy events that hurt the newspaper profession, Martin, and the international standing of the United States.

Some good still may come of it, though, if the A.B.A. dinner finally convinces Government officials that it is wrong to talk off-the-record to private groups, no matter how influential they may be and no matter how much their support may be wanted.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Dec. 10, 1967]

OFF-RECORD VIOLATION HURTS UNITED STATES

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

WASHINGTON, December 9.—A high Washington official is in hot water because a New York city newspaper broke a confidence.

The official is William McChesney Martin, Jr., the widely respected chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. The newspaper is the New York *Times*.

Martin did something he should not have done, though he was following an accepted Washington practice. He spoke off-the-record on sensitive national economic policy issues to a dinner meeting of 150 bankers, trade association representatives, Government officials, congressional staff officials and newspaper men.

STAYED IN THE ROOM

The *Times* did something worse. It immediately printed a lengthy account of what Martin had said even though its reporter had stayed in the room on the clear understanding that she was listening to an off-the-record speech that was not to be published.

The dinner was held by the executive committees of the state and national bank divisions of the American Bankers Association. Russell A. Blanchard, president of the state bank division, made the unambiguous off-the-record announcement.

The *Times* reporter was a bright, hard-driving Washington financial writer by the name of Eileen Shanahan. She justified her paper's deliberate breach of confidence on the ground that "some 200 persons" were at the dinner and Martin's views would not have remained secret for long.

AT CENTER OF CRISIS

The Federal Reserve chairman is at the center of the dollar crisis that has followed Britain's devaluation of the pound. He is one of the key international symbols of United States financial integrity and risked saying things off the record to the A.B.A. dinner that he would not have said if he had expected to be quoted.

Martin asserted that President Johnson—"no matter how irresponsible he may have been in saying it"—recently talked about a $35,000,000,000 Federal budget deficit. The headline on Page 1 of next morning's *Times* read: Martin Assails Johnson Remark.

By violating the off-the-record agreement, the *Times* complicated Martin's relations with the President and deeply embarrassed Martin and this country at a time when it is crucially important to present the strongest possible front to those who want to break the dollar.

OTHER COMMENTS USED

In addition to reporting the suggestion of presidential irresponsibility (which the Federal Reserve felt impelled to deny the next morning), the *Times* printed a number of other comments that Martin believed were off the record, including observations on the "barbarous" gold standard, the damaging behavior of the French Government, and the possibility that direct economic controls might become necessary.

There are well-defined standards of conduct in the newspaper business. One of the most important is that a newspaper man is breaking a pledge if he is told that a speech is off the record, stays to hear it, then writes about it.

REPORTER HAD OPTIONS

The *Times* reporter had options that she could have exercised. One was to stand up, in advance, and ask Mr. Martin to speak for publication. Another was to leave the room. But she remained silent, stayed at the dinner, and thus tacitly signaled her acceptance of the off-the-record terms that had been announced.

For his part, Martin showed poor judgment in choosing to speak off the record. There always is a possibility that some members of an audience will talk even if the newsmen live up to their own ethical standards—as, it should be stressed, they usually do.

Equally disturbingly, Martin chose to talk behind closed doors to a select group of bankers about issues that can significantly affect their profits. Government officials do it constantly. The most flagrant case in point is a series of special briefings that Cabinet officers and other high Administration officials give to the influential Business Council at its bi-monthly meetings.

UNHAPPY EVENTS

This reporter long has contended that no Government official should tell anything to one group of business men that he does not simultaneously tell to their competitors and to the world at large by speaking publicly.

The Martin talk and the *Times'* breaking of the fully understood off-the-record pledge were a pair of unhappy events that hurt the newspaper profession, Martin, and the international standing of the United States.

Some good still may come of it, though, if the A.B.A. dinner finally convinces Government officials that it is wrong to talk off the record to private groups, no matter how influential they may be and no matter how much their support may be wanted.

Postal Rate Bill of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, during the course of the debate on the postal rate bill which passed the Congress this year, I made several remarks about the lobbying activities of certain third-class mail users, which I considered to be inappropriate and irregular. At one point in my remarks I mentioned the Procter & Gamble Co. by name. Some persons have mistakenly interpreted this to mean that this fine company was engaged in the type of lobbying activities which I described as "odious."

I want to take this opportunity to clarify the RECORD and to state publicly that to my knowledge Procter & Gamble did not engage in any such activities, nor did I intend to insinuate that during the course of the debate. Mr. Neil McElroy, one of the former great Secretaries of Defense and now chairman of the board of the Procter & Gamble Co. wrote me expressing his concern about the remarks I made. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the letter I had from Mr. McElroy.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be inserted in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCTER & GAMBLE CO.,
Cincinnati, Ohio, December 11, 1967.

Hon. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONRONEY: In confirmation of our telephone discussion of December 8, I wish to affirm that the Proctor & Gamble Company is a member of only one direct mail trade group—The Direct Mail Advertising Association.

This year one of the officers of that Association is an executive of The Procter & Gamble Company. He, along with other officers of the Association, called on you to present the Association's views regarding postal rates. This is the only representation made by a Procter & Gamble employee to you or your office in connection with the recently passed legislation.

I appreciate the opportunity which you afforded me to correct your misapprehension about this matter.

Sincerely,

NEIL MCELROY.

Truth in Packaging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on September 19, 1967, I made a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives deploring the slow implementation of the Truth-in-Packaging Act which was signed into law by President Johnson on November 3, 1966. I noted the fact that the final regulations had still not been issued and that the packaging industry was doing little or nothing to bring their packaging practices into line with the law. As proof of the fact that the industry was doing little to give a fairer break to the consumer, selective shopping trips were made by members of my staff in a Southwest Washington supermarket.

In the last week I have received the results of similar shopping trips by the social science students of Palm Beach Junior College of Lake Worth, Fla. Prof. Edwin V. Pugh of the social science department presented the problem of the effectiveness of the truth-in-packaging law to his classes as part of a consumer research experiment. Each student was given a mimeo sheet which listed the provisions, both mandatory and discretionary of the new law. They were then directed to collect price and quantity change data on 17 different sizes of cereals at various supermarkets at the end of October and then again at the beginning of December. Similar data was collected for pork and beans, paper towels, toothpastes, coffee, detergents and two or three optional items.

The survey conclusively showed that some of the mandatory provisions of the law are still being ignored. For example, many foods were still being advertised as five to seven servings without clearly stating the quantity of servings. Many cereals and other products were still listing their weights as combinations of pounds and ounces, thus requiring the consumer to have a rapid and accurate knowledge of conversion tables.

The survey made it even more clear that the administering agencies must immediately issue regulations to bring the discretionary features of the law into force. For example the survey highlighted a continued abuse of the "cents off" promotional gimmick. In many cases the addition of a "cents off" ad resulted in no change or less change in price than advertised. In some cases, when the "cents off" sign was dropped from the label, the price rose more than the cents originally taken off. Also, the same price on "cents off" items over the 2-month period of the survey raises the question of "cents off" what?

Another section of the law provides for voluntary adoption of packaging standards. The act authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to call upon manufacturers, packers, and distributors to develop voluntary standards whenever he finds that undue proliferation of weights, measures, or quantities impairs the ability of the consumer to make value comparisons. The fact of 17 different cereal sizes alone warrants the call for voluntary standards. The extreme proliferation of package sizes and the constant changing of these sizes is demonstrated in the following table of significant packaging abuses found by the students of Palm Beach Junior College. In many cases the size of a package is increased by one-fourth of an ounce and the price is jumped by 5 or 10 cents. Similarly, a package size may be reduced by several odd multiples of ounces and the price dropped a few odd cents. In most of these cases the consumer is the clear loser when the change is analyzed on a penny per ounce ratio.

Below is the table of significant abuses uncovered in the survey as well as a table of the stores visited. The tables show that Professor Pugh and the students are justified in agreeing with my statement of September 19 that:

> It is deplorable to find the interests of the people and the intentions of the Congress so openly disregarded. Under these circumstances, the consumer appears like a "helpless patsy" in the marketplace.

The tables follow:

	Students
Visited Publix stores in 6 or more locations	57
Visited Kwik-Check stores in 12 or more locations	39
Visited Food Fair stores in 9 or more locations	19
Visited Grand Union stores in 2 or more locations	6
Visited Great Value stores in 3 or more locations	6
Visited A. & P. stores in 3 or more locations	5
Visited Grator Grator stores	2
Visited Thriftway at 1 location	3
Visited a B. & B. store	1
Visited a U Save Super Market	1
Visited a Case Rate store	1
Visited a 7-11 Store	1
Visited a Li'l General store	1
Visited a Max's Food store	1
Total	143

Item	October visit		
	Quantity	Price (cents)	Notes
Servings: Del Monte spinach	1 lb. 11 oz	29	5 to 7 servings.
Weight changes:			
Special K	10½ oz	45	
40 percent Bran Flakes	14 oz	37	
Post Tens	10 oz	47	
Van Camp pork and beans	1 lb. 5 oz	20	
Shredded Wheat	10¼ oz	28	
Chicken of the Sea	7 oz	39	
Bumble Bee tuna	7 oz	41	
Puffed Rice	6 oz	28	
Cocoa Krispies	9 oz	35	
Jif peanut butter	18 oz	55	
Jets	10 oz	37	
Post Tens	9¾ oz	49	
40 percent Bran Flakes	16 oz	37	
Cents off:			
Colgate	6.75 oz	66	12 cents off.
Do	6.75 oz	78	
Do	5 oz	68	
Do	5 oz	68	
Do	5 oz	74	
Gleem	6.75 oz	72	6 cents off
Do	7 oz	78	
Ultrabrite	5 oz	59	
Hungry Jack	60 4-inch cakes	45	10 cents off.
Ajax	12 oz	59	Do.
Do	1 lb. 4 oz	30	5 cents off.
Ajax "2"	4 oz	28	
Do	84 oz	75	25 cents off.
Cold Power	3 lb. 1 oz	67	10 cents off.
Do	4 oz	33	
Dash	3 lb. 2 oz	61	Do.
All	3 lb. 1 oz	59	12 cents off.
Bold	3 lb. 1 oz	65	10 cents off.
Cheer	3 lb. 6 oz	65	Do.
Fab	1 lb. 4 oz	35	
Scot towels	11 by 9⅜	35	2 cents off.
Minute Rice	14 oz	45	
Crisco shortening	3 lb	89	4 cents off.

Item	December visit		
	Quantity	Price	Notes
Servings: Del Monte spinach	1 lb. 11 oz	$0.29	5 to 7 servings.
Weight changes:			
Special K	10 oz	.45	
40% Bran Flakes	12 oz	.37	
Post Tens	9¾ oz	.45	
Van Camp pork and beans	1 lb	.18	
Shredded Wheat	12 oz	.37	
Chicken of the Sea	6½ oz	.35	
Bumble Bee tuna	7¾ oz	.67	
Puffed Rice	4 oz	.25	
Cocoa Krispies	8½ oz	.39	
Jif peanut butter	12 oz	.45	
Jets	9.5 oz	.37	
Post Tens	10 oz	.59	
40% Bran Flakes	14 oz	.36	
"Cents off":			
Colgate	6.75 oz	.66	12 cents off.
Do	6.75 oz	.72	6 cents off.
Do	5 oz	.63	5 cents off.
Do	5 oz	.58	10 cents off.
Do	5 oz	.69	Do.
Gleem	6.75	.72	6 cents off.
Do	7 oz	.72	Do.
Ultrabrite	5 oz	.59	10 cents off.
Hungry Jack	60 4-inch cakes	.55	
Ajax	12 oz	.69	
Do	1 lb. 4 oz	.35	
Ajax "2"	4 oz	.28	5 cents off.
Do	84 oz	1.10	
Cold Power	3 lb. 1 oz	.77	
Do	4 oz	.30	3 cents off.
Dash	3 lb. 2 oz	.71	
All	3 lb. 1 oz	.59	
Bold	3 lb. 1 oz	.75	
Cheer	3 lb. 6 oz	.75	
Fab	1 lb. 4 oz	.30	5 cents off.
Scot towels	11 by 9⅜	.37	
Minute Rice	14 oz	.40	Do.
Crisco shortening	3 lb	.89	

The Record of Secretary of State Dean Rusk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, at the time of year when the national press devotes its energies to "summing up"—everything from the record of the Congress to the sales of 15-cent hamburgers—I am pleased that someone has taken the trouble to "sum up" the record for the past 7 years of one of the Nation's most tireless, selfless, and dedicated servants—Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

This excellent newspaper summation, as well as an illuminating question and answer session was carried in a Sunday edition of the Washington Post and I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that they be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Rusk Proud We Survive

(By Murrey Marder)

Secretary of State Dean Rusk and his most violent critics are enmeshed in a seeming nuclear paradox. He counts as his most important single accomplishment the fact that a nuclear war has been averted for seven years. They claim that in the Vietnam war he is obsessively pushing the United States toward the risk of nuclear disaster.

Before history proves who is right, the opposing arguments are likely to intensify.

One reason for this is the impending resignation of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. Inevitably, this will put Rusk in a position of unusual primacy among the Cabinet officers of the Johnson Administration, at least until and if a successor at the Pentagon can establish a powerful position of his own.

The Secretary of State, by law, is the first among equals in the Cabinet. Whether he is so in reality depends on the man's relationship to the President, at whose whim, literally, he and all Cabinet members serve.

By the degree of tangible operating power each has held in the Kennedy and the Johnson Administrations, many assessors of power in Washington would list McNamara ahead of Rusk. Rusk probably would sincerely disagree, because of the primacy of his Secretaryship, if he ever made comparisons in such terms—which he would never admit doing.

DISTORTED IMAGE

To the world outside the select circle at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy, McNamara, in the past year or two, came to be looked upon as the leading Cabinet "dove" on Vietnam and Rusk the leading "hawk."

The image was a distortion, an oversimplification. It had some elements of accuracy, however, in McNamara's growing pessimism and frustration about the course of the war and Rusk's conviction, more visceral than anything else, that one day, somehow, "the breaks will come" and the cause will be justified for all to see.

If the dove-hawk relationship of McNamara and Rusk had been as polarized as it was made to appear, Rusk presumably would be jubilant at McNamara's departure and the tightening of the circle of veteran militants on Vietnam at the pinnacle of power.

There is no evidence of that, even in a very cynical city where suspicions kindle almost spontaneously. For Rusk to say about McNamara's exit from the Cabinet, as he does in the interview on this page, that "I feel like a twin losing his brother," may sound corny. But whatever differing viewpoints they have had on specific policies, the closeness of the Rusk-McNamara working relationship has been genuine.

Insiders expect the cross-fertilization they instituted between the State and Defense Departments to survive them individually to a considerable degree, although that is bound to fluctuate with new personalities.

Nearly seven years in office have left the world not too much wiser about what the "real" Dean Rusk is like. There is constant puzzlement about what is behind his usually bland demeanor.

One thing behind it is usually well-hidden resentment at the barbs aimed at him for being "Buddha-like" or "a cold fish," or, in the nastier characterizations evoked by the Vietnamese war, "cold-blooded" or "unfeeling."

A CHEEK FOREVER TURNED

Rusk is a master of suppressed feelings. He regards this as a vital requisite for his job. As one very close Rusk-watcher puts it, he "sublimates himself, in almost monkish fashion," as an essential ingredient of his inordinately idealized concept of loyal, patriotic Government service.

His cheek is forever turned, especially to receive, if he can, blows aimed at the President—for whom he feels duty bound to suffer in silence whatever fate deals out from the top or bottom of the deck.

His talk, unsurprisingly, is freer, more spirited and more humorous in private than in public. He has a shrewd touch for the pungent phrase, with the soft tones of his native Georgia blending a poor boy background into a Rhodes Scholar-at-Oxford overlay to produce memorable metaphors.

But he winces when they are publicly disclosed, such as his classic comment in the midst of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis: "We're eyeball to eyeball—and I think the other fellow just blinked."

Rusk's closest associates in the State Department, while exposed to his more unveiled expressions, generally admit frustration in penetrating to the inner man's mind, often even on subjects that directly affect their duties.

But after an exceptionally long tour of service, the conviction has begun to dawn on those around Rusk that perhaps there are not "two Rusks" at all, but that by and large he operates on the premises he states as verities, as simple as they may appear to be. That is, that what his supporters or critics may think is an official "mask" is in fact the real Rusk, only in a slightly expurgated, sanitized version, trimmed to fit his version of the dignity and aloofness he believes his job demands. The publicized "enigma" of Rusk is itself an illusion, according to close observers of him from the days before as well as since he has been Secretary.

Rusk will never admit it openly, but he is a far more comfortable man under President Johnson than he was under President Kennedy. Few, if any, Secretaries of State have had their resignations rumored or reported more often than he has, and remained in office longer.

He was particularly wounded by the report, first published by Arthur Schlesinger and then supported by other Kennedy associates, that President Kennedy had just about decided to drop him after the 1964 election.

President Johnson, by contrast, publicly has drenched Rusk in Texas-sized effusion as one of history's "greatest Secretaries of State." Rusk was often privately ill-at-ease in the free-wheeling New Frontier style of direct presidential dipping into detail at any echelon of the State Department, and the Kennedy readiness to allow anyone at hand, including a Schlesinger, to square off at a Rusk recommendation.

The Johnsonian style of executive operation, as well as President Johnson's background, political style and even the Johnsonian accent and language, fits better with Rusk, and vice versa. More Johnsonian phrases than anyone will admit—plus the remembered ones directed at Hanoi, such as "nobody there will pick up the phone" or "All we ask them to do is to leave their neighbors alone"—are borrowed from Rusk's private and public vocabulary of verbal oversimplification.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Rusk's comments these days hold no public clue whatever about leaving office, despite his long service.

McNamara's departure makes Rusk's tenure more assured than ever; the President could not under any foreseeable circumstances alter his two prime Cabinet posts in quick, or even close, succession in the midst of an open-ended war.

Rusk, as he describes it in the accompanying interview, does count as a major accomplishment of his career, and justifiably so, the de-escalation of the East-West shouting match that echoed through earlier post-World War II years.

The outraged critics who picket his house or shout through his speeches these days, however, would counter that Rusk has vitiated this accomplishment by "reckless" military escalation in Vietnam. If the Vietnamese war goes over the brink in a greatly expanded war, they would be proved correct. Rusk is determined that history will show they are wrong, and history is bound to measure him by this test.

UNDRAMATIZING ISSUES

It is ironic in many ways, but perhaps coincidentally vital in other respects, that Rusk came to the Secretaryship determined to avoid the "brinksmanship" image deliberately disseminated by President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

Where Dulles sought to dramatize foreign policy, Rusk seeks to do just the opposite. Said Rusk in 1965, "there are problems about dramatizing issues, if drama gets in the way of settlement . . . It is the purpose of the Department of State to try to bring about what some people will call a boring situation, that is, a period of peace. I should not object if we got international relations off of the front page for a while. I see no prospect of it."

This did not mean, on any account, as the world soon was to see, that Rusk flinched from the use of power. Behind his outward placidity, as events have shown, Rusk can be a very single-minded, determined fellow—on Vietnam, on Communist China, and anywhere else he puts an "aggressor" label.

Rusk has expended the bulk of his energy on personal diplomacy, and if Vietnam "breaks" the way he sees it, it could pay off, particularly where the Russians are concerned. Even his sharpest critics—those who are knowledgeable about diplomacy—agree that he is very good at private, professional diplomacy.

Where Rusk has been weakest, as even his admirers privately concede, is in providing inspired, vigorous leadership to the State Department. The perrenial complaint, which re-echoed at the outset of the Kennedy years, that the Department was failing to provide adequate "leadership across the whole front of foreign policy," has persisted, and probably has intensified, in the Rusk years.

What has suffered additionally, although here Vietnam is the prime cause, is the effectiveness that Rusk once prized so much in his relations with Congress. He does not concede the damage is nearly as great as most others would measure it, but it is major damage because he soared so high on a cloud of pre-

Vietnam, or at least pre-Dominican Republic, approbation.

Seven Years on the Spot

In January, Secretary of State Dean Rusk will have served for seven years—longer than all but five of the 53 other Secretaries of State in our Nation's history. This puts him in striking distance statistically of the tenure of John Quincy Adams, James Madison, William H. Seward and Hamilton Fish.

The service record is held by Cordell Hull: 11 years, 8 months and 28 days.

Length of service by itself, or course, is a weak guide to the historical impact of a Secretary's service—especially in a nuclear age when one miscalculation can obliterate all. Rusk, in effect, made just that point in an unusually introspective interview with Murrey Marder, diplomatic correspondent of The Washington Post. These were the key questions and answers:

Q. What do you personally regard as the single most significant accomplishment of your seven years in office?

A. To add seven years to the period in which a nuclear weapon has not been used in anger. If anyone doesn't understand that answer, he is a fool. To keep this (nuclear) beast in its cage for seven more years is something one gets a lot of satisfaction out of . . .

It [the accomplishment] is trying to find a basis on which crises are settled . . . It does mean talking, literally interminably, with the Russians in 1961–2 in the Berlin crises until, literally, the fever was talked out of that crisis.

Take ABMs [antiballistic missiles: the United States has proposed talks with the Soviet Union for the purpose of heading off the overall nuclear missile race; the Russians have indicated interest, in principle, but so far no agreement has been reached on when talks actually will begin]. One of these days we will be talking about it.

You might characterize this [the need for persistency] by broadcaster Mel Allen's phase in talking about the New York Yankees: "Hang in there."

TUMULT OF EXPERIENCE

Q. Your public "image" these days is overwhelmingly centered on the grim war in Vietnam. You have been seeking to emphasize that the Vietnamese war has not prevented advances in other fields of foreign policy. Your list includes the consular treaty with the Soviet Union and the outer space treaty, following the partial nuclear test ban treaty; the Kennedy Round of global trade relationships, the negotiations on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, plus forward motion on other topics. But is there any one dominant theme that you would use to portray your years as Secretary?

A. There is just too much happening at too fast a pace for any one dominant theme to emerge. I really haven't reflected generally about the tumult of experience that I have lived through to be able to express it that way—maybe someday that may be possible.

Someone once claimed that there was a "Rusk Doctrine." Several things are instinctive with me; I don't like pet phrases—"massive retaliation"; "a bigger bang for a buck"; "agonizing reappraisal"—such phrases get in the way, so I have tried to avoid them.

I have always felt it is how the story comes out that makes the difference—and not how you look. I don't mind looking bad in the process if the result is good. Or looking stupid or old or tired or anything else. So I have been relatively relaxed on this question of "image"—whatever that means.

Some of the most important things you did, happily, will never be discovered—because if they are discovered you will lose the effect of them. [Meaning the averting of crises by secret diplomacy.]

Q. There have been major changes in the style and pattern of relations with the Soviet Union during both the Kennedy and the Johnson Administrations; how would you describe them?

A. Since Khrushchev there has been a reduction in the ideological context of discussion. Talks are direct, pragmatic; we don't pour out mimeographed material just to make the record. That doesn't mean, by any means, that all of the problems are yielding to developments of style. But it has become possible to deal with many problems on a businesslike basis.

The President and I never attack foreign personalities—that is a matter of policy, it is not just an accident.

This began as a matter of President Kennedy's style, and my own predilection under Mr. Kennedy. It became more a matter of systematic policy under President Johnson; a code. President Johnson systematically wants to take into account the other fellow's problems, the pressures that confront him.

For seven years we and the Russians in our talks have dealt with each other on the basis of impeccable courtesy. There is never any shouting, never any personal insults or indignities. One of the primary functions of diplomacy is to maintain relations—to remove irrelevancies from the discussion. That is why you say, "Accept, Excellency, assurances of my highest esteem"—even though there might be times you want to tell someone to go to hell.

THE TWIN SECRETARIES

Q. The impending departure of Secretary Robert S. McNamara from the Defense Department leaves you in a position of unusual primacy in experience, in the field of international security affairs, in the Cabinet. How does this affect you?

A. As far as I am concerned, I feel like a twin losing his brother. I am going to get him as a colleague at the World Bank, so it is not a complete loss.

This has been a unique relationship. I think that during recent years, there has been less to talk about concerning State-Defense fights and feuds than in any period before.

McNamara and I decided this, in the most literal sense, on the first day we took office We were going to make it that way . . . to encourage maximum contacts between both departments, right down the line. The Presidents have not had to worry about their Secretaries of State and Defense at each other's throats.

Q. What has been your most testing experience as Secretary?

A. I suppose the Cuban missile crisis. The stakes were total. There is nothing to compare with it, I suppose, in the history of man.

Q. Do you have any plans on how long you may stay in office? Beyond next November's election?

A. [Rusk replied that this is a matter he reserves for discussion with the President, then added:] I'm not shooting for any longevity record . . . One of my staff reminded me that I am younger than the average age at which the last ten Secretaries of State took office, which was just over 61. I'll be 59 in February, 1968."

[He was also reminded that he was quoted, in mid-1966, as saying that he would stay on in office until his private savings ran out.] I'm living on my salary now. [He grinned.] I ran through the savings I had.

Q. You have been noted for your "imperturbability." Do you think you can maintain it as the Vietnam debate heats up through the election campaign?

A. Gen. Marshall was once asked: "Mr. Secretary, how do you remain so calm?" He replied: "I've seen it worse."

I've personally lived through all the crises since Pearl Harbor—except for Lebanon and Suez: I wasn't in the Government at the time. There were many times . . . Greece, Korea, Berlin, Cuba . . . when we didn't know whether we were going to make it or not.

Part of this [calm] rests upon enormous confidence in the United States—its purposes as well as its responsibilities. When the United States puts its hand to something this makes a big difference in the outcome.

NO FEAR OF BOO-BOOS

Q. Almost every Secretary of State inevitably commits some major verbal blooper, an international faux pas that rebounds pretty loudly. So far you have escaped by using cautious language; do you worry about a misstep?

A. I've relaxed a good deal. I'm not as nervous about that as I was at the beginning. I found I more often knew more about the subject than the fellow who was asking the question. Secondly, I've learned how not to answer questions that I don't want to answer. I'm not so much worried now about the accidental boo-boo. If I haven't learned that much in seven years, they ought to fire me.

Q. Isn't the physical burden mounting on you after seven years in office?

A. Sure, there are moments when I'm tired—especially after an 18-hour day. There are times when a professional football player is tired, too. But I'm in good general physical health. There are some people, I admit [grinning as he said it.] who make me more tired than others. The theory of my job is that I'm supposed to get a vacation after Congress goes home and before the [United Nations] General Assembly meets. But for seven years they have overlapped . . . It's a strenuous business.

Q. By comparison to some Secretaries of State, you had a remarkable long "honeymoon period" with Congress, and then things got very rough over Vietnam. Has this impaired your effectiveness on the Hill?

A. Despite Vietnam, this has been a very productive session. The Foreign Relations Committee, for example, has reported out 25 treaties . . .

Possibly with one or two exceptions, I haven't felt anything personal in my relationships with the Congress. I've never run into a personal discourtesy.

Q. Won't the atmosphere get rougher as the campaign intensifies?

A. There is bound to be a tough debate and some scuffling over issues. But I don't expect it to become personal in that sense.

Three Maryland GI's Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. Kenneth D. Kralick, WO–1 Thomas R. King, and Pfc. Dean J. Craig, three servicemen from Maryland, recently were killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of these young men and to honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

Three Maryland GI's Vietnam Casualties—Staff Sergeant Kralick, 20, Lived With Family in City

A 20-year-old Baltimore infantry sergeant and a 19-year-old Hyattsville (Md.) helicopter pilot died in Vietnam Saturday the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The Baltimore soldier, Staff Sgt. Kenneth D. Kralick, who won swift promotion and a Bronze Star for bravery under fire during his eleven months in Vietnam, died from burns he had received earlier Saturday in action near the Cambodian border, his father said.

PASADENA GI KILLED

The pilot, WO–1 Thomas R. King, died in Vietnam after his helicopter crashed into a tree, his mother said.

Another Maryland Army man reported yesterday to have been killed in Vietnam was Pfc. Dean J. Craig, the son of Mrs. Doris L. Phenicle, 205 Hillcrest road, Pasadena.

Sergeant Kralick was the only son of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth P. Kralick, or 3318 West Belvedere avenue.

Mr. Kralick, a truck driver, said his son had been due home January 15.

He said that his son had been a seven-letter man at Forest Park High School swimming and playing lacrosse.

Warrant Officer King was the son of Dr. and Mrs. Raymond L. King, of 8424 Carrollton parkway, Hyattsville.

DRAFTED AFTER GRADUATION

Sergeant Kralick was born and raised in Baltimore, his father said.

He was drafted two months after graduating from high school and, after training, was assigned to C Company, 5th Cavalry, 25th Division.

Mr. Kralick said his son won promotion to sergeant and command of an armored personnel carrier after wining a Bronze Star in April.

"He pulled a couple of guys out of a burned-out personnel carrier that had been hit by a recoilless rifle. Apparently he and a sergeant were the only ones in the vehicle not wounded by the blast, and he went back in and pulled out two wounded men," Mr. Kralick said.

He said that he received a letter yesterday from his son written four days before the youth's death telling of his promotion to staff sergeant.

READY TO TAKE LEAVE

"He was all ready to take a 45-day leave. Then he was to be assigned to Fort Meade nearby until his discharge in August," Mr. Kralick said.

Besides his parents, Sergeant Kralick is survived by three young sisters, Arlene, Pauline, and Kelly.

Warrant Officer King was on a resupply mission when killed in the flying accident, his mother said.

He graduated from DuVal High School in Glenn Dale, Md., in 1966, and, though he had been accepted for the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps program at the University of Texas, he considered it his duty to enlist in the Army, which he did in September, 1966, acording to his mother.

LEFT ON OCTOBER 4

He left for Saigon on October 4 after a month's leave at home.

Warrant Officer King was still interested in a Navy career, however, and while home on leave he took steps to see if he could enter the United States Naval Academy when he returned from Vietnam.

In a letter home, he wrote that the fighting at Dak To was "too horrible to be described."

He said in his letters that although the war was a very hard struggle, the American forces had a job to do, they were there to do it and then they would be happy to return home.

He was born in California. Several years later his family moved to Hyattsville.

SERVICE SATURDAY

A memorial service will be held at 1:30 P.M. Saturday at the Trinity Moravian Church in Lanham, Md., and when the body arives from Vietnam, it will be sent for burial, with military rites, in a family plot in Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.

In addition to his parents, he is survived by four young brothers, Val, William, Stephen and Jon, and by a sister, Dolly.

College Should Be No Placid Place

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GAYLORD NELSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I have just read in the Milwaukee Journal the condensation of a speech given by University of Wisconsin Regent Charles D. Gelatt at a recent conference in Washington. It is one of the outstanding statements on the role of education in America that I have ever read in my life.

More importantly, it comes at a crucial time in Wisconsin when the university, the legislature, the press, and the public are grappling with this issue in its most perplexing form, trying to come up with some intelligent answers. Mr. Gelatt has provided statesmanlike leadership to our State in seeking those answers.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Gelatt's remarks be entered in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLLEGE SHOULD BE NO PLACID PLACE, SAYS REGENT

(Condensation of a speech made at a special conference for trustees of colleges and universities at Washington, D.C.; by Charles D. Gelatt)

I wish we could obliterate for all time the spurious view that the best reason for getting a college education is to gain greater material wealth for an individual. This view has done more harm than good to education!

More than any other time in the history of civilization, higher education is essential to our society because, first, self-government by the people, for the people, can only be accomplished by an educated people, and second, we have built a society which would grind to a chaotic halt if it were not constantly infused with an increasing amount of highly educated talent.

MEANING OF DEGREE

Indeed, we have built a technology which is poisoning our air, polluting our water, exhausting our natural resources and threatening to blow us all to bits! Our only hope for security is the production of mass wisdom capable of controlling these forces of destruction, reversing them, and producing a peaceful, rational and civilized world.

A college degree should mean that the graduate has gained an understanding of man and nature, a measure of himself and his interests, an appreciation for the heritage and hopes of his fellow men—enough specific knowledge to give him some special competence to contribute to the advancement of mankind, and an itch to do it!

To provide such an education, a contemporary college or university must be both a community of scholars and a useful social, cultural and scientific force. There is no contradiction in these goals!

If any institution of higher education fails to plunge itself and its students into the conflict of ideas, it justifies the charge that student activists are making—that colleges and universities are so interested in filling the vocational manpower needs of government and industry that they seek peace and conformity, even to the point of sacrificing intellectual free enterprise.

I have listened to warnings that reason must prevail upon our campuses, that there must be limits to protests and conflicts which do violence to the reasoning process.

WHO SETS LIMITS?

But whose wisdom sets these limits? Can a universal rule be applied? Is heckling at a political rally any different than heckling at a chapel?

It seems to me that limits of freedom to speak and to act must be tested constantly. And our young people can help define these limits by edging up to them, pushing at them, protesting them. Given a hand in establishing them, they are more likely to respect them.

Given an opportunity to air conflicting ideas and to call public attention to their views, students are more likely to recognize the truth as it emerges. I personally see today's emerging student interest in improving education as a hopeful sign that further progress can be achieved.

A college or university should not be a placid place. If it is, it is only an extension of high school, a poor imitation of what higher learning should be.

However, a college or university which merely tolerates new ideas is doing only half its job. It must encourage them, debate them and evaluate them. This thrusts our institutions into the mainstream of human affairs, and that is exactly where they should be!

MORE FOR EDUCATION

The progress of mankind will depend a great extent on our ability to lead society to dedicate a greater proportion to its wealth to higher education.

Please note that I said we should lead society to this conclusion, not trick society into accepting it in the guise of something else. I personally believe that we have gone a long way down the wrong road in this respect.

We have failed to sell higher education on its own merits.

We have failed to tell how much it costs to educate a student, and how much more it costs not to educate him.

We have failed to provide equal educational opportunities for all. We have established separate and unequal education for Negroes, and we have priced a large segment of our young out of higher education.

We have been party to the use of rigid testing instruments to keep worthy students out of institutions, rather than building institutions capable of inviting them in.

In the name of economy and efficiency, we have reduced the quality of instruction, diluted the teacher-student relationship and increased the charges the students pay.

Until we fully and frankly face the problem of financing high quality post-high-school education for our young and—as the leaders we claim to be—lead the American people into investing enough of their wealth to solve the problem, we will fail the trust we hold as trustees, living a gross deception and crippling the potential progress of civilization.

In the 20 years I have been a regent of the University of Wisconsin, I have never seen a single year in which the funds available were equal to the needs. In every budget year, more than half of the improvement programs urged on us by the faculty were left unfunded. The fullest potential of my university has never been achieved in these two decades, mainly for lack of financing.

Is it not time that we tell the American people that they pinch only themselves when they pinch pennies for our institutions of higher learning?

Like many of you, I come out of industry and a background of suspicion that federal aid somehow corrupts whatever it touches—that it would somehow impose upon our institutions restrictions that would violate their purpose. It has been a long and troublesome road for me to travel from that position to the one I hold today.

EVERYTHING ELSE FAILS

But I say, here and now, and quite flatly, that until the input of federal funds into higher education is sufficient to provide the highest quality of education to every young American who wants it and is capable of benefiting by it, America will fall short of her destiny; peace with freedom will remain an unreachable goal, and hunger, want and evil will continue to stalk the world.

I came to this position because almost everything short of it has been tried and failed!

In the past decade state and local tax support of public institutions has not matched even the enrollment growth. The proportion of the student's educational costs paid by state and local governments has steadily declined. And there is little hope for reversing this trend. The great burdens of financing primary and secondary education, the rise in the proportion of senior citizens and the enormous demands of modern metropolitan sprawl fall primarily upon these tax sources.

Obviously, we have reached the end of tuition increases if we have any intention of providing equality of educational opportunity in this country. Our talent loss continues, despite all of the scholarships, loans and work-study programs.

So long as a poor boy, with the same academic qualifications as a rich one, does not have the same opportunities for education, any talk of equal educational opportunity in this nation is a sham!

REGENT FOR 20 YEARS

Charles D. Gelatt, a La Crosse industrialist, has been on the University of Wisconsin board of regents since 1947. He was 29 when appointed, the youngest anyone has ever been appointed to the board. He has served as board president and is currently vice-president. He has been appointed to the board each time by a Republican governor, although he is considered one of the more liberal members of the board. Gelatt, who will turn 50 on Jan. 4, received his bachelor's and master's degrees from UW, both in 1939. He earned a 2.9 grade point average out of a highest possible at that time of 3.0.

Real Estate Investment Called Stepchild of U.S. Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of my very close business associates and one of my warmest friends, Jack R. Courshon, trustee and secretary, First Mortgage Investors, Miami Beach, and president and chairman of First Mortgage Advisory Corp., has just written a most significant article in the American Banker of October 10, 1967, on the subject of real estate, its significance to the national economy, and the way it is treated by those who shape the national economy.

Mr. Courshon's article represents a very broad and deep knowledge of the subject upon his part and is a challenge to those who have the best interest of the national economy at heart. I commend Mr. Courshon's article to all my colleagues and my fellow countrymen.

I insert following my remarks, the article by Mr. Courshon from the American Banker of October 10, 1967:

Real Estate Investment Called Stepchild of U.S. Economy

(By Jack R. Courshon)

The most substantal contributor to the wealth of the American economy, investment in real estate, is also the step-child of the American economy. Strong words perhaps—but past events bear them out.

Theodore Roosevelt said, "Real estate is the basis of wealth." Statistics amply demonstrate his statement. Investment in real estate includes equity and mortgage capital financing ownership of residential, commercial and industrial properties. Since 1945, the nation's land value has almost tripled to $360 billion, while the value of buildings has more than tripled.

Homebuilding, constituting only a portion of the real estate investment field, is one of the country's major industries, ranking second only to food processing in dollar totals.

Few industries have as enormous a "multiplier effect" as homebuilding. It provides close to 3 million jobs a year. More than 3,000 different items go into each house, employing the services of 81 industries.

A home community is the basis for the establishment of numerous local businesses, including banks, real estate and insurance agencies, public utilities, and shopping centers. Each new house generates spending for furniture, appliances and garden tools. Housing developments lead the way to new schools, churches, community facilities and new highways.

Looking at the construction industry—another beneficiary of investment in real estate, it has been estimated that the average annual rate of new construction will increase from $64 billion in 1964 to $98 billion a year by 1975. It is estimated that, over the next decade, new construction may generate a demand for one-third of the entire U. S. output of iron and steel, for two-fifths of its output of stone and clay products, and for three-fifths of its output of lumber and wood products.

The mortgage, lending industry, in broad perspective, is the principal source of investment in real estate. Mortgage lending is the largest user of funds in the main capital market sectors of the country.

For example, in the decade of the 1950s, the net flow of funds into the main capital markets totaled $273 billion. This included $128 billion in mortgage financing, compared with $145 billion for the financing of all corporate securities, all federal obligations, and all state and local government securities.

In other words, net mortgage flow amounted to 46.8% of the total net flow of funds into the main capital market sectors of the country's economy from 1950 to 1960. By 1965, mortgage debt exceeded the publicly held federal debt; it was more than double the demand deposits of all commercial banks; it was approximately four times all outstanding consumer debt; three times all state and local government debt; and 60% greater than all long-term corporate debt.

Acknowledging the social and economic importance of investment in real estate, what then is the basis for contending it is a step-child of the American economy? In the literary sense, the "step-child" is regarded as that member of the family who is confined to the back room until there is a chore to be done, whereupon he is utilized to perform the chore, and then sent to the back room again.

Like the proverbial step-child, the construction and home building industries have been pulled out of the back room during several of our past recessions and depressions, expected to perform a major role in the country's economic recovery, and then are the first to suffer when attempts are made to cool down an overheated economy. Recent history confirms the up-and-down role of real estate investment:

From 1960 to 1965, the country enjoyed a relatively stable period with ample money available for all forms of investment. Mortgage lending received a goodly share of investment capital. Then along came 1966, during which all capital funds were sharply restricted, creating increasingly higher interest rates.

Admittedly, credit rationing occurred in all segments of the economy, but the most notable victims were the recipients of real estate investments. These included the mortgage lenders the homebuilders, members of the construction industry—and then, as time went on, the secondary beneficiaries of real estate investment, such as the appliance and furniture manufacturers, lumber dealers, service companies, etc.

By the end of 1966, the country had moved from a boom to at least an economic slowdown. Money began to ease, and the Administration expressed its concern for the plight of the homebuilder and other beneficiaries of real estate investment.

Millions of dollars were pumped into the economy by the Government in the form of special Federal homebuilding allotments, with the expressed hope that the real estate investment industry would recover and, in turn, start the economy rolling again. Builders and developers responded to the call and investment in real estate is now playing its part in the economy's current upswing.

What part has the financial community played in real estate investment? For example, let's start with pension funds—an increasingly significant factor in the financial world.

With combined assets approximately $160 billion; their total investment in home mortgages represents less than 4% of their assets, or almost $6 billion. Life insurance companies, by comparison, invest over 35% of their funds in mortgages.

The character of commercial banks has changed radically in the past several years. Time and savings deposits in relation to demand deposits are assuming an increasingly greater percentage of the total deposit ratio. Commercial banks have notably expanded their activity in mortgage investments in the form of short-term construction and warehouse loans, through the mortgage department, and long-term mortgage investments through the bank trust department.

Yet, mortgage lending is a relatively new field with most commercial bankers. When money is easy, the mortgage department of the commercial bank obtains its relative share of investment funds along with the traditional source of lending, the commercial loan department of the bank. However, when money begins to tighten, in many banks, because of their limited experience in mortgage lending, it's usually the mortgage department that is faced with a reduced allocation of lendable funds, while the commercial loan department obtains an increased share of the bank's funds, available for loans to corporate customers.

An analogous situation occurs in the trust departments of many banks: Investments in mortgages are relegated to the back room when money tightens, and corporate securities in the form of debentures and stocks are the preferred portfolio investment.

What about Wall Street? Admittedly, the whims of the investing public are varied and complex. But, if you ask any knowledgeable investment underwriter or stockbroker, he will substantiate the fact that he can easily market—publicly or privately—the corporate security of a reputable manufacturing or industrial company, but that in many instances, he has difficulty in marketing the equal-or-better-quality security of a company that is linked in some way with real estate investment.

Here we are in October, 1967, with money again becoming increasingly tight, particularly in the long-term capital areas. Which user of the capital is suffering the most again? You guessed it—the user of real estate investment capital.

Public and corporate security issues have been marketed in record volume during 1967. Insurance companies, which traditionally buy ample quantities of long-term first mortgages for their investment portfolios, are curtailing these investments in numerous instances, preferring to invest their funds in high-yielding corporate securities.

Even savings and loan associations, which constitute the largest single source of residential first-mortgage investment, are hampered in their ability to invest because of the existing complexity of regulations which control and limit their mortgage investment operations.

Thus, we see that, very possibly, in the face of a newly burgeoning economy, real estate investment may again be the step-child pushed into the back room. The demand for housing is increasing daily. The housing shortage is already here. Just when ample funds are needed to support a rising volume of home building, mortgage funds are becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. If present conditions persist, home building and the vast construction industry may be faced with a credit squeese in proportions that could again lead to the disappearance of mortgage funds from coast to coast, as occurred in 1966.

One may well ask, "if investment in real estate plays such a vital part in maintaining the health of the national economy, why then do so many segments of the investment community continue to shun investments in real estate?" Like most complex problems, there is no one answer, but several possible answers can be suggested.

Considering the size and the importance of the real estate investment field, there is an amazing lack of meaningful information with reference to the industry. For example, as the 1967 Savings and Loan Ract Book observes:

"Despite the economic and social importance of mortgage financing, no single agency or organization collects and publishes figures on the number and dollar volume of mortgage loans made by financial institutions and investors throughout the United States."

Lack of information about the real estate investment field limits the general knowledge concerning real estate investment. This in turn creates misunderstanding and a fear of the unknown. Because the investor may lack thorough understanding of real estate investment, he may be influenced unduly by the "bits and pieces" of information he hears or reads.

We're all familiar with the notoriety given to the failure of certain real estate syndications and realty investment companies a few years ago. Certainly a field as vast as real estate investment is bound to have its failures. However, that is no reason to indict an entire industry, anymore than we would castigate the commercial bank industry because of the failure of a few banks, so well publicized in recent years.

Admittedly, investment in real estate requires specialized knowledge. Investment institutions are faced with the problem of acquiring the skilled personnel necessary to administer real estate investments. But lack of administrative know-how should not deter investment institutions from "getting their feet wet" in real estate investment—there are thousands of experienced, reputable real estate investment organizations of one kind or another that act either as intermediaries or as participating investors in all phases of real estate investment.

One example is the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, founded over 54 years ago. Its 900 mortgage-banking-company members service over $55 billion of conventional and federally underwritten mortgages for institutional investors throughout the country.

The National Association of Real Estate Investment Funds, the trade association of the real estate investment trust industry, came into being as a result of an amendment in the federal income tax laws effective January 1961. Association membership today includes 21 real estate investment trusts, with combined assets exceeding $500 million invested in both real estate equities and real estate mortgages.

In the Housing Committee report that accompanied the tax amendments creating real estate investment trusts, Congress noted the growing need for new sources of real estate and mortgage investment capital. It enacted this legislation to encourage public participation in real estate investment by making available to real estate investment trusts the same special tax treatment already afforded to regulated investment companies which invest in stocks and bonds.

Needless to say, there are numerous financial institutions whose executive and administrative officers have had the foresight and the ambition to take the required time and effort to obtain a sufficient knowledge concerning real estate investment, thus enabling their institutions to invest in one or another form of real estate, either directly or through an intermediary organization.

To me, the closest example of this is the history of First Mortgage Investors. In September 1961, FMI sold 1,100,000 shares to the public, providing the trust with $15 million of equity capital, and became the country's first real estate investment trust established to invest solely in first mortgages. Six years later, FMI's total assets had increased over 426% to almost $64 million.

The creation and subsequent growth of this unique mortgage investment institution could not have been achieved without the support of numerous members of the financial community, including investment underwriters, commercial banks, the institutional investors holding FMI's commercial paper and long-term funded debt—and, of course, the investing public.

Because of the importance of the real estate investment field to the economic well-being of the country, self-interest alone should provide sufficient motivation for all segments of the investment community to provide their fair share of the capital needed in the years ahead to maintain stability of real estate investment. However extremely practical motive for investor interest in real estate is the profit aspect.

The Aug. 21, 1967 issue of U.S. News and World Report carried a lead article entitled, "Real Estate: Growing Sideline for Big Corporations."

This article tells of the trend by more and more of the country's industrial giants to participate in land development and equity investment in real estate. It points out that insurance companies, which at one time limited their real estate investment to mortgages, are now taking a more direct role by obtaining a share of equity participations.

Substantial profits—through a steady rise in land values, together with favorable tax treatment accorded real estate investments—furnish sufficient motivation for these companies to include real estate as part of their investment operations.

The Mortgage Bankers Association of American periodically publishes statistics comparing the yields of mortgage investments with comparable quality Government or corporate bonds and with equity securities.

On a consistent basis, the yield spread favors investment in mortgages over bonds, and the yield on the shares of well-managed equity and mortgage-type real estate investment trusts compares most favorably with the equity shares of other comparably sized, publicly owned and operated companies.

Much can be done to assure an adequate flow of capital for real estate investment in the years ahead.

Cooperation in the proper conduct of fiscal and monetary operations of the Federal Government is imperative. Sensible Federal legislation—which motivates and rewards, rather than impedes investment in real estate—is vital. Improvements in the laws of many states which presently hamstring real estate investment must be made.

But to my mind, the prime requisite to meeting the financial challenge that lies ahead is the need for active participation, through knowledge, understanding and investment in real estate, by all segments of the investment and financial community.

Investors who play a part in bringing the step-child of real estate investment from the back room to the front parlor will be helping to maintain the nation's welfare, while reaping profits in a field that has limitless possibilities.

Truly it can be paraphrased: "What's good for real estate investment is good for the country."

Providing the Means To Meet Aggression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, recently I had the pleasure of reviewing an article by Gen. James Ferguson, the commander of Air Force Systems Command at Andrews Air Force Base, which appeared in the November issue of the Air Force and Space Digest.

In his article the general outlined various efforts being made by the Air Force to meet the operational and technical problems of today which confront our forces in Southeast Asia. He described also the research and work being done to insure the continued superiority of our forces in the years ahead. Because of the timeliness of his article and my confidence that it will be of value to all Members, I would like at this point to insert it in the RECORD.

There being no objections, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROVIDING THE MEANS TO MEET AGGRESSION—AT ANY LEVEL

(By Gen. James Ferguson, USAF)

Before coming to Washington a dozen years ago, I spent many years with the Tactical Air Command. The favorite expression among the TAC people, as I recall, was "stay loose." I have found that this is excellent advice for living in the Washington environment, and for these times.

In the year I've been with the Air Force Systems Command, I've tried to "stay loose" and to keep the command responsive to ever-changing requirements.

Over the years the Systems Command has acquired a reputation for scientific, technical, and managerial competence and has developed many mutually productive relationships with industry. The challenge now is to bring that competence closer to the needs of today without diminishing our emphasis on the future.

In this respect, we in the Systems Command occupy a window which looks out on two worlds—the world of today and the world of tomorrow.

We may or may not like what we see. If we are disappointed or dissatisfied, then we must try to correct present deficiencies and overcome existing operational problems. This is the short-term challenge. We must also search the horizons for new technology for ways to assure the future superiority of our forces under any and all kinds of combat circumstances. This is the long-range challenge and it, too, is a job for today—for every day.

These tasks for the present and for the future comprise our *responsibilities for responsiveness* in the Systems Command.

This concept of responsiveness has three facets: First, a *professional management* responsiveness, with the ability to adjust to a changing defense environment, to new ways of doing business, and to fluctuating resources. Second, it involves *operational* responsiveness—the application of talents and technologies to the improvement of the United States operational capabilities, in the face of new experiences in the field. And, third, it entails a *development planning* responsiveness—the realization that only good proposals, credible in content and realistic in objectives, can compete favorably for the approval and funding necessary if future weapon systems are to be developed and acquired for inventory.

While we may continue to change our ways of doing things, in response to a constantly changing environment, I foresee no substantial alteration in the Systems Command mission. That mission, simply stated, is to provide the operational forces with the means to deal effectively with military conflict at any level and thus persuade would-be aggressors that they cannot succeed.

Our biggest challenge in the last couple of years has been to maintain the command's long-range research and development work while blending in a fast and effective response to the needs of Southeast Asia. The problem has been aggravated, of course, by an increasingly unfavorable manpower situation and fierce competition for funds.

The necessity to satisfy broader requirements and shorter deadlines with limited resources has brought about a number of management and procedural innovations, which give the command a greater flexibility to acknowledge and respond to the needs of the field commands.

The need for periodic organizational adjustments is widely recognized within the civilian community today, as well as within the services. Recently, a West Coast newspaper, in taking note of a proposed Systems Command realignment, defended the action as symptomatic of the Air Force's "organizational vitality" and necessary to the national interest.

As the newspaper observed editorially: "If the Air Force was not restructing its missile and space divisions at this time, we would wonder if it wasn't suffering from hardening of the arteries."

This is precisely the kind of thinking that has motivated the organizational changes we've made during the past year, changes which we believe will permit the more efficient and effective performance of our mission. Let me list a few of the more significant realignments:

A Director of Laboratories has been established at the headquarters staff level, by combining the Research and Technology Division with the former Deputy Chief of Staff/Technology. This provides the triple benefits of a more direct linking of the laboratories with commandwise requirements, a better capability to perform quick-fix, combat-type research and development, and a centralization of responsibility for *all* technology programs throughout the command, irrespective of whether they happen to be managed by a lab, a center, or a product division. This centralization permits better determination of priorities and allocation of resources. With it we can assign responsibilities toward the present as well as the future.

We have established a Deputy Chief of Staff/Operations as a focal authority for all the operations functions of the command. In addition to range management, there are many facility, test support, and other support actions that were previously handled on a specialized separate staff basis. These are now consolidated in the DCS/Operations.

A number of the functions of the National Range Division have been realigned and the organization streamlined.

Along with these changes, the Space Systems Division and the Ballistic Systems Division have been combined into what we now call the Space and Missile Systems Organization (SAMSO). Here we have organized two command elements around homogeneous product lines—homogeneous in the sense that a group of products have a common technological base. The SAMSO, therefore, centers on the scientific and technical expertise common to the missile and space arts required to perform our mission.

Space challenges and space opportunities continue to receive a good share of our professional attentions. The Manned Orbiting Laboratory progresses satisfactorily as DOD's first manned space program. Certain unmanned systems which might contribute to the early-warning requirement are under the most critical scrutiny at this time with reasonable hope for favorable action not far away. Over-all, we are in a critical period for the United States space program—a time when the goal of one decade is to be reached and the objectives for a new decade to be resolved.

Our close partnership associations with the Army and the Navy, and particularly with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, will continue in mutual support of national space objectives. For example, at present there are some 200 Air Force officers on duty with NASA, ranging in rank from lieutenant to major general. I am proud of their contributions to the country's space progress. I am equally proud of the Air Force's role in developing so much of the technology on which NASA's programs are based. Further, with the background of support to the Mercury and Gemini programs, we are now planning with NASA the range facilities, communications, and logistics support required for the Apollo program.

Close attention must be paid to range and test facility improvements. Range facilities are long-lead-time items which require continued advanced planning. Like the large aerospace ground test facilities at the Arnold Engineering Development Center, at Edwards AFB, Calif., and elsewhere, the range represent national assets of great value which must serve diverse needs today and the still unknown or uncertain needs of tomorrow.

Our research and development charter and our assigned mission literally cast the Systems Command in the role of architect for the future Air Force. But a closer look makes it very clear that shaping tomorrow's Air Force is not a solo responsibility or a task one command can presume to accomplish alone. To the contrary, the operational commands in the Air Force share substantially in the Systems Command mission of responsiveness, and I have taken a number of steps to assure that my staff and their staffs work even closer together in the future.

In this regard, our laboratories are rich sources of support to the commands, both in building for the future and in helping to solve their pressing current problems. In fact, I think we are making considerable progress in bridging between far-out research and near-term operational needs. For example, the research and exploratory development work carried out during the past ten years at our Rome Air Development Center has made much of today's microelectronics technology possible. Now our efforts at Rome are directed largely toward the application of microelectronics to lightweight, easily transportable combat communications, surveillance, and control equipment.

As another example, there's the tricky problem of engine compressor stalls on the F–111. We put together a team of eighteen specialists from two of our labs (Propulsion and Flight Dynamics) and the Systems Engineering Group. They have spent a great deal of time with the contractors experimenting with different configurations and making real progress in resolution of the difficulty. A short-term problem, yes; but the base of experience on which to design even more advanced engine inlets for Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft (AMSA) and the FX.

The over-all limited war challenge is very apparent in Vietnam. It's as tough a war as any we've ever fought. It's a war of gross extremes, ranging from the almost primitive guerrilla tactics of the enemy in the South to the highly sophisticated air defenses in the North.

The longer-term problem is that Communist regimes may repeat such limited wars in other geographical areas as time goes on. This possibility challenges us to a new order of thinking and a new care in our research and development responsiveness. Most specifically, it means that in advocating or acquiring airborne, electronic, or space systems for other missions, we must also give careful consideration to their utility for limited war.

In the past twenty years there has been much debate about tactical doctrine—its validity and its application to so-called limited wars. Korean and Southeast Asia experience reconfirms our conviction that the ability to establish-air superiority is vital to the success of conflict at any level. A recent unpleasantness in the Middle East attests to this. Accordingly, we're pursuing studies on fighter aircraft that are tailored to the air superiority role, with the added capability for ground attack. The outgrowth of these studies will be the tactical fighter currently designated the FX.

Moving toward the goal of filling out our set of tools to do any job well, we are defining a specialized air support aircraft, the AX. Recalling our experiences in previous conflicts and marking well our current needs, we are placing "target kill" and "survivability" at the top of the performance requirements.

We're also continuing work in support of the AMSA, which we envision as having performance and payload versatilities suitable for tactical as well as strategic misisons.

While we have not yet received approval and funding of a full-scale development and acquisition program, we are pursuing a number of the necessary supporting developments in avionics, propulsion, and systems studies with considerable vigor.

Meantime, we are making good progress in current procurement programs. The new C–5A transport, now rapidly taking shape, will greatly increase our airlift capabilities while substantially reducing cargo costs per ton-mile.

The F–111A promises to be a good fighter, despite the growing plains which often afflict any really advanced design. Incidentally, I've flown the F–111 and, in my opinion, it's a first-class airplane. It handles very well—both at altitude and at dash speeds close to the deck. Whatever the development problems (and these are being overcome) it's going to be hard to fault this bird from a performance point of view.

In the vertical/short takeoff and landing (V/STOL) area of aircraft development, we have made reasonably good progress in the development of necessary subsystems, such as the lift engines. Over the past fifteen years, this country has built some twenty V/STOL prototypes. Still, some problems of stability, control, and propulsion persist. Further, we have as yet been unable to articulate a requirement as persuasive as we'd like for a V/STOL fighter. Nevertheless, the operational possibilities are sufficiently attractive to assure the eventual adoption of V/STOL aircraft for the Air Force inventory. We plan to press for solutions to the current problems and generally stay ahead of the expressed needs of the operational commands by demonstrating V/STOL systems that will be practical for their purposes.

There was a time in the recent past when many people were writing off the airplane as being archaic to modern defense needs. The pendulum has swung back, and I am confident that our emphasis on aircraft capabilities is not misplaced. Certainly, airpower is invaluable to our purpose and our posture in Southeast Asia.

In the field of electronics, new building blocks now coming into being provide us with no less than a revolution in command, control, and communications. Microelectronics, improved displays, and advanced computers suggest system improvements—increased capacities, lighter weights, and more mobility.

Night and bad weather may soon be erased as obstacles to military operations by the use of new combinations of sensors. The program the Air Force calls SHEDLIGHT aims at maximum improvement in night operational capabilities in the shortest possible time. The command is now working on improvements in navigation, night-vision devices, illuminators, target markers, and weapons delivery.

We are even putting space to use in limited war by exploiting space communications. Direct long-haul communication halfway around the world is now possible by means of satellites. Army-developed ground terminals located in Hawaii, the Philippines, and in Vietnam are linked to U.S. communication centers by means of the seventeen satellites now in orbit in the Initial Defense Communications Satellite System. This system was declared operational for the Pacific area last July, and communications traffic over the Hawaii-Saigon segment alone has been exceeding 1,000 calls a week.

Just recently we achieved the first air-to-air teletype contact via the Lincoln Experimental Satellite-5 (LES–5) between a B-52 and a C–135. In the future, troops equipped with specialized UHF communications equipment will be able to maintain contact with each other, with their command posts, and with aircraft by means of satellite relay, even when they are in jungles, which tend to degrade conventional communications.

Addressing the conflict in Southeast Asia, the Systems Command is taking a number of near-term-payoff measures to support US operational forces. These include both procedural innovations and product developments and deliveries.

The "10,000-mile R&D front line" we've established extends to the AFSC liaison office in Saigon. The Systems Command people, working out of Seventh Air Force Headquarters there, talk to forward air controllers, combat air crewmen, and other field personnel to get firsthand reports on battlefield problems.

Our representatives spend six months in the area, and most of them visit virtually every installation we have in South Vietnam and Thailand during that time. "Our men in Saigon" are becoming very important to us, and equally important—we trust—to the combat units.

Back at Wright-Patterson AFB, the command has a four-year-old Limited War Office in the Aeronautical Systems Division, and office which has been doing a fine job of translating Southeast Asia needs into solutions.

We have taken a number of other organizational actions to strengthen the command's responsiveness to Southeast Asia needs. For example, I recently established a Directorate of Technical Applications in the Air Proving Ground Center at Eglin AFB. This office will bring combat veterans into contact with engineers who speak their language. In fact, the combat veteran and the engineer are often one and the same person, since many of the R&D officers being assigned to Eglin are pilots and navigators coming directly from combat tours in Southeast Asia.

The atmosphere of the Technical Applications Directorate is informal, unsophisticated, and characterized by a low order of paper work. The emphasis is on existing hardware and available technology.

The idea is to identify operational problems which lend themselves to quick-fix solutions, to confirm the solution by prototype demonstration and provide preliminary procurement data. All resources of the command have been made available to assist the Southeast Asia support mission.

On the first of September, I established an Assistant for Southeast Asia—reporting directly to me and located in my headquarters, as a means of consolidating all these efforts. Ideally, this will serve to centralize and localize the diverse capabilities of the Systems Command to help solve or resolve the problems encountered by our combat forces.

While the current focus of attention is on Southeast Asia we are being careful to assure the continued viability of our strategic missile forces, which has served—and must continue to serve—as a restraint, an ever-present warning, and a prime deterrent.

Thus, Minuteman continues to grow in effectiveness in its newer configurations while studies on an advanced intercontinental ballistic missile system are being refined. Long-lead-time items are being developed to shorten system production time once the decision is made to go for inventory.

The third kind of responsiveness pertains to our development planning capabilities. Development planning provides our reach into the future. This inherently risky business takes both imagination and guts.

The Air Force, through the Systems Command and the aerospace industry, through many of the companies represented in this audience, has long been reaching with courage and creativity out into the unknown, to grasp new ideas and undertake new challenges. The United States would never have achieved such remarkable aerospace progress in the past half century if this were not true.

But this is no time to take comfort from our past accomplishments. Technology is "bursting out all over," and we see applications to military needs showing up "all over," as, for instance, near Moscow recently, when seven new or radically modified aircraft were shown to the world.

Whatever our outlook on our environment—present and future—we must strive to be realistic and objective in our planning and in our proposals.

Through our development planning the Air Force must show that every item it proposes to develop is necessary, feasible, and meets the tests of cost/effectiveness. We will not win approval and funding if our studies are shallow, our analyses faulty, or our appraisals unimpressive. The Air Force will never be furnished the resources needed for new program "starts" if our plans lack validity or our proposals fail the test of justification. Good development planning will avoid such shortcomings.

Our full posture of responsiveness can never be complete, of course, without the active partnership and the strong support of industry. Over the years the Air Force and industry keep evolving better ways of moving out together—of improving the team associations which are so essential to the nature of our business.

Today's trend toward more definitive *proposals* is being matched by our efforts to write more definitive *contracts*, and both of these functions require good government-industry teamwork.

With the tools of continually advancing technologies, the Air Force is adapting to a constantly changing world. The goal is an Air Force which will move forward—not in fits and starts, but in orderly progressive fashion—always equal to any situation, always technologically responsive to any operational need or policy requirement.

We look to our partners in the operating commands and in industry to share our responsibilities with us. There is no shortage of opportunity, no rationing of ideas or incentives.

George Bernard Shaw once wrote: "Some men see things as they are and ask 'why?' I see things that never have been and ask 'why not?' "

This might well serve as the motto of the Systems Command, and our industry teammates, in our outlook on the needs of the world, present and future, and our commitment to provide the answers to those needs.

Address of Hon. W. R. Poage Before the Rotary Club of Waco, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a thoughtful address on one of the most serious problems facing our Nation, crime and law enforcement, was delivered before the Waco, Tex., Rotary Club by my esteemed friend and colleague, the Honorable W. R. "Bob" Poage.

As a lawyer and a member of the Texas State Legislature before coming to this House in 1937, Congressman Poage points to a tendency on the part of many of our people to flout a law if it does not happen to be to their liking.

In his address entitled "The Letter of the Law," he calls for a greater respect of all statutes which are enacted by legislatures and upheld by the courts. Under unanimous consent I insert his speech in the Record and commend its reading to all in this body:

THE LETTTER OF THE LAW

(Speech of Congressman W. R. Poage, before the Waco Rotary Club)

Mr. Chairman, it is most pleasing to me to be able to say "and my neighbors and my friends." I am truly happy to be in my hometown after eleven and a half months of a rather frustrating session of Congress. It is always a pleasure to meet with this group of city builders—the Waco Rotary Club. I have some friends who liken themselves to the "king of beasts" who have spread a rumor that the members of this organization are all patriarchs. I don't understand that charge because my father was one of the early members of Rotary in Waco and I am at this time three years older than he was at his death. Then I have a much younger brother who has been one of your senior members for many years. I just don't like the implication about my age.

Last summer, while we thought we would have lots of time at home, I arranged a schedule of talks at home. I had hoped in this manner to cover a number of the more important subjects confronting our country. It now appears that we will have an opportunity to discuss only two or three of the ten or a dozen subjects I felt were worthy of your attention. About a month ago I was able at Killeen to discuss our Vietnam involvement. I had announced that I would discuss our agricultural policy in Temple last week. As you know, the session of Congress prevented that. I had thought I would discuss the involvement of the Federal Government in city building on this occasion, but since it appears that I may have no other opportunity to do so, I feel that it's necessary to talk to you about a subject which I think involves our entire future as a people, as a city, and as a nation. I want to speak about respect for law and order—specifically, about "The Letter of the Law."

A number of years ago there was a very self-reliant District Judge—not a thousand miles from Waco—who was urged by counsel to release his client. The Judge asked, "On what basis do you make this request?" The lawyer answered, "Just the plain letter of the law, Judge, the plain letter of the law." The Judge replied, "The Court overrules the plain letter of the law." On appeal the Appellate Court said, "The learned court erred in overruling the 'plain letter of the law.' The plain letter of the law was written for the learned court to follow and not to overrule." I can only express the wish that at least five of the nine best known, but I sometimes think, least learned judges in Washington might express such a sound appraisal of the law today.

Possibly, I am encouraged to speak more frankly about lawlessness in Waco because we outgrew the name "Six Shooter Justice" about 100 years ago. I am proud that Waco has a fine record of law enforcement and of cooperation with the law enforcement agencies. I am glad that our citizens saw fit just last week to pay tribute to a great law enforcement officer, Colonel Homer Garrison, but neither Waco nor any other part of our country can be exactly proud of our own record—about all we can do is to point to someone else and say that we have done better than Washington, Los Angeles or some other city—and so we have, but none of us has done enough.

Nor is this breakdown of law and order a phenomenon confined to any one segment of our society. It is not confined to Detroit or to Mississippi. It is not confined to colored or to white citizens. It is not a problem just of the ignorant or of the slum dweller, or just of the hippies or the intellectuals or of college graduates—although I think I must say that there is less excuse for what has been happening on the campus of the University of California than there is for the inexcusable violence in the slums of Los Angeles.

But, whenever we find citizens assuming for themselves the right to decide what laws they will obey and violating those which they decide are bad we have anarchy, and anarchy is *always*—"always" I said—followed by dictatorship. Anarchy can only exist long enough for the strong to assume control. It will always happen—the weak—the needy—the oppressed—will quickly lose all influence and all hope. The irony of this thing is that those who have the most lose—those who most need the protection of the law—are in the forefront of the destruction of all law—for let it be very clear there is no such thing as law enforcement where only those laws which the individual looks upon as "good" are obeyed. Law enforcement is indivisible—you either try to enforce all laws or soon you will be enforcing no laws.

Everyone, except the uneducated and the overreducated—and apparently the U.S. Supreme Court—knows these fundamentals of human behavior. All ordinary people who think in terms of human experience and of human limitations recognize that in any inhabited part of the world, where people come in contact with many other people each day, that it is possible to obtain freedom only "under law"—and through the impartial enforcement of all law.

The American founding fathers knew quite well that even a government selected by a majority of the people could destroy the rights of the individual just as truly as the government of King George III. They, therefore, sought to limit the fields of governmental activity, but surely they intended to offer no comfort to those who took the law in their own hands—and that, my friends, is the burden of my indictment of our modern scofflaws. No man has the right to ignore even what he considers to be a wicked or unjust law. His recourse is to seek to change the law.

There are, unfortunately, a great many people who are deterred from crime only by the certainty, and possibly to some degree by the severity, of prompt punishment. I would not strike down any of the devices of the law which have been built up over the years to assure that no innocent man be punished, but I do object to those decisions and requirements of our present Supreme Court which add nothing to the protection of the innocent but simply make it difficult or impossible to arrest and to convict the guilty. I submit that until all our efforts are directed at a determination of the facts that we can have neither justice for the accused nor security for the masses of our people. I am afraid that in our proper zeal to protect the rights of the accused, we may have overlooked the basis and the purpose of all criminal law—and that is to protect the public from lawless acts.

May I digress just long enough to mention three specific aspects of the present crime wave.

The first peculiar aspect is the reluctance and even refusal of so many of our citizenship to help cooperate with law enforcement officials. Certainly, if an officer on the streets of Waco were to call for help, I am confident that he would get it from at least most of those within sound of his voice, but if an officer were to call for help in Washington, D.C., or Cleveland, Ohio, he better hope that some fellow officer is within hearing distance. There are too many instances of crowds of *cowardly* civilians allowing crimes to be committed in their presence without any effort whatever to stop the criminals. In many instances the onlookers would not even call the police. I am happy that this is not yet the attitude of everyone. Just a short time ago a young Mexican boy—Primativio Garcia—saw a bunch of thugs attack his teacher in Kansas City. He went to her rescue. The thugs killed him. I want to bow my head in admiration to that Mexican boy. He was a real hero. I wish we had more of his kind. I hope no court excuses his murderers on the grounds that they were six foot, 20-year-old, "juvenile" guerrillas.

A second aspect of the present wave of lawlessness possibly grows out of the attitude I have just mentioned. It is the prominence of violence—so-called "crime on our streets"—the unlawful use of force. Bands of human jackals are running loose in most of our large cities. They are generally the type who can only understand the use of force—the certainty of harsh punishment. I think that our easy parole practices have given them much encouragement.

Yet a third group which lends color although not respectability to our present era is the so-called "Peaceniks." I have a feeling that most of these are just cowards who are still afraid to join in the wolf gangs who attack old ladies on the streets. They are the group who are more likely to get their excitement by the use of dope—they are the type who like to cover their lack of patriotism with some kind of cloak of organizational respectability. They delight in describing their disobedience to the law as "non-violent." They are the maggots who make their home with, and get their living from, the dregs of society, and yet all too many of our educational institutions and of our self-professed educators give them a degree of sympathy and a reflection of respectability. I am proud that neither Baylor University, Paul Quinn College, nor James Connally Institute have embraced any of these unshaven vermin.

And now I want to mention something which is possibly even more fundamental and even more disturbing. Most lawlessness develops from childhood disobedience. The obedient child is very likely to make a good and successful citizen. The disobedient child is a mighty good candidate for the penitentiary. As one who has no child I am not going to tell you parents how you should properly train your children. I will simply observe that it seems to an outsider that in all too many American homes there is little or no effort to teach the child that he must accept authority as long as he is a member of human society.

And this in turn leads me to the one acpect of lawlessness which, as I see it, is the most inexcusable of all criminal practices—and yet, it is unfortunately of widespread occurrence. I think that the crime of vandalism—that is, the useless and purposeless destruction of property, public or private—probably leads to more serious crime than any other single practice. And there is simply no need, use or justification for the breaking of street lights, windows in a school building, the scattering of bottles on the highway, the cutting of trees or flowers on other people's lawns, the slashing of auto tires, or the desecration of a cemetery. There is no act which does the actor so little good and which makes the world so much poorer than a purposeless act of wanton destruction.

If a boy or girl gets the idea that it is all right to *destroy* or mutilate someone else's property, a little later that boy or girl is mighty likely to get the idea that it is all right to *take* another's property for his own use—and sometimes I wonder if there is not really more excuse for the thief (who always convinces himself that he *needs* what he takes) than there is for the vandal who just subtracts from the sum total of the world's goods.

Let me, therefore, leave you with this thought. No one ever makes his rights secure by ignoring the rights of his neighbor, and no one ever increases his own wealth by destroying the property of his neighbor—and finally, no group can, merely by calling it a "peaceful demonstration," change a riot into a picnic party, nor can one justify looting and shooting by calling it "an expression of free speech."

If you and I are to be free and secure in our freedom, we must obey the letter of the law—all the law including all those decisions of the Supreme Court, whether we like it or not—and we must require all others to obey. If we don't like a law or a decision, we should seek to change it in an orderly manner, not to defy it.

Rights Defended by Men of Honor and Character

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to an editorial in the November 12, 1967, Mobile, Ala., Press Register praising the distinguished senior Senator from South Dakota for his defense of our basic freedoms.

It is heartening to me to see learned, articulate citizens such as Senator

MUNDT speak out in defense of the protections written into the 10th amendment to the Constitution, and to see them recognized publicly for so doing.

Expansion of Federal authority and control into functional areas rightfully reserved to the States, in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the 10th amendment, has reached critical proportions. I applaud Senator MUNDT and submit the editorial for the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHTS DEFENDED BY MEN OF HONOR AND CHARACTER

The dangerous philosophy that would strike down more and more states' rights and concentrate more and more power at the federal level gets, as it deserves, a severe rebuke when it tangles with some congressional voices.

For this, the American people should be grateful because much that is vital depends upon whether that dangerous philosophy is curbed before the people end up in the straitjacket of virtually total federal control of their lives and affairs.

Sen. Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota speaks the language of the American system in vigorously protesting a trend that has been "chipping away at the sovereignity of the states, at the dignity of the states, at the jurisdictions of the governors, at the jurisdiction of the local structures of government."

He asks some questions worthy of the attention of every American who believes in the American system:

"How far should the outstretched hand of authority from the federal government be permitted to go with taxpayers' money to tell people within a state: 'This is the way we want it done'?

"Or do we want to retain, as I want to retain, within the state some recognition of the rights of state and individuals and communities to follow the inclinations of their own noses and determine what kind of activities in the direction of strengthening the sinews of local government are the ones they feel are applicable and acceptable in the local areas?"

The destroyers of constitutional states' rights will have to get along without the support of Senator Mundt, who has served blunt notice:

"I have cast my last knowledgetable vote in the direction of further stripping the great defenses of freedom, as I see them, which are incorporated in the 10th Amendment."

The 10th Amendment was written into the Constitution of the United States to protect the states of the Union and the people against the destroyers of their rights. But for years now the battering ram of destruction has been pounding and progressively weakening these rights in brazen offense to the Constitution.

The ruthless forces of states' rights destruction sneer at the 10th Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

This portion of the Constitution is treated by the destroyers of states' rights as though it were expressly meant for them to batter into a shambles. Not one of the three branches of the federal government stands innocent of participation in this battering outrage. All stand guilty of participation.

The battering process still goes on, and the wretched political designs to keep it up indefinitely, and even intensify it, still persist as a menace to American freedom in the tradition intended by the Constitution.

But as long as the believers in freedom in the true American way hear the strong, heartening voices of the Karl E. Mundts, they will know the righteous cause of states' rights has not been deserted by men of today, who possess the honor and character responsible for the 10th Amendment 175 years ago.

Congressman Poage Speaks to Farm Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, during 1967 the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, the Honorable W. R. "BOB" POAGE, of Texas, delivered a number of addresses stressing one central theme: The necessity of providing farmers with fair compensation for their labor and capital investment in order to assure adequate food and fiber for a burgeoning population.

On December 12 he spoke in Chicago before the 49th annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the world's largest farm organization, on the subject "How Well Will Americans Eat in the Year 2000?"

As a member of the committee over which Congressman POAGE presides, I know that he is certainly one of the most knowledgeable and authoritative individuals in this Nation in regard to agriculture. So when he sounds a warning that depressed crop prices can only bring shortages. I think it is time that all of us as consumers take heed.

I ask that his address in Chicago be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

HOW WELL WILL AMERICANS EAT IN THE YEAR 2000?

(Speech of Congressman W. R. POAGE before the American Farm Bureau Convention, Chicago, Ill., December 12, 1967)

Mr. Chairman, it is customary to say: "I am happy to be here today," so let me hasten to say in all sincerity that I am indeed happy to be meeting with this, the largest farm organization in the world. And I am happy to be in Chicago, both because Chicago has a long history as an agriculture center and because it gives me an opportunity to speak to the type of people with whom I want to reason.

Since I became Chairman of the Agriculture Committee a few months ago I have felt that I had a special responsibility to present the farmers' case to the people of our country and especially to the people of the big cities. But like the preacher who always finds himself preaching to the faithful, who do not need his message, I have too often found myself talking to producers, like you, who actually know more about the relationship between farm prices and production than I do. I hope that together we can have the attention of urban people, without hitting them over the head with a two-by-four, because I feel that they probably have even more at stake than you, as producers, have in the answer to the question of our ability to feed and clothe our people in the Year 2000.

At the first mention of the Year 2000 one is inclined to think of a distant future. Yet, that is just 32 years and 18 days away. Reversing the calendar, that would put us back to the middle of the Depression, a period that doesn't seem very long to many of us. So, it is high time we give thought to ways and means of meeting the food and fiber needs of our people when the 21st Century arrives.

During the past 32 years there have been drastic changes in the social make-up and economics of America. We have seen an accelerated movement of the population from the country to the cities and urban areas. We have seen the population of the nation increase from 127 million people in 1935 to 200 million people, a mark reached just last month. In that time the number of persons living on farms has decreased from 30 million in 1937, the year I came to Congress, to less than 11 million today. Yet, we have seen such great advances in agricultural technology and farm practices that our people are now eating better and are better clothed than ever before. The obvious question, then, is "How Well Will Americans Eat in the Year 2000?" when our population will reach an estimated 300 million.

In answering the question whether Agriculture can continue to meet the demands of such a population, one must bear in mind that for the past 100 years there has been a steady flow of farm people into our cities. This is still going on at the rate of half a million people a year from the farms to the cities. And this includes 200,000 young people. For every 177 rural youngsters who reach working age today there are only 100 jobs available in the countryside. As early as 1917, Americans were beginning to recognize some of the implications of this migration. In that World War I year there was a popular song which, referring to the Dough Boys, asked: "How're You Going to Keep Them Down on the Farm, After They're seen Pare-ee?"

Right here, I'm reminded of a story stemming from debate in the Texas State Senate, where I served before coming to the Congress. A bill was under consideration to do away with executions by hanging—to require the use of the electric chair instead. The bill also provided that upon its passage executions no longer should be held in the county seats but at the State penitentiary. The bill passed, but over the objections of one senator who declared that historically, hangings had been a source of interest and much entertainment in many of the county seats in rural communities. He ruefully noted that, even then, the youth were leaving the country for the cities and that this bill was just one more step to speed up the migration.

Maybe we haven't provided enough of the right kind of entertainment in the country. Anyway, we do still have the very real and crucial problem of migration from our farms to our cities. On the one hand we are draining our farms of needed brains and manpower. On the other hand we are adding tremendously to the housing and to the relief problems of our cities.

The population of the world, it is estimated, will reach six billion persons by the Year 2000. The United States will account for only five percent of that, although we will still probably be the major supplier of food and fiber. Throughout most of historical times world population has been held in check by famine, pestilence and war. In the first 1,600 years of the Christian era, it is generally agreed that world population just about doubled, from 250 million to some 500 million. By 1960 it was up 3 billion and will roughly double during the next thirty years.

There is, therefore, much serious concern in our country over our ability to feed and clothe our own people, twenty, fifty or a hundred years from now, but when I try to analyze this question I find myself befuddled and confused, and I am reminded of the boy who was walking down the road early one morning dragging a rope. A neighbor drove by and stopped. He said, "What are you going to do with rope, Tom? Are you going down to the woods to hang yourself?" The boy replied, "No, I am not going to hang myself, I'm just befuddled and confused. I don't know whether I found this rope or lost my mule."

And I am not sure whether I should be sounding the alarm of approaching famine or whether I should be seeking a more effective balance between supply and demand. Probably we should be doing some of both because the ability of the world to feed itself in the foreseeable future clearly varies greatly from country to country—but I am convinced that in every country the ability to increase the production of food and of fiber depends on the ability of farmers to use the most modern techniques, and that this ability in turn depends on their ability to pay for these modern techniques.

I have never been too alarmed by the Malthusian theory to the effect that increases in population are bound to outrun increases in the supply of food and fiber. I don't think that this will necessarily occur in the United States, but I do realize that in many nations this desperate situation is very close and in the view of some able analysts is certain to occur in the next decade—long before the Year 2000.

Farmers now have the technical know-how to produce all the food and fiber needed in this country for the foreseeable future. Certainly, with the development and improvements we can reasonably expect from our agricultural schools and scientists over the next three decades, the output should be adequate to take care of our needs, and we should be able to contribute mightily to the needs of our friends across the seas. Indeed, one of our very practical problems of the moment is to avoid the production of price-depressing surpluses. They are likely to plague us much longer than we like to think.

What the future holds in respect to increased production is yet to be seen, but there are studies indicating that by the Year 2000 we will be growing 300 bushels of wheat per acre. A farmer in Washington State actually grew 182 bushels on a commercial farm year before last. These studies indicate a possible 500 bushels of corn. A Mississippi farmer has already grown 300 bushels, and the average in the State of Illinois has on several years exceeded 100 bushels. We are told cows will be bred to quadruple their milk production, and cotton will be grown with the bolls clustered on the top of the stalk to increase the efficiency of mechanical pickers. We may have early maturing seeds so that two crops will be produced a year instead of one for some commodities. Farm equipment will be improved. Fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides, and other chemicals will be more effective. Weather satellites will help determine the proper time for planting and harvesting. In fact, I think I would like to live another fifty years just to see the developments I feel sure will take place in agriculture.

But all these developments, those already at hand and those yet to come, cost money. Unless the farmer is going to get his money back, he simply can't use these modern aids to production. In other words, over the long run, low prices definitely limit the productivity of agriculture. To use 1967 technology we must pay 1967 prices for our labor, our machinery, and our supplies. To pay 1967 prices farmers must get comparable prices for what they grow. There is no other source from which these costs can be met.

Farmers have made an outstanding record of production under most crushing handicaps. The per capita investment per worker in agriculture averages around $36,000, as compared with about $21,000 per worker in manufacturing—and yet most comparisons of farm and non-farm income completely ignore any return on this capital investment—and in 1966 the realized net income of all farm labor, including management, averaged only $1.66 per hour as against an average wage for industrial workers (management excluded) of $2.72 per hour.

To view the same comparisons from a slightly different angle, it is interesting to note that during the past twenty years the hourly earnings of industrial workers have increased 133 percent and corporate dividends are up 271 percent. During the same period farm prices have come down ten percent. Have the members of any other substantial segment of our society accepted an actual net reduction in their per hour wages or in the price per unit of what they produce, since 1947? I can't think of any.

In fact, these figures are so shocking that you probably question them, as I did. If you will but look at the price of some of our basic farm products, I think that you will see that my figures must be approximately correct.

Corn now brings a little less than $1.00 on Mid-West farms—and some of you will point out that you got a whole lot less last week. In 1947, corn brought $2.16.

Wheat (including the value of the certificates) now averages $1.87. In 1947, $2.29.

At this time, I think it is safe to say that *no* other member of our society is taking less for his labor and services that he did in 1947. This is a distinction in which farmers have a monopoly.

Now, just what are the implications of this monopoly? In the long run what this means is that farmers are not going to be able to produce all that they might, simply because they can't pay for modern practices and for needed inputs from the returns they are presently getting.

Doubtless there are areas of the world where it is not possible for consumers to pay enough to get maximum production. India is the classic example.

The reason for this chronic shortage is complex. Certainly, in India the sacred cow problem is serious, but it does not yield to outside pressure. The rapid increase in population, due in large part to improved sanitation and a decline in the death rate, presents serious, and if long continued, insurmountable difficulties, but, basically, India cannot feed herself because with the prices they now receive her peasant farmers can't afford to use the fertilizer, the power, the improved seeds, the insecticides, etc., that they know they should use to grow larger crops.

As I see it, the basic fault with Indian agricultural policy is that their government, like so many governments, has sought to lower the price of the cereals which their farmers produce, with the thought that this would help their consuming masses. Of course, the result has been to limit the production of needed cereals and to increase the production of non-food crops.

I cited India as an example of a nation where general buying power is so low that it is extremely difficult for the public to pay enough to enable farmers to produce to the maximum. There is no such limitation in the United States. On the contrary, the American consumer buys her family's food needs for a smaller part of the family's disposable income than any people anywhere or at any time in history. Actually, Americans spend only about 18 percent of their disposable income in the grocery store, and farmers get only about 39 percent of this 18 percent. In other words, nearly two-thirds of what the consumer looks upon as food money goes for transportation, processing, packaging, labor, distribution, etc.

I am not suggesting, as so many speakers do, that these charges are necessarily unfair. Most of them involve real costs which must be included in the final retail price. Many of these costs can be properly described as paying for "built-in maid service." There is nothing wrong with the grocery store selling "maid service." I am only saying that the farmer gets a minor part of what the consumer pays—and far less than most consumers suppose he gets.

Fortunately, as nations improve their living standards, there is a tendency for the birth rate to drop. Fortunately, also, there is, as I see it, no reason to assume that as farm income increases that agricultural technology will not advance just as rapidly in the future as it has in the past. The world will, in my opinion, be able to greatly increase its food and fiber resources and to feed and clothe most of its people for a long time to come.

Now, I would like to make it clear right here that I don't believe the American people should have to pay more than a parity price. You, the farmers of America, are no more entitled to an exorbitant return for your labor and your investment than is American business or American labor, but the farmer is entitled to a fair return, just as is business and labor. He hasn't been getting that fair return for a long time.

Over the years our farm programs have sought to provide the prospect of a reasonable return by attempting to achieve a rough balance between supply and demand. That is still the basis of our governmental agricultural policy. We seek to encourage farmers to limit their production to something like the anticipated demand for their products, at close to parity prices. Today there is much feeling that this can best be accomplished by a more effective use of cooperatives—so-called "Muscle in the Market Place." But whether it be by cooperatives, withholding actions, marketing orders, or land retirement or allotments, most friends of agriculture want to give farmers a better bargaining position, while relatively few of us want to resort to "strong arm" tactics. We want to cooperate with consumers—not to take advantage of them.

Congress has never tried, as so many have said, to "repeal the Law of Supply and Demand." On the contrary, Congress has tried to enable farmers to use the Law of Supply and Demand to their advantage, just as our labor unions, our public utilities, and all our competitive business institutions have tried to use that same law. We have tried to enable farmers to approach a balance between supply and demand. At the same time we have never sought to achieve an actual or exact balance because we have always wanted to be sure that consumers would have all the food and fiber they might need.

I think, by and large, this program has worked, although in our anxiety to avoid any scarcities we have probably, in most instances, let over-production reach a point where it has reacted on the price structure in a manner most unfavorable to farmers.

Neither am I saying that the only way to approach the needed balance is through reduced production. On the contrary, I think that increased consumption is a far more desirable way of getting the balance which we all want, but we can't always increase consumption as we would like to do. Our present farm laws seek to increase consumption through a rather liberal use of subsidies. In spite of the admitted difficulties which have been so forcefully pointed out by the American Farm Bureau, such payments do play a vital part in keeping certain farm products like cotton competitive with synthetics and with foreign growths. But, unfortunately, if we are to bring the income of farmers up solely by the use of subsidies to a point where they can use the needed techniques for abundant production, we are going to face governmental costs which I feel would be entirely unacceptable. Besides, most Americans are now eating about all they need to eat. You can hardly solve the wheat surplus by asking a weight-conscious business girl to eat an extra slice of toast each morning.

I think the American consumer is much more knowledgeable and much more willing to pay a fair price than some of us have assumed. Basically, consumers do not know the economics of agriculture. They have assumed that because land prices were rising that farmers were all getting rich. They have not recognized that for the great bulk of our real producers, whether landowners or renters, these increased land prices have achieved nothing except to add to the cost of production. Nor has the public, or a great many farmers, realized that the only way a farmer can profit from rising land prices is to quit being a farmer.

This job of educating the public can't be done overnight. We are 50 to 100 years late now. Labor has done a much better job of educating the public than has agriculture, but we have the irrefutable evidence which I think will convince any fair minded group that the only way to guarantee abundance of food and fiber in the years ahead is to increase the income of farmers. It must be increased to such an extent that they can buy all of the needed inputs to assure production at all times sufficient for our needs and to maintain the world's highest standard of living.

As members of the nation's largest farm organization, and as producers of much of the nation's food and fiber, each of you has an especial responsibility to make our city people understand:

First: That without the use of modern techniques there can be no substantial increase in agricultural production;

Second: That these modern techniques are terribly expensive and that without higher prices American farmers won't be able to provide the needed food and fiber;

Third: That no one asks any greater increase in the price of agricultural products than the increase in the price of things which farmers are required to buy in order to produce abundantly—that is, "parity"; and

Finally: That, even with full parity prices to farmers, the American people will still be buying more and better food for a smaller percent of their disposable income than any people anywhere at any time in history.

This is not a job which the Agriculture Committee can do alone, nor even all the farm organizations. Until we begin getting this needed understanding, we are not going to make progress. It is true that understanding alone is not enough, but without understanding there is little reason to expect any progress.

Now, I come to another point that I cannot overemphasize. In spite of all of our frustrations, we still live in a democracy and the Congress is hardly likely to help raise farm prices, even if it could, without support for such a move from the masses of the people—and 87 percent of the people live in town. That means thaat the life or death power over legislation vital to the farmer rests in the hands of Congressmen elected from urban districts. The decisions of the Supreme Court in this respect haven't helped any. They have shifted ever greater power to the populous areas. I think those decisions are wrong, but it is still the word of the *supreme* court and we must live with situations as they exist, not as we would like.

While the prospects may seem discouraging, they simply mean to me that we have all got to work together as we have never worked together before. We can and will differ about detail as thinking people have always differed, but we cannot differ about the necessity of getting cooperation from our city cousins. Without it, agriculture is lost. I am, therefore, going to do all I conscientiously can do to cooperate with the urban majority, wherever I can, without violating my principles.

For instance, I have been criticized for voting for the rat extermination program and some of you have joined in that criticism. Now, I think it is a pretty good idea to exterminate rats in both rural and urban communities, just as I believe in the extermination of predatory animals and mosquitoes. When I voted for this bill, I felt I was also voting to exterminate screwworms and fire ants. How do you expect a handful of rural Congressmen to get support for our needed programs if we fight all of the programs the city people want? And how do you expect to get the essential city understanding and support of fair farm prices if we refuse to try to understand and help with city problems?

We are all interested in our own problems, as we should be, but we must also be interested in our neighbor's problems. So, because I know that our population is increasing by 5,290 people every day, and by the Year 2000 will have probably passed the 300,000,000 mark, I feel hopeful when I invite every resident of Chicago and New York City, of Los Angeles and Dallas, to accept and understand the farmer's situation.

The Malthusian theory need never be more than theory in this great land of ours and will not, if the people see to it that farmers are paid enough to produce to their full potential. In the long run it is clearly in the self interest of the consumer in every city and hamlet of this country to support the farmer in his fight for a fair return for his labor and operating costs. In this way we can be assured that Americans will still be eating well and at a reasonable cost when the Year 2000 rolls around.

The Holy Land: Still No Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, at the end of the first session of the 90th Congress and during the blessed Christmas season, our thoughts naturally turn to the little town of Bethlehem and the Holy Land.

Six and a half months have passed between the last large armed explosion in the land of the Prince of Peace. Yet, there is no peace.

The angry cries from Soviet-oriented Arabs and from those who pretend to be our friends ring out alike. These warlike cries resemble the same hysterical shouting that preceded the 6-day war of last June.

What was the war about?

President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, having told us to keep our foreign aid and having told us, in effect to jump in the ocean, on May 26 trumpeted:

> We have been biding our time until we were perfectly ready and prepared . . . we now feel that we are sufficiently strong and that, in engaging in war with Israel, we can, with God's help, be victorious.

Later that day, he said:

> The Arab people is firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the face of the globe.

Then, with armies massing on the borders of Israel and the air forces ready to strike, Israel's neighbors prepared for the invasion. Israel's firing of the first shot was only a technicality. Not alone had her neighbors massed their armies and sworn to eliminate her, they had engaged in systematic and dastardly sabotage for 19 years of Israeli independence, maintaining a legal state of war against Israel. Moreover, Nasser himself denied use of the Suez Canal to Israel in violation of pledges and had only a few days before he closed the straits of Tiran—a distinct act of war.

There is no question in the minds of anyone—even those who are pro-Arab—that Israel's army could have marched on to Damascus, Amman, and Cairo. The army halted on request of the U.N. asking in exchange that Israel and her Arab neighbors be allowed to negotiate for themselves permanent treaties of peace and access to all international waterways, including Tiran and Suez.

Today Israel still asks for a peace conference and a treaty to seal this peace with each of her neighbors. Adamantly, the Arabs refuse to talk, apparently in anger that Israel has refused to allow itself to be destroyed.

This adamant attitude, of course, finds backing among the Soviets, who have hastened to rearm their Arab allies. But we note with anxiety that the adamance finds some support even in this country.

For instance, we are penalizing Israel with our arms sales policies, refusing to sell modern equipment to our only true ally in the Mideast. We do not, I fear, give lip service to our commitment to Israel's independence and right to exist.

For instance, just the other day the Washington newspapers carried a story about a professor at the University of Maryland who had organized a symposium on the Middle East. She invited representatives of our Government's State Department as well as embassy officials from the major powers, certain Eastern European nations, the Arab countries and Israel. The Arabs refused to attend and appear on the same platform with an Israeli on grounds this would tend to recognize the existence of Israel. The Iron Curtain countries had less plausible reasons. And the United States just plain refused. How we stand up for principle.

In this Christmas season, I hope that our Government will resolve to bend new efforts to seek permanent peace in the Middle East in our own enlightened self-interest, in the interest of our allies in the interest of world peace.

Clientele Participation: A New Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, we have all agreed on one thing in the Congress, and that is that the poor should have a voice in planning their own programs in the war on poverty.

Dean Alvin Roseman, associate dean of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, calls this clientele participation.

I am very proud that the University of Pittsburgh has done something about training these people, who are familiar with poverty from personal experience, to become leaders in administering their own programs. So far 50 people have participated in the in-service training program, which is a combination workshop session on the campus and work period with the mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Urban League, urban redevelopment office, and other public and private agencies in the community. By unanimous consent, I include at this point in the RECORD an excellent article, "CAP Goes To College—University of Pittsburgh" and call it to the attention of my colleagues:

CAP GOES TO COLLEGE—UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

The dignified appearance and quiet air of most academic institutions are enhanced at the University of Pittsburgh by "The Cathedral of Learning," he main university building, a skyscraper at the campus center.

It is almost within the shadow of this building—in a nearby church meeting room—that 30 people from disadvantaged communities in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Alabama, Georgia and Ohio are learning that education can be very down to earth and practical. People, black and white, female and male, of all ages and beliefs, are learning how management is structured, how community problems can be analyzed and corrected, how to work with administrators and how to use community resources to fight poverty.

In intense, informal sessions the trainees bombard their questions and opinions to Project Director John Hannigan and others who come before them, including faculty members of the university and Community Action officials. The trainees have demonstrated this brightness and potential before. That is why they were nominated for the course by their local CAP's and local area colleges.

The course, which lasts four months, is administered under the Institute of Local Government of the University. Project training time is divided between classroom-workshop sessions at the campus and work experience in the Pittsburgh community with CAP's, the Urban League, regional planning offices, the Urban Redevelopment Agency, and the city's civil rights enforcement agency, the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations.

Dean Alvin Roseman, Associate Dean of the Graduate School, sees the program as a breakthrough of communication between two cultures in the United States and he names the training of poor people to be administrators as "clientele participation, a new democracy."

His thesis is that "if we wish to develop and carry out antipoverty programs that are meaningful to the people they are designed to serve, we must secure the participation of representatives of the client group at the policy level and develop methods to insure that they make an effective contribution to the agencies' activities."

"We cannot have government for all the people, of all the people, but with the participation of only 80 percent of the people."

The Pittsburgh program, accordingly, tests how people can develop their potential and then use their abilities as administrators, bring double insights to a Community Action Program—the insight of someone familiar with poverty and the insight of someone with four months' training by a college faculty.

Twenty trainees have already graduated from the first session of four months; 30 more are in the second four months' training program.

One of the graduates of the first session, Mrs. Mary Louise Smith, a verbal and energetic native of Pittsburgh, is now working with the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, the over-all CAP of the city, as assistant director of the citizens' training division.

Mary Louise, who had been a volunteer worker in poverty programs before the Pittsburgh course, says, "When I was just a citizen, I was accused of not being objective. Like I saw everything subjective. But this course showed me I did know a lot of the things to do but I didn't know why they were right. This course gave me confidence 'cause it showed me how everything fit together, and I got to know and understand these things."

Previously unemployed because she had no special skills, Mary Louise now works with the different community agencies in the city, promoting citizens' training, a system teaching residents of Pittsburgh's eight poverty areas what services are available to them and how city agencies mesh into an overall structure. Leadership conferences are set up with the different organizations that request citizens' training. From there the message reaches the people via, among other things, a mobile felt board which shows in diagram form the city agency structure.

Mrs. Smith has definite feelings about the benefits of the course. Best, she feels, are the sessions on budgeting, political and administrative structure and how agencies interact. She also thought it was great that each student planned a project and wrote a proposal for funding it. Her proposal was for a training project for poor people.

In her usual quick way, Mary Louise, surrounded by papers and charts, says, "I'm having a ball!"

More seriously she adds, "You can do more on the inside of the power structure than you can do on the outside throwing the rocks."

Mrs. Smith, who now earns $6,500 a year, begins in September to earn a master's degree in Public Administration in Community Development from the University of Pittsburgh which accepted her despite her lack of an undergradute degree.

With Mrs. Smith, skipping four years of undergraduate work to begin her master's, will be Mrs. Elvera M. Davis, another graduate of the training course. Mrs. Davis, formerly a secretary of the Southwest Pittsburgh Community Action Program, was rehired by the CAP after graduation from the training course. Now she is assistant coordinator of their Head Start program.

Mrs. Davis, an articulate woman with a sharpened ability to see the overview of a situation, states she "can't do justice to the class. It's that good."

She especially gained from the courses on government—what its limitations are and how it changes.

Elvera is acutely tuned in to what is or isn't happening in her city and feels that, except for the new involvement of the university in the community, Pittsburgh people have "total noncommitment. There's not much cross communication but lots of 'window dressing.' "

She sees the course at the university as an indication that the days of "noncommitment" may be coming to an end.

Graduates of the first session have, on the average, doubled their earlier salaries. Besides Mary Louise and Elvera, placements have been made as program assistant of the Oklahoma University Job Corps management training program at $12,000 a year; assistant director of Citizens for Community Action at Wheeling, West Virginia at $450 a month, and as an administrator with the Talent Bank of the Council of Southern Mountains at $700 a month.

Mr. Edward Foster, associate director of the Institute of Local Government, sees the object of the course as to give trainees the ability to understand problems objectively, see different sides of a situation, and decide their actions according to long-range and significant goals.

He sums it up as "one, keep differenct alternatives open; two, assign probable results that would occur from the different alternative courses; and three, choose the course of action that gives you the best risk at the least cost. The cost is money, time, and letdown if the goal isn't reached."

This isn't quite so Machiavellian as it seems. As Ed Foster explains, the middleclass is thoroughly familiar with organizational structure. But the poor do not know this structure, do not understand it or appreciate it. This is one of the reasons that today's pressuring groups often have a reluctance even a resistance to negotiate with the power structure. Since they do not understand it, they do not see how it works, how it can be malleable, how it can bring change. Out of frustration the pressuring groups cry for "all or nothing."

Results from the experiment at the University of Pittsburgh show, albeit from a limited project, that when people with the credentials of the school of "hard knocks" do learn about the power structure, do understand how to become a part of it and work through it, the cry of "all or nothing" disappears. It is replaced by the steady significant progress brought about by people who know both poverty and the power structure.

PATRICIA FOX.

Wisconsin Society Wants State To Furnish Christmas Tree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently it came to the attention of the Wisconsin State Society of Washington, D.C., that the great State of Wisconsin has never availed itself of the privilege of furnishing a Christmas tree for the "Pageant of Peace" and its predecessor, the President's Christmas tree festivities, which have contributed so much to the joyous celebration of Christmas here in the Nation's Capital since 1923. Further, the privilege of furnishing the tree for this annual event has been reserved by different States through the year 1975, making altogether a span of more than 50 years in which my home State has been sadly missing from the honor roll of States providing the Christmas tree.

This is an unbelievable oversight for a State which proudly and rightfully enjoys a high place among all States that boast of their majestic forests and prosperous lumber industry. This is a situation crying out for something to be done, and the membership of the Wisconsin State Society of Washington, D.C., is to be commended for doing something about it. Their president, Mr. Jerome O. Hendrickson, has called the attention of Wisconsin's Chief Executive, the Honorable Warren P. Knowles, to this grave oversight, in a letter which follows:

Hon. WARREN P. KNOWLES,
Executive Office,
Madison, Wis.

DEAR GOVERNOR KNOWLES: Here in the nation's capital at Christmas time for almost fifty years, the President's Christmas tree festivities have been held, and which in recent years have been known as the Pageant of Peace.

It is customary for one of the fifty states to furnish the Christmas tree for this event each year.

At the most recent meeting of the Wisconsin State Society of Washington, D.C. held last week, it came to light that the state of Wisconsin has never furnished the Christmas tree for this festive occasion at any time since its inception in 1923. Further, voluntary commitments have been received from various states to supply trees through the year 1975.

The members of our Society were shocked to learn that the prestige of our great state should have been so sadly neglected right here in the nation's capital, where as you know, Governor, the prestige of the states is really laid on the line in such lively competition for the limelight.

Wisconsin is justly proud of her magnificent forests, her lumber industry, including the Christmas trees which annually ships so many thousands of specimens to enliven the celebration of Christmas in other states. How then could it have happened that our state has never come forward to request the privilege of furnishing the Christmas tree for the Pageant of Peace in the nation's capital? Surely this is a great oversight and one that should not be allowed to continue.

The members of the Wisconsin State Society will be waiting to hear from you at the time of our next meeting as to your decision concerning this matter. Apparently, 1976 is the earliest open year in which Wisconsin could furnish the tree, and I think it would redound greatly to the honor of our state and do much to repair the negligence of the past, if Wisconsin were to furnish the Christmas tree for the Pageant of Peace in the bicentennial year of the Declaration of Independence.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JEROME O. HENDRICKSON,
President.

Report to the People of the Second Congressional District of Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have compiled a report from official records which lists my voting and attendance record during the first session of the 90th Congress. I will make this record available to the people of the Second Congressional District of Nebraska, which district I have the honor to represent in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The description of bills is for identification only; no attempt has been made herein to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

This first session of the 90th Congress was in session until December 15 and therefore as a stewardship report to those I am privileged to represent, I am listing a compilation of the votes I cast from the opening of the 90th Congress, January 10, 1967, to December 15, 1967. This session of the Congress established an all-time high in the number of votes cast.

This report includes all rollcall votes, where Congressmen are publicly recorded for or against an issue. However, the 447 votes listed in this report represent only about one-fourth of the votes cast by the Members of the House of Representatives. Rollcall votes are not publicly recorded on the majority of bills as most of the legislation is decided by voice vote. In addition there were hundreds of quorum calls—attendance checks—taken in the House which are omitted here to conserve space. This accounts for the nonconsecutive numbering of the rollcalls in this report.

Many of the votes were controversial as you well know, Mr. Speaker, but I, like all Members, must stand and be counted by voting either "yes" or "no." That is our duty and responsibility.

When the people note the title of the votes listed here they will gain a better understanding of the complexities of the issues which are voted upon in the House of Representatives.

I am proud of my voting and attendance record during my 11 years as a Member of the House of Representatives. My attendance record is in the upper 5 percent among all Members of Congress during these past 10 years for being on the job and answering the call of the roll when votes are cast and when official attendance records are compiled.

The record referred to follows:

REPORT ON RECORDED VOTES CAST BY CONGRESSMAN GLENN CUNNINGHAM, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.

Rollcall No.	Date 1967	Measure, question, and result	My vote
2	Jan. 10	Election of Speaker. (McCormack 246, Ford 186.) (See note 3, last page.)	Ford.
		H. Res. 1, authorizing the seating of Adam Clayton Powell:	
3	Jan. 10	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Rejected 126 to 305.)	No.
4	Jan. 10	On resolution as amended. (Agreed to 363 to 65.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 7, adopting rules of House to cut off debate and prevent presentation of amendment to abolish 21-day rule adopted as part of rules of previous Congress:	
5	Jan. 10	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Rejected 196 to 225.)	No.
6	Jan. 10	On amendment to eliminate the 21-day rule. (Agreed to 233 to 185.)	Yes.
11	Feb. 8	H. Res. 226, providing for consideration of H.R. 4573, the national debt limit increase: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 223 to 183.)	No.
		H.R. 4573, national debt limit increase:	
12	Feb. 8	On motion to recommit with instructions. (Rejected 155 to 261.)	No.
13	Feb. 8	On passage (to increase the debt ceiling). (Passed 215 to 199.)	No.
15	Feb. 20	H.R. 2, amending United States Code to strengthen the Reserve components of the Armed Forces and clarify status of National Guard technicians: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 325 to 13.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 83, authorizing Agriculture Committee investigations:	
17	Feb. 21	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Passed 230 to 85.)	Yes.
18	Feb. 21	On resolution as amended to exclude overseas travel. (Agreed to 306 to 18.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 278, seating of Representative-elect Adam Clayton Powell:	
22	Mar. 1	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Rejected 202 to 222.)	No.
23	Mar. 1	On ordering previous question on amendment to exclude Adam Clayton Powell from membership in 90th Cong. as a substitute to the resolution. (Passed 263 to 161.)	Yes.
24	Mar. 1	On amendment. (Passed 248 to 176.)	Yes.
25	Mar. 1	On resolution as amended to exclude Adam Clayton Powell from being seated as a Member of the House of Representatives. (Passed 307 to 116.)	Yes.
26	Mar. 1	On ordering previous question on preamble. (Passed 311 to 9.)	Yes.
28	Mar. 2	H.R. 4515, authorizing supplemental military procurement for fiscal 1967: On motion to recommit with instructions that none of the funds could be used to carry out military operations in or over North Vietnam. (Rejected 18 to 372.)	No.
30	Mar. 8	S. 665, authorizing supplemental military procurement for fiscal year 1967: On conference report. (Passed 364 to 13.)	Not voting.
32	Mar. 9	H.J. Res. 267, for emergency food assistance to India: On passage. (Passed 312 to 63.)	Yes.
33	Mar. 9	H. Res. 376, authorizing the Speaker to appoint a special counsel to represent the House in litigation filed by Adam Clayton Powell: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Passed 254 to 85.)	Yes.
36	Mar. 15	H.R. 6098, providing for an extension of the interest equalization tax: On passage. (Passed 261 to 138.)	No.
38	Mar. 16	H.R. 7123, providing supplemental Defense appropriations for fiscal year 1967: On passage. (Passed 385 to 11.)	Yes.
39	Mar. 16	H.R. 6950, restoring the investment credit and the allowance of accelerated depreciation in the case of certain real property: On passage. (Passed 386 to 2.)	Yes.
40	Mar. 20	H.R 2068, increasing veterans' pensions: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 360 to 0.)	Not voting.
41	Mar. 20	H.R. 2513, proposing a Commission on National Observances and Holidays: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 315 to 35.)	Not voting.
43	Mar. 21	H.R. 5277, increasing the present authorization for Pacific Trust Territory civil government for fiscal 1967, 1968, 1969: On passage. (Passed 371 to 15.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 7501, authorizing appropriations for the Departments of the Post Office and Treasury and related agencies for fiscal 1968:	
45	Mar. 22	On amendment providing for 15 proposed new positions in the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury. (Passed 211 to 175.)	Not voting.
46	Mar. 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to limit spending to 95 percent of 1968 budget estimates. (Rejected 168 to 217.)	Not voting.
47	Mar. 22	On passage. (Passed 372 to 7.)	Not voting.
		H.J. Res. 428, supporting other American Republics in an historic new phase of the Alliance for Progress:	
49	Mar. 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to reword the resolution to the effect of giving sympathetic consideration to ways and means of implementing agreements reached at Punta del Este, Uruguay. (Defeated 147 to 210.)	Not voting.
50	Mar. 22	On passage. (Passed 234 to 117.)	Not voting.
52	Apr. 5	H. Res. 364, providing funds for the expenses of the Sicence and Astronautics Committee: On motion to recommit with instructions to provide additional funds to hire Republican minority staff employees. (Rejected 176 to 216.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 221, providing funds for the expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities:	
53	Apr. 5	On ordering previous question on resolution and amendments. (Passed 305 to 92.)	Yes.
54	Apr. 5	On motion to recommit with instructions that open hearings be held to justify additional funds for committee. (Rejected 92 to 304.)	No.
55	Apr. 5	On resolution providing funds for continuance of committee investigation un-American activities. (Agreed to 350 to 43.)	Yes.
57	Apr. 6	H. Res. 413, providing for consideration of H.R. 2512, copyright law revision: On resolution. (Agreed to 347 to 42.)	Yes.

See notes at end of table.

REPORT ON RECORDED VOTES CAST BY CONGRESSMAN GLENN CUNNINGHAM, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1967	Measure, question, and result	My vote
60	Apr. 6	H.R. 2512, revising the Copyright Law: On motion to strike enacting clause. (Rejected 126 to 252.)	No.
62	Apr. 11	H.J. Res. 493, adding 20 days to the 60-day "cooling off period" during which a strike or change in work rules was illegal under the Railway Labor Act applicable to the current dispute: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 396 to 8.)	Yes.
63	Apr. 11	H.R. 2512, revising the Copyright Law: On passage. (Passed 379 to 29.)	Yes.
65	Apr. 12	H.R. 5404, amending National Science Foundation Act of 1950: On passage. (Passed 391 to 22.)	Yes.
68	Apr. 13	H. Res. 418, establishing a standing committee known as the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct: On resolution. (Passed 400 to 0.)	Yes.
70	Apr. 20	H. Res. 443, expressing sympathy of the House on death of Konrad Adenauer: On resolution (Passed 357 to 0.)	Yes.
71	Apr. 20	H.R. 207, authorizing Interior Department financial participation in a large water desalting and nuclear power plant: On passage. (Passed 315 to 38.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 9029, making appropriations for Interior Department for fiscal 1968:	
73	Apr. 27	On motion to recommit with instructions to limit spending to 95 percent of 1968 budget estimate. Rejected (158 to 231.)	No.
74	Apr. 27	On passage. (Passed 377 to 11.)	Yes.
75	Apr. 27	H. Res. 442, providing for consideration of H.R. 2508, congressional redistricting: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Passed 284 to 99.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2508, providing for congressional redistricing:	
76	Apr. 27	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete provision permitting Hawaii and New Mexico to continue electing their Representatives at Large. (Rejected 161 to 203.)	Not voting.
77	Apr. 27	On passage. (Passed 289 to 63.)	Not voting.
79	May 1	H. J. Res. 543, extending the period for 47 additional days during which a strike or change in work rules was illegal under the Railway Labor Act applicable to the current dispute: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 302 to 56.)	Yes.
81	May 3	H.R. 9481, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1967: On passage. (Passed 391 to 6.)	Yes.
84	May 9	H.R. 9240, authorizing appropriations during fiscal 1968 for military procurement: On passage. (Passed 401 to 3.)	Yes.
86	May 11	H. Res. 161, providing additional $1,200 per year telephone allowance for Members of Congress to use in their home districts: On resolution. (Passed 189 to 157.)	No.
87	May 11	H. Res. 464, authorizing the hiring of 78 additional Capitol policemen: On resolution. (Passed 334 to 16.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9960, making appropriations for Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development for fiscal 1968:	
92	May 17	On amendment to cut out $10,000,000 rent supplement contract authority. (Passed 233 to 171.)	Yes.
93	May 17	On motion to recommit with instructions to decrease from $225,000,000 to $12,000,000 funds to be used for model cities programs. (Rejected 193 to 213.)	Yes.
94	May 17	On final passage. (Passed 347 to 56.)	Yes.
95	May 17	H.R. 6431, extending the programs of Federal matching grants for the construction and staffing of community mental health centers: On passage. (Passed 355 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7819, authorizing appropriation of funds for Federal aid to elementary and secondary education programs for fiscal 1969:	
102	May 24	On amendment changing the formula for distribution of title I funds to school districts with needy children, so that 15 poorer States would receive more money. (Passed 222 to 194.)	Yes.
103	May 24	On amendment providing that Federal funds for supplementary centers and services go directly to the qualifying State departments of education. (Passed 230 to 185.)	Yes.
104	May 24	On motion to recommit with instructions that committee hold further hearings. (Rejected 180 to 236.)	Yes.
105	May 24	On passage. (Passed 294 to 122.)	No.
108	May 25	S. 1432, extending the draft law for 4 years: On passage. (Passed 362 to 9.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10345, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary:	
110	May 31	On amendment to limit amount of Federal subsidy in the sale of Small Business Administration participation certificates. (Passed 186 to 144.)	Yes.
111	May 31	On motion to recommit with instructions to limit spending to 95 percent of 1968 budget estimate excluding FBI funds. (Passed 171 to 156.)	Yes.
116	June 5	H.R. 10226, providing additional free letter mail and air transportation mailing privileges for more servicemen: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 316 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10509, making appropriations for Agriculture Department for fiscal 1968:	
119	June 6	On motion to recommit with instructions to limit spending to 95 percent of 1968 budget estimate, but this exclusion not to apply to special milk and school lunch programs. (Rejected 175 to 222.)	Yes.
120	June 6	On final passage. (Passed 357 to 38.)	Yes.
122	June 7	H. Res. 504, providing for consideration of H.R. 10328, to increase national debt ceiling: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Passed 291 to 99.)	No.
123	June 7	H.R. 10328, increasing the national debt ceiling: On passage. (Rejected 197 to 211.)	No.
126	June 8	H.R. 9029, making appropriations for Interior Department for fisyear 1968: On conference report. (Agreed to 321 to 49.)	Yes.
		H.R. 1318, authorizing funds for food stamp program for fiscal 1968:	
128	June 8	On amendment requiring states to pay 20 percent of program costs. (Rejected 173 to 191.)	Yes.
129	June 8	On passage. (Passed 230 to 128.)	No.
131	June 12	H.R. 7476, authorizing adjustments in the amount of outstanding silver certificates: On passage. (Passed 234 to 109.)	Yes.
135	June 13	H.R. 10738, authorizing appropriations for Defense Department for fiscal 1968: On passage. (Passed 407 to 1.)	Yes.
139	June 19	H.R. 6111, providing for establishment of a Federal Judicial Center: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 230 to 97.)	Yes.
140	June 19	H.R. 10730, extending provisions of the Older American Act: On motion to supend rules and pass. (Passed 333 to 0.)	Yes.
141	June 19	H.R. 480, extending the period during which Federal funds could be appropriated to continue the purchase of wetlands for migratory waterfowl conservation: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 329 to 8.)	Yes.
142	June 19	H.R. 482, increasing the price of the Federal migratory bird hunting stamps from $3 to $5: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 238 to 97.)	Yes.
144	June 20	S. 1432, extending the draft law for 4 years: On conference report. (Agreed to 377 to 29.)	Yes.
145	June 20	H.R. 10480, prohibiting desecration of the U.S. flag: On passage. (Passed 387 to 16.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10867, increasing the national debt limit:	
147	June 21	On motion to recommit with instructions to make permanent the present temporary national debt limit ceiling of $336,000,000,000, with any increases beyond this figure temporary in nature. (Rejected 191 to 223.)	Yes.
148	June 21	On passage. (Passed 217 to 196.)	No.
153	June 26	H.R. 8582, increasing the number of associate judges on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals: On passage. (Passed 335 to 6.)	Yes.
154	June 26	H.R. 10783, relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia: On passage. (Passed 355 to 14.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10943, authorizing funds to continue modified Teacher Corps and training programs:	
156	June 27	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete Teacher Corps. (Rejected 146 to 257.)	No.
157	June 27	On passage. (Passed 312 to 88.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10340, authorizing appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1968:	
160	June 28	On motion to recommit with instructions to decrease funds by $136,400,000 and set up an Aerospace Safety Advisory Panel. (Passed 239 to 157.)	Yes.
161	June 28	On passage. (Passed 342 to 53.)	Yes.
163	July 11	H.R. 10805, extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 284 to 89.)	Yes.
165	July 12	S. 20, providing for a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs: On passage. (Passed 369 to 19.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10595, prohibiting the sale of State lottery tickets by most banks and savings and loan institutions:	
167	July 13	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 135 to 257.)	Yes.
168	July 13	On passage. (Passed 271 to 111.)	No.
170	July 17	S.J. Res. 81, providing for the settlement of the labor dispute between certain carriers by railroad and certain of their employees: On motion to concur in Senate amendments to House amendment binding determination of Special Board to take effect in absence of agreement between parties to dispute. (Passed 244 to 148.)	Yes.
		H.R. 11456, making appropriations for the Transportation Department for fiscal 1968:	
173	July 18	On motion to recommit with instructions to limit spending to 95 percent of 1968 budget estimate. (Passed 213 to 189.)	Yes.
174	July 18	On passage. (Passed 393 to 5.)	Yes.
176	July 19	H.R. 421, prohibiting travel or use of any facility in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to incite a riot or other violent civil disturbance: On passage. (Passed 347 to 70.)	Yes.
178	July 20	H. Res. 749, providing for the consideration of H.R. 11000, for Federal rat control: On resolution. (Rejected 176 to 207.)	No.
		H.R. 11641, making appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission, for Army engineers and Interior Department public works projects and for various independent agencies:	
180	July 25	On amendment to delete planning funds for the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric plant in Maine. (Passed 233 to 169.)	Yes.
181	July 25	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce each appropriation item contained in the bill by 5 percent for a cut of $231,000,000. (Defeated 166 to 239.)	Yes.
182	July 25	On passage. (Passed 376 to 26.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9547, amending the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operation of the Inter-American Development Bank:	
186	July 26	On motion to recommit with instructions to decrease share payable by the United States from $900,000,000 to $750,000,000. (Defeated 185 to 217.)	Yes.
187	July 26	On passage. (Passed 275 to 122.)	No.
189	July 27	H.R. 8630, extending the authority for exemptions from the antitrust laws to assist in safeguarding the balance-of-payments position of the United States: On passage. (Passed 308 to 66.)	No.
190	July 31	H.R. 6098, providing for an extension of the interest equalization tax: On conference report. (Agreed to 223 to 83.)	Absent.
192	Aug. 1	H.R. 11722, authorization construction at military installations: On passage. (Passed 394 to 2.)	Yes.
		.R. 5037, authorizing Federal grants to State and local governments to assist in the reduction of crime and improvement of law enforcement:	
200	Aug. 8	On amendment providing that most of funds would generally go in block grants to State agencies for distribution and highest priority given to riot control and prevention. (Passed 256 to 147.)	Yes.
201	Aug. 8	On passage. (Passed 378 to 23.)	Yes.
204	Aug. 9	H. Res. 512, expressing disapproval of the House of Representatives at proposed plan to reorganize the District of Columbia government: On resolution. (Rejected 160 to 244.)	Yes.
206	Aug. 10	H.R. 7659, providing for a mid-decade census in 1975 and every 10 years thereafter: On passage. (Passed 255 to 127.)	No.
208	Aug. 14	H.R. 43, authorizing the Central Valley project in California: On passage. (Passed 235 to 83.)	Yes.
209	Aug. 14	H.R. 6279, providing for the collection, compilation, critical evaluation, publication, and sale of standard reference data for physical science standard reference program of Bureau of Standards: On amendment to limit the fiscal 1968 authorization and requiring annual authorizations for this project. (Passed 320 to 2.)	Yes.
214	Aug. 15	H. Res. 856, providing for consideration of H.R. 2516, Civil Rights Amendments of 1967: On resolution. (Agreed to 330 to 77.)	Yes.
220	Aug. 16	H.R. 2516, Civil Rights Amendments of 1967: On passage. (Passed 326 to 93.)	Yes.

See notes at end of table.

REPORT ON RECORDED VOTES CAST BY CONGRESSMAN GLENN CUNNINGHAM, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1967	Measure, question, and result	My vote
222	Aug. 17	H.R. 12080, social security amendments: On passage. (Passed 415 to 3.)	Yes.
223	Aug. 17	S. 16, increasing veterans' pensions: On conference report. (Agreed to 404 to 0.)	Yes.
224	Aug. 21	H.R. 12257, extending and expanding authorization for vocational rehabilitation: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 340 to 0.)	Yes.
226	Aug. 21	H.R. 11565, amending the Agricultural Adjustment Act to authorize the transfer of peanut acreage allotments: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 208 to 146, a two-thirds majority being required.)	Yes.
229	Aug. 22	H.R. 12474, making appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1968: On passage. (Passed 312 to 92.)	No.
		H.R. 12048, authorizing foreign aid appropriations for fiscal 1968:	
235	Aug. 25	On amendment to prevent Export-Import Bank financing of arms sales to foreign nations. (Passed 236 to 157.)	Yes.
236	Aug. 25	On motion to recommit with instructions to cut the technical assistance authorization from $243,000,000 to $210,000,000. (Passed 234 to 163.)	Yes.
237	Aug. 25	On passage. (Passed 202 to 194.)	No.
239	Aug. 28	H.R. 8965, increasing the amount of Federal funds needed for building a pollution control measure to benefit Washington, D.C.: On passage. (Passed 118 to 109.)	No.
240	Sept. 11	H.R. 11816, providing disability and death benefits for State and local police or their survivors when officers are injured or killed in apprehending or attempting to apprehend violators of Federal laws: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 310 to 0.)	Yes.
241	Sept. 11	H.R. 8654, permitting in certain cases appeals by the United States from pretrial orders for return of seized property or to suppress evidence: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 311 to 1.)	Yes.
242	Sept. 11	H.R. 8775, increasing the authorization for Interior Department work in the Missouri River Basin from $60,000,000 to $68,000,000: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 225 to 83.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10738, authorizing appropriations for Defense Department for fiscal 1968:	
244	Sept. 12	On conference report. (Agreed to 365 to 4.)	Yes.
245	Sept. 12	On motion to recede and concur with Senate amendment prohibiting funds under the bill from being expended to build Navy ships outside of the United States. (Rejected 144 to 233.)	No.
		S. 602, authorizing funds for Appalachian and regional development commissions:	
253	Sept. 14	On amendment to reduce authorization. (Passed 199 to 161.)	Yes.
254	Sept. 14	On motion to recommit with instructions that authority for spending funds go to the Federal agencies involved, to delete $5,000,000 housing program authorization and add $2,500,000 for Great Lakes fishery conservation grants. (Defeated 178 to 184.)	Yes.
255	Sept. 14	On passage. (Passed 189 to 168.)	No.
257	Sept. 18	H.R. 4451, providing protection for U.S. fishing vessel owners: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 147 to 175.)	No.
258	Sept. 18	S. 1657, extending authority for indemnity payments to dairy farmers: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 320 to 7.)	Yes.
259	Sept. 18	H. Res. 838, authorizing House Judiciary Committee to conduct various investigations involving overseas travel by its members and employees: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 262 to 52.)	Yes.
262	Sept. 19	S. 953, authorizing funds for food stamp programs for fiscal 1968 and 1969: On motion to recede and concur with Senate conference report amendments. (Passed 196 to 154.)	No.
264	Sept. 20	H.R. 9547, amending the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operation of the Inter-American Development Bank: On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist on retaining proposal for a continuing audit of the bank's operations. (Passed 274 to 126.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6418, the partnership for health amendments:	
265	Sept. 20	On amendment to increase autherization by $40,000,000 for grants for special health programs. (Passed 227 to 173.)	Yes.
266	Sept. 20	On passage. (Passed 395 to 7.)	Yes.
267	Sept. 20	H.R. 6430, Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967: On passage. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6736, proposing the creation of a Public Broadcasting Corp.:	
270	Sept. 21	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete provisions for a Public Broadcasting Corp. adding that funds be distributed among educational TV stations. (Rejected 167 to 194.)	No.
271	Sept. 21	On passage. (Passed 265 to 91.)	Yes.
273	Sept. 25	H.R. 13042, authorizing an elected school board for the District of Columbia: On Passage. (Passed 324 to 3.)	Yes.
274	Sept. 25	H.R. 13025, allowing the new District of Columbia Council to make rules and regulations under the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act: On passage. (Rejected 153 to 182.)	No.
		H.R. 12120, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1967:	
277	Sept. 26	On amendment substituting block grants to the States in place of Federal agencies granting funds to local agencies. (Passed 234 to 139.)	Yes.
278	Sept. 26	On amendment to prohibit the receipt of funds under this act by agencies administered, funded or contracted by the OEO. (Passed 241 to 132.)	Yes.
282	Sept. 27	H. J. Res. 849, continuing appropriations for many Federal agencies for the month of October: On motion to recommit. (Passed 202 to 182.)	Yes.
285	Sept. 28	H.R. 478, making studies of the impact on American workers of low-wage imports from foreign countries: On passage. (Passed 340 to 29.)	Yes.
287	Sept. 29	H.R. 10673, proposing to strengthen and clarify stockyard owners' rights and responsibilities with respect to the management of their stockyards: On passage. (Passed 234 to 6.)	No.
289	Oct. 2	H.R. 4903, increasing the ceiling on annual appropriations for Ryukyu Islands' social and economic aid: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 284 to 80.)	No.
290	Oct. 2	S. 223, authorizing the sale to private industry of certain Government-owned communications in Alaska: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 357 to 1.)	Yes.
291	Oct. 2	H.R. 9796, authorizing loan of warships to foreign governments: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 321 to 42.)	Yes.
293	Oct. 3	H. Res. 938, providing for consideration of H.J. Res. 853 making continuing appropriations for fiscal 1968: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Passed 213 to 205.)	No.
294	Oct. 3	H.R. 11722, authorizing construction at military installations: On conference report. (Agreed to 377 to 33.)	Yes.
296	Oct. 4	H.R. 10196, making appropriations for Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Departments for fiscal 1968: On motion to recommit conference report with instructions that House conferees disagree to Senate amendments which exceed the budget requests. (Passed 226 to 173.)	Yes.
297	Oct. 4	H.R. 1411, permitting the Postmaster General to issue a mail stop order against false representations without the additional previous requirement of proof of intent to deceive: On passage. (Passed 353 to 32.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10509, making appropriations for the Agriculture Department for fiscal 1968:	
300	Oct. 10	On motion to disagree to Senate amendment No. 43 increasing appropriations above budget recommendations to the conference report. (Passed 377 to 8.)	Yes.
301	Oct. 10	On motion to disagree to Senate amendment No. 56 (same reason as above). (Passed 362 to 24.)	Yes.
302	Oct. 10	On motion to disagree to Senate amendment No. 63 (same reason as above.) (Passed 391 to 3.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7977, adjusting postal rates, increasing Federal and postal employees pay and regulating the mailing of pandering advertisements:	
306	Oct. 11	On motion to recommit with instructions to report back with additional amendments. (Defeated 199 to 211.)	No.
307	Oct. 11	On passage. (Passed 318 to 89.)	Yes.
309	Oct. 16	H.R. 13048, extending and amending the Library Services and Construction Act: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 371 to 0.)	Yes.
310	Oct. 16	S.J. Res. 112, extending until Dec. 31, 1968, the time for filing the report of Commission on Urban Problems: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 310 to 10.)	Yes.
		H.R. 11456, making appropriations for the Transportation Department for fiscal 1968:	
313	Oct. 17	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to hold the line on items increased by Senate over House. (Defeated 124 to 268.).	Yes.
314	Oct. 17	On conference report. (Agreed to 367 to 22.)	Yes.
315	Oct. 17	On motion to recede and concur on Senate amendment 13 providing funds for an airport at Kelley Flats, Mont. (Defeated 161 to 222.).	No.
316	Oct. 17	H.R. 159, providing for establishment of a Federal Maritime Administration: On passage. (Passed 324 to 44.).	Yes.
		H. J. Res. 888, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968 until Nov. 23, 1967:	
319	Oct. 18	On amendment providing that Federal spending shall not exceed the amount spent during fiscal 1967. (Passed 239 to 164.)	Yes.
320	Oct. 18	On motion to recommit the resolution to committee. (Rejected 158 to 244.)	No.
321	Oct. 18	On passage. (Passed 253 to 144.)	Yes.
323	Oct. 19	H.R. 13178, providing for safety on the U.S. Capitol Building and Grounds: On passage. (Passed 336 to 20.)	Yes.
325	Oct. 19	S. 676, making it unlawful to intercept, disclose or use the contents of a wire communication except in normal course of employment or by President under special conditions: On passage. (Passed 275 to 47.)	Yes.
327	Oct. 20	H. Res. 241, transferring jurisdiction over military and national cemeteries to the Veterans' Affairs Committee: On passage. (Passed 227 to 0.)	Yes.
328	Oct. 20	H. Res. 947, providing for consideration of H.R. 10442, facilitating the exchanges of land for use for public schools: On resolution. (Agreed to 221 to 1.)	Yes.
329	Oct. 20	H.R. 10442, facilitating the exchanges of land for use for public schools: On motion to recommit with instructions to delete language regarding special fund provided to Agriculture Secretary for purchase of lands. (Rejected 30 to 191.)	No.
333	Oct. 23	H.R. 11627, authorizing construction of tunnels and bridges in Maryland: On passage. (Passed 342 to 9.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9960, making appropriations for independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development for fiscal 1968:	
335	Oct. 24	On motion to recommit the conference report with instructions that House disagrees to certain Senate amendments. (Rejected 184 to 208.)	Yes.
336	Oct. 24	On motion to recede and concur on Senate increases for model cities. (Rejected 156 to 241.)	No.
337	Oct. 24	On motion to recede and concur on Senate amendment, rent supplement program. (Rejected 152 to 250.)	No.
338	Oct. 24	H.R. 13606, making appropriations for military construction for the Defense Department for fiscal 1968: On passage. (Passed 362 to 26.)	Yes.
		H.R. 11641, making appropriations for Public Works and Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1968:	
340	Oct. 25	On motion to recommit the conference report. (Rejected 117 to 278.)	Yes.
341	Oct. 25	On motion to recede and concur with amendmen of Senate to provide additional funds for the Dickey-Lincoln project. (Rejected by 162 to 231.)	No.
342	Oct. 25	On motion to recede and concur with Senate amendment designed to eliminate funds for the Dickey-Lincoln project. (Passed 283 to 111.)	Yes.

See notes at end of table.

REPORT ON RECORDED VOTES CAST BY CONGRESSMAN GLENN CUNNINGHAM, 1ST SESS., 90TH CONG.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1967	Measure, question, and result	My vote
		H.R. 9960, making appropriations for independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development for fiscal 1968:	
343	Oct. 26	On motion to recommit the conference report with instructions to insist on House disagreement to Senate amendment No. 67, rent supplement program. (Rejected 184 to 198.)	Yes.
344	Oct. 26	On conference report. (Agreed to 295 to 88.)	Yes.
345	Oct. 26	H.R. 13510, adjusting pay of the uniformed services both active and retired: On passage. (Passed 385 to 2.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2508, providing for congressional redistricting:	
346	Oct. 26	On motion to recommit the conference report with instructions. (Rejected 82 to 283.)	Yes.
347	Oct. 26	On conference report. (Agreed to 241 to 105.)	No.
		H.R. 10915, regarding reduction of extra-long-staple cotton quota:	
349	Oct. 30	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 101 to 244.)	No.
350	Oct. 30	On passage. (Passed 274 to 64.)	Yes.
354	Oct. 31	H.R. 12144, Meat Inspection Act: On passage. (Passed 403 to 1.)	Yes.
359	Nov. 2	S. 780, extending the Clean Air Act: On passage. (Passed 362 to 0.)	Not voting. (paired).
361	Nov. 3	H. Res. 966, providing for consideration of S. 2388, to provide for an improvement and to authorize funds for the Economic Opportunity Act: On resolution. (Passed 262 to 39.),	Not voting (paired).
362	Nov. 6	H.R. 11565, amending the Agricultural Adjustment Act to authorize the transfer of peanut acreage allotments: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 255 to 57.)	Yes.
363	Nov. 6	S.J. Res. 33, establishing a National Commission on Product Safety: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 206 to 102.)	Yes.
364	Nov. 6	H.R. 3639, protecting the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to consolidate certain provisions assuring the safety and effectiveness of new animal drugs: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 317 to 0.)	Yes.
365	Nov. 6	H.R. 13165, extending until Mar. 1, 1969, Secret Service protection for widow and minor children of a former President: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 302 to 11.)	Yes.
366	Nov. 6	S.J. Res. 114, extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 308 to 6.)	Yes.
367	Nov. 6	H.R. 3982, relating to transportation of housetrailers and mobile dwellings of members of the uniformed services: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 319 to 0.)	Yes.
368	Nov. 6	H.R. 13669, permitting the use of officers of any of the services on claims commissions: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 317 to 0.)	Yes.
369	Nov. 6	S. 1552, amending the Highway Safety Act: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 252 to 65.)	No.
370	Nov. 6	S. 423, authorizing use of additional funds to defray certain increased costs associated with the construction of the small boat harbor at Manele Bay, Lanai, Hawaii: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 291 to 25.)	Yes.
		S. 1872, Foreign Assistance Act:	
374	Nov. 8	On motion to recommit the conference report with instructions regarding countries with ships carrying supplies to North Vietnam. (Rejected 196 to 200.)	Yes.
375	Nov. 8	On conference report. (Agreed to 205 to 187.)	No.
378	Nov. 9	H.R. 11641, making appropriations for Public Works and Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1968: On motion to concur in Senate amendment providing planning funds for Dickey-Lincoln School power project. (Rejected 118 to 263.)	No.
380	Nov. 9	H.R. 8569, making appropriations for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1968: On conference report. (Agreed to 354 to 6.)	Yes.
		S. 2388, providing an improved Economic Opportunity Act and authorizing funds for continued operation of its programs:	
386	Nov. 15	On amendment prohibiting use of funds to defend persons involved in unlawful civil disturbances or riots. (Passed 332 to 79.)	Yes.
387	Nov. 15	On motion to recommit with instructions to provide a $1,600,000,000 authorization instead of an $2,060,000,000 authorization. (Passed 221 to 190.)	Yes.
388	Nov. 15	On passage. (Passed 283 to 129.)	Yes.
390	Nov. 16	H. Res. 978, providing for consideration of H.R. 13893, foreign assistance and related agencies appropriations for fiscal 1968: On ordering previous question. (Passed 200 to 190.)	Yes.
		H.R. 13893, making appropriations for foreign assistance (foreign aid) and related agencies for fiscal 1968:	
394	Nov. 17	On motion to recommit to committee. (Rejected 135 to 177.)	Yes.
395	Nov. 17	On passage. (Passed 167 to 143.)	No.
396	Nov. 17	H. Res. 509, providing for consideration of H.R. 8, regarding obstruction of Armed Forces: On resolution. (Agreed to 211 to 37.)	Yes.
399	Nov. 20	H.R. 13933, authorizing modifications or revisions in the Interstate System: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 361 to 1.)	Yes.
400	Nov. 20	H.R. 12010, creating a bistate watershed protection and flood prevention district: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 356 to 2.)	Yes.
401	Nov. 20	H.R. 9063, providing for the timely determination of certain claims of American nationals: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 326 to 24.)	Yes.
402	Nov. 20	H.R. 11527, providing for land transfer to University of Maine: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 326 to 24.)	Yes.
404	Nov. 21	H.R. 6430, Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967: On conference report. (Agreed to 354 to 0.)	Yes.
405	Nov. 21	H.R. 6418, the partnership for health amendments: On conference report. (Agreed to 347 to 3.)	Yes.
		S. 1031, authorizing appropriation for Peace Corps Act for fiscal 1968:	
406	Nov. 21	On motion to recommit with instructions regarding a reduction of $10,700,000 from the authorization and regarding deferments from military service because of service in the Peace Corps. (Rejected 141 to 203.)	Yes.
407	Nov. 21	On passage. (Passed 312 to 32.)	Yes.
410	Nov. 27	H.R. 12603, the National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1967: On passage. (Passed 316 to 34.)	Yes.
411	Nov. 27	S. 1003, increasing the protection afforded consumers against injurious flammable fabrics: On passage. (Passed 325 to 0.)	Yes.
413	Nov. 28	H. J. Res. 936, making continuing appropriations for fiscal 1968 to provide that joint resolution of Oct. 5, 1967 (Public Law 90–102), be further amended by striking out Nov. 9, 1967, and inserting in lieu thereof Dec. 9, 1967: On passage. (Passed 368 to 13.)	Yes.
414	Nov. 28	H.R. 2275, providing for the relief of Dr. Ricardo Vallejo Samala with Senate amendment for congressional redistricting: On ordering previous question. (Passed 201 to 179.)	No.
415	Nov. 28	H.R. 12601, strengthening the Attorney General's office and the Subversive Activities Control Board to better facilitate a system of public disclosure of the identity of Communist organizations and members of Communist-action organizations: On passage. (Passed 269 to 104.)	Yes.
417	Nov. 29	H.R. 12144, Federal Meat Inspection Act: On preferential motion to instruct conferees to accept the Senate amendments to bill. (Rejected 166 to 207.)	No.
418	Nov. 29	H.R. 13706, amending Federal Farm Loan Act and Federal Farm Credit Act of 1933: On motion to recommit with instructions designed to remove the 6 percent interest rate limitations for a period of 2 years. (Rejected 102 to 269.)	No.
421	Dec. 4	H.R. 11276, authorizing appropriations to carry out the Adult Education Act of 1966 for 2 additional years: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 352 to 0.)	Yes.
422	Dec. 4	H.R. 13054, relating to age discrimination in employment: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 344 to 13.)	Yes.
423	Dec. 4	H. Res. 996, resolution to send Subversive Activities Control Act amendments to conference: On resolution. (Agreed to 287 to 58.)	Yes.
426	Dec. 6	H.R. 6111, establishing a Federal Judicial Center: On conference report. (Agreed to 230 to 126.)	No.
427	Dec. 6	H.R. 12144, Federal Meat Inspection Act: On conference report. (Agreed to 336 to 28.)	Yes.
429	Dec. 11	S. 2388, providing an improved Economic Opportunity Act and authorizing funds for continued operation of its programs: On conference report. (Agreed to 247 to 149.)	Yes.
		H.J. Res. 888, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1968:	
430	Dec. 11	On ordering previous question on amendment No. 2 of conference report. (Passed 213 to 183.)	No.
431	Dec. 11	On motion to recede and concur in amendment No. 2 with amendment. (Passed 366 to 26.)	Yes.
433	Dec. 11	H.R. 7977, adjusting postal rates, increasing Federal and postal employees' pay and regulating the mailing of pandering and obscene advertisements: On motion to recede and concur on Senate amendment to conference report. (Passed 327 to 63.)	Yes.
435	Dec. 12	H.R. 14397, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1968: On passage. (Passed 307 to 77.)	Yes.
436	Dec. 12	H.R. 4765, relating to the income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956: On conference report. (Agreed to 274 to 104.)	Yes.
437	Dec. 12	H.R. 10595, prohibiting certain banks and savings and loan associations from fostering or participating in gambling activities: On conference report. (Agreed to 289 to 74.)	Yes.
439	Dec. 13	H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967: On conference report. (Agreed 390 to 3.)	Yes.
441	Dec. 13	S. 2171, the Subversive Activities Control Act: On conference report. (Agreed to 276 to 134.)	Yes.
443	Dec. 14	H.R. 13893, Foreign Assistance Act: On motion to recommit. (Passed 276 to 114.)	Yes.
444	Dec. 15	H.R. 13893, Foreign Assistance Act: On passage. (Passed 198 to 158.)	No.
445	Dec. 15	H.R. 14397, Supplemental Appropriations: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 108 to 254.)	No.
446	Dec. 15	H.R. 7819, Elementary and Secondary Education Act: On passage. (Passed 286 to 73.)	Yes.
447	Dec. 15	H.R. 12555, veterans pensions: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 353 to 0.)	Yes.

NOTES

1. A straight motion to recommit a bill means a motion to send it back to committee for further study. A motion to recommit with instructions means the bill was amended with certain language to change, add to or delete certain features. If such a recommittal motion is passed the committee does not meet but is instructed to report the bill back to the House "forthwith" and the bill is then passed immediately with the changes ordered in the recommittal motion.

2. These bill titles may be unclear to you. Please write me if you wish any further explanation of these votes as space does not permit a detailed explanation here.

3. This is the only strictly party vote of the entire session where Democrats vote straight Democratic and Republicans vote straight Republican. This is the key vote because the election of the Speaker determines the makeup of Congress by political party and all committee chairmanships are determined that way. In this case we refer to the Democratic Party as the majority party because they outnumber the Republicans and have complete control of the Congress, including which bills come up for consideration, etc.

4. These are only the "recorded" votes. These votes represent only about ¼ of the total votes which are made by simply saying "yes" or "no" with no one knowing who said which. The Speaker listens to the voice votes and determines which sounded in the affirmative. There are other ways in which nonrecord votes are taken and should you be interested in a fuller explanation please let me know.

Why We Can't Win in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Walter Lippmann has written an article entitled "Why We Can't Win in Vietnam." It appeared in the New York Post of Sunday, December 3, 1967. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

WHY WE CAN'T WIN IN VIETNAM

(By Walter Lippmann)

Nothing is more puzzling to Americans than that the most powerful nation on earth is taking so long to subdue a poor little country like North Vietnam. According to conventional wisdom, the enemy should have recognized long ago that the odds against him are overwhelming and he should have given up. He has not done so as yet, and, if he is going to do it, he is taking a long time about it.

What is more, it begins to appear that even if he surrendered there would probably be no more than a temporary truce before guerrilla fighting broke out again. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult even to imagine how this war can end.

Even if Hanoi and Haiphong were bombed back to the Stone Age and Ho Chi Minh signed an unconditional surrender on an American aircraft carrier, there would be no peace and Saigon and Gen. Westmoreland would still have to remain on the alert.

The war, it would seem, is unwinnable in a much deeper sense than is commonly realized. It is not that our forces cannot defeat the enemy's forces in battle. It is that the battles they fight cannot decide the war.

It is unwinnable in the sense that a horde of elephants cannot win a struggle with a swarm of mosquitoes, not because the mosquitoes are too brave or too fanatic, but because mosquitoes do not surrender to elephants. No mosquito can surrender all the mosquitoes that can be bred in the marsh and no government or committee or general can surrender the revolutionary peasantry of the Asian continent.

What we are witnessing is not a conflict between two military forces of different sizes, but of two military forces that are different in kind. The conflict is between two quite different military systems. One consists of a highly centralized organization using the deadliest weapons; the other consists of endlessly decentralized swarms of guerrilla fighters and terrorists.

North Vietnam is testing, so we are often told, whether "wars of national liberation" can succeed. That is true. It is testing whether guerrilla fighters with a continent behind them and an inexhaustible horde of discontented people can be subdued by military forces developed and organized to fight against equally organized powers with equally advanced weapons.

Our most bewildering and perhaps our most significant experience in the Vietnamese war has been that the kind of military force which brought down Japan and Germany does not bring down Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Cong.

The fact that although we are able to destroy the enemy's country we are not able to win the war is something new in our experience of warfare. We are up against something which is different in kind from anything that West Point and Annapolis anticipated.

We defeated Japan and the victory endured in the sense that Japan rose again and prospered and we are hoping to make it our ally. But if we could dictate peace in Hanoi after the surrender of Ho Chi Minh, it would be only a question of time before the anti-Communist and pro-American regime we had set up in South Vietnam would be undermined and would crumble.

In the long run perhaps the most important consequence of the present war in Vietnam will be the demonstration that the strongest military power in history cannot by the use of its superior firepower impose its will on a distant people. The elephants can kill every mosquito they can trample upon. But in the marshes, the swarms of mosquitoes are constantly renewed.

I have read not all but a good many of the books about modern military technology—both those dealing with big weapons and with guerrilla fighting. I have not seen anything which describes how the big and little technologies of war fail to come to a decisive confrontation, how they are like ships which brush against each other in the night without colliding.

I wish I knew enough to write such a book, for I believe it would lead us to understand the radical novelty of the present post-Imperial Age—the age which was brought on after the destruction in World War I and II of the old international order of the old empires.

Because the Vietnamese and American ways of waging war are so radically different in kind, there is no prospect on either side for a lasting military decision. The best that the North Vietnamese can hope for is that they can make life so miserable for us that after a while we shall weary of the struggle and decide to go away.

The best that the American people can hope for is that their enemies will be worn down to a point where they will have to subside. The American people have no hope that we can withdraw in triumph, leaving behind us an independent anti-Communist, anti-Chinese, pro-American state in South Vietnam.

We are seeing how a war waged without hope of a military decision degenerates into savagery. The laws of civilized warfare have been made a mockery in Vietnam. There is the terrorism of the guerrilla fighters. There is the terrorism of the bombers which cannot and do not distinguish between civilians and soldiers.

The cruelty of the war reflects the frustration of the combatants, who realize that their battles are always indecisive and always have to be fought over again.

Perfectly decent young Americans find themselves—under orders to commit acts which in the conventional wars are called atrocities, and the civilians at home find themselves justifying these atrocities on the very low ground that the other side is also committing atrocities.

Some of us who prefer to argue about the war in terms of our national interest and of strategic principles have shrunk from stressing the cruelty and the inhumanity of the actual conduct of the war. But we are in a minority among the dissenters.

Over and beyond the growing objection to the casualties and the costs and the lack of a credible war purpose, the real thrust of the popular dissent is moral revulsion. There is a growing sense of guilt. Our people are becoming revolted and ashamed by the spectacle of themselves engaged in a war where a big, rich super-armed giant is trying to beat the life out of a dwarf.

Less and less are Americans enjoying the idea of themselves in such an uncivilized, unchivalrous, inhumane role. Everyone knows that this is the most unpopular war in American history. It is also the war which most deeply affronts the American conscience.

As the war goes on and when, if ever, it is over, we shall be sorting out the political and strategic lessons of what is for us—and what may be for all the world—a unique experience. Never before have we seen the greatest military power on earth find itself impotent to impose its will on a weak and alien power.

It will take time before we realize fully that the age of the empire is over, especially since we can see only dimly the shape of the international order which will follow.

While we are deeply engaged in the task of making peace in Asia and in the Pacific, our most intimate and urgent task is to make peace in the conscience of Americans.

The Negro and the National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues what I consider to be a most thoughtful and objective article on the subject of Negroes in the National Guard. The author of the article is Mr. Ben Johnson, of South Bend, Ind. The article appeared in the December 10, 1967, issue of the Reformer, a South Bend weekly newspaper.

The article follows:

THE NEGRO AND THE NATIONAL GUARD

(By Ben Johnson)

The Negro comprises a very small percentage of the National Guardsmen in the United States. There are many reasons why this is true, one being the lack of knowledge about the National Guard. The Guard is generally thought of as the white man's private army. Governor George C. Wallace contributed a great deal to this misconception when he activated troops to help maintain segregation in Alabama's schools.

I entered the National Guard in 1965, I am currently training to be an officer at the Indiana Military Academy at Camp Atterbury. Since enlisting in the Guard I have not experienced any campaign of discrimination against Negroes. I have run into certain people who have made it quite apparent that they don't care for Negroes. But these people were like this before they became guardsmen. These people also are of a lower class of people.

The officers, and the officer in charge of the 139th artillery based in South Bend, are some of the finest men I have ever met. These men treat you as an equal and do not judge you by the color of your skin. The men at the South Bend Armory would be more than happy to accept more Negroes in the unit. However, I would say that the present recruiting system does not seem to attract Negroes. I think counseling by other Negroes could be more effective in attracting Negroes to the National Guard than the present method of newspaper headlines stating the low percentage. This only makes the Negro feel that the White man has to have more of us to abide by regulations and not that he really wants us to enlist.

The South Bend Negroes serving with the 139th Artillery are John Cockrell, Charles Watkins, John Kelly and myself. We would like to see more Negroes interested in the Guard, especially if they are in a business that requires their presence at home.

Cool Deliberations on the Long, Hot Summer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, during the first session, the 90th Congress spent much time discussing the critical problem of riots in our cities. The House of Representatives emphasized this concern by approving legislation dealing with riot prevention and control as part of the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act.

Without doubt, the cause and cure of civil disorder will occupy considerable attention during the second session.

Raymond L. Hightower, commissioner of the city of Kalamazoo, Mich., has written an article for the Michigan Municipal Review, entitled "Cool Deliberations on the Long, Hot Summer." Mr. Hightower considers the causes of last summer's riots and offers suggestions for policies and programs in law enforcement and social action to forestall to repetition of the urban explosions of last summer.

Mr. Hightower brings to the task of analysis considerable expertise in city government, serving from 1963 to 1967 as mayor of his city and as commissioner during the past decade. He is a member of the board of trustees of the Michigan Municipal League.

In professional life he is a professor of sociology at Kalamazoo College.

I would like to particularly call attention to three points made by Mr. Hightower.

One is his opposition to the establishment of State boards or agencies to act as coordinator for Federal aid to the cities. Says Mr. Hightower:

> Experience suggests that every intervening agency between the city government and federal help is a hindrance.
>
> If it should turn out that the cities of Michigan would, by law or administrative ruling, have to plead their cause first before some sort of state panel and then before a federal authority, our difficulties would be so compounded as to add to the existing impediments which make cooperation extremely difficult.

This is an important point, in the light of efforts by some in Congress to give money to States for subsequent distribution to the cities.

Mr. Hightower also argues forcefully for more effective, federally sponsored training for city policemen to help them cope with the variety of tasks, ranging from traffic control to riot control, which they are called upon to perform.

And finally, he warns:

> It is a grave mistake for the Federal government to by-pass the city government, as has been done altogether too frequently.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article "Cool Deliberations on the Long, Hot Summer," by Raymond L. Hightower, at this point in the RECORD and I recommend it to all Members of the Congress:

COOL DELIBERATIONS ON THE LONG, HOT SUMMER

(By Raymond L. Hightower, commissioner, Kalamazoo)

After three summers of urban convulsions, we could justify an attempt to abolish summers, abolish cities, or abolish both. We have known right along that summers breed economic problems for cities; we are only beginning to learn that they generate perplexing political problems. With this knowledge we are aware that there are far too many people with local responsibilities on vacation and out of touch during the heat of the summers, and too many with little or no sense of social responsibility left to find whatever excitement they can in the city streets.

We should seriously ask ourselves whether it may not be that the rhythm of urban living is not indeed an important factor in the rumbles. While we may not be able to change significantly the seasons of the year, we can change our school patterns, our employment routine, and the notion that the leaders of the cities must get away from urban affairs during July and August.

Not many decades ago the "good" people and the intellectuals escaped the "shame of the cities" by moving to the open country; now they move only to the suburbs, and the rural poor fill the central city, further impoverishing it and destroying its safety for human habitation.

SUMMER OF 1967

The rural poor bring the Dionysian ways of folk religion, which, in the words of William Blake, tends to hold that "the path of excess leads to the palace of wisdom." In recent years it has been practically impossible for the older cities to move their boundaries so as to assure a representative mixture of the affluent and the deprived. Enclaves of white collar whites continue efforts to insulate themselves from the race and class struggles of the city; they live in chartered suburban cities and bedroom towns. The older cities, the central cities, for several decades have turned in desperation to the federal government for relief; periodically their plight has been examined, and periodically their pleas have been heard.

The summer of 1967 has been a jolt never to be forgotten, forever, pointing up a lesson, but we are not quite sure what that lesson is. Our young men, white and colored, are more lawless than ever; and mobs of Negroes have been throwing rocks through the glass and burning the wood of the very structures they have helped build. Strange orgies are accompanied by violence and threats of more violence to come. It was just a little while ago that our governmental bodies began to decree civil rights for all, equal opportunity in employment, open occupancy in housing, desegregation of schools, and war on poverty, with Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth programs, Head Start, Upward Bound, job training, and extensive projects promoted with the aid of the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Expert diagnosticians on the summer troubles are abundant—and vocal. They say: "We have gone too far, and too fast." "We have not moved fast enough." "We have not used enough force." "We have used too much force." It could be that the hopes of the poor, particularly the poor, young, Negro adult male, have been raised higher than attainments. Negro spokesmen usually concede that quite a good deal has been accomplished, and many have benefited, but they say the whole business is too slow—and the whites are to blame.

URBAN COALITION

In August the Emergency Convocation of the Urban Coalition assembled in Washington representatives of business, labor, religion, civil rights and local government. The statement issued by this convocation emphasized again that the significance of some of the local crises in cities is not getting across well enough to those who represent us in state and national government. The convocation seemed to attribute the summer disorders to the fact that "the disadvantaged minorities" do not share in all of the benefits of our society. Two remedies proposed were a federal emergency work program and the establishment of Earn and Learn Centers under the auspices of business, labor and local government. Probably few of those at the convocation would attribute the disorders mainly to the failure of the antipoverty and manpower programs, but rather would agree with the President that "Our work has just begun." It is surely the position of many leaders in civic affairs that what we need now is more, and still more, of what we have already begun.

Without in any way detracting from the proposals of the Urban Coalition, I would like to add three of my own which I hope will brighten the horizons of Federal and local relationships. The first has to do with Resolution No. 6, passed by the League in September, 1966. This resolution calls for the "establishment at the state level of an agency, preferably in the Executive Office, to have the function of coordinating the activities of the various agencies which have to do with local units of government, to serve as a liaison agency through which local officials could more effectively deal with matters requiring state action, and to give particular attention to reviewing the problems of the metropolitan areas of the State, the functions of such agency to be non-operational in character and consistent with the traditional concept of home rule in Michigan."

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL AFFAIRS

Such an agency was conceived as a means of expanding programs of an urban nature. It was thought that this agency could bring both state and federal resources to cities without the corroding delay which besets so much present planning. However, experience suggests that every intervening agency between the city government and Federal help is a hindrance. If it should turn out that the cities of Michigan would, by law or administrative ruling, have to plead their causes first before some sort of state panel and then before a federal authority, our difficulties would be so compounded as to add to the existing impediments which make cooperation extremely difficult. The relationship of cities with the several appropriate departments of the Federal government is now traditional and has become more imperative than ever.

It would be a major calamity to urban development if, in order to support some ideology of states' rights, sovereignty, or police power, we should now try to turn back wheels of progress and insulate the cities from direct access to the federal instruments of local aid. This accessability is a condition brought into being through the neglect of cities in state legislatures. It is now a necessity for the planning of orderly change in place of periodic upheaval. However, if this arrangement continues to function, the federal government, as well as the states, must differentiate among municipalities and work realistically with local governments to prevent their further fractionalization, and encourage cooperation and consolidation wherever feasible.

We should clear away the debris which supports our excuses about the breakdown of communication. Calculated and designed delay in the organizations with which cities must deal is a contributing factor to urban turmoil; it can and must be resolved.

JUSTICE FOR ALL

The second proposal to which I invite your attention is not mentioned in the Statement of the Urban Coalition, but it is hinted at in the credo at the beginning of the paper. I refer to these two statements: "We believe it is the government's duty to maintain law and order." And, "We believe, that we as a nation must clearly and positively demonstrate our belief that justice, social progress, and equality of opportunity are rights of every citizen." Now, it does not take a very profound analysis of the summer disorders to detect a basic conflict in every city with a police force and a considerable Negro population. The hostility between youth and the police has been revealed in such statistical reports of crime as the *Uniform Crime Reports* for many years. Another thing which may be found in the *Reports*, but in general has not been emphasized, is the fact that the enmity between the police and the youth of the Negro community is extreme to the point of open warfare, rebellion, and rioting. The law-abiding elements among the Negroes have wide sympathy with this hostility, and use their influence to try to get over to the whites that there is extensive police brutality. We must recognize the reality and great danger of this hostility.

There has been very little evidence that Communists or Black Power advocates have done much toward carrying disorder from one city to another, but every city which has reported trouble in the streets has seen the sharpness of the animosity between the Negro citizens and the police. In city after city, following rock-throwing, fires, shooting, explosions and looting, the accusations build up on each side. One group comes with their supporters shouting slogans for "law and order," while the other shouts for justice, equality of opportunity and rights of citizens to be free from police oppression. This misunderstanding and violent hostility is surely a factor in eviscerating the cities.

Here is where we must de something boldly and quickly. This situation cannot be mollified by jobs or vocational education. It has gone too far to be solved by increasing the numbers and powers of the police forces; it has gone too far to be solved by more money, housing and jobs in the Negro ghetto.

FAIR LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, published this year, gave limited attention to the nature of the problem. For example, they state, "The struggle to maintain a proper balance between effective law enforcement and fairness to individuals pervades the entire criminal justice system." Another statement reads: "In city slums and ghettos, the very neighborhoods that need and want effective policing the most, . . . there is much distrust of the police, especially among boys and young men, among the people the police most often deal with. It is common in those neighborhoods for citizens to fail to report crimes or refuse to cooperate in investigations. Often policemen are sneered at or insulted on the street. Sometimes they are violently assaulted. Indeed, every day police encounters in such neighborhoods can set off riots, as many police departments have learned." The commission recommends that there be three levels of police: the Community Service Officer, the Police Officer and the Police Agent, the first level being youthful and relatively untrained and the tihrd being highly trained and paid so as to attract the highest caliber of person.

In all likelihood present police education and training is totally inadequate to the size and nature of the problem. Police require new kinds of education to handle modern traffic; they require even newer kinds to cope with community relations. The federal government has greatly assisted in the education of urban policemen, especially through the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; it could render a great service by taking the lead in new educational approaches, perhaps under the Attorney General, but outside the FBI. Already private agencies are undertaking to promote varieties of community organizations; there are many reasons to believe that one arm of the police department should be devoted to this service. To assist the cities in these matters there should be further study of corporate and group responsibilities for the maintenance of the law in urban neighborhoods.

Our present laws on arrests are utterly inadequate for keeping the peace in the modern city. How can a policeman know who threw a bottle that broke a windshield when he is several blocks away, and no one will report having witnessed the incident? We must effectuate the doctrine that citizens have responsibility for the preservation of law and order. Unless we bring about a better relationship between the police and the Negro community there will continue to be mounting trouble in the streets. Here both the city and the federal government ought to see a horizon of great promise.

LOCAL AUTHORITY

In the third place, I would like to refer to an aspect of city government which requires cultivation as never before. I might call it "human relations," or "public relations." I might call it local diplomacy were not this term usually reserved for international relations. It seems to me that much of our local government is predicated upon economic models, as if the city is mainly a business or an industry. Under these models the grants-in-aid programs sponsored by the federal government try to control performance by means of purse strings, and the cities, in their turn, use similar approaches in relating themselves to programs in the community. It is my observation that unless a program is planned with the right people it is better that it not be planned. The poor boys will not take jobs just because they are there, nor will they participate in a community recreation project just because they are available. The planning must be shared, but in ways which will bring good community results. The sensitivity of the poor can be observed in all kinds of community situations, and the local government must be in the position to enter into these relations.

In meeting local needs it is a grave mistake for the federal government to by-pass the city government, as has been done altogether too frequently. The recent street troubles in many instances seemed not to be related in any way to the programs operated by the federal government. The federal government's conducting of housing programs and of the several facets of the "war against poverty" as entities independent of the locally constituted governments contributes to stripping the local governments of both power and respect. I believe that some of these programs have been conceived upon the sacred but false premise that certain kinds of aid and assistance would be contaminated by politics if related at the local level to the duly constituted government. This misguided notion, left over from rural suspicion of the motives of urban leaders, is playing havoc with the integrity of city government. It is fallacious to pretend that the federal largesse has a political purity which cannot be attained by the locally elected officials.

The most distressing feature of some federally supported programs conducted in the city but outside the local government controls is their taking on the roles of counter-governments. City governments cannot survive as potent institutions if federal agencies, as Community Action Programs, conducting war on poverty, or whatever, if their controls are entirely outside the local governments, resting in the state, regional or national centers. This kind of absentee government is contrary to the best interests of all the people who live in cities, and elect their legislators at the polls. The horizon of federal and local relationships could be greatly improved if the federal government and the local government could be partners in trying to solve local problems rather than promoting conflict through governments and counter-governments.

In summary, from one local viewpoint, it would be well for cities to have improved access to those departments and agencies of the federal government which are established to assist cities; it would be well if the federal government and the cities cooperate in seriously undertaking to resolve the hostility and conflict which exists between Negro citizens and the police establishments; it would be well for the city governments to be recognized as the responsible local power, and not find themselves in contest with counter-governments set up and maintained by an arm of the federal government.

National Federation of Independent Business Continues Support for an Independent Small Business Administration

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, my good friend George Burger has always been in the forefront of the fight for small business in this country. He has also fought for many years to maintain the independence and integrity of the Small Business Administration.

After a recent attack on the National Federation of Independent Business, which George serves as vice president, he wrote the following letter, which was pubished in the November 17, 1967, edition of the New Rochelle, N.Y., Standard-Star, I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

NFID's RECORD SHOWS SUPPORT OF SBA AS INDEPENDENT AGENCY

To the STANDARD-STAR:

Re: "Lobby stifles slum businessmen," Editorial Page, Nov. 9, 1967.

This letter is in reference to the above which was authored by Messrs. Novak and Evans and appeared in The Standard-Star of Nov. 9, 1967.

As the late Al Smith, a national figure, once remarked, "Let us look at the record." Here it is:

I am attaching herewith an actual log of my action in behalf of the Federation's membership beginning as early as May 1953 and continuing on until July 1966. Before Congressional Committee hearings the position of the Federation has been repeatedly stated. The membership as of November 3, 1967, totals 242,532, all individual members and professional men in the 50 states. Our position has been, with no exceptions, that the Small Business Administration stands as an independent agency with no control of operations by the Department of Commerce.

It is a matter of public record that the Department of Commerce has been angling to get control of the Agency for some time.

Up until recently the Loan Policy Committee of the Small Business Administration has been made up of the SBA Administration and members of the Treasury and Commerce Departments. This was eliminated by the approval of the President during the past year, I believe. The full operation of the Small Business Administration has rested with that Agency up until the present moment.

Note the log as per the attached of the Federation's position in support of the Small Business Administration from 1953 up to the present moment.

(Ed. Note.—The log registers dates of action taken before Congressional hearings by NFIB from the date of the hearings on the creation of Small Business Administration before the House Banking and Currency Committee in May 1953 through a list of 17 items relating to appearances before House committees relative to the progress and extension, operation and amendments of SBA.)

I am calling to your attention the hearings before the Select Committee of Small Business of the United States Senate of March 14 and 15, 1957, of the 85th Congress. On page 45 of that Committee hearing it is noted that in answering a question by Senator Thye, its Chairman, as to my recommendations in making the SBA an independent agency, I advised the Senator by citing an incident at the St. Paul Athletic Club of St. Paul, Minnesota on August 30, 1957. It was a luncheon meeting and I was requested to address that group and would answer any questions. At the completion of my address a gentleman in the audience put the question to me, "Wasn't SBA duplicating the activities of another Government agency?" I answered, "Was he referring to the Department of Commerce?" He answered "Yes." I further remarked that "we in the Federation are solely interested in protecting the Small Business Administration." I was informed by the Chairman of the luncheon that the gentleman who asked the question was an employee of the Department of Commerce in the Twin City area.

It is to be noted that within the past year or so that a former Administrator of the Small Business Administration, then in a high position with the Department of Commerce, recommended that SBA be made a part of the Department of Commerce. We opposed the proposition to members of Congress and finally taking it up with the President of the United States, resulting in the proposal being dropped.

Finally, it is our belief that the Small Business Administration being continued as a permanent and independent agency of the Federal Government will do a thorough job and a complete job for the best interests of the present and future small businesses of this nation.

Sincerely yours,
George J. Burger,
Vice President, National Federation of Independent Business.

Support for a Joint Crime Committee

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege during this first session to join our distinguished colleague from Florida [Mr. Pepper] in the sponsorship of a resolution to establish in the Congress a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime.

I am pleased to note that WMAL here in Washington supports this proposal and I commend their December 10, 1967, editorial on the subject to the attention of our colleagues:

Joint Crime Committee

(An editorial broadcast by WMAL)

The staggering 16 percent national increase in major crimes in the first nine months of this year over the same period of 1966, is not surprising. The surprise is that Congress has talked so much about crime, but has done so little to meet the crisis. It is distressingly clear that Congress is simply not equipped to legislate a comprehensive, intelligent attack on crime. The bitter, tangled disputes over the Administration's Safe Streets bill is a case in point.

Congress urgently needs a Joint Committee on Crime to recommend legislation that will set in motion a coordinated national effort to reduce crime. The Joint Crime Committee must be equipped to explore all the vast legal, social, economic and political questions that complicate an all-out attack on lawlessness.

Congress should pass Representative Claude Pepper's bill to establish a Joint Crime Committee. The Pepper bill has been co-sponsored by more than 60 House members and more than 20 Senators. The latest FBI crime statistics illustrate dramatically the pressing need to establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Crime.

David Chambers Mearns Retires From Library of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently I attended a gathering with many historians, students of literature, and employees of the Library of Congress to pay tribute to a great American who had announced his intention to retire from his responsible position in the Library of Congress where he has served the Library and his country so well and so unselfishly.

Mr. Speaker, it would be in the public interest to not only note this but to note what was said at the public gathering about this remarkable man, and so I include the remarks in the Record along with my own remarks addressed to him:

David Chambers Mearns, Lincoln scholar of national repute and historian as well as librarian and author, retired from the Library of Congress in December of 1967, as Chief of the Manuscript Division, incumbent of the Library's Chair of American History, and Assistant Librarian for the American Collections. He had held those posts for 16 years and entered his 50th year of service to the Library and to the Nation on the date he retired. Fortunately, the Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford, has secured some of the future services to scholarship; at a dinner of tribute to Dr. Mearns in Washington, attended by 250 friends and colleagues, Dr. Mumford announced on December 16 that he had appointed him Honorary Consultant in the Humanities for a 3-year term. Until now, noly one other man has held that particular title—the poet Robert Frost, who became Honorary Consultant in the Humanities after he had completed his term as Consultant in Poetry.

That the name of the new honorary consultant will live on in the Library of Congress and in the world of scholarship has been insured by both the sponsors of the dinner and about 150 other sponsors in absentia. To the Library's David C. Mearns Fund for the purchase of Americana in the manuscript collections, friends and colleagues have to date contributed more than $3,000, Dr. Mumford announced.

The Mearns career to which personal and official tribute was paid last week began in 1918 with sorting by size books destined to restore the library at the University of Louvain and with a brief interval as "an index-finger typist." Then came a long and fruitful period of service in the Main Reading Room. Ten years later David Mearns was chief assistant to Martin Roberts, then Superintendent of the Reading Rooms, a post to which Dr. Mearns advanced in 1937. After the Library's reorganization under Librarian MacLeish's tenure (1939–44), he became Director of the Reference Department in 1943. In 1949 he became Assistant Librarian. Since 1951 he has served as Chief of the Manuscript Division, longer than any previous occupant of that post, and an Assistant Librarian for the American Collections.

The first reference to him in an Annual Report of a Librarian of Congress concerned his research on a quotation persistently attributed to Lincoln and his report for the Manuscript Division. It is fitting that Mearns, Lincoln, and manuscripts were thus early yoked together, for it is as a Lincoln scholar and a student of Lincoln manuscripts that he is best known. His numerous contributions to Lincoln studies include *The Lincoln Papers* (1948, 2 volumes), an account of the Library's Robert Todd Lincoln Collection; *Three Presidents and Their Books* (1955), with Jonathan Daniels and Arthur Bestor, Jr.; and *Largely Lincoln* (1961). Dr. Mearns has represented the Library on the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission and the National Historical Publications Commission, and he has served as a member of the White House Library Committee, the advisory board of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson, and the cooperating committee of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1966, he is also a member of the American Historical Association, the Society of American Archivists (fellow), the Manuscript Society (of which he was president in 1961–62), the Bibliographical Society of America, and other historical groups. Among his awards have been the National Abraham Lincoln Service Award, the U.S. Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission's medal of honor, and the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission's medallion of honor. A native of Washington, D.C., he attended St. Albans School and studied at the George Washington University and the University of Virginia. Elected to Phi Beta Kappa in 1961, he was awarded the Litt. D. degree by Lincoln College in 1960 and holds the Lincoln Diploma of Honor from the Lincoln Memorial University.

In the last 49 years, David Mearns not only became an excellent reference librarian and an outstanding historian but remained constant in qualities obviously developed in boyhood—a talented writer, a steadfast friend to all who came to know him, a man with a genius for gentle manners and kindness for human beings, yet a man who could see the humor in human foibles and understand the sorrows of the human condition. Those qualities underlay the nature of the messages that poured in from friends in many quarters of the country when news of his impending retirement spread this month. As many of the sponsors of the Mearns Fund who possibly could do so traveled to Washington for the dinner, and when the Librarian announced his appointment of David Mearns as successor to Robert Frost in the post of Honorary Consultant in the Humanities, nearly 250 men and women rose spontaneously to their feet with a burst of thundering and emotional applause before Dr. Mumford could even read the citation. Because that sparkling occasion was a night to remember in the history of great men who have served this Nation well, some remarks from the three speeches of tribute should be reprinted here to sketch the nature of the man.

Verner W. Clapp was a colleague of Dr. Mearns from 1923 to 1956, when he, too, served the Library as a reference librarian and later as Chief Assistant Librarian and—in 1953–54—as Acting Librarian of Congress. Now retired as President of the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and serving the Council as Consultant, he recalled his friend's career, as the Library witnessed and enjoyed it, in these words, in part:

"Dave, I have promised to be brief. Let me come quickly to the point. I want to say to you, and to your friends assembled here, that in you we know one of the greatest reference librarians—perhaps the greatest—of all time. And I may add with further immodesty, that I think that I am not entirely unqualified to judge.

"Let me explain. It is my conviction that in David Mearns there met a number of the elements necessary for the making of a great reference librarian, and that he was ideally capable of making use of them. It was a case of the right man at the right place and the right time.

"To give you an adequate idea of how the man, the place and the time interacted would require a blow-by-blow account of life in the Library of Congress from about 1920 on. Since this is not possible, let me give you a few highlights.

"In 1920 the Central Desk in the Main Reading Room, the headquarters of the reference staff, was still at the center of the Library both geographically and in other respects. Symmetrically disposed around it were the classified book collections—some 3 million volumes. Beyond them, but still within a minute's walk in any direction, were the collections of newspapers, unbound periodicals, documents, maps, music, manuscripts, prints, and the Smithsonian Deposit. The Copyright Office, the Office of the Secretary, the Branch Printing Office and Bindery were all within each reach. The Order, Classification and Catalogue Divisions were equally close by, and the Card Division occupied the space where the Hispanic Foundation is now. In the front of the building the House of Representatives Reading Room, still in active use by Members of Congress, was closely linked to the Main Reading Room in staff and service.

"The Reading Rooms were responsible not only for the book collections but for the services which principally depended upon them—reader service of course, lending service to Congress and the Government Departments as well as interlibrary loan and the service to the blind; services to the holders of the reserved tables around the periphery of the Main Reading Room, in the Balcony and in the North Curtain there were already 160 of these in 1920, and they provided work-space to a significant number of distinguished authors. In addition to these responsibilities there was the reference correspondence work. Exhibits work at this time was largely performed by the Prints Division, though later taken over by the Reading Rooms. But the law collections were still at this time serviced by the Reading Rooms, while the rare book and other lock-up collections were in the special care of the reference staff at the Central Desk.

"Other factors also played their part in the situation. One of these was that the collections had not yet all been recataloged and reclassified under the new system which commenced in 1897; large blocs of "old class" material were still lodged at various places in the stacks, and to get at their contents one had to know, besides, how to use the old catalog records, organized in various ways and located in various out-of-the-way corners.

"The reference staff, which was responsible to the Superintendent of the Reading Room, was organized in two shifts of 5 to 6 persons (all male) each of whom served on alternate days from 9 AM to 4:30 PM and from 2 to 10 PM, including Saturdays. The titular head of the reference staff for most of the 1920's was Henry M. Lower, who was distinguished for his possession of a Harvard M. A. Mr. Lower could sit at a desk, but for the most of the day the rest of the staff had to circumambulate the desk. The hours between 2 and 4:30 PM, however, when the two shifts overlapped, were those that counted. Then the staff could check dealers' catalogs (it was still possible for some members of the staff to be authorities on parts of the collections) or engage in bibliographic enterprises such as tracing the original contents of the Jefferson Library, the surviving volumes of which were still in the Office of the Superintendent, or survey the new books, or answer reference correspondence or simply explore the collections.

"From this flexibility of assignment, as well as centrality of location, it transpired that the reference staff constituted the most conspicuous and probably the best-known group in the Library. And this was of great assistance in the work, for the staff was enormously dependent—then as now—not only upon other divisions of the Library, but also upon particular individuals in the division. A considerable measure of intimacy developed. It commenced perhaps with Mr. Martel, the Chief of the Catalogue Division, who spent his evenings in the Library and would often be found checking in the Public Catalogue, where his assistance could be enlisted on a reference question or his sympathy involved on some improvement in cataloging. But the intimacy went much further, and I think it is safe to say that the members of the Central Desk staff at that time knew a large proportion of the 900 members of the Library staffs sufficiently well to be able to seek aid from them in the course of duties.

"What ideal circumstances in which to soak up reference librarianship! And a number of the staff did so. Never again, I am convinced, did any reference librarian have the opportunities in collections, in geographical arrangements, in staffing and administrative dispositions, in assignments, colleagues, and finally in bosses, as did the Central Desk staff of the '20's.

"The Superintendent of the Reading Room during the first seven years of that decade was Frederick William Ashley, known especially for his catalogs of the John Boyd Thacher Collection. (On his retirement in 1936 Dave Mearns wrote for him the immortal lines:

" 'Come ye shades of Hain and Proctor,
Join in homage to the Doctor.'

"I wish I could equal those for you, Dave.) Under his administration David Mearns was already well on the way to being a first class reference librarian. But then, on April 1, 1927, Mr. Ashley was succeeded by Martin Arnold Roberts. * * *

"Almost immediately following Mr. Roberts' arrival in the Reading Room, the assignments began to multiply and diversify. David Mearns, who had been a senior reference assistant, soon also became Assistant Superintendent. With increasing frequency he became the leader of a task force to execute some project involving bibliography, reference work or collections. Let me merely list, hardly more than by title, a number of those that still live vividly in the memories of those who participated in them.

"Among the earliest was the cataloging of the Presidential library of Calvin Coolidge, and it was this, I suppose, that established the pattern and demonstrated its success. This was only the first of a long-continued connection that Dave Mearns has had with the Presidential libraries, which continues, I believe, to the present day.

"Shortly after this came an assignment of a much more of a reference character—an inquiry into the metallurgical activities of Herbert Hoover.

"An attempt, by exhaustively examining the literature of gipsydom and of tramp folklore, to assist toward the solution of the Lindbergh kidnapping case through identification of the symbols left at the scene of the murder.

"The organization of the exhibit of the Vollbehr Collection (some 3,000 incunabula) in a matter of a few weeks following its arrival in this country.

"In preparation for the dedication of the Supreme Court Building, a history of the locations in which the Supreme Court had sat throughout its history.

"The inventory of the estate of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

"Histories of a number of important basic charters—the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence and the Lincoln Cathedral copy of Magna Carta.

"A record of the reading of the justices of the Supreme Court.

"These are examples of topics to which Dave Mearns' attention has been called and on which he has left a definitive record. Then as the date for opening of the Lincoln Papers approached in July 1947 his interest was more and more engaged, as we all known, in that most moving of historical dramas for which much of the script is in the collections of the Library, the story of Abraham Lincoln.

"And then the *The Story Up to Now,* 1946.

"These are high spots. But concurrently, at every level of importance, and I may say at every level of seriousity or humor—for Dave's waggishness is an essential part of his style—he has amazed us with the information which he could extract from the collections. I suppose that no one here but has heard him introduce a speaker with facts from his life which the speaker supposed to be completely beyond recall, nowhere indexed under the control of no bibliography, any cataloging record."

The second speaker was a friend from boyhood—Jonathan Daniels, historian and author, Editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer* in North Carolina, and a schoolmate at St. Albans School in Washington. He spoke in a sense not only as a lifelong friend but on behalf of all those historians who have used the great manuscript collections that form so important a part of the Library's original source material for the history of this Nation and the American people:

"I come here tonight not to praise, but to protest.

"When I first heard the evidently irresponsible rumors that David Mearns planned to retire I assumed comfortably that they were incredible. Then one day my secretary who is both pretty and perceptive came rushing in distress into my office with the news in her hand.

" 'How are you ever going to write another book if David Mearns retires?'

"It was a good question. And it was one which sounded not only in my room in Raleigh but also in other rooms of other men throughout the land. Long before he ever dreamed of an epitaph, the name of David Mearns began to be enscrolled in the Sources and Acknowledgments of practically every work of history which appeared in the land. And David not only gave facts but friendship as well to the aspiring writers and the great writers, too. . . .

"I set myself up as an expert on the Library of Congress. Do not misunderstand me. I am as innocent about cataloging as I am about incunabula. I wouldn't have the vaguest ideas about collection and I begin with hardened arteries on the subject of circulation.

"But I've spent more than half a century studying the Library of Congress since I first came to be shown the turtles and the mermaids before it more than half a century ago. That's a pretty long time until you recall that David has served under and with the appreciation of Librarians of Congress who have occupied the painted vault of that office since March 1890. . . .

"The mausoleum impression about libraries is old. Sometimes as a sort of cultural lag it still persists. But for the company you make, I might have the feeling that one saying farewell to an ancient manuscripter might visualize a ponderous old gentleman with a great white beard below a glistening dome. David begins to glisten but he long ago swept the beard away not so much from himself as from the library. . . .

"I am sure that David in the stacks and the big reading room showed all those virtues of punctuality, politeness and increasing pedantry upon which all great libraries depend and for which all great librarians should be praised. But I know he brought into the library a sense of humor, gaiety and wit. There has been no such prodigious punster in Washington since Clarence King of LaFayette Square made even John Hay and Henry Adams gay with his playfulness with the language. Dr. Mearns came to the library which could only exist in Washington with the roots of a cave dweller who was able to see both Washington and history as a parade in passage. And from somewhere he brought the ability not only to read but write with grace, charm and erudition. My own feeling as one whom he has magnificently served and who has watched him serving others is that his greatest gift as he presided over papers was that he always understood that manuscripts were men and women. Thank God he was not one of those archivists and historians who solemnly watch history from the gallery. He joined it on the floor, often dancing.

"He has been not only a scholar about Lincoln; he has been the sort of fellow Lincoln would have liked. As a young Librarian arranging books on a lower shelf in the White House, he could mistake Calvin Coolidge for a dog nudging him from behind and get away with it. He was not only one who could help Franklin Roosevelt seem the casual scholar in the most erudite matters. Also he and Roosevelt were men who could match whimsey in learning. Some of you may recall that when Roosevelt planned to hide from the press and public on a cruise in 1940 he pulled out of his head or hat a destination to which he said he was going. Evidently it came out of his unconsciousness which he thought was his memory. Among the places he was going he said was 'the Cherable Isles.' Then vague about this vagary, he asked the Library of Congress to locate the geography or the literary source of the Cherable Isles. David searched not only in atlases but also in Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll, W. S. Gilbert, even Alexander Woollcott but his report to the President was a poem for the President. He sang:

" 'To hunt for an island named Cherable,
Is a job that is almost unbearable;
Pray accept my apologies,
But nonsense anthologies
Are giving us hemorrhages cerebral.'

"Roosevelt, of course, was delighted. And, of course, he went off to the Cherable Islands all the same. Now standing on this shore and no longer able to tell myself that David Mearns is not departing, I have a hunch that he is going to the Cherable Islands, too. I am happy to have been able to join in the fund for manuscript materials which will forever honor his name. I hope they will reflect his spirit. Somehow, I fear, however, that they will contain no materials about a subject in scatological scholarship to which David and I across half a century have given much learning and laughter. But then maybe there are no manuscripts or artifacts about the folklore of the Constipated Indian with which we have been much concerned. But I doubt that if there were they would be very valuable without David's laughter accompanying the collection.

"He will take the laughter, the learning and the gay erudition with him to the Cherable Isles. We would not withhold them from him. But farewell to David on this evening is less important than the hope, the desperate hope, that something of the Cherable Isles he sought and will now surely find is left in the Library of Congress behind the turtles and the mermaids and among the manuscripts and the books. Sometimes I almost think we could spare the books and papers. We can never spare the blithe spirit David put and kept among them."

Dr. Mumford, who has watched Dr. Mearns' career since 1954, closed the dinner with this address:

"Recently I mentioned Dave Mearns' retirement to a scholar outside the Library who knew him only by reputation. He asked: 'Where was Mr. Mearns trained?' I replied without hesitation: 'In the Library of Congress.' Just as Herman Melville said that a whaling ship was his Yale and Harvard, so the great institution which many of us here tonight serve was adequate to develop the unique personal gifts of David C. Mearns. I do not underestimate the formative influences of his beloved St. Albans School, which Dr. Boyd reminds me was then called in the lower forms the 'School for Manly Boys!'—nor the role of learning played by the George Washington University and the University of Virginia. But, to judge from the life and character of our guest of honor, the Library of Congress in the days of Herbert Putnam must have been the school for manly men.

"If the Library of Congress did much for Dave, he has reciprocated abundantly. His contributions to Lincoln studies have been fundamental and substantial. Equally important have been his contributions to the history of the Library of Congress. His book, *The Story Up to Now*, told the story of the Library during it first 145 years of existence, a story deepened and enriched in his book, *Herbert Putnam: A Memorial Volume*. In 1958, Dave received the Library's highest and rarest honor, the Distinguished Service Award. Only ten such awards have been given, and David Mearns was among the first to be so honored. The honor which the Library then bestowed was, of course, a reflection of the honor which his scholarship and dedicated service had brought upon it.

"That dedicated service has been given *in* the Library of Congress but *to* the United States Government as a whole, as well as to the scholarly world. He has been a servant to Congressmen, Senators, Cabinet members, and to Presidents, in many ways. That service has been recognized not only by the Library of Congress and by the Congress, but in the Executive Branch as well. Symbolic of that recognition is a letter I have in hand now. Let me read it to you:

"The White House,
"Washington, December 15, 1967.

"Mr. David C. Mearns,
"Library of Congress,
"Washington, D.C.

"Dear Mr. Mearns: All branches of the Government and scholars throughout the nation regret your retirement from Federal service.

"You can be proud that your productive career in the Library of Congress spans half a century of public achievement. And you must derive great satisfaction from the knowledge that you have served so many—so well.

"Your learning, and your generosity in sharing it, has earned you our enduring admiration and our thanks.

"Sincerely,

"Lyndon B. Johnson.

"David, it has been my pleasure to present to you in past years two Federal Service Award pins—one representing 40 years of service in 1958, when you also received the Library's Distinguished Service Award, and one bearing the numerals '45' in 1963. At close of day yesterday, December 15, 1967, you were a 'forty-niner.' But today, the anniversary date of your first day of service on December 16, 1918, you enter your 50th year of service. That computation is according to the records on paper. But I have been computing your actual hours of service, not all of which appear in the record. There were the nights you spent on duty at the Central Desk in the Main Reading Room when Congress remained in session all through the night. There was the weekend in July 1947 when you came to work on Friday morning and went off duty Saturday night—working straight through the night after the Lincoln papers were opened at that famous midnight premiere in the Manuscript Division. And there were the many hours you gave to assist the Library in special needs that you have never reported to any Librarian of Congress. Your coming back to work at midnight to provide the White House with information it needed after the tragic death of President Kennedy is perhaps best known to all of us here, but there were many other occasions. By these computations, you have given far more than 50 working years of service to your Library and your Government. I would, therefore, now like to present you with that rare badge of Federal service, the 50-year pin. It has been inscribed by Galt and Company for a beloved mentor, who has given so freely, so thoughtfully, and so unsparingly of himself to his colleagues and his friends. Inscribed on it are two sets of initials which will forever be linked—'LC–DCM.'

"David, as you recall, when Robert Frost had completed his memorable service to the Library of Congress as Consultant in Poetry, he was appointed to a new role as Honorary Consultant in the Humanities. He was the first and, thus far, the only person to hold that particular title. It seemed to me that the unique and special quality of service which you have rendered to the Library of Congress could be recognized in no more fitting way than to invite you to become the second occupant of that post.

"In the presence of your friends and well-wishers, I now ask you to continue your relationship with the Library and to accept this appointment for the customary term of three years. And, for the moment presuming upon your acceptance, I should like to read the citation:

" 'The Library of Congress in recognition of his superlative contributions to humane learning and in anticipation of continuing benefits from his wise counsel appoints David C. Mearns Honorary Consultant in the Humanities.

" 'L. Quincy Mumford,
" 'Librarian of Congress.' "

The subject of all this tribute responded with the wistful, understated humor that is part of his style:

"DIMINUENDO, DECEMBER 1967

"I am stunned. Indeed, I feel that you have left no stun unturned. The tone, the spirit, the gentleness and grace of these proceedings inevitably remind me of the imperishable Trixie Friganza, who along with Eva Tanguay, Ethel Barrymore, Harry Houdini, and Jock-the-monk, used once to adorn the Keith-Orpheum Circuit. Trixie had a little song which she entitled, 'There's No Fun in a Graveyard, So Bring me *my* Flowers Now.'

"In my season of vacillation and indecision I have sometimes pondered what I might say if and when at long last I might be permitted to say a few words for myself. I have thought of such a beginning as 'No one, not in my situation can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived two quarters of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man.' [Pause.] The sentiment, it seems to me is admirable, but the phrasing is too widely familiar to escape a charge of outrageous piracy. This is a minor objection; others are more serious: I am not going anywhere, and the task before me really isn't greater than that that rested upon Washington.

"With that opening discarded, I have softly repeated this language: 'Younger men, with months of activity before them, with fresher schemes and notions, with newer enthusiasms have pressed forward . . . *Cedo junioribus*. Indeed, I stand aside with no regret. For to be outmoded is to become a classic.' [Pause.] This resounding renunciation is also unacceptable, for the reason that when he wrote it Max Beerbohm was only twenty-three and shamefully wanting in modesty.

"In the course of my intense, my fumbling, my desperate research I made a discovery; there is no special magic in fifty, no special magic in the Roman numeral L. When Aristotle composed his *Rhetoric* he wrote: 'The body is at its best between the ages of thirty and thirty-five; the mind is at its best about the age forty-nine.' I am, by Library reckoning, completely and forever forty-nine.

"An Englishman, calling himself Kipling, gave another example when he noted that:

> " 'The blush that flies at seventeen
> Is fixed at forty-nine.'

"Again, I introduce for your consideration the lilting lyric of Percy Montrose:

> " 'In a cavern, in a canyon,
> Excavating for a mine,
> Dwelt a miner, a forty-niner,
> And his daughter, Clementine.'

"But I digress: when I have excused myself for staying on long after the last of my contemporaries had been turned out to pastures green, I have thought of myself as a bridge over which another generation could cross into the full meaning of the resources and responsibilities of the greatest library in any world present or prospective. Fortunately, my back did not begin to hurt until they were safely on the other side. Perhaps some of them will remember Yogi Berra's simple explanation: 'Mr. Dickey learned me all of his experience.'

"With a full and overflowing heart I thank you."

DR. DAVID MEARA, WILLARD HOTEL,
Washington, D.C.

HELLO DAVID: How appropriate to have this affair honoring your services and reluctant farewell at the Willard Hotel. And, how nice that so many friends can join us tonight as we pay tribute and say thank you to a noble character, fine man and great mind with perceptive insight and blessed with the ability to make proper evaluations and judgments.

Too often we do not recognize or pay tribute to authors. But, when we have authors who are living source books for other authors, who have great ideas and who unselfishly make their contributions to literature through other institutions and men, it is indeed fitting and proper that we recognize, laud and applaud this kind of character.

I, as much as anyone I believe, can testify to your unselfish contribution to literature through other men for I seem to have arrived on the scene when I could participate in events, occasions and re-enactments which had for their purpose recalling, renewing, and, hopefully, rededication to the ideas and examples of great men and great moments in history.

Dave, you and I had some wonderful times and experiences together—some high moments. My life has become richer because fate had me here during the preparation for the Lincoln Sesquicentennial and the initiation and fulfillment of the Lincoln Inaugural re-enactments. In the official records, I am the author of the resolutions which made these things possible but the truth is, Dave, you were the author and your authorship, through me, is now in official documents. These resolutions resulted in re-creating great events and rich memories.

How can we ever forget that day when our mutual friend, recently deceased, Carl Sandburg, spoke so eloquently to the Joint Session of Congress. Greater opening and closing statements were never written. You will recall, "Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog . . ." And then that magnificent closing, saying among other things, "And how did Lincoln say he would like to be remembered? Something of it is in this present occasion . . ." That was drama, that was history recalled so effectively.

Then came the re-enactment of the First Inaugural. Again our friend Sandburg was called and twice as many people showed up as were present 100 years before that date.

Then there was the re-enactment of the Second Inaugural and our mutual friend, at your suggestion, Bruce Catton, spoke so appropriately along with some of the great political leaders of our time.

There was also the Civil War Centennial Commission and the critical times like Charleston. I remember now and never shall forget your expression when certain facts were made known. "Horrible," you said, "we have got to do something about this," and we did. With your guiding hand and encouragement from others, things came out alright and we built a great monument with a series of books suggested by another mutual friend, Allen Nevins, who became Chairman of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission. This was a success and you sat with us and gave guidance and encouragement so often and so well.

All of these experiences are in impressive official Reports. Dave, in a very real sense you are the initiator and author of these House Documents (86–211, 87–523 and 89–497). These are the Reports of those high moments at the Capitol which helped recall the man you call a "friendly stranger and a strange friend." These reports are now collector's items. The record shows Congress is the author but, David, there might have been reports without you and your talents but most surely they wouldn't have been of the quality, of the import and impact without you.

I recall the last words of a letter Lincoln wrote in response to an invitation which seem pertinent to this situation. They read, "Let him have the marble monuments along with the well assured and most enduring memorial in the hearts of those who love liberty, unselfishly for all mankind." You have had this unselfish spirit that is implied and so evident in Lincoln.

All of this came because you were at the Library. You were available so often to so many people and so often you went beyond the call of duty. How can we thank you? We can't adequately, but be assured that you live, like Lincoln, in the hearts and minds of people and you will continue to live so long as there is a Library of Congress and students can see your footprints, the evidence of what you have done so well.

All of these reports and our mutual experiences had something to do with commemorations. I like commemorations for I know of no better way for men to rise above themselves or, more precisely, to commune with the best in himself than to evoke the memory of great minds and personalities. Veneration, that love which proceeds from the inferior to the superior, is always marked by a certain solemnity. This gala, a sad and glad occasion, offers a happy pretext for recalling a truly illustrious writer, lover of Lincoln et al, advisor, finder of facts, displayer of good humor and delightfully humorous with a dedication combined with capability far beyond the average.

I join with your friends in wishing you well and Godspeed, just now, like Markham wrote about our mutual friend, Lincoln, I recall these lines. They are apropros. "He was a man to hold against the world, a man to match the mountains and the sea."

So, we say farewell and welcome to a period when you can more fully give yourself in your own way and on your own time to a greater cause which calls us all—the cause of the people.

Commemorationally yours,
FRED SCHWENGEL,
Member of Congress,
First District of Iowa, Republican.

What We Seek

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I have received in my office a most timely and thoughtful essay on American ideals. We all ought to read this essay, for it restores some perspective of history often lacking when we think of our ideals and our way of life. It reminds us of the great philosophical and political battles which preceded the writings of Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and Hamilton. It reminds us, as its author, Mr. George Holt, so succinctly says, that our ideals are not "exclusively American."

With this perspective, Mr. Holt then correctly declares that for peace, freedom, and justice to be meaningful for all mankind, as it must be, it has to be within the context of world law and rule of law. Under unanimous consent, I include this fine essay by Mr. George Holt, "What We Seek," in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

WHAT WE SEEK

(By George Holt)

Some people and nations seek power. Some people and nations are so humorless, so arrogant that they seek to force everyone else to be just like them. Some people and nations are bullies, or are devious. If one looks back through history one sees these types recurring again and again. A cynical reading of history would indicate that most people and nations, most of the time, have been humorless, arrogant, devious, power-seeking bullies.

Nor is it necessary to turn one's eyes to history. There are such people and such nations, all around the globe today.

We Americans do not like to think of ourselves as fitting any of the above categories; and we are determined to believe that our nation is not so motivated. We are sure that we seek "The American Way of Life", which means political freedom, legal justice, good sportsmanship, generosity to others less fortunate (but, paradoxically, suspicion of the machinations of cynical foreigners) and economic competition. In its noblest form it means equal justice under law and the kind of compassion we find in Lincoln's second Inaugural; in its most trivial it conjures up images of apple pie and Mother's Day.

These *are* the ideals most of us seek. The trouble is, we have limited these entirely worthy ambitions to ourselves, more or less. Most of us have not extended most of these concepts to include the world.

We also have a tendency to consider them as exclusively our own, whereas equality, justice, compassion, concern, generosity and the rest are not ingredients which we Americans discovered. They have been proclaimed by all the great prophets and philosophers since the beginning of recorded history. Let us hope they do become the American way of life; let us not, ourselves, be so humorless or arrogant as to think they are exclusively American.

If most of us did what we should do, we would project these ideals out for the whole human race.

Justice? It exists only in the context of law. It requires no less than world law.

Freedom? It is meaningless except in an ordered society where all men stand equal before the law, and share equally in the responsibility of maintaining a free and orderly society. That too requires world law.

Peace? Peace is more than the absence of war. It is the presence of justice under law, of the institutions to make, interpret and enforce law—in short of government—government with the power to guarantee respect for the diversities of mankind—diversities of race, nationality, religion, forms of government, economic systems and cultural values; with the flexibility to adapt to the inevitable changes of progress; for law, being subject to continual interpretation and development, is the only orderly means for social, political and economic growth and development.

The highest sovereignty on earth resides with the people—all people. They are entitled to seek—and to create—such a system of government by law, for their own protection and for the guarantee of their own limitless future.

And this is what we must seek.

Proposal for Total Merchant Marine Transport System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill authorizing the Maritime Administrator to undertake studies culminating in contract plans and specifications with respect to the establishment of an integrated total marine transport system utilizing nuclear-powered merchant vessels. It is the purpose of this legislation to utilize the latest organizational and analytical techniques as a means of marshaling the scientific and industrial skills of this country in order to create a viable marine transportation system capable of competing with the best in the world.

It is with dismay that one considers the history of the U.S. merchant marine which abounds with the imaginative use of our natural maritime advantages, and yet at the same time has witnessed periods of gross neglect in which other nations have exploited the fruits of our genius. The economic and strategic reasons are too imperative, the growing competition from the Soviet Union is too ominous, and the leadership in technology which we now enjoy is too temporary for us not to assert our position as a leading maritime power.

A brief reference to the history of our merchant navy provides a useful historic framework in which to consider how we may avoid the mistakes of the past, and build for a more successful tomorrow.

The story of the U.S. merchant marine has been marked by outstanding innovation and achievement alternating with periods of decline and neglect. The original Colonies had long coastlines, many fine natural harbors, and an abundance of the materials necessary for shipbuilding. They developed skillful sailors, shipbuilders, and adept traders. Their craft were seen on every ocean and in every port, and in return their country grew and prospered. The Colonies also developed new, faster, and more beautiful types of ships, such as the schooner and the clipper. They earned necessary foreign exchange by selling ships to other countries, and by the end of the 18th century American vessels carried most of the Nation's growing trade.

After the War of 1812, American shipping enjoyed 40 years of expansion, together with many improvements in shipbuilding and navigation techniques. During this time and before the establishment of transcontinental railroads, our merchantile fleet helped tie the Nation together by carrying goods and cargo from one coast to the other and made possible the rapid development of the rich Western areas of the country. The period of the flowering of our merchant marine was capped by the magnificient clipper ships capable of speed of 18 knots which exceeds that of many of today's cargo vessels.

Although the steamboat was the creation of the American inventor, Robert Fulton, it fell to the British to exploit this new means of propulsion and assume the leadership among maritime nations. They had the advantage of abundant coal close to the sea and adequate labor force which included skilled ironworkers. In addition, the talent and money of the adventuresome in the United States was being directed largely to building railroads and opening the vast area of the West.

The Civil War took a heavy toll of American shipping. Many vessels were damaged, sunk, or sold abroad, and following the war price increases and taxation limited efforts to stimulate the industry. The Government tried to help by granting contracts for carrying mail, or allowing the importation of materials used in shipbuilding tariff free. However, by the turn of the century, only one American trans-Atlantic line was in operation and our ships were carrying less than 10 percent of U.S. trade.

United States entry into the First World War created a tremendous demand for additional merchant ships, but most of the vessels built to meet this need were not delivered until after the war was over. Many of these ships were designed under emergency conditions and were not suited to peacetime use. The drop in merchant shipping associated with the worldwide depression in the 1930's brought the U.S. commercial fleet to unsatisfactorily low levels. In 1936, our merchant marine was fourth among the six top maritime nations in tonnage, sixth in vessels 10 years of age or less, and fifth in vessels with speeds of 12 knots or over.

The programs envisaged in the creation of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 called for the construction of 500 new ships in the next 10 years. A new basic type of cargo ship was designed and the outstanding passenger liner, the U.S.S. *America*, was built as a result of this legislation. The Second World War created unprecedented challenges for our maritime industry. The technical skills and industrial capacity were equal to this task, and between 1942 and 1945 the staggering total of 5,592 merchant ships were built. This new merchant fleet carried millions of men and vast quantities of supplies to the war fronts, and on their return voyages brought back needed raw materials for the war effort and items required to maintain the civilian economy.

As in previous periods in U.S. history, the end of the need brought about by hostilities saw a contraction in the size and importance of the merchant marine. A large percentage of the cargo vessels constructed during the war emergency were either sold or retired to a reserve fleet status. By the beginning of 1951, 1,956 ships had been sold; 843 to American-flag operators and 1,113 to foreign-flag operators.

The decline from the pinnacle, where the merchant fleet under control of the War Shipping Administration carried four-fifths of the supplies for the entire war effort, is well illustrated by reference to the following statistics for the years 1951 through 1965.

In this period the world fleet increased by over 62 percent while the U.S. privately owned fleet went down by over 26 percent. The world fleet total aggregate deadweight tonnage increased by 156 percent, while the U.S. fleet decreased by 2.7 percent. Passenger combination ships declined in number in practically every country, however, the world fleet decreased by only 1.1 percent while the U.S. privately owned fleet was reduced by 41.4 percent. Freighters rose by over 51 percent on a worldwide basis, but the United States showed a drop during the same period of over 17 percent. The world tanker fleet went up by 64.7 percent in number while the U.S. tanker fleet showed a decrease of 38.3 percent. The only classification in which the United States registered a gain was in bulk carriers yet here the U.S. increase was 11 percent in number as against a world increase of 295 percent.

Considering the U.S. fleet as a whole, including Government-owned and the National Defense Reserve Fleet for the same period, there was a drop of 34 percent in the number of ships and a decrease of 26 percent in total deadweight tonnage.

While the United States is less dependent upon its merchant marine than some countries, it does, nevertheless, make a major contribution to our economy. This Nation consumes about 50 percent of the world production of raw materials, a large percentage of which must be imported. Among the principal waterborne imports are 100 percent of the tin, 89 percent of the nickel, 84 percent of the bauxite and aluminum, 73 percent of the newsprint, 55 percent of the zinc, 34 percent of the copper and almost 100 percent of the rubber. In addition, ships bring in 50 percent of the sugar, 53 percent of the raw wool and 100 percent of the cocoa, coffee, and tea. One out of every 6 acres of land in the United States produces material for export—this includes all land, not just that devoted to agriculture—one out of every seven farmworkers produces for export, and one out of every 20 motor vehicles manufactured in the United States is exported by ship.

Figures of June 1965 reported the maritime industry generates $1.5 billion of GNP, and directly and indirectly employs 200,000 persons. During the nonstrike months of 1965, shipboard jobs averaged 47,160. In commercial shipyards capable of building oceangoing vessels the monthly average of production jobs was about 53,000. Approvimately 88,000 longshoremen are generally available for work; of these, some 19,000 are classified as casual labor, and the rest represent the normal labor force.

In 1961 maritime industry employment was 104,000, including American steamship lines in domestic and foreign trade, and private ship construction and repair yards. Seagoing crews numbered 55,000, office workers 30,000, workers in private shipyards engaged in commercial ship construction or repair work 19,490. Wages paid to employees totaled more than $631 million; approximately $513 million to shipping fleet employees and $118 million to shipyard workers.

A survey conducted by the Department of Labor in 1963 indicated some 3.1 million American jobs were supported by exports and many others partly dependent on exports, Among the most important jobs were 1.3 million in manufacturing, 900,000 in farming, 200,000 in trade, 200,000 in transportation, 100,000 in mining, and 400,000 in other areas.

As a customer in 1961, the private commercial shipbuilding industry purchased $115 million of products for new ship construction. If other purchases and maintenance and repair work were included, the amount would be substantially increased.

In 1961, the 300 freighters and combination vessels of the 15 subsidized lines spent $22.2 million for food and grocery provisions, $15.3 million for fuel, and $26.5 million for repair expenses. All these expenditures provide a direct stimulus to the economy along with indirect benefits. In 1964, the seven passenger lines purchased U.S. food supplies and services for use on vessels amounting to $21 million.

Significant contributions to the economy also stem from taxpayments, both Federal and State, by the merchant marine industry. For 1961, the total direct taxes paid amounted to $63.6 million, with $60 million going to the Federal Government. The subsidized shipping companies reportedly pay about 26 percent of earnings as taxes.

The latest figures—1962—indicate that the merchant marine contributed $924 million toward reducing the balance-of-payments deficit. The 300 vessels of the subsidized fleet—about one-third of the total—contributed $526 million to the payments account in that year. This support would be considerably greater if a larger percentage of the U.S. foreign trade were carried in U.S.-flag vessels. A survey of worldwide operations of the flag lines showed that when U.S. cargo is routed to foreign-flag vessels, about 73 cents of every freight dollar goes outside the United States, and when routed to U.S. flags about 77 cents of every freight dollar is retained in the U.S. economy.

The economic penalty for having an inadequate merchant marine is seen in the payment of $100,000,000 to British shipowners for transporting U.S. troops during World War II. Dependence upon foreign-flag vessels has always proven expensive in the past, if in fact such ships were available. Vice Adm. John Sylvester stated in 1963:

> The interests of the United States are global, and emergencies may well arise wherein our interests would not be identical with those of our European allies.

It appears that we are now in one of those situations.

The Soviet Union is presenting an increasingly serious challenge to free world shipping and in particular to the declining role played by the U.S. merchant marine. The Soviets are outbuilding the United States on a 12-to-1 ratio in number of new merchant ships and 8 to 1 in tonnage. At this rate, the Soviets will excel the United States as a maritime power in a matter of years, and reach their announced goal of control of the sealanes of the world and domination of world trade. It is conceivable that with such a powerful economic weapon, ocean-freight rates of the future could be manipulated to eliminate free world shipping. The United States is the only country with the resources sufficient to challenge this Soviet domination.

The Russians have shown an acute awareness of the strategic value of their merchant navy in carrying out their political goals. For years the Soviet Union has been using its ships to export arms, strategic materials, volunteers, and technicians to such diverse trouble spots as New Guinea, Egypt, Indonesia, Algeria, Cuba, and Vietnam. The wide-ranging use of the sealanes by a large and active fleet would permit the Soviets to gain vital footholds with men and materials throughout the world. In addition, this country cannot allow itself to become dependent upon new and enlarged Russian fleets for sea transportation.

The commercial cargoes lost because regular trade route lines are busy with military orders cannot always be reacquired by the U.S. lines. It has been reported that between July and December 1965, a $16.5 million revenue loss was sustained because of the cancellation of sailings by ships on MSTS charter. This cargo was carried by foreign-flag lines and thus, in addition to the revenue loss, there was also a harmful effect on the U.S. balance of payments. This threat of permanent cargo loss to foreign-flag operators also creates a problem for tramp vessels which are now carrying military rather than commercial cargoes. During the Korean war, ocean transport was sufficient due to the large number of ships still available from World War II and which were not yet obsolete. Unfortunately, no reserve fleet is now available for a comparable emergency.

Vice Admiral Sylvester summarized this situation when he said:

> The ability to meet our anticipated military and civilian economy wartime needs must be insured to the maximum possible degree in peacetime by the ready availability of active, privately owned merchant ships employed in gainful ocean commerce. Only actively employed merchant ships can provide the rapid response required. Further, it is only the active merchant marine that will provide in peacetime the employment for skilled American seafarers in sufficient numbers to allow effective wartime personnel expansion of our maritime effort.

It is indeed ironic that the Soviet Union now appears to be embarking on a deliberate policy of maritime expansion which was first set forth by the famous American admiral and theoretician, Alfred Thayer Mahan. He pointed out that nations may rise or decline but never stand still, and that expansion—political, economic, and cultural—is the essence of national greatness. Mahan stressed that in order to support a program of expansion, a government must have access to accumulated wealth, and a large and flourishing foreign commerce is the surest means of accumulating wealth.

Mahan interpreted history as a continuing struggle for control of the sea and demonstrated that to compete successfully in the worldwide competition for markets, a nation must maintain a large merchant marine. In addition, he argued, such a maritime industry would itself contribute materially, to a nation's wealth by sharing in carrying trade that would otherwise go to the ships of competing nations.

Drawing upon his historical scholarship, Admiral Mahan further points out in his writings that a strong navy is necessary to guarantee security to a nation's shipping and that a prosperous merchant marine is, at the same time, the backbone of its naval power. Such a maritime industry fostered a shield of defensive power behind which a people gain time in an emergency to develop its reserve to strength. In countries with a representative form of government, such a maritime industry could be depended upon to exert the political pressure and influence necessary to keep the navy at a high standard of strength and efficiency.

Although Mahan's interpretation of history does not envision the consequences of airpower or ballistic missiles, the fact remains that waterborne commerce is the primary means of intercontinental trade; and that in time of war, victory or defeat depends to the greatest extent on ocean carriers.

I am optimistic that this country, which is in the forefront of knowledge concerning the elements of efficient ocean trade, such as containerization, nuclear propulsion, and automated ship controls and cargo handling, and has the industrial capability to produce them as competitively as any other country, will be able to assemble them into an integrated program. Together with the elements of such a program, this country also has the added advantage of wide experience in the systems approach to modern technology.

In general terms, the systems analytical method is an organizational and conceptual framework that enables us to bring together on a large task many different skills and techniques, to keep track of progress, and to coordinate the various operations involved. Among the techniques usually employed are applied mathematics, computer services, interdisciplinary teams selected for specific tasks, and techniques of numerical and graphical presentation of the total assignment and all its parts. Developing a new system requires the defining of what is to be built, planning in advance, subdivision of the job into tasks, relating of the parts to the whole, a continuous testing of the parts, assembling them, and starting up the whole system.

Within the systems framework, I wish to point out some of the key elements which I believe will help insure the future success of a unified maritime transport plan.

NUCLEAR SUBMARINES

The state of our knowledge in the construction of underwater nuclear craft has advanced to the point where serious consideration should be given to the feasibility of employing such vessels as cargo carriers. Nuclear-powered submarines are capable of operating under any type of sea or weather conditions without fear of damage to either the vessel or its cargo. The normal impairments to surface ship operation such as fog, high seas, and tropical storms, have almost negligible effect upon submarines traveling in the tranquil depths of the ocean.

The Navy's nuclear submarines have demonstrated that it is possible to navigate under the polar ice cap, and cargo submarines could duplicate this feat thereby taking advantage of routes which are permanently blocked by ice or open only for short periods of time in the summer to surface vessels. Underwater craft can also operate with impunity on the shorter great circle routes, across which drifting ice poses a serious threat during certain times of the year to conventional ships.

CONTAINERIZATION

Starting with sailing vessels, the most common means of removing a ship's cargo was in bits and pieces; boxes and sacks in slings and nets. From this admittedly haphazard approach come the more effective method of strapping the goods on pallets which were handy to lift in or out of the ship's holds. A companion to the pallet was the forklift truck able to run on the decks of the ship and stowing the pallets after they were lowered through the hatchway. Pallets could be stowed on the pier in the same way, and could also be lifted onto trucks that were taking them to their destination. Empty pallets were easy to return, since they were flat and did not take much room.

However, the use of pallets does not approach the container as an efficient and economical factor in a cargo-handling system. Significant savings in time, insurance, pilferage, and handling costs result from the use of containers, and this in turn has led to lower freight rates. One of the greatest advantages of containerization is that cargo goes from the shipper to the recipient on a single bill of lading without the goods being touched. Crated for overseas shipment is becoming archaic. Items for ocean shipment from the United States are packed in cardboard cartons at the point of origin, placed in containers, and the next time they see the light of day is at the receiving room of the customer. The opportunities for pilferage, loss, and damage, as well as the expenses of repacking and handling, are greatly reduced.

In spite of the fact that containers must be purchased or rented by the carrier and he must either go into the trucking business or recommend one to the shipper so he can provide a single bill of lading, the carrier's ships can be utilized much more. Ships represent the carriers' largest capital investment, and as now operated they spend half their time in port where they earn nothing for their owners. Container ships will cut dockside time very substantially.

While containers are not absolutely pilfer-proof, They do result in lower insurance costs. It is difficult to break into and steal something from a container, there is less handling of the goods, and they arrive at the destination in better condition in spite of the fact that no expensive overseas crating is required. With containerizaton, it is the container which takes the bumps and scratches and not the goods.

It should be recognized that while containers are adaptable for packaged goods, they are also suitable for dry-bulk items such as feed, caustic soda, phosphates and other chemicals and eliminate the need for bags and similar packaging. The liquid-tank container gives the convenience and economy of shipping relatively small quantities of liquids, which were previously available only in a vessel's deep tanks. The container eliminates the need for drums or carboys in the shipment of fluids such as ink, lube oils and tallow.

A properly planned shipment of goods by container will result in a further saving to the shipper by reducing goods tied up in inventory. In the modern and efficient container port, the time elapsed between arrival of the goods on the pier and when they are deposited in the ship's hold is usually only a matter of hours. This shorter turn-around time of the ship means that the container will be on its way faster, and likewise will arrive at its destination sooner. More savings will accrue to the shipper as a result of speeded-up deliveries. The container, mounted on a truck chassis, goes from door to door, and the freight rate per ton is less than if the goods were trucked conventionally, thus giving some savings in domestic transportation.

One of the most interesting and encouraging results of containerization is the effect which it will have on the price of imported goods in all countries. It should make the cost of goods the United States sells abroad cheaper, as well as bringing down the ultimate cost of goods imported into the United States. While some American products have never been competitive in Europe, others have needed only a small price difference to capture a portion of the European market. Containerization will make this difference and the manufacturers of these items will find a whole new market.

It is important to emphasize some of the significant advantages which will accrue to our labor force as the result of the introduction and growth of containerization. Financially, workers on both coasts have already benefitted substantially from container use. West coast dock workers have been granted higher wages and pensions in return for their cooperation in the unlimited development of containerization. The first guaranteed annual wage in waterfront history, in addition to increased pensions, was given to Port of New York longshoremen in return for cooperation in the increased use of containers.

No substantial number of regular longshoremen have lost their jobs as the result of the introduction of containerization. In fact, quite the opposite is true; because where this type of operation has been introduced, regular dockworkers have been able to expect a higher degree of consistent employment. The use of containers has also created new types of related jobs, such as the maneuvering of containers in marshalling areas.

Perhaps the greatest benefit to dockworkers has been the additional safety which containers provide dockworkers. Loading and offloading of ships has long been recognized as one of the most hazardous occupations. In the past longshoremen have been killed or seriously injured by loose packages falling from slings in breakbulk operations. Obviously, when goods are shipped by container this danger is greatly reduced and the whole working environment is given an additional climate of security.

AUTOMATION

Automation should benefit the U.S. merchant marine more than any other in the world. Our technological know-how and industrial capacity is capable of keeping the added costs of automation comparable to those of other competing advanced nations, while the resulting savings in wage and accommodation costs should be much greater. High wages are economically justifiable through the maintenance of high productivity. Therefore, those interested in the long-term welfare of our merchant seamen should do all they can to encourage the shift from a labor-intensive to a capital-intensive U.S. merchant marine. Even though ship crews may be smaller with the application of automation, an enlarged and revitalized nuclear merchant marine could more than make up for this loss.

In addition, the jobs available will be more challenging, the working and living conditions more amenable, and the compensation higher.

MANPOWER

Currently, there is a serious shortage of trained maritime personnel. Evidence of this is shown by the fact that the Coast Guard was requested to issue manning waivers for 244 vessel sailings in the period June 1 through August 15, 1966. It has been estimated that to maintain our current merchant fleet under normal conditions will require a yearly increase of approximately 1,000 officers. However, the Merchant Marine Academy and the State maritime schools graduated less than 525 officers in 1967, and not all of these men will follow maritime careers.

This shortage has caused numerous delays in ship sailings and a resulting serious economic loss. What is even more important than the economic loss has been the fact that many of these ships were destined for Vietnam with supplies for our war effort there.

Specific immediate proposals which I hope will be adopted include:

First. Short-term training programs.

Second. Early graduation of the Merchant Marine Academies.

Third. Improvement of morale items to attract additional men to the Vietnam sealift service.

Fourth. Action by Government agencies to accelerate examination and clearance of additional men for jobs aboard ship.

It is my intention that the studies leading to the development of an integrated total marine transport system, as provided in this bill, shall include a thorough consideration of the needs for manpower training and retraining. I believe that such a system will ultimately lead to more better paying and safer jobs in the merchant marine and related segments of the transportation industry. However, in establishing a total marine transport system, certain job dislocations are bound to result, and as part of the systems analytical approach precise plans must be drawn to prepare our transportation employees for the more challenging jobs which will result.

I am hopeful that manpower training for a nuclear-propelled merchant marine combined with the impetus of a revitalized, vigorous, and modernized merchant fleet, will attract able young men in sufficient quantities to overcome the shortage of necessary personnel in the future.

NUCLEAR PROPULSION

At present we are only on the threshold of appreciating the full potential of the atom as a source of energy, but even at this early date the advantages of applying nuclear power to ship propulsion are enormous. The more outstanding of these are:

First. Nuclear energy frees us from our dependence upon fossil fuel. Eventually the supply of these fuels will be exhausted and substitutes must be found.

Second. The weight and volume of fuel in a nuclear ship is fixed, and all of the remaining open space onboard is always available for cargo.

Third. Refueling is required only every 3 years. This not only saves in-port time, it improves our balance-of-payments situation through the fact that purchases of fuel in foreign ports is no longer required.

Fourth. Nuclear power and extremely high speeds can be developed without regard to the weight and volume of fuel consumed.

Fifth. A nuclear power plant requires less maintenance and provides greatly increased availability and reliability.

Sixth. There are no soot or stack gases from a nuclear plant. This means a much cleaner ship, and consequently less routine hull maintenance and upkeep.

Seventh. There is no chance that combustion smoke or gases will foul the air-conditioning or ventilation systems of a nuclear ship.

Eighth. The absence of open fires in the boilers and of accumulated fuel vapors in the tanks or bilges greatly reduces the possibility of fire.

Ninth. A nuclear ship cannot foul rivers, bays, oceans, or beachfronts by the inadvertent or deliberate discharge of fuel oil or bilge deposits.

Tenth. Nuclear fuel will help in the protection of fish and wildlife. Sea birds and estuarine life cannot survive when impregnated with fuel oil and other wastes from conventional propulsion units.

Eleventh. Nuclear power will eliminate the need for tankers and underway replenishment of fuel and reduce the vulnerability to submarine attack.

Twelfth. The application of nuclear power will eventually eliminate the need to maintain fossil fuel depots around the world.

Thirteenth. Continuous high speed availability is limited only by the capacity of conventional turbines and gears.

NUCLEAR SHIP "SAVANNAH"

The construction of the nuclear ship *Savannah* was a bold and inspired venture which is increasingly proving its worth by providing the knowledge and experience necessary to develop what will probably be the principal source of marine power in the future. Partially as the result of what we have learned from the construction and operation of the *Savannah*, the United States has a clear lead in the application of atomic energy to the operation of ocean vessels. Because of sometimes conflicting reports on the accomplishments of the *Savannah*, I believe it is useful to list below its major achievements to date. The NS *Savannah* has—

First. Demonstrated that a nuclear merchant ship can operate safely and reliably in a regularly scheduled service.

Second. Demonstrated a favorable reaction on the part of shippers toward using nuclear transportation.

Third. Produced information that could lead to reduced cost of operation of any future nuclear ships.

Fourth. Added to the prestige of the United States through demonstrations of an advanced-type ship.

Fifth. Demonstrated to the world the sincerity of the U.S. efforts to use nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

Sixth. Kept maritime regulatory problems before the regulatory bodies and industry, thus stimulating efforts to establish optimum requirements which will be applicable to any future nuclear merchant ships.

The more important operational results obtained from the experience with the NS *Savannah* were:

First. Acceptance by foreign regulatory authorities. The problems which did arise concerned the extent of legal indemnification, rather than with ship reactor safety.

Second. The reactor and primary system have proven to be highly reliable. An availability of over 99.7 percent was shown for the nuclear plant during the time at sea for the initial year of operation. Certain modifications were made to increase reactor plant reliability and these have given an even higher plant availability at sea. Nuclear systems in general have shown a much higher availability than conventional steamplant systems.

Third. The ability to train and license seagoing engineering personnel within the short period of 6 months has been demonstrated, as well as the capability of these operating engineers to maintain and operate the plant successfully.

Fourth. Experience has shown that liquid waste disposal from waste-water storage tanks has produced extremely low levels of radioactivity. In 3 years of operation the *Savannah* has released a total of only about 1 curie of radioactive material; so little in fact that no dilution has been required.

Fifth. After 4 years of actual operation and 3 years of maneuvering at power, the core has shown no evidence of any fission product leakage or fuel dissipation. The low level of radioactivity in the liquid waste water is largely attributable to the favorable functioning of the core.

Sixth. Radiation experience has been shown to pose no serious problems. Film badge readings have shown essentially zero readings in the ship's living and working spaces located outside the containment vessel and a few controlled access areas. As a result it has been possible to reduce personnel monitoring requirements for the crews.

Seventh. In the operation of the ship, deck officers report that the nuclear powerplant responds more readily in maneuvering than do conventional sources of propulsion. The absence of normal stack waste has tended to reduce the need for painting and deck weather maintenance.

INTEGRATED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

The integrated transportation plan, envisioned by my bill, will be built around high-speed nuclear-powered cargo vessels designed exclusively to carry containers. This system will require the development of land facilities for the gathering of containers and cargo to put into containers, special machinery to load the containers onto ships, and related equipment. Such a plan represents a whole new approach to the preparation and shipping of goods on the high seas, and it is one of the purposes of my bill to study in depth the most efficient way this may be done. Some of the anticipated characteristics and advantages of a system based upon high-speed nuclear-propelled container ships are summarized below:

First. The use of an all-container, high-speed nuclear ship capable of maintaining a sea speed of 30 knots is feasible over a route of 7,000 miles round trip. It has the added advantage of glamour for attracting premium cargo.

Second. A 30-knot ship can effectively maintain a schedule of 26 voyages a year when supported by a terminal capable of a 36-hour turn-around. The design and construction of such a ship-terminal system is well within our industrial and technical capacity.

Third. The overall economic rationale for a nuclear ship operating to and from terminals designed specifically to support the ship and its cargo of containers is very encouraging. The initial construction costs of the ship are high, but the operating expenses, cargo-handling cost, and terminal allocations offset these other costs to make this alternative financially sound on the basis of cost per ton per mile of cargo.

Fourth. Although both the ship and the terminal will probably have some extra room at the beginning of service, they can be placed into service with the realization that as cargo is generated, the system will be flexible enough to handle it. This will also allow for variations in cargo volumes that could occur due to seasonal or cyclical conditions.

When publicized and adopted, however, such a system could generate cargo from manufacturers who are not presently engaged in export for various reasons and will attract much of the cargo that is costly or urgently needed away from the slower foreign carriers. This system will demand the opening up and exploitation of added opportunities for motor carriers, railroads, and the barges operating on the inland waterways in both the United States and in Europe.

From the theoretical and the factual evidence, therefore, end-to-end integration of all elements of a marine transport system would seem to provide the maximum profit environment. When marine shipping is integrated into an overall freight system and offers a high-speed, premium service to complement other modes of transportation, it will be able to compete with foreign shippers for its own share of expanding world trade.

I believe that the systems analytical approach combined with the application of nuclear-powered vessels, containerization, specially designed cargo consolidation and port facilities, and the other advanced developments of our technology offer a unique opportunity for the United States to compete successfully with the merchant navies of the world. Hopefully, once in operation, such a system will prove efficient and productive to the point where it will be able to pay back to the Treasury the initial planning and construction costs.

Mr. Speaker, the needs of our merchant marine are so pressing, and the economic advantages to be gained from an integrated marine transport system are so great, that action on this bill should be one of the first orders of business when the 90th Congress reconvenes in January.

Education: The Continuing Commitment of the 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic-controlled 89th Congress, which served the American people in 1965 and 1966, won widespread praise as a result of the major legislative accomplishments of those 2 years. For example, the 89th has been called the "Education Congress," a term that aptly describes a Congress that enacted more education legislation than any Congress in the history of our country.

Not only did that Congress produce a larger number of education bills, but it produced more in terms of quality. The most significant breakthrough in education was, of course, the landmark "Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965"—ESEA—America's first major commitment to erasing inequality of opportunity in our schools. This was a bill that would benefit not only disadvantaged children in public schools but those in private schools as well.

Today, at the end of the first session of the 90th Congress, we are already in the third year of the implementation of title I, that section of the ESEA directed at the special needs of children in school districts with high concentrations of poor families.

The delicate balance achieved in the church-state issues and the ESEA of 1965 was threatened this year by a Republican move to convert title I into direct block grants to the States.

Had this GOP attempt been successful, we might well have seen renewed strife on the church-state issue. As ESEA now operates, disadvantaged private-school students are able to participate in many local public school programs. By channeling funds directly to State education departments, the substitute, or Quie amendment, would have threatened the exclusion of many private school children from such programs, particularly in States which have constitutional prohibitions against direct or indirect State aid to nonpublic schools. Fortunately, in spite of the increased strength of the Republicans in this Congress, the Quie amendment was defeated by a teller vote of 168 to 197.

The 1967 amendments passed by Congress extend the ESEA for 2 more years, authorizing more than $9 billion in Federal funds—the largest authorization ever enacted—for fiscal 1969–70. The measure also stipulates under title I, that no State shall receive less during 1969–70 than it received in fiscal 1967.

Title III, which provides support for supplemental and innovative education programs, is substantially altered by the new amendments, in that 75 percent of the funds available for this title in fiscal 1969 and 100 percent in fiscal 1970 will be administered directly by State education departments. In order to qualify for this money, a State must develop a State plan that is approved by the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Another major change in the 1967 amendments concerns title V, which is aimed at education departments. Under title V, beginning in fiscal 1969, 95 percent of the available funds will be distributed directly to the States, with the requirement that 10 percent be allocated to local boards of education. The remaining 5 percent will be reserved to the U.S. Commissioner of Education so that he may recognize and fund interstate and other special projects, designed to help solve problems common to two or more State education agencies.

Mr. Speaker, the new ESEA legislation also incorporates some very important provisions relating to the education of handicapped children. Under an amendment to title III, for example, 15 percent of all title III funds, beginning next July 1, must be used for supporting projects that help meet the special needs of the handicapped. A provision in title VI authorizes an $11 million program for developing specialized services to aid deaf-blind children.

The 1967 ESEA amendments also authorize several other new programs: aid to children of limited English-speaking ability, technical help to rural areas in preparing federally financed project applications, and a demonstration project to prevent dropouts.

ADVANCE FUNDING AUTHORIZED

Mr. Speaker, a serious and widely recognized hindrance to the administration of title I has been the problem of late funding by Congress. Because of the uncertainty of congressional appropriations, local school officials in making up their budgets have not always had the opportunity to plan effectively for the use of title I funds.

The 1967 amendments to ESEA include provisions designed to help solve the late-funding problem. Most important, the new amendments permit appropriations for elementary and secondary programs to be made 1 year in advance of the year in which they will be obligated.

In order to give schools time to plan programs, it is clear that we must expedite congressional timetables for both appropriations and authorizations. President Lyndon B. Johnson, in his February 28, 1967, message to Congress on education and health, noted the difficulties created by late funding of education programs and pointed out that one way to ease the problem is "to seek the earliest practical renewal of authorizations for major education measures."

The Republicans in the House demonstrated their lack of sensitivity to the need for early authorization and funding by moving to recommit the 1967 amendments to the House Education and Labor Committee in order that further hearings could be held on the bill. Fortunately—for the school administrators, teachers, and the children in this country—this delaying tactic was defeated on a 180-to-236 rollcall vote, with 74 percent of the Republicans voting for the recommittal motion.

TEACHER CORPS EXTENDED

Mr. Speaker, on May 25, the House and Senate adopted a conference report on the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act for fiscal 1967. In the act, $3.8 million was provided for the Teacher Corps, with the condition that the funds were not to be used unless Congress enacted before the end of fiscal 1967—June 30—a bill extending the Corps through fiscal 1968.

Acting quickly, the Congress passed and President Johnson signed into law, with 1 day to spare, a 3-year, $135 million extension of the Teacher Corps. Prior to final passage, the Republicans moved to recommit the bill and to delete the provision for the Teacher Corps. The GOP argument was that the Teacher Corps was a dangerous federally controlled program. The recommittal motion went down to defeat and the bill, known as the Education Professions Development Act, was enacted.

While there are nearly 1,900 members enrolled in the Corps this year, much more must be done to meet the national shortage of teachers in areas of poverty. By 1970, a total of 9,000 members could either be enrolled or have served 2 years in the expanded Teachers Corps now authorized, if Congress provides enough money.

THE EDUCATION PROFESSIONS DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1967

But, Mr. Speaker, not only do we desperately need more teachers for disadvantaged schoolchildren, the Nation requires more and better teachers at every level of education from preschool through graduate school.

The Education Professions Development Act—Public Law 90-35—in addition to extending the Teacher Corps, which Congress passed this year, will enable the Office of Education, in conjunction with educators and others, to pull together existing fragmented training programs and concentrate resources on meeting the most acute shortages of teachers and other educational personnel. The new law—

Extends for 2 years the existing teacher fellowship program and expands to include fellowships for preschool, adult education, and vocational education teachers, as well as for work beyond the master's degree;

Establishes a higher education personnel training program, beginning in fiscal 1969, to provide grants for contracts to universities to improve programs for training college teachers, administrators, and education specialists;

Broadens and replaces present NDEA institute programs for training teachers, and includes training for preschool, vocational, education, and adult education teachers and supervisors, as well as for teacher aides, counselors, child psychologists, and persons in other occupations who can teach full or part time;

Creates a new program starting in fiscal 1969 for short-term training of teachers for school districts facing severe teacher shortages and for training teacher aides; and

Provides for grants and contracts with institutions of higher education, State and local education agencies, and other nonprofit institutions to identify and encourage able people to pursue careers in education.

Mr. Speaker, the Education Professions Development Act will go a long way toward insuring our country well trained teachers at all levels of education—preschool, vocational, elementary, secondary, and higher.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING ACT OF 1967

Another important accomplishment of the first session of the 90th Congress is the Public Broadcasting Act, signed by the President November 7, 1967.

House debate on this bill centered on the provision to create a public corporation. Democratic supporters of the plan argued that the corporation was necessary to develop the potential of television as a medium of information. They contended that Government program controls were prevented by the provisions in the bill stipulating that, first, the corporation would be independent and private; second, that its directors and employees could not be Federal employees; third, that no more than eight of the 15 directors could be from the same political party; fourth, that the corporation could not own stations, a network, or interconnection facilities; and fifth, that local stations would have complete freedom to accept or reject programs.

Despite these persuasive points, 79 percent of the Republicans in the House voted for a motion to recommit the bill and delete the provisions of the Public Broadcasting Corporation. Fortunately, the motion was defeated and the bill was passed intact.

Mr. Speaker, the Public Broadcasting Act—Public Law 90-129—creates a nonprofit public corporation to strengthen noncommerical radio and television by assisting in the construction of station facilities, by stimulating further development of high quality programs, and by providing for fuller research into how electronics can play a bigger role in education. The act authorizes a comprehensive study of the uses by schools in classrooms of television, radio, and allied electronic instructional media. As President Johnson said, when he signed the act into law November 7:

> While we work every day to produce new goods and to create new wealth, we want most of all to enrich man's spirit.
>
> That is the purpose of this act.
>
> It will give a wider, and, I think, stronger voice to educational radio and television by providing new funds for broadcast facilities.
>
> It will launch a major study of television's use in the Nation's classrooms and their potential use throughout the world.
>
> Finally—and most important—it builds a new institution: the Corporation of Public Broadcasting.
>
> So today we rededicate a part of the airways—which belong to all the people—and we dedicate them for the enlightenment of all the people.

COLLEGE WORK-STUDY AMENDED

College students were further aided this year by the enactment of a bill amending the college work-study program—Public Law 90-82—to set the Federal share of the college work-study program at 85 percent in 1967—it had been scheduled to drop from 90 to 75 percent on August 20—80 percent in 1968, and 75 percent in 1969.

The measure also provided that the maximum time students may work is an average of 15 hours a week over the course of a year, instead of a maximum of 15 hours in any one week. This new provision will enable students to follow a more flexible work schedule whenever their schoolwork demands more of their attention.

LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT AMENDED

Mr. Speaker, the Library Services and Construction Act Amendments of 1967—Public Law 90-154—extends through fiscal 1968 authority for the Federal Government to pay the entire cost of interlibrary cooperation programs, State institutional library services, and library services for the handicapped. After June 30, 1968, the Federal Government will pay 50 percent of the program costs, and State and local governments will be required to pay the remaining 50 percent. The 1-year extension of 100-percent Federal financing was approved by Congress because it would allow a majority of the States, which have only now completed planning for the new programs authorized in 1966, to embark on the first stages of these programs, while developing support for the matching funds required in succeeding years.

ADULT EDUCATION ADVANCED

Nor, Mr. Speaker, were adults and veterans neglected in this Congress. On December 4, the House passed and sent to the Senate the Adult Education Amendments of 1967. The House bill extended through fiscal 1970, Federal programs to assist the States in educating 24 million illiterate and undereducated adult Americans, authorizing $60 million for fiscal 1969 and setting no expenditure limit for fiscal 1970.

The Senate then incorporated these provisions into its version of the Elementary and Secondary Act amendments. In the conference committee on ESEA, the adult education amendments were accepted by both House and Senate conferees and therefore became part of the elementary and secondary bill sent to the President.

COLD WAR GI BILL STRENGTHENED

On August 31, President Johnson signed into law the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967—Public Law 90-77—otherwise known as the cold war GI bill amendments of 1967.

The bill expands and strengthens earlier legislation by increasing the amount of education allowance to peacetime and Vietnam veterans, broadening the range of subjects that can be studied, increasing the eligibility aid for war orphans' assistance, and making special help available to educationally disadvantaged veterans to enable them to complete high school before commencing college-level studies.

Mr. Speaker, pending in the House Education and Labor Committee are the higher education amendments—H.R. 6232—which would extend through fiscal 1973 the student aid provisions of the NDEA and the Higher Education Act of 1965 and make a number of improvements, including a revision of the guaranteed student loan program to bring about a major expansion of lending authority. Action on these amendments is expected early in 1968.

Despite our loss of 47 Democratic seats in the 1966 election, and despite the resurgence of the conservative coalition in the 90th Congress, education legislation in 1967 has probably fared better than legislation in many other fields.

To those of us who believe that as President John F. Kennedy said, "Education is the keystone in the arch of freedom and progress," the record of the first session of the 90th Congress in education has been encouraging.

For, as President Johnson has made clear, "This Nation is determined to give all of our youth the education they deserve."

Miracle at Sky Ranch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, one of the questions I frequently hear is "what's it like out there in South Dakota, out in the 'wide open spaces'?" For some of our younger fellow citizens, thanks to a great man known to them as the flying padre, it means getting that "break" in life which provides them an opportunity to do something constructive with themselves and for themselves.

For most of the youngsters to whom I refer, it is not getting a second chance at opportunity—it is their first real chance, because these are they youngsters who have gotten in trouble and for them the picture is not promising.

It is not promising until you come to the flying padre, Father Don Murray, executive director of the Sky Ranch for Boys, located in South Dakota.

And the story of Father Murray and the Sky Ranch is a heart-warming report of what one man, with the help of friends, has been able to do to help youngsters in trouble. It is contained in This Week magazine and worthy of particular attention at this time of year.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the report by Joseph Rosenberger, entitled "Miracle at Sky Ranch," as contained in This Week magazine.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MIRACLE AT SKY RANCH

(By Joseph Rosenberger)

The Cessna Skylane dived like a silver eagle toward the rugged Black Hills far below, its single engine roaring like a banshee. The plane was not out of control, nor was it a part of a scene from some air adventure movie. It was Father Don Murray—"The Flying Padre"—and one of his air cadets. Incredibly, four months previously, the tousled haired, freckled 16-year-old had been one of the worst juvenile delinquents in the tough Brownsville section of New York City, with three reform school terms behind him and, in all probability, a long stretch "up the river" ahead of him. But things were different now.

There are other homes for delinquent boys in the U.S., but none have succeeded quite so well as the Sky Ranch for Boys and Father Don's unusual methods—the score of rehabilitations is, astonishingly above *90 per cent*, a figure that completely dumbfounds the professional social workers, particularly in view of the fact that many of the boys had been given up as incurable.

As Executive Director of Sky Ranch For Boys, Father Don also flabbergasts the experts with his unique use of airplanes as part of his therapy. As Father Don points out, the desire to fly, to soar through the heavens, is a tremendously powerful motivating force in all boys. There is much more to Father Don's treatment than flying, but the "plane therapy" serves as a constant incentive for obedience to Sky Ranch's program.

Problem boys are sent to the Flying Padre from all over the United States, by judges, probation workers (and by parents). Father Murray personally meets each new arrival at the Rapid City, South Dakota, airport, and flies him to Sky Ranch, about 100 miles away.

There in the natural environment of the Western prairie country, boys can ride horseback for miles and not see another human being, only cattle and sheep on an open range, leisurely crossing winding blacktop highways. In the distance, the Black Hills watch over Sky Ranch, whose 3,000 acres spill across the rapidly flowing Little Missouri River into Montana. Imagine what this does for a boy whose "open spaces" have consisted of nothing but rat-infested tenements, back alleys and sidewalks.

The flying treatment works something like this: Each boy is a C.A.P. cadet (Civil Air Patrol) and is given a thorough course in aeornautics by Father Murray, who is an expert licensed pilot and a major in the C.A.P. The boys elect a Squadron Commander by popular vote; under him are two officers who enforce the merit system of good behavior. One hundred demerits and a boy is grounded, to be reinstated only by behaving.

Work also has its place. Each boy has his chores, his specific duties, his productive function in the Sky Ranch Community. There are various food crops to be planted, tended and harvested. There are chickens to be fed, cows to be milked, sheep to be sheared, pigs to be slopped and slaughtered, cattle to be tended and counted. There is the upkeep of ranch buildings, as well as school and other duties.

Father Don admits, "I don't pretend to have all the answers. In fact, I'm learning just as the boys are. There are different reasons for juvenile delinquency: emotional, moral and material insecurities, and poor balance or lack of love and discipline.

"That's how a lot of boys get on the roller coaster of crime—in their thirst for adventure, which is nothing more than a compensation for their feelings of being unloved and unwanted, they strike back the only way they know how, by stealing or committing other crimes.

"But here's the catch: Nothing they can imagine can compare with flying a plane, with zooming to—say—ten thousand feet and throwing the plane into a dive. That's real daring, real adventure, and the boys know it. It's not only a challenge to their courage, but it gives them a feeling of confidence and accomplishment."

The Flying Padre never sends a boy away "unless I am positively convinced he cannot be helped. By that I refer to boys who are actually psychotic. We simply haven't the facilities for treating any boy who is mentally disturbed. We must also reject children who are crippled, because ranch life is simply too severe for them. And we have to reject a boy if, at any time, we don't have room for him. But race, color or religious beliefs don't mean a thing to me. I accept all boys, just as God accepts all of us.

"But it takes time. There are no magic wands that can be waved and instantly cure. Emotional disturbances take a long time in forming, and it takes just as long to untwist them. How do you teach a young man who has never been loved *how* to love? How can you prove to a boy who has known nothing but daily rejection that he is now *accepted*?"

There is still another element: Father Don Murray, himself—although he would never admit it. A youthful-appearing man of 49, slim and of medium height, Father Don has a warm and effervescent personality that instantly makes itself known and felt wherever he goes.

Perhaps Father Don understands his boys so well because his own background is not too dissimilar. As a boy, he knew plenty of material insecurity. He sold newspapers and struggled at various odd jobs to help support his mother, three sisters and a brother. He cut lawns, cleaned out basements, passed out handbills, tutored other students. All this, along with guiding tourists through the Black Hills, enabled him to go to his parochial school. He paid for high school by playing his drums as local dances, until one night he caught a cold. A few days later he was in the hospital with double pneumonia.

"I almost died," Father Don explains. "As I lay there burning with fever, I reflected how difficult life had been for me. I began feeling sorry for myself. Then I began thinking of other boys who were worse off, boys who had it even harder than I . . . boys without mothers . . . without love; and I felt deeply ashamed of myself. Right there, I promised God that if He let me live, I'd become a priest and spend the rest of my life helping boys—not just poor boys, but delinquent boys."

In 1945, after he was ordained a Roman Catholic priest, he was assigned to missions in the southeastern corner of the Rapid City diocese. Then Father Don met Bill Greiner, the flight instructor at the Draper airport, and became interested in flying.

In 1949 Father Don was assigned to the northwestern South Dakota missions—"And here my flying was a God-send. This gigantic area of some 14,000 square miles had previously been served by only two priests, who had to get around by car!"

Each Sunday the young priest—he was then only 29—would soar away to outlying missions to hear confessions and say Mass. "I logged at least 500 flying hours a year and went through three airplanes."

Father Don set up residence in Buffalo, a small "inland" town in the middle of nothing but prairie, so tiny it doesn't even have railroad facilities. He and his new parishioners built a church and rectory. Later a dormitory, dining room, kitchen and storeroom were added for boys (not delinquents) whose distant ranch homes made it impossible for them to attend school each day—"And at the same time I worried, because I had not had an opportunity to devote my time to boys who really needed help."

Finally Father Don got his chance in the form of an officer at the local Air Force base, who asked the Flying Padre (as he was now called) to help his teen-age stepson, who had stolen several cars.

That was in 1953, and soon probation workers, youth counselors and social workers began sending him their "problem" boys. Father Murray accepted every boy. "But I didn't have any place for them to sleep. In fact, I didn't even have enough room in the church dormitory for my regular school boys."

But help came. One rancher donated a two-story frame house for an auxiliary dormitory for boys of grade-school age. Another rancher gave Father some land, while local businessmen from Camp Crook, Buffalo and other neighboring towns donated funds. Father Don's big break came when he was invited in 1960 to speak of his ideas and his work at the National Licensed Beverage Association convention.

Father Don Murray's appeal touched the heart of Mr. B. C. Ohlandt, Vice Chairman of the Board of the National Distillers and Chemical Corp., who established The Sky Ranch Foundation, Inc., in New York City, to raise the needed funds. The target goal of $35,000 was reached through a national campaign and by large contributions from Mr. Ohlandt and other members of the liquor industry. In 1961, the Foundation purchased the present Sky Ranch site and a completely new complex was begun.

In the spring of 1964, a new ranch building called Ohlandt Hall was dedicated, complete with dormitory, kitchen, etc. In the spring of 1966, a new hangar was completed for the two Cessna airplanes. Future plans call for five more dormitory cottages, a gym, trade school, office building and staff residence.

Money however, is a constant problem. For instance, it costs over $1,200 a year for the upkeep of each boy, and if the boy is not a South Dakota resident and attends high school in Buffalo, his education is additional.

Sky Ranch for boys is nonsectarian, and no boy is required to attend any kind of Catholic service. Even so, Father Don is convinced that intensive moral and religious training is very necessary to the rehabilitation of any youngster: "Most boys have no conscience or have only a perverted conscience when they come to Sky Ranch, and one of our big jobs is to help them form a conscience. A boy must have moral and religious education in order to exist in the modern world, to which he must return after he leaves Sky Ranch."

The ten per cent failure? In a sad voice, the Flying Padre explains: "Yes, we do fail with some boys, because many sociopathic conditions are permanent. A boy can be motivated, encouraged and taught to live with his problem, but there eare many cases when the problem itself cannot be eliminated.

"If some of his basic emotions, such as love, have been dropped into a deep freeze, dwarfed and never given a chance to develop, then how can anyone expect him to suddenly go against his very nature and show the use of such tender emotions?"

In other words, a boy's desire to be good must be strong enough for him to overcome sneers and rejections.

"That is what we are trying to do at Sky Ranch," explains Father Don, "to give each boy a sense of moral support and responsibility, a feeling of pride in himself, so that he leaves here strong enough morally to overcome *any* temptation."

TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Pursuant to the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 605, on Monday, December 18, 1967, the Secretary of the Senate received a message from the House of Representatives, which announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, on the following dates:

On December 15, 1967:

H.R. 1141. An act to continue the duty-free status of certain gifts by members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3031. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Photinos-Svoronos;

H.R. 6326. An act or the relief of Chrisanthe Savas Karatapanis;

H.R. 7427. An act for the relief of Maria Kolometroutsis;

H.R. 8476. An act to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. Alfred Sevenski;

H.R. 8547. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to simplify laws relating to members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8580. An act to declare that certain lands are held in trust for the Squaxin Island Indian Tribe;

H.R. 10397. An act for the relief of Nguyen Van Be (James Be Roellig);

H.R. 11542. An act for the relief of Marshall County, Ind., and

H.J. Res. 960. Joint resolution establishing that the second regular session of the 90th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 15, 1968.

On December 16, 1967:

S. 1566. An act to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;

H.R. 1341. An act to amend section 701 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas;

H.R. 3982. An act to amend section 409 of title 37, United States Code, relating to the transportation of housetrailers and mobile dwellings of members of the uniformed services;

H.R. 7819. An act to strengthen, improve, and extend programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10242. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, relating to the authorized strengths by grade for medical and dental officers on active duty in the Army, Navy, and Air Force;

H.R. 11292. An act for the relief of Jung Soo Bok;

H.R. 12080. An act to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13893. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 14397. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT, pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 605, 90th Congress, first session, on Thursday, December 21, 1967, signed the following bills and joint resolution, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 174. An act for the relief of Dr. Eduardo Gonzalez;

S. 294. An act for the relief of Eloy C. Navarro;

S. 866. An act for the relief of Giuseppe Pacino Biancarosso;

S. 1477. An act to amend section 301 of title III of the act of August 14, 1946, relating to the establishment by the Secretary of Agriculture of a national advisory committee, to provide for annual meetings of such committee;

S. 1566. An act to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;

S. 1722. An act to amend the wheat acreage allotment provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended;

S. 2119. An act for the relief of Dr. Octavio Suarez-Murias;

S. 2153. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose Rafael Montalvo y Urrutibeascoa;

S. 2171. An act to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, so as to accord with certain decisions of the courts;

S. 2206. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge Rolando Guerra-Reyes;

S. 2265. An act for the relief of Christopher Nicholas Rushton;

H.R. 664. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that bagpipes and parts thereof shall be admitted free of duty;

H.R. 1141. An act to continue the duty-free status of certain gifts by members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1341. An act to amend section 701 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas;

H.R. 3031. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Photinos-Svoronos;

H.R. 3982. An act to amend section 409 of title 37, United States Code, relating to the transportation of house trailers and mobile dwellings of members of the uniformed services;

H.R. 5575. An act for the relief of Panagiotis Paulus;

H.R. 6326. An act for the relief of Chrisanthe Savas Karatapanis;

H.R. 7427. An act for the relief of Maria Kolometroutais;

H.R. 7819. An act to strengthen, improve, and extend programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8476. An act to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. Alfred Sevenski;

H.R. 8547. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to simplify laws relating to members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8580. An act to declare that certain lands are held in trust for the Squaxin Island Indian Tribe;

H.R. 10242. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, relating to the authorized strengths by grade for medical and dental officers on active duty in the Army, Navy, and Air Force;

H.R. 10397. An act for the relief of Nguyen Van Be (James Be Roellig);

H.R. 11292. An act for the relief of Jung Soo Bok;

H.R. 11542. An act for the relief of Marshall County, Ind.;

H.R. 12080. An act to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12505. An act to provide that a District of Columbia public school teacher may retire on a full annuity at age 55 after 30 years of service or at age 60 after 20 years of service, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12961. An act to amend title 37, United States Code, to authorize the nontemporary storage of household effects of members of a missing status;

H.R. 13273. An act to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development;

H.R. 1383. An act to provide that the post office and Federal office building to be constructed in Bronx, N.Y., shall be named the "Charles A. Buckley Post Office and Federal Office Building" in memory of the late Charles A. Buckley, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the State of New York from 1935 through 1964;

H.R. 13893. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13933. An act to amend section 103 of title 23, United States Code, to authorize modifications or revisions in the Interstate System;

H.R. 14397. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 960. Joint resolution establishing that the second regular session of the 90th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 15, 1968.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that, on December 21, 1967, the following bills were presented to the President of the United States;

S. 174. An act for the relief of Dr. Eduardo Gonzalez;

S. 294. An act for the relief of Elroy C. Navarro;

S. 866. An act for the relief of Giuseppe Pacino Biancarosso;

S. 1477. An act to amend section 301 of title III of the act of August 14, 1946, relating to the establishment by the Secretary of Agriculture of a national advisory committee, to provide for annual meetings of such committee;

S. 1566. An act to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;

S. 1722. An act to amend the wheat acreage allotment provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended;

S. 2119. An act for the relief of Dr. Octavio Suarez-Murias;

S. 2153. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose Rafael Montalvo y Urrutibeascoa;

S. 2171. An act to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, so as to accord with certain decisions of the courts;

S. 2206. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge Rolando Guerra-Reyes; and

S. 2265. An act for the relief of Christopher Nicholas Rushton.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 605, 90th Congress, he did on December 16, 1967, sign an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1566. An act to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the contruction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 605, 90th Congress, he did on December 16, 1967, sign enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 1141. An act to continue the duty-free status of certain gifts by members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1341. An act to amend section 701 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas;

H.R. 3031. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Photinos-Svoronos;

H.R. 3982. An act to amend section 409 of title 37, United States Code, relating to the transportation of house trailers and mobile dwellings of members of the uniformed services;

H.R. 6326. An act for the relief of Chrisanthe Savas Karatapanis;

H.R. 7427. An act for the relief of Maria Kolometroutsis;

H.R. 7819. An act to strengthen, improve, and extend programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8476. An act to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. Alfred Sevenski;

H.R. 8547. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to simplify laws relating to members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8580. An act to declare that certain lands are held in trust for the Squaxin Island Indian Tribe;

H.R. 10242. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, relating to the authorized strengths by grade for medical and dental officers on active duty in the Army, Navy, and Air Force;

H.R. 10397. An act for the relief of Nguyen Van Be (James Be Roellig);

H.R. 11292. An act for the relief of Jung Soo Bok;

H.R. 11542. An act for the relief of Marshall County, Ind.;

H.R. 12080. An act to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13893. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14397. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 960. Joint resolution establishing that the second regular session of the 90th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 15, 1968.

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on the following dates, present to the President, for his approval, bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On December 21, 1967:

H.R. 664. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that bagpipes and parts thereof shall be admitted free of duty;

H.R. 1141. An act to continue the duty-free status of certain gifts by members of the Armed Forces serving in cobat zones, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1341. An act to amend section 701 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize additional accumulation of leave in certain foreign areas;

H.R. 3031. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Photinos-Svoronos;

H.R. 3982. An act to amend section 409 of title 37, United States Code, relating to the transportation of house trailers and mobile dwellings of members of the uniformed services;

H.R. 6326. An act for the relief of Chrisanthe Savas Karatapanis;

H.R. 7527. An act for the relief of Maria Kolometroutsis;

H.R. 7819. An act to strengthen, improve, and extend programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8476. An act to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. Alfred Sevenski;

H.R. 8547. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to simplify laws relating to members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8580. An act to declare that certain lands are held in trust for the Squaxin Island Indian Tribe;

H.R. 10242. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, relating to the authorized strengths by grade for medical and dental officers on active duty in the Army, Navy, and Air Force;

H.R. 10397. An act for the relief of Nguyen Van Be (James Be Roellig);

H.R. 11292. An act for the relief of Jung Soo Bok;

H.R. 11542. An act for the relief of Marshall County, Ind.;

H.R. 12080. An act to amend the Social Security Act to provide an increase in benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide benefits for additional categories of individuals, to improve the public assistance program and programs relating to the welfare and health of children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12505. An act to provide that a District of Columbia public school teacher may retire on a full annuity at age 55 after 30 years of service or at age 60 after 20 years of service, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12961. An act to amend title 37, United States Code, to authorize the nontemporary storage of household effects of members of a missing status;

H.R. 13273. An act to amend the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, as amended, to extend the period of time within which the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources is to submit its final report and to provide for a fixed expiration date for the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development;

H.R. 13833. An act to provide that the post office and Federal office building to be constructed in Bronx, N.Y., shall be named the "Charles A. Buckley Post Office and Federal Office Building," in memory of the late Charles A. Buckley, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the State of New York from 1935 through 1964;

H.R. 13893. An act making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13933. An act to amend section 103 of title 23, United States Code, to authorize modifications or revisions in the Interstate System;

H.R. 14397. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 960. An act establishing that the second regular session of the 90th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 15, 1968.

On December 26, 1967:

H.R. 5575. An act for the relief of Penagiotis Paulus.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On November 24, 1967:

H.R. 5784. An act to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile;

H.R. 5787. An act to authorize the disposal of rare-earth materials from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 5788. An act to authorize the disposal of bismuth from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; and

H.R. 13048. An act to make certain technical amendments to the Library Services and Construction Act.

On November 28, 1967:

H.R. 1963. An act for the relief of employees of General Services Administration;

H.R. 2517. An act to amend sections 64a, 238, 378, and 483 of the Bankruptcy Act and to repeal sections 354 and 459 of the act;

H.R. 2518. An act to amend sections 337 and 338 of the Bankruptcy Act and to add new section 339;

H.R. 2519. An act to amend sections 334, 355, 367, and 369 of the Bankruptcy Act;

H.R. 2834. An act to amend the act of June 10, 1938, relating to the participation of the United States in the International Criminal Police Organization;

H.R. 3403. An act for the relief of Harry LeRoy Jones;

H.R. 3474. An act to require the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to determine the amount and validity of the claim of Ike Ignac Klein against the Government of Hungary, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3727. An act for the relief of Elpidio Dimacali Damazo and Natividad Simsuangco Damazo;

H.R. 3799. An act for the relief of the city of Pawtucket, R.I.;

H.R. 6324. An act for the relief of John A. Danisch;

H.R. 7599. An act for the relief of Dr. Emanuel Marcus;

H.R. 7811. An act for the relief of Richard Alan White;

H.R. 8632. An act to amend sections 40c(1) and 52a of the Bankruptcy Act so as to reallocate part of the filing fee from the clerk's earnings to the Referees' Salary and Expense Fund; and

H.J. Res. 936. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

On November 29, 1967:

H.R. 168. An act to amend the act of June 20, 1918, relating to the retirement age requirements of certain personnel of the Coast Guard;

H.R. 169. An act to increase the amount of benefits payable to widows of certain former employees of the Lighthouse Service, and thereafter to provide for cost-of-living increases in benefits payable to such widows and to such former employees;

H.R. 1006. An act to provide an increase in the retired pay of certain members of the former Lighthouse Service; and

H.R. 3351. An act to amend the act of August 19, 1950, to provide annuity benefits for an additional number of widows of employees of the Lighthouse Service.

On December 1, 1967:

H.R. 2. An act to amend titles 10, 32, and 37, United States Code, to strengthen the Reserve components of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 859. Joint resolution extending for 1 year the emergency provisions of the urban mass transportation program.

On December 4, 1967:

H.R. 6430. An act to amend the public health laws relating to mental retardation to extend, expand, and improve them, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 10442. An act to facilitate exchanges of land under the act of March 20, 1922 (42 Stat. 465), for use for public schools, and for other purposes.

On December 5, 1967:

H.R. 6418. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and expand the authorizations for grants for comprehensive health planning and services, to broaden and improve the authorization for research and demonstrations relating to the delivery of health services, to improve the performance of clinical laboratories, and to authorize cooperative activities between the Public Health Service hospitals and community facilities, and for other purposes.

On December 6, 1967:

H.R. 2529. An act to amend the act of September 8, 1960, relating to the Washington Channel waterfront.

On December 8, 1967:

H.R. 2154. An act to provide long-term leasing for the Gila River Indian Reservation;

H.R. 8582. An act to amend chapter 7 of title 11 of the District of Columbia Code to increase the number of associate judges on the District of Columbia court of appeals from two to five, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12910. An act to establish a Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Navy, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 13606. An act making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes.

On December 10, 1967:

H.R. 4920. An act to amend the act of August 9, 1955, to authorize longer term leases of Indian lands on the San Carlos Apache Reservation in Arizona.

On December 12, 1967:

H.R. 8629. An act to amend the act of July 4, 1966 (Public Law 89–491).

On December 14, 1967:

H.R. 2275. An act for the relief of Dr. Ricardo Vallejo Samala and to provide for congressional redistricting;

H.R. 2730. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to Temple Junior College, Temple, Tex.;

H.R. 2828. An act to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Iowa Tribes of Kansas and Nebraska and of Oklahoma in Indian Claims Commission dockets Nos. 138 and 79, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4983. An act to disclaim any right, title, or interest by the United States in certain lands in the State of Arizona;

H.R. 10805. An act to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission;

H.R. 12638. An act to authorize the exchange of certain vessels for conversion and operation in unsubsidized service between the west coast of the United States and the territory of Guam; and

HR. 12912. An act to give the consent of Congress to the State of Ohio to become a party to the agreement relating to bus taxation proration and reciprocity as set forth in title II of the act of April 14, 1965 (79 Stat. 60), and consented to by Congress in that act and in the acts of November 1, 1965 (79 Stat. 1157), and November 2, 1966 (80 Stat. 1156).

On December 15, 1967:

H.R. 480. An act to amend the act of October 4, 1961, relating to the acquisition of wetlands for conservation of migratory waterfowl, to extend for an additional 8 years the period during which funds may be appropriated under that act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1592, An act for the relief of Dr. Rene Jose Triay;

H.R. 3516, An act for the relief of Andres Mauricio Candela, M.D.;

H.R. 3525, An act for the relief of Israel Mizrahy, M.D.;

H.R. 3528, An act for the relief of Isaac Chervony, M.D.;

H.R. 3866. An Act for the relief of Dr. Eduardo Enrique Ramos;

H.R. 4974. An act for the relief of Dr. Manuel A. Turbat;

H.R. 5186. An act for the relief of Dr. Armando Cobelo;

H.R. 5187. An act for the relief of Dr. Hector Alfredo E. Planas-Pina;

H.R. 6088. An act for the relief of Dr. Manuel Jose Coto;

H.R. 6670. An act for the relief of Dr. Virgilio A. Ganganelli Valle;

H.R. 6766. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Gustavo Fors Docal;

H.R. 7890. An act for the relief of Dr. Josefina Quintos Marcelo;

H.R. 7896. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose A. Rico Fernandez;

H.R. 7898. An act for the relief of Dr. Nemesio Vazquez Fernandez;

H.R. 8256. An act for the relief of Dr. Hermes Q. Cuervo.

H.R. 8258. An act for the relief of Jorge Gabriel Lazcano, M.D.;

H.R. 8407. An act for the relief of Dr. Raquel Maria Cruz-Flores;

H.R. 8738. An act for the relief of Guillermo Ramon Palacio Sela;

H.R. 9081. An act for the relief of Dr. Josefina Esther Kouri-Barreto de Pelleya;

H.R. 10595. An act to prohibit certain banks and savings associations from fostering or participating in gambling activities; and

H.R. 12144. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Meat Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State meat inspection programs, and for other purposes.

On December 16, 1967:

H.R. 7977. An act to adjust certain postage rates, to adjust the rates of basic compensation for certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, and to regulate the mailing of pandering advertisements, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 13510. An act to increase the basic pay for members of the uniformed services, and for other purposes.

On December 18, 1967:

H.R. 1894. An act for the relief of Our Lady of Pillar Catholic Church in Santa Ana, Calif.;

H.R. 2138. An act to amend section 319 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to permit naturalization for certain employees of U.S. nonprofit organizations engaged in disseminating information which significantly promotes U.S. interest, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2152. An act to amend the act incorporating the Disabled American Veterans so as to provide for an annual audit of their accounts;

H.R. 3032. An act for the relief of Mrs. Karen Wood Davila;

H.R. 3889. An act for the relief of the Standard Meat Co.;

H.R. 5709. An act to amend the District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Act of 1949 to remove certain limitations, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5853. An act for the relief of Raymond E. Grail;

H.R. 6096. An act for the relief of Mrs. Inge Hemmersbach Hilton;

H.R. 8338. An act to create a new division for the western district of Texas, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8376. An act to provide that the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York shall be held at Brooklyn, N.Y., and Mineola, N.Y.;

H.R. 9574. An act for the relief of Joseph J. Wojcik;

H.R. 10449. An act for the relief of Camille Anita Dobson;

H.R. 11565. An act to amend section 358 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to authorize the transfer of peanut acreage allotments;

H.R. 12121. An act to amend the act of September 19, 1964 (78 Stat. 983), establishing the Public Land Law Review Commission, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 888. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1968, and for other purposes.

On December 20, 1967:

H.R. 6111. An act to provide for the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 11395. An act to amend the National Capital Transportation Act of 1965 authorizing the prosecution of a transit development program for the National Capital region and to further the objectives of the act of July 14, 1960.

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Vol. 113 WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1968 *No. 209*

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PERIODICAL READING ROOM

Appendix

NOTICE

A number of the bills presented to the President since sine die adjournment of the Congress have not been acted upon. Consequently, this issue of the Record does not contain a résumé of congressional activity, history of bills enacted into public law during the Ninetieth Congress, first session, and an index thereto. It is expected that this material will be printed in its entirety later this week. No material other than that hereinabove mentioned will be published in said supplemental edition.

CARL HAYDEN, *Chairman.*

More Republicans Improved the 90th Congress

SPEECH
OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been a good Congress because of more Republicans in both the House and Senate. President Johnson admits it has been a productive Congress. His majority leader in the Senate, Senator MANSFIELD, says the record of this Congress has been "good, decent, and respectable," and I agree, as I am sure Senator DIRKSEN does.

I recall vividly in the middle of the 1965 session of the 89th Congress—the last Congress—Senator MANSFIELD said that the Congress had passed a lot of major bills too hastily, with too many loopholes and too many rough corners, and particularly it had failed to make a proper assessment of the current and ultimate cost of these vast programs.

But the 89th Congress did not listen to Senator MANSFIELD, while the American people did.

The 90th Congress in 1967 has been productive and constructive, primarily because the voters of the Nation in November 1966 gave us a net gain of 47 Republicans in the House and additional strength in the Senate. These new Republicans came from 33 States—from the length and breadth of America. They are attractive, articulate young men and women who are responsive to their voters and who are fighting hard for constructive solutions to the Nation's problems at home and abroad.

This Congress, with 50 more Republicans, has produced this record:

First. Spending limitations totaling more than $4 billion from the President's budget for fiscal 1968: This effort to curb runaway inflation and avoid another tax increase succeeded only because of virtually solid Republican support.

Second. Social security improvements: More benefits for senior citizens who have been hurt by Johnson-Humphrey inflation—without the additional payroll taxes on working citizens that President Johnson wanted. Ninety-nine percent of House Republicans supported this legislation.

Third. Comprehensive health legislation: A partnership-for-health bill providing funds for the Federal Government and the States to attack rats and other pests, narcotics addiction, and so forth. Ninety-eight percent of Republicans supported this legislation.

Fourth. Clean meat inspection law: 99½ percent of Republicans supported.

Fifth: A flammable products control bill to protect families and children from deadly garments, toys, and home products: 100 percent Republican support.

Sixth. A law to clean up the air we breathe: 100 percent Republican support.

In the House of Representatives this session—with Republicans reinforced and on the march—we have passed many forward-looking and much-needed bills. Here are eight of them:

First. A Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act—modified to permit State and local agencies to play their rightful role—99 percent Republican support.

Second. Juvenile delinquency prevention and control legislation—99½ percent Republican support.

Third. Federal antiriot legislation—99 percent Republican support.

Fourth. Adult education legislation—100 percent Republican support.

Fifth. Law to stop desecration of the American flag—100 percent Republican support.

Sixth. Equal benefits for Vietnam veterans and their families—100 percent Republican support.

Seventh. Independent Maritime Administration legislation—opposed by the Johnson-Humphrey administration but backed by 97 percent of House Republicans to try to salvage the neglected U.S. merchant marine.

Eighth. Curbs on excessive nondefense spending—Federal spending in 1960 under the last Republican administration was $48.6 billion. Estimated nondefense spending for fiscal 1968 is nearly double that figure—$95.6 billion. The cumulative Federal deficit since President Johnson entered the White House is expected to exceed $60 billion. As a result, the U.S. dollar is in trouble abroad and buys less and less at home.

This is a good Congress and it is because the American people made some changes from the last one.

Republicans are against the status quo in the handling of our Federal fiscal affairs. We are soldiers fighting the Johnson administration's inflation and the Johnson administration's high interest rates. We believe the American people deserve a better deal. Look at this dollar bill. Since a Republican left the White House about 7 years ago, the purchasing power of this dollar bill has gone down 13 percent.

Just to give you another indication, the cost of living in 1966 went up 3.3 percent. The cost of living this year will probably be close to 4 percent, and next year it appears that the cost of living may even be higher than that.

I think the American people deserve a better break and we as Republicans are fighting to do something about inflation, the higher and higher cost of living and the high interest rates. Talking about high interest rates, let me point out that just a week or so ago our Government, Uncle Sam, sold Federal securities and paid 6.4 percent interest, the highest in 100 years. Now this problem is created, I think, by the fact that the administration has failed to manage effectively and responsibly our Federal taxes and our Federal expenditures.

I have here in my hand a copy of the Federal budget for 1968, that is this fiscal year. We think the mismanagement of this budget has precipitated high interest rates and inflation.

Let me point out the problem that we face in the Congress. When the President submitted this budget to us in January he said the deficit would be $8.1 billion. In August he finally conceded that the deficit would be $29 billion and just a few weeks ago the President—I think quite irresponsibly—said the deficit might reach as high as $35 billion.

The trouble is we just cannot believe the mathematics that the Johnson administration submits to us every year in January. With all the errors they have made in every budget, I often wonder what would happen to a taxpayer if he made similar mistakes on his Federal income tax return. I think any ordinary taxpayer would really be in trouble.

Now when we come right down to it, the Republicans for the last 3 years have tried to make specific, constructive recommendations to attack inflation and high interest rates. The national Republican coordinating committee, of which both Senator DIRKSEN and I are members, recommended in 1965 a nine-point program to straighten out the fiscal problems we face. The coordinating committee in April 1966 made a 13-point recommendation to fight inflation and high interest rates. We in the House of Representatives have been trying to cut Federal expenditures as Republicans also have in the Senate. We have a better solution to the fiscal problems facing this Nation which result in such a severe loss in purchasing power for every American family. We believe it is better to reduce expenditures than to pass the President's tax increase. We believe in responsible, realistic Federal financing. Do you realize that in the last 7 years since a Republican left the White House, there have been accumulated deficits in the Federal Government of over $60 billion? This can not go on much longer or our dollar will be worth even less than it is today.

Now let me point out the problem we face in crime. In the last 8 years our population has gone up 10 percent, but in the last 8 years crime in this country has gone up 67 percent. The FBI reported just the other day that crime in this country went up 16 percent in the first 9 months of 1967. There have been 120 or more riots in our major metropolitan areas in 1967, in which 118 people lost their lives, some 4,000 have been injured and $270 million in damage was done to public and private property. Yes, we are against this kind of a status quo. Republicans are fighting to do something about the crime problem.

The President early this year sent up a bill to involve the Federal Government in the crime problem. The House of Representatives under Republican leadership threw out the President's crime bill and we passed a meaningful piece of legislation that denies the President's demand for what could become a Federal police force under the control of the Attorney General. Our bill, as the House passed it, gives to the States needed Federal funds and Federal guidance, providing each State has a State plan coordinating the local and State law-enforcement organizations. We think the Republican approach to crime is the constructive one. I am proud to repeat that 99 percent of the Republicans in the House supported this crime remedy rather than the dangerous one that the President recommended.

We have talked about the good things this Congress has done, primarily because of the increased numbers of Republican Congressmen the American people in 33 States sent us a year ago to help us battle against the Johnson administration's status quo. But the job of this Congress is not yet completed. We think this Congress should write a good record as a reform Congress. For example, we believe that there should be clean election legislation. We have been operating in this country for a numbr of years with antiquated, inadequate, and ineffective Federal election laws. In the House of Representatives, the Republicans have really carried the ball to try and get meaningful, effective legislation to guarantee clean Federal elections in the 1968 presidential race, in the upcoming Senate races, and in the House races. We believe that there should be strict disclosure as to funds received by candidates and to the expenditures that are made on behalf of a candidate.

We strongly disagree with the President's proposal to finance elections out of taxpayers' money from the Federal Treasury. We think that is the wrong way to get the people interested in good government.

One of the good ideas that our new Republican Members pushed the hardest on—and I am proud of their efforts and of the results—was to establish in the House of Representatives a code of ethics for all Congressmen. They took the lead in getting the House of Representatives to establish a Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. This committee has put together and is about to announce a code of ethics for Members of the House of Representatives. We think this is long overdue, and I hope it will be effective.

This new group of Republicans is a very vigorous lot. They are articulate and attractive and they work hard. They sometimes come up with ideas that should have been thought of before and, believe me, they are a very helpful group when we challenge the status quo of the Johnson administration on fiscal matters, on crime and law enforcement, and on other matters. I hope that in the next election the American people will send at least 31 more to the House of Representatives, so we can continue trying to straighten out some of our basic problems, trying to get away from the status quo that we are in today.

This is not a rubberstamp Congress. The last Congress was President Johnson's Congress, but this Congress is more nearly representative of the American people.

But, this is the Christmas season, and only minutes ago President Johnson turned the lights on the White House Christmas tree on on behalf of all Americans.

We did not agree and frankly we did not like the President's unfair assessment of the 90th Congress in 1967. But now we have set the record straight, there is something far more important I would like to say. As Republicans, we are not only proud of the work we have done in the session just ending, we are proud of the Congress itself. With increased strength we have immensely improved the quality of laws under which all Americans live, and we intend to continue to play our proper part in the constitutional process of government. We hope the President and the judicial branch will play theirs. We are proud of the way representative government works, and we will keep on fighting to make it work. We are proud of America and have faith in America, and with new Republican leadership in the White House and Republican majorities in the Congress we pledge our countrymen that everyone can be really proud of being an American. Let us never forget that we are all Americans.

On that note, Merry Christmas to you, Mr. President, and Merry Christmas to everybody in this great, good, compassionate and charitable land, which has been good to all of us.

The 60th Anniversary of the Washington National Cathedral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, each day thousands of tourists arrive in Washington to view and appreciate the heritage, history, and beauty of our Nation's Capital City.

We often think of the Capitol Building, the White House, the monuments and museums as centers of interest in Washington, but too often we overlook other buildings of keen significance.

One of the often overlooked buildings, a striking example of architecture and a house of worship which is very dear to me, is the Washington Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul.

A handful of laymen, assembled at the home of Charles C. Glover on the night of December 9, 1891, took the first definite steps toward fulfillment of L'Enfant's vision for the Washington Cathedral and put into motion plans for the start of construction.

By act of Congress, the cathedral was chartered in 1893. The cornerstone was laid by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907.

The 28th President of these United States, President Woodrow Wilson, rests eternally in the cathedral. His distinguished grandson, the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, is dean of the cathedral.

I have been honored to serve as a member of the Cathedral Chapter of the Washington National Cathedral since 1952, and was pleased to be reelected last October to another 4-year term as a member of the chapter.

The cathedral marked its 60th birthday since the laying of the cornerstone this year, and the architect of the Washington Cathedral marked his 80th birthday this year.

This noted architect, Philip Hubert Frohman, is now in his 46th year as appointed architect for the cathedral.

The cathedral, now in construction and revision for more than 60 years, is perhaps the greatest American example of the Gothic style of architecture. Indeed, the only structural differences between the Washington Cathedral and the classical cathedrals of Europe are electricity and radiant heating.

Architect Frohman, a true believer in the beauty of the Gothic style, has said that—

> Gothic architecture is art, not archeology. Gothic is the only modern style that is logical and functional.

In a recent article about this astounding architect and his outstanding architecture at the Washington Cathedral, Wolf Von Eckardt reviewed the history of the man and his art for the Washington Post. I read the article as it was reprinted in the Tulsa World of Sunday, November 19, 1967.

In his article, Mr. Von Eckardt refers to Architect Frohman as "the greatest practicing Gothicist of our time," and further explains that Frohman's interest in architecture came early. He said:

> He had begun to study medieval cathedrals when he was nine, made up his mind to become an architect at 11, and enrolled in the Troop Polytechnical Institute at Pasadena, Calif., now Cal Tech, when he was 13.

As a child, Frohman prayed that the Washington Cathedral would be in the Gothic style, not Renaissance. His prayers were answered in the works of others, then in 1921 he was selected to continue the work of the cathedral.

Mr. Von Eckardt's article is an intriguing and informative word portrayal of a truly beautiful building of worship and the greatness of a man truly dedicated to his work. It is the man's dedication, his "Gothic skill and devotion, not so much the Gothic style, that make the Washington Cathedral an inspired building."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Von Eckardt's article as printed in the Washington Post and reprinted in the Tulsa World, be entered in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARCHITECT PHILIP HUBERT FROHMAN AT 80: AFTER GOTHIC CATHEDRALS ALL ELSE "GRINNING HYPOCRISY"

(By Wolf Von Eckardt)

WASHINGTON.—Unfortunately we know little about the men who designed the great Gothic cathedrals of Europe. But Philip Hubert Frohman, the architect of the Washington Cathedral, who celebrated his 80th birthday last Nov. 16, gives us a good idea of what they must have been like.

Though he practices their art some 600 years later than the "master masons," "geometers," "chief stone cutters," or, at best, "master builders," as the architects of the Middle Ages were variously called, he is surely one of them. He may be the last, and is without question the greatest, practicing Gothicist of our time. And if that makes him an anachronism, he doesn't mind the epithet at all.

"I am proud to be an anachronism," Frohman told me recently, "if that means I am not confused by our own age, but draw inspiration from the past and devote thought to the future." Gothic architecture, he added with a trace of the righteous anger in his voice that, he says, is the driving force in his life, "is an art, not archeology."

"Gothic," he asserts, "is the only modern style that is logical and functional."

Throughout our talk in the office of the Cathedral's Clerk of the Works, or construction supervisor, this slight, unassuming looking, bespectacled man in a dark business suit, would return to the logic and function of his structure, not evading but escaping questions about his person.

And he would talk eagerly, sitting stiffly in his chair but jumping up on occasion to make his point on one of his exquisitely rendered drawings. He would talk eagerly not in the high-flown rhetoric of most artists, but in the practical language of an engineer. Let others find self-realization in their creations. Frohman finds the spiritual beauty and even the mystery he seeks for his building in the objective and incorruptible rules of structural science. He rejects other styles of architecture not so much on esthetic grounds, but because they lack the essential honesty that is his faith. Almost anything built after the Gothic cathedrals, he considers but "grinning hypocrisy," as another passionate Gothicist has called even St. Peter's in Rome. Like the parson he knows who preached "situation ethics" and then ran off to Florida with the pretty wife of the choir master, pseudo-classic, pseudo-Renaissance and, most of all, pseudo-functionalist architecture strike him as nothing less than the work of the devil.

Yet the devil, as Frohman sees it, almost got hold of the Washington Cathedral before it was even built. At the turn of the century, as plans were shaping up, the Macmillan Commission was making its plans to rebuild the monumental heart of Washington. It was to be a beaux arts Renaissance city in the image of Daniel Burnham's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago which had launched the "city beautiful" movement in America. Burnham, who was soon to design his Roman Union Station at the other end of town, urged another white classic temple on Mount St. Alban. His arguments seemed persuasive enough. Only Charles Follen McKim, though he usually fancied classic, thought Gothic the appropriate expression for a great cathedral.

This was Bishop Henry Yates Satterlee's view all along and Satterlee made it a habit to have his views prevail. Nor was it an unusual view at the time. Architecture, we must remember, was in a sad state of decline, especially in America. In polite Victorian society throughout the English-speaking world there was no room for doubt that the only way to heaven was through a Gothic arch.

The neo-Gothic movement, to be sure, had started nearly a century earlier, at first as a literary rather than an artictic weltanschauung. In part, it was purely romantic. In part, it was also a rebellion against the dawning machine age. Moreover; what with his powerful steam engines, man threatened to become cocky. Only the soaring arches and mysteriously elating stained glass windows of a Gothic house of worship seemed apt to humble him. What with his telegraph and new literacy, man began to gain world-wide perspectives. Only the style of Westminster Abey, built in the period between Henry III and Henry VIII which spanned the rise of the English modern nation, seemed properly suited to sustain his emotional loyalty to the Anglo-Saxon establishment. When, between 1840 and 1860 the House of Parliament was built, it was built in Gothic style and gave the revival its ultimate prestige.

Luckily, as it turned out, this revival attained greater architectural integrity than the other archeological exercises of the Victorian age. And this we owe chiefly to one Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, a Frenchman who had settled in London as a draftsman and architect and who had converted to Catholicism. Pugin was a fanatical believer in Gothic as a religious necessity. But he argued that a true Gothic building cannot be a mere copy, that the basic principles of Gothic structure must be understood.

One of Pugin's most talented disciples was the English architect George F. Bodley. And it was to Bodley that Bishop Satterlee turned for the design of the Washington Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. We can forever argue whether it was an historic accident, providence or a miracle that another, perhaps even more gifted, Pugin appeared on the scene to carry the work forward with inspired consistency. The name of that second Pugin, of course, is Philip Hubert Frohman.

Frohman would have been a Gothicist even if there had never been a Washington Cathedral, though he was mightily drawn to this challenge even as a child and prayed even then, he told me, that it should be Gothic not Renaissance. His mother's father was an architect, descendant of a family of prominent French architects, who designed luxury apartment houses in New York City. The boy was reared by a great-aunt in the French grand manner and Frohman still cherishes a painting of himself when he was about 11. It shows him dressed in a "Little Lord Fauntleroy" suit. Leaning against the elaborately carved table on which he is sitting is a print of a gothic building. He had begun to study medieval cathedrals when he was nine, made up his mind to become an architect when he was 11 and enrolled in the Troop Polytechnical Institute at Pasadena, Calif., now Cal Tech, when he was 13.

In 1908, the year Frohman had opened his own architectural office in Pasadena at the age of 21, he saw a reproduction of Bodley's first sketches for the Washington Cathedral. He carefully clipped the pictures from "The American Architect" magazine and filed them into his notebook of new Gothic work. But the Bodley concept kept churning in his mind and even then he kept sketching his ideas of improvements.

Bodley had died at the age of 80 the year before and his American partner, Henry Vaughan of Boston, prepared the working drawings. Vaughan died in 1917. By 1921, Frohman (at first with his partners E. Donald Robb and Harry B. Little) was appointed architect of the Washington Cathedral.

The appointment was no great surprise to him. He had sought it fervently. He had made his suggestions for changes in the

Bodley-Vaughan design known to the cathedral authorities.

Though in many subtle details they evolved over the 47 years that Frohman has been officially in charge, these changes are inspired by Frohman's first reaction upon seeing Bodley's sketches of an idealized 14th century Gothic cathedral, part French, with its polygonal apse and flying buttresses, part English, with its square towers and long nave. Both these features, Frohman felt at once, ought to be strengthened, somewhat more dramatized as it were. He would, with all due restraint, make this structure even more magnificent.

He has increased the height of the clerestory vaulting from Bodley's 92 feet to that of Westminster's 113 feet and increased the size of the aisle windows to bring even more French Gothic loftiness to the interior. He made the transepts more dominant by adding west aisles to each to emphasize the serene symmetry of the structure. And he heightened and strengthened the central towers. But perhaps his most decisive contribution will not be seen in actual stone for many a year, and hardly by the octogenarian himself.

Frohman's far more imposing west front with its two towers. He had always thought Bodley's western facade somewhat weak.

Had any other architect of our time thus tampered with the design of another, it might have been disastrous.

But Frohman never confuses creativity with originality. He made his changes, however history will judge them, in the spirit of the Gothic revival, in the spirit of Pugin and Bodley and of what all three consider Gothic architecture to be. It is part of this spirit that it would improve even on the medieval originals themselves. On his several journeys to Europe, Frohman told me, he found the old cathedrals—even his favorites, Amiens in France and Exeter in England—somewhat disappointing. He had, he confessed, idealized them in his mind.

Nor does Frohman work like a 20th century "form-giver," as a news magazine has called the more prominent among our busy little architects who often expound their latest architectural philosophy in airport interviews as they dart from one far-flung commission to another, presenting designs prepared by large staffs. Frohman calls them "architectural brokers." Aside from the cathedral, he has designed some 50, needless to say, Gothic churches throughout the country, the best of which he believes to be the Trinity College Chapel at Hartford, completed in 1930. He also proposed a design for a Cathedral of the Angels in Los Angeles for which the money is now being raised. But his office staff never exceeded more than five draftsmen and a secretary. And not even a bishop, exasperated by the slowness of his work, could bully him into hiring more staff. "That wouldn't help me any more than it would help you to hire more stenographers to dictate your sermons to," Frohman replied.

He was never one to let himself be hurried, nor does he stop with his meticulous drawings. At times of busy construction he still visits the site of the cathedral twice a day, involving himself completely in all aspects of the work. He is much like the medieval master masons, who, as Nicolas De Biard wrote 500 years ago somewhat enviously, strutted about the scaffolding "with rod and glove in hand, say to the others, 'cut it for me here,' and do none of the work themselves although they receive the greater pay."

Frohman knows where the cuts ought to be made and the lesser paid masons have learned to respect his knowledge. So have stone mill executives and contractors. Frohman used to note their claims in his construction diary and when they proved false or exaggerated upon later inspection, mark the entry with an "L." It stood for "lie," and there were quite a few of them, he says, and with his driving anger he would make no bones about it. He is, in fact, quite proud to have been denounced as "persnickety" and worse. Yes, he is a perfectionist and Dick Feller, his Clerk of the Works, will tell you numerous anecdotes to prove it.

About one small colonnette in the cathedral crypt Frohman once remarked that if he were able to design it over again he would make the piece a sixty-fourth of an inch larger, Feller recalls. In another instance, Frohman found the stone topping a double column in the War Memorial Chapel too short by an inch. This did not allow for the molded cap which throughout most of the cathedral provides the transition between the columns and the vaulting shafts they support. Frohman decided he could correct the error by having decorative figures carved into the capital instead. Entitled, "The Architect's Mistake," one of them depicts the architect tearing his hair and the other a satisfied architect at his drawing board having found the solution.

This total involvement has kept Frohman too busy to seek recognition, let alone do missionary work for his architectural credo. He has lectured and written little and lives somewhat withdrawn, taking little part in the various professional organizations he belongs to. If he is not working on the cathedral he works on his electronic organs of which he invented several and which he has patented. One of them, he told me, was recently borrowed by U.S. Navy scientists for secret experiments in electro-magnetic tone generation.

After a stroke not long ago, the doctors told Frohman to rest his mind.

But he felt, he told me, that since the mind must dominate the body his recovery would be better assured if he kept mentally active. He therefore busied himself in his sickbed by mathematically calculating the impact of the sound waves of the cathedral bells on the masonry of the west front for which he is now preparing the detailed working drawings. It helped him get well, he says, and he is now back in the office devoting all his time to finishing them. He knows that no one else can really pick up his work when he leaves it.

Frohman also knows that there is a new urgency about his work. Back in the 13th century it took only 27 years to complete the great cathedral at Chartres. The Washington Cathedral, with all its ups and downs, is already more than 60 years under construction and the plan is to complete the work by 1985. After that there is little hope that the draftsmen and stonecutters can be found who have the skill and devotion the job demands.

And it is the Gothic skill and devotion, not so much the Gothic style, it would seem, that make the Washington Cathedral an inspired building. Philip Hubert Frohman calls it "the fourth dimension of spiritualized energy." And that is what this persnickety and proudly anachronistic Gothic genius has imbued his building with.

An Undaunted Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues know, GLENN CUNNINGHAM has for sometime carried on a relentless campaign against unsolicited obscene mail. Legislation sponsored by him in the 88th and 89th Congresses passed the House but no action was taken by the other body. Title III of H.R. 7977 is another effort on his part to protect the home from unwanted invasion of obscenity and pornography.

His efforts in this area were recently recognized in the November issue of the Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising. For the information of my colleagues, I insert that article, as follows:

AN UNDAUNTED CONGRESSMAN STILL PURSUES THE FILTH MERCHANTS

(By Joseph Christopher)

Rep. Glenn Cunningham, a tireless, dedicated crusader against unsolicited obscene mail, has proven anew that there is more than one way to skin a Congressional cat.

By dint of unyielding perserverance and a growing familiarity with the intricacies of the legislative processes, the canny Nebraska Republican has learned—the hard way—that it is not always necessary to hurdle an obstacle; it's often easier just to go around it, or under it.

In Mr. Cunningham's case, he demonstrated that kind of finesse by shrewdly deciding to hitch his old anti-obscenity bill to the combined postal rate-Federal pay bill (H.R. 7977) approved by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Slightly refurbished; the Cunningham proposals that were frustrated in the last two Congresses now appear as Title III—Pandering Advertisement Mail Matter. The apparent Cunningham strategy is that nobody will take much notice of those four pages on the tail-end of the bill during all the shoving and shouting over postal rates and government pay raises.

The committee report on the legislation states that the provisions of Title III "are intended to afford the public a means to prevent the mailing of pandering advertisements which the Postmaster General determines offers for sale matter represented by the advertisements as erotically arousing or sexually provocative."

How does that differ from the previous Cunningham proposals? In the 88th Congress, the House passed H.R. 319 which would have afforded a homeowner a means to prevent the forced entry into his home of "morally offensive" mail matter. During the 89th Congress, the House similarly passed H.R. 980 aimed at eliminating mail matter considered to be "obscene, lewd, lascivious, indecent, filthy or vile," rather than "morally offensive."

FIRST TWO BILLS DIED QUIETLY

Neither of those measures was considered by the Senate and thus expired without any further action. The principal reason for the Senate's inaction was the strong objections raised by legitimate mail users and the Justice Department contention that the proposed legislation contained some unconstitutional aspects that might lead to a serious hinderance of perfectly mailable matter to the general public.

All of those objections have been reviewed, the report says, and the new proposal as written into the current bill is intended to provide a "reasonable solution to the continuing problem faced by the homeowner of receiving unsolicited and undesirable sex-related mail matter."

However, the Justice Department still does not appear to be convinced that such legislation is desirable and constitutional. In a letter, dated May 29, 1967, to committee chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski (D-N.Y.), the Attorney General outlined his views on H.R. 8215—the bill from which the language of Title III is taken.

"In attempting to inhibit, upon threat of criminal sanctions, the mailing of any 'pandering advertisements' which offer for sale erotic or sexual material, although neither the advertisement itself nor the material advertised for sale is obscene, the bill raises a substantial constitutional problem," Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark wrote. "The constitutionality of Federal legislation to make 'pandering' of non-obscene materia. a criminal offense—as is here proposed—is an open question, even assuming a definition of 'pandering' which could withstand attack on the grounds of vagueness."

That was an issue raised, Mr. Clark notes, by Justice Harlan in last year's Supreme Court decision in the Ralph Ginzburg case. But it should be pointed out that Mr. Harlan was a dissenter to the majority opinion which upheld Ginzburg's convinction for violating the postal obscenity law because of his "pandering" advertisements.

AIMED AT COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION

Moreover, Rep. Cunningham contends that the new legislation is phrased in keeping with the Ginzburg case to cover only that advertising matter which is intended for commercial exploitation of sexually provocative matters. It requires the determination by the Postmaster General that the particular mailing piece comes within the category of "pandering advertisements" as the term is used in the Ginzburg decision.

Upon such a determination—according to the terms of Title III—the PMG would order the mailer to delete the name of the addressee involved from all mailing lists owned or controlled by the sender, and to further prohibit the mailer from selling, renting, or exchanging any lists bearing the complainant's name.

Any further mailing after 30 days from receipt of the PMG's order could result in the U.S. Attorney General seeking a Federal court order directing compliance. Violation of the court order could lead to a contempt of court citation and appropriate punishment.

It sounds relatively simple but, unfortunately for Rep. Cunningham, he still has his formidable critics. The Justice Department says it is "unable to recommend its enactment" and the influential *Washington Post* labeled the proposal, in an Oct. 8 editorial, a "shopworn attempt to promote postal purity by censorship" and an interference with free speech.

For one thing, the Post editorialist explains, "it is hardly feasible to eliminate individual names from large mailing lists" . . . and "the effect, if not the direct intent, of this (proposal) would be to put a serious crimp in the mail promotion of books, magazines, and related materials." The editorial goes on to say that "erotically arousing or sexually provocative" is a characterization which can fairly be applied to many of the greatest works of art and many of the classics of literature.

However valid the point on the list culling might be, the newspaper is taking a typical "ivory tower" attitude in stating the latter argument. There's more than a slight difference between pornographic filth and the greatest works of art. It's hardly likely that anybody will get any "pandering" advertisements for art masterpieces or literature classics from some obscure post office box in Smutsville, U.S.A. But if somebody does object to, say, a Raphael nude, then the mailer will just have to find some way to delete that person's name from a list—something which probably could be done in the course of refining the list.

If Title III can accomplish its objective without treading on constitutional rights, it will be performing a great service for direct mail advertising. The smut merchants, whether they use first, second, or third class mail to distribute their merchandise, are responsible in large measure for the "junk mail" albatross constantly being hung around the neck of legitimate direct mail advertising. They should be suppressed.

Despite the reluctance to endorse the proposal, the Attorney General nonetheless acknowledges "continued support of the objective of this legislation" and Congressman Cunningham has proven beyond doubt at this point that it is not his intent to harm any particular class of honest mail advertiser.

Remarks by Hon. Stanley Surrey Before the International Foreign Trade Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, from October 30 to November 1, the 54th National Foreign Trade Convention was in session in New York City.

This annual gathering under the auspices of the National Foreign Trade Council, Inc., is among the oldest and most highly regarded in the trade field. The serious consideration accorded to trade issues is reflected in the caliber of the participants this year, which included many of the Nation's most eminent leaders of business and banking, Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, William M. Roth; and Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, the ranking Republican on the Select Committee on Small Business, on which I serve as ranking member.

In my position as chairman of the Finance Committee I was particularly interested in the appearance before the convention of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Stanley S. Surrey.

Those who are familiar with the tax field know that Mr. Surrey has been the architect of the system of international tax relationships which the United States adopted during the 1960's, beginning with the 1962 legislation on the taxation of foreign income and the 1966 law respecting U.S. tax treatment of foreigners receiving income from the United States. Mr. Surrey is largely responsible for the shape of this statutory framework, as well as the extension and refinement of a network of international tax treaties.

There have been 14 such treaties and protocols approved in the last 6 years, with both developed and developing countries. They embody considerable hard work, diplomacy, and ingenuity in adapting to rapidly changing international conditions. These agreements exert a fundamental, and generally unsung, influence on the capacity and inclination in businessmen and governments to cooperate in the expansion of world trade and investment.

It might be said in passing that Assistant Secretary Surrey has presided over the development of domestic tax policy as a flexible instrument of economic growth, which has been described by the present Secretary of the Treasury as "a turning point in tax policy."

On November 1, Mr. Surrey addressed the Foreign Trade Convention on current developments in the international tax relationships of the United States, and also responded to questions in this area. This kind of an appearance illustrates another role which he fulfills in explaining the developments of tax policy and administration from one end of the country to another with great precision and good humor. Mr. Surrey possesses a consummate technical mastery of his subject, solid knowledge of the political realities of Washington, and a way of handling questions developed in long years as a law professor. The combination of these qualities has had a considerable effect upon the degree of acceptance of the many new international tax rules by the business and legal communities in this country.

A series of such virtuoso performances have earned Assistant Secretary Surrey the reputation as a brilliant and outstanding public servant.

Because of limitations of time in New York, Mr. Surrey was able to deliver only a part of his prepared statement. I ask unanimous consent that the full text be reprinted in the RECORD at this point for the information of all concerned.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE U.S. TAX SYSTEM AND INTERNATIONAL TAX RELATIONSHIPS—CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, 1967

(Remarks by Hon. Stanley S. Surrey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, before the National Foreign Trade Council Convention, New York, N.Y., November 1, 1967)

There is always a fascination and a challenge in speaking on the topic of international tax relationships. The subject is superb for exhibiting the difficulties and obstacles, of theory and of practice, that beset the constant task of improving a nation's tax system. It presents at the outset a panoramic view of the mix of factors which shape the changes in a country's tax structure—the presence of complex policy issues which must be analyzed and for which acceptable solutions must be found, the task of embodying those solutions into acceptable legislation, and the constant effort to maintain a proper day-to-day application of the legislative solution in the context of a tax administration that must be both adversary and non-adversary in character. These aspects can be seen of course in many facets of our tax system.

But in the area of international tax relationships we must go still further. For here we have the added task of developing principles and policies to prevent the international tax anarchy that otherwise would exist if each nation applied its domestic tax structure without regard to the tax structures of other countries. And since we are therefore involved in achieving international tax harmony, the framework of the tax system we must shape goes beyond the unilateral domestic tax structure to cover international tax accommodations through tax treaties and other international agreements. The task of giving shape to the United States tax system in its international relationships is thus as complex as it is endless.

Our international tax relationships must begin with our domestic tax structure and the rules it unilaterally prescribes for those relationships. In recent years legislative activity has established the current framework of our statutory rules for this purpose—first in 1962 as respects the United States taxation of foreign income and then in 1966 as respects the United States tax treatment of foreigners receiving income from the United States. In both cases, but much more notably in 1962, the legislative patterns were shaped in circumstances where differences of opinion existed on the analysis of the policy issues and the character of the solutions. Of necessity the ultimate legislative result involved compromises at many points, and the need to reduce compromises to legislative language in a technical field is not conducive to a simple set of statutory rules. Undoubtedly experience and further analysis will clarify the perspective in which our unilateral rules must be viewed. Any efforts at change, however, are not likely to come as long as there exist important sectors seeking to turn back to a world in which tax havens are encouraged and hidden incentives are obtained to enlarge capital outflows to other industrialized countries.

There are still those who believe that the path to better tax rules lies in a crossing of the Internal Revenue Code with the National Geographic magazine. But whatever may be the undoubted attractions of many romantic countries or tropical islands—of which I gather the Cayman Islands is the most recent discovery—it is hard to conceive of an enduring structure of international tax rules being founded on these vagaries of geography, history, and island jurisprudence. There would be much of the art of the absurb in having imposing edifices of multinational corporations shaped by these vagaries and tied by tax strands to the islands of the Caribbean. We must also recognize the attraction that the intricacies of the present statutory structure hold for those whose talents lie in this fashioning of elaborately structured tiers of corporations carefully spotted in these havens—indeed the fascinating temptations that exist in the chains and grouping of corporations under the minimum distribution rules combined with the foreign tax credit rules appear irresistible to some. And so the Internal Revenue Service must maintain a constant vigilance in guarding the basic principles and rules of the statutory structure. You may rest assured that this vigilance is being exercised.

Given these unilateral statutory patterns we are continuously directing our efforts to improving international accommodation through tax treaties and to improving the day-to-day administration of our statutory and treaty rules.

INCOME TAX TREATIES

In considering the international tax accommodations we are reaching through tax treaties, we must divide the subject between developed country treaties and those with less developed countries.

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

In the past several years the United States has engaged in extensive treaty negotiations with the European countries. The causes are threefold: to accommodate existing treaties to the changes that have occurred in the domestic tax systems of those countries, primarily in their corporation taxes; to adapt our treaty provisions as far as appropriate to those in the Model OECD Convention; and to reach treaties with two European countries outside our treaty network, Spain and Portugal.

As a consequence of these negotiations, our objectives have in large part now been accomplished. We expect in the coming year to sign a treaty with Portugal. We have, through the process of these negotiations, worked out a United States model which represents our accommodations to the OECD Model. This United States model is pretty much represented by our recent treaty with France, and it is thus the basis of our current discussions with other countries. Of course, refinements will develop in future negotiations, but the basic framework that has evolved through our recent negotiations appears to meet our needs. Our next steps are likely to be revisions of treaties concluded some time ago. Thus, we are now negotiating with Finland, and are considering the appropriateness of revisions of our treaties with other European countries.

The negotiations with the United Kingdom, Germany and France illustrate the complexities involved in our efforts to maintain a consistent set of international tax principles to guide our negotiating posture. Each of these countries has a different corporate tax structure: the United Kingdom now has a corporate tax separate from the individual income tax in the pattern of the United States structure; Germany has a deduction at the corporate level for dividend distributions which lowers its effective rate on distributed profits; France provides the shareholders with a credit for a portion of the corporate tax that goes far to eliminate the shareholder payment of a tax on the dividends he receives.

The United Kingdom treaty negotiations presented primarily the problem of the level of the withholding rates on dividends, since the corporate taxes of the two structures are similar, and the result was a compromise of 15 percent. The German treaty presented the problem of seeing that American firms with direct investments were not denied the benefit of the corporate deduction for distributed profits and at the same time achieving a reciprocal withholding rate. This was accomplished by a 15 percent rate, with a provision to protect Germany from abuse of the corporate deduction.

The treaty with France presented the problem of dealing with the discrimination against American investors vis-a-vis French investors by reason by the French law not granting to foreign shareholders the benefits of the credit for the French corporate tax. The French denied that in principle a discrimination existed and asserted that the restriction of the credit to shareholders subject to French income tax was proper. The United States felt that if the allowance of the credit means that the French 50 percent corporate tax is in part a shareholder tax, then domestically-owned French companies are paying a lower corporate tax rate than foreign (including American) owned French companies, which is discriminatory in fact. If, on the other hand, the French corporate tax is a full 50 percent and the credit instead represents a reduction in the shareholder tax on dividends, then since the reduction eliminates such tax for the most part, the French should not claim a withholding tax on foreign shareholders. A withholding tax on foreign shareholders is but a counterpart to a domestic income tax on shareholders, and if that domestic tax does not exist, the assertion of a withholding tax is discriminatory.

The net result of these conflicting views was the French agreement to a 5 percent withholding tax on parent-subsidiary dividends, a reduction from the 15 percent tax under the previous treaty. Since the United States is in favor generally of a 5 percent withholding rate in parent-subsidy cases, the rate is reciprocal. The United States in effect reserved its view that the French tax structure could still be regarded as discriminatory and that lower withholding rates on the part of the French on direct and portfolio investment—which need not be reciprocated on our side—were appropriate. (The United Kingdom, when it previously had a corporate structure which gave a full shareholder credit, allowed that credit to foreign shareholders.) We were the first country to negotiate with France after the adoption of its new corporate tax structure. We thus have an understanding that if France accedes to this contention advanced by any other country, modifications of its treaty with the United States would be in order. It is interesting to note that France has recently stated it is considering removal of this discrimination against foreign shareholders in connection with its treaty negotiations with the Common Market countries.

The United States also has the view that the denial by France under its new corporate system of a credit to French shareholders for the portion of the French corporate tax levied on income of a French corporation from sources outside France (or for the foreign corporate tax where France, in effect, offsets that foreign corporate tax against the French corporate tax) discriminates against Frenchmen who invest abroad as against Frenchmen who invest in France. This similar denial of a credit, for the foreign corporate tax, to a French shareholder directly holding a portfolio investment in a foreign corporation is also discriminatory. (Here also the United Kingdom had not followed this differentiation.) The French, on the other hand, see this as a matter of French internal tax law even though the results affect international investment. The treaty does not deal with this situation.

As a consequence of the differing views possible on the treatment to be accorded non-residents on income from foreign sources between countries that use the credit-to-shareholder approach and countries that do not, it is evident that more international discussion is needed of the principles that should guide negotiations in these situations. The OECD Model Convention does not deal with this matter. Since other countries beside France use or may turn to the credit-to-shareholder approach, such a discussion has a wider importance.

Less developed countries

As the less developed countries of the world seek foreign private capital to hasten their economic development, it is natural that they begin to think of tax treaties to govern their tax relationships with the industrialized countries supplying that capital. This aspect is especially evident in Latin America, and the major countries of that continent are intensively considering treaties with European countries, Japan, and the United States. They are thus commencing the process of country-by-country negotiation from which will evolve the pattern of treaties between the industrialized and these developing countries, just as those industrialized countries have through the negotiations of the past two decades produced the present general pattern governing the treaties among themselves.

In most cases Latin American countries approach this negotiating process with domestic tax systems somewhat ill-adapted to international transactions. As a consequence their unilateral tax rules often produce obstacles to international trade and investment. There is in general the realization in these countries that, through treaties, modifications are in order to conform their unilateral jurisdictional rules to the current international tax standards. The modifications will not necessarily come all at once, for the newness of the whole process and the degree of modification sometimes needed combine to evoke a cautious and hesitant approach. These countries are apparently also willing to reduce their withholding taxes to more appropriate levels in those cases where present rates may constitute a barrier—though not to the levels of the OECD Convention. But in making these reductions, the Latin American countries want assurance that the reductions will benefit the taxpayer-investors of the industrialized countries and not the Treasuries of those countries. In addition, in making accommodations to international standards and joining in treaties these countries want the industrialized countries to take some step representing an encouragement to investment by their taxpayers in the Latin American countries. Encouraging trade and investment is the objective of tax treaties in general; but for these developing countries, this objective takes on a more urgent meaning.

The United States position is one of recognition of the problems that the Latin American countries face in the somewhat unfamiliar area of international tax treaties. It is also one of accepting the basic lines of approach guiding those countries in their endeavors. This position is based on a consideration of the bilateral tax relationship between the United States and a treaty country and hence is essentially on a "per country" view of the operation of the treaty in the context of our tax system. As to the aspect of encouragement to investment, the Unied States approach is to offer to extend our domestic 7 percent investment credit to investment, on similar terms, to those countries and thus provide the same treatment as investment in the United States. This approach on our part permits us to maintain an equality of treatment between our investors at home and our investors in those countries while still favoring those countries over the industrialized countries.

In taking this approach, we have had to assume the task of demonstrating to these countries that this investment credit extension is a better contribution on our part to meeting the treaty objective of encouraging investment than a tax-sparing concession would be. A number of industrialized countries are following the tax-sparing approach and some Latin American countries have, we believe uncritically, accepted the view that they benefit more from tax-sparing than from an extension of the credit. Indeed, many of our own taxpayers have the same belief.

It can be shown that the direct cost to a less developed country of entering into a tax-sparing treaty with respect to direct investment is greater than the cost to it of entering into an investment credit treaty. The former often requires a large reduction in the withholding tax of the Latin American country to make the tax-sparing concession of real benefit to the investor from the industrialized country. This is not the situation under an investment credit treaty. On the other hand, the benefit to the United Sates investor of a tax-sparing credit for a treaty reduction in withholding rates may frequently be small or even nil, as it would require an improbably large reduction in the withholding rate to get significantly below the point where a net United States tax becomes payable under the existing tax credit system. In other words, in many cases the benefit of the rate reduction would accrue to the taxpayer with or without tax-sparing.

The benefits to a firm under the credit treaty, on the other hand, are cumulative, for it receives both the credit and the withholding rate concession of the other country, where the latter brings the Latin American country's effective rate to an approximation of the United States corporate rate. The benefits to the taxpayer-investor under a treaty providing the investment credit and moderate withholding rate reductions are thus greater than the benefits under a treaty providing tax-sparing and drastic withholding rate reductions.[1]

Even in the case of statutory investment incentive concessions involving a reduction in the basic corporate tax of the Latin American country, the investment credit over the typical time period of those concessions will compare favorably with the tax-sparing approach in terms of value to the investor.[2] In addition, the credit comes at the outset as the investment is made, is increased as additional investment is made, and is thus not dependent as is the tax-sparing mechanism on the success of the enterprise or the distribution of profits.

Also, under the investment credit approach the United States would apply its tax in the same way to income from the treaty country as to income arising within the United States. As a result, the decision to invest in a treaty country can be made on economic criteria without institutional pressures. In contrast, the tax-sparing approach would undo this basic aspect of United States control over application of its tax system by permitting different rates to apply to income from different countries; it would encourage investment in the treaty countries which provide the largest unilateral tax relief. If tax-sparing were to be generally accepted by the industrialized countries, the result might be a competitive struggle among the developing countries to divert resources to the lagging regions or sectors of their economies by offering the largest tax subsidies. To the extent that such countries choose to try the tax incentive route in their legislation, the benefit of the rate reduction or exemption is available to United States subsidiary firms insofar as they retain the profits in those operations. But a tax-sparing credit on our part is unacceptable on tax policy grounds and less satisfactory in terms of encouraging investment in developing economies than the investment credit extension. The fact that the investment credit approach compares favorably with tax-sparing in quantitative value reinforces our position that the extension of the investment credit is the more efficient and desirable approach.

Our recent treaty with Brazil—now before the Senate—is an illustration of the lines of main development that we are following in our approach to Latin American treaties. However, we would hope also to include a provision deferring the taxes of the two countries in the case of transfers of patents and know-how for stock, including a minority interest, in a corporation of the developing country. We are presently engaged in negotiations with Aregntina, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, and in consultations that may develop into negotiations with several other Latin American countries.

For above all, the United States holds the view that these treaties will be of assistance to the economic development of Latin America and in turn that development will be of benefit to the United States, both in material ways as respects our export trade and in the many intangible values that flow from viable, growing countries in that area, Further, the experience gained by those countries in developing their international tax relationships with the outside world will be of assistance to them when they turn, as their common market concepts grow more tangible, to working out their tax relationships among themselves.

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[1] Suppose a foreign country makes a moderate reduction in its withholding rate on dividends to reach an effective over-all rate of 48 percent in return for the extension of the investment credit. The benefits of this withholding rate reduction go to the U.S. corporate taxpayer, and in addition he receives the benefits of the extension of the investment credit, so that the concessions of the two Governments produce a cumulation of benefits—as they should to avoid any wastage of the concessions. But if the foreign country reduces its withholding rate still further, this time in exchange for tax-sparing rather than the investment credit, a part of the reduction would still have benefited the U.S. corporate taxpayer even in the absence of tax-sparing, in view of our lack of gross-up under the foreign tax credit (thus producing an effective rate of our tax that is less than 48 percent). The balance of the withholding reduction will only benefit the U.S. corporate taxpayer if tax-sparing is granted. But the full benefit of the withholding rate reduction, achieved in this latter manner, would be distinctly less than the cumulative benefit the U.S. corporate taxpayer would have obtained under the first approach, given the limits of the reductions in withholding rates the Latin American countries are likely to make even under tax-sparing treaties. Hence the U.S. corporate taxpayer does not gain as much, and the foreign country loses more, under the tax-sparing treaty. If the foreign country under an investment credit treaty wants to benefit a U.S. corporate taxpayer still more, it could of course lower its withholding rate to the point where it matches our effective rate in the absence of gross-up—and this lowered rate would without tax-sparing be of benefit to the taxpayer, cumulative with the investment credit. To illustrate by a numerical example, assume a Latin American country with a corporate tax of 35 percent and a withholding tax of 25 percent. The combined tax on the profits of a U.S. subsidiary remitted to the United States would total 51.25 percent. A reduction in the withholding rate to 20 percent would lower the effective foreign rate to 48 percent. But with a 35 percent foreign corporate rate the combined United States and foreign effective rate on income from the Latin American country is only 43.45 percent. (This is the sum of 35 units foreign corporate tax paid plus the net amount of 8.45 units payable to the United States on the dividend of 65 units, after allowing a credit of 22.75 units for the foreign corporate tax $[65(48\%)-65(35\%)=8.45]$.) Thus any reduction in the withholding rate down to 13 percent $(65\times 13\%=8.45)$ would corporate tax $[65(48\%)-65(35\%)=8.45]$.) benefit the United States investor. With withholding rates of less than 13 percent the foreign tax credit becomes less than U.S. tax liability and tax-sparing would begin to take effect. But even if the Latin American country agreed to lower its withholding tax from 25 percent to 10 percent, the value of the investment credit would exceed 3 percent of the dividend—which would be the value of a tax-sparing credit—over an indefinite period, using moderate assumptions about investment, profits and dividends.

[2] For example, if a Latin American country assumed to have a 35 percent corporate rate granted full exemption from that rate to new firms in a certain area, it would take about six years for the tax-sparing credit to match the investment credit. Another form of incentive sometimes used is a 50 percent reduction in income tax: in this case, a profitably operating U.S. subsidiary entitled to this benefit should clearly prefer the investment credit to the tax-sparing credit as the latter would not match the investment credit in tax savings until after the tenth year, which is probably the final year of the reduction.

The assumptions used in these examples are (1) the investment credit is earned on 60 percent of the initial investment for a new company and 75 percent for an operating company. The creditable assets acquired in either case are depreciated on a straight-line basis over an eight-year period with depreciation reserves applied to acquire additional creditable assets; no credit is earned on reinvested profits since these are assumed to total only one-half of current profits; (2) the profit rate is assumed to be 20 percent before tax; for a new company this is approached gradually over the first four years (zero in year 1, then 5 percent, 10 percent, and 20 percent) while for an operating company it prevails throughout (3) one-half of after-tax profits is disturbed; and (4) the discount rate is 15 percent.

One more word about United States tax treaties with less developed countries. The United States long ago put itself at a distinct handicap in negotiating with these counries when, by statute, it unilaterally extended the foreign tax credit to all the countries of the world, and then more recently when it unilaterally added to the value of that credit through the adoption of the over-all limitation. We unilaterally avoid the adverse consequences to another country of the double taxation of our traders and investors. What is more, through the over-all limitation we even protect a foreign country whose tax rates applied to income from that country achieve levels considerably above international norms. However, when these negotiations turn to talk of who is conceding more and the like, the less developed countries will often dismiss our allowance of the foreign tax credit as any concession at all to be weighed in the negotiations, since it is already in our Internal Revenue Code. The United States thus enters these negotiations with a most valuable card removed from its hand. Other industrialized countries are not so handicapped: Sweden and Germany, for example, do not have fully worked-out unilateral statutory relief against double taxation and hence their treaties are needed to give this benefit fully to the developing country. Few European countries, if any, use the overall limitation.

We were not so profligate in the Foreign Investors Tax Act of 1966 when we unilaterally reduced the weight of our estate tax and restricted the scope of our income tax as respects foreigners with interests in the United States. For we there provided that the President could return to the former rules with respect to a particular country if he found that the country, when requested to do so by the United States, had not acted to make its taxes no more burdensome on our nationals than those we imposed on its nationals.

As a consequence we might well ponder whether the goals of the United States, and equally the goals of your organization in achieving those international accommodations by other countries that will be of benefit to your members in their investments and trade abroad, would not be further advanced by some approach under the foreign tax credit that would operate to give the United States a better negotiating position—that would let us keep in our hand a card representing extension of the foreign tax credit. For example—and just as an example to spur further thought on this subject rather than a proposal—using the analogy to the Foreign Investors Tax Act, our Code might perhaps provide that the President could withdraw the benefits of the over-all limitation from a country which, when requested to do so, did not desire to include in a treaty rules compatible with what we regard as generally accepted international standards. While this could have an effect on our investors, and it could therefore be restricted to new investment or maybe new investors in the foreign country, the motivation is clearly not that but rather to obtain a better bargaining position that would assist all of our investors and traders by permitting the United States to more readily achieve proper tax treaties and proper international accommodations. Indeed, once this authority were given to the President, I very much doubt that he would be required to exercise it. There may be other approaches to this problem. I assure you that our negotiators would welcome suggestions that would lessen the handicap they—and in turn your members—now bear in achieving appropriate treaties.

ESTATE TAX TREATIES

In the Foreign Investors Tax Act of 1966 the United States provided a unilateral posture for our estate tax that resembles the situation regarding our income tax as respects foreigners with interests in the United States. We now have a reasonably moderate estate tax structure at rates lower than our domestic rates (but without the marital deduction) that in his sense compares with our 30 percent withholding rate and its relationship to our regular income tax rates. We have jurisdictional rules which permit us to tax all United States interests that foreign decedents may own—land, stock of United States corporations, obligations of United States corporations, bank deposits, and so on—just as we possess jurisdictional rules under the income tax that enable us to assert our proper claims as a source country.

Under the income tax, through treaties following an international pattern as evidenced in the OECD Model, we have where appropriate reduced the level of our 30 percent withholding tax and limited the assertion of our jurisdiction to tax at source in return for reciprocal treatment. We have, however, confined these steps to countries that possess responsible income tax systems and which grant a credit for any income taxes we might impose. As a consequence, our relinquishment of source jurisdiction does not result in our becoming a tax haven for foreigners. Rather, our concessions either lower our effective rates to an appropriate international level or simplify the tax aspects of trade and investment even where our tax would be fully creditable—and thus yield revenue to the foreign Treasury—in return for similar concessions. Where our concessions at source have turned out in practice to make us into a tax haven, we have moved to eliminate this defect in our treaties—as in the case of the Netherlands Antilles and Canada.

We now face similar issues under the estate tax. The OECD Model Estate Tax Convention, for example, provides that the country of source shall yield its estate tax on the decedent's investment in its stocks and debt obligations and thereby confines jurisdiction to tax in this situation to the country of domicile of the decedent. The United States reserved its rights under that provision, however, and has yet to determine the approach it will take. It may well be that, in order to remove needless barriers to investment in the United States, it would be proper to follow the OECD Model where the result would not turn us into a tax haven. This approach could require that the other treaty country have an estate tax at a level resembling our rates at source and enforced that tax on the estates of its decedents with assets abroad. The United States is now entering upon estate tax negotiations—with Sweden for example—and the OECD Model will necessarily be considered in these negotiations. We are thus giving thought to the approach that the United States should take as it expands and modernizes its network of estate treaties.

SECTION 482

We may next turn to an aspect of international tax relationships that under our tax system—and the tax systems of all other countries as far as I know—is principally dealt with by tax administrators working under a general statutory mandate. This is the aspect of the proper allocation of income and expenses between entities under a common control—in the international situation typically a parent-subsidiary relationship with the parent corporation in one country and the subsidiary corporation in another. Our Code Section 482 provides that in any case where two or more organizations are owned or controlled by the same interests, the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate may allocate income and deductions among the organizations if he determines that this action is necessary to prevent evasion of taxes or clearly to reflect the income of any of the organizations. Our tax treaties also have provisions which look to such an allocation.

The mandate is a broad one, and necessarily so, for the provision is vital to the integrity of an income tax. But we must be careful to recognize clearly the reasons for this provision, and more especially the reasons why particular taxpayers may present a situation in which a tax administrator must ask himself whether potentially a Section 482 check is in order. The salient fact is that a taxpayer worry about the section is almost a symbol of status, for a Section 482 worry is generally the price of possessing a tax preference.

As an example, the main corporate worriers about the rules of Section 482 in a totally United States domestic setting are those corporate chains which exploit the preference permitted by multiple surtax exemptions. Since they live in a tax world where the exploitation of that preference requires as careful an adherence as possible to the mathematics of the $25,000 per corporation exemption, they must constantly seek to distribute income and expenses among the corporate components in keeping with that mathematics. Thus, a parent corporation furnishing goods, services, or funds to the subsidiary components in the chain must hold its charges low to avoid itself obtaining a large amount of surtax income. And so Section 482 becomes a worry for these groups. If we had a rational application of the surtax exemption and did not permit multiple exemptions, then their preference would end—and so would their worries over Section 482. But since they seem to prefer their Section 482 worries to a yielding of their preference, they can hardly be heard to complain that the Internal Revenue Service considers them proper potential for careful Section 482 scrutiny.

The preference analysis is also applicable to the international scene, for here also most Section 482 allocations come only because the taxpayers have preferences that others do not possess. I am not using "preference" in any deprecatory sense, but rather to describe situations in which there is the ability to reduce the over-all tax compared to those taxpayers without the preference. In general, the international preference comes about because while one component, the parent, is subject to our 48 percent corporate rate, the other components, its foreign subsidiaries, are not subject to that rate but to the rates of tax in the foreign countries in which they are located or operate. Where those foreign rates are substantially lower or nonexistent, the preference is quite marked. A similar preference exists where a domestic Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation is used, since its tax rate is 14 percentage points below the regular United States corporate rate.

The mathematics of these tax preferences has a compelling attraction and there is thus the potential for Section 482 application. If corporate treasurers never joined forces with their tax departments to obtain the maximum tax savings that all combinations of rates, source of income, and allocation of expenses might provide under these preferences, then the need for Section 482 application would be greatly reduced. But we have heard no responsible person or group say that the Internal Revenue Service may place Section 482 on the shelf in the international area. On the contrary, Internal Revenue Service settlements, court cases, and the theories of a number of tax advisors all bear witness to the fact that the mathematics of the preferences can for some govern the allocation of income and expenses. And private research studies show that some major companies even have one set of allocations to permit management control of their international business, but another set of allocations to squeeze the tax benefits from the preferences.

The factor of a tax preference in creating the potential for a Section 482 scrutiny is clearly evident in the controversies that do arise. The two major court decisions involving the inter-company pricing of goods, *Eli Lilly* and *Johnson Bronze*, both concerned transactions between United States manufacturing companies and their Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation affiliates. Virtually all the pricing cases currently in the National Office of the Internal Revenue Service for technical advice involve either Western Hemisphere Trade Corporations or tax haven subsidiaries. If these cases are representative of the field cases, there has been far more realistic pricing of goods where no tax differential exists and as a consequence no Section 482 controversy.

Certainly the Western Hempishere Trade Corporation and the tax haven situations are open invitations to temptation: if the manipulation is undetected or if a favorable "compromise price" is worked out on audit, the consequent lowering of price to the subsidiary results in after-tax savings. If the shifting is fully corrected on audit, any adjustment of price will usually simply mean a loss to the taxpayer of 6 percent interest (3 percent after tax) as the United States tax on the parent goes to its proper level—there is no fear of double taxation through inability to make a correlative adjustment in the Western Hemisphere case (assuming it, itself, is not subject to tax abroad) and no need for one in the tax haven case.

All this being so, the task of the Internal Revenue Service, and indeed of any tax administration, is how to achieve a rational administration of Section 482 where there is a considerable potential area for its application, where some companies sufficiently serious in number take unwarranted advantage of the situation created by the preferences, but where every company cannot and should not be carefully scrutinized and its activities second-guessed just because those who yield to temptation are mixed among the throng. One key to sensible administration in these circumstances is to provide those concerns which seek no unwarranted advantage with the standards that the Service is using to identify the others. Another key is to utilize standards that are sensibly tolerant of the very wide variety of transactions, patterns of business conduct, and investment and trade situations that are clearly present in international activities.

This analysis leads inevitably to the provision of guidelines for the application of Section 482, as well as those sections bearing a relationship to it, such as Sections 861 and 862 involving the allocation of expenses in determining taxable income from foreign sources. But the analysis takes us still further, for it also points to the premises on which those guidelines must be formulated. We believe that the guidelines must adhere as closely as possible to management and accounting standards developed to achieve the same goal—that of proper allocation of items among the constituent components of a business enterprise.

This adherence has two distinct advantages: First, it will keep tax administration within the mainstream of the developments regarding these management and accounting standards. These standards are constantly being improved by management experts, accountants, and others under the pressure of meeting a variety of needs and concerns affecting these multi-component enterprises. Thus, central management can keep control of the performance of its components—and evaluate their activities and reward their managers—only if it has tools that are sufficiently developed to provide proper allocations of items of income and expense among the components. As another example, where one part of an enterprise is subject to Government controls—because for example it involves public utility regulation or Defense contracts—not applicable to the other parts, then the same tools of allocation are needed. Developments in accounting for conglomerates will similarly need such tools.

Second, the use of these management and accounting standards will provide the United States with a rational, consistent approach to international transactions which it can use for all the forms those transactions may take. We must not forget there are two sides of the coin. Many groups focus on the side of the coin involving a parent in the United States transferring goods and services to its subsidiaries abroad. But on the other side of the coin are corporations involved in extraction or manufacture abroad and the transfer of materials or goods to the United States—they may be subsidiaries of United States corporations or they may involve foreign parents and their United States subsidiaries. These two sides of the coin underscore both the need for consistency and the care required in the formulation of appropriate rules. We have our exporters of goods and our importers of goods; we have our manufacturing industries operating at home and abroad; we have our extractive industries obtaining their raw materials at home and abroad; we have service, shipping transportation, financing, and construction industries operating across international borders; and so on. Section 482 guidelines applicable to all these activities, all of which exhibit the two sides of the coin, must be formulated in a non-discriminatory manner that permits the United States to maintain the necessary consistency of position no matter which side of the coin turns up or where it does so. Indeed, the allocation provisions, the competent authority provisions, and the non-discrimination provisions in our treaties all require this objective, even-sided approach to these guidelines.

This matter of allocation is thus not to be viewed as a typical skirmish between taxpayers and the Internal Revenue Service, involving only the typical parochial interests that normally color such skirmishes. On the contrary, its proper resolution is a challenge to the vision and statesmanship of those who speak of the present and coming stature of the "multinational corporation." Their insights have already led them to recognize the importance of this form of business organization in the evolution of the institutions of the modern world. But clearly a part of this institutional role will be an appropriate allocation of the profits of these organizations among the various countries touched by their business activities, and thereby a fair sharing among these countries of the tax revenues to be derived from those profits.

Those who are concerned with shaping the institutional character of these multinational corporations should therefore not shy away from this challenge, for its resolution is crucial to the stability of their business planning and the achievement of maximum freedom from dispute and controversy with sovereign governments. They should not be bemused or diverted from facing the problem by attempts at legal smokescreens, such as the argument that Section 482 does not permit the Service to create income where none exists or the argument that Section 482 does not apply between related foreign corporations.

They should also recognize the constraints that apply in developing tax rules for this allocation. Tax disputes involve concrete cases to which a specific dollars and cents answer must be given at the end of the road. Hence accounting rules and techniques must be rephrased as tax rules in which the specific dollar results do count and in which details as well as principles must be decided by some one. The attempt to provide Section 482 guidelines is thus an effort designed to permit Government and business to think through these principles and details as broadly and thoroughly as possible, foreseeing as far as possible the issues that may arise and their ramifications. The guidelines should be designed to guide—to represent the solutions to problems achieved after careful thinking at top levels of business, the professions, and Government, rather than leaving the individual Internal Revenue agents to raise and solve problems on their own. This does not mean every detail must be set forth in guidelines, for intelligent discretion at the agent level is an integral part of tax administration. But it does mean a recognition that tax allocation problems do involve many matters of substance and principle and important detail that demand a coherent and thought-through set of answers, rather than a seat-of-the-pants, "let's decide each case on its facts" approach.

We must emphasize that the guidance here sought is guidance both before and after, so to speak. It is, of course, guidance to Internal Revenue agents as to what to look for and what not to look for, and what to decide when issues evolve. But it is also guidance to business on how to minimize possible dispute and controversy over the tax return and how to achieve a stability in business planning and arrangements that will not be upset, maybe years later, when that inevitable Internal Revenue Service audit comes along.

With all this in mind, just where are we in our consideration of the proposed Section 482 Regulations embodying these guidelines? For the past several months a group from the Treasury and the Internal Revenue Service has been concentrating on the comments presented with regard to the proposed Regulations. Every comment submitted by taxpayers has been read and a 200 page summary of the criticisms and alternative approaches has been prepared and carefully analyzed. The process of revision of the proposed Regulations is well underway, with many of the suggestions made at that hearing adopted and already incorporated. We are hopeful of final revision within the next few months.

The comments at the last hearing dealt mainly with the subject of inter-company pricing of goods—a matter not on the agenda at the first hearing. Part of the concern in this area may stem from the amounts that can be involved in price adjustments, the frequency of transactions involving the transfer of goods between related organizations, and the problems involved in establishing transfer prices. The concern for some companies also stems from the aspect of correlative adjustments in the tax of the foreign country applicable to a related foreign subsidiary, an aspect which I will discuss later. At the risk of appearing negative, let me indicate why we find difficulties in some of the approaches suggested at the hearing.

A typical suggestion is that the Regulations should supply a "mechanical safe haven" in the area of the pricing of goods. Much as this solution appeals as blissful to our tax administration as to the taxpayers who suggest it, we have not taken this route. The reason is that no satisfactory device has yet been suggested or worked out. The variation in profit margins from industry to industry, among companies within an industry and even among product lines within a company is much too great to permit a single percentage, or a series of percentages, as mark-ups or mark-downs in establishing transfer prices. The recognition of this problem has led other taxpayers to urge just as strongly that we do not provide a mechanical safe haven. They realize how unrepresentative that safe haven may be and they fear that in practice all territory outside the safe haven will be heavily mined for taxpayers. The "safe haven" here will therefore have to lie in a sensible, reasonable administration of the Regulations themselves.

Nevertheless, we should not, after the Regulations are adopted, give up the search for more precise standards. Consideration should be given to framing a number of possible approaches and then testing them in a sample of actual cases to see what results they would have achieved compared with the actual adjustments.

Another set of suggestions relates to the point of view that the only appropriate test of transfer pricing should be its "reasonableness." These comments have been phrased in a number of ways, but essentially they suggest that no Section 482 allocation be made where the price is "reasonable," or where the seller makes a "reasonable profit," or where the total profit earned by related entities is divided among them on a "reasonable basis." While the test of reasonableness has its uses in some situations in this area it is not sufficiently precise to provide guidance—reasonable by what or by whose standards? Nor is the approach substantively accurate, since the basic arm's length standard underlying the section is not directly related to a reasonable profit figure for the parties involved. The arm's length standard is designed to determine the price or charge that the parties would have arrived at assuming they had dealt with each other as independent unrelated entities—and this could mean no profit at all or indeed a loss in some cases. In essence, this suggestion for a safe haven of "reasonableness" has the same deceptive attractivenes as a mechanical safe haven. But just as in that case, its superficial appeal does not on analysis withstand its potential for real unfairness among taxpayers.

But there is a place for the concept of "reasonableness" in these Section 482 Regulations—and it lies in the way the guidelines should and will be applied. We expect these guidelines to be applied in a reasonable manner by taxpayers. They, in turn, have a right to expect a reasonable interpretation and application by the Internal Revenue Service. The Commissioner has several times in recent statements stressed that this will be the approach of the Service. He has said that the guidelines will be administered in an understanding and sensible manner. He has stated that this policy is being emphasized in the agent training seminars and other instructions to Service personnel. This will be our use of "reasonableness."

When we turn to more substantive comments and to the other parts of the guidelines in addition to transfer pricing, we should first note that virtually no criticism was received on a conceptual basis. It is not seriously questioned that the clear reflection of income requires charges to be made for benefits received. Interest for the use of money, rent for the use of property, royalties for the use of intangibles have become such basic concepts that they are no longer seriously questioned. Some aspects of the guidelines have been criticized, however, on the ground that they are ahead of our time and that we are requiring business to meet impossible or unrealistic standards.

This is not our objective and we do not feel that this is basically the case. The guidelines, and the allocation rules they contain, utilize known and accepted applications of accounting principles. We have not been referred to any instance in which the guidelines are in conflict with generally accepted accounting principles. We do, of course, recognize the limitations in these guidelines in terms of furnishing absolute or precise answers. However, as accountancy continues its development and as our management and other analytical tools become more refined, the guidelines will also benefit. Indeed, as stressed earlier, we recognize there is much to be gained by using current accounting concepts and management techniques as the foundation for these guidelines, so that they can share in the progress to come in these areas.

We can look at the relevance of the guidelines to current practices in another way. We hear on many sides that one consequence of the guidelines has been that many companies have begun to look at their foreign operations with a more realistic and objective appraisal. We understand that the results have been quite instructive. Apparently, many corporations in riding the wave of the future in international business and in establishing foreign activities consciously or unconsciously favored their foreign enterprises. As a result these foreign subsidiaries showed a fine profit picture. But now a more careful appraisal, prompted by the stress placed on arm's length concepts in these guidelines and the attention they have called to the management techniques that do exist to that end, has shown that in many cases this profitableness is but the reflection of a considerable generosity on the part of the United States parent. A foreign subsidiary can compile an attractive profit showing if it is not charged for the services it receives or the financing it obtains, or if it receives its goods at cost figures. As the Journal of one accounting firm states, the guidelines may provide an unexpected benefit to some United States companies by "exposing to them the true cost of their international operations, which they have not always appreciated. Companies that manage their United States operations very profitably, but are new to the international field, frequently have to pay well for their education in that field. There seems to be a tendency to conceal from oneself the cost of the education, particularly if it is embarrassingly high."

All of this underscores our desire to keep these guidelines within the mainstream of accounting principles and management techniques.

A number of comments at the hearing related to the pricing standards set forth in the guidelines. These comments indicate some misunderstanding as to our intention regarding those standards and also deficiencies in the proposed Regulations in communicating that intention.

The proposed Regulations require taxpayers and revenue agents to test inter-company prices against the arm's length standard of Section 482 by using one of three approaches. The first approach is the comparable uncontrolled price method under which the price charged to a related entity must be similar to the price charged in comparable transactions with or between independent third parties. The second approach, applicable to the situation in which the related purchaser acts as a mere distributor with respect to the goods, computes the transfer price by taking the price which such distributor charges to third parties and reducing it by the appropriate mark-up for a distributor operating under the same circumstances. The third approach is the cost-plus method under which the seller must charge related entities his full cost, plus an appropriate profit margin. There is, in addition, a so-called *"fourth method"* which is applicable only in situations in which a taxpayer has been using a method different from the three listed above and which the Commissioner finds is clearly more appropriate.

There appears to be a certain amount of confusion with regard to the "priority" of these methods. The priority of application rule, which calls for an application of the methods in the order they are set forth, is not intended to be an arbitrary listing of preferences among methods which might yield varying results. The fundamental arm's length standard involves a determination of the price which would have been arrived at by independent, unrelated entities entering into the same transaction. The priority of application rule simply states the approach for obtaining the most relevant evidence to establish that price. Clearly, a price arrived at in a truly comparable third party sale is the best evidence of such a price—it is the direct way to meet the arm's length standard. We are therefore examining the feasibility of broadening this method to allow a greater range of adjustments to comparable transactions to permit arriving at a comparable price. The resale price method and the cost-plus method are indirect ways to approach the arm's length standard, and hence less likely to achieve that end than the direct route. The resale price method is placed ahead of the cost-plus method in the order of priority since it is felt that in the limited distributor situation to which the resale price method is applicable—where the buyer does not add significant value to the product or employ significant intangibles in its resale—a distributor profit more clearly reflects the function of the buyer-reseller and, therefore, the income of each of the parties to the transaction.

These priorities thus reflect evidentiary guides. Under the priorities, a taxpayer is protected from an arbitrary choice of method by the examining agent, and has the assurance that the most relevant evidence will be taken into consideration in arriving at an arm's length price. But some taxpayers apparently would like to place their bets on method three or method two and use only that approach. They may have followed that approach in establishing their prices, or they now see it as the appropriate way to support the prices used. In such situations, one would expect the examining agent, as a sensible precaution, to check the result obtained under the methods higher in the priority scale. If the check shows a marked variation from the method chosen by the taxpayer, then an explanation would seem in order; if not, then the taxpayer's price should not be disturbed. This seems to be a sensible way to handle the three methods that are recognized as having the widest application.

There have also been comments directed at the "fourth method." This method has a limited scope under the proposed Regulations, since the method to qualify must be actually used by the taxpayer and the Commissioner must feel that it is "clearly more appropriate." Some companies have requested, in the light of their own pricing practices, that they be allowed to use a variety of methods in setting prices which they feel are not prescribed by the proposed Regulations. Some of the methods are merely variations of the specified approaches; others are based upon different premises. Where such pricing systems will yield results which are substantially the same as the prices which would have been arrived at under the Regulations, it would seem to be in the interest of both taxpayers and tax administrators to apply prices based on such systems. Of course, if such prices do in fact meet the arm's length standard, the method by which they are derived makes no difference. There is, however, a feeling among some taxpayers that the system that they follow in arriving at a price should be specifically blessed in the Regulations. This can hardly be done without allowing a proliferation of described methods, which in turn reduces the over-all guidance which these Regulations must develop in order to accomplish their avowed purpose; certainly the taxpayer whose method is left out of a long list would wonder where it stands. But, on the other hand, we are aware of the narrow focus in the proposed Regulations, and to the extent feasible will make the "fourth method" broader in its application and clarify its relation to the other three approaches.

Another set of comments—again resulting, we believe, from some misunderstanding and a lack of clarity in communication—relates to "marginal pricing." The guidelines are intended to achieve the following results in this area: Under the comparable uncontrolled price method, to the extent that marginal pricing is used to establish or to maintain a market, such pricing is proper under the guidelines if the buyer-reseller engages in additional expenses, such as promotional expenses or if the reduced prices are passed on to a third party. Further, if the parent company uses incremental costing in arriving at the price charged to unrelated parties, such prices may be charged to related parties in comparable circumstances. Thus, to the extent that reductions in price to third parties are based on a marginal or incremental approach, such pricing to a foreign subsidiary is allowed under the comparable uncontrolled price method. Similarly, if a foreign subsidiary of the United States parent could purchase goods at a certain price from third parties, the United States parent manufacturing company could sell at the same price under comparable circumstances.

Some comments seek to clarify the application of the guidelines where the related corporations are engaged in a number of transactions falling under Section 482, such as the transfer of goods to a subsidiary alongside the receipt of royalties from that subsidiary. We do not intend that Section 482 interfere with normal commercial transactions. That section is designed to assist in policing the United States income tax system, and is not cast as a guardian with universal jurisdiction. Valid business reasons may require that transactions be framed in different forms than the simplest possible accounting technique would dictate. In transactions between unrelated parties a price reduction might often be offset by an increased royalty or other charge. The proposed Regulations recognize this and provide for "setoff" computations in certain situations. This device is circumscribed in the proposed Regulations to prevent audits from becoming interminable. In addition, care must be taken to prevent unwarranted switching of sources of income and to properly account for additional foreign taxes. But we do recognize the need for flexibility in this area, and are examining the Regulations with the aim of making this relief available to taxpayers to the extent feasible on a less restrictive basis.

Other areas of the proposed Regulations are, of course, also being reviewed. Few taxpayers objected to the provisions allowing most services to be charged at cost. There is thus no question that incidental services will not have to be charged at a profit. However, there will have to be some clarification with regard to what services are, in fact, "incidental" and on our own account we are reviewing this matter. Some taxpayers have expressed concern that the "full cost" requirement in the service area would yield inappropriate results. It must be noted that all safe havens, including the service charge at cost, are secondary in order of priority to an arm's length price. If a computer were used at only a fraction of its full capacity, a proportionate share of full cost would, in all probability, result in a very high charge to a related party. However, since many computer users are able, on an arm's length basis, to acquire such services on a sharetime or incremental basis, the appropriate arm's length charge would be a charge based on such comparable prices. A safe haven is not binding on the taxpayer in any area and clearly would not be appropriate in a situation such as the one described. We have created safe havens to reduce uncertainty wherever possible. The taxpayer, however, is not confined to the safe havens—he can always use the arm's length standard to support the amount of the charge.

We recognize that the valuation of intangibles and the determination of an appropriate charge for their use present extremely difficult problems. For this reason, the proposed Regulations developed a "safe haven" cost sharing arrangement in an attempt to eliminate many of the valuations which would otherwise be required. There are refinements which can be made in the comprehensive scheme outlined in the Regulations. For example, one of the principal problems remaining is the requirement that the use of previously developed intangibles be valued. We have discussed various alternatives to this extremely difficult task with industry representatives and members of the legal and accounting professions. We hope that together we can develop a satisfactory alternative which will eliminate this valuation problem. We have discussed cost sharing with representatives of foreign governments, attempting to impress upon them the need for such a system and the fact that in most cases it would result in smaller inter-company charges that would otherwise be required. There were objections to the safe haven formula for tangible property rentals contained in the proposed Regulations. The formula, which was tied to the depreciation method used by the lessor, resulted in undesirable variable rentals in many situations. We are developing a modified formula that will yield level rentals in conformity with normal commercial practices.

So far we have been discussing the substantive content of the Section 482 guidelines, developed under our Internal Revenue Code standard. These guidelines are United States rules intended to minimize controversies arising under United States tax returns and to resolve those disputes that do arise. But these United States rules are being applied to international transactions and we clearly recognize that they affect entities which are under the jurisdiction of other Governments. As a consequence the correlative adjustments which are integral to Section 482 allocations are under the control of those Governments. If those adjustments cannot be made, then Section 482 allocations by the United States can have consequences different from allocations affecting an entirely domestic situation.

This aspect of the application of Section 482 has led to another set of comments that merits careful consideration. This is the suggestion that no Section 482 scrutiny or adjustment need be made if the subsidiary is located in a country where the tax rate is approximately the same as that of the United States. The suggestion has support in actual practice, for as indicated earlier, Section 482 issues presumably are rarely raised by the Internal Revenue Service in inter-company pricing cases where this circumstance exists—which leads one to conclude that the companies themselves are here more careful to prevent their pricing from being suspect under Section 482. Indeed, tax motivation will here rarely be a controlling factor, for little is to be gained from the standpoint of tax saving by a departure from arm's length pricing. This situation is the exception to the earlier observation that a Section 482 worry is the price paid for a tax preference.

We recognize that even in a situation in which no tax reduction or avoidance motive exists, the possibility of price adjustments may cause apprehension to management. Moreover, we are not unaware of the many difficulties involved in setting prices. We are aware of the fact that the proposed Regulations provide guidelines and not final answers. We understand that it can be difficult for even the best intentioned taxpayer to arrive at a price for a particular product which could not be challenged under any conditions. Under these circumstances, the apprehension for such a taxpayer with respect to a Section 482 allocation—and hence its care regarding its pricing—can lie in the fact that if a Section 482 adjustment is made, the company runs the risk of not being able to achieve a correlative adjustment in the other country, with the consequences of double taxation and a considerable tax cost.

We do not intend this result. At the same time, we must remember that the statutory standard of Section 482 is a dual one: to clearly reflect income as well as to prevent the avoidance of tax. The standard is indeed a part of the process of determining the real profitability of foreign activities, a subject mentioned earlier. In the international context the standard of "clearly reflect income" also goes beyond the allocation of income to the right company and really involves the allocation of income to the right country. It is the standard by which the United States protects its sources of revenue and its tax system from the encroachments and claims of the other countries affected by the transactions. As a consequence, the issue is more than a dispute between taxpayer and the Internal Revenue Service and becomes one of international accommodation. It is thus more important and more complex than domestic Section 482 issues.

But, as stated above, for the taxpayer involved in a Section 482 allocation in a setting where the tax rate in the foreign country is around the level of the United States rate, the focus will be on the double taxation that will result if the correlative adjustment is not made. How can this possibility of double taxation be avoided or minimized?

A part of the approach lies in Revenue Procedures 64–54, which for taxable years through 1964 permits the foreign tax on the allocated item to be credited against the increase in United States tax resulting from the allocation. In effect, the United States itself is making the correlative adjustment. This international generosity can be justified on the ground that taxayers may not in those years have had an adequate appreciation of the Section 482 rules now being applied. But any such international generosity carried into the future would simply be a complete concession by the United States that other countries may unilaterally assert any jurisdictional rules they desire and the United States will always hold its citizens harmless at the expense of our revenues. For if the United States is to relieve the double taxation that results from a failure of the foreign country to make the appropriate correlative adjustment, then what is to keep foreign countries from simply deciding not to make correlative adjustments? No sovereign country can give this blank check to the rest of the world, and we know of no country that does so. As the size and importance of international business increases, the need for each country affected by a transaction to secure its fair share of the profits produced also increases. The United States should not be called upon to forego its share of the tax on the profits generated by international business.

If, when a Section 482 adjustment is made, the other country will make the correlative adjustment—in effect agreeing with the allocation—then the taxpayer is not subject to double taxation. We have asked taxpayers to keep us advised of instances where the correlative adjustment is not made by the foreign country, and have so been quite encouraged by the absence of negative reports. Moreover, many of our allocation cases, though not many of our pricing cases, concern transactions with Canada, a country with a sophisticated tax administration and a long familiarity with close administrative cooperation between the respective Revenue Services. It is, moreover, a country whose present statutory treatment of foreign income is such that its only real defense to the exploitation of tax havens is the use of tax allocation rules. As a consequence, in a generally successful effort to protect its revenues it has achieved full awareness of the techniques of allocation.

In addition, our recent tax treaties—for example, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Netherlands—contain a provision expressly providing for consultation to achieve agreement in the case of any initial difference between the countries on the allocation. Also, the treaties expressly provide that when the agreement is reached, the correlative adjustment will be made. Moreover, the refund arising from the correlative adjustment will be paid despite any running of the statute of limitations or other procedural barrier to the refund. No country with which we have recently negotiated has refused to include this provision. Finally, we are examining our own "competent authority" procedures and in the OECD Fiscal Committee are consulting with other Governments on these procedures generally, so as to improve the processes of administration under the treaties.

We are thus acting to strengthen international cooperation looking either to the making of the correlative adjustment on the assertion of an allocation by one country or to the modification of that adjustment through mutual agreement in response to the views of the other country. We are also acting to achieve substantive agreement among the countries on the principles and rules that should govern international allocations. As a result of our request, the OECD Fiscal Committee has begun the consideration of this area and has given it a prominent place on its agenda.

I do not want to imply by this discussion of Section 482 in its international setting and the steps being taken to achieve an appropriate response from other countries that we expect many Section 482 adjustments in transactions involving high rate countries. As stated earlier, our impression is that there are very few cases relating to inter-company pricing of goods where the subsidiary is in a high-rate country. Further, with guidelines established and with the effort now being made by most companies to more carefully watch their inter-company transactions, we would not expect many Section 482 adjustments in the remaining areas. Our efforts to obtain proper international accommodation are directed to achieving the proper result and preventing double taxation in the relatively few cases that may occur.

There are thus firm grounds for expecting that governments can achieve international allocations that are both fair to the countries concerned and avoid double taxation consequencies to the taxpayers involved. The steps to this end are, of course, not ready-made. We have only to remember the problems and difficulties associated with interstate allocation of taxes within the United States to dispel any such illusion. But we must also remind ourselves that through devices such as foreign tax credits and treaties, countries have probably been more active in achieving international harmony than is often the case with respect to internal tax matters. The United States Government is thus hopeful that its tax system and those of other countries will continue in their international relationships to produce the harmony that is conducive to the continued development of trade and investment in the world.

How Do You Sum Up 40 Years?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, with the end of the first session of the 90th Congress, Mr. Robert D. Byrnes, of the Hartford Courant, stepped down from active daily coverage of the Congress. It is not a full retirement, for his knowledgeable assessments of the Washington scene will be applied from time to time, on his own schedule, free from what he has described as the tyranny of a daily deadline and a teletype machine waiting to gobble up copy at 100 words a minute.

The first of these articles appeared recently in the Courant and deserves the attention of all our Members. He has performed particular service in recalling the basic values and service of the House and the Congress in exercising historical powers as a check on the powers of the Government and in fulfilling the right of the people in a democracy to rule. I offer it for the RECORD, as follows:

HOW DO YOU SUM UP 40 YEARS?

(By Robert D. Byrnes)

WASHINGTON.—This is an extraordinary difficult piece to write. It is the last of a series, mostly on politics and government, that has run in The Sunday Courant for about 40 years.

There are many ways of measuring time. The astronomers have their light years, the geologists the ages measured by the rocks, runners have the less than four-minute mile, and aeronautics has its mach speeds. To me it is an impressive thought that I have been privileged, through newspaper work, to have had a close association with government for approximately one-fourth of the time since the United States has existed under the Constitution.

Future historians, it seems now, might well characterize the middle decades of the Twentieth Century as an era of government expansion. Government itself impinges more than ever before on the lives and activities of the ordinary citizen. But government also has had to reach out into fields for lawmaking undreamed of in even relatively recent past. Government is now coming to grips with pollution of air, water and earth, for example, at the same time it is groping for answers to the problems, and opportunities, of outer space and the bottom of the seas.

Government is people. In the United States, there are the three enumerated branches of the government, executive, legislative and judicial. They are theoretically co-equal, each having some checks on the others, but there seem to have been very few, if any, times when there was an absolute three-way balance. Probably one reason why government works so well is the interchange of personnel between the three branches.

Sometimes by necessity, and where possible by choice, I have concentrated my reporting on the legislative branch. Within the legislative branch, when possible, I have given the closest attention to the more numerous branch, the House in the Connecticut General Assembly for 20 years, and the House in Congress for nearly 25 years. In those bodies I watched thousands of men and women at their law making duties and have known hundreds of them rather well. Be it bias or prejudice, I believe that the legislative branches of government ought to be a little bit more equal than the others, at least most of the time. If I have had a theme in these Sunday articles, it has been that the legislators deserve more credit from the people than they generally get in contrast with the glamor of the executive and the Olympian status of the judiciary.

HOUSE FASCINATING

The differences between the two legislative bodies are fading out, but it is the House, in Hartford or in Washington, that is the true heir of the British Commons which is the Mother of Parliaments because it was there that the people exercised their right to rule, even though some were illiterate and founded the tradition, maintained even now, that each piece of legislation had to be read three times. The larger House, in contrast to the numerically smaller Senate, both in Hartford and Washington, has offered a fascinating study of the play and interplay of forces. I think I have learned much from the study.

Government, even reform government, is politics. An interesting and educational part of my career has been observation of and association with politicians, from the presidential level to that of the poll watchers. There has been the drama of 20 major party national conventions, from 1928 through 1964. There have been a few national chairmen, including some from Connecticut, whose confidences I have enjoyed, as well as many in lower echelons in Connecticut and other places. Suffice to say I like politicians, even those in splinter groups who would disdain the appellation.

No newspaperman, especially one writing on government, can ignore the potentiality of the printed word as a lethal weapon. The newspaper profession, it seems to me, does not do enough pointing with pride to the high degree of objectivity sought and generally produced despite the inexorable pressures of deadlines and the myriad complexities of a daily news report. Sure, a better job could be done, but from the inside it sometimes seems a marvel that it turns out as well as it does, especially when much of the raw material comes from noncooperators or self-seekers.

From the special vantage point I now have, it seems appropriate to say that generally reporters covering government as a career justify the designation of Fourth Estate. Certainly I have what I hope is justifiable pride in having been chosen by colleagues in Hartford as the first president of the Laurel Club when it was reorganized after the World War I lapse, and to have been elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Congressional Press Gallery here.

Looking back, for the moment, the past decades have been a wonderful experience, with wonderful people. The world is going to continue to be an interesting place, populated with interesting people, next week, next month, next year, and into the future. That future should be the more interesting because of a perspective of the past.

Next week there will not be the need to put together the few hundred words that have gone into "the Sunday column." I am retiring from the tyranny of a daily deadline and a teletype machine waiting to gobble up copy at 100 words a minute.

But I am not throwing away my typewriter.

Breeding Superfish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, Hill Williams has written an excellent article in the November–December 1967 issue of Sea Frontiers magazine concerning the fine work and excellent results achieved by Dr. Lauren Donaldson, our internationally famed fisheries biologist at the University of Washington.

This magazine is published by the International Oceanographic Foundation. This latest issue will broaden the understanding as to the value of what Dr. Donaldson has done for fisheries through his important work.

I ask unanimous consent to have Hill Williams' article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Breeding Superfish

(By Hill Williams)

Homecoming at the University of Washington in Seattle has one event that does not appear on the official program: the return to the campus of thousands of university-spawned and reared salmon. The big fish begin to move in November, and that is when Dr. Lauren R. Donaldson, professor of fisheries, and his graduate students begin the arduous job of acting as midwives to salmon that have made the long, upstream journey home from the sea to spawn and die.

The university salmon story began in 1949 when the run was created with fertilized eggs furnised by the Washington State Department of Fisheries. They were brooded in a campus hatchery and the tiny fingerlings were released from a pond near the hatchery into freshwater Lake Union, which borders the campus. They made their way through navigation locks into Puget Sound, an arm of the Pacific, and finally to the sea.

The Chinook salmon (*Oncorhyncus tshawytscha*) selected for this work are renowned in the Pacific Northwest for the way they battle their way back from the ocean through swift waters and over rapids to the stream where they were spawned some four or five years before.

FISH COME HOME EARLY

It was a matter of speculation as to whether the fingerlings would be able to find their way back to a pond where they had been reared artificially, but they did. In fact, some of them did it sooner than expected. Usually, the Chinook salmon remains at sea for four years to mature before returning to its home stream. But a few of the 1949-brood-year fish turned up in the gravel "homing pond" in 1952, only three years later. This early return of the precocious fish is unusual, but not unknown in nature. In the wilds, however, no one selects the precocious fish for breeding and the trait remains uncommon.

Washington scientists quickly capitalized on the opportunity. They fertilized the eggs from the precocious females with sperm from the best males. Over the years, they selected the biggest, best-shaped, best-colored, most disease-free and best egg-producing salmon for breeding.

SUPER SALMON SURVIVE BETTER

After eighteen years of such selective breeding, more than half of the total run now returns to the campus in three years. The size and the fecundity of the fish have increased at the same time. In just the past three years, the three-year "super-salmon" have increased their average weight from 10.8 to about 12 pounds, their average length more than an inch to 30 inches and their egg production about 10 per cent a year. And the survival rate in the ocean of these university-bred salmon is ten to thirty times that in nature. This research represents a hopeful note in the generally gloomy outlook for the Pacific Northwest's salmon fishery.

The day may come when there will be many hatcheries along the coast, just a few miles from the sea, where artificially created salmon runs will return and spawn. The increasing industrial use of rivers that once were used by salmon cannot be stopped, but the lost spawning grounds can be replaced in other ways.

The selective breeding of the Chinook salmon was based on similar research with rainbow trout, pioneered in 1932. The results of thirty-five years work with the rainbow (*Salmo irideus*) have made the university hatchery an attraction for lovers of sport fish, who find excuses to visit it and its huge rainbow trout. Here they can see two-year-fish weighing 15 pounds. Wild fish the same age would weigh less than one-tenth of a pound. These super-rainbows are captive. They live their lives in concrete raceways on the campus—brood stock of a new race of trout that one day will populate the rivers and lakes of the West.

The researcher believes that man who has enjoyed the fighting rainbow trout for generations, has an obligation to improve the strain, as farmers improved plants and animals. Selective breeding has produced a strain of super-rainbow that has made their producer a legend among sports fishermen in the Pacific Northwest. For years surplus brood rainbows have been given to the State Game Department, which plants them in heavily-fished lakes. The possibility of tying into one of these lunkers add spice to trout fishing in the Seattle area.

NEW RACE OF RAINBOWS

Rainbow, like salmon, require four years to attain spawning maturity in nature. It took twelve years of selective breeding to produce the first females that spawned at two years. By selecting for this trait, there has now been established a strain of rainbows that spawns regularly at two years. The result is far more fish weight produced in half the time, helping to offset the effect of the dwindling number of streams still suitable for rainbows.

When this program was started in 1932, the fish reached maturity in their fourth year at an average weight of 1½ pounds. The females produced 400 to 500 eggs at their first spawning. After thirty-five years of selection, the males of the select stock reach maturity in the first year and the females all mature in the second year.

Average egg production is more than 6,000 eggs for two-year females, with one female producing more than 11,000 eggs. The average fish length has increased 61 per cent since 1944, the first year the two-year strain was achieved.

CHOOSING THE FEW

The spawning of the rainbows is a hectic scene. Scientists and graduate students wade into the raceways to net the heavy, thrashing fish. The men wrestle the flopping fish onto measuring boards and scales, quickly record the results and inspect the fish for desired characteristics. After the best and biggest of both sexes have been selected, the females are made to spawn with a deft finger massage, and the eggs flow smoothly into a tray. The males are milked of their sperm and the sperm is mixed in the egg tray; a graduate student hurries it to the hatchery and starts cold water flowing through the tray. (In nature the eggs would lie in gravel on a stream bottom.) The adult fish are thrown back into a raceway to recuperate. Unlike salmon, the rainbow trout spawns and lives to spawn again. Records are kept on each set of fertilized eggs so that when length, weight and egg-production are determined, the strain can be refined and improved even more.

The University hatchery handles more than half a million rainbows every year. Of this, they keep only two hundred fish for brood stock. High standards of selection have contributed more than anything else to the swift progress of the program. The average length for two-year females has increased from 14 inches to more than 23 inches since 1944.

The super-rainbow trout are not pampered, for if the new strain of fish is to make a contribution in the areas of sports and food, it must be able to survive in the pollution which is claiming more and more fishing waters. The campus super-rainbows are reared in water pumped directly from Lake Union. No attempt is made to heat, cool or clean the water in any way. The university hatchery has many signs warning: "Danger. Lake Water. Do Not Drink." The humans are protected but not the fish.

Their purpose is to produce a fish that can hold its own in the most challenging environment. Despite the best intention of public agencies, streams cannot be made clean enough for today's fish. The rivers cannot be changed, but the fish can. Many of the fish cannot survive this treatment. They die and are used to fertilize the rose bushes around the hatchery, but the survivors are handsome trout and salmon that can live almost anywhere.

Although the fish swim in dirty water, they get the best possible nutrition, which supplements the efforts in selective breeding. The researchers have learned from nature in designing optimum diets for the fish. In the wilderness, young salmon are nourished indirectly by nutrients from the previous fall's carcasses of spawned adults. Similarly, the super-salmon and trout are fed a dry meal which includes the ground-up carcasses of spawned adults, rice bran and oat flour.

FOOD FOR FINGERLINGS

For the past thirteen years, the hatchery has experimented with a liquefied autolysate of whole hake—literally hake "digested" or partially destroyed by its own enzymes. Comparison of the autolysate with both the conventional fish-protein concentrate flour made from whole fish and with normal hatchery fish food has shown extra benefits from the partially digested autolysate in terms of fish growth, quality, vigor and survival at sea.

The method of preparation of the autolysate is to grind the whole hake and then allow the enzymes to begin the digestion of the material while the acidity (pH level) and temperature are controlled to prevent bacterial spoilage. Rice hulls, high in vitamin B complex, and wheat germ are added. The mixture is stabilized with General Mills guar gum.

Fingerling salmon and trout utilize the dry material more easily than they do conventional fish-protein concentrate. Salmon fingerlings fed the autolysate achieve twice the growth of those on other diets by the time they are leleased to the sea, about six months after spawning. In addition, Chinook salmon reared on a stabilized autolysate fish diet have had at least a threefold better survival rate in the sea than fish of the same stock which were fed conventional diets.

The wealth of minerals in the sea stirs the imagination, but the job of the fisheries biologist in rearing fishes is to sort out the minerals that are of value for nutrition. No more is known about how to put these minerals together than is known how to make a truly nutritious food from chemicals. But fishes can do this. The fishes in the sea are the only vertebrates that have available to them in utilizable form all the minerals on the face of the earth. Terrestrial plants and animals do not have this advantage. They get only what the soil has to give them, and in some places this is less with each passing day.

WHY SALMON DIE AFTER SPAWNING

The importance of minerals in the life cycle of the Chinook salmon is illustrated by what happens to the fish when it enters fresh water and the sea's supply of minerals is cut off. The salmon's gills, adjusted for life in the sea, are built to excrete excess minerals in great quantity. This, plus the low mineral content of fresh water, results in an unfavorable mineral balance in the homing fish.

After spawning, the salmon begins to die. In this process, it exhibits every clinical sign of human senility and expiration. But apparently it is possible to alter nature's course. Dr. O. H. Robertson, of the Stanford Research Institute, has found that proper manipulation of the salt balance and artificial feeding and salt baths—in effect, returning the fish to sea water—can extend the life span of the male Chinook salmon as much as an additional year.

This indicates that one cause of the salmon's death after spawning is demineralization. Nutritionists do not rule out the possibility of affecting, or even controlling, human aging through nutrition. The development of molecular biology is illuminating the aging process—particularly in theories of cell death, which is a companion to aging in man. However, evidence acquired in experimentation in lower forms of animals now seems to indicate that any effective nutritional regimen aimed at slowing the onset of aging must be consumed over most of the life span.

VIGOROUS HYBRIDS

Another aspect of Dr. Donaldson's work in which he sends fish to the open sea "pasture" may contribute in other ways to increasing the food supply from the sea. He has crossed two fish well-known to sport fishermen: the rainbow trout and the steelhead, a migratory strain of the rainbow occurring on the Pacific Coast. The rapid-growth characteristic of the rainbow is dominant and can be transposed to the steelhead so that the hybrids grow some twelve times as fast during the first year as the straight-line bred steelhead stock; and the hybrids seem to have retained the steelhead ability to adjust to salt water.

Steelhead run from the sea to their native streams in winter, during the Pacific Northwest's rawest, wettest, windiest weather. The return of these rainbow-steelhead hybrids early in 1967 indicates that sportsmen can look forward to a spectacularly large, new fighting fish. Returning hybrids slightly more than a year old are running 16 to 19 inches long and are weighing 2½ to 3 pounds. Normal steelhead of the same age measure 5 to 6 inches and weigh about one-tenth of a pound. And the hybrids seem extremely vigorous—more so than natural rainbows or steelheads.

A BRAND FOR THE NEW BREED

The salmon and steelhead released to the sea have been marked for identification by amputation of a fin in the past. But this has disadvantages: a fish has only so many fins, limiting the number of identifying marks; the clipping is time-consuming; and sometimes a fin regenerates to such an extent that identification is impossible. But a Fish and Wildlife Service program has come up with a possible answer—a fish-branding iron. It is used warm—or very cold—to make a distinctive, indelible and harmless mark on each fish. By using numbers and letters, the variety of marks is almost infinite and will make possible many more experimental groups. Marked fish from the university have been found as far as 1,000 miles north in Alaskan waters. It is, however, believed that most of the fish from the hatchery stay within 400 miles of the Washington coast.

Despite civilization's inroads on nature's fish production, the sea holds the potential for more than offsetting any loss if we do with it what we have done with our domestic animals and crops—cultivate and manage it.

Bronze Star Medal Awarded to 1st Lt. Wesley A. Jennings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, 1st Lt. Wesley A. Jennings, son of Mrs. Audrey S. Brooks, 2216 Ruskin Avenue, Baltimore, Md., was recently awarded the Bronze Star Medal for "heroism in connection with military operations against a hostile force in the Republic of Vietnam." Lieutenant Jennings, a 1965 graduate of Morgan State College in Baltimore, exposed himself to enemy fire to evacuate wounded during a mission near the Dong Nai River, South Vietnam.

I wish to commend Lieutenant Jennings for his bravery and service to his country, and to congratulate his mother on her fine son.

Miller Clinic-Hospital Completes 30 Years of Service to Nashville Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the most crucial issues that faces our country here at home is our ability to provide the Nation's citizens with proper hospital and medical care, and to do it at the most reasonable cost. This is a task that requires all of our resources and our most creative efforts.

Among the country's some 8,000 hospitals are about 800 that are doing a generally excellent job and getting very little public recognition. These are the proprietary, or privately owned hospitals, and we have an excellent example of how such an institution should be run in my city of Nashville.

The first building of the Miller Clinic was completed 30 years ago, and the first operation was performed on July 1, 1937. For the first 5 years the clinic housed Dr. Cleo Miller and three of his associates.

Its growth has been steady and directly related to its ability to serve the community. During World War II, three of its four staff doctors were in the military service and the premises were occupied only by Dr. George Holcomb. Then, after the war was ended, the clinic started on a new era of growth.

Now, after 30 years, it plays an important part in Nashville's medical picture. Five years ago a hospital was opened with 50 beds. The expansion continued with the addition of emergency facilities, a coronary care unit, as well as a cafeteria and maintenance shop. During the past 5 years the Miller Hospital has admitted 14,119 patients and been the scene of 7,983 operations. Over 300 patients are now treated each day. The magnitude of this venture can be best described by pointing out that it employs some 275 people and has an annual payroll of $1,650,000.

The Miller Clinic-Hospital in Nashville is typical of the best type of proprietary hospital. Hundreds of them were started by doctors who have seen the need of additional hospital facilities and, with the typical American spirit, started out to do something about it.

Another proprietary hospital of which my State can be proud is the Park View Hospital with its more than 200 beds. Its president, Dr. Thomas Frist, in discussing the role of private hospitals said recently:

> A study made in 1960 by the Tennessee Council on Aging indicated the great need for nursing home facilities and hospital beds. This study resulted in the building of the former Park View Nursing Home and the subsequent changeover to present 200 bed Park View Hospital. Efficient services and excellent architectural planning are advantages of private hospitals. The history of business has shown that when people invest their own money, they expect and demand that the money be used in the most effective manner and there is, of course, personal interest and pride. Overall efficiency carries over in operating the proprietary hospital, resulting in reduced cost per patient day. Major departments such as pathology, laboratory, X-ray, and pharmacy are privately owned and when the owner of a department has the full financial and provisional responsibility, he runs a more effective and productive department. The owner further secures industrious, qualified, and ambitious people for these departments. The satisfaction of the owners in rendering service to the community is another advantage, as well as the pride of ownership, and the pride of efficiency by owner and employee.

Dr. Cleo Miller, who helped to found the Miller Clinic and Hospital, is a graduate of Vanderbilt University Medical School and one of his city's outstanding citizens. He is a past president of the Nashville Academy of Medicine, and chief of surgery at Nashville General Hospital. Nor are his hours limited to the narrow confines of the academic. He is also a director of the Sand Lot Baseball League, and president of the Nashville baseball club. He also serves as team physician for the Isaac Litton High School.

This will identify the type of man who has helped create the Miller Clinic and Hospital, a proprietary hospital that has done much in the Nashville area.

As it completes 30 years of service, it is well to call attention to the class of proprietary hospital which it represents. It is fully accredited by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals and is a member of the American Association of Medical Clinics.

Thus, it seems clear that the United States should insist on quality in proprietary hospitals just as it should insist on quality in nonprofit and institutional hospitals. But it should, at the same time, recognize that such hospitals, that make up almost 10 percent of all hospitals in the United States, are doing a very necessary job, and they should be encouraged to do that job to the best of their ability in the true American tradition.

Our Private Enterprise Transportation System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, favorable remarks are still being received to the address which Dale W. Hardin, Commissioner, Interstate Commerce Commission, delivered before the meeting of the Washington State Wool Growers Association.

He spoke in Yakima, Wash., November 13, 1967, before an overflow attendance of the Greater Yakima Chamber of Commerce and delegates attending the wool growers convention.

I ask unanimous consent to have Commissioner Hardin's message printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF DALE W. HARDIN, COMMISSIONER, INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, BEFORE A JOINT MEETING OF THE GREATER YAKIMA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE WASHINGTON STATE WOOL GROWERS ASSOCIATION, YAKIMA, WASH., NOVEMBER 13, 1967

There are several reasons that I am happy to be with you this afternoon, not the least of which is my high regard for Senator Warren Magnuson who asked me to come to the Northwest to visit with you, and to bring you his warm regards. He asked me, I am sure, because of the close relationship that exists between the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Senate Commerce Committee. The Senator, as you know, is the Chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee.

But I am also glad to be here since it is my first trip to the State of Washington. I must confess that I have long hoped for an opportunity to come to the great Pacific Northwest.

Similarly, my experience insofar as the wool growers are concerned is very limited, and I am delighted to have a chance to be with you and perhaps to learn something about your work, your problems and your Association. Certainly, the health and growth of your industry is as important to the Nation today as when it played a significant role in the winning of the West. Some measure of the importance of sheep husbandry to the general economy of the country can be ascertained from the fact that in 1966 the Federal Government thought it important enough to expend approximately 26 million dollars under the wool support program.

Finally, of course, because of my former affiliation with the National Chamber of Commerce, I have an especially warm regard for the local Chamber groups. The reputation of the Yakima Chamber has reached clear across the Nation. Let me tell you how. Now, if Tom Bostic, or Clarence Ernst, or Bill Bolger is here today, they will remember—and perhaps others of you will, too—an incident that took place here in Yakima some 17 years ago. In that year, at a luncheon given by the Yakima Chamber, the guest speaker was to be Senator Magnuson. The Senator arrived in Seattle and decided to enjoy the beautiful scenery and travel to Yakima by auto. Coming over the mountain, he ran into a snowstorm. The luncheon began with the announcement that although he had not yet arrived, the Senator was en route. The luncheon progressed and finally ended with another announcement that the Senator was on his way—if everyone would just be patient. Finally—two hours late—Senator Magnuson arrived, having battled his way through a bad snowstorm. Everyone had very kindly waited it out, and the Senator gave his talk.

Even knowing of your great patience, I took no chances—I came in by air.

But I know this incident occurred because a former coworker of mine who is also a former Yakima Chamber staff man, Don Goodall, told me the story. Don sends his best wishes to all of you, and to your Mayor Jack Larsen, whose son is attending George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Incidentally, I have it on good authority that Senator Magnuson still occasionally reminds his staff of this incident, with the added comment that they should now know from past experience what happens when they overschedule the Senator!

I hope today to give you a brief picture of the relationship between the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Congress and the transportation industry. The Interstate Commerce Commission of today is confronted with a vastly different set of circumstances and conditions from those faced by the agency created back in 1887. Originally, the Commission was given jurisdiction over common carriers engaged in the interstate transportation of persons or property by railroad or partly by railroad and partly by water when both were under common control, management or arrangement for continuous shipment. There were then some 1200 railroad companies, with about 135,000 miles of track and an investment of approximately 7¼ billion dollars in road and equipment. The railroads in those days occupied an almost monopolistic position with regard to the intercity movement of freight and passengers. The monopolistic character of that operation has long since disappeared. Competition today is keen and the picture now includes not only railroads, but also motor carriers, water carriers, freight forwarders, oil pipelines, and airlines—not to mention the competitive situation in the passenger field where rail, air, and bus transportation must wage a continuing struggle not only with each other, but with the private automobile as well.

The growth of this industry has been phenomenal. Transportation has played a major role in the development of our Nation. Time and distance have been telescoped to the point where we have experienced, within a single generation, a technological revolution.

We are told that in 1965 over 140 billion dollars, or approximately 20 percent of our total annual expenditures for goods and services—that is, our gross national product—was spent either directly or indirectly for transportation of one kind or another. Nineteen percent, or about 21 billion dollars, of our total Federal taxes comes from transportation sources. About 14 percent of our total civilian employment involves or is related to transportation—this is over 9 million people. There are over 94 million vehicles on our highways, over 1½ million locomotives and cars on our railroads, nearly 100,000 privately owned planes utilizing the air space, and over 20,000 waterborne vessels operating in domestic service. Other figures show that transportation in this country contributes heavily to the use of the products of other industries. For example, it consumes 71 percent of all rubber, 52 percent of all petroleum, 29 percent of all steel, 22 percent of all aluminum, 53 percent of all lead, and so on.

As the transportation industry grew in this country, need for the regulation of commerce became more and more apparent. By 1887, when the Interstate Commerce Commission was created, 24 States and one Territory had already established commissions to regulate the railroads. The first five commissioners were appointed by President Grover Cleveland in March 1887, five days before the regulatory provisions of the Act to Regulate Commerce went into effect. The Commission, then, is the oldest of the so-called independent regulatory agencies.

By independent we mean that it is not a part of the Executive branch of our Government. Neither is it a part of the Judicial branch of the Government, although it has been described as performing quasi-judicial functions. Technically, though it also performs quasi-legislative functions, it is not part of the Legislative branch of the Government. The Commission is correctly described as an arm of Congress. The phrase "arm of Congress" is used because Congress delegated to the Commission some of its powers. Control over interstate commerce was placed squarely in the hands of Congress in the historic case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden*. However, any effort by the Congress to administer such an undertaking would obviously have been completely impractical; hence, the delegation of power through the creation of the independent regulatory agency.

The relationship between the Commission and the Congress is quite general in nature, with a technical and special relationship existing between the Commission, on the one hand, and the Commerce Committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, on the other. As you know, appointments to the Commission are by presidential nomination, and such nominations must be cofirmed by the Senate. There are eleven members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the statute provides that no more than six may be of the same political party. Confirmation hearings before the Senate Commerce Committee afford Senators an opportunity to inquire into the qualifications of those nominated for appointment. Even after a commissioner has been confirmed, however, the interest of the members of the Senate Commerce Committee and of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee continues, and in relation to the public interest, generally, may even be said to increase. This is so because of the many complex problems, as well as the extent of the jurisdiction of the Commission in the performance of its tasks as an arm of Congress.

The various areas of current economic regulation include the maintenance of just, reasonable and non-discriminatory rates, the requiring of continuous and adequate service, the issuance of operating authorities, the prevention of discrimination and destructive competition, the approval of applications for consolidation, merger or acquisition of control, the discontinuance of passenger trains, the establishment of rules for the filing of rates and charges, the maintenance of uniform accounts and records, the ascertainment of property valuations of certain common carriers, and the authorization for the issuance of securities.

Organizationally, the Commission is divided into three divisions according to general subject matter. The membership of the divisions changes from time to time. Division 1 handles motor carrier operating rights; Division 2, of which I am currently a member, is concerned primarily with rates and related matters, including the suspension or investigation of rate changes proposed by carriers, and Division 3 deals principally with finance matters.

Ratemaking involves the pricing of transportation services. It is a subject with which every shipper is concerned and is a matter that is reflected in the price that every consumer must ultimately pay. Ratemaking thus has an effect on markets, on the flow of commerce, and on the revenues, indeed the very health, of the carriers. There are a number of misconceptions, however, with regard to ratemaking, one of which is commonly expressed in the phrase, the Interstate Commerce Commission "sets" the rates. The establishment of rates is, by law, a matter initially within the province of the carriers. Rates are, however, subject to the authority of the Commission to prevent the establishment or the maintenance of rates that are in any way unlawful.

Carriers file their rates in tariffs published in accordance with rules prescribed by the Commission. They may be protested and are subject to investigation and suspension. Ordinarily, if a new or changed rate is not protested, it is allowed to go into effect after appropriate public notice has been given.

To give you an idea of the volume before us, there are in excess of 200,000 new tariff publications filed with the Commission each year. Although estimates of the exact number of rates on file with the Commission vary, some of the over 200,000 new tariff publications filed each year may contain a thousand or more rates. So you can see that the number of rates on file is astronomical.

Groups of carrier representatives constantly consider proposals for changes in rates and often hold public hearings to afford shippers and others an opportunity to express their views, either in support of or in opposition to any new or changed rate. Until a new or changed rate has been filed at the Commission, we have no jurisdiction with regard to such proposals. While there is a provision for protesting proposed rate changes and for challenging existing rates, adjustments are sometimes the result of shipper-carrier negotiations, thus eliminating the necessity for a proceeding before the Commission.

The requirement of filing and posting of rates has the effect of bringing relative stability to an area in which fairly rapid fluctuations once placed shippers in the position of not being able to depend for more than a few days at a time on any given rate.

This, of course, is a very quick and cursory review of but one of the functions delegated to the Commission by the Congress. In addition, of course, other matters come before the Commission through bills introduced in Congress designed in some way to amend the Interstate Commerce Act. Representatives of various modes of transportation, shipper groups, communities and others, as well as the Commission, offer testimony before the appropriate Congressional committees in hearings on the various proposals.

These are but a few of the developments that have taken place in the transportation industry as that industry has grown in the last 80 years. The economists tell us that by the year 2000 our total population will reach about 330 million. By that time, every American will want an even better standard of living; this means better food, more education, better housing, more travel, more of everything. An item of particular interest to your area is the estimate that within four decades electricity output may have to be increased five times to meet demands. Similar demands will be placed on other industries, including transportation. Whatever the challenges may be in the future, it is most important that our transportation system continue to grow in proportion to the ever expanding needs of the Nation.

At no point in history have our people been more dependent on transportation. And in countries all over the world, the nationalization of transportation has been a precursor to the nationalization of other industries. It is no *accident* that America can proudly claim the world's finest transportation system. It can make this claim because that system operates under the concept of private enterprise. In other countries, government ownership of transportation has been but a prelude to stagnation—not just in transportation, but in the economy of those countries as a whole. Our transportation capability must continue to increase, and it must do so under our private enterprise system.

Pfc. William R. Furlong, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. William R. Furlong, Jr., a soldier from Baltimore was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

BALTIMORE GI DIES IN VIETNAM—PRIVATE FURLONG WAS KILLED WHILE ON A MISSION

A 19-year-old Baltimore artillery man was killed in Vietnam last week, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

He was identified as Pfc. William R. Furlong, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. William R. Furlong, Sr., of 6127 Cardiff avenue.

Mrs. Mildred Faircloth, Pfc. Furlong's sister, said her brother had been a member of B Battery, 235th Artillery.

She said he had been in Vietnam only since November 7.

NO DETAILS GIVEN

"They told us he was missing Thursday. On Saturday, they said he had been killed," she said.

She said no details of the death were given. "They only said he had been on a mission. They didn't tell us where or how he died," she said.

Pfc. Furlong attended Patterson High School. He enlisted in June and trained at Fort Bragg, N.C., and Fort Sill, Okla., before leaving for Vietnam.

His sister said his unit fired 155-mm. howitzers, which are the largest cannon the Army uses in Vietnam.

Besides his parents and Mrs. Faircloth, he is survived by another sister, Miss Margaret Furlong.

Hawaiian Holiday for Equity Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, as the winter winds mount, it appears as if more Americans are finding time to see America first, especially our newest and most exotic State, Hawaii. It has recently come to my attention through the Equity Spokesman, a company newspaper, that Equity Funding Corp. of America is joining the Hawaiian migration this winter. I think it would be mutually beneficial at this time—for both the States of Hawaii and Indiana—to salute Equity and at least send with them our best wishes since we unfortunately cannot accompany them. Indianapolis is the headquarters for the midwestern regional office of this national financial services corporation. Winners of an Equity sales contest will be leaving by jet for Honolulu February 3. They will stay a week, absorbing Hawaiian culture. The vigor of these winners is of such as makes the American economy the strongest in the world. This 7-year-old company, spread coast to coast, has compiled an excellent record which assuredly merits such an exotic Hawaiian holiday.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article of interest in a recent issue of the Equity Spokesman which speaks well of the women of Hawaii.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

COFFEE BREAK: WOMEN IN PARADISE STILL FIND TIME TO SEW

HONOLULU.—It's only natural that more women in Hawaii than in any other state design and make their own clothes. Historically, they've had access to exotic fabrics from throughout the world.

Hawaiian women copied the mode of the 1820's after the first missionaries arrived. But the Mother Hubbards lacked the drabness of New England styles because Chinese brocades, Indian muslins, Fuji silks and Ceylon sari lengths were easily obtainable. Yankee woolens and cottons had to be shipped around the Horn.

The modern woman shopper here find Thai silks and Italian velvets as well as the new no-iron sheers of Tahitian design and the exotic beaded dress lengths from Hong Kong.

The women tourist often takes home enough materials for an entire year's wardrobe.

The mimi-mu is the high fashion today. And girl watchers get a real eye-full at the bikini-covered beaches. Every imaginable color combination is worn.

Patterns of all sizes are available and you can find dress patterns for everything from the comfortable, roomy tutu to the slinky cheongsam. The "tutu," which means grandmother in Hawaiian, is made with a high, old-fashioned yoke and long sleeves, frequently with ruffles at the neck and cuffs. The skirt is always very full.

The Chinese cheongsam is reed slender and slit up the sides as far as you desire. The Shanghai slit is almost thigh high while the Hong Kong slit is a little above the knee.

Personal Request by Representative L. H. Fountain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, while serving as one of the two official delegates from the Congress of the United States to the 22d session of the General Assembly of the United Nations during the period of September 16–December 20, I have naturally not been able to answer all rollcalls in the House. During this period, however, I have secured pairs whenever possible.

On those bills when pairs were not possible, I wish to state that had I been personally present I would have voted as hereinafter indicated on the following bills:

H.R. 13893, foreign aid appropriations: On the Young motion to consider the previous question on adoption of a rule for floor consideration, I would have voted "yea." November 16.

H.R. 8569, District funds: On adoption of the conference report on the bill—November 9—I would have voted "yea."

H.R. 13933, bill authorizing States—with approval of Transportation Department Secretary—to shift interstate highway mileage from designated projects to other projects of no higher cost. On passage of the bill—November 20—I would have voted "yea."

H.R. 12010, bill granting the consent of Congress to the Wheeling Creek

Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention District compact between Pennsylvania and West Virginia. On passage of the bill—November 20—I would have voted "yea."

H.R. 9063, bill amending the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, authorizing final compensation for certain World War II damage claims of U.S. citizens not covered in former treaties. On passage of the bill—November 20—I would have voted "yea."

H.R. 11527, bill amending conditions for use of Federal land conveyed to the University of Maine in 1955 in order to permit sale of portions of the property. On passage of the bill—November 20—I would have voted "yea."

H.R. 6430, bill authorizing $281 million for mental retardation activities in fiscal year 1968. On adoption of the conference report—November 21—I would have voted "yea."

S. 1031, bill authorizing appropriations of $115.7 million for the Peace Corps in fiscal year 1968. On passage of the bill—November 21—I would have voted "yea."

H.R. 6418, bill authorizing $589 million in fiscal 1968–70 for State and local health programs, including $40 million in fiscal year 1968–69 for rat control. On adoption of the conference report—November 21—I would have voted "yea."

A Factual Digest of Some of the Major Public Laws Resulting From Congressional Actions This Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a factual digest of some of the major public laws resulting from congressional action this session.

There being no objection, the digest was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Factual Digest of Some of the Major Public Laws Resulting From Congressional Actions This Session

AGRICULTURE

Lease, sale, and transfer of tobacco acreage allotments and acre-poundage quotas

Public Law 90–51, approved July 7, 1967: This law (H.R. 8265) amended the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to authorize the transfer of tobacco acreage allotments and acreage-poundage quotas.

Removal of 5-acre limitation on lease and transfer of certain tobacco acreage allotments

Public Law 90–52, approved July 7, 1967: This law (H.R. 5702) amended the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to remove the 5-acre limitation on the amount of tobacco allotment acreage which may be leased.

Facilitating computation of tobacco acreage allotments

Public Law 90–106, approved October 12, 1967: This law (S. 1564) amended the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to facilitate the computation of tobacco acreage allotments by providing for conversion of the national marketing quota for tobacco into a national acreage allotment to be apportioned among farms. The law also provided for a maximum reserve of 1 percent for new farms.

APPROPRIATIONS

Department of Defense supplemental appropriation, fiscal 1967

Public Law 90–8, approved April 4, 1967: This law (H.R. 7123) made supplemental appropriations of $12,196,520,000 to the Department of Defense for continued support of military operations in Southeast Asia in fiscal 1967.

It provided additional funds for military personnel; operation and maintenance; procurement; research, development, test, and evaluation; military construction; and revolving and management funds.

Second supplemental appropriations, fiscal 1967

Public Law 90–21, approved May 29, 1967: This law (H.R. 9481) provided $2,197,931,417 in supplemental appropriations for the various departments and agencies. The largest items went for the Department of Defense, social security and welfare, and increased pay costs.

Interior Department appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–28, approved June 24, 1967: This law (H.R. 9029) made appropriations of $1,399,048,350 (including $16,200,000 borrowing authority) for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for fiscal year 1968.

The Interior Department total was $892,781,350. For related agencies the total was $506,267,000, including funds for the Forest Service, the Public Health Service, the Indian Claims Commission, the National Capital Planning Commission, the National Capital Transportation Agency, and the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

Continuing appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–38, approved June 30, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 652) provided for financing continuing Government functions with respect to which annual appropriations bills had not been signed into law prior to August 31, 1967.

Treasury-Post Office Departments appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–47, approved July 7, 1967: This law (H.R. 7501) made appropriations of $7,545,641,000 for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal year 1968.

The Treasury Department total was $921,887,000. The Post Office Department total was $6,603,098,000. For the Executive Office of the President the total was $17,739,000, including the Emergency Fund for the President and expenses of management improvement. The total for independent agencies was $2,917,000, including funds for the Tax Court of the United States and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Legislative branch appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–57, approved July 28, 1967: This law (H.R. 10368) made appropriations in the amount of $275,699,035 for the legislative branch for fiscal year 1968. The Senate total was $44,125,205; the House $80,368,670.

Other agencies for which appropriations were included in this law were the Library of Congress, the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, and the Government Printing Office.

Continuing appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–75, approved August 29, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 804) provided for financing continuing Government functions with respect to which annual appropriations bills had not been signed into law prior to September 30, 1967.

Defense Department appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–96, approved September 29, 1967: This law (H.R. 10738) made total appropriations for the Defense Establishment of $69,936,620,000 for fiscal 1968. Of this appropriation, for all services, $21,781,500,000 was appropriated for Title I (Military Personnel); $19,034,520,000, for Title II (Operation and Maintenance); $22,000,800,000, for Title III (Procurement); $7,108,600,000 for Title IV (Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation); and $11,200,000 for Title V (Special Foreign Currency Program).

Continuing appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–102, approved October 5, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 853) provided for financing continuing Government functions with respect to which annual appropriations bills had not been signed into law prior to October 23, 1967.

Department of Transportation appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–112, approved October 23, 1967: This law (H.R. 11456) made appropriations of $1,581,905,772 for the Department of Transportation for fiscal 1968.

Included in this total were funds for: Salaries, expenses, and research, $13,350,000; Coast Guard, $521,965,000; Federal Aviation Administration, $907,435,000; Federal Highway Administration, $119,111,772; Federal Railroad Administration, $16,044,000; and for other activities, $4,000,000.

Further, the total included, under Federal Highway Administration, $1.2 million for administrative expenses in carrying out the highway beautification program, and $21,034,000 in new funds for expenses to discharge the functions of the Secretary with respect to traffic and highway safety. The law also authorized expenditures from Highway Trust Fund of $3,770,872,000 for the Federal highway program.

Department of Agriculture and related agencies appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–113, approved October 24, 1967: This law (H.R. 10509) made appropriations of $4,952,945,700 for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for fiscal 1968. The total included $1,797,249,700 for general activities of the Department; $116,813,000 for REA and FHA; $3,038,708,000 for the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Public Law 480, and bartered materials for the supplemental stockpile; and $175,000 for related agencies.

The total of funds available for the Food Stamp Program was $185,000.

The total loan authorization under REA for electrification and telephone was $434,600,000. The total participation sales authorization under FHA was $750,000,000. The total loan authorization under REA and FHA was $859,600,000.

Independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–121, approved November 3, 1967: This law (H.R. 9960) made total appropriations of $10,139,473,900 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the various independent offices, of which $1,948,000,000 was for HUD and $8,036,354,900 for independent offices of Government. Provision was made for a $10 million annual contract authorization for the controversial rent supplement program under HUD.

The appropriations for independent offices included funds for: Civil Aeronautics Board, Civil Service Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, General Services Administration, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Capital Housing Authority, National Science Foundation, Renegotiation Board, Securities and Exchange

Commission, Selective Service System, and Veterans' Administration.

Also included were funds for the Office of Science and Technology in the Executive Office of the President, Civil Defense in the Department of Defense, and emergency health activities in the Public Health Service. The law also contained a limitation on amounts of corporate funds that could be expended by the following agencies: Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Federal Housing Administration, and Federal National Mortgage Association.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–131, approved November 8, 1967: This law (H.R. 12474) made appropriations of $4,588,900,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1968, as follows: $3,925,000,000 for research and development; $35,900,000 for construction of facilities; and $628,000,000 for administrative operations. The law divided into 20 major categories all of NASA's research and development work. This represented the first time NASA funds were not included in the Independent Offices appropriation bill.

Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare Departments appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–132, approved November 8, 1967: This law (H.R. 10196) made appropriations of $13,255,356,000 for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies for fiscal year 1968.

The Labor Department total was $625,524,000. The HEW total was $12,569,999,000, including funds for the National Institutes of Health ($1,178,924,000).

Among related agencies funded were the National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board, and the Railroad Retirement Board.

State-Justice-Commerce Departments appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–133, approved November 8, 1967: This law (H.R. 10345) made appropriations of $2,169,012,500 for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal year 1968.

Of this appropriation, the State Department total was $385,667,400; the Justice Department, $417,623,000; the Commerce Department, $1,034,291,000; the judiciary, $93,947,100; the Commission on Civil Rights, $2,650,000; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, $6,500,000; and the U.S. Information Agency, $186,379,000.

District of Columbia appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–134, approved November 13, 1967: This law (H.R. 8569) authorized the District of Columbia to spend out of District of Columbia funds $381,290,800 for fiscal 1968, set a total loan authorization of $79,200,000, and appropriated a total Federal payment out of general revenues of the Treasury of $67,478,200. The total of all funds available for fiscal 1968 was $500,954,300.

Public Works and Atomic Energy Commission appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–147, approved November 20, 1967: This law (H.R. 11641) made appropriations of $4,689,938,000 for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

Of this total appropriation, the Defense Department total was $1,359,829,000; the Interior Department, $750,152,000; the Atomic Energy Commission, $2,509,133,000; and independent offices, $70,824,000.

Continuing appropriations, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–162, approved November 28, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 936) provided for financing continuing Government functions with respect to which annual appropriation bills had not been signed into law prior to December 2, 1967.

Appropriations for military construction, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–180, approved December 8, 1967: This law (H.R. 13606) made appropriations of $2,093,362,000 for construction at military installations in the United States and abroad, including $671,271,000 for military family housing projects, for fiscal 1968.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Atomic Energy Commission appropriation authorization, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–56, approved July 26, 1967: This law (H.R. 10918) authorized appropriation of $2,633,876,000 for fiscal 1968 for the Atomic Energy Commission. For operating expenses, $2,164,843,000 was authorized, and for plant and capital equipment, $469,033,000.

Amendment of Atomic Energy Acts

Public Law 90–190, approved December 14, 1967: This law (S. 2644), among other things, amended the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955, as amended, by revising the system of priorities applicable to the sale of apartment houses at Los Alamos, N. Mex., by requiring the Atomic Energy Commission to continue to make assistance payments to the Cities of Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Richland, Wash., and to the Richland School District, and to state more explicitly the criteria for making such payments. The law provided that all appropriations must be authorized previously by Congress.

The law also amended the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to give the Director of the AEC's Division of Military Application the new title of Assistant General Manager for Military Application, to provide certain additional authority for the AEC to perform research for others pertaining to the protection of public health and safety, to eliminate the requirement for determinations by the President of the quantities of special nuclear material to be produced and the amounts to be available for distribution by the AEC.

It also amended the Euratom Cooperation Act of 1958, as amended, to authorize the transfer of an additional 145,000 kilograms of contained uranium 235 to the European Atomic Energy Community, to authorize the transfer of an additional 1,000 kilograms of plutonium to Euratom, and to authorize the AEC to perform uranium enrichment services for Euratom.

CIVIL RIGHTS

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, subpena power

Public Law 90–61; approved August 2, 1967: This law (S.J. Res. 98) authorized the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and to the production of evidence.

Extension of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission

Public Law 90–198; approved December 14, 1967: This law (H.R. 10805) extended the life of the Civil Rights Commission and authorized appropriations for fiscal 1968, and for each of the four succeeding fiscal years, $2,650,000 for each such fiscal year.

EDUCATION

Amendment and extension of Higher Education Act

Pubic Law 90–35, approved June 29, 1967: This law (H.R. 10943) extended through fiscal 1970 and amended title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965 involving the Teacher Corps program and a program of graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary schools. The law also established a National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development and four new programs (to begin in fiscal 1969) which would provide (1) grants and contracts for the purpose of attracting qualified persons to the field of education; (2) grants to local educational agencies experiencing critical shortages of teachers to carry out programs to attract and qualify teachers and teacher aides; (3) grants and contracts to provide advanced training and retraining (preservice and inservice training) for personnel serving in programs of elementary and secondary education; and (4) fellowships, taineeships, institutes, and preservice and inservice training for personnel serving as teachers, administrators, or educational specialists in colleges and universities.

Major changes in the Teacher Corps program would make it a local program designed and carried out by local authority to meet local needs. State educational agency approval of the local educational agency's request for Corps members would be required.

The total authorization for fiscal 1968 was $33,100,000; for 1969, $385,200,000; and for 1970, $492,200,000.

Amendment of college work-study program of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

Public Law 90–82, approved September 6, 1967: This law (H.R. 11945) amended section 124(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (1) to make the college work-study program more flexible as to the maximum number of hours students may work in a week (15) by permitting averaging over a semester, and (2) to limit the increase on the non-Federal share of compensation paid students (from 10 percent to 25 percent) by substituting an increase of 5 percent a year from August 20, 1967, until the 25 percent maximum is reached.

Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–99, approved October 3, 1967: This law (H.R. 12257) amended the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to (1) extend through fiscal years 1969 and 1970 the appropriation authorization for grants to States for the basic program of vocational rehabilitation services for handicapped individuals; (2) authorize 1 additional year of appropriations for support of statewide planning in vocational rehabilitation by the States, through June 30, 1968; (3) authorize the Secretary to enter into an agreement with a public or nonprofit private agency or organization for the establishment and operation of a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults; (4) authorize a program of project grants to States for providing vocational rehabilitation services to handicapped migratory agricultural workers and their families; (5) require that vocational rehabilitation services be provided by State vocational rehabilitation agencies without regard to the place of residence of the individual; and (6) provided a fixed allotment percentage for the District of Columbia. The law authorized $500 million for fiscal 1969 and $600 million in fiscal 1970.

FINANCE AND TAXATION

Temporary increase in public debt limit

Public Law 90–3, approved March 2, 1967: This law (H.R. 4573) provided a temporary debt limit of $336 billion for the period from the date of enactment to June 30, 1967. The temporary debt limit for fiscal 1967 was $330 billion. (The debt ceiling under permanent law is $285 billion.)

Investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation restoration

Public Law 90–26, approved June 13, 1967: This law (H.R. 6950) restored the investment tax credit and the use of accelerated depreciation with respect to certain real property (which had been suspended for the period from October 10, 1966, through December 31, 1967), effective after March 9, 1967. The new limitation on the amount of investment credit was 50 percent, rather than 25 percent of tax liabilities in excess of $25,000. Property ordered during the suspension period, but delivered on or after May 24, would be eligible for the investment credit.

The law extended the investment credit to certain aircraft operating outside the United States (so-called Vietnam airlift amendment).

The law also provided that, under the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act of 1966, funds could be appropriated and disbursed only after adoption by law of guidelines governing their distribution.

Silver certificates

Public Law 90–29, approved June 24, 1967: This law (S. 1352) authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to write off silver certificates he determines have been destroyed, irretrivably lost, or held in collections; required holders wishing to convert certificates to silver to do so within 1 year; required maintenance of an adequate supply of silver for defense purposes; and permitted the reintroduction of mint marks. The purpose of the law was to assure an adequate supply of coins to meet the needs of the economy during the remaining stages of the transition from silver coins to the new clad coins pursuant to the Coinage Act of 1965.

Public debt limit

Public Law 90–39, approved June 30, 1967: This law (H.R. 10867) increased the permanent public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act from $285 billion to $358 billion, effective July 1, 1967. Beginning fiscal 1969, this debt limitation would be increased temporarily by $7 billion during the course of each fiscal year, but the debt limit will fall back to the permanent $358 billion limit on the last day (June 30) of each fiscal year.

The law also (1) brought participation certificates issued in fiscal 1968 into the determination of debt subject to the limitation, and (2) amended existing law to provide for issuance of notes with maturities up to 7 years (rather than 5 years) outside the 4¼-percent limitation on interest.

Temporary suspension of duties on metal scrap

Public Law 90–45, approved July 3, 1967: This law (H.R. 5615) amended the Tariff Schedules of the United States to continue for 2 years, to June 30, 1969, the existing suspension of duties on metal waste and scrap, unwrought metal and articles of metal (except copper scrap and waste copper articles).

Suspension of duties on certain forms of nickel

Public Law 90–48, approved July 7, 1967: This law (H.R. 3349) continued through September 30, 1967, the existing suspension of duties on ferronickel, unwrought nickel, and nickel powder.

Suspension of duty on manganese ore

Public Law 90–49, approved July 7, 1967: This law (H.R. 3652) continued through June 30, 1970, the existing suspension of duties on certain manganese ore (including ferruginous ore) and related products.

Payments in lieu of taxes with respect to certain real property

Public Law 90–50, approved July 7, 1967: This law (H.R. 4241) extended for 2 years (to December 31, 1968) the period for which payments in lieu of taxes may be made with respect to certain real property transferred by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiaries to other Government departments.

Interest equalization tax extension

Public Law 90–59, approved July 31, 1967: This law (H.R. 6098), among other things, extended the Interest Equalization Tax Act for 2 years, to July 31, 1969, increased the maximum tax rate from 15 to 22½ percent, and empowered the President to vary this rate from zero to 22½ percent on the basis of balance-of-payments considerations.

Existing law provided, in effect, for the equivalent of a 1 percentage point per annum increase in interest costs for foreigners who obtained capital from U.S. sources either through the sale of stock or through the sale of debt obligations with a maturity of 1 year or more.

The existing tax on foreign stock purchases by Americans was 15 percent of the actual value of the stock, and the rates of tax on debt obligations with maturities of 1 year or more varied from 1.05 percent of the obligations with the shortest maturity to 15 percent on those with a maturity of 28½ years of more. These rates provided as nearly as possible the equivalent of a 1 percentage point increase in interest costs.

The law also provided a new system for administering the tax in order to prevent evasion.

Antitrust laws exemptions

Public Law 90–62, approved August 9, 1967: This law (S. 1648) extended until June 30, 1969, the present law so as to continue the authority for granting exemptions from the antitrust laws to assist in safeguarding the balance-of-payments position of the United States.

Extension of authority for more flexible regulations of certain rates of interest

Public Law 90–87, approved September 21, 1967: This law (S. 1956) extended for 2 years the authority expiring September 21, 1967, for the financial regulatory agencies (the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board) to set interest rate ceilings on savings accounts, to require higher reserves for member banks, and to permit open market operations in direct or fully guaranteed obligations of any agency of the United States.

GOVERNMENT

Amendment of Indian Claims Commission Act

Public Law 90–9, approved April 10, 1967: This law (H.R. 2536) amended the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 to provide (1) for termination of the Commission at the end of 10 years from and after April 10, 1962 (5-year extension), (2) for expansion of the Commission from three to five members (the three present Commissioners to serve until June 30, 1968, unless previously reappointed by the President), and (3) for preparation by the Commission of a trial calendar setting a date not later than December 31, 1970, for trial of each pending claim.

Post Office Department 30-year-lease authority

Public Law 90–15, approved May 8, 1967: This law (S. 1039) extended the authority of the Postmaster General to enter into leases of real property for periods not exceeding 30 years under certain specified conditions.

Commission on Obscenity and Pornography

Public Law 90–100, approved October 3, 1967: This law (S. 188) created a Commission on Obscenity and Pornography consisting of 18 members having expert knowledge in the fields of obscenity and antisocial behavior appointed by the President. The Commission shall (1) analyze the laws pertaining to the control of obscenity and pornography; (2) ascertain the methods employed in the distribution of obscene and pornographic materials to explore the nature and volume of traffic in such materials; (3) study the effect of obscenity and pornography upon the public, particularly minors, and its relationship to crime and other antisocial behavior; (4) recommend such legislative, administrative, or other action necessary to regulate effectively the flow of such traffic, without interfering with constitutional rights; and (5) report to the President and the Congress no later than January 31, 1970.

Career status for certain temporary Government employees

Public Law 90–105, approved October 11, 1967: This law (S. 1320) provided for the acquisition of career status by certain temporary employees (TAPER appointments) of the Federal Government, plus those in the postal field service.

Security of the Capitol Buildings and Grounds

Public Law 90–108, approved October 19, 1967: This law (S. 2310) tightened the laws governing security of the Capitol Buildings and Grounds, plus all U.S. public buildings within the District of Columbia.

District of Columbia Federal payment and borrowing authority

Public Law 90–120, approved November 3, 1967: This law (H.R. 8718) increased the authorized annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia from $60 million to $70 million; increased the authorized D.C. borrowing authority to provide an estimated ceiling of $333.8 million in 1968, $363.9 million in 1969, and $392.3 million in 1970; and prohibited discrimination on grounds of residence, religion, race, color, or national origin in employment in the D.C. Government.

Obstruction of criminal investigations

Public Law 90–123, approved November 3, 1967: This law (S. 676) amended chapter 73, title 18, United States Code (relating to obstruction of the administration of justice), by adding a new section prohibiting the obstruction of Federal criminal investigations before a proceeding has been initiated before a Federal agency, or an inquiry or investigation by either House of the Congress or a congressional committee.

Public Broadcasting Act of 1967

Public Law 90–129, approved November 7, 1967: This law (S. 1160) amended the Communications Act of 1934 (a) by extending and improving its provisions relating to grants for construction of educational television broadcasting facilities and authorizing for this purpose appropriations of $10,500,000 for fiscal 1968, $12,500,000 for fiscal 1969, and $15,000,000 for fiscal 1970; (b) by authorizing assistance in the construction of noncommercial educational radio broadcasting facilities; (c) by establishing a nonprofit corporation (Corporation for Public Broadcasting) to assist in establishing innovative educational programs, to facilitate educational program availability, to aid the operation of educational broadcasting facilities, and authorizing for expenses $9 million for fiscal 1968; and (d) by authorizing a comprehensive study of instructional television and radio with appropriation authorization for expenses of not to exceed $500,000.

Extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases

Public Law 90–141, approved November 16, 1967: This law (S.J. Res. 114) extended to December 31, 1968, the renewal term of any copyright subsisting on the date of approval of this legislation, or the term as extended by Public Law 87–668 or by Public Law 89–442 where such term would otherwise expire prior to December 31, 1968. This was the third such interim extension of copyright.

Modernization of Federal credit union loan and dividend procedures

Public Law 90–188, approved December 13, 1967: This law (S. 1085) amended the Federal Credit Union Act to modernize Federal credit union procedures to accord with present day lending practices. It permitted (1) the credit union committee to delegate lending authority to a loan officer, (2) the payment of quarterly dividends, and (3) crediting funds received during the first 10 days of a month for the entire month in computing dividends.

Relief of Dr. R. V. Samala and congressional redistricting

Public Law 90–196, approved December 14, 1967: This law (H.R. 2275), a private naturalization bill, was amended by adding a provision that all seats in the House of Representatives shall be filled by districts except that a State which is entitled to more than one representative and which has in all previous elections elected its representatives at large may elect its representatives at large to the 91st Congress (New Mexico and Hawaii).

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Emergency food assistance to India

Public Law 90–7, approved April 1, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 267) expressed requested congressional support of the President's (administration) policy.

It approved the concepts of self-help, multilateral action, and comprehensive planning. It recommended that the United States provide up to an additional 3 million tons of food grains to India, at an estimated $190 million cost, and an additional $25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by American voluntary agencies.

Inter-American Development Bank Act Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–88, approved September 22, 1967: This law (H.R. 9547) amended the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize a U.S. vote in favor of an increase of $1,200,000,000 in resources of the Fund for Special Operations and to authorize a U.S. payment of $900,000,000; to require the Secretary of the Treasury to propose establishment of a program of audit of the Bank; and to provide that the Comptroller General (1) provide assistance to the U.S. Executive Director in connection with such audit and reporting standards, and (2) periodically review audit reports and report thereon to the Secretary of the Treasury and Congress. The law also directed that in consideration of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit any local cost financing with the funds so authorized be held to the minimum possible level and provided that the U.S. voting power disapprove any loan which might assist the recipient country directly or indirectly in acquiring sophisticated or heavy military equipment.

Foreign Assistance Act of 1967

Public Law 90–137, approved November 14, 1967: This law (S. 1872) authorized an aggregate appropriation of $2,674,614,000 for fiscal 1968 for the foreign aid program. The authorization for economic assistance was $2,164,614,000; for military assistance, $510 million. The authorization was limited to 1 year.

Among other things, the law limited development loans to 20 countries in any fiscal year; technical assistance to 40; and supporting assistance to 12. Military assistance was limited to 40 countries.

The law also provided a ceiling of $500 million for the Latin American housing program and a ceiling of $75 million on all military grants and sales to Latin America except training. A ceiling of $40 million was provided for military assistance to Africa.

Peace Corps Act amendments

Public Law 90–175, approved December 5, 1967: This law (S. 1031) amended the Peace Corps Act, as amended, to authorize an appropriation of $115,700,000 for Peace Corps activities in fiscal 1968.

LABOR

Railway labor-management dispute

Public Law 90–10, approved April 12, 1967: This law (S.J. Res. 65) extended the provisions of existing law prohibiting for a limited time strikes and changes in the work rules involved in the current dispute between railroad carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and certain of their employees. The extension was for an additional 20 days (to May 3, 1967) to provide additional time after April 13, 1967, to resolve the issues through collective bargaining and avoid a shutdown of service on all major U.S. railroads.

Public Law 90–13, approved May 2, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 543) further extended the provisions of existing law prohibiting for a limited time strikes and changes in the work rules involved in the current dispute between railroad carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and certain of their employees. Public Law 90–10 had extended the time from April 13, 1967, to May 3, 1967, and this law extended the time to June 19, 1967, to resolve the issues through collective bargaining and avoid a shutdown of service on all major U.S. railroads.

Public Law 90–54, approved July 17, 1967: This law (S.J. Res. 81) provided for the settlement of the labor dispute between railroad carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and certain of their employees. The law established a five-member Special Board (named by the President) to operate during a 90-day no-strike, nolockout period to begin immediately upon enactment of the law.

During the first 30 days, the Board would undertake intensive mediation efforts with both sides in an effort to find a mutually agreed upon and satisfactory solution. In case of no agreement, beginning on the 31st day, the Board was authorized to hold hearings to study the equity of the proposals of the President's Special Mediation Panel of April 21, 1967.

If no agreement was reached by the 60th day, the Board would file its determination with Congress and the President, stating whether any modification of the Special Mediation Panel's proposals was deemed necessary to (1) be in the public interest, (2) achieve a fair and equitable settlement within the limits of the collective bargaining and mediation efforts in the current case, (3) protect the collective bargaining process, and (4) fulfill the purpose of the Railway Labor Act.

If no collective bargaining agreement was reached, on the 91st day the determination of the Special Board would take effect and become the collective bargaining agreement for such period, up to 2 years from January 1, 1967, as the Special Board shall state in its determination. Such determination would be considered as though it were a collective-bargaining agreement freely arrived at by the parties. Such determination would cease to have any force and effect upon the signing of a collective-bargaining agreement by the parties.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Supplemental military procurement and construction authorizations, fiscal 1967

Public Law 90–5, approved March 16, 1967: This law (S. 665) authorized total supplemental appropriations of $4,548,200,000 for the Armed Forces for fiscal 1967 for (1) procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles ($3,788,700,000); (2) research, development, test, and evaluation ($135 million); and (3) military construction (not to exceed $624,500,000). (This authorization was required in support of our efforts in Southeast Asia.)

Authorization for aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–22, approved June 5, 1967: This law (S. 666) authorized appropriations for fiscal 1968 of $21,168,032,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces. The authorization would also support procurement for the Vietnamese and other free world forces in Southeast Asia.

Coast Guard authorization, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–37, approved June 30, 1967: This law (H.R. 5424) authorized appropriation of $165,014,000 to the Coast Guard for fiscal 1968 to procure vessels and aircraft and to construct shore and offshore establishments.

Military Selective Service Act of 1967

Public Law 90–40, approved June 30, 1967: This law (S. 1432) amended the Universal Military Training and Service Act making the following principal changes in the law: (1) changed the name of the law to Military Selective Service Act of 1967; (2) extended the law for 4 years—July 1, 1967, to July 1, 1971; (3) insured liability to draft for selectees who delay induction through litigation beyond age 26; (4) directed National Security Council to advise the Director of Selective Service on occupational and student deferments; (5) required an act of Congress for any change in the method of selecting inductees, such as FAIR or lottery system; (6) allowed enlistment in Reserve or National Guard up to day of induction; (7) subjected alien doctors and dentists to draft up to age 35, on same basis as U.S. doctors and dentists; (8) ended deferments for Public Health Service officers assigned to the Peace Corps, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Agriculture, and OEO; (9) required the President to continue undergraduate deferments until graduation or attainment of age 24, if work is satisfactory, unless needs of Armed Forces require curtailment or termination of such deferments. Authorized the President to grant graduate deferments for medical, dental, and certain essential subjects, and authorized limited occupational deferments for highly skilled persons who have completed graduate study. Urged nationwide uniformity in classification criteria whenever practicable; (10) based test for conscientious objectors only on "religious training and belief" and did not include "essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views, or a merely personal moral code." Eliminated test of an individual's belief in a relationship to a Supreme Being, and the requirement for a hearing by the Department of Justice on appeal from a local board's denial of conscientious objector status; (11) allowed Reserve personnel not on active duty to act as appeal agent; (12) prevented judicial review of classification by local board except as defense to criminal prosecution; (13) gave precedence on both trial and appeal to cases arising under Military Selective Service Act; (14) required the Department of Justice to prosecute all cases recommended by Director, or advise Congress of reasons for not doing so; and (15) allowed call-up of individual Reservists not satisfactorily participating in, or assigned to, a Reserve unit, if full Reserve obligation is not discharged.

This law (1) expressed no opposition to the President's plan to reverse order of induction from age 26 to age 19; (2) recommended apprentice deferments in critical occupations on same basis as undergraduate deferments; (3) recommended retention of State quota system of meeting military manpower needs; and (4) expressed opposition to eliminating local boards.

Maritime Administration authorization

Public Law 90–81, approved September 5, 1967: This law (H.R. 158) amended section

209 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to require specific authorization by Congress of funds for certain programs of the Maritime Administration.

Military construction authorization, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–110, approved October 21, 1967: This law (H.R. 11722) authorized the Secretaries of Defense, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force to establish or develop military installations and facilities by acquiring, constructing, or rehabilitating, permanent or temporary public works, including site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment, with total authorizations of $2,333,255,000, including deficiency authorizations of $29,963,000. Included also in this authorization was $750,225,000 for military family housing.

Allotments of pay and allowances of missing or captured members of the Armed Forces

Public Law 90–122, approved November 3, 1967: This law (H.R. 4772) authorized the Secretaries of the military departments to initiate allotments to the uniformed savings deposit program for members of the Armed Forces who have been captured or are missing in action. The President prescribed an interest rate of 10 percent annually compounded quarterly effective September 1, 1966.

Removing promotion restrictions on women in the Armed Forces

Public Law 90–130, approved November 8, 1967: This law (H.R. 5894) amended titles 10, 32, and 37 of the United States Code to remove the provisions that limit the career opportunities available to women officers in the Armed Forces so that on the basis of merit they may have the same promotion and career tenure opportunities as male officers in similar circumstances.

Reserve components of the Armed Forces

Public Law 90–168, approved December 4, 1967: This law (H.R. 2) provided certain statutory changes in the organizational and administrative structure of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces.

Among other things, the law (1) required an annual legislative authorization for the personnel and strength of the Selected Reserves prior to the annual appropriation; (2) required that each Secretary be responsible for the personnel, equipment, facilities, and logistic support necessary to satisfy training and mobilization requirements for the Ready Reserve; (3) created the position of Deputy Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Reserve Affairs; (4) created in each of the three military departments an Assistant Secretary for all manpower matters, including Reserves, and increased the number of Assistant Secretaries in each Department; and (5) authorized the Air Force, until June 30, 1969, to exceed the statutory Reserve officer personnel ceilings in order to make unit promotions to the grades of major and lieutenant colonel in the organized units of the Air Reserve and Air National Guard.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Amendment of Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act

Public Law 90–36, approved June 29, 1967: This law (H.R. 4880) not only extended the time within which certain requests may be filed under the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965, but it also extended seven temporary welfare programs from July 1, 1967, to June 30, 1968. The most important of these programs was that providing aid to dependent children of unemployed parents, with an authorization of $115 million.

Small Business Act Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–104, approved October 11, 1967: This law (S. 1862) amended the Small Business Administration's authorizing legislation by adding $650 million for the SBA's revolving fund; increased the maturity of regular business loans made for the purpose of constructing facilities from 10 to 15 years; permitted SBA to set up advisory boards and gave SBA permission to use the mails to send information about its programs; required each Small Business Investment Corporation (SBIC) operating under the act to have not less than $150,000 private capital and capital in an amount sufficient to assure sound and profitable operation, and active and prudent management; increased from 2 to 5 percent the maximum a bank could invest in an SBIC and provided the bank could not acquire 50 percent or more of the stock of an SBIC; set up new techniques for providing funds to SBIC's by SBA; provided incentives for SBICs to make more equity investments in small businesses; changed the method of computing the permissible amount which an SBIC can invest in a single small business, restricting this to 20 percent of the SBIC's private capital; required yearly SBA examinations of SBICs; required as part of SBA's annual report additional information regarding the actions of SBA, Treasury, Bureau of the Budget, and SEC on matters affecting SBICs; and authorized SBA to conduct a study to determine the best ways for small business to protect itself from criminal acts.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Water desalting plant in California

Public Law 90–18, approved May 19, 1967: This law (S. 270) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to participate in developing technology for a large-scale desalting plant for the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, which plant would be part of a dual-purpose electrical power generation and desalting project in the southern California area.

Saline water conversion program amendment and authorization

Public Law 90–30, approved June 24, 1967: This law (H.R. 6133) authorized an increase in fiscal 1968 appropriations for the saline water conversion program to $105,782,000, plus such additional sums as the Congress may hereafter authorize and appropriate but not to exceed $169,218,000. The law also amended the Saline Water Conversion Act to authorize test plants and prototype plants; integrate the demonstration plant program into the regular research and development program; and require a detailed report on any test bed plant, module, or component costing more than $1 million to the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Clean Air Act Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–148, approved November 21, 1967: This law (S. 780) amended the Clean Air Act to authorize planning grants to air pollution control agencies, expand research provisions relating to fuels and vehicles, provide for interstate air pollution control agencies or commissions, and authorize the establishment of air quality standards.

The law authorized total appropriations of $428.3 million for fiscal 1968, 1969, and 1970. It authorized a total of $125 million for fiscal 1968 and 1969 for research into combustion byproducts of fuels. Operations authorizations were $74 million for fiscal 1968, $95 million for fiscal 1969, and $134.3 million for fiscal 1970.

Consenting to extension of the interstate oil and gas compact

Public Law 90–185, approved December 11, 1967: This law (S.J. Res. 35) gave the consent of the Congress to the extension and renewal, for a period of 2 years, from September 1, 1967, to September 1, 1969, of the Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas, originally signed in Dallas, Tex., on February 16, 1935. It also required the Attorney General of the United States to report on the operations of the compact not later than December 31, 1968.

PUBLIC WELFARE

Mental Health Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–31, approved June 24, 1967: This law (H.R. 6431) amended the public health laws relating to mental health, with provision for Federal grants to assist in the construction of community mental health centers; extended the program for 3 additional years through fiscal 1970; and authorized appropriations of $50 million for fiscal 1968, $60 million for fiscal 1969, and $70 million for fiscal 1970.

The law also extended the program of matching grants to assist in staffing of community mental health centers for 2 additional years through fiscal 1970, and authorized appropriations of $30 million for fiscal 1968, $26 million for fiscal 1969, and $32 million for fiscal 1970.

The law also amended the Public Health Service Act by making Federal institutions eligible for project grants for research, training, or demonstration, on the same terms and conditions as applied to non-Federal institutions, effective July 1, 1968.

Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–42, approved July 1, 1967: This law (H.R. 10730) amended the Older Americans Act of 1965 and extended its grant provisions authorized under titles III (community planning, service, and training), IV (research and development projects), and V (training projects) through fiscal 1972.

The law authorized appropriations for the State grants program (title III) of $10,550,000 for fiscal 1968 and $16 million for fiscal 1969. For the 3 succeeding fiscal years, such sums would be appropriated as the Congress might hereafter authorize by law.

The law also authorized $6,400,000 for fiscal 1968 and $10 million for fiscal 1969 for the research, demonstration, and training grant programs (titles IV and V). Authorizations for fiscal 1970 through 1972 would be in such amounts as Congress hereafter authorized by law.

The law would raise State plan administration funds to 10 percent of their allotment under title III or $25,000, whichever was greater; made mandatory the reallotment of any funds available to a State which were not required for carrying out the State plan (if any) approved under the law; and provided for a study of the need for trained personnel in the field of aging and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be authorized to undertake this study and to report to the President and to the Congress on or before March 31, 1968.

Food stamp program appropriations authorization

Public Law 90–91, approved September 27, 1967: This law (S. 953) amended the Food Stamp Act of 1964 to authorize appropriation of up to $200 million for fiscal 1968 and $225 million for fiscal 1969. The law also required that the act shall be carried out only with funds appropriated from the general fund of the Treasury for that specific purpose, and in no event with funds derived from permanent appropriations.

Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967 and amendment of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

Public Law 90–103, approved October 11, 1967: This law (S. 602), in title I, revised and extended the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and, in title II, amended the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. *Title I* (1) authorized appropriations of not to exceed $1,700,000 for administration of the Appalachian Regional Development Commission for 2-fiscal-year period, 1968 and 1969; (2) provided job status protection for Commission employees; (3) authorized a grant-in-aid program for construction of the development highway system and of local access roads, with authorization of appropriations of $715,000,000 for 4-fiscal-year period, 1968–1971; (4) authorized nonhighway grant programs, including (a) demonstration health projects, (b) land stabilization and conservation, (c) Appalachian hardwood research, (d) mining area restoration, (e) water resource survey, (f) assistance for planning and other preliminary expenses of proposed housing projects under section 221 of the National Housing Act, (g) vocational education, (h) sewage treatment, (i) supplemental grants-in-aid, (j) grants for administrative expenses of local development districts and research and development projects, and (k) authorized appropriations of $170,000,000 for 2-fiscal-year period 1968 and 1969 for these purposes (subject to a ceiling for each program). *Title II* of the bill amended title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 to authorize appropriation of $5,000,000 for fiscal 1968 and $10,000,000 for fiscal 1969 for supplemental grants-in-aid to assist States and other entities within eligible economic development regions to take maximum advantage of Federal grant-in-aid programs.

National Commission on Product Safety

Public Law 90–146, approved November 20, 1967: This law (S.J. Res. 33) established a seven-member National Commission on Product Safety, not more than four of whom may be members of the same political party, to review the scope, adequacy, and uniformity of existing voluntary industry self-regulation, and Federal, State, and local law relating to consumer protection against hazardous substances. The law authorized appropriation of not to exceed $2 million to carry out the provisions of the act.

Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–170, approved December 4, 1967: This law (H.R. 6430) amended to extend, expand, and improve the public health laws relating to mental retardation and authorized total appropriations of $281 million over a 3-year period through fiscal 1970.

Among other things, the law amended the Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act to authorize appropriation of $10 million each for fiscal 1966, 1967, and 1968, and $20 million each for fiscal 1969 and 1970, for grants for the construction of university-affiliated mental retardation facilities.

It also amended the Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act to authorize appropriation of $30 million each for fiscal 1968 and 1969, and $50 million for fiscal 1970, for grants for construction of community facilities for the mentally retarded.

The law extended existing law through fiscal 1970 for the training of teachers of handicapped children and authorized appropriation of $55 million for the program.

It also amended the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Center Construction Act of 1963, as amended, to authorize appropriations of $6 million over the 3-year period through fiscal 1970, to assist in training physical education teachers and recreation personnel for mentally retarded and other handicapped children, and to authorize appropriations of $4 million for grants to finance research and demonstration projects relative to physical education and recreation for handicapped children.

Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967

Public Law 90–174, approved December 5, 1967: This law (H.R. 6418) amended the Public Health Service Act to, among other things, (1) extend and expand the existing program of formula and project grants for comprehensive health planning and public health services; (2) consolidate and expand existing authorities in the Public Health Service Act for research and demonstration; (3) establish a new program for licensing clinical laboratories that solicit and receive specimens in interstate commerce; (4) extend and expand the existing program of grants for schools of public health; (5) authorize P.H.S. health care facilities to accept the uncompensated services of volunteers, cooperate in the interchange and sharing of scarce or highly specialized health resources, assist in community planning to meet health needs in the case of emergencies or disasters and provide health services to Federal employees at remote stations and to certain seamen trainees; (6) permit the use of not to exceed 1 percent of certain grant program funds for program evaluation purposes; (7) extend the existing contract authority of the Public Health Service Act; (8) amend the Hill-Burton Act to authorize the loan of not to exceed two-thirds of the additional costs for experimental hospital construction; (9) amend the Nurse Training Act to include nurse students as eligible for loan funds; and (10) authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make a comprehensive survey of serious hunger and malnutrition and health problems related thereto in the United States.

Under the heading "Health Service Development Grants," section 314 (e) of the "Public Health Service Act" was amended by authorizing new appropriations ($20 million for 1968 and further sums thereafter) which could be used for rat control, in conformity with approved State plans.

The law authorized total appropriations of $589 million over the 3 fiscal years 1968–1970.

Flammable Fabrics Act Amendment of 1967

Public Law 90–189, approved December 14, 1967: This law (S. 1003), among other things, amended the Flammable Fabrics Act (1) to extend coverage to certain interior furnishings and to fabrics and related materials intended for use in articles of wearing apparel or interior furnishings, (2) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to issue standards of flammability or regulations (including labeling) for such furnishings, fabrics, and materials, (3) to provide for the appointment of a National Advisory Committee for the Flammable Fabrics Act, (4) to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to provide for maintenance of records relating to matters subject to the act, (5) to provide for a more effective means of enforcement for imported goods, (6) to make clear the act would not apply to exported goods for foreign consumption, and (7) to supersede laws of States or political subdivisions which are inconsistent with provisions of the law.

The law also authorized appropriations of $1,500,000 for fiscal 1968 and $2,250,000 for each fiscal 1969 and 1970.

Federal Meat Inspection Act

Public Law 9–201, approved December 15, 1967: This law (H.R. 12144) amended the Meat Inspection Act, among other things, to broaden the present inspection program by establishing a Federal-State cooperative meat inspection arrangement under which the Federal Government would provide both personnel and financial assistance to State agencies; to provide for modernizing present meat inspection statutes as a single Federal Meat Inspection Act; to give the Department of Agriculure new authority to eliminate opportunities now present to defraud consumers and endanger the public health; to require annual reports on the administration of the imported meat provisions of the law; to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to grant exemptions in the unorganized territories from the application of the law; to use the term "at least equal to" to describe the standards which States must meet in order to qualify for Federal inspection to all intrastate operations under certain circumstances; and to require more detailed reports concerning the operation and administration of the law to be submitted annually to the Agriculture Committees of the Senate and the House.

PUBLIC WORKS

Additional authorization for certain river basin plans

Public Law 90–17, approved May 12, 1967: This law (H.R. 8363) provided increased authorization of $472 million total for prosecution of river basin plans for flood control and related purposes under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Engineers. Not to exceed $465 million of the total was authorized for the following: Alabama-Coosa River, Arkansas River, Brazos River, Central and Southern Florida, Columbia River, Missouri River, Ohio River, Ouachita River, San Juaquin River, South Platte River, Upper Mississippi River, West Branch Susquehanna River, and White River. The $7,000 balance would go for bank erosion control and setback levees on the Sacramento River, California.

San Felipe Division, Central Valley project, California

Public Law 90–72, approved August 27, 1967: This law (S. 1111) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the San Felipe division, Central Valley project, California, under Federal reclamation laws, for irrigation and municipal and industrial water supplies, fish and wildlife, and recreation purposes. The law authorized appropriations of $92,380,000 for construction of the unit. It also authorized appropriations of such sums as may be required for operation and maintenance of the project.

Appropriation authorization increase, Missouri River Basin project

Public Law 90–89, approved September 22, 1967: This law (S. 1601) increased the appropriation authorization for continuing the going work on the Missouri River Basin project. The law increased the authorization of $60 million authorized in the act of July 19, 1966, for fiscal 1967 and 1968, by $8 million to continue work on the Tiber Dam of the Lower Marias unit and the Fort Thompson-Grand Island 345-kilovolt transmission line and transmission facilities.

Nebraska Midstate Division, Missouri River Basin project

Public Law 90–136; approved November 14, 1967: This law (H.R. 845) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Nebraska Mid-State division of the Missouri River Basin multiple-purpose project to provide irrigation and flood control benefits and outdoor recreation opportunities. The estimated cost at current price and wage levels was $106,135,000.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Medical Enrollment Act of 1967

Public Law 90–97; approved September 30, 1967: This law (H.R. 13026) provided that the general enrollment period in the supplementary medical insurance program under the medicare law, scheduled to begin October 1, 1967, and to end December 31, 1967, would be extended through March 31, 1968, and the current $3 per month premium rate would apply through March 1968. The new supplementary medical insurance premium rate would be announced prior to January 1, 1968, and would be effective for supplementary medical insurance purposes beginning April 1, 1968, and ending December 31, 1969. The enrollment of persons who disenroll prior to January 1, 1968, would terminate December 31, 1967. Persons who disenroll in the period January–March 1968 would have their enrollment period terminated March 31. Persons who enroll or reenroll during the general enrollment period would have their supplementary medical insurance coverage period begin July 1, 1968. If a person disenrolls and changes his mind in the October-

December period or the January–March period, his coverage would not be affected. If a person disenrolls in the October–December period and changes his mind in the January–March period, he would have to reenroll and his coverage, which terminated December 31, would not resume until July 1, 1968.

SPACE AND AERONAUTICS

National Aeronautics and Space Administration appropriation authorization, fiscal 1968

Public Law 90–67, approved August 21, 1967: This law (S. 1296) authorized appropriations of $4,865,751,000 to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration as follows: (a) Research and development, $4,147,565,000; (b) construction of facilities, $69,980,000; and (c) administrative operations, $648,206,000. For the moon shot (Apollo) program, $2,521,500,000 was authorized.

TRANSPORTATION

Urban mass transportation program

Public Law 90–34, approved June 28, 1967: This law (H.J. Res. 601) amended the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1934 to extend its emergency provisions to November 1, 1967.

Federal ship mortgage insurance

Public Law 90–183, approved December 10, 1967: This law (S. 2211) amended section 509 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to increase the amount of Federal ship mortgage insurance available for passenger vessels of not less than 1,000 gross tons with a sustained speed capability of at least 8 knots operating on inland rivers and waterways.

TREATIES

Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea

Executive H, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: The International Council for the Exploration of the Sea creates a commission to study fishery resources in the Atlantic Ocean, with particular emphasis on the North Atlantic.

Notes amending the convention on Great Lakes fisheries

Executive T, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: Purpose of the Notes was to clarify a point in the Great Lakes Fisheries Convention between Canada and the United States.

International Convention for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas

Executive U, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: This international convention was designed to place fishing limitations on Atlantic tuna and to develop means of conserving this type of fish.

Inter-American Convention on Facilitation of International Waterborne Transportation

Executive Q, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: Purpose of this convention was to simplify and standardize paperwork for vessels on international voyages.

Convention on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic

Executive R, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: The convention was designed to ease the burden of paperwork for vessels involved in international trade.

Customs convention on the temporary importation of professional equipment

Executive K, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: Under this convention such professional materials as television and radio equipment, typewriters, movie cameras, and scientific devices could be imported duty free provided they were reexported within 6 months.

Customs convention on the ATA carnet for the temporary admission of goods

Executive L, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: Professional materials imported temporarily under provisions of the customs convention on professional materials could be documented under this convention without the need for posting a bond, the administering body to be the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Customs convention regarding ECS carnets for commercial samples

Executive M, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: The U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce would be the issuing authority for commercial samples and advertising material carnets under this convention.

Customs convention on containers

Executive J, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: This convention provided for duty free temporary importation, usually for 3 months, of large containers used in international trade.

Customs convention on the international transport of goods under cover of TIR carnets

Executive N, 89th Congress, second session, ratified March 1, 1967: Containers used in international trade would be permitted under this convention to transit through a country without inspection.

Consular convention with the Soviet Union

Executive D, 88th Congress, second session, ratified March 16, 1967: Provisions for spelling out establishment of consulates in both countries were established by this convention. It also established rights, privileges, and immunities for consular officials stationed in each of the two countries.

Amendments to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea

Executive E, 90th Congress, first session, ratified March 21, 1967: These amendments were to the 1960 Safety of Life at Sea convention and were designed to improve fire safety regulations on an international scale, particularly with reference to passenger vessels.

Convention on the Service Abroad of Judicial and Extrajudicial Documents

Executive C, 90th Congress, first session, ratified April 14, 1967: This convention provided for the service abroad of judicial and extrajudicial documents in all civil and commercial cases.

International Telecommunication Convention and Protocol

Executive O, 89th Congress, second session, ratified April 18, 1967: The convention brought up to date and modified provisions of the 1959 Geneva convention on international telecommunications and made new provisions for the composition, purpose, and structure of the International Telecommunications Union, first created by the Madrid conference of 1931.

Treaty on Outer Space

Executive D, 90th Congress, first session, ratified April 25, 1967: Purpose of this treaty was to provide general principles for the peaceful exploration and use of outer space. Under this treaty signatories agreed that exploration and use of outer space must be for the benefit of all mankind; it also prohibits claims of sovereignty over any celestial body by any nation, and prohibits establishment of military bases on celestial bodies and their use for military maneuvers.

Conventions on the international exchange of publications and documents

Executive C, 88th Congress, first session, ratified May 8, 1967: The treaty was designed to encourage the exchange of publications, both governmental and nongovernmental, and documents between the signatory governments.

United Nations Charter—Amendment to article 109

Executive A, 90th Congress, first session, ratified May 8, 1967: This is a corrective amendment to bring Article 109 of the U.N. charter into line with changes made in Security Council voting procedures by the amendments ratified by the Senate in 1965.

Convention on Narcotic Drugs

Executive G, 90th Congress, first session, ratified May 8, 1967: Limits on production, distribution, and sale of narcotic drugs are provided in this convention.

Partial revision of the radio regulations with additional protocol

Executive H, 90th Congress, first session, ratified August 2, 1967: This treaty revises the allocation of high frequency waves for use by the aeronautical mobile service.

Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations Between the United States and Thailand

Executive P, 89th Congress, second session, ratified September 11, 1967: This commercial treaty between the United States and Thailand contained in general the same terms as other commercial treaties entered into by the United States since World War II.

Consular convention with France

Executive I, 90th Congress, first session, ratified September 18, 1967: This convention terminated and replaced an earlier consular convention with France signed in 1953. The new convention brought the 1953 agreements up to date.

Supplementary Slavery Convention

Executive L, 88th Congress, first session, ratified November 2, 1967: Under a convention signed in 1926, to which the United States is a party, slavery itself was outlawed. The current supplementary contention extends the antislavery treaty to cover situations akin to slavery such as debt bondage, forced marriage, serfdom, exploitation of children, sale of women, transfer of widows as inherited property, etc.

Supplementary Income Tax Convention with Canada

Executive B, 90th Congress, first session, ratified November 2, 1967: Under the 1942 convention with Canada on income taxes third-country residents had been able to use Canadian companies to avoid payment of United States taxes. This supplementary convention closed that loophole.

Income Tax Convention with Trinidad and Tobago

Executive F, 90th Congress, first session, ratified November 2, 1967: This was an interim convention and dealt only with the rate of withholding taxes on dividends.

Protocol to International Sugar Agreement

Executive K, 90th Congress, first session, ratified December 6, 1967: This protocol extended the administrative provisions of the International Sugar Agreement of 1958 from December 31, 1966, to December 31, 1968. This protocol did not affect prices or quotas.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization—Amendments to article 28

Executive M, 90th Congress, first session, ratified December 11, 1967: This agreement increased the size of the IMCO maritime Safety Committee from 14 to 16 members.

VETERANS

Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967

Public Law 90–77, approved August 31, 1967: This law (S. 16) increased and broadened pension and other benefits for veterans and their dependents, extended wartime rates of benefits for Vietnam veterans and their dependents, and increased readjustment assistance and educational and training allowances, with a total estimated first year cost of $285,603,000.

A Marine General Speaks on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert at this point in the Record an address by Brig. Gen. Leo J. Dulacki, U.S. Marine Corps, to the Federation of War Veterans' Societies of Allegheny County, Pa., delivered on November 11, 1967, in Pittsburgh. The address follows:

Remarks by Brig. Gen. Leo J. Dulacki, U.S. Marine Corps, to the Federation of War Veterans' Societies of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa., November 11, 1967

It is a distinct honor and pleasure for me to address the Federation of War Veterans' Societies of Allegheny County. May I say that this federation—the joining together of all veterans' organizations in pursuit of common goals—is, to my knowledge, certainly unique and certainly to be applauded. I salute the federation and each and every one of the organizations which go to make up the federation.

I think it is also appropriate for me to say that it is by a somewhat strange stroke of fate that I come to speak before you as a visitor rather than as a resident of Pittsburgh. You see, back in the 1890's, my late mother and father actually lived and married in Pittsburgh. Shortly after their marriage they moved to the Midwest where I was born and raised. And so if they hadn't moved to the Midwest, for some reason which is still unknown to me, I presume I would have been born in Pittsburgh and would be here today, returning as a citizen of this very fine and progressive city. From what I have seen of the city and its people, I would be proud to say that I am a Pittsburgher.

When I was asked to deliver this address, I was informed that my topic was to be the war in Vietnam and, specifically, the truth about the war. I presume there may be differences of opinion as to what the truth may be but I assure you that my words will convey, in all honesty and sincerity, the facts as I see them.

In fulfilling the task which has been given me, I thought it best if I addressed certain questions about the war in Vietnam, questions which appear to be lively topics of public discussion throughout the Nation. These questions are as follows:

How did the United States get into Vietnam?

Why are we in Vietnam?

What makes this war so complicated and so difficult to understand?

Is the war in Vietnam essentially an American war?

Do the South Vietnamese people really care about the outcome of the war?

Are we making progress?

I think you will agree if I can answer all of those questions to your satisfaction, I will earn the title of a Pittsburgher.

First, how did we get into Vietnam?

After the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Geneva agreement was signed which divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel into North and South Vietnam, with Communist rule being established in North Vietnam. South Vietnam was promised the chance to operate as a free nation.

Although the United States did not sign the Geneva agreement, it did issue a declaration saying that it would view any renewal of aggression, in violation of the agreement, with grave concern and as a threat to peace and security. Later, in 1955, with only one dissenting vote, the United States Senate ratified and approved the SEATO Treaty which states that the United States recognizes that armed aggression in the treaty area endangers its own peace and safety.

Almost from the day the Geneva agreement was signed and while the SEATO Treaty was being debated, the Communists of North Vietnam began a campaign of subversion, terrorism, and aggression against South Vietnam. Trained assassins were sent south. They propaganized and terrorized the countryside, kidnapped the youth, seized rice, and extorted what they called taxes.

The mayor of a village who showed loyalty to the legitimate government lost his head as an object lesson. This was not an uncommon occurrence. In 1959, over 1,700 municipal officials were either killed, wounded or kidnapped by the Viet Cong. That is about the same as saying that, in one year, the mayor of every city in the United States over the size of 10,000 suffered some sort of violence. In 1960, some 4,000 village chiefs, priests, doctors, lawyers and educators were killed—this in a country which was only beginning to move from a colonial status to that of an independent state and which could ill afford to lose 40 leaders let alone 4,000 in one year.

The Viet Cong were relatively few among a population of many but they were organized, single-minded, dedicated, armed and, most important, willing to commit any brutal acts of terrorism to force the people into submission to their will.

Even to this day, terrorism is the basic tactic of the Communists in Vietnam. I don't think the great majority of the American people comprehend the meaning of terrorism—its brutality, its far-reaching effects, and the problems of countering it.

Let me digress for a few moments to cite two very typical examples.

Some of you may have heard of the village of Le My near Da Nang. Here was a tiny settlement, seized from Viet Cong control by the marines, reconstructed and re-established. A school, business enterprises and a medical dispensary were flourishing again. A good, honest local government was functioning. The village was, in fact, a model for other villages. One afternoon, during a Buddhist prayer meeting, two Viet Cong sneaked into the village, and, in cold blood, machine-gunned to death the village chief.

Needless to say, any Vietnamese regardless of how loyal or patriotic he may be, will have qualms about taking over as a village chief—but the fact remains that they do.

A few months ago, several hundred villagers left their homes in Viet Cong controlled areas and moved into the Da Nang area. A handful of these villagers subsequently went back in order to convince all the remaining people that they too should desert the Viet Cong and support the Saigon Government. A few days later, a marine patrol entered one of the villages and discovered the bodies of 12 women and children who had been beaten to death with rifle butts. These dead were relatives of the small group which had gone back into the village in order to try to convince their friends that they should join them on the government side.

As brutal and cruel as these incidents may appear, they are not isolated. Ladies and gentlemen, these are two examples of what has been going on each and every day for the last 13 years, since the Geneva Accord was first signed.

Terrorism is the principal weapon in what the Communists refer to as a war of liberation. Adapted to the conditions in the country being attacked. It is a time, years and decades long, of infiltration, eliminating opposition, weakening resistence, confusing, dividing, frightening, bribing, and wearing down the mental, physical and moral strength of the people until surrender would appear to be a form of "liberation."

This has been going on for 11 years when, in 1965, the Vietnamese Government desperately asked the U.S. for help in the form of combat troops. The VC controlled the countryside around Saigon and large areas further South. They controlled the inland waterways. They controlled the country by controlling the roads. It isn't difficult to control a road; a few men can do it. Now and then stop a truck driver and kill him; stop a bus and kill or kidnap whom you please. Destroy the bridges. Soon no truck driver will use the roads and few people will ride the busses. By early 1965, the country was almost cut in two across the central highlands; the South Vietnamese Army was losing a battalion and a district capital to the Viet Cong almost every week. The country of South Vietnam was on the verge of collapse. Military victory appeared to be almost within the grasp of Ho Chi Minh. The Communists were engaged in what they refer to as Stage III in their so-called war of liberation; Stage III being, for all intents and purposes, a conventional war waged by large scale mobile units—the last stage leading to total and final victory.

In response to our obligations under the SEATO Treaty, and in implementation of a resolution passed by Congress in 1964 by a vote of 502 to 2, that the U.S. is prepared to "take all necessary steps, including the use of armed forces" to assist certain states requesting assistance in the defense of freedom, the 9th Marine Amphibious Brigade was landed in South Vietnam in March 1965.

That is the legal reason for our being in Vietnam, but ladies and gentlemen, even if there were no treaties, no resolutions, no declarations, I believe there are more fundamental but just as real reasons for our being in Vietnam.

As President Johnson has so clearly stated, we are in Vietnam, because we cherish freedom—freedom for all peoples; because we cherish self-determination—self-determination for all peoples.

We are there because we abhor the political murder of any state by another state; because we condemn the bodily murder of any people by terrorists of whatever ideology.

We are there because we know that by strengthening free people against domination by aggressive foreign powers we are acting in the interest of peace and security of the entire world of which we in America are a very vital part.

We are in Vietnam because we know that the cause of freedom is not limited by any boundaries of time, nationality or geography. We realize that if the freedom of any man anywhere in the world is threatened, then the freedom of all men is threatened.

We are in Vietnam because we know from the lessons of history that freedom is not free, that it cannot be compromised, and that if it is to endure, brave men will be called upon to make sacrifices in its defense. In fact, these lessons of history are truer today than ever before since science and technology have so dramatically compressed the distances between peoples and nations, and, in effect, have made this world of ours so much smaller.

We are there because we know that what happens in Vietnam, to the struggling Vietnamese people, is of concern not only to our Nation but of personal concern to each and every one of us.

Since this war is so important to us, why is there so much misunderstanding in regard to the nature of the war?

First let me admit that this war is probably more complicated and more different than any war you or I have ever known.

The true battlefield is not the hills, nor the rivers, nor the cities. Terms such as main lines of resistance, lines of departure, phase lines or terrain objectives, as you have known them in the past, are seldom used. Instead we hear such terms as search and destroy, search and clear, pacification, revolutionary development, civic action, population control.

Islands are not changing hands in short, fierce battles, situation maps do not show front lines steadily moving forward or offensive thrusts deep into enemy territory. Nowadays, you read about a skirmish at a place you cannot pronounce, fought against an enemy who suddenly evaporates; no front line advanced; no town was liberated; no critical hilltop was seized and held.

In Vietnam we are fighting a war with three interlocking campaigns.

The first is the big unit campaign in which battalions and regiments fight more or less conventional battles against North Vietnamese army and Viet Cong main force units in an effort to destroy them. This is the type of campaign in which the Marine units near the DMZ have engaged in on almost a continuous basis since the middle of 1966. This is the campaign you read about in the newspapers every day.

The second, the counterguerrilla campaign, is the laborious business in which small units, squads and platoons are combing through the fields and hamlets, not to engage big enemy units but to flush out the handfuls of guerrillas and, bit by bit, to bring more of the civilian population under the control of the Saigon government. Here the immediate enemy is not uniformed regular armed forces but the total Viet Cong organization—the dedicated revolutionists whose weapons are fear, terror, assassination, murder, kidnapping, arson. This campaign, that of eradicating the guerrilla and eliminating the conditions upon which he thrives, is the most difficult, the least spectacular, but the most important military campaign we are conducting.

The third campaign, revolutionary development, is not essentially a military operation but it requires a shield of military security. It is the whole complex of economic, political, psychological, sociological, and civic campaigns meant to create the basic fabric of society with some natural defense against subversion. Sometimes this revolutionary development campaign is referred to as nation-building.

Frequently the large unit campaign is referred to as the big war, and the counterguerrilla and revolutionary development campaigns as the "other war." This other war is also referred to as pacification. We marines believe that the so-called other war, pacification, is the heart of the war in Vietnam.

We believe that we can achieve victories in large-scale battles for 20 years, but if we do not make progress in pacification, we will not be making headway towards victory in the total war.

The enigma or dilemma in the pacification campaign is that we cannot gain the necessary confidence of the people until we defeat the guerrilla and, at the same time, we cannot defeat the guerrilla until we gain the confidence of the people. Unfortunately, victory in the big battles is easy to report and easy to understand; but progress in pacification, though far more important, will never be dramatic. Progress in pacification does not lend itself to ready quantification. We could even be close to the threshold of victory without even being fully aware of it.

These are some of the reasons why this war is so difficult to understand and why it is so difficult to tell you definitively how well we are or are not doing. The fact is that, in the final analysis, success can be measured only by the number of people who are convinced that our cause is right. In other words, the battlefield is the people—their hearts, their minds, their aspirations.

In this war for the people, the enemy exploits the quick and dramatic effects of fear, deceit, destruction, and terror; we must and do rely on compassion, truth, reason and reconstruction.

Our methods are inherently slower, but would anyone suggest that we adopt the tactics of the enemy? After all that is what this war is all about. And so, if there is any one characteristic which is fundamental to an understanding of the war in Vietnam, it is patience—and I commend it to you.

The allegation is made frequently that since there are approximately a half a million American troops in Vietnam, the war is essentially an American war. The implication is that the Vietnamese armed forces are not carrying their share of the burden. These allegations are fundamentally erroneous.

First of all, the population of South Vietnam is only 16½ million—that's about the same as the population of the state of Pennsylvania. They have a total military and para-military armed forces strength of almost 700,000. Taking the relative populations into consideration, if we, the United States, had a comparable percentage of our population in the Armed Forces, it would mean that our current armed forces strength would be over 8 million instead of the 3 million plus we have today. And, I might point out, all of the Vietnamese armed forces are in the war.

Are these South Vietnamese armed forces doing their share of the fighting? First of all, I think we all realize the fact that the American press routinely and understandably reports on the activities of U.S. Armed Forces in South Vietnam. But we should realize that seldom, if ever, do U.S. newsmen accompany South Vietnamese units on their operations and so seldom, if ever, are their exploits, no matter how heroic reported to the American people on a regular basis.

Since 1961 the Vietnamese armed forces have suffered over 50,000 troops killed in action. Again, taking relative populations into consideration, if the U.S. suffered a proportionate number of casualties, the number of Americans killed in Vietnam would be well over 500,000. Ladies and gentlemen, this is two-thirds more than the 300,000 killed the U.S. suffered during all of World War II. Certainly, it should be apparent that the Vietnamese armed forces are carrying their share of the burden of the war. And since conflict in some form or other has persisted in Vietnam since 1941. They have been carrying this burden for 26 years.

Now I would be the first to admit that not all of the Vietnamese units are the finest in the world. I would be the first to admit that perhaps their divisions do not compare with either a U.S. Marine division or a U.S. Army Airborne division. But is it really fair to expect them to. This little underdeveloped country has been trying to build an army while it is in the middle of a war, attempting to train its leaders not in schools, but on the field of battle. Perhaps we expect too much of them. I, for one, take my hat off to the courage of the individual Vietnamese soldier and have the deep conviction that, given time, the Vietnamese Armed Forces will take their place alongside the best.

Do the Vietnamese people, in addition to the Armed Forces support the government of South Vietnam in its war against Communist aggression?

Let us go back to 1954. At that time, when the Geneva convention was signed, 900,000 refugees fled North Vietnam for the south when they were afforded an opportunity to do so by the terms of that agreement.

Today, there are some 1,891,000 refugees in settlements all over South Vietnam. Most of these people have willingly come into these settlements, at great personal sacrifice, to escape the Viet Cong. Is there any doubt as to what the hopes of these people are as to the ultimate outcome of the war?

During the first half of 1967, over 3,000 civilians have been killed or kidnapped by the Viet Cong terrorists. Would anyone think, for a moment, that these civilians are being killed because they support the Viet Cong?

During the recent presidential elections in South Vietnam, 83 percent of those registered voted. This, despite an all-out campaign by the Viet Cong to terrorize the people so that they stood in the war by walking to the polls and voting; regardless of what individual they may or may not have voted for, they demonstrated their hopes for a free and independent Vietnam and rejected the communism of Ho Chi Minh and his Viet Cong.

Yes, anyone who understands the situation will not question the loyalty or motives of the Vietnamese people, rather, they will realize that there is something in these people which cannot be explained, something that does not give up, that will not be conquered. They are courageous in every sense of the word.

To those Americans who are frustrated and seriously wonder whether stability can be brought to this poor country, I say look back to the early 50's when we decided to help Korea. The situation then in Korea was thought by some to be hopeless. How often did you hear people question the value of our commitment to that war-racked nation? And now we find Korea in the midst of an economic boom, a relatively stable government, after many trying years, and a willingness to cooperate with other free countries in stemming aggression. Today, some 50,000 Korean troops are fighting alongside us in Vietnam.

Are we making progress in bringing this difficult war to a conclusion? Because of the nature of the conflict, it is difficult to definitely show how well we are doing. Nevertheless, here are some facts.

A little over two years ago, when U.S. combat forces went into South Vietnam, military victory was in the grasp of Ho Chi Minh. Since that time, the Viet Cong or the North Vietnamese are capturing four Communist weapons for each one they lose. The grip of the Viet Cong on the people is being broken; the proportion of the population living under Communist control has been reduced to under 20 percent. Defections from the Viet Cong are double what they were last year. Recruitment of southerners to the Viet Cong has dropped by approximately a half. Desertions from the South Vietnamese Armed Forces have been sharply reduced over previous years. The enemy has been forced to change his strategy from trying to control the people along the coast to trying to survive in the mountains and jungles.

These faults would indicate that the war is far from a stalemate.

Why then is there so much confusion? Why is there such dissent? Perhaps it is not for me to question the motives of those who do dissent. Undoubtedly a large number of them are well meaning individuals and patriotic Americans. But there are certain elements of this current wave of dissent which I find difficult to understand. Let me cite you some examples.

Approximately a year and a half ago, the marines in Vietnam used tear gas in an effort to avoid killing innocent civilians. A hue and cry went up over the nation accusing the marines of gas warfare. A few weeks ago the North Vietnamese Army employed tear gas against the marines at Con Thien. May I ask, did you hear a single voice go up in protest? Did you hear a single accusation of gas warfare? Did you hear a single criticism of the North Vietnamese Army?

Time and time again, we hear of the civilian casualties caused by our bombing of North Vietnam, despite precautions taken to minimize such casualties by the U.S., and despite the fact that the NVA take advantage of such precautions in the placement of their military supplies. But have you heard a single protest about the thousands of innocent men, women and children who were killed, and I must emphasize killed with malice aforethought by the Viet Cong terrorists in South Vietnam?

A frequent claim not too long ago was that the revolution in Vietnam was inspired and being waged by the South Vietnamese—naively, it was stated that North Vietnam was not involved, that there was no Communist element involved. It was another home grown "agrarian revolution." But now that for some time there has been no doubt that North Vietnamese regular units are present in Vietnam in substantial numbers, have any of these people admitted their previous error in regard to the nature of the war in South Vietnam?

Demonstrators often carry signs decrying the use of napalm and claiming that many civilians, including children, have been burned by napalm. But have any of these demonstrators ever acknowledged the fact that investigations by a representative of the United Nations Children's Fund and Dr. Howard Rusk of the New York Times have proved these allegations to be absolutely false?

There was some criticism recently that the elections in South Vietnam may not have been as honest as some may have liked them to be. But have you ever heard these same people even allude to the fact that there are no elections in North Vietnam except for the Communist type in which no opportunity for any real choice is given the voter?

I wonder what degree of protest we would hear in the United States today if the enemy we were fighting were fascist or Nazi rather than Communist.

Ladies and gentlemen, I never thought I would live to see the day when we would have a parade of demonstrators marching from the Lincoln Memorial, in Washington, D.C., past the Arlington National Cemetery where thousands of our heroic dead lie buried, and then to the Pentagon, carrying the flag of the enemy Viet Cong and carrying the flag of the United States upside down. Never, in the history of America has a graver insult been perpetrated on those dead veterans lying in immortal glory in the Arlington Cemetery.

What I am saying is that I respect the right of dissent, I respect the right of honest questioning, I respect the right of free speech, but—I reject the application of double standards. I question the motives of any individual who, under the cloak of free speech, employs one standard for our actions and another for those of the enemy. And I, as an American, certainly have as much of a right to hold and express that opinion as any long-haired, unwashed, draft card burner who believes that it is his personal right to decide whether he shall or shall not be called upon to render service to his country rather than the constitutionality established authorities of this great country.

Yes, I respect the right of informed dissent, but I have a far greater respect for the 14,000 marines in Vietnam who have seen the war first hand and have willingly volunteered to extend their tours of duty in Vietnam. They have seen the alternative and quietly, nobly, selflessly they have dedicated themselves to the cause of freedom, the cause of America. These protesters who profess such a concern for the Vietnamese people might be able to convince me of their sincerity if at least a few of them volunteered to go to Vietnam, not in the Armed Forces, but in the various civilian agencies which are doing so much to help rebuild that country. Until they do, I cannot be convinced of the honesty of their motives.

In summary, back in 1954, the U.S. made an agreement to help the people of South Vietnam. As the Communist tide began to engulf them, they asked for help and we responded. We stood by them and they are still standing firm against slavery which threatens them. They are battered but still fighting. Thirteen years later they are still fighting.

Apart from the legal and moral basis for our presence in Vietnam, which need not be restated, our presence in Vietnam has a subjective side. In their attempt to enslave the people of South Vietnam, the Communists have laid down a challenge—a challenge that their wars of national liberation cannot be stopped and that communism is the wave of the future in Asia. If we back away from this challenge, we will have surrendered much of our stake in Asia, Guadalcanal, Tarawa and Iwo Jima will have been fought in vain.

If we back off, we send up a signal to our friends and enemies alike that we cannot be trusted—a signal that tells our enemies that we are a paper tiger not to be respected and our friends that we cannot be relied upon. And be sure, if we back off, we can look for more Vietnams, we can expect them to spring up like mushrooms elsewhere and not just in Asia. We would learn the hard way that nobody ever won anything by backing away; that somewhere, sometime, somehow, you have to stand firm.

The tide of battle has clearly changed in Vietnam—the Viet Cong are sustained only by Ho Chi Minh's hopes for political victory within the United States.

We are winning in South Vietnam. All of Asia has taken new heart, new encouragement, from our commitment. But let us not delude ourselves. We can expect more months of heavy fighting, especially in the vicinity of the DMZ where the enemy is seeking a psychological victory at any cost. And after that, we can expect a long commitment in finally clearing out the guerrillas and then helping the Vietnamese in rebuilding their war racked country.

If our stand begins to waiver or weaken, the American people and the world are going to rue the day. On that day we can begin to prepare for a new world war.

Ladies and gentlemen, the president of the United States needs and must be given the whole-hearted support of all American people in bringing the Vietnam war to an honorable end. The war can be won in Vietnam—but—it can be lost here at home.

Resoluteness and patience today can prevent the huge losses of life which a more widespread war would bring to the people of the United States. Appeasement has never paid in the past. It will not pay today. And you veterans of previous wars—are witness to the fact that America was in the past ready and willing to accept the challenge of an enemy bent on aggression. The 500,000 Americans fighting today in the mud, jungles and heat of Vietnam are your successors as witness to the fact that, today, too, America is willing to accept the challenge of the aggressor. I salute those gallant men—the soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines who personify all that is great in America. They deserve your support. Will you give them that support?

Retirement of Matthew Hale, Chief Counsel of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, as this session of the Congress comes to a close, I would like to take this opportunity to note the retirement of Mr. Matthew Hale earlier this year as staff director and as chief counsel of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

I first met Mr. Hale when I came to the Senate in 1947. At that time I was serving on the Senate Judiciary Committee as chairman of a subcommittee dealing with certain problems relating to the Export-Import Act, and Mr. Hale was advising the Department of Commerce in these matters. In April of 1955 Mr. Hale left the executive department and began his 12 years of service on the staff of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, first as assistant counsel, then chief counsel and chief of staff until his retirement in June of this year.

On banking and housing legislation that has come before the committee in areas of my particular interest, I have always found Mr. Hale's advice and counsel helpful and his suggestions informed and objective. During the period of his association with the committee he has earned and merited the respect and confidence of Members of the Senate on both sides of the aisle for his resourcefulness, judgment, and expertise in matters relating to banking and housing legislation.

I am sure that I voice the thoughts of many other Members in commending him for his distinguished past service in the executive and legislative branches of the Government and to wish him every success in his new responsibilities as general counsel of the American Banking Association.

I ask unanimous consent to include a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Hale at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the biographical sketch was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RÉSUMÉ OF MATTHEW HALE

Born: Boston, Massachusetts, November 21, 1909.

Harvard College: 1932 A.B.

Harvard Law School: 1935 L.L.B.

Private Practice with Reynolds, Richards and McCutcheon, New York 1935–42.

Asst Counsel, Counsel: War Production Board, 1942–45.

Asst General Counsel: Civilian Production Administration, 1945–47.

Asst Solicitor: Department of Commerce, 1947–51.

Deputy General Counsel: Office of Defense Mobilization, 1951–52.

Deputy General Counsel: Mutual Security Administration-Foreign Operations Agency, 1952–54.

Asst Counsel, Chief Counsel and Chief of Staff: Senate Banking and Currency Committee, 1955–1967.

A Time To Think About What's Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, last November, on Veterans' Day, a leading citizen of my hometown and a good friend of mine, Mr. Ray Neumann, was the principal speaker at a Veterans' Day service conducted at the courthouse in Peoria.

While his remarks were brief, they contained a message which all of us can profit from, and especially our younger people, who may have some doubts or be confused about the world leadership role which has been thrust upon our great country.

Under unanimous consent I insert the text of Mr. Neumann's remarks at this point in the RECORD:

A TIME TO THINK ABOUT WHAT'S IMPORTANT

(Veterans' Day speech by Ray Neumann, November 11, 1967)

Commander Grayson, Father Hughes, Mayor Lehnhausen, Legionnaires, Ex-Defenders of our Country, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the third occasion, I believe, that I have had the great honor of delivering a few words on Veterans Day. Shortly after World War II, as a returned Veteran, I delivered the Armistice Day message. Then sometime in the late 1950's while serving on the City Council, I represented the Mayor and city and had this opportunity. Today I'm here, I suspect, because I'm a member of the County Board. In any case, as a member and supporter of the American Legion since 1945, I'm here proudly although humbly.

Just as no two snowflakes are of identical shape, size and pattern, so a maturing mind seldom looks at things—after the passage of time—the same way. I can't even remember, nor did I save, previous remarks.

My message today will state a firm belief that it's "a time to think about what's important".

Pick up any newspaper and it's filled with disconserting news. At one time character, charity (neighbor helping neighbor), religion and reverence for legally constituted authority (teachers, parents and public officials) were American characteristics. But now rebellion, often against the principles which have stood the test of time—regardless of its effect on those it hurts—a little bit of socialism, a little bit of government interference, a little bit of this and a little bit of that are too often the answers to problems which never in history were solved by temporary expedients, and they won't be solved by unsound ideas and wrong principles in this generation.

Today, we hear a lot of foolish and irresponsible statements, and they come from people who have had much more education than their forefathers. On nearly every college campus and in many national publications we read such statements as: "The more complex the society, the more government control we need." "If we had no War on Poverty, many people would go hungry." "The size of the national debt doesn't matter because we owe it to ourselves." "It's silly to waste the lives of Americans in Viet Nam. When the Communists come here to fight, that's when we should bear arms."

All of these statements, to some, sound plausible, and they indeed tempt many people.

On Veterans Day I would like to express myself additionally on the statement: "It's silly to waste the lives of Americans in Viet Nam. When the Communists come here to fight, that's when we should bear arms."

Several weeks ago it cost the United States government $12 million just to erect barbwire and protect the Pentagon building from thousands of irresponsible hippies, some sincere pacifists, and many who were led by known communists who seek to destroy our country and enslave you and your children.

Only in this country where we have *private ownership* and limited government philosophy with its moral, ethical and spiritual qualities, would any such group be permitted such violent means of protest.

Those who are marching in protest, those who desecrate our flag, those who burn draft cards—all make a lot of noise. They also make the headlines. They present to the world a distorted picture of America. But, thank God, they are *not* typical.

This is a free country. We all can use the greatest gift which the Creator bestowed upon us . . . intelligence . . . the product of the brain. We have freedom of expression. However, when demonstrators stir up sabotage, vandalism, and violence parading under the banner of rightful dissent, they threaten to tear our country apart.

It is my opinion that millions of Americans have more conscience and much more patriotism than some of the sign bearers.

Let's face it: Nobody we know *wants* war.

Everybody we know *hates* war.

Everybody we know wishes this war were over.

Everybody we know wants the soldiers in Viet Nam home as soon as possible.

We can't think of *one* person who enjoys war.

We don't!

I'm positive that the American Legion and other organizations made up of ex-servicemen don't.

I'm positive the protestors don't.

I'm positive President Lyndon Johnson and Robert McNamara and all the soldiers in Viet Nam don't enjoy war either.

Yes, the majority of Americans love America and the American way. They want peace!

Today on Veterans Day we should reiterate and show our gratitude to the brave men of other generations who have fought and died to preserve this priceless freedom . . . including the freedom to protest!

This would be a good time for all groups, however, to think about what's really important and to realize that one of the ways to prove love of country is to get off the defensive and get on the offensive. It's time for sound-thinking people to say something! If more solid citizens would speak out to the protestors, perhaps they could even set them straight. We believe the time is here for a few speech makers to talk more about *patriotism* and maybe more about the alternatives to drawing the battle lines in Viet Nam.

It's time both the Hawks and Doves openly admit that when we're at war appeasement is not a solution. Never before has appeasement worked, and it never will. The sooner America unifies its backbone and agrees to finish the task it has started in defense against international communism, the sooner the world will note our united front, and the sooner the boys in Viet Nam will be coming home.

There will be some who will say: "Certainly you don't really believe that! You are waving the flag too much."

To me, it's impossible to wave the flag too much. We should rearrange our priorities, and we should spend less time working toward material success and return to the spiritual and ethical values. It's time we make the heroes and idols of the younger generation those who most exemplify charity, character, religion and reverence.

If we believe in democracy, we have to fight for it in Vietnam. Just as importantly, we have to live it in Peoria!

It's time all of us plan for the return of those who are doing our fighting in Viet Nam by the planning, and eventual erection, of a Veterans Hospital in Peoria, Illinois. A Veterans Hospital in this area, which already is a noted medical center, could serve an area with over 2,000,000 people, help justify a medical school, and be in keeping with the principles and ideals and respect which America has always shown its injured, wounded and aging Veterans. I certainly urge this restless generation and all Veterans groups not to forget that like all previous wars—the Viet Nam struggle will terminate—but the care of Veterans will be a national duty even beyond the life span of those assembled here.

We should thank Almighty God for our millions of fertile square miles, wheatlands, coal mines, steel plants, this great new Court House Square and the new Caterpillar Tractor Company international headquarters, where across the street an Open House is being held this weekend. They are symbols of a great republic . . . yet they mean nothing unless we keep our freedoms. It is our results from private initiative (protected by law and order) which has created our challenging society . . . man's last remaining hope for suffering humanity, a shining beacon of light for struggling nations everywhere.

Veterans Day should, in summary, remind us all of the good, the true, the inexhaustible strengths of America. Held together, it will not only bring us victory in Viet Nam, but forever retain our freedom here at home.

To that purpose, all Veterans and all Americans on this day should rededicate themselves.

May God in his justice and mercy grant it!

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, this year's amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act are quite complex, and a number of colleagues have asked me questions about them which I think deserve to be answered on the record. I did not want to occupy the time of the Senate with these matters in the closing days of the session in view of the press of preadjournment business, but I would like to take an opportunity to do so under the general leave to extend.

One of the questions that has arisen is whether it is the intention of the legislation to convert the community action program from a local program to a State program. In my opinion there is no such intention in the amendments to title II. At two points in section 210, the bill recognizes that a State may become a community action agency or designate a public or private nonprofit agency as a community action agency, but this is no more than a recognition of what has always been true—a State may in some cases be an appropriate vehicle for community action. It has long been recognized, for example, that a single community action program should probably cover most, if not all, of Alaska. OEO may conclude that there are other cases of that sort, but it need not abandon its policy in favor of locally sponsored community action programs.

Section 210 defines a community action program as a program which is "community based and operated." It defines a community as including a "city, county, multicity, or multicounty unit, an Indian reservation, or a neighborhood or other area—irrespective of boundaries or political subdivisions—which provides a suitable organizational base and possesses the commonality of interest needed for a community action program." While the act does not exclude a State from the definition of community, neither does it specifically mention State as among the named areas. Thus, there is no suggestion that a State would ordinarily be encompassed within the term "community." As a normal matter, when a local community is able to conduct its own community action program itself or through an agency designated by the local government, those are the preferred routes.

If there were otherwise any doubt about this conclusion, it is nailed down by section 210(e) of the bill. That subsection permits the governing officials of a political subdivision to decline to be included in the community action program of a designated community action agency. The small political subdivision may then seek its own community action program. Thus, for example, if a Governor of a State attempted to run a statewide community action program, a State or county in the State would nevertheless have the clear right to stay out of that program and, if it satisfied the criteria laid down by the Director of OEO, have its own program. That, I think, makes it clear that the statute was not intended to change the community-based nature of community action.

Another question I have been asked relates to the requirement of one-third representation of public officials on community action boards and governing boards of community action agencies. The statute provides that one-third of the members of the board shall be public officials unless the number of such officials reasonably available or willing to serve is less than one-third of the membership of the board. It has been suggested that a case may arise in which some public officials decline to serve and in which those who choose to serve then claim the right to one-third of the seats. While I think we had best leave the details of specific situations to be worked out administratively, I do not think that such a mechanical interpretation of this section is required. It is certainly not intended that any member hold more than one seat or have more than one vote. If the public officials who choose not to serve are the governing officials of the county or of its largest city, I think it would be entirely reasonable to leave a number of seats vacant for them or to reduce the level of public representation.

Some of my colleagues have also expressed concern as to whether a State or political subdivision, by designating itself or a public agency as the community action agency, might make it impossible under some State laws or constitutions to continue using religious groups in the community action program. We are all aware of the magnificent contributions that churches and religious groups have made in the poverty program. There is nothing in this bill that threatens the continuance of that contribution. On the contrary, under section 210(a) of the bill, a community action agency is required to have the power and authority to perform the functions of community action agencies as set forth in section 212. Section 212 states that a community action agency must be empowered to transfer funds and delegate powers to other agencies, and that the power to transfer funds and delegate powers must include the power to make delegations in every case where this will contribute to efficiency and effectiveness. Thus, if a religious organization is the best qualified local organization to administer a particular component, the community action agency must have the power to delegate to that religious organization. Under the bill, the Director may not recognize as a community action agency an organization which lacks that power.

I have also been asked whether, under the new language governing comprehensive health services programs in section 222(a)(4), OEO may continue existing arrangements under which some programs pay part of the cost of medical care for needy families whose incomes are just above the usual title XIX or other eligibility guidelines of OEO for such programs. I think it is clear that such arrangements may be continued. The use of the phrase "low income" in defining the group to be served is not meant to require that any particular income figures be used. Where there are low-income families who can pay for part but not all of the medical care they need, there is no reason why they should not participate on the basis of paying part of the cost. Moreover, it is essential that these programs be able to perform their intake and provide needed services without first subjecting neighborhood residents to detailed income tests. The health services programs are target area programs and we all recognize that even in the poorest areas, family incomes vary a good deal. What can be done under present law can also be done under this bill, which is to set a scale for Federal assistance according to family income. At the top of this scale, people might pay all of the accountable costs of their services. In that case, of course, they might not be "low income" in the normal sense, but the program would be fully reimbursed for the cost of service to them. I would add that the trend to prepayment of these medical costs would also be covered, and that grant funds could be used to cover a portion of the prepayment in those cases where low-income families can bear part of the cost themselves.

Finally, I would like to clarify a matter relating to the payment of allotments to dependents of Job Corps men. The bill provides that enrollees shall not receive readjustment allowances unless they have served in the Corps for at least 90 days. It also provides that a portion of the readjustment allowance, not exceeding $25 per month, may be paid directly to an enrollee's dependent during his period of service. The Senate bill specifically authorized payments to dependents in cases in which enrollees had not yet served the required minimum period. The House bill, on the other hand, did not specifically mention the point. I would like to make it clear that the adoption of the House language was not meant to imply that dependents' allotments could not be paid during the first 90 days. On the contrary, it is my understanding that the House language prohibits only payments to enrollees who do not remain for 90 days, and does not prohibit the payment of an allotment to the dependent of an enrollee. This is how the House committee interpreted the language of the House bill, and I concur.

Year 1967 Massachusetts Congressional Redistricting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during 1967 Massachusetts, California, and several other jurisdictions drew new congressional district lines. The former district had been held unconstitutional. Elections to Congress in 1968 will be based on the new districts.

States did not gain or lose congressional seats. Massachusetts still has 10 and California 38. But district boundaries were changed to equalize populations of the districts. At this point, however, the redistricting parallel between Massachusetts and California stops. In California lines were redrawn to help incumbents stay in office. In Massachusetts this was not necessarily the case.

Massachusetts' new Third District, now represented by Representative Philip J. Philbin, is a most dramatic example.

The city of Newton was shifted from the 10th District into the new Third District which was also changed radically in other respects. Approximately the southern half of the old Third District was cut away and attached elsewhere. Replacement territory was added to the new Third District, including not only Newton, but also the city of Waltham and the towns of Lincoln, Weston, Watertown, and Concord. The latter is a special interest to me since my family lived in Concord for generations.

Many eyes will be on Massachusetts' new Third District during the next election because of the redistricting's political implications. Representative Philbin will face the 1968 contest having lost about half of his old voters and having taken on approximately the same number of new ones. He has served in the Congress for 25 years and in recent years has had light opposition or none at all. Already it appears that in 1968 he will face opposition both in the Democratic primary and from a strong Republican opponent later.

Regarded as his most likely GOP opponent in 1968 is former veteran Congressman Laurence Curtis, of Newton. He represented Newton in Congress for 10 years, 1953–62, and left Congress only because the redistricting of 1962 obliterated his constituency as it then existed. At that time Newton was switched to the district represented by former GOP House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., because Massachusetts had lost two seats in the House due to population changes in the Nation.

Newton constitutes the largest block of votes in the new Third District. It is a key factor in appraising the situation because Mr. Curtis represented that area for 10 years and received heavy support there.

Having served in the Congress and having won reelection four times, he starts from a better position than most challengers for a seat in Congress.

As a candidate for Congress again Mr. Curtis also would have other factors working for him.

As a former member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee he is entitled to reappointment to that committee on return to Congress and thus to a particularly important post in wartime.

Besides having represented Newton previously, he campaigned extensively throughout the new Third District in his 1962 bid for the U.S. Senate after being redistricted out of Congress.

Also Mr. Curtis can point to experience and past performance rather than relying merely on promises to attract support. He made his start in elective office as a member of the Boston City Council. He served 10 years in both branches of the State legislature and for a term as Massachusetts State treasurer in addition to his decade in the House of Representatives.

Republicans and Democrats alike look forward to a real battle next fall for Representative from the new Third District. Republicans sense a good opportunity to turn over this seat from the Democratic column to their own.

Vice President's Challenge Accepted by U.S. Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the year drawing to a close has witnessed a successful continuation of the war on poverty that began in 1964 and also enactment by Congress of the strongest antipoverty legislation yet written into Federal law.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, which developed this legislation, and as Senate floor manager of the bill, I am deeply gratified that the Government's war on poverty continues to make progress. That progress represents one of the brightest hopes that we can and will realize the American dream, that an ever-greater measure of economic justice and opportunity will be achieved for all Americans, and that our national economy will be vastly strengthened by full employment and the eradication of penury, slums, and inadequate education.

But now, Mr. President, I believe we have reason for new and even greater gratification. There is sound basis to believe that private enterprise—the American business and industrial community—are prepared to join wholeheartedly in the war on poverty and to make the unique and enormous contribution that only they can make.

This was disclosed recently when Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY, in a brilliantly persuasive speech to the National Businessmen's Council, threw out a vigorous but friendly challenge to the Nation's businessmen and industrialists to add their great resources to the struggle for more jobs, more and better housing, more and better schools.

The council reacted swifty and favorably to the Vice President's challenge to help wipe out hard-core unemployment, slums, and decrepit schools.

Vice President HUMPHREY'S superb speech and the response by Eugene Lang, chairman of the National Businessmen's Council, deserve to be read and absorbed by all Members of Congress and by as many citizens as possible. The two speeches taken together constitute a glowing beacon of hope that mankind's oldest problems and worst social evils will, at long last, be resolved.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Vice President HUMPHREY'S speech and Chairman Lang's response be placed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the speeches were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY TO THE NATIONAL BUSINESSMEN'S COUNCIL

Poverty and blighted opportunity in America are no longer the special preserve of social reformers, the charitably inclined, and struggling government agencies. The challenge they offer our cherished democratic principles has been taken up by a broader section of this society, and particularly by the business community.

The Urban Coalition says, "All representatives of the private sector in the Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens."

The life insurance companies of America pledge a billion dollars to build low cost housing and finance enterprises that will create jobs in city core areas.

A responsible savings and loan official urges his industry to invest sixty billion dollars over the next twelve years in rebuilding the inner city—and he has found an enthusiastic audience.

Companies all over the United States have expressed interest in hiring and training the hard-core unemployed. Some say they are ready to put new factories in the inner city areas.

How significant is this new upsurge of civic spirit?

Professor Galbraith is doubtful. He thinks the economic incentive will not be strong enough to elicit a meaningful contribution from the private sector. He may have a point.

Michael Harrington, one of the great social critics of our time, is fearful: "When business methods are sincerely and honestly applied to urban problems, with very good intentions," he says, "they still inevitably lead to antisocial results . . . What the cities need are 'uneconomic' allocations of resources." There is truth here too.

Hubert Humphrey is hopeful—cautiously hopeful.

Having talked with businessmen in nearly every state during the last year, I am convinced that we are seeing something much deeper than an ephemeral display of civic virtue. I have found a hard-headed and pragmatic determination to make a businesslike assault on slumism.

Businessmen I have talked to are counting on support from governments at all levels to make their contribution financially feasible and acceptable to their stockholders—a partnership with the public sector. But they are also willing to take some risks.

It is the risk-takers of our free enterprise system who have given most Americans unprecedented prosperity; and risk-taking will be a critical ingredient in any successful assault on the complex disabilities which still shackle a seventh of the American people to poverty.

The dollars, the momentum and, yes, the determination are there as never before—but now let me tell you why I am only cautiously hopeful:

Those resources may very well molder in the gilded treasury of the establishment unless they are offered on terms acceptable to the poor minority of America.

I can tell you from my own experience during the last few months that inner city communities and the minority leaders in this country are developing a rather clear idea of what they want. They need help, want help, and will gratefully accept it—but only if it promises the kind of progress they can make for themselves.

The mood and the needs the characterize the American slums of today are similar to those we find in underdeveloped countries all over the post-colonial world of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

People who have long suffered oppression are now claiming their place in the sun.

After decades of being badly served by schools, businesses, and public services run by "outsiders," they want their voice. They want—and they deserve—the right to determine their own destiny through their own efforts.

There is fierce cultural pride, there are high ideals, there are abundant energies which can either build or explode.

And there are crippling shortages of almost everything but expectations.

Decades of second-class citizenship have left a dearth of managerial skill and political experience. The means of production are lacking. Interest rates are exorbitant because capital is scarce.

There is the usual quotient of human misery—ill-clad children, illiterate adults, pestilential housing the ravages of unnecessary disease.

But through it all there is the burning vision of a better life—not just a little better, but radically better. And there is a proud, sometimes arrogant, even militant, determination that things must improve—now.

That mood was at first a serious obstacle in our foreign assistance programs. We did not fully recognize it as a critical source of energy, and considered it an expression of ingratitude.

The recipient nations, for their part, considered the technical advice and suggestions which are part of any responsible aid program to be inhibiting and demeaning "strings." Only slowly have we achieved enough mutual understanding and respect to sustain the kind of hard bargaining that makes for constructive and efficient aid programs.

I regret to say that the level of mutual understanding between the developed and underdeveloped parts of American society seems to be lower than between this country and many of its less developed neighbors.

Most of us have been thinking far too small when we talk, for example, about providing jobs. We usually have in mind jobs that are only one step better than living on welfare.

Let me tell you that there are plenty of unemployed, unskilled high school dropouts in the inner city today who have the potential to be executives, entrepreneurs, police chiefs, military officers, pilots, bank clerks, hairdressers, dental technicians, or switchboard operators. They know it, and their leaders know it.

Those youngsters want and need real, marketable skills, not minimal training. Any training program calculated to make them successful janitors and housemaids for the rest of their lives is simply not going to be acceptable.

And their first jobs, no matter how lowly, have to visibly and actually represent the first rung on the ladder of advancement. Even if they never reach the top, I believe the clear prospect of future progress is the only thing that can make an unsatisfactory present bearable.

Let me emphasize that the need for advancement opportunities is just as critical for the vast majority of Negroes and others who already hold jobs—but jobs that are dead-end.

I am afraid we are thinking small on housing, too. We tend to think of minimum housing as adequate.

How do you describe an adequate house?—as a place free of rats, a place where there is no rubbish in the halls, where there is hot and cold running water?

I don't. I describe it as a place that has enough space to give a family some privacy, where children have access to a park with grass and trees in it, where there are modern plumbing facilities and some comfortable furniture. And it is in an integrated neighborhood.

That is what we have to build toward if we want to solve the problem of slum housing.

The same goes for schools. We are wasting our time if we mean to improve the educational opportunities available to inner city youngsters just enough to insure that they will form a pool of cheap labor for the rest of their lives.

The only test of an adequate education that any Negro, Spanish American or Mexican-American parent will accept today—and the only test America should accept—is this: Does my child have the same chance in life as the child of the average middle-class American?

Now I don't want the American business community to say, "Humphrey is upping the ante before we even begin to play." But if the American private sector, along with government, is going into the business of wiping out poverty and slums, we had better be prepared to accept goals which the people we want to help consider realistic.

And we have to be ready to deal with those people not as wards but as equals.

The emerging minority leaders, for their part, are going to have to exhibit the most deft kind of statesmanship if they hope to take advantage of the money, skill and good will that are now available to them within the American private sector.

Like leaders all over the developing world, they must both speak for the needs and feelings of their followers, keeping alive the distant vision of a better future, and at the same time deal pragmatically and responsibly with the harsh realities of the present.

They are going to have to convert frustrations and impatience into energies for progress rather than turmoil.

The temptation to be demagogic and self-indulgent is an occupational hazard of leaders in their position. I have just seen the results of that kind of leadership in the potentially rich country of Indonesia where a new government is now struggling painfully to make a fresh start amidst the half-finished, decaying monuments to one man's ego.

Vision is the mother of accomplishment; and slogans have their place. But they are a weak substitute for solid achievement.

You and I have been through some tough liberal battles together, and I know of no group in the American business community better equipped in spirit and understanding to go out and deal man to man with the inner city leadership of America today.

I think you are prepared to accept and support their aspirations and I think you can elicit their cooperation.

So I am now going to issue a very specific challenge for action: Can you set some promising Negroes and Puerto Ricans up in business in their own neighborhoods?

If you can, you will have gone a long way toward bridging the gap between the resources of prosperous America and the aspirations of our disadvantaged minorities.

I believe the entrepreneurial energies are there—but the skills are not. The financing is available—but the mechanism for successfully putting it to work in ghetto-owned enterprises is not.

I am asking you to use your entrepreneurial skills and experience to develop a package of know-how and financing that will prime the pump—that will build viable enterprises from the available ingredients.

How do you tap a stable market with potential for expansion that will sustain a new inner city enterprise?

By establishing small industries to produce items for your own firms?

By winning federal or state procurement contracts for your own companies and then breaking them into manageable subcontracts for new satellite firms?

I know of a large Baltimore firm that issues eight thousand subcontracts a year—and not one of them goes to a Negro-owned firm because they just don't exist.

Where will you find your proteges? Will you seek people with management experience in large firms? Will you try radically to upgrade existing minority-owned shops?

How will you extend the technical assistance upon which your success is obviously going to depend?

What kind of enterprise will have the greatest economic impact on the ghetto? I am not talking about a poverty program, but I nevertheless hope you will emphasize products that can be sold outside the ghetto. Restaurants and other establishments which serve only the depressed area itself will produce no new income for neighborhoods that desperately need it. Like developing countries, ghettos need export earnings.

Can you build some job-training provisions into your new enterprises?

The federal government can give you some help.

The Small Business Administration operates an active lending program for central cities which includes Economic Opportunity Loans on liberal terms.

Under broadened legislation enacted by Congress and signed by the President just last month, the Small Business Administration is prepared to guarantee leases of small businessmen in depressed areas.

Within the last few days, the SBA has decided to allow local development companies to borrow up to 90 per cent of the construction costs for small business plants to be established in high unemployment areas.

It will run training workshops for prospective small business owners. It offers management counseling through SCORE, the Service Corps of Retired Executives, which now has almost 200 chapters and over 3200 participants.

The Department of Labor is ready to help finance any reasonable job training program.

Mr. William Zisch, now on loan to the Department of Commerce from Aerojet General, is prepared to call a meeting of all appropriate government agencies at your request, find out what kind of support you need to provide job opportunities, and issue tentative commitments on the spot.

What more can you suggest? How can we better use the purchasing power of federal contracts to support new companies in depressed areas? How can we expand federal guarantees, which cost the government very little, to stimulate private financing of ghetto-based enterprises?

Would tax incentives provide an equitable and effective stimulus to the kind of projects we are talking about?

There is government-owned land standing idle in nearly every city in America. How can we make it a productive asset?

This nation must apply the same ingenuity and creative energy to the problem of putting the inner cities on their feet that it has applied to building a free enterprise system which serves the public interests—and we can afford even less trial and error.

Yours will not be an easy task. If you are going to win confidence, you will have to work from the very beginning as equal partners with people whose background is very different from yours.

You will not need to be charitable—the time for that has passed. You can be hard-nosed and realistic. You can be perfectly frank. Above all you must be infinitely creative.

If you succeed, you will have done much more than provide new employment opportunities and new incomes—something you could have done by putting a plant of your own in a depressed neighborhood.

You will have developed a dramatic new formula for private sector participation in the War on Poverty—a formula which can serve as an example for hundreds of similar ventures throughout the country.

You will have given some individual Americans a full and equal chance, as well as the help they need, to reach the top; and through those leaders you will have served the aspirations of an entire community.

You will have proven that the American free enterprise system can produce not only plenty, but full and equal opportunity for all.

Real opportunity for every American, a stake in society—that is good public policy. As John Stuart Mill wrote, "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it."

It is good economics. Some 15 per cent of the American people today are neither adequate producers nor effective consumers. They are also poor tax payers.

They need houses, furniture, clothes, food, and everything else the majority of American families consume every day. They are America's new economic frontier, if we can but tap their strength, and their creative energies.

And, finally, helping others to help themselves, sharing abundance with those who have too little—that is good morals.

In the words of Thomas Wolfe: "To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

RESPONSE BY CHAIRMAN EUGENE LANG, NATIONAL BUSINESSMEN'S COUNCIL, TO VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

For the economically disenfranchised, opportunities can permit an inherently able inner city resident to become the peer of any man in this room. More than that, we must provide the know-how, experience, and guidance to help make these opportunities come alive. The immensity of the total problem may well intimidate any organization of government or industry, let alone individual businessmen. But Mr. Vice President, the National Businessmen's Council has resolved not to be intimidated.

A democratic society and a free enterprise economy demands that we maintain faith in the capacity of the individual. Each businessman in this room lives this truism. So, in facing the total inner city problem in all of its immensity, I need but recall President Kennedy's restatement of a Chinese proverb: "That the voyage of a thousand miles starts with a single step."

Mr. Vice President, we accept your challenge and, enthused by your support, I can tell you that the National Buisnessmen's Council is ready to take that step, now. In fact, we now pledge you at least three steps, a three-part program.

By June 30, 1968, the National Businessmen's Council will initiate and sponsor the creation of at least three new manufacturing enterprises in inner city areas of New York. Each of these will be founded on a viable business concept that will be developed with the technical and management guidance of NBMC members, and each will be owned by inner city residents with the desire and the inherent ability to succeed as entrepreneurs. Each will start small, but as ventures that will have the capacity for permanence and growth along with the abilities of their indiginous owners.

Second, by the end of 1968 the National Businessmen's Council will establish at least fifty manufacturing concepts that we consider workable in our inner city areas. With these concepts we will try to bring together all of the facilities and advantages that you have set forth. We will try to bring together the technical know-how, the management ability, the capital and markets, all elements that, together with local ambitions, can foster the export expansion of our underprivileged communities. In this effort, we will seek help from our business world and from government at all levels.

And in this regard, I am happy to report that Mayor Lindsay has assured us that, as part of his economic development program, we will receive the fullest cooperation of the City, and I would like at this point to read this telegram that I received earlier from the Mayor:

"Because of a previous commitment, Commissioner Lewisohn and I regret that we will not be able to be with you at your luncheon on November 16th. I have asked Commissioner Ganz to represent the City." Commissioner Ganz is the Manpower Commissioner. I think they're over there somewhere. Sam, do you want to stand up and take a bow.

"New York City is vitally interested in the development of entrepreneurial talent in minority communities. The City's Department of Commerce and Industrial Development, under the leadership of Commissioner Lewisohn is planning a major program for promotion of local business ownerships. The proposed project of the National Businessmen's Council will help to provide the much-needed assistance of private industry, without which the City's efforts could not succeed. The City and the Council must continue to cooperate to make these programs effective. Please accept my congratulations and best wishes for success.

"JOHN V. LINDSAY, *Mayor*."

Third, the National Businessmen's Council is setting up a Vice President's Committee for Community Export Expansion. This Committee will serve as a clearinghouse for businessmen who accept your challenge. It will cooperate with the agencies of government and with other business groups who wish to set up similar projects.

In fact, in the same evangelical fervour that you have expressed, I'd like to start to do some recruiting right here and now. I would ask that any businessman, all businessmen in this room, who would like to work with us on our Vice President's Committee or independently, let us know. There are cards on your table. You can note your name and address and drop the cards off at the reception desk when you leave. We need your ideas and support, and I promise you a satisfactory and rewarding experience.

Mr. Vice President, there is a time for surveys and broad-gauged planning. But the prospective entrepreneurs of the ghetto should not wait. Each new entrepreneur is the yeast that will breed its own culture of economic development. There is a time for words of appreciation and thanks, and that time is now, except we are giving you more than words. The National Businessmen's Council proposes action and results. We know that our program is not easy and that we will surely stub our toes, many times, along the way. If it becomes too painful, we will come to you, not to cry, just to regenerate the enthusiastic sense of purpose that you have instilled in us today.

Thank you, Mr. Vice President.

A Fine Record of Accomplishment

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as you, our beloved Speaker, have stated, it is inevitable that this first session of the 90th Congress be compared to the historic 89th Congress. Such a comparison is, of course, unfair. But let it be said, here and now, that even though we, as the majority party, have faced the challenges of the 90th Congress with substantially reduced numbers we have still compiled a record of legislative accomplishment that we and the American people can be proud of. True, we have not accomplished all we set out to do. But what Congress ever did?

I will not set forth the more than 40 major administration proposals we passed.

Some of the important legislation that we have enacted during this first session of the 90th Congress is as follows:

Amendment of the Social Security Act to provide an across-the-board increase of at least 13 percent for all social security beneficiaries.

A 5-year extension of the Older Americans Act to continue planning programs.

The Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967 to provide funds for comprehensive State health planning and services, including $40 million for rat extermination.

Mental health and mental retardation programs were extended.

The Air Quality Act of 1967 for Federal air pollution control.

A Federal Meat Inspection Act which will result in clean and wholesome meat and meat products for the American consumer.

Further protection of the consumer by imposing much stronger standards for articles covered under the Flammable Fabrics Act and adding to the list of articles covered.

Establishment of a National Commission on Product Safety to protect our citizens against products which may cause injury or death.

A 2-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, providing more funds than ever before.

The Education Professions Development Act which extended title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965, and included the Teacher Corps.

Strengthened and expanded the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, with a program of grants to provide vocational rehabilitation for migrant workers and a national center for deaf-blind youths and adults.

The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 extended and expanded the antipoverty program.

A 2-year extension of the food stamp program, so that no one need go without nourishing food.

A much needed and deserved salary increase for Federal employees. We also increased the pay of our men and women serving in the Armed Forces.

For the veterans of Vietnam we provided the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967, giving our returning veterans increased pension rights, educational allowances consistent with the present cost of higher education and new training programs.

We continued the Peace Corps, strengthened the International banks in which we participate and encouraged the organization of new ones.

We continued the rent supplement and the model cities programs. Money was appropriated for urban renewal, water, and sewer facilities and urban mass transportation.

We strengthened the small business program and successfully opposed another attempt to destroy the independence of the Small Business Administration.

As a first step to improve our judicial system we established a Federal Judicial Center.

We modernized the government of the District of Columbia.

We revised the military draft law. We rejected the idea that any young man can decide for himself in what war he will fight. We continue to respect the rights of the truly conscientious objector.

We extended the Civil Rights Commission and prohibited discrimination in employment on account of age.

As always, much remains to be done.

Despite the arduous and continuous efforts of our President the war in Vietnam continues. The Communists seem determined to ignore all offers of peace. The very vocal and sometimes violent small minority in this country who oppose our policy in Vietnam continue to encourage the Communists in their aggressive designs. It is indeed sad that freedom of speech and of the press is being abused in this most free of all countries at the expense of human life.

Responsible dissent is in the great tradition of freedom that we in America have developed since 1776, but when by violence or otherwise it seeks to throttle the will of the majority it is hypocritical and dishonest. It is even more irresponsible to be loudly against this war without offering any responsible or sensible alternative If the situation were as simple as the administration's critics pretend, we would have had peace in Vietnam a long time ago. In the face of this opposition, however, we must and we will continue to give our troops all of the support they need to keep South Vietnam free. This the 90th Congress has done. It has demonstrated to the Communists that we are determined to settle for nothing less than peace with honor and freedom. Let me remind one and all that Hanoi has rejected 36 peace proposals.

It has been my privilege and honor to serve in this body for more than 20 years. During that time I have served with the finest men and women our society has produced; men and women who have demonstrated their leadership, intelligence, and patriotism by guiding this country toward continuing greatness.

I leave it now with very mixed emotions. Mine has been the rare opportunity to serve in city, State, and Federal government in both the executive and legislative branches. On January 1, I will assume my duties as a member of my State's judiciary system.

Although I look forward to my new work, I will always cherish the friendships I made. I am grateful to my constituents who gave me the opportunity to serve them. I am most appreciative beyond the power of words to express, to the Speaker, to the leadership, to my colleagues, to the staff and particularly to my own office staff for their assistance and cooperation beyond the call of duty.

I will miss all of you.

I close by borrowing the words of the late and great Speaker, Sam Rayburn: "I love this House."

Even a Horse Helps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, effective bridges are being built between the people of Alabama and the people of Guatemala through participation in the Partners of the Alliance program. This was the subject of an article in the Birmingham News by John Bloomer, managing editor of the News, and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bloomer's article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN "PARTNERS" PROGRAM: EVEN A HORSE HELPS

(By John W. Bloomer)

In the rural Guatemalan village of San Jeronimo, Verapaz, an area where communism has found an encouraging soil and Red guerrillas occasionally roam, an humble little building bears the following sign on its door frame: "This Literacy Center was built through the collaboration of the people of San Jeronimo and the Partners of the Alliance of Alabama."

The sign represents a culmination of a variety of sources working to bring Guatemala more firmly into the Free World's 20th Century concept, the newest source being the people of Alabama, working in concert with the people of Guatemala under the Partners of the Alliance program.

The Literacy Center sign is the first acknowledgment in such form of the people-to-people program, still in its infancy, sponsored by Guatemalans and Alabamians.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Roots for the San Jeronimo Literacy Center were first established at Landivar University in Guatemala City, where an exciting program has been developed for training rural youth in community leadership. These young people, largely of campesino (farmer) families and of varied education levels, go to Landivar from villages and rural areas all over Guatemala.

There they spend six weeks in intensive leadership training courses, designed to provide them not only with skills in activating and programming community cultural, economic and health projects but also to develop their own personalities as leaders.

When they return to their homes it is not to a governmental post in a bureau created to exploit their new skills, for no such structure exists. They return to the farms, the school rooms, the laboring forces which they left. A new citizen influence has been created for that community.

Over 100 villages in Guatemala have been affected by Landivar University's Rural Social Development Program thus far. Most of the young people, both men and women, invited to take the course are Indians, chiefly Mayan. Some are "ladinos," as part-Spanish, part-Indian people are called in Guatemala.

One of these taking the Landivar course is Edwyn Rolando Mejia Milian, a school teacher of the San Jeronimo area.

Prof. Mejia Milian now considers it a most memorable day when Dr. Don MacCorquodale, chief, Human Resources Division of the U.S. Agency for International Development, Guatemala, brought Birmingham's Dr. James Hicks to visit him last summer.

DREAMS OF THE FUTURE

At the time Prof. Mejia Milian was walking from farm to farm, from hamlet to hamlet in his area. He also was longing for the means for construction of a small building which could be utilized as a library and community cultural programs. (Guatemala has an illiteracy rate of over 80 per cent.)

Today, Prof. Mejia Milian rides a horse on his after-school-hour visits to activate social development programs among the people of the area. He has a Literacy Center. His effectiveness has been doubled and redoubled by the contributions made by Dr. Hicks to the San Jeronimo Rural Social Development program.

Such opportunities for assisting the people of Guatemala in their efforts to move forward and to make new friends for the United States exist throughout the Central American nation.

Encouraging Alabamians to create and take part in cultural, health and economic projects in Guatemala is the newly-organized Alabama Partners of the Alliance, a private citizen organization working through the Alliance for Progress and a Guatemala counterpart Partners committee.

If there is any doubt as to whether such efforts by Alabamians will be appreciated by Guatemalans, read Prof. Mejia Milian's letter to Dr. Hicks:

"It is a great pleasure for your servant to send you this brief note which brings my friendly greetings and best wishes for your personal welfare and that of your family.

"I remember the moment when you visited me with Dr. MacCorquodale, and I remember the way you paid attention to my efforts, which are now bearing fruit. I do hope you can come back and visit those friendly people soon or chat by means of a letter. I also hope some other friends from your state can come and help me with my projects.

OUT OF IGNORANCE

"It was a great satisfaction to receive the money for my horse and for the literacy center. With the horse I am able to do my work of social promotion in the rural areas much better. The literacy center will be a school to teach the illiterate to read and will make them more useful to their community, their country and society. Lifting our people out of ignorance, we will be able to make our country more progressive and advance from its state of under-development, for our country is rich in natural resources and we don't know how to take advantage of them.

"In view of the above and your gift, I have nothing more to say than express my thanks for this gesture of brotherhood and cooperation, which will be remembered by my people and your friends and servant."

Arthur Tonsmeire Jr., Mobile, chairman of the Partners of the Alliance Committee for Alabama, says: "By developing the Alabama Partners program into an effective bridge between the people of Alabama and the people of Guatemala, we can anticipate a flood of such letters from Guatemala. Organizations and individuals interested in projects such as this can receive additional information by contacting the Alabama Chamber of Commerce office, Montgomery."

Congressman John Brademas Sends Newsletter on 1967 Session of Congress to People of Third Indiana District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am including my report to the people of the Third Indiana District on the legislative accomplishments of the first session of the 90th Congress.

The text of the report follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., December 1967.

DEAR FRIEND: As I begin my tenth year working as your Representative in Washington, I want to send you this report on the first session of the 90th Congress. It was one of the longest sessions in history, stretching from January 10 to December 15, or 340 days.

Although the record of this Congress so far falls short of the extraordinary productivity of the historic 89th, *during 1967 Congress did compile a respectable record of legislative achievement.*

This report to the people of the Third District summarizes the major actions of the first session. You will be hearing from me soon on how you can obtain more detailed reports on the most important laws Congress passed in 1967.

One more word as we begin a new year.... As Americans, our responsibilities are great but our opportunities are greater still—to help build a world of peace and justice and freedom. On this conviction, I believe the overwhelming majority of Americans agree. I hope, as I know you do, that 1968 will see, in Congress and in our country, solid progress toward these goals.

I count it a high honor—indeed, a privilege—*to work for you in Washington*. Please be sure to let me know if there is any way I can serve you better.

Cordially,

John Brademas,
Member of Congress.

INDIANA SHARES IN RECORD PROSPERITY

Indiana and the Third District continue to share in the longest period of prosperity the nation has ever known. The U.S. now has entered a record 83rd consecutive month of business expansion and economists say the boom is picking up still more momentum.

Some key indicators, based on mid-November 1967 figures:

Nationwide *unemployment* fell to 3.9% of the work force, *sharpest monthly drop in six years*. In the South Bend metropolitan area, the figure was lower still—only 2.8% of the labor force out of work.

U.S. employment climbed to 75.2 million, nearly 10 million more than the 1960 average.

Personal income increased to a *record annual rate* of $641 billion.

Industrial production made the sharpest monthly gain since 1964 and appears to be headed for a new high.

After-tax corporate profits rose from the first half of 1967 and the 1968 prospect for businessmen is bright.

Housing starts, on the rise since early 1967, went up again briskly in November.

President Johnson and Congress continue to be troubled, however, by problems, all inter-related, of inflation, balance of payments deficits and speculation in gold against the dollar.

Congress expressed this concern by insisting on a number of *cuts in government spending*. Specifically Congress wrote into law President Johnson's pledge to slash all "controllable" expenditures by 10% and payrolls by 2%. The result: spending cuts by Congress of $4.1 billion, including the $1.5 billion already lopped off several appropriations bills before they were sent to the President.

Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee shelved the President's proposal for a tax hike last year but has promised that his committee will consider it this month.

Congress did restore the 7% tax credit for investment and fast depreciation write-offs both suspended over a year ago.

SPONSORS TWO MAJOR EDUCATION MEASURES

I sponsored two of the three major education bills Congress passed last year. One extends for two years the landmark Elementary and Education Secondary Act of 1965 and the other, a new Education Professions Development Act, aims at attracting more people to careers in education and providing better training for them.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967, of which I was floor manager in the House debate, authorizes $9.3 billion over two years to finance a variety of programs to help elementary and secondary schools.

Some key changes the new law makes:

Allowing funds to be appropriated a year in advance of the year in which they are to be obligated, thus enabling hard-pressed local school officials to know how much Federal money they can count on when they make up their budgets.

Setting a floor on funds states receive for compensatory education programs for poor children, no state to receive less than it got in 1967.

Turning over to states 75% of funds in Fiscal 1969 and 100% in 1970 for programs to stimulate quality and innovation in education.

The measure also establishes several new programs: for handicapped children; for children of limited English-speaking ability; technical assistance to rural areas seeking Federal funds and demonstration projects to prevent dropouts.

The Education Professions Development Act coordinates a number of fragmented programs for training people for careers in education. It extends two measures I originally sponsored: the *Teacher Corps*, which brings young teachers to work with educationally disadvantaged children in urban and rural areas, and the program of *graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers*.

(Note.—*Teacher Corps interns are now teaching at Studebaker and Harrison Schools in South Bend. The University of Notre Dame is conducting several teacher institute and fellowship programs under the* Education Professions Development.)

The Public Broadcasting Act is the third major education bill Congress passed in 1967. It establishes a non-profit Corporation for Public Broadcasting and gives it $9 million to *strengthen noncommercial educational radio and television*. The bill also extends for three years a 1962 law which provided grants to build educational broadcasting facilities.

The top items on the Congressional education agenda this year will be: revising aid to college students and strengthening vocational training programs.

WAR ON POVERTY IS EXTENDED FOR 2 YEARS

Congressional approval of a two-year extension of the anti-poverty program was a *top victory* of the 1967 session. The bill was a major triumph for those who want to help the poor help themselves and bring new hope and new opportunity to millions of Americans who need better education, employment and living conditions.

The final measure continued the war on poverty largely intact, retaining programs now in operation in the Third District and throughout the nation. Some examples: Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound, Legal Services, VISTA and aid to migrant workers.

One *major change* the new law provides is a larger role for elected local officials in running community action programs.

After considerable tugging and hauling, Congress appropriated $1.773 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity for the current fiscal year.

Shortly after Congressional action on antipoverty funds, the OEO approved grants totaling $363,600 to continue South Bend's *Neighborhood Youth Corps* programs, which provide work experience, counselling and remedial education for several hundred in-school and out-of-school youth. Earlier OEO had awarded a $203,324 grant for programs administered by ACTION, Inc., the antipoverty agency in St. Joseph County.

Last summer Michigan City received $117,031 for a twelve-month *Head Start* program of training and services for 100 disadvantaged *pre-school* children.

MEAT INSPECTION APPROVED

Faced with clear evidence that dirty meat is being sold to American housewives, Congress overwhelmingly passed legislation requiring states to bring their meat inspection programs up to par with the strong Federal standards. If states fail, after two years, to do the job, the Federal government will inspect the states' plants processing meat sold in intrastate commerce. This year Congress may extend similar protection to poultry.

VIETNAM REMAINS THE MAJOR CONCERN OF THE NATION

The war in Vietnam continued to be the *overriding problem* facing the country. Congress voted a record $70 billion Fiscal 1968 defense appropriation bill, of which $20 billion was directly related to the war.

Nearly all Americans are agreed in wanting to bring the war to an end but have honest differences on the policy most likely to achieve this goal. On two points, however, I believe there is widespread agreement: 1) opposition to a unilateral withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam; and 2) continuing efforts to commence negotiations that will lead to an honorable and lasting peace.

Among major foreign policy actions by Congress during 1967:

Foreign Aid: reduced the program to $2.3 billion, nearly $1 billion below the Administration request and the lowest level in the 20-year history of the program.

Food to India: authorized up to 3 million more tons of U.S. grain for drought-stricken India.

Consular Treaty: Senate ratified agreement with Soviet Union on diplomatic rights.

Inter-American Devleopment Bank: increased by $50 million the U.S. contribution to this fund for economic and social development projects.

Peace Corps: extended this highly effective program . . . to send 15,000 volunteers to 58 countries this year.

NOTABLE ADVANCES IN HEALTH CARE

The 90th Congress already has made significant advances in health legislation:

The Partnerships for Health Amendments provide $589 million over a three-year period for grants to the states for comprehensive health planning and services. The bill includes a $40 million program to eradicate rats, which was originally—and disgracefully—rejected by the House. The law also initiates a new program of Federal licensing of clinical laboratories dealing in interstate commerce.

I was glad to help win approval, under an earlier law, of an $85,000 two-year health planning grant from the U.S. Public Health Service to determine the need for health facilities and services in an eight-county area of northern Indiana. All Third District counties are included.

The Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967 extend programs for constructing facilities; authorize grants for staffing centers; extend for three years a program to train teachers of handicapped children, and start a new program for training teachers in physical education and recreation for the handicapped.

(Note.—In late November I was able to "unfreeze" a final $278,000 in Federal funds to clear the way for the Council of Retarded of St. Joseph County to start construction in South Bend of a $1.6 million comprehensive mental retardation center.)

(Note.—Saint Mary's College received grants of $18,000 last year for specialized training of teachers of mentally retarded and other handicapped children.)

With the *Air Quality Act of 1967*, Congress responded to the increasing hazard of air pollution.

Because dirty air respects no city, county or state boundaries, Congress authorized regional air pollution control commissions. Where they fail to act against polluters, the Federal government will have power to enforce air purity standards.

There will also be intensive research on pollution caused by fuel combustion to try to find the means to prevent fuel residues from fouling the air over our cities.

Thousands of handicapped and disabled persons will be trained to hold jobs under a bill I co-sponsored which extends and expands the *Vocational Rehabilitation Act*. The new law increases the number to be rehabilitated from 173,000 in 1966 to 278,000 in 1970.

The measure authorizes $500 million in fiscal 1969 and $600 in 1970 in grants to states for rehabilitation services and also establishes a new National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS INCREASED FOR OLDER CITIZENS

Nearly 24 million Americans—about *50,000* of them *in the Third District*—will get one of the largest increases in social security benefits in history, beginning with the check they receive in March.

Congress made these improvements:

Increased benefits 13% across the board.

Raised the minimum monthly benefit from $44 to $55 for individuals and from $66 to $82.50 for couples.

Increased to $1,680 a year (from $1,500) the amount a person receiving social security benefits can earn at a job. I favored Indiana Senator Birch Bayh's proposal to *raise the earnings limit* still higher—to $2,400.

To finance these increased benefits, the wage base for social security taxes will go up from $6,600 to $7,800, and the payroll tax rate for both employers and employees rises to 4.8% in 1969 with later periodic increases to a top of 5.9% in 1987.

Congress passed two other measures important to older citizens. I cosponsored both:

The Older Americans Act of 1967 extends the original 1965 law for five years, provides for community projects related to the elderly. South Bend's REAL (Resources for Enriching Adult Living) program has been conducting a demonstration project for the elderly with a $38,683 grant under this law.

The Age Discrimination Act prohibits employers, employment agencies and labor unions from discriminatory practices in hiring, promotion, pay or union membership of workers between the ages of 40 and 65.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO CONTROL CRIME

Congress enacted bills making it a Federal crime to obstruct Federal criminal investigations and establishing a Federal Judicial Center to improve judicial administration in Federal courts.

The House voted on the President's *major crime control proposal* but changed it considerably to provide for grants to the states rather than to communities, and to stress programs to deal with riots and with organized crime.

The House adopted an amendment I cosponsored which earmarks $30 million to *help local police prevent and control riots*. The Senate has not yet acted on the bill but I feel sure that crime control legislation will receive considerable attention during this session of Congress.

Here is what I told a state-wide conference of *Indiana Jaycees* last fall:

"Crime in America is a problem of vast proportions and the most serious implications for our state and nation.

"There are both hawks and doves on the subject of crime control.

"The more hawkish critics blast away at 'bleeding-heart liberals' and their alleged coddling of criminals. To them the accent in controlling crime is properly placed on punitive measures of arrest, detention and incarceration.

"The doves are at the other end of the spectrum. The more extreme among them see a disproportionately large part of the problem in terms of police brutality. While correctly underscoring the festering social conditions which breed crime, they pay little or no attention to the help which local and state law enforcement agencies very much need and deserve.

"We must find answers to the problem of crime in both camps . . . We should not lose sight of the fact that a great deal of juvenile crime is inextricably bound up with the problems of urban decay and the cruel pathology of the slums . . . At the same time, it is very clear that we must act now to strengthen the capacity of both local and state police forces to do a more effective job."

POSTAL RATES RISE, FEDERAL EMPLOYEES VOTED PAY HIKES

Congress approved legislation increasing postage on all classes of mail and granting pay raises to over 5.5 million Federal civilian employees and military personnel.

Postal rates: the hikes will produce some $900 million in new revenue annually when fully effective. Much of the money will go to *streamlining the U.S. postal service* which handles as much mail as all other nations combined.

This month cost of stamps for first-class letters went from 5 to 6 cents; postcards, 4 to 5 cents; airmail letters, from 8 to 10 cents. Rates also go up on other classes of mail.

Pay raises: Federal civilian employees' salaries rise 4.5%, postal workers, 6%; three million military personnel get an average 5.6% hike.

The legislation provides future automatic pay raises for servicemen to correspond to salary boosts for Federal civilian employees.

MICHIGAN CITY HARBOR PROJECT

Among the items in the 1967 Public Works Appropriation Act were $280,000 to continue *major rehabilitation* of the Michigan City harbor and $60,000 for operation and maintenance. Enough money has previously been set aside to complete a *navigation and flood control survey* of the St. Joseph River Basin in Indiana and Michigan.

MODEL CITIES FUNDS VOTED

Congress provided $312 million, only half the President's request, for the Model Cities program to *rebuild urban areas*. In November, 63 cities were awarded the first round of planning grants. Once they have decided on *coordinated programs* to attack problems like slum housing, poor schools and unemployment, these communities will share in $300 million earmarked for Model Cities aid.

Church Missions and Voluntary Agencies in the Service of Humanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, Mrs. Frances Humphrey Howard, Chief of the Liaison to Nongovernmental Organizations and Special Project Branch in the Office of War on Hunger of the Agency for International Development, recently addressed the congregation of the MacDougal United Church in Edmonton, Alberta. Mrs. Howard's topic on this occasion was the role of nongovernmental associations, and in particular the role of churches and other voluntary agencies, in the effort to accelerate economic, educational, and agricultural development in the emerging nations.

Mrs. Howard's remarks provide one of the clearest and most concise summaries of the activities of the Agency for International Development I have seen. More importantly, her remarks underscore the tremendous importance which parallel activities in the private sector hold. I was especially struck by Mrs. Howard's recounting of the various people-to-people projects she has personally viewed in operation all around the world.

Mr. President, Mrs. Howard's address deserves wide reading and I commend it to the attention of the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that this speech be reprinted in its entirety at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHURCH MISSIONS AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY

(Address by Mrs. Frances H. Howard at the MacDougal United Church, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, November 5, 1967)

I am delighted and deeply honored to address this distinguished congregation.

I am very happy to note that included in the "Centennial World Weekend" are some religious services also. And this is as it should be.

Religion is indeed an integral part of our lives—in the United States, in Canada or anywhere else in the free world.

Not unlike Canada, our nation has from its earliest days been influenced by religious ideals. As George Washington said in his Farewell Address, "Religion and morality are indispensable supports" of our free Government.

Thoughtful Americans and Canadians have always maintained that progress is real only when it is matched by continuing growth in the moral and spiritual strength of their respective nations.

Today, more than ever before, we must turn to the fundamental teachings of our religious institutions, and be vested with all the moral, spiritual and physical strength we can muster if we are to cope effectively with the overwhelming challenges of our time and succeed in promoting a world society that respects the moral values in which we believe.

Religious doctrines and forms and practices may vary widely. But the religious impulse is there, and will seek some kind of expression.

And nowhere can this religious impulse be better utilized or exemplified than in carrying out the biblical concept of being "our brother's keeper."

Ringing through the ages are our Lord's words: "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

If ever we were to lose our sense of brotherhood, of kinship with all men, we would have entered upon our nation's period of decline. Without vision, without a quick sense of justice and compassion, no people can claim greatness.

I know all of you believe, as I do, in the words written many years ago by Sir Walter Scott. "The races of mankind," the noble Scott said, "would perish did they cease to aid each other. From the time the mother binds the child's head til the moment some kind assistant wipes the brow of the dying, we cannot exist without mutual help."

As you know, large sections of mankind are trying, in a rising tide of hope, to catch up with the 19th and 20th centuries. They look to the more advanced, the free world, for help. And our response is, as it should be, more than words of compassion—it is deeds.

Our foreign aid programs as well as those of the United Nations are helping the less developed free nations to acquire the human skills and capital resources they need. Foreign aid has been attacking illiteracy in most of the less-developed countries; feeding hungry people; helping people build decent places in which to live; and eradicating malaria and other diseases in various parts of the free world.

Our Agency for International Development programs in education and health last year totalled $350 million. Today A.I.D. is financing educational teams from 71 American colleges and universities working in 38 countries. In the last 5 years, 237,000 classrooms were constructed with A.I.D. help.

There are many other obstacles to progress in the developing countries. To mention only a few, there is the need for tax reform; sounder fiscal, monetary and trade policies, improved manpower utilization and better transportation and communications. We are trying to help the less-developed countries in all these fields. However, hunger, ignorance and ill health are the principal impediments, and it is on these fields that our efforts will continue to be concentrated.

Our programs have helped establish or improve industries in various free countries thus, contributing to economic and political stability around the globe.

Of course, we are deeply concerned with the widening gap between food production and human needs in many areas of the world.

Most of the world's population is losing the battle to feed itself. If present trends continue, we can now see the point at which even our own vast productive resources—the fabulous abundance of the United States and Canada—including the millions of acres of farmlands that we now hold in reserve, will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of human beings for food.

In his State of the Union message on January 10, President Johnson said:

"Next to the pursuit of peace, the really greatest challenge to the human family is the race between food supply and population increase. That race, today, is being lost. The time for rhetoric has clearly passed. The time for concerted action is here, and we must get on the job."

In the President's opinion, three principles must prevail if we are to meet this challenge successfully.

First, the developing nations must give high priority to food production, including the use of technology and the capital of private enterprise.

Second, nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

Third, the developed nations must all assist other nations, to avoid starvation in the short run and to move rapidly towards the ability to feed themselves.

Thus the war on hunger is an intensive and sustained drive, led by the United States, to increase the supply of food throughout the free world.

It aims to create the economic and technical capacity that each nation must have either to produce or buy commercially the food it needs.

The new Food for Peace Act of 1966 stresses the need for strengthening indigenous scientific and technological capacity in food and agriculture and describes self-help measures to increase per capita food production and improve storage and distribution.

This year, A.I.D. proposes to increase its investment in agriculture by more than half over last year, to a total of $500 million. These funds will mobilize greater U.S. technology and resources by transferring American farming techniques and equipment to the developing countries; constructing fertilizer plants; establishing more extension services and financing research for better and nutritious crops.

Today, 1,300 A.I.D.-financed agricultural experts are working overseas; 2,000 foreign agricultural professionals are studying in this country under A.I.D. auspices.

A.I.D. projects are helping to irrigate more than a million acres in India, a half million acres in Pakistan, and a hundred thousand or more each in Korea, Afghanistan, Ecuador, Morocco and Tunisia.

Meanwhile, the new Food for Freedom program will increase food aid shipments to fill the food gap while local output is being increased.

Part of the currency generated under food sales will be reinvested in country agricultural development and food processing industries. The food supplied in many cases will be used as wages in rural development programs to promote self-help.

In much of the food now consumed in the world, protein content and quality are inadequate for good health. This protein malnutrition causes the deaths of millions of children each year in less developed countries and the poor health of surviving adults.

Protein deficiency also inflicts hidden damage because children who do not get adequate protein may suffer permanent physical and mental damage. The U.S. Department of Agriculture is now trying to develop new sources of protein foods for developing countries.

Protein quality, however, must be improved without materially changing the basic cooking patterns or eating habits of the users. If entirely new foods are developed, they must be acceptable to the ethnic groups expected to use them as well as nutritionally adequate.

Food output has been rising in the less-developed countries, but it has not kept pace with rising population.

A solution to the population problem of each country must be found by the individual countries themselves, according to their cultures, needs and traditions. Solutions to such problems cannot be imposed from outside.

Our Government's position on the world population problem has recently been stated clearly by President Johnson. "We will give help," the President said, "and our support to nations which make their own decision to insure an effective balance between the numbers of their people and the food they have to eat. And we will push forward on the frontiers of research in this important field."

Significantly complementing our official foreign assistance efforts are the private voluntary agencies. These are the associations formed by dedicated people who seek to help people to help themselves. I am proud of my close association with these private groups. Our Government considers such voluntary efforts very important. In the Vice President's opinion, as he expressed it a few days ago, "the work of the Voluntary Agencies is the true voice of America and the true spirit of this land."

Interdenominational agencies such as Church World Service, through which more than thirty Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Churches cooperate, have been carrying out projects in Europe, Asia and Latin America in cooperation with the World Council of Churches and National Christian Councils.

In the field of emergency relief as needed following natural disasters, Church World Service has been providing food, shelter, clothing, bedding and medical care.

In the field of reconstruction and development—a broad term which includes helping people to help themselves—Church World Service has been active in various ways: rehabilitation and vocational retraining of amputees as in Korea and Vietnam; better seed grains and animal stock for farmers; improved simple agricultural tools, helping to dig wells and irrigation ditches to increase tillable acreage and productivity; starting small cooperative industries; establishing experimental desalinization plants, building new housing to replace refugee hovels; giving widows vocational training; making orphanages more effective; rural and urban development programs; and leadership training for civic and social responsibility; primary, secondary and vocational training; and classes for women in home economics, child care and nutrition; medical personnel services in emergency situations; dispensaries, mobile and medical, and dental units; school lunch programs; and many and varied other activities.

Similarly, Catholic Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference has been planning, promoting and conducting services and assistance to meet relief, welfare and educational needs around the world; and has been aiding social and economic development in Latin America, Africa, the Near East and Far East and Southern Europe. Refugees are aided through programs of relief, rehabilitation, resettlement and integration. In addition, U.S. staffs assist indigenous associations in the planning and implementation of programs in the fields of housing, cooperatives, credit unions, agriculture and rural improvements, medicine and health.

In all my experience with missions and other voluntary agencies in the field, I have never encountered any unpleasant competition among them.

On the other hand, sincere wholehearted cooperation seems to be the order of the day.

I have personally witnessed the use by Catholic Relief Service of Food-for-Peace commodities in helping build roads and schools in Honduras.

I have seen projects of the Church of the Brethren in action in Ecuador. These included a grade school in Calderon with 150 pupils; and a mobile clinic visiting several surrounding villages giving instructions in public health.

Also in Ecuador, I have seen and admired the work of the United Presbyterian Church working through the United Andean Indian Mission on adult education programs; training of rural teachers; expansion of community development work; and public health programs.

In El Salvador, I have seen the Heifer Project in action through cooperation with the Baptist mission and local 4–H Clubs. Heifer Project, as you know, distributes poultry, cattle, bees and sheep for use in agricultural development and animal husbandry programs.

I have seen and admired the work of Christian Brothers in Guatemala where they administer and staff a secondary school for 225 boys, and a normal school for rural teachers.

Also in Guatemala, I have witnessed the operation of a clinic by the Order of Franciscans, and distribution of food, clothing and medicine by them. A vocational training department of the clinic offers instruction in sewing, barbering and hairdressing.

In the Peruvian city of Arequipa I was privileged to see the smiling faces of some 400 pupils of a 4th-grade school administered by the Maryknoll Fathers and to visit a parish clinic operated by the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary.

Also in Peru, I became acquainted with the work of the Mennonite Brethren Church who have been dispensing medicine and medical aid to Campa Indians and creating written language and study materials for them.

In Bolivia, I noted that Church World Service activities primarily aim at promoting social advancement in the rural communities and training community leaders by sending them abroad with scholarships. Church World Service is also engaged in medical work; a water project; research in community projects; and in the construction of a landing field and a road through distribution of Food-for-Peace commodities.

Last year, I was privileged to visit the exciting desalinization project of Church World Service, now functioning on the Greek island of Symi. I was very much impressed with the operation of this plant, which experimentally produces salt-free or pure water.

In all these missionary and voluntary efforts overseas I have never detected any competition of any variety, shape or form between such missionary groups or other voluntary agencies. On the contrary, I found an appreciable measure of sincere cooperation among them. I also found much cooperation and coordination with the offices of our Foreign Aid Missions abroad.

The 900 non-government Americans working abroad with some 7,000 privately employed foreign employees, and many thousands of volunteers, help build roads, repair school buildings, clear land for new settlements, reclaim land, construct small bridges and irrigation and drainage ditches. In many cases they too, use food for wages.

We are indeed indebted to the voluntary agencies for their concern with the plight of the poor and the homeless around the world. We are indebted to them for their energy and for their devotion to the concept of the brotherhood of man.

The voluntary agencies of the United States have formed a coordinating council, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. This council coordinates their work throughout the world. It helps in sharing ideas and programs and desires to avoid duplication.

There are now some 73 such registered organizations. By rough count there are more than a hundred million Americans contributing to world-wide foreign aid voluntary agency programs, operating in 110 areas of the world. Not all of these programs operate through the 73 voluntary agencies registered with A.I.D.'s Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. There are at least 500 U.S. agencies at present with programs overseas.

In 1966 these American private organizations sent overseas almost 500 million dollars worth of commodities and funds. Registration with the committee offers certain facilities to voluntary agencies. By virtue of it, a voluntary agency becomes eligible to participate in the Food-for-Freedom program, using foods donated by the United States for distribution overseas through its own voluntary agency program, and in addition, the voluntary agency may be eligible for the Overseas Freight Subsidy program.

The partnership between the Agency for International Development of the Department of State, and the missions and other voluntary agencies operating within a foreign country frequently serves as a visible holding action for the people until the benefits which may be derived from long-term A.I.D. projects can be realized.

The importance of the partnership between our Government and private voluntary agencies and missions is that the people-to-people programs reach and speak an international language—the language of common concern, brotherhood and mutual understanding.

And so, as we meet here this Sabbath morning, in this atmosphere of peace, serenity and contentment, the wheels of the Agency for International Development of the Department of State and of the voluntary agencies are constantly turning, and the beneficent results are felt in distant lands—in many and varied ways, but always for the betterment of living conditions of our fellowmen.

All of us together, in the Government and in the private sector, are engaged in fashioning and implementing programs that will help keep free men free, and will help each nation to work out a better future for its citizens in peace, dignity and contentment.

I thank you.

Seventh Annual West Side Community Conference—"The Challenge of Health Care in the Cities"

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the greatest political problem of our time is the relationship between the individual citizen and the complex governments which are supposed to serve him. To meet this problem, we must increase citizen knowledge and participation in the processes and policies of government.

Elected officials and particularly Members of Congress have special responsibility to increase citizen participation. I believe that the public and those who mold policy are obligated to one another for understanding and direction.

Thus every year of my tenure in Congress I have sponsored an annual day-long community conference in New York City. The conferences are free of charge and free of partisan orientation. They bring together leaders in the government and the academic world with the citizens to whom they are responsible for an exchange and an interchange of views.

I am fortunate that the reform Democratic Clubs of Manhattan's West Side and many individual citizens join me in presenting the conferences.

On April 1, 1967, we held our seventh annual conference on "The Challenge of Health Care in the Cities." Some 2,000 individuals attended and took part in the six panels and the plenary session at Columbia University.

Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development; and William H. Stewart, M.D., Surgeon General, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare addressed the plenary session.

The panelists included:

Harry Becker, Executive Secretary, Committee on Special Studies, New York Academy of Medicine.

I. S. Falk, Professor of Public Health, School of Medicine, Yale University.

George A. Silver, M.D., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health & Scientific Affairs, U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare.

Herman M. Somers, Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs, Princeton University.

Edward O'Rourke, M.D., N.Y. City Commissioner of Health.

Leonard J. Duhla, M.D., Special Assistant to the Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development.

Mrs. Alice Fordyce, Co-Chairman, N.Y. State Committee Against Mental Illness.

Lonnie McDonald, M.D., Director, Community Psychiatry, Harlem Hospital.

Alan D. Miller, M.D., N.Y. State Commissioner of Mental Hygiene.

Dr. Mark Tarail, Administrator, Department of Psychiatry, Maimonides Hospital of Brooklyn.

Dr. Bertram Brown, M.D., National Institute of Mental Health.

Manfred Ohrenstein, Mental Health Committee, N.Y., State Senate.

Dr. Leo L. Beranek, President, Bolt, Beranek & Newman, Inc., Lecturer, M.I.T.

Lawrence E. Hinkle, Jr., M.D., Director, Division of Human Ecology Cornell University Medical College.

Ron M. Linton, Chairman, Task Force on Environmental Health, U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare.

William H. Megonnell, Chief, Abatement Program, National Center for Air Pollution, U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare.

Peter Kihss, The New York Times.

Martin Cherkasky, M.D., Director, Montefiore Hospital & Medical Center.

Leon J. Davis, President, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Employees Union.

John H. Knowles, M.D., General Director, Massachusetts General Hospital.

Frank vanDyke, Professor of Administrative Medicine, Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine.

Alonzo, S. Yerby, M.D., Head of Department of Health Services Administration, School of Public Health, Harvard University.

Wiliam L. Kissick, M.D., Director, Program Planning & Evaluation, Office of the Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service.

James Brindle, President, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York.

James G. Haughton, M.D., First Deputy Administrator, New York City Health Services Administration.

George Himler, M.D., Chairman, Coordinating Council of Five County Medical Societies of New York City.

James C. Ingram, Vice President, Blue Cross.

George K. Wyman, New York State Commissioner of Social Welfare.

Albert H. Blumenthal, Chairman, Committee on Health, New York State Assembly.

John M. Frankel, Director, Health Division Community Action Program, U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Jack Geiger, M.D., Professor, Preventive Medicine, Tufts University.

George James, M.D., Dean of Mt. Sinai Medcal School.

Harold C. Light, Associate Director, Gouverneur Health Service Program of Beth Israel Hospital.

Frank Riessman, Professor, Department of Educational Sociology, New York University.

Mr. Speaker, I wish it were possible to acknowledge by individual name everyone to whom I am indebted for the success of the conference. I do want to thank the following for the important parts they played.

The cochairmen were Susan Cohn and David R. McGregor, who organized and coordinated the entire conference, and who were assisted by the tireless efforts of the following members of the conference committee:

Secretary, Anna Lou Pickett; assistant secretary, Elaine Bernstein; club coordinators, Judy Joseph and Ruth Levy; treasurer, Ira Zimmerman; public relations, James Vlasto; assistant for public relations, Joyce Rowe; arrangements chairman, Barbara Jeffers; arrangements assistant chairmen, Brooke Aaronson and Carlton Carl; registration chairman, Ruth Fuhrman.

The club representatives were: Mary Adamson, Leona Brin, Carlton Carl, Fred Nichols, Peter Osman, Joyce Rowe, Stu Schwartz, Elliott Shorter, Israel Weinstein, Inez Wilson.

The panel coordinators were: Betty Jo Bailey, Ada Bass, Jean Faust, Sylvia Hunter, Eva Popper, Barbara Silverstone.

Members of the conference staff were: Rita Breitbart, Stewart Brownstein, Vivian Cohen, Rebecca Cooperman, Jeffrey Cowan, Kathleen Goodin, Adrienne Kivelson, Marvin Lieberman, Joseph Marshall, Jack Rennert, Bertha Sperling, Dr. William Thomas, Dr. Sheldon Waxenberg, Selma Ziskin.

I am most grateful for the friendly cooperation of Miss Smith, Miss Matthews, and Mrs. Myers of the Barnard College staff; to the members of the Columbia-Barnard Democratic Club, to student reporters of the Columbia School of Journalism, and to the many others who gave of their valuable time and talent.

I am also specially grateful to Norman Holly, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, whose advice and assistance was invaluable in helping us shape the conference.

The participating clubs were: New Chelsea Reform Democratic Club, Ansonia Independent Democrats, Reform Independent Democrats, Manhattan West Democratic Club, Inc.; West Side Democratic Club; FDR-Woodrow Wilson Democrats, Inc.; Riverside Democrats, Inc.; Fort Washington Manhattanville Reform Democrats; Heights Reform Democrats; Columbia-Barnard Democratic Club.

I am also deeply grateful to the large number of community sponsors whose generous contributions enabled the conference to be held.

Mr. Speaker, I opened the plenary session by focusing on the three major shortages of the health gap—shortages in doctors, in hospitals, and in the means to finance rapidly increasing costs of medical care.

Surgeon General Stewart called for greater citizen and social action to give impetus and direction to a new health movement.

Secretary Weaver called on doctors and others in the medical field "to put their talents where the problems are" by joining a new Housing and Urban Development group of medical facilities programs for slums as well as other parts of the city.

I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks of the three speakers at the plenary session.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM H. STEWART, SURGEON GENERAL, PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, TO THE SEVENTH ANNUAL WEST SIDE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE, APRIL 1, 1967

Mr. Ryan, Secretary Weaver, friends and colleagues. I'm honored and slightly awed by the company I'm keeping today. Of course, I am particularly proud to be on the platform with Secretary Weaver and Congressman Ryan. I'm also proud to be included among the powerful lineup of medical dragon-slayers who are addressing us in the various panels.

Thinking about what I might say this afternoon it occurred to me that there was only one way in which I could interject a note of controversy into the proceedings, and that would be to deliver a ringing endorsement of agrariansim, filled with quotations from Thoreau, and topped off with a defense of the good old traditional ways as the answer to all our woes. It would have been a good speech, but unfortunately I couldn't give it. I'm not really made for devil's advocacy. Besides no one who knows me would have believed it, and there was that haunting possibility that somebody who didn't know me might quote it.

And then I focused on the audience instead of the panel members. Unlike the panel members and myself, you have not spent your adult lives in the quiet little world of medicine. You do not go from one meeting to another preaching the same sermon with variations, and agreeing with each other about the state of public health and how it should be fixed. Rather you are people with the healthiest kind of interest in health. You want it for yourselves and for your fellow men. You feel quite correctly that good health care is harder to get than it ought to be. You sense that for too many people it is especially hard to get in the places where the resources are most abundant, in the great cities like this one.

You want somebody to do something about it or you wouldn't be here. And more than that, your presence here suggests to me that you think you might be able to do something about it. If so, you are absolutely right. For health is too big and too important to belong to the doctors and dentists and nurses and hospital administrators. Health belongs to you. Health is for people.

Somehow a glass curtain has descended around the best in American medicine. On one side of that curtain is the gleaming antiseptic world of medical excellence. Its wonders are plainly visible to those outside, but admission is by ticket only and the lines of the box office stretches out of sight. For a time it seemed that the curtain was made of one way glass. People outside could see in, but those inside scarcely seemed to notice the faces pressed against the pane. Now there are hopeful indications of two-way visibility. There is more and more talk inside the medical world that something must be done. Here and there genuine statesmen of the inside world are opening up new passages through the curtain and some are going outside and trying to bring excellence with them into the community. But the curtain remains, and it will remain, I suspect, until the people to whom health belongs start marching around the world blowing the ram's horn.

In this hopeful and exciting time of political and social activism, people are, in fact, beginning to speak up for health. Curiously however, your voice is particularly audible at the most remote level—the level of the national action. President Johnson has expressed the national will that good health care shall be readily accessible to all. The Congress has translated this popular aspiration to a series of remarkable legislative atcions—more than a score of major health laws in three years. We in the Public Health Service and our associates in other federal agencies are doing our best to translate this one step further—towards action where it counts. But where it counts is not in Washington, but in the neighborhoods and communities of America. The action is where the people live.

We in the Public Health Service can talk about infant mortality rates. You know where the babies are dying. We in the Public Health Service can talk about national ratios of physicians and hospital beds to population. You know that it cost a sick person a $2.00 taxi fare or a 45 minute bus ride to get the care he needs. We can talk about tens of thousands of needless deaths each year. You know some of the people who died and what became of their kids and why they didn't get to the doctor until too late.

You know these things or you could know them, because they are happening all around you. If these were educational failures instead of medical failures, the P.T.A. would know about them and be hounding the principal and school Board to get them remedied. Where are the health P.T.A.'s? What I'm suggesting is that you, the active citizens, and your counterparts everywhere, have an active role in health just as you have in education, civil rights and in other fields. It requires some hard work, some grubbing for facts, some pavement pounding. If your efforts are to be productive, you will have to transform generalized indignation into specific targets for remedial action. When you have your needs solidly identified, you can bring in the professionals.

Here in New York as in most major cities, you have strong resources to draw upon. The great majority of these resources are genuinely interested in meeting your needs and making an impact on the real health problem of the day. Many of us in the medical world are just as unhappy about the glass curtain as you are, and we are trying to find ways of breeching it.

Of course the professionals may tell you that what you are asking is impossible. There may not be enough reasources, or enough known, to solve the problem. At this point I have two pieces of advice. First make them prove to your satisfaction that it is impossible, and second work out something that can be done that will move in the direction of meeting your needs. I can envision very few situations in which such a citizen effort would not result in at least some measure of tangible improvement.

There is strong tradition of citizen involvement in health affairs in the United States. Much of the success of the public health movement over the past century has stemmed from public indignation, followed by public initiative and public participation. This has been true of the conquest of communicable diseases, advances in occupational health and general sanitation. The voluntary health agencies have been and continue to be a strong force for progress in their fields of interest.

Now it seems to me that we need a renewal of public indignation and initiative directed toward the core health problems of the city which are the core health problems of America. Three weeks ago at Howard University's Centennial Conference on the health status of the Negro, Dr. Kenneth Clements of Cleveland described these problems as they were revealed in a study by the Cleveland Health Department, and not from the viewpoint of the provider but from that of the consumer. Dr. Clements said indigent medical care is rendered—in the eyes of the people who receive it—in ways that are depersonalized. There is no health professional with whom the family can build a trusted relationship. It is fragmented care. The care is rendered without concern for the family as a unit, with each of the members of the family required to go to different clinics within the same institution or to different institutions in different parts of the city on different days at different times on the same day. In many instances welfare medical assistance systems will only reimburse certain groups or certain institutions, and not for reasons of quality control. The institutions are often distant from poverty areas. The inaccessibility is often increased by the failure to provide hours which do not require the patient to miss employment, often without sick-time benefits.

These are the elements that make up the glass curtain. These are the obstacles that separate great segments of the population from the care they need. This indictment is not universally applicable to the health-care systems of our great cities. There are shining exceptions in many places, including this largest city of all. But it applies to some parts of every city and to all parts of some. In fact, one of the characteristics of our health system today is the existence, sometimes within a few blocks of each other, of outstandingly good and outstandingly bad patterns of care. Considered abstractly, these are national health problems, but they cannot be solved abstractly. Each community, each neighborhood, has a unique constellation of needs and resources. Tying resources to needs and creating resources where none exist, can only be done community by community and neighborhood by neighborhood. Hence the urgent need for local action by the people who are dreadfully and immediately involved.

For our part, from our far-off window in Washington, we can help chiefly by allocating our resources where they will do the most good. We can do that effectively only if you tell us. Significant the three most far-reaching health laws passed by the 89th Congress—Medicare, the Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendment, and the Comprehensive Health Planning Act all depend heavily on regional, state and local initiative. The Comprehensive Health Planning Act has special relevance to the problems we have been discussing in three ways. First, it underwrites the planning process for health advances at the State, and metropolitan or community levels. It thereby provides a strong stimulus for systemically applying resources to priority needs. It also permits the use of these grant funds to meet locally determined priorities. The law provides further that more than half the members of the Advisory Councils to the Planning Agencies must represent the consumers rather than the providers of services.

This last provision breakes a long tradition of professionally-dominated advisory bodies and invites the kind of broadly-based citizen involvement that I've been talking about today.

Now let me return to my point of departure. Health is for people. You—the active ones dedicated to social action—can give impetus and direction to a new health movement. In doing so, you will be a tremendous help to those of us in the medical world who want to break through the barrier that still remains. Now as you help us, you will also be putting us on our metle, and we need that. We need to be held to the fire, to hammer our round words into sharp-pointed action. We may wince a little, squirm a little. But if we can't stand the heat, we ought to get off the anvil.

Thank you very much.

Address of Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, at the West Side Community Conference, April 1, 1967

I want to commend Congressman Ryan for his leadership in inspiring this conference. It is interesting to me that this conference is concentrating on what might seem to some people to be a narrow topic: "The Challenge of Health Care in the Cities."

In previous years, this conference has considered topics such as "Developing Nations," the whole problem of "Cities in Crisis," and other broad concerns such as "The Consumer and the Economy."

But today, in focusing on health care in cities, you are to be congratulated for concerning yourselves with a matter that is nationwide, one that is far more complicated than it would seem at first glance, and one that is unusually appropriate right now.

Over the recent past, it has been amply demonstrated that many problems confronting cities will attract immediate attention from the public-civil rights, the public schools, urban renewal.

But the health problems of cities appear to have escaped the attention of almost everybody—except the professionals, and the most important group of all, those who today suffer ill health, lifelong disabilities, and early death because medical services are not adequately available to them.

This conference is a welcome indication that, at last, the subject is arousing the general interest it deserves.

A few days ago President Johnson emphasized the national concern about health care in cities by devoting much of a message to Congress on it. He illustrated the gravity with a few blunt facts:

That one half of all women who have their babies in public hospitals have received no pre-natal care at all.

That two-thirds of poor children with disabling handicaps are not receiving any medical attention.

That two-thirds of all poor children never see a dentist.

That in poor families, the chance of a child dying before his first birthday is 50 percent higher than if he were born in another family.

That the chance of a man's dying before his 35th birthday is four times greater if he is poor.

Statistics sometimes evoke boredom—but surely not those statistics—and surely not among those people about whom the odds of life or death are being calculated.

It is also appropriate that this conference should be in this city.

It is often said about New York that, since it has more of everything than anyplace else, it is perhaps the most exciting city in the world.

That is clearly true for any examination of urban affairs. It doesn't matter whether you are examining the advantages this city offers, or the obstacles that it puts in your way.

Whatever goes on in any city goes on here, only more so.

That applies to health as it does to many topics. There are to be found here many of the finest hospitals and medical research facilities, and at the same time many of those who are most desperately in need of better medical attention.

The question here, as everywhere, is how to extend the city's resources to those who need them and how to upgrade the services to those who can afford to pay for them.

It is not enough to have fine hospitals developing miracles of modern medicine such as open heart surgery when there are children contracting tuberculosis in the foul environments of their homes.

To cure a tubercular child is worthy of the highest praise. But to cure him, and then send him back to the same environment and the same germs, is a continuing indictment of our society. Nor can we be content with under utilization of our medical talent or less than maximum utilization of our health and hospital facilities.

To twist just slightly the wording of the theme of this conference for my own purpose, I would say that the essential mission of the Department of Housing and Urban Development is to look after the health of cities—and that must include the actual physical and mental health of those who live there.

We in HUD are not doctors, nurses, social workers, or psychiatrists working directly with patients. Nor do we sponsor or support specific health services.

Our concern is the total condition of cities, metropolitan regions, and urban centers of every size. That involves people and all of their needs—whether for medical facilities, shelter, social services, transportation, education, or employment.

Whatever contributes to a thriving community—and whatever detracts from it—are all parts of the assignment to HUD by Congress and the President to take the leadership in Federal efforts to help urban communities help themselves.

Health care is almost uniquely an urban kind of service. Men come to cities for an endless variety of reasons, but a common one is for medical attention. It has always been economical, logical, and sensible to concentrate health facilities where people are concentrated.

That is one of the reasons why the obituaries being written about cities are incorrect, and premature to say the least.

People need cities, for that reason, alone, cities are not going to die. And as more and more people move to urban communities, there will be more and more need for the services and functions that can be, and are, best performed in the core areas.

Our responsibility today, therefore, is to search out the city's inadequacies and find the ways to overcome them.

That kind of analysis shows that inadequate health care, as in almost everything we study today, hits hardest at the slums and the lowest income families.

Medical attention drops in almost exact proportion to income. Three out of four families earning less than $2,000 a year spend nothing at all for dental care.

Medical facilities do not typically exist in a slum. In some, there are not even adequate referral services to direct the residents to other parts of the city where facilities and services are available.

In many cities the slum dweller—who is least knowledgeable about his own medical needs—has a disproportionately long and expensive journey to medical services he cannot afford.

One thing that shows is that transportation has an important relationship to health care. Once a person learns where he can obtain health services, he has to be able to get there to benefit from them. Or, we have to bring the services to where the people are.

Transportation has not traditionally been thought of as a factor in health—but it is. It was true in the Watts area of Los Angeles where it was found that one cause of alienation there was that residents did not have adequate transportation to hospitals or jobs—and we in HUD are working on a program to try to remedy that. We are financing a demonstration project which offers reasonably priced bus service to the city hospital—as well as to centers of job opportunities. For the need is for economic as well as physical health.

I have raised the matter of transportation and health as an illustration of the need for a wider view of city problems than has been typical in the past. This wider view is what the social scientists call ecology—man and his environment, or to put it another way, the effect of changing any one part of that environment on all the rest.

To know what a slum is we have to assess all of its conditions—housing, education, transportation and many others—to find out what the affect of changing any of them will have on all the others.

To make a change in the total condition of a slum or a blighted area will not happen by accident, but only by design, and therefore it must begin with planning. Health planning must be part of total planning, in every community, every city, and every metropolitan region.

We have been working toward that and we have added some significant tools in recent years.

The basic effort is our Urban Planning Assistance program. It is wide-ranging and a dozen years old. At the end of 1966, it had resulted in grants totaling $123.4 million. They include grants to states, metropolitan regions, smaller communities, redevelopment areas and others. These aids can support virtually all kinds of planning.

In the last few years, we have specifically added comprehensive health planning by helping state planning agencies and state health planning councils. The emphasis definitely is on linking, strengthening, developing interrationships, opening channels of communication between programs.

It turns out—by design and not by accident—that almost everything we do has a health component in it. That is one reason we work closely with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In just recent days, for example, the two departments have formulated some new concepts in how to relate our separate programs more effectively, and thereby enhance joint action.

Some of our programs have obvious affects on health: the FHA mortgage insurance to provide nursing homes, housing for the elderly, housing for low and moderate income families—the new rent supplements that will help poor families to afford and to find decent private housing.

Any program that gets a family out of a rundown, rat-infested, germ-filled, fire-trap and into decent housing is a health program and that is one of the major contributions we make to the health of this nation.

We help communities to build sewer and water systems, to develop rational plans for using their land, to develop effective transportation systems—and they are health programs, too, indirect but vital.

One of our newest programs, authorized by Congress late in 1966, is directly in the health field, and it can have direct relevance to health care in cities. This is the program to provide mortgage insurance to build group medical facilities.

That program is now ready to move. We are preparing to publish shortly the policies and procedures. With the full cooperation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, we have been able to secure 17 professionals from the field to renew and comment on our approach to the administration of this new endeavor.

We are convinced that one of the major thrusts of this new program must be to get doctors and clinics and medical facilities into areas now without adequate health facilities and services.

Here is a chance for doctors and other medical professionals to put their talents where the problems are. If they are willing to do so, there is no segment of humanity more in need of their skills.

As a New Yorker, and as a voter in this Congressional district, I know something of what exists in this city. Also, as a long-time member of the Health Insurance Plan of New York City, I recognize the leadership of New York in group medical practice. I can attest to its efficacy. And I am sure that it augurs well for the future of group practice in this city.

Such practice offers services for the moderate- as well as the low-income household. It provides for both a much more comprehensive and available health service than has been available prior to its institution. We hope our new mortgage insurance program will serve to extend it in places like New York and initiate in it cities where it does not now exist.

We think group medical facilities might well be provided adjacent to, but part of, low-rent public housing projects, for example. Or, they might be built adjacent to, but again a part of, the new Neighborhood Centers that are being planned.

These centers are to give poor families one place to go near their homes for help of many kinds—without going all over a city, or all over creation, to get it.

The Neighborhood Centers program can be the most direct and the most hopeful response of all to the challenge of health care in the cities. They provide the means to gather into one building, or adjacent buildinngs, many urban aids now available separately in social welfare, health care, manpower training, recreational and educational programs.

Grants have already been made for neighborhood centers in 53 cities, 114 more are being prepared, and just last week we joined four other Federal agencies to develop pilot centers in in 14 major cities—New York is one of them.

We must do more than put up buildings. We must build wide-ranging programs. The communities themselves must develop the mixture and type of service that will go into them—based on planning and assessing the needs and the resources.

I cannot stress too strongly the need for local leadership—the kind of leadership represented here today. The Federal and State governments can assist but the solutions are local.

On March 14, President Johnson announced a new war on rats.

"The knowledge that many children in the world's most affluent nation are attacked, maimed and even killed by rats should fill every American with shame," the President said.

He has asked Congress for $20 million to begin a program of house-to-house search and destroy missions. We know how to do it. We can cut off the food supply, collect the garbage, eliminate the harborages, and make buildings rat-proof. And, as the President said, the simple fact that we can do it, means that we must do it.

Finally, we come to the new Model Cities Program which, in a way, ties together everything I have been saying today, as well as much of what we have been doing in recent years to give a new thrust to helping urban communities to help themselves.

The thrust here is to call upon all the resources that are in being, Federal, state and local—public and private, community and voluntary—and put them to work in one neighborhood where the problems have piled up over the years.

To be selected, the communities must show that they can make tangible improvements in their most neglected neighborhoods—by building programs that include housing, transportation, education, economic development, manpower training, recreation, crime reduction, social services—and, neither last nor least, health.

The health component means physical and mental health services that are accessible to all residents. It will likely include health education, personal services, diagnostic and therapeutic services, and areawide environmental health services.

It might well involve state and local public health departments, community action agencies, schools, nursing groups, hospitals and clinics, medical socities, health insurance groups, private agencies, foundations and institutes.

The Model Cities will have access to substantial funds, not only for presently available programs but for devising new ones. We have already seen a new spirit of cooperation developing in the cities that are preparing Model Cities proposals—a spirit of drawing in people and agencies who had not previously worked together, and a spirit that draws upon the people who live in the neighborhood itself, which is a fundamental requirement of the program.

The health problems of Americans vary as widely as people vary. Their problems change from city to city, and within communities. Whether we are talking about Model Cities, or Neighborhood Centers, or planning in general, the key element becomes the need for local assessement of local needs.

Involved are special needs, and they require special solutions. No one can say from Washington what all the special solutions will be.

We can see what some of the common needs are across the nation.

First, we need the money to do all this, and there we can use your support. Secondly, we need the local leadership, and there we can use your active participation. Thirdly, we need the commitment among people generally to become involved and to be willing to try new measures. Here, I think, this conference demonstrates that we are on the way.

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM F. RYAN AT THE SEVENTH ANNUAL WEST SIDE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE, APRIL 1, 1967

When I told people in Washington that we were having a conference today, this Saturday, April First, the reaction was that we were a little bit foolish. This is April Fool's Day. They said that it would generally be thought of as another April Fool. I had to explain to them that we are a little foolish on the West Side. We are foolish enough to take very seriously our responsibilities as citizens. We know that when we work at problems, we can do something about them.

Every year for the past seven years, these conferences have proven that West Side citizens who are concerned can come together and discuss the issues, and go away with the knowledge they can do something about it.

In 1961 our first conference was on City problems. The next one was on Foreign Policy, then Disarmament and National Security, the Consumer and The Economy. Two years ago, the conference was on Cities in Crisis, then last year, The Challenge of Developing Nations.

Today we are talking about the Challenge of Health Care in The Cities.

We realize that this is a very real and meaningful challenge which faces us. The panel speakers are touching on major aspects of this challenge, and they are far more expert than I could ever hope to be. We are indeed fortunate in having with us as our panelists some of the wisest, most experienced, and most respected minds in the world of medicine. It is a compliment to West Side citizens and to New Yorkers that they have come today to explore these vital issues with us. We are indeed fortunate for medical care is a subject that most of us laymen are incapable of exploring alone. Consumers of medical care must rely on those who dispense medical services and who give us their assurance that it is in fact being dispensed properly and equitably.

Until recently planning and priorities in disbursement of medical care escaped the processes of democracy. Medical science was entrusted to a relatively small elite. This has been a heavy burden to place upon doctors. It is also perhaps an unfair burden. It requires not only professional expertise, but a knowledge of political processes and of finance. It involves responsibilities in administration, distribution, and finance, responsbilities that distract the doctor's attention from the medical processes he is paid to perform. All of us have a responsibility to accept the burden of decision-making that is entailed in our concept of democracy. We must assist the medical profession in determining how we shall benefit from the achievements of medicine—how we shall benefit now and in the future. If we are to assume this responsibility, then we must see the dimensions of the challenge and ask what we can do about it.

There was talk this morning at one of our panels about the health gap. I think there is really no gap in our medical knowledge or skill. We do have the best in the world. The gap is not in what we can do for Americans. The gap is what we actually fail to do.

We are an affluent society. We have great medical skills. Yet we have let the health gap become a national disgrace. Over the last few years, despite our hopes for the Great Society, the Federal government has seen the health gap increase. At the same time, we are waging a war in Vietnam which is now costing some two billion dollars every month—not to mention the cost in human lives and human suffering. We have not hesitated to put up billions for that cause. While we have loaded the guns, we have slashed and cut essential domestic programs.

Last summer the Director of the national Institute of Mental Health told a Congressional Committee that 19 million Americans need mental treatment. Congress authorized only $30 million for the Mental Retardation and Community Mental Health Centers Act. The Administration's budget request for fiscal 1968 cut that authorization in half.

New Yorkers do not have to be reminded about the narcotics problem. Last year Congress authorized $15 million for technical assistance grants to meet that problem. Yet the budget request was $4.5.

And so it goes. Further, money which isn't going into health, also isn't going into other essential programs on the domestic scene. Last year, in his message on health, the President urged enactment of the Hospital and Medical Facilities Modernization Amendment, which would have helped with our urban hospital problem. It would have helped with construction. The bill died in committee. It is perfectly clear, I think—and it must underlie any discussion of domestic programs—that, until this war is settled, we cannot wage full-score war on disease and poverty and illness which confront us at home.

If we look at the dimensions of our health gap, I think that we find some rather startling statistics. Infant mortality which is considered one of the best indications of a nation's health is a very important index. Where does the United States stand. Not first. Not second. Back in 1950, we ranked fifth. Now we don't even rank fifth. We rank 16th. This is below England, Sweden and Germany and others. Another major factor in a nation's health is longevity. We rank just about as far behind. Among men we stand 15th. Among women, 10th. In Sweden, for example, the overall mortality rate is lower than ours at every age level up to 74. Then it becomes greater. In other words, a higher percentage of Swedes are living out their full lives.

Some of the specifics of this health gap are even worse. Of our children, an estimated 4 million under five years of age have no immunization against such deformative diseases as diphtheria, smallpox, measles, polio, whooping cough and tetanus. Health care hasn't reached them. By the time he is fifteen, the average American child has at least 10 decayed teeth. Health care hasn't reached him. Of course, these are statistics for all Americans. Within the population as a whole, the health gap is a lot worse for those who need medical care the most; those who are poor and those who are discriminated against. A National Health Survey has shown that the rate of medical services goes down steadily as income of the family declines. Today, one-third of the children living in poverty in America suffer from preventable or treatable conditions which will eventually lead to blindness, deafness, chronic illness, or early death. Health care hasn't reached them. It hasn't reached them even when they live in the shadow of some of our great medical institutions.

The health gap is engendered by three major shortages; shortages in doctors, in hospitals and in the means to finance rapidly increasing costs of medical care.

One of the questions which we must ask as we consider the issues before us today, is whether it is a coincidence that those countries which have what is sometimes referred to as "socialized medicine" also have greater longevity and a lower rate of infant mortality. In the 1920's, major insurance carriers joined forces in a massive campaign against a comprehensive national health system. They told us and continue to tell us that our competitive mix of profit and non-profit health insurance carriers constitutes the most efficient, equitable and beneficial protection available. But the fact is that today the United States invests nearly seven per cent of its gross national product in medical services that leave major segments on our society untouched or only partially protected. England spends six per cent of a much smaller gross national product for full coverage for everyone. Scandinavian countries spend only five percent for full coverage plus transportation in rural areas, food supplements and a host of related services.

But we are told to look at comparative administrative expenses. In the United States Administrative expenses and insurance profits consume on the average at least seven percent of insurance deposits for Blue Cross and Blue Shield and up to 51 percent for non-group private policies. But the total expense of administering the British health services is less than five percent of total health expenditures and in Sweden it is only one percent.

But we are told that so-called socialized medicine is demoralizing to doctors and ruinous to the profession of medicine. The fact is that the health services of England, Sweden and other countries are endorsed by every professional medical association within the countries.

Actually, of course, only England has a system that comes close to the so-called theory of socialized medicine. Other western countries like Sweden have broad-based insurance schemes just like Social Security and Medicare. And despite the American Medical Association, there is, of course, nothing socialized and nothing new about national health insurance. Many of you will recall that it was a part of the Harry S. Truman platform and program way back in 1948, 20 years ago.

We Americans are faced with a health gap which has become a national disgrace. How we close this gap is very much a matter for debate. But closing the gap, is not a matter of debate. It is rather a challenge. It is a challenge to each of us. It is a challenge to our doctors and our hospital administrations. It is a challenge to our representative government.

The decisions to be made are not those of a professional elite; they are of Congress and of the President. They are citizens' decisions—your decisions. For our citizens have a human right to the best possible health care. The fact is that only with the best health care, can we also guarantee our citizens life and the pursuit of happiness. And we are dedicated as a nation to the pursuit of those goals.

Mr. Speaker, editorially talented citizens of the West Side and students at the Columbia School of Journalism generously gave of their time and skills to report proceedings at the conference. I am grateful to Carole L. Ashkinaze, Muriel Allen, William J. Fuller III, and Jan Strasma for their reports on the panel sessions.

The report on the morning panel on "Mental Health and the Community," was prepared by Carole I. Ashkinaze.

The panel was moderated by State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein, Mental Health Committee, New York State Senate. Panel members were Leonard J. Duhl, M.D., special assistant to the Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; Mrs. Alice Fordyce, cochairman, New York State Committee Against Mental Illness; Lonnie McDonald, M.D., director, community psychiatry, Harlem Hospital; Alan D. Miller, M.D., New York State commissioner of mental hygiene; Dr. Mark Tarail, administrator, department of psychiatry, Maimonides Hospital of Brooklyn, and Bertram Brown, M.D., National Institute of Mental Health.

I include the report at this point in the Record:

Report on Mental Health and the Community

(By Carole L. Ashkinaze)

Dr. Lonnie McDonald opened the discussion by introducing Dr. Bertram Brown, of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Dr. Brown called the West Side Community Conference "a disturbing and perplexing opportunity to change our lives and environment," and challenged those assembled to grasp the opportunity to do so.

Federal funds are increasingly being made available, he said, for research, training and service in community mental health centers, under auspices of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Some $66 million of Federal money is already being applied to these purposes by 157 community Mental Health Centers in 44 States, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia.

But to qualify for Federal aid, these centers had to give evidence of providing "inpatient services, outpatient services, and then something in between," Dr. Brown said.

"Each center must provide consultation and educational services to the community," he said.

He deplored the present lack of adequate facilities in New York, pointing out that most residents in need of care must go outside of the city, to Bellevue in Rockland County, and that this inconvenience acts as a deterrent to many in need of treatment.

What is most urgently needed in New York, he said, is a comprehensive mental health center on the West Side, preferably in Washington Heights.

Dr. Alan Miller, the New York State Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, spoke next.

"Community service is such a touchstone," he began, "that it can too easily substitute for hard thinking."

While admitting that "we couldn't and shouldn't claim to provide all services," he pointed out the necessity of "knowing the state of the state and its communities, and making this information available to the many groups for their own planning."

"The community is a place where people live in sickness and in health," he said, "but certain conditions can lead to the extrusion of the individual from the community." Thus, someone who undergoes mental treatment outside of the community has a difficult readjustment to make—as do his former neighbors—when he returns.

This gives mental health workers a twofold problem, he said. While attempting to develop new ways of thinking in their own ranks, they must also work to minimize the antagonism of residents against psychiatric care.

Improving the quality and availability of care would be making a step in both directions, he said.

Ideally, no patient should be required to leave New York City; in fact, any patient should be able to seek care within his own borough.

But complete, high quality services require high quality staffs, and "this cannot be done cheaply," he said. People must be well trained in the skills they will need to apply, and must be instilled with the initiative to work at developing new skills.

But first and foremost, the community *must* take an *active* interest in its own needs.

"If the community is aware of how people live, we will become aware of some of the necessary conditions for health," Dr. Miller said. "Man is by nature a social and political animal; and the community" by assuming this human function will be "learning to provide some of the necessary services."

Dr. Leonard J. Duhl of the U.S. Department of Housing an Urban Development (HUD) agreed with Dr. Miller's contention that the individual and the community must work more closely together, but also spoke of the need to deal with the "whole individual" in community health centers.

"The community center is no longer what it was," he said, "performing every function from birth until death, and with every service." Here, some centers have some resources and others have other facilities. "Some, like Manhattan, have many more in its suburban and rural areas.

"We need to establish a network, connecting areas that have not with areas that have; incorporating schools; colleges, private institutions and public agencies into Department programs."

He said we must break the restraints of "old political boundaries of old systems."

"Professional boundaries," he said, "like fiefdoms and dukedoms and baronies, fight for their territories. . . ." It's time that the fighting stopped and there were some collaboration in community efforts, he added.

Even in the Federal government, he pointed out with a laugh, "everybody gets in everybody else's business. That's necessary. And mental health is *everybody's* business."

What is needed today, he said, is a link between the knowledge, services and facilities that are available. Cities must develop the skills to put their pieces together, to organize in ways that are not wasteful, so that an individual can be treated as a whole individual, and not in parts.

Mental health care can no longer remain practically separated from other services, Dr. Duhl maintained. As it is, he went on, health care in the cities is so diverse that its administrators don't even know how much funds are coming in.

This is a principal concern of HUD, which has pledged itself, in its new Model Cities Program, to increasing the ability of cities to collate data and information in their centers; to provide better transportation to the health centers too, as has already been done in Watts.

It's time, he said, that the people in a community began to pull their pieces together.

"Citizens can't practice neurosurgery, but they *can* and *should* begin to demand *how* these services will be given.

"The very act of participating in mental health programs is a beginning . . . and a critical thing," he said.

"All the Federal government can tackle is five per cent of the problem. The state can solve another five per cent of the problem. But any real action must come from competence and concern in the community itself."

In closing, however, he warned against idle complaints. What he urged dissatisfied residents to do was to present alternative models to replace presently unsatisfactory programs, such as new devices for management.

Dr. Mark Tarail, an administrator at the Department of Psychiatry at Maimonides Hospital in Brooklyn, stepped forward next to tell of his own experiences at working to effect a change in his community.

"Community mental health programs," he found, "can represent real revolutions in practices in the United States."

When he got to Brooklyn, he found traditional facilities that could not be used because they were not accessible in many areas of the community.

Things that discouraged people from taking advantage of the services that existed included: facilities that functioned only from nine to five and never in the evening; (many of those who needed help could not afford to lose a day's pay); and overcrowding in centers that were readily available.

When somebody has to put his name on the bottom of a long waiting list, Dr. Tarail pointed out, he gets discouraged. In Brooklyn, an individual really had to be motivated to get treatment, and "motivation" meant: "knocking on the right door at the right time, being middle class and willing to pay the fee, and not being too sick."

The laughter drawn by this last remark was quickly subdued, however, as Dr. Tarail pointed out that "in the main, treatment represented incarceration . . . the demeaning practice of locking a person away."

Although the services were set up to help people, "the mental health set-up tends to reinforce illness rather than help to treat it," he said.

Traditionally, mental health care in the United States has been separated into: treatment in private institutions, and prevention by public services. "But that separation is not really possible, for both suffer," Dr. Tarail said.

In Brooklyn, he also encountered tremendous resistance from families, not because of ignorance . . . but because of fear.

"It's a myth that a crazy person doesn't know it," he said. "A person in pain knows he's sick. But he resists treatment because he's afraid of the treatment he'll get. And who can blame him?"

Dr. Tarail deplored the traditional separation of social and biological factors of illness from psychological factors. "The human being is not primarily a physical or biological person," he said. "And the fragmentation of services available has had little impact on the incidence of mental illness; so there must be something wrong in what we're doing.

"When we talk about mental health, we're talking about people," he said. "If a person needs help, he should get it, because it's our job."

Dr. Tarail took steps to close the gap between the need for and availability of mental health care in Brooklyn.

"Instead of dehumanizing facilities, we set up open facilities in the middle of the community without bars on the windows," he said. "People work with people, and there are no uniforms or numbers for patients. . . .

"All of the services are together in one facility. . . .

"We serve the needs of lower income families by staying open evenings and weekends. They need better, fast and short-term therapy; there's no time to spare."

But a great deal remains to be done, Dr. Tarail said.

"We must integrate concrete service with psychiatric service," he insisted; we must provide it "*where* welfare is," for instance.

A big step to bringing such changes about, he said, can be through self-help.

"Sixth-grade children help slow first or second-graders in school," he said, "and the result is that *both* become better readers!"

Self-help in mental health is a practical solution, he said, because "psychological problems are really an internalization of social problems. Teenagers for instance are primarily troubled by social problems these days. What do they worry about? Race, war and marriage."

Starting squarely at the crowd assembled in the large lecture hall, he said, "What is needed is maximum participation by *you*."

Mrs. Alice Fordyce, co-chairman of the N.Y. State Committee Against Mental Illness, spoke next about the role of volunteer workers in community projects.

"The importance of volunteer workers has been neglected," she said, throughout the city and state. Students to grandmothers, "me and you," everybody can be of help.

"There's something each of us could do to help, but we need to be recruited and trained just like any other army.

"We must therefore have volunteer service programs at every level" of the state and city. "Only two out of 10 schools for retarded children now have them," she said.

What can volunteer workers be expected to do? They can: assist the professionals, by performing routine tests only professionals do now; they can help with music and art therapy; they can help the patient to gain new job skills as he recovers; and they can provide people-to-people contact, "bringing a fresh look to the patient and a fresh approach to the administration.

"They can help inside and out," Mrs. Fordyce stated.

Shelters, workshops and schools all over need bi-lingual teachers, typists and baby-sitters, she said. Anybody with any small skills can be of help.

But she also pointed out that volunteer participation increases the responsibility of the professionals to train and supervise them, and give them "meaningful work to do."

"The rewards for volunteers are not necessarily the undying gratitude of their patients, so there must be other, more meaningful rewards," she said.

And she urged everyone interested in improving the quality and availability of present programs to help recruit volunteers for the programs in the community.

When Mrs. Fordyce had concluded, the floor was open to questions from the audience. Those attending displayed an enthusiastic interest in all that had been said, and asked pointed questions.

One man complained that the funds to effect changes are in the hands of politicians who are not concerned with community health services.

"Who put that money and power in the hands of those politicians?" countered Dr. Miller. "You must help us to change that.

"It's the people who will change institutions, not the sociologists and social workers," he said.

"All we can do is act as consultants to you . . . and have a little humility, a lot of compassion, and some social commitment."

Dr. McDonald summed up the gist of the conference in one powerful sentence:

"The most important part of good mental health is in getting people interested in their own destiny."

I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks of Dr. Leonard J. Duhl:

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE URBAN AREA[1]

(By Leonard J. Duhl, M.D.[2])

When we talk of the vast increase in mental health expenditures over the past few years, of new programs, we usually think in terms of expanded clinic and hospital facilities, of additional trained personnel—psychiatrists and psychologists. However, these mental health services' facilities and personnel are but the top of an iceberg when one considers the range and scope of the problem of dealing with people who have emotional difficulties.

Three kinds of activities have been emphasized by mental health professionals during the last 20 years:

Improvement of care and treatment services for the hospitalized mentally ill, and for those people under severe personal psychological stress; .

Concern for those groups whose common characteristics and life circumstances expose them to chronic psychological stress—the aged, the alcoholic, the migrant, the ghetto population, the delinquent youth;

Promotion of mental health—not merely in the negative sense of preventing illness, but in the positive sense of an *active effort to explore the full human potential.*

When one looks carefully at today's urban areas, it quickly becomes obvious that only a small percentage of that portion of the population in need of help can somehow wend their way through the roadblocks and detours (of being "referred") to reach the mental health service system. For the others, a neighbor, a policeman, a welfare worker or any of a whole host of caretakers—official and unofficial—may become the helper or the lay psychiatrist, the adviser or the guide. Though these types of caretakers would appear to abound (many of whom are in a position and with the inclination to intervene when people are in trouble), many with-good-intentions are less than ill fitted to the task. For many of these "interveners" or caretakers sadly either perpetuate the illness, cause further illness, or do not act and react in a way which may afford maximum benefit to the needy.

Today's concern is a growing one for the "whole individual." We have frequently heard it said that we can no longer treat one person's multiple problems as if he were ten individuals—sending him off in ten different directions to search for categorical help. The time is ripe for giving up our categorical concern with mental health as a separate and distinct discipline. The time is ripe for beginning a collaborative endeavor whereby programs are evolved which achieve the maximum in mental health objectives, even though such programs might not be administered and operated by mental health professionals, nor labelled specifically as "mental health."

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[1] To be presented at the 7th Annual West Side Community Conference, Columbia University, New York City, April 1, 1967.

[2] Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Within the urban area it is vital that any comprehensive mental health program consist of both that part of the program which may be so labelled (as mental health services) and that part which may be inherent in 100 different programs, all of whose concerns are for those people in difficulty. These may be welfare or employment services, schools or training programs, even surplus commodity distribution centers. For I am firmly convinced that no mental health program which limits itself to official structure can possibly cope with a society and an environment which constantly and consistently counteracts it with more pressure than any mental health program has been able to generate.

The culture within which people live and grow or die in our urban areas is fully "educating"—more important than the schools, more important even than the family—in creating the kind of people who live in that city, and in creating and treating the pathology that they develop. It is thus important to examine all of society's institutions whether they be housing or urban renewal, health or welfare, transportation or land use and zoning policies, education or politics. The question must be asked of each—do they each aid and abet in achieving our mental health objectives? Do they promote mental health and aid in exploring the full human potential?

For example, the problems of decent housing are far beyond the mere provision of shelter. Proof positive is the history of Public Housing in many of our major urban areas. For the very rules and regulations, the way in which people have been treated within these projects (and within the slums as well), "teach" people how to behave, create their illnesses, and indeed, leave them waiting for meaningful help until perhaps too late.

Thus, the very planning of mental health services now demands knowledge of the structure of cities, of the unique characteristics and needs of the many sub-groups within. Planning for mental health services requires an understanding and an accord for the interdependent mission of health and education and welfare and police services and so on. It calls for an intimate knowledge of the processes by which internal social and economic environments, as well as the physical environment of cities change. Such planning basically needs accurate, detailed, timely and correlative data for identifying the areas and degrees of change, and of their impact upon the populations.

The psychiatrist as a collaborator in a program which is not termed "mental health program" has been tested in several unique situations. For example, the totality of the Peace Corps organization was concerned with the well-being, the education and the care of the volunteer. In this case, which has been informally documented as to procedures, the results were dramatic—in terms of performance and in low percentage of psychiatric breakdown under situations of high stress. Why should this approach be limited to a group as unique as the Peace Corps? Why couldn't such collaboration be equally as successfully implemented in work with the poor of the city, and even for the middle class population's pathologies? People do not like to be dealt with in parts. They do not respond positively to being cut up and divided by the professionals—each of whom confines his concerns to one defined part, totally disconnected from the rest. Our concern with "human services" must be total and whole—and so must be our programs.

The Model Cities Act is the first major Federal attempt at promoting and encouraging urban areas to pull together all of these separate pieces into a cognative whole——to achieve common, collaborative objectives. This in no way destroys the categorical agency; it simply weaves one agency, one service with another—woof with warp to constitute, hopefully, a common whole. Model Cities will be but the beginning, we hope, of a major attempt to connect, to link and to integrate our health and education and mental health programs into just such a unified package.

Obviously the Federal agencies' fiefdoms, dukedoms and baronies—each unwilling to relinquish territorial jurisdictions—further complicate the problem of pulling these separate packages together. One is prompted to question whether such collaboration—true coordination of efforts and programs and monies—will ever take place on this level. So this immediate responsibility is that of the local communities—their ability to plan, to use that political power and organization which will tie the parts together.

Each local community's plans and projections will justfiably be unique—for each faces different problems, with differing priorities. For one community, community participation may be more important as the first step than the creation of a mental health clinic; for another emergency services may be viewed as more important than continued therapy; provision of regulated procedures for the police department or welfare rules revisions may, in reality, be more important thany any treatment device we have ever created. The decrease of fear of the unknown, of employment, and the possibility of jobs may be more critical to mental health than any number and range of psychiatric services.

The challenge is really yours—residents of each local community. The challenge is to develop a community in which people are accorded dignity and have the ability to grow and mature to the optimum of their capabilities. The challenge is to create a community in which care and service are available in the manner which makes them most accessible, attractive and useful. This is also a challenge to the very profession which is psychiatry; and inherently, it is a challenge to every profession, to the city as a whole, to the state and to the Federal government.

If our goal is to create and plan for the type of community in which we want to live, than "wholeness" in the individual, in the community services and in the very conception of and emanation of programs and monies is crucial.

I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks of Mrs. Alice Fordyce:

STATEMENT BY MRS. ALICE FORDYCE, COCHAIRMAN, NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE AGAINST MENTAL ILLNESS, BEFORE THE SEVENTH ANNUAL WEST SIDE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1967

Mental illness is New York State's and City's number one health problem, and I want to talk to you this morning about what you and I can do about it.

New York State will spend this year over half a billion dollars, and will employ over 50,000 people to take care of over 102,000 patients in our State mental hospitals and schools for the retarded.

New York City will spend over $57,000,000, and employ over 3,000 people to take care of over 50,000 patients in its municipal and voluntary hospitals for the mentally ill.

The *economic* loss to our State and City can be calculated in additional billions, and no one can estimate the loss in human suffering and wasted lives.

Now, the biggest, oldest and most crucial problem in the care of the mentally ill is the desperate shortage of trained professional people to take care of the patients. Here, I believe, we are neglecting a vital resource that could help us relieve the enormous manpower shortages in this field. This resource is the help of the volunteer worker.

Volunteers come in sizes and abilities unlimited. They can range from students to grandmothers, and properly supervised and directed, they can help to bridge, for the mentally ill patient, the long way back from the isolation of an institution to the realities of every day home life.

These volunteers are me and you, and there is something that every one of us can do to help. But we need to be recruited, trained and supervised, just like any other Army.

To solicit the help of the volunteer worker, the facts about mental illness must be known; the contribution the drugs have made in making the mentally ill more amendable to therapy and help must be demonstrated; and the fact that volunteers are now needed and wanted in this field, must be broadcast with urgent appeal.

There are many things that volunteers can do, but once recruited, they must be trained—and to do this there must be volunteer service programs in every hospital school and community clinic.

Okay—what can volunteers do? They can assist the professionals. They can relieve them of routine tasks so that the professionals have time for the jobs that only a professional can do. Volunteers can help with music, arts and physical therapy programs. Volunteers can help recovering patients acquire new job skills that will help them find and keep their jobs in the world "outside." Volunteers can establish a "people to people" contact that may mean more to the patient than all the professional help the hospital can provide. Volunteers can bring a fresh outlook to the patient and a fresh approach to the administrator.

Volunteers can work outside as well as inside a mental hospital, and just as the patients must no longer be imprisoned within the hospital walls, so must the work of the volunteer extend itself into the community. There's a job to be done in halfway houses, in sheltered work shops, and schools and "walk-in" clinics. There is a need for bilingual teachers—anyone with some small social skills and flexibility—someone that can type or maybe just "babysit" so that a harassed mother can get to the clinic.

We hear a great deal of talk about returning the care of the mentally ill to the community—but the community is me and you—and what use will it be to return the patient to the community, if we aren't there to receive him?

Volunteers must be trained and supervised and given meaningful work to do. Hospital administrators must learn that volunteers can be useful; hospital staff must learn that volunteers won't replace them or threaten their jobs, and volunteers must learn that their rewards are not necessarily the undying gratitude of the patient!

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks of Dr. Alan D. Miller, commissioner of mental hygiene, State of New York:

REMARKS MADE AT THE SEVENTH ANNUAL WESTSIDE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE, APRIL 1, 1967, BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK, BY ALAN MILLER, M.D.

Last year in reorganizing the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene the Division of Community Services disappeared. It was eliminated not because we thought less about communities but rather more and found that we could not longer think of any aspect of our work which did not have its focus and its primary reference point in communities.

Actually we re-named the Community Services Division the Local Services Division and it has expanded in its responsibilities and its staff; and now we can consider our entire department to be one which is concerned with services to all people where they live.

"Community" has become such a touchstone that the very uttering of this magic word can substitute for hard thinking and can too easily satisfy our urges to be up-to-date and responsible. We are using the word to mean several inter-related kinds of things. I would like to tell you this morning a little bit about each of them. Community equals defined populations. We say that the responsibility of the Department of Mental Hygiene is to consider how best to meet the full needs for mental health services for each individual who lives in New York State and to see to it that these needs are met. For a number of reasons we find it necessary to consider not only the population all-in-all but in its parts and those parts are communities. We do not claim, nor could we, nor should we, that we must be the providers of all services. In that task our partners in local governments, the counties and New York City, the many groups of citizens voluntarily assembled, people in their individual capacities not only join us but, in fact, are the basic resource. Neither in such an assignment to ourselves can we cease our efforts and our intentions at the borders of service itself. We must be equally concerned with research, training, and of course, with those services which are preventive in intent and consequence. However, defining our responsibility in this way does press upon us certain special requirements. We must continually review our ability to know the state of the state and its communities in respect to the range of mental health problems and resources and we must be able to make this information available to the many groups who would have occasion to use it in their own planning and we have, for example, developed, and are continuing to develop, perhaps the nation's best system for clinical data collection and processing.

We are not, I might add, nearly as fluent in our capacity to assemble and distribute some of the richer programs and social data which must also inform us in the efforts and those of our colleagues. Perhaps one of the most difficult consequences of this kind of definition of our task is that we must find ways for bringing together into one system of services a number of activities which formerly pursued separate courses. I am thinking, for example, of a genuine integration of community health and welfare services with out-patient mental health and mental retardation services, with general hospital services, with public schools, with transitional services, with state-operated psychiatric hospitals and mental retardation institutional services. We have a double problem of learning new ways of thinking within our department as well as improving our ability to collaborate on behalf of the patients who are our common concern with local and voluntary programs. Finally I should say on this score that we are deliberately exposing ourselves and, in fact, bidding for constant scrutiny and criticism wherever and whenever we fail to achieve the optimum level of service which we seek. Even while acknowledging local governmental responsibilities for mental health, with respect to ultimate governmental responsibilities for mental health in New York the buck stops with us; and we welcome that.

One of the earliest uses of the word "community" with reference to mental health programs had to do with what we can call the "Return of the Patient."

Its theme is something as follows: the Community means the place where people live. They live there in sickness and in health. However certain human conditions, including prominently among them forms of mental retardation and mental illness, have in the past led to the extrusion of the afflicted individual from his community. This was good neither for the individual affected, nor for the community.

It was also a self-perpetuating condition. Patients removed were permitted to return only when they had changed, recovered, but many times their condition was one which could not improve except in the community. The community did not have an opportunity to learn this because the affected persons were removed from its sight. The separation took many forms. Distance was one. Patients were gathered in remote and inaccessible places. But one could be, and often was, insulated without such removal. Distance itself may be found the easiest factor to overcome. The most effective separation was an interruption in communications: between patients and their families, between workers and their colleagues, between a man and his neighbors. The breakdown took place between those trying to care for patients, between those who were working within the community, and those who had joined the extruded patients in their isolation.

One of the greatest accomplishments of the past two decades has been the removal of this separation. This process has had three major parts. One consisted of the rediscovery of continuity between the exiled patients and the rest of us, who are also heir to problems of disturbed mental and emotional functioning. This led to the recognition, again, that the communities had responsibilities to provide services to many, perhaps most, of the mentally ill and retarded whose condition did not require their removal. In New York State, for example, the Community Mental Health Service Act of 1954 encouraged and assisted communities to do just that. A corollary, but early too often seen as a competitive development, was the improvement in the quality of care given, to the removed—and a renewed effort to repatriate them. Finally, and only recently, the two systems of care have begun to be one again.

With respect to the services operated by the Department of Mental Hygiene we have very specific plans already in motion to accelerate this process. It is our intention that within the next five years and perhaps as soon as two years no patient in New York City, no patient in this district, will be required to leave New York City for virtually any aspect of care which he may need for a mental disorder unless it was positively indicated and desired. More specifically, any patient whose condition is best treated in a psychiatric hospital or in a school for the retarded operated by the Department of Mental Hygiene will be able to receive such services within the city. If he is a resident of Manhattan he will be able to receive these services within the Borough. The advantages of such an arrangement are many and I have referred to some already, but it is clear that it will begin to be possible to develop patterns of services which are truly responsive to the needs of each patient without the interposition of mechanical and administrative obstacles. It is clearly not enough simply to locate new state facilities within the geographic limits of a population to be served. The very planning of these facilities must be undertaken in concert with those responsible for local services and from the very beginning the programs must be integrated and of high quality. We don't always achieve this level of coordination but we are coming very close and we are disatisfied when we fail to do so. We are now incidentally appointing the director of our new state facilities, not when they open, but when they are first planned so that he can, from the very beginning, achieve this kind of close working relationship. Further we must together continue to insist that services of high quality require a staff commensurate with the task even more than the physical setting and that this cannot be done cheaply.

Even in describing this use of the concept of "community" I have used prepositions which indicate that such a community is not a passive population on which we perform our duties but rather organic entity with a structure and capacity to plan—to initiate—to work—to assess itself. In New York the basic participating community is local government and such instruments which local government may create. As an example of the latter and perhaps one of the most significant new developments the New York City Mental Health Board under the leadership of Dr. Marvin Perkins and under the direction of Dr. Elena Padilla has defined community for the purposes of planning mental health centers and mental retardation facilities. In the 20th district, for example, there are four and perhaps part of a fifth which is to be served by a comprehensive mental health center and each center in turn related to facilities operated by the state. I would like to stress that these communities are not simply passive populations captured in grid lines but are expected to function as organisms and if this to be so, a great deal of difficult but fascinating work remains to be done to help to create functioning communities. In doing so, I might add, the very participation of as many people as possible surely will be salutary and may, in fact, contribute to mental health. A further, and history-shaping consequence of all this is that in relation to such communities and system of responsibilities, we will at last have an adequate and only proper base for training professional people for work in mental health.

And that brings me, for this morning, to my final use of the concept "community."

If the community is where, and how people live, it is a principal source of their requirements for living. As we observe ourselves in health and sickness, in strengths and weaknesses, in our endless varieties and in our common human attribute, we have begun to identify their apparent necessary conditions. Health and resistance to illnesses, is promoted by proper food, reduction in physical hazards, adequate rest.

Man has physical needs. The community is the depot, if not the source of his physical supplies. Surely he is, also, as Aristotle says "by his nature a social and political animal" and the community must be a source of his "social supplies" as well.

I think it is in this sense—learning to identify, and helping to provide the necessary *supplies*—that we can begin to mean something when we speak of contributing positively to mental health in the community.

In the spirit of one offering a few examples rather than any special insights and in the hope that I can engage you further in this area I suggest that the community must provide for everyone—on behalf of his healthy mental functioning:

—an opportunity to participate in its decisionmaking and action.

—an opportunity to learn from experiences, to learn from error

—an opportunity to develop, and exercise by skills, senses, and comprehenses.

—a freedom from prejudgment

—a true affectionate respect for individual differences

—an expectation that we need not face trouble alone.

The simple aphorisms, if valid, obviously have a bearing on housing, neighborhoods, schools. On what do they not?

We with professional and governmental responsibilities for mental health or incomplete and often peripheral in our contribution to such "supplies."

But, I insist that it is our charge to speak out on these matters. As forcefully and often as possible.

It would be unbecoming for us to claim exemption from conviction, impotence and old-fashioned anger.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks prepared by Dr. Stanley F. Yolles, Director, National Institute of Mental Health, which he had planned to deliver at the conference. Because of an unexpected development, Dr. Yolles was not able to be present. However, he was ably represented by Dr. Bertram Baker.

The statement follows:

"MENTAL HEALTH AND THE COMMUNITY"—PANEL DISCUSSION

(A statement by Stanley F. Yolles, M.D., Director, National Institute of Mental Health)

In selecting "The Challenge of Health Care in the Cities" as the subject for the 7th annual West Side Community Conference, you have opened the door here for a discussion of one of our most exciting and perplexing opportunities to improve our personal lives and our environment.

The *scene* of change in modern America is the city and the *rate* of change is spectacular. I really do not need to point this out to you who live on New York's upper West Side. Changes occurring in this part of the city have set up chain reactions that affect your lives all day and every day.

I have been asked this morning to make a brief statement about community mental health services as they are being developed in the new and rapidly developing national mental health program.

The National Institute of Mental Health is the Federal agency assigned the responsibility by Congress to administer Federal support in three major areas: mental health research, the training of mental health manpower and the provision of community mental health services. I shall concentrate on the provision of services this morning, since the purpose of research and of training qualified health personnel is to bring the highest quality of services to the people—by improving mental health and preventing, controlling and treating mental illness. The question is, "How can we do this?"

The basic premise of the national mental health program is that mental health is public health and can be improved through the use of public health methods. As the result of the passage in 1963 of the Community Mental Health Centers Act, Federal funds are available to help States and cities to build these centers and to staff them in their first months of operation.

As of March 7, 157 community mental health centers have received grants to aid in construction and/or staffing in the amount of $66,029,301. They are located in 44 States, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia to serve an estimated 27 million Americans. Four of them are located in New York City and plans for others are currently underway.

If you think about these centers merely as buildings or as places, however, you miss the main point. Most of the people concerned in treating mental illnesses and emotional disturbance are today agreed that individuals in psychological trouble can best be treated in their own home communities and helped to control their illness and problems so that they can continue to live and work productively. Community mental health centers are designed to achieve these goals. They should, therefore, be considered as more than *places;* they provide a program of *services* tailored to meet the individual needs of each person who comes to the center for help.

To qualify for Federal aid, a center must be organized to provide inpatient service, outpatient service, partial hospitalization, emergency services, and consultation and education services that are available to all other social, health and welfare agencies and facilities in the center's service area. These requirements were not established arbitrarily as regulations to be met for their own sake. In the years since World War II, experience had demonstrated that these are the minimum essential services necessary to provide a continuity of care for people in need of help.

And here, I should like to make one point as emphatically as I can. Every community mental health center is—and must be—organized and operated not as an isolated health facility but as a center involved in and related to all the health and welfare services of the community in which it is located. This is the nucleus of the challenge we are talking about this morning. Health services in the United States have developed piecemeal—usually to try to meet a crisis after the crisis has occurred. Our current opportunity and responsibility is to bring the existing fragments together and plan new service programs that will safeguard our health and prevent crises by changing the conditions which cause them.

For years, leaders in the health field have been searching for ways to design such programs of health services but until very recently, help for the mentally ill was not included in such plans. The public has now indicated that it expects and demands to have health care available in every community, including mental health care; people want the facilities and the means through which they can pay for the services. In answer to this public demand, a series of dramatic legislative programs have been established, of which the Community Mental Health Centers Act is only one. The next step in our progress is to dovetail the provisions of each of these health-related statutes into a comprehensive health program.

Let's take this section of New York City as an example.

You who live in this district do not today have adequate mental health services available to you within the geographic area in which you live.

Presbyterian Hospital operates two licensed psychiatric clinics; under a Federal hospital improvement program grant, the New York State Psychiatric Institute provides some community service, but its treatment program is primarily conducted as part of its teaching and research function. The Washington Heights Narcotics Rehabilitation Center provides aid in the special problem area of drug addiction. The Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders works to meet another segment of the mental health problem. But most residents in need of psychiatric care must cross the Island to overcrowded Bellevue Hospital, or go outside the city limits to Rockland State Hospital. Private psychiatric facilities and psychiatrists in private practice are unable to meet the needs of most of the residents of the area. This district, therefore, is faced with a costly and complex problem. It will take a combination of Federal, State, city and private resources to make the necessary men, money and materials available even to alleviate the problem, much less to solve it.

As you know, the proposed Washington Heights Mental Health Center is now in the planning stage. It is being designed to provide the complete range of modern mental health services, but agreement has not as yet been reached on how this can best be achieved.

In planning such a center, Columbia University, like other universities, feels an obligation to develop its research and teaching programs, as well as to provide services to the communities. Modalities to provide an operating plan for such a university-based comprehensive center are emerging. I do not have the time this morning to go into detail about this, but I might refer to the new Temple University Community Mental Health Center in Philadelphia.

It is an example of how a university department of psychiatry can develop a community mental health center which will expand services to a surrounding service area and provide high quality care to a population that has a high incidence of social problems and socioeconomic deprivation. The program at Temple is illustrative of how the Centers Act has encouraged the development of a center which will marshal personnel resources, research capacities and the service capabilities of a medical center to provide high quality mental health care effectively.

Mental health professionals now believe that our concerns must be with the sum total of all disturbance, resulting from environmental stresses among others, and with the means to provide successful intervention to alleviate that stress. What each of the speakers here today searches for is an effective, practical, workable organizational entity to deal with the problems of the whole man.

When developing a mental health program in an urban community, therefore, some of the questions to be answered are: How do you really provide mental health services for everyone within such a diversity of people? How do you relate those services to the other health and welfare services?

Take, for instance, the newly planned Neighborhood Health Centers. Within the Federal government alone, people in the Office of Economic Opportunity, through the poverty program; in the Department of Housing and Urban Development; in the Welfare Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are all concerned, as is the National Institute of Mental Health, in finding the means to provide correlated services through these centers.

The "landmark health legislation" of the past few years is so new that we are just beginning to utilize it. I am sure that this conference, by bringing the people who live in the 20th District together to discuss their health care, will add to the ability of each of us to find the way to provide these services and deliver them, in effect, at every resident's front door.

The report on the morning panel on "Urban Hazards: Pollution and Noise," was prepared by Muriel Allen.

The panel was moderated by Peter Kihss of the New York Times. The panel members were Dr. Leo L. Beranek, lecturer, MIT, president, Bolt, Beranek & Newman, Inc.; Lawrence E. Hinkle, Jr., M.D., director, division of human ecology, Cornell University Medical College; Ron M. Linton, Task Force on Environmental Health and Related Problems, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; William H. Megonnell, Chief, Abatement Program, National Center for Air Pollution, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

REPORT ON "URBAN HAZARDS: POLLUTION AND NOISE"

(By Muriel Allen)

"It's the people, not the environment, that are most important. We have to create an environment that fits the needs of the people."

With these words Ron M. Linton, chairman of the Task Force on Environmental Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, summed up his explanation of the role of the Federal government in reducing pollution in urban areas. Mr. Linton and other members of the panel on "Urban Hazards: Pollution and Noise" agreed that the major danger of a polluted environment lies in the subtle long term effects on human health.

All the panelists stressed the importance of increased research, stronger regulations, regional abatement programs, cooperation between city, state and Federal governments, and public education campaigns.

Mr. Linton outlined the responsibilities of the Federal Government in dealing with the problem of air pollution as: (1) more monitoring of pollutants to identify their exact nature; (2) expanded research to determine the effect of pollutants on humans; and (3) support of abatement measures.

"We know that the 'junk volume' of the air you breathe doesn't enhance your health. But we must know what levels of exposure to air pollutants harm man and how they harm him before we can set meaningful tolerance standards," Mr. Linton said.

The government spokesman pointed out that scientists at the Rockefeller Institute say there is no institution in the United States today capable of assessing the impact of pollution and crowded living conditions, even on animals. Mr. Linton said this research gap must be closed.

"It's not enough to set levels of sulfur dioxide and density for today. We must set them for five to 10 years from now," he added.

Mr. Linton decried the "jurisdictional strait jacket" which allows, for example, New Jersey to pollute the air of whole regions.

"No city can now afford to wait for Federal assistance or its neighbor's actions. And the fiscal problems of cities shouldn't stop us. What comes first, clean air or repaved streets?" he asked.

The urban expert urged that government at all levels deal with the totality of environmental problems rather than use a piecemeal approach. He said the Task Force Report, to be released in June, assesses the progress to date of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in combating urban hazards and recommends new national priorities and goals.

William H. Megonnell, head of the Abatement Program of the National Center for Air Pollution, said that clean air is possible and practical. He cited resolute regulation and enforcement as the principal missing ingredients in air pollution control.

"A few perplexing technological problems remain but the economic, social and political roadblocks are worse," he said.

Mr. Megonnell accused industrial polluters of asking for a perfect control system through their powerful lobbies because they do not want to spend money to purchase, install and operate controls. He said that only recently has industry started to consider social values as well as economic profits.

"Industry talks about economies but the big question that remains is what is economical to society as a whole. I think the American people are too intelligent to think that a country which produced a space technology can't cope with the air pollution problem," he said.

"We're asked to wait for positive proof that air pollution is harmful to health but we are living with a false sense of complacency. We've already waited much too long for ultimate answers. The tragic fact is that pollution can cause sickness and death," Mr. Megonnell declared.

The HEW official defended the Clean Air Act of 1965 against charges that it is a Federal takeover of air pollution control. He said the cities and states have the primary responsibility of solving their pollution problems.

Mr. Megonnell explained that the act encourages cooperation among local and regional governments and calls for similar standards and enforcement policies for neighboring jurisdictions.

"We want to avoid putting any business or industry at an economic disadvantage because of unequal controls," the speaker said.

So far six states have been involved in interstate air pollution abatement conferences, according to Mr. Megonnell. The largest of these was the New York-New Jersey air pollution abatement conference in January.

"It remains to be seen if the recommendations of the Clean Air Act will be followed by the states and cities. Otherwise, the Federal Government will have to take action," Mr. Megonnell said.

The air pollution specialist agrees with President Johnson that the air pollution abatement program has moved too slowly in the past. He said the bill now pending in Congress would allow Secretary Gardner to establish regional commissions and set air qualities in laggard areas.

Only one inter-state compact has been submitted to Congress since the Clean Air Act was adopted, according to Mr. Megonnell, and that has not been acted on because Congress thinks it is defective.

"I shall never be convinced that we have to contend with filth in our atmosphere. It will destroy my faith in the spirit of this country if we accept dirty air as a fact of life," Mr. Megonnell said.

In conclusion the official said he was optimistic because of the response of Congress to the public outcry about pollution and the promise that advanced technology holds for cleaning the air.

Dr. Lawrence E. Hinkle Jr., Director of the Division of Human Ecology at Cornell University Medical College, told the audience. that currently there are no good laboratories to detect substances in the environment which may cause ill health.

"Our labs are not equipped to test the long term and chronic effects of the many relatively new chemical and physical agents in our environment. Since it is not yet known how much long term exposure to pollution will be harmful, it is almost impossible to set meaningful tolerance levels," he explained.

The doctor pointed out that pollution is no new problem for the human race. He suggested that it may even be less of a problem today because man has eliminated many bacteria which were the source of spoiled and dirty food.

"Now, however, we're faced with new kinds of pollution such as lead, food additives and detergents, acting in small amounts. And we don't know what they are doing to us, what they will do to our offspring," Dr. Hinkle said.

"We are constantly exposing the population to pollution over long periods of time and the biological effects will probably only show up after generations when the results will be irreversible," he warned.

The doctor, who heads a team investigating the effects of environmental factors on heart disease, said that man's biological defense mechanisms cannot evolve enough in a few decades to cope with the mass of new pollutants in his environment.

"Because of modern technology the world is increasingly different from the world in which man evolved. We can guess at the future effects of new pollutants on man from our knowledge of the results of past biological adaptation in humans. Adaptation often leaves us with harmful side effects," Dr. Hinkle said.

To document his point, the doctor noted that people living in smoky areas eventually develop colds, bronchitis, coughs, airtrack congestion and finally severe lung damage.

"Chemical substances can change the future character of human genes. They may lead to mutations and affect the survival, vigor or fertility of man. Pollution could alter the character of the population," Dr. Hinkle said.

Dr. Hinkle suggested that the only rational course is for organized society not to discharge any substances which are either foreign to man's biological enviornment or which disturb his health. He called on scientists to support every effort to clean the air and water.

The president of a research and consulting firm specializing in the hazards of urban noise declared that the problem of noise is probably incurable in cities.

Leo L. Beranek called noise "the price we pay for industrial civilization." He said that noise is getting worse in urban areas because of increased transportation facilities, building construction and more children.

Mr. Beranek, who has written a manual on what to do about noise control, divided the problem into three aspects: technical, economic and political. He said laboratories must develop controls and cities should institute them regardless of the cost which is outweighed by the advantage of reduced noise levels.

The expert said noise has physiological and psychological effects on man although these are hard to measure. Noise may be the cause of nervous breakdowns and heart trouble in some particularly sensitive people, according to Mr. Beranek.

Other effects of excessive noise are impairment to hearing and interference with speech and sleep, he said.

Studies in noisy areas such as London and New York City have shown that people react differently to noise. Mr. Beranek said that in New York one study found one fourth of those interviewed were not disturbed by noise, while one tenth were disturbed by any noise they did not create themselves. The studies did not reveal any correlation with age, sex, income or education and sensitivity to noise.

Mr. Beranek reported that some physiologists believe man has a biological protective mechanism which tells him if noise is bad for him.

The noise specialist, a lecturer at M.I.T., said scientists now have data which can be used as guidelines in establishing tolerable noise levels and setting up controls in offices, homes and recreation areas.

"Noise can be controlled and not at excessive prices. You can hang floors, float ceilings, install silent bath fixtures and quiet air conditioning systems," Mr. Beranek said.

"Codes are the major problem," he continued. "Builders say they would follow the codes if they existed but controls will raise apartment house costs five to ten per cent."

Mr. Beranek noted that New York City is seriously considering a code which could serve as a model for other U.S. cities. He also recommended a common building code for the whole nation.

The noise consultant pointed out that Sweden, France and Switzerland recognized the need for national regulations and established noise levels.

"General Electric has said that for $300 a truck it could reduce the noise of its transcontinental trucks, but the trucking people are not willing to pay unless they are forced to." Here again Mr. Beranek thinks a nationwide code is the answer.

"Aircraft noise is a big problem. The one organization in the U.S. that has taken a stand is the New York Port Authority. They have set noise limits for jet takeoff," Mr. Beranek said.

The expert admitted that new airplane engines have not increased the noise level but he emphasized that they have not decreased it either. He said designers should "start from scratch to design non-noisy engines."

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the Record, the remarks of Dr. Lawrence E. Hinkle:

HEALTH ASPECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

(By Lawrence E. Hinkle, Jr., M.D., Cornell University Medical College)

I should like to start this presentation with a disclaimer. I wish to make it very clear that I know nothing special or technical about the problem of pollution—whether of air, water or food. There are many people in this country who know more about the details and the intricacies of this topic than I do. Some of them are sitting here, and there are a number of them at my own medical school. But, having said this, I want to enter another disclaimer. I wish to say that pollution is a topic that nobody knows much about, insofar as it affects health, at the levels at which it occurs in most of our food, air and water most of the time. Because this is the most important fact about pollution, I shall presume to speak about it, since the relation of men to their environment has been my interest for a number of years.

At the present time I believe that there is no really clear-cut evidence that pollutants, other than microbial agents, at the levels at which they occur ordinarily in the air or water in the United States, are responsible for any significant amount of disease in our population. It is true that the dank, smoke-laden air of parts of Great Britain and the Ruhr Valley may be responsible for the prevalence of chronic bronchitis in those areas. It is true that there is increasing evidence of damage to plants and wild-life in polluted areas of the United States—indeed, these are being devastated in many areas. It is true that certain acute events, like the smog in Donora or London, have produced a temporary increase in mortality and morbidity among the aged and the ill. Yet the hard evidence that pollution *in general* is creating much ill-health among our population *right now*, is, I believe, very scanty. Even the much publicized smog in New York City last Thanksgiving does not seem to have created many new cases of illness or disability at that time.

But this, it seems to me, is not the point. Let me say what I think the important points are: (1) We are constantly exposing our population to the inhalation and ingestion of new chemical and physical substances over long periods of time. (2) We have every reason to believe that sooner or later some of these substances, alone or in combinations, may have profoundly bad effects upon the health of our population. (3) It is quite possible that the biological effects of these substances may be produced by processes which go on slowly and silently, over decades or generations before their results become evident, and that by then they may be irreversible. (4) At the present time we have no good laboratory or experimental methods for detecting the pollutants in our environment that may be the most important causes of future ill health.

Let me tell you why I think this is true.

As I am sure all of you know, a constant interaction with the environment is a feature of living things. To stay alive requires a constant input of energy, oxygen and water, as well as of chemicals that we cannot manufacture in our bodies. To stay alive also requires that our bodies be guarded constantly against an intake of substances that might damage the many and intricate biochemical processes upon which the maintenance of life depends. The need for providing safeguards against damaging agents from the environment is no new problem for the living organism. It is a problem as old as life itself.

Long before there was any modern civilization, not only man, but all other animals and plants, had developed means for dealing with toxic materials and invaders from without, and they had constant need for these protective devices. A man breathes in about two gallons of air each minute. From time immemorial this air that men breathe has been laden with dust, pollen, viruses, bacteria and fungi. For at least 10,000 years, and probably for much longer, men and women have been living in smoke-filled huts, and bending over cooking fires, breathing in the smoke of burning wood and coal.

The smoke of coal fires became such a problem in medieval London that Parliament passed a law in 1273 regulating the building of such fires. However, men have biological defence mechanisms in their noses and throats which rather efficiently trap the harmful particles of dirt, smoke and bacteria that are inhaled, wash most of them away in mucous, and occasionally cough or sneeze them out. If any such substance should get past these outer defenses, men have immune mechanisms that attack them in the blood stream, and cells that engulf them and render them harmless.

So, likewise, with food and water: for men and all other animals these have always been full of too many minerals, not enough minerals, or the wrong kind of minerals; full of dirt, indigestible particles, toxic substances, parasites, bacteria and viruses. Coping with these has always been one of the major biological challenges to staying alive. We are all painfully familiar with the violent reactions that may occur at both ends of our gastro-intestinal tracts if we eat contaminated food. Most of us are less familiar with the complex biochemical protective reactions that occur when a potentially dangerous chemical gets into our blood stream. But these are just as effective as the grosser defense mechanisms of the GI tract, and they are as constantly on guard.

"Pollution", then, is no new problem for the human race. One might even argue that it is less of a problem now then it used to be. We no longer have to worry very much about bacteria in our water or food. Spoiled, dirty or contaminated food is much less common now than it once was. This is one reason why so many of us are living so much longer than many people did three generations ago. Why then all the modern concern about pollution? The concern arises because we are faced with new kinds of pollution, acting in small amounts over long periods of time, and we do not know what it may be doing to us, or possibly to our offspring several generations hence.

What is this new kind of pollution? In the air it consists of the complex chemicals, the minerals such as lead, and the minute particles of solid materials that get into the air we breathe from millions of automobile exhausts, jet engines, factory chimneys, home incinerators, and household fires, which are ground up from the surfaces of roadways, swept up from the floors of offices and stores, and which we breathe in from spot removers, paint thinners, hair sprays, plant sprays, insecticides and innumerable other sources. In our food and water this new pollution consists of the incredible number of medications we take, the many food additives and food preservatives that we eat, and all of the incidental chemicals—including the detergents—which get through our water purification systems and into our drinking water in minute amounts. We have to include in this the chemicals that are absorbed by the fruits and vegetables we eat, and those that are consumed by the animals and fish whose flesh we, in turn, consume.

Why is this "new"? It is "new" not because our biological defenses have never had to deal with complex chemicals before, but because, by and large, the specific chemical and physical agents that we now have to deal with are relatively new to our environment. They have been around only a few years, or a few decades. We have had at most only a few generations of experience with them, or less. Our biological defense mechanisms were not evolved specifically to cope with them, and we do not know what they may do to us, or to our species over the long run.

I do not mean to say that we don't know what these new pollutants will do to us acutely. This becomes evident pretty quickly whenever a new one is introduced. We know quite well what will happen to a man if he breathes too much carbon monoxide or swallows too much phenobarbital. The acute effects and the subacute effects of pollutants are often dramatically clear. They are constantly sought for in the laboratory and in the clinic. Federal, state, and local agencies, and a host of private laboratories, look for these acute and subacute effects in any new drug or food additive that may be introduced, and in many chemicals to which men are likely to be exposed. By and large they do an excellent job of detecting these effects. They attempt also to determine the long term and chronic effects of these substances; but here they are less successful. The difficulty is that our laboratory methods are not sensitive enough, or cannot be carried out long enough, and with enough laboratory animals, to provide the answer. The reason we do not know whether a daily exposure to 20 parts per million of carbon monoxide over 20 years might cause meaningful impairment of human brain function is just that it is quite impossible to carry out an experiment with a large number of people, over a long period of time, under controlled conditions, and then to measure their highest level of intellectual functions with sufficient accuracy to provide an answer.

The big problem in all of modern pollution, whether by air, water, or food, is the problem of getting the answer to how much long term exposure to small amounts of a pollutant will be harmful to pepole, and in what way. When there is no chronic effect of a pollutant that is readily apparent to scientists and clinicians, it is almost impossible to set a tolerance limit that has any meaning whatsoever. Yet, we do know this: that it is always hazardous—very hazardous—to assume that there is no damage to health from chronic exposure just because none has yet appeared. The history of medicine is studded with innumerable examples of the fallacy of this assumption.

One of the most recent, cruel and glaring examples of this fallacy has been provided by the self-induced form of air pollution that is caused by smoking cigarettes. When cigarettes began to become widely popular before World War I they were denounced by many well meaning people as "coffin nails". Physicians advised against them, and parents forbade their sons to smoke them. But then other physicians, who were skeptical of *a priori* judgments, took a cooler look, and they found it very hard to show that smoking had any deleterious effects on health except for a bit of threat irritation and an occasional cough. In the 1920's cigarette smoking became positively fashionable. It became as much a part of the national scene as cocktails, speakeasies, short skirts, bobbed hair, and Babe Ruth. In the absence of evidence of its harmfulness, the physicians looked on complacently, while a whole nation smoked its way through the 30's and 40's—and the doctors puffed away with the best of them. It was only in the 1950's, after three decades of exposure of millions of people, that the horrible effects of smoking began to unfold. Since that time, each passing year has made it more and more apparent that smoking cigarettes, which is essentially harmless in the short run, is in the long run a major cause of cancer of the lung, coronary heart disease, and pulmonary emphysema. The doctors, with wry smiles, have gradually ceased to smoke. Now, at medical meetings, the blue haze of cigarette smoke has become thin enough so that one can begin to see the slides that are shown on the screen. Unfortunately, the rest of the nation puffs merrily ahead.

We have seen this sort of thing happen again and again in medicine. There were the miners long ago who worked in "harmless" dust until we learned about silicosis; the girls in the 1920's who painted watch dials with "harmless" radium until they got cancer of the jaw in the 1930's; the mothers who dosed their children's cold with "harmless" silver compounds that later caused the children's skin to turn a slate gray color; there were the headache remedies, popular for decades, that were finally found to cause kidney disease; there were the antibiotics that caused babies to have mottled teeth; and, most recently, the sleeping pills that produced children with deformed arms and legs. Exposure to any substances over a long time may have unexpected ill effects. It is the knowledge of this that is causing the medical profession to keep such a close eye on the effects of the oral contraceptives that so many millions of women are taking, even though these medications have appeared to be quite harmless up to now.

You may say that all of the substances that I describe are drugs or industrial hazards, and not common pollutants of air or water—and I must agree. But the unexpected results of long-term, intentional exposure to these substances are produced by the same sorts of biological processes that occur during long-term unintentional exposure to environmental pollutants. The future effects of new environmental pollutants may be anticipated from our knowledge of the characteristics of some of the biological processes of adaptation.

A major problem created by long-term exposure to any agent from the environment is that the process of adapting to it is almost certain to have some unwanted side-effects. Thus, the process of adapting to inhaled smoke involves a secretion of mucous from the bronchial tree. Therefore, those who live in smoky environments for long periods of time are likely to have more mucous in their bronchial trees over longer periods of time than those who do not. Over the short run this has very little effect on their health; but over the long run it seems to make them more likely to have colds and bronchitis, to make them have a little more difficulty in moving air in and out of their lungs, and to make them cough more. Ultimately, over many years it seems to produce severe damage to their lungs—or, in any case, this is what many physicians believe.

This, however, is one of the simpler problems produced by adaptations to the environment. There are others that are more complex and devilish. An organism that adapts to one set of conditions is forced to direct its internal processes in a way that may interfere with its adapting to other sets of conditions.

Ordinarily, a man can inhale a modest amount of Carbon Tetrachloride without evident ill effects. The chemical is "detoxified" by enzymes in his liver, and is prevented from doing him damage. But if the man has had a few drinks—if he ingests any alcohol—at the same time that he is inhaling the carbon tetrachloride, he may suffer severe damage to his liver and other internal organs. In non-scientific terms, one might say that the enzyme systems of his liver already are busy detoxifying the alcohol that he has drunk, and are overwhelmed by the carbon tetrachloride that he inhales. The same sort of thing might well happen with the chronic ingestion of many chemicals in smalls amounts over a long period of time.

The more subtle long-term effects of pollutants might come to light first in future generations. Chemical substances, even in small amounts, can effect the development of the baby *in utero*, as did Thalidomide. Radioactive pollutants can also produce genetic mutations, which change the character of the offspring, usually in a deleterious manner. In addition to this, if they affect the survival, vigor, or fertility of the living generation, they may, over a number of generations, alter the characteristics of the population. This change might be desirable in certain circumstances. But undesirable in others. An example of what might happen is provided by the experience of the Central African Negroes with malaria. This disease is highly prevalent in those regions, and reduces the vigor of many members of the population. A small proportion of the population, who had inherited an abnormality of the hemoglobin in their red cells, were more resistant to malaria. Over the course of time, the process of natural selection caused people with such abnormal hemoglobin to become a larger and larger proportion of the total. The descendents of these people, transplanted to America where there is no malaria, now may suffer from a crippling anemia caused by the abnormal hemoglobin that they have inherited.

This is no isolated instance in the biological world.

All of this leads me to the conclusion that I stated at the beginning: although there is no definite evidence that air and water pollution is a major cause of disease at the present time, there is every reason to believe that it may become a serious hazard to health if it continues.

I also believe that the only rational course for men, from the biological point of view, is to organize their society in such a manner that over the long run it does not discharge into our environment, any substance that is not ordinarily a part of the biological system, or is not capable of becoming a part of it without disturbing it. It was all very well to use the air as a sewer for volatile waste when the number of men in the world was in the millions, and their fires relatively few, and made of wood. It is quite another matter to use the air as a sewer when the number of men is in the billions, and the waste comes from innumerable complex chemical and mechanical processes. So equally with our water, our food additives, our cattle feeds, our fertilizers, and our pesticides. As a result of our technological explosion we find ourselves living in intimate contact with a world that is increasingly different from the world from which we evolved. Eventually we must come to the day when we would no more think of turning the untreated effluent of any factory chimney into the air, or of any dishwasher into a stream, than we would now think of pouring sewage directly into our drinking water.

Clearly this has to be a long-term goal, to be attained—over many decades. But I believe that we will have to come to it; for I believe that it will not be possible to develop any practical method that will detect, before the event, all of the complex combination of pollutants that might, over the long run, adversely affect our health. Clearly we must proceed toward this goal only with deliberate speed, bearing in mind the limitations of our technology, and the profound economic and social consequences that may proceed from many attempts to reduce pollution. Yet it seems to me that the health scientists can support, now, every deliberate, cautious, and well-thought-out effort to improve the quality of the air we breathe and the food and water that we ingest. The freedom of our environment from pollution ultimately may be the most important determinant of of our health, even though pollution, as we know it, has not yet been proven to be a cause of any large amount of illness.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks of Ron M. Linton, Chairman, Task Force on Environmental Health and Related Problems, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

REMARKS DELIVERED TO THE SEVENTH ANNUAL WEST SIDE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE

(By Ron M. Linton)

I thank Congressman Ryan for this opportunity to come to New York and share some of what I have been privileged to learn in the last few months as Chairman of Secretary Gardner's Task Force on Environmental Health. Congressman Ryan has spent many years concerning himself with public policy in this field and this conference is but one of many valuable contributions he has made to improving the quality of life.

I am not going to tell you this morning that our environment is a mess and getting worse; that would be gratuitous. You live with one of the most polluted physical environments in the world.

You are aware, I am certain, that the junk clogging the air you breathe does nothing to enhance your life—or prolong it.

You have conceived, I'm sure, that those thousands of metal trash cans which battle you for sidewalk space are telling you something of solid waste disposal problems.

And the East River isn't very much like the bubbling brooks that poets and trout enjoy so much, is it?

And congestion?

And noise? You know. You live here.

What I do wish to discuss this morning is how to speed up the removal of these insults to your health and senses.

The Federal Government, and particularly the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has been given responsibility by Congress to help provide for your optimum health. In some areas the people in Washington charged with helping you protect your health have done on outstanding job; in others, improvement is called for.

The National Institutes of Health have been very successful in their research into the cause and control of common disease killers. The Communicable Disease Center has done a good job in controlling the classical contagious diseases; and we have recently received word that measles will soon be eradicated in this country.

But now, in my opinion, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare must more effectively muster its resources to do battle with the physical and sensual insults to our people caused by the continued deterioration of our natural environment.

First, we must clearly do more monitoring of the environment. What has man and his technology placed in the air, water, and embedded in our earth? And once we know what our environment contains, it is essential that we know what is deleterious to our health, and at what levels of exposure. These are proper tasks for the Federal Government to perform.

Are we doing enough human ecological research now? The evidence leads me to answer in the negative. When our Task Force met in your city recently, we were addressed by Dr. Rene Dubos, an eminent microbiologist and human ecologist associated with the Rockefeller Institute. He informed us that there is no facility in the United States equipped to do basic research on the impact of crowding and various pollutants on successive generations of laboratory animals. If we haven't begun to perform long-term experiments on the impact of crowding on animals, what do we know about the effect of urbanization on man? Little! The Federal Government must undertake more research in human ecology—man's relation and interaction with his environment.

When we have determined the impact of a particular environmental "insult" on man, the Federal Government must establish tolerance standards for that insult, and set a goal towards which we should aim. In other words, it is not enough to set a level of sulphur dioxide that can be tolerated in the air in New York City today, we must also set what we want that level to be five or ten years from now.

We need more pollution abatement technology—and fast. The Federal Government should support systematized development of abatement hardware and systems. This means using industry. We made virtually unbelievable breakthroughs in space technology using the intellectual and production capability of American industry. I believe the same approach must be taken if we are to abate pollution at the source. And certainly, abatement at the source should be a fundamental public policy.

But in the meantime, what are the cities and their satellite communities doing? New York has reorganized in the environmental health field in order to more efficiently manage the functions which control its environment—public health, pollution control and waste management. Organization is important, but it is not decisive.

I was struck by the statement of Lewis Mumford, as reported in the New York Times last week, that New York City had two million too many people living in it. Now, overcrowding *is* a decisive issue.

What are New Yorkers doing about "too many people" within the confines of their city? The problems of environmental pollution and deterioration come down, after all, to the core issue of too many people living, working and wasting in too little natural space. Assuming that man has always wasted, and he has, and assuming that effective sanctions against the individual who dumps his wastes into society's domain will not be created tomorrow, and they won't, what steps are going to be taken in the cities *today* to adjust to further population growth?

To talk about too many people living in an area is to tilt windmills—the people are here, the job is to make the environment fit the needs of the people. What are the cities going to do about that?

Are we going to find a way out of the jurisdictional straight-jacket that gives New Jersey the freedom to dump its waste on New York and vice versa?

Will the cities and states carry on the long legal exercise to finally deny the right of its individual and corporate citizens to pollute; or will they wait for the Federal Government to pre-empt pollution control and do it from Washington?

Has the Mayor of this city been given the authority to virtually phase New York City into a state of industrial and transport inertia if smog again seriously threatens the lives of thousands of its citizens?

It seems to me that the task is clear. We must look and deal with the environmental problems in totality and we must deal with them as they affect man. Certainly, the Federal Government must do more. Certainly, no local government can solve its problems without regard to what its neighbors are doing. But while the greater need of Federal assistance and the contribution to the problem by surrounding territories are facts, they are also excuses.

No city today can afford to wait for the full impact of Federal assistance or the total agreement of its neighbors to do what is good for the entire area. It must do what it needs to now, even if this means some inefficiency, and if the cities take these steps they will more clearly demonstrate the responsibility their neighbors have as well as the responsibility of the states and the Federal government.

There is little question that the fiscal problems of the cities are the most significant deterrent to taking the action that must be taken. Yet, a judgment must be made as to where the limited funds that cities have are going to be allocated. What comes first—clean air, or repaved streets? Each city must make its own choice, but the choice it makes will decide its future.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the Record the remarks of William H. Megonnell, chief, abatement program, National Center for Air Pollution:

TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF POLLUTION CONTROL AND ENFORCEMENT

(By William H. Megonnell, chief, abatement program, National Center for Air Pollution Control, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, of Washington, D.C.)

As a former resident of New York City, for seven and one-half years, I always am delighted to have an opportunity to return—even on a Saturday, when I'm supposed to be home relaxing.

I am particularly happy for the chance to participate in this conference, for it concerns important problems of great magnitude and concern to the millions of people in this area. Without hesitation, therefore, I accepted Congressman Ryan's invitation. That was several months ago and, just last night, I began to think seriously about what I might say. It was then I discovered that the assigned topic (Technical Aspects of Pollution Control and Enforcement) refers to pollution generally, rather than only air pollution.

While I can speak with any authority only about air pollution, I am sure some of my remarks will have parallels in other forms of pollution as well. Pollution of land, air, and water frequently is interrelated.

It was necessary for me to make certain assumptions regarding the audience I would be addressing. I hope I did not guess too far wrong. Since this is a "community conference," and not a professional society meeting, I assumed that you would not be particularly interested, despite the title of my talk, in the technical aspects of air pollution control. By that I mean the hardware, the control devices and systems that can be applied to alleviate air pollution.

So I am not going to spend much time on that. Suffice it to say—although a few perplexing technical problems remain—that the greatest deterrents to clean air are economic, social and political—not technologic—in nature.

There is available a wide variety of control devices—inertial separators, filters, scrubbers, electrostatic precipitators, absorbers, adsorbers, direct-flame and catalytic incinerators, and other equipment that can be used singly and in combination to remove or reduce most air pollutants.

Unfortunately, these usually are beyond the comprehension of the layman—and there seems to have been an organized effort to keep him uninformed and misinformed. He has been confused by technical jargon, intimidated by threats of unemployment, frightened by the prospect of greatly increased prices and higher taxes to the point where he has accepted pollution as the price of progress—an inevitable adjunct to modern living.

This is an archaic, outmoded concept. Dirty air and prosperity need not be synonymous. Clean air wrongly has been equated with empty pocketbooks and poverty. Although we are living with the consequences of past mistakes, it needn't be so in the future. We can have—and in the world's richest country we have the right to expect—both wholesome air *and* a high standard of living.

We have been lulled into a false sense of complacency by those who stand to gain most from polluted air. We are asked to wait before taking control action until positive proof is available that pollution is detrimental to health and welfare, until more efficient control devices are developed, until systems are worked out that will not disrupt the economy.

I submit that we already have waited much too long. We have waited for the ultimate answers on effects and controls while our property is soiled, our metals corrode, our buildings and monuments are eaten away, our vegetation wilts and—most tragic of all—our people become sick and die. These things are not fantasy. They have happened. They are happening. They have been carefully documented. Still, the polluter, through his powerful lobbies at all levels of government, says we must wait until definite, irrefutable proof is found. He decries what he calls "control for control's sake." Meanwhile, we watch pollution grow worse—while we await development of the perfect control system: one that costs no money to purchase, install or operate; requires no space; needs no maintenance; uses no power; does not interfere with our convenience; presents no disposal problem; and recovers a profitable product.

Much has been said and written about "economic feasibility" and "undue cost" of controlling air pollution. Recently, however, there is a tendency—rightly, I believe—to consider social values rather than traditional economic issues. Unquestionably, a base broader than the traditional profit incentive must be used in future decision making processes. When the economic issue is raised, we must consider: Economical to whom? To the fuel, steel, cement, chemical, transportation or power industry? Or economical to society as a whole?

As regards air pollution, if we had adequate means of evaluating the benefits, certainly the scales would be tipped in favor of prevention, control and abatement. I believe the American people are much too sophisticated, much too intelligent to believe that a technology that can put men into space cannot cope with the mundane, down-to-earth problem of air pollution. I know their patience has been exhausted. They have made their desires known through their elected representatives—like Congressman Ryan—and on the Federal level, I assure you, the Congress has responded.

This brings me to the second part of my assigned topic, enforcement. In view of what I have said regarding control capabilities, you probably can guess that I believe the principal missing ingredient in our quest for clean air is resolute, aggressive and forthright regulatory and enforcement action.

I believe that reasonably clean air is possible and practicable—else I would not be spending so much time and energy toward achievement of that goal. Permit me to express my philosophies in that regard.

First of all, despite what some may suspect, I firmly believe that air pollution control authority should be vested in the lowest level of government capable of coping with the problem in its entirety. The last three words are extremely important. "Lowest level of government" does not necessarily mean a city, a group of cities, a county, or even a State—which should be apparent to any citizen of New York City. This philosophy was expressed by the Congress in the preamble of the Clean Air Act, which states "that the prevention and control of air pollution at its source is the primary responsibility of States and local governments." Recognizing that pollution often is multi-jurisdicitional, however, the Act encourages, in principal and financially, cooperative activities among agencies, formation of regional programs and uniform regulations and enforcement.

I consider this good and wise legislation. It is desirable that different jurisdictions, particularly neighboring ones, adopt regulations of similar stringency and enforce them universally and equitably against any and all sources. To do otherwise is inconsiderate of the citizen who must contend with air pollution arising in his own or a neighboring community, and it is eminently unfair to industry in that competitors in lax jurisdictions gain a cost-of-doing-business advantage over those located in jurisdictions with aggressive and progressive enforcement programs. It is regrettable and unfair, but nonetheless true, that the "good-citizen" industrial operator is placed at an economic disadvantage by his "do-nothing" competitor.

Insofar as air pollution which arises in one State and endangers the health and welfare of persons in another State is concerned, the Clean Air Act provides authority for Federal abatement action. This does not, however, constitute a Federal "take-over." Rather, the carefully designed provisions of the Act provide every opportunity for the appropriate State and local agencies to accept their responsibilities before Federal enforcement action is substituted.

I am deeply involved in administering the abatement provisions of the Clean Air Act, and I think our actions thus far have been quite effective. We have conducted six interstate abatement conferences so far—the largest, of course, involving the New York-New Jersey area. In each case, I believe we have successfully defined the sources, nature and effects of the problem. And we have, in each case, delineated practicable corrective measures that can be taken. It remains to be seen whether recommended corrective action will be taken by the respective State and local agencies. If not, we are prepared to proceed with subsequent procedural steps, which ultimately can lead to action in the Federal courts.

We look on the Federal abatement authority as a catalytic force—a means whereby affected State and local agencies can be brought together to discuss a mutual problem and, with Federal technical and financial assistance, arrive at an equitable solution. If this "carrot" does not prove to be sufficiently enticing, however, the more persuasive "stick" lurks in the background.

While we in the Federal abatement program who are nearest to the activities and feel that we are working extremely hard may be convinced that significant progress has been and will continue to be made under the present law, many believe that abatement and control are proceeding much too slowly. Not the least of these is President Johnson, who has called for accelerated action. Congress quickly responded, and the Air Quality Act of 1967, now pending before that body, would simplify procedures and more deeply involve the Federal Government in direct abatement, control and enforcement activities.

The pending bill contains some unprecedented, somewhat revolutionary provisions. It would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to set national emission standards for those industries which contribute substantially to air pollution. I do not see how this could fail to be of direct benefit to the citizen, State and local government or industry. Certainly, it would, in time, remove some of the gross inequities that exist today.

Another major provision would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish Regional Air Quality Commissions in interstate areas where ineffective State and local action has been taken to protect health and welfare. This authority may appear drastic, but it is necessitated by the fact that, despite obvious interstate problems and the incentives of the current act, only one interstate compact has been submitted to Congress in the 3 years since the Clean Air Act was adopted.

It should be pointed out that the proposed Federal emission standards and federally created air quality commissions would be applicable only where State and local governments fail to protect adequately the health and welfare of their citizens. The only "right" such action might violate is the right of any governmental jurisdiction to fail completely to do anything to control air pollution—a questionable right in the first place.

I cannot, of course, predict the outcome of the pending legislation. I can tell you, however, that Congress has been very sympathetic and responsive to the citizens' desire for clean air. Our host today, Congressman Ryan, has taken a forthright stand against all forms of environmental hazards, and I am sure he will have his constituents' best interests in mind on this and future air pollution bills.

After many decades of neglect, it is encouraging to see the attention being devoted to the quality of the air we all must breathe. I never did, I do not today, and I never shall be convinced that we have to contend with the aerial filth that is now so prevalent in our atmosphere. I cannot believe that, I dare not believe it—for it would destroy my faith in the spirit, the ingenuity and the ability that have made our Nation so great and progressive.

Past performance and existing conditions reasonably could lead to extreme pessimism regarding the prospects for easier breathing, but I believe that an aroused public, enlightened governments and advanced technology leave much room for optimism. In my opinion, the key is adequate regulation and resolute enforcement. Although much has been said about the merits of voluntary cooperation—and I would like to think that it could be relied on—I doubt that it ever can or will be sufficient to cope with our serious air pollution problems.

Mr. Speaker, the morning panel on "Health Care and Social Policy" was moderated by Edward O'Rourke, M.D., New York City Commissioner of Health. Panel members were: Harry Becker, executive secretary, Committee on Special Studies, New York Academy of Medicine; I. S. Falk, professor of public health, School of Medicine, Yale University; George A. Silver, M.D., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Herman M. Somers, professor of politics and public affairs, Woodrow-Wilson School of Public and International affairs, Princeton University.

The report on this panel follows:

Report On "Health Care and Social Policy"

The panel discussion emphasized the need for both local and Federal government participation in health care in order to meet growing problems.

Panel members noted, however, that health services alone are not enough. To ensure the health of the population, society must also wipe out or ameliorate overt or marginal poverty.

Federal, State and local governments now support many basic health service programs, including research, health program planning, environmental and community-wide services, professional and technical education and training, and construction and modernization of hospitals and other health care facilities.

Dr. I. S. Falk pointed out in his remarks that these programs should also extend into three new areas. He called for greatly expanded health education of the public, some form of national comprehensive health insurance through social insurance, and projects and demonstrations to stimulate improvement in the organization of health services through group medical practice.

Members of the panel noted that many other Federal, State and local government programs and support provide the environment and make possible the achievement of health care. Many of these programs must be expanded and extended.

To break the vicious circle of poverty and disease, society must ensure employment security, reasonable social insurance income benefits, welfare services that will be adequate to the need, as well as low-cost housing and other programs.

Members of the panel also noted that despite explosive expansion in knowledge and skill, and despite America's vast economic resources, health services are far from adequate.

Dr. Falk declared, "The 'gap' between the potential and the performance for health care is probably not narrowing, and many believe it may even be widening."

He claimed that the gap has come about as the result of two failures. He said that programs proposed 35 years ago failed because of "voluntarism" and state-by-state action. Further, he said, our health care has failed because of the inadequacy of Federal and Federal-State programs "after the focus shifted to Washington during the economic depression of the 1930's."

Dr. Falk declared that among the principal reasons for the American failure in health care are "the continuing defeat of national health insurance, and the inadequacies of voluntary health insurance (despite its massive growth and extension)."

Other members of the panel also detailed the problems and needs to ensure more adequate health care. Members of the panel generally agreed that solving organization and financial problems of health care are central to further progress. Panel members differed on the amount of government and private activity necessary.

Dr. Falk insisted in his remarks:

"An improved health insurance program for all should have built-in incentives for comprehensive care, for observance of quality standards, and for containment of rising costs. And it should be coupled with a strong new program to stimulate and encourage the development of comprehensive group practice, because this is the only tested pattern of service that offers real promise for providing comprehensive care, improving effective use of skilled manpower, and of extending the observance of quality standards outside the hospital, while making a major contribution toward containing the steeply rising costs of medical care.

I include at this point in the Record the introductory remarks of Prof. I. S. Falk:

Health Care and Social Policy

SUMMARY OF INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AT THE PANEL SESSION IN THE CONFERENCE ON HEALTH IN OUR CITIES, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 1, 1967

(By I. S. Falk, professor of public health (medical care), Yale School of Medicine, New Haven, Conn.)

Our cities have their own unique health problems, requiring local programs and locally adapted services; and many of our cities are making heroic efforts to meet the health needs of their populations. In the main, however, the health problems of the cities are basically the same as the health problems of the nation; and the cities—and even the states—cannot do more than partially solve them without the aid and participation of the Federal Government.

This is all the more acutely the case because the nature and the dimensions of health needs far exceed the reach of health service programs. The health of a population in modern society requires the specific health services which have been made possible by progress in science, medical art and our national economic resources. It also requires the non-specific contributions from many other programs which contribute to health through the amelioration or eradication of overt or marginal poverty. Health progress needs all the developments in our affluent society that can contribute to education, well-being and security.

The needed *basic* health service programs extend to continuing Federal, State and local support of: research, health program planning, environmental and community-wide services, professional and technical education and training, and construction and modernization of hospitals and other health care facilities. These programs should also extend to three new areas: greatly expanded health education of the public, national comprehensive health insurance through social insurance, and projects and demonstrations to stimulate improvement in the organization of health services through group medical practice.

The *collateral* programs for health extend to: an adequate national program for employment security, adequate levels in national social insurance income benefits, adequate back-up welfare services, and adequate program for low-cost housing, and many other programs that contribute to well-being and security. These programs are needed to join with the health *service* programs in breaking the vicious circle of poverty and disease.

The need for a broadened program for health reflects the widespread evidence and conviction that health services are far from adequate despite the explosive expansion in knowledge and skill, and despite our vast economic resources. The "gap" between the potential and the performance for health care is probably not narrowing, and many believe it may even be widening. How did we get into this jam?

First, from the failure of programs proposed thirty-five years ago through "voluntarism" and state-by-state action; and, second, by the inadequacy of Federal and Federal-state programs after the focus shifted to Washington during the economic depression of the 1930's. The continuing defeat of national health insurance, and the inadequacies of voluntary health insurance (despite its massive growth and extension) are among the principal reasons.

The recent crisis over Medicare reflected that the time had come for a new direction and for new action programs. The enactment of Medicare, Medicaid, and related programs provided new signposts and the beginning of new undertakings. The legislation included some compromises which now plague and frustrate the effective implementation of the programs We will have to hope that amendments will strengthen Medicare, clear it of its bad and weak features, and provide a sound basis for extension from the aged alone to the entire population This should assure the financial availability of the best comprehensive care that our national resources will be able to provide

Solving the financial and the organizational problems are central to progress in the health services. An improved health insurance program for all should have built-in incentives for comprehensive care, for observance of quality standards, and for containment of rising costs And it should be coupled with a strong new program to stimulate and encourage the development of comprehensive group practice, because this is the only tested pattern of service that offers real promise for providing comprehensive care, improving effective use of skilled manpower, and of extending the observance of quality standards outside the hospital, while making a major contribution toward containing the steeply rising costs of medical care.

I would emphasize again that health progress requires not only the basic health service programs but also the collateral programs that contribute to health. Social policies should support both, because, as long as our economy prospers, we can afford both and because programs for health are an obligation of a modern society while also being largely an investment toward economic stability and progress.

Mr. Speaker, the report on the afternoon panel on "Hospitals in Crisis" was prepared by William J. Fuller III.

The panel was moderated by William L. Kissick, M.D., Director, Program Planning and Evaluation, Office of the Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service. Members of the panel were Martin Charkasky, M.D., director, Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center; Leon J. Davis, president, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union; John H. Knowles, M.D., general director, Massachusetts General Hospital; Frank van Dyke, professor of administrative medicine, Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine; Alonzo S. Yerby, M.D., head of Department of Health Services Administration, School of Public Health, Harvard University.

REPORT ON "HOSPITALS IN CRISIS"

(By William J. Fuller III)

The crisis facing our hospitals today is in general a manpower shortage. And in particular it is inadequate funds to pay hospital personnel and purchase essential facilities for proper medical care.

Dr. John H. Knowles, general director of Massachusetts General Hospital, said that hospitals face a shortage of manpower because of low salaries, poor working conditions and inadequate fringe benefits. It takes at least three years beyond a high school education to become a nurse, Dr. Knowles said, but nurses still were making only $2.00 an hour just a few years ago.

"Spend money," the doctor concluded, "and manpower needs will drop." But the cost of providing substantial pay increases for hospital employees would be phenomenal since, as Dr. Knowles pointed out, salaries and fringe benefits constitute 75 per cent of all hospital costs.

In order to explain the high cost of hospital care, Leon Davis who is president of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, compared caring for a hospital bed with fixing an automobile. It takes 2½ to 3 workers to care for just one bed, he said. The hospital fee for occupying that bed, he explained, is not so outrageous when one considers what it would cost to have 2½ mechanics work on one car for a single day.

And the hospital worker, for example, makes much less than the mechanic. "There's nothing worse than having disgruntled people to take care of patients" Mr. Davis said, alluding to the hospital personnel's dissatisfaction with their income.

In the largest New York City hospitals today, the union's local president noted, a Registered Nurse gets only $2.70 an hour. "You can imagine what the dish washer gets," he said.

And nurses must work days, nights, Sundays and holidays too, Mr. Davis explained. Considering how little the nurse aide is paid, for example, he said, "We discourage any young person from going into that field."

And he said, "If hospitals treated their patients like they treated their workers, then God save the patients." This is manpower's point of view.

What do patients want from medical care? "They want to be well," said Dr. Martin Cherkasky, director of Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center in New York City. But in the first place, not everyone gets medical care, he said. And of those people who do get treated, "some get great care and some get murderous care," Dr. Cherkasky explained.

He cited the medical care which the Teamsters Union gets as being 40 per cent of the time "down right dangerous" even though it is probably the most comprehensive of group medical coverage.

Furthermore, Dr. Cherkasky explained that a woman really doesn't know how skilled the surgeon is who operates on her uterus for cancer. But the skills makes all the difference. She stands a 50 per cent chance of cure if the surgeon is skilled, Dr. Cherkasky noted, and only a 20 per cent chance is he is not.

It was not explained, however, whether or not slipshod medical practice followed doctor shortages, improper hospital supervision or lack of other hospital personnel.

The director of Montefiore said that municipal and voluntary hospital systems, like schools, may be separate but they can never be equal.

He said that the poor people will always be sloughed off on the inferior of the two systems. "Scrap the municipal system," he said, and improve on the best of the voluntary.

Then give the controls to the community, he said. Dr. Cherkasky suggested creating a central planning group with teeth in it to represent the community before the hospital management. This means reorganization in order to cope with crisis.

Dr. Frank van Dyke, professor of administrative medicine at Columbia University's School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine, agreed with Dr. Cherkasky's description of unequal medical treatment in the two hospital systems as they exist today.

But, he said, communities should strengthen the municipal system, not dispose of it, and open it to private patients.

Dr. Van Dyke said it is "archaic" that the poor patients should be used as "teaching material" with separate hospital entrances and waiting rooms. The people who pay, he said, get another kind of treatment altogether.

Dr. William Kissick, director of program planning and evaluation for the Office of Surgeon General of the. U.S. Public Health Service, explained that health care is coming closer each day to becoming a human right, at least in social conviction.

But basically, there just aren't enough hospitals and doctors to go round. And there seems to be no easy solution to the problem.

"Doctors as a group have never been busier in their lives," explained Dr. John H. Knowles, the director of Massachusetts General Hospital. And there are waiting lists for patients at most hospitals, he said.

But while hospitals are moving closer to the community these days, they should not be expected to organize or help organize every community health service, contends Dr. Alonzo Yerby, head of the department of Health Services Administration at Harvard University's School of Public Health.

This is one way in which both manpower and facilities can be saved.

Dr. Yerby said also that we must create "a totally new organism" to provide adequate medical care in the future. He explained that hospitals need more people, for instance, who can work at the doctor's side "not as handmaidens but as equals," which would create new patterns within the health profession.

Furthermore, in Dr. Yerby's opinion, the medical profession has not been fulfilling its responsibilities to help solve the hospital crisis. But he did not elaborate.

Dr. Knowles had explained earlier that peer discipline in the health field was inferior to federal supervision. And he suggested that the Federal officials might act on those hospitals, for example, which don't operate after 2 p.m. on weekdays or on Saturdays.

And he said hospitals have not provide adequate after-care facilities, created a successful voluntary regional planning organization or participated effectively in the political arena.

Dr. Knowles explained that the need for more hospital funds, for better medical facilities, for greater manpower and for more doctors such as pathologists and radiologists will be increasingly acute as days pass by.

Perhaps this is all part of the transition of the hospital from its earlier missionary origins to the dynamic enterprise which it is today.

Nevertheless, where the money and manpower will come from and how the medical care of the future will be organized are the perplexing questions which both remain unanswered and lie at the heart of the crisis facing our hospitals today.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks of Dr. John H. Knowles:

HOSPITALS IN CRISIS

(By John H. Knowles, M.D.[1])

On July 1, 1966, Public Law 89–97, Amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935, populary known as Medicare, came into being. The law represents both the public's dissatisfaction with previous methods of financing health services as well as the extreme importance Americans attach to health and medical care. The program is financed through the prepayment mechanism of an increased Social Security tax shared by employee and employer for Title 18, as well as general Federal and State tax revenues for Title 19 of the Law. Title 18, Part A provides for the financing of in-hospital, ambulatory, extended care and home health services for the nearly 20 million people of this country, age 65 and over. Part B of Title 18, a voluntary program shared equally by individual and Federal contributions, provides for the payment of doctors' fees. As of this writing, some 17.5 million elderly citizens are eligible for these benefits. Title 19 of the Law provides for hospital, extended care, ambulatory, diagnostic and physician services for those who are judged to be medically indigent according to legislation to be developed by each State. Potentially, 40 million people will be eligible for these benefits. Thus, it is probable in the near future that the medical care of as many as 60 million people or 30% of the population of the United States will be partially or wholly financed by State and Federal tax funds.

In the first six months of Medicare the national figures show some 2.5 million people over 65 have received medical care under Title 18, Part A, for which over 1 billion dollars of benefits have been paid. Some 3.5 million elderly individuals have received doctor care for which 100 million dollars have been paid by the Federal Government. Twenty-five States, including Massachusetts, have Federally approved plans for their implementation of Title 19. Again, nationally, there has been a 5% increase in hospital occupancy and a change from 25% to 35% of all hospitals beds occupied by those 65 and over.

The important of such massive social legislation and its effects on the medical profession, on those in the employ of the health professions, and on all institutions involved in medical care is not yet totally evident. Surely the historians will write that this was one of the most significant changes in medicine in this country during the 20th century. We have entered a new era of combined public and private efforts designed to provide medical care of the highest quality "for all the people". Never has it been more important for the medical profession and voluntary institutions to plan and act responsibly in the public interest. Their survival depends on it. Pluralism is the essence of democracy. The strength of this country depends on private initiative and voluntary action. An ultimately monolithic, Federally supported system of medical care is undesirable, but the price of freedom from central control is local, voluntary responsibility to the public interest. Certainly for the future there must be coordination and cooperation of local public and private interests to provide health services of high quality which neither a local public nor a private system has been willing or able to do alone. The medical profession, if one group be singled out, has the power in its hands to maintain the private practice of medicine and to preserve voluntarism in hospitals—but only if it is willing to assume broad social responsibility in the race to meet public demand.

With the adevnt of Medicare, several crucial changes and issues will be brought into sharp relief, the most important of which are:

1) Public scrutiny of hospital costs and doctor's fees will increase. Tax money, generated from employees and employers, is being used to pay for "high quality care for all the people." Public and political interest will increase proportionally. Plan B inflation is quite possible and will hit both aged contributor and his Federal partner in the pocketbook. In the first of what will be many demands from our political representatives, President Johnson has already asked for investigation of doctors' fees and hospital costs. Secretary (HEW) Gardner has noted that physicians' fees have risen 7.8% in 1966, the greatest annual increase since 1927, while hospital room rates rose 16.5% in 1966, the greatest annual increase in 18 years.

2) Equitable rates of reimbursement (for patients covered by Title 19) will be forced on State Welfare Departments, which will have to be uniform with rates paid by the Federal Government under Title 18. In this regard, our differences and long battles with the State seem to be nearly over, with the promise that the more equitable reimbursement method adopted by the Federal Government for Medicare patients will be used to pay for the indigent sick by the State of Massachusetts as of January 1, 1967. On the subject of financing, I am happy to report that the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth sustained the legality of our current Blue Cross contract, culminating a nearly 5 year battle for equitable reimbursement from all third party payers.

3) Utilization of doctors and hospitals will increase, and with it, increased demands for better utilization of hospital beds. This has happened at the M.G.H. as well as locally and nationally. Doctors have never been busier, and essentially all the hospitals in the Greater Boston area have waiting lists of patients, a far cry from 10 and even 5 years ago when hospitals averaged 60 to 80% occupancy and there were always beds readily available. The Utilization Committee, required by the Medicare Law, has been established at the M.G.H. to deal with the problems of assuring our patients and the public of optimal utilization of facilities.

4) After-caring (extended care, custodial care, nursing homes and chronic hospitals) facilities will be shown to be grossly inadequate. We have anticipated this with our new Transfer Office within the Social Service Department. Over the past year we have assessed over 100 extended care facilities and established over 40 transfer agreements with the homes best able to care for our patients. We have improved our own practices by early and better discharge planning. Still we have numerous chronically ill individuals who occupy high-cost M.G.H. beds simply because of a lack of other (lower cost) community facilities for extended and chronic care. This is not the best use of our facilities, which the community needs for their acute, curative care. Meanwhile, our waiting lists for admissions to the hospital has lengthened in some cases to as long as 8 weeks, making it difficult for the patient and for the doctor and administrator to serve our community optimally.

5) Hospital facilities will be strained and the need for new capital expenditures will become acute. It is well known that practically all urban hospitals are in drastic, critical need of capital for both improvement and addition to the plant, and for establishing the increasingly expensive medical technology. Voluntarism is well worth preserving. One has only to contrast the municipal hospitals of the country with the M.G.H. to recognize the fruits of voluntarism and the hazards of complete political control.

6) Manapower shortages will be accentuated. Largely because of low salaries, few fringe benefits, and generally poor working conditions, the hospitals of this country today are largely understaffed. The M.G.H. has taken the lead in improving all three areas and at the moment we are better staffed relative to our work load than we have ever been. Despite protests from some quarters, we raised nurses' salaries as well as all others in 1966—all of which resulted in a $10 rate increase in our charges to the public. Our fringe benefits are competitive with industry and we have made numerous improvements in work areas for our employees, so that they will enjoy pleasant and dignified working conditions.

7) Medical school-teaching hospital relationships will be altered and clinical teaching will change. This will be slow, but is bound to occur. Medical schools are becoming more aware of the social issues of medical care. They are beginning to move into the problems of the delivery and the public preception of medical care with curricular revisions which will include more emphasis on the social science of medicine.

8) The relation of radiologists and others to the hospital and the medical school will change and the manpower shortages here will become more acute. The transition has been relatively smooth at the M.G.H.

9) Costs will continue to increase markedly in both hospitals and in doctors fees. Three-quarters of our costs are due to the salaries and fringe benefits paid our employees. As an employer of nearly 6000 people, we share the Medicare tax—which of course, is reflected in our charges to patients. We have had to hire over 30 new people to carry out the work of processing Medicare forms and this new cost is passed on to our patients. Doctor fee inflation is occurring around the country as reasonable and customary fees are studied and redefined by the profession.

10) The public and our local and national political leaders will demand and ultimately force regional planning and control. The celebrated Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke bill has resulted in new attempts to plan regionally while Public Law 89–749 (Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Service Act of 1966) was signed into law in November 1966 and provides new funds for State Public Health Departments with which to plan and encourage regional planning for medical care. A new group has been formed in the Boston area to attempt regional planning on a private, voluntary basis. Several of us are active in this group.

11) Our capacity to strike new organizational arrangements within medicine and hospitals and to participate in the political arena will test us drastically and it is in these areas that I believe we have our greatest problems and greatest opportunity. Our political leaders are deeply concerned at this very moment that we in the medical world will not be able to fulfill the new expectations of the public as a consequence of Medicare. Will they sincerely help us give the best care to everyone or will they use us as scapegoats? Will a private-public partnership of government, doctors, and voluntary institutions prove feasible, or will the Federal Leviathan's appetite prove insatiable—in terms of financing (or should I say underfinancing?), planning and controlling *all* medical care in the United States. Part of the answer can be provided by the responsible action of doctors and voluntary institutions.

Finally let me say that one of the most exciting developments in recent years has been the evolution of the modern hospital from the passive receptacle for the indigent sick to the contemporary health center for all social and economic classes. A natural development of its emergence as a center has been the extension of interests from the hospital to the community for purposes of comprehensive health planning, preventive and public health measures and the rationalization of the best use of health facilities. This development will become the wave of the future.

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[1] General Director, Massachusetts General Hospital.

Mr. Speaker, the report on the afternoon panel on "Poverty Versus Health" was prepared by Jan Strasma.

The panel was moderated by Prof. Frank Riessman, Department of Educational Sociology, New York University. Panel members were John M. Frankel, Director, Health Division, Community Action Program, U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity; Jack Geiger, M.D., professor, preventive medicine, Tufts University Medical School; George James, M.D., dean, Mount Sinai Medical School, Mount Sinai Hospital; Harold C. Light, associate director, Gouverneur Health Service Program of Beth Israel Hospital.

REPORT ON "POVERTY VERSUS HEALTH"

(By Jan Strasma)

"The poor are likely to be sick and the sick are likely to be poor," said Dr. Jack Geiger. "And without intervention the sick will get poorer and the poor will get sicker."

That intervention needs to be more than just treating the symptoms of ill health. The poverty problem with all its complexities must be attacked. "To send the poor back unchanged to their social and physical environment is like sending a cholera victim after treatment to drink from the same contaminated water," said Dr. Geiger.

Until now this problem of poverty and ill health has been attacked piecemeal, according to Dr. George James. Numerous agencies have fragmented it because of the difficulty of seeing poverty as a whole.

Complications which poverty adds to health problems, Dr. James said, include: lack of motivation to go to a clinic or doctor; tendency to wait until symptoms appear; lack of information; and the frequent presence of chronic minor diseases.

To attack illness in its context of poverty, neighborhood health centers have been established in a few areas and more are being set up by the Office of Economic Opportunity. These centers bring under one roof many services—social as well as health—which formerly were available only in scattered locations.

Tufts University has been operating such a center since early 1966 at Columbia Point, a low-income housing development in Boston. It's a high risk area for medical services since there are many children, old persons and women of child-bearing age. Before the program began only 25 per cent of the residents had had a general medical check-up, half the women had no prenatal care in the early months of pregnancy and one-third had current ailments.

To prevent a fragmentation of services the center utilizes team treatment. The teams include a pediatrician, an internist, a social worker and others. One member of the team can't refer the patient to another and then duck, said Dr. Geiger. What they can do, he said, is put their information together to treat the health and poverty problem as a whole.

The team treats the individual by examining his entire family. That way they not only treat the person's illness, but also the health and welfare problems of the family.

In the first year the center's staff saw 5,600 out of 6,000 residents, including 99 per cent of the families. They treated as many as 200 persons in 24 hours; that's 3 per cent of the population.

The program has been so successful that Tufts has started a second center in the Delta area of Mississippi. There they are aiding a rural Negro population—the population that has been the source of migration to urban areas of the north.

"It seemed sensible to work on the front end of the migration," said Dr. Geiger.

Another health service, the Gouverneur Hospital clinic, is four years older than the Tufts' program. It began in 1961 when the in-patient services of the hospital closed down and the clinic affiliated with the Beth Israel Medical Center on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

Since then it has been providing job training as well as health care for residents of the area. Working with a community anti-poverty group, Mobilization for Youth, the Gouverneur service has trained some 400 school dropouts to be health aides. In August 1966 it added adult training to its program under OEO and Manpower grants. Now both federal agencies have asked the center to double its training program, Harold C. Light said.

Based on the performance of these two services, OEO plans to spend $49 million in its 1967 budget to launch 20 to 30 new health care centers, according to Mr. Frankel. And $60 million in the 1968 is planned to bring the total number of centers to 40.

This money, he said, is "seed money" to get the programs started. After the second year OEO funds will drop and the burden should be borne by matched state and federal medical aid funds, he said.

The costs of the service at the Columbia Point Center, including dental care, are about $150 a person a year, Dr. Geiger said. If three hospital care days a year for each resident are saved, the center's services would be paid for. He added, "There is no reason to waste money sending people several different places for services when we can use a program of this type."

"But it is too early to talk about the centers as the only system," he noted. "The real danger in setting up a separate system for the poor is that in the past such systems have inevitably become poor systems."

The OEO now has applications for grants to economically integrated areas. In these areas the health services would be available to all residents and not just the poor. But those above the OEO poverty line would pay for the service, according to Dr. Frankel.

To establish neighborhood health centers in all areas where they are needed would cost about $1 billion, Dr. Franklin estimated. But he cautioned that the centers were still in their demonstration phase. It's unwise to project the program too far into the future, he said.

In the centers now operating or soon to open the poor themselves are being given a voice. In the past they usually have had health services on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, Dr. Franklin said. "Programs designed by professional and dominant groups are simply a majority consensus on how to solve the problems of the poor," he said. "In their silence the poor have not provided scrutiny and advice to the programs."

He continued, "Now we have to enlist a new ally—the people we service." But OEO has no set formula for involving the poor. "We are encouraging invention and innovation in the applications we receive," Dr. Frankel said.

When Tufts decided to set up the Columbia Point center, it held 60 meetings in the homes of residents. According to Dr. Geiger, it wanted to avoid what one resident said she had expected: "Tufts would provide the services and we'd provide the illnesses."

He dismissed the argument that the poor aren't ready to control such projects. "That's the argument used by colonialist powers for years," he said.

The Columbia Point Health Association does not yet have financial and employment control of the center. But Dr. Geiger said he hopes the association will apply for its own federal grant next year.

Besides helping run the centers, the poor should be involved more as employes. Mr. Frankel said, "We increasingly see jobs filled by laymen, needs formerly thought could only be served by professionals. But we can't wait until the professionals are available to fill the positions."

In New York City according to Professor Frank Riessman, there are 8,000 openings for nurses and only 3,000 nurses to fill them. Non-professional aides can and should be used to fill some of the openings, he said.

"As in the industrial revolution we must look at tasks which only a master craftsman can do. Then we should break the work down into steps others can do," Dr. Frankel said.

Many jobs now held by unskilled and semi-skilled workers have little future. They're dead-ended unless the workers go out to get an education, said Professor Riessman. "We're looking for new career models which will enable the poor to move out of their jobs through job-based training," he said. The classroom should be brought into the field and in-service training developed to aid workers in moving from non-professional status to professional, he said.

Securing the support of professionals in the field is one difficulty, however. "Most professionals are very happy to have subprofessionals trained," said Dr. Geiger, "as long as it's for another profession."

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the text prepared by Dean George James:

TEXT BY GEORGE JAMES, M.D., M.P.H., DEAN, MOUNT SINAI SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

The unhappy marriage between poverty and disease has been recognized since the earliest days, and for centuries much disease and much poverty was considered expected and inevitable. Indeed, the poor were viewed as receiving just punishment for unspecified misdeeds.

The Old Testament of the Bible (Proverbs 10: 15) say: "The rich man's wealth is a strong city: the destruction of the poor is their poverty," while the New Testament tends to support the theme of the inevitability of poverty.

Eventually, of course, men of curiosity began to look as both poverty and disease as subject to prevention or at least amelioration and as due to identifiable causes. Doctors began to recognize the role of poverty in promoting certain medical conditions. Thus Sir William Osler, who was able to look far beyond the bedside of his patients, called tuberculosis a social problem with medical overtones. He was right, and as much was done to control tuberculosis by raising the general standard of living as was accomplished by purely medical techniques.

The idea of the practical abolition of poverty, however, is 20th Century, and this is now an official objective of United States government policy. Yet there are still some who feel that abolishing poverty involves giving to the poor, that this creates weakness in the receiver and omnipotence on the part of government, and that it may lead to survival of the unfittest.

We often seem to have a tendency to attack the indices of poverty rather than poverty itself. In other words, we tend to specialize, as we do in medicine. Anderson, Bissell and Mosher, writing in the New York State Journal of Medicine, point out that:

"Although the President's Head Start Committee stated that any effort to improve the life of the (poor) child could not be compartmentalized into health, education, and welfare services but *must* be inclusive of all three, experience shows that in the summer of 1965 Head Start emphasis was placed on the social and educational aspects of the program. It is hardly surprising therefore that in terms of priorities health came in a limping third."

We attack old housing, considered an index of poverty—even though, in a wealthy suburb, it may be the rich man who seeks the old house. We pay for the medical care of poor children, under a shrapnel of programs, assuming the children have the ailments on our list. If a child has instead, an ailment on another list, he may have to be shifted to an entirely different program. We attack piecemeal not because we lack intelligence (which none of us would admit) but because the problem of poverty and illness is so enormous and so complicated that few of us can see and comprehend it all of a piece.

Poverty is defined as "the condition of being poor with respect to money, goods, or means of subsistence," and in our society is generally measured in money income, whose inadequacy to assess human situations is well known. We have no yardstick for misery.

Not only do we measure poverty in terms of money, as a convenience, we have a tendency to measure it on an instantaneous basis. That is, we say: as of April 1, 1967: this is a family living in poverty or it is not. This approach fails because poverty in a family does not flick on and off like a flashlight. It is chronic and continuing and is transmissible from one generation to another.

Consider a family living in grinding poverty, its members descendents of forebears who lived in grinding poverty. Then suddenly raise this family's income to an agreed comfortable level. Technically, it might be argued we have thus eliminated the poverty. But have we really eliminated what we know is wrong in the family.

Will the additional income *automatically* bring our family better housing? Not at all. The legacy of generations of poverty may lead the family to stay put, or to invest unwisely. Will additional income mean better medical care? Eventually, perhaps, but not necessarily at once. A sudden increase in income for a really depressed family by no means necessarily leads it to seek vaccines for its children or prenatal care for its women.

When the New York Hospital Welfare project began here, total medical care was offered to 1,000 low income families at home, in the hospital, in offices, wherever they needed it. This, in a sense, was a sudden increase in income since it made possible care of a depth and quality they could previously not afford. But there was no rush to accept this proffered care. To those in this room today the words "New York Hospital" may instantly suggest a great treatment center. Those imbedded in the culture of poverty scarcely react. New York Hospital is not one of their familiar symbols. Many of them have never heard of it.

So much poverty is not of one year or one financial situation, but of generations, decades, and ingrained apathy. Some of it may have begun with simple lack of money, perhaps in another Century. Perhaps, in the beginning, money alone could have saved the situation. Perhaps then, as General DeGaulle once said of Hitlerism, the problem could have been killed in the egg. But now the simple availability of money is not in itself enough for a rapid solution. The small infection has become massive and a quick antibiotic is no longer enough.

We also have a tendency to discuss health in terms of payment for care. Payment is necessary, but it is not an answer by itself. The improvement of our system for delivering medical care should have top priority in the thinking of everyone involved in American medicine. We surely must know by now that if what we really want is disease control, medical care cannot be thought of simply in terms of making it available, in a clinic that is open from 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. It may not be practical for the poor to get to such a clinic. Not long ago when an NYU daytime arthritis clinic was extended to night sessions, a different group of patients appeared, and the inference is inescapable that many of these patients would not have received care had not the clinic—by opening at night—made it possible for them to attend.

We need to reach out for patients—to reach those who are now healthy—to reach those who are still ambulatory—to reach those our health messages overshoot. The hard core of the hard to reach is heavily concentrated among the poor.

We have generally approached the health problems of the poor by trying to make health consistent with poverty. This has worked with smallpox, in this country, although not in many underdeveloped nations. In the United States, through the use of compulsion (the child is compelled to attend school and must be vaccinated to get in) we have eliminated smallpox among the poor without laying a finger on poverty itself. And through sanitation we have reduced the toll of some other health problems in the poor.

In spite of these achievements, with their 19th Century flavor, our record with the health of the poor is not good. We cannot say only that some important medical conditions are worse among the poor. *Every* leading cause of death takes a greater toll among our poor, and there is overwhelming evidence that disabling conditions are also worse among the poor than among the comfortable.

So far as death is concerned, we looked at the record in this city a few years ago and concluded that poverty is our third leading cause of death, taking some 13,000 lives a year. That is, if the record of bad districts, such as Central Harlem, could be brought up to the level of better areas, such as Flushing, that many lives would be saved annually. And Flushing, it might be noted, is not a small, wealthy community, but a functioning, generally middle class area.

We tried to make poverty tuberculosis-free, and that didn't work. Tuberculosis is now essentially a disease of the poor, especially of poor old men living alone. We need to learn a great deal more about exactly what it is in the *culture* of poverty that brings this about? Trying to make poverty tuberculosis-free is like trying to make promiscuity syphilis-free. That doesn't work either.

The culture of poverty often promotes ill health in our patients long before we get them. One could cite the development of habits and addictions. One could cite the lack of prenatal care in poorer areas. We are making progress, but even when prenatal care is available free, cultural and practical barriers often prevent poor mothers from getting it—either at all, or early enough. Thus the child of poverty is given a health hazard even before he is born.

We open clinics for the detection of diabetes and cancer of the cervix and the people who present themselves tend, in general, to be those who are alert and take care of themselves anyway. We continue to hunt the others. We test for cancer of the cervix in V.D. clinics now, and our percentage of discovery rises, but we have a long way to go.

The health hazards of poverty, in summation, include:

1. A lack of motivation to seek adequate care.

2. A tendency (which American medicine shares) to wait for symptoms—or, as in pregnancy, for crisis.

3. A lack of information about the availability of care, and about sensible health habits.

4. Practical difficulties in living (need to care for children, etc.) which make it difficult or impossible for poor people to spend the time waiting in clinics to get care.

5. Frequent presence of minor chronic disease which in itself retards presentation for care of more serious problems. For example, the elderly arthritic who can't get across the street in the 45 seconds it takes the light to change and therefore doesn't get to the heart clinic.

We have been sluggish in our approach to the interrelated problems of poverty and illness, but I think now we are at the start of an era of great improvement. We are now working toward the elimination of poverty in America. Poverty has been an hereditary disease, handed down from parents to children. We now believe that chain can be broken.

In the medical world there is ferment leading to the reorientation of medical care around the patient. We are beginning to see that we have got to make medical care fit the patient, instead of trying to make the patient fit into an outmoded system of care.

This means, among other things, packaging care so that it is practical for the patient to get at it. It also means that someone must be in charge, someone who knows what specialty help is available, but who looks at the patient as one human being, no matter how many problems he has.

Welfare people and health people meet in serving poor families in New York—families on relief. I am happy to see from the comments of the welfare commissioner and the commissioner of health that here, too, it is becoming apparent that health and welfare problems in such families are usually so entwined that they cannot be separated. Such families have to be served as a unit instead of as a collection of special problems for very special specialists.

We are learning more about what is wrong with our present approaches. A study is going on at Bellevue now to determine why there is such a high rate of broken appointments for the care of children in the clinics. One known reason is that poor mothers often find it impossible to get someone to stay with the other children while they take one child to a clinic. Eventually we will know the various reasons and their relative importance. Then we can do more to improve the situation.

We have been giving the elderly special problems. Our society pushes them out of the mainstream of life to the extent that the percentage of older people in the labor market has declined as their percentage in the population has risen. To provide basket weaving for the elderly person who has never had any interest in it, is not to give him a useful life. But at the Henry Street Settlement, under a U.S. Public Health Service grant, a program of "Friendly Volunteers" in which elderly people have visited and helped each other, has been extremely succssful. The elderly person who helps somebody else knows he's being useful; he doesn't have to be told.

I am encouraged by changing attitudes on family planning. This gets to one of the roots of poverty. The new health commissioner, Dr. O'Rourke, told the other day of a family on relief in New York with not enough food or clothing. There was a young mother with five children under five years of age—a young mother almost overwhelmed by her situation. There was one bed, one cot and one sofa for seven people, including a brother. The mother was afraid the absent husband might again pay a drunken night visit, perhaps starting another child on the way. We all have to follow our consciences in these matters. My own feeling is that unless this woman receives family planning advice and aid, those children, and maybe more, may well be the elderly relief clients of the year 2032, as well as the young ones of 1967.

At least the clouds have broken and we are moving. The concepts that poverty can and should be eliminated, and that all persons are entitled to the best in medical care—these are revolutionary. That we accept them as practical objectives may be well nigh half the battle toward reaching those objectives.

Mr. Speaker, the afternoon panel on "Medicare, Medicaid, and the Public Interest" was moderated by Albert H. Blumenthal, chairman, Committee on Health, New York State Assembly. Members of the panel were James Brindle, president, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York; James G. Haughton, M.D., first deputy administrator, New York City Health Services Administration; George Himler, M.D., chairman, Coordinating Council of Five County Medical Societies of New York City; James C. Ingram, vice president, Blue Cross; George K. Wyman, New York State Commissioner of Social Welfare.

REPORT ON "MEDICARE, MEDICAID, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST"

Panel members generally agreed that medicare has been relatively successful in its first months. However, there have been major administrative problems in the medicaid program.

Under the social security system, medicare provides hospital and similar services for retired persons. There is also a voluntary insurance program. Those retired persons who join pay insurance premiums to social security. The insurance pays doctors bills.

Members of the panel concentrated on the administrative rather than on the purely medical aspects of the two programs, which together provide insurance for most medical costs for retired persons.

Although all generally agreed on the need and value of the programs, they made different recommendations to improve administration for the benefit of patients as well as members of the medical professions.

Dr. George Himler, who is chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Five County Medical Societies of New York City, pointed out that members of the State medical society had approved the medicaid program in principal.

While the State health department has responsibility for medical aspects of the program, local departments of social welfare have been responsible for determination of eligibility, enrollment, recordkeeping, and payment to providers of services.

Dr. Himler noted that after a few months' experience, the members of the society "reluctantly concluded that the medical assistance program was a total fiasco as it was being administered."

He said the maximum fee schedule promulgated for physicians and other providers of services was "inadequate." He said that in February of 1967 payments to physicians for services rendered to medicaid patients were at least 3 months behind.

Dr. Himler declared:

> Ironically, the Departments of Health and Social Welfare, while they were quite busy devising qualifications for physicians who wished to participate in Medicaid, had devoted no thought to developing standards of performance for themselves and their local branches. Rather than making it possible for physicians to participate without excessive penalties in terms of time and effort, these departments seemed to have settled on a course designed to dissuade doctors from accepting Medicaid patients.

James Brindle, president of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York—HIP—outlined his organization's experience with medicaid and medicare.

He said that 4 years of experience with the New York City Departments of Health and Welfare have demonstrated the "value of the group practice approach both in terms of satisfaction on the part of those who get the service and a high-level of medical care."

As of March 1967, HIP enrolled about 53,000 medicaid eligibles as members and more than 40,000 medicare beneficiaries.

Mr. Brindle pointed out that HIP services go beyond treatment by physicians and encompass preventive health care, home health services through the Visiting Nurse Association, and the services of nutritionists, social workers, and other ancillary personnel.

Instead of working on a fee basis, HIP physicians are paid a flat capitation amount in return for which they are responsible for the overall health care of the member.

The success of this approach, Mr. Brindle noted, is evidenced by the fact that—

> While receiving more medical services, HIP members are hospitalized about 25 per cent less than comparable patients covered by other medical care insurance programs.

I include at this point in the RECORD the presentation by Dr. George Himler:

PRESENTATION ON MEDICAID BY GEORGE HIMLER, M.D., AT CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM F. RYAN'S COMMUNITY CONFERENCE ON HEALTH IN OUR CITIES, APRIL 1, 1967

Physicians have long been aware that, with the steeply rising costs of hospitalization, drugs, and all the other elements entering into medical care, there are a substantial number of persons in this State who cannot afford necessary health services. Although the voluntary and commercial health insurance carriers have made it possible for the public to obtain protection at a reasonable cost by spreading the risk, there are still many individuals who are not insured or who need further care after having exhausted their benefits.

Recognizing these facts, the physicians of New York State, individually and through their State Medical Society, gave their support to the Kerr-Mills Law. When this was supplanted by Title 19 of Public Law 89–97, which we know as Medicaid, they supported that, too, although they had serious reservations about some of its provisions. Immediately on the enactment of the implementing law in Albany, the Medical Society of the State of New York appointed a Techncal Advisory Committee to the State Health Department. The purpose of the committee was to help develop the program along lines acceptable to its prospective beneficiaries, to the providers of health services, and to the administering agencies.

Among the conditions that the committee and the Medical Society considered necessary to a satisfactory plan for medical assistance were the following:

1) That the State develop a uniform and centralized program to avoid the confusion and delays inherent in completely autonomous local administration.

2) That the Title 18 intermediaries be used to administer the Title 19 program, based on the fact that they have the key personnel, the know-how, and the electronic data processing equipment to do the job efficiently. In addition, they have well-developed lines of communication and good relations with the medical profession, which would make for rapid and smooth development of the program.

3) That the right of the patient to choose his physician and hospital be guaranteed. This right was finally established by an amendment to the rules of the State Department of Social Welfare but is not part of the law.

4) That prior authorization for the care of Title 19 recipients be eliminated so that physicians could exercise their best judgment in the care of their patients.

5) That the fees paid for the care of Medicaid patients be at the "usual, customary, and prevailing" level, in keeping with Governor Rockefeller's public statements of his intention that they receive their medical care in the same manner as persons of private means or those having health insurance coverage. The principle of "usual, customary, and prevailing" fees has also received the public endorsement of Dr. Hollis S. Ingraham, New York State Commissioner of Health, and of Commissioner George K. Wyman, New York State Department of Social Welfare.

When the Medicaid program was put into effect, almost the entire responsibility for its administration was placed on the State Department of Social Welfare until November 1, 1966, after which its further activities were limited to the determination of eligibility, enrollment, record-keeping, and payment to providers of services. On and after November 1, 1966, the State Health Department assumed the responsibility for the medical aspects of the program, including policies applicable to hospitals, doctors, and the paramedical professions. The Health Department was further charged with insuring the availability of care, supervising its quality, and recommending fees. This division of authority did much to delay the development of the medical assistance program, since neither department was willing to take effective action prior to November, 1966.

In February, 1967, after ten months of committee meetings, consultations, and close cooperation with the agencies responsible for Medicaid, the Medical Society of the State of New York, at the annual meeting of its House of Delegates, reviewed the status of the program as it was then being administered and found it wanting in almost every important respect.

There had been no effort made to centralize the program, and the Governor and the Commissioner of Social Welfare had indicated their doubt that the Social Welfare Department had authority over the district offices. This meant that instead of one program, the Society now had to deal with about 62 and that there could be no uniformity in the procedures involved.

The district offices had broken down badly in their registration of eligible persons so that neither patients, physicians, nor hospitals knew who was entitled to assistance.

It was evident that the welfare amosphere had been carefully preserved. The recipients were not, in fact, enabled to receive their care like anyone else in the community and they were not "brought into the mainstream of medical care" as had been glowingly predicted for them. Both the prospective beneficiaries and the doctors showed their distaste for the conditions under which medical assistance was being offered, by their reluctance to participate.

If registration and record-keeping was bogged down in a morass of red tape, the reporting and billing procedures required of physicians were even more so and constituted an unnecessary and serious imposition on their time. In addition, regulations often varied from one county to another and became quite confusing when doctors treated patients from several adjacent counties, as was often the case.

The Departments of Health and Social Welfare made no effort whatever to encourage the district offices to use the Title 18 intermediaries for Title 19, in spite of the fact that Governor Rockefeller had publicly supported this procedure. In the absence of such direction, most of the welfare districts have elected to administer their own programs in spite of clear evidence that they are not equipped to do so.

In July, 1966, the Director of the Budget promulgated a maximum fee schedule for physicians and other providers of services. This was done over the protests of the Medical Society, since the schedule was 30 to 35 per cent below prevailing fees on a Statewide basis. This substandard rate structure is still in effect while dilatory attempts are being made to "investigate" the concept of usual, customary, and prevailing fees which has already been supported by the Governor and Commissioners Ingraham and Wyman.

Even at these inadequate rates, in February, 1967, payments to physicians for services rendered to Medicaid patients were at least three months behind in most welfare districts, as much as six months behind in many, while in a very substantial number, no payments had been made at all.

In view of these facts, the members of the Medical Society reluctantly concluded that the medical assistance program, which they had approved in principle, was a total fiasco as it was being administered. They also recognized that it was not likely to improve in the near future because of the obvious reluctance of the departments involved to accept suggestions on necessary remedial steps. Finally, they saw that, with the continuing decentralization of the program and with the vesting of final authority in the welfare district offices, it would be difficult or impossible to bring the State program up to acceptable standards.

The House of Delegates of the State Medical Society was keenly aware that, no matter how high the quality of medical care may be, it has no value unless there is an effective system of delivery and payment, and the conditions under which the care is rendered satisfy both the recipients and the providers. They therefore took the following actions:

(1) They indicated the dissatisfaction of the Medical Society of the State of New York with the Medicaid program *as it was then being administered* and withdrew their approval until substantial evidence is forthcoming that representatives of the State government intend to honor their commitments to the people and to the doctors.

(2) They called on Governor Rockefeller to require the State Departments of Health and Social Welfare to submit detailed and workable plans for the centralized and uniform supervision and regulation of the Medicaid program.

(3) They called on Governor Rockefeller to require these departments to create and enforce satisfactory performance standards for the district health and welfare agencies in the administration of the local plans.

(4) They called for the cutting back of eligibility standards to a more appropriate level, since the program was obviously too ambitious, both from the view of its cost and the obvious incapacity of the responsible departments to administer it.

(5) They called on the Governor to instruct the Health and Social Welfare Departments to actively encourage the district offices to use Title 18 intermediaries in the administration of Title 19.

(6) Finally, they called on Governor Rockefeller, in keeping with his publicly avowed policy, to instruct the Director of the Budget to adopt the "usual, customary, and prevailing" method of reimbursement immediately.

There has as yet been no official reaction to these just demands, and it is becoming increasingly clear that it is the official intent to permit this program to muddle along as it has done for the past eleven months. This situation should be a matter of deep concern to everyone, not just the recipients and providers of care.

In the interest of humanity, those who need medical assistance should receive it in dignity and without having barriers interposed in their way. In the interest of fiscal sanity, government must provide effective administration or allow those who can do so to provide it for them. In the interest of developing sound, socially-oriented mechanisms for the purchase and delivery of health services, taxpayers and voters must demand prudence in legislation affecting medical and hospital care so that the essential elements of both may be preserved.

The physicians of this State have demonstrated their willingness to cooperate and to make Medicaid work. The Advisory Committee has continued to meet with the Health Department to make suggestions and recommendaions for improving the program. What is needed now is either a stimulus from the Governor or a go-ahead signal to his commissioners to break the log-jam of official inactivity.

War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in the closing moments of the first session of the 90th Congress, the House passed a meaningful appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity. While it was far short of what many of us had hoped it was, nevertheless, greater than some had predicted.

A great deal of the success which we have had in connection with the legislation on the war on poverty in the House must be attributed to the efforts, dedication, and abilities of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Mr. Sargent Shriver.

In the Wednesday, December 13, 1967, addition of the Nashville Tennessean, an editorial, entitled "Patient Pleader for Poverty War," outlines succinctly the contribution which Mr. Shriver has made, and under unanimous consent I include the copy of the editorial in the Record at this point, and commend it to the consideration of my colleagues:

Patient Pleader For Poverty War

Final approval by the Congress of the two-year, $4.16 billion extension of the anti-poverty program undoubtedly is in part a tribute to Mr. Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Shriver gave endless testimony before committees and labored patiently in behalf of the program. Only at one point did Mr. Shriver seem discouraged by it all, indicating that if the anti-poverty program was ripped to a shred by appropriations he might consider quitting.

In the end, it wasn't, but the battle was long and arduous. It did result in a shift of the program by approval of the so-called city hall amendments which, in effect, turned over control of local community action programs to public officials.

However, on this gambit, Congress rejected on vote after vote Republican efforts to dismantle the OEO, and to shift to existing government agencies many of its functions. The Job Corps, for example, would have been transferred to Health, Education and Welfare, and phased out by the GOP, making it a vocational education program.

All in all, some three dozen amendments were rejected in the House alone, which gives some idea of how furious was the continuing fight to perform surgery on OEO funding and to dismantle its program.

Democratic members were able to turn back the series of assaults by the GOP and they, along with Mr. Shriver, the patient pleader for the anti-poverty war, finally won out.

Prof. Morris Wilhelm Describes Views of the Stevens Point Committee for Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on April 19, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] made some comments in the Congressional Record concerning groups opposed to current U.S. policy in Vietnam. He included in his remarks a letter to Prof. Morris M. Wilhelm, an assistant professor of political science at Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point, and a member of the Stevens Point Committee for Peace in Vietnam. This letter to Professor Wilhelm was written by a university colleague, Prof. Waclaw W. Soroka, of the history department.

I should like now to include Professor Wilhelm's reply:

Prof. Waclaw W. Soroka,
Department of History,
Wisconsin State University,
Stevens Point, Wis.

Dear Professor Soroka: You will excuse the long delay in answering your letter of March 16. A rather hectic schedule has prevented me until now from devoting the careful examination and consideration that your learned and challenging letter deserves.

It was interesting for me to see the extent to which our views are similar on many essential principles and positions. I agree, for instance, with your statement that the aim of the United States in Vietnam (insofar as this aim is understood by the American people) has "limited objectives," consisting of "a decent solution protecting the nations from imposed dictatorship." Most Americans are, indeed, "determined to help in building the Asian societies based on the will of the majority, on respect of human dignity, on freedom from terror and willfulness" (p. 2).

I am fully in accord with your position that "the thought of intellectuals with integrity must include in its consideration the threat and existence of Communist colonialism, as well," (p. 3). For I agree that the rule of law, the binding nature of international agreements and the "requirement of international cooperation" (p. 3), as basic ideals of a liberal world order, will never be established "by giving up before an aggressor" (p. 4).

The present-day leaders of Communist nations, regardless of the degree of their attachment to orthodox Marxian dialectic, must, in my opinion, be made aware of the inevitable failure of efforts to "successfully impose their dictatorship by force over any other country" (p. 5). Your description of the schisms within the Communist world and your call for the U.S. (and other nations, too, I suggest) to support those Communists who "hate this continuous pressure of Romantic revolutionaries" and are eager for "settlement, reconciliation and cooperation" (p. 4) are certainly valid conclusions and ones with which I am in full agreement. (Gerge Kennan's statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 30 is, I believe, a most valuable analysis of this complicated task.)

Your list of six areas of "protest" (p. 6), moreover, is a list that must be shared by all who genuinely accept the basic principles of liberalism—in the best and most authentic meaning of that term.

When I say that our positions are quite similar on these points I speak, of course, only for myself. Among the 82 participants in the newspaper advertisement are included some individuals who would probably not go along with some of these concepts; the large majority of the signers would, I believe, accept them. In any case the community of protest that this ad represented consists, as I have publicly indicated, of concerned residents of the area, who reject Communism at the same time that they reject the Johnson war policy in Vietnam as a solution to Communism. It is these beliefs alone that united them in their considered condemnation of the official U.S. position and that caused them to join in public protest against this position.

I was surprised, therefore, that you interpreted our statement to mean that Communism would necessarily be adopted in a democratic election in Vietnam (p. 2). Nor did we imply in our ad that the American conduct of war in Vietnam is comparable to "the Nazi deeds and methods" (p. 6).

I fail to understand, furthermore, your allegation that our statement demands that the U.S. "give up" in the face of Ho Chi Minh's "obstinacy," a move that would be, indeed, similar to the appeasement that "did not solve anything when the Western powers were giving up in face of the obstinacy of Hitler" (p. 2). I am, in fact, in complete agreement with you that the appeasement of aggressors of all kinds has never worked nor will it work in the case of Communist aggression.

I was particularly surprised at your interpreting our statement as one calling for a "unilateral withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam" (p. 2). Nowhere do we suggest this move, although the signers include *some* individuals who feel that this is the only way to end the war. I, personally, would want that (once the fighting is halted) our nation's forces remain in that troubled country at least as long as it would take for some international force to be moved to Vietnam to supervise the peace. (Incidentally, you are probably aware that the Peace Vigil sent a telegram to Ho Chi Minh on April 10 condemning his government's obstinacy in turning down U Thant's proposals for an immediate truce. Neither the Peace Vigil nor the participants in the newspaper statement have ever closed their eyes to "the action of the Communists and of Ho Chi Minh." Our "human compassion" has, indeed, been directed toward all the "victims of the war" (p. 6).

The central issue that you raise, however, is your belief that the Administration's policy of continuing military offensive action is a sound and, therefore moral one. It is on the validity of this claim that our position of protest stands or falls. The *aims* of the Administration's policy are not in question, at least as far as I am concerned.

Among the arguments that you present in defense of the Johnson policies is the very crucial one of the efficacy of the military action in Vietnam as a deterrent of Communism. You claim that "this action in Vietnam, combined with a proper stand of the U.S. government, has already curbed Communist expansion throughout the world. There are many signs visible in the Communist camp which indicate that the determination of the U.S. in curbing the Communist expansion by force decreased the influence of the Communist warmongers and strengthened the Communist opponents of the Stalinist and Maoist bellicosity in all the Communist countries, as a result of enormous significance" (p. 1).

I question the validity of this claim, both as it applies to Vietnam and as it applies to the other areas of the world. If I thought that the Administration policy in Vietnam had been effective in thwarting the aggressive elements of Communism, I, for one, would support that policy. I do not consider a war fought in defense of personal freedom immoral and, indeed, can conceive of situations where we have—or should have—used military means to deter Communist aggression.

The current situation in Vietnam, however, cannot be excused on these grounds. The hostility of the South Vietnamese population toward the American forces; the futility of our government's efforts to wean the peasantry from the attractions of the Vietcong and North Vietnam's propaganda; the necessity of our introducing increasingly cruel means to push back the Communists; our support for the Ky government, a mockery of democracy that we put forth as the answer to the Vietnamese challenge—all point to one conclusion: the U.S. military policy in Vietnam cannot be justified as a struggle against forces of aggression in defense of American liberties. It can rightly be considered an episode in blundering on the part of a blundering administration; an episode that involves the senseless sacrifice of Vietnamese and heroic American servicemen—274 of the latter during the week ending March 25; an episode involving the massive deception of the American public and the attempted massive deception of America's allies. The most tragic consequence of all is the probability that this policy will encourage rather than diminish the spread of Communist totalitarianism. "The United States has not charged into Vietnam. It has stumbled in, one uncertain step after another." (Milwaukee Journal, March 1.)

There are any number of reliable reports to corroborate the view that U.S. military action is failing to achieve its ends in Vietnam. Frances Fitzgerald (*Atlantic*, December) describes how the misery of South Vietnam's masses (particularly in Saigon), their lack of loyalty to the Ky regime, and their hostility toward Americans, make any claim of the native support for U.S. policy appear as one great myth. Theodore Draper (*Commentary*, January) reports that the Vietnamese Communists have already won a "kind of victory" by making the U.S. "think twice before getting into another such quagmire." He considers the allegation that U.S. military action in South Vietnam will prove "a decisive setback for communism in southeast Asia or even the world" a "political fairy tale."

The ultimate "debunking" of the Administration claim that the Ky regime (and its U.S. support) represents an effective democratic alternative to Communism is provided by a letter signed by seventy students and professors in South Vietnam and published in the *New York Times* on April 9. The letter was inserted by the Fellowship of Reconciliation—a group especially sympathetic to Buddhist and Catholic groups in Vietnam. The signatories of the letter would not permit their names to be published because, in their words, "the universities here are not permitted by the Government to express themselves freely. We have made petitions and appeals, but we cannot let our names be made public because we would be arrested and imprisoned." The letter goes on to reject allegations that the Ky regime represents the people. The scholars charge that "the more the war goes on, the stronger communism becomes, the more Americans become colonialists and our people are destroyed."

Nor, in my opinion, has the U.S. policy in Vietnam curbed Communist efforts and successes in other parts of the world. The situation in Latin America, particularly, gives much evidence recently of an increase, rather than a diminution, of Communist aggressive tactics. Guerrilla activities in a number of Latin American nations have increased, despite U.S. and O.A.S. determination. Neither U.S. successes (?) in Vietnam nor the support our nation provides to democratic and pseudo-democratic governments in Latin America has lessened the vulnerability of these nations to foreceful and peaceful efforts, by Communists of all shades, to achieve dominance in Latin America. Bolivia and Colombia have recently been plagued by Castro (probably) guerrilla bands.

President Frei of Chile (where the recent election made the Communists the second most powerful party) warned the Latin American nations just before the Punta del Este conference that unless drastic reforms were instituted, totalitarian revolutions, "whether Soviet Communist, or Peking or Castro . . . will come within a decade" (*New York Times*, April 11).

These reports clearly indicate, in my opinion, that U.S. action in Vietnam has achieved neither its immediate purpose of stopping Communism in Vietnam nor its long-range goal of preventing Communist expansion in those regions most vulnerable to its designs. Had the U.S. embarked on sound policies to counteract Communism, this tendency, perhaps, would have been halted. What these policies might have been—in Europe, Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia—would involve a discussion far beyond the aim of my letter.

Even at this point Johnson and his advisers could show the sincerity of their much publicized intention to end the war (along the lines of the U Thant proposals) if they would call for an end to the bombing. This move would represent a belated return to reason and sanity by an Administration that has been enmeshed in the results of its own tragic blundering. It would not atone for the many (documented) "missed opportunities to negotiate . . ." (See *Saturday Review*, March 25, p. 22 and *Politics of Escalation in Vietnam*, Schurmann, Scott and Zelnick, 1967). But it would prevent the extension of the morbid results of its blundering at this point, and this in itself would be for the good. The American people, truly concerned about the slaughter of its youth, the massacre taking place among the Vietnamese, and the moral degradation it has suffered in the opinion of the world community can, and must, demand this action now.

Toynbee, on April 11, stated that with "humanity on the edge of a precipice" Johnson appears more interested in face-saving than in "ending a barbarous war which threatens the foundations of American democracy." If the American people do not vigorously and persistently demand an immediate end to their "leader's" folly, what hope is there for the free world at all?

Sincerely,

MORRIS M. WILHELM,
Assistant Professor of Political Science.

Walter E. Gasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, my community of Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, Tenn., this week mourned the death of one of its outstanding citizens with the passing of Mr. Walter E. Gasser.

Mr. Gasser was a prominent and successful dairyman. But of greater importance was the great amount of his precious time and exceptional talents which he gave to the betterment of his community and fellow men.

Mr. Gasser was a member of the board of directors of the United Cerebral Palsy of Middle Tennessee and it was my privilege to work with him in this capacity for several years. He was past commander of American Legion Post No. 5 in Nashville, a member of the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Tennessee Farm Bureau Federation and the Elks Club and past president of the American Legion Luncheon Club.

In addition to these positions of service, Mr. Gasser contributed daily to the betterment of his friends, neighbors, and community.

He was a great asset to our city. He was a personal friend of mine and he will be missed.

Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Banner and the Nashville Tennessean commented editorially on the passing of Mr. Gasser, and under unanimous consent, I include these editorials in the body of the RECORD at this point:

WALTER E. GASSER

In its broad range of civic interest, and exemplary service to community, state, and nation, the life of Walter E. Gasser reflected a spirit of citizenship that wavered at no point where duty called.

A successful dairy farmer, his business career was rooted in the soil of his native, beloved Middle Tennessee; a leader in that industry, with pride and faith in the free enterprise system which built America. A patriot to the core, he served his Country's security cause in time of war and peace. He was the senior member of the Davidson County Draft Board, and past commander of the Disabled American Veterans.

A veteran of World War I, he was past commander of the American Legion Post 5, and a toiler in humanitarian endeavors, as in the United Cerebral Palsy organization.

Davidson County's acquaintance with him spanned his 77 years—a knowledge of the man begetting the esteem in which he was held. To that vast constituency of respect and personal friendship there is regret, and awareness of community loss, at his passing.

MR. W. E. GASSER

Mr. Walter E. Gasser, Davidson County dairyman and civic leader, is dead of a heart attack at the age of 77.

Mr. Gasser had served as president of the Nashville Dairy Council for more than 20 years. He was a member of the Davidson County draft board and a leader in veterans' organizations, having been a veteran of World War I. He had also been active in the work of the cerebral palsy organization.

Mr. Gasser was a member of a dairying family. His brothers are principal executives of Purity Dairies, and Mr. Gasser himself operated a dairy farm on Brick Church Pike.

Mr. Gasser's contributions to the community have been many. He will be missed.

Selections From the Congressional Record and Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the October 18 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MORTON] draws attention to a new magazine Interplay.

I do not doubt for one minute that the publication will make every endeavor to attain the purpose for which it was founded. But, I would like to bring to the attention to my colleagues an educational publication entitled, "Selections Review."

Selections Review is a new educational publication designed to stimulate interest in government and its operation. It differs from others of its kind because Members of both Houses of Congress express their views—through excerpts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—and the editors refrain from injecting theirs.

A recent poll revealed that more than half of the American people are unable to identify their Congressmen and more than 80 percent do not know how their Representatives voted on any major bills presented in the first session of the 89th Congress. Selections Review hopes to contribute toward correcting this lamentable situation for an enlightened electorate has always been considered a prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of a truly representative form of government.

The first number of Selections Review will long retain its relevance for it covers an unusually productive session of Congress and deals with six major bills then enacted into law: Water pollution, air pollution, beautification, immigration, medicare, and arts and humanities.

Not only are the debates on these subjects covered in this publication, but some of the additional features include an appropriate listing of reading; "Our National Heritage," a graphic description of the Library of Congress; a profile of the dean of the Senate, CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, who has represented his State since 1912 when it joined the Union; and "Italy" in the section "The Earth Is the Lord's."

It is hoped that these selections of the pro and con, the give and take of the legislators at work, will indeed convey far and wide a realistic picture of legislative processes in a democracy.

School boards have been advised that Selections Review will lend itself well as a basis for "mock sessions of Congress," and it is confidently believed that many adults will find the journal enlightening as to how the legislative process works in our democratic form of government.

A Fantastic Ice Cave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, one of the newest attractions in my congressional district—of which there are many—is a fantastic ice cave, located near the town of Aberdeen.

A short history of the ice cave, written by Peggy L. Carlson in the Idaho State Journal of November 24, 1967, traces the finding and subsequent growth of this great natural phenomena—ageless ice existing under the hot bed of a desert floor.

Believing that it will be of interest to my colleagues, I include it as a part of my remarks.

The article follows:

THE FIND OF A CARELESS MOMENT

(By Peggy L. Carlson)

In 1956 David Fortsch, a geology student at Idaho State University, and Perry Fenstermaker, an Aberdeen school teacher, decided to systematically probe the depths of the Great Rift.

The two were ardent spelunkers and planned to descend to the bottom of every hole they could find. The very existence of the Great Rift was unbelievable to those outside the area. All the "expert" speleologists knew fissures in the earth were fairly common—and that they never amounted to anything. Fortsch and Fenstermaker decided to see what they could find.

In September of that year, on one of their many expeditions to the area, they descended to an ice floor in a particularly deep abyss about a thousand feet north of the well-known King's Bowl area. They discovered a tiny hole in the ice floor, but it did not look promising. They decided to turn back, surmising it was a dead end. Then, much to his annoyance, David Fortsch dropped his flashlight. Before he could grab it, it slid into the tiny ice hole and disappeared. Chagrined, he decided to go after it.

To his surprise, the ice hole became spacious after he had gone about 10 feet—his flashlight had landed in a world of ice never seen by any man before. A great crystal-like tower rose majestically 25 feet into the air. Dazzling ice crystals reflected the beam from his light.

Amazed, the two spelunkers explored the icy underworld, marveling at its translucent beauty. Upon their return to town, they excitedly told of their discovery, then wryly dubbed their find "Liar's Cave," for the townspeople were sure no such place existed in the hot, barren land of the lavas.

For the next eight years, the beauty of the Cave was seen only by the adventuresome few who dared to brave the rigorous descent by rope.

In 1961, Jim Papadakis, the original developer of Texas' superb Caverns of Sonora, heard the story of the Cave. He recruited two cave-happy boys from Aberdeen to show him the area.

The ride was a fairly rough one—a typical back country road. The trio walked over the lavas to the spot they were seeking. Climbing to the top of the rough lava ridge, they hooked their ropes to the log that had been braced above the entrance by their predecessors. After making the initial descent by rope, a vertical drop of 90 feet, they spotted the tiny ice hole. Wriggling through it, they slide to the ice floor of the cave, much as children do on "slippery-slides."

As the beams of light were reflected by the gleaming ice formations and crystals, Jim dreamed of opening its beauties to the public. When he returned to town, he set out to make it come true. In the fall of 1963, after completing the voluminous paperwork and arrangements, he began the gigantic project of opening the Crystal Ice Caves for public viewing.

In the spring of 1964, a trail was blasted out of solid rock to the bottom of the King's Bowl, a gigantic sink of 150 feet deep which was created by a tremendous steam explosion. Stairs were constructed leading to the bottom of a small cave north of it. The large cave at the bottom of the Bowl had been explored over the years by many people and the only perennial accessible water supply for miles, Crystal Pool, is located in front of it. Because of an ice floor, its depth cannot be determined.

Bison skeletons were found near this part of the Great Rift, and it is believed that Indians hunting this part of the Snake River Plain drove them over the Rift and into it, assuring themselves of meat.

This development is unique as commercial caves go. It is the only rift cave in the world open to the public. Visitors touring the cave descend to a depth of more than 150 feet along a graduated trail and a series of tunnels containing no stairs. The route follows the Great Rift.

A tunnel, 1,200 feet in length, has been excavated through the solid lava alongside the Crystal Ice Cave formations, and windows allow visitors a view into the illuminated interior.

The guides explain the significance of geological curiosities and formations as they lead the visitors through. At one point, deep within the tunnel, the guide eliminates all artificial light—with visitors' permission—showing what total darkness is like. Everyone reacts with mixed feelings to the eerie feeling of "total" darkness.

The caves have been visited by citizens of South America, Denmark, Canada, Sweden, Japan, New Guinea, Formosa, and others too numerous to mention, as well as residents of all our 50 states. Literally, they have been visited by people from every continent in the world. All find it hard to believe that they will need a sweater or jacket, after enduring the oppressive heat of the hot summer months.

The one thing they fail to realize is why such a tremendous attraction is not furnished with a better road.

Some day, there will be an adequate road to this unique Southeastern Idaho attraction, and it will be equal to any in the United States. This is borne out by the enthusiasm of the many visitors who travel there—some over and over again!

Papadakis is full of plans for the continued development of the caves. When he has completed the tunnel, an extension of approximately 1,000 feet to the completed 1,200, he will reverse directions in the Rift. Perhaps there is another marvel of nature awaiting discovery in this direction.

Meantime, the beauties of the age-old ice have been carefully preserved by thermopane windows and a tightly fit door leading into the last section of the 1,200-foot tunnel, as have the geological curiosities, burned blades of grass, and tales of animal life which existed at the time the ancient craters were spewing forth their fury.

Sporadically new items come to light and are carefully preserved by Papadakis' scientific ability Some day, the whole story will be unfolded in a carefully planned visitors' center there.

One cannot help but marvel at the story preserved in the tiny Crystal Ice Caves Lava Field which is surrounded by vast lava fields and encompassed within the 20,000 square miles of the Snake River Plain.

The newest window open to public view reveals a scene not unlike that of the Nativity. A tall man with a long robe and a conical-shaped hat stands in front of a group of kneeling figures. Huge backdrops of ice glow softly in blue light and the wings of an angel-like figure are visible. Visitors react with "ohs" and "ahs" and in the quiet coolness of the regions under the earth, there is a feeling of reverence.

How old is the ice? No one knows.

New Dedication Needed in Meeting the Crisis of the Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, recently Gerald L. Phillippe, chairman of the board of the General Electric Co., called for new dedication in meeting the problems crisis of the cities. Mr. Phillippe has asserted that more local and private initiatives are needed in tackling discrimination and hard-core unemployment. He points with pride at the job-training programs that are underway in his own company, and I feel others have much to gain from Mr. Phillippe's thoughts on this subject.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD the remarks which Mr. Phillippe recently circulated among managers of the General Electric Co.:

The problems of America's cities, long neglected, are mounting up to crisis proportions.

Air and water pollution, strangled traffic, dilapidated housing, declining economic vitality, danger on the streets—the litany of woes in our city centers is long and discouragingly familiar.

Even worse than this physical and economic deterioration is the social disintegration represented by the slums. Increasingly, our city centers are becoming ghettos of the poor, peopled by Negroes and other minority groups who live in poverty and hopelessness.

The frustrations of the poor are piling up into a stack of social dynamite, and it is beginning to explode. In 1965, we saw rioting in Harlem and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco, and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets. General Electric has plants in many of these cities, and so we have had direct experience and real concern with these tragic events.

No American can view such disorders with complacency. Law and order must be maintained, but even more importantly, we must recognize the terrible urgency of the problems of the poor.

Their frustrations are rising to such a point that none of us can consider himself, his family, or his country safe until we can restore hope and dignity to the disadvantaged people. We must get more constructive action started to keep our society from being torn apart. This is a problem we can't just walk away from and leave to the federal government to struggle with. All citizens and segments of our society must do what they can to help.

COMPANY MUST DO ITS SHARE

The crisis of the cities calls for still more local and private initiatives, and General Electric, as one of the country's most important private institutions, has to carry its share of the load.

We have already demonstrated our capabilities in applying technology to the physical problems of the city: electric transit to relieve traffic congestion and air pollution; street lighting and police communications systems to reduce crime and accidents on the street; and many other products that make cities cleaner, healthier, safer places to live in.

But even more pressing are the problems that will not respond to technological solutions: the problems of unemployment and discrimination that have driven the people of the slums to the point of desperation.

Here, General Electric and other private enterprises can and must take more direct and effective action.

Basically, what the people of the slums want are useful jobs, decent housing, a good education for their children, an end to harassment, and an opportunity to share in the American way of life. That certainly is not unreasonable. But a lot of changes will have to be made, obstacles and barriers will have to be removed, people in all walks of life will have to pitch in and help, to bring about the changes needed in the shortest possible time.

I recently agreed to serve on the Steering Committee of a nationwide organization called the Urban Coalition. It is an organization of about 1,000 leaders in business, religion, labor, civil rights, and local government who have united to generate more local and private-sector action toward solving the problems of the cities.

The Urban Coalition has a Task Force on Private Employment, and I have agreed to serve as its co-chairman. It is aimed primarily at stimulating programs to develop the attitudes and skills required for productive employment, and find jobs in commerce and industry for the hard-core unemployed. This will involve enlargement of the many programs already underway by companies, volunteer groups, and business associations. It will involve getting action started in communities where little or nothing has been done. It will require the enlistment of cooperation from the five million business firms, large and small, that make up the American business community.

I want to be sure that we in General Electric, as a company and as private individuals, set an increasingly progressive example. As you well know, we have been among the leaders in reducing the formal and informal barriers of discrimination, and have pursued progressive employment policies. But we must do even more, as a pacesetter, because of our almost unique position as an employer with factories in some 129 American cities, and sales and service facilities in hundreds of other cities.

TAKING STOCK OF JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS IN THE COMPANY

Our Employee Relations Service is preparing inventories of what we have underway in terms of training and qualifying disadvantaged people for industrial work. By sharing the experiences of one location with another, we can find out what works, what problems arise, and how to cope with the inevitable difficulties. A preliminary survey indicates that components of the Company are already participating in 64 local programs of this sort, and have hired more than 3,000 graduates of anti-poverty training programs.

One of the most common approaches is through cooperation with institutional training programs established under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Job Corps has been another source of qualified personnel. I have been a strong supporter of the Job Corps, and when I have visited the Job Corps Center that's operated by our affiliate, General Learning Corporation, in Clinton, Iowa, I have seen what fine human rehabilitation work is being done there.

Still other approaches with growing acceptance in General Electric are the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and other local operations like the Opportunities Industrialization Centers under the leadership of Reverend Leon Sullivan. Many of our components are providing financial aid, equipment, and personal assistance in setting up these training centers in the neighborhoods where they are needed.

LOCAL MANAGEMENT HAS ROLE TO PLAY IN JOBS FOR NEGROES

In many locations, General Electric people have taken leadership in forwarding the work of such organizations as Whitney Young's Urban League, which has a long and solid record of opening up employment opportunities for Negroes. More and more, we are learning that General Electric serves best where local management joins local programs of community action in a realistic manner.

We have been making very fine progress in the general task of making equal employment opportunity a live reality in our factories, laboratories, and offices in every part of the country, and I know you are all proud of that. But we must keep everlastingly at it, with continued in-Company training, moving up the promotion ladder those who qualify for advancement so that still more jobs will be available for those who are just entering the industrial labor force.

Nor does the work end with training and jobs for the unskilled. We must step up our efforts to help Negro higher education and bring other companies and associations into greater action on this front, so that we will have a larger body of qualified Negroes for professional and managerial work. And the same goes for other disadvantaged minorities—the Indians, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, and any other ethnic group that has experienced discrimination in education and employment in this country.

ALL EMPLOYEES CAN HELP THROUGH PERSONAL EXAMPLE

This is not just a management problem. We can all help. General Electric employees can help through their personal example: their own attitude of tolerance and helpfulness; their patience with difficulties; their citizenship in voting for constructive leadership, and resisting the demagogues who appeal to prejudice rather than reason. The deepest problem is the problem of personal indifference. Most of us would prefer that somebody else take on the involvement. That will not get the job done. We are called upon, as citizens concerned for our country and our community, to commit our hearts and minds to this task.

I have been stressing the immediate problems of the underprivileged people, but the needs of the cities go beyond that—and herein lies a long-range opportunity for General Electric both to serve and to grow as a business. Our Company has expanded over the years by serving the needs of society: lifting standards of living, increasing industrial productivity, serving the national defense. We know that the problems of the cities—slums, crime, air and water pollution, traffic congestion—are building up a huge need for many of the products and services that this Company can provide.

Now we will have to organize ourselves to turn these needs into broader markets, and serve them on a much more creative basis than we have to date. We are establishing in Services in New York a clearinghouse and consulting group to help energize the Company's approach to urban problems and urban markets. One of its early tasks will be to determine what more General Electric can and should be doing to provide useful jobs for the people of the disadvantaged minorities. But it will also take a longer look at the whole range of metropolitan problems to see how our technology can be applied, on a constructive and business-like basis, to the challenge of improving life in the cities.

SERVING THE PUBLIC INTEREST

For the Company, there has never been a greater opportunity to serve the public interest and the interests of General Electric people at the same time. For more than 300,000 employees of General Electric, there is an opportunity to demonstrate the kind of leadership and citizenship that will add vitality to our cities and tremendous satisfaction to our personal lives.

Our response will have lasting effect on the kind of country we live in and hand on to our children.

Annapolis Flier Dies in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Comdr. Wilmer P. Cook, a Navy pilot from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this fine serviceman and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ANNAPOLIS FLIER DIES IN VIETNAM—WILMER P. COOK, NAVY PILOT, KILLED OVER NORTH

ANNAPOLIS.—Lt. Comdr. Wilmer P. Cook, a native of Annapolis who flew more than 200 bombing missions over North Vietnam, has been killed in combat, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The 35-year-old career pilot died December 22 when he was leading a flight of bombers over North Vietnam.

ATTACK PLANE PILOT

Lieutenant Commander Cook evaded three surface-to-air missiles before a fourth hit the wing of his plane and sent it spiraling to the ground, Navy officials told his family. A rescue helicopter flew within two feet of his body but was unable to recover it, they said.

Lieutenant Commander Cook, who was on his second tour in Vietnam, was scheduled to return to the United States in February.

He was recommended for the Silver Star following a bombing raid in October on North Vietnamese torpedo boats during which four boats were sunk.

An attack plane pilot, he flew an A-4 Skyhawk named "The City of Annapolis" and was stationed on the carrier *Coral Sea*, in the Gulf of Tonkin.

On his previous tour in 1966, he flew 120 missions, sometimes as many as three in one day, from the carrier *Constellation*, his father, John M. Cook, of 115 McKendree avenue, Annapolis, said.

He received the Distinguished Flying Cross, two Air Medals and several commendations on that tour.

He graduated from Annapolis High School and spent a year at the University of Maryland before going to the United States Naval Academy in 1952.

After his graduation in 1956, he received flight training at Pensacola, Fla., and then attended bombing school in Nevada.

TAUGHT AIR CADETS

Lieutenant Commander Cook returned to Pensacola and taught physics and electricity to Navy air cadets before he was sent to Vietnam.

According to his father, he took part in bombing raids on railroad tracks and oil storage areas around Hanoi and Haiphong.

He participated in one mission when an entire town was destroyed after two trains carrying dynamite and munitions destined for the south were hit. False North Vietnamese propaganda charged the Navy with attacking the town hospital, he told his father.

He frequently returned from bombing missions with his plane riddled with bullet holes. In November his plane was badly damaged during a raid on Hanoi.

He sent his parents a picture of his plane nosed into the carrier deck with rescue workers dousing it with water with the inscription: "I barely made it back in this one."

A second picture sent back to Annapolis showed him cuting a many-layered birthday cake as large and as heavy as he. The entire carrier celebrated his birthday and the twentieth anniversary of the carrier on October 1.

His father said that he wrote frequently, saying that conditions "were not as bad" in Vietnam as many said they were.

LEAVES TWO SONS

"I'll go wherever my country sends me and I'll do whatever it wants. Because of what I'm doing, my two boys may not have to go to war," he said.

While on leave he traveled in the Philippines and Japan and sent back hand-carved figures that he found in the more primitive areas of both countries.

Besides his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Cook, he is survived by his wife, the former Muriel Joan Terwilliger, now living in Lemoore, Cal., two sons, Wilmer Paul Cook, Jr., 9, and John M. Cook 3d, 4; and a brother, Captain John M. Cook, Jr., USAF (Ret.), of Titusville, New Jersey.

Report to My Constituents on the 90th Congress, First Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, now that this first session of the 90th Congress is nearing its end, it is time to reflect on some of our major decisions of the last 11½ months. It has been a long session and we have been faced with some of the most frustrating and difficult problems in the history of our Nation. To mention just a few: the Vietnam conflict, riots and crime in our cities, and the serious fiscal situation. All of these issues need deep thought and consideration and they are far, far from being settled.

In recent years the trend has been for congressional sessions to stretch longer and longer, until for all practical purposes we are in session the year around. In view of this, it would seem far more preferable to plan the work on a year-around basis with regularly scheduled times to return home for contact with our constituents. In particular, there should be better planning on the consideration of the various bills providing funds for Government departments. Although the new fiscal year began on July 1, only one of the regular departmental appropriation bills had been cleared at that time. As late as December, several agencies were still operating on continuing resolutions.

While it is impossible to discuss every bill considered in this first session, here are some of the major items and a summary comment on them:

INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT RESTORED—PUBLIC LAW 90-26

The Congress passed a bill (H.R. 6950) to restore the 7-percent investment tax credit for business and industry. I voted for this legislation. This investment credit provision was originally enacted in 1962 for the purpose of stimulating the economy. In October 1966 the administration thought the economy should be cooled off a bit and requested Congress to suspend the investment credit for a period of 15 months, even though business planning and financing had been made in reliance upon the investment credit. I opposed the suspensions at that time on the grounds that the Government was breaking faith with the business community, and also because of my studied judgment that the safe and sound cure for the then existing strong inflationary pressures was an attack on Government spending rather than an attempt to manage the private economy with on-again, off-again tax policies. The fact that the administration, in less than 6 months, asked that the investment tax credit be restored is clear vindication of the conclusion of those of us who opposed the suspensions originally.

Government actions to suspend the investment credit as a means of dealing with inflation had an adverse effect on business confidence. The continuity of orderly business expansion was broken. The quick response on the part of Congress to restore the investment tax credit was a step in the right direction.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967—H.R. 7819

For 3 days the House debate the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967. The issue was not centered on the money involved—although it was considerable—but on the direction that Federal aid should take. Traditionally education has been a local function, with control centered in the hands of local and State boards of education. More and more in recent years the control has shifted to Washington in the U.S. Office of Education.

The administration succeeded in defeating the so-called Quie amendment which would have given block grants to States for distribution instead of categorical grants directly to local boards and schools. After the Quie amendment was defeated on a nonrecord vote of 168 to 197, the House proceeded to adopt an amendment sponsored by the gentlewoman from Oregon, the Honorable **Edith Green**, providing that funds for supplementary education centers under title III be given to the State education departments for distribution under a State plan. Thus, it appears that a majority of the Members favored a return of some control to the States.

The debate during the 3 days often reached a state of confusion with general disagreement on the meaning of various amendments. In view of this I joined my Ohio colleague, the Honorable **William Ayres**, the ranking Republican on the Education and Labor Committee, in voting to recommit the legislation for 30 days in order to have further hearings on the bill and all germane amendments thereto.

The recommittal would not have delayed any programs since the provisions of this bill do not become effective anyway until July 1, 1968, Unfortunately, Mr. **Ayres**' motion failed by a vote of 180 to 236. I then voted against the bill on final passage in the House.

After Senate passage and a House-Senate conference, it was agreed that the program would be extended for 2 years through June 30, 1970. Total amount authorized for 1969 is $4.5 billion, for 1970 $4.7 billion. I voted for the conference report and it was adopted by a vote of 286 to 73.

SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT EXTENDED—PUBLIC LAW 90-40

The draft was extended to June 30, 1971. Fathers remain exempt, barring all-out war. Deferments for undergraduates in college are continued. Deferments for graduate students will be curtailed, probably starting in 1968. Nineteen-year-olds not in college or deferred go to the head of their draft boards' lists for induction. A lottery to choose 19-year-olds who must serve was neither required nor barred by Congress. The President was left with the power to order a shift to a lottery system if he wishes.

Although I would hope that we may eventually move toward an all-volunteer service, under present circumstances there would appear to be no alternative to a continuation of the Selective Service System. Therefore, I voted for this bill and it was passed by a vote of 362 to 9.

AN INCREASE IN THE DEBT LIMIT—PUBLIC LAW 90-39

On three separate occasions this year, the House debated bills to increase the national debt limit. The first occasion was a $6 billion increase—from $330 billion to $336 billion. I opposed this, but it passed. Then, less than 3 months later, the administration asked that it be increased from $336 billion to $365 billion. This was defeated 197 to 210. I voted "nay"—to defeat this increase. Coming back again, it was proposed that the permanent ceiling be increased to $358 billion, with a $7 billion temporary increase each year beginning July 1, 1968. This was passed 217 to 196. I voted "nay" again as a protest against continued deficit spending.

ANTIRIOT BILL—H.R. 421

The House passed a bill—H.R. 421—to impose Federal criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with intent to incite a riot. The vote was 347 to 70. I voted with the majority. This legislation represents the legitimate exercise of Federal power to control crime under authority based on the commerce clause of the Constitution. Historically, certain types of conduct have been prohibited by Federal statute when the facilities of interstate commerce are used. For example, there is the Federal kidnaping statute, the Antiracketeering Act, and the prohibition against the interstate transportation of strikebreakers.

H.R. 421 is not intended to and does not limit the right of dissent and peaceful demonstration. Legitimate activities by those who travel in interstate commerce to participate in public gatherings or other lawful demonstrations are not affected. However, those persons who use facilities in interstate commerce in order to incite riots, violence, looting, and bombing would be subject to prosecution. The most effective means of riot control still rests with local and State police. The intent of H.R. 421 is only to supplement existing State laws, not to replace them. By assuring Federal jurisdiction over out-of-State inciters, State and local authorities will be substantially assisted in keeping peace and protecting public safety. The immediate victims of riots and violence are the law-abiding citizens who suffer personal injury and loss of property. In a larger sense we are all victims of these acts of violence, for those who incite riots preach disrespect for authority and the breakdown of law and order.

Final passage of this legislation would be an effective deterrent toward elimination and control of riots. However, riots cannot be prevented by legislation alone. Every citizen has a responsibility in this area. We must strengthen respect for law and order through constructive action and concern for others, while opposing those who would teach destruction and violence.

The Senate has taken no action on this legislation so far.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFIT INCREASE—H.R. 12080

This legislation, which received bipartisan support, provides a general increase of 13 percent in benefits. This will be effective in the checks that will be received around March 1, 1968.

Here are some other highlights: minimum benefits are increased from $44 a month to $55. The amount a person may earn without having his social security benefits withheld would be increased from $1,500 annually to $1,680. I have long favored repealing the earnings limitation entirely, but there was no opportunity to amend this bill as it was debated under a closed rule. Those persons over 72, who had not met social security work requirements, will get a monthly increase of $5—from $35 a month to $40—and for a couple the increase will be from $52.50 per month to $60 per month.

An increase in social security cash payments is, of course, essential for our older citizens on fixed incomes. They are tragic victims of the inflation spiral.

While I voted for and supported H.R. 12080, I do want to point out what is often overlooked with expansion of a program of this kind. That is, the tax increase which goes hand in hand with increased benefits. Under the measure, the taxable pay base goes from $6,600 annually to $7,800. This means the maximum tax will be raised from $290 to $343 a year in 1968. There always exists the possibility that some future Congress will raise the benefits—and the taxes—again, thereby increasing the tax even more. Nevertheless, this bipartisan bill should go a long way in improving the financial situation of our senior citizens.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT—H.R. 5037

Responding to the overwhelming sentiment of the Nation, the House passed H.R. 5037, the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act of 1967. Aimed at the scandalous rise in major crimes throughout the country, the legislation seeks to increase the effectiveness and coordination of law enforcement at all levels of government. During floor debate two Republican amendments were adopted which strengthened the administration bill. The first provided an additional $25 million specifically earmarked to meet the need of local police officials for training in riot prevention and control, as well as to provide communication between the States relating to persons traveling with the intention of inciting riots. Second, one of the major considerations was whether to give the greatest voice in the use and control of funds provided by the act to the Attorney General or to the Governors of the States. As passed by the House, the decision favored the State Governors.

There was concern lest a national police force would be established if we left the authority in the hands of the Attorney General. In addition, the States and local communities should train and equip their own police forces. I voted for these amendments and for the bill on final passage. The acceptance of these amendments by a resounding vote—256 to 147—and the size of the vote on final passage—377 to 23—suggest wide support from all parts of the country for efforts to arrest the spread of crime and violence.

No action in Senate so far.

COMMISSION ON OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY—PUBLIC LAW 99–100

Congress enacted a bill to establish a Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. This is similar to the bill—H.R. 299—which I introduced earlier this year and in the previous Congress.

The amount of obscene materials being circulated in the United States has increased unbelievably in the past few years. Last year, for example, the Post Office Department received some 200,000 complaints from postal patrons about unsolicited obscene materials they or their children had received. Those of us who have long been concerned realize the problems involved in trying to eliminate smut peddlers. Numerous court decisions have complicated the legal proceedings. The Post Office Department, except in hard-core cases, has often been helpless in trying to stop the traffic. Police are hampered and district attorneys have been handcuffed in prosecuting those who originate or sell salacious materials because of the faultiness of legal definitions. In fact, public information programs on this subject have been lacking because of shaky guidelines. Many hesitate to raise a clamor for fear of being accused of censorship. The 16-member Commission is to analyze the laws now in effect, explore the methods and volume of traffic in such materials, study their effect on the youth of the Nation, and come up with recommended guides for action by Federal, State, and local levels of government and by individuals. One must remember that public opinion is, in the final analysis, the driving force that can and must create an atmosphere of decency. But the public, like the Government, has been entrapped in a maze of uncertainty. The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography should be an important first step in providing the people and the Government with the proper information with which to deal effectively with the evil influences that would corrupt our young people.

FOREIGN AID BILL—PUBLIC LAW 90–137

At the close of a grueling 16-hour session, the House passed the foreign aid bill by a very small margin. This, on top of the Senate action, assured for the aid program the slimmest budget in its 20-year history. Numerous cuts were made, reducing the administration's request of $3.46 billion to $2.8 billion. The Senate version, passed a few weeks earlier, had slashed the request to a little over $2.6 billion.

The future of the aid program appears uncertain, as the House bill barely passed, with a vote of 202 to 194. Should the strong antiaid sentiment persist, the program might be discontinued in a few more years. It was obvious that the majority party leaders were having difficulty mustering enough forces to prevent cuts and to pass the bill.

In the drive to curtail unnecessary Government spending, every major economic assistance program was trimmed. The 2-year authorization was rejected and some previously approved multiyear authorizations were repealed. Interest rates on loans were boosted. Presidential authority to sell arms on credit to underdeveloped countries was eliminated. The House withdrew the tariff-cutting most-favored-nation treatment from Poland, which has been supplying military equipment to North Vietnam. It forbade aid and sale of surplus goods to any country which breaks diplomatic relations with the United States. Arms sales to and purchase from any country trading with North Vietnam were barred.

It has been noted that the administration request was less than one-half of 1 percent of our gross national product. The United Nations has asked the wealthier nations to earmark 1 percent of their GNP to assist the less-developed countries. We must remember, however, that this aid authorization, although less than one-half of 1 percent of our GNP, is only part of our total foreign assistance contribution. The United States also furnishes aid through various international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the Export-Import Bank, Asian Development Bank, and Inter-American Development Bank. Also not included in this authorization are the amount we spend to help South Vietnam in its war—last year, $20 billion—and our Public Law 480 food program.

Some exponents of foreign aid complained that the restrictions added to the House legislation will hurt the building of East-West trade bridges which the administration has been promoting and will hamstring the administration in several other respects. As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee I have worked long and hard on this year's bill. To my mind there was room for improvement in the bill presented to the full House for consideration. The cuts made need not impair the effectiveness of the program. With our tax burdens mounting, it is imperative that we cut the fat out of every piece of legislation.

More than ever I have been disturbed this year over the difficulties the Foreign Affairs Committee has had in the matter of studies in depth of these far-reaching programs. I am convinced more firmly than ever that if the testimony from the various areas had been submitted to the committee's subcommittees, who have developed no little expertise in their subjects, we could have brought to the House a far more intelligent presentation. The chairman does not agree to the idea, having told us it was tried only to fail. I confess I am a "try and try again" person, and have not abandoned the idea.

The House-Senate conferees agreed on a total authorization of $2.67 billion.

NEW VETERANS BENEFITS LAW—PUBLIC LAW 90–77

The Congress passed a bill covering a wide range of benefit increases for veterans—pensions for disabilities not incurred in service, benefits for college or other training, and benefits at the wartime rate for Vietnam veterans. The President signed the bill and it is now Public Law 90–77.

Increases in pensions averaging 5.4 percent go to 2.7 million veterans with disabilities not connected with their service, and dependents of deceased veterans, based on need. Largest increases go to widows with low incomes. The basic pension for a veteran with no dependents and annual income of $600 or less is increased from $100 a month to $104. The increases do not apply to compensation payments for disabilities suffered as a result of service. Those payments were boosted in late 1965.

Monthly benefits for college or other training under the new cold war GI bill go up from $100 to $130 for a veteran with no dependents, with corresponding increases for veterans with dependents. Other provisions of the new law are as follows: For purposes of benefits, service after August 4, 1964, will be considered wartime service. Vietnam veterans, for example, will be paid compensation for disability incurred in service at the full wartime rate. A veteran reaching 65 will be presumed to be fully disabled, for pension eligibility, without having to submit medical proof. Eligibility of veterans of World War II for mortgages guaranteed by the Veterans Administration which was to expire in July of this year is restored—until July 25, 1970.

PARTNERSHIP FOR HEALTH AMENDMENTS OF 1967—RAT CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 90–174

This legislation extends for 3 years and expands the authorizations for grants for comprehensive health planning and services. The original Comprehensive Public Health Service Act passed late in the 89th Congress rejected the standard administration formula of categorical grants. It consolidated 16 separately administered public health programs and permitted States to develop plans, establish priorities, and coordinate local activities. Under this approach, the priority health problems in each State and community, whether they stem from communicable disease, narcotics, or rat infestation, can be identified and programs designed and funded to combat them. This legislation represented a step in the direction of a meaningful Federal-State partnership.

On July 20 of this year, I voted against the administration's Rat Extermination Act—not because I am blind to the necessity for rat control nor because I thought the idea was "funny"—but because there are presently available within the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Federal funds which may be used for rat eradication. To establish another rat control program under the Department of Housing and Urban Development as requested by the administration would serve only to extend the maze and confusion which so many community officials experience in making the rounds to learn where they should apply for various Federal grants. Since the presence of rats represents a definite threat to public health, assistance for control logically should come under the Comprehensive Health Act.

When the bill came before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, it contained some $892 million in comprehensive grants to be made to the States in the next 3 years. As the bill was written, the State and local communities would be free to determine the priorities and to use the funds in attacking those problems which are most prevalent and most pressing. Not one representative from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare came before the committee to suggest that additional money was needed to be earmarked for any specific purpose—rats or otherwise. However, during the course of floor debate, an amendment was adopted to add some $40 million to the bill to be used over a 2-year period for rat control. This amendment would have been worthy if no money had been included in the bill which could be used for this purpose. But there was some $70 million already in the legislation which could be used for rat control. Furthermore, we were advised that some $2.3 million was available to the State of Ohio under last year's bill to support the rat control program. In view of the fact that sufficient funds were included in the bill, I voted against the amendment to increase the authorization from $892 million to $932 million. Experience has shown that to vote authorizations in excess of those that can be used prudently only tends to encourage wastefulness, rather than speed a solution to the problem involved. After carefully weighing the facts, and considering that we have been asked by the administration to increase tax burdens by 10 percent, I could not in good conscience vote for the $40 million increase. However, the amendment was adopted 227 to 173. I then voted for final passage, since I favored the general approach the legislation takes.

POSTAL REVENUE AND FEDERAL SALARY ACT—PUBLIC LAW 90–206

The House passed and sent to the Senate a bill—H.R. 7977—to increase postal rates and give a salary increase to postal and Federal classified workers. Under this bill first-class letters and postcards go up 1 cent each and airmail will be up 2 cents. Second-class mailers which consist mostly of newspapers and magazines will have their rates increased by 23 percent and third-class rates will be increased by 31 percent.

Postal workers get a 6-percent pay increase and the salaries of the Federal classified employees go up 4.5 percent retroactive to October 1. Postal employees will get another 5-percent increase next July; other employees will get a raise to be determined by the President after comparing their salaries with similar employment in private industry, but not less than 3 percent. Both postal and other employees will receive a final third phase adjustment in April of 1969 to bring all of their salaries up to a par with private enterprise salaries as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The bill provides also for the establishment of a Quadrennial Commission to determine once every 4 years the proper salaries for officials in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, including Members of Congress. The President would then include the exact recommendations for such salaries and expenses in his budget submitted to the Congress. These recommendations would become effective after 30 days unless Congress by law sets the pay or one House specifically disapproves the President's recommendation.

Prior to final passage of H.R. 7977, a motion was made to approve the salary increases for the first year only. This would give the Congress an opportunity to reexamine the situation next year and could result in substantial savings to the taxpayer. The motion also would have eliminated the Quadrennial Commission and kept direct control over salaries in the Congress which represents the taxpayers. I supported this motion in behalf of economy and good legislative procedure, but we lost by a close vote, 211 to 199. On final passage I voted for the bill, although it was far from perfect, because I favored a raise for our hardworking postal people and other Federal workers. It may surprise some of you to learn that it takes a post office employee, a clerk or carrier, almost 13 years to make as much money as a busdriver in Washington, D.C., makes the first day he goes to work. Another point to remember is that the average postal employee in the United States handles approximately twice as much mail as is handled by employees of any of the postal services in Europe. H.R. 7977 was passed by a vote of 318 to 89. The Senate bill was very similar to the House bill.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS (S. 2388)

The greatest deliberative body in the world spent nearly 2 weeks on S. 2388, Economic Opportunity Act Amendments, then set aside its deliberativeness by bringing up some 19 amendments, many having serious consequences, in an hour and a half at the end. Final passage came literally at the 11th hour—11 p.m. on Wednesday, November 15. The bill finally passed by the House authorized $1.6 billion. The Senate bill, passed previously, authorized $2.2 billion.

The poverty war was launched hurriedly just prior to the 1964 presidential election. In the first year, $800 million was authorized, the second year $1.5 billion, and last year approximately $1.6 billion. When the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was before the 88th Congress, I expressed strong reservations about the manner in which the effort to assist the poor and underprivileged was being launched. While the desire was strong to do something constructive in addition to that which was already being accomplished through programs authorized under the Manpower Training and Development Act and the Vocational Education Act, the antipoverty program was open to many questions. Specifics were lacking. A sense of direction did not accompany the sense of purpose. Rather than such a massive undertaking rife with uncertainty, I preferred the "seed money" approach to establish pilot programs. Try a Headstart project. Underwrite a community action effort. Establish a Job Corps center. By doing so, the wrinkles could be ironed out along the way. Unfortunately, this view did not prevail. As a result there has been great waste. Mistakes were made, not on a modest scale, but in the grand fashion and the misfortunes of the Office of Economic Opportunity—OEO—are well known.

Now, some 3 years later, much has been learned at great cost. We know that the individual programs are important. Headstart, work experience, Upward Bound, community action. legal services, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, and others are successful if they have proper leadership. Leadership is the key and there is no better example than the Cleveland Women's Job Corps Center which Dr. Zelma George has turned into a model program.

As reported from the House Committee on Education and Labor, S. 2388 authorized a total of $2.06 billion. A recommittal motion offered by my Ohio colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM AYRES, reduced this total to $1.6 billion. I voted for this recommittal motion because there was general agreement that the cut would be limited to an amount approximating the level of expenditures for the current fiscal year. It was a figure that would assure the continuation of the currently existing programs. Furthermore, knowing that the Senate wanted an even larger amount next year, it was a foregone conclusion that the amount finally arrived at would be in excess of what was spent this year. The recommittal motion prevailed by a vote of 221 to 190.

I then voted for the bill on final passage in the House. It passed by a vote of 283 to 129. As I said in my speech during general debate:

> For 1967 we are asked for $2.06 billion. I am not here in this well to say we must give so huge a sum—certainly not before every effort has been made to cut down and do a better job. We should be able to do much more and do better with less. I am here to say that I cannot live with myself if we stop the doing.

The House-Senate conferees brought back a bill calling for a 2-year authorization of $1.98 billion in 1968 and $2.18 billion for 1969. This means there can be no effective review or consideration of the poverty programs until 1969. In view of this and also as a protest against the increased expenditures, I voted against the conference report but it was adopted 247 to 149. The amount finally appropriated for fiscal year 1968 was $1,773,000,000. I voted for the supplemental appropriations bill which included these funds.

AIR QUALITY ACT OF 1967—PUBLIC LAW 90-148

This new law would encourage the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It authorizes $362.3 million over a 3-year period for air control research, studies, planning, and grants to States and air pollution agencies. The bill further gives the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare the power to obtain court injunctions to abate pollution when there is an "imminent and substantial endangerment to the health of persons anywhere in the country."

Air pollution is no longer just a threat, it is a present menace to the health and well-being of the American people. Approximately 130 million tons of pollutants are discharged annually into the Nation's atmosphere, an average of 1,400 pounds for each American. This pollution is a byproduct of our highly developed economy. It stems from the rising number of motor vehicles, and from the trend toward urbanization which concentrates the highest levels of pollution in the most populated areas. Smog, damage to health and property, and even death have resulted from the pollution of our air. This new law should be helpful in our fight to combat this menace and I supported it. However, the Congress must not end the battle that it has just begun. A further step that should be taken is to give careful and serious consideration to providing tax incentives to those who undertake construction programs for treatment works to prevent air and water pollution. Many companies have been unable to combat pollution as fast and effectively as they would wish because such construction is very costly and, unlike other types of industrial construction, it does not add to productive capacity. Earlier this year I introduced a bill—H.R. 304—which would accomplish this objective.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS—PUBLIC LAW 90-121

Of all the appropriation bills, H.R. 9960, independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development, attracted the most press and public attention because it contained funds for the rent suplement program. When this bill passed the House in May, there was a motion which prevailed to strike out the $10 million for rent supplements. I voted for the motion at that time, not because I wanted to see the program ended, but as a protest against excessive Government spending. During the Labor Day recess, I made a tour of the areas of Cleveland affected by the rent supplement program. It was heartening to see the cooperation that is being extended by civic, church, labor, and banking groups to improve the housing conditions in some of these neighborhoods. When the House-Senate conference report was brought back to the House, there was a motion to recommit with instructions to insist on disagreement to the compromise of $10 million for rent supplements—in effect to knock out the $10 million. I opposed this motion and it was defeated by a vote of 184 to 198. The $10 million provided should be very helpful in furthering the rent supplement program—especially the projects that are completed or in the planning stage in Cleveland.

CONCLUSION

The success or failure of a Congress cannot be determined on the first session alone as all bills introduced this year and not acted upon are still pending and may be considered in the second session which begins in January 1968.

The enormous increase which has occurred in the legislative program over the years is due partly to the growing complexities of Government, increased population, and also because the Federal Government has become involved more and more in the daily lives of individuals. Paralleling the increase in legislative business is a striking increase in the needs of constituents for assistance. This is a result of the proliferation of the Federal bureaucracy. The size and complexity of the U.S. Government has become so great that often in the last analysis congressional offices remain the only authorities close enough to the people to intercede on their behalf. This we are always glad to do..

It is a very great privilege to serve the 22d Ohio District in the Congress of the United States. May I express my appreciation to all of my constituents for the support given me during this present session of the Congress.

What Can I Do as a Youth To Help My Country?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I should like to place in the RECORD the following essay, written in 1965 by a 17-year-old high school senior, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Byers, of Westminster, Md. This young man, now serving in the U.S. Air Force in Libya, gives a fine example of the good citizenship which makes our country strong. We can all be very proud of him. His essay follows:

WHAT CAN I DO AS A YOUTH TO HELP MY COUNTRY?

America is a comparatively young country. In its young life it has grown stronger and expanded its economy until it is the strongest nation on earth. The United States is developing in leaps and bounds in the field of welfare and has defense systems unequaled in history. Yet for all this, America is in trouble. Since the end of World War II we have been actively engaged in a fight to prevent the spread of Communism which threatens our way of life. This so-called "cold war" has cost many lives and vast sums of money.

These tremendous problems would be more bearable and possibly more easily settled if it were not for the reactions of many of our citizenry. It is my feeling that the downfall of this great country will not come from the enemy without, but rather from the unrest and belligerence from within. There are, at all times, people actively engaged in the overthrow of our government, both intentionally and otherwise. Most of the time this is not a secret operation, but rather one very much out in the open and receiving a great deal of publicity. I believe it is safe to assume that the larger number of these demonstrators and rabble are merely disillusioned or publicity-hungry young adults subtly aroused by Red-tinged teachers and professors. These are the people who could very well become the leaders of our country, and who can make or break it. These are the people of my own generation, the leaders of tomorrow. These, and the other millions of young people will find it necessary to search for a cure for our ailing country.

I, as a student and a citizen of this country, refuse to take a passive stand in policies pertaining to the welfare of the United States. I will stand by my country, fighting for the right and attempting to correct the wrong in whatever small way I can.

As a citizen, it is not only my right, but my duty and obligation to take a stand in the issues before the nation. It is also my duty and the duty of all young people to understand the difference between constructive criticism and conduct tantamount to treason. But taking a stand is not enough; I must know precisely what I am standing for. I must know the facts before taking a stand. Only when I understand my role and the need to do so, should I exercise my right as a citizen and speak out, to work for or against an issue. Only then can I rest assured that I have performed my duty to my country. Only then, am I truly a citizen of my country.

Summary of Public Works Legislation in First Session of 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following summary of public works legislation and various actions taken by the Committee on Public Works during the first session of the 90th Congress.

GENERAL STATEMENT

May I first express my appreciation for the efforts of the committee during a long and difficult session. Particularly, I want to say on public works that the majority and the minority have been helpful in the operations of the committee and in consideration of the legislation the committee handled this first session of the 90th Congress.

The committee had 465 bills referred to it during the first session. These dealt with a multitude of subjects covering many fields, including river basin monetary authorizations, revising and extending the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and amending the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, amending the Highway Beautification Act, establishing a National Visitors Center, amendments to the Highway Safety Act of 1966, authorizing additional bridges and tunnels in the State of Maryland, as well as an Interstate Highway System modification. Hearings were held on the status of the existing water pollution program; on the overall problem of needed highway construction in the District of Columbia and the surrounding metropolitan area of Maryland and Virginia; on the question of entrance admission and user's fees at Corps of Engineers projects; and on legislation to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Bridge Act of 1941 regarding alteration, reconstruction, or relocation of certain highway and railroad bridges.

The House and Senate Committees on Public Works joined forces and held intensive hearings on the Presidential freeze of highway construction funds. As a result of these hearings the cutbacks of funds were released so that the States could proceed with their scheduled programs.

The committee adopted 47 navigation, flood control, and beach erosion resolutions proposed by individual Members of Congress which require only committee action. The civil works resolutions authorized review survey studies by the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, that will ultimately result in the submission of project reports to Congress if the projects are found feasible and are approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers. The committee adopted 14 watershed resolutions, approved pursuant to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act—Public Law 566, 83d Congress, as amended—which requires major watershed projects having not more than 12,500 acre-feet of flood control capacity to be approved by the Committee on Public Works.

The committee approved six modifications of existing public buildings authorized under the Public Buildings Act of 1959.

In addition, subcommittees made three special inspection trips to investigate disastrous floods in the States of West Virginia, Ohio, Alaska, and Texas.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

TOLL FACILITIES HEARINGS

During August of 1967 the Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program filed with the House its report on public hearings previously held on the subject of toll roads and their relationship to our national network of highways—House Report No. 597.

Serious problems were aired, many for the first time, as a result of these hearings. They included evidence that a tremendous growth has taken place in the number of toll facilities astride America's roads. The investigation disclosed that, after 10 years of an accelerated highway program, with more than 2,000 miles of toll roads having already been incorporated into the Interstate System alone, an additional 2,000 miles of toll facilities was being proposed, some of it already under construction.

The subcommittee's investigation, hearings, and report represent the most searching, thorough examination of the whole toll road problem in the history of the highway program. Testimony by witnesses disclosed problems in the areas of toll facility finance, connections lacking between important Federal-aid roads and toll highways, a need for legal interpretation to remove uncertainty about applicable Federal laws, and an absence of jurisdiction on the part of the Federal Government to permit or prohibit new toll facilities on Federal-aid highways.

Continued study and attention is being afforded to this vitally important problem area.

HIGHWAY SAFETY HEARINGS

Public hearings were held during May, June, and July of 1967 following an investigation of roadside hazards by the Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program. The hearings represented the opening phase of the subcommittee's study of highway safety, design, and operational efficiency.

This segment of the inquiry concerned itself with the presence along our roadsides of thousands of fixed objects, many of them capable of demolishing an out-of-control car and killing or maiming its occupants.

Questions had arisen on whether or not the design of new highways has been such as to take full advantage of available experience and research, in order to make the country's roads as safe as might reasonably be expected.

Witnesses described a number of roadside hazards due to fixed objects that had been designed and built into the roadways. Witnesses brought forth photographic slides to document the testimony, and as these were displayed upon the hearing-room screen a panel of nationally known highway design experts and traffic engineers commented upon the hazards thus revealed.

The testimony disclosed conditions in the design of the Nation's highways, roads and streets that require changes. Included was evidence that conditions shown were not limited to the older roads, but extend to the primary and secondary Federal-aid highways, and even the Interstate System.

Witnesses experienced in highway planning and construction affirmed that not only would it not have cost more to construct some of these projects more safely, but in many cases they could actually have been built more safely for much less money. For instance, many sign structures costing thousands of dollars apiece could have been eliminated entirely, by placing the signs on existing bridge structures. In addition to the dollars saved, greater safety would have resulted.

A succession of witnesses described massive sign supports of steel pipe or I-beam, often imbedded in sturdy, waist-high concrete bases; unprotected concrete bridge ends which have no practical function; turnoff and roadside areas so studded with steel pipe, concrete objects, and other hardware as to present formidable hazards to out-of-control vehicles.

Other design features disclosed were concrete bridge piers with no protecting guardrail to keep a car from crashing against them; improperly installed guardrail, often placed "head on" toward the motorist; deep ditches that can guide a car directly into a concrete wall; heavy-duty steel light poles where, as with sign supports, "breakaway" type poles are available. These and many other types of existing hazards were disclosed as the hearing days continued. A need for prompt and positive action was indicated by the hearings, in order to save lives and to prevent innumerable, oftentimes unnecessary accidents.

The subcommittee is aware that, as a result of its interest in this aspect of highway design, the Department of Transportation, the Bureau of Public Roads, the American Association of State Highway Officials—AASHO—and the individual State highway departments have already taken positive corrective measures.

Further hearings are anticipated by the subcommittee during the coming months on additional aspects of safe highway design.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Early in the first session of this 90th Congress the Special Subcommittee on Economic Development Programs filed its first interim report on March 8, 1967—House Report No. 82. The report is based on testimony received in hearings in the latter part of 1966—89-46. Status and progress reports were received at these hearings from the top officials of the Economic Development Administration and the Appalachian Regional Commission regarding their respective programs. In addition, testimony was received from Members of Congress who wished to offer their experience with the administration of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 or the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

The report indicated certain problem areas, as suggested by the testimony, where the subcommittee felt further inquiry or investigation was needed. These areas were listed in a series of questions which are as follows:

First. What criteria are being used by the Economic Development Administration to comply with the constraint of section 102: Prevention of Unfair Competition, of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965? If there is difficulty in legal interpretation of this section, further legislative clarification may be necessary.

Second. What procedures or instructions are in existence and available to communities to assist them in fulfilling the requirements of an overall economic development plan—OEDP? What steps are being taken to assure that smaller, more disadvantaged and less organized communities are receiving their fair share of the program? Are the richer communities in depressed areas getting a disproportionate share?

Third. To what extent is there coordination to prevent duplication of technical assistance or research grants available from other Federal, State, or local agencies?

Fourth. What steps have been taken to assure that guidelines and policy are uniformly applied to all areas throughout the country in view of the decentralization of the organization? What authority has been delegated to field personnel?

Fifth. What background information is required and what investigation is made of loan applications? Could EDA loans be more efficiently processed if the entire loan function were turned over to the Small Business Administration, as is now the case of the Office of Economic Opportunity loans, or would it be desirable to eliminate SBA entirely and let EDA handle loans independently?

Sixth. What audit function is in existence to check expenditures on approved projects?

Seventh. What alternative methods are available to update the statistics to be applied to the outmigration standards in determining eligibility? What efforts can be made to alleviate the tide of rural decline and outmigration and the resulting inmigration to urban areas with the attendant problems connected therewith?

Eighth. In addition to the criteria listed in section 401 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, what other criteria, statistics, and techniques are available or should be made available to more effectively designate and evaluate eligible areas and communities?

Ninth. To what extent does economic development planning cross international borders when such borders are in close proximity to the area under consideration?

Tenth. It is recognized that both acts fulfill needs of today's relatively prosperous economy but what plans are being formulated in the event future national economic crises increase these needs? Are the acts being administered with a strategic view toward far greater implementation and state of readiness in the event of an economic recession?

Thereafter, the officials of the Economic Development Administration were given an opportunity to discuss and reply to the questions raised in the report. This hearing was held on April 11, 1967, and the printed hearing is available—No. 90–5. In addition to the reply to the questions by the officials of the Economic Development Administration, additional questions were raised regarding the application of section 702 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

In the latter part of April the staff of the subcommittee was sent to Oakland, Calif., for about a week where they made a preliminary review and inquiry concerning the Economic Development Administration projects and activities in that city.

The subcommittee again had the officials of the Economic Development Administration testify at public hearings on November 15, 1967, as to the overall status of Economic Development Administration projects. The subcommittee was interested in knowing how many had been approved, how many had been turned down and how many had been placed in the reserve status.

In addition, the Economic Development Administration was requested to give a detailed explanation of its interpretation and administration of section 702 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. The hearing was not concluded.

During the hearing, conflicting statements were introduced into the record which made it apparent that a detailed investigation of the facts involving the application of section 702 of the act to a business loan being discussed would be needed. In addition, two other business loan projects were questioned in regard to the application of section 702 of this act. The subcommittee staff is presently conducting an in-depth investigation of the application of section 702 by EDA to the three separate projects named at the hearing—90–20.

Upon completion of the in-depth investigation of the named projects and the procedures of applying the restraint of section 702, it is expected that these hearings will continue in the next session in order to clarify the facts of what actually occurred in regard to the application of section 702 in the three projects named as well as a clarification of the actual practices and procedures of the Economic Development Administration in applying this section of the act.

Following is a more detailed listing of specific major bills and items which the committee has considered or approved:

RIVER BASIN MONETARY AUTHORIZATION ACT OF 1967: PUBLIC LAW 90–17

This legislation provides increased authorizations for the prosecution of river basin plans for flood control and related purposes under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Engineers. The appropriations covered by the increased and completion authorizations are those for fiscal year 1968 and the summer and fall construction season of fiscal year 1969. Allowance is made for the amount of monetary authorization carried over on June 30, 1967. The necessity for these increased authorizations is explained below.

Monetary authorizations first were put into effect by the Flood Control Acts of 1936 and 1938. They limit authority to appropriate and expend funds within specified basins or specified major projects to levels below the total costs of the authorized basin or project developments. In this way they give the Congress opportunity to review and control the rate of accomplishment of the basin plans and major projects to which they apply.

In these plans, the Congress has approved an entire plan for development of a river basin in the interest of flood control, navigation, power, and allied water uses, but limited the amounts of funds to anticipated appropriations for a specified period of years, allowing accomplishment of only part of the plan. Subsequently the Congress has augmented some of the previously approved plans, by authorizing additional projects, or modifications of projects, and increased the monetary authorization to provide for additional appropriations. When the monetary authorization limit of a plan is approached, legislation is required to provide additional authorization so that appropriations can be made to permit the plan to continue. If such legislation is not forthcoming when needed, construction of projects in the basin plan cannot proceed, even if funds have been appropriated for this purpose.

In addition to projects comprising these basin plans subject to monetary authorization, Congress has authorized other projects in the basins for which full monetary authorization for appropriations has been provided under the terms of the authorizing act. Projects in this category require no further monetary authorization action by the Congress.

At the present time there are 20 basin development plans subject to basin monetary authorization limitations. Authorizations provided to date, including the most recent provided by legislation in 1965, are generally adequate for work to be performed through the end of fiscal year 1967. However, the 14 basins listed in this legislation will run out of authorization in fiscal year 1968, unless additional authorization is provided. The following table gives a list of the basins, the dates of original authorization, and the amount of increased authorizations needed for the work to be performed through the summer and fall construction season of 1968.

The table contains 13 basins and excludes the Sacramento River Basin which is covered by separate language in the legislation because it requires special wording to close out the completion of the first phase which covers bank erosion control and setback levees.

TOTAL COST

The total amount of the table below is $465 million and in the Sacramento River Basin it is $7 million, making a grand total of $472 million.

The committee wishes to point out again that this is additional monetary authorization for projects already authorized.

Basin	Act of Congress	Amount
Alabama-Coosa River	Mar. 2, 1945	$34,000,000
Arkansas River	June 28, 1938	170,000,000
Brazos River	Sept. 3, 1954	9,000,000
Central and southern Florida	June 30, 1948	14,000,000
Columbia River	June 28, 1938	153,000,000
Missouri River	do	20,000,000
Ohio River	June 22, 1936	38,000,000
Ouachita River	May 17, 1950	8,000,000
San Joaquin River	Dec. 22, 1944	2,000,000
South Platte River	May 17, 1950	2,000,000
Upper Mississippi River	June 28, 1938	4,000,000
West Branch Susquehanna River	Sept. 3, 1954	9,000,000
White River	June 28, 1938	2,000,000
Total		465,000,000

SACRAMENTO RIVER BASIN

The project for flood protection on the Sacramento River, Calif., was first authorized by the Flood Control Act of March 1, 1917, as amended and modified by subsequent acts of Congress. The most recent modification was authorized by the 1960 Flood Control Act in accordance with the recommendations contained in Senate Document 103, 86th Congress. This document recommended modification of the existing Sacramento River flood control project to include a long-range program of bank erosion control works and setback levees at a total estimated cost of $21,260,000. Congress authorized $14,240,000 to be appropriated for prosecution of the initial phase of this work under a cost-sharing arrangement whereby two-thirds of the total cost would be borne by the Federal Government and one-third by the local interests.

Owing to increased costs for rights-of-way and relocations, rising price levels since authorization, and to inclusion of recreation facilities in the project, the total cost estimate for the initial phase of this work has increased from $21,360,000 to $31,800,000. Although sufficient Federal monetary authority remains to cover construction through fiscal year 1969, the State monetary authority, limited by California State law to one-third of the Federal authorization, will be exhausted in fiscal year 1967.

An increase in the Federal monetary authorization to cover the currently estimated Federal cost of the initial phase would enable an increase in the State's monetary authorization sufficient to permit orderly continuation of the project. Accordingly, an increase in monetary authorization of $7,000,000 is needed to permit completion of the initial phase of the work authorized in the 1960 Flood Control Act.

The legislation modifies the plan of improvement for the Brazos River Basin, Tex., authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1954, so as to provide that all additional construction costs occasioned by the occurrence of a slide in the embankment of Waco Dam on the Bosque River during the fall of 1961 shall be borne by the United States. In 1958 the Brazos River Authority entered into an agreement pursuant to section 6 of the Flood Control Act of 1944 to purchase the surplus water available at the reservoir for the purpose of supplying water to the city of Waco at reasonable prices. Because of the unforeseen disaster in 1961 the increased costs assessed to the authority under the terms of the original agreement were determined to be $1,174,000. Section 6 of the Flood Control Act of 1944, however, provides for the sale of such surplus water at such prices and on such terms as are deemed reasonable. The committee believes that the assessment of these unanticipated costs would frustrate the purpose of section 6. Accordingly, the committee considers that it is equitable in this instance for the United States to assume the additional costs for repairs caused by the slide which were not foreseen at the time the project was authorized.

REVISE AND EXTEND THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965 AND AMEND THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965: PUBLIC LAW 90–103

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TITLE I, THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967, OF PUBLIC LAW 90–103

Section 101: Short title, citing title I as the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967.

Section 102. Functions of the Commission: Amends section 102 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965—hereinafter referred to as "the act"—to eliminate clause (9) concerning advice to the Secretary of Commerce on grants for administrative expenses of local development districts. The amendment conforms this section to the redefined role of the Commission in approving rather than recommending projects.

Section 103. Administrative expenses of the Commission: Amends section 105 of the act to authorize the appropriation of $1,700,000 to the Commission for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, including $400,000 for expenses of the Federal cochairman and his staff. Commission expenses are to be shared 50–50 by the Federal Government and the States, except that the Federal Government will bear the full cost of the administrative expenses of the Federal cochairman and his staff.

Section 104. Administrative powers of the Commission: Amends section 106 of the act to authorize the Commission to lease office space for any term expiring not later than June 30, 1971.

Section 105. Commission employee protections: Adds a new section 109 to title I of the act. It permits Federal agencies to treat service with the Appalachian Regional Commission, or with any regional commission established pursuant to the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, as if Federal service, for the purpose of determining the rate of pay of an individual who was a Federal employee immediately prior to such commission service but who returns to Federal employment within 6 months after completing such commission service.

Section 106. Appalachian highway program: Amends section 201 of the act as follows:

First. Authorizes the appropriation of funds to the President for the highway program. Transfers to the Commission all other functions of the Secretary of Commerce under section 201 not previously transferred to the Secretary of Transportation under the Department of Transportation Act. The Secretary of Transportation will continue to carry out the program.

Second. Provides an authorization of $715 million, including $540 million previously authorized but not appropriated, and $175 million new authority, for the 4-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1971. This increases the total authorization for the highway program from $840 million to $1,015 million in order to provide for the construction of an east-west corridor in New York State and a connecting corridor in Pennsylvania, and an additional $35 million for the access road program.

Third. Increases the construction mileage limitation for the development highway system from 2,350 to 2,700 miles, and the access road mileage limitation from 1,000 to 1,600 miles.

Fourth. Permits States to give preference to indigenous "materials and products" in highway construction. Present authority permits preference for indigenous "mineral resource materials."

Fifth. Permits the Appalachian States to construct, with their own funds, development highway projects which meet Commission criteria, under regular Federal-aid highway procedures, subject to possible Federal reimbursement from future appropriations. This provision may not be used to increase the total construction authorization.

Section 107. Demonstration health projects: Amends section 202 of the act to authorize $50 million for the demonstration health program for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969. This is in addition to the $23.5 million previously appropriated, which will continue to be available until expended for the purposes of this section.

The amendment broadens section 202 to authorize the use of funds for the acquistion of privately owned facilities not operated for profit, where needed to provide an integrated system of health services. Funds also will be available to support the Commission's Health Advisory Committee and to provide 75-percent planning grants for developing and evaluating demonstration health projects.

Operating grants will no longer be limited to facilities constructed with section 202 funds. Funds may be used for an existing hospital or any other health facility which is a component of a demonstration health project, including a facility constructed under title I of the Public Works and Economic Development Act. Operating grants may be made only for facilities which are publicly owned or are owned by a nonprofit organization and not operated for profit. Projects must be conducted under good management practices designed to obviate operating deficits.

Construction or equipment grants may be funded either entirely from section 202 or from a combination of 202 grants and grants from other programs such as the Hill-Burton, the mental retardation facilities, and the community mental health programs, and will be made in accordance with the applicable provisions of such acts. Federal contributions to operating costs will be charged against individual components of a demonstration project, and the 5-year limit in the act will begin, for each facility or service, on the first day that the facility or service is in operation as a part of the project.

Section 108. Land stabilization, conservation, and erosion control: Continues the program authorized by section 203 of the act and provides $19 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969.

Section 109. Timber development organizations: Authorizes $2 million for a new program of grants for Appalachian hardwood products research, studies, and demonstrations, with priority for higher education institutions having demonstrated capability to perform such work. No additional funds are provided for the technical assistance and loan programs in section 204(a) of the act. The unexpended balance of appropriations for the purpose of section 204(a) remains available until expended.

Section 110. Mining area restoration: Amends section 205 of the act to authorize $30 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969. The amendment permits Federal participation in reasonable project planning and engineering costs and permits the States to apply costs incurred for land acquisition toward their non-Federal share of project costs. The program for sealing and filling voids in abandoned coal mines is broadened to include abandoned oil and gas wells, and the strip and surface mine reclamation program is broadened to authorize the reclamation of areas covered with waste from surface and subsurface mining activities. The amendments also eliminates the authority in the act for expanding and accelerating fish and wildlife restoration projects.

Section 111. Water resources survey: Amends section 206 of the act to authorize $2 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, to complete the water resources survey of the region.

Section 112. Assistance for planning and other preliminary expenses of proposed housing projects under section 221 of the National Housing Act: Adds a new section 207 to title II of the act. It provides advances, loans, and grants for planning and technical assistance to stimulate the use of the insured mortgage program provided by section 221 of the National Housing Act in areas of the region determined by the Commission to have significant potential for future growth.

A revolving fund is established, and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is authorized to make loans from the fund for up to 80 percent of the preliminary costs of planning a project and of obtaining an insured mortgage under section 221 of the National Housing Act, including such costs as preliminary surveys and analyses of market needs, preliminary site engineering and architectural fees, site options, FHA and FNMA fees, and construction loan fees and discounts. Loans may be made without interest, or at any market or below-market interest rate authorized for a mortgage insured under section 221, except for loans to organizations established for profit, which must be at market interest rates. The Secretary can waive the repayment of all or any part of a loan, except a loan to an organization established for profit, which he finds the borrower is unable to recover from the proceeds of a mortgage insured under section 221.

Section 207 also authorizes technical assistance grants from the revolving fund for up to 80 percent of the administrative expenses, not recoverable under a section 221 insured mortgage, which are incurred incident to planning a project and obtaining an insured mortgage, such as the preparation of applications to FHA and FNMA, coordination, and management activities.

Five million dollars is authorized to carry out this section.

Section 113. Vocational education facilities: Amends section 211 of the act to authorize $26 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969. The amendment makes these funds available for equipping existing facilities as well as constructing and equipping new facilities.

Section 114. Sewage treatment works: Amends section 212 of the act providing assistance for sewage treatment works, to authorize $6 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969.

Section 115. Amendments to National Housing Act of 1954: Amends section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 to make local development districts, certified to the Commission by the Governors of the States in which they are located, eligible for 75-percent grants for comprehensive planning in their areas, and for planning Appalachian region programs.

Section 116. Supplements to Federal grant-in-aid programs: Amends section 214 of the act to authorize $97 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969. The President is authorized to provide supplemental grant funds for Federal grant-in-aid programs assisting in the construction or equipment of facilities, or the acquisition of land, which are enacted on or before December 31, 1967. The amendment also adds a new provision designed to eliminate unnecessary duplication of requirements for documentation in connection with the approval of basic and supplemental grants. Where a grant applicant is required to submit specific documentation to the head of a Federal department or agency administering a basic grant-in-aid program, such documentation will be accepted by the Federal Cochairman in considering a supplemental grant.

Section 117. Maintenance of effort: Amends section 221 of the act to make it clear that a State's expenditures for participation in the Interstate System and expenditures of local funds are not to be considered in determining compliance with section 221.

Section 118. Program implementation: Amends section 223 of the act to redefine the responsibilities of the Commission and the Federal departments and agencies. The amendment provides that, with respect to applying Appalachian Act program criteria, the Commission's judgment shall be final and not subject to further review by the Federal departments and agencies. The technical evaluation of projects and the actual accomplishment of programs and projects continue to be the responsibility of the Federal departments and agencies.

Section 119. Program development criteria: Amends section 224 of the act to conform to the redefined role of the Commission in approving rather than recommending projects, and to make it clear that no financial assistance under the act may be used to assist establishments relocating from one area to another.

Section 120. Grants for administrative expenses of local development districts and for research and demonstration projects: Amends section 302 of the act to authorize the President to make grants to the Commission for the administrative expenses of local development districts and for investigation, research, studies, technical assistance, and demonstration projects, and for training programs, which will further the purposes of the act. The Commission and all recipients of Federal assistance are required to maintain adequate records with respect to such assistance and to make them available for Federal audit.

The amendment also provides for the Commission to make a study, in cooperation with the Department of the Interior and other Federal and State agencies, of acid pollution in the region resulting from mining activities and the effects of such pollution, with the objective of developing a program for the appropriate control, reduction, or elimination of acid pollution. The Commission is required to submit a report, including specific recommendations for the program and the policies under which it should be conducted, to the President for transmittal to the Congress together with his recommendations not later than March 31, 1969.

Eleven million dollars is authorized to carry out this section for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, of which not to exceed $3 million is to be available for the acid mine pollution study.

Section 121. Project approval: Amends section 303 of the act to clarify the procedure and responsibilities for processing and evaluating applications for assistance under the act. Applications must be submitted through the appropriate State member of the Commission and evaluated by him. Only those applications which are approved by a State member as meeting the requirement of the act and submitted by him to the Commission may receive Commission approval.

The amendment also includes a provision that the Commission shall not approve a project unless it is satisfied that the project will be properly administered, operated, and maintained.

Section 122. Authorization of appropriations: Amends section 401 of the act to authorize appropriations to the President of not to exceed $170 million for the 2-fiscal-year period ending June 30, 1969, to be available until expended, to carry out the respective provisions of the act, except sections 105 and 201 which provide their own authorizations. The $170 million authorized in this section for the various programs is $77 million less than the sum of the individual ceilings established in the applicable program sections.

Section 123. Definition of Appalachian region: Amends section 403 of the act to redefine the region by adding two counties in Alabama, 20 counties in Mississippi, 14 counties in New York—including 13 counties added to the region by the Commission in 1965 pursuant to section 403—and one county in Tennessee.

The amendment also includes language which prohibits the Commission from proposing or considering any further changes in the definition of the region except at the direction of the Committee on Public Works of the House or of the Senate.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TITLE II, AMENDMENTS TO THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965, OF PUBLIC LAW 90–103

Section 201: This section amends section 503(a) of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 by adding to the functions of each regional commission established under such act the responsibility to develop a comprehensive long-range economic plan approved by the Secretary of Commerce.

Section 202: This section amends section 505(c) of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 to provide that the Secretary of Commerce shall allocate for the purposes of grants to each regional commission established under the act not to exceed $2½ million for each fiscal year for technical assistance, including studies, plans and research, and for administrative expenses of each commission.

Section 203: This section amends title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 by adding a new section authorizing for each regional commission under the act a program of supplemental grants to basic Federal grant-in-aid programs in existence on or before December 31, 1967, assisting in the acquisition of land or the construction or equipment of facilities. The Secretary is authorized, once a regional commission has a comprehensive, long-range economic plan in effect, to provide funds to the Federal cochairman to increase up to an 80-percent maximum the Federal share of the cost of projects which have been recommended by the commission and approved by the appropriate State member thereof. These supplemental grants may be made on behalf of States and other entities eligible to receive the basic grant but unable, because of their economic situation, to provide the required matching share; $5 million is authorized to be appropriated for each region for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and $10 million for each region for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

Section 204: This section amends title VI of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 by adding a new section to provide that no assistance shall be approved under the act unless the Secretary is satisfied that the project for which Federal assistance is granted will be properly and efficiently administered, operated, and maintained.

SAFETY OF CAPITOL BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS: PUBLIC LAW 90–108

Until recently, the act of July 31, 1946, together with the existing general laws of the United States and of the District of Columbia, appeared to be sufficient to cope with the occasional breach of the peace which occurred on the Capitol Grounds or within the Capitol Buildings. However, in the past few years there has been a substantial increase in the number of incidents of excessive disruption or disorderly conduct.

Without examining the reasons for this rise in disruptive activity, it may be noted that Congress has had before it legislation which brings into focus the extremely frustrating and difficult issues confronting the Nation. These are by their very nature issues on which people have strong views. Many people have grown impatient with the delays inherent in seeking workable solutions to these problems, if not with the proposals for solving them.

The Committee on Public Works has given full recognition to the need to provide every legitimate opportunity for the public expression of dissenting views in a reasonable and proper fashion. The committee also has given consideration to the need to provide and maintain necessary safeguards for protecting the conduct of public business in the Federal Legislature.

The committee at all times sought to accommodate these sometimes conflicting goals in such a way as to insure to every individual or group of individuals the guarantees to which the Constitution of the United States entitles them, while at the same time protecting the integrity of the legislative process. Public Law 90–108 prohibits activities which the committee strongly believes are not those who any reasonable person could consider as falling within the guarantees of the first amendment. The committee exercised great caution and gave careful attention to the need for legislative constraint in this matter. The nature of the legislative process, and the problems which now confront us as a Nation, are such that people with strong feelings must be assured of the rights of freedom of expression and of assembly and the right to petition their Government, but under no circumstances should the guarantee of these rights be extended to a license for a minority to delay, impede, or otherwise disrupt the orderly processes of the legislature which represents all Americans.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Subsection (a) of the first section of this legislation amends 40 U.S.C. 193a and the corresponding portion of the District of Columbia Code, 9–118, by defining the Capitol Grounds to include all additions to those grounds subsequent to June 25, 1946.

Subsection (b) of section 1 amends 40 U.S.C. 193f and District of Columbia Code 9–123 by providing "that except as authorized by regulations promulgated by the Capitol Police Board no one may: First, carry any firearm, dangerous weapon, explosive, or incendiary device; second, discharge any firearm or explosive, use any dangerous weapon, or ignite any incendiary device; or third, transport by any means any explosive or incendiary device."

The activities proscribed by paragraphs (A), (B), and (C) relate to both the Capitol Grounds and the Capitol buildings.

It will be necessary for the Capitol Police Board to develop a list of incendiary devices which are prohibited.

In this connection, the committee requested the views of the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia on possible definitions of this term. He submitted several, and the committee recommends to the Capitol Police Board the following definition for inclusion in its regulations:

> The term "incendiary device" means any substance, material, or item, or any combination thereof (including, but not limited to, spontaneously inflammable, oxidizing thermal, metallic, and modified oil mixtures), capable of igniting other materials by means of combustion, explosion, intense heat, or otherwise, but does not include ordinary matches, flint and steel lighters, or gas lighters intended primarily for personal or household use.

All of the other terms—"firearms," "dangerous weapons," and "explosives"—are specifically defined elsewhere in this bill.

Subsection (b) of the first section further amends existing law by making forceable and violent entry upon the floor of either House a felony. The description of specific felonies set out in the revision of section 6 does not preclude prosecution under the existing or future felony statutes of the United States or the District of Columbia for acts not enumerated herein. The laws relating to murder, arson, assaulting a police officer and the like will continue to be applicable upon the Capitol Grounds and in the Capitol Buildings.

Subsection (b) of the first section of Public Law 90–108 further amends 40 U.S.C. 193f and District of Columbia Code 9–123 by adding a new subsection (b) to section 6 of the act of July 31, 1946. This subsection is a seven-part proscription of activities which would subject the perpetrator thereof to misdemeanor prosecution.

Under the terms of this new language, it is unlawful for any person or group of persons willfully and knowingly—

First, to enter or remain upon the floor of either House, the cloakroom, lobbies adjacent to such places, or the Rayburn Room of the House, or the Marble Room of the Senate unless such person is authorized to do so under rules or authority given by either House. The inclusion of the words "willfully and knowingly" would protect against prosecutions for actions by persons not intending to violate these provisions. The actions involved in this misdemeanor differ from the actions proscribed under subparagraph (2) of new subsection 6(a) in that the felony created therein requires knowledge and force and violence and is designed to prohibit actions which would endanger the Members of the House or the Senate, or which would threaten physical harm to them, or which would impede or disrupt the proceedings of either the House or the Senate;

Second, to enter or remain in the gallery of either House in violation of the rules governing admission or conduct therein;

Third, to enter or remain in any room within any of the Capitol Building which have been set aside or designated for use by the House or Senate or any Member of either body or any committee, subcommittee, officer or employee, if the entry or remaining is with the intent to disrupt the disorderly conduct of official business;

Fourth, to utter loud, threatening, or abusive language or to engage in any disruptive or disorderly conduct, on the Capitol Grounds or in the Capitol Buildings when such actions are intended to impede, disrupt, or disturb the orderly conduct of the public business of the United States. The proscription against loud, threatening or abusive language contained in subparagraph (4) is the only prohibition against speech contained in this measure. The purpose of this paragraph is to prohibit any conduct which would unreasonably and unnecessarily hinder the prosecution of legislative business. The activities proscribed by this paragraph will not be permitted anywhere on the Capitol Grounds or in the Capitol Buildings.

Fifth, to obstruct, or impede passage through or within, the grounds or buildings;

Sixth, to commit acts of physical violence; and

Seventh, to parade, demonstrate, or picket within the buildings.

Paragraphs (4), (5), (6), and (7) enumerate and describe conduct for which there is no justification. They would provide the Capital Police with additional authority for handling those whose purpose it is to engage in mischief or cause trouble.

As used in subparagraph (5) the term "obstruct" means to render impassable without having to show unreasonable inconvenience or hazard. The term "impede" means to interfere with, set in the way of, or block. Everyone lawfully present on the Capitol Grounds or within the Capitol buildings is entitled to free and unhampered passage along the walks ways, passages, or halls.

The phrase "act of physical violence" is defined in subsection (d) of section 1 of Public Law 90–108.

Subsection (b) further amends existing law by providing that the proscriptions contained therein do not apply to Members of Congress, their employees, or the officers or employees of the Congress or any committee or subcommittee thereof while they are engaged in the lawful discharge of their official duties.

Subsection (c) of the first section of this legislation revises 40 U.S.C. 193h and District of Columbia Code 9–125 by providing penalties to cover the acts delinated as wrongful in subsection (b) of the bill. Felonious conduct would subject the offender to a maximum fine of $5,000 or imprisonment for up to 5 years or both. Misdemeanors as defined by the act, which include all of new section 6(b) and sections 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 of the act of July 31, 1946, would involve a maximum penalty of $500 or imprisonment for up to 6 months or both.

The bill would add language to section 8 of the act of July 31, 1946, to make it clear that prosecution may be had for attempting or conspiring to commit such offenses.

Prosecution for all cases arising under the act as amended by the reported bill would be by the U.S. attorney in the name of the United States. Any prosecution for a violation of this act could be joined with a prosecution for a violation of the general laws of the United States and the District of Columbia in a single action. Where the prosecution is for one of the enumerated felonies, the proceedings shall be in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. All other violations may be tried in the District of Columbia court of general sessions, which is more properly set up for the handling of misdemeanor offenses.

The penalties provided for in this amendment are substantially greater than those contained in the 1946 act, which was $100 or 60 days, and are far greater than those which can now be imposed if disorderly conduct occurs in public buildings, i.e., a fine of not more than $50. One of the principal matters of concern of the committee has been that the penalty assessed under District of Columbia Code 22–3111 can be satisfied by the posting of $10 collateral. The substantial difference between the penalty which may now be levied and that which is presently provided for is such that the committee does not believe that summary disposition of these cases will continue.

Subsection (d) of the first section of the legislation amends section 16 of the act of July 31, 1946, 40 U.S.C. 193m, and District of Columbia Code 9–132, to specifically include the Capitol Buildings within the scope of the act. As defined, these buildings include all buildings situated upon the Capitol Grounds and all subways or enclosed passages connecting two or more of these buildings. The act of 1946 specifically excluded the Capitol buildings from coverage.

Subsection (d) also defines the terms "firearm," "dangerous weapons," "explosive," and "act of physical violence."

Section 2 amends the 1892 statute, more commonly referred to as "District of Columbia Code 22–3111," by increasing the penalty for disorderly conduct in public buildings of the United States located in the District of Columbia from a fine of not more than $50 to a fine of not more than $500 or imprisonment for not more than 6 months or both.

Section 3 of the legislation insures that prosecutions for offenses committed prior to enactment of the act will be prosecuted under the then existing laws and that prosecutions for violations occurring after the enactment of the act will be pursuant to provisions of it.

NATIONAL VISITOR CENTER FACILITIES ACT OF 1967 (H.R. 12603)

This bill was reported by the committee and has passed the House. It is now pending for consideration by the Senate.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 12603, AS REPORTED

Section 1 provides that the bill may be cited as the "National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1967."

TITLE I

Section 101 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Administrator of General Services, to make agreements and leases with the Washington Terminal Co. for the use of its Union Station property in the District of Columbia for a National Visitor Center and a parking facility for the Center.

Section 102 provides that such agreements and leases will be subject to the following terms and conditions: First, the company will alter the Union Station building to provide adequate visitor facilities, construct a 4,000-vehicle parking facility in the air space immediately northerly of the building, and lease the building and the parking facility to the United States for a term not to exceed 20 years; second, the total cost of such alterations may not exceed $5 million, and the total cost of such alterations and construction may not exceed $16 million; third, the rentals paid by the United States may not exceed the fair rental value of the property, and the aggregate annual cost to the United States of the above leases may not exceed $3 million; fourth, after the first year of the leases, the United States will have an option to purchase the leased property from the company on 1 year's written notice at not more than fair market value, and on such terms and conditions, including credit toward the purchase price of rentals paid by the United States, as are mutually agreed upon; fifth, the company will construct a new railroad passenger station in the area between or adjacent to the National Visitor Center parking facility; and sixth, the agreements and leases will be subject to such other terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior and the Administrator of General Services jointly prescribe.

Section 103 requires the Secretary of the Interior to administer the leased property, as well as the property acquired, altered, or constructed under section 18 of the Public Buildings Act of 1949 for other visitor facilities in the Nation's Capital, in accordance with the statutory authority available to him for administration of the national park system.

Section 104 requires the Secretary of the Interior, on or before January 15, 1968, to report to Congress the results of a complete study of the problems of transporting visitors along the Mall and its vicinity, the U.S. Capitol Grounds, and the National Visitor Center, together with proposed legislation to carry out his recommendations.

Section 105 prohibits the District of Columbia from including in the assessed valuation for tax purposes of property now owned by the Washington Terminal Co., an increased valuation of such property by reason of the agreements, leases, or improvements made pursuant to title I of this bill on behalf of the Federal Government.

Section 106 requires the District of Columbia, in connection with the construction of the National Visitor Center parking facility, to transfer to the Secretary of the Interior any real property under its jurisdiction needed for vehicular access to public roads and highways in the immediate area of such facility. The section requires consultation with the Architect of the Capitol before any alteration is made of the existing traffic pattern in Union Station Plaza.

Section 107 directs the Secretary of the Interior to make a continuing study of the needs of visitors to the Washington metropolitan area, including the necessity and desirability of different or additional visitor facilities and of altering existing facilities, and to recommend to the Administrator of General Services that he acquire, alter, or construct such facilities in accordance with section 18 of the Public Buildings Act of 1959. The Secretary is required to submit annual reports to the Congress on the National Visitor Center and all other visitor facilities authorized by this bill.

Section 108 repeals existing laws or parts thereof to the extent they are inconsistent with the provisions of this bill.

Section 109 amends the act of November 5, 1966—Public Law 89-759—which authorized the Administrator of General Services to select an available Government-owned site in the District of Columbia for a temporary heliport, by directing the Administrator to select the National Visitor Center parking facility for a permanent heliport.

Section 110 authorizes the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the bill.

Section 111 requires the laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the alteration of Union Station and the construction of the Visitor Center parking facility to be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing for the same type of work on similar construction in the locality, as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931, as amended.

TITLE II

Section 201 establishes a National Visitor Facilities Advisory Commission to conduct a continuing review of the National Visitor Center; to conduct continuing studies of sites and plans for additional facilities for visitors and students to the Nation's Capital; and to advise the Secretary of the Interior and the Administrator of General Services with respect to the planning, construction, acquisition, and operation of all such facilities.

Section 202 provides for the Advisory Commission to be composed of 22 members, for the Secretary of the Interior to be Chairman of the Commission, for the members of the Commission—other than those who are officers or employees of the Federal or District of Columbia Governments—to receive certain compensation and travel expenses, and for the Director of the National Park Service to provide necessary staff and facilities to assist the Commission's work.

Section 203 requires the Advisory Commission to report to the Secretary of the Interior and the Administrator of General Services from time to time on the results of its studies including, in the case of additional facilities recommendations as to sites, preliminary plans, specifications, and architectural drawings and estimates of cost.

TITLE III

Section 301 directs the Architect of the Capitol, in consultation with the Senate and House Office Building Commissions, to provide adequate space and facilities in the Capitol Building for an educational and informational center and information and distribution stations for the benefit of visitors to the Capitol Building. The section requires that all materials distributed by such center and stations be approved by the Architect of the Capitol, after consultation with the House Committee on House Administration, the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, and such other educational and historical groups as the Architect of the Capitol deems appropriate.

TITLE IV

Section 401 amends the Public Buildings Act of 1949 (73 Stat. 479; 40 U.S.C. 601 et seq.), by adding a new section 18 which provides that whenever the Secretary of the Interior determines there is a need for the acquisition or construction of any facility for visitors to the Nation's Capital—other than those specifically authorized by title I of this bill—or a need to alter any existing visitor facility, he shall recommend such action to the Administrator of General Services who shall transmit to Congress a prospectus of the proposed project. The section provides that no appropriation will be made to construct, alter, or acquire any additional visitor facility under this title if such construction, alteration, or acquisition has not been approved by resolutions adopted by the Senate and House Committees on Public Works, and that if the appropriation has not been made within 1 year after such approval, the approval may thereafter be rescinded at any time before the appropriation is made.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION PROGRAMS

Highway beautification legislation—S. 1467—reported by the committee providing authorization for continuing the programs established by the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 during the first year 1968, authorizes $5 million for outdoor advertising control, $10 million for junkyard control and $70 million for landscape and scenic enhancement. The bill is now pending for consideration before the Committee on Rules of the House. It might be pointed out that in the process of considering this highway beautification legislation the committee held a comprehensive review of the overall highway beautification program itself before proceeding to approve the authorization.

INTERSTATE SYSTEM MODIFICATIONS: H.R. 13933

Authorization of certain modifications of the Interstate System has passed both bodies of the Congress and is now at the White House awaiting the President's signature.

An explanation of the legislation follows:

The Interstate System is limited by existing law to a total of 41,000 miles and, also by statute, it is required to be located so as to connect by routes as direct as practicable, the principal metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers. The governing law also requires that to the extent practical, suitable, and feasible, local highway needs shall be given equal consideration with the needs of interstate commerce.

The Interstate System is now more than half complete. It will, in all probability, be 1975 before it is entirely complete. The route designations laid out by the States and approved by the Secretary of Transportation or his predecessors have used all but about 25 miles of the 41,000 miles authorized by the statute. There are gaps in the system, areas that it is now obvious should be covered but which the existing mileage limitation necessarily excludes. The Subcommittee on Roads will address itself to this problem in January of 1968, preparatory to making recommendations for the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968. It is unlikely, however, that those recommendations will be presented to the Congress before well into next year.

In the meantime, some acute problems have developed in some urban areas across the country, problems which for a variety of valid reasons will make it extremely difficult—and in some cases perhaps impossible—for limited amounts of mileage to be constructed within the present Interstate System completion schedule. In some of the same States in which these problems have developed, there are alternate routes, usually in nonurban areas, which should be included in the system but which, because of the mileage limitation previously referred to, have not heretofore been included. The urban mileage involved in these situations is usually short and expensive; the appropriate alternate mileage is usually longer but substantially less expensive.

The 25 miles of remaining uncommitted mileage is insufficient to permit the Secretary to approve the alternate routes, even when a State recommends and the Secretary approves the withdrawal of specific urban mileage. That, in brief, is the problem H.R. 13933 is designed to relieve.

The bill authorizes the addition of 200 miles to the Interstate System to be used in making these modifications or revisions in the System, but at no additional cost in construction.

Under the bill, if a State and the Secretary are agreed that a portion of an interstate route is not essential to a unified and connected system and will not be constructed as part of the system, and provided the Secretary is assured that the State does not intend to construct a toll road in that traffic corridor, the Secretary may redesignate that withdrawn mileage, with or without, as may be required, additional miles from the 200 miles H.R. 13933 makes available, to other interstate routes or parts of routes.

The philosophy underlying the Interstate System structure precludes a given State's laying claim to a given amount of interstate mileage. The bill therefore does not limit the Secretary's authority so as to require that withdrawn mileage be redesignated to the State from which it came. Although, as a practical matter, it seems unlikely that any other arrangement would occur, the committee recognizes that there are hardship situations which this legislation might desirably relieve if the withdrawn mileage can be made available for that use.

The additional mileage this legislation provides will not add to the cost of the Interstate System. The bill specifically requires that the cost of all of the mileage used for these modifications or revisions in the system shall be no greater than the cost of the mileage withdrawn from the system as that cost was included in the 1965 Interstate System cost estimate.

For example, if State A and the Secretary agree to withdraw 10 miles, estimated in 1965 to cost $20 million, and those 10 miles together with 10 miles from the 200 the bill authorizes are redesignated to another route, the redesignated 20 miles cannot cost more than the $20 million the original 10 miles would have cost. Or, to put it another way, if a total of 50 miles is withdrawn nationwide, and the whole 200 miles authorized by the bill are also used in redesignation, the resulting 250 miles cannot cost more than the original 50 miles would have cost in 1965.

This legislation, as an interim emergency measure, will make it possible for certain States to complete essential interstate mileage at 1965 cost levels in lieu of mileage which they cannot now hope to construct within the present Interstate System completion schedule. If this legislation is not enacted, and action to provide this needed flexibility is deferred until some time late next year, many months of valuable construction time will be needlessly lost, with the inevitable loss of lives and continued tangled traffic that necessarily implies.

In addition to this, the committee reported legislation which included name changes in Army water resource projects which is now Public Law 90–46. Legislation for additional bridges and tunnels in the State of Maryland became Public Law 90–144. Legislation designating the Federal office building in Detroit, Mich., as the Patrick V. McNamara Federal Office Building is now Public Law 90–186. Additional funding for a small-boat harbor at Manele Bay, Lanai, Hawaii, is now Public Law 90–142. An amendment to the Highway Safety Act of 1966 increases by six the membership of the National Highway Safety Advisory Committee and is Public Law 90–150. H.R. 13833 provides that the post office and Federal office building in Bronx, N.Y., be named the Charles A. Buckley Post Office and Federal Office Building after the former chairman of the Committee on Public Works and is now at the White House awaiting the President's signature.

My sincere appreciation goes to their splendid cooperation goes to the committee members, particularly the subcommittee chairmen, Congressman John A. Blatnik, chairman of the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors and the Federal-Aid Highway Program Subcommittee; Congressman Robert E. Jones, chairman of the Subcommittee on Flood Control, and Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Appalachia; Congressman John C. Kluczynski, chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads; Congressman Kenneth J. Gray, chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds; Congressman Jim Wright, chairman of the Subcommittee on Watershed Development; and Congressman Ed Edmondson, chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Economic Development Programs.

To Congressman William C. Cramer, of Florida, the ranking minority member of the committee, as well as the other able members of the minority side who have done much to further the work of the committee, I wish to extend my deep and sincere appreciation also. To all the staff of the committee and subcommittees may I thank you sincerely for a job well done.

SUMMARY

Following is a summary of the bills and resolutions acted upon by the committee in the first session:

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS ENACTED INTO LAW

Public Law No.	Bill number	Date approved	Title
17	H.R. 8363	May 12, 1967	River Basin Monetary Authorization Act of 1967.
46	S. 1649	July 4, 1967	Name changes in Army water resource projects.
103	S. 602	Oct. 11, 1967	Revise and extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.
108	H.R. 13178	Oct. 20, 1967	Safety of Capitol Buildings and Grounds.
142	S. 423	Nov. 16, 1967	Additional funds small-boat harbor at Manele Bay, Lanai, Hawaii.
144	H.R. 11627	Nov. 17, 1967	Additional bridges and tunnels in State of Maryland.
150	S. 1552	Nov. 24, 1967	Highway Safety Act of 1966 amend re National Highway Safety Advisory Committee increase size.
186	S. 343	Dec. 12, 1967	Detroit, Mich., Federal office building, name the Patrick N. McNamara Federal Office Building.

BILL PASSED BY THE HOUSE AND PENDING IN SENATE COMMITTEE

Bill No.	Passed House	Title
H.R. 12603	Nov. 27, 1967	National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1967.

BILL REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE AND PENDING ON THE HOUSE UNION CALENDAR

Bill No.	Date reported	Title
S 1467	Sept. 27, 1967	Provide authorizations to carry out the beautification program under title 23, United States Code.

BILLS AT WHITE HOUSE AWAITING APPROVAL BY THE PRESIDENT

Bill No.	Passed House	Passed Senate	Title
H.R. 13822	Dec. 4, 1967	Dec. 14, 1967	Bronx, N.Y., post office and Federal office building, name the Charles A. Buckley Post Office and Federal Office Building.
H.R. 13933	Nov. 20, 1967	do	Interstate System modifications.

Crime, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, we have again been informed by the FBI of the latest rise in the crime statistics. The preliminary 9-month figures for 1967 show a 16-percent increase over the same period in 1966. The crimes classified as crimes of violence—consisting of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery—are up 15 percent, with a startling increase of 16 percent in murder. Crimes against property—burglary, larceny $50 and over, and auto theft—are up 16 percent over the same period in 1966.

These statistics reflect the carnage of the summer's riots. However, lawlessness in this country is not confined to our rioters alone. Crime has been spiralling upward in all its categories and in all areas of the country. Crime since 1960 has increased at a rate almost seven times greater than the rate of population growth. During the first 9 months of this year 18,297 cars were stolen in Los Angeles; 9,217 people were assaulted in Chicago; 1,462 women were raped in New York City; 174 people were murdered in Philadelphia.

Crime and the fear it engenders are affecting the very quality of American life. Far from becoming a great society, we are becoming a violent society—and a frightened society. A national survey conducted by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice indicated that one-third of a representative sample of all Americans do not believe it is safe to walk in their neighborhoods alone at night. A study conducted in the major crime areas in two large cities showed that close to half of the people interviewed stayed off the streets at night, and one-fifth of them wanted to move to a safer neighborhood. The FBI statistics would seem to indicate that these fears are soundly based.

It is imperative, as a first step to checking the increase of crime, that we strengthen all aspects of our criminal justice system, and particularly our police. The Federal Government can be of assistance here in two ways: first, by providing much needed funds with—and let me emphasize this—no Federal strings attached; and second, by passing legislation to strengthen the ability of local, State, and Federal police to keep the peace.

A step toward meeting the first of these objectives would be the passage of the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act of 1967. As you know, this bill passed the House August 8 and is now pending before the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The purpose of this bill is, first, to provide money for the establishment of State planning agencies to develop comprehensive plans as to how they can best strengthen all elements of the law enforcement and criminal justice system.

Second, the bill provides funds to be administered by these State agencies for specific programs to improve law enforcement and the administration of criminal justice within the State.

Third, the bill makes available funds for the establishment of a National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and regional branches for the purpose of improving research and training throughout the professions related to crime control.

This bill, originally introduced for the administration as the safe streets and crime control bill, was quite substantially amended on the House floor. In its original form, the entire planning, action, and research grant program would have been administered by the U.S. Attorney General, through a new office in the Department of Justice. Furthermore, and this feature was amended by the House Judiciary Committee, up to one-third of the title II action grant money would have been available for subsidy of State and local police salaries. The effect of such legislation would have been to put the reins of State and local police control in the hands of the Federal Government. This must—and will—be avoided by us at all cost. The alternative to control by the Attorney General proposed by the House was the establishment of State planning agencies to administer Federal funds.

The need for Federal funds in this area is acute. Quite simply, the rate at which crime is increasing in this country indicates a need for immediate and effective action beyond the budgets and current capabilities of most State and local governments. For example, the police spend from 85 to 90 percent of their total budget on salary, but they are unable to afford either the quantity or quality of men that they need. According to the recent report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the median salary for a big-city patrolman was $5,300 and the maximum salary a patrolman can make is typically less than $1,000 more than his starting salary. This kind of salary range clearly goes a long way in explaining the need for 50,000 men to fill positions authorized for 1967 alone, and the low educational requirements for entry into police service. Fewer than two dozen of our 40,000 police departments require college credits and less than 70 percent require a high school diploma.

As I indicated previously, I am firmly opposed to Federal subsidy of State and local police salaries. However, the Federal Government can, with sufficient controls, subsidize research programs to help the police maximize the benefits potentially available to them from modern science and technology. They can provide the means for improving and increasing training. They can finance State and local efforts to plan and coordinate their crime control efforts. These are some of the types of projects which passage of the Federal crime control bill would make financially feasible.

In addition to redesignating control of the funds which the crime control bill would make available, the House also increased them: from $50 million for the first fiscal year to $75 million, with the specific provision that $30 million be spent on developing techniques of riot prevention and control. The danger of riots, of the outbreak of race warfare, is very serious. Militant Negroes tell us that this summer was only the beginning, that next summer will see the outbreak of guerilla warfare in the cities, the paralysis of public services and utilities, and considerably more deaths and destruction.

As I said before, I believe there are two ways in which the Federal Government can—and must—be effective in checking the current wave of domestic crime and upheaval. The first is by providing financial assistance, the second by passing legislation to strengthen the ability of local, State, and Federal police to keep the peace. I have been particularly and personally concerned with this second approach, especially with regards to two specific areas—obscenity and riots. I have introduced four bills this session which would facilitate control in these two areas of decay in our society, and which would enable the Federal Government to act in genuine partnership with State and local officials for protecting law, order, and decency. In the area of obscenity control, these bills are H.R. 8793, to strengthen criminal penalties for mailing, importing, or transporting of obscene matter, and H.R. 11824, to create a Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials. The bills relating to riot control are H.R. 8794, to prohibit interstate or foreign commerce travel to incite riots; and House Resolution 841, to create a select committee to investigate the cause of riots in large metropolitan areas.

We are putting too much emphasis these days on the civil rights of the few—the underprivileged and the twisted—at the expense of the many. These measures I have introduced are designed to support values and beliefs which in the past were taken for granted, which did not need the protection of Federal legislation. Mr. Thomas Reddin, chief of the Los Angeles police force, commented recently at the graduation exercises of the FBI's National Academy, on the accusation by some critics that the police are 50 years behind the times:

> There are moments, I confess, when I do feel as though I have lost track of things. Twenty years ago, if a person stepped before a public formum and seriously advocated disobedience to any law with which he was in philosophical disagreement, we would have been hard put to save him from the mob. Today, the same pronouncement will attract a large and loyal following.

Civil rights do not include the freedom to incite riots, nor do they include the freedom to pollute our communications media with obscenity.

I have been discussing the ways in which the Federal Government can be of assistance in controlling crime, and about the problems facing the law enforcement profession. Let me turn briefly, in closing to the all-important role of the private individual in controlling crime. We live in a very curious time, when the greatest wave of protest movements for public causes is accompanied by widespread apathy with regard to private responsibility. A recent television synopsis of a Miami, Fla., Police Department study of crime and apathy recorded instances where bystanders observed unmistakable violence and did nothing. In one instance, a 10-year old girl was dragged kicking and screaming into a car by two disguised policemen. This was repeated on two different occasions, and both times people stared, walked away, did nothing. One observer was eating his lunch in a drugstore window directly opposite the incident; when asked afterward what he did when he saw it, he replied, "I went on eating." It had not even occurred to him to get the car's license number. In a Washington, D.C., park recently in the middle of the afternoon, a crowd of hippies stood and watched while a couple on their way through the park was attacked and the girl stripped of her clothes. In New York City, not long ago, 37 people listened while a young woman shrieked for help before being stabbed to death. In practically every incident of this type, the reply to the question, "Why didn't you do anything?" was "I didn't want to get involved."

The responsibility for controlling crime does not rest with the government at its various levels, or with the police, the criminal courts, and the correctional institutions alone. It rests also, and most importantly, with the individual citizen. This responsibility was defined by the National Crime Commission report in the following words:

> The responsibility of the individual citizen runs far deeper than cooperating with the police or accepting jury duty or insuring the safety of his family by installing adequate locks—important as they are. He must respect the law, refuse to cut corners, reject the cynical argument that "anything goes as long as you don't get caught."
>
> Most important of all, he must, on his own and through the organizations he belongs to, interest himself in the problems of crime and criminal justice, seek information, express his views, use his vote wisely, get involved.

Report to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as this session of Congress comes to a close and as I complete the first half of my first term as a Member, I plan to report to the people of the Panhandle of Texas on the activities of the 90th Congress and my own part in those activities.

My impressions of the first session are contained in the following report to my constituents.

THE FIRST YEAR

As the first session of the 90th Congress finally ground to halt just before Christmas, a Washington newspaper correspondent asked me what I thought of my first year in Congress.

Between my office and the Capitol and during lunch between rollcall votes on last-minute bills, Ken Scheibel, a veteran Capitol Hill correspondent, took some notes and sent out a story which may have appeared in some Panhandle newspapers. So rather than offering my own version, I will take the liberty of repeating here what he wrote:

STORY BY KEN SCHEIBEL

Washington—Back in Pampa, Tex., Bob Price determined to do something about this nation's perplexing problems. But when he arrived in Congress as the newly elected Republican from the 18th District, he found that it's a lot tougher job than he imagined.

Price has learned a lot on the job in his first year in Congress. Uppermost is the fact that it takes time and patience to get action on Capitol Hill. What Price says in so many words is what many newly elected lawmakers conclude after a tough year on the job—that things seem simpler viewed from afar.

Price chatted in his office about his first year in Washington: "You just can't get things done overnight," he said. "There is so much that goes into making laws—even to change things one little bit."

The 18th District lawmaker obviously has matured under fire during the first half of his term. He was asked what impresses him most about his service in Congress. He said candidly, "the enormous problems of this country—how complex, vast and interwoven they are."

The forty-year-old-Texas-rancher-turned-lawmaker has concluded that no matter how hard Congress works to be fair to all Americans, some inequities do exist. "What helps one person may hurt another," he said.

Like his colleagues in the House of Representatives. Price is overwhelmed with material to study on the problems confronting Congress. He often puts in a 16-hour day on the job, but even that is not enough to keep up with everything. "I have to rely on my staff. They have been invaluable, and I couldn't have done much without them," he said.

Price's greatest pleasure so far has been in mixing with other members of Congress. Each has a different background. "They have all come here under different circumstances. It affects their outlook."

His biggest disappointment is "the length of time it takes to get legislation through Congress." Another is the fact that he can't spend more time with his family.

For a freshman lawmaker, Price hasn't done badly with legislation. He resisted the urge to toss a flock of bills in the hopper which probably would have gone to a dusty pigeonhole. Instead he selected certain problem areas to concentrate on. He won approval of two amendments in a meat inspection bill to discourage meat imports. One of these was later defeated after meat importers became alarmed.

Several bills Price introduced or cosponsored have been passed by the House. These include a ban on Egyptian cotton imports, one to allow advance loan payments to wheat producers and an anti-riot bill. His name is also on several anti-crime bills sponsored by the Republican Task Force on Crime to which he was appointed.

He has testified in hearings, introduced a bill and made several floor speeches on oil imports which he wants limited and has defended the industry's 27½ percent depletion allowance.

Despite Price's disappointments here, he seems self-assured and confident in his job. He and his wife enjoy the advantages of life in the Capital.

Once Price went to his ranch at Pampa, where he spent many weary hours in the saddle. Upon his return to Washington, a friend asked how he liked being a Congressman. "Well," drawled the saddlesore lawmaker thoughtfully, "it sure beats rounding up cattle in a blizzard."

On a typical day, Price arrives at his office at 8 a.m. after a 14½ mile drive from his home in Virginia. First thing on his schedule is a Republican meeting, or maybe a briefing by the State Department or some other agency on top issues. By 9 a.m. Price has conferred with his crack administrative assistant, Texan Nolan McKean. Then he goes to work on the mail, dictating letters to his secretary, Miss Alice Chervinsky, who is cool under fire and highly efficient.

At 10 a.m. there is usually a meeting of the House Agriculture Committee on which Price serves. This runs two hours. Often it consists of a public hearing on a farm bill or a closed door session so members can thrash out their differences. Price has made his influence felt on this committee although he's been a member only a short time.

At noon, Price heads for the House Chamber for the day's session. This may run until 6 p.m., or until 9 or 10 at night. Occasionally, they have gone until 1 or 2 in the morning. Price's attendance record is one of the best in Congress. He's answered 98 percent of the quorum and roll call votes this year out of a total of 419.

Price is not generally in agreement with fellow-Texan Lyndon Johnson and has opposed Great Society spending proposals. The Americans for Constitutional Action, a conservative political rating group rated Price with a score of 100 in September.

Price supported increases in social security benefits, the Peace Corps, an adult education bill and pay raises for postal, civil service and military personnel and veterans. But he opposed such landmark bills as the poverty program, foreign aid, rent subsidies and will oppose a tax increase unless he is convinced that the Administration is making some concentrated, effective efforts to cut non-essential domestic spending.

Asked where he stands in the political spectrum, Price said, "I think political labels hurt the country. They just confuse everyone." But there is no doubt Price is a conservative at heart—although he does not advertise the fact flagrantly, especially in a district where registration is four-to-one Democratic.

Price drew the ire of his neighboring Texan, Rep. Graham Purcell, for helping defeat the Purcell grain reserve bill. The fact that Purcell redrafted his bill to meet Republican objections may have proved Price right.

Price was successful in getting an amendment to the meat inspection bill to require that all foreign packing plants measure up to the same sanitary standards as U.S. plants. "This is strictly an amendment to limit meat imports," he said candidly. "It was just another way to approach it." In other words, Price wasn't trying to fool anybody about the intent of his amendment. He is dead set against unrestricted meat imports and makes no bones about it.

Price may be a newcomer to Congress, but he doesn't walk away from a scrap, once he is committed. He believes in sticking up for his point of view—no matter who may be on the other side. His opponents made it plain they were unhappy with him on several votes—and Price felt it was mutual.

Price hasn't been bashful about asking for what he wants. He was not happy that Republican newcomers in Congress did not get the same briefings as everyone else from the military on the war in Viet-Nam. He proposed that the Joint Chiefs of Staff arrange a once-a-month briefing for new Republican members. The JCS agreed. This was an innovation—and the 18th District member was responsible.

Price is looking forward to a lively fight next year when he runs for re-election. He expects to be jumped for what his critics call "negative" voting habits.

"But when I vote I ask myself if this expenditure could not be put off a little longer," he said. "I don't say that certain programs are not needed, but these things must come in steps. We can't spend more than we make, and keep up. Right now, we are reaping the results of some people who have been experimenting with our society."

He grinned at the double meaning of the last word. But he made his point.

After a year in Congress, Bob Price of Pampa, Tex., has picked up lots of political "savvy." He's more knowledgeable, articulate and effective than when he arrived a scant 12 months ago. And knowing he can't do everything all at once, he's more realistic, too.

NEWS AND VIEWS OF A CONGRESSMAN'S WIFE IN WASHINGTON

In the hurried and often harried pace of the Nation's Capital, a Congressman's activities include more than official duties—conventions, dinners, receptions, breakfasts, and visits with the many friends and constituents who come to Washington.

A report on my first year in Congress would not be complete without a glimpse at the most important role of my wife, Marty.

The following are excerpts from a feature story of a freshman Congressman's wife in Washington written by a Washington newspaper correspondent:

STORY BY JO ANN FITZPATRICK

The glamour of Washington—which some people relish more than the political heat—has not turned Mrs. Price's pretty head. "Other than being removed from (her) home and friends," the petite wife of Rep. Bob Price conducts business as usual in her suburban home.

Family life is very different, Mrs. Price admits, mainly because the Congressman has to put in more than twice as many hours as he did operating his Texas cattle ranch. Marty Price forsakes the busy social schedule favored by many "Hill wives" in the interest of caring for her family. As she puts it, simply, "I like to be there when the children come home from school."

She does attend most functions of the 90th Congress Club, a social organization composed of wives of freshman members of Congress which meets once a month. In September the club entertained ambassadors' wives at a coffee at the home of Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon, and Mrs. Price was delegated to escort the wife of the Ambassador of Panama.

There is a round of receptions and dinners for visiting 18th district constituents which keeps the Prices busy at least two nights a week, and these are social "musts" which both enjoy.

But most of the time Marty Price can be found at their suburban home in Waynewood, a section of Alexandria, Virginia, "doing the same things I did in Pampa."

The Price youngsters proved their ability as "outdoorsmen" at a country fair given by President and Mrs. Johnson for the children of members of Congress on the south lawn of the White House. All members of the Price trio won prizes, and Janice caught Lady Bird Johnson's eye after repeated victories in the sack races.

"The First Lady asked Janice her name and she asked if her Daddy was a Congressman—but she didn't ask if he was a Republican or Democrat," Mrs. Price relates with a sly twinkle in her eye.

Marty Price didn't want to move to Washington, though she "wanted him to win the election."

But now that she is here she looks forward to an extended stay. "We need to be here," she says matter-of-factly, "because he is doing a good job."

Following is a résumé of the major bills and resolutions I introduced during the first session of the 90th Congress. Action taken is denoted in the footnotes.

Bills not acted upon during the first session are carried over to the second session which convenes January 15, 1968.

During the first session, there were 20,387 measures introduced—public bills, private bills, joint resolutions, concurrent resolutions, and simple resolutions. Of these, 892 were passed by the House, 965 by the Senate, and only 202 public bills were enacted into law.

In spite of the odds, I intend to introduce several other bills during the second session including an inheritance tax revision which would benefit small business enterprises and family farms and ranches.

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

To improve farm prices.

To restrict expansion of trade with Communist countries.

To preserve U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal.

To prohibit meat imports from any country not free of hoof and mouth disease.

To amend the Constitution of the United States with respect to prayer in public schools.

To establish a Commission on National Defense Policy.

To establish a Commission on a World Food Study.

To establish a Commission on balanced economic development for rural revitalization.

To designate 1968 as National Helium Centennial Year.

To establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

To insist on certain conditions for lasting peace in the Middle East.

To establish a Select House Committee to investigate riots.

To authorize an investigation of the discontinuance of railway mail service and resulting effects on passenger train service.

Allow tax credit to employers for expenses of job training programs.

Veterans Pension and Readjustment bills.[3]

Prohibit political interference in appointment of postmasters and others.

Investigate effect of agricultural imports and provide remedial action.

Revise and reduce quotas on meat imports.

Prohibit desecration of the flag.[1]

Write oil import program into law.

Prohibit import of Egyptian cotton.[1]

Anti-riot bill.[3]

Criminal Procedure Revision Act.

Establish Commission for Elimination or Duplication and Waste in Government.

Limit textile imports.

Deduction of educational expenses from income.

Advance payments to wheat producers.[1]

Limit political activity by OEO employees.[3]

Electronic Surveillance Control Act.

Higher payments for nursing home costs to veterans.

Prevent loss of veteran pension benefits from Social Security increases.[3]

Limit categories of questions required by law in next census.

Amend Federal Farm Loan and Credit Act.[3]

Include County Extension Agents in farm statistical reporting process.

Anti-loan shark bill.

Authorize feasibility study of plan to import water from Missouri River into Panhandle and West Texas.

KEY ISSUES

The big issues, as I see them, for the second session of the 90th Congress, as they were for the first session, are:

First. The showdown in Vietnam between freedom and tyranny—the free world versus communism.

Second. The alarming rise in crime and lawlessness and the very real threat of insurrection in our cities.

Third. Inflation—the wage-price spiral and the question of whether the Federal Government can or will effectively head off a fiscal and monetary crisis such as Great Britain has just undergone.

The first session of the 90th Congress has at least forced a slowdown in Federal nondefense spending and started an investigation of the waste in military spending. The Federal budget deficit will undoubtedly be one of the highest on record.

The record of the past 6 years has been one of continually mounting deficits and an astronomical public debt even in times of so-called prosperity—the longest period on record, we are told.

The new economics of this administration calls for a high rate of expansion in the economy which, in itself, is good. But the annual rise in prices that has accompanied this expansion has left many stranded or worse off than they were as the buying power of the dollar was eroded away. Farmers whose net income has actually declined and those on fixed or retirement incomes and the poor are the real victims of inflation.

But the overriding issue with which the next session of Congress and the country is faced will be the problem of riots and insurrection in the cities. The first session failed to pass any really effective crime legislation although the House did send an antiriot bill and the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967 to the Senate where they now repose.

In the meantime, further massive demonstrations and disruptions are planned for the Nation's Capital and other cities by so-called civil rights leaders and the recently returned Stokely Carmichael, who stumped the Communist capitals of the world calling for U.S. defeat in Vietnam. He did not stop there, though, but went all the way in urging Negroes in this country to take up guerrilla warfare and destroy our system of government.

It will be a hollow victory in Vietnam if returning veterans of that war must face civil war at home.

In spite of the enormous losses and costs of the Vietnam conflict, I am convinced we are winning. I believe, as does former President Eisenhower and many of our military leaders, that when a nation applies force as we have in Vietnam, then the force should be overwhelming. This Nation has the capability of applying such force and should have done so 2 years ago rather than allowing the Communists to counter each move we have made by infiltrating more troops into South Vietnam.

The farm problem is one Congress must face up to. In spite of the rise in wages, prices and costs in all other segments of the economy, prices the farmer receives for his products have gone down rather than up—but his costs have gone up like everyone else's.

Continued migration from the farm to already overcrowded and problem-ridden cities adds to the threat of more unrest and riots and is helping neither the rural areas nor the mass population centers.

Those are the major issues. There are many more including excessive imports which add to the farmer's and cattlemen's woes.

The problem of health, education, poverty, and many others must be tackled and the first session of the 90th at least made a start. I hope the second session gets up a full head of steam in tackling the real crisis of crime, lawlessness, and insurrection as well as the war in Vietnam, inflation, and the farm problem.

Pvt. William Joseph Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pvt. William Joseph Brown, a marine from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PVT. W. J. BROWN DIES IN VIETNAM: BALTIMORE MAN IS KILLED IN WEDNESDAY BATTLE

Pvt. William Joseph Brown, a 23-year-old member of the United States Marine Corps, died Wednesday at Thua Thien, South Vietnam, of head wounds received in a battle with enemy troops there that day, his family has been told by the Defense Department.

Private Brown, who joined the Marine Corps two years ago, was assigned to the First Company, Third Battalion, First Marine Division.

He had been in South Vietnam since October and had recently written home that he wanted to extend his tour there for another six months, because he believed that "what he was doing over there was right," his sister-in-law said yesterday.

ATTENDED CITY COLLEGE

Private Brown, who had completed a Caribbean cruise immediately before his assignment to South Vietnam, had previously been stationed at Camp Lejeune, Jacksonville, North Carolina.

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[1] Passed by House.

[2] Enacted into law.

[3] Passed in modified form or with other legislation.

A native of Baltimore, he attended St. Thomas Aquinas parochial school, Robert Poole Junior High School and City College. He left City during his senior year and received his high school diploma in the Marine Corps.

Private Brown was interested in mechanical drawing and expected to work as a draftsman when he was discharged, members of his family said yesterday.

Married to the former Nancy Lee Burhorst, a native Baltimorean, Private Brown is also survived by his 19-month-old son, William Joseph Brown Jr., and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John I. Brown, all of Baltimore.

National Banks in the Travel Agency Business

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the dangerous threat resulting from the improper activities of national banks competing unfairly with independent businessmen reached a new high recently as a result of a massive effort by the giant First National City Bank of New York to take over and control the travel agency industry in New York City and the surrounding area.

I have been warning for many years of the dangers to our economy and our free enterprise system caused by big banks and their strangulation of competition both within the banking field and outside it. These powerful banks have intensified their anticompetitive efforts by stepping up their unrelated business activities, particularly in the travel agency industry.

The current campaign by the First National City Bank is an excellent example of the threat that I have been warning against. It reveals the true motives of giant national banks which maintain travel agency departments to use their power, prestige, and favored status in our economy to win away new customers at the expense of small independent travel agents.

The American Society of Travel Agents, through its executive director, George L. Fichtenbaum, issued a strong condemnation directed at the actions of the giant First National City Bank. Press reports of Mr. Fichtenbaum's statement and the highly sophisticated and expensive campaign of the First National City Bank revealed the understandable fear and anger of independent travel agents.

This giant bank blatantly threatens that through the use of its Carte Blanche credit card, travelers' checks, and over 200 branches in 60 countries, that "no agent, large or small, can completely coordinate its travel services with the vast international banking facilities of First National City Bank."

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles from Travel Agent Magazine, "First City Bank Tells Prospects It Has Leverage To Clear Space," and an editorial, "Big Banks and Booking Leverage," as well as an article from Travel Management Newsletter, entitled "Fichtenbaum Blasts New York Bank's Rush for Commercial Accounts," and an article in Travel Weekly, entitled "ASTA Rips Bank for Sales Drive Tactics—New England Agents Press Federal Court Battle":

[From the Travel Agent, Dec. 4, 1967]

FIRST CITY BANK TELLS PROSPECTS IT HAS LEVERAGE TO CLEAR SPACE

NEW YORK—In a move which sparked off an immediate protest from ASTA, First National City Bank has begun an intensive drive to sign up new business travel accounts and has promised to exert leverage on their behalf to clear difficult to obtain space.

Seeking to win companies doing $10,000 to $500,000 international travel annually, the bank derogates the services of other agents proclaiming that "with most large travel agencies, a business travel account is 'dropped into the well.' "

A second phase of the campaign is aimed at developing employee travel through business accounts and poses a potential threat to tour operators. It promises prospects "they'll be buying travel at considerably lower prices than they could on the 'outside.' "

The bank notes it doesn't normally process domestic travel in any volume but as a client convenience, a maximum of 25% of the total will be accepted and service charges assessed.

George Fichtenbaum, ASTA executive director, condemned the bank's move in a protest to Reps. Patman and Dingell. "The mask has dropped. The subterfuge of a bank offering travel merely as a routine extension of its service is again exposed as an aggressive challenge to the independent agent's existence."

[From the Travel Agent]

BIG BANKS AND BOOKING LEVERAGE

(By Eric Friedheim, editor)

The giant First National City Bank of New York has launched a competitive assault against travel agents that may merit Congressional and governmental scrutiny.

First National, in a comprehensive promotional broadside, derogates the ability of travel agents in providing the range of tourist services available through its vast domestic and international financial network. In seeking clients for its new customer facility called "International Business Travel," the bank boasts its service is "better than any travel agent's."

At the same time, the bank brags that because its travel affiliate is one of the world's major airline customers, hard-to-get space will fall its way. Says its prospectus:

"That means leverage—the ability to get the 'tough' space time after time. Not from one or two carriers, but from all of them."

First National has been in the travel business for a long time, both as a retail agency and as an underwriter for traveler's checks. Within the past two years, it decided to expand its travel operations substantially and IBT represents a major effort to penetrate the commercial account business.

This, of course, is well within its rights as an accredited travel agent possessing all major Conference appointments. So long as banks are authorized to perform travel services, there is nothing legally wrong with First National's marketing ambitions.

The competitive approach, however, in demeaning the competence of independent travel agents raises serious ethical questions. Here is a quote from the IBT brochure:

"Is IBT service better than any travel agent's? Yes. It is the equal in terms of convenienve, of any 'next door' agent you can find . . . as close to you as your telephone. Two free ticket deliveries are provided daily, anywhere in Manhattan.

"In terms of scope of services, from visa procurement to accounting relief, no travel agency can begin to match IBT's range. No other travel agent has tailored its operations so completely to the specific needs of the New York businessman.

"IBT is not only a local service, but maintains a growing network of overseas travel offices, plus travel correspondents everywhere. And no agent, large or small, can completely coordinate its travel services with the vast international banking facilities of First National City Bank."

The competence of the non-banking travel agency is further held up to question in these words: "With most large travel agencies a business travel account is 'dropped into the well'—that is, your request for travel are handled by *any* reservations clerk in a commercial travel unit. That *can* mean you are an 'unknown' every time you call. Can mean, even if you 'find' a clerk you like working with, that he is unavailable just when you really need him."

The warfare for commercial accounts is unceasing in the travel trade and for years has pitted agent against agent, agent against carrier and agent against business travel bureaus. There has been much name-calling and controversy with airlines battling to keep commercial account business on their private, non-commissionable preserve. Several years ago, the commercial traffic managers of corporations and commercial organizations collaborated in publication of an abusive pamphlet attacking the travel agents as costly poachers and inexperienced interceptors.

Thus, the hyperbole and braggadocio of First National's sales pitch is probably symptomatic of this particular market place. In light of the supercharged competitive atmosphere, the language employed by the bank is not surprising. But it may mark an historic marketing milestone; it is possibly the first time an accredited travel agent has publicly clouded the professional image of other accredited agents who are servicing the business traveler.

No doubt, the New York agency profession is strong and efficient enough to roll with First National's promotional punch. More challenging, however, is the bank's utilization of "leverage" in obtaining hard-to-get space on all scheduled airlines.

Carriers guarantee space for tour operators who have created package offerings. Such guarantees involve only the space required for the tour programs with closely controlled option dates. If First National's claim of leverage is taken literally, it means it has the inside track to seats because of size and high-volume booking capability.

Such a claim poses a grave threat to all agents, not only those who hold commercial clients but to any retailer who finds himself unable to obtain desired space.

Except for blocking off space for tour groups, the CAB is vigorously opposed to any favoritism in dealing out airline tickets. To advertise the fact that a particular booking outlet has an advantageous position may run contrary to the Board's philosophy that the public must have equal access to public transport. Airlines would do well to reassure their agents that no bank or any other organization can use the leverage of heavy volume to obtain favored treatment.

As one of the nation's leading banks, First National also should set the record straight. It should refrain from any implication, public or private, that because of its obviously powerful position, it possesses ticketing privileges not available to other travel industry competitors.

[From Travel Management Newsletter, Dec. 4, 1967]

FICHTENBAUM BLASTS NEW YORK BANK'S PUSH FOR COMMERCIAL ACCOUNTS

ASTA Executive Director George L. Fichtenbaum last week roundly condemned a major program by the First National City Bank of New York to snare commercial accounts presently served by travel agents. The targets of his attack are two brochures currently being distributed by the bank to business firms in the New York area. One invites firms which purchase $10,000–$500,000 in international travel annually to join International Business Travel (IBT), a "limited-membership travel service for business." The second pamphlet promotes employe travel through the International Travel Services Division of First National City Bank Services Corp., a subsidiary.

Fichtenbaum charged that the "subterfuge of a bank offering travel merely as a routine extension of service to its banking customers is again fully exposed as an open, aggressive challenge to the existence of the independent travel agent. And the size, power and leverage of a $15 billion, 195-branch, worldwide financial institution is the inducement, accompanied by irresponsible disparagement of the services of the independent professional travel agent."

He strongly objected to the comparison between agents' and the bank's travel services for commercial clients, citing sections such as: "In terms of scope of services, from visa procurement to accounting relief, no travel agency can begin to match IBT's range . . . and no agent, large or small, can completely coordinate its travel services with the vast international banking facilities" of First National: He also branded other statements about agents in the brochure as a "flagrant disregard of fundamental precepts of fair competition."

The bank was scored for the second pamphlet, Employee Travel, for using its "power and influence in offering a year around program of vacation travel for employes at 'no risk for your organization', and 'at considerably lower prices than they could buy (the same arrangements) on the 'outside'."

The ASTA official said he was bringing "this glaring example of use of bank power and disparaging tactics against the independent travel agent and tour operator" to the attention of Rep. Wright Patman, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and Rep. John Dingell of the House Small Business Subcommittee.

[From Travel Weekly, Dec. 5, 1967]

ASTA RIPS BANK FOR SALES DRIVE TACTICS—NEW ENGLAND AGENTS PRESS FEDERAL COURT BATTLE

(By Richard McGurk)

NEW YORK.—ASTA last week charged First National City Bank with "disparaging" travel agents in a campaign to lure commercial and employee benefit travel accounts away from independent agencies.

Its subsidiary FNCB is circulating "International Business Travel" brochures soliciting volume accounts.

It has also opened the "Citi-bank Club" to companies with more than 100 employees.

ASTA has lodged protests with Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.), chairman of the House Banking Committee, and Rep. John Dingell, chairman of the House Small Business subcommittee.

Society executive director George Fichtenbaum charged FNCB with "a flagrant disregard of the fundamental precepts of fair competition." He continued:

"The mask has dropped. The subterfuge of a bank offering travel merely as a routine extension of service to its banking customers is again fully exposed as an open, aggressive challenge to the existence of the independent travel agent. And the size . . . power and 'leverage' of a $15 billion, 195-branch world-wide financial institution is the inducement, accompanied by irresponsible disparagement of the services of the independent professional travel agent."

Bank sources said FNCB had attempted to service a commercial account as far west as Cincinnati, but that the account proved unworkable. The source said the firm was presently servicing a New Jersey corporation.

Claus Seibert, FNCB vice-president, would confirm only that telephone solicitations were being made in the New York City area. When asked if the bank would service accounts as far north as Stamford, he commented that the bank would handle only those accounts which were profitable.

The commercial account brochure notes that domestic travel will be handled service-charge free only if it totals less than 25% of the volume of the account. Seibert said service charges above that percentage would vary from contract to contract.

Fichtenbaum termed the provision for service fees on domestic tickets "ironic," in view of the bank's vast research and computer resources.

He said the bank "slurred" and "disparaged" the agency trade with such appeals as: "FNCB service is better than 'any' travel agent's," and "with most large travel agencies, a business travel account is 'dropped into a well'—that is, your requests for travel are handled by *any* reservations-clerk in a 'commercial travel unit'. That *can* mean you are an 'unknown' every time you call."

He further decried FNCB claims such as: "preservation of all company discounts on hotel accomodations or car rentals through waiver of (competitive) agency commissions," and a claim that employes will be able to buy travel "at no risk to your organization at considerably lower prices than they could on 'the outside.'"

BANK ACTIVITY UNFAIR, AGENTS ADVISE COURT

BOSTON.—New England travel agents seeking to oust banks from travel have filed a brief asserting that lending institutions have a "unique and unfair" advantage of deriving income from two sources—"from interest they make on loans to finance a trip and from commissions."

These two points were among the arguments contained in a brief filed in Second District Federal Court on behalf of Arnold Tours, Boston, and other agents as they battled for a hearing on the merits of their case against the South Shore National Bank and U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, William B. Camp.

The brief counters legal arguments submitted by the bank and Camp last month, claiming that travel agents "have no standing" to bring their suit. The agents countered: "If the plaintiffs (agents) have no standing, then, in effect, no one has outside the Attorney General."

In their rebuttal the New England group submitted affidavits to the court alleging business had been wooed away from them by South Shore's "massive advertising campaign." The agents added that similar claims have been supported by the courts in a Georgia case in which a bank was ordered to stop selling insurance, although no federal statute specifically prohibited insurance sale by banks.

Other arguments contained in the agent's brief:

"Some of the plaintiffs are customers of the defendant bank, and have wound up in the strange position of being competed against by the very party to whom they have lent money through their deposits."

In eagerness to support its travel sales, the bank might become unduly lenient in granting loans for travel.

The bank's overhead is much lower because of having two businesses under one roof.

The banks have an undue financial advantage with carriers, in that travel agents must settle accounts with carriers every 10 days. "Consequently, independent travel agents are quite limited in the terms they can grant to customers. The bank could induce many customers away from the independent travel agent by providing more liberal terms to customers, inasmuch as they have the huge resources of a bank in dealing with the carriers."

"For a court to bury this real and burning issue under the guise of 'no standing' would be to compound and intensify these issues," the brief asserts. "A firm and final declaration should be made."

Attorneys for both sides expect oral arguments will be scheduled in January. They hope for a decision in February.

The Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 90th Congress has been highly productive in many fields, but I think of the many decisions which have been made on the floor of this House, one has not yet received the attention it deserves although it represents the unanimous strong support of this House of a most important and vital program.

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to H.R. 6430, now Public Law 90–31, the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967, which extends the programs authorized by the Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act of 1963 and which makes several important changes to make that program even more effective.

H.R. 6430 unanimously passed the House on September 20 and was approved by the Senate with changes on November 6. The measure finally cleared Congress on November 21 and was signed into law by the President on December 4.

When this legislation, which always has had my strong and active support, was first passed in 1963, it provided a significant increase in the funds available to public and voluntary groups for construction of new facilities for the mentally retarded. During the 4 years since the legislation was enacted we have witnessed great progress. A total of 12 research centers have been built with the assistance of $25 million in Federal funds. Some of these are already in operation, seeking the causes of mental retardation, working to develop methods for prevention, and searching for new techniques for the care and treatment of the retarded.

Since 1963, grants have been made to aid in the construction of 14 university-affiliated facilities, including two in Massachusetts. A total of $30,348,901 in Federal funds have been used for this purpose. These facilities offer a wide range of inpatient and outpatient services to the mentally retarded, as well as training programs to alleviate the acute shortages of professional and technical personnel required to care for the mentally retarded. In the 14 university-affiliated facilities, each year nearly 10,000 professionals—physicians, nurses, psychologists, speech therapists, educators—will receive training related to the prevention and treatment of mental retardation.

As I stated earlier, two such facilities have been constructed in my home State of Massachusetts. One of these is located at the Walter E. Fernald State School in Waltham, and the other at the Children's Hospital Medical Center in Boston. The Federal grant of $724,725 to the State school is helping to construct a community evaluation and rehabilitation center to provide programs for carrying out diagnostic and evaluation procedures and for training in medical specialities, special education, psychology, social work, nursing, and other disciplines. The $863,250 grant to the Children's Hospital will help build a child development research and evaluation center, to permit the hospital to expand its program so that it will service mentally retarded children not only in the immediate Boston area, but throughout much of New England as well.

The 1967 legislation authorizes the extension of this program through fiscal year 1970. It provides for increased authorizations of $10 million for fiscal year 1968, and $20 million each for the next 2 fiscal years. This will allow for the construction of many more university-affiliated facilities, so that each area of the country can benefit from this type of specialized service.

The third facility which has been built with Federal funds is the community mental retardation facility, designed to fill the gaps in available services at the State or local level. Since 1963, 167 construction projects for community facilities have been funded. The total construction cost of these facilities is $108 million. The Federal share is $31 million, and State and local funds have financed the remainder of the cost. An additional 23,543 children will be able to receive services, as these new centers become operational. Three grants have been made in the State of Massachusetts, two to the Hawthorne State School, and one to the Community Agencies Building, at Concord, so that their facilities and services may be expanded.

These Federal programs have encouraged State and local initiative in this area and have provided incentives through financial and technical assistance. A continuation of this program will enable more community centers to be built. The authorizations for this program are increased to $30 million each for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, and $50 million for fiscal year 1970.

An important new provision is added to this legislation, authorizing grants to be made for the initial operation of new facilities for the mentally retarded or for new services in existing facilities. The purpose of this program is to enable the new centers which have been constructed with the help of Federal funds to begin operation as soon as possible. It will also encourage existing facilities to initiate new services and programs which, due to lack of funds, they might not otherwise do. Federal funds will be used to supplement and increase the level of State, local, and other non-Federal funds for mental retardation services.

The Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967 provide for the continuation and expansion of another successful program, that of training teachers of handicapped children. Since 1959 this program has awarded 32,000 individual fellowships and traineeships, and has helped 245 colleges and universities develop curriculum in this area of teacher education. Nine institutions in Massachusetts receive grants for this program.

I fully support all of these programs, providing diagnostic treatment and educational services to the retarded.

Another area which deserves attention is that of physical education and recreation activities for mentally retarded and other handicapped children. Experts readily agree to the vital role of exercise, sports, and games in the growth and development of all children. However, recreational opportunities for the physically, emotionally, and mentally handicapped are usually lacking in most communities. Special programs and specially trained personnel are needed if such programs are to become a reality across the country. Over 200 colleges are now attempting to provide such training but are severely limited by lack of financial support.

The new law will enable colleges to establish training programs in the physical education and recreation for the retarded and handicapped through program development grants. It will also provide funds for traineeships and fellowships for personnel specializing in this field, summer study institutes and short-term courses to train those already working. A total of $10 million is authorized for this program, and for research and demonstration projects. Though this sum of money is modest, it should act to encourage further efforts at the State and local levels in this all important endeavor.

Mental retardation affects persons in all walks of life. It is a heartbreaking experience for the parents and families. But the knowledge we now have does offer hope to these persons, the hope that many of the retarded may, through adequate education and training, become happy, productive adults.

In order for this to be accomplished, specialized services must be available to all persons, no matter what their economic status or their geographical location. This legislation has been effective over the past 4 years and should continue to make progress in combating this national problem.

A concerted attack on mental retardation has been long past due. This session of the Congress in passing the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967 has made an effective contribution to the Nation by making it possible for many unfortunate people to get needed assistance in leading gainful and useful lives in our society.

Other Side of the Tetons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, under leave to include extraneous material, I include a report by a Seattle, Wash., newspaperman on the "Other Side of the Tetons." It appeared in the Teton Valley News, Driggs, Idaho, on September 28, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, I was born and reared on the "other side of the Tetons," and I am well acquainted with the area described in this newspaper article. My earliest recollections are of it. It is wild and rugged—and indescribably beautiful. It is an area ideally suitable for the summer and the winter sportsman.

It is my hope that the article will better acquaint my colleagues with this isolated, unspoiled section of our country.

The article follows:

SEATTLE NEWSPAPERMAN COMMENTS ON VISIT TO THE "OTHER SIDE OF THE TETONS"

(NOTE.—After visiting Teton Valley last month, along with Louise Shadduck of the Idaho Department of Commerce and Development, and other newsmen, Byron Fish of the Seattle (Wash.) Times, wrote the following article about Teton Valley, which was published in the Times.)

DRIGGS, IDAHO.—Millions of persons have visited the Grand Teton National Park, and as many more at least have seen calendar and travel-article pictures of the Jackson Hole country.

What though, is on the other side of that scenery? Are the Grand Teton peaks a big theatrical backdrop? What holds them up?

We have been exploring "the Tetons" a trip that took us along the eastern border of Idaho to the small town of Driggs, then up a gravel road to a dead-end in a mountain basin.

It is a beautiful basin, with groves of aspen and pine. Above it to the east rise two fat mountaintops, with just enough timber on their sides to enhance their appearance.

The day was hot and dusty, but one could imagine other days a few months from now, when the snow begins to pile up. The ski runs are natural and the snow lasts until June.

This part of the Targhee National Forest actually is in Wyoming, but the approach is through Idaho. The plan is to build a lodge and condominiums in the basin next year, with the Grand Targhee Resort opening in the winter of 1968.

Skiers are to ascend on two chairlifts, first to the near peak and then by a second lift to the higher peak. Total length of the lifts will be 5,700 feet, with a vertical rise of 2,000 feet.

Meanwhile, there was a way to get up there with the aid of an older-type chairlift. We sat in a leather chair five feet off the ground and settled our feet in the stirrups.

There probably has not been such a cavalcade in the area since the last time the Shoshone tribes mounted up to stand off the Blackfeet. Fifty-seven horses scrambled to the top of the future ski lift.

They carried an enthusiastic (if sometimes nervous) set of riders, Idahoans, including a number of legislators and the governor's wife, had gathered to inspect the site. (The governor, Don Samuelson, was busy inspecting too many forest fires).

A nonskier would not care whether it ever snowed. The spectacular scenery, at all stages of the climb, was worth the two-hour ride.

What look like amiably sloping mountains, from the west, turn savage at the top. They suddenly quit in a sharp ridge and drop off in sheer cliffs.

Their behavior on the east side puts them in harmony with the more familiar appearance of the Grand Tetons.

An unclaimed, sea-level dweller could be glad his horse was doing the serious breathing. The climb reached 10,000 feet. Beyond, the highest of the Grand Teton peaks stands 13,766 feet tall.

West, the view is over Pierre's Hole, the counterbalance to Jackson Hole. Pierre was a half-breed trapper for the Hudson's Bay Co., and the "hole," a valley within a valley, was the rendezvous point for trappers and Indians.

John Colter, the first white man known to have explored the Teton region both east and west of the range, prowled through Pierre's Hole in 1807 and doodled his name on a rock.

In another article Mr. Fish wrote, he commented thusly:

The Teton is another river that flows suddenly from springs around Pierre's Hole. Within sight of its sources it is a boat channel 50 to 75 yards wide.

No one who fishes the Teton is asked if he caught trout. The only question is, "How many?" or possibly "What?" if you want to know whether they were rainbows, cutthroats, Eastern brooks or white fish.

If you are the type who can watch trout leaping for bugs around your boat and remain objective about their freedom, a trip on the Teton still is fun.

Sand cranes croak and lumber into the air. A muskrat swims hurriedly out of the way. A Hereford sticks its white face out of the brush on the bank and remarks, "Mawwww." Ducks fly in patterns against the sunset sky.

John P. Saylor—Dedicated Conservationist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in honoring JOHN P. SAYLOR for contributing most in the field of conservation, the Belle W. Baruch Foundation manifests the feeling of millions of Americans who deeply appreciate the countless contributions made by our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania in the Nation's behalf.

The Bernard M. Baruch prize is another outstanding tribute to the father of the Wilderness Act and of other legislation designed to preserve for future generations some of the natural environment which God created and man would otherwise thoughtlessly take away. Congressman SAYLOR is a previous recipient of the Conservationist of the Year Award from the National Wildlife Federation, and he has been recognized by many other groups for untiring efforts that motivated Congress and State and local governments to action against continued intrusion into primitive areas that need to be protected from defilement and maintained as places of comfort and enjoyment and a bulwark against absolute materialism.

In simultaneously selecting President Theodore Roosevelt and Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania as posthumous award winners, the Baruch Foundation places Congressman SAYLOR on a pedestal reserved for the outstanding conservationists in the history of our country. No one could be more deserving of the tribute than JOHN SAYLOR, for he has worked untiringly in defense of a philosophy which came late to a young country and has been especially difficult to advance in an era of robust expansion.

We admire JOHN SAYLOR for his inspiring leadership, his guidance born of experience and dedication, and his wide knowledge in the field of conservation. We congratulate him as recipient of the Bernard M. Baruch prize.

The Full Opportunity Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 14, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned about the state of our national priorities. Last summer, with disorder born of despair exploding in our cities, I called for a Marshall plan for American cities: "a redistribution of American affluence and a new plan for the full participation of the Nation's deprived in reconstructing every ghetto in every city of this country."

Since last summer the war in Vietnam has escalated, and the commitment of the Congress and the administration to mobilize resources to bring the promise of America to its downtrodden citizens has deescalated. The Congress has cut millions from model cities and from rent supplements; it has incorporated restrictive welfare provisions in the bill to provide inadequate social security increases. It has tied the hands of community action agencies. It has refused to pass an emergency job-creation program. And the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders is being phased out before its work is completed. It is reported that the Commission's staff has reached the inescapable conclusion that vast sums of money must be expended to even make a dent on our impacted urban problems, and that this is viewed as politically inopportune at a time when the Congress is calling for even deeper cuts in domestic programs.

Mr. Speaker, the expenditure of $30 billion a year on war has created a climate where a Presidential Commission must be muffled, lest it recommend a national effort of equal importance to solve the most serious domestic crisis our Nation has faced since the great depression, if not since the Civil War.

Thirty billion dollars a year. What a difference could this sum make to the quality of life in our cities.

I commend our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS] for the comprehensive approach of the full opportunity act, which I have cosponsored.

Title I of this act would provide three million jobs for the hardcore unemployed of America, whose condition is now so hopeless that they have little to lose by taking to the streets. These Americans would also receive education and supplementary job training, so that they could eventually qualify for more highly skilled positions.,

The bill also guarantees a $2 minimum hourly wage to all Americans, which results in a $4,000 minimal annual income, the level regarded by the Social Security Administration as the minimal adequate family income.

It also increases tenfold the annual rate of federally assisted low and moderate income housing to 1 million units a year for the next 10 years.

In addition, compensatory expenditures for education in ghetto areas are provided. A massive loan program for post-secondary education is included.

And new authority is given to Federal agencies charged with the enforcement of equal opportunity provisions in housing and employment.

Only an effort of this magnitude will save the cities of America—not piecemeal, token efforts, but a full scale attack on the enormous problems besetting urban America: Inadequate housing, inadequate education, entrenched unemployment, entrenched discrimination.

This bill is addressed to the problem in a manner proportional to the problem's gravity. This leadership should be coming from the administration. It is not, not because of a lack of concern for our domestic ills, but because of a greater concern for a disastrous war. Walter Lippmann has said that no nation is capable of two great crusades simultaneously.

Let us reflect upon which crusade involves the very survival of our society and then make the national commitment which this legislation envisions.

Bolivians Eager To Learn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct to the attention of my colleagues an article by Mr. Waldo Frasier that appeared in the November 1967 edition of the Farm Bureau Press. Mr. Frasier, who serves as the executive vice president of the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation, went to Bolivia in September 1967 as a member of a study group representing the partners of alliance program. Under this program leaders in South American countries work closely with their counterparts in the United States on mutual problems. The Santa Cruz State of Bolivia is the "sister state" to Arkansas. In this interesting article, which follows, Mr. Frasier sets forth the highlights of the trip:

Agriculture in Lowlands of Bolivia Primitive, But Colonists Eager To Learn, Frasier Says

(By Waldo Frasier)

The area of Santa Cruz is tropical and subtropical. It has in it a total population of about 400,000, 100,000 of whom live in the city of Santa Cruz. The lowland plain districts of Bolivia are larger than the state of Oklahoma and Texas combined.

The agriculture in these lowlands has for many, many years been rather primitive. The Cambia families in the lowlands of Bolivia constitute about 60 per cent of the population of the rural area. The Cambian is characterized by strong tendencies toward marital instability and a marked lack of cohesion among kinsmen. Common law marriage is prevalent. The total paternal desertion of such families is high and is looked upon with no disfavor by the communities. Although the Cambians are peasants they feel little attachment to any specific piece of land, either as independent farmers or as migratory, slash and burn cultivators who clear a small track of forest land, subsist from it for a few years and move on. Tenant laborers, as a rule, have not formed attachment to specific employers, but move regularly from plantation to plantation. This mode of life has contributed to a slow development of the area's agricultural potential.

CITY CHANGES

The city of Santa Cruz is more than 400 years old and is getting its first paved streets this year. Jeep type vehicles and trucks are the only motor transportation that can transverse the roads in city or rural areas.

Within the last few years a cooperative telephone company has been organized and has built a modern telephone system in the city, with more than 4,000 subscribers.

The city has taken on the air of a boom town lately, in as much as this area is now developing its agriculture and timber resources rapidly.

The Bolivian government is encouraging the colonization of the division of Santa Cruz. A number of colonies have been established and a number of them are developing a healthy atmosphere and progressive rural communities. Among others, colonies have been established by Japanese, Okinawans, Mennonites and Bolivians from the mountain areas who have been induced to colonize the rich lowland area.

FOUR MAIN CROPS

The main crops produced in this area are sugar cane, rice, cotton and corn. All of the rice grown in that county is dryland rice. It is planted on land that is cleared, with the timber burned off. We were told that the ability of most of this land to produce rice economically runs out after about the third planting is made. The usual yield is around 20 bushels per acre. The rice is milled in what we call "small huller mills."

Until recently, all rice produced was consumed within Bolivia. The production of rice has reached the point that domestic consumption must increase or an export market must be found.

There are three sugar mills in the Santa Cruz area. Production is about 30 thousand acres of sugar cane with an average of about 23 to 25 tons. All of the sugar produced is consumed in Bolivia.

CATTLE OUTLOOK GOOD

There is great potential for beef cattle production. We saw several herds. The greatest problem to overcome is livestock disease. Tick fever, hoof and mouth disease, tuberculosis and brucellosis are prevalent. We were told at the experiment station that snake bites cause very large losses in beef cattle herds. Brahma and Santa Gertrudis herds appear to be the most popular breeds being used on native cattle. Their use is resulting, in many instances, in the development of high quality grade herds.

Incidentally, several years back under the U.S. AID program, two Santa Gertrudis bulls were brought from Winrock Farms and put on a farm which was owned and operated at that time by the Bolivian government and used for artificial insemination. That farm is now being operated by a Catholic priest in connection with a boys' vocational school.

At the school was seen a herd of about 1,000 head of cattle which had been improved by the use of principally Brahma and Santa Gertrudis bulls. The herd gave every appearance of being well managed by the Italian priest, whose name is Hermano Filetti.

FEW COTTON FARMS

There are only eight cotton farms in the Santa Cruz region. These eight farms planted 9,500 acres of cotton this year. The harvest (which was during our spring season) produced 14,000 bales, or practically 1¼ bales per acre. All of their cotton is 11/16 inch and 11/32 inch. These cotton farmers use pesticides and herbicides extensively, applied usually by airplanes. They use no fertilizer.

I talked to one cotton farmer who had 1,600 acres of cotton this year which produced 1⅓ bale per acre. He told me that this was the fifth crop on his land. After we discussed his use of herbicides and pesticides, I asked him why he did not use fertilizer. He said that land is so cheap he can clear new land more cheaply than he can apply fertilizer.

I asked him how he had learned so quickly to produce cotton and get the yields he was getting. Interestingly, he showed me a book on cotton production and said, "We go by this book."

USES ARKANSAN'S TIPS

Co-author of the book was Dr. J. O. Ware, who for many years did cotton research for the University of Arkansas and the U.S. Department of Agriculture and who is presently an emeritus professor at the University.

The farmer was planting a popular variety of cotton developed in the Mississippi Delta.

Even though there is some large power-driven land clearing equipment in the area we visited, it appeared that most of the people who are clearing large tracts of land are doing it with hand labor, in the belief that they can do it more cheaply than with machinery.

Five crops of corn can be grown in a year in this area. The yields are not very high, and most of the corn produced is fed to hogs.

COUNTY AGENT SYSTEM

The U.S. government several years ago helped establish a county agent system in Bolivia. That service was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture of Bolivia in 1961, where it continues with some support from U.S. funds. The county agents in the section of Bolivia we visited work with the farmers much as they do in Arkansas. We visited an experiment station that appeared to be doing some excellent work with grasses and the interplanting of various legumes with grasses for pasture. They were carrying on some grazing experiments as well as a number of experiments on grain varieties.

Based on the contacts we had and the observations made in the short time we were there, we gained the impression that the colonies that have been established through the encouragement of the Bolivian government are eager for the "know-how" to make their operations more efficient.

We attended a meeting at the Santa Cruz Agricultural Center that was held by the experiment station and Extension people to plan for an institute. The meeting was well attended by leaders from the colonies and by commercial farmers. Based on what was translated to us, the farmers made a large number of requests for subjects to be discussed at the conference.

GOVERNMENT UPHEAVAL

There was a revolution in Bolivia in 1952 which resulted in the change of the country's whole government. Its tin mines and transportation (including railroads and airlines) were nationalized; and a land reform act was passed which, in effect, gave the government the authority to confiscate lands, divide them up and transfer them to new owners. This land reform policy naturally discourages investors from outside of Bolivia who might be tempted to invest and develop the fertile lands in the Santa Cruz area; and it has apparently discouraged, to some extent, the development of this land by Bolivians who have resources which could be used.

The United States sent relief shipments of food and other essentials to Bolivia in 1952–53 in order to minimize the chaotic aftermath of the revolution.

Since 1954, U.S. aid programs have been increasing. In the period 1953–65, aid to Bolivia totaled approximately $360 million, principally in P.L. 480 foodstuffs, development loans, cash grants and technical assistance. This represents the highest per capita aid figure in Latin America for that period.

A military regime which took over the government after the country's president was overthrown in November, 1964, has made great efforts to restore the country to constitutional government. The government has resisted vigorously the encroachment of communism. For example, signs are prevalent in the towns and cities we visited which translate, as "Don't make another Cuba out of Bolivia."

NATIONAL OBJECTIVES

The basic objectives of the Bolivian government are: (1) economic development and diversification; (2) integration of the Indian population into the political and economic life of the country; (3) improved educational and health standards; (4) financial stability; (5) a stable tin market and high international prices; and (6) a seaport on the Pacific.

The United States desires to maintain its traditional friendly relations with Bolivia as a partner, and as a sovereign equal in the community of free nations. Its aim is to assist Bolivia in its efforts to improve economic, social and political conditions in the country and to maintain Bolivia as an ally and supporter of those policies which will strengthen the free world.

Bolivia has an Indian population of 70 per cent, an illiteracy rate of 70 per cent and an average annual income of around $100 per per per person. Most certainly anything that can be done to help this country to get in position to use its own resources to attain its stated objectives and continue as a free nation, is worth the effort.

The Disbursement of Vocational Education Funds to the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in calling to the attention of the House a very important address by my friend and colleague, the Honorable ALBERT H. QUIE, given in New York City on December 8, 1967, before the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. QUIE makes the highly important recommendation that we must reorganize our vocational education, training, and manpower programs, and urges the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Education and Manpower.

I am sure that this recommendation will be picked up by other experts in the field and, hopefully, will come before the Congress where I hope there will be favorable action.

I commend my colleague for his new and direct approach to these problems.

The text of his address follows:

The Disbursement of Vocational Education Funds to the States

(Remarks of Albert H. Quie, Member of Congress, before the National Association of Manufacturers, New York City, December 8, 1967)

As we meet here today, another major education controversy looms large on the national horizon. This controversy will revolve around the future direction of American vocational education. Thus far, the rumblings of those who are disatisfied have remained largely out of public earshot. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, II, has publicly stated that he is disappointed in its progress. Many of my colleagues on the House Education and Labor Committee have severly criticized vocational education as a creature that looks backward—offerings job skills and training that are now obsolete and out-of-step with the sophisticated employment demands that are imposed by a fast-moving and dynamic urban society.

My distinguished colleague from Oregon, Representative Edith Green, with whom I serve on the House Subcommittee on Education, has indicated that vocational education should be a top-priority item on the Congressional agenda. Congressman Roman Puckinski, Chairman of the General Education Subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee has given me assurance that a thorough, in-depth study of vocational education will be made next year with an eye toward writing comprehensive legislation to expand the level of Federal support and participation.

Sometime next month, the Advisory Council on Vocational Education, created under the provisions of the Act of 1963 and chaired by the Commissioner of Education, will submit its initial evaluation of our vocational education programs. The recommendations submitted by this Council are expected to have a major impact on any amendments that will receive Congressional consideration during the Second Session of the 90th Congress.

All in all, it looks like an exciting and challenging year ahead for all parties interested in the future of vocational education.

Vocational education has evolved from an individually-initiated, informal educational experience into a major component of our American educational curriculum. Other than the Land Grant college legislation, it was one of the earliest to receive Federal support. Its importance, in relationship to the growth of our national economy and the development of our human resources, is now fully recognized by educational policy-makers at all levels.

Passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 marked early Congressional concern and the beginning of our national commitment to support this facet of education. It seems to me that Congress functions most effectively when a national crisis strikes. In 1917, as World War I neared an end, there was a realization that oceans could no longer protect us from the problems of nations that are away from our continent. Rather, it was our great industrial might that enabled us to win the war. Congress reacted by enacting legislation to provide further training in vocational skills.

The Smith-Hughes Act was narrow and limited in scope. Funds were allotted to the States for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects as well as for teachers of trade, home economics, and industrial subjects. In addition, funds were earmarked for aid in the preparation of teachers in these subject areas.

Congress reacted in a similar manner after the end of World War II, when the Vocational Education Act of 1946 was enacted. More popularly referred to as the George-Barden Act, it was also based on the categorical approach with funds earmarked for agriculture, home economics, trade and industry, distributive education, fishing trades and industry, practical nurse training, and the training of highly skilled technicians in occupations requiring expertise in scientific fields necessary for our national defense.

This reaction-to-a-crisis approach was again seen with the enactment of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. At that time, the American people were shocked by the fact that the Russians were capable of launching a Sputnik space vehicle. The Soviets successfully launched their vehicle well in advance of comparable American efforts. It was concluded that our scientific and mathematical abilities and expertise were lacking. And, if we were to retain world leadership, we would have to expand our store of knowledge of these areas as well as in modern foreign languages. Congressional reaction to this crisis took the form of the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Most recently, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 reflected a deep national concern—a concern for the Nation's poor. As the result of the book, *The Other America* by Michael Harrington, the American conscience was heavy with guilt over the plight of the poor. According to the provisions of ESEA, the greatest amounts of money are allocated to the Nation's school districts based on the number of poor children attending. These funds, however, are not distributed among "poverty" children. Rather, each school district receives monies on the basis of the number of "poor" children living within its boundaries in 1959. When I mention the date 1959, this should give you some idea of just how outdated our statistical base is. For example, in Kentucky, 81 counties have had a net reduction in the number of children between the ages of five and seventeen. But the mechanism of the Act perpetuates this inequitable distribution of funds. In a word, in 1967, we were distributing monies to school districts on the basis of the number of poor children that they had back in 1959.

But let's return to vocational education. Seventeen years elapsed—from 1946 until 1963—before the Congress took concerted action to align vocational education with the Nation's projected manpower needs and passed the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

That Act incorporated some major changes. First, the agricultural bias or weighting that had characterized previous legislation was eliminated, and second, the so-called "block grant" concept was introduced into the realm of vocational education.

To remove the agricultural bias or emphasis that was so much a part of the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 contained language that would permit any of the funds that had been earmarked exclusively for agricultural training to be transferred to or combined with the funds that had been authorized to support new training programs. In other words, a State could use its money for whatever programs it felt would lead to gainful employment. Prior to this, as I have said, vocational education had been categorically limited to agriculture, home economics, trade and industry, and distributive education. Now, business and industry, too, offered a broad range of employment opportunities—but there were no federally-assisted vocational training programs for them.

That there was a need and a desire for this was evident in the huge over-matching of the States and the communities in vocational education.

Not only was the agricultural bias removed, but the distribution formula was completely revamped. Funds were no longer allocated on the basis of rural or farm population, but on income and the population within the State. Let me add, parenthetically, that I believe that this is an ideal foundation on which to base other Federal aid. For, in the Vocational Education Act of 1963, there was at least an attempt made to develop a national manpower policy. There was no such policy and I am frank to admit that. As Dr. Venn has said, we have no manpower policy today. Whether or not Dr. Levitan said in as many words, one had only to listen to his speech—for the point was made that we have no national manpower policy today. At least we do have some of the makings for such a policy and the beginning of the development of one in the Vocational Education Act of 1963. That Act, with its block grant structure, required that each State develop and submit a comprehensive State plan to the Commissioner of Education for his approval. In its plan, a State must establish its policies and spell out those procedures that will determine its allocation of these Federal monies—giving adequate assurance that the manpower needs and employment opportunities within the State are given appropriate consideration. Though State involvement was limited, States were, nonetheless, required to develop a long-range blueprint for the spending of vocational education funds awarded to them by the Federal government. Under the terms of the Vocational Education Act, the school districts receive their monies but not on a project-by-project basis which finds the Office of Education, the OEO, and the Department of Labor flooded with thousands and thousands of individual project proposals that must be processed and reviewed.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963, then, represents our first real national commitment to support vocational education. In that Act, we laid the foundation for future action that would guarantee us the capability to meet the challenge of the manpower crisis that will confront us in the decade of the 1970's. Our commitment was a firm one; the legislative history of the Act makes it abundantly clear that our intent was the right one.

The question still remains: Have we honored and fulfilled that commitment? In dollars and cents terms, I think that we have done a fairly good job. But, this is not to say that we don't need substantial increases in the appropriations in the years that lie ahead—for the obvious need is now recognizable.

In the fiscal year 1967, the Federal government alone expended $1.4 billion for three manpower training and vocational efforts. Two-hundred and seventy-eight million dollars was spent for Vocational Education; $390 million for Manpower Development and Training, plus $734 million for a variety of work training programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In addition, $353 million was spent for Project Headstart and over one billion dollars for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. So, you can see, in terms of money, the Federal government has made a substantial commitment.

But the authorization and appropriation of funds in Washington is not the sole answer. These funds must be funneled to the States and the local communities in order to have them used in the most effective way.

The Federal government doesn't run these programs itself. If the Federal government is going to make large commitments of dollars and, if when the War in Vietnam comes to a close there is a substantial increase in this Federal outlay, we must determine how to best make this available to the States and the local communities. This is the vital question confronting us at this time. Currently there is no single method for financing vocational education programs at the State and local levels. The method of funding is different for each of the programs that I have mentioned—so much so that I consider these programs, for the most part, to be merely Federal "patches" on the total governmental and private effort.

In my conversations with school administrators across the country, one theme runs through all of our discussions: State and local educational authorities are finding it increasingly difficult to carry out educational programs according to priorities which are responsive to local needs. This is the case because in order to participate in Federal categorical aid programs and to receive needed Federal dollar assistance, State and local educators must devote more and more of their time to paperwork and red tape. This costs the American taxpayer millions of dollars annually—and these dollars should be going to support bona fide educational programs for our children.

The tragedy of all of this is that carefully designed programs and adequate dollar expenditures do not add up to a national manpower policy. In the absence of such a policy, conflict, duplication, and waste will prevent us from fully honoring our commitment to first-rate, quality vocational education training.

Let us, for a moment, look at some of the conflicts that have arisen and at the effects of present methods of funneling Federal funds to the local levels. First, let's consider the matching requirements of the various vocational education programs. Vocational education under the auspices of HEW requires 50 percent State matching, while vocational rehabilitation requires only 25 percent. The Neighborhood Youth Corps, MDTA, and adult education under the Office of Economic Opportunity require a 10 percent State matching of funds, while in the Job Corps and ESEA there is no requirement for State matching of Federal dollars. These are only a few of a vast number of Federal programs that all have different matching provisions.

What this means is that when you try to determine just how your local or your State money is to be utilized, you are left with "bargain basement shopping." You try to get as much of the Federal money for the least amount of local or State money. And this undertaking will throw the entire program—the national as well as State and local efforts—out of balance.

We must also consider how the States apply for their funds. Most of the operative programs find funds granted on a project-by-project basis. This is not a block grant approach but a categorical one in which the projects are developed locally.

I enjoyed a comment that appeared in a new study that is being conducted now on the educational systems for the 1970's. And that comment was that they are going to ask for unsolicited proposals. And, I wonder whether or not that is really possible. All of this categorical aid—all of the project-by-project allocation of funds requires that one become proficient in the art of "grantsmanship"—that is the ability to weave one's way through the endless bureaucratic maze and the mountainous piles of red tape. Those who are able to develop a project proposal that is the kind that the reader likes to read will usually get their projects funded. You must develop a program that will include not only what you really want and need but also one that you think will get funded. Only in this way can you be assured of getting your money. And, if you don't get your money, then your superior isn't going to like you very well. In the field of higher education, they say "publish or perish"—here it is "get your grants or you're out."

Let me reiterate—the costs of this type of administration are high. The waste in terms of talent and in terms of the taxpayers' dollars defies precise calculation on a nationwide basis. Dr. Arthur Swanson, Council Associate for the Western New York School Study Council, told the Members of the House Education and Labor Committee that "the New York State Education Department requires approximately 30 times the manpower to distribute $1 of Federal (categorical) aid than is required to distribute $1 of State aid."

Poorer and smaller State and local educational agencies just do not have sufficient manpower to satisfy Federal paperwork requirements. Unable to surmount the bureaucratic barriers that confront them, they see Federal monies awarded to larger and wealthier educational agencies and districts whose needs are not the most urgent or critical. Finally, the State matching requirements serve merely to broaden the gap that exists between the wealthy and the poor States. In some of the programs, we do have an equalizing factor so there is more money available to the poorer States. But then, in vocational education, they have that 50 percent that they have to contribute themselves which makes it extremely difficult for some of them. I must say, for a number of the poorer States, that they have done extremely well in the field of vocational education. If one wants to criticize the southern States—and this seems to be the fad these days—one should look at vocational education and compare some of the southern States with the northern States and see how well these southern States have done in vocational education.

There are a number of conflicts that plague this area. There is the conflict between the academic and the vocational which is going on in the secondary schools. There is a conflict between technical education at the higher education level and vocational education that is post high school and won't fit into the college curriculum or into vocational education at the secondary school level. There is also the conflict between institutional programs and the on-the-job training programs. None of these has been resolved. They have been kept below the surface as much as possible. I always think it better if these disputes are brought out into the open and the various points of view aired. Perhaps some parties who are not directly involved in the field could play a major part in resolving them. It is, in a sense, much like when my Democratic colleagues begin fighting with each other and we suggest that they ought to let a Republican come into their midst and help them to resolve their differences.

Francis Kepple said that education is too important to be left to the educators. Maybe in some of the conflicts among educators, outsiders ought to be welcomed in their midst in an effort to bring about agreeable solutions. So, if there are educators among us there today, as I know there are, I would say to you that you should feel free to share your problems with your business and industrial leaders, with your community—and let them help you.

In the conflict that pits academic against vocational education, the major emphasis in our secondary schools is on the curriculum for the college-bound student. My daughter who is now a junior in high school would like to pursue something like the Peace Corps or perhaps a line that would enable her to work with less-fortunate individuals. She wants to do this right after high school. She tells me that most of the guidance and counseling is in terms of what college she ought to go to. I have asked her what kind of training she is going to get in high school for what she would like to do and she says that nobody ever talks about that.

And so our whole emphasis is on preparation for that 30 percent that are college-bound—or perhaps on that 20 percent that go far enough in college so that they can learn a skill from it. I have seen the statistics that show that of the young people who leave school and go out to work with less than a baccalaureate degree, only one in ten have a job skill to take with them. And that's a pretty poor record for our educational system.

The heartening fact is, however, that our educators are aware of this shortcoming in our system and I expect that they will play their role in making long-needed changes.

The development of a sound national manpower policy is an urgent and necessary undertaking. It is important that we address ourselves to doing this and doing it now. At the same time that the Federal government is developing a national policy, State and local governments should be encouraged to do the same at their respective levels. Each of these partners must establish a policy and make plans for implementing it. The passing of time will not resolve our problems. We're moving at too fast a pace. And we must plan for the future. Industry would not be where it is today, if it neglected to plan. This is what we must do in the manpower field.

We have a multitude of programs, not only in vocational education and in poverty, but also in the Department of Labor. I doubt that it will ever be possible to develop a national manpower policy if the people in the Office of Education jealously hang on to their prerogatives, and those in the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor cling to theirs. Surely, none will suggest that some of these prerogatives be given up.

We hope to do a thorough study on the creation of a single manpower agency this year—and the result should be a new Department of Education and Manpower. I believe that we should place all of the education and manpower training functions and responsibilities that are now in the Office of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, and in the National Science Foundation in a new cabinet-level department. The manpower programs of the Department of Labor cannot and should not be isolated—for academic and vocational education go hand in hand. The Office of Economic Opportunity cannot go it alone. It would be a tragic mistake if we continue segregated programs in which a "poor" person is identified as somebody who is different. The "poor" must associate with other people—and we shouldn't run these programs only for them. What is more, there are a significant number of young people who need the experience that Project Headstart provides, who need vocational training, who need manpower training—young persons who do not come from families that are in the "poverty" category.

I personally believe that now is the time to start gathering together and consolidating into a unified whole the fragmented parts of our national education and manpower programs. Once such a consolidation is effected, we can then begin to devote ourselves to the task of perfecting and expanding our vocational education programs and in so doing draw upon the creative and innovative potential and expertise of the three co-equal governmental partners—Federal, State, and local.

Many of you may be familiar with the recent controversy over my amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—an amendment that would have consolidated all of Titles I (aid to educationally-deprived children), II (textbooks and library resources), III (innovative programs and supplemental centers), and V (aid to State departments of education) under a single title, with all of the programs administered through a single State plan. Each State, after having drawn upon the expertise of all interested parties, would have prepared a comprehensive State plan that would be submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education for his approval. Federal aid would then go from the Commissioner to the State. The Commissioner would not then be dealing with thousands of school districts around the country, but with the 50 States. The States, in turn, would be dealing with the hundreds of school districts within their jurisdictions. I believe that this is the direction in which we should be moving.

I was not successful; my proposal was defeated. But, as a result of the ESEA debate, it is widely recognized that the anticrime bill that passed the House—a bill that incorporates the block grant concept—came as a result of the ESEA identification and dramatization of the block grant approach. The juvenile delinquency program, heretofore quite unsuccessful in its five years of operation, now has that as well.

Some might say that this is the basis of the Green Amendment to the anti-poverty legislation. I say that it is not. And here I would like to point out another factor that is of primary importance in the partnership, among the Federal, State, and local spheres of government. In that partnership, the people who are to benefit from a program must be involved in some way—and this is especially important in the field of poverty. The poor must play a major role in their self-betterment. This is the key to the success of Leon Sullivan's O.I.C. program in Philadelphia. The poor are involved. The same can be said of Project Bootstrap that operates in Los Angeles and, by the way, without a cent of Federal money. Involvement of those who are to be helped has been a major ingredient of Boptstrap's success—boasting a record of placing 92 perecnt of those whom it trains—most of them in electronics and communications.

And the same should apply in our schools. In our rural schools, in the old one-room schoolhouse, there was a source of strength that we seem to have discarded. I am not advocating that we return to the one-room schoolhouse—I went to one—but I would never want my kids to go to one. But the strength of the rural one-room schoolhouse was the fact that the teacher had to live on a farm in that community and the parents of all the children had the responsibility, at least once a year, if not twice, to invite the teacher to come to the home for dinner. The kids were scared to death.

But the parents were pleased with this arrangement. For in the environment of the home, they could discuss the child's education. Now, parents are expected to go to the school for meetings with the teacher. The children, of course, don't come along. In the ghettos, the parents are scared because the teacher or instructor looks like "authority" and is practically like the policeman. I do know of some schools that require that the teacher visit the homes of her students. In New York, you can't do that because of the union. Teachers can only work six hours and twenty minutes a day, I believe, in New York, and you can't tell a teacher to go and visit the students' parents in their homes.

But, where they do this, the parents don't come into a strange environment, frightened to death. Rather, the teacher goes into the home environment, frightened to death perhaps. But by this, they were able to accomplish more than school social workers. And this is an ingredient that we must remember—the individual's part in his own development.

With respect to job programs, it is imperative that persons are put on policy-making boards who have been graduated from industrial vocational education programs. And it is important to have persons who have gone through these programs within the last five years—for they know the problems that existed for them—not the problems that existed some 20 or 30 years ago when they might have gone to some vocational education program.

Let me summarize briefly. We must work to create a new cabinet-level Department of Education and Manpower. I would suggest that we should lump together programs in certain categories—and I say this because I do not believe that we should put all education and manpower programs together under one single block grant. We have to do this a step at a time. We should put the elementary and secondary education programs, ESEA Titles I, II, III, and V, the National Defense Eduction Act, Title IIIA—which is the equipment title, Headstart and Follow through together into one block grant and develop a comprehensive plan. Vocational education, too, should have a block grant. The Smith-Hughes Act, the George-Barden Act, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, MDTA, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps and similar programs should be placed together in that block grant.

I believe that this way we can have the coordination that is necessary, develop a policy, have the flexibility, and have the strength of programs that will have dynamic effect on the opportunity for the nine out of ten young people who need to learn some occupational skills as well as all the other training that they need, in order that we actually can solve the problems that face us in the cities and the rural regions of America, because jobs come closest to being the answer. Education is necessary now, in order that people might have jobs.

Blind Justices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, most Americans are greatly alarmed and concerned at the recent decision by the U.S. Supreme Court holding that Communists may work in our defense plants.

The State newspaper of Columbia, S.C., published an editorial in the Friday, December 15, 1967, issue on this decision. The editorial is entitled "Blind Justices."

This editorial is a clear and concise argument against the shallow reasoning of the Court in this unfortunate decision. I ask unanimous consent this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the State, Columbia, S.C., Dec. 15, 1967]

BLIND JUSTICES

Someone really ought to give Chief Justice Earl Warren an authoritative book on Communism to study. Also, someone really ought to discuss with him the careers of people like the Rosenbergs, Klaus Fuchs, Alan Nunn May, Bruno Pontecorvo, and a few dozen others.

This week, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 6-to-2 decision, ruled "unconstitutional" a section of the McCarran Act barring Communists from holding jobs in defense plants.

The court declared that the McCarran Act's bar against defense employment of Communists—a bar considered by the government to be essential to national security and the reduction of sabotage and espionage—"is an unconstitutional abridgement of the right of association protected by the First Amendment.

Said Chief Justice Warren: To deny Communists a chance to work in U.S. defense plants "runs afoul of the First Amendment" because it "sweeps indiscriminately across all types of associations with Communist-action groups, without regard to the quality and degree of membership . . . (While) spies and saboteurs do exist . . . Congress can . . . prescribe penalties for those who engage in espionage and sabotage."

Justice William Brennan, Jr., who concurred with Warren, argued that Congress has never prescribed guidelines to be followed by the Defense Department in designating a plant as "a defense facility." Therefore (we presume he meant) if we don't know what a defense facility is, how can we bar someone from working in it?

Well, that's the way the cookie crumbles—the cookie in this case being the Republic. Communist teachers may teach in our schools; Communists may hold office in our labor unions; and Communists now may work in our defense plants.

What seems to elude the high court's understanding is that the Communist Party of the United States is not some sort of sophisticated 4–H Club whose members periodically break the law. It is an arm of the international Communist conspiracy. Its members owe their first allegiance to Moscow (or Peking), not to the United States. Communists who succeed in obtaining employment in our defense installations would be required, by party discipline, to engage in sabotage and/or espionage purely as a matter of course.

Clearly, America is in danger of making a positive fetish of her devotion to "free speech" and "free association." We are not required, though, to extend rights to those who would deny them to us if they had power.

Those who earnestly desire the perpetuation of true freedom must realize, with T. B. Macauley, that "a nation may be placed in such a situation that the majority must either impose disabilities or submit to them, and that what would, under ordinary circumstances, be justly condemned as persecution, may fall within the bounds of legitimate self-defense."

America's Responsibilities in the World Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, it has been brought to my attention that a very thorough analysis of the conflict in Vietnam was made recently in a speech delivered in Phoenix and Tucson, Ariz., by Senator CARL HAYDEN's administrative assistant, Roy Elson.

Mr. Elson has taken a broad look at the history and implications of America's foreign policy since World War II, and he has concluded that our policy with respect to Vietnam is not only consistent with our past commitments in world affairs, but is required by them and he is in full support of President Johnson's policy of using force with restraint to resist North Vietnamese aggression in South Vietnam. I commend Mr. Elson's speech to all who are interested in the historical background of the U.S. role in Vietnam, and for those who may want to review the compelling and convincing reasons why this country has pledged assistance to Vietnam.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Elson's speech, entitled "America's Responsibilities in the World Today," be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WORLD TODAY

(Speech by Roy L. Elson, before the Nucleus Club, Phoenix and Tucson, Ariz., December 14 and 15, 1967)

To portray America's responsibilities in the world today is an immense task. Within the limits of half an hour, there is little time for master brush strokes or impressionistic imagery. But the subject is of such importance; is so vital to each of us, that I feel compelled to make the effort.

All that I can say must be fit into a global environment that is characterized by change: change in political relationships; change in economic concepts; change in social orders; and change in the space-time relationship of one nation to another and of all nations to each other. There is change in diplomatic concepts and in war making concepts. And despite all these changes and all the whirling and rushing of events and years there remain the age-old and unchanged problems of world poverty and world tyranny; there remains the imbalance of the "have-nots" and the "haves"; and the contests of the belligerents and the peacemakers.

I have but four points to make today, and I can state them very succinctly, but I make them in full recognition of our environment of change and conflict.

First, America's massive responsibility in the world community was determined over twenty-five years ago. Second, that role has not changed and the United States' commitment in Vietnam is quite consistent with it. Indeed, it is required by it. Third, the Johnson administration policy in Vietnam is the moral course of conduct there. And fourth, Barry Goldwater's position with respect to Vietnam differs markedly from President Johnson's and Mr. Goldwater is neither a prophet of, nor a subscriber to, present day American policy in Southeast Asia.

With these statements as my leads, let me elaborate.

It was a quarter of a century ago that America's responsibility in the world was determined. It stemmed from the ashes and rubble of World War II and the universal dislocation of old national and international relationships. It was forged in response to the tyrannical and aggressive forces of Russian Communism in Europe, and later, Chinese Communism in Asia.

The most vigorous leadership in committing America to new obligations of power and responsibility came from the Democratic Party's own President Harry S. Truman.

I don't have to go into detail here. We all know the history of that period. To stem the tide of Communism, President Truman enunciated "The Truman Doctrine" in the Spring of 1947. The Truman Doctrine declared that the United States must go to the aid of any country whose "freedom and independence" were threatened by aggression from within or without. Mr. Truman then applied this doctrine to Communist activities in Greece and Turkey. The result was that the United States supplied arms, economic aid and military and naval advisory personnel to help those nations resist and turn back the Communist incursion on their freedom and independence.

In the same year, America undertook another responsibility; this time to rebuild the war-torn nations of Europe. Technically, it was named the European Recovery Program. But we remember it as the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State Marshall eloquently and sincerely proclaimed that the plan was not directed "against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos."

While the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were not adopted specifically for situations in Asia, the fact is, we were at work rebuilding Japan and the Philippines and attempting to assist Nationalist China, too.

The point I wish to make here is that, out of the Truman Doctrine and out of the Marshall Plan devolved the three major responsibilities of the United States in the Post World War II era.

Those responsibilities remain ours today. Europe has recovered. True. Japan has recovered. True.

But the U.S. role as a defender of freedom and independence and as a renovator or rebuilder of strife-torn nations has not been fully performed. The names and places of the drama have changed. The theatre is now Southeast Asia. The stage is set in the Republic of South Vietnam. The protagonists remain the democratic forces of the free world. The antagonists still call themselves Communists. But what they call themselves is unimportant. The point is, they are antagonistic: antagonistic toward democracy; antagonistic toward the sovereignty of neighboring states and peoples; and antagonistic toward peace in the world.

Because of this antagonism, America cannot abandon her major responsibilities. They are three in number. I shall state them, then illustrate them.

First, America has the responsibility of committing her moral leadership and prestige as a major power to prevent internecine quarrels and to settle disputes. We did this in Suez in 1956, in Lebanon in 1958. We did it again just this past summer in the Middle East. And we did it again more recently in the Greek-Turkish dispute over Cyprus. An uneasy peace prevails in that part of the world and perhaps our leadership and prestige will be invoked there again in the future. But the shooting and the killing have stopped. It is no profound statement to say that whenever it's possible to rely on them, words excel weapons in resolving international disputes.

Our second major responsibility is to assist in the economic development of emerging nations and to help establish economic security in the Free World.

At the end of World War II and in order to combat two of Western Europe's most pressing problems—the spread of Communism and economic stagnation—the United States poured billions of dollars of foreign aid into Western Europe under the auspices of the Marshall Plan. At first, food, medicine and clothing to satisfy the immediate needs of the people. Later, long-term capital grants and loans to rebuild the bombed-out cities, repair lines of communications, and put European industry back on its feet. The Marshall Plan proved to be a milestone in postwar American diplomacy. One only need to observe the difference between East and West Germany to prove that it worked.

For fifteen years after the conclusion of World War II the United States concentrated upon the rebuilding of Western Europe. With the coming to the Presidency of John F. Kenendy in 1960, the United States switched its foreign aid emphasis from Western Europe to a more pressing problem nearer home.

The Cuban crisis brought into sharp focus the threat of hemispheric dangers hitherto unheeded. Latin America was threatened with Communist subversion. The Alliance for Progress was one of the positive measures the Kennedy Administration took to meet this threat.

President Johnson took further bold steps to arrest violence and maintain order in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and at the Latin American Conference in Montevideo, Uruguay this year pledged continued U.S. support of aid and assistance to the people of those countries. In turn, the Presidents of the Latin American Republics agreed to move toward economic integration in the next decade.

The great foreign aid programs which I have just described have themselves served to create yet another problem—this time in the field of international trade. As the "have-not" countries of the world are brought to a level of relative prosperity and stability through the use of American foreign aid, the great trading nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, to name a few—find themselves running short of the "hard" currencies which they use to settle their international debts.

Over 75 percent of all international trade is done in dollars; the rest in pounds sterling or other hard currencies. The reason these currencies are trusted by foreign buyers and sellers is because they are backed by central bank gold reserves. But international trade is growing at a faster rate than the gold to back it can be dug out of the earth. Last year, for example, not one ounce of gold produced in the Free World outside of the United States found its way into central bank vaults. This fact leaves the financial ministers of the great trading nations with an agonizing decision—either they must cut back on foreign trade or go about creating so-called "paper gold." This they have begun to do through the International Monetary Fund.

The IMF is made up of 102 countries who have pledged a portion of their monetary reserves to assist one another in bringing about the orderly settlement of international debts. If one member of the IMF faces a large deficit in its balance of payments, it may borrow hard currencies from the IMF until its payments position improves, and it is able to repay the loan. This enables the "have-not" to free otherwise frozen monetary reserves so that they may buy the goods needed to carry out the development of their country from those industrial nations which are eager to sell to them.

But only so many dollars and pounds and Swiss francs can now be printed because there is only so much gold to back them up. And as I have said before, trade is growing while gold stocks are shrinking. This is why the United States, through the International Monetary Fund, must take the lead in making its commitments good so that international trade can continue to expand; otherwise the world will be faced with economic strangulation of epic proportions.

We have recently witnessed the great "Gold Rush" of the Sixties. I don't mean by a bunch of scraggly miners armed with pan and pick, but by sophisticated gold speculators who were betting that the dollar would also be devalued in the wake of the devaluation of the British pound. It took years for the "49'ers" to dig their gold out of the ground, but in a one-week period following the British devaluation the United States lost almost one-half billion dollars of its gold stocks. But the United States stood its ground. The dollar will buy 1/35 of an ounce of gold. No more. No less.

This brings us to the question: Just how sound is the dollar? Can it be defended as it is pegged unequivocally to the price of gold at $35 per ounce?

I feel that the dollar today is the soundest currency in the world and will continue to be.

Look at it this way: No matter who holds the pound, the fact is he can buy less gold with it than he could before devaluation. When holders of the pound realized they were going ot see its value drop from .8 of an ounce of gold to .68 of an ounce of gold (expressed in dollars) then they quit thinking about the dollar per se and the exchange rate and sought the security of gold itself. That's what the gold rush was all about. It consisted of those faint hearted souls who chose the intrinsic value of the mineral over the faith and credit of the British pound.

The saving feature was—and is—the United States commitment to pay $35 for an ounce of gold. De Gaulle and France hoped to spur on the gold rush by turning in her dollars for gold, too. But our firmness withstood the rush. The dollar is just as durable as gold. It's worth $35 an ounce. No more. No less.

The strength and durability of the dollar reflect the production of our factories and farms, our vast wealth of research, technology and managerial skills. In short, the dollar to me is backed by an $800 billion Gross National Product that could buy or sell France a dozen times.

The British could not have devalued the pound without the knowledge that the dollar would hold firm. The world depends on the dollar, and it will stay strong.

When a United States bond is issued it carries on it the words, "backed by the full faith and credit of the United States of America." This should be the motto of the dollar and of all our international obligations.

Our third major responsibility is to assist in the defense of Free World interests against aggression and expansion whether that aggression be committed in the name of Communism or some similar predatory force.

There are those today who are urging that America reduce her world commitments. They argue that the conditions no longer exist which, in the years after the Second World War, required the extension of American power and responsibility around the globe.

These nostalgic thinkers are often referred to as neo-isolationists. They maintain that the nations of Western Europe have recovered from the ravages of war and are economically and politically stronger than ever before. They also assume—but it's an unprovable assumption—that a nuclear war between the Free World and Communist nuclear powers is no longer a serious possibility. Therefore, say the neo-isolationists, America can and should undertake a gradual withdrawal from world affairs and concentrate on its domestic business. It is an attractive proposition; beguiling, in fact. But it is neither astute nor realistic.

The question is: Can America curtail her world commitments without undermining the structure of international relations?

If we do disengage or withdraw from our responsibilities, who will assume them? And what kind of world would evolve?

In the world book of freedom, the chapter on the Hungarian Revolt of 1956 provides the clear and tragic lesson that when America fails to aid "any country whose freedom and independence are threatened from within or without," then the forces of tyranny are quick to close in for the kill.

If we withdraw, who will conduct the airlift should the Soviet Union decide anew to isolate Berlin? Who will ensure that the North Koreans or Chinese Communists will not again seek to overrun the entire Korean Peninsula? Who will back up the Greeks and Turks if their independence is jeopardized once again? Who will assist the emerging nations to become economically and politically mature?

In short, who will fill the vacuums? Former Under-Secretary of State George Ball said, "We have assumed responsibility in these situations—not because we abhorred vacuums, but because we abhorred tyranny."

That's well put and the neo-isolationists have never made clear just how the United States could withdraw from its international commitments without damaging the cause of freedom.

Certainly, we hope that the Western European nations will play a greater part in promoting peace, but their economic prosperity is too recent and as yet too tenuous for them to undertake any large scale task of maintaining world order. In Asia and in Africa, Western Europeans have also to face the blemish of still being remembered as Colonial powers. That is a psychological impediment making constructive action, at best, difficult.

To say that defense against aggression is a major international responsibility is not to say this nation, alone, is *the* world policeman. We use our membership in the United Nations, in NATO, in the OAS and in SEATO to pursue peaceful settlements, to resist aggression, and to arrest violence. Neo-isolationists fail to consider what the consequences would be if we abrogated our agreements with or withdrew our pledges to these multilateral and regional organizations. This country has more than 40 allies with whom it is mutually pledged to resist aggression. These alliances were formed through the treaty process set forth in our Constitution. What would happen to these alliances if it should be discovered or even appear that the pledge of the United States to resist aggression is meaningless? I believe the pathway to world peace and prosperity would be clogged with the debris of lost life and wasted resources and catastrophe would result where tranquility was intended.

Lastly, the neo-isolationists complain bitterly about our military and national defense expenditures. It is not my preference either. More than 60 cents out of every dollar spent by the Federal Government goes to national security or to meeting expenses of past wars.

Secretary of State Rusk told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in a speech in May of this year, "I take no comfort from the fact the defense budget of the United States this year equals the Gross National Product of all of Latin America."

I believe we all prefer that the resources committed to our national defense be employed to provide a better life for impoverished men, women and children wherever they exist. But defense spending will continue as long as there are states who are committed to a world revolution, which is fundamentally in opposition to the kind of world envisaged in the United Nations Charter and which is diabolically opposed to all that America stands for.

I further believe that this nation has the resources and the will and the honor not only to fulfill her world obligations but to support her domestic needs and requirements.

Before discussing America's presence in Vietnam, I should like first to summarize post World War II Communist activity in Southeast Asia and in China.

In China, when the war with Japan ended in 1945, Chiang Kai-Shek's Nationalist Party and the Communist Party clashed in an effort to gain control over areas formerly occupied by the Japanese. Attempts to establish a new government on a coalition basis failed; full scale civil war ensued and ended in a Communist victory in October, 1949. Thereafter, Chinese Communist leaders proclaimed the Chinese Peoples Republic and established the so-called "people's democracy." They used as a principle of government the coalition along lines similar to those operating in Eastern Europe at that time. The coalition government was really a structure in which a facade of "democracy" was maintained by creating a multiparty body under strict Communist Party control. It is that structure which appears to be coming somewhat unglued today. But it is also that "coalition structure" which is important to my digression here.

Following the surrender of the Japanese, Korea was divided at the 38th Parallel; the Soviets occupying the North and the Americans the South. The two zones were to be held in trusteeship until a provisional government for all of Korea could be established. But, as in Eastern Europe, Soviet military forces knifed into North Korea in the classic Soviet pattern of conquest. "Peoples committees," led by Communists but containing other parties in a "united front," were established. In North Korea, the *coalition device* was used as an instrument of conquest just as it was used in Eastern Europe and in China.

In Laos, various attempts have been made by the Communist Pathet Lao forces to establish a coalition government with the Royal Laotian Government. In 1957, a coalition was formed but subsequently was dissolved by anti-Communist forces. A coalition with the Pathet Lao was attempted again in June, 1962. But within a year, the Pathet Lao, unable to subvert the coalition, withdrew. Civil and guerrilla war followed and the nation remains divided today between two apparently irreconcilable camps.

The coalition device was used in Indonesia but ultimately failed when it did not include the Army there.

In Vietnam, the genesis of coalition occurred during World War II. Under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh a "united front" was established in 1941, pledged to fight the Japanese and Vichy France. At the same time, the United Front—League for the Independence of Viet Nam as it was called, and popularly known as the Viet Minh—proclaimed its support for the victory of the Allies. In fact, Ho's Viet Minh concentrated on organizing and extending its political and military strength throughout the country.

For brevity's sake, let it be said simply that nationalism, as manifested in the desire for Vietnamese independence from French rule and relief from the wartime Japanese occupation provided a broad and durable base of operations for the Vietnamese Communists.

Their most effective organizational mechanism was the coalition. They identified with the nationalist movement; led it; subordinated their own doctrinal interests and even dissolved the party to spread appeal and establish a broadly based united front of powerful, diverse and anti-French forces. In 1945 they established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with its capitol at Hanoi.

The years 1946–48 were spent fighting the French through United Front action under a democratic facade, and later, as the Cold War polarized intetrnational relations, they professed neutrality.

The Communist consolidation of power occurred in the years 1949–51. It was during this period that Ho completely took over the Vietnamese government and by February, 1950, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was recognized officially by the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc nations.

On February 1, 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson declared that Soviet recognition of "Ho Chi-Minh's Communist movement should remove any illusion as to the nationalist nature of his aims and reveals Ho in his true colors as the mortal enemy of native independence in Indo-China."

Why have I digressed on this discussion of Communist coalition movements in Southeast Asia and particularly in Vietnam? Because too many times I hear people—some of them otherwise responsible people—say that the strife in Vietnam is civil strife, or that the people there had self-determination until the French and the U.S. became involved. Or that the people of South Vietnam really prefer Communist North Vietnam to rule them. Evidence to the contrary, it seems to me is irrefutable. The Communist guerrillas operating there are directed by North Vietnam. It infiltrates regiments and divisions of the Regular Army of North Vietnam into the South. The methods and tactics used to terrorize the people of South Vietnam and promote strife are the same as those used wherever Communist expansion has taken place.

Neo-isolationists aren't the only ones offering advice on how to settle the Vietnam issue.

Today there are people who say we should form a coalition government in South Vietnam which would include the Viet Cong. Maybe someday when South Vietnam is stronger and has her own government on a solid democratic foundation, that will be possible. But a coalition government now would only play into the hands of the North.

Communists like coalitions especially when they can subvert them. When they can't, they pull out and resort to guerrilla warfare, as they have already done in Vietnam and as they have done in Laos.

A coalition then will not work, in my opinion.

The American presence in Vietnam really began in 1950 when it was revealed that Ho Chi-Minh was part of the Communist movement. Between 1950 and 1954, the U.S. assisted France with equipment and money to fight the war.

What about the French? Were they good guys or bad guys? Did they have a case or didn't they?

France was a Colonial power. I've never understood how Colonialists thought they had a right to control and dominate people in other lands. Just as I don't understand why Communists feel they should rule other nations, either. For Colonialists and Communists alike, I can only say their economic interests and power interests are only rational in an avaricious sort of way. They are not valid or moral.

When the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, the people of France and the French government, weary from the eight year conflict, abandoned the effort to prevent a Communist takeover. That is when the United States responded to the plea for assistance from the Vietnamese government.

What are the vital interests of the United States that today justify the presence of 500,000 troops in Vietnam and the expenditure of $25 billion annually there?

In the words of President Johnson, "Our objective is the independence of Vietnam and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves—only that the people of South Vietnam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way."

Behind the pursuit of this basic objective and our desire for a just and honorable peace lie the undeniable conclusions that the fate of South Vietnam is indeed tied to our own national interest.

First, Vietnam is of strategic importance. It controls the mouth of the Mekong River, the main artery of Southeast Asia. Vietnam spans the transportation and communication pathway from East to West. In Communist hands, this area would pose a serious threat to the security of the United States.

Second, should the North gain control of the South, very grave effects on the peace and security of the rest of Southeast Asia would result. It would, I believe, encourage and reinforce Communist China and Communist Ho Chi Minh's ambitions to expand. Pressure, subversion and military force would follow. And finally, the destruction of independence in the neighboring states.

Third, it is in the United States' interest to check a strategy of aggression in Southeast Asia. Asian Communist countries have proclaimed the struggle in Vietnam a critical test of their doctrine of "peoples wars" or so-called "wars of liberation." It is assuredly in the interest of a free Southeast Asia, and hence in the entire Free World's interest, to defeat this expansionary scheme.

Fourth, it is important to the whole world, to friend and foe alike, that the United States honor her commitments.

It must be made clear that we are engaged in a limited war for limited objectives. We are not seeking an "empire" in Asia; nor permanent military bases; nor the overthrow of the government of North Vietnam; nor the overthrow of mainland China's government.

We seek a peaceful political solution to this conflict, but at the same time we reject the idea that North Vietnam has the right to impose a military solution.

Have our objectives changed? Has our policy changed? The record is clear and the answer is "No."

After the concluding session of the Geneva Conference in 1954, President Diem of South Vietnam requested aid from the United States to assist in the movement of several hundred thousand loyal Vietnamese citizens away from areas passing under *de facto* Communist North Vietnam control. On October 1, 1954, President Eisenhower replied that the U.S. would assist the government of Vietnam to develop and maintain a strong viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion and aggression through military means. President Eisenhower reaffirmed this pledge on October 23, 1954 and again in a letter to Diem dated October 26, 1960.

On October 26, 1961, in a letter to President Diem, President Kennedy reaffirmed U.S. determination to "help Viet Nam preserve its independence, protect its people against Communist assassins, and build a better life through economic growth."

In an exchange of letters between Diem and President Kennedy dated December 7 and December 14, 1961, President Kennedy promised that the U.S. would promptly increase its assistance to Vietnam's defense efforts against Communist aggression. President Kennedy reaffirmed the U.S. pledge with words and deeds and on July 17, 1963, in a televised press conference, he told the nation that, "for us to withdraw from that effort . . . would mean a collapse, not only to South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia, so we're going to stay there."

There are some clairvoyants in the country today who would have us believe that if President Kennedy were alive, he would have the U.S. withdraw from South Vietnam. That's sheer speculation. There is nothing in President Kennedy's record on Vietnam to even hint that his policy would be different from that of President Johnson's today.

I've searched the Kennedy record and as far back as 1954 he was standing up on the floor of the United States Senate and (1) criticizing the Republicans for slashing Air Force funds by over $5 billion in the face of the prospects of the U.S. intervening militarily in Vietnam, (2) valiantly pleading the cause of world freedom and reminding his peers and the government of our responsibility with these words:

"The mantle of leadership has been placed upon our shoulders not by any nation nor by our own government or citizens but by destiny and circumstance, by the sheer fact of our physical and economic strength and by our role as the only real counter to the forces of Communism in the world today.

"If events in Indochina have taught us to better to fulfill that role, then it is not a wholly dark story after all; and what Washington termed, 'the sacred fire of liberty' may yet be preserved throughout the world."

That was John F. Kennedy speaking on the Vietnam issue in 1954. It is an excerpt from one of three such speeches he made that year in the Senate.

The U.S. commitment to Vietnam was reaffirmed by President Johnson on December 31, 1963, on April 20, 1964, on April 7, 1965 and he stands by these pledges and reaffirms them virtually every day of the year.

I said the U.S. position in Vietnam is the higher moral position. I believe it is morally superior for America to defend "the sacred fire of liberty" against the forces of tyranny. I believe it is the higher morality for President Johnson to uphold the solemn pledges of assistance made by himself and his predecessors and reaffirmed day after day before the entire world.

I believe it would be immoral for this great nation, itself the citadel of democracy and self-determination to haul down its proud colors before the successful termination of one of the great epic struggles for freedom.

Now, I am aware that military force, alone, cannot stop an idea or change a man's political philosophy or allegiance—but military action at times is an absolute imperative for abating terror, creating security and tranquility, so as to make possible an atmosphere in which democratic institutions may flourish.

The alternative to the American presence in Vietnam today would be a blood bath and a reign of teror, anarchy and suffering unimaginable, and the imposition of a system that demeans all human dignity and imperils free men in vast stretches of the Pacific.

Certainly, a unilateral, unconditional withdrawal of American forces would produce an indescribable trauma of such proportions as to change the whole system of international relations. Withdrawal, renunciation of our pledge, in my view, would be irresponsible and immoral acts for this nation on whom so many other nations depend for world order and stability.

On the other hand, escalation to the ultimate and complete destruction and the consequent surrender would leave an incinerated and galvanized desert with the remnants wards of the victors, and would then be faced with subsidizing and rebuilding the whole area of the world and the beginning of a new structure for surviving society—if indeed, it did survive. We can't make that choice on either moral grounds or grounds of national interest. We can't make it at all.

Has there been progress in Vietnam? In Southeast Asia? In all of Asia and the Pacific area?

Secretary of State Rusk made a progress report on Asia to the National Association of Manufacturers in New York City earlier this month. Briefly, it read like this:

"Japan.—GNP has grown from $11 billion to more than $100 billion in 17 years. With fewer people and less resources, she's outproduced Communist China and will soon trail only the U.S. and Russia in GNP. This growth has enabled Japan to increase her assistance to developing nations.

"Korea.—GNP rose by 12 percent last year and 8 percent in each of the preceeding two years. Korea has not forgotten Free World support when she was the victim of Communist aggression. Today she has two army divisions and a marine brigade shoulder-to-shoulder with our own fighting men in Vietnam.

"Republic of China.—Economy has attained self-sustaining growth and enabled U.S. to end 15 year old economic aid program. Republic of China is now providing technical assistance to 23 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its own progress contrasts sharply with Mainland China.

"Philippines.—Growth rate has eased off but rice production is increasing dramatically. Progressive road building program is underway. The Philippines, in the past molested by Communist guerrillas, is today contributing to the defense of South Vietnam with a 2,000 man military engineering unit and other assistance.

"Thailand.—Annual economic growth rate of more than 8 percent. This nation is moving toward adoption of a new constitution. Bangkok is a major center of regional international activity. The Thai are providing military and air force bases for U.S. air units engaged in Vietnam conflict and have a regiment of men serving in Vietnam."

Similar success stories are reported out of Malaysia, Sigapore, and even Laos and Indonesia. In the latter country a Communist coup was thwarted in 1965. In Laos, construction of the first major Mekong Valley project has begun through the combined efforts of several nations and organizations including the U.S. Communist activity continues but has not prevented progress in the non-Communist part of the country.

In Vietnam—there has been dramatic economic, political and social progress since 1965. It's all taken place behind the shield of military security which tends to capture the headlines and newsreels. Free elections and a new constitution are the major strides. Gains for the civilian population have been made in education, health, roads, agriculture and curbs have been put on inflation.

This promising picture of Asia is the result of international cooperation and sacrifice; of economic aid and military assistance. It contrasts sharply with the progress charts of Communist controlled lands in Asia.

As Secretary Rusk concluded. "Behind the shield which we have helped to provide a new Asia is arising."

We've made too much progress in Vietnam to permit the prodding of super-hawks and opportunists to drag us into World War III by unleashing all our military might in pursuit of a total conquest of Southeast Asia.

And so, my fellow Democrats, America is fulfilling her world responsibilities today as she has been for the past quarter of a century by resisting aggression with force and the shield whenever necessary and by offering her hand of friendship and assistance always.

So today, as Americans, as Arizonans, as loyal Democrats, let us close ranks behind our leader—our President—and support him in the cause of peace. There is no nobler cause. 1968 beckons. Victory is at stake.

Forestry Sciences Laboratory at Morgantown, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, in September, I spoke at the dedication of the new Forestry Sciences Laboratory at Morgantown, W. Va. The laboratory is owned and operated by the U.S. Forest Service.

Recently, I received useful information from Mr. Homer W. Parker, of the Forestry Sciences Laboratory, covering some of the basic problems existing in the harvesting of Appalachian timber products. Mr. Parker's paper also deals with engineering research and how it may be improved to assist in resolving these problems.

I ask unanimous consent to insert the document in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

HARVESTING APPALACHIAN TIMBER PRODUCTS

(By Homer W. Parker)

This presentation will discuss some of the basic problems existing in the harvesting of Appalachian timber products. It will also deal with how engineering research may be employed to assist in resolving these problems.

The timber industry in Appalachia is second in regional economic importance. This analysis is concerned with Appalachian logging problems that affect the employment of 384,000 persons, 86 million dollars worth of raw materials, 2 billion dollars worth of finished products, 67 million acres of forest land, 105.6 million acres of surface area, and the watershed that supplies water to millions of Americans in and outside Appalachia.

Economically the area is severely distressed with an annual out-migration of 200,000 persons, permanent unemployment of more than 170,000 persons, and it has suffered a sustained period of chronic depression.

More than 4,000 miles of the area's streams are severely polluted, and the hydrologic condition of 68 percent of the watershed area is very poor.

The forested area has been creamed so many times that 20 percent of the timber is culls, and 70 percent is only grade 3 or 4 sawlogs. Under present harvesting methods there is little incentive to remove or kill culls. The need exists to find a profitable use of culls and low-quality timber. About one out of every five trees, 5 inches or larger, is a cull. Replacing these trees with valuable growing stock could add more than 10 million acres of timber-producing area in Appalachia. Proportioning this in terms of national economy value of annual stumpage in dollars and cents indicates a potential $12,800,000.00 in annual gross national product loss.

The annual breakdown of Appalachian harvesting costs from stump to mill is approximately as follows:

Stumpage	$86, 000, 000
Wages and salaries	52, 968, 180
Equipment	13, 095, 450
Power	13, 095, 450
Other expenses	30, 295, 420
Total annual costs of logging, excluding stumpage	109, 454, 500
Total annual costs of logging, including stumpage	195, 454, 500

Based on the National Safety Council figures (based on 3-year injury rates, 1962–1964), out of 178 activities of man that are listed, only three have an accident severity rate greater than logging. Only 4 out of 178 have a higher accident frequency rate. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics Report No. 252, 37.7 percent of the accidents in the northern region result from hand tools (power or manual) compared to 25.8 percent on a national basis. The report also indicates 38.8 percent of the accidents involve Forest products.

The known accident frequency rate of logging is 29.59, and the severity rate is 4,300 (Accident Facts, 1965 Edition, National Safety Council). The number of persons engaged in logging is a disputable figure due to the large number of part-time workers who in census figures often list themselves under some other profession. However, as near as can be estimated, more than 100,000,000 man-hours per year are worked in Appalachian logging. It is calculated that 430,000 man-days are lost out of an estimated 12,480,000 effective man-days worked. Using a national figure of $75.00 per worker we can see that the direct dollar loss in Appalachian logging due to accidents is estimated to be on the order of $1,920,000.00. We can go on and on quoting various figures; however, the points to be emphasized are the needless amount of money, jobs, accidents, human suffering, and other factors involved with the harvesting, processing, and consumption of timber products, for want of better equipment, methods, and techniques.

The above figures are only samples of data that might be presented; however, some of the salient points that might be taken from this data are:

1. Timber products are a substantial element in the gross national product of the Appalachian area.
2. The cost of harvesting and delivery of timber products to the mills is substantially higher than materials such as plastics, reducing the ability of timber products to compete with synthetic substances.
3. The Appalachian forests are an integral element affecting the watersheds supplying the water to millions of Americans and a substantial number of industries.
4. Logging today is one of the most dangerous types of work engaged in by man.
5. The forests contain many cull trees—low-quality timber for which a profitable usage needs to be developed.

The question then arises as to what might be done to aid the timber industries and resolve some of the problems involved. A century ago the logging and timber industries were among the foremost in the nation in the methods and equipment employed. Somehow over the years, this is no longer true. The research and development on equipment and methods has lagged. Too often a much heralded piece of supposedly new equipment turns out, on closer inspection, to be a modified item from some other industry. These machines often have little or no research and development to make sure they are what is needed by the timber industries. Machines that will work on the coastal plains are often impractical in the steeper Appalachian area.

This leads us then to the field of engineering research as one approach to the problem of solving these Appalachian forested area problems. The type research in question might assist in relieving this problem by (a) making harvesting of these areas of lower grade and cull timber profitable, enabling replacement to be made in quality stands, (b) effectively increasing the national gross timber production resources by 10 million acres, (c) establishing additional jobs for unemployed persons, (d) protecting the employment of many persons whose future security is now threatened, (e) improving the watershed that will provide the necessary water for future population growth, (f) contributing to recreation area improvements, (g) aiding in conservation of valuable soil, (h) reducing accidents and human suffering, and (i) helping the Appalachian timber industry to retain a competitive place with other raw materials.

Funds expended in engineering research work would be recovered many times over in taxes and in the increased gross of the national resources.

Present logging methods in Appalachia. Basically the fundamentals of logging techniques in Appalachia are along the same general lines that prevailed during the Civil War. The chain saw has replaced the crosscut saw and largely replaced the axe. The horse and mule have been largely replaced by tractors. The primitive "A" frame loader is now gasoline operated instead of powered by steam. The truck and logging roads have largely replaced the railroad and logging spur line. Men are still the key element and logging is an arduous, back-breaking, dangerous business often of marginal profit level.

Most of the research and development in the forestry field in the past has consisted of scattered unrelated small scale studies with relatively limited objectives. The result has been the accumulation of a vast "hodge podge" of equipments, devices, tools, and methods that has yielded over 200 so-called harvesting systems. On "A" frame loaders alone, there are dozens of different designs of winches each with its own set of drive gears. If a gear breaks, a logger suffers expensive, time-consuming delays and often has to have a pattern made, a new gear cast and machined. It is impractical in view of lack of standardization for dealers to attempt to stock crucial parts.

Components of the systems often have little or no systems engineering. Equipment components are often far under or oversized to work efficiently with other portions of the system; thus, it is not unusual to see an expensive machine that is utilized at a fraction of its capacity.

Suitable accurate and impartial technical data on Appalachian logging equipment and techniques is not collected and available in a form to be used intelligently by logging operators. The logging foreman and the logging operator often make decisions and base their operation on obsolete handed-down traditions, information and prejudice.

Logging roads. Present logging roads are often the source of accelerated erosion of soil. There is a strong need for better road design that will be economical, considerably less susceptible to erosion, and requires virtually no maintenance. It appears feasible, by new concepts in road building, resulting from the recently developed science of soil mechanics, to develop such needed roads. Improvements are required in items associated with roads such as culverts, bridges, machines for low cost logging road construction, and in temporary road construction.

Future trends are toward means of material handling less dependent on roads and truck transportation; however, in the foreseen future there is every indication that the demand will continue to exist for truck roads.

Erosion of soil. Disturbed and unstable soils erode rapidly throughout this region of steep slopes and narrow valleys. One of the chief results is loss of recreational opportunity on many miles of beautiful streams. Water holding capacity of the soil is reduced, and flash floods and muddy water testify to the poor hydrologic conditions which prevail. Productivity is lost as organic matter, and the best topsoil washes away. Because the bulk of the region's precipitation falls upon forests, erosion problems and cures are closely related to forest management. Strip mining operations create large areas of disturbed soil conditions in the head-waters of many major streams. Roads that are not engineered and maintained properly become ribbons of erosion. Careless logging operations and the effects of wildfires add to the soil disturbance and erosion. Erosion control needed on forest and woodland areas in Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, altogether exceed a million acres; much of this is within the Appalachian area.

Water Pollution. The streams fed by forested watersheds of Appalachia could contribute much more clean water and outdoor recreation if water pollution was adequately controlled or eliminated. Many drift and shaft mines in the region are pouring acid into mountain streams. Abandoned mines drain into watersheds and streams long after they are worked out.

The principal pollutant of forest water, however, is soil sediment swept into streams during storm periods. This source of pollution can be effectively controlled by protective measures taken in logging, road construction, and other soil disturbing activities.

Many industries rely on large volumes of high quality water. They are particularly vulnerable to upstream pollution which affects water supplies used. New industries which might be attracted into the Region have their choices of sites narrowed sharply when stream pollution is widespread.

Engineering aspects of economics in logging. Logging is one of the most difficult businesses to manage efficiently. There are at least 22 costs that might be involved in a harvesting operation. It has been established that increased mechanization to make a man-hour more productive is essential if logging costs are to be reduced. It is expected that the hourly cost of labor will continue to rise, which further intensifies the necessity of more productive output.

The type of mechanization must take into account the minimum economic production requirements of the system. Information as to economic parameters for Appalachia are, generally speaking, not well established. Need exists to establish reliable economic data, to extend engineering analysis to economic considerations, and to make the data available to loggers in a practical form so they can use the information.

Safety and psychological factors in logging operation. Work science research alone is not sufficient. It is necessary to establish a relation between engineering—economy—man. Logging, in its present state, is one of the most arduous, hazardous, and energy consuming trades in the world. Application of engineering to relieve this situation effectively is long overdue.

Reduction of compensation insurance rates would be a significant step toward reducing harvesting costs. The only way to effect a reduction of insurance rates is by reducing accidents in logging. Lower compensation rates might stimulate more logging operations. Accidents, injuries and illness suffered from logging are the principal reasons for manpower turn-over.

DISCUSSION OF PROBLEM ASPECTS

General considerations. The chronic depression of Appalachia's economy is a matter of long record. High levels of unemployment, low family income, out-migration of population, and other conditions provide ample evidence of the distress that is commonplace throughout the area. Alleviation of this distress is clearly in the national interest. Both immediate and long-term results are needed by the Region's inhabitants.

The timber resource and the wood-using industry already established in Appalachia should provide much of the foundation for renewed economic vigor. Timber is unique as a natural resource. It is renewable and can sustain great yields of raw materials without being diminished. There is a pressing need to commence improving harvesting methods and reducing costs.

In research a number of practical considerations must be factored into the work. The same factors would be an integral aspect of systems engineering studies and engineering economic studies. An example of some of the factors referenced above would include:

1. Initial cost: An extremely important consideration where a small operator is involved.

2. Rate of production: How fast can a machine effectively produce what it is supposed to accomplish?

3. Useful life: How many years can the operator expect the machine to serve usefully?

4. Adaptibility: Capability of machine to meet variations in form of production which may be encountered.

5. Terrain limitations: How steep a slope can it climb and operate effectively, etc. (Where large machines are involved.)

6. Mobility: Height, width, length and weight considerations. Can it pass over first class highways to go from job to job? Can it negotiate the curves and surfaces of logging roads? (Applicable to large machines.)

7. Reliability: Down time is expensive. Is the machine of a design and type that the logger can expect to render consistent day after day production under expected conditions of use?

8. Maintenance required: What type of maintenance is necessary to keep the equipment in service? Is it within the practical capability of a logging crew to achieve?

9. Labor required: How many men are required to operate this equipment?

10. Labor skill required: What is the degree of training and skill required to operate the machine? Is this skill available in the area where the machine is to be used?

11. Damage to the forest: Does this machine damage the forest floor in achieving its work? Is this damage acceptable?

12. Fire hazard: Is there any fire hazard to the forest from the use of this machine?

13. Safety considerations: What, if any, safety hazards are likely to be encountered in using this machine? Is it safer than machines presently being used?

14. Availability: Is there a manufacturer available somewhere that will and can make the machine with reasonable delivery?

15. Logistic support: What is the availability of spare parts, fuel, and other supplies necesasry to keep the machine in service?

16. Noise: Does the machine produce objectionable noise? Is there any danger of human ear damage over a period of time as is possible with chain saws?

17. Psychological aspects: Is there anything in the inherent design of the machine that might be repulsive to a man operating it? Any cause for worker opposition to its use?

18. Forest Service acceptability: Is there anything in its design that would cause the Forest Service to bar its use on national forest lands?

19. Weather resistant: Is the machine capable of being used in the various types of weather under which logging might be practiced? Does it have any special limitations of seasonal nature? Is it bothered by dust, mud, fog, high humidity, rain, moisture condensation, etc.?

20. Multi-shift operation: Can the device be used on multi-shift operation? What are the requirements as to external-light requirements, etc.?

The first step in the direction of this needed engineering research on the Appalachian harvesting problem was the creation of an engineering research project at Morgantown, West Virginia. A project leader was assigned in 1964, and the first funding for initiating actual research was contained in the Appalachian bill in 1965. The staffing of the project was initiated during the summer of 1965.

The project was initially housed in the Department of Agricultural Engineering at West Virginia University. There were no engineers fully trained for the specific problems facing the project, and it was therefore necessary to recruit engineers from several fields of specialization and, through a process of studying the actual problems, a trained staff was developed. A new laboratory for this staff and a wildlife research project was dedicated on September 23, 1967.

Fundamentally, research is aimed at the problem of a long-term and final solution to the Appalachian problem. It is not basically a stop-gap solution. The researchers realized, however, that there was a substantial urgency to place some of the fruits of their labors into practice as quickly as possible. Thus, every effort was made to design programs that were directed toward long-term objectives, but at the same time as much information as possible could be made available on a short term basis.

In order to achieve these objectives the program was aimed at covering three phases in time schedule:

Phase I—Through systems engineering and from preliminary research results, assist the loggers to get the most out of their present available machinery and facilities. The need for minor modifications of machines in use, new concepts in methods of employment, etc., would be involved. This phase would be aimed at providing aid within the time span of two to five years.

Phase II—Through systems engineering and applied research, aim at greater cost reductions than would be feasible under Phase I. This phase would likely require more drastic modifications of some of the commercially available equipment. It may establish need and specifications for new devices, machines and techniques. Generally speaking, this phase will be achievable within the present capacity of manufacturers' engineering and production facilities.

Phase III—This phase is aimed at an ultimate reduction of the present harvesting costs by a factor of at least 50 percent. It is believed this can be achieved, but that it will require revolutionary changes in traditional woods harvesting methods and equipment. The research engineer cannot ignore the effect of these changes on other aspects of the forest operations. Close liaison must be maintained with the other specialized fields of forestry as well as forestry management. Particular attention must be given to watershed, reforestation, and recreational aspects.

Under the Phase I type work of the program, the engineers have already found information that contributes to the knowledge of designing better wheeled skidders for Appalachian terrain. One manufacturer has made major changes in his equipment based, in substantial portion, on the findings of the research engineering project. Other manufacturers in the process of time are expected to make use of this information to improve on their machines for Appalachian logging.

Significant data has been found on the forces, such as the force required to winch hardwood trees of a given size up a given slope condition. This enables better component devices such as winches to be selected in equipment design.

Work on loading machines has been studied and data are being analyzed for dissemination.

Cooperative research has been conducted in conjunction with West Virginia University to determine the forces acting on chain saw teeth. Prior to this time, development of chain saws has been largely done by designing a tooth and trying it. For the first time, the instrumentation and technique has been established to enable manufacturers to measure the magnitude of forces acting in all three planes while cutting across grain of hardwoods. This work is expected to lead to better and more efficient woods tools.

The engineering staff has been able to boost production in controlled experiments using wheeled skidders. These experiments indicate that production rates of nearly double the present typical rates are feasible. The engineers, under controlled experiments, have actually achieved rates higher than double that obtained by best known logging production in West Virginia. At the present time, a paper is in preparation to attempt to train producers to be able to benefit from these experiments by increasing their production. The paper will be in plain language in a form which the loggers and skidder operators can understand and apply the information. If a producer can increase his production even 15 or 20 percent, it is a significant gain to him.

Work is actively in progress on the systems engineering approach to logging. This is of course a difficult and longer range undertaking. However, as useful facts on selection and use of equipment becomes apparent, it is being made available.

Since staffing of this units was initiated in the summer of 1965, more than 25 papers have either been published or are nearing the publication stage. Thus, while their objectives are long range, they conducted their program in such a way that useful information is made available as it is uncovered.

Forestry engineering research. Many of the problems of forestry engineering research relate to materials handling and transportation. Modern processing plants require a reliable flow of cheap raw materials if they are to remain competitive and produce at a profit.

The forest "factory" is producing fiber suitable for pulp and paper, chemicals, saw timber, veneers, charcoal, roundwood, and fuel. Each of these uses requires delivery of these fibers in different forms and from different areas of the "factory."

Veneer logs of high value are widely scattered. Pulp logs of low value are found in greater volumes per acre. All, however, are relatively small sized timber and generally located in steep mountain areas.

Engineering systems and specialzed equipment needed to accomplish this complicated materials handling jobs are almost nonexistent. Logging equipment and systems used in the fir forests of the West and the pine forests of the South find little or no application in the forest types and terrain of Appalachia. Power hand tools, efficient lifting, carrying, and transportation devices are among the elements urgently needed to design and operate the materials handling system.

Most research and development in the forestry field in the past has consisted of scattered unrelated small scale studies with relatively limited objectives; for example, design and development of a new type loader, an improved yarding machine, a better winch, etc. To keep pace with other industries and permit better forest management, we urgently need a smooth flowing system of materials handling operations with machinery, methods, and manpower coordinated, and adjusted for lowest cost production. However, the system must also be compatible with, and perhaps even enhance, forest management, watershed, and recreational requirements.

Development of such systems is new to both forestry and engineering and will require new engineering approaches and interpretation of land management objectives to permit the preparation of prescriptions for the jobs to be done. The prescription will define the performance goals and the criteria for attainment for the engineering system or process required. When the requirements for performance are known, we are confident that industry will produce the equipment needed.

It might be well to point out that much of what has been said here about logging problems would be equally applicable to the northeastern part of the United States, which is not in the so-called Appalachian area.

CONCLUSIONS

There is a clearly demonstrated need for continued aggressive engineering research on Appalachian logging problems. Based on experience and accomplishments achieved by research in other fields, there is every reason to believe that feasible solutions to harvesting problems are obtainable. The results of various studies and investigations will eventually have considerable impact upon Appalachian logging, economy, resources, watershed, and recreational activities.

Amelia Fenichel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as 1967 draws to a close, I wish to record the loss that many of us in New York have felt since the death of Amelia Fenichel.

For 15 years Amelia Fenichel was administrator of the New York office of the 20th Congressional District. With devotion and empathy, she managed to help thousands of men and women from every walk of life and every corner of the West Side, Washington Heights, Inwood, and Marble Hill.

Amelia Fenichel had already enjoyed a full life when she became my New York district assistant. As a young woman, she had been a reporter on the old Brooklyn Eagle. She had become a professional social worker. She had had years of happiness with her late husband, Sol Fenichel. She had raised two outstanding and charming children, Robert and Tedda. She had served life well.

But this was not enough for her.

She joined my staff first as a volunteer and then as the full time district assistant. The New York office of the 20th Congressional District is a center of social service for constituents who need help. Before her death she had so organized the office that it could be used as a training ground for young social workers.

As she had helped thousands, she had come to know the intricacies of various Federal agencies and the ramifications of New York's enormous bureaucracies in welfare, housing, medicine, veterans' affairs, civil service, the courts. She had become an expert at asking the right officials at the right time, and at finding the right answers to help individuals.

But she ran the office not simply with administrative efficiency. She ran it with human efficiency, which is more important. She saw each human being as no more and no less than an individual. She saw misery and unhappiness in terms of the people who suffered it, and in terms of what she could do about it.

She worked for the lonely, the lost; those who needed housing and those without enough to eat. She helped children in trouble; those who needed jobs and those who did not know where else to turn. She gave unstintingly of her energy, her time and talent and warmth so that other lived better.

There are no simple answers to any of our human problems, or to any of the failures or needs of our modern civilization.

But to approach any meaningful answers, we will have to have Amelia Fenichel's insight. We will have to see our problems basically in terms of people. Those who do manage to find solutions, who can lead us forward, will have to look on the world with Amelia Fenichel's insight, with glasses which filter out the nonsense and bitterness and the desperation, and somehow always manage to see the individual person.

The great contribution of her years as administrator was not in her office work or in her volunteer organization or even in the love which she engendered. Primarily, her contribution was in the things that she accomplished which have made other lives better—jobs, decent housing, social security benefits, child care, medical help.

Amelia Fenichel died suddenly early this year after one of her typical long, devoted days at the district office.

She had made life bearable and better for thousands, and better for everyone who knew her. She has left a great gap in our lives and in our community, and this year, as we have missed her more and more, we have come to know her true value more than ever.

Selective Service System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, we have all become aware in recent months of the determined efforts of a minority in this country to hinder the Selective Service System in carrying out its important duties in this time of crisis.

Recently William E. Galbraith, the national commander of the American Legion wrote a letter to the President of the United States offering his full support to Gen. Lewis B. Hershey in his efforts to bring about prosecution of persons who attempt to interefere with the Military Selective Service Act. At this time I wish to express my sympathy with the conclusion of this letter.

I ask unanimous consent this letter be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
November 9, 1967.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am advised that General Lewis B. Hershey recently directed a letter to all members of the Selective Service System outlining procedures for the prompt and effective prosecution of persons who violate the Military Selective Service Act or who attempt to interfere with its administration. I assure you that Director Hershey's action has the full support of The American Legion.

Traditionally, we have looked upon service in our country's armed forces as a privilege, as well as a duty; and, since the enactment of the original Selective Service Act in 1940, The American Legion has supported the draft as the best and fairest means of meeting the Nation's military-manpower needs.

We are deeply disturbed, however, over the increasing incidents of open defiance of the draft laws and regulations, and over the organized and purposeful attempts to disrupt the orderly operation of those laws and regulations. To permit such incidents and attempts to go unprosecuted at the very time we are sending our servicemen into combat would be morally, as well as legally wrong.

Therefore, Mr. President, I respectfully urge that you place the full force of your office behind General Hershey's directive to the end that all affected officers and agencies of the Federal Government will do everything required to bring all violators of our draft laws to justice. The American Legion stands ready to do whatever it can to assist you and your representatives in this vital effort.

Faithfully yours,
WILLIAM E. GALBRAITH.

Summing Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, with the conclusion of the first session of the 90th Congress, I am sending to a number of my constituents in the Fourth District of the State of Washington a special report on what I consider to be the accomplishments and failures of the Congress in 1967 and a brief look into 1968 and the problems that I believe require attention.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD this special report, as follows:

SUMMING UP: A SPECIAL REPORT FROM CATHERINE MAY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, FOURTH DISTRICT

JANUARY 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: The 1st Session of the 90th Congress lasted 11 months. It began on January 10, 1967, and ended on December 15. The 2nd Session will start in less than two weeks—on January 15. This Special Report is my assessment of the accomplishments and failures of the recent session, and a look at what may be expected in the new one.

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The Congress, on a bipartisan basis, fully met our national defense and security requirements, and provided for other essential and desirable Federal activities.

Republicans, with the increased strength gained in the 1966 elections, initiated a series of actions to bring about a reduction in both the appropriations and the amount to be spent in the future. These efforts made the country and the Congress "fiscal conscious" and economy minded. The result has been a taxpayer savings of $4 billion 100 million in proposed spending this fiscal year and a cut of $5 billion 800 million from the President's new appropriation requests.

At Republican insistence, the "grants-in-aid" program was changed. The method of "block grants" to the states was adopted in the Aid to Education bill, the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice bill, and in the Comprehensive Health programs. This represents a new emphasis on our states and *less Federal control* over programs.

To me, these achievements are fundamental and most significant. They demonstrate that the views and desires of the American people were reflected in Congressional action and that the power of the Legislative Branch of government has been restored.

ON THE MINUS SIDE—SOME SERIOUS PROBLEMS HAVE NOT BEEN SOLVED

Although Congress reduced the budget and received pledges of reductions from the Administration, *inflation* has not yet been effectively curbed. Some of the budget reductions were offset because it was necessary to increase benefits for Social Security recipients and the pay of military and Federal civilians due to the impact that inflation has had on them.

The problems of *unemployment, social unrest* and *crime* remain unsolved. Congress continued to appropriate funds for the Poverty Program but refused to make substantial changes advocated by House Republicans. Nor has Congress approved a significant new housing program which would give private industry an important role in slum rehabilitation. Hearings on riots and the social unrest were initiated, but Congress still must approve a much-needed Safe Streets and Crime Act.

The greatest failure in resolving the economic dilemma of *farmers* came with the lack of constructive action from the Administration. Agriculture committees did not hold hearings on proposals to shore up agriculture introduced by me and others because the Department of Agriculture refused to support them.

LOOKING AHEAD INTO 1968

The new year finds our country facing many serious problems:

1. The war in Vietnam continues. We have over half a million American troops committed, and casualties since January 1, 1961 of both killed and wounded American boys now total over 107,000. Draft calls in 1968 are expected to be increased to take care of future buildups in Vietnam and to provide for the rotation of troops.

2. Riots are expected to erupt again in the summer of 1968 at a pace that could be greater than in 1967, accompanied by looting and destruction of property.

3. The severe attack on the dollar from abroad and the drain on our supply of gold is expected to continue. The Congress may consider repealing the law which requires us to keep on hand about $10 billion in gold to back up our Federal Reserve notes.

4. The cost of living (inflation) will continue to rise at a rapid rate, due in part to the fact that our government continues to spend a great deal more than it takes in. The President's proposed tax increase may be considered by the Congress, particularly if additional spending reductions are insufficient to cool an overheated economy.

5. Unless present Administration policies are reversed, farm prices are likely to remain at ruinously low levels. Increasing grain production and a possibility of decreasing overseas farm markets could intensify farm problems, as well as would pressures to unionize farm workers.

Some 1967 actions in Congress will alleviate some problems in 1968:

1. Bills which went through part of the legislative process in 1967 may be enacted in 1968. High priority has been given to bills for *crime control, higher education, codes of ethics for Congressmen* and *reorganization of Congressional procedures.* A *truth-in-lending bill* which passed the Senate in 1967 will be taken up in the House.

2. 1967 enactment of a bill I sponsored in the House will help *Klickitat County wheat growers* offset losses caused by alfalfa decline. Washington State wheat growers will get a Congressional hearing on my bill to *restore acreage losses* caused by erroneous advice of authorized agents of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

3. The *Poultry Inspection Act* can be expected to be updated to correspond with improvements made for inspection of red meat under the *Wholesome Meat Act of 1967* which I helped formulate and steer through Congress.

GOVERNMENT CAN BE RESPONSIVE

The most dangerous thing that has been happening in our society is the feeling of frustration, of isolation of our individual citizens. Our whole system, including government, has become so big and so complex that it has been difficult for people to feel that they individually can play a meaningful role. Yet, I believe that the processes of *representative government* in 1967 proved that Congress *can* be responsive to our citizens.

When Congress reconvenes this month, I am hopeful we will face squarely the difficult questions before us and find the best answers in the interest of all Americans. I look ahead to 1968 with hope and renewed determination that we can, through constructive approach, solve our most pressing problems.

Yours sincerely,

CATHERINE MAY,
Representative in Congress.

Statement by Mr. Chet Holifield, Vice Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, on the 200-Bev Accelerator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, nearly 2 years ago in reporting on the status of the proposed 200-Bev accelerator, I promised to continue to keep this House informed of all developments relative to this accelerator. With the appointment of Dr. Robert R. Wilson as the Director of the National Accelerator Laboratory on March 1, 1967, plans for the 200-Bev accelerator have been proceeding at a rapid pace.

Dr. Wilson has an impressive record of accomplishment. Born March 4, 1914, in Frontier, Wyo., Dr. Wilson earned his bachelor degree—1936—and his Ph. D.—1940—at the University of California at Berkeley where he studied under the late Nobel Prize winner, Ernest O. Lawrence.

While still a graduate student, Dr. Wilson began his research on the scattering of protons by protons. He went Princeton as an instructor in 1940 and was soon engaged, in collaboration with Enrico Fermi, in some of the early measurements of the neutron-absorbing properties of the element, U^{235}.

When the Los Alamos Laboratory was formed in 1943, Dr. Wilson moved to New Mexico to help in the formation of that laboratory where he served as director of the cyclotron group. He was named to head the Experimental Nuclear Physics Division a year later and served until 1946 when he accepted a teaching post at Harvard University.

Dr. Wilson helped design a cyclotron at Harvard before leaving in 1947 to direct Cornell's Laboratory of Nuclear Studies. There, he and his colleagues have built a progression of electron synchrotrons that started with a pioneering 300 million electron volt—Mev—machine. They were the first to apply the strong focusing principle to an accelerator when they built a 1.2-Bev machine which was recently replaced by a more modern 2-Bev unit. They are now finishing a 10-Bev electron synchroton that will be the largest electron synchroton in the world. With these machines Dr. Wilson's group has explored the structure of the proton, resulting in discoveries about the various changes of forms that can be induced in the proton.

The Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation, of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, in their report of April 19, 1967, concerning the scope and management of the proposed 200 Bev accelerator made four recommendations:

First. Architect-engineering funds for the proposed 200-Bev accelerator be authorized on the condition that the design of the accelerator will be such as to assure a design intensity of approximately 3×10^{13} protons per pulse when operated at full capability. This is a return to the intensity of the LRL design.

Second. With regard to the provision for experimental target stations the AEC should take note of the fact that this proposed facility is intended to promote research on a national basis. In particular, it would be desirable to have not only internal and external experimental areas, but an experimental area for the lower energy injector synchrotron if appropriate. We recognize that experimental areas beyond the initial minimum could be built as the needs for experimentation increase with operating experience. The initial design should, however, include provision for establishing those experimental stations that will be required at a later time. Such planning would minimize interference with the machine's operations during the period when the additional areas are constructed.

Third. The AEC should give careful study to the possibility of building this machine with an energy of 200 Bev while maintaining the option of increasing the energy to 300 Bev or somewhat higher at a later date. The Joint Committee should request the AEC to complete its study of this aspect of the design and make recommendations to the Joint Committee with regard to this matter by January 1, 1968.

Fourth. The AEC should assure itself that a reliable and experienced organization, or organizations, are selected for the architect-engineering and construction management of this facility. Architect-engineering and construction management services should be contracted on such a basis that AEC will have the necessary authority to carry out the AEC's fundamental responsibilities for the success of this project. For example, the AEC should retain authority to approve major design changes and procurements. On the other hand, the architect-engineering and construction management organization should be responsible to the director of the proposed National Accelerator Laboratory for technical direction of this project. On the basis of testimony received and announcements made, the AEC intends that the director of the National Accelerator Laboratory shall be employed by URA. The subcommittee wishes to emphasize that the Laboratory director, no matter who his immediate employer may be, is operating entirely with the taxpayers' funds and must therefore be held responsible by the Government for the design, technical supervision, and general management of this project.

The Joint Committee has received a report from the Atomic Energy Commission on the status of these recommendations which indicates they are being implemented.

The Joint Committee has also received a report of the president of Universities Research Association to the board of trustees of the Association on the status of the 200-Bev accelerator project.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the report by the president of the Universities Research Association, Inc., of December 5, 1967, and the report of the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, of December 29, 1967, with its enclosures:

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., December 29, 1967.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: In the Report by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the Fiscal Year 1968 AEC Authorizing Appropriation, the Joint Committee recommended that the Commission study the possibility of constructing the 200 Bev accelerator in such a way as to permit a possible later increase in the accelerator's energy to 300 Bev or somewhat higher and that the Commission report on this matter to the Joint Committee by January 1, 1968.

The Commission and the National Accelerator Laboratory have studied the question, and the results of the study have been favorable. The proposed design of the 200 Bev accelerator embodies the feature that the beam energy may be increased at a later date with minimal accelerator down-time. The requested report and its attachment on this particular design feature are enclosed.

The Subcommittee recommendations also referred to two other technical aspects of the proposed accelerator—beam intensity and initial experimental areas. The beam intensity of the present design is essentially equivalent to that of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory design of 1.5×10^{13} protons per second. The details of the intensity are referred to in the attached report. With regard to the initial experimental areas, we are pleased to report that the National Accelerator Laboratory design provides facilities consistent with the national scope and purpose of this accelerator. As was recognized, the experimental facilities will need to be expanded and augmented as time goes on and as the Laboratory assumes a greater portion of the experimental load in high-energy physics. In keeping with the Committee's recommendation, the design of the accelerator provides for expansion of the experimental areas with minimal interference with existing facilities and operations. In addition, the experimental support facilities, such as, shops, laboratories, and the like, provided by the NAL design are comparable with those of the LRL design.

With respect to continuing the Commission's controls over design of the facility and procurements, as recommended in the JCAE report, the Commission's contract with URA will assure that major design changes and procurements will be made only with AEC approval. Further, the Commission retains the option to contract directly for construction of conventional facilities for the facility.

As a related matter, the Commission informed the Committee by letter from Mr. Hollingsworth to Mr. Conway dated November 27, 1967, that DUSAF had been selected to perform architect-engineer/construction management services for the 200 Bev Accelerator Project. The Commission carefully considered the experience and performance of DUSAF before making that selection.

Cordially,

GLENN S. SEABORG,
Chairman.

Report to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the Potential Increase in Beam Energy of the 200–Bev Accelerator

INTRODUCTION

The report by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the Fiscal Year 1968 AEC Authorizing Appropriations contains the following recommendation of the Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation, which the full Committee accepted without change:

"That the AEC give careful study to, and report to the Joint Committee by January 1, 1968 on, the possibility of constructing the accelerator in such a way as to permit a possible later increase in the accelerator's energy to 300 Bev or somewhat higher."

The scientific need for a multi-hundred-Bev proton accelerator in the United States was set forth in the AEC Report and subsequent Joint Committee Print, "High Energy Physics Program: Report on National Policy and Background Information," February, 1965. That report, issued nearly three years ago, stressed the urgency of initiating construction of a 200-Bev accelerator. In the meantime, results of experiments have opened up new questions and emphasized old ones which have increased the importance of moving quickly into this energy range. These questions include the fundamental question of the behavior of strong interactions in the "asymptotic" region of energies; that is, at energies so high that a greater simplicity of phenomena may be revealed. They also include the question of the existence of the elusive quarks, which could give a much deeper insight into the symmetries of the strong forces of nuclear physics, and the question of the existence of the equally elusive intermediate boson, which would provide a corresponding insight into weak interactions.

Last January the President announced a plan to design and build a 200 Bev proton accelerator. The choice of 200 Bev still seems to be the best starting point for research in the multi-hundred-Bev region, but the passage of time makes it especially desirable to design the machine in such a way as to maintain the option to increase the energy level at some later date. This conclusion is reinforced by the recent successful operation of the Serpukhov accelerator at about 80 Bev. For these reasons, the subject of expandable energy has been an important consideration in the National Accelerator Laboratory (NAL) design effort.

THE ENERGY-INCREASE OPTION

The NAL designers considered several alternative design concepts having the potential of expandable energy and settled on one which obviates the addition of new magnets to the main accelerator and avoids a lengthy shutdown to permit the beam energy increase. In this design concept, the main synchrotron magnet has a large enough circumference (about 20,000 feet) to be operated at 200 Bev with a maximum magnetic field of 9,000 gauss. It is proposed to provide initially the magnet power supplies for only this level of operation. The synchrotron magnet is designed so that, at a later time, it could be powered to a higher field; and, with the addition of some other equipment external to the accelerator, the beam could be accelerated to an energy substantially higher than 200 Bev. For example, a synchrotron magnet field of 18,000 gauss, which is believed to be feasible for the magnet design, corresponds to a beam energy of 400 Bev. A great advantage of the design concept is that the equipment which must be added to raise the energy is located mainly outside the accelerator housing, so that it could be installed without major interference with accelerator operations, and a changeover to higher-energy operation could be made with minimal down-time.

The portion of the $250,000,000 estimated construction cost of the 200-Bev facility which is associated with providing the capability of later increasing the energy is estimated to be $20,000,000 to $30,000,000 of which roughly half is in technical components and the rest is in the ring housing. The economies afforded by avoiding a long shutdown to make a conversion to higher energy are very attractive.

A study has been made by the NAL staff of the changes required to raise the beam energy to 400 Bev at a later date. The proposed method is to operate the magnet at the same rate of rise as in 200-Bev operation so that twice as long an accelerating cycle is needed to reach an energy of 400 Bev, and the repetition rate of the accelerator is reduced to half that at 200 Bev. This scheme has the advantage that the energy increase given to the particles in each revolution around the magnet is the same as in 200-Bev operation so that the radiofrequency cavities, which supply the energy increase, need not be augmented.

The accelerator proposed by the National Accelerator Laboratory (NAL) has, in its initial 200-Bev form, a design intensity of about 5×10^{13} protons per pulse and a maximum repetition rate of 1 pulse per 3 seconds for an average intensity of 1.5×10^{13} protons per second. This intensity is essentially equivalent to that of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory design which provided 3×10^{13} protons per pulse at 1 pulse per 2 seconds for an average intensity of 1.5×10^{13} protons per second.

Since the repetition rate would be reduced by a factor of two in 400-Bev operation, the NAL study contemplates doubling the number of protons accelerated per pulse to hold the average intensity at the same level as in 200-Bev operation. Thus, extra power would have to be supplied to the radiofrequency cavities to support the larger circulating current. The equipment to supply this power would be external to the ring.

The initial complement of target stations, i.e., sources of experimental beams, planned in the NAL 200-Bev design is four. Two of these are thickly shielded and capable of handling the whole proton beam, while the other two are intended for applications in which only a fraction of the beam is targeted, and are thinly shielded.[1]

The permanent shielding for the accelerator is adequate for the proposed mode of operation at 400-Bev, but the shielding in the target areas would have to be increased. As a part of the 400-Bev conversion, the NAL study contemplates providing the necessary increased shielding in one of the target areas.

Other changes for 400-Bev operation involve extraction systems and external beam handling systems, cooling systems and controls.

The cost of exercising the option estimated in the study is $30,000,000 in 1967 dollars.

Additional technical detail concerning conversion to the higher energy is contained in the attached NAL paper on this subject.

NAL Estimates of Conversion From 200 to 400 Bev

The 200 BeV accelerator designed by the National Accelerator Laboratory has provision for future conversion to a higher energy. The main-ring magnets have been designed to give almost 500 BeV when powered to their maximum possible field. In addition, adequate magnet cabling and water piping for the higher power operation have been provided, so that a conversion program can proceed without extensive work in the magnet enclosure and thus without a major shutdown of the facility. Other components of the accelerator are designed for 200 BeV only and this report discusses the nature and approximate cost of their conversion for higher energy operation.

The nature of the conversion depends strongly on the choice of the new cycle time for the higher energy. For example, the repetition frequency could be lowered enough that the *average* power into the magnets was not increased at the higher energy. This slow cycle mode of operation would require only modest improvement to a few components, such as the rectifiers in the magnet power supply, but it would give a considerably lower average current and duty cycle. We hope to use the slow cycle mode for occasional operation to extend the range of some important experiment, say from 200 to 300 BeV, but it is not a true conversion.

For routine operation at higher energy, we should have the same average current and duty cycle as before conversion. We have chosen a cycle that will do this at 400 BeV. After conversion the slow cycle mode can be used for occasional operation at 500 BeV should this prove practical. Note also that *after* conversion, 200 BeV operation can have an increased current and a better duty cycle.

The cycles are shown in Fig. 1. The normal 200 BeV cycle has a 1-second flat-top and a 4-second total period. The 400 BeV cycle has a 2-second flat-top and an 8-second period. Both cycles therefore have a 25 percent duty cycle. The 400 BeV cycle has twice the filling time of the 200 BeV cycle, allowing twice the charge per cycle, so that the average current is the same in both cases. The booster must inject two turns into the main ring but is not otherwise affected by the conversion to higher energy.

The accelerator components that require modification in the conversion program are: magnet power supply, cooling system, injection, radio-frequency system, extraction, external-beam handling and controls. In addition some provision is necessary for increased target shielding and experiment space. The major effort and cost are the conversion of the magnet power supply.

The magnet power must be increased by a factor of four, from 17 to 68 megawatts. Some modification to the existing supplies will be required but most of the power increase will come from the installation of additional units, including additional filtering and power-factor correction. These units are outdoor equipment so that installation requires pads, conduits, etc., and only minor building modifications. The increased load on the substation will be handled by the installation of forced-oil, forced-air cooling on existing units. It is now believed that this increased load can be connected directly to the power line. The costs would not be substantially different if motor-generator sets were used.

The greater magnet power will increase the magnet heating. During the conversion the magnet cooling-water pressure will be doubled by additional pumps to increase the water flow. Nevertheless the magnet temperature rise will be more than doubled, from 6°C to 16°C. The magnets are excessively cooled at 200 BeV operation in anticipation of the conversion, so no trouble is expected. The accelerator cooling towers must be greatly increased to handle the power and some enlargement of the water treatment and handling system may be necessary.

The radio-frequency accelerating system must also be enlarged considerably. The present design has a beam loading of about ⅓, that is, one-third of the power is transferred to the beam of protons with the rest being dissipated in the rf system. For 400 BeV operation, we will load twice as many protons into the main ring, so that rf power capability must be increased by 50 percent to maintain this ratio. Exactly how this is done, by increasing the number of units or their individual power or both, is best determined after experience with the rf system.

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[1] In the LRL design, four heavily shielded and one thinly shielded target stations were planned.

Both the injection and extraction systems will require extensive modification. The injection will be changed to a two-turn system and the slow-extraction system must work at twice the energy for twice as long. Although both conversions present some technical difficulty, neither is very costly. The design of these new systems will be greatly aided by a period of operation at 200 BeV.

The magnets in the external beam run are copies of the main-ring magnets and can therefore be used without modification. The power supplies for these magnets must be increased.

The general control system of the accelerator must be enlarged to provide monitoring and control of the new equipment and to provide new timing circuits.

One must include some provision for using the extracted 400 BeV beam. The estimate includes the cost of improving one target station to a 400 BeV standard by increasing the shielding and extending the length of the secondary beam buildings and services. The target shielding, in theory, must be twice as long but not any thicker. This is a very expensive part of the conversion and one would not like to do it before actual experience with 200 BeV shielding problems. We can, however, predict with confidence that the accelerator itself will not need any extra shielding.

Table I is a cost summary for the conversion. The costs are listed in two columns, one for accelerator components and one for conventional construction. EDIA is estimated at 25 percent for the first and 17½ percent for the second, except for shielding which is estimated at 5 percent. An overall contingency of 25 percent is added on both accelerator components and conventional construction. This larger contingency on conventional items is judged to be appropriate in view of the relatively early stage of the conversion design. No real estimate of escalation is possible. These figures represent present-day (1967) costs. If the conversion project were started in six years and completed in seven and one-half years, which is a good schedule, the costs would obviously increase over these figures, perhaps by as much as one-third.

TABLE I.—CONVERSION COSTS IN MILLIONS OF 1967 DOLLARS

Component	Accelerator	Conventional
Magnet power	7.0	2.2
A. C. service		.4
Cooling		3.0
Water system		.5
Radiofrequency	1.4	
Injection and extraction	.5	
Beam handling	1.0	
Controls	.3	
Targeting:		
Shielding		2.0
Building extension		2.0
Total	10.2	10.1
EDIA	2.6	1.5
Total	12.8	11.6
Total	24.4	
Contingency	6.1	
Total without escalation	30.5	

Universities Research Association, Inc., Report by the President

INTRODUCTION

A year ago at the last Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees, the site for the Accelerator had not yet been chosen so there was little to report other than general plans and hopes. In contrast, the past year has been one of intense activity with many significant accomplishments.

SELECTION OF SITE

On December 16, 1966, the Atomic Energy Commission announced that the site for the new Accelerator Laboratory would be at Weston, Illinois, approximately 30 miles southwest of the Chicago O'Hare Airport. At the same time, the Commission announced its intention to proceed at a somewhat reduced scope with potential expansion at a later date. Subsequently, the Commission indicated that the construction cost of the first phase should be about $240,000,000.

ORGANIZATION

On March 1, 1967, Robert Rathbun Wilson was appointed Director of the National Accelerator Laboratory. Dr. Wilson at the time was completing the construction of the 10 BeV Electron Synchrotron at Cornell University, where he had successfully constructed a series of successively higher energy electron accelerators during the past 20 years.

The initial planning activities for the Accelerator began at Cornell University shortly after Dr. Wilson's appointment. Soon thereafter a site for the Laboratory during the design period was selected at Oak Brook Executive Plaza, 1301 West 22nd Street, Oak Brook, Illinois 60521, with telephone 312-654-3460. The Laboratory's activities have been centered at Oak Brook since June 15, 1967.

Since his appointment, Dr. Wilson has built up a rapidly growing staff which is primarily concentrating on problems of Accelerator design. At present there are 52 members of the permanent Accelerator staff, and 6 more appointments have been made. Edwin L. Goldwasser has been appointed as Deputy Director of the Laboratory, M. Stanley Livingston as Associate Director, and Donald Getz as Assistant Director with particular concern for administrative matters. Donald Poillon is the Business Manager.

With the approval of the National Accelerator Laboratory, the AEC has extended its contract with the architect-engineering organization DUSAF to December 31, 1967. On November 28, 1967, the AEC announced that DUSAF had been selected to provide architect-engineer/construction management services under a subcontract to Universities Research Association. The staff of DUSAF has been growing as required and now numbers approximately 26.

The Atomic Energy Commission has appointed Lawrence Mohr as Contracting Officer and Area Manager of the 200 BeV Accelerator Facility Office. Mr. Mohr was the AEC representative for the Stanford Linear Accelerator.

Universities Research Association sponsored a meeting of interested high energy physicists and accelerator designers on April 7 and 8 at the Argonne National Laboratory to discuss the new Accelerator and its relations with the community of high energy physicists. The large attendance at the meeting (407 scientists registered) indicated the depth of interest in the new Accelerator. During this meeting there was general agreement on the desirability of some form of Users Group. An Organizing Committee was elected at subsequent meetings of the Users Groups for the other major accelerators. This Organizing Committee has now proposed a form of organization and has called a meeting of the newly established Users Group on December 9, 1967.

While the Laboratory organization was growing, the Universities Research Association has been completing the organization of its Washington office which now consists of the President; the Vice President for Administration, Bradley Bennett; Secretary, Leonard Bacon; Treasurer-Controller, Robert Williams; and two secretaries. On October 1, URA moved from its temporary Washington headquarters at 2101 Constitution Avenue to its permanent office on the top floor (Room 828) of the new National Academy of Sciences building at 2100 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

DESIGN OF ACCELERATOR AND SUBMISSION OF PROPOSAL

Design activities of the Laboratory since the middle of June has been intense. In addition to the Laboratory staff itself, a large number of interested accelerator designers and physicists throughout the country participated extensively in the design studies at Oak Brook this past summer. The Laboratory concluded that for a cost of $243,600,000 an accelerator could be designed for 200 BeV with a design intensity of 1.5 x 10^{13} protons per second. A special feature of the design is that the energy of the Accelerator can be increased at a later date from 200 BeV to 400 BeV at a low incremental cost and with a minimal shut-down time.

The National Accelerator Laboratory is seeking authorization in the budget for FY 1969 for the construction of an Accelerator with the above characteristics. The plans of the National Accelerator Laboratory were reviewed by the Scientific Committee of the URA Board of Trustees. With any proposal of this nature, there is always concern as to whether the hopes can be fully realized within the estimated budget. The contemplated time scale is a rapid one, calling for completion of physical construction during the fourth quarter of FY 1973. Obligations are incurred at a particularly rapid rate in FY 1969 and 1970. Nevertheless, both the Laboratory staff and DUSAF are confident that they can meet this rapid schedule. The conclusion of the Scientific Committee was to recommend to the Board of Trustees that the Board authorize Dr. Wilson to submit the proposal as outlined in the Construction Project Data Sheets to the Atomic Energy Commission. At a meeting especially called for this purpose, the URA Board of Trustees on October 12, 1967, authorized the Laboratory Director to submit the proposal to the AEC for authorization of construction in the FY 1969 budget, and he submitted it the following day.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

On January 5, 1967, a letter contract was signed with the Atomic Energy Commission providing $200,000 to Universities Research Association, for conceptual planning and other preliminary activities relating to the proposed new proton Accelerator. Subsequently, this letter contract has been extended and supplemented. Funds are being provided as required, within the current obligation limit of $850,000. These funds were the dominant source of support for the design work during the past summer and fall.

A definitive contract between the Atomic Energy Commission and Universities Research Association is currently being negotiated and should soon be signed. The few remaining points for negotiation pertain to specific details on personnel policies.

The expenditure of an initial $7,333,000 for this project has been authorized by both Houses of Congress in a Bill which has been signed by the President. The principal controversy pertaining to the passage of the authorization arose from the absence of open housing legislation in the State of Illinois. The appropriation of the same sum of money is included in the regular AEC FY 1968 Appropriation Bill which has passed both the House and the Senate and was signed by the President November 21, 1967.

UNIVERSITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION FUNDS

The potential availability of the funds committed by the Universities to URA has been of great value in obtaining the desired fast start for the design program. In part, this has arisen from the actual expenditure of some of the funds already obtained from the Universities, and in part, from the possibility of making commitments and guarantees where such guarantees were necessary but where it was anticipated that there would probably be little or no net expenditure of URA funds. Although each of the 46 member Universities has committed up to $100,000 to URA, so far $10,000 per University has been requested by the Trustees.

The URA funds spent have primarily been for important objectives for which AEC funds were not available, or for items where unusual speed was required. For example, the operating costs of URA until the letter contract with the AEC was signed on January 5, 1967, were charged to the URA funds, the potential availability of these funds enabled URA to sign a lease for the present Laboratory headquarters, and a temporary building will be constructed with URA funds at the Weston site to house components undergoing experimental tests to affect the accelerator design.

THE COMING YEAR

Next year should be a critical but interesting one for URA. Financially, the principal problems will probably pertain to the construction authorization and the appropriations in the FY 1969 budget. Although there seems to be general agreement as to the desirability of the project, this coming year will be a particularly difficult one in which to obtain government financial support. A large number of successive stages of approval must be survived; failure on any one can delay and even jeopardize the project. The past year has been characterized by a series of crises. Although each was successfully passed, the probability of surviving all of the successive critical steps is necessarily diminished by their multiplicity.

The rapid design and construction schedules will present a major challenge to the National Accelerator Laboratory. It must continue to expand rapidly in size and at the same time must be vigorously and intensively engaged in the design and engineering of the new high energy facility so greatly needed by high energy physicists throughout the nation.

NORMAN F. RAMSEY,
President.

When It Rains It Pours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from the First District of Maryland [Mr. MORTON] has made a comradely attempt to absolve Governor Agnew of conflict of interest in his ownership of land near the site of the proposed parallel bridge across the Chesapeake Bay.

My colleague refers to the Governor's "alleged ownership." Far from being "alleged," the Governor's ownership is indisputable. It has been admitted by him publicly and is documented in the land records of Anne Arundel County.

Mr. Agnew himself acknowledged conflict of interest by his statement last year that he was going to arrange for sale of this land through a trust agreement to avoid "suspicion." Only after being prodded by me and others to live up to his promise, did he actually carry out the sale of this land.

Who bought this land from the Governor? Mr. MORTON reports that "the only bid at the auction was by a representative of the other owners of the property to whom the property was sold." The owners' representative was Henry D. Blair, Jr., an attorney whom Governor Agnew appointed last June to the Maryland Tax Court.

The partners in this landownership with Governor Agnew who bought out his share include political and business associates of the Governor who still stand to gain from location of the parallel bridge near this property.

One of these is Harry A. Dundore, a former chairman of the Baltimore County Planning Board, appointed by Governor Agnew when the latter was county executive of Baltimore County.

J. Walter Jones, a former owner, who sold his share of the land just before Governor Agnew was prodded into selling, is a Baltimore County real estate investor and a close political adviser to the Governor.

These friends of the Governor who still own this land can hardly fail to gain from location of the parallel bridge near their property. Governor Agnew was aware of this when he rammed the parallel bridge bill through the legislature, after it had been defeated on public referendum by the people of Maryland. The Governor, therefore, is still in conflict of interest.

Indeed, in 1966 the Baltimore Sun noted editorially:

> Mr. Agnew has put himself in a position from which he may derive personal profit if a parallel span is constructed. Representative Long is right in saying that Mr. Agnew's land purchase raises a question of his fitness to make a bridge-location decision if elected Governor. Even if he disposes of his interest now or after the elction, Mr. Agnew could find himself in the awkward position of having to make a decision directly affecting former business associates.

Legislative Report of Senator Ralph Yarborough: First Session of 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to report to the people of Texas upon my activities on their behalf during the first session of the 90th Congress. This session was one of the longest in our history—11 months. A Congress can only be judged by its 2-year record, and I feel that by the end of next year the accomplishments of this 90th Congress will be great.

The recordbreaking 89th Congress set up a number of programs in creating the structure for a Great Society. It became the role of the 90th to dig deeper into each major issue and assess and amend the tools which the 89th created. This task takes longer for completion and its successes are less visible than the creation of new laws.

The job has been made more difficult by the fact that the 90th Congress has 47 fewer Democrats than the 89th which gave the President such a clear mandate. An additional problem is the overwhelming issue of Vietnam which continues to cause Congress to divert its attention away from domestic activities.

I. MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

My position on committees in the Senate continues to become more favorable and enables me to work actively on a wide range of issues confronting America and Texas. As a member of 17 subcommittees of four main committees, I am involved in such increasingly important areas as arts and humanities, education, health, labor, poverty, veterans affairs, postal affairs, appropriations for agriculture, and problems of the elderly.

In the beginning half of this Congress I have had five main legislative accomplishments:

COLD WAR GI BILL

My cold war GI bill was initially enacted into law in 1966 after a 7-year-long struggle. It provides new educational opportunities and training for 6 million veterans, 4 million of them already discharged, who have placed their lives at stake for the cause of freedom during the period we have called the cold war. This year my revised cold war GI bill was signed into law, bringing these veterans, 300,000 of them Texans, new benefits for high school, college, trade or business school, on-the-job, farm or flight training. All honorably discharged veterans who served 6 months or more since 1955 are eligible.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

This new educational concept which I introduced this year won overwhelming support. Over 12 percent of the entire population of the Southwest speak Spanish as their mother tongue. When 3 million children enter our schools knowing little or no English, they find schooling so difficult that they eventually drop out. Without adequate education, they find that making a decent living is almost impossible. A basic problem is that these 3 million American citizens are denied the use of their native language when they enter schools and are forced to struggle along in a foreign tongue. My bilingual education bill was adopted as part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1967 and will provide the means for our schools to blaze new trails in double language educational programs.

AGE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

My age discrimination bill, passed by this Congress, would protect Americans 40 to 65 years old from firing and from discrimination in hiring because of age. That affects some 40 million Americans, over 2,400,000 of which are in Texas. This age group finds itself increasingly disadvantaged in trying to retain jobs, and in trying to regain employment when laid off or otherwise displaced from their jobs. These are experienced and capable people who want to work but are told they are too old. As Secretary of Labor Wirtz testified to my subcommittee:

> There are more people discriminated against, so far as employment and opportunity are concerned, because their hair is white than because their skin is black.

This new law will prevent this harmful discrimination and promote employment based on ability rather than age.

HURRICANE BEULAH DISASTER

In a time of immense disaster such as that caused when Hurricane Beulah struck south Texas this fall, the Federal Government can offer great assistance. I was the only member of the Appropriation Committee of either branch of Congress that visited the devastated area to estimate the needs for immediate assistance. I was able to obtain an appropriation of $5 million for the President's emergency disaster relief fund, and an additional $1 million to help repair navigation channels and canals which were clogged with debris. I have been in close contact with persons affected by the disaster and will continue to seek legislative means for further relief.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' PAY

As the ranking majority member on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee I am proud of the new Federal pay bill. Over 150,000 Texans will be affected by the new wage increase and other benefits. All employees will receive a 4½-percent boost and postal workers will receive a 6-percent raise. By July of 1969, the wages of those in Federal employment will be made comparable to wages in similar jobs in private industry.

In addition to these five main accomplishments, I authored and cosponsored many other measures—some of which have already passed and others which will be considered during this next session—including: truth in lending; safe streets and crime control; air pollution; Older Americans Act; Social Security Act; international health, education, and labor program; urban employment opportunities development; Economic Opportunity Act; International Wildlife Conservation Conference; universal higher education; compensation to innocent victims of crime; meat inspection; regulation of cigarette and alcohol advertising; and the Big Thicket National Park.

II. VIETNAM

The conflict in Vietnam remains an overwhelming issue for several reasons. Higher appropriations for our military expenditures have caused cutbacks in other important programs in every conceivable area. All elements of our foreign relations are strained because of our priority in Southeast Asia. Discontent over the war has bogged down many coalitions, and many in Congress have been persuaded that we can do nothing new, nor even extend aid to existing programs, because of the needs of the war.

While the necessary debate continues over our Vietnam policy, we continue our support for our men in the field. A $69.9 billion defense appropriation was voted, including over $20 billion for Vietnam, $12.2 billion for military operations in other parts of Southeast Asia, and $2.3 billion for military ocnstruction. In regard to our manpower needs the Selective Service Act was extended to 1971 and our Reserve structures were strengthened. Reflecting the contributions which our men are making in the Armed Forces, we voted a military pay raise, a 5.4 percent cost-of-living increase in pension payments, and increased veteran benefits including larger educational allowances through my cold war GI bill.

The Senate will continue to play its constitutional role in seeking a solution to this costly war. I have made clear my position that defending the rights of self-determination in South Vietnam do not justify the invasion of North Vietnam or other countries neighboring on the borders of South Vietnam. The major attempt at a solution has been the unanimous resolution of the Senate that the Vietnam question should be brought before the United Nations Security Council for full consideration. If all nations are threatened by this war then all nations must be consulted for a solution.

We must also be ready to propose solutions to the long-range problems caused by the war. Whatever the solution of the present conflict, there must be economic development of Southeast Asia to repair the vast destruction that has been rained on that area. And there must be aid for a new life for the hundreds of thousands of currently untreated civilian amputees and literally millions of refugees that have resulted from the technique currently being employed by both sides to secure areas from the enemy.

In addition, many domestic repercussions have been felt by our draft policy. Although the Senate renewed the draft law, which was necessary since the draft authority was about to expire, we must look deeply into it again this next session to assure that our current manpower procurement policy will not leave us with still another long-range by-product of this Asian conflict.

III. URBAN CRISIS

The great English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, has written that life for an individual in a state of nature can be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Yet in this most civilized of all countries, Hobbes' phrase comes close to describing life in our cities—especially for those thousands of citizens living in dark, urban ghettos and trapped in the shadow of American affluence. Jobs, housing, transportation, schools, pollution, health—these are elements of the urban crisis, and these are problems that have concerned this Congress. With the exception of our Vietnam involvement, no subject has been of greater concern during this session than the challenge of the cities.

If anything, the urbanization trend is accelerating, and we must continue to dedicate our most creative efforts to the search for an urban solution. This search has particular relevance to Texas, where 75 percent of the population lives in areas labeled as metropolitan by the Bureau of the Census.

The Texas population of 9.5 million in 1960 is expected to nearly double by 1990, and the huge majority of this increase will have to be absorbed by Texas cities.

CIVIL DISORDERS

The most publicized dimension of the urban problem is that of civil disorder. The right to assemble and to petition for redress of grievances has taken many Americans into the streets asking for the justice that an insensitive majority has unconsciously withheld. But some persons have also taken to the streets in a campaign of lawlessness. The crimes of murder and arson are not protected by the Constitution, and these rioters will be punished. The Senate Government Operations Committee has been voted adequate funds to continue its study into the cause of these riots in the hope that they can be prevented in the future.

INADEQUATE HOUSING

An attack on the problem of inadequate housing was begun. An appropriation of $312 million for model cities and $10 million for rent supplements has been made. Four of the first model cities will be San Antonio, Texarkana, Waco, and Laredo. Much more is contemplated this next session, including plans for enabling private enterprise to build lower cost homes in areas of highest need, and plans for promoting the ideal of private home ownership among the lower income groups.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The only true solution to the problems of the urban crisis will come with employment of the impoverished in the so-called inner city. These people are trapped inside the city and in addition to poor housing, inadequate health, and little education, they suffer from no job training, and poor employment opportunity. Without jobs these people cannot be expected to be able to help themselves. American free enterprise can be the greatest weapon in our fight against poverty if private firms can be induced by special incentives to build and create jobs in slum areas. I am a cosponsor of a bill in this Congress to provide employment opportunities compatible with the needs of the city in a comprehensive attack on the urban crisis.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The chief agency in attacking the problems of the poor in the urban areas, as elsewhere, is the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its problems in administration were debated thoroughly before the Senate appropriated funds for continuation of this vital new agency. OEO will lead the war on poverty in 1968 with $1.9 billion and $2.1 billion in 1969. The National Teacher Corps was voted $13.1 million to begin recruiting volunteer teachers to work in impoverished areas meeting the special educational needs of the poor.

IV. HEALTH

The commitment of national resources by the Federal Government to meet the major health needs of the American people largely has been developed during the productive years of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. As Wilbur Cohen, the Under Secretary for Health, Education, and Welfare pointed out in a recent hearing:

> There has been more landmark health legislation enacted in this period of time than in any other comparable period, or I would say, any other period three times as long.

Through some 36 major health bills enacted during these 7 years, we have constructed a foundation upon which we can base our future health efforts. I have found great satisfaction in playing my part in this historic endeavor.

As the ranking Democrat on the Senate Subcommittee on Health I have sought legislatively this session to begin building on that foundation a national health program that effectively and efficiently can bring health services to all who need it, when they need it, at a cost they can afford to pay.

During 1967, $180 million was appropriated for community mental health centers, $226 million was made available for expanding programs relating to mental retardation, and an additional $589 million was approved for the partnership for health programs emphasizing research. These appropriations represent a significant advance in this Nation's total health effort, and I have been especially pleased to work for their passage.

One health problem that will face us all is that of air pollution, and $428 million has been appropriated this session for a 3-year expanded program. I was pleased to cosponsor and work for this very important law, which is of great importance to those Texans living in the urban centers of the State and suffering from the pollution that they are forced to breathe. The Air Quality Act of 1967 will help to eliminate the health hazard of polluted air and improve the quality of urban life.

Problems of poor health among the lower income persons in America can cause problems that will prevent other poverty programs from being of any aid. For example, recent medical testimony indicates that malnutrition at an early age can contribute to mental retardation. A retarded child could not be reached later by many of our poverty programs. To meet the responsibilities to provide adequate food to those who cannot afford it, the Senate authorized $425 million for the food stamp program. Forty million dollars was appropriated to begin a rat control program that will eradicate rat-carried diseases as well as freeing many parents from the fear that their child will be bitten by a rat while sleeping, simply because our society does not care enough to pay to eradicate rats.

Consumer safety bills were passed to promote the general public interest in health and much more will be done next session. The Flammable Fabrics Act has already been signed by the President, and a Product Safety Safety Commission has been established to look into other areas of unsafe products. A meat inspection bill was passed in the closing days of the session to protect the unsuspecting consumer from the dangers of eating bad meat products.

Our greatest responsibility in the health field during this next session will be in the area of providing enough food to feed this Nation. We will be hearing more in the coming months about thousands of citizens who are suffering from various degrees of starvation. We have long believed that no one could starve in this land of plenty but we must be prepared to accept the facts and the responsibility for a solution.

V. EDUCATION

The greatest resource in this country is our brainpower. The greatest investment in our future and the greatest guardian of a democracy is the fullest education of the greatest number of citizens. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act was extended this year to 1971 with an appropriation of $14.2 billion. As the ranking majority member of the Education Subcommittee I supported this bill as well as authoring an amendment on bilingual education, a new concept in our elementary education system which will mean a chance for an equal education for those citizens who begin life speaking another language as their native tongue.

The Adult Education Act was extended also through 1971 with $240 million to be the Federal share for its cost, and $1.1 billion has been authorized for grants to the States for vocational education.

This year a Corporation for Public Broadcasting was established which will facilitate the development and operation of educational radio and television broadcasting and could have a great impact on the quality of education of this Nation.

A long-range goal in education which we must begin seeking now, and which I will continue to call attention to in this next half of the 90th Congress, will be the goal of universal higher education. Education according to ability and not in regard to financial resources is the only system compatible with and conducive to our democracy. We must begin today to provide the educational system that can and will meet the educational demands of tomorrow's America.

VI. WELFARE

The Social Security Amendments of 1967 was a landmark in the 30-year history of social security legislation. Unfortunately, there are several elements of the bill that create undue compulsion on mothers of small children to work, and that might rupture family relationships, but when these are reconsidered in the next session this bill will be of major benefit to America and the over 1 million Texans who are affected by this legislation. This bill will extend coverage to an additional 1 million Americans, with an average increase of 13 percent in benefits. Our system can support such an increase, despite comments made by those who wish to undermine the confidence of the elderly in the administration of the social security system. This new law will provide a surplus of revenue over benefits and no one need fear that he will not receive his full share.

Medicare amendments removed some of the problems discovered in the first few years of operation of that program. Eligibility requirements were liberalized, paperwork by doctors and hospitals was reduced, and number of days of hospitalization available to those covered under medicare was extended. In addition, medicare benefits will now cover certain services of podiatrists and outpatient physical therapists services vitally needed by the elderly.

Another new provision would provide a constructive means by which welfare recipients can be given needed employment thus enabling them to get off the welfare rolls. By hiring welfare recipients as subprofessional aides to work on their own problems, we increase the quantity of services provided while enabling the currently unemployed to learn a highly transferable skill.

VII. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

There are many activities in foreign affairs other than Vietnam, and the one I take the greatest pride in is the Chamizal border settlement which occurred during this first session. That dispute lasted more than 100 years before President Kennedy and then President Mateos of Mexico agreed to transfer the 437-acre tract to Mexico. I led the Senate fight for this last year, and this year it was my privilege to accompany both President Johnson and President Diaz Ordaz on a flight aboard *Air Force One* from Washington to the border to participate with them in this historic occasion. More than an end to a disagreement, this is the beginning of a new era in cooperation between the United States and Mexico. It is a model settlement, and powerful evidence that peaceful negotiations in an atmosphere of mutual respect can bring about true harmony and understanding between two nations.

In pursuit of equally good relations with other nations the Senate ratified 27 treaties, including the Outer Space Treaty which establishes principles for peaceful exploration and prohibits the use of nuclear weapons in space, and the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union. As world famine becomes an increasing possibility the Senate authorized $190 million to provide 3 million tons of food grain for India, and an additional $25 million for the emergency food relief programs run by CARE and other voluntary organizations. $2.6 billion was appropriated for the entire foreign aid program for this next year and an additional $115 million was provided for the Peace Corps.

The role that the individual American citizen can play in international relations, so amply demonstrated in the Peace Corps, has also been employed under the Partners of the Alliance program of the Agency for International Development. I was pleased to propose an amendment that made certain this program would receive the money it needed for transportation and minimal living expenses of private American citizens who volunteer their expertise, energies, and time to lend a helping hand directly to people of Latin America. I have also introduced a bill to promote international health, education, and labor programs so that we can mobilize our most precious asset—the individual initiative of our citizens—to promote the development of free institutions in the newer nations of the world through self-help projects. These are the least expensive and most effective form of foreign aid, and wholly consistent with the philosophy of our foreign policy.

VIII. LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

One of the greatest issues facing the American society is that of legal administration and justice. As demonstrated this past summer, our machinery for law enforcement must undergo extensive examination and alteration if it is to remain competent to cope justly with elements that threaten to destroy social order.

In 1789, George Washington wrote that he was "impressed with the conviction that the due administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good government." It is from this same conviction that I have sought approval this session of legislation to improve our law enforcement and judicial machinery.

I have introduced the criminal injuries compensation bill to provide humane and socially responsible treatment of innocent people victimized and brutalized by acts of violence stemming from crime. Our consideration here is for the innocent victims of crime. Along with 10 other Senators, I am cosponsor of the omnibus crime control and safe streets bill, which seeks to prevent crime and to insure the greater safety of the people of America by better coordinating and modernizing law enforcement efforts at all levels of government. Included in this measure are grnats for better and more extensive education of law enforcement personnel, grants for the control of organized crime, grants to assist in the prevention and control of riots, and grants for research and demonstration projects, as well as provisions concerned with the admissibility of certain evidence and wiretapping.

Also this session, the Congress created a new Midland-Odessa division of the Federal district court in the western district of Texas. These two cities have become major population centers since the previous divisions were made, and the new places of holding court are greatly needed to reduce the expense and inconvenience to litigants, lawyers, and witnesses. This new act will facilitate the administration of justice in west Texas.

My work this session was possible only with the wonderful cooperation that I have received from my colleagues in the Senate and House—especially my fellow members of the Texas delegation. We have a strong and able team. I am also grateful for the courtesy and support received from the Senate Democratic majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD. I am already at work on new proposals for the second part of the 90th Congress, and I continue my pledge to the people of Texas to provide enlightened, progressive leadership in Congress.

Dr. Vern Miller, Mayor of Salem, Oreg., Testifies Before Joint Economic Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, Dr. Vern W. Miller, mayor of Salem, Oreg., was invited to appear before the Economic Progress Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, chaired by my distinguished colleague from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN. The subcommittee is currently engaged in an exhaustive and important study of the financial plight of municipal governments which merits the attention of the Congress and the Nation.

Mayor Miller, a vice president of the League of Oregon Cities, was asked to testify before the subcommittee as spokesman for smaller cities throughout the United States. Assisted by Salem City Manager Douglas W. Ayres, the mayor discussed the critical needs of municipalities and in particular, the difficulties faced by municipal borrowers in today's costly and congested credit markets. I am informed that the chairman and committee member, Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, warmly praised the mayor's presentation.

In addition to his civic duties, Mayor Miller has the unusual distinction of continuing his career as a practicing physician. Last Wednesday, he performed two major operations, then flew to Washington to testify, and had to return to Salem 3 hours after appearing before the subcommittee.

Mayor Miller's remarks deserve the careful attention of all who are interested in the serious problems of intergovernmental relations. I recommend them to my colleagues at this point:

STATEMENT OF VERN W. MILLER, M.D., MAYOR OF SALEM, OREG., AND DOUGLAS W. AYRES, CITY MANAGER OF SALEM, OREG., BEFORE THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 7, 1967

Chairman Patman and honorable members of the committee, I am Dr. Vern W. Miller, Mayor of the City of Salem, Oregon, and Vice President of the League of Oregon Cities, and this is Douglas Ayres, our City Manager. It is a great honor to be invited to testify, representing the smaller cities of the country. It is gratifying to me as a citizen of this great country that you are concerned with the problems of local government, which is the base upon which our governmental structure stands. Crumbling of this base is threatened. God has placed in our hands the means of attaining heaven here, or elsewhere. The result will depend upon the use made of our powers by us. The responsibility is great. Mismanagement of our blessings will bring down upon us the fabled four horsemen of the Apocalypse: famine, pestilence, disease and war; and our civilization will surely be destroyed.

If you will pardon my application of medical terminology to urban ills, it is my opinion that the events of recent months have amply demonstrated that our great cities are in the advanced stages of a near fatal disease—namely, neglect of capital improvements in the past and failure to match improvements with the speed of urbanization. The smaller cities are suffering from the same disease, but in most instances it is not as advanced, and preventive measures, if taken now, can prevent advancement of decay at a much less cost. In our attention to the fatal case, let us not neglect the salvageable.

The quality of life in the smaller cities

In my opinion, there is much to be said for Secretary of Agriculture Freeman's idea of de-urbanization. Programs that tend to increase the concentration of people in the great cities should give way to those that will make the small cities and towns more attractive. The land of opportunity should be the open spaces, an opportunity to work and produce; food, for example, since nearly half the people in the world are under-nourished. The land of opportunity should not be the land with the biggest welfare check and the opportunity to produce only more children on A.D.C.

There are vast areas of this land that with water and people would be a veritable paradise. Should we then spend billions to bring water past these lands to population concentrations and promote a condition already out of control? Our plea is to not neglect the smaller cities and towns in this country.

Our own city of 67,000 people is a fairly typical example. In order to maintain a reasonable environment and to prevent decay, our City must at the minimum, spend $80 million in the next 15 years over and above the income we now can see. We are struggling with the problems of finding financing to accomplish our goal. The cities of our State working together are making every possible effort to get State law changes which will improve our chances.

The speed and cost of change

To anyone who has thoughtfully toured the magnificent Smithsonian Institution down the Mall here, as I did with Mrs. Miller this summer, they can't help but be impressed with the speed of change in which mankind is participating. Man's inventiveness grows geometically, as do the problems arising therefrom it seems; yet the solutions to our human and governmental difficulties seem to progress only arithmetically.

That is our concern in the smaller cities; a concern that we will have the wherewithal of not "going the way" of the large cities.

We are genuinely concerned that the speed with which change occurs will cause our problems of pollution, congestion, crime, housing and illness to overcome us before we are even in a position to fully identify the true problems.

We hope that our testimony will assist your studies of the needs and financing for public facilities in the cities of the United States. Mr. Ayres now will briefly review for you, from the administrative and technical detail level, small city financing problems, at the conclusion of which we will be happy to answer questions.

SPECIFIC RESPONSE

Salem's last five bonds issues

You have inquired of us as to the net interest cost, repayment period, dates, amount, rating and purpose of our last five bond issues. Appendix A contains that data. In summary thereof, our net interest rate has ranged from a low of 2.9559% in October of 1964 to a high of 4.5545% in September of 1966. Four issues are to be repaid in ten years and one in 15. All are so-called "double-barrelled" bonds, being backed both by specific revenues and the full faith and credit. Amounts ranged from $305,000 to $1,340,000. All were AA rated, and the purposes were for sewers; and street, water and sewer special assessments, or local improvement districts as they are called in some states.

Attached Appendix B also contains data on an additional eleven issues sold in the period from early 1957 to October, 1964, with interest rates varying between a high of 3.6% in May of 1959 to a low of 2.613% in March of 1958. Most of these were special assessment bonds, but the largest were for water supply and sewage interceptors and a treatment plant. Also included were small armory and park issues. The longest period is for 25 years, with most being for ten. They ranged from $95,600 to $4,355,000.

On all 16 issues outlined we have received from a low of two bids once, and three bids four times; to a high of eleven and eight, once each. We have attached copies of press releases by our Director of Finance outlining the bidding syndicates and the number of participants in each.

Supplemental information on Salem's issues

The Committee also has asked for information regarding work performed by and costs incurred in retaining financial and engineering consultants and bond counsel, on our efforts to secure more favorable ratings, information provided prospective bidders, and the extent of assistance provided us by the State or federal governments. Appendix D contains this information in some detail.

In summary, we have found no need for a financial consultant having, with all due respect for Representative Whalen and Mayor Hall of Dayton's fine Finance Director, Mr. Winton Parent, the best Director of Finance in the country—Mr. Robert S. Moore. He and his predecessors have always prepared our issues for market.

Equally, we have found our City Attorney capable of preparing issues, approved by bond counsel at modest expense. Consulting engineers have been used only twice, and each time restricted to design and cost estimating.

Our Mr. Moore, and his predecessors, both of whom are now city managers, have actually had no particular difficulty in either securing favorable ratings for us or providing adequate information to prospective bidders. In fact, Mr. Ayres is credited with writing the only authoritative document on the marketing of municipal bonds from the municipal official's viewpoint.[1]

We have had neither state nor federal assistance in preparation or issuance of our bonds.

Debt of Oregon's cities

With the assistance of the staff of our League of Oregon Cities, we also wish to present data on the debt of Oregon cities, which are like the cities of most states—they are going deeper into debt all the time. Below are tables showing the indebtness of cities in our state, all of which except one—Portland—are under 100,000 population.

Oregon cities, with a total population of approximately 1,100,000 (or 55% of our population) reported total indebtedness of $135,424,763 as of July 1, 1966, according to the State Treasurer. Amounts on hand at that time for debt retirement left a net indebtedness of $120,994,159. This total debt figure amounted to $126 per capita for each city resident in Oregon for city government purposes only. School and county debt are not included.

The increase of Oregon city debt is shown in the figures since 1962, below:

Date	Total indebtedness	Net indebtedness
July 1, 1962	$109,103,917	$98,236,006
July 1, 1964	117,088,951	106,305,962
July 1, 1966	135,424,763	120,994,159

The following table indicates the amount of city debts as of July 1, 1966, by function:

Function	Number of cities with debt outstanding	Amount of debt
Water	112	$50,098,103.84
Sewers and sewage treatment	117	39,640,222.70
Local improvement assessments	61	14,714,792.32
Portland Harbor	1	6,789,830.24
City halls	13	2,692,339.47
Libraries	10	1,350,000.00
Streets, bridges, parking	14	1,179,598.83
Airports	6	1,132,831.00
Swimming pools	12	664,600.00
Fire equipment, fire stations	15	548,946.74
Parks and recreation	6	374,791.64
Miscellaneous	21	1,409,724.17

Distribution of cities by the number in each population category, and the ratio of net debt to true cash value of all assessed property in the city, is reported as listed below:

Population	Up to 2.99 percent	3 to 5.99 percent	6 to 8.99 percent	9 to 11.99 percent	Over 12 percent
Over 100,000	1	--	--	--	--
25,000 to 100,000	--	3	1	--	--
10,000 to 25,000	5	9	1	--	--
5,000 to 10,000	4	10	2	--	--
2,500 to 5,000	9	13	5	1	--
1,000 to 2,500	15	15	5	5	1
500 to 1,000	18	15	6	4	3
Under 500	36	11	3	2	--
Total	[1]88	76	23	12	4

[1] 21 of Oregon's 224 cities did not report any indebtedness as of July 1, 1966, the last figures available.

It is significant to note that the single recent tax exempt industrial bond issue of the Port of Astoria (population 10,700) in amount of $140 million, for the benefit of the Northwest Aluminum Company *exceeds* by $19 million the total net debt of *all* Oregon cities for *all* municipal purposes *combined.*

A THESIS REGARDING THE ECONOMY

Where are the cities going vis-a-vis the economy?

Now that we have responded to your specific questions in specific terms, we would like to go behind this mass of data and form some theses. The question must arise as to where the cities are going. We hope it is not to mass bankruptcy or to a massive traffic jam to the tune of automobile stereo tape decks on impossibly clogged streets; but we fear it.

Basically our thesis is that without a major revision in the nation's spending priorities, both in the public and private sectors of the economy, that that actual and symbolic traffic jam is as inevitable as are the proverbial "death and taxes." We feel that the rapid build-up of city debt is directly correlated to the rapidity of growth and the dearth of commensurate current revenue build-up available to the cities to meet this growth. We feel this is unhealthy, both for the cities, and as is being shown, for the national economy. We would now like to explore our thesis, and to then make some specific suggestions for the consideration of the Committee and your colleagues of the House and Senate.

Municipal debt rise

We know that the Subcommittee is aware of the rapid build-up of municipal debt, but we wonder if you are as fully aware of some contrasts between local and federal financing and debt once intergovernmental transfers are excluded? For example, since 1942 federal per capita revenues have increased 655%, as contrasted to a 620% increase in state and local revenues. Yet during the same quarter century federal per capita expenditures increased only 214% as compared to a 622% state-local rise. The thing which concerns us at the local level, however, is not so much the contrast between federal and state-local expenditures, but the way in which localities had to make up the difference between their revenues and their expenditures. These comparisons come into clearer focus when per capita debt build-up of the federal versus state-local governmental levels are compared.

During the same 25 year period federal per capita debt increased only 304% as compared to a state-local increase of 380%. But, astoundingly, in the 16 year period from 1950 thru 1966, federal per capita debt actually went down 3.7%, but state-local debt climbed 345%.[3]

An unduly mortgaged future?

Honorable members of the Committee, we suggest that due to inadequate finances with which to support capital needs of an annually recurring nature, local governments of this nation have been forced unduly to mortgage their futures. Hardly a day goes by that financial journals don't carry news of a local bond issue for fire trucks, streets, minor public buildings, park land acquisition and development, airport construction and the like, that more properly should be financed by capital outlay expenditures from current revenues, were such revenues extant. They presently are not—thus local government can no longer live as prudent families—financing only the most major of expenditures—homes—by long term debt, but are forced to dissipate their fixed incomes on interest charges servicing long term bond issues for recurring capital expenses. It appears to us that this money should more properly be channeled into current expenditure programs, because cities have to purchase a given amount of these capital items each year as does private industry, yet we must bond for them rather than charge a major portion thereof up against current revenue.

An inflationary spiral?

While neither of us are economists, it seems to us that such long term financing of ordinary annually recurring public capital needs builds an inflationary spiral into the economy. Cities thus have a vested interest in assuring that we repay our past obligations with cheaper dollars, adding pressure to further deferral of current capital financing needs; until the only alternative for the public official is an unwanted bond issue, at increasing interest rates, rather than channeling these interest charges into more capital outlay.

A backlog of capital needs

In our own community we are still trying to finance our ever-expanding backlog of capital needs by convincing our citizens of the need for a major new source of local revenue. But with the successful example of some of our neighbors having bonded the same expenditures we propose over 25 year periods, at nearly twice the cost, we are hard pressed to not resort to the "easy" route—bond issues. They, and now we, have fallen into the argument that "your children and grandchildren will pay for the improvement you will enjoy, and be able to pay for them with cheaper dollars."

Now don't misunderstand us please, we do not advocate complete pay-as-you-go capital financing. We merely are questioning the long term economic impact of "something" in the national economy which seems to effectively require cities to resort to bonding for regularly recurring annual levels of capital project needs.

Salem has only $191,000 of tax-supported debt, and we are advocating adding some $15 million to that, but we have considerably greater needs than bonds ever will meet. And that is only for city needs, and does not cover those capital requirements of other overlapping jurisdictions, such as the two counties in which Salem lies, the school district, and a score of special districts which the taxpay-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

ers of our City must finance in whole or in part, now and in the future.

Master-planned capital outlays

Our city is one of the few, if not the only, which has essentially completed or has underway a master plan for each area of our development responsibilities—transportation, including streets and airports; parks; libraries; water and sewer; public buildings; beautification; land use and zoning; redevelopment and urban renewal; fire and police; storm drainage; and street lighting. We also have costed them out, and find that for a city of 67,000 we have backlogged and projected capital needs exceeding $80 million. By counting on maximum state and federal matching grants-in-aid, which at present prospect is problematical at best, we can reduce our local burden to somewhat over $500 million.[3] Now, this is after eliminating even from consideration around $30 million of "needed but presently not imperative" projects, and roughly another $15 million of local urban renewal and redevelopment matching monies. Thus, even counting on the nebulous possibilities of state and federal assistance, and population growth to 100,000 through annexation of our unincorporated suburbs, we are faced with current capital needs of $500 per present and future man, woman and child. Again, this does not take into consideration the capital needs of our citizens for school and county public facilities.

Resignation to despair in the cities

Based on conversations with every mayor and city manager with whom I have discussed this, I believe other cities are in no better, and ofttimes worse, condition than we. Were Salem's needed expenditures spread over a 15 year period, as we plan to spread some $35 million, with the balance of $15 million being bonded for 25 years, the annual per capita load during the 15 year period is brought down to around $30 per year per citizen. Yet, when debt service is included on just the $15 million, another $9 million is added, making the annual per capita cost rise nearly $3.60. Were the interest rate we will have to pay only one-half of one percent greater on the $15 million, another $1,125,000 would have to be paid by our citizens.[4]

While it is with trepidation that I use my own community as such a specific example, I do so to illustrate to you the frustration, and no, almost desperation and resignation to despair, imbuing we local officials.

Revenue and debt comparisons

While city government revenues have increased some 214% between 1955 and 1966, interest on city debts alone rose 248%, while outstanding debt grew only 175% in this eleven year period. On analysis of these figures an anomaly shows up—that of cities increasing their pay-off of older debt in 1966 at a rate of nearly two and one half times greater than in 1955. Now it certainly seems to us that there is illustrated here a serious increase in reliance on debt to meet recurring city needs, while at the same time paying off of older debt which was financed at much lower interest rates. Our experience in Salem illustrates this, for since 1940 the interest rates we have paid for bonds have steadily increased, from a 1950 rate of 1.6% to a high in 1966 of 4.55%. We expect to pay as much or more on a million dollar special assessment issue we must sell early next year. And we are double A rated by Moody's.

Factors leading to higher interest rates

To the relatively uninitiated on the national scene as ourselves, there appears to be several factors which have lead to cities having to pay higher and higher interest rates, despite the fact that city bond interest payments are exempt from federal, and generally state income taxes.

First, as stated before, we believe that local governments have been forced away from financing capital outlays out of current revenues by virtue of the federal and state governments preempting sources of revenue which tend to grow with the economy more than those left to cities. Second, the resultant public acceptance of the philosophy of paying off expensive dollars with "cheap" dollars; indeed, tacit agreement to inflation. Third, the recent rapid increase in the volume of tax exempt industrial bonds, which soak up the traditional municipal long term money supply. And fourth, the inability of many cities to properly structure, advertise and market their issues and of the rating services to adequately study the flood of bonds hitting the market. Even the rating services themselves recognize their inability to perform, a trend manifested in conflicts in ratings between themselves.[5]

If we might, we'd now like to comment on each of these reasons.

Need for a source of growth income

We have already given some statistics and our theses regarding the capital outlay and revenue needs of cities, and the inflationary, but practical pressures to resort to bonds with which to finance current and recurring capital needs. Even more basically wrong, in our opinion, however, is the need for continued over-reliance on the property tax by municipal government. Today our nation is increasingly, and largely, composed of those either still in school or retired, thus causing ever-increasing pressure to transfer the burden of local governmental financing to the middle segment of the population which is better able to afford it. Such pressure results in the so-called "property tax revolts" being suffered in our own state and in numerous others, but always at the local level.

Nearly 60% of all the money local governments raise comes from the property tax, which has only indirect connection to ability to pay.

Of major significance to the nation's cities is the fact that nearly 80% of the nation's personal income derives from other than real property.[6] Yet the cities are faced with the fact that these non-property tax sources have generally been pre-empted by the federal and state governments, leaving little for local government but the traditional, and increasingly inequitable, property tax. Small wonder we are besieged with demands, but are rejected at the polls, when all we can do is ask for an increase in the property tax. It's analagous to cities being reliant on social security—only it requires a referendum in many places to increase municipal income, not merely the act of the representative Congress.

Advertising and affluence

Caught between the constant outpouring of advertising of the affluent society on the one hand, and the ease with which short-term personal credit is extended on the other, it is small wonder that the individual taxpayer continues to defer his public capital needs. By law most local governments cannot advertise to compete for the consumer dollar, thus producing the imbalance in our economy of automobiles increasing much more rapidly than streets on which to move them; and the value of tobacco products shipped exceeding the total expenditures for all city police and fire protection, welfare, and parks and recreation *combined*.[7] In fact, advertising expenditures alone in 1965 came to within three quarters of a billion dollars of equalling all general revenues of all cities in the nation, for ALL local government service needs. More shocking, with city utilities and liquor stores eliminated, the advertising industry expended $3 billion *more* than the cities took in from all general revenue sources.[8]

One specific example of this unbalanced nature of our economy which we can't help but feel will have serious implications for the economic progress of this nation, is the contrast between the value of automobiles produced annually and the amount which we invest in highway and street construction on which to place them. In 1965 the value of factory sales and imports of motor vehicles was almost $23 billion. But in the same period this nation spent only $12.3 on all of highway construction *and* maintenance at the state and local level. Anyone who has ever driven an auto, or attempted to do so in our cities, is not only well aware of this imbalance between the private and public sectors of our economy, but also exasperatedly aware of the terrible imbalance between federal and state highway expenditures and the city level of street expenses; for only $1.8 billion is spent for city street construction *and* maintenance. Why, in the period 1950 to 1965 the value of new motor vehicles added to this nation's streets rose 225% while city street expenditures for construction and maintenance were added to by only somewhat in excess of 210%.[9] Even worse, municipal street mileage increased only some 152% in the 1950–1964 period.[10]

Inflationary pressures of bonding

Investors have begun to discount more and more this competition between the consumer industries and local government services within which consumer products are enjoyed, and the resultant inflationary pressures on cities to resort to longer term financing. This is illustrated by the increase of 138 points in the last 15 years in the Bond Buyer Index of 20 municipal bonds,[11] and the more than threefold increase in dollar volume of state and municipal bond offerings.[12]

Industrial tax-exempt bonds

A too-significant portion of this outpouring of tax exempts has been from the states allowing industrial corporations to ride the skirts of tax exempt local governments. The Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada urges discontinuance of this dilution of municipal credit; the Natonal League of Cities desires more stringent regulation of such bonds; and we personally decry such an abuse of muncipal credit. Recent weeks have shown the national municipal bond market completely dominated by such subterfuge issues, literally pushing legitimate city bond interest rates to unprecedented highs. We cannot overemphasize the adverse impact of this type of issue, for to quote a municipal bond market analyst: "The best way to describe our market is that we are in psychological disarray . . . the rapid increase of industrial revenue financing is plaguing us. We expect about $1 billion of these bonds in the next six months."[13] Monday's Wall Street Journal brings this controversial issue into even better perspective:

"Industrial revenue bonds are being used increasingly by communities seeking to attract new industry and by companies trying to avoid the relatively high interest costs of conventonal corporate debt securities. Nearly 40 states now permit the issuance of such bonds, double the number in 1960. About $1 billion of corporate municipal bonds to finance industrial construction will be sold this year, up from $1.5 million in 1956."[14]

The only outcome we can see is the utimate use of this device by all industrial and commercial corporations, with the commensurate levelling of tax exempt and non-tax exempt interest rates, and an accompanying drastic drop in federal and state income tax revenues therefrom.

State and Federal bond marketing assistance

In our opinions the concentration of municipal finance talent and marketing efforts on these industrial bonds has detracted seriously from the more importat needs of assisting cities to issue better financial data, strengthen bond sale advertising, time mar-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

keting more tightly, and broaden the market for tax exempts. For example, few states have ever considered the need for a state agency to consolidate and market small local issues.[15] Neither have we been successful in convincing you gentlemen to amend the Life Insurance Company Tax Act of 1959 to overcome the Atlas Life Insurance Company Supreme Court decision, thereby broadening the market for city debt obligations. And these abuses and restrictions are continued in the face of the authoritative prediction of a $15-billion-a-year municipal bond market within ten years.[16]

CONCLUSION

In closing this potpourri and tearful recitation of the continuing soap opera in which we city officials daily perform, we would make to you several specific recommendations.

Specific recommendations

First, develop a block grant program for sharing federal revenues with the cities, and *directly* with the cities. We point out past performance of the several states and question their ability or inclination to channel such grants to the needy cities without placing undue restrictions on us, or "sopping up" the money on the way through.

Second, we would suggest some type of a federally subsidized public informational—call it "advertising" if you wish—program designed to acquaint the consumer with the basic fact that the local public sector of the economy must progress in harmony with the private sector or he will be unable to enjoy his private affluence due to the pollution and crowding of his environment, which will inevitably result unless such balance is upheld.

Third, we would suggest that Congress drastically limit the tax exemption privilege for public bonds used for the sole benefit of a private corporation.

Fourth, municipal officials would like to see the Congress restore the full intent of the Life Insurance Company Tax Act of 1959; permit the withholding of municipal income taxes from federal employee pay; and permit regulated investment companies to distribute the interest on our bonds without loss of the tax exemption.

Fifth, we would suggest that the Public Facility Loan Program be properly funded so it can be utilized, and that it be expanded to financially encourage the several states to create subsidiary programs with which to assist cities to consolidate smaller municipal issues and secure better bond prices.

Finally—and we know that you already agree on this point—accept as most students of government do, and recognize that the paucity of revenue and the accompanying financial plight of the cities is a major factor inhibiting the full utilization of our system of local self government.[17]

Please accept our appreciation and thanks for being invited to testify before the Subcommittee. Should there be any questions, either of us would be pleased to attempt to answer them.

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[1] Ayres, D. W.; *Marketing Municipal Bonds;* Report No. 239; Management Information Service of the International City Managers' Association; Chicago; December, 1963.

[2] Table 580, p. 417; *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1967;* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

[3] "Capital Improvement Plan, City of Salem, Oregon, 1967–68;" Nov. 8, 1967.

[4] Interest on $15 million calculated at 4% and 4½% with equal payments of combined principal and interest over 25 years.

[5] Reilly, James F.; "Municipal Credit Evaluation and Bond Ratings—Diagnosis, Prognosis, and Prescription for Change;" Institute for Local Self Government; September, 1967; Berkeley, California; pages 11 and 25.

[6] Schultz, Glen R.; "Municipal Finance Projections: Increased Volume, Higher Costs;" *The Bond Buyer,* May 31, 1966; p. 46.

[7] Tables 80 and 325, pages 95 and 250; *Pocket Data Book, U.S.A. 1967;* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

[8] Tables 80 and 459, pages 95 and 340; *Ibid.*

[9] Tables 80 and 325, pages 95 and 250; *Pocket Data Book, U.S.A. 1967;* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

[10] Table 367, page 279; *Ibid.*

[11] Table 445, p. 328; *Ibid.*

[12] Table 446, p. 329; *Ibid.*

[13] *The Wall Street Journal;* December 4, 1967.

[14] *The Wall Street Journal;* December 4, 1967.

[15] P. 6 ff.; "Credit Problems of Small Municipalities;" April, 1967; National League of Cities; Washington.

[16] Schultz; *Op. Cit.;* p. 46.

[17] Reilly; *Op. Cit.;* p. 40.

Statement by Senator John O. Pastore, Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, U.S. Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. PASTORE

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and on behalf of all of the members, I am privileged to make the following report to the Congress and for the benefit of the executive branch and the public at large.

I wish to thank all the members of the committee for their hard work and fine cooperation in the committee's work. In order to inform the Members of Congress and the public as to the work of the committee, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at this point the report on the activities and accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 90th Congress, first session.

There being no objection the report of the activities and accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to the Congress was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION (1967)

FOREWORD

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was first organized on August 2, 1946, and is a House-Senate Committee consisting of nine members from each body, of which no more than five from each body can be members of the same party. Following is a listing of the present membership:

John O. Pastore, Rhode Island, Chairman.
Chet Holifield, California, Vice Chairman.
Melvin Price, Illinois.
Wayne N. Aspinall, Colorado.
Thomas G. Morris, New Mexico.
John Young, Texas.
Craig Hosmer, California.
William H. Bates, Massachusetts.
John B. Anderson, Illinois.
William M. McCulloch, Ohio.
Richard B. Russell, Georgia.
Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico.
Albert Gore, Tennessee.
Henry M. Jackson, Washington.
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa.
George D. Aiken, Vermont.
Wallace F. Bennett, Utah.
Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska.

The Joint Committee is one of the few committees established by statute, rather than by rule of each house, and is unique in several respects. For example, it is the only Joint Committee of the Congress with legislative functions, including the receipt and reporting of legislative proposals. The Committee is also charged by law with legislative responsibility as "watchdog" of the United States atomic energy program. As part of its responsibilities, the Committee follows closely the classified activities of executive agencies, including the Atomic Energy Commission and the Departments of Defense and State, concerning the military applications of atomic energy.

In all these activities, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy as representative of Congress and the public seeks to assure the implementation of the following statutory policy expressed in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954: "the development, use and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to make the maximum contribution to the general welfare, subject at all times to the paramount objective of making the maximum contribution to the common defense and security . . ."

During the 90th Congress, first session, the Joint Committee met on a total of 74 different occasions, 49 of which were public and 25 of which were executive meetings.

A total of 12 publications consisting of hearings and Committee prints were published or are in the process of being printed by the Joint Committee in the first session of the 90th Congress. These publications include tetsimony taken in executive session with classified material deleted before printing. A list of these publications follows:

"AEC Authorizing Legislation, FY 1968": Part 1, Hearings Jan. 25, Feb. 7, 8, 9, and 28, 1967; Part 2, Hearings Mar. 14 and 15, 1967; Part 3, Hearings Feb. 28, Mar. 2 and 3, 1967.

"Atomic Energy Legislation Through the 90h Cong., 1st Session," Committee print (Dec. 1967).

"LaCrosse Boiling Water Reactor Project," Hearing May 4, 1967 (available when printed).

"Licensing and Regulation of Nuclear Reactors," Part I, Hearings Apr. 4, 5, 6, 20 and May 3, 1967.

"Licensing and Regulation of Nuclear Reactors," Part II, Hearings Sept. 12, 13 and 14, 1967 (available when printed).

"Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program, 1967," Hearing Mar. 16, 1967 (In preparation).

"Nuclear Propulsion for Major Fleet Escorts," Committee print (In preparation).

"AEC Omnibus Legislation, 1967," Hearings August 11, 15, and 24, 1967.

"Radiation Exposure of Uranium Miners," Hearings May 9, 10, 23, June 6, 7, 8, 9, July 26 27, and August 8 and 10, 1967.

"Scope, Magnitude and Implications of the United States ABM Program," Hearings November 6 and 7, 1967 (available when printed).

I. LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

A. Atomic Energy Commission fiscal year 1968 Authorization Act (Public Law 90–56)

In accordance with Section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the Joint Committee in 1967 reviewed the proposed fiscal year 1968 authorization for all appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission.

Extensive hearings on the AEC's proposed authorization bill (S. 611; H.R. 3647) and proposed amendments thereto were held by the Joint Committee over a period of seven weeks beginning January 25, 1967, the day following delivery of the President's budget message. The Committee's hearings extended through March 16, 1967, and included review not only of the Commission's operating funds authorization but also its request for authorization of funds for plant and capital equipment obligations. Major items in the Commission's various programs were examined in depth during the hearings. In connection with those AEC programs which were not the subject of detailed Committee hearings, the Committee requested the Commission to submit statements for the record and to furnish written answers to questions. Several hearings—concerning the AEC's weapons program and the naval nuclear propulsion program—were held in executive session because they involved the review of classified information.

In addition to the hearings described above, related hearings were held before the Subcommiittee on Research, Development, and Radiation concerning the scope and management of the proposed 200 Bev accelerator, and (in executive session) by the Subcommittee on Military Applications concerning nuclear weapons policy and special nuclear materials requirements.

All of the foregoing hearings, except for those held in executive session because of the classified nature of the subject matter, were published in three volumes under the title "AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1968."

The hearings culminated in the introduction of "clean bills" by Chairman Pastore (S. 1963) and by Vice Chairman Holifield (H.R. 10918). These bills were reported in the Senate and House on June 23 and June 19, 1967, respectively (Senate Report No. 349, House Report No. 369), together with the separate views of Chairman Pastore, in which Senators Jackson and Aiken concurred, recommending against authorization of appropriations for the proposed 200 Bev accelerator project at this time.

The recommended authorization bill, which amounted to about $4.4 million less than the Administration had requested, was passed without amendment by the Senate and House, and authorized appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal year 1968 in the amount of $2,633,876,000 as follows:

Operating expenses	$2, 164, 843, 000
Plant and capital equipment	469, 033, 000
Total authorization	2, 633, 876, 000

Among the highlights of the Joint Committee report which accompanied the authorization bill were the following:

1. With respect to the *Weapons Program*, the Joint Committee recommended an increase of $15 million in the Commission's request for $700.5 million for weapons program operating funds. It was apparent to the Committee that a more intensive development and testing program than would be possible with the amount of money requested by the AEC was required if development of new weapons systems and their entry into production were to occur at a pace consistent with the national security. Since that time the decision has been made to deploy the "thin" antiballistic missile (ABM) system.

2. In the *Civilian Power Reactor Program*, the Committee recommended authorization of $80 million in construction funds (beyond the previously authorized $7.5 million for architect-engineering) for the proposed Fast Flux Test Facility, a critically needed test facility for the sodium cooled fast breeder reactor program. The breeder reactor program, the program to which the Atomic Energy Commission is increasingly devoting its civilian nuclear power research and development funds, holds the promise of developing economically competitive nuclear reactors capable of supplying their own needs for fissile materials. Successful development and wide adoption of such self-sustaining reactors would have a tremendously beneficial impact on the energy resources of this nation.

The Committee also noted the continuing surge of orders by the nation's electric utility companies for nuclear powerplants of the type now being sold commercially. The continued rapid pace of nuclear powerplant procurements in 1966 and 1967, coupled with the extrapolation to much larger sized plants, caused the Committee to reemphasize to the designers, manufacturers and users of these plants the need for unparalleled attention to the details of design, construction and operation to assure that performance and safety requirements are fully met. In view of the planned major dependence on nuclear power to meet the nation's need for new generating capacity in the early 1970's, the industry must remain ever mindful that any significant delays or failures to meet required nuclear plant availability factors could have adverse effects on the availability of electric power in certain parts of the country. The Committee also emphasized the need for quality control in reactor design and construction to assure that the components and systems essential to the continued reliability of these plants are of high quality.

The Committee particularly commended the Commission for its continued efforts to "weed out" civilian reactor concepts not sufficiently promising to continue. In this connection the Commission, in line with the Committee's earlier comments and specific suggestions, reviewed the heavy water organic cooled reactor program and decided to terminate the program except for a modest heavy water reactor base R&D program which would maintain the option to exploit this type of reactor in the future if developments so dictate. The Committee firmly supports the Commission's policy of conducting periodic reviews tc determine whether the technical and economic factors involved in a specific concept, when reviewed in relation to the potential of competing reactor systems, justify the expenditure of resources necessary to carry out the program. Such a policy should be a cornerstone of any efficient research and development program.

With respect to the Commission's program to develop reactors for space propulsion systems, the Committee voiced continued support of the Rover program and recommended approval of the full amount requested by the AEC for the program in fiscal year 1968. The AEC's fiscal 1968 budget request reflected a newly defined objective to develop a large nuclear rocket engine (NERVA II) having a thrust level of 200,000 to 250,000 pounds. At the same time the Committee recommended that the Commission undertake immediately to perform further intensive analyses to verify the true growth potential of the smaller nuclear rocket engine (NERVA I), with particular emphasis on clarifying the question of the versatility of such an engine in terms of meeting earlier unmanned mission requirements as well as subsequent manned missions.

3. As part of the Commission's *Physical Research Program* the Committee recommended authorization of $7,333,000 of the $10 million requestetd by the AEC for initial work on the proposed 200 Bev accelerator. The Committee also adopted without change a report of the Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation concerning the scope and management of this national facility.[1] Among other things, the report calls for the construction of this facility with greater design intensity and more experimental facilities than were provided for in the reduced scope accelerator proposed by the Executive Branch. The reduction in the scope of the accelerator proposed by the Executive Branch for budgetary (rather than technical) reasons was rejected on the the grounds that to do so, in the knowledge that it would have to be modified to fuller scope once it entered into operation, would be false economy.

The Committee also recommended authorization of $50.3 million for construction of the Meson physics facility and $8.5 million for construction of a project designed to house and power the proposed Seyllac controlled fusion experimental device. Both of these projects would be located at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory.

4. The Committee expressed its deep concern that planned Plowshare excavation experiments, which comprise a significant part of the Commission's important program for development of *Civilian Applications of Nuclear Explosives*, have not been conducted. The Committee, recalling the assurances given to the Congress by the Executive Branch in 1963, prior to ratification of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, that Plowshare cratering experiments could be performed notwithstanding existence of the Treaty, noted its belief that an overly strict interpretation is being placed on the Treaty by the Executive Branch. It urged the Executive Branch to get on with the task of developing the technology for civilian applications of nuclear expolsives so that, pursuant to the President's offer made to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference, this country may make available to other nations nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes under appropriate international safeguards.

The Committee also recommended authorization of the remaining funds ($1.5 million) necessary to carry out Project Gasbuggy, an experiment using nuclear explosives to demonstrate the feasibility of stimulating the production of natural gas by means of contained underground nuclear explosions. The previous year the Joint Committee had recommended, and Congress approved, as increase of $1.5 million in the Commission's fiscal year 1967 authoriaztion bill to permit this promising project to move forward. The detonation, conducted to cooperation with the El Paso Natural Gas Company and the Department of the Interior, was successfully carried out on December 10, 1967 in the low-permeability Pictured Cliff formation in northern New Mexico.

Final action on the bill

On June 29, 1967, the authorization bill was debated and passed in the House of Representatives by a voice vote, after a proposed amendment thereto to strike from it authorization of $7,333,000 for the 200 Bev accelerator had been defeated. On July 12, 1967 the Senate considered and passed the bill by a voice vote after a proposed amendment to the bill, to strike from it authorization of $7,333,000 for the 200 Bev accelerator, was defeated. The bill was then forwarded to the President and approved by him on July 26, 1967 as Public Law 90–56.

B. AEC "omnibus" bill for 1967
(Public Law 90–190)

The AEC's omnibus bill for 1967 incorporated the major provisions of five separate legislative proposals submitted to the Joint Committee by the AEC, as well as two others originated by the Joint Committee and its members. The Committee took no further action on two items of proposed legislation submitted by the Executive Branch—one by the AEC and the other by the Department of Defense.

Public hearings were held on these matters on August 11, 15, and 24, 1967 before the Subcommittees on Communities and Legislation. These hearings were printed under the title "AEC Omnibus Legislation—1967." As the result of these hearings, and of four executive sessions of the Joint Committee, the Committee approved the introduction of identical "clean bills" (S. 2644 and H.R. 13934) and adopted a favorable Committee report thereon (S. Rept. No. 743, filed November 13, 1967; H. Rept. No. 911, filed November 9, 1967).

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[1] Published as Appendix C in Senate Report No. 349 and House Report No. 369 on, respectively, S. 1963 and H.R. 10918, and in Part 1, hearings on "AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1968."

As reported by the Committee and approved by Congress, the bill:

Amends section 58 of the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955 to revise the system of priorities applicable to the sale of apartment houses at Los Alamos, N. Mex. As amended, section 58 authorizes sale of these dwellings on a priority basis not only to housing cooperatives but to certain others as well;

Amends sections 91, 94, and 118 of the Community Act to authorize the AEC to continue to make assistance payments to the Cities of Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Richland, Wash., and to the Richland School District, and to state more explicitly the criteria for making such payments. Under the amendment, and contracts entered into by the AEC to provide such assistance after June 30, 1979, would be subject to the availability of appropriartions. The amendments also provide that no appropriations shall be made to carry out the provisions and purposes of the Community Act unless previously authorized by legislation enacted by Congress;

Amends subsection 25 a. and section 28 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to confer on the Director of the AEC's Division of Military Application the new title of Assistant General Manager for Military Application. The amendment also provides that the officer serving in the position shall have general or flag rank, and that his service shall be reimbursed by the Commission for his military pay and allowances;

Amends section 33 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to provide certain additional authority for the AEC to perform research for others pertaining to the protection of public health and safety;

Amends subsection 41 b. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to eliminate the requirement for determinations by the President of the quantities of special nuclear material to be produced under section 41, and the amounts to be available for distribution by the AEC pursuant to sections 53 and 54 of the act;

Amends subsection 53 f. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to eliminate a reference to the Presidential determinations under subsection 41 b. of the act that no longer is applicable;

Effects technical amendments to the Atomic Energy Act, which do not make any substantive changes;

Amends section 5 of the EURATOM cooperation Act of 1958 to authorize, first, the transfer of an additional 145,000 kilograms of contained uranium 235 to the European Atomic Energy Community, second the transfer of an additional 1,000 kilograms of plutonium to Euratom, and third, the AEC to perform uranium enrichment services for Euratom; and,

Adds a new heading in the table of contents of the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955, reflecting the amendment of that act by section 1 of the bill.

The omnibus bill was considered and passed in the Senate on November 15, 1967, and in the House on November 30, 1967. On December 14, the bill was approved by the President as P.L. 90–190.

II. AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION

Section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 requires that agreements for cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy be submitted to and lie before the Joint Committee for a period of thirty days while Congress is in session before becoming effective. Pursuant to this requirement four civil agreements were submitted to the Committee by the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission during 1967.

Of the four agreements considered by the Committee, three were new civilian power agreements under which the United States gave long-term assurances as to the availability of nuclear fuel for reactors constructed under the cooperating countries' atomic power programs. These agreements are with the countries of Australia, Norway, and South Africa. The fourth agreement submitted was an amendment to the research-type agreement for cooperation with the Republic of Colombia which extended the the existing agreement for an additional 10 years.

Pursuant to the United States policy of transferring safeguards responsibilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency—a policy strongly supported by the Joint Committee—provision was made in the new Norwegian and Colombian agreements for bringing facilities in those countries receiving United States assistance under international safeguards. Australia and South Africa had previously agreed to the transfer to the IAEA of responsibility for applying safeguards to the facilities and materials transferred pursuant to their agreements with this country, and agreed to a continuation of that policy under their new agreements. The responsibility transferred to the IAEA entails periodic inspections of the facilities, equipment and materials involved to insure against the diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes.

III. INFORMATIONAL HEARINGS

A. LaCrosse reactor program—Revised justification data

The Subcommittee on Legislation met in public session on May 4, 1967, to review revised justification data concerning the LaCrosse Boiling Water Reactor Project submitted by the AEC in accordance with the requirements of the P.L. 85–162.[2] Specifically, the Committee reviewed the reasons for the schedule slippages and cost increases which have marked the progress of the project.

Testimony was received from representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Dairyland Power Cooperative of LaCrosse, Wisconsin (the electrical utility involved in the cooprerative arrangement), and the Allis Chalmers Manufacturing Company (the reactor designer). The reasons for the increase in AEC costs from $9,211,000, which were the estimated costs in 1961, to presently estimated costs of $13,314,000, were explored. Plans for further work on the project were also reviewed in detail, including the schedule for plant operations.

B. Radiation exposure of uranium miners

On May 9, 10, 23, June 6, 7, 8, 9, July 26, 27 and August 8 and 10 1967 the Joint Committee's Subcommittee on Research Development, and Radiation conducted public hearings on the subject of radiation exposure of uranium miners. The extensive hearings were conducted as part of the subcommittee's continuing study of the problems of radiation exposure and its effect upon humans.

Witnesses included representatives of Federal and State departments and agenices having responsibilities in this matter, labor unions, and mining companies, as well as radiation protection experts and medical doctors. Two members of the President's Cabinet—Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John W. Gardner—were among those who presented their views to the subcommittee. One Highlight of the hearings was the testimony by a 12-member panel, whose membership was especially selected by the subcommittee in order to present the divergent viewpoints on this complex subject.

One of the primary objectives of the hearings was to determine whether uranium miners were being protected by adequate standards and to determine why it was taking so long to establish a standard at the Federal government level. Toward the latter part of the hearings, the Federal Radiation Council—pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954—transmitted to the President findings and recommendations for the guidance of Federal agencies in the conduct of their radiation protection activities applicable to underground uranium mining. The President approved these recommendations on July 27, 1967.

The two-part, 1373-page record of the hearings constitutes the most comprehensive collection of information ever gathered concerning the exposure of humans to radiation incident to the mining of uranium. In keeping with past practice of the Committee and its subcommittees when dealing with unusually complex problems characterized by strong differences of opinion among the witnesses, the Committee staff is currently preparing a summary analysis of the hearing record.

C. ABM hearings and safeguards

Hearings in open session before the Subcommittee on Military Applications, in conjunction with members of the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, were held on November 6 and 7, 1967, with the Honorable Paul H. Nitze, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and Dr. John S. Foster, Director, Defense Research and Engineering, as witnesses for the purpose of bringing the Joint Committee up to date on plans and programs relating to our ABM program with particular emphasis on the scope, magnitude, and implications of the U.S. Program as announced by Secretary of Defense McNamara on September 18, 1967. Other witnesses were:

Professor Philip E. Mosely of Columbia University, an expert on the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Union;

Dr. Thomas W. Wolfe of the Rand Corporation, analyst of Sino-Soviet affairs; and

Mrs. Alice Langley Hsieh of the Rand Corporation, analyst of Communist China's external political and military policies.

D. Chinese nuclear weapons

During the year the Committee conducted a special inquiry regarding Chinese Communist nuclear weapons development. Testimony was received in executive session as follows:

January 11, 1967: Richard Helms, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

February 1, 1967: Dr. Norris Bradbury, Director, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory; Dr. Michael May, Director, Livermore Radiation Laboratory.

March 13, 1967: Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

July 13, 1967: Representatives of the Department of Defense, CIA and AEC.

An unclassified report was prepared as a result of this inquiry entitled *Impact of Chinese Communist Nuclear Weapons Progress on United States National Security* and published July, 1967. In the Summary the report stated, "The Joint Committee believes that the American public needs to know the threat that is posed by Red China. Communist China has emerged with a fledgling, but effective, nuclear weapons capability."

"Perhaps most significant for the United States is the fact that a low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970s. At present we do not have an effective anti-ballistic missile system which could repel such a suicidal (for the Chinese) but nevertheless possible strike."

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[2] In accordance with Joint Committee practice the record of this single hearing will not be published in book form until it can be consolidated with the record of other hearings dealing with similar subject matters. During the interim, the record of this hearing is available to the public in transcript form at the Joint Committee offices. Moreover, interested persons will find the revised justification data submitted for this project set forth beginning at page 1340 of Part 1, "AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1968" (1967).

E. Confirmation hearings

The Senate Section of the Joint Committee met in public session on June 8, 1967, to consider the nomination (reappointment) of Wilfred E. Johnson to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission for a term of five years, expiring June 30, 1972. He was confirmed by the Senate on June 15, 1967.

F. Licensing and regulation of nuclear reactors

The structure and conduct of the AEC's regulatory program has been one of the principal areas of interest of the Joint Committee. In addition to maintaining day-to-day contact with these matters, the Committee has on various occasions conducted detailed reviews of this program. For example, past studies undertaken by the Joint Committee staff at the Committee's direction have ultimately led to major changes in the legislation underlying the AEC's regulatory activities.

It has always been recognized that in a field as dynamic as that of nuclear energy, new problems emerge so rapidly that reconsideration of this subject is desirable from time to time. For this reason, the Committee scheduled a series of hearings in the spring and fall of 1967 pertaining to the licensing and regulation of nuclear reactors.

The first part of the hearings occupied a period of five days in April and May. At that time, the Committee received oral and written testimony from, among other persons, officials of the AEC and representatives of various organizations (that is, the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards and the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board Panel) which participate in the regulatory review process.

Thereafter, the Committee published the record of these hearings under the title "Licensing and Regulation of Nuclear Reactors," Part 1. The Committee also formulated a series of 12 key policy issues to which the Committee would direct its attention in the second phase of the hearings. These issues were set forth in a letter from the Chairman which was sent to a large number of individuals and organizations, soliciting comments on the issues and the hearing record developed to that date.

In September the public hearings resumed, with three additional days of testimony. Those testifying before the Committee included witnesses from investor-owned and publicly-owned electric utilities, equipment manufacturers, members of the general public, representatives of the coal industry and of professional societies, and attorneys engaged in practice before the AEC. Among other things, these hearings disclosed a growing dispute over the right to participate in the ownership and electrical output of large nuclear powerplants; and disagreement concerning the scope of the AEC's regulatory jurisdiction. The September hearings are in the process of being prepared for publication, under the title "Licensing and Regulation of Nuclear Reactors," Part 2.

It is reasonable to expect that, as the result of these hearings, there will be a better mutual understanding of all these matters on the part of the public, the nuclear industry, the Executive Branch and the Congress. Further, it is expected that the complete hearing record will serve as a valuable reference text in future years, particularly to those who are newly acquainted with the regulatory program.

The Committee intends to consider the entire record of these hearings in order to determine what the most appropriate next step may be, including further studies by the Committee and its staff, and possible legislative recommendations.

G. 200 Bev accelerator

Hearings were held on the AEC request for authorization of $10 million in architect-engineering funds for the proposed 200 Bev Accelerator by the full Committee on February 7–9, 1967.

The Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation held hearings on February 15 and 16 for the purpose of exploring with the AEC the management organization to oversee design, construction and operation of the proposed facility and the scope of the accelerator to be constructed. In the Subcommittee's report recommendations were made that:

(1) An accelerator with a design intensity of 3×10^{13} protons per pulse be constructed.

(2) Provision be made in the initial design of the machine for experimental areas which are consistent with the national scope and purpose of the facility.

(3) The AEC give careful study to the possibility of constructing the accelerator so as to permit a possible later increase in energy to 300 Bev or higher.

(4) The AEC assure itself that the organization(s) selected for the architect-engineering and construction management of this facility are reliable and experienced and that major design changes and procurements affecting the machine will be made only with AEC approval.

The full Committee accepted without change the Subcommittee's report and recommended authorization of $7,333,000 for the 200 Bev accelerator for Fiscal Year 1968.

IV CLASSIFIED ACTIVITIES

A. ABM and safeguards

In hearings in executive session on November 8 and 15, 1967, testimony was received on classified aspects of the ABM deployment from:

Mr. Richard Helms, Director, Central Intelligence Agency;

General Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff;

Dr. John S. Foster, Director, Defense Research and Engineering;

Commissioner Gerald F. Tape of the Atomic Energy Commission;

Brigadier General Edward B. Giller, USAF, Director of Military Applications, AEC;

Dr. Raemer E. Schreiber, Technical Associate Director, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory;

Dr. Harold Agnew, Division Leader, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory;

Mr. J. A. Hornbeck, President, Sandia Corporation; and,

Dr. Michael M. May, Director, Livermore Laboratory.

During these hearings testimony was also heard regarding the implementation of the four safeguards established in connection with the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

B. Intelligence briefings

On January 11, 1967, the Joint Committee received an intelligence briefing on recent developments affecting the field of atomic energy from Mr. Richard Helms, Dirctor of the Central Intelligence Agency. On July 13, 1967, Mr. Helms briefed the Committee concerning advances being made by Communist China in developing nuclear weapons, and on November 8, 1967, he briefed the Subcommittee on Military Applications on foreign activities relating to the U.S. defense posture vis-a-vis potential aggressors.

C. Nuclear weapons requirements

A series of hearings in executive session were held by the Subcommittee on Military Applications to consider nuclear weapons requirements. Dr. Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Systems Analysis), the principal Defense Department witness, explained Defense policy objectives and nuclear weapon requirements in hearings on February 21 and 23, 1967. General Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff and Lt. General Austin W. Betts, USA, Chief, Research and Development, and Nike X Systems Manager, testified in subsequent hearings held March 8 and April 11, 1967.

D. AEC policies on gas centrifuge development

On March 9, 1967, the Joint Committee received a briefing from the Atomic Energy Commission concerning development of the gas centrifuge process, and related matters. AEC representatives discussed the status of foreign and domestic programs in the gas centrifuge field, including Government and private efforts. The various considerations associated with the AEC's present and future policies were considered in depth. Following this meeting, the AEC announced new policies on gas centrifuge development including a determination by the Commission, after careful weighing of all factors involved, that national security interests would best be served if work on the gas centrifuge process for separation of isotopes were limited to Government sponsored projects.

V. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. IAEA 11th General Conference

The Chairman and three members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy participated in the 11th General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna in September, 1967. One of the principal items discussed in the Conference was IAEA safeguards inspection to assure that fissionable material is not directed to other than peaceful uses in connection with the proposed nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty.

B. Disarmament negotiations

On March 13, 1967, the Committee received testimony in executive session from the Secretary of State concerning plans and status of disarmament negotiations with emphasis on the proposed non-proliferation treaty negotiations.

On May 17, 1967, the Committee received testimony in executive session from officials of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency concerning the plans and policy position which was to be taken by the U.S. representatives to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference (ENDC) when it reconvened in Geneva on May 18, 1967.

Throughout the year the Committee received reports on developments concerning disarmament negotiations as they progress. Members of the Committee and staff visited and conferred with U.S. representatives in Geneva at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference.

C. Foreign trips

Foreign inspection and informational visits were made by the Committee and staff as follows:

EURATOM Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium.

Frascati Nuclear Center, Frascati, Italy..

Geneva Disarmament Negotiations, Geneva, Switzerland.

International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria.

NATO Installations in Germany.

NATO Headquarters, Paris, France.

New NATO Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium.

Nuclear Ship *Otto Hahn*, Kiel, Germany.

D. Domestic installation trips

The Committee members and staff continued their practice of obtaining firsthand information by visiting various Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Defense, NASA, and U.S. Government contractor installations in the United States. During the first session, 90th Congress, visits were made to the following facilities, among others:

Aerojet General, Azusa, California.

Aerojet General, Sacramento, California.

Ames Laboratory (NASA), Sunnyvale, California.

Atomics International, Downey, California.

Charleston Naval Shipyard, Charleston, South Carolina.

Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics Corporation, Groton, Connecticut.

Gasbuggy Symposium and Detonation, Farmington, New Mexico.

General Electric, APO, Sunnyvale, California.

General Electric Company, Vallecitos, California.

General Electric Valley Forge (Pennsylvania) Space Laboratory.

Gulf General Atomic, LaJolla, California.

Hawaii Development Irradiator, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Huntington Beach, California (proposed site of Bolsa Island Power-Desalting Plant).

Laboratory of Nuclear Medicine and Radiation Biology, University of California at Los Angeles.

LaCrosse Boiling Water Reactor Project, LaCrosse, Wisconsin.

Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Livermore, California.

Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, New Mexico.

MIT, Physics Department.

NS Savannah, Hoboken, New Jersey.

Nuclear Fuel Services, Inc., West Valley, New York.

Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation, Apollo, Pennsylvania.

Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Oyster Creek Nuclear Power Station, Oyster Creek, New Jersey.

Pacific Missile Range at Barking Sands, Island of Kauia, Hawaii.

Pacific Northwest Laboratories, Washington.

Piqua Nuclear Power Facility, Piqua, Ohio.

Sandia Corporation, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Savannah River Plant, Aiken, South Carolina.

Schwartzwalder Uranium Mine, Golden, Colorado.

Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, Stanford, California.

Thermo-Electron Engineering Corporation, Waltham, Massachusetts.

UCLA Laboratory of Nuclear Medicine and Radiation Biology.

Walhalla, South Carolina (Atomic Safety and Licensing Board hearings on Oconee Nuclear Station Units 1, 2 and 3).

Dr. Paul E. Elicker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the Nation lost one of our leading educators when Dr. Paul E. Elicker died. A former principal of the Newton, Mass., High School, Dr. Elicker served for almost 20 years as executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. In 1958 he served as chairman of the U.S. delegation on education to the NATO Conference.

Administrator, author, professional representative, Dr. Elicker made a major contribution in each capacity; but his most far reaching contribution was made as a teacher. He was a truly remarkable teacher who had a unique ability to reach and motivate young students. His enthusiasm for mathematics was contagious, and under his guidance many a youngster mastered the intricacies of algebra and geometry. From his first days at Collegiate School in New York City, immediately after his service as an officer in World War I, through his last tutoring session last summer at Camp Susquehannock in Pennsylvania where he tutcred boys in the summertime for nearly half a century, he left his mark on countless young men, molding their character and preparing them for life. His enduring monument is that influence which will never be forgotten by those it touched.

It was my privilege to know Dr. Paul E. Elicker from the time I was 10 years old. He was a cherished friend of my family—both my parents and my children. I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Elsie, his son, Paul H., and the other members of his family.

I include at this point in the RECORD the obituary from the Washington Post of September 15, 1967:

DR. PAUL ELICKER, 73, RETIRED NEA OFFICIAL

Dr. Paul Edgar Elicker, a retired National Education Association official who once noted that boys reason better than girls and that both know more than their parents did at high school age, died at home yesterday afer a heart attack.

Dr. Elicker, 73, lived at 5301 Carvel rd., Westmoreland Hills. He retired in 1959 as executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. He had held that position since 1940 after serving two years as principal of the Newton (Mass.) High School.

In 1953, on the occasion of a nationwide search for the brightest high school senior of the year, Dr. Elicker said, "If you have something that calls for memoriizng you can't beat a girl . . . But when it comes to reasoning, a boy will put it together and he will come up with something. The girls are afraid to take a chance."

Dr. Elicker is survived by his wife, Elsie M., and a son, Paul H., of Stamford, Conn.

I include at this point in the RECORD the obituary from the Washington Evening Star of September 16, 1967:

PAUL E. ELICKER, 73, OFFICER OF PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION

Paul E. Elicker, 73, executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals for almost 20 years, died Thursday of a stroke at his home, 5301 Carvel Road, Westmoreland Hills, Md.

Mr. Elicker was principal of the Newton, Mass., high school for eight years before he took the principals' association post in 1940 and came to Washington. After his retirement in 1959 he wrote a book, "The Administration of Junior and Senior High Schools," published in 1964.

A native of York, Pa., he held a bachelor's degree from Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.; a master's from Columbia University, a master in education from Harvard, and a doctor of science degree in mathematics from Boston University. Ursinus College awarded him an honorary doctor of law degree in 1956.

In 1958, he was the chairman of the U.S. delegation on education to the NATO conference.

Mr. Elicker was a member of the Knights of the Round Table here and of the Westmoreland Congregational Church.

He leaves his wife, Elsie; a son, Paul H., vice president of finance for SCM Corp., of Stamford, Conn.; two grandchildren, and a brother, George, of York.

Memorial services are scheduled for today, 2:30 p.m. at the Westmoreland Congregational Church, Massachusetts and Western Avenues NW. Burial will be Monday in York.

The family requests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Paul E. Elicker Scholarship Fund, in care of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Fort Martin Power Station Dedication Was Significant West Virginia Event in 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, a truly significant event in West Virginia during 1967 was the official dedication on October 19 of the Fort Martin Power Station, which has the distinction of having the two largest cooling towers in the world.

The station, located on the Monongahela River about a half mile south of the West Virginia-Pennsylvania border, will have a capacity to produce 1,080,000 kilowatts of electricity from West Virginia coal. The first unit, with one of the 370-foot cooling towers in operation, was producing at the rate of 540,000 kilowatts on the October 19, 1967, dedication day. The second unit, a twin of the first, is still under construction and is scheduled for completion in October of 1968.

Lee C. White, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, was the speaker at the dedication luncheon in a tent pitched beneath the second unit cooling tower. More than 400 guests were present to hear J. Lee Rice, chairman of the board of the Allegheny Power System, Inc., declare the Fort Martin Power Station "dedicated to the service of electricity and to the customers of its owners," and he added:

> May Fort Martin, which once served as a frontier outpost to a young and adventurous nation, now serve to enrich the quality of life of those who will use its kilowatt-hours.

The Fort Martin Power Station property includes the site of a fort of that name erected in 1769 as a defense against Indian attacks.

The new power station is jointly owned by the three operating companies of the Allegheny Power System, Inc.—Monongahela Power, with its general offices in Fairmont, W. Va.; West Penn, with general offices in Greensburg, Pa.; and the Potomac Edison Co., with general offices in Hagerstown, Md.—and by the Duquesne Light Co. of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Ground breaking for the power station was held September 11, 1964, and it was my privilege to have participated in both that event and in the October 19, 1967, dedication.

During the construction period, 600 to 1,100 construction workers were employed. The first unit was sufficiently completed by May 30, 1967, to begin the breaking-in period of its giant turbine.

The station, when both units are in full operation, will use annually 3 million tons of coal produced in nearby West Virginia coal mines and thus assure year-around employment to 500 miners.

As of the date of the Fort Martin dedication, 5 years had passed since 18 investor-owned electric companies in the Mid-Atlantic area announced initial plans for a $350 million coordinated mine-mouth power station and extra-high-voltage transmission construction program in November 1962. The major elements in the program are:

First, 15 miles of 500,000-volt transmission line between Ohio Power Co.'s Kammer Power Station at Captina, W. Va., south of Wheeling, and the Pennsylvania border, being built by Ohio Power Co., an operating unit of the American Electric Power System;

Second, 35 miles of 500,000-volt transmission line being built by West Penn Power Co. between the Pennsylvania border and the new Fort Martin Power Station;

Third, the Fort Martin Power Station, just south of the Pennsylvania-West Virginia border along the west bank of the Monongahela River near Point Marion, Pa., being built by Allegheny power system companies and Duquesne Light Co., and to be operated by Monongahela Power Co.;

Fourth, 75 miles of 500,000-volt line being built by West Penn Power Co., between Fort Martin Station and the new Keystone Power Station;

Fifth, about 200 miles of 500,000-volt line east from Fort Martin Station to the eastern service area of Potomac Edison Co., in Maryland and northern Virginia, and the northern service area of Virginia Electric & Power Co., being built by those two companies and Monongahela Power Co.

Sixth, the Keystone Power Station, near Elderton on the eastern edge of Armstrong County, Pa., being built by eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland electric companies; and

Seventh, 525 miles of 500,000-volt line east from Keystone Station, one line of 225 miles to the Philadelphia area, and one of 300 miles to northern new Jersey and the New York metropolitan area, being built by Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland electric companies.

In addition to the Fort Martin and Keystone Power Stations, a total of about 1,000 miles of extra-high-voltage powerlines is involved.

Mr. President, Philip A. Fleger, chairman of the board of the Duquesne Light Co., one of the coowners of the Fort Martin Rower Station, introduced Federal Power Commission Chairman White. Mr. Fleger noted that—

> The Fort Martin Station represents another major step in a long history of interconnection and pooling, dating back to the early twenties, between the Allegheny power system and the Duquesne Light Co. and betwen other companies in the electric utility industry. . . . Today, there is hardly a major electric utility system in the United States that is not a member of at least one of the large interconnected regional systems that extend from border to border and from coast to coast. . . . Fort Martin is one of many such facilities being installed.

Mr. President, the Fort Martin Power Station is situated within the Second Congressional District of West Virginia, which was the district I was privileged to represent 14 years when a Member of the House of Representatives. The present Representative of the district, the Honorable Harley O. Staggers, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, will be in his 20th consecutive year of distinguished service when the second session of the 90th Congress convenes. Important business before his committee prevented Representative Staggers from being present for the dedication, but he sent a timely and cogent message which I ask unanimous consent to have printed, in part, in the Appendix of the Record, along with excerpts from the address by Federal Power Commission Chairman Lee White.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Message by Representative Harley O. Staggers, of West Virginia, to Fort Martin Power Station Dedication, Morgantown, W. Va., October 19, 1967

On September 11, 1964, a number of the people assembled here today met on approximately this spot to participate in a groundbreaking ceremony. That was a day of anticipation and hope. Some of the builders of this Nation's industrial empire had a dream of a new power plant designed to feed the power-hungry northeast quadrant of the country. The planning stage of the project had already been completed. The designs were already on paper. The money to execute the job was in sight. The skilled workmen who could fashion a variety of materials into a practical operating plant were known to be available.

Today, a little more than three years later, anticipation has been turned into realization. An empty field is now the site from which more than a million kilowatts of energy move out over wires to satisfy the needs of millions of our fellow citizens.

This day brings varied feelings and emotions to those of us who have had some interest or who have actually participated in the project.

To the citizens of this State, and especially of this community, the completion of this project means one more step toward the much-desired industrialization of an area which needs it badly. It means jobs for local workmen, demand for local coal, money in the pockets of merchants and service industries.

To the powerful industry which has built and which will operate this plant, the completion of this project means that it will begin to get some return on its investment. To me, one of the most interesting and thought-provoking things about this whole matter is the apparent ease with which money may be obtained to invest in promising projects. It is both a cause and a result. Because our Nation is rich, we have money to invest. Because we invest money, we grow richer and more powerful. But we would not invest, and would not pile up wealth, if there was not widespread faith in the integrity and in the stability of a benevolent government.

Someone said that money once meant power and influence and arrogance and leisure and luxury; but today it most frequently means education and medicine and productive enterprises and jobs and human compassion. This plant is a conspicuous example of the dedication of the ten talents with which this nation was endowed to constructive purposes, and I congratulate the managers and owners of this plant on their humanistic impulses no less than on their business enterprise and vision.

There is one other sentiment that may be present in all of us. The use of the electric current is a practice that has developed within the lifetime of many of us. Most of us have no great understanding of it, except that we can push a button and get instant light and heat and power. When we are confronted with the machines and instruments involved in its production and distribution, we can only stand before them in awe and wonderment. We understand that man has acquired enough wisdom to utilize the laws of nature to accomplish purposes useful to himself. God has blessed us with immense resources if we only have faith enough in Him to follow the way which He has pointed out. So, in order to indicate something of the awe which this machinery holds for me, I quote a few lines from a religious song which has become popular:

"O Lord, my God, when I in awesome wonder,
Consider all the works Thy hands have made,
I see the Stars. I hear the mighty thunder,
Thy power throughout the universe displayed,

Then sings my soul, my Saviour God to Thee,
How great Thou art, how great Thou art."

Excerpts From Remarks of Lee C. White, Chairman, Federal Power Commission, at the Dedication of the Fort Martin Generating Station, Morgantown, W. Va., October 19, 1967

One of the more pleasant aspects of being Chairman of the Federal Power Commission is that occasionally I am invited to dedication ceremonies such as this and have an opportunity to see firsthand the tremendous advances which the electric power industry is making in the technology of power generation and transmission. Of course, as one of my colleagues pointed out to me, attending dedications could get to be a full-time job, for in order to meet the nation's rapidly expanding power needs, 1,500 generating stations the size of this one would have to be built between now and the end of the century. Fortunately, my term will expire before then, but the Fort Martin plant is unique in many respects and I am happy to represent the Federal Power Commission on this occasion.

Electric power is one of the nation's fundamental needs and its abundance in the United States is a significant contributing factor to our high standard of living. I am sure it will come as no surprise to you that our country leads the world in the consumption of electricity, producing more than one-third of the total while having only six percent of the world's population. Our annual per capita use of electricity is more than nine times the average for the rest of the world.

Aside from supplying a large part of the energy that runs the nation's industrial complex and brings convenience and comfort into our homes, the electric power industry makes significant contributions to the nation's economy. For example, the industry has revenues of about $17 billion a year and spends $7 billion annually on construction. Moreover, it employs nearly 450,000 people and pays out roughly $4 billion in salaries yearly.

I am sure you are well aware of the contribution which the Fort Martin Generating Plant which we dedicated today will make toward the economy and well-being of this region. I understand that about $125 million will be expended in its construction and that more than 500 people have been employed at one time or another during its construction. The plant will be fueled with the vast resources of high-grade coal which will be carried by barge from deep mines only five miles upstream. It is estimated that close to three million tons of this coal will be consumed annually, thus contributing millions of dollars and many jobs to the local economy.

Due to its proximity to the coal fields and the efficiency of its supercritical pressure boilers it is estimated that the station's fuel costs—about 15 cents per million Btu—will be among the lowest in the nation. Here is a plant whose two units when completed next year will be able to produce more than a million kilowatts of power which can be transmitted to points several hundred miles away over 500-kv transmission lines. This is enough to supply one million of the two and one-half million people in the Allegheny service area. For these and other reasons, I believe it is obvious that the Fort Martin Generating Station will help promote the economy of Appalachia.

There are a few rather advanced and unique features of this facility which should be noted. The location of the plant in the heart of the mine fields many miles from the load centers it will serve, for example, has been made possible by recent advances in the technology of power transmission. In earlier days generating stations had to be situated close to the load centers because it was too expensive and inefficient to transmit power over long distances. However, through the new technology of extra-high-voltage transmission it is now possible to transmit large blocks of power great distances at relatively low cost. When this factor combined with the increases in costs of fuel transportation over the last few decades, it was natural that the concept of "mine-mouth" plants would be developed, thereby not only minimizing fuel costs but permitting realization of the additional economies which result from the construction of large rather than small generating plants.

The 500-kilovolt lines with which the Fort Martin lines will connect will be part of a giant interstate grid tying together separate systems in a five-state area (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and West Virginia) with extensions into other states. These 500-kilovolt lines are the highest voltage lines presently in existence in the United States, but the American Electric Power Company has recently announced plans for construction of a 765-kilovolt EHV project scheduled to go into operation in stages between February 1969 and June 1972. In addition the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie now under construction which will involve both 500-kilovolt a-c lines and 750-kilovolt d-c lines.

As you know, in the past few years there has been much public attention focused on matters such as air and water pollution, aesthetics and natural beauty, and it appears that the public is no longer willing to tolerate undesirable intrusions in our environment in the name of technological progress. These things, therefore, have become of increasing importance to the utility industry in the planning and operation of power facilities. For example, it is clear that even though this plant is not located in the heart of a metropolitan area that consideration has been given to the problems of air and water pollution. Its 550-foot discharge stacks are equipped with highly efficient electrostatic precipitators designed after extensive wind tunnel tests. Also, in order to meet its needs for a large amount of water to cool the boilers without adversely affecting the ecology and fish life of the Monongahela River, a relatively new type of recycling cooling tower has been installed. I understand this is only the third installation in the United States of the hyperbolic, natural-draft type towers, either built or well along in construction; the other two being at the existing Big Sandy plant on the American Electric Power System and the Keystone Plant, being built by three members of the PJM pool, whose output will also be transmitted over the EHV lines I mentioned earlier.

As you may know, the FPC has broad responsibilities with respect to the electric power industry. On a regulatory level, we fix interstate wholesale power rates and establish uniform accounting and reporting procedures. In addition we have licensing authority and other responsibility with respect to hydroelectric facilities. But over and above these regulatory responsibilities the Commission is charged with a broad mandate under Section 202(a) of the Federal Power Act to assure "an abundant supply of electric energy throughout the United States with the greatest possible economy and with regard to the proper utilization and conservation of natural resources". This assignment to provide for the best possible allocation of resources has become one of the Commission's most significant functions.

You will recall the massive power failure of November 9–10, 1965, which blacked out most of the Northeastern United States and parts of Canada and, more recently, the PJM failure of June 5, 1967, which affected eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Maryland-Delaware peninsula. These and similar events in other parts of the United States have served to emphasize the great public interest in a reliable power system.

Investigations which the Commission, in cooperation with the industry, has undertaken in the past year and one-half have revealed much useful information about the adequacy of our interconnected grids. First of all they confirmed what we already knew, that the United States has the most reliable and well-run power system in the world. But with the experience of the Northeast Blackout behind us, we were not willing to stop there. What causes cascading power failures? How can they be prevented? What steps should be taken to minimize their impact when they do occur? These were the questions to which we sought answers, and, I think, with some success. The reports of the Commission and its industry advisory committee on power failures which were published last July contain many useful recommendations which, if acted upon, should materially enhance the reliability of the nation's bulk power supply. It is fair to say there is not complete unanimity on how to best accomplish this objective but all segments of the power industry and interested government agencies are firmly committed to its realization.

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I would note in passing that the creation last January of the East Central Area Reliability Coordination Agreement of which the Allegheny Power System is a participant, is an encouraging development which hopefully will result in increased cooperation and coordination among all utilities in this region.

* * * * *

In closing, I want to express the thanks of the Federal Power Commission for the help that the Allegheny Power System gave us during preparation of our National Power Survey and is now continuing to provide in the updating of the work.

* * * * *

I want to thank you for giving me this opportunity to be with you today and to share my thoughts with you on some of the significant challenges facing the electric power industry.

No Man Is Above the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "No Man Is Above the Law," by Dean Joseph O'Meara, of the Notre Dame Law School. The article appeared in the December 1967 American Bar Association Journal.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD as follows:

NO MAN IS ABOVE THE LAW

(NOTE.—In this article, Dean O'Meara declares that Stokely Carmichael and others like him should be prosecuted for counseling young men to refuse to bear arms in violation of two sections of the United States Code. To support his contention he compares some of Carmichael's recent utterances with those for which the defendant was punished in the landmark case of *Schenck* v. *United States*.)

(By Joseph O'Meara, dean of the Notre Dame Law School)

"No man is above the law and no man is below it"[1]—this was Theodore Roosevelt's magnificent capsule statement of the rule of law which served as the theme for Law Day 1967. Far more eloquent, however, is John Courtney Murray's expression of the meaning, the intent and the effect of the rule of law. "Western man", Father Murray says, "has sought in the idea of law a manifold redemption—from the arbitrary despotisms of uncontrolled power; from the threat or fact of injustice to his person and to his property; from dispossession of his human and his civil rights; from the degradation that ensues upon social inequalities destructive of his personal significance and worth . . . from the disruption of life by the irrational forces of passion, caprice, and chance that militate against the 'life of expectability,' . . . that is guaranteed by the rule of law."[2]

What would happen to these values, so highly prized by us, if Communist aggressors should carry the day? We are locked in mortal combat with them at this moment—in Vietnam. There, in that hot and distant land, we are waging an escalating war, a war that is horrible and tragic as all wars always have been.[3]

Why are we fighting a war in that faraway corner of the earth?[4] First of all, because we have made commitments, which have been and are being relied on; because we are not and cannot afford to become welshers.

We are fighting that war, moreover, to preserve the rule of law and the values it protects.

We are fighting that war, finally, as a matter of self-preservation. If we do not stop Communist aggression in Vietnam, where shall we stop it? After the Reds have engulfed or neutralized Indonesia? Overwhelmed the Philippines? Reduced or isolated Japan? Established a beachhead in Australia? Or shall we wait until they have landed in Central America or Mexico?

To stop the Communist aggressors *now*, while they are still far from our own shores, American men are dying in Vietnam; Ameri-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

can women are losing their sons, husbands and sweethearts. At the same time there are many in this country who are fighting another and different war, a war against what is called our "involvement" in Vietnam. Some of these are motivated by strongly held moral principles. They are entitled to respect, and nothing I shall say is directed against them. To a considerable extent, however, I am persuaded that the objectors are either Communists[5] or cowards, or they are persons of large good will but little insight who have been euchred into being stooges,[6] or persons who are seeking some end of their own (ambition, revenge or whatever) at the expense of their country.

To be specific I am referring to Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and others like them. Such persons are doing a disservice to the cause of civil rights by seeking to link the civil rights movement with their efforts to persuade young men to avoid military service.[7] Like other malefactors, they should be prosecuted. And that goes for anyone else—white or black—who is urging young men to "become" conscientious objectors—a vicious absurdity, which is nothing less than urging them to become hypocrites and perjurers. These men should be prosecuted, I repeat, and there is no excuse for not doing so. As the record shows, I profoundly believe that no man should be discriminated against because of his color. I am equally convinced that no man should be protected by his color.

What I have said may be denied indignantly. But the men I have named and others like them let the cat out of the bag. They give themselves away. For never once do they condemn the terrorist tactics of the North Vietnamese. Never once do they condemn Hanoi's rejection of all peace proposals, not only those put forward by the Administration but also those advanced by neutral powers, by the Secretary General of the United Nations and by the Vatican. Never once do they lament the suffering and death borne by our forces in Vietnam. These men weep only for the enemy.

Let them criticize, protest and condemn to their heart's content. To do so is their privilege under the First Amendment. But let it be understood that the Constitution gives no right to obstruct the war effort, as by attempting to persuade young men to refuse to bear arms for their country. Such attempts are a violation of two sections of the United States Code, namely, Title 18, Section 2388 and Title 50, Section 462, which provide as follows:

Title 18, Section 2388(a): "Whoever, when the United States is at war, willfully causes or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or willfully obstructs the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or the United States, or attempts to do so—

"Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both."

SCHENCK

In impassioned language it [*i.e.*, a circular distributed by the accused] intimated that conscription was despotism in its worst form and a monstrous wrong against humanity in the interest of Wall Street's chosen few. It said "Do not submit to intimidation," but in form at least confined itself to peaceful measures such as a petition for the repeal of the act. The other and later printed side of the sheet was headed "Assert Your Rights." It stated reasons for alleging that any one violated the Constitution when he refused to recognize "your right to assert your opposition to the draft," and went on "If you do not assert and support your rights, you are helping to deny or disparage rights which it is the solemn duty of all citizens and residents of the United States to retain." It described the arguments on the other side as coming from cunning politicians and a mercenary capitalist press, and even silent consent to the conscription law as helping to support an infamous conspiracy. It denied the power to send our citizens away to foreign shores to shoot up the people of other lands, and added that words could not express the condemnation such cold-blooded ruthlessness deserves, &c., &c., winding up "You must do your share to maintain, support and uphold the rights of the people of this country."

MILLER

Defendant, Lucille S. Miller, was convicted in July, 1955, on all eighteen counts of an indictment charging her with knowingly counseling nine named persons to refuse to comply with certain provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, in violation of 50 U.S.C. App. § 462 (a).

CARMICHAEL

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee took a stand against [the Vietnam] war in 1965 because it is a brutal and racist war. We took our stand because we oppose the drafting of young Afro-Americans to defend a so-called democracy which they do not find at home. We took that stand because this war forms part and parcel of an American foreign policy which has repeatedly sought to impose the status quo, by force, on colored peoples struggling for liberation from tyranny and poverty. Only the white powers of the West will deny that this is a racist war. When the colored peoples of the world look at that war, they see just one thing. For them, the U.S. military in Vietnam represents international white supremacy.

* * * * *

We have not only a right to speak out—we have an obligation. We must be involved, we must fight racism in all its manifestations. There is another America, and it is an ugly one. It is an America whose basic policy at home and abroad can only be called genocide.

* * * * *

We must speak out more strongly against the draft. Our position on the draft is very simple: Hell no, we ain't going. The draft takes the enslaved black youth of this society and uses them to support enslavement abroad. The draft is white people sending black people to make war on yellow people in order to defend the land they stole from red people.[8]

Title 50, Section 462(a): "Any member of the Selective Service System or any other person . . . who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title . . . shall, upon conviction in any district court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or both such fine and imprisonment."

Section 2388 is in full force and effect by virtue of Section 2391 of Title 18.[9] An examination of the relevant materials discloses that the national emergency referred to in Section 2391 has not been terminated.[10]

But is it true that these statutes, in fact, have been violated by Messrs. King and Carmichael and others like them? The Department of Justice appears to believe that no violation has occurred. To show that the department is mistaken, I shall take up, for now, only the case of Stokely Carmichael.

Consider some of Carmichael's recent utterances. Compare them with the language for which the defendants were convicted in *Schenck* v. *United States*[11] and *United States* v. *Miller*.[12]

To facilitate the comparison, I set out in Table I, side by side, the relevant language from *Schenck* (as described by Mr. Justice Holmes at page 51) and *Miller*, and one of Carmichael's incendiary outbursts (as quoted in the April 22, 1967 issue of *The National Guardian*, published by Weekly Guardian Associates, 197 East Fourth Street, New York City).

What is there about Carmichael's inflammatory statements that is so different from the language for which Schenck and Miller were punished? Why is Carmichael entitled to an immunity that was denied to them? In point of fact, I submit that Carmichael's language is more violent, more provocative, more likely to inflame young men against conscription and to defy the draft than the statements made by Schenck and Miller.

In *Schenck* Mr. Justice Holmes, writing for the Court, which included Mr. Justice Brendeis, said that (page 52):

"The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

In a *per curiam* opinion in *Miller*, the Court said (at page 172) that defendant's ". . . constitutional objections have been met by the overwhelming weight of well-settled and unanimous authority. . . . Congress in fulfillment of its constitutional duty has enacted this legislation to provide for the national security; that defendant disapproves the Congressional action and has frequently and vehemently stated her position on this and other matters of public importance lends no weight to the validity of her arguments, which are without legal merit. Like the conviction of her husband this day affirmed . . . this is a sad case where self-delusion has carried defendant to the point where she apparently believes her own warped ideas of patriotism, interlarded with distressing racial, religious, and political biases, can justify her in the crudest of law violations."

Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out in *Gitlow* v. *New York*[13] (Brandeis concurring), as he had in *Schenck*, at page 52 that:

"The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree."

And in *Schaefer* v. *United States*,[14] Mr. Justice Brandeis (Holmes concurring) quoted exactly the same languague from *Schenck* which Holmes had quoted in *Gitlow*.

So the question is: What are the circumstances, that is to say, in what conditions did Carmichael speak, since it is essential to consider his fiery utterances in context. Stokely Carmichael is a firebrand, a militant, a violent character. He seems to breed riots; they follow in his train. This is understandable in view of the inflammatory nature of his speeches as reported on the radio and in the press. Thus in Louisville (according to the *Courier-Journal* for June 20, 1967, at page A-11) he proclamed: "It's not a question of law and order. We have to build a revolution. . . ."

The South Bend Tribune of June 22, 1967 (page 17) carries the following UPI dispatch from Atlanta:

Footnotes at end of speech.

"Atlanta's racial troubles began Monday night following a speech by Carmichael in which he:

"Urged Negroes to join a 'revolution' against whites;

"Told the audience not to clap . . . to save their energy for 'beating heads.' "

And, according to both ABC and CBS radio broadcasts on June 26, 1967, Carmichael, in Boston, suggested bombing stores owned by white merchants as a means of acquiring them for Negroes. An AP dispatch from the scene (according to *The South Bend Tribune* for June 26, 1967, at page 7) reads, in part, as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael led a march through the streets of Boston's heavily Negro Roxbury section Sunday and told Negroes they must take control of the land and stores in their areas.

" 'We will control things in our communities by any means necessary,' he told a rally in Franklin Park.

" 'If hunky (the white man) gets his store bombed out every Friday or Saturday,' Carmichael said, 'he's going to have to sell it to us.'

"He also told the crowd that the only way to stop 'racist aggression' by police 'is by armed resistance.' "

Finally, *The South Bend Tribune* for July 26, 1967, at page 9, carried the following AP dispatch from Havana:

"Stokely Carmichael says Negroes in American cities are going to wage a guerrilla 'fight to the death,' the Cuban news agency reported Tuesday as the U.S. black power leader arrived in Havana for a revolutionary conference.

"The Prensa Latina agency quoted the fiery 26-year-old Negro as saying: 'In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to be a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death.' "

If you have heard him on radio, you know that his language is so impassioned that he sometimes becomes almost incoherent. And he speaks to restless young Negroes, many, if not most, of draft age, who idolize him. The remarks I have quoted above from *The National Guardian* must be judged in this context. And their effectiveness, at least according to a column in the April 23, 1967, issue of *The Daily Worker* (page 9) is obvious:

"Led by Stokely Carmichael and marching behind the banner of the Black United Action Front, coordinating committee for the peace marchers in Harlem, the parade evoked sympathetic comments from many onlookers.

"Carmichael was besieged particularly by young Harlemites who eagerly shook his hand. A number asked for his autograph."

"THEME

"The theme of the marchers, 'Hell no; we won't go!', won the greatest response along the line of march, especially from draft-age youth. And it was evident from the determined expression on many faces that for many it was not just a march slogan.

"A rhythmic chant taken up repeatedly by the marchers seemed to express the mood of large numbers of onlookers.

"It was:

" 'We'll fight in Mississippi, in Watts, in Birmingham, in Harelm, but not in Vietnam.' "

If *Schenck* is followed, it is obvious, I submit, that Stokely Carmichael is guilty of attempting to sabotage the draft and should be prosecuted without further delay. There are some, however, who suggest that the authority of *Schenck* was destroyed by *Abrams* v. *United States*,[15] *Schaefer* v. *United States*,[16] and *Pierce* v. *United States*[17] because Justice Holmes and Brandeis dissented in those cases.

They did not dissent, however, in *Frohwerk* v. *United States*[18] or in *Debs* v. *United States*.[19] Like *Schenck* these were prosecutions under the Espionage Act of 1917. In *Frohwerk* the defendants were found guilty on the basis of articles in a newspaper they published. In *Debs* the basis of conviction was a speech the defendant had made. In both cases the convictions were affirmed by the Supreme Court and in both Mr. Justice Holmes wrote for a unanimous Court.

The authority of *Schenck* is supported, moreover, by *Gitlow* v. *New York*[20] and *Whitney* v. *California*.[21] In *Gitlow*, Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissented, as in *Abrams*, *Schaefer* and *Pierce*. In *Whitney* the same Justices concurred in the Court's judgment, which affirmed a conviction under the California Criminal Syndicalism Act, this time in an opinion by Mr. Justice Brandeis. In both cases, however, they cited and relied on *Schenck*. Indeed, in *Abrams* Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for Mr. Justice Brandeis as well as himself, affirmed his faith in *Schenck*.,

Those who brush aside the *Schenck* case argue that the Universal Military Training and Service Act (Title 50, U.S.C. App. § 462 (a)) is violated only by attempting to persuade specific persons to evade their duty under that act. There are only a few judicial decisions involving Title 50, U.S.C. App. § 462 (a), *e.g.*, *Gara* v. *United States*[22] and *United States* v. *Miller*.[23] Each involved the proscribed "counseling and aiding and abetting" in respect of specified individuals. But I find nothing in the opinion in either case suggesting the decision turned on that fact. In *Gara* the contrary is explicitly stated. This is demonstrated by the following excerpts from the opinion at pages 40–42. A letter written by the defendant to the United States Attorney in Toledo contained the following:

"Appellant also signed a pledge in 1948, stating, 'I shall in every way possible assist and support Non-registrants.' Evidence was presented to the effect that at a meeting held in Reading, Pennsylvania on August 25, 1948, he advocated that men of draft age refuse to register under the Selective Service Act of 1948, and later stated, 'In making this speech I intended to violate the Selective Service Act.' [Page 40.]

* * * * *

"Here appellant admits that he agreed in every way possible to assist and support non-registrants. At an open meeting he advocated refusal to register. His repeated letters state that he counseled men of draft age to refuse registration. Such actions, if carried out extensively, might well nullify the law. Appellant may attack the Selective Service Act of 1948 from every platform in America with impunity, but he cannot, under the guise of free speech, nullify it by disobedience to its express provisions [pages 41–42]."

I want no misunderstanding of my position. The record shows, as I said earlier in this paper, that "I profoundly believe that no man should be discriminated against because of his color. I am equally convinced that no man should be protected by his color." As I see it, Carmichael *is* being protected by his color. This immunity, tacitly granted for *that* reason to a demagogue who is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, seems to me intolerable.

"No man is above the law and no man is below it"—no man is below the law and *no man is above it*.

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[1] 38 CONG. REC. 3 (1903).

[2] MURRAY, WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS 155 (1960).

[3] The legality of the war was affirmed by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association in February of 1966. The resolution was published in the April, 1966, issue of the JOURNAL (52 A.B.A.J. 392–393).

[4] *Cf.* columnist Roscoe Drummond as reported in The South Bend Tribune for September 14, 1967, at page 12: ". . . The basic premise of the U.S. defense of South Vietnam was set out by President Eisenhower as early as 1953. It was that it is vital to the national interest of the Untied States to arrest further Communist expansion-by-force in Asia following the Korean war. This was the position of the Eisenhower administration, of the Kennedy administration and is that of the Johnson administration."

[5] Secretary of State Dean Rusk, commenting on "Vietnam Week", is quoted by the New York Times for April 17, 1967, as saying: "I have no doubt at all that the Communist apparatus is very busy indeed in these operations all over the world and in our own country. I do not mean to say that all those who have objections to the war in Vietnam are Communists. But the worldwide Communist movement is working very hard on this."

[6] Many of them, unhappily, are teaching in our colleges and universities.

[7] This is the official position of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See the New York Times for July 16, 1967, page 1, column 7.

[8] See also the New York Times for May 2, 1967, at page 11, column 1.

[9] "The provisions of section 2388 of this title, as amended and extended by section 1 (a) (29) of the Emergency Powers Continuation Act (66 Stat. 333), as further amended by Public Law 12, Eighty-third Congress, in addition to coming into full force and effect in time of war shall remain in full force and effect until six months after the termination of the national emergency proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950 (Proc. 2912, 3 C.F.R., 1950 Supp., p. 71), or such earlier date as may be prescribed by concurrent resolution of the Congress, and acts which would give rise to legal consequences and penalties under section 2388 when performed during a state of war shall give rise to the same legal consequences and penalties when they are performed during the period above provided for. (Added June 30, 1953, ch. 175, § 6, 67 Stat. 134.)"

[10] This has been verified by the National Archives and Records Service in Washington.

[11] 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

[12] 233 F. 2d 171 (2d Cir. 1956).

[13] 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

[14] 251 U.S. 466 (1920).

[15] 250 U.S. 616 (1919).

[16] 251 U.S. 466 (1920).

[17] 252 U.S. 239 (1920).

[18] 249 U.S. 204 (1919).

[19] 249 U.S. 211 (1919).

[20] 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

[21] 274 U.S. 357 (1927).

[22] 178 F. 2d 38 (6th Cir. 1949), *aff'd without opinion*, 340 U.S. 857 (1950), *rehearing denied*, 340 U.S. 893 (1950).

[23] 233 F. 2d 171 (2d Cir. 1956).

Servicemen Killed in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Cpl. Ronald L. Kesling, a marine from Towson, Md., and Sp4c. George Binko, a paratrooper from Baltimore, Md., were recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of these young men and to honor their memory by including the following article in the Record:

Towson Marine, City GI Killed: Leatherneck, 20, Was Shot in Viet Ambush—Paratrooper Died on Training Mission

A 20-year-old Towson marine and a 21-year-old Baltimore paratrooper were killed in Vietnam Wednesday the Defense Department has announced.

The marine, Cpl. Ronald L. Kesling, was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Kesling, of 500 Fairmont avenue.

Mr. Kesling said his son, a graduate of Towson Senior High School, was to have returned home in two weeks after a year in Vietnam.

IN VIETNAM 2 WEEKS

The paratrooper, Spec. 4 George Binko, was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Binko, of 1929 Bank Street. He had been in Vietnam only two weeks.

Mrs. Jennie Wilmowicz, a friend of the Binko family, said Specialist Binko had been born in Germany after World War II when his parents were held in a Nazi forced-labor camp for Poles.

Translating for Mr. and Mrs. Binko, Mrs. Wilmowicz said Specialist Binko had enlisted in 1966 as soon as he graduated from Mergenthaler High School, had become a United States citizen while serving in the Army and "had volunteered for everything because he was so proud of his country."

Mr. Kesling said his son had been born in Buckhannon, W. Va., and had moved to Towson with his family six years ago.

"He was a one-man rocket launching team. He was trained as a demolition expert," Mr. Kesling said.

He said Marine officers told the family Corporal Kesling was killed by rifle fire "in a sneak attack, in an ambush" near Quang Tri.

He had been attached to the 1st Platoon of K Company, 3d Battalion, 1st Marine Division.

Corporal Kesling enlisted in June, 1966, soon after graduating from Towson Senior High.

After his enlistment, Corporal Kesling trained at Parris Island, S.C., and at Camp Lejeune, N.C. He left for the West Coast on Christmas Day, 1966.

DIES DURING TRAINING

Specialist Binko was attached to A Company, 502d Battle Group, 101st Airborne Division.

He was a radio operator when he was killed on a training mission Wednesday.

He trained at Fort Bragg, before going overseas.

SURVIVED BY TWO BROTHERS

Besides his father, a construction foreman and his mother, Corporal Kesling is survived by two brothers, Thomas P. and Michael L. Kesling; and four sisters, Mrs. Barbara A. Hopkins, Mrs. Mary P. Turnbaugh, Miss Caroline S. and Miss Louis A. Kesling, all of the Baltimore area.

Specialist Binko is survived by his father, a hospital maintenance engineer, his mother, a brother, Stanley M. Binko, and a sister, Miss Helena Binko, all of Baltimore.

Activities of First Session of 90th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, set forth below is the text of a newsletter which relates to activities during the first session of the 90th Congress:

Six New Senate Faces

Awaiting the opening of the second session of the 90th Congress are six freshmen senators who made their presence felt during the long session which recently adjourned.

Senator Brooke of Massachusetts is 47 and the former attorney general of his state. He is the first Negro to be elected to the Senate since Reconstruction. A decorated infantry officer in World War II, he joined with Italian partisans to fight behind enemy lines.

Senator Griffin, 44, of Michigan, co-authored the Landrum-Griffin Act and was a veteran legislator with nearly 10 years service in the U.S. House of Representatives before coming to the Senate in 1966.

Senator Percy of Illinois came to the Senate at age 47 after a brilliant career in the business world. He was president of Bell & Howell Company at 29, youngest man ever to head a major U.S. corporation.

Senator Hatfield, 45, of Oregon, has an unbroken string of elections to public office dating back to 1950, when he ran for the state legislature. He served eight years as governor of his state before moving to the Senate.

Senator Hansen of Wyoming was governor before his election to the Senate. He is 55 and a successful rancher and cattleman. His great grandparents came to America from Denmark.

Senator Baker of Tennessee, is 42. He commanded a PC boat in the Pacific during World War II when he was 19. Both of his parents served in Congress, and he is the son-in-law of Minority Leader Everett Dirksen.

Local Law Enforcement: America's First Line of Defense

Credible law enforcement is our first line of defense. Without that, our rights as citizens can soon become meaningless.

As each month passes, our society is confronted with fresh evidence of an inability to provide law-abiding Americans with the basic protection against crime to which they are entitled.

In view of these alarming trends, and the critical nature of both police and fire protection, I believe that every possible effort must be exerted to encourage recruitment and retention of competent personnel in these two hazardous fields.

We cannot afford to be remiss in this vital public service, which most directly affects the health and well-being of our citizens.

Although the crime rate in the U.S. has been climbing seven times faster than the population, Congress took no significant action during the past session to assist local law enforcement agencies in the effort to combat this alarming trend.

In the large cities, police departments are not only undermanned but they are having trouble recruiting new personnel. In order to clarify and stabilize one federal policy that affects this problem, I introduced legislation to provide a statutory draft deferment for those who serve as policemen and firemen. As I see it, their jobs are as crucial to national security as the various categories of skilled workers who are automatically deferred.

The Alewife Menace

At one time Benjamin Franklin wryly observed that: "Fish and visitors smell in three days."

When visitors smell we are likely to grin and bear it; after all, tourism is the second most important industry in Michigan. But the smell of decaying fish we cannot stand—Before Senate Commerce Committee hearing.

At my suggestion, Job Corps trainees were quickly utilized to help clean away millions of dead alewife fish that had washed ashore on Great Lakes beaches last summer.

Obviously, a long range control program is needed. Legislation which I strongly advocate would give a significant boost to coho salmon and other sport fishing in the Great Lakes while restoring balance, at the same time, in the alewife population.

A Look at Detroit's Riot

From Watts to Newark to Detroit, a wave of violence has shaken a complacent America.

Each of the civil disorders, and the Detroit riot in particular, signaled a powerful reaction against authority.

It would be easy to focus our wrath upon outside militant fanatics. But we would miss the point and overlook the real problem if we fail to focus also upon the underlying conditions of mind and matter—which provide the climate and the kindling for chaos and violence—Before Michigan State Kiwanis Convention.

Crisis in the Ghetto

Government may be able to point the way toward a better society—but people will have to build it.

In attacking the problems of urban America, government cannot, and should not be expected to, carry the fight alone.

Both business and labor can play leading roles in creating job opportunities for the unskilled and the unemployed. Congress should provide tax credits to encourage such programs.

During the session just ended, Congress grappled again with the anti-poverty program but failed to adopt revisions which are needed, in my opinion, to stimulate maximum involvement by industry and the private sector of our society.

In the bill which passed, Congress actually took a step backward by shifting more control to the machine politicians and giving less voice to the poor.

There may be some in the ghetto who want more welfare. But I am convinced that most of those who live in the depressing slums of our cities want *opportunity*—opportunity for meaningful jobs that hold a promise for tomorrow.

They are not likely to be content with government handouts which take the form of "leaf-raking, makework" jobs that offer no dignity and no future.

In the session ahead I shall continue my efforts to win approval for the Human Investment Act, a legislative proposal which I have co-sponsored to encourage private industry, through tax incentives, to hire and train the hard core unemployed. It is encouraging to note that, even without such incentives, some civic-spirited Michigan companies have already taken bold steps in this direction.

If You're Visiting Washington

If you are plannng to visit the Nation's Capital, we suggest that you write us several weeks in advance. We will be glad to send you a number of sightseeing pamphlets and other information which will be helpful in scheduling your time. For example, we will include information concerning tours of the Capitol, the White House, the F.B.I., the Department of State and the Voice of America.

Gold Rush: Pressure on the Dollar

This is no time for buck-passing. The Johnson Administration and Congress must share responsibility for fiscal policy—and they must work together if Americans are to be spared the inflationary consequences of a $30 billion budget deficit.

British devaluation of the pound, the recent rush for gold and spiraling inflation at home should awaken all Americans to the urgency of putting our financial house in order.

Like Britain, the U.S. has been running deficits at home and abroad. Our gold stock has dwindled to less than $13 billion—a $10 *billion* loss over the past decade.

Although our assets are far greater than Britain's, the new mini-pound is tangible evidence that a nation cannot afford to live beyond its means indefinitely.

There is doubt that the proposed tax surcharge (to produce additional revenue of $6 billion) will be sufficient, by itself, to shore up needed confidence in the management of U.S. fiscal affairs. Many in Congress will continue to insist that substantial cuts in domestic spending are absolutely essential.

SOCIAL SECURITY: SENIOR CITIZENS GAIN

In the waning days of the 1967 session, Congress enacted broad social security increases for 23 million beneficiaries.

Some major features of the new bill are:

benefits will rise by an average 13%, effective in February, 1968;

the minimum monthly retirement payment, for single individuals, will increase from $44 to $55;

the average monthly benefit paid to a retired worker with an eligible wife now on the rolls will go up from $145 to $165;

the taxable wage base will be raised from $6,600 to $7,800;

the amount of annual outside income a recipient may earn without losing benefits is increased from $1,500 to $1,680.

Also included in the legislation is a provision aimed at speeding up the processing of retirement benefit checks. New procedures to accomplish this objective are scheduled to take effect next July.

The expedited payment provision results from legislation which I co-sponsored with Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.) earlier in the session. We hope it will help to overcome the widespread and long delays which countless Americans have encountered in the handling of their social security claims.

SPEAKING OUT ON THE ISSUES

(Excerpts from statements by Senator GRIFFIN in 1967)

AUTO SAFETY

Solving the problem of traffic safety involves far more than the vehicle itself. Indeed, if I had to single out just one factor—it would be the "nut attached to the steering wheel."

The automobile is, and will remain, a powerful instrument for pleasure and progress. But despite all the safety regulations, the automobile is—and will remain—a dangerous and lethal weapon in the hands of those who have no respect or concern for the rights of others.

WATER POLLUTION

America is slowly losing its fight to prevent pollution from ruining many of the Nation's 100,000 inland lakes.

When a beautiful lake turns into a swamp, resort areas become ghost towns and the property values that generate local taxes decline.

Unless an effective and practical program is undertaken to reverse this ominous pollution trend, a great many of the Nation's lakes are literally threatened with extinction.

The Federal government can and should help—particularly in the area of research. Preservation of our lakes is of paramount importance.

THE GREAT SOCIETY

I should like to suggest that a Great Society will not, and cannot, be the gift of government or of any politician. Indeed, it will never be a gift at all. Rather, it can only be the achievement of people; people who individually possess characteristics that are the essential ingredients of a great society: strength of character, dedication to a spirit of brotherhood, self-discipline, respect for law and order, and the willingness to work.

THE ECONOMY

Our underlying economic problem is the accelerating wage-price spiral which threatens inflation that is unacceptable—unacceptable from the standpoint of the consumer, and unacceptable from the standpoint of our balance of payments.

Domestic priorities must be established. Spending in some areas can be cut—or at least deferred.

When we have a half million young Americans fighting a war in Viet Nam that costs nearly $2½ billion a month, we can't afford a "business as usual" attitude here at home.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED BY SENATOR GRIFFIN IN THE 90TH CONGRESS—A CAPSULE SUMMARY

Below are some of the bills and resolutions introduced or co-sponsored by Senator Griffin during the 1967 session. A copy of any measure and more detailed information will be gladly supplied upon request.

S. 16, Viet Nam Era Veterans Act, authorizing benefits for Viet Nam veterans roughly comparable to those provided for WW II and Korean War veterans. (Enacted into law)

S. 47, establishes a second "Hoover Commission" of outstanding citizens, to make recommendations for the elimination of waste and duplication in the federal government.

S. 343, designates proposed new federal office building in Detroit as the "Patrick V. McNamara Building." (Enacted into law)

S. 734, Pollution Abatement Act, to provide limited tax incentive for industries which install anti-pollution equipment.

S. 812, Human Investment Act, to encourage private industry, through tax incentives, to hire and train the "hard core" unemployed.

S. 2356, Metric Study bill would direct Commerce Department to determine, on an industry-by-industry basis within U.S., the advantages and disadvantages of converting to metric system of weights and measures.

S. 2541, authorizes issuance of special postage stamp to commemorate 50th anniversary of independence of the Baltic States.

S. 2572, establishes Domestic Development Bank to help finance business projects in poverty areas where funds are not available.

S. 2573, establishes Economic Opportunity Corporation to encourage use of more resources of private enterprise in federal government's anti-poverty effort.

S. 2582, provides statutory draft deferment for policemen and firemen.

S. 2969, designates a lock under construction at Sault Ste. Marie to be named the "Father Marquette Lock."

S. 2705, requires Farmers Home Administration to recognize state health and safety standards under program providing grants and loans for rural water supply and waste disposal system.

S. 835, education Tax Credit, to give parents a tax break, up to $325 per student for costs of higher education.

S. 1236, Revenue Sharing Act, to return a share of federal tax revenues to state and local units of governments.

S. 1353, would abolish NLRB and establish a 15-judge U.S. Labor Court in its place.

S. 1455, to restructure financial base of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation to prevent toll increase.

S. 1592, establishes National Home Ownership Foundation, to provide opportunities for low-income families, particularly in ghettos, to buy homes.

S. 1611, requires Congress to approve the total of all spending bills each year before any one of them goes into effect.

S. 1954, establishes procedure to reduce red-tape and delays in the processing of routine claims for social security benefits. (Enacted into law)

S. 2123, to establish a comprehensive program for combating the alewife menace in the Great Lakes.

S.J. Res. 66, establishes Joint Congressional Committee to recommend improvements in laws relating to industrywide bargaining, strikes and lockouts.

S. Res. 83, expresses strong U.S. support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

S. Res. 123, expresses opposition to proposed taxation of social security and railroad retirement benefits.

S. Res. 143, emphasizes importance of peace and stability in the Middle East, and the interest of the United States therein.

S. Res. 146, to establish Select Committee on Civil Disorder to investigate problems relating to urban riots. (Presidential Commission was established.)

S. Res. 155, encourages construction of nuclear desalting plants in the Middle East to help promote peace and cooperation among the nations of the area. (Adopted by Senate)

S. Res. 180, urges President to take appropriate steps to bring the Viet Nam issue before the U.N. Security Council. (Adopted by Senate)

Veterans Pension Benefits H.R. 12555

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on December 15, 1967, the House of Representatives passed the bill H.R. 12555, to amend the income limitation provision for veterans and widows of veterans receiving non-service-connected disability pensions and to increase the rate of non-service-connected pensions.

This bill offers greater protection for every veteran, widow and child receiving VA pension benefits by prohibiting reductions or termination of benefits that might result from the Social Security Amendments of 1967.

H.R. 12555 insures that there will be no termination or reduction of VA pension benefits as a result of an increase in social security benefits. The bill increases the overall maximum income limitation by $200, so that a veteran will not lose his pension solely as a result of his raise in social security.

Early in the 90th Congress, on February 2, 1967, I introduced H.R. 4756, to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that monthly social security payments shall not be considered as income in determining eligibility for pensions under that title. On March 2, I testified before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs in support of my bill, H.R. 4756. At that time, I stated:

> Social Security benefits are not gifts or grants from our government. These benefits are insurance which is paid for during productive years by employers and employees. I see no reason to consider these benefits as income in determining eligibility for veterans pensions.

On September 19, 1967, I again testified before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. During the course of my statement, I said:

> While my bill excludes only Social Security benefits from consideration as income to determine eligibility for veterans pensions, it has come to my attention that veterans receiving Federal pensions and other types of annuities are similarly affected by our present laws. Therefore, I hope that this

Committee will also take into consideration the elimination of retirement annuities from consideration as income in determining eligibility for veterans pensions.

Mr. Speaker, I now urge that the Senate as one of the first orders of business in the second session of the 90th Congress, consider and act favorably on H.R. 12555.

Modernizing State Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, our federal system is on trial as seldom before in our history. If federalism, as we know it, is to continue, it is essential that we have strong, active State and local governments. Consequently, every responsible, constructive effort to strengthen the States is to be commended. Particularly heartening is the recent evidence of growing interest on the part of the business community in providing the grassroots support that is necessary to achieve this goal.

Six months ago, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States issued a booklet entitled "Modernizing Local Government," a guide for businessmen dedicated to the task of improving government at the local level. The chamber now has issued a similar guide entitled "Modernizing State Government."

The booklet states:

> Outmoded constitutions and the outdated organization and structure of most State governments obstruct effective State and local action.

It goes on to assert that we must "so structure and finance State governments that they can be responsive to the important public needs for which the Constitution makes them responsible." The booklet "in behalf of the national business community, urges businessmen and their organizations to help organize citizen action to achieve effective State and local government."

I know that State officials throughout the Nation will welcome the support and assistance of National, State, and local chambers of commerce in their efforts to strengthen the States and to buttress their role in the federal system. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the booklet be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the text of the booklet is included in the Record, as follows:

Modernizing State Government

FOREWORD

State governments occupy the vital middle ground between the national government and local governments—that level of government that bears the primary responsibility for domestic government in the United States. Among the basic powers reserved to the states by the United States Constitution is the power of creating, and granting authority to, local government.

Given this strategic position, the states have a unique opportunity to play a major role in meeting domestic governmental needs.

Today, however, most state and local governments cannot fully grasp this vital opportunity. Technological advance and urbanization continue to create economic, social and cultural problems beyond the present scope and capacity of state and local governments to solve. Outmoded constitutions and the outdated organization and structure of most state governments obstruct effective state and local action. Problems remain unsolved despite attempts by the federal government to fill the void with over 400 grants-in-aid programs—at a current annual cost that has reached $17 billion and continues to grow.

A companion booklet to this one, Modernizing Local Government, points out that:

"The nation's future depends on solving these twentieth century problems. The question is not 'whether' but 'how.' Clearly, if solutions are not found within the framework by balanced private enterprise and federal-state-local government arrangements, other ways will be sought. People will not for long tolerate inaction or failure."

The challenge is clear: to so structure and finance state governments that they can be responsive to the important public needs for which the constitution makes them responsible. To be responsive, states must be able to act to:

Raise sufficient revenues in a manner which is fair to individual and corporate citizens alike;

Reach informed decisions on the allocation and coordination of expenditures for major state and local governmental responsibilities such as the expansion of opportunities for quality education, the improvement of the social and economic environment in urban and rural areas, the control of air and water pollution, the improvement of intra-state and intra-urban area transportation networks, and the control of crime;

Protect civil liberties;

Mediate between public and private interests;

Authorize, encourage and help develop flexible and responsive local governments.

Responsive state and local governments and private enterprise are essential to the solution of social and economic problems and to restoring Constitutional balance to federal-state relationships.

This booklet, in behalf of the national business community, urges businessmen and their organizations to help organize citizen action to achieve effective state and local government.

PREPARING FOR ACTION

An action program to modernize the machinery of state government must begin with a fundamental recognition—that the job demands patience and perseverance. To modernize state government, it is often necessary to deal with time-consuming legal and legislative procedures, to overcome the fear of change, or inertia, as well as to mediate the conflicting interests of individuals and groups.

Public support is an essential part of an action program to modernize state government. Without support based on public understanding, the job becomes most difficult and, maybe, impossible. An important way to develop and solidify public support is to relate public needs and desires to the necessity for state government reform—to show where obsolete state constitutions, laws, and organizational structures and procedures stand in the way of progress.

To do this, it is first necessary to identify public needs and goals. One way this is being done in an increasing number of urban and rural areas is by entering into "Forward America: A Process for Mobilizing Total Community Resources." "Forward America," as defined by the National Chamber, encourages the principal business organization at the state level and at local levels to coordinate the efforts of business, social, professional and political groups and the public in general to attain certain fundamental objectives. These include efforts to:

Look at over-all regional, state and local public needs;

Determine desirable economic, social and political goals toward which society should strive;

Identify problems standing in the way of these goals;

Determine machinery, *including effective government*, necessary to solve these problems;

Establish priorities in attacking these problems;

Obtain public support and cooperation for the development of necessary problem-solving instruments, including modernized government, and the effective use of instruments to solve problems and achieve goals.

This "total" approach involves a systematic analysis, by study teams of informed citizens, of problems and of the machinery needed to solve them.

State and local chambers of commerce are particularly well fitted to coordinate these efforts because of their broad interest in the total environment within which business operates, their access to state and local leaders and the considerable human and physical resources they can apply to problem solving.

Effective coordination is the key to success. Such "total" efforts must involve broad participation. This is why state and local chambers and other associations of businessmen should encourage social, professional and political groups to accept a significant role, with business, in any program developed to get the job done.

CRITERIA FOR EFFECTIVE STATE GOVERNMENT

Recent studies of a number of state governments suggest several criteria that can be used to measure the problem-solving effectiveness of a state's political machinery. These criteria can be set out in these questions:

1. Is the state government organized to develop and reach prompt decisions on alternative state solutions to major economic and social problems?

2. Is the state budgetary process—in both its executive and its legislative phases—designed to help analyze the fiscal resources of the state and recommend spending priorities that use these resources for maximum public benefit?

3. Is the governor authorized and equipped to exercise effective and continuing executive leadership through such institutional arrangements as: an executive budget with a long-range planning focus, a strong state planning agency, and an unfettered authority to appoint administrative department heads?

4. Are the state legislature and its standing committees structured and staffed to act effectively on state problems and opportunities?

5. Does the legislature have adequate time to debate, deliberate and determine critical state policies?

6. Is state government willing and able to raise sufficient revenue equitably?

7. Does the state authorize and encourage local governments to coordinate on area-wide planning, assume governmental functions performed by special districts, merge with and/or annex other areas, contract with each other for the performance of functions, and consolidate into area-wide government if citizens desire?

8. Does the state authorize local governments to tax and borrow to meet current and future needs?

9. Does the state authorize local governments to change their administrative organization and structure?

10. Does the state authorize, by interstate compacts, coordination and cooperation with other states and their local governments to solve common economic and social problems?

11. Is state government able to attract and keep qualified public servants?

12. Is the state government responsive to the people it serves?

"No" answers to any of these questions can mean serious governmental problems. In that case, action is needed.

COURSES OF ACTION TO MODERNIZE STATE GOVERNMENT

State and national organizations and institutions have done much research on modernizing state government. These studies have suggested courses of action to do the job.

It must be understood that adoption of needed structural, financial and procedural changes is but the first step toward effective state government. Responsive and responsible government, in the final analysis, depends on the calibre of people who can be attracted to run for elective offices and to serve in appointive offices.

Adaptations to local situations of the suggested actions outlined in the following pages will help lay a necessary foundation for achieving flexible and capable state government. It will also revitalize the traditional constitutional principles of separation of powers, and checks and balances, at this level of our nation's governmental system.

SUGGESTED GENERAL COURSES OF ACTION TO MODERNIZE STATE GOVERNMENT

Modernize the constitution so that it permits latitude for appropriate action by the three official branches, minimizes the number of appointed authorities or commissions and grants local government appropriate latitude for action.

Revise cumbersome and outdated state statutes and adopt uniform state laws on matters where uniformity of treatment is desirable and needed. Encourage uniformity of state policy and discourage unnecessary special and local-interest legislation.

Urge the formation of interstate compacts, as necessary, to coordinate action with other states and their local governments on common problems and opportunities. Within the state, support state policies that encourage meaningful coordination among local governments or, if area citizens desire, consolidation of local governments to eliminate unnecessary duplication and inefficiency.

Encourage citizen participation in the political process. Chambers of commerce and other economic, social and political groups should train and encourage their members to participate effectively in the political party of their choice, to run for local, state and national offices, and to serve as appointive officials in state and local government.

SUGGESTED ACTION TO MODERNIZE STATE LEGISLATURES

Encourage studies on optimum number of legislators needed to increase the capacity for policy deliberations, provide for economic utilization of resources and personnel while insuring adequate representation, and maximum public visibility;

Ease constitutional restrictions on the length and the frequency of legislative sessions;

Provide compensation for legislators in keeping with the demands and importance of their position and in accordance with compensation for time invested in comparable work;

Adopt modern organizational and procedural concepts, including an effective committee structure and year-round staffing of the major committees;

Provide adequate physical facilities and communications systems, including more adequate facilities for public hearings and public information;

Encourage legislative participation in long-range studies of state goals, programs and needs.

SUGGESTED COURSES OF ACTION TO MODERNIZE THE OFFICE AND POSITION OF STATE EXECUTIVE

Authorize the governor to serve two consecutive four-year terms to permit continuity of leadership in the planning and implementation of state programs;

Reduce the number of state elected officers and authorize the governor to appoint and remove executive department heads;

Provide for an executive budget and for a qualified budget and planning staff to enable the governor to submit short- and long-range programs and expenditures;

Provide executive reorganization authority, to enable the governor to improve administrative operation by executive order—subject to post-review by the legislature.

Increasing demands on state and local government for solutions to major public problems require immediate action to attain the above goals.

HOW TO PROCEED

Situations, opportunities and resources vary from state to state and these will dictate somewhat differing approaches. Generally, state leaders, through the coordinating efforts of the principal state business organization (such as a state chamber or a broad-based trade or professional association) can take the following steps:

1. Discuss needs for modernizing state government with a small number of leaders of state-wide representative private groups and of state and local governments.

Begin to identify regional, state and local needs that can be satisfied only with the help of modernized state governments;

Identify other groups which should be contacted and involved;

Begin developing an effective plan for communicating with the public.

2. Form a state-wide "steering committee" made up of leaders of economic, social and political groups who are willing to work to develop and guide a modernization program.

3. The state-wide steering committee can encourage the development of local steering committees in each urban and rural area of the state. Such areas may encompass one or more state legislative districts.

4. Local-area steering committees can further identify regional, state and local needs that can be satisfied only by modernized state government and also:

Identify broadly the state governmental limitations that stand in the way of meeting those needs;

Determine committees needed to study governmental limitations and develop means for achieving effective state government;

Establish a timetable for completing the studies;

Plan a means to secure public reaction to proposed recommendations of steering committee.

5. Local-area steering committees report their recommendations at a state-wide meeting arranged by the state steering committee.

6. At state-wide meeting(s), participants study the local-area steering committee's work and:

Discuss, and reach tentative agreement on, realistic goals for the state;

Discuss and further identify needs which modernized government can help meet;

Further discuss limitations of the state government on which study is needed, and for which remedial courses of action must be developed;

Discuss study committees suggested by the steering committees;

Reach agreement on study committees needed;

Approve a general timetable for completion of studies;

Authorize the state steering committee to coordinate the program and to name appropriate study committees.

7. Study committees can then be organized and can:

Identify state and national research groups and individuals that can be called upon as consultants;

Examine needs;

Detail modernizing actions, or alternatives, to fulfill needs; propose actions and procedures to carry them out;

Report the above to the state steering committee and to local-area steering committees.

8. Local-area steering committees can then:

Examine proposals;

Suggest priorities for action to state steering committee.

9. State steering committee can then make final decisions and:

Relay recommendations to state legislative leaders and top officials of the executive branch of state government and request public hearings on proposals—in order to obtain public consensus;

Distribute copies of proposals to local steering committees, other involved groups, news media and state and national legislative representatives for their review and comment.

10. Organization leaders and general public discuss proposals, seek consensus.

11. State and local steering committees begin coordinating efforts to implement proposals on which consensus has been reached.

NATIONAL-LEVEL SUPPORT FOR STATE GOVERNMENT MODERNIZATION

The National Chamber federation has worked in coordination with the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, the National Governors' Conference, the Council of State Governments, the National Municipal League, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the National League of Cities, the National Association of Counties, the United States Conference of Mayors, the International City Managers' Association, and the National School Boards Association to produce this brochure. Materials and assistance on state government modernization are available from each of these organizations.

As does the National Chamber, these national organizations emphasize that decisions and actions to modernize state government are matters properly within the province of state and local citizens and their leaders. They trust that this brochure may provide some helpful guidelines. They urge their members, and their state and local affiliates, to work together to help develop and gain state-wide support for the modernization actions which are needed in their respective state governments.

The National Chamber hopes that state business leaders will initiate state and local action through chambers of commerce and trade and professional associations.

NATIONAL CHAMBER POLICY STATEMENT ON MODERNIZING STATE GOVERNMENT

The role of state government in the American federal system has been declining over the past several years. This is a disturbing trend for the federal system and for the health and future of political and social institutions and the free market economy. The revitalization of state government necessary to avoid further centralization of governmental authority calls for:

A. Strengthening of State legislatures by:

1. The easing of constitutional restrictions on length and frequency of legislative sessions so that each legislature may schedule

its sessions as necessary and appropriate to meet its responsibilities.

2. The adequate provision of research and staff facilities to assist legislators with a wide range of technical, specialized problems.

3. The provision of adequate physical facilities and communication systems at the state capitol for the more efficient operation of the legislature, including more adequate facilities for public hearings and public information.

4. The provision of appropriate offices and secretarial help to enable legislators to conduct legislative affairs in a business-like atmosphere.

5. The provision of compensation for legislators in keeping with the demands and importance of the position and in accord with compensation for time invested in comparable work.

6. The adoption of modern organizational and procedural concepts, including an effective and efficient committee structure, and year-round staffing of at least some of the major committees.

B. Strengthening the Governor by:

1. Permitting the governor to serve two consecutive four-year terms.

2. Reducing the number of state elected executive officers.

3. Providing for an executive budget.

4. Providing for executive reorganization authority subject to legislative review and possible veto.

The Full Opportunity Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PATTEN). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. CONYERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, one of our great Negro American poets, the late Langston Hughes, wrote many years ago:

> Let America be America again;
> It never was America to me.

Mr. Speaker, in that very moving prose, it seems to me that he caught the spirit of what is our position here today in the Congress, where we have delayed so long in dealing with what should be our highest priority business, and that is the necessity of making the dream of America live to those who have never been able to redeem the promises made by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. There are millions of Americans whose total knowledge of life in America has been the nightmare which they have lived ever since their forebears were dragged to these shores in chains.

"Let America be America again." Is that even possible? The last few years have clearly proven that the harmony, prosperity, and progress for so many, which I like to think of as existing in America simply is not there. When Emma Lazarus penned the lines:

> Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled
> masses yearning to breathe free—

She was not speaking to the disinherited who were already in America. The "melting pot" theory of sociologists has worked for a great number of the immigrants who came here, fought for a place, were eventually accepted into the mainstream and assimilated into America.

Mr. Speaker, one of the troubles with the "melting pot" in terms of the black American is that he was never allowed to mix in the pot with everybody else. He has been traditionally excluded from the mainstream of America.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we are faced with growing numbers of Negro Americans who are not so sure that they even want to get into that melting pot because results are not that great.

Unless we here in the Congress take drastic measures to eliminate the "right to unemployment," the "privilege of undereducation," and the "responsibilities of second-class citizenship" which we have, in a sense, forced on 25 million Americans, the country may indeed reap the whirlwind of prejudice and discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, as I and many others on this floor have said before, the preamble to the Constitution wisely and inextricably links the phrases, "establish justice," and "insure domestic tranquility."

In more than 107 cities, we have been shown that where there is not justice, there may not be tranquility.

The racism which is becoming increasingly apparent in America tells the Congress, "do nothing for these people because you would be rewarding the rioters."

And I say here today on the floor of the House of Representatives that the issue is not one of reward. No one wants to give any American any more than that which he justly deserves. But how can we speak of rewarding a man who has nothing—no job, little education, substandard housing, and a secondhand life gleaned from the TV and the news media?

The issue that I speak to you about today is the issue of justice.

For 300 years American justice has strained the mercy of those that it oppressed. This country has denied many black Americans so many things, and now we expect him to love and understand why it is he is still a second-class citizen.

Of course we cannot condone the violence that is tearing against the very fabric of our cities, but neither can we continue to tolerate the misery, the frustration and the alienation that is destroying the very core of the fabric of our society, for jammed into the ghettos of our major cities are millions of Negro Americans who are becoming more frustrated about the conditions under which they must live today, and apparently tomorrow. They have turned this way and that way for help. They have waited patiently for years, thinking that surely this kind of injustice could not go without redress in this great and prosperous Nation. They have accepted the premises and promises of so many experimental and pilot projects with which the various Government agencies have sought to assuage their own consciences perhaps, more than anything else, but things are not better, and only a very few have really managed to escape.

Can you imagine that some parts of Harlem today are still so crowded that if all Americans lived in areas of that same population density the entire population of the United States of America could occupy the five boroughs of the city of New York.

So, then, if we would only listen to and respond to the fact, rather than the emotionalism and the fanaticism of the backlashers who feel that a few pieces of paper marked "Civil Rights Bills" are enough—indeed, some think that they are too much to grant to the one-eighth of the citizens of this country—we could form the realistic plans for action that would eliminate some of these very basic problems—the basic problems that have led to the troubles that now mark America in 1967. The legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government have been so preoccupied with assuring the freedom of those thousands of miles away that many have forgotten the complete freedom that Negroes here in America are still trying to achieve.

It is apparently simpler to protect, love, and understand people who are far removed from the scene.

But I, like most other Negro Americans, believe that these problems should be corrected at home first.

And so the Negro American, Mr. Speaker, has truly been the invisible man about whom Ralph Ellison wrote—the man who was here all the time, but not seen. The civil rights movement, to be sure, uncovered him, and perhaps brought him a little bit more to the attention of America. But now it is no longer fashionable to speak of civil rights.

There are those who want to forget about these first 12 years of the civil rights struggle and who want to forget about this struggle for first-class citizenship which has marked it as America's No. 1 basic problem domestically across the years.

I have tried to understand the attitudes of both those who agree and those who disagree with my philosophy. I have hoped for, prayed for, and sought for an answer to the increasing tensions in our cities. And I have asked, "What can we do to make this America real to all men?"

We need drastic changes if we are to have true equality, true rights, and full opportunities. These changes need not be disruptive. We know that a change is going to be made and will be made. So we have a choice between evolutionary change or, perhaps, revolutionary change. That is basically why I am reintroducing a bill which I feel will contribute to that swift and peaceful change to which the millions of jobless and poorly educated and practically homeless people in the ghettos of America will respond.

Not all of them are black Americans, Mr. Speaker. Some of them are white Americans as well. As a matter of fact, there are many, many more white Americans who live below the poverty line than there are Negro Americans.

So this bill, the Full Opportunity Act, attempts to meet the acute problems in the areas of jobs, housing, and education.

Nine very distinguished colleagues have joined me in cosponsorship of this bill. They are the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN], the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON], the gentleman from California [Mr. EDWARDS], the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN], the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILBERT], the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL]. Also the gentleman from California [Mr. ROYBAL] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN]. All share with me the concern with providing a legislative answer, if you will, to this problem that we have addressed ourselves to today. The bill seeks to provide an answer large enough to meet the scope of the problem.

What is then the scope of the problem? Why is it that the teenager in the ghetto says that so far as he is concerned, America is not real to him? I think it is because his statement to America reflect the simple facts:

That the current national unemployment rate for nonwhite is 7.3 percent after having been as high as 8.8 percent during the fall. Even that 7.3 percent rate is double the national unemployment rate for white Americans;

That in the ghettos, one in three persons is "subemployed," either unemployed or working at a part-time job or one paying very low wages;

That if a man is not working, he is far more likely to sink into apathy and frustration and perhaps ultimately into violence;

That if a Negro man is working, he is far more likely than a white man to be in a menial and unpromising job;

That Negroes make up 11 percent of the labor force, but have only 6 percent of the Nation's professional, technical, and skilled trades jobs, and only 3 percent of the managerial positions;

That the median family income for Negroes is about 60 percent of white families. That means that the average Negro man earns three-fifths as much as the average white man. You will recall that in the original Constitution, slaves were counted three-fifths of a person for representation in the Congress. Is it any wonder that the Negro male is upset because he is being paid "slave wages" after 102 years of so-called freedom in America?

That the Labor Department just yesterday released a report showing that nearly 40 percent of all the unemployed Negroes are concentrated in the Nation's 15 largest metropolitan areas. I earlier mentioned that the national nonwhite unemployment rate is double that of the white unemployment rate. Yesterday's report by the Labor Department shows that in the central cities of the 15 largest metropolitan areas, that disparity is as much as three and four times as much between the nonwhite and white unemployment rates. When you read this list of the major central cities you quickly see that these are the cities where the biggest turmoil exists. And an even closer examination of the list shows that those cities with the highest nonwhite unemployment rate are the ones that have experienced the major civil disorders that have so tragically racked this country during recent summers.

Though the plight of the Negro American suffering from poverty is particularly acute, I would like to point out that a great many white Americans are suffering from the same poverty-stricken condition, and the same desperate need for a decent job at adequate pay. In fact, the Office of Economic Opportunity tells us that the majority of the 30 million Americans who are poor are white.

The Full Opportunity Act assures all Americans the opportunity to obtain a job. The bill authorizes up to 3 million jobs in the public service field by making the Federal Government "the employer of last resort." We need 3 million jobs in order to employ both the 1.8 million persons whom the Labor Department currently lists as being unemployed for 5 weeks or longer and "the invisibly unemployed" who want and need a job, but who are not counted by the Labor Department since they have stopped actively seeking work due to the frustration of not being able to find employment. Such employment and the job training which will go hand in hand with it are worthless if the jobs themselves pay less than a living wage. The Full Opportunity Act also increases the Federal minimum wage to $2 an hour and extends it to every job in America, without exception.

No job program to eliminate poverty makes sense if we do not at the same time eliminate all forms and aspects of racial and ethnic discrimination in employment. The Full Opportunity Act gives the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the full powers of a Federal regulatory commission to issue cease and desist orders to eliminate discrimination and its effects. A bill containing such a provision was overwhelmingly passed by the House in 1965 and I would hope could easily be passed again. The Full Opportunity Act, in addition, contains provisions extending the protection of the Commission to every job in America. It also would authorize the Commission to work on eliminating job discrimination in the Federal Government and all State and local governments.

What does the mother with several small children say to us about the unreality of life in America when she is forced to share an apartment with another family and a bathroom with no shower or tub with three other families? She tells us—

That nearly 1.7 million Negro families, 29 percent of the total, live in substandard housing;

That 28 percent of these dwelling units are overcrowded;

That 15 percent of black families have no hot water;

That 15 percent share bathrooms with other families; and

That 21 percent have no bathtubs or showers available.

The Full Opportunity Act provides 1 million additional federally assisted low and moderate income housing units every year for the next 10 years in an effort to eliminate substandard housing. It also provides a strong fair housing law with adequate enforcement procedures. We can never say that people are free unless they are free to choose a place to live because they like the place and can afford it.

What does the child in an overcrowded ghetto school with no gymnasium, no cafeteria, tattered books, and broken windows say to us about the America in which he must gain an education? This child, with little or no future, tells us—

That one-half the black children who start school drop out before completion;

That the Negro child who "stays through school" as Joseph Alsop has so aptly phrased it, has only the equivalent of an eighth-grade education when he receives his high school diploma. Thus, our national school system at present fails to give the equivalent of an ordinary white blue-collar education to nine Negro boys and girls in every 10;

That his teachers are underpaid and frustrated, and frequently ill equipped to deal with the cultural and educational gap which widens for ghetto children each year that they attend school; and

That the education which he receives does little or nothing to prepare him to live and work effectively in the society in which he must mature.

The Full Opportunity Act provides a national more effective schools program to drastically improve education in ghetto schools by authorizing Federal grants to local school boards for greater than average per pupil expenditures. These grants would be used to low pupil-teacher ratios; to develop superior teacher training; and to provide educational programs, materials, and facilities related to the particular needs of low-income children.

And what of the poor kid who does manage to finish high school and has the ability and the desire to go to college or technical school, but does not have the money. What does he tell us about the American dream of pulling oneself by one's bootstraps and achieving success? He says to us—

That only 14 percent of Negro youths between the ages of 20 to 24 are enrolled in school, while 21 percent of white youths in this age group are in school;

At this age level, they would, of course, be in some type of post-secondary school;

That his chances of being drafted right after high school are greater because he cannot get the student exemption given to those young men who can afford to attend college; and

That even if he tries to work his way through college, his chances of getting a degree are decreased in proportion to the amount of time he has to spend working to get his tuition money, since it is hard to work 30 or 40 hours a week at low pay and keep up the required average.

The Full Opportunity Act provides a massive increase of Federal assistance for postsecondary education, partially by direct grants to school and partially by loans to students. It also seeks to encourage hundreds of thousands more students to enter the teaching profession by forgiving half the loan to anyone who teaches in a public school for 5 years. The entire loan would be forgiven for anyone who teaches in a ghetto school for 5 years.

Title IV of the Full Opportunity Act is a provision to aid every child in America. It is a modest proposal to brighten the future of the deprived child at birth and to encourage him to remain in school until he is 18. The United States is the only major industrialized country which does not now provide some type of family allowance for its children. The Full Opportunity Act provides a $10 per month grant to all children from birth to age 18. The grant would be taxable so that the major benefit would fall to children of low-income families.

Mr. Speaker, as I hope this presentation indicates, this bill which has been drafted with nine other Members of the House is an attempt at being a meaningful and realistic response to the problems that I have very roughly outlined here today.

My colleagues and I are today reintroducing the entire Full Opportunity Act in order to demonstrate the vital connection between all the various provisions of the bill. However, with an eye toward the inner workings of the legislative process, each title of the overall bill is also being introduced separately, in the hope that at least some of these measures can be enacted into law in the very near future.

In closing, I would like to return to the idea on which I have based my remarks today—"Let America be America again." I have set forth the facts and statistics which I feel justifies that cry in the 1960's and makes Mr. Hughes' comments just as timely as they were a generation ago. We must not continue to turn our eyes from the real causes of our domestic crisis. Twenty antiriot bills will not do as much to ease the turmoil in our cities as one piece of comprehensive social reform legislation such as the Full Opportunity Act. We must not meet riots with repression, but with reform.

I ask my colleagues in this House and distinguished gentlemen and women in the other body to—

Let America be America again—
The land that never has been yet—
And yet must be—the land where every man
is free.
The land' that's mine—the poor man's,
Indian's, Negro's, me—

Who made America.
Whose sweat and blood, whose faith and
pain,
Whose hand at the foundry, whose plow in
the rain,
Must bring back our mighty dream again.

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONYERS. I would be delighted to yield to my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. Edwards].

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with my esteemed colleague from Michigan in cosponsorship of the Full Opportunity Act, an imaginative Marshall plan for the ghettos of America. This legislative proposal is not a mere palliative to apply to the wounds of the poor; it is not a mere rehash of old and tired Federal programs. The Full Opportunity Act guarantees nothing less than a decent life to every American. Its enactment would translate the vision of our forefathers and the rhetoric of the last decade into terms which the poor could understand.

The legislative record of the first session of the 90th Congress makes little sense to the poor. While Congress was appropriating a paltry $1.7 billion to fight poverty, children were starving in Mississippi and Applachia, and in the cities black youths were striking out against the despair and frustration that engulf their lives.

The Full Opportunity Act gives Congress a new opportunity to bring the American dream to the doorsteps of these millions of Americans who have been ignored until now. It gives Congress a chance to demonstrate our Nation's commitment to the principles on which it was founded.

There was a time not too long ago when the enactment of the Full Opportunity Act would have been dictated only by the demands of conscience. That time has passed. When we reflect that Negroes today live in worse slums and attend more highly segregated schools than they did in 1954, we can begin to appreciate the inadequacy of past legislative and judicial measures. And when we note, as Bayard Rustin has, that in cities racked by riots this past summer the unemployment rate for Negro teenagers reached 38 percent, we can only conclude that the enactment of the Full Opportunity Act is as much a matter of self-preservation as a matter of principle.

Unlike other pieces of legislation which have come before the Congress, the Full Opportunity Act is a comprehensive attack on the problems of the ghetto. It declares war on overcrowded housing, inadequate schooling, and unrewarding jobs. It would rehabilitate ghetto housing while it would open the doors to suburban living. It would provide dollar incentives for ghetto children to stay in school and for college educated students to teach in the ghettos. It would supply 3 million new jobs, while it would add teeth to the equal employment provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In short, it rejects the "either-or" dichotomy that has continued to paralyze our national resolve.

A contemporary writer has observed:

> Poverty settles like an impenetrable prison cell over the lives of the very poor, shutting them off from every social contact, killing the spirit and isolating them from the community of human life.

The Full Opportunity Act would consign no one to a life within this cell; and with the realization of its long-range goals, the very walls of the prison would be torn asunder.

Mr. CONYERS. In concluding my remarks I would like to insert in the Record certain material which I think would be helpful in understanding the Full Opportunity Act and the problems with which it attempts to deal.

NEWS RELEASE REGARDING THE INTRODUCTION OF FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT BY 10 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

As a short statement of the reasons for introducing such a massive omnibus bill along with a concise statement of the provisions of the Full Opportunity Act, I would like to insert in the Record the news release regarding the introduction of the bill by 10 Members of the House:

Ten Democrats Sponsor $30 Billion Omnibus Bill for Jobs, Housing, and Education

Ten Democratic Congressmen, led by Representative John Conyers, Jr., yesterday introduced an omnibus bill costing $30 billion anuually "to assure every American adequate employment, housing and education on a truly non-discriminatory basis."

"The 1967 session of Congress ending this week has consistently worked to cut back and undermine any effort to effectively deal with the many interrelated problems of poverty and degradation experienced by those who live in America's ghettos and those who are members of minority groups," stated Congressman Conyers when he introduced the bill. "The Full Opportunity Act attempts to encourage the 1968 session to enact the massive governmental programs necessary to eliminate the rapidly increasing alienation and frustration in the centers of our major cities."

The wide-sweeping bill makes the Federal government "the employer of last resort" by authorizing jobs and job training programs for up to 3 million individuals. Such a government-financed public-service job program has been urged by four different special Federal commissions. The minimum wage would be increased to $2 an hour and made to apply to every American working man and woman.

One million additional low and moderate income housing units are authorized each year for the next ten years. A national More Effective Schools program would be established to assure quality education in all public schools. Long-term low-interest loans are provided so everyone may obtain an education beyond high school, whether in a vocational school or a university. The recently much-discussed family allowances program, which now exists in every other Western industrialized country, would be started.

"The bill is aimed at eliminating poverty and discrimination, wherever it occurs," said Conyers, "but it is particularly focused on the center cities. One of the most crucial aspects of the bill is its emphasis throughout on eliminating ethnic and racial discrimination immediately and completely."

Joining the Detroit Congressman in sponsoring the Full Opportunity Act are Congressmen George Brown, Jr., Phillip Burton, Don Edwards, Leonard Farbstein, Jacob Gilbert, Edward Roybal, William F. Ryan, Joseph Resnick, and Benjamin Rosenthal.

MEMORANDUM EXPLAINING EACH TITLE OF THE PROPOSED FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT

In order to more fully explain the provisions of the Full Opportunity Act, I would like to insert at this point in the Record a memorandum which I have prepared regarding each title of the bill:

FULL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The Department of Labor currently lists 1.8 million persons who have been unemployed five weeks or longer and are still seeking employment. Almost as many more need and want jobs but are not counted since they have stopped actively seeking work because of lack of basic education, occupational skills, work experience, or transportation, and because of various discriminatory barriers. Recent Labor Department surveys indicate that a true representation of unemployment in the ghettos of America's major cities is 30 percent to 40 percent, a level higher than that of the Depression of the thirties.

Title I would create three million subprofessional jobs in such areas as health, education, recreation, and conservation which would allow even individuals with the lowest level of training to perform useful and necessary work. Public and private nonprofit agencies would receive Federal grants to create these jobs, with preference given to projects located in, and providing direct benefits for the ghettos of America. All those employed under this title would receive education and job-training to qualify them for employment in fields for which there is a projected long-term need for workers. Special help would be given to those regarded as "unemployable" even in a full-employment economy due to a severe lack of basic education and job-training.

Cost: $16 billion for the first year, with $2 billion yearly decrease until phased-out after ten years.

COMPREHENSIVE MINIMUM WAGE

Title II would extend coverage of the Federal minimum wage to every American worker, and increase the basic rate to $2 an hour. This would insure that all Americans, including those employed under the Federally financed programs in Title I, would receive at least $4,000 which the Social Security Administration regards as a minimal, but adequate yearly family income.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY ENFORCEMENT

Title III gives the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, established by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the full usual powers of a Federal regulatory agency to issue cease and desist orders to enforce a strict national law against discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or national origin. Orders could be issued which would require Federal agencies to not only eliminate discrimination within their operations, but to administer their programs so as to be a positive force toward ending discrimination in employment. The bill requires that the government must not only be neutral, but should positively and affirmatively promote equal opportunity.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Title IV establishes a program of family allowances modeled after the successful 25-year-old Canadian program. Grants of $10 per month would be given to all children under the age of eighteen in order to help this 40 percent of the 30 million Americans in poverty. The program would be administered by the Social Security Administration which would mail the payments to the mother on the condition that all school-age children remain in school until age eighteen. The allowance would be made without regard to the financial status of the family and would be considered taxable income, so that the net benefit of the program would be focused on low income families.

Cost: $8.6 billion is authorized but income tax will recover $1.3 billion in the first year. The upward trend of average family taxable income should more than offset the small expected increase in the number of children during that period. The result is a slight decrease in net cost over the ten year period.

ADEQUATE HOUSING

Title V provides one million additional Federally assisted low- and moderate-income housing units every year for the next ten years. To provide this more than ten-fold increase in the present rate, current Federal programs would be expanded and improved and new ones would be authorized.

One-half million new housing units per year would be provided exclusively for the benefit of low-income families by expanding the public housing and rent supplement programs. The other 500,000 additional units would be made available to moderate as well as low income families: 200,000 units through rehabilitation; 150,000 rental units through the Section 221(d)3 program; and 150,000 units through a home-ownership assistance program offering generous no-interest loans. Home ownership also would be encouraged by providing condominium lease-purchase arrangements for most of the current rental programs. Financial aid and technical assistance would be provided for the non-profit groups which would sponsor most of these projects. Existing laws and regulations would be changed so all these programs could be used in any community or part of any community, so as to both expand the available market and promote housing integration.

Cost: $3.7 billion in the first year, increasing in ten years to $9.1 billion.

FAIR HOUSING

Title VI provides a strict national law against discrimination in housing. A National Fair Housing Board would be established with the full usual powers of a Federal regulatory agency to enforce this law by issuing cease and desist orders and by taking appropriate affirmative action. This title specifically applies the new affirmative governmental policy of positively and effectively promoting equal opportunity for housing. All Federally financed lending institutions, including all banks and savings and loan associations, would be required to include open housing clauses in any mortgage they finance. The ultimate penalty for violation of this provision would be loss of Federal insurance.

MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

Title VII authorize Federal grants to local school boards for greater than average per-pupil expenditures in ghetto schools to finance intensive improvement of the regular school programs. Grants would be used to lower pupil-teacher ratios; to develop superior teacher-training; and to provide educational programs, materials and facilities related to the particular needs of low-income children.

Eligibility for these grants depends on a local school board's showing that per-pupil expenditure in ghetto schools is at least equal to the average for the school district since significantly greater expenditures per student in ghetto schools than in other schools is necessary to achieve any substantial improvement. This title is aimed at providing a superior education in ghetto schools to offset cultural and educational deprivation and to make some progress toward eliminating *de facto* school segregation.

Cost: One billion dollars during the first year with an increase over ten years to $5 billion. Participation in the program would increase as local school districts met the strict criteria for the program, particularly the requirement that there be at least an equal educational effort in ghetto schools financed from local sources.

FULL POST SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Title VIII provides a massive increase of Federal assistance for post-secondary education, partially by direct grants to schools and partially by loans to students. Federal grants on a two-to-one matching basis would be available for construction of facilities and direct Federal loans would be available to all students, regardless of financial status, to pay the full amount of all expenses at any post-secondary school. This program specifically includes both traditional institutions of higher education and vocational and technical schools. A student may borrow up to $15,000 over five years, and repay it over forty years at 3 percent interest. Repayment could be by a steadily increasing schedule so it would be in relations to income improvement over an entire life-span.

To encourage hundreds of thousands more students to enter public school teaching, half the loan would be forgiven for anyone who teaches in a public school for five years. The entire loan would be forgiven for anyone who teaches in a ghetto school for five years.

Cost: $1.9 billion for both construction grants and student loans in the first year, increasing to $8.8 billion in ten years.

ALLOCATION OF FUNDS IN THE FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT (ANNUAL FEDERAL COST OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS)

Title	Fiscal year 1969 (in billions)	Change over next 10 years	Fiscal year 1978 (in billions)
I. Full employment opportunity	$16.0	Decreases annually by $2,000,000,000	0
II. Comprehensive minimum wage	----------	----------	----------
III. Equal employment opportunity enforcement [1]	----------	----------	----------
IV. Family allowances [2]	7.3	----------	$7.0
V. Adequate housing	3.7	Increases annually by $600,000,000	9.1
VI. Fair housing [1]	----------	----------	----------
VII. More effective schools	1.0	Increases annually by $500,000,000 except in fiscal year 1977.	5.0
VIII. Postsecondary educational opportunity	1.9	Increases annually by $800,000,000 except in fiscal year 1977.	8.8
IX. Miscellaneous	.1	----------	.1
Total	30.0	----------	30.0

[1] Title IX authorizes $100,000 annually for the additional administrative costs of implementing titles II, III, and VI.

[2] $8,600,000,000 is authorized but income tax will recover $1,300,000,000 in the 1st year. The upward trend of average family taxable income should more than offset the expected slight increase in the number of children during that period. The result is a slight decrease in net cost over the 10-year period.

Point Pleasant Bridge Collapse Should Delay Maryland Parallel Span

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the State Roads Commission of Maryland should hold up design and construction of the proposed parallel bay bridge and other new spans until completion of probes into the recent bridge collapse over the Ohio River.

President Johnson has appointed a study group to inquire into the cause of this bridge collapse. The Senate plans another investigation into this collapse, and into the structures of a thousand other bridges besides. Ohio and West Virginia officials are launching a bistate probe. A wealth of information to guide the Maryland Roads Commission will thus be available at the conclusion of these probes, perhaps the first major investigations ever made into bridge safety. The cause of this bridge collapse has not been established. The fault may or may not turn out to be the design. But more than three score persons were killed. Others remain missing. This disaster would not necessarily be duplicated in Maryland. But why not make sure? After all, the present bridge is still operating at only half its rated capacity. It is congested on no more than a half dozen weekends a year. The people of Maryland do not even want the parallel bridge to begin with, having rejected it last November on statewide referendum. A study of bridges in Baltimore County has brought out that 10 of these structures are unsafe for vehicular travel.

With the lives of Marylanders at stake, to say nothing of $70 to $100 million of toll-taxpayers' money, would it not be less then prudent to proceed with new suspension bridge design and construction until the safety lessons from these probes are available, particularly when the same firm designed and supervised construction of the collapsed bridge?

The bridge at Point Pleasant which collapsed and killed more than 30 people was designed by the J. E. Greiner Co., and built under its supervision.[1] The J. E. Greiner Co. designed and supervised the present Chesapeake Bay Bridge in Maryland and is under contract to design and supervise construction of the parallel bridge. The Point Pleasant bridge which collapsed was a suspension span. So is the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. So also will be the parallel bridge.

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[1] *Engineering News Record*, June 20, 1929, page 1001, article by Wilson T. Ballard, Vice President, J. E. Greiner Company, Consulting Engineers, Baltimore, Maryland. "The bridge was designed by the J. E. Greiner Company, and built under its supervision."

Poultry Inspection Act Should Now Be Brought Into Conformance With Federal Meat Inspection Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, 11 years ago I began working on the problem of assuring wholesome poultry for America's consumers, and with the help of many groups, and particularly the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, we succeeded in enacting the Poultry Products Inspection Act of 1957. It was a landmark piece of legislation in that it not only provided for Federal inspection of all poultry in interstate commerce but also set up machinery for requiring Federal inspection, under certain circumstances, of poultry moving only in intrastate commerce.

Unfortunately, that machinery for intrastate inspection has never been used. I have tried for many years to have it invoked for the St. Louis area so that we could be protected against unwholesome poultry from within the State of Missouri.

In 1962, when President John F. Kennedy noted in his consumer message the significant danger to American consumers from uninspected red meats moving only in intrastate commerce, I introduced on that same day a bill on which I had been working to adapt to Federal meat inspection a provision such as we had in the Poultry Act for compulsory Federal inspection under certain circumstances of intrastate shipments. The Department of Agriculture did not support this idea at the time and instead came forward later with its own proposed bill dealing with meat in intrastate commerce; and we have now passed legislation containing the Department's 1962 suggestions, along with strengthening provisions added in the Congress.

BOTH LAWS SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONSOLIDATED

It was my feeling in 1956 and 1957 that the best approach to securing effective Federal inspection of poultry was just to amend the Federal Meat Inspection Act to include poultry. I think if we had done that, we would be a lot further today toward assuring the wholesomeness of all poultry sold in this country.

However, since there does not seem to be any disposition on the part of the Department of Agriculture to support consolidation of the inspection laws on meat and on poultry, and since the Committee on Agriculture also declined to support my recommendation on that point, it is now urgent that we proceed to amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act of 1957 to get at the problem of unwholesome poultry moving only in intrastate commerce, just as we have tried to cover the red meats.

LETTER TO SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE FREEMAN

In the debate in the House of Representatives on October 31 on the wholesome meat bill, and again on December 6 when we passed the conference report on H.R. 12144, I outlined the problem of unwholesome poultry in intrastate commerce and stated that it was my intention to press in the new session for legislation to tighten the Poultry Products Inspection Act of 1957 to cover all poultry.

On December 11, I therefore addressed the following letter to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, which I hope will clear the way for prompt action on this matter in the second session of the 90th Congress:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., December 11, 1967.
Hon. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ORVILLE: Can I involve you in another issue? I need your help.

If you have had a chance to read the debate in the House on the Meat Inspection bill, you probably noticed my references to the need for getting at the problem of bad poultry processed and sold in intrastate commerce. I am enclosing a copy of my remarks in case you missed them.

Please look them over. And, if you have the hearings of the House Agriculture Committee on the Meat Inspection bill, I hope you will turn to my testimony beginning on page 41 through page 63. It deals more with poultry than with meat.

I am writing to you rather than to the Consumer and Marketing Service people because they know all about this issue already and what I need is some guidance or assistance from you.

I have never been able to understand the need for separate Poultry and Meat Inspection laws. When I started on the poultry problem 11 years ago, my inclination was merely to amend the Meat Inspection law to include poultry. But I was talked out of that by some of the strategists who felt that we would have a better chance of getting help from Members of the Agriculture Committee from poultry-raising areas if they thought that whatever distinctive or unique aspects of poultry, compared to meat, could be taken care of in the legislation.

So for 10 years we have had two separate laws, even though now both are under the same administrative direction. I pleaded with the Agriculture Committee to handle the problem of intrastate inspection for both meat and poultry in the same way—either by adopting the "major consuming area" machinery of the Poultry Act for Meat Inspection or else amending the Poultry Act to conform to whatever setup was devised for Meat Inspection. As you know, the idea did not get very far in this session.

It is my intention to offer new legislation in the second session to provide authority for coverage of poultry in intrastate commerce. I would appreciate help from you on this, specifically:

(1) A draft of a suitable bill which I could introduce;

(2) The initiation by your Department of the kind of study into conditions in the non-inspected poultry plants similar to the surveys made by your meat inspectors into conditions in the uninspected meat packing plants.

The information developed by the meat inspectors was a prime factor in getting Congress to pass H.R. 12144.

In asking for this assistance, I perhaps should point out that I was the first Member of Congress to call for compulsory Federal inspection of poultry and, although it was not a bill with my name on it which became law, I feel I am justified in claiming the credit for its enactment in 1957. So I am not trying to jump on someone else's project. As a matter of fact, some of those who were most active in the fight for the Meat Inspection bill have indicated their desire to join me now in bringing the Poultry Act up to date and meeting the problems of intrastate poultry fitness. We have failed in implementing the machinery of the 1957 Act for intrastate use. If that Act is not practical, then I want something which I could introduce which would solve this problem.

I am sure there must be millions of pounds of poultry sold only in intrastate commerce and I would suspect that most of this comes from plants which could not possibly meet the requirements for Federal inspection.

Sincerely yours,
LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
Mrs. John B. Sullivan,
Member of Congress.

Social Security Amendments of 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding achievements of the first session of the 90th Congress was the passage of the Social Security Amendments of 1967. Although there are some provisions of the act which by their nature are controversial, and have been criticized, the benefits contained in this legislation far outweigh the areas of dispute and, therefore, its passage was of vast importance to all our citizens and in particular, the majority of my constituents. It is my conviction that if any of the controversial sections are or prove to be detrimental to any person or groups of persons, these sections should be amended in the next session of the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to include in the RECORD, for the benefit of my constituents, a summary of some of the significant changes in both the social security and health benefits as contained in this legislation:

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967

INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

The amendments provide an increase in benefit payments of 13 percent for all beneficiaries on the social security rolls. The average monthly benefit paid to a retired worker with an eligible wife now on the rolls is increased from $145 to $165. The minimum benefit for a worker retiring at age 65 is increased from $44 to $55 a month. Monthly benefits will range from $55 to $160.50, for retired workers now on social security rolls who began to draw benefits at age 65 or later.

The amount of earnings subject to tax and used in the computation of benefits is increased from $6,600 to $7,800 in 1968.

The $168 maximum benefit (based on average monthly earnings of $550—or $6,600 per year) eventually payable under present law would be increased to $189.90. The increase in the amount of earnings that can be used in the benefit computation would result in a maximum benefit of $218 (based on average monthly earnings of $650—$7,800 a year) in the future. The maximum benefits payable to a family on a single earnings record is $434.40. To qualify for the maximum retirement benefits just outlined, a wage earner who retires at age 65 in the future must have earned the maximum under the new earnings bases for a number of years.

Effective date—the increased benefits are first payable for the month of February 1968 and will be reflected in checks received early in March. It is estimated that 22.9 million people are paid increased benefits. More than $3 billion in additional benefits will be paid in the first 12 months.

Special benefits for people age 72 and over

The special payments made to uninsured individuals aged 72 and over are increased from $35 to $40 a month for a single person and from $52.50 to $60 a month for a couple.

Effective date—the increased benefits will be first payable for February 1968 and will be reflected in checks received in March 1968.

The retirement test

The amendments provide for an increase from $1,500 to $1,680 in the amount of annual earnings a beneficiary under age 72 can have without having any benefits withheld. Provision is made for an increase from $125 to $140 in the amount of monthly earnings a person can have and still get a benefit for the month. The bill provides that $1 in benefits be withheld for each $2 of earnings between $1,680 and $2,880 and $1 in benefits for each $1 in earnings above $2,880.

Effective date.—The provision is effective for earnings in 1968. It is estimated that about $175 million in additional benefits would be paid for 1968 to 76,000 people.

Benefits for disabled widows and widowers

The amendments provide for the payment of monthly benefits to certain disabled widows and widowers of deceased workers who are between the ages of 50 and 62. If a disabled widow or widower first receives benefits at age 50, then the benefit would be 50 percent of the primary insurance amount. The amount payable would increase up to 82½ percent of the primary insurance amount, depending on the age at which benefits began. The reduction would continue to apply to benefits which were paid after the recipient reached age 62.

A widow or widower would be deemed disabled only if the disability is one that, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, would preclude any gainful activity.

To be eligible for the benefits, the widow or widower must have become totally disabled not later than 7 years after the spouse's death, or in the case of a widowed mother, before the end of her benefits as a mother or within 7 years thereafter.

Effective date—About 65,000 disabled widows and widowers could be eligible for benefits and about 60 million in benefits would be paid during the first 12 months of operation. Benefits would be payable starting for February 1968.

Dependency of a child on the mother

The amendments provide that a child will be considered dependent on the mother under the same conditions that he is now considered dependent on the father. As a result, a child could be entitled to benefits if the mother was either fully or currently insured at the time she died, retired, or became disabled. Under present law a mother must have currently insured status (six out of the last 13 quarters ending with death, retirement, or disability) and unless she was actually supporting the child.

Effective date—Benefits will be payable beginning for February 1968. It is estimated that 175,000 children will be eligible for benefits and that $83 million in additional benefits will be payable in the first 12 months.

Additional wage credits for servicemen

For social security benefit purposes, the amendments will provide that in the future the pay of a person in the uniformed service would be deemed to be $100 a month more than his basic pay. The additional cost of paying the benefits resulting from this provision would be paid out of general revenues.

HEALTH INSURANCE BENEFITS

Payment of physician bills under the supplementary medical insurance program

Under present law, payment may be made only upon assignment to the physician or to the patient upon presentation of a receipted bill. The amendment would permit payment either to the patient on the basis of an itemized bill (which could be either receipted or unpaid) or to the physician under the present assignment method. This provision would make it possible for patients to pay their medical bills without depleting their savings or resorting to loans.

Additional days of hospital care

Each medicare beneficiary will be provided with a lifetime reserve of 60 days of hospital care after the 90 days covered in a "spell of illness" have been exhausted. Co-insurance of $20 for each day would be applicable to such added days of coverage.

I am also including at this point a table showing the amounts of benefits under the old law and what they will be under the new. It can be seen that while the average increase in benefits is approximately 13 percent, there are instances where the increase exceeds 25 percent, as in the case of the minimum payment going from $44 to $55 per month.

COMPARISON OF MONTHLY CASH BENEFITS UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER THE NEW LAW

Average monthly earnings after 1950	$67 or less		$150		$250		$300		$350		$400		$550		$650 [1]—
	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	Present law	H.R. 12080	H.R. 12080
1. Retirement at 65 or disability benefit	$44.50	$55.00	$78.20	$88.40	$101.70	$115.00	$112.40	$127.10	$124.20	$140.40	$135.90	$153.60	$168.00	$189.90	$218.00
2. Retirement at 62	35.20	44.00	62.60	70.80	81.40	92.00	90.00	101.70	99.40	112.40	108.80	122.90	134.40	152.00	174.40
3. Wife's benefit at 65 or with child in her care	22.00	27.50	39.10	44.20	50.90	57.50	56.20	63.60	62.10	70.20	68.00	76.80	84.00	95.00	[2] 105.00
4. Wife's benefit at 62	16.50	20.70	29.40	33.20	38.20	43.20	42.20	47.70	46.60	52.70	51.00	57.60	63.00	71.30	78.80
5. 1 child of retired or disabled worker	22.00	27.50	39.10	44.20	50.90	57.50	56.20	63.60	62.10	70.20	68.00	76.80	84.00	95.00	109.00
6. Widow, 62 or older	44.00	55.00	64.60	73.00	84.00	94.90	92.80	104.90	102.50	115.90	112.20	126.80	138.60	156.70	179.90
7. Widow at 60, no child	38.20	47.70	56.00	63.30	72.80	82.30	80.50	91.00	88.90	100.50	97.30	109.90	120.20	135.90	156.00
8. Disabled widow at age 60	------	33.40	------	44.50	--------	57.60	--------	63.60	--------	70.30	--------	76.90	--------	95.00	109.10
9. Widow under 62 and 1 child	66.00	82.50	117.40	132.60	152.60	172.60	168.60	190.80	186.40	210.60	204.00	230.40	252.00	285.00	327.00
10. Widow under 62 and 2 children	66.00	82.50	102.00	132.60	202.40	202.40	240.00	240.00	279.60	280.80	306.00	322.40	368.00	395.60	434.40
11. 1 surviving child	44.00	55.00	58.70	66.30	76.30	86.30	84.30	95.40	93.20	105.30	102.00	115.20	126.00	142.50	163.50
12. 2 surviving children	66.00	82.50	117.40	132.60	152.60	172.60	168.60	190.80	186.40	210.60	204.00	230.40	252.00	285.00	327.00
13. Maximum family benefit	66.00	82.50	120.00	132.60	202.40	202.40	240.00	240.00	280.80	280.80	309.20	322.40	368.00	395.60	434.40
14. Maximum lump-sum death payment	132.00	165.00	234.60	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00

[1] Maximum AME under H.R. 12080.

[2] Maximum wife's benefit.

Source: Social Security Administration.

How To Decrease Federal Taxes and Increase Local Revenue Without an Act of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, there is a great deal of interest, especially on the part of county, city, and State officials, in reducing Federal tax collections and applying these savings to needed municipal or State services. As a member of both the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, who has heard the articulate presentations of Governors, mayors, and commissioners, I am keenly aware of the need for adequate funding of State and local services.

We have expanded the grand-in-aid programs. But not enough has been done to meet the needs of the other levels of government.

I would like to point out that there is more than one way to reduce Federal tax collections and thereby expand revenue sources for other levels of government. Ordinarily, those who seek to alter the Federal tax collections seek an act of Congress. That is not always necessary. There is a direct, do-it-yourself, local way to obtain substantial reductions in Federal tax collections. This is accomplished through reduction of utility overcharges.

As a distinguished economist, Dr. Martin Farris, of Arizona State University, recently observed:

> Almost every aspect of utility business is different from that of "other businesses" and taxes are no exception.

Utilities are not taxpayers. They are tax collectors. Utility rates are established to permit a fair rate of return after payment of all operating expenses, including taxes. In many instances when taxes are reduced the utility rates are not correspondingly reduced, as they should be, and the utility actually is a taxkeeper.

Were electric utility rates reduced to the level theoretically allowed, the actual reduction in overcharge would amount to about $618 million annually. That figure is based upon 1965 statistics—the 1966 overcharge will probably be somewhat higher. The utilities would still have a rate of return of 6 percent which—because of the relatively low cost of interest on utility debt, below 4 percent on the average—would permit a return on equity of 9.5 percent, an adequate rate for a risk-free monopoly.

In these days of decreasing utility costs the earnings of electric utilities are climbing steadily upward. Average rate of return rose from 7.08 percent in 1962 to 7.39 percent in 1965 and 7.44 percent in 1966. The average return on equity—which was around 7 percent in the forties, 10 percent in the fifties, and 11 percent in the early sixties—rose to an all-time high of 12.8 percent in 1966. For 17 companies it was more than 16 percent.

The $618 million overcharge total does not include the additional savings to consumers that would result from decreased Federal tax collections. For every dollar of overcharge removed, revenue requirements are reduced by an additional 92 cents, because of the tax factor. Let me explain how this works. An understanding of this point could be the key to the vault for many hard-pressed local governments.

Let us say, for example, that the State regulatory commission allows a utility another $1 million a year in operating profit. In order to assure that rates charged consumers will yield $1 million in operating profit, the rates must include a charge of $1,923,000 because Federal income taxes—at a 48-percent rate—must be paid. The $1,923,000 less the 48 percent in Federal taxes comes out very tidily to the $1 million net to the utility.

In short, for every dollar of operating profit allowed the utility, an additional 92 cents must be collected by the utility from its customers for the Federal Government.

Conversely, if utility rates are reduced to provide $1 million less in revenue for the utility, they are actually reduced by $1,923,000, because the utility will not need that 92 cents on the dollar to turn over to the Federal Government. So, in effect, for every dollar of overcharge removed from the utility bill Uncle Sam provides a matching 92 cents. That is a grant-in-aid program even better than the interstate highway formula. And, as I pointed out earlier, this money can, in fact must, be obtained at the State level, rather than by act of Congress, because State utility commissions establish retail rates.

To summarize, if the $618 million overcharge were removed, electric utility collections would be reduced by $618 million plus $570 million—$618 million times 0.92, the tax factor—a total of $1,188,000,000. The Federal Government would lose the $570 million in revenue. The customers would gain $1,188,000,000, $618 million from the utilities and $570 million from the Federal Government.

Government agencies would share, as consumers of electricity, in the $1,188,000,000 rate reduction. In addition, some local jurisdictions would find it easier to justify increased local taxes if utility overcharges and Federal tax collections were reduced correspondingly.

Let me cite a few examples to show the effect of utility rate reductions in local communities. In nearby Virginia, Virginia Electric & Power's 1965 operating income at its actual 7.39-percent rate of return—far above the 6-percent rate of return theoretically allowed by the State commission—was $58,265,000. Had the rate of return been 6 percent, the net operating income would have been $47,306,000. Therefore the overcharge amounted to $10,959,000. The extra rate reduction made possible by the tax factor—$10,959,000 times 0.92—amounts to $10,116,033. Therefore reduction of the overcharge to the theoretically allowed level would lead to a total reduction of $21,075,033 in the revenue collected annually from Vepco customers.

Let us assume that the cost of a rate case spearheaded by city and county officials leading to such a reduction would amount to $50,000. The return to Vepco customers would be more than $4 for every penny invested. Or, if the State commission allowed only one-fourth of the reduction sought, the return for the effort would be $1 for every penny invested.

I mention Virginia because of the utility taxation policy there revealed recently by the counsel for the Virginia Association of Counties, C. F. Hicks. Virginia utilities do not pay taxes on easements but rates are set as though they do. The customers are charged for phantom taxes. When Mr. Hicks took this matter up with the State corporation commission, one division of the commission at first refused to believe that such a situation existed. Then he was told that apparently this practice had been going on for about 60 years and the commission was not about to change now, unless made to do so.

I shall include an article about Mr. Hick's statement on this subject this fall, before the Virginia Association of Counties, in the RECORD, following these remarks. It is sufficient here to quote his finding that "cities, counties, and towns of this State, collectively, are being deprived of millions of dollars of real estate taxes to which they are rightfully entitled."

Mr. President, I return to the matter of the reduction in Federal tax collections that can be accomplished by utility rate reductions in various States. Here are the rounded figures, on the amount of annual overcharge, the amount Federal taxes would be reduced were the overcharge removed, and the total savings to consumers. These statistics are based on the utilities' own 1965 reports to the FPC:

[In millions of dollars]

Utility	Overcharge	Federal tax on overcharge	Total annual reduction available
Commonwealth Edison (Illinois)	39.9	36.8	76.7
Houston Lighting & Power	22.7	21.0	43.7
Detroit Edison	21.7	20.0	41.7
Pacific Gas & Electric (California)	18.6	17.2	35.8
Ohio Edison	15.0	13.8	28.8
Florida Power & Light	14.8	13.7	28.5
Public Service Electric & Gas (New Jersey)	14.3	13.2	27.5
Consumers Power (Michigan)	13.9	12.8	26.7
Duke Power (North Carolina)	12.2	11.3	23.5
Southern California Edison	11.7	10.8	22.5
Philadelphia Electric	10.5	9.7	20.2
Illinois Power	10.4	9.6	20.0
Ohio Power	10.1	9.3	19.4
Total	215.8	199.2	415.0

It is especially important at this time that public officials and the public generally understand how, in Professor Farris' words;

> Almost every aspect of the utility business is different from that of "other businesses" and taxes are no exception.

The Edison Electric Institute, trade association of the investor-owned utilities, has stepped up its campaign of misinformation about taxes. Let me quote from the November 1967 issue of the Edison Electric Institute Bulletin, under the heading "Public Relations Committee":

> A special Planning Subcommittee, with J. P. Lucas, Vice President, Duke Power Company, as Chairman, has been considering the means by which more information can be provided to the public on the fact that investor-owned electric power companies pay Federal income taxes, while government power (including REA generating and transmission cooperatives) does not. Informational materials are being developed to assist companies in communicating the facts on this question, including a folder suitable for use as a bill or dividend enclosure and a summary of individual company activity on this subject.
>
> Working in the area of opinion leader contact is a subcommittee under the Chairmanship of G. H. Tuttle, Director of Public Information, the Detroit Edison Company. The program includes activity oriented toward various individuals, national organizations and groups. Mailing of filler material—consisting of brief, factual items about the industry—to daily newspapers throughout the country, is continuing.

I trust that an increasing number of newspapers will throw away that filler material furnished them by the utilities and provide their own coverage of utility affairs. When the facts are understood there will be substantial rate reductions and substantial Federal tax reductions which can benefit local government and individual ratepayers around the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD Helen Dewar's October 12 article in the Washington Post, "Taxation, Utility Rate in Conflict," and the article from the November 1967 Edison Electric Institute Bulletin concerning the activities of its public, employee, and investor relations division committees.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 12, 1967]

VIRGINIA AFFAIRS: TAXATION, UTILITY RATE IN CONFLICT

(By Helen Dewar)

There may not be a pot of gold under every power line in Virginia, but the State's financially hard-pressed localities see at least a million dollars a year slipping through their fingers because of State taxation practices for public utility easements.

What makes them doubly angry is that the consumer-taxpayer gets hit twice: the rates he pays reflect the cost of easements to the utilities' overall investment while the tax burden he shares with others in the community, including utilities, does not reflect the value of this same property.

This stems from the fact that the State Corporation Commission considers the cost of utility easements in setting consumers' rates but discounts the value of the easements when assessing the utility's property for taxation purposes.

In other words, both taxes and utility rates are higher to the average citizen because of conflicting policies of the Commission—or so suggested C. F. Hicks, counsel for the Virginia Association of Counties, during the Association's annual convention in Richmond earlier this week.

In very polite terms, Hicks suggested that the Commission's left hand and right hand were working at cross purposes and proposed that the General Assembly straighten them out.

He noted that, in checking out Commission practices, he found that one department of the Commission didn't know what another was doing. The department that assessed property for rate-making purposes, he said, "was amazed, and at first would not even believe that the public utilities were paying no real property taxes on the easements which they own in this State."

A check with that department yesterday bore out Hicks' statement.

Quoting a Commission official as saying the Commission hadn't assessed utility easements for 60 years and were not of a mind to change voluntarily now, Hicks said:

"It may be true that 60 years ago these easements were of little value, especially when they were out in the country, because they were over farmland which a farmer could still use for pasture or to plant crops on. Today, these easements in both urban and rural areas go across land which, because of these easements, cannot be used for commercial or residential purposes.

"These easements are of value to the public utilities, they are interests in real estate, and the value should be assessed for local taxation purposes by the State Corporation Commission."

Hicks cited a recent Fairfax County condemnation case in which the State Supreme Court of Appeals ruled, in effect, that a pipeline easement destroyed the entire economic value of a man's home site.

"Since this land is still owned by the landowner, he can be assessed with the property taxes; or, if he can prove to the tax assessor of Fairfax County that his land has been decreased in value by the amount of the easement, he would be entitled to have his taxes decreased by this amount. Therefore, Fairfax County is left holding the bag, with acres of land owned by private individuals and used by public utilities on which no taxes are paid."

This may be an exaggerated case, but Hicks, a respected advocate of county interests in Virginia, estimates the loss in local tax revenues at about $1 million a year, with the loss rapidly growing—particularly in metropolitan areas like northern Virginia.

[From the Edison Electric Institute Bulletin, November 1967]

PUBLIC, EMPLOYEE, AND INVESTOR RELATIONS DIVISION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of the Public, Employee and Investor Relations Division is composed of Chairman W. B. McGuire,[1] President, Duke Power Co.; J. E. Corette, Chairman, The Montana Power Co.; C. E. Eble, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc.; W. W. Lynch, Chairman, Texas Power & Light Co.; J. W. McAfee, Chairman, Union Electric Co.; and C. H. Whitmore, President, Iowa-Illinois Gas & Electric Co.

With responsibility for general guidance and policy considerations, the Executive Committee provides coordination of the activities of the division committees and acts as liaison between them and the Board of Directors.

In view of the EEI policy position that "government-financed power projects should pay taxes equivalent to those paid by electric companies," the committees of the division are developing plans to provide more information to the public on the fact that investor-owned electric power companies pay Federal income taxes and government power (including REA generating and transmission cooperatives) does not. The information plans include special emphasis on taxes on G&T's, the necessity for requiring consideration of taxes foregone in the evaluation of G&T projects, and the proposal for financing of REA cooperatives which was set forth in testimony by industry witnesses in March, 1967, before the House Agriculture Committee.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Manpower costs electric utility companies approximately $2.5 billion annually. It is one of their biggest items of expense, their primary asset and greatest variable. Thus, the focus of the Industrial Relations Committee is to maximize the return on each company's manpower investment.

E. L. Gerber,[2] Vice President, Personnel and Public Relations, Atlantic City Electric Co., is Chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee. Vice Chairman is A. L. Clark, Vice President of Virginia Electric and Power Co.

Some 180 representatives of EEI member companies are associated with the IRC. Information is exchanged among them weekly and as needed day-to-day. Surveys point up trends, patterns and benchmarks. IRC tasks which require continuous action are spearheaded by 12 subcommittees.

An example of the IRC at work is the four-week executive program to be conducted at Hershey, Pa., next spring. The EEI publication, "Inventory on Management Development Courses," prepared by the IRC, led the EEI Board to conclude that a special industry course is needed to supplement the management development programs of universities and others.

In response to EEI's program to inform the public and employees on the subject of tax equalization, the IRC is working intensively on the employee relations aspects of the program, coordinating its efforts with the Public Relations Committee and the Investor Relations Committee.

A Pension Subcommittee is continuing its evaluation of proposed Federal legislation directed at private pension plans and the possible effect on the industry.

Two new subcommittees of the IRC are now active on nuclear manpower and construction labor problems. Both areas have a huge impact on utility capital construction and operating costs.

EEI has published more than 25,000 copies of "Man of Energy." The booklet, prepared by an IRC Subcommittee, is designed to attract engineering graduates to the industry. Another booklet describing non-engineering opportunities in the indutsry also will be developed by the IRC. In addition, the committee conducts forums and studies to aid in professional recruiting. The committee is also seeking to have the electric utility industry included in the Federal government's listing of "essential activities," which is used by the Selective Service System.

Some of the other fields within the IRC scope include: wage and salary levels, fringe benefits, testing and placement, training, programmed instruction, organization and manpower planning, personnel procedures for strikes, storms and civil disturbances, arbitration, Federal labor regulations, labor law application and revision, and equal opportunity employment.

Three IRC meetings are scheduled for full committee attendance in 1968. In addition, the annual IRC Round Table Conference continues to be the industry's most highly rated personnel workshop and training session. This year's 20th Annual Round Table

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Footnotes at end of speech.

involved 400 industry executives with approximately half of them operating personnel. Through vigorous discussion, the participants determined how today's escalating "management pressures" can be translated into more productivity.

INVESTOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE

The Investor Relations Committee, under the Chairmanship of L. H. Jaeger,[3] Vice President, Finance, and Treasurer, The Southern Co., will follow developments in the field of investor relations and corporate finance. Vice Chairman of the committee is A. G. Mitchell, Vice President, Finance and Accounting, Philadelphia Electric Co.

The committee will seek to keep financial officers of member companies informed on the latest developments in the field of finance and investor relations. It will also continue to release details of the results of security offerings, through the preparation and distribution of reports on such new security issues.

The committee, with 78 members, plans a meeting in New York City on Dec. 5–6, to hear speakers and to participate in a discussion of timely and pertinent subjects. The program will consist of "The Outlook for Interest Rates," by a leading economist, "The Outlook for Marketing Electric Utility Securities," to be discuseed by three investment bankers. One will cover preferred stocks, one mortgage bonds and debentures, and one common stocks. Other speakers will discuss "The Impact of Increasing Costs of Money on Utility Industry Earnings." Overall Cost Trends of Electric Utilities during the Next Five Years," "The Use of Convertible Securities by Electric Utilities," "Nuclear Fuel Financing," and "Developments in Use of Commercial Paper as a Financing Medium by Electric Utilities."

That portion of the meeting to be devoted to committee business will include a report by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Tax Equalization. The committee will be asked to consider recommending action by the EEI Board of Directors on an important financial policy question affecting certain member companies of the Institute. The consideration of study projects by committee members will be invited.

Under the committee's sponsorship, the sixth biennial EEI Financial Conference will take place at the Whiteface Inn in Lake Placid, N.Y., May 20–22, 1968. The conference program committee, consisting of representatives of the utility industry and financial institutions, is preparing a program which will include speakers and panel members on topics of timely and mutual interest. The conference affords industry chief executives and financial officers an excellent opportunity to cover matters of financial importance with selected institutional investment analysts.

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

The Public Relations Committee is composed of 41 public relations executives representing various member companies. The Chairman of the committee is J. M. Guillory,[4] Vice President, New Orleans Public Service Inc. The Vice Chairman is R. H. Millsap, Vice President, Portland General Electric Co.

The committee continues to carry forward a number of activities to meet its responsibility of studying means by which good relations between a company and the public are established and maintained, and in making such information available to the industry. Full meetings are held semi-annually. Also, there are conferences from time to time on special projects.

During the past year, a subcommittee under the Chairmanship of Romney Wheeler, Director of Public Relations, Consumers Power Co., completed work on the new industry motion picture, "To Be Continued . . ." The industry premiere of the 28½-minute, color film starring prominent Hollywood actors took place at the EEI Annual Convention in April. Thus far, 59 companies have purchased 166 prints, making it one of the most popular films about the industry ever made.

A special Planning Subcommittee, with J. P. Lucas, Vice President, Duke Power Co., as Chairman, has been considering the means by which more information can be provided to the public on the fact that investor-owned electric power companies pay Federal income taxes, while government power (including REA generating and transmission cooperatives) does not. Informational materials are being developed to assist companies in communicating the facts on this question, including a folder suitable for use as a bill or dividend enclosure and a summary of individual company activity on this subject.

Working in the area of opinion leader contact is a subcommittee under the Chairmanship of G. H. Tuttle, Director of Public Information, the Detroit Edison Co. The program includes activity oriented toward various individuals, national organizations and groups. Mailing of filler material—consisting of brief, factual items about the industry—to daily newspapers throughout the country, is continuing.

Under committee sponsorship, a one-day conference on public relations aspects of pollution control was held Sept. 18 in San Francisco. Fifty-two company executives attended the conference, which included addresses by four technical experts from within and outside the industry, and case study presentations by seven company public relations executives.

Vice Chairman Millsap; J. L. Shoemaker, Vice President, Public Relations, Florida Power Corp.; and R. E. Simpson, Director of Community Relations, Western Massachusetts Electric Co., continued serving as committee representatives on the EEI Task Force on Environment. The task force has been supervising the program in which the internationally known industrial design consultant, Henry Dreyfuss, is developing about 100 esthetic designs for new transmission structures.

R. P. Lee, Vice President, Public and Employee Relations, the Connecticut Light & Power Co., continues to serve as liaison between the Public Relations and the Industrial Relations Committees to coordinate matters of interest to both groups.

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[1] Chairman W. B. McGuire is President, Duke Power Co. He was graduated from Davidson College and received his law degree from Duke University Law School. In 1933 he joined Duke Power in the legal department. In 1954 he was elected to Duke Power's board of directors and in 1956 appointed assistant to the president. He was elected president, Jan. 1, 1959. He is a member and former president of the Mecklenburg County Bar Association, a member of the North Carolina Bar Association and the North Carolina State Bar. He is a trustee of the Duke Endowment, past president and director of the Carolinas Virginia Nuclear Power Associates, director of the Piedmont and Northern Railroad, and a director of EEI. He is also a member of the board of directors, Charlotte branch, Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, Va., and chairman, Southeast Regional Advisory Committee, FPC. He is a director of the Research Triangle Foundation and a director, past president and member of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Citizens Association. He is serving on the State Emergency Resource Planning Committee and is a director of the North Carolina Traffic Safety Council, Inc. He has been associated with numerous charitable, religious, civic, and social organizations.

[2] Chairman E. L. Gerber is Vice President, Personnel and Public Relations, Atlantic City Electric Co. He is an honor graduate of Rutgers University with majors in labor and economics. Before joining Atlantic City Electric Co., he spent several years in advertising and promotional work with Vic Chemical Co., served in the Navy in WW II, and was the director of state promotion for the State of New Jersey. Upon joining the New Jersey utility in 1950, he established the Southern New Jersey Development Council and later the company's area development department. He became assistant vice president, Atlantic City Electric, in May, 1959, and vice president, personnel and public relations, in 1960. He is past president of the Atlantic County United Fund and is active in civic affairs.

[3] Chairman L. H. Jaeger is Vice President, Finance, and Treasurer of The Southern Co., and Executive Vice President of its subsidiary, Southern Services, Inc. He is also a director of both companies. He was an accountant with Southeastern Power & Light Co. from 1926–30, a statistician with Commonwealth & Southern Corp. from 1930–42. He was in military service from 1942 to 1945. In 1948, he was named assistant comptroller of Commonwealth & Southern. He joined The Southern Co. in 1949 as treasurer and served in this position until 1955 when he was named secretary and treasurer. In 1957, he was elected vice president, and treasurer. In 1963, he was elected a director and executive vice pesident of Southern Services. In 1966, he was elected a director of The Southern Co. Mr. Jaeger was graduated from Pace College and attended New York University School of Finance. He is a member of the New York and Atlanta Societies of security analysts. He is a member of the Financial Executives Institute.

[4] Chairman J. M. Guillory, Vice President and a director of New Orleans Public Service Inc., has been associated with the company since 1931. He received a degree in mechanical and electrical engineering from Tulane University. His work with NOPS has included assignments in all phases of commercial and industrial sales operations. He was elected vice president in 1955, with executive responsibility for the transit, community relations, and claim departments. He has been a director since 1964. He is a member of the New Orleans Mid-Winter Sports Association, which sponsors the Sugar Bowl events, and of the Executive Committee of the Greater New Orleans Tourist and Convention Commission. In 1964 he was made a life member of the Louisiana Engineering Society and in 1965 received the organization's Charles H. Kerr Award for contributing "the most to promote good public relations for professional engineering" in Louisiana. He has been active in professional, civic, and business organizations.

National Lawyers Guild Resolution on the Tonkin Bay Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, recently the National Lawyers Guild issued a resolution which very carefully and thoroughly examined the legal questions regarding the Tonkin Bay resolution passed by Congress in August 1964.

I commend this carefully prepared resolution to my colleagues for their consideration and include it at this point in the Record:

The Tonkin Bay Resolution Did Not Extend to the President the Authority He Claims To Carry on a Full Scale War in Vietnam

I. *The Tonkin Bay Resolution Implicitly and by Virtue of its Explicit Terms Requires Its Interpretation as Continuing in Effect the United States' Obligations Under the United Nations Charter, the SEATO Treaty and International Law Generally, All of Which Are Being Violated by the Current Conduct of the Vietnam War by the United States.*

The Tonkin Bay Resolution, a joint resolution of the House and Senate, was passed August 10, 1964. (78 Stats. 384) Naval P.T. boats off North Vietnam fired upon two United States destroyers in the Tonkin Bay off the shores of North Vietnam on August 2 and 4, 1964. On August 4 President Johnson addressed a message to both House and Senate asking them "to join in affirming the national determination that all such attacks will be met, and that the United States will continue in its basic policy of assisting the free nations of the area to defend their freedom." (110 Cong. Rec. 18132 and 18237.)[1]

The Tonkin Bay Resolution recited the occurrence of the attacks upon the United States destroyers, asserted that these attacks "have . . . created a serious threat to international peace," and declared that "these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression." The Resolution then resolved:

"That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

"Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in South East Asia. *Consonant with* the Constitution of the United States and the *Charter of the United Nations and* in accordance with its obligations under the *Southeast Asian Collective Defense Treaty*, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." (Emphasis added.)

Any construction of the Tonkin Bay Resolution must place it in its temporal setting. At the time of the resolution the United States forces in South Vietnam were present only in an advisory capacity. There had occurred no United States participation in combat. Aside from the retaliatory raids which immediately followed the Tonkin Bay incident, the commencement of United States participation in combat and the opening of United States air assaults upon North Vietnam did not occur until February 1965, six months after the Tonkin Bay Resolution.

This is important because in the interpretation of the Resolution stated in the Senate by its chief spokesman, Senator William Fulbright,[2] the entire thrust of the Resolution was said to be directed at attacks upon United States military forces, of the type involved in the destroyer incidents which called forth the Resolution. It was stated there was intended no endorsement of any military moves changing the United States position in South Vietnam from an advisory to a combat character. The President, in requesting a Congressional resolution of policy, stated in his communication to Congress that it was the purpose of the United States to "continue its basic policy." The United States, he stated in his message, "seeks no wider war." (110 Cong. Rec. 18132) In the Senate debate on the Resolution, Senator Nelson reminded the Senate that "the mission of the United States in South Vietnam for the past 10 years . . . has been to supply a military cadre for training personnel, and advisory military personnel as well as equipment and materiel [but without combat participation]." (*Id.*, p. 18406.) He states he was "concerned about the Congress appearing [in the Resolution] to tell the executive branch and the public that we would endorse a complete change in our mission." (p. 18407.) Senator Fulbright replied, "I do not interpret the joint resolution in that way at all. It strikes me, as I understand it, that the joint resolution is quite consistent with our existing mission and our understanding of what we have been doing in South Vietnam for the last 10 years." (*Id.*) Senator Nelson then further inquired whether Senator Fulbright meant that "the language of the resolution is aimed at the problem of further aggression against our ships and our naval facilities [and not at participation by United States troops in combat acts or mission]?" Senator Fulbright replied, "I think that is the logical way to interpret the language." (*Id.* at p. 18407.)

Subsequently, to underline the clarification thus expressed, Senator Nelson requested consent of the sponsor of the Resolution to an amendment to state: "Our continuing policy is to limit our role to the provision of aid, training assistance, and military advice, and it is the sense of the Congress that, except when provoked to a greater response, we should continue to attempt to avoid a direct military involvement in the Southeast Asian conflict." Senator Fulbright stated that the proposed amendment "states fairly accurately" what he understood to be the sense of the Resolution and of the President's speech, and stated that the amendment "[as] a statement of policy . . . is unobjectionable" as an "enlargement" or clarification of the Resolution, but he could not consent to the amendment because it would delay the passage of the Resolution and immediate passage was urgently required to support the President before the world. Senator Fulbright stated that this was not only his own position but that to his knowledge "most most members of the Committee" (meaning the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which, with the Senate Committee on Armed Services, conducted the Senate Hearings on the Resolution) "with one or two exceptions, interpret [the Resolution] the same way." (p. 18459.)

Still further emphasizing the point here developed, Senator Fulbright in a subsequent observation in 1966,[3] recalled that he had stated in the debates on the Tonkin Bay resolution that he believed confining its authorization of the use of force to prevention of "further aggression against our ships and our Naval facilities" was "a logical way to interpret the language," and stating further, "The point is that I, along with most of the members of the committee, did not at that time visualize or contemplate that this [war in Vietnam] was going to take the turn that it now appears about to take" and that he, as a person who had played an important part in the passage of the Tonkin Bay Resolution, believed that it "should not be interpreted as an authorization or approval of an unlimited expansion of the war."

Thus in view of its time-setting and its language, and the comtemporaneous comments of Senator Fulbright as its primary senate spokesman, it is altogether reasonable to read the Tonkin Bay Resolution as authorizing only United States self-defense against attacks upon United States military units, and as authorizing *no* United States change in South Vietnam from a training and advisory role to a role of combat.

The only portion of the Resolution which could be contended to constitute an authorization for the use of United States forces in combat acts is Section 2 of the Resolution. But that Section *expressly* conditions the "use of armed force" under it to acts "[c]onsonant with . . . the Charter of the United Nations." Thus assuming the Resolution intended to authorize not only retaliatory "use of armed force" but direct combat participation in the Vietnam War, the authority therefor was conditioned by the requirement that such conduct be "consonant" with the obligations of the United States under the United Nations Charter.

The military intervention and participation by the United States in the Vietnam War violates the Charter of the United Nations.[4] The inherent right of collective self-defense provided for in Article 51 of the Charter is an exception to the basic provisions of the Charter prohibiting the use of armed force except under the aegis of the Security Council. (Articles 2 and 39.) This exception is limited to responses to "an armed attack . . . against a Member of the United Nations." (Article 51.)

At the time that the United States brought its troops into combat action in Vietnam in February 1965, there had by no definition of the term been any "armed attack" upon the territory temporarily established as South Vietnam. All that had been claimed by the State Department is that a number of North Vietnamese had infiltrated into South Vietnam and joined the fighting between the South Vietnamese. This does not constitute an armed attack and is precisely the kind of situation where any use of armed force to achieve peace is conferred by the Charter exclusively upon the Security Council.

Actually under the 1954 Geneva Pact South Vietnam was never intended to be more than a temporary administrative zone of Vietnam to exist only until the holding of nation-wide elections scheduled for 1956. The violation of this treaty by the refusal of the South Vietnamese administration with the support of the United States to permit the election to be held did not legally convert the temporary zone of South Vietnam into an independent nation. What ensued was a civil war originating in the territory of South Vietnam and spreading to include North Vietnam, the other half of the single nation. The involvement of North Vietnam was preceded and precipitated by the illegal intervention in the civil war by the United States.

Apart from both of the factors noted above a foreign nation may legally assist another nation in resistance to an armed attack only after receiving a request for such assistance from the independent government of the nation under attack. South Vietnam has never had such an independent government. The creation for the first time of a government in South Vietnam in 1954 was the product of United States intervention and its continued existence has at all times since then depended upon the continuance of that United States intervention. The request for assistance relied upon by the United States is tantamount to a request by itself.

Reliance upon the SEATO Treaty as justifying the United States intervention is misplaced. Such intervention violated that Treaty for many reasons, the most fundamental of which is that the SEATO Treaty is by its terms subordinate to the United Nations Charter.[5]

Construction of the Tonkin Bay Resolution as not intending a nullification or repudiation of the United Nations Charter is required not only by the specific language of the Resolution but by a firm line of Supreme Court precedents holding that subsequent acts of Congress must be construed

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Footnotes at end of speech.

as to be consistent with the obligations of pre-existing treaties wherever such construction "is possible." (*United States v. Payne* (1924) 264 U.S. 446, 449; *Cook v. United States* (1933) 288 U.S. 102, 120; *Pigeon River Improvement Co. v. Cox* (1934) 291 U.S. 138, 160; *Whitney v. Robertson* (1888) 124 U.S. 190, 194.) A purpose in Congress to repudiate or nullify a prior treaty by a subsequent statute will not be inferred unless the treaty and the subsequent statute are "absolutely incompatible" (*Johnson v. Browne* (1907) 205 U.S. 309, 321); this because it must be presumed that the United States at all time intends to abide by all of its treaty obligations "with good faith and fairness." (*United States v. Payne, supra,* 264 U.S. 446, 448.)

A case illustrating the rule is Chew Heong v. United States (1884) 112 U.S. 536. The Chinese-United States Treaty guaranteed to then United States resident Chinese laborers a right of free departure and re-entry. A subsequent statue (the Act of May 6, 1882, as amended July 5, 1884) in terms prohibited the entry of any Chinese laborers into the United States after the date of its enactment. The issue was whether the subsequent statue nullified the terms of the prior treaty. The Supreme Court held that the statue should be interpreted as subordinate to the obligations of the prior treaty. Said the Court at page 530 et seq.:

"The court should be slow to assume that Congress intended to violate the stipulations of a Treaty, so recently made with the government of another country. 'There would no longer be any security,' says Vattel, 'no longer any commerce between mankind, if they did not think themselves obliged to keep faith with each other and to perform their promises.' Bk. 2, ch. 12. . . . 'Treaties of every kind,' says Kent, 'are to receive a fair and liberal interpretation, according to the intention of the contracting parties, and are to be kept in the most scrupulous good faith.' 1 Kent Com., 174 . . . [The] court cannot be unmindful of the fact that the honor of the Government and the people of the United States is involved in every inquiry whether rights secured [by treaty] shall be recognized and protected. And it would be wanting in proper respect for the intelligence and patriotism of a coordinate department of the Government were it to doubt, for a moment, that these contentions were present in the minds of its members when the legislation in question was enacted." [6]

The Court observed that the question of the construction of a statute in connection with a prior treaty is upon analysis, akin to the problems of "repeals by implication" of one statute by another, with the added factor that where treaties are concerned there is also involved a pledge of the national "good faith." Said the court on this score, at page 549:

"[E]ven in the case of statutes, whose repeal or modification involves no question of good faith with the Government or people of other countries, the rule is well settled that repeals by implication are not favored and are never admitted where the former can stand with the new Act. *Ex Parte Yerger,* 8 Wall. 105 (U.S. 339) . . . . 'If, by any reasonable construction, the two statutes can stand together, they must so stand.'" The Tonkin Bay Resolution *by its terms* declares that all and any use of force authorized by it must be limited to such as is "consonant with . . . the Charter of the United Nations." In the *Chew Heong* case the statute there involved contained a similar recital that the statute was enacted "to execute [the relevant] Treaty stipulations relating to Chinese [persons]" (112 U.S. at p. 544, fn. 1); and thus, the Court stated, "the purpose avowed in the Act was to faithfully execute the Treaty", and because of this "any interpretation of [the statute's] provisions would be rejected which imputes to Congress an intention to disregard the plighted faith of the Government and, consequently, the court ought to, if possible, adopt that construction which recognized and saved rights secured by the Treaty." (*Id.,* at p. 549.)

This clear analysis applies as well to the avowal in the Tonkin Bay Resolution that any force authorized by it must be limited to force "consonant with the Charter of the United Nations." This declaration expresses, in the Supreme Court's words in *Chew Heong,* an "avowed purpose . . . to faithfully execute [and abide by] the Treaty" and announces the "plighted faith of the Government" to such end.

The Tonkin Bay Resolution provides in its final paragraph that, "This resolution shall expire . . ." when the President shall determine and so proclaim, "except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution by the Congress." (78 Stats. p. 384.) It is argued on behalf of the administration [7] that this means the Resolution continues and is in effect renewed each day that it exists without repeal by Congress; that, there having been to date no such repeal, Congress must be considered as having each day renewed, re-enacted and reiterated its support and approval of everything done by the United States in Vietnam to that date.

This would invert law. Any statute or resolution continues until it is repealed, yet what continues is the *original* enactment, not an "imputed" or frictional "re-enactment" each day that repeal of the original does not take place. The continuation in effect of the Resolution may no more be construed to bespeak a nullification or repudiation of the Charter obligations than may be the original enactment of the Resolution.

One final circumstance remains confirming that the intention of Congress in passing the Tonkin Bay Resolution and the other, subsequent, lesser measures here concerned was *not* to repudiate any part of the United Nations Charter. This lies in the *actual practical construction* of the Resolution by the continued membership and participation of the United States in the United Nations as an organization. The Charter could not be renounced by the United States while continuing in force its full legal membership and participiation in the United Nations in light of the express requirement of Article 2, Clause 2, of the Charter that "all members" must "fulfill in good faith" all of "the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the . . . Charter."

The circumstances existing at the time of the adoption of the Tonkin Bay Resolution, the intent of the Resolution is expressed by the most authoritative spokesman at the time of its passage and the specific language of the Resolution separately and collectively, establish that the Resolution has not authorized the administration to engage the armed forces of the United States in the ground war in South Vietnam or the bombing of North Vietnam.

II. *Congress Was Without Authority to Nullify or Repudiate the United States' Obligations Under the World Peace Provisions of the United States Charter and of International Law, Even Had It So Intended.*

The Supremacy Clause of the Constitution establishes treaties, equally with Acts of Congress, as "the supreme law of the land." (Art. VI, U.S. Constit.) The Supreme Court has long made it clear that the United States (at least in the absence of a controlling Federal statute) is "bound by the law of nations, which is a part of the law of the land." [8]

Absent an overriding subsequent Federal statute, the obligations under treaties and general international law are binding under United States law wherever relevant.

It is true that under the doctrine of *The Head Money Cases* (1884) 112 U.S. 580, as to "two-nation" treaties, recording merely private accords, a subsequent inconsistent Federal statute can and will nullify the obligations of a prior treaty (*The Head Money Cases, supra,* 112 U.S. 580, 597–599; *Whitney* v. *Robinson* (1888) 124 U.S. 190 193–195; *Reid* v. *Covert* (1957) 354 U.S. 1, 18; *Botiller* v. *Dominguez* (1889) 130 U.S. 238, 247; *Chae Chan Ping* v. *United States* (1889) 130 U.S. 581, 600–603; *Clark* v. *Allen* (1947) 331 U.S. 503, 509); *Moser* v. *United States* (1951) 341 U.S. 41, 45) or the requirements and duties of a prior-governing principle of international law. (*The Charming Betsy* (1804) 6 U.S. 34 (2 Cranch. 64), 118; *The Paquete Habana, supra,* 175 U.S. 677, 700; *The Nereide, supra,* 13 U.S. 242, 236.)

This principle has never been held applicable to treaties purporting to "legislate" or record *world* obligations affecting the rights and duties of all nations within the international community to the end of maintaining world peace, law and order. The central premise of the Head Money Cases doctrine grounds the Congressional power to override or nullify international obligations upon the stated proposition that "there [is nothing] in its essential character" which upon reason should give a private treaty "superior sanctity" over a subsequent, inconsistent or overriding Federal statute under the Supremacy Clause.[9]

This core premise is completely inapplicable to the entirely new and different type of world-encompassing undertakings such as the new United Nations Charter. The fundamentals of world law indispensable as a means of securing in the atomic age, global peace, order and law cannot be equated with two-nation treaties covering private accords.

To the new world-wide public-law treaties the premise of the *Head Money Cases* doctrine applies *in reverse.* As to the international obligations fundamental to world order, there *is* in the very test words of the *Head-Money Cases* "something" in the "essential character" of the obligation "which gives it superior sanctity," and which by *reason,* "makes it irrepealable [and] unchangeable" by any act of unilateral, national law.

Prior to World War II it was considered debatable whether true and valid International Law could make any war a crime. The world community of nations has so emphasized the primacy of national sovereignty as to consider permissible any war undertaken by a "sovereign nation"; the international community considered itself incapable of judging, let alone condemning as "illegal" or "criminal" any such war.

However, a *great* change in the content of International Law took place in the aftermath of World War II, and particularly in the conduct of the Nuremburg Trials and the organization of the United Nations, and in that change the *dominant leadership* was that of the United States. At the firm and resolute lead of the United States the world community of nations formulated and established at least three major new fundamental principles of International Law:

1. International law *could* and *did* make "aggressive war" or "war in violation of a treaty" (including now most importantly the United Nations Charter) *criminally illegal;*

2. This law *could* and *did* apply as *world-public-law* to states and also to individuals; the affected individuals, not as an act of political retribution but under international law, could be *tried and punished* for *criminal war guilt* based upon a finding that the state had engaged in illegal war; and

3. No act, policy or command of any single nation could alter, nullify or renounce the foregoing world public-law, nor privilege any individual for the commission of any violation thereof; the said law, in short, was

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Footnotes at end of speech.

supreme over, and nullified, all contrary domestic law of any individual nation.

It was at *this country's determined and clear lead* that the world community, after World War II, in the authorization and ratification of the Nuremberg charter, trial and judgement, and in the United Nations Charter, and in and through other related public acts and documents, for the first time, *established clearly and unmistakably* the legal supremacy of *world public-law* (including *specifically* the duties against engaging in illegal war) over the internal law or policies of any single nation. It was also at this country's lead that world law condemning illegal war was *universally recognized* as an international crime not admitting of *any defense* based on contrary national politics, laws or judgement or on claims of "acts of state" or of superior military or civilian orders.

It is possible that without the leadership of the United States in the aftermath of World War II, the foregoing world public-law would not have been established. It is *certain* that with and through such United States leadership just such world law *was established,* and was fully recognized not as mere retribution or political policy, but as *law.*

In the punishment of the Nazi war leaders after victory the United States *could* well have proceeded merely to a victory's infliction of whatever punishment might be deemed fit. This would have been a *political act,* an act of *retribution* only. And, at the time, many distinguished and articulate leaders of thought in the United States, including many students of international law, advocated just such course.

Despite these voices, the United States determined resolutely upon a contrary policy—to exact from the nations and the peoples of the world express recognition, establishment and ratification of the above described basic fundamentals of new world public-law making *criminally punishable under law* any *individuals or nations* breaking the peace of the world by engaging in illegal war, and placing this law beyond the power of any act, policy, law, order or declaration of any individual nation, or officer thereof, to nullify, repudiate or alter.[10]

The United States cannot legally or honorably repudiate these doctrines of world law for which it is so significantly responsible. The world law which this nation helped proclaim is as binding upon it as it was upon those found guilty of war crimes at the conclusion of World War II. At the time of the war crimes trials, Mr. Justice Jackson, speaking for the United States, assured the world "that while this law is first applied against German aggressors, this law includes, and, if it is to serve a useful purpose, it must condemn aggression by any other nation, including those which sit here now in judgment."[11]

The participation of the United States in the war in Vietnam violates the peacekeeping provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is therefore illegal under international law. The Tonkin Bay Resolution by its terms disclaims approval of such illegality on the part of the administration. In so doing it merely confirms this nation's pledge that it will be bound by the principles of Nuremberg establishing in the area of peace and war principles of international law binding upon all nations and all mankind. The survival of civilization rests upon the honoring of this pledge by all nations, including the United States.

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[1] The President's address to the nation appeared in the *New York* Times, August 4, 1964, and is reproduced in 110 Cong. Rec. at p. 18459.

[2] Senator Fulbright was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which, together with the Committee on Armed Services conducted the hearings on the Resolution, and it was Senator Fulbright who favorably reported the Resolution to the Senate with a recommendation for its passage. 110 Cong. Rec. 18133.

[3] The statement here appears in the observations of Senator Fulbright in the hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, January 28, 1966, reported in "The Truth About Vietnam" (1966) pp. 56–57.

[4] We summarize this proposition only briefly for it is covered fully in "Vietnam and International Law: An Analysis of the Legality of the United States Military Involvement" (1967), published by the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, O'Hare Books, hereafter referred to as the Lawyers Committee Report.

[5] There are many other violations of the Geneva Pact of 1954 and of basic principles of International Law which are marshalled and detailed at length in the Lawyers Committee Report, *supra.*

[6] The *Chew Heong* case is a leading case in this area of treaty-statute interrelationship and construction. Its reasoning and rule, as excerpted above, is quoted, endorsed and followed, in the later decision in *United States* v. *Gue Lim* (1900) 176 U.S. 459, 465, and its reasoning and the rule is cited and followed also in *Cook* v. *United States, supra,* 288 U.S. 102, 120; *United States* v. *Payne, supra,* 264 U.S. 446, 449, and *Pigeon River Improvement Co.* v. *Cox, supra,* 291 U.S. 138, 160.

[7] See, for example, the Department of State paper, "The Legality of United States Participation in the Defense of Vietnam," March 1966, 75 Y.L.J. 1085, 1102–1106, and the much larger paper, "The Lawfulness of United States Assistance to the Republic of Vietnam," May, 1966, by Professors John N. Moore, James L. Underwood and Myres S. McDougal, 112 Cong. Rec. 14943–14989 (daily edit., July 14, 1966).

[8] The Nereide (1815) 14 U.S. (9 Cranch.) 338, 423. As the Supreme Court has stated, "International law is the [a] part of our law" (the *Paquete Habana* (1900) 175 U.S. 677, 701) which [f]rom the very beginning of its history this Court has recognized and applied." (*Ex parte Quirin* (1942) 317 U.S. 1, 27.)

[9] *The Head Money Cases, supra,* 112 U.S. 580, 599. "[T]here is nothing in [a private treaty, as such] which makes it irreparable or unchangeable" as a matter of the domestic law of the United States. (*Id.*)

[10] Upon all of the issues concerned here see: *United States et al.* v. *Goering et al.* (The Nurenberg Judgment) (Sept. 30, 1946) 6 Fed. Rules Dec. 73, 86, 106–111; Resolution 95(I) adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly, December 11, 1946, approving and endorsing "the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the Nurenberg Tribunal and the judgment of Tribunal" (Resolution 95(I), GOAR, 12, Resolution A/64/Add. 1, p. 188) Final Report to President Harry S. Truman of Mr. Justice Jackson, United States prosecutor at the Nurenberg proceedings, 15 Dept. St. Bull. 771–776, and the reply thereto of President Truman 15 Dept. St. Bull. 776; Glueck, "The Nurenberg Trial and Aggressive War," 59 Harvard L. Rev. 396–456; Schneeberger, "The Responsibility of the Individual under International Law," 35 Geo. L. J. 481–489; Woetzel, "The Nurenberg Trials in International Law" (1962) pp. 68–69, 96–97, 100–107, 156–157, 170–171; Fenwick, "International Law" (4th Edit., 1965) pp. 149–150.

[11] 1 Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (1946) at p. 172.

Further Information on the Testing of Irradiated Foods Under the Food Additives Act of 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 6, 1967, at page A6027, copies of correspondence with Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, on the reasons for the withdrawal by the AEC of a petition pending before the Food and Drug Administration for clearance under the Food Additives Act of 1958 of irradiated fresh strawberries.

Dr. Searborg's letter not only explained the reasons for the withdrawal of the petition on strawberries for the purpose of undertaking more extensive testing, but also gave me a status report on the general subject of irradiation of foods.

I have now received a reply from Dr. James L. Goddard, Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, to a letter I had written him on the same subject on which I had written to Dr. Seaborg. Because of the importance of this matter to consumers and to the food industry, and of the widespread interest shown in the information I placed in the RECORD from Dr. Seaborg and the Atomic Energy Commission, I am sure the Members will also want to read the letter from Dr. Goddard for the Food and Drug Administration, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., December 6, 1967.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: This is in reply to your letter of November 15, 1967, inquiring about the Atomic Energy Commission's withdrawal of the petition for the irradiation of fresh strawberries and general experiences with irradiated food.

We believe the withdrawal was based upon our suggestion of this course of action following our conclusion that a complete chronic (2-year) animal feeding study would be necessary using irradiated fresh strawberries in the diet in order to establish the safety of the product.

Several years ago we indicated to the Atomic Energy Commission that a 90-day feeding study on a food exposed to low doses of radiation would be adequate for safety evaluation if there were submitted also a long-term feeding study on a similar food subjected to higher doses of radiation and providing no deleterious effects were found on the long-term feeding tests.

Meanwhile, certain independent studies have appeared in the scientific literature reporting toxic effects of irradiated sucrose on chromosomes of human lymphocytes and on carrot cells.

The petition as submitted included reports of long-term animal feeding studies on high-dose irradiated canned peaches, offered in support of the 90-day study with fresh strawberries. Also available to us was another long-term feeding study on high-dose irradiated fruit compote containing 40% peaches.

Not only were we unable to conclude that peaches canned in a sugar syrup were sufficiently close to fresh strawberries to translate the data, but also the reports on the histopathological examination of rats fed diets containing irradiated peaches stated that significant numbers of tumors were found in rats fed certain irradiated diets when compared with the rats fed unirradiated diets. These reports did not include the original raw data on each individual rat, so we are unable to evaluate the significance of these statements. We have requested these data and recently have been told they have been obtained and will be submitted soon.

Our inability to make a positive finding of safety should not, however, be construed to mean that we have concluded the process is unsafe. The data at hand are insufficient to reach a conclusion one way or the other. What data we have seen to date do not raise questions on our previous clearances for high-dose irradiation of canned bacon and low-dose irradiation of what, wheat flour, and white potatoes.

The Food and Drug Administration recently conducted a seminar for representatives of the other interested branches of our Government in an endeavor to provide guidance in the preparation and processing of food additive petitions for the use of radiation on food. Reports of this seminar have been made available in quantity to the Atomic Energy Commission and to the Department of the Army to supply to their contractors in order to improve the reporting of the scientific data. A copy is enclosed for your information.

There has been no real commercial irradiation of food in the United States yet, as far as we know. We are advised that the Army procured 30,000 pounds of irradiated canned bacon last July and has recently procured some irradiated flour in cans. They are currently negotiating to acquire additional irradiated flour in sacks. They have told us that the irradiated bacon was extremely well received in Vietnam. We have received no word as yet on the results with the flour.

We understand that there was some commercial irradiation of Canadian potatoes by a Canadian firm either last year or the year before. This provides no real information, however, because we have been told that the venture failed, not because of any irradiation problem but because of the crop condition. We do not know the current status in Canada

Please let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES L. GODDARD, M.D.,
Commissioner of Food and Drugs.

The Christmas Tree Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Pennsylvania Business contains an article which should be a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an aid to researchers, writers, and students interested in the history of Christmas trees and the development of the industry in this country.

Pennsylvania, with an annual harvest of some 3 million trees, is second among the States in production. For those who would enjoy the sight and the scent of vast forests of Christmas trees, Indiana County offers a particularly inviting spectacle.

Die Grischtdawg Bawm—The Christmas Tree—which appears below, should be read before you dispose of this season's tree. It will make the experience a little less difficult.

DIE CRISCHTDAMG BAWM—THE CHRISTMAS TREE

In the trade and the tradition, Pennsylvania makes Christmas tree history.

It was the first state to produce cultivated Christmas trees in quantity. First to have men grow and sell trees as a full time business. First to organize a grower's association to improve the product and promote the industry. And it is home for the largest seedlings tree nursery (thirty million seedlings annually) in the world.

On the tradition side, one of the earliest accounts of using the holiday evergreens in the United States was from the German settlers in eastern Pennsylvania around 1816. In 1825 a Philadelphia newspaper reported a number of homes in that area having trees laden with fruit at the Christmas season. By the 1840's, the custom had become fairly common in the state.

But the Christmas tree story began much earlier. Some say the idea originated in western Germany several hundred years ago and that the first use of such trees in the United States may have been during the American Revolution by Hessian mercenary soldiers.

Other historians trace the origin to a much earlier day. In the province of Alsace along the upper Rhine River, the earliest written record of using trees is dated 1521. Another reference is from Strasburg in 1605: "At Christmas, fir trees are set up in the rooms and hung with roses cut from paper of many colors, apples, wafers, spangle-gold, sugar, etc."

Martin Luther (1483–1546) is credited with the first lighted Christmas tree. It is said that he cut a small evergreen tree, brought it into his home and attached lighted candles—to simulate the bright starlit sky of Christmas Eve.

According to some scholars, trees and boughs were widely used for religious ceremonials even before the Christian era. Ancient Egyptians, in celebrating the winter solstice—shortest day of the year—brought green date palms into their homes as a symbol of "life triumphant over death."

When the Romans observed the feast of Saturn, also at the winter solstice, part of the ceremony was the raising of an evergreen bough. This feast, and the New Year which followed a few days after, featured the exchanging of gifts and decorating houses with greenery and lights. Church leaders in Rome replaced the east with Christmas on December 25 in 354 A.D. after Christianity became the accepted religion.

To the Druids or Celts of ancient Gaul (today's France) and Britain, sprigs of evergreens (particularly mistletoe and holly) in the house meant eternal life. To the Norsemen such sprigs symbolized the revival of the sun god, Balder. The superstitious of these lands believed that branches of evergreen placed over the door of their home would keep out evil spirits.

WE'RE NO. 2

All 50 states produce *some* Christmas trees. And until quite recently, most of the country's trees were cut from the forest lands of the northern tier states where they grow naturally. These are becoming scarcer, however, and plantations, such as those in Pennsylvania, are furnishing a rapidly increasing number and proportion of trees.

Pennsylvania is presently in the "Try Harder" position for total production of plantation grown Christmas trees. Ranked second only to Michigan, our state harvests approximately three million trees annually with the crop valued in excess of $5 million. The greatest number of trees come from Indiana County, consistently the largest producing county in the state. Because of the number of small planters located in virtually every county an accurate annual count has been difficult to compile.

The latest production figures available for the U.S. Christmas tree industry are for 1964 when nearly 33 million trees were cut in the United States. The wholesale value of the crop was $51.1 million, while the retail value was $114.6 million. About eight million trees were imported from Canada that season.

Of the 1964 harvest, 91 percent came from privately-owned land—43 percent from farms and 48 percent from nonfarm land, industry lands, tree farms, hobbyists' plantations, etc. About 9 percent came from public lands such as National Forests and state and county lands. Some of the imports came from land owned or leased in Canada by U.S. dealers.

Although the size and types of dealers are quite varied, they have managed some degree of organization. Currently, there is a National Christmas Tree Growers' Association and 28 state associations covering 30 states. The bulk of the Christmas greenery intended for resale comes from 32 of the 50 states.

CUT AND SHIP

The fall months are the busy ones in the Christmas tree industry. During the summer and early fall the operators locate the trees, arrange for harvesting contracts, canvass the market to determine demand, line up necessary labor, and plan for transportation. Weather permitting, the harvesting is done in late November and early December to insure fresh trees.

About a dozen companies are responsible for most of the assembling and shipping of trees. Representatives of these companies contract with woodland owners for roadside or railroad siding delivery. The marketing operation itself is a major logistics problem, requiring split second timing and a thorough knowledge of a market where there is no room for understocking or overstocking. In contrast, the first Christmas trees were reportedly sold commercially by Mark Carr of the lower Catskill Mountains, who took two oxsled loads of firs to New York City in 1851.

At the request of the industry, the Consumer and Marketing Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture has established voluntary standards for trees. Primarily for the use of the wholesale trade, the three grades are: "U.S. Premium"; "U.S. No. 1 or U.S. Choice"; and "U.S. No. 2 or U.S. Standard." "Culls" are those trees which fail to meet the requirements of the lowest grade.

BEST SELLERS

The Scotch pine, with over 25 percent of the U.S. market and more than 50 percent of the Pennsylvania market, leads the list of the most popular U.S. Christmas trees. It has moved from fifth place in 1955 mainly because it is fast growing and responds well to pruning.

Second in volume is the Douglas-fir, accounting for slightly over 20 percent of the total. As recently as 1960, it was in first place.

The Balsam fir, which is most commonly mentioned in accounts of the evolution of the Christmas tree, is third with approximately 12 percent of the market. One reason for its popularity may be that its twigs, more than any other evergreen, resemble crosses.

Black spruce and Eastern redcedar round out the big five with each accounting for about 7 percent of the total tree harvest. Together, these five species represent 75 percent of the U.S. production.

The second group of five, which provides another 15 percent of the output, is made up of Norway pine, white spruce, white fir, eastern and western white pine, and Norway spruce.

SPARE THAT TREE

Some people are troubled about evergreens being cut for Christmas trees. President Theodore Roosevelt, and ardent conservationist, felt so keenly about this that he at first forbade their use in the White House. One year, however, his sons, Archie and Quentin, smuggled one in and set it up in their room. When the distressed President discovered it, he consulted his close friend and advisor on conservation measures, Gifford Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania. Pinchot assured him that the supervised and proper harvesting of trees was good for the forests. Since then, the White House has had an indoor tree, continuing the custom begun by President Pierce in 1856.

Independent Bankers Association Deplores Committee Amendment on Revolving Credit in Truth-in-Lending Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the major unresolved issues of the session of Congress now ending, which will come before us early in the new session, is the form in which the House passes truth-in-lending legislation. H.R. 11601, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, which has now been reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency—House Report No. 1040—is, in most respects, a strong and effective bill to protect the consumer in his use of credit on substantial purchases and loans, but it now contains two committee amendments which will defeat the purpose of the legislation in connection with the majority of all consumer credit transactions.

As spelled out in the supplemental views filed by 11 of us on the committee, these two committee amendments exempt from annual percentage rate disclosure requirements the so-called revolving credit accounts of the large chains and department stores, and also all credit transactions in which the credit charge is $10 or less, meaning purchases or loans up to about $110.

The consumer would be ill served by either amendment, and I intend to fight both of these amendments on the House floor.

INDEPENDENT BUSINESSMEN OPPOSE REVOLVING CREDIT EXEMPTION

In fighting one of these amendments, I will have, I am sure, the united support of most independent businessmen who extend consumer credit. They feel—and they have every right to feel—that the special exemption written into the bill for revolving credit is a legislative reward for the tremendous lobbying effectiveness of Sears, Ward's, Penneys, and the other huge mail-order houses and chain retailers, and the major department stores using computerized revolving credit. These stores, under the amendment on revolving credit, would be permitted to state merely a monthly percentage rate in disclosing credit charges, whereas the furniture dealers, hardware merchants, music stores, sporting goods stores, appliance dealers, radio-television sales firms, and most banks would be required, under the same legislation, to reveal the annual percentage rate of their credit charges.

The independent businessmen regard this as an unfair competitive advantage for the department stores, whose lobby won them this special concession. The unfairness of the amendment is easily seen when the independent store has to state a rate of 18 percent per year for the same credit charges which a mail-order house or a big department store could state as 1½ percent a month. The testimony before my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs clearly established that, to the average consumer, 18 percent a year sounds like a fantastically high credit charge, whereas 1½ percent a month sounds delightfully low.

We can deplore the fact that consumers are not generally sophisticated enough about credit terminology to see instantly that the two rates are identical. But it is because there is so much confusion and lack of awareness among consumers about interest rates and credit costs that truth-in-lending legislation is so badly needed.

The businessmen who have joined me in opposition to the committee amendment on revolving credit on H.R. 11601 ask that all forms of credit be placed on the same competitive basis, so that the consumer can quickly and accurately compare rates and charges. Thus, all creditors should be required to give an annual percentage rate.

IBA SAYS REQUIREMENTS SHOULD APPLY EQUALLY

Thus, in its December issue, the Independent Banker, published by the Independent Bankers Association of America, at Sauk Centre, Minn., an organization which has many highly respected members in every congressional district in the Nation, stresses the need for equality in the treatment of competing forms of credit through uniformity in the expression of the credit information required to be disclosed under the legislation.

The article referred to is as follows:

[From the Independent Banker, December 1967]

INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS SHOULD APPLY EQUALLY IN "TRUTH" BILL

Requirements for credit information in any "Truth-in-Lending" bill should apply uniformly and equally to all types of creditors, the president of the Independent Bankers Association of America said in a letter to members of the House Banking and Currency Committee.

Stanley R. Barber, president of the Wellman (Iowa) Savings Bank, wrote:

It disturbs us to read reports that the final form of this proposed legislation may:

1. Exempt revolving credit accounts, or

2. Permit granters of revolving credit to state their charges on a different basis than other creditors.

Writing in advance of Committee consideration of the bill in executive session, Mr. Barber said:

"Our understanding is that the purpose of 'Truth-in-Lending' is to have credit charges stated in such a way that the consumer may make an informed judgment on the cost of alternative sources of credit. It seems to us that a single standard for stating these charges is essential to achieving this purpose. A variation would constitute a built-in distortion or 'truth.'

"During Committee consideration of this legislation, we earnestly and respectfully seek your support for equality in application of disclosure requirements."

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On December 26, 1967:

H.R. 6167. An act to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence and new loans, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 8715. An act to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to limit the amount of wines, spirits, and beer that may be brought into the District of Columbia.

On December 27, 1967:

H.R. 4765. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the income tax treatment of certain distributions pursuant to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10783. An act relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia; and

H.R. 10964. An act to enable the District of Columbia to receive Federal financial assistance under title XIX of the Social Security Act for a medical assistance program, and for other purposes.

On December 28, 1967:

H.R. 5575. An act for the relief of Panagiotis Paulus; and

H.R. 10242. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, relating to the authorized strengths by grade for medical and dental officers on active duty in the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

On December 29, 1967:

H.R. 3031. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Photinos-Svoronos;

H.R. 8476. An act to confer U.S. citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. Alfred Sevenski;

H.R. 8580. An act to declare that certain lands are held in trust for the Squaxin Island Indian Tribe;

H.R. 12505. An act to provide that a District of Columbia public school teacher may retire on a full annuity at age 55 after 30 years of service or at age 60 after 20 years of service, and for other purposes;

H.R. 13833. An act to provide that the post office and Federal office building to be constructed in Bronx, N.Y., shall be named the "Charles A. Buckley Post Office and Federal Office Building" in memory of the late Charles A. Buckley, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the State of New York from 1935 through 1964; and

H.J. Res. 960. Joint resolution establishing that the second regular session of the 90th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 15, 1968.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

The Secretary of the Senate, on December 27, 1967, received a message from the President of the United States, which announced, that on the dates indicated, he had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

On December 14, 1967:

S. 320. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to release certain use restrictions on a tract of land in the State of North Carolina in order that such land may be used in connection with a proposed water supply lake, and for other purposes;

S. 809. An act for the relief of Dr. Youssef (Joseph) Selim Hasbani;

S. 1136. An act to amend section 9 of the act of May 22, 1928 (45 Stat. 702), as amended and supplemented (16 U.S.C. 581h), relating to surveys of timber and other forest resources of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 1410. An act for the relief of Tran Van Nguyen;

S. 2195. An act to amend the marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended;

S. 2644. An act to amend the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955, as amended, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and the Euratom Cooperation Act of 1958, as amended; and

S.J. Res. 101. Joint resolution amending title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to guarantee certain loans made to the National Maritime Historical Society for the purpose of restoring and returning to the United States the last surviving American square-rigged merchant ship, the *Kaiulani*, and for other purposes.

On December 15, 1967:

S. 830. An act to prohibit age discrimination in employment; and

S. 2565. An act to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act of 1933, as amended, and for other purposes.

On December 18, 1967:

S. 814. An act to establish the National Park Foundation;

S. 2126. An act to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965; and

S. 2247. An act to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to increase the Federal ship mortgage insurance available in the case of certain oceangoing tugs and barges.

On December 23, 1967:

S. 1785. An act to improve certain benefits for employees who serve in high-risk situations, and for other purposes; and

S. 2388. An act to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, and for other purposes.